

The
Collected Works
of
Edward Sapir

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The
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of
Edward Sapir

VIII

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of
Edward Sapir

VIII

Takelma Texts and Grammar

Volume Editor
Victor Golla

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Edward Sapir, about 1913
(Courtesy of Sapir family)

Edward Sapir (1884-1939) has been referred to as “one of the most brilliant scholars in linguistics and anthropology in our country” (Franz Boas) and as “one of the greatest figures in American humanistic scholarship” (Franklin Edgerton). His classic book, *Language* (1921), is still in use, and many of his papers in general linguistics, such as “Sound Patterns in Language” and “The Psychological Reality of Phonemes,” stand also as classics. The development of the American descriptive school of structural linguistics, including the adoption of phonemic principles in the study of non-literary languages, was primarily due to him.

The large body of work he carried out on Native American languages has been called “ground-breaking” and “monumental” and includes descriptive, historical, and comparative studies. They are of continuing importance and relevance to today’s scholars.

Not to be ignored are his studies in Indo-European, Semitic, and African languages, which have been characterized as “masterpieces of brilliant association” (Zellig Harris). Further, he is recognized as a forefather of ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic studies.

In anthropology Sapir contributed the classic statement on the theory and methodology of the American school of Franz Boas in his monograph, “Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture” (1916). His major contribution, however, was as a pioneer and proponent for studies on the interrelation of culture and personality, of society and the individual, providing the theoretical basis for what is known today as humanistic anthropology.

He was, in addition, a poet, and contributed papers on aesthetics, literature, music, and social criticism.

Note to the Reader

Throughout *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir*, those publications whose typographic complexity would have made new typesetting and proofreading difficult have been photographically reproduced. All other material has been newly typeset. When possible, the editors have worked from Sapir's personal copies of his published work, incorporating his corrections and additions into the reset text. Such emendations are acknowledged in the endnotes. Where the editors themselves have corrected an obvious typographical error, this is noted by brackets around the corrected form.

The page numbers of the original publication are retained in the photographically reproduced material; in reset material, the original publication's pagination appears as bracketed numbers within the text at the point where the original page break occurred. To avoid confusion and to conform to the existing literature, the page numbers cited in introductions and editorial notes are those of the original publications.

Footnotes which appeared in the original publications appear here as footnotes. Editorial notes appear as endnotes. Endnote numbers are placed in the margins of photographically reproduced material; in reset material they are inserted in the text as superscript numbers in brackets. The first, unnumbered endnote for each work contains the citation of the original publication and, where appropriate, an acknowledgment of permission to reprint the work here.

All citations of Sapir's works in the editorial matter throughout these volumes conform to the master bibliography that appears in Volume XVI; since not all works will be cited in any given volume, the letters following the dates are discontinuous within a single volume's references. In volumes where unpublished materials by Sapir have been cited, a list of the items cited and the archives holding them is appended to the References.

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Preface

Volumes I through VI of *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir* are devoted mainly to shorter papers, for the most part reprinted from journals and collections; by contrast, Volumes VII through XV are devoted to longer works of monographic nature — grammars, dictionaries, text collections, and extended ethnographic accounts. Many of these were published by Sapir during his lifetime; others were edited by his students and published after his death; still others have only now been edited and are published here for the first time. The organization of each volume in this latter group brings together, in most instances, works on a single language and culture; in a few volumes, however, the unifying element is one of linguistic family or culture area.

This volume contains the two major publications on Takelma that resulted from Sapir's second field trip, in 1906: *Takelma Texts* of 1909, and *The Takelma Language of Southwestern Oregon*, which first appeared in 1912. In addition, a reinterpretation by Dell Hymes of the first narrative in *Takelma Texts* is printed here for the first time.

The typographical errors noted by Sapir in his personal copies of both works have been corrected in this edition, as have several other misprints that escaped Sapir's notice. The editor is especially grateful to Professor Osahito Miyaoka, Hokkaido University, for giving him access to Sapir's copy of *Takelma Texts*, which is now in the Library of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Sapir's copy of *The Takelma Language* has been provided by the Sapir family, who plan to add it to the collection of Sapiriana in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, upon completion of the publication of *The Collected Works*.

Preparation of this and the other monographic volumes of *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir* has been aided by grants from the American Philosophical Society (Phillips Fund), the National Science Foundation (grant no. BNS-86-09411), and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

The editor wishes to thank, for their special help on this volume, Beth Carroll-Horrocks, Dell Hymes, Jane McGary, and Katherine Turner.

Introduction

Sapir's field work on Takelma during the summer of 1906 was a linguistic and ethnographic salvage project carried out under Franz Boas's direction and with support from the Bureau of American Ethnology. It also provided the 22-year-old Sapir with the material for his doctoral dissertation at Columbia University. Based on a mere month and a half of work with a single consultant, Sapir's record of the language and culture of this now extinct southern Oregon group is extraordinarily comprehensive. Fortunately, he was able to see nearly all of his material into print within a few years of its collection. Included in this volume are Sapir's two monograph-length volumes on the Takelma language, *Takelma Texts* (1909c) and *The Takelma Language of Southwestern Oregon* (1912h). Two substantial reports on Takelma culture (1907b, 1907c) and a brief handbook article (1910e) can be found in Volume IV, *Ethnology*.

Before Sapir's work, the Takelmas were among the most poorly documented Indian groups of the American west. Together with the other Indians of the Rogue and Umpqua river drainages, the Takelmas were treated very cruelly by the whites who flocked to that area during the gold rush of the early 1850s. A series of massacres in the middle of that decade—the so-called “Rogue River War”—virtually extinguished the native cultures of southwestern Oregon (Beckham 1971). The traumatized survivors were resettled on two small reservations in northwestern Oregon, at Siletz and Grand Ronde. Here some local groups, most notably the village tribelets of the Rogue River Athabaskans, were able to re-establish a modicum of cultural and linguistic identity, but the remaining Takelmas were too few and too demoralized to reassert themselves in their new locale. J. Owen Dorsey, who made an ethnographic survey of the Siletz reservation in 1884, noted only a few individuals who identified themselves as Takelma (1890: 234-235). Some knowledge of the language remained, however, and Dorsey was able to fill out a good part of a Powell questionnaire¹ for Takelma. On the basis of this and a few other scraps of linguistic data, Powell (1891) classified Takelma as a separate stock, “Takilman,” unrelated to any other language group in North America. The imminent demise of so unique a language became a matter of some concern to scholars. Franz Boas, who made the field documentation of American Indian languages and cultures the focus of the graduate program he initiated at Columbia University in 1897, sent one of his earliest students, H. H. St. Clair II, to work on Takelma in 1903-04. St. Clair, however, proved to be a disappointment, and in 1906 Boas turned the

1. This was a lengthy list of “words, phrases and sentences to be collected” from Indian informants, published by Major John W. Powell in 1877, widely used by the field workers of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Powell 1877; second edition 1880). Dorsey's Takelma vocabulary is preserved in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, catalogued as manuscript no. 4800 (397).

project over to Edward Sapir, a young man who had shown himself, in his work with Wishram Chinook the previous summer, to be a field worker of rare ability.

Sapir's Takelma informant during his stay at Siletz in July and August 1906, was Mrs. Frances Johnson, who had apparently also been St. Clair's informant. Born around 1845 in a village on Jump-off-Joe Creek, a small tributary of the Rogue River, she was a speaker of Lower Takelma, the dialect spoken on the Rogue River below Grants Pass and on Cow Creek to the north. At the time of Sapir's visit, perhaps a dozen other speakers of Takelma survived, including at least two who spoke Upper Takelma, the other attested dialect. Sapir is not known to have worked with any of them. His documentation of Takelma, as in much of his other work, is essentially a penetrating exploration of the linguistic competence of a single individual.

Mrs. Johnson died early in 1934, and none of the other speakers of Takelma appears to have outlived her by more than a few years. After Sapir's visit, the only significant work done on the Takelma language was that carried out by John P. Harrington, who visited Siletz in the fall of 1933. Harrington interviewed three speakers: Mrs. Johnson; Aneti Scott, apparently the widow of Mrs. Johnson's first cousin; and Molly Orton, a speaker of the Upper Takelma dialect (Gray 1987: 13-14). While his primary objective was the collection of place name data from the Rogue River area, he took advantage of the occasion to make a number of sound recordings of Takelma speech. These included recitations by Mrs. Johnson of several of the texts she had dictated to Sapir in 1906. Harrington's notes (and possibly his aluminum-disk sound recordings, although these have not been definitely identified) are in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (Mills 1981: 78-80). Also in the National Anthropological Archives are some incidental linguistic and ethnographic notes collected by the anthropologist Philip Drucker in 1934 from Willie Simmons, identified as an Upper Takelma Indian. An anonymous notebook with further Upper Takelma data from Molly Orton is in the Archives of the Department and Museum of Anthropology, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; these notes were probably also collected by Drucker in 1934.

Sapir's Takelma work, particularly his grammar, occupies an important place both in his own career and in 20th-century American linguistics. Second only to his monumental grammar, texts, and dictionary of Southern Paiute (Volume X), Sapir's publications on Takelma constitute his fullest descriptive treatment of a language. The grammar, completed in 1907 and formally submitted to Columbia as his doctoral dissertation in 1909, was published in 1912 as the first installment of the second volume of Boas's *Handbook of American Indian Languages*. (The complete second volume of the *Handbook* was issued in 1922, and this date is the one usually cited.) Sapir prepared his collection of texts for publication while he was teaching at the University of Pennsylvania (1908-10), and they appeared in 1909 in the University Museum's *Anthropological Publications*.

The grammar, which is thoroughly cross-referenced to the texts, stands out among the contributions to the *Handbook* for its lucidity and precision of statement. While Sapir to some extent followed the model Boas urged on all contributors, especially in his use of processual terminology (see Stocking 1974), what characterizes the work and gives it enduring significance is the uncompromising rigor with which Takelma grammar is depicted as a formally complete system. From the perspective of structural linguistics, Sapir's Takelma is no less than the first modern description of an American Indian language.

The texts, while of lesser theoretical importance than the grammar, also continue to attract the interest of linguists and anthropologists. Daythal Kendall, working under Zellig Harris in the 1970s, used them as a corpus for studying Takelma sentence structure and discourse cohesion (Kendall 1977). More recently, Dell Hymes, as part of his many-faceted study of the structural properties of the oral literatures of the Northwest, has commented on the distinctive phonetic indexing of animal characters in Takelma myths (Hymes 1979, 1981: 65-76) and has investigated the ethnopoetic discourse patterning of Mrs. Johnson's narratives. His analysis of one of the texts is included in this volume.

The possible relationship of Takelma to other American Indian languages was of some interest to Sapir. As early as 1915 he saw reasons for linking Takelma with the Penutian family of California proposed by Dixon and Kroeber (1913), as well as with the Coos, Siuslaw, Alsea, and Kalapuya languages of western Oregon (Golla 1984: 182-186). He later made a much expanded Penutian family one of his six North American "superstocks," adding Klamath-Modoc, Sahaptian, Cayuse-Molale, Chinookan, Tsimshian, and Huave and the Mixe-Zoque family of Mexico (Sapir 1921b, 1929a). Sapir's "Penutian hypothesis" continues to receive serious attention, and while it is far from being universally accepted, it is one of the more plausible of the wide-ranging genetic groupings that have been proposed for American Indian languages (see Silverstein 1979). In Sapir's view, the relationship, while bolstered by a number of lexical sets (see Sapir and Swadesh 1953), was most convincingly supported by deeply rooted typological similarities among the languages. Among the features of Takelma structure that seemed to Sapir especially Penutian-like were the occurrence of numerous stems of CVCV(C) shape with repeated vowel; reduplication as an important morphological process, characteristically involving repetition of the end rather than the beginning of a root; and vowel ablaut.

Takelma belongs to no clearly defined subgroup within Penutian, although it is usually aligned with Coos, Siuslaw, Alsea, and Kalapuya as Oregon (Coast) Penutian. Sapir early on identified a large number of potential cognates between Takelma and Coos (Sapir and Swadesh 1953), but this may indicate little more than the ready availability of Frachtenberg's Coos data to Sapir. A Takelma-Kalapuya subgroup was proposed by Swadesh (1965) and explored by Shipley (1969), but the paucity of easily accessible data on Kalapuya has made this claim difficult to test.

The Takelma Language



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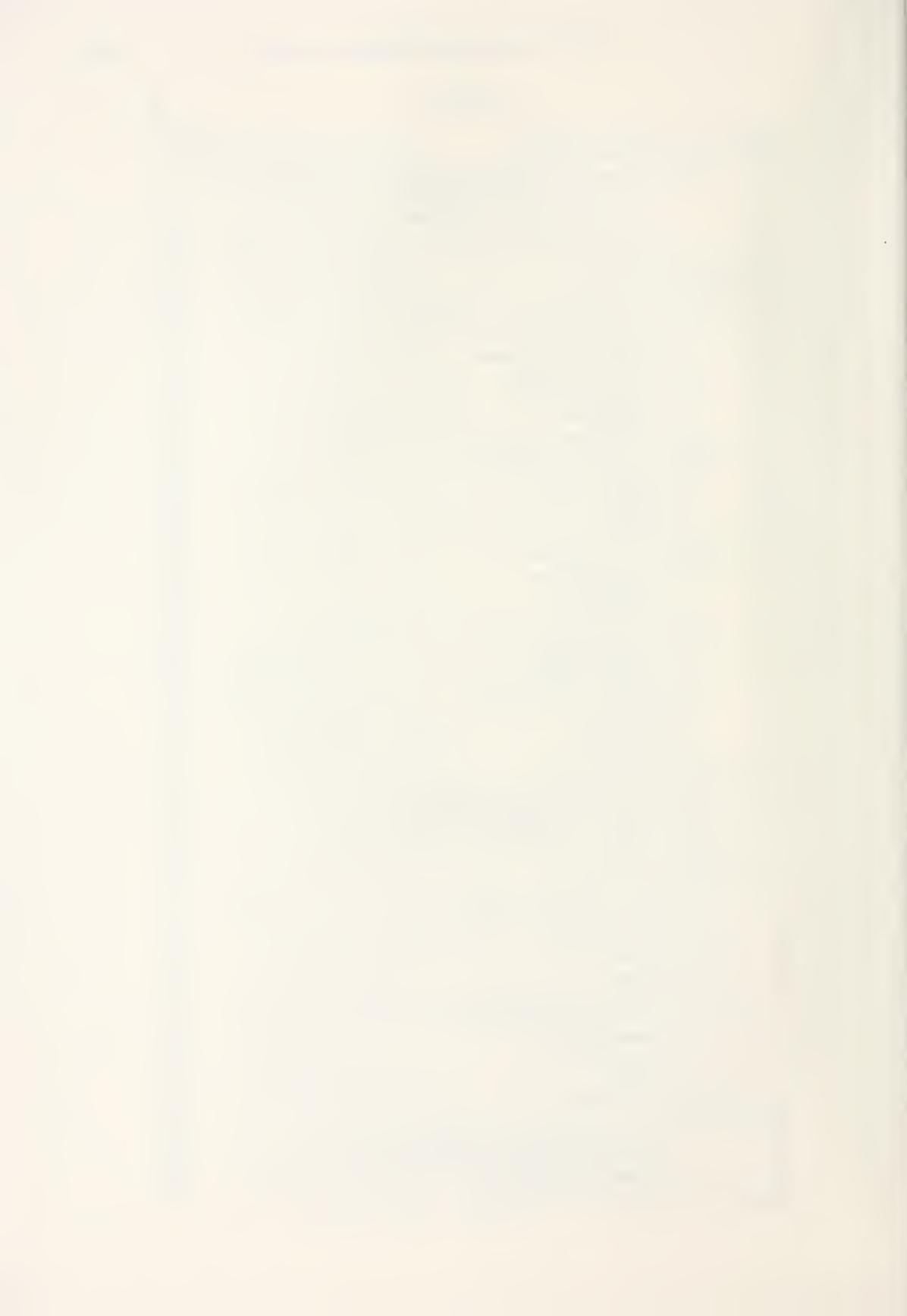
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THE TAKELMA LANGUAGE OF SOUTHWESTERN OREGON

BY EDWARD SAPIR

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

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

The linguistic material on which this account of the Takelma language is based consists of a series of myth and other texts, published by the University of Pennsylvania (Sapir, *Takelma Texts*, *Anthropological Publications of the University Museum*, vol. II, no. 1, Philadelphia, 1909), together with a mass of grammatical material (forms and sentences) obtained in connection with the texts. A series of eleven short medicine formulas or charms have been published with interlinear and free translation in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (xx, 35-40). A vocabulary of Takelma verb, noun, and adjective stems, together with a certain number of derivatives, will be found at the end of the "Takelma Texts." Some manuscript notes on Takelma, collected in the summer of 1904 by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, for the Bureau of American Ethnology, have been kindly put at my disposal by the Bureau; though these consist mainly of lexical material, they have been found useful on one or two points. References like 125.3 refer to page and line of my *Takelma Texts*. Those in parentheses refer to forms analogous to the ones discussed.

The author's material was gathered at the Siletz reservation of Oregon during a stay of a month and a half in the summer of 1906, also under the direction of the Bureau of American Ethnology. My informant was Mrs. Frances Johnson, an elderly full-blood Takelma woman. Her native place was the village of *Dak'ts!asiñ* or *Daldani'k'*, on Jump-off-Joe creek (*Dip!ōlts'i'lda*), a northern affluent of Rogue river, her mother having come from a village on the upper course of Cow creek (*Hagwāl*). Despite her imperfect command of the English language, she was found an exceptionally intelligent and good-humored informant, without which qualities the following study would have been far more imperfect than it necessarily must be under even the very best of circumstances.

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

PHONOLOGY (§§ 2-24)

§ 2. Introductory

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

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

¹ What little has been learned of the ethnology of the Takelma Indians will be found incorporated in two articles written by the author and entitled Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon, in *American Anthropologist*, n. s., ix, 251-275; and Religious Ideas of the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon, in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xx, 33-49.

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

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

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

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

Vowels (§§ 3-11)

§ 3. *General Remarks*

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

bilwa'εs jumper; *bila'uk'* he jumped
k!enna'εs maker; *k!ema'nk'* he made it

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

§ 4. *System of Vowels*

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

§§ 3-4

I. Short.	II. Long.	Short diphthong.	III. Long diphthong.
a	āa, (ā)	ai, au, al, am, an	āi, āu, āal, āam, āan
e	eε, (è)	ei, eu, el, em, en	ēi, ēu, eel, eem, een
i	īi, (ī)	iu, il, im, in	īi, īu, īil, īim, īin
o, (u)	ōu, (ō)	oi, ou, ol, om, on (ōu) (ul) (um) (un)	ōi, ōu(w), ōul, ōum, ōun
ū	ūu, (ū)	ui, ūw, ūl, ūm, ūn (ūu)	ūi, ūu(w), ūul, ūum, ūun
ü	üü, (ü)	üi, üw, ül, üm, ün (üü)	üi, üü(w), üül, üüm, üün

It is to be understood, of course, that, under proper syllabic conditions, *i* and *u* may respectively appear in semivocalic form as *y* and *w*; thus *ō^u* and *ū^u* appear as *ōw* and *ūw* when followed by vowels; e. g., in *k!ūwū^u*- THROW AWAY, *ūw* and *ū^u* are equivalent elements forming a reduplicated complex entirely analogous to *-elēl-* in *helel-sing*. Similarly *ai*, *au*, *āi*, and *āu* may appear as *ay*, *aw*, *ā^ay*, and *ā^aw*; and correspondingly for the other vowels. Indeed, one of the best criteria for the determination of the length of the first element of a diphthong is to obtain it in such form as would cause the second element (*i* or *u*) to become semi-vocalic, for then the first vowel will adopt the form of a short vowel or pseudo-diphthong, as the case may be. The following phonetic (not morphologic) proportions will make this clearer:

biliut'e^ε I jump: *biliwa't'* you jump = *he^εiū* he went away from him: *he^εi'wi'^εn* I went away from him
gai'k' he ate it: *gayawa'^εn* I ate it = *gāi'k'* he grew: *gā^aya'^εt'* he will grow
gayau he ate it: *gayawa'^εn* I ate it = *hant'gāu* over land: *Latg'ā^awa'^ε*
 one from Lat'gāu [uplands]

Sometimes, though not commonly, a diphthong may appear in the same word either with a semivowel or vowel as its second element, according to whether it is or is not followed by a connecting inorganic *a*. A good example of such a doublet is *haye^εwa'xdā^ada* or *hayèuxdā^ada* IN HIS RETURNING (verb stem *yèu-*, *ye^εw-* RETURN). It is acoustically difficult to distinguish sharply between the long vowel or pseudo-diphthong *ō^u* and the *u*-diphthongs of *o* (both *ou* and *ōu* are often heard as *ō^u*), yet there is no doubt that there is an organic difference between *ō^u*, as long vowel to *o*, and *ō^u* = *ou*, *ōu*. Thus, in *lohō^una'^εn* I CAUSE HIM TO DIE, and *lohona'n* I SHALL CAUSE HIM TO DIE, *ō^u* and *o* are related as long and short vowel in parallel

fashion to the \bar{a}^a and a of $y\bar{a}^a na't'$ YOU WENT, and $yanada'^\epsilon$ YOU WILL GO. On the other hand, the \bar{o}^u of $p'\bar{o}^u p'au-$ (aorist stem) BLOW is organically a diphthong ($\bar{o}u$), the \bar{o}^u of the first syllable being related to the au of the second as the i^u of $k'i^u k'au-$ (verb stem) BRANDISH is to its au . Similarly, the $-\bar{o}^u-$ of $s'\bar{o}^u \epsilon k' \hat{o}p'$ - (verb stem) JUMP is organic shortened ou , related to the $-owo-$ of the aorist stem $s'o'wo^\epsilon k' \hat{o}p'$ - as the $-e^i-$ of $he'^i \epsilon x-$ (verb stem) BE LEFT OVER is to the $-eye-$ of $heye^\epsilon x-$ (aorist stem). A similar acoustic difficulty is experienced in distinguishing \bar{u}^i , (\bar{u}^u) as long vowel from the $u-$ diphthongs of \bar{u} , (\bar{u}).

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

gai- eat, but *gāi-* grow
 verb-prefix *dā^a-* ear, but *da-* mouth
wā^axa his younger brother, but *wa'xa* at them

It may happen that two distinct forms of the same word differ only in vocalic quantity; $y\bar{a}^a da'^\epsilon t'$ HE WILL SWIM, $yada'^\epsilon t'$ HE SWIMS.

It is, naturally enough, not to be supposed that the long vowels and diphthongs always appear in exactly the same quantity. Speed of utterance and, to some extent, withdrawal of the stress-accent, tend to reduce the absolute quantities of the vowels, so that a normally long vowel can become short, or at least lose its parasitic attachment. In the case of the $i-$ and $u-$ diphthongs, such a quantitative reduction means that the two vowels forming the diphthong more completely lose their separate individuality and melt into one. Quantitative reduction is apt to occur particularly before a glottal catch; in the diphthongs the catch follows so rapidly upon the second element (i or u) that one can easily be in doubt as to whether a full $i-$ or $u-$ vowel is pronounced, or whether this second vowel appears rather as a palatal or labial articulation of the catch itself. The practice has been adopted of writing such diphthongs with a superior i or u before the catch: $a^{i\epsilon}$, $a^{u\epsilon}$, $e^{u\epsilon}$, and similarly for the rest. When, however, in the course of word-formation, this catch drops off, the i or u that has been swallowed up, as it were, in the catch reasserts itself, and we get such pairs of forms as:

naga'^i\epsilon he said; but *naga'ida^\epsilon* when he said
sgele'^u\epsilon he shouted; but *sgele'uda^\epsilon* when he shouted

On the other hand, vowels naturally short sometimes become long when dwelt upon for rhetorical emphasis. Thus *ga* THAT sometimes appears as *gā^a*:

gā^a loho't'e^e in *that* case I shall die
gā'^a ga^a'l for *that* reason

As regards the pronunciation of the vowels themselves, little need be said. The *a* is of the same quality as the short *a* of German MANN, while the long *ā^a* (barring the parasitic element) corresponds to the *a* of HAHN.

A labial coloring of the *a* (i. e., *ô* as in German VOLL) frequently occurs before and after *k'^w*:

gāhōk'^w planted, sown
īk'^wā'^ak'^wōk' he woke him up

But there were also heard:

sēk'^wak'^w shot
malāk'^wwa he told him

The *e* is an open sound, as in the English LET; it is so open, indeed, as to verge, particularly after *y*, toward *a*.¹ Also the long vowel *e^e* is very open in quality, being pronounced approximately like the *ei* of English THEIR (but of course without the *r*-vanish) or the *ê* of French FÊTE; *e^e*, though unprovided with the mark of length, will be always understood as denoting the long vowel (pseudo-diphthong) corresponding to the short *e*; while *ê* will be employed, wherever necessary, for the long vowel without the parasitic *-e*. The close *ē*, as in German REI, does not seem to occur in Takelma, although it was sometimes heard for *i*; in the words *lā^alē^e* HE BECAME, *lā^alē^et'am* YOU BECAME, and other related forms, *ē* was generally heard, and may be justified, though there can be small doubt that it is morphologically identical with the *īⁱ* of certain other verbs.

The *i* is of about the same quality as in English HIT, while the long *īⁱ* is closer, corresponding to the *ea* of English BEAT. Several monosyllables, however, in *-i*, such as *gwi* WHERE, *dī* interrogative particle, should be pronounced with a close though short vowel (cf. French FINI). This closer pronunciation of the short vowel may be explained by supposing that *gwi*, *dī*, and other such words are rapid pronunciations of *gwiⁱ*, *dīⁱ*, and the others; and indeed the texts sometimes show such longer forms.

¹The word *yew'e^{ie}* HE RETURNED, e. g., was long heard as *yaw'e^{ie}*, but such forms as *yēu* RETURN! show this to have been an auditory error.

The *o* is a close vowel, as in German SOHN, as far as the quality is concerned, but with the short quantity of the *o* of VOLL. This closeness of pronunciation of the *o* readily explains its very frequent interchange with *u*:

ĩts'!o'p'al sharp-clawed
dets'!ugu't' sharp-pointed

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

The vowel \bar{u} is close, as in the English word RUDE, the long mark over the *u* being here used to indicate closeness of quality rather than length of quantity. The \bar{u} is not identical with the German \bar{u} , but is somewhat more obscure in quality and wavers (to an un-Indian ear) between the German short \bar{u} of MÜRZE and *u* of MUSS; sometimes it was even heard with the approximate quality of the short \bar{o} of GÖTZ. The long $\bar{u}^{\bar{u}}$ is, in the same way, not exactly equivalent to the long \bar{u} of the German süß, but tends in the direction of \bar{u}^u , with which it frequently varies in the texts. It is somewhat doubtful how far the two vowels \bar{u} and \bar{u} are to be considered separate and distinct; it is quite possible that they should be looked upon as auditory variants of one sound. Before or after *y* or *w*, \bar{u} is apt to be heard as \bar{u} , — *k!ūwū'ε* THEY RAN AWAY, *ūyū'εs'* HE LAUGHED, *ĩgūyūgī'isī*, HE KEEPS NUDGING ME, — otherwise often as *u*.

The only short vowel not provided for in the table is \hat{u} (as in English SUN), which, however, has no separate individuality of its own, but is simply a variant form of *a*, heard chiefly before *m*:

heεε̄le'meεxām he killed us off (for *-am*)
xām in water (for *xam*)

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

dak't'be'εk't'bagameεs he tied his hair up into top-knot (in place of *-ams*).

Even here it may really have been the strongly sonantic quality of the *m* in contrast to the voiceless *s* that produced the acoustic effect of an obscure vowel. The exact pronunciation of the diphthongs will be better understood when we consider the subject of pitch-accent.

§ 5. *Stress and Pitch-Accent*

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

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

All that precedes the main verb-form *p'ele'xa^ε* THEY WENT OUT TO WAR is relatively unimportant, and hence is hurried over without anywhere receiving marked stress.

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

naga'-ida^ε when he said, but
naga-ida'^ε when you said

The important point to observe, however, is that when a particular syllable does receive the stress (and after all most words are normally

accented on some one syllable), it takes on one of two or three musical inflections:

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

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

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

The "raised" pitch (\simeq) is employed only in the case of final short vowels or shortened diphthongs (i. e., diphthongs that, owing to speed of utterance, are pronounced so rapidly as to have a quantitative value hardly greater than that of short vowels; also secondary diphthongs involving an inorganic *a*); if a short vowel spoken on a raised pitch be immediately followed by an unaccented syllable (as will always happen, if it is not the final vowel of the word), there will evidently ensue a fall in pitch in the unaccented syllable, and the general acoustic effect of the two syllables will be equivalent to a "falling" inflection (\simeq) within one syllable; i. e. (if — be employed to denote an unaccented syllable), (\simeq) + — = (\simeq). The following illustration will make this clearer: YOU SANG is regularly accented *helela't'*, the *a'* being sung on an interval of a (minor, sometimes even major) third above the two unaccented *e*-vowels. The acoustic effect to an American ear is very much the same as that of a curt query requiring a positive or negative answer, DID HE GO? where the *i* of DID and *e* of HE correspond in pitch to the two *e*'s of the Takelma word, while the *o* of GO is equivalent to the Takelma *a'*. The Takelma word, of course, has no interrogative connotation. If, now, we wish to make a question out of *helela't'*, we add the interrogative particle *di*, and obtain the form *helela't'idi* DID HE SING? (The *i* is a weak vowel inserted to keep the *t'* and *d* apart.) Here the *a'* has about the same pitch as in the preceding word, but the *i* sinks to about the level of the *e*-vowels, and the *di* is pronounced approximately a third below the normal level. The Takelma interrogative form thus bears an acoustic resemblance to a rapid English reply: SO HE DID GO, the *o* of SO and

e of HE corresponding in pitch to the unaccented *e*-vowels of the Takelma, the *i* of DID resembling in its rise above the normal pitch the *a'*, and the *o* of GO sinking like the *i* of the interrogative particle.¹ If the normal level of speech be set at A, the two forms just considered may be musically, naturally with very greatly exaggerated tonal effect, represented as follows:



The "rising" pitch (\approx) is found only on long vowels and short or long diphthongs. The rising pitch is for a long vowel or diphthong what the raised pitch is for a short vowel or shortened diphthong; the essential difference between the two being that in the latter case the accented vowel is sung on a single tone reached without an intermediate slur from the lower level, whereas in the case of the rising pitch the affected vowel or diphthong changes in pitch in the course of pronunciation; the first part of the long vowel and the first vowel of the diphthong are sung on a tone intermediate between the normal level and the raised pitch, while the parasitic element of the long vowel and the second vowel (*i* or *u*) of the diphthong are hit by the raised tone itself. It is easy to understand that in rapid pronunciation the intermediate tone of the first part of the long vowel or diphthong would be hurried over and sometimes dropped altogether; this means that a long vowel or diphthong with rising pitch (\tilde{a} , $\tilde{a}i$) becomes a short vowel or shortened diphthong with raised pitch (a' , $a'i$).² Diphthongs consisting of a short vowel + *l*, *m*, or *n*, and provided with a rising pitch, ought, in strict analogy, to appear as $a\tilde{n}$, $a\tilde{l}$, $a\tilde{m}$; and so on for the other vowels. This is doubtless the correct representation, and such forms as:

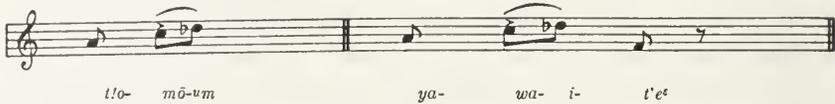
nañk' he will say, do
gwałt' wind
dasmayañ he smiled
wułx enemy, Shasta

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

¹ It is curious that the effect to our ears of the Takelma declarative *helela't* is of an interrogative DID YOU SING? while conversely the effect of an interrogative *helela't'idi* is that of a declarative YOU DID SING. This is entirely accidental in so far as a rise in pitch has nothing to do in Takelma with an interrogation.

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

these diphthongs were heard, if not always pronounced, as shortened diphthongs with raised pitch (*a'n*, *a'l*, *a'm*). The acoustic effect of a syllable with rising pitch followed by an unaccented syllable is necessarily different from that of a syllable with falling pitch (\sphericalangle), or of a syllable with raised pitch followed by an unaccented syllable, because of the steady rise in pitch before the succeeding fall. The tendency at first is naturally to hear the combination — \sphericalapprox — as — \sphericalangle —, and to make no distinction in accent between *yewe'ida^e* WHEN HE RETURNED and *yewet'e^e* I RETURNED; but variations in the recorded texts between the rising and falling pitch in one and the same form are in every case faults of perception, and not true variations at all. The words *!omōm* HE KILLED HIM and *yawat'e^e* I SPOKE may be approximately represented in musical form as follows:



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

k'wede'i his name

yewe'ida^e when he returned

yewe'ie^e he returned

will serve to illustrate the character of the falling pitch.



The pronunciation of the diphthongs is now easily understood. A shortened diphthong ($a'i$, $a'^{i\epsilon}$) sounds to an American ear like an indivisible entity, very much like *ai* and *au* in HIGH and NOW; a diphthong with falling pitch ($a'i$) is naturally apt to be heard as two distinct vowels, so that one is easily led to write *naga'-ida'* instead of *naga'ida'* WHEN HE SAID; a diphthong with rising pitch (ai) is heard either as a pure diphthong or as two distinct vowels, according to the speed of utterance or the accidents of perception. All these interpretations, however, are merely matters of perception by an American ear and have in themselves no objective value. It would be quite misleading, for instance, to treat Takelma diphthongs as "pure" and "impure," no regard being had to pitch, for such a classification is merely a secondary consequence of the accentual phenomena we have just considered.

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

biła'uk' (= **biłw'k'*,¹ not **biłaūk'*) he jumped; cf. *biłwa'εs* JUMPER with the organic *au* of

gayaū he ate it; cf. *gayawa'εn* I ate it

Contrast similarly the inorganic *an* of

k!ema'nk' (= **k!emñ'k'*, not **k!emañk'*) he made it; cf. *k!emna'εs* maker

with the organic *am* of

dasmayañ he smiled; cf. *dasmayama'εn* I smiled

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

¹ Non-existent or theoretically reconstructed forms are indicated by a prefixed asterisk.

It was said that any particular syllable, if accented, necessarily receives a definite pitch-inflection. If it is furthermore pointed out that distinct words and forms may differ merely in the character of the accent, and that definite grammatical forms are associated with definite accentual forms, it becomes evident that pitch-accent has a not unimportant bearing on morphology. Examples of words differing only in the pitch-accent are:

se'el black paint, writing; *səl* kingfisher
*lā'a*p' leaves; (1) *lāp'* he carried it on his back, (2) *lāp'* become (so and so)!
*sā'a*t' his discharge of wind; *sāt'* mash it!
wīl'i his house; *wīl* house, for instance, in *dak'wīl* on top of the house
he'el song; *həl* sing it!

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

waya` knife
wayā'a his knife
waya'^ε he sleeps
wayān he put him to sleep
k!wā^εya` (= *k!wāi^εa*') just grass

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

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

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

!omoma'^εn I kill him
!omoma'nda^ε as I killed him

(b) The third person aorist of all intransitive verbs that take the catch as the characteristic element of this person and tense, as in:

ya'ε he went
yā'adaε when he went

(c) The second person singular possessive of nouns whose ending for this person and number is *-εt'*, as in:

t!i'is't' your husband
ela'εt' your tongue

Contrast:

t!i't'k' my husband
ela't'k' my tongue

There are but few exceptions to this rule. A certain not very numerous class of transitive verbs, that will later occupy us in the treatment of the verb, show a long vowel with rising pitch before a catch in the first person singular subject third person object aorist, as in:

k!emεⁿ I make it
dīt!ügūⁿ I wear it

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

(2) The first person singular subject third person object future, and the third person aorist passive always follow the accent of 1a:

dōⁿma'n I shall kill him
t!omoma'n he was killed

Contrast:

xōⁿma'n he dried it

Like *k!emεⁿ* in accent we have also:

k!emēn it was made

(3) The first person singular possessive of nouns whose ending for that person and number is *-t'k'* shows a raised or rising pitch, according to whether the accented vowel is short or long (or diphthongal):

k'wedēt'k' my name
p!ānt'k' my liver
t!ibagwa'nt'k' my pancreas

Contrast:

k'wede'i his name
p!a'ant' his liver
t!ibagwa'n his pancreas

(4) The verbal suffix *-ald-* takes the falling pitch:

sgclewa'lda^{en} I shouted to him

sgclewa'lt' he shouted to him

Contrast:

gwalt' wind

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

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

Vocalic Processes (§§ 6-11)

§ 6. VOWEL HIATUS

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

de- in front

xā^a- between, in two

+ *ī-* with hand

generally appear as:

de^εī-

xā^{aε}ī-

respectively. The deictic element *-a'*, used to emphasize preceding

¹ Those familiar with Indo-European phonology will have noticed that my use of the symbols (◌̣), (◌̤), and (◌̥) has been largely determined by the method adopted in linguistic works for the representation of the syllabic pitch-accents of Lithuanian; the main departures being the use of the (◌̣) on short as well as on long vowels and the assignment of a different meaning to the (◌̤).

nouns, pronouns, and adverbs, is regularly separated from a preceding vowel by the catch:

ma'εa` but you, you truly
bō^uεa` nowadays indeed

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

k!wā^εya` just grass (= *k!wāi* + *-a`*)
ā^εya` just they (= *āi*- they + *-a`*)
ha^εwī- (= *ha-u-* under + *ī-* with hand)

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

ge^ε wōkⁱ (= *ge' + wōkⁱ*) there he arrived
be^{εε} wā^adīⁱ (= *be^ε + wā^adīⁱ*) day its-body = all day long
ge^ε yā^ahī (= *ge + yā^ahī*) just there indeed

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

me^εwōkⁱ HE ARRIVED HERE, and
me^εyēū COME HERE!

in which the catch is organic, being an integral part of the adverb *me^ε* HITHER; contrast:

me^εgini^εkⁱ HE CAME HERE, with
ge gini^εkⁱ HE WENT THERE.

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

ha^εwiniⁱda inside of him; but *habe^εbini`* at noon
de^εwiliwia^{us} they shouted; but *dexebe^εn* he said so
abai^εwa^εyewēnhi he returned inside with him; but *abaigini^εkⁱ* he went inside
wi^εwā my younger brother; but *wiha^m* my father

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

al^εwā^adidē to my body; but *als^εō^uma^l* to the mountain
al^εyowo^ε he looked; but *alxiⁱkⁱ* he saw him
bā^age^εl^εyo he lay belly up; but *gelkⁱiyi^εkⁱ* he turned to face him
gwen^εwatⁱgeitsⁱkⁱwa his (head) lay next to it; but *gwenliwila^{us}*
 he looked back
yiwin^ε wōⁱkⁱi^ε (= *yiwin* speech + *wōⁱkⁱi^ε* without) without speech

It goes without saying that the catch separates elements ending in *l*, *m*, or *n* from such as begin with a vowel:

s'in^εilats!agi'^εn I touch his nose
al^εit'bagat'it'bak' he struck them

§ 7. DISSIMILATION OF *u*

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

wahawaxi'igwa'^εn I rot with it, for **xiiugwa'^εn*

Compare:

hawaxi'^{uε} he rots
wahawaxiiwigwa'n I shall rot with it

Similarly:

bilik'^w he jumped having it, for **biliūk'^w* (stem *biliu-*)
wilik'^w he proceeded with it, for **wiliūk'^w* (stem *wiliu-*)

Observe that, while the diphthong *iu* is monophthongized, the original quantity is kept, *i* being compensatively lengthened to *ī*. In the various forms of the verb *yèu-* RETURN, such dissimilation, wherever possible, regularly takes place:

yèk'^w he returned with it, for **yèūk'^w* (= *yèū- gw- k'*)
me^εyèp' come back! (pl.), but sing. *me^εyèū*
ye'ba'^ε let us return! for **yèuba'^ε*

It is interesting to note how this *u-* dissimilation is directly responsible for a number of homonyms:

yèk'^w bite him!
 (al)*yèp'* show it to him!

A similar dissimilation of an *-u-* after a long vowel has in all probability taken place in the reduplicating verb *lā^aliwi'^εn* I CALL HIM BY NAME (*le'la'usi* HE CALLS ME BY NAME) from **lāuliwi'^εn* (**lèula'usi*).

§ 8. I- UMLAUT

Probably the most far-reaching phonetic law touching the Takelma vowels is an assimilatory process that can be appropriately termed "i-umlaut." Briefly stated, the process is a regressive assimilation of a non-radical *-a-* to an *-i-*, caused by an *-i-* (*-ī'*) in an immediately following suffixed syllable, whether the *-i-* causing the umlaut is an original *-i-*, or itself umlauted from an original *-a-*; the *-i-* of the

pronominal endings *-bi-* THEE, *-si-* HE TO ME, *-xi-* HE ME, fails to cause umlaut, nor does the law operate when the *-i-* is immediately preceded by an inorganic *h*. The following forms will make the applicability of the rule somewhat clearer:

wak!ayayini'εn I caused him to grow with it (but *k!ayayana'εn*
I caused him to grow, with preserved *-a-*, because of following
-a'εn, not *-i'εn*)

wak!eyeya'nxi he caused me to grow with it

wak!ayaya'nxbi'εn I caused thee to grow with it

iyulu'yili'εn I rub it (from *-yali'εn*)

iyulu'yalhi he rubs it

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

wā^agiwi'εn I brought it to him (from *-awi'εn*; cf. *wā^aga'sbi'εn*
I brought it to you)

the *-a-* following the *g* is shown to be not a part of the aoristic stem *wā^ag-* by the *i-* umlaut that it may undergo; on the other hand, the corresponding future shows an un-umlauted *-a-*:

wagawi'n I shall bring it to him

so that the future stem must be set down as *waga-*, as is confirmed by certain other considerations.

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

- (1) It is caused by the aoristic verb suffix *-i-* denoting position:

s'as'inī he stands (cf. *s'a's'ant'ā^a* he will stand)

t!obigi he lies as if dead (cf. future *t!obaga'sdā^a*)

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

bū^ubini'tk' my arm (cf. *bū^uba'n* arm)

t'ga't'gilizdek' my belly (for **t'galt'gali-*)

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

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

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

al^εit' бага't' bigi^εn I beat him (cf. -t' бага't' bak' he beat him)
ts'!ele'ts'!ili^εn I rattle it (cf. *ts'!ele'ts'!alhi* he rattles it)
ismili'smili^εn I swing it (cf. *ismi'lsmal* swing it!)

(b) The causative element -an-:

wap!ā^agini'^εn I cause him to swim with it (cf. *p!ā^agana'^εn* I cause him to swim)

See above:

wak!ayayini'^εn I cause him to grow

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

wat!omomani'^εn I kill it for him with it (cf. *t!omomana'^εn* I kill it for him)

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

alxī'ⁱximi's one who sees us (cf. *alxī'ⁱxam* he sees us)

4. By the suffixed local element -dīⁱ ON TOP OF added to the demonstrative pronoun *ga* THAT to form a general local postposition:

gidīⁱ on top of it, over (so and so)

Compare the similarly formed:

gada'k' above
gada'l among

and others.

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

t!omōxinik' we kill each other (cf. *t!omōxa^εn* they kill each other)
dāxinigam we shall find each other (cf. *dāxan^εt'* they will find each other)

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

lohō^uninini'^εn I caused him to die (i. e., killed him) for him (cf. *lohō^unana'nhi* he killed him for him)
ik!ūmininini'nk' he will fix it for him (compare *ik!ū^uma'n* he fixed it)

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

daxoyo'xiya^{εn} (= *xaya^{εn}*) I scare them around; *daxoyo'xi* (= *xiy*
= *xay*) he scares them around
al^εit'ge'it'giyak'^w (= *-t'gay-*) rolled up
alhūyū'hī^tx (= *-hīyx* = *-hayx*) he used to hunt
saniya' (= *sanaya'*) to fight him
dō^wmk'wiya (= *-k'waya*) to kill him; and numerous other infinitives in *-k'wiya* (= *-k'waya*)

§ 9. K- SOUNDS PRECEDED BY U- VOWELS

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

gelgulu^wgwa'^{εn} I desire it
gelgulu'k'^w he desires it (contrast *gelgula'k'* he desired it, without the labial affection of the *-k'* because of the replacement of the *-u-* by an *-a-*)
gūxwī'ⁱ his heart
dū^ügwi't'gwa her dress
dū^k'^w woman's garment
yō^wk!wā^a his bones

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

yok!^wōya'^{εn} I know it
yo'k'yan I shall know it

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

s^wu^εwilī he sits; but
s^wu^εalt'ā^a he will sit

The first form was, for some reason or other, often heard, perhaps misheard, as *s'i^hul^h*.

§ 10. INORGANIC *a*

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

- k!iya'k'de^e* I shall go, come; aorist, *k!iyi'k'de^e*
alxik!a'lhik' (=theoretical **alxik!lik'*) he kept looking at him;
 aorist first person *alxik!lhi^hn* I keep looking at him
k!ema'n make it! (=theoretical **k!emn*); cf. *k!emna'n* I shall
 make it
bai^hye^hwa'n drive out sickness!; aorist, *-yew^hn* he drove out
 sickness
sgela'ut'e^e I shall shout (=theoretic **sgelwt'e^e*); aorist second
 person, *sgelewa't'* you shouted

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

- wisma't'e^e* I shall move (stem *wism-*); aorist, *wits'!i^hmt'e^e* I moved¹

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

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

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

§ 11. SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLE DIPHTHONGS

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

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

ts!awi'k' he ran fast; cf. *ts!a-uya'εs* fast runner, *ts!awayat'*
 (aorist) you ran fast
yawi't'e I shall talk; cf. *yawayat'* (aorist) you talked

The *-awi-* (=theoretic *-awy-*) of these forms is related to the *-away-* of the aorist as the *-ilw-* of *bilwa'εs* JUMPER to the *-iliw-* of the aorist *biliwa't'* YOU JUMPED.

Such double diphthongs as end in *-w* (e. g. *-aiw*, *-ā^alw*) simply lose the *-w*:

gaī eat it! (= **gaīw*); *gaīk'* he ate it (= **gaīwk'*); compare *ga-iwa'n* I shall eat it

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

gelhewe'ha^εn (= **-hau^εn*) I think; compare *gelhewe'hau* he thinks
imi'ha^εn (= **-ham^εn*) I sent him; compare *imi'ham* he sent him
mo'lo^εma^εn (= **mal^εn*) I stir it up; *mo'l^εman* (= **-maln*) I shall stir it up; compare parallel forms with connecting *a*: *mo'lo^ε-mala^εn*, *mo'l^εmalan*, and third person aorist *mo'lo^εmal*
mā^anma'^εn (= **-man-i'^εn*) I count them; compare *damā^anmini'^εn* (umlauted from *-man-i'^εn*) I counted them up
k!emxa't'e^ε (= **k!emnxat'e^ε*) I shall make; compare *k!emna'^εs* maker and *k!ema'n* make it! (with inorganic *a* because accent is not thrown forward)

Examples of simplified over-long diphthongs are:

dā^aldi'n (= **dāildī'n*) I shall go to him for food; compare *dāit'e^ε* I shall go for food
ēi t'gēlxīⁱ (= **t'gēilxīⁱ*) wagon (literally, rolling canoe); compare *t'ge^εya'lx* it rolls
dat!agā^εn (= **t!agāi^εn*) I build a fire; compare *dat!agāi* he builds a fire
k!emē^εn (= **k!emēi^εn*) I make it; compare *k!emēi* he makes it
oyō^εn (= **oyōn^εn*) I give it; compare third person *oyōn* he gives it

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

ts'!aĩmk' (but also *ts'!ayàm k'*) he hid it; compare *ts'!a-ima'n* I shall hide it
oĩnk' he gave it; compare *oina'n* I shall give it

If the inferential *-k'*- does not immediately follow, an inorganic *a* seems to be regularly inserted between the second and third elements of the diphthong:

gelts'!aya'mxamk'na^ε since he concealed it from us

Examples of other than inferential forms with unsimplified double diphthong are:

ts'!aĩmhak'^w hidden

oĩn give it! (yet *ts'!aya'm* hide it! with inorganic *a*)

Consonants (§§ 12-24)

§ 12. System of Consonants

The Takelma consonant system is represented in the following table:

	Aspirated tenuis.	Voiceless media.	Fortis.	Spirant.	Lateral.	Nasal.
Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p'</i>	v. <i>w</i> unv. <i>-^w</i>		<i>m</i>
Dental	<i>t'</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>t'</i>		<i>l</i>	<i>n</i>
Sibilant			<i>ts', ts'!</i>	<i>s, s'</i>		
Palatal				<i>y</i>	(<i>l</i>)	
Guttural	<i>k'</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>x</i>		
Faucal			<i>ε</i>	<i>h</i>		

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

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

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

dā^an- ear; *t'ā^an* squirrel
bō^u now; *p'ō^u*- to blow
ga that; *k'a* what
dīⁱ- on top; *t'īⁱ*- to drift
bō^ud- to pull out hair; *p'ō^ud*- to mix
dā^ag- to build fire; *dā^ag*- to find; *t'ā^ag*-to cry
gai- to eat; *k'ai*- thing, what ¹

¹ These two series of stops are not at all peculiar to Takelma. As far as could be ascertained, the same division is found also in the neighboring Chasta Costa, a good example of how a fundamental method of phonetic attack may be uniformly spread over an area in which far-reaching phonetic differences of detail are found and morphologic traits vary widely. The same series of stops are found also in Yana, in northern California. Farther to the east the two series are apparently found, besides a series of true sonant stops, in Ponea and Omaha (J. O. Dorsey's *p*, *t*, *k*, and *d*, *ɹ*, *ʒ*). The Iroquois also (as could be tested by an opportunity to hear Mohawk) are, as regards the manner of articulating the two series, absolutely in accord with the Takelma. A more accurate phonetic knowledge of other languages would doubtless show a wide distribution in America of the voiceless media.

The fortes (*p!*, *t!*, *k!*, *ts!* [= *ts'!*], and ϵ , which has been put in the same series because of its intimate phonetic and morphologic relation to the other consonants) are pronounced with the characteristic snatched or crackly effect (more or less decided stress of articulation of voiceless stop followed by explosion and momentary hiatus) prevalent on the Pacific coast. From the point of view of Takelma, *p!*, *t!*, and *k!* are in a way equivalent to p^ϵ , t^ϵ , and k^ϵ , respectively, or rather to b^ϵ , d^ϵ , and g^ϵ , for the fortes can never be aspirated. In some cases it was found difficult to tell whether a fortis, or a voiceless stop followed by a glottal stricture, was really heard:

yap!a' and *yap ϵ a'* man
gā'p!ini' and *gā'p ϵ ini'* two

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

āk!a' he indeed (= *āk'* he + deictic $\epsilon a'$; cf. *ma ϵ a'* you indeed)
sāk!eit' you shot him (= *sāk'* he shot him + (ϵ)*eit'* you are)
māp!a' just you [pl.] (= *māp'* you [pl.] + $\epsilon a'$)

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

referred to as a click, is due to the sudden opening of the closed chamber formed between the closed glottis and the point of consonant contact (compare the sound produced by the sudden withdrawal of a stopper from a closed bottle); the hiatus generally heard between a fortis and a following vowel is simply the interval of time elapsing between the consonant release and the release of the glottal closure.¹ That the fortis consonant really does involve an initial glottal catch is abundantly illustrated in the author's manuscript material by such writings as:

dül̄̄'et!ili^εn = *dül̄̄'t!ili^εn* I stuff it
dü'lt!ilin = *dü'lt!ilin* I shall stuff it
leme'k!ia-uda^ε = *leme'k!ia-uda^ε* as they go off

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

There is no tenuis or media affricative (*ts—dz*; *ts'*, *tc—dz'*, *dj*) corresponding in Takelma to the fortis *ts!*, *ts'!*, though it seems possible that it originally existed but developed to *x* (cf. *yegwēxi* they bite me [upper Takelma *yegwe'tci*]; *ts'!i'xi* dog [from original **ts'!its'i'?*]). Morphologically *ts!*, *ts'!* stand in the same relation to *s*, *s'* that *p!*, *t!*, and *k!* stand in to *b*, *d*, *g*. For example,

Aorist stems:

t!omom- kill, *p!ügüg-* start (war, basket), *k!olol-* dig—are related to their corresponding

Future stems:

dō^um-, *bü^üg-*, *gō^ul-*,—as are the

Aorist stems:

ts!adad- mash, *ts'!elēl-* paint—to their corresponding

Future stems:

s'ā^ad-, *s'e^ll-*

Of the other consonants, only *x*, *-^v*, and *s*, *s'* call for remark. *x* is equivalent to the *ch* of German DACH, though generally pronounced further forward (*x*). It frequently has a *w* tinge, even when no *u*-vowel or diphthong precedes, particularly before *i*; examples are *hā'pxwi* CHILD and *hax^wiya'* (ordinarily *haxiya'*) IN THE WATER. *-k'^v*,

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

² See Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon, *American Anthropologist*, n. s., ix, 257.

in which combination alone, as we have seen, -'ʷ occurs, is the aspirated tenuis *k'* followed by a voiceless labial continuant approximately equivalent to the *wh* of English WHICH, more nearly to the sound made in blowing out a candle. *s* is the ordinary English *s* as in SELL; while *s'* is employed to represent a sibilant about midway in place of articulation between *s* and *c* (= *sh* in English SHELL), the fortes *ts!* and *ts'!* corresponding, respectively, in place of articulation to *s* and *s'*. The two sounds *s* and *s'* have been put together, as it is hardly probable that they represent morphologically distinct sounds, but seem rather to be the limits of a normal range of variation (both *sal-* WITH FOOT and *s'al-*, e. g., were heard). The only distinction in use that can be made out is that *s* occurs more frequently before and after consonants and after *ʷ*:

s'a's'ant'e I shall stand
ogu's'i he gave it to me, but *ogu'sbi* he gave it to you
lōʷs'ī'i his plaything 110.6
īlasgī'n I shall touch it
le^epsi feathers
yōls steel-head salmon
ha-uhana'ēs it stopped (raining)

§ 13. Final Consonants

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

la'h excrement
lohlahan'k' he always caused them to die

A final semivowel unites with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong:

gayaū he ate it (cf. *gayawa'ēn* I ate it)
gāt grow! (cf. *gā^aya'ēt'* he will grow)

A final voiceless media always turns into the corresponding aspirated surd; so that in the various forms of one stem a constant alternation between the two manners of articulation is brought about:

se^eba'ēn I roasted it; *sēp'* he roasted it
xebe'ēn he did it; *xēp'ga^e* I did it
xuduma'lda^en I whistle to him; *xuduma'lt'*, *xuduma'lt'gwa* he whistles to him
t!ayaga'ēn I found it; *tlaya'k'* he found it, *dāk'na^e* since he found it

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

wasgā'p!in I shall make it tight; *wasgā'ʼp'* make it tight
k'ap!a'k'ap'naʼn I throw them under (fire, earth); future, *k'aʼp'-*
k'a'p'nan
bā^axō't!an I shall win over him; *bā^axō'ʼt'* win over him! *bā^axō'ʼt'gaʼ*
 I won over him
alxī'k!in I shall see him; *alxī'ʼk'* see him! (contrast *alxī'igiʼn* I
 saw him; *alxī'ik'* he saw him)
ha^ewīha'nts!in I shall cause it to stop (raining); *ha^ewīha'nʼs*
 make it stop raining!
nō'ts!at'gwan next door to each other; *nō'ʼuʼs* next door
ha^eimī'ts!adan t!eimī'ʼs six times 100; *ha^eimī'ʼs* six

Consonant Combinations (§§ 14-17)

§ 14. GENERAL REMARKS

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

§ 15. INITIAL COMBINATIONS

If, as seems necessary, we regard *gw* as a single labialized consonant, the general rule obtains that no combinations of three or more consonants can stand at the beginning of a word or syllable. The following table shows all the initial combinations of two consonants possible in Takelma, the first members of the various combinations being disposed in vertical columns and the second members, with which the first combine, being given in horizontal lines. Examples fill the spaces thus mapped out. Inasmuch as the mediae and fortes,

the liquid, nasals, semivowels, and *h* never appear, or with very few exceptions, as the first members of initial combinations, it was not considered necessary to provide for them in the horizontal row. Similarly the tenues and fortes never occur as second members of initial combinations. A dash denotes non-occurrence.

	<i>p'</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>b</i>	—	<i>t' bāg-</i> hit	—	<i>sbīn</i> beaver	?
<i>d</i>	—	—	—	<i>s' dō' i s' dagwa-</i> put on style	<i>zdeit'</i> flute
<i>g</i>	—	<i>t' geib-</i> roll	—	<i>sgi' si</i> coyote	—
<i>gw</i>	—	<i>t' gwa'</i> thunder	—	<i>sgwini'</i> raccoon	—
<i>s</i> <i>x</i>	}	—	—	—	—
<i>l</i>		—	—	?	<i>zliwi</i> war feathers
<i>m</i>	—	<i>t' mila' px</i> smooth	—	<i>sma-im-</i> smile	?
<i>n</i>	—	—	—	<i>s' nā</i> mamma!	<i>xni' k'</i> acorn mush
<i>y</i>	—	—	—	—	—
<i>w</i>	—	<i>t' wap! at' wap'-</i> blink	[<i>k' w ā a g w -</i> <i>awaken</i>].	<i>swat' g-</i> pursue	?

It will be noticed that only *t'* (*p'* and *k'* were given mainly for contrast) and the two voiceless spirants *s* and *x* combine with following consonants (*k'w-* is not to be analyzed into *k' + w*, but is to be regarded as a single consonant, as also *gw-* and *k!w-*, both of which frequently occur as initials); furthermore that *s*, *x*, and *y* never combine with preceding consonants. The general law of initial combination is thus found to be: tenuis (*t'*) or voiceless spirant (*s*, *x*) + media (*b*, *d*, *g*) or voiced continuant (*l*, *m*, *n*, *w*).¹ Of the combinations above tabulated, only *t' b-* *t' g-*, *sb-*, *sg-*, and perhaps *sgw-* and *sw-*, can be considered as at all common, *t' m-*, *t' w-*, *sd-*, *sn-*, *xd-*, *xl-*, and *xn-* being very rare. *sl-*, *sb-*, *xm-*, and *xw-* have not been found, but the analogy of *xl-* for the first, and of *sb-*, *sm-*, and *sw-* for the others, make it barely possible that they exist, though rarely; there may, however, be a distinct feeling against the combination *x* + labial (*b*, *m*, *w*).

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

t!wep!e't!wapx they fly about without lighting; future *dweep'-*
*dwa'pxdā*²

¹ This may possibly serve to explain why the affricative *ts'* (to correspond to *ts' t'*) is not found in Takelma.

§ 16. FINAL COMBINATIONS

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

	<i>p'</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>p'</i>	—	eit'p' yeare	—	bēlp' swan	—	s'a's'anp' stand!(pl.)	—	—
<i>t'</i>	—	—	—	sgelewa't' he shouted to him	ts'elela'mt' he paints it	p'ā'ant' his liver	—	—
<i>k'</i>	zēp'k' he did it	p'ima't'k' my sal- mon	—	a'lk' silver-side salmon	za'mk' grizz- ly bear	dōuma'nk' he will kill him	nāla'sk' heloved her	k'wā'a'xk' he's awake
<i>k'w</i>	—	—	—	t'gwe'lk'w rat	?	yānk'w he took it along	—	—
<i>p'k'</i>	—	—	—	s'u'alp'k' he sat	—	se'nsanp'k' he whooped	—	—
<i>t'k'</i>	—	—	—	dōuma't'k' my testicles	zāala'mt'k' my urine	bilga'nt'k' my breast	—	—
<i>s</i>	la'ps blanket	—	—	bīls moss	gūms blind	p'te'ns squirrel	—	—
	t'geya'px round	—	—	t'ge'ya'lx it rolls	ya'mx grease	bānx hun- ger	—	—
<i>zk'</i>	des'ipxk' it closed	—	—	gū'lk'alxk' it was blazing	dats'ā'mxk' it hurt	ūgwa'nxk' he drank	—	—
<i>px</i>	—	—	—	sgil'px warm your back!	—	?	—	—

No examples of *-mk'w* and *-npx* have been found, but the analogy of *-lpx* makes the existence of the latter of these almost certain (*l* and *n* are throughout parallel in treatment); the former (because of the double labial; cf. the absence of *-mp'*) is much less probable, despite the analogy of *-lk'w* and *-nk'w*. It is possible also that *-lsk'*, *-msk'*, and *-nsk'* exist, though their occurrence can hardly be frequent. Of final clusters of four consonants *-nt'p'k'* has been found in *s'a's'ant'p'k'* HE STOOD, but there can be small doubt that the *-t-* is merely a dental tenuis glide inserted in passing from the dental nasal to the labial tenuis; compare the morphologically analogous form *se'nsanp'k'* HE WHOOPED. However, the combinations *-lpxk'* and *-npxk'* (if *-npx* exists), though not found in the available material, very probably ought to be listed, as they would naturally be the terminations of morphologically necessary forms (cf. *des'ipxk'*). Most, if not all, of

the preceding final combinations may furthermore be complicated by the addition of ϵ , which is inserted before the first tenuis or voiceless spirant of the group, i. e., after a possible liquid or nasal:

$\bar{u}'i\epsilon s.k'$ he laughed

$k'o'\epsilon px$ dust, ashes.

$ts'!w'n\epsilon s$ (deerskin) cap

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

tenuis (or voiceless spirant) + media (or voiced continuant) +
vowel (or diphthong) + liquid or nasal + stop (fortis or
media—tenuis),

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

§ 17. MEDIAL COMBINATIONS

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

$t!omoma'n-ma\epsilon$ when he was killed

$h\bar{e}lk'-na\epsilon$ when he sang

$dak'-t'g\bar{u}'uba\epsilon n$ I put hollowed object (like hat) on top (as on head)

The occurrence of such clusters as *-k'n-* must not for a moment be interpreted as a contradiction of the non-occurrence of the same clusters initially or finally, as they are not, syllabically speaking, clusters at all. Had such combinations as, say, *-t'gn-* (in which *-t'* would be the final of one syllable and *gn-* the initial of the next) occurred, we should be justified in speaking of an inconsistency in the treatment of clusters; but the significant thing is, that such clusters are never found. A Takelma word can thus ordinarily be cut up into a definite number of syllables:

gaɽk'na^ε when he ate it (= *gaɽk'-na^ε*)
yo'k'yan I shall know it (= *yo'k'-yan*)

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

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

xɛp'ga^ε I did it; *xɛp'k'* he did it

Contrast, with constant *-k'*:

alxɽ'εk'a^ε I saw it; *alxɽ'εk'¹* he saw it

the *-g-* of the first form and the *-k'* of the second being the same morphological element; the *-p'* of both forms is the syllabically final *b* of the stem *xεb-* DO, so that *xɛp'ga^ε* stands for a theoretical **xɛbk'a^ε*, a phonetically impossible form. Other examples are:

¹ This form is distinct from *alxɽ'k'* LOOK AT IT!, quoted before. The imperative theoretically = **alxɽ'k'* the text form = **alxɽ'k/k'*.

ga-iwa't'ba^ε ye shall eat it; *gayawa't'p'* ye ate it
d'i'n^εxga^ε I (as long object) was stretching out; *d'i'n^εxk'* long object
 was stretching

Consonant Processes (§§ 18-24)

§ 18. DROPPING OF FINAL CONSONANTS

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

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

sāk' shooting (= **sāk't'*)
dōx gathering (= **dōxt'*)
ha-t!ūlk' following in path (= **t!ūlk't'*)
sana'p' fighting (= **sana'p't'*)

Compare:

yana't' going
loho't' dead
sebe't' roasting
dōmt' having killed
se'nsant' whooping
yi'lt' copulating with

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

he^εgwida't'k' (= **gwida'k'^wt'-k'*, inferential of *gwidik'^wd-*) he lost it
he^εgwida't'ga^ε (= **gwida'k'^wt'-ga^ε*) I lost it
xamgwid'i'sgwide^ε (= **gwid'i'k'^wt'-x-gwi-* or possibly **gwid'i'k'^wt'-gwi-*) I drown myself

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

- lāl* she twined basket (= **lāl̥w*); cf. *lā^alwa^εn* I twine it (that *-w* really belongs to the stem is shown by the forms *lā^awa^εn* I shall twine it; *lè^uxi* twine it for me!)
k!el̥ basket bucket (= **k!el̥w*); cf. *k!elwīⁱ* her bucket
k'aḷ penis (= **k'aḷw*); cf. *k'alwīⁱ* his penis.
sgelēḷ^ε (= **sgelēḷ^εw*) he keeps shouting; cf. *sgelewa^t* you shout, *sgelwa^te^e* I shall keep shouting
alsgālk'a^ε (= **sgālwok'a^ε*) I turned my head to one side to look at him; cf. *alsgā^alwiⁿ* I shall turn my head to look at him
alsgelēḷxi (= **sgelēḷwxi*) he keeps turning his head to one side to look at me; cf. *alsgalā^aliwi^εn* I keep turning my head to look at him, future *alsgalwalwiⁿ*

This process, as further shown by cases like *gaḷ* EAT IT! (= **gaḷw*), is really a special case of the simplification of double diphthongs (see § 11). Perhaps such "dissimilated" cases as *lā^a-* and *le^ε-* (for *lāu-* and *lèu-*), see § 7, really belong here.

Other consonants have doubtless dropped off under similar conditions, but the internal evidence of such a phenomenon is not as satisfactory as in the two cases listed. The loss of a final *-n* is probable in such forms as *ihegwe'hak^v* HE WORKS, cf. *ihegwe'hak^vna^εn* I WORK, and *ihegwe'hak^vnana^k* WE WORK. Certain verb-forms would be satisfactorily explained as originally reduplicated like *gwidi^k^v*, if we could suppose the loss of certain final consonants:

gini^εk^v he went somewhere (= ? **gin-i^ε-k^vn*)

gelgulu^k^v he desired it (= ? **-gul-u^k-wḷ*)

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

§ 19. SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLE CONSONANTS

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

¹ Many of the doubtful cases would perhaps be cleared up if material were available from the upper dialect, as it shows final clusters that would not be tolerated in the dialect treated in this paper; e. g. *k'ū^una^ks^t* RELATIVES (cf. Takelma *k'winardž* MY KIN).

k- consonants is labialized, the resulting *k*- sound preserves the labial affection. Examples of consonant simplification are:

- mo't'ek'* my son-in-law (= *mo't'*- + *-dek'*)
lāk'wōk' he gave him to eat (= *lāg-* + *-k'wōk'*)
dek'iya'k'ie if it goes on (= *dek'iya'g-* + *-k'ie*)
li'gwa'n I shall fetch them home (= *li'g-* + *-gwan*); cf. aorist
ligigwa'εn
di'hila'k'iwemεn I make him glad (= *hila'k'w* glad + *k'emεn* I
 make him)

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

- gināk'wiε* if he comes (= *gināg-k'w-k'ie*)

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

- xemela't'ɨdi* do you wish to eat? (= *xemela't' + di*)

The operation of various phonetic processes of simplification often brings about a considerable number of homonymous forms. One example will serve for many. From the verb-stem *sāg-* SHOOT are derived:

1. Imperative *sāk'* shoot it!
2. Potential *sāk'* he can, might shoot it
3. Participle *sāk'* shooting (= **sāk't'*)
4. Inferential *sāk'* so he shot it (= **sāg-k'*)

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

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

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

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

$t'gun\bar{u}k'i^\epsilon$ (= $t'gun\bar{u}k'$ + quotative $-hi^\epsilon$) it became warm, it is said
 $nagan\bar{a}'ak'i^\epsilon$ (= $nagan\bar{a}'ak'$ + quotative $-hi^\epsilon$; see § 22) he always said, it is said
 $gwen-he'k'w\bar{a}^agw-$ (= reduplicated $he'gw-h\bar{a}^agw-$) relate; with accent thrown forward $gwen-hegw\bar{a}'agw-an-i-$ (= $hegw-h\bar{a}'agw-$); compare, with preserved h , $gwen-hegwe'hagw-an-i$ tell to
 $s'o'wo^\epsilon k'\bar{o}p'$ (= $s'o'wo^\epsilon k'-hap'$ = $*s'o'wok!-hap'$) he jumps ($\delta = wa$; see § 9) he jumps; compare $s'owo'k!ana^\epsilon n$ I cause him to jump

Similarly, d or $t' + h$ becomes t' , $t!$ (or $^\epsilon t'$) + h becomes $^\epsilon t'$; b or $p' + h$ becomes p' , $p!$ (or $^\epsilon p'$) + h becomes $^\epsilon p'$:

$gana't'i$ (= $gana't'$ + emphatic $-hi$) of just that sort
 $yo't'i$ (= $yo't'$ being + emphatic $-hi$) alive; compare plural $yo't'i'hi$
 $he^\epsilon sg\bar{u}'u^\epsilon t' \delta k'w$ (= $sg\bar{u}'ut!-hak'w$) cut away; compare $he^\epsilon sg\bar{o}'ut!an$
 I shall cut it away

s' and x also generally contract with h to s' and x , e. g.:
 $n\bar{o}u's'i^\epsilon$ (= $n\bar{o}u^\epsilon s' + -hi^\epsilon$) next door, it is said.

§ 20. CONSONANTS BEFORE x

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

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

$alx\bar{i}'ixi$ he saw me (= $al-x\bar{i}'ig-xi$); cf. $alx\bar{i}'ig\bar{i}^\epsilon n$ I saw him
 $k'w\bar{a}'axde^\epsilon$ I awoke (= $k'w\bar{a}'agw-x-de^\epsilon$); cf. $\bar{i}k'w\bar{a}'agwi^\epsilon n$ I woke him up
 $gelgulu'xbi^\epsilon n$ I like you (= $-gulu'gw-x-bi^\epsilon n$); cf. $-gulugwa'^\epsilon n$ I like him
 $b\bar{a}^\epsilon din\bar{i}'^\epsilon x$ (clouds) spread out on high (= $-dini'k!-x$); cf. $d\bar{i}'nik!a^\epsilon n$
 I stretch it out
 $l\bar{u}^\epsilon xwa'$ to trap (= $l\bar{u}k!w-xa'$); cf. $lo'k!wan$ I shall trap (deer)
 $y\bar{e}xwink'$ (= $y\bar{e}gw-xink'$) he will bite me; but $y\bar{e}xda^\epsilon$ (= $y\bar{e}gw-x-da^\epsilon$)
 you will bite me

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

lebe'sa^ε she sews (= *lebe't-xa^ε*); cf., for *-t'* of stem, *lebe't'* she sewed it, for suffix *-xa^ε*, *lobo'xa^ε* she pounds

sgelewa'lsi he shouts to me (= *sgelewa'ld-xi*); cf. *sgelewa'lda^{εn}* I shout to him

dā^{εi}bodoba'sa^{εn} they pull out each other's hair, with reduplicated stem *bodobad-* + *x-*

xā^{at}'be'^{εk}'t'bagams it is all tied together (= *-t'bagamt-x*); cf. *xā^{at}'bā^agamda^{εn}* I tie it together

hansgō'^{uεs} he cut across, lay over (road) (= *-sgō'^{ut}!-x*); cf. *hansgō'^{ut}!an* I shall cut it across

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

3. *sx* simplifies to *s*, *ts!x* ($=^{\epsilon}sx$) to $^{\epsilon}s$. Examples are:

yimi's'a^ε he dreams (= *yimi's'-xa^ε*, with suffix *-xa^ε* as in *lobo'xa^ε* above)

ha-uhana'^{εs} it stopped (raining) (= **-hana'^{εs}*, stem *hanats!-* + *-x*)

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

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

yalalana't' you lost it (cf. *yalnanada'^ε* you will lose it, with *n* preserved because it forms a consonant-cluster with *l*)

ha-gwā^{al}-a'm in the road (cf. *gwān* road)

Dīdala'm Grant's Pass (probably = over [*dī-*] the rocks [*da'n*])

xā^{al}'la'mt'k' my urine; *xala'xamt'^ε* I urinate (cf. *xān* urine)

ba-is'in-xi'lik'wi^{εn} I blow my nose, with *l* due to *-n* of prefix *s'in-* nose (cf. *xīn* mucus)

s'inp'i'l's flat-nosed, alongside of *s'inp'i'n's*

The possibility of a doublet in the last example shows that the prefix *s'in-* is not as thoroughly amalgamated with the rest of the word as are the suffixes; probably, also, the analogy of forms in *-p'in^{εs}* with other prefixes not containing an *n* would tend to restore an anomalous-sounding *s'inp'i'l's* to *-p'i'n^{εs}*.

A suffixed *-(a)n* dissimilates to *-(a)l* because of a preceding *m* in the stem:

s'imì'l dew (cf. such nouns as *p!iyì'n* deer)
dak'-s-ò'ma'l on the mountain (*s'om̃* mountain)
dò'ma'lt'k' my testicles (*dò'm* testicles)

With these compare:

dā^a-ts!ā^awa'n by the ocean (*ts!āū* deep water)

In *xā^a-gulma'n* AMONG OAKS, the *l* immediately preceding the *m* seems to have prevented the dissimilation of the *-an* to *-al*.

It is practically certain that the *-am* of *haqwā^ala'm*, *Didala'm*, and *xā^ala'mt'k'* is at bottom phonetically as well as functionally identical with the suffix *-an* (*-al*), seen in *xā^a-gulma'n* (*gulu'm* OAK) and *dak'-s-ò'ma'l*, and rests on a second dissimilation of the nasal lingual (*n*) of the suffix to a labial nasal (*m*), because of the lingual (*l*) of the stem. The history of a word like *haqwā^ala'm* is in that event as follows: An original **haqwā^ana'n* IN THE ROAD (stem *gwā^an-* + nominal characteristic *-an*) becomes first **haqwā^ala'n* by the dissimilation of the first *n* because of the following *n*, then *haqwā^ala'm* by the dissimilation of this second *n* because of the preceding *l*. Similarly *Didala'm* and *xā^ala'mt'k'* would go back to **Dīdana'n* and **xā^ana'nt'k'* respectively; with the second form compare the reduplicated verb *xala'xam-* (= **xanaxan-*) URINATE. The probability of such a dissimilation of *n* to *m* is greatly strengthened by the fact that nearly all nouns with an evidently suffixal noun-forming element *-(a)m* have an *l* in the stem as compared to an *-(a)n* of nouns not so affected. Contrast:

-m	-n
<i>he^ela'm</i> board (cf. <i>dīhe'liya</i> sleeping on wooden platform)	<i>daga'n</i> turtle
<i>gela'm</i> river	<i>wigīn</i> red lizard
<i>ts!ela'm</i> hail (cf. stem <i>ts!el-</i> rattle)	<i>p!iyi'n</i> deer (<i>-n</i> here as suffix shown by <i>p!iya'x</i> fawn)
<i>xila'm</i> sick, ghost	<i>yūt!u'n</i> white duck (cf. <i>yut!-</i> <i>u'yidi^ε</i> I eat it greedily)
<i>ts!ü'lm</i> wart ¹	<i>yū'xgan</i> trout
<i>habila'm</i> empty	<i>xdān</i> eel (cf. <i>hā^ε-xdā^axdagwa^εn</i> I throw something slippery far away)
<i>lap'ām</i> frog	<i>wō^up!un-</i> eyebrows

¹ No other example of final *-lm* is known, so that this form was probably misheard for *ts!üü'm* (cf. *gulu'm* OAK).

<i>yulu'm</i> eagle (also <i>yula'm</i> is found)	<i>dā^a-n-</i> ear
<i>gulu'm</i> oak	<i>bebe'n</i> rushes
<i>k'ülūm</i> fish (sp.?)	<i>ga'k!an</i> house ladder
<i>legem-</i> kidney	<i>gwit'in-</i> wrist

It should not be concealed that a few words (such as *hülūn* OCEAN, *t!aga'm* LAKE, and *yuk!um-a-* BONES) do not seem to conform to the phonetic law implied by the table; but more exact knowledge of the etymology of these and similar words would doubtless show such disagreement to be but apparent. It is probable that in *delga'n-* BUTTOCKS, *bilga'n-* BREAST, and *do'lk'in-i-* ANUS, the *g*, (*k'*) immediately following upon the *l* prevented the expected dissimilation of *n* to *m*; in *le'k'wan-* ANUS the dissimilation was perhaps thwarted by a counter-tendency to dissimilate the two labials (*k'* and *m*) that would thus result. **yalan-an-* LOSE (tr.), dissimilated, as we have seen, to *yalal-an-*, fails to be further dissimilated to **yalalam-* because, doubtless, there is a feeling against the obscuring of the phonetic form of the causative suffix *-an-*. The great probability of the existence of a dissimilatory tendency involving the change of *n* to *m* is clinched by the form *do'lk'im-i-* ANUS alongside of *do'lk'in-i-*.

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

yil'inma'εn I keep asking for it (= original **yil'ilma'εn* [*l* inserted as repetition of stem *-l-* in iterative formation from *yilima'εn* I ask him])

le'ba'nxde^ε I am carrying (object not specified) (= original **le'ba'lxde^ε*); cf. identical suffix *-al-x-*, e. g., *gayawa'lxde^ε* I eat.

In *ū^ugwa'nxde^ε* I DRINK (stem *ūgw-*), it hardly seems plausible that *-an-x-* is at all morphologically different from the *-al (-an) -x-* of these words, yet no satisfactory reason can be given here for a change of the *l* to *n*.

§ 22. CATCH DISSIMILATION

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

application in the subordinate form of the third person aorist intransitive:

yā^ada^ε when he went (cf. *ya^ε* he went)
giniⁱ'kⁱda^ε when he went to (cf. *giniⁱ'kⁱ* he went to)
yawaⁱ'ida^ε when he spoke (cf. *yawaⁱ'i^ε* he spoke)
lohoⁱ'ida^ε when he died (cf. *lohoⁱ'i^ε* he died)

The connectives *-hi^ε* IT IS SAID, and *-sⁱ'i^ε* BUT, AND are, in regard to this process, parallel to the *-da^ε* of the preceding forms:

nagaⁱ'ihi^ε he said, it is said (cf. *nagaⁱ'i^ε* he said)
nō^u'sⁱ'i^ε but, so (he went) next door (cf. *nō^u'sⁱ* next door).
a'nīsⁱ'i^ε but not (cf. *a'nī^ε* not)
εⁱ'sⁱ'i^ε but no matter how (often) (cf. *εⁱ'sⁱ'i^ε* even if)
dal^εwiⁱ'sⁱ'i^ε but some (cf. *dal^εwiⁱ'i^ε* sometimes; *-wiⁱ'sⁱ'i^ε* is related to *-wiⁱ'i^ε* as is *yā^ada^ε* to *ya^ε*)

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

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

bēmt'ā^a his stick
se'^εlt'ā^a his writing
wila'ut'ā^a his arrow
ga'lt'ā^a his bow
mo't'ā^a his son-in-law; but
da'garda his head

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

p'ele'xade^ε I go to fight; *p'elxa't'e^ε* I shall go to war
yānt'e^ε I go; *yana't'e^ε* I shall go
nagart'e^ε I say; *na't'e^ε* I shall say

but:

wits'!ismade^ε I keep moving; future *wits'!e'smade^ε* (contrast *wits'!iñt'e^ε* I move and *wisma't'e^ε* I shall move)

Other examples of interchange are:

sgō'ut'sga't'i he cut them to pieces; *sgō'ut'sgidi^εn* I cut them to pieces

ts'!ümūmt'a^εn I boil it, *s'ūmt'an* I shall boil it (stem *s'ū^um-t'a-*);

s'omoda'^εn I boil it, *s'omda'n* I shall boil it (evidently related stem *s'om-d-*)

s'as'inīp'ik' we stand; *e^εbi'k'* we are

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

-t'a, third person possessive

-t'a, exclusive (as in *k'twa'lt'a* young, not old; younger one)

-t'e^ε, first person intransitive aorist (future, -t'e^ε)

-t'ek', first person singular possessive (as in *ga'lt'ek'* my bow)

Such elements show an aspirated consonant whether the preceding accent be rising or falling; e. g., *bēm't'a* like *he'lt'a*. Some of those with primary media are:

-da, third person possessive with preceding preposition (corresponding not to first person -t'ek', -dek', but to -dē)

-a'ld- and -a'md- indirect object

-da^ε, subordinating element

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

dak'wil'i'da on his house

hat'gā'ada in his country

xā^asa'lda between his toes

xā^aha'mda on his back

hawa'nda under him
sgelewa'lda^εn I shout to him
ts!elela'mda^εn I paint it

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

yewe'ida^ε when he returned
naga'-ida^ε when he said
baxa'mda^ε when he came
hele'lda^ε when he sang
xebe'nda^ε when he did it

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

lā^αlēt'a^ε as it became
s'as'inūt'a^ε when he stood

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

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

alwe'k!alt'e^ε I shall shine; *alwe'k!alp'igam* we shall shine; *alwe'-k!alk'wa* to shine
k'e'p'alt'e^ε I shall be absent; *k'e'p'alk'wa* to be absent
wülü'hamt'e^ε I have menstrual courses for the first time
xala'xamt'e^ε I urinate
ī'mhamk'am he was sent off (*ī* is short, though close in quality; contrast *dōmhigam* he was killed)
īmi'hamk'wit' he sent himself

ts'!ümü'ts'!amt'a^εn I always boil it (cf. *s'omodā'^εn* I boil it)
s'a's.ant'e^ε I shall stand; *s'a's.anp'igam* we shall stand; *s'a's.an-*
k'wa to stand
sene'sant'e^ε I whoop; *se'nsant'e^ε* I shall whoop
de'ēwī'igank'widē^ε I spread (it) out for myself
dasga'lit'ā^α (grain) will lie scattered about

With *-t'ā^α* and *-t'e^ε* above contrast the morphologically identical elements *-dā^α* and *-de^ε* of the following examples, in which the same accentual condition prevails but with a consonant other than *l*, *m*, or *n* preceding the affected dental:

t'ge'its'!idā^α (round object) will lie (there)
s'u'k'didā^α (string) will lie curled up
dak't'ek!e'xade^ε I smoke (but future *-xa't'e^ε* because of immediately preceding accent)

§ 24. INORGANIC *h*

Whenever two morphologically distinct vowels come together within the word (verbal prefixes and postposed particles, such as deictic *-a'*, are not considered as integral parts of the word), the first (accented) vowel is separated from the second by an "inorganic" *-h-*:

īt!ana'hi^εn I hold it (aorist stem *t!ana-* + instrumental *-i-*), but future *īt!ani'n* (stem *t!an-*)
dak'-da-hala'hin I shall answer him (future stem *hala-* + instrumental *-i-*), but aorist *dak'-da-hā^αli'^εn* (stem *hā^αl-*)

This inorganic *h* is found also immediately following an *m*, *n*, or *l* preceded by the accent:

wayānha^εn I put him to sleep (cf. same form with change of accent *wa-yā^αna'^εn*)
dā^αεagānhī^εn I used to hear about it (cf. *-agani'^εn* I hear it)
liwīlhaut'e^ε I kept looking (cf. *liwīla'ut'e^ε* I looked)
xa-it'gī'lt'ga'lhī he broke it in two (cf. with identical *-i-* suffix *xā^αsalt'gwi'lt'gwīli* he broke [somebody's arm] by stepping)
ī'mhamk'am he was sent off (also in aorist stem *īmīham-*)
wadōmhik' he killed him with it (stem *dō^um-* + *-i-*)

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

MORPHOLOGY (§§ 25-114)**§ 25. Introductory**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

dō^um-, *dü^üm-*, *t!omom-* (*t!omō^u-*), *t!ümü^ü-* kill
nā^ag-, *ne^e-*, *naga-*, *nege-* say to

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

frang- : *frēg-* break
da- : *ded-* give

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

Grammatical Processes (§§ 26-32)

§ 26. *General Remarks*

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

§ 27. *Prefixation*

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

gwen-^εal-yowo^ε he looked back (*gwen-* in back; *al-* is difficult to define, but can perhaps be best described as indicative of action away from one's self, here with clear implication of sight directed outward; *yowo'^ε* he was, can be used as independent word)

s'in-ī-lats!agi'^εn I touched his nose (*s'in-* nose; *ī-* with hand; *lats!agi'^εn* I touched him, as independent word)

gwent'ge'm black necked (*gwen-* nape, neck; *t'ge'm* black)

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

such prefix that occurs with considerable frequency, *wi-*, first person singular possessive of nouns of relationship:

wiha'm my father

hami't' your father

§ 28. *Suffixation*

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

§ 29. *Infixation*

Infixation, or what superficially appears to be such, is found only in the formation of certain aorist stems and frequentatives. Thus the aorist stem *mats!ag-* (from *masg-* PUT) shows an intrusive or

infixed *-a-* between the *s* (strengthened to *ts!*) and *g* of the stem. Similarly the aorist stem *wits!im-* (from *wism-* MOVE) shows an infixed *i*. Infixation in frequentative forms is illustrated by:

yonoina'εn I always sing (aorist stem *yono-*)

ts!ayaik' he used to shoot them (cf. *ts!aya'k'* he shot them)

On examination it is found that the infix element is invariably a repetition of part of the phonetic material given by the stem. Thus the infix *-a-* and *-i-* of *mats!ag-* and *wits!im-* are repetitions of the *-a-* and *-i-* of the stems *masg-* and *wism-*; the infix *-i-* of *yono-* and *ts!ayaig-* are similarly repetitions of the *y-* of *yono-* and *-y-* of *ts!ayag-*. It seems advisable, therefore, to consider all cases of infixation rather as stem-amplifications related to reduplication. An infix element may itself be augmented by a second infixation. Thus we have:

Verb stem	Aorist stem	Frequentative
<i>hemg-</i> take out	<i>hemeg-</i>	<i>heme^εmg-</i>
<i>ts!a-im-</i> hide	<i>ts!ayam-</i>	<i>ts!aya-im-</i>
<i>masg-</i> put	<i>mats!ag-</i>	<i>mats!ā^asg-</i>
<i>yawī-</i> talk	<i>yawa-i-</i>	<i>yāwa-iy-</i>
<i>ḅaxm-</i> come	<i>ḅaxam-</i>	<i>ḅaxā^axm-</i>

§ 30. Reduplication

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

1. A partial reduplication, consisting of the repetition of the vowel and final consonant of the stem:

aorist *helel-* (from *he^εl-* sing)

aorist *t!omom-* (from *dō^um-* kill)

The reduplicated vowel is lengthened in certain forms, e. g., *hele^εl-*, *t!omō^um-*.

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

aurist *ts'ümümt'a-* (from *s'ümt'a-* boil)

usitative aurist *t'ülülg-* (from verb stem *t'ülg-*, aurist *t'ülüg-* follow trail)

usitative aurist *ginīng-* (from verb stem *ging-*, aurist *ginig-* go to; *ging-*, *ginig-* itself is probably reduplicated from *gin-*)

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

aurist *t'èut!au-* (from *t'èu-* play shinny)

aurist *bot'bad-* (from *bōd-* pull out one's hair)

aurist *bā^a- sal-xo(x)ag* come to a stand (pl.); aurist *sal-xog-ī-* stand (pl.)

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

aurist *yuluyal-* (cf. verb stem *yulyal-* rub)

aurist frequentative *hogohag-* keep running (from *hōg-* run)

aurist frequentative *s'wilis'wal-* tear to pieces; verb stem *s'wil-s'wal-* (from aurist *s'wīls'wal-* tear; verb stem *s'wīl-*)

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

sgot!osgad- cut to pieces (from verb stem *sgōt!-*, aurist *sgōd-* cut)

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

gwidik'^vd- throw (base *gwid-*)

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

frequentative aurist *t!omoamd-*, as though instead of **t!omom!^εam-*; cf. non-aurist *dō^vmdam-* (from aurist *t!omom-* kill)

frequentative aurist *k!eme^εamg-* (from *k!eme-n-* make; verb stem *k!em-n-*)

frequentative aurist *p!ūwū^εaug-*, as though instead of **p!ūwūp!aug-* (from aurist *p!ūwūk!-* name)

It will be noticed that verbs of this type of reduplication all begin with fortis consonants. The glottal catch is best considered a partial representative of the initial fortis; in cases like *k!eme^εamg-* an original

-k!am (i. e., *-εgam*) may be conceived of as undergoing partial metathesis to *-εamg*.

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

§ 31. Vowel-Ablaut

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

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

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

nege'si he said to me 186.22, but *naga'sam* he said to us (178.12)

dūmxina^ε I shall be slain (192.11), but *dōmxbina^ε* you will be slain (178.15)

gel-lūhūigwa'si he avenges me, but *-lohoigwa^εn* I avenge him (148.3)

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

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

wase^εgi'k^w wherewith it is shot (from *sā^ag-* shoot)

me'xak^w having father (from *ma'xa* his father)

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

dal^ε-wa-p'ū't!ik^w mixed with (from *p'ōt!*- mix) 178.5

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

geyewa'laxde^ε I eat (136.15) (cf. *gayawa^εn* I eat it 30.11)

le^εba'n^x he carries 178.6 (stem *lā^ab-*)

dīdā^at'be'^εk't'bcg-ams (= *-amt**x*) they had their hair tied on sides of head (from base *t'bā^ag-*) 142.17; cf. *-t'bā^agamda^εn* I tie his hair (27.1)

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

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

xā^ale'^εsap' belt (cf. *xā^alā^ada^εn* I put it about my waist)
halū^{'uε}xōp' (= *-x^vap'*) shirt (cf. *halō^{'uε}k'* she put on [her dress])

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

lū^{'ε}xwagwadīnīn (= *lūk!-xa-*) I'll trap for him (stem *lōk!^{v-}*)
īlū'p^ragwank' she shall pound with (stone pestle) (cf. *lobo^{'p'}* she pounds them)
k!edeixade^ε I was out picking (cf. *k!adā^εn* I pick them, *k!adāī* he picks them)
ts!eye'mxade^ε I hide things (cf. *ts!ayama'^εn* I hide it)

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

k!īl'gwiⁱp' pick them for yourself! (stem *k!ā^ad-*)
alts!eyēk'wit' he washed himself with it (cf. *alts!ayāp'* he washed his own face)
īlets!ēk'wide^ε I touch myself (cf. *īlats!agi'^εn* I touch him)
k!edēik'wa^εn I pick them for myself (aorist stem *k!adāī-*)
alnū^{'u}k'wa he painted his own face (stem *nō^ugw-*)

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

p!agānk'wit' he bathed himself
t'gwā^axa'nt'gwide^ε I shall tattoo myself (but *lū^{'u}gwant'gwide^ε* I trap deer for myself)
xā^a-sgō^{'u}t'gwide^ε I cut myself
īgaxaga'xgwa^εn I scratch myself

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

7. Other cases undoubtedly occur, but there are not enough of them in the material gathered to allow of the setting up of further groups. All that can be done with those cases that do not fall

within the first six groups is to list them as miscellaneous cases. Such are:

gwel-leĩsde I shall be lame (cf. *gwel-la'is k'emna'n* I shall make him lame)

le^epsi' wing (if derived, as seems probable, from stem *lā^ab-* carry)

tlemeya'nwia^{us} people go along to see her married 178.1 (cf.

t!amayana'^{en} I take her somewheres to get her married [148.5])

Palatal ablaut, it should be noted, does not affect the *-a-* of the second member of reduplicated verbs:

t'gā^alt'ga^l it bounced from her 140.8

t'ge^eltq'a'lsi it bounced from me

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

dak'da-hēle'halxade^e I am accustomed to answer (stem *-hā^al-*)

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

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

gala-b-a'εn I twist it; *p!i'wa-gele-g-i'εn* I drill for fire with it (88.12), *dī'εal-gelegal-a'mdaεn* I tie his hair up into top-knot (172.2)
dā^a-dala-g-a'mdaεn I pierce his ear (22.1); *dā^a-dele-b-i'εn* I stick it through his ear
la'' excrement 122.2; *le'-k'w-an-t'k'* my anus

Variations between *o* (*u*) and *ü* are:

s'omoda'εn I boil it (58.10); *ts'!ümümt'aεn* I boil it (170.17)
ruma' food 54.4; *xümü'k'deε* I am sated (130.18)

An *a—ü* variation is seen in:

hau-hana'εs it stopped (raining) 196.8; *p!ai-hunū'us* he shrank 33.16

Variations between *a* and *i* are:

yawaīt'eε I talk (132.3); *yīwīya'ut'eε* I keep talking, I converse (194.5); *yīwin* talking, (power of) speech 138.4
laba'n I shall carry it (124.5); *libin* news (what is carried about from mouth to mouth[?]) 194.9

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

lohoīt'eε I die 184.18; *leheīt'eε* I drift dead ashore (75.5)
xā^a-huk!u'hak'naεn I breathe; *xā^a-hege'hak'naεn* I breathe (79.2)
t!os'ō'u little 180.20; *al-t!eεs'it'* little-eyed 94.3

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

p!eyēnt'eε I lie 71.5 (future *p!è't'eε* [146.9]); *gwen-p!iyi'nk'waεn*
 I lie on pillow (future *gwen-p!ik'wan*)
t'ge'ya'lx it rolls; *a'l-t'gī'ya'lx* tears rolled from (his) eyes 138.25

§ 32. *Consonant-Ablaut*

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

1. An initial fortis in the aorist as opposed to an initial media in non-aorist forms:

- aorist *k!olol-* (stem *gō^ul-* dig)
 aorist *t!ebe-* (stem *de^eb-* arise)
 aorist *t!ayag-* (stem *dā^ag-* find)

2. A medial fortis followed by a vowel in the aorist as opposed to a medial tenuis followed by a consonant in non-aorist forms:

- aorist *lop!od-* (stem *lop^d-* rain, snow, or hail)
 aorist *lats!ag-* (stem *lasg-* touch)

3. A medial media in the aorist as opposed to a medial fortis in the remaining forms:

- aorist *nū^ud-* (stem *nū^ut!-* drown)
 aorist *wīⁱg-* (stem *wīk!-* spread)

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

A few examples of consonant-ablaut not connected with regular grammatical changes have also been found:

- s'omod-* boil; *ts'!ümü^ümt'a-* boil
hau-gwen-yut!uyad-i- swallow down greedily (like duck or hog)
 126.10; *hau-gwen-yunū^uyan-i-* dit.

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

I. The Verb (§§ 33-83)

§ 33. *Introductory*

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

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

This skeleton will at the same time serve to suggest an order of treatment of the various factors entering into verb morphology.

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

1. *Verbal Prefixes* (§ § 34-38)

§ 34. GENERAL REMARKS

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

HAND(S):

\bar{i} - $p!$ \bar{i}^i - $n\bar{o}^u$ k^i $wa^\epsilon n$ I warm my hands

WITH THE HAND:

\bar{i} - $^\epsilon\bar{o}^u$ din^i $^\epsilon n$ I hunt for it with the hand (= I am feeling around for it)

IN THE HAND:

p^i im - \bar{i} - $h\bar{o}^u$ $gwaqwa^\epsilon n$ I run with salmon in my hand

In the first of these three examples the \bar{i} - as object precedes the incorporated instrumental $p!\bar{i}^i$ FIRE, so that the form means literally I WARM MY HANDS WITH FIRE. In the third form the \bar{i} as local element follows the incorporated object p^i im SALMON. Such a triplicate use is found only in the case of incorporated nouns, particularly such as refer to parts of the body. These incorporated elements are to be kept distinct from certain other elements that are used in an

adverbial sense only, and regularly occupy the second position. The line between these two sets of prefixes is, however, difficult to draw when it comes to considering the place to be assigned to some of the prefixed elements. It is doubtful whether we are fully justified in making absolutely strict distinctions between the various uses of the body-part prefixes; at any rate, it is certainly preferable, from a native point of view, to translate the three examples of *i-* incorporation given above as:

I-hand-fire-warm(-as-regards-myself)

-I-hand-hunt-for-it

I-salmon-hand-run-with

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

Object.	Locative adverb.	Instrument.	Modal.	Verb proper.
<i>bēm</i> - sticks	<i>wa</i> - together	<i>εi</i> - hand		<i>tʰoroʹxiʹn</i> I gather (them) (=I gather sticks together)
	<i>heε</i> -. away	<i>wa</i> - with it		<i>wāagiwʹiʹn</i> she is bought (=she is brought with it) 176.17
<i>gwān</i> - road	<i>ha</i> - in		<i>yaxa</i> - continuously	<i>tʰülūʹlgaʹεn</i> I follow (it) (=I keep following the trail)
<i>dan</i> - rocks	<i>bāa</i> - up	<i>εi</i> - hand		<i>sgelʹeʹsgidiʹn</i> I lifted (them) (=I lifted up the rocks)
	<i>han</i> - across	<i>waya</i> - knife		<i>swilswaʹthi</i> he tore him (=he tore him open with a knife) 73.3
	<i>ḍak</i> ʹ- above	<i>da</i> - mouth	<i>walaʹsina</i> - truly	<i>hāaiʹndaʹ</i> I answering him (=I did answer him)
	<i>xa</i> - between. in two	<i>i</i> - hand	<i>mīʹiεwa</i> - probably	<i>sgīʹbiʹεn</i> I cut him (=I'll probably cut him through) 31.13

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

ba-ideʹεḍidiʹnikʹatʹ did you stretch it out? (= *ba-i*-out + *de*-lip, in front + *di* interrogative particle + *diʹnikʹatʹ* you stretched it)

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

From what has been said it might seem that the connective and modal elements (like *yaxa*, *mīʹiεwa*, and *di*) are more closely associated with the verb form than are the other elements, yet this is only apparently the case. Properly speaking all these modal elements are post-positives that normally attach themselves to the first word of

the sentence, no matter what part the word plays in the sentence. Thus in a form like *me'ε-di-giniga't'* DID YOU COME? (= *me'ε*- HITHER + *di*- interrogative particle + *giniga't'* YOU WENT TO), the modal (interrogative) element *di* regularly stands nearest the verb; but as soon as another word is introduced before the verb, the interrogative particle shoves back a step, and we have a form of sentence like, e. g., *hoida'εs di me'εginiga't'* DID YOU COME AS SINGER, i. e., TO SING? From this it becomes fairly evident that the *di* in the first example is not properly a verbal prefix at all, but merely a post-positive particle depending upon the preceding *me'ε*, in the same way that, in the second example, it depends upon the noun *hoida'εs* SINGER. This inference is clinched by a form like *giniga't'idi* DID YOU GO (SOMEWHERE)? for here the *di* is evidently an enclitic element, not a prefix.

In sharp contradistinction to such movability, the body-part and adverbial prefixes occupy rigidly fixed positions before the verb; they therefore belong to a class quite distinct from the modal particles. These latter are verbal prefixes only in so far as their post-positive tendency may force them to become embedded in the verb-complex, in which case they seem to cut loose the incorporated object, adverbial prefix, and instrumental element from the verb. Diagrammatically the last form tabulated may be represented by *xa-ī- [mī'εwa] -sgī'ibi'n*. We may then dismiss the modal elements from our consideration of verbal prefixes, to return to them when speaking of connective and adverbial particles.

§ 35. INCORPORATED NOUNS

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

1. In the first place it is evident from such examples as *ī-p!īi-nō'u'k'wa'n* I WARM MY HANDS and *han-waya-swilswa'łhi* HE TORE HIM OPEN WITH A KNIFE, that nouns (in these cases *p!īi* FIRE and *waya* KNIFE) occur as incorporated instrumentals, for such elements as *ī-* and *han-* can not possibly be isolated from the verb (*han-* does not occur as independent adverb, but only as prefix; *ī-* is inconceivable as independent noun); furthermore, if, in the forms just quoted, *p!īi* and *waya* be looked upon as absolutely independent nouns, they lose all semblance of grammatical form, there being, indeed, nothing but a definite position in a verb-complex that could here suggest the notion of instrumentality. It is also possible to isolate *waya*, but that would involve considerable readjustment of the verbal structure. To be stamped as an instrumental, *waya* must in that case be followed by a postposition *wa* WITH, so that the sentence then reads, *han-swilswa'łhi wa'ya wa'* (the phrase *wa'ya wa'* may also precede).

If we wish to incorporate the instrumental idea into the verb, and yet keep the noun outside of the verb-structure, we may let the *wa*, which seems properly to denote WITH IT, occupy the place of the incorporated *waya*, which, as an appositive of *wa*, then either precedes or follows the verb-form, *wa'ya han-wa-swilswa'łhi*, or *han-wa-swilswa'łhi waya'* HE-ACROSS-WITH-IT-TORE-HIM (it, i. e.), THE-KNIFE. This construction is identical with the well-known appositional structure of Nahuatl or Chinook (e. g., I-IT-KILLED THE-DOG), except that the incorporated element is here instrumental and not objective in character. The noun and its representative can not both be incorporated in the verb, such a form as *han-waya-wa-swilswa'łhi*, for instance, being quite impossible.

It becomes clear, therefore, that an incorporated instrumental noun like *wa'ya* is quite analogous to an instrumental body-part prefix like *ī-* HAND, with the difference that *wa'ya* may be isolated in that form, while *ī-* must, when isolated, be provided with a possessive pronominal element. The form *han-ī-swilswa'łhi* I TORE HIM OPEN WITH MY HAND is strictly analogous to *han-waya-swilswa'łhi*; the sentence *īūxde'k' han-wa-swilswa'łhi* MY-HAND I-ACROSS-WITH-IT-TORE-HIM corresponds to *wa'ya han-wa-swilswa'łhi*; and, finally, *han-swilswa'łhi īūxde'k' wa'* I-ACROSS-TORE-HIM MY-HAND WITH (-IT) is parallel to *han-swilswa'łhi wa'ya wa'*. Whatever is true morphologically of *ī-* must be true of *wa'ya*; the evident

incorporation of *ī-* involves the incorporation of *wa'ya* in the analogous form.

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

- xā^a-be^e-nō^uk'wa^εn* I warm my back in (really = with) the sun (be^e sun); cf. 188.20
he^ε-xi-le'me^εk'i he destroyed them with water (xi water)
he^ε-p!īⁱ-leme^εk'i he destroyed them with fire (p!īⁱ fire) 98.12
xa-dan-t'gīⁱll'gaⁱlhi he broke it with a rock (dan rock) 24.4
gwen-waya-sgō^ut'i he cut their necks off with his knife (wayā^a waⁱ with his knife, apart from verb-structure) 144.5, 22
xā^a-be^em-k!wō^ut'k!widi^εn I broke it with a stick (be^em stick)
dā^a-he^l-yebebiⁱεⁿ I sing for him, literally, I engage (?) his ears with song (he^l song; al-yebeb-i- show to)
dā^a-t'mū^ugal-lewe^εliwiⁱεⁿ I shake my ears with twisted shells (attached to them) (t'mū^ugal twisted shell) 122.1
dīⁱ-k'al-p'iliⁱp'iliⁱεⁿ I squash them with my penis (k'al penis) 73.14
*de-ye't'-baxamaqwanaⁱk' we came crying, literally, we came having (our) mouths with tears (yetⁱ tears)
yap!a-dauyā^a-ts!ayaⁱk'i he shot people with his shaman's spirit (dauyā^ak'^wda his shaman-spirit, apart from verb-structure); cf. 164.14*

All these, except the last, begin with elements (*xā^a-*, *he^ε-*, *gwen-*, *dā^a-*, *dīⁱ-*, *de*) that can not be isolated from the verb.

Instrumentals, whether nouns or body-part prefixes, can occur only in transitive verbs. The forms *noxwaⁱ yana-wa-lobobiⁱεⁿ* I POUND ACORNS WITH A PESTLE and *noxwaⁱ-ī-lobozagwaⁱεⁿ* I POUND WITH A PESTLE, as compared with *lōbō^oxade^ε* I POUND, will serve to illustrate this. The first sentence reads, when literally translated, PESTLE (noxwaⁱ) I-ACORNS (yanaⁱ) -WITH-IT-POUND. The logical instrument (noxwaⁱ) stands outside the verb-complex and is in apposition with its incorporated instrumental representative (wa-), yanaⁱ being the direct (incorporated) object. The form *lobō^oxade^ε* I POUND is made intransitive by the element -xa- (hence the change in pronominal form from transitive -εⁿ to intransitive -de^ε), and allows of no instrumental modification; a form like *ī-lobō^oxade^ε* could hardly mean I POUND WITH THE HAND; at most it could signify I POUND IN THE HAND. If we wish, however, to express the logical instrument in some manner, and yet neglect to specify the object, we must get around the difficulty by making a secondary transitive of

the intransitive in *-xa-*. This is done by the suffixed element *-gw-* HAVING, ATTENDED BY. The grammatical object of a transitive verb in *-gw-* is never the logical object of the action, but always dependent upon the comitative idea introduced by this suffix. Hence the second form is not provided with a true instrumental (WITH A PESTLE), but takes the logical instrument (*noxwa'*) as a direct object, while the *ī-* is best rendered by IN THE HAND; to translate literally, the form really means I POUND HAVING A PESTLE IN THE HAND.

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

gwalt' *bā^a-ēī-wa-xō'ut'i* wind he-up-hand-with-it-caused-them-to-fall, i. e., he caused them to fall by means of a wind (that he made go up) 168.2

ga *ēī-wa-molo^εma'lhi* that she-hand-with-it-stirs-it-up, i. e., she stirs it up with that (incidentally, of course, she uses her hand too) 170.16

dan (object) *k!ama* (instr.) *p!ai-ēī-wa-sgā'^ak'sgigi^εn* rocks tongs down-hand-with-it-pick-up, i. e., I pick up the rocks with the tongs (and put them) down

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

s'in-ī-lats!aqi'^εn I touched his nose with my hand (*s'in-* nose) but, theoretically at least,

ī-s'in-lats!aqi'^εn I touched his hand with my nose

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

analogous to the nominal elements $-i^t-x-$ and $-u-x-$ of *s'inixda* and *i'uxda* is, e. g., the $-am-$ of *gwā^al-a'm-t'k'* MY ROAD. Just as they drop off when the body-part nouns are incorporated, whether as object or instrument, into the verb, so, also, the $-am-$ of *gwā^al-am-* (= *gwā^an-an-*) drops off when the noun is used without pronominal or prepositional modification. That the $-am-$ has nothing per se to do with the pronominal affix, but is really a noun-forming element added to the stem, is proven by forms like *ha-gwā^ala'm* IN THE ROAD. Thus:

- object *bēm*, in *bēm-wa^ε-i-t!oxo'xi^εn* I gather sticks, is related to
- object *s'in-*, in *s'in-i-lats!agi'^εn* I touch his nose, as
- instrument *bēm*, in *xā^a-be^εm-k!wō^ut'k!widi^εn* I broke it with a stick, to
- instrument *s'in-*, in *s'in-t!ayagi'^εn* I find it with my nose (= I smell it)

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

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

- he^εl-gel-gulugwa'^εn* I desire to sing (literally, I-song-breast-desire; *he^εl* song)
- he^εl-yununa'^εn* I sing a song (106.7)
- wili-wa-i-t!a'nida^ε* you shall keep house (literally, you-house-together-hand-will-hold; *wili* house) 28.13
- abai^ε xuma-k!emna'^εs* cook (literally, in-the-house food-maker; *xuma* food) 54.3
- wai-s'ügü's'üxgwa^εn* I am sleepy (literally, I-sleep-am-confused?-having; *wai* sleep)
- p!ⁱi-da-t!agāi* he built a fire (*p!ⁱi* fire) 96.17
- p!ⁱi-bā^a-yānk'^u* he picked up the fire (literally, he-fire-up-went-having) 96.25
- xi-^εügwa'nk'* he will drink water (*xi* water) 162.17
- s'ix-ligi'k'^u* he brought home venison (*s'ix* venison) 134.4

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

- waiⁱ* sleep, to sleep
he^el- song, to sing
se^el- black paint, to paint

likewise where the object gives special color to the verb, determining the concrete significance of the form, as in *xuma-kⁱemna^es* and *wili-wa-ⁱt!ⁱa'nida^e*.

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

- bā^a-be^e-k!ⁱyīⁱkⁱda^e* forenoon (literally, up-sun-going, or when-it-goes) (*bā^a-* is never used as independent adverb, so that *be^e-sun* must here be considered part of the verb-complex)
nō^u-be^e-k!ⁱyīⁱkⁱda^e afternoon (literally, down-river [i. e., west]-sun-going)
mot'-wō^k' as son-in-law he visits wife's parents (= *mot'*- son-in-law + *wō^k'*, probably identical with *wō^k'* he arrived) 17.13, in which *mot'*- must be considered an integral part of the verb, because unprovided with pronominal affix (cf. *mo'tⁱā^a* his son-in-law), and, further, because the whole form may be accompanied by a non-incorporated subject (e. g., *bo'mxi mot'wō^k'* Otter visited his wife's parents, literally, something like: Otter son-in-law-arrived)

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

- dā^a-ts!ⁱleⁱ-sgalawⁱ^en* I looked at them out of the corners of my eyes (literally, I-alongside-eye-looked-at-them)²; cf. *dā^a-ts!ⁱleⁱdē* alongside my eyes

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

² It may be, however, that this form is to be interpreted as I-ASIDE- (WITH-THE-) EYE-LOOKED-AT-THEM, *tsⁱleⁱ*- being in that case an incorporated instrumental noun.

ha-t'gā^a-gwidī'k'^w he threw it into the open (literally, he-in-earth-threw-it); cf. *ha-t'gāū* in the earth

ba-i-dak'-wili-t!ā^adī'ēⁿ I ran out of the house (*ba-i-* out, adverbial prefix + *dak'*- on top of + *wili* house) 24.13; cf. *dak'-wili* on top of the house

ha-yau-t'ge'nets!aⁿ I put it about my waist (literally, I-in [under?]-rib-put-it-about); cf. *ha-yawadē* inside my ribs

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

ha-p!īⁱ-ts!ū'lūk!iⁿ I set it on fire (*p!īⁱ* with fire) 73.9

Here *ha-p!īⁱ-* cannot be rendered IN THE FIRE.

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

s'omlohoya'ldaⁿ I doctor him as *s'omloho'lxa^s*

doubtless contains the incorporated noun *s'oṃ* MOUNTAIN; but the implied allusion is not at all evident, except in so far as the protecting spirits of the *s'omloho'lxa^s* are largely mountain-spirits. The verb itself is probably a derivative of the verb-stem *loho-* DIE (aorist *lohoi-*).

§ 36. BODY-PART PREFIXES

Having disposed of the modal prefixes, which on analysis turned out to be verbal prefixes only in appearance, and of incorporated nouns, which one would hardly be inclined to term prefixes in the narrower sense of the term, there remain for our consideration two important sets of genuine prefixes, body-part elements and adverbial, chiefly local, prefixes. The former will be taken up first. By "body-part prefix" is not meant any body-part noun in its incorporated form (many of these, such as *ts!lei-* EYE, *t!iba-* PANCREAS, not differing morphologically from ordinary incorporated nouns), but only certain etymologically important monosyllabic elements that are used to indicate in a more general way what body-part is concerned in a particular action, and which may be regarded as in some degree verbal classifiers. With the exception of *ī-* HAND and *s'in-* NOSE, classed with the rest

because of their very extended use, they differ fundamentally from other body-part nouns in that they have, besides their literal, also a more formal, local value; in this capacity they are regularly employed, also, as the first element of noun and pronoun local phrases, and, some of them, as the second element of local postpositions. In the following list the second column gives the literal body-part significance; the third, the generalized local meaning; the fourth, the corresponding independent noun (in a few cases, it will be observed, there is no such corresponding noun); and the fifth column, an example of a local phrase:

Prefix.	Body.	Local.	Noun.	Phrase.
<i>dak'</i>	head	over, above	<i>da'g-ax-dek'</i> my head	<i>dak'-wiŭ</i> over the house
{ <i>dā-, dē-</i> <i>dē-</i>	mouth, lips	in front	<i>dēx-dek'</i>	<i>dēl' gwa</i> in front of himself
<i>dāa-</i>	ear	alongside	<i>dāa-n-x-dek'</i>	<i>dāa-gela'm</i> along the river
<i>s'in-</i>	nose		<i>s'in-i-x-dek'</i>	
<i>gwen-</i>	neck, nape	in back, behind	[<i>bo'k' dan-x-dek'</i>]	<i>gwen-l'gāū</i> on east side of the land
<i>i-</i>	hand		<i>i-ū-x-dek'</i>	
<i>xāa-</i>	back, waist	between, in two	<i>xāa-ha'm-t'k'</i>	<i>xāa-gweldē</i> between my legs
<i>dīi-</i>	back	on top of	—	<i>dīi-iūdē</i> over my hand
<i>gcl-</i>	breast	facing	<i>gēl-x-dek'</i> , [<i>bilg-an-x-dek'</i>]	<i>geldē</i> facing, in front of me
<i>dīs-</i>	anus	in rear	[<i>dēlg-a'n-t'k'</i>]	<i>dīs-t'gāū</i> on west side of the land
<i>ha-</i>	woman's private parts	in	<i>haū-x-dek'</i>	<i>ha-riya'</i> in the water
<i>gwel-</i>	leg	under	<i>gwel-x-dek'</i>	<i>gwel-ziya'</i> under water
<i>la-</i>	belly		? <i>lāa-</i> excrement	<i>La-t'gāū</i> Uplands (= ? front of the country)
<i>sal-</i>	foot	down, below	<i>sal-x-dek'</i>	
<i>al-</i>	eye, face	to. at	[<i>ts'! elē-t'k'</i> my eye] [<i>li'ugw-ax-dek'</i> my face]	<i>al-s' ū ma'l</i> to the mountain
<i>dīi'al-</i>	forehead (= above eye)		<i>dīi'a'l-t'k'</i>	<i>dīi'a'lā</i> at his forehead
<i>gwenha-u-</i>	nape (= neck under)		<i>gwenha-u-x-dek'</i>	<i>gwenha-u-dē</i> at my nape

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

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

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

al'^ε*yowo'*^ε he-eye-is, i. e., he looks 62.6

dā'^α*yowo'*^ε he-ear-is, i. e., he listens, pays attention 96.9

bā'^α*gel'*^ε*yowo'*^ε he-up-breast-is, i. e., he lies belly up 140.5

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

aldēmxiḡam we shall assemble (186.7)

dak'dēmxiā'^{uεt'} people (indef.) will assemble (136.11)

Where two body-part prefixes occur in a verb form, they may either both retain their original concrete significance, the first prefix being generally construed as object, the second as instrument (e. g., *s'al'*^ε*ī-lats!agi'*^{εn} I-FOOT-HAND-TOUCH-HIM, i. e., I TOUCH HIS FOOT WITH MY HAND); or the first prefix may have its secondary local significance, while the second is instrumental in force (e. g., *de'*^ε*ī-wī'igi'*^{εn} I-FRONT-HAND-SPREAD-IT, i. e., I SPREAD IT OUT); or both prefixes may have secondary local or indefinite significance (e. g., *gwel'*^ε*ge'l'*^ε*yowo'*^ε HE-LEG-BREAST-IS, i. e., HE FACES AWAY FROM HIM); rarely do we find that two body-part prefixes are concrete in significance and absolutely coordinated at the same time (see footnote to 12 below).

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

1. *dak'*-

(a) HEAD, WITH HEAD, IN HEAD:

dak'ts!ayāp'de^ε I washed my head (literally, I washed in my head)

dak't'bā'agamt' he tied together (their head hair) 27.1

dak'ilats!agi'^εn I touched top of his head

dak'hagāit'e^ε I felt thrill in my head (as when sudden cold tremor goes through one)

aldak'sā^amsa'm he bumped (with) his head against it 79.7

dak'k'iwik'auk'wa^εn I brandish it over my head

(b) ON TOP OF, ABOVE:

dak't'gū'uba^εn I put rounded scooped-out object (like hat or canoe) on top (of head) (61.9)

dak't'ek!e'xade^ε I smoke (literally, I raise [sc., tobacco-smoke] over [one's head]) (96.23)

dak'imimxgwat' it (i. e., tree) falls on you (108.12)

dak'wā^aga'^εn I finish it (literally, I bring it on top) (110.17)

wili dak'yā^angwa'^εn I pass house (?literally, I go with house above me) (150.8)

dak'dahā^ali'^εn I answer him (61.6; 180.18)

dak't!emēzik' we assembled together (43.9; 136.11)

dak'hene^εda'^εn I wait for him

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

2. *da-*, *de-*

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

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

(a¹) *da-*, (*de-*) MOUTH, IN MOUTH, WITH MOUTH, LIPS, TEETH, TONGUE:

- {*da*^ε*ogōhī* he gave him to eat (lit., he mouth-gave him) (186.25)
 {*de*^ε*ügü's'i* he gave me to eat 186.2
dat!aya'^{iε} he went to get something to eat 75.9
dada'k'dā'k' sharpen your teeth! 126.18; 128.23
dats!ala'ts!ili^{εn} I chew it
aldat!ele't!ili^{εn} I lick it
dalats!agi'^{εn} I taste it (literally, I mouth-touch it)
aldap'ōp'iwī^{εn} I blow at it (194.1)
dadama'εx he was out of wind 26.5
dasmayama'εn I smile
hada^ε*yowo'uda*^ε (creek) going into (river) (literally, in-mouth-being)
 {*dalō*^u*lε* he lied (literally, he mouth-played) 110.23; 156.14
 {*delūnhixi* he lied to me
dayuwo'εs he suddenly stopped (singing, talking) (literally, he mouth-started, as in fright) 138.23
 {*dak'dahā*^α*li'εn* I answer him (180.18)
 {*dak'dehē*^l*si* he answers me

(a²):

- he*^ε*dele'lek!i*^{εn} I finished (story, talking) 50.4
delūmü'sgade^ε I tell truth (184.3)
dexebena't' you said it (literally, you mouth-did it) 14.10; 15.6
aldets'!ü'lük!i^{εn} I suck it
dedets'!ü'lük!i^{εn} I kiss her (first *de-* as object, her lips; second *de-* as instrument, with my lips)
dehememī'^{εn} I taste it (cf. *ī-hemem-* wrestle)
ba-idehenena't' you are through eating (literally, you are out-mouth-done) (136.16)
delīgīa'lda^{εn} I fetch it for him to eat (130.9)
dehe'yek!i^{εn} I left food over

da- can not stand before *ī-* HAND, because of the palatal timbre of the latter. Examples of *de*^ε*ī-*:

- de*^ε*īda'mk!ink'* it will get choked
de^ε*īlats!agi'*^{εn} I touched his mouth (*de-* = *da-* as object; *ī-* as instrument. Contrast above *da-lats!agi'*^{εn} I tasted it, with *da-* as instrument)

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

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

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

de^εik!ala'k!ilin (house) was scratched on door 154.1, 2, 3

de^εise'ek' he opened door of house (cf. *alse'ek'* he bowed to
him) 63.12

de^εip'owo'ek' he bent it

bā^ade^εyevveya'k'^w he started traveling again (literally, he
up-ahead-went-again-with it) 22.4; 24.9; 25.6

dewiliwa'lsi she is fighting me 27.3

de^εgwidik'^w he stuck (threw) it into (fire) 27.8

dek'iwik'auk'wa^εn I brandish it before my face (172.12)

gasa'lihi de'hits!ā^aga'εs fast stepper (literally, quickly ahead-
stepper)

ba-ide^εdi'nixia^ε they marched by in regular order (literally,
they out-ahead-stretched) 144.14

de^εiwī'igi^εn I spread it out (120.1)

t'gā^a de'hi k!iya'k'i^ε if the world goes on (literally, world
ahead-goes-if) 146.4

damats!a'k' he put it point foremost (into their eyes) 27.8

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

dat!agā^εn I build a fire (96.17)

ṣaldatc!u'lu^{wε}k' he caught fire 98.3

ḷaldetc!ü'lu^{wε}xi I caught fire

degülü'k!alx it glows (142.1); 188.15

aldat'guyū'^{iε}si (fire) blisters my face (25.11)

de^εt'a'mak!i^εn I put out the fire

dat'ama'εx the fire goes out

dat!abaga'εn I finish it (176.6)

dasgayana'εn I lie down

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

3. *dā^a-*

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

dā^ats!ayāp' he washed his ear

dā^εits'ama'k' he squeezed his ears

dā^εilats!agi'εn I touched his ear, cheek

dā^{aε}aganī'εn I heard it (55.3; 108.16)

dā^adā^agi'εn I am able to hear it (literally, I can ear-find it)
(100.12)

- dā^sle'lagwa'^εn* I listen to him (55.1; 96.2; 146.5)
dā^sts'!emāde^ε I hear big noise 90.21
anī^ε ge dā'^εyowo^ε he did not listen to it (literally, he not there ear-was) 96.9
dā^ssgēk'!eiha^εn I kept listening (102.3)
dā^syehēi he went where he heard (noise of people singing or gambling) 106.10.
dā^sdele'p'i he stuck it across his ear
dā^sdalaga'mt' he made holes in his ears
dī'dā^st'be'^εk't'baqams they had their hair tied on sides of head
 (*dī'dā^s*- probably as incorporated phrase, over ears) 142.17
dā^sibo't'bidī^εn I pull out his hair (from side of head) (194.7)

(b) ALONG, ON SIDE:

wī'laū dā^swat'bā'^agamdina^ε arrows shall be tied along (their length) with it (i. e., sinew) 28.1

4. *s'in-* NOSE, IN NOSE, WITH NOSE:

- s'in^εiḡile'^εsgwa* he scratched his own nose 14.11; 15.7
s'int'!ayagi'^εn I smell it (literally, I nose-find it) (160.20)
s'indalaga'mt' he made holes in septum (cf. under *dā^s*-) 22.1
s'inlō'^uk'i he stuck it into nose
s'inde'le'p'gwa he stuck it up into his own nose
s'ingeya'n he turned away his nose
s'inyuwo'^εs he dodged with his nose (as when fly lights; cf. under *da-*)
s'int'ūwūk'de^ε I feel warm in my nose
s'inxi'nī'xanp'de^ε I sniff
s'inwīlī'k'ap'de^ε I blow my nose
als'inlō'^uxa^εn they meet each other (24.12)

5. *gwen-*

(a) NECK:

- gwensqō'^uda^εn* I cut his neck (144.2, 3, 5, 22)
gwents'!ayaga'^εn I washed his neck
ha-ugwenyunu'^εyini^εn I swallow it greedily (cf. 126.10)
gwenlō'^uk'i he stuck it in his throat (cf. under *s'in-*) 25.4
gwen^εilats'!aqi'^εn I touched back of his neck
gwenwayanagānhi he swung his knife over their necks 144.2

(b) BACK, BEHIND:

- gwe'n^εalyowo^ε* he looked back
gwenyeweit'e^ε I went back (152.13; 188.19)
gwe'nliwila^{uε} he looks back (on his tracks) 59.14; 94.9
gwenheqwā'^agwanhi he related it to him 17.11

In *gwenā-ia'^εs* GOOD SINGER, the part played by the prefix is not clear.

6. \bar{i} - HAND, IN HAND, WITH HAND

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

- its!ayāp'* he washed his hand
ip!ī'nō'u'k'wa^εn I warm my hands
wila'u^εihoyodagwa'^εn I dance with arrow in hand
nāx ihelē'lagwa'^εn I sing with pipe in hand
īgī'i'na he took it 15.1; 31.8; 44.8; 47.9
ik'wā'a'gwi'^εn I woke him up 16.4
igaxagixi'^εn I scratch him
igis'igis'i'^εn I tickle him
ihēgwe'hak'^wna^εn I am working
xa^εits'!iwi't' he split it open 26.6
iheme'm he wrestled with him 26.11; 27.10,11
iyonō'u^εk' he pulled it
iguyu'^εk' she pushed her 55.14
s'elēk'^w ilū'pxagwank' she shall pound with acorn pestle 55.9
he^εileme'^εk' he killed them off 55.1; 144.6.
it!a'ut!iwi'^εn I caught hold of her (29.12; 140.15)
it'wī'yīli'^εn I make it whirl up
al^εiyulu'yīli'^εn I rub it
it'gwanye'^εgit' you enslaved her 16.14

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

- wī^εit'ge'yē^εxi* they are round about me (48.5)
aliwulū'^{uε}xbi he ran away from you

7. *xā^a-*, (*xa-*)

(a) BACK, WAIST:

- xā^ats!ayāp'* he washed his back
p!īⁱ xā^adat'guyū'^{iε}sgwa his back got blistered 25.11
xā^εilats!agi'^εn I touched his back
xā^ap!ī'nō'u'k'wa he warmed his back 188.20
xā^alā'^ada^εn I put (belt) about my waist

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

- xā^ap!a-its'!iudi'n* I shall split it by throwing (stone) down on it (140.7)
xā^awisā^a go-between (in settling feuds) 178.11, 13, 18
xā^asgo'^uda^εn I cut, saw it (21.2, 4)
xa^εisgī'ⁱp'sgibik'^w (bodies) cut through 21.2

- xā^adant'gī'lt'ga'łhi* he broke it with rock 24.4
xā^{at}'be'^εk't'bagams it is all tied together 27.13
xā^asalt'gwē'lt'gwili he broke it by stepping on it 31.4, 5
xā^{be}'mk!ō'k'k'idī^εn I broke it with stick

In *xahēge'hak'na^εn* I BREATHE (79.2) and *xahuk!u'hak'na^εn* I BREATHE, the *xa-* may refer to the heaving motion up from the waist.

8. *dīⁱ-*

(a) BACK:

The local uses of *xā^a-* and *dīⁱ-* (IN MIDDLE, BETWEEN, and ABOVE, respectively) would indicate that, in their more literal signification, they refer respectively to the LOWER BACK about the waist and the UPPER BACK, though no direct information was obtained of the distinction.

- dīⁱts!ayāp'* he washed himself in back of body
dīⁱhāx his back is burning
dīⁱt'bō^uk!a'łxde^ε I have warts on my back 102.20
dīⁱdū^ugwa'nk' she will wear it (i. e., skirt) 55.9

(b) ABOVE, ON TOP:

- dīⁱhe'liya* sleeping on board platform 13.2
dīdā^{at}'bā'^agamt'gwide^ε I tie my hair on sides of my head (see under *dā^a-*) (140.11; 142.17)
dīⁱεalgelegala'mda^εn I tie his hair up into top-knot (172.2)
dī^εuyu'ts!amda^εn I fool him (aorist *uyuts!-* laugh)
dīⁱhinxō'^ugi^εn I scare him
dīⁱmās (earth) is lit up (78.1)
dīⁱhili'gwa'^εn I am glad 22.2

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

- dīⁱp'ili'p'ili^εn* I squash (yellow-jackets) (74.3); contrast
gel-bēm-p'ili'p'ili^εn I whip him on his breast (literally, I-breast-stick-whip-him) (cf. 76.1, 2, 3)
dīⁱt'iyi'si'^εn I mash them
ba-idīgwiwibī'ⁱk'wap' it popped all around 27.14
dīⁱt'gumu't'gimā^εn I squeezed and cracked many insects (such as fleas)

In many cases, as in some of the forms given above, the primary signification of *dīⁱ-* is greatly obscured. It is not at all certain but that we are at times (as in *dīⁱεuyu'ts!amda^εn*) dealing really with the phonetically similar prefix *dīⁱ-* REAR.

9. *gel-*

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

gelts!ayāp' he washed his breast

gel^εīlats!agi'^εn I touched his breast

bā^age'l^εyo lie down with belly up! (lit., up-belly-be!) 140.4

gelgulugwa'^εn I desire, want it 32.5, 6, 7

gelhewe'hau he thought 44.11; 124.3; 142.20

gellohoigwa'^εn I avenge him (apparently = I breast-die-with him) (146.8; 148.3)

gelt!aya'k' they thought of it (see under *s'in-* and *dā^a*) 152.10

gelyalāxaldi^εn I forgot him (lit., I breast-lost him) (77.10)

gelts!aya'mxamk' she hid (certain facts) from us 158.7

geldulu'k'^εde^ε I am getting lazy

gelheye'^εx he is stingy (literally, he breast-leaves-remaining = keeps surplus to himself) 196.8

(b) FACING:

gelt!ana'hi she pushed him (?literally, she held him [away] facing her)¹ (25.10)

gelwayān he slept with her (literally, he caused her to sleep facing him) 26.4; (108.3; 190.2)

wa't'gwan gel^εyowo'^ε they faced each other (literally, to each other they breast-were) 26.15

gelk!iyi'^εk' he turned around so as to face him 170.2

10. *dī^ε-*

(a) ANUS:

dī^εts!ayāp' he washed his anus

ba-idi^εt'gats!a't'gisi^εn I stick out my anus (164.19; 166.1)

dī^εhāx his anus is burning 94.13

dī^εhaqāūt'^ε I feel ticklish in my anus (as though expecting to be kicked) (cf. under *dak'*-) 166.1

dī^εxō'u^s (food) is spilling out from his anus, (acorns) spill out from hopper 94.2, 4, 5

(b) IN REAR, BEHIND:

dī^εsalyomo'hin I shall catch up with him in running

be^ε dī^εk!iyi'^εk' afternoon came (lit., sun went in rear) (124.15)

da^εo'l dī^εhiwiliūt'^ε I ran close behind

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

abaidī^εyowō'u^{da}^ε coming into house to fight (*abai-* into house; *yowō'u^{da}^ε* being) 24.14

¹ Though perhaps better SHE HELD HIM WITH HER BREAST, taking *gel-* as instrument.

p!a-idi^hhana'εs it stopped (wind, rain, snow, hail) 152.16

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

dī^εsgot!ōlha bēm he was always cutting down trees 108.8

dī^εk!olola'n (tree) was dug under 48.5

dī^εisgūyū'uk!in (tree) was made to fall by being dug under 48.7, 8, 12

p!a-idi^lō'ugwaⁿ I make (stick, pestle) stand up (by placing it on its butt end) (116.18; 176.1, 2)

p!a-idi^εsgimi'sgam they set (house posts) down into ground

11. *ha-*

(a) WOMAN'S PRIVATE PARTS:

hats!ayāp' she washed her private parts

ha^εilats!agi'ⁿ he touched her private parts

ha^εiwesga'hak'^w she spread apart her legs 26.4

(b) IN:

(dānxdagwa) *hats!ayāk'* he washed inside (of his ear)

(dēxda) *halō'uk'i* he stuck it into (his mouth)

(s'inīxda) *hadele'p'i* he stuck it up into (his nose)

halohōn he caught them in trap (literally, he caused them to die in) (100.8)

(gwān) *hat!ülügwa'ⁿ* I follow in (trail) (96.8,9)

halō'uk' she put on (her dress), they put on (their skins, garments) 160.6

ha^εihü'lū^hhal they skinned them 160.5

haya-ut'ge'nets!aⁿ I put on (my vest)

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

12. *gwel-*

(a) LEG, IN LEG, WITH LEG:

gwelts!ayāp' he washed his legs

gwelle'ye^εsde^ε I am lame

gwelō'^{uε}k'^w put on (your leggings)!

gwel^εiwi'ⁿ I beat him in running (lit., I-leg-left-him) (184.14)

*gwelsalt!eyēsnaⁿ*¹ I have no fat in my legs and feet 102.22

(b) UNDER, AWAY FROM VIEW:

gwelmats!a'k' they put (food) away (sc., under platforms) 124.22; (132.8)

gwelge'l^εyowō^uda^ε he having his back to him (literally, facing him away from view) 122.7

¹ This form is an excellent example of the rather uncommon coordinate use of two body-part prefixes (*gwel-* LEG and *salt-* FOOT).

13. *la-*

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

lats!ayãp' he washed himself in front of body

- (b) BURST, RIP OPEN:

lat'bã'ax it burst 24.17

la'it'bã'ak!it'ba^ε you (pl.) shall rip them open (like game
after roasting) 118.5

lasalt'bã'agi^{εn} I burst it with my feet (140.22)

la^εvayat'bã'agi^{εn} I rip it open with knife (*vaya* knife, as
incorporated instrument)

14. *sal-*

- (a) FOOT, WITH FOOT:

sallats!agi^{εn} I stepped on it (instrument *sal-*: I foot-touched
it) (196.18)

sal^εilats!agi^{εn} I touched his foot (object *sal-*; instrument *ī-*)

salts!ayãp' he washed his feet

salxugi they are standing 63.2

he^εsalt'gãn kick him off! (24.17)

alsalt'bã'ak' he kicked him 86.16,17,18

gelbam salgwi't'gwat' kick it way up!

salyuwo'^{εs} he suddenly lifted up his foot (as when frightened)

(cf. under *da-* and *s'in-*)

salp!i'nõ'uk'wa^{εn} I warmed my feet

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

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

al-his-gulugwa'^{εn} I am desirous of something

where *his* TRYING can not occupy an initial position

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

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

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

wā^ada lō^ugwa^εn to-him I-thrust-it, where *wā^ada* definitely expresses a local pronominal idea TO, AT HIM.

Compare:

allō^ugwi^εn I stretched it out to him

where the exact local definition of the action is not so clearly expressed; the direct object of the verb being here not the object thrust, but the person aimed at, while the indirectness of the action is interpreted by means of *al-* as an adverbial or local modification of the verbal content. The change of vowel in the ending, *a—i*, is closely connected, as we shall later see, with this change of "face" in the verb. The first form may be literally translated as TO-HIM I-IT-THRUST; the second, as I-HIM-TO-THRUST (IT). Similarly, in *al^εlats!^uagi^εn* I TOUCHED HIS BODY, the *al-* is probably best considered as a general directive prefix replacing the more special prefixes (such as *sal-*, *s'in-*, and so on) that indicate the particular part of the body affected, or, as one might put it, the exact limit of motion. The use of *al-* in local phrases shows clearly its general local significance: *als^εō^uma^l* AT, TO THE MOUNTAIN; *ga^εa^l* TO THAT, as postposition equivalent to TO, FOR, FROM.

(a) FACE, EYE:

al^εō^udini^εn I look around for him (cf. *ō^uda^εn* I hunt for him)
(92.27)

alxⁱgi^εn I see, look at him (*-xīⁱg-* never occurs alone) 186.7;
188.11.

algayaⁿ he turned his face

alyēbēbi^εn I showed it to him (77.8)

alyowōt^εe^ε I looked (cf. *yowōt^εe^ε* I was) (64.3)

alts!^uayaga^εn I washed his face (64.5)

mānx alnū^uk^εwa he painted his (own) face

- alt!aya'k'* he found, discovered it (literally, he eye-found it;
 cf. under *s'in-*, *dā^a-*, and *gel-*) 47.10; 92.27; 194.13
alsgalā'liwi'^{en} I looked at them (moving head slightly to
 side)
alt'bō^{uk}!a'lxde^ε I have pimples on my face (cf. 102.20)
alt'wap!a't'wap'na^{en} I blink with my eyes 102.20
alwe'k!ala^{en} I shine
xā^εa'lt!anahi they watched it (literally, they-between-eye-
 held it; *xā-εal* as incorporated local phrase[?]) 136.8

(b) TO, AT:

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

- alp'ōūp'auhi* he blew on it 15.1
alhūyūxde^ε I go hunting (42.1; 58.14; 70.2; 126.21)
algesegasa'lt'e^ε I was washing
alheme'k' they met him 24.11
al^εixlep!e'xlap' he mashed it up into dough-like mass 94.11
al^εits'!ō'udi^{en} I touch, reach it
alse'^εgi^{en} I bowed to him (172.10)

16. *dī^εal-* FOREHEAD:

- dī^εalts!ayāp'* he washed his forehead
dī^εalgelegala'ms he tied his hair up into top-knot 172.2
dī^εalk'ā'a'p'gwa he put (dust) on his forehead 136.28

17. *gwenha-u-* NAPE:

- gwenha'-uts!ayaga^{en}* I shoot off nape of neck
gwenha-ut'be'^εgams he has his hair tied in back of his head

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

- dā-*, *dē-* activity in reference to fire (burn, set on fire, glow)
xā^a- rend in two (cut, split, break)
dīⁱ- crushing activity (mash, squeeze)
dī^ε- fell, erect (long object)
ha- dress, undress

la- burst, rip open
al- look, see

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

§ 37. LOCAL PREFIXES

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

- (1) Such as are used also in the formation of noun and pronoun local phrases or of postpositions, these being in that regard closely allied to the body-part prefixes in their more general local use; and
- (2) Such as are employed strictly as verbal prefixes, and are incapable of entering into combination with denominating elements. The following table gives all the common prefixes of both groups, examples of noun or pronoun local phrases being added in the last column:

Prefix.	Translation.	Local phrase.
<i>han-</i>	across, through	<i>hanwarga'n</i> across the creek
<i>ha-u-</i>	under, down	<i>hawandē</i> under me
<i>he^{es}-</i>	away, off	<i>he^{es}:s-ōuma'l</i> beyond the mountain
<i>dal-</i>	away into brush, among, between	<i>dan gada'l</i> among rocks
<i>hā^{es}ya-</i>	on both sides	<i>hā^{es}gadē</i> on both sides of, around me
<i>hā^{as}-</i>	yonder, far off	
<i>me^{es}-</i>	hither	
<i>wī-</i>	around	
<i>hawī-</i>	in front, still	
<i>wa-</i>	together	
<i>bā^{as}-</i>	up	
<i>ba-i-</i>	out, out of house	
<i>p'a-i-</i>	down	
<i>aba-i-</i>	in house, into house	
<i>bam-</i>	up into air	
<i>zam-</i>	in river	

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

1. **han-** THROUGH, ACROSS:

- hanyada't'e^ε* I swim across
hangwidi'k'w he threw it across 120.22
han^εwa^εalxī'i'k' he looked through it
hanyewe'ie^ε he went back across 178.16
gwān-hansgō'u^{sde^ε} I lie stretched across the trail (literally, I-road-across-cut) (148.8)

2. **ha-u-** UNDER, DOWN:

- ha-ugwenyut!u'yidi^εn* I swallow it down greedily, making grunting noise (126.10)
ha-usāk'w he paddled him down river (*bā^a*- up river)
ha-uyowo't'e^ε I sweat (literally, I-under-am)
ei p!a-ihā'-ut'gū^{px} canoe upset 60.8
ha-uhana'εs it stopped (raining) 196.8

3. **he^{εε}**- OFF, AWAY:

- he^εileme'εk'* he killed them off 14.13; 110.21; 144.6
he^{εε}sgō^uda^εn I cut it off (44.4); 72.10; (92.14,16)
he^{εε}gwidī'k'w he threw it away
he^{εε}iūk'wa he went away from him (23.12; 146.18)
he^{εε}salt'gūnt'gini^εn I kick him off (24.17)

he^εihū'lup!ⁱεⁿ I beat off bark (with stick)
 he^εik'ap!^ak'ibi^εn I chipped them off (92.3)
 he^εwā^aga'^εn I buy it (literally, I carry it off) (176.17)
 he^εt'guyū'ⁱε^s it is blistered

4. **dal-** INTO BRUSH, AMONG:

dalyewe'ⁱε he ran off into brush 14.6; 110.10
 dalgwidi'k'^w he threw it into brush
 dalp'ō'^udi^εn I mix it with it (178.5)
 dalzabili'^uε he jumped between them 106.20

5. **hā^εya-** ON BOTH SIDES:

hā^εyagini'ⁱεk' they passed each other
 hā^εyawat!^emēxia^uε they assemble coming from both sides 144.23

6. **hā^aε** FAR OFF:

hā'^aεyeweⁱε they returned going far off 146.22; (47.4; 188.1)
 hā^εxdā'^axdagwa^εn I threw something slippery way off

This prefix is evidently identical with the demonstrative stem **hā^aε** seen, e. g., in **hā'^εga** THAT ONE YONDER.

7. **me^ε-** HITHER:

me^εgini'^εk' he came here 146.24 (*ge gini'^εk'* he went there 77.7)
 ha'nme^εgini'^εk' they come from across (note two local prefixes;
hangini'^εk' they go across)
 me^εyèū come back! (*yèū* return!) (23.11,12,13,14; 96.5); 59.5
 me^εhiwili'^uε he came running this way

Not infrequently **me^ε-** conveys the fuller idea of COME TO ———, as in:

me^εbēp'xip' come (pl.) and chop for me! 90.16

8. **wī-** AROUND:

wī^εt'ge'yēxi they are surrounding me (48.13; 190.14)
 wī^εt'ge'yē^εk'i they put it round about 176.14

9. **hawī-** IN FRONT, STILL:

{ hawiyānt'^e I go in front
 { hawiyana'^εs front dancer
 hawibaxa'^εm still they come, they keep coming 146.1
 bō^u hawidegü'lk!^alxdā^a after a while it will blaze up (*bō^u* = now)

10. **wa-** TOGETHER:

wak!^oyōxinik' we go together
 wa^εits'!^om^εk' squeeze (your legs) together! (26.5)
 bā^awawilik'^w he traveled up along (river) (literally, he went up
 having it together with him) 21.14
 wayānk'^w he followed him (literally, he went having him together
 with him) 23.11

wat!emēxia^{us} they are assembling together (110.3); 144.23
wa^εit!oxo'xi he gathered them together 112.6
wat!ilik'ni she gave them one each 130.4
wā^ahimit' he talked to him 59.16; 63.10
da'gazdek' wa^εalt'geye't'giyi^{εn} I tied it about my head (literally,
 my-head I-together-to-surround-it)
p!ā^as wak!e^εwa'lxgwa snow is whirling around

Sometimes *wa-* seems to indicate simultaneity of activity, as in:

walā^ala'uhi she kept twining basket (while talking) 61.5

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

11. *bā^a-* UP (55.16; 59.10; 60.11; 63.6,12):

bā^adini'^{εx} (clouds) were spread out in long strips (literally, they stretched up) 13.3
bā^at!ebe't'e^ε I get up 186.14; (196.1)
bā^awadawayak'^w he flies up with it
bā^ayānk'^w he picked it up 15.9; 24.3; 59.15
k!iyi'ix bā^awōk' smoke comes out (literally, up-arrives) 29.3
(dānxda) bā^εalgwili's he turned up (his ear)
(dak'wili) bā^agini'^{εk'} he went up (on top of house) 30.6
bā^as-ā'^{εs} stand up!
bā^ayewe'^{ie} he got better (literally, he-up-returned) (15.2)
bā^ahawa'^{εk'} she dipped up (water)

12. *ba-i-* OUT, OUT OF HOUSE, OUT OF WATER TO LAND, FROM PLAIN TO MOUNTAIN:

ba-iyewe'^{ie} they went out again
ba-ixodo'rat' she took off (her garment) 13.4
ba-isili'xgwa he lands with (boat) 13.5
ba-isāk'^w he came to land
ba-i'a'lyowo^ε he looked outside
ba-ihimima'^{εn} I drive him out
ba-i gwidi'k'^w he threw it out 92.15,16; (*haxiya'dat'*) bā-igwidi'k'^w
 he threw it (from in the water) on to land (31.2)
ba-ibiliwa't' you jumped out of house 24.15; (46.6)
(hadedē) ba-iyeweyini'^{εn} I took it out (of my mouth) (literally,
 I-out-caused-it-to-return)
ba-idehenena't' you are through eating (literally, you-out-mouth-are-finished) (132.14)
ba-it!ixi'xi he pulled (guts) out 92.17
(dak's-ō^uma'l) bā-iwōk' he got up (on the mountain) 124.4; (60.9)

In certain idiomatic turns the primary signification of *ba-i-* is as good as lost:

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

13. *p!^a-i-* DOWN:

p!^{ai}it!^{ana}'hi^εn I held him down
p!^a-igwidi^k'^w he threw it down
p!^a-iwaya'^ε he went to lie down, to sleep (lit., he down-slept) 25.9
p!^a-ilohoit'^ε I fell down (literally, I down-died)
p!^a-iyewe'^{iε} (arrow) fell down back 22.5; 48.14
p!^a-i^εa'^{lyowo}^ε he looked down 26.14
p!^{ai}yowo'^ε they sat down (literally, they down-were) 56.2
p!^a-isgaya'^{prde}^ε I lay down

14. *aba-i-* IN HOUSE, INTO HOUSE

It would perhaps be best to consider this an independent adverb (demonstrative pronoun *a-* THIS + *ba-i-*, formed analogously to *eme^ε* HERE [= demonstrative adverb *e-* HERE + *me^ε*]); its correlative relation to *ba-i-* makes it seem advisable to give examples of its occurrence here:

abaigini'^εk^ε he went inside 25.8; 27.7,13; 64.3
abaihiwili'^{uε} he ran inside 16.12
aba-iwōk^ε they went into house 29.6; (44.7); 160.19
aba-iyowōt'^ε I stay at home
abait!^āa^k'ts!^a'^εk^ε he stepped into house 31.3

15. *bam-* UP INTO AIR

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

bamgwidi^k'^w he threw it up
gelbamgwidi^k'^w he threw it up
dīⁱbamgwidi^k'^w he threw it up
gelbamsāk'^w he shot it up 22.5
gelbam^εa'^{lyowo}^ε he looked up
gelba^εmsⁱ^εulī he was sitting up (in tree) 48.7

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

xamalts!ayāp^ε he washed himself in river
xamgwidi^k'^w he threw it into river (33.6); 108.5
xamhiwili'^{uε} he ran to river 29.13; 94.16
xa^εmhilāp'^{iauk}' they became in river (=were drowned) 166.16
xam^εa'^{lyowo}^ε he looked down from top of mountain 124.4 (contrast *p!^{ai}a'^{lyowo}^ε* he looked down from ground 26.14)

§ 38. INSTRUMENTAL *wa-*

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

ga wede yap!a-wa-dōmhiga^ε that not I-people-with-shall-kill (= I shall not kill people therewith)

In other words, it would seem likely that such a form as *ga al^εwats!ayagi^εn* I WASH HIM WITH THAT is related to an *al^εwats!ayagi^εn* I WASH HIM WITH IT as, e. g., *xi al^εwats!ayagi^εn* I WASH HIM WITH WATER, to the form *alxits!ayagi^εn* I WATER-WASH HIM, i. e., the *wa-* in *al^εwats!ayagi^εn* is to be regarded as an incorporated *ga* THAT, IT (such forms as **algats!ayagi^εn* have never been found to occur). It will be noticed that the verb-forms with incorporated *wa-* are normally characterized by a suffixed *-i-* or *-hi-*; as soon, however, as the verb loses its instrumental "face," this *-i-* is replaced by the normal *-a-*. Thus:

wilau wats!ayagi^εn arrow I-shoot¹ -him-with-it (with incorporated *wa-*, *wila'u* ARROW being outside the verb-structure and in apposition with *wa-*)

but:

ts!ayaga^εn wi'lau wa' I-shoot-him arrow with (in which also *wa-* stands outside the verb-complex, acting as an instrumental postposition to *wila'u*)

Examples of instrumental *wa-* are:

(*salxdek'*) *sal^εwalats!agi^εn* I touched him with my foot (literally, my-foot I-foot-with-it-touched-him)

(*xīⁱ*) *wa^εū^ugwa'nhi* I drink (water) with it

(*yap!a*) *wat!omomi^εn* I kill (people) with it (but *yap!a t!omoma^εn* I kill people)

alwats!eyek'wide^ε I washed myself with it

ga his dō^umia gelwagulu^uwi^εn I try to kill him with that (literally, that trying killing-him I-with-desire-it)

se^εl-wats!elelamda^εn I write with it

(*ūx^ude'k'*) *wagaya-iwi^εn* I used to eat with (my hands)

¹ Aorist *ts!ayag-* SHOOT and aorist *ts!ayag-* WASH are only apparently identical, being respectively formed from stems *sūag-* and *ts!ūig-*.

(*p'im*) *wasana'hink'* they will spear (salmon) with it 28.15 (cf. *sana'nk'* they will spear it)

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

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

§ 39. GENERAL REMARKS

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

Aorist stem	Verb-stem	Probable base
<i>!omom-</i>	<i>dōum-</i>	<i>dōum-</i> kill
<i>naga-</i>	<i>nāag-</i>	<i>nāag-</i> (<i>nag-</i>) say to
<i>hāal-</i>	<i>hala-</i>	<i>hāal-</i> answer
<i>ōud-</i>	<i>odo-</i>	<i>ōud-</i> hunt for
<i>lohoi-</i>	<i>loho-</i>	<i>loh-</i> die
<i>yuluyal-</i>	<i>yulyal-</i>	<i>yul-</i> rub

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

The few examples of verb and aorist stems already given suffice to indicate the lack of simple, thorough-going regularity in the formation of the aorist stem from the base. Given the verb-stem, it is possible only in the minority of cases to foretell the exact form of the aorist stem. Thus, if *dō^um-* had followed the analogy of the phonetically parallel *nā^ag-*, we should have in the aorist not *t!omom-*, but *domo-*; similarly, the phonetic similarity of *odo-* and *loho-* would lead us to expect an aorist stem *lō^uh-*, and not *lohoi-*, for the latter. Nor is it safe to guess the form of the verb-stem from a given aorist stem. Thus, while the aorist *lohoi-* corresponds to a verb-stem *loho-*, *yewei-* corresponds to *yèu-* RETURN; *nagai-*, to *na-* SAY, DO; and *k!emèi-*, to *k!emn-* DO, MAKE. Mere phonetic form has, indeed, comparatively little to do with determining the relation of the two stems. This is clearly evidenced by the following cases of homonymous but etymologically distinct bases with corresponding aorist stems.

Verb base	Meaning	Aorist stem
<i>hem-</i>	{1. mock 2. wrestle	<i>hemcham-</i> <i>hemem-</i>
<i>hegw-</i>	{1. work 2. relate	<i>hegwchagw-</i> <i>hegw(h)āgw-</i> , <i>hegw-</i> <i>hagw-</i>
<i>heen-</i>	{1. be finished 2. wait for	<i>henen-</i> <i>hence-</i>
<i>dāag-</i>	{1. find 2. build fire	<i>t!ayag-</i> <i>t!agāi-</i>

The signification of the verb-stem gives almost no information as to the form of the aorist stem, the various types of aorist formation being each exemplified by a heterogeneous array of verbs, as far as any discernible similarity of meaning is concerned. It is true that, in a comparatively few cases, certain types of aorist formation can be shown to be characteristic of intransitive verbs; but in these the formation of the aorist stem involves the addition of a distinct phonetic element that has every appearance of being a worn-down suffix.

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

t!omōm he killed him
naga' he said to him
-hāl he answered him
ō'ut' he hunted for him

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

dō^um kill him!
odo' hunt for him!
na' say! do!

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

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

Sing. verb-stem	Pl. verb-stem	Sing. form	Pl. form
<i>s'as'</i> -stand	<i>sal-rogu-</i>	<i>s'as'inī</i> he stands <i>bā-sāsa'sdē</i> (= <i>sāsa-sas-</i>) I come to a stand	<i>sal-roguī</i> they stand <i>bāsaal-ro'ziginak'</i> (= <i>rog-rag-</i>) we come to a stand
<i>s'u'al</i> -sit	<i>al-zali:</i>	<i>s'u'wilē</i> (= <i>s'u'al-</i>) I am seated	<i>al-zaliyana'k'</i> we are seated

It is interesting to observe that, while **STAND** and **SIT** are intransitive in the singular, the plural stems *sal-xog^w*- and *al-xalīⁱ*- make transitive forms with a third personal object (*-ana^k* first person plural aorist transitive, *-i^k* intransitive; cf. *t!omomana^k* we kill him, but *s^asⁱnīpⁱk^k* we stand and *s^uεwīlīpⁱk^k* we are seated, dwell, stay).

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

moyūgw-aⁿ-t^eε I am spoiled, and *moyūgw-an-a^en* I spoil him
ligī-n-t^eε I rest, and *ligīⁱ-n-a^en* I rest him
k!ūwū^ε they ran away in flight, and *k!ūwū* he sowed, threw them about

Certain forms are alike for both transitive and intransitive; e. g., second person plural subject: *k!ūwūwa^tpⁱ*.

§ 40. TYPES OF STEM-FORMATION

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

In the following table of types of stem-formation, *c* means consonant; *v*, vowel; *c!*, the fortis correspondent of *c*; *c*₁, *c*₂, and so on, other consonants; *v*^v denotes pseudo-diphthong; other letters are to be literally interpreted.

Table of Types of Stem-Formation

Type No.	Formula verb-stem	Formula aorist stem	Example verb-stem	Example aorist stem
1	$v+c$	$vv+c$	<i>ob-</i> dig up	<i>ōub-</i>
2	$v+(c)$	$v+c+v$	<i>yo-</i> be	<i>yowo-</i>
3	$v+c+c_1$	$v+c'+v+c_1$	<i>ŷiits'</i> - laugh <i>masg-</i> put	<i>ūyūts'</i> - <i>mats'ag-</i>
4a	$v+c$	$v+c+v+i$	<i>t'āag-</i> cry	<i>t'agai-</i>
4b	$v+c+v$	$v+c+v+i$	<i>loho-</i> die	<i>lohoi-</i>
5	$v+c+v$	$vv+c$	<i>yana-</i> go	<i>yāan-</i>
6	$vv+c'$	$vv+c$	<i>p'ōl'</i> - mix	<i>p'ōud-</i>
7a	$c+vv+c_1$	$c'+v+c_1+v$	<i>deeb-</i> arise	<i>t'eeb-</i>
7b	$c+vv+c_1$	$c'+v+c_1+v+i$	<i>dūugw-</i> wear	<i>t'ūgūi-</i>
8	$c+vv+c_1$	$c'+v+c_1+v+c_1$	<i>gōul-</i> dig	<i>k!olol-</i>
9	$c+vv+c_1$	$c'+v+y+v+c_1$	<i>dāag-</i> find	<i>t'ayag-</i>
10a	$c+v(+c_1)$	$c+v+c(+c_1)$	<i>lōu-</i> play	<i>lōul-</i>
10b	$c+v+c_1$	$c+v+c_1+c(+v)$	<i>sana-</i> fight	<i>saans-</i>
11	$c+v+c_1+c$	$c+v+c_1+v+c$	<i>yawy-</i> talk	<i>yawai-</i>
12	$c+vv+c_1$	$c+vv+c_1+c+a+c_1$	<i>t'ēu-</i> play shinny	<i>t'ēu!au-</i>
13a	$c+v+c_1+c+a+c_1$	$c+v+c_1+v+c+a+c_1$	<i>sensan-</i> whoop	<i>sensan-</i>
13b	$c+v+c_1+c'+a+c_1$	$c+v+c_1+v+c'+a+c_1$	<i>dūl!al-</i> stuff with	<i>dūl!al-</i>
13c		$c+v+c_1+v+c+c_1$		<i>lobob-</i> be accustomed to pound (also <i>lobolab-</i>)
14	$v+c$	$v+c+v+n$	<i>zeeb-</i> do	<i>zeben-</i>
(15a)	—	$-ŷi$	<i>sas'an-</i> stand	<i>sas'inii-</i>
(15b)	$-as$	$-ŷi$	<i>dink!as-</i> lie spread out	<i>dink!ŷi-</i>
(16)	$v+c+c_1+i$	$v+c+v+c_1$	<i>k!alsi-</i> be lean	<i>k!alals-</i>

Not all forms find an exact parallel in one of the sixteen types here listed. There is a considerable number of more or less isolated cases left, particularly of frequentative or usitative forms, that it is difficult to classify; but on closer examination some at least of these are seen to be secondary developments. Verb-stem *al-sgalwal(w)*-KEEP LOOKING BY TURNING HEAD SLIGHTLY TO SIDE, as compared to aorist stem *al-sgalā^{al}(aw)*-, looks anomalous because of its apparently inserted first *-w-*; but these two forms become explicable as frequentative developments, according to Type 8, of their corresponding simplexes, verb-stem *al-sgalw*-LOOK BY TURNING HEAD TO SIDE and aorist stem *al-sgalaw*-. It will be convenient to dispose of such anomalous and difficult cases under such headings as allow them to appear as at least comparatively regular formations. It should not be supposed that a particular verb-stem always and necessarily involves a fixed aorist stem in all possible derivations of the verb, though in probably the larger number of cases such a fixed parallelism may be traced. As examples of the occurrence of more than one aorist stem to match a verb-stem may be mentioned:

verb-stem *-xīk!*- see; aorist Type 6 *-xī'g-* and Type 2 *-xīk!i-xa-* see (without object)

verb-stem *yèu-* return; aorist intransitive Type 4 *yewei-*, causative Type 2 *yewe^e-n-*, and, according to Type 8, *yewew-ald-* go back for some one

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

aorist stem *ts'!ayam-* hide; verb-stem *ts'!ay[a]!m-* and *ts'!a-im-*

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

aorist stem *agan-* feel, hear; verb-stem *ag[a]n-*

aorist stem *p!ahan-* be ripe, done; verb stem *p!ah[a]n-*

Under such circumstances ambiguous forms may result; e. g., *wa^eagan!i'* may be construed either as an aorist (YOU FELT IT) or as a potential (YOU WOULD FEEL IT) derived from the stem *ag[a]n-*. But evidence is not lacking even in these cases to prove the inorganic character of the second *a* in the non-aorist forms. One test has been already referred to in another connection—the incapability of a secondary diphthong (a diphthong involving an inorganic *a*) to have a rising accent. Thus:

aorist *dā^{a^e}agañ* (-aga'n) he heard it; but imperative *dā^{a^e}ag[a']n* hear it!

A second test is the failure of inorganic *a* to become ablauted to *e*. Thus:

aorist *p!ehen- a'nxi* he causes me to be done; but future *p!eh[a]n- a'nxink'* he will cause me to be done

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

¹ Brackets indicate an inorganic element.

TYPE 1. Verb-stem $v+c$; aorist v^v+c . In this type are embraced partly monosyllabic and partly dissyllabic verb-stems that either seem to undergo no change at all in the aorist or merely lengthen the stem-vowel. The number of verbs that follow the type does not seem to be very great. Examples:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
woga' ^ε t' he will arrive (196.20)	wō ^u k' he arrived 47.15
oba'n I shall dig it up	ō ^u ba' ^ε n I dug it up (48.7)
yī'l't' copulating 86.5	yī ⁱ la' ^ε n I copulated with her 26.3
ūgwa'n I shall drink it (162.17)	ū ^u gwa' ^ε n I drank it 186.3
hogwana'n I shall make him run (138.2)	hō ^u gwana' ^ε n I made him run (79.2)
hin ^ε x-nīwa' ^ε s coward 76.5; (160.19)	hin ^ε x-nī'wa' ^ε n I was afraid (17.7)
wī't'e ^ε I shall travel (178.11)	wī't'e ^ε I traveled (90.1)
t'lī'la'mxade ^ε I shall go fishing	t'lī'la'mxade ^ε I went fishing
yimi'hin I shall lend it to him (98.14)	yī ⁱ miya' ^ε n I lend it to him (98.15)
hūli'nt'e ^ε I shall be tired out	hū ^u li'nt'e ^ε I was tired out (102.1)
hagait'e ^ε I shall have a cold thrill	hagāi't'e ^ε I had a cold thrill 166.1
lohona'n I shall cause him to die	lohō ^u na' ^ε n I caused him to die (100.8)
al-ge'yande ^ε I shall turn my face	al-geya'n' ^ε n I turned my face

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

ō ^u p' he dug it up 124.5, 12	hin ^ε x-nīū he was afraid
ūk' ^w he drank it 162.20	al-geya'n he turned his face

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

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>ī-t!ani'n</i> I shall hold him (28.11)	<i>ī-t!ana'hi°n</i> I held him 73.16
<i>wa-k!ō'ya'n</i> I shall go with him	<i>wa-k!oyō°n</i> I went with him (33.15)
<i>o'sbin</i> (= ? ok-s-) I shall give it to you (178.15)	<i>ogu'sbi°n</i> I gave it to you 23.3
<i>oina'n</i> I shall give it	<i>oyona°n</i> I gave it (180.20)
<i>yālxaldan</i> I shall lose it (188.18)	<i>yalāxalda°n</i> I lost it (77.10)
<i>yo't'e°</i> I shall be (33.10)	<i>yowōt'e°</i> I was (42.1)
<i>nāk'ink'</i> he will say to him (94.16)	<i>naga'</i> he said to him 180.7
<i>da-sgāipxde°</i> I shall lie down	<i>da-sgaya'pxde°</i> I am lying down
<i>t'ū'ga'ēt'</i> it will get hot	<i>t'ūwū'ēk'</i> it got hot 94.15
<i>s'omda'n</i> I shall cook it	<i>s'omoda°n</i> I cooked it (58.10)

Examples illustrating the intrusive *-a-* are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>bila'ut'e°</i> I shall jump (160.17)	<i>biliāt'e°</i> I jumped ¹ (45.14)
<i>milada'n</i> I shall love her	<i>mili'da°n</i> I love her
<i>kliya'k'de°</i> I shall come 196.1	<i>-k liyi'k'de°</i> I came (156.24)
<i>gina'k'de°</i> I shall go somewhere 14.3	<i>gini'k'de°</i> I went somewhere 21.10
<i>dūwa'k'de°</i> I shall be good	<i>dūwūk'de°</i> I was good (146.7)

¹ Perhaps best considered as belonging to Type 3 (verb-stem *bitw-*).

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
xumá'k'de ^e I shall be satiated	xumū'k'de ^e I was satiated (130.18)
wiyá'k'de ^e I shall groan	wiyi'k'de ^e I groaned (192.11)
xudá'mt'e ^e I shall whistle	xuduñt'e ^e I whistled (33.16)
ts'lela'mt'e ^e I shall rattle	ts'leleñt'e ^e I rattled (102.13)
ts'lus.a'mt'e ^e I shall make whistling noise by drawing in breath between teeth and lower lip	ts'lus.uñt'e ^e I made whistling noise (78.9,10,12)
li'ga'nt'e ^e I shall rest	ligiñt'e ^e I rested (79.2,4)
yala'nt'e ^e I shall be lost (cf. 14.3)	yalañt'e ^e I am lost (note difference in accent between aorist and future)

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

In regard to vocalic quantity it will be observed that the verbs of this type divide themselves into two classes—those with short verb-stem vowel (such as *t!an-*, *og-*, *s'om-d-*, *gin-g-*, *yāl-n-*) and those with long verb-stem vowel (*k!ōy^u-*, *yāl-x-ald-*, *li'g-[a]n-*, *t'ūw^u-g-*, *mīl-[a]d-*). The first and second stem vowels of the aorist of verbs of the first class are regularly both short (*t!ana-*, *ogo-*, *s'omo-d-*, *gini-g-*, *yala-n-*); the aorists of the second class seem generally to have a short first but long second vowel (*k!ōyō^u-*, *yālā^a-x-ald*, *ligiⁱ-n-*, *t'ūwū^u-g-*, *mīliⁱ-d-*). The verb *nā^ag-* (aorist *naga-*) SAY TO and perhaps a few others (*sgāi-p-x-*, aorist *sgaya-p-x-*; *al-ts!āi-g-* WASH aorist *al-ts!aya-g-*; but *al-ts!āi-p'* WASH ONESELF, aorist *al-ts!ayā^a-p'*) do not follow this rule. Of the verb *yo-* (aorist *yowo-*) forms of both accent classes are found (*yōt'e^e* as well as *yō't'e^e*, *yowo't'e^e* as well as *yowōt'e^e*), and indeed a lengthening of the second vowel of aorists of the first class seems to occur with considerable frequency. The rising for long and the raised for final short stem vowels seem to be the normal accents for verbs of Type 2, whether the stress falls on the first or second (in aorists) vowel. If, however, the accented vowel is followed by a

glottal catch or fortis consonant the accent, as generally in such a case, is a falling one. Thus:

s'ō^{uε}k'ōp'de^ε I shall jump (148.8) s'owō^{uε}k'ōp'de^ε I jump (48.15; 49.1)

Such forms as *wa-k!oyō^εn* are only apparently opposed to the rule (see § 65).

TYPE 3. Verb-stem *v + c + c₁*; aorist *v + c! + v + c₁*. The most satisfactory test of a verb of this type is the intervocalic fortis consonant of the aorist stem as contrasted with the corresponding non-fortis consonant of the verb-stem. As only the minority of base-final consonant-clusters begin with a consonant that is capable of being changed to a fortis, there are in the material available only a few verbs to which the test can be applied. Those showing an intervocalic fortis (changed from non-fortis) in the aorist stem are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>ī-lasgi'n</i> I shall touch it	<i>ī-lats!agi'^εn</i> I touched it
<i>masga'n</i> I shall put it (102.15)	<i>mats!aga'^εn</i> I put it 74.13
<i>wismaada'^ε</i> you will move	<i>wits'lima't'</i> you moved 148.16
<i>yo'k'yan</i> I shall know it (162.6)	<i>yok!oya'^εn</i> I knew it 50.5
<i>lop'dia'^{uε}t'</i> it will rain	<i>lop!odia'^{uε}</i> it rained 152.11

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>t!amyana'n</i> I shall go to get her married (150.5,19)	<i>t!amayana'^εn</i> I went to get her married (148.5)
<i>ts!a-uya'^εs</i> fast runner 138.2	<i>ts!awai't'e^ε</i> I ran fast
<i>dī^ε-ū'its'!amt'</i> fool him!	<i>dī^ε-ü'yü'ts'!amda^εn</i> I fooled him
<i>baxma't'e^ε1</i> (= <i>baxm-</i>) I shall come	<i>baxam't'e^ε</i> I came (114.16)
<i>ga-iwa'n</i> I shall eat it 128.18	<i>gayawa'^εn</i> I ate it 30.11
<i>moigwana'n</i> I shall spoil it	<i>moyūgwana'^εn</i> I spoiled it (31.12)
<i>yo'^{uε}snan</i> I shall scare him (186.10)	<i>yowo'^εsna^εn</i> I scared him (186.10)
<i>malgini'n</i> I shall tell him	<i>malagini'^εn</i> I told him (30.15)
<i>ba-i-xilgwi'n</i> I shall snatch it out	<i>ba-i-xiligwi'^εn</i> I snatched it out (33.4)

¹This verb clearly belongs to Type 3 because of constant *-a-* following *-im-*. Had it belonged to Type 2 it would have assumed the form **baxa'mt'e^ε*.

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>gwel-leĩsde^ε</i> I shall be lame	<i>gwel-le'ye^εsde^ε</i> I am lame
{ <i>dawit'e^ε</i> I shall fly (166.18)	<i>dawait'e^ε</i> I flew (166.18)
{ <i>da-uya'^εs</i> flyer	
<i>ba-i-hemga'n</i> I shall take (food)	<i>ba-i-hemega'^εn</i> I took (food)
out (16.10)	out (58.9; 118.12)
<i>han-gil'ba'n</i> I shall put (beam)	<i>han-giliba'^εn</i> I put (beam) across
across	(176.3)
<i>ba-i-k!ā'lsi'n</i> I shall take it out	<i>ba-i-k!ala'si'^εn</i> I took it out
	(25.4)
<i>p'elga'n</i> I shall go to war against	<i>p'elega'^εn</i> I went to war against
them (124.19)	them (110.4)
<i>yamda'n</i> I shall ask him (70.6)	<i>yamada'^εn</i> I asked him (56.3)
<i>y'i'ms'aldan</i> I shall dream about	<i>yimi's'alda'^εn</i> I dreamed about
him	him 186.3
<i>ha-u-ha'n^εsdā^a</i> it will stop (rain-	<i>ha-u-hana'^εs</i> it stopped (rain-
ing) (198.9)	ing) 196.8
<i>yō'uga'n</i> I shall marry her (192.16)	<i>yowoga'^εn</i> I married her (43.3)

As long as the first consonant of the cluster is a semivowel (*w*, *y*) or a liquid or nasal (*l*, *m*, *n*), the question as to whether the verb belongs to Type 2 or Type 3 is a purely etymological or historical one. Descriptively it makes no difference whether a form like *p'elega'^εn* I WENT TO WAR AGAINST THEM is derived from *p'elg-* by the insertion of the stem-vowel *-e-* between *l* and *g* (Type 3), or from *p'el-g-* by the addition of the *-e-* to a base *p'el-* (Type 2). From a purely descriptive point of view, then, the most typical aorist formation in Takelma may be said to be characterized by the repetition of the stem-vowel immediately after the first consonant following the stem-vowel.

From the point of view of vocalic quantity the verbs of Type 3 fall into the same two classes as those of Type 2—such as have a short vowel in the stem (*t!amy-*, *ts!awy-*, *malg-*, *p'elg-*, *hants!-*) and such as have a long vowel (*ūĩts!-*, *gī'lb-*, *k!ā'ls*), these latter being apparently much less numerous than in Type 2. The quantity of both the stem vowels of the aorist is regularly short, even when the verb-stem vowel is long (*gilib-*, *k!alas-*); only rarely is the second vowel of the aorist stem long (*leye^εs-*, *üyü'^εts!-*). The accent of stressed stem vowels follows the same rules as in the case of verbs of Type 3 (*dawait'e^ε*, *han-gili'p'* with rising or raised pitch; but *hana'^εs*, *he'^{iε}x-dā^a* HE WILL BE LEFT OVER, *üyü'^εs-de^ε* I LAUGH, with falling accent because of the glottal catch).

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

t'agā^ana'^εn I make him cry

while in certain other transitive derivatives it is preserved:

t'agayagwa'^εn I cry having it

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
yē'ūt' ^ε I shall return (92.24)	yeweit' ^ε I returned (58.9,13)
p!āk' ^{de} I shall bathe (58.5; 118.7)	p!agait' ^ε I bathed 58.2
t'āk' ^{de} I shall cry (29.11)	t'agait' ^ε I cried (29.13; 62.2)
na't' ^ε (irregular) I shall say, do 196.5	nagait' ^ε I said, did 126.3; 180.1

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
loho'ŷ' dead (98.10; 170.1; 186.21)	lohoit' ^ε I died 184.18
lehe'ŷ' drifting dead to land	lehe' ^{iε} he drifted dead to land
	75.5

The aorist of verbs of Type 4 regularly have the rising accent on the $i-$ diphthong formed by the repeated stem vowel and the $i-$ suffix. The stressed stem-vowel of forms built on the verb-stem regularly has the rising (4a) or raised accent (second vowel of 4b). $na-$, which is irregular also in other respects, has a short vowel in the verb-stem and takes the raised accent in non-aorist forms under appropriate conditions ($na't'$ saying; na' say it!).

TYPE 5. Verb-stem $v + c + v$; aorist $v^v + c$. This type of verb is morphologically very difficult to understand, as it is in effect the very opposite of Type 2. Morphologically $yana-$ GO: $t!an-$ HOLD = $yā^an-$:

!ana-; but phonetically the proportion would gain in symmetry by reversing the positions of its first and third terms. Examples are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
wagaw ⁱ 'n I shall bring it to him (45.6)	wā ^a giw ⁱ ' ^ε n I brought it to him (176.17)
wege'sink' he will bring it to me	we ^ε ga'si he brought it to me (194.11)
yana't'e ^ε I shall go 14.3	yānt'e ^ε I went 14.7
haxa't'e ^ε I shall burn (92.29)	hāxde ^ε I burnt (98.1,4)
dak'-da-hala'hin I shall answer him	dak'-da-hā ^a li' ^ε n I answered him (122.4; 146.14; 180.18)
laba ^l carry it! (70.5); 192.8	lāp' he carried it 160.9
sagwa ^l paddle it! 112.3,9	sā ^a gwa' ^ε n I paddled it (14.6)
wede'k'ink' he will take it from him (16.10,11; 17.10,11)	wēt'gi he took it from him 16.13; (76.1)
lebe'n I shall pick it up and eat it	le ^ε ba' ^ε n I picked and ate it 94.5,12
sebe'n I shall roast it (44.6)	se ^ε ba' ^ε n I roasted it (118.10)
he ^{εε} -iwi'xink' he will go away from me	he ^{εε} -iūs'i he went away from me (184.14,15)
hawax-xiwi't'e ^ε I shall rot (194.8)	hawax-xiūt'e ^ε I am rotting (100.1)
odo'n I shall hunt for it (116.7,11)	ō ^u da' ^ε n I hunted for it (13.9)
woo'nk' he will go to get it (162.8)	wō ^u lt' he went to get it 160.4
p'yumda'n I shall smoke them out	p'ōyamdā' ^ε n I smoked them out (76.11)
yomo'n I shall catch up with him (46.7; 136.12,13)	yō ^u mīya' ^ε n I caught up with him (final -i ⁱ - of aorist stem unex- plained) (140.14)

The two stem vowels of the verb-stem are always short in quantity, the second regularly having the raised accent (imperatives *yana'*, *lebe'*, *odo'*, *woo'*).¹ The long stem vowel of the aorist, when stressed, takes the rising accent. To this latter rule there is one curious exception. The verb *odo-* HUNT FOR always has the falling accent on the *ō^u* of the aorist (*ō'^ut'* HE HUNTED FOR IT 13.9; 88.8, never **ō^ut'*), but the non-aorist forms follow in everything the analogy of other verbs of this type. This anomaly is quite unexplained. Can it be that a leveling out of two originally distinct paradigms has taken place (**ō^ud-*, *odo^l-* of Type 5 and *ō'^ud-*, **ō'^ut!*- of Type 6)?

TYPE 6. Verb-stem *v^(v)+c!*; aorist *v^v+c*. Most of the verbs that follow this type have as second consonant in the aorist one capable of

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

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
{ <i>ī-k'wā'ak!win</i> I shall wake him up	<i>ī-k'wā'agwi^εn</i> I woke him up 16.4; (75.6)
<i>k'wā'axde^e</i> I shall wake up (190.5)	<i>k'wā'axde^e</i> I woke up (16.3, 5)
<i>xā^a-lā't!an</i> I shall put it about my waist	<i>xā^a-lā'da^en</i> I put it about my waist
<i>la-^εī-t'bā'klin</i> I shall burst it (118.5)	<i>la-^εī-t'bā'agi^εn</i> I burst it (24.17)
<i>wa-sgā'p'in</i> I shall make it tight	<i>wa-sgā'abi^εn</i> I made it tight (140.6)
<i>al-xī'k'in</i> I shall see him (146.21)	<i>al-xī'igi^εn</i> I saw him 188.9
<i>de^ε-ī-wī'k'in</i> I shall spread it out (120.1)	<i>de^ε-ī-wī'igi^εn</i> I spread it out
<i>dak'-t'c'ek'in</i> I shall give him to smoke (170.13)	<i>dak'-t'e'egi^εn</i> I gave him to smoke
<i>bā^a-xō't!an</i> I shall win over him (170.9)	<i>bā^a-xō'uda^en</i> I won over him (168.5)
<i>al-lō'k!wan</i> I shall thrust it	<i>al-lō'ugwa^en</i> I thrust it (152.19)
<i>dal-p'ō't!in</i> I shall mix it (178.5)	<i>dal-p'ō'udi^εn</i> I mixed it
<i>de^ε-ī-nū't!in</i> I shall drown him	<i>de^ε-ī-nū'udi^εn</i> I drowned him (118.9)
<i>de-bū'k'in</i> I shall fill it	<i>de-bū'ūgi^εn</i> I filled it (140.3)
<i>ī'-gī^εna</i> take it! (102.14)	<i>ī'-gī^εna</i> he took it 15.1; 45.13

Despite the change of the second consonant from fortis to non-fortis, it is not certain that it is always an integral part of the stem; in *de-bū'ūgi^εn* the *g* (*k!*) seems to be a verbifying suffix (cf. *de-bū'ε* FULL as adjective). The accent of the base of verbs of Type 6 differs materially from that of verbs of types heretofore discussed. The normal pitch-accent of most verb-bases is the rising tone for long, the raised for final short, vowels, unless a catch immediately follows. Thus in Type 5 *dak'-da-hāl* HE ANSWERED HIM; Type 2 *naga'* HE SAID TO HIM; but with catch Type 4 *naga'^{iε}* HE SAID. The verbs, however, of Type 6, as will have been noticed, all have the falling accent in both aorist and non-aorist forms. This variation from the accentual norm becomes intelligible if we remember that a fortis is the equivalent of a catch + a media; e. g., *alxī'k'in* I SHALL SEE HIM; *alxī'^εk'* SEE HIM! As the catch tends to bring about a falling accent before it, the falling accent peculiar to verbs of Type 6 may plausibly be ascribed to the fortis (i. e., glottal catch) quality of the final consonant of the stem. Compare also, in Type 3, *he'ik'in*

I SHALL LEAVE IT OVER. The retention of the falling accent in the aorist, although the presumable cause of it has been removed, is an example of form-parallelism, and argues, at least in verbs of this type, for the secondary origin of the aorist stem. The relation between $x\bar{o}'t!an$ and $x\bar{o}'u!da^{\epsilon}n$ is, then, the same as that which obtains between $yowo'^{\epsilon}$ HE WAS and $yow\bar{o}'u!da^{\epsilon}$ WHEN HE WAS 79.7.

The organic character of the fortis consonant of verbs of this type is still further evidenced by many derivative forms (iteratives, continuatives, *-xa-* forms used to imply lack of object) which are regularly derived from the verb-stem, not the aorist stem, even in their aorist forms. Thus from $sg\bar{o}'ut!-$ 45.10 (aorist $sg\bar{o}'ud-$ 72.10) CUT are derived the derivative aorists $sgot!o'sgade^{\epsilon}$ I CUT FREQUENTATIVELY (62.1), $sgot!\bar{o}l-ha^{\epsilon}n$ I KEEP CUTTING IT (108.8), $sgüt!ü'xad^{\epsilon}$ I CUT (without object) (92.2). Parallel forms are derived from most other verbs of this type, such as $x\bar{i}'ik!-$, $\bar{l}\bar{o}'uk!-$, $sg\bar{i}'ip!-$ CUT, $sg'e'et!-$ LIFT UP. A few verbs of Type 6, however, form the aorists of these derivatives from the aorist stems of the simple verbs. Such forms are the frequentatives $t'baga't'bag-$ 14.12 (from $t'ba'ak!-$ 136.20) and $sege'sag-$ 172.10 (from $se'ek!-$ NOD TO, OPEN DOOR 138.18).

TYPE 7. Verb-stem $c+v+c_1$; aorist $c!+v+c_1+v(+i)$. The second sub-group (7*b*) of this sparsely represented type of verbs is apparently related to the first (7*a*) as are verbs of Type 4*a* to those of Type 2. It is very improbable, however, that the characteristic *-i-* element of the aorist is morphologically the same in both Type 4 and Type 7*b*, as verbs of the latter type are clearly transitive, while in Type 4 the *-i-* was found to be a clearly intransitivizing element. A further difference between the two types lies in the marked length of the repeated vowel in verbs of Type 7*b*. This vocalic length is perhaps responsible for the loss of the *-i-* in certain forms; e. g., $d\bar{i}-t!ügu\bar{u}z$ HE WORE IT, but $d\bar{i}-t!ügu^{\epsilon}n$ I WORE IT. (See § 65.)

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
$b\bar{a}^a-d\bar{e}p'de^{\epsilon}$ I shall arise 196.3	$b\bar{a}^a-t!ebe't'e^{\epsilon}$ I arose 186.14
$wa-d\bar{i}l\bar{n}h\bar{i}n$ I shall distribute them	$wa-t!l\bar{i}l\bar{i}k'ni^{\epsilon}n$ I have distributed them (130.4)
$dwe'p'dwa'pxd\bar{a}^a$ they will fly without lighting	$t!wep!e' t!wapx$ they flew with out lighting

The last example follows also Types 6 and 13*a*.

To Type 7*b* belong:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>dā-dāk'</i> build a fire!	<i>dā-t!agāi</i> he built a fire 96.17
<i>dī-dūügw'a'nk'</i> she will wear it 55.9	<i>dī-t!ügüi</i> she wore it 96.16
<i>t'gwā'xa'nt'gwīde</i> I shall tattoo myself	<i>t'gwaxāik'wīde</i> I tattooed myself
<i>k!ā'da'nk'</i> he will pick them (116.17)	<i>k!adāi</i> he picked them <i>swadāi</i> he beat him in gambling

The last three verbs happen to have stems beginning with a consonant or consonant-combination that does not allow of development into a fortis, so that there is no initial modification in the aorist. A few other transitive verbs have aorist stems like those of type 7*b*, but form their non-aorist forms according to other models, as the aorists *k!emēi-* MAKE (only with third personal object; otherwise *k!eme^(e)-n-*, corresponding verb-stem *k!em-n-* of Type 2) and *yehēi-* HEAR SINGING FAR AWAY (verb-stem *yehī-*). In both aorist and non-aorist forms the stem vowel or long *i*-diphthong, when stressed, bears the rising or raised accent (*k!āt'* PICK THEM! *bā^a-t!ebe't'* HE AROSE).

TYPE 8. Verb-stem $c + v^v + c_1$; aorist $c! + v + c_1 + v + c_1$. The aorist stem of this type is characterized by reduplication of Type 1 (see § 30) combined, wherever possible, with change to fortis of the initial consonant. Examples are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>gāit'e</i> I shall grow (77.9)	<i>k!ayaīt'e</i> I grew (77.9)
<i>gō^uda'n</i> I shall bury him (118.3)	<i>k!ododa'^{en}</i> I buried him (96.16)
<i>gō^ula'n</i> I shall dig it	<i>k!olola'^{en}</i> I dug it 73.10,14
<i>gū^uwa'n</i> I shall plant it (94.10)	<i>k!ūwūwa'^{en}</i> I planted it (132.10)
<i>dō^uma'n</i> I shall kill him (178.14)	<i>t!omoma'^{en}</i> I killed him 71.7
<i>wa^ε-ī-dōxin</i> I shall gather them	<i>wa^ε-ī-t!oxo'xi'^{en}</i> I gathered them (112.6,11; 192.4)
<i>ba-i-dixin</i> I shall pull (guts) out	<i>ba-i-t!ixi'xi'^{en}</i> I pulled (guts) out (92.17)
<i>dā^ala'n</i> I shall crack it	<i>t!alala'^{en}</i> I cracked it
<i>de^ogwa'ldan</i> I shall watch for him (116.20; 126.20)	<i>t!egwegwa'lda^{en}</i> I watched for him (118.2; 158.12)
<i>wa^ε-ī-de^omi'n</i> I shall gather them (for war)	<i>wa^ε-ī-t!eme'm</i> he gathered them (for war) 110.3
<i>bā^aba'n</i> I shall chop it (90.16)	<i>p!ababa'^{en}</i> I chopped it (90.11)
<i>dī-būügwa'n</i> I shall start (war, basket) (110.21; 170.10)	<i>dī-p!ügügwa'^{en}</i> I started it
<i>s^ada'n</i> I shall mash it	<i>ts^a!adada'^{en}</i> I mashed it (130.23)

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
s'ũm ^t 'an I shall boil it (170.16)	ts'!ũmũm ^t 'a ^ε n I boiled it (170.17)
dε ^ε -ĩ-s-ibin I shall close door (90.4)	dε ^ε -ĩ-ts'libibi' ^ε n I closed door (90.5)
ye ^ε gwa'n I shall bite him (88.2)	yegwegwa' ^ε n I bit him (88.3)
lõ ^u ba'n I shall pound them (16.6)	loboba' ^ε n I pounded them (16.9)
lĩma' ^ε t' tree will fall (108.12)	limi' ^ε m tree fell (108.11)
hẽlt' ^e I shall sing (106.15)	helelt' ^e I sang (104.2, 5, 6)

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

t!omomĩ he killed him 16.15; but *t!omõxbi^εn* he killed you (cf. 178.12)

Before certain intransitivizing derivative suffixes, particularly *-x-* (see §56) and *-xa-* (see §53), the same loss of the repeated consonant of the aorist stem is to be noted. Thus:

p!aba'p' he chopped it 90.11; but *p!ebe'xa^ε* he chopped 55.6
wa^ε-ĩ-t!emeĩ he gathered them together; but *dak'-t!emẽx* they are gathered together 43.9; 136.11

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

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

Of Type 9, examples are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
dã ^a ga'n I shall find it (110.15)	t!ayaga' ^ε n I found it (27.12)
sã ^a ga'n I shall shoot him	ts!ayaga' ^ε n I shot him (45.13)
da-dãũt' ^e (-dã ^a y-) I shall go to get something to eat (33.9)	da-t!ayaĩt' ^e I went to get something to eat ¹ (75.9)
da-dã ^a ldi'n (= dãĩld-, see § 11) I shall go to get it to eat (33.9)	da-t!ayaldĩ' ^ε n (= t!ayaĩld-, see § 11) I went to get it to eat (76.9)

¹This verb might be considered as entirely parallel to *gãay-* (aorist *k!ayai-*) of Type 8. The derivative in *-ld-*, however, seems to prove it to be of Type 9; the *-ld-* forms, if belonging to Type 8, would probably appear as **da-dã^aya'ldin*, **da-tlayaya'ldi^εn*.

TYPE 10. Verb-stem $c+v(+c)(+c_1)$; aorist $c+v+\left\{ \begin{matrix} c(+c_1) \\ c_1+c \end{matrix} \right\} (+v)$.

This type embraces the few verbs that form their aorist stem by merely repeating the initial consonant of the verb-stem. Of 10a, that is, those that introduce the initial consonant immediately after the stem-vowel, there have been found:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
lō ^u x to play 31.7; (31.6, 8, 9)	lō ^u lt'e ^ε I played
lāp'de ^ε I shall become (25.2)	lā ^a lt'e ^ε I became (also of Type 15a) 186.19
lā ^a wa'n I shall twine basket	lā ^a lwa' ^ε n I twined basket (61.7)
he ^ε -ī-le' (l)k!in I shall let him go (182.20)	he ^ε -ī-le'lek!i ^ε n I let him go (50.4)

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

The only certain example of 10 b is:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
sana' spear it! (33.9)	sāns he speared it (110.20)

The verb-stem here is of Type 5. The simple base (san-) is best seen in the fully reduplicated *sā^ansa'n-sinia^{uε}* THEY ARE FIGHTING EACH OTHER 23.14. An aorist of Type 10 b is probably also:

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

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

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
loma'lt'e ^ε (a is inorganic) I shall choke	lomōlt'e ^ε I choked
xalxa'mt'e ^ε I shall urinate (cf. <i>xā^al-am-</i> urine)	xala'xamt'e ^ε I urinated ³

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

² This verb is better considered as belonging to Type 13a, *xalxam-* and *xalaxam-* being respectively dissimilated from **xanzan-* and **xanzan-* (see §21).

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
yawī't'e ^e I shall talk (cf. base yiw- talk) (126.2)	yawai't'e ^e I talked (30.4; 126.2)
bā ^ε -al-mo'l ^ε man I shall turn things over (base mol ^ε -)	da-bo'k!op'na ^ε n I made bub- bles (base bōk!-) 102.22
dā ^a -ye'hī ⁿ I shall go to where singing is heard	bā ^ε -al-mo'lo ^ε ma ^ε n I turned things over
	dā ^a -yehēi he went where there was singing (see Type 7b) 106.10
	legwela'mda ^ε n I suck it out of it (186.18)
	lā ^a mala' ^ε n I quarrel with him (27.2)

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

gīng- go somewhere (aorist *gīniḡ-*)
k'liḡ[a]g- go, come (aorist *k'liḡiḡ-*)
gcl-gul[a]g- desire (aorist- *gulug-*)

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

da-bok!oba'k'na^εn I make bubbles *yīwiya'ut'e^ε* I talk (148.9)
mo'lo^εmala^εn I turn things over
(170.16)

A form like *mo'lo^εmat'* YOU TURNED THINGS OVER may go back to a **mo'lo^εmlat'* (Type 13b), itself a reduced form of the fully reduplicating *mo'lo^εmalat'*; but see § 65.

TYPE 12. Verb-stem $c + v^v + c_1$; aorist $c + v^v + c_1 + c + a + c_1$. Verbs of this type form their aorist by reduplicating the verb-stem according to Type 2 (see § 30); the *a* of the second syllable of the aorist stem is regularly unlauded to *i* by an *i* of the following syllable (see § 8, 3a). Morphologically such aorist stems are practically identical with the verb-stems of Type 13a, though no further deductions can be drawn from this fact. Contrary to what one might expect, most verbs of the type show no marked iterative or frequentative signifi-

cation. Examples of this rather frequently recurring type are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>sana'n</i> ¹ I shall fight him (28.15)	<i>sā^ansa'nt'e^ε</i> I was fighting 184.13
<i>he^{εε}-sal-t'gū^uni'n</i> I shall kick it off	<i>he^{εε}-sal-t'gūnt'giniⁿ</i> I kicked it off (24.17)
<i>t!èūt'e^ε</i> I shall play shinny	<i>t!èut!a'ut'e^ε</i> I played shinny (47.7)
<i>ī-t!ā^awi'n</i> I shall catch him (33.8)	<i>ī-t!āūt!iwīⁿ</i> I caught him 33.4
<i>bā^a-dī¹ga'n</i> I shall make it stand up	<i>bā^a-dik'dagaⁿ</i> I made it stand up (59.10)
<i>he^{εε}-s-wilzk'</i> it is torn	<i>ī-s-wils-wilīⁿ</i> I tore it (73.3)
<i>ts!ā^aga'εt'</i> he will step	<i>ts!ā^ak'ts!a'εk'</i> he stepped 32.9
<i>dā^ε-ī-bō^udi'n</i> I shall pull out his hair	<i>dā^ε-ī-bōt'bidīⁿ</i> I pulled out his hair (194.7)
<i>bā-ī-sgā^agi'n</i> I shall pick it up	<i>bā-ī-sgāk'sgigiⁿ</i> I picked him up (32.12)
<i>lā^awi'n</i> I shall call him by name	<i>lā^aliwi'ⁿ</i> I called him by name (for <i>lā^a</i> = <i>lāu</i> - see § 7) (116.3)

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>lèūxink'</i> he will call me by name	<i>le^εwila'usi</i> ² he calls me by name 59.7
<i>hūt'e^ε</i> I shall look (142.18)	<i>liwila'ut'e^ε</i> ³ I look (59.14)

The stem vowel of verbs of Type 12 is regularly long, and, when stressed, as it generally is in aorist forms, receives the rising accent. The *a* of the second syllable of the aorist stem is stressed only when forming a secondary diphthong with a following repeated radical element, in which case it receives a falling (*lā^ala'uhī* HE CALLED HIM) or raised accent (*he^{εε}-sal-t'gū^unt'ga'n*).

¹ The various forms of this verb seem to be made up of three distinct stems. The non-aorist forms of both transitive and intransitive (*sana'p'de^ε* I SHALL FIGHT) employ a stem (*sana-*) of Type 5. Most aorist forms, including the reciprocal aorist, use the stem *sāansan-* of Type 12 (*seⁿsa'nsi* HE FIGHTS ME; *sāansa'nsinik'* WE FIGHT EACH OTHER). The stem *sāans-* of Type 10b is probably limited to such transitive forms of the aorist as have a third person object (*sāansa'ⁿ* I FIGHT HIM; *sāns* HE FOUGHT HIM).

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

³ This verb has a short *i* in the first syllable of the aorist, so that, as far as the aorist stem is concerned, it seems to belong to Type 13a. Perhaps it is best considered a verb of mixed type (13a in aorist, 12 in non-aorist).

TYPE 13. Verb-stem $c+v+c_1+c+a+c_1$; aorist $c+v+c_1+v+c+a+c_1$. For *i*-umlaut of the *a* see § 8, 3a. This type embraces a very large number of verbs, chiefly of iterative, usitative, or intensive signification. Of these, some are the iterative or usitative derivatives of simpler verbs; others, again, are hardly found in simpler form, the action they express being of a necessarily repetitive character (e. g., RUB, RATTLE, CHEW); in still others the repetitive idea is not strongly marked or is even absent. Of Type 13a, which covers practically the whole number of type-cases, examples will be given under the characteristic stem-vowels.

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
(1) <i>a</i> :	
<i>ī</i> -gaxgixi' <i>n</i> I shall scratch him	<i>ī</i> -gaxagixi' <i>εn</i> I scratched him
<i>da</i> -ts! <i>la</i> 'lts! <i>lilin</i> I shall chew it	<i>da</i> -ts! <i>ala</i> 'ts! <i>lilεn</i> I chewed it
<i>heεε</i> - <i>ī</i> -k' <i>a</i> ' <i>εp</i> 'k' <i>ibin</i> I shall chip them off	<i>heεε</i> - <i>ī</i> -k' <i>ap</i> 'k' <i>ibiεn</i> I chipped them off (118.11; 120.16)
(2) <i>e</i> :	
<i>ī</i> -ts! <i>e</i> 'lts! <i>lilin</i> I shall rattle it	<i>ī</i> -ts! <i>ele</i> 'ts! <i>lilεn</i> I rattled it
<i>ī</i> -he ^o gwa' <i>k</i> ' <i>wnan</i> (see § 19) I shall work	<i>ī</i> -hegwe' <i>hak</i> ' <i>wnaεn</i> I worked
<i>al</i> -gesgasa' <i>lt</i> ' <i>e</i> I shall be washing	<i>al</i> -gesegasa' <i>lt</i> ' <i>eε</i> I was washing
<i>se</i> 'nsant' <i>eε</i> I shall whoop	<i>sene</i> 'sant' <i>eε</i> I whooped (180.15)
<i>hem</i> hama' <i>nk</i> ' he will imitate him	<i>heme</i> 'ham he imitated him 24.4, 8
(3) <i>o</i> (<i>u</i>):	
<i>dī</i> '-t' <i>gumt</i> 'ga' <i>m</i> squeeze and crack (insects)!	<i>dī</i> '-t' <i>gumu</i> 'tg' <i>imiεn</i> I squeezed and cracked (insects)
<i>ī</i> -yulya' <i>l</i> rub it!	<i>ī</i> -yulu' <i>yiliεn</i> I rubbed it
<i>al</i> -p! <i>ī</i> -ts! <i>lu</i> 'lts! <i>alhip</i> ' do ye put it on fire!	<i>al</i> -p! <i>ī</i> -ts! <i>lulu</i> 'ts! <i>lilεn</i> I put it on fire (152.20)
(4) <i>i</i> :	
<i>ī</i> -smilsmil <i>n</i> I shall swing it	<i>ī</i> -smili' <i>smilεn</i> I swung it (72.10)
<i>ī</i> -s' <i>wi</i> 's-wil <i>n</i> I shall tear it to pieces	<i>ī</i> -s' <i>wili</i> 's-wil <i>εn</i> I tore it to pieces
<i>ts</i> '! <i>li</i> 'nts! <i>anxdeε</i> I shall be angry	<i>ts</i> '! <i>ini</i> 'ts! <i>anxdeε</i> I was angry (24.16; 148.15)
<i>ī</i> -s' <i>i</i> 'ls' <i>alhi</i> distribute it!	<i>ī</i> -s' <i>ili</i> 's' <i>alhi</i> he distributed it 31.1
<i>de</i> -k' <i>iūk</i> 'auk' <i>wan</i> I shall brandish it before my face (172.11)	<i>de</i> -k' <i>iwi</i> 'k' <i>auk</i> ' <i>waεn</i> I brandished it before my face (172.12)
<i>yi</i> wiyawa' <i>εs</i> one who talks 148.18	<i>yi</i> wiya' <i>us</i> he talks, makes a sound 148.9

The verb-stem of the last example seems at first sight identical with the aorist stem, but the second *i* is to be explained as a connective element similar to the *i* of *le^ewilau-* above (see under Type 12); *yiwiyawa^es* is thus developed from a theoretical **yiwiyawa^es*.

The verb *k^ae^pk^ab-* above illustrates a slightly divergent subtype of Type 13a. If the final consonant of the stem is a fortis, it appears as a non-fortis (voiceless media or aspirated surd according to the phonetic circumstances) when repeated. This phenomenon is best explained as an example of catch dissimilation; **k^aap[!]ak^aap[!]-*, i. e., *k^ae^bak^ae^b-* is dissimilated to *k^ae^bak^ab-*, *k^aap[!]ak^ab-* (see § 22). In non-aorist forms, where the fortis becomes a syllabic final, it naturally gives way to the equivalent catch+aspirated surd. Further examples of this subtype are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>ī</i> -sgō ^ε t [!] sgid ⁱ n I shall cut them one after another (21.2,4)	<i>ī</i> -sgot [!] o [!] sgid ⁱ ε ⁿ I cut them one after another (144.2,3)
<i>ha-u-gwen-yu^εt[!]yidⁱn</i> I shall gobble them all down	<i>ha-u-gwen-yut[!]u[!]yidⁱεⁿ</i> I gob- bled them all down (126.10)
<i>xa-ε-ī</i> -sgī ^ε p [!] sgib ⁱ n I shall cut them through (21.2)	<i>xa-ε-ī</i> -sgip [!] i [!] sgibi ^ε n I cut them through (22.9; 138.7)
<i>bā^a-t^εk^εt[!]a[!]xdā^a</i> (= <i>-ta[!]g-x-</i>) they will all bob up	<i>bā^a-t^εek[!]e[!]t[!]ax</i> they all bobbed up
<i>ba-i-di^ε-t[!]ga^εst[!]gā^s</i> stick out your anus! 164.19; 166.1,6	<i>ba-i-di^ε-t[!]gats[!]a[!]t[!]gisi^εn</i> I stuck out my anus (166.8)

In regard to vocalic quantity it will be noticed that both the stem vowel and the repeated vowel are generally short. Comparatively few cases are found with long stem-vowel in non-aorist forms (*he^e-gwagw-*, *swī[!]lswal-*, *sgō^εt[!]sgad-*). Indeed the shortness of the vowel of the verb-stem is about the only mark of difference between verb-stems of Type 13 and aorist stems of Type 12. Thus:

ī-s-wi[!]lswal (non-aorist of Type 13) tear it to pieces!; but *ī-s-wī[!]lswa[!]* (aorist of Type 12) he tore it (with one tear)

A few verbs allow the repeated vowel, particularly in third personal forms, to be long; when stressed, as it generally is, it has a falling accent. Besides *ts[!]i[!]nī[!]ts[!]!anx-* (also *ts[!]i[!]nī[!]ts[!]!anx-* or *ts[!]i[!]nits[!]!anx-* 190.19), may be mentioned:

gwen-hegwe^εchagwanhi he related it to him 57.9; cf. 59.6
p[!]ū[!]ū[!]p[!]alhi they marched in single file 192.3

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

falling accent (*sgō^{uēt}'sgad-*, *sgī^{iē}'p'sgab-*). In the aorist the stress generally falls on the repeated vowel.

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>de^ε-ī-ge'ukliwin</i> I shall tie (a salmon) bowstring-fashion	<i>de^ε-ī-gewe'kliwi^εn</i> I tied it bow-string-fashion (cf. 88.5)
<i>dū'lt'ilin</i> I shall stuff them into it	<i>dūlū'tlilī^εn</i> I stuffed them into it (122.19; 138.17)

This curious type of verb is easily explained if we assume that the bases are not *gew-* and *dūl-*, respectively, but *geu^ε-* and *dūl^ε-*. They are, then, strictly comparable to verbs like *sgot!osgad-* discussed above; instead of having a fortis consonant, i. e., a stop with glottal closure, as the final consonant of the base, they have a semi-vowel or diphthong-forming consonant (*w, y, l, m, n*) as the base final. The verb and aorist stems of *geu^ε-* and *dūl^ε-*, formed according to Type 13 *a*, are theoretically **gew^εgau^ε-*, **gewe^εgau^ε-* and **dūl^εdal^ε-*, **dūlū^εdal^ε-*, respectively. Allowing, as in the case of the forms like *k'ap!ak'ab-* discussed above, for catch dissimilation, these forms are seen to be phonetically equivalent to *geuk!au-*, *gewek!au-* and *dūlt!al-*, *dūlūt!al-*, respectively (see § 12). If the initial consonant of the verb happens not to be a media, then there is no opportunity for the development of a fortis in the second syllable of the verb-stem. It is clear, then, that the following verbs are further examples of Type 13 *b*:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>bā^{a-ε}al-mo'limalan</i> I shall turn things over	<i>bā^{a-ε}al-mo'lo^εmala^εn</i> I turn things over
<i>dā^{a-t}mū^ugal-le'u^εliwin</i> I shall shake shells in my ears	<i>dā^{a-t}mū^ugal-lewe^εliwi^εn</i> I shook shells in my ears 122.2
<i>ha-u-gwen-yu'n^εyinin</i> I shall gobble them down	<i>ha-u-gwen-yunu^εyini^εn</i> I gobbled them down (cf. <i>yut!uyad-</i> above)

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

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>gwida'k'w^adan</i> I shall throw it (a inorganic)	<i>gwidi'k'w^ada^εn</i> I threw it (122.13); cf. <i>ī-gwidigwidi^εn</i> (108.21)
	<i>lobo'lp'na^εn</i> I used to pound them; cf. <i>lobo'lap'na^εn</i> (57.14)

It is very probable that the *-a-* in the second member of reduplicated stems (Types 12 and 13) is the inorganic *-a-* we have already met with. Its persistence, even in cases where the otherwise resulting phonetic combination is a possible one, may be ascribed to the analogic influence of the probably larger number of cases where its presence is phonetically necessary.

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>xēp'de^e</i> I shall do so (110.22)	<i>xebeñt'e^ε</i> I did so (14.10; 168.10)
<i>wai't'e^e</i> I shall sleep (71.15; 142.14)	<i>wayānt'e^ε</i> I slept (188.22)
<i>gwen-p'lik'wan</i> (= -p'liy-) I shall lie on pillow	<i>gwen-p'liyink'wa^{εn}</i> I lay on pillow
<i>p'lē't'ē</i> he will be lying down 146.9	<i>p'leyēnt'e^ε</i> I was lying down 71.5

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

The *-n* of *wayā^an-* and *p'leye^en-* is eclipsed before a catch in the third person:

waya'e^ε he slept 152.22; 154.6
p'leye'e^ε he was lying down 49.5

but:

xebe'e^{εn} he did it 78.9; 118.14

The loss of the *-n* takes place also in the third person aorist of *yā^an-*go (Type 5). Thus:

ya'e^ε he went 15.3, 11; 59.1; 92.26

subordinate form *yā'^ada^ε* 58.8 and (rarely) *yā'^anda^ε* WHEN HE WENT.

TYPE 15. Verb-stem $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \text{-as} \end{array} \right\}$; aorist stem *-ī^t*. The ending *-ī^t*, found in a considerable number of verbs of position, is not, properly speaking, a stem-forming element at all, as shown by the fact that

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
s'a's'ant'e ^e I shall stand (cf. 23.6)	s'as'init'e ^e I stand (34.1; 77.9)
s'u ^e alt'e ^e I shall sit (55.11; 186.21)	s'u ^e wilit'e ^e I sat (21.1; 178.21)
k'e'p'alt'e ^e I shall be long absent	k'ebilit'e ^e I was long absent (124.20)
lāp'de ^e I shall become (92.11; 166.14)	lā ^a lit'e ^e I became (see also Type 10 <i>a</i>) 186.19

Of examples of Type 15*b* may be mentioned:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
dink!a'sdā ^a it will lie stretched out	dink!i it lies stretched out
t!obaga'sdā ^a he will lie like one dead (148.8)	t!obigī he lay like one dead

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

<i>da-sma-ima'sde^e</i> I shall smile	<i>da-smayañ</i> he smiled
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which otherwise belongs to Type 2 or 3 (if the second *-m-* is part of the base).

TYPE 16. Verb-stem $v + c + c_1 + i$; aorist $v + c + v + c_1$. This type embraces only an inconsiderable number of verbs. They are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>dī-k!a'lside^e</i> I shall be lean in my rump	<i>dī-k!ala'sna^{en}</i> I am lean in my rump 102.22
<i>gwel-sal-t!e'iside^e</i> I shall be lean in legs and feet	<i>gwel-sal-t!eyēsna^{en}</i> I have no flesh on my legs and feet 102.22

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>da-sga'lit'ā^a</i> it will lie scattered about	<i>dā-sgali</i> it lies scattered about
<i>p'ildi't'ā^a</i> flat thing will lie	<i>p'ildi</i> flat thing lies
<i>t'ge'its'lidā^a</i> round thing will lie	<i>t'geits'li</i> round thing lies (138 24)
<i>s'eini't'ā^a</i> it will lie with opening on top (like box)	<i>s'eini</i> it lies with opening on top
<i>s'u'k'didā^a</i> it will lie curled up	<i>s'ugwidī</i> it lies curled up
<i>wi'ek'didā^a</i> it will lie heaped about	<i>wik'idi</i> .it lies heaped about

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
<i>dā^a-sgē'k'it'e^e</i> I shall listen	<i>dā^a-sgēk'iyā'eⁿ</i> I listened (third person <i>dā^a-sgēk'li</i> 102.8)

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

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

gwen- *xoxog[w]a'eⁿ* I string (salmon) together (=fully reduplicated *xogxog-*; otherwise to be analyzed as *xoxo-g-* of Type 10 a) 74.14

sal-s'ā^axs'ix he slid

This latter verb with its mysterious *īⁱ* in the repeated syllable is absolutely without known parallel. Irregular is also the defective verb *ei-* BE (see §60, fourth footnote).

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

§ 41. GENERAL REMARKS

Although the absolute number of non-pronominal suffixes in the verb is considerable (almost or quite thirty), the number of those that have a well-defined, more or less transparent signification is not large (hardly more than a dozen or so) when compared with what

one is accustomed to in certain other American languages. Of these, barely one or two (a frequentative and a comitative) can be said to convey anything like a material notion, the rest being of the more or less formal or relational character met with in suffixes of inflective languages—intransitivizing elements, causative, reflexive, passive, reciprocal, and others of less easily described signification. Those suffixes that have no clearly defined value may be put in a class by themselves as “petrified” suffixes, the justification for such a classification being purely descriptive; genetically they probably form a heterogeneous group.

§ 42. PETRIFIED SUFFIXES

In speaking of verbs of Types 2 and 3, it was pointed out that in a large number of cases certain consonants that one would naturally be inclined to consider part of the verb-stem could be shown by more careful analysis to be really of a suffixal character. The criteria for such a suffix are partly, as was there indicated, the existence of evidently related forms in which the consonant is lacking, partly certain phonetic features. In a considerable number of cases different suffixes are found joined to the same verbal base, yet hardly ever determining so specific a meaning that their primary signification can be detected. The following examples,

t'geits'! something round lies (138.24)

t'geyeba'εn I roll it

t'ge^εya'lxde^ε I run around

al-t'geye't'giya^εn I tie it around (my head) 188.5

wi^ε-i-t'geye'^εk!in he is surrounded on all sides 48.13

evidently all contain the same radical element or base (*t'gey-*), which has reference to circular action or position. The suffixes *-ts'!*-, *-b-*, and *-k'!*-, however, can not be shown to be directly responsible for the specific meanings of the different forms, these being determined chiefly, it would seem, by the succeeding suffixes, the prefixes, and the general form (transitive or intransitive) of the verb. Similarly, the forms *he^{εε}-sgaya'pxde^ε* I LIE DOWN, *da-sgaya-na'εn* I LIE DOWN, and possibly also *da-sgal̄i* IT LIES SCATTERED ABOUT (LIKE GRAIN), contain the same radical element (*sga[y]*-); but, as in the examples first cited, the abstracted suffixes *-p-*, *-n-*, and *-l-*, refuse to yield anything tangible. The stems *galb-* TWIST and *gelg-* TWIRL FIRE-DRILL are very probably related, though neither

the difference in vowel nor the use of different consonants can be explained. The same difficulty is met with in *dī'nik! a^{εn} I STRETCHED IT OUT* (62.1) and *bā^a-dīnī't! a^{εn} I HUNG THEM ON LINE* (59.9). In some cases a difference of suffix is associated with a difference of direction of verbal action, transitive and intransitive. Thus we have:

al-ts!ayaga'^{εn} I wash him (64.5): *al-ts!ayāp'de^ε I wash myself*
(not reflexive in form)

p!alaga'^{εn} I relate a myth to him: *p!ala'p'de^ε I relate a myth*

ts!ayama'^{εn} I hide it (124.23): *ts!ayāp'de^ε I hide*

The various petrified suffixes found will be listed with examples under each.

1. **-b-**. There seem to be two quite distinct *-b-* suffixes, one characteristic of transitives, the other of a certain group of intransitives. Examples of transitive *-b-* are:

t'geyeba'^{εn} I roll it (base *t'gey-*), with secondarily intransitive derivative:

al-t'geya'px it is round (literally, it rolls)

he^{εε}-sgaya'pzd^ε I lie down (derived, like *al-t'geya'px*, from some such transitive as **he^{εε}-sgayaba'^{εn} I lay it down flat*, that, however, does not happen to occur in the material at hand)

de^ε-ī-gene'p'gwa he lay curled up like dog (also *-geneūk'wa*)

galaba'^{εn} I twist it by rolling (cf. *gelg-* twirl fire-drill)

sgūlpx warm your back! (seems to imply **sgī'lba'n* I shall warm his back) (25.8, 9)

- All intransitives in *-b-* (*-p'-*), whether or not secondarily derived from transitives, belong to that class of verbs to be later discussed as Intransitive Verbs, Class II. Among those with primarily intransitive *-p'-* are:

al-ts!ayāp'de^ε I washed my face

ts!ayāp'de^ε I hid

p!ala'p'de^ε I tell a myth

s'in-xīnīxanp'de^ε I sniff (cf. *xīn* mucus)

s'as'a'nhap'de^ε I stand around (not trying to help anyone) (cf.

s'a's'ant'e^e I shall stand)

s'in-wi'līk'ap'de^ε I blow my nose

bā^a-s'o'wō^{uε}k'ap'de^ε I jump up (48.15; 49.1)

- A number of Class II intransitive verbs show a suffixed *-p'-* in all forms but the aorist. It is not possible to say whether this *-p'-* is morphologically identical with the *-p'-* of verbs like

ts!ayāp'de^ε or not, but such seems likely. Intransitives with non-aoristic *-p'*- are:

lāp'de^ε I shall become (92.11) (aorist *lā^alit'e^ε*) 186.19

sana'p'de^ε I shall fight (aorist *sā^ansa'nt'e^ε* [184.13])

tgūnp'de^ε I shall be cold (aorist *t'gunāk'de^ε* [90.3])

Finally, all Class II intransitives have a *-p'*- before the formal elements in the first person plural and impersonal of the aorist and future and in the imperative and inferential modes:

s'as'ināp'ik' we stand

s'a'sanp'ia^{uε}t' they (indef.) will stand

s'a'sanp' stand!

s'a'sanp'anp' do ye stand!

s'a'sanp'ga^εm stand! (future)

s'a'sanp'k' he stood, it seems

There is small doubt, however, that this *-p'*- is quite distinct from the non-aoristic *-p'*- of verbs like *lāp'de^ε*, which occurs in the entire future. A form like *lāp'* BECOME! is in that event perhaps to be analyzed as *lā^a-p'-p'*, the first *-p'*- being the non-aoristic element found also in *lāp'de^ε*, while the second *-p'*- is identical with the imperative-inferential *-p'*- of *s'a'sanp'*. This analysis is purely theoretical, however, as contraction to a single *-p'*- is unavoidable in any case.

2. *-p'*-. This consonant is evidently a suffixed element in:

ha^ε-i-hū'lūp'li^εn I skinned them (cf. *ha^ε-i-hū'lū^uhal* they skinned them all 160.5)

3. *-m*-. Apparently as transitive element *-m*- appears in:

ts!ayama'^εn I hide it (124.23) (cf. *ts!ayāp'de^ε* I hide [24.2])

As intransitive suffix it appears in:

t'gisiv'^εm it gets green

xudumt'^ε I whistle (base *xud-*; related to *xdeit'* flute [?]) (33.16)

ts!us'umt'^ε I make noise by drawing in breath between teeth and lower lip (78.9,10,12; 79.1,3,5; 96.9,10,12)

It may not be altogether accidental that the latter two verbs both express the making of a noise. This idea is found expressed also in:

ts!elemt'^ε I rattle (102.13) (cf. *i-ts!ele'ts!ili^εn* I rattle it)

but the *-m*- of this verb may be really an older *-n*- dissimilated to *-m*- because of the preceding *-l*-. The *-m*- corresponds to an evidently identical suffixed *-am*- of the related noun *ts!ela'm*

HAIL 152.12,16.

4. *-d-*, *-t'*- seems to be found only with transitive verbs:

wā^ahīmida'^{εn} I speak to him (but with unexpressed object

wā^ahīmī'xade^ε I was talking [to somebody]) (59.16; 63.10)

ḍak'-hene'da'^{εn} I wait for him (cf. *hene'xade^ε* I wait)

k!ūyūmida'^{εn} I call his name from distance, greet him (198.11)

(probably derivative of *k!ū'yam* friend! 31.6, 8)

s'omoda'^{εn} I cook it (58.10) (cf. *s'ūmū'xade^ε* I cook)

ts'!ūmūmt'a'^{εn} I cook it (170.17,19); future *s'ūmt'an¹* (170.16)

(cf. *s'ūmxi'* stirring paddle 170.14)

dā^a-mīnīk'da'^{εn} I taught him; future *dā^a-mīnī't'an*

lawadana'^{εn} I hurt him (186.12)

yamada'^{εn} I ask him (70.6; 74.10; 120.16)

wīyimada'^{εn} I "wish" to him, work supernatural power on him (57.1)

mīlī'da'^{εn} I love her

xā^ε-ī-ts'!iwi't' he split it (26.6) (cf. *ī-ts'!iwi'its'!au* he split it up)

It will be noticed that most of the verbs listed imply, not direct physical action, but rather the direction of one's thought or words toward another person. It is therefore highly probable that the *-d-* (except possibly in *s'omd-* COOK) is identical with the *-d-* implied in the *-s-* (= *-tx-*) of the indirect object (§ 47). Unlike the *-d-* here discussed, however, the *-s-* of the indirect object can be used only if the indirect object is not of the third person. It is clear that *-d-* is not really quite in line with the other suffixes that we have termed "petrified," this being shown, among other things, by the fact that it may be preceded by other suffixes, as in *dā^a-mīnī-k'-da'^{εn}*.

Evidently quite distinct from this indirective *-d-* suffix is the *-(a)d-* suffix of a few intransitive class II verbs in which the *-d-* is followed by *-ī-* in aorist, *-i-* in non-aorist forms (see § 40, 16). This aoristic *-ad-* appears always unlauded to *-id-*.

cugwidī-, non-aorist *cuk'dī-* lie curled up

wīk'!idī-, non-aorist *wī^εk'dī-* lie heaped about

t'gup'!idī (box, canoe) lies bottom side up

5. *-t!-*. This consonant has been found as an evident suffix in:

bā^a-dī'nūt!ana'^{εn} I strung (dentalia) on line (59.9) (cf. *dink!*-stretch out)

t'gemz̄t!ia^{uε} it gets dark 188.14 (cf. *t'ge^εmt'ga'mx* it is quite dark [cf. 196.7]; *ālt'ge'm* black 162.4; [196.6])

¹ *s'om-d-* and *s'ūm-l'a-* are parallel forms of one verb that seem to be used with no difference in meaning, though their aorist stems are formed according to different types.

6. *-g-*, *-k'-*. As in the case of *-b-*, it seems advisable to recognize two distinct *-g-* suffixes, the one appearing as a transitivizing element, the other as a verb-making element added on to nouns or adjectives. Examples of its transitive use are:

p!alaga'εn I tell him a myth
al-ts!ayaga'εn I wash him (64.5)
p!i-wa-gelegi'εn I drill for fire with it (88.12)
ī-k!us-gi'xink' he will pinch me (116.8,12) (cf. *ī-k!us-ū'k!as'i* he always pinches me)
da-t!abaga'εn I finish it (61.8; 176.6)
dā^a-dalaga'mda^{εn} I put holes in his ear (22.1) (cf. *dā^a-dele'p'i* he stuck it across his ear)
swadāt'ga^{εn} I run after him (59.13; 75.3; 120.19, 20)

Examples of its use in adjectival intransitives are:

t'ūwū'εk' he feels hot, it is hot 94.15 (cf. *t'ū* hot 57.15)
dūwū'εk' it is good, he does right 180.11 (cf. *dū* good, beautiful 58.7,8)
t'gunūk'de^ε I feel cold (90.3) (cf. *t'gūnp'ia^{uεt}* it will be cold)
xuma'k'de^ε I shall be full, satiated (128.11) (cf. *xu'ma* food 54.4 and *s'ix-xu'm* dried venison 43.12,13)
gel-dulu'k'de^ε I am lazy

Further examples of *-k'-* that are difficult to classify are:

de-lümū'sgade^ε I tell the truth (184.3)
s'in-wilik'ap'dam you blow your nose
yala'k'de^ε I dive (connected with *yal-* lose [?]) (60.10,11; 61.11)

In *wa-t'ilik'ni^{εn}* I GAVE EACH ONE (130.4) (future *wa-dīlnhin*) and in the morphologically analogous *dā^a-minik'da^{εn}* I TAUGHT HIM (future *dā^amiñt'an*), the *-k'-* is confined to the aorist. In *wēt'gi* HE TOOK IT FROM HIM 16.13, the *-g-* is found only in the third personal object of the various tense-modes (*wēt'gin* IT WAS TAKEN FROM HIM 13.11; *wede'k'ink'* HE WILL TAKE IT FROM HIM (17.10,11). All other forms of the aorist stem *wed-* (verb-stem *wede-*) lack it:

wisi (from **wēt'si*) he took it from me (17.3)
wede'sbink' he will take it from you (16.10,11)

7. *-k!-*, *-k!w-*. These elements seem to be characteristic of transitives. Examples are:

wī^ε-ī-t'ge'ye^εkl'in he is surrounded on all sides (transitives and passives are closely related) 48.5,13; (176.14)
al-p!i-ts!u'luk'h^{εn} I burn it (73.9,12; 96.26) (cf. *al-p!i-ts!u'l-ts!alhip'* do ye burn it! 198.10)

dī^ε-ī-sgü'yük!i^εn I make it fall (48.7,8,12)

he^{εε}-de-le'lek!i^εn I finish talking 50.4

dī'nik!a^εn I stretch it out (see under suffix *-t!-*) (59.9; 62.1)

he'yek!i^εn I left it over (61.7; 196.8)

p!ūwū'uk!a^εn I name him (158.5) (cf. *p!ū'wūp!ausi* he keeps calling me)

ts!inī'ek' he pinched it 31.1; (32.7)

ba-i-yunu'k!i^εn I pull it out forcibly

he^{εε}-ī-le'mek!i^εn I killed them off (14.13; 43.1; 108.20)

ī-go'yok!i^εn I pushed him (49.2) (cf. *ī-goyogiyi'εn* I kept pushing him)

ba-i-s-in-xi'lik!wi^εn I blow my nose (cf. *xīn* mucus)

p!a-i-t'gwili'k!wana^εn I spill (water, blood) (58.1; 72.8) (cf. *t'gwili't'gwal^ε* it keeps dropping)

-k!- seems to occur also in the perhaps only secondarily intransitive:

bā^a-s-owō'u^εk'ap'de^ε (= *-s-owō'uk!-hap'-*) I jump up (48.15; 49.1)

· (cf. *s'o'wō's'a^{uε}* he keeps jumping [112.5,10])

8. *-ts!-*. Only in a very few cases is this suffixed consonant met with:

t'geits!i round thing lies (138.24)

dīⁱ-t'gumu'tcl!i^εn I squeeze and crack it (cf. *dīⁱ-t'gumu't'gimi^εn* I squeeze and crack many insects)

yowō'u^εs he starts 186.10; *yowō'utslana^εn* I cause him to start

ha-yau-t'ge'nets!i^εn I put it about my waist

ha^εw-ī-ha'nats!i^εn I made it stop (raining) (152.16)

Judging from these few examples, *-ts!-* is characteristic, like *-b-*,

-g-, *-p!-*, *-k!-*, and *-t!-*, of transitive verbs; *t'geits!i* is probably

related to a transitive **t'ge'yets!a^εn*, as is *dink!i* IT LIES STRETCHED OUT to *dī'nik!a^εn*.

-s- occurs as an evident suffix in:

dīⁱ-t!i'si'εn I mashed them (cf. *dīⁱ-t!iyi't!iya^εn* I mashed them one after another)

9. *-(a)l-*. This suffix includes both intransitives and transitives:

al-gesegasa'lt'e^ε I was washing

k'ebilūt'e^ε I was long absent (124.20)

s'u^εwilūt'e^ε I sit (21.1); 72.9; (178.21)

yamlūt'e^ε I look pretty ([?]=fat, sleek; cf. *ya'mx* fat, grease 54.5)

al-we'k!ala^εn I shine (126.3; 128.14)

ī-t'wī'yilī'εn I make it whirl up

ī-k!e^εwilī'εn I whirl it around

ī-t'ge^εyilī'εn I roll it around

al-t'gī'ya'lx (tears) roll down his face 138.25

bā^ε-ī-t'gwā'la'lx (children) run about

k'ewe'k'awa^εl he barks

de-gül'k!alx it was blazing 188.15

The idea of unbroken continuity is fairly evidently shown by these examples to be connected with the suffix *-(a)l-*.

10. *-(a)n-*. Quite a number of intransitives are found that have this element, to which no particular meaning can be assigned.

Such are:

s'as'inūt'e^ε I stand (34.1; 77.9; 144.14,17)

moyūgwa'nt'e^ε I'm spoiled

hūū'li'nt'e^ε I am tired (102.1) (cf. *hūū'hilint'e^ε* I used to be tired [48.11])

lignt'e^ε I am resting (100.14) (cf. *ligilaga'nt'* he kept resting 102.1)

In a large number of transitives a suffixed *-n-* is also found, without its being clearly possible to identify it either with the causative *-n-* or the indirect objective *-n(an)-* FOR:

lawadana'εn I hurt him (186.12)

ts'ibina'εn I make a speech to him (146.11; 178.11)

wa-t'ilik'ni'εn I gave each one (130.4)

k'emna'n I shall make it (28.2,13,14) (aorist without object *k'eme'nxa^ε* he makes)

wa'ū^ugwini'εn I drink it with it (*ū^ugwa'nrxde^ε* I drink)

he^ε-wa^ε-wā^ugini'n she is bought with it

The last two examples are rather different in character from the others. See § 64.

11. *-w-*. Two apparently quite distinct *-w-*-suffixes must be taken account of.

- (1) A suffixed *-w-* is found to characterize in all forms a group of intransitives belonging to Type 2; it is only in certain derivative forms that the *-w-* is lacking, and thereby possibly shown to be a non-radical element:

hiwiliūt'e^ε I ran to (24.1), but *hiwililt'e^ε* I used to run to

sgeleūt'e^ε I shouted (196.1), but *sgelēlt'e^ε*¹ I kept shouting (59.3)

Examples of this group of verbs are:

Aorist
sgele'ue^ε he shouted 59.4; 90.8

hiwili'ue^ε he ran to 47.1; 70.7

bili'ue^ε he jumped 48.9; 58.3

de-wilwa'lda^{εn} I fight him (derivative of intransitive)(27.3)

hili'ue^ε he climbed (77.8)

Future (non-aorist)
sgelwa'εt' he will shout

hiwilwa'εt' he will run to (136.21)

bilwa'εt' he will jump (160.16)

de-wilwa'ldan I shall fight him (33.2,3)

hilwa'εt' he will climb

¹ Still, in these frequentative (usitative) forms the absence of the *-w-* may be accounted for by supposing that it dropped off as a syllabic final after a consonant (see § 18). Then *sgelēlt'e^ε* is for an older **sgelēlt'ue^ε*. This supposition is greatly strengthened by the future *sgelwa'wεε* I'LL KEEP SHOUTING (cf. *sgelwada'ε* YOU WILL SHOUT).

In non-aoristic forms the phonetic conditions may, as usual, necessitate an inorganic *-a-*:

ge wila'u run there! (29.10)

sgla'ut'e^e I shall shout

bila'ut'e^e I shall jump (160.17)

In these cases the evidence for the suffixal character of the *-w-* is rather slim. In one verb, however, it has a clearly intransitivizing influence:

t!emeyana'u^s (second *a* inor- : *t!amayana'εn* I take her to her
ganic) he goes with woman husband (148.5)
to see her married 148.6

t!emeya'nwia'u^s they (indef.) go
with her to see her married
178.1

(2) *-w-* (*-aw-* after a consonant in the aorist) is characteristic of all tense-modes but, in some cases, the present imperative and inferential (probably for phonetic reasons, see §§ 11 and 18) of a number of transitive verbs, provided the object is of the third person. Such verbs are:

gayawa'εn I eat it 30.11 (*gayaū* he ate it 54.5); future *ga-iwa'n*
128.18; noun of agent *ga-iwa'εs* eater (of it) 94.3; but impera-
tive *gaī* eat it! 32.4; *gaik'* he ate it (inferential) 142.19

al-sgalawi'εn I turn my head to look at him; future *sgā^{al}lwi'n*;
part. *sgala'uk'* (*-a'-* is inorganic) 144.17; but *sgālk'a^ε* I looked
at him turning my head (inferential)

al-sgalā^{al}liwi'εn (Type 8) I keep turning my head to look at him;
future *sgalwalwi'n*; but *sgelēlxī* he keeps turning his head to
look at me

ba-i-de-ye^εgiwida'ε you will drive (sickness) out of (body) 198.4,5;
imperative *-ye^εga'u*

wā^agiwi'εn I brought it to him (176.17); future *wagawi'n*; but
wā^aga'sbi'εn I brought it to you (194.11)

lā^ala'uhī he caused them to become (*lā^{al}-* become) 43.1

It is very likely that the absence of the *-w-* is conditioned, at least in certain forms, rather by phonetic than by morphologic motives (*gaī* from **gaīw*; *sgālk'a^ε* from **sgālw'k'a^ε*). This is rendered plausible by a form like *ga-iwawa'lsbink'* THEY WILL ALWAYS EAT YOU 26.8 (repetition of *-w-* in frequentative as in *al-sgalwalwi'n*), in which the object is not of the third person. The *-w-* seems to have been retained here because of the following vowel. The form *wā^aga'εn* I BROUGHT IT (110.17) as com-

pared with *wā^agiwi^εn* I BROUGHT IT TO HIM (future *waga'n*: *wagawi'n*) suggests that the signification of the *-w-* in transitive verbs is to indicate the indirect object, at least for the third person. It is, however, almost certainly accidental that *wā^agiwi^εn* stands by the side of *wā^aga'sbi^εn* with *-s-* to indicate the indirect object. That *-w-* is not the morphologic equivalent of *-s-* is evidenced by the fact that it stands also by the side of the transitive connective consonant *-x-* (cf. *al-sgalawi^εn*: *al-sgala'xbi^εn* I TURN MY HEAD TO LOOK AT YOU). It must be confessed that after all no very distinct signification can be attached to either the intransitive or transitive *-w-*.

12. **Constant -a.** A number of verbs whose stem (including petrified suffix) ends in two consonants add to this stem an *-a* that appears in all their forms, even though the consonant combination is one that may stand in a final position (cf. footnote, § 10). No reason can be assigned for the retention of the *-a* in all forms, except the ruling analogy of the aorist; in this tense-mode the *-a* is in all probability directly due to the consonant-cluster, as the aorist verb-forms to be presently given differ in this very respect from the aorist forms of other stems ending in two consonants (e. g., non-aorist *s'ü^ümt'a*- BOIL with constant *-a-*, though ending in a finally permissible consonant-cluster, because of aorist *ts'!üm^ümt'a-*; contrast non-aorist *s'omod-* BOIL without *-a-* because of aorist *s'omod-*). The following are examples of verbs of the character described:

Aorist	Non-aorist
<i>swadāt'ga</i> he followed him 75.3	<i>swa't'ga</i> follow him!
<i>mats!āsga</i> he always put it 132.9	<i>masga`</i> put it! 104.5
<i>ts'!üm^ümt'a</i> he boils it 30.2	<i>s'ü^ümt'a</i> boil it!
<i>dā^a-minik'da</i> he taught him	<i>dā^a-miñt'a</i> teach him! (contrast <i>wā^ahīmt'</i> talk to him! with aorist <i>-himid-</i>)

If the verb is instrumental in vocalism (see § 64), the constant *a* is replaced by the instrumental *i*. Thus:

ī-k!os'ōs'gi he keeps pinching him

That this constant *-a* is felt to be somewhat different in character from ordinary inorganic or connective *-a-* (as in *ts'!ela'mt'e** or *wā^aga'sbi^εn*) is shown by the fact that it is changed to *-i-* when-

ever the object is not of the third person, in reciprocals, in reflexives, and in verbs with non-agentive *-x-*:

swedēt'gixi he followed me

dā^a-mīnīk'dixbi he taught you

yowō^uεsnixbi^εn I cause you to start (but parallel *yowō^uts!anxbi^εn* with connecting *a*)

wayānhixbi^εn I put you to sleep; *wānhixigam* I was put to sleep

ī-k!ūs'ūs'gixi he keeps pinching me; *ī-k!ūs'gi'xink'* he will pinch me

ī-t!ene'hisdam you hold me 86.13,14.

ī-lasgi'xant'p' touch one another!

ī-lesgi'k'wit' touching himself

bā^a-t'ek!ēlhixde^ε I keep bobbing up (60.11,13,14)

§ 43. FREQUENTATIVES AND USITATIVES

Frequentatives, continuatives, and usitatives are formed from simpler verb forms in great part by various methods of repetition of all or part of the phonetic material of the stem, to a somewhat less extent by means of suffixation. In many repetitive forms a distinct tendency to use a long vowel provided with a rising pitch-accent is observable. As it has not been found feasible to draw anything like sharp lines between the exact significations of the various repetitive forms, it seems best to dispose of the material from a purely formal point of view rather than to attempt to classify it rigidly into frequentatives, iteratives, usitatives, and continuatives. The methods of forming repetitives will be taken up in order.

1. *Type 13 of Stem-Formation.* It was remarked before that most verbs of this type normally employed in that form are such as to imply a repetition of the action they express. The type may, moreover, be freely formed from bases implying non-repetitive action whenever it is desired to convey a general frequentative or usitative meaning. The frequentative idea may have reference to the repetition of the act itself (iterative or usitative) or to the plurality of the transitive object or intransitive subject affected (distributive); any sharp characterization of the manner of the frequentative action in each case is, however, doubtless artificial apart from the context. The following examples of repetitive with corresponding non-repetitive forms will illustrate the general frequentative force:

Non-repetitive verb-stem	Repetitive
<i>lebe-</i> pick up and eat (seeds)	<i>le'ep'lap'</i> (non-aorist) pick and eat many (seeds)! 34.2
<i>loho-n-</i> cause to die	<i>loho'lahana^{en}</i> I used to kill them
<i>wog-</i> arrive	<i>wogowa'^{ek}</i> many arrived 112.2
<i>t!oxox-</i> (aorist) gather	<i>wa^ε-i-t!oxo't!ixi^{en}</i> I used to gather them
<i>dō^ux-</i> (non-aorist)	<i>wa^ε-i-dō^uxa'xk'</i> they have been gathering them (inferential)
<i>hen-d-</i> wait for	<i>hene'handa^{en}</i> I always used to wait for him
<i>odo-</i> hunt for	<i>odo'^εat'</i> she always hunted for them 116.6
<i>og-</i> give to	<i>ogo'^εak'i</i> he always gave them 112.17
<i>dō^um-</i> kill	<i>dō^umda'mk'</i> he used to kill them (inferential) 25.1; 27.15
<i>wī-</i> go, travel	<i>wīyiwit'^ε</i> I used to go (there) (96.1)
<i>p!ā^ag-</i> swim	<i>p!aga'p!a^εk'</i> he used to swim
<i>ts!iū-d-</i> split	<i>xa^ε-i-ts!iw'ⁱts!au</i> he split it to pieces
<i>sgāp!-</i> cut	<i>sgā^{iε}p'sga'p'gam</i> they had been all cut up (21.2; 138.7)
<i>hül-p!-</i> skin, peel off bark	<i>he^{εε}-i-hü'lühäl</i> he kept peeling off bark (160.5)
<i>hog-</i> run	<i>hogo'hak'de^ε</i> I am always running
<i>he^εl-</i> sing	<i>hele'hal^ε</i> he used to sing
<i>al-hūi-x-</i> hunt	<i>al-hūyū'hūi^x</i> he always hunted (-hūi- = -hay-, §8) 86.1

It will be observed that the repetitive form is, on the whole, built up on the verbal base, not the verb or aorist stem. Thus, e. g., the verb-stems *lebe-* and *loho-* do not enter into the formation of the frequentatives at all, which are formed, according to Type 13a, directly from the simple bases *leb-* (verb-stem *le'p'lab-*, aorist *lebelab-*) and *loh-* (verb-stem *lohlah-*, aorist *loholah-*). Similarly, a form like *p!aga'p!a^εk'* shows no trace of the aorist stem *p!agai-* of the simplex; verbs of Type 6 generally show the fortis consonant of the base in all forms of the frequentative (see §40, 6): *sgot!o'sgidi^{en}* I CUT IT TO PIECES (144.2) (cf. *sgō^uda^{en}* I CUT IT 72.10, base *sgōt!-*

45.10). Suffixes with no distinct derivative signification drop off in the frequentative (cf. *ts'iu-d-* and *hül-p!-* above, also §42 passim), but, if they are functional elements, are put after the reduplicated complex (cf. *loho-n-* and *hen-d-* above); frequentatives thus become, as was indicated in the treatment of petrified suffixes, criteria for the determination of the simple base. Some verbs, however, retain a petrified suffix in the frequentative without apparent reason: *ts'üm̄m̄t'a* HE BOILS IT; *ts'üm̄ü'ts'!amt'a* HE ALWAYS BOILS IT.

The only use made of the aorist stem in the formation of frequentatives is in the case of such forms as have an initial fortis in the aorist as against a media in the verb-stem, mainly verbs of Type 8. The aorist of the corresponding frequentative also shows the initial fortis, but is not otherwise influenced by the form of the aorist stem of its simplex; e. g., aorist of simplex, *t!oxox-*, but of frequentative, *t!ox-o-t!ax-* with retained *t!-*. Such verbs as aorist *t!oxot!ax*, non-aorist *dō^uxdax-*, are to be considered as of mixed type (in this case partly 8, partly 13a).

Verbs like *odo^εad-* and *ogo^εag-* with a secondarily developed glottal catch in the aorist (see §6) seem to retain this catch in non-aorist forms, a stop+the catch resulting in a fortis:

aorist *ogo^εag-* always give to; non-aorist *o'k! [w]ag-*.

A small sub-class is formed by those frequentatives that omit the *-a-* of the repeated base (Type 13c). Such are:

Verb-stem	Repetitive
<i>wa-yanagwa'n</i> I shall run after him	<i>wa-yana-inagwa'^εn</i> I used to run after him
<i>wai't'e^ε</i> I shall sleep (71.15; 142.14)	<i>wayaūhide^ε</i> I used to sleep (- <i>h-</i> conditioned by accent)
<i>he'l-yo^una'n</i> I shall sing a song (106.7)	<i>yonoina'^εn</i> I always sing it
<i>waga'n</i> I shall bring it	<i>wagao'k'na^εn</i> I used to bring it (? = * <i>wagawg-</i> , but see 4, footnote) (45.6)

A very peculiar type of frequentative formation is illustrated by:

loha'lhik' (*a'* is inorganic) they used to die (inferential) (168.9);

aorist stem doubtless *loholhi-*

derived from aorist *lohoi-* die, non-aorist *loho-* (contrast aorist *loho-lah-an-*, non-aorist *lohlah-an* in the causative). The otherwise purely aoristic *-i-* of Type 4 is here dragged into the non-aorist forms.

2. *Type 4 of Reduplication.* This method of forming the frequentative seems to be but a variant of the first (the repeated initial consonant coming last instead of immediately after the connecting vowel, or the initial consonant not being repeated at all if there is a petrified suffix), and is found in only a few verbs, where it takes the place of the first method. A glottal catch generally separates the repeated vowel of the stem from the immediately following *a*. Examples are:

Aorist stem	Repetitive
<i>k!eme</i> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-n-} \\ \text{-i-} \end{array} \right\}$ make	<i>k!eme'εamgaεn</i> I always make it (instead of * <i>k!eme'k!amaεn</i>) (77.5); <i>k!emεa'mk'</i> (= <i>-εamg-k'</i> he used to make it (inferential) 122.18
<i>t!omom-</i> kill	<i>t!omo'amdaεn</i> I used to kill them (instead of * <i>t!omo't!amaεn</i>) (13.10; 54.3)
<i>k!ūwūw-</i> throw away (pl. obj.)	<i>k!ūwū'εaugaεn</i> I used to throw them away (instead of * <i>k!ūwū'k!awaεn</i>) (134.6)
<i>p!ūwū-k!-</i> call, name	<i>p!ūwū'εa-ugaεn</i> I keep calling his name (100.21) (instead of * <i>p!ūwū'p!auk!aεn</i> ; cf. <i>p!ū'wūp!aus'i</i> he keeps calling me by name)
<i>dc-ts'!iniε-x-</i> (= <i>ts'!ini-k!-x-</i>) die	<i>dc-ts'!ini'anx</i> he always died (instead of * <i>ts'!ini'ts!anx</i>) 74.7
<i>leme-k!-</i> take along (cf. 108.10)	<i>leme'amk'</i> he used to take (everything) (instead of * <i>leme'lamk'</i>)

If the initial consonant is a fortis, it becomes a media when repeated, as illustrated in the first three examples. This may be explained by catch dissimilation (see §22)—e. g., a theoretical **k!ūwū'εauεk'* (from **k!ūwū'k!au*) is dissimilated to *k!ūwū'εauk'*. Similarly a theoretical **p!ūwū'εauεk'* (from **p!ūwū'p!auεk'*) is dissimilated to *p!ūwū'εauk'*. The non-aorist frequentative forms of these verbs sometimes follow the first method of formation (cf. *dō'mda'mk'* under method 1), sometimes the second (as *k!emεamg-*).

3. *c + v + c₁ + v + c.* The few verbs that belong here differ from the preceding in that they repeat only the initial consonant after the repeated stem-vowel (Type 11). An example is:

Aorist stem
dī-t!ūgūi- wear

Repetitive
dī-t!ūgū'εt' he keeps wearing
it, used to wear it

As in the first method, so also in the second and third, non-radical functionless elements of the simplex disappear in the frequentative. Thus the suffixed *-i-* of *k!emēi* HE MADE IT and *-n-* of *k!eme'nxa^ε* HE MAKES, also the aorist characteristic of *dī-t!ūgūi* HE WORE IT, are not found in their corresponding frequentative forms.

4. *v + c + v' + c*. The large number of verbs whose frequentatives follow this formula (1*a* of types of reduplication) always have another consonant, whether part of the stem or a petrified suffix, after the nonfortis repeated consonant characterizing the frequentative, so that the appearance at least of infixation is often produced. Externally, frequentatives of this type resemble aorists of verbs of Type 8, but differ from them in the consistent length of the repeated vowel. In signification these verbs are generally continuative or usitative rather than properly frequentative or iterative. As examples may be given:

Aorist stem	Repetitive
<i>k!os·o-g-</i> pinch	<i>ī-k!os·ōs·g i</i> he is always pinching him
<i>himi-d-</i> talk to	<i>wā^a-himi'nda'εn</i> I used to talk to him
<i>baxam-</i> come	<i>baxāxmia^{uε}</i> they keep coming (194.13)
<i>t!ūlü-g-</i> follow	<i>ha-t!ūlü'ūlga'εn</i> I keep following in (trail)
<i>al-sgal-aw-</i> turn head to look at	<i>al-sgalā^aliwi'εm</i> I keep turning my head to look at them
<i>gaya-w-</i> eat	<i>gayāiwa'εn</i> I used to eat it
<i>hene-d-</i> wait for	<i>hene^εnda'εn</i> I keep waiting for him
<i>p!alag-</i> tell a myth	<i>p!alā^alga'n</i> the myth is always told
<i>hem-g-</i> take out	<i>ba-i-heme^εmga'εn</i> I always took them out
<i>ūyū^εs·-</i> laugh	<i>ūyū'^εi's·de^ε</i> (dissimilated from * <i>ūyū'^εi^εs·-</i> [?]) I keep laughing
<i>ts!ayag-</i> shoot	<i>ts!ayaik'</i> he used to shoot them 154.14
<i>yilim-</i> ask for	<i>yilī'nma'εn</i> I keep asking for it (see § 21)

Aorist stem	Repetitive
<i>ts!aya-m-</i> hide	<i>ts!aya-ima'εn</i> I always hide it (134.8)
<i>gini-g</i> go to	<i>ginin̄k'</i> they went there one after another 46.11
<i>mats!aq-</i> put	<i>mats!āsga</i> they always put it away 132.9
<i>wits!im-</i> move	<i>wits!ismade^ε</i> I keep moving
<i>sgelew-</i> shout	<i>sgelēlt'e^ε</i> (see § 18) I keep shouting (59.3)
<i>hiwiliw-</i> run to	<i>hiwilit'e^ε</i> (see § 18) I keep running

The verb *yewei-* RETURN seems to form its frequentative according to method 4, but with added *-g-*:

yewè'ok' he used to come back 47.4; 116.2; *yewèoga't'* you used to come back; *yewèo'k'de^ε*, *yewèūk'de^ε1* I used to come back

There is not enough material available to determine in every case the non-aoristic forms of the frequentatives of this group. As a general rule, however, it seems that the non-aoristic stem of the frequentative is formed by repeating a consonant or semi-vowel, but in such a manner as to indicate the non-aoristic simplex back of it. Thus the frequentative of the inferential *ts!aīmk'* HE HID IT is *ts!a-īmīk'* HE WAS ALWAYS HIDING IT; of *bil[ā]uk'* HE JUMPED 160.17 it is *bilwālk'* (? = **bilwālwak'*) THEY ALWAYS JUMPED 160.16. From *gark'* (inferential) HE ATE IT 142.19 is formed *gayark'* (if really inferential in form; perhaps third person subject aorist *gayaig-* in contrast to *-gayāiw* of other persons, see above) HE USED TO EAT IT 54.6, which, though resembling the aorist in the repetition of the stem-vowel, differs from it, probably for phonetic reasons, in the absence of the *-w-*. The form *wits!è'smade^ε* HE WILL KEEP MOVING, given as the future of *wits!ismade^ε*, can not, for want of parallel forms, be accounted for. From *sgā^{alw-}*, non-aorist of *sgalaw-*, is formed the frequentative *sgalw-alw-* (perhaps according to Type 8, *lw-* being a consonatic unit).

5. *Vowel lengthening.* Many verbs, particularly such as belong to Type 2, obtain a usitative signification by merely lengthening the short repeated vowel of the stem, this vowel, when stressed, assuming the falling accent. Examples of this simple process are:

¹ It is not at all certain that the *-o-* (*-u-*) of these forms really represents the *-w-* of the stem. It is quite probable that there is a distinct type of frequentative in *repeated vowel+og-*, in which case *wagao'-k'na'n* I USED TO BRING IT (see above under 1) would be another example.

Simplex	Repetitive
<i>yimi's'a^ε</i> he dreams	<i>yimi'i's'a^ε</i> he is always dreaming
<i>lūk!ū'xa^ε</i> he sets traps	<i>lūk!ū'u'xa^ε</i> he used to set traps
<i>geyewa'lxde^εda^ε</i> <i>ba-ik!iyi'εk'</i> when I ate he came	<i>geye'wa'lxde^εda^ε</i> <i>ba-i-k!iyi'εk'</i> whenever I used to eat he came
<i>k'ewe'k'awa^εl</i> he barks	<i>k'ewe'εk'awa^εl</i> he is always bark- ing

As the last example shows, by this method verbs which are already frequentative in form can be made to take on a usitative meaning.

6. $\tilde{v} + (c +) ha$. The accented vowel (\tilde{v}) of frequentatives conforming to this formula is either the second vowel of the stem of the simplex or the repeated vowel of the stem not found in the simplex, and is followed by the last consonant (semi-vowel) of such verb-stems as end in two consonants. The forms that belong to this group seem in some cases to have rather a continuative than iterative force. Examples are:

Simplex	Repetitive
<i>lohōn</i> he caused them to die (100.8)	<i>lohōnha</i> he keeps killing them
<i>liwila'ut'ε^ε</i> I looked (59.14)	<i>liwilhaut'ε^ε</i> I kept looking (144.19)
<i>wō'lt'</i> she went for (wood) (non- aorist <i>woo-</i>) (162.8); 186.6	<i>wo^εō'ha</i> she used to go for wood 43.15; 158.18
<i>dā^a-sgek!i</i> he listened 102.8	<i>dā^a-sgek!eiha</i> he listened around 102.3
<i>dā^a-agani'εⁿ</i> I heard it (55.3)	<i>dā^a-aqānhi^εn</i> I used to hear about it
<i>s'u^εwilī</i> he sits, stays 21.1	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} s'ū'εalhaε \text{ they always stayed (to-} \\ \text{gether) 112.2} \\ s'ū'εalhibik' \text{ we always stay to-} \\ \text{gether} \end{array} \right.$
<i>s'as'inūt'ε^ε</i> I stand (34.1)	<i>s'as'a'nhap'de^ε</i> I stand around

The last two examples do not show a rising pitch-accent, because the vowel (*-a-*) preceding the *-l-* and *-n-* respectively is inorganic and therefore incapable of carrying a rising or raised accent (cf. as parallel *bila'ut'ε^ε* I SHALL JUMP, not **bilaūt'ε^ε*, because of inorganic *-a-*). They also illustrate the loss in the frequentative of a non-radical element (*-i-*) of the simplex; in *s'ū'εalha^ε* the loss of the *-i-* involves also the transfer of the verb to the first class of intransitives (second person singular, Class I, *s'ū'εalhat'* YOU STAY AROUND; Class II, *s'u^εwilīt'am* YOU SIT).

7. $\bar{e} + \text{tha}$. It is very probable that the verbs that belong here contain the continuative $-l-$ treated under the head of petrified suffixes (see § 42, 9). The formula may then be considered morphologically identical with that listed as method 5, except that the continuative $-l-$ is introduced before the $-ha$. Examples of this group are:

Aorist (or verb) stem	Repetitive
<i>t!oxox-</i> gather	<i>wa-\bar{e}-t!ox\bar{o}llhi\bar{e}n</i> I always gather them
(<i>b$\bar{a}$$\bar{a}$-t'ek!-x</i> emerge)	{ <i>b$\bar{a}$$\bar{a}$-t'ek!$\bar{e}$lhixia$\bar{u}$$\bar{e}$</i> they all emerged 60.11
(<i>sg\bar{i}p!</i> - cut)	{ <i>b$\bar{a}$$\bar{a}$-t'ek!$\bar{e}$lhixde$\bar{e}$</i> I keep emerging (60.14)
<i>k!ot'k!ad-</i> break	<i>xa-\bar{e}-sg\bar{i}p!\bar{i}lhi</i> he cut them all through 26.11
(<i>al-x\bar{i}k!</i> - see)	<i>xa-\bar{e}-y$\bar{a}$$\bar{a}$-k!od$\bar{o}$lhi</i> he always just broke them in two 29.1
<i>gwidi</i> (k' \bar{w} d)- throw	<i>al-xik!\bar{i}lhi\bar{e}n</i> I used to see him
(<i>lok!</i> - trap)	<i>gwid\bar{i}lha</i> he kept throwing it (164.11)
	<i>lok!\bar{o}lha</i> he was always trapping them 78.4; 100.4

The non-aoristic forms of these frequentatives dispense with the repeated vowel (\bar{e}) characteristic of the aorist, so that the introduction of an inorganic $-a'$ - is necessitated:

gwida'lhan I shall keep throwing it
al-xik!a'lhik' I used to see him (inferential)

The remarks made under method 1 in regard to the formation of frequentatives directly from the verb-stem rather than the aorist stem apply also here (*sgot! \bar{o} lha* 108.8 from verb-stem *sg \bar{o} t!*- CUT, aorist *sg \bar{o} \bar{w} d-*, like *sgot!o'sgat'*).

8. $v + w + v + \text{tha}$. Only two verbs have been found that follow this very irregular formula for the frequentative:

Simplex	Repetitive
<i>l\bar{a}p'</i> become! 25.2 } <i>l$\bar{a}$$\bar{a}l\bar{e}$'</i> it became 22.7 }	{ <i>lawa'lh\bar{i}p'</i> always become! (78.5) <i>dah\bar{o}xa lawa'lhida\bar{e}</i> whenever it became evening 44.1; 78.6
<i>ligigwa'\bar{e}n</i> I fetch (game) home (70.3,5; 164.4)	<i>liwi'lhagwa\bar{e}n</i> I always come home with (game) (136.2)

The latter of these shows at the same time an unaccountable loss of the $-g-$ of the stem; the future of the simplex, *li'gwa'n*, probably does not exhibit an absolute loss of the $-g-$, but rather a contraction of *li'g-gw-* to *li'gw-*.

TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 44-51)

§ 44. General Remarks

Under this head may be conveniently listed a number of suffixes that either transitivize intransitives (causative, comitative, indirective *-amd-*, *-ald-*) or are characteristic of transitive verbs (indirective *-s-* = *-tx-* TO, indirective *-an(an)-* FOR, indirect reflexive). It must be confessed, however, that the various suffixes may be so thoroughly interwoven among themselves and with the purely formal elements that follow, that a certain amount of arbitrariness can hardly be avoided in treating of them. The suffixes will now be taken up in order.

§ 45. Causative *-(a)n-*

Causatives are formed from intransitives by the addition of *-n-* to the intransitive form, minus, of course, its formal pronominal elements. If the final sound preceding the *-n-* is a vowel, the suffix can be directly appended, the vowel being generally lengthened; a final consonant (or semivowel), however, generally, though not always, requires a connective *-a-* (*-i* when unlauded) between it and the suffix; doublets (with and without connective *-a-*) sometimes occur, the combination of consonant + *-n-* then taking a constant *-a* (*-i*) after it. If the accented vowel (\bar{v}) of the aorist immediately precedes the *-n-* in all forms, an inorganic *-h-* must be introduced, the combination *-nh-* then necessitating a following constant *-a*; doublets, conditioned by the position of the accent, here also occur. Certain suffixed elements (*-i-*, *-ī-*) characteristic of intransitives drop off before the causative *-n-*, yet in some forms they are retained; intransitivizing elements naturally remain, for without them the verb would itself be transitive and incapable of becoming a causative. The aorist and non-aorist forms of the causative, with the qualification just made, are built up on the corresponding tense-mode forms of the primitive verb. Examples of causative *-(a)n-* are:

Intransitive
yelnada'^ε you will be lost (*a*
 palatalized by preceding *y*
 to *-e-*) 14.3
yowo'^ε he is 21.1

Causative
yalnanada'^ε you will lose it

bā̄^ε-ī-yowoni'^ε*n* I woke him up
 (literally, I caused him to
 be up with my hand) 16.4

Intransitive	Causative
	<i>ba-i-yowona'^{εn}</i> I miss him in shooting (?=I cause him to be out) (138.5)
<i>t'ūwū'^{εk}</i> he is hot 94.15	<i>ba-i-yowōnha'^{εn}</i>
<i>ba-i-biliwa't</i> you ran out 24.15	<i>t'ūwūgana'^{εn}</i> I make him hot
	<i>ba-i-biliwana't</i> he ran him out
<i>hāx</i> it burns 94.18	<i>hāxna</i> he burned it 98.8
	<i>hāxank'wa</i> he burned him up 27.16
<i>t'aga'^{iε}</i> he cries 62.2	<i>t'agā'na'^{εn}</i> I make him cry
	<i>t'egēnxi</i> he makes me cry
<i>hoyo'^{εt}</i> he dances 46.12	<i>hoyodana'^{εn}</i> I make him dance
<i>hoida'^{εt}</i> he will dance	<i>hoidana'n</i> I shall make him dance
	<i>yā'na'n</i> he made him go; <i>yā'nana'^{εn}</i> I made him go
<i>yā'n-</i> go (aorist)	<i>yānha</i> (= * <i>yān-nha</i>) he made him go; <i>yānha'^{εn}</i> I made him go.
<i>yana-</i> go (non-aorist)	<i>yanā'na'n¹</i> I shall cause him to go
<i>hene'^{εn}</i> they were used up 184.6	<i>ī-henenini'^{εn}</i> I used them up
<i>yowo'^{εs}</i> he started, was startled 186.10	<i>yōwō'uts!anxbi'^{εn}</i> I startled you
	<i>yowō'us^{εs}snixbi'^{εn}</i> (for change of <i>a</i> to <i>i</i> see § 42, 12)
<i>yō'us^{εs}sdā^a</i> he will start 186.10	<i>yō'uts!anan</i> I shall startle him
<i>t!obigi^t</i> he lies like dead	<i>yō'us^{εs}snan</i>
<i>t!obaga'sdā^a</i> he will lie like dead (148.8)	<i>t!obigi^tnha'^{εn}</i> I make him lie like dead
	<i>t!obaga'snan</i> I shall make him lie like dead
<i>s'as'inī</i> he stands 144.14	<i>s'as'inīnha'^{εn}</i> I make him stand
<i>s'a's'ant'ā^a</i> he will stand	<i>s'as'ānha'^{εn}</i>
<i>de-gülü'k'alx</i> it blazes 188.15	<i>s'a's'anhan</i> I shall make him stand
<i>p'ele'xa^ε</i> he goes to war 126.13	<i>de-gülü'k'alxna'^{εn}</i> I make fire blaze
<i>dak'-limimxgwa^ε</i> (tree) falls on him (108.12)	<i>p'ele'xana'^{εn}</i> I make him go to war
	<i>dak'-limimxgwadini'^{εn}</i> I chop (tree) on to him

¹ Also *yana'k'nan* I SHALL MAKE HIM GO, with inserted and unexplained suffix -k'.

Intransitive	Causative
<i>yewe'^{iε}</i> he returned 49.10; 88.5	<i>bā^ε-ī-yewēn</i> he cured him (literally, he caused him with his hand to return up) 15.2

The causative in *-ñha-* is sometimes usitative in meaning:

lohōnha he used to kill them; *lohōn* he killed them 142.9

Examples occur of transitives in *-n-* formed from intransitives in which no causative notion can be detected:

da-lōnha^{εn} I lied to him; *de-lūnhixi* he lied to me (intransitive *da-lōt'^{eε}* I shall lie [110.23])

gel-wayā^ana'^{εn} I slept with her (26.4); *gel-wa-ina'n* I shall sleep with her (108.3) (intransitive *wayānt'^{eε}* I sleep [188.22]; *wait'^{eε}* I shall sleep [188.20]); but *wayānha^{εn}* I cause him to sleep (162.1); *wañhan* I shall cause him to sleep, *wañha* put him to sleep! 106.4,8

The connective *a* of the causative suffix *-an-* in the aorist is treated differently from the *a* of the non-aorist forms in so far as in the former case the *-an-* diphthong, when stressed, receives a raised accent, while in the latter the *a*, as a strictly inorganic element, takes the falling accent. Thus:

Aorist	Non-aorist
<i>hō^ugwa'n</i> he made him run (<i>yewēn</i> he caused him to return) (<i>p!agān</i> he bathed him [186.25])	<i>hōgwa'n</i> make him run! <i>ye^ewa'n</i> make him return! <i>p!ā^aga'n</i> bathe him! 186.24

In other words, the phonetic relation between aorist and non-aorist illustrated by several verb types (e. g., *agan-* : *ag[a]n-*) is reflected also in the causative suffix (*-an-* : *-[a]n-*). The same is true of other *-[a]n-* suffixes not causative in signification (see § 42, 10):

Aorist	Non-aorist
<i>ī-k!ū^uma'n</i> he fixed it 150.13 (<i>k!emēnaxbi^{εn}</i> I make you 27.9)	<i>ī-k!ūma'n</i> fix it! <i>k!ema'n</i> make it! 186.24

§ 46. Comitative *-(a) gw-*

Comitatives, i. e., transitive forms with the general meaning of TO DO SOME ACTION (expressed by verb-stem) TOGETHER WITH, ATTENDED BY, HAVING SOMETHING (expressed by object of verb), may be formed only from intransitives by the suffix *-gw-* (final *-k'^u*, rarely *-k'wa* in monosyllables); after a consonant (including semivowel) a connective *-a-* appears before the *-gw-*, though in a few cases (as in aorist *yā^an-* go) the *-gw-* is directly appended. Dissyllabic stems ending in vowel + *-g-* or *-w-* often add the comitative *-gw-* directly, in

which case the preceding vowel is generally lengthened; doublets, however, are sometimes found with connecting *a*. The second vowel of aorist stems is apt to be lengthened in comitative forms, yet not as consistently as in the case of causatives. Differing in this respect from the causative *-n-*, the comitative suffix does not require the loss of a final aoristic intransitive element (e. g., *-i-*). From aorist *lohoi-* DIE are formed *loho^u-n-* CAUSE TO DIE, but *loho^y-agw-* DIE TOGETHER WITH. The reason seems clear. While the action of a causative verb is logically transitive, that of a comitative is really intransitive, and the verb is only formally transitive. In the former case the subject of the verb does not undergo the action that would be expressed by the intransitive stem (*lohoi-*); in the latter it does. Examples of the comitative are:

Intransitive	Comitative
{ <i>yā^an-</i> go (aorist)	<i>yānk^w</i> he takes it along (lit., he goes having it) 17.13
{ <i>yana-</i> (non-aorist)	<i>yanagwaⁿnk^w</i> he will take it along
{ <i>ligi-</i> come home from hunt (aorist)	{ <i>ligi^kw</i> he fetched game home 70.3
{ <i>līⁱg-</i> (non-aorist)	{ <i>līⁱgwaⁿnk^w</i> (= <i>līⁱg-gwaⁿnk^w</i>) he will fetch game home (130.6)
<i>gini(g)-</i> go to	<i>giniⁱgwa^εn</i> I take it to (31.11); also <i>giniyagwa^εn</i> (13.12); future <i>ginagwaⁿ</i> (= <i>ginag-gwaⁿ</i> with inorganic <i>a</i> because of preceding <i>n</i>) (146.6)
<i>dal-yewey-</i> run away	<i>dal-yeweya^kw</i> he ran away with it
<i>wīⁱ-</i> travel	<i>wik^wa</i> he travels around with it 14.2
<i>lō^ul-</i> play	<i>lō^ulagwa^εn</i> I play with him (124.14)
<i>daway-</i> fly	<i>bā^a-wa-daway^kw</i> he flies with it
<i>hēnen-</i> use up, be satiated	<i>hēnenagwa^εn</i> I eat it all (43.12)
<i>yewey-</i> return	<i>yeweyagwa^εn</i> I fetch them back (30.1; 47.13)
<i>yaway-</i> talk	<i>yawayagwa^εn</i> I talk about it (lit., I talk having it) 108.12
{ <i>he^εl-</i> sing (non-aorist)	{ <i>nāx-ī-he^εlagwaⁿ</i> I shall sing with pipe in hand
{ <i>helel-</i> (aorist)	{ <i>ī-hele^εlagwa^εn</i> I sing with it in hand

Intransitive	Comitative
<i>t!obagas-</i> lie like dead (non-aorist)	<i>nāx-da-t!obaga'sgwank'</i> he lies like dead with pipe in mouth
<i>ūyū^εs-</i> laugh	<i>ūyū^εs'gwa^εn</i> I laugh at him
<i>baxam-</i> come	<i>da-yuwix baxama'k'^w</i> they came talking (literally, mouth-talking they-came-with) 126.2
<i>biliw-</i> fight, jump	<i>lō^x biliwagwana'k'</i> we play at fighting (literally, play we-fight-having) <i>wa-bili'gwa'^εn</i> I jump having it (= * <i>biliugwa'^εn</i> , see §7)

If the object of the comitative verb is other than a third person, the suffix *-gw-* is followed by the indirective *-d-*, which does not ordinarily appear as such, but unites with the immediately following transitive connective *-x-* to form *-s-*; a connective *-a-* is inserted between the *-gw-* and the *-s-*, so that the whole comitative suffix for a first or second personal object is *-(a)gwas-*. Examples are:

ūyū^εs'gwasi he laughs at me
henenagwa'sam he ate us up (192.15)
bā^a-wa-dawiyagwa'sbink' he will fly up with you

The form *-gwad-* of the comitative suffix appears as such preceding *-in-* (umlauted from *-an-*) in the third personal object of indirect FOR-forms built up on intransitive verbs derived from transitives:

lūk!ū'xagwadini^εn I trap for him (probably = I cause [-*in*] him to be having [-*gwad-*][some one] to trap [*lūk!ū-xa-*][for him]); but *lūk!ū'xagwasi* he traps for me
p'ele'xagwadini^εn I go to war for him; but *p'ele'xagwasi* he goes to war for me

It is highly probable, however, that in such cases the *-gwad-* is to be definitely analyzed into a comitative element *-gwa-* + an indirective element *-d-* (*-t'-*) TO, FOR; this seems to be pointed out by the fact that when the FOR-object becomes identical with the subject, i. e., when the verb becomes an indirect reflexive (FOR ONE'S SELF), the *-d-* immediately precedes the regular reflexive suffix *-gwi-*, leaving the causative suffix *-(a)n-* between it and the comitative suffix *-gw-*:

lūk!ū'xagwant'gwide^ε I trap for myself (probably = I cause [-*an-*] myself [-*gwi-*] to be having [-*gw-*][some one] to trap [*lūk!ū-xa-*] for [-*t'-*][me])

Comitatives in *-gw-* are formed not only from intransitivized transitives in *-xa-* (c. g., *i-lübü'xak'w* SHE POUNDS WITH IT IN HAND [55.10]; 56.1), but also from non-agentive intransitives in *-x-* (see below, § 56).

Examples are:

Non-agentive	Comitative
<i>sgō'usde^ε</i> (= <i>sgō'ud-x-de^ε</i>) I cut (without implied object), am across (148.8)	<i>sgō'usgwaw^{εn}</i> I got tired ¹ of it (21.6)
<i>he^ε-me^ε-t'bō'u^kt'ba^x</i> he lay down with his arms folded, lay rolled up and put away (cf. <i>he^ε-me^ε-t'bō'u^kt'bagaw^{εn}</i> I roll it up and put it away)	<i>he^{εε}-waw-t'bō'u^kt'ba'xgwaw</i> he lay down with it clasped in his arms 154.6
<i>t'ge^εya'l^x</i> it runs around, rolls	<i>waw-t'ge^εya'l^xgwaw^{εn}</i> I roll with it <i>waw-i-s'ügü's'üxgwaw^{εn}</i> I am sleepy (literally, something like: I am confused having sleep)
<i>ba-i-s'ilⁱx</i> he landed	<i>ba-i-s'ilⁱxgwaw</i> he landed with (his canoe) 13.5

The obverse, as it were, of these transitive forms in *-x-gwaw-*, is given by certain rather curious Class I intransitive forms in *-x-gwaw-* built up on intransitive, not, like normal *-x-* derivatives, on transitive stems; they may be literally translated as TO BE WITH (OR HAVING) (SOMETHING) DOING OR BEING. Thus from the intransitive aorist *dak'-limim-* (TREE) FALLS ON TOP OF is formed the intransitive *dak'-limimxgwade^ε* IT FALLS ON TOP OF ME (108.12), in which the logical subject (TREE) becomes an implied object, while the real object or goal of motion (ME) is treated as the grammatical subject. The form quoted would have to be literally translated as I AM WITH (OR HAVING) (IT) FALLING ON TOP OF (ME). I (AS TREE) FALL HAVING IT, TOGETHER WITH IT would probably be something like **dak'-limimxgwaw^{εn}*. Morphologically similar to *dak'-limimxgwade^ε* are doubtless:

hewe'hōxgwade^ε I yawn (literally, I am having — [?])
yele^εsgwade^ε (= *yelet!-x-gwaw-*) I am sweating (literally, I am
 —having it, i. e., perspiration [?])

With such an interpretation, the form *dak'-limimxgwadini^{εn}* I CHOP IT ON TO HIM becomes readily intelligible as a causative built

¹ *sgō'usde^ε* and *sgō'usgwaw^{εn}* are morphologically quite clearly related, though in signification the latter form has widely departed from what must have been its primary meaning.

up on an intransitive in *-xgwa-*; literally translated it would read I CAUSE (*-in*) HIM TO BE WITH (*-gwad-*) (IT) FALLING (*limiⁱm-x-*) ON TOP OF (*dak'-*) (HIM). This chimes in well with the interpretation given above of the really very perplexing "for" forms in *-gwadin-* and *-gwant'gwi*.

As will have been noticed from some of the examples already given (*yawayagw-* TALK ABOUT, *ūyūⁱs'gwa-* LAUGH AT, *sgō^usgwa-* BE TIRED OF, *henenagw-* CONSUME), the primarily comitative meaning of the *-gw-* suffix is sometimes greatly obscured, at times practically lost. Other examples illustrating this weakening of the fundamental signification are:

Intransitive	Comitative
<i>hoyod-</i> dance	<i>hoyod-agw-</i> dance (a particular kind of) dance 100.15; 102.9
<i>bā^a-yā^an-</i> go up	<i>bā^a-yā^an-gw-</i> pick up 24.3; 59.15
<i>ba-i-ginig-</i> go out to, come	<i>ba-i-ginīⁱ-gw-</i> take out (no leg motion necessarily implied)
<i>xeben-</i> do (so)	<i>xebe^ey-agw⁻¹</i> hurt, destroy 136.23

§ 47. Indirective *-d-(-s-)*

The *-d-* of the indirect object never appears in its naked form (except, as we have seen, in certain forms in *-gwad-*; see also under *-d-* in petrified suffixes), but always combined into *-s-* with the following element *-x-* that serves to bind pronominal objects of the first and second persons to the verb-stem with its derivative suffixes (see §64). The indirect object of the third person is not normally expressed by this *-d-*, but, like an ordinary direct third personal object, is left unexpressed, the general character of the verb being impliedly indirective. As a matter of fact, an incorporated pronominal indirect object is used only when the direct object is of the third person, never of the first or second; and, since the pronominal object of the third person is never expressed in the verb, this means that what is translated as the indirect object is in reality morphologically the direct object of the verb. The indirective idea is merely a derivative development; or, more correctly, certain transitive verbs with indirective "face" require an *-s-* (= *-d-* + *-x-*) instead of *-x-* with an incorporated object of the first or second person. I GIVE IT TO HIM is, then, really rendered in Takelma by I-HIM-GIVE; I GIVE IT TO YOU, by I-

¹ For the change of non-causative *-n-* to *-y-* (*-i-*) cf. *k!emèi-* and *k!emecn-* MAKE.

YOU-GIVE; I GIVE HIM FOOD, by I-HIM-FOOD-GIVE, in which the logically indirect object HIM must be looked upon as the direct object of the verbal complex FOOD-GIVE (FOOD, not being a pronominal object, is loosely incorporated as a prefix in the verb); I GIVE YOU FOOD, by I-YOU-FOOD-GIVE, the pronominal combination I YOU being expressed at the end of the verb-complex in the same form as in a simple transitive like I-YOU-SEE, except that it is preceded by *-s-* instead of *-x-*; such combinations as I GIVE YOU TO HIM, ME and HE GIVES ME TO YOU, HIM can not be expressed by one verb-form. In these latter cases the grammatical object of the verb is no longer indirectly affected by the action; hence another, though probably etymologically related, verb-stem is employed, while the indirect object is expressed by a local phrase outside the verb: I GIVE YOU TO HIM (= I-YOU-GIVE [not indirective "face"] HIM-TO), *-x-*, not *-s-*, preceding the combination I YOU. The idea of TO in intransitives like GO, RUN, and so on, is regularly expressed by such an extra-verbal local phrase. Many verbs that, from our point of view, seem ordinary transitives, are in Takelma provided with the indirective *-s-*. Examples illustrating the use of this *-s-* are:

Aorist	Future
{ <i>ogoyi'εn</i> ¹ I give it to him 180.11	<i>o'k'in</i> (170.13; 180.9,16)
{ <i>ogu'sbiεn</i> I give it to you 23.3	<i>o'sbin</i> (178.15)
{ (<i>oyōnxbiεn</i> I give you)	(<i>ōnxbin</i> I shall give you)
{ <i>wēt'giεn</i> (for <i>-g-</i> see §42, 5) I	<i>wede'k'in</i> (17.10,11)
{ took it from him 76.1	
{ <i>wəsbiεn</i> I took it from you (17.3)	<i>wede'sbin</i> (16.10,11)
{ <i>al-da-p'ōup'iwεn</i> I blew at it (15.1)	
{ <i>al-da-p'āp'ausbiεn</i> I blew at you	
{ <i>wā^agiwi'εn</i> I brought it to him	<i>wagawi'n</i> I shall bring it to
{ (for <i>-w-</i> see §42, 11) (176.17)	him
{ <i>wā^aga'sam</i> ² he brought it to us	<i>weg'e'sink'</i> he will bring it to me
{ (194.11)	
{ <i>eiwi'εn</i> I hurt him	
{ <i>ēisbiεn</i> I hurt you	
{ <i>gayaū</i> he ate him 54.5	<i>ga-īwa'nk'</i> 130.5
{ <i>gayaūsbiεn</i> I ate you	<i>gāisbink'</i> he will eat you 26.8
{ <i>al-yebebi'εn</i> I showed it to him (77.8)	<i>al-ye'bi'n</i> I shall show it to him
{ <i>al-yebe'psbiεn</i> I showed it to you	<i>al-yēpsi</i> show it to me!

¹ The *-y-* is peculiar to aorist forms of this verb with a third personal object (*ogoyi'εl* YOU TO HIM; *ogōihi* HE TO HIM 122.11) and to the third personal passive aorist (*ogoyi'n* HE WAS GIVEN IT 15.2)

² With connecting *a* before *s*. In *o'sbin* above *-g-* + *-s-* gives *-s-*, but **wēsdam* (= *wēeg-sdam*) would become confused with *wēsdam* (= *wēed-sdam*) YOU TOOK IT FROM ME.

Some verbs that belong here show the *-s-* only in the aorist, other forms having only *-x-*. Examples are:

Aorist	Future
<i>he^{εε}-īwi^{εn}</i> I went away from him 23.12	<i>he^{εε}-īwiⁿ</i>
<i>he^{εε}-īūsbi^{εn}</i> I went away from you (184.14,15)	<i>he^{εε}-īwiⁿxbink[']</i>
<i>yīⁿmīsbi^{εn}</i> I lent it to you 98.15	<i>yimiⁿ'xi</i> lend it to me! 98.14, 21
<i>ī-t!aut!iwi^{εn}</i> I catch him 33.4	<i>ī-t!āwiⁿ</i> (33.8)
<i>ī-t!aut!a'usbi</i> he caught you	<i>ī-t!āūxbink[']</i> (140.15)
<i>naga^{εn}</i> I said to him 72.9	<i>nāgiⁿ</i> (15.15; 196.20)
<i>nagaⁿ'sbi^{εn}</i> I said to you 108.4	<i>nāxbin</i> (60.3)
<i>dak'-da-hā'li^{εn}</i> I answered him (61.6)	<i>dak'-da-halaⁿ'hin</i>
<i>dak'-da-hā'lsbi^{εn}</i> I answered you (134.20)	<i>dak'-da-halaⁿ'xbin</i>
<i>sāⁿnsa^{εn}</i> I fight him (110.20)	<i>sanaⁿ</i> (28.15; 33.9)
<i>sāⁿnsaⁿ'nsbi^{εn}</i> I fight you	<i>sanaⁿ'xbin</i>

§ 48. Indirective *-(a')ld-*

This suffix is probably composed of the continuative *-l-* (see § 42, 9) and the indirective *-d-*, though, unlike the latter suffix, it is always employed to transitivize intransitives, a characteristic intransitive element of the aorist (e. g., *-i-*) regularly remaining. After vowels, the suffix appears simply as *-ld-*; after consonants and semivowels, a connective *-a-* is generally introduced, which, when accented, receives a falling pitch. The general idea conveyed by the suffix is that of purposive action toward some person or object, so that it may be conveniently translated by MOVING AT OR TOWARD, IN ORDER TO REACH, GOING TO GET. Examples of its use are:

<i>hiliut^{εε}</i> I climb	<i>hiliwaⁿ'lda^{εn}</i> I climb for it (77.8)
<i>yadaⁿ't^{εε}</i> I swim (<i>yadad-</i>)	<i>yadadaⁿ'lda^{εn}</i> I swim for him (to save him from drowning)
<i>biliⁿ'u^{εε}</i> he jumped 32.13; 78.11	<i>yededaⁿ'lsi</i> he swims for me
	<i>biliwaⁿ'lsa^{εn}</i> they fought (literally, they jumped at, for each other) 27.4
<i>da-t!ayaⁿ'i^{εε}</i> they went to get (something) to eat 75.9	<i>da-t!ayaldiⁿ'εn</i> I went to get it to eat; <i>da-t!ayāltⁿ'</i> he went to get it to eat (<i>ā</i> shows by its accent that it is part of stem) 76.9
<i>da-dāⁿyaⁿ't^{εε}</i> (future) (33.9)	<i>da-dāⁿldiⁿ</i> (future) (33.9)
<i>sgeleⁿ'u^{εε}</i> he shouted 59.4; 90.8	<i>sgelewaⁿ'ltⁿ'</i> he shouted to, for him 59.4; (94.1)

<i>wiliw-</i> go, run	{ <i>wiliwa'</i> lda ^{en} I go and show it to him { <i>de-wiliwa'</i> lda ^{en} I fight him (27.3)
<i>xudu'</i> ^{em} he whistled	<i>xuduma'</i> lda ^{en} I whistled to him (33.16)
<i>ligi'</i> k' ^w he fetched home (game) 70.3; 128.12; <i>ligi'</i> ^e he came home (with game) 124.22	<i>de-ligia'</i> lt' he fetched it for him to eat 126.9; 130.9
	<i>yonoba'</i> lt' they held nets waiting for fish 32.1

In *wō'lt'* HE WENT AFTER IT 29.12 the *-ld-* is confined to the aorist; non-aorist forms have the stem *woo-* without suffix: *woo'n* I SHALL GO AFTER IT (162.8,10).

§ 49. Indirective *-(a')md-*

There hardly seems to be any significant difference between this and the preceding suffix, except that the indirective force of *-(a')md-* seems in many cases to be much less clear and that it may be appended to transitive as well as to intransitive stems. It is quite probable that in some of the examples the *-m-* of the suffix is really the dissimilated product of an original *-l-* because of an *-l-* of the stem (see § 21); yet this explanation could not be made to apply to all the cases. Those forms that contain a radical *-l-* are given first:

Simple form	<i>-(a')md-</i>
	<i>t'ī'la'</i> mda ^{en} I fish for (salmon)
	<i>ts'!elela'</i> mda ^{en} I paint him (= I put paint— <i>s'e'el</i> —on to him)
	<i>s'in-delega'</i> msdam you put holes in my nose 22.2
<i>malagia'</i> u ^e they are jealous (cf. <i>malag-</i> , <i>malagan-</i> tell)	<i>malaga'</i> msbi ^{en} I am jealous of you
<i>yala'</i> k' ^{de} I dive (61.8) · (<i>lagag-</i> feed)	<i>yalaga'</i> mda ^{en} I dive for it (60.10)
<i>legwe'</i> l he sucked it (186.18) (<i>geleg-</i> twirl)	<i>lagaga'</i> mda ^{en} I paid him (184.17)
	<i>legwela'</i> mda ^{en} I sucked it out of him
	<i>dī'^e-al-gelegala'</i> mda ^{en} I tie his hair up into top-knot (172.3)
<i>ūyūts!</i> - laugh	<i>dī'^e-ūyū'ts!</i> amda ^{en} I fool him
<i>ya'</i> mt' ask him! 70.6	<i>yamda'</i> mt' (go and) ask of him 174.10
	<i>p'ōyamda'</i> en I smoke them out (76.11)
<i>k!emen-</i> make	<i>bā^a-k!emena'</i> mda ^{en} I make him ready to go (76.13)
<i>dak'-t'gū'</i> uba ^{en} I put (hat-like object) over as covering	<i>dak'-t'gū'</i> ubamt' she covered it (basket) over 61.9

§ 50. Indirective *-(a)n(an)-* "for"

From transitives, never from intransitives, are formed verbs in *-(a)n* or *-(a)nan-* (the first *-a-* is the connective vowel already spoken of) signifying TO DO (the act expressed by the verb-stem) FOR, IN BEHALF OF (the object of the verb). No rule can be given as to when *-(a)n-* or *-(a)nan-* is to be used, the two suffixes being frequently found to interchange in the same form. It is not likely that *-(a)nan-* is a mere duplication of the simpler *-(a)n-*, as no other case of suffix-reduplication could be shown to exist in Takelma, but rather a compound suffix consisting of two distinct elements that happen to be homonymous. Neither of the *-(a)n-* elements in *-(a)nan-*, however, can be identified with either the causative *-(a)n-* or the petrified *-(a)n-* of certain transitive verbs (see § 42,10), for the full *-(a)nan-* suffix is found suffixed to them (e. g., *lohō^uninini'^εn* I KILLED HIM FOR HIM [= I CAUSED HIM TO DIE FOR HIM]). As in the case of the ordinary indirect object-suffix *-s-*, only the third person (and that, as far as the pronoun is concerned, by implication) is tolerated as the logical object, the grammatical object being always the person in whose behalf the action is done. If the formal (i. e., indirect) object of the verb is of the third person, the *-(a)n-* or *-(a)nan-* is nearly always followed by the "instrumental" *i* (see § 64), an umlaut of the suffix to *-(i)n-* or *-(i)nin-* necessarily resulting (see § 8, 3c). The longer form of the suffix *-(a)nan* is apt to be limited to the aorist forms with third personal object; non-aorist forms and aorist forms with first or second personal object generally have the shorter form of the suffix, *-(a)n-*. What was said above of a phonetic character in regard to the causative *-(a)n-* applies also here. Examples are:

Transitive	Indirective
<p><i>wa^ε-ī-t!oxōxi^εn</i> I gather them (192.4)</p> <p><i>ī-k!ū^uma'n</i> he fixed it (150.13; 186.16,18)</p>	<p><i>wa^ε-ī-t!oxōxi^εn</i> I gather them for him</p> <p><i>wa^ε-ī-t!ūxūxanxi</i> he gathers them for me</p> <p><i>ī-k!ū^umininini'^εn</i> I fixed it for him</p> <p><i>ī-k!ūmininini'nk'</i> he will fix it for him</p> <p><i>ī-k!ū^umanan'xi</i> he fixed it for me</p> <p><i>ī-k!ūmana'nhi</i> fix it for him!</p>

Transitive	Indirective	
<i>lā^aba'εn</i> I carry it (178.4,5,6)	{ <i>lā^abinini'εn</i> I carry it for him <i>lā^aba'nha'εn</i> <i>le^eba'nxi</i> he carries it for me	
<i>ō'u^uga^en</i> I trap them (78.5)	{ <i>lō^uginini'εn</i> I trap them for him <i>lō^ugini'εn</i> (<i>p!iⁱyin</i>) <i>lū'u^uganxi</i> he traps (deer) for me <i>lō'k!inin</i> I shall trap them for him	
{ <i>k!adāi-</i> pick (aorist)	{ <i>k!adayini'εn</i> I pick them for him <i>k!adāihini'εn</i> <i>k!edeya'nxi</i> he picks them for him	
		{ <i>k!ā^ad-</i> pick (non-aorist)
<i>de^e-ī-wī'iⁱgi^en</i> I spread it out (120.1)	<i>de^e-ī-wī'iⁱganxi</i> he spreads it out for me	
<i>k!emen-</i> make	{ <i>k!emenini'εn</i> I make it for him <i>k!emninin'εn</i> I shall make it for him	
<i>limimana'εn</i> I fell tree (cause it to fall) (108.11)	<i>limiminini'εn</i> I fell it for him	
<i>lohō^una'εn</i> I cause him to die (142.9)	{ <i>lohō^unninini'εn</i> I killed him for him <i>lohō^unana'nhi</i> he killed him for him <i>lūkhū^una'nxi</i> he killed him for me	
	<i>dō^umk'wank'</i> he will kill him (116.18)	<i>dō^umana'nk'wank'</i> he will kill him for him
	<i>sā^agwa'εn</i> I paddle it (60.1; 112.9)	<i>han-se'gwa'nsin</i> I am paddled across (literally, it, i. e., canoe, is paddled across for me)
<i>p!ahanana'εn</i> I cause it to be cooked, done	<i>p!ahayinini'εn¹</i> I make it done for him	

A number of transitive verbs in *-(a)n(an)-* in which the FOR (in behalf of) idea is not clearly apparent nevertheless doubtless belong here. Such are:

¹ For the change of suffixed *n* to *y* see § 46, second footnote.

<i>al^ε-ō^udini^εn</i> I look around for him	} (<i>ō^uda^εn</i> I hunt for him [116.8])
(92.27)	
<i>ī^ε-odonⁱn</i> I shall feel around for it	
<i>malagana'nhi</i> he told him 30.15 (<i>mala'xbi</i> he told you [162.6])	

It not infrequently happens in verbs where the logical relation existing between the subject and a first or second personal object can hardly be other than an indirect one, that the FOR idea is expressed by means of the simple transitive form with *-x-* or *-s-* instead of the more explicit indirective *-(a)n(an)-*, as shown in the following examples:

- k!edēisi* he picks them for me (literally, he picks to me, alongside of *k!edeya'nxi* he picks them for me)¹
me^εbēp'xip' come and chop out (a hole) for me (to enable me to get out) (literally, come and chop me!) 90.16
gēl-ts!eye'mxi he hid it from me (158.7); but *gēl-ts!ayamini^εn* I hid it from him

The idea of DOING SOMETHING FOR SOME ONE when the action is an intransitive one can not be expressed in the verb itself, so that periphrases of one kind or another are resorted to; e. g., I GO FOR HIM is expressed by I GO, HE HAVING SENT ME. In verbs that are intransitive only in form, but logically still transitive, that is, in transitive verbs with unexpressed object, the FOR idea is expressed by the complex suffix *-gwa'dan-* (with first or second personal object *-gwas-*), the analysis of which has been attempted above (see § 46). Thus we have (*p!iyin*) *lō^ugin(in)ⁱεn* I TRAP (DEER) FOR HIM built up on a transitive in both form and meaning (i. e., *lō^uga^εn*), but *lūk!ū'xagwadiⁱεn* I TRAP FOR HIM built up on a formal intransitive (*lūk!ū'xa^ε*). The idea of FOR, IN BEHALF OF ONE'S SELF is rendered in transitive verbs by adding to the indirective suffix *-(a)n(an)-* the regular reflexive suffix *-k'wi-* (*-gwi-*):

- dō'mana'nk'widā^o* he will kill them for himself
t!ūmāk'wank'wide^ε I kill them for myself
de^ε-ī-wī'igank'wide^ε I spread it out for myself
han-se^εgwa'nk'wide^ε I paddle myself across, really, I paddle (canoe) across for myself

¹ There must be a difference in signification, however, between *k!edēisi* and *k!edeya'nxi*. The former probably means "he picks them for me, i. e., in order to give them to me;" the latter "he picks them in my behalf (perhaps because I am sick and can not do so myself)." Compare also *de'ise'eri* HE OPENED THE DOOR FOR ME (i. e., in order to let me in) (63.12) with *de'ise'eganzi* HE OPENED THE DOOR ON MY BEHALF (perhaps because I was unable to do so myself).

In intransitive verbs with implied transitive force a *-t'-* is inserted between the indirective *-(a)n(an)-* and the reflexive *-gwi-*:

lūk!ū'xagwant'gwi't' he traps for himself

Also this form in *-gwant'gwi-* was explained above.

§ 51. Indirect Reflexive *-gwa-*

By indirect reflexive is here meant action in reference to something belonging to one's self, not action in behalf of one's self. From the latter idea (expressed, as we have seen, by *-[a]n[an]k'wi-* and *-[a]n[an]-t'gwi-*) the indirect reflexive in *-gwa-* differs in being always found in a transitive setting; from the comitative *-(a)gw(a)-* it differs phonetically in being formed only from transitive verbs with expressed object and in the constancy of the final *-a-* (third person aorist *-k'wa*, not *-k'w*). Examples of its use are:

*s'in-εi-t'gili'εsgwa*¹ he scratched his own nose 14.11; 15.7

mānx al-nū'uk'wa (= *gw-k'wa*) he painted his own face (cf. *nō'gw-iεn* I paint it)

ī-gaxaga'xgwaεn I scratch myself, i. e., my own (cf. *ī-gaxagixi'εn* I scratch him)

ī-p!i-ndō'uk'wa warm your hands! (188.20) (cf. *ī-p!i-ndō'uk'wiεn* I warm his hands)

s'in-de'le'p'gwa he stuck it into his own nose (cf. *dā-dele'p'i* he pierced his — another's — ear)

bīls εal-giliga'lk'waεn I covered myself with moss (48.14) (cf. *bīls ī-giligi'li'εn* I covered him with moss)

bīls εi-giliga'lk'waεn I covered my hands with moss

gwen-p!ijink'wa he lies on pillow (probably = he causes his neck to lie)²

k!edèk'waεn I pick them for myself (literally, I pick my own)

de-k'ūk'auk'wak' he brandished it before his face 172.11

ī-k!ū'ma'nk'wa he prepared himself, got ready 172.2 (cf. *ī-k!ū'ma'n* he fixed it, got it ready 114.7)

It will be noticed that whenever what in English we are accustomed to consider a direct reflexive is really such only in form, not in fact, the Takelma idiom requires the indirect *-k'wa-* form, not the direct reflexive in *-gwi-*. Thus, I SEE OR SCRATCH MYSELF is not logically a reflexive in the same sense as I KILL, DROWN, OR HANG MYSELF, the former involving strictly action on what belongs to the subject, not on the subject itself: I SEE OR SCRATCH MY OWN (FLESH). Still such distinctions can

¹The object, generally a body-part, to which the action refers is printed in Roman characters.

²*p'iyin-* connected with *-p!eyen-* LIE?

hardly be insisted upon; much depends on idiomatic usage. The indirect reflexive suffix, it would seem, is employed only when the direct object is incorporated in the verb; if the direct object is taken out of the verb-complex and provided with a possessive pronoun, all ambiguity as to the relation between subject and object is removed and the *-gwa-* falls out. Thus we have *dā^a-de^ele'p'gwa* HE PIERCED HIS OWN EAR with indirect reflexive *-gwa-* to show the possession of the object (*dā^a-* EAR) by the subject; *dā^adele'p'i* would mean HE PIERCED ANOTHER'S EAR. The former sentence can also be expressed more analytically by *dānxdagwa hadele'p'i* HIS-OWN (*-dagwa*) -EAR HE-IN-PIERCED-IT; *dānxda hadele'p'i* would then have reference to the piercing of another's ear. In other words, the reflexive idea is expressed in the verb or in the noun according to whether the latter is incorporated or independent.

INTRANSITIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 52-57)

§ 52. General Remarks

Under this head are included such suffixes as intransitivize a transitive verb by removing the object (*-xa-*), transferring the object from without to within the sphere of the subject (reflexive, reciprocal), or changing the character of the action altogether (non-agentive, positional). The passive intransitivizes by removing, not the object, but the subject, the former remaining in exactly the same form in which we find it in the corresponding transitive; the voice is characterized by peculiar suffixes that differ for the various tense-modes, and which, following as they do the pronominal elements of the verb, will receive appropriate treatment in discussing the purely formal verbal elements. The normal transitive, its ancillary passive, the active intransitive (*-xa-*), the reflexive, the reciprocal, the non-agentive, and the positional may be looked upon as the seven voices of a transitive verb, of which only the first five (possibly also the sixth), however, can be freely formed from any transitive stem. Of the seven voices, the first two are provided with a distinct set of pronominal object (and transitive subject) suffixes; the third and the fifth, with Class I intransitive subjects; the remaining, with Class II intransitive subjects.

Before giving examples of the intransitive suffixes, it may be useful to rapidly follow out a particular transitive stem (*dink!*- STRETCH OUT [= base *din-* + transitive petrified suffix *-k!*-]) in its various voices. First

of all, we may form an ordinary active transitive verb with expressed object by attaching to the verb or aorist stem the appropriate pronominal suffixes: *ba-i-de-di'nik!aⁿ* I STRETCH IT OUT (LIKE A RUBBER BAND or the like) (62.1). Secondly, from this may be formed a passive by the addition to the stem (*dinik!-*) of the pronominal object and characteristic passive suffix: *ba-i-de-di'nik!an* IT IS OR WAS (ACTIVELY) STRETCHED OUT. Thirdly, the transitive stem may be made intransitive by a failure to specify the object: *ba-i-de-di'ni^εxade^ε* I STRETCH (SOMETHING) OUT. Fourthly, a direct reflexive is formed by the suffix *-gwi-*: *ba-i-de-di'ni^εk'wide^ε* I (actually, if such were possible) STRETCH MYSELF OUT, in as literal a sense as in, e. g., I KILL MYSELF. Fifthly, the transitive form may be made reciprocal by the compound suffix *-x-(or -s)-an-*: *ba-i-de-di'ni^εxaⁿ* THEY (actively and literally) STRETCH ONE ANOTHER OUT. Sixthly, the non-agentive voice is formed by a suffixed *-x-*: *ba-i-de-dini'^εx* IT STRETCHES OUT (144.14), in the sense in which a sore might be supposed to spread, without volition and without apparent agency; this particular form is idiomatically employed to refer to the stretching out, advancing, marching, of a single column, the figure here being evidently that of a long string-like line moving out without distinctly sensed agency. Similarly, *bā^a-dini'^εx* (CLOUDS) SPREAD UP IN LONG STRIPS 13.3 are not actively spread out by some one, do not spread out some unexpressed object, are not conceived of as actually spreading themselves out, and are not conceived of as being in the static, purely positional condition of lying extended. Seventhly, the last, positional voice is expressed by an aoristic *-i'*-, non-aoristic *-as-*: *dink!i'* IT LIES SPREAD OUT, referring to a long string or other elongated body extended on the ground; future *dink!a'sdā^a*. A synopsis for the second person singular (and reciprocal plural) of *dink!-(dinik!-)* SPREAD of the seven voices in the six tense-modes is given in Appendix A. The intransitive suffixes will now be taken up in order.

§ 53. Active Intransitive *-xa-*

The *-a-* of this suffix is a constant element except before a personal ending beginning with a vowel: *p'ele'xik'* WE GO TO FIGHT. Like other non-radical *-a-* vowels it may be unlauded to *i*: *s'om-lū-hūxiya^{ue}* THEY (indef.) OPERATE AS *s'omloho'lxa^εs* (class of medicine men) 172.14. The final consonant of the aorist stem of verbs of Type

8 falls out before the *-xa-*, also an indirective *d* (including the *-d-* of *-[a]md-*, *[a]ld-*; a final radical *-d-*, however, unites with *-xa-* to form *-sa-*). Verbs of Type 5 employ not the aorist, but the verb-stem, in the aorist of the *-xa-* derivative (cf. the parallel phenomenon in the formation of the frequentative, § 43, 1 and 6; for exceptions see § 40, 5), inserting the repeated stem-vowel between the fortis consonant of the stem and the suffix; *-xa-* derivatives of Type 5 verbs thus belong to Type 2. For the vocalism of the stem of *-xa-* forms, see § 31, 5. Verbs in *-xa-* of Types 2 and 3 regularly have a short second stem vowel, even if the quantity in the primitive verb is long; this short vowel may, however, be secondarily lengthened, with falling accent, to express a frequentative idea. In non-aorist forms the stress tends to fall on the *-xa-*. Verbs in *-xa-* can be formed, of course, only from transitives, and, although in form they are strictly intransitive, they always logically imply an object. Examples of *-xa-* are:

lūbū'xa^ε she pounded 16.9; *ī-lū'pxagwank'* she will pound having it (pestle) 55.10 (aorist transitive *lobo'p'* she pounded them 16.9)

t!ī'la'mxade^ε I went fishing (*t!ī'la'mda^εn* I fished for them)

k!ā^awa'nxa^ε she sifts 57.15 (*k!ā^awa'nda^εn* I sift acorn meal [16.10])

dak'-t'ek!e'xa^ε he smokes 96.23 (Type 5 *dak'-t'e'gi^εn* I give him to smoke [170.13])

p!ebe'xa^ε he beat off (bark) 55.6 (*p!abab-* chop [90.11])

lebe'sade^ε I sew (*lebeda^εn* I sew it)

sgūt!ū'xa^ε he is cutting 92.2 (Type 5 aorist *sgō^ud-* 72.10)

āl-xīk!i'xa^ε he looked around 102.12 (Type 5 aorist *āl-xī'ig-* 124.8)

lūk!ū'xa^ε he traps (Type 5 aorist *lō^ug^{w-}* 78.5); future *lū'^εx^wagwa-dinin* I shall trap for him

wā^a-himi'xade^ε I was talking to somebody (*wā^a-himida^εn* I talked to him [59.16])

dak'-da-hele'halxade^ε I always answer (*dak'-da-hā^ali^εn* I answer him [146.14])

dak'-hene'xa^ε he waits; future *dak'-henxa't'e^ε* I shall wait (*dak'-hene^εda^εn* I wait for him)

yimi's'a^ε (= *-s'-xa^ε*) he dreams; future *yims'a't'e^ε*; imperative *yims'a'*

In *k!eme'nxade^ε* I WAS MAKING, WORKING (future *k!emxa't'e^ε*) the loss of the *-n-* in the non-aorist forms (cf. *k!emna'n* I SHALL MAKE IT [28.14]) may be due to a purely phonetic cause (see § 11)

§ 54. Reflexive *-gwi-*

The final consonant of the aorist stem of some verbs of Type 8 is eclipsed, with lengthening of preceding vowel, also before the reflexive *-gwi-* (see § 40, 8), in the case of others it is preserved. Where the *-gwi-* reflexive is derived from indirect transitives in *-d-* (*-amd-*, *-gwadan-*), there is often practically no difference in signification between it and the indirect reflexive *-gwa-*. Examples of *-gwi-* are:

- t!omōk'wide^e* I kill myself (from *t!omom-*)
al-yebe'p'gwi't he showed himself (*yebeb-*)
al-xī'k'wit' he looked at himself
p!agānk'wide^e I bathed (literally, I caused myself to bathe;
 cf. *p!agā^ana'^en* I bathe him)
se^ela'mt'gwide^e I shall paint myself (*se^ela'mdan* I shall paint him)
t'gwaxāik'wide^e I tattooed myself (*t'gwaxāi* he tattooed him)
t'gwā^axa'nt'gwide^e I shall tattoo myself (=for myself)
ī-gis'iga's'gwide^e I tickle myself
al-wa-ts!eyēk'wide^e I washed myself with it
dā^a-delega'mt'gwide^e (= *dā^a-dele'p'gwa^en*) I pierce my ears
(yūk') *k'emēnk'wit'* they made themselves (strong) 27.12
xuma ogoik'wide^e I give food to myself (=I food-give myself)
ī-lesqi'k'wide^e I shall touch myself

Before the imperative endings *-p'*, *-p'anp'* the reflexive suffix becomes lengthened to *-gwi^t-*:

- k!ēt'gwi^tp'¹* pick them for yourself!
de^egwa^tl't'gwi^tp'anp' take care of yourselves! 126.20; (128.24)

The reflexive of *naga-* SAY TO is irregular in that it is formed not from the transitive stem, but from the corresponding intransitive *nagai-* SAY: *nagaik'wit'* HE SAID TO HIMSELF 104.1 (cf. *nagaik'wa*, §62).

§ 55. Reciprocal $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -x \\ -s \end{array} \right\}$ -*an-*

The *-x-* and *-s-* preceding the characteristic reciprocal *-an-* (umlauted *-in-*) suffix are nothing but the connective consonant of direct and indirect transitive verbs respectively, the choice in the reciprocal form between the two depending entirely upon which is used in the corresponding simple transitive. A difference, however, in the use of this *-x-* (*-s-*) between the transitive and reciprocal is found in so far as in the latter it appears with a third as well as first and second

¹ Indirect reflexive (for oneself) in signification, though without indirective suffix of any kind. The form is thus analogous to such as *k!edēisi* mentioned above (see §59). That the reflexive action is thought of as indirective in character seems to be indicated by the ablaut of the stem (*k!āad-*); see §31, 6.

personal object. The phonetic form of what precedes the *-x-* (*-s-*) is the same as in the transitive from which the reciprocal is derived. The reciprocal element *-an-* is the only one of the verbal suffixes that is placed between the connecting *-x-* and the personal endings, so that it may rightly be looked upon as in a way equivalent to the incorporated objective pronouns. Examples of *-x-an-* are:

k!oyōxinik' we go together, accompany one another (33.15)

t!ēūxinība^εni let us play shinny!

ī-lats!a'xinik' we touch one another

al-s'in-lō^uxa^εn they meet each other (literally, they thrust noses to one another)

t!omōxa^εn they kill one another (33.10)

gel-wayānxa^εn they were sleeping together (literally, they caused each other to sleep facing each other) 190.2

al-xīⁱxa^εn they looked at each other

Examples of *-s-an-*, i. e., of indirect reciprocals, are:

naga'sa^εn they said to each other 31.9 (cf. *naga'sbi^εn* I said to you [100.1]); future *nāxan^εt'* (cf. *nāxbin* [60.3])

sā^ansa'nsa^εn they fight one another (23.14; 184.13) (cf. *sā^ansa'ns-bi^εn*); future *sana'xan^εt'* (23.15) (cf. *sana'xbin*)

he^ε-īūs'a^εn they went away from one another (cf. *he^ε-īūsbi^εn* [184.14]); future *he^ε-īwi'xan^εt'* (cf. *he^ε-īwi'xbin*)

lā^ama'lsa^εn they quarreled with each other 27.2; 86.10

wā^a-himi'sa^εn they talked to one another 124.14 (cf. *wā^a-himi'sbi^εn*)

lō^ugwa's-inība^ε let us play 32.5 (cf. *lō^ugwa'sbin* future)

t!ūⁱ!t!als-inība^ε let us play at gambling-sticks (*t!ūⁱ!*) 31.9

al-sege'sak'sinik' we keep nodding to one another; *se^k'sa^k'-sank'* they nodded to one another (inferential) 172.10 (but unre-duplicated *al-se^εxinik'* we nodded to each other)

§ 56. Non-agentive *-x-*

The difference in signification between the non-agentive *-x-* and the intransitive *-xa-* may be well brought out by a comparison with the distinctly double signification of English intransitively used transitives. If such a transitive word as *SPLIT* be relieved of its object, it may be employed in two quite distinct senses, either to indicate the same sort of action that is expressed by the transitive, but without explicit direction (as, *THE CARPENTER CAN SPLIT*, i. e., can split beams, boards); or to indicate a spontaneous non-volitional activity resulting in a static condition identical with that induced by the corresponding transitive action (as, *THE BEAMS, BOARDS, SPLIT*, i. e., spontaneously

undergo motion resulting in that condition which is brought about by corresponding activity from without: THE CARPENTER SPLITS THE BEAMS, BOARDS). SPLIT in the former case is rendered in Takelma by $x\bar{a}^a\text{-ts}'iwi'xa^\epsilon$ (aorist transitive $ts'iwi\text{-}d\text{-}$); in the latter, by $x\bar{a}^a\text{-ts}'iwi's'$ (= $\text{-ts}'iwi\text{-}d\text{-}x$). It is true that in some cases the use of $\text{-}x\text{-}$ does not seem to be logically justified (e. g., $al\text{-}h\bar{u}y\bar{u}x\bar{d}e^\epsilon$ I HUNT 136.18; $al\text{-}ho\text{-}yoiya'^\epsilon n$ I HUNT THEM); but something must be allowed for idiomatic, not literally translatable usage. Such petrified suffixes as $\text{-}d\text{-}$ do not drop out before the $\text{-}x\text{-}$; the repeated consonant of Type 8 verbs falls off as usual (yet cf. forms like $lim\bar{m}\text{-}x\text{-}gwa\text{-}$, §46). Examples of the non-agentive are:

Transitive	Non-agentive
$\bar{i}\text{-}k'w\bar{a}'agwi^\epsilon n$ I awakened him 16.4 (future $\bar{i}\text{-}k'w\bar{a}'k'win$)	$k'w\bar{a}'axde^\epsilon$ I awoke (16.3) (future $k'w\bar{a}'axde^\epsilon$ [190.5])
$leme'^\epsilon k'$ they took them along 144.17	$leme'^\epsilon x$ they all went 136.7
$\bar{i}\text{-}t'ge^\epsilon yili'^\epsilon n$ I roll it $de\text{-}ts'i\bar{b}i'p'$ he closed door $p!a\text{-}i\text{-}ha\text{-}u\text{-}t'g\bar{u}'up'$ he upset it $wa^\epsilon\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}t!eme'm$ he assembled them 110.3	$t'ge^\epsilon ya'lx$ it rolls $de\text{-}ts'i\bar{b}i'x$ (door) shut $p!a\text{-}i\text{-}ha\text{-}u\text{-}t'g\bar{u}'upx$ it upset 60.8 $wa\text{-}t!em\bar{x}ia^{us}$ people assembled 144.23
$ha^\epsilon w\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}ha'nats!i^\epsilon n$ I made it stop	$ha\text{-}u\text{-}hana'^\epsilon s$ (= $\text{-}\bar{a}'ts!x$) it stopped (152.15; 198.9)
$d\bar{i}\text{-}sg\bar{u}'y\bar{u}k!i^\epsilon n$ I knock it down (48.7, 8)	$d\bar{i}\text{-}sg\bar{u}'isxk'$ it fell (nobody pushing) (59.11; 62.1)
$\bar{i}\text{-}gwidigwa't'i$ he threw them (108.21; 138.3)	$h\bar{u}^u\bar{l}\bar{u}'nk'wa$ (tiredness) $gwidig\text{-}wa's$ (= $\text{-}a'tx$) he was plumb tired out (probably = he tottered with tiredness) 120.12
$\bar{i}\text{-}smili'smili^\epsilon n$ I swing it $b\bar{a}^a\text{-}t'e'^\epsilon qi^\epsilon n$ I lift it up (Type 5)	$smili'smalxde^\epsilon$ I swing ¹ (73.2) $b\bar{a}^a\text{-}t'e'k!e't'ax$ it bobs up and down (60.11, 13, 14)

In some verbs $\text{-}alx\text{-}$ (= continuative $\text{-}al\text{-}$ + non-agentive $\text{-}x\text{-}$) seems to be quite equivalent to the intransitive $\text{-}xa\text{-}$:

$geyewa'lxde^\epsilon$ I am eating (31.3) (but, hortatory, $geixaba^\epsilon$ let us eat)
 $le^\epsilon ba'nxde^\epsilon$ I carry (178.6) ($l\bar{a}^a ba'^\epsilon n$ I carry it [178.3, 4])
 $\bar{u}^u gwa'nxde^\epsilon$ I drink (see § 21).

The non-agentive character of verbs in $\text{-}x\text{-}$ may be reflected in transitives (causatives) derived from them, in that in such causatives

¹ It may not be uninteresting to note, as throwing light on the native feeling for $\text{-}x\text{-}$, that this form sounded somewhat queer to Mrs. Johnson, for, as she intimated, one can't very well be swinging without either actively swinging one's self or being swung by some one.

the subject is not thought of as being the direct cause of the state or activity predicated, but is rather considered as indirectly responsible for it. Thus, from the aorist stem *t'gwilik!w-* (*t'gwili'ε-x* WATER, BLOOD DROPS, DRIPS 58.1) are formed:

p!a-i-t'gwili'k!wana^{εn} I (voluntarily) drop, spill it

p!a-i-t'gwili'εxna^{εn} I have it drop (unavoidably), spill it (72.8, 16)

§ 57. Positional-*-ī-*

As we have already seen (§ 40, 15), this suffix, though of clearly derivational character, is generally, probably always, confined to the aorist. A positional verb in *-ī-* may be defined as expressing the state or condition resulting from the completed action of a transitive or non-agentive; e. g., *p!a-i-ha-u-t'gup!īdī* IT (BOX-LIKE OBJECT) LIES UPSIDE DOWN is a verb expressing the result of the action defined in *p!a-i-ha-u-t'gū'uba^{εn}* I UPSET IT and *p!a-i-ha-u-t'gū'upx* IT UPSET 60.8. From one point of view the suffix *-ī-* serves to mark off a class of purely positional verbs, a different verb-stem being used for each general form-category of the object described. Such verbs of position are:

dīnk!ī long, stretched out object lies (transitive aorist *dīnik!-*)

t'geits!ī round object lies (138.24) (*t'geyets!-*)

p'īldī flat object lies

t!obiqī corpse, dead-looking body lies

s'einī box-like object with opening on top lies

p!a-i-ha-u-t'gup!īdī box-like object with opening below lies
(*t'gū'ub-*)

s'ugwidī curled-up object (like bundle of rope) lies

da-sgalī scattered objects (like grain on floor) lie

wīk!īdī several objects heaped together lie (*wī'ig-*)

s'as'inī erect object is, he stands 34.1; 45.12; 77.9

s'u^εwilī sitting object (person) is, he sits, dwells 21.1; 57.2

k'ebīlī absent object is, he is long absent 124.20

Not so clearly positional are:

lā^alī (generally heard as *lā^alē*) it becomes 33.17; 45.3

yamlī he looks pretty

Of these verbs those that are directly derived from transitives, it will be observed, use in the aorist the verb-stem, not the aorist stem, of their simplex (thus *dīnk!-*, not *dīnik!-*). The derivational *-(a)d-* (see § 42, 4) that seems to characterize a number of positional verbs can not be explained.

Certain Takelma place-names in $-i$ (or $-i-k'$, $-i'-k'$ with suffix $-k'$ characteristic of geographical names) can hardly be otherwise explained than as positional verbs in $-i'$, derived from nouns and provided with local prefixes defining the position of the noun. Such are:

- Di^ε-danī* ¹ Table Rock (probably = rock [*da'n*] is [$-i$] west [*dī^ε-*]); west of the rock would be *dī^ε-dana'* (cf. *dana't'k'* my rock)
Dak'-t'gamī-k' (cf. *Dak'-t'gamiya'^ε* person from D.) (= place where [$-k'$] elks [*t'ga'm*] are [i] above, on top [*dak'-*])
Dal-dani'k' (cf. *Dal-daniya'^ε* one from D.) (= place where [$-k'$] in brush, away from creek [*dal-*] is [$-i$] rock [*da'n*])
han-xilmī ghost land (= across river [*han-*] are [$-i$] ghosts [*xila'm*])
de-dī'wī near the falls of Rogue River (= in front [*de-*] are [$-i$] falls [*dīū*])

§ 58. IMPERSONAL $-iau-$

Verging toward the purely formal (pronominal) elements of the verb is the suffix $-iau-$. Forms in $-iau-$ are intransitive, and may be formed from all intransitives and all transitives with incorporated pronominal *object*, the function of the suffix being to give an indefinite, generalized collective, or impersonal, signification (cf. German MAN, French ON) to the always third personal pronominal (Class I intransitive) subject. Examples are:

- yā^ania'^{ue}* people go 58.14; 152.5 future *yanaya'^{ue}t'*
wa^ε-ī-t!em̄xia'^{ue} people assem- future *wa^ε-ī-dēm̄xia'^{ue}t'*
 ble 144.23
e^εbia'^{ue} people are 192.7 (cf.
 e^εbi'k' we are 180.13)
ts!āū yō^uya'uk' there was (infer-
 ential) deep water (cf. 188.14)
sā^ansa'nsinia'^{ue} fighting is go- future *sana'xinia'^{ue}t'*
 ing on 23.14
dōm̄xbiya'^{ue}t' people will kill you
 (intransitive; but transitive
 with definite third personal
 subject *dōm̄xbink'* they will
 kill you) (33.10)

In particular, states of the weather or season, necessarily involving indefiniteness of subject, are referred to by forms provided with the indefinite suffix $-iau-$. Examples are:

¹ This example is due to Mr. H. H. St. Clair 2d, from whose Manuscript Notes on Takelma it was taken. It is there written *Dī'tanī'*.

lop!odia'^{ue} it is raining, hailing, or snowing 90.1; 152.11 (but definitely *nōx lop!o't'* it rains 90.1; (198.9); *ts'!elam lop!o't'* it hails; *p'ā'as lop!o't'* it snows 90.2; 196.7)

lep'niya'uk' it has gotten to be winter

samgia'^{ue}*t'* it will be summer (92.9)

samgiaugulugwa'n it is about to be summer (literally, it is summer-intended, see § 68) (cf. 48.13)

t'ūwūgia'^{ue} it is hot (i. e., it is hot weather; but *t'ūwū'ek'* it, some object, is hot [25.10]; 94.15)

we'egia-uda^e when it is daybreak 73.6; 126.13

4. Temporal-Modal and Pronominal Elements (§§ 59-67)

§ 59. INTRODUCTORY

Every Takelma verb except, so far as known, the defective copula *ēt'e*^e I AM, has forms of six tense-modes—*ao*rist, future, potential, inferential, present imperative, and future imperative. Of these, all but the *ao*rist, which is built up on a derived *ao*rist stem, are formed from the verb-stem. A special tense or mode sign, apart from the peculiar stem of the *ao*rist, is found in none of the tense-modes except the inferential, which, in all the voices, is throughout characterized by a *-k'*-(-*g*-) following the objective, but preceding the subjective, pronominal elements. Each of the tense-modes except the potential, which uses the personal endings of the *ao*rist; is, however, characterized by its own set of pronominal endings. It is for this very reason that it has seemed best to use the term tense-modes for the various modes and tenses, instead of attempting a necessarily artificial classification into tenses (*ao*rist and future) and modes (indicative, potential, imperative, and inferential), the method of distinguishing the latter being fundamentally the same as that employed to form the former, i. e., the use of special pronominal schemes.

The purely temporal idea is only slightly developed in the verb. The *ao*rist does duty for the preterite (including the narrative past), the present, and the immediate future, as in NOW I SHALL GO; while the future is employed to refer to future time distinctly set off from the present, as in I SHALL GO THIS EVENING, TO-MORROW. A similar distinction between the immediate and more remote future is made in the imperative. The present imperative expresses a command which, it is intended, is to pass into more or less immediate fulfillment, as in GO AWAY! while the command expressed by the future

imperative is not to be carried out until some stated or implied point of time definitely removed from the immediate present, as in COME TO-MORROW!, GIVE HER TO EAT (when she recovers). The uses of the potential and inferential will be best illustrated by examples given after the forms themselves have been tabulated. In a general way the potential implies the ability to do a thing, or the possibility of the occurrence of a certain action or condition (I CAN, COULD GO if I care, cared to), and thus is appropriately used in the apodosis of an unfulfilled or contrary-to-fact condition; it is also regularly employed in the expression of the negative imperative (prohibitive). The peculiar form of the potential (verb-stem with aorist pronoun endings) seems in a measure to reflect its modal signification, the identity of its stem with that of the future indicating apparently the lack of fulfillment of the action, while the aoristic pronominal elements may be interpreted as expressing the certainty of such fulfillment under the expressed or implied circumstances by the person referred to.

The inferential implies that the action expressed by the verb is not directly known or stated on the authority of the speaker, but is only inferred from the circumstances of the case or rests on the authority of one other than the speaker. Thus, if I say THE BEAR KILLED THE MAN, and wish to state the event as a mere matter of fact, the truth of which is directly known from my own or another's experience, the aorist form would normally be employed:

mena' (bear) *yap!a* (man) *t!omōk'wa* (it killed him)

If I wish, however, to imply that it is not definitely known from unmistakable evidence that the event really took place, or that it is inferred from certain facts (such as the finding of the man's corpse or the presence of a bear's footprints in the neighborhood of the house), or that the statement is not made on my own authority, the inferential would be employed:

mena' yap!a dōmk'wak' it seems that the bear killed the man;
the bear must have, evidently has, killed the man

Inasmuch as mythical narration is necessarily told on hearsay, one would expect the regular use of the inferential in the myths; yet, in the great majority of cases, the aorist was employed, either because the constant use of the relatively uncommon inferential forms would have been felt as intrusive and laborious, or because the events related in the myths are to be looked upon as objectively certain.

The inferential is also regularly employed in expressing the negative future.

Not only do the pronominal elements vary for the different tense-modes, but they change also for the two main classes of intransitive verbs and for the transitive (subject and object), except that in the present imperative and inferential no such class-differences are discernible, though even in these the characteristic *-p'* of Class II intransitives brings about a striking formal, if not strictly personal, difference. We thus have the following eleven pronominal schemes to deal with:

- Aorist subject intransitive I.
- Aorist subject intransitive II.
- Aorist subject transitive.
- Future subject intransitive I.
- Future subject intransitive II.
- Future subject transitive.
- Inferential subject.
- Present imperative subject.
- Future imperative subject intransitive I and transitive.
- Future imperative subject intransitive II.
- Object transitive (and subject passive).

The transitive objects are alike for all tense-modes, except that the combination of the first person singular object and second person singular or plural subject (i. e., THOU or YE ME) always agrees with the corresponding subject form of intransitive II. Not all the personal forms in these schemes stand alone, there being a number of intercrossings between the schemes of the three classes of verbs. The total number of personal endings is furthermore greatly lessened by the absence of a dual and the lack of a distinct plural form for the third person. The third person subject is positively characterized by a distinct personal ending only in the aorist subject intransitive I, the future subject intransitive I, the future subject intransitive II, and the future subject transitive; as object, it is never characterized at all, except in so far as the third person object, when referring to human beings, is optionally indicated by a special suffix *-k'wa-* (*-gwa-*). In all other cases the third person is negatively characterized by the absence of a personal ending. The second singular subject of the present imperative is similarly negatively characterized by the absence of a personal ending, though the *-p'* of the present imperative intransitive II superficially contradicts this statement (see § 61).

The pronominal schemes, with illustrative paradigms, will now be taken up according to the verb-classes.

§ 60. INTRANSITIVES, CLASS I

This class embraces most of the intransitives of the language, particularly those of active significance (e. g., COME, GO, RUN, DANCE, PLAY, SING, DIE, SHOUT, JUMP, yet also such as BE, SLEEP), verbs in *-xa-*, indefinites in *-iaw-*, and reciprocals. The tense-modes of such verbs have the following characteristic subjective personal endings:

	Aorist	Future	Inferential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Singular:					
First person . .	-t'ε', -dε'	-t'εε, -dεε	-k'-aε ¹	—	-(a')t'k'
Second person . .	-(a')t'	-(a)da'ε	-k' εεit'		
Third person . .	=ε	-(a')t'	-k'		
Plural:					
First person . .	-t'k'	-(i)ga'm	-k'-ana'k'	-(a)ba'ε	
Second person . .	-(a')t'p'	-(a')t'ba'ε	-k' εεit'p'	f-(a')n'p' l-p'	?

¹ It is possible that this suffix is really *-k'aⁿ*: *-n* after a catch is practically without sonority, and very easily missed by the ear. The first person singular and plural inferential endings are then both transitives in form (cf. *-aⁿ* and *-ana'k'* as first person singular and plural subject of transitives); the third person is without ending in both. The ending *-k'-aⁿ* is made particularly likely by the subordinate in *-k'-a'n-da^s* (see § 70).

The imperative is necessarily lacking in the first person singular and third person. The first person plural in *-(a)ba'ε* of the present imperative is used as a hortatory: *yanaba'ε* LET US GO! 158.11; (cf. 168.11). This *-(a)ba'ε* is not infrequently followed by emphasizing particles: *-ni'* (e. g., *yubā'aⁿni'* LET US BE! [cf. 158.8]); *-hi* (e. g., *ye^sba'εhi* LET US RETURN! 63.1; see § 114, 2), or *-ha'n* (e. g., *ya'naba^sha'n* LET US GO 64.1), the last of these being clearly identical with the nominal plural element *-han* (see § 99); *-nihan* is also found (*ya'nabā'aⁿniha'n* LET US ALL GO, PRAY! [cf. 150.24; 152.6]). No true future hortatory and second person plural imperative seem to exist; for the latter, the ordinary indicative form in *-t'ba'ε* (*-daba'ε* in the other classes) was always given. The connective *-a-* is used with most of the consonantal endings, as indicated in the table, when the preceding part of the word ends in a consonant, otherwise the ending is directly attached; in the reciprocal *-t'p'*, *-εt'*, and *-t'ba'ε* are directly added to the suffix *-an-*. Before the only vocalic ending, *-i'k'*, a glide *-y-* is introduced if the preceding sound is a vowel (e. g., *al-yowoyi'k'* WE LOOK). In the first person plural of the future *-iga'm* (*-aorist -ig- + -a'm*; cf. *-da'm* in possessive

pronouns, §§ 91-3) is used after consonants, *-ga'm* after vowels. The first form of the second person plural imperative (*-a'np'*) is used to follow most consonants (*-'np'* to follow a "constant" *-a-* of the stem), *-'p'* being found only after vowels and probably *m* and *n* (e. g., *yu'p'* BE YE!; *yana'p'* GO YE!).

In regard to the etymology of the endings, it is clear that the second person plural aorist is derived from the corresponding singular form by the addition of a characteristic *-p'* (cf. the imperative), that the second persons of the future are differentiated from the aorist forms by an added *-a^ε*, and that the first person singular future is identical with the corresponding form in the aorist, except for the lack of a catch. The second persons of the inferential are periphrastic forms, consisting of the third personal form in *-k'* (mode-sign, not personal ending) plus *ei't'* THOU ART, *ei't'p'* YE ARE.

As paradigmatic examples are chosen a stem ending in a vowel (aorist *yowo-* BE), one ending in a consonant (aorist *baxam-* COME), a reciprocal (aorist *sā'nsan-san-* FIGHT WITH ONE ANOTHER), and an indefinite in *-iau-* (aorist *t'ūwū-g-iau-* BE HOT).

AORIST

Singular:				
First person . .	<i>yowo't'e^ε</i>	<i>baxam't'e^ε</i>	I	
Second person . .	<i>yowo't'</i>	<i>baxama't'</i>		
Third person . .	<i>yowo'e^ε</i>	<i>baxa't'm</i>	<i>sā'nsa'nsa^εn</i>	they fight <i>t'ūwūgia'ue^ε</i> it is hot
Plural:				
First person . .	<i>yowoyi'k'</i>	<i>baxami'k'</i>	<i>sā'nsa'nsinik'</i>	
Second person . .	<i>yowo't'p'</i>	<i>baxama't'p'</i>	<i>sā'nsa'nsant'p'</i>	

FUTURE

Singular:				
First person . .	<i>yu't'e^o</i>	<i>baxma't'e^o</i>		
Second person . .	<i>yuda'e^ε</i>	<i>baxmada'e^ε</i>		
Third person . .	<i>yu't'i'</i>	<i>baxma'e't'</i>	<i>sana'xant'</i>	<i>t'ūugia'ue't'</i>
Plural:				
First person . .	<i>yuga'm</i>	<i>baxmaga'm</i>	<i>sana'xinigam</i>	
Second person . .	<i>yu't'ba^ε</i>	<i>baxma't'ba^ε</i>	<i>sana'xant'ba^ε</i>	

POTENTIAL

Singular:				
First person . .	<i>yu't'e^ε</i>	<i>baxma't'e^ε</i>		
Second person . .	<i>yu't'</i>	<i>baxma't'</i>		
Third person . .	<i>yu'e^ε</i>	<i>baxma'e^ε</i>	<i>sana'xa^εn</i>	<i>t'ūugia'ue^ε</i>
Plural:				
First person . .	<i>yuwi'k'</i>	<i>baxmi'k'</i>	<i>sana'xinik'</i>	
Second person . .	<i>yu't'p'</i>	<i>baxma't'p'</i>	<i>sana'xant'p'</i>	

INFERENCEAL

Singular:				
First person	. .	<i>yu'k'a^ε</i>	<i>bazma'k'a^ε</i>	
Second person	. .	<i>yu'kleit'¹</i>	<i>bazma'kleit'</i>	
Third person	. .	<i>yu'k'</i>	<i>bazma'k'</i>	<i>sana'rank'</i> <i>t'ūgiau'k'</i>
Plural:				
First person	. .	<i>yu'k'ana'k'</i>	<i>bazma'k'ana'k'</i>	<i>sana'rank'ana'k'</i>
Second person	. .	<i>yu'kleit'p'</i>	<i>bazma'kleit'p'</i>	<i>sana'rankleit'p'</i>

¹ -k' + ε = k! See § 12.

PRESENT IMPERATIVE

Singular:				
Second person	. .	<i>yu'</i>	<i>bazma'</i>	
Plural:				
First person	. .	<i>yuba^ε</i>	<i>bazmaba^ε</i>	<i>sana'ziniba¹</i>
Second person	. .	<i>yu'p'</i>	<i>bazma'np'</i>	<i>(?)sana'zanap'</i>

¹ The *-i-* of *-iba^ε* evidently corresponds to the *-i-* in the first person plural aorist *-ik'*, future *-igam*, but appears, so far as known, only in the reciprocal, and, of course, in such cases as require connective *-i-* instead of *-a-* (see below, § 64): *ha^εw-i-k':emniba^ε* LET US SWEAT, with *-i-* because of instrumental *i-*.

FUTURE IMPERATIVE

Singular:				
Second person	. .	<i>yu'εk'</i>	<i>bazma'εk'</i>	

A few intransitives of this class add the consonantal pronominal endings directly to the final semi-vowel (*-y-*) of the stem, instead of employing the connective vowel *-a-*. Such are:

eit'¹ thou art 108.2, *eit'p'* ye are 14.10 (contrast *yeweya't'* thou returnest [58.13], but *yeweit'e^ε* I return [188.4] like *eit'e^ε* I am 198.2)

nagaīt' thou sayest 56.5, *nagaīt'p'* ye say 170.4 (contrast *t'agaya't'* thou criest, but *t'agaīt'e^ε* I cry [180.5] like *nagaīt'e^ε* I say 180.1)

To this somewhat irregular group of verbs belongs probably also *lōu-*PLAY, though, not ending in a semi-vowel in either the verb or aorist stem, it shows no forms directly comparable to those just given; its third person aorist, however, shows a rising accent before the catch: *lōu'ε²* 70.4 (not **lō'u'ε*), a phenomenon that seems connected (see below, § 65) with the lack of a connecting vowel before the personal endings.

A few stray verbs, otherwise following the normal scheme of intransitive Class I endings, seem to lack a catch in the third person aorist:

¹ This verb is defective, having only the three forms given above, the first person plural *eεbi'k'* 180.13, and the (cf. class II) indefinite *eεbia'u^ε* 192.7, the latter two with loss of *i* and intrusive *-b-*. The third person and the non-aorist forms are supplied by *yo-* BE.

² ≈^h appears also in certain usitives: *hiwili^h* HE USED TO RUN, *sgelē^h* HE KEPT SHOUTING, in which the rising accent is probably radical (see § 43, 4); these forms, furthermore, have lost a *w*, § 18 (cf. *hiwiliūt'e^ε* I RUN, *sgelēūt'e^ε* I SHOUT).

*lop!o't*¹ it rains 90.1, 2 (yet *lop!oda't* you are raining 198.9;
lop'da'εt it will rain; *lop'da'x* to rain, § 74, 1)
hāx it burns 98.1 (yet *haxa'εt* it will burn)

Several intransitive Class I usitatives seem to lack the catch of the third person aorist also:

gin̄n̄k' he always went to 46.11 (from *gini'εk'* he went to)
witc!isma he keeps moving (from *witc!i'εm* he moves 148.12)
yewè'o'k' he is wont to return 47.4; 116.2 (yet *yewèoga't* you are wont to return)

No explanation can be given of this irregularity.

The inferential endings, as has been already remarked, are identical for all classes of verbs, so that the following applies to Class II intransitives and to transitives as well as to Class I intransitives. The mode-sign *-k'* is added directly to the final vowel or consonant of the verb-stem (or stem with its added derivative and pronominal object suffixes) without connecting *a*. All combinations of consonants are here allowed that are at all possible as syllabically final clusters (see § 16); indeed some of the final consonant clusters, as *-sk'*, *-p'k'*, *-np'k'*, *-lp'k'*, hardly occur, if at all, outside the inferential. If the resulting consonant combination would be phonetically impossible an inorganic *a* is introduced between the two consonants that precede the inferential *-k'*; secondary diphthongs with raised accent may thus arise:

k!ema'nk' he made it (verb-stem *k!em-*)
bila'uk' he jumped 160.17 (verb-stem *bilw-*)

Double diphthongs are often allowed to stand unaltered before *-k'* (e. g., *oīnk'* HE GAVE THEM; also imperative *oīn* GIVE THEM!); sometimes doublets, with double diphthong or with inorganic *a*, are found (e. g., *ts!aīmk'* or *ts!aya'mk'* HE HID IT; also passive participle *ts!aīmhak'w* HIDDEN, but *ts!aya'm* HIDE IT! *ts!eya'mxi* HIDE ME! *ts!aya'mxamk'* HE HID US [158.7]). With a final *-g-* or *-gw-* the inferential *-k'* unites to form *-k'* or *-k'w*, but with lengthening of the preceding vowel; *-k!- + -k'* becomes *-'εk'*. Examples are:

he'ēnāk'w (= *a'gw-k'*) he consumed them (cf. 48.10); but *he'ēna'k'w*
 consume them!
wa-yanāk'w (= *yana'gw-k'*) he ran after them 98.10; but *wa-*
yana'k'w run after them!

¹ This form can not possibly have been misheard for **lop!o'εt*, the form to be expected, as the subordinate is *lop!ōt'a*, not **lop!ō'uda*, which would be required by a **lop!o'εt* (see § 70).

yō^uk^w (= *yogw-k'*) she married him 192.16

he^ε-i-le'm^εk' (= *lemk!-k'*) he destroyed them (146.20); 154.11;
also imperative (= **lemk!*)

§ 61. INTRANSITIVES, CLASS II

Most verbs of Class II intransitives, unlike those that are most typical of Class I, are derived from transitives, the majority of examples falling under the heads of non-agentives in *-x-*, reflexives in *-gwi-*, positionals in *-iⁱ-*, and verbs with intransitivizing *-p'*- either in all their tense-modes or in all but the aorist (see § 42, 1). Besides these main groups there are a straggling number of not easily classified verbs that also show the peculiarities of the class; such are:

sene'sant'e^ε I whoop (110.20; 180.15)

wit'e^ε I go about (90.1; 92.29; 122.23)

ligint'e^ε I rest (48.11; 79.2, 4; 102.1)

hüüli'nt'e^ε I am tired (48.4, 11; 102.1, 8; 120.11)

In a rough way the main characteristic of Class II intransitives, as far as signification is concerned, is that they denote conditions and processes, while Class I intransitives are in great part verbs of action. Following is the scheme of subjective pronominal endings characteristic of Class II:

	Aorist	Future	Inferential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Singular:					
First person .	<i>-t'e^ε, -de^ε</i>	<i>t'e^ε, -de^ε</i>	<i>(-p')-ga^ε</i>		
Second person .	<i>-t'am, -dam</i>	<i>-t'a^ε, -da^ε</i>	<i>(-p')-k' ^εait'</i>	(-p')	(-p')-ga^εm
Third person .	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ -t' \end{array} \right\}$	<i>-t'āa, -dāa</i>	<i>(-p')-k'</i>		
Plural:					
First person .	<i>(-p')-ik'</i>	<i>(-p')-igam</i>	<i>(-p')-g-ana'k'</i>	<i>(-p')-aba^ε</i>	
Second person .	<i>-t'ap', -dap'</i>	<i>-t'aba^ε, -daba^ε</i>	<i>(-p')-k' ^εait'p'</i>	<i>(-p')-anp'</i>	

In comparing these endings with those of Class I intransitives, it is seen that the characteristic peculiarities of Class II intransitives are: the *-am* of the second person singular aorist and future imperative (*-t'am* [= *-t' + -am*], *-ga^εm* [*?* = *-^εk' + -am*]); the *-a-* between the *-t'-* and the *-p'-* (*-b-*) in the second person plural aorist and future; the lack of a catch in the third person aorist; the ending *-t'āa* of the third person future; and the presence of a *-p'-* (*-b-*) in the first person plural aorist and future and in the inferential, present imperative, and future imperative forms. The last feature is, however, absent in the non-agentive *-x-* verbs and in the future of reflexives. The labial in

the first person plural of the aorist and future is evidently connected with the *-b-* of *e^ebi'k'* WE ARE (see § 60, fourth footnote); the parallelism is made complete by the fact that impersonal forms in *-iau-* derived from Class II intransitives (except non-agentives) show a *-p'*- before the suffix, analogously to *e^ebia'^{ue}*:

sene'sanp'ia^{ue} there is whooping, *se'nsanp'ia^{ue}t'* there will be whooping

In the third person of the aorist, positionals in *-i-*, non-agentives, and verbs in *-p'*- and other consonants (except *n* and probably *l*, *m*) lack a positive ending, while reflexives and most of the miscellaneous verbs (ending in a vowel or *n*, *l*, and *m*) show a final *-t'*. There is every reason to believe that the absence of a *-t'* in the former group of forms is due to phonetic conditions that brought about its loss (see § 18).

As examples of verbs of this class will serve a non-agentive (aorist *ha-u-hana^s*- STOP), a reflexive (aorist *i-lets'ek'wi-* TOUCH ONE'S SELF), a positional (aorist *s'as'in*i**- STAND), and one of the miscellaneous verbs (*w*i**- GO ABOUT).

AORIST.

Singular:				
First person .	<i>hana'^sde^s</i> I stop	<i>lets'ek'wide^s</i> I touch myself	<i>s'as'ini^t'e^s</i> I stand	<i>wi^t'e^s</i> I go about
Second person	<i>hana'^sdam</i>	<i>lets'ek'widam</i>	<i>s'as'ini^t'am</i>	<i>wi^t'am</i>
Third person	<i>hana'^s</i>	<i>lets'ek'wit'</i>	<i>s'as'ini^t</i>	<i>wi^t'</i>
Plural:				
First person .	<i>hana'^ssik'</i>	<i>lets'ek'wibik'</i>	<i>s'as'ini^p'ik'</i>	<i>wi^p'ik'</i>
Second person	<i>hana'^ssdap'</i>	<i>lets'ek'widap'</i>	<i>s'as'ini^t'ap'</i>	<i>wi^t'ap'</i>

FUTURE

Singular:				
First person .	<i>ha'n^sde^s</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wide^s</i>	<i>s'a'sant'e^s</i>	<i>wi^t'e^s</i>
Second person	<i>ha'n^sda^s</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wida^s</i>	<i>s'a'sant'a^s</i>	<i>wi^t'a^s</i>
Third person .	<i>ha'n^sdā^s</i>	<i>lesgi'k'widā^s</i>	<i>s'a'sant'ā^s</i>	<i>wi^t'ā^s</i>
Plural:				
First person .	<i>ha'n^ssigam</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wigam</i>	<i>s'a'sanp'igam</i>	<i>wi^p'igam</i>
Second person	<i>ha'n^sdaba^s</i>	<i>lesgi'k'widaba^s</i>	<i>s'a'sant'aba^s</i>	<i>wi^t'aba^s</i>

POTENTIAL.

Singular:				
First person .	<i>ha'n^sde^s</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wide^s</i>	<i>s'a'sant'e^s</i>	<i>wi^t'e^s</i>
Second person	<i>ha'n^sdam</i>	<i>lesgi'k'widam</i>	<i>s'a'sant'am</i>	<i>wi^t'am</i>
Third person .	<i>ha'n^s</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wit'</i>	<i>s'a'sant' (?)</i>	<i>wi^t'</i>
Plural:				
First person .	<i>ha'n^ssik'</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wibik'</i>	<i>s'a'sanp'ik'</i>	<i>wi^p'ik'</i>
Second person	<i>ha'n^ssdap'</i>	<i>lesgi'k'widap'</i>	<i>s'a'sant'ap'</i>	<i>wi^t'ap'</i>

INFERENCEAL

Singular:				
First person .	<i>ha'n̄sgaʔ</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wip'gaʔ</i>	<i>s'a's'anp'gaʔ</i>	<i>wip'gaʔ</i>
Second person	<i>ha'n̄skleit'</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wip'kleit'</i>	<i>s'a's'anp'kleit'</i>	<i>wip'kleit'</i>
Third person .	<i>ha'n̄sk'</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wip'k'</i>	<i>s'a's'anp'k'</i>	<i>wip'k'</i>
Plural:				
First person .	<i>ha'n̄sgana'k'</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wip'gana'k'</i>	<i>s'a's'anp'gana'k'</i>	<i>wip'gana'k'</i>
Second person	<i>ha'n̄skleit'p'</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wip'kleit'p'</i>	<i>s'a's'anp'kleit'p'</i>	<i>wip'kleit'p'</i>

PRESENT IMPERATIVE

Singular:				
Second person	<i>ha'n̄s</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wīip'</i>	<i>s'a's'anp'</i>	<i>wip'</i>
Plural:				
First person .	<i>ha'n̄sabaʔ</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wīip'abaʔ</i>	<i>s'a's'anp'abaʔ</i>	<i>wip'abaʔ</i>
Second person	<i>ha'n̄sanp'</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wīip'anp'</i>	<i>s'a's'anp'anp'</i>	<i>wip'anp'</i>

FUTURE IMPERATIVE

Singular:				
Second person	<i>ha'n̄sgaʔm</i>	<i>lesgi'k'wīip'gaʔm</i>	<i>s'a's'anp'gaʔm</i>	<i>wip'gaʔm</i>

Those verbs of this class that are characterized, either throughout their forms or in all non-aorist forms, by a suffixed *p'* have this element coalesce with the *-p'* of the first person plural, inferential, and imperative, but with lengthening of an immediately preceding vowel. In the imperative this lengthened vowel seems to take on a falling accent:

p!alā'a'p' tell a myth! (cf. *p!ala'p'deʔ* I shall tell a myth, with inorganic second *a*)

sana'a'p' fight! (cf. *sana'p'deʔ* I shall fight, with radical second *a*)

The verb *wog-* ARRIVE is peculiar in that the aorist is formed after the manner of Class II verbs (*wōk'* HE ARRIVES 47.15; *wōk'dam* YOU ARRIVE), while the non-aorist forms belong to Class I (e. g., *woga'ʔt'* HE WILL ARRIVE). It is further noteworthy that many, perhaps most, Class II intransitives form their usitative and frequentative forms according to Class I. Examples, showing the third person aorist catch, are:

s'ū'εalhaʔ they always dwell 112.2 (from *s'u'εwilī* 21.1; but first person plural *s'ū'εalhibik'*); contrast Class II *s'as'a'nhap'* he keeps standing (from *s'as'inī* 34.1)

wogowa'εk' they keep arriving 112.2 (from *wōk'*)

s'o'wō'u's'a'uʔ they keep jumping (112.5,10) (from *s'owō'uʔk'ap'* 48.15)

Several non-agentives in *-x-* drop the *-x-* and become Class I intransitives in the frequentative:

p!a-i-t'gwil'i't'gwāl^ε (water) keeps dripping down (cf. *p!a-i-t'gwil'i'^{ie}x* it drips down 58.1)

{ *xā^a-sgot!o'sga^εt'* it breaks to pieces 62.1 (cf. *xā^a-sgō'^us=-sgō'^ud-x* it breaks [61.13])
xā^a-sgō'^uεt'sgada^εt' it will break to pieces (cf. *xā^a-sgō'^uεsda* it will break [148.8])

TRANSITIVES, CLASS III (§§ 62-66)

§ 62. General Remarks

The subject pronominal elements of the transitive verb combine with the objective elements to form rather closely welded compound endings, yet hardly ever so that the two can not separately be recognized as such; the order of composition is in every case pronominal object + subject. It is only in the combinations THOU or YE — ME that such composition does not take place; in these the first person singular object is, properly speaking, not expressed at all, except in so far as the stem undergoes palatalization if possible (see § 31, 1), while the second person subject assumes the form in which it is found in Class II of intransitive verbs. The pronominal objects are decidedly a more integral part of the verb-form than the subjects, for not only do they precede these, but in passives, periphrastic futures, nouns of agency, and infinitives they are found unaccompanied by them. For example:

dōmāxibina^ε you will be killed (178.15)

dōmāxigulu'k'^w he will kill you

dōmāxibi^εs one who kills you

dōmāxibiya to kill you

are analogous, as far as the incorporated pronominal object (*-bi-*) is concerned, to:

dōmāxibink' he will kill you; *t!omōxibi^εn* I kill you

The pronominal objects are found in all the tense-modes, as far as the meaning of these permits, and are entirely distinct from all the subjective elements, except that the ending of the second person plural coincides with one form of the second person singular present imperative of the intransitive, *-anp'*. These elements are:

Singular: First person, *-xi* (with third subjective); second person, *-bi*; third person, —; third person (human), *-k'wa*. Plural: First person, *-am*; second person, *-anp'* (*-anb-*).

It does not seem that *-k'wa-*, which is optionally used as the third personal object when reference is distinctly had to a human being (or to a mythical animal conceived of as a human being), can be combined with other than a third personal subject (at least no other examples have been found); nor can it be used as an indirect object if the verb already contains among its prefixes an incorporated indirect object. These restrictions on the use of *-k'wa-* enable us effectually to distinguish it from the indirect reflexive *-k'wa-* which has already been discussed, this element normally requiring an incorporated object prefixed to the verb. Examples of the objective *-k'wa-* are:

- t!omōk'wa*¹ it killed him 15.16; 28.11
he^e-īūk'wa he went away from him
hāxank'wa he burnt him 27.16
sā^ansa'nk'wa he fought with him 28.10
nagaik'wa he said to him 152.3 (with very puzzling intransitive *-i-*; contrast *naga'* he said to him)
wēt'gigwa she took (it) away from him (49.6)
lāk'wak' (inferential) he gave him to eat

In several respects this *-k'wa* differs fundamentally from the other object suffixes. It allows no connective *-x-* to stand before it (see § 64); the indirective *-d-* of *-a'ld-* (see § 48) drops out before it:

- gayawa'lk'wa* he ate him; cf. *gayawa'lsbi* he ate you (26.8)

and, differing in this respect from the suffixless third person object, it allows no instrumental *i* to stand before it (see § 64):

- ī-t!ana'hagwa* he held him (25.10); cf. *ī-t!ana'hi* he held it 27.4
dak'-da-hālk'wa he answered him 180.18; cf. *dak'-da-hā^ali'^en* I answered him (146.14)

It is thus evident that forms with suffixed *-k'wa* approximate intransitives in form (cf. *nagaik'wa* above). With a stem-final *g, gw* the suffix unites to form *-k'wa*, the preceding vowel being lengthened and receiving a rising accent; with a stem-final *k!* it unites to form *-^ek'wa*, the preceding vowel being lengthened with falling accent. Examples are:

- t!ayāk'wa* he found him 71.14; cf. *t!aya'k'* he found it 43.4; 134.17
malāk'wa he told him 22.8; (72.14); cf. *malagana'nhi* he told it to him (see § 50) 30.15

¹ The final consonant of the aoristic stem of Type 8 verbs is regularly lost before *-k'wa*.

da-k'los'ō^uk'wa they bit him 74.5 (aorist stem *-k'los'og-*)

he^ε-īleme'^εk'wa he destroyed them (50.2); cf. *he^ε-īleme'k!ⁱεⁿ* I destroyed them (110.2)

mūlü'^ūk'wa he swallowed him 72.16; cf. *mūlü'k!^aεⁿ* I swallowed him (73.1)

Verbs that have a suffixed comitative *-(a)gwa-* show, in combination with the objective *-k'wa-*, a probably dissimilated suffix *-gik'wa* (*-gigwa*), the connecting *a* preceding this compound suffix being of course unlauded to *i*:

xebeyigi'k'wa he hurt him (cf. *xebeyagwa'^εn* I hurt him [136.23])

ūyū'ⁱεsgigwa he laughed at him 27.5 (cf. *ūyū'^εsgwa^εn* I laugh at him [71.7])

It is rather interesting to observe how the objective *-k'wa-* may serve to remove some of the ambiguities that are apt to arise in Takelma in the use of the third person. HE GAVE IT TO HIM is expressed in the inferential by the forms *o'k'ik'* and *o'k'igwak'*, the latter of which necessarily refers to a human indirect object. If a noun or independent pronoun be put before these apparently synonymous forms, sentences are framed of quite divergent signification. In the first sentence (noun + *o'k'ik'*) the prefixed noun would naturally be taken as the object (direct or indirect) of the verb (e. g., *ne'k'di o'k'ik'*, HE WHO-GAVE IT? [=TO WHOM DID HE GIVE IT?]); in the second (noun + *o'k'igwak'*), as subject, a doubly expressed object being inadmissible (e. g., *ne'k'di o'k'igwak'* WHO GAVE IT TO HIM?). TO WHOM DID HE BRING IT? with incorporated object *ne'k'di* reads *ne'k'di me^ε-wāk'* literally, HE-WHO-HITHER-BROUGHT-IT? WHO BROUGHT IT TO HIM? with subject *ne'k'di* reads (as inferential form) *ne'k'di wagawo'k'wak'* (-o- unexplained). HE FOUND THE ANTS is expressed by *t!ibis'ī t!aya'k'*, but THE ANTS FOUND HIM by *t!ibis'ī t!ayāk'wa*. The usage illustrated may be stated thus: whenever the third personal object refers to a human being and the subject is expressed as a noun, suffixed *-k'wa* must be used to indicate the object; if it is not used, the expressed noun will most naturally be construed as the object of the verb. An effective means is thus present in Takelma for the distinction of a personal subject and object.

§ 63. Transitive Subject Pronouns

The various tense-modal schemes of subject pronouns in the transitive verb are as follows:

	Aorist	Future	Inferential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Singular:					
First person . . .	$-(a')^{\epsilon}n$	$-(a')n$	$-k^{-}a^{\epsilon}$		
Second person . . .	$-(a')t'$ { $-dam$ (1st sing. obj.)	$-(a)da^{\epsilon}$ $-da^{\epsilon}$ (1st sing. obj.)	} $k^{-} \epsilon i t'$		} $-(a')^{\epsilon}k'$ { $-ga^{\epsilon}m$ (1st sing. obj.)
Third person . . .		$-(a')nk'$		$-k'$	
Plural:					
First person . . .	$-(a)nak'$	$-(a)naga'm$	$k^{-}anak'$	$-(a)ba^{\epsilon}$	
Second person . . .	$-(a')t'p'$ { $-dap'$ (1st sing. obj.)	$-(a')t'ba^{\epsilon}$ $-daba^{\epsilon}$ (1st sing. obj.)	} $-k^{-} \epsilon i t' p'$	$-p'$ { $-(a)np'$	

Setting aside the peculiar second personal subject first personal singular object terminations, it will be observed that the subjective forms of the transitive are identical with those of the intransitive (Class I) except in the first person singular and plural aorist and future, and in the third person aorist and future. The loss in the future of the catch of the first person singular aorist ($-t'^{\epsilon}$: $t'e^{\epsilon} = -^{\epsilon}n$: $-n$) and the addition in the future of $-am$ to the first person plural aorist ($-ik'$: $-igam = -nak'$: $-nagam$) are quite parallel phenomena. It will be observed also that the first person plural, probably also singular, aorist of the transitive, is in form identical, except for the mode-sign $-k^{-}$, with the corresponding form of the inferential, so that one is justified in suspecting this tense-mode to consist, morphologically speaking, of transitive forms with third personal object (see § 60, first footnote).

The forms of $d\ddot{o}^um-$ (aorist $t!omom-$) KILL will show the method of combining subjective and objective pronominal elements.

AORIST

Subjective	Objective				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Singular:					
1st per.		$t!om\ddot{o}zbi^{\epsilon}n$	$t!omoma^{\epsilon}n$		$t!om\ddot{o}zbanba^{\epsilon}n$
2d per.	$t!um\ddot{u}rdam$		$t!omoma^{\epsilon}t'$	$t!om\ddot{o}zimit'$	
3d per.	$t!um\ddot{u}xi$	$t!om\ddot{o}zbi$	$t!om\ddot{o}m$	$t!om\ddot{o}zam$	$t!om\ddot{o}zantp'$ ¹
Plural:					
1st per.		$t!om\ddot{o}zbinak'$	$t!omomana^{\epsilon}k'$		$t!om\ddot{o}zbanbana^{\epsilon}k'$
2d per.	$t!um\ddot{u}rdap'$		$t!omoma^{\epsilon}t'p'$	$t!om\ddot{o}zimit'p'$	

¹ Not to be confused with $t!om\ddot{o}zant'p'$ YE ARE KILLING EACH OTHER!

FUTURE

Subjective	Objective				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Singular:					
1st per.		<i>dōmzbin</i>	<i>dō^uma'n</i>		<i>dōmzanban</i>
2d per.	<i>dūmzdaʔ</i>		<i>dō^umada^ε</i>	<i>dōmzimidaʔ</i>	
3d per.	<i>dūmxink'</i>	<i>dōmzbink'</i>	<i>dō^uma'nk'</i>	<i>dōmzamanak'</i>	<i>dōmzanbank'</i>
Plural:					
1st per.		<i>dōmzbinagam</i>	<i>dō^umanaga'in</i>		<i>dōmzambanagam</i>
2d per.	<i>dūmzdabaʔ</i>		<i>dō^uma't'baʔ</i>	<i>dōmzimit'baʔ</i> ¹	

PRESENT IMPERATIVE

Singular:					
2d per.	<i>dūmxi</i>		<i>dō^um</i>	<i>dōmzam</i>	
Plural:					
1st per.			<i>dō^uma)ba^ε</i>		
2d per.	<i>dūmxip'</i>		<i>dō^ump' (al-xi'-k'anp'</i> see him!)	<i>dōmzamp'</i> ¹	

FUTURE IMPERATIVE

Singular:					
2d per.	<i>dūmzga^εm</i>		<i>dō^uma'tk'</i>	? ²	

¹ These forms were not actually obtained, but can hardly be considered as doubtful.² Probably expressed by simple future *dōmzimidaʔ*.

It is not necessary to give the transitive potential and inferential forms, as the former can be easily constructed by substituting in the future forms the aorist endings for those of the future:

dūmxi he would kill me
dō^uma'^εn I should, could kill him
dō^um he would, could kill him

The inferential forms can be built up from the corresponding future forms by substituting for the subject endings of the latter those given in the table for the inferential mode:

dūmxik' he killed me
dōmzamak'eit' you killed us
dōmk'a^ε I killed him
dōmzanp'gana'k' we killed you

The only point to which attention need be called in the aorist and future forms is the use of a connecting vowel *-i-* instead of *-a-* when the first personal plural object (*-am-*) is combined with a second singular or plural subject (*-it'*, *-it'p'*, *-ida^ε*, *-it'ba^ε*); this *-i-* naturally

carries the umlaut of *-am-* to *-im-* with it, but *-am-* reappears when *-i-* drops out, cf. inferential *dōmxamk!eit'*. With the *-i-* of these forms compare the *-i-* of the first person plural intransitives *-ik'*, *-iga'm*, *-iba^ε* (§ 60 and § 60, second footnote).

§ 64. Connecting *-x-* and *-i-*

It will have been observed that in all forms but those provided with a third personal object the endings are not directly added to the stem, but are joined to it by a connecting consonant *-x-* (amalgamating with preceding *-t-* to *-s-*). This element we have seen to be identical with the *-x-* (*-s-*) of reciprocal forms; and there is a possibility of its being related to the *-xa-* of active intransitive verbs, hardly, however, to the non-agentive *-x-*. Though it appears as a purely formal, apparently meaningless element, its original function must have been to indicate the objective relation in which the immediately following pronominal suffix stands to the verb. From this point of view it is absent in a third personal object form simply because there is no expressed pronominal element for it to objectivize, as it were. The final aoristic consonant of Type 8 verbs regularly disappears before the connecting *-x-*, so that its retention becomes a probably secondary mark of a third personal pronominal object. The fact that the third personal objective element *-k'wa-* (*-gwa-*) does not tolerate a preceding connective *-x-* puts it in a class by itself, affiliating it to some extent with the derivational suffixes of the verb.

There are, comparatively speaking, few transitive stems ending in a vowel, so that it does not often happen that the subjective personal endings, the third personal object being unexpressed, are directly attached to the verb or aorist stem, as in:

naga'εn I say to him 72.9, cf. *naga'* he said to him 92.24

sebe'n I shall roast it (44.6); future imperative *odo'εk'* hunt for him! (116.7)

Ordinarily forms involving the third personal object require a connecting vowel between the stem and the pronominal suffix. Not all verbs, however, show the purely non-significant *-a-* of, e. g., *t!omoma'εn*, but have a to a large extent probably functional *-i-*. This *-i-* occurs first of all in all third personal object forms of verbs that have an instrumental prefix:

ts!ayaga'εn I shoot him (192.10), but *wa-ts!ayagi'εn* I shoot (him) with it

v̄-lats!agi't' you touched it

The greater number of cases will probably be found to come under this head, so that the *-i-* may be conveniently termed INSTRUMENTAL *-i-*. Not all forms with *-i-*, by any means, can be explained, however, as instrumental in force. A great many verbs, many of them characterized by the directive prefix *al-* (see § 36, 15), require an *-i-* as their regular connecting vowel:

lagagi'εn I gave him to eat (30.12)

lā^aliwi'εn I call him by name (116.17)

lō^uginini'εn I trap them for him (and most other FOR-indirectives in *-anan-*)

Examples of *-i-*verbs with indirect object are:

ogoyi'εn I give it to him 180.11 (contrast *oyona'εn* I gave it [180.20])

wā^agiwi'εn I brought it to him (176.17) (contrast *wā^aga'εn* I brought it [162.13])

A number of verbs have *-a-* in the aorist, but *-i-* in all other tense-modes:

yīⁱmiya'εn I lend it to him, but *yimi'hin* I shall lend it to him

naga'εn I said to him (second *-a-* part of stem) 72.9, but *nā^agi'n*

I shall say to him; *nā^agi'εk'* say to him! (future) 196.20; *nāk'ik'* he said to him (inferential) 94.16; 170.9; 172.12

The general significance of *-i-* seems not unlike that of the prefixed directive *al-*, though the application of the former element is very much wider; i. e., it refers to action directed toward some person or object distinctly outside the sphere of the subject. Hence the *-i-* is never found used together with the indirect reflexive *-k'wa-*, even though this suffix is accompanied by an instrumental prefix:

xā^a-p!ⁱnōⁱ'uk'wa^εn I warm my own back (188.20)

In a few cases the applicability of the action of the verb can be shifted from the sphere of the subject to that of another person or thing by a mere change of the connective *-a-* to *-i-*, without the added use of prefix or suffix:

xā^a-lā^at!ⁱan I shall put it about my waist, but *xā^a-lā^at!ⁱin* I shall put it about his waist

In the form of the third personal subject with third personal object of the aorist, the imperative with third personal object, and the inferential with third personal object, the *-i-* generally appears as a suffixed *-hi-* (*-i-*), incapable of causing umlaut:

malagana'nhi he told him 30.15, but *malagini'εn* I told him (172.1)

wa-t!ⁱomōmhi he killed him with it

{	<i>ī-k!ū^umanana'nhi</i> he fixed it for him
	<i>ī-k!ūmana'nhi</i> fix it for him!
	<i>ī-k!ūmana'nhi^k</i> he fixed it for him (infer.), but <i>ī-k!ūmininini'nk'</i>
	he will fix it for him

It should be noted, however, that many verbs with characteristic *-i-* either may or regularly do leave out the final *-i*:

alxī'ik' he saw him 124.6, 8 (cf. *al-xī'igi^εn* I saw him, 188.11)¹
ī-lats!ak' he touched him (cf. *ī-lats!agi^εn* I touched him)
ba^ε-ī-yewe^εwa'n revive him! (15.2) (cf. *ba^ε-ī-yewe^εni^εn* I revived him)
he^ε-ī-lele^εk' he let him go (13.6) (cf. *he^ε-ī-le'lek!ⁱn* I let him go
[50.4])
he^ε-ī-le'l^εk' let him go! 182.15 (cf. *he^ε-ī-le'lk!ⁱn* I shall let him go)
ba-i-dī-t'ga^εst'gā^us stick out your anus! 164.19; 166.6 (cf.
ba-i-dī-t'gats!^at'gisi^εn I stuck out my anus [166.8])
ī-k!ū^uma'n he prepared it 190.22 (cf. *ī-k!ū^umini^εn* I prepared it)

It must be confessed that it has not been found possible to find a simple rule that would enable one to tell whether an *i*-verb does or does not keep a final *-hi* (*-i*). Certain verbs, even though without instrumental signification, show an *-i-* (or *-hi-*) in all forms with third personal object. Such are:

aorist *ogoy-* give to (*ogoihi* he gave it to him 156.20)
aorist *wet'-g-* take away from (*wēt'gi* he took it from him, 16.13)
aorist *lagag-* feed (*laga'k'i* he gave him to eat 30.12; *lāk'i* give him to eat! *lāk'igana'k* we seem to have given him to eat)

and indirective verbs in *-anan-*. Irregularities of an unaccountable character occur. Thus we have:

he^ε-īū he left him (cf. *he^ε-īⁱwi^εn* I left him); but imperative
he^ε-īwi'hi leave him! (not **-īwi'*, as we might expect)

In many cases the loss or retention of the final *-hi* seems directly connected with syntactic considerations. A large class of verbs with instrumental prefix (generally *ī-*) drop the final *-hi*, presumably because the instrumentality is only indefinitely referred to (cf. § 35, 1). Examples of such have been given above. As soon, however, as the instrument is explicitly referred to, as when an instrumental noun is incorporated in or precedes the verb, the *-hi* is restored. Thus:

¹ The *-i-* of these verbs regularly disappears, not only here but in every form in which the normal connecting vowel *-a-* fails to appear in other verbs: *al-xī'ik'* (inferential) HE SAW HIM (**al-xīk!^k* like *dōmk'* HE KILLED HIM), homonymous with *al-xī'ik'* (imperative) SEE HIM! (**alxi'k!*). As soon, however, as the verb becomes distinctly instrumental in force, the *-i-* is a constant element: *al-wa-xī'k!ⁱk'* (inferential) HE SAW IT WITH IT.

la-^εi-t' bā^ak' he burst it (cf. *-t' bā^agi^εn* I burst it)

{ *i-s'wili's'wal* he tore it to pieces (cf. *-s'wili's'wili^εn* I tore it to pieces)

{ *i-s'wi'ls'wal* tear it to pieces!

{ *i-s'wi'ls'wa'l* he tore it (once)

i-heme`m he wrestled with him 22.10 (cf. *-hememi^εn* I wrestled with him)

despite the prefixed *-i-*; but:

la-wayā-t' bā^ak' i he burst it with a knife

han-wayā-s'wils'wa' lhi tear it through in pieces with a knife!
(73.3)

Similarly:

bā-^εi-sgā^ak' sga'k' he picked him up 31.11 (cf. *-sgāk' sgigi^εn* I picked him up)

but:

k!a'mā^a dan bā^a-sgā^ak' sga'k' i tongs rocks he-picked-them-up-with
(= he picked up rocks with tongs) 170.17

despite the lack of an instrumental prefix in the verb. Explicit instrumentality, however, can hardly be the most fundamental function of the *-hi*. It seems that whenever a transitive verb that primarily takes but one object is made to take a second (generally instrumental or indirective in character) the instrumental *-i-* (with retained *-hi*) is employed. Thus:

ma'xla k!ūwū he threw dust

but:

ma'xla ^εalk!ūwūhi dust he-threw-it-at-him (perhaps best translated as he-bethrew-him-with-dust) cf. 184.5

where the logically direct object is *ma'xla*, while the logically indirect, perhaps grammatically direct, object is implied by the final *-hi* and the prefix *al-*. Similarly, in:

k'o^εpx bababa't' i wā^adi'xda ashes he-clapped-them-over his-body
(perhaps best rendered by: he-beclapped-his-body-with-ashes)
182.9

the logically direct object is *k'o^εpx*, the logically indirect object, his-body, seems to be implied by the *-i*. This interpretation of the *-hi* as being dependent upon the presence of two explicit objects is confirmed by the fact that most, if not all, simple verbs that regularly retain it (such as GIVE TO, SAY TO in non-aorist forms, BRING TO, verbs in *-anan-*) logically demand two objects.

As soon as the verb ceases to be transitive (or passive) in form or when the third personal object is the personal *-k'wa*, the instrumental *-i-* disappears:

gel-yalā'axalt'gwit' he forgot himself 77.10 (cf. *gel-yalā'axaldī'ēn* I forgot him)

ogōik'wa he gave it to him 96.18 (cf. *ogōihi* he gave it to him 188.12)

It is possible that in *wēt'gigwa* HE TOOK IT FROM HIM the *-gi-* is a peculiar suffix not compounded of petrified *-g-* (see § 42, 6) and instrumental *-i-*; contrast *ī-t!ana'hi* HE HELD IT with *ī-t!ana'hagwa* HE HELD HIM. Any ordinary transitive verb may lose its object and take a new instrumental object, whereupon the instrumental *-i-* becomes necessary. Examples of such instrumentalized transitives are:

ga'l^ε wa-ts!ayagi'^{εn} bow I-with-shoot-it (cf. *ts!ayaga'^{εn}* I shoot him)

wa-^εū'gwi'^{εn} I drink with it (cf. *ū'gwa'^{εn}* I drink it)

If, however, it is desired to keep the old object as well as the new instrumental object, a suffix *-an-* seems necessary. Thus:

yap!a wa-sā'ginina'^ε people they-will-be-shot-with-it

xī'ⁱ wa-^εū'gwini'^{εn} water I-drink-it-with-it

It is not clear whether or not this *-an-* is related to either of the *-an-* elements of *-anan-* (§ 50).

A final *-i* is kept phonetically distinct in that it does not unite with a preceding fortis, but allows the fortis to be treated as a syllabic final, i. e., to become ^ε + aspirated surd:

he^{εε}-ī-le'me^εk'ⁱ he killed them off, but *-le'mek!ⁱēn* I killed them off

Forms without connective vowel whose stem ends in a vowel, and yet (as instrumentals or otherwise) require an *-i-*, simply insert this element (under proper phonetic conditions as *-hi-*) before the modal and personal suffixes:

wa-woo'hin I shall go to get it with it (contrast *woo'n* I shall go to get it)

ī-t!ana'hi^{ēn} I hold it; *ī-t!ana'hi* he holds it 27.4

dī-s'al-yomo'hin I shall run behind and catch up with him;

dī-s'al-yomo'hi catch up with him! (contrast *yomo'n* I shall catch up with him)

wa-sana'hink' they will spear them with them 28.15 (verb-stem *sana-*)

A constant *-a-* used to support a preceding consonant combination is, in *-i-* verbs, colored to *-i-*:

ī-lasgi' touch him! (cf. *masga'* put it! [104.8])

It is remarkable that several verbs with instrumental vocalism lose the *-i-* and substitute the ordinary connective *-a-* in the frequentative. Such are:

ī-go'yokli^εn I nudge him; *ī-goyogiyā'^εn* I keep pushing him
dī-t'ī'si'^εn I crush it; *dī-t'īyī't'liya^εn* I keep crushing them

It can hardly be accidental that in both these cases the loss of the *-i-* is accompanied by the loss of a petrified consonant (*-k!-*, *-s-*).

The following scheme of the instrumental forms of *dō^um-* KILL (third personal object) will best illustrate the phonetic behavior of *-i-*:

	Aorist	Future	Potential	Inferential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Singular:						
First person . .	<i>t'omoml'^εn</i>	<i>dō^umi'n</i>	<i>dō^umi'^εn</i>	<i>dōmhiga^ε</i>		
Second person . .	<i>t'omoml't'</i>	<i>dō^umida^ε</i>	<i>dō^uml't'</i>	<i>dōmhikleit'</i>	<i>dōmhi</i>	<i>dōmhi^εk'</i>
Third person . .	<i>t'omōmhi</i>	<i>dō^uml'nk'</i>	<i>dōmhl</i>	<i>dōmhik'</i>		
Plural:						
First person . .	<i>t'omomina^εk'</i>	<i>dō^umlnaga'm</i>	<i>dō^umina^εk'</i>	<i>dōmhigana^εk'</i>	<i>dōmhiba^ε</i>	
Second person . .	<i>t'omoml't'p'</i>	<i>dō^uml't'ba^ε</i>	<i>dō^uml't'p'</i>	<i>dōmhikleit'p'</i>	<i>dōmhip'</i>	

§ 65. Forms Without Connecting Vowel

A considerable number of transitive verbs whose aorist stem ends in a long diphthong with rising pitch (long vowel + semivowel, nasal, or liquid) treat this diphthong as a vocalic unit, i. e., do not allow the second element of the diphthong to become semivocalic and thus capable of being followed by a connective *-a-* before the personal endings (cf. intransitive forms like *eī-t'*, § 60). If such a long diphthong is final, or precedes a consonant (like *-t'*) that is itself incapable of entering into diphthongal combination with a preceding vowel, no difficulty arises. If, however, the long diphthong precedes an *-n-* (in such endings as *-^εn*, *-n*, *-nak'*), which, as has been seen, is phonetically on a line with the semivowels *y* (*i*) and *w* (*u*), a long double diphthong (long vowel + semivowel, nasal, or liquid + *n* of time-value 4) results. Such a diphthong can not be tolerated, but must be reduced to an ordinary long diphthong of time-value 3 by the loss of the second element (semivowel, nasal, or liquid) of the diphthong of the stem (see § 11). Thus the coexistence of such apparently contradictory forms as *dā^a-yehēt'* YOU GO WHERE THERE IS SINGING and *dā^a-yehēn* (with passive *-n*) IT WAS GONE WHERE THERE WAS SINGING (from **yehēin*) can be explained by a simple consideration of syllabic

weight. The rising pitch-accent, it should be noted, is always preserved as an integral element of the diphthong, even though a $-^{\epsilon}n$ follow, so that the first personal singular subject third personal object of such verbs ($-v^{\epsilon}n$) stands in sharp contrast to the corresponding form of the great mass of transitive verbs ($-v'^{\epsilon}n$).¹ The first person plural subject third person object and the third personal passive are always parallel in form to the first person singular subject third person object in $-^{\epsilon}n$ ($k!ad\bar{a}^{\epsilon}na'k'$ and $k!ad\bar{a}n$ like $k!ad\bar{a}^{\epsilon}n$). Examples of transitives with aorist stems ending in long diphthongs not followed by connective $-a-$ are:

$t'gwax\bar{a}^{\epsilon}n$ I tattoo him	:	$t'gwax\bar{a}it'$ you tattoo him
$d\bar{i}-t!u\bar{g}\bar{u}^{\epsilon}n$ I wear it	:	$d\bar{i}-t!u\bar{g}\bar{u}i$ he wears it 96.16
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} d\bar{a}^a-ye\bar{h}\bar{e}^{\epsilon}n \text{ I go where there is} \\ \text{singing} \end{array} \right.$:	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} d\bar{a}^a-ye\bar{h}\bar{e}it' \text{ you go where there} \\ \text{is singing (106.10)} \end{array} \right.$
	$d\bar{a}^a-ye\bar{h}\bar{e}n$ (third person passive)	
$d\bar{a}^a-ye\bar{h}e^{\epsilon}na'k'$ (first person plural)		
$k!ad\bar{a}^{\epsilon}n$ I picked them up	:	$k!ad\bar{a}i$ he picked them up
$da-t!ag\bar{a}^{\epsilon}n$ I built a fire	:	$da-t!ag\bar{a}i$ he built a fire 88.12; 96.17
$swad\bar{a}n$ (passive) they got beaten in gambling	:	$swad\bar{a}isa^{\epsilon}n$ they are gambling with one another
$oy\bar{o}^{\epsilon}n$ I give it (= * $oy\bar{o}n^{\epsilon}n$) but also $oyona^{\epsilon}n$ with connecting $-a-$		
$k!em\bar{e}^{\epsilon}n$ I did it 74.13	:	$k!em\bar{e}i$ he did it 92.22; 144.6; 176.1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 14

In aorist $k!em\bar{e}i$ - MAKE the $-i-$, actually or impliedly, appears only when the object is of the third person (singular first, $k!em\bar{e}n$; second, $k!em\bar{e}it'$; third, $k!em\bar{e}t$; plural first, $k!eme^{\epsilon}na'k'$; second, $k!em\bar{e}it'p'$); all other aoristic and all non-aoristic forms replace the $-i-$ by a $-n-$:

$k!em\bar{e}nxbi^{\epsilon}n$ I make you 27.9

$k!em\bar{e}nxa^{\epsilon}n$ they make one another; future $k!emna'nk'$ he will make it 28.14

A few reduplicated transitives ending, in both aorist and verb-stems, in a short diphthong ($-al-$, $-am-$, $-an-$, $-aw-$), lack a connective $-a-$

¹It may be noted in passing that the Takelma reduction of an over-long diphthong ($\bar{e}in$ to $e^{\epsilon}n$) offers in some respects a remarkable parallel to the reduction of an Indo-Germanic long diphthong to a simple long vowel before certain consonants, chiefly $-m$ (e. g., Indo-Germanic * $dj\bar{e}us$ = Skr. $\bar{d}y\bar{a}u's$, Gk. $Z\epsilon\acute{o}s$, with preserved $-i-$ because followed by $-s$, a consonant not capable of entering into diphthongal combination; but Indo-Germanic acc. * $dj\bar{e}m$ = Ved. Skr. $\bar{d}y\bar{o}m$, Hom. Gk. $Z\eta\mu$ with lost $-u-$ because followed by $-m$, a consonant capable of entering into diphthongal combination). I do not wish to imply, however, that the accent of forms like $ye\bar{h}\bar{e}^{\epsilon}n$ is, as in $dj\bar{e}m$, the compensating result of contraction.

before the personal endings, so that a loss of the final consonant (-*l*-, -*m*-, -*n*-, -*w*-) takes place in third personal objective forms before a consonantal personal ending. Such verbs are:

<i>heme'ha^εn</i> I mocked him (= : <i>heme'ham</i> he mocked him - <i>ham^εn</i>)	24.4, 5, 8; 182.6, 7
<i>imi'ha^εn</i> I sent him (= - <i>am^εn</i>)	: <i>imi'hamsin</i> I was sent (43.2)
{ <i>gel-hewe'ha^εn</i> I think (= - <i>au^εn</i>)	: <i>gel-hewe'hau</i> he thought 44.11;
{ <i>gel-hewe'hat'</i> you think	142.20
<i>p!a-i-di^ε-sgimi'sga^εn</i> ² I set them	: <i>p!a-i-di^ε-sgimi'sgam</i> he set in ground (= - <i>am^εn</i>)
{ <i>bā-^εal-mo'lo^εma^εn</i> I turned them	: <i>bā-^εal-mo'lo^εmal</i> he turned over (= - <i>al^εn</i>)
{ <i>bā-^εal-mo'l^εman</i> I shall turn them over (= - <i>aln</i>)	them over (170.16)
<i>sā^{an}sa'^εn</i> I fight him (= - <i>an^εn</i>)	: <i>sā^{an}sa'n</i> he fights him (28.10) (but also <i>sāns</i> , see § 40, 10b)
<i>mā^{an}ma'^εn</i> I count them	: <i>da-mā^{an}mini'^εn</i> I count them (= - <i>an^εn</i>)
	up (156.14) (but also <i>mān</i> = * <i>mānm</i> he counted them 78.8; 100.8)

How explain the genesis of these two sets of contract verb forms, and how explain the existence of doublets like *mo'lo^εma^εn* and *mo'lo^εmala^εn*, *mo'lo^εmat'* and *mo'lo^εmalat'*, *oyō^εn* and *oyona'^εn*, *sā^{an}sa'n* and *sāns*? The most plausible explanation that can be offered is that originally the personal endings were added directly to the stem and that later a connecting -*a*- developed whenever the preceding consonant or the personal ending was not of a character to form a diphthong. Hence the original paradigms may have been:

First person	<i>oyō^εn</i>	<i>mo'lo^εma^εn</i>
Second person	<i>oyona't'</i>	<i>mo'lo^εmala't'</i>
Third person	<i>oyōn</i>	<i>mo'lo^εmal</i>

which were then leveled out to:

<i>oyona'^εn</i>	<i>mo'lo^εmala^εn</i>
<i>oyona't'</i>	<i>mo'lo^εmala't'</i>
<i>oyōn</i>	<i>mo'lo^εmal</i>

because of the analogy of a vast number of verbs with connecting -*a*- in both first and second persons, e. g., *ts!ayaga'^εn*, *ts!ayaga't'*. Forms like *mo'lo^εmat'*, *sā^{an}sa't'*, would arise from leveling to the first

¹This verb is transitive only in form, intransitive in meaning. The true transitive (THINK OF) employs the full stem *hewchaw-* with connective -*i-* for third personal object, and -*s-* for other objects: *gel-hewe'hewi^εn* I THINK OF HIM; *gel-hewe'hausdam* YOU THINK OF ME.

²The form *sgimi'sga^εn* is interesting as a test case of these contract verb forms. The stem must be *sgimisgam-*; it can not be *sgimisg-*, as *sg-* could hardly be treated as a repeated initial consonant. No cases are known of initial consonant clusters treated as phonetic units.

person by the analogy of such forms as *!omoma'εn*, *!omoma't*. The third person generally brings out the original diphthong, yet sometimes the analogy set by the first person seems to be carried over to the third person (e. g., *sāns* beside *sā^ansa'n*), as well as to the third person passive and first person plural subject transitive. Such forms as *oyō^εn* are best considered as survivals of an older "athematic" type of forms, later put on the wane by the spread of the "thematic" type with connecting *-a-* (e. g., *gayawa'εn*, not **gayā^εn* from **gayaū^εn*). Owing to the fact that the operation of phonetic laws gave rise to various paradigmatic irregularities in the "athematic" forms, these sank into the background. They are now represented by aorists of Type 2 verbs like *naga'-εn* I SAY TO HIM and *wa-k!oyō^εn* I GO WITH HIM,¹ non-aorist forms of Type 5 verbs (e. g., *odo'-n*), and such isolated irregularities as intransitive *eī-t'* and *nagāī-t'* (contrast *yewey-a't'* and *t'agaya't'*) and transitive contract verbs like *k!adā^εn* and *sā^ansa'εn*.

§ 66. Passives

Passives, which occur in Takelma texts with great frequency, must be looked upon as amplifications of transitive forms with third personal subject. Every such transitive form may be converted into a passive by the omission of the transitive subject and the addition of elements characteristic of that voice; the pronominal object of the transitive becomes the logical, not formal, subject of the passive (passives, properly speaking, have no subject). The passive suffixes referred to are *-(a)n* for the aorist, *-(a)na^ε* for the future, and *-am* for the inferential. Imperatives were not obtained, nor is it certain that they exist. Following are the passive forms of *dō^um-*, instrumental forms being put in parentheses:

	Aorist	Future	Potential	Inferential
Singular:				
First person	<i>!ūmūzin</i>	<i>dūmzina^ε</i>	<i>dūmzin</i>	<i>dūmzigam</i>
Second person	<i>!omōzbin</i>	<i>dōmzina^ε</i>	<i>dōmzbin</i>	<i>dōmzbigam</i>
Third person	<i>!omoma'n</i> (<i>!omomi'n</i>)	<i>dōmana^ε</i> (<i>dōmina^ε</i>)	<i>dōma'n</i> (<i>dōmi'n</i>)	<i>dōm'kam</i> (<i>dōmbigam</i>)
Plural:				
First person	<i>!omōzimim</i>	<i>dōmzimina^ε</i>	<i>dōmzimim</i>	<i>dōmziam'kam</i>
Second person	<i>!omōzban</i>	<i>dōmzbanna^ε</i>	<i>dōmzban</i>	<i>dōmzbanp'gam</i>

¹ Some verbs whose aorist stem ends in a vowel take a constant *-a-* with preceding inorganic *h* instead of adding the personal endings directly. Such a verb is *ī-t'ana* HOLD; the constant *-a-* or *-i-* of forms like *ī-t'ana'hagwa*, *ī-t'ene'hi-s-dam* is perhaps due to the analogy of the instrumental *-i-* of forms like *ī-t'ana'hi^εn*.

The connective *-a-*, it will be observed, is replaced by *-i-* when the formal object is the first person plural (*-am-*); compare the entirely analogous phenomenon in the second personal subjective first personal plural objective forms of the transitive (§ 63). It is curious that the third person aorist of the passive can in every single case be mechanically formed with perfect safety by simply removing the catch from the first personal singular subjective third personal objective of the transitive; the falling accent (rising accent for verbs like *k!emē^εn*) remains unchanged:

ī-t!a'ut!iwi^εn I caught him : *ī-t!a'ut!iwin* he was caught 29.12
naga'^εn I said to him 72.7, 9 : *naga'n* he was spoken to 102.16
k!emē^εn I made it 74.13 : *k!emēn* it was made 13.12 178.12

It is hardly possible that a genetic relation exists between the two forms, though a mechanical association is not psychologically incredible.

Not only morphologically, but also syntactically, are passives closely related to transitive forms. It is the logical unexpressed subject of a passive sentence, not the grammatical subject (logical and formal object), that is referred to by the reflexive possessive in *-gwa* (see §§ 91, 92). Thus:

dīk!olola'n t'gā'^ap'dagwan wa' he-was-dug-up their-own-horns (not his-own-horns) with (in other words, they dug him up with their own horns) 48.5

There is no real way of expressing the agent of a passive construction. The commonest method is to use a periphrasis with *xebe'^εn* HE DID SO. Thus:

ēi salk!omo'k!imin p!iwin xebe'^εn canoe it-was-kicked-to-pieces
 deer they-did-so (in other words, the canoe was kicked to pieces by the deer) 114.5

§ 67. VERBS OF MIXED CLASS, CLASS IV

A fairly considerable number of verbs are made up of forms that belong partly to Class I or Class II intransitives, partly to the transitives. These may be conveniently grouped together as Class IV, but are again to be subdivided into three groups. A few intransitive verbs showing forms of both Class I and II have been already spoken of (pp. 162-3, 166).

1. Probably the larger number is taken up by Type 13 verbs in *-n-*, all the forms of which are transitives except those with second person singular or plural subject. These latter are forms of Class II (i. e., aorist singular *-dam*, plural *-dap'*; future singular *-da^ε*, plural

-daba^ε). The *-n-* appears only in the first person singular and plural (aorist *-na^{εn}* and *-nana'k'*), yet its absence in the other persons may, though not probably, be due to a secondary loss induced by the phonetic conditions. The forms, though in part morphologically transitive (and, for some of the verbs, apparently so in meaning), are in effect intransitive. The object, as far as the signification of the verb allows one to grant its existence, is always a pronominally unexpressed third person, and the instrumental *-i-* can not be used before the personal endings. Among these semitransitives in *-n-* are:

- { *gwen-sgut!u'sgat'na^{εn}* I cut necks
 { *gwen-sgut!u'sgat'* he cut necks 144.2 (cf. transitive instrumentals
 gwen-wayya-sgut!u'sgidi^{εn}, *gwen-wayya-sgut!u'sgat'i* 144.3)
 { *da-bok!oba'k'na^{εn}* I make bubbles (or *da-bok!o'p'na^{εn}* 102.22)
 { *da-bok!o'p'dam* you make bubbles
 bā^a-xada'xat'na^{εn} I hang them up in row
 { *lobola'p'na^{εn}* I used to pound them (57.14) (or *lobo'lp'na^{εn}*)
 { *lobo'lp'dam* you used to pound them
 { *i-layā'a'k'na^{εn}* I coil a basket 122.2
 { *i-layā'a'k'* she coils a basket
 k!ada'k!at'na^{εn} I used to pick them up (116.11)
 da-dagada'k'na^{εn} I sharpen my teeth (126.18)
 ūgū^εak'na^{εn} I always drink it
 wagao'k'na^{εn} I always bring it 43.16; 45.6

Morphologically identical with these, yet with no trace of transitive signification, are:

- i-hegwe'hak'^wna^{εn}* I am working
 { *xa-hege'hak'na^{εn}* I breathe (78.12; 79.1, 2, 4)
 { *xa-huk!u'hak'na^{εn}* (third person *xa-huk!u'hak'*)
 { *al-t'wap!a't'wap'na^{εn}* I blink with my eyes 102.20
 { *al-t'wap!a't'wap'dam* you blink with your eyes

The following forms of *i-hegwehagw-* (verb-stem *i-he^εgwagw-* [= *-he^εgwhagw-*]) WORK will serve to illustrate the *-n-* formation:

	Aorist	Future	Inferential	Present imperative
Singular:				
1st per.	<i>hegwe'hak'^wna^{εn}</i>	<i>hegwa'k'^wnan</i>	<i>hegwa'k'wa^ε</i> (= <i>k-w-k'a^ε</i>)	
2d per.	<i>hegwe'hak'^wdām</i>	<i>hegwa'k'^wda^ε</i>	<i>hegwa'k'!we!t'</i>	<i>he'k'^wāak'^w</i>
3d per.	<i>hegwe'hak'^w</i>	[?]	<i>hegwa'k'^w</i>	
Plural:				
1st per.	<i>hegwe'hak'^wnana'k'</i>	<i>hegwa'k'^wnanagam</i>	<i>hegwa'k'wana'k'</i>	<i>hegwa'k'waba^ε</i>
2d per.	<i>hegwe'hak'^wdap'</i>	<i>hegwa'k'^wdaba^ε</i>	<i>hegwa'k'!we!t'p'</i>	<i>he'k'^wāagwa'np'</i>

2. Practically a sub-group of the preceding set of verbs is formed by a very few verbs that have their aorist like *i-hegwe'hak'^wna^{εn}*, § 67

but their non-aorist forms like Class II intransitives. They evidently waver between Class II, to which they seem properly to belong, and the semi-transitive *-n-* forms. Such are:

{	<i>dī-k!ala'sna^εn</i> (but also	: future <i>dī-k!a'lside^ε</i>
	<i>dī-k!ala'sde^ε</i> I am lean in my rump	
{	<i>dī-k!ala'sdam</i> (second per-	: future <i>dī-k!a'lsida^ε</i>
	son)	
	<i>gwel-sal-t!eyšna^εn</i> I have	: future- <i>t!eįside^ε</i>
	no flesh on my legs and feet	

It may be observed that the existence of a form like **gwel-sal-t!eįsinan* was denied, so that we are not here dealing with a mere mistaken mixture of distinct, though in meaning identical, verbs.

3. The most curious set of verbs belonging to Class IV is formed by a small number of intransitives, as far as signification is concerned, with a thoroughly transitive aorist, but with non-aorist forms belonging entirely to Class II. This is the only group of verbs in which a difference in tense is associated with a radical difference in class. Examples are:

{	<i>dā^a-sgek!i^{ya}'^εn</i> I listened	: future <i>dā^a-sgek!i't'ē^ε</i>
	<i>dā^a-sgek!i^{ya}'t</i> you listened	
	<i>dā^a-sgek!i</i> he listened 102.8	
{	<i>al-we'k!ala^εn</i> I shine	: future <i>al-we'k!alt'ē^ε</i>
	<i>al-we'k!alat</i> you shine	
	<i>al-we'k!alana'k</i> we shine	: future <i>al-we'k!alp'igam</i> (third person inferential <i>al-we'- k!alp'k'</i>)
	<i>al-geyana'εn</i> I turn away	: future <i>al-ge'yande^ε</i>
	my face	
{	<i>da-smayama'εn</i> } I smile	: future <i>da-sma-ima'sde^ε</i>
	<i>da-smayañha^εn</i> }	
	<i>da-smayañ</i> he smiles	
	<i>da-smayamana'k</i> we smile	

To these should probably be added also *da-sgayana'εn* I lie down (3d *da-sgayañ*), though no future was obtained. Here again it may be noted that the existence of **da-sma-ima'n* as a possible (and indeed to be expected) future of *da-smayama'εn* was denied.¹

¹ There are in Takelma also a number of logically intransitive verbs with transitive forms throughout all the tense-modes: *al-ralıyana'k* WE ARE SEATED (56.2; 150.20); passive *al-ralıya'n* PEOPLE ARE SEATED 152.18. Similar is *sal-rogu* THEY STAND; cf. also *gel-hew' hau* HE THINKS, p. 179, note 1. As these, however, have nothing to mark them off morphologically from ordinary transitives, they give no occasion for special treatment. It is probable that in them the action is conceived of as directed toward some implied third personal object.

5. *Auxiliary and Subordinating Forms* (§§ 68-72)

§ 68. PERIPHRASTIC FUTURES

Periphrastic future forms are brought about by prefixing to the third personal (unexpressed) objective forms of the *aurist* stem *-gulug^w-* DESIRE, INTEND the verb-stem (if transitive, with its appended pronominal object) of the verb whose future tense is desired. The pronominal subject of such a form is given by the transitive subject pronoun of the second element (*-gulug^w-*) of the compound; while the object of the whole form, if the verb is transitive, is coincident with the incorporated pronominal object of the first element. The form of the verb-stem preceding the *-gulug^w-* suffix is identical with the form it takes in the inferential. Thus:

ba-i-hema'k'ulu'k'^w he will take it out (cf. inferential *ba-i-he-ma'k' = -hemg-k'*), but imperative *ba-i-he'mk'* 16.10

but, without inorganic *a*:

i-hēmgu'lu'k'^w he will wrestle with him (cf. inferential *hēm'k'*)

Indeed, it is quite likely that the main verb is used in the inferential form, the *-k'* of the inferential amalgamating with the *g-* of *-gulug^w-* to form *g* or *k'*. This seems to be proved by the form:

loho'k'-di-gulugwa't' do you intend to die? (*di* = interrogative particle)

Morphologically the verb-stem with its incorporated object must itself be considered as a verb-noun incorporated as a prefix in the verb *-gulug^w-* and replacing the prefix *gel-* BREAST of *gel-gulugwa'εn* I DESIRE IT 32.5, 6, 7. Alongside, e. g., of the ordinary future form *dō^uma'n* I SHALL KILL HIM may be used the periphrastic *dō^um-gulugwa'εn* literally, I KILL (HIM)-DESIRE, INTEND. This latter form is not by any means a mere desiderative (I DESIRE TO KILL HIM would be expressed by *dō^umia' gel-gulugwa'εn* [=TO-KILL-HIM I-IT-DESIRE]), but a purely formal future. Similarly, *dūmxi-gulu'k'^w* is used alongside of the simpler *dūmxink'* HE WILL KILL ME. As a matter of fact the third personal subjective future in *-gulu'k'^w* is used about as frequently as the regular paradigmatic forms heretofore given:

yana'-k'ulu'k'^w he will go (128.9)

sana'p'-gulu'k'^w he will fight (cf. 48.10)

yomo'k'wagulu'k'^w she was about to catch up with him 140.18

alxī'εxbi-gulu'k'^w he will see you

The reason is obvious. The normal futures (*yana'εt* HE WILL GO; *sana'p'dā^a*; *alxi'εxbink'*) imply a bald certainty, as it were, of the future action of a third person, a certainty that is not in ordinary life generally justifiable. The periphrastic forms, on the other hand, have a less rigid tone about them, and seem often to have a slight intentive force: HE INTENDS, IS ABOUT TO GO. The difference between the two futures may perhaps be brought out by a comparison with the English I SHALL KILL HIM (= *dō^uma'n*) and I'M GOING TO KILL HIM (*dō^um-gulugwa'εn*).

Though a form like *dūmxi-gulu'k'^w* HE WILL KILL ME is in a way analogous to *s'in-ī-lets!e'xi* HE TOUCHES MY NOSE, the incorporated object *dūmxi-* KILL-ME of the former being parallel to *s'in-* NOSE of the latter, there is an important difference between the two in that the object of the periphrastic future is always associated with the logically (*dō^um-*), not formally (*-gulug^w-*), main verb. This difference may be graphically expressed as follows: HE-[KILL-ME]-INTENDS-IT, but HE-[NOSE-HAND]-TOUCHES-ME; strict analogy with the latter form would require **dō^um-gülü'xi* HE-[KILL]-INTENDS-ME, a type of form that is not found. It is not necessary to give a paradigm of periphrastic future forms, as any desired form can be readily constructed from what has already been said. The incorporated pronominal object is always independent of the subject-suffix, so that YOU WILL KILL ME, for example, is rendered by *dūmxi-gulugwa't'*, the ordinary YOU—ME forms (singular *-dam*, plural *-dap'*) finding no place here.

Inasmuch as all active periphrastic futures are transitive in form, passive futures of the same type (all ending in *-gulugwa'n*) can be formed from all verbs, whether transitive or intransitive. When formed from transitive stems, these forms are equivalent to the normal future passives in *-(a)na^ε*:

dō^um-gulugwa'n he will, is about to, is going to be killed
dūmxi-gulugwa'n I am to be killed, it is intended to kill me

As the intransitive stem in the periphrastic future is never accompanied by pronominal affixes, there is only one passive future form that can be constructed from an intransitive verb. This form always refers to the third person, generally to the intended or imminent action of a group of people:

hoida-gulugwa'n (verb-stem *hoid-* + inorganic *-a-*) there will be dancing

lō^u-gulugwa'n people are going to play (literally, it is play-intended)

The passive future in *-gulugwa'n* can also be used with the indefinite form in *-iau-*:

sana'xiniu-gulugwa'n it is intended, about to be that people fight one another; there will be fighting

The extreme of abstract expression seems to be reached in such not uncommon forms as:

we'egiau-gulugwa'n it was going to be daylight (literally, it was being-daylight intended) 48.13

As the suffixed pronominal objects of reciprocal forms are intransitive in character, the first element of a periphrastic future of the reciprocal must show an incorporated intransitive pronoun, but of aorist, not future form:

ī-di-lasgi'xant'p'-gulugwa't'p' are you going to touch one another?
(aorist *ī-lats!a'xant'p'*; future *ī-lasgi'xant'ba^ε*)

§ 69. PERIPHRASTIC PHRASES IN *na(g)-* DO, ACT

The verbal base *na(g)*¹ (intransitive *na-*; transitive *nā^ag-*) has hitherto been translated as SAY (intransitive), SAY TO (transitive). This, however, is only a specialized meaning of the constantly recurring base, its more general signification being DO, ACT, BE IN MOTION indefinitely. It is really never used alone, but is regularly accompanied by some preceding word or phrase with which it is connected in a periphrastic construction; the *na(g)-* form playing the part of an auxiliary. As a verb of saying, *na(g)-* is regularly preceded by a quotation, or else some word or phrase, generally a demonstrative pronoun, grammatically summarizing the quotation. Properly speaking, then, a sentence like I SHALL GO, HE SAID (TO ME) (= *yana't'e^ε [ga] naga'^{ie} [or nege's'i]*) is rendered in Takelma by I SHALL GO (THAT) HE DID (or HE DID TO ME), in which the quotation *yana't'e^ε I SHALL GO*, or else its representative *ga THAT*, is incorporated as prefix in the general verb of action.

The most interesting point in connection with periphrastic phrases in *na(g)-* is the use of a number of invariable, generally monosyllabic, verbal bases as incorporated prefixes. The main idea, logically speaking, of the phrase is expressed in the prefix, the *na(g)-*

¹Most of its forms, as far as known, are listed, for convenience of reference, in Appendix A, pp. 286-90. It will be seen to be irregular in several respects. Examples of its forms are to be found in great number in "Takelma Texts."

element serving merely to give it grammatical form. This usage is identical with that so frequently employed in Chinookan dialects, where significant uninflected particles are joined into periphrastic constructions with some form of the verb-stem *-x*- DO, MAKE, BECOME (e. g., Wasco *lq!u'b itciux* HE CUT IT [literally, CUT HE-IT-MADE]), except that in Takelma the particles are identical with the bases of normally formed verbs. It is not known how many such verb-particles there are, or even whether they are at all numerous. The few examples obtained are:

- na^ε* do (cf. *na't'e^ε* I shall say, do)
s'as' come to a stand (cf. *s'as'in̄* he stands 144.14)
s'il paddle canoe (cf. *ei-ba-i-s'ili'xgwa* he landed with his canoe 13.5)
t'gel^ε fall, drop
ts'el rattle (cf. *ts'ele'εm* it rattles 102.13)
t'bō'ux make a racket (cf. *t'bō'uxde^ε* I make a noise)
liwā'a look (cf. *liwila'ut'ε^ε* I looked [60.7])
le'yas lame (cf. *gwel-le'ye'εsde^ε* I am lame)
p'i'was jumping lightly (cf. *p'iwits!ana'εn* I make it bounce)
we'k!alk' shining (cf. *al-we'k!ala'εn* I shine)
sgala'uk' look moving one's head to side (cf. *al-sgalawi'n* I shall look at him moving my head to side)

The last two are evidently representatives of a whole class of quasi-adverbial *-k'*-derivatives from verb-stems, and, though syntactically similar to the rest, hardly belong to them morphologically. The *-k'* of these invariable verb-derivatives can hardly be identified with the inferential *-k'*, as it is treated differently. Thus:

- we'k!al-k'* shining 126.3; 128.14, but inferential *al-we'k!al-p'-k'* (Class IV, 3) he shone

Most frequently employed of those listed is *na^ε*, which is in all probability nothing but the base *na*- DO, to forms of which it is itself prefixed; its function is to make of the base *na(g)*- a pure verb of action or motion in contradistinction to the use of the latter as a verb of saying:

- ga-nāk'i* say that to him! 55.8, but *ga-na^εnāk'i* do that to him! 182.4; 184.4
ga-naga'ie he said that 72.12, but *ga-na^εnaga'ie* he did that 58.3
gwal't' a-na^εna'εt' the wind will blow as it is blowing now (literally, wind [*gwal't'*] this [*a-*]-do [*na^ε*]-act-will [*na'εt'*]) (152.8)
ga-na^εne'x thus, in that way (literally, that do-acting, doing) 71.6; 110.21; but *ga-ne'x* that saying, to say that 184.10

Examples of the other elements are:

- ei-s'il-naga'^{ie}*¹ he paddled his canoe (literally, he canoe-paddled) 13.5
s'as'-naga'^{ie} he came to a stand 22.6; 31.14, 15; 55.12; 96.23
s'as'-nā'g'i'n I shall bring him to a halt (literally, I shall s'as'-do to him)
liwā'^a-naga'i't'e^e I looked (55.6; 78.10, 13; 79.5)
t'ge'l^s-naga'i't'e^e I fell, dropped down
t'gel^e naga'nā'^{ae}k' he always fell down 62.8
ts!e'l naga'^{ie} (bones) rattled (literally, they did *ts!el*) 79.8
t'bo'^{ux} naga' they made a racket so as to be heard by them 192.9
we'k!alk'-naga'^{ie} he shines
sgala'uk'-naganā'^{ae}k' he looked continually moving his head from side to side 144.14, 17
gwēlxdā^a le'yas-na'k' his leg was laming 160.17
p'i'was-naga'^{ie} he jumped up lightly 48.8

Syntactically analogous to these are the frequent examples of postpositions (see § 96), adverbs, and local phrases prefixed to forms of the undefined verb of action *na(g)-*, the exact sense in which the latter is to be taken being determined by the particular circumstances of the locution. Examples are:

- gada'k'-naga'^{ie}* they passed over it (literally, thereon they did) 190.21
ganau-nagana'^{ek'} he went from one (trap) to another (literally, therein he kept doing) 78.5
hawi-nāk'i tell him to wait! (literally, still do to him!)
hagwā^ala`m (in the road) *-naga'^{ie}* (he did) (= he traveled in the road)
haxiya' (in the water) *-naga'^{ie}* (= he went by water)
dak'-s'inī'ida (over his nose) *-nabā'^{ae}ha`n* (let us do) (= let us [flock of crows] pass over him!) 144.11
da'k'dā^ada (over him) *-na'^u* (do!) (= pass over him!)
dak'-yawadē (over my ribs) *-naga'^{ie}* (= he passed by me)
ge (there) *-naga'^{ie}* (= they passed there) 144.18
he^{ee}-wila'mxa-hi (beyond Mount Wila'mxa) *-nāk'^w* (do having it!) (= proceed with it to beyond Mount Wila'mxa!) 196.14

These examples serve to indicate, at the same time, that the particles above mentioned stand in an adverbial relation to the *na(g)-* form:

s'as'-naga'^{ie} he come-to-a-stand-did, like *ge naga'^{ie}* he there-did

Compare the similar parallelism in Wasco of:

¹ *s'il* has been found as a prefix also in the comitative *ei-s'il-yā'ngwa'^{en}* I COME IN A CANOE (literally, I-CANOE-PADDLING-GO-HAVING).

k!wa'c gali'xux afraid he-made-himself (= he became afraid) (see "Wishram Texts," 152.9)

kwô'ba gali'xux there he-made-himself (= he got to be there, came there)

Here may also be mentioned the use of verb-stems prefixed to the forms of *k!emn-* MAKE and *nā^g-* SAY TO. Such locutions are causative in signification, but probably differ from formal causatives in that the activity of the subject is more clearly defined. Examples are:

wede wo'k' k!emna't do not let him arrive! (literally, not arrive make-him!)

wo'k' k!emana'nxi let me come! (literally, arrive make-me!)

gwel-leis k!emna'n I shall make him lame (literally, be-lame I-shall-make-him)

yana nāk'i let him go (literally, go say-to-him)

The forms involving *k!emen-* are quite similar morphologically to periphrastic futures in *-gulug^w-*, the main point of difference being that, while *k!emen-* occurs as independent verb, *-gulug^w-* is never found without a prefix. The forms involving *nā^g-* are probably best considered as consisting of an imperative followed by a quotative verb form. Thus *yana nāk'i* is perhaps best rendered as "GO!" SAY IT TO HIM! The form *hoida-yo'k'ya^s* (*hoid-* DANCE + connective *-a-*) ONE WHO KNOWS HOW TO DANCE suggests that similar compound verbs can be formed from *yok'y-* KNOW.

§ 70. SUBORDINATING FORMS

A number of syntactic suffixes are found in Takelma, which, when appended to a verbal form, serve to give it a subordinate or dependent value. Such subordinate forms bear a temporal, causal, conditional, or relative relation to the main verb of the sentence, but are often best translated simply as participles. Four such subordinating suffixes have been found:

-da^ε (-t'a^ε), serving to subordinate the active forms of the aorist.

-ma^ε, subordinating those of the passive aorist.

-na^ε, subordinating all inferential forms in *-k'*. Periphrastic inferential forms in *ei't* and *ei't'p'* are treated like aorists, the form-giving elements of such periphrases being indeed nothing but the second person singular and plural aorist of *ei-* BE.

-k'i^ε (-gi^ε), appended directly to the non-aorist stem, forming dependent clauses of unfulfilled action, its most frequent use being

the formation of conditions. Before examples are given of subordinate constructions, a few remarks on the subordinate forms themselves will be in place.

The aoristic *-da^ε*- forms of an intransitive verb like *hōg^w*- RUN are:

Singular:

	Independent	Subordinate
First person . . .	<i>hō'k'de^ε</i> I run	<i>hō'k'de^εda^ε</i> when I ran, I running
Second person . . .	<i>hōgwa't'</i>	<i>hōgwada'^ε</i>
Third person . . .	<i>hō'εk'</i>	<i>hō'k'da^ε</i>

Plural:

First person . . .	<i>hōgwi'k'</i>	<i>hōgwigā'm</i>
Second person . . .	<i>hōgwa't'p'</i>	<i>hōgwa't'ba^ε</i>
Impersonal	<i>hōgwia'^{uε}</i>	<i>hōgwia'-uda^ε</i>

Of these forms, that of the first person plural in *-a'm* is identical, as far as the suffix is concerned, with the future form of the corresponding person and number. The example given above (*hōgwigā'm*) was found used quite analogously to the more transparently subordinate forms of the other persons (*alxī'ixam hōgwigā'm* HE SAW US RUN, like *alxī'ixi hō'k'de^εda^ε* HE SAW ME RUN); the form of the stem is all that keeps apart the future and the subordinate aorist of the first person plural (thus *hōgwigā'm* WE SHALL RUN with short *o*). No form in *-i'k'da^ε*, such as might perhaps be expected, was found. The catch of the first and third person singular of class I verbs disappears before the *-da^ε* (see § 22). The falling accent of the stem, however, remains, and the quantity of the stressed vowel is lengthened unless followed by a diphthong-forming element. Thus:

yā'ada^ε when he went 58.8 (*ya'^ε* he went 96.8); cf. 188.17
ba-i-k'iyi'ik'da^ε when he came (*ba-i-k'iyi'εk'* he came 156.24)
yawa'ida^ε as they were talking 130.13 (*yawa'^{is}* they talked)
xebe'nda^ε when he did so 142.10 (*xebe'^{en}* he did so 118.14)

The subordinate form of the third person aorist of class II intransitives ends in *-t'a^ε* if the immediately preceding vowel has a rising accent. Thus:

s'as'inīt'a^ε when he stood (*s'as'inī* he stood 120.12)
lop!ōt'a^ε when it rained (*lop!o't* it rained 90.1)

In the second person singular the personal *-t'* and the *-d-* of the subordinating suffix amalgamate to *-d-*. The subordinate second person plural in *-t'ba^ε* is not improbably simply formed on the analogy of the corresponding singular form in *-da^ε*, the normal difference

between the singular and plural of the second person consisting simply of the added *-b-* (*-p'*) of the latter; similarly, *e-ida'*^ε WHEN THOU ART and *εit'ba'*^ε WHEN YE ARE. Judging by the analogy of the subordinates of transitive forms in *-dam* and *-dap'* the subordinate forms of the second persons of class II intransitives end in *-t'a'* (*-da'*) and *-t'aba'* (*-daba'*):

s'as'inūt'a'^ε when you stood (*s'as'inūt'am* you stood)

s'as'inūt'ba'^ε when ye stood (*s'as'inūt'ap'* ye stood)

Note the ambiguity of the form *s'as'inūt'a'*^ε WHEN HE OR YOU STOOD; compare the similar ambiguity in *naga'-ida'*^ε WHEN HE SAID and *naga-ida'*^ε WHEN YOU SAID 130.14; 132.23.

The transitive subordinates of the aorist are also characterized by a suffixed *-da'*^ε, except that forms with a third personal subject invariably substitute *-(a)na'*^ε (*-ina'*^ε with first person plural object), and that the personal endings *-dam* (THOU—ME) and *-dap'* (YE—ME) become simply *-da'*^ε and *-daba'*^ε respectively. The latter forms are thus distinguished from non-subordinate futures merely by the aoristic stem (*al-xī'ixda'*^ε WHEN YOU SAW ME, but *al-xī'ixda'*^ε YOU WILL SEE ME). Analogously to what we have seen to take place in the intransitive, *-t'p'* becomes *-t'ba'*^ε. The subordinate aorists of *t!omom-* KILL are:¹

Subjective	Objective				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Singular:					
1st per.		<i>t!omōzbinda'</i> (<i>t!omōzbi'n</i>)	<i>t!omoma'nda'</i> (<i>t!omoma'εn</i>)		<i>t!omōzranbanda'</i> (<i>t!omōzranba'εn</i>)
2d per.	<i>!!ūmūzda'</i> (<i>t!ūmūzdam</i>)		<i>t!omomada'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omoma't'</i>)	<i>t!omōzrimida'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōzrimit'</i>)	
3d per.	<i>t!ūmūzina'</i> ^ε (<i>t!ūmūzi</i>)	<i>t!omōzbinda'</i> (<i>t!omōzbi</i>)	<i>t!omomana'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōm</i>)	<i>t!omōzimina'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōziam</i>)	<i>t!omōzranbana'</i> (<i>t!omōzranp'</i>)
Plural:					
1st per.		<i>t!omōzbinagam</i> (<i>t!omōzbinak'</i>)	<i>t!omomanaga'm</i> (<i>t!omomana'k'</i>)		<i>t!omōzranbanagam</i> (<i>t!omōzranbanak'</i>)
2d per.	<i>t!ūmūzadaba'</i> (<i>t!ūmūzadap'</i>)		<i>t!omoma't'ba'</i> (<i>t!omoma't'p'</i>)	<i>t!omōzrimit'ba'</i> (<i>t!omōzrimit'p'</i>)	

The forms with first personal plural subject (*-na'k'*) and second personal object were not obtained, but the corresponding forms in *-iga'm* (first person plural intransitive) and *-anaga'm* (first person plural subject third person object) leave no doubt as to their correctness. These forms differ from ordinary futures of the same

¹ The corresponding non-subordinate forms are given in parentheses.

number and person only in the use of the aorist stem. Only very few examples of subordinate *-anaga'm* have been found:

aga'hi ligigwanaga'm just-these which-we-brought-home 134.18;

contrast *li'igwanaga'm* we shall bring them home

yewē xebe^eyagwanaga'm if we should slay him (literally, perhaps that-we-slay-him) 136.23; contrast *xe^ebagwanaga'm* we shall slay him

The use of the aorist stem in the subordinate, it will be observed, is also the only characteristic that serves to keep distinct the third personal subjective subordinates and the future forms of the passive:

al-xīⁱxbina^e when he saw you, but *al-xī^εxbina^e* you will be seen

It may be noted that the third personal subjective aorist forms of the transitive may be mechanically formed, like the passives of the same tense, from the first person singular subject third person object aorist by merely dropping the glottal catch of the latter form and adding *-a^e*. Thus:

gel-hewe'hana^e when he thought 45.2; 142.10, 13, 16 (cf. *gel-hewe'ha^en* I thought); but *gel-hewe'hau* he thought 44.11

The subordinate of the form with personal object *-k'va* is formed by adding *-na^e*:

malāk'wana^e when he told him 72.14 (*malāk'va* he told him 142.4)

The aorist passive subordinates cause no trouble whatever, the characteristic *-ma^e* being in every case simply appended to the final *-n* of the passive form:

t!omoma'nma^e when he was killed 146.22 (from *t!omoma'n* he was killed 148.3)

t!omōxanbanma^e when you (plural) were killed

The complete subordinate inferential paradigm is rather motley in appearance; *-na^e* is suffixed to the third personal subject in *-k'*:

p!āk'na^e when he bathed

laba'k'na^e when he carried it 126.5

gāik'na^e when he ate it

dūmxik'na^e when he killed me

The first person singular in *-k'a^e(n)* becomes *-k'anda^e*; the first person plural subordinate was not obtained, but doubtless has *-k'anaga'm* as ending. The subordinate of the passive in *-k'am* is regularly formed by the addition of *-na^e*:

gāik'amna^e when it was eaten

dōmxamk'amna^e when we were killed

The periphrastic forms in *eit'* and *eit'p'* become *-k' + eida'ε* and *eit'baε* in the subordinate; e. g., *wā^uhīmt'k!eida'ε* WHEN YOU ANSWERED HIM. The active inferential subordinates of *dō^um-* with third personal object thus are:

Singular:

First person, *dōmk'andaε*Second person, *dō^umk!eida'ε*

Plural:

First person, *dōmk'anaga'm*Second person, *dō^umk!eit'baε*Third person, *dōmk'naε*; personal, *dōmk'wak'naε*Impersonal *dō^umiaūk'naε*

The subordinating element *-naε* also makes a subordinate clause out of a *-t'* participle (see §76):

gwi na't'naε gaε a'ldi naga'n how-he-looked (*gwi na't'* how-look-
ing) that all he-was-called 60.5; (cf. 78.3)

yap!a ga na't'naε that number of people 110.15

Also adjectives and local phrases may be turned into subordinate clauses by the suffixing of *-naε*:

xilam-na'ε when she was sick 188.10

aga dō^uk' gwelda-na'ε this log under-it when (= while he was under
this log) 190.20

Examples will now be given of constructions illustrating the use of subordinate forms. It is artificial, from a rigidly native point of view, to speak of causal, temporal, relative, and other uses of the subordinate; yet an arrangement of Takelma examples from the view-point of English syntax has the advantage of bringing out more clearly the range of possibility in the use of subordinates. The subordinate clause may be directly attached to the rest of the sentence, or, if its temporal, causal, or other significance needs to be clearly brought out, it may be introduced by a relative adverb or pronoun (WHERE, WHEN, HOW, WHO). Both constructions are sometimes possible; e. g., a sentence like I DO NOT KNOW WHO KILLED HIM may be rendered either by NOT I-IT-KNOW WHO HE-HIM-KILLING or NOT I-WHOM-KNOW HE-HIM-KILLING. Subordinate constructions with causal signification are:

ts'!olx (1) *ū's'i* (2) *t!ümūxdaε* (3) give me (2) dentalia (1), for you
have struck me (3) (cf. 15.8)

a'niε (1) *gel-gülü'xi* (2) *gayawa'ndaε* (3) he does not (1) like me
(2), because I ate it (3)

gāxde^ε (1) *gayawana*^ε (2) *goyo*^ε (3) *yap!a* (4) *aldī* (5) *he^ε-ī-leme'k'it'* (6) you killed off (6) all (5) the people (4), because shamans (3) ate (2) your wife (1) 146.11

a'nī^ε (1) *ya'^ε* (2) *gīⁱ* (3) *me^ε-wō^uk'^εde^εda^ε* (4) *ga^εa'l* (5) he did not (1) go (2), because I (3) came (4); *ga^εa'l* (on account of, for) is employed to render preceding subordinate unambiguously causal

a'nī^ε (1) *s'in-ho'k'wal* (2) *ī'u'k'na^ε* (3) *ga* (4) *ga^εal* (5) *sbīn^εa* (6) *xa'm-hi* (7) *lāp'k'* (8) not (1) being (3) nose-holed (2), for (5) that (4) (reason) Beaver (6) got to be (8) under water (7) 166.18

A temporal signification is found in:

hā^{aε}-yewe'^{iε} (1) *aldīl* (2) *t!omoma'nma^ε* (3) they all (2) returned far off (1), after (many of them) had been slain (3) 146.22

goyo (1) *gel-lohoigwa'nma^ε* (2) when shamans (1) are avenged (2) 148.2

ba-ī-k!īyī'^εk' (1) *p'im* (2) *gayawa'nda^ε* (3) he came (1) when I was eating (3) salmon (2)

al-xī'igī^εn (1) *gwi^εne* (2) *yā'ada^ε* (3) I saw him (1) when (2) he went (3)

Relative clauses of one kind and another, including indirect questions, are illustrated in:

a'nī^ε (1) *nek'* (2) *yok!oya'^εn* (3) *lege'xina^ε* (4) I do not (1) know (3) who (2) gave me to eat (4) (literally, not I-whom-know he-giving-me-to-eat)

yok!oya'^εn (1) *nek'* (2) *laga'ximina^ε* (3) I know (1) who (2) gave us to eat (3)

mān (1) *mī'xal* (2) *ha-lohō^unana'^ε* (3) he counted (1) how many (2) he had trapped (3) 100.8

a'nī^ε (1) *yok!ōī* (2) *gwi* (3) *giniyagwa'nma^ε* (4) he did not (1) know (2) where (3) she had been taken to (4) 13.12

ga'hi (1) *dūk'* (2) *dī-t!ūgūī* (3) *wa-k!ododī'nma^ε* (4) they wore (3) the same (1) garments (2) with which they had been buried (4) 96.16

gīⁱ (1) *na^εnagaīt'^εda^ε* (2) *na^εna'^εk'* (3) do (future imperative) (3) what I (1) am doing (2)

ī-k'we'^εxi (1) *ulum* (2) *wāik'anda^ε* (3) they awoke me (1) who (or while, when I) before (2) was sleeping (3) 74.5; 75.6

Purpose may be implied by the subordinate in:

p'im (1) *gayawana'^ε* (2) *laga'k'ī* (3) he gave them (3) salmon (1) to eat (2) 30.11

The subordinate serves very frequently as a clause of indirect discourse after such verbs as KNOW, SEE, DISCOVER. With a regular

verb of saying, such as *na(g)-*, it is nearly always necessary to report the exact words of the speaker.

- al-xī'igi^εn* (1) *xebeyigi'k'wana^ε* (2) I saw him (1) hurt him (2)
yok'loya'^εn (1) *p'im* (2) *gaik'na^ε* (3) I know (1) that he has
 been eating (3) salmon (2) (literally, I-know-him salmon he-
 having-eaten)
al-xī'ixi (1) *t!omōxanbanda^ε* (2) he saw me (1) strike you (pl.) (2)
al-xī'igi^εn (1) *dal-yewe'ida^ε* (2) I saw him (1) run away (2)

Not infrequently an adverb is to be considered the main predicate, particularly when supported by the unanalyzable but probably verbal form *wala'^εsi(na^ε)*, while the main verb follows as a subordinate clause. Compare such English turns as IT IS HERE THAT I SAW HIM, instead of HERE I SAW HIM:

- eme^ε* (1) *wala'^εsi* (2) *eit'e^εda^ε* (3) I am (3) right (2) here (1)
 (literally, here it-is really [?] that-I-am)
eme^ε (1) *wala'^εsi* (2) *eida'^ε* (3) you are (3) right (2) here (1)
mīⁱ (1) *wala'^εsi* (2) *ī-k!ūmanana'nhik'na^ε* (3) he had already
 fixed it for him (literally, already (1) it-was-really (2) that-
 he-had-fixed-it-for-him (3))

Examples of subordinates depending on predicatively used adverbs without *wala'^εsi* are:

- a'nī^ε* (1) *wanā* (2) *eme^ε* (3) *nē'ida^ε* (4) [it is] not (1) even (2) here
 (3) that they did (4) (probably=even they did not get here)
 61.3
hop!ē'^εn (1) *p!ā'as* (2) *hi's* (3) *lop!ōt'a^ε* (4) it used to snow long
 ago (long ago [1] that snow [2] almost [3] stormed [4])
alī (1) *he^ε-ī-leme'k'inda^ε* (2) [it is] right here (1) that I destroy
 them (2) 108.20

An example of a subordinate depending on a demonstrative pronoun is:

- ī'daga* (1) *yap!a* (2) *s'as'inīt'a^ε* (3) that man is standing (literally,
 [it is] that [1] man [2] that is standing [3])

The form *wala'^εsina^ε* is in all probability a third personal aorist transitive subordinate form in *-na^ε*, as is shown by its use as a substantive verb for the third person when following an adverb, apparently to supply the lack of a third person in the regular substantive verb *ei-*:

- eme^ε* (1) *wala'^εsina^ε* (2) *ā'k!a* (3) he (3) is right (2) here (1)
 (literally, something like: [it is] here that-it-really-is he)
ge (1) *wala'^εs'ina^ε* (2) he is over there (literally, [it is] there [1]
 that-he-really-is [2])

Most astonishing is the use of *wala'εs'inaε* as a modal prefix of a subordinate verb (of the movable class treated above, see § 34) to assert the truth of an action in the manner of our English DID in sentences like HE DID GO. Thus, from *dak'-da-hālsbi* HE ANSWERED YOU, is formed the emphatic *dak'-da-wala'εs'inaε-hālsbinaε* HE DID ANSWER YOU. The only analysis of this form that seems possible is to consider the verbal prefixes *dak'-da-* as a predicative adverb upon which *wala'εs'inaε* is syntactically dependent, the main verb *-hālsbinaε* itself depending as a subordinate clause on its modal prefix. The fact that *dak'-da-* has as good as no concrete independent existence as adverb, but is idiomatically used with the verbal base *hal-* to make up the idea of ANSWER, is really no reason for rejecting this analysis, strange as it may appear, for the mere grammatical form of a sentence need have no immediate connection with its logical dismemberment. The above form might be literally translated as (IT IS) ABOVE (*dak'-*) WITH-HIS-MOUTH (*da-*) THAT-IT-REALY-IS THAT-HE-ANSWERED-YOU.

§ 71. CONDITIONALS

Conditionals differ from other subordinate forms in that they are derived, not from the full verb-form with its subject-affix, but, if intransitive, directly from the verb-stem; if transitive, from the verb-stem with incorporated pronominal object. In other words, the conditional suffix *-k'iε* (*-giε*) is added to the same phonetic verbal units as appear in the inferential before the characteristic *-k'*, and in the periphrastic future before the second element *-guluḡw-*. The phonetic and to some extent psychological similarity between the inferential (e. g., *dūmxik'* HE EVIDENTLY STRUCK ME) and the conditional (e. g., *dūmxigiε* IF HE STRIKES, HAD STRUCK ME) makes it not improbable that the latter is a derivative in *-iε* of the third personal subjective form in *-k'* of the latter. The conditional, differing again from other subordinates in this respect, shows no variation for pronominal subjects, the first and second personal subjective forms being periphrastically expressed by the addition to the conditional of the third personal subjective of the appropriate forms of *ei-* BE. From verb-stem *yana-* GO, for example, are derived:

Singular:

First person, *yana'k'iε eit'eε*

Second person, *yana'k'iε eit'*

Third person, *yana'k'iε*

Plural:

First person, *yana'k'ie e'bi'k'*Second person, *yana'k'ie eit'p'*Impersonal: *yanayaūk'ie*

The conditional is used not merely, as its name implies, to express the protasis of a condition, but as the general subordinate form of unrealized activity; as such it may often be translated as a temporal or relative clause, an introductory adverb or relative pronoun serving to give it the desired shade of meaning. Examples of its use other than as a conditional, in the strict sense of the word, are:

yok!oya'en (1) *nek'* (2) *lāxbigiε* (3) I know (1) who (2) will give you to eat (3)

dewe'nxa (1) *al-xi'k'in* (2) *gwiεne* (3) *yana'k'ie* (4) I shall see him (2) to-morrow (1), when (3) he goes (4)

al-xi'εxink' (1) *gwiεne* (2) *yana'k'ie eit'ε* (3) he will see me (1) when (2) I go (3)

gwen-t'gā^a-bo'k'danda (1) *ts'!ō'ut'igiε* (2) *yā^a* (3) *heεne* (4) *yā^a* (5) *xε^abagwa'n* (6) just (3) ¹when they touch (2) the eastern extremity of the earth (1), just (5) then (4) I shall destroy them (6) 144.15

It has a comparative signification (AS THOUGH) in:

p!i'ε (1) *de-gū'k'alxgiε* (2) *na^εnaga'ie* (3) it was (3) as though fire (1) were glowing (2) 142.1

Conditional sentences are of two types:

(1) Simple, referring to action of which, though unfulfilled, there yet remains the possibility of fulfillment.

(2) Contrary to fact, the hypothetical activity being beyond the possibility of fulfillment.

Both types of condition require the conditional form in the protasis, but differ in the apodosis. The apodosis of a simple conditional sentence contains always a future form (or inferential, if the apodosis is negative), that of a contrary-to-fact condition, a potential. Examples of simple conditions are:

ga (1) *na^εnāk'ie eit'* (2) *haxada'ε* (3) if you do (2) that (1), you'll get burnt (3)

āk' (1) *yana'k'ie* (2) *gīⁱ* (3) *hono^ε* (4) *yana't'e^ε* (5) if he (1) goes (2), I (3) go (5) too (4)

wede (1) *yana'k'ie* (2) *gīⁱ* (3) *hono^ε* (4) *wede* (5) *yana'k'a^ε* (6) if he does not (1) go (2), I (3) won't (5) go (6) either (4)

gwałt' (1) *mahaī* (2) *wo'k'ie* (3) *ga* (4) *nā^agi'εk'* (5) if a great (2) wind (1) arrives (3), say (5) that! (4) 196.19

¹Just when = AS SOON AS.

The apodosis of such conditions is sometimes introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *ga* THAT, which may be rendered in such cases by THEN, IN THAT CASE:

aga (1) *xā^a-sgō^usgi^ε* (2) *ga* (3) *loho't'e^ε* (4) if this (1) string parts (2), in that case (3) I shall be dead (4) 59.10, (11)

Of this type are also all general conditions referring to customary action that is to take place in time to come, such as are often introduced in English by words like WHENEVER, WHEREVER, and so on.¹ Examples of such general conditions are:

wi'lau (1) *k'emniyaūk'i^ε* (2) *wa-t'bā^agamdina^ε* (3) whenever people will make (2) arrows (1), they (arrows) will be backed (literally, tied) with it (3) (with sinew) 28.2

wā^adīⁱ (1) *dū* (2) *ba-i-gināk'wi^ε*² (3) *goyo'* (4) *he^εne* (5) *dō^u-mana'^ε* (6) whenever a shaman (4) goes out with³ (3) one whose body (1) is good (2), then (5) he shall be slain (6) 146.6
goyo (1) *gel-lohogwiaūk'i^ε* (2) *he^εne* (3) *yā^aas'i^ε* (4) *yap'a* (5) *gama'xdī* (6) *p'ē'^εt'* (7) whenever one takes vengeance for (2) a shaman (1), just (4) then (3) ordinary (6) people (5) will lie (7) (i. e., be slain) 146.8

wede (1) *hono^ε* (2) *ne'k'* (3) *al-xi'^εk'wak'* (4) *yap'a* (5) *loho'k'i^ε* (6) no (1) one (3) will see him (4) again (2), when a person (5) dies (6) 98.10

gana^εnc'x (1) *yo'^εt'* (2) *yap'a* (3) *gāik'i^ε* (4) thus (1) it shall be (2) as people (3) grow, multiply (4) 146.15

Examples of contrary-to-fact conditions are:

aldī (1) *yuk'ya'k'i^ε eit'e^ε* (2) *mala'xbi^εn* (3) if I knew (2) all (1), I should tell it to you (3) 162.5

nek' (1) *yo'k'i^ε* (2) *dak'-limagwa^ε* (3) if it were (2) anyone else (1), it (tree) would have fallen on him (3) 108.11, 13

v'daga (1) *ge* (2) *yu'k'i^ε* (3) *wede* (4) *dō^uma'^εn* (5) if that one (1) had been (3) there (2), I should not (4) have killed him (5)

gīⁱ (1) *ge* (2) *yu'k'i^ε eit'e^ε* (3) *bō^u* (4) *yana'^ε* (5) *haga'* (6) if I (1) were (3) there (2), he would have gone (5) in that event (4)

In the last example, *haga'* is a demonstrative adverb serving to summarize the protasis, being about equivalent to our IN THAT EVENT, UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES. This word may be the adverbialized

¹ General conditions, however, that apply to past time, or that have application without reference to time-limit, are constructed by the use of the subordinate for the protasis, and aorist for the apodosis, both verbs being, if possible, frequentative or continuative in form: *ts'ixi* (1) *k'ewe'k'awalda^ε* (2) *he^εne* (3) *yap'a* (4) *al-t'ayāik'* (5) WHENEVER THE DOG (1) BARKED (2), THEN (3) HE FOUND (5) A PERSON (4).

² = -*gināk'w* + -*k'i^ε*.

³ Causes the death of.

form of the demonstrative pronoun *hā'εga* THAT ONE; it is used also with persons other than the third:

yana't'eε haga I should have gone in that event

§ 72. USES OF POTENTIAL AND INFERENTIAL

The potential and inferential modes differ from the aorist in the negative particle with which they may be combined. An indicative non-future statement, such as is expressed by the aorist, is negated, without change of the verb-form, by means of the negative adverb *a'n̄ε*:

yānt'eε I went; *a'n̄ε yānt'eε* I did not go

An imperative or future form, however, can not be directly negated, but must be expressed by the potential and inferential respectively, the non-aoristic negative adverb *wede* being prefixed. Thus we have:

Negative future:

<i>yana't'e</i> he will go	:	<i>wede yana'k'</i> he will not go
<i>yanada'eε</i> you will go	:	<i>wede yana'k!eit'</i> you will not go
<i>yana't'eε</i> I shall go	:	<i>wede yana'k'aε</i> I shall not go
<i>dōmxbin</i> I shall kill you	:	<i>wede dōmxbigaε</i> I shall not kill
178.15		you (cf. 178.15)
<i>dōuma'nk'</i> he will kill him	:	<i>wede</i> (1) <i>ne'k'</i> (2) <i>yap!a</i> (3)
		<i>gama'xdī</i> (4) <i>dōumk'</i> (5) no
		(1) one (2) will slay (5) a
		person (3) who is no shaman
		(4) 146.16

Negative imperative:

<i>yana</i> go! (sing.)	:	<i>wede yana't'</i> do not go!
<i>yana'np'</i> go! (pl.)	:	<i>wede yana't'p'</i> do not go! (156.9)
<i>dōum</i> kill him!	:	<i>wede dōuma't'</i> do not kill him!
<i>ga naεna</i> do that!	:	<i>wede ga naεna't'</i> do not do that!

The particle *wede* is used with the inferential and potential, not only to form the negative future and imperative, but in all cases in which these modes are negated, e. g., *wede dōuma'εn* I SHOULD NOT HAVE KILLED HIM, I WOULD NOT KILL HIM. There is thus no morphologic distinction between a prohibitive DO NOT GO! and a second person subject negative apodosis of a contrary-to-fact condition, YOU WOULD NOT HAVE GONE. It is probably not a mere accident that the negative particle *wede* is phonetically identical with the verb-stem *wede*-TAKE AWAY. This plausible etymology of *wede* suggests that the origin of

the negative future and imperative constructions lies in such periphrastic sentences as:

Remove (all thought from your mind) that I (inferentially) go
(i. e., I shall not go)

Remove (all thought from your mind) that you might, would
go (i. e., do not go!)

The inferential, as we have seen above (see § 59), is used primarily to indicate that the action is not directly known through personal experience. An excellent example of how such a shade of meaning can be imparted even to a form of the first person singular was given in § 70; *s'εi-k'we'εxi ulum waik'anda*^ε THEY WOKE ME UP WHILE I WAS SLEEPING! 74.5 In the myth from which this sentence is taken, Coyote is represented as suffering death in the attempt to carry out one of his foolish pranks. Ants, however, sting him back into life; whereupon Coyote, instead of being duly grateful, angrily exclaims as above, assuming, to save his self-esteem, that he has really only been taking an intentional nap. The inferential form *waik'anda*^ε is used in preference to the matter-of-fact aorist *wayānt'e'da*^ε I SLEEPING, because of the implied inference, I WASN'T DEAD, AFTER ALL, ELSE HOW COULD THEY WAKE ME? I WAS REALLY SLEEPING, MUST HAVE BEEN SLEEPING. Closely akin to this primary use of the inferential is its frequent use in rhetorical questions of anger, surprise, wonder, and discovery of fact after ignorance of it for some time. Examples from the myths, where the context gives them the necessary psychological setting, are:

gme'εdi (1) *gvi* (2) *wayaūxagwat'* (3) *yu'k'a*^ε (4) how (1) should I (2) be (4) daughter-in-lawed (3) (i. e., how do I come to have any daughter-in-law?) 56.10 I didn't know that you, my son, were married!

gvi (1) *di'* (2) *ha'mi'εt'ban* (3) *dōmk'a*^ε (4) did I (1) kill (4) your father (3) ? (2) 158.2

s'-gwi di' (1) *le'mk'iauk'* (2) where (1) have they all gone (2), any way? 90.25, 27 says Coyote, looking in vain for help

ō+ (1) *mvi* (2) *di'* (3) *s'angia'uk'* (4) Oh! (1) has it gotten to be summer (4) already (2)? (3) says Coyote, after a winter's sleep in a tree-trunk 92.9

ga (1) *di'* (2) *xip'k'* (3) *ga* (4) *di'* (5) *gūxdel'k'* (6) *gaik'* (7) so it is those (1) that did it (3) ? (2) those (4) that ate (7) my wife (6) ? (5) 142.18

¹s'ε- merely marks the Coyote (see footnote, § 2).

e'me^ε (1) *daba'εx* (2) *di* (3) *εeī'a* (4) *yu'k'* (5) are (5) canoes (4) (to be found) only (2) here (1) ? (3) 114.7 (i. e., why do you bother me about ferrying you across, when there are plenty of canoes elsewhere?)

ga (1) *di'* (2) *p!ā'ant'* (3) *gaīk'aε* (4) so that (1) was their livers (3) that I ate (4) ? (2) 120.14 says Grizzly Bear, who imagined she had eaten not her children's, but Black Bear's children's, livers, on discovering her mistake

A peculiar Takelma idiom is the interrogative use of *gwiεne* WHEN, HOW LONG followed by *wede* and the inferential, to denote a series of repetitions or an unbroken continuity of action. Examples are:

gwiεne (1) *di'* (2) *wede* (3) *waīk'* (4) he kept on sleeping (literally, when [1] did he not [3] sleep [4] ? [2]) 142.11; 152.24

gwiεne' (1) *di* (2) *wede* (3) *ho'k'* (4) he ran and ran (literally, how long [1] did he not [3] run [4] ? [2]) 78.14.

gwiεne (1) *di'* (2) *wede* (3) *dāk'am* (4) he kept on being found, they always stumbled upon him again (literally, when [1] was he not [3] found [4] ? [2]) 110.15

Similar psychologically is the non-negative future in:

ge'me'di (1) *honoε* (2) *al-dā'gī'nk'* (3) they never found him again (lit., when [1] will they find him [3] again? [2]) 190.25

6. Nominal and Adjectival Derivatives (§§ 73-83)

§ 73. INTRODUCTORY

Although such derivatives from the verb-stem as infinitives and nouns of agency should logically be treated under the denominating rather than the predicative forms of speech, they are in Takelma, as in most other languages, so closely connected as regards morphology with the latter, that it is much more convenient to treat them immediately after the predicative verb-forms. The number of nominal and adjectival forms derived from the Takelma verb-stem is not very large, comprising infinitives or verbal nouns of action, active and passive participles, nouns of agency, and a few other forms whose function is somewhat less transparent. The use made of them, however, is rather considerable, and they not infrequently play an important part in the expression of subordinate verbal ideas.

§ 74. INFINITIVES

Infinitives, or, as they are perhaps better termed, verbal nouns, may be formed from all verbs by the addition of certain suffixes to the stem or stem + pronominal object, if the verb form is transitive.

Inasmuch as infinitives, being nothing but nouns in form, may take possessive affixes, forms may easily result that combine a transitive object and a possessive pronoun; e. g., *dōmxbiyat'k'* MY (-t'k' scheme III § 92) KILLING YOU (-bi-), FOR ME TO KILL YOU (cf. *yēxbiyaxdek'* MY BITING YOU 116.9; -x-dek' scheme II § 92). The classification of verbs into classes is reflected also in the infinitive forms, each of the three main classes being distinguished by a special infinitive suffix. The suffixes are:

Intransitive I -(a')x.

Intransitive II -k'wa (-gwa).

Transitive -ia (-ya).

The peculiar sub-classes that were grouped together as Class IV all form their infinitives in -k'wa (-gwa). Besides these three main suffixes, -(d)epx- (-apx-) with possessive suffixes is employed to form infinitives from reflexives in -gwi-, while active intransitives in -xa- form their infinitives by employing the bare stem-form with verbal derivative -xa. Infinitives in -xa'k'wa also occur. The infinitive often shows the stem in a purer form than the non-aorist finite forms; in particular the non-aoristic -p'- of Class II intransitive verbs regularly disappears before the -gwa of the infinitive.

Examples of infinitives are:

1. From Class I intransitives:

<i>wā.ɛde^ε</i> your sleeping	<i>yana`x</i> to go
<i>bā^a-dawi`x</i> to fly up	<i>hoida`x</i> to dance
<i>hogwa`x</i> to run	<i>lō^ux</i> to play 31.7
<i>t!e^εwa`x</i> to play shinny	<i>na^εne`x</i> doing 94.10; 72.4; 148.13
<i>ne`x</i> saying 108.16; 184.10	<i>gina`x</i> to go (176.8) (from simple base <i>gin-</i> ; contrast third person future <i>ging-a'εt'</i>)

Stems ending in long diphthongs either take -x or -ax. Thus we have either *ha-yēū-x-dā^ada* or *ha-yē^εw-a'x-dā^ada* IN THEIR RETURNING 124.15.

2. From Class II intransitives:

<i>k'wā'^{aε}xgwa</i> to wake up (intransitive)	<i>t'gēlxgwa</i> to run around, roll
<i>geiwa'lxgwa</i> to eat	<i>ba-i-di'n^εxgwa</i> to march
<i>lāk'wa</i> to become	<i>s'a's'ank'wa</i> to stand
<i>p!ala'k'wa</i> to tell a myth	<i>sana'k'wa</i> to fight

3. From Class IV verbs:

ī-he^εgwa'k'wa (= *-he^εg^whag^w-k'wa*) to work

al-we'k!alk'wa to shine
da-bo^εk'ba'xgwa to bubble
 under water (observe verb-suffix *-x-* of infinitive; but *da-bok!oba'k'na^εn* I make bubbles)

4. From *-xa-* verbs:

lū^εxwa' (= *lūk!-xa'*) to trap

p'e'lxa to go to war (but also *p'elxa'k'wa*¹)

5. From reflexives:

t'gwā^axa'nt'gwidepxdagwa to tattoo himself

se'la'mt'gwidepxdek' to paint myself

lū^εxagwant'gwiapxde'k' to trap for myself

han-se'gwa'nt'gwiapxdek' to paddle myself across

From non-reflexive verbs are derived:

ga-iwiapxde'k' my eating

wūxiapxdā^a his coming to get me

6. From transitives:

p!ala'xbiya to tell you a myth

ī-gaxga'xgwia to scratch one's self

{ *ī-k'wā^ak!wia* to wake him

*ī-gi's'gis'ia*² to tickle him

{ *ī-k'we'^εxiya* to wake me (164.20)

wayanagwia' to run after him

dā^a-agania' to hear about it

lō^ugwia' to play with it

wa^ε-ī-dōxia to gather them

*dōmk'wia*³ to kill him

The syntactical usage of verbal nouns of action is illustrated in the following examples:

hūli'nk'wat'k' k!emna'nk' he will make me tired (literally, my-tiredness he-will-make-it)

t!omōxā^ada wiyina'^εn I help him kill (literally, his-killing [no object] I-aid-it)

ho'gwax gel-gulugwa'^εn I like to run (lit., running I-like-it) (196.8)

a'nī^ε yok!ōi nexde'k' he does not know what I said (literally, not he-knows-it my-saying)

xi-^εūgwia ga^aʷ in order to drink water (literally, water-drinking for)

ba-i-k!iyi'^εk' al-xī^εxbiya ga^aʷ he came to see you (literally, he-came seeing-you for)

¹ Infinitives in *-k'wa* seem sometimes to be formed from other Class I intransitives, e. g., *wisma'k'wa* TO MOVE; *haza'k'wā^a* TO BURN (also *haza'rgwā^a*).

² Umlauted from **i-gi's'gas'ia*.

³ *-k'wi-* here represents objective *-k'wa-* umlauted by infinitive ending *-(y)a* (see § 8). Similarly *s'ūmt'ia* TO BOIL IT 170.16 from *-l'aya*.

The normal method of expressing purpose, as the last two examples show, is by the use of an infinitive followed by the general locative postposition *ga^εaʌ* TO, AT, FOR. The infinitive, as its inclusion of the object shows, preserves its verbal character almost completely, and may itself govern another infinitive:

k!emnia' al-we'k!alk'wā^a to make it shine (literally, to-make-it its-shining)

Not a few infinitives have become more or less specialized as regular nouns, though it is extremely doubtful if the transparently verbal origin of such nouns is ever lost sight of. Such nouns are:

<i>p!ala'k'wa</i> myth 50.4; 172.17	<i>ts'!ip'na'x</i> speech, oration (cf. <i>ts'!i'p'nan</i> I shall make a speech to them [146.11])
<i>t'ge^εmt'ga'mxgwa</i> darkness	<i>sana'k'wa</i> fight, battle
<i>gina'x</i> passage-way 176.9	<i>ts'e'ma'x</i> noise (cf. <i>dā^ε-ts!ēm-xde^ε</i> I hear a big noise 90.21)
<i>ye'l^εsgwix</i> sweat (cf. <i>ye'l^εsgwade^ε</i> I shall sweat [140.1])	

PARTICIPLES (§§ 75-78)

§ 75. General Remarks

Participles are either active or passive, and may be formed with considerable freedom from all verbs. They have not been found with incorporated pronominal objects, the active participles being more adjectival than verbal in character, while the passives naturally hardly allow of their incorporation. The passive participle is often provided with possessive affixes that correspond to the transitive subjects of the finite verb; the active participle, on the other hand, undergoes no modification for person, but, like any adjective, is brought in connection with a particular person by the forms of the copula *ei*- BE.

§ 76. Active Participle in *-t'*

This participle is formed by simply appending a *-t'*, one of the characteristic adjectival suffixes, to the verb-stem. Inferential and imperative *-p'*- of Class II intransitives disappears before this element (e. g., *se'nsant'* WHOOPING), but not the non-aoristic *-p'*-, which is characteristic (see § 42, 1) of some of the verbs of the same class; e. g., *sana'p'* FIGHTING (from **sana'p't'*). Participles in *-t'* never denote particular action, but regularly indicate that the action predi-

cated of a person is one that in a way marks him off from others, and that may serve as a characteristic attribute. Not infrequently, therefore, a *-t'*- participle has the value of a noun of agency; the fact, however, that it never appears with pronominal elements, but is always treated as an adjective, demonstrates its attributive, non-substantival character. It is possible to use it with a preceding nominal object, so that sentences may result that seem to predicate a single act definitely placed in time; yet an attributive shade of meaning always remains. For example, *wihin dōmt' eit'e^e* (literally, MY-MOTHER HAVING-KILLED I-AM) and *wihin t!omoma'^{en}* both mean I KILLED MY MOTHER, but with a difference. The latter sentence simply states the fact, the emphasis being on the act itself; the former sentence, on the other hand, centers in the description of the subject as a matricide, I AM ONE WHO HAS KILLED HIS MOTHER. The latter sentence might be a reply to a query like WHAT DID YOU DO? the former, to WHO ARE YOU?

Examples of *-t'* participles are:

- { *gwi-na't'* how constituted, of what kind? (*gwi-* [how, where]
 + *na't'* [from *na-* do, act]) 14.4, 9, 10; 15.6
 { *ga-na't'* of that kind, so in appearance 63.12; 192.7
wūnt' k!emē^{en} I make him old (cf. *wunūnt'e^e* I grow old)
t'gā^a haxa't' burnt field (not passive, but really = field that has
 at one time burned) 92.29
hēlt' eit'e^e I know how to sing (literally, singing I am)
yap!a lohōnt' eit'e^e I have killed (many) people (literally, people
 causing [or having caused]-to-die I am)
loho't' having died, dead 148.13
hawa'x-xiwi't' (it is) rotting
xuda'mt' eit'e^e I am whistler
nī'xa yi't' having copulated with his mother (insulting epithet
 applied to Coyote) 86.5, 6, 16

Examples of participles with lost *-t'* have been given above (see § 18).

§ 77. Passive Participle in *-(a)k'^w, -i'^{k'^w}*

Nominal participial forms in *-k'^w* of passive signification can be freely formed from all transitive verb-stems, the stem invariably undergoing palatalization (see § 31). The suffix *-k'^w* ordinarily requires a preceding connective *-a-* replaced, as usual, by an instrumental *-i-* in such passive participles as are derived from verb-forms themselves provided with *-i-*. Participles in *-ak'^w* tend to be accented on the

syllable immediately preceding the suffix, in which case an inorganic *-h-* generally appears before the *-a-*; *-hak'w* is also regularly used with preceding fortis (see § 19). It is not unlikely that the suffix is organically *-hak'w*, the *-ha-* implying continuity (see § 43, 5). Instrumental passives in *-ik'w*, on the other hand, are generally accented, with raised pitch, on the *-i-* of the suffix. For example, *dūmhak'w* (ALWAYS) KILLED OR STRUCK PERSON, but *wa-dū^umi'k'w* THING WITH WHICH ONE KILLS (literally, KILLED-WITH thing). Inasmuch as *-k'w*- participles, differing in this respect from active participles in *-t'*, are distinctly nominal in character, they may be provided with possessive suffixes; e. g., *dūmhak'w-dek'* MY STRUCK ONE. Forms thus arise which, like *-t'*-participles supplemented by forms of *ei-* BE, have independent predicative force. What we have seen to apply to *-t'*-participles, however, in regard to particularity of action, applies with equal if not greater force to predicatively used passives in *-k'w*. While a sentence like *ī'daga t!omoma'n* (*dōmk'am*) THAT ONE WAS SLAIN, with finite passive, implies the fulfillment of a single act, a sentence whose predicate is supplied by a passive participle (like *ī'daga dūmhak'w* THAT ONE IS [REGULARLY] SLAIN, STRUCK) necessarily refers to habitual or regularly continued activity: *ī'daga dūmhak'w-de'k'* THAT ONE IS MY (REGULARLY) STRUCK ONE thus approaches in signification the finite frequentative *ī'daga t!omo'amda^εn* THAT ONE I (ALWAYS) STRIKE, but differs radically in signification from both *ī'daga t!omoma'^εn* I KILLED THAT ONE and *ī'daga dōmt' eit'e^ε* I AM ONE THAT HAS KILLED THAT ONE.

Examples of *-k'w*- participles are:

- gwen-sgū^{uε}t'ók'w* (those) with their necks cut off (21.2, 4, 5)
xa-ī-sgī^{iε}p'sgībik'w (bodies) cut in two 21.2; 22.3
*(mīⁱ) gela'p'ak'w*¹ something which is (already) twisted
gūhak'w na^εne'x like something planted, sown
wa^ε-ī-dūxik'wdek' I have been gathering them (literally, my gathered ones)
dal^ε-wa-p'ū't!ik'w (manzanita) mixed with (sugar-pine nuts) 178.5
t'ān t'gwīl gūt'ók'w-dā^a squirrel has been burying (*gō^ud-*) hazel-nuts (literally, squirrel hazel-nuts [are] his-buried-ones)²
sēk'ak'wde'k' I (always) shoot (*sā^ag-*) him (literally, my shot one)
mīla'shak'wdek' I love her (literally, my loved one)

¹ Cf. *galaba'^εn* I TWIST IT; *-a'-* above is inorganic, hence unpalatalized to *-e-*.

² *t'gwīl* (HAZEL-NUTS) is the grammatical subject; *gūt'ók'w-dā^a* predicates the subject; *t'ān* (SQUIRREL) is outside the main core of the sentence, being merely in apposition with the incorporated *-dā^a* (HIS) of the nominal predicate.

As the last example shows, the indirective *-s-* of verbs with indirect object is preserved in *-hak'w* participles (contrast *mīla't-k'* HE LOVED HER [inferential]).

Participles of instrumental signification in *-i'k'w* are freely employed to make up instrumental nouns, such as names of implements. Examples are:

- dō^uk'-sgū^ut!ik'w* log-cut-with (=saw)
se^l-wa-se^la'mdik'w black paint (writing)-therewith-painted
 (written) (=pencil)
ī-smī'lsmīlik'w (thing) swung (=swing)
dūk'w-wa-sgū^ut!ik'w dress-therewith-cut (=scissors)
k!wāi-bā^a-sgēk'sgigik'w grass-up-pitched-with (=pitchfork)
ya^p!a-wa-dō^umī'k'w people-therewith-killed, e. g., arrow, gun
da^εma'xa u a^lε-wa-xī'ik!ik'w far therewith-seen, e. g., telescope
mūlmīli'k'w something to stir (mush) up with

It is interesting to note that forms in *-k'w* may be formed from the third person possessive of nouns, chiefly terms of relationship. These are shown by the palatalized form of the stem to be morphologically identical with passive participles in *-k'w*. Examples are:

Noun	Participle
<i>ts'!ele'i</i> his eye 86.7, 9	<i>ts'!ele'ik'w</i> eye-having 27.9
<i>nī'xa</i> his mother 17.11; 126.7	<i>nī'xak'w</i> he has a mother
<i>ma'xa</i> his father 17.12; 126.6	<i>me'xak'w</i> he has a father
<i>k'aⁱlā'p'ik!i'w</i> his woman (178.8)	<i>k'eⁱlē'p'ik!ik'w</i> he has a wife 1:2.6
<i>t!iⁱlā'p'ik!i'w</i> her husband 46.1	<i>t!iⁱlē'p'ik!ik'w</i> she has a husband

Such forms in *-k'w* may well be compared to English adjectives of participial form in *-ed*; e. g., LEFT-HANDED, FOUR-CORNERED. They may be further adjectivalized by the addition of *-at'* (see below, § 108); e. g., *me'xagwat'* FATHER-HAVING.

§ 78. Passive Participles in *-xap'* (*-sap'*)

Less common than passive participles in *-(a)k'w* are certain forms in *-xap'* (*-sap'*), which, like the former, show a palatalized form of the stem, and seem to be identical in function with them. Like *-k'w*- participles, again, they may be provided with possessive pronominal suffixes, though these belong to another scheme of endings:

- gel-gūla'k'ak'w-de'k'* my liked one, I like him (= *gel-gūla'xab-at'k'*)
gel-gūla'k'ak'w-da they like him (= *gel-gūla'xap'*)

Forms in *-xap'* are in particular use as names of articles of clothing. Examples are:

- gwen-wi'^{iε}xap'* handkerchief, neckerchief 188.5 (cf. *gwen-wi'ⁱk!an* I shall wind it about my neck)
dak'-wi'^{iε}xap' something wound about one's head
xā^a-le'^{εs}sap' (= *-t!-xap'*) belt (cf. *xā^a-lū'^{at}!an* I shall put it about my waist)
gwen-p!ⁱxap' pillow (cf. *gwen-p!ⁱk'wan* I shall lie on pillow)
ha-lū'^{uε}xap' shirt (cf. *ha-lō'^{uk!}in* I shall put on shirt)
ha-ya-u-t'^{ge'}nεsap' (= *-ts!-xap'*) vest (cf. *ha-ya-u-t'^{ge'}nts!an* I shall put it about my middle, ribs)
sgē'^{εs}xap' man's hat

NOUNS OF AGENCY (§§ 79-82)

§ 79. Introductory

Four suffixes have been found that are employed to form nouns of agency from verb-stems, *-εs*, *-sā^a*, *-sīⁱ*, and *-xi*. The first of these is more strictly verbal in character than the other three, being capable, unlike these, of incorporating the pronominal object. *-sā^a* and *-sīⁱ*, probably genetically related suffixes, are used apparently only with intransitive stems (including, however, such as are partly transitive in form, i. e., that belong to Class IV). *-εs* and *-xi* are used with both transitive and intransitive stems.

§ 80. Nouns of Agency in *-(a')εs*

This suffix is used to form agentives with more freedom than the others seem to be. The ending *-εs* is added directly to the verb-stem, with connective *-a'-* (instrumental *-i-*) if phonetically necessary. No examples have been found of agentives in *-εs* from intransitives of Class II. Examples are (49.4; 60.10):

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>hoida'^{εs}</i> dancer | <i>hāpxi-t'ā^aga'^{εs}</i> child-crier (= cry-baby) |
| <i>he^εla'^{εs}</i> singer | <i>xut'ma'^{εs}</i> whistler |
| <i>p!ⁱā^aga'^{εs}</i> bather | <i>k'aiwi'^ε wa^ε-i-dōxi^{εs}</i> one who gathers everything |
| <i>yā^ada'^{εs}</i> swimmer | <i>xuma-k!ⁱemna'^{εs}</i> food-maker (= cook) 54.4 |
| <i>ts!ⁱa-uya'^{εs}</i> fast runner 138.2 | <i>dōmxbi^{εs}</i> one who kills you |
| <i>ei-sā^agwa'^{εs}</i> canoe paddler | <i>mala'ximi^{εs}</i> one who tells us |

The last two examples show incorporated pronominal objects; the first personal plural object *-am-* is, as usual, followed by the connective

§ 79-80

tive *-i-*. The strongly verbal coloring of the agentive in *-s* is perhaps best indicated by its employment as a final clause.* Examples of this use are:

- ba-i-k!iyi'k'de^s al-xī'ie^sxbi^s* I came to see you (literally, as one-seeing-you)
me^s-gini'ek' al-xī'ie^sxī^s he came to see me
hoida'^s di me^s-gini^sga't' did you come to dance? (i. e., as dancer)
a'nv^s me^s-gini'k'de^s lōu^s. I did not come to play, as player 31.6
 (cf. § 74 for another method of expressing this idea)

§ 81. Nouns of Agency in *-sīⁱ*, *-sā^a*

These, as already observed, are less distinctly verbal in force than the preceding. Some verbs have agentives in both *-s* and *-sā^a*; e. g., *he'la'^s* and *hēlsā^a* SINGER. Not infrequently there is a distinct feeling of disparagement in a *-sā^a*-agentive as compared with one in *-s*; e. g., *hog^va'^s* GOOD RUNNER, but *ho'k'sā^a* ONE WHO ALWAYS RUNS (BECAUSE OF FEAR). Both of these suffixes are added directly to the stem without connecting vowel. If stressed, they have the falling accent. *-sā^a* is the regular agentive ending of Class II intransitives; *-p'* is or is not retained before it under the same conditions as in the case of the participial *-t'* (see § 76).

Further examples of agentives in *-sīⁱ* and *-sā^a* are:

- ī-he^egwa'k'^vsīⁱ* worker
da-lōsi liar (but non-disparaging *lōu^s* player)
ū'ie^sīⁱ (= *ū'ie^ss-īⁱ*) *k!emē^sn* I make him laugh (literally, laughter)
 { *al-t'wā^ap't'wa'p'sīⁱ* blinker
 { *al-t'wā^ap't'wa'p'sā^a*
xā^a-wīsā^a go-between (settler of feud) 178.11
dā^a-p!iya wīsā^a one going, dancing by side of fire (= medicine-man)
yims-ā'^a (= *yims-s-ā'^a*) dreamer (= medicine-man)
waīsā^a big sleeper
eseūsā^a big sneezer
se'nsansā^a one knowing how to whoop
sana'p'sā^a one knowing how to fight
s'a'sansā^a one always standing
s-ū'ēalsā^a one always sitting
nōts!adam yu'sā^a e'ebik' we are neighbors (literally, neighboring-to-us being [stem *yu-*] we-are)
t!obaga'sā^a (= *-a's-sā^a*) *cit'* you are always lying like dead

A few nouns in *-sīⁱ*, in which an agentive meaning can not well be detected, nevertheless doubtless belong here: *lō^usīⁱ* PLAYTHING

(110.6,11) (cf. verb-stem *lō^w*- PLAY); less evidently, *le^epsi*` FEATHER 28.2; *ala'ksiⁱ* HIS TAIL (86.21, 23)

§ 82. Nouns of Agency in *-xi*

Only a few verbal derivatives in *-xi* have been obtained. They are:

- al-hūyūxi* (= *-x-xi*) hunter
ye^exi` needle, awl (literally [?], biter [cf. verb-stem *ye^eg^w*- bite])
 122.8
gel-dula'xīⁱ eī^te^e I am lazy, one who is lazy
gel-he^{iε}xi stingy (cf. verb-stem *he^{iε}x-* be left over)
s'ūmxi` paddle stirrer (cf. *s'ū^ūm-t'a-* boil) (170.16)
eī t'gēlxīⁱ wagon (literally, canoe one-that-rolls)

§ 83. FORMS IN *-i'ya*

Two or three isolated verb-forms in *-i'ya*¹ have been found that appear to be of a passive participial character. There are not enough such forms available, however, to enable one to form an idea of their function. The few examples are:

- t'gā^a* (1) *haxani'ya* (2) *mīⁱ* (3) *al-t!aya'k'* (4) then (3) he discovered (4) a burnt-down (2) field (1) 92.26
yap'a (1) *dō^wmi'ya* (2) *εal-t!aya'k'* (3) he discovered (3) killed (2) people (1)

Both of these forms in *-i'ya*, it will be observed, are derived from transitive stems (*haxani'ya* from causative *haxa-n-* CAUSE TO BURN, BURN), and would seem to be best interpreted as attributive passives corresponding to the attributive actives in *-t'*. To these forms belongs probably also:

- dīⁱ-he'liya* (1) *wa-īwīⁱ* (2) girl (2) who sleeps on a raised board platform (1) (literally, perhaps, up-boarded girl [cf. *he^ela^m* board]) 13.2

II. The Noun (§§ 84-102)

§ 84. *Introductory*

Despite the double-faced character of some of the nominal derivatives of the verb-stem (e. g., the passive participles), there is formally in Takelma a sharp line of demarcation between denominating and predicative elements of speech. This is evidenced partly by the distinct sets of pronominal suffixes peculiar to noun and verb, partly by certain nominal elements appearing before the possessive affixes and serving, perhaps, to distinctly substantivize the stem. Only a

¹ Not to be confused with transitive infinitives in *-ia*'.

small number of stems have been found that can, without the aid of nominal (or verbal) derivative elements, be used as both nouns and verbs. Such are:

Noun	Verb
<i>se'el</i> black paint, writing	<i>se'el-a'md-a^{en}</i> I paint it
<i>he'el</i> song 106.7; (164.16)	<i>hēl</i> sing! (170.12)
<i>liw-ā'a naga'ie</i> he looked (perhaps = his-look he-did) 55.6	<i>liwila'u-t'e</i> I looked (152.17) (imperative <i>līū</i> 14.11; [60.2])
<i>dūk'w</i> shirt 96.16	<i>dī-dūk'w</i> wear it! (55.9; 96.16)
<i>t!ū'l</i> gambling-sticks in grass-game	<i>t!ū'lt!al-siniba^ε</i> let us gamble at grass-game 31.9
<i>xle'εp'</i> dough-like mass of camass or fat	<i>ī-xlep!e'xlib-i^{en}</i> I mash it into dough (94.11)
<i>xān</i> urine	<i>xala'xam-t'e^ε</i> I urinate

A number of cases have been found of stem + suffix serving as noun and verb (e. g., *wū^ūlha'm* MENSTRUAL "ROUND" DANCE 100.10, 16: *wū^ūlha'mt'e^ε* I SHALL HAVE FIRST COURSES 162.7, 8); but in these it is probable that the verb is a secondary derivative of the noun. Even in the first two examples given above, a difference in pitch-accent serves to distinguish the noun from the verb-stem: *hēl-gulu'k'w* HE WILL SING, but *he'el gel-gulu'k'w* HE LIKES, DESIRES, A SONG. The use of a stem as both noun and verb in the same sentence may lead to such cognate accusative constructions as the English TO LIVE A LIFE, DREAM A DREAM:

se'el-se'la'msi write to me!

dū^ugwī'i dī-dū^ugwa'nk' she shall wear her skirt 55.9

If we analyze noun forms like *t!ibagwa'nt'k'* MY PANCREAS and *dā^anxdē'k'* MY EAR, we find it necessary to consider five more or less distinct elements that go to make up a noun with possessive suffix, though all of these but the radical portion of the word may be absent.

First of all we have the stem (*t!iba-*; *dā^a-*) which may or may not be similar in form to a verbal base, and which occurs either as an absolute noun unprovided with a pronominal suffix (body-part nouns and terms of relationship, however, do not ordinarily appear in their naked stem-form), or as an incorporated noun; e. g., *t!iba-wēsīn* I AM PANCREAS-DEPRIVED, MY PANCREAS HAS BEEN TAKEN FROM ME.

Appended to the stem are the purely derivational or formative elements of the noun. Takelma is characterized rather by a paucity than an abundance of such elements, a very large proportion of its nouns being primitive, i. e., non-derivative, in character. Of the

two nouns that we have chosen as types *dā^anxde`k`* shows no formative element in the proper sense of the word, while the *-gw-* of *t!ibagwa`nt`k`* is such an element (cf. from stem *liu-* LOOK *liu-gw-ax-de`k`* MY FACE).

More characteristic of the Takelma noun than derivational suffixes is a group of elements that are never found in the absolute form of the noun, but attach themselves to it on the addition of a pronominal suffix or local pre-positive. The *-n-* and *-(a)n-* of *dā^anxde`k`* and *t!ibagwa`nt`k`*, respectively, are elements of this kind (cf. *ha-da-n-dē* IN MY EAR; *ha-t!ibagw-an-dē* IN MY PANCREAS), also the *-a-* of *dana`tk`* MY ROCK (cf. *ha-dan-a`* IN THE ROCK [from *da`n* rock]), and the *-u* of *ha-t`gāū* IN THE EARTH 33.7 (from *t`gā* EARTH). The function of these elements, if they have any and are not merely older formative suffixes that have become crystallized in definite forms of the noun, is not at all clear. They are certainly not mere connective elements serving as supports for the grammatical suffixes following, as in that event it would be difficult to understand their occurrence as absolute finals in nouns provided with pre-positives; nor can they be plausibly explained as old case-endings whose former existence as such was conditioned by the preceding pre-positive, but which now have entirely lost their original significance, for they are never dependent on the pre-positive itself, but vary solely with the noun-stem:

ha-dan-a` in the rock; *dā^a-dan-a`* beside the rock; *dal-dan-a`* among the rocks; *dan-a`-t`k`* my rock; *dak`-dan-a-dē* over my rock (with constant *-a-* from *da`n* rock 16.12)
ha-gwā^al-a`m in the road 62.6; *dā^a-gwā^al-a`m* along the road; *gwā^al-a`m-t`k`* my road (96.8); *dak`-gwā^al-am-dē* over my road (48.6, 8) (with constant *-am-* from *gwāⁿ* road 148.7)

For want of a better term to describe them, these apparently non-significant elements will be referred to as noun-characteristics. Not all nouns have such characteristics:

ha-gela`m in the river (from *gela`m* river 21.14) as opposed to *xā^a-gulm-a`n* among oaks (from *gulu`m* oak 22.10, 11)

Whether such nouns were always without them, or really preserve them, but in a phonetically amalgamated form, it is, of course, impossible to decide without other than internal evidence.

A fourth nominal element, the pre-pronominal *-x-*, is found in a large number of nouns, including such as possess also a characteristic

(e. g., *dā^a-n-x-de'k'*) and such as are not provided with that element (e. g., *sal-x-de'k'* MY FOOT); a large number, on the other hand, both of those that have a characteristic (e. g., *t'ibagw-a'n-t'k'*) and of those that lack it (e. g., *bēm-t'ā^a* HIS STICK) do without the *-x*. A considerable number of nouns may either have it between the characteristic and the pronominal ending or append the personal endings directly to the characteristic, no difference in signification resulting. In such doublets, however, the pronominal suffixes belong to different schemes:

bilg-an-x-de'k' and *bilg-a'n-t'k'* my breast
se^ens-i-x-da'^ε and *se^ens-i'-^εt'* your hair
wā^ad-i'-x-da (92.24) and *wā^ad-īⁱ* his body 146.6

The characteristic *-a-* never tolerates a following *-x-*. Where doublets occur, these two elements seem to be mutually equivalent: *ey-a'-t'k'* (112.6) and *ei-x-de'k'* MY CANOE (from *eī* CANOE 114.3). Such doublets, together with the fact that nothing ever intervenes between it and the personal suffix, make it possible that this *-x-* is a connective element somewhat similar in function to, and perhaps ultimately identical with, the connective *-x-* of transitive verbs. This, however, is confessedly mere speculation. What chiefly militates against its interpretation as a merely connective element is the fact of its occurrence as a word-final in phrases in which no possessive element is found:

dagax wō'k'ie^s head without
ha-dā^a-n-x molhi't' in-ear red (i. e., red-eared) 14.4; 15.13

If the local phrase involves a personal pronominal element, the *-x-* disappears:

dā^a-n-x-de'k' my ear, but *ha-da-n-dē* in my ear

This treatment marks it off sharply from the noun-characteristics.

Fifthly and lastly, in the integral structure of the noun, comes the possessive pronominal suffix (the first person singular of terms of relationship, however, is a prefixed *wi-*). The following tabulated summary shows the range of occurrence of the various elements of the noun:

1. **Stem.** Occurs as absolute noun (*gwān*), or incorporated in verb (*dā^a-*).
2. **Derivative element.** Occurs as ending of absolute form of noun whose stem appears only in incorporation: *t'iba'-k'^v* pancreas.

3. *Noun characteristic.* Occurs with all increments of absolute form of noun; i. e., with pronominal suffix (*gwā^al-a'm-t'k'*), with pre-positive (*ha-gwā^al-a'm*), and with pre-positive and pronominal element (*ha-gwā^al-am-dē*).
4. *Pre-pronominal -x-.* Occurs with pronominal suffix (*dā^a-n-x-de'k'*) and pre-positive (*ha-dā^a-n-x*), but never with pre-positive and pronominal element.
5. *Pronominal suffix.* Occurs in two distinct forms: one for nouns without pre-positives (*dā^a-n-x-de'k'*), and one for nouns accompanied by pre-positive (*ha-da-n-dē*).

A tabulated analysis of a few typical words follows:

Stem	Derivative	Character- istic	Pre-pro- nominal	Pronominal	Meaning
(<i>ha-</i>) <i>wax-</i> ¹		<i>g-a'n</i>			in the creek
<i>le'</i>	<i>k'w-</i>	<i>an-</i>		<i>t'k'</i>	my anus
<i>da-uyā'a-</i>	<i>k'w-</i>			<i>de'k'</i>	my medicine-spirit
<i>dāw-</i>		<i>n-</i>	<i>x-</i>	<i>de'k'</i>	my car
<i>bo'k'd-</i>	<i>an-</i>		<i>x-</i>	<i>de'k'</i>	my neck
<i>k'a it-</i>	<i>lā'p'a.-k'!</i>	<i>i-</i>		<i>t'k'</i>	my woman
<i>lōu-</i>	<i>s'!'-</i>			<i>t'k'</i>	my plaything
<i>sge'et-</i>	<i>xab-</i>	<i>a-</i>		<i>t'k'</i>	my hat
<i>li'u-</i>	<i>gu-</i>		<i>ax-</i>	<i>dē'k'</i>	my face
<i>xāa-</i>		<i>ha'm-</i>		<i>da</i>	on his back
<i>ts'!e'k'ts'!ig-</i>		<i>i-</i>	<i>x-</i>	<i>de'k'</i>	my backbone
(<i>ha-</i>) <i>yaw-</i>		<i>a-</i>		<i>dē</i>	in my ribs
<i>dōum.-</i>		<i>a'l-</i>		<i>t'k'</i>	my testicles
<i>xāol-(xān.)</i>		<i>a'm-</i>		<i>t'k'</i>	my urine
<i>ī-</i>		<i>ū-</i>	<i>x-</i>	<i>de'k'</i>	my hand
(<i>ha^a-</i>) <i>ī-</i>		<i>ū-</i>		<i>dē</i>	in my hand

¹ A point (.) shows the absolute form of the word.

1. Nominal Stems (§§ 85, 86)

§ 85. GENERAL REMARKS

The stem is in a very large number of cases parallel in form to that of a verbal base (e. g., with *da'n* ROCK, *s'omñ* MOUNTAIN, *mēx* CRANE, cf. *tlan-* HOLD, *s'om-* BOIL, *he'm-* WRESTLE). An extensive number of noun-stems, however, are apparently amplifications of a simpler monosyllabic base, and have all the outward appearance of an aorist stem in the verb. It becomes, then, not only possible, but fundamentally important, to classify noun-stems into types that seem, and ultimately doubtless are, entirely analogous in form to corresponding verbal types. The noun-stem *wili-* HOUSE, for example, can be conceived of as formed from a base *wil-* in the same manner

as the aorist *naga-* is formed from the verb-stem *nā^ag-* SAY TO SOME ONE. Similarly, the noun *yele^x* BURDEN-BASKET is phonetically related to a hypothetical base **yelx-*, as is the aorist *leme-k!-* to the non-aorist *lem-k!-*. A small number of nouns appear in two forms, one corresponding to the aorist stem, the other to the verb-stem of a verb: *gulu^m* OAK, but with characteristic *-(a)n-*: *gulm-an-* (the non-aorist *gula^m* with inorganic *-a-* also occurs). Similarly, *yulu^m* and *yula^m* EAGLE. In such variable nouns we have a complete morphologic analogy to Type 2 (or 3)) verbs like aorist *xudum-* WHISTLE, verb-stem *xut^m-* (with inorganic *-a-*: *xudam-*). In both *gulu^m* and *xudum-* the *-m-* is almost certainly a suffixed element. It must be carefully noted, however, that, while in the verb we very often have both the aorist stem and the base (as verb-stem) in actual existence, in the case of nouns we rarely can go beyond the stem as revealed in an absolute or incorporated form. It is true that sometimes a hypothetical noun-base phonetically coincides with a verbal base, but only in the minority of cases can the two be satisfactorily connected. Thus, *yut!-*, abstracted from *yūt!^un* DUCK, is very probably identical with the *yut!-* of aorist *yut!uyad-* SWALLOW GREEDILY LIKE HOG OR DUCK. On the other hand, little is gained by comparing the *yul-* of *yulu^m* EAGLE with the *yul-* of aorist *yuluyal-* RUB; the *p!ⁱiy-* of *p!ⁱiyin* DEER and *p!ⁱyax* FAWN with the aorist *-p!ⁱiyin-(k'wa-)* LIE ON PILLOW (cf. *gwen-p!ⁱxap'* PILLOW), unless the deer was so called, for reasons of name-taboo, because its skin was used for the making of pillows (or, more naturally, the reverse);¹ the *way-* of *waya^l* KNIFE with *way-* SLEEP; or the noun-stem *yaw-* RIB (occurring as *ya-u-* when incorporated) with the verb-stem *yaw-* (*yiw-*) TALK. It is not justifiable to say that noun-stems of apparently non-primitive form are necessarily amplified from the bases that seem to lie back of them (e. g., *wili-* from *wil-*; *yulu-m* from *yul-*), but merely that there is a strong tendency in Takelma for the formation in the noun of certain typical sound-groups analogous to those found in the verb.

§ 86. TYPES OF STEM FORMATION

Though it is probably impossible to duplicate all the various types of aorist and verb stem found in the verb, most of those that are at all frequent occur also in the noun.

¹Improbable, however, if aorist *p!ⁱeyen-* LIE and *p!ⁱiyin-k'wa-* LIE ON PILLOW are radically connected (see § 31).

1. The most characteristic type of noun-stem in Takelma is the monosyllabic group of consonant (less frequently consonant-cluster) + vowel (or diphthong) + consonant (less frequently cluster). This type may be considered as corresponding to the normal monosyllabic verb-stem. Out of a very large number of such primitive, underived noun-stems are taken a selection of examples.

Occurring as naked stems only when incorporated:

<i>s'in-</i> nose	<i>gwel-</i> leg
<i>dā^a-</i> ear	<i>yaw-</i> rib
<i>gel-</i> breast	<i>ī-</i> hand
<i>gwen-</i> neck	<i>xā^a-</i> back
<i>dag-</i> head	<i>de^e-</i> lips, mouth
<i>s'al-</i> foot	<i>ha-</i> woman's private parts

Occurring as absolute nouns:

<i>nōx</i> rain 90.1	<i>mo^x</i> grouse
<i>p'ī</i> fire 62.10; 78.13	<i>t'gwe^llk^w</i> rat (sp.?)
<i>bē</i> sun 54.3; 122.15; 160.20	<i>t'ī^s</i> gopher 78.4, 7
<i>bēm</i> tree, stick 25.5; 48.7	<i>sbīn</i> beaver 112.1; 166.12
<i>xīⁿ</i> water 15.1; 57.14	<i>s'ūx</i> bird 22.4; 166.10
<i>t'gā</i> land 49.12; 73.9	<i>dāⁿ</i> rock 13.6; 16.12
<i>t'gwaⁿ</i> thunder 55.8	<i>lā^ap[']</i> leaves
<i>p'ā^as</i> snow 90.2, 3; 152.16	<i>s'ix</i> venison 16.6; 55.1
<i>p'ī^m</i> salmon 17.12; 30.10	<i>xīn</i> mucus
<i>lān</i> salmon-net 31.2; 33.4	<i>la[']</i> excrement 122.2
<i>māl</i> salmon-spear shaft 28.7	<i>t'ga^m</i> elk 158.4; 196.6
<i>t'gwaⁿ</i> slave 13.12	<i>t!āk[']</i> mussel 26.7
<i>gwān</i> trail 148.7	<i>bō^un</i> acorn-hopper
<i>būs</i> fly	<i>xo[']</i> fir 24.10; 54.6
<i>dēl</i> yellow-jacket 73.7, 10	<i>hāl^k'</i> panther 42.1
<i>mēx</i> crane 13.1	<i>bīk^w'</i> skunk 164.2
<i>xē^m</i> raven 162.8, 12	<i>t'ān</i> squirrel 94.2, 4
<i>s'ēm</i> duck 55.2; 166.10	<i>s'o^m</i> mountain 43.6
<i>sēl</i> kingfisher	<i>xān</i> urine
<i>mēl</i> crow 144.9; 162.7	<i>dō^um</i> testicles 130.20
<i>yāk^w'</i> wildcat 42.1; 46.9	<i>dō^um</i> spider
<i>xa^mk[']</i> grizzly bear 106.14	<i>hōū</i> jack-rabbit 108.8
<i>dīp[']</i> camass 108.18; 124.12	<i>ga^l'</i> bow
<i>ktwāī</i> grass 31.8	<i>hāī</i> cloud 13.3
<i>hīx</i> roasted camass 178.4	<i>bīū</i> grasshopper 92.28, 29
<i>ō^up[']</i> tobacco 194.1	<i>xnī[']k[']</i> acorn dough 16.12
<i>ktwāl</i> pitch 88.13; 158.9	<i>gūī</i> thick brush 71.1
<i>yūp[']</i> woman's basket-cap 178.3	<i>t'gwīl</i> hazelnut 116.5, 11, 14

Occurring generally with possessive suffix:

<i>ma</i> ⁻¹	} father 17.12; 70.7; 158.3	<i>wā^ad-</i>	body 92.24; 130.24;
<i>ham-</i>		146.6	
<i>nī-</i>	} mother 17.9; 76.10, 13; 172.17	<i>xū^ul-</i>	brains
<i>hin-</i>		<i>se^en-</i>	skin
<i>gū^x</i>	-wife 13.2; 45.3; 64.5; 142.12	<i>delg-</i>	buttocks 45.9; 72.10; 94.15
<i>t'īⁱ</i>	-male, husband 45.14; 126.14	<i>bilg-</i>	breast
<i>nīⁱ</i>	-teats 30.14 (<i>nī</i> found as absolute form 130.9)	<i>k'ū^ub-</i>	hair 24.8; 162.4
<i>p'ā^an-</i>	liver 120.15 (<i>p'ān</i> found as absolute form 57.9, 13)	<i>a-is-</i>	property 23.2; 154.13

These lists might be very greatly increased if desired. It will be noticed that a considerable number of the nouns given are such as are generally apt to be derivative or non-primitive in morphology.

In regard to accent monosyllabic nouns naturally divide themselves into two classes:—those with rising or raised accent, embracing the great majority of examples, and those with falling accent. Of the latter type a certain number owe their accent to a glottal catch of the stem. Besides *ga'l^e*, already given above, may be cited:

- t'goⁱs* leggings
- k'a'l^es* sinew 27.13; (28.1)
- p'e'e'l^e* basket-plate 168.15
- k'o^ex* tar-weed seeds 26.15

These offer no special difficulty. There is a fairly considerable number of monosyllabic nouns, however, in which the falling accent can not be so explained, but appears to be inherently characteristic of the nouns. Besides *ō^up'*, *p'ā^as*, *t'īⁱs*, and *lā^ap'*, may be mentioned:

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|--|
| <i>ne^el</i> | song 106.7 | <i>t'e'ek^w</i> | yellowhammer 90.18; 194.15 |
| <i>se^el</i> | black paint, writing | <i>t'be'ek^w</i> | shinny-ball |
| <i>ge^et'</i> | xerophyllum tenax | <i>a'lk'</i> | silver-side salmon |
| <i>ye^et'</i> | tears | <i>p'e'es</i> | (with derivative -s? see § 87, |
| <i>wā^as</i> | bush (sp.?) 25.12 | 8) | flat rock on which acorns are
pounded 74.13; 75.2; 118.17 |

For two of these nouns (*he^el* and *se^el*) the etymology is obvious. They are derived from the verb-stems *he^el-* SING and *se^el-*(*amd-*) PAINT; it may well be that the falling accent here characterizes substantives of passive force (THAT WHICH IS SUNG, PAINTED). Possibly *lā^ap'* and *ō^up'* are to be similarly explained as meaning THOSE THAT

¹ Most nouns of relationship show monosyllabic stems; none can be shown to be derivative in character.

ARE CARRIED (BY BRANCHES) AND THAT WHICH IS DUG UP¹ (cf. aorist stems *lā^ab-* CARRY and *ō^ub-* DIG UP).

2. A very considerable number of noun-stems repeat the vowel of the base, corresponding to aorist stems of Type 2 verbs. Such are:

<i>wi'li</i> house 13.1; 14.8; 192.6	<i>gwit'i-(n)-</i> wrist
<i>ts'i'xi</i> dog	<i>k'aba-</i> son 23.2; 128.5; 138.14
<i>moro'</i> buzzard 105.23	<i>xaga-</i> maternal aunt
<i>sqi'si</i> coyote 13.1; 70.1; 108.1	<i>xli'wi</i> war-feathers 110.18
<i>sqwini'</i> raccoon	<i>waya'</i> knife 73.3; 144.20; 172.12
<i>k'a'ma</i> spit for roasting 170.17	<i>goyo'</i> shaman 47.11; 142.7; 188.7
<i>yap'a'</i> person 14.12; 96.2; 128.2	<i>wō^up'u-(n)-</i> eyebrows
<i>yana'</i> acorn 15.16; 16.9; 58.9	

With probably derivative final consonant are:

<i>lege'm-</i> kidney	<i>daga'n</i> turtle
<i>lap'ām</i> frog 102.10; 196.3	<i>ts'axā'an</i> blue-striped lizard
<i>yulu'm</i> eagle 77.2; 122.15; 164.8	<i>wigīn</i> red lizard
<i>gulu'm</i> oak 22.10	<i>li'bin</i> news 108.20; 194.9
<i>k'ülūm</i> fish (sp.?)	<i>yi'win</i> speech 126.10; 136.12
<i>loxo'm</i> manzanita 126.17; 178.5	<i>ts'amāl</i> mouse 102.10; 104.9; 142.4
<i>yūt'u'n</i> white duck 55.5	<i>s'imil</i> dew
<i>p'i'yin</i> deer 17.1; 42.2; 54.2	<i>(k'tel)mehel-i'</i> basket for cook- ing 178.4
<i>ga'k'an</i> ladder 176.8	

Here again it will be observed that the rising or raised accent is the normal one for the second syllable of the stem. But here also a well-defined, if less numerous, group of noun-stems is found in which the repeated long vowel bears a falling accent. Examples are:

<i>t'gwalā'a</i> hooting owl 194.9	<i>t'ibis-i'</i> ant 74.4; 75.5
<i>hū^s-ū^u</i> chicken-hawk 142.6	<i>da-uyā'a</i> shaman's spirit (? from <i>dawy-</i> fly) 164.14
<i>s'ūhū^u</i> quail 70.2, 5; 71.4	<i>mayā'a-k'w-</i> orphan 154.5

Compare also *t'onō'us* below (Type 3); *ts'ilī'ik!*- and *t'bele'εs* (Type 3) owe their falling accent to the presence of a glottal catch.

Very remarkable is the stem formation of the noun *t'ūxū'i* DRIFTWOOD 75.5. It is evidently formed from the verb-stem *dō^ux-* (aorist stem *t'loxox-*) GATHER (WOOD) according to aorists of Type 7b, at the same time with vowel ablaut (cf. theoretic *t'ūxū-xi* HE GATHERS ME) and falling accent, perhaps to give passive signification (see § 86, 1); its etymologic meaning would then be THAT WHICH IS GATHERED. No other noun of similar stem formation has been found.

¹ If this etymology of *ō'up'* is correct, Pit River *ōp'* TOBACCO must be borrowed from Takelma.

3. It is not strictly possible to separate noun-stems corresponding to aorists of verbal Type 2 from those that are to be compared with aorists of Type 3. The doubt that we found to exist in the verb as to the radical or suffixal character of certain consonants is present also in regard to the final consonant of many dissyllabic nouns. The following nouns with repeated vowel show final consonants that are not thought to be elements of derivation. If this view is correct, they are to be compared with Type 3 aorist stems.

<i>libis</i> crawfish 30.2	<i>ü'lük!</i> - hair 27.1; 140.6; 158.1
<i>nihwi'k'^w</i> black bear 116.1;	<i>deges¹</i> - sifting basket-pan
118.1	196.13
<i>ts'!ili'k!</i> - elbow	<i>k!aba's</i> porcupine-quills
<i>s'idib-i-</i> (house) wall 176.4, 9	<i>t'gwaya'm</i> lark 22.1; 160.3
<i>lep!ēs</i> cat-tail rushes	<i>hülün</i> ocean 60.8; 154.14
<i>t'bele'ēs</i> pine-nuts	<i>oho'p'</i> black shells (sp.?) 55.9
<i>t!ewēx</i> flea	<i>mot!o'p'</i> seed-beater
<i>s'elēk'^w</i> pestle 56.1	<i>yuk!um-</i> salmon-tail 198.9
<i>s'ülūk'</i> cricket	<i>đugu'm</i> baby 126.9
<i>t!onō^{us}</i> humming-bird (per- haps with derivative -s)	

4. Analogous to aorist stems of Type 4 verbs (e. g., *yewei-*) are a few nouns with repeated vowel and following *-i-* to form a diphthong. Of such nouns have been found:

<i>ts'!elei-</i> eye 27.8; 86.7; 92.20	<i>da-k!olo'i-da-x-</i> check
<i>k'wedei-</i> name 100.21	<i>maha'i</i> (adjective) large 196.10
<i>k!elei-</i> bark 54.6	(cf. plural <i>mahmī</i> 130.4 for base)
<i>k!oloī</i> storage basket 61.5;	
138.17	

That the final *-i-* of these nouns is not an added characteristic, but an integral part of the noun-stem, is proven by the facts that no examples have been found of vowels followed by noun-characteristic *-i-* (ordinarily *-n-* or *-m-* is employed), and that *ts'!elei-* has been found incorporated in that form.

5. A few nouns are found that show a repeated initial consonant; they may be compared to Type 10 aorist stems. Examples are:

<i>se^{ns}-</i> hair 136.28 (cf. <i>seⁿ-</i> skin)	<i>bo'p'</i> alder (94.17)
<i>lüü!</i> - throat 25.2 (? cf. aorist <i>lomol</i> choke)	<i>ts'!u'n^{ēs}</i> (<i>ts'!unts'!</i> -) deer- skin cap embroidered with woodpecker-scalps

¹ Absolute form *dega's* 178.4; cf. *yula'm* 164.3 alongside of *yulu'm* 77.8?

<i>suñs</i> thick, deep (of snow) 90.3	<i>ts!e'n^εs[·]</i> (<i>ts!ents!-</i>) wild-rose berry 92.23
<i>bebe'-n</i> rushes	<i>bāp'</i> seeds (sp.?) (34.1; 79.9; 94.19)
<i>bū^ub-a'n</i> arm 23.2, 4; (172.4)	<i>ts!a'is^s'1</i> bluejay (onomatopoeitic) 22.14; 102.10; 166.11
<i>sēns</i> bug (sp.?)	<i>bēlp'²</i> swan 102.10; 104.14

Here may also be mentioned *k!a'mak!ā^a* HIS TONGS (also *k!a'mā^a*).

6. Reduplicated nouns are not frequent in Takelma, particularly when one considers the great importance of reduplication as a grammatical device in the verb. Examples corresponding in form to Type 12 aorists (i. e., with *-a-* [umlauted to *-i-*] in second member) are:

<i>t'gwi'nt'gwin-i-</i> shoulder (also <i>t'gwi'nt'gw-i-</i>)	<i>ts!e'k'ts'li-g-i-</i> backbone 112.4; 198.6
<i>gēlgal'</i> fabulous serpent (cf. aorist <i>gelegal-amd-</i> tie hair into top-knot 172.3)	<i>gi'xgap'</i> medicine, poison (irreg.) 188.12
<i>sī'nsa'n</i> decrepit old woman	<i>gwi'sgwas</i> chipmunk
<i>yūk'ya'k'w-a</i> (place name) 188.13	<i>p'ā^εt'p'id-i-</i> salmon-liver (with dissimilated catch) 120.19, 20
<i>t'ga'lt'gil-i-</i> belly	<i>bō^ut'bid-i-</i> orphans (also <i>bōt'ba</i>)

Also *wa-iwī'ⁱ* GIRL 55.7; 96.23 doubtless belongs here; the *-wī'ⁱ* of the second syllable represents a theoretic *-wī'y*, umlauted from *-wa'y*, the falling accent being due to the inorganic character of the repeated *a*. A very few nouns repeat only the first consonant and add *a*, leaving the final consonant unreduplicated. Such are:

<i>ba'k'bā^a</i> red-headed woodpecker (onomatopoeitic) 92.2, 6
<i>ha'^εk'ā^a</i> (= * <i>hak!-hā^a</i>) goose 102.10; 106.2, 5
<i>bōt'bā^a</i> orphan 122.1, 5

A few nouns, chiefly names of animals, show complete duplication of the radical element without change of the stem-vowel to *-a-* in the second member. This type of reduplication is practically entirely absent in the verb. Examples are:

<i>ts!e'^εts!e'^ε</i> small bird (sp.?)	<i>al-k!ok!o'k'</i> (adj.) ugly-faced 60.5
<i>dalda'l</i> dragon-fly 21.1; 28.6	<i>bobo'p'</i> screech-owl 194.1
<i>p'abā'^ap'</i> manzanita-flour	<i>t'ga'nt'gan</i> fly (upper dialect)

Even all of these are not certain. Those with radical *-a-* might just as well have been classified with the preceding group (thus

¹ That *-s-* is felt to be equivalent to *-ts!-* is shown by Bluejay's song: *ts!a'its'ŋ-ā gwa'tea gwa'tea* 104.7.

² *bel-* is felt as the base of this word, cf. Swan's song *belēldō+ wa'inha* 104.15, which shows reduplication of *bel-* like aorist *helēl-* of *hel-* SING.

dalda'l may be very plausibly connected with aorist *t!alat!al-* from *t!alal-*, non-aorist *dā^aldal* from *dā^al-* CRACK); while *p'abā^ap'* and *bobo'p'* may, though improbably, show Type 1 reduplication (*p'ab-ā^ab-* like *p!ab-ab-* CHOP). This latter type of reduplication seems, however, to be as good as absent in the noun (but cf. *sgwôgwô'k'^w* ROBIN; *mēlē'lx* BURNT-DOWN FIELD 92.27 may be morphologically verbal, as shown by its probably non-agentive *-x*). The fullest type of reduplication, that found exemplified in the aorists of Type 13 verbs, has not been met with in a single noun.

2. Noun Derivation (§§ 87, 88)

§ 87. DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES

The number of derivative suffixes found in the noun, excluding those more or less freely employed to form nominal derivatives from the verb-stem, are remarkably few in number, and, for the most part, limited in their range of application. This paucity of live word-forming suffixes is, of course, due to a great extent, to the large number of nominal stems in the language. The necessity of using such suffixes is thus greatly reduced. The various derivational affixes found in the Takelma noun will be listed below with illustrative examples.

1. *t'(a)-*. This is the only derivational prefix, excluding of course such considerably individualized elements as the body-part prefixes of the verb, found in Takelma. It is employed to form the words for the female relationships corresponding to ELDER BROTHER and YOUNGER BROTHER.

wāxa his younger brother 54.1, 5 *t'awāxa* his younger sister 55.2
wi-^sobī my elder brother 46.10 *wi-t'obī* my elder sister (55.14)

2. *-lā'p'a(k!-)*. This suffix is found only in a number of nouns denoting ranks or conditions of persons; hence it is not improbable that it was originally a separate word meaning something like PERSON, PEOPLE. That it is itself a stem, not a mere suffix, is shown by its ability to undergo ablaut (for-*lē'p'i-* see § 77). *-k!-* is added to it in forms with possessive or plural affix. For example, from *t!īⁱēlā'p'a* 178.7 MALE, HUSBAND are formed *t!īⁱēlā'p'ik!it'k'* MY HUSBAND (142.7) and *t!īⁱēlā'p'ak!an* HUSBANDS, MEN (130.1, 7). The fact that the stem preceding *-lā'p'a* appears also as a separate word or with other elements indicates that words containing *-lā'p'a* may be best considered as compounds.

Examples are:

- t!i^{ie}lā'p'a* male, husband 178.7 (cf. *t!iⁱ*- husband, male)
k'a^{ie}lā'p'a woman 25 9, 12; 108.4, 5 (cf. *k'a^{ie}s'o'k'dā* girl who has
 already had courses)
mologolā'p'a old woman 26.14, 16; 56.3 (cf. *mologo'l* old woman
 168.12; 170.10)
bōut'bā^alā'p'ak!an orphans (cf. *bōt'ba* orphan and *bōut'bid-i-t'k'*
 my orphaned children)
lomt!iⁱlā'p'ak!an old men 128.11; 136.1 (cf. *lomt!iⁱ* old man 24.11;
 126.19)
os'ō^ulā'p'a poor people

3. *-k'*. A number of place-names with suffixed *-k'* have been found:

- La'mhik'* Klamath river
Sbīnk' Applegate creek (cf. *sbīn* beaver)
Gwen-p'uñk' village name 114.14 (cf. *p'u'n* rotten 140.21)
Ha-t!ōnk' village name
Dak'-t'gamīk' village name (cf. *t'ga'm* elk)
Gel-yālk' village name 112:13; 114.8 (cf. *yāl* pine)
Somolu'k' ¹ village name
Dal-dani'k' village name (cf. *da'n* rock)

4. *-a^ε(u)*. Nouns denoting PERSON COMING FROM are formed by adding this suffix to the place-name, with loss of derivative *-k'*.

Examples are:

- Ha-gwā^ala^ε* person from Ha-gwāl, Cow creek
Lamhⁱya^ε person from La'mhik', Klamath river
Sbīⁱna^ε person from Sbīnk', Applegate creek
Dal-sa'lsana^ε person from Dal-salsañ, Illinois river
Dī^ε-lōmīya^ε person from Dī^ε-lōmī
Gwen-p'u'na^ε person from Gwen-p'uñk'
Dal-daniya^ε person from Dal-dani'k'
S'omola^ε person from S'omolu'k' (see footnote)
Ha-t!ō^una^ε person from Ha-t!ōnk'
La-t'gā^awa^ε person from La-t'gāū, uplands 192.14
Dak'-t'gamiya^ε person from Dak'-t'gamik'
Ha-t'īⁱla^ε person from Ha-t'īl
Gel-yā^ala^ε person from Gel-yālk'
 { *Dak'-ts!ā^awana^ε* person from dak'-ts!ā^awa'n, i. e., above the
 lakes (= Klamath Indian)
Dak'-ts!ā^amala^ε

¹The *-u¹* of this word is doubtless merely the pitch-accentual peak of the *-l-*, the *-u-* resonance of the liquid being due to the preceding *-o-*. The word is thus to be more correctly written as *Somol^k* (similarly, *wuix* ENEMY was often heard as *wulu'x*), as implied by *S'omola^ε* ONE FROM SOMO'K'. In that event *s'omol-* is very probably a frequentative in *v+l* (see § 43, 6) from *s'om* MOUNTAIN, and the place-name means VERY MOUNTAINOUS REGION.

Dā^a-gēlma'^εn person from Dā^a-gela'm, Rogue river (= Takelma Indian)

Dī-dalama'^εn person from Dīdalaṃ, Grant's Pass

Judging from the material at hand, it seems that *-a'^εn* is used only when the place-name ends in *-m*, though the ease with which *-a'^εn* may be heard as *-a'^ε* (see first footnote § 60) detracts from the certainty of this generalization.

5. **-gw-**. This element occurs as a suffix in a number of terms relating to parts of the body. Examples are:

tība'k'^w pancreas 47.17; *tībagw-a'n-t'k'* my pancreas (47.5, 6, 7, 13) (incorporated *tība-* 46.1, 9)

lī'ugw-ax-dek' my face (cf. verb-stem *līu-* look)

da^εmadagw-a'n-t'k' my shoulder

da-uyā'^ak'^w-dek' my medicine-spirit (incorporated *da-uyā^a-* 164.14)

lē'k'^w-an-t'k' my rectum (cf. *la'* excrement 122.2)

ma'p!agw-a-t'k' my shoulder-blade

6. **-(a)n-** (or **-m-**, **-l-**). There are so many nouns which in their absolute form end in *-(a)n* or its phonetic derivatives *-(a)m-* and *-(a)l-* (see § 21) that there is absolutely no doubt of its suffixal character, despite the impossibility of ascribing to it any definite functional value and the small number of cases in which the stem occurs without it. The examples that most clearly indicate its non-radical character will be conveniently listed here:

he^εla'm board 176.5 (cf. *dīⁱ-he^εliya* sleeping on board platform 13.2)

ts!ⁱela'm hail 152.12, 16 (cf. verb-stem *ts!ⁱel-* rattle)

p!ⁱ'yīn deer 13.10; 42.2 (cf. *p!ⁱ'yax* fawn 13.11; 49.11)

yī'wīn speech 126.10; 138.4 (cf. verb-stem *yīw-* talk)

lī'bin news 194.9 (? cf. verb-stem *laba-* carry)

yūt!ⁱu'n white duck 55.5 (cf. verb-stem *yūt!*- eat greedily)

do'lk'ⁱam-a- anus (also *do'lk'ⁱ-i-* as myth form 106.4, 8)

do'lk'ⁱim-i-

do'lk'ⁱin-i- 106.6, 9

xḏān cel (cf. reduplicated *hā^ε-xḏā'^axḏagwa^εn* I throw away something slippery, nastily wet [49.7])

s'ugwa'n root basket 124.5 (cf. *s'ugwidī* it lies curled up like bundled roots or strings)

dan ye^εwald-in-īⁱ rocks returning-to- them, myth name of Otter 160.10, 13 (cf. verb-stem *ye^εwald-* return to)

Other examples, etymologically untransparent, will be found listed in § 21. The difference between this derivational *-n* (*-m*) and

noun-characteristic *-n-* (*-m-*) lies in the fact that the former is a necessary part of the absolute form of the word, while the latter appears only with grammatical increments. Thus the *-am* of *he^lla'm* BOARD can not be identified with the *-am* of *ha-gwā^ala'm* IN THE ROAD, as *gwā^ala'm* has no independent existence. The exact morphologic correspondent of *gwā^al-am-* is *he^llam-a-* (e. g., *he^llam-a'-t'k'* MY BOARD). A doubt as to the character of the *-n-* can be had only in words that never, or at least not normally, occur without possessive suffix:

legeⁿ-t'k' my kidneys
wō^up!uⁿ-t'k' my eyebrows ¹

7. *-a*. There are a rather large number of dissyllabic nouns or noun-stems with final *-a*, in which this element is to outward appearance an integral part of the radical portion of the word. The number of instances in which it occurs, however, is considerable enough to lead one to suspect its derivational character, though it can be analyzed out in an even smaller number of cases than the suffix *-n* above discussed. The most convincing proof of the existence of a suffix *-a* is given by the word *xu'ma* FOOD, DRY FOOD, 54.4; 188.1, a derivative of the adjective *xu'm* DRY 168.15 (e. g., *p'im xu'm* DRIED SALMON; cf. also *xūmū'k'de^s* I AM SATED [132.1]). Other possible examples of its occurrence are:

yola' fox (? cf. verb-stem *yul-* rub) 70.1, 4, 5; 78.2, 3, 9
mena' bear 72.3; 73.2, 3, 4, 5; 106.7, 10
p!elda' slug 105.25
noxwa' small pestle
t'elma small pestle 62.1; 116.18, 19; 118.2
ma'xla dust 172.3; 184.5, 9
k!eda' grass for string (sp.?)
t!cla' shinny-stick (? cf. verb-stem *t!èu-* play shinny)
t!ela' louse (? cf. verb base *t!el-* lick) 116.3, 6, 7, 8, 11
t!iba- pancreas 46.1, 9; 49.7
ela- tongue (characteristic *-a-*?)
dola' old tree 24.1
yana' oak 22.11; 168.1, 2, 3, 6, 7 (cf. *yangwa's* oak sp.; with *-gwas* cf. perhaps *al-gwa's-i-* yellow)

It is of course possible that some of the dissyllabic nouns in *-a* listed above (§ 86, 2) as showing a repeated vowel (e. g., *ya'p!a*) really belong here.

¹ These seem to be parallel to *gwit!i'n-t'k'* MY WRIST, in which *-n-*, inasmuch as it acts as the equivalent of the characteristic *-n-* (cf. *gwit!i'ürdc'k'* MY WRIST with *i'ürdc'k'* MY HAND), is itself best considered characteristic element.

8. **-s.** This element is in all probability a derivational suffix in a fairly considerable number of words, as indicated particularly by the fact of its frequent occurrence after a consonant. Examples are:

- p!e'es* mortar-stone fastened in ground (cf. verb-stem *p!è-* lie) 74.13; 120.17
la'ps blanket (? cf. base *lab-* carry on shoulder) 98.14, 15, 19, 21
p!e'ns squirrel
gūms (adj.) blind 26.14 (? cf. *gomha'k'w* rabbit)
bēls moccasin
k!u'ls worm (? cf. verb-stem *gōw-*, aorist *k!olol-* dig)
yōls steel-head salmon (? cf. *yola'* fox)
bīls moss 43.16; 44.1; 47.15
bami's sky 79.7 (cf. verb-prefix *bam-* up)
bāls (adj.) long 14.5; 15.12, 15 (? cf. *da-balni'-xa* [adv.] long time)

Also some of the dissyllabic nouns in *-s* with repeated vowel listed above (§ 86, 3) may belong to this set.

A few other stray elements of a derivational aspect have been found. Such are:

- ax* in *p!i'yax* fawn 13.11; 16.8; 17.1, 2 (cf. *p!i'yin* deer)
-xi' in *bomxi'* otter 13.5; 17.13; 154.13; 156.14; *ū'xi* seed-pouch;
hā'pxi' child 13.8, 13 (cf. *hāp'da* his child 98.13 and *hā'p'*-
 incorporated in *hā'p'-k!emna'es* Children-maker 172.15)
 pluralic *-x-* in *hāpxda* his children 16.3; 113.1, 14
-x- varies with *-s-* in adjective *hāpsdi* small; *hā'pxi'* *hapsdi*
 little children 30.12

A large number of dissyllabic and polysyllabic nouns still remain that are not capable of being grouped under any of the preceding heads, and whose analysis is altogether obscure:

- bāxdis* wolf 13.1; 16.10; 17.10
domxa'u Chinook salmon
yīk'a't' red deer
yiba'xam small skunk
bixa'l moon 196.1
k!a'nak!as basket cup (probably reduplicated and with derivative *-s*)

§ 88. COMPOUNDS

Of compounds in the narrower sense of the word there are very few in Takelma. Outside of personal words in *-lā'p'a*, which we have suspected of being such, there have been found:

- lomt!i'i* old man 24.11, 12; 126.19 (cf. *t!i'i-* male)
k'a'is'o'k'da girl who has had courses (cf. *k'a'is'lā'p'a* woman)

¹ Cf. *-zi* above, § 82.

Independent nouns may, however, be juxtaposed without change of form to make up a descriptive term, the qualifying noun preceding:

- hapxi-t!i'i'ā* child male-person (=boy) 14.1, 6; 17.3, 6; 156.10
hapxi-wa-iw'i child female-person (=girl) 29.7; 30.1; 71.3
hapxi-t'āga'εs child crier (=cry-baby)
da'n mologo'l rock old-woman 170.10, 15, 20; 172.1
dan hapxi-t!i'i'ā rock boy 17.8
dan wi'li'i his rock knife 142.20
gwa's wili brush house (for summer use) 176.14
yāx wili graveyard house 14.8, 9; 15.5, 6
wili' he'la'm house boards 176.5
xamk' wa-iw'i grizzly-bear girl 124.10; 130.6, 7, 26
mena dap!ā'la-ut'an bear youths 130.11
yap!a goyo' Indian doctor 188.12

Examples of compounds in which the first element is modified by a numeral or adjective are:

- wili ha'εgo' yap!a'* house nine people (= people of nine houses)
 150.16
yap!a εalt'gu'εs goyo' person white doctor (= white doctor) 188.11

A certain number of objects are described, not by a single word, but by a descriptive phrase consisting of a noun followed by an adjective, participle, or another noun provided with a third personal possessive suffix. In the latter case the suffix does not properly indicate a possessive relation, but generally a part of the whole or the fabric made of the material referred to by the first noun. Such are:

- lasgu'm-ūxgwa't* snake handed (=lizard) 196.4
t'gwil ts'!i'k'da hazel its-meat (=hazel-nut)
t'gwa he'lamā'a thunder its-board (=lumber) 55.8, 10
p!iyin sge'εxabā'a deer its-hat (not deer's hat, but hat of deerskin)
p!iyin ts'!u'nts'!i deer its-cap-embroidered-with woodpecker-scalps
k'ai mologolā'p'axdā'a what its-woman (=what kind of woman?)
 122.3
wi'li gwala' houses many (=village)
ts'!i'xi maha'i dog big (=horse)
p'im s'inixdc salmon its-nose (=swallow) (perhaps so called because the spring run of salmon is heralded by the coming of swallows)
mena' εalt'guna'px bear + ? (=dormouse [?])
xilam sebe't dead-people roasting (=bug [sp. ?])¹ 98.13, 15
p'un-yi'lt' rotten copulating-with (=Oregon pheasant)

¹ See Appendix B, note 2 of first text.

§ 89. 3. *Noun-Characteristics and Pre-Pronominal -x-*

As noun-characteristics are used four elements: *-(a)n* (including *-am* and *-al*), *-a-*, *-i-*, and *-u-*. Although each noun, in so far as it has any noun-characteristic, is found, as a rule, to use only one of these elements, no rule can be given as to which of them is to be appended to any given noun. Nouns in suffixed *-(a)n*, or *-(a)m*, for example, are found with characteristic *-i-* (*bū^ubin-i-* [from *bū^u-baⁿ* ARM]), *-a-* (*he^elam-a-* [from *he^ela^m* BOARD]), *-(a)n* (*gulm-an-* [from *gula^m* OAK]), and without characteristic (*bo^k'dan-x-dek'* MY NECK [from *bo^k'dan* 15.12, 15]).

1. *-(a)n*. Examples of this characteristic element are:

- gwitⁱ-n-* wrist (cf. variant *gwitⁱ-ū-*)
tⁱibagw-an- pancreas 45.15; 46.5 (absolute *tⁱiba^k'w* 47.17)
da^amadagw-an- shoulder
lek^w-an- rectum
dā^a-n-x- ear 14.4; 15.13 (incorporated *dā^a-*)
tsⁱā^w-an- lake, deep water 59.16 (absolute *tsⁱāū* 162.9; 166.15)
gulm-an- oak (absolute *gula^m*)
bob-in-¹ alder 94.17 (absolute *bo^p'*)

Its phonetic reflexes *-al* and *-am* occur in:

- s^oō^m-al-* mountain 124.2; 152.2 (absolute *s^oō^m* 43.6; 122.16)
dō^um-al- testicles 130.8 (absolute *dō^um* 130.20)
tsⁱā^m-al- (in *Dak[']-tsⁱā^mala^{'e}* Klamath Indian, parallel to *Dak[']-tsⁱā^wana^{'e}*)
gwā^l-am- trail 48.6, 8; 96.8, 9 (absolute *gwāⁿ* 148.7)
xā^l-am- urine (absolute *xāⁿ*)

-am- is also found, though without apparent phonetic reason, in *xā^a-ham-* BACK (incorporated *xā^a-*). Certain nouns add *-g-* before taking *-an-* as their characteristic:

- wax-gan-* creek (absolute *wa^x'*)
dēl-gan-(x-) anus 45.9; 72.10; 94.15
bil-gan-(x-) breast
gel-gan- breast (cf. variant *gel-x-*)

2. *-a-*. More frequently occurring than *-(a)n-* is *-a-*, examples of which are:

- dana-* rock (absolute *daⁿ* 17.8; *dal-am-* as possible variant in place-name *Dī-dala^m* over the rocks [?])
ey-a- canoe 112.6; 114.5, 13; 156.2 (cf. variant *ei-x-*)
tⁱgwan-a- slave (absolute *tⁱgwaⁿ* 13.12)
he^elam-a- board 55.8, 10 (absolute *he^ela^m* 176.5)
yō^uk[']w-a- bone 186.1; 196.17 (absolute *yō^uk[']w*)

¹ This word happened to occur with following emphatic *yā^a*, so that it is probably unlauded from *bob-an-*.

p'im-a- salmon 31.1; 32.4 (absolute *p'i'm* 30.10, 11; 31.3.)

do'lk'am-a- rectum (cf. variant *do'lk'im-i-*)

ma'p'agw-a- shoulder blade (absolute *ma'p'tak'u*)

yaw-a- rib 194.10 (incorporated *ya-u-*)

xiy-a- water 58.6; 156.19; 162.13 (absolute *xi'* 162.7, 8, 14)

p'iy-a- fire 118.4; 168.19 (absolute *p'i* 88.12, 13; 96.17)

All nouns in *-xab-* take *-a-* as their characteristic, e. g., *sge'^{ee}xab-a-t'k'*

MY HAT (from *sge'^{ee}xap'* HAT)

3. *-i-*. Examples of nouns with *-i-* as their characteristic are:

dū^ugw-i- shirt 13.4; 96.26; 192.4 (absolute *dūk'^u* 96.16)

bū^ubin-i- arm 31.4; 172.4, 5, 6 (absolute *bū^uba'n* 23.2, 4, 9)

t'gwi'nt'gwin-i- shoulder

ts'!ugul-i- rope (cf. absolute *ts'!ūk'*)

k'ū^ub-i- hair, skin 24.8; 160.6

ūlūk!-i- hair 27.1, 4; 126.11; 136.20; 158.1; 188.4, 5; 194.7.

k!alts!-i- sinew 28.1 (absolute *k!a'l'ēs* 27.13)

bā^ab-i- seeds (sp.?) 34.1; 79.9; 94.19 (absolute *bāp'*)

k!elw-i- basket bucket 170.14, 16, 18, 19 (absolute *k!e'l* 186.17)

mā^al-i- spear-shaft 156.1 (absolute *māl* 28.7, 9, 10)

dū^ul-i- spear-point (absolute *dāl* 28.8, 9; 156.19, 20)

lū^ul-i-(x-) throat 25.2

mū^ul-i- lungs

t!eqilix-i- skull 174.3

t'galt'gil-i-(x-) belly

ts'!ek'ts'!iq-i-(x-) backbone 112.4

ham-i- father 158.3 (e. g., *ham-i'-ēt'* your father, but *wi-ha'm* my father 138.19)

A number of terms of relationship show an *-i-* not only in the second person singular and plural and first person plural but also, unlike *ham-i-* FATHER, in the first person singular, while the third person in *-xa(-a)* and the vocative (nearly always in *-ā*) lack it. They are:

<i>wi-k'abaī</i> my son (23.2, 3)	:	<i>k'aba'-xa</i> his son 138.16
<i>wi^ε-obi</i> my elder brother (46.10)	:	<i>o'p-xa</i> his elder brother 48.3; 62.2
	:	<i>t'o'p-xa</i> his elder sister 55.14; 56.6
<i>wi-k!a'si</i> my maternal grandparent 14.2; (15.12)	:	<i>k!a's-a</i> his maternal grandparent 16.1, 2; (154.18)
<i>wi-xdāī</i> my paternal uncle	:	<i>xdā-xa</i> his paternal uncle
<i>wi-hasi'</i> my maternal uncle	:	<i>ha's-a</i> his maternal uncle
<i>wi-t'adi'</i> my paternal aunt 22.14	:	<i>t'a'd-a</i> his paternal aunt (63.9; 77.14)
<i>wi-xagaī</i> my maternal aunt	:	<i>xaga'-xa</i> his maternal aunt
<i>wi-ts!aī</i> my (woman's) brother's child 22.1; 23.8, 10; my (man's) sister's child 148.19; 150.4	:	<i>ts!a'-xa</i> her brother's child; his sister's child

Still other terms of relationship have an *-i-* in all forms but the vocative. It is probable, though not quite so certain for these nouns, that the *-i-* is not a part of the stem, but, as in the preceding group, an added characteristic element. Such nouns are:

	Vocative
<i>gamdi'-xa</i> his paternal grand-parent (170.21; 188.13)	<i>gamdā</i>
<i>siwi'-xa</i> her sister's child; his brother's child	<i>siwā</i>
<i>wak'di'-xa</i> his mother's brother's son 77.6; 88.14; (188.9)	<i>wak'dā</i> 77.4
<i>t!omxi'-xa</i> ¹ his wife's parent	<i>t!omxā</i>
<i>lamts!i'-xa</i> her brother's wife	<i>lamts!ā</i>
<i>yidi'-xa</i> her husband's sister	<i>yidā</i>
<i>nanbi'-xa</i> his brother's wife; his wife's sister	<i>nanbā</i>
<i>ximni'-xa</i> his relative by marriage after linking member has died	<i>ximnā</i>

The *-i-* has been found in the vocative before the *-ā* (but only as a myth-form) in *obiya* O ELDER BROTHER! 59.3; 62.4 (alongside of *obā*), so that it is probable that the vocative *-ā* is not a mere transformation of a characteristic vowel, but a distinct element that is normally directly appended to the stem. Other examples of myth vocatives in *-ā* appended to characteristic *-i-* are *ts!aiyā* O NEPHEW! 23.1 (beside *ts!ā*) and *wō'k'dia'* O COUSIN! 88.14, 15 (beside *wak'dā*). The stem *ham-* with its characteristic *-i-* is used as the vocative: *hami* O FATHER! 70.5; 71.7; also O SON! Quite unexplained is the not otherwise occurring *-i-* in the vocative of *mot'* SON-IN-LAW: *mot'ia'* 166.6, 7. As already noted (see § 88, 2), nouns in *-lā'p'a* regularly take an *-i-* after the added *-k!*- of possessive forms: *-lā'p'ik!-i-*.

4. **-u-**. Only a few nouns have been found to contain this element as their characteristic. They are:

- ī-ū-x-* hand 58.2; 86.13 (incorporated *ī-*)
- gwit!ī-ū-x-* wrist² (cf. variant *gwit!ī-u-*)
- ha-u-x-* woman's private parts 108.4; 130.8 (incorporated *ha-*)
- t'gā-u-* earth, land 55.3, 4; 56.4 (absolute *t'gā* 73.9, 11, 13)
- t!omxa'u* wife's parent (cf. *t!omxi'xa* his wife's parent 154.16; 164.19; see footnote, sub 3).

¹ The first person singular shows *-u-* as characteristic: *wi-t!omxa'u*.

² It is highly probable that this word has been influenced in its form by *īūz-* HAND, which it resembles in meaning, if it is not indeed a compound of it.

The pre-pronominal element *-x-* is in some words appended directly to the stem or stem + derivational suffix; in others, to one of the noun-characteristics *-(a)n*, *-i*, and *-u* (never *-a*). A considerable number of words may or may not have the *-x-* after their characteristic; a few show variation between *-a-* and *-x-*; and but a very small number have *-x-* with or without preceding characteristic (e. g., *gel-x-*, *gel-gan-*, and *gel-gan-x-* BREAST). Examples of *-x-* without preceding characteristic are:

dag-ax- head¹ 90.12, 13; 116.8; 188.4, 5 (incorporated *dak'*-)
sal-x- foot 120.18 (incorporated² *sal-*)
gwel-x- leg 15.15; 86.18; 122.10; 160.17 (incorporated form
gwel-)
de^e-x- lips (incorporated *de^e-*) 186.18
gwen-ha-u-x- nape (incorporated *gwen-ha-u-*)
ei-x- canoe (absolute *ei*)
dī^εmo-x- hips (incorporated *dī^εmo-*)
liugw-ax- face
bok'dan-x- neck (absolute *bo'k'dan*)
hā^an-x-² brothers 136.7

Rather more common than nouns of this type seem to be examples of *-x-* with preceding characteristic, such as have been already given in treating of the noun-characteristics. A few body-part nouns in *-x-* seem to be formed from local third personal possessive forms (*-da*); e. g., *dī^εalda-x-dek'* MY FOREHEAD from *dī^εalda* AT HIS FOREHEAD (but also *dī^εa'l-t'k'* with first personal singular possessive ending directly added to stem or incorporated form *dī^εal-*); *da-k'olo'ida-x-dek'* MY CHEEK is evidently quite parallel in formation. Body-part nouns with pre-pronominal *-x-* end in this element when, as sometimes happens, they occur absolutely (neither incorporated nor provided with personal endings). Examples of such forms follow:

haūx woman's private parts 130.19
da'gax head
yū'k'alx teeth 57.4
dayawa'nt!ixi *εiū'x* other hand 86.13
gwelx dayawa'nt!ixi other leg 86.18

¹ *-ax-* contains inorganic *-a-*, and is not to be analyzed as characteristic *-a-* + *-x-* (parallel to *-i-* + *-x-*). This is shown by forms in which *-x-* regularly disappears; e. g., *dak'-dē* OVER ME (not **dag-a-dē* as parallel to *-s-in-i-dē*).

² Perhaps with pluralic *-x-* as in *hā^ap-x-* CHILDREN, p. 225.

4. Possessive Suffixes (§§ 90-93)

§ 90. GENERAL REMARKS

The possessive suffixes appended to the noun embrace elements for the first and second persons singular and plural and for the third person; the form expressing the latter is capable of further amplification by the addition of an element indicating the identity of the possessor with the subject of the clause (corresponding to Latin *suus* as contrasted with *ēius*). This element may be further extended to express plurality. Altogether four distinct though genetically related series of possessive pronominal affixes are found, of which three are used to express simple ownership of the noun modified; the fourth is used only with nouns preceded by pre-positives and with local adverbial stems. The former set includes a special scheme for most terms of relationship, and two other schemes for the great mass of nouns, that seem to be fundamentally identical and to have become differentiated for phonetic reasons. None of these four pronominal schemes is identical with either the objective or any of the subjective series found in the verb, though the pronominal forms used with pre-positives are very nearly coincident with the subjective forms found in the future of Class II intransitives:

ha-wilidē in my house, like *s'a's'ant'e^e* I shall stand
ha-wilī'ida in his house, like *s'a's'ant'ā^a* he will stand

The following table gives the four possessive schemes, together with the suffixes of Class II future intransitives, for comparison:¹

	Terms of relationship	Scheme II	Scheme III	With pre-positives	Future intransitives II
Singular:					
First person . . .	<i>wi-</i>	<i>-d.k'</i>	<i>-'t'k'</i>	<i>-dē</i>	<i>-de^e</i>
Second person . . .	<i>-'et'</i>	<i>-de^e</i>	<i>-'et'</i>	<i>-da^e</i>	<i>-da^e</i>
Third person . . .	<i>-xa, -a</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>-'', -'t'</i>	<i>-'da</i>	<i>-da</i>
Plural:					
First person . . .	<i>-da'm</i>	<i>-da'm</i>	<i>-da'm</i>	<i>-da'm</i>	<i>-(p')igam</i>
Second person . . .	<i>-'t'ban</i>	<i>-daba^en</i>	<i>-'t'ban</i>	<i>{-daba^en -'t'ban}</i>	<i>-daba^e</i>
Singular reflexive:					
Third person . . .	<i>-zagwa, -agwa</i>	<i>-dagwa</i>	<i>-'t'gwa</i>	<i>{-'dagwa -'t'gwa}</i>	
Plural reflexive:					
Third person . . .	<i>-zagwan, -agwan</i>	<i>-dagwan</i>	<i>-'t'gwan</i>	<i>{-'dagwan -'t'gwan}</i>	

¹A complete comparative table of all pronominal forms is given in Appendix A.

It will be observed that the main difference between the last two schemes lies in the first person plural; the first scheme is entirely peculiar in the first person singular and third person. The first person plural possessive suffix (*-da'm*) resembles the endings of the subjective future of the same person (*-iga'm*, *-anaga'm*) in the falling accent; evidently there is a primary element *-a'm* back of these various endings which has amalgamated with other suffixes. As seen from the table, reflexive suffixes exist only for the third person. The plural reflexive in *-gwan* has often reciprocal significance:

wu'lxdagwan their own enemies (= they are enemies)

The suffixes of the first and second person plural may also have reciprocal significance:

wulxda'm e'bi'k' we are enemies (lit., our enemies we are) cf. 180.13

§ 91. TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

ham- (*ma-*) FATHER, *hin-* (*ni-*) MOTHER, *k!as-* MATERNAL GRANDPARENT, and *beyan-* DAUGHTER may be taken as types of the nouns that form this group.¹

Singular:				
First person	<i>wi'ha'm</i>	<i>wi'hi'n</i>	<i>wi'k!asi'</i>	<i>wi'beya'n</i>
Second person	<i>hami't'</i>	<i>hi'n't'</i>	<i>k!asi't'</i>	<i>beya'n't'</i>
Third person	<i>ma'za</i>	<i>ni'za</i>	<i>k!a'sa</i>	<i>beya'n</i>
Plural:				
First person	<i>hamida'm</i>	<i>hinda'm</i>	<i>k!asida'm</i>	<i>beyanda'm</i>
Second person	<i>hami't'ban</i>	<i>hi'n't'ban</i>	<i>k!asi't'ban</i>	<i>beya'n't'ban</i>
Singular reflexive:				
Third person	<i>ma'zagwa</i>	<i>ni'zagwa</i>	<i>k!a'sagwa</i>	<i>beya'nt'gwa</i>
Plural reflexive:				
Third person	<i>ma'zagwan</i>	<i>ni'zagwan</i>	<i>k!a'sagwan</i>	<i>beya'nt'gwan</i>
Vocative				
	<i>hami</i>	{ <i>hindē</i> }	<i>k!asā</i>	{ <i>hindē</i> }
		{ <i>s'nā</i> }		{ <i>s'nā</i> }

The first two of these are peculiar in that they each show a double stem; the first form (*ham-*, *hin-*) is used in the first and second persons, the second (*ma-*, *ni-*) in the third person. Despite the phonetically symmetrical proportion *ham-* : *ma-* = *hin-* : *ni-*, the two words are not quite parallel in form throughout, in that *hin-* does not show the characteristic *-i-* found in certain of the forms of *ham-*.

¹ Out of thirty-two terms of relationship (tabulated with first person singular, third person, and vocative in *American Anthropologist*, n. s., vol. 9, pp. 268, 269) that were obtained, twenty-eight belong here.

Of the other words belonging to this group, only that for FRIEND shows, or seems to show, a double stem: *wik!ū^uya^m* MY FRIEND and *k!ū^uyam* O FRIEND! 31.6, 8; 32.4, 6 but *k!ū^uya'pxa* HIS FRIEND 190.2, 4 and *k!ūyaba'εt'* (with inorganic rather than characteristic *a*) YOUR FRIEND 198.2. Irregular is also *wi-k!ō^uxa'* MY SON'S WIFE'S PARENTS: *k!ō^uxa'^m-xa* HIS SON'S WIFE'S PARENTS 178.9, in which we have either to reckon with a double stem, or else to consider the *-m-* of the latter form a noun-characteristic. Other terms of relationship which, like *hin-*, append all the personal endings without at the same time employing a characteristic are:

wā^a- younger brother 42.1; 64.4 (also *t'awā^a-* younger sister 58.1, 5; 188.10)

k!e^b- husband's parent

wayau- daughter-in-law ([?] formed according to verb-type 11 from *way-* sleep) 56.8, 9

s'iyā^εp'- woman's sister's husband *or* husband's brother

hasd⁻¹ man's sister's husband *or* wife's brother 152.22

k!ūya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m- \\ b- \end{array} \right\}$ friend 180.13; 196.19; 198.2

beyan- DAUGHTER 13.2; 70.1, 4; 118.1, 4 belongs, morphologically speaking, to the terms of relationship only because of its first personal singular form; all its other forms (the vocatives really belong to *hin-*) are built up according to Scheme III.

As far as known, only terms of relationship possess vocative forms, though their absence can not be positively asserted for other types of nouns. The great majority of these vocatives end in *-ā*, which, as in *wā* O YOUNGER BROTHER! may be the lengthened form with rising accent of the final vowel of the stem, or, as in *k!asā* O GRANDMOTHER! 16.3, 5, 6; 17.2; 154.18 added to the stem, generally with loss of the characteristic *-i-*, wherever found. *wayau-* and *s'iyā^εp'-*, both of which lack a characteristic element, employ as vocative the stem with rising accent on the *a-* vowel: *wayau* O DAUGHTER-IN-LAW! and *s'iyā^εp'* O BROTHER-IN-LAW! (said by woman). This method of forming the vocative is in form practically equivalent to the addition of *-ā*. *s'nā²* MAMMA! and *haik!ā* O WIFE! HUSBAND! are vocatives without corresponding noun-stems provided with pronominal suffixes. *beyan-* DAUGHTER and *k'aba-* SON, on the other hand, have no vocative

¹ *wiha'st'* MY WIFE'S BROTHER is the only Takelma word known that terminates in *-st'*.

² Inasmuch as there is hardly another occurrence of *s'n-* in Takelma, it is perhaps not too far-fetched to analyze *s'nā* into *s'-* (cf. second footnote, p. 8) + *nā* (vocative of *ni-* in *ni'za* HIS MOTHER).

derived from the same stem, but employ the vocative form of MOTHER and FATHER respectively. Of other vocatives, *k'ū'yam*¹ O FRIEND! 31.6, 8; 32.4, 6 is the bare stem; *hamī* 70.5; 71.7, the stem with added characteristic *-i-*; *hindē* O MOTHER! DAUGHTER! 56.7; 76.10, 13; 186.14 is quite peculiar in that it makes use of the first personal singular ending (*-dē*) peculiar to nouns with possessive suffix and preceding pre-positive. Only two other instances of a nominal use of *-dē* without pre-positive or local adverb have been found: *mo't'e* MY SON-IN-LAW! (as vocative) 164.19; and *k'wi'naxdē* MY FOLKS, RELATIONS, which otherwise follows Scheme II (e. g., third person *k'wi'naxdā*^a).

The normal pronominal suffix of the third person is *-xa*; *-a* is found in only four cases, *k'a'sa* HIS MATERNAL GRANDPARENT, *ha'sa* HIS MATERNAL UNCLE, *t'a'da* HIS PATERNAL AUNT, and *ha'sda* HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. The first two of these can be readily explained as assimilated from **k'a'sxa* and **ha'sxa* (see § 20, 3); **t'adx* and **hasdx*, however, should have become **t'a'sa* and **ha'sa* respectively. The analogy of the first two, which were felt to be equivalent to stem + *-a*, on the one side, and that of the related forms in *-d-* (e. g., *t'adā* and *hasdā*) on the other, made it possible for *t'a'da* and *ha'sda* to replace **t'a'sa* and **ha'sa*, the more so that a necessary distinction in form was thus preserved between *ha'sa* HIS MATERNAL UNCLE and *ha'sda* (instead of **ha'sa*) HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW.

The difference in signification between the third personal forms in *-xa* and *-xagwa* (similarly for the other pronominal schemes) will be readily understood from what has already been said, and need not be enlarged upon:

ma'xa wā^a-himì't he spoke to his (some one else's) father

ma'xagwa wā^a-himì't he spoke to his own father

There is small doubt that this *-gwa* is identical with the indirect reflexive *-gwa* of transitive verbs with incorporated object. Forms in *-gwan* seem to refer to the plurality of either possessor or object possessed:

k'aba'xagwan their own son or his (her) own sons

eīxdagwan their own canoe or his own canoes

The final *-n* of these forms is the indefinite plural *-an* discussed below (§ 99). Plural (?) *-gwan* is found also in verb forms (144.12; 150.24).

¹ *k'ūyam-* is perhaps derived, by derivational suffix *-(a)m*, from verb-stem *k'ūuy-* GO TOGETHER WITH ONE.

§ 92. SCHEMES II AND III

As examples may be taken *dagax*- HEAD, which follows Scheme II, and *wili*- HOUSE, *dana*- ROCK, *t!ibagwan*- LIVER, and *xā^aham*- BACK, which follow Scheme III.

Singular:					
1st person	<i>da'gardek'</i>	<i>wili't'k'</i>	<i>dana't'k'</i>	<i>t!ibagwa'nt'k'</i>	<i>xā^aha'mt'k'</i>
2d person	<i>da'garde^ε</i>	<i>wili'et'</i>	<i>dana'et'</i>	<i>t!ibagwa'n^εt'</i>	<i>xā^aha'm^εt'</i>
3d person	<i>da'gazda</i>	<i>wili'i</i>	<i>dana^a</i>	<i>t!ibagwa'n</i>	<i>xā^aha'm</i>
Plural:					
1st person	<i>da'gardam</i>	<i>wilida'm</i>	<i>danada'm</i>	<i>t!ibagwa'ndam</i>	<i>xā^aha'mdam</i>
2d person	<i>daga'zdaba^εn</i>	<i>wili'et'ban</i>	<i>dana'et'ban</i>	<i>t!ibagwa'n^εt'ban</i>	<i>xā^aha'm^εt'ban</i>
Singular reflexive:					
3d person	<i>daga'zdagwa</i>	<i>wili't'gwa</i>	<i>dana't'gwa</i>	<i>t!ibagwa'nt'gwa</i>	<i>xā^aha'mt'gwa</i>
Plural reflexive:					
3d person	<i>daga'zdagwan</i>	<i>wili't'gwan</i>	<i>dana't'gwan</i>	<i>t!ibagwa'nt'gwan</i>	<i>xā^aha'mt'gwan</i>

A third person plural *-dan* also occurs, as in *dūmhak'^wdan* HIS SLAIN ONES OR THEIR SLAIN ONE 180.2.

Scheme II is followed by the large class of nouns that have a pre-pronominal *-x-*, besides a considerable number of nouns that add the endings directly to the stem. Noun-characteristics may not take the endings of Scheme II unless followed by a *-x-* (thus *-a'nt'k'* and *-anxde'k'*; *-i't'k'* and *-ixde'k'*). Examples of Scheme II nouns without preceding *-x-* are:

- a-is'de'k'* my property (though *-s-* may be secondarily derived from *-s-x-* or *-tx-*) 23.2, 3; 154.18, 19, 20; 158.4
- mo't'ek'* my son-in-law (152.9) (incorporated *mot'*-)
- se'el'ek'* my writing, paint (absolute *se'el*)
- he'el'ek'* my song (164.16; 182.6) (absolute *he'el* 106.7)
- ts'!i'k'dek'* my meat (44.3, 6; 170.6)
- wila'ut'ek'* my arrow (45.13; 154.18) (absolute *wila'u* 22.5; 28.1, 2; 77.5)
- ga'lt'ek'* my bow (154.19; 190.22) (absolute *ga'lt^ε*)
- la'psdek'* my blanket (absolute *la'ps* 98.14, 15, 19, 21)
- ts'!ixi-maha'it'ek'* my horse (absolute *ts'!ixi-maha'i*)

Scheme III is followed by all nouns that have a characteristic immediately preceding the personal suffix or, in nearly all cases, whose stem, or stem + derivative suffix, ends in *-a-* (e. g., *t!ela't'k'* MY SHINNY-STICK [from *t!ela'*]), *-i-*, *-ei-* (e. g., *ts'!eleūt'k'* MY EYE [from *ts'!elei-*]), *-n* (e. g., *sēnt'k'* MY SKIN), *-m*, or *-l'* (e. g., *dīⁱa'lt'k'*

¹ In most, if not all, cases the *-n*, *-m*, or *-l'* is a non-radical element. It is not quite clear in how far stems ending in these vowels and consonants follow Scheme II or Scheme III.

MY FOREHEAD [from *dī^εal-*]. The third person is, at least superficially, without ending in all nouns of this group whose pre-pronominal form is not monosyllabic. The third personal form is characterized by a falling accent on the final syllable, *-a-* and *-i-* being lengthened to *-ā^a* and *-īⁱ* respectively. Other forms are:

ts!^lele'ⁱ his eye 27.8; 86.7, 9; (cf. 54.6)

dō^uma'^l his testicles 130.8; 136.5

xā^ala'^m his urine

gwit!ⁱn his wrist

There is no doubt, however, that these forms without ending originally had a final *-t'*, as indicated by the analogy of third personal forms in *-da* in Scheme II, and as proved by the preservation of the *-t'* before the reflexive suffix *-gwa* and in monosyllabic forms:

p!^lā^ant' his liver 120.2, 15

nīⁱt' her teats 30.14; 32.7

t!^līⁱt' her husband (17.13)

sā^at' his discharge of wind 166.8

Though the conditions for the loss of a final *-t'* are not fully understood, purely phonetic processes having been evidently largely intercrossed by analogic leveling, it is evident that the proportion *wilīⁱ* HIS HOUSE: *nīⁱt'* HER TEATS = *s^asⁱnī* HE STANDS: *wil'* HE TRAVELS ABOUT represents a by no means accidental phonetic and morphologic correspondence between noun and verb (Class II intransitives). The falling pitch is peculiar to the noun as contrasted with the verb-form (cf. *he'^l* SONG, but *hē^l* SING!). Monosyllabic stems of Scheme III seem to have a rising accent before *-t'gwa* as well as in the first person. Thus:

lāt'gwa his own excrement 77.1

t!^lit'gwa her own husband (despite *t!^līⁱt'*) 45.14; (59.16; 60.2); 128.22

Nouns with characteristic *-i-* prefer the parallel form in *-i'-x-dagwa* to that in *-i'-t'gwa*. Thus:

bū^ubini'^xdagwa his own arm, rather than *bū^ubini'^tgwa*, despite *bū^ubini'^tk'* MY ARM

The limitation of each of the two schemes to certain definite phonetically determined groups of nouns (though some probably merely apparent contradictions, such as *ga^l-t'^εek'* MY BOW and *dī^εa^l-t'^k*

¹-t'^k always requires preceding rising or raised accent. As *gal-* BOW seems to be inseparably connected with a falling accent (very likely because of the catch in its absolute form), it is, after all, probably a phonetic reason that causes it to follow Scheme II rather than III.

MY FOREHEAD, occur), together with the evident if not entirely symmetrical parallelism between the suffixes of both, make it practically certain that they are differentiated, owing to phonetic causes, from a single scheme. The *-a-* of *-da* (*-dagwa*) and *-daba^εn* (as contrasted with *-t'* and *-εt'ban*) may be inorganic in origin, and intended to support phonetically difficult consonant combinations:

gūxda his wife (from **gūx-t'*) 13.2; 43.15; 49.6, like *ī-lasga'* touch it (from stem *lasg-*)

The *-e-*, however, of *-dek'* 32.6 and *-de^ε* 31.1; 59.3 can not be thus explained. It is not improbable that part of the endings of Scheme III are due to a loss of an originally present vowel, so that the primary scheme of pronominal suffixes may have been something like:

Singular: First person, *-d-ek'*; second person, *-d-e^ε*; third person, *-t'*. Reflexive: Third person, *-t'-gwa*. Plural: First person, *-d-a'm*; second person, *-t'-ba^εn*.

It can hardly be entirely accidental that all the suffixes are characterized by a dental stop; perhaps an amalgamation has taken place between the original pronominal elements and an old, formerly significant nominal element *-d-*.

§ 93. POSSESSIVES WITH PRE-POSITIVES

As examples of possessive affixes attached to nouns with pre-positives and to local elements may be taken *dak'*- OVER, *wa-¹* TO, *haw-an-* UNDER, and *ha-^εīū-* IN HAND.

Singular:				
First person	<i>dak'dē</i> over me	<i>wadē</i> to me	<i>hawandē</i> under me	<i>ha^εīūdē</i> in my hand
Second person	<i>dāk'da^ε</i>	<i>wada^ε</i>	<i>hawanda^ε</i>	<i>ha^εi'ūda^ε</i>
Third person	<i>da'k'dāda</i>	<i>wā'ada</i>	<i>hawa'nda</i>	<i>ha^εi'ūda</i>
Plural:				
First person	<i>dak'da'm</i>	<i>wada'm</i>	<i>hawanda'm</i>	<i>ha^εīūda'm</i>
Second person	<i>da'k'daba^εn</i>	<i>wā'aεt'ban</i>	<i>hawa'nt'ban</i>	<i>ha^εi'ūεt'ban</i>
Singular reflexive:				
Third person	<i>da'k'dagwa</i>	<i>wa't'gwa</i>	<i>hawa'nt'gwa</i>	<i>ha^εi'ū't'gwa</i>
Plural reflexive:				
Third person	<i>da'k'dagwan</i>	<i>wa't'gwan</i>	<i>hawa'nt'gwan</i>	<i>ha^εi'ū't'gwan</i>

The apparently double ending *-dā^ada* of the third person of *dak'*- is not entirely isolated (cf. *ha-ye^εwa'x-dā^ada* IN THEIR TIME OF RETURNING; *he'e^ε-dā^ada* BEYOND HIM), but can not be explained. The use of

¹It is possible that this *wa-* is etymologically identical with the verbal prefix *wa-* TOGETHER. The forms of *wa-* given above are regularly used where reference is had to persons, the postposition *ga'a'l* being employed in connection with things: *wā'ada gini'ek'* HE WENT TO HIM (56.11); 148.6; *s'om ga'a'l gini'ek'* HE WENT TO THE MOUNTAIN (43.6).

-*dagwa* and -*daba^sn* on the one hand, and of -*t'gwa* and -*t'ban* on the other, is determined by the same phonetic conditions as differentiate Schemes II and III. A third personal plural in -*t'an* (apparently = -*d* + -*han*) is also found: *de'^et'an* IN FRONT OF THEM 190.13 (but *de'^eda* BEFORE HIM 59.14); *xā^a-s'ogwī'ⁱt'an* BETWEEN THEM (see below, p. 240); *wā'^at'an* TO THEM 160.15. A form in -*xa* seems also to occur with third personal plural signification: *wa'xa ts'!inī'ⁱts'!anx* HE GOT ANGRY AT THEM; *dīhaūxa* AFTER THEM, BEHIND THEIR BACKS 132.13.

The number of local elements that directly take on possessive suffixes seems fairly considerable, and includes both such as are body-part and local prefixes in the verb (e. g., *dak'-*) and such as are used in the verb only as local prefixes (e. g., *wa-*, *dal-*); a few seem not to be found as verbal prefixes. Not all adverbially used verbal prefixes, however, can be inflected in the manner of *dak'dē* and *wadē* (e. g., no **hadē* can be formed from *ha-*). A number of body-part and local stems take on a noun-characteristic:

haw-an- under (from *ha-u-*)

xā^a-ham-dē¹ about my waist (from *xā^a-*)

The local elements that have been found capable of being followed by pronominal affixes are:

dak'dē over me (56.9; 110.18); 186.4, 5

wadē to me (56.15; 60.1; 63.14; 88.13; 150.18; 194.1)

xā^ahamdē about my waist

gwēlda' under it 190.17

gwēnda (in *Gwenda yu'sā^a* = being at its nape, i. e., east of it)

dī'ⁱda close in back of him, at his anus 138.2

dīndē behind me (?= verb-prefix *dī^s-* anus, behind + noun-characteristic -*n-*) (86.9; 138.3; 170.1)

hawandē under me (71.1, 5, 12)

qēldē in front of me, for (in behalf of) me

dedē in front of me (59.14; 124.20)

hā^syadē around me

he'^edā^ada beyond him 148.9

ha'nda across, through it

da'lt'gwan among themselves 98.2

gwen-ha-udē at my nape; *gwen-haūt'gwa* in back of his own neck
75.2

dī-ha-udē after I went away, behind my back (132.10; 186.8;
192.4)

¹ It is only the different schemes of personal endings that, at least in part, keep distinct the noun *xāham-* BACK and the local element *xāsham-* ON BACK, ABOUT WAIST: *xā^aha'm* HIS BACK, but *xā^aha'mda* ON HIS BACK, AT HIS WAIST; *xā^aha'mdam* OUR BACKS and ON OUR BACKS.

dī^ε-a'lda over his eyes, on his forehead (172.3)

nō'ts!adam neighboring us (= stem *nōts!*- next door + noun-characteristic *-a-*) (98.13)

When used as local pre-positives with nouns, these local stems drop their characteristic affixes, and thus appear in the same form in which they are found in the verb (e. g., *xā^a-gweldē* BETWEEN MY LEGS), except that *ha-u-* UNDER as pre-positive adds an *-a-*: *hawa-* (e. g., *hawa-saldē* UNDER MY FEET). The various pre-positives found prefixed to nouns with possessive suffixes are:

ha- in

hawa- under

dak'- over

dī^ε- above

dā^a- alongside

al- to, at

de-, *dā-* in front of

xā^a- between, in middle of

gwen- at nape, east of

dī^ε- at rear end, west of

dal- away from

han- across (?)

gel- facing

gwel- under, down from

The noun itself, as has already been seen, appears with its characteristic. *t'gā* EARTH, however, perhaps for some unknown phonetic reason, does not retain its characteristic *-u-* before the possessive suffixes (*ha-t'gāū* IN THE COUNTRY 33.7, but *ha-t'gā^adē* IN MY COUNTRY 194.4) Examples of forms of the type *ha^εiūdē* IN MY HAND are:

ha-dī't'gwa in back of him, in his anus (incorporated *dī^ε-*) 94.11

*dā^a-yawadē*¹ aside from me (literally, alongside my ribs)

dak'-s'aldē on top of my feet 198.6; (cf. 44.8)

hawa-lū^ūlidē under my throat

dak'-s'inīⁱda over his nose 144.11

al-gurwida'm wōk' we have enough of it (literally, to-our-hearts it-has-arrived) 128.1

ha-wilidē in my house (64.2; 88.18; 120.14)

ha-ye^εwaxdē in my returning (= when I return) (124.15)

dī-delga'nt'gwa behind himself, at his own anus (72.10)

al-wā^adi't'gwan at one another (literally, to each other's bodies; *wā^ad-i-* body) (96.22; 146.2; 190.19)

¹ Also *dal-yawadē* ASIDE FROM ME (with verb of throwing) (=literally, AWAY FROM MY RIBS).

ha-sa'lda (thinking) of her (literally, in her footsteps) 142.13
dīⁱ-dandē over my ear
dīⁱ-ts!ⁱlcidē over my eyes
ha-dedē in my mouth (170.2; 182.17)
gwen-bok'dandē at my nape
xā^a-sⁱniidē resting on my nose (like spectacles)
gwel-^εwā^adidē down from my body 198.4

Several such forms with apparently simple local signification contain after the pre-positive a noun stem not otherwise found:

xā^a-sⁱogwida'm between us
ha-^εwiniidē inside of me (73.1; 92.17)
dī-bō^uwidē at my side
da^εoldidē close to me (124.9) (cf. adverb *da^εo'l* near by 102.6)

Such a non-independent noun is probably also *ha-u-* in *gwen-ha-u-* and *dī-ha-u-*, both of which were listed above as simple local elements.

Instances also occur, though far less frequently, of pre-positives with two nouns or noun and adjective; the first noun generally stands in a genitive relation to the second (cf., § 88, the order in juxtaposed nouns), while the second noun is followed by the third personal possessive *-da*. Such are:

gwen-t'gā^a-bo'k'dan-da at nape of earth's neck (= east) 79.6;
 102.4
dī-t'gā^a-yu'k'umā^a-da at rear of earth's tail (= west) 146.1; 198.9
ha-t'gā^a-yawā^a-da in earth's rib (= north) (cf. 194.9)
dā^a-xī-ts!ⁱek'ts!ⁱigīⁱ-da alongside water's backbone (= not far from shore)
xā^a-xī-ts!ⁱek'ts!ⁱigīⁱ-da in middle of water's backbone (= equally distant from either shore) 112.4
Ha-yā^al-bā'ls-daⁱ in its long (i. e., tall) (*bā'ls*) pines (*yā'ls*) (= place-name) 114.9
Dī-p!ol-ts!ⁱl'-da over (*dīⁱ*) its red (*ts!ⁱl*) bed (*p!ol* ditch) (= Jump-off Joe creek)
Al-dan-k!olo'i-daⁱ to its rock (*da'n*) basket (*k!olo'i*) (= name of mountain)

Rather difficult of explanation is *de-de-wilīⁱ-da* DOOR, AT DOOR OF HOUSE 63.11; 77.15; 176.6, which is perhaps to be literally rendered IN FRONT OF (first *de-*) HOUSE (*wilī*) ITS (*-da*) MOUTH (second *de-*) (i. e., IN FRONT OF DOORWAY). The difficulty with this explanation is that it necessitates the interpretation of the second noun as a genitive in relation to the first.

¹ Observe falling accent despite rising accent (*bā'ls*, *k!olo'i*) of independent noun. *-da* with pre-positives, whether with intervening noun or noun and adjective, consistently demands a falling accent before it.

5. Local Phrases (§§ 94-96)

§ 94. GENERAL REMARKS

Local phrases without possessive pronouns (i. e., of the type IN THE HOUSE, ACROSS THE RIVER) may be constructed in three ways.

A local element with third personal possessive suffix may be used to define the position, the noun itself appearing in its absolute form as an appositive of the incorporated pronominal suffix:

da'n gwel'da' rock under-it (i. e., under the rock)

da'n handa through the rock

dan hā^{ae}yā^oda around the rock

dan da^εoldiⁱda near the rock

dan ge'lda in front of the rock

dan di'nda behind the rock

There is observable here, as also in the method nearly always employed to express the objective and genitive relations, the strong tendency characteristic of Takelma and other American languages to make the personal pronominal affixes serve a purely formal purpose as substitutes for syntactic and local cases.

The second and perhaps somewhat more common method used to build up a local phrase is to prefix to the noun a pre-positive, the noun itself appearing in the form it assumes before the addition of the normal pronominal suffixes (Schemes II and III). Thus some of the preceding local phrases might have been expressed as:

gwel-dana' under the rock

han-dana' through the rock

hā^{ae}ya-dana' around the rock

gel-dana' in front of the rock

dī^ε-dana' behind the rock

These forms have at first blush the appearance of prepositions followed by a local case of the noun, but we have already seen this explanation to be inadmissible.

A third and very frequent form of local phrase is the absolute noun followed by a postposition. The chief difference between this and the preceding method is the very considerable amount of individual freedom that the postposition possesses as contrasted with the rigidly incorporated pre-positive. The majority of the postpositions consist of a pre-positive preceded by the general demonstrative *ga-* THAT. *da'n gada'k'* OVER THE ROCK is thus really to be analyzed as ROCK THAT-OVER, an appositional type of local

phrase closely akin in spirit to that first mentioned: *dan da'k'dāda* ROCK OVER-IT. *dak'-dana'*, according to the second method, is also possible.

§ 95. PRE-POSITIVES

The pre-positives employed before nouns without possessive suffixes are identical with those already enumerated (§ 94) as occurring with nouns with possessives, except that *hawa-* UNDER seems to be replaced by *gwel-*. It is doubtful also if *he^ε-* BEYOND (also *han-* ACROSS ?) can occur with nouns followed by possessive affixes. Examples of pre-positives in local phrases are:

- han-gela'm* across the river
han-warga'n across the creek
han-p'iya' across the fire 168.19
ha'-waxga'n in the creek
ha-xi'ya' in the water 58.6; 60.3; 61.11; 63.16
ha-bin'i' in the middle 176.15 (cf. *de-bi'n* first, last 150.15)
ha-p'ola' in the ditch
ha-gwā^ala'm in the road 62.6; 158.19
ha-s'ugwañ in the basket (cf. 124.18)
xa'-s-ō^uma'l halfway up the mountain
xā^a-gulma'n among oaks
xā-xo (yā^a) (right) among firs (cf. 94.17)
gwel-xi'ya under water 156.19
gwel-t'gāū down to the ground 176.8
dā^a-ts!ā^awa'n by the ocean 59.16
dā^a-t'gāū alongside the field
gwen-t'gāū east of the field 55.4; 56.4
gwen-waxga'n east along the creek
Gwen-p'uñk' place-name (= east of rotten [*p'u'n*]) 114.14
de-wilī in front of the house (= out of doors) 70.4
dak'-s-ō^uma'l on top of the mountain 188.15
dak'-wilī over the house 59.2; 140.5
dak'-p'iya' over the fire 24.6, 7
he^ε-s-ō^uma'l beyond the mountain 124.2; 196.13
al-s-ō^uma'l at, to the mountain 136.22; 152.8; 192.5, 7, 8
hā'^εya-p'iya' on both sides of the fire 176.12
hā'^εya-s-ō^uma'l on both sides of the mountain 152.2
di-t'gāū west of the field 55.3
dī-waxga'n some distance west along the creek
dī-s-ō^uma'l at foot ([?] = in rear) of the mountain
Dīⁱ-dala'm place-name (= over the rock [?])
Gel-yālk' place-name (= abreast of pines) 112.13

¹ Perhaps really *Dīⁱ-dala'm* WEST OF THE ROCK (?).

A few cases of compound pre-positives occur:

ha-gwel-p'iya' under the ashes (literally, in-under-the-fire)
118.4

ha-gwel-xiya' at bottom of the water 60.12, 14

ha-gwel-t'ge'εmt'gam down in dark places 196.7

An example of a pre-positive with a noun ending in pre-pronominal -*x* is afforded by *ha-dā^anx molhi't'* IN-EAR RED 14.4; 15.13; 88.2 (alongside of *dā^amolhi't'* RED-EARED 15.12; 86.6). It is somewhat doubtful, because of a paucity of illustrative material, whether local phrases with final pre-pronominal -*x* can be freely used.

§ 96. POSTPOSITIONS

Not all pre-positives can be suffixed to the demonstrative *ga-* to form postpositions; e. g., no **gaha'*, **gaha'n*, **gagwe'l* are found in Takelma. Very few other words (adverbs) are found in which what are normally pre-positives occupy the second place: *me'εal* TOWARD THIS DIRECTION 58.9; *ye'k'dal* IN THE BRUSH 71.3. Instead of *-ha* IN, *-na'u* is used, an element that seems restricted to the postposition *gana'u* IN. The *ga-*postpositions that have been found are:

gada'k' on 48.15; 49.1

gidī' (= *ga-dī'*) on, over 49.12

gidī'ε (= *ga-dī'ε*) in back

gana'u in 47.2; 61.13; 64.4; 110.9

gada'l among 94.12

ga^al to, for, at, from 43.6; 44.4; 55.6; 58.11

gadā^a by, along 60.1

gaxā^a between

gede in front (?) 28.8, 9

and possibly:

gasal in adverb *gasa'lhī* quickly 28.10; 29.14; 160.1

Examples of their use are:

wi'li gada'k' on top of the house 14.9; 15.5

da'n gada'k' on the rock

t'gā^a gidī upon the land 49.12

p'li' gada'l in between the fire 94.12

da'n gada'l among rocks

da'n gadā alongside the rocks (cf. 60.1)

wū^hlham-hoidiqwia gadā^a.ginī'εk' he went right by where there was round-dancing (literally, menstruation-dancing-with by he-went) 106.13

ei gana'u in the canoe 96.24; 112.3

- dola' gana'u* in the old tree 24.1
wa-iwī'i't'a' ga^εa'l to the female 15.14
ga' ga^εa'l for that reason 50.2; 124.6; 146.20, 21; 188.6; 194.11
bixal wi^εin-wi'^ε ga^εal ya'^ε he goes every month (literally, month
different-every at he-goes)
da'n gaxā^a between the rocks
dīā gede' right at the falls 33.13
*Yūk'ya'k'wa gede'*¹ right by Yūk'ya'k'wa 188.17

Postpositions may be freely used with nouns provided with a possessive suffix; e. g., *ela't'k' gada'k'* ON MY TONGUE; *wil'i' gana'u* IN HIS HOUSE, cf. 194.7. There is no ascertainable difference in signification between such phrases and the corresponding pre-positive forms, *dak'-eladē* and *ha-wil'i'da*. Sometimes a postposition takes in a group of words, in which case it may be enclitically appended to the first:

- k'i'yī'x gan'au ba-igina'xdā^a* smoke in its-going-out (= [hole] in which smoke is to go out) 176.7

Although local phrases involving a postposition are always pronounced as one phonetic unit, and the postpositions have become, psychologically speaking, so obscured in etymology as to allow of their being preceded by the demonstrative with which they are themselves compounded (cf. *ga ga^εa'l* above), they have enough individuality to render them capable of being used quasi-adverbially without a preceding noun:

- gada'k' s'u^εwilī't'^ε* I sat on him
gadak' ts!ā^ak'ts!a'k'de^ε I step on top of it (148.17)
gidī' gaixgwa thereon eating (= table)
gidī'^ε-hi closer and closer (literally, right in back)
gadā^a yeweyak'w he got even with him (literally, alongside he-returned-having-him) 17.5
māl yaxa aba'i dūl gede' salmon-spear-shaft only in-house, spear-point thereby 28.7, 9
gī' gana'u I am inside
ga'nau naga'^{iε} wili't'k' he went through my house (literally, in he-did my-house [for *naga'^{iε}* see § 69]) cf. 78.5

Other postpositions than those compounded with *ga-* are:

- da^εo'l* near (cf. *da^εol-* as pre-positive in *da^εoldidē* near me):
wili't'k' da^εo'l near my house
wa with (also as incorporated instrumental *wa-*, § 38) 25.5; 47.5

¹ *Yūk'ya'k'wa gada* was said to be preferable, whence it seems possible that *gede* is not really equivalent to *gi* THAT + *de-* IN FRONT, but is palatalized as adverb (see below, § 104) from *gadā*.

ha-bini in the middle: *wili ha'-bini*¹ in the middle of the house;
ha-be^e-bini noon (literally, in-sun [= day]-middle) 126.21;
 186.8
-di's away: *eme^edis* away from here; *dedewilⁱ'idadi*'s (? outside of)
 the door 176.6

It is peculiar that mountain-names generally have a prefix *al-* and a suffix *-dis*:

al-dauyā^a'ak'wa-dis (cf. *dauyā^a'ak^w* supernatural helper) 172.1
al-wila'mxa-dis
al-sawēnt'a-dis

That both *al-* and *-dis* are felt not to be integral parts of these mountain-names is shown by such forms as *he^e-wila'mxa* BEYOND Alwila'mxadis 196.14 and *al-dauyā^a'ak^w*. In all probability they are to be explained as local phrases, AT, TO (*al-*) . . . DISTANT (*-dis*), descriptive of some natural peculiarity or resident supernatural being.

Differing apparently from other postpositions in that it requires the preceding noun to appear in its pre-pronominal form (i. e., with final *-x* if it is provided with it in Scheme II forms) is *wa'k'i^e* WITHOUT, which would thus seem to occupy a position intermediate between the other postpositions and the pre-positives. Examples are:

ts!ⁱelei wa'k'i^e without eyes 26.14; 27.6
dagax wa'k'i^e without head
yūk!alx wa'k'i^e without teeth 57.4
nixa wa'k'i^e motherless

As shown by the last example, terms of relationship whose third personal possessive suffix is *-xa* (*-a*) use the third personal form as the equivalent of the pre-pronominal form of other nouns (cf. also § 108, 6), a fact that casts a doubt on the strictly personal character of the *-xa* suffix. No third personal idea is possible, e. g., in *maza wa'k'i^e eit'e^e* I AM FATHERLESS. *wak'i^e* is undoubtedly related to *wa* WITH; the *-k'i^e* may be identical with the conditional particle (see § 71).

On the border-line between loosely used preposition and independent adverb are *nogwa* BELOW, DOWN RIVER FROM (? = *nō^w* DOWN RIVER + demonstrative *ga* THAT) : *nogwa wilⁱ* BELOW THE HOUSE 76.7; and *hinwa* ABOVE, UP RIVER FROM (cf. *hina^u* UP RIVER) : *hi'nwa wilⁱ* ABOVE THE HOUSE 77.1.

¹ Properly speaking, *ha-bini* is a pre-positive phrase from noun-stem *bin-* (cf. *de-bin* FIRST, LAST, and (?) *bilgan-x-* BREAST[? = middle part of body-front]) with characteristic *-i-*. *be^e-bin-* SUN'S MIDDLE is compounded like, e. g., *l'gda- bok'dan-* EARTH'S NECK ABOVE (§ 93).

6. *Post-nominal Elements* (§§ 97-102)

§ 97. GENERAL REMARKS

Under the head of post-nominal elements are included a small group of suffixes which, though altogether without the distinct individuality characteristic of local postpositions, are appended to the fully formed noun, pronoun, or adjective, in some cases also adverb, serving in one way or another to limit or extend the range of application of one of these denominating or qualifying terms. The line of demarcation between these post-nominal elements and the more freely movable modal particles discussed below (§ 114) is not very easy to draw; the most convenient criterion of classification is the inability of what we have termed POST-NOMINAL elements to attach themselves to verb-forms.

§ 98. EXCLUSIVE *-t'a*

The suffix *-t'a* is freely appended to nouns and adjectives, less frequently to pronouns, in order to specify which one out of a number is meant; the implication is always that the particular person, object, or quality mentioned is selected out of a number of alternative and mutually exclusive possibilities. When used with adjectives *-t'a* has sometimes the appearance of forming the comparative or superlative; e. g., *aga* (1) *t!os·ō'u't'a* (2) THIS (1) IS SMALLER (2), but such an interpretation hardly hits the truth of the matter. The sentence just quoted really signifies THIS IS SMALL (NOT LARGE LIKE THAT). As a matter of fact, *-t'a* is rather idiomatic in its use, and not susceptible of adequate translation into English, the closest rendering being generally a dwelling of the voice on the corresponding English word. The following examples illustrate its range of usage:

hapxit!i't'a child male (not female) (i. e., boy) 14.1; 156.8

wa-īwī't'a ga'al yewe'ie the-woman to he-turned (i. e., he now proceeded to look at the woman, after having examined her husband) 15.14

maha'il'a a'nī' gwī na'naga'ie the-big (brother) not in-any-way he-did (i. e., the older brother did nothing at all, while his younger brother got into trouble) 23.6; (58.3)

aga wāxat'a xebe'εn this his-younger-brother did-it (not he himself)

k!wa'lt'a younger one 24.1; 58.6

- ā'k'da dūt'a qī'i-s'i^ε v'lt'sak'w eit'e^ε* he (*āk'*) (is) handsome (*dū*)
 I-but ugly I-am
ū's'i nāxdek' al-ts'i'lt'ā^a give-me my-pipe red-one (implying
 others of different color)
waga't'ā^a di which one?
aga t!os'ō'ut'a v'daga yaxa maha'it'a this (is) small, that but
 large (cf 128.7)
v'daga s'ō^{uε} maha'it'a that-one (is) altogether-big (=that one
 is biggest)

It seems that, wherever possible, *-t'a* keeps its *t'* intact. To prevent its becoming *-da* (as in *ā'k'da* above) an inorganic *a* seems to be added in:

- k!ulsa't'ā^a* soft 57.9 (cf. *k!u'ls* worm; more probably directly from
k!ulsa't' 130.22)

§ 99. PLURAL (*-t'an*, *-han*, *-k'an*)

As a rule, it is not considered necessary in Takelma to specify the singularity or plurality of an object, the context generally serving to remove the resulting ambiguity. In this respect Takelma resembles many other American languages. The element *-(a)n*, however, is not infrequently employed to form a plural, but this plural is of rather indefinite application when the noun is supplied with a third personal possessive suffix (compare what was said above, § 91, in regard to *-gwan*). The fact that the plurality implied by the suffix may have reference to either the object possessed or to the possessor or to both (e. g., *beya'nhan* HIS DAUGHTERS or THEIR DAUGHTER, THEIR DAUGHTERS) makes it very probable that we are here dealing, not with the simple idea of plurality, but rather with that of reciprocity. It is probably not accidental that the plural *-(a)n* agrees phonetically with the reciprocal element *-an-* found in the verb. In no case is the plural suffix necessary in order to give a word its full syntactic form; it is always appended to the absolute noun or to the noun with its full complement of characteristic and pronominal affix.

The simple form *-(a)n* of the suffix appears only in the third personal reflexive possessive *-gwa-n* (see § 91) and, apparently, the third personal possessive *-t'an* of pre-positive local phrases (see p. 238). Many absolute nouns ending in a vowel, or in *l*, *m*, or *n*, also nouns with personal affixes (including pre-positives with possessive suffixes) other than that of the third person, take the form *-han* of the plural

suffix; the *-h-* may be a phonetically conditioned rather than morphologically significant element. Examples are:

Noun	Plural
<i>sinsan</i> decrepit old woman	<i>sinsanhan</i>
<i>ts'li'xi</i> dog	<i>ts'lixi'han</i>
<i>ya'p'a</i> person 176.1, 12	<i>yap'a'han</i> 32.4
<i>eī</i> canoe 13.5; 112.3, 5	<i>eīhan</i>
<i>wik!ū^uya'm</i> my friend	<i>wik!ū^uyū'mhan</i>
<i>wits'!aī</i> my nephew 22.1	<i>wits'!aīhan</i> 23.8, 10; 150.4
<i>bō^ut'bidit'k'</i> my orphan child	<i>bō^ut'bidit'k'han</i>
<i>nō'ts!adē</i> neighboring to me	<i>nō'ts!ade'han</i>
<i>hindē</i> O mother! 186.14	<i>hindēhan</i> O mothers! 76.10, 13

A large number of chiefly personal words and all nouns provided with a possessive suffix of the third person take *-t'an* as the plural suffix; the *-t'an* of local adverbs or nouns with pre-positives has been explained as composed of the third personal suffix *-t'* and the pluralizing element *-han*: *nō'ts!ā^at'an* HIS NEIGHBORS. In some cases, as in *wa-wī'i't'an* GIRLS 55.16; 106.17, *-t'an* may be explained as composed of the exclusive *-t'a* discussed above and the plural *-n*. The fact, however, that *-t'an* may itself be appended both to this exclusive *-t'a* and to the full third personal form of nouns not provided with a pre-positive makes it evident that the *-t'a-* of the plural suffix *-t'an* is an element distinct from either the exclusive *-t'a* or third personal *-t'*. *-t'ā^at'a-n* is perhaps etymologically as well as phonetically parallel to the unexplained *-dā^ada* of *da'k'dā^ada* OVER HIM (see §93). Examples of *-t'an* are:

Noun	Plural
<i>lomt!ī'i</i> old man 112.3, 9; 114.10; 126.19	<i>lomt!ī'i't'an</i>
<i>mologo'l</i> old woman 168.11; 170.10	<i>mologo'lt'an</i>
<i>wa-iwī'i</i> girl 124.5, 10	<i>wa-iwī'i't'an</i> 55.16; 60.2; 106.17
<i>ā'i-hi</i> ¹ just they (cf. 49.11; 138.11)	<i>ā'it'an</i> they
<i>ts'lixi-maha'i</i> horse	<i>ts'lixi-maha'it'an</i>
<i>lō^usī'i</i> his plaything 110.6, 11	<i>lō^usī'i't'an</i>
<i>mō^ut'ā^a</i> his son-in-law	<i>mō^ut'ā^at'an</i> their sister's husband ¹ 150.22; 152.4, 9
<i>t!ela'</i> louse (116.3, 6)	<i>t!elā^at'an</i>
<i>hapxi-t!ī'i't'ā^a</i> boy 14.6; 156.8, 10	<i>hapxi-t!ī'i't'ā^at'an</i> 160.14
<i>ɬdap!ā'la-u</i> youth 132.13; 190.2	<i>ɬdap!ā'la-ut'an</i> 132.12
<i>l'ala'u</i> young	<i>bala'ut'an</i>
<i>wō^unā'k'^w</i> old 57.1; 168.2	<i>wō^unā'k'^wdan</i>

¹ *mo'*- seems to indicate not only the daughter's husband, but also, in perhaps a looser sense, the relatives gained by marriage of the sister.

The plural form *-k!an* is appended to nouns in *-lā'p'a* and to the third personal *-xa(-a)* of terms of relationship. As *-k!-¹* is appended to nouns in *-lā'p'a* also before the characteristic *-i-* followed by a possessive suffix, it is clear that *-k!an* is a compound suffix consisting of an unexplained *-k!-* and the plural element *-(a)n*. Examples of *-k!an* are:

t!vīlā'p'ak!an men 128.11; 130.1, 7, 25; 132.17

k'aⁱlā'p'ak!an women 184.13

mologolā'p'ak!an old women 57.14; 128.3, 10 (also *molog'lt'an*)

o'pxak!an her elder brothers 124.16, 20; 134.8; 138.7

k'aba'xak!an his, their sons 132.10; 156.14

ma'xak!an their father 130.19, 21; 132.12

t'awāxak!an their younger sister 148.5

k'a'sak!an their maternal grandmother 154.13; 156.8, 15, 18, 21

§ 100. DUAL *-dīl*

The suffix *-dīl(-dī'ḷ)* is appended to a noun or pronoun to indicate the duality of its occurrence, or to restrict its naturally indefinite or plural application to two. It is not a true dual in the ordinary sense of the word, but indicates rather that the person or object indicated by the noun to which it is suffixed is accompanied by another person or object of the same kind, or by a person or object mentioned before or after; in the latter case it is equivalent to AND connecting two denominating terms. Examples illustrating its use are:

gō^umdī'ḷ we two (restricted from *gō^um* we)

gadīl gō^um ihēm^xinigam we two, that one and I, will wrestle (literally, that-one-and-another [namely, I] we we-shall-wrestle) 30.5

sgī'sidī'ḷ two coyotes (literally, coyote-and-another [coyote])

wāxadī'ḷ two brothers (lit., [he] and his younger brother) 26.12

sgisi nī'xadī'ḷ Coyote and his mother 54.2

The element *-dīl* doubtless occurs as an adjective stem meaning ALL, EVERY, in *aldīl* ALL 134.4 (often heard also as *aldī* 47.9; 110.16; 188.1); *hadedīl't'a* EVERYWHERE 43.6; 92.29; and *hat'gā^adīl't'a* IN EVERY LAND 122.20.

§ 101. *-wi^ε* every

This element is freely appended to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, but has no independent existence of its own. Examples are:

be^εwi^ε every day (literally, every sun) 42.1; 158.17

xū^εnwi^ε every night (*xū^εn*, *xū^εne[\]* night, at night)

¹ It was found extremely difficult, despite repeated trials, for some reason or other, to decide as to whether *-k!-* or *-g-* was pronounced. *-k!i-* and *-k!an* may thus be really *-gi-* and *-gan*.

bixal wi^εinwi^ε ba-i-wili^{uε} month comes after month (literally, moon different-each out-goes)

gwel-^εwāk'wiwi^ε every morning (*gwel-^εwāk'wi^ε* morning 44.1)

da-hō^uxawi^ε every evening

ha-be-^εbinīwi^ε every noon

k'aiwi^ε everything, something (*k'a-*, *k'ai-* what, thing) 180.5, 6

ada't'wi^ε everywhere, to each 30.12; 74.2; 120.13

As illustrated by *k'aiwi^ε*, the primary meaning of *-wi^ε* is not so much EVERY as that it refers the preceding noun or adverb to a series. It thus conveys the idea of SOME in:

dal^εwi^ε sometimes, in regard to some 57.12

xā^εnewi^ε sometimes 132.25

With pronouns it means TOO, AS WELL AS OTHERS:

gīⁱwi^ε I too

mā^awi^ε you too 58.5

Like *-dīl*, *-wi^ε* may be explained as a stereotyped adjectival stem that has developed into a quasi-formal element. This seems to be indicated by the derivative *wi^εi'n* EVERY, DIFFERENT 49.1; 160.20; 188.12.

§ 102. DEICTIC *-εa'*

It is quite likely that the deictic *-εa'* is etymologically identical with the demonstrative stem *a-* THIS, though no other case has been found in which this stem follows the main noun or other word it qualifies. It differs from the exclusive *-t'a* in being less distinctly a part of the whole word and in having a considerably stronger contrastive force. Unlike *-t'a*, it may be suffixed to adverbs as well as to words of a more strictly denominative character. Examples of its occurrence are extremely numerous, but only a very few of these need be given to illustrate its deictic character:

mā^εa' you ([I am —,] but you —) 26.3; 56.5; (cf. 49.8, 13)

maha'ⁱεa' big indeed

ga^εa' *ge wiliⁱ* that one's house is there (literally, that-one there his-house [that house yonder belongs to that fellow Coyote, not to Panther, whom we are seeking]) 55.4; cf. 196.19

bō^{uε}a' but nowadays (so it was in former days, but now things have changed) 50.1; 194.5

ge'-hī gī^{iε}a' *yok'oya'^εn* that-far I-for-my-part know-it (others may know more) 49.13; 154.7

p'i'm^εa' *gayaū* he ate salmon (nothing else).

III. The Pronoun (§§ 103-105)

§ 103. Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns of Takelma, differing in this respect from what is found to be true of most American languages, show not the slightest etymological relationship to any of the various pronominal series found incorporated in noun and verb, except in so far as the second person plural is formed from the second person singular by the addition of the element *-p'* that we have found to be characteristic of every second person plural in the language. The forms, which may be used both as subjects and objects, are as follows:

Singular: First person, *gī* 56.10; 122.8; second person, *ma'* (*mā^a*) 26.7; 98.8; third person, *āk'* 27.5; 156.12. Plural: First person, *gō^um* 30.5; 150.16; second person, *māp'*; third person *āi* 49.11; *xilamana'* 27.10; 56.1

Of the two third personal plural pronouns, *āi* is found most frequently used with post-positive elements; e. g., *āyā^a* JUST THEY (= *āi yā^a*) 160.6; *ā^εya'* THEY (= *āi-εa'*) 49.11. When unaccompanied by one of these, it is generally pluralized: *ā'it'an* (see § 99). The second, *xilamana'*, despite its four syllables, has not in the slightest yielded to analysis. It seems to be but little used in normal speech or narrative.

All the pronouns may be emphasized by the addition of *-wi^ε* (see §101), the deictic *-εa'* (see §102), or the post-positive particles *yā^a* and enclitic *-hi* and *-sⁱε* (see § 114, 1, 2, 4):

mayā^a just you 196.2
ma'hi you yourself
āihi' they themselves 104.13 (cf. 152.20)
gī'sⁱε I in my turn 47.14; 188.8; (cf. 61.9)

A series of pronouns denoting the isolation of the person is formed by the addition of *-da^εx* or *-da^εxī* (= *-da^εx + -hi*) to the forms given above:

gī'da^εx(i) only I
mā^ada^εx(i) you alone
āk'da^εx(i) all by himself 61.7; 90.1; 142.20; 144.6
gō^umda^εx(i) we alone
māp'da^εx(i) you people alone
āida^εx(i) they alone 138.11

The third personal pronouns are not infrequently used with preceding demonstratives:

hā^εga (or *ī'daga*) *āk'da^εx* that one by himself (*āk'* used here apparently as a peg for the suffixed element *-da^εx* by one's self)
hā^εā'it'an and *īda^εā'it'an* those people

hā^ε- and *īda-*, it should be noted, are demonstrative stems that occur only when compounded with other elements.

The independent possessive pronouns (IT IS) MINE, THINE, HIS, OURS, YOURS, are expressed by the possessive forms of the substantival stem *aīs-* HAVING, BELONGING, PROPERTY: *a-īs'de^εk'* IT IS MINE 23.2; 154.18, 19, 20; *a-īs'de'^ε* YOURS; *a'-īs'da* HIS 23.2, 3; (156.7) and so on. These forms, though strictly nominal in morphology, have really no greater concreteness of force than the English translations MINE, THINE, and so on.

§ 104. *Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs*

Four demonstrative stems, used both attributively and substantively, are found: *a-*, *ga*, *īda-*, and *hā^{ae}-*. Of these only *ga* THAT occurs commonly as an independent word; the rest, as the first elements of composite forms. The demonstratives as actually found are:

Indefinite. *ga* that 60.5; 61.2; 110.4; 194.4, 5
 Near first. *a'ga* this 44.9; 186.4; *ālī* this here 110.2; 188.20
 Near second. *ī'daga* that 116.22; *īdalī* that there 55.16
 Near third. *hā^{ae}ga* that yonder 186.5; *hā^εlī* that over there

a- has been found also as correlative to *ga-* with the forms of *na(g)-* DO, SAY:

ana^εne^εx like this 176.13 (*ga-na^εne^εx* that way, thus 114.17; 122.20)
ana^εna'^εt' it will be as it is now cf. 152.8 (*ga-na^εna'^εt'* it will be that way)

perhaps also in:

ada't'wi^ε everywhere (= *ada't'* this way, hither [see § 112, 1] + *-wi'^ε* every) 30.12; 74.2; 120.13

īda- (independently 46.5; 47.5; 192.6) seems to be itself a compound element, its first syllable being perhaps identifiable with *ī-* HAND. *īda^εā'it'an* and *hā^{ae}ā'it'an*, referred to above, are in effect the substantive plurals of *ī'daga* and *hā^{ae}ga*. *hā^{ae}-* as demonstrative pronoun is doubtless identical with the local *hā^{ae}-* YONDER, BEYOND, found as a prefix in the verb.

By far the most commonly used of the demonstratives is that of indefinite reference, *ga*. It is used as an anaphoric pronoun to refer to both things and persons of either number, also to summarize a preceding phrase or statement. Not infrequently the translation THAT or THOSE is too definite; a word of weaker force, like IT, better serves the purpose. The association of *ī'daga* and *hā'a^{ae}ga* with spatial positions corresponding to the second and third persons respectively does not seem to be at all strong, and it is perhaps more accurate to render them as THAT RIGHT AROUND THERE and THAT YONDER. Differing fundamentally in this respect from adjectives, demonstrative pronouns regularly precede the noun or other substantive element they modify:

- a'ga sgi'si* this coyote 108.1
ī'daga yap'a' that person
ga ʼaldil all that, all of those 47.12

A demonstrative pronoun may modify a noun that is part of a local phrase:

- ī'daga he^{ee}s-ō^uma'l* beyond that mountain 122.22; 124.1

Corresponding to the four demonstrative pronoun-stems are four demonstrative adverb-stems, derived from the former by a change of the vowel *-a-* to *-e-*: *e-*, *ge*, *īde-*, and *he^{ee}-*. Just as *ga* THAT was found to be the only demonstrative freely used as an independent pronoun, so *ge* THERE, alone of the four adverbial stems, occurs outside of compounds. *e-*, *īde-*, and *he^{ee}-*, however, are never compounded with *ge*, as are *a-*, *īda-*, and *hā^{ae}-* with its pronominal correspondent *ga*; a fifth adverbial stem of demonstrative force, *me^e* (HITHER as verbal prefix), takes its place. The actual demonstrative adverbs thus are:

- Indefinite. *ge* there 64.6; 77.9; 194.11
 Near first. *eme'^e* here 112.12, 13; 194.4; *me^e-* hither
 Near second. *ī'deme^e* right around there 46.15
 Near third. *he'^{ee}me^e* yonder 31.13

Of these, *me^e-*, the correlative of *he^{ee}-*, can be used independently when followed by the local *-al*: *me'^eal* ON THIS SIDE, HITHERWARDS 58.9; 160.4. *he^{ee}-* AWAY, besides frequently occurring as a verbal prefix, is found as a component of various adverbs:

- he^edada'^e*, *he^eda'^e* over there, away from here, off 46.8; 194.10
he'^ene' then, at that time 120.2; 146.6; 162.3
he'^eda't' on that side, toward yonder

me^ε- can be used also with the adverb *ge* of indefinite reference preceding; the compound, followed by *di*, is employed in an interrogative sense: *geme^εdi* WHERE? WHEN? 56.10; 100.16; 190.25. The idea of direction in the demonstrative adverbs seems less strong than that of position: *he^εme^εbaxa^εm* HE COMES FROM OVER THERE, as well as *he^εme^εgini^εk^ε* HE GOES OVER THERE. *me^ε*- and *he^ε*-(*hā^{aε}*-), however, often necessarily convey the notions of TOWARD and AWAY FROM the speaker: *me^ε-yewe^{iε} hā^{aε}-yewe^{iε}* HE CAME AND WENT BACK AND FORTH.

Demonstrative adverbs may take the restrictive suffix *-da^εx* or *-daba^εx* (cf. *-da^εx* with personal pronouns, §103):

eme^εda^εx 114.4, 5 }
eme^εdaba^εx 114.14 } here alone

§ 105. *Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns*

As independent words, the interrogative and indefinite stems occur with adverbs or adverbial particles, being found in their bare form only when incorporated. The same stems are used for both interrogative and indefinite purposes, a distinction being made between persons and things:

nek' who? some one 86.2, 23; 108.11
k'ai what? something 86.5; 122.3; 128.8

As independent adverb also PERHAPS:

k'ai t!ümūxi perhaps he'll strike me 23.3

As interrogatives, these stems are always followed by the interrogative enclitic particle *di*, *k'ai* always appearing as *k'a-* when *di* immediately follows:

ne'k'-di who? 46.15; 86.4; 142.9
k'a'-di what? 47.9; 60.11; 86.8

k'ai . . . *di* occurs with post-positive *ga^aaʷ*:

k'ai ga^aal di what for? why? 71.15; 86.14; 98.8

As indefinites, they are often followed by the composite particle *-s^{iε}wa'k'di*:

nek'-s^{iε}wa'k'di I don't know who, somebody 22.8
k'ai-s^{iε}wa'k'di I don't know what, something 96.10

As negative indefinites, *nek'* and *k'ai* are preceded by the negative adverb *a'nī^ε* or *wede*, according to the tense-mode of the verb (see § 72):

a'nī^ε ne'k' nobody 63.4; 90.8, 25

a'nī^ε k'a'i nothing 58.14; 61.6; 128.23

we'de nek' ü's'ik' nobody will give it to me (cf. 98.10)

we'de k'ai ü's'dam do not give me anything

With the post-nominal *-wi'^ε* EVERY, *k'ai* forms *k'aiwi'^ε* EVERYTHING, SOMETHING. No such form as **nek'wi'^ε*, however, occurs, its place being taken by *aldil, aldi* ALL, EVERYBODY. In general, it may be said that *k'ai* has more of an independent substantival character than *nek'*; it corresponds to the English THING in its more indefinite sense, e. g., *k'a'i gwala* MANY THINGS, EVERYTHING 96.15; 102.11; 108.8

The adverbial correspondent of *k'ai* is *gwi* HOW? WHERE? 46.2; 78.5. In itself *gwi* is quite indefinite in signification and is as such often used with the forms of *na(g)*- DO, ACT 47.11; 55.7:

gwi'di nagaüt' how are you doing? (e. g., where are you going?)
86.17; (138.25)

As interrogative, it is followed by *di*:

gwi'di how? where? 44.5; 70.6; 73.9; 190.10

as indefinite, by *-s'i^εwa'k'di* (cf. 190.4):

gwis'i^εwa'k'di in some way, somewhere 54.7; 96.8; 120.21 (also
gwi'hap' somewhere)

as negative indefinite, it is preceded by *a'nī^ε* or *wede*:

a'nī^ε gwüⁱ in no way, nowhere 23.6; 62.11; 192.14
we'de gwi na't' do not go anywhere!

As indefinite relative is used *gwi'ha* WHERESOEVER 140.9, 13, 15, 19.

IV. The Adjective (§§ 106-109)

§ 106. General Remarks

Adjectives can not in Takelma without further ado be classed as nouns or verbs, as they have certain characteristics that mark them off more or less clearly from both; such are their distinctly adjectival suffixes and their peculiar method of forming the plural. In some respects they closely approach the verb, as in the fact that they are frequently preceded by body-part prefixes, also in the amplification of the stem in the plural in ways analogous to what we have found in the verb. They differ, however, from verbal forms in that they can not be predicatively used (except that the simple form of the adjective may be predicatively understood for an implied third person), nor provided with the pronominal suffixes peculiar to the verb;

a first or second personal relation is brought about by the use of appropriate forms of the copula *ei-* BE. They agree with the noun and pronoun in being frequently followed by the distinctly denominative exclusive suffix *-t'a* (see § 98) and in the fact that, when forming part of a descriptive noun, they may take the personal endings peculiar to the noun:

ts'ixi-maha'it'ek' dog-big-my (= my horse)

As adjectives pure and simple, however, they are never found with the possessive suffixes peculiar to the noun; e. g., no such form as **maha'it'ek'* alone ever occurs. It thus appears that the adjective occupies a position midway between the noun and the verb, yet with characteristics peculiar to itself. The most marked syntactic feature of the adjective is that, unlike a qualifying noun, it always follows the modified noun, even when incorporated with it (see § 93). Examples are:

wa-iwi'i dū girl pretty 55.7; 124.5

yap'la daldì` person wild 22.14

sgi'si da-sga'xit' Coyote sharp-snouted 86.3, 20; 88.1, 11

p'im xu'm yelè'x debū'ε salmon dry burden-basket full (= burden-basket full of dry salmon) 75.10

Rarely does it happen that the adjective precedes, in which case it is to be predicatively understood:

gwa'la yap'a` many (were) the people 180.16 (but *yap'la gwala`* people many 194.10)

Even when predicatively used, however, the adjective regularly follows the noun it qualifies. Other denominating words or phrases than adjectives are now and then used to predicate a statement or command:

yū'k!alx (1) *wa'k'ie* (2), *ga* (3) *ga'al* (4) *deligia'lt'i* (5) *gwās* (6) [as they were] without (2) teeth (1), for (4) that (3) [reason] they brought them as food (5) intestines (6) 130.22

masi'ε (1) *al-nā'na'εn* (2) *naga-ida'ε* (3) [do] you in your turn (1) [dive], since you said (3) "I can get close to him" (2) 61.9

§ 107. *Adjectival Prefixes*

Probably all the body-part prefixes and also a number of the purely local elements are found as prefixes in the adjective. The material at hand is not large enough to enable one to follow out the prefixes of the adjective as satisfactorily as those of the verb; but

there is no reason to believe that there is any tangible difference of usage between the two sets. Examples of prefixes in the adjective are:

1. *dak'-*.

dak'-maha'i big on top

dak'-dū'l's big-headed

2. *dā^a-*.

dā^a-molhi't red-eared 14.4; 15.12; 96.13

dā^a-ho'k'wal with holes in ear 166.13, 19

dā^a-maha'i big-cheeked

3. *s'in-*.

s'in-ho'k'wal with holes in nose 166.13, 18

s'in-hū's'gal big-nosed 25.1; 27.5, 13; 28.6

s'in-p'i'l's flat-nosed

4. *de-*.

de-ts'ūgū't, *de-ts'ūgū'u* sharp-pointed 74.13; 126.18

de-t'ūlū^εp' dull

de-^εwini't proceeding, reaching to 50.4

5. *da-*.

da-sga'xi(t') long-mouthed 15.13; 86.3; 88.1, 11

da-sguli' short 33.17

da-ho'k'wal holed 176.7

da-maha'i big-holed 92.4

da-t'os'ō'u small-holed

6. *gwen-*.

gwen-xdi'l's slim-necked

gwen-t'ge'm black-necked 196.6

7. *ī-*.

ī-ts'o'p'al sharp-clawed 14.4; 15.13; 86.3

ī-ge'wa^εx crooked-handed

ī-k!ok!o'k' ugly-handed

8. *xā^a-*.

xā^a-maha'i big-waisted, wide

xā^a-xdi'l's slim-waisted, notched 71.15; 75.6

9. *dīⁱ-*.

dīⁱ-k!ēlix conceited

10. *dī^ε-*.

dī^ε-maha'i big below, big behind

di^s-k!a^ls lean in rump

11. *gwel-*.

ha-gwel-bila^m empty underneath, like table (cf. *ha-bila^m* empty)

gwel-ho^k'wal holed underneath 43, 9.

12. *ha-*.

ha-bila^m empty (literally, having nothing inside, cf. *bila^m* having nothing 43.6, 8, 14)

13. *sal-*.

sal-t!aⁱ narrow

sal-ts[!]una^{px} straight

14. *al-*. (Referring to colors and appearances)

al-t^ge^m black 13.3; 162. 4

al-ts[!]i^l red

al-t^gwⁱε^s white 55.2; 188.11

al-sgenhi^t black 92.19

al-gwa^{si} yellow

al-t^gisa^{mt} green (participle of *t^gisi^εm* it gets green)

al-kⁱiyi^x-nat^t blue (literally, smoke-doing or being)

al-k[!]ok[!]o^k ugly-faced 47.2; 60.5

al-t[!]e^si^t little-eyed 94.3; (94.6, 14)

al-t^geya^{px} round

al-t[!]mila^{px} smooth

15. *han-*.

han-hogwa^l with hole running through 56.9, 10

A few cases have been found of adjectives with preceding nouns in such form as they assume with pre-positive and possessive suffix:

da^k!oloi-ts[!]il red-cheeked

gwit[!]iū-t!aⁱ slim-wristed

An example of an adjective preceded by two body-part prefixes has already been given (*ha-gwel-bila^m*). Here both prefixes are coordinate in function (cf. *ha-gwel-pliya^a*, § 95). In:

xā^a-sal-gwa^{si} between-claws-yellow (myth name of Sparrow-Hawk) 166.2

the two body-part prefixes are equivalent to an incorporated local phrase (cf. § 35, 4)

§ 108. *Adjectival Derivative Suffixes*

A considerable number of adjectives are primitive in form, i. e., not capable of being derived from simpler nominal or verbal stems. Such are:

ho's'au getting older
maha'i big 23.1; 74.15; 146.3
bus' wiped out, destroyed, used up 42.2; 140.19
dū good, beautiful 55.7; 58.7; 124.4; 146.6
t'ū hot 57.15; 186.25
p'u'n rotten 140.21
yo't'i alive ([?] *yo't'* being + enclitic *-hi*) (128.16)

and many others. A very large number, however, are provided with derivative suffixes, some of which are characteristic of adjectives per se,¹ while others serve to convert nouns and pre-positive phrases into adjectives. Some adjectival stems seem capable of being used either with or without a suffix (cf. *da-sga'xi* and *de-ts'!ügü't'* above, § 107):

maha'i and *maha'it'* big
al-gwa'si and *al-gwa'sit'* yellow

1. **-(i)t'**. Probably the most characteristic of all adjectival suffixes is **-(i)t'**, all **-t'** participles (see § 76) properly belonging here. Non-participial examples are:

al-gwa'sit' yellow
al-sgenhi't' black 92.19
al-t!e's'i't' little-eyed 94.3
 (?) *ha'nt'* half ([?] cf. *han-* through) 146.22; 154.9; 192.7
t!oit' one-horned 46.7; 47.7; 49.3.
dā^a-molhi't' red-eared 14.4; 15.12; 88.2; 96.13
de-ts'!ügü't' sharp-pointed 126.18
k!ulsa't' soft (food) (cf. *k!u'ls* worm) 130.22
p!ala'k'wa-goyō'ut' eit'e^ε I am story-doctor (cf. *goyo'* shaman)

2. **-al**. Examples of adjectives with this suffix are:

ī-ts'!o'p'al sharp-clawed 14.4; 86.3 (cf. *de-ts'!ügü't'* sharp-pointed; for **-p'**: **-g-** cf. § 42, 1, 6)
t!i't'al thin
 (?) *dēhal* five ([?] = being in front²) 150.19, 20; 182.21
s'in-ho'k'wal with holes in nose 166.13, 18; (56.9; 166.19; 176.7)
s'in-hü's'gal big-nosed 25.1; 27.5, 13; 28.6
hū'p'al flat
 { *m'xal* how much, how many (used interrogatively and relatively)
 100.8; 182.13
mixa'lha numerous, in great numbers 92.28; 94.1

¹ A few adjectives in *-am* (= *-an*) are distinctly nominal in appearance; *bila'm* HAVING NOTHING; *zila'm* SICK (but also as noun, DEAD PERSON, GHOST). It hardly seems possible to separate these from nouns like *hecla'm* BOARD; *ts'!cla'm* HAIL.

² Cf. *American Anthropologist*, n. s., vol. 9, p. 266.

3. **-di.** A few adjectives have been found with this suffixed element:

hapsdi' little 192.6; *hā'p'di* 24.12; 60.15; 61.5 (cf. *hā^apxi'* child 128.16)

yap!a daldi' wild man (cf. *dal-* in the brush) 22.14

gama'xdi raw 94.3, 6; 144.5; 182.4

gweldi' finished (cf. *gwel-* leg) 34.1; 79.8; 94.18

4. **-ts!-** (**-^ss**). In a small number of adjectives this element is doubtless to be considered a suffix:

ī'lt^s!ak'^v bad, ugly 182.1; 186.22; 198.4 (cf. pl. *ī^l^sa'lsak'^v*)

s'īn-p'ī^l^s flat-nosed

xā^a-xdi'ī^l^s slim-waisted 71.15; 75.6 (cf. inferential passive *xā-ī-xdi'lx^dalk'am* they have been notched in several places)

A few adjectives in **-s**, evidently morphologically connected with the scattering nouns in **-s**, also occur:

gūms blind 26.14

bāls long 14.5; 33.16; 158.1

s'uñs thick 90.3

5. **-(a)x.** This suffix disappears in the plural (see below, § 109), so that no room is left for doubt as to its non-radical character. Whether it is to be identified with the non-agentive **-x** of the verb is somewhat uncertain, but that such is the case is by no means improbable; in some cases, indeed, the adjective in **-x** is connected with a verb in **-x**. The *-a'px* of some of the examples is without doubt composed of the petrified **-b-** found in a number of verbs (see § 42, 1) and the adjectival (or non-agentive) **-x**.

al-t'geya'px round (cf. *al-t'geye'px* it rolls)

sal-ts'tuna'px straight

da-ts'!āmx sick 90.12, 13, 21; 92.5; 150.16

al-t'mīla'px smooth

da-p'o'a^εx crooked (cf. *p'owo'^εx* it bends)

ī-ge'wa^εx crooked-handed

More transparently derivational in character than any of those listed above are the following adjectival suffixes:

6. **-gwat'** HAVING. Adjectival forms in *-gwat'* are derived partly by the addition of the adjectival suffix **-(a)t'** to third personal reflexive possessive forms in *-t'gwa* (*-xagwa*), or to palatalized passive participial forms in *-k'^v*, themselves derived from nouns (see § 77), partly by the addition of *-gwat'* to nouns in

their pre-pronominal form (-*x*). The fact that these various -*gwa't* forms, despite their at least apparent diversity of origin, clearly form a unit as regards signification, suggests an ultimate identity of the noun reflexive -*gwa* (and therefore verbal indirect reflexive -*gwa*-) with the passive participial -*k'w*. The -*gwa*- of forms in -*x-gwat'* is not quite clear, but is perhaps to be identified with the comitative -*gwa*- of the verb. An adjective like *yū'k'al-x-gwat'* TEETH-HAVING presents a parallelism to a verbal participle like *dak'-līm-x-gwat'* WITH (TREE) FALLING OVER ONE (from aorist *dak'-līmīm-x-gwa-de^ε* I AM WITH IT FALLING OVER ME, see § 46) that is suggestive of morphologic identity. Examples of -*gwa't* adjectives are:

waya'uxagwat' having daughter-in-law 56.10 (cf. *waya'uxagwa* her own daughter-in-law)

t'gwana't'gwat' slave-having (cf. *t'gwana't'gwa* his own slave)

*Da-t'ān-elā'at'gwat'*¹ Squirrel-Tongued (literally, in-mouth squirrel his-tongue having [name of Coyote's daughter]) 70.6; 72.4; 75.11

nī'xagwat' mother-having (cf. *nī'xak'w* mothered)

mē'xagwat' father-having (cf. *mē'xak'w* fathered)

k'e^εlè'p'igigwat' wife-having (cf. *k'e^εlè'p'igik'w* wived 142.6)

gū^uxgwa't' wife-having 128.4 (cf. *gū^u-x-de'k'* my wife 142.9)

dagaxgwa't' head-having (cf. *da'g-ax-dek'* my head 90.13)

ts'!u'lxgwat' having Indian money (cf. *ts'!u'lx* Indian money 14.13)

A form with -*gwat'* and the copula *ei-* (for persons other than the third) takes the place in Takelma of the verb HAVE:

ts'!u'lxgwat' eīt'e^ε I have money (literally money-having or moneyed I-am)

ts'!ulx-gwa't' he has money

Aside from the fact that it has greater individuality as a distinct phonetic unit, the post-positive *wa'k'i^ε* WITHOUT is the morphologic correlative of -*gwat'* HAVING:

dagax wa'k'i^ε eīt' head without you-are

da'gaxgwat' eīt' head-having you-are

Similarly:

nīxa wa'k'i^ε eīt'e^ε mother without I-am

nī'xagwat' eīt'e^ε mother-having I-am

¹ The fact that this form has a body-part prefix (*da-* MOUTH) seems to imply its verbal (participial) character. -*t'gwat'* in it, and forms like it, may have to be analyzed, not as -*t'gwa* HIS OWN + -*t'*, but rather as -*t'* HIS + -*gwa*- HAVING + -*t'*. In other words, from a noun-phrase *t'ān elā'a* (older *elā'at'*) SQUIRREL HIS. TONGUE may be theoretically formed a comitative intransitive with prefix: **da-t'ān-elā'at'-gwade^t* I AM HAVING SQUIRREL'S TONGUE IN MY MOUTH, of which the text-form is the participle. This explanation has the advantage over the one given above of putting forms in -*t'gwat'* and -*xgwat'* on one line; cf. also 73.15.

7. *-imik!i*. A few adjectives have been found ending in this suffix formed from temporal adverbs:

hop!ēⁿnimik!i (men) of long ago 168.1 (*hop!ēⁿn* long ago 58.4, 7, 11)
bō^uēⁱmik!i (people) of nowadays (*bō^u* now 188.8; 194.5)

8. *-(i)k!i*. This suffix, evidently closely related to the preceding one, forms adjectives (with the signification of BELONGING TO, ALWAYS BEING) from local phrases. Examples are:

ha-wil!i'yik!i belonging to good folks, not "common" (from *ha-wil!* in the house)

xā^a-bēmik!i^ε being between sticks

ha-bam!i'sik!i^ε dwelling in air

xā^a-da'nik!i belonging between rocks (e. g., crawfish)

dak'-p!i'yak!i^ε staying always over the fire

ha-p!i'yak!i^ε belonging to fire

9. *-^εxi*. A few adjectival forms in *-^εxi*, formed from local phrases, seem to have a force entirely coincident with adjectives in *-(i)k!i*:

ha-p!i'ya^εxi belonging to fire

ha-xi'ya^εxi mink (literally, always staying in the water [from *ha-xiya'* in the water 33.4])

10. *-^εi'xi*. This suffix seems to be used interchangeably with *-(i)k!i* and *-^εxi*. Examples are:

ha-bam!i'sa^εi'xi^ε belonging to the air, sky

xā^a-da'ni^εi'xi^ε belonging between rocks

ha-wil!i^εi'xi belonging to the house

ha-xi'ya^εi'xi belonging to the water

ha-p!i'ya^εi'xi belonging to fire

The following forms in *-^εi'xi*, not derived from local phrases, doubtless belong with these:

ge^εi'xi belonging there 160.24

goyo^εi'xi belonging to shamans (used to mean: capable of wishing ill, supernaturally doing harm, to shamans) 170.11

§ 109. *Plural Formations*

A few adjectives form their plural or frequentative by reduplication:

Singular
de-bü'ü^ε full 49.14; 116.5

il'ts!ak'w bad 182.1; 198.4

maha'i large 23.1; 74.15

Plural
de-bü^εba'x (dissimilated from *-bü^εba^εx*) 122.17

il^εa'lsak'w (dissimilated from *il^εalts!-*)

mahmī 32.15; 49.10; 130.4

Of these, the first two are clearly verbal in type. The probably non-agentive *-x* of *de-bü^εba^x* (also singular *de-bü^üεx* from **de-bü^ük!^{-x}* [cf. *de-bü^ük!ⁱⁿ* I SHALL FILL IT]) and the apparently passive participial *-ak^u* of *i^ults!ak^u* strongly suggest that the first two of these adjectives are really adjectivally specialized verb-forms. *mahmā* is altogether irregular in type of reduplication. *t!os^ou* LITTLE 56.15; 74.16 forms its plural by the repetition of the second consonant after the repeated vowel of the singular: *dak!oloi-t!os^us'gwatⁱ* HE HAS SMALL CHEEKS. In regard to *t'ūtⁱ* 179.18, the plural of *t'ū* HOT 57.15, it is not certain whether the *-tⁱ* is the repeated initial consonant, or the *-tⁱ* characteristic of other adjective plurals.

Most adjectives form their plural by repeating after the medial consonant the vowel of the stem, where possible, and adding to the amplified stem the element *-itⁱ* (probably from *-hitⁱ*, as shown by its treatment with preceding fortis), or, after vowels, *-tⁱitⁱ*; a final non-radical *-(a)x* disappears in the plural. *hos^oau* GETTING BIGGER (with inorganic *-a-*) forms its plural by the repetition of the stem-vowel alone, *hos^ou* 156.11; 158.11; similar is *du^εū^u* 58.10 which seems to be the plural of *dū* PRETTY 58.8. *yo^ti* ([?] *yo^t-hi*) ALIVE forms the plural *yo^tiⁱhi* ([?] *yo^tiⁱ-hi*) 128.16. Examples of the peculiarly adjectival plural in *-(tⁱ)itⁱ* are:

Singular	Plural
<i>al-t'geya^px</i> round	<i>al-t'geye^p'itⁱ</i>
<i>al-t'mila^px</i> smooth	<i>al-t'milⁱ'p'itⁱ</i>
<i>sal-ts!ⁱuna^px</i> straight	<i>sal-ts!ⁱuⁿup'itⁱ</i>
<i>sal-t!ⁱaⁱ</i> narrow	<i>sal-t!ⁱaⁱyat'itⁱ</i>
<i>da-pⁱo^aεx</i> crooked (= <i>-ak!^{-x}</i>)	<i>gwitⁱ-pⁱo^εk'itⁱ</i> c r o o k e d - armed
<i>i^u-ge^wwa^εx</i> c r o o k e d - h a n d e d (= <i>-ak!^{-x}</i> ; cf. aorist <i>gewe- k!aw-</i> carry [salmon] bow- fashion)	<i>i^u-ge^we^εk'itⁱ</i>
<i>de-ts!ⁱügü^t</i> sharp-pointed 126.18	<i>de-ts!ⁱügühitⁱ</i>
<i>de-t'ülü^εpⁱ</i> dull	<i>de-t'ülü^εp'itⁱ</i>
<i>al-ts!ⁱl</i> red	<i>da'k!oloi-ts!ⁱl'it'itⁱ</i> he has red cheeks
<i>al-t'gu^{iε}s</i> white 55.2; 188.11	<i>da'k!oloi-t'guyus'itⁱ</i> he has white cheeks
<i>al-t'ge^m</i> black 13.3; 162.4	<i>da'k!oloi-t'ge'met'itⁱ</i> he has black cheeks
<i>bāls</i> long 14.5; 15.12, 15	<i>s'intx^{dā}t'an bā^ala'sitⁱ</i> their noses are long

That these plurals are really frequentative or distributive in force is illustrated by such forms as *da'k!oloi-ts'!i'lit'it'* RED-CHEEKED, which has reference not necessarily to a plurality of persons affected, but to the frequency of occurrence of the quality predicated, i. e., to the redness of both cheeks.

V. Numerals (§§ 110, 111)

§ 110. Cardinals

Cardinals	Adverbs
1. <i>mī'ie'sga</i> ^ε 13.2; 192.8; <i>mī'ies</i>	<i>mü'üexda'n</i> once 182.20; 188.13 188.9
2. { <i>gā'εm</i> 22.7; 110.11 { <i>gā'p!ini</i> ¹ 55.7,12; 116.1 }	<i>gā'εmân</i> twice
3. <i>xī'binī</i> ¹ 150.8	<i>xī'nt'</i>
4. <i>gamga'm</i> 148.5; 184.17	<i>gamga'man</i>
5. <i>dēhal</i> 150.19, 20; 182.21	<i>dēhaldan</i>
6. <i>ha^εim'ies</i> 150.12	<i>ha^εim'its!ada'n</i>
7. <i>ha^εigā'εm</i>	<i>ha^εigā'εmadan</i>
8. <i>ha^εixi'n</i>	<i>ha^εixinda'n</i>
9. <i>ha^εigo</i> ¹ 150.14	<i>ha^εigō'gada'n</i>
10. <i>i'xdil</i> 13.1; 150.5; 182.22	<i>ixdilda'n</i>
11. <i>i'xdil mī'ie'sga^ε gada'k'</i>	
ten one on-top-of	
12. <i>i'xdil gā'εm gada'k'</i>	
20. <i>yap!ami'ies</i> 182.23	
30. <i>xī'n ixdil</i>	
40. <i>gamga'mân ixdil</i>	
50. <i>dēhaldan ixdil</i>	
60. <i>ha^εim'its!adan ixdil</i>	
70. <i>ha^εigā'εmadan ixdil</i>	
80. <i>ha^εixi'ndan ixdil</i>	
90. <i>ha^εigogada'n ixdil</i>	
100. <i>t!eim'ies</i> 23.2, 4, 9, 12, 13	
200. <i>gā'εmân t!eim'ies</i>	
300. <i>xīn t!eim'ies</i>	
400. <i>gamga'mân t!eim'ies</i>	
1,000. <i>i'xdildan t!eim'ies</i>	
2,000. <i>yap!am'its!adan t!eim'ies</i>	

mī'ie'sga^ε is the usual uncompounded form of ONE. In compounds the simpler form *mī'ies* (stem *mīts*-) occurs as the second element:

ha^εim'ies six (= one [finger] in the hand)

yap!ami'ies twenty (= one man)

¹ Often heard as *gā'p'ini*¹ 55.2, 5.

- t!eimi'és* one hundred (probably = one male [*t!i-*])
me^l t'gā^a-mi'és crows earth-one (=land packed full of crows)
 144.9, 11, 12, 13
de^emī'és in-front-one (=marching in single file)
almi'és all together 92.23, 24; 190.17

Of the two forms for TWO, *gā'p!ini'* seems to be the more frequently used, though no difference of signification or usage can be traced. *gā'p!ini'* TWO and *xi'binì'* THREE are evident compounds of the simpler *gā'ém* and *xi'n* (seen in *ha^éi^xi'n* EIGHT) and an element *-binì'* that is perhaps identical with *-binì'* of *ha'-binì'* IN THE MIDDLE. *gamga'm* FOUR is evidently reduplicated from *gā'ém* TWO, the falling accent of the second syllable being probably due to the former presence of the catch of the simplex. An attempt has been made¹ to explain *dēhal* FIVE as an adjectival form in *-al* derived from *de^e-* IN FRONT. The numerals SIX, SEVEN, EIGHT, and NINE are best considered as morphologically verbs provided with the compound prefix *ha^éi-* IN THE HAND (see § 35, 4), and thus strictly signifying ONE (FINGER) IS IN THE HAND; TWO, THREE, FOUR (FINGERS) ARE IN THE HAND. No explanation can be given of *-go'* in *ha^éigo'* NINE, except that it may be an older stem for FOUR, later replaced, for one reason or another, by the composite *gamga'm* TWO+TWO. *i'xdil* TEN is best explained as compounded of *i-x-* HAND (but why not *iūx-* as in *iūx-de'k'* MY HAND?) and the dual *-dī'l*, and as being thus equivalent to TWO HANDS.

It thus seems probable that there are only three simple numeral stems in Takelma, *mī'és* ONE, *gā'ém* TWO, and *xi'n* THREE. All the rest are either evident derivations from these, or else (*dēhal* probably and *i'xdil* certainly) descriptive of certain finger-positions. While the origin of the Takelma system may be tertiary or quinary (if *-go'* is the original stem for FOUR and *dēhal* is a primary element), the decimal feeling that runs through it is evidenced both by the break at ten and by the arrangement of the numerals beyond ten.

The teens are expressed by TEN ONE ABOVE (i. e., ten over one), TEN TWO ABOVE; and so on. *ga^aa'l* THERETO may be used instead of *gada'k'* OVER. Twenty is ONE MAN, i. e., BOTH HANDS AND FEET. One hundred can be plausibly explained as equivalent to ONE MALE PERSON.² The other tens, i. e., thirty to ninety inclusive, are expressed by

¹ American Anthropologist, loc. cit., where FIVE is explained as BEING IN FRONT, on the basis of the method of fingering used by the Takelma in counting.

² Loc. cit.

multiplication, the appropriate numeral adverb preceding the word for ten. *xí'n íxdíl* THIRTY, however, uses the original cardinal *xin*, instead of the numeral adverb *xint'*. The hundreds (including two hundred and one thousand) are similarly expressed as multiplications of one hundred (*t!eimi'és*), the numeral adverbs (*xin* instead of *xí'nt'* in three hundred) preceding *t!eimi'és*. Numerals above one thousand ($=10 \times 100$) can hardly have been in much use among the Takelma, but can be expressed, if desired, by prefixing the numeral adverbs derived from the tens to *t!eimi'és*; e. g., *džhaldan íxdıldan t!eimi'és* $5 \times 10 \times 100 = 5,000$.

As far as the syntactic treatment of cardinal numerals is concerned, it should be noted that the plural of the noun modified is never employed with any of them:

wa-íwí'í gāp!ini girl two (i. e., two girls) 55.2, 5, 7, 12 (*wa-íwí'í-t'an* girls 56.11)

mologolā'p'a gā'p!ini old-woman two 26.14 (*mologolā'p'ak'an* old women 138.10)

hā'p'da gā'p!ini his child two 154.17 (*hā'p'da* his children)

Like adjectives, attributive numerals regularly follow the noun.

§ 111. Numeral Adverbs

The numeral adverbs denoting SO AND SO MANY TIMES are derived from the corresponding cardinals by suffixing *-an* (often weakened to *-ân*) to *gā'ém* TWO and its derivative *gamga'm* FOUR; *-t'*, to *xin* THREE; *-da'n*, to other numerals (*-ada'n*, to those ending in *-ém* and *-ts!- = -és*). *ha^éigā'ém* SEVEN and *ha^éixi'n* EIGHT, it will be observed, do not follow *gā'ém* and *xin* in the formation of their numeral adverbs, but add *-(a)da'n*.

It is not impossible that *mü^üx-* in *mü^üxda'n* ONCE is genetically related and perhaps dialectically equivalent to *mí^ís-*, but no known grammatic or phonetic process of Takelma enables one to connect them. *ha^éigō^ugada'n* NINE TIMES seems to insert a *-ga-* between the cardinal and the adverbial suffix *-dan*. The most plausible explanation of the form is its interpretation as NINE (*ha^éigo'*) THAT (*ga*) NUMBER-OF-TIMES (*-da'n*), the demonstrative serving as a peg to hang the suffix on.

From the numeral adverbs are derived, by prefixing *ha-* IN, a further series with the signification of IN SO AND SO MANY PLACES:

ha-gā'émân in two places

ha-gamgama'n 176.2, 3 in four places

ha-ha^éigō^ugada'n in nine places

Cardinals with prefixed *ha-* are also found, apparently with an approximative force, e. g., *ha-dēhal* ABOUT FIVE 194.2.

No series of ordinal numerals could be obtained, and the probability is strong that such a series does not exist. *debi`n* occurs as FIRST (e. g., *wili debi`n-hi* FIRST HOUSE), but may also mean LAST 49.2; 150.15, a contradiction that, in view of the probable etymology of the word, is only apparent. *debi`n* is evidently related to *ha-bini`* IN THE MIDDLE, and therefore signifies something like IN FRONT OF THE MIDDLE; i. e., AT EITHER END of a series, a meaning that comports very well with the renderings of both FIRST and LAST. It is thus evident that no true ordinal exists for even the first numeral.

VI. Adverbs and Particles (§§ 112-114)

A very large number of adverbs and particles (some of them simple stems, others transparent derivatives, while a great many others still are quite impervious to analysis) are found in Takelma, and, particularly the particles, seem to be of considerable importance in an idiomatically constructed sentence. A few specifically adverbial suffixes are discernible, but a large number of unanalyzable though clearly non-primitive adverbs remain; it is probable that many of these are crystallized noun or verb forms now used in a specialized adverbial sense.

§ 112. Adverbial Suffixes

Perhaps the most transparent of all is:

1. *-da`t`*. This element is freely added to personal and demonstrative pronouns, adverbs or verbal prefixes, and local phrases, to impart the idea of direction from or to, more frequently the former. Examples of its occurrence are:

- gī`da`t`* in my direction (*gī* I)
- wadē`dat`* from my side (*wadē* to me)
- ada`t`* on, to this side 112.17; 144.2
- ī`dada`t`* in that direction, from that side (*īda-* that)
- hā`aε`da`t`* from yonder (*hā`aε-* that yonder)
- gwi`dat`* in which direction? 190.18 (*gwi* how? where?)
- geda`t`* from there 144.8
- eme`ε`dat`* from here
- me`ε`da`t`* hitherwards 32.10, 11; 55.3 (*me`ε-* hither)
- he`ε`dat`* thitherwards (*he`ε-* away)
- nō`u`da`t`* from down river 23.9 (*nō`u* down river)

- handat'* (going) across (*han-* across) 30.4; 31.16
hā^andada't' from across (the river) (*ha'nda* across it) 112.17; 114.17
habamda't' from above (*ha-* in + *bam-* up)
haxiya'dat' from water on to land (*ha-xiya'* in the water)
dak'-wili'ti'dat' from on top of the house (*dak'-wili* over the house)
 27.5; 62.5
gwen-t'gā^a-bo'k'dandada't' from the east (*gwen-t'gā^a-bo'k'danda*
 east) 144.23; (cf. 146.1)

More special in use of *-dat'* are:

- honōxdat'* last year (*honōx* some time ago)
dewe'nxada't' day after to-morrow (*dewe'nxa* to-morrow)
de^eda't' first, before others 110.5

2. *-xa*. A fairly considerable number of adverbs, chiefly temporal in signification, are found to end in this element. Such are:

- hō^uxa'* yesterday 76.9; 98.21
da-hō^uxa' this evening 13.3; 16.15; 63.8; 78.4
dabalni'xa for a long time (cf. *bāl-s* long and *lep'ni'xa* in winter)
 54.4; 108.16
ya'xa continually, only, indeed (cf. post-positive *yā^a* just) 54.5;
 63.3; 78.10
dewe'nxa to-morrow 77.14; 112.15; 130.17; 194.1
dap!a'xa toward daylight, dawn 45.4
de'^exa henceforth (cf. *de-* in front of) 196.5
sama'xa in summer (cf. *sa'ma* summer 188.13; verb-stem *sam-g-*
 be summer 92.9) 162.16; 176.13, 15
lep'ni'xa in winter 162.20; 176.15
de-bixi'msa ([?]=*-t-xa*) in spring ([?] cf. *bi'xal* moon)
da-yō^uga'mxa in autumn 186.3
ts'i's'a ([?]=*-t-xa*) at night 182.20
xam'i'xa by the ocean (cf. *xam-* into water) 21.1; 55.1
 (?) *bō^u-nēxa-da^e* soon, immediately (cf. *bō^u* now and *ne^e* well! or
na⁻¹ do) 90.10; 108.2
 (?) *da^ema'xau* far away (*for^a*^e- cf. *da^e-o^l* near) 14.3; 188.21; 190.6

In *lep'ni'x* 90.6, a doublet of *lep'ni'xa*, *-xa* appears shortened to *-x*; this *-x* may be found also in *honōx* SOME TIME AGO (cf. *hono'^e* AGAIN). Here perhaps belongs also *da-yawa'nt'i-xi* (adjectival?) IN HALF, ON ONE SIDE (OF TWO) 94.3.

It will be noticed that a number of these adverbs are provided with the prefix *da-* (*de-* before palatal vowels, cf. § 36, 2), the application of which, however, in their case, can not be explained.

3. *-ne'*. A number of adverbs, chiefly those of demonstrative signification, assume a temporal meaning on the addition of *-ne'*, a

¹ See Appendix A, p. 290.

catch intervening between the suffix and the stem. Etymologically *-ne* may be identical with the hortatory particle *ne^e* WELL, LET (US) —.

Adverb	Temporal
<i>he^e-</i> there yonder	<i>he^ene`</i> then, at that time 45.6; 49.14
<i>ge</i> there 14.3; 15.5, 12	<i>ge^ene`</i> so long 92.10; 198.9
<i>me^e-</i> hither	<i>me^ene^o</i> at this time 24.14 (cf. also <i>ma^enai</i> around this time 178.4)
<i>e'me^e</i> here 31.3; 192.9	<i>eme^ene</i> (<i>yā'a-hi</i>) (right) here ([?]= now) 190.23
<i>gwi</i> how? 46.2; 78.5	<i>gwi^ene</i> some time (elapsed), how long? 44.2; 48.9; 148.7

To this set probably belong also:

<i>xū^en</i> , <i>xū^ene`</i> at night, night 45.3; 46.12; 48.10; 160.22
<i>bē^en</i> by day 166.2 (cf. <i>bē</i> sun, day)
<i>hop!ē^en</i> long ago 58.4; 86.7, 9; 192.15; 194.4
<i>xā^enewi^e</i> sometimes 132.25
<i>bō^unē</i> now, yet 130.23 (cf. <i>bō^u</i> now)

ī^ede^ene`, which the parallelism of the other forms in *-ne`* with demonstrative stems leads one to expect, does not happen to occur, but probably exists. Curiously enough, *he^ene* not infrequently may be translated as LIKE, particularly with preceding *k'ai* (§ 105):

<i>k'ai he^ene bēm</i> something like wood 186.11
<i>k'ai gwala he^ene</i> like various things 196.3

A number of other adverbial suffixes probably occur, but the examples are not numerous enough for their certain determination. Among them is *-ada`*:

<i>nō^ugwada`</i> some distance down river 54.2 (cf. <i>nō^u</i> down river and <i>nō^ugwa`</i> down river from 75.14)
<i>hīnwada`</i> some distance up river 56.4; 100.18; 102.4 (cf. <i>hīna`u</i> up river and <i>hīnwa`</i> up river from 77.1)
<i>ha'nt'ada</i> across the river 98.5; 192.3; (cf. <i>ha'nt'</i> across, in half)

Several adverbs are found to end in *-(da)da^e*, perhaps to be identified with the *-da^e* of subordinate verb-forms:

<i>bō^u-nēxada^e</i> immediately 90.10, 12; 108.2
<i>he^e(da)da^e</i> away from here 92.5; 172.5; 194.10; 196.11

gwel-^ewāk'wi^e EARLY IN THE MORNING 44.1; 63.9; 77.14; 190.1 seems to be a specialized verb-form in *-k'v^e* IF, WHENEVER. It is possible that there is an adverbial *-t'* suffix:

<i>gwē^ent'</i> in back, behind 94.15
<i>ha'nt'</i> across, in half 146.22; 154.9; 192.7

It may be that this *-t'* has regularly dropped off when final in polysyllables:

da^εo'l near 100.15; but *da^εo'lt'i* (= *da^εo'l[t']* + *-hi*) 136.7

§ 113. *Simple Adverbs*

The simple adverbs that are closely associated with demonstrative stems have been already discussed (§ 104). A number of others, partly simple stems and partly unanalyzable derivatives, are listed here, such as have been already listed under adverbial suffixes not being repeated.

1. Local adverbs:

nō^u down river 17.9; 63.1; 124.15

nō^uεs next door ([?] related to *nō^u*) 17.4; 188.2

hina'u up river ([?] compounded with *nō^u*) 22.7; 23.1; 61.13; 192.14

da^ε-o'l near (cf. *-t'*, § 112, and see § 93) 100.15; 102.6; 126.2

dihau(yā^a) last of all (see § 93) 120.18

gī^{iε}wa far off 48.8; 192.1

aba'i in the house (cf. § 37, 14) 28.8; 43.13; 140.5

hā^{aε}ya' on both sides, mutually (cf. § 37, 5) 172.10; 176.6

2. Temporal adverbs:

bō^u now, to-day 49.13; 50.1; 56.11; 61.11

ha'wi still, yet (cf. § 37, 9) 78.1; 126.21; 192.8; 198.11

bō^unē hawi
ha'wi bō^une' } soon 128.18

olo'm (ulu'm) formerly, up to now 43.11; 63.1; 71.15; 166.2

hemdi' when? 132.24; *a'nī^ε hem* never

mīⁱ now, already (often proclitic to following word) 22.4; 63.1; 190.9

ganē then, and then (often used merely to introduce new statement) 47.14; 63.1, 2, 16

A noteworthy idiomatic construction of adverbs or phrases of temporal signification is their use as quasi-substantives with forms of *lā^alīⁱ*- BECOME. Compare such English substantivized temporal phrases as AFTERNOON. Examples are:

sama'xa lāp'k' in-summer it-has-become 92.11

hayεwa'xdā^ada lā^alē' in-their-returning it-became (=it became time for them to return) 124.15

habēbini diha'-uda lā^alit'^{aε} noon after-it when-it-became (= when it was afternoon) 186.8

3. Negative and affirmative adverbs:

hūt' no 134.19, 21*ha'-u* yes 24.13; 64.1; 170.12*a'nī^ε* not (with aorist) 23.3, 6; 64.3; 78.1*a'ndi* not? 56.10; 90.26 (e. g., *a'ndi k'ai* are there not any?) 56.8*nīⁱ* not? (with following subordinate): *s-nīⁱ nīga'sbinda^ε* didn't I tell you? 136.10*naga-di[\]* do (you) not? 116.12*wede* not (with inferential and potential) 25.13; 122.22, 23

4. Modal adverbs:

hono'^ε (rarely heard as *honō^εn* 74.8; this is very likely its original form, cf. *-^εn* for *-^εne*, § 112, 3) again, too, also 22.4; 58.5; 134.1*ganga* only 54.4; 94.5; *ganga'-hi* anyhow 94.8; 142.13; *ganga-s-i'^ε* just so, for fun*wana[\]* even 47.10; 61.3; 71.8; 76.4; 186.2*yaxā^awa* however (cf. *yaxa*, § 114, 9; for *-wa* cf. *gī^{iε}wa*, § 113, 1) 72.11; 74.15*ha'ga* explanatory particle used with inferential 28.10; 45.11 (e. g., *ga haga wa'la^ε yu'k'* so that one was really he 170.8)*nak!a[\]* in every way, of all sorts (e. g., *k'adi' nak!a^εa'nī^ε īgīⁱnan* what kind was not taken?, i. e., every kind was taken 60.11)*yewē* perhaps 136.23; 180.8; 196.18*s-o^ε*, *s-ō^{us}* perfectly, well 136.20; 166.1 (e. g., *s-o'^ε de^εgwa'lt'gwīⁱp'* take good care of yourself! 128.24)*amadi'^(s-i'^ε)* would that! 142.10 (e. g., *amadi's-i'^ε t!omoma'^εn* I wish I could kill him; *amadi loho'^{iε}* would that he died! 196.2)*wi'sa^εm* (cf. *wis*, § 114, 8) I wonder if 150.2, 3 (e. g., *mīⁱ wi'sa^εm ya'^ε* I wonder if he went already)

It is a characteristic trait of Takelma, as of many other American languages, that such purely modal ideas as the optative (WOULD THAT!) and dubitative (I WONDER IF) are expressed by independent adverbs without modification of the indicative verb-form (cf. further *wi^εobiha[\]n ye^εwa'^εt' wi'sa^εm* MY-ELDER-BROTHERS THEY-WILL-RETURN I-WONDER-IF 150.2, 3).

Several of the adverbs listed above can be used relatively with subordinates, in which use they may be looked upon as conjunctive adverbs:

bō^u-qwan¹ (1) *yā^ania'-uda^ε* (2) *bai-yeweya'k'^w* (3) as soon as (1) they went (2), she took him out again (3) 128.20*yewē* (1) *xebe^εyagwanaga'm* (2) *yewē* (3) *wā^aada* (4) *hiwili'^{us}* (5) perhaps (1) that we destroy him (2), perhaps (3) he runs (5)¹ Probably compounded of *bō^u* NOW and *gan(i)* NOW, THEN, AND THEN.

to her (4) (=should we destroy him, perhaps he would run to her)
waya' (1) *he^εne'* (2) *de-k'iwi'k'auk'wanma^ε* (3) *ga* (4) *na^εnāk'ik'*
 (5) just as (2) a knife (1) is brandished (3), that (4) he did
 with it (5) 172.12 (cf. *he^εne'* in its meaning of LIKE, § 112, 3)

§ 114. *Particles*

By particles are here meant certain uninflected elements that have little or no meaning of their own, but that serve either to connect clauses or to color by some modal modification the word to which they are attached. They are never met with at the beginning of a clause or sentence, but occur only postpositively, generally as enclitics. Some of the elements listed above as modal adverbs (§ 113, 4) might also be considered as syntactic particles (e. g., *wana*, *ha'ga*, *nak'a'*, which never stand at the beginning of a clause); these, however, show no tendency to be drawn into the verb-complex. Whenever particles qualify the clause as a whole, rather than any particular word in the clause, they tend to occupy the second place in the sentence, a tendency that, as we have seen (p. 65), causes them often to be inserted, but not organically incorporated, into the verb-complex. The most frequently occurring particles are those listed below:

1. *yā'^a* JUST. This element is not dissimilar in meaning to the post-nominal emphasizing *-εa'* (§ 102), but differs from it in that it may be embedded in the verb-form:

ī-yā'^a-sge^εt'sga't' he just twisted it to one side 31.5

It only rarely follows a verb-form, however, showing a strong tendency to attach itself to denominating terms. Though serving generally to emphasize the preceding word, it does not seem to involve, like *-εa'*, the idea of a contrast:

xā^a-xo yā'^a right among firs (cf. 94.17)

he^εne yā'^a just then, then indeed 63.13; 128.22; 188.1, 18

dō^umxbīn yā'^a I shall just kill you 178.15

It has at times a comparative force:

gīⁱ yā'^a na^εnada'^ε you will be, act, just like me (cf. 196.2)

2. *hi*. This constantly occurring enclitic is somewhat difficult to define. With personal pronouns it is used as an emphatic particle:

ma' hi you yourself (cf. 104.13; 152.20)

Similarly with demonstratives:

ga' hi just that, the same 64.6; 96.16; 144.3; 190.21

In such cases it is rather difficult to draw the line between it and *yā'a*,¹ to which it may be appended:

ga yā'a hi gwēlda' just under that 190.17

han-yā'a-hi bā'a-t'e'ex just across the river she emerged 58.3

As emphasizing particle it may even be appended to subordinate verb forms and to local phrases:

yānt'e'da^s hi' just as I went (cf. 138.23; 152.5, 7)

dīha-udē hi' right behind me, as soon as I had gone

It may be enclitically attached to other particles, *yā'a-hi* 192.1 being a particularly frequent combination:

gī' yaxa'-hi I, however, indeed 71.8

Its signification is not always, however, so specific nor its force so strong. All that can be said of it in many cases is that it mildly calls attention to the preceding word without, however, specially emphasizing it; often its force is practically nil. This lack of definite signification is well illustrated in the following lullaby, in the second line of which it serves merely to preserve the rhythm -'~:

mo'xo wa'inhā buzzard, put him to sleep!

s'i'mhi wa'inhā (?) put him to sleep!

p'e'lda wa'inhā slug, put him to sleep!

The most important syntactic function of *hi* is to make a verbal prefix an independent word, and thus take it out of its proper place in the verb:

de'-hi ahead (from *de-* in front) 33.15; 64.3; 196.1; 198.12

ha'n-hi ei-sāk'^w across he-canoe-paddled

but:

ei-han-sāk'^w he-canoe-across-paddled 112.9, 18; 114.11

where *han-*, as an incorporated local prefix, takes its place after the object *ei*. A number of adverbs always appear with suffixed *hi*; e. g., *gasa'lhi* QUICKLY 16.10. Like *-^sa'*, from which it differs, however, in its far greater mobility, *hi* is never found appended to non-subordinate predicative forms. With *hi* must not be confused:

¹ The various shades of emphasis contributed by *-^sa'*, *yā'a*, *hi*, and *s'i'*, respectively, are well illustrated in *ma'^sa'* YOU, BUT YOU (as contrasted with others); *ma yā'a* JUST YOU, YOU INDEED (simple emphasis without necessary contrast); *ma' hi* YOU YOURSELF; *mas'i'^s* AND YOU, YOU IN YOUR TURN (108.13)

3. **-hi^ε**. This particle is found appended most frequently to introductory words in the sentence, such as *mīⁱ*, *ganē*, and other adverbs, and to verb-forms:

mīⁱ-hi^ε t'aga'^{iε} then he returned 62.2; (cf. 188.15)

ganē-hi^ε aba-i-gini'^εk' and then he went into the house 55.16

naga'-i-hi^ε = naga'^{iε} he said + *-hi^ε* (see § 22) 22.6; 57.1; 128.15; 192.9

As no definite meaning can be assigned to it, and as it is found only in myth narration, it is highly probable that it is to be interpreted as a quotative:

ga naga'sa^εn-hi^ε that they said to each other, it is said 27.1, 3; 31.9

-hi^ε is also found attached to a verbal prefix (22.1; 140.8, 22, 23).

4. **-sⁱ^ε** AND, BUT. This is one of the most frequently occurring particles in Takelma narration, its main function being to bind together two clauses or sentences, particularly when a contrast is involved. It is found appended to nouns or pronouns as deictic or connective suffix:

āksⁱ^ε he in his turn 61.11; (cf. 47.14; 104.8, 13)

hūlk' sgi'sidi'l mēxsⁱ^ε Panther and Coyote, also Crane

An example of its use as sentence connector is:

ga nagañhan ha-t'gā^adē hop!ē^εn, bō^u-sⁱ^ε eme'^ε a'nñ^ε ga naga'n that used-to-be-said in-my-country long-ago, now-but here not that is-said 194.4; (cf. 60.9; 118.3; 122.17)

-sⁱ^ε is particularly frequently suffixed to the demonstratives *ga* THAT and *aga* THIS, *gasⁱ^ε* and *agasⁱ^ε* serving to connect two sentences, the second of which is the temporal or logical resultant or antithesis of the second. Both of the connected or contrasted sentences may be introduced by *gasⁱ^ε*, *agasⁱ^ε*, or by a word with enclitically attached *-sⁱ^ε*. In an antithesis *agasⁱ^ε* seems to introduce the nearer, while *gasⁱ^ε* is used to refer to the remoter act. Examples showing the usage of *gasⁱ^ε* and *agasⁱ^ε* are:

gasⁱ^ε de^εl ha-de-dilt'a dī-būmā'^ak' (I smoked them out), and then (or so-that) yellow-jackets everywhere swarmed 73.10

k'aiwi'^ε t!omoma'nda^ε gasⁱ^ε gayawa't'p' something I-having-killed-it, thereupon you-ate-it 90.8

gasⁱ^ε gūxda hūlü^ün wa-iwī'ⁱ t!omxi'xasⁱ^ε aba'i on-one-hand his-wife (was a) sea woman, her-mother-in-law-but (lived) in-the-house 154.15

agas'is̥ *γō^uk!wat'k'* *γā^a* *xu'ma-s'is̥* *a'nīs̥* *de^εügü's'i* now my-bones just (I was) (i. e., I was reduced to a skeleton), food-and not she-gave-me-to-eat 186.1

agas'is̥ *a'nīs̥* *mī^εwa* *al-t!eye'xi* *naga'is̥* *γulum^εa'* *aga's'is̥* *xamk' wa-ivīⁱ* *mīⁱ* *al-t!ayāk'wa* on-one-hand "Not probably she-has-discovered-me," he-said Eagle-for-his-part, but Grizzly-Bear girl now she-had-discovered him 124.9

gas'is̥ and *agas'is̥* as syntactic elements are not to be confused with the demonstratives *ga* and *aga* to which a connective *-s'is̥* happens to be attached. This is shown by:

ga-s'is̥ *ga^εal* that-so for (= so for that reason)

where *ga^εal* is a postposition to *ga*. There is nothing to prevent post-nominal *-s'is̥* from appearing in the same clause:

aga's'is̥ *mēls'is̥* but Crow-in-her-turn 162.14

When suffixed to the otherwise non-occurring demonstrative *ε̄-* (perhaps contained in *īda-* THAT) it has a concessive force, DESPITE, ALTHOUGH, EVEN IF 60.1:

ε̄s'is̥-hi *s'om* *ga^εal* *ha-de-dīlt'a* *wīt'* *a'nīs̥* *al-t!aya'k'* *p'iγiⁿ* although-indeed mountain to everywhere he-went, not he-found deer 43.6

īs'is̥ *ts!aya'k'* *a'nīs̥* *t!omōm* *gūxdagwa* although he-shot-at-her, not he-killed-her his-own-wife 140.17

-hi^ε (see no. 3) or connective *-s'is̥* may be added to *ε̄s'is̥*, the resulting forms, with catch dissimilation (see § 22), being *ε̄s'is̥hi^ε* and *ε̄s'is̥s'is̥* 47.11; 148.12. When combined with the idea of unfulfilled action, the concessive *ε̄s'is̥* is supplemented by the conditional form in *-k'is̥* of the verb:

ε̄s'is̥ *k'a'i* *gwala* *nāxbiyauk'is̥*, *wede* *ge* *lī'wa't'* even-though things many they-should-say-to-you (i. e., even though they call you names), not there look! 60.3

Compounded with *-s'is̥* is the indefinite particle:

5. *-s'is̥wa'k'di* 64.5. When appended to interrogatives, this particle brings about the corresponding indefinite meaning (see § 105), but it has also a more general syntactic usage, in which capacity it may be translated as PERCHANCE, IT SEEMS, PROBABLY:

ma's'is̥wak'di *henenagwa't'* perhaps (or probably) you ate it all up 26.17

The uncompounded *wak'di* also occurs:

ulu'm wó'k'di k'ai nāk'am formerly I-guess something it-was said
to him 166.1
ga wa'k'di hogwa'ēsdā^a that-one, it-seems, (was) their-runner 49.3

Similar in signification is:

6. *mī^{ie}wa* PROBABLY, PERHAPS 45.8; 63.15. This enclitic has a considerable tendency to apparently be incorporated in the verb:

ī-mī^{ie}wa-t!āūt!iwin maybe he was caught (*ī-t!āūt!iwin* he was caught)
xa^ε-ī-mī^{ie}wa-sgīⁱbi^εn mū^{ūε}xda'n hi I'll-probably-cut-him-in-two
once just 31.13

7. *his, hīs* NEARLY, ALMOST, TRYING 44.7; 56.14. This element implies that the action which was done or attempted failed of success:

mīⁱ hono^ε t!omōk'wa-his māl then also he-killed-him nearly spear-shaft (personified), i. e., spear-shaft almost managed to kill him, as he had killed others 28.11; (cf. 188.20)

A frequent Takelma idiom is the use of *hi*'s with a form of the verb of SAYING *na(g)-* to imply a thought or intention on the part of the subject of the *na(g)-* form that fails to be realized:

"*ha-xīya' mī^{ie}wa sgā'at'ap'de^ε*" *naga'^{ie}-hi*'s "in-the-water probably I-shall-jump," he thought (but he really fell among alder-bushes and was killed) 94.17

Sometimes *his* seems to have a usitative signification; probably the main point implied is that an act once habitual has ceased to be so:

dak-his-t'ek!e'xadε^ε I used to smoke (but no longer do)

8. *wis, wīs* IT SEEMS, DOUBTLESS. This particle is used to indicate a likely inference. Examples are:

mīⁱ-wis dap^εā'la-u moyūgwana'n now-it-seems youth he's-to-be-spoiled (seeing that he's to wrestle with a hitherto invincible one) 31.12

mīⁱ wīⁱs āk!a t!omoma'n now apparently he-for-his-part he-has-been-killed (seeing that he does not return) 88.9,(6)

9. *yaxa* CONTINUALLY, ONLY. The translation given for *yaxa* is really somewhat too strong and definite, its force being often so weak as hardly to allow of an adequate rendering into English. It

often does not seem to imply more than simple existence or action unaccompanied and undisturbed. It is found often with the scarcely translatable adverb *ganga* ONLY, in which case the idea of unvaried continuance comes out rather strongly, e. g.:

ga'-hī yaxa ganga naga'ie that-indeed continually only he-said
(i. e., he always kept saying that) 24.15

From *ganga* it differs in the fact that it is often attracted into the verb-complex:

ganga ge'l-yaxa-hewe'hau only he-is-continually-thinking (i. e., he is always thinking) (cf. 128.18; 146.15)

10. *wala'ε* (*sina'ε*) REALLY, COME TO FIND OUT 45.11; 170.S. As indicated in the translation, *wala'ε* indicates the more or less unexpected resolution of a doubt or state of ignorance:

ga haga wala'ε wil' wa'ε-ī-t!a'nik' that-one so really house he-kept-it (i. e., it was Spear-shaft himself who kept house, no one else) 28.10

Certain usages of *wala'εsi(na'ε)*, evidently an amplification of *wala'ε*, have been already discussed (§ 70).

11. *dī* INTERROGATIVE. The interrogative enclitic is consistently used in all cases where an interrogative shade of meaning is present, whether as applying to a particular word, such as an interrogative pronoun or adverb, or to the whole sentence. Its use in indirect questions is frequent:

mān t'v'is mixal dī' t!omomana'ε he-counted gophers how-many had-been-killed

The use of the interrogative is often merely rhetorical, implying an emphatic negative:

k'a-dī' ma wili wa'ε-ī-t!a'nida'ε literally, what you house you-will-keep? (=you shall not keep house) 27.16; (cf. 33.1; 47.9)

Ordinarily *dī* occupies the second place in the sentence, less frequently the third:

yū'k!alxde' mī' dī' εa'nī'ε k'a'ī your-teeth now (inter.) not any (i. e., have you no teeth?) 128.23

Besides these syntactically and modally important enclitic particles, there are a few proclitics of lesser significance. Among these are to be included *mī'* NOW and *ganē* THEN, AND THEN, which, though they have been included among the temporal adverbs and may

indeed, at times, convey a definite temporal idea, are generally weak unaccented introducers of a clause, and have little determinable force:

ganē ya'ε then he went 92.26; 118.19; 152.7

mī' loho'ie then he died 71.13; 98.19; 122.13

The proclitic *neε* WELL! is used chiefly as introductory to a hortatory statement:

neε gō^um-s-i'ε dak'-s-inī'ida nabā'^{ae}ha'n let us-in-our-turn over-his-nose let-us-do (i. e., let us pass over him!) 144.11

neε t!omoma'εn let me kill him! (cf. 96.4)

§ 115. VII. Interjections

Of interjections and other words of an emotional character there are quite a number in Takelma. Some of them, while in no sense of definite grammatical form, are based on noun or verb stems. Not a few involve sounds otherwise foreign to the language (e. g., nasalized vowels [expressed by *ᵛ*], *ä* as in English **BAT**, *â* as in **SAW**, *dj* as in **JUDGE**, voiceless palatal *l* [written *l̥*], final fortis consonant); prolongation of vowels and consonants (expressed by +) and repetition of elements are frequently used.

The material obtained may be classified as follows:

1. PARTICLES OF ADDRESS:

ama' come on! 96.24

hene' away from here! get away! 148.8, 10, 11, 13, 14

dit'gwālam O yes! (with idea of pity) 29.13; *dit'gwā'^{ae}lam wi'εwā* my poor younger brother! 64.4

ha-i' used by men in talking to each other

ha'ik!ā' used by women in talking to each other (cf. *ha-ik!ā* wife! husband!)

2. SIMPLE INTERJECTIONS (expressing fundamental emotions):

ā+ surprise, generally joyful; weeping 28.5; 58.2; 150.2

ǎ; ǎ'; εǎ; εǎ' sudden surprise at new turn; sudden resolve 28.6; 29.7; 55.7; 78.9

a'ε sudden halt at perceiving something not noticed before 26.12

o' doubt, caution 136.23

ō+ sudden recollection; admiration, wonderment; call 92.9; 138.19; 188.17, 19

â+ fear, wonder 17.3

εεε; εε' displeasure 27.16; 32.9; 33.6; 122.12

εè; hè+ (both hoarsely whispered) used by mythological characters (crane, snake) on being roused to attention 122.10; 148.17, 18

- hē+*; *ē+* call 59.2; 73.7; 75.10; 76.8
εeⁿ; *εeⁿ* disapproval, "what's up?", sarcasm 28.11; 32.10
εEⁿ εEⁿ protest 112.6, 11; 114.3, 6, 13; *εEⁿ*, *εEⁿ* decided displeasure
 198.2
hēⁿ scorn, threat 140.9; 152.14
eⁿ sniffing suspiciously 160.20
Eⁿ Eⁿ Eⁿ Eⁿ smelling suspiciously 124.23
dja' disapproval, warning 156.18
m+ *m+* gentle warning, pity 29.8; 31.11, 14
hm+ *hm+* reviving hope (?) 32.3
wä+ *wä+* (loudly whispered) cry for help 29.12
ha-i alas! 62.4, 7
Aⁿ + groan 182.11
ho'^ε (hoarsely whispered) on being wounded 190.24
hâ' *hâ'* *hâ'* groans on being wounded 192.10
he' *he'* *he'* *he'* laughter 118.22; 120.6

Those that follow have a prefixed *s*- frequently used by Coyote.

They are probably characteristic of this character (see also 71.14; 90.12).

- s^εe'hehehe* derisive laughter 71.7; 72.11; 73.15; 74.15
s'bē'p' sharp anger 86.6, 22, 24
s'bē'+^w call for some one to come 92.1
c^εa'i say there, you! 92.18, 21
s'gā+ sorrow 100.3

3. SET CALLS (including cries in formulas and myths):

- p'ä+* (loudly whispered) war-whoop 190.15
bä+ *bä+* (loudly whispered and held out long) war-whoop
 136.26 *bä wä' äü wä' äü* : . . . (loudly whispered) war-whoop
 110.19 *gwä' lä lä lä lä* (loudly whispered) war-whoop on slaying
 one of enemy
wâ wâ wâ cry to urge on deer to corral
bâ+ yelling at appearance of new moon 196.5
hä+; *bä+* (both loudly whispered) urging on to run 46.5, 7; 47.6;
 48.1, 3, 9; 49.3
h^w + blowing before exercising supernatural power 96.19, 20, 22;
 198.7
p' + blowing in exercising supernatural power 77.9
p'^w + blowing water on person to resuscitate him 170.3
hě blowing preparatory to medicine-formula addressed to wind
 198.4
do' do do do do do cry (of ghosts) on catching fire 98.4 (cf. Yana *du'*
du du du' du du)
ximī'+ximī' cry of rolling skull 174.5, 6

- ō' + da da da da da* cry of people running away from rolling skull 174.9, 10
do'łhi dolhi' taunt (of Pitch to Coyote) 86.2, 8, 10, 17, 21, 23; 88. 1, 2
da'ldalwaya da ldalwaya da'ldalwaya formula for catching crawfish (explained in myth as derived from *dalda'l* dragon-fly) 29.14, 16
wi'lik'isi "cut off!" (cf. *wi'li'i* his stone knife 142.21) Chicken-Hawk's cry for revenge 144.1
sgilbibī' +ix "come warm yourself!" 25.7 (cf. *sgili'pxdeε* I warm myself 25.8)
gewe'k!eweε (cf. *gewe'k!iwiεn* I hold [salmon] bow-fashion) said by Pitch when Coyote is stuck to him 88.5, 9, 11, 12
p'idi-t-p'ā'εt'p'idit'k' "O my liver!" (cf. *p'ā'εt'p'id-i-* salmon liver) cry of Grizzly Bear on finding she has eaten her children's livers 120.19, 20

The last three show very irregular types of reduplication, not otherwise found.

4. ANIMAL CRIES AND IMITATIVE SOUNDS:

- wa'yanī* cry of Jack-Rabbit 108.9, 14, 17
(s')ha'u, ha'u cry of Grizzly Bear 106.12, 19; 140.12
wā' + u (hoarse) death-cry of Grizzly Bear woman 142.3
hā^u Bear's cry 72.15
p!āk' p!āk' "bathe! bathe!" supposed cry of crow
bak' bak' bak' bak' bak' bak' sound made by Woodpecker 90.11; 92.2 (cf. *ba'k'bā^a* red-headed woodpecker 92.2)
p!au p!au p!au p!au p!au p!au sound made by Yellowhammer 90.19
bum + bum + noise made by rolling skull 174.4
tc!e'lelele (whispered) sound of rattling dentalia 156.24 (cf. aorist stem *tc!e!em-* rattle)
t'ut t'ut t'ut noise made by Rock Boy in walking over graveyard house 14.8
dεm + dεm + dεm + noise of men fighting 24.1
xa'-u (whispered) noise of crackling hair as it burns 24.8
t'gi'l imitating sound of something breaking 24.4 (cf. *xa-dāⁿ-t'gil-* *t'ga'łhi* he broke it in two with rock 24.4)
t'ut' t'ut' t'ut' noise of pounding acorns 26.12
bak! "pop!" stick stuck into eye 27.8
huⁿ + confused noise of people talking far off 190.7
k!i'didididi sound of men wrestling 32.14

5. SONG BURDENS:

- wa'yawene łō'wana* medicine-man's dance 46.14
wainhā round dance; lullaby (cf. *wainha* put him to sleep!) 104.15; 106.4, 8; 105 note

- k'i'xinh* round dance (said by Frog) 102.18
°o'cu °o'cu round dance (said by Frog) 102.23
gwa'tca gwatca round dance (said by Bluejay) 104.7
tc!a'itc!iā round dance (play on *tc!a'is°c* bluejay) 104.7
be'bebinibī'a round dance (said by Mouse; play on *bebe'n* rushes)
 104.10
beleldō round dance (play on *belp'* swan) 104.15
bi'gi bi'gi bi'gī+ Skunk's medicine-man's dance ([?] play on
bik'w skunk) 164.18, 22; 166.5
hā'°gwatei hā'°gwatei said by s'omloho'lxa°s in doctoring

§ 116. CONCLUSION

The salient morphologic characteristics of Takelma may be summed up in the words INFLECTIVE and INCORPORATING, the chief stress being laid on either epithet according as one attaches greater importance to the general method employed in the formation of words and forms and their resulting inner coherence and unity, or to the particular grammatical treatment of a special, though for many American languages important, syntactic relation, the object. Outside of most prefixed elements and a small number of the post-nominal suffixes, neither of which enter organically into the inner structure of the word-form, the Takelma word is a firmly knit morphologic unit built up of a radical base or stem and one or more affixed (generally suffixed) elements of almost entirely formal, not material, signification.

It would be interesting to compare the structure of Takelma with that of the neighboring languages; but a lack, at the time of writing, of published material on the Kalapuya, Coos, Shasta, Achomawi, and Karok makes it necessary to dispense with such comparison. With the Athapascan dialects of southwest Oregon, the speakers of which were in close cultural contact with the Takelmas, practically no agreements of detail are traceable. Both Takelma and Athapascan make a very extended idiomatic use of a rather large number of verbal prefixes, but the resemblance is probably not a far-reaching one. While the Athapascan prefixes are etymologically distinct from the main body of lexical material and have reference chiefly to position and modes of motion, a very considerable number of the Takelma prefixes are intimately associated, etymologically and functionally, with parts of the body. In the verb the two languages agree in the incorporation of the pronominal subject and

object, but here again the resemblance is only superficial. In Athapascan the pronominal elements are phonetically closely combined with the verbal prefixes and stand apart from the following verb-stem, which never, or very rarely, loses its monosyllabic individuality. In Takelma the pronominal elements, together with the derivative affixes, enter into very close combination with the preceding verb-stem, but stand severely aloof from the verbal prefixes. The radical phonetic changes which the verb-stem undergoes for tense in both languages is perhaps the most striking resemblance between the two; but even in this regard they differ widely as to the methods employed. Neither the very extended use of reduplication in Takelma, nor the frequent use in Athapascan of distinct verb-stems for the singular and plural, is shared by the other. Add to this the fact that the phonetic systems of Athapascan and Takelma are more greatly divergent than would naturally be expected of neighboring languages, and it becomes clear that the opinion that has generally been held, though based on practically no evidence, in regard to the entirely distinct characteristics of the two linguistic stocks, is thoroughly justified.

The entire lack of nominal cases in Takelma and the lack of pronominal incorporation in Klamath indicate at the outset the fundamental morphologic difference between these stocks. In so far as nominal cases and lack of pronominal incorporation are made the chief morphologic criteria of the central Californian group of linguistic families, as represented, say, by Maidu and Yokuts, absolutely no resemblance is discernible between those languages and Takelma. As far, then, as available linguistic material gives opportunity for judgment, Takelma stands entirely isolated among its neighbors.

In some respects Takelma is typically American, in so far as it is possible at all to speak of typical American linguistic characteristics. Some of the more important of these typical or at any rate widespread American traits, that are found in Takelma, are: the incorporation of the pronominal (and nominal) object in the verb; the incorporation of the possessive pronouns in the noun; the closer association with the verb-form of the object than the subject; the inclusion of a considerable number of instrumental and local modifications in the verb-complex; the weak development of differences of tense in the verb and of number in the verb and noun; and the impossibility of drawing a sharp line between mode and tense.

Of the more special grammatical characteristics, some of which are nearly unparalleled in those languages of North America that have been adequately studied, are: a system of pitch-accent of fairly considerable, though probably etymologically secondary, formal significance; a strong tendency in the verb, noun, adjective, and adverb toward the formation of dissyllabic stems with repeated vowel (e. g., aorist stem *yowo-* BE; verb-stem *loho-* DIE; noun *moxo'* BUZZARD; adjective *hos·ō^u* [plural] GETTING BIG; adverb *olo'm* FORMERLY); a very considerable use of end reduplication, initial reduplication being entirely absent; the employment of consonant and vowel changes as a grammatical process; the use in verbs, nouns, and adjectives of prefixed elements, identical with body-part noun stems, that have reference now to parts of the body, now to purely local relations; the complicated and often irregular modifications of a verbal base for the formation of the most generalized tense, the aorist; the great differentiation of pronominal schemes according to syntactic relation, class of verb or noun, and tense-mode, despite the comparatively small number of persons (only five—two singular, two plural, and one indifferent); the entire lack in the noun and pronoun of cases (the subjective and objective are made unnecessary by the pronominal and nominal incorporation characteristic of the verb; the possessive, by the formal use of possessive pronoun affixes; and the local cases, by the extended use of pre-positives and postpositions); the existence in the noun of characteristic suffixes that appear only with pre-positives and possessive affixes; the fair amount of distinctness that the adjective possesses as contrasted with both verb and noun; the use of a decimal system of numeration, tertiary or quinary in origin; and a rather efficient though simple syntactic apparatus of subordinating elements and well-modulated enclitic particles. Altogether Takelma has a great deal that is distinct and apparently even isolated about it. Though typical in its most fundamental features, it may, when more is known of American languages as a whole, have to be considered a very specialized type.

APPENDIX A
1. Comparative Table of Pronominal Forms

	Singular				Plural	
	First person	Second person	Third person	First person	Second person	
Aor. subj. intr. I	-t'εε	-(a')j'	ε	-t'ε'	-(a')j'p'	
Aor. subj. intr. II	-t'εε	-t'am	-t'	-(p'-)ik'	-t'ap'	
Fut. subj. intr. I	-t'εε	-(a)da'ε	-(a')εt'	-(i)ga'm	-(a)j'baε	
Fut. subj. intr. II	-t'εε	-t'aε	-t'āa	-(p'-)igam	-t'abaε	
Pr. imper.				-(a)baε	-(a)j'ap', -p'	
Fut. imper. intr. I and trans.		-(a')jk'		-(a)nak'		
Fut. imper. intr. II		-(p'-)ga'm		-(a)nagam		
Aor. subj. trans.	-(a')na	-(a')j'	—	-k'-anak'	-(a)j'baε	
Fut. subj. trans.	-(a')na	-(a)da'ε	-(a)nik'	-k'-εcit'p'	-k'-εcit'p'	
Infer. subj.	-k'-aε	-k'εcit'	-k'	-am	-anp'	
Obj. trans.	-zi	-ji	—	-da'ba'εn, -εt'ban	-da'ba'εn, -εt'ban	
Poss. with pre-positives	-dɔ	-daε	-da	-da'm	-εt'ban	
Poss. relationship	wi	-t'	-za, -a	-da'm	-da'ba'εn	
Poss. II	-dɔk'	-dεε	-dāa	-da'm	-da'ba'εn	
Poss. III	-t'k'	-t'	-', -t'	-da'm	-t'ban	
Independent pronouns	gʷi	ma	āak' (pl. ii)	gʷm	māap'	

2. Scheme of 7 Voices in 6 Tense-Modes (2d per. sing. of *dink!*-SPREAD)

	Aorist	Future	Inferential	Potential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Trans. (2d per. subj.)	<i>dí'nik'lat'</i>	<i>dink'ladá'e</i>	<i>dí'nek' 'eíl'</i>	<i>dí'nik'lat'</i>	<i>dí'nek'</i>	<i>dí'nik'laek'</i>
Passive	<i>dí'niszbin</i>	<i>dínzbiná'e</i>	<i>dí'nezbinám</i>	<i>dí'nezbin</i>		
Act. intr.	<i>dí'niszat'</i>	<i>dínzadá'e</i>	<i>dí'nezak' 'eíl'</i>	<i>dí'nezat'</i>	<i>dí'nezá</i>	<i>dí'nezak'</i>
Reflexive	<i>dí'nisék'widám</i>	<i>dí'nek'widá'e</i>	<i>dí'nek'wípp'k' 'eíl'</i>	<i>dí'nek'widám</i>	<i>dí'nek'wí'p'</i>	<i>dí'nek'wí'p'gá'm</i>
Recipr. (pl.)	<i>dí'niszant'p'</i>	<i>dí'nezant'bas</i>	<i>dí'nezant'k' 'eíl'p'</i>	<i>dí'niszant'p'</i>		
Non-agentive	<i>dí'niszdam</i>	<i>dí'nezdá'e</i>	<i>dí'nezak' 'eíl'</i>	<i>dí'niszdam</i>	<i>dí'nez</i>	<i>dí'nezgá'e'm</i>
Positional	<i>dink'fít'am</i>	<i>dink'la'sdá'e</i>	<i>dí'nik'laek' 'eíl'</i>	<i>dink'la'sdam</i>		

3. Forms of *na(g)*- SAY, DO

A. Intransitive

	Aorist	Future	Potential	Inferential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Singular:						
1st per.	<i>nagai't'eε</i>	<i>na't'ee</i>	<i>na't'eε</i>	<i>na'k'aε</i>	<i>na'</i>	<i>na'ek'</i>
2d per.	<i>nagai't'</i>	<i>nada'e</i>	<i>na't'</i>	<i>na'k'ei't</i>		
3d per.	<i>naga'is</i>	<i>na'et'</i>	<i>na'e</i>	<i>na'k'</i>		
Plural:						
1st per.	<i>nagayi'k'</i>	<i>naga'm</i>	(?) <i>nayi'k'</i>	<i>na'k'ana'k'</i>	<i>nabā'as(ha'n)</i>	
2d per.	<i>nagai't'p'</i>	<i>na't'baε</i>	<i>na't'p'</i>	<i>na'k'ei't'p'</i>		
Imper.	<i>neεye'eε</i> (sub- o r d i n a t e <i>neyeedaε</i> or <i>nē'idaε</i>)	<i>neyaūk'is</i> (conditional)			<i>na'np'</i>	

FREQUENTATIVE

	Aorist	Future	Inferential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Singular:					
1st per.	<i>nagaεna'k'deε</i>	<i>nañt'ee</i>	<i>nañk'aε</i>	<i>nañha</i>	<i>nañhak'</i>
2d per.	<i>nagaεnigi't'</i>	<i>nanada'e</i> ¹	<i>nañk'ei't'</i>		
3d per.	<i>nagaεnā'as'k'</i>	<i>nana'et'</i> ¹	<i>nañk'</i> ²		
Plural:					
1st per.	<i>nagaεnigi'k'</i>	<i>nanaga'm</i> ¹	<i>nañk'ana'k'</i>	<i>nanaba'e</i>	
2d per.	<i>nagaεnigi't'p'</i>	<i>nana't'baε</i> ¹	<i>nañk'ei't'p'</i>		
Imper.	<i>neenia'ue</i>			<i>nañhanp'</i>	

¹ These forms are to be carefully distinguished from *naε-nada'e*, *naε-na'et'*, and so forth (see §69). It is of course possible to have also *naε-nañt'ee*, *naε-nanada'e*, and so forth.

² Also *nañhak'* is found, so that it is probable that doublets exist for other non-aorist forms, e. g., *nañhadaε*, *nañhabaε*.

B. Transitive

Aorist

Subject	Object				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Singular:					
1st per.	<i>nege's'dam</i> <i>nege's'i</i>	<i>naga'sbiεn</i>	<i>naga'εn</i>	<i>naga'simit'</i> <i>naga'sam</i>	<i>naga'sanbaεn</i>
2d per.		<i>naga'sbi</i>	<i>naga't'</i>		<i>naga'sanp'</i>
3d per.			<i>naga'</i>		
Plural:					
1st per.	<i>nege's'dap'</i>	<i>nagasbina'k'</i>	<i>nagana'k'</i>	<i>naga'simit'p'</i>	<i>naga'sanbana'k'</i>
2d per.			<i>naga't'p'</i>		

3. Forms of *na(g)*- SAY, DO

B. Transitive—Continued

Future

Subject	Object				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Singular:					
1st per.		<i>nāzbin</i>	<i>nāʔgi'n</i>		<i>nāranban</i>
2d per.	<i>nēzdaʔ</i>		<i>nāk'idaʔ</i>	<i>nāximidaʔ</i>	
3d per.	<i>nēzink'</i>	<i>nāzbinik'</i>	<i>nāk'ink'</i>	<i>nāzaxamank'</i>	<i>nāranbank'</i>
Plural:					
1st per.		<i>nāzbinagam</i>	<i>nāʔginaga'm</i>		<i>nāranbanagam</i>
2d per.	<i>nēzidabaʔ</i>		<i>nāʔgi't'baʔ</i>	<i>nāximil'baʔ</i>	
Imper. condit.	<i>nēziauk'is</i>	<i>nāzbiauk'is</i>			

Inferential

Singular:					
1st per.		<i>nāzbigaʔ</i>	<i>nāk'igaʔ</i>		<i>nāranp'gaʔ</i>
2d per.	<i>nēzik!ēl'</i>		<i>nāk'ik!ēl'</i>	<i>nāzaxmk!ēl'</i>	
3d per.	<i>nēzik'</i>	<i>nāzbiik'</i>	<i>nāk'ik'</i>	<i>nāzaxmk'</i>	<i>nāranp'k'</i>
Plural:					
1st per.		<i>nāzbigana'k'</i>	<i>nāk'igana'k'</i>		<i>nāranp'gana'k'</i>
2d per.	<i>nēzik!ēl'p'</i>		<i>nāk'ik!ēl'p'</i>	<i>nāzaxmk!ēl'p'</i>	

Potential

Singular:					
1st per.		<i>nāzbiʔn</i>	<i>nāʔgi'ʔn</i>		<i>nāzanbaʔn</i>
2d per.	<i>nēzdam</i>		<i>nāk'it'</i>	<i>nāximil'</i>	
3d per.	<i>nēzi</i>	<i>nāzbi</i>	<i>nāk'i</i>	<i>nāzaxam</i>	<i>nāzanp'</i>
Plural:					
1st per.		<i>nāzbinak'</i>	<i>nāk'inak'</i>		<i>nāzanbana'k'</i>
2d per.	<i>nēzidap'</i>		<i>nāk'it'p'</i>	<i>nāximil'p'</i>	

Present Imperative

Singular:					
2d per.	<i>nēzi</i>		<i>nāk'i</i>	<i>nāzaxam</i>	
Plural:					
1st per.			<i>nāk'ibaʔ</i>		
2d per.	<i>nēzip'</i>		<i>nāk'it'p'</i>	<i>nāzaxamp'</i>	

Future Imperative

Singular:					
2d per.	<i>nēzgcʔm</i>		<i>nāʔgi'ʔk'</i>		

3. Forms of *na(g)*- SAY, DO

B. Transitive—Continued

Passive

	Aorist	Future	Potential	Inferential
Singular:				
1st per.	<i>nege's'in</i>	<i>nēxina^ε</i>	<i>nēxin</i>	<i>nēzigam</i>
2d per.	<i>naga'sbin</i>	<i>nūxbina^ε</i>	<i>nāxbin</i>	<i>nāxbigam</i>
3d per.	<i>naga'n</i>	<i>nāogina'ε</i>	<i>nāk'in</i>	<i>nāk'am</i>
Plural:				
1st per.	<i>naga'simin</i>	<i>nāximina^ε</i>	<i>nāximin</i>	<i>nāxamk'am</i>
2d per.	<i>naga'sanban</i>	<i>nāxanbana^ε</i>	<i>nāxanban</i>	<i>nāxanp'gam</i>

FREQUENTATIVE

Aorist

Subject	Object				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Singular:					
1st per.		<i>nagañsbi^εn</i>	<i>nagañha^εn</i>		<i>nagañsanba^εn</i>
2d per.	<i>negeñs'dam</i>		<i>nagañha^ε'</i>	<i>nagañsimil'</i>	
3d per.	<i>negeñs'i</i>	<i>nagañsbi</i>	<i>nagañha</i>	<i>nagañsam</i>	<i>nagañsanp'</i>
Plural:					
1st per.		<i>nagañsbinak'</i>	<i>nagañhanak'</i>		<i>nagañsanbana'k'</i>
2d per.	<i>negeñs'dap'</i>		<i>nagañha'p'</i>	<i>nagañsimil'p'</i>	

Future

Singular:					
1st per.		<i>nānsbin</i>	<i>nānhan</i>		<i>nānsanban</i>
2d per.	<i>nēns'da^ε</i>		<i>nānhada^ε</i>	<i>nānsimida^ε</i>	
3d per.	<i>nēns'ink'</i>	<i>nānsbink'</i>	<i>nānhank'</i>	<i>nānsamank'</i>	<i>nānsanbank'</i>
Plural:					
1st per.		<i>nānsbinagam</i>	<i>nānhanagam</i>		<i>nānsanbanagam</i>
2d per.	<i>nēnsdaba^ε</i>		<i>nānha'ba^ε</i>	<i>nānsimil'ba^ε</i>	

Passive

	Aorist	Future
Singular:		
1st per.	<i>negeñs'in</i>	<i>nēns'ina^ε</i>
2d per.	<i>nagañsbin</i>	<i>nānsbina^ε</i>
3d per.	<i>nagañhan</i>	<i>nānhana^ε</i>
Plural:		
1st per.	<i>nagañsimin</i>	<i>nānsimina^ε</i>
2d per.	<i>nagañsanban</i>	<i>nānsanbana^ε</i>

3. Forms of *na(g)*- SAY, DO

C. Causative in *-n-¹*

Aorist

Subject	Object				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Singular:					
1st per.		<i>nagānxbiⁿ</i>	<i>nagāⁿna^tn</i> (<i>nagāⁿni^tn</i>) ²		<i>nagānzandaⁿ</i>
2d per.	<i>negēnzdam</i>		<i>nagāⁿna^t</i> (<i>nagāⁿni^t</i>)	<i>nagānximit^t</i>	
3d per.	<i>negēnzzi</i>	<i>nagānxbi</i>	<i>nagān</i> (<i>nagānhi</i>)	<i>nagānxam</i>	<i>nagānxanp^t</i>
Plural:					
1st per.		<i>nagānxbinak^t</i>	<i>nagāⁿnana^tk^t</i> (<i>nagāⁿnina^tk^t</i>)		<i>nagānzabanana^tk^t</i>
2d per.	<i>negēnzdap^t</i>		<i>nagāⁿna^tp^t</i> (<i>nagāⁿni^tp^t</i>)	<i>nagānximit^tp^t</i>	

Future

Singular:					
1st per.		<i>nānxbin</i>	<i>nāⁿnaⁿ</i> (<i>nāⁿniⁿ</i>)		<i>nānxanban</i>
2d per.	<i>nēnzda^t</i>		<i>nāⁿnada^t</i> ³ (<i>nāⁿnida^t</i>)	<i>nānximida^t</i>	
3d per.	<i>nēnzink^t</i>	<i>nānxbink^t</i>	<i>nāⁿnaⁿnk^t</i> (<i>nāⁿniⁿnk^t</i>)	<i>nānxamank^t</i>	<i>nānxanbank^t</i>
Plural:					
1st per.		<i>nānxbinagam</i>	<i>nāⁿnanaⁿga^m</i> (<i>nāⁿninaⁿga^m</i>)		<i>nānxanbanagam</i>
2d per.	<i>nēnzdaba^t</i>		<i>nāⁿnaⁿ't'ba^t</i> (<i>nāⁿniⁿ't'ba^t</i>)	<i>nānximit^tba^t</i>	

Passive

	Aorist	Future
Singular:		
1st per.	<i>negēnxin</i>	<i>nēnxrina^t</i>
2d per.	<i>nagānxbin</i>	<i>nānxbina^t</i>
3d per.	<i>nagāⁿnaⁿ</i> (<i>nagāⁿniⁿ</i>)	<i>nāⁿnana^t</i> (<i>nāⁿnina^t</i>) ⁴
Plural:		
1st per.	<i>nagānximin</i>	<i>nānxrimna^t</i>
2d per.	<i>nagānxanban</i>	<i>nānxanbana^t</i>

¹ Though these forms are simply derivatives of intransitive aorist *naga(i)*-, verb-stem *na-*, they have been listed here because of their great similarity to transitive frequentatives, with which they might be easily confused. In the aorist, the two sets of forms differ in the length of the second (repeated) vowel, in the connecting consonant, and to some extent in the place of the accent, though this is probably a minor consideration. In the future, they differ in the connecting consonant and partly again in the place of the accent.

² Forms in parentheses are instrumental.

³ Imperative (sing. subj. and third person object): *nānha*.

3. Forms of *na(g)*- SAY, DO

D. Reciprocal Forms

	Aorist	Future
Plural:		
1st per.	<i>naga'sinik'</i>	<i>nāziniḡam</i>
2d per.	<i>naga'sant'p'</i>	<i>nāzant'baᶞ</i>
3d per.	<i>naga'saᶞn</i> (frequentative <i>nagañ- saᶞn</i>)	<i>nāzanᶞt'</i>

E. Nominal Derivatives

INFINITIVES

Intransitive: *ne'z*

	Object				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Transitive	<i>nēziya</i>	<i>nāzbiya</i>	<i>nāḡia'</i>	<i>nāzimia</i>	<i>nāzanbia</i>

PARTICIPLE

Active: *na't*

Other forms derived from verb-stem *na(g)*- than those given above are of course found, but are easily formed on evident analogies. Observe, however, intransitive aorist stem *nagañ-* in transitive derivatives *nagañk'wa* HE SAID TO HIM (personal) and *nagañk'wit'* HE SAID TO HIMSELF. Comitatives in *-(a)ḡw-* are not listed because their formation offers no difficulty; e. g., second person singular present imperative *nāḡ'w* DO SO AND SO HAVING IT! It is possible that *bō^u-nēxadaᶞ* IMMEDIATELY is nothing but adverb *bō^u* NOW + subordinating form **nēxadaᶞ* of *-xa-* derivative from *nāḡ-* with regular palatal ablaut (see §31,5); literally it would then mean something like WHEN IT IS BECOMING (DOING) NOW.

APPENDIX B

THE ORIGIN OF DEATH

xi'lam ¹	sebe't ²	hāp'da ³	loho'k'. ⁴	sgi'sidi'l ⁵	nō'ts!at'gwan ⁶	
Roasting-Dead-People		his child	it died.	He and Coyote	neighboring each other	
yu'k'. ⁷	ga-s'i ⁸	nāk'ik'. ⁹	“laps ¹⁰	yimi'xi ¹¹	hāp'dek'. ¹²	loho'ida ^ε . ¹³
they were.	And that	he said to him:	“Blanket	lend it to me	my child	since it died,
laps ¹⁰	yimi'xi, ¹¹	naga'ihī ^ε . ¹⁴	xilam ¹	sebe't'. ²	“anī ^ε . ¹⁵	laps ¹⁰
blanket	lend it to me,”	he said, it is said,	Roasting-Dead-People.		“Not	blanket

¹ xi'lam. Used indifferently for SICK, DEAD (as noun), and GHOST. -am (= -an) is probably noun-forming suffix with inorganic -a- (cf. han-zilmi ABOVE OF GHOSTS, literally, ACROSS-RIVER ARE GHOSTS as verb with positional -i). As base is left zil- or rin- (-n- of radical syllable dissimilates to -l- before nasal suffix); xi'lam from *zin-an or *zil-an. This zin- is perhaps etymologically identical with zin mucus (verb-base zin-SNIFF).

² sebe't'. Participle in -t' of verb seba'tn Type 5 I ROAST IT; aorist stem seeb-, verb-stem sebe-. ROASTING-DEAD-PEOPLE is Takelma name for species of black long-legged bug. He is supposed to be so called because responsible for death, as told in this myth.

³ hāp'da. Base hāp'- SMALL, CHLD (cf. hāp-s-di' SMALL). This is one of those comparatively few nouns that add possessive pronominal suffixes of Scheme II directly to stem. With suffixed ([?]) pre-pronominal -z- it becomes plural in signification: hāp'da HIS CHILDREN. This sort of plural formation stands, as far as known, entirely isolated in Takelma. In its absolute form hāp'- takes on derivative suffix -xi, hāp'xi' CHILD.

⁴ loho'k'. Third personal inferential of verb loho'it'ε Type 4b I DIE; aorist stem lohoi-, verb-stem loho-. -k' inferential element. Inferential mode used because statement is here not made on personal authority, but only as tradition or hearsay. According to this, all myth narrative should employ inferential forms instead of aorist. This myth employs partly inferentials and partly aorists; but in most other myths aorists are regularly employed, probably because they are more familiar forms, and perhaps, also, because myths may be looked upon as well-authenticated fact.

⁵ sgi'sidi'l. sgi'si COYOTE, formed by repetition of base-vowel according to Type 2. -di'l is dual suffix sgi'sidi'l by itself might mean TWO COYOTES, but -di'l is never properly dual in signification, meaning rather HE (indicated by preceding noun) AND SOME ONE ELSE (indicated by context).

⁶ nō'ts!at'gwan. From local adverbial stem nōts!- NEXT DOOR, NEIGHBORING; it is formed by addition of characteristic -a- and third personal plural reflexive pronominal suffix -t'gwan (= -t'-[third person]+-gwan- [reflexive] + -n [plural]). First person singular nōts!adē; second person singular nōts!ada^ε.

⁷ yu'k'. Third personal inferential of verb yowo't'ε Type 2 I AM; aorist stem yowo-, verb-stem yo-(yu-). -k' inferential element as in loho'k'. Corresponding aorist, yowo^ε.

⁸ ga-s'iε. ga is general demonstrative THAT, here serving to anticipate quotation: “laps (2) . . . yimi'xi (3).” -s-iε as general connective indicates sequence of nāk'ik' upon loho'k' (1).

⁹ nāk'ik'. Third personal inferential of verb naga'tn Type 2 I SAY TO HIM; aorist stem naga-, verb-stem nāga-. Corresponding aorist, naga'. Non-aoristic forms of this transitive verb show instrumental -i- (see § 64).

¹⁰ laps. Noun of uncertain etymology, perhaps from base lab- CARRY ON ONE'S BACK. -s nominal derivative suffix of no known definite signification.

¹¹ yimi'xi. Present imperative second person singular subject, first person singular object (-xi) of verb yimiyi'εn Type 1 I LEND IT TO HIM; aorist stem yimī-, verb-stem yimi-. Non-aoristic forms show instrumental -i- as in nāk'ik'; e. g., yimi'hin I SHALL LEND IT TO HIM.

¹² hāp'dek'. See hāp'da (1). -de'k' first person singular possessive pronominal suffix according to Scheme II.

¹³ loho'ida^ε. Subordinate form, with causal signification, of loho'it'ε HE DIED. Aorist stem lohoi- = verb-stem loho- + intransitive element -i- characteristic of aorist of Type 4; ε, third personal aorist subject intransitive Class I, dissimilated because of catch in subordinating suffix -da^ε. Syntactically loho'ida^ε is subordinated to yimi'xi.

¹⁴ naga'-ihī^ε. = naga'it' HE SAID + quotative enclitic -hī^ε. naga'it' third person aorist of irregular verb nagai't'ε Type 4a I SAY; aorist stem nagai-, verb-stem na-. Both transitive and intransitive forms of na(g)-SAY incorporate object of thing said; ga in gas'it' (2) is incorporated as direct object in nāk'ik' (it would be theoretically more correct to write ga [-s-iε]- nāk'ik'); while quotation “laps . . . yimi'xi” is syntactically direct object of naga'-ihī^ε which, as such, it precedes. ga-nāk'ik' anticipates “laps . . . yimi'xi” naga'-ihī^ε. Observe use of aorist instead of inferential from naga'-ihī^ε on.

¹⁵ a'nī^ε. Negative particle with following aorist. True negative future would be vede yimi'hizbiga^ε.

vīmīsbī ^ε n ¹⁶	gwidi'-s-i ^ε 17	yo'εt' ¹⁸	xila'm ¹	yēūk'i ^ε 19	naga'-ihī ^ε 14	
I lend it to you	for where	they will be	dead people	if they return?"	he said, it is said,	
sgī'si. ⁵	nō'us-i ^ε 20	yewe'i ^ε 21	xilam ¹	sebe't. ²	k'odo't ²²	hāp'dagwa ²³
Coyote. And next door	he returned	Roasting-Dead-People.	He buried it	his own child		
loho'ida ^ε 24	ganēhi ^ε 25	dabalni'xa ²⁶	lā'alē'. ²⁷	mīhi ^ε 28	sgī'si ⁵	hāp'da ³
who had died.	And then, it is said,	long time	it became.	Now, it is said,	Coyote	his child
xi'lam ¹	lā'alē'. ²⁷	mī ²⁸	nō'us ^ε 20	gini'k' ^ε 30	xilam ¹	sebet' ²
sick	it became. Now	it died.	Now next door	he went	Roasting-Dead-People	
5 wā'ada. ³¹	laps ¹⁰	yimi'xi ¹¹	hāp'de'k' ¹²	loho'ida ^ε 13	k'adi' ³²	
to him.	"Blanket	lend it to me	my child	since it died."	"What	
nagait' ³³	xilam ¹	sebe't' ²	ga ⁸	naga'i ^ε 14	hō'xa ^ε a ³⁴	ma ^ε a ³⁵
you said?"	Roasting-Dead-People		that	he said.	"Last time	you

¹⁶ *vīmīsbī^εn*. First person singular subject (-*ε*n) second personal singular object (-*bi*-) of verb *vīmīya^εn* (see *yimi'xi* above). -*s*- indirect object used only in aorist of this verb, elsewhere -*r*-; e. g., future *yimi'zbin* I SHALL LEND IT TO YOU. Aorist is used because idea of futurity is here immediate; i. e., time of action is not put definitely forward.

¹⁷ *gwidi'-s-i^ε*. *gwi*- general interrogative and indefinite adverb WHERE? SOMEWHERE. *di* interrogative enclitic serving to give *gwi*- distinct interrogative signification. -*s-i^ε* has here slight causal tinge: FOR WHERE WOULD THEY ALL BE, IF THEY RETURNED?

¹⁸ *yo'εt'*. Third personal future of verb *yowot'^ε* I AM (see *yu'k'* above). -*t'* third personal subject future intransitive Class I.

¹⁹ *yēūk'i^ε*. Third personal conditional (-*k'i^ε*) of verb *yewēt'^ε* Type 4a I RETURN; aorist stem *yewei-*, verb-stem *yēu-* (*yeeu-*).

²⁰ *nō'us-i^ε*. = *nō'us^s* (stem *nōts!*- NEXT DOOR) + connective -*s-i^ε*. *nō'us^s* may best be considered as local adverbial prefix to *yewēi^ε*.

²¹ *yewe'i^ε*. Third person aorist of verb *yewēt'^ε* (see *yēūk'i^ε* above) (-*i* and -*ε* as in *loho'i^ε* and *naga'i^ε* above)

²² *k'odo't'*. Third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *k'ododa^εn* Type 8 I BURY HIM aorist stem *k'odod-*, verb-stem *gōud-*.

²³ *hāp'dagwa*. See *hāp'da* (1). -*gwa* reflexive suffix. *k'odo't' hāp'da* would have meant HE (Roasting-Dead-People) BURIED HIS (Coyote's) CHILD.

²⁴ *loho'ida^ε*. In this case subordinate form serves merely to explain *hāp'dagwa*, and may thus be rendered as relative, WHO HAD DIED.

²⁵ *ganēhi^ε*. = *ganē* AND THEN (compound of demonstrative *ga*), used to introduce new turn in narrative, + quotative -*hi^ε*.

²⁶ *dabalni'xa*. Temporal adverb LONG TIME. Like many other adverbs, it is difficult of satisfactory analysis. *da-* is local body-part prefix, as in several other temporal adverbs; but its application here is quite obscure. *bal-* radical element, cf. adjective *bāl-s* LONG. -*xa* adverbial (chiefly temporal) suffix -*ni-* = ? (cf. *lep'ni'xa* WINTER).

²⁷ *lā'alē'*. Third person aorist intransitive Class II of verb *lā'alit'^ε* Types 10a and 15a I BECOME; aorist stem *lā'alē-*, verb-stem *lāa-p'*. -*ē-* = *i-* of positional verbs. Corresponding inferential *lāp'k'*.

²⁸ *mīhi^ε*. = *mīi* weak temporal adverb NOW, THEN, serving generally to introduce new statement, + quotative -*hi^ε*.

²⁹ *loho'i^ε*. See *loho'ida^ε* (2).

³⁰ *gini'k'^ε*. Third person aorist of verb *gini'k'dē^ε* Type 2 I GO (somewhere); aorist stem *ginig-*, verb-stem *gin-g*, *ginag-* (present imperative *gink'*; future *gina'k'dē^ε*). -*ε* third person aorist intransitive Class I. Inasmuch as forms occur derived from base *gin-* (e. g., reduplicated *giniginia'us^ε*), -*g-* must be considered as either petrified suffix, or as trace of older reduplication with vanished vowel in second member: *gin-i-g-* from (?) *gin-i-gn-*. *ginig-* can be used only with expressed goal of motion (in this case *nō'us^s* and *wā'ada*). HE WENT without expressed goal would have been *ya^ε*. Similarly: *baxam-* COME, *mē-ginig-* COME HERE; *hōgwe-* RUN, *hiwiliu-* RUN (somewhere); *s'owō'us'k'ap'*- JUMP, *biliv-* JUMP AT.

³¹ *wā'ada*. Formed, like *nō'ts!at'gwan* (1), by addition of third personal pronominal suffix -*da* to local stem *wa-*; first person *wādē*. These forms are regularly used when motion to some person or persons is meant: if goal of motion is non-personal, postposition *ga^εa'* TO, AT is employed.

³² *k'adi'*. *k'a* (before *di*, otherwise *k'ai*) is substantival indefinite and interrogative stem (THING), WHAT, corresponding to adverbial *gwi-* (4). *di* serves also here to give *k'a* distinct interrogative force.

³³ *nagait'*. Second person singular aorist of verb *nagait'^ε* (see *naga'-ihī^ε* above). This is one of those few intransitives that take personal endings directly after stem ending in semi-vowel (*nagay-*), without connective -*a-* (see § 65 end).

³⁴ *hō'xa^εa'*. = *hō'xa* YESTERDAY, (here more indefinitely as) LAST TIME, FORMERLY + deictic -*a'*. -*xa* is adverbial (temporal) suffix (cf. *dabalni'xa* above). -*a'* serves to contrast LAST TIME with NOW.

³⁵ *ma^εa*. = *ma* second person singular independent personal pronoun + deictic -*a'*, which here contrasts YOU (as former object of suppletion) with I (as present object of suppletion).

ga ³⁶	nege's'dam ³⁷	'laps ¹⁰	yimi'xi' ¹¹	naga'sbinda ^{ε, 38}	'yap!a ³⁹		
that	you said to me	'Blanket	lend it to me'	when I said to you:	'People		
gwidī ¹¹⁷	vo'εt' ¹⁸	yèūk'i'ε, ¹⁹	mī ¹²³	hawa'xi ^{uε 40}	hāp'de'k' ¹²	naga'-ihī ^{ε 14}	
where	they will be	if they return?'	Now	it is rotting	my child,"	he said, it is said,	
xilam ¹	sebe't' ²	nō'u's'i ^{ε20}	sgisi ⁵	yewe' ^{iε, 21}	"sgā ^{41 +}	t'aga' ^{iε, 42}	ga ⁸
Roasting-Dead-People.	And next	Coyote	he returned.	"Sgā +"	he cried.	That	
	door						
ga ^{εal 43}	bō ^{u 44}	εa'uī ^{ε13}	yap!a ³⁹	yewe' ^{iε 21}	loho'ida ^{ε, 13}		
because of	nowadays	not	people	they return	when they die.		

³⁶ *ga*. Anticipates quotation "yap!a (10) . . . yèūk'iε (11)."

³⁷ *nege's'dam*. Second personal singular subject, first personal singular object (-*dam*) of verb *naga'εn* (see *nāk ik'* above). *nege-* shows palatal ablaut characteristic of forms with first person singular object. *-s-* indirect object in aorist only, elsewhere *-z-*; e. g., *nēzdaε* YOU WILL SAY TO ME. Direct object is *ga*.

³⁸ *naga'sbindaε*. Subordinate form, with temporal force, of *naga'sbiεn* I SAY TO YOU. *naga'sbiεn* = aorist stem *naga-* + indirect object *-s-* + second personal singular object *-bi-* + first personal singular subject *εn*. *naga'sbindaε* is subordinated to main verb *nege's'dam*; its direct object is quotation "laps yimi'zi" (10).

³⁹ *yap!a*. Noun formed apparently by repetition of base vowel according to Type 2. It is employed for PEOPLE in general without regard to sex.

⁴⁰ *hawa'xi^{uε}*. Third person aorist intransitive Class I of verb *hawaziūt'εε* Type 5 I AM ROTTING; aorist stem *ziu-*, verb-stem *ziwi-*. This verb is evidently compounded of *hawa'x* MATTER, PUS and verbal base *ziu-*, whose exact meaning can not be determined, as it has not been found alone.

⁴¹ *sgā+*. Words spoken by Coyote often begin with *s-*, which has in itself no grammatical significance.

⁴² *t'aga'iε*. Third person aorist intransitive Class I of verb *t'agaūt'εε* Type 4a I CRY; aorist stem *t'agai-*, verb-stem *t'āg-*. *-iε* as in *yewe'iε*, *loho'iε*, and *naga'iε* above.

⁴³ *ga^{εal}*. Postposition TO, AT, ON ACCOUNT OF, used with preceding demonstrative *ga*; *ga ga^{εal}* = therefore. *ga^{εal}* is itself compounded of demonstrative *ga* and local element *al* AT, TO.

⁴⁴ *bō^u*. Temporal adverb NOW, TO-DAY. First *ε* of *εa'niε* NOT intended merely to keep up distinct hiatus between final *-ōu* and initial *a-*.

[Translation]

The child of Roasting-dead-people died. He and Coyote were neighbors to each other. Thereupon he said to him, "Lend me a blanket, for my child has died. Lend me a blanket," said Roasting-dead-people. "I'll not lend you a blanket, for where are they going to be, if dead people come back?" said Coyote. And next door returned Roasting-dead-people, and buried his child that had died.

Then, 'tis said, a long time elapsed. Now Coyote's child became sick and died. Now next door he went to Roasting-dead-people. "Lend me a blanket, for my child has died."—"What did you say?" Roasting-dead-people said that. "Yesterday indeed when I did say to you, 'Lend me a blanket,' you, for your part, did say that to me, 'Where will the people be, if they return?' Now my child is rotting," said Roasting-dead-people. So next door Coyote returned. "Sgā + !" he cried. For that reason people do not nowadays return when they die.

HOW A TAKELMA HOUSE WAS BUILT

yapla¹ wi'li² klemèi.³ bēm⁴ p'la-idī'elō'uk'⁵ eme'εs*·*i⁶ hono^{ε7}
 People house they make it. Post they set it down, and here again
 p'la-idī'elō'uk', he'εme^{ε8} hono^ε p'la-idī'elō'uk', hagamgama'n⁹ p'la-idī'elō'uk'.
 they set it down, yonder again they set it down. in four places they set them down.
 he'εne¹⁰ hono^ε hangili'p'¹¹ gada'k'¹² hagamgama'n, gada'k's*·*i^{ε13}
 Then also they place (beams) on top thereof in four places, and on top thereof
 mū'εxda'nhi¹⁴ hangili'p'. he'εne yā'as*·*i^{ε15} wi'li s'idibi'i¹⁶ klemèi;
 just once they piece (beam) across. Then and just house its wall they make it;
 5 he'εne gada'k's*·*i^ε mats'a'k'¹⁷ wili' he'εla'm,¹⁸ t'ga'l¹⁹ ga²⁰ he'εla'm
 then and on top thereof they put them house boards. sugar-pine those boards
 k'lemèi. ganē²¹ dak'da't'²² dat'aba'k'²³ hā'εya²⁴ dat'aba'k'. ganē
 they make them. And then from on top they finish it, on both sides they finish it. And then
 dedewili'ⁱdadī's²⁵ k'lemèi dak'dat's*·*i^{ε26} daho'k'wal²⁷ k'lemèi kliyi'x²⁸
 door they make it, and from on top holed they make it smoke
 gana'u²⁹ ba-i-gina'xda'³⁰ ganēs*·*i^{ε31} ga'k'lan³² k'lemèi, xā'isgip'i'i'-
 therein its going out. And then ladder they make it, they notch it in several

¹ See note 39 of first text; § 86, 2. *yapla* is to be understood as subject of all following finite verb forms.

² § 86, 2; quantity of final vowel varies between *-i* and *-i'*. Directly precedes verb as object.

³ Third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *k'lemèi'n* Type 3 I MAKE IT; §§ 63; 65.

⁴ § 86, 1; object of following verb.

⁵ *p'la-i-* DOWN § 37, 13; *dī'* § 36, 10. *lō'uk'* third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *lō'ugwa'n* Type 6 I SET IT; §§ 63; 40, 6.

⁶ *eme'ε* HERE § 104; *-s*·*i^ε* enclitic particle § 114, 4.

⁷ Modal adverb § 113, 4.

⁸ § 104.

⁹ Numeral adverb from *gamga'm* FOUR § 111.

¹⁰ Temporal adverb § 113, 3.

¹¹ *han-* ACROSS § 37, 1. *-gili'p'* third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *-giliba'εn* Type 3; §§ 63; 40, 3.

¹² Postposition with force of independent local adverb § 96.

¹³ See note 12; *-s*·*i^ε* § 114, 4.

¹⁴ *mū'εxda'n* numeral adverb ONCE § 111; *-hi* enclitic particle § 114, 2.

¹⁵ *yā'a* post-positive particle JUST § 114, 1; *-s*·*i^ε* § 114, 4.

¹⁶ *s'idib-* (HOUSE) WALL § 86, 3; *-i'* third personal possessive form of noun-characteristic *-i-* §§ 89, 3; 92 III. HOUSE ITS-WALL is regular periphrasis for HOUSE'S WALL.

¹⁷ Third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *mats'aga'εn* Type 3 I PUT IT; §§ 63; 40, 3.

¹⁸ Noun stem *he'ε-* with nominal suffix *-am* dissimilated from *-an* §§ 87, 6; 21. *wili' he'εla'm* is compound noun § 88.

¹⁹ § 86, 1. Predicate appositive to *he'εla'm*: THEY MAKE THOSE BOARDS OUT OF SUGAR-PINE.

²⁰ Demonstrative pronoun of indifferent number modifying *he'εla'm* § 104.

²¹ Temporal or connective adverb compounded of demonstrative *ga* and element *-ni* (?=*neε*) of unknown meaning §§ 113, 2; 114 end.

²² Adverb in *-da't'* from local element *dak'*- ABOVE § 112, 1.

²³ *da-* § 36, 2 end; *-l'aba'k'* third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *-l'abaga'εn* Type 3 I FINISH IT; §§ 63; 40, 3.

²⁴ Local adverb § 113, 1.

²⁵ *ded. wili'ida* DOOR, local phrase with pre-positive *de-* IN FRONT OF and third personal possessive suffix *-da* § 93 end. *-da's* postposition § 96 of unclear meaning here.

²⁶ See note 22; *-s*·*i^ε* § 114, 4.

²⁷ *da-* § 107, 5; *-ho'k'wal* adjective with suffix *-al* § 108, 2.

²⁸ § 86, 3.

²⁹ Postposition with *kliyi'x* *ba-igina'xda* § 96.

³⁰ Third personal possessive form in *-da* of infinitive *ba-igina'x*. *ba-i-* OUT § 37, 12; *gin-* verb stem Type 2 or 11 GO TO § 40, 2, 11; *-ax* infinitive suffix of intransitive verbs of class I § 74, 1.

³¹ See note 21; *-s*·*i^ε* § 114, 4.

³² § 86, 2; suffix *-n*, §§ 21; 87, 6.

sgap³³ gwelt'gāu³⁴ gina'x³⁵ k'emēi; wili s'idibī'i's'i³⁶ k'emēi. ganē
 places, down to the earth going they make house its wall and they make And
 it; it.
 dat'laba'k' ha³⁷it'bu'xt' bixik^w.³⁷ ganē lep'ēs³⁸ hahūwū'uek'i,³⁹ gana't⁴⁰
 they finish it all cleaned inside. And rush they spread them of that kind
 then mats out inside,
 gidi⁴¹ alxali⁴² yap'a⁴³; plī⁴³ yogā'^a⁴⁴ has's'ō⁴⁵ gas'i⁴⁶ alxaliyana'⁴⁷
 thereon they sit people; fire its place in the center, so that they being seated
 hā'^eya-p'liya'.⁴⁸ gana'ne'x⁴⁹ hop'ē'⁵⁰ yap'a'a⁵¹ wi'li⁵² lep'ni'xa⁵³
 on both sides of the In that way long ago people, for their house; in winter
 fire.
 wili'⁵⁴ gana't⁵⁵ sama'xas'i⁵⁴ ana'ne'x⁵⁵ alxali, a'ni⁵⁶ wi'li gana'u.⁵⁷ 5
 their of that But in summer in this way they sit, not house therein
 house kind.
 gwa's'⁵⁸ wili yaxa⁵⁹ wit'ge'ye^{ek}'i,⁶⁰ gas'i^e plīⁱ yogā'^a k'emēi
 Brush house just they set it around, so that fire its place they make it
 habini'.⁶¹ gana'ne'x sama'xa alxali, ani^e lep'ni'xa nat'⁶² wi'li gana'u.
 in the middle. In that way in summer they dwell, not in winter like house therein.

³³ *zā* - § 36, 7b; -i- instrumental § 36, 6; *zā*-i- with *ε* to mark hiatus § 6. -*sgip*!isgāp' third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb -*sgip*!isgibiⁿ Type 13a I CUT IT UP TO PIECES iterative of verb -*sgī*'ⁱbiⁿ Type 6; §§ 63; 40, 13; 43, 1.

³⁴ Local phrase with pre-positive *gwel* DOWN TO § 95 and noun-characteristic -u § 89, 4; *t'ga* § 86, 1.

³⁵ See note 30; infinitive used as noun § 74 end.

³⁶ See note 16; -s-i^e § 114, 4. *s-i^e* is appended to *s'idibī'i* rather than *wili*, as *wili s'idibī'i* is taken as unit.

³⁷ *ha*- IN § 36, 11 b; -i- instrumental § 36, 6; *ha^ei*- § 6. -*t'bu'xt' bix-ik^w* passive participle with instrumental -i- in -ik^w § 77 from verb -*t'bozol'baz-* Type 13a, verb stem -*t'bozt'bar-*; -*t'boz-* ablauted to -*t'bu'z-* § 31, 2; -*t'baz-* unlauded to -*t'biz-* § 8, 3a.

³⁸ § 86, 3.

³⁹ *ha*- IN § 36, 11b. -*hūwū'uek'i* = -*hūwū'uk-i-hi* § 19 end; third personal subject, third personal object aorist of instrumental verb -*hūwū'uk*i*ⁿ* Type 3 I SPREAD (MAT) OUT § 64.

⁴⁰ Compounded of demonstrative *ga* THAT and *na'^t* participle in -*t'* § 76 of verb *nagai-* Type 4 a DO, BE, verb stem *na-*; see Appendix A.

⁴¹ Postposition § 96; *gi-* unlauded from *ga-* § 8, 4.

⁴² *al-* § 36, 15b, here with uncertain force; -*zali* third personal subject, third personal object aorist Type 1 in form, though intransitive in meaning § 67 footnote.

⁴³ § 86, 1.

⁴⁴ Third personal possessive of noun *yog-* (?) § 86, 1 with noun-characteristic -*a* § 92 III. FIRE ITS-PLACE is regular pariphrasis for FIRE'S PLACE.

⁴⁵ Local phrase with pre-positive *ha*- IN; -*s'ō* § 86, 1 does not seem otherwise to occur.

⁴⁶ Connective compounded of demonstrative *ga* THAT and enclitic particle -*s-i^e* § 114, 4.

⁴⁷ Subordinate form of *alxali*, note 42; § 70 (see transitive paradigm).

⁴⁸ Local phrase with pre-positive *hā'^eya-* ON BOTH SIDES OF and noun-characteristic -*a* § 95; -*p'liya'* from *p'li* FIRE.

⁴⁹ Modal adverb compounded of demonstrative *ga* THAT and *na'ne'x* infinitive of verb *na^enagai-*, verb stem *na^ena-* §§ 69; 74, 1; Appendix A.

⁵⁰ Temporal adverb in -*n* § 112, 3.

⁵¹ *yap'a* see note 1; -*a* deictic post-nominal element § 102 (people of long ago contrasted with those of to-day).

⁵² *wi'liⁱ* or *wiliⁱ* third personal pronominal form § 92 III of noun *wi'li* HOUSE see note 2. PEOPLE THEIR-HOUSE regular periphrasis for PEOPLE'S HOUSE. Observe that predicate verb (third personal aorist of TO BE) is not expressed in this sentence.

⁵³ Temporal adverb in -*xa* § 112, 2.

⁵⁴ *sama'xa* cf. note 53; -*s-i^e* § 114, 4.

⁵⁵ Modal adverb compounded of demonstrative stem *a-* THIS § 104 and *na'ne'x* see note 49.

⁵⁶ Negative adverb of aorist § 113, 3.

⁵⁷ Postposition with *wi'li* § 96.

⁵⁸ § 86, 1. *gwa's' wili* BRUSH HOUSE form compound noun § 88.

⁵⁹ Particle in -*xa* §§ 112, 2; 114, 9.

⁶⁰ *wi-* § 37, 8. -*t'ge'ye^{ek}'i* = -*t'geye^{ek}'i-hi* § 19 end; third personal subject, third personal object aorist of instrumental verb -*t'ge'ye^{ek}'iⁿ* Type 2 I PUT IT AROUND § 64; -*k-* petrified suffix § 42, 7.

⁶¹ Local adverb with pre-positive *ha-* IN § 95, noun stem -*bin-* not freely occurring § 86, 1, and noun-characteristic -*i* § 89, 3.

⁶² Participle in -*t'* § 76; see note 40.

[Translation]

The people are making a house. A post they set in the ground, and here again they set one in the ground, yonder again they set one in the ground, in four places they set them in the ground. Then also they place beams across on top in four places, and above (these) they put one across just once. And just then they make the house wall; and then on top they place the house boards, those they make out of sugar-pine lumber. Then they finish it on top, on either side they finish it. Then they make the door, and on top they make a hole for the going out of the smoke. And then they make a ladder, they notch out (a pole), for going down to the floor they make it; and the house wall they make.

Then they finish it, all cleaned inside. Now rush mats they spread out inside, on such the people sit. The fireplace is in the center, so that they are seated on either side of the fire. In that way, indeed, was the house of the people long ago; in winter their house was such. But in summer they were sitting like now,¹ not in the house. Just a brush shelter they placed around, so that the fireplace they made in the middle. Thus they dwelt in summer, not as in winter in a house.

¹ We were sitting out in the open when this text was dictated.

Errata to *The Takelma Language*

Edward Sapir marked a number of corrigenda in his own copy of *The Takelma Language*. In the present edition, the erroneous forms have been corrected using a photographic process, following Sapir's manuscript corrigenda. The list below is a record of all changes that were made for this edition.

<i>Original Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Present Page</i>	<i>Original Form</i>	<i>Corrected Form</i>
37	fn.	53	This	¹ This
41	17	57	gwidík' dagwa	gwidík' ^w dagwa
60	36	76	founp	found
99	30	115	tūwū'εk'	tūwu-εk'
101	29	117	dīε-ū' its·!amt'	dīε-ū' its·!amt'
101	29	117	dīεüyü' ts·!amdaεv	dīεüyü' ts·!amdaεv
113	13	129	catch aspirated	catch + aspirated
115	24-5	131	(wayā ^a n-) p!eye ^e n-	(wayā ^a n-, p!eye ^e n-).
169	4	185	mül'ü ^u εk'wa	mül'ü ^u εk'wa
269	20	285	de,	de-
269	21	285	occur-	occur,
285	7	301	di' nεk'ank'εeītp'	di' nεxank'εeītp'
286	13	302	neye'edaε	neye'εdaε
286	fn.2	302	nañkak'	nañhak'

Takelma Texts

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TAKELMA TEXTS.

INTRODUCTION.

The material presented in this volume was collected during the latter part of July and during August, 1906, in Siletz Reservation, western Oregon. The work was done under the direction of the Bureau of American Ethnology and by the recommendation of Prof. Franz Boas; thanks are due to the Chief of the Bureau for permission to publish the texts in this series. As holder of a Harrison Research Fellowship in Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania in 1908-09 I was enabled to prepare the texts for publication in a manner that, it is hoped, will be found sufficiently critical. It is a pleasure to thank the authorities of this University for the facilities afforded in this work.

Though the Takelma language represents one of the distinct linguistic stocks of North America, the number of individuals that can be said to have anything like a fluent speaking knowledge of it is quite inconsiderable, barely more than a handful in fact. Under the circumstances it is therefore a source of congratulation that enough of the folk-lore of the Takelmas could be obtained to enable one to assign these Indians a definite place in American mythology. Of both the texts and complementary linguistic material the sole informant was Frances Johnson (Indian name Gwísgwashān), a full-blood Takelma woman past the prime of life. It is largely to her patience and intelligence that whatever merit this volume may be thought to have is due. The grammatical material obtained has been worked up into a somewhat detailed study now in press as part of the Handbook of American Indian Languages edited by Prof. Boas. The few items of an ethnological character that were obtained incidentally to the linguistics and mytho-

logy have been incorporated in two short articles, "Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon" (*American Anthropologist*, N. S., Vol. 9, pp. 251-275) and "Religious Ideas of the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon" (*Journal of American Folk-lore*, Vol. XX, pp. 33-49).

A special effort has been made to give an adequate idea of the phonetic character of the language and, barring evident inaccuracies of perception, to render the sounds exactly as heard. Hence the rather frequent occurrence of phonetic variants from the forms considered normal. The orthography employed here is the same as that used in the grammatical study referred to, except that in the pseudo-diphthongs the mark of length has been omitted as unnecessary (thus a^a is used for \bar{a}^a and correspondingly for the other pseudo-diphthongs); for typographical reasons l and m with circumflex accent have had to be replaced by l' , m' (these are meant to correspond to \bar{n}). The translation is as literal as is consistent with intelligible English. It is hoped that this, together with the interlinear version of the first five myths and the vocabulary of stems at the end of the volume, will enable anyone that has read the grammar to analyze satisfactorily any of the texts.

Owing to the comparative dearth of published mythologic material from Oregon it is premature to discuss the relations of Takelma mythology. A few of the more important facts are clear, however. Despite the Californian character of Takelma culture the mythology differs strikingly from the typical mythology of central California in at least two important respects—the absence of a creation myth and the presence of a well-defined culture-hero myth; in these respects it agrees with the mythology of northwestern California. On the other hand, the mythology differs from that of northern Oregon in its failure to identify the culture-hero with Coyote. Coyote occurs frequently enough in the myths, but never as culture-hero, though sometimes as transformer; as in California his primary rôle is that of trickster. Not a few of the myths and myth motives found distributed in northern California, Oregon, Washington,

INTRODUCTION.

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and adjoining sections of the Plateau area are, naturally enough, also represented among the Takelmas. Such are the Bear and Deer story (Grizzly Bear and Black Bear in Takelma), the tale of two sisters sent to marry a chief but deceived by Coyote, the rolling skull, the asking of advice of one's own excrement, and the growing tree with the eagle's nest.¹ On the whole, however, the myths differ rather more from what little comparative material is available (Coos, Klamath, Tillamook, Chinook, Kathlamet, Wasco, Hupa, Achomawi, Atsugewi) than might have been expected. Yet too much stress should not be laid on this, as the published Klamath material is inconsiderable in extent, while the mythologies of the Kalapuya, Shasta, and the various Athabascan tribes of Oregon are still unpublished. It seems clear, however, that not only linguistically but also in respect to mythology the region south of the Columbia and extending into northern California was greatly differentiated.

EDWARD SAPIR.

Philadelphia, June 23, 1909.

¹There are special relationships with northern California, as evidenced by the story of the contest of Fox and Coyote, the story of Coyote stuck to pitch or a stump, and that of Coyote locked up in a hollow tree.

KEY TO THE PHONETIC SYSTEM EMPLOYED.

VOWELS.

1. Monophthongs.

- a as in German Mann.
 e open as in English men.
 i open as in English bit.
 o close as in German Sohn but short in quantity. Apt to be heard as u.
 u as in English put. Probably no true Takelma vowel, but heard variant of o or ü.
 ü approximately midway between u and German short ü in Mütze, probably high-mixed-rounded. Apt to be heard as u.
 ā long as in German Kahn.
 è long and open as in French fête, scène.
 ī long and close as in German viel. Sometimes used as short and close variant of i.
 ō long and close as in German Sohn.
 ū close as in English rule. Probably always heard variant of ü or ū.
 ũ long ü; very nearly Swedish u in hus. Apt to be heard as ū.
 ē close and short as in French été. Occurs only as heard variant of i.
 ô open as in German voll, though with less distinct lip-rounding. Arises from labialization of a.
 â long as in English law. Occurs very rarely, chiefly in interjections.
 ä as in English fat. Occurs only in interjections.
 A as in English but. Occurs rarely, either as variant of a or in interjections.
 E obscure vowel as in unaccented English the. Occurs very rarely, chiefly as glide between consonants.

2. Pseudo-diphthongs.

- a^a like ā but with rearticulated short a. Approximately like English far when pronounced with vocalic substitute of r (fā^a), but with clear a-quality held throughout.
 e^e like è but with rearticulated short e. Approximately like English there (with qualifications analogous to those made under a^a).

KEY TO THE PHONETIC SYSTEM EMPLOYED.

2. Pseudo-diphthongs, continued.

- iⁱ like ī but with rearticulated short i.
- o^u like ō but with final u-vanish. Sometimes, though less frequently, heard as variant of organic diphthongs ou or ōu.
- u^u like ū but with rearticulated short u. Heard variant of ū^ū.
- ū^ū like ū̄ but with rearticulated short ū.

Note: ā, ē, ī, ō^u, ū, ū̄ are necessarily pseudo-diphthongs (see below for meaning of circumflex accent).

3. Diphthongs.

- ai, ei, oi, ui (variant of oi or ūi), ūi i-diphthongs with short vowel as first element. Quality of vowels as described above, thus oi = short close o + i, not oi in English boil.
- au, eu, iu, ou u-diphthongs with short vowel as first element.
- āi, èi, ōi, ūi (variant of ūi or ū̄i), ū̄i i-diphthongs with distinctly long vowel as first element. Thus ai differs from āi as did ai in Greek 'αι from āi in 'ā̄.
- āu, èu, īu, ōu u-diphthongs with distinctly long vowel as first element. Thus au differs from āu as does əu in Lithuanian ausis from āu in ráudmi.
- a^{iε}, e^{iε}, o^{iε}, u^{iε} (variant of o^{iε} or ū^{iε}), ū^{iε} (variant of ū^{iε} or ū̄^{iε}), ū̄^{iε}, ū̄^{iε} shortened i-diphthongs followed by glottal catch (see below for explanation of ε). i is extremely short in quantity, being swallowed up, as it were, in ε.
- a^{uε}, e^{uε}, i^{uε}, ī^{uε}, o^{uε} shortened u-diphthongs followed by glottal catch. u analogous to i above.

CONSONANTS.

- b, d, g voiceless mediae, acoustically intermediate between voiced (sonant) and unvoiced (surd) stops. Probably identical with Upper German b, d, g. Whispered b, d, g seem difficult to distinguish from these intermediate stops.

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KEY TO THE PHONETIC SYSTEM EMPLOYED.

- dj like English j in judge, but probably intermediate in regard to sonancy. Occurs only in interjections.
- p', t', k' aspirated voiceless stops. Approximately like English p, t, k in pin, tin, kin, though perhaps with slightly more marked aspiration.
- k^w aspirated labialized k; in other words, k followed by labialized breath or voiceless w.
- p!, t!, t! unaspirated voiceless stops pronounced with glottal articulation; in other words, glottis is closed during making of contact and pause of consonants and is not opened until after release of consonant contact. Crackly effect with slight hiatus before following vowel results. Perhaps somewhat greater stress of articulation is involved, whence these consonants have been termed "fortes."
- ts!₁ (variants are ts! and tc!) "fortis" of ts' (ts, tc), *i. e.*, palatal affricative consisting of t+s' (s, c; see below for explanation of s' and c). ts' itself does not occur in Takelma.
- s as in English sit.
- c as in English ship. s and c are really heard variants of voiceless sibilant midway acoustically between s and c. Perhaps best produced by pressing surface of tongue against alveolar ridge.
- l, m, n as in English. When final after (or before?) glottal catch they tend to become voiceless, *e. g.*, nagá^ln, baxá^m, helé^l. With preceding tautosyllabic long or short vowels they form true diphthongs.
- L voiceless palatalized l. Common in many Pacific Coast languages, but in Takelma it occurs only in interjections and as inorganic consonant in Grizzly Bear's speech.
- x voiceless spirant as in German Bach but pronounced further forward, particularly before palatal vowels.
- h as in English.
- w as in English.
- y as in English yes.
- w denotes labialization of preceding consonant (k^w, h^w). When followed by vowel (as in gux^wi) it denotes very weakly articulated w, generally due to labial vowel of preceding syllable.
- ε glottal catch. Glottis is momentarily closed.

KEY TO THE PHONETIC SYSTEM EMPLOYED.

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- ' denotes aspiration of preceding consonant or, less frequently, vowel.
- ⁿ denotes nasalization of preceding vowel. Occurs only in interjections.

ACCENTS AND OTHER DIACRITICAL MARKS.

- ' falling accent. Denotes fall in pitch of stressed vowel. Vowel starts with higher pitch than that of preceding syllable but falls during its production. This pitch accent comes out most clearly in long vowels and diphthongs. When found on short vowels, fall of pitch strikes following syllable.
- ˘ raised accent. Found on short vowels or unitonal long vowels and diphthongs (generally in last syllable of word). Denotes higher pitch than in preceding syllable but without immediately following fall as in case of '. It is best considered as abbreviated form of ˘, *i. e.*, vowel or diphthong reaches its higher tone immediately instead of sliding up to it. When è occurs in word that has no other accent mark, it denotes short e with raised accent, not long vowel è.
- ˜ rising accent. Found only on long vowels and diphthongs. Denotes gradual rise in pitch. With ' first part of long vowel or diphthong is higher than second, with ˜ first part is lower than second. When l or m is second element of diphthong, following ˘ is substituted (thus aĩ, aũ, añ, but al˘, am˘).
- + denotes more than normal length of preceding vowel or consonant.
- denotes marked separation between diphthong-forming vowels.
- () enclose words in English translation not found in Indian original.

[1]

I. MYTHS.

I. COYOTE AND HIS ROCK GRANDSON.

Bāxdis	hūlk'	wili	íxdīl	sgísi	mēx	sgísi
Wolf,	Panther,	houses	ten;	Coyote,	Crane	Coyote
gūxda	beyán	mí ^{ie} sga ^e	dí'hélēya ^e	wá-iwī	sgísi	sgísi
his wife,	his daughter	one	sleeping on board platform	girl,	Coyote	Coyote
beyán.	Ganē'hi ^e	hāi	alt'gém	ba ^a diní ^x	dahōxa	
his daughter.	Now, it is said,	clouds	black	they spread out in long strips	at evening time	
wa-iwī'	p!agá-ida ^e .	Dūgwít'gwa	ba-ixodóxat'	p!agá ^{ie}		
girl	when she was bathing.	Her skirt	she took it off,	she bathed;		
ei	sínagá ^{ie}	mí ^{ie} sga ^e	búmxi	dap ^e álá-u	ei	ba-isilíxgwa.
canoe	he arrived on river ¹	one	Otter	youth,	canoe	he landed with it.
Mi ⁱ	hoyōi	wa-iwī'	yānk' ^w .	Mi'hi ^e	dán	ba ^e ilelé ^e k'
Then	he stole her	girl,	he took her with him.	Then, it is said,	stone	he took up and put in her;
hawilit'gwa	ginik' ^w .					
into his own house	he came with her.					
Wa-iwī	mēhwí ^e	hā'pxwī	p!a-imats!ák'.	Ganī'hi ^e		
Girl	she was pregnant,	child	she gave birth to it.	Now, it is said,		
sgísi	wá-iwī	hats'ólol	ō't'	dūgī'	ya	t!ayàk'
Coyote	girl	he missed her;	he looked for her,	her skirt	just	he found it in the water.
Mi'hi ^e	albiníx	la ^a lē ^l .	Ulum	p!iyin	mahái	t!omóômt
Then, it is said,	mourning	he became.	Formerly	deer	large	he used to kill them
sgísi	mi ⁱ	sgísi	p!iyin	wēt'gin	p!iyax	ya
Coyote;	now	Coyote	deer	he was deprived of,	fawns	just
t'gwan	k!emēn	sgísi.	A'nī ^e	yok! ^w ōi	gwi	giniyagwa'nma ^e
slave	he was made	Coyote.	Not	he knew it	where	she had been gone with
sgísi	béyan.	Mi ⁱ	p!aiyuwó ^e	hapxi	k!ayá ^{ie} .	Mi ⁱ mahái
Coyote	his daughter.	Then	it was born	child,	it grew up.	Then big

¹ In these myths all river references are to Rogue River in southwestern Oregon.

o-ogoyín dák'dagwa k'lowü. Ganē xi igí'na alp'ou̇p'auhi.
he was given; over himself he put it. Then water he took it, he blew on it.

Ganē bá^éiyeweⁿ aldil̄ tc!olx ogoyín.
Then he made them all; Indian he was given.
recover money

Ganē yá^é.
Then he went.



Gun-gun háp'-da yān-t'ēé
"Otter his child I go,"

nagá^é. Ganē nék'da¹ yāx wili gadák' nagá^é. Ge
he said. Then "Who graveyard house on top of?" (some one) "There
said.

yāx wili nagát'ēdi? Gwinát'ēdi dexebenát'? Ne
graveyard house did you say?" "How in appearance you spoke? Well,
abailíu. Abailiwilò'k'^w alit'bā'gin sin^éit'gilé^ssgwa yōm
look inside!" He looked inside, he was hit; he scratched his nose, blood
mengī' ya. Abaigini^ék' alit'bagát'bak' he^éilemé^ék'. Tc!olx
full just. He went inside, he hit them all, he did away Indian
with them. money

o-ós'ip' t'lümüü'xdaba^é. Tc!olx o-ogoyín. Xi ba^ayānk'^w
do you (pl.) as you have Indian he was given. Water he took
give me, hit me." money it up,

xi igí'na ba^ayewé^é.
water he took; they recovered.²

Ganē yá^é. Xū^én la^alē' ei ganau ba-isák'^w.
Then he went. Night it became; canoe inside of he paddled
to land.

Malák'i k'abáxa ge klasí'^ét' bók'dan bāls dá'molhē't'
She had her son, "There your maternal neck long, red-eared,
told him grandparents

itc!óp'al. Aba-igini^ék'. Alxí'k' dasgáxi hadā'nxmolhē't'
sharp-handed." He went inside. He saw him long- in ear red,
mouthed

alxí'k' itc!óp'al. Wa-iwít'a ga^éal yewé^é alxí'k'
he saw him sharp-handed. Female to he turned; he saw her
bók'dan bāls gwēlxda bāls. Gadi nā'ik' wihín^èa
neck long, her legs long. "That it is that she my mother
said of them indeed

wik'lási. Bānx t!omōk'wa. Miⁱ xuma ō't' yana
my maternal Hunger it was killing Then food he looked acorn mush
grandparents?" him.³ for it,

¹ Perhaps misheard for *nék'di*.

² Lit., "they returned up." Cf. *bá^éiyewēn* (l. 2) "he caused them to recover," lit., "he caused them with his hand to return up."

³ Regular Takelma idiom for "he was hungry."

t!ayàk'	k!eleü.	Alxí'k'	k!ása.	Wik!ási	wihin	meléxina ^ε
he found it,	he supped	He looked	his maternal	"My maternal	my	since she
	it up.	at them	grandparents.	grandfather,	mother	told me,
itc!óp'al	nagá-ida ^ε	k!ása	bók'dan	bāls	nagá-ida ^ε .	Mí'hi ^ε
'sharp-	she saying;	'maternal	neck	long,'	she saying."	Now, it is
handed,'		grandmother				said,
t!ayàk'.	K'wá ^a x.	Gi ⁱ	eit'e ^ε	k!asā.	Bāxdis	hápxda
he had	She woke up.	"I	I am, ¹	maternal	"Wolf	his children
found them.				grandmother!"		
mí ^ε wa	nagá ^{ie} .	Bā ^ε i-yuwuní ^{εn2}	ik'wá ^a gwi ^{εn} .	Sgísi	mí ⁱ	
probably,"	she had	"I'll arouse him,	I'll wake	Coyote	now	
	thought.		him up."			
k'wá ^a x.	K!asā	gi ⁱ	eit'e ^ε .	Ba ^a dēp'	k!asā.	Bānx
he awoke.	"Maternal	I	I am.	Get up,	maternal	Hunger
	grandfather!			grandfather!		
t!ümüü'xi.	Yana	lō'p'.	Alhū ^{ie} x	k!asā	s'ix	yámxda
it is killing me.	Acorns	pound	Go out	maternal	deer	its fat
		them!	hunting,	grandfather!		meat
gelgulugwá ^{εn} .						
I desire it."						
Sgisi	p!iyin	mahái	t!omōm	wēt'gin	p!iyax	ga ya
Coyote	deer	large	he killed	he was de-	fawns	that just
			them,	prived of them;		
ogoōgin	p!iyin	mahái	wēt'gin.	Lobóxa ^ε	yana	lobòp'
he was	deer	large	he was de-	She pounded,	acorns	she pounded
always given,			prived of them.			them,
k!ā'want'.	Ba-ihémk	gasálhi	bo ^u	wedésina ^ε .	Bāxdis	
she put them into	"Take it off	quickly,	soon	it will be taken	Wolf	
sifting basket-pan.				from me.		
gūxda	wedésink'.	Gi ⁱ	eme ^ε	eit'e ^ε	wede	wedésbigam.
his wife	she will take	"I	here	I am,	not	you will be
	it from me."					deprived of it."
Xni(k')	k!emēi	abaihiwili ^{ue}	dan	gadák'	mats!àk'.	Mí'hi ^ε
Acorn	she made it;	she ran into	rock	on top of	she put it.	Then, it
dough		house,				is said,
bāxdis	gūxda	mí ⁱ	wēt'gi	yana	mí ⁱ	wēt'gi.
Wolf	his wife	then	she took it	acorns	then	she took
			from her,			them from her.
alít'bagát'bók'.	Gi ⁱ	eme ^ε	eit'e ^ε	wik!ási	it'gwanyé'git'. ³	
he hit them all.	"I	here	I am.	My maternal	you have enslaved	
				grandmother	her."	
Aldi	t!omōm	aldi	k'a-ilā'p'a	t!omōm.	Dahōxa	yewé ^{ie}
All	he killed	all	women	he killed	In evening	they returned
	them,			them.		

¹ *i. e.*, it is *I*. "I am" would generally be rendered by *eit'e^ε* alone, without independent pronoun *giⁱ*. Non-incorporated pronouns are hardly ever used except for emphasis.

² Lit., "I cause him with my hand to be up."

³ Formed from *t'gwàn*, "slave."

E. SAPIR—TAKELMA TEXTS.

17

aldil sgísi yewé^{ie} p'liyax yá^ahi labàk' sgísi. P'liyín
all, Coyote he returned; fawn merely he carried it on his Coyote. Deer
back, it turned out,

mahái t!omomaná^e wēt'gin p'liyax ga ya ogoyín. K!asā
large although he had it was taken fawn that just he was "Maternal
killed it, from him, given. grandfather!

gwidí p'liyín mahái^a? Wēsín. ^Ā4 sgísi wá^ada hapxit!t'a
where deer big one?" "I was de- "Oh! Coyote to him boy
prived of it."

he^eiléme^exam t!omōxam. Míⁱhi^e t!ēlā'p'agan no^{us} lemé^ex.
he did away he killed us." Then, it their husbands next they came
with us, is said, house together.

T!omōm hapxit!t'a alí'hit'bagát'bòk' gada yeweyàk'^w.
They beat boy; but he struck them all, alongside he returned
him of that with them.¹

Aldiⁱ t!omōm yáp^a hapxit!t'a xebéⁿ hapxit!t'a
All he killed them people, boy, he did so; boy

t!omúxa^e. Dan hapxit!t'a gasi^e ga^aal niⁱwa'n yap^a
he killed. Rock boy, so that because of he was people
feared;

mahái t!omōm dan hapxit!t'a.
big he killed rock boy.
them

He^ene no^u yewé^{ie} nixa wá^ada yewé^{ie}. Alxíⁱgiⁿ
Then down he returned his to her he returned. "I have
river mother seen them

wik!ási bāxdis it'gwanyé^ek'òk'² xúma áldi wedék'igam²
my maternal Wolf he seems to have food all they seem to have
grandparents; enslaved them, been deprived of,

p'liⁱ wedék'igam² nagá-ihí^e nixa gwenhegwá^agwanhi.
firewood they seemed to have he said, his mother he related it to her.
been deprived of," it is said,

Sgísi beyán ganī yá^e maxa wá^ada p'im ē'debū^{e3}
Coyote his daughter now she went her father to him; salmon full in
canoe

t!ít'wi yá^e. Mot'wòk' bómxi p'im ē'debū^e yānk'^w.
her husband he went. He visited his Otter, salmon full in he took it
father-in-law canoe with him.

Búmxi gūxdagwadī^l p'im ē'debū^e yānk'^w maxa wá^ada
Otter together with his salmon full in canoe he took it her father to him
own wife with him,

aba-iwòk'. Sgísi gūxdagwadī^l di'hilik'^w bean yewé-ida^e.
they arrived Coyote together with his they were their when she
in house. own wife glad daughter returned.

Ganī nō^u yewé^{ie}.
Then down river they returned.

¹ Takelma idiom for "he got even with them for that, revenged that upon them."

² Inference is used instead of aorists, because Rock Boy is quoting the authority of his maternal grandmother.

³ So heard for *ei-debū^e*, "canoe-full."

*Translation.*¹

There were Wolf and Panther in ten houses;² there were Coyote, Crane, Coyote's wife, and one daughter of his, a girl sleeping on a board platform, Coyote's daughter. And then black clouds spread out in long strips as the girl was bathing in the evening time. Her skirt she took off, and bathed. One Otter youth arrived in the river with his canoe, with his canoe he landed. Then the girl he stole, he took her with him. Then, 'tis said, a stone he took up and put into her, and into his own house he came with her.

The girl was pregnant, gave birth to a child. And then Coyote did miss the girl; he looked for her, found only her skirt by the water. Then, 'tis said, he became a mourner. Before Coyote had been wont to kill big deer; now Coyote was deprived of the deer, only fawns were always given to him, a slave was Coyote made. Coyote did not know where his daughter had been taken to. Now the child was born, up it grew. Now big became the boy that she had given birth to. She told him, "Your maternal grandparents are living up the river." And then, 'tis said, he traveled about in his canoe. "Mother! to my maternal grandparents shall I go."—" 'Tis far away."—"There shall I go."—"You will be lost."—"I shall go. What is their appearance?"—"He is reeared, sharp-clawed, red in his ears," she said to him. "Your maternal grandmother has a long neck."

Big had the boy become. Then, 'tis said, he went off, a canoe he paddled up stream. "As Otter's child I wander about," he sang. Over a house he walked, "t'UL, t'UL, t'UL."—"Who's on top of the graveyard house?" someone said. "Is that a graveyard house there, did you say?"—"How do you look, you who spoke?" "As you people, for your part,

¹ The supernatural birth and invincible prowess of Rock Boy would seem to make of him a sort of culture hero, yet the true culture hero of the Takelmas is Daldal, the dragon-fly, or rather he and his younger brother (see the following myth). According to Gatschet the culture hero of the Kalapuyas is Flint Boy (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, Vol. II, Part I, p. lxxxix).

² That is, there were ten houses occupied by the Wolf and Panther people.

look, just so am I in appearance.”—“Well, look inside!” Inside he looked, and was hit; his nose he scratched, just full of blood it became. He went inside and hit them all, the people he did away with, all the people did he whip. “Dentalia do you give me!” Dentalia he was given, about himself he strung them. Then water he took and blew it upon them. Then he caused them all to recover, and dentalia was he given.

Then on he went. “As Otter’s child I wander about,” he sang. Then someone said, “Who’s on top of the graveyard house?”—“Is that a graveyard house there, did you say?”—“How do you look, you who spoke? Well, look inside!” He looked inside, and was hit; he scratched his nose, just full of blood it was. Inside he went and hit them all, away with them he did. “Dentalia do you give me, as you have struck me.” Dentalia he was given. He lifted up water, water he took (and blew it upon them). They recovered.

Then on he went. Night came on, and in his canoe he paddled to land. She had told her son, “There are your maternal grandparents, if long is her neck, and he is red-eared, sharp-clawed.” He went inside. He saw that he was long-mouthed, red in his ear, he saw that he was sharp-clawed. He turned to the woman, and saw that her neck was long and her legs were long. “So those are my maternal grandparents of whom my mother, indeed, did speak?” He was hungry. Then he looked for food, and acorn mush he found, he supped it up. He looked at his maternal grandparents. “It is my maternal grandfather, since my mother did tell me, ‘He is sharp-clawed,’ she said. ‘A long neck has your maternal grandmother,’ she said.” Now, ’tis said, he had found them. She awoke. “It is I, maternal grandmother!”—“It must be Wolf’s children,” she had thought. “I’ll arouse him, I’ll wake him up.” Now Coyote awoke. “Maternal grandfather, it is I. Get up, maternal grandfather! I’m hungry. Pound acorns!¹ Go out to hunt, maternal grandfather! venison fat I desire.”

¹ This command is addressed to Rock Boy’s maternal grandmother.

Coyote killed big deer, but was deprived of them; fawns only were wont to be given to him, big deer he was deprived of. She pounded, acorns she pounded, and put them into the sifting basket-pan. "Take it out quickly, soon it will be taken from me. Wolf's wife will take it from me."—"I am here, you shall not be deprived of it." Acorn dough she made; she ran into the house, and put it on the stone. Then, 'tis said, Wolf's wife now took it from her, acorns now she took from her. Right there he returned, and hit them all. "It is I that am here. My maternal grandmother you have enslaved." He killed them all, all the women did he kill. In the evening they all returned, Coyote returned; merely a fawn did Coyote carry home. Though a big deer he had killed, it was taken from him; just a fawn he was given. "Maternal grandfather! where is the big deer?"—"It has been taken from me."—"Oh! With Coyote is a boy that has done away with us, he has whipped us," said the women. Then, 'tis said, their husbands all went to the neighboring house. They beat the boy, but he just struck them all, revenged that upon them. All the people did he kill; thus the boy did, the boy did kill. Of rock was the boy, so because of that was he feared; big people did Rock Boy kill.

Then down river he went back, to his mother he returned. "I have seen my maternal grandparents. It seems that Wolf has enslaved them, of all their food they seem to have been deprived, of firewood they seem to have been deprived," he said, to his mother he recounted it. Then Coyote's daughter went to her father. Also her husband did go with his canoe full of salmon. Otter visited his father-in-law; salmon, filled in his canoe, he took with him. Otter, together with his wife, did take with him salmon, a canoeful; in her father's house they arrived. Coyote and his wife were glad when their daughter returned. Then they went back down river.

2. DALDAL¹ AS TRANSFORMER.

Daldál	wilí	yowó ^é	xamí'xa	cu ^é wilí.	Yap ^é a	
Dragon-fly	his house	it was,	by the sea	he was dwelling.	People	
xa-isgu ^{ut} 'sgát'ak ^{'w}	xa-isgí'p'sgibik ^{'w}	yáp ^é a	ba-ik'ulú ^{uk} 'a.			
with bodies all cut through	with limbs all lopped off	people	they came floating down river.			
Sgó ^u sgwahi ^é .	Gwidí'	baxám?	Gwidí'	na ^é neyé ^é ?	Gwidí'	
He got tired of it, it is said.	"Whence come they?"	come they?	How	there is doing ^é ?	Whence	
baxám	yap!a	xa-isgú ^{ut} 'sgidik ^{'w} ?	Gwidí'	baxám?	Ganat [']	
come they	people	with bodies cut through?	Whence	come they [?] "	So in appearance	
yaxa	ba-ik'liyí ^é k'	xa-isgú ^{ut} 'sgidik ^{'w} .	Gwidí'	baxám?		
continually	they came	with bodies all cut through.	"Whence	come they [?] "		
Ganēhi ^é	sgó ^u sgwa.	Dabalníxa	la ^{alē} '	yap!a	xa-isgú ^{ut} 'sgidik ^{'w}	
Then, it is said,	he became tired of it.	Long time	it became	people	with bodies all cut through	
ba-ik'ulú ^{uk} 'wa	aga	gwēlxda	eme ^é	xa-isgí'p'ik ^{'w}	ganát [']	
they came floating down river;	these	their legs	here ³	cut right through	so in appearance	
yaxa	ba-ik'ulú ^{uk} 'wa.	Ganē'hi ^é	gwí ^é ne	la ^{alē} '.	Ne ^é	
continually	they came floating down river.	Then, it is said,	how long	it became.	"Well,	
yānt ^{'é} .	Gwidí	baxám	yap!a	xa-isgú ^{ut} 'sgidik ^{'w}	ne ^é ge	
I'll go.	Whence	come they	people	with bodies all cut through,	well, there	
giník ^{'de}	nagá-ihí ^é .					
I'll go,"	he said, it is said.					
Ba ^a k'lemenáms.	Ganē	yá ^é	hinaū	gini ^é k'.	A'ní ^é hawi	
He made ready to go.	Then	he	up river	he went.	Not yet	
ga	yuk!wōī	gwī	baxám ^{da}	yap!a	xa-isgú ^{ut} 'sgidik ^{'w}	áni ^é
that	he knew it	where from	that they came	people	with bodies all cut through,	not
yok!wōī.	K'ái	ga ^é al	dì	yap!a	xa-isgú ^{ut} 'sgidik ^{'w} ?	Gwidí'
he knew it.	"What	for	(inter.)	people	with bodies all cut through?	Whence
baxam	nagá-ihí ^é .	Ganē	yá ^é .	Gelam	bá ^a wawilik ^{'w} .	
come they [?] "	he said, it is said.	Then	he went.	River	he traveled up along it.	

¹ *Daldál* was said to be the name of a blue insect flying about in the swamps, somewhat like a butterfly in appearance, and looking as if it had two heads joined together. Very likely the dragon-fly was meant.

² *i. e.*, What is the matter?

³ Accompanied by gesture.

Ganē^hi^ε t'gwayám ts!ayàk' s'inyá^ahi^εdalagám^t. Wítclai¹
Then, it is lark he shot at it, just its nose, it is said, "My nephew,¹
said, he pierced.

dí^hiliugwá^εn² sindelegám^εsdam nagá-ihí^ε. Gwidí ginigàt' ?
I am glad of it you pierced my nose," it said, it is "Where are you
said. going to?"

Agahi yáp!a xa-isgí^p'sgibik^w gáhi gwídí baxám.
"These very people all cut through, those same whence they come."
ones

Ganēhi^ε ba^adé^εyeweyàk^w. Míⁱ hono^ε s'u^x ts!ayàk'.
Then, it is he continued traveling.³ Now again bird he shot
said, at it.

Gelbâ'm sāk^w dak'awalák'ⁱda plaiyewé^ε wilàu gelbô'm
Way up he shot it, on crown of his it returned arrow way up
head down,

sāk^w. Sás nagá-ihí^ε wāxa. Wí^εwā nagá-ihí^ε. Míⁱ
he shot it. Coming to he did, it his younger "My younger he said, it Now
a standstill is said, brother. brother," is said.

gā^εm la^alē^a wāxadil. Ganē yá^ε hinaū giní^εk'.
two they became he and his Then they went, up river they went.
younger brother.

Neks'iwó'k'di malāk'wa yáp!a henenagwán di^εlo^umē^a yap!a
I know not who he told him, "People they are annihi- at Di^εlo^umi^a people
lated,

henenagwán xa-isgip!ⁱsgibin. Míⁱ ganēhi^ε k'ái gwalahi
they are annihi- they are always cut Now then, it is things many
lated through. said, indeed

εⁱhemēm golóm ihēmēm xa^εiyasgip!ⁱlhi^ε wāxadil ga
he wrestled oaks with he wrestled he always just cut them he and his that
with them, white acorns with them, in two, it is said; younger brother

na^εnagá^ε. Aga xo ihēmēm yana ihēmēm golóm
they did. These firs they wrestled oaks with they wrestled oaks with
with them, black acorns with them, white acorns

ihēmēm tc!ā'sap'⁴ ihēmēm k'ái gwala ihēmēm.
they wrestled tc!āsap'-berry they wrestled things many they wrestled
with them, bushes with them, with them.

Ganē tc!ámx lālē. Mí^εs yap!a wá^ada wōk' mologulá^ap'a
Then strong they became. One person to him they arrived,
old woman

tc!á^εs yap!a daldì K'uk'ū níxa cī^εulì. A' wīt'adì.⁵
Bluejay person wild in K'uk'u his mother, she was "A!" my aunt!"
woods sitting.

¹ *Witclai* means properly "my brother's child" or "my sister's child," according to whether a woman or a man is speaking, in other words, "nephew" or "niece," provided the speaker and parent of the child are related as brother and sister.

² So heard for *díhiliugwá^εn*.

³ Lit., "he up (and) went again having it in front."

⁴ Described as a tree growing in the mountains with smooth red bark and bunches of berries hanging like grapes.

⁵ Properly, "my father's sister."

E. SAPIR—TAKELMA TEXTS.

23

Gwidí ginigàt' ts!ayā? Hinàu. A' t'adā goc¹ mahai
 "Where are you nephew?" "Up river. A! aunt, gos- shell big
 going to,

ús.i. A'nī² gi¹ a-icdèk' wik'aba á-icda. Bu^uban t!i'mí³s
 give "Not I my property, my son his Strings of one
 me!" property." dentalia hundred

ogúcbi⁴n. A'nī² gī a-icdèk' wik'aba á-icda. K'ai
 I'll give you." "Not I my property, my son his property. Perhaps
 t!umūxi. K'ai ga⁴ál di? Aga būban t!ēi'mí³s ogúcbi⁴n.
 he'll kill me." "What for (inter.)? These strings of one hundred I'll give
 dentalia you."

Tc!olx gangáhi guc mahài igína tc!olx ogōihi. Daldal
 Indian anyhow gos- shell big he took it, dentalia he gave her. Daldal
 money

wāxa xebé⁵n maháit'a ání² gwī na⁶nagá¹⁸. Sasánsasinīhi⁸
 his younger he did elder one not in any he did. He kept standing,
 brother so, way it is said,

yaxa aga maháit'a aga wāxat'a xebén⁵. Yá⁹.
 continually this elder one, this his younger brother, he did They
 for his part, so. went.

Mī yewé¹⁰ K'ūk'ū. Gwidí guc mahait'ék¹¹à? Witc!aihan
 Now he returned K'uk'u. "Where gos- my big one, "My nephews
 shell indeed?"

nōdát' baxám¹² idága bu^uban t!ēi'mí³s ogús'bi. Gus
 from down they came, those strings of one hundred they gave
 river "Gos- shell
 you."

mahái¹³a gwidí? Witc!aihan igína. Mī¹⁴ t!omōm níxa.
 big indeed where?" "My nephews they took Now he killed his
 it." her mother.

Mī yáp!a wayānk'^w. Mī yo^umī. Gus mahai me¹⁵yēk'^w.
 Now people he followed them. Now he caught up "Gos- big fetch it
 with them. shell back hither!"

Bu^uban t!ēi'mí³s me¹⁵yēk'^w. Bo^u wít'adi hé'wa¹⁶i'wi¹⁷n
 "Strings of one hundred fetch them Just now my aunt I left them
 dentalia back hither! with her

bu^uban t!ēi'mí³s. Gus mahái me¹⁵yēk'^w. T!ēi'mí³s ditc!úk'¹⁸
 strings of one "Gos- big fetch it "One hundred Indian
 dentalia hundred." shell back hither!" rope

p'ū^udik'^w me¹⁵yēk'^w. Gus mahái me¹⁵yēk'^w. Sansans'iniyá¹⁹.
 fathoms fetch them "Gos- big fetch it Let there be
 back hither!" shell back hither! fighting."

Duwú²⁰k'ci²¹ canáxiniba²²s'i²³. Ganē'hi²⁴ sansánsa²⁵n daldál
 "So it is good, so let us fight!" Then, it is said, they fought Daldál

¹ Described as a rainbow-colored shell of the size of two hands.

² Ten strings reaching from wrist to shoulder, each containing ten dentalia, are meant.

³ A rope made of the twisted fibres of a grass growing to a height of a foot and a half and with a broader blade than the ordinary variety. Probably Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*) is referred to.

⁴ A term used of a unit string of dentalia.

k!wált'adíl. the younger and he.	DEM + DEM +	DEM +! DEM +! DEM +!	Dolà Hollow tree trunk	ganau inside of	hiwilí ^{uc} he ran,
ts!ayāp'. he hid himself.	Obēyá "O elder, brother!"	nagá-ihí ^s . he said, it is said.	Ganēhí ^s Then, it is said,	al ^o ōdan he looked around for it	daldál Daldál
maháit'a older one,	dan rock	ba ^a yānk' ^w he picked it up,	wā'da to him	gwidik' ^w he threw it,	gwélxda his leg
xada ^a nt'gilt'gálhi. he broke it in two with rock.	T'gil! "Break!"	heméham he echoed it	gwélxdagwa his own leg		
xa ^a k!wot'k!A'sda ^s when it was broken in two,	heméham he echoed it,	t'gíl. "Break!"	Hemhe ^s hám "He echoes it	gwélxdagwa. his own leg."	
Hemhe ^s hám "He echoes it	gwélxdagwa. ¹ his own leg."	Dakpliyá "On the fire	k!wālk'. throw him!"	Dakpliyá "On the fire	
k!wālk'. ¹ throw him!"	Datc!anā't' "About to die become."	lālē. he has become."	Datc!anā't' "About to die become."	lālē'. ¹ he has become."	Dakpliyá On the fire
gwidik' ^w . he threw him.	Xá-u ¹ "Xá-u," ²	k'u ^u bí his hair	hāxda ^s as it burned	heméhamhí ^s he echoed it, it is said,	k'u ^u bí't'gwa. his own hair.
Ganē Then	yá ^s they went,	ba ^a dé'yeweyàk' ^w . they continued to travel.	Ganē Then	yá ^s . they went.	K'ai gwalà Things many
ihemèm yana they wrestled with them,	ihemèm oaks they wrestled with them,	xo firs they wrestled with them,	ihemèm they wrestled with them,	tc!ā'cap' tclācap'- berry bushes	ihemèm they wrestled with them,
xa-iyá ^a k!odōlhi. they always just broke them in two.	Alhemèk' They met him	mi ⁱ s one	lomt!ē. old man.	Mi ⁱ s "One	baxá ^s m he comes,"
ópxa his elder brother	malaganánhi. he told him.	Alsínló ^u k' They met him	mi ⁱ s one	lomt!ē old man	hā'p'di. small.
Gwenhék'wa ^a k' ^w "Relate it,	lomt!ē. old man!"	Ba-idak'wilit!ā ^a +dí ^s n. "I ran out of the house."	Há-u. "Yes!	Gwidi How	
mene ^s in this way	na ^a c ⁿ àt' you could do,	baidàk'wilit!ā+dít'? you ran out of the house?	Wūlx ^s Enemies	abaidi ^s yowó ^u da ^s since they have come into house to fight,	
gasi ^s so that	ba-ibiliwàt'. you ran out."	Ba-idak'wilit!ā+dí ^s n. "I ran out of the house."	Gahē Just that	yaxa continually	
ganga only	nagá ^s . he said.	Mi ⁱ ts!iní'ts!anx Now he became angry	daldál. Daldál.	K'a-iná ga dí' "What that (inter.)	
nagaít'? you say?"	He ^s alt'gu ^u nt'gàn He kicked him over,	lat'ba ^a x he burst,	yu ^u m blood	yá ^a lālē'. just he became.	

¹ These echoing words are pronounced by K'uk'u in a heavy whisper.² This word is supposed to represent the crackling of the burning hair.³ Used generally to refer to Shasta Indians.

Ganaⁿèx yap!a do^umdàm^k'. Daldál sinhús^gal cdoicdagwána
In that way people he used to kill "Daldál big-nosed! Putting on style
them, it seemed.

lāp' nagá-ihí^é. Wāxa miⁱ गयाū yūm. Miⁱ lūliⁱ
become!" he said, it is His younger now he ate it blood. Now his throat
said. brother

da-idamák'. Obiyá. K'adī ání^é xa^éálk!walagwít' nagá-ihí^é
it choked it. "O elder "What not you had better let he said, it is
brother!" it alone," said.

Witc!amák'^w igíⁱna gwenló^u'k'i ba-iwak!alási yūm witc!amák'
Flint flaker he took he stuck it into with it he took blood flint flaker
it, his throat, it out

wa bēm wà. Xa^éálsi^é1 ání^é k!walàk'^w.
with stick with. "Not he let it alone."

Ganī bā[']de[']yeweyàk'^w. Miⁱ hono^é wili tlayàk'.
Then they continued traveling. Now again house they found it.

K'a-ilā^ap'a sgilbibíⁱ+x sgilbibíⁱ+x sgilbibíⁱ+x² nagá^{ié}. Daldál
Woman "Warm your warm your warm your she said. "Daldál
back! back! back!"

s'inhús^gal sdóis[']dagwana lāp' sgilíⁱpxde^é. Abaigini^ék'. Mi^{ié}s
big-nosed, putting on style become! I'll warm my He went inside. One
back."

exa³ k'a-ilā^ap'a sgilíⁱpx. Mī p!a-iwayá^é. Sgilbibíⁱx.
continually woman she was warm- Now he went to lie "Warm your
ing her back. down. back!"

Hap!ēyá gelt!aná^hagwa.⁴ Gwelhí t'uwúk[']de^é. Miⁱ plíⁱ
Into the fire she pushed him. "Keep away! I feel hot." Now fire

xādat[']guyū[']sgwa. Obēyá. A'nī^ési^é xa¹k!walàk'^w.⁵ Hé^ésal-
it had blistered his "O elder "Not indeed he let things He kicked
back. brother!" alone."

t'gu^unt[']gàn. Kxádi^é mā k'a-ilā^ap'a yudá^é. Wá^{as}' nānsbina^é
her off. "What you woman you will Wá^{as}- you will always
be? bush be called,

k!umoi ga^éal yodá^é. Wede ma k'a-ilā^ap'a yuk!ēit' xuma
swamps at you will be. Not you woman you will be, food
yudá^é nagáhi^é.
you will he said to her,
be," it is said.

¹ Xa^éál-si^é seems to go with k!walàk'^w.

² Pronounced very shrilly. The type of reduplication exhibited here is not normally employed for grammatical purposes. The normal form of the word is sgilíⁱpx.

³ So heard for mi^{ié}s yaxa.

⁴ Equivalent to gelt!aná^hi (lit., "she held him with her breast").

⁵ xa^{al} = xa^aal.

⁶ = K'ádi. K' is here so strongly aspirated as sometimes to be heard as kx.

⁷ Described as a bush of about three feet in height, with white leaves and crooked yellowish-red flowers of the length of a hand. The root was used for food.

- Ganē yá^ε ba^ade^εyeweyàk^w. Me^εmī' + nyil me^εmī' + nyil
Then they they continued "Come hither come hither
went, traveling. and copulate! and copulate!"
- nagá-ihí^ε. A'! k'adí neyé^ε? Daldal s'inhúsgal s'dois'dagwaná^ε
she said, it "A'! what they say? Daldál big-nosed, putting on style
it is said.
- la^aap' ma^εá minyiláⁿ nagáhi^ε óp^xa. Ge giní^εk'.
become you, for I'll copulate," he said to him, his elder There he went.
your part; it is said, brother.
- Gwélxdagwa ha-iwesgáhak^w. Ganē'hi^ε gelwayān. Miⁱ
Her own legs she spread them apart. Then, it is he slept with Now
said, her.
- wa^εitc'lomó^uk'wa. Wede ga naⁿēxdam. Miⁱ dahi^sdamá^εx.
she squeezed (her legs) "Not that do to me!" Now he was nearly
together. breathless.
- Obiyá. Ge^e giní^εk' witc'lamàk^w eihi gwélxda xa^εitc'liwít'
"O elder There he went; flint flaker he used her legs he split them
brother!" it, open.
- Kxádi ma k'a-ilā'p'a yodá^ε? T'lāk' nānsbina^ε. Haxiyà
"What you woman you will Fresh water you shall always Into the
be? mussel be called." water
- gwidik^w. Yap!a ga-iwawálsbink' yap!a ga^ssbink' xuma
he threw "People they shall always people they shall food
them. eat you, eat you;
- yudá^ε nagáhi^ε.
you shall he said to her,
be," it is said.
- Miⁱ bāyewé^ε. Ganē yá^ε ba^ade^εyeweyàk^w. Ganē
Now they arose and Then they they continued Then
went again. went, traveling.
- án^ε wili t'layaganá^ε k'ai gwala ihemēm xa-iyá'sgip'ilhi.
not house they having things many they wrestled they always just cut
found it, with them, them in two.
- Wāxadil ga naⁿnagá^ε. A^ε! Miⁱ k'adi dā^εagàn t'ut'
He and his that they did. A^ε! Now what they heard it, "t'ut'
younger brother
- t'ut' t'ut'. A'! Daldál sinhúsgal. Dak'wili giní^εk'. Miⁱ
t'ut' t'ut'." "A'! Daldál big-nosed!" On top of he went. Now
the house
- p!a-i^εályuwú^ε mologolā'p'a gā'plini ts!elei wō'k'i^ε gūms
he looked down; old women two eyes without blind
- k'ó^εx lobōp'. Mi^si^ε wát'gwan gel'syowó^ε. Mihi^ε daldál
tar-weed they pounded Now towards each they were Now, it Daldál
seeds them. indeed other facing. is said,
- wāxa hoyōi xumá mologolā'p'a hoyōi dak'wili'dat'
his younger he stole it, old women he stole it; from on top of
brother food the house
- daldál xebeⁿ. Gwidí henenagwát'ēdi? Gemé^εdi? Maci-
Daldál he did so. "How, did you eat it all up?" "Where? You

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wak'di henenagwàt' nagása^{en}ni^e. Dakt'bá^agamt' ū'lukli
perhaps you ate it all up," they said to each other, it is said. He tied together above their hair

mologolā'p'agan bāls. Miⁱ dakt'bá^agamt'. Miⁱ la^amālsa^{en}.
old women long. Now he tied them together above. Now they quarreled with each other.

Miⁱ dewiliwālsi^t nagása^{en}ni^e. Miⁱ lāmalsa^{en}. Miⁱ
"Now she is fighting me," they said to each other. Now they quarreled with each other.

úluk!it'gwan it!anáhi. Mī lamālsa^{en} biliwālsa^{en}. Miⁱ
each other's hair they took hold of it. Now they quarreled with each other, they jumped at each other. Now

daldál dak'wilíⁱdat' uyūⁱsgigwa. Daldál cinhúsgal āk'
Daldál from on top of the house he laughed at them. "Daldál big-nosed he

di haga xēp'k' ? Dit'gwá^alam wit'adì tc!elei wô'k'ⁱ
(inter.) that one yonder so he did it?" "O yes! my aunts eyes without

diⁱ yūk' ? Ganē aba-iginí^ek'. T'gwe^lámx wūlt' haplēya
(inter.) they seem to be?" Then he went inside. Scouring rush he went into the fire

de^egwidik'^w. Ganē tc!eléi ganau damats!āk'. Bak! Miⁱ
he put it point foremost. Then their eyes in he placed it point foremost. Pop! "Now

tc!eléik'^w k'emēnxbi^{en} nagá-ihí^e.
having eyes I have made you," he said, it is said.

Bá^ade^eyeweyàk'^w xilamanà. Īhemem k'ai gwalá
They continued to travel they. They wrestled things many

xā^ewìn xo ĩhemèm yaná ĩhemèm xa-isgip^eilhi yūk'
while firs they wrestled oaks they wrestled they always cut strong
traveling, with them, cut them in two;

k'emēnk'wit'. Miⁱ hono^e wili alt!ayàk'. Ā! Daldál
they made themselves. Now again house they found it. "A! Daldál

sinhú^usgal cdoisdagwaná lāp'. Abaiginí^ek'. K!al^s xa^{at}'bé^ek'-
big-nosed, putting on style become!" He went inside. Sinew it was

t'bagams wili debú^{ue}. Miⁱ sēp'. P!úl ba-idigwibí^kōp'.
all tied together house full. Now he cooked it. Ashes they popped out all over.

Gana^enèx yap!a do^umdàm^k'. Ā! Gwidi na^enagaít'
In that way people he evidently used to kill them. "A! How are you doing?"

nagá-ihí^e. Hāxank'wahí's. Obiyá. ^ee k'ádi ma wili
he said, it is said. He almost burned him. "O elder brother!" "e! What you house

¹ Lit., "she goes ahead at me."

wa-it!ánida²? P'iyin k'látsli¹ nánsbina² wílaū da^awa-
you will keep it?¹ Deer its sinew you will always arrows along them
be called; they

t'bā'gamdina² le^epsi wílau k!emniyaūk¹i^e wat'bā'gamdina²
shall be tied feathers, arrows whenever people they shall be tied
therewith make them therewith,"

nagáhi². Miⁱ k!emēi.
he said to him, Now he made it.
it is said.

Ba^ade^eyeweyàk¹w. Ganēhi² k'ái gwala i'hemem.
They continued traveling. Then, it is things many they wrestled
said, with them.

Miⁱ hono^e abaiwōk¹ áni² k'ai yap!à. Ā+! p'im
Now again they arrived not any person. "A+! salmon
inside,

baxné^t'ók¹. Ā! Daldál sinhúsgal cdóisdagwana lāp'.
roasted by fire. "A! Daldál big-nosed, putting on style become!

P'imát'(k') gayawá^en. A'ni² k'ai yap!a māl yaxà
My salmon "I'll eat it." Not any person; salmon- just
spear shaft

abai dūl gedè. P'im báihemèk¹ gayaū. Gwiná ga
inside, spear- at its Salmon he took it out, he ate it. "How that
point point.

na^eneyè² ani² k'ai yáp!a māl yaxa abai dūl gedè?
they do, not any people, salmon- just inside spear- at its
spear shaft point?"

Miⁱ gasá^alhi māl sa^ansánk¹'wa. Ga haga walá^e wili
Now quickly salmon- it fought with That that one indeed house
spear shaft him. yonder

wa-it!ánik¹. Miⁱ hono^e t!omōk¹'wahis māl. Obiyá. ɛ^e!
he evidently Now again he almost killed salmon- "O elder "e!
kept it. him spear shaft. brother!"

K'adí ani² xa^ealk!walhàk? Igi'na māl xa-ik!ot'k!àt'.
What not he left it alone?" He took it salmon- he broke it in two.
spear shaft,

K'adí ma wili wa-it!ánida²? Yap!a k!emánxbink¹
"What you house you will keep it? People they will make you,
māl k!emnaná². Yap!a k!emnan¹k' māl p'im
salmon- they will be People they will make salmon- salmon
spear shafts made. them spear shafts,

wasanáhink¹. Wédesi² ma wili wa-it!ánik¹eit¹ nagáhi².
they will spear² So not you house you will keep it," he said to him,
with them. it is said.

Miⁱ hono^e ba^ade^eyeweyàk¹w. Miⁱ honō^u k'ai gwala
Now again they continued Now again things many
traveling.

¹ Lit., "you will hold it together."

² Lit., "fight."

ihemèm they wrestled with them,	xa-iyāk they always just them in two.	lodōlhi.	Mi'hi ^ε Now, it is said,	wili houses	alt!ayák' they found them	íxdīl ten;
wili house	mí ^{ie} sga ^ε one	kliyix smoke	ganau in it	wili house	mí ^{ie} sga ^ε one,	kliyix smoke
ba ^a wōk' it was coming up out of it	wili house	mí ^{ie} sga ^ε one.	Abailiwilá ^{ue} They looked inside,	anī ^ε not	k'ai any	yā'p!a person,
doláx household implements	yaxa. just.	Mi' Now	hono ^ε again	abáiliwila ^{ue} they looked inside,	ánī not	k'ai any
doláx household implements	yaxa. just.	Mi' ^s One	hono ^ε again	abailiwilá ^{ue} they looked inside,	yap!a person	ā'ni ^ε not
doláx household implements	yaxa. just.	Ganēhi ^ε Then, it is said,	abaiwōk' they arrived inside	mologolā'p'a old woman	mí ^{ie} sga ^ε one	
hāpxwi little	wa-iwī' girl	mí ^{ie} sga ^ε one.	Ā! "A!"	Xi Water	wōð go and get it,	xí water
Xi Water	wōð go and get it,"	nagá-ihī ^ε he said, it said.	M+ "M+	m+! m+!	K'á-iwa Some evil being	haxwiya in the water,"
nagá-ihī ^ε she said, it is said,	mologolā'p'a. old woman.	Gasálhi "Quickly	xi water	wōð go and get it,	xi water	t!aba ^a gwá ^ε n. I am thirsty for it."
K'á-iwa "Some evil being	háxiya in the water,"	nagá-ihī ^ε she said, it is said,	mologolā'p'a. old woman.	Ge "There	hiwilát'e ^ε . I shall run."	
T'a ^a gá ^ε k' ¹ "You shall cry	hene then!	t'a ^a gá ^ε k' you shall cry	hene then!"	nagá-ihī ^ε she said, it is said.	Hapxi Little	wa-iwī' girl
xi water	wōlt' she went for it,	ba ^a hawá ^ε k' she dipped it up	xi. water.	Mi' Now	īt!á-ut!iwin. she was caught.	Wā+ "Wā+ wā+,"
t'agá ^{ie} she cried.	Dit'gwālam. "O yes!"	Mi' Now	xamhiwilí ^{ue} to river he ran.	Kxádi? "What (is it)?	ā+ A+!	
k!el' basket- bucket	wuù go and get it,	k!el' basket- bucket	wuù go and get it	gasalhi quickly,	gasalhi. quickly!	DA'ldalwaya Dáldalwaya,
da'ldalwaya dáldalwaya,	da'ldalwaya dáldalwaya!	ga that	nánha ^ε k' always say (fut.)	héne then!"	ākhi he himself	
pluwú ^u k'wit'. he named himself.	Ga "That	nánha ^ε k' always say (fut.);	dáldalwaya dáldalwaya,	dáldalwaya dáldalwaya,	dáldal- dáldal-	

¹ A good example of the use of the future imperative. The idea is, "(If you insist on going), then cry (later on, when you will have found out that I am right)."

² Pronounced in a loud whisper.

waya	nánha ^ε k'	nagáhi ^ε	xapxwi ⁱ	wa-iwī'	Abaiyeweyák' ^w .	
waya,	always say	he said to her,	little	girl.	He returned into the house with her.	
	(fut.)!"	it is said,				
Ganē	tc!úmumt'a	libis	gayaū.			
Then	he boiled it	crawfish,	they ate it.			
Ganē	bá ^a deyeweyák' ^w	nogò	wilī	wō'k'.	Ganē'hi ^ε	
Then	they continued	down river	house	they	Then, it is	
	traveling,	from		arrived.	said,	
yawá ^{ie}	wāxadil.	Handat'	gi ⁱ	ginik'de ^ε	maháit'a	ga ^ε al
they	he and his	"Across from	I	I'll go	big one	to,
talked	younger brother.	here				
ma ^a si ^ε	k!wált'ā	ga ^ε al	gink'.	Gadi'l	go ^u m	ihemēxinik' ²
you,	younger one	to	go!	"Those two	we	we are to wrestle
however,						with one another,"
nagá-ihī ^ε .	Géhi	giní ^ε k'	maháit'ā	dak'wilī	ba ^a giní ^ε k'	
he said, it is	There	he went	the big one,	on top of	he went up,	
said.				the house		
suwili ⁱ	maháit'a	dak'wilī.	Abá-ihī	giní ^ε k'.	Dáldal	
he sat	the big one	on top of the house.	Inside	he went.	Dáldal	
wāxa	k!wált'a	aba-iwōk.	Yap!a	í!ts!ak' ^w	gūxda	
his younger	younger one	he arrived at his house.	Person	wicked	his wife	
brother						
ci ^ε wilī	hāpxí	hapsdi	alxalī.	Mi ^{ie} si ³	hapxit!í't'a	yap!a
she was	children	small	they were sitting.	Just one	boy	person
sitting,						
í!ts!ak' ^w	wāxa	dedewilí'da	ciulī.	Dáldal	wāxa	p'im
wicked	his younger	at the door	he was	Dáldal	his younger	"Salmon
	brother		sitting.		brother	
gayawá ^{en}	p'im	lēxi	bānx	t!umūxi	nagá-ihī ^ε .	P'im
I'll eat it,	salmon	give it me	to eat,	it is killing me,"	he said, it is said.	Salmon
gayawaná ^ε	adát'wi ^ε	lagák'i	hapxwì	hapsdi.	He ^{εε} me ^ε	
when he had	to every one	he gave it	children	little.	Yonder	
eaten it	of these	to eat				
mí ^{ie} sga ^ε	cū ^u li ⁴	dedewilí'da.	Yap!a	t!ilā'p'a	gūxda	ciulī
one	he was	at the door.	Person	male	his wife	she was
	sitting					sitting,
í't!aut!au	nít'.	Xapxit!í't'a	ba-iginí ^ε k'	haxiya	giní ^ε k'.	
he fiddled	her	Boy	he went out,	to the	he went.	
with them	nipples.			water		
O'pxa	malaganánhi	obiya	mí ^{ie} c	aba-iwō'k'	yap!a	
His elder	he told him,	"O elder	one	he has arrived	person	
brother		brother,		at the house		

¹ So heard for *hapx(w)i*.² Aorist in tense, because referring to an act in the immediate future. One might also use the future *iheemxinigam*, "we shall wrestle."³ Probably equivalent to *mí^{ie}s-hi*.⁴ Equivalent to *cū^εwilī*, *ci^εulī*.

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p'ima st your salmon	gayaū he ate it,	gūxde ^ε your wife	nít' her nipples	tc!iní ^ε k' he pinched them,	p'ima st your salmon	is'ilís'alhi he distributed it to them
hāpxwì children,"	nagáhi ^ε . he said to him, it is said.	Lān Fish- net	ba-igwidik' ^w he threw it out to shore,	aba-iginí ^ε k'. he went into the house.	Daldal Daldal	
wāxa his younger brother	geyewālx he was eating,	p'im salmon	gayaū. he ate it.	Abaits!āk'ts!á ^ε k' He stepped into the house,	eme ^ε here	
bu ^u bini his arm	xāsalt'gwélt'gwili he broke it in two by stepping on it	nagá ^ε his he almost did,	eme ^ε here	bu ^u bini his arm	ga ^ε al on	
tslā'k'ts!á ^ε k' he stepped,	xāsalt'gwélt'gwili. he broke it in two by stepping on it.	Iyá ^{as} ge't'sgát' He just twisted his arm to one side,	p'im salmon	yá ^a just		
ganau in	ts!á ^a k'ts!á ^ε k'. he stepped.	K!ū'yam "Friend,	lo ^u bá ^ε . let us p'ay!"	Aní ^ε "Not	me ^ε giník'de ^ε hither I came	
lō ^u c. (as) player.	P'imhi 'Just salmon	gayawá ⁿ I'll eat it,'	nagaít'e ^ε . I said.	Aní ^ε Not	lō ^u x playing	ga ^ε al for
me ^ε giník'de ^ε . hither I came."	K!ū'yam "Friend,	lōgwa's'iniba ^ε . let us play with each other!"	K!wāi Grass	igí'na he took it.		
Lōgwa's'iniba ^ε "Let us play with each other,	t!ū't!als'iniba ^ε . let us play grass game!"	Nagásanhi ^ε . They said to each other, it is said.	Ganēhi ^ε Then, it is said,	mi ⁱ now		
ts!inīts!anx he became angry	daldál. Daldál	Duwú ^u k' "It is well!	lōgwa's'iniba ^ε si ^ε let us play with each other, then,"	nagá-ihí ^ε . he said, it is said.		
Ba-iginí ^ε k' They went out,	dahēbá ^a ?	ba ^ε isgāk'sgāk' he picked him up,	haxiya to the water	giník' ^w . he went	M+ "M + with him.	
m+! m+!	Mi'wis Now, it seems,	dap ^ε ā'la-u youth	dū handsome	moyūgwanán ¹ he's to be spoiled,"	nagá-ihí ^ε they said, it is said,	
he ^ε me ^ε yonder	yap!à people	gwalà many	wilí'. their	Mi Now	ihemēxa ⁿ . they wrestled	Xa-imí ^ε wasgí'bi ⁿ "I'll probably cut him through
mū ^u x- dānhi ¹ once indeed,"	nagá ^ε his he nearly said;	sas holding his ground	nagá-ihí ^ε . he did, it is said.	M+ "M +	m+! m+!	Hāwi Yet
sas holding his ground	nagá ^ε he does	yap!a person	dap ^ε ālá-u youth	dū. hand- some."	Ganēhi ^ε Then, it is said,	ihemēxa ⁿ . they wrestled with each other.
Handat' Across from there	ō ^u pxa his elder brother	alxí'k'wa. he saw him.	Ma'mīt'a The elder (plur.)	yap!a people	handàt' across the river,	mí ^ε sì just one

¹ This sentence is pronounced in a slow, subdued, pitying tone. M+ expresses fear and foreboding; cf. above, p. 29, l. 8.

p'im salmon	yunobált'. he was holding his net for them.	Daldál Daldál	maháit'a the elder	dák'wili on top of the house	ciuli. he was sitting.	
Agasi ^é So these	dap ^é ālaū youths	k'wált'a younger ones	ihemēxa ⁿ they wrestled with each other,	wa ^d íxda their bodies	k'lídidi. "K'lídidi."	
Hm+ "Hm +	hm+! hm+!	Hawi Yet	ba-idísgadasgat'. they have strength.	Anī ^é his Never yet ¹	ga that	
na ⁿ ne ⁿ niyô' ^{uē} they always do,"	nagá-ihī ^é they said, it is said,	yap!áhan. people together.	K'lū'yam "Friend,	p'ima ^t ' your salmon	gai. eat it!"	
Anī "Not	gelgulugwá ⁿ I wish it,	lo ^g wa'siniba ^é . let us play with each other.	éolóm Before	yaxa just	p'im salmon	
gelgulugwá ⁿ I wanted it,	ganē now	lō ^x playing	gelgulugwá ⁿ . I wish it."	K'lū'yam "Friend,	gūxdek' my wife	
nít' her nipples	tc'ín ^é k'. pinch them!"	A'nī ^é "Not	gelgulugwá ⁿ I wish it,	ihēm ^x iniba ^é let us wrestle with each other!"	nagá-ihī ^é . he said, it is said.	
Há ^{ae} ga That one yonder	handàt' across from there	mahá-it'a the elder one	yuk!wōi he knew it	wāxa his younger brother	ánī not	dūk'. being strong.
é ^é ' "éé!"	nagá-ihī ^é . he said, it is said.	Lān Fishing- net	ba-igwidik' ^w he threw it off to shore,	hānhists!a ^k 'ts!á ^é k'. he was about to step across.		
é ⁿ ' "éé!"	gwidi where	ginigàt'?' do you go?	Mé ^é dat' This way	gink' come!"	nagá-ihī ^é . he said, it is said.	Aga This
daldál Daldál	maháit'ā the elder	dak'wili ⁱ on top of the house	cuwili he was sitting,	ga that	dexebé ⁿ he said,	mé ^é dàt'. "This way!"
Gwendák'alyewé ^{ie} . He turned back on top.		P!a-i ^é isga ^a k'sgàk' He picked him up and set him down;	yap!a people	henenàk' ^w . he destroyed them.		
Wát'gwan At one another	bilī ^{uē} . they jumped.	Ganēhi ^é Then, it is said,	ihemēxa ⁿ . they wrestled with one another.	Ganēhi ^é Then, it is said,	wādíxda their bodies	
de ^e yú ^é they sounded,	k'lídidi ⁱ didi. "k'lídidi ⁱ didi."	Hándat' Across the river	mi ⁱ now	xā-isgó ^{ut} ' he cut him through	k'wált'a younger one,	
ma'mit'a the elder ones	ihemēxa ⁿ . they wrestled with each other.	Anī ^é Not	dabalníxa long	lā ^a līt'a ^s when it became	mi ⁱ now	
xa-isgó ^{ut} '. he cut him through.	Mi ⁱ Now	t'lomomán they were killed	yap ^a people	ílts!ak' ^w evil	gā ^m two	wāxadil. he and his younger brother.

¹Lit., "almost not."

Kxádi ma yap!a yudá^ε? Nō^u gwidi^{k'w}. Swēnxgwa
 "What you person you will Westwards he threw "Evening star
 be?" him.
 nánsbina^ε dahōxa ba-iwilwá^εs nánsbina^ε. Hinō^u
 you will always in the evening he that comes up you will always Eastwards
 be called, be called.
 gwel^εwāk'wi^ε ba-iwilwá^εs.
 when it is early he that comes
 morning up."
 Miⁱ sgísi lān ba-ixilik'w. Haxiyà p'im it!ā'ut!liwi^εn
 Now Coyote fishing- he snatched "In the salmon I'll catch
 net it up. water them,"
 nagá^{iε}hīs sgísi. Tslamal yá^a i't!aut!au lān ganàu.
 he nearly sgísi. Tslamal yá^a i't!aut!au lān ganàu.
 said Coyote. Mice just he caught fishing- in.
 them net
 Hono^ε xamdé^εgwidi^{k'w} t'ís yá^a i't!aut!au. ε'ε'! Ma
 Again he threw it forth gophers just he caught "ε'ε'! You
 into water, them.
 wede p'im it!auk!eit' nagánhi^ε. Hat'gāu ododá^ε t'ís
 not salmon you will catch he was told, "In the you will hunt gophers,
 them," it is said. earth for them
 tslamāl' ga ma^εà it!a^awidá^ε nagá-ihī^ε daldal. Ganēhi^ε
 mice that you, for you will catch he said, it is Daldal. Then, it is
 your part, them," said, said,
 yā'p!a p'im sanànk' dadāiyá^{uε}t' dadāls'iniya^{uε}t'
 "People salmon they will spear they will go to they will go to get food
 them, get food, from one another,
 lāxiniya^{uε}t' wedesi^ε dō^umxiniyauk'. Gana^εnex t'ga^a yó^εt'
 they will feed so that not they will kill one In that way world it will
 one another, another. be,
 t'ga^a gwi^εne déhi ginák'i^ε nagá-ihī^ε.
 world how long forth that it goes," he said, it is said.
 Ganēhi^ε ba^adeyeweyàk'w. Aga di'lomī dexebé^εn
 Then, it is they continued This Di'lomi' he said,
 said, traveling.
 dīū' gede dexebé^εn. Géhi aga p'im it!awát!liwin lān
 falls in front of he said so. Right these salmon they are always fishing-
 there caught nets
 ganàu. Ganēhi^ε ba^adeyeweyàk'w yá^ε. Ganēhi^ε ge
 in. Then, it is they continued they went. Then, it is there
 said, traveling, said,
 wō^uk' k!woyōxa^εn miⁱ ópxa déhi nagá^{iε}. Miⁱ ópxa
 they they accompanied now his elder ahead he did. Now his elder
 arrived; each other, brother
 xudumált'. Miⁱ ópxa p!a-ihunú^{uε}s k!wált'a yā bál's
 he whistled Now his elder he shrunk, the younger just long
 to him. brother
 la^alē'. Maháit'a dasgulī lālē' k!wált'a bál's la^alē'.
 he became. The elder short he became, the younger long he became.

Bō ^u	aga	ge	sasinī	sum ^ʼ	la ^a lē ^ʼ .	Gweldì.	Bābī ^ʼ t ^ʼ
Now	these	there	they stand,	moun- tains	they became.	Finished!	Your <i>baap^ʼ</i> - seeds
lé ^e p ^ʼ lap ^ʼ .							
collect and eat them!							

*Translation.*¹

Daldal's house there was, by the sea he was dwelling. There came floating down the river people with bodies all cut through, people with limbs all lopped off. He became tired of it, 'tis said. "Where do they come from? What is the matter? Whence come the people with bodies cut through? Where do they come from?" Such they came continually, with bodies all cut through. "Where do they come from?" Then, 'tis said, he became tired of it. A long time elapsed and people kept coming floating down the river; with their legs here cut right through, such continually came floating down the river. Then a long time did pass. "Well, I shall go. Whence come the people with bodies all cut through, well, there I shall go," he said.

He prepared himself to go. Then he went, up river he

¹Daldal, the dragon-fly, is a typical American culture hero and transformer. Traveling east up Rogue river, he overcomes and transforms the various wicked beings that threaten continual harm to mankind, sets precedents for the life of the Indians, and, after his work is accomplished, transforms himself into a mountain. Very noticeable is the consistent dignity and benevolence of Daldal. The trickster element often found in the American culture hero, as in those cases in which the rôle is played by Coyote, is here incorporated in Daldal's younger brother. The Daldal pair is quite analogous to such typical "Hero Brothers" as the Kathlamet Panther and Mink, the Wishram Eagle and Weasel, and the Klamath Old Marten and Weaslet; the latter, the younger brother, persists in getting into all sorts of trouble, from which his wiser elder brother has to extricate him. It seems plausible to consider the Takelma conception of the dual culture hero as an amalgamation of the conception of the typical single culture hero, who is at the same time transformer and trickster (*e. g.*, Raven of the Northwest Pacific coast and Coyote of the Columbia valley), with that of the "Hero Brothers." The single culture hero Daldal becomes split in two. Under the circumstances the identification of the culture hero or heroes with the dragon-fly is not difficult to understand. The incidents of the myth are very similar in character to those told by the Hupa of Yimantūwīñyai (see Goddard, Hupa Texts, *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Vol. I, pp. 123-34).

proceeded. He did not yet know whence came the people with bodies all cut through, he did not know. "For what reason are there people with bodies cut through? Where do they come from?" he said. Then he went, up along the river he traveled. Then, 'tis said, he shot at a lark, just its nose he pierced. "My nephew, I am glad that you pierced my nose," it said. "Where are you going to?"—"To whence these very people come, all cut through."

Then he proceeded on his way. Now again he shot at a bird. Way up he shot the arrow, back on the crown of his head it came down. His younger brother, 'tis said, took his stand. "It is my younger brother," he said. Now they had become two, he and his younger brother. Then on they went, up river they proceeded. Someone or other told him, "People are being destroyed, at Di^olo^mi people are destroyed, they are cut through." Now then, 'tis said, with all sorts of things they wrestled, they wrestled with oaks bearing white acorns; they always just cut them in two, he and his younger brother did that. With these firs they wrestled, with oaks bearing black acorns they wrestled, with oaks bearing white acorns they wrestled, with tē^lā'sap'-berry bushes¹ they wrestled, with all sorts of things they wrestled. Then they became strong. They came to a certain person, old woman Bluejay, mother of K'uk'ū, a wild man of the woods; there she sat. "Ah! my aunt!"—"Whither are you going, O nephews?"—"Up river. Ah! aunt, give me the big gos'-shell."²—"It does not belong to me, it is my son's."—"I shall give you a hundred strings of dentalia."—"It does not belong to me, it is my son's. Perhaps he would kill me."—"For what reason? These hundred strings of dentalia I shall give you." Dentalia, to be sure, (he gave her and) the big gos'-shell he took, dentalia he gave her. Daldal's younger brother did so, the elder one did nothing. This elder one, 'tis said, just kept standing, but this younger brother of his was active. On they went. Now K'uk'ū returned.

¹ See note 4, p. 22.

² See note 1, p. 23.

"Where is my big gos'-shell?"—"My nephews from down river did come, those hundred strings of dentalia they gave you."—"Where is my big gos'-shell?"—"My nephews have taken it." Now he killed his mother, and followed up the people. Now he caught up with them. "Come back with the big gos'-shell."—"Come back with the hundred strings of dentalia! Just now I left a hundred strings of dentalia with my aunt."—"Come back with the big gos'-shell."—"Come back with the hundred rope-lengths!"—"Come back with the big gos'-shell! There'll be fighting."—"Then it's well, so let us fight!" Then, 'tis said, they fought, he and the younger Daldal. DEM+, DEM+, DEM+! Inside of a hollow tree trunk he ran, and hid himself. "O elder brother!" he said. Then Daldal the elder looked around and picked up a rock; he threw it at him, broke his leg in two with the rock. "Break!" he echoed his own leg as it broke in two, "Break!" he echoed it. "He's echoing his own leg."—"He's echoing his own leg" (K'uk'ũ repeated in a whisper). "Throw him on the fire!"—"Throw him on the fire!" (K'uk'ũ repeated in a whisper). "He is about to die."—"He is about to die" (K'uk'ũ repeated in a whisper). On the fire he threw him. "Xa-u," he echoed his own hair as it burned.²

Then they went on, they proceeded on their way. On they went. They wrestled with all sorts of things, oaks they wrestled with, firs they wrestled with, tc!ā'cap'-berry bushes they wrestled with, they always just broke them in two.³ They met a certain old man. "Someone is coming," he told his elder brother. They met a certain small old man. "Tell it, old man!"—"I ran out on top of the house."—"Yes! why should you act in this way, that you run out of the house? Since enemies have come into the house to fight, that is why

¹ See notes 3 and 4, p. 23.

² It is quite likely that a transformation of Bluejay's son into the Echo is here referred to.

³ For the myth motive of wrestling with a tree, compare Curtin's Wasco myth of "Eagle has Tobacco-Man and Willow wrestle with Abumat" (Sapir, *Wishram Texts, Publications of the American Ethnological Society*, Vol. II, p. 290).

you ran out.”—“I ran out on top of the house.” Just that only he kept saying. Now Daldal became angry. “What sort of thing did you say?” He kicked him over; he burst, just blood he became. In that way, as it seemed, was he¹ wont to kill people. “Big-nosed Daldal! Put on style!”² he said (to his elder brother). Now his younger brother ate up the blood, and it choked him. “O elder brother!”—“Why did you not better let it alone?” he said. He took a flint-flaker and stuck it into his throat; with the flint-flaker he took out the blood, with the stick. “So he did not let it alone.”³

Then they continued on their way. Now again they found a house. “Warrm your back! warrm your back! warrm your back!” a woman did say. “Big-nosed Daldal! put on style! I’ll warm my back.” He went inside. A certain woman was continually warming her back. Now he went to lie down. “Warm your back!” (she said). Into the fire she pushed him. “Keep away! I feel hot.” Now the fire had blistered his back. “O elder brother!”—“So he doesn’t let things alone.” He kicked her off. “Do you think you will be a woman? People will always call you a wá’s-bush,⁴ in the swamps you will be. You will not be a woman, food you will be,” he said to her.

Then on they went, continued on their way. “Veni et [2]
copula+! veni et copula+!” inquit (quaedam). “Ah! what are
they saying? Big-nosed Daldal! do you, for your part, put on
style! ego copulabo,” he said to his elder brother. There he [3]
went. Crura sua distendit. Tunc, aiunt, cum ea dormivit. [4]
Tunc (crura sua) compressit. “Noli mihi id facere!” (inquit
Daldal). Nunc prope exanimatus fuit. “O frater senior!”
Ibi iit (Daldal senior); ‘flint-flaker’ usus est, crura eius diffidit.

¹ That is, the old man. He was accustomed to transform himself into blood, so that the people, on swallowing him, might choke to death.

² This is the translation given by Frances Johnson. The meaning seems to be: “You, for your part, just stand there, too stuck up to move. I, however, am going to fall to.”

³ Said, with vexed sarcasm, by the elder Daldal.

⁴ See note 7, p. 25.

"Do you think you will be a woman? Fresh-water Mussel you will always be called." Into the water he threw her. "People shall be wont to eat you; people will eat you, food you shall be," he said to her.

Now they arose and went on again. Then on they went, continued on their way. Then, not finding a house, they wrestled with all sorts of things, always just cut them in two. He and his younger brother did that. Ah! Now they heard something, "t'ut', t'ut', t'ut'."—"Ah! Big-nosed Daldal!" (said the younger brother and) went on top of the house. Now down he looked; two old women without eyes, blind, were pounding tar-weed seeds, and were facing each other. Now, 'tis said, Daldal's younger brother stole it, the old woman's food he stole; from on top of the house Daldal did so. "How, did you eat it all up?" (said one old woman). "How so? Perhaps it was you that ate it up," they said to each other. The old women's long hair he tied together above them. Now he had tied it above them, and they quarreled with each other. "Now she is fighting me," they said to each other. Now they quarreled with each other, took hold of each other's hair; they quarreled and jumped at each other. And Daldal from on top of the house laughed at them. "Big-nosed Daldal! So it was he that did it?" (they said). "O yes! so my aunts are without eyes, are they?" Then inside he went. A scouring-rush he went for, and into the fire he put its point. Then into their eyes he placed its point. Pop! "Now I have provided you with eyes," he said.

They continued on their way. With all sorts of things they wrestled as they traveled, firs they wrestled with, oaks they wrestled with, and always cut them in two. Strong they made themselves. Now again they found a house. "Å! Big-nosed Daldal! put on style!" He went inside; the house was full of sinew all tied together. Now he roasted it. Ashes popped all about. In that way, as it seemed, was he¹ wont to kill people. "Å! What are you doing?" he said. He almost burned him.

¹That is, the man that had taken the form of sinew.

"O elder brother!"—"E! do you think that you are going to keep house? Deer's sinew shall you always be called; feathers shall be tied onto arrows therewith, whenever people make arrows they shall be tied therewith," he said to him. Now he had made it.

They continued on their way. Then, 'tis said, with all sorts of things they wrestled. Now again they arrived at a house, but there was no person there. A+! there was salmon roasted by the fire. "Å! Big-nosed Daldal! put on style! I'm going to eat my salmon." There was no person there; there was just a salmon-spear shaft in the house, with the spear-point at its point. Out he took the salmon and ate it. "How is it that they do that way, that there are no people, but just a salmon spear-shaft in the house with a spear-point at its point?" Now the salmon-spear shaft fought with him. So it was that one indeed that kept house. Now again the salmon-spear shaft had almost killed him. "O elder brother!"—"E! Why didn't he leave it alone?" He took the salmon-spear shaft and broke it in two. "Do you think that you are going to keep house? People shall make you, salmon-spear shafts shall be made. People will make salmon-spear shafts, and shall spear salmon with them. So you are not going to keep house," he said to him.

Now again they continued on their way. And again with all sorts of things they wrestled, they always just broke them in two. Now, 'tis said, ten houses they found. In one house there was smoke, one house—smoke was coming up out of one house. They looked inside, but there was no person, just household implements. Now they looked into another house, but there was no person, just household implements. Now they looked into another house, but there was no person, just household implements. Then, 'tis said, they arrived at a house where were one old woman and one little girl. "Ah! Go and get water, I am thirsty. Go and get water," he said. "M+, m+! There is some evil being in the water," said the old woman. "Go quickly and get water, I am thirsty."—"There is

some evil being in the water," said the old woman. "There I shall run," (said the little girl). "In that case you shall cry! In that case you shall cry!" she said. The little girl went for water, dipped up the water. Now she was seized. "Wä+, wä+," she cried. "O yes!" (said Daldal) and ran to the river. "What is it? A+! go and get a basket-bucket, go and get a basket-bucket quickly, quickly! Dáldalwaya, dáldalwaya, dáldalwaya! Like that shall you always say!" He himself did name himself. "That shall you always say. Always say dáldalwaya, dáldalwaya, dáldalwaya!" he said to the little girl. Back to the house he returned with her. Then they boiled the Crawfish and they ate it.

Then they proceeded on their way, and arrived down river from a house. Then, 'tis said, he and his younger brother talked. "Across from here I shall go to the elder one, but do you go to the younger one. With those two we are to wrestle," he said. There the elder one went, and went up on top of the house; on top of the house the elder one sat. Inside he went. Daldal's younger brother arrived at the house of the younger one. The wicked person's wife was sitting there, and there little children were sitting. Just one boy, younger brother of the wicked person, was sitting at the door. Daldal's younger brother said, "I'm going to eat salmon. Give me salmon to eat, I'm hungry." When he had eaten the salmon, he gave every one of the little children to eat. Yonder was one sitting by the door. The man's wife was sitting, and he fiddled with her nipples. The boy went out of the house, went to the water. He told his elder brother, "O elder brother, a certain person has arrived at the house and has eaten your salmon, your wife's nipples he has pinched, your salmon he has distributed to the children," he said to him. The fish-net he threw out to shore and went into the house. Daldal's younger brother was eating, salmon he ate. He stepped into the house and almost broke (Daldal's) arm in two; here on his arm he stepped and (nearly) broke it in two. (Daldal) just twisted his arm to one side and stepped right into the salmon. "O friend, let us play!" (said

the wicked man). "I did not come here to play. 'I shall just eat salmon,' I said to myself. Not for play did I come here." —"O friend, let us play with each other!" and he took grass. "Let us play with each other, let us play the grass game!"

Thus, 'tis said, they spoke to each other. And now then Daldal became angry. "It is well! let us, then, play with each other," he said. Out of the house they went; he picked him up and went to the water with him. "M+, m+! Now, it seems, the handsome youth is to be spoiled,"¹ they said—yonder were the houses of many people. Now they wrestled with each other. "I think I'll cut him through the first time," he thought to himself, but (Daldal) held his ground. "M+, m+! Still the person holds his ground, the handsome youth." Then, 'tis said, they wrestled with each other. From across the river his elder brother saw him. The elder people were on the other side of the river, and one was holding his net for salmon. Daldal the elder was sitting on top of the house. So these youths, the younger ones, did wrestle with each other, klídididi went their bodies. "Hm+, hm+! Still they have strength. Never before have they done that," said the people collected together. "O friend, eat your salmon!"—"I do not wish it, let us play with each other. Before I just wanted salmon, now I desire to play."—"O friend, pinch my wife's nipples!"—"I do not wish it, let us wrestle with each other," he said. That one yonder across the river, the elder one, knew that his younger brother was not strong. "Eh!" he said, and threw his fishing-net out to shore. He was about to step across the river. "Eⁿ! where are you going? Come this way!" (Daldal) said. This Daldal the elder was sitting on top of the house, he it was that said "This way!" He turned back, picked him up, and set him down; people he used to destroy. At one another they jumped, and then, 'tis said, they wrestled; then their bodies sounded klídididi. On the other side of the river he had already cut through the younger one, while the elder ones wrestled. It did not last long before he had cut him

¹ That is, killed. See note 1, p. 31.

through. Now the two wicked people, he and his younger brother, were slain. "Do you think that you will be a person?" and to the west he threw him. "The Evening Star you shall always be called, you shall always be called he that comes up in the evening." (To the younger one he said, "You will be) he that comes up in the east early in the morning.")

Now Coyote snatched up the fishing-net. "In the water I shall catch salmon," Coyote thought to himself, but he caught only mice in the fishing-net. Again he threw it forth into the water, but caught only gophers. "Eh! you shall not catch salmon," he was told. "In the earth you shall hunt for gophers, mice shall you, for your part, catch," did Daldal say. Then he said, "People shall spear salmon, they will go to get food, to one another will they go to get food; one another they will feed, and they shall not kill one another. In that way shall the world be, as long as the world goes on."

Then, 'tis said, they continued on their way. These things he had said at Di^olo^mi, in front of the falls he had said so. Right there salmon are always caught in fishing-nets. Then they continued on their way, on they went. Then, 'tis said, they arrived there, they accompanied each other. Now his elder brother went on ahead. Now the elder brother whistled to him; now the elder brother shrunk, while the younger one grew tall. The elder one became short, the younger one became tall. Nowadays these are standing there, mountains they have become. 'Tis finished. Go gather and eat ba^ap'-seeds.¹

3. PANTHER AND HIS DEER-WIFE.

Wili ⁱ	yowó ^o	hūlk'	wāxadil	yāk' ^w .	Be ^o wi ^o	alhūyūx
House	there was,	Panther	he and his	Wildcat.	Every day	he went out
			younger brother			hunting,
p ^l i ^y in	he ^o ilemé ^o k'.	Ganēhi ^o	dabalnixa	la ^a lē ^a	p ^l i ^y in	bús'
deer	he killed them	Then, it is	long time	it became,	deer	all gone
	off.	said,				

¹ This is the conventional method of winding up a Takelma myth. The command is addressed to the children who have gathered around to listen to its recital. They are to go off and gather seeds in order to become active. Too much sitting around listening to stories makes one lazy.

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la^aláuhi. P^{li}yínhi yawá^{ie} hūlk' he^eiléme^exam. Mⁱésga^ehi
 he caused Deer them- they were "Panther he has killed Just one
 them to become. selves talking, us off."

p^{li}yin wa-iwī' ge éimíham hūlk' wá^ada. Mⁱ hūlk'
 deer girl there they sent her Panther to him. Now Panther

p^{li}yin wa-iwī' yowòk'. Ga p^{li}yin wa-iwī' yowogwaná^e
 deer girl he married That deer girl when he had
 her.

hen^e ánī^e p^{li}yin alt!ayàk'. Ganēhi^e hono^e alhūyūx
 then not deer he found Then, it is again he went out
 them. said, hunting,

ánī^e k'ai t!omòm. Honó^ehi wé^egia-uda^e alhūyūx dahōxa
 not any he killed Again when it was he went out in the
 them. indeed dawn hunting, evening

yewé^{ie} bílam yewé^{ie}. éis'ihí s'om ga^eal hadedilt'a
 he returned, empty- he returned. Even mountains to everywhere
 handed

wīt' ánī^e alt!ayak' p^{li}yin. Ganēhi^e hu^ulín^t' ya hono^e
 he went not he found deer. Then, it is he became just, again
 about, them said, tired

dahōxa yewé^{ie} bílam yewé^{ie}. P^{li}yin yawá-ida^e mⁱésga^e
 in the he returned, empty- he returned. Deer they talking, one
 evening handed

wilì ganau dák^t!emēx s'om gwel^hók'wal ga ganau
 house in they assembled, mountain holed underneath that in
 dák^t!emēx. Ganēhi^e mⁱ bānx lohó^{ie} dabalníxa la^alit'a^e
 they assembled. Then, it is now hunger he was long time when it
 said, dead; became

ánī^e k'ai t!omòm. Olóm hen^e p^{li}yin ganàt' t!omomaná^e
 not any he killed Formerly then deer so in when he had
 them. appearance¹ killed them,

wili debū^{'e} cixum². Mⁱ ánī^e k'ai henenák'^w wāxadil
 house full dried Now not any they con- he and his
 venison. sumed it younger brother

abài cixum. Ganēhi^e alhūyūx hono^e be^ewí^e alhūyūx
 inside dried Then, it is he went out again, every day he went out
 venison. said, hunting

bílam yewé^{ie}.
 empty- he returned.
 handed

Ganēhi^e aga^ea gūxda p^{li}i wo^eò^uha. Ganēhi^e aga
 Then, it is this, for his wife firwood she used to Then, it is this
 said, her part, go for it. said, one

p^{li}i bíls mengí wagáwòk' Ganēhi^e dewénxa
 firwood moss full of she used to Then, it is to-morrow
 bring it. said,

¹ i. e., so many—(that).² = *cix xum*, "venison dry."

gwel ^ε wāk'wi ^ε early in the morning	lawálhida ^ε whenever it became,	plí ⁱ firewood	bíls moss	áni ^ε not	k'ai any	honó ^ε again.
Alhūyūx He went out hunting,	bílam empty- handed	yewé ^{iε} . he returned.	Gwin ^ε édi When	wede not	bílam empty- handed	yèük'. he returned? ¹
Ganēhi ^ε Then, it is said,	dahō ^u xa evening	la ^a lit'a ^ε when it became	k'a-ilā'p'a woman	ts!í'k'dagwa her own flesh		
he ^{εε} sgó ^{uε} t'k' ² (it would seem)	gwélxdagwa her own legs	ga ^ε al. at.	Ganēhi ^ε Then, it is said,	dahōxa in the evening	yewé ^{iε} he returned	
hūlk ^{εa} Panther, on his part,	bānx hunger	mengi'. full of.	Gwidí "Where	pliyín ^{εa} deer, for their part,	lemé ^ε x? they have gone?"	K'a-ilā'p'a Woman
áni ^ε not	yiwiyá ^{uε} . she spoke.	Ganēhi ^ε Then, it is said,	mi ⁱ now	sebék' she roasted it	ts!í'k'dagwa her own flesh	cīx. venison.
Ganēhi ^ε Then, it is said,	hūlk' Panther	yewé ^{iε} he returned	daho ^u xà. in the evening.	Bānx "Hunger	áni ⁱ not nearly	hīs aba-iwōk'de ^ε I arrived home,"
nagá-ihí ^ε . he said, it is said.	Ganēhi ^ε Then, it is said,	xuma food	igí'na she took it	k'a-ilā'p'a woman, on the ground ³	dasálda she placed it	mats!ák' she placed it
cīx. venison.	Ganēhi ^ε Then, it is said,	gayaū he ate it	cīx venison	xigwàlt' ⁴ fresh;	yok!wōi he knows it	aga this
hené ⁿ it is all gone	abài in the house,	gasi ^ε but	bo ^u now	ága this	yewéida ^ε when he returns	cīx venison
gayaū he ate it,	gelhewéhau he was thinking	hūlk'. Panther.	Gwidí "Whence	báxamàk' ^w does she get it?" ⁵	nagá-ihí ^ε he said, it is said,	
gelhewéhana ^ε as he thought	hūlk'. Panther.	Ganēhi ^ε Then, it is said,	hono ^ε again	alhūyūx he went out hunting	wé ^ε gia-uda ^ε . when it was dawn.	
Ganēhi ^ε Then, it is said,	hono ^ε again	dahōxa in the evening	bílam empty- handed	yewé ^{iε} . he returned.	Gwine ^ε dí When	wede not

¹ *i. e.*, he kept returning empty-handed.

² To be analyzed as *heε-sgóut!-k'*. This form is inferential, not aorist (*heε-sgóut!*), in tense, because the act was done secretly, without direct knowledge on Panther's part. She "must have cut it off," because her own flesh was offered as food. *Sebék'* (l. 6) is also an inferential form, for similar reasons; the aorist is *seep'*.

³ Lit., "in front of his feet."

⁴ Probably derived from *xí*, "water." Its literal meaning would then be "having water, juicy."

⁵ Lit., "she comes having it."

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bílám yèúk' ? Ganēhi^é hen^é dahōxà né^é gwídí baxamàk'^w
 empty-handed he returned? Then, it is then in the "Well, whence does she
 handed said, evening get it?"

nagá-ihí^é gelhewéhana^é.
 he said, it is said, as he thought.

Ganēhi^é xū'^éne la^alē'. Ganēhi^é wayá^é gūxda hono^é
 Then, it is night it became. Then, it is he slept, his wife also
 said, said,

wayá^é. Ganēhi^é dap'áxa la^alē' hūlk'^éa ánī^é wayá^é
 she slept. Then, it is before day- it became; Panther, not he slept,
 said, break for his part,

gelhewéhau gwídí aga cīx^éa baxamàk'^w? Ganēhi^é ba^{at}lebèt'^é
 he was "Whence this venison she gets it?" Then, it is she arose
 thinking, indeed said,

k'a-ilā'p'a ulúm hen^ée plīⁱ wagaók'nana^é bīls mengíⁱ.
 woman before then firewood when she was wont moss full of.
 to bring it

Ganēhi^é k'a-ilā'p'a ba^{at}lebèt'^é agasi^é hūlk' ánī^é wayá^é
 Then, it is woman she arose and so Panther not he slept;
 said,

agasi^é gūxda hūlk' wayá^é mī'^éwa nagá^éhis k'a-ilā'p'a.
 but indeed his wife "Panther he is probably," she almost woman.
 sleeping said

Ba^{at}lebèt'^é bīls gayàu. Èmē^éhi alxí'k' delgán he^ésgú^ét'ók'^w
 She arose, moss she ate it. Right here he saw her her hams cut away,

gwēlxdagwa ga^éal cīx he^ésgó^ét'k' da^éók'wik' ts'!ít'gwa.
 her own legs at venison she cut it off, so she gave her own flesh.
 it turned out; him as food

Bīls gayaū ga haga walá^é ga na^énánhak' bīls plīⁱ
 Moss she ate it, that that yonder in truth that she always did, moss firewood
 it turned out,

ga^éal ánī^é k'ài. Ganēhi^é bīls gayaū plīⁱ ga^éal sasinī.
 at not any. Then, it is moss she ate it firewood at she was
 said, standing.

Ganēhi^é alxí'k' mīⁱ wiláut'agwa igí'na. Mīⁱ ts'layák'^é
 Then, it is he saw her, now his own arrow he took it. Now he shot
 said, at her,

bayuwùn.¹ Mīⁱ gūxda t'lit'gwa wá^ada bilí^é. Mīⁱ t'lit'gwa
 he missed her. Now his wife her own to him she Now her own
 husband jumped. husband

wá^ada bilí^éuda^é t'libagwán mīⁱ wēt'gi. Mīⁱ bai^éibilik'^w
 to him as she his pancreas now she took Now she ran out with
 jumped, from him. it in her hand,

¹ = *ba-iyuwùn*. This word is probably a causative formation from *yowo-*, "to be;" its literal meaning would then be "he caused it to be out."

t!lá'p'agit'gwa t!liba wēt'gi. Miⁱ bai^éibilik^{'w}. Ganēhi^é
 her own husband pancreas she took Now she ran out with Then, it is
 from him. it in her hand. said,

há^éga gwi pliyin dakt!emēxda^é ge^éyá'ahi^é wāk'.
 that one where deer that they were just there, she
 yonder assembled, it is said, fetched it.

Ganēhi^é wi^éin wik!élhia-uda^é¹ gas^{'i} ganē
 Then, it is said, different whenever it is daylight, so then
 t!éut!awagwan be^éwí^é. Ganēhi^é t!éut!á^ué pliyin hūlk'
 ball was played with it every day. Then, it is said, they played ball deer, Panther
 t!libagwán ga ^éiwat!éut!awak^{'w}. Be^éwí^é hā + ² i^{'é}da
 his pancreas that they played ball with it Every day "Hā +!" That
 in their hands.

hūlk' t!libagwán^é sgeléuda^é mí^{'é}s ts!awit' ba-ibilí^ué. Yomò
 Panther his pancreas!" as they one fast he ran out. "Catch up
 shouted, runner with him,

t!òit' hā + ² yomói' yomò nagánsa^énhi^é. Ganēhi^é xū^{'é}ne
 one-horned deer! Hā +! Catch up catch up they used to say to Then, it is night
 with him, with him!" each other, it is said. said,

la^{'l}it^{'a} ganē hoyó^{'t} pliyáx ga goyò he^{'d}adá^{'s}i^{'é} mi^{'i}
 when it then she danced fawn that medicine- but off now
 became, woman, yonder

hīt' lāp'gulúk^{'w} hūlk' t!liba wēt'ginma^é. Ganēhi^é yāk^{'w}
 with spirit he was about Panther, pan- as he had been Then, it is Wildcat
 gone to become creas deprived of. said,

mi^{'i} yap!a ígí'na. Me^{'é}ye^{'k}'wànp' wí^{'é}obí t!libagwán
 now people he took them. "Return you (pl.) my elder his pancreas,"
 hither with it brother

nagá-ihí^é yāk^{'w}. Ganēhi^é mí^{'é}sga^é yap!a ge ginínk'
 he said, it is Wildcat. Then, it is one person there they went one
 said, said, after another

xū^{'é}nè agas^{'i} goyo hoyó^{'t} ^éaldí' ^éalt!ayàk'. Ganēhi^é
 at night, but this medicine- she danced, all she discovered Then, it is
 woman she discovered them. said,

helé^{'l}da^é
 as she sang:



1. Wá - ya - we - ne Ló^u - wa - na, wá - ya - we - ne Ló^u - wa - na, wá - ya - we - ne Ló^u - wa - na.

2. Né^{'k}-di í - de - me^{'s}-a wít', né^{'k}-di í - de - me^{'s}-a wít', né^{'k}-di í - de - me^{'s}-a wít'?
 "Who right over he goes who right over he goes who right over he goes
 there about, there about, there about?"

¹ Probably misheard for *wek!e^lhia-uda^é*, morphologically related as iterative to *wéegia-uda^é*, "when it is daylight, next day," as *sgot!olh-*, "to cut frequently," is related to *sgód-*, "to cut."

² A loud, prolonged whisper.

³ Each word in this sentence is pronounced distinctly and pompously.

⁴ = *yomò*; -oi because of following *y-*.

Ganēhi^ε wé^εgia^{uε} hūlk' wá^ada hiwili^{uε} yāk's'i^ε
 Then, it is said, it dawned, Panther to him she ran, but Wildcat
 mü^uláp^x ganàu. Yāk'^w ^εalk'ok'òk' obí^{iε}t' yō^εk'au daldàl
 sweat-house in. "Wildcat ugly-faced, your elder 'Bones crack!"
 brother,
 nagásbi obí^{iε}t' naganá^ak'i^ε.¹ Gwel^εwāk'wi^ε ge hiwili^{uε}
 he says your elder she kept saying, Early in the there she ran
 to you brother," it is said. morning
 hūlk' wá^ada. Ganēhi^ε hā^εyewéok'. Ganēhi^ε t'léut'liwia^{uε}
 Panther to him. Then, it is she always re- Then, it is they played
 said, turned yonder. said, ball
 hūlk' t'libagwán wa. ^εi'da hūlk' t'libagwán. Ganēhi^ε
 Panther his pancreas with. "That Panther his pancreas." Then, it is said,
 mí^{iε}sga^ε igí'na hūlk' t'libagwán bā + ² yúmoi yomo
 one he took it Panther his pancreas. "Bā + ! Catch up yomo
 with him, with him,
 t'loit' nagánsa^εnhi^ε. Gana^εnex t'leut'lá^{uε} hūlk' t'libagwán
 one-horned they always said to Thus they played Panther his pancreas
 deer!" one another, it is said. ball
 wà. Ganēhi^ε xū^εne lawálhēt' ganē miⁱ hono^ε hoyó^εt'
 with. Then, it is xū^εne night it used to ganē miⁱ hono^ε hoyó^εt'
 said, become, then now again she danced
 pliyàx. Yāk'^w k'adí nak!à ánī^ε igí'na yap!a aldí'
 fawn. Wildcat what of all kinds not he took them people? all
 yap!a igí'na tclamāl ga waná^ε igí'na. Aldí' ^εalt!ayàk'
 people he took mouse that even he took All she discovered
 them, him. them
 goyò ^εi's'is'i^ε gwi^ε neyé^εda^ε. K'liyí'x ganau p!a-iwá^εwilik'^w
 medicine- even if any- that they Smoke in they came down
 woman, where did. along with it,
 ga ^εaldí' ^εalt!ayàk'. Gwín^εe la^alē yap!a hené^εn ánī^ε
 those all she discovered Long time it became, people they were not
 them. used up,
 nek hūlk' t'libagwán yeweyàk'^w.
 any one Panther his pancreas he returned
 with it.
 Ganēhi^ε yāk'^w ganē' gi's'i^ε nagá-ihī^ε. Ganē yá^ε.
 Then, it is Wildcat "Then I in my he said, it is Then he went.
 said, turn!" said.
 Ganē ge wōk' ge t'léut'liwia-uda^ε. Ganēhi^ε bils
 Then there he arrived there (where) they were Then, it is moss
 playing ball. said,
^εalgiligálk'wa iū'xdagwa ^εalgiligálhi. Gwi hen^εe k'liyí'k'da^ε
 he daubed it over his own hands he bedaubed Where then that it fell
 himself, them.
 t'libàk'^w ha^{aε}ya gwidík'^wdanma^ε géhi it'ε^εal. Ganēhi^ε
 pancreas from side as it was thrown, right he held out his Then, it is
 to side there hand palm up. said,

¹ = naganá^ak'-hi^ε.

² A loud, prolonged whisper.

bā +	ī'da	hū'lk'	t!ibagwán	neyé'hi ^ε	sgeléuda ^ε	p!iyìn.
"Bā +!	That	Panther	his pancreas,"	they said, it is said,	as they shouted	deer.
Ganēhi ^ε	hā'ī'ūda	yá ^a	gwidík'w ^{dan} .	Hé'ibilik'w	mi ⁱ	
Then, it is said,	into his hand	just	it was thrown.	Off he scampered having it in his hand,	now	
ihogwák'w	ópxa ^a	t!ibagwán	mi ⁱ	ihogwák'w	Bā +	yómoi
he ran with it in his hand,	his elder brother	his pancreas	now	he ran with it in his hand.	"Bā +!	Catch up with him,
yomo	t!óit'	yómoi	yomò.	Mi ⁱ	hū'liñt'a ^ε	ba ^a nawā'εk'.
catch up with him,	one-horned deer!	catch up with him,	catch up with him!"	Now	as he was tired	he climbed up a tree.
Ganēhi ^ε	wī'it'géyek!in.	Ganēhi ^ε	mi ⁱ	dīk!ololán	t'gá'p'dagwan	
Then, it is said,	he was surrounded.	Then, it is said,	now	he was dug under	their own horns	
wà.	Ganē	hagwa ^a lámde ^ε	dek li'gadá ^ε	nagá-ihí ^ε	yāk'w.	
with.	"Now	in my trail	you shall fall ahead,"	he said, it is said,	Wildcat.	
Bēm	dī'isgū'yūk!in	o ^u bán	ā'ks'i ^ε	gelbám	s'i ^ε ulī.	
Tree	it was made to fall by being uprooted,	it was dug up;	he, however,	up above	he was sitting.	
Hagwa ^a lámda	dák'alk!iyí ^ε k'	dī'isgū'yūk!in	gī'ewayá ^a	p'íwas		
In his road	down it fell,	it was made to fall by uprooting;	just far off	lightly bounding		
nagá ^ε .	Ganē	hé'bili ^{uε} .	Bā +	yómoi	yomo	t!oit'. Gwi ^ε nedi
he did.	Then	away he leaped.	"Bā +!	Catch up with him,	catch up with him,	one-horned deer!"
wede	ihogwāk'w?	Ganē	xū' ^ε n	lāp'gulúk'w	dahōxa	la'lē ^l
not	he ran with it in his hand?	Then	night	it was about to become,	evening	it became;
honó ^ε hi	ba ^a nawā'εk'	hū'liñt'a ^ε	ligilagànt'	hulū'hilint'a ^ε .		
again indeed	he climbed up a tree,	as he was tired;	he always rested	whenever he was tired.		
Ganē	ánī ^ε	honó ^ε	dī'isgū'yúk!in	bēm.	Ganēhi ^ε	wayá ^ε aldī ^l .
Then	not	again	it was made to fall by being uprooted	tree.	Then, it is said,	they slept
Ganē	wī'it'geyé'k!in	yāk'w's'i ^ε	gelbám.	Mi ⁱ	wé'giaugulugwán ¹ .	
Then	he was surrounded,	Wildcat, however,	up above.	Now	it was about to be dawn.	
Ganē	bils	εaligigá'k'wa.	Ganēhi ^ε	p!ayewé ^{iε2}	mi ⁱ sga ^ε	
Then	moss	he daubed it over himself.	Then, it is said,	he returned down;	one	
t'gá'p'da	gadák'	p!a-igini ^ε k'	wi ^ε ín	hono ^ε	gadák'	s'ówo ^ε k'ôp'
his horns	on top of	he came down,	another	again	on top of	he jumped,
			one			

¹This word is the periphrastic future of the impersonal and is passive in form. An approximately literal translation would be "it was intended to dawn."

²=p/a-iyewéi^ε.

ba^adéyeweyàk^w hono^é wi^éín gadak['] s'ówo^ék'òp'. Ganē
 he continued on again another on top of he jumped. Then
 his way, one

debin la^alīt'a^é yá^a īgoyó^ék' ganē waho^ugwàk^w. Ganē
 last one when he just he touched now he was running Then
 became him, him, along with it.

aldiⁱ k'wáx. Bā+ yómoi yomo t!òit' yomò gawák'di
 all they "Bā+! Catch up catch up one-horned catch up that one,
 awoke. with him, with him, deer! with him!" it seemed,

hogwá^ssdá^a yùk'.
 their runner he evidently
 was.

Ganē ópxa ba^agél^ép!eyé^é. Miⁱ lohógulùk^w t!libagwán
 Then his elder he lay belly up. Now he was about his pancreas
 brother to die

ánī^é k'ai gūxda wēt'gigwana^é ga wat!éut!awagwan.
 not any, his wife since she had taken that ball had been played
 it from him; with it.

Ganēhi^é miⁱ aba-iwōk' ópxa t!iba hayawá^ada xda^axdàk^w.¹
 Then, it is now he arrived his elder pancreas into his ribs he threw it.
 said, home; brother

Ganē ā'k!a mūláp^x ganau hiwilí^{u^é}. Miⁱ sgísi ge yùk'
 Then he, for sweat-house in he ran. Now Coyote there he turned
 his part, out to be

mūláp^x ganau. Ganēhi^é miⁱ pliyín^a wōk'. Ganē hūlk'
 sweat-house in. Then, it is now deer, for they Then Panther
 said, their part, arrived.

ba^ayewé^{i^é}. Ganē ts!ayák' mahmít'a^a. Ganē yāk!wa² pliyax
 he revived. Then he shot at the big ones. Then Wildcat, for
 them fawns
 his part,

ts!ayák' sgísidil a^{a^é}yà³ pliyáx ts!ayák' há^{a^é}ga hūlk'
 he shot at he and they, for fawns they shot at that one Panther
 them, Coyote their part, them, yonder

pliyin maháit'a ts!ayák. Miⁱ pliyin t'ga^a gidī yewé^{i^é}.
 deer big ones he shot at Now deer land upon they
 them. returned.

Gehi yáxa gi^{i^é}a yok!woyá^én. Ganē aga bo^u pliyin
 Just only I, for I know it. Now this today deer
 there my part,

t'ga^a debū^é la^alè^a he^énè pliyin^a ánī^é⁴ k'ai lāp'k'⁵ gas^{i^é}
 iand full they have then deer, for not any it turned out but
 become, their part, that they became,

¹This word is used of the throwing of a soft, nasty object. Cf. *xdaan*, "eel."

²= *yaak^wéa*.

³= *ai^éá*.

⁴*áni^é*, "not," does not go with *laap'k'*, which, as an inferential form, would require *wede*, but merely with *k'ai*; *áni^é k'ai* is equivalent to "none."

⁵These forms are inferentials. Though the verbs briefly recapitulate some of the points of the preceding myth, they are not employed for the purpose of *narrating* a story, but rather of *accounting for* present-day conditions; hence the inferential, not the aorist, mode.

bo^ua p̄liyìn gwalà la^alè'. He^ene p̄liyìn aldī ts^lāip[']k[']
 today deer many they have Then deer all they hid
 indeed become. themselves,
 hūlk['] he^eilemé^ek[']wana¹ ga ga^aal wa-iwíⁱ ók[']igam['] do^umiá
 Panther because he was that for girl he was killing
 destroying them; him
 ga^aal. Bō^u wede yāk^{'w} ópxa t̄libagwán woók^{'i} hūlk^{'e}a
 for. To-day, not Wildcat his elder his pancreas if he had Panther, for
 brother gone for it, his part,
 bō^u lohó^e. Mí he^edelélek^liⁿ² p̄lalák[']wa gehi dé^ewinit[']
 today he would Now I have finished it myth, just going so far
 be dead. there
 gi^eà yok^loyá^en.
 I, for my part, I know it.

Translation.

A house there was, Panther and his younger brother Wildcat. Every day he went out hunting, the deer he killed off. Then, 'tis said, a long time elapsed; he had caused the deer to disappear. The deer were talking among themselves, "Panther has killed us off." A certain deer-girl they sent there to Panther. Panther married the deer-girl. When he had married that deer-girl, then he found no more deer. Then he went out hunting again, but did not kill any. Again, when it was dawn, he went out hunting; in the evening he returned, returned empty-handed. Even though he went about everywhere in the mountains, he found no deer. Then did he become tired, returned again in the evening, returned empty-handed. To talk among themselves did the deer assemble in a certain house; in a mountain cave, therein did they assemble. Then, 'tis said, he was dying of hunger; a long time had elapsed and he had not killed any. Formerly so many deer had he killed that the house was full of dried venison. Now he and his younger brother consumed no dried venison in the house. Then, 'tis said, he went out hunting again; every day he went out hunting, but returned empty-handed.

Now this wife of his, for her part, used to go for firewood.

¹The -k'wa- implies that the deer were then conceived of as persons.

²Lit., "I have put it off in front."

³Inferentials.

And she was wont to bring firewood covered with moss. Then, whenever the morrow came early in the morning, the firewood no longer was covered with moss. He went out hunting, but empty-handed he returned. How long did he not keep returning empty-handed? Then, 'tis said, when the evening came, the woman cut off her own flesh from her legs. Then Panther, for his part, returned in the evening, full of hunger. "Where have the deer all gone?" (said Panther). The woman did not speak. Now then, 'tis said, she roasted her own flesh as venison. Then Panther returned in the evening. "Because of hunger I nearly did not arrive home," he said. Then the woman took the food and placed the venison down on the ground in front of him. Then he ate the fresh venison. He knew that this venison had all been consumed in the house, but now when he returns, there is fresh venison. Then he ate it; Panther kept thinking about it. "Where did she get it from?" said Panther, as he thought about it. Then, when it was dawn, he went out hunting again. Then again he returned empty-handed in the evening. How long did he not keep returning empty-handed? Then, 'tis said, that evening, as he thought about it, he said to himself, "Well, where did she get it from?"

Then night came on. And then he slept, also his wife did sleep. Then, as the morning twilight came, Panther, for his part, did not sleep, but kept thinking, "Whence, now, did she get this venison?" Then the woman arose at the time when she was wont to bring firewood, covered with moss. Now the woman arose, and Panther was not sleeping; but his wife, "Panther must be sleeping," said the woman. She arose, ate the moss. Right here he saw her hams cut away, from her own legs had she cut off venison; as food, it turned out, did she give him her own flesh. Moss she ate, and that indeed was why it always happened that there was no moss on the firewood. Then, 'tis said, she ate the moss as she stood by the firewood. Now he saw her and seized his arrow. Now he shot at her, but missed her. And his wife jumped at her husband, and as she jumped at her husband, she took away

from him his pancreas. Now she ran out with it in her hand, her own husband she had deprived of his pancreas. Now away did she run, having it in her hand. Then, 'tis said, yonder where the deer were assembled together, just there did she bring it.

Then, every time it dawned, then every day shinny-ball was played with it. Now the deer played ball; Panther's pancreas, therewith did they play shinny-ball. Every day, as they shouted, "Hä+! That is Panther's pancreas!" a certain fast runner rushed out. "Catch up with him, one-horned deer! Hä+! Catch up with him, catch up with him!" they used to say to each other. Then, as night came on, a fawn, a medicine-woman that one, danced, but off yonder Panther now was about to lose his spirit, for of his pancreas he had been deprived. Then Wildcat now did take various people. "Do you all come back with my elder brother's pancreas," said Wildcat. Then one person after another went there in the night, but this medicine-woman danced, discovered them all. She sang, tis said:

Wáyawene LÓ>wana, wáyawene LÓ>wana, wáyawene LÓ>wana.

Who goes about right over there, who goes about right over there, who goes about right over there?

Then it dawned and to Panther she ran, but Wildcat was in the sweat-house. "Ugly-faced Wildcat, your elder brother, 'Crack bones!' says to you your elder brother," she kept saying. Early in the morning there she ran to Panther. Then yonder she always returned. And then with Panther's pancreas shinny-ball they played. "That there is Panther's pancreas," (they shouted). Then a certain one took Panther's pancreas. "Bä+! Catch up with him, catch up with him, one-horned deer!" they kept saying to one another. In that way they played shinny-ball with Panther's pancreas. Then night used to come on, and now again the fawn danced. What sort of people did not Wildcat take? All the people he took, even the mouse he took. All of them the medicine-woman discovered, no matter

what they did. Down in the smoke they came, but all of those she discovered. A long time elapsed, the people had all been tried, but no one returned with Panther's pancreas.

Then Wildcat said, "Now I in my turn!" Then off he went. Now there he arrived, there where they were playing shinny-ball. Then he daubed moss all over himself, his hands he bedaubed. Wherever the pancreas fell as it was thrown from side to side, right there he held out his hand palm up. Now the deer said, "Bä+! That there is Panther's pancreas," shouting. Then right into his hand was it thrown. Off he scampered with it, ran with it now in his hand, ran off with his elder brother's pancreas in his hand. "Bä+! Catch up with him, catch up with him, one-horned deer! Catch up with him, catch up with him!" Now as he was tired he climbed up a tree, and then on all sides was he surrounded. Now then it was dug under with their own horns. "Now in my own trail shall you fall ahead," said Wildcat (to the tree). The tree was made to fall by being uprooted, it was dug up, but he was sitting up above. Down in his trail it fell, it had been made to fall by uprooting. Fār off he just lightly bounded, and away he leaped. "Bä+! Catch up with him, catch up with him, one-horned deer!" How long did he not run with it in his hand? Now night was about to come, evening it became, and again he climbed up a tree, for he was tired. Always he rested whenever he was tired. And not again was the tree made to fall by being uprooted. Then all did sleep; now he was surrounded on all sides, while Wildcat was up above. Now it was about to dawn, and moss he daubed all over himself. Then down he went back; down on the horns of one he came down, again on another one he jumped, continued on his way, again on another one he jumped. Then just as he came to the last one, he touched him, now as he was running along with (the pancreas). Then all awoke. "Bä+! Catch up with him, catch up with him, one-horned deer! Catch up with him!" That one, it seemed, was their runner.

Now his elder brother lay belly up. Now he was about to

die, for he had no pancreas, his wife having taking it from him; therewith shinny-ball had been played. Now then (Wildcat) arrived at home; his elder brother's pancreas he threw within his ribs. Then he, for his part, did run into the sweat-house, and Coyote there turned out to be in the sweat-house. Then now, 'tis said, the deer, for their part, did arrive. Now Panther revived, then shot at the big ones. And Wildcat, for his part, shot at the fawns; he and Coyote, for their part, did shoot at the fawns, but that Panther yonder shot at the big deer. Now the deer had returned upon the land

Just so far do I, for my part, know. Now this day the land has become full of deer; at that time the deer ceased to be, but nowadays the deer have become many. Then the deer all hid themselves, for Panther was destroying them; for that reason was the girl given to him, in order to kill him. Had not Wildcat gone to get his elder brother's pancreas, Panther, for his part, would be dead today. Now I have finished this story; proceeding just so far do I, for my part, know.

4. PANTHER AND COYOTE.

Wíli ⁱ Their house	yowò ^ε it was	hūlk' ¹ Panther	wāxadil he and his younger brother,	wāxa his younger brother	yāk' ^w Wildcat,
no ^u gadási ^ε but down below from them	sgisi Coyote	níxadil. he and his mother.	Alhūyū'hix He used to go to hunt	hūlk' Panther,	pliyìn deer many
t!omóomt'. he used to kill them.	Ganēhi ^ε Then, it is said,	be ^ε wì ^ε every day	cix deer	t!omōm he killed them,	wāxasi ^ε but his younger brother
xuma food	k!emná ^s . maker.	Ganga Only	ga that	na ^ε nagá ^{iε} he did,	dabalníxa long time
debū ^ε full;	wāxasi ^ε but his younger brother	yámx fat	yaxa merely	gayaū he ate it,	ánī ^ε not
gayaik'. he used to eat it.	No ^u gada Down below from them	sgisi Coyote	níxadil he and his mother	ho ¹ fir	k!elēi its bark
	Ganēhi ^ε Then, it is said,	dabalníxa long time	la ^a lē'. it became.	Ganēhi ^ε Then, it is said,	gwicíwôk'di somewheres or other

¹ So heard for xó.

E. SAPIR—TAKELMA TEXTS.

55

xamí'xa da^ale^llagwán dā^oyaná^a hūlk' s'ix he^eilemék'.

by the sea he was heard about chief Panther, deer he destroyed them.

Ganēhi^e wá-iwī gā^p'ini s'ēm alt'gúⁱs' t'awāxadil yá^e.

Then, it is said, girls two ducks white she and her younger sister they went.

Da^ahi^eaganín sgísi me^edàt' dit'gāū wiliⁱ sgísi hūlksi^e

He was heard about, Coyote on this side west of his Coyote; but it is said, the land house Panther

gwent'gāū ga^a ge wiliⁱ neyé^hi^e gana^enéx da^aagàn.

east of the land that one, there for his part, his house they said, it is said; thus they heard of them.

Ganēhi^e yūt!ùn wa-iwīⁱ gā^p'ini t'awāxadil ge wōk'ia^u^e1

Then, it is said, white ducks girls two she and her younger sister there they arrived

sgísi ga^al. Ganē p!ebéxa^e sgísi. Ganēhi^e miⁱ liwá^a

Coyote at. Then he peeled bark Coyote. Then, it is said, now looking

nagáⁱe wa-iwīⁱ dū gā^p'ini baxá^em. ³a! gwidí na^enagait'e^e?

he did; girls pretty two they come. "A! How am I going to do?"

T'gwa he^elamá^a nāk'i t'gwa he^elamá^a klemán. Wihin

"Thunder its board," say to it! thunder its board make it!" "My mother

ohóp' du^ugwíⁱ dīdu^ugwànk' nagá-ihí^e sgísi. S'elék'^w

shells³ her skirt she shall wear it," he said, Coyote. "Acorn pestle it is said,

ilū'pxagwank' wihìn nagáⁱe. T'gwa he^elamá^a wihin wiliⁱ

she shall pound my he said. "Thunder its board my house having it in her hands mother," mother

ganàu cū^ealt'a^a nagá-ihí^e.

in she shall sit," he said, it is said.

Ganē wa-iwīⁱ gā^p'ini s'ás' nagáⁱe. Gwidi séndi⁴

Then girls two coming to they did. "Where Panther a stand

wilíⁱ. Miⁱ yamadán sgísi sendi wilíⁱ. Giⁱ séndi^ea eít'e^e.

his Now he was asked Coyote Panther his "I Panther, I am." house?" house. for my part,

Miⁱ igoyó^uxaⁿ wa-iwīⁱ k!wált'a t'óp^xa iguyú^ek' dalō^u^e

Now they nudged each other, girl younger one her elder sister she nudged "He lies," her:

sgísi was'í^e. Maháit'ā ání^e sgísi ga séndi nagá-ihí^e.

Coyote indeed." The elder "Not Coyote, that one Panther," she said, it is said.

Wa-iwít'an idá^llī wilít'k^eà. Ba^adé^eyeweyàk'^w. Ganēhi^e

"Girls, right there my house." They continued on their way. Then, it is said,

¹ Properly speaking, this form is impersonal. An expressed subject, as here *t'awāxadil*, more correctly requires the form *wōk'*.

² "Thunder's board" is the Takelma term for "lumber."

³ These shell ornaments are described as half black and bean-like in shape.

⁴ A myth name of Panther.

⁵ Lit., "mouth-plays."

aba-igini ^é k [′] they came to the house	xilamanà they,	selèk ^{′w} acorn pestle	ilobóxak ^{′w} she was pounding with it in her hand	sgísi Coyote	níxa. his mother.	
Ganēhi ^é Then, it is said,	p [′] layuwó ^é they sat down	xilamanà they;	alxalī áni ^é they were not seated	dabalníxa. long.	Gwidi "Where	
se ^é ndi Panther	wilí ⁱ his house?"	mi ⁱ now	yamadán she was asked	mologuláp [′] a old woman,	sgísi Coyote	níxa. his mother.
Gwent [′] gāū "East side of the land	hinwadà towards up stream	ge there	wilí ⁱ his house,"	nagá-ihí ^é she said, it is said,	mologolā [′] p [′] a. old woman.	
Ma ^é a "You, for your part,	nagásbinda ^é though I said to you	bo ^u just now,	sé ^é ndi Panther	nagaít [′] you said,	sgísi Coyote	nagásbi ^é n I said to you,"
naga she said to her	t [′] óp ^é xa. her elder sister.	Ganēhi ^é Then, it is said,	ba-iyewé ^é they went out again.	Mi ⁱ yá ^é Now they went	ba ^é déyeweyàk ^{′w} . they started on their journey.	
Ganēhi ^é Then, it is said,	dabalníxa long time	la ^é lē [′] it became,	mi ⁱ now	yewé ^é he returned	sgísi Coyote.	Hindē "Mother!"
gwidi where	wayá ^{uét} [′] your daughter- in-law	k [′] wált [′] ā ^a the younger one?	andi Not (inter.)	k [′] ai any	dák [′] da ^a da over her head	wilí house
hanhogwàl [?] holed through?"	K [′] ái "What	nagaít [′] did you say?"	Wayá ^{uét} [′] "Your daughter- in-law	k [′] wált [′] a ^a the younger one	dák [′] da ^a da over her head	
ándi ^é not (inter.)	wilí house	hánhogwàl [?] holed through?"	Gemé ^é di "How	gi ⁱ I	wayáuxagwat [′] having daughter- in-law	yúk [′] a ^é do I come to be?"
Bo ^u è ^a Just now, indeed,	wa-íwít [′] an girls	aba-inagá ^é they were in the house;	sé ^é ndi Panther	wá ^é da to him	ginigiyá ^{uét} they have gone,"	
nagá-ihí ^é she said, it is said,	mologuláp [′] a old woman	ga that	nagá ^é . she said.	Sk [′] á ² "What	nagaít [′] did you say?"	Mi ⁱ Now
abaigini ^é k [′] he went into the house,	mi ⁱ now	t [′] lomōm he killed her	níxa. his mother.	Ganēhi ^é Then, it is said,	ba-iyewé ^é he went out again,	mi ⁱ now
he ^é bilí ^{uét} . he ran off.	Mi ⁱ Now	hó ^é k [′] he ran,	mi ⁱ now	swadák [′] . he pursued them.	Mi ⁱ + ⁱ hís Now very nearly	aba-íwōk [′] they arrived in the house
se ^é ndi Panther	wá ^é da. to him.	Mi ⁱ Now	t [′] los [′] ó ^u slightly	hā [′] p [′] da a little	alt [′] layàk [′] he discovered them,	mi ⁱ now

¹ This form also is impersonal, though the logical reference is to *wa-íwít[′]an*, "girls."

² Coyote is now greatly excited, hence uses the meaningless but characteristic "coyote prefix" *s-*.

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wiyimàt' wa-iwí' gā'p^eini. Wo^unā'k'^w1 nagá-ihí^e wo^unā'k'^w
 he exercised his girls two. "Old!" he said, it is said; old
 supernatural power upon them

la^alē'. Miⁱ sé^endi wá^ada aba-iwōk'ia^{u^e} yāk'^w s'i^eulī
 they became. Now Panther to him as they arrived Wildcat he was
 in the house, sitting;

mologolā'p'a gā'p^eini aba-iwōk' hūlk' wá^ada yūbī'ⁱ
 old women two they arrived Panther to him, their
 in the house basket-caps

desgwōgwènt' yeléxda desgwōgwènt' mologolā'p'agan yū'k!alx
 worn out, their burden worn out, old women teeth
 baskets

wák'i^e mologolā'p'a gā'p^eini t'awāxadil bēm īk!wenéhi.
 without, old women two she and her sticks they held them
 younger sister in their hands.

Hūlk' ánī^e k'ai alhūyūxk'.
 Panther not any; he was out
 hunting.

Miⁱhi^e dahō^uxa la^alē'. Miⁱ cīx ligik'^w hūlk'.
 Now, it evening it became. Now venison he brought Panther.
 is said, it home

Miⁱ yāk'^w ganē wik!asíhan mé^ewōk' nagá-ihí^e yāk'^w
 Now Wildcat, "Now my maternal they have he said, Wildcat,
 grandmothers arrived here," it is said,

ópxa gwenhegwé'hagwanhi. K'lulsát'a^a2 ók'i p!ān
 his elder he related it to him. "Soft (food) give them, liver
 brother

ók'i nagá^{i^e} sé^enda. Ganēhi^e p!ān ogó^aak'i. Ganēhi^e
 give he said Panther. Then, it is liver he always Then, it is
 them," gave to them. said,

wé^egia-uda^e alhūyū'hix hono^e hūlk' be^ewi^e alhūyū'hix
 when it was he was wont to again Panther, every day he was wont to
 dawn, go out hunting go out hunting;

dal^ewi^e p!iyáx ligik'^w. K!así^{i^et'} ók'i k'lulsát'a^a nagánhahi^e
 sometimes fawn he brought "Your give it to soft (food)," he used to say
 it home. maternal them to him,
 grandmothers it is said,

wāxa gasi^e p!ān ogó^aak'i. Ganēhi^e gwi^ene la^alē'.
 his younger and that liver he used to Then, it is long time it became.
 brother; one give to them. said,

Ganēhi^e miⁱ yana lobolàp' mologolā'p'ak!an. Ganēhi^e xi
 Then, it is now acorns they kept old women. Then, it is water
 said, pounding them said,

t'ū yānk'^w k!a^awánxa^e yana k!a^awànt'. Ganē xi t'ū
 hot they took they sifted in acorns they sifted them Then water hot
 with them, basket-pan, in basket-pan.

¹This "wish" is preceded by a whiff of air blown by Coyote.

²Lit., "wormy." Cf. *k!uls*, "worm."

di ^{ic} 'ūda on top of her hand	p!a-it'gwil ^{ic} x. it dropped down.	Mi ⁱ (<i>inspiratory breath</i>) Now	nagá ^{ic} . she did.	Mi ⁱ t'awā Now "O younger sister!	mí ⁱ Now		
alxí ^{ic} 'k' see!	ā+ iūxdék' Oh, my hand	alt'gú ^{ic} s. white	la ^a lē'. it has become.	Ne ^e p!agaít'e ^e Well, I'll bathe,"	nagá-ihí ^{ic} she said, it is said,		
maháit'ā the elder one	ga that	na ^e nagá ^{ic} . she did.	Mi ⁱ xambilí ^{uc} Now she jumped into the water,	hanyá ^a hi just on the other side	bat'é ^x . she emerged.		
Ganēhi ^{ic} Then, it is said,	ō+ hoplē ^{en} oh! long before	hene then	nát'na ^e as being,	ganát' being in that way	yá ^a bat'é ^x just she emerged		
han. on the other side.	Ma ^a wí ^e "You too bathe!"	p!āk' she said to her, it is said,	nagáhi ^e she said to her younger sister.	t'awāxa. her younger sister.	Mi ⁱ hono ^e Now also she bathed		
haxiyà in the water	k!wált'a. the younger one.	Ganēhi ^{ic} Then, it is said,	mi ⁱ now	hánya just across	almí ^{ic} s together they emerged.		
Mi ⁱ Now	ganát' ⁱ being in the same way	la ^a lē' they became,	hoplē ^{en} long ago	sénda Panther	wáda to him	dū pretty	hen ^e then
yá ^a da ^e when they went	ganáthi being in the same way	la ^a lē' they became	wa-iwít'an girls	dū pretty	t'awāxadil. she and her younger sister.		
Ganáhan Being as before	mé ^a l on this side (of river)	yewé ^{ic} . they returned.	Ganē Then	yana acorns	ba-ihemék' they took them out,	aba-iyewé ^{ic} they returned into the house	
wa-iwī girls	du ^e ū'. pretty.	Ganē Then	yene ² acorns	s'omòt'. they cooked them.	Mi ⁱ Now	yāk!wa ³ "O Wildcat,	
k!lasí ^{ic} t' your maternal grandmothers	lā'ula-usam he's been calling us;	hoplē ^{en} a long ago, however,	obi ^{ic} t' your elder brother	yoguyà ⁴ to marry him	ga ^a al for		
me ^e ginigik' here we came,	gas ^{ic} ' but that	sgísi Coyote	wiyimásam. he 'poisoned' us.	Ganē Now	ya ^a nìk' we are going away,	no ^u down river	
yeweyik' we return,"	nagá-ihí ^{ic} they said, it is said,	wa-iwít'an. girls.					
Mi ⁱ Now	ya ^a niyá ^{uc} they are gone away	hūlk's ^{ic} but Panther	ání ^e not	k'ai any;	alhūyūx he was out hunting,		

¹ = ganát' hi; cf. gáhi, "the same."

² So heard for yana. The first a is palatalized to e by the preceding y; the second a is made to correspond to it, owing to the feeling that Takelma has for repeated vowels in dissyllabic stems.

³ = yak'w-^eà.

⁴ So heard for yogwià.

gwel^εwāk'wihì alhūyū'hi'x. Ganēhi^ε wa-iwít'an miⁱ yá^ε
 early in the morn- he used to go Then, it is wa-iwít'an miⁱ yá^ε
 ing, indeed, to hunt. said, girls now they
 went,
 áni^ε k'ai mī. Ganē yāk!wa² dak'wilī giní^εk. Hē+
 not any now. Then Wildcat, on top of he went. "Hē+
 for his part, the house
 obēyā'+ gūxde^ε ya^ε mī+ obēyā'+. Miⁱ sgelē^ε
 elder your wives they have mī+ obēyā'+. Miⁱ sgelē^ε
 brother! gone away now, elder Now he kept
 shouting,
 sgelewált' ópxa obiya gūxde^ε yá^ε nagáhi^ε sgelé^{uε}. Ō+
 he shouted his elder "Elder your they have he said to him, he
 to him brother, brother, wives gone," it is said, shouted. "O!
 bā+¹ obiya me^εyèu gū'xde^ε yá^ε nagá-ihí^ε. Mīⁱ yewé^ε
 bā+! elder come Your they have he said, it Now he
 brother, back! wives gone," is said. returned
 hūlk' ópxa gwenhegwéhagwanhi gwenhegwéhôk'^w wa-iwí'
 Panther; his elder he related it to him, he told him about
 brother them, "Girls
 du^εū'. K!así^{iε}t' le^εwilá-usi negés'i. Gana^{nε}x gwenhegwé-
 pretty. 'Your maternal he has been they said Gana^{nε}x gwenhegwé-
 grandmother calling me,' to me." Thus he related
 hagwanhi ópxa. Ganē yānt'^ε nagá^{iε} hūlk'. Ganē
 it to him his elder "Now I am nagá^{iε} hūlk'. Ganē
 brother. going," he said Panther. Then
 tc'lulx īgína ba^adiní'k' wili hadínit'anhi s'elék'^w
 strings of he took ba^adiní'k' wili hadínit'anhi s'elék'^w
 dentalia them, he strung house he strung them acorn
 pestle
 ba^adík'dàk'. Ganē aga xa^asgó^usgí^ε ga lohót'^ε nagáhi^ε
 he stood it up. "Now this if it breaks² (in) that I shall be he said to him,
 (string) asunder, (case) dead," it is said,
 wāxa. S'elék'^w dīsgū'^εxgí^ε xa^ak'lósgí^ε ga^a lohót'^ε
 his younger "Acorn if it falls down, if it breaks, (in) that I shall be
 brother. pestle (case) dead,"
 nagáhi^ε.
 he said to him,
 it is said.
 Ganē yá^ε gūxdagwa swadàk'. Ganē miⁱ yo^umī
 Then he went his own he followed Then now he caught up
 off, wives them. with them;
 sméla^{uε}x dé^εda sāk'^w wá-iwít'an áni^ε gwénliwila^{uε} sméla^{uε}x
 arrow in front he shot girls not they looked arrow
 shafts of them, them, behind; shafts
 ba^ayānk'^w yeléxdagwan ganau mats'làk'. Ganē miⁱ
 they picked their own burden in they put Then now
 them up, baskets them.
 da^ats'la^wán wōk' hen^ε yá^a wa^ahimít' t'lít'gwan. Ganē
 by the ocean they then just they talked their own Then
 arrived, to him husband.

¹ Pronounced in a loud whisper.

² Lit., "if it 'cuts' (intr.) apart, if it parts."

ei wá^ada sa^agwán. Ei gadā 'is'i^ε k'ái gwala ne^eyáuk'i^ε
 canoe to him it was "Canoe along- even things many if they say,
 paddled. side of

wede ge li'wát' nagá^{iε} wa-iwít'an t'ít'gwan ga nagà.
 not there look," they said girls, their husband that they said
 to him.

Wede haxiyá li'wát' ísi^ε k'ai gwala nāxbiyauk'i^ε wede
 "Not in the look even things many if they should not
 water though say to you,

ge li'wát'. Ganē hansa^agwán. Ganē k'ái gwala nagàn
 there look." Then he was paddled Then things many he was
 across. said to

hūlk' alk!ok!òk' gwinát'na^ε ga 'áldi k'ái gwala nagánhi^ε.
 Panther, ugly-faced; in what way that all things many he was said to,
 being it is said.

Oloms'i^ε gūxda ga nagaik'wa^ε wede haxiyá li'wát',
 Though his wives that they had said "Not in the look!"
 before to him, water

nagaik'wa^ε miⁱ ts'liní'ts'lanx haxiyà liwilá^{uε}. Miⁱ ei
 they had said now he became angry, in the he looked. Now canoe
 to him, water

p!a-ihá-u^εt'gú'px.¹ Miⁱ mülú'k!an hülün mülú'^{uε}k'wa
 it upset. Now he was sea monster he swallowed
 swallowed, him,

gūxdas'i^ε ba-iwōk'.
 but his wives they arrived
 to shore.

Miⁱ yap!a aldí ĩgínan ya'lgá's. Yalgámt' nagán.
 Now people all they were divers. "Dive for they were
 taken him!" said to.

K'adí naga 'áni^ε ĩgínan ís'i^ε yalagámdan ba^ayát'ek!é!hixiya^{uε}
 What indeed not it was When- he was dived they always just floated up,
 (kind) taken? ever for,

áni^ε nek gwelginí'k' hagwelxiyà. K'ai gwala 'is'i^ε
 not anyone he reached at the bottom Beings many although
 bottom of the water.

ĩgínan áni^ε nek gwelginí'k' ba^ayát'ek!é!hixiya^{uε} 'is'i^ε
 they were not anyone he reached they always just floated up; whenever
 taken, bottom,

yap!a yalá'k'da^ε áni^ε hagwelxiá wōk' ba^ayát'ek!é!hix.
 people that they not at the bottom they they always just
 dived, of the water arrived, floated up.

Miⁱsi^ε k'a-ilā'p'a s'ink'wōk!wá^a k!oloi hā'p'di lāl. Giⁱ
 But now woman Mud-cat basket small she was "I
 twining it.

¹ Lit., "(scooped-out object) set (itself) down under." Cf. *dak't'gú'ba^εn*, "I put on a hat," lit., "I set (scooped-out object) on top."

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yaxā ^é indeed	wa ^é alna ^{áná} n ¹ I can get close to him,"	nagá-ihí ^é . she said, it is said.	Ganē	sgísi Coyote,	s ^é ā ² 'k ² "She	yaxa indeed	
éalnān she can get close to him!"	nagá ^é he said,	k'a-ilā'p'a woman that	ga that	nagà. he said to her.	Aga ganát' "These so many ³	yap!a people	
yelá ^á 'k'da ^é ⁴ although they dived,	ánī ^é not	wanā even	eme ^é here	néida ^é ⁵ that they did,"	nagá ^é he said,	yap!a ganat' "people so many	
yelá ^á 'k'da ^é ⁴ although they dived,"	sgísi Coyote	ga that	nagá ^é he said,	k'ailā'p'a woman	la ^{ám} àl. he quarreled with her.	Gi ⁱ yaxá "I indeed	
he ^é alna ^{áná} n ¹ I can go off and get close to him,"	k!oloi basket	hā'p'di small	wala ^á lúhi. she kept twining it while (talking).	Cma "You	yaxa indeed		
éalna ^{ánát} . you can get close to him!"	A'nī ^é Not	k'ai any- thing	nagá ^é she said,	ánī ^é not	dak'da ^{áh} l she answered him,	k!oloi hā'p'di basket small	
lāl. she twined it.	Yap!a People	hené ^é they were used up,	ā'k'da ^é xi she alone	heyé ^é x. she was left over.	Mi ⁱ Now	yap!a aldī ^l people all	
yalá ^á 'k' they had dived,	gasi ^é but that one	ā'k'da ^é xi she alone	heyé ^é x. she was left over.	Mi ^{hi} ^é Now, it is said,	dat!abák' she finished it	k!oloi basket,	
dakt'gú ^u bamt'. she covered it over.	Ne ^é si ^é "But now	masí ^é you indeed,	alna ^{áná} n 'I can get close to it,'	naga-idá ^é since you said,"	nagánhi ^é . she was said to, it is said.		
Ganēhi ^é Then, it is said,	xAmginí ^é 'k' she went into the water,	dexiyá in front of the water	xamwílí ^u . she proceeded into the water.	Mi ⁱ Now	xamginí ^é 'k'. she went into the water		
haxiyà in the water;	ā'ksi ^é she too	yalá ^á 'k' she dived,	yap!a people	bús. gone	la ^á lè ^é they had become;	āks'i ^é she too	bo ^u gan ^é now then
yalá ^á 'k'. she dived.	Mi ⁱ Now	hinau up river	tc!olx (string of) dentalia	sgó ^u s' it parted	hülk' Panther	wilí ⁱ his house	ganàu ulúm in, formerly

¹ Potential causative of *nagai-*: *na-* with prefixes *wa^é*, "together," or *he^é*, "away," and *al-*.

² Coyote speaks with contemptuous irony, hence the "coyote prefix" *s^é-*.

³ Lit., "this being or acting." The verb stem *na-*, of rather indefinite meaning, is often used to signify "to be many."

⁴ So heard for *yaláak'da^é*.

⁵ Subordinate form of *neyé^é*, instead of the regularly formed *neyéda^é*; *neyé^é* is the aorist impersonal of the verb *nagai:-na-*.

⁶ Probably for *gani*.

⁷ It is worthy of note that the verb *sgód-*: *sgóut!*- is a second class intransitive with *-x* suffix when a single spontaneous cut or break is referred to, but a first class intransitive when the activity is repeated. Hence 3rd per. aorist *sgóus* (= **sgód-x*) but *sgot!ósga^ét'* (with the ^é characteristic of first class intransitives), not **sgot!ósgas*, as might perhaps have been expected.

hen^é aba-iba^adiník!ana^é. Miⁱ sgot!ósga^t1 t'élma disguyū^éx
 then he having stretched it aloft in the house. Now it parted in several places; acorn pestle it dropped down,

xa^ak!ot'k!às. Miⁱ yāk^w ópxa luhú^é. Miⁱhi^é t'agá^é
 it broke to pieces. Now Wildcat his elder brother he had died. Now, it is said, he cried,

dák'wiliⁱ giní^ék'.
 on top of the house he went.


 Ha-i o-bē-yā' ha-i o-bē-yā' ha-i o-bē-yā' ó-bē-ya ó-bē-ya ó-bē-ya²
 "Alas, O elder brother! Alas, O elder brother! Alas, O elder brother! O elder brother! O elder brother! O elder brother!"

p!a-ik!iyí^ék' dak'wiliⁱdàt'. Ganē honohi^é ba^ayewé^é dák'wiliⁱ
 he fell down from on top of the house. Then again, it is said, he went up again on top of the house,

hono^é hagwa^alám^é al^éyowó^é.
 again in the road he looked.


 Ha-i o-bē-yā' ha-i o-bē-yā' ha-i o-bē-yā' ó-bē-ya ó-bē-ya ó-bē-ya.²
 "Alas, O elder brother! Alas, O elder brother! Alas, O elder brother! O elder brother! O elder brother! O elder brother!"

T'gél^é naga^éná^ak'í^é p!a-ik!iyí^ék'. Ganē winít' la^alē^é hu^élint
 Dropping down he always did, it is said, he fell down. Then exhausted he became, he was tired out

t'agá-ida^é. Ganēhi^é aba-iyewé^é. Ganē plⁱ yogwá^a ha^éiholóhal
 as he cried. Then, it is said, he returned in the house. Then fire its place he dug into it, putting ashes aside;

ání^é hono^é plⁱ dat!agāi. Ganē ganau de^éigenép'gwa³
 not again fire he built a fire. Then therein he lay curled up dog-fashion,

ání^é hono^é gwi giní^ék' ání^é hono^é t'agá^é.
 not again anywhere he went, not again he cried.

¹ See note 7, p. 61.

² The last syllable of each *obiya* starts at the high pitch of the preceding syllables but falls during its duration gradually to a low pitch. The pitch of each *obiya* is higher than of the following, so that a low pitch is reached at the end of the lament. These falls of pitch are evidently intended to produce a dolorous effect.

³ *de^éigeneuk'wa* was said to be a preferable form.

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Ganē no^u ye^ebá^hi. Miⁱ olom xamginí^k'da^s yap^la
 Now down river let us, pray, Now before as she went into people
 return. return. the water,

s'alxog^wi alxí^gin k'a-ilā^p'a hā^p'di xamginí^k'k'. Ganē ánī^te
 they were she was woman small she went into Then not
 standing; seen the water.

yewéⁱe. Miⁱ sgísi tcliní^tclanx. Olom cgiⁱ yaxa 'alna^anáⁿ
 she Now Coyote he was angry. "Before 'I indeed I can get
 returned. close to him,"

nagá-ida^s xamhí la^alē['] nagá-ihí^s sgísi. A'nī^te nek' alxí^k'wa
 when she right into she he said, it Coyote. Not anyone he saw her
 said, the water, became," is said,

k'a-ilā^p'a hā^p'di. Ganē hulūn dedewilí^t'a^ada s'ink'wōk!wá^a
 woman small. Then sea- at his door Mud-cat
 monster

wōk' hūlk' yōk!a^a ba^ak!lōlōl k!lōloi sbedésbatⁱ. Ganē
 she Panther his bones she gathered basket she filled it tight Then
 arrived; them up, with them.

k!lōloi debū^s k'lemēi. Ganē yá^s ánī^te nek' alxí^k'wa
 basket full she made it. Then she went, not anyone he saw her

yewéida^s. Ganē dahōxa la^alit'a^s mū^ulāpx ganāu ginik^w
 as she Then evening when it sweat-house in she went
 returned. became, with them,

mū^ulāpx ganāu mats!āk'. Dewénxa gwel^wwāk'wi^s t'adā
 sweat-house in she put them. "Next day early in the 'Paternal
 morning aunt,

de^sisé^exi nēxga^m1 nagá-ihí^s ganaⁿnex hūlk' yōk!a^a wa^ahimít'.
 open the door say to she said, thus Panther his she talked
 for me!" me," it is said; bones to them.

Dewénxa gwel^wwāk'wi^s la^alē['] dedewilí^tda ci^sulí. T'adā
 Next day early in the it became at the door she was "Paternal
 morning sitting. aunt,

de^sisé^exi. Ba^abilí^us de^sisé^ek' hop!ēⁿ nāt'na^s ganat' iá^a2
 open the door She she opened long as being so being just,
 for me!" jumped up, the door; before

ganē hen^e yá^a altlayagín.
 now then just he was found.

Dewénxa la^alē['] gwel^wwāk'wi^s miⁱ gūxdagwa wá^ada
 Next day it became early in the now his own wives to them
 morning,

yewéⁱe. Ganē yanába^shàn naga gūxdagwa. Miⁱ míⁱe^wa
 he "Now let us all go off!" he said his own wives. "Now perhaps
 returned. to them

haxiya gwidís^gwit' wí^wwā nagá-ihí^s hūlk'. Ganē gūxda
 in the he has thrown my younger he said, it Panther. Then his wives
 water himself brother," is said,

1 Future imperative with 1st per. sing. object of *naga-*: *naag-i-*, "to say to."2 = *yáa*.

há-u "Yes,"	nagá ^{ie} they said;	yanaba ^{hán} "let us all go away!"	nagá ^{ie} they said.	Ganē Then	ik!u ^{mánk} 'wa they prepared themselves		
k'a-ilā'p'a women	gā'p ⁱⁿⁱ . two.	Ganē Then	yá ^e they went,	sé ^{enda} Panther	hawilit'gwa in his own house	yewé ^{ie} . they returned.	
Dehi Ahead	alyowó ^e he looked,	ánī ^e not	k'ai any	k'liyix. smoke.	Abaiginí ^{k'} They went into the house;	p!i fire	yogwá ^a its place
ganau in	dégenàu. curled up dog-fashion.	Dīt'gwá ^{ac} lam "O poor	wī ^{wā} my younger brother!"	nagá ^{ie} . he said.	Ganē Then	gūxdagwa his own wives	
alts!aik'ānp' "Do you (pl.) wash him!"	naga he said to them	gūxdagwa his own wives;	alts!ayagán. he was washed.	Gana ^{néx} Thus	ciwōk'di it may be		
hono ^e again	alhūyū'hi ^x . he used to go out hunting.	Gí ^{ie} à I, for my part,	gahi just that	yáxa indeed	yok!woyá ⁿ I know it,	ge there	
winíthi just so far	yaxa indeed	yok!woyá ⁿ . I know it.					

Translation.¹

There was the house of Panther and his younger brother, his younger brother Wildcat, while down below from them were Coyote and his mother. Panther used to go out hunting, many deer he used to kill. Now every day he killed deer, while his younger brother was in the house, a maker of food. Only that he did. For a long time the house was full of venison; but the younger brother ate nothing but fat, he was not wont to eat the flesh of deer. Down below from them Coyote and his mother had a house of fir bark.²

Then, 'tis said, a long time elapsed. Then somewhere or other by the sea Panther the chief was heard about, how he destroyed deer. Then two girls, the White Duck sisters, went off. Coyote was heard about, that Coyote's house was on this side, the west side of the land; but as for Panther, that one's

¹ Compare Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, pp. 129-41; St. Clair, *Traditions of the Coos Indians, Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. 22, pp. 35, 36; Dixon, *Achomawi and Atsugewi Tales, ibid.*, Vol. 21, pp. 163-65. The Yana have a version closely similar to that of the Achomawi.

² The house of bark instead of lumber marks the poor man.

house was said to be on the east side of the land. Thus they heard about them. Then the two White Duck girls, the two sisters, arrived there to Coyote. Now Coyote was beating bark from a tree. Now then, 'tis said, Coyote looked up—two pretty girls were coming. (Coyote did not know what to do. He defecated, and asked his excrements,) “εA! What am I going to do?”—“Thunder’s board,¹ say to it! Make lumber out of it!”—“My mother shall wear the ohòp‘-shells² on her skirt,” said Coyote. “My mother shall have in her hands an acorn pestle wherewith to pound,” he said. “In a house of lumber shall my mother be sitting,” he said.

Then the two girls came to a standstill. “Where is Panther’s house?” Now was Coyote asked for Panther’s house. “It is I, indeed, that am Panther.” Now they nudged each other; the younger girl nudged her elder sister, (saying), “He lies, it is Coyote indeed.” The elder one said, “It is not Coyote, that one is Panther.”—“Girls, right there, indeed, is my house.” They continued on their way. Then, 'tis said, they came to the house; Coyote’s mother was pounding with an acorn pestle. Then they sat down, but not for a long time were they seated. “Where is Panther’s house?” the old woman, Coyote’s mother, now was asked. “Up stream on the east side of the land, there is his house,” said the old woman. “Though I told you so just now, you said it was Panther, but I told you it was Coyote,” she said to her elder sister. Then they went out again; now they went off, started again on their journey.

Then a long time elapsed and Coyote returned. “Mother! Where is your younger daughter-in-law? Has not perchance the roof above her head a hole?”—“What did you say?”—“Has not the roof above your younger daughter-in-law’s head a hole?”—“How do I come to have a daughter-in-law? Just now there were girls in the house; to Panther have they gone,”

¹ That is, lumber.

² See note 3, p. 55.

she said, the old woman said that. "S-what¹ did you say?" Now he went into the house and killed his mother. Then he returned out of the house, ran off now. Now he ran and pursued them. Now they had nearly arrived at Panther's house. Now (Coyote) just barely caught sight of them and exercised his supernatural power upon the two girls. "Old!" he said, and old they became. Now they came to Panther in his house. Wildcat was sitting there; two old women came to Panther in his house. Their basket-caps were worn out, their burden baskets were worn out, they were old women without teeth, the sisters, two old women (now), held staffs in their hands. Panther was not there, he was out hunting.

Now evening came on and Panther brought home venison. Then Wildcat said, "Now my maternal grandmothers have arrived here," recounted Wildcat to his elder brother. "Give them soft food, give them liver," said Panther. Then, 'tis said, he always gave them liver. Then, when it was dawn, Panther would go out hunting again, every day he was wont to go out hunting. Sometimes he brought home a fawn. "Give your maternal grandmothers soft food," he used to say to his younger brother, and that one would give them liver. Then a long time elapsed. Now the old women were always pounding acorns. Then, 'tis said, they took hot water with them; they sifted in the basket-pan, the acorns they sifted in the basket-pan. Now the hot water dripped down on the back of her hand. Now she caught her breath and said, "O younger sister! now see! Oh, my hand has become white. Well, I'm going to bathe," the elder one did that. Now she jumped into the water and emerged right on the other side of the river. Then, 'tis said, oh! as she had been long before, being just so she emerged on the other side. "Do you too bathe!" she said to her younger sister. Now also the younger one bathed in the water, and together they emerged just across the river. And of the same appearance they became as when long ago, being

¹ The s-, here as often, is quite meaningless. It is characteristic of the speech of Coyote.

pretty, they had gone to Panther; of the same appearance the sisters became, pretty girls. Then they returned to this side of the river. Then they took out the acorns and into the house they returned, pretty girls. Now the acorns they cooked. And the girls said, "O Wildcat, your maternal grandmothers he's been calling us; long ago, however, we came here in order to marry your elder brother, but Coyote did exercise his supernatural power upon us. Now we are going away, down river we go back."

Now they went off, but Panther was not there; he was out hunting, early in the morning he was wont to go out to hunt. Now, 'tis said, off went the girls, no longer were they there. Then Wildcat, for his part, did go on top of the house. "Hē+, elder brother! Your wives now have gone, O elder brother!" Now he kept shouting, shouted to his elder brother. "Elder brother, your wives have gone," he said to him, shouted. "O! Bā+! elder brother, come back! Your wives have gone," he said. Now Panther returned and (Wildcat) recounted it to his elder brother, told him about them. "They are pretty girls. 'Your maternal grandmother he's been calling me,' they said to me." Thus he recounted it to his elder brother. "Now I am going," said Panther. Then strings of dentalia he took, and strung them up, strung them out in the house; an acorn pestle he stood up. "Now should this (string) part, in that case I shall be dead," he said to his younger brother. "Should the acorn pestle fall down, should it break, in that case I shall be dead." he said to him.

Then off he went, followed his wives. And now he caught up with them. Arrow shafts he shot in front of them, but the girls did not look back; the arrow shafts they picked up and put them into their burden baskets. And now by the ocean they arrived; just then they talked with their husband. Then a canoe was paddled to them. "Even though they should say all sorts of things alongside the canoe, do not look there," said the girls, to their husband that they said. "Do not look into the water,

even though they should say all sorts of things to you. Do not look there." Then he was paddled across. Now all sorts of things was Panther called, ugly-faced; in whatever way he looked, all that was he called. Though his wives had told him that before, had told him, "Do not look into the water!" now he became angry and looked into the water. Now the canoe upset and he was swallowed, the sea-monster swallowed him; but his wives arrived to shore.

Now all the people were taken as divers. "Dive for him!" they were told. What sort of (person) was not taken? Whenever they dived for him they always just floated up, no one reached to the bottom of the water. Even though many beings were taken, no one reached to the bottom, they always just floated up; whenever the people dived, they did not reach to the bottom of the water, but always just floated up. But now the Mudcat woman was twining a small basket. "It is I indeed who can get close to him," she said. Then Coyote said, "S-she indeed can get close to him!" To the woman did he say that. "Though these so many people did dive, they did not even get close thereto," he said, "though so many people dived." Coyote said that, with the woman he quarreled. "I indeed can go off and get close to him," she kept twining the small basket while talking. "S-she indeed can get close to him!" She said nothing, answered him not, but twined the small basket. The people had all been tried, she alone was left. All the people had dived, but that one still was left, she alone. Now, 'tis said, she finished the basket, covered it over. "Well, now, you in your turn! since you did say, 'I can get close to him,'" she was told. Then, 'tis said, she went to the water, ahead to the water she proceeded. Now into the water she went, she too did dive; the people had all been tried, so she too now did dive.

Now up river the string of dentalia parted in Panther's house, where formerly he had stretched it aloft in the house. Now it parted in several places, and the acorn pestle dropped down,

broke to pieces. Now Wildcat's elder brother had died. Then, 'tis said, he wept, on top of the house he went.

“Alas, O elder brother! alas, O elder brother! alas,
O elder brother!

O elder brother! O elder brother! O elder brother!”

Down he rolled from on top of the house. Then again, 'tis said, he went up on top of the house. Again he looked along the trail.

“Alas, O elder brother! alas, O elder brother! alas,
O elder brother!

O elder brother! O elder brother! O elder brother!”

He always dropped down, down he rolled. Then exhausted he became, he was tired out as he wept. Then he went back into the house. Then he dug into the fire-place and put the ashes aside; not again he built the fire. And therein dog-fashion he lay curled up. No more did he go anywhere, no longer he wept.

Now, pray, let us return down river. Now, when formerly she had gone into the water, the people there were standing; the little woman was seen as she went into the water. But she did not return. Now Coyote was angry. “S-when formerly she said, ‘I indeed can get close to him,’ right into the water she proceeded,” said Coyote. No one did see the little woman. Then Mudcat did arrive at the sea-monster's door; Panther's bones she gathered up, the basket tight she filled with them. Then full she made the basket. And off she went, and no one saw her as she returned. Then as evening came on, into the sweat-house she went with them, in the sweat-house she put them. “Next day, early in the morning, say to me, ‘Paternal aunt, open the door for me!’ ” she said, thus to Panther's bones she talked. Next day came on early in the morning, and at the door she was seated. “Paternal aunt, open the door for me!” Up she jumped and opened the door. As long before he had been, just so indeed was he then found.

Next day came on early in the morning, and to his wives he

returned. "Now let us all go off!" he said to his wives. "Now perhaps my younger brother has thrown himself into the water," said Panther. Then his wives said, "Yes, let us all go off!" they said. Then the two women prepared themselves, and away they went, returned to Panther's house. Ahead he looked, but there was no smoke. They went into the house; (Wild-cat) lay in the fire-place curled up dog-fashion. "O my poor younger brother!" he said. Then to his wives "Do you wash him!" he said, and he was washed. As was his wont, it may be, he always went out hunting again. I, for my part, know just that, indeed; proceeding just so far I know.

5. COYOTE AND FOX.

	Wilí ⁱ	yuwò ^é	sgísi	yolá	wak'díxadìl	beán	mí ^{ie} sga ^é
	Their houses	they were	Coyote	Fox	he and his cousin, ¹	his daughter	one
sgísi.	A'lhuyúx	yolá	s'u ^h ū'	ba ^a domó ^s	gūi	ga ^é al	ts!ayā'k'i
Coyote.	He went out to hunt	Fox;	quails and lit	they flew up woods	at;	he shot at them,	
gwala	t!omōm.	Dahō ^u xa	yewé ^{ie}	cuhū'	ligik'w.	Sgísi	
many	he killed them.	In the evening	he returned,	quails	he brought them home.	Coyote	
béan	dewilí	lō ^u l ^é .	Ganēhí ^é	yola	yewé ^{ie}	cuhū'	gwala
his daughter	in front of the house	she was playing.	Then, it is said,	Fox	he returned,	quails	many
labàk'.	ō+	hamī'	yola	cuhū'	gwala	ligik'w.	
he evidently carried them on his back.	"O,	father!	Fox	quails	many	he has brought them home."	
Dat'ān-elá ^a t'gwàt'	yàmt'	ne ^é	gwidi	na ^é nagánha ^é 2	nagá-ihí ^é		
"Squirrel-tongued,	ask him,	well,	in what way	that he did to them,"	he said, it is said,		
sgísi.	Nó ^u c	hiwili ^{ue} .	Wihám	gwidi	na ^é nagàt'	nagásbi	
Coyote.	Next door	she ran.	"My father	'In what way	did you do to them?'	he says to you,"	
nagá-ihí ^é .	Gwidi	na ^é nagá ⁿ ?	Gūi	ga ^é al	ba ^a k'lowū ^é		
she said, it is said.	"In what way	did I do to them?	Woods	to	they flew up together;		

¹ More exactly, "his mother's brother's son."

² Subordinate form of *na^énagà*.

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hawap! ⁱ tc'úluk! ⁱ n underneath I set fire to them	gūi.	Ganē	ba ^a gèlyuwút'e ^è I lay down belly up	hawánda. under them.
Ganē	p!a-ik'ulú ^u k'al Then they dropped down dead one after another	deguxhidē. in front of my heart. ¹	Gana ⁿ nex Thus	t'lomomá ⁿ n I killed them,"
nagá-ihí ^è he said, it is said,	yolà. Fox.	No ^u s. Next door	yewé ^{ic} she returned	hapxwi little girl.
Yék'dal "In the brush	s'alt lus'ót'lis'i ⁿ . I was walking about at random.	Gas'i ^è Then	s'uhú ^u quails	ba ^a dumú ^s they flew up and lit;
gas'i ^è there- upon	hawa ^a p! ⁱ i I set fire to	tc'úluk! ^w i ⁿ (woods) under- neath,"	nagá-ihí ^è . she said, it is said.	Gasi ^è "Then
ba ^a gélpleyēnt'e ^è I lay down belly up	hawánda under them,"	nagá-ihí ^è . she said, it is said.	Gasi ^è "Then	deguxhidē in front of my heart
p!a-ik'ulú ^u k'al. they dropped down dead one after another.	Gana ⁿ nèx Thus	t'lomomá ⁿ n. I killed them.'	Ga That	nagá ^{ic} he said,
hamī father,	yola ^è a. Fox, for his part."	S'éhehehe "S'éhehehe!"	ūyū ⁱ sgwa he laughed at him;	
ā'k' "he	wanà even	guxí ⁱ his heart	t'losó ^u little,	gi ⁱ I
yaxáhi I however, indeed,	guxít'k' my heart	mahàì big,"	nagá-ihí ^è . he said, it is said.	
Ganēhi ^è Then, it is said,	dewénxa next day	la ^a lē'. it became.	Ganēhi ^è Then, it is said,	alhūyūx he went to hunt
sgísi Coyote;	gáhihi ^è the same, it is said,	na ⁿ nagá ^{ic} . he did.	Cuhu ^u Quails	ba ^a k'lowó ^è they flew up together;
hawap! ⁱ tc'úlu ^u k' ⁱ he set fire to (woods) underneath;	ganī then	ba ^a gélpleyē ^è he lay down belly up	hawánda under them,	p! ⁱ (pieces of) fire
p!a-ik'ulú ^u k'al one after another	deguxhí ⁱ da. in front of his heart.	Ganī Then	mí ^{ic} sga ^è one	p!a-ik'liyí ^{ic} k' it dropped down
deguxhí ⁱ da. in front of his heart.	Sgisi Coyote	mí ⁱ now	lohó ^{ic} . he died.	Ganī Then
t!ibicīhi ants, indeed,	mí ⁱ now	t!ayāk'wa they found him;	mí ^{hi} now, it is said,	dak! ^w ocō ^u k'wa. they bit him.
C ^è á "C ^è á!	t!ibicī ants	xa ^a xdíl ^s slim-waisted!	olom short while ago	waik'anda ^è when I, as it seems, was sleeping
k'ái what	ga ^a al for (inter.)	di did they wake me up?"	nagá-ihí ^è . he said, it is said.	Mí ⁱ Now
bayewé ^{ic} he came to again;	dahōxa in the evening	yewé ^{ic} he returned,	mí ^{ic} sga ^è one	ligík' ^w . he brought it home.

¹ i. e., on my breast.

	Ganī	dewénxa	mi ⁱ	hono ^o	alhūyūx	yolà.	Ganī
	Then	next day	now	again	he went to hunt	Fox.	Then
mi ⁱ hi	hono ^o	yewé ^{ie}	dahōxa	mena	ligik ^w .	Hamī	yola
now, indeed,	again	he returned	in the evening,	brown bear	he brought it home.	"Father,	Fox
mena	ligik ^w	nagá-ihí ^{ie}	hapxwi	wa-iwī	sgísi	bean.	
brown bear	he has brought it home,"	she said, it is said,	little	girl,	Coyote	his daughter.	
Dat ^a ánéla ^a t ^a gwàt ^a	yamdàmt ^a	gwi	na ⁿ nex	di	t ^l omōm.		
"Squirrel-tongued,	go and ask him	how	doing	(inter.)	he has killed it."		
Nó ^u s.	hiwílí ^{ue} .	Wihàm	gwi	na ⁿ nex	di	t ^l omomàt ^a	
Next door	she ran.	"My father	"How	doing	(inter.)	did you kill it?"	
nagásbi.	Gwi	na ⁿ nex	di	t ^l omomá ⁿ ?	K ^l á ^t	dalsal-	
he says to you."	"How	doing	(inter.)	did I kill it?	'K ^l á ^t '	I was walking	
t ^l os ^o út ^l is ⁱ n.	Ganī	ō+	negési.	Mū ^l xi	yexa ¹	nagá ⁿ	
about at random in the bush.	Then	'ō+'	he said to me.	'Swallow me	merely,'	I said to him,	
mū ^l xi	yexa ¹	wede	wanā	yo ^u màt ^k	p ^l a-it ^a gwíl ^{ie} xnat ^a		
'swallow me	merely!	Not	at all	my blood	do you cause it to drop down!		
nagá ⁿ .	Gas ⁱ	múlú ^{ue} xi	yaxà.	Ganī	ci ^u lit ^{ie}	hawí ⁿ í ^{da} .	
I said to him.	There- upon	he swallowed me	merely.	Then	I was sitting	inside of him.	
Ganī	guxí ⁱ	smilísmalx	guxí ⁱ	he ^e sgó ^u da ⁿ .	Ganī	didelgándadat,	
Then	his	it was swinging; heart	his heart	I cut it off.	Then	out from his anus	
ba-iyewéit ^{ie}	nagá-ihí ^{ie} .	Se ^e hehehehe	hín ^x -niwá ^s	gi ⁱ	yaxá ^a wa		
I went out again,"	he said, it is said.	"Se ^e hehehehe!	he is cowardly;	I,	however,		
guxít ^k	tslámx	t ^l ilā ^p 'a	eít ^{ie}	sgísihi	ga	nagá ^{ie} .	
my heart	brave,	man	I am,"	Coyote	that	he said.	
				indeed			
Dewénxa	la ^a lé ^l	mi ⁱ	alhūyūx	āksi ^{ie} .	Ganēhi ^{ie}	alhūyūx	
Next day	it became, now	he went out	he in	his turn.	Then, it is said,	he went out to hunt	
sgísi	gahí ^{hi}	na ⁿ nagá ^{ie}	yola	gana ⁿ nex	malāk ^w wana ^e .	Ganē	
Coyote;	the same, it is said,	he did	Fox	in that way	as he had told him.	Then	
mi ⁱ hi ^e	ba-idák ^w wilít ^l āt ^a	hā ^u	ē ^m ū ^l xi	yaxa	ē ^m ū ^l xi		
now, it is said,	he jumped out of his house,	"Hā ^u !"	"Swallow me	merely,	swallow me		
yaxa	wede	yo ^u mat ^k	p ^l a-it ^a gwíl ^{ie} xnat ^a .	Mi ⁱ	múlú ^{ue} k ^w		
merely!	Not	my blood	do you let it drop!"	Now	he swallowed him;		

¹ So heard for *yaxa*.

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sgisi mülú^uk^lan xam^lk^ʼ xebé^én. Ha^ʼwini^ída ci^ʼulí. Miⁱ
Coyote he was Grizzly he did so. Inside of him he was
swallowed, Bear now sitting.

ména guxí^í alxí^ík^ʼ smilísmalx miⁱ he^ʼsgó^ʼt^ʼ guxí^í miⁱhi^ʼ
Brown his he saw it, it was dangling; now he cut it his now, it
Bear heart off heart; is said,

t^lomóm mena sgísi. Ganē miⁱhi^ʼ hanwayaswilswálhi
he killed Brown Coyote. Then now, it he tore through them
him Bear is said, with his knife

yáwa^a. Miⁱ t^lomóm mena miⁱ aba-iyewé^ʼ miⁱ sgísi
his ribs. Now he killed Brown now he returned now Coyote
him Bear;

mena ligik^{ʼw} dahōxà.
Brown he brought in the
Bear him home evening.

Ganēhi^ʼ wé^ʼgia-uda^ʼ miⁱ hono^ʼ yola alhūyūx dáhōxa
Then, it when it was now again Fox he went to in the
is said, daybreak hunt, evening

yewé^ʼ. Hē+ hamí yola dēl gwala ligik^{ʼw}. Dat^ʼān-elá^ʼt^ʼgwat^ʼ
he "Hē+! father, Fox yellow- many he brought "Squirrel-tongued,
returned. jackets them home."

gwidi na^ʼnagàt^ʼ nānha. No^ʼs^ʼ hiwili^ʼ Gwidí na^ʼnagàt^ʼ
'How did you do ask him.'¹ Next she ran. "How did you do
to them?" door to them?"

nagásbi wihàm. Gwidi na^ʼnagá^ʼn? T^ʼga^a hap^litc^lúluk^l!^ʼn.
he says to my father." "How did I do to 'Earth I set them on fire
you them? in it.

Gasⁱ de^ʼl hadedilt^ʼa dībūmá^ʼk^ʼ ba-ik^l!ololá^ʼn. Ganē
There- yellow- everywhere they swarmed I dug them out. Then
upon jackets up,

dik^ʼalp^ʼilíp^ʼilí^ʼn nagá-ihí^ʼ. Nó^ʼs^ʼ yewé^ʼ. Hamí t^ʼga^a
I squashed them all he said, it is Next door she "Father, 'Earth
with my penis," said. returned.

hap^litc^lúlu^ʼk^l!^ʼi^ʼn nagá^ʼ Dat^ʼānelá^ʼt^ʼgwat^ʼ gwenhegwéhak^ʼwi
I set them on fire in it,' he said," Squirrel-tongued she related it to him

máxa. Hamí t^ʼga^a hap^litc^lúlu^ʼk^l!^ʼi^ʼn nagá^ʼ. Gasí^ʼ de^ʼl
her "Father, 'Earth I set them on fire in it,' he said. 'There- yellow-
father. upon jackets

dībūmá^ʼk^ʼ gasí^ʼ ba-ik^l!ululá^ʼn gasí^ʼ dik^ʼalp^ʼilíp^ʼilí^ʼn nagá-ihí^ʼ.
they then I dug them out, then I squashed them all she said, it
swarmed up, with my penis," is said.

C^ʼéhehehe āk^l!² dik^ʼalt^llucu^ʼt^ʼgwàt gi^ʼ yaxa maháit^ʼa
"C^ʼéhehehe! he, for his small-penised, I however bigger one
part,

wa^ʼit^lanáhi^ʼn nagá-ihí^ʼ.
I hold it with me," he said, it is said.

¹ Literally, "cause him to do or say."

² = ak^ʼ-é.à.

Dewénxa Next day	lālē it became,	sgísi Coyote	ganī then	yá ^a just	hono ^é again	a ^a ks ⁱ ^é he in his turn	ganī then
t'ga ^a earth	hap! ⁱ tc'lúlo ^u k ⁱ . he set them on fire in it.	Ganēhi ^é Then, it is said,	de ^e l yellow- jackets	ádat ['] wi ^é from every side	dībūmá ^a k ['] they swarmed up;		
ba-ik ['] lolōl he dug them out,	de ^e l yellow- jackets	aldil all	dik ['] alp ['] ilip ['] alhi he squashed them with his penis;	mi ⁱ now	p ['] lowō ^u k ['] wa. they stung him.		
Mi ⁱ sga ^é One	wíli ⁱ house ¹	ba-ikolōl. he dug it out.	Mi ⁱ Now	dets ['] lini ['] x he died;	mi ⁱ now	hono ^é again	t ['] libis ['] i ⁱ ants
mi ⁱ now	dak ['] los ['] ō ^u k ['] wa. they bit him.	S ['] á "S ['] á!	c ['] ik ['] wé ['] xi they have waked me up	ulum before	waik ['] anda ^é when I was evi- dently sleeping,"	nagá ['] ihi ^é . he said, it is said.	
Mi ⁱ sga ^é One	ligik ['] w. he brought it home.	Gana ⁿ éxhi Thus indeed	mi ⁱ sga ^é one	t ['] lomóamt ['] he always killed it,	he ⁿ e then		
dets ['] lini ['] anx. he always died.							
Mi ⁱ Now	dewénxa next day	honō ⁿ again	alhūyūx he went out to hunt	yolà. Fox.	Ganī Then	p ['] imhi salmon indeed	
ligik ['] w he brought them home	daho ^u xà. in the evening.	Mi ⁱ Now	hono ^é again	ā+ "ā+!	hamī father,	p ['] im salmon	gwala many
ba-iligik ['] w he has brought home out of the water,"	nagá ['] ihi ^é . she said, it is said.	Dat ['] ānelá ['] at ['] gwát ['] "Squirrel-tongued,		yamdám ['] go and ask him,	gwidi 'How		
na ⁿ nagát ['] did you do to them?"	nānha. ask him."	Mi ⁱ Now	nó ^u c next door	hiwili ^u s. she ran.	Wiham "My father	gwidi 'How	na ⁿ nagát ['] did you do to them?"
nagásbi. he says to you."	Gwidi "How	na ⁿ nagá ⁿ ? did I do to them?"	Yílwa ^s Hazel switch	ik ['] lanák ['] lini ['] n I twisted it,	gasi ^é there- upon		
ganī then	dets ['] lūgú ^u sharp at one end	k ['] lemē ⁿ . I made it.	Ganī Then	p ['] lé ^s rock acorn- mortar	gwenha-udē in back of my neck	mats ['] lagá ⁿ I put it,	
xambiliūt ['] into the water I jumped	tslāū deep water	ganāu in,	p ['] im salmon	gwenxoxog ^w á ⁿ I strung them,"	nagá ['] ihi ^é . he said, it is said.		
S ['] éhehehe "S ['] éhehehe!	gi ⁱ I	yaxáwa truly	gūx ^w it ['] k ['] my heart	mahái big	āks ['] i ^é he, however,	guxwí his heart	
t ['] los ['] ó ^u little,"	nagá ['] ihi ^é . he said, it is said.						

¹ i. e., nest.

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Dewénxa Next day	lālē it became,	mi ⁱ now	haxiyà in the water	giní'k' ⁱ he went;	yílwa's hazel	he'sgó'ut' ⁱ he cut it off,
ganēhi ^é then, it is said,	ik!anák!an. he twisted it.	Ganī Then	p!é's rock acorn-mortar	igína he took it,	gwenhaut'gwa in back of his own neck	
mats!ak' ⁱ he put it;	xambilí ^{ue} into the water he jumped,	p'im salmon	wayānk' ^w he followed them,	swadāt'ga he pursued them,	mí'sga ^é one	
ī't!aut!au. he caught it.	Mi ⁱ Now	lohó ^{ie} he died,	mi ⁱ now	t'iyí ^{ie} he floated,	mi ⁱ now	sgisi Coyote
dets!iní'x he was dead,	baya ^a lehé ^{ie1} he just drifted dead to shore	t!uxū'i drift-wood	ga ^é al. to.	Mi ⁱ Now	t!libis'í ants	dak! ^w os'ō'k'wa. they bit him.
S ^é á "S ^é á!	t!libis'í ants	xa ^a xdí's slim-waisted!	olom Just before	waik'anda ^é when I was evi- dently sleeping	c'ik'wé'xi they woke me up!"	nagá-ihí ^é he said, it is said.
Mi ⁱ Now	aba-iyewé ^{ie} he returned into the house	dahōxà in the evening,	mi ⁱ now	ligik' ^w he brought it home	p'im salmon	mí'sga ^é one.
Ganēhi ^é Then, it is said,	hono ^é again	wé'gia ^{ue} it was dawn;	dewénxa next day	la ^a līt'a ^é when it became	mi ⁱ now	hono ^é again
ya ^é he went	yolà. Fox.	Mi ⁱ Now	dat!aiyá ^{ie} he went to people to get food.	Ganēhi ^é Then, it is said,	dahōxa evening	lālē'. it became. Now
yola Fox	yewé ^{ie} he returned,	p'im salmon	xum dry	yelèx burden basket	debū ^é full it turned out that he carried it on his back.	labàk'. ē+ father,
yola Fox	p'im salmon	yelèx burden basket	debū ^é full he evidently carries it on his back,"	labàk' full	nagá-ihí ^é she said, it is said.	Dat'ānéla ^{at} 'gwàt' "Squirrel-tongued,
gwidí 'How	na ^é nagàt' did you do to them?"	nānha. ask him."	Nó ^{uc} Next door	hiwilí ^{ue} she ran	hapxwi little	wá-iwī girl
sgísi Coyote	béan. his daughter.	Wíham "My father	gwidí 'How	na ^é nagàt' did you do to them?"	nagásbi. he says to you."	Gwidí "How
na ^é nagá ^é n? did I do to to them?	Nó ^u gwa Down stream from	wilī the house	hapxwi children	k!ol ^é xi salmon- heads	ixledénhòk' ^w they carried them about in basket- plates;	

1 = ba-iyalehé^{ie}.

īwēt'gī'n dī'bēmp'ilīp'ili'n nagá'ie. Aba-iginík'de'da^ε k'a-i'lā'p'a
 I deprived I whipped them he said. "When I had gone women
 them of them, with stick," into the house

dī'bēmp'ilīp'ili'n nagá-ihī^ε. Ganēhi^ε Dat'ānéla^{at}'gwāt' hamī
 I whipped them he said, it Then, it Squirrel-tongued "Father,
 with stick," is said. is said,

hapxwi aldī k'lol^εxī īxledénhōk'^w dī'bēmp'ilīp'ili'n nagá'ie
 'Children all salmon- they were carrying I whipped them he said,"
 heads them on basket-plates, with stick,'

malák'i máxa Dat'ānéla^{at}'gwāt'. S'éhehehe āk' wanà
 she told him her father Squirrel-tongued. "S'éhehehe! he even

hin^εx-nīwá's giⁱ yaxáwa t'līlā'p'a eīt'e^ε nagá-ihī^ε.
 cowardly, I however man I am," he said, it is said.

Ganēhi^ε dewénxa la^alit'a^ε ganē āks'i^ε yá^ε. Ganēhi^ε
 Then, it is next day when it then he in his he Then, it
 said, became turn went. is said,

no^ugo¹ wili ha^apxwī k'lol^εxī īxledénhōk'^w dī'bēmp'ilīp'alhi
 down stream the children salmon- they carried them he whipped them
 from house heads in basket-plates, with stick,

aba-iwayewēnhi k'a-ilā'p'a ga^εal. Hē+ ma^aa gwidī na^εnagaīt'
 he made them return women to. "Hē+! you, for how are you
 into the house with it your part, doing?"

hō^uxa^a yolà p'im^aa dat'layālt' imihiminak'. S'k'ái nagaīt'p'
 yesterday Fox salmon he came to we sent him "What do you (pl.)
 indeed say for it, away with it." say,

hindēhan k'ái nagaīt'p'? K'ái gwala^aa yolá^aa wilau
 O mothers? what do you (pl.) "Things many Fox, for arrows
 say?" indeed his part,

ts'layák'i mena^aa t'lomōm. He^εwili'gwásbi. De^l p'úyamt'
 he shot them brown bear he killed it. He wishes you Yellow- he smoked
 with them, indeed to die.² jackets them out,

p'im^si^ε ts'layák' nagánhi^ε miⁱ malaginín. Sga na^εnagaīt'e^ε
 salmon he speared he was said to, now he was told. "That I did,
 moreover them," it is said,

negési hindēhan nagá-ihī^ε. Ganēhi^ε miⁱ p'im ba-ik'emenámdan
 he said O mothers!" he said, it Then, it now salmon he was equipped
 to me, is said. ir said, with them,

yeléx debú^{us} īmī'himin. Miⁱ yá^ε.
 burden full he was sent Now he went.
 basket away.

¹ = *nougwa*.

² Literally, "he moves off with you."

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- Ganēhi^ε hínwa wīlī la^alē'. Miⁱhi^ε lāt'gwa yamāt'
Then, it is up stream the he became. Now, it his own he asked
said, from house is said, excrement it,
- s'gwidí naⁿnagait'e^ε? Miⁱ nagá^{iε}. Miⁱhi^ε yulūm wīlī hā'pxda
"How I'll do?" Now it said. Now, it eagle his its young
is said, house ones
- k'emēi ba-i^aalxanaū ganē yulūm p!u^ulhī hápxda. Ganēhi^ε
he made they looked out then eagle eyrie its young Then, it
it, ones. is said,
- yeléx p!á-imats!ák' nó^s giní^εk'. S'wōk'dā a^εlī p!ūlhī
burden he put it down, next door he went. "O cousin! right eyrie
basket here
- hā'pxda ma^a wīlāu k'eméamgada^ε nagá-ihī^ε nagásaⁿ
its young you, for arrows since you are always he said, it is they said to
ones, your part, making them," said, each other
- wōk'díxadil. Gemé^εdi? Alī hinwadá p!u^ulhī hápxda
he and his cousin. "Where?" "Right up stream eyrie its young
here ones
- bayalxanaū. Ge giní^εk' yolà sgísi hono^ε ge giní^εk'
they are looking There he went Fox, Coyote also there he went,
out."
- alyebép'i. Miⁱhi^ε hiliwá^alt' yolà yulum hā'p'da. Ganē
he showed Now, it he climbed Fox eagle his young Then
it to him. is said, for them ones.
- miⁱhi^ε sgísi ge s'as'inī. P' + ga^ayá^ak'^w. Miⁱ k'laiyá^{iε} xo.
now, it Coyote there he was "P' +! Grow with Now it grew fir
is said, standing him!" tree.
- Miⁱ gelyalá^axalt'gwit' yolà bámìs hadák'ts!ó^ut'. Ganēhi^ε
Now he forgot himself¹ Fox, sky it struck above Then, it
against it. is said,
- ho² p'owó^εx miⁱ p!a-i^εwayewēnhi di-mi-xamíⁱxa p!a-idék'liyi^εk'
fir it bent, now he returned down to on, now, ocean he fell down in
tree earth with it, front;
- ga ganáu yō^uk!a^a ts'!èl^ε gáhi naⁿnagá^{iε} yolà.
that in his bones they just he did Fox.
rattled, that
- Yolà yō^uk!a^a ba^ak'lòlòl s'ink'wōk!wá^a. Ganēhi^ε mū^ulāpx
Fox his bones she picked Mud-cat. Then, it sweat-
them up is said, house
- ganau mats!ák'. Dewénxa gwel^εwāk'wī^ε de^εisé^εxi t'adā
in she put them. "To-morrow early in the 'Open the door paternal
morning for me, aunt!"
- ga nēxga^εm. Ganēhi^ε dedewilíⁱda s'ink'wōk!wá^a s'i^εulī
that do you (fut.) Then, it at the door Mud-cat she was
say to me." is said, sitting

¹ Literally, "he breast-lost himself."² So heard for xo.

gwe^lwāk^o'wihi hawi ání^ē t'ga^a di^omá^sda^ē. Ganēhi^ē t'adā
 early in the morn- yet not earth when it was Then, it "Paternal
 ing indeed
 de^ēis^ēé^ēxi nagáhi^ē yolà. Miⁱ de^ēis^ēé^ēk' ba-igini^ēk' hono^ē yap^la
 open the door he said to Fox. Now she opened he went out; again person
 for me!" her, it is said, the door,
 la^alē^o hop^lè^on hen^ēe nát'na^ē. Miⁱ ba^ayewé^ē yolà.
 he became long before then as being. Now he was Fox.
 resuscitated

Sgisi he^odedá^ē aba-i ^ēā^o'k'daxi t'is lok^lólha. Dahōxa
 Coyote off yonder at home he by gophers he used to set Evening
 himself traps for them.

lawálhit' ganēhi^ē ganau naganá^ēk gwi lo^ogwana^ē dahōxa
 it used to then, it is in them he used to where that he had set evening
 become, said, do^l traps for them,

lawálhēda^ē. Ganēhi^ē dabalníxa la^alē^o. Ganēhi^ē gwi^ēne
 whenever it Then, it is long time it became. Then, it is how long
 became. said,

la^alit'a^ē miⁱhi hono^ē mǎn t'is mixaldì t^lomomaná^ē
 when it now indeed again he counted gophers, how many that he had
 had become, them killed them

mǎn. Miⁱhi^ē dahōxa la^alē^o ci^oulī mǎn miⁱhi^ē sgisi
 he counted Now, it evening it became, he was he counted now, it Coyote
 them. is said, sitting them; is said,

tc^lucumáldan yola xebé^ēn. ^ēa' k'ádi dexebé^ēn nagánhi^ē.
 he was chirped² to, Fox he did so. "ēa'! what it said it?" he was said
 to, it is said.

Hono^ē tc^lucumáldan liwá^a nagá^ē k'ai yaxa detslidák^w
 Again he was chirped to; looking he did, some- merely reddish
 around thing

p^li dugúm na^ēnèx. Miⁱ t'is he^ēk'lowōū miⁱ hé^ēbili^ū.
 fire blaze like.³ Now gophers he threw them now he rushed
 all away, off.

Miⁱ hó^ēk' ligint' xāhegéhôk'. Honóhi^ē tc^lucumáldan
 Now he ran, he rested, he took breath. Again, it is he was chirped to,
 said,

liwá^a naga^ē honóhi^ē p^li na^ēnagá^ē. Miⁱ hono^ē hé^ēbili^ū
 looking he did; again, it is fire it did. Now again he rushed
 around said, off,

hó^ēk' gwiné^ēdi wede hòk'. Miⁱ hono^ē ligint' ganēhi^ē
 he ran; how long not he ran? Now again he rested; then, it
 is said,

¹ i. e., he used to follow about, make the rounds.

[5] ² The sound referred to in the verb stem *tc^lucum-* is produced by drawing in the breath between pressed lips. It is similar to a familiar animal call. When heard at night, it was generally ascribed to ghosts.

³ Literally, "doing."

hono⁸ xāhegéhak'. Honóhi⁸ tc!ucumáldan hono⁸ hé^ebili^{ue}
 again he took breath. Again, it he was chirped to, again he rushed
 is said, off,

hó⁸k'. Gwinédi wede hòk'. Miⁱ hono⁸ ligīnt' xa^ahegéhak'.
 he ran. How long not he ran? Now again he rested, he took breath.

Miⁱ hono⁸ tc!ucumáldan gwiné⁸di wede tc!úc malt'gam.
 Now again he was chirped to; how long not was he chirped to?

Miⁱ hé^ebili^{ue} hó⁸k'. Ganēhi⁸ hono⁸ ligīnt' xāhegéhak'.
 Now he rushed he ran. Then, it is again he rested, he took breath.
 off, said,

Miⁱ hono⁸ tc!ucumáldan liwá^a nagáⁱ⁸ hono⁸hi⁸ gana⁸néx
 Now again he was chirped to; looking he did, again, it is thus
 around said,

pī digúm na⁸nagaⁱ⁸. Miⁱ hé^ebili^{ue} hó⁸k'. Gwent'gābók'danda
 fire blaze it did. Now he rushed he ran. In back of the earth's
 off, neck¹

t'ga^a sigít'a⁸ bamis pla-idiyowó^uda⁸ bamís aldak'sa^amsám;
 earth where it sky where it is set down, sky he bumped his head
 is set, against it;

ga ganàu yō^ukla^a yá^a ts!él nagáⁱ⁸. Hinwadà gwéldi.
 that in his bones just rattling they did. Up river finished.

Ba^abi⁸t' lé^ep'lap'.
 Your gather them.
 baap'-seeds

Translation.²

Houses there were, Coyote and his cousin Fox, and one daughter of Coyote. Fox went out to hunt; quails flew up and lit in the woods, he shot at them, and many he killed. In the evening he returned, brought the quails home. Coyote's

¹ i. e., in the east. See Sapir, "Religious Ideas of the Takelma Indians" (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. xx, No. 76), p. 36, footnote.

² The first part of this myth, the story of the unsuccessful imitation of Fox by Coyote, is probably Californian in origin. In the cognate Hat Creek myth the incidents are brought into loose connection with the conflict between the creator Silver-Fox and Coyote at the time of the creation. Compare Dixon, Achomawi and Atsugewi Tales, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. 21, pp. 171-74. The incidents in connection with the quails (or grouse) and yellow-jackets occur also in a Yana myth obtained by Dr. Dixon. The second part of the Takelma myth, the revenge of Coyote in causing his rival Fox to grow up with a fir while climbing for an eyrie, is found, e. g., in Klamath (see Gatschet in *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 94-5, 100) and Wasco (see Curtin in Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, pp. 264-66).

daughter was playing in front of the house. Now, 'tis said, Fox returned, carried many quails on his back. "O father, Fox has brought many quails home."—"Squirrel-tongued, ask him, well, in what way he did get them," said Coyote. Next door she ran. "My father says to you, 'In what way did you get them?'" she said. "In what way did I get them? They flew up together into the woods, and underneath them I set fire to the woods. Then I lay down under them belly up, and on my breast they dropped down dead one after another. In that way I killed them," Fox said. Next door returned the little girl. "'In the brush I was walking about at random, and quails flew up and lit, and thereupon I set fire to the woods underneath,'" she said. "'Then I lay down under them belly up,'" she said. "'And on my breast they dropped down dead one after another. In that way I killed them.' That, father, did Fox, for his part, say."—"S'éhehehe!" he laughed at him. "He even has a little heart, but as for me, my heart is big," he said.

Then the next day came. Then, 'tis said, Coyote went out to hunt, and just the same he did. The quails all flew up together; to the woods he set fire underneath, then under them he lay down belly up, and fragments of fire dropped down on his breast one after another. And one (quail) dropped down on his breast. Coyote now was dead. Then the ants indeed did find him now, and bit him. "C^éá! slim-waisted ants! When I, as it seems, was sleeping a short while ago, why did they wake me up?" he said. Now he was restored to life. In the evening he returned, one (quail) he brought home.

Then the next day now Fox went out to hunt again. And then in the evening he came back again, brought home a bear. "Father, Fox has brought home a bear," said the little girl, Coyote's daughter. "Squirrel-tongued, go and ask him by doing what he killed him." Next door she ran. "My father says to you, 'By doing what did you kill him?'"—"By

doing what did I kill him? In the k!ā̄t'-bushes I was walking about at random. Then 'O+, he said to me. 'Go ahead and swallow me!' I said to him, 'go ahead and swallow me! Do not spill even a drop of my blood!' I said to him. Thereupon he just swallowed me. Then I was sitting inside of him; now his heart was swinging, off I cut his heart. Then out through his anus I went out again," he said. "Se^ehehehe! He's a coward, but as for me, my heart is brave, I am a man," Coyote indeed said that.

The next day came and now he, in his turn, went off to hunt. Then Coyote, 'tis said, was out hunting, and just that did he do, in what way Fox had told him. Then, 'tis said, (the bear) jumped out of his house, "Hâ!"—"Go ahead and swallow me! go ahead and swallow me! Do not spill my blood!" Now he swallowed him; Coyote was swallowed, Grizzly Bear did so. Inside of him he was sitting. Now the bear's heart he saw, dangling; now Coyote cut off his heart and killed the bear, 'tis said. And then he tore through his ribs with his knife. Now he had killed the bear, and home he returned, and in the evening Coyote brought the bear home.

And when it dawned, then again Fox went out to hunt, and in the evening he returned. "Hē+! father, Fox has brought home many yellow-jackets."¹—"Squirrel-tongued, ask of him, 'How did you get them?'" Next door she ran. "'How did you get them?' says my father to you."—"How did I get them? I set fire to them in the earth. Thereupon the yellow-jackets everywhere swarmed up, I dug them out. Then with my penis I squashed them all," he said. Next door she went back. "Father, 'I set fire to them in the earth,' he said," Squirrel-tongued related to her father. "Father, 'I set them on fire in the earth,' he said. 'Thereupon the yellow-jackets swarmed up, then I dug them out, and then I squashed them all with my penis,'" she said. "C^ehehehe! He, for his part, has

¹ The round plate-like masses of larvae are referred to. They were considered a particularly great delicacy.

a small penis, but as for me, I have a big one with me," he said.

The next day came, and just then Coyote again in his turn set fire to them in the earth. Then, 'tis said, the yellow-jackets swarmed up from every side; he dug them out, and all the yellow-jackets he squashed with his penis; now they stung him. One nest he dug out. And he died, and again now the ants bit him. "S'á! they have waked me up, when, as it seems, I was sleeping a little while ago," he said. One (nest) he brought home. Just in this way he always killed one, then always died.

Now next day again Fox went out to hunt. Then salmon indeed he brought home in the evening. And again "Ah! father, many salmon has he brought home out of the water," said (Coyote's daughter). "Squirrel-tongued, go and ask him, 'How did you get them?' find out from him." And next door she ran. "My father says to you, 'How did you get them?'"—"How did I get them? I twisted a hazel switch, and then made it sharp at one end. Then a rock acorn-mortar I placed in back of my neck. Into the deep water I jumped, and salmon I strung," he said. "S'éhehehe! Truly my heart is big, but his heart is little," he said.

The next day came and to the water he went. A hazel switch he cut off, then twisted it. Then a rock acorn-mortar he took, and in back of his own neck he placed it. Into the water he jumped, followed the salmon, pursued them, caught one. Now he died and floated; now Coyote was dead, and just drifted dead to shore among the driftwood. Now the ants bit him. "S'á! slim-waisted ants! When I was sleeping, as it seems, just a little while ago, s-they woke me up!" he said. Now he returned home in the evening, and brought home a single salmon.

Then again it dawned; when the next day came, then again Fox went off, went now to people to get food. Then, 'tis said, the evening came, and Fox returned, a burden basket

full of dried salmon he carried on his back. "ē+! father, Fox is carrying on his back a burden basket full of salmon," said (Coyote's daughter). "Squirrel-tongued, 'How did you get them?' ask of him." Next door ran the little girl, Coyote's daughter. "My father says to you, 'How did you get them?'"—"How did I get them? Down stream from the house children were carrying about salmon-heads in basket-plates. I took them away from them, whipped them with a stick," he said. "When I had gone into the house, I whipped the women with the stick," he said. Then Squirrel-tongued, "Father, he said, 'All the children were carrying about salmon-heads on basket-plates, and I whipped them with a stick,'" did Squirrel-tongued tell her father. "S'éhehehe! he is even a coward, but as for me, I am a man," he said.

Then, when the next day came, then he did go in his turn. And down stream from the house children were carrying about salmon-heads in basket-plates; he whipped them with a stick, and entered the house with them to the women. "Hē+! you there, what are you doing? Only yesterday Fox came to beg for salmon indeed, and we sent him away with some," (said the women). "S-what are you saying, O mothers? What are you saying?"—"Many things indeed did Fox, for his part, shoot with arrows, and the bear he killed. He wishes you to die. The yellow-jackets he smoked out, and the salmon he speared," they said to him, now he was told. "'S-that's what I did,' he said to me, O mothers!" he said. And then salmon he was provided with, with a full burden basket he was sent away. Now off he went.

Then up stream from the house he proceeded. Now, 'tis said, his own excrements he asked, "S-what shall I do?" and they told him. Now, 'tis said, an eagle's nest with its young ones he made, and the eagle's young ones looked out from the eyrie. Then down he put the burden basket and went next door. "O s-cousin! right near by here is an eyrie with young ones, as you, for your part, are always making arrows,"

he said; cousin they called each other. "Where?"—"Right around here up stream is an eyrie, and its young ones are looking out." There Fox went, and also Coyote went there, showed it to him. Now, 'tis said, Fox climbed for the eagle's young ones. Now then Coyote was standing there, (and said to the tree,) "P'+! grow up with him!" and up the fir tree grew. Now Fox forgot himself and it struck against the sky. Then, 'tis said, the fir tree bent, and down to earth he returned with it, and in the ocean down he fell. Therein his bones did rattle, just that became of Fox.

Mudcat picked up the bones of Fox. Then, 'tis said, she placed them in the sweat-house. "Tomorrow early in the morning 'Open the door for me, paternal aunt!' that shall you say to me." Then at the door Mudcat was sitting early in the morning, when not yet was the earth lit up. Then Fox did say to her, "Paternal aunt, open the door for me!" Now she opened the door, and out he went; again a person he became, as long before he had been. Now Fox was restored to life.

Off yonder at home Coyote used to set traps for gophers, all by himself. The evening always came, then he used to make the rounds of them where he had set his traps, whenever the evening came. Then, 'tis said, a long time elapsed. Then, when some time had passed, again indeed he counted the gophers, counted how many he had killed. Now, 'tis said, the evening came, and he was sitting, was counting them. Then Coyote heard a chirping noise, it was Fox that did so. "Ah! what said that?" he said. Again he heard a chirping noise; he looked around, there was something just reddish like a glow of fire.¹ Now all the gophers he threw away, and off he rushed.

Now he ran, rested, took breath. Again, 'tis said, he heard a chirping noise; he looked around, again there was something like a fire. And again he rushed off, he ran. How long did he not run? And again he rested, then again he took breath.

¹ The glow was caused by the glare of Fox's reddish eyes.

Again, 'tis said, he heard a chirping noise; again he rushed off, he ran. How long did he not run? Now again he rested, he took breath. And again he heard a chirping noise. How often did he not hear a chirping noise? Now he rushed off, he ran. Then, 'tis said, he rested again, he took breath. And again he heard a chirping noise; he looked around, again there was something like a glow of fire. Now he rushed off, he ran. Way off to the east where the earth is set, where the sky comes down to meet it, there against the sky he bumped his head. In that place his bones just rattled. Up river 'tis finished. Go gather and eat your ba^ap'-seeds.

6. COYOTE AND PITCH.¹

Wíli¹ yowò² sgísi wāxadil dabalníxa alhi³hūyū'hīx. Ganēhi⁴ bē mu⁵xdàn la⁶līt'a⁷ ganē "Dólhi² dolhi, nek' ⁸al'it'bé⁹xda¹⁰?"¹¹ neyé¹²hi¹³. "Sgisi dasgáxit' da¹⁴molhít' itc!óp'al," nagánhi¹⁵. Da¹⁶sgek!ī. "Nék'di dexebé¹⁷n?" nagá-ihí¹⁸ sgísi. "Dasgáxit' itc!óp'al snixayilt',"¹⁹ nagánhi²⁰. "Sk'ái naga-ít'?"—"Sgisi dasgáxit' da²¹molhēt' snixayilt'."—"S'bèp'! s'k'ái naga-ít'?" Hop!è²²n²³à xamí'xa al'it'begéxade²⁴da²⁵ tcleléi dında yá²⁶ la²⁷lē²⁸."²⁹—"Dolhi dolhi, nek' ³⁰al'it'bé³¹xda³²?"—"S'k'adí s'naga-ít'?" Hop!è³³n³⁴ xamí'xa ³⁵al'it'begéxade³⁶da³⁷ tcleléi dında la³⁸lē³⁹." Nagása⁴⁰nhi⁴¹, la⁴²málsa⁴³n. "Dolhi dolhi, nek' ⁴⁴al'it'bé⁴⁵xda⁴⁶."—"S'k'ái nagaít'?"

Mi¹ al'it'bá²k', mi³ it!anáhin sgísi. "S'gwídi s'na⁴naga-ít'?' is'tlenéhisdam."⁵—"Nek' ⁶al'it'bé⁷xda⁸ dayawánt!ixi ⁹ēū'x, s'níxayilt'?" nagánhi¹⁰. La¹¹malán. "S'k'ái ga¹²al di is'tlenéhisdam?"¹³—"S'yan¹⁴ la¹⁵līt'am. S'nek' als'alt'bé¹⁶xda¹⁷? S'dólhi dolhi, s'níxayilt'," nagánhi¹⁸. Mi¹⁹ hono²⁰ alsalt'bá²¹k'. "Dolhi dolhi."²²—"S'gwídi na²³nagaít'?" Als'alt'bá²⁴k'. "Dólhi dolhi, nek gwelx dayawánt!ixi als'alwat'bé²⁵xink'?" Hono²⁶ als'alt'bá²⁷k'.

"Dólhi dolhi, sgísi dasgáxit' da¹molhít' itc!óp'al s'níxayilt'," nagánhi². "Dólhi dolhi, nek' aláks'ixdagwa wa xa³sgú⁴sink'?"—"S'bèp'! s'k'ádi naga-ít'?' S'mi⁵ di lohógulugwát', gas'í⁶ ga⁷al ga naga-ít'?" nagánhi⁸. "Dólhi dolhi, mi⁹ nek' aláks'ixdagwa wà xa¹⁰sgú¹¹sink'?"—"S'bèp'! s'k'adí s'nagulugwát',

¹ This version of the "tar-baby" story is strangely like an African tale given by Ellis (The E'we-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa, p. 277), but the decidedly idiomatic and allusive character of the Indian text proves it beyond doubt to be entirely aboriginal. A rather close parallel is found in the Yana tale of Coyote and the Stump obtained by Dr Dixon. The "tar-baby" story is also found widely distributed in the Southeast of the United States.

² This word seems to have no particular significance. It is used in mocking.

³ The literal translation would be "who you-will-hit-me?"

6. COYOTE AND PITCH.¹

There was a house; Coyote and his younger brother, 'tis said, for a long time were wont to hunt. Then once when a certain day came, then, 'tis said, some one said, "Dólhi² dolhi, who's going to hit me?"³ Sharp-mouthed Coyote, red-eared, sharp-clawed!" he was called. He listened. "Who's saying that?" said Coyote. "Sharp-mouthed, red-eared, s-cum⁴ matre copulans!"—"S'bèp'! s-what are you saying? Long ago, indeed, when I was hitting people by the ocean, his eye landed right behind him."⁵—"Dolhi dolhì, who's going to hit me?"—"S-what s-do you say? Long ago when I was hitting people by the ocean, his eye landed behind him." Thus they spoke to each other, quarreled with each other. "Dolhi dolhì, who's going to hit me?"—"S-what are you saying?" [6]

Now he hit (Pitch), and Coyote's hand was held fast. "S-what are you doing? S-you have held my hand fast."—"Who's going to hit me with his left hand, s-cum matre copulans?" (Coyote) was told, was quarreled with. "S-what are you s-holding my hand fast for?"—"S-you're stuck!" S-who's going to kick me? S'dólhi dolhì, s-cum matre copulans!" he was told. And this time (Coyote) kicked him. "Dolhi dolhì."—"S-what are you doing?" He kicked him. "Dólhi dolhì, somebody is going to kick me with his left leg!" Again he kicked him. [7]

"Dólhi dolhì, sharp-mouthed Coyote, red-eared, sharp-clawed, s-cum matre copulans!" he was called. "Dólhi dolhì, somebody's going to cut me with his tail."—"S'bèp'! s-what are you saying? S-do you expect to die now, so that for that reason you say that?" (Pitch) was told. "Dólhi dolhì, now somebody's going to cut me with his tail!"—"S'bèp'! s-what

¹The s- is not an integral part of the word, but is the familiar "Coyote prefix."

²In other words, "I gave him such a blow in the face that I pushed his eye clear through his head." Coyote boasts of his prowess.

³Observe that the meaningless "Coyote prefix" s- is here prefixed directly to the verb stem, not to the instrumental prefix i-. There seems to be no definite rule in the matter. Contrast s'⁶ik'wéexi (p. 74, l. 5).

⁴Uncertain. (s')yan does not otherwise occur; perhaps it is a mishearing.

s'lohók'diguluwàt'?" nagánhi^é. "Dólhi dolhì, sgísi dasgáxit' hadānxmolhìt'," nagánhi^é. "Dólhi dolhì, nek' yēxda^é déxdagwa wà?"—"S'k'adí s'naga-ìt'?" Hop!èⁿ xamí'xa yap!a yegwegwánda^é lohó^é," nagánhi^é. Mìⁱ yegwèk'^w, mìⁱ t!omomán sgísi.

"Gewé+^ek!ewe^e!"¹ wāxas'í^é abàì. Mìⁱ ópxa ^eanī^é yewé^é. "Gwidí naⁿnagá-ida^é ánī^é yewé^é? T!omomán wí's; k'ái ga^aal dí ánī^é yewé^é," nagá-ihí^é wāxa. Wí^éin wé^égia-uda^é mìⁱ yá^é. Mìⁱ s'al^oúdán, mìⁱ ó't' ópxa. Gí'wa^éhi baxámnda^é mìⁱ da^éagàn, "Gewé^ek!ewe^e!"—"Ga dí haga nāk'wòk? Mìⁱ wí's āk!a t!omomán," nagá-ihí^é sgísi k!wált'a^a.

"Gewé^ek!ewe! sgísi dasgáxit'."—"Ga dí haga nāk'wòk'?"—"Gewé^ek!ewe!" Ganēhi^é mìⁱ plíⁱ gelèk', mìⁱ plíⁱ dat!agāi sgísi k!wált'a^a. Mìⁱ plíⁱ wá^ada k!wal' ginīk'^w; mìⁱ ópxa ígí'na. "Wòk'dià!"—"Wò'k'dixa yúk'na^é ga^aal dí haga dō^umk'?"—"Wòk'dià!" Mìⁱ ópxa há^agwidìk'^w, mìⁱ ^ealpliⁱtc!úlo^uk'i k!wal'. Mìⁱ t!omō^um.

Ganēhi^é ópxa^a k'ó^épx k'alák'alhi. Mìⁱ ba^ayewēn; mìⁱ hono^é abaiyewé^é hawilít'gwan. Mìⁱ hono^é yap!a la^alē' sgísi, mìⁱ ba^ayewé^é; úlums'í^é t!omomán. Ganaⁿnex yap!a do^umdànk' k!wal'.

¹This is no normal verb form, but an exclamatory formation on the aorist stem *gewek!aw-*, "to tie (a salmon) in bowstring fashion" (see Sapir, "Notes on the Takelma Indians," *American Anthropologist*, N. S., Vol. 9, p. 272, footnote 2). The idea implied by Pitch is that Coyote is stuck to him as is a salmon to the string by which it is carried. For another exclamatory verb form showing abnormal reduplication, see p. 25, l. 7 (*sgilbibí+ix*).

s-do you intend to do, s-do you intend to die?" he was told. (Coyote lashed Pitch with his tail; it stuck.) "Dólhi dolhì, sharp-mouthed Coyote, red in his ear!" (Coyote) was called. "Dólhi dolhì, who's going to bite me with his mouth?"—"S-what s-are you saying? Long ago by the ocean when I bit a person, he died," (Pitch) was told. Now he bit him; now Coyote was killed.

"Gewé+^ek!ewe^e!"¹ (exclaimed Pitch), while (Coyote's) younger brother was in the house. Now his elder brother did not return. "What's happening to him, that he does not return? He must have been killed. For what reason does he not return?" said his younger brother. Now when the next dawn came, off he went. Now he went to look for him, hunted now for his elder brother. When he came to yet some distance off, then he heard him, "Gewé^ek!ewe^e!"—"So then it is that one that did so to him? Now indeed he has been killed, I guess," said Coyote the younger.

"Gewé^ek!ewe! sharp-mouthed Coyote!"—"So then it is that one that did so to him?"—"Gewé^ek!ewe^e!" Now then he drilled for fire, Coyote the younger now did build a fire. And the fire he took with him to Pitch, and his elder brother he took hold of. "O cousin!" said (Pitch). "Being his cousin, it seems, therefore you killed him?"—"O cousin!" Now his elder brother he threw to one side, and he set fire to Pitch. Now he killed him.

Then, 'tis said, ashes over his elder brother he rolled. Now he restored him to life, and again they returned home into their house. Now again had Coyote become a person, now he had revived, but before he had been killed. It is in that way that Pitch was wont to kill people.

7. COYOTE IN A HOLLOW TREE.¹

Wíliⁱ yowò^é, sgísihi wít' ā'k'da^éx; lop!odiá^u, nōx lop!òt'. Ganēhi^é hono^é p!ā'shi lop!òt'; ganēhi^é ání^é déhi wōk'. Mí suñs la^alē p!á^s. Ganē t'gunúk'ⁱ^é²; ganē yāl hohók'wal ganau giní^ék'. "Des'íp'gwi'p'," nagáhi^é. Ganē hono^é "Decíp'gwi'p'," nagáhi^é, déhi^étc!libíp'gwit'.

Ganēhi^é lep'níx ga ganàu yowó^é. Ganēhi^é bānx lohó^é; ganē aní^é yok!wōi gwí^énè. Ganē bo^u nēxada^é ganē mí yap!a yilim, mí sgelé^u, "De'ísé^éxip'! ándi nek' ge wít'? K'á-iwí^é t!omománda^é gas'í^é gayawát'p'. De'ísé^éxit'p'!" nagá-ihí^é. Ganēhi^é bo^u nēxada^é la^alít'a^é ganē mí^és ge giní^ék' k!elé^s. "Bak' bak' bak' bak' bak' bak'!" Ganē p!abàp' sgó^ut'hi^é. Ganē bo^u nēxada^é mí dágaxda^a dats'!ā'mx, ganē "C^éá! s'dágaxdek' dats'!àm^x." Mí he^éí'wan.

Mí da^asgek!í. Dabalníxa la^alē' mí hono^é sgelé^u, "ō+ gwidi lemé^éxdap'? Bo^u wí^s k'a-iwí^é dōmk'ⁱ éit'e^é ga-iwát'ba^é. Me^ébēp'xip'! de'ísé^éxip'!" nagá-ihí^é sgísi. A'ní^é nek' baxá^ém. Ganē "Gwidí'+ lemé^éxdap'? K'a-iwí^é t!omománda^é gas'í^é gayawát'p'," nagá-ihí^é. T!é^ék'^w hono^é ge giní^ék'; ganē mí sgó^ut'. "P!au p!au p!au p!au p!au p!au!" nagá-ihí^é. Ganēhi^é dabalníxa la^alít'a^é, guxwít'gwa ts'!ám^x k!emèi. Ganē "C^éá! da^as'tc!è'mx^é, dagáxdek' datc!àm^x." Mí hono^é ts'liníts'lanx, mí ha^éyewé^é.

Da^asgek!í. Ganē gwí^éne la^alít'a^é mí hono^é sgelé^u, "S'gwidi lemé^éxdap'? K'a-iwí^é t!omománda^é gas'í^é gayawát'p'," nagá-ihí^é. Aní^é nék' dak'dahālk'wa. "S'gwidi' s'lémk!iauk'?" Ganē "S'gwidi lemé^éxdap'? C^éándi mí^és ge éit'p'?" nagá-ihí^é. Ganē aní^é k'ai yap!à. "S'gwidi' lem^k!iauk'?" ākhi wa^ahimít'-

¹ Compare Dixon, Maidu Myths, *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XVII, pp. 90, 91.

² = t'gunuuk'ⁱ-hí^é.

7. COYOTE IN A HOLLOW TREE.¹

A house there was; Coyote, indeed, was traveling about all by himself. It was storming, rain was falling; and then also snow, indeed, was falling. Then no further he got, now the snow had become deep. Then he became cold, and into a hollow pine he went. "Close up!" he said to it. Then again "Close up!" he said to it, and, 'tis said, it closed up.

Then, 'tis said, all winter he was therein. Then, 'tis said, he was hungry;³ now he did not know how long (he had been there). Now after some little time then he called upon the people, now he shouted, "Do you open up for me! Is not someone going about over there? Whenever I killed anything, then you did eat of it. Do you open up for me!" he said. Then, 'tis said, after some little time had elapsed, then a certain Woodpecker came there. "Bak' bak' bak' bak' bak' bak'!" Now he chopped, cut out (a hole). Now after some little time then (Coyote's) head ached, and "C^é! s-my head is aching," (he said). Now he was left there.

Now he listened. A long time elapsed and again he shouted, "Oh, whither have you all gone? If perchance I should kill anything after a little while, you shall eat of it. Come here and chop for me! Open up for me!" said Coyote. No one came. Then "Whither have you all gone? Whenever I kill anything, then you eat of it," he said. This time Yellowhammer went there, and now cut out (a hole). "P!au p!au p!au p!au p!au p!au!" he said. Then for a long time he made his heart strong. Then "C^é! s-my ears are deafened, my head is aching!" (said Coyote). Now he also was angry and flew off again.

He listened. Then, when a long time had elapsed, then again he shouted, "S-whither have you all gone? Whenever I kill anything, then you eat of it," he said. No one answered him. "S-whither s-can they all have gone?" Then "S-whither have you all gone? S-is not one of you there?" he said. And

³Literally, "he hunger-died." Cf. *ba^{anx} t!omouk'wa*, "hunger killed him," *i. e.*, "he was hungry."

gwit'. "S'bé+^u! gwidī lemék'lia^{us}?" Mi' mī^{is} ba-ik'liyí'k', mi' bák'ba' ba-ik'liyí'k'. Ganēhi^e mi' s'gut!ū'xa^e, "Bak' bak' bak' bak' bak' bak'!" Hé^eik'ap!ák'ap' mahmī. Guxwít'gwa ts!ámx k'lemèi; mi' damahái la^alè, he^enéhi ts'liní'ts'anx. "S'á! cdágaxdek' dats!ámx," nagá-ihí^e. Mi' he^edá^e yewé^e, ts'liní'ts'anx bák'ba sgísi ga^eàl.

Ganēhi^e bo^u hono^e hawi ci^eulī bēm ganàu. Mi' hono^e s'gelé^{us}, "S'gwidī lemé^exdap'? s'de^eis'é^exīp'!" nagá-ihí^e. A'nī^e nek' ba-ik'liyí'k'. Mi' bai^eályowó^e. "ō+ mi' dí s'amgiàuk'?" guxwí' dats!ámx. "Ge^enedí eme^e yúk'a^e?" mi'hi^e nagá^e gelhe-wéhana^e. "Mi' di samáxa lāp'k'?" Mi' hono^e s'gelé^{us}, mi' hono^e ánī^e nek' ba-ik'liyí'k'.

"Mi' xa^asgó^{ut}'gwide^e, s'gut!úsgat'gwide^e," nagá-ihí^e. Mi' bu^ubiníxdagwa he^esgó^{ut}', mi' ba-igwidik'^w. Mi' hono^e he^esgó^{ut}' dayawánt'lixí, mi' hono^e ba-igwidik'^w. Mi' hono^e gwélxdagwa he^esgó^{ut}', ba-igwidik'^w; hono^e dayawánt'lixí he^esgó^{ut}', ba-igwidik'^w. Mi' hono^e ganē gwa^as'í'xdagwa ba-it'lixíxi ha^ewínít'gwa, mi' ba-ik!ūwū. Mi'hi^e mēl sgísi gwa^as'í wēt'gigwa. "C^eai me^eyēk'^w gwa^acíxdek', c^ealsgenhít'! gwa^acíxdèk' me^eyēk'^w." Dágaxdagwa ba-igwidik'^w; mi' hono^e ts'lelei wēt'gigwa mel'. "C^eai ts'léleit'k' me^eyēk'^w," nagá-ihí^e sgísi; ts'lelei wēt'gin, mēl xebé^en. Ganē mi' ts'!è^ens ígí'na, ts'!eléit'gwa k'lemèi. Hé^enes'í^e almí^{is} ts'!eléit'gwa ganau yeweyàk'^w ts'!é^ens. Hé^ene ganī "Almí^{is} yèù!" wa^adíxdagwa ga nagà. Wa^adíxdagwa ga na^enagà.

Ganē yá^e, bānx t!omōk'wa. Mi' t'ga^a haxaníya mi' alt'layàk'; melélx ganau gini^ek'. Ganēhi^e bīu ^ealo^udàn.² Ganēhi^e bīu mixálha p'leyé^e. A'nī^e lēp'; gayaū, gayaū, gayaū, gayaū, bīu gayaū; hadedilt'a wīt'. Ganēhi^e t'ga^a haxát' melélx bīu

¹ Another species of woodpecker is referred to.

there was no person at all. "S-whither can they all have gone?" He himself did speak to himself. "S'bé+u! Whither have they all gone?" Now one did come, now big Woodpecker¹ came. Now then, 'tis said, he cut out (a hole). "Bak' bak' bak' bak' bak'!" Big pieces he chipped off. His heart (Coyote) made strong. Now the hole became large, just then he became angry. "S'á! s-my head is aching!" he said. Now way off he flew back, big Woodpecker was angry with Coyote.

And again now he was still sitting in the tree, now again he shouted, "S-whither have you all gone? s-open up for me!" he said. No one came. Now he looked out. "Oh, has summer come already?" and his heart was sick. "Can I have been here so long?" said he now, thinking. "Can it have become summer already?" Again now he shouted, and again no one came.

"Now I am going to cut myself up, I'll cut myself to pieces," he said. Now he cut off his arm and threw it out. And again he cut off the left (arm) and threw it out again. Now again his leg he cut off and threw it out; again the left (leg) he cut off and threw it out. And now also his intestines he pulled out from inside of himself and threw them out. Now, 'tis said, Crow took away from Coyote his intestines. "C^oai! come back with my intestines, s-black thing! Come back with my intestines!" He threw out his own head; now also his eyes Crow took away from him. "C^oai! come back with my eyes!" said Coyote. Of his eyes he was deprived, 'twas Crow that did it. And now wild-rose berries he took and made them his eyes. And then he caused the wild-rose berries to come together in his eyes. And then "Come back together!" that to his own body he said. His body did that.

Then on he went and was hungry. Now he discovered a field that had been burnt down, into a burnt-down field he went. Then, 'tis said, he looked for grasshoppers², and nume-

² Fields were sometimes burnt down in order to get the grasshoppers, a favorite food.

mixálha p!eyé^é. Ganēhi^é bo^u nēxada^é miⁱ sgelewā'ldan, "Sgisi dixó+^s!¹ sgisi dixó+^s!" nagánhi^é, t'ān ga nāk'wôk'. "S't'ān^éalt!e^s·ít', lámx gamaxdi dayawánt!ixi ga-iwá^s!"—"Sgisi dixó+^s! sgisi dixó+^s!" nagánhi^é, ga nagaik'wa t'ān. Sgisi yá^é, bīu lēp'. "Sgisi dixó+^s! sgisi dixó+^s!" gānga ga yaxa nagaik'wa. "S't'an^éalt!u^{ié}cít'! ma^éa lámx gamaxdi dayawánt!ixi ga-iwá^s!" nagáhi^é ha^éwìt'. "Sgisi dixó+^s!" gangáhi ga yaxa nagá^é t'ān.

Ganēhi^é bo^u nēxada^é "Sk'ádi naga?" gwénliwila^{u^é}. "ā+gū'hôk'^{w2} na^énèx sgá di nāk'ik'?" nagá-ihí^é. Ganēhi^é miⁱ k!wal ô't', miⁱ k!wal t!ayàk'. Miⁱ al^éixlep!éxlap', miⁱ hadi't'gwa mats!àk'. Ganēhi^é he^éne hono^é lēp' bīu; ganē lēp' p!i gadal wīt'. Miⁱ hono^é "Sgisi dīhā+x! sgisi dīhā+x!"—"T'ān^éalt!u^{ié}s·ít'! s'k'adí nagá^{ié}?" ts·lini'ts·lanxhi^é sgísi. Ganēhi^é miⁱ dī^tt'ūwū^ék' gwént' liwilá^{u^é} dīdelgánt'gwa. Miⁱ yaxa delgán haxàk'. "Sgadí nāk'ik'?" Miⁱ xamhiwili^{u^é}. "Haxiyà sga^a-t'áp'de^é," nagá-i^éhìs. Xa^abobin yá^a sgá^at'ap'. "Haxiyá mī^éwa sgá^at'ep'de^é," nagá-i^éhìs. Miⁱ hāx, lohó^{ié}. Gwéldi; ba^abí^t lēp'lap.

¹ Coyote's intestines had been taken from him, hence the grasshoppers went right through him. The word used in the text might also refer to the spilling of acorns out of a hopper.

rous grasshoppers were lying about. He did nothing but pick them up and eat, eat, eat, eat, eat grasshoppers; everywhere he went about. Then, 'tis said, there was a burnt-down field and numerous grasshoppers were lying about. Then after a little while someone shouted to him, "Coyote's anus is spilling! Coyote's anus is spilling!" he was told, Squirrel it was that said that to him. "S-little-eyed Squirrel! half-eater of raw sunflower seeds!"—"Coyote's anus is spilling! Coyote's anus is spilling!" he was told, Squirrel it was that said that to him. Coyote went on, gathered and ate grasshoppers. "Coyote's anus is spilling! Coyote's anus is spilling!" only that he kept saying to him. "S-tiny-eyed Squirrel! half-eater, you for your part, of raw sunflower seeds!" he said to him by way of rejoinder. "Coyote's anus is spilling!" just only that Squirrel kept saying.

Then, 'tis said, after a little while "S-what's he saying about it?" (said Coyote and) looked behind him. "Ah! just like something planted,² s-is that what he means?" he said. Now then, 'tis said, he hunted for pitch, and pitch he found. Now he kneaded it up into a cake and put it into his anus. And then again, 'tis said, he gathered and ate grasshoppers, gathered them and walked about among the fragments of fire. Now again "Coyote's anus is burning! Coyote's anus is burning!"—"Tiny-eyed Squirrel! s-what's he saying?" Coyote was angry. Now then he felt hot in his anus, back he looked behind his buttocks. Now indeed his buttocks were burning. "S-is that what he meant?" Now he ran to the water. "Into the water I shall jump," he thought. Right among alder bushes he jumped. "I intend to jump into the water," he had thought. Now he burned up, he died. 'Tis finished. Go gather and eat your ba^ap'-seeds.

² A row of tobacco plants is meant. Tobacco was the only plant cultivated by the Indians of Oregon.

8. COYOTE VISITS THE LAND OF THE DEAD.

Wíliⁱ yowò^é; sgisi ā'k'da^{xì} wiyiwī't'. Ganēhi^é "Xilám yap!a yānk'^w," neyé^éhi^é; ganaⁿéx yaxa da^{le}lák'^w. Gangáhi xilám yap!a yānk'^w. Dabalníxa la^lé'. "K'adí nagàn, 'Xilám yap!a yānk'^w,' neyé^éda^é? Ne^é ge giník'de^é. Yap!a lohóida^é ánī^é hono^é mé^yyewe^é, gasí^é bo^u 'Xilám yap!a yānk'^w,' neyé^é gí^éà 'Lohó^é,' nagait'^é; ánī^é miⁱ honó^é me^wit'^é lohóida^é,'" nagá-ihí^é sgísi.

Miⁱ yá^é, xilám gwa^{alám} hat!ü^{lùk}'; yá^é gwísⁱéwô^k'di xilám gwa^{alám} hat!ü^{lùk}'. Miⁱ tc!ucumáldan;² ánī^é ge dā^éyowo^é tc!ucumáldanma^é, ganga yá^é. Xilám tc!ucumált'gwa, k'ai-si^éwô^k'di, yāl k!egelá-us'ixda^a k'wedéi, wá^ada gwídílha. Ganga xilám gwa^{alám} ganàu yá^é; tc!ucumáldan yaxa. Ganēhi^é xilám hat'gá^ada wōk'. "Miⁱ baxám sgísi da^amolhēt'. Gasálhi, 'ei ók'i! sgisi miⁱ ba-ikliyí^k,'" nagá-ihí^é xilám. Wü^lhám hoyodák'^w xilám; agá he^éne k'ái gwala wak!ododínma^é, gáhi dūk' dīt!ügūi wak!ododínma^é hop!èⁿ lohóida^é. Miⁱ plī dat!agāi sgísi. "Gasálhi 'ei ók'i sgísi damolhēt,'" nagá-ihí^é xilám. Miⁱ wa-iwíⁱ ei 'ogoik'wa.

"H^{w+}, miⁱ ba-igingadá^é al^éwa^adidē,"² nagá-ihí sgísi wiyimát' mī. "Gasálhi, gasálhi, sgisi! eī ganau gínk'!"—"H^{w+}, ba-igingadá^é al^éwa^adidē," nagá-ihí^é sgísi. "Ganau gínk' gasálhi eī!"—"H^{w+}, ba-igingadá^é al^éwa^adidē," nagá-ihí^é sgísi. Miⁱ ba-igini^k' wa-iwíⁱ. Dak't'ek!éxa^é sgísi, eme^é yá^ahi s'ás' naga^é dībo^{wí}da. "Gasálhi, amá'! gasálhi, eī ganau gínk'," nagánhi^é sgísi, wa-iwíⁱ dexebéⁿ. Ganē miⁱhi^é plī ba^yyānk'^w; miⁱ du^ugíⁱ 'alplī'tc!úlu^ék'i wa-iwí^éa xilám, ánī^é yap!à. Miⁱ

¹ The sound characteristic of ghosts. See p. 78, note 2.

8. COYOTE VISITS THE LAND OF THE DEAD.

A house there was; Coyote kept going about all by himself. Then, 'tis said, "Ghosts are taking away people," they said, thus he always heard. Just ghosts kept taking away people. A long time elapsed. "What is meant when people say, 'Ghosts are taking away people?' Well, I will go there. When people die they are not again to return here, yet now people are saying, 'Ghosts are taking away people.' I, however, say, 'They are dead.' Not again now are they to come and travel about when they have died," said Coyote.

Now off he went, the trail of the ghosts he followed; he went I don't know where, followed in the trail of the ghosts. Now someone made a chirping sound;¹ he did not give ear to that when the chirping noise was made to him, but just went on. The ghosts made a chirping noise to him, but something or other he kept throwing at them, the fungus (?) of pine is its name. In the trail of the ghosts he just went along, and a chirping noise they kept making to him. Then, 'tis said, he arrived in the land of the ghosts. "Now red-eared Coyote has come. Quick, give him a canoe! Coyote now has come," said the ghosts. The ghosts were dancing the menstrual dance. These, with whatever things they had then been buried, just those garments they wore, wherewith, when long ago they had died, they had been buried. Now Coyote built a fire. "Quickly, give red-eared Coyote a canoe," said the ghosts. Now a girl did give to him a canoe.

"H^w+, you shall come to shore to where I am,"² said Coyote, he now exercised his supernatural power upon her. "Quick, quick, Coyote! come into the canoe!"—"H^w+, you shall come to shore to where I am," said Coyote. "Into the canoe quickly come!"—"H^w+, you shall come to shore to where I am," said Coyote. Now the girl came to shore. Coyote was smoking; right here she took her stand alongside of him. "Quick, come on! quick, come into the canoe," Coyote was told, 'twas the

¹ Literally, "to my body."

du^ugí hāx. Mi xámhiwili^u ei ganàu hansā'k^w; miⁱ ʔaga hawi wu^lham hoyodák^w xílam^a dált'gwan wôbilík^w plī. Mi ʔaldatc!ulú^ʔk' xílam du^ugí, adát'wi^ʔ wa^ʔbilík^w, miⁱ honó^ʔ aldatc!ulú^ʔk'. Ganēhi^ʔ xílam hāx ʔaldīl. "Dó do do do do do!"¹ nagá-ihī^ʔ xílām; sgísis-i^ʔ hánt'ada cíʔ.

Gwī^ʔné la^alē', p!a-idī'hana^s plī. Xílam búc la^alē'; sgísi ga na^ʔnagà, hāxna. Ganēhi^ʔ "Smá di k'ái ga^ʔal yap!a yana-gwadá^ʔ? Mí lohoyàt'. Wede gana^ʔnéx yúk' yap!a lohok'i^ʔ, wede yanāk^w; lohó^ʔt' gangà. Wede hono^ʔ nèk' alxi^ʔk'wôk' yap!a lohók'i^ʔ," nagá-ihī^ʔ sgísi. Miⁱ hínau yewé^ʔ; xílam he^ʔplī'lemé^ʔk'i.

9. COYOTE AND THE ORIGIN OF DEATH.

Xílam sebèt'² hā'p'da lohòk'. Sgísidī'l nō'ts!at'gwan yùk'. Gas-i^ʔ nāk'ik', "Laps yimíxi hā'p'dek' lohóida^ʔ, laps yimíxi," nagá-ihī^ʔ xílam sebèt'. "A'nī^ʔ laps yimísi^ʔn; gwidís-i^ʔ yó^ʔt' xílām yèūk'i^ʔ?" nagá-ihī^ʔ sgísi. Nó^ʔs-i^ʔ yewé^ʔ xílam sebèt', k!odòt' hā'p'dagwa lohóida^ʔ.

Ganēhi^ʔ dabalníxa la^alē'; miⁱ sgísi hā'p'da xílam la^alē', miⁱ lohó^ʔ. Miⁱ nó^ʔs' giní^ʔk' xílam sebét' wá^ada. "Laps yimíxi ha^ʔp'dèk' lohóida^ʔ."—"K'adí naga-ìt'?" xílam sebét' ga nagá^ʔ. "Ho^ʔxa^ʔà ma^ʔa ga negés'dam 'Laps yimíxi'

¹ In a Yana theft of fire myth collected by the writer the practically identical *dú du du dú du du* occurs to indicate pain from contact with fire (see Sapir, *Yana Texts, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, note 50). Compare also the evidently identical Klamath *tú tu tu* (see Gatschet, *op. cit.*, p. 112), though here it indicates on the contrary pain from tingling cold.

girl that said so. Now then, 'tis said, he picked up a fragment of fire; now he set fire to the skirt of the ghost girl, no person she. Now her skirt burned. Then to the water she ran into the canoe and paddled it across. Now these ghosts were still dancing the menstrual dance, and among them she rushed with the fire. Now she set fire to the garments of the ghosts; to every one she rushed with (the fire), and again set fire to them. Then, 'tis said, all the ghosts were burning. "Do do do do do do!"¹ said the ghosts, while Coyote was sitting on the other side of the water, was looking at the ghosts as they burned.

Some time elapsed and the fire ceased. The ghosts were exterminated; Coyote did that, burned them. Then, 'tis said, "S-for what reason are you going to take away people? Now you have died. Not thus will it be when people die, they will not take others with them; they will die for good. Not again will any one see them, when people die," said Coyote. Now up river he returned. The ghosts he had annihilated with fire.

9. COYOTE AND THE ORIGIN OF DEATH.

The child of Roasting-dead-people² died. He and Coyote were neighbors to each other. Thereupon he said to him, "Lend me a blanket, for my child has died. Lend me a blanket," said Roasting-dead-people. "I'll not lend you a blanket, for where are they going to be, if dead people come back?" said Coyote. And next door returned Roasting-dead-people, and buried his child that had died.

Then, 'tis said, a long time elapsed. Now Coyote's child became sick and died. Now next door he went to Roasting-dead-people. "Lend me a blanket, for my child has died."—"What did you say?" Roasting-dead-people said that. "Yesterday indeed when I did say to you, 'Lend me a blanket,'

² This is the name of a bug that could not be further identified. It was described as all black, long-legged, and of about half an inch in length. The name is due, or supposed to be due, to the fact that this insect was held responsible for the origin of death.

nagásbinda^s, 'Yap!a gwidí yó^st' yèúk'í^s?' Miⁱ hawáxi^{u^s}
 ha^ap'dèk','' nagá-ihí^s xilam sebèt'. Nó^us'í^s sgísi yewé^s.
 "Sgā'+'' t'agá^s. Ga ga^sal bō^u é^sání^s yap!a yewé^s lohóida^s.

10. COYOTE GOES COURTING.

Wiliⁱ yowò^s, sgísi ā'k'da^sx t'ís lok!ólha be^{wí}^s. Dewénxa
 la^alít'a^s honó^s t'ís ló^uk'; ání^s k'ai yap!a, ā'k'da^sxì; dahōxa
 liwílhak'^w. Ganēhi^s honó^s wi^sín wé^sgia-uda^s t'ís lok!ólha;
 gwī^sné dí wede t'ís ló^uk' be^{wí}^s. Dewénxa la^alít'a^s honó^s
 t'ís ló^uk'. Ganēhi^s dahōxa la^alē', t'ís mán míxal halo-
 ho^unaná^s.¹

Miⁱ k'ai dā^sagàn wū^ulham hoyodagwàn; miⁱ dāsgék!ⁱ.
 Ganēhi^s "S^sá! gwídi wū^ulham hoyodagwàn?" nagá-ihí^s sgísi.
 Miⁱ da^at!ayák' wū^ulham hoyodagwánma^s. "C^sá! ge giník'de^s."
 Miⁱhi^s yá^s, t'ís he^sk'lūwū. Miⁱ hó^sk', hu^ulìnt'; s'as'íní dá^ssgék'lí'.
 Ganēhi^s miⁱ hono^s he^sbilí^{u^s}, hó^sk'. Ganēhi^s miⁱ hono^s ligìnt',
 háwi wū^ulham hoyodagwán da^sòl. Ganēhi^s "A'! emé^s mī^s'wa
 wū^ulham hoyodagwán." Ge wōk', ání^s k'ai yáp!a. "Sgemé^sdi
 aga^sá hoidiáuk'?" nagá-ihí^s, ā'k'i wahimit'gwit'. é^salí da^sòl
 wū^ulham hoidiáuk'í^s na^snagá^s. "Emé^s mī^s'wa hínwadà." Miⁱ
 hono^s hó^sk', gwī^sné di wede hòk'; da^sól hoidiáuk'í^s na^snagá^s.
 Ganēhi^s honó^s he^sbilí^{u^s}, hó^sk'.

T'ga^a k'wedéi plūwū^s'a-uk', "Ge mī^s'wa hoyodiá^{u^s},"
 nagá-ihí^s sgísi. Ganēhi^s honó^s he^sbilí^{u^s}, gwī^sné di wede hòk';

¹Literally, "that he had caused them to die-in."

you, for your part, did say that to me, 'Where will the people be, if they return?' Now my child is rotting," said Roasting-dead-people. So next door Coyote returned. "Sgā+!" he cried. For that reason people do not nowadays return when they die.

10. COYOTE GOES COURTING.

A house there was; every day Coyote used to set traps for gophers all by himself. When the next day came, again he set traps for gophers. There were no people there, he was all alone; in the evening he always brought home (the gophers). Then again, when the next dawn came, he always set his traps for gophers. How long did he not set his traps for gophers every day? When the next day came, again he set his traps for gophers. Then the evening came, and how many gophers he had trapped¹ he counted.

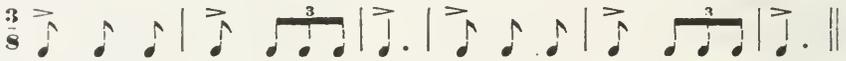
Now something he heard, the menstrual dance was being danced. Now he listened. Then, 'tis said, "S^éá! where is the menstrual dance being danced?" said Coyote. Now he heard the menstrual dance being danced. "C^éá! there I'll go." Now off he went, threw away the gophers. Now he ran, was tired, stood still, listened. Now then again he rushed off, he ran. Now then, 'tis said, again he rested, still the menstrual dance was danced (as though) near at hand. Then, 'tis said, "A! probably here the menstrual dance is being danced." There he arrived, but there were no people. "S-where can these be dancing?" he said, he himself did speak to himself. Right here near by it was as though they were dancing the menstrual dance. "Here up river it probably is." Now again he ran. How long did he not run? As though they were dancing near by it was. Then off again he rushed, he ran.

The name of the land he always named, "There they must be dancing," said Coyote. Then off again he rushed. How long did he not run? He was tired, and always rested. Whenever they sang, it was as though right at hand. Then again he

hu^ulín^t, lígilagànt^t. Ganga heleliá-uda^e aliⁱ ná^enagáⁱe. Ganēhi^e honó^e yá^e, he^ebilí^ue, gwí^ene dí wede yanàk^t. “Sgemé^edi aga^ea wū^ulham hoyodagwán?” nagá-ihí^e. Da^asgék!eiha. Ganēhi^e “S^eá! emé^e hinwadá mī^ewa,” agásⁱe gwent^tga^abók^tdanda wū^ulham hoyodagwán. Miⁱ hono^e ge hiwilí^ue, gwí^ene dí wede hòk^t. Ganēhi^e gwí^ene la^alē^t, miⁱ hū^ulín^t; ge^e yá^ahi da^eól la^alē^t wū^ulham hoyodagwánma^e. Miⁱ honó^e hó^ek^t. Ganēhi^e s^asⁱnī, hu^ulín^t, da^asgék^tlī. Ganēhi^e miⁱ gé wōk^t.

A+ wa-iwíⁱ neyé^eda^e wū^ulham hoyodàk^w, k^aí gwala wa-iwí—bèlp^t, há^ek^a, ts^a!á^es^t, ts^a!amā^tl, lap^am; k^aí náklā di é^anī^e wū^ulham hoyodàk^w? K^aí gwalà s^asⁱnī. Sgísi miⁱ wōk^t; alxik^tlíxa^e wū^ulham hoyodagwánma^e. Ganēhi^e mī^esga^e wa-iwí da^eā^ana-u k^aí gwala dū^ugwíⁱ dīt^tlūgūī, tc^elé^em. “S^eá! s^agá ge ēⁱgī^enan,” nagá-ihí^e. Ganēhi^e ganau giní^ek^t, ga yá^ahi ēⁱt^t!aut^tlau iū^xda da^eā^ana-u wa-iwíⁱ. “Ganē ba-imásga hé^el, ba-imásga!” da^eána-u wa-iwíⁱ ga nagán.

Ganēhi^e bá-imats^t!àk^t,



“K li-xin-hi² gel^e-wi-liu-t^e+³, k li-xin-hi gel^e-wi-liu-t^e+,”

nagá-ihí^e



“Dí^a-t^abo^a-k!álx-de^e al-t^awa-p!á-t^awap^t-na^en,”

nagá-ihí^e lap^am helélda^e.



“Da-bo-k!op^t-na^en dī-k!a-las-na^en gwel-sal-t!ees-na^en’



la-p^am-hiⁱ °o-cu °o-cu,”

went, rushed off. How long did he not go? "S-where is this menstrual dance being danced?" he said. He kept listening. Then, 'tis said, "S^éá! probably here up river it is," (he thought), and indeed the menstrual dance was being danced in the east. Now again he ran there. How long did he not run? Then some time elapsed, and he was tired. Right close to that place he got where the dance was being danced. Now again he ran. Then, 'tis said, he stood still, was tired, listened. Now then there he arrived.

Ah, girls in great number were dancing the menstrual dance, many kinds of girls—Swan, Goose, Bluejay, Mouse, Frog. What kind did not dance the menstrual dance? Many kinds were standing there. Now Coyote did arrive; he looked on while the menstrual dance was being danced. Then, 'tis said, one girl, a chieftainess, did wear many sorts of garments, (her shells) did rattle. "S^éá! s-that one there I'll take," he said. Then among them he went, the hand of just that one he seized, the chieftainess girl. "Now begin the song, begin it!" That the chieftainess girl was told.

Then, 'tis said, she began it,

"K'íxinhi, I walk about strutting out my breast!

K'íxinhi, I walk about strutting out my breast!"

she said.

"Many warts I have on my back, with my eyes I blink,"
said Frog as she sang.

"I bubble under the water, in my rump I am lean,
no fat have I in my legs and feet,
Frog indeed, ^éocu ^éocu,"

¹ *neyéda*^é is morphologically the subordinate form of *neeyé*^é, the impersonal aorist of *nagai-* : *na-* "to say, do." It is frequently idiomatically used to mean "in great number, many."

² No definite meaning could be assigned to this word.

³ The normal form of this word is *gel^éwiliut^é*, but by a song license the grammatically important glottal catch of the last syllable is here eliminated.

⁴ So heard for *gwelsalt!eyésna^én*.

nagá-ihí^ε lap'ām; āk'i ga nagaik'wit'. Ganēhi^ε ā'k'a gana^εnéx
helél^ε,

“^εús'i ^εús'i,¹ ^εús'i ^εús'i, ^εús'i ^εús'i,”

dayawántlixihì yonōn.

Ganēhi^ε k'ái gwala helél^ε. “Más'i^ε ba-imásga!” ts'!á^εs'
ga nagàn. Ganēhi^ε helél^ε ts'!á^εs',



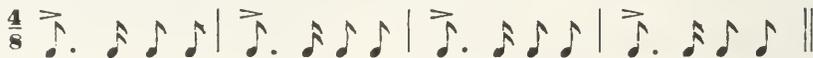
“Tclai-tclī-ā³ gwa-tca gwa-tca, tclai-tclī-ā gwa-tca gwa-tca.”

Ganēhi^ε miⁱ honó^ε “Más'i^ε ba-imásga,” nagàn mī^εs hono^ε
wa-iwíⁱ ts'!amāl. Ganēhi^ε miⁱ bá-imatslak',



“Be-be-bi-ni-bī-a' be-be-bi-ni-bī-a.”

Gana^εnéx helél^ε ts'!amāl; sgísi ā'k'la dayawántlixi helél^ε,



“S'be-be-bi-ni s'be-be-bi-ni s'be-be-bi-ni s'be-be-bi-ni.”

Ganēhi^ε “Más'i^ε ba-imásga!” ga nagásaⁿ ā'ihì. Ganēhi^ε
ba-imats!àk' bel'p',



“Be-lel-dō⁵ wain-ha,⁶ be-lel-dō wain-ha, be-lel-dō wain-ha, be-lel-dō wain-ha,”

¹The accented vowel of the second ^εús'i in each pair is always held out a trifle longer than that of the first. There is perhaps a play upon words involved. Coyote evidently means to repeat the ^εócu ^εócu of Frog, but perverts her burden into the verb form ús'i, “give it to me.”

²By “half” is meant “only a part” or “incorrectly.” Indians commonly speak of people that have but an imperfect command of a language as talking half of it.

³A play upon Bluejay's own name, tcl'á^εc (= tcl'áitcl-).

⁴The implied reference in the mind of an Indian is here to the word bebèn, “rushes.” The mouse is often found among rushes.

⁵This word is a play upon the word for “swan,” bel'p'.

⁶Swan's round-dance song, as here given, was in ordinary use as such among the Takelma. wainha literally means “put him to sleep.” It seems very probable that

said Frog; she herself did call herself that. Then, 'tis said, he, for his part, did sing thus,

“éús'i éús'i, éús'i éús'i, éús'i éús'i,”

only half² of it he sang.

Then, 'tis said, many kinds did sing. “Do you in your turn begin singing!” Bluejay that was told. Then Bluejay sang,

“Tc!áitc!iā gwátca gwatca, tc!áitc!iā gwátca gwatca!”

Now then, 'tis said, again, “Do you in your turn begin singing,” one girl again was told, Mouse. Now then she started in to sing,

“Bebébinibā, bebébinibā.”

Thus did sing Mouse, but Coyote, for his part, did sing only half¹ of it,

“S'bébebini, s'bébebini, s'bébebini, s'bébebini.”

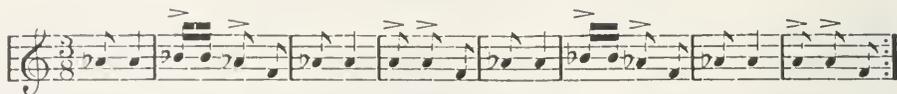
Then, 'tis said, “Do you in your turn begin singing!” that did they themselves say to one another. Then Swan started in to sing,

“Béleldō wáinha, beleldō wainha,
Béleldō wáinha, beleldō wainha,”

the word was originally used in its literal sense in lullabys, then transfered to other songs as a mere burden. Cf. the following lullaby:

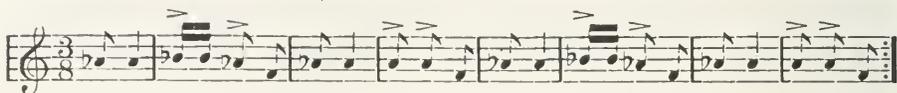
“Buzzard, put him to sleep! S'im [meaning unknown], indeed, put him to sleep! Snail, put him to sleep!”

nagá-ihí^é bel'p', helél^é gana^énèx ā'k^éa. Ganēhi^é "Mas'í^é ba-
imásga," nagása^én wa-iwít'an, há^ék'a ga nagàn. Ganēhi^é
bá-imats!ak',



"Wain-hā me-na dol-k'i,¹wain-hā ī-dol-k'i,¹wain-hā me-na dol-k'i,wain-hā ī-dol-k'i,"
há^ék'a^a gana^énèx helél^é.

Ganēhi^é "S'á! gwidi dólk'init'k' yawayagwán?" nagá-ihí^é
menà. Ganēhi^é honó^éhi gahi neyé^é, ga hé^él yononán,



"Wain-hā me-na dol-k'i,¹wain-hā ī-dol-k'i,¹wain-hā me-na dol-k'i,wain-hā ī-dol-k'i."

Ganēhi^é miⁱ da^éagàn. "Gwidí dólk'init'k' yawayagwán?"
nagá-ihí^é. Miⁱhi^é yá^é menà; miⁱ da^éyehèi wū^lham hoyoda-
gwánma^é gada^a giní^ék'. Miⁱ



"S'hau hau hau hau."

wū^lham hóidigwia gada^a giní^ék' menà.

Ganēhi^é da^éagán wa-iwít'an dal^éwí^é miⁱ xàm^k' baxám^éda^é.
"i's'í^é wede he^élát'," nagása^én; dá^éhi^éaganín xàm^k' baxám^éda^é.
Gangáhi^é hoyodiá^é, dal^éwí^és'í^é "Wede he^élát', k'ái^éwa baxá^ém,"
nagása^énhi^é wa-iwít'an. Gangáhi^é wū^lham hoyodagwán.
Ganēhi^é "Háu, háu, háu, hau." Ba^és'alxóxigin; miⁱ yaxa
é^éalí la^élē xàm^k'. Ganēhi^é "Háu, háu, háu, háu," nagá-ihí^é.
Miⁱ dálxabili^é; ba^éyá^édomó^és'ia^é, áni^é nèk' t^llomóm. Sgísis'í^é
aga da^éā'na-u wa-iwíⁱ é^ého^égwàk^é; gáhi^é ganga miⁱ k^lūwū^é,
xàm^k' yap!a daxoyóxi.

¹Though these three words are here probably felt to be mere burdens, each of them can be translated as a regular Takelma word: "Put-him-to-sleep, brown-bear his-anus," though the normal form for "his anus" would be *dólk'ini* or *dólk'amaa*. *i-* in *ídólk'i* must be explained either as a mere change in burden, pairing off with

said Swan, thus did she, for her part, sing. Then, 'tis said, "Do you in your turn begin singing!" said the girls to one another, Goose was told that. Then she started in to sing,

"Wainhā ména dólk'i, wainhā ī'dólk'i,
Wainhā ména dólk'i, wainhā ī'dólk'i,"

thus did Goose sing.

Then, 'tis said, "S'á! where are they talking about my anus?" said Bear. Then again, 'tis said, just that they said, that song was sung,

"Wainhā ména dólk'i, wainhā ī'dólk'i,
Wainhā ména dólk'i, wainhā ī'dólk'i."

Now then, 'tis said, he heard it. "Where are they talking about my anus?" he said. Now Bear did go; now he went to where he heard the menstrual dance being danced, right by them he went. Now

"S'hau, hau, hau, hau,"

(thus saying) Bear did go alongside of where the menstrual dance was being danced.

Then, 'tis said, some of the girls heard how Grizzly Bear now was coming. "Sing no more," they said to one another. Grizzly Bear, 'tis said, was heard coming, yet they went on dancing; but some of the girls "Do not dance, a monster comes," did say to one another. Still the menstrual dance kept being danced. Then, 'tis said, "Hau, hau, hau, hau," (said Grizzly Bear). They suddenly stopped dancing, now Grizzly Bear had got to be right there. Then "Hau, hau, hau, hau," he said. Now he jumped among them; they flew right up, no one he killed. But Coyote did run away with this chieftainess girl.

mena, or else as a demonstrative stem not ordinarily used in its bare form (cf. *ida* "that there" and *ideme*^s*a* "right there"); *idólk'i* would then be an archaic song-form of *idaga dólk'ini*, "that-one his-anus."

Miⁱ aga sgísi ā'k'là da^éána-u wa-iwiⁱ dálihiwik^w. Ganēhi^é bo^u nēxada^é "Wa-iwiⁱ di eit' ? Wa-iwiⁱ mī^éwa," nagá-ihis; sgísi^éa miⁱ gelwainia gelgulúk^w. Ganēhi^é ánī^é t'ayàk' gwī^énéi hawúxda^a. "K'ádi gi^éà? K'a-ilā'p'a mī^éwa nagásbi^én," nagáhi^é. Sgísi lap'ām xamgwidík^w. "Ma dí k'ai^élā'p'a yuda^é? lap'a^am nánsbina^é," nagáhi^é lap'ām. Gé de^éwinít'hì. Gweldi; ba^abi^ét' lé^ép'lap'.

II. JACK RABBIT IS CALUMNIATED BY COYOTE.

Wíliⁱ yowò^é, hōū ā'k'da^éxì ci^éulī. K'ái gwala disgot!ōlha bēm, bēm k!emēi t'bàl. Ganēhi^é "Wáyanī, wáyanī, wáyanī!² gwidā³ lemék!ia^{uē}, k'ái gwala p!ahánda^é?" nagá-ihis hōū. Míⁱhi^é disgut!úxa^é. Ganēhi^é miⁱ limimán, hé^ébili^{uē}. "Nek' yók'i^é dak'līm^xgwa^é. K'adí yawayagwá^én?" nagá-ihis. Míⁱ hono^é disgót^ut', hé^ébili^{uē}. Gahíhi^é nagá^é. "Nek' yók'i^é dak'līm^xgwa^é," nagá-ihis. Gahíhi^é nagá^é, "Wáyanī, wáyanī, wáyanī! gwidā lemék!ia^{uē}, k'ái gwala p!ahánda^é?"

Miⁱ dabalníxa la^alē'. Miⁱ sgísi da^{aé}agàn ga nèx, hōū ga nagá-ida^é. "S'á! s'k'adí ne^{yé}é?" Miⁱ dá^asgek!i sgísi. "Wáyanī, wáyanī, wáyanī! gwidā lemék!ia^{uē}, dīp' p!ahánda^é?" nagá-ihis hōū. "K'adí yawayagwá^én? dīsgut!úxade^é." Ganēhi^é miⁱ sgísi da^{aé}agàn. Míⁱ hadedilt'a libin wāk'. "S'elī he^éiléme-k!inda^é,"⁵ nagásanp'," nagá-ihis sgísi; "haxiyá wa^égwidi-

¹ Compare Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, pp. 72-78.

² Pronounced in a high pitch.

³ A rhetorical form of *gwidi*, "where?" A mock-heroic effect is intended.

⁴ As much as to say, "I have more important things to do than to talk. I must cut down trees!"

Now those just scattered off, Grizzly Bear did chase the people around.

Now this Coyote, for his part, did run off with the chieftainess girl. Then, 'tis said, after a little while, "Are you a female? It must be a female," he thought; Coyote now, for his part, did wish to sleep with her. Tunc nihil vulvae repperit. [8] "What did I, for my part, (take)? That you were a woman I thought," he said to her. Coyote threw Frog into the water. "Do you think you will be a woman? Frog you will always be called," he said to Frog. Proceeding just up to there (it goes). 'Tis finished. Go gather and eat your ba^ap'-seeds.

II. JACK-RABBIT IS CALUMNIATED BY COYOTE.¹

A house there was, Jack-Rabbit was dwelling all by himself. All sorts of trees he used to cut down; t'bal-bushes he regarded as trees. Then, 'tis said, "Wáyanī, wáyanī, wáyanī! where now have they all gone to, now that everything is ripe?" said Jack-Rabbit. Now he was a-cutting. Now then, 'tis said, he felled them, and off he rushed. "Had it been anyone else, he would have had it falling on top of him. But what am I talking about?"⁴ he said. Now again he cut one down, and off he rushed. That same thing he said. "Had it been anyone else, he would have had it falling on top of him," he said. That same thing he said, "Wáyanī, wáyanī, wáyanī! where now have they all gone to, now that everything is ripe?"

Now a long time elapsed. And Coyote did hear that speech, that which Jack-Rabbit was saying. "S'á! s-what are they saying?" Now Coyote was listening. "Wáyanī, wáyanī, wáyanī! where now have they all gone to, now that the camass is ripe?" said Jack-Rabbit. "But what am I talking about? I'll be a-cutting." Now then, 'tis said, Coyote

¹Coyote is guilty of a malicious pun. Jack Rabbit's *lemék!iau*², "(people) have moved away," and Coyote's *he²ilémek!inda*², "that I have done away with, annihilated, them," are forms of the same verb stem *lemek!-*.

gwidínda^é, 'nagásanp'." Miⁱ yap!a gux^{wí} xilam la^{lē}. "'Giⁱ he^éilemék'linda^é, 'nagásanp', alí dexebéⁿ," nagá-ihí^é sgísi.

Miⁱ wa^éit!emém wùlx. Ganēhi^é wulx p'elēk'wa; sgísi libin wa^aganá^é, ga ga^{al} hōū p'elegán. Ganēhi^é "Géme^édi dexebéⁿ?"—"Emé^é, emé^é dexebéⁿ." Ganēhi^é de^édát'hì yap!a mí^ésga^é t!ayākwa. "Ha^ap'dék' lo^s'í," nagá-ihí^é yap!a mí^ésga^é t!ayāk'wana^é. Ganēhi^é "Sgá! sgá!" nagá^é sgísi. "A'nī^é gà," nagá-ihí^é yap!à mí^ésga^é bo^u t!ayāk'wana^é. "Ga dexebéⁿ," sgísi ga nagá^é. Bī^é ganau mats!àk'; ganēhi^é bī^é ganàu dályewé^é hōū. Ganēhi^é o^udán. Ganēhi^é mī^s honó^é t!ayāk'wa; miⁱ yap!a gā^ém t!ayāk'wa hōū. "Ha^ap'dèk' lo^s'í," nagá-ihí^é yap!à. Sgísi "Ga ga ga!" nagá^é; "ga dexebéⁿ," nagá-ihí^é sgísi. Gasⁱ yap^aà "Anī^é ga dexebéⁿ," sgísisⁱ "Ga dexebéⁿ," nagá^é sgísi^à. A'nī^é da^ahó^uxgwan sgísi.

Gwī^éne dí wede dāk'am? Yap!a ga nát'na^é p'elēk'wana^é, ga ^éaldī' t!ayāk'wa. Sgísi "S'ga dexebéⁿ," nagá^é; ánī^é da^ahó^uxgwan. Ganēhi^é yap!a dák'wāk'; ^éaldī'+1 yap!a t!ayāk'wana^é, dák'wāk'. Dák'wa^aganá^é yá^ahi xliwi he^éne dák'dagwa mats!àk' hōū, hé^édada^é yá^a "Bā wā' āu wā' āu wā'¹ (etc.)" senésant'. Ganēhi^é miⁱ sa^ansán. Sgísi ^éoyá^ahi t!omōm hōū, yap!a hē^éilemé^ék'. Ganaⁿéx ga naⁿàk',² wiláu dībūk'² Lat'gāū. Gasⁱ yap!a hē^éilém^ék',² hōū xēp'k',² sgísihi ba-idaxák' yap!à, dalō^ul^é, agásⁱ hōū ánī^é ga nagá^é.

¹ Pronounced in a hoarse, loud whisper. Another such loudly whispered whoop is *gwā'lalalalā*, yelled by the slayer of a man.

heard him. Now everywhere he carried the news. "S-he says about you, 'It is right around here that I've been killing people,'" said Coyote; "he says about you, 'In the water it is that I always throw them.'" Now the hearts of the people became sick. "He says about you, 'It is I that have been killing people,' right around here he says so," said Coyote.

Now the warriors assembled together. Then, 'tis said, the warriors went out to wage war against him; since Coyote had brought the news, for that reason was Jack-Rabbit warred against. Then (they said), "Where did he say that?"—"Here, here he said that." Then, 'tis said, one man found him first. "'Tis a plaything for my child," said the one man that had found him. Then, 'tis said, "S-that one it is! s-that one it is!" said Coyote. "It is not that one," said the one man that had just found him. "It is that one that said so," that did Coyote say. In his quiver (the man) put him. Then, 'tis said, Jack-Rabbit ran off out of the quiver into the woods. Then he was hunted for. Then, 'tis said, one found him again; now two persons had found Jack-Rabbit. "'Tis a plaything for my child," said the person. Coyote "That one, that one, that one!" did say; "it's that one that said so," said Coyote. But the person, for his part, "It is not that one that said so," (did say); but Coyote "It's that one that said so," said Coyote, for his part. Coyote was not believed. [9]

How often was he not found? That number of people that went to war against him, all of those did find him. Coyote said, "S-that one it is that said so," but he was not believed. Then, 'tis said, the people finished; when all the people had found him, they finished. Just when they finished, then did Jack-Rabbit put war feathers upon his head, and afar off "Bā wā' āu wā' āu wā' (*etc.*)" he whooped. Now then, 'tis said, they were fought with. Coyote did Jack-Rabbit kill first of all; the people he annihilated. Thus it was that he did that, arrows they started³

²Observe the inferentials. These verb forms do not primarily *narrate*, but *explain* or *infer* the origin of war.

³That is, they started the first war, set the precedent for warfare.

12. BEAVER FERRIES THE DEER ACROSS ROGUE RIVER.

Wíliⁱ yowó^é, sgísi sbīn wōk'díxadī'l. Ganēhi^é almī^és cū^éálha^é. Ganēhi^é dabalnīxa la^alē', pliyin handàt' wogowá^ék'. "éi mé^és'agwà, lomt!ē'ⁱ!" Sbīn ei ^éoyōn, pliyin eī ganau s'ówo^és'a^{u^é} pliyin gwalá. Xa^axīts'!ék'ts'ligiⁱda² la^alīt'a^é, miⁱhi^é ei s'alk!omók!ō^ém. Ganēhi^é plíyín^éà bais'ówo^és'a-uda^é ei k!ómok!a^ém; miⁱ wa^éīt!oxóxi. "éⁿ éⁿ (etc.)," sbīn eiat'gwa ga na^énagá^{i^é}.

Ganēhi^é gwī^éné la^alē', miⁱ hono^é dewénxa wōk'ia^{u^é}. "éi mé^és'agwā', lomt!ē'ⁱ!" Miⁱ sbīn ei hansāk'^w. Ganēhi^é ganau ginigiáu^é, miⁱ hansāk'^w. Miⁱ hono^é ba-is'ówo^és'iwia^{u^é}; miⁱ hono^é plíyín ei s'alk!omók!a^ém. Miⁱ hono^é wa^éīt!oxóxi. "éⁿ éⁿ (etc.)," miⁱ hono^é eī la^alē'. "Hat'íl^a3 éihi, ání^é emé^é yaxa eī^éà. Gelyālk'⁴ eī, ání^é emé^é yaxa eī," nagá-ihí^é. Miⁱ sbīn ts'liní^éts'lanx.

Miⁱ hono^é dewénxa la^alē'. "éi mé^és'agwā'!" Miⁱ hono^é hansāk'^w, gánau ginigiáu^é. Ganēhi^é pliyínhi xebé^én agà, ga ei ogó^éak'i; ha^andadát' baxá^ém, adát' giní^ék' pliyín. Miⁱ hono^é "Lomt!ē', émé^é ei s'agwā'!" nagánhi^é. Ganēhi^é eī

¹ Hence the warlike character of the people of this place, the Upper Takelma.

² Xaa-xi-ts'!ék'ts'ligiⁱda = "in-middle-of water its-backbone," in other words, equally distant from either shore. Cf. daa-xi-ts'!ék'ts'ligiⁱda = "alongside-of water its-backbone," *i. e.*, not far from one of the banks.

at Lat'gāū.¹ So that the people he annihilated, Jack-Rabbit it was that did so. Coyote indeed got the people into trouble, he lied; but Jack-Rabbit did not really do that (which Coyote said he did).

12. BEAVER FERRIES THE DEER ACROSS ROGUE RIVER.

A house there was, Coyote, and his cousin Beaver. Then, 'tis said, they always lived together. Then a long time elapsed; deer kept arriving at the other side of the river. "Paddle a canoe over here, old man!" Beaver gave them a canoe; the deer all jumped into the canoe, many deer. When it got to be in the middle of the river, then, 'tis said, the canoe was rent to pieces because of their kicking about in it. Then, 'tis said, when the deer, for their part, did all jump out of it, the canoe was rent to pieces. Now (Beaver) gathered up the pieces. "ʔEⁿ, ʔEⁿ (*etc.*)," that did Beaver's own canoe do.

Then, 'tis said, a long time elapsed; now again the next day arrived. "Paddle a canoe over here, old man!" Now Beaver paddled the canoe over the river. Then, 'tis said, they all went therein, and he paddled them across the river. Now again they all jumped out, and again the deer kicked the canoe to pieces. Now again he gathered the pieces together. "ʔEⁿ, ʔEⁿ (*etc.*)," the canoe again now groaned. "Right at Hat'il is there a canoe indeed, not only here is there a canoe. At Gelyālk' is there a canoe, not only here is there a canoe," he said. Now Beaver was angry.

Now again the next day came. "Paddle a canoe over here!" Now again he paddled it across, and therein they all went. The deer indeed did do this, and that canoe he always gave to them. From across the river they came, over to

¹Hat'il was a Takelma village situated on Rogue river some distance above (east of) Table Rock.

²Gelya'lk' was another Takelma village. It was situated on Rogue river below Table Rock. The name means "facing pine trees;" cf. *yāal*, "pine."

hansāk^w honó^é; ganē hono^é gánau ginigiá^u eī, ganē hánsāk^w honó^é. Ganēhi^é miⁱ hono^é gahí na^éneyé^é, ba-is'owós'iwia^u. Ganēhi^é miⁱ hono^é k!omók!a^ém eī. Miⁱ hono^é “^éEⁿ ^éEⁿ (etc.);” wa^éit!oxóxi. “Emé^édá^éx di ^éei yùk’? Di^élo^umīⁱ yá^a eī, ání^é emé^édá^éx eī^éà,” nagá-ihí^é sbīn; eiyá^a k!omók!a^ém, salk!umú-k!imim p!iyin xebé^én. Ganēhi^é “^éEⁿ ^éEⁿ (etc.),” nagá-ihí^é; miⁱ hono^é wa^éit!oxóxi, miⁱ hono^é eiyát'gwa ^éik!u^umàn. “E'mé^éda-bá^éx di eī^éa yùk’? Gelyá!k!a² eīhi, ání^é emé^é yaxa eī^éà. Haya^a!bā^l!sda³ gésⁱé hono^é eī,” nagá-ihí^é sbīn, ts^l!iní^t!anx.

Hono^é dewénxa la^a!ē^l. “^éeī me^és'agwa, lomt!íⁱ!” nagánhi^é sbīn. He^éne ei hansāk^w, miⁱ hono^é ganau ginigiá^u; hánsāk^w. Miⁱ hono^é gáhi na^éneyé^é, ba-is'owó^és'iwia^u; miⁱ hono^é salk!um-úklimin. Miⁱ hono^é “^éEⁿ ^éEⁿ (etc.),” eyát'gwa wa^éit!oxóxi. Ganēhi^é “Emé^édá^éba^éx di ^éeī^éa yùk’?” nagá-ihí^é sbīn. “Gwen-p'uñk⁴ eīhi, Lat'gāū⁵ eī ge honó^é, ání^é emé^é yaxà ei,” nagá-ihí^é. Pliyin ha^andadat' baxá^ém; adát'sⁱé p!iyin ání^é k'ai yúk' he^énè, ha^andadát' yaxa p!iyin^éa yùk'. Gana^énèx géhi yaxa yok!oyá^én.

¹Di^élo^umīⁱ was one of the largest villages of the Takelma; it was situated at the falls (*dii*) of Rogue river. The name means “west (of which) are cedars;” cf. *loum*, “cedar.”

²= Gelya^a!k^l!-^éa.

³Another Takelma village. The name means “in its high pines;” cf. *baals*, “long.”

this side did come the deer. Now again "Old man, paddle a canoe over here!" he was told. Then again he paddled the canoe across the river. Then again they all went into the canoe, and again he paddled it across. Now then, 'tis said, they did that same thing, they all jumped out. And then again the canoe was rent to pieces. Now again "ʔEⁿ, ʔEⁿ (*etc.*)," (it groaned). He gathered the pieces together. "Is it only here that there is a canoe? Right at Di^ʔlo^mī is there a canoe, not only here is there a canoe indeed," said Beaver. His canoe was rent to pieces; it was rent by being kicked to pieces, 'twas the deer that did so. Then "ʔEⁿ, ʔEⁿ (*etc.*)," it said. Now again he gathered the pieces together, and again he fixed his canoe. "Is it only here that there is a canoe indeed? Right at Gelyālk' there is a canoe indeed, not only here is there a canoe. At Haya^albā^lsda, there also is there a canoe," said Beaver, he was angry.

Again the next day came. "Paddle a canoe over here, old man!" Beaver was told. Then the canoe he paddled across. Now again they all went therein, and he paddled them across. Now again that same thing they did, they all jumped out, and again it was kicked to pieces. Now again "ʔEⁿ, ʔEⁿ (*etc.*)," (it groaned). The pieces of his canoe he gathered together. Then "Is it only here that there is a canoe?" said Beaver. "At Gwenp^uñk' there is a canoe indeed, at Lat^gāũ, also there is there a canoe, not only here is there a canoe," he said. The deer came from across the river. Now at that time there were no deer on this side⁶ of the river, only on the other side were there deer. Just that far thus I know.

⁵ A Takelma village on Rogue river. The name seems to mean "east of rotten (trees);" cf. *p'uñ*, "rotten."

⁴ The Takelma village farthest to the east. A divergent dialect was there spoken. See Sapir's "Notes on the Takelma Indians" (*American Anthropologist*, N. S., Vol. 9), pp. 252, 253, 255.

⁶ That is, the northern side.

13. GRIZZLY BEAR AND BLACK BEAR.¹

Wíliⁱ yowó^é xàm^k′, nihwí^k′^w, há^p′da gā^p!inì xàm^k′, nihwí^k′^w há^p′da gā^p!ini. T′gwí^l k!adák!at′ be^wí^é, yewè^u′uk′; t′awāxadi^l la^láusaⁿ. Ganēhi^é gwí^éne la^lē^l. “T!elá^t odobá^é,” nagá-ihí^é xàm^k′, nihwí^k′^w nagà. Dahōxa lawá^lhida^é t′gwí^l yeléx debū^é liwí^lhók′^w, be^wí^é ga naⁿagá^é als^o′umà^l. “T!elá^t odobá^é,” nagá-ihí^é xàm^k′ wa-iwíⁱ, t!elá^{hi} †odó^éat′.

Ganēhi^é dabalníxa la^lē^l. “T!éla^t odobá^é.” Mí^{hi}^é dak!ocòk′ dágaxda nihwí^k′^w, t!elá^a o^udán. “Yegwēxdam.”— “Aⁿī^é yok!oyáⁿ yēxbiaxdèk′” nagá-ihí^é xàm^k′. Ganēhi^é dahōxa la^lit^a^é abaiyewé^é, nō^t′s!at′gwanwí^é yowó^é. Ganēhi^é t′gwí^l k!adák!at′. Ganēhi^é honó^é “T!éla^t odobá^é.” Mí^{hi} honó^é dak!ocòk′. “Yegwēxdam nagadi,” nagá-ihí^é nihwí^k′^w. Ganēhi^é debalníxa gá naⁿagà. Ganēhi^é honó^é abaiyewé^é. T′gwí^l liwí^lhók′^w yelex debū^é. “Aⁿī^é yok!oyáⁿ yegwēxbinda^é, t′awā.” Ganēhi^é yok!oi dōmk′wia gé^lwagulòk′wa xàm^k′. Ganēhi^é abaiyewéida^é daho^uxà, “Ganē dewénxa la^lit^a^é gání^é honó^é t′gwí^l k!a^adabá^é,” nagáhi^é t′awāxa la^láuhi.

Ganē mí^{hi}^é t′élma p!a-idi^lló^uk′; yok!oi dōmk′wōgulùk′. Ganēhi^é beyánt′gwa “^éagà t′élma dīsgū^é/^éxgí^é he^éne dūmxink′,” nagá-ihí^é nihwí^k′^w, beyánt′gwa ga nagà. “Ga de^égwálda^ék′; dīsgū^é/^éxgí^é he^éne dūmxink′,” nagá-ihí^é nihwí^k′^w. “He^éne i^l′daga nó^us hapxwi xamk′ “P!a^agabá^é! na^agí^ék′, he^énes^éí^é

¹ Compare Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, pp. 118-28; Gatschet, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-23; and the Yana myth of Grizzly Bear and Deer obtained by Dr. Dixon (see Sapir, *Yana Texts*, note 319).

13. GRIZZLY BEAR AND BLACK BEAR.¹

A house there was, Grizzly Bear, Black Bear, Grizzly Bear's two children, and Black Bear's two children. Every day they used to pick hazel nuts, and were wont to return; sisters they called each other. Then, 'tis said, a long time elapsed. "Let us hunt for your lice," said Grizzly Bear, to Black Bear she said it. Whenever the evening came, they always brought home burden baskets full of hazel nuts, every day they did that in the mountains. "For your lice let us hunt," said the Grizzly Bear female, and for her lice indeed she always hunted.

Then, 'tis said, a long time elapsed. "Let us hunt for your lice," (said Grizzly Bear). Now, 'tis said, she bit Black Bear's head a little (while) her lice were hunted for. "You've bit me."—"I did not know that I was biting you," said Grizzly Bear. Then, 'tis said, when the evening came, they returned home, each other's neighbors they were. Now they used to pick hazel nuts. Then again, 'tis said, "Let us hunt for your lice," (said Grizzly Bear). Now again she bit her a little. "You've bit me, have you not?" said Black Bear. Now for a long time she did that to her. Then again they returned home, and burden baskets full of hazel nuts they brought home. "I did not know that I was biting you, sister." Then, 'tis said, she knew that Grizzly Bear was intending to kill her. Then, 'tis said, when they returned home in the evening, "Now when the next day comes, then let us again pick hazel nuts," (Grizzly Bear) said to her, sister she called her.

Now then, 'tis said, an acorn pestle she stood up, she knew that (Grizzly Bear) was intending to kill her. Then to her daughters, "Should this acorn pestle fall, then she will have killed me," said Black Bear, to her daughters that she said. "You shall watch that. Should it fall, then she will have killed

¹So heard for *disgū'i⁸xgi⁸*. It is very difficult sometimes to hear the second element of the *ūi* diphthong of this and related forms, partly because of the palatal character of the first element and partly because the glottal catch succeeding the diphthong makes it of less than normal duration.

xàmk' hápxda^a de^éinú^tli^ék','' nagáhi^é beyánt'gwa nihwìk'^w. Ganēhi^é aga t'élma tlegwegwált'. "He^éne dīsgū[']ie^éxgi^é, 'Xamlo^ubá^é' na^gí^ék' he^énè," nagá-ihí^é; "he^énes[']í^é go^udát'ba^é hagwelpli^{yà}," nagáhi^é nihwìk'^w beyánt'gwa. "P!ahánk'[']ie^é ba-ihemgát'ba^é, la^éit'ba^ék!it'ba^é," nagáhi^é nihwìk'^w.

Ganēhi^é miⁱ habēbini la^{alē}, miⁱ t'elma dīsgūyū[']ex. Nó^uc giní^ék' xamk' hap'da wá^ada. "P!āgaba^éhàn, xamlō^uba^éhàn," nagá-ihí^é nihwìk'^w beyán. "Há-u," nagá^é. "Ganēhi^é xam-p!agá^é. Míⁱhi^é xamde^éinú^t, miⁱ lohó[']ie^é xàm[']k' beyán gā'p!inì. Ganēhi^é xamk' hawilí[']da giní[']k'^w hápxda^ahì; miⁱ sēp' p!úl ganàu, gwelt'gāu k'ap!ák'ap' hapli^{yà}. Ganēhi^é p!ahá[']n, miⁱ ba-ihemèk'; ulúm he^éne níxa ga nagaik'wana^é ga na^énagà p!ahànt'. Ganēhi^é la^éit'bagát'bak'; no^u be^é k'líyik'da^é he^énéhi xebé[']n, he^éne sēp aga^a xàm[']k' hápxda. Ganēhi^é úlum[']à níxa ga nagaik'wa, "P!è's ba^éisgé[']t!it'ba^é, ge nát'ba^é," nagá-ihí^é nihwìk'^wèà, ga nagà beyánt'gwa. Ganēhi^é hawilít'gwan yewé[']ie^é nihwìk'^w hápxda^a. Ganēhi^é plé[']s ba^éisgé[']t'; ganē yá['], ganau nagá[']ie^é, yá[']; miⁱ k!ūwū[']è hā'pxda^a nihwìk'^w, xamk' hápxda^a t!omōm. Ganē yá['].

Daho^uxa la^{al}it'a^é yewé[']ie^é xàm[']k'. Ganēhi^é ánī['] k'ai hápxda^a; da^asgek!ī. "Gwídi leít'p'?"² Haxiya ūyú^us'ia^us hapxwi wá-iwi[']t'an, "Hé he he he! hé he he he!" T'gwíl yeléx debū[']ie^é labàk', hawí[']é ánī['] abaiginí[']k'. Bo^u nēxada^é abaiginí[']k';

¹That is, they escaped by an underground passage through the ground.

²L- is a characteristic, intrinsically meaningful "grizzly-bear prefix" in the same

me," said Black Bear. "In that case to those children next door of Grizzly Bear shall you say 'Let us bathe!' and then you shall drown Grizzly Bear's children," said Black Bear to her daughters. Then, 'tis said, they watched this acorn pestle. "If it should fall, in that case you shall say to them, 'Let us play in the water!'" she said; "and then you shall bury them down in the fire-place," said Black Bear to her daughters. "When they are done, you will take them out, and you will slit them open," said Black Bear to them.

Now then, 'tis said, noon came, and the acorn pestle fell, Next door they went to Grizzly Bear's children. "Let us all bathe, let us all play in the water," said the daughters of Black Bear. "Yes," they said. Then, 'tis said, they bathed in the water. Now they drowned them in the water, and the two daughters of Grizzly Bear died. Then into the house of Grizzly Bear they took her children indeed; now they roasted them in the ashes, down under the ground they threw them in the fire. Then, 'tis said, they were done, and they took them out; as before their mother had told them, that they did to them (till they were) done. Then they ripped them open. In the afternoon, just then they did so, then they roasted just these children of Grizzly Bear. Now formerly, indeed, their mother had told them that, "You will lift up the rock acorn-mortar, there you will go," said Black Bear, for her part, that she had said to her daughters. Then into their own house returned the children of Black Bear. Then the rock acorn-mortar they lifted up, and went off; therein they passed, off they went.¹ Now Black Bear's children ran away, Grizzly Bear's children they had killed. Then off they went.

When evening came Grizzly Bear returned. Now her children were not there; she listened. "Where L-are you?" In the water there was laughter (as of) little girls, "Hé he he he! hé he he he!" A burden basket full of hazel nuts she carried

sense in which s- is a "coyote prefix." L- does not occur as a normal Takelma sound, though its use as such in the neighboring Athabascan dialects is very frequent.

ganēhi^ε miⁱ yaxa p!ahànt' de^εiwí'klik'^w la^εit'ba^ak't'bák'na^ε. Ganē mí'hi^ε gayaū p!ā'nt'. Ganē he^εne yá^ahi^ε "S'mé^εyēp', me^εyēp'," ba-ibilíuda^ε gwī ^εūyú^{uε}s'da^ε hapxwi wa-iwít'an; miⁱ gé gini^εk'. "S'mé^εyēp', s'me^εyēp'." Miⁱ haxiyá gini^εk'. Ganēhi^ε gwī ^εūyú^{uε}s'da^ε ge gini^εk'; ge wōk', ánī^ε k'ai. Nō^u ya^a "Hé he he!" Miⁱ honó^ε ge hiwili^{uε}. "S'me^εyēp', s'me^εyēp'." Ge wōk', ánī^ε k'ai. Miⁱ hono^ε hínaū uyū^εs'ia^{uε}, hapxwi wá-iwi gáplini. Miⁱ hono^ε hinaū hiwili^{uε}. "S'mé^εyēp', s'me^εyēp'." Miⁱ hono^ε ge wōk', ánī^ε k'ai. Miⁱ he^εne no^u ya^a hono^ε ūyú^{uε}s'ia^{uε}; hono^ε gé hiwili^{uε}. "Me^εyēp'," nagá-ihí^ε xàm^k'. Miⁱ hono^ε hínaū yá^a hono^ε ū'yū^εs'ia^{uε}; hu^llū^εnk'wa gwidigwàs. Ge^ε yá^ahi ganē tlayàk', s'as'inī. "Gwidí Lna^ε-naga^ε?" í's'ihí^ε sgelé^{uε}. Miⁱ hu^llìnt', adát'wi^ε hiwili^{uε}.

Miⁱ abaiginí^εk' hawilit'gwa. "Lhāp'dék' di Lyùk' ? ga dí p!ā'nt' gaik'a^ε?" nagá-ihí^ε. Nó^us' gini^εk'. Ganēhi^ε k'ai gwala bā^εálk'ap!ak'ap'; t'ga^a yamàt', k'ai gwala yamàt', "Gwidí gini^εk' hāpxdèk'?" Gwī^εne la^alē^ε; ganēhi^ε miⁱ p!è's bā^εisga^ak'-sgàk',² dīhauyá^a ge^ε yá^ahi s'álxda da^εaltlayàk'. Ganēhi^ε miⁱ swadàk'. "P!idiłp'ā^εt'p'idit'k',³ p!idiłp'ā^εt'p'idit'k'!" miⁱ t'agá^ε gana^εnèx; swadàk', "P!idiłp'ā^εt'p'idit'k', p!idiłp'ā^εt'p'idit'k'!" nagá^ε. Gwicíwōk'di wōk', agás'í^ε nihwík'^w hápxda^a hanxiyà; gas'í^ε hangwidik'^w mēx, gwélxda^a ei k!emēi, hapxwi wa-iwít'an gadák' nagá^ε.

Là' mologolā'p'a wá^ada aba-iwōk' xàm^k', abaiginí^εk'.

¹ The children of Black Bear had left behind an image of their own laughter in order to delay the pursuer.

² *baa^ε isgéet'*, "he lifted and turned it over," was said to be more correct.

³ The word in its normal form is *p'áa^εt'p'idit'k'*, "my liver," the reference being

on her back. Not yet had she entered the house. After a little while she went inside. Now then (they lay there) all done, spread out, ripped open. Now then, 'tis said, she ate their livers. Now just then "S-come back, come back!" (she said), as she rushed out to where there was laughter (as of) little children; now there she came. "S-come back, s-come back!" Now into the water she went. Then, 'tis said, where there was laughter, there she went; there she arrived, but they were not there. Just down river "Hé he he!" (it sounded). Now again there she ran. "S-come back, s-come back!" There she arrived, but they were not there. Now again up river there was laughter (as of) two little children. Now again up river she ran. "S-come back, s-come back!" Now again there she arrived, but they were not there. Now then just down river there was laughter again; again there she ran. "Come back!" said Grizzly Bear. Now again just up river there was laughter once more; she was plumb tired out.¹ Right there she then found it out, she stood still. "What L-is the matter?" she kept shouting. Now she was tired, to every place had she run.

Now she went home into her own house. "L-so it is L-my children? So that was their livers that I ate?" she said. Next door she went. Then everything she turned over; the earth she asked, everything she asked, "Where did my children go?" Some time elapsed, and then she lifted up the rock acorn-mortar, last of all she discovered their footprints right there. Now then, 'tis said, she pursued them. "O L-my liver! O L-my liver!" now thus she cried. She pursued them, and "O L-my liver! O L-my liver!" she said. Somewheres or other they had arrived, and now Black Bear's children were on the other side of the water. Indeed Crane had thrown his leg across the river and made a canoe of it, and the little girls passed over on it.

Grizzly Bear arrived at the house of old woman Excrement,

generally to a salmon-liver. The form in the text is exclamatory; it shows a very unusual type of reduplication and is further augmented by the L- characteristic of the grizzly-bear. It is doubtful whether the word is in any way related to *piān*, the ordinary word for "liver."

“Gwidí Lbō^ut‘ba^alā‘p‘ak!an?” nagá-ihí^é xàm^k‘. “Da^a-t‘mu^ugàl-lewé^éliwí^én, ìlayá^ak‘na^én,” nagá-ihí^é mī^és là‘ mologolā‘p‘a, ^éání^é yok!oyá^én k‘ai mologolā‘p‘axda^a. “Da^a-t‘mu^ugàl-lewé^éliwí^én,” nagá-ihí^é mologolā‘p‘a, ání^é dak‘dahāī xàm^k‘. “Gwidí Lbo^ut‘ba^alā‘p‘ak!an? ándí^é dā^aaganìt‘ k‘ai nagásbinda^é?” nagá-ihí^é xàm^k‘. Bo^u nēxada^é ts‘liní^éts‘!anx mologolā‘p‘a yamàt‘ gwelgélyowo^uda^é, hapliyà gelk!iyí^ék‘, ye^éxít‘gwa ígí^éna. “Ge^émé^édi gī yemesí?” nagá-ihí^é. Míⁱ xamk^éa ba-ibilí^u, ganēhi^é háxiyá hiwilí^u. Míⁱ ei yilim, “Ei mé^és‘agwà!” nagá-ihí^é. Míⁱ mēx yá^ahi “^é’;”¹ gwélxdagwa hanló^uk‘, gwélxdagwa ogoíhi. Míⁱ gadák‘ nagá^é. Míⁱ s‘al^éik!alálal, xa^axiyá la^alē[’]. “^é’!” Míⁱ ísge^ét‘sgàt‘ gwélxdagwa mēx; míⁱ lohó^é xàm^k‘, xamgwídík^wdagwa mēx. Agásⁱé ulum klūwū^é yaxa gadàk‘ nihwik^w hā‘pxda^a me^éx gwélxda.

14. EAGLE AND THE GRIZZLY BEARS.

Mēx yulùm k‘abáxa^a; yulum be^éwí^é alhū‘ihíⁱxk‘, gwála cīx do^umdàmk‘ pliyìn. Gasⁱé dabalníxa lāp‘k‘; aldī s‘om ga^éal alhūyūxk‘, cīx wili debū^ébàx, yàmxsⁱé xlépxda^a k!em^éàm^k‘ mēx. Ganga gana^énéx alhū‘ihíⁱxk‘, hadedilt‘a s‘úm ga^éal alhū‘ihíⁱxk‘, máxasⁱé yàm^x k!oloī dūlū^t!alhi.² Gana^énéxhi cī^éulí máxadī^l, níxasⁱé ání^é k‘ài. Hat‘ga^adilt‘a s‘om ga^éal cīx t!omō^m; be^éwí^é yàm^x wili debū[’]é^k‘i.

Gwī^éne la^alē[’], míⁱ mēx k‘abáxa^a “Wede ī‘daga he^és‘o^umàl wede ge wīt‘am,” nagáhi^é. Alhuyūx hadedilt‘a. Ganēhi^é

¹ Whispered.

and went inside. "Where are the L-orphans?" said Grizzly Bear. "I swing about the shells in my ears, I coil my basket tight," said a certain Excrement woman, I know not what sort of woman. "I swing about the shells in my ears," said the old woman, she answered not Grizzly Bear. "Where are the L-orphans? Did you not hear what I said to you?" said Grizzly Bear. After a little while the old woman became angry, (whom) she had asked as she had her back towards her; towards the fire-place she turned around, her awl she seized. "Wherefore do you ask me?" Now Grizzly Bear, for her part, jumped out of the house, then ran to the water. Now she called for a canoe, "Paddle a canoe over here!" she said. Now Crane, indeed, (said), "è!" and he stretched his own leg across, his own leg he gave her. Now she walked on top of it. And she scratched his leg with her claws, got to be in the middle of the water. "e!" (exclaimed Crane). Now Crane turned his leg to one side, and Grizzly Bear died, Crane threw her into the water. But formerly Black Bear's children had escaped by just passing over Crane's leg.

14. EAGLE AND THE GRIZZLY BEARS.

There were Crane and his son Eagle. Every day Eagle was wont to go out hunting, much venison (he brought home), deer he used to kill. Now a long time elapsed; in all the mountains he went out hunting, and the house was brimful of venison, and pan-like cakes of fat Crane used to make. Thus he was ever wont to hunt. Everywhere in the mountains he used to hunt, while his father stuffed the baskets with fat. Thus indeed he and his father dwelt, but mother there was none. In every land among the mountains he procured venison, every day he filled the house with fat.

Some time elapsed, and Crane said to his son, "Do not (go) beyond yonder mountain, do not go there." Everywhere he

²All the verb forms up to this point have been inferentials; from here on the narrative makes use of aorists.

dabalníxa la^alê'. "K'adí naga, k'ái ga^aal di 'Wede í'daga he^s'o^umàl wít'am' negés'i?" nagá-ihí^e yulùm, máxa nagà. Miⁱ gelhewéhau cí^euli; bo^u nēxada^e ba^at!lebèt'. Miⁱ yá^e, géhi gini^ek'. Dák's'o^umál ba-iwōk', xam^eályowò^e. ō+ t'ga^a dū; mī^es yaxa wai-iwíⁱ dīp' ō^up' cugwan yeléxda^a labàk'; wa-iwíⁱ dū, yu^ubíⁱ dū, ganát'hi alxíⁱk'. "Ga dí nāk'ik' wíham^eà? ga dí ga^aal 'Wede ge gingàt' nēxik'?" nagá-ihí^e yulùm. Dabalnícaxi gé s'as'iní, alxíⁱk' wa-iwíⁱ. Ganēhi^e bo^u nēxada^e la^alit^ae ge gini^ek', da^eoldíⁱda la^alê'. Agasⁱe "A'nī^e mī^ewa altleyéxi," nagáⁱe yulum^eà, agásⁱe xamk' wa-iwíⁱ miⁱ alt!ayāk'wa. Ganēhi^e sméla^ux des'iníⁱdaⁱ sāk^w. Bá^ahi^eyānk^w, cugunít'gwa ganau gwidík^w sméla^ux; ánīsⁱe alxíⁱk', ganga dīp' ō^up'. Gidí^e hiwili^ue wa-iwíⁱ wá^ada yulùm; bo^u nēxada^e wá^ada wōk'. Ganēhi^e k'ái na^enagáⁱe,² lo^ulagwása^en, wa^ahimísa^en.

Miⁱ nō^u be^e dī^ek'liyí^ek'; ganēhi^e miⁱ haye^wáxda^ada la^alê'¹ xámk' wa-iwíⁱ ópxak'an. Agasⁱe p'eléxa^e wili íxdíⁱl. Ganēhi^e "Gwidí mats!aga^en?" nagáⁱe xámk' wa-iwíⁱ, mī^esga^ehí wa-iwíⁱ. "Ganē has'ugwindē di mats!agá^en? A'lhida^aginá^e. Gwidí mats!agá^en?" nagá-ihí^e gelhewéhana^e. Agásⁱe p'elxá^es hawi k'ebili; dé^edahí abaiye^egwià gelgulúk' ópxak'an. Ganēhi^e nō^u be^e k'liyí^ek' daho^uxà. Ganēhi^e ū'lúk'lit'gwa gadal mats!àk'; ganēhi^e aba-iyewé^e. Miⁱ ligí^e, dīp' ligík^w. Ganēhi^e gwelyá^a-himats!ak', ts!ayàm. Miⁱ máxa^eà "Eⁿ, Eⁿ, Eⁿ, Eⁿ," s'in-t!ayàk'; ánī^e k'ái nagáⁱe wa-iwíⁱ.

¹ Literally, "in front of her nose."

² Literally, "something they-did."

hunted. Then, 'tis said, a long time elapsed. "What did he mean by it, for what reason 'Do not go beyond yonder mountain' did he say to me?" said Eagle, of his father he said it. Now he thought about it, was seated; after a little while he arose. Now he went, right there he proceeded. On top of the mountain he arrived, looked down into the plain. Oh, 'twas a pretty land, and just one girl was digging camass and a burden basket of roots she carried on her back. Pretty was the girl, pretty was her basket-cap, just that kind of (girl) he saw. "So is that what my father meant, for his part? Is it for that reason that he said to me, 'Do not go there?'" said Eagle. For a long time indeed he stood there, looked at the girl. Then when a little while had passed, he went there, close to her he came. Now Eagle for his part, said, "She has not discovered me probably," but the Grizzly Bear girl had already discovered him. Then, 'tis said, arrow shafts he shot before her. She just picked them up, threw the arrow shafts into her basket; but she did not look at him, went ahead digging camass. Closer and closer hastened Eagle to the girl, after a little while he came up to her. Then, 'tis said, they enjoyed themselves, played with each other, talked to each other.

Now the sun was falling down river,³ and now time it became for the elder brothers of the Grizzly Bear girl to return; indeed they went out to war, (lived in) ten houses. Then, 'tis said, "Where am I going to put him?" said the Grizzly Bear girl, just one girl. "Now shall I put him in my basket? He might be discovered. Where am I going to put him?" she said, thinking. Now those that had gone out to war were still absent; before her elder brothers, indeed, she desired to return home. Then the sun was falling down river in the evening. Then, 'tis said, in her own hair she put him, then returned home. Now she came home with her burden, camass she brought home. Then, 'tis said, she put him away in the back of the house, she

³ Rogue river flows west. Hence "up river" (*hinau*) is often used in Takelma as synonymous with east, "down river" (*no*) as synonymous with west.

⁴ Literally, "in-their-returning it-became."

Ganēhi^ε dahō^uxa la^alē[\], miⁱ be^e hawiyá^ε;¹ miⁱ baxá^εm, dayawix baxamàk^w,² da^εol dí^εhiwili^{uε} yawá-ida^ε, "Gí^εa yulum sbéxalt'a mī^εwa nagaīt^εe, wè'k!alk', wè'k!alk'. Yómò, yómò, k'ü^unàx'!"³ nagá-ihí^ε yawá-ida^ε wili ixdīl xàm^k', miⁱ p'elxá^εs yewéida^ε; dugums^{iε} lāp', t'agá^{iε} ha^apxi labák'na^ε. Miⁱ abai-giní^k'. "ī'da dahauxt'gít' ^εit^εe," ga máxa^a nagà, haūx ogoīhi; níxa^as^{iε} "ī'da dak'alt'gít' ^εit^εe; ī'da dado^umt'gít' ^εit^εe," nagà. "ī'da dagwast'gít' ^εit^εe,"⁴ nagáhi^ε máxa, ha^apxi dugum deligiált' máxa. Miⁱ (*noise of greedy swallowing*) gayaū, ha-ugwenyut!uyàt' yap!a gwa^asⁱ. Ganēhi^ε miⁱ yiwin ^εwō'k^{iε} t'óp^xa wá^ada gé yaxa nagá^{iε}, ü'lükⁱ gadal yegwèk^w; al^εit'bá^ak'.

Ganēhi^ε dewénxa la^alē[\], hono^ε p'eléxa^ε wé^εgia-uda^ε. Ganēhi^ε miⁱ lemék^lia-uda^ε he^εnehi baiyeweyàk^w t!it'gwa xamk' wa-iwíⁱ. Ganēhi^ε p!agá^{iε} yulùm dap!á'la-u dū. Ganēhi^ε xuma ^εogoīhi xàm^k' wa-iwíⁱ; ání^ε yap!a gayaū, ā'k^εa dīp' gayaū luxùm, ga ^εā'k^εa gayaū. Ganēhi^ε "A'ndi lyúk!alxde^ε dete!ugùt'? dadák'da^ak'," nagása^εnhi^ε xamk' lomt!ⁱ gūxdagwadī^l. Miⁱ beyán "K'ai nagaīt'p'? s'o^{uε} de^εgwált'gwi'p'anp'," nagá-ihí^ε xamk' wa-iwíⁱ, máxa^a níxa^a nagà. Ganēhi^ε miⁱ alhūyūx yulùm, hawi ^εání^ε habe^εbini la^alē[\]. Miⁱ yeweyak^w cix; wili ^εixdīl, cixs^{iε} dō^umk' ixdīl. Mī^εsga^ε ogoīhi xamk' wa-iwíⁱ, nó^us mī^εs hono^ε ogoīhi; wili ^εixdīl, gas^{iε} mī^εsgawí^ε ogoīhi. "Wede hono^ε yap!a ga-iwàt'p',

¹ Probably for *ha-uyá^ε*, "under-went."

² Literally, "mouth-talking they-came-with-it."

³ It is not at all clear what is meant by this word. It is evidently some epithet of Eagle, as indicated by the "exclusive" suffix *-t'a*. The Grizzly Bears mean that they saw some one shine afar off and took him for Eagle, but then discovered their mistake.

⁴ This is a "story-form," the normal form being *k'winax-*. Compare with the form given in the text the Upper Takelma *k'ü'unàks't'*, "his kin."

hid him. Now her father, for his part, "Eⁿ, Eⁿ, Eⁿ, Eⁿ," did smell him, but nothing said the girl.

Then it became evening and the sun went under. Now they came, talking to one another they came, close they came talking to one another. "I, for my part, did think it was Eagle sbéxalt'a,³ shining, shining. 'Catch up with him, catch up with him, Kinsman!'" said the Grizzly Bears of ten houses talking with each other as now, having gone out to war, they returned. And babies they carried, and the children cried as they carried them. Now they went into the houses. "Ecce [10] tibi vulvam," id patri suo dixerunt, vulvam ei dederunt. At matri suae "Ecce tibi penem, ecce tibi testes," dixerunt. "Ecce tibi intestina," patri suo dixerunt; infantes patri suo ut ederet dederunt. Now they ate them swallowing them down greedily, the intestines of people they gobbled down. Now then, 'tis said, he who was without speech to his elder sister, right there did proceed, and in her hair he bit, but she struck him.

Then, 'tis said, the next day came, and again, when it dawned, they went out to war. Now then, when they had all departed, just then the Grizzly Bear girl took out her husband. Then Eagle, the handsome youth, did bathe. Then food the Grizzly Bear girl gave to him; she, for her part, did not eat people—camass she ate and manzanita, that did she, for her part, eat. Then, 'tis said, "Are not L-your teeth sharp? Sharpen them!" said old man Grizzly Bear and his wife to each other. Now their daughter, "What did you say? Take care of yourselves!" said the Grizzly Bear girl, to her father and mother she said it. Now then, 'tis said, Eagle went out to hunt. Not yet had it become noon, and he returned with venison; there were ten houses, so ten deer he had killed. One he gave to the Grizzly

³Each syllable in this sentence is pronounced heavily and by itself. It is evidently desired to convey an idea of the lumbering ungainliness of the grizzly bears.

⁴It was not found possible to ascertain just what -t'gít' ⁴íit'e⁴ means. The da- [11] in *dahaux-* (-k'al-, -dowm-, -gwas-)t'gít' means probably "in mouth, for eating." These sentences are pronounced with the clumsiness noted above.

ĩ'łtslak^w. A'ga yaxa gàip' cìx. 'Mi' alguxwidám wōk',¹ nát'ba². Wede hono³ yap!a gwa^sĩ ga-iwàt'p'," nagá-ihĩ⁴ xamk' wa-iwĩ, níxa ga nagà; nó^swi⁵ aldĩl ga nagà mologolā'p'ak!an lomt!ĩ wĩli 'ixdĩ'l aldĩ gu^xgwàt'.

Gas'ĩ⁶ aga^a k'abáxak!an ga p'eléxa⁷ be^wĩ⁸; agas'ĩ⁹ wa-iwĩ yowó^{da} deyéhal wili mĩ^{sga} ganàu, lomt!ĩ gũxdagwadĩ'l, gasi¹⁰ dap!ála-u gā'plini, ga mĩ^{sga}n³ yiwin wō'k'ĩ¹¹ t!os'ót'a^a. Ganēhi¹² k'ái na^{nagá}, cìx gayawaná¹³ bē. Ganēhi¹⁴ mi' be ha-uyaná¹⁵gulugwana¹⁶ ts!ayàm t!it'gwa xamk' wa-iwĩ, mi' p'élxa^sà yèūguluk'; mi' daho^uxa la^{lē}. Ganēhi¹⁷ mologolā'-p'ak!an lomtli^{lā}'p'ak!an xumú^k' pliyin yámxda^a gayawaná¹⁸ be^{wa}dĩ,⁴ habe^{bini} ligik^w cix^à yolòm.

Ganēhi¹⁹ yewé²⁰ p'elxá^s; yawá²¹, "Gi²²a ga mĩ²³wa nagái-t'e^{hìs}, wek!àk', wek!àk'," nagá-ida²⁴. "Gas'ĩ 'K'ú^{nax} yomo' nagáⁿ, wiⁱⁿ yaxa la^{lē}," nagá-ihĩ yawá-ida²⁵. Abai-giní^k, ha^{apxis}'ĩ²⁶ yot'ĩ^{hi} ligik^w. "ĩ²⁷da dadō^{umt}'gít' 'it'e²⁸," níxa ga nagà. "ĩ²⁹da hahaux³⁰ denit'gít' it'e³¹. ĩ³²da dahapxĩ-t'gít' it'e³³."—"Háwi bo^u ne ga-iwán dewénxa." Gwél-yaxamats!àk', agás'ĩ³⁴ be^{wa}dĩ yàm^x gayawaná³⁵. Ganēhi³⁶ dewénxa la^{lē}, hono³⁷ p'eléxa³⁸. Ganēhi³⁹ yap!a hé^{ileme}'k'; bo^ugwan⁷ ya^{niáuda}hì dihaūxa t!it'gwa baiyeweyàk^w. Ganēhi⁴⁰ p!agá⁴¹ yulùm dap!ālálá-u. Ganēhi⁴² he^{ne} yá^{hi} xuma ogoĩhi t!it'gwa. "Yū^k'alxde⁴³ mi' dì 'ánĩ⁴⁴ k'ài? dadák'da⁴⁵k'," nagása^{nhi} mologol t!it'gwadĩ'l. "K'ái naga-ìt'p'? có⁴⁶ de^{gwált}'gwi'p'," nagáhi⁴⁷ níxa máxa xamk' wa-iwĩ. "Haxiyá gūp' gwās,

¹ Literally, "now to-our-heart it-has-arrived."

² That is, when given the disgusting food as customarily.

³ So heard, perhaps incorrectly, for *mĩ^{sga}*.

⁴ Literally translated, this word seems to mean "day its-body, *i. e.*, whole extent."

Bear girl, one also he gave next door; there were ten houses, so that one to each he gave. "Do not again eat people, it is bad. Just eat this venison. 'Now we are satiated,' shall you say.² Do not again eat the intestines of people," said the Grizzly Bear girl, to her mother that she said; in every neighboring house to all the old women that she said, the old men in all the ten houses being wived.

Now these sons of theirs, for their part, those did go out to war every day; and where the girl was there were five,—the old man and his wife, then two youths, of those one being without speech, the smallest one. Then, 'tis said, they enjoyed themselves, eating venison all day. Now then, when the sun was about to go under, the Grizzly Bear girl hid her husband, and those that had gone out to war, for their part, were about to return. Now it became evening. Then, 'tis said, the old women and the old men were full, having eaten the fat of deer the livelong day, (for) at noon Eagle had brought home venison indeed.

Then returned those that had gone out to war. They talked to one another, saying, "I, for my part, did think it must be that one, shining, shining. Thereupon 'Kinsman, catch up with him!' I said to him, but it turned out to be a different one," said they, talking to one another. They went into the houses, and live children they brought home. "Ecce tibi testes," id matri suae dixerunt. "Ecce tibi vulvam, [12] mammas. Ecce tibi infantes," (id patri suo dixerunt). "Well, in yet a little while I'll eat it tomorrow." They just put them down in the back of the house, as they had been eating fat the livelong day. Then, 'tis said, the next day came, and again they went out to war. Then people they destroyed. Just as soon as they had gone away, after that she took out her husband.

² Why *ha-* is here used instead of *da-* it is not quite easy to say; *ha-*, "in," and *haux* may well be etymologically connected. *-t'git'* seems to be understood with *hahaux*.

³ *dē-*, not *da-*, because of following palatal vowel.

⁴ Presumably compounded of *bo^u* and *ganⁱ*.

⁵ Singular imperative in form, though logically plural.

wede honó^é ga-iwàt'p','' nagáhi^é mologolā'p'ak!an lomtlii-lā'p'ak!an.

Ganēhi^é mi' hono^é alhūyūx yulūm. Habe^ébini la^alē, mi' honó^é ligik'^w ixdīl cīx mahmī. Ganēhi^é hono^é watlīlik'ni mī^ésga^éwi^é ogoīhi. "Gá yap!a ga-iwank' cīx," nagá-ihī^é xamk' wa-iwí'. "Wede honó^é yap!a ga-iwàt'p' lik'wi^é,"¹ nagá-ihī^é xamk' wa-iwí', mologolā'p'ak!an lomtlii'lā'p'ak!an ga nagà. Agás'i^é hō^uxà ligigwaná^é yap!a do^umál haūxda^a gwās nì, ga klulsát'a^a deligiált' yū'k'alx wák'í^é. Ganēhi^é hono^é yewé^é; mi' daho^uxa la^alīt'a^é agás'i^é wa-iwí' mi' ts!ayàm t!it'gwa. Ganē yewé^é p'elxá^és mena dap!ā'la-ut'an.

"Gí^éà yulum sbéxalt'a ge mī^éwa nagáit'e^é," nagá-ihī^é yawá-ida^é. Ganēhi^é "Yo^umo k'ú^unax," nagá-ihī^é yawá-ida^é, "Wék!alk', wék!alk', nagá-ida^é, wi^éín yaxa la^alē'," nagá-ihī^é. Ganēhi^é abagainí^ék'. "í'da hamī dahaūxt'gít' it'e^é; í'da hindē dado^umt'gít' it'e^é, í'da dak'ált'gít' it'e^é," nagá-ihī^é, níxa gwās ogoīhi. "Dewénxa ga-iwán, be^éwa^adī yōk!a^a ts!adadánda^é ga xumū^ugwá^én," nagá-ihī^é mologolā'p'a t!it'gwadī'l; gwāshi gwél-yaxa-mats!àk'. Nó^us' gana^énex hono^é máxak!an haūx deligiált'hi, níxak!ans'i^é k'al deligiált'hi dō^um gwās p!ān, ga deligiált'hi. Gwī^éne dí wede deli'gált'k' máxak!an níxak!an; yū'k'alx wák'í^é, ga ga^éal deligiált'hi klulsát' gwās. Ganēhi^é "Bo^u nē ga-iwán dewénxa yo^uk' ts!adadánda^é. Xi² yá^a klemēnda^é, ga u^ugwá^én be^éwa^adī," nagá-ihī^é mologolā'p'ak!an lomtlii'lā'p'ak!an. A'nī^é hono^é gayaū gwās k'al haūx; xamk' wa-iwí' "Wede honó^é ga-iwát'p'," nagá^é; "k'ái^éwa

¹ = *lik'w-gi^é*, conditional of *ligi-gw-*: *lii-gw-*.

Then, 'tis said, the Eagle youth bathed. Now just then she gave food to her husband. "Now have you no teeth? Sharpen them!" said the old woman and her husband to each other. "What did you say? Take care of yourselves!" did the Grizzly Bear girl say to her mother and father. "Into the water throw away the intestines, do not again eat them," said she to the old women and old men.

Now then again Eagle went out to hunt. Noon came, and again he brought home ten big deer. Then again he distributed them, one to each he gave. "That is what people will eat, venison," said the Grizzly Bear girl. "Do not again eat people when they bring them home," said the Grizzly Bear girl, to the old women and old men that she said. But the day before, when they had brought home the testicles and vulvae of people, intestines, and nipples, that soft food had they brought home for them to eat, being without teeth. Then again they returned, and when the evening came, then did the girl hide her husband. Now did return those that had gone out to war, the Bear youths.

"I, for my part, did think it was Eagle sbéxalt'a there," said they, talking to one another. Then, 'tis said, "'Catch up with him, Kinsman!'" said they, talking to one another. "'Shining, shining,' though you said, a different one it turned out to be," they said. Then they went into the houses. "Ecce, [13] pater, tibi vulvam. Ecce, mater, tibi testes, ecce tibi penem," dixerunt; matri suae intestina dederunt. "Tomorrow I shall eat it; since I munched their bones the livelong day, therefore I am satiated," said the old women and their husbands; the intestines, indeed, they just put down in the back of the house. In the neighboring houses also they thus brought vulvae to their fathers for food, but to their mothers they brought penises as food, testicles, intestines, and livers, that did they bring them as food. How long did they not bring them home for their fathers and mothers to eat? They were without teeth, for that

² Xi, "water," *i. e.*, soup.

ĩ'łtsłak^w. 'Miⁱ xúmu^ugwanàk['], nát[']ba^é," nagá-ihí^é xamk['] wa-iwí^í.

Ganēhi^é miⁱ honó^é yewe^{ie} p'elxá^s, yawá^{ie}, agás^{ié} miⁱ ts'layàm t!ít'gwa yulùm. "Gí^{ie}a yulum sbéxalt'a ga mĩ^éwa nagáit'e^é," nagá-ihí^é yawá-ida^é xamk['] dap!ā'la-ut'an yewéida^é. "Gas^{ié} 'K'ú^unax yomo' nagán, wi^éin yaxa la^alē," nagá-ihí^é, agás^{ié} xamk['] wa-iwí^í da^ale^élāk^w óp^xak!an yawá-ida^é. Miⁱ "Ganē bo^u ne^e dewénxa ga-iwán," naganá^ék^{'i} gwelyá^a-mats!āsga. Ganēhi^é dewénxa la^alit'a^é miⁱ honó^é p'eléxa^é k'abáxak!an. Dīhá-uda miⁱ gwās haxiyá k!ūwū, wiliⁱ ɛixdī^í yap!a gwa^asíⁱ haxiyá k!ūwū; agás^{ié} mena "Gayaū mĩ^éwa," nagá-ihí^s, xamk['] dap!ā'la-ut'an máxak!an gayaū mĩ^éwa. Ganēhi^é miⁱ honó^é p!agá^{ie} yulum dap!ālá-u dīhaūxa. Ganēhi^é xuma ogoīhi, ba-idéhene^én.

Ganēhi^é miⁱ honó^é alhūyūx; ixdīl honó^é t!omōm cīx, hábe^ebini ligik^w. Ganēhi^é wat!ilík'ni nó^s' aldī^l wiliⁱ mĩ^és-ga^éwí^é. Ganēhi^é lomt'í^lā'p'ak!an mologolā'p'ak!an k'ái na^é-nagá^{ie}, cīx gayawaná^é, yàm^x gayawaná^é; ání^é hono^é yap!a gayaū. Wiliⁱ mĩ^ésga^é ganàu dēhal, nó^s'hì gā^ép!inì lomt'í^í gūxdagwadī^l, wiliⁱ ɛixdīl gā^émwi^é ganàu; gá yulum do^umia gelgulugwán p'eléxia-uda^é. Gas^{ié} yewéida^é "Yulum sbéxalt'a mĩ^éwa nagáit'e^é," nagá-ihí^é, gana^énéx yawá^{ie}. "'Wék!alk['], wék!alk['], nagá-ida^é gas^{ié} ga^éal k'ú^unax 'Yomo,' nagán; yap!a wi^éin yá^a la^alē.'" Gáhi nagá^{ie} xamk[']. Gwĩ^éné la^alē; hemdí wede p'elxàk'? xā^énewí^é hāpxi ligik^w. Ganēhi^é gwāss^{ié} be^éwí^é ligik^w; gwĩ^éne dí wede lík^w? Ganē[']hi^é gwĩ^éné la^alē, miⁱ

reason did they bring home for them soft food to eat, intestines. Then, 'tis said, "Well, soon I shall eat it tomorrow, for I have been munching bones. Just soup having made, that did I drink the livelong day," said the old women and old men. No longer did they eat intestines, penises, vulvae. The Grizzly Bear girl had said, "Do not eat them again, it is evil, bad. 'Now we are satiated,' shall you say," said the Grizzly Bear girl.

Now then again, 'tis said, did return those that had gone out to war, and now she hid her husband Eagle. "I, for my part, did think that was Eagle sbéxalt'a," said the Grizzly Bear youths, talking to one another as they returned. "Thereupon 'Kinsman, catch up with him!' was he told, but a different one it turned out to be," they said, while the Grizzly Bear girl did hear her elder brothers as they talked to one another. Now "Well, soon now shall I eat it tomorrow," were (the old people) wont to say, down in the back of the house they always just put them. Then, when the next day came, now again did their sons go out to war. And behind their backs they threw the intestines into the water, the ten houses¹ did throw the intestines of the people into the water, but the bears did think, "They're probably eating them;" the Grizzly Bear youths (did think about) their fathers that probably they were eating them. Now then again, 'tis said, the Eagle youth bathed after they had left. Then she gave him food, and he finished eating.

Now then again he went out to hunt; again ten deer he killed, and brought them home at noon. Then he distributed them to all the neighboring houses, one to each house. Then the old men and the old women enjoyed themselves, eating venison, eating fat; no longer they ate people. In one house there were five, but next door there were two and the old man and his wife, in the ten houses there were two each; that Eagle was it intended to kill when they went out to war. And then, when they returned, "Eagle sbéxalt'a I thought it was," they said, thus they talked to one another. "'Shining, shining,' since you

¹ That is, the old people of the ten houses.

hono^é p'elxá^s yá^é wé^égia-uda^é, agás^{ié} daho^uxa ligilá^ék¹ xamk' yap'la.

Ganēhi^é hono^é miⁱ alhūyūx yulūm, hono^é habe^ébini yewé^é; ixdi^l cix pliyin ligik^w, ixdi^l t'omomaná^é ga^éaldil lāp'. Gas^{ié} aga mologolā'p'ak!an lomtli'lā'p'ak!an yap!a gwa^acíⁱ haxiya yá^a k!ūwū^éauk'; áni^é hono^é gayaū k'ál haūx nì gwās hāpxì plān, cix gayaū, yámx gayaū. Ganēhi^é dahō^uxa la^alē hayēūxda^ada ópxak!an he^éne ts!ayaīm t!it'gwa xamk' waiwí. Ganēhi^é miⁱ hono^é daho^uxà yewé^é. "Gí^éa yulum sbéxalt'a mī^éwa nagáit^éhis, gas^{ié} ga^éal k'ú^unax 'Yomò,' nagá^én," nagá-ihí^é yawá-ida^é. "'Wék!alk', wék!alk', nagá-ida^é, yap!a wí^éin yaxa la^alē.'"—"í^éda dādo^umt'gít' it^éé, ída dak'alt'gít' it^éé."—"í^éda dahauxt'gít' it^éé, hamí; í^éda denit'gít' it^éé," nagáhi^é maxa. Ganēhi^é gwelmatslák' yaxà. "Dewénxa ga-iwán," nagá-ihí^é mologolā'p'ak!an lomtli'lā'p'ak!an, nó^swi^é ga nagá^é, aldil wili^éixdil.

Ganēhi^é miⁱ t!ayàk'; miⁱ dāgulùk'. "Gwidí^é na^énagá^é eme^é? áni gayaū; ge^éa gaya-u dì? Agáhi^é ligigwanagám áni^é gayaū; gé^éa gaya-u dì?"—"Hít', áni^é gayaū," nó^swi^é dak'-dahālsa^én. Ganēhi^é wa-iwíⁱ wiliⁱ ganàu ge hono^é de^éwiliwiá^ué, "Gé^éa gaya-u dì?"—"Hit'. Agáhi^é honōx k'ū^unax t'ópxa^a

¹Observe that the usitative or frequentative form of the intransitive verb *ligi-* "come home (with game)" is *ligilag-*, while the corresponding form of its comitative derivative *ligigw-* "fetch home (game)" is *liwihagw-*.

said, for that reason was Kinsman told, 'Catch up with him!' but a different person it turned out to be." Just that the Grizzly Bears said. A long time elapsed. When did they not go out to war? and sometimes they brought home children. And then intestines they brought home every day. How often did they not bring them home? Now, 'tis said, a long time elapsed, and again they who went out to war did go off when it dawned, and in the evening the Grizzly Bears were wont to bring home people.

Now then again did Eagle go out to hunt, again at noon he returned; ten deer he brought home—having killed ten, all of those he carried on his back. Now these old women and old men always threw away the intestines right into the water, not again did they eat penises, vulvae, nipples, intestines, children, livers, but venison they ate, fat they ate. Then in the evening came the time of the returning of the elder brothers, then the Grizzly Bear girl always hid her husband. Now then again, 'tis said, in the evening they returned. "I, for my part, did think it must be Eagle sbéxalt'a, so for that reason to Kinsman 'Catch up with him!' I said," said they, talking to one another. "Shining, shining,' since you said, but a different person it turned out to be."—"Ecce tibi testes, ecce tibi penem," [14] (matri suae dixerunt). "Ecce tibi vulvam, pater, ecce tibi mammas." Then, 'tis said, they just put them down in the back of the house. "Tomorrow I shall eat it," said the old women and old men, in every neighboring house they said that—all the ten houses.

Now then, 'tis said, they found it out, now they were about to find it out. "What's happening here? They do not eat it. Have they been eating it over there? These that we brought home they did not eat. Have they been eating it over there?"—"No, they have not eaten it," they answered one another from house to house. Then into the girl's house, there also they shouted, "Have they been eating it over there?"—"No. The other day this Kinsman to his elder sister, right there he went and in her hair he bit," they said. "And Eagle is always bring-

wá^ada ge yexa¹ nagá^{ie}, ū'lúk!iⁱ gadál yegwèk^w," nagá-ihí^e. "Ganē yulúmsⁱ ligilá^k cix liwílhôk^w, gasⁱ gayawaná^e aní^e honó^e yap!a gayaū," nó^ssⁱ honó^e ga nagá^{ie}. Wa-iwí^s aní^e yiwiyá^{ue}. "Yulum sbéxalt^{as} gasⁱ ligilá^k, cix gayaikⁱ, gasⁱ ga^{al} aní^e do^mál yap!a gayaū," nagása^{nhi}.

Ganēhi^e dewénxa la^{lit}'a^e miⁱ hono^e p'eléxa^e. Ganēhi^e lemé^x, miⁱ da^ólt'i aní^e da^máxau lemé^x. Miⁱ yok!oí hānx-dagwan guxwí, wílihi xa^{alt}!anáhi.² Ganēhi^e lemék!ia-uda^hi he^{ne} t!ít'gwa baiyeweyàk^w. Miⁱ haxiyá giní^k, p!agá^{ie} yulùm. Miⁱ ^{alt}!ayàk'. "Sⁿi ma^a nagásbinda^e, ga ga^{al} aní^e yap!a gayaū nagásbinda^e," miⁱ yawá^{ie}, gá ganau gehi dák't!emēx. "Yumú^k he^{ne}," nagánhi^e yiwin wó^k'i^e, gáhi hogwá^sda^a; "wede gūxdagwa wá^ada wòk' k!emnat', xā^{win}hi yumú^k," nagánhi^e. Ganēhi^e abaiyewé^{ie} aga^a yulum p!agá-ida^e. Ganēhi^e xuma ogoíhi xamk' wa-iwí, geyewèlx³ t!ít'gwadíl; aga^a xamk' wa-iwí aní^e yap!a gayaū, dīp' gaya-u ā^k'èà. Ganēhi^e ba-idehenéⁿ.

"Ganē alhūyūxde^e," nagá^{ie}, agásⁱ xamk' wa-iwí yok!oí ópxak!an ho^xasⁱ "Yulumsⁱ cix liwílhôk^w," ga nagá-ida^e. "Ganē s'ó^e ūlúk!i^t t'bā^k!amt'," nagáhi^e t!ít'gwa xamk' wa-iwí. "Me^{ye}wá^k he^{ne}, wede gwidát' hiwilwàt'," nagáhi^e t!ít'gwa. Ganē yá^e als^omal yulùm; agási^e xámk' ga nagá^{ie}, "Da^máxau gingá^t. ō' yewē da^òl xebe^yagwanagám, gūxdagwa yewē wá^ada hiwí^{ue}," nagá-ihí^e xámk'. Ganēhi^e da^máxau la^{lit}'a^e, ganí "K'ūⁿnax yumú^k he^{ne}," nagáhi^e. Ganēhi^e miⁱ sgelewált', "Bā + bā +."⁵ Gwendák'alyewé^{ie} gūxdagwa wá^ada, abaisⁱ xamk' wa-iwí miⁱ ĩk!u^mánk'wa, seⁿsíxdagwa t'bá^agamt', máxla dī^{alk}'á^p'gwa. Dák'wiliⁱ

¹ For *yaxa*.

² Literally, "they between-eye-held it."

³ So heard for *geyewàlx*, intransitive form of *gayau*.

ing home game, deer he is always bringing home, so that eating that they no longer eat people;" and next door also they said that. But the girl did not speak. "So Eagle sbéxalt'a is always bringing home game, and venison they always eat, so that for that reason they eat not the testicles of people," they said to one another.

Then, when the next day came, now again they went out to war. Then they all departed; now near by, not far away, they departed. Now her brothers' hearts she knew, the house indeed they watched.² Then, just when they had departed, then her husband she took out. Now into the water he went, Eagle bathed. Now they discovered him. "S-didn't I tell you, for that reason they have not been eating people, I told you?" Now they talked to one another; for that reason right there they were assembled together. "You shall catch up with him then," he who was without speech was told, just that one was their runner. "Do not let him come to his wife, catch up with him half way," he was told. Then, 'tis said, this Eagle, for his part, returned to the house when he had bathed. Then food the Grizzly Bear girl gave him, she and her husband ate; this Grizzly Bear girl, for her part, did not eat people, camass did she, for her part, eat. Then, 'tis said, they finished eating.

"Now I'll go out hunting," he said, but the Grizzly Bear girl knew that yesterday her elder brothers "So Eagle has been bringing home venison," that were saying. "Now tie your hair tight,"⁴ said the Grizzly Bear girl to her husband. "Then back you shall come, do not run off anywhere," she said to her husband. Then to the mountains went Eagle. But the Grizzly Bears that did say, "Far off let him go. Oh, should we perchance do away with him near by, to his wife perchance he runs," said the Grizzly Bears. Then, 'tis said, when far away he had gone, then "Kinsman, catch up with him!" then they said to him. Now then, 'tis said, they shouted to him,

⁴This is a sign of preparation for combat.

⁵Held out long in a loud whisper.

ba^agini^ék'. Sgelewált', "Yomò, yomò, k'ü'ünax," yiwin wò'k'í^é ga hog^{wá}s, ts!a-uyá^s. Ganēhi^é dīhá-uda ganga dí'da t!anáhi. Ganēhi^é gūxdagwa wá'da wòk', dīnt'gwa igwidigwát' t!ít'gwa. Ganēhi^é yiwin wò'k'í^éa wòk'. "Gwendesgí'bi'n," nagá-i^éhis xamk' wa-iwíⁱ; wāxa ba-iyowòn, albe^e yá^a t!eyé^s.

Ganēhi^é wiⁱn wòk', gwendesgí'p'; mī^és honó^é wòk', gwendesgí'p'; gwendesgip!ísgap' he^edelemé^ék' óp^xak!an. Abai^éwayewēnhi, máxa níxa gwendesgip!ísgap'; nó^us' gini^ék', hono^é gés'i^é honó^é gwendesgip!ísgap', he^edelemé^ék'; wili ^éixdī'l mologolā'p'ak!an lomt!i'lā'p'ak!an bús' k!emēi. Ganēhi^é ā'ida^éxì yá^a heyé^x t!ít'gwadī'l. Ganēhi klixíxa^é, he^eilemē^ék'; ganē alxalī t!ít'gwadī'l.

Ganēhi^é dabalníxa la^alē', áni^é honó^é alhūyūx yulùm, wiláu yaxa k!emēi. He^edadá^é yulum máxa^a yok!oī gwi k'abáxa^a ci^éulít'a^é. "Hop!è^éns'i^é 'Wéde ge gingàt',' nagá^én," nagá-ihí^é mēx, k'abáxa nagá. Ganēhi^é dabalníxa la^alē'. Miⁱ yámx k!oloī dūlū^{ut}!alhi, sbedésbat'hi. Miⁱ yá^é; ge gini^ék' k'abáxa wá'da mēx, wili de^éisé^ék!ik^{w2} ganau alxalī yulum gūxdagwadī'l. "ō+ wihàm," nagá-ihí^é yulùm. "K'ai naga-ít'?" nagá-ihí^é mena wa-iwíⁱ. "Wíham,' nagaít'e^é," nagá-ihí^é yulùm. "Gwidís'i^é gí^éà wihàm? gwídí gí^éà wí^éwā? gwídí gí^éà wí^éobíhan^éà?" nagá-ihí^é xamk' wa-iwíⁱ. "Gwidí wihín^éà? gwídí wihámhan^éà?" Dayowó^{uc}sda^éhi ba-igini^ék', gwendesgí'p'; k!oloī yá^a gwen^éwat'geits'!ik'wa gwendesgí'binma^é mēx. Abaiyewé^é, yulum^éa ált'gí'yálx. "Gwidí naⁿnaga-ít'?" nagáhi^é

¹ White war paint. Hence the spot of white nowadays on the foreheads of grizzly bears.

"Bā+ bā+!" Back towards his wife he returned, and the Grizzly Bear girl now was ready for them inside, tied her hair up, dust on her forehead she clapped.¹ Up on top of the house she went, they shouted to him, "Catch up with him, catch up with him, Kinsman!" He who was without speech, that one was the runner, the fast runner. Then, 'tis said, right behind him he almost caught up with him. Then to his wife he came, behind her she pushed her husband. Then he who was without speech, for his part, did arrive. "His neck I'll cut," thought the Grizzly Bear girl; she missed her younger brother, right up to the sun he flew.

Then, 'tis said, another one arrived, his neck she cut; one again did arrive, his neck she cut; she cut all their necks, her elder brothers she annihilated. She went back into the house to her father and mother, and cut their necks; next door she went and also there again cut their necks, annihilated them; the old women and the old men of the ten houses she did away with. Then, 'tis said, just they alone were left, she and her husband. Then, 'tis said, she finished, she had annihilated them. Now they dwelt, she and her husband.

Then a long time elapsed. Not again did Eagle go out hunting, only arrows he made. Way off yonder Eagle's father, for his part, did know where his son was dwelling. "Now long ago I said to him, 'Do not go there,'" said Crane, of his son he said it. Then a long time elapsed. Now a basket tight with fat he filled, in he stuffed it. Now off he went; there to his son did Crane go. In the house with open door was sitting Eagle and his wife. "Oh, my father!" said Eagle. "What did you say?" said the Bear girl. "'My father,' I said," said Eagle. "But where is my father, for my part? Where is my younger brother, for my part? Where are my elder brothers, for my part?" said the Grizzly Bear girl. "Where is my mother, for my part? Where are my fathers, for my part?" Just when she had ceased from her talking, she went out of the house, and

¹ Passive participle of *de^sisēeg-*: *-sēek!*-, "open the door."

t!ít'gwa. "Yelé^ésgwade^é," nagà, yulum dexebéⁿ; yok!oī wala^é t'agá-ida^é.

Ganēhi^é alxalī honó^é, wilau bí!t'agwa debū^uk'i yulūn. Ganēhi^é dabalníxa la^{alē}, dák'wiliⁱ ba^agini^ék'. "Ne^e ba^agél^éyu," naga gūxdagwa. Miⁱ ba^agél^éyowo^é abài, yulums^{ié} dák'wili s'ú^é ūlúk!ixdagwa t'bánam^t, wasgá^ap'hi. Miⁱ yāxa dàn deguxwít'gwa gwidi^kw. "Guxwíⁱ xa^ap!a-itc!iwidiⁿ," nagá-i^éhis. Ganēhi^é miⁱ ts!ayàk' gūxdagwa, aldayá^ahi^t'ga^lt'gàl. Ganēhi^é he^ebilí^u. "He^a! Gwí^ha gingadá^é gánga wayana-gwásbin," nagá-ihi^é miⁱ xamk' wa-iwíⁱ, t!ít'gwa nagà. Ganēhi^é dīda^at'bé^egames. Ganēhi^é ba-igini^ék'; miⁱ wayānk^w t!ít'gwa. "Háu háu háu háu háu," ganaⁿéx yiwiyá^u xamk' wa-iwíⁱ. "Wi^obíhan he^eilemék!inda^é al^ewa^adidá^é gwí^ha gingadá^é," nagá-ihi^é. Aⁿī^é dabalníxa la^lit'a^é miⁱ yo^umī; miⁱ ts!ayàk', baxá^m ganga wá^ada. "Gwí^ha gingadá^é ganga it!aūxbin," yiwiyá-uda^é xamk' wa-iwíⁱ, yulums^{ié} anī^é yiwiyá^u, ts!ayák' yaxa; ís^{ié} ts!ayàk', ánī^é t!omōm gūxdagwa. Miⁱ wiláut'a^a hēngulúk'; miⁱ yomók'wagulúk' xamk' wa-iwíⁱ yiwiyá-uda^é, "Gwí^ha gingadá^é." Miⁱ wiláut'a^a búc la^{alē}, mī^ésga^é yá^a heyé^x; agás^{ié} miⁱ ū'luk!ⁱ ba-igwá^s yulum^éà.

Miⁱ it!aūg^wulúk'; dō^uk'ⁱ¹ p'ùn ba^awagéxa^é gadàk' yulūm. Lasálhi^t'bá^ak. "Tclí'yàt'^k, tclí'yàt' k', tclí'yàt'^k!² xa^asálda guxwí^éà." Gwénhi^égelk!ⁱyí^ék'. "Xa^asálda gux^wí^éà," nagánhi^é

¹ = *douk'-hi^k*.

² High-pitched. Note that the form *tclí'yàt'^k* is not the normal one; *witc'ai*

cut his neck; right next to the basket lay his head, Crane's neck having been cut. She returned into the house; Eagle, for his part, had tears running down his face. "What are you doing?" she said to her husband. "I am sweating," he said to her, Eagle said so, but she knew really that he was weeping.

Then, 'tis said, again they dwelt together, and Eagle did fill his quiver with arrows. Then a long time elapsed, up on top of the house he went. "Well, lie down belly up!" he said to his wife. Now she lay down belly up in the house, but Eagle on top of the house did tie his hair up tight, tight he made it. Now a flat water-worn rock she thrust on her breast. "Her heart I shall split by shooting down," he thought. Now then he shot at his wife, but it just bounced from her. Then away he rushed. "Heⁿ! Wherever you will go, I shall just follow you," now said the Grizzly Bear girl, to her husband she said it. Then on the sides of her head she tied her hair. Then out of the house she went, now followed her husband. "Háu, háu, háu, háu, háu, háu," thus talked the Grizzly Bear girl. "Since my elder brothers I did annihilate for your sake, wherever you will go, (I shall follow you)," she said. When not a long time had elapsed, then she caught up with him. Now he shot at her, she kept coming towards him. "No matter where you will go, I will just seize you," the Grizzly Bear girl kept talking, but Eagle did not speak, he kept shooting; no matter how much he shot at her, he did not kill his wife. Now his arrows were about to give out, and the Grizzly Bear girl was about to catch up with him as she kept saying, "No matter where you will go!" Now his arrows were all used up. Just one remained; and now Eagle's hair, for his part, was coming loose.

Now she was about to seize him; up on top of a rotten log did Eagle climb, he burst it with his feet. "My nephew, my nephew, my nephew! between her toes is her heart, indeed."

would be the form of ordinary speech, the 1st per. sing. poss. -*t'k'* not being ordinarily employed in terms of relationship.

yulùm. Xa^asálda liwilá^{uc}, ge ³yá^ahi gux^{wí} p!i' degü'lk!alxgi^é na^énagá^{ie}. Mi^{hi} ge ts!ayàk' xa^asálda; xāp!a-it' bá^ak'hi guxwí. "Wā'+^u,"¹ nagá-ihí^é xamk' wa-iwí; mi' t!omōm gūxdagwa. Agas^{ie} ts!amāl baiyugwá^a la^alē', ga malāk'wa "Xa^asálda gux^{wí}," nagaik'wana^é. Gwéldi; bá^abi^ét' lé^p'lap'.

15. CHICKEN-HAWK REVENGES HIMSELF UPON MEDICINE-MEN.²

Wiliⁱ yowò^é, hu^ucú^u k'^elè^p'igik'^{w3} gu^uxgwàt'. Dabalníxa ání^é yok!woi goyò. Ganēhi^é dabalníxa la^alit'a^é k'ai^élā^p'ak!i lohó^é; ganē ā^k'da^éxi la^alē'. Ganēhi^é wayá^é, guxwí xilam la^alē'. "Nék'di xebéⁿ? nék'di gu^uxdèk' lohōn? Nék'asi^é xebéⁿ. Amadí yok!oyáⁿ nek xebénda^é," nagá-ihí^é gelhewéhana^é. Wayá^é; gwí^éne dí wede waik'? "Amadí yok!oyáⁿ nek xebénda^é," nagá-ihí^é; guxwí xilam la^alē', gūxdagwa hasálda⁵ gangáhi gelhewéhana^é. "Amadí yok!oyáⁿ nek xebénda^é," nagá-ihí^é. Gwí^éne la^alē'; hemdí wede waik'? Ganēhi^é gwí^éné kliyí^ék'; bá^at!ebèt'. "K'ái ga^al dí gu^uxdék' lohó^é?" nagá-ihí^é gelhewéhana^é.

Ba-igini^ék'; hā^éya sòm, liwilà^{uc}, mixálha goyo^éà dīda^a-t'bé^ék't'bagames. Miⁱ hono^é adát'ci^é das'o^umàl līūk'.⁶ "Ga dí xēp'k', ga dí gu^uxdék gaik'?" nagá-ihí^é gelhewéhana^é; ání^é nek' wa^ahimìt', ā^k'da^éxi ganaⁿéx gelhewéhau. Ganēhi^é dan wiliⁱ īgīⁿa aba-iyewéida^é. "Ga dí xēp'k' aga^a gūxdek'

¹ A hoarse cry.

² As is shown by this and the following myth Chicken-Hawk plays a rather distinctive part in Takelma mythology. In both he swings aloft his stone knife and cuts the necks of multitudes of his enemies. Against medicine-men (*goyò*) in particular is he supposed to be incensed, so that he is one of the favorite guardian spirits of the *s'omlohólxa*^s. Like Nos. 21 and 22 below it is probable that this myth was recited by the *s'omlohólxa*^s as a medicine-formula against the supernatural workings of the *goyò*.

Back to her he turned. "Between her toes is her heart, indeed," was Eagle told. Between her toes he looked, right there was her heart, as though a fire were glowing. Now there between her toes he shot at her, her heart he burst. "Wā'+u,"¹ said the Grizzly Bear girl; now his wife he had killed. So that the mouse had become his rescuer, that one had told him, "Between her toes is her heart," she telling him. 'Tis finished. Go gather and eat your ba^ap'-seeds.

15. CHICKEN-HAWK REVENGES HIMSELF UPON MEDICINE-MEN.²

A house there was; Chicken-Hawk did have a woman, a wife he had. For a long time he did not know about medicine-men. Then, when a long time had elapsed, his wife did die, and all alone he became. Then, 'tis said, he slept, sick had his heart become. "Who did it? Who caused my wife to die? Somebody indeed did do it. Would that I knew who did it!" he said, thinking. He slept, how long did he not sleep? "Would that I knew who did it!" he said; sick had his heart become, ever thinking of³ his wife. "Would that I knew who did it!" he said. A long time elapsed. How long did he not sleep? Then, 'tis said, a certain time came and he arose. "For what reason did my wife die?" he said, thinking.

Out of the house he went. On either side was a mountain; he looked, medicine-men, indeed, in great numbers had their hair tied on both sides of their heads. Now again on the other side did he look, on top of the mountain. "So those it was that did it, those did eat up my wife?" he said, thinking; to no one he talked, all by himself thus he thought. Then, 'tis

¹So heard for *k'eⁱlè'p'ik'ik'w*, "woman-having, 'bewomaned,'" formed from *k'aⁱláp'a-k'i-*, "woman," by means of suffix *-k'w* with attendant ablaut of *a* to *e*.

²Probably to be explained as *nék'^ea*, "somebody, for his part," with contrasting connective *-si^e*.

³Literally, "in her foot(steps)."

⁴Inferential in form, despite its use in simple narrative.

lohóida[?] nagá-ihí^é gelhewéhana^é. Ganēhi^é "Wíliklisi!"¹
 gwenwayanagānhi,² gwensgut!úsgat. Ganē hono^é adát'si^é
 gahí na^énagà, gwenwayasgut!úsgathi.

Ganēhi^é hā^éya liwilá^{u^é}; gwī^é yap!a alt!ayaginá^é miⁱ hono^é
 gwenweyesgó^{u^é}thi³ aldī yap!a gamáxdí⁴ gá na^énagà. Ganēhi^é
 yap!a hé^éilemé^ék', bús k!emèi. Ganēhi^é ā^ék'da^éxi yá^a. Ganē
 hā^éya liwilá^{u^é}; yáp!a ^éalo^{u^é}dàn, ánī^é k'ài, ánī^é hono^é gwī yap!a
 ba-ikliyí^ék'. Ganēhi^é gwī^éne la^alē^é, dīt'ga^ayú^ék'uma^ada gedát'hi
 alxígin mēl t'ga^a mī^és.⁵ "K'ái ga^éal dì hu^{u^é}cú^{u^é}à gá na^énagà^é?
 k'ái ga^éal dī yap!a gamáxdí bús k!emèi?" nagānhi^é, me^l
 t'ga^a mī^és dexebé^én. "Ne^é go^{u^é}msí^é dáksiní^éda nabá^éhàn,"⁶
 [15] nagá-ihí^é me^l t'ga^a mī^és; ik!u^{u^é}mánk'wan. "Dák'da^ada
 nabá^éhàn," nagá-ihí^é me^l t'ga^a mī^és. Ganēhi^é ge neyé^é
 ba-idé^édínixia^{u^é}. Sgaláuk' naganá^ék'hi hu^{u^é}cú^{u^é}, s'asini.
 "Gwent'ga^abók'danda⁷ tc!ó^{u^é}thi^é yá^a he^éne yá^a xe^ébagwán,"
 nagá-ihí^é gelhewéhana^é.

Hawi ánī^é yap!a hé^éilemé^ék'; ā^ék'da^éxi s'asini, sgaláuk,
 naganá^ék'; háwi yap!a ba-igini^ék', yap!a neyé^éda^é ge nagá^é.
 Ganēhi^é dák'dagwa liwílha^{u^é} ge neyé^éda^é. Gwī^éne la^alīt'a^é
 gwent'ga^abók'danda tc!ó^{u^é}thi; aga yap!a ge nagá-ida^é wayá^asi^é
 emé^é p!eyè^é dasálda. Ganēhi^é bá^ayānk'^w, hé^éne yá^a "Wíliklisi,"
 dák'dagwahì gwenwayasgó^{u^é}t'i, yap!a ne^éyé^éda^é p!a-ikliyí^ék'.
 Ganēhi^é hā^éya wat!emēxia^{u^é}; mé^éyewé^é gwent'ga^abók'danda-

¹ Exact meaning and analysis of form not clear. Presumably connected with *wilíi*, "(stone) knife."

² Literally, "he did to all their necks with his knife."

³ *weye* heard for *waya*.

said, a stone knife he took as he returned into the house. "So those it was that did bring it about that this wife of mine, indeed, did die?" he said, thinking. Then "Wíliklisi!"¹ (saying this), over their necks he swung his knife,² their necks he cut. Then again on the other side that same thing he did to them, with his knife he cut their necks.

Then, 'tis said, on both sides he looked. Wherever he found people, now also their necks he cut with his knife, that to all raw⁴ people he did. Now the people he annihilated, exterminated he made them. Then, 'tis said, just all by himself he was. Then on either side he looked, for people he looked; there were none, nowhere did people come. Then, 'tis said, a long time elapsed; off to the west, right over there were seen the Crows, covering the land.⁵ "For what reason did Chicken-Hawk, for his part, do that? For what reason did he annihilate raw people?" He was spoken of, the Crows covering the land said so. "Well, let us in our turn pass over him,"⁶ said the Crows covering the land, and they prepared themselves. "Over his head let us pass," said the Crows covering the land. Then there, 'tis said, they proceeded, in long rows they flew by. Moving his head slightly from side to side did Chicken-Hawk keep looking, there he stood. "Just when they touch the nape of the earth's neck,⁷ just then shall I put an end to them," said he, thinking.

Not yet did he annihilate the people. All by himself he stood, moving his head slightly from side to side he looked. Still the people were coming, in great number the people passed there. Then, 'tis said, he kept looking above himself as there they passed. When a long time had elapsed, they struck against the nape of the earth's neck; while these people were passing there, his knife lay here at his feet. Then, 'tis said,

¹ That is, such as were not medicine-men, "laymen."

² Literally, "one earth."

³ Literally, "let us all do (or be) over his nose."

⁴ That is, the extreme east.

dàt', dīt'ga^ayók!uma^adadàt' hawi baxá^ém. Ganēhi^é watle-mēxia^{uē} alwa^adī^ada.

Ganēhi^é wa^ahimidán hu^ucú^u mahài. "K'ái ga^{al} dī' gá naⁿnaga-it'? Wede gánaⁿnéx yùk' t'ga^a déhi k- yák'i^é. Wede ganaⁿnéx yùk'," nagánhi^é, s'as'inī, dāle^làk^w; wī^tit'geyé^kklin, haco^u yá^a s'as'inī. "Wa^adīⁱ dū² ba-igināk^{wi}¹ guyù heⁿé do^u-maná^é, bo^us'i^é ánī^é dūwūgàt," nagán. "Yap!a gamáxdi he^éilemék!it'. Goyo géllhogwiáukⁱ³ heⁿe yá^asi^é yap!a gamáxdi p!è^t'⁴ nagánhi^é. "Ganaⁿnéx yó^t' t'ga^a déhi k- yák'i^é," nagánhi^é; dá^ale^làk^w, me^l t'ga^a mí^s dexebéⁿ, ga tclibínk'wa. Nagán ganē, "Bo^us'i^é aga^a gūxde^é gayawaná^é goyò, yap!a aldī he^éilemék!it'; mī^ésga^hì do^u-maná^é goyò." Ganēhi^é ganaⁿnéx t'ga^a ĩk!u^uminín, me^l t'ga^a mí^s xebéⁿ. "Wede honó^é ga naⁿnàt'," nagánhi^é; ánī^é dak'dahāl, yap!a dá^a-yaxa-le^làk^w. "Ganaⁿnéx yó^t' t'ga^a déhi k- yák'i^é, yap!a gāik'i^é. Wedes*i*^é nék' yap!a gamáxdi dō^umk', góyohi yaxa do^u-maná^é," nagánhi^é.

Ganēhi^é lemékli^{uē}, mīⁱ hat'gá^{at}gwa yewé^{ié}, hé^éiwán. Dabalníxa ga naⁿnàk' hu^ucú^u, gas'í^é ga^{al} mēl ba-iginí^ék; yap!a he^éilém^ék'na^é,⁵ gas'í^é aga dīha-u yá^a me^l bá-iginàk⁵, ga ga^{al} yá^a me^l alxí^ék'wók⁵; yap!a he^éilemék!ina^é, gas'í^é aga ga ga^{al} ba-iginí^ék'. Mīⁱ há^{ae}yewé^{ié} aldīl t!omománma^é; hánt' me^l hé^éilemék!in, gas'í^é aga gá ga^{al} ts'libin. Há^{ae}dàt' mé^éyewe^{ié}, no^udát's'i^é mé^égini^ék', gas'í^é aga heⁿe alt!emēxia^{uē}; heⁿe ga

¹ Literally, "if he should go out having him." The text form is the conditional comitative of *ginig-*: *gin(a)g-*.

² In other words, "with one of good conduct, one that has done no ill."

he took it up; just then "Wilik!isi!" (saying this), right over himself he cut their necks with his knife, and the people fell down in great numbers. Then, 'tis said, from either side they were coming crowded together; hither they were returning from the east, still they were coming from the west. Then, 'tis said, they were assembled together all about him.

Then great Chicken-Hawk was spoken to. "For what reason did you do that? Not thus shall it be when the world goes on. Not thus will it be," he was told; he stood, listened. On all sides was he surrounded, right in the middle he stood. "Should he do away with¹ one whose body is good,² then the medicine-man shall be killed, but now you did not do well," he was told. "Raw people you have destroyed. Should they take revenge for³ a medicine-man, then indeed shall raw people lie down,"⁴ he was told. "Thus shall it be when the world goes on," he was told. He listened to them, the Crows covering the land said so, that speech they addressed to him. Then he was told, "But now since the medicine-men did eat up just this wife of yours, all the people did you destroy. Just the medicine-men alone are to be killed." Then thus the world was fixed, the Crows covering the land did so. "Do not again do that," he was told; he did not answer them, to the people he kept listening. "Thus will it be when the world goes on, when people grow up. And no one shall slay raw people, just medicine-men only shall be slain," was he told.

Then, 'tis said, they all went off, now back to their land they returned, and he was left behind. For a long time had Chicken-Hawk done that, so that for that reason the Crows did come; as he had been destroying the people, therefore did these Crows come last of all, just for that reason the Crows did see him; as the people he had been destroying, thereupon these for that reason did come. Now yonder they all returned, after they had

¹ Literally, "if they should breast-die having him."

² "They shall lie down," euphemistic for "they shall lie slain."

³ Observe the explanatory inferentials.

nagán aga ^éaltlemēxia-uda^é. Gasí^é ga ga^éal ání^é yap!a gamáxdi t!omóamdan, góyo yaxa t!omomán; gasí^é goyo gellohoigwánma^é ga ga^éal yap!a gamáxdi t!omomán. Gweldì, ba^abi^t l^ép'lap'.

16. THE FOUR OTTER BROTHERS AND CHICKEN-HAWK.

Búmxi gamgám t'awāxagan mī^ésga^é, ga t!amayán hu^ucú^u wá^ada; da^éaná^a siwô'k'di yùk', gasi^é wá^ada giní^ék', t!emeyaná^ué. Ganēhi^é gwī^éne la^alē', yá^é yá^é yá^é. Géhi lap'ō^u gwān ganàu hansgó^us,¹ t!obagàsk'.² "Hené!" A'nī^é ba^adēp'k'.² Hansó^ué-k'ōp'k'.² dayút'a^a, hé^éda^ada lap'ō^u. Mī^éshi hono^é yiwiyá^ué, "Hené!" A'nī^é ba^at!ebèt'. Ganēhi^é wa-iwī hono^é hans'ó^ué-k'ōp'k'.² Ganēhi^é hono^é mī^és, "Hené! ge nagáit'e^é." A'nī^é witclim^é, ^éī's'is'í^é ga nagàn. Ganēhi^é mī^és hono^é yiwiyá^ué, "Hené! ge nagáit'e^é." Lohót' na^énex pleyé^é; ání^é wī'tclim^é.

Ganēhi^é mī^ésga^é heyé^éx. "Héne! ge nagáit'e^é," ^éī's'í^é ga nagá^é. Mī ts'!íní'ts!anx yap!a di^éwā'nsgít'a^a, ga ga nagá^é, ganē ts'!íní'ts!anx. "Ganī k'ádi ání^é wī'tclimàt'?" Mī gadák' ts'!ā'k'ts!a^ék'; he^éne yá^a "He+,"³ nagá-ihí^é lap'ō^u, yiwiyawá^és yùk'; ge nagá^é. "He+,"³ gwent'ga^abók'danda ginigát'ba^é, witclá-ihan, he^éīlé^émxanbank', nagá-ihí^é, lap'ō^u ga nagá^é. Ganēhi^é ga nagá-ida^é wa-iwī guxwíⁱ xilam la^alē'.

¹ Probably misheard for *hansgó^usk'*, inferential of *hansgó^us* = *han-sgó^ud-x-*. Literally translated it means "he cut (intr.) across."

been slain; half the Crows had been destroyed, therefore these for that reason did address him. From off yonder they had returned hither, while from down river they were coming, so that these were then crowded together; at that time was he told that, when they here were crowded together. Now for that reason are raw people never slain, only medicine-men are slain; but when medicine-men are avenged, for that reason are raw people slain. 'Tis finished. Go gather and eat your ba^ap'-seeds.

16. THE FOUR OTTER BROTHERS AND CHICKEN-HAWK.

There were four Otters and one younger sister of theirs; that one to get married they took to Chicken-Hawk. A chieftain, I guess, he was, so that to him they went, with her they went to get her married. Then a long time elapsed. They went, they went, they went. Right there in the trail a snake lay across, lay as though dead. "Away!" He did not stir. The oldest jumped over him, there ahead of him was the snake. And one again did say, "Away!" He did not stir. Then again the girl jumped over him. Then one again (did say), "Away! I'm going there." He did not move, no matter how many times he was told that. Then one again did say, "Away! I'm going there." Like dead he lay, he did not move.

Then one was left. "Away! I'm going there," over and over again he said that. Now the youngest person became angry, that one did say that, and angry he became. "Now why do you not move?" Now on top of him he stepped; just then "He+!"² said the snake; he was capable of speech, as it seemed. There he passed. "He+!"³ To the east when you go, my nephews, they will destroy you," he said, the snake said that. Then, when he had said that, the heart of the girl became sick.

² Inferential forms.

³ Pronounced in a hoarse whisper.

Ganē yá^é, ba^adé^éyeweyagwán, ya^aniyá^u^é. Ganēhi^é wa-iwíⁱ t'agá^{ié}, t'agá-ida^é, "ā+, wī^éobihán ye^éwá^t't wísa^m," t'agá^{ié}, ganaⁿéx t'agá-ida^é, "Wī^éobíhan ye^éwá^t't wísa^m, ga nagánma^é; 'Wits!aihan, he^éilé^émxbink',¹ nagánma^é." Ganēhi^é yá^é, gwis'íwôk'di wôk'ia^u^é wíli ^éixdī'l. Miⁱ bómxi t!emyánwa^s ba-ik!iyí^k'k'. Wíli debínhi ha^éik!u^uminín; gé nagá^{ié}. Mī^{'s} honó^é wíli ha^éik!u^uminín; ge nagá^{ié}. Mī^{'s} hono^é wíli ha^éik!u^uminín; gé nagá^{ié}. Míⁱ wíli xíbini dák'yānk'^w. Hono^é mī^{'s} wíli ha^éik!u^uminín, dák'yānk'^w; miⁱ wíli gamgám dák'yānk'^w. Mī^{'s} hono^é ha^éik!u^uminín; miⁱ hono^é dák'yānk'^w. Ganēhi^é hono^é mī^{'s} hono^é ha^éik!u^uminín wíli; miⁱ hono^é dák'yānk'^w. Míⁱ wíli ha^éimí^s dák'yānk'^w. Míⁱ hono^é dák'yānk'^w. Mī^{'s} hono^é ha^éik!u^umàn; miⁱ hono^é dák'yānk'^w. Ganēhi^é mī^{'s} hono^é ha^éik!u^uminín; miⁱ wíli ha^éigó dák'yānk'^w.

Ganēhi^é wíli aga debín ga^é yá^ahi ganau abaiginigiá^u^é. Míⁱ guxwí datslā'mx wíli ha^éigó yap!à, ulums'í^é "Go^um mī^{'s}wa wadám t!emeyánwia^u^é," nagá^{ié}, gas'í^é ga^éal wíli ha^éik!u^uminín. "Go^um mī^{'s}wa t!emeyánwia^u^é wadám," nagá-ihis. Ganēhi^é alxalí t!emyánwa^s; ganē be^é dēhal alxalí bomxì mót'agwan² wá^ada. Ganēhi^é be^é dēhal alxalīyaná^é, he^éne "Ganī ya^anik', ganē no^u yeweyik', nagá-ihí^é.

Agas'í^é mót'a^{at}'an hu^ucú^u alxí'k' nó^uc gwī naⁿneyé^éda^é, yok!wóī dō^umgulugwán. "Míⁱ bómxi no^u yèūgulùk', neyé^éhi^é. Míⁱ aga nó^s ik!u^umánk'wan. "Do^umabāⁿihàn, he^étlemk!i-ba^énihàn," nagá-ihí^é aga nó^s yap!à. "Dewénxa yanágulùk'

¹Second per. sing. obj., though the reference is to several persons.

²"Their own brother-in-law" is more properly *hásdagwan* in Takelma, *mót'agwan* meaning ordinarily "their own son-in-law." It seems that *mot'*- is sometimes

Then they went, their journey was resumed, on they went. Then the girl did cry, crying, "Ah, I wonder whether my elder brothers will return!" She cried, thus crying, "I wonder whether my elder brothers will return, since that they were told, 'My nephews, they will destroy you,' since they were told." Then they went, I don't know where they arrived at the ten houses. Now the Otters did come, taking their sister to get married. The first house was prepared for them; there they passed. Again one house was prepared for them; there they passed. Now again a house was prepared for them; there they passed. Now three houses they had gone by. Again one house was prepared for them, they passed it by. Now four houses had they passed by. One again was prepared for them; now again they passed it by. Then again one house was prepared for them; now again they passed it by. Now six houses they had passed by. Now again they passed one by. Again one they had prepared; now again they passed it by. Then one again was prepared for them; now nine houses they passed by.

Then this last house, just therein did they enter. Now of the people of the nine houses the hearts were sore, for before they had said, "It is to us probably that they are bringing her to be married," so that for that reason had the houses been prepared. "It is to us probably that they are bringing her to be married," they had said. Then they who had brought her to be married remained; now for five days did the Otters remain with their brother-in-law. Then, 'tis said, when they had dwelt there five days, then "Now we are going, now down river we return," they said.

But their brother-in-law Chicken-Hawk saw what they were doing in the neighboring houses, he knew that it was intended to kill him. "Now the Otters are about to return down river," they were saying, and so in the neighboring houses they

used as general term for people related to one through marriage with his near female kin (such as daughter or sister).

bumxì," ga neyé^e nó^cèà. Ganēhi^e miⁱ ba-ilemé^ex, als^oumál lemé^ex nó^s yap!à aldīl, hā^eya s^oumàl. Ganēhi^e ganī yá^e; yá^ada^é, "Me^eye^ewát^{ba} gwalt ^tlos^ó wōkⁱ," nagaik^{wa} mó^tá^tan; "gasi^e wéde yanàt^p, mé^eye^ewát^{ba}," nagáhi^e. Ganēhi^e ya^aniyá^u; agasⁱ yap!a nó^s "Da^máxau wōki^e yá^a xe^bagwabá^{ae}nihàn," nagásaⁿhi.

Ganēhi^e aga yá^e. Da^máxau wōk^{da} yá^a, ganēhi^e nagáⁱ yap!a nó^s ^eals^oumál ^ealdī^l, heⁿéhi gwal^t anaⁿagáⁱ t^locó^u hā^pdi; agásⁱ mó^tá^tan "Me^eye^ewó^{ek},"² nagaik^{wana} hu^cú^u, áni^e gelt^{lay}àk^l. Ganēhi^e bo^u nēxada^e gwalt ^wōk^l anaⁿéx t^locó^u hā^pdihì. Ganēhi^e miⁱ hono^s lop^lodiá^u, ganēhi^e ts^lelamsⁱ wōk^l, ganēhi^e gwalt ^kái gwala xā^{ik}lodók^{at} xò, ganēhi^e plá^ashi wōk^l. Gwénhísyewéⁱ, xa^{ae}wínhi bomxi he^{il}émek^{lin}. Agásⁱ mó^tá^tan yok^loī. "Hěⁿ! ulum 'Mé^eye^ewát^{ba},' nagánda^e," nagá-ihí^e. Ganēhi^e p^la-idí^{eh}aná^s gwalt ^plá^s nō^x t^le^làm, miⁱ p^la-idí^{eh}ana^s.

Ganēhi^e gwī^ene la^alit^a, ba-iginí^{ek}. Hā^eya liwilá^u, miⁱ hā^eya s^oumàl alxalīyán. Ganēhi^e wayát^{gwa} ba^ayānk^w hu^cú^u. Ganēhi^e hā^eya s^oumàl wayát^{gwa} ló^uk^l; ganēhi^e he^{il}emé^{ek} yap!à ā^khi gwī^eneixdagwa. Ganēhi^e abaiwayewēnhi, ^ealplⁱ-t^lulútc^lalhi. Ganēhi^e hawilit^{gwa} yewéⁱ, p^la-ipayá^e; miⁱ wayá^e, guxwíⁱ dats^lā^mx há^sda^a he^{il}emék^{lin}ma^e. Ganēhi^e ā^k hono^s gwī^eneixdagwa he^{il}emék^{lina}, ga ga^eal guxwíⁱ dats^lā^mx. Wayá^e. Ganēhi^e gwī^ene dí wede waik^l? Miⁱ gwel^ewāk^{wi} wili

¹ Literally, "it this-did," in other words, "it blew as it is blowing now," when the myth was being narrated.

prepared themselves. "Let us kill them, let us destroy them!" said these people in the neighboring houses. "Tomorrow the Otters intend to go," that did they say, for their part, in the neighboring houses. Now then, 'tis said, they all went out, to the mountains proceeded all the people in the neighboring houses, on both sides of the mountains. And then, 'tis said, (the Otters) went off; as they went, "Here you shall return, should a slight wind come," said their brother-in-law to them. "In that case you shall not go on, you shall return here," he said to them. Then off they went, but the people of the neighboring houses "Just when they reach afar off, let us do away with them," they said to each other.

Then these (Otters) did go. Just when they reached afar off, then the people of the neighboring houses did all proceed to the mountains; just then a wind blew like now,¹ a little bit. But though their brother-in-law Chicken-Hawk "You shall return here" had said to them, they did not think of it. Then in a little while a wind came, just a little bit like now. Now then it also rained; then hail, in its turn, did come; then did the wind break everything, firs, to pieces; then snow, indeed, did come. They had almost returned back, just half way the Otters were destroyed. But their brother-in-law did know of it. "Hě^a! Although before 'You shall return here,' I said to them," he said. Then, 'tis said, the wind did cease, and the snow and rain and hail, now they did cease.

Then, when a long time had elapsed, he went out of the house. On either side he looked, now on both sides of the mountain they were seated. Then his knife did Chicken-Hawk take up; then to either side of the mountain his knife he thrust, and he himself did destroy the people, his own kin. Then into their houses he returned and set fire to them all. Then, 'tis said, into his own house he returned, lay down to sleep. Now he slept; his heart was sore, for his wife's brothers had been destroyed. Then, 'tis said, he himself having also

¹ So heard for *me^syeewá^k*.

de^ɛik!alák!lilin. Ganēhi^ɛ, “K’adi xebé^ɛn?” nagá^ɛ gelhewéhana^ɛ. Gangáhi^ɛ wili de^ɛik!alák!lilin. “Ts!ama^{a1} mī^ɛwa xebé^ɛn,” nagá-ihìs. Ganēhi^ɛ gwī^ɛne la^{a1}lē’, gangáhi^ɛ de^ɛik!alák!lilin. Ganēhi^ɛ gwī^ɛne la^{a1}lē’, miⁱ bá^{at}!ebèt’, wili de^ɛisé^ɛk’. Hā’px^{wi} yaxa la^{a1}lē’, hánt’ haxàt’. “Mayá^ak’w^{dèk}!”¹ Miⁱ hé^ɛwa-t’bo^uk’t’báxgwa; miⁱ hono^ɛ wayá^ɛ.

Géhi yaxa gī^ɛà yok!w^{oyá}ɛn; ání^ɛ honó^ɛ déhi plūwū’k!wan. Gá ga^ɛal bō^u aga gwal’t’. Gwalt’ hé^ɛileme^ɛk’; gas^ɛí^ɛ hā’pxi mī^ɛsga^ɛ ga^ayànk’² plⁱi mengíⁱ, hánt’ haxàt’. Gas^ɛí^ɛ wiliⁱ de^ɛik!álk!alk’na^ɛ,² ga ga^ɛal ga nāk’ik’²—ā’k’^ɛ gwī^ɛneixdagwa he^ɛilém^ɛk’²—gas^ɛí^ɛ “Mayāk’w^{dèk}!” nagá^ɛ. Ganēhi^ɛ ba^abí^ɛt’ lé^ɛp’lap’.

17. THE OTTER BROTHERS RECOVER THEIR FATHER’S HEART.³

Wiliⁱ yowò^ɛ; bumxì hapxit!ī^ɛt’a^a gā’plinì á-icda, k!ásak!ans^ɛí^ɛ hūlūn níxa. P’im gwala ts!ayaik’. Hūlūn wa-iwíⁱ gūxda bumxì; dō^umk’am⁴ bumxì. Gas^ɛí^ɛ gūxda hūlū^un wa-iwíⁱ, t!omxíxas^ɛí^ɛ abài hūlūn wa-iwíⁱ níxa. Ganēhi^ɛ hā’p’da^a gā’plinì t!ī^ɛt’a^a; ganē hos’ō^u la^{a1}lē’, k!ayá^ɛ. Wiláuhi alxík’ abài. “Nek’ wiláut’a^a di, k!asā?”—“Gí á-is’dèk’.”—“Nek’ gált’a^a di?”—“Gí á-is’dèk’, k!átsdek’.”⁵—“Nek’ t’gamá^a di?”—“Gí á-is’dek’,” nagá-ihí^ɛ mologolā’p’a. “Nék’

¹A whispered yell, intended to express intense emotion.

²These forms are inferentials, because they serve the purpose of explanatory recapitulation rather than of simple narrative.

³For a fairly close parallel compare St. Clair, Traditions of the Coos Indians of Oregon, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. xxii, pp. 32-34.

⁴Inferential in form, because the fact it discloses is not part of the actual narrative but is told in order to explain the circumstances under which the story begins.

destroyed his own kin, for that reason was his heart sore. He slept. Then how long did he not sleep? Now early in the morning the door of the house was scratched against. Then "What's doing it?" he said, thinking; continuously indeed the door of the house was being scratched against. "Its probably a mouse that's doing it," he thought. Then some time elapsed, continuously the door of the house was being scratched against. Then, 'tis said, some time did pass, and he arose, opened the door of the house. Just a child it turned out to be, half burnt. "My orphan!"¹ Now he lay down with it clasped in his arms, and again he slept.

Just that far indeed do I, for my part, know it; no further still is it told. For that reason is there a wind nowadays. The winds he had destroyed, but one child did grow up full of fire, half burnt. Now as the door of his house was scratched against, for that reason did he do that—'tis true he himself had destroyed his own kin—,therefore "My orphan!" he said. Now go gather and eat your ba^ap'-seeds. [16]

17. THE OTTER BROTHERS RECOVER THEIR FATHER'S HEART.³

A house there was, two boys belonging to Otter, and their maternal grandmother, mother of the mermaid. Many salmon he had been wont to spear. The mermaid was Otter's wife, and Otter had been slain. Now his wife was the mermaid, but his mother-in-law was in the house, mother of the mermaid. Now his two children were boys, and bigger they became, up they grew. Arrows indeed they saw in the house. "Whose arrows are they, maternal grandmother?"—"They belong to

¹ This is a myth-form, the form in ordinary use being either the vocative *k'lasaa*, "O grandchildren," or *wik'ási*, "my grandchildren." *K'átsdek'* is peculiar in two respects:—first of all, *ts* is an impossible Takelma consonant combination, but occurs in the Upper Takelma dialect, so that the word may really be borrowed as a myth-form from that dialect; secondly, suffixed *-dek'* takes the place of the *wi-* regularly prefixed as 1st per. possessive pronominal element to terms of relationship. Cf. *ic'li'yát'k'*, p. 140, l. 22.

láp'sda^a di?"—"Gí, k!átsdek'."—"Nék' ma^alí di?"—"Gí, k!átsdek'," nagá-ihí^é mologolā'p'a. "Nek' eyá^a di?"—"Gí, k!átsdek'." Aldī k'ai gwala yamàt', gas'í^é k!ása ga nagá^é, "Gí, k!atsdèk'."

Ganēhi^é bo^u nēxada^é "Wede haxiyá wīt'ap'."—"Nek' du^ulí di, k!atsdek'?"—"Gí, k!atsdek'," nagá-ihí^é mologolā'p'a; aldī ^éāk' áicdagwa la^aláuhi. Ganēhi^é "K!atsdèk', p'im sananagám," nagá-ihí hapxit!í't'^a, k!ásak!an ga nagà. "Wede p'im sanàt'p'." Ganēhi^é bo^u nēxada^é la^alē', "Wede haxiyá wīt'ap'," nagáhi^é. Gangáhi haxiyá wīt' hapxit!í't'^a gā'plínì bumxì k'abáxa^a, be^éwí^é haxiyá wīt'. Ganēhi^é hocō^u la^alē'. "A'nī^é a^ak' gált'^a k!asídám," nagá-ihí^é. "A'nī^é a^ak' wiláut'^a, 'Gí a-icdek'," nagá-ida^é; ánī^é a^ak' t'gamá^a," nagá-ihí^é bomxi k'abáxak!an. "K'ái gwala dama^anmininá^é1 dalō^é," nagáhi^é k!ásak!an.

Ganēhi^é haxiyá wiyiwīt', p'im alhūyū'hi. Dabalníxa la^alē'. "K!átsdek', māl ús'am, p'im ts!ayaginàk'; dūl ús'am."—"Dja'! k'ái^éwa haxiyà," nagá-ihí^é k!ásak!an. Mi'hi^é aga^éa alxí'k' k'ai^élā'p'a gwelxiyà, ga ga^éálhi dūl yilim; mi' k'a-ilā'p'a alxí'k' haxiyà hūlūn wa-iwí. Dūl ánī^é ogoīhi k!ásak!an mologolā'p'a. "K'ái^éwa haxiyà, wede ge wīt'ap'," nagáhi^é. Bo^u nēxada^é dūl hoyōi, haxiyà giní'k' xilamanà wāxadī'l. Ganēhi^é alxalī da^axiyà, he^éne yá^ahi^é bo^u nēxada^é ba-ikliyí'k' hūlūn wa-iwí, tc!élelelele² du^ugí. Mi' ts!ayàk', mi' t!omōm. Ganēhi^é abaiyewé^é.

¹ Literally, "that she mouth-counted."

me."—"Whose bow is it?"—"It belongs to me, my grandchildren."—"Whose elk-skin armor is it?"—"It belongs to me," said the old woman. "Whose blanket is it?"—"Mine, my grandchildren."—"Whose salmon-spear shaft is it?"—"Mine, my grandchildren," said the old woman. "Whose canoe is it?"—"Mine, my grandchildren." All things they asked about, to that their maternal grandmother that did say, "Mine, my grandchildren."

Then, 'tis said, after a little while "Do not go about to the water," (she said). "Whose salmon-spear point is it, my maternal grandmother?"—"Mine, my grandchildren," said the old woman, everything did she call her own property. Then, 'tis said, "My maternal grandmother, we shall spear salmon," said the boys, to their maternal grandmother that they said. "Do not spear salmon." Then a little while elapsed, and "Do not go about to the water," she said to them. Nevertheless the two boys, Otter's sons, did go about by the water, every day they went about by the water. Now they had become bigger. "It is not her bow, our maternal grandmother's," they said. "They are not her arrows, though 'It belongs to me,' she said. It is not her elk-skin armor," said the sons of Otter. "As many things as she did count up,¹ she lied," did they say about their maternal grandmother.

Then, 'tis said, by the water they were accustomed to go about, salmon they used to hunt. A long time elapsed. "My maternal grandmother, give us the salmon-spear shaft, we are going to spear salmon. Give us the salmon-spear point."—"Dja'! there's a monster in the water," said their maternal grandmother. Now these, for their part, did see a woman down in the water, for that reason indeed, they asked for a salmon-spear point; now a woman had they seen in the water, the mermaid. The salmon-spear point their maternal grandmother, the old woman, did not give them.

¹To be pronounced in a whisper. It is formed from the verb base *tc'el-*, "rattle," and imitates the sound of rattling dentalia.

“K!asā, k'adí t!omomanàk' haxiyà, ū'lúk!i bāls du^ugí tc!elém^é?” nagá-ihí^é. Ge yá^ahi^é mi t'agá^é mologolā'p'a. “Gí di hámi^ét'ban dō^umk'a^é? aní^é gí t!omomá^én hamí^ét'ban,” nagá-ihí^é mologolā'p'a. “Ulums'í^é t'gam 'Gí a-icdék',” nagá^é,” k'ái gwala p!ūwú^uk!ana^é hapxit!í^ét'a^a. Ganēhi^é hos^o mahmī la^alē'. “Hamí^ét'ban hinaū t!omomán,” nagá-ihí^é mologolā'p'a k!ásak!an. “Mí gelts!ayámxamk'na^é,”¹ nagá^é hapxit!í^ét'a. “Mí yanabá^énì,” nagása^én. “Hámi^ét'ban hinaū k!wàl hawa^a k!áxak!ixín gux^wí,” nagá-ihí^é mologolā'p'a, t'agá^é; aga^a hapxit!í^ét'a níxak!an yùk' mologol beyán.

Ganēhi^é hocō^u la^alē'. “Ganē yanabá^é,” nagása^én. Ganēhi^é yá^é xilamanà, hinaus'í^é t!egwegwáldan. “Dan yé^éwaldiniⁱ” hápxda^a gā'plìnì, ne^éyé^é,” da^éaganín, hinaus'í^é ga neyé^é. “Ei mé^és'agwà, tc!ixik!ō'ltc!am^é,³ hínsda^a dats!ām^x,”⁵ naganá^ék'í^é wa-iwíⁱ gā'plìnì, k!wàl woōha mé^éal. Ganēhi^é hinaū yá^é, máxak!an guxwíⁱ wōlt'. Ganē “Tc!ixik!ō'+ltc!am^é, gasálhi ei mé^és'agwà,” nagána^ék'í^é wa-iwíⁱ gā'plìnì; be^éwí^é mé^éal k!wal wōlt', búmxí guxwíⁱ hawa^ak!áxk!ixiya ga ga^éal woōha k!wal mé^éal. Ganēhi^é hagwa^alám malaginín, “‘Ei mé^és'agwà, tc!ixik!ō'ltc!am^é,’ ga naganá^ék',” nagánhi^é, gwenhegwéhigwin; “ga nát'ba^é, ‘Tc!ixik!ō'ltc!am^é, ei mé^és'agwà, dan yé^éwáldi-

¹ Literally, “(it is) now that she has evidently been breast-hiding us.”

² *dan yé^éwaldiniⁱ* is a myth name of Otter. It may be literally translated as “rocks always-returning-to-them.”

³ This is the name of Sun's servant, the canoe-paddler. The meaning of the name is not clear; *tc!ixi* means “dog.”

"There's a monster in the water, do not go there," she said to them. After a little while they stole the salmon-spear point, to the water did they go, the two brothers. Then, 'tis said, by the water were they seated, just then after a little while did come the mermaid, and tc!élelelele (rattled) her skirt. Now they shot at her, and killed her. Then, 'tis said, they returned into the house.

"Maternal grandmother, what did we kill in the water—long was its hair and its garment rattled?" they said. Now just thereat did cry the old woman. "Was it I that killed your father? I did not kill your father," said the old woman. "But formerly (of) the elk-skin armor 'It belongs to me,' did she say," (they said), the boys naming everything. Now grown up and big they had become. "Your father has been slain up river," said the old woman, their maternal grandmother. "Now she has evidently been hiding it from us,"¹ said the boys. "Now let us go away," they said to each other. "Up river under your father's heart pitch is made to smoulder," said the old woman and wept; of just these boys was the old woman's daughter the mother.

Now grown up had they become. "Now let us go away," they said to each other. Then off they went, but up river they were being watched. "Otter² has two children, they say," were they heard about, so that up river they said that. "Paddle a canoe over here, Tc!ixik!ō'ltc!am,³ we have fear of them,"⁵ were wont to say two girls, on this side of the river were they wont to go for pitch. Then up river went (the boys), to get their father's heart they went. Now "Tc!ixik!ō'+ltc!am³, paddle a canoe over here quickly," were wont to say the two girls; every day they came to this side of the river to get pitch, Otter's heart to set a-smouldering underneath, for that reason were they wont to go for pitch on this side of the river. Then, 'tis said, in the trail were (the boys) told, "'Paddle a canoe over

¹An Upper Takelma form of *hinxdaa*, "fear of them."

³Literally translated these last two words mean "their-fear (*i. e.*, fear of them) hurts;" in other words, "(we) are afraid, apprehensive."

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nīya hā'pxda^a hínxda^a dats!āmx. Gasálhi 'ei mé's'agwà,' ga naganá'k' wa-iwí' gā'plini," gana'néxhi gwenhegwéhigwin, t'gwayàm dexebé'n.

Ganēhi^ε mé'alhi wa-iwi' gā'plini k!wal wölt', t'gohòx k!wal sgó'ut'. Ganēhi^ε mi' ga'al gini'k'; mi' t!omóm, ha'ihū'-lu'hal ganī 'ā'yá'^{a1} haló'uk' k'u'bí'. Ganēhi^ε "Tc!ixik!ō'+l-tc!am^ε, ei mé's'agwà." Wa-iwít'an k!wal wölt' yaxà; agás'i^ε t'gohòx lomt!í' k!wál'è sgó'ut', gas'i^ε wa-iwít'an wölt' yaxà. Ganēhi^ε abaiyewé'ie xilamanà, k!wal lāp'. "Dan yé'waldiniya hápxda^a hínxda^a dats!āmx; tc!ixik!ō'/l-tc!am^ε, ei mé's'agwà," nagána'khi wa-iwít'an. Agás'i^ε t'gohox lomt!í' t!omomán. Ganēhi^ε gáhi nagá'ie wa-iwít'an naganá'k'da^ε, "Tc!ixik!ō'/l-tc!am^ε, ei mé's'agwà, dan yé'waldiniya hápxda^a hínxda^a datc!āmx," nagá-ihie hapxit!í'et'a't'an, ga dexebé'n.

Ganēhi^ε ei wát'an s'a'gwán xa'xiyáhi; gana'néx wa-iwít'an ei ganau bilwàlk' da'máxauhì. Ganēhi^ε mī'εsga'hi 'áni^ε dedulápx ganau bilàuk', gwélxda^a léyas nàk'; ágás'i^ε ts'lixik!ō'/l-tcam^ε "A'nī^ε ga wa-iwít'an," nagá'ie gelhewéhana^ε; hinx niük'í^ε,² ga na'nagá'ie. Ganēhi^ε aba-iwök' wa-iwít'an. Mí' "e"³, s'intlayàk' bē' yap!a wi'ín. "Gwidí na'naga-it'?" nagánhi^ε, "k'adí s'intlayagít'," nagán máxak!an siwòk'di. Gás'i^ε xū'én la'lē'. Ganēhi^ε búmxi máxak!an gux'wí' hawá^a pli' k!wàl k!áxak!ixin; agás'i^ε bō' yewéida^ε bumxi hápxda^a, áni^ε wa-iwí' ge 'íxi, ga ga'al gá na'nagá'ie s'intlayaginá^ε yáp!a wi'ín.

¹ = *ai yáa*.² = *niuk'-hi^ε*; *niuk'* is the inferential of *niw-*: *niw-*, "be afraid (of)."³ This represents a sniff of suspicion.

here, Tc!ixik!ō'ltc!am^ε, ' that are they wont to say,' they were told, was it related to them. "That shall you say, 'Tc!ixik!-ō'ltc!am^ε, paddle a canoe over here, of Otter's children have we fear. Quickly paddle a canoe over here,' that are wont to say the two girls," thus indeed was it related to them, Lark did say so.

Then on this side, indeed, of the river the two girls came to get pitch, and Quail did cut the pitch. Now then to them they went; then they killed them, skinned them, then themselves put on their skins. Then "Tc!ixik!ō'+ltc!am^ε, paddle a canoe over here" (they shouted). The girls did always go to get pitch; while Quail, the old man, cut the pitch indeed, the girls just went to get it. Then they returned home, carried the pitch on their backs. "Of Otter's children we have fear. Tc!ixik!ō'ltc!am^ε, paddle a canoe over here," were wont to say the girls. And now the old man Quail was slain. Then just what the girls were wont to say, "Tc!ixik!ō'ltc!am^ε, paddle a canoe over here. Of Otter's children we have fear," did say the boys, those said so.

Then the canoe was paddled towards them right in the middle of the water; it was thus that the girls were wont to jump into the canoe from afar off, indeed. Then just one of them would not jump into it straight, she would stumble with one of her legs; so that Tc!ixik!ō'ltc!am^ε said, "Those are not the girls," thinking; as though he were afraid of them, that he did. Then the (pretended) girls arrived in the house. Now "eⁿ,"³ Sun⁴ smelt them as different people. "What are you doing?" he was told. "What are you smelling?" was told their would-be-father. Now night came. Then, 'tis said, a pitch fire was set a-smouldering under the heart of the father of the Otters; but this time when they returned it was the children of Otter, not the girls belonging there, for that reason did he do that, having smelt them as different people.

⁴ Frances Johnson was not certain who the slayer of Otter was, but rather thought it was Sun.

Xū^{ne} la^{lē}, miⁱ wayānha búmxì do^umá^s. Ganēhi^e máxak!an guxwíⁱ īgí^{na}. Ganēhi^e máxa guxwíⁱ nō^u yeweyàk^w; agásⁱ t!omomán, he^{ne} máxa guxwíⁱ no^u yeweyàk^w. Ga ga^{al} k^ubiⁱ bumxì alt^{gém} lāp[′], k!wàl hawa^ak!áxak!ixinma^e guxwíⁱ. Ganaⁿéx gí^èà yokloyáⁿ, gwála sⁱwô[′]k^{di}; aldi yuk[′]yákⁱ eit^{′e}, maláxbiⁿ.

18. CROW AND RAVEN GO FOR WATER.

A[′]nī^e k[′]ai xí yùk^{′1} yap!a wá^ada. Gas^íe mēl wu^lhàm^{′1}, xèm wu^lhàm^{′1} wa-iwiⁱ gā[′]plini. Ganēhi^e “Xí woð[′],” nāk[′]am.¹ Ts!āu yá^a héⁱxk^{′1}, ganaⁿéx da[′]agánk[′]am.¹ Ganēhi^e yanàk^{′1} wa-iwíⁱ gā[′]plini wu^lhàm, xi woðk^{′1}. Ganēhi^e xém^èa hawi é^{án}ī^e xí ga^{al} wōk[′]da^è, miⁱ aga k!elwít[′]gwa ganàu ba-iwahé^{iè},³ mēls^íe yá^è. Miⁱ xem^èà gwényewé^{iè}, miⁱ xi wāk[′]. “K[′]ái ga^{al} di ánī^e xi wa^agàt[′]?” Yok!oyánhi^e ā[′]khi^e xiyá-t[′]gwa. Agásⁱe mēls^íe gwí^{ne} yá^a yewé^{iè}, xi wāk[′] ā[′]k^èà mēl.

“He^{ne} ma^èà wede xi é^ūkleit[′],”⁴ nagánhi^e xèm; “é^ís^í samáxa yúk^íe, wede xi é^{aldāk}leit[′],”⁵ nagánhi^e. “Mēls^íe ā[′]k^èà xi é^ūgwànk[′],” nagánhi^e, “mas^íe lep[′]níxa ya^a xi é^ūgwadá^è,” nagánhi^e xèm. Gas^íe ga^{al} xém^èà é^{án}ī^e xi é^ūk[′] samáxa; gas^íe ga^{al} ā[′]k^èa ganaⁿéx yiwiyá^{wè}, guxwíⁱ xùm. Lep[′]níxa ya^a la^lit[′]a^è xém^èa xí é^ūk[′], ga neyé^è.

¹ These forms are all inferentials.

² That is, everything had dried up except the ocean to the west.

³ Said to sound less coarse than the ordinary word for “urinate,” *xalaxam*-.

Night came, and they put to sleep the slayer of Otter. Then, 'tis said, they took their father's heart. Then with their father's heart down river they returned; first (Sun) was slain, then with their father's heart they returned down river. For that reason does Otter wear a black skin, his heart having been set a-smouldering with pitch underneath. Thus do I, for my part, know; perchance there is much more. Did I know all, I should tell it to you.

18. CROW AND RAVEN GO FOR WATER.

There was no water among the people. Now Crow was having her first menstrual courses and Raven was having her first menstrual courses, the two girls. Then, 'tis said, "Go to get water," they were told. Only the ocean was left,² thus it was heard. Then did go the two girls menstruating for the first time, for water they went. Then Raven, for her part, when she had not yet arrived at the water, now into this basket-bucket of hers did urinate, but Crow went on. Now Raven, for her part, turned back, now brought the water. "For what reason did you not bring water?" (they said). It was known that it was her own water. Now Crow, in her turn, just a long time thereafter did return, water did Crow, for her part, bring.

"Then you, for your part, shall not drink water," was Raven told. "Whenever it is summer, you shall not find water," she was told. "But Crow—she, for her part, shall drink water," was she told. "But you—only in winter shall you drink water," was Raven told. So for that reason it is that Raven, for her part, does not drink water in summer, and for that reason does she, indeed, talk thus,—dry is her throat. Only when the winter comes does Raven, for her part, drink water, that they say.

¹ = *uuk' eii'*.

² = *aldaak' eii'*.

19. SKUNK, THE DISAPPOINTED LOVER.

Wíliⁱ yowò^è. A'ní^è yok!oyá^{èn} nek' wa-iwít'a gā'p!ini yúk'na^è, bík'^w wá-iwī gelgulàk'¹ gāplini yúk'na^è; mót' lāp'k'¹ bík'^w. Bo^u nēxada^{s'iè} yulàm hono^è mót' lāp'k'¹.

Ganēhi^è pliyin alhoyōi bík'^w. Míⁱ s'ix ligik'^w; hó^èpx yá^a ganau gwidík'^wdan bík'^w cix ligigwaná^è. Ganēhi^è bo^u nēxada^è yulùm alhūyūx; cix ligik'^w, ga^a gayawánhi. Gangáhi alhūyū'hi^x bík'^w, cix ligik'^w, agás'i^è ā'k^{èa} mengíⁱ hó^èpx yaxa ganau gwidík'^wdan. Bo^u nēxada^è ganē yulùm honó^è alhūyūx; cix ligik'^w, ga^a gayawán. Ganēhi^è honó^è bík'^w alhūyūx; cix ligik'^w, hó^èpx yá^a ganau gwidík'^wdan; ā'k^{èa} cix ligigwaná^è hó^èpx ganau gwidílhan.

Ganēhi^è dabalníxa la^alē^l, míⁱ t!ayàk'. "Gí^{èa} k'ái ga^{al} dí cix ligigwánda^è, ání^è gayawán?" nagá-ihí^è bík'^w. Míⁱhi^è da-uyá^a ts!ayákhi.² Ganēhi^è yulum^{èa} xílám la^alē^l. "Ganē gadák' hōit',"³ nagánhi^è bík'^w, t!omxíxa dexebé^{èn}. Ganēhi^è gadak' hoyó^èt' bík'^w. Ganēhi^è ba-imats!àk' goyo hé^èlt'a^a. Ganēhi^è he^ène

"Bígi^s bígi bígī+, dán+ bon, dán bon."

"Mót'e^e, s'o^{ue} ba-ídit'gást'ga^as," nagánhi^è, t!omxíxa dexebé^{èn}. "Bo^u yá^a di 'mot'è' nēxiya?"⁴ nagá-ihí^è bík'^w. Ganēhi^è hono^è ba-imats!àk',

"Bígi bígi bígī+, dán+ bon, dán bon."

¹ Inference, probably by way of preliminary explanation to the narrative proper.

² Skunk's foul discharge of wind is his "medicine" or supernatural power where-with he "shoots" people.

³ "Dance for him!" Literally, "on-top-of-(him) dance."

⁴ That is, "dance in order to cure him."

⁵ *bígi* has no known meaning; it is very probably a play on Skunk's own name, *bíik'w*. *dán bon* (= *dan bou*n) can be translated as "stone acorn-mortar;" *bou*n

19. SKUNK, THE DISAPPOINTED LOVER.

A house there was. I do not know whose two girls they were; Skunk did like the girls, being two, a suitor did Skunk become. But after a little while also Eagle became a suitor.

Then, 'tis said, Skunk hunted deer. Now venison he brought home; right in the lake was thrown the venison that Skunk had brought home. Then after a little while Eagle went out to hunt. Venison he brought home, that indeed was eaten. Skunk just kept on hunting, venison he brought home, but his game, indeed, was just thrown into the lake. Then after a little while Eagle again went out to hunt; venison he brought home, that indeed was eaten. Then again Skunk went out to hunt. Venison he brought home, just into the lake was it thrown; what venison he did bring home was always thrown into the lake.

Then a long time elapsed, and he found it out. "When I, for my part, bring home venison, for what reason is it not eaten?" said Skunk. Now, 'tis said, he shot with his medicine-man's spirit,² and Eagle, for his part, became sick. "Now dance for him,"⁴ was Skunk told, his mother-in-law said so. Then, 'tis said, Skunk danced for him. Then he started in with his medicine-man's song. Now then (he sang),

"Bígi⁵ bígi bígī+, dán+ bon, dán bon."

"My son-in-law, stick your anus straight out," he was told, his mother-in-law said so. "Did you say to me⁶ 'My son-in-law' just now?"⁷ said Skunk. Then again he started in to sing,

"Bígi bígi bígī+, dán+ bon, dán bon."

means "acorn-hopper of basketry." Mrs. Johnson could give no explanation of Skunk's song, but it is probable that there is a reference to the supernatural power of stone mortars, a belief widely spread in northern California. Skunk's song is delivered in an unrhythmical staccato; it is meant to be ungraceful and ridiculous.

⁴Literally, "to say to me."

⁷He is flattered to be called "son-in-law," for that means that he has won his suit.

“S'ó^u ba-ídit'gá'st'ga^s.”—“Dīhagāit'e^ε, ulum wô'k'di k'ai nāk'am xa^asalgwási' ulum bēn^ε,” nagá-ihī^ε bik'^w, hoyó^tʼ.

Ganēhi^ε bo^u nēxada^ε honó^εhi ba-imats'lāk', hono^ε gáhi nagá^{ie},

“Bígi bígi bígī, dán+ bon, dán bon, dán bon, dán bon.”

“Ba-ídit'gá'st'ga^s, mót'ia,” nagá-ihī^ε t!omxíxa. Gahíhi^ε nagá^{ie}, “Bo^u yá^a di 'mót'ia' nēxia?” nagá-ihī^ε bik'^w. Ganēhi^ε bo^u nēxada^ε ba-ídit'gats'lát'gas; miⁱ ye^k!i^é bik'^w sá^{at}' bai'ixó^tʼ. Miⁱhi^ε t!omomán, miⁱ bik'^w lohó^{ie}. Ganaⁿéx yok!oyáⁿ yaxà.

20. THE FLOOD.²

Hop!èⁿ yap!a yùk', k'ái gwala yap!a yùk', cūx cēm pliyìn; ts'!á-is' ʼaldī yap!a yùk', k'ái gwala, moxò ga ʼaldī' yap!a yùk', mēl ʼaldī' yap!a yùk. Gas'ie he^εne sbīns'ie ánī^ε da^ahók'wal yùk', s'ēms'ie s'inhók'wal yùk', ga ga^{al} sbīn lāp'k'.

He^εne ts'!āū ba-ihīlkk', aga ʼaldī t'ga^a ts'!āū lāp'k'. Ganēhi^ε he^εne xámhi lāp'iauk', k'ái gwala xámhi lāp'k'. Hé^εne sbīn lāp'k' gwelxíya ā'k!a yowó^ε.³ He^εne ʼaldī cūx ba^adaweik',⁴ gá ga^{al} bo^u ʼaldī ba^adawá^{ie}.⁵ A'nī^ε s'inhók'wal yúk'na^ε sbīn, ánī^ε da^ahók'wal yúk'na^ε, ga ga^{al} sbīn^εa xámhi lāp'k'. Ganaⁿèx.

¹ Literally, “Yellow-between-his-claws,” a myth-name of Sparrow-Hawk.

² It is difficult to make much out of this myth, if it may be dignified by that name. Why the insistence on Beaver? Is the whole account an ill-remembered version of the flood and diving (by Beaver or Muskrat) for mud? That this favorite eastern myth motive did travel as far west as Oregon is shown by the Kathlamet Myth of Nikciamtcá'c (see Boas; Kathlamet Texts, pp. 23, 24).

"Stick your anus straight out."—"I feel ticklish in my anus. Some time ago, I guess, something was told to Sparrow-Hawk¹ some time ago in the day," said Skunk, and danced.

Then, after a little while, again he started in to sing, that same thing again he said,

"Bígi bígi bígī, dán+ bon, dán bon, dán bon, dán bon."

"Stick out your anus, O son-in-law," said his mother-in-law. That same thing he said, "Did you say to me 'O son-in-law!' just now?" said Skunk. Then, after a little while, he stuck out his anus. Now Sparrow-Hawk did pull out Skunk's discharge of wind. Now, 'tis said, he was killed, now Skunk did die. Just this much I know.

20. THE FLOOD.²

Long ago there were people, all beings were people,—birds, ducks, deer; bluejays were all people; all sorts of beings,—buzzards, those were all people, crows were all people. Now then beavers were not ear-holed, while ducks were nose-holed,—for that reason did they become beavers.

Then a flood did come and cover all, all this world became a mass of water. And then, 'tis said, they were submerged, all beings were submerged. Then Beaver got to be at the bottom of the water, up to this day he is there.³ Then all the birds flew up, and for that reason they all fly today. Since Beaver was not nose-holed, since he was not ear-holed, for that reason did Beaver, for his part, get to be in the water, indeed. Thus it is.

¹ That is, beavers still lead a semi-aquatic life.

² Probably misheard for *baadawik*.

³ Aorist in tense, because referring to present time. All other verb forms in this text are inferentials.

21. ACORN WOMAN REVENGES HERSELF UPON A
MEDICINE-MAN.¹

“Goyo bā^ɛixó^{uɛ}sbik’,” nagánhan yanà, hop!è^ɛnimikli yap!à; ga nagánhan yanà, yap!a wo^unā^ɛk’ dexebé^ɛn. Gwalt’ ba^ɛiwa-xó^ut’i goyo yanà, goyo bā^ɛixó^{uɛ}t’gwòk’ yanà. Ganēhi^ɛ yana da^ɛaná^ɛk’da^ɛ ga^a cū^ɛulī wilit’gwa ganau, alxí^ɛk’ bā^ɛixó^udinma^ɛ; ā^ɛk’ ge imíhamk’wit’ bēm ga^ɛal. Gasí^ɛ goyo yá^a bā^ɛixó^ut’gwa. Gasi^ɛ goyo t!omománma^ɛ, aga mologolā^ɛp’a yana da^ɛaná^ɛk’da gasi^ɛ xo^uman goyò lohóida^ɛ; aga mologolā^ɛp’a yana bā^ɛixó^u-dina^ɛ ga ga^ɛal xo^umàn. Cix xúm he^ɛne gana^ɛnéx xo^umàn.

Dalbalníxa ga na^ɛnàk’.³ Gasí^ɛ goyo lohálhik’na^ɛ xóm-xamank’,³ mologolā^ɛp’a xebé^ɛn. Ganēhi^ɛ dabalníxa la^alè’. Ganē he^ɛne yap!a gā^ɛp’ini “Mologol wá^ada wíp’aba^ɛ; cix gwala wá^ada, ne^ɛyé^ɛ,” nagásanhi^ɛ. Ganēhi^ɛ mologol wá^ada ba-ik’liyí^ɛk’ yap!a gā^ɛp’ini; ání^ɛ alxí^ɛk’ abaiginigiá-uda^ɛ, hap’liyá xá^ɛyowó^ɛ.⁴ Alxali yap!a gā^ɛp’ini, ání^ɛ wa^ahimít’. Dabalníxa la^alè’, he^ɛne yá^a plè^ɛl’ ba^ayānk’^w. Ganēhi^ɛ cix xum ígí^ɛna, plè^ɛl’ ganau mats!àk’. Ganēhi^ɛ dasál^ɛda mats!àk’, ganē he^ɛne hapliyá xā^ɛyowó^ɛ. A^ɛní^ɛ alxí^ɛk’ yap!à aga s’ix xum dasál^ɛda mats!aganá^ɛ. “Agasí^ɛ xúma mí^ɛwa gayawán,” naga-ihìs.

Ganēhi^ɛ bo^u nēxada^ɛ la^alit’a^ɛ, he^ɛne yá^ahi^ɛ hanpli^ɛyá

¹ The translation here given differs but little, chiefly in the direction of greater literalness, from that already published in Sapir's "Religious Ideas of the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, Vol. xx, pp. 46, 47. This applies also to some of the translations that follow, which have already been published elsewhere (Part I, No. 22; Part II, Nos. 3, 4, 5; and Part III, Nos. 1-11). The myth of the Acorn Woman, like the one that follows it and probably also No. 15,

21. ACORN WOMAN REVENGES HERSELF UPON A
MEDICINE-MAN.¹

"A medicine-man has blown thee off," the Acorn used to be told (by) men of long ago. That the Acorn was wont to be told, old men did say it. By means of a wind did the medicine-man blow off the acorns, a medicine-man it was that blew off the acorns. Now, 'tis said, the Acorn Chieftainess,² that one was sitting in her house and saw how they were being blown down. She had sent herself there to the tree. Now just the medicine-man had blown her off. Thereupon the medicine-man having been slain, this old woman, the Acorn Chieftainess, then dried him, the medicine-man having died; since this old Acorn Woman had he blown off, for that reason she dried him. Like dried venison, thus she dried him.

For a long time that she did. Now whenever a medicine-man died, she used to dry him; the old woman did so. Then, 'tis said, a long time elapsed. Now then two persons "To the old woman let us journey. Much venison there is with her, people say," said to each other. Then, 'tis said, to the old woman came the two persons. She did not look at them as they came into the house, with her back towards the fire she sat.⁴ There sat the two persons; to them she did not speak. A long time elapsed, just then she took up a basket-pan. Then dried venison she took and into the basket-pan she put it. Then, 'tis said, she placed it down at their feet, and then with her back to the fire she sat. She did not look at the persons when this dried venison she had put down at their feet. "Now the food is probably being eaten," she thought.

Then, 'tis said, when a little while had elapsed, just then

is a medicine-formula recited by the *s'omlohólxa's* against the *goyò*. For this type of myth compare Goddard, Hupa Texts, *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Vol. 1, pp. 202-368.

²"Acorn Chieftainess," literally, "acorn its-chief."

³Inferentials.

⁴Literally, "in-the-fire she-back-was."

dínt'gwa liwilá^u. Miⁱ yaxa lohoyàuk^{'1} yap!a gā'p^eini; he^ene yá^a hap!iyá gelk!iyí^k'k', he^enehi^e xí ba^ayānk^{'w}. Ganēhi^e hadát'gwa mats!ák' xì, ganē p^{'w}+ da^adap'o^up'àu. Ba^at!ebèt' yap!a gā'p^eini, ba^ayewé^e miⁱ. Ganēhi^e "K'adí naga-it'p'?" 'Cìx xum wa^eit!anáhi,' negésdap' di? Cìx xum nagaít'p' di? Aga^èà goyo ts'lí^k'da, ánī^e cìx xùm. Bā^eixú^usina^e, ga ga^eal xo^u-maná^en," nagá-ihí^e mologolā'p'a, yana mologolā'p'a dexebé^en. Ga haga wála^e yana da^eánā^k'^wda^a yùk'. Géhi dá^eyowó^e.² Goyo ba^eixó^ut'gwòk'na^e, ga ga^eal na^enā^k'ik'.

22. ROCK-WOMAN AND A MOUNTAIN ARE A MEDICINE-MAN'S BANE.³

T'ga^a sigít'a^e dí'bū^k'amna^e,⁴ gasi^e ga nāk'am⁴ dan mologòl, "Ma^a goyo^eíxi, goyo í'ts!ak^{'w} yap!a he^enāk'wi^e,⁶ má^a ga ga^eal he^elák^{'k}," nāk'am.⁴ Gasi^e "Há-u" nāk'.⁴ "Gasi^e nāxde^e goyò da^eók'í^ek', dakt'é^ek!í^ek'," nāk'am.⁴ Gasi^e gá na^enagà; dan klelwiⁱ eme^e néida^e, gasi^e s'ümxi^s'i^e ganàu klelwiⁱ,⁷ klámak!a^s'i^e. Gana^enéx ók'igam dán mologòl. Goyo guxwíⁱ gá ga^eal klelwiⁱ s'ümt'a; s'ümxi^s'i^e ga 'iwamolomálhi goyo guxwíⁱ, tclümümt'a; kláma^a ga^s'i^e dan ba^asga^k'sgák'i dan t'üt'. Gasi^e boklobáxna dan klelwiⁱ ganàu, goyo guxwíⁱ tclümümt'a. Ga^eíxi goyo guxwíⁱ dan klelwiⁱ. Gasi^e ganē goyó ga^eal helél^e, gasi^e ganē goyo dōmk'amna^e,⁴ ganē dan mologól xebé^en wigamdì.⁹

¹ Impersonal inferential. With expressed subject *yap!a* it would be more correct to say *lohòk'*.

² Literally, "right-there it-is-in-front, it-is-forth."

³ For this medicine-formula compare Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 46.

⁴ These verb forms are inferentials.

⁵ Frances Johnson regularly used the word "to poison" in a metaphorical sense as meaning "to exercise one's magic power in order to do some person ill."

in back of her across the fire she looked. Now the two persons just had died. Just then she turned towards the fire, then took up water. Then, 'tis said, the water she put in her mouth, and p^w+, she blew it over their cheeks. The two persons arose, had recovered now. Then, 'tis said, "What did you think? 'Dried venison she keeps,' did you say about me? Dried venison did you think it was? This, for its part, is the flesh of medicine-men, not dried venison. Since they blew me off, for that reason did I dry them," said the old woman, Old Acorn Woman did say so. Indeed that really was the Acorn Chieftainess. Just up to there it proceeds.² Since the medicine-men did blow her off, for that reason did she do it to them.

22. ROCK-WOMAN AND A MOUNTAIN ARE A MEDICINE-MAN'S BANE.³

When this set world was first begun, then was that told to the Old Rock Woman, "Thou, for thy part, (shalt be) a medicine-man poisoner.⁵ If an evil-minded medicine-man devours a person, thou, for thy part, shalt sing for that," was she told. Thereupon "Yes" she said. "Then thy pipe shalt thou put in the medicine-man's mouth, thou shalt give him to smoke," was she told. Thereupon that she did to him, here being her rock bucket, and in her bucket her stirring paddle, and her tongs. Thus was it given to the Old Rock Woman. The medicine-man's heart to boil, for that purpose her bucket; and her stirring paddle, with that she stirs around the medicine-man's heart and boils it; and her tongs, with that she picks up rocks, hot rocks. Then she causes the stones to steam in her bucket, the medicine-man's heart she boils. The medicine-man's heart, for that is her rock bucket medicine.⁸ Now then

⁵ = *heen-aak'w-* with conditional *-gi*⁶.

⁷ Rather unusual order. We should expect *k!elwiti ganàu*.

⁸ That is, it is supernaturally harmful to it.

⁹ *wigamdi*, "my paternal grandmother," is an epithet of Old Rock Woman.

Ganēhi^ε Aldauyá^ak'wadis¹ malaginín. "Ganē miⁱ dán mologol góyo t!omōm," nagán; he^εnéhi^ε 'ik!u^mmánk'wa, diⁱé^lal-gelegaláms.² Ganēhi^ε máxla diⁱé^lált'gwa mats!ák'.³ Ganēhi^ε ge giní^εk'da^ε,⁴ miⁱ pleyé^ε goyò. Bu^ubiníⁱ ba^ayānk'^w, ganē ba-ixó^ut' goyo bu^ubiníⁱ. He^εdadá^ε mók' ganàu wabilík'^w goyo bu^ubiníⁱ. Ganēhi^ε hoyó^εt', dī^t'giliu wala^alik'wa goyo bu^ubiníⁱ; ganē héle^ε, wahoyodàk'^w.

Ganēhi^ε gwī^εne la^alē', ba^agwé^εnbí^s,⁵ hánliwilà^ué wáxa wá^ada; wáxa^a miⁱ gáhi na^εnàk',⁶ miⁱ hono^ε gáhi na^εnàk'^ε wáxa. Ganēhi^ε alse^εk'sák'sank'^ε há^aéyà. Gana^εnéx goyo dō^umk'^ε goyo ī^tslak'^w. Goyo bu^ubiníⁱ dek'yū^t'k'auk'wòk';^ε wayá he^εnè dek'iwík'auk'wánma^ε, ga na^εnàk'ik'.⁶ Gana^εnex t'ga^a sigīt'a^ε, p!a-imasgák'amna^ε,⁶ gas'i^ε gana^εnéx la^alē'. S'umluhūixia^ué,⁷ wigamdi^ε was'umluhūixók'^w. Gana^εnéx nékci-wò^t'k'di há^ap'k!lemná^s k!lemánk';^ε gana^εnéx pluwú^ué^k' há^ap'-k!lemná^s, bo^u gana^εnéx pluwú^ué^k' yap!à. Gana^εnéx yaxa meléxi wihìn, a^ak's'i^ε ánī^ε alxí^t'k' hondè. P!alák'wahi 'aga^εà.

¹ Evidently contains the word *da-uyáa*, "medicine-spirit." Old Rock Woman was said to be the mountain's "boss."

² A sign of preparation for war or for a war-dance.

³ As white war-paint.

⁴ Perhaps misheard for *giní^εk'da^ε*.

⁵ This word was said not to be in ordinary use, but to be limited to myth texts.

for the medicine-man she sang, whereat then did die the medicine-man. Now my paternal grandmother, the Old Rock Woman, has done so.

Then, 'tis said, (the mountain) Aldauyá^ak'wadis¹ was told of it. "Now the Old Rock Woman has killed the medicine-man," was he told. Just then did he prepare himself, and his hair he tied up into a top-knot.² Then dust, 'tis said, on his forehead he put.³ Then there when he came, now dead lay the medicine-man. His arm he picked up, now wrenched loose the medicine-man's arm. Off yonder into a pit he jumped with the medicine-man's arm. Then, 'tis said, he danced, with the medicine-man's arm he danced rapidly around brandishing it. Now he sang, danced with it.

Then, 'tis said, some time elapsed. Up he looked, across to his younger brother he looked; now his younger brother, for his part, that same thing did do, now again that same thing did do his younger brother. Then, 'tis said, they on either side did nod to each other. Thus they slew the medicine-man, the evil-minded medicine-man. The medicine-man's arm he brandished before him; just as a knife is brandished before one, that he did with it. Thus when the world was set, when down it was placed, then thus it happened. (Thus) the s'omlohólxa^s⁷ makes medicine, my paternal grandfather did make medicine with (this song and dance). Someone, I believe the Children Creator, made things thus. Thus, Children Creator, they call him, nowadays people call him thus. Thus much did my mother tell me, but she did not see it either. This, for its part, is a myth indeed.

⁶ These forms are inferentials again. It seems plausible to assume that the text, being a medicine formula rather than an ordinary myth narrative, should have inferential verb forms throughout for narrative, but that Mrs. Johnson now and then slipped into the more easy-going aorists.

⁷ For the differences between the s'omlohólxa^s and *goyò* compare Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-45.

23. THE ROLLING SKULL.¹

The Takelmas believed in people who consisted of nothing but a skull; they were called *Xilam da'gaxda*, "dead-person his-head," or *Xilam t'legili'xi*, "dead-person his-skull," and rolled around killing people. They made a noise like bum+, bum+, and cried out constantly *Ximi'+ximi*. Children were threatened with the skull's cry *Ximi'+ximi* if they did not mind.

Once the people heard a skull come rolling along. They were terribly afraid and ran off, crying, "O'+ da da da da da! O'+ da da da da da!" Hot rocks were placed in a ditch and covered up so that the rolling skull could not see them. As the people ran away he rolled after them, until he rolled into the ditch, where he was killed. Had it not been for that, he would have killed everybody.

¹ This and the following fragments were elicited by a question as to whether the Takelmas were acquainted with the myths of the rolling skull and the musical contest in which the lamprey eel comes off victor. Frances Johnson did not remember them well enough to tell them as myth texts. For the former of these myths compare Curtin's Yana tale in his "Creation Myths of Primitive America," pp. 325-35.

24. EEL THE SINGER.¹

Eel was said to have sung through the holes² of his own body like a flute. He was called the best singer of all.

¹ Compare, Curtin, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-208.

² The markings on the lamprey eel are thought of as holes.

II. CUSTOMS AND PERSONAL NARRATIVES.¹I. HOW A TAKELMA HOUSE WAS BUILT.²

Yap!a wíliⁱ k!emèi. Bēm p!a-idī^ló^uk', emé^ss*i*^s hono^s p!a-idī^ló^uk', hé^sme^s hono^s p!a-idī^ló^uk', hagamgamàn p!a-idī^ló^uk'. Hé^sne hono^s hangilíp' gadàk' hagamgamàn, gadàk's*i*^s mū^sxdánhi hangilíp'. He^sne yá^ss*i*^s wíli s'idibíⁱ k!emèi; he^sne gadàk's*i*^s mats!àk' wíliⁱ he^làm, t'gàl ga he^lám k!emèi. Ganē dak'dát' dat!abàk', hā^s'ya^s dat!abàk'. Ganē dede-wilíⁱdadís k!emèi dak'dat's*i*^s dahók'wal k!emèi k!iyí'x ganàu ba-igináxda^a. Ganēs*i*^s gák!an k!emèi, xā^s'sgip!ís^sgap', gwelt'gāū gináx k!emèi; wíli s'idibí's*i*^s k!emèi.

Ganē dat!abàk' ha^s'it'bū'xt'bixik'^w. Ganē lep!ēs hahū-wú^uk'i, ganát' gidí alxalī yap!à; p!iⁱ yogá^a has'sō^u, gas*i*^s alxalīyaná^s hā^s'ya pliyà. Gana^snéx hop!è^sn yap!a^a wíliⁱ; lep'níxa wíliⁱ ganàt'. Samáxas*i*^s ana^snéx' alxalī, ánī^s wíli ganàu. Gwás' wíli yaxa wit'géye^sk'i, gas*i*^s plíⁱ yogá^a k!emèi habinì. Gana^snex samáxa alxalī, anī^s lep'níxa nat' wíli ganàu.

2. MARRIAGE.

Wá-iwī he^swa^agán, tc!ulx hé^swa^swa^agiwín; yáp!as*i*^s gel-gulúxa^sn wá-iwī máxa dap!ālá-u máxa, gas*i*^s ga^sal he^swāk'

¹An attempt was made to secure a series of texts dealing with the life of the Indians. The six short texts that make up this part represent the indifferent success obtained. Indians generally find it far more difficult to dictate an account of a custom, which requires a certain amount of originality, than to tell a myth which they have already told or heard tell doubtless more than once.

II. CUSTOMS AND PERSONAL NARRATIVES.¹

I. HOW A TAKELMA HOUSE WAS BUILT.²

The people are making a house. A post they set in the ground, and here again they set one in the ground, yonder again they set one in the ground, in four places they set them in the ground. Then also they place beams across on top in four places, and above (these) they put one across just once. And just then they make the house wall; and then on top they place the house boards, those they make out of sugar-pine lumber. Then they finish it on top, on either side³ they finish it. Then they make the door, and on top they make a hole for the going out of the smoke. And then they make a ladder, they notch out (a pole), for going down to the floor they make it; and the house wall they make.

Then they finish it, all cleaned inside. Now rush mats they spread out inside, on such the people sit. The fireplace is in the center, so that they are seated on either side of the fire. In that way, indeed, was the house of the people long ago; in winter their house was such. But in summer they were sitting like now,⁴ not in the house. Just a brush shelter they placed around, so that the fireplace they made in the middle. Thus they dwelt in summer, not as in winter in a house.

2. MARRIAGE.

A girl was purchased, with dentalia she was purchased. Now the people liked each other, the father of the girl and the

² For further details see Sapir, Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon, *American Anthropologist*, N. S., Vol. 9, pp. 262, 63.

³ That is, they put on the boards reaching from the ridge-pole to the sides of the house.

⁴ We were sitting out in the open when this text was dictated.

wa-iwí. Ga naⁿnagásaⁿ hop!èⁿ yap!à. Gasⁱ tlemeyán-wia^u, wa-iwí yaⁿngwán dap!àlá-u wá^ada.

K'ai gwala la^abán, tc!úlx, xúma, yeléx, k!él, dük', yüp', degàs, k!el meheli', ga nàt' la^abán; máⁿnaisⁱ samáxa hix la^abán, luxùm t'gal dal^wwap'ü'tlik^w ga la^abán, p'im xum la^abán. Yáp!a mixal yá^ada^e aldī'l le^bàn^x. Hop!èⁿà wá-iwí ání^e yok!^wōi t!i'lā'p'a, dalwí^e ání^e gelgulùk' t!i'lā'p'a; dap!ā'lau hono^e ganaⁿéx ání^e gelgulùk' k'a-ilā'p'a dāl^wí^e.

3. HOW A FEUD WAS SETTLED.¹

Xa^awít'. Yap!a t!omōxaⁿ k!o^uxámxa yowó^uda^e hā^eyà yōk!^wat'gwan yilim, xilam yō^uk!a^a yilim. Tc!òlx ga xilam yō^uk!a^a nagánhan. Gasⁱ ganē tc!ibínxaⁿ, gasⁱ xa^awisa^a k!emēn, gasⁱ xa^awít'. "ībīl^e ū's'i t!ümūxda^e," nagásaⁿ yap!à. Aga t!omománma^e ga xa^awisa^a k!emèi. "Ganat' ē^u's'i, t!eimí^s ē^u'ci," nagàn yap!a do^umá^s. Gasⁱ ání^e gelgulùk'. "Wedē k'ai úsbiga^e, honó^e dō^umxbín yá^a," nagáⁱe yap!a do^umá^s. Ganē xa^awisa^a hanyewéⁱe, ganē gwenhegwé-hôk^w. "Aⁿī^e ībīl^e ugúsbiⁿ," nagasbi," nagáⁱe. Ganē xa^awisa^a, "Wedē ga nàt,' ēⁱs'is'is' nagáⁿ."

"Wedē ga nēxdam t!ümūxda^e haxoⁿhì, ání^e gwī^e naⁿnagásbinda^e. Ganga t!ümūxdam yaxà, wa-iwít'èk' gè cī^eulít'a^e," nagásaⁿ yap!a hop!èⁿ. Ganē hányewéⁱe. "Ganga ībīl^e ū's'i,' nagásbi. 'Gí^ewa klīgá^t, honó^e yap!a do^umaná^e,'

father of the youth, so for that reason they purchased the girl. That long ago people did to one another. Thereupon they went with her to see her married, the girl was taken to the youth.

Many things were carried (as presents)—dentalia, food, burden-baskets, basket-buckets, skirts, basket-caps, sifting basket-pans, cooking baskets, that sort of things was carried along; but at this season, summer, camass was taken along, manzanita berries mixed up with sugar-pine nuts,—those were carried along, dried salmon was carried along. As many people as did go, all carried things along. Long ago, indeed, the girl did not know the husband, sometimes she did not like the husband; thus also the youth sometimes did not like the woman.

3. HOW A FEUD WAS SETTLED.¹

(How) one acts as go-between. (Let us suppose) people who are related to each other by their children's marriage slay one another, on either side they call for each other's bones, dead men's bones they call for. Dentalia, those used to be termed dead men's bones. So then they make speeches to one another, and one is made a go-between, so that he may go between (both parties). "Give me blood-money, since you have slain me!" people said to each other. Now he (whose kinsman) has been slain, that one makes use of the go-between. "Give me of that kind, give me one hundred," the slayer of the person is told. But he does not wish it. "I will not give you anything, I shall even kill some more of yours," says the slayer of the person. Then the go-between returns across, then recounts what he has been told. "'I'll give you no blood-money!' he says to you," says he. Then the go-between (adds), "'Not in that fashion!' no matter how often I told him." [17]

"Do not tell me that, since you have slain mine just for nothing, though I did nothing to you. For just no reason have

¹ Compare Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-72.

nagaĩt'e^ε," nagá^{ie} xa^awisa^a. Ganē gwenhegwéhak^wnana^ε gana^εnéx malàk' xa^awisa^a, "Ganē aga dūmhak^wdan guxwí xilam la^alē'." Ga nagásaⁿ yap!a hop!è^εn t!omōxanda^ε. Gasⁱε ganē honó^ε hanyewé^{ie} xa^awisa^a. Emé^εdat' dūmhôk^wt'agá^{ie}. "Ganga hanyèü! k'aiwi^ε ügü's'i," nagá^{ie} dūmhôk^w. Gasⁱε hanyewe^{ie}. "'Ganga k'aiwi^ε ü's'i,' nagásbi," nagá^{ie} xa^awisa^a. "K'aiwi^ε ók'i," nagá^{ie} xa^awisa^a, yap!a do^umás^s nagà. "Yewe déhi k!iyí^εk'. Honó^ε yap!a do^umaná^ε, gedē ye^εgwás-bina^ε.¹ Yap!a gwála do^umaná^ε, gasⁱε gá^εal k'aiwi^ε ók'i," nagá^{ie} xa^awisa^a.

Ganē "Há-u" nagá^{ie}. "K'aiwisⁱε ogoyíⁿ. Dūwū^εk'," nagá^{ie} yap!a do^umás^s. "Wéde gede ye^εgwásdam, k'aiwi^ε ogúsbiⁿ. K'lú'yabadam e^εbik'," nagá^{ie} yap!a do^umás^s. "K'aiwi^ε hā'p'di' másⁱε hono^ε ü's'i." Miⁱ honó^ε yewé^{ie} xa^awisa^a; miⁱ senésant', guxwí dū la^alē'. Yok!oyán miⁱ k'aiwi^ε ók'igulugwán. Gwála yap!à. Miⁱ senésant'. "'ībī'l^ε ogoyíⁿ,' nagásbi; 'masí^ε t!oco^u hā'p'di' ü's'i,' nagásbi." Miⁱ gwenhegwéhôk^w. Mī^εsga^ε dak'dahālk'wa, "Gáhi^ε nagá^{ie}." Ganē ībī'l^ε ogús^an. Ganē há^εya wát'gwan giní^εk', ganē ogúsaⁿ. Yap!a do^umás^s da^agwála oyōn, ā'k'sⁱε t!os^óu hā'p'di'hì ogoyín. Ganaⁿéx hop!è^εnà yap!a t!omōxanda^ε, k'ai^εlā'p'asⁱε honó^ε k'ai gwála ogúsaⁿ hā^εyà. Xa^awisa^asⁱε hono^ε k'ai ogoyín, tc!úl^x ogoyín; adat' dūmhôk^wda^a ga xebéⁿ, ga tc!ol^x ogoik'wa. Yap!a do^umás^s anī^ε k'ai ogoik'wa.

¹Literally, "in-front-of-that you-will-be-retuned-with-(it)."

you slain one of mine, though yonder my girl is dwelling," (thus) people spoke to one another in times long past. Then he returns across. "'Just you give me blood-money!' he says to you. 'Too far will it go! People will yet be slain,' say I," says the go-between. Then, recounting what he has been entrusted to say, the go-between tells him thus, "Now these whose (kinsman) has been slain, their heart has become sick." That did people of long ago say to one another when they killed each other. So then once more the go-between turns across. On this side he whose (kinsman) has been slain cries. "Keep on going across! Many things he must give me," says he whose (kinsman) has been slain. So he returns across. "'Just you give me something!' he says to you," says the go-between. "Give him something!" says the go-between, to the slayer of the person he says it. "Perhaps too far it goes. Yet shall people be slain; they will get even with you. Many people will be killed, so for that reason give him something!" says the go-between.

Then "Yes" he says. "I'll give him something. It is well," says the slayer of the person. "You shall not get even with me, I'll give you something. Friends to each other we are," says the slayer of the person. "Some little thing do you also give me in return!" Now the go-between returns again; now he whoops, his heart has become glad. Now it is known that it is intended to give him something. Many are the people. Now he whoops. "'I give you blood-money,' he says to you. 'Do you too give me a little bit,' he says to you." Then he relates to them what he has heard. A certain one answers him, "Just that he says." Then they give each other blood-money. Now on either side they proceed to each other and give each other (presents). The slayer of the person gives most of all, to him, in his turn, is given just a little bit. Thus in time long past, indeed, people (acted) when they slew one another. And also the women on both sides give each other many things. And the go-between also is given something, dentalia are given to him. On this side he whose (kinsman) has been slain, that

4. HOW A BAD-HEARTED MEDICINE-MAN HAS HIS GUARDIAN SPIRITS DRIVEN OUT OF HIM.¹

Goyo ɪ'ltʰak^w ganàt^ʰ bayeweyagwán² yo^uláp^xda^a yap!a gayawaná^é. Gasⁱé ání^é dô^mia gelgulugwán, gasⁱé ga^aal yo^uláp^xda^a ba-ihimimán. S'umlohólxa^s xebéⁿ, ání^é yap!a gamáxdí³ xebéⁿ. "Ga naⁿákⁱ," nagan; ání^é ák^ʰ hagu-xwít^gwa⁴ xebéⁿ. Gasⁱé gani xū^éne la^alé^ʰ, gáni yap!a abai-lemé^x. Hé^élt^a ání^é yok!oyáⁿ. Wihin hemé^éham, miⁱ gelelá^axaldíⁿ;⁵ wihin hemé^éham s'omlohólxa^s hé^élt^a. Goyo bayeweyàk^w yo^uláp^xda^a, himimán.

Ganē da^aplíya mats!agán goyò lap^s wò^ki^é. Ganē k^opx badabátⁱ wa^díxda, ganē yo^uláp^xda^a mí^ésgaⁿ bayewé^é. Gási^é bayewéida^é aⁿ+ yo^m hadé^éda nagá^é goyò. Ganē hono^é gahi náⁿnagà gani p!ul^ʰ badabátⁱ. Ganē hono^é bayewéida^é yo^uláp^xda ganē yo^m hadé^éda nagá^é. Ganē goyo mǎn mixál bayewéida^é yo^uláp^xda. Miⁱ gǎ^ém bayewé^é. Ganē wa^ahimidán goyò, "Wede ts!a-imát^ʰ, aldí hè^élél^ék^ʰ," nagan, goyo wa^ahimidán. Ganē hono^é gahí^é naⁿnagà; ganē hono^é bayewé^é yo^uláp^xda, ganē yō^m hono^é hadé^éda naga^é. Mǎn mixal bayewéida^é; miⁱ xíbini bayewé^é. Ganē hono^é gahí^é naⁿnagà, hono^é yewé^é yo^uláp^xda. Mǎn mixal bayewéida^é. Gasⁱé "Wede ts!a-imát^ʰ," nagan, "hé^élél^ék^ʰ." Ts^ʰlís^a mü^éxdàn^é ga naⁿnagàn. Gasⁱé mǎn bayewéida^é yo^uláp^xda; miⁱ dēhal bayewé^é, miⁱ íxdil bayewé^é. Ganaⁿéx mǎn; gani yap!amí^és la^alit^aé, miⁱ yap!amí^és bayewé^é, nagá^é.

¹ Compare Sapir, *Journal of American Folk-lore*, Vol. xx, p. 48.

² = *ba-iyeweyagwán*.

³ Literally, "raw," *i. e.*, such as are not medicine-men.

one does so, that one gives him dentalia. The slayer of the person does not give him anything.

4. HOW A BAD-HEARTED MEDICINE-MAN HAS HIS GUARDIAN SPIRITS DRIVEN OUT OF HIM.¹

A bad-hearted medicine-man—of such a one the guardian spirits are driven out, since he eats up people. Now it is not desired to kill him, so for that reason his guardian spirits are driven out. A s'omlohólxa²s does it, raw³ people do not do it. "Do that to him," he is told; he, (the medicine-man), does not do it of his own free will.⁴ So now night has come, now the people have assembled together in the house. His song I do not know. My mother used to imitate it, now I have forgotten it;⁵ my mother used to imitate the song of the s'omlohólxa²s. The medicine-man's guardian spirits he causes to go out, they are driven out.

Then the medicine-man is placed alongside of the fire without a blanket. Then ashes are clapped all over his body, and one of his guardian spirits goes out. Now as it goes out (the medicine-man groans) Aⁿ+, and there is blood in the medicine-man's mouth. Then he does that same thing to him again, now claps ashes over him. Now when his guardian spirit goes out again, then there is blood in his mouth. Now the medicine-man counts how many of his guardian spirits go out. Now two have gone out. Then the medicine-man is addressed, "Do not hide them! Let them all go!" he is told, the medicine-man is addressed. Then again that same thing he says to him; now again his guardian spirit goes out, and again blood is in his mouth. He counts how many go out; now three have gone out. Then again he does that same thing to him, again his guardian spirit goes. He counts how many go out. Thereupon

¹Literally, "in his own heart."

²= *gel-yaláaxaldi²n*, literally, "I breast-lost it."

³Literally, "at-night once," *i. e.*, "in one night."

“Gani miⁱ dí henéⁿ?” nagán goyò. Gwála yapla wíli debũ^é. Gasⁱé “Há-u,” naga^é, “miⁱ henéⁿ, miⁱ ání^é k’ài.”— “Dedilümü’sgat? Miⁱ diⁱ bús’ la¹lè¹?” Gasⁱé “Há-u,” naga^é. “Ne^é hono^é ga^éhi na^énāk’i,” nagàn s’omlohólxa^és. Gasⁱé gáhi^é na^énagà, máxla k’alák’alhi, iwôbadabát’i; ání^é k’ái bayewé^é yo¹láp^xda, miⁱ henéⁿ. S’omlohólxa^és gá na^énagà; goyò i’lts!ak^w yapla gayawaná^é, gá ga^éal gá^a nagàn. Gasⁱé wihin ga^a nèx¹ meléxi, aldī’ wihin yiwin ga^é meléxina^é. Gasⁱé goyo ba^ayewéida^é k’ái he^éne máxla ^éalgü^ugüwik^w nát’ la¹lè¹. Gá na^énagàn goyo i’lts!ak^w. Wihín ga^a nex meléxi, gí^si^é ání^é alxí¹gi^én.

5. FRANCES JOHNSON IS CURED BY A MEDICINE-WOMAN.²

Ganē xíli^uéxwinia-uda^é,³ géhi goyo mahài xíli^uxwa^é. Ganē sa^ansánsinia^u; k’a-ilā’p’agan ba^axó^udan, ga ganàu sa^ansánsaⁿ. Ganē he^éne giⁱ ts’lawit’ eít^eé, ání^é nek gwel^éiūs’i. Miⁱ bo^usⁱé bēm ik!wenéhiⁿ, hop!è^énsⁱé ání^é nék gwel^éiūs’i wa-iwi eít^eéda^é.

Gasⁱé xíl^k’wi lo^ulagwánma^é hé^éne xilam la¹lit^eé. Gasⁱé ganē goyo lagagámdan, wiham goyo lagagámt’; goyo gamgám dak’dē hoyó^t.⁴ Gasⁱé miⁱhis lohoit^eé. Gasⁱé goyo yimís’al-

¹ Literally, “that speaking.”

² Compare Sapir, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 44.

"Do not hide them!" he is told, "let them go!" In one night that is done to him. Now he counts them as his guardian spirits go out; now five have gone out. Now ten have gone out. In that way he counts them. Then when it has come to twenty, now twenty have gone out, he says so.

"Are they all gone now?" is asked the medicine-man. Many are the people, the house is full. Thereupon "Yes" he says. "Now they are all gone, there are none now."—"Do you tell the truth? Have they all disappeared now?" Thereupon "Yes" he says. "Well, do that same thing to him again," is told the s'omlohólxa's. So that same thing he does to him, dust he rubs over him, claps it upon him. No more do his guardian spirits go out; they are all gone now. That has the s'omlohólxa's done to him. Since the bad-hearted medicine-man ate up people, for that reason was that done to him. Now my mother did tell me that account;¹ they are all my mother's words, that which she did tell me. Now when the medicine-man has recovered, just like one that has had ashes thrown in his face has he become. That is done to evil-minded medicine-men. My mother did tell me that account, but I did not see it.

5. FRANCES JOHNSON IS CURED BY A MEDICINE-WOMAN.²

Now while they were playing woman's shinny-ball,³ right there a great medicine-woman was playing shinny-ball. Then they were fighting with one another; the women (of one side) were beaten, for that reason they fought with one another. Now at that time I was a fast runner, no one beat me in running. But today I hold a staff in my hand, while long ago, when I was a girl, no one beat me in running,

Now when the shinny-billet was played with, at that time I became sick. Now then a medicine-man was paid, my father did pay a medicine-man. Four medicine-men danced for me.⁴

³ See Sapir, *American Anthropologist*, N. S., Vol. 9, pp. 261, 62.

⁴ Literally, "over-me he-danced."

daⁿ. Miⁱ agasⁱ yō^k!^wat^k yá^a; xumasⁱ t!āk^ʼ xābinwinì, ání^e wana t!ā^ʼk^ʼ debū^e, ání^e ganá de^eūgū^ʼsⁱ, xísⁱ ání^e k^ʼai u^gwáⁿ. Dayo^ugámxa gásⁱ ganē yimís^ʼaldaⁿ goyo ga hawi ání^e dak^ʼdē hoyót^ʼa^e. Aga goyo gamgám yaxa dak^ʼdē hoyót^ʼ, gásⁱ há^aga goyo yimís^ʼaldanda^e ga hawi ání^e dak^ʼdē hoyót^ʼ. Yimís^ʼaldanda^e wihín goyo wōlt^ʼ, he^ene yá^a ganē ba-ik^ʼliyī^ʼk^ʼ.

Ganē yap^ʼla ^ealt^ʼlemēx; ání^e giⁱ alxí^ʼgiⁿ yap^ʼla ^ealt^ʼlemēxda^e, miⁱ lohoit^ʼe^e. Ganē hoyót^ʼ habēbini dīhá^ʼuda la^ʼlīt^ʼa^e yá^a. Ganē “īt^ʼáni, gwélxda ī^ʼūxda īt^ʼlānip^ʼ,” nagáⁱ goyo^a. Gasⁱ “Aga yó^usda^a mī^ʼwa,” negésⁱ. Miⁱ lohoit^ʼe^e; nék^ʼdi yowós^ʼ? Gasⁱ biliwáldana^e tclidáxgwa, k^ʼái he^ene bēm ba-ixó^ʼdinma^e, na^enex naⁿnagá^e. Bo^u aga bēm la-udánxbigi^e, andi^e wa^aganit^ʼ? Ganaⁿèx ba-ixó^ʼt^ʼ, wa^aaganíⁿ ba-ixó^ʼdina^e. Gasⁱ he^enehi ba^t!ebét^ʼe^e. Xuma ^eū^ʼsⁱ, hindē,” nagaīt^ʼe^e. Gasⁱ goyo ūyū^ʼs. Gasⁱ ganē ga nagáⁱ, “Hawi nāk^ʼi, boⁿē hawi wa^adíxda^a ik^ʼ!u^uminíⁿ.” Ganē hono^e he^ʼlél^e, ganē aldí ^ʼik^ʼ!u^umán wa^adíxdèk^ʼ; ganē yō^um klél ganau mats^ʼ!àk^ʼ. Ganē aldí ^ʼik^ʼ!u^umán; legwélsi dēxdagwa wà, yūm ba-iginík^ʼ!w, k^ʼlél ganau mats^ʼ!àk^ʼ. A^ʼní^e hono^e xilam la^ʼlīt^ʼe^e.

Ganē ga nagáⁱ, “Wede honó^e xilam lāp^ʼk^ʼlēt^ʼ, giⁱ cū^ʼalp^ʼgi^e eīt^ʼe^e, wede lohók^ʼi^e eīt^ʼe^e. Lohók^ʼi^e eīt^ʼe^e yá^a he^ene yá^a hono^e xilam lāp^ʼda^e,” negésⁱ. “Wa-iwí^ʼ dū, ání ī^ʼlts^ʼ!ak^ʼ!w wa^ahimit^ʼ yap^ʼla, guxwí^ʼ yaxa dū, ū^ʼyū^ʼs yaxà,” nagáⁱ ganē goyò. “Ganē p^ʼla^agán, xi t^ʼū k^ʼlemán, p^ʼla^agán; he^ene yá^a xuma da^ʼók^ʼi^ʼk^ʼ.” Ganē xi t^ʼū k^ʼlemèi wihìn; ganē p^ʼlegēnxi,

¹ Either *ándi* (= *áni^e di*) or *wede dí* may here be used as negative interrogative particle, according to whether *wa^aaganit^ʼ* is taken as aorist (“you feel it;” aorist

Now then I almost died. Thereupon I dreamt of a medicine-woman. And now I was nothing but bones; and my food was half a spoonful, not even a full spoonful, not that much did my mother give me to eat, nor did I drink any water. And now in the fall I dreamt of that medicine-woman who had not yet danced for me. These four medicine-men had been dancing for me, but yonder medicine-woman I had dreamt of—that one had not yet danced for me. My mother went to fetch the medicine-woman I dreamt of, and just then she came.

Then the people assembled together. I did not see the people as they came together, I was dead now. Then she danced just when it had come to be after the middle of the day. Then "Hold her! Do you people hold her legs and hands," said the medicine-woman, for her part. Now "She here might start up," she said concerning me. Now I was dead; who starts up (when he is dead)? Then jumping upon the disease spirit, something like a splinter of wood being pulled out, thus she did. If nowadays a splinter of wood should hurt you, would you not feel it? In that way she pulled it out; I felt it when she pulled it out. And just then I arose. "Give me food, mother," I said. Thereupon the medicine-woman laughed (from joy). Now thereupon that she said, "Tell her to wait until now I set right her body." Then again she sang, then set my body completely right. Then the blood she put into a basket-bucket. Now everything she set right; with her lips she sucked it from me, took out the blood, and put it into the basket-bucket. Not again did I become sick.

Then that she said, "Not again will you become sick as long as I remain alive, as long as I do not die. Just when I should die, just then will you again become sick," she said to me. "She is a good girl, not badly she talks to people, ever good her heart, ever she laughs," then said the medicine-woman. "Now let her bathe. Prepare hot water, let her

stem *agan-* with organic second *a*) or potential ("you would feel it;" non-aorist stem *ag[a]n-* with inorganic second *a*).

he^{ne} yá^a xuma^εügü'sⁱ. Agas^{iε} aldiⁱ miⁱ há^{ae}yeweya^{ue}, goyos^{iε} miⁱ nó^{ue}s^ε yewé^{iε}.

Ba^ayewēnxi; ání^ε hono^ε xilam la^alit^e hé^{ne} gas^{iε}. Ganē ba^ayeweit^eda^ε ū'lūk^{lit}k' he^elemé^x, ánat' la^alē' dagáxdek', ání^ε k'ai ū'lūk^{lit}k'. Gwēn^εwí^εxap' ga yá^a dágaxdek' alt'géyēt'giyaⁿ. Ganaⁿéx ba^ayewēnxi, ga ga^{al} gí^εa da^ahó^xgwaⁿ goyò. Gas^{iε} aldiⁱ bō^u yap^{la} ga nagá^ε, "A'nī^ε k'ai goyò, ání^ε k'ai yok^{lōi}," nagá^ε bo^u aga ga^ayá^k'w. Gí^s'í^ε gwala alxí^{gi}n. Wí^εwákdi' gā'p^{lini} goyò mí^εsⁱ^{ε1} hono^ε wihin "t'áda^a" nagà; éme^ε ba-ik^{liyi}k' wít'awā xilamná^ε, gadák' hoyòt'. Gí^εà ganaⁿéx alxí^{gi}n goyò. Yap^{la} ^εalt'gú^εs^{ε2} goyo wí^εin, gíxgap' ogoihi, agas^{iε} gōm ání^ε ganaⁿéx yap^{la}² goyò.

6. A RAID OF THE UPPER TAKELMA.³

Sáma mū^εxdàn wígamdis^{iε} Yūk'yák'wa⁴ ló^uk', gehíhi^ε wayá^ε. Dahō^xa la^alē', t'gemét^{liauhi}ε, ganē hínau ^εályuwuyá^{ue}; p^{li} yaxa degül^uk^{lalx} dáks^oumàl. Míⁱ wul^x³ me^ε la^alē', mí^{hi}ε klūwūwiá^{ue} nō^u. Ganē heⁿéhi wígamdi wa-iwít'a heⁿéhi gelt^{layàk}', "ō+ hamí^εt' yuk'yák'wa gede wayá^ada^ε. Geldi-yálxalt^kleit'?" nagá^ε wígamdi wa-iwít'a. He^{ne} yá^ahi ga nagá^ε, "ō+," wihàm. Gwényewé^ε, máxa yewewált'. Wígamdi xāpl^{linó}u^k'wa, míⁱ waik^{'his} wígamdi. "Ba^adēp'! míⁱ ^εalī wūlx." Bā^{'hi}εbilí^{ue}, ganēhi^ε no^u klūwū^ε máxadī^l; da^εmáxau yá^ahi waya^{aniá}^{ue}.

¹ = mí^εsⁱ^ε.

² yap^{la} ^εalt'gú^εs^ε, "people white," refers to white men; yap^{la} alone, ordinarily simply "person, people," by contrast here means "Indian."

³ In speaking of the Upper Takelma the word wul^x is here used, a term ordinarily

bathe, just then you shall give her food to eat." Then my mother prepared warm water. Then she made me bathe, just then she gave me food. Thereupon they all now returned home yonder, and now the medicine-woman returned next door.

She cured me; not again did I become sick as at that time. Then, when I recovered, my hair all came out; in this way did my head become—no hair of mine at all. A neckerchief, just that I tied about my head. Thus she cured me; for that reason, I, for my part, believe in medicine-men. But nowadays all people say that, "Nothing the medicine-men, nothing they know," say nowadays these (people) growing up. But I have seen many. Two of my cousins are medicine-men, and also another one (who) calls my mother aunt. Here he came when my elder sister was sick, and danced for her. I, for my part, have thus seen medicine-men. White people's doctors are different, they give people medicine; but we Indian medicine-men are not thus.

6. A RAID OF THE UPPER TAKELMA.³

One summer my paternal grandfather was trapping at Yūk'yák'wa,⁴ right there he slept. The evening came, it was getting dark; then up river they looked, a fire was just blazing on top of the mountains. Now the Shastas⁵ were coming hither, and people ran off down river. And just then my paternal grandmother bethought herself, "Oh, it is right there at Yūk'yák'wa that your father is sleeping. Did you forget him?" said my paternal grandmother. Just then that said my father, "Oh!" He turned back, went back for his father. My paternal grandfather was warming his back, now my paternal grandfather had nearly gone to sleep. "Get up! Now right here

referring to the Shastas. Indeed Frances Johnson used the English name Saste to translate the Indian *wul'x*, though, when asked, she definitely declared that she had reference to the *Lat'ga'wá*⁶ or Upper Takelma.

⁴ Yūk'yák'wa was a well-known salt-marsh where many deer were caught.

Ganēhi^ε gwel^εwā'+k'wi^ε la^alit'a^ε ba^adé^εyeweyagwán, agási^ε wihám^εà k!u^uyápxadī'l dap!ā'la-u gā'p^εini gelweyānxa^εn.¹ Ganēhi^ε miⁱ hono^ε k!ūwūwiá^{uε} ba^adé^εyeweyagwán, agási^ε wihám wayá^ε k!u^uyápxadī'l. Gwī^εne si^εwō'k'di waik', ání^ε k'wā'ε^εxk'; agási^ε miⁱ yap!a ání^ε k'ài, gā'p^εinihi yaxa wáya^ε hawì wihàm k!u^uyápxadī'l. Agási^ε úlum^εà da^εmáxau pliⁱ ^εalxígin, gási^ε xū'+^εnehì yanàk' wúl^xεa. Ganēhi^ε huⁿ+ wúl^x miⁱ yawá^{iε}. Miⁱ yo^umī yap!à; agási^ε yap!a k!ūwú^uda^ε miⁱ da^εmáxau, hé^εne yá^ahi iguyú^{uε}xa^εn. "Wúl^x miⁱ me^εwōk'," nagása^εnhi^ε k!u^uyápxadī'l. "Gwidí na^εnagayik'?" nagása^εn k!u^uyápxadī'l. Wiham hogá^εs yùk', k!u^uyápxasⁱε hono^ε hogwá^εs yùk'.

"Ba^abilwabá^ε." Miⁱ wúl^xεa dé^t'an, miⁱ hono^ε dé^t'an wī^εit'géyek!in. Ha^εs'ō^u yá^ahi waik'; ganēhi^ε ba^abilí^{uε}, miⁱ k!ūwū^ε. "Ge wilí^{uε}, nō^u ge wilí^{uε}!"² Miⁱ "p'ā+"³ sgelé^{uε} wúl^x, "Ge wilí^{uε} nō^u," nagá-ihi^ε wúl^x. Dō^uk' gā'pliniⁱ ána^εnàk' gā'plini dō^uk' ^εalmí^εs; ga yá^ahi gweldà hiwilí^{uε} wihàm, agási^ε k!u^uyápxa^a ^εáni^ε yok!wōi gwidat' hiwilí^uda^ε. Ganē miⁱhi^ε ts'linits!anx wúl^x ^εalwa^adít'gwan. "Háwi ba^abe^ε maháit'a wai!⁴ bo^us'í^ε p'elék's'a^ε,⁵ ba^abe^ε hawi wayá^ε,"⁶ nagása^εnhi^ε. Aga dō^uk' gweldaná^ε wihàm, gadak' yá^ahi nagá^{iε}, gáhi dexebé^εn dō^uk' gadak' nagá-ida^ε. Ganēhi^ε wiham gált'agwa ik!u^umàn, agási^ε yiwiyá^{uε} wulx, ts'liníⁱts!anx; eme^εne yá^ahi miⁱ ts!ayàk'. "Ho^ε!"⁷ miⁱ nagá^{iε}, wihám^εa ba^abilí^{uε}, miⁱ hó^εk'. "Ge wilí^{uε}, ge wilí^{uε} no^u, ge wilí^{uε}," nagása^εnhi^ε. Géme^εdi hono^ε alda^εgìnk'?⁸

¹ So heard for *gelwayaxnxa^εn*.

² Pronounced in a violent whisper.

³ A loud and prolonged whisper.

⁴ Literally, "still up-sun-big sleep!"

⁵ Upper Takelma form of *p'eléxa^ε*.

are the Shastas." Up he jumped, then down river his father and he ran off. Far off indeed were they all sleeping.

Then, when the early morning came, their journey was started again, but my father indeed and his friend, two youths, were sleeping together. Now then again they all ran off, their journey was started, but my father and his friend were sleeping. I do not know how long they slept, they did not wake up; but now there were no more people, just the two indeed did still sleep—my father and his friend. But only a little while before a fire had been seen afar off, and all night long the Shastas, indeed, were going on. Then huⁿ+ the Shastas now were talking. Now they caught up with the people; but when now the people had run off far away, just then (my father and his friend) nudged each other. "The Shastas have now arrived here," said he and his friend to each other. "What are we going to do?" said the friends to each other. My father was a runner, and also his friend was a runner.

"Let us jump up!" Now the Shastas, for their part, were in front of them, and they also were surrounded on all sides. Just in the middle they seemed to be sleeping; then they jumped up, and scampered off. "There they run, down river there they run!"² Now p'ä +³ shouted the Shastas. "There they run down river," said the Shastas. Two logs were like this, two logs were together; right under those ran my father, but he did not know which way his friend had run. Now then the Shastas were angry with one another. "Still sleep when the sun is way up!"⁴ And just now they were going out to war, (yet) still they sleep when the sun's way up,"⁵ they said to one another. While my father was under these logs, one passed right over them; that same thing he said, as he passed over the logs. Then my father got ready his bow, while the Shasta was talking, was

² Bitter sarcasm. The Shastas are finding fault with one another for allowing the men to escape.

³ A hoarse whisper. —

⁴ Literally, "when will they find him again?" *i. e.*, "they never found him again."

Gí^éwa no^u yá^ahi, gé hono^é p!a-idí^éwiliwiá^ué. Ganēhi^é dewénxa la^alē[\]; gwel^éwā[\]k[\]wi^éhi wigámdi wa-iwít^a p!agá-ihí^é hawi t'gemét!ia-uda^é, miⁱ yaxa hánt^aada miⁱ p!ülü^up!alhi, díⁱháut'gwan nagá^é. Ganēhi^é wigámdi^éa du^ugít'gwa wa^ét!oxóxi. Ganēhi^é "Miⁱ ^éalē hánt^aada wúl^x," nagá^é, miⁱ ^éals^oumál k!ūwūwiá^ué. Ganēhi^é mī^ésga^é wili heyé^éx ídá t!ít^a háp^asdiⁱ ganát^{hi} k'abáxa^a yap!à, agási^é miⁱ hánt^a ^éalso^umál ^ée^ébiyá^ué, agási^é wili mī^ésga^é hawi ^éání^é also^umal yap!à. " ^éAlí labà, alí labà," nagá-ihí^é, nak!à t'^{bó}xí^é? nagà, wúl^xsi^é miⁱ emé^é la^alē[\]. Ganēhi^é miⁱ dak^{yo}umíkwa, miⁱ ts!ayagán. "Há' há há," miⁱ wiyí^ék[\] ts!ayagánma^é. "Giⁱ ^éeit^é, wede dūmxdap', Dī^élo^umíⁱ yugamá^és eit^é," nagá-ihí^é. Ga wili mī^ésga^é he^éileméklin, k'abáxa, gūxda^a, t!omxíxa, bús[\] k!emēn wili mī^ésga^é yap!à. A'ní^é hono^é gwi giní^ék[\] yaxà, ganēhi^é hínau yewe^é. Lat'ga^awá^é xebé^én. Gana^énéxhi yap!a hop!è^én henenagwása^én. Gana^énex meléxi wihìn, hawi ^éaní^é wiham yō^uk^w.

¹ With gesture towards some Indian lads that happened to be about.

² = t'^{bó}xí^é.

angry; when he was right close to him now, he shot at him. "Ho⁸!" now he said; my father, for his part, jumped up and ran. "There he runs, there he runs down river, there he runs!" they said to one another. They never found him again.

Just way off down river, there again they were camping. Then the next day came. Right early in the morning my paternal grandmother was bathing when yet it was dark; now just on the other side of the river (the Shastas) now were marching, one after another they passed on. Then my paternal grandmother, for her part, snatched together her clothes. Then she said, "Now right here on the other side of the river are the Shastas," and to the mountains they ran off. Then one house was left (with) a person's sons just like those little boys;¹ while now they were all half up the mountain the people of the one house were not yet in the mountains. "Take this along, take this along," they said, all kinds of noise they made, but the Shastas had already got to be here. Now then they caught up with them, and they were shot. "Hâ' hâ hâ," now they groaned as they were shot. "It is I. Do not kill me. I am one who married at Di⁸lo^umī,"³ he said. That one house was cleaned out—his sons, his wife, his mother-in-law—exterminated were the people of the one house. No further did they still go, then returned up river. The people of Lat'gāu did so. Just in that way did the people of long ago destroy each other. Thus did my mother tell me; not yet had she married my father.

³ He thinks to be shown mercy by representing himself as related to some people that live further up the river.

III. MEDICINE FORMULAS.¹

I. WHEN SCREECH-OWL TALKS.

Wá^ada dap'op'aū ó'p' bobòp'. "Xemelát'ēdi? Dewénxa hadēhal na^{nán}² ha^{ixdīl} na^{nán}, gasi^ε yámx ga-iwadá^ε, yōm ga-iwadá^ε. Xemelát','' nagàn. Gasi^ε dewénxa ha^{ixdīl} naga^{nán}.³ Ga nagánhan hat'ga^{dē} hop!è'ⁿ, bo^{sí^ε} emé^ε ánī^ε ga nagàn. "Yap!à lohóg^wulùk','' ne^{yé^ε} bo^{uá} bobop' yiwi-yá-uda^ε.

2. WHEN HUMMINGBIRD IS SEEN.

"Walohogwadá^ε ū'lúk!it'k' dā^{ībū^u}t'basda^ε. Wili^{ī^t} ganàu wahawaxxiwigwadá^ε."

3. WHEN HOOTING-OWL TALKS.

T'gwalá^a ga nagàn, "Libín di we^{gás}'dam? Há^ε da^t'ga-yawá^ada 'al^{yò}. Nék'di t!omomán? He^{dada^ε} yap!a gwalà. Gé di alxí'git', ge dí lohoyá^{u^ε}?⁴ Ga dí ga^{al} libín we^{gás}dam?" nagán t'gwalá^a yiwiyá-uda^ε.

4. WHEN YELLOWHAMMER TALKS.

Yap!a baxám^{da^ε} alt!ayàk, "Yap!as'í^ε baxá^m!"—"Baxāx-mia-uda^ε yap!a ma dí 'alt!ayagìt'?" ga nagàn yiwiyá-uda^ε t!è'k'^w.

¹ See Sapir, *Journal of American Folk-lore*, pp. 35-40, for interlinear translations and explanations of the significance of the charms.

² Literally, "I shall cause to be or do." *naan-* is causative of non-aorist intr. *na-*.

III. MEDICINE FORMULAS.¹

1. WHEN SCREECH-OWL TALKS.

One blows tobacco (smoke) towards the screech-owl. "Dost thou wish to eat? Tomorrow I shall obtain² five or ten (deer), so that thou shalt eat fat, blood shalt thou eat. Thou wishest to eat," he is told. And then, on the morrow, about ten (deer) are obtained.³ That used to be done in my land long ago, but nowadays here that is not said to them. "People are about to die," they say nowadays, indeed, when a screech-owl talks.

2. WHEN HUMMINGBIRD IS SEEN.

"Thou shalt die with my hair which thou pullest out of the side of my head! In thy house thou shalt rot with it!"

3. WHEN HOOTING-OWL TALKS.

To a hooting-owl that is said, "Dost thou bring me news? Off yonder towards the north look thou! Who has been killed? There far away are many people. Didst thou see them there, did people die there? Didst thou for that reason bring me news?" is told a hooting-owl when he talks.

4. WHEN YELLOWHAMMER TALKS.

When people come he discovers them, "People are coming!" —"Didst thou discover people as they kept coming?" that is said to a yellowhammer when he talks.

³Literally, "they were caused to be or do." *nagaan-* is causative of aorist intr. *nagai-*.

⁴ = *l hoiyáu*⁸.

5. WHEN THE NEW MOON APPEARS.

Bixal ba^atlebét'a^{s1} sgelewáldan, "Dap'óit'e^e, déhi kliyák'de^o.² 'ís'i^e yap!a 'Amadi lohó!^e!' nēxigi^e, ma yá^a na^enát'e^e, hawi^e ba^adēp'de^o. 'ī's'i^e k'ai gwala hé^ene he^enagwásbik'na^e, lap'ām gaísbik'na^e, k'ai gwala lasgúm iūxgwát' 'ís'i^e ga gaísbik'na^e, gas'i^e hawi ba^atlebét'am. Ma yá^a na^enát'e^e dé^exa. Bō+."³

6. WHEN THERE IS A HEAVY FALL OF SNOW.

"T'gam^s mé^e degingán gwens'o^umàl s'iulit'a^e, gwent'gém^o hagwelt'gémt'gam,"² nagánhan p!a^s. Gas'i^e an^e lop!ót', hono^e ha-uhaná^s. Gelheyé^x p!á^s, anī^e t'gam ha-uhimìa gelgulùk'.

7. WHEN IT STORMS IN WINTER.

Gwal't' mahai wōk'da^e, gas'i^e

"He^edadá^e hi nà. T'gap'xī'ūt'e^e
 He^edadá^e hi nāk'^w,
 He^es'o^umál hi nāk'^w degesít',
 He^ewilámxa hi nāk'^w t'gap'xī'ūt'e^e,
 Wede mé^e ginagwát',
 Wede mé^e gingàt'.
 Hāp'de^e xilam yō^uk!a^a
 Yewē sallats!àk',"

nagán ga^eà. Wihin k!u^yápxa^a malák'wōk', "Gwal't' mahai wōk'i^e, ga na^agí^ek'."

¹ Literally, "when it arises."

² Literally, "ahead I shall go."

³ This word is intended to represent a prolonged yelling.

⁴ Probably intended to frighten away the frogs and lizards that eat up the moon.

5. WHEN THE NEW MOON APPEARS.

When the new moon appears,¹ it is shouted to, "I shall prosper, I shall yet remain alive."² Even if people 'Would that he died!' do say of me, just like thee shall I do, again shall I arise. Even if all sorts of evil beings devour thee, when frogs eat thee up, many evil beings—lizards, even when those eat thee up, still dost thou rise again. Just like thee shall I do in time to come. Bō +!"⁴

6. WHEN THERE IS A HEAVY FALL OF SNOW.

"Hither⁵ drive on the elks that dwell in back of the mountain, the black necked ones down in dark places," Snow used to be told. Thereupon it did not snow, he became quiet again. Snow is stingy; he does not desire to drive down elks.

7. WHEN IT STORMS IN WINTER.

When a great wind arrives, thereupon

"Pass thou away from here. With thy digging-stick
 Pass thou away from here.
 Beyond the mountain pass thou with thy sifting
 basket-pan,
 Beyond Wilámxa⁷ pass thou with thy digging-stick.
 Come thou not hither with it.
 Come thou not hither!
 Thy children dead people's bones
 Perchance with their feet do touch,"

just that was said to her. A friend of my mother's told her, "Should a great wind arrive, that shall you say to it."

¹ Each syllable of this formula is recited pompously by itself.

² -t'gem and -t'géem't'gam are probably intentionally used to alliterate with t'gam, "elk." There may be a folk-etymology involved.

⁷ Or *Alwilámxadis*, a mountain.

8. WHEN A WHIRLWIND COMES.

Gasⁱ p^oyàmx wili bā^{it}gwálak^w, dedewilí^{da} t^{ga}
salp^úlū^pilin. “^én, ^én, k!ūyabá^t eít^e, gwī^{neixde} eít^e,”
nagàn.

9. A PRAYER TO THE WIND.

“Hè! Gwel^{wa}didē ba-ideye^{giwidá} k^{ai}wa ɿ^{lts}!ak^w,
dák^{hawalák}idē ba-ideye^{giwidá}, dak^{iūdē} ba-ideye^{giwidá},
hats!ek^{tsligidē} ba-ideye^{giwidá} k^{ai}wa ɿ^{lts}!ak^w, daksaldē
ba-ideye^{giwidá} k^{ai}wa ɿ^{lts}!ak^w.” He^{ne} dap^{ōp}’au, “h^w+,”
nagàn.

10. WHEN THERE IS A HEAVY RAIN.

“Gwīné^{di} ha-uhán^{sda}? ge^{nè} lop!odàt’. Dīt^{gāyúk}!u-
ma^{da} duyùm ^{alpli}tc!^{ólte}!alhip’.”

11. WHEN ONE SNEEZES.

“Nék^{di} k!ūyūmísi? ‘Dap^{óit}’a^é, nēxdaba^é, ‘hawì bē
mu^éxdàn² déhi k!iyigadá^é.’³ Desbū^{’sba}-usdaba^é.”

¹ i. e., the wind.

² Literally, “yet day once.”

³ Doubtless misheard for k!ūigadá^é.

8. WHEN A WHIRLWIND COMES.

Now a whirlwind whirls up past the house, the earth is kicked by the door. “^εEⁿ, ^εEⁿ, thy friend I am, thy kinsman I am,” is said to it.

9. A PRAYER TO THE WIND.

“Hě! From down my body shalt thou drive out evil things, from the crown of my head shalt thou drive them out, from over my hands shalt thou drive them out, from within my backbone shalt thou drive out evil things.” Then they blow, h^w+ is said to it.¹

10. WHEN THERE IS A HEAVY RAIN.

“How long before thou wilt cease? So long hast thou been raining!” (To those in the house:) “Do ye burn cat-tail rushes towards the west.”

11. WHEN ONE SNEEZES.

“Who calls my name? ‘Thou shalt prosper,’ shall ye say of me, ‘yet another day² shalt thou still go ahead.’⁴ Ye shall blow to me.’⁵”

¹That is, “mayest thou continue to live.”

⁵That is, “blow a whiff of tobacco smoke for my prosperity.”

VOCABULARY.

This does not pretend to be more than a list of the Takelma verb, noun, and adjective stems obtained either in texts or otherwise. Only such derivatives, in the main, are given as either offer some difficulty in regard to formation or whose significance is not immediately obvious from the etymology. An almost unlimited number of other derivatives, particularly from verbs, may be formed by means of the various prefixes and suffixes discussed in *The Takelma Language of Southwestern Oregon*¹ (referred to as *T. L.*). Derivative forms are printed indented under the stems. The independent pronominal, demonstrative, and adverbial stems, particles, and interjections are listed in the grammar and need not be repeated here. In constructing forms from the materials presented in this vocabulary it should be remembered that the various phonetic processes described in the grammar operate; in particular, *i*-umlaut is to be made allowance for. The alphabetic order followed is as in English. *k!*, *p!*, and *t!* follow *k'*, *p'*, and *t'* respectively; *ts'!* follows *t!:* *c* is to be sought under *s:* *u*, when variant of *o*, is found with *o*, when variant of *ū*, with *ū*, which follows *ts'!* References for forms are to page and line of this volume.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS.

<i>abl.</i> = ablaut vocalism (<i>T. L.</i> , §31) <i>acc.</i> = accent <i>act.</i> = active <i>adj.</i> = adjective <i>adv.</i> = adverb <i>caus.</i> = causative (<i>T. L.</i> , §45) <i>comit.</i> = comitative (<i>T. L.</i> , §46) <i>cont.</i> = continuative (<i>T. L.</i> , §43) <i>contr.</i> = contract verb (<i>T. L.</i> , §65) <i>frequ.</i> = frequentative (<i>T. L.</i> , §43)	<i>(i-)</i> = instrumental- <i>i-</i> is dropped in 3d per. subj. 3d per. obj. aorist and in 3d per. obj. imperative (<i>T. L.</i> , §64) <i>indir.</i> = indirect object, i. e., transitive verbs so designated use suffix <i>-s-</i> when object is 1st or 2d per. unless, in non-aorist stems, marked <i>indir. -x-</i> (<i>T. L.</i> , §47)
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¹ Bulletin 40, Bureau of American Ethnology.

- inf.* = infinitive (*T. L.*, §74)
intr. = intransitive
irr. = irregular
iter. = iterative (*T. L.*, §43)
n. ag. = noun of agency (*T. L.*, §§79-82)
obj = object
pass. ptc. = passive participle (*T. L.*, §77)
per. = person
pl. = plural
recipr. = reciprocal (*T. L.*, §55)
sing. = singular
subj. = subject
subor. = subordinate form (*T. L.*, §70)
T. L. = "The Takelma Language of Southwestern Oregon" (Bulletin 40, Bureau of American Ethnology)
tr. = transitive
uncontr. = uncontracted
usit. = usitative
voc. = vocative
 ? = doubtful
 [] = inorganic element, generally *h*, "inorganic *a*," or "constant *a*" (*T. L.*, §§10, 24, 42)
 () in verbs, enclose stem forms not actually found in material obtained but constructed with practical certainty from evident analogies; in nouns, enclose pronominal elements
 - separates stems, prefixes, and suffixes; forms preceded by hyphen were not obtained except as compounded with prefix or prefixes given above or below

: separates aorist stem or stems from verb stem or stems, aorist stems always preceding, verb stems following colon. Prefixes and suffixes given with aorist stems will be understood to apply also to verb stems, unless replaced by other elements. Verb prefixes (followed by hyphen) or stem forms that are listed as derivatives will be understood to be compounded with stems and suffixes given in first (unindented) line, unless other elements replace these

Roman numbers (I, II, III, IV₁, IV₂, and IV₃) refer to classes of conjugation; I and II indicate intransitive verbs. III transitive verbs, and IV verbs of mixed conjugation (*T. L.* §§60-63, 67)

Arabic numbers (1-16) refer to types of stem-formation (*T. L.*, §40). 3* indicates those verbs of type 3 that, like *ma-ts/ag-*, change intervocalic consonant of aorist to fortis. Derivative verb forms without colon belong to same class and type as forms given in first (unindented) line. When either class or type number is lacking with forms separated by colon, it is to be inferred that satisfactory data for their determination are lacking

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VERBS.

-agan-(i-) : -ag[a]n-	3 III	
-agān[h]-i-:	III	<i>usit.</i>
da ^a -		hear
wa ^ε -		feel
badabad-i-: (bat ^h bad-)	13 a III	scatter (dust)
ha-εī-		clap hands and scatter (dust)
baxam-: baxm-, baxm[a]-	3 I	come
baxāxm[a]-:	I	<i>usit.</i>
biliw-: bilw-, bil[a]u-	3 I	jump (with expressed goal of motion)
(bilil-) : bilwal-	I	<i>usit.</i>
biliw-áld-	3 III	(jump at), fight with
biliw-agw-, bilī-gw-	3 III	<i>comit.</i>
bai-		run out of house
dal-xa-		jump among
-bī's-: -bī ⁱ (^ε)s-	6 II	
bī's-n[a]-	6 III	<i>caus.</i>
ba ^a -gwen-		look up, lift up one's head (used only in myths)
-bok!obak'-(na-) <i>or</i>	13 a <i>or</i> 11 IV 1	
bok!op'-(na-): -bō ^{ue} k'-		
bak'-		
bok!oba-x-	13 a II	boil (<i>intr.</i>)
bok!oba-x-n[a]-	13 a III	boil (<i>tr.</i>)
da-		bubble, make bubbles under water
-bot ^h bad-i-: bo ^u d-	12 III	
dā-εī-		pull out (somebody's) hair from side of head
dā-εī-bodoba-s-an-:	13 a III	pull out each other's hair
(-bot ^h ba-s-an-)		
-bū ^ü g-i-: -bū ^ü k!-	6 III	
de-		fill
de-bū ^{üε} <i>or</i> -bū ^{üε} -x		full (<i>adj.</i>)
de-bū ^{üε} bà-x		full (<i>pl.</i>)
-būmá ^a g-:		
dī-		swarm up
-dagadak'-na-: -dak ^a da ^a g-	13 a III	
da-		sharpen (one's teeth)

-dala-g-ámd- : -dal-g- s'in-, da ^a -	2 III	pierce nose, ears
-damak!-(i-) : -damk!- de. ^ē - da-dama ^ē -x-	3 III 3 II	choke (<i>tr.</i>) be out of wind
-daway- : -dauy-, -dawi- ba ^a - he ^{ēē} -	3 I	fly (up) fly away
-daxag- : -daxg- bai-	3 III	(?) be responsible for some- thing to (110, 23)
-dele-b-i- : (-del-b-) ha- s'in-de ^ē lé-p'-gwa-	2 III	stick into stick into one's own nose
-di ⁱ k'dag- : di ⁱ g- ba ^a -	12 III	erect, cause to stand up
-dini-k!- : -din-k!- ba ^a - bai-de- ba ^a -dini ^ē -x- bai-de-dini ^ē -x- dink!-ī- : dink!-as-	2 III 2 II 2 II 15 b II	stretch up (<i>tr.</i>) stretch out (<i>tr.</i>) extend up (<i>intr.</i>) come marching in order lie stretched out
-dini ⁱ -t!- ¹ : -din-t!- ba ^a - ha-dini-t!-an-(i-)	2 III	string (on line) string out (dentalia) in (house)
-dolog- : -dolg-, -dol[a]g- gel-	3 I	be lazy
-domo ^{ēs} - : -dom ^{ēs} - ba ^a -	3 II	(birds) fly up and light
-dó ^{ēs} : hawax-ba ^a -		it is rotten, stinks
-duyuk!-i- : (-duik!-) he ^ē -ī-	3 III	push
dülü ^u t!al-i : dült!al-	13 b III	stuff (basket) with
dūwu ^u -g- ² : du ^u -g-, dūw[a]-g-	2 I	be good, do right
ei-, e ^e -b- : (replaced by yo-)	I <i>contr.</i>	be

¹ Radically identical with preceding verb.² Cf. adj. *duu*.

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ei[h]-i- :	III	use
ei[y]-i-, <i>indir.</i> -s- :	III	hurt
eseu- : (esw-)	3 I	sneeze
gala-b- : gal-b-	2 III	twist (thread) by rolling
-gaxagax-i- : -gaxgax-	13 a III	
ī-		scratch
ī-gaxagax-gwa-		scratch oneself, one's own
gayaw-, <i>indir.</i> -al-s- :	3 III	eat
gaiw-, <i>indir.</i> gai-s-		
geway-al-x : geiw-al-x-,	3 II	eat (without obj.)
gei-x-		
geway-al-x :	II	be in habit of eating
gayaig-, <i>indir.</i> gai-		<i>usit.</i>
waw-al-s- :		
gele-g- : gel-g-	2 III	drill (for fire)
di ⁱ al-gelegal-ám-d- :	13 a III	tie (hair) up into top-knot
-gelgal-		
di ⁱ al-gelegal-ám-s-	13 a II	tie one's own (hair) up into top-knot
-genep'-gwa- : -gēnp'-	3 III	
de- ^ɛ ī-		lie curled up dog-fashion
-geneu- ¹ : -gen[a]w-	3	
de- ^ɛ ī-geneū-k'wa :	3 III	lie curled up dog-fashion
(-gen[a]u-)		
: de-gen[a]w-		dit.
-gesegas-al- : -gesgas-	13 a I	
al-		wash (<i>intr.</i>)
-gewek!aw-(i-), <i>indir.</i> -s- :	13 b III	
-geuk!aw-		
de- ^ɛ ī-		tie (salmon) bow-fashion
-geyan- : -gey[a]n-	3 IV 3	
al-		turn one's face away
-gilib- : gi'lb-	3 III	
han-		put (beams) across (main posts of house)
-giligal-i- : (-gilgal-)	13 a III	
al-		bedaub
al-giligal-k'wa-		daub over oneself

¹ Related to preceding stem.

-gí'na- : -gí'na- ī-	6 III	take
gini-g- : gin-g-, gin[a]-g-	2 I	go (with expressed goal of motion)
giniy-agw-, gini'gw- :	2 III	take along to
gin[a]-gw- (de-ginig-an-) : de-	2 III	drive ahead to
ging-an- giniŋ- :	I	<i>iter.</i>
-gis'igas'-(i-) : -gis'gas'-(i-)	13 a III	tickle
-gulug[w]- : -gul[a]g-gel-	3 III	like, desire
-goyok!-(i-) : -goik!-(i-)	3 III	touch (unwillingly), nudge
ī-goyogiy-a-, <i>indir.</i> -goyogí'-s- : goigiy-	13 a III	<i>frequ.</i>
-gülük!-al-x- : -gülk!-de-	3 II	blaze, glow
-gwá'd-i- : (-gwá'at!-) bai-ᵉī- bai-gwá'a-s- : -gwá'a(ᵉ)-s-	6 III	make (hair) come loose (hair) comes loose
:gwenai-á'ᵉs (<i>n. ag.</i>)	I	good singer
gwidik'ᵂd-, gwidigw- :	13 c IV _r	throw
gwid[a]k'ᵂd-, gwi- d[a]t'ᵉ-		throw away, lose
he'ᵉ-		throw oneself into water
xam-gwidis-gwi- :	II	keep throwing
gwidí-lha- : gwidí'-lha-	2 III	
ī-gwidigwad-(i-) :	13 a III	push
-gwit'gwad-		
ī-gwidigwad-i- :	13 a III	throw into one's hand
-gwit'gwad-		
sal-gwidigwad-(i-) :	13 a III	kick
-gwit'gwad-		
wa'ᵉ-gwidigwad-i- :	13 a III	(kill and) throw several away
-gwit'gwad-		
gwidigwa-s- :	13 a II	give out (from weariness)
-gwit'gwa-s-		

gwilis- : (gwils-)	3 II	
ba ^ə al-		turn one's (ear) over
-hagāi- : -hagai-	1 I	
di ^ə -		feel as if about to be touched in anus
dak'-		feel thrill in head
s'in-		have funny feeling in nose
-ha ^ə l-(i-), <i>indir.</i> -s- :	5 III	
-hala[h]-, <i>indir.</i> -x-		
dak'-da-		answer
-halahal-(i-) :	13 a III	<i>frequ.</i>
(-halhal-)		
-helehal-xa- : (helhal-)	13 a I	<i>frequ.</i> (without obj.)
-hanats!-(i-) : -hants!-	3 III	
ha ^ə w-i-		stop (<i>tr.</i>)
hau-hana ^ə -s- : -han ^ə -s-	3 II	stop (<i>intr.</i>)
p ^l ai-di ^ə -hana ^ə -s- :	3 II	stop (raining, burning)
han ^ə -s-		
-hawak!- : (-hauk!-)	3 III	
ba ^a -		dip up (water)
ha ^a x- : haxa-	5 I <i>irr.</i>	burn (<i>intr.</i>)
ha ^a x-an-, ha ^a x-n[a]- :	5 III	burn (<i>tr.</i>)
haxa-n-		
-hegehag-, -hegehak'-na-;	13 a III or IV 1	
(-hek'hag-, -hek'-		
hak'-na-)		
xa ^a -		breathe
-hegwehagw-(i), <i>indir.</i>	13 a III	
-s- : -he ^ə gwagw-		
gwen-		tell, relate
gwen-hegwe ^ə hagw-		tell to
an-i- :		
gwen-hegwá ^a gw-an-i- :	12 III	relate
gwen-hék'wa ^a gw- :	12 III	relate
-hegwehak' ^w -na- :	13 a IV 1	
-he ^ə gwák' ^w -,		
-hék'wa ^a -k' ^w -		
ī-		work
helel- : he ^ə l-	8 I	sing
helehal- : (helhal-)	13 a I	<i>frequ.</i>

-hemeg- : (-he ^e mg-)	3 III	
al-		meet (person)
ha-t'ga ^a -hēm-s-gi ^e		in middle of field
-hemeg- : -hemg-,	3 III	
-hem[a]g-		
-heme ^e mg- :	III	<i>usit.</i>
bai-		take out, off
hemeham-, <i>indir.</i> -s- :	13 a III	<i>contr.</i> imitate
hemham-		
hemei-k'wa- :	III	act like
-hemem-(i-) : -he ^e m-	8 III	
ī-		wrestle with
de-		taste
-hene ^e -d- : -he ^e n-d-	2 III	
dak ^ʼ -		wait for
-hene ^e n-d- :	III	<i>cont.</i>
-henehan-d : (-hen-	13 a III	<i>usit.</i>
han-d-)		
-hene-xa : -hen-	2 III	wait
henen- : he ^e n-	8 I	be used up, consumed; have no
		living relative
bai-de-		be through eating
henen-agw-	8 III	eat all up, annihilate
ī-henen-an-(i-)	8 III	use all up
-hewehaw- : -heuhaw-	13 a III	<i>contr.</i>
gel-		think (<i>intr.</i>)
-hewehaw-(i-), <i>indir.</i>		think of
-s-		
hewehō-x-gwa- : (heu-	13 a I	yawn
hau-)		
-heyek!-i- : -heik!-	3 III	
de-		leave over
heye ^e -x- : hei ^e -x-	3 II	be left over
gel-heyē ^e -x- : -hei ^e -x-	3 II	be stingy
-hili ⁱ gw- : -hil[a]gw-	3 III	
di ⁱ -		be glad
hiliw- : hilw-	3 I	climb
hiliw-áld-		climb for
: -hi ⁱ l-x-	II	
bai-		(flood) covers (world)

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-himi-d- : -hi ⁱ m-d-	2 III	
wa ^a -		talk to
-himi-xa-	2 I	talk (<i>intr.</i>)
-himim-d- :	III	<i>iter.</i>
-himim- : -hi ⁱ m-	8 III	
bai-		drive out
hau-		drive down hill
hiwiliw- ¹ : hiwilw-,	3 I	run (with expressed goal of
hiwil[a]u-		motion)
p [!] ai-		run down (hill)
da ^o ol dī ^o -		come near from behind
dal-hiwili ⁱ -gw- :	3 III ¹	run off into brush with
(-hiwil[a]u-)		
hiwilil- :	I	<i>usit.</i>
ho ^u gw- : hogw-	1 I	run (without expressed goal of
		motion)
hogohagw- : (hok ^w -	13 a I	<i>frequ.</i>
hagw-)		
-huk [!] luhak [!] -na- : (-hu ^o k [!] -	13 a IV 1	
hak [!] -)		
xa-		breathe
-holohal-(i-) : (-holhal-)	13 a III	
ha- ^o ī-		dig into (fireplace, putting
		ashes aside)
-ho ^u x-gwa- : (-hox-)	1 III	
da ^a -		believe
hoyod- : hoid-	3 I	dance
hoyod-agw-	3 III	dance (particular dance)
hoyoy- : hōi-	8 III	steal
hu ^u l-in- : hūl-in-	1 II	be tired
hūlu ^u hal-in- : (hūlhal-)	13 a II	<i>usit.</i>
hu ^u l-i-n[h]a-	1 III	<i>caus.</i>
-hūlü-p [!] -i- : hūl-p [!] -	2 III	
-hūlu ^u hal- : (-hu ^u lhal-)	13 a III	<i>frequ.</i>
he ^o ī-		beat off (bark)
ha- ^o ī-, al- ^o ī-		skin
-hunu ^o -s- : (-hu ^u n ^o -s-)	3 II	
p [!] ai-		shrink, get short

¹ Possibly to be analyzed as *-hi wiliw-*.

-hūwu ^u k!- : -hu ^u k!-	3 III	
p!ai-		spread down
ha-		spread out (mat) in (house)
-hoyoiy- : -hōiy-	8 III	
al-		hunt (<i>tr.</i>)
-hūyūi-x-, -hūyū-x- :	8 II	hunt, go to hunt (<i>intr.</i>)
-hūi-x-		
-hūyūhi- : (-hūihi-)	13 a III	<i>usit.</i> (<i>tr.</i>)
hūyūhi ⁱ -x- : -hūihi ⁱ -x,	13 a II	<i>usit.</i> (<i>intr.</i>)
-hūyū-x-		
imiam-d-i- : im ^ε am-d-	13 b III	pile up
īmi[h]am- : īm[h]am-	13 a III	<i>contr.</i> send
īmi[h]am-(i-), <i>indir.</i> -s-	13 a III	send
-i ⁱ w-, <i>indir.</i> -s- : -īwi-, <i>in-</i>	5 III	
<i>dir.</i> -x-		
he ^ε -		leave
he ^ε -wa-i ⁱ w-i-		leave behind with
gwel- ^ε i ⁱ w-i-		beat in running
k'alak'al-i-, <i>indir.</i> -s- :	13 a III	roll (dust, ashes) over
(k'alk'al-)		
-k'á ^a p'-gwa- : (-k'á ^a p'-)	6 III	
dī- ^ε al-		put dust on one's own fore- head
k'ap!ak'ap'-na- : k'a ^ε p'-	13 a IV	throw (objects into)
k'ap'-		
bā- ^ε al-		turn (things) over
he ^ε -ī-k'ap!ak'ab-i-	13 a III	chip off (pieces of wood)
k'ebal-i ⁱ - : k'ep'al- :	15 a II	remain absent
k'awak'au-, <i>indir.</i> -s- :	13 a III	bark at
(k'auk'au-)		
k'ewek'aw-al- : (k'eu-	13 a I	bark
k'aw-)		
k'ewe ^ε k'aw-al- :	I	<i>usit.</i> (<i>intr.</i>)
-k'iwik'au-k'wa- : -k'iu-	13 a III	
k'au-		
de-		brandish before one's face
dak'-		brandish over one's head
-k'ulú ^u -k'wa- :		
bai-		come floating down stream
p!ai-k'ulú ^u k'al- :	13 a	drop down dead one after another
(-k'u ^u lk'al-)		

-k'wá ^a gw-i- : -k'wá ^a k!w-	6 III	
ī-		wake up (<i>tr.</i>)
k'wá ^a -x- : k'wá ^{ae} -x-	6 II	wake up (<i>intr.</i>)
k!adāi-, <i>indir.</i> -s- : k!a ^a d-	7 b III	<i>contr.</i> pick, pluck
k!adāi[h]-an-i-, k!aday-		pick for
an-i-		
k!adak!at'-na- :	13 a IV 1	<i>usit.</i>
(k!at'k!at'-)		
k!edèi-xa- : (k!è-sa-)	7 b I	be out picking
k!edèi-k'wa- : k!èt'-	7 b III: II	pick for oneself
gwi-		
-k!alak!al-(i-) : k!alk!al-	13 a III	
sal-ī-		scratch (leg, foot) with claws
de-ṭ-		scratch against door
-k!alas-(i-) : -k!a ^a ls-	3 III	
bai-		take out
-k!alas-na-, -k!alas- :	16 IV 2 or II	
-k!alsi-		
di-		be lean in rump
ī-		be lean in hand
di-k!àls		lean in rump (<i>adj.</i>)
-k!anak!an-(i-) : (-k!an-	13 a III	
k!an-)		
ī-		twist (hazel switch)
k!a ^a w-an-d- : k!aw-an-d-	1 III	put acorn meal in sifting pan
-k!axak!ax-i- : -k!axk!ax-	13 a III	
k!wal-hawa ^a -		besmoulder by burning pitch under
k!ayay- : ga ^a y -	8 I	grow
: di ⁱ -k!e ^e l-i-x		putting on style
k!elew- : (k!elw-)	3 III	sup up (acorn mush)
k!emèi-, k!eme ^e n- :	3 III	<i>contr.</i> make; treat as, use as
k!em ⁿ -, k!em[a]n-		
k!emen-xa- : k!em-xá-	3 I	work (<i>intr.</i>)
bā-ṭi-k!emen-amd- :	3 III	equip with
-k!em ⁿ -		
ba ^a -k!emen-am-s- :	3 II	prepare to go
-k!em ⁿ -		
k!eme ^e amg- : k!em-	13 a <i>irr.</i> III	<i>frequ.</i>
εamg		

-k!e ^w -al-i- : -(k!ew-)	1 III	
ī-		whirl around (<i>tr.</i>)
wa-k!e ^w -al-x-gwa-		whirl around (<i>intr.</i>)
k!ixix- : gi'x-	8 III	finish (<i>tr.</i>)
k!iyig- : k!i'g-, k!iy[a]g-	3 I	fall
k!iyi'g- :	I	<i>usit.</i>
bai-		come
p!ai-		fall down
de-		live on, continue to exist
ba ^a -gel-		lie down belly up
k!odod- : go ^u d-	8 III	bury
k!olol- : go ^u l-	8 III	dig
ba ^a -		gather up (bones)
k!ūlū-xa- : (-gū ^u l-)	8 I	dig (without obj.)
-k!omok!am-(i-) : (-k!om-	13 a III	
k!am-)		
s'al-		kick to pieces
ī-		break to pieces
k!omom- : (go ^u m-)	8 I	fish (<i>intr.</i>)
-k!os'o ^u -g-(i-) : -k!os'-g[a]-	2 III	
da-		bite slightly
ī-		pinch
-k!os'ok!as'- : (-k!os'-	13 a III	<i>frequ.</i>
k!as'-)		
-k!os'ōs'-g[a]- :	III	<i>usit.</i>
-k!ot'k!ad- : -k!o ^u d-	12 III	
xa-ī-		break in two
xa-ī-k!odō-lh-i- :	III	<i>cont.</i>
xa-i-k!odok!at'-na- :	13 a IV 1	break to pieces
(-k!ot'k!at'-)		
xa ^a -k!ot'k!a-s- : -k!o-s-	12 II	break (<i>intr.</i>), become broken
k!oyo ^u - : k!o ^u y-	2 III	go with
k!oyō ^u -x-an-	2 I	go with one another
-k!u ^u m-an-(i-) : k!ūm-an-	1 III	
ī-		fix, prepare
ī-k!u ^u m-an-k'wa-		prepare oneself, get ready
ha- ^ḡ ī-		prepare (house) by sweeping it clean
ī-k!u ^u m-an-anan-i-		prepare for, get ready for

k!ūwūw-, k!owu ^u - : gu ^u w-	8 III	throw mass of small objects (e. g., intestines, gophers); sow, plant (tobacco); put (dentalia) on (neck)
he ^ε -		throw away
bai-		throw out
al-k!ūwu ^u w-i-		throw (dust) on one's face
k!ūwū ^ε aug- : gū ^u gaw-	13 a irr. III	<i>frequ.</i>
k!ūwūw- ¹ : gu ^u w-	8 I	(people, animals) run away in one mass, (birds) fly off
he ^ε -		(animals) run away
ba ^a		(birds) fly up all together
k!ūwūw-an-	8 III	scare away (group of animals)
k!ūyūm-id- : k!ōim-id-	3 III	call one's name, speak of one who is out of ear-shot
-k!walagw-(i-) :	3 III	
-k!walgw[i]-		
xa- ^ε al-		let alone
(k!walag-) : k!wa ^a lg-	3 III	throw (on fire)
-k!wene-[h]i- : -k!wen-	2 III	
[h]i-		
ī-		hold (staff) in one's hands
la ^a b- : laba-	5 III	carry on one's back
la ^a b-an[h]a-, la ^a b-		carry for
anan-i-		
le ^b -an-x- : (lebe-n-x-)	5 II	be always carrying
-lá ^a d- : lá ^{at} !	6 III	
xa ^a -		put (belt) about one's (own) waist
xa ^a -lá ^a d-i-		put (belt) about (another's) waist
xa ^a -lé ^ε -sap'		belt
lagag-i- : la ^a g-	8 III	give to eat
lagag-ámd-		pay
la ^a l-i- : la ^a , la ^a -p'	. 10 a and 15 a	become
	II	
lawalh-i- :	II	<i>iter.</i>
la ^a l-aw-i- : (la ^a -w-i-)	10 a III	cause to become

¹ Evidently same as preceding stem, but used intransitively.

la ^a lw- : la ^a w-	10 a III	twine (basket)
wa-la ^a law-i- :	12 III	keep twining while (doing something else)
la ^a mal- :	III	get angry with, quarrel with
-lats!ag-(i-) : lasg[i]-	3* III	
ī-		touch
sal-		touch with one's foot
da-		taste
la ^a law-i-, <i>indir.</i> -s- : la ^a w-,	12 III	name, call
<i>indir.</i> -x-		
la ^a walaw-, le ^e wilau-		<i>iter.</i> (?)
(<i>abl.</i>) :	13 a (?) III	
lawad-an- : lāud-an-	3 III	hurt (<i>tr.</i>)
p!ai-lawáat'		(birds) light
-layáak'-na- : (-lāik'-)	3 IV 1	
ī-		coil (basket)
le ^e b- : lebe	5 III	gather and eat (seeds, grasshoppers)
(lebelab-) : le ^e p'lab-	13 a III	<i>frequ.</i>
lebed- : (lep'd-)	3 III	sew (<i>tr.</i>)
lebe-sa-	3 I	sew (without obj.)
legwel-, <i>indir.</i> -s- :	III	suck
legwel-ámd-		suck out of
-lehei- : -lehe-	4 b I	
bai-		drift dead to shore
-le ^e l-agw- : -lel-	1 III	
da ^a -		listen to, hear about
lelek!- : lelk!-	10 a III	put
he ^e -ī-lelek!-(i-)		let go
he ^e -de-lelek!-(i-)		finish talking
he ^e -sal-lelek!-(i-)		stop dancing
lem-i' [i ^e he ^e gwó'k'w ^s ī]	15 a (?)	he is good [worker]
lemek!- : lem ^e k!-	3 III	take along (<i>pl. obj.</i>)
he ^e -ī-lemek!-(i-)		do away with, annihilate
leme ^e amg- : (lem ^e amg-)	13 a <i>irr.</i> III	always take along
lemek!-iau-	3 I	(people) move, go
leme ^e -x- : lem ^e -x-	3 II	(people) go, come together;
		(wind) comes
he ^e -leme ^e -x-	3 II	(hair) comes out

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lep'ni-yau- lep'ní-xa	I	be winter winter (<i>adv.</i>)
-lewe ^é law-(i-) : (-leu ^é lau-) da ^a -	13 b III	swing (shells) in one's ear
-leye ^e s- : -leis- gwel- léyas nagai-	3 II	be lame stumble
ligi ⁱ - : li ⁱ g-	2 I	return home with game, food that has been obtained
ligi-gw- : li ⁱ -gw	2 III	fetch home (game)
ligilag- : (lik'lag-)	13 a I	always return home with game
liwilha-gw- :	III	always fetch home (game)
de-ligi-áld- : -li ⁱ g-	2 III	fetch home for eating
ligi ⁱ -n- : li ⁱ g-[a]n-	2 II	rest (<i>intr.</i>)
ligi ⁱ -n- : li ⁱ g-an-	2 III	rest (<i>tr.</i>)
ligilag-an- : (lik'lag- an-)	13 a II	always rest (<i>intr.</i>)
limim- : li ⁱ m-	8 I	(tree) falls down
limilam- : (limlam-)	13 a I	<i>frequ.</i>
limim-an-	8 III	fell, chop (tree)
dak'-limim-x-gwa- : -līm-	8 I	have (tree) fall on oneself
(liwid-) : liud-	3 I	burn (<i>intr.</i>)
liw[i]lau- : li ⁱ w- gwen-	12 I	look look behind
liwilhau- :	13 a I	keep looking
liwá ^a nagai-		give a look
lobob- : lo ^u b-	8 III	pound (acorns, seeds)
lübü-xa- : lu ^u p'-	8 I	pound (without obj.)
lobolap'-na-, lobolp'- na- : (lop'lap'-)	13 a or 13 c IV 1	<i>frequ.</i>
ló ^u g[w]- : ló ^u k![w]-	6 III	set trap for (animal)
lok!ólha- :	III	<i>usit.</i>
lük!ü-xa- : lü ^é -x[w]a-	2 I	trap (without obj.)
lük!ú ^u -xa- :	I	<i>usit.</i> (without obj.)
lük!ü-xa-gwa-d-an-i-	2 III	trap (without obj.) for (per- son)

ló ^u g[w]- ¹ : ló ^u k! ¹ [w]-	6 III	thrust, stick out
al-ló ^u g[w]-(i-)		thrust out to
han-ló ^u g[w]-(i-)		stretch out across
gwen-ló ^u g[w]-(i-)		stick into one's throat
ha-ló ^u g[w]-(i-)		stick into
al-s'in-ló ^u g[w]-(i-)		meet (person)
p!ai-di ^ε -ló ^u g[w]-(i-)		make (stick) stand up, erect (house-post)
ha-		put on (one's garment)
sal-		put on (one's moccasins)
gwel-		put on (one's leggings)
lohoi- : loho-	4 b I	die
p!ai-		fall by stumbling
gel-lohoi-gw-	4 b III	avenge
(loholhi-) : loh[á]lhi-	13 a irr. I	<i>frequ.</i>
loho ^u -n- : loho-	1 III	cause to die, kill
lohō-nha :	1 III	<i>caus. iter.</i>
loholah-an- : (lohlah-)	13 a III	<i>caus. usit.</i>
ha-loho ^u -n- : -loho-n-	1 III	trap (small animals)
lohoy-áld- ² : loho-ld-	4 b III	hire
s'om-		doctor (<i>tr.</i>) as <i>s'omloholxa^εs</i>
lohoyi-xa- : lohoī-	1 I	hire (without obj.)
s'om-lühūi-xa- :	I	practice medicine-rites of <i>s'omloholxa^εs</i>
s'om-lohol'-xa- ^ε s		medicine-man (opposed to <i>goyo</i>)
lo ^u l- : lo ^u -	10 a I	play
lo ^u l-agw	10 a III	play with
lo ^u -s'i		plaything
lomol- : lom[a]l-	11 I	choke (<i>intr.</i>)
lop!od- : lop'd-	3* I irr.	storm, (rain, snow ³)
-lümüs[g[a]- : -lüm[s]g[a]-	3 I	
de-		tell the truth
de-lümüs-g-an-	3 III	tell the truth to
malag-i- : malg-, mal[a]g-	3 III	tell, speak to
malag-anan-i- ⁴		tell to

¹ Perhaps identical with preceding stem.² Perhaps related to preceding stem.³ When preceded in 3d pers. form by *noux* or *p!aas*.⁴ With 1st or 2d per. obj. *mala-x-* : *mal[a]-x-*.

mālag- ²¹ : (malg-, mal[a]g-)	3 I	be jealous
malag-ámd-	3 III	be jealous of
ma ^a nman-, ma ^a n- (3d per. subj.) : (ma ^a n-)	12 III <i>contr.</i>	count
da-ma ^a nman-i-		count up, recite list
-ma ^a s- :	II	
di ⁱ -		be light, lit up
mats!ag- : masg[a]-	3* III	put
mats!āsg[a] :	III	<i>usit.</i>
p!ai-		put down; originate, set (world) firm; give birth to
bai-		start in with (singing)
gwel-		put away in back (of house)
mahwī- :	I	be pregnant
melel- : (me ^e l-)	8 I	blaze
mīli ⁱ -d- : mil[a]-d-	2 III	love
-mini-k'-d[a]- : miñ-t'[a]-	2 III	
da ^a -		teach
-molo ^e mal- : -mol ^e mal-	13 b III <i>contr.</i> or <i>uncontr.</i>	
ba ^a - ^e al-		turn (things) over
ī-wa-molo ^e mal-i-	13 b III	stir (food in basket-bucket) with
mo ^y ūgw-an- : moigw-an-	3 I	be spoiled
mo ^y ūgw-an-an-	3 III	spoil (<i>tr.</i>)
mūlū ^u k!- : mūlk!-	3 III	swallow
naga-, <i>indir.</i> -s- : na ^a g-i-,	2 III	say to, do to
<i>indir.</i> -x-		
nagai- ² : na-	4 a <i>irr.</i> I <i>contr.</i>	say, do
-nawa ^a k!- : (-nauk!-)	3 III	
ba ^a -		climb up (tree) when pursued
-nawak!-an-		chase up

¹ Probably identical with preceding stem.

² Intransitive form of preceding stem. For paradigms of both *naga-* and *nagai-*, together with their most important derivatives, see *T. L.*, Appendix A.

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ni ⁱ w-, <i>indir.</i> -[a]s- : niw- 1 III		fear, be afraid of
hin ^ε x-ni ⁱ w-		be afraid
-nó ^u g[w]-i- : (-nó ^u k![w]-) 6 III		
xa ^a -p! ⁱ i-		warm (somebody's) back
xa ^a -p! ⁱ i-nó ^u -k'wa-		warm one's own back
xa ^a -be ^e -nó ^u -k'wa-		warm one's own back in sun
nó ^u g[w]-i- : (-nó ^u k![w]-) 6 III		paint (part of body)
al-		paint face
al-nú ^u -k'wa-		paint one's own face
nó ^u -k'wi- 6 II		paint oneself
-nú ^u d-i- : -nú ^u t! ⁱ - 6 III		
de-ε̄-		drown (<i>tr.</i>)
o ^u b- : ob- 1 III		dig up
o ^u d- : odo-	5 III <i>irr. acc.</i>	hunt for, look for
al-o ^u d-an-(i-)		look around for
ī-ε̄o ^u d-an-(i-)		feel around for
s'al-o ^u d-an-(i)		go to look for
odo ^ε ad- : 13 b III		<i>frequ.</i>
ogoy-i-, <i>indir.</i> ogo-s'- : 2 III		give to
ok'i-, <i>indir.</i> o-s'-		
ogo ^ε ag-i- : ok![w]ag-	13 b III	<i>usit.</i>
da-		give to eat
oyon- : oin-	3 III <i>contr.</i> or <i>uncontr.</i>	give (something)
p'eleg- : p'elg-	3 III	go to war against
p'ele-xa- : p'el-xa-	3 I	go to war
p'ild-i ⁱ - : p'ildi-	15 a and 16 II	flat object lies
p'ai-gel-		lie belly down
p'ilip'al-i- : (-p'ilp'al-) 13 a III		
dī ⁱ -		squash (insects), whip (children)
gel-bēm-		whip (children) on breast with stick
p'iwits!-an- : (p'iu ⁱ ts!-) 3 III		cause to bounce
p'íwas nagai-		bound off (<i>intr.</i>)
-p'ó ^u d-i- : -p'ó ^u t! ⁱ - 6 III		
dal-		mix with

-p'ōup'aw-(i-), <i>indir.</i> -s-: 12 III		
(-p'o ^u w-)		
al-, al-da-		blow upon
da-		blow out
da ^a -da-		blow (water) on cheeks
(da-p'owop'aw-): p'o ^u - 13 a III		<i>frequ.</i>
p'aw-		
-p'owok!-(i-) : (p'o ^u k!-, 3 III		
-p'ow[a]k!-)		
de- ^ē i-		bend (<i>tr.</i>)
p'owo ^ē -x-	3 II	bend (<i>intr.</i>).
(-p'oyo-?) : -p'oi-	2 (?) II	be blessed, prosper
p'oy-amd- : p'oyo-md-	5 III	smoke out (wasps)
p'uyup'i-emd-	13 a III	<i>usit.</i>
: p'u ^u d-ik' ^{w1} (<i>pass. ptc.</i>)		fathom of string of dentalia
-p'ülü ^ü p'al-i- : (-p'ülp'al-) 13 a III		
sal-		kick (earth)
-p'u ^u t'p'ad-i- : (-p'u ^u d-) 12 III		
waya-		stab with knife
han-waya-		stab through with knife
p!abab- : ba ^a b-	8 III	chop (tree) with horn wedge
p!ebe-xa- : (be ^e p'-xa-) 8 I		be a-beating off (bark from tree)
p!agai- : p!a ^a g-	4 a I	bathe (<i>intr.</i>)
p!aga ^a -n- : p!a ^a g-an-	2 III	bathe (<i>tr.</i>)
p!agap!ag- : (p!ak'-	13 a I	<i>frequ.</i>
p!ag-)		
p!ahan- : p!ah[a]n-	3 I	be ripe, done (in cooking)
p!ahan-an-	3 III	make done
p!ahay-an-an-i-	3 III	make done for (person)
p!ala-g-i- : p!al-g-	2 III	tell a myth to
p!ala ^a l-g- :	III	<i>usit.</i>
p!ala ^a -p'- : p!al[a]-p'-	2 II	tell a myth
p!eye ^e n-, 3d per. p!eyé ^ē :	14 I	(long object) lies; (person) lies
p!è-		dead
-p!iyin-k'wa- : -p!i-	14 III	
gwen-		lie with head on pillow
gwen-p!i-xap'		pillow

¹ Perhaps belonging to p'u^ut'p'ad-.

p!owow- : bo ^u w-	8 III	sting
-p!ü ^ü güg[w]- : -bü ^ü g[w]-	8 III	
di ⁱ -		start, begin (<i>tr.</i>)
p!ül ^ü p!al-(i-) : p!ülp!al-	13 a III	march
p!üwu ^u -k![w]-, <i>indir.</i> -s- :	2 III	name, call by name
(p!u ^u -k![w]-)		
p!üwu ^u - ^ε -k'wi-	2 II	name onself
p!üwup!aw- : p!u ^u -	13 a III	<i>iter.</i>
p!aw-		
p!üwu ^ε au-g- :	13 a <i>irr.</i> III	<i>usit.</i>
sa ^a gw- : sagwa-	5 III	shoot (arrow)
sa ^a gw- ¹ : sagwa-	5 III	paddle (canoe)
ba ^a -		paddle (canoe) up river
hau-		paddle (canoe) down river
bai-		paddle (canoe) to land
han-		paddle (canoe) across
sa ^a gw-an-, <i>indir.</i> -s-		paddle (person in canoe)
se ^ε gw-an-k'wi-	5 II	paddle oneself
-sa ^a msam-(i-) : (-sa ^a m-)	12 III	
al-dak'-		bump one's head against
(samag-iau-) : samg-	3 I	be summer
samá-xa		summer (<i>adv.</i>)
sa ^a nsan- : sana-p'-	12 and 5 II	fight (<i>intr.</i>)
sa ^a nsan-, sa ^a ns-, <i>indir.</i>	12 and 5 III	fight with, kill, spear (sal-
-s- : sana-, <i>indir.</i> x	<i>contr.</i> or	mon)
	10 b III	
s'as'-an-i ⁱ - : s'as'-an-	15 a II	stand (sing.)
s'as'-an-hap'- :	II	stand around
s'as'ans'as'an-i ⁱ - :	12 and 15 a II	<i>iter.</i>
s'as'-an-ī-nh[a]-, s'as'-	15 a or 1 III	<i>caus.</i>
ānh[a] : s'as'an[h[a]-		
-s'a ^a s'as'- ² : -sa ^a s-	12 II	
ba ^a -		come to a stand, stand up
s'aš' nagai-		come to a standstill
-s'a ^a xs'ix- :	12 <i>irr.</i> II	
sal-		slide, slip
-saya ^a n-gw- :	III	
di ^ε		break wind

¹ Perhaps identical with preceding stem.² Identical base with preceding.

sbedesbad-i- : sbet'sbad- 13 a III	stuff (basket) up tight	
(-sbowosbaw-?), <i>indir.</i>		
-s- : (-stosbaw-?)		
1st per. obj. -sbū-		
sbau-		
de-	blow to (for prosperity)	
: waya-wa- ^ē -sdémk!-ik ^w 3 III	knife-blade	
(<i>pass. ptc.</i>)		
(s'doyos'da-gwa-): s'doi- 13 a III	put on style	
s'da-		
se ^e b- : sebe- 5 III	roast	
-sé ^e g-(i-) : -sé ^e k! 6 III		
al-	bow to	
de- ^ē -	open the door to	
-segesag-i-, <i>indir.</i> -s- : 13 a III	<i>iter.</i>	
-se ^e k'sag-		
s'ein-i ⁱ - : s'eini- 15 a and 16 II	box-like object lies with opening up	
senesan- : sensan- 13 a II	whoop	[18]
-sgá ^a b-i- : -sgá ^a p!- 6 III		
wa-	make (hair) tight	
-sgadasgad- : (-sgat'- 13 a III		
sgad-)		
bai-di ^ē -	have strength	
-sga ^a k'sgag-(i-) : -sga ^a g- 12 III		
bā- ^ē -	pick up, lift up	
p!ai- ^ē -	pick up and set down	
:k!wāi ba ^a -sgék'sgig- 13 a III	pitchfork	
ik ^w (<i>pass. ptc.</i>)		
-sgalaw-i- : -sga ^a lw- 3 III		
al-	look at by moving head slightly to side	
-sgala ^a law-, 1st per. obj. <i>irr.</i> III	<i>frequ.</i>	
-sglelēl- : -sgalwalw-		
-sgal-i ⁱ - : -sgali- 15 a and 16 II		
da-	(grain) lies scattered about	
sgá ^a t'-ap'- : sgá ^{a(ē)} t'-ap'- 6 II	jump in	
-sgayan- : 3 IV 3 (?)		
da-	lie down, be lying down	

-sgayap-x- ¹ : -sgāip-	3 II	
p!ai-		go to lie down
he ^ε -		lie down (<i>act.</i>)
p!ai-gel-		lay oneself belly down
-sgek!i ¹ - : -sgek!i-	1 IV 3	
da ^a -		listen
-sgek!eī-ha- :	III	listen around
sgelw- : sgelw-, sgel[a]u-	3 I	shout
sgelēl- : sgelwal-	I	keep shouting
sgelw-áld-	3 III	shout to
-sgé ^d -(i-) : -sgé ^t !	6 III	
bā- ^ε -		lift up (rock) and turn over
-sget!esgad-(i-):	13 a III	<i>iter.</i>
(-sge ^t 'sgad-)		
-sge ^t 'sgad-(i-) : (-sge ^d -)	12 III	
ī-		twist, turn (arm, leg) to one side
sgí ^b - : (sgí ^p !	6 III	cut, lop off
sgip!isgab-(i-) :	13 a III	<i>iter.</i>
sgí ^ε p'sgab-		
sgip!i-l'h-i- :	2 III	<i>cont.</i>
sgili ⁱ -p-x- - sgil ⁱ -p-x-	2 II	warm one's back
-sgimisgam- : -sgimsgam-	13 a III	<i>contr.</i>
p!ai-di ^ε -		set (posts) in ground
sgó ^d - : sgó ^u t!	6 III	cut
sgot!osgad- :	13 a III	<i>frequ.</i>
sgo ^u t'sgad-		
xa- ^ε i-al-sgot!osgad-(i-)	13 a III	whip, beat
: sgo ^t 'sgad-		
gwen-sgot!osgat'-na- :	13 a IV 1	cut off necks
-sgo ^t 'sgat'-		
sgot!ō-lh[a]- :	2 III	<i>usit.</i>
sgó ^u -s- : sgó ^{uε} -s-	6 II	part (<i>intr.</i>), fall apart
xa ^a -sgó ^u -s-	6 II	break in two (<i>intr.</i>)
han-sgó ^u -s-	6 II	lie across (trail)
sgot!osgad- :	13 a I	break apart (<i>intr.</i>) in several places
sgo ^u t'sgad-		
sgüt!ü ^ü -xa- : (sgü ^{üε} -sa-)	2 I	cut (without obj.)

¹ Evidently related to preceding stem.

-sgó ^u -s- ¹ (with subordinate clause) : (-sgó ^u -s-)	6 II	be tired (...-ing)
sgó ^u -s-gwa-	6 III	be tired of
-sgüyü ^k !-(i-) : -sgüik!-	3 III	
di ^é -ī-		uproot (tree)
di ^é -sgüyü ^é -x- : -sgü ^é -x-	3 II	(erect object) falls down
[t'ga ^a]s'igī-t'a ^é (<i>subor.</i>)	15 a (?) II	where [this earth] is set, as far as [this earth] goes
-sili-x-gwa- :	2 III	
bai-		come to land with (canoe)
sil nagai-		come paddling in canoe
-s'ilis'al-i- : -s'ils'al-	13 a III	
ī-		distribute (food) to
-smayam-, -smayam[ha]- :	3 and 15 b IV 3	
-smaimas-		
da-	3	smile
-smilismal-(i-) :	13 a III	
-smilsmal-		
ī-		swing (<i>tr.</i>)
smilismal-x-	13 a II	swing (<i>intr.</i>)
s'omo-d- ² : s'om-d-	2 III	cook (acorn mush)
s'ümü-xa-	2 I	cook (without obj.)
s'owó ^u - ^é k'-[w]ap'- : s'ó ^u -	2 II	jump (without expressed goal of motion)
^é k'-[w]ap'-		
s'owo-k!-an- : s'ó ^u -k!-	2 III	<i>caus.</i>
s'owo ^u s'aw- : (s'ó ^u -	13 a I	hop along
s'aw-)		
-s'ügüs'ü-x-gwa- :	13 a <i>irr.</i> III	
(-s'ük's'ü-)		
wai-		feel sleepy
s'ug[w]-id-i ⁱ : s'uk'-d-i-	15 a and 16 II	(string) lies curled up
s'u ^é [w]al-i ⁱ , s'i ^é ul- : s'u ^é al-	15 a II	sit, dwell (<i>sing.</i>)
s'ü ^é al-ha- :	I	<i>cont.</i>
swadāi-, <i>indir.</i> -s- :	7 b III <i>contr.</i>	beat (in gambling, shinny)
(swa ^a d-)		
swadāi-s-an-	7 b I	gamble (at guessing-game, shinny) (<i>recipr.</i>)

¹ Probably identical with preceding stem.² See also *ts'ümü^üm-t'a-*.

swadag- : swat'g[a]-	3 III	pursue
swadāt'g[a]- :	III	keep following up
: swēn-x-gwa (<i>inf.</i>)	II	evening star
-s'wils'wal-(i-) : -s'wil-	12 III	
ī-		tear (<i>tr.</i>)
han-way-a-s'wils'wal-i-		tear through with knife
he ^{ee} -s'wils'wal-x-	12 II	tear (<i>intr.</i>)
ī-s'wilis'wal-(i-) :	13 a III	tear to pieces
-s'wils'wal-		
t'agai- : t'a ^a g-	4 a I	cry
t'agat'ag- : (t'ak't'ag-)	13 a I	<i>iter.</i>
-t'amak!-(i-) : (-t'amk!-)	3 III	
de- ^ē ī-		put out (fire)
da-t'ama ^e -x- : (t'am ^e -	3 II	(fire) goes out
x-)		
-t'bá ^a g-(i-) : -t'bá ^a k!-	6 III	
-t'bagat'bag- :	13 a III	<i>frequ.</i>
-t'ba ^a k't'bag-		
al- ^ē ī-		hit, strike
al-sal-		kick
al- ^ē ī-t'bege-xa- :	2 I	hit (without obj.)
(-t'be ^e -xa-)		
la- ^ē ī-		burst open (<i>tr.</i>), rip open
la-way-a-		rip open with knife
la-t'bá ^a -x- : -t'bá ^{ae} -x-	6 II	burst (<i>intr.</i>)
t'bá ^a g-amd- ¹ : t'bá ^a k!-	6 III	tie up (hair, sinew)
dak'-		tie (somebody's hair) up into
		top-knot
dak'-t'bé ^e g-am-s-	6 II	have one's own (hair) tied up
		into top-knot
dī-da ^a -		tie (somebody's hair) up on
		side of head
dī-da ^a -t'bé ^e g-am-s-	6 II	have one's own (hair) tied
		up on side of head
dī-da ^a -t'bé ^{ek} 't'bag-	12 II	have one's own (hair) tied
am-s- : (-t'bé ^{ek} !-)		up into two bunches on
		sides of head
gwen-hau-t'bé ^e g-am-s-	6 II	have one's own (hair) tied
		up in back of head
xa ^a -t'bé ^{ek} 't'bag-am-s-	12 II	(sinew) be all tied together

¹ Perhaps connected with preceding stem.

-t'bo ^u k't'bag- : -t'bo ^u g-	12 III	
he ^ε -me ^ε		roll up and put away
he ^ε -wa-t'bo ^u k't'ba-x-		lay oneself away with (one)
gwa-		clasped in arms
-t'bo ^u k!-al-x- : (-t'bok!-?)	1 (?) II	
al-		have pimples on face
di ⁱ -		have warts on back
t'bó ^u -x- : t'bó ^{u(ε)} -x-	6 II	make a noise
t'bó ^u x naga-		make a noise so as to be heard by
-t'boxot'bax-i- : -t'box-	13 a III	
t'bax-		
ha- ^ε i-		clean out inside (of house)
-t'e ^ε al-	III	
i-		hold out one's hand palm up
-t'é ^ε g- : -t'é ^ε k!-	6 III	
ba ^a -t'é ^ε -x- : -t'é ^ε -x	6 II	emerge (from water)
ba ^a -t'ek!et'a-x- :	13 a II	bob up and down
(-t'é ^ε k't'a-x-)		
ba ^a -t'ek!e ^ε -lh[i]-x- :	2 II	keep floating up
-t'é ^ε g-i- ¹ : -t'é ^ε k!-	6 III	
dak'		give (one) to smoke
dak'-t'ek!e-xa- : -t'e ^ε -	2 I	smoke (<i>intr.</i>)
xa-		
dak'-t'ek!é ^ε -xa- :	2 I	<i>usit. (intr.)</i>
-t'ga ^a l't'gal-, <i>indir.</i> -s- :	12 III	
(-t'ga ^a l-)		
al-da-		bounce away from
-t'gats!at'gas-(i-):	13 a III	
-t'ga ^a st'gas-		
bai-di ^ε		stick out one's anus
ba ^a -di ^ε		stick one's anus up
t'gei-ts!-i- ² : t'gei-ts!-i-	15 a and 16 II	round object lies
gwen- ^ε wa-t'gei-ts!-i-	15 a and 16	have one's head lie next to
k'wa- : -t'gei-ts!-i-	III	
gwa-		
t'geme-t!-iau- : (t'gem-)	2 I	get dark
: t'ge ^ε mt'gám-x-gwa	13 a II	darkness

¹ Probably identical with preceding stem.² See *t'geye-* below.

-t'genets!- : -t'gents!- ha-yau-	3 III	put about one's middle
t'geye-b- : t'gei-b-	2 III	roll (<i>tr.</i>)
t'geye-p-x-	2 II	roll (<i>intr.</i>)
i-t'ge'y-al-i- : t'ge ^e -l-	1 III	roll (<i>tr.</i>)
t'ge'y-al-x- : t'ge ^e -l-x-	1 II	roll (<i>intr.</i>), run around
wi-t'geye-k!-(i-) :	2 III	put around
-t'gei-k!		
wi-ḡi-t'geye-k!-(i-)	2 III	surround
al-t'geyet'gay- : -t'gei-	13 a III	tie (kerchief) around (head, neck)
t'gay-		
al-ḡi-t'geyet'gay-(i-)	13 a III	roll up
-t'gili ^s -s-gwa- : (-t'gil ^s -s-	3 III	
gwa-)		
s'in-ḡi-		scratch, rub one's nose
-t'gi ^l t'gal-(i-) : (-t'gi ^l -)	12 III	
xa-ḡi-		break (leg) by throwing (rock) at
t'gis'im- : t'gis'm-,	3 I	get green
t'gis'[a]m-		
al-t'gis'àm-t'		green (<i>adj.</i>)
-t'gi'y-al-x- : (-t'giy-)	1 II	
al-		tears roll down one's face
-t'gumu-ts'!-i- : (-t'gum-)	2 III	
di ⁱ -		squeeze and crack (insect)
di ⁱ -t'gumut'gam-i- :	13 a III	<i>iter.</i>
t'gumt'gam-		
-t'gú ^u b- : -t'gú ^u p!-	6 III	
dak'-		put on hat, box-like object bottom up
dak'-t'gú ^u b-amd-		cover (basket) over, put lid on
p!ai-hau-		upset (canoe)
p!ai-hau-t'gú ^u p-x- :	6 II	(canoe) upsets
-t'gú ^u p-x-		
p!ai-hau-t'gup!-id-i ⁱ :	15 a and 16 II	box-like object lies upside down, with bottom up
(-t'gu ^s p'-d-i-)		
-t'gu ^u nt'gan-(i-) : -t'gu ^u n-		
he ^{es} -sal-		kick off
t'gunu ^u -g- : t'gu ^u n-p'-	2 II	be cold

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-t'güyū ^{iε} s- : (-t'gū ^{iε} s-)	8 II	
he ^ε -		(body) is blistered
al-da-		face is blistered, (fire) blisters
		face
xa ^a -da		back is blistered
-t'gwa ^a l-al-x- : (-t'gwal-)	1 II	
bā- ^ε ī-		(children) run about in short,
		quick runs
bā- ^ε ī-t'gwal-agw-	1 III	(whirlwind) whirls up past
		(house)
t'gwaxāi- : t'gwa ^a x-an-	7 b III	<i>contr.</i> tattoo
t'gwaxāi-k'wi- :	7 b II	tattoo oneself
t'gwa ^a x-an-t'-gwi-		
-t'gwelt'gwal-i- :	12 III	
(-t'gwe ^ε l-)		
xa ^a -sal-		break in two by stepping on
-t'gwili-k!w-an- : t'gwil-	2 III	
k!w-		
p!ai-		drop (liquid) (<i>tr.</i>)
t'gwili ^{iε} -x- : t'gwil ^{iε} -x-	2 III	(liquid) drops
p!ai-t'gwili ^{iε} -x-n[a]- :	2 III	drop (liquid) involuntarily
-t'gwil ^{iε} -x-n[a]-		
p!ai-t'gwili ⁱ t'gwal- :	13 a I	(liquid) keeps dripping
(-t'gwil ⁱ t'gwal-)		
t'iyi ⁱ - : t'i ⁱ -	8 (2?) I	float
t'ūwu ^u -g- ¹ : t'u ^u -g-,	2 I	be hot
t'ūw[a]-g-		
t'ūwū-g-iau-		weather is warm
-t'wap!at'wap'-na- :	13 a IV 1	
t'wa ^{a(ε)} p't'wap'-		
al-		blink with one's eyes
-t'wi'y-al-(i-) : (-t'wiy-)	1 III	
ī-		make whirl up
t'wi'y-al-x-	1 II	whirl (<i>intr.</i>)
-t!aba ^a -gw- : (-t!a ^a b-agw-)	1 III	
xi-		be thirsty
-t!abag- : -t!ap'g-	3 III	
da-		finish

¹ Cf. adj. *ʔuu*.

-t!a ^a d-(i) : (-t!ad-)	1 III	
bai-dak'-wili ⁱ -		rush out of the house
-t!agāi- : -da ^a g-	7 b III <i>contr.</i>	
da-		build a fire
t!alal- : da ^a l-	8 III	crack
(t!alat!al-) : daldal-	13 a and 8 III	<i>iter.</i>
t!amai- : t!amī-	3 I	go to get married (said only of woman)
t!amay-an- : t!amy-an-	3 III	take woman (somewheres) to get her married
t!amay-an-w-, t!amay-	3 I	go with woman to see her married
an-[a]u-		
-t!ana[h]-i-, <i>indir.</i> -s- :	2 III	
-t!an-, -t!an[h]-		
ī-		hold
wa ^ə -ī-		keep house
gel-		push against while facing
xa ^a - ^ə al-		watch
-t!aut!aw-(i) : -t!a ^a w-	12 III	
ī-		catch hold of, fiddle with
-t!awat!aw- : (-t!au-	13 a III	<i>frequ.</i>
t!aw-)		
-t!ayai- : -dāi-	9 I	
da-		go to get something to eat (<i>intr.</i>)
-t!aya ^a -ld-(i-) : -da ^a -ld-	9 III	go to get (food) to eat (<i>tr.</i>)
t!ayag- : da ^a g-	9 III	find
al-t!ayag-(i-)		find, discover, get sight of
s'in-t!ayag-(i-)		smell (<i>tr.</i>)
da ^a -t!ayag-(i-)		discover by hearing, hear all of a sudden
gel-t!ayag-(i-)		think about, recall to mind
-t!ayaig- :	III	<i>usit</i>
-t!ebe- : de ^ə b-	7 a II	
ba ^a -		get up; (new moon) appears
t!egwegw-áld- : de ^ə gw-	8 III	watch
t!egwegw-ált'-gwi-	8 II	take care, look out for oneself
-t!elet!al-i- : (-t!elt!al-)	13 a III	
al-da-		lick

-t!emem-(i-) : -de ^e m-	8 III	
wa ^é -ī-		gather (people) together (<i>tr.</i>)
wa-t!eme ^e -x- : -de ^e m-	8 II	(people) come together, as-semble
dak'-t!eme ^e -x-	8 II	assemble (<i>intr.</i>)
t!èut!aw- : t!èu-	12 I	play shinny
t!èut!aw-agw-	12 III	play shinny with
-t!eyes-na- : -t!eisi-gwel-sal-	16 IV 2	have no flesh on legs and feet
t!eye ^é -s- : t!e ^é -s-	3 II	go up, fly up (to sky)
t!i'!-ám-d- : t!i'!-	1 III	fish for
t!i'!-am-xa-	1 I	go fishing
-t!ilī-k'-n-i- : -dīl-n[h]-	7 a III	
wa-		distribute to, give one to each
-t!ixix-i- : -di'x-bai-	8 III	force something out that sticks inside (like entrails)
-t!iyi'-s- : -t!i'-s-	2 III	
di'-t!iyi'-s-(i-)		mash
di'-t!iyit!ay- : (-t!i'-t!ay-)	13 a III	<i>iter.</i>
t!obag-i- : t!obag-as-	15 b II	lie like dead
t!obag-i-n[ha]- :	15 b III	<i>caus.</i>
t!obag-as-n[a]-		
t!omom- : do ^u m-	8 III	kill
t!omoamd- : do ^u um-	13 a <i>irr.</i> and	<i>usit.</i>
dam-	8 III	
t!ümü-xa- : (-düm-xa-)	2 and 8 I	kill (without obj.)
-t!os'ot!as'-(i-) : (-t!os'-t!as'-)	13 a III	
s'al-		walk about at random
-t!loxox-i- : -do ^u x-	8 III	
wa ^é -ī-		gather (pieces) together
-t!loxō-lh- :	2 III	<i>iter.</i>
-t!loxot!ax- : -do ^u x-dax-	13 a and 8 III	<i>usit.</i>
-t!lūgūi- : -dū ^g [w]-	7 b III <i>contr.</i>	
dī-		wear (garment)
-t!lūgū ^t '-na- :	11 IV 1	<i>usit.</i>

-t!ü ^ü lög[w]- : -t!ü ^ü lg-	3 III	
ha-		follow along in (trail)
-t!ülü ^ü lg- :	III	<i>usit.</i>
t!ülüt!al-, <i>indir.</i> -s :	13 a III	play hand guessing-game (<i>re-</i>
t!ült!al-		<i>cipr.</i>)
t!ülüt!al-p'-iau-	13 a II	hand guessing-game is going
		on
t!wep'et!wap-x- :	13 a and 8 II	(birds) fly around without light-
dwe ^ə p'dwap-		ing
ts!adad- : sa ^a d-	8 III	mash
ts!adats!at'-na- :	13 a (and 8)	<i>iter.</i>
(sa ^a t'sat'-)	IV 1	
-ts!agag- : (-sa ^a g-)	8 I	
p!ai-		(water) drops
wili ⁱ -da-		(water) drips in house
ts!a ^a k'ts!ag- : ts!a ^a g-	12 I	step
-ts!alats!al-i- : -ts!alts!al-	13 a III	
da-		chew
-ts!a ^a m-x- : (-ts!am-)	1 II	
da-		be sick
ha ^ə wi-gel-		be alive yet, "stagger around"
-ts!amag- : (-ts!amg-)	3 III	
dā- ^ə i-		squeeze (somebody's) ears
ts!away- : ts!awi-, ts!auy-	3 I	run fast
ts!ayag- : sa ^a g-	9 III	shoot at, spear (salmon)
ts!ayaig- :	III	<i>usit.</i>
-ts!aya-g- : -ts!āi-g-	2 III	
al-		wash (<i>tr.</i>)
al-ts!aya ^a -p'- : -ts!āi-	2 II	wash oneself
p'-		
ī-ts!aya ^a -p'-		wash one's hands
ts!aya-m- : ts!ai-m-,	2 III	hide (<i>tr.</i>)
ts!ay[a]-m-		
ts!ayai-m- : ts!aimi-	<i>irr.</i> III	<i>usit.</i>
gel-ts!aya-m-an-i		hide (fact) from
ts!eye-m-xa-	2 I	hide (without obj.)
ts!aya ^a -p'- : ts!āi-p'-	2 II	hide (<i>intr.</i>)

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ts'!ele-m- : ts'!el[a]-m-	2 I	rattle (<i>intr.</i>)
ī-ts'!elets'!al-(i-) :	3 a III	rattle (<i>tr.</i>)
(-ts'!elts'!al-)		
ts'!el nagai-		make a rattling sound (<i>intr.</i>)
ts!elel-ámd- : se ^l -	8 III	paint, write
-ts'!e ^e mx- : -ts'!emx[a]-	1 I	
da ^a -		hear big noise, din
da ^a -ts'!e ^e mx-n[a]- :	1 III	make noise near by
-ts'!emx-n[a]		
ts'!e ^e max k!emen-		make a noise
-ts'!ibib- : -s'i ^b -	8 III	
de-		shut (doorway, hole in tree)
de-ts'!ibi-x- : -s'i ^p -x-	8 II	shut (<i>intr.</i>)
de-ts'!ibits'!ap-x- :	13 a and 8 II	keep shutting (<i>intr.</i>)
(-s'i ^p 's'ap-)		
ts'!ibin- : ts'!ip'n-	3 III	make a speech to, address formally
ts'!inik!- : ts'!ink!-	3 III	pinch (<i>tr.</i>)
-ts'!ini ^e -x- ¹ : -ts'!in ^e -x-	3 II	
de-		die, succumb
de-ts'!inīan-x- :	13 a <i>irr.</i> II	<i>usit.</i>
ts'!ini ^t s'!an-x- : ts'!in-	13 a II	get angry
ts!an-		
-ts'!iwi-d-(i-) : ts'!iu-d-	2 III	
xa- ^l ī-		split (<i>tr.</i>)
xa ^a -p!ai-		split by throwing down on
ī-ts'!iwi ^t s'!aw- :	13 a III	<i>iter.</i>
(-ts'!iuts'!aw-)		
ts'!ó ^u d-i- : ts'!ó ^u t!-	6 III	touch, reach (point) as limit to course
al- ^l ī-		touch against
ha-dak'-		(tree) strikes against (sky)
-ts'!olol- : (-so ^u l-)	8 III	
ha-		miss (one that is lost)
-ts'!omo ^u k!-i- : -ts'!omk!-	3 III	
wa ^l -ī-		squeeze together
-ts'!omo ^u g-k'wa-		squeeze one's (legs) together

¹ Perhaps identical with preceding stem.

ts'us'um- : ts'us'm-,	3 I	make a chirping sound (78,
ts'us'[a]m-		note 2)
ts'us'um-áld-	3 III	chirp to
-ts'lügü- :	2 I	
de-		be sharp
: al-ts'lülm-ik ^w (<i>pass.</i>	3 III	having warts on his face
<i>ptc.</i>)		
-ts'lülu ^u -k!-i- : -ts'lül-k!-	2 III	
al-p!i-		set fire to
al-p!i-ts'luluts'al-i- :	13 a III	<i>iter.</i>
-ts'!olts'al-		
al-da-		catch fire (<i>intr.</i> ; logical subj. is grammatical obj.)
-ts'lülük![w]-i- :	3 III	
(-ts'lülk![w]-)		
al-de-		suck
de-de-		kiss
ts'lümü ^u m-t'a- ¹ : s'ü ^u m-	8 III	boil (<i>tr.</i>)
t'a-		
ts'lümüts'lam-t'a :	13 a and 8 III	<i>usit.</i>
(s'ü ^u ms am-t'a-)		
u ^u g[w]- : üg[w]-	1 III	drink
üg ^u ak'-na- :	13 b IV 1	<i>usit.</i>
(ük![w]ak'-)		
u ^u g[w]-an-x-	1 II	drink (without obj.)
wa ^u -u ^u g[w]-an-i-		drink (water) with
üyü ^{is} - : ü ^{is} -	8 II	laugh
üyü ^{is} -gwa-	8 III	laugh at
üyü ^{is} - : (ü ^{is} !s'-)	13 a II	keep on laughing
dī ^{is} -üyüts'!-amd- :	3 III	fool (<i>tr.</i>)
-üits'!-		
wa ^g - : waga-	5 III	carry, bring, fetch
wa ^g -aw-i-, <i>indir.</i> wa ^g -	5 III	bring to, fetch for
as- : waga-w-i-		
waga-ok'-na- :	IV 1	bring (<i>usit.</i>)
dak'-		finish
he ^u -		buy

¹ See also *s'omo-d.*

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he ^e -wa ^e -wa ^a g-aw-i- me ^e -		buy with come with
-wage-xa- : wa-xa- ba ^a -	2 I	climb up
-wahei- : -wahei- bai-	1 I	urinate
wala ^e si, wala ^e si-na ^e (<i>T. L.</i> § 70 end)		indeed, really
waya ^a n-, 3d per. wayá ^e : wai-	14 I	sleep
wayaūhi :	13 a I	<i>usit.</i>
waya ^a -n-, waya ^a -n[ha]- : wai-n-, wai-n[ha]-	2 III	put to sleep
p!ai- ^ē -waya ^a -n-i-	2 III	cause to lie down
gel-waya ^a -n-	2 III	sleep with
gel-waya ^a -n-x-an-	2 I	sleep next to each other (<i>recipr.</i>)
wé ^e g-iau- : (wé ^e k!-)	6 I	it dawns
wek!ē-lh-iau- :	2 I	<i>frequ.</i>
-wek!al- : -wek!al- al-	1 IV 3	shine (<i>intr.</i>) be of shiny appearance
we ^e t'-g-i-, <i>indir.</i> we ^e -s- : wede-k'-i-, <i>indir.</i> wede-s-	5 III	take away from, deprive of
-wesgah-agw- : ha-i-	III	spread apart one's legs
wi ⁱ - : wī- wiyiwī- : (wīwī-) xa ^a -	1 II 13 a II	go about, travel <i>iter.</i> go between, act as go-between in feud
da ^a -p!iya wī-sa ^a		medicine-man, "alongside-of- fire going about "
-wīg-(i-) : -wīk!- de- ^ē -	6 III	spread out (mat)
wīk!-ad-i- : wīk'-d-i-	15 a and 16 II	objects lie heaped about
-wīl'k'-ap'- : wīl'k'-ap'- s'in-	3 II	blow one's nose

wiliw- : wilw-, wil[a]u-	3 I	go, proceed, run
wiliw-áld-	3 III	go and show to
p!ai-		walk down (mountain)
p!ai-di ^é -		camp
bai-		(star) comes up
de-		shout(in order to find out)
de-wiliw-áld-	3 III	fight with, "go for"
gel-		walk about with strutting
		breast
p!ai-wa ^é -wili ⁱ -gw- :	3 III	come down with, in
ba ^a -wa ^é -wili ⁱ -gw- :	3 III	travel up along (river)
he ^é -wili ⁱ -gw- :	3 III	wish one to die
wits'!im- : wism[a]-	3* I	move (<i>intr.</i>)
wits'!ism[a] :	1 I	keep moving
wits'!esm[a]-		
wiyig- : wi'g-, wiy[a]g-	3 I	groan
-wiyik!- : -wi'k!-	3 III	
gwen-		put around neck
dak'-		put around head
gwen-wi ^é -xap'		neckerchief
wiyim-ad- : wi'm-	3 III	exercise supernatural power
		upon
wiyin- : (wi'n-)	3 III	help
wo ^u -ld- : woo- (without -ld-)	5 III	go for, go to get
wo ^é õ ^u ha- :	III	<i>usit.</i>
wo ^u g- : wog-	1 II <i>irr.</i>	arrive
wogowag- : (wok'wag-)	13 a I	<i>frequ.</i>
ba ^a -		(smoke) comes up (out of house)
wülü[h]-am- : wü ^ü l[h]-	2 I	have first menstrual courses
am-		
-wülü ^u k!-(i-) : (-wü ^ü lk!-)	3 III	
al- ^é l-		run away from
wunu ^u n- : wu ^u n-	8 I	be, grow old
-xadaxat'-na- : -xa ^{at} '-	13 a IV 1	
xat'-		
ba ^a -		hang up in row
xalaxam- : xalxam-	13 a I	urinate

-xal-i ⁱ - : (-xal-i-)	1 III	
al-		sit (<i>pl.</i>) (forms are tr. with constant 3d per obj.)
-xanan- : (xanw-)	3 III	
bai- ^ε al-		look out (<i>pl.</i>) (3d per. obj.)
-xá ^a x- : (-xá ^æ x-)	6 II	
s'in-		be tickled in one's nose
xda ^a xda-gw- : (xda ^a -)	12 III	throw soft, nasty object
(-xdili ^ε xdal-i-) : -xdil ^ε -	13 b III	
xdal-		
xā- ^ε ī-		notch in several places
xeben- : xe ^ε b-	14 I	do (<i>intr.</i>), do so
de-	14 III	say (<i>intr.</i>), say so
xebe ^ε y-agw- : xe ^ε b-	3 I	slay, destroy, hurt
xemel- : (xeml-)		desire to eat
-xí ⁱ g-(i-) : -xí ⁱ k!-	6 III	
al-		see
-xik! ⁱ lh-i- : -xik![a]-	2 III	<i>usit.</i>
-xik! ⁱ xa- : (-xi ^ε -xa-)	2 I	look around
-xilgw-(i-) : -xilgw-	3 III	
ba-i-		snatch up
-xililk!w-(i-) : (-xilk!w-)	3 III	
bai-s'in-		blow one's nose
xili ^{ue} -xwa- : (xil ^ε -xwa-)	3 II	play woman's shinny-game
xili ^{ue} -x[w]-an-	3 I	<i>recipr.</i>
-xini ⁱ xan-p'- : (-xi ⁱ nxan-	13 a II	
p'-)		
s'in-		sniffle, hawk
-xiu- : -xiwi-	5 I	
hawax-		rot
-xi ⁱ w-an-	5 III	make rot
-xi ⁱ -gw- : -xiwi-	5 III	rot with
-xleden[h]-agw- :	3 III	
-xled[a]n[h]-		
ī-		carry in flat basket-tray
-xlep!exlab-(i) :	13 a III	
(-xle ^ε p'xlab)		
al- ^ε ī-		knead (dough-like mass) into roundish cake

: ba-xné ^ε t'-ôk' ^w <i>ptc.</i>)	(<i>pass.</i> 6 III	roasted by fire
-xó ^u d- : xó ^u t!- ba ^a - ^ε i-xó ^u d-i-	6 III	blow off (acorns from tree supernaturally)
ba ^a - bai- ^ε i-xó ^u d-(i-)		beat in game
bai-		pull out forcibly (from inside)
di ^ε -xó ^u -s- : -xó ^{uε} -s-	6 II	wrench away
		have hole at posterior extrem- ity allowing things to spill (food from anus, acorns from hopper)
di ^ε -xó ^u -s- n[ã]-	6 III	spill (acorns) (<i>tr.</i>)
-xodoxad- : -xot'xad- bai-	13 a III	take off (skirt)
-xog[w]-i ⁱ - : (-xog[w]-i-) s'al-	1 III	stand (<i>pl.</i>) (forms are <i>tr.</i> with constant 3d per. obj.)
ba ^a -s'al-xoxag-1- · -xo ^u g-	12 III	stand up, come to a stand (<i>pl.</i>) (3d per. obj.)
-xó ^u g i- : -xó ^u k!- di ⁱ -hin(^ε x)-	6 III	scare
xo ^u m-an- : xom- (xomoxam-an-) : xom- xam-	1 III	dry (food) <i>frequ.</i>
-xoxog[w]- : gwen- wa-, da-xoxog[w]-i-	12 <i>irr.</i> III	string (salmon) string (salmon) with (stick)
-xoyoxay-(i-) : -xoixay- da-	13 a III	scare around by pursuing with open mouth
sal- ī-		scare away by jumping around throw around in all directions
xudum- : xut'm-, xud[a]m-	3 I	whistle
xudum-áld-	3 III	whistle to
-xulūp!-an- : (-xulp!-) han-	3 III	shoot (object) through

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xumü-g- ¹ : xum[a]g-	2 I	be satiated, satisfied after eating
xumü ^ü -gw-	2 III	have enough of, be sated with
yadad- : ya ^a d-	8 I	swim
han-		swim across (stream)
yadad-áld-		swim for
yala- : (yal-)	2 III	lose
gel-yala-n- : -yal-n-	1 I	be lost, forget oneself
yala-l-an- : yal-n-an-	2 III	lose, cause to be lost
yala ^a -x-ald- : ya ^a l-	2 III	lose
gel-yala ^a -x-ald-i- : -yal-	2 III	forget (person)
gel-yala ^a -x-alt'-gwi- : 2 II		forget oneself
-ya ^a l-		
yalag- : yalg-, yal[a]g-	3 I	dive
yalag-ámd-	3 III	dive for
yamad- : yamd-, yam[a]d-	3 III	ask (<i>tr.</i>)
yamad-amd-		go and ask of
yama ^é -s- : (yam ^é -s-)	3 II	taste good
yaml-i ⁱ - :	15 a II	look pretty
ya ^a n-, 3d per. yá ^é : yana-	5 I	go (without expressed goal of motion)
ya ^a n-an-, yā-n[ha]- :	5 III	cause to go
yana ^a -n-		
ya ^a n-gw-	5 III	take along
ba ^a -ya ^a n-gw-	5 III	pick up
dak'-ya ^a n-gw-	5 III	pass (house)
wa-ya ^a n-gw-	5 III	follow
wa-yanain-agw- :	13 c III	follow (<i>usit.</i>)
hawi-ya ^a n-		dance in front
yaway- : yawi-	11 I	talk (with each other)
yaway-agw- : yawiy-	11 III	talk about
agw-		
yiwiyaw- : yiw[i]yaw-	13 a I	talk (by oneself), make a sound (of animal)
-yebēb-(i-), <i>indir.</i> -s- :	8 III	
-ye ^é b-		
al-		show to
da ^a -he ^é l-		sing for

¹ Cf. noun *xumà*, "food."

: -ye ^g -aw-(i-)	III	
bai- ^ḡ -		drive (sickness) out of
bai-de-		drive (sickness) away from
yegwegw- : ye ^g gw-	8 III	bite
yegweyagw- : ye ^g k ^w -		<i>frequ.</i>
· yagw-		
-yehèi- : -yehi ⁱ -	11 III <i>contr.</i>	
da ^a -		go where one hears there is sound (of singing, playing)
yele ^s -gwa- : yel ^s -	3 I	sweat (<i>intr.</i>)
yele ^s -gwa-n-	3 III	make to sweat
yel ^s -gwi-x (<i>inf.</i>)		sweat (<i>noun</i>)
yewei- : yèu-	4 a I	go back (without expressed goal of motion), return
yewèog- :	I <i>irr.</i>	<i>frequ.</i>
me ^ḡ -		come back
dal-		run away
gwen-		go back (for something)
me ^ḡ -yewey-agw- : ye ^ḡ -	4 a III	come back with, fetch back
gw-		
bai-yewey-agw-	4 a III	take out (what has been put in)
ba ^a -de- ^ḡ yewey-agw-	4 a III	continue traveling
gedē yewey-agw-	4 a III	get even with, revenge upon
p!ai- ^ḡ wa-yewe ^ḡ -n-(i-) :	2 III	descend other side of moun- tain after reaching top, return to earth after touch- ing sky
-ye ^ḡ w-an-		
yewew-áld- : ye ^ḡ w-	8 III	go back for, return to
yìl-, <i>indir.</i> -s- : yil-	1 III	copulate with
me ^ḡ -mīn-		come and copulate with
yilim- : yilm-	3 III	call for, upon
yili ⁿ m- :	III	<i>iter.</i>
yìmiy-, <i>indir.</i> -s- : yimi-	1 III	lend to
[h]i-, <i>indir.</i> -x-		
yimis ^ḡ -ald- : yims ^ḡ -	3 III	dream about
yimis ^ḡ -a- : yims ^ḡ -a-	3 I	dream (<i>intr.</i>)
yimi ^s -a- :	I	be always dreaming

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yi ¹ w- : yiw-	1 I	
yi ¹ w-an-	1 III	play (musical instrument)
de ^o -		sound (<i>intr.</i>), give forth a sound
de ^o -yi ¹ w-an-	1 III	cause to sound
yiwiyaw- ¹ (see yaway-)		
yok![w]oy- : yok'y-,	3* III	know (<i>tr.</i>)
yok'y[a]-		
yo ^u mi ⁱ -, <i>indir.</i> -s- : yomo-	11 and 5 III	catch up with
di ^o -s'al-yo ^u mi ⁱ - :	11 and 5 III	catch up with
-yomo-[h]i		
dak'-		catch up with
-yuluyal-(i-) : -yulyal-	13 a III	
al- ^o i-		rub
yunob-áld- : (yunb-)	3 III	hold out net to catch (fish)
-yono ^u k!-(i-) : yonk!-	3 III	
i-		pull away from
bai-yunuk!-		pull out forcibly
yonon- : yo ^u n-	8 III	sing (a song) (<i>tr.</i>)
hé ^o l-yunun-(i-)		sing a song
yonoin-	13 c III	<i>usit.</i>
-yunu ^o yan-(i-) : -yun ^o -	13 b III	
yan-		
hau-gwen-		swallow down greedily
-yut!i-[h]i- :	10 b (?) III	
hau-gwen-		swallow down greedily (<i>sing. obj.</i>)
hau-gwen-yut!uyad-	13 a III	swallow down greedily
(i-) ² : -yu ^o t'yad-		
yowo- : yo ^u -, yo-	2 I	be
al-		look
p!ai-		sit down (from standing position); be born
abai-di ^o -		go into house to fight
ba ^a -gel-		lie belly up
p!ai-di ^o -		(sky) is set on (earth)

¹ Perhaps better explained as derivative of *yi¹w-* than of *yaway-*.² Cf. preceding stem.

da ^a -		listen, pay attention		
hau-		sweat (in sweat-bath)		
ha ^ε w-ī-yuwu-n[ha]- :	2 III	make to sweat (in sweat-bath)		
yu-				
bai-yowo-n- :	yo-	2 III	miss (shot)	
yowog[w] ¹ - :	yo ^u g[w]-	3 III	marry (<i>tr.</i>)	
yūwūg[w]-am- :	yu-	3 I	be married	
g[a]-m-				
yūwūg[w]-am-an-		3 III	give in marriage	
yowo ^ε s- :	yo ^{uε} s-	3 II	start (when startled)	
da-			suddenly stop talking, singing	
s'in-			suddenly move nose (because tickled)	
sal-			suddenly lift foot (when startled)	
yowo ^u ts!-an-, yowo ^{uε} s-	n[a]- :	yo ^u ts!-, yo ^{uε} s-	3 III	startle, cause to start
: yu ^u g-, yo ^u g-		3 (?) I	be strong	

NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

ais'-(dèk')	(my) property
alák-s-i-(t'k')	(my) tail
alák-s-i-x-(da-gwa)	(his own) tail
álk'	silver-side salmon
bák'ba ^a	big woodpecker
balàu	young
baláu-t'an	<i>pl.</i>
bāls	long
ba ^a lās-it'	<i>pl.</i>
bam-ìs	sky
bānx	hunger
bāp'	seeds (sp. ?)
ba ^a b-ì-(t'k')	(my) seeds
bāxdis	wolf
bē	sun, day
al-be ^e	to sun

¹ Perhaps best analyzed as *yowo-gw-*, "be with," comitative of *yowoc-*.

bebè-n	rushes
bel`p´	whistling swan
bēlp´	string of camass roots used as play- thing by children
bēls	moccasin
bēls-i-(t´k´)	(my) moccasin
bēm	wood, stick, tree
bēm-(t´ek´)	(my) stick
be ^e wī	chinook (?) salmon
beyàn-(t´k´)	(my) daughter
bīk´ ^w	skunk
bíl-am	having nothing, unprovided
ha-bilàm	empty
ha-gwel-bilàm	empty underneath (like table)
ɬíɬ ^e	quiver
bíɬ-(t´ek´)	(my) quiver
bilg-an-x-(dèk´)	(my) breast
bīls	moss
de-bìn	first, last
-bin-	
(wili) há-bin-ì	in middle of (house)
ha-bē-bin-i	noon
xā-bin-winì	half full
al-binì-x	bereft of child, widow, widower
bīū	grasshopper
bixàl	moon
de-bixím-sa (<i>adv.</i>)	spring
bō ^u	goal in shinny-game
bobòp´	screech-owl
bóík´	"big chipmunk with yellow breast"
bók´d-an	neck
bók´d-an-x-(dèk´)	(my) neck
gwen-t´ga ^a -bók´dan-da	"at-nape-of-earth-its-neck," east
bom-xì	otter
bō ^u n	basket acorn-hopper
bòp´	alder bush
xa ^a -bob-in	among alder bushes

bót'ba ^a	orphan
bō ^u t'bad-i-(t'k')	(my) orphan child
bō ^u t'ba ^a -lā'p'a-k!-an	orphan children
-bo ^u w-	
di ^ε -bo ^u w-i-(dē)	alongside of (me), (my) wife
bóxd-an	salt mud
bóxuma ^a	mud
de-bū ^{'uε} , -bū ^{'uε} -x	full
de-bū ^{'uε} bà-x, -bū ^{'uε} k'bà-x	<i>pl.</i>
bu ^u b-àn	arm, string of dentalia from shoulder to wrist
bu ^u b-an-ì-(t'k')	(my) arm
bu ^u b-an-í-x-(da-gwa)	(his own) arm
bùs'	all gone, annihilated, used up
būs' (<i>upper Tak.</i>)	fly
da-	see de-
dá-k!oloi	cheek (? = mouth-basket)
da-k!olói-da-x-(dèk')	(my) cheek
da ^a -	ear
da ^a -n-x-(dèk')	(my) ear
da- ^ε ā'nau, - ^ε aná ^a , - ^ε ána ^a k' ^w	chief
da- ^ε ána ^a k' ^w -(dek')	(my) chief
dag-àn	turtle
dá ^ε iwadagalài	"water-dog," water-salamander(?)
dak'-	head
dág-ax-(dek')	(my) head
dak'-(dē)	over (me)
Dī-dal-am ¹	(village name)
daldàl ¹	dragon fly
dal't'	low brush
dal-dì	wild
da ^ε mada-gw-an-x-(dèk')	(my) shoulder
dàn	rock
dan-à-t'k'	(my) rock
Dal-dan-ì-k'	"Away-from-which-are-rocks" (vil- lage name)
Al-dan-k!olói-da	"To-its-rock-basket" (mountain name)

¹ Cf. verb *t'alal-*.

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dauyá ^a	medicine-man's guardian spirit
dauyá ^a -k ^{'w} -(dèk')	my guardian spirit
Al-dauyá ^a -k ^{'w} a-dìs	(mountain name)
dayú-t'a ^{a1}	eldest
de ^e -, da-	lips, mouth
de ^e -x-(dèk')	(my) mouth
ha-dá-(t'-gwa)	in (his own) mouth
degàs	basket pan for sifting acorn meal
degès-ì-(t'k')	(my) basket pan
dèhal	five
dèl	yellow-jacket
delg-àn	buttocks, basket bottom
delg-àn-(t'k'), delg-an-x-(dèk')	(my) buttocks
dì ^e -	anus
ha-dī'-(t'-gwa)	in back of (himself)
dī ⁱ -èl-(t'k'), dī ⁱ -èal-da-x-(dèk')	(my) forehead
al-dīl, -dī	all
dī ^m mò	hips
dī ^m mo-x-(dèk')	(my) hips
din-(dē)	behind (me)
dīp'	camass
dīū	falls
dug[w]àl	rope
dugul-ì-(t'k')	(my) rope
dugùm	baby
dō ^u k'	log, tree trunk
dolà	hollow tree
dolàx	things, utensils
dólk'-am-a-(t'k'), dólk'-im-i-	(my) anus
(t'k'), dólk'-in-i-(t'k')	
dō ^u m	spider
dō ^u m	testicles
do ^u m-àl-(t'k')	(my) testicles
domxàu	"big crooked-nosed salmon"
duyùm	cat-tail rushes
dū	good, beautiful

¹ Perhaps = *da-yú-t'a^a*, "being in front."

p!i-dügùm	big fire, blaze
dūk ^{w1}	woman's shirt
du ^u g[w]-ì-(t'k')	(my) shirt
dül	salmon-spear point
du ^u l-ì-(t'k')	(my) spear point
de-dül-àpx	straight
de-dül-áp ^a x-da ^a	right (hand, foot)
dak'-dü' ^u l ^s	big-headed
eī	canoe
ei-x-(dèk'), ey-à-(t'k')	(my) canoe
eī-han	<i>pl.</i>
el-à-(t'k')	(my) tongue
gák!an	house ladder
gál ^é	bow; gun
gál-(t'ek')	(my) bow
gā ^é m, gā'p!-inì	two
gamáx-di	raw; having no supernatural power
gamd-í-(xa)	(his) paternal grandparent, (his) son's child
gamgám ²	four
gel-	breast
gel-(dē)	in front of (me)
gel-àm	river
Da ^a gelàm	"Along the river," Rogue river
gelgàl ³	fabulous serpent who squeezes people to death
gelg-an- ⁴	
dì-gelgan-(dē)	at (my) anus
gé ^{et} '	white overlay in basketry (<i>xerophyl- lum tenax</i>)
-gew[a] ^é .x ⁵	crooked
-géwe ^é k'-it'	<i>pl.</i>
ī-géwa ^é -x	crooked-handed
xa ^a -géwa ^é -x	crooked-backed

¹ Cf. verb -t!ugui-.² See gā^ém.³ Cf. verb -geleg-.⁴ Perhaps misheard for delg-an-.⁵ Cf. verb -gewek!aw .

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gíxgap'	poison, medicine
gó ^u k'-(dek')	(my) knee
gūī	thick brush
gūms	blind
golò-m	oak with white acorns
xa ^a -gulm-àn	among oaks
gomhàk' ^w	rabbit
gungun	otter (myth name)
gòs'	"big rainbow-colored shell" (clam shell ?)
goyò	medicine-man
gūx-(dek')	(my) wife
Ha-gwāl	Cow creek
gwalà	many
gwal't'	wind
gwān	trail
gwa ^a l-àm-(t'k')	(my) trail
gwás' wili	brush house
gwās	entrails
gwa ^a s'-i-x-(dèk'), gwa ^a s'-i-	(my) entrails
(t'k')	
-gwási' ¹	yellow
al-gwási, -gwási-t'	
xa ^a -sal-gwási	"yellow between his claws" (myth name of sparrow-hawk)
gwel-	leg
gwēl-x-(dèk')	(my) leg
gwél-(da)	under it
gwen-	neck, nape of neck
gwen-hau-(dē)	in back of (my) neck
gwen-hau-x-(dèk')	(my) nape
gwi ^ñ nei-x-(dèk')	(my) relative
gwi ^ñ néi	(her) thing (?) (108. 3)
gwísgwas	chipmunk
Gwísgwas-hān	(woman's name)
gwit ^ñ -iū-x-(dèk'), gwit!ì-n-(t'k')	(my) wrist

¹ Cf. *yan-gwàs*.

<i>hāī</i>	cloud
<i>há^ék'a^a</i>	goose
<i>haik!-ā</i>	husband! wife! (<i>voc.</i>)
<i>-ham</i>	see <i>ma-</i>
<i>ha^an-x-(dèk')</i>	(my) brothers
<i>hàn-t'</i>	half
<i>ha^ap'-</i>	small, child
<i>hāp-xì</i>	child
<i>ha^ap'-(dèk')</i>	(my) child
<i>ha^ap-x-(dèk')</i>	(my) children
<i>hā'p'-dí, hap-s-dì</i>	small
<i>ha^ap'-k!emná^és</i>	"children maker" (name of creator)
<i>hás-(a)</i>	(his) mother's brother
(<i>wi-</i>) <i>has-ì</i>	(my) mother's brother
<i>hásd-(a)</i>	(his) sister's husband, wife's brother
<i>hau-</i>	under
<i>haw-an-(dē)</i>	under (me)
<i>-hau-¹</i>	
<i>dī^é-hau-(dē)</i>	behind (me), after (I) left
<i>haū-x</i>	woman's private parts
<i>haū-x-(dek')</i>	(my) private parts
<i>dak-hawalák'-i-(t'k')</i>	(my) crown of head
<i>hawàx²</i>	rotteness, pus, foul odor
<i>hā'^éya-(dē)</i>	around (me)
<i>hé^él³</i>	song
<i>hé^él-(t'ek')</i>	(my) song
<i>he^él-àm</i>	board, lumber,
<i>he^élam-à-(t'k')</i>	(my) lumber
<i>-hin</i>	see <i>nī-</i>
<i>hin^éx⁴</i>	fear
<i>hī'p'-al</i>	flat
<i>hīt'</i>	out of wind, nearly dead
<i>hīx</i>	roasted camass

¹ See also *gwen-hau-*. Perhaps identical with preceding.

² See verbs *-xiu-* and *-do^és-*.

³ Cf. verb *helel-*.

⁴ See verbs *nīw-* and *da-ts!^éaam-x*.

-hók'w-al, -hogw-àl	holed
da-hók'wal	holed (as for smoke)
han-hók'wal	holed through
gwel-hók'wal	holed underground, caved
da ^a -hók'wal	ear-holed
s'in-hók'wal	nose-holed
xo-hók'wal	holed (fir)
hó ^é px	lake
hōū	jack-rabbit
hós'au	somewhat bigger, growing up
hos'ō ^u	<i>pl.</i>
hūlk'	panther
hūlū-n	ocean, sea
s'in-hū's'g-al	long-nosed
hu ^u s'ú ^u	chicken-hawk
ī-	hand
ī-ū-x-(dèk')	(my) hand
ībīl ^é	blood money for settlement of feud
í ^é lts!-ak' ^w	bad
ī ^é áls-ak' ^w	<i>pl.</i>
k'abá-(xa)	(his) son
k'ai ^é -lā'p'a	woman
k'ai ^é lā'p'a-k!-i-(t'k')	(my) woman
k'e ^é lè'p'a-k!-i-k' ^w	woman-having
k'ai ^é -s'ók'-da	young woman (who has already had courses)
k'àl	penis
k'alw-i-(t'k')	(my) penis
k'ó ^é px	dust, ashes
k'ó ^é x	tar-weed seeds
k'u ^u b-i-(t'k')	(my) body-hair, skin
k'ūlū-m	"fish having turned-up hog-mouth," sucker (?)
k'wedeī-(t'k')	(my) name
k'wínax-(dē)	(my) kinsman, relative
k'ū ^u nax·	kinsman (myth form)
s'in-k'wôk!wá ^a	mudcat
k!abàs	porcupine quills used in embroidery

di ⁸ -k!àls ¹	lean in rump
k!ál ⁸ s	sinew
k!alts!-ì-(t'k')	(my) sinew
k!áma	tongs, split stick for putting hot rocks into basket-bucket
k!àmà-(t'k'), k!ámak!a-(t'k')	(my) tongs
k!ának!as	small basket-cup for drinking
k!ás-(a)	(his) maternal grandparent, daugh- ter's child
(wi-)k!as-ì	(my) maternal grandparent
k!ā ⁸ t'	"thick, low, blue-looking bushes"
k!é ^e p-(xa)	(her) husband's parent
k!éda	grass from which string was made
yāl k!egeláu-s-i-x-da ³	pine-fungus (?)
k!el' ²	basket-bucket
k!elw-ì-(t'k')	(my) basket-bucket
k!eleī	bark
k!eleī-(t'k')	(my) bark
k!elé ^s	bird (sp. ?)
k!iyíx	smoke
al-k!iyíx-nàt	"smoke-looking," blue
-k!ok!òk'	ugly
al-k!ok!òk'	ugly-faced
ī-k!ok!òk'	ugly-handed
k!oloi ³	small basket
k!ol ⁸ xì	salmon-head
k!ùls	worm
k!uls[à]-t'	soft (to eat)
k!umoi	swamp
k!o ^u xa-	relatives by marriage of their children
(wi-)k!o ^u xà	(my) relative
k!o ^u xá-m-(xa)	(his) relative
k!ū'yam ⁴	friend (<i>voc.</i>)
(wi-)k!u ^u yàp', -k!u ^u yàm	(my) friend
k!ūyab-á-(⁸ t')	(your) friend
k!u ^u yáp-(xa)	(his) friend

¹ Cf. verb *di⁸-k!alas-na-*.² Cf. verb *k!eleu-*.³ See also *da-k!oloi*.⁴ Cf. verb *k!uyum-id-*.

k!wāi	grass
k!wal'	pitch
k!wál-t'a ^a	youngest (of two or more)
là'	excrement
lā-(t'k')	(my) excrement
Lámhi-k'	Klamath river
lamts!-i-(xa)	(her) brother's wife
làmx	sunflower seeds
lān	fishing-net
lá ^a p'	leaves
-lā'p'a	person (found only as second member of compounds)
-lā'p'a-k!-an	<i>pl.</i>
-lā'p'a-k!-i-(t'k')	(my) person
lap'ā-m	frog
lap'ō ^u	"red-striped snake"
lāp-s	blanket
laps-(dèk')	(my) blanket
lasgum	little snake
lasgum iūxgwàt'	"handed snake," lizard
legè-m-(t'k')	(my) kidneys
lé-k'w-an-(t'k')	(my) anus
lep'ní-xa (<i>adv.</i>)	winter
le ^e p-sì	feather
lep!ēs	cat-tail rushes, mat
libì-n	news
libīs	crawfish
liu-gw-ax-(dèk') ¹	(my) face
lōm	cedar
Di ^ē -lo ^u m-ī	"West of which are cedars" (vil- lage name)
lom-t!í	old man
loxò-m	manzanita
lu ^u l-i-x-(dèk'), lu ^u l-i-(t'k')	(my) throat
má-(xa)	(his) father
(wi-)hàm	(my) father
mé-xa-k' ^w	having father

¹ Cf. verb *liwilau-*.

mahài, mahài-t'	big
mahmī	<i>pl.</i>
xa ^a -mahài	big-backed, wide
mahái-t'a ^a	eldest (of two or more)
māl	salmon-spear shaft
ma ^a l-ì-(t'k')	(my) shaft
mānx	white paint
máp!a-gw-a-(t'k')	(my) shoulder-blade
má ^a t'al	pigeon
máxla	dust, ashes
mayá ^a -k'w-(dèk')	orphan child related to (me)
k!el mehel-í'	basket for cooking
mēl	crow
melèl-x ¹	burnt-down field
ména	bear, brown bear
mengí'	full of, covered with
mengì-(t'k')	(my) game, what (I) come home provided with
mēx	crane
mī ^ε ax	red paint
min- ²	vagina (?)
mí ^ε s	one
mí ^ε s-ga ^ε	one
al-mī ^ε s	together
ha- ^ε ī-mí ^ε s	six
ha- ^ε ī-gā ^ε m	seven
ha- ^ε ī-xìn	eight
ha- ^ε ī-gò	nine
mix-al	how many, as many a
mixál-ha	in great numbers
mòk'	pit, ditch
mologòl	old woman
mologo-lā'p'a	old woman
k'ai mologo-lā'p'a-x-(da)	what kind of old woman
da ^a -molh-ìt'	red-eared

¹ Cf. verb *melel*-.² See verb *yil*-.

mómhi	mourning dove
mot'	son-in-law, suitor
mó ^u -(t'ek')	(my) son-in-law
mot'òp'	stick for beating seeds into receptacle
mòx	grouse
moxò	buzzard
mũ ^u láp-x	sweat-house
mu ^u l-ì-(t'k')	(my) lungs
mũ ^u x-dàn ¹	once
nanb-í-(xa)	(his) brother's wife, wife's sister
nāx	pipe
nāx-(dek')	(my) pipe
ní-(xa)	(his) mother
(wi-)hìn	(my) mother
ní-xa-k' ^w	having mother
nì	teats, nipples
nī-(t'k')	(my) nipples
nihwìk' ^w	black bear
nó ^u s'	next door
nō'ts!-a-(dē)	neighboring to (me)
nōx	rain
ōp-(xa)	(his) elder brother
(wi-) ^o ob-ì	(my) elder brother
t'-óp-(xa)	(his) elder sister
ohòp'	"bean-like half-black shells"
-ol-	
da- ^o òl	near by
da- ^o ol-(dē)	near (me)
da- ^o ol-di-(dē)	near, close to (me)
os'o ^u -lā'p'a	poor people
p'abá'p'	manzanita flour
p'ā ^o t'p'ad-i-(t'k')	(my) salmon-liver
p'im	salmon
p'im-à-(t'k')	(my) salmon
s'in-p'ín ^o s, -p'íl ^o s	flat-nosed

¹ Perhaps related to *mí^os*. For *ũ^u* and *ì* in related words cf. *k'winax-* and *k'ũ^unax*.

-p'óa ^é -x ¹	bent
-p'óo ^é k'-it ⁴	<i>pl.</i>
da-p'óa ^é x	crooked
ī-p'óa ^é x	crooked-handed
gwit-p'óa ^é x	crooked-armed
p'ùn	rotten
p'un-yìlt ⁴	Oregon pheasant
Gwen-p'uñ-k ⁴	"East of rotten (trees)" (village name)
p'o ^y àm ^x	whirlwind
da-p!ā'lau ²	youth
p!ān	liver
p!ān-(t'k')	(my) liver
p!á ^a s	snow
p!é ^é	basket-plate
p!eldà	slug
p!èns	squirrel's bushy tail for eating manzanita
p!é ^s	rock serving as support for acorn-hopper
p!ī	fire, firewood
p!īy-à-(t'k')	(my) fire
p!íwal ^s	bat
p!īyì-n	deer
p!īy-ax	fawn
p!ol ⁴	dust, soil
Dī-p!ol-ts!íl-da	"On its red soil," Jump-off-Joe creek
p!u ^h hì	eyrie
p!oxòm	flint
sā-(t'k')	(my) discharge of wind
s'ag-àlx	cascades, rapids
s'al-s'agálx-a	shallow (below cascades ?)
sàk ⁴	big rush basket
s'al-	foot
s'al-x-(dèk')	(my) foot

¹ Cf. verb *p'owok!-*.² Cf. *balàu*.

sa ^a l-i-(t'k')	(my) belt
t'gam sa ^a l-í	belt of elk skin
Dal-salsañ	(village name)
sáma	summer
samá-xa (<i>adv.</i>)	in summer
Al-sawēn-t'a-dis	(mountain name)
sbéxal-t'a	(epithet of young Eagle)
sbīn	beaver
Sbīn-k'	Applegate creek
sé ^e l'	black paint, writing
s'elék' ^w	long acorn-pestle of stone
s'ēm	duck
sé ^e ndi	panther (myth name)
sēn-(t'k')	(my) hair
sēns	bug (sp. ?) ²
se ^e ns-i-x-(dèk'), se ^e ns-ì-(t'k') ³	(my) head-hair
se ^e yán	inner bark of cedar used as tinder
da-sgáxi, -sgáxi-t'	sharp-mouthed, long-snouted
al-sgenh-ìt'	black (as epithet of crow)
de ^e -sgè-t'	left-handed
de-sgé-t'a ^a	left (hand)
sgé ^{ee} -xap'	hat
sgé ^{ee} -xab-a-(t'k')	(my) hat
sgísi	coyote
da-sguli	short
de-sgwegwèk'	see de-sgwôgw-ènt'
sgwinì	raccoon
de-sgwôgw-èn-t', -sgwôgw-ô'k', worn out, half gone	
-sgwegwè.t'	
sgwôgwô'k' ^w	robin
wili s'idib-í	house wall (planks reaching from cross beams to ground and forming inner wall of house)
s'im	animal (sp. ?)

¹ Cf. verb *ts'lelel-*.² Used for headache by putting next to nostrils to let out blood by scratching.³ Cf. *seen-*.

s'imì-l	dew
s'in-	nose
s'in-i'-x-(dèk')	(my) nose
p'im s'inixda	"salmon its-nose," swallow
s'in	wood-coals
si'nsàn	very old decrepit woman
siw-í-(xa)	(his) sister's child, (his) brother's child
s'ix	venison
s'iyá ^{as} p-(xa)	(her) sister's husband, husband's brother
smāk'	twins
sméla ^{us} x	arrow shaft
ha-s'ō ^u	in middle (of house)
-s'ogw-	
xa ^a -s'ogw-i-(dám)	between (us)
s'ugw-àn	basket made of roots
s'ugw-àn-(t'k'), s'ugu-n-ì-(t'k')	(my) basket
s'om	mountain
s'o ^u m-àl-(t'k')	(my) mountain
S'omōl-k'	(village name)
s'om-lohólxa ^s	see verb lohoy-ald-
s'uñs'	thick, deep
s'uhú ^u	quail
s'ülük'	cricket
s'üm-xì ¹	paddle, mush stirrer
s'üm-xì-(t'k')	(my) paddle
s'ux	bird
swayàu	hermaphrodite
t'ád-(a)	(his) father's sister
(wi-)t'ad-ì	(my) father's sister
t'ān	squirrel
Da-t'ān-elá ^{at} 'gwat'	"Squirrel-tongued" (girl's name)
t'a-wā-(xa)	see wā-(xa)
t'bàl	brush used for medical purposes (sp.?)

¹ Cf. verb *ts'ümū^um-t'a-*.

t'bālt'	snail
t'bé ^e k' ^w	shinny ball
t'belé ^s	pine-nut
t'élma	acorn-pestle
t'gā	earth, land
t'gā-ū-(t'k')	(my) land
La-t'gāū	(village name)
t'gāl	sugar-pine, sugar-pine nuts
t'gált'gal-i-(t'k')	(my) stomach
t'gált'gal-i-x-(da-gwa)	(his own) stomach
t'gām	elk, armor of elk hide
Dak'-t'gam-ī-k'	"Above which are elks" (village name)
t'gánt'gan	fly
t'gá ^a p'	horn
t'gá ^a p'-(dek')	(my) horn
t'gebe-si ⁱ	gall
t'gel ^e nagai-	drop down, fall
-t'gem ¹	black
t'géme-t'-it'	<i>pl.</i>
al-t'gèm	black
gwen-t'gèm	black-necked
ha-gwel-t'gémt'gam	down in dark places
dák!oloi-t'gémet'it'	black-cheeked
al-t'gey-àp-x	round
al-t'geyé-p'-it'	<i>pl.</i>
dī'-t'giliu la ^a li ⁱ -	jump around in war-dance
t'gohòx	quail (?)
t'gói ^e	leggings
t'gói-i-(t'k')	(my) leggings
al-t'gú ⁱ s'	white
al-t'gúyu ⁱ s'-it'	<i>pl.</i>
t'gū`m	rattlesnake
al-t'gun-àp-x	rolled-up
ménà ^e al-t'gunàpx	"bear rolled-up," doormouse (?)
t'gwà	thunder
t'gwalá ^a	hooting owl

¹ Cf. verb *t'geme-t/-*.

t'gwàn	slave
Ha-t'gwá ^æ xi	(Umpqua village)
t'gwayàm	lark
t'gwe ^{el} -àm-x	scouring-rush
t'gwèlk ^w	"rat" (sp. ?)
t'gwīl	hazel brush, hazel nut
t'gwīnt'gw-i-(t'k'),	(my) upper arm
t'gwīnt'gwan-i-(t'k')	
Ha-t'īl	(village name)
t'īs	gopher
t'ī't'-al	thin
al-t'mil-àp-x	smooth
al-t'mīli-p'-it'	<i>pl.</i>
t'mu ^g àl	twisted shells (sp. ?)
t'-ōp-(xa)	see ōp-(xa)
de-t'ulú ^é p'	dull, not sharp
de-t'ulú ^é p'-it'	<i>pl.</i>
t!agam\	lake
-t!ai	narrow
-t!áya-t'-it'	<i>pl.</i>
s'al-t!ái	slim, narrow
gwit ^é īū-t!ái	slim-wristed
t!āk'	fresh-water mussel
t!ā'k' ¹	spoon
be ^e -t!awàk'	spring month when there is much wind (? April)
xilam t!egal-íx-i	skull
t!eimí ^é s ²	one hundred
t!é ^é k ^w	yellowhammer
t!e ^é k'wì	big trout
t!elà	shinny stick
t!elà	louse
t!elà-(t'k')	(my) louse
t!elá ^a -t'an	<i>pl.</i>
al-t!e ^s -it'	little-eyed (epithet of squirrel)

¹ Perhaps same word as preceding.

² Perhaps *t!ii-mí^és*, "one male."

t!ewēx	flea
t!i-	male, husband
t!i-(t'k')	(my) husband
t!i- ¹ lā'p'a	husband, man
t!iba-, t!ibà-k' ^w	pancreas
t!iba-gw-àn-(t'k')	(my) pancreas
t!ibis'í	ants
t!òit'	one-horned deer
t!omx-í-(xa)	(her) parent-in-law
(wi-)t!omx-àu	(my) parent-in-law
Ha-t!ò'n-k'	(village name)
t!onó'us'	humming-bird
t!os'ó' ^u	small, a little
dák!oloi-t!us'ū's'-gwat'	small-cheeked
al-t!u ^{is} '-it'	little-eyed (epithet of squirrel)
t!ü'1'	gambling bones
t!uxū'i' ²	driftwood
ts!á-(xa)	(her) brother's child, (his) sister's child
(wi-)ts!a-ī	(my) nephew
ts'li'y-à-(t'k')	(my) nephew (myth form)
ts'!á ^{is} '	bluejay
ts!ákix	hill
ts'!àm-x	strong
da-ts'!àm ³ -x	sick
Dak'-ts!a ^a m-al-á ^é	Klamath Indian
ts!amāl	mouse
ts!ān	porcupine (?)
da-ts'!anā'-t'	about to die
ts'!ā'sap'	berry-bush (sp. ?)
Dak'-ts!asiñ	(village name)
ts!āū	large body of water, ocean flood
ts!a ^a w-àn-(t'k')	(my) ocean
Dak'-ts!a ^a w-an-á ^é	Klamath Indian
ts'!axá ^a n	lizard (sp. ?)

¹ Cf. verb t!ülut!al-.² Cf. verb -t!oxox-.³ Cf. verb da-ts'!aam-x-.

ts!ayàlt'	pinon jay
ts!ayàl-x	wet
ts'!ék'ts'!ag-i-(t'k')	(my) backbone
ts'!elàm ¹	hail
ts'!elei	eye
ts'!elei-(t'k')	(my) eye
ts'!én ² s'	wild-rose berry
ts'!é ² ts'!e ²	small bird (sp. ?)
de-tslid-àk ^{w2}	reddish
ts'!idáx-gwa	disease-spirit, "pain"
ts'!í'k'-(dek')	(my) flesh
ts'!í'-(t'gwa)	(his own) flesh
al-ts'!il	red
al-ts'!ili-t'-it'	<i>pl.</i>
dák!oloi-ts'!il	red-cheeked
ts'!ilí'k'!-i-(t'k')	(my) elbow
ts'!íxi	dog
ts'!íxi mahài	"dog big," horse
ts'!ixi-k!õ'!ts'!am ²	(name of Sun's servant)
ts'!òlx	dentalia
s'al-ts'!un-àp-x	straight
s'al-ts'!únu-p'-it'	<i>pl.</i>
ts'!ún ² s'	deer-skin cap with woodpecker tails
ī-ts'!ó-p'-al	sharp-clawed
de-ts'!ügú ³	sharp-pointed
de-ts'!ugù-t'	sharp-pointed
de-ts'!ugū'[h]-it'	<i>pl.</i>
ts'!ük'	Indian rope
gál ² ts'ug[w]-á ⁴	bowstring
di-ts'!ük'	Indian rope
ts'!ül`m ⁴	wart
ts'!ülm-ì-(t'k')	(my) wart
ü'lük!-i-(t'k')	(my) head-hair
ü'lük!-i-x-(da-gwa)	(his own) hair
ū ² xi	deer-skin pouch for receiving seeds when beaten from stalk

¹ Cf. verb *ts'!ele-m-*.² Cf. *-ts'!il?*³ Cf. verb *de-ts'!ugu-*.⁴ Cf. verb *al-ts'!ülm-*.

wa-(dē)	to, at (me)
wá ^a -(da)	to, at (him)
wā-(xa)	(his) younger brother
t'a-wā-(xa)	(his) younger sister
wa ^a d-i-x-(dèk)	(my) body
al- ^ε wa ^a d-i-(dē)	towards (me)
be ^e ^ε wa ^a d-í	"sun its-body," all day long
wagá-t'a ^a	which one?
waiwí	girl, female
waiwi-(t'èk')	(my) girl
wak'd-í-(xa)	(his) mother's brother's son
wá ^a s	bush with edible root (sp. ?)
wàx	creek
han-wax-g-àn	across the creek
wayà	knife
wayaū-(xa)	(his) daughter-in-law
wigī-n	small red lizard
wi ^ε ì-n	different
Al-wilám-xa-dis	(mountain name)
he ^{εε} -wilámxa	beyond Alwilámxa-dis
wilàu	arrow
wiláu-(t'ek')	(my) arrow
wíli, wilí	house
wilì-(t'k')	(my) house
de-de-wilí-da	door
wili-háu-(t'ek')	(my) friend (used as term of greet- ing)
dan wilí	big stone knife
-win-i-	
ha- ^ε win-i-(dē)	inside of (me)
xa ^a - ^ε wín-hi	half-way
xā-bin-win-ì	half full
winì-t'	tired out, exhausted
ge winit'	proceeding that far
de- ^ε winit'	proceeding, going ahead, reaching to
hā ^ε -wìt'	getting even (in reply)
wits'lam-àk' ^w , wits'lam-à	flint flaker, fire-driller

wogit ⁴	frog
wul ⁵ x	enemy, Shasta Indian
wo ⁶ nāk ¹ w ¹	old
wo ⁶ nā ¹ k ¹ w ¹ -dan	<i>pl.</i>
wo ⁶ p ¹ lū-n-(t ¹ k ¹)	(my) eyebrows
wū ⁶ l[h]-àm ²	menstrual round-dance
xa ³ -	back, waist
xa ³ [h]-àm-(t ¹ k ¹)	(my) back
xa ³ [h]-am-(dē)	on (my) back
xagá-(xa)	(his) mother's sister
(wi-)xaga-ī	(my) mother's sister
xam ⁴ k ¹	grizzly bear
xān ³	urine
xa ³ l-àm-(t ¹ k ¹)	(my) urine
xdā-(xa)	(his) father's brother
(wi-)xda-ī	(my) father's brother
xdā-n ⁴	eel
xdeit ⁴	flute of wild parsnip
-xdíl ⁵ s	slim
xa ³ -xdíl ⁵ s	slim-waisted
gwen-xdíl ⁵ s	slim-necked
xèm	raven
xì	water
xiy-à-(t ¹ k ¹)	(my) water
ha-xíya- ⁵ xi hā'p ¹ di	"being-in-the-water small," mink
xí-binì	three
xìn-t ¹	three times
xi-gwàl-t ¹	fresh (of meat)
xil-àm	sick, dead person, ghost
han-xilm-ī	"Across where ghosts are," land of ghosts
xíl ⁵ k ¹ wì ⁵	billet in woman's shinny-game
ximn-í-(xa)	(his) relative by marriage interme- diate relative having died
xīn ⁶	mucus

¹ Cf. verb *wunwun-*.² Cf. verb *wulūh-am-*.³ Cf. verb *xalaxam-*.⁴ Cf. verb *xdaaxda-gwa-*.⁵ Cf. verb *xilū⁵-xa-*.⁶ Cf. verb *xiniixan-p¹-*.

xīū	bush from hard wood of which camass-stick is made
t'gap'-xī'ū-t'	camass-stick
t'gap'-xī'ū-(t'ek')	(my) camass-stick
xlép-x ¹	roundish dough-like cake of deer-fat or camass
xlíwi	feathers worn in war-dance
xnìk'	acorn dough
xò	fir
xa ^a -xò	among firs
xùm ²	dry
cīx-xùm	dried venison
xum-à	food
xúma-x-(dek')	(my) food
xum`-t'	lean
ha-xo ^u n-hì	just for nothing, with no reason
xu ^l -ì-(t'k')	(my) brains
xū ^è -nè, xū ^è -n (<i>adv.</i>)	night
Ya ^a gal-á ^s	Umpqua Indian
yana yáhal ^s	black acorn, chief acorn
yāk ^w	wildcat
yāl	pine
Ha-ya ^a l-bā'ls-da	"In its tall pines" (village name)
Gel-yāl-k'	"Abreast of pines" (village name)
yàmx	fat, grease
yamx-(dèk')	(my) fat
yan(?) la ^a li-	become stuck (?) (86, 15)
yanà	acorn, oak
yan-gwàs ³	"white-barked oak"
yànx	"tall tree with rough reddish bark"
yap!à	person, people
yau-	ribs
yaw-à-(t'k')	(my) ribs
dal-, da ^a -yaw-a-(dè)	at (my) side
da ^a -t'ga ^a -yawá ^a -da	"beside-earth-its-rib," north

¹ Cf. verb *xlep!exlab-*.² Cf. verb *xoum-an-*.³ Perhaps compounded of *yanà* and *-gwási*, "yellow."

da-yawánt!i-xi	on one side, on the other side, half
yāx	graveyard
yāxa dàn	water-worn flat rock
yék'-dal	in the brush
yé ^{ek} '	cinders
ye ^{ek} liyé ^e	sparrow-hawk
yél	whip
yelèx	burden-basket
yeléx-(dek')	(my) burden basket
yèt'	tears
ye ^e -xì ¹	needle,awl
dan yé ^w -ald-an-i ²	"always returning to rocks," otter (myth name)
yibáxam	small skunk
yid-í-(xa)	(her) husband's sister
yīk'át'	long-tailed red deer
yílwa ^s	hazel switch
yiwì-n ³	speech
yiwin-(dèk')	(my) speech
p!i ⁱ yog[w]-á ^a	fireplace
da-yo ^u gám-xa (<i>adv.</i>)	fall, autumn
bai-yugw-à-(t'k')	(my) rescuer
yō ^{ek} ' ^w	bone
yōk! [w]-a-(t'k'), yō ^{ek} ' [w]-a- (t'k')	(my) bone
yō ^{ek} 'au	marrow
yú ^{ek} 'ama	salmon-tail
yú ^{ek} 'uma ^a -da, yúk!uma ^a -da	(his) salmon-tail
dī ^é -t'ga ^a -yúk!uma ^a -da	"at-rear-end-of-earth-its-tail," west
yolà	fox
yo ^u láp-x-(dek')	(my) guardian spirit
yōls	steel-head salmon
yulù-m, yulà-m	eagle
yōm	blood
yo ^u m-à-(t'k')	(my) blood

¹ Cf. verb *yegwegw-*.² Cf. verb *yewew-áld-*.³ Cf. verbs *yaway-* and *yiwiyau-*.

Yūk'yák'wa	(name of salt lick where deer were caught)
yū'k!al-x, yū' ^{ei} k'al-x	teeth
yū'k!alx-(dèk')	(my) teeth
yūp'	woman's basket-cap
yu ^u b-ì-(t'k')	(my) basket cap
yót'i ¹	alive
yut'íhi	pl.
yūt!ù-n ²	white duck
yū'xg-an	trout

¹ Perhaps = *yó-t' hi*. Cf. verb *yoo*.

² Cf. verb *-yut!uyad-*.

Editorial Notes

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The following notes correspond to numbers placed in the margins of the *Texts*.

1. In addition, an asterisk (*) denotes theoretical forms. (p. 325)
2. "Come and copulate! Come and copulate!" she said (they say). (p. 351)
3. "I'll copulate." (p. 351)
4. She stretched her legs apart. Then, they say, he slept with her. Then she squeezed her legs together. "I don't want her to do that to me!" (said Daldal). Now he was nearly breathless. "O elder brother!" There he went (Daldal the elder); he used a 'flint-flaker' and split her legs apart. (p. 351)
5. More correctly, the aorist stem *tc!ucum-*. (p. 392)
6. Sapir inadvertently omitted the translation of two Takelma sentences here: "Sharp-mouthed, sharp-clawed copulator with your mother," he was called. "What are you saying?" (p. 401)
7. S-copulator with your mother. (p. 401)
8. Then he discovered she had nothing for a vagina. (p. 423)
9. For "the warriors assembled together" read "he assembled the warriors together" (*waεit!emém*, from the stem *t!emem* "to gather (people) together.") (p. 443)
10. "Here is a vagina for you," they said to their father, and gave him a vagina. And they said to their mother, "Here is a penis for you, here are testicles for you." "Here are intestines for you," they said to their father; they gave the children to their father to eat. (p. 441)
11. See *The Takelma Language*, p. 261, note 1. (p. 441)
12. "Here are testicles for you," they said to their mother. "Here is a vagina for you, and breasts. Here are children for you," (they said to their father). (p. 443)
13. "Here, father, is a vagina for you. Here, mother, are testicles for you, here is a penis for you," they said; they gave the intestines to their mother. (p. 445)
14. "Here are testicles for you, here is a penis for you," (they said to their mother). "Here is a vagina for you, father, here are breasts for you." (p. 449)
15. The suffix *-kwan* in *ik!u^umánkwan* "they prepared themselves" is probably the plural form of the indirect relative *-kwa*. See *The Takelma Language*, pp. 148-149 and 247-249. (p. 458)
16. For "one child did grow up" read "he caused one child to grow up." (p. 469)
17. For "Not in that fashion!" read "Do not say that!" (p. 493)
18. Add an entry: *sēl* "kingfisher." (p. 535)

Errata to *Takelma Texts*

Edward Sapir marked a number of corrigenda in his own copy of *Takelma Texts*, now in the library of the Institute of Foreign Studies in Tokyo. Many of these were published in *Notes on Chasta Costa Phonology and Morphology* (Sapir 1914c, 265-267). In the present edition, the erroneous forms have been corrected using a photographic process, following Sapir's manuscript corrigenda. The list below is a record of all changes that were made for this edition.

<i>Original Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Present Page</i>	<i>Original Form</i>	<i>Corrected Form</i>
24	8	338	hã'xda ^ε	hãxda ^ε
24	11	338	m ⁱ εs	m ⁱ ies
25	3	339	da-it!amák	da-idamak
25	8	339	Abaigini ^ε k'.	Abaigini ^ε k'.
26	12	340	gini ^ε k.	gini ^ε k'.
30	11	344	give it me to it to eat	give it me to eat
31	14	345	mu ^u xdánhi	mü ^u xdánhi
32	1	346	holdidg	holding
41	fn.	355	note 1, p. 3.	note 1, p. 31.
50	1	364	ts!ãip'k ²	ts!ãipk ³
50	2	364	ók'igam ²	ók'igam ³
50	fn.	364	[not given]	³ Inferentials.
57	4	371	desgwogwènt'	desgwôgwènt'
61	12	375	yalá ^ε k	yalá ^ε k'
71	4	385	hawa ^a pi-	ha ^a wap!i-
71	15	385	ikwé ^ε xi	ik'wé ^ε xi
71	16	385	bayewé ⁱ	bayewé ^{iε}
75	3	389	xambilí ^u	xambilí ^{uε}
79	fn.1	393	Sapir	Sapir,
85	10	399	finished	finished.
88	9	402	wí ⁱ s	wí ^s
92	4	406	k!eméi;	k!emèi;
94	2	408	nāk'wōk'.	nāk'wōk'
95	24	409	whats	what's
100	1	414	yéūk'ie'?	yèūk'ie'?
101	15	415	trapped ²	trapped ¹
108	9	422	disgot'ōlha	disgot'ōlha
109	11	423	ba ^a p'-seeds.	ba ^a p'-seeds.
110	3	424	p'elēkwa;	p'elēk'wa;
117	fn.2	431	didhthong	diphthong

<i>Original</i>		<i>Present</i>	<i>Original</i>	<i>Corrected</i>
<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Form</i>
119	fn.	433	Atbabascan	Athabaskan
120	16	434	t'ga ^a	t'ga ^a
120	17	435	Gwī'εne	Gwī'εne
124	7	438	gingàt'	gingàt'
133	10	447	sbéxalt'a,	sbéxalt'a,"
134	8	448	ópxakan,	ópxak!an,
146	3	460	ág	gá
147	15	461	Thus	"Thus
154	11	468	Ganē	Ganēhiε
156	21	470	"Káiεwa	"K'áiεwa
171	fn.9	485	grandfather	grandmother
172	fn.2	486	war-dance,	war-dance.
173	22	487	s·omlóholxaεs	s·omlohólxaεs
178	19	492	ganàt',	ga nàt',
182	17	496	ts!a-imàt',	ts!a-imát',
184	16	498	gweliūs·i	gwelεiūs·i
189	fn.4	503	Yūk'yák'wa	Yūk'yák'wa
191	fn.8	505	when did	when will
194	14	508	t'omomán?	t!omomán?
195	5	509	shall	shalt
195	13	509	shall	shalt
196	21	510	sallatsàk',"	sallats!àk',"
206	22	520	:gwenai-áεs	:gwenai-iáεs
209	33	523	beat off back	beat off bark
218	25	532	p[]-xa-	p'el-xa-
222	6	536	da ^a	da ^a -
230	31	544	ts·ai-m-,	ts·!ai-m-,
231	30	545	ha-dak'	ha-dak'-
233	17	547	drawns	dawns
234	27	548	mensrtaul	menstrual
236	4	550	supernaturally	supernaturally)
239	30	553	tion)	tion); be born
243	13	557	delg-án-x-(dèk')	delg-an-x-(dèk')
260	8	574	xa ⁿ [h]-àm-(t'k')	xa ^a [h]-àm-(t'k')





Mrs. Frances Johnson (Gwísgwashān),
consultant to Edward Sapir, Siletz, Oregon, 1906.

(Photograph by Edward Sapir. Courtesy of the Library of the American
Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.)

The Discourse Patterning of a Takelma Text: "Coyote and His Rock Grandson"

DELL HYMES

Introduction

The texts of many American Indian languages have been found in recent years to be patterned in terms of lines and groups of lines. Takelma is one of these. The first text of Sapir's collection, "Coyote and His Rock Grandson," is presented below in a line and line-group format to show that this is the case, and to show the importance of working with the entire collection in this fashion to discover as much as possible about the use to which such patterning was put by the narrator, Mrs. Frances Johnson.

We do not know what intonation contours Mrs. Johnson used in telling these stories, or where she paused. To know such things might make a difference to the patterning one finds in the stories, and it would certainly help to bring the stories alive. Yet the words and phrases themselves show so much parallelism and selective repetition that we can still discover an organization which makes the stories more readable and more meaningful.

Takelma is one of the many American Indian languages in which four is a significant number for patterning. Along with four goes pairing. We see this in the first lines of the text presented here. On one side are two (Wolf, Panther); on the other side, to be sure, three (Coyote, his wife Crane, and his daughter), but they are presented in wording that gives four phrases for persons (Coyote, Crane, Coyote's wife, his daughter), then adds two lines about the daughter to make four introductory lines altogether, including a closing repetition of 'daughter' in lines 2 and 4. Throughout the story actions are expressed in doubled form, recalling perhaps the doubling of expression in the Hebrew Psalms: she took off her skirt, she bathed; Otter came paddling with his canoe, he landed with his canoe; he stole the girl, he took her with him; he put a stone in her, he took her to his house; the girl was pregnant, she gave birth to a child. Repetitions sometimes make successive pairs partly parallel: daughter, as mentioned for lines 2 and 4; bathe (6, 8); took her (12, 14).

Such patterning is never mechanical. A story teller has more than one option in mapping the sequence of incident into the patterning of groups of lines, and sometimes may make use of an alternative principle for the sake of intensity. Mrs. Johnson may do this in colloquies in this story, where one finds not two or four, but three pairs of exchanges (34-45, 51-58).

Turns of talk are always relevant units in such patterning. So are occurrences of two initial particles, *gane(hi?)* and *mi·(hi?)*. Indeed, their recurrence is so much a part of the structure that it must be shown in the English translation, by always translating each the same: 'then' and 'now' respectively. Notice that in this text *mi·(hi?)* 'now' sometimes marks the first of two groups of lines linked in a verse (13-16; 116-119), and sometimes the second (9-12, 21-24). Study of other texts may show a stylistic significance.

The two particles are sometimes followed by *-hi?*. This is shown in the translation by a comma following the 'then' or 'now'. The form *-hi?* has no lexical meaning of its own. Because of this, and because it is found only in myths, Sapir conjectured that it is a quotative element (*The Takelma Language*, p. 274) and gives it the translation 'it is said'. But *-hi?* is unlike any verb of saying in Takelma, and very like the emphatic particle *hi* (*The Takelma Language*, p. 272), which like *-hi?* is commonly postposed, following pronouns and demonstratives. *-hi?* and *hi* seem to be variants, both having an emphatic force. Since Sapir in his field notebooks sometimes abbreviates *gane·(hi?)* so that one cannot always be sure whether or not it was followed by *-hi?*, it seems all the better to avoid a lexical translation, except where strongly indicated, as in the contrast between 'he said' with and without *-hi?* in lines 50 and 57.

There is much still to be learned about such patterning, both in general and in Takelma. Enough is known to show here what it is like, but almost all of Mrs. Johnson's stories remain to be analyzed in this way. (In addition to this text, I have worked out no. 10, "Coyote Goes Courting"; no. 17, "The Otter Brothers Recover their Father's Heart"; and passages of no. 5, "Coyote and Fox," and no. 14, "Eagle and Grizzly Bears".) When all of the stories have been analyzed, we will be able to have more confidence that the form we find in a particular story is as true as possible to the original telling. We will be able to appreciate more fully what is specific to these texts, and gain a better understanding of the universal principles from which their patterning emerges.

Notes on format

The lines are given numbers (1-201) for ease of reference. The line numbers make it possible to say precisely where something occurs.

Roman numerals indicate the major acts, or scenes, of the story. Headings are supplied to indicate their focus and unity. There are four major acts, or scenes, in this story: Otter takes Coyote's daughter; Otter's child seeks its grandparents; he rights their wrongs; he and his family bring them salmon.

Lower case letters in parentheses ((a), (b), etc.) indicate groups of lines that constitute a verse. Capital letters in parentheses ((A), (B), etc.) indicate groups of verses that constitute a stanza.

The original Takelma text, rearranged in lines to match the analytic translation, faces the latter. The orthography is a phonemic revision of that used by Sapir, as explained in note 1 following the text.

Coyote and His Rock Grandson¹

I

- 1 Bá·xdis hu·lk wili ìxdi·l;
 2 Sgìsi mé·x sgìsi gú·xda beyàn,
 3 mì·?sga? di·hèlé·ya? wà-iwi·,
 4 Sgìsi beyàn.
 5 Ganè·hi? ha·í· altgèm ba·dini?x,
 6 dahó·xa wa-iwi· pagà·ida?
 7 Du·gwìtgwa ba·ixodòxat,
 8 pagài?
 9 Ey silnagài? mì·sga? bùmxi dap?a·là-u,
 10 ey ba·isilixgwa.
 11 Mi· hoyo·í· wa-iwi·,
 12 yá·nk^w.
 13 Mi·hi? dàn ba?ilelè?k,
 14 hawilitgwa ginìk^w.
 15 Wa-iwi· mahwì·?,
 16 hà·pxwi· pa·imaçàk.
 17 Ganì·hi? Sgìsi wà-iwi· hacòlòl,
 18 ò·t,
 19 du·gì· ya t'ayàk haxiyà.
 20 Mi·hi? albinix la·lé·.
 21 Ulum pìyin mahài t'omò·mt Sgìsi,
 22 mì· Sgìsi pìyin wé·tgin,
 23 pìyax ya ogòigin,
 24 tgwan kemé·n Sgìsi.
 25 Àni·? yoK^wo·í·,
 26 gwi giniyagwànma?,
 27 Sgìsi
 28 bèyan.

II

- 29 Mi· paiyuwò? hapxí,
 30 Kayài?
 31 Mi· mahài la·lé· hapxitì·ta pa·imaçàk.
 32 Malàke·hi,

Coyote and His Rock Grandson

I. [*Coyote's daughter is taken by Otter.*]

- (A)(a) Wolf, Panther, with ten houses; 1
 Coyote, Coyote's wife Crane, his daughter, 2
 one girl sleeping on a platform, 3
 Coyote's daughter. 4
- (b) Then black clouds spread out in long strips, 5
 at evening as the girl was bathing. 6
 She took off her skirt, 7
 she bathed. 8
- (B)(c) One young Otter came paddling in his canoe, 9
 he landed with his canoe. 10
 Now he stole the girl, 11
 he took her with him. 12
- (d) Now he put a stone up in her, 13
 he took her into his house. 14
 The girl was pregnant, 15
 she gave birth to a child. 16
- (C)(e) Then, Coyote missed the girl, 17
 he looked for her, 18
 he found just her skirt in the water. 19
- (f) Now, he went into mourning. 20
- (D)(g) Before Coyote used to kill large deer, 21
 Now Coyote was deprived of deer, 22
 he was given just fawns, 23
 Coyote was made into a slave. 24
- (h) Where she had been taken, 25
 his daughter, 26
 he did not know, 27
 Coyote. 28

II. [*The child grows up and seeks its grandparents.*]

- (i) [*The child insists on going.*]
- (E)(i) Now the child was born, 29
 it grew up. 30
- (j) Now the boy she had given birth to became big. 31
 She told him, 32

33 "Kasi·ʔt hinau·."

34 Ganè·hiʔ ei wi·kwa.

35 "Hinde· wiKasi wa·da ginàkde·."

36 "Daʔmàxau."

37 "Ge ginàkde·."

38 "Yelnadàʔ."

39 "Yanàte·.

40 Gwinàtedi?"

41 "Da·molhè·t,

42 i·č'òpal,

43 hadanxmolè·t,"

44 nagàhiʔ.

45 "Kasiʔt wa-iwi·ta bòkdan bá·ls."

46 Mahài lá·le· ha·pxit'è·ta.

47 Mi·hiʔ dalyewèiʔ,

48 ei ba·sá·kʷ.

49 "Gun-gun hàp·da yá·n·teʔ,"

50 nagà·ihiʔ.

51 Wili gadak nagàiʔ:

52 tuʔ tuʔ tuʔ.

53 "Nèkdi yá·x wili gadàk?"

54 nagàiʔ.

55 "Ge yá·x wili nagàitədi?"²

56 "Gwinàtədi dexebenàt?"

57 "Ma·pʔa gwinàtədi eí·tp,

58 ganàtsiʔ eí·teʔ."

59 "Ne abailiù."

60 Abailiwiliùʔ,

61 ali·tbà·gin;

62 sinʔi·tgilèʔsgwa³,

63 yó·m minge· yà·hi la·lé·.

64 Abaiginiʔk,

65 ali·tbàgatbak,

66 yàpʔa heʔi·lemèʔk,

67 yàpʔa t'omó·m aldíl.

68 "č'olx o-òs·ip!"

69 č'olx o-goyìn,

70 dàkdagwa kowú·.

71 Gane· xi igi·na

72 alpoú·pauhi.

73 Gane· bàʔiyewe·n aldíl,

74 č'olx ogoyìn.

- “Your mother’s parents are upriver.” 33
- (F)(k) Then, he traveled about in his canoe. 34
- “Mother! I shall go to my grandparents.” 35
- “Far away.” 36
- (l) “There I shall go.” 37
- “You will get lost.” 38
- (m) “I shall go. 39
- “What do they look like?” 40
- “Red-eared, 41
- sharp-handed, 42
- red in the ear,” 43
- she told him, 44
- “your mother’s mother has a long neck.” 45
- (n) The boy had become big. 46
- (ii) [*First house.*] 47
- (G)(o) Now, he went off, 48
- he paddled his canoe upstream. 49
- (p) “As Otter’s child I go,” 50
- he said, indeed. 51
- (H)(q) On top of a house he made the noise, 52
- “Tuł tuł tuł.” 53
- “Who is on top of the graveyard house?” 54
- someone said. 55
- (r) “There is a graveyard house, you say?” 56
- “What do you look like, you who spoke?” 57
- (s) “What do you people look like? 58
- I look just the same.” 59
- “Well, look inside!” 60
- (I)(t) He looked inside, 61
- he was hit; 62
- he scratched his nose, 63
- it was full of blood. 64
- (u) He went inside, 65
- he hit them all, 66
- he did away with the people, 67
- he killed all the people. 68
- (J)(v) “Give me dentalia!” 69
- (w) He was given dentalia, 70
- he put it about himself. 71
- (x) Then he took water, 72
- he blew on it. 73
- (y) Then he made them all recover; 74
- he was given dentalia. 75

- 75 Gane· yà?
 76 “Gun-gun hàp-da yá·n-te?,”
 77 nagài?
 78 Gane·,
 79 “Nèkda yá·x wili gadàk?”
 80 nagài?
 81 “Ge yá·x wili nagàitədi?”
 82 “Gwinətədi dexebenət?”
 83 “Ne abailiü.”
 84 Abailiwilàk^w,
 85 ali·tba·gin;
 86 sin^ʔi·tgilè^ʔsgwa,
 87 yó·m mengi· ya.
 88 Abaigini^ʔk,
 89 ali·tbağàtbak,
 90 he^ʔi·lemè^ʔk.
 91 “č'olx o-òs· ip,
 92 t'umù·xdaba?”
 93 č'olx o-ogoyin.
 94 Xi ba·yá·nk^w,
 95 xi igi·na;
 96 ba·yewèi?

- 97 Gane· yà?
 98 Xù·^ʔn la·lé·.
 99 Ei ganau ba·isá·k^w.
 100 Malàki kabàxa,
 101 “Ge kasi·^ʔt bòkdan bá·ls,
 102 da·molhé·t,
 103 i·č'òpal.”
 104 Aba-igini^ʔk.
 105 Alxì·k
 106 dasgàxi,
 107 hadà·nxmolhè·t,
 108 alxi·k
 109 i·č'òpal.
 110 Wa-iwì·ta ga^ʔal yewèy?
 111 alxì·k
 112 bòkdan bá·ls,
 113 gwé·lxda bá·ls.
 114 “Gadi ná·kik wihìn^ʔá,
 115 wiKàsi?”

- (iii) [*Second house.*]
- (K)(z) Then he went. 75
- (aa) "As Otter's child I go," 76
he said. 77
- (L)(bb) Then, 78
— "Who is on top of the graveyard house?" 79
someone said. 80
- (cc) "There is a graveyard house, you say?" 81
- (dd) — "What do you look like, you who spoke?" 82
"Well, look inside." 83
- (M)(ee) He looked inside, 84
he was hit; 85
he scratched his nose, 86
just full of blood. 87
- (ff) He went inside; 88
he hit them all, 89
he did away with them. 90
- (N)(gg) "Give me dentalia, 91
because you hit me." 92
He was given dentalia. 93
- (hh) He took up water, 94
he took water; 95
they recovered. 96
- (iv) [*Third house.*]
- (O)(ii) Then he went. 97
It became night. 98
- (jj) In his canoe he paddled to land. 99
She had told her son: 100
"There your mother's parents have a long neck, 101
red ears, 102
sharp hands." 103
- (kk) He went inside, 104
he saw him, 105
long-mouthed, 106
red in the ear. 107
He saw him, 108
sharp-handed. 109
- (ll) He turned to the woman, 110
he saw her, 111
long-necked, 112
long-legged. 113
"These are the ones my mother spoke of, 114
my mother's parents?" 115

III

- 116 Bá·nx t'omó·kwa.
 117 Mi· xuma ò·t,
 118 yana t'ayák,
 119 Keleú·.
 120 Alxì·k kàsa.
 121 "WiKàsi wihin
 122 melèxina?,
 123 'i·č'òpal,'
 124 nagà·ida?,
 125 'kasa bòkdan bá·ls,'
 126 nagà·ida?."
 127 Mì·hi? t'ayák.
- 128 kwà·x.
 129 "Gi· eí·te? kasá·."
 130 "Bá·xdis hàpxda mì·?wa,"
 131 nagài?.
 132 "Ba·?i·yuwunì?n,
 133 i·kwà·gwi?n."
 134 Sgìsi mì· kwà·x.
 135 "Kasá·, gi· eí·te?.
 136 Ba·dé·p, kasá·!
 137 Bá·nx t'umù·xi.
 138 Yana ló·p!
 139 Alhu·i?x kasá·,
 140 s·í·x yàmxda gelgulugwà?n."
- 141 Sgìsi pìyin mahài t'omó·m
 142 wé·tgin.
 143 pìyax ga ya ogó·ygin,
 144 pìyin mahày wé·tgin.
 145 Lobòxa?,
 146 yana lobóp,
 147 kà·want.
 148 "Ba·ihèmk gasálhi,
 149 bo· wedèsina?,
 150 Bá·xdis gú·xda wedèsink."
 151 "Gi· eme? eí·te?,
 152 wede wedèsbigam."

III. [*He rights their wrongs.*]

- (i) [*Hungry, he is sure he has found them.*]
(P)(mm) He was dying of hunger. 116
Now he looked for food, 117
he found acorn mush, 118
he gulped it down. 119
(nn) He looked at his mother's parents: 120
"It is my grandfather, 121
since she told me, 122
'sharp-handed', 123
she said; 124
'Grandmother has a long neck,' 124
she said." 126
Now, he had found them. 127
- (ii) [*They wake, and he asks for food.*]
(Q)(oo) She woke up. 128
"It is I, grandmother!" 129
(pp) "It must be Wolf's children," 130
she had thought, 131
"I'll arouse him, 132
I'll wake him up." 133
(R)(qq) Coyote now woke up. 134
(rr) "Grandfather! it is I. 135
Get up, grandfather! 136
I'm dying of hunger. 137
Pound acorns! (grandmother) 138
Go out hunting, grandfather! 139
I want deer fat." 140
- (iii) [*He frees his grandmother.*]
(S)(ss) Coyote killed a large deer, 141
he was deprived of it. 142
Just a fawn he was given, 143
he was deprived of large deer. 144
(tt) She pounded, 145
she pounded acorns, 146
she put them in a sifting basket.
(T)(uu) "Take it out quickly, 148
soon it will be taken from me, 149
Wolf's wife will take it from me." 150
(vv) "I am here, 151
It will not be taken from you." 152

- 153 Xni(k) keméí·,
 154 abaihiwiliu?,
 155 dan gadàk mačák.
 156 Mi·hi? bá·xdis gú·xda
 157 mi· wé·tgi,
 158 yana mi· wé·tgi.
 159 Gèhi yewèi?,
 160 ali·tbagàtbak.
 161 “Gi· eme? eí·te?,
 162 wiKàsi i·tgwanyè·git.”
 163 Aldi· t’omó·m,
 164 aldi ka·ila·pa t’omó·m.
- 165 Dahó·xa yewèi? aldíl,
 166 Sgìsi yewèi?.
 167 pìyax ya·hi labák Sgìsi.
 168 pìyin mahài t’omomanà?
 169 wé·tgin,
 170 pìyax ga ya ogoyìn.
 171 “K’asá· gwidi pìyin mahài?á?”
 172 “Wé·sin.”
 173 “A·· Sgìsi wà·da hapxit’i·ta he?i·lème?xam,
 174 t’omó·xam.”
 175 Mi·hi? t’e·là·pagan no·s lemè?x.
 176 t’omó·m hapxit’i·ta,
 177 ali·hitbagàtbak,
 178 gada yeweyák^w.
 179 Aldi· t’omó·m yàp?a,
 180 hapxit’i·ta xebè?n,
 181 hapxit’i·ta t’omùxa?.
 182 Dan hapxit’i·ta
 183 gasi? ga?ál ni·wàn
 184 yap?a mahài t’omó·m dan hapxit’i·ta.

IV

- 185 He?ne no· yewèi?,
 186 nixa wà·da yewèi?.
 187 “Alxi·gi?n wiKàsi,
 188 bá·xdis i·tgwanyè·kak.
 189 Xùma àldi wedèkigam,
 190 pì· wedèkigam,”
 191 nagà·ihi?,
 192 nixa gwenhegwà·gwanhi.

- (U)(ww) She made acorn dough, 153
 she ran into the house, 154
 she put a rock on top of it. 155
- (xx) Now, Wolf's wife, 156
 now she took it from her, 157
 acorns now she took from her. 158
- (V)(yy) There he returned, 159
 he hit them all. 160
 "I am here, 161
 You have enslaved my grandmother." 162
- (zz) He killed them all, 163
 he killed all the women. 164
- (iv) [*He frees his grandfather.*]
- (W)(aaa) In the evening they all came back, 165
 Coyote came back. 166
- (bbb) He had packed just a fawn, Coyote. 167
 He had killed a large deer, 168
 but it was taken away from him, 169
 he was given just a fawn. 170
- (X)(ccc) "Grandfather! Where is the large deer?" 171
 (ddd) "I was deprived of it." 172
- (Y)(eee) "Ohhh! With Coyote is a boy who did away with us, 173
 he killed us." 174
- (fff) Now, their husbands met at the next house, 175
 they beat the boy, 176
 but he struck them all, 177
 he got even with them for that. 178
- (Z)(ggg) He killed all the people, 179
 the boy did that, 180
 the boy killed. 181
- (hhh) The boy was rock, 182
 because of that he was feared. 183
 The rock boy killed big people. 184

IV [*He and his family bring salmon.*]

- (AA)(iii) And then he returned downriver, 185
 he returned to his mother. 186
- (jjj) "I have seen my grandparents; 187
 Wolf seems to have enslaved them. 188
 They seem to have been deprived of all food, 189
 They seem to have been deprived of all firewood," 190
 he said, 191
 he related it to his mother. 192

- 193 Sgisi beyàn gani· yà[?] maxa wà·da,
 194 pim è·debu[?] t'i·twi yà[?].
 195 Motwók bòmxi,
 196 pim è·debu[?] yá·nk^w.
 197 Bùmxi gú·xdagwadi·l pim è·debu[?] yá·nk^w,
 198 maxa wà·da aba-iwó·k.
 199 Sgìsi gú·xdagwadí·l di·hilí·k^w
 200 bean yewè·ida[?].
 201 Gani· nó· yewèi[?].

Notes on Text

1. The orthography used in this rearranged text follows a phonemicization proposed by Sapir in lectures to his students at Yale in 1936. William Shipley in his article "Proto-Takelman" (1969: 227) presents a table of equivalencies between the phonetic orthography in which the original texts appeared and the phonemic orthography as recorded by Mary Haas from Sapir. In general, consonants now appear in the usual Amerindianist representations; vowel allophones have been regularized to long and short a, e, i, o, u (with length represented by ·); and pitch accent marking now follows the usual pattern of acute accent for high and grave for low.

2. In the published text the character ě appears only in this interrogative construction and is not described in Sapir's phonetic table. Based on forms in Sapir's grammar, Hymes has interpreted this phoneme as schwa, perhaps epenthetic, and we use ə in this retranscription.

3. In the published text the first occurrence of 'he scratched his nose' is sini·tgilè[?]sgwa and the second (line 86 here) is sin[?]i·tgilè[?]sgwa. Following Sapir's grammar (p. 78) we here restore the glottal stop omitted in the first occurrence. Variant vowels and pitch accents in the two nearly identical passages have not been edited, however.

(BB)(kkk)	Coyote's daughter then went to her father.	193
	Her husband went with a canoe full of salmon.	194
	Otter visited his father-in-law,	195
	he took a canoe full of salmon.	196
(CC)(lll)	Otter and his wife took a canoe full of salmon,	197
	they arrived at her father's house.	198
	Coyote and his wife were glad	199
	that their daughter returned.	200
(DD)(mmm)	Then they went back down river.	201

Notes on Translation

Line(s)

- 1: Ten houses implies five each; 'five' suggests a force alien to grouping in terms of two and four, as the plot shows.
- 5: Such scene painting is rare.
- 17-19: The trio of lines may express intensity.
- 25-28: The Takelma has literally: 'not he knew, where she had been taken, Coyote, his daughter.' The order seems stylistically striking, and I attempt to emulate it in English.
- 31, 46: The second element of each group is parallel: 'become big'.
- 33-45: Although divided by the emphatic initial, 'Then,' (34) the mother has four turns at talk in all. Her account of her parents again has four elements, three for the father, one for the mother, separated by a verb of speaking.
- 51-52: The noise initiates the interaction (like the summons of a telephone ring).
- 60-3, 64-7: Notice the two successive accounts of action, each in four lines.
- 78-83: The interaction is modeled in terms of a subset of its sounds and speech, framed in three turns instead of six.
- 84-87, 88-90: The first four lines parallel those of 60-63, but the second set appears to lose a fourth line, probably accidentally.
- 104-115: Twelve lines apportioned among four sets of action: he went inside, he saw; he saw; he turned, he saw; (speech), of which the first and third (104-5, 110-1) are doubled. Note the recurrence of mother's parents' at the end of each half (101, 115). The stanza may have two main parts, not four.
- 128-140: The two parts are parallel: she woke up, Coyote now woke up (128, 134); each is greeted, "It is I." The grandmother provides a second group that is a transition to the third, and the renewal of the waking. The child extends the renewal of "It is I" into a four-part directive. "Pound acorns" (138) must be addressed to the grandmother, as the following action shows.

- 141-4: I take these lines not to be generic, but to be an anticipatory report of Coyote, as grandfather, having carried out the boy's command. The Takelma permits either interpretation ('deer' in general, 'a deer').
- 141-164, 165-184: The freeing of the grandparents expands into eight parts in each case (four parts of paired verses).
- 190: Dutiful kin would provide grandparents with food.
- 193-197: Otters are great getters of salmon, and salmon, for the Takelma on the Rogue River, was a major food. Perhaps the grandparents live where deer and acorns are available, but not salmon. If so, the alliance with Otter not only has led to their liberation, but established a desirable relationship of exchange.

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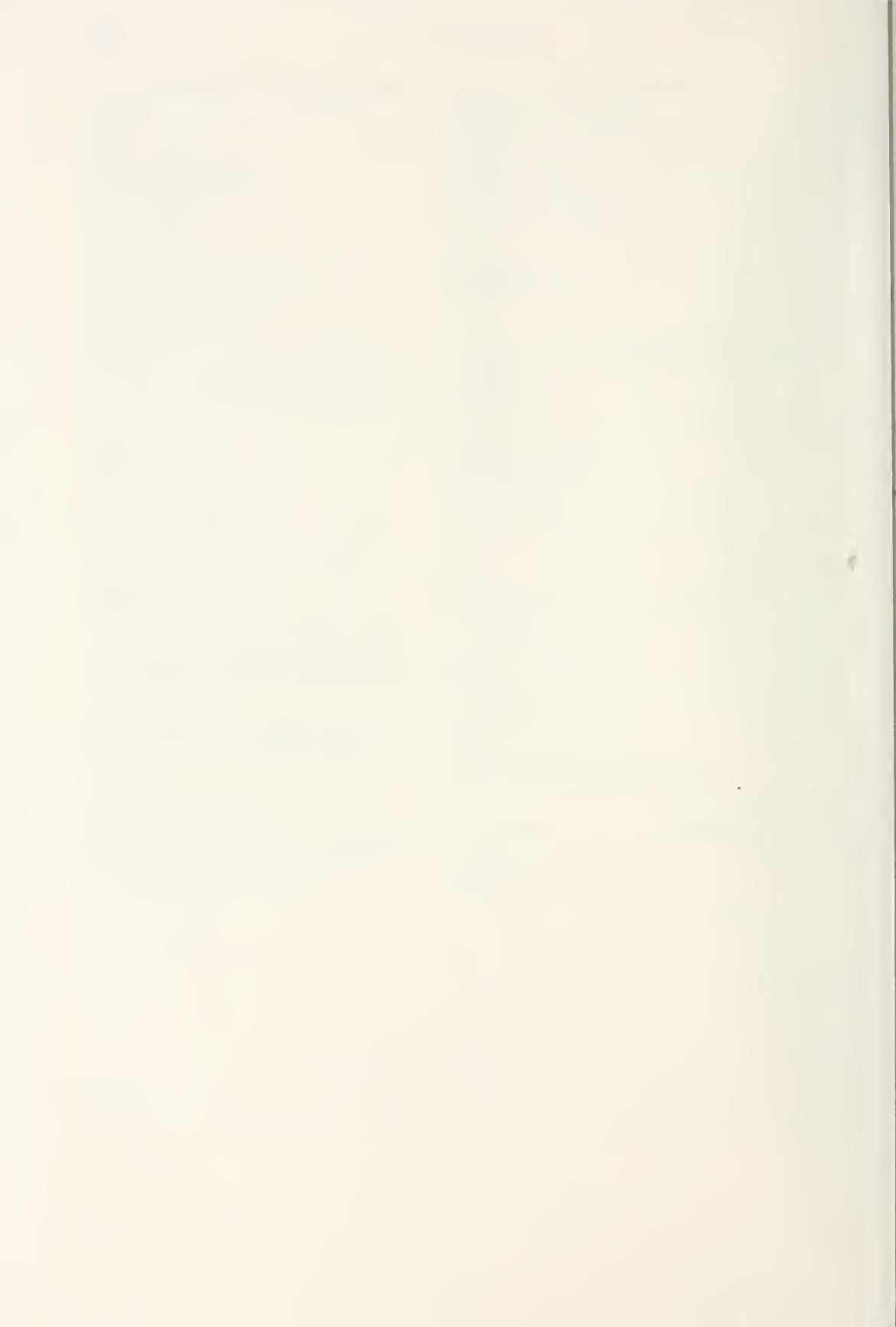
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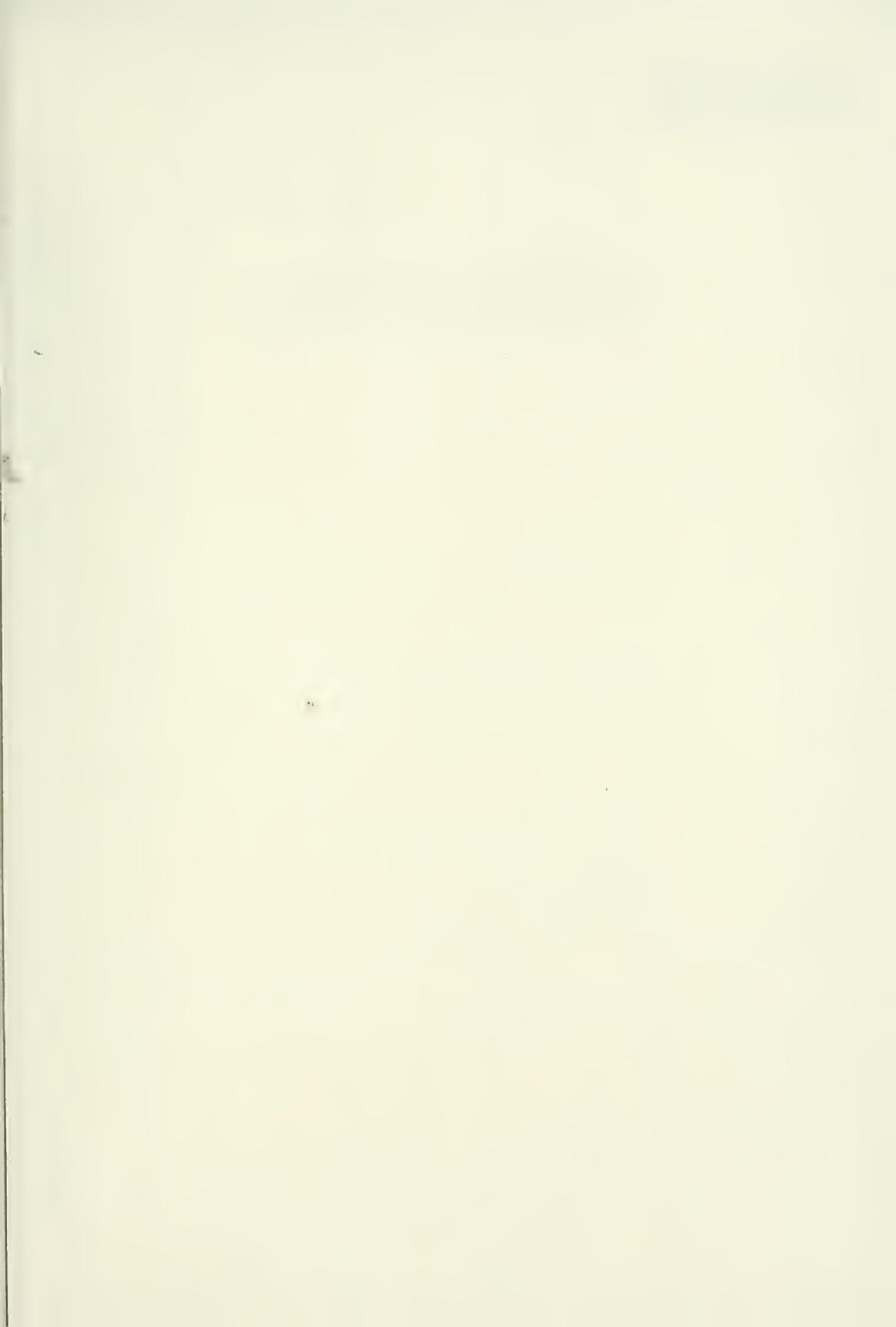
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