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BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 40

HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

BY
FRANZ BOAS

PART 2

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE SKETCHES
By EDWARD SAPIR, LEO J. FRACHTENBERG, AND WALDEMAR BOGORAS

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., February 20, 1911.

SIR: I have the honor to submit for publication, subject to your approval, as Bulletin 40, Part 2, of this Bureau, the manuscript of a portion of the Handbook of American Indian Languages, prepared under the editorial supervision of Dr. Franz Boas.

Yours, respectfully,

F. W. HODGE,
Ethnologist in Charge.

Dr. CHARLES D. WALCOTT,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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THE TAKELMA LANGUAGE OF SOUTH-WESTERN OREGON

BY

EDWARD SAPIR

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THE TAKELMA LANGUAGE OF SOUTHWESTERN OREGON

By Edward Sapir

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

The author's material was gathered at the Siletz reservation of Oregon during a stay of a month and a half in the summer of 1906, also under the direction of the Bureau of American Ethnology. My informant was Mrs. Frances Johnson, an elderly full-blood Takelma woman. Her native place was the village of *Dak'ts!asiñ* or *Daldani'k'*, on Jump-off-Joe creek (*Dīp!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 (ʟ, *l̥*,[2] ʟ!) and of velar stops (*q*, *ǧ*, *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, *l̥* 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. ***Gwi'di*** WHERE? says the ordinary mortal; ***l̥gwi'di***, the bear; ***s·gwi'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 γ, as in North German *Tage;* the sonants or weak surds *dj* and *z* (rarely); a voiceless interdental spirant ς 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, *bōçi'* CAT <*pussy*). 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'ᵉs jumper; *bila'uk'* he jumped
k!emna'ᵉs 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:

I. Short.	II. Long.	Short diphthong.	III. Long diphthong.
a	$\bar{a}^a$, ($\bar{a}$)	*ai*, *au*, *al*, *am*, *an*	$\bar{a}i$, $\bar{a}u$, $\bar{a}^al$, $\bar{a}^am$, $\bar{a}^an$
e	e^e, ($\grave{e}$)	*ei*, *eu*, *el*, *em*, *en*	$\grave{e}i$, $\grave{e}u$, e^el, e^em e^en
i	$\bar{\imath}^i$, ($\bar{\imath}$)	*iu*, *il*, *im*, *in*	$\bar{\imath}u$, $\bar{\imath}^il$, $\bar{\imath}^im$, $\bar{\imath}^in$
o, (*u*)	$\bar{o}^u$, ($\bar{o}$)	*oi*, *ou*, *ol*, *om*, *on* (*ōu*) (*ul*) (*um*) (*un*)	$\bar{o}i$, $\bar{o}^u(w)$, $\bar{o}^ul$, $\bar{o}^um$, $\bar{o}^un$
$\bar{u}$	$\bar{u}^u$, ($\bar{u}$)	*ui*, $\bar{u}w$, $\bar{u}l$, $\bar{u}m$, $\bar{u}n$ ($\bar{u}^u$)	$\bar{u}i$, $\bar{u}^u(w)$, $\bar{u}^ul$, $\bar{u}^um$, $\bar{u}^un$
ü	$\bar{u}^{\ddot{u}}$, ($\bar{\ddot{u}}$)	*üi*, $\bar{u}w$, *ül*, *üm*, *ün* ($\bar{u}^{\ddot{u}}$)	$\bar{\ddot{u}}i$, $\ddot{u}^{\ddot{u}}(w)$, $\ddot{u}^{\ddot{u}}l$, $\ddot{u}^{\ddot{u}}m$, $\ddot{u}^{\ddot{u}}n$

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 $\bar{o}^u$ and $\bar{u}^u$ appear as *ōw* and *ūw* when followed by vowels; e. g., in *k!ūwū*^{u}- THROW AWAY, *ūw* and $\bar{u}^u$ are equivalent elements forming a reduplicated complex entirely analogous to *-elel-* in *helel-* SING. Similarly *ai*, *au*, *āi*, and *āu* may appear as *ay*, *aw*, $\bar{a}^ay$, and $\bar{a}^aw$; 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:

*bil*iu*t'e*$^{\varepsilon}$ I jump: *bil*iwa*`t'* you jump = *he*$^{e\varepsilon}$īu he went away from him: *he*$^{e\varepsilon}$ī^{i}w*i'*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I went away from him

gaik' he ate it: *gayawa'*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I ate it = *gāik'* he grew: *gā*^{a}*ya'*$^{\varepsilon}$*t'* he will grow

*gay*au he ate it: *gay*awa'$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I ate it = *hant'gā*u over land: *Latg'ā*^{a}*wa'*$^{\varepsilon}$ 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 *hay*e^{e}w*a'xdā*^{a}*da* or *hay*è*uxdā*^{a}*da* IN HIS RETURNING (verb stem *yèu-*, *ye*^{e}*w-* RETURN). It is acoustically difficult to distinguish sharply between the long vowel or pseudo-diphthong $\bar{o}^u$ and the *u*-diphthongs of *o* (both *ou* and *ōu* are often heard as $\bar{o}^u$), yet there is no doubt that there is an organic difference between $\bar{o}^u$, as long vowel to *o*, and $\bar{o}^u = ou$, *ōu*. Thus, in *loh*ō^u*na'*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I CAUSE HIM TO DIE, and *lohona'n* I SHALL CAUSE HIM TO DIE, $\bar{o}^u$ and *o* are related as long and short vowel in parallel

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

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 $d\bar{a}^a$- ear, but *da*- mouth
$w\bar{a}^a xa$ his younger brother, but $wa'xa$ at them

It may happen that two distinct forms of the same word differ only in vocalic quantity; $y\bar{a}^a da'^{\varepsilon}t\grave{}$ HE WILL SWIM, $yada'^{\varepsilon}t\grave{}$ 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: $a^{i\varepsilon}$, $a^{u\varepsilon}$, $e^{u\varepsilon}$, 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:

$naga'^{i\varepsilon}$ he said; but $naga'ida^{\varepsilon}$ when he said
$sgele'^{u\varepsilon}$ he shouted; but $sgele'uda^{\varepsilon}$ 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 $g\bar{a}^a$:

$g\bar{a}^a$ *loho't'e*^{e} in *that* case I shall die
$g\bar{a}'^a$ *ga*^{s}*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 $\bar{a}^a$ (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:

$g\bar{u}h\hat{o}k'^w$ planted, sown
$\bar{\imath}k'wā'^ak'^w\hat{o}k'$ he woke him up

But there were also heard:

$s\bar{e}k'ak'^w$ shot
malāk'wa 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 *è* will be employed, wherever necessary, for the long vowel without the parasitic -^{e}. The close $\bar{e}$, as in German REH, does not seem to occur in Takelma, although it was sometimes heard for *i;* in the words $l\bar{a}^al\bar{e}'$ HE BECAME, $l\bar{a}^al\bar{e}t'am$ YOU BECAME, and other related forms, $\bar{e}$ was generally heard, and may be justified, though there can be small doubt that it is morphologically identical with the $\bar{\imath}^i$ of certain other verbs.

The *i* is of about the same quality as in English HIT, while the long $\bar{\imath}^i$ is closer, corresponding to the *ea* of English BEAT. Several monosyllables, however, in -*i*, such as *gwi* WHERE, *di* 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*, *di*, and other such words are rapid pronunciations of $gw\bar{\imath}^i$, $d\bar{\imath}^i$, and the others; and indeed the texts sometimes show such longer forms.

[1] The word *yewe'i*^{e} HE RETURNED, e. g., was long heard as *yawe'i*^{e}, but such forms as *yèu* 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:*

ītsˑ!oˈpˈal sharp-clawed
detsˑ!uguˈtˈ sharp-pointed

and also the *u-* quality of the parasitic element in the long close vowel $\bar{o}^u$. The short open *ô*, 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 *ū* 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 *ü* is not identical with the German *ü*, but is somewhat more obscure in quality and wavers (to an un-Indian ear) between the German short *ü* of MÜTZE and *u* of MUSS; sometimes it was even heard with the approximate quality of the short *ö* of GÖTZ. The long $ü^ü$ is, in the same way, not exactly equivalent to the long *ü* 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 *ū* and *ü* are to be considered separate and distinct; it is quite possible that they should be looked upon as auditory variants of one sound. Before or after *y* or *w*, *ü* is apt to be heard as *ū*, —— *k!ūwūˈᵉ* THEY RAN AWAY, *ūyūˈᵉsˑ* HE LAUGHED, *īgūyūgīˈⁱsi*, HE KEEPS NUDGING ME, ——otherwise often as *u*.

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

heᵉᵉīleˈmeᵉxûm he killed us off (for *-am*)
xûm in water (for *xam*)

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

dakˈtˈbeˈᵉᵉkˈtˈbagamᴇs 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$^{\varepsilon}$ne* THEN) and conjunctive particles (such as *ganēhi$^{\varepsilon}$* AND THEN; *agas·i$^{\varepsilon}$* 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$^{\varepsilon}$ dewenxa lā^{a}lē hono$^{\varepsilon}$ p'ele'xa$^{\varepsilon}$, 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$^{\varepsilon}$* 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$^{\varepsilon}$ when he said, but
naga-ida'$^{\varepsilon}$ 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:

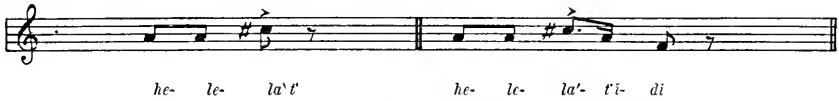
(1) A simple pitch distinctly higher than the normal pitch of unstressed speech (˃).

(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 (≃).

(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 (˂).

The "raised" pitch (˃) 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 (˂) within one syllable; i. e. (if — be employed to denote an unaccented syllable), (˃) + — = (˂). The following illustration will make this clearer: YOU SANG is regularly accented *helela'ṭ'*, 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'ṭ'*, we add the interrogative particle *di*, and obtain the form *helela'ṭ'ĭdi* DID HE SING? (The *ĭ* is a weak vowel inserted to keep the *ṭ'* and *d* apart.) Here the *a'* has about the same pitch as in the preceding word, but the *ĭ* 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 (≃) 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 (*ā, aī*) 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 *añ, aĺ, aḿ;* and so on for the other vowels. This is doubtless the correct representation, and such forms as:

nañk' he will say, do
gwalt' wind
dasmayaḿ he smiled
wulx enemy, Shasta

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

[1] It is curious that the effect to our ears of the Takelma declarative *helela'ṭ'* is of an interrogative DID YOU SING? while conversely the effect of an interrogative *helela'ṭ'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 ≃ 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 (⸗), 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 — ≃ — as — ⸗ —, and to make no distinction in accent between *yewe'ida*ᵋ WHEN HE RETURNED and *yeweĩt'e*ᵋ I RETURNED; but variations in the recorded texts between the rising and falling pitch in one and the same form are in every case faults of perception, and not true variations at all. The words *t!omõm* HE KILLED HIM and *yawaĩt'e*ᵋ I SPOKE may be approximately represented in musical form as follows:

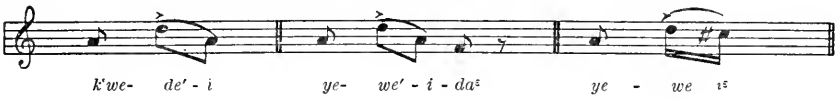
t!o- mõ-um *ya- wa- i- t'e*ᵋ

The falling pitch (⸗) 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*ᵋ when he returned
*yewe'i*ᵋ he returned

will serve to illustrate the character of the falling pitch.

§ 5



The pronunciation of the diphthongs is now easily understood A shortened diphthong (*a'i*, *a'$^{i\varepsilon}$*) sounds to an American ear like an indivisible entity, very much like *ai* and *au* in HIGH and HOW; 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$^{\varepsilon}$* instead of *naga'ida$^{\varepsilon}$* WHEN HE SAID; a diphthong with rising pitch (*aī*) 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

bila'uk' (=**bilw'k'*,[1] not **bilaūk'*) he jumped; cf. *bilwa'$^{\varepsilon}$s* JUMPER

with the organic *au* of

*gaya*ū he ate it; cf. *gaya*w*a'$^{\varepsilon}$n* I ate it

Contrast similarly the inorganic *an* of

k!ema'nk' (=**k!emn'k'*, not **k!ema*ñ*k'*) he made it; cf. *k!emna'$^{\varepsilon}$s* maker

with the organic *am* of

*dasmaya*m̄ he smiled; cf. *dasmaya*m*a'$^{\varepsilon}$n* 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; *sēl* kingfisher
lā'ᵃp' leaves; (1) *lāp'* he carried it on his back, (2) *lāp'* become (so and so)!
sā'ᵃt' his discharge of wind; *sāt'* mash it!
wilī'ⁱ his house; *wilī* house, for instance, in *dak'wilī* on top of the house
he'ᵉl song; *hēl* sing it!

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

waya` knife
wayā'ᵃ his knife
waya'ᵋ he sleeps
wayãn he put him to sleep
k!wãᵋya`* (=*k!wāīᵋa`) 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:

t!omoma'ᵋn I kill him
t!omoma'ndaᵋ 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'ˢ he went
yā'ᵃdaˢ when he went

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

t!ī'ⁱᵉˢt' your husband
ela'ᵉˢt' your tongue

Contrast:

t!īt'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!emēˢn I make it
dīt!ügũˢn 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 1*a*:

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

Contrast:

xōᵘma'n he dried it

Like *k!emēˢn* in accent we have also:

k!emẽn 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'wedeīt'k' my name
p!ãnt'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:

sgelewa'ldaˢn I shouted to him
sgelewa'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 *yà'p!a* MAN and *a'nīˢ* 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 ˢa'nīˢ*. 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
xāᵃ- between, in two
+ī- with hand

generally appear as:

deˢī-
xāᵃˢī-

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

[1] Those familiar with Indogermanic 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'ᵋa` but you, you truly
bōᵘᵋa` 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!wãᵋya`* just grass (= *k!wāī*+*-a`)
ā'ᵋya`* just they (= *āi-* they +*-a`)
haᵋwī- (= *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:

geˈᵋ wõk`* (=*ge'*+*wõk`) there he arrived
beᵉᵋ wāᵃdī'ⁱ (=*beᵉ*+*wāᵃdī'ⁱ*) day its-body=all day long
geᵋ yā'ᵃhi (=*ge*+*yā'ᵃhi*) just there indeed

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

meᵋwõk` HE ARRIVED HERE, and
meᵋyèũ COME HERE!

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

meᵋgini'ᵋk` HE CAME HERE, with
ge gini'ᵋk` HE WENT THERE.

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

haᵋ*winī'ⁱda* inside of him; but ha*beᵉbini`* at noon
deᵋ*wiliwia'ᵘᵋ* they shouted; but de*xebe'ᵋn* he said so
abaiᵋ*waᵋyewēnhi* he returned inside with him; but abai*gini'ᵋk`* he went inside
wiᵋ*wã* my younger brother; but wi*ha`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:

alᵋ*wāᵃdidē* to my body; but alᵋ*·ōᵘma`l* to the mountain
alᵋ*yowoˈᵋ* he looked; but al*xī'ⁱk`* he saw him
*bāᵃ*geˈlᵋ*yo* he lay belly up; but gel*k!iyi'ᵋk`* he turned to face him
gwenᵋ*wat'geits·!īk`wa* his (head) lay next to it; but gwen*liwila'ᵘᵋ* he looked back
yiwinᵋ wô'k`iᵋ* (=*yiwin* speech+*wô'k`iᵋ 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$^{\varepsilon}$īlats!agi'$^{\varepsilon}$n I touch his nose
al$^{\varepsilon}$īt'baga't'bak' he struck them

§ 7. DISSIMILATION OF *u*

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

wahawaxī^{i}gwa'$^{\varepsilon}$n I rot with it, for **xiugwa'$^{\varepsilon}$n*

Compare:

hawaxi'$^{u\varepsilon}$ he rots
wahawaxiwigwa'n I shall rot with it

Similarly:

bilīk'^{w} he jumped having it, for **biliūk'^{w}* (stem *biliu-*)
wilīk'^{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^{i}*. In the various forms of the verb *yèu-* RETURN, such dissimilation, wherever possible, regularly takes place:

yēk'^{w} he returned with it, for **yèūk'^{w}* (= *yèū- gw- k'*)
me$^{\varepsilon}$yēp' come back! (pl.), but sing. *me$^{\varepsilon}$yèū*
ye$^{\varepsilon}$ba'$^{\varepsilon}$ let us return! for **yèuba'$^{\varepsilon}$*

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

yēk'^{w} bite him!
(al)yēp' 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^{a}liwi'$^{\varepsilon}$n* I CALL HIM BY NAME (*le$^{\varepsilon}$la'usi* HE CALLS ME BY NAME) from * *lāuliwi'$^{\varepsilon}$n* (* *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^{i}-*) in an immediately following suffixed syllable, whether the *-i-* causing the umlaut is an original *-i-*, or itself umlauted from an original *-a-*; the *-i-* of the

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'ᵉn I caused him to grow with it (but *k!ayayana'ᵉn* I caused him to grow, with preserved *-a-*, because of following *-a'ᵉn*, not *-i'ᵉn*)
wak!eyeya'nxi he caused me to grow with it
wak!ayaya'nxbiᵉn I caused thee to grow with it
īyulu'yiliᵉn I rub it (from *-yaliᵉn*)
īyulu'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:

wāᵃgiwi'ᵉn I brought it to him (from *-awi'ᵉn;* cf. *wāᵃga'sbiᵉn* I brought it to you)

the *-a-* following the *g* is shown to be not a part of the aoristic stem *wāᵃg-* 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 *-īⁱ-* denoting position:

s·as·inī he stands (cf. *s·a's·ant'āᵃ* he will stand)
t!obigī he lies as if dead (cf. future *t!obaga'sdāᵃ*)

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

būᵘbini't'k' my arm (cf. *būᵘba'n* arm)
t'ga'lt'gilixdek' 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^{ɛ}īt'baga't'bigi^{ɛ}n I beat him (cf. *-t'baga't'bak'* he beat him)
ts·!ele'ts·!ili^{ɛ}n I rattle it (cf. *ts·!ele'ts·!alhi* he rattles it)
īsmili'smili^{ɛ}n I swing it (cf. *īsmi'lsmal* swing it!)

(*b*) The causative element *-an-*:

wap!ā^{a}gini'^{ɛ}n I cause him to swim with it (cf. *p!ā^{a}gana'^{ɛ}n* I cause him to swim)

See above:

wak!ayayini'^{ɛ}n I cause him to grow

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

wat!omomini'^{ɛ}n I kill it for him with it (cf. *t!omomana'^{ɛ}n* I kill it for him)

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

alxī'^{i}ximi^{ɛ}s one who sees us (cf. *alxī'^{i}xam* he sees us)

4. By the suffixed local element *-dī^{i}* ON TOP OF added to the demonstrative pronoun *ga* THAT to form a general local postposition:

gidī^{i} 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!omõxinik' we kill each other (cf. *t!omõxa^{ɛ}n* they kill each other)
dãxinigam we shall find each other (cf. *dãxan^{ɛ}t'* 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^{u}nininī'^{ɛ}n I caused him to die (i. e., killed him) for him (cf. *lohō^{u}nana'nhi* he killed him for him)
īk!ūmininini'nk' he will fix it for him (compare *īk!ū^{u}ma'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^{s}n (=*-xaya^{s}n*) I scare them around; *daxoyo'xi* (=*-xiy* =*-xay*) he scares them around
al^{s}īt'ge'it'giyak'^{w} (=*-t'gay-*) rolled up
alhūyū'hī^{i}x (=*-hiyx* =*-hayx*) he used to hunt
saniya' (=*sanaya'*) to fight him
dõ^{u}mk'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 excrescent *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:

gelgulugwa'^{s}n 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-*)
güxwī'^{i} his heart
dü^{ü}gwi't'gwa her dress
dũk'^{w} woman's garment
yõ^{u}k!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!^{w}ōya'^{s}n 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 *-ī-*:

s·u^{s}wilẓ he sits; but
s·u'^{s}alt'ā^{a} he will sit

The first form was, for some reason or other, often heard, perhaps misheard, as *s·i^{s}ulī*.

§ 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^{s}* I GO SOMEWHERE should be, for example, **gink'de^{s};* but, instead of this somewhat difficult form, we really get *gina'k'de^{s}*. 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^{s} I shall go, come; aorist, *k!iyi'k'de^{s}*

alxik!a'lhik' (=theoretical **alxik!lik'*) he kept looking at him; aorist first person *alxik!ɨlhi^{s}n* I keep looking at him

k!ema'n make it! (=theoretical **k!emn*); cf. *k!emna'n* I shall make it

bai^{s}ɨye^{s}wa'n drive out sickness!; aorist, *-yewēn* he drove out sickness

sgela'ut'e^{s} I shall shout (=theoretic **sgelwt'e^{s}*); aorist second person, *sgelewa't'* you shouted

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

wisma't'e^{s} I shall move (stem *wism-*); aorist, *wits·!iñt'e^{s}* I moved[1]

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

[1] Such an *-a* may stand as an absolute final; e. g., *ba-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^{a}lw;* those with initial short vowel, like *ain*, have, like the long diphthongs (e. g. *ā^{a}n*), 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 qualitivetatly 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-uy*a'^{e}s* fast runner, *ts!*awaya'*t*' (aorist) you ran fast

*y*awi'*t*'*e*^{e} I shall talk; cf. *y*awaya'*t*' (aorist) you talked

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

Such double diphthongs as end in *-w* (e. g. *-aiw*, *-āᵃlw*) 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'h*aᵉn (=**-h*auᵉn) I think; compare *gelhewe'h*au he thinks
*imi'h*aᵉn (=**-h*amᵉn) I sent him; compare *imi'h*am he sent him
*mo'lo*ᵉ*m*aᵉn (=**m*alᵉn) I stir it up; *mo'l*ᵉ*m*an (=**-m*aln) I shall stir it up; compare parallel forms with connecting *a*: *mo'lo*ᵉ*m*alaᵉn, *mo'l*ᵉ*m*alan, and third person aorist *mo'lo*ᵉ*m*al
*māᵃnm*a'ᵉn (=**-m*anᵉn) I count them; compare *damāᵃnmini'*ᵉ*n* (umlauted from *-m*an-*i'*ᵉ*n*) I counted them up
*k!*em*xa't'e*ᵉ (=**k!*emn*xa't'e*ᵉ) I shall make; compare *k!*em*a'*ᵉ*s* maker and *k!*em*a'n* make it! (with inorganic *a* because accent is not thrown forward)

Examples of simplified over-long diphthongs are:

*dā*ᵃ*ldi'n* (=**dāildi'n*) I shall go to him for food; compare *dāīt'e*ᵉ I shall go for food
*eī t'gēlxī*ⁱ (=**t'gèīlxī*ⁱ) wagon (literally, rolling canoe); compare *t'ge*ᵉ*ya'lx* it rolls
*dat!agā*ᵉn (=**t!agāī*ᵉn) I build a fire; compare *dat!agāī* he builds a fire
*k!emē*ᵉn (=**k!emèī*ᵉn) I make it; compare *k!emèī* he makes it
*oyō*ᵉn (=**oyōn*ᵉn) 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·!*aīm*k'* (but also *ts·!*ayàm *k'*) he hid it; compare *ts·!*a-im*a'n* I shall hide it

oīn*k'* he gave it; compare oin*a'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·!*ay*a'*m*xamk'na*^{s} since he concealed it from us

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

*ts·!*aīm*hak'*^{w} hidden

oīn give it! (yet *ts·!*ay*a'*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.
				v.	unv.		
Labial	*p*	*b*	*p!*	*w*	*-'w*		*m*
Dental	*t'*	*d*	*t!*			*l*	*n*
Sibilant			*ts!, ts·!*		*s, s·*		
Palatal				*y*		(*l*)	
Guttural	*k'*	*g*	*k!*		*x*		
Faucal			*ʔ*		*h*		

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 (*ʔ*) 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 tenues are, as their name implies, voiceless stops whose release is accompanied by an appreciable expulsion of breath. The voiceless mediae are also stops without voiced articulation: but they differ from the true tenues in the absence of aspiration and in the considerably weaker stress of articulation. Inasmuch as our English mediae combine sonancy with comparatively weak stress of articulation, while the tenues are at the same time unvoiced and pronounced with decided stress, it is apparent that a series of consonants which, like the Takelma voiceless mediae, combine weak stress with lack of voice will tend to be perceived by an American ear sometimes (particularly when initial) as surds, at other times (particularly between vowels) as sonants. On the other hand, the aspirated tenues will be regularly heard as ordinary surd-stops, so that an untrained American ear is apt to combine an uncalled-for differentiation with a disturbing lack of differentiation. While the Takelma tenuis and 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^{a}*n*- ear; *t'ā*^{a}*n* squirrel
bō^{u} now; *p'ō*^{u}- to blow
ga that; *k'a* what
dī^{i}- on top; *t'ī*^{i}- to drift
bō^{u}*d*- to pull out hair; *p'ō*^{u}*d*- to mix
dā^{a}*g*- to build fire; *dā*^{a}*g*- to find: *t'ā*^{a}*g*-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 Ponca and Omaha (J. O. Dorsey's *p*, *t*, *k*, and *d*, *ȝ*, *ɣ*). 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 ˢ, 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 $p^{ˢ}$, $t^{ˢ}$, and $k^{ˢ}$, respectively, or rather to $b^{ˢ}$, $d^{ˢ}$, and $g^{ˢ}$, 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*ˋ and *yap*ˢ*a*ˋ man
*gā'p!ini*ˋ and *gā'p*ˢ*ini*ˋ 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*ˋ he indeed (=*āk*ˋ he + deictic ˢ*a*ˋ; cf. *ma'*ˢ*a*ˋ you indeed)
*sāk!eīt*ˋ you shot him (= *sāk*ˋ he shot him + (ˢ)*eīt*ˋ you are)
*māp!a*ˋ just you [pl.] (= *māp*ˋ you [pl.] + ˢ*a*ˋ)

Nevertheless, $p^{ˢ}$, $t^{ˢ}$, $k^{ˢ}$ 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 $p^{ˢ}$, $t^{ˢ}$, and $k^{ˢ}$ 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 ˢ$p^{ˢ}$ (or ˢ$b^{ˢ}$, better as $\overset{ˢ}{b}{}^{ˢ}$, 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:

*dülū̄'ᵉt!ili*ᵉ*n* = *dülū̄'t!ili*ᵉ*n* I stuff it
dü'lᵉt!ilin = *dü'lt!ilin* I shall stuff it
*leme'*ᵉ*k!ia-uda*ᵉ = *leme'k!ia-uda*ᵉ 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 ⁱᵉ, ᵘᵉ, ᵉ*l*, ᵉ*m*, ᵉ*n* to *i*, *u*, *l*, *m*, *n*.

There is no tenuis or media affricative (*ts—dz; ts·*, *tc—dz·*, *dj*) corresponding in Takelma to the fortis *ts!*, *ts·!*, though it seems possible that it originally existed but developed to *x* (cf. *yegwēxi* they bite me [upper Takelma *yegwe'tci*]; *ts·!i'xi* dog [from original **ts·!its·i*?[2]]). 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:

dōᵘm-, *büᵘg-*, *gōᵘl-*,—as are the

Aorist stems:

ts·!adad- mash, *ts·!elel-* paint—to their corresponding

Future stems:

s·āᵃd-, *s·eᵉl-*

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

[1] Doctor Goddard writes me that an examination of tracings made on the Rousselot machine leads to substantially the same phonetic interpretation of the fortes 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 $^{\varepsilon}$:

s·a's·ant'e^{e} I shall stand
ogu's·i he gave it to me, but *ogu'sbi* he gave it to you
lō^{u}s·ī'^{i} his plaything 110.6
īlasgi'n I shall touch it
le^{e}psi' feathers
yōls steel-head salmon
ha-uhana'$^{\varepsilon}$s it stopped (raining)

§ 13. *Final Consonants*

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

la'h excrement
lohlaha'nk' he always caused them to die

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

gayaū he ate it (cf. *gayawa'$^{\varepsilon}$n* I ate it)
gāī grow! (cf. *gā^{a}ya'$^{\varepsilon}$t'* he will grow)

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

se^{e}ba'$^{\varepsilon}$n I roasted it; *sēp'* he roasted it
xebe'$^{\varepsilon}$n he did it; *xēp'ga$^{\varepsilon}$* I did it
xuduma'lda$^{\varepsilon}$n I whistle to him; *xuduma'lt'*, *xuduma'lt'gwa* he whistles to him
t!ayaga'$^{\varepsilon}$n I found it; *t!aya'k'* he found it, *dāk'na$^{\varepsilon}$* since he found it

A final fortis also becomes the corresponding aspirated surd (*-ts!* becoming *-ᵋs*), 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 *ᵋb(ᵋ)*, 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 *ᵋb* still remains. Examples are:

wasgā'p!in I shall make it tight; *wasgā'ᵋp'* make it tight
k'ap!a'k'ap'naᵋn I throw them under (fire, earth); future, *k'aᵋp'-k'a'p'nan*
bāᵃxō't!an I shall win over him; *bāᵃxō'ᵋt'* win over him! *bāᵃxō'ᵋt'gaᵋ* I won over him
alxī'k!in I shall see him; *alxī'ᵋk'* see him! (contrast *alxī'ⁱgiᵋn* I saw him; *alxī'ⁱk'* he saw him)
haᵋwīha'nts!in I shall cause it to stop (raining); *haᵋwīha'nᵋs* make it stop raining!
nō'ts!at'gwan next door to each other; *nō'ᵘᵋs'* next door
haᵋīmī'ts!adan t!eimi'ᵋs six times 100; *haᵋīmi'ᵋs* 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.

	p'	*t'*	*k'*	*s*	*x*
b	—	*t'bāag-* hit	—	*sbīn* beaver	?
d	—	—	—	*s·dō'i s·dagwa-* put on style	*xdeīt'* flute
g	—	*t'gcib-* roll	—	*sgi'si* coyote	—
gw	—	*t'gwa'* thunder	—	*sgwini'* raccoon	—
s / *x*	—	—	—	—	—
l	—	—	—	?	*xliwi* war feathers
m	—	*t'mila'px* smooth	—	*sma-im-* smile	?
n	—	—	—	*s·nā* mamma!	*xni'k'* acorn mush
y	—	—	—	—	—
w	—	*t'wap!at'wap'-* blink	[*k' wāagw-* awaken]	*swat'g-* 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 *dwep'-dwa'pxdā*[a]

[1] This may possibly serve to explain why the affricative *ts·* (to correspond to *ts·!*) 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.

	p'	*t'*	*k'*	*l*	*m*	*n*	*s*	*x*
p'	—	*eīt'p'* ye are	—	*bēlp'* swan	—	*s·a's·anp'* stand! (pl.)	—	—
t'	—	—	—	*sgelewa'lt'* he shouted to him	*ts!elela'mt'* he paints it	*p!ā'ᵃnt'* his liver	—	—
k'	*xēp'k'* he did it	*p'ima't'k'* my salmon	—	*a'lk'* silver-side salmon	*xa'mk'* grizzly bear	*dōuma'nk'* he will kill him	*mīla'sk'* he loved her	*k'wā'aᶜxk'* he's awake
k'ʷ	—	—	—	*t'gwe'lk'ʷ* rat	?	*yānk'ʷ* he took it along	—	—
p'k'	—	—	—	*s·u'ᶜalp'k'* he sat	—	*se'nsanp'k'* he whooped	—	—
t'k'	—	—	—	*dōuma'lt'k'* my testicles	*xāala'mt'k'* my urine	*bilga'nt'k'* my breast	—	—
s	*la'ps* blanket	—	—	*bīls* moss	*gūms* blind	*p!e'ns* squirrel	—	—
	t'geya'px round	—	—	*t'geᵉya'lx* it rolls	*ya'mx* grease	*bānx* hunger	—	—
xk'	*des·īpxk'* it closed	—	—	*gū'lk!alxk'* it was blazing	*dats·!ā'mxk'* it hurt	*ūgwa'nxk'* he drank	—	—
px	—	—	—	*sgīilpx* 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·īpxk'*). Most, if not all, of

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

ūū'$^{i\varepsilon}$s·k' he laughed
k'o'$^{\varepsilon}$px dust, ashes.
ts·!u'n$^{\varepsilon}$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'$^{\varepsilon}$alp'k'* = *s·u$^{\varepsilon}$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$^{\varepsilon}$ when he was killed
hēlk'-na$^{\varepsilon}$ when he sang
dak'-t'gū'^{u}ba$^{\varepsilon}$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:

gaīk'na$^{\varepsilon}$ when he ate it (=*gaīk'-na$^{\varepsilon}$*)
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$^{\varepsilon}$* 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:

xēp'ga$^{\varepsilon}$ I did it; *xēp'k'* he did it

Contrast, with constant *-k'-*:

alxī'$^{\varepsilon}$k'a$^{\varepsilon}$ I saw it; *alxī'$^{\varepsilon}$k'*[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 *xe^{e}b-* DO, so that *xēp'ga$^{\varepsilon}$* stands for a theoretical **xēbk'a$^{\varepsilon}$*, a phonetically impossible form. Other examples are:

[1] This form is distinct from *alxī'$^{\varepsilon}$k'* LOOK AT IT!, quoted before. The imperative theoretically = **alxī'k!* the text form = **alxī'k!k'*.

ga-iwa't'ba^{ɛ} ye shall eat it; *gayawa't'p'* ye ate it
di'n^{ɛ}*xga*^{ɛ} I (as long object) was stretching out; *di'n*^{ɛ}*xk'* long object was stretching

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§ 18. DROPPING OF FINAL CONSONANTS

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

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

sãk' shooting (=**sãk't'*)
dõx gathering (=**dõxt'*)
ha-t!ũlk' following in path (=**t!ũlk't'*)
sana'p' fighting (=**sana'p't'*)

Compare:

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

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

he^{ɛɛ}*gwida't'k'* (=**gwida'k'*^{w}*t'-k'*, inferential of *gwidik'*^{w}*d-*) he lost it
he^{ɛɛ}*gwida't'ga*^{ɛ} (=**gwida'k'*^{w}*t'-ga*^{ɛ}) I lost it
xamgwidi'sgwide^{ɛ} (=**gwidi'k'*^{w}*t'-x-gwi-* or possibly **gwidi'k'*^{w}*t'-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:

lãl she twined basket (=**lãlw*); cf. *lā^{a}lwa'$^{\varepsilon}$n* I twine it (that *-w* really belongs to the stem is shown by the forms *lā^{a}wa'n* I shall twine it; *lèũxi* twine it for me!)
k!el̃ basket bucket (=**k!el̃w*); cf. *k!elwī'^{i}* her bucket
k'al̃ penis (=**k'al̃w*); cf. *k'alwī'^{i}* his penis.
sgelẽl$^{\varepsilon}$ (=**sgelẽl$^{\varepsilon}$w*) he keeps shouting; cf. *sgelewa't'* you shout, *sgelwa'lt'e^{e}* I shall keep shouting
alsgãlk'a$^{\varepsilon}$ (=**sgãlwk'a$^{\varepsilon}$*) I turned my head to one side to look at him; cf. *alsgā^{a}lwi'n* I shall turn my head to look at him
alsgelẽlxi (=**sgelẽlwxi*) he keeps turning his head to one side to look at me; cf. *alsgalā^{a}liwi'$^{\varepsilon}$n* I keep turning my head to look at him, future *alsgalwalwi'n*

This process, as further shown by cases like *gaĩ* EAT IT! (=**gaĩw*), is really a special case of the simplification of double diphthongs (see § 11). Perhaps such "dissimilated" cases as *lā^{a}-* and *le^{e}-* (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 *īhegwe'hak'^{w}* HE WORKS, cf. *īhegwe'hak'^{w}na$^{\varepsilon}$n* I WORK, and *īhegwe'hak'^{w}nana'k'* WE WORK. Certain verb-forms would be satisfactorily explained as originally reduplicated like *gwidi'k'^{w}*, if we could suppose the loss of certain final consonants:

gini'$^{\varepsilon}$k' he went somewheres (= ?**gin-i'-$^{\varepsilon}$k'n*)
gelgulu'k'^{w} he desired it (= ?**-gul-u'-k'^{w}l*)

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'ü'^{u}na'ks't'* RELATIVES (cf. Takelma *k'winaxdẽ* MY KIN).

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

mo'ṭ'ek' my son-in-law (= *mo'ṭ'*- + *-dek'*)
lãk'wôk' he gave him to eat (= *lãg-* + *-k'wôk'*)
dek!iya'k'i$^{\varepsilon}$ if it goes on (= *dek!iya'g-* + *-k'i*$^{\varepsilon}$)
lī^{i}*gwa'n* I shall fetch them home (= *lī*^{i}*g-* + *-gwan*); cf. aorist *ligigwa'*$^{\varepsilon}$*n*
dī^{i}*hila'k!wemẽ*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I make him glad (= *hila'k'*^{w} glad + *k!emẽ*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I make him)

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

ginãk'wi$^{\varepsilon}$ if he comes (= *ginãg-k'*^{w}*-k'i*$^{\varepsilon}$)

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

xemela'ṭ'ĭdi 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 *sā*^{a}*g-* SHOOT are derived:

1. Imperative *sãk'* shoot it!
2. Potential *sãk'* he can, might shoot it
3. Participle *sãk'* shooting (= **sãk'ṭ'*)
4. Inferential *sãk'* so he shot it (= **sãg-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'*$^{\varepsilon}$ he would have gone
3. *yana'ṭ'* 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 $^{\varepsilon}k'$) + *h* becomes $^{\varepsilon}k'$; *gw* or *k'*^{w} + *h* becomes *k'w*, *k!w* (or $^{\varepsilon}k'^{w}$) + *h* becomes $^{\varepsilon}k'w$. 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'gunūk'i^{ɛ} (=*t'gunūk'* +quotative *-hi^{ɛ}*) it became warm, it is said

naganā'^{a}k'i^{ɛ} (=*naganā'^{aɛ}k'* +quotative *-hi^{ɛ}*; see § 22) he always said, it is said

gwen-he'k'wā^{a}gw- (=reduplicated *he'gw-hā^{a}gw-*) relate; with accent thrown forward *gwen-hegwā'^{a}gw-an-i-* (=*hegw-hā'^{a}gw-*); compare, with preserved *h*, *gwen-hegwe'hagw-an-i* tell to

s·o'wo^{ɛ}k'ôp' (=*s·o'wo^{ɛ}k'-hap'* =**s·o'wok!-hap'*) he jumps (*ô*=*wa*; see § 9) he jumps; compare *s·owo'k!ana^{ɛ}n* I cause him to jump

Similarly, *d* or *t'* +*h* becomes *t'*, *t!* (or $^{ɛ}t'$) +*h* becomes $^{ɛ}t'$; *b* or *p'* +*h* becomes *p'*, *p!* (or $^{ɛ}p'$) +*h* becomes $^{ɛ}p'$:

gana't'i (=*gana't'* +emphatic *-hi*) of just that sort

yo't'i (=*yo't'* being + emphatic *-hi*) alive; compare plural *yot'i'*hi

he'^{ɛ}sgū'^{uɛ}t'ôk'^{w} (=*sgū'^{u}t!-hak'^{w}*) cut away; compare *he'^{ɛ}sgō'^{u}t!an* I shall cut it away

s' and *x* also generally contract with *h* to *s'* and *x*, e. g.: *nō^{u}s·i'^{ɛ}* (=*nō^{uɛ}s·+-hi^{ɛ}*) 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 ^{ɛ}.

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 ^{ɛ}; if *x* is followed by a vowel, the *w* of the labialized *k*-sounds unites with *x* to form *xw*:

alxī'^{i}xi he saw me (=*al-xī'^{i}g-xi*); cf. *alxī'^{i}gi^{ɛ}n* I saw him

k'wā'^{a}xdo^{ɛ} I awoke (=*k'wā'^{a}gw-x-de^{ɛ}*); cf. *īk'wā'^{a}gwi^{ɛ}n* I woke him up

gelgulu'xbi^{ɛ}n I like you (=*-gulu'gw-x-bi^{ɛ}n*); cf. *-gulugwa'^{ɛ}n* I like him

bā^{a}dini'^{ɛ}x (clouds) spread out on high (=*-dini'k!-x*); cf. *di'nik!a^{ɛ}n* I stretch it out

lū^{ɛ}xwa' to trap (=*lūk!^{w}-xa'*); cf. *lo'k!wan* I shall trap (deer)

yēxwink' (=*yēgw-xink'*) he will bite me; but *yēxda^{ɛ}* (=*yēgw-x-da^{ɛ}*) you will bite me

2. *tx* always simplifies to *s*, *t!x* to *ᵉs*. 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'saᵉ she sews (=*lebe't-xaᵉ*); cf., for *-t'* of stem, *lebe't'* she sewed it, for suffix *-xaᵉ*, *lobo'xaᵉ* she pounds

sgelewa'lsi he shouts to me (=*sgelewa'ld-xi*); cf. *sgelewa'ldaᵉn* I shout to him

dāᵉībodoba'saᵉn they pull out each other's hair, with reduplicated stem *bodobad-+x-*

xāᵃt'be'ᵉᵉk't'bagams it is all tied together (=*-t'bagamt-x*); cf. *xāᵃt'bā'ᵃgamdaᵉn* I tie it together

hansgō'ᵘᵉs 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* (=*ᵉsx*) to *ᵉs*. Examples are:

yimi's·aᵉ he dreams (=*yimi's·-xaᵉ*, with suffix *-xaᵉ* as in *lobo'xaᵉ* above

ha-uhana'ᵉs it stopped (raining) (=**-hana'ᵉsx*, 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'ᵉ* you will lose it, with *n* preserved because it forms a consonant-cluster with *l*)

ha-gwāᵃl-a'm in the road (cf. *gwān* road)

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

xāᵃla'mt'k' my urine; *xala'xamt'eᵉ* I urinate (cf. *xān* urine)

ba-is·in-xi'lik!wiᵉn I blow my nose, with *l* due to *-n* of prefix *s·in-* nose (cf. *xīn* mucus)

s·inp'i'lᵉs flat-nosed, alongside of *s·inp'i'nᵉs*

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'inᵉs* with other prefixes not containing an *n* would tend to restore an anomalous-sounding *s·inp'i'lᵉs* to *-p'i'nᵉs*.

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

s·imi'l dew (cf. such nouns as *p!iyi'n* deer)
dak'-s·ō^{u}ma'l on the mountain (*s·om̃* mountain)
dō^{u}ma'lt'k' my testicles (*dō^{u}m* testicles)

With these compare:

dā^{a}-ts!ā^{a}wa'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 *hagwā^{a}la'm*, *Dīdala'm*, and *xā^{a}la'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·ō^{u}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 *hagwā^{a}la'm* is in that event as follows: An original **hagwā^{a}na'n* IN THE ROAD (stem *gwā^{a}n-* + nominal characteristic *-an*) becomes first **hagwā^{a}la'n* by the dissimilation of the first *n* because of the following *n*, then *hagwā^{a}la'm* by the dissimilation of this second *n* because of the preceding *l*. Similarly *Dīdala'm* and *xā^{a}la'mt'k'* would go back to **Dīdana'n* and **xā^{a}na'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*
*he^{e}*la'm board (cf. *dī^{i}he'liya* sleeping on wooden platform)	*daga'n* turtle
*ge*la'm river	*wigīn* red lizard
*ts!e*la'm hail (cf. stem *ts!el-* rattle)	*p!iyi'n* deer (*-n* here as suffix shown by *p!iya'x* fawn)
*xi*la'm sick, ghost	*yūt!u'n* white duck (cf. *yut!-u'yidi^{s}n* I eat it greedily)
*ts·!ü'*lm wart [1]	*yū'xgan* trout
*habi*la'm empty	*xdān* eel (cf. *hā^{s}-xdā'^{a}xdagwa^{s}n* I throw something slippery far away)
la*p'*ām frog	*wō^{u}p!un-* eyebrows

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

*yu*lu'm eagle (also *yu*la'm is found)	*dā*^{a}- n- ear
*gu*lu'm oak	*bebe*'n rushes
*k'ü*lũm fish (sp.?)	*ga'k!*an house ladder
*leg*em- kidney	*gwit!*in- wrist

It should not be concealed that a few words (such as *hülũn* 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'*^{w} and *m*) that would thus result. **yalan-an-* LOSE (tr.), dissimilated, as we have seen, to *yalal-an-*, fails to be further dissimilated to **yalal-am-* because, doubtless, there is a feeling against the obscuring of the phonetic form of the causative suffix *-an-*. The great probability of the existence of a dissimilatory tendency involving the change of *n* to *m* is clinched by the form *do'lk'im-i-* ANUS alongside of *do'lk'in-i-*.

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

yilī^{i}*nma'*^{ɛ}*n* I keep asking for it (= original **yilī*^{i}*lma'*^{ɛ}*n* [*l* inserted as repetition of stem *-l-* in iterative formation from *yilima'*^{ɛ}*n* I ask him])

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

In *ū*^{u}*gwa'nxde*^{ɛ} 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*ᵉ when he went (cf. *ya'*ᵉ he went)
*ginī'ⁱk'da*ᵉ when he went to (cf. *gini'*ᵉ*k'* he went to)
*yawa'ida*ᵉ when he spoke (cf. *yawa'*ⁱᵉ he spoke)
*loho'ida*ᵉ when he died (cf. *loho'*ⁱᵉ he died)

The connectives *-hi*ᵉ IT IS SAID, and *-s·i*ᵉ BUT, AND are, in regard to this process, parallel to the *-da*ᵉ of the preceding forms:

*naga'ihi*ᵉ he said, it is said (cf. *naga'*ⁱᵉ he said)
*nō*ᵘ*s·i'*ᵉ but, so (he went) next door (cf. *nō'*ᵘᵉ*s·* next door).
*a'nīs·i*ᵉ but not (cf. *a'nī*ᵉ not)
ᵉ*ī's·is·i*ᵉ but no matter how (often) (cf. ᵉ*ī's·i*ᵉ even if)
*dalᵉwī'ⁱs·i*ᵉ but some (cf. *dalᵉwi'*ᵉ sometimes; *-wī'ⁱs·i*ᵉ is related to *-wi'*ᵉ as is *yā'ᵃda*ᵉ to *ya'*ᵉ)

§ 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:

*bēm*t'ā[a] his stick
*se'ᵉlt'*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'gaxda 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*ᵉ and *-t'e*ᵉ, first person singular subject intransitive aorist (*-de*ᵉ and *-t'e*ᵉ to correspond in future):

*p'ele'xade*ᵉ I go to fight; *p'elxa'*t'eᵉ I shall go to war
*yānt'e*ᵉ I go; *yana'*t'eᵉ I shall go
*nagaīt'e*ᵉ I say; *na'*t'eᵉ I shall say

but:

wits·!īsmade^{ɛ} I keep moving; future *wits·!e'smade*^{e} (contrast *wits·!iñt'e*^{ɛ} I move and *wisma't'e*^{e} I shall move)

Other examples of interchange are:

sgō^{u}*t'sga't'i* he cut them to pieces; *sgō'*^{u}*t'sgidi*^{ɛ}*n* I cut them to pieces

ts·!ümũmt'a^{ɛ}*n* I boil it, *s·ũmt'an* I shall boil it (stem *s·üu*^{u}*m-t'a-*); *s·omoda'*^{ɛ}*n* I boil it, *s·omda'n* I shall boil it (evidently related stem *s·om-d-*)

s·as·inīp'ik' we stand; *e*^{e}*bi'k'* we are

This phonetic rule must not be understood to mean that a media can never appear under the conditions given for the occurrence of a surd. The various grammatical elements involved are not all on one line. It seems necessary to assume that some contain a surd as the primary form of their consonant, while others contain an organic media. The more or less mechanical changes in manner of articulation, already treated of, have had the effect, however, of so inextricably interlocking the aspirated surds and 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!wa'lt'a* young, not old; younger one)

-t'e^{ɛ}, first person intransitive aorist (future, *-t'e*^{e})

-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., *bēmt'a* like *he'*^{e}*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^{ɛ}, 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'wilī'^{i}*da* on his house

hat'gā'^{a}*da* in his country

xā^{a}*sa'lda* between his toes

xā^{a}*ha'mda* on his back

hawa'nda under him
sgelewa'lda^{s}n I shout to him
ts!elela'mda^{s}n I paint it

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

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

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

lā^{a}lē̄t'a^{s} as it became
s·as·inī̄t'a^{s} 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 *hadedīl-t'a* EVERYWHERES. 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^{c} I shall shine; *alwe'k!alp'igam* we shall shine; *alwe'-k!alk'wa* to shine
k'e'p'alt'e^{c} I shall be absent; *k'e'p'alk'wa* to be absent
wülü'hamt'e^{s} I have menstrual courses for the first time
xala'xamt'e^{s} 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$^{\varepsilon}$n I always boil it (cf. *s·omoda'$^{\varepsilon}$n* I boil it)
s·a's.ant'e^{e} I shall stand; *s·a's·anp'igam* we shall stand; *s·a's·ank'wa* to stand
sene'sant'e$^{\varepsilon}$ I whoop; *se'nsant'e^{e}* I shall whoop
de$^{\varepsilon}$īwī'^{i}gank'wide$^{\varepsilon}$ I spread (it) out for myself
dasga'lit'ā^{a} (grain) will lie scattered about

With *-t'ā^{a}* and *-t'e$^{\varepsilon}$* above contrast the morphologically identical elements *-dā^{a}* and *-de$^{\varepsilon}$* 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^{a} (round object) will lie (there)
s·u'k'didā^{a} (string) will lie curled up
dak't'ek!e'xade$^{\varepsilon}$ I smoke (but future *-xa't'e^{e}* because of immediately preceding accent)

§ 24. INORGANIC *h*

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

īt!ana'hi$^{\varepsilon}$n 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^{a}li'$^{\varepsilon}$n* (stem *hā^{a}l-*)

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

wayānha$^{\varepsilon}$n I put him to sleep (cf. same form with change of accent *wa-yā^{a}na'$^{\varepsilon}$n*)
dā$^{a\varepsilon}$agānhi$^{\varepsilon}$n I used to hear about it (cf. *-agani'$^{\varepsilon}$n* I hear it)
liwīlhaut'e$^{\varepsilon}$ I kept looking (cf. *liwila'ut'e$^{\varepsilon}$* I looked)
xa-it'gī^{i}lt'ga'lhi he broke it in two (cf. with identical *-i-* suffix *xā^{a}salt'gwi'lt'gwili* he broke [somebody's arm] by stepping)
ī'mhamk'am he was sent off (also in aorist stem *īmiham-*)
wadōmhik' he killed him with it (stem *dō^{u}m-* + *-i-*)

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

MORPHOLOGY (§§ 25–114)

§ 25. Introductory

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

The polysynthetic character of the Takelma verb (and by discussing the verb we touch, as so frequently in America, upon the most vital element of the sentence) seems, then, a comparatively accidental, superimposed feature. To use the term "polysynthetic" as a 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-, bänd-, bünd-*. These two characteristics are very far indeed from constituting anything like a definition of inflection, but they are often referred to as peculiar to it, and hence may well serve us as approximate tests.

As regards the first test, we find that just such a multiplicity of phonetic symbols for the same, or approximately the same, concept, is characteristic of Takelma. The idea of possession of an object by a person or thing other than the speaker or person addressed is expressed by *-xa, -a, -da* (*-t'a*), *-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^{ɛ}* (*-de^{ɛ}*), *-t'e^{e}* (*-de^{e}*), *-^{ɛ}n*, *-n*, *-k'a^{ɛ}* (*-ga^{ɛ}*), all of which are best rendered in English by "I." *-t'e^{ɛ}* is confined to the aorist of intransitive verbs; *-t'e^{e}* is future intransitive; *-^{ɛ}n* is aorist transitive; *-n* is future transitive; and *-k'a^{ɛ}* 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^{u}m-, dü^{ü}m-, t!omom- (*t!omō^{u}-*), *t!ümü^{ü}-* kill
nā^{a}g-, 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-ᵉa'l-yowoᵉ 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'ᵉ* he was, can be used as independent word)

s·in-ī-lats!agi'ᵉn I touched his nose (*s·in-* nose; *ī-* with hand; *lats!agi'ᵉn* 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'ɛt' 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!omõxinik'* WE KILL ONE ANOTHER contains, besides the aorist stem *t!omõ-* (formed from *dõ^{u}m-*), the suffixed elements *-x-* (expressing general idea of relation between subject and object), *-in-* umlauted from *-an-* (element denoting reciprocal action [*-x-in-* = EACH OTHER, ONE ANOTHER]), and *-ik'* (first personal plural subject intransitive aorist). As an example of suffixation in the noun may be given *t!ibagwa'n-t'k'* MY PANCREAS. This form contains, besides the stem *t!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'ˢn I always sing (aorist stem *yonon-*)
ts!ayaīk' he used to shoot them (cf. *ts!aya'k'* he shot them)

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

Verb stem	Aorist stem	Frequentative
hemg- take out	*hemeg-*	*hemeᵉmg-*
ts!a-im- hide	*ts!ayam-*	*ts!aya-im-*
masg- put	*mats!ag-*	*mats!āᵃsg-*
yawī- talk	*yawa-i-*	*yāwa-iy-*
baxm- come	*baxam-*	*baxāᵃxm-*

§ 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 *heᵉl-* sing)
aorist *t!omom-* (from *dōᵘm-* kill)

The reduplicated vowel is lengthened in certain forms, e. g., *heleᵉl-*, *t!omōᵘm-*.

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

aorist *ts·!ümü^{u}mt'a-* (from *s·ü^{u}mt'a-* boil)
usitative aorist *t!ülü^{u}lg-* (from verb stem *t!ü^{u}lg-*, aorist *t!ülüg-* follow trail)
usitative aorist *ginī^{i}ng-* (from verb stem *ging-*, aorist *ginig-* go to; *ging-*, *ginig-* itself is probably reduplicated from *gin-*)

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

aorist *t!èut!au-* (from *t!èu-* play shinny)
aorist *bot'bad-* (from *bō^{u}d-* pull out one's hair)
aorist *bā^{a}- sal- xo(x)xag* come to a stand (pl.); aorist *sal-xog-ī^{i}-* stand (pl.)

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

aorist *yuluyal-* (cf. verb stem *yulyal-* rub)
aorist frequentative *hogohag-* keep running (from *hō^{u}g-* run)
aorist frequentative *s·wilis·wal-* tear to pieces; verb stem *s·wil-s·wal-* (from aorist *s·wī^{i}ls·wal-* tear; verb stem *s·wī^{i}l-*)

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

sgot!osgad- cut to pieces (from verb stem *sgō^{u}t!-*, aorist *sgō^{u}d-* cut)

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

gwidik'^{u}d- throw (base *gwid-*)

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

frequentative aorist *t!omoamd-*, as though instead of **t!omo-t!am-;* cf. non-aorist *dō^{u}mdam-* (from aorist *t!omom-* kill)
frequentative aorist *k!eme^{s}amg-* (from *k!eme-n-* make; verb stem *k!em-n-*)
frequentative aorist *p!ūwū^{s}aug-*, as though instead of **p!ūwūp!aug-* (from aorist *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^{s}amg-* an original

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

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 *weᵉga'si* HE BROUGHT IT TO ME (from stem *wāᵃg-*, as shown also by *wāᵃg-iwi'ᵉn* 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'xbiᵉn* I told it to you (162.6)
nege's·i he said to me 186.22, but *naga'sam* he said to us (178.12)
dũmxinaᵉ I shall be slain (192.11), but *dõmxbinaᵉ* you will be slain (178.15)
gel-lūhūigwa'si he avenges me, but *-lohoigwa'ᵉn* 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 *-akʻʷ*, *-ikʻʷ*:

waseᵉgi'kʻʷ wherewith it is shot (from *sāᵃg-* shoot)
me'xakʻʷ having father (from *ma'xa* his father)
waᵉ-ī-dūxikʻʷdekʻ my gathered ones (= I have been gathering them) (from *dōᵘx-* gather)
dalᵉ-wa-pʻū't!ikʻʷ mixed with (from *pʻōt!-* mix) 178.5

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

geyewa'lxdeᵉ I eat (136.15) (cf. *gayawa'ᵉn* I eat it 30.11)
leᵉba'nx he carries 178.6 (stem *lāᵃb-*)

dīdā^{a}t'be'$^{e\varepsilon}$k't'bag-ams (= *-amtx*) they had their hair tied on sides of head (from base *t'bā^{a}g-*) 142.17; cf. *-t'bā'^{a}gamda$^{\varepsilon}$n* I tie his hair (27.1)

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

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

xā^{a}le'^{e}sap' belt (cf. *xā^{a}lā'^{a}da$^{\varepsilon}$n* I put it about my waist)
halū'$^{u\varepsilon}$xôp' (= *-x^{w}ap'*) shirt (cf. *halō'$^{u\varepsilon}$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:

lū̃'$^{\varepsilon}$xwagwadinin (= *lū̃k!-xa-*) I'll trap for him (stem *lōk!^{w}-*)
īlū'pxagwank' she shall pound with (stone pestle) (cf. *lobo'p'* she pounds them)
k!edeīxade$^{\varepsilon}$ I was out picking (cf. *k!adā$^{\varepsilon}$n* I pick them, *k!adāī* he picks them)
ts!eye'mxade$^{\varepsilon}$ I hide things (cf. *ts!ayama'$^{\varepsilon}$n* I hide it)

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

k!ēt'gwī^{i}p' pick them for yourself! (stem *k!ā^{a}d-*)
alts!eyēk'wit' he washed himself with it (cf. *alts!ayāp'* he washed his own face)
īlets!ēk'wide$^{\varepsilon}$ I touch myself (cf. *īlats!agi'$^{\varepsilon}$n* I touch him)
k!edèīk'wa$^{\varepsilon}$n I pick them for myself (aorist stem *k!adāi-*)
alnū'^{u}k'wa he painted his own face (stem *nō^{u}gw-*)

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

p!agãnk'wit' he bathed himself
t'gwā^{a}xa'nt'gwide^{e} I shall tattoo myself (but *lū'^{u}gwant'gwide$^{\varepsilon}$* I trap deer for myself)
xā^{a}-sgō'^{v}t'gwide$^{\varepsilon}$ I cut myself
īgaxaga'xgwa$^{\varepsilon}$n I scratch myself

We have here the same difficulty as in 3. Evidently some factor or factors enter into the use of the ablaut that it has not been founp 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-leīsde^{e} I shall be lame (cf. *gwel-la'is k!emna'n* I shall make him lame

le^{e}psi' wing (if derived, as seems probable, from stem *lā^{a}b-* carry)

t!emeya'nwia$^{u\varepsilon}$ people go along to see her married 178.1 (cf. *t!amayana'$^{\varepsilon}$n* I take her somewheres to get her married [148.5])

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

t'gā^{a}lt'ga'l it bounced from her 140.8

t'ge^{e}ltg'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-hele'halxade$^{\varepsilon}$ I am accustomed to answer (stem *-hā^{a}l-*)

It is difficult to find a very tangible psychic connection between the various cases that require the use of the palatal ablaut, nor is there the slightest indication that a phonetic cause lies at the bottom of the phenomenon. If we disregard the first group of cases, we shall find that they have this in common, they are all or nearly all intransitives derived from transitives by means of certain voice-forming elements (*-x-*, *-xa-*, *-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:

ɣala-b-a'ᵋn I twist it; *p!ī'-wa-gele-g-i'ᵋn* I drill for fire with it (88.12). *dī'ᵋal-gelegal-a'mdaᵋn* I tie his hair up into top-knot (172.2)

dāᵃ-dala-g-a'mdaᵋn I pierce his ear (22.1); *dāᵃ-dele-b-i'ᵋn* I stick it through his ear

laˋ excrement 122.2; *le'-k'w-an-t'k'* my anus

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

s·omoda'ᵋn I boil it (58.10); *ts·!ümũmt'aᵋn* I boil it (170.17)

xumaˋ food 54.4; *xümü'k'deᵋ* I am sated (130.18)

An *a*—*ü* variation is seen in:

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

Variations between *a* and *i* are:

ɣawaīt'eᵋ I talk (132.3); *ɣiwiɣa'ut'eᵋ* I keep talking, I converse (194.5); *ɣiwin* 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'eᵋ I die 184.18; *leheīt'eᵋ* I drift dead ashore (75.5)

xāᵃ-huk!u'hak'naᵋn I breathe; *xāᵃ-hege'hak'naᵋn* I breathe (79.2)

t!os·ō'ᵘ little 180.20; *al-t!eᵉs·iˋt'* little-eyed 94.3

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

p!eyēnt'eᵋ I lie 71.5 (future *p!è't'eᵉ* [146.9]); *gwen-p!iɣi'nk'waᵋn* I lie on pillow (future *gwen-p!īk'wan*)

t'geᵉɣa'lx it rolls; *a'l-t'gīⁱɣa'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^{u}l-* dig)
aorist *t!ebe-* (stem *de^{e}b-* arise)
aorist *t!ayag-* (stem *dā^{a}g-* 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^{u}d-* (stem *nū^{u}t!-* drown)
aorist *wī^{i}g-* (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^{ü}mt'a-* boil
hau-gwen-yut!uyad-i- swallow down greedily (like duck or hog) 126.10; *hau-gwen-yunu^{s}yan-i-* dit.

The second example illustrates an interchange not of fortis and non-fortis (for *n^{s}* 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 *ī-* 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 *ī-* may be translated, according to the circumstances of the case, as

HAND(S):

ī-p!ī^{i}-nō'^{u}k'wa^{ɛ}n I warm my hands

WITH THE HAND:

ī-^{ɛ}ō^{u}dini'^{ɛ}n I hunt for it with the hand (= I am feeling around for it)

IN THE HAND:

p'im-ī-hō^{u}gwagwa'^{ɛ}n I run with salmon in my hand

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

adverbial sense only, and regularly occupy the second position. The line between these two sets of prefixes is, however, difficult to draw when it comes to considering the place to be assigned to some of the prefixed elements. It is doubtful whether we are fully justified in making absolutely strict distinctions between the various uses of the body-part prefixes; at any rate, it is certainly preferable, from a native point of view, to translate the three examples of *ī-* 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.
bēm- sticks	*wa-* together	*ᵉī-* hand		*t!oxo'xiᵉn* I gather (them) (=I gather sticks together)
	heᵉᵉ- away	*wa-* with it		*wāᵃgiwi'n* she is bought (=she is brought with it) 176.17
gwān- road	*ha-* in		*yaxa-* continuously	*t!ülüülga'ᵉn* I follow (it) (=I keep following the trail)
dan- rocks	*bāᵃ-* up	*ᵉī-* hand		*sgɛt!e'sgidiᵉn* I lifted (them) (=I lifted up the rocks)
	han- across	*waya-* knife		*swilswa'lhi* he tore him (=he tore him open with a knife)73.3
	dak'- above	*da-* mouth	*wala'ᵉsina-* truly	*hāali'ndaᵉ* I answering him (=I *did* answer him)
	xa- between, in two	*ī-* hand	*mī'ᵉᵉwa-* probably	*sgī'ibiᵉn* 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-ide'ᵉdidi'nik!at' did you stretch it out? (=*ba-i-* out + *de-* lip, in front + *di* interrogative particle + *di'nik!at'* 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-*, *heᵉᵉ-*, and others) are rare or entirely lacking.

From what has been said it might seem that the connective and modal elements (like *yaxa*, *mī'ᵉᵉwa*, 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'ᵉ-di-giniga'ť* DID YOU COME? (= *meᵉ-* HITHER + *di-* interrogative particle + *giniga'ť* 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'ᵉs di me'ᵉginiga'ť* 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'ᵉ*, in the same way that, in the second example, it depends upon the noun *hoida'ᵉs* SINGER. This inference is clinched by a form like *giniga'ť'ĭdi* 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'ⁱᵉwa*] *-sgī'ⁱbiᵉn*. 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!ülüᵘlga'ᵉn* 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!ī^{i}-nō'^{u}k'wa^{s}n* I WARM MY HANDS and *han-waya-swilswa'lhi* HE TORE HIM OPEN WITH A KNIFE, that nouns (in these cases *p!ī^{i}* 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!ī^{i}* and *waya* be looked upon as absolutely independent nouns, they lose all semblance of grammatical form, there being, indeed, nothing but a definite position in a verb-complex that could here suggest the notion of instrumentality. It is also possible to isolate *waya*, but that would involve considerable readjustment of the verbal structure. To be stamped as an instrumental, *waya* must in that case be followed by a postposition *wa* WITH, so that the sentence then reads, *han-swilswa'lhi wa'ya wa'* (the phrase *wa'ya wa'* may also precede).

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

It becomes clear, therefore, that an incorporated instrumental noun like *wa'ya* is quite analogous to an instrumental body-part prefix like *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'lhi* I TORE HIM OPEN WITH MY HAND is strictly analogous to *han-waya-swilswa'lhi*; the sentence *īūxde'k' han-wa-swilswa'lhi* MY-HAND I-ACROSS-WITH-IT-TORE-HIM corresponds to *wa'ya han-wa-swilswa'lhi;* and, finally, *han-swilswa'lhi īūxde'k' wa'* I-ACROSS-TORE-HIM MY-HAND WITH (-IT) is parallel to *han-swilswa'lhi 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'^{u}k'wa^{ɛ}n I warm my back in (really = with) the sun (*be^{e}* sun); cf. 188.20

he^{eɛ}-xi-le'me^{ɛ}k'i he destroyed them with water (*xi* water)

he^{eɛ}-p!ī^{i}-leme'^{ɛ}k'i he destroyed them with fire (*p!ī^{i}* fire) 98.12

xa-dan-t'gī^{i}lt'ga'lhi he broke it with a rock (*dan* rock) 24.4

gwen-waya-sgō'^{u}t'i he cut their necks off with his knife (*wayā'^{a} wa'* with his knife, apart from verb-structure) 144.5, 22

xā^{a}-be^{e}m-k!wō^{u}t'k!widi^{ɛ}n I broke it with a stick (*be^{e}m* stick)

dā^{a}-he^{e}l-yebebi'^{ɛ}n I sing for him, literally, I engage (?) his ears with song (*he^{e}l* song; *al-yebeb-i-* show to)

dā^{a}-t'mū^{u}gal-lewe'^{ɛ}liwi^{ɛ}n I shake my ears with twisted shells (attached to them) (*t'mū^{u}gal* twisted shell) 122.1

dī^{i}-k'al-p'ili'p'ili^{ɛ}n I squash them with my penis (*k'al* penis) 73.14

de-ye't'-baxamagwana'k' we came crying, literally, we came having (our) mouths with tears (*yet'* tears)

yap!a-dauyā^{a}-ts!aya'k'i he shot people with his shaman's spirit (*dauyā'^{a}k'^{u}da* his shaman-spirit, apart from verb-structure); cf. 164.14

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

Instrumentals, whether nouns or body-part prefixes, can occur only in transitive verbs. The forms *noxwa' yana-wa-lobobi'^{ɛ}n* I POUND ACORNS WITH A PESTLE and *noxwa'-ī-loboxagwa'^{ɛ}n* I POUND WITH A PESTLE, as compared with *lōbō'xade^{ɛ}* I POUND, will serve to illustrate this. The first sentence reads, when literally translated, PESTLE (*noxwa'*) I-ACORNS (*yana'*) -WITH-IT-POUND. The logical instrument (*noxwa'*) stands outside the verb-complex and is in apposition with its incorporated instrumental representative (*wa-*), *yana'* being the direct (incorporated) object. The form *lobo'xade^{ɛ}* I POUND is made intransitive by the element *-xa-* (hence the change in pronominal form from transitive *-^{ɛ}n* to intransitive *-de^{ɛ}*), and allows of no instrumental modification; a form like *ī-lobo'xade^{ɛ}* 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}-^{ɛ}ī-wa-xō'^{u}t'i wind he-up-hand-with-it-caused-them-to-fall, i. e., he caused them to fall by means of a wind (that he made go up) 168.2

ga ^{ɛ}ī-wa-molo^{ɛ}ma'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-^{ɛ}ī-wa-sgā'^{a}k'sgigi^{ɛ}n* 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!agi'^{ɛ}n I touched his nose with my hand (*s·in-* nose)

but, theoretically at least,

ī-s·in-lats!agi'^{ɛ}n 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 *bẽm* and *gwãn* (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 *-ī^{i}-x-* and *-ū-x-* of *s·inīxda* and *ī'ūxda* is, e. g., the *-am-* of *gwā^{a}l-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^{a}l-am-* (=*gwā^{a}n-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^{a}la'm* IN THE ROAD. Thus:

object *bēm*, in *bēm-wa^{ɛ}-ī-t!oxo'xi^{ɛ}n* I gather sticks, is related to
object *s·in-*, in *s·in-ī-lats!agi'^{ɛ}n* I touch his nose, as
instrument *bēm*, in *xā^{a}-be^{e}m-k!wõ^{u}t'k!widi^{ɛ}n* I broke it with a stick, to
instrument *s·in-*, in *s·in-t!ayagi'^{ɛ}n* 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^{e}l-gel-gulugwa'^{ɛ}n I desire to sing (literally, I-song-breast-desire; *he^{e}l* song)
he^{e}l-yununa'^{ɛ}n I sing a song (106.7)
wili-wa-ī-t!a'nida^{ɛ} you shall keep house (literally, you-house-together-hand-will-hold; *wili* house) 28.13
abai^{ɛ} xuma-k!emna'^{ɛ}s cook (literally, in-the-house food-maker; *xuma* food) 54.3
wai-s·ügü's·üxgwa^{ɛ}n I am sleepy (literally, I-sleep-am-confused?-having; *wai* sleep)
p!ī^{i}-da-t!agāī he built a fire (*p!ī^{i}* fire) 96.17
p!ī^{i}-bā^{a}-yānk'^{w} he picked up the fire (literally, he-fire-up-went-having) 96.25
xi-^{ɛ}ūgwa'nk' he will drink water (*xi* water) 162.17
s·īx-ligi'k'^{w} he brought home venison (*s·īx* 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^{e}l-gel-gulugwa'^{s}n* and *wai-s·ügü's·üxgwa^{s}n*) it would be quite inconceivable. The incorporation must be considered particularly strong in those cases in which the object is what might be called a root-noun identical in form with a verb-stem of corresponding significance:

wai[1] sleep, to sleep
he^{e}l- song, to sing
se^{e}l- black paint, to paint

likewise where the object gives special color to the verb, determining the concrete significance of the form, as in *xuma-k!emna'^{s}s* and *wili-wa-ī-t!a'nida^{s}*.

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!iyī'^{i}k'da^{s} 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!iyī'^{i}k'da^{s} afternoon (literally, down-river [i. e., west]-sun-going)

mot'-wō'k' as son-in-law he visits wife's parents (= *mot'-* son-in-law + *wō'k'*, probably identical with *wōk'* he arrived) 17.13, in which *mot'-* must be considered an integral part of the verb, because unprovided with pronominal affix (cf. *mo't'ā^{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·!elei-sgalawi'^{s}n I looked at them out of the corners of my eyes (literally, I-alongside-eye-looked-at-them)[2]; cf. *dā^{a}-ts·!e-leidē* 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, *ts·!elei-* being in that case an incorporated instrumental noun.

ha-t'gā^{a}-gwidi'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^{a}di'^{s}n I ran out of the house (*ba-i-* out, adverbial prefix + *dak'-* on top of + *wili* house) 24.13; cf. *dak'-wilī* on top of the house

ha-yau-t'ge'nets!a^{s}n 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}-gwidi'k'^{w}* is not directly comparable to the *ha-* of a form like:

ha-p!ī^{i}-ts·!ü'lük!i^{s}n I set it on fire (*p!ī^{i}* with fire) 73.9

Here *ha-p!ī^{i}-* cannot be rendered IN THE FIRE.

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

s·omlohoya'lda^{s}n I doctor him as *s·omloho'lxa^{s}s*

doubtless contains the incorporated noun *s·omˉ* MOUNTAIN; but the implied allusion is not at all evident, except in so far as the protecting spirits of the *s·omloho'lxa^{s}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·!elei-* 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.
dak'-	head	over, above	*da'g-ax- dek'* my head	*dak'-wilī* over the house
{da-, de-	mouth, lips		*dē'x- dek'*	
de-		in front		*dēt' gwa* in front of himself
dāa-	ear	alongside	*dāa- n- x- de'k'*	*dāa-gela'm* along the river
s'in-	nose		*s'in-ī'i-x-de'k'*	
gwen-	neck, nape	in back, behind	*[bo'k' dan-x- de'k']*	*gwen-t'gāū* on east side of the land
ī-	hand		*ī-ū-x- de'k'*	
xāa-	back, waist	between, in two	*xāa-ha'm-t'k'*	*xāa- gweldē* between my legs
dīi-	back	on top of	——	*dīi-līdē* over my hand
gel-	breast	facing	*gē'l- x- dek', [bilg- an -x- de'k']*	*geldē* facing, in front of me
dīs-	anus	in rear	*[delg- a'n- t'k']*	*dīs-t'gāū* on west side of the land
ha-	woman's private parts	in	*haū-x-dek'*	*ha-riya'* in the water
gwel-	leg	under	*gwē'l-x-dek'*	*gwel-xiya'* under water
la-	belly		*?lāa-* exerement	*La-t'gāū* Uplands (=? front of the country)
sal-	foot	down, below	*sal-x-de'k'*	
al-	eye, face	to, at	*[ts'ī elē'- t'k'* my eye] *[li'ugw- ax- dek'* my face	*al-s'ōu ma'l* to the mountain
dīisal-	forehead (= above eye)		*dīisa'l-t'k'*	*dīisa'lda* at his forehead
gwenha-u-	nape (=neck under)		*gwenha-u-x-de'k'*	*gwenha-udē* 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 *haū-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'ᵋ* HE IS are formed by means of body-part prefixes:

al-ᵋyowo'ᵋ he-eye-is, i. e., he looks 62.6
dāᵃ-ᵋyowo'ᵋ he-ear-is, i. e., he listens, pays attention 96.9
bāᵃ-gel-ᵋyowo'ᵋ 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-*, *dāᵃ-*, 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:

al*dēmxigam* we shall assemble (186.7)
dak'*dēmxiaᵘᵋt'* 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-ᵋī-lats!agi'ᵋn* 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-ᵋī-wī'ⁱgiᵋn* I-FRONT-HAND-SPREAD-IT, i. e., I SPREAD IT OUT); or both prefixes may have secondary local or indefinite significance (e. g., *gwel-ge'l-ᵋyowoᵋ* 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!ayãp'de*^{ɛ} I washed my head (literally, I washed in my head

dak'*t'bā'*^{a}*gamt'* he tied together (their head hair) 27.1

dak'*īlats!agi'*^{ɛ}*n* I touched top of his head

dak'*hagāīt'e*^{ɛ} I felt thrill in my head (as when sudden cold tremor goes through one)

*al*dak'*sā*^{a}*msa'm* he bumped (with) his head against it 79.7

dak'*k'iwi'k'auk'wa*^{ɛ}*n* I brandish it over my head

(*b*) ON TOP OF, ABOVE:

dak'*t'gū'*^{u}*ba*^{ɛ}*n* I put rounded scooped-out object (like hat or canoe) on top (of head) (61.9)

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

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

dak'*wā*^{a}*ga'*^{ɛ}*n* I finish it (literally, I bring it on top) (110.17)

wili dak'*yā*^{a}*ngwa'*^{ɛ}*n* I pass house (?literally, I go with house above me) (150.8)

dak'*dahā*^{a}*lī'*^{ɛ}*n* I answer him (61.6; 180.18)

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

dak'*hene*^{e}*da'*^{ɛ}*n* I wait for him

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

2. ***da-, de-***

It seems possible that we have here two distinct prefixes to begin with, *da-* INSIDE OF MOUTH (cf. da*ts!ayãp'* HE WASHED HIS MOUTH) and *de-* LIPS (cf. de^{e}*ts!ayãp'* HE WASHED HIS LIPS and noun *de*^{e}*-x-* LIPS), from the second of which developed the general local significance of IN FRONT; contrast also *ha*da'*t'gwa* IN HIS OWN MOUTH with dē*t'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 *ha*da'*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.

(a^1) ***da-, (de-)*** MOUTH, IN MOUTH, WITH MOUTH, LIPS, TEETH, TONGUE:

da^{ɛ}*ogoīhi* he gave him to eat (lit., he mouth-gave him) (186.25)
de^{ɛ}*ügü'sˑi* he gave me to eat 186.2
da*t!aya'*^{iɛ} he went to get something to eat 75.9
da*da'k'dā*^{a}*k'* sharpen your teeth! 126.18; 128.23
da*ts!ala'ts!ili*^{ɛ}*n* I chew it
*al*da*t!ele't!ili*^{ɛ}*n* I lick it
da*lats!agi'*^{ɛ}*n* I taste it (literally, I mouth-touch it)
*al*da*p'ōp'iwi*^{ɛ}*n* I blow at it (194.1)
da*dama'*^{ɛ}*x* he was out of wind 26.5
da*smayama'*^{ɛ}*n* I smile
*ha*da^{ɛ}*yowo'*^{u}*da*^{ɛ} (creek) going into (river) (literally, in-mouth-being)
da*lō*^{u}*l*^{ɛ} he lied (literally, he mouth-played) 110.23; 156.14
de*lūnhixi* he lied to me
da*yuwo'*^{ɛ}*s* he suddenly stopped (singing, talking) (literally, he mouth-started, as in fright) 138.23
*dak'*da*hā*^{a}*li'*^{ɛ}*n* I answer him (180.18)
*dak'*de*hēlsi* he answers me

(a^2):

he^{e}de*le'lek!i*^{ɛ}*n* I finished (story, talking) 50.4
de*lümü'sgade*^{ɛ} I tell truth (184.3)
de*xebena't'* you said it (literally, you mouth-did it) 14.10; 15.6
*al*de*tsˑ!ü'lük!i*^{ɛ}*n* I suck it
de*detsˑ!ü'lük!i*^{ɛ}*n* I kiss her (first *de-* as object, her lips; second *de-* as instrument, with my lips)
de*hememi'*^{ɛ}*n* I taste it (cf. *ī-hemem-* wrestle)
*ba-*i*dehenena't'* you are through eating (literally, you are out-mouth-done) (136.16)
de*ligia'lda*^{ɛ}*n* I fetch it for him to eat (130.9)
de*he'yek!i*^{ɛ}*n* I left food over

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

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

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

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

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

deᵉīk!ala'k!ilin (house) was scratched on door 154.1, 2, 3
deᵉīse'ᵉk' he opened door of house (cf. *alse'ᵉk'* he bowed to him) 63.12
deᵉīp'owo'ᵉk' he bent it
*bā*ᵃde'ᵉ*yeweya'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
deᵉ*gwidi'k'*ʷ he stuck (threw) it into (fire) 27.8
dek'iwi'k'auk'waᵉn I brandish it before my face (172.12)
gasa'lhi de'*hits!ā*ᵃ*ga'*ᵉ*s* fast stepper (literally, quickly ahead-stepper)
*ba-i*deᵉ*di'nixia*ᵘᵉ they marched by in regular order (literally, they out-ahead-stretched) 144.14
deᵉīwī'ⁱgiᵉn I spread it out (120.1)
*t'gā*ᵃ de'*hi k!iya'k'i*ᵉ if the world goes on (literally, world ahead-goes-if) 146.4
da*mats!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!agãᵉn I build a fire (96.17)
{*al*dat*c!u'lū*ᵘᵉ*k'* he caught fire 98.3
{*al*dɔ*tc!ü'lū*ᵘᵉ*xi* I caught fire
de*gülü'k!alx* it glows (142.1); 188.15
*al*dat'*guyū'*ⁱᵉ*si* (fire) blisters my face (25.11)
deᵉīt'a'*mak!i*ᵉn I put out the fire
dat'*ama'*ᵉ*x* the fire goes out
dat!*abaga'*ᵉn I finish it (176.6)
da*sgayana'*ᵉn I lie down

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

3. ***dāᵃ-***

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

dāᵃ*ts!ayãp'* he washed his ear
dāᵉīts·!*ama'k'* he squeezed his ears
dāᵉīlats!*agi'*ᵉn I touched his ear, cheek
dāᵃᵉ*agani'*ᵉn I heard it (55.3; 108.16)
dāᵃ*dāᵃgi'*ᵉn I am able to hear it (literally, I can ear-find it) (100.12)

dā^{a}*le^{c}lagwa'^{ɛ}n* I listen to him (55.1; 96.2; 146.5)
dā^{a}*ts·!ĕmxde^{ɛ}* I hear big noise 90.21
anī^{ɛ} ge dā'^{ɛ}*yowo^{ɛ}* he did not listen to it (literally, he not there ear-was) 96.9
dā^{a}*sgek!eīha^{ɛ}n* I kept listening (102.3)
dā^{a}*yehèī* he went where he heard (noise of people singing or gambling) 106.10.
dā^{a}*dele'p'i* he stuck it across his ear
dā^{a}*dalaga'mt'* he made holes in his ears
*dī^{i}*dā^{a}*t'be'^{ɛc}k't'bagams* they had their hair tied on sides of head (*dī^{i}dā^{a}-* probably as incorporated phrase, over ears) 142.17
dā^{ɛ}*ībo't'bidi^{ɛ}n* I pull out his hair (from side of head) (194.7)

(*b*) ALONG, ON SIDE:

wi'laū dā^{a}*wat'bā'^{a}gamdina^{ɛ}* arrows shall be tied along (their length) with it (i. e., sinew) 28.1

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

s·in^{ɛ}*īgile'^{ɛ}sgwa* he scratched his own nose 14.11; 15.7
s·in*t!ayagi'^{ɛ}n* I smell it (literally, I nose-find it) (160.20)
s·in*dalaga'mt'* he made holes in septum (cf. under *dā^{a}-*) 22.1
s·in*lō'^{u}k'i* he stuck it into nose
s·in*de^{c}le'p'gwa* he stuck it up into his own nose
s·in*geya'n* he turned away his nose
s·in*yuwo'^{ɛ}s* he dodged with his nose (as when fly lights; cf. under *da-*)
s·in*t'ūwūk'de^{ɛ}* I feel warm in my nose
s·in*xi'nī^{i}xanp'de^{ɛ}* I sniff
s·in*wilī'^{i}k'ap'de^{ɛ}* I blow my nose
*als·in*lō'^{u}xa^{ɛ}n* they meet each other (24.12)

5. ***gwen-***

(*a*) NECK:

gwen*sgō'^{u}da^{ɛ}n* I cut his neck (144.2, 3, 5, 22)
gwen*ts!ayaga'^{ɛ}n* I washed his neck
*ha-u*gwen*yunu'^{ɛ}yini^{ɛ}n* I swallow it greedily (cf. 126.10)
gwen*lō'^{u}k'i* he stuck it in his throat (cf. under *s·in-*) 25.4
gwen^{ɛ}*īlats!agi'^{ɛ}n* I touched back of his neck
gwen*wayanagānhi* he swung his knife over their necks 144.2

(*b*) BACK, BEHIND:

gwe'n^{ɛ}*alyowo^{ɛ}* he looked back
gwen*yewēī't'e^{ɛ}* I went back (152.13; 188.19)
gwe'n*liwila^{uɛ}* he looks back (on his tracks) 59.14; 94.9
gwen*hegwā'^{a}gwanhi* he related it to him 17.11

In *gwena-ia'^{ɛ}s* GOOD SINGER, the part played by the prefix is not clear.

6. *ī-* HAND, IN HAND, WITH HAND

No body-part prefix, except perhaps *al-*, is used with such frequency as *ī-*, 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:

īts!ayãp' he washed his hand
īp!ī^{i}nō'^{u}k'wa$^{\varepsilon}$n I warm my hands
wila'u $^{\varepsilon}$īhoyodagwa'$^{\varepsilon}$n I dance with arrow in hand
nãx īhele^{e}lagwa'$^{\varepsilon}$n I sing with pipe in hand
īgī'^{i}na he took it 15.1; 31.8; 44.8; 47.9
īk'wā'^{a}gwi$^{\varepsilon}$n I woke him up 16.4
īgaxagixi'$^{\varepsilon}$n I scratch him
īgis·igis·i'$^{\varepsilon}$n I tickle him
īhegwe'hak'^{w}na$^{\varepsilon}$n I am working
xa$^{\varepsilon}$īts·!iwi't' he split it open 26.6
īheme'm he wrestled with him 26.11; 27.10,11
īyonō'$^{u\varepsilon}$k' he pulled it
īguyu'$^{\varepsilon}$k' she pushed her 55.14
s·elēk'^{w} īlū'pxagwank' she shall pound with acorn pestle 55.9
he$^{e\varepsilon}$īleme'$^{\varepsilon}$k' he killed them off 55.1; 144.6.
īt!a'ut!iwi$^{\varepsilon}$n I caught hold of her (29.12; 140.15)
īt'wī^{i}yili'$^{\varepsilon}$n I make it whirl up
al$^{\varepsilon}$īyulu'yili$^{\varepsilon}$n I rub it
īt'gwanye'^{e}git' you enslaved her 16.14

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

wī$^{\varepsilon}$īt'ge'ye$^{\varepsilon}$xi they are round about me (48.5)
alīwulū'$^{u\varepsilon}$xbi he ran away from you

7. *xā^{a}-*, (*xa-*)

(*a*) BACK, WAIST:

xā^{a}*ts!ayãp'* he washed his back
p!ī^{i} xā^{a}*dat'guyū'$^{i\varepsilon}$sgwa* his back got blistered 25.11
xā$^{\varepsilon}$*īlats!agi'$^{\varepsilon}$n* I touched his back
xā^{a}*p!ī^{i}nō'^{u}k'wa* he warmed his back 188.20
xā^{a}*lā'^{a}da$^{\varepsilon}$n* I put (belt) about my waist

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

xā^{a}*p!a-its·!iudi'n* I shall split it by throwing (stone) down on it (140.7)
xā^{a}*wīsā^{a}* go-between (in settling feuds) 178.11, 13, 18
xā^{a}*sgo'^{u}da$^{\varepsilon}$n* I cut, saw it (21.2, 4)
xa$^{\varepsilon}$*īsgī'^{i}p'sgibik'^{w}* (bodies) cut through 21.2

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xā^{a}*dant'gī^{i}lt'ga'lhi* he broke it with rock 24.4
xā^{a}*t'be'$^{e\xi}$k't'bagams* it is all tied together 27.13
xā^{a}*salt'gwe'lt'gwili* he broke it by stepping on it 31.4, 5
xā^{a}*be^{e}mk!õ^{u}t'k!idi$^{\xi}$n* I broke it with stick

In xa*hege'hak'na$^{\xi}$n* I BREATHE (79.2) and xa*huk!u'hak'na$^{\xi}$n* I BREATHE, the *xa-* may refer to the heaving motion up from the waist.

8. ***dī^{i}-***

(*a*) BACK:

The local uses of *xā^{a}-* and *dī^{i}-* (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.

dī^{i}*ts!ayāp'* he washed himself in back of body
dī^{i}*hãx* his back is burning
dī^{i}*t'bō^{u}k!a'lxde$^{\xi}$* I have warts on my back 102.20
dī^{i}*dū^{u}gwa'nk'* she will wear it (i. e., skirt) 55.9

(*b*) ABOVE, ON TOP:

dī^{i}*he'liya* sleeping on board platform 13.2
dī*dā^{a}t'bā'^{a}gamt'gwide$^{\xi}$* I tie my hair on sides of my head (see under *dā^{a}-*) (140.11; 142.17)
dī$^{i\xi}$*algelegala'mda$^{\xi}$n* I tie his hair up into top-knot (172.2)
dī$^{\xi}$*uyu'ts!amda$^{\xi}$n* I fool him (aorist *uyuts!-* laugh)
dī^{i}*hinxō'^{u}gi$^{\xi}$n* I scare him
dī^{i}*mãs* (earth) is lit up (78.1)
dī^{i}*hili^{i}gwa'$^{\xi}$n* I am glad 22.2

dī^{i}- 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:

dī^{i}*p'ili'p'ili$^{\xi}$n* I squash (yellow-jackets) (74.3); contrast *gel-bēm-p'ili'p'ili$^{\xi}$n* I whip him on his breast (literally, I-breast-stick-whip-him) (cf. 76.1, 2, 3)
dī^{i}*t!iyī^{i}si'$^{\xi}$n* I mash them
*ba-i*dīgwibī'^{i}k'wap'* it popped all around 27.14
dī^{i}*t'gumu't'gimi$^{\xi}$n* I squeezed and cracked many insects (such as fleas)

In many cases, as in some of the forms given above, the primary signification of *dī^{i}-* is greatly obscured. It is not at all certain but that we are at times (as in *dī$^{\xi}$uyu'ts!amda$^{\xi}$n*) dealing really with the phonetically similar prefix *dī$^{\xi}$-* REAR.

9. ***gel-***

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

gel*ts!ayãp'* he washed his breast
gel$^{\varepsilon}$*ilats!agi'*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I touched his breast
bā^{a}ge'l$^{\varepsilon}$*yo* lie down with belly up! (lit., up-belly-be!) 140.4
gel*gulugwa'*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I desire, want it 32.5, 6, 7
gel*hewe'hau* he thought 44.11; 124.3; 142.20
gel*lohoigwa'*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I avenge him (apparently = I breast-die-with him) (146.8; 148.3)
gel*t!aya'k'* they thought of it (see under *s·in-* and *dā*^{a}) 152.10
gel*yalãxaldi*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I forgot him (lit., I breast-lost him) (77.10)
gel*ts·!aya'mxamk'* she hid (certain facts) from us 158.7
gel*dulu'k'de*$^{\varepsilon}$ I am getting lazy
gel*heye'*$^{\varepsilon}$*x* he is stingy (literally, he breast-leaves-remaining = keeps surplus to himself) 196.8

(*b*) FACING:

gel*t!ana'hi* she pushed him (? literally, she held him [away] facing her)[1] (25.10)
gel*wayãn* he slept with her (literally, he caused her to sleep facing him) 26.4; (108.3; 190.2)
wa't'gwan gel$^{\varepsilon}$*yowo'*$^{\varepsilon}$ they faced each other (literally, to each other they breast-were) 26.15
gel*k!iyi'*$^{\varepsilon}$*k'* he turned around so as to face him 170.2

10. ***dī***$^{\varepsilon}$***-***

(*a*) ANUS:

dī$^{\varepsilon}$*ts!ayãp'* he washed his anus
*ba-i*dī$^{\varepsilon}$*t'gats!a't'gisi*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I stick out my anus (164.19; 166.1)
dī$^{\varepsilon}$*hãx* his anus is burning 94.13
dī$^{\varepsilon}$*hagāt'e*$^{\varepsilon}$ I feel ticklish in my anus (as though expecting to be kicked) (cf. under *dak'-*) 166.1
di$^{\varepsilon}$*xō'*^{u}*s* (food) is spilling out from his anus, (acorns) spill out from hopper 94.2, 4, 5

(*b*) IN REAR, BEHIND:

dī$^{\varepsilon}$*salyomo'hin* I shall catch up with him in running
be^{e} dī'$^{\varepsilon}$*k!iyi'*$^{\varepsilon}$*k'* afternoon came (lit., sun went in rear) (124.15)
da$^{\varepsilon}$*o'l* dī$^{\varepsilon}$*hiwiliūt'e*$^{\varepsilon}$ 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*$^{\varepsilon}$- seems lost sight of at times:

*abai*dī$^{\varepsilon}$*yowō'*^{u}*da*$^{\varepsilon}$ coming into house to fight (*abai-* into house; *yowō'*^{u}*da*$^{\varepsilon}$ being) 24.14

[1] Though perhaps better SHE HELD HIM W. TH HER BREAST, taking *gel-* as instrument.

p!a-idī^{s}hana'^{s}s it stopped (wind, rain, snow, hail) 152.16

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

di^{s}*sgot!ōlha bēm* he was always cutting down trees 108.8

dī^{s}*k!olola'n* (tree) was dug under 48.5

dī^{s}*īsgūyū'^{u}k!in* (tree) was made to fall by being dug under 48.7, 8, 12

p!a-idī^{s}lō'^{u}gwa^{s}n I make (stick, pestle) stand up (by placing it on its butt end) (116.18; 176.1, 2)

p!a-idī^{s}sgimi'sgam they set (house posts) down into ground

11. ***ha-***

(*a*) WOMAN'S PRIVATE PARTS:

ha*ts!ayāp'* she washed her private parts

ha^{s}*īlats!agi'^{s}n* he touched her private parts

ha^{s}*īwesga'hak'^{w}* she spread apart her legs 26.4

(*b*) IN:

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

(*dīxda*) hal*ō'^{u}k'i* he stuck it into (his mouth)

(*s·inīxda*) had*ele'p'i* he stuck it up into (his nose)

hal*ohōn* he caught them in trap (literally, he caused them to die in) (100.8)

(*qwān*) hat*!ülügwa'^{s}n* I follow in (trail) (96.8,9)

hal*ō'^{u}k'* she put on (her dress), they put on (their skins, garments) 160.6

ha^{s}*īhü'lū^{u}hal* they skinned them 160.5

ha*ya-ut'ge'nets!a^{s}n* I put on (my vest)

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

12. ***gwel-***

(*a*) LEG, IN LEG, WITH LEG:

gwel*ts!ayāp'* he washed his legs

gwel*le'ye^{c}sde^{s}* I am lame

gwel*lō'^{u}s^{s}k'^{w}* put on (your leggings)!

gwel^{s}*īi'wi'^{s}n* I beat him in running (lit., I-leg-left-him) (184.14)

gwel*salt!eyēsna^{s}n*[1] I have no fat in my legs and feet 102.22

(*b*) UNDER, AWAY FROM VIEW:

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

gwel*ge'l^{s}yowō^{u}da^{s}* he having his back to him (literally, facing him away from view) 122.7

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

13. *la-*

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

la*ts!ayāp*ʻ he washed himself in front of body

(*b*) BURST, RIP OPEN:

la*t'bā'ᵃx* it burst 24.17

la^{ɛ}*īt'bā'ᵃk!it'ba*^{ɛ} you (pl.) shall rip them open (like game after roasting) 118.5

la*salt'bā'ᵃgi*^{ɛ}*n* I burst it with my feet (140.22)

la^{ɛ}*wayat'bā'ᵃgi*^{ɛ}*n* I rip it open with knife (*waya* knife, as incorporated instrument)

14. *sal-*

(*a*) FOOT, WITH FOOT:

sal*lats!agi'*^{ɛ}*n* I stepped on it (instrument *sal-*: I foot-touched it) (196.18)

sal^{ɛ}*īlats!agi'*^{ɛ}*n* I touched his foot (object *sal-;* instrument *ī-*)

sal*ts!ayāp*ʻ he washed his feet

sal*xugī* they are standing 63.2

he^{ɛɛ}salt'*gūn* kick him off! (24.17)

*al*salt'*bā'ᵃk*ʻ he kicked him 86.16,17,18

gelbam sal*gwi't'gwat*ʻ kick it way up!

sal*yuwo'*^{ɛ}*s* he suddenly lifted up his foot (as when frightened) (cf. under *da-* and *s·in-*)

sal*p!īⁱnō'ᵘk'wa*^{ɛ}*n* 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'*^{ɛ}*n* I am desirous of something

where *his* TRYING can not occupy an initial position

al-*di-yok!oya't*ʻ did you know him?

Here al*yok!oya't*ʻ in itself hardly differs in content from *yok!oya't*ʻ 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^{a}da lō^{u}gwa'^{ɛ}n to-him I-thrust-it, where *wā^{a}da* definitely expresses a local pronominal idea TO, AT HIM.

Compare:

al*lō'^{u}gwi^{ɛ}n* I stretched it out to him

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

(*a*) FACE, EYE:

al^ɛ*ō^{u}dini'^{ɛ}n* I look around for him (cf. *ō^{u}da'^{ɛ}n* I hunt for him) (92.27)

al*xī'^{i}gi^{ɛ}n* I see, look at him (*-xī^{i}g-* never occurs alone) 186.7; 188.11.

al*gaya'n* he turned his face

al*yebebi'^{ɛ}n* I showed it to him (77.8)

al*yowōt'e^ɛ* I looked (cf. *yowōt'e^ɛ* I was) (64.3)

al*ts!ayaga'^{ɛ}n* I washed his face (64.5)

mānx al*nū'^{u}k'wa* 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^{a}liwi'^{e}n I looked at them (moving head slightly to side)
alt'bō^{u}k!a'lxde^{e} I have pimples on my face (cf. 102.20)
alt'wap!a't'wap'na^{e}n I blink with my eyes 102.20
alwe'k!ala^{e}n I shine
xā^{e}a'lt!anahi they watched it (literally, they-between-eye-held it; *xā-^{e}al* as incorporated local phrase[?]) 136.8

(*b*) TO, AT:

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

alp'oāp'auhi he blew on it 15.1
alhūyūxde^{e} I go hunting (42.1; 58.14; 70.2; 126.21)
algesegasa'lt'e^{e} I was washing
alheme'k' they met him 24.11
al^{e}īxlep!e'xlap' he mashed it up into dough-like mass 94.11
al^{e}īts·!ō'^{u}di^{e}n I touch, reach it
alse'^{e}gi^{e}n I bowed to him (172.10)

16. ***dī$^{i\varepsilon}$al-*** FOREHEAD:

dī$^{i\varepsilon}$alts!ayāp' he washed his forehead
dī$^{i\varepsilon}$algelegala'ms he tied his hair up into top-knot 172.2
dī^{e}alk'ā'^{a}p'gwa he put (dust) on his forehead 136.28

17. ***gwenha-u-*** NAPE:

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

It will have been noticed that several of the body-part prefixes have developed special uses that almost entitle them, at times, to being considered verbal in function. Thus *xā^{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:

da-, *de-* activity in reference to fire (burn, set on fire, glow)
xā^{a}- rend in two (cut, split, break)
dī^{i}- crushing activity (mash, squeeze)
dī^{e}- 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.
han-	across, through	*hanwarga'n* across the creek
ha-u-	under, down	*hawandẽ* under me
he$^{e\underline{s}}$-	away, off	*he$^{e\underline{s}}$s-ōuma'l* beyond the mountain
dal-	away into brush, among, between	*dan gada'l* among rocks
hā$^{\underline{s}}$ya-	on both sides	*hā'$^{\underline{s}}$yadẽ* on both sides of, around me
hāa$^{\underline{s}}$-	yonder, far off	
me$^{e\underline{s}}$-	hither	
wī-	around	
hawi-	in front, still	
wa-	together	
bāa-	up	
ba-i-	out, out of house	
p!a-i-	down	
aba-i-	in house, into house	
bam-	up into air	
xam-	in river	

Of these, the first five belong to the first group, the last nine to the second. The position of *hā$^{a\varepsilon}$-* and *me$^{\varepsilon}$-* is somewhat doubtful; but the fairly evident etymological connection of the former with *hā$^{a\varepsilon}$ya* and the correlative relation in form and meaning between *me$^{\varepsilon}$-* and *he$^{e\varepsilon}$-*, 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$^{\varepsilon}$-* and *he$^{e\varepsilon}$-*, though they are never used alone, stand in close etymological relation to a number of local adverbs (such as *eme$^{\varepsilon}$* 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$^{\varepsilon}$-* in such forms as *me$^{\varepsilon}$yèũ* COME BACK! and *ge* in, e. g., *ge $^{\varepsilon}$yowo$'^{\varepsilon}$* 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$^{\varepsilon}$ I swim across
hang*widi*$'$k$'^{w}$ he threw it across 120.22
han$^{\varepsilon}$wa$^{\varepsilon}$alxī$'^{i}$k$'$ he looked through it
hanyewe$'^{i\varepsilon}$ he went back across 178.16
gwãn-hans*gō$'^{u}$sde$^{\varepsilon}$* I lie stretched across the trail (literally, I-road-across-cut) (148.8)

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

ha-u*gwenyut!u$'$yidi$^{\varepsilon}$n* I swallow it down greedily, making grunting noise (126.10)
ha-us*ãk$'^{w}$* he paddled him down river (*bā^{a}-* up river)
ha-u*yowo$'$t$'$e$^{\varepsilon}$* I sweat (literally, I-under-am)
*ei p!a-i*ha$'$-ut$'$*gū^{u}px* canoe upset 60.8
ha-u*hana$'^{\varepsilon}$s* it stopped (raining) 196.8

3. ***he$^{e\varepsilon}$-*** OFF, AWAY:

he$^{\varepsilon}$*īleme$'^{\varepsilon}$k$'$* he killed them off 14.13; 110.21; 144.6
he$^{e\varepsilon}$s*gō$'^{u}$da$^{\varepsilon}$n* I cut it off (44.4); 72.10; (92.14,16)
he$^{e\varepsilon}$*gwidi*$'$k$'^{w}$ he threw it away
he$^{e\varepsilon}$*īūk$'$wa* he went away from him (23.12; 146.18)
he$^{e\varepsilon}$*salt$'$gūnt$'$gini$^{\varepsilon}$n* I kick him off (24.17)

he^{ɛs}*īhū'lup!i*^{ɛ}*n* I beat off bark (with stick)
he^{ɛs}*īk'ap!a'k'ibi*^{ɛ}*n* I chipped them off (92.3)
he^{ɛs}*wā*^{a}*ga'*^{ɛ}*n* I buy it (literally, I carry it off) (176.17)
he^{ɛs}*t'guyū'*^{iɛ}*s* it is blistered

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

dal*yewe'*^{iɛ} he ran off into brush 14.6; 110.10
dal*gwidi'k'*^{w} he threw it into brush
dal*p'ō'*^{u}*di*^{ɛ}*n* I mix it with it (178.5)
dal*xabili'*^{uɛ} he jumped between them 106.20

5. ***hā*^{ɛ}*ya-*** ON BOTH SIDES:

hā^{ɛ}ya*gini'*^{ɛ}*k'* they passed each other
hā^{ɛ}ya*wat!emẽxia*^{uɛ} they assemble coming from both sides 144.23

6. ***hā*^{aɛ}** FAR OFF:

hā'^{aɛ}*yewe*^{iɛ} they returned going far off 146.22; (47.4; 188.1)
hā^{ɛ}*xdā'*^{a}*xdagwa*^{ɛ}*n* I threw something slippery way off

This prefix is evidently identical with the demonstrative stem *hā*^{aɛ} seen, e. g., in *hā'*^{ɛ}*ga* THAT ONE YONDER.

7. ***me*^{ɛ}-** HITHER:

me^{ɛ}*gini'*^{ɛ}*k'* he came here 146.24 (*ge gini'*^{ɛ}*k'* he went there 77.7)
*ha'n*me^{ɛ}*gini*^{ɛ}*k'* they come from across (note two local prefixes; *hanginí*^{ɛ}*k'* they go across)
me^{ɛ}*yèũ* come back! (*yèũ* return!) (23.11,12,13,14; 96.5); 59.5
me^{ɛ}*hiwili'*^{uɛ} he came running this way

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

me^{ɛ}*bēp'xip'* come (pl.) and chop for me! 90.16

8. ***wī-*** AROUND:

wī^{ɛ}*ī't'ge'ye*^{ɛ}*xi* they are surrounding me (48.13; 190.14)
wī*t'ge'ye*^{eɛ}*k'i* they put it round about 176.14

9. ***hawi-*** IN FRONT, STILL:

{hawi*yãnt'e*^{ɛ} I go in front
{hawi*yana'*^{ɛ}*s* front dancer
hawi*baxa'*^{ɛ}*m* still they come, they keep coming 146.1
bõ^{u} hawi*degü'lk!alxdā*^{a} after a while it will blaze up (*bõ*^{u} = now)

10. ***wa-*** TOGETHER:

wa*k!oyõxinik'* we go together
wa^{ɛ}*īts'!o'm*^{ɛ}*k'* squeeze (your legs) together! (26.5)
bā^{a}wa*wilīk'*^{w} he traveled up along (river) (literally, he went up having it together with him) 21.14
wa*yãnk'*^{w} he followed him (literally, he went having him together with him) 23.11

wat!emēxia$^{u\varepsilon}$ they are assembling together (110.3); 144.23
wa$^{\varepsilon}$īt!oxo'xi he gathered them together 112.6
wat!ilīk'ni she gave them one each 130.4
wā^{a}himi't' he talked to him 59.16; 63.10
da'gaxdek' wa$^{\varepsilon}$alt'geye't'giyi$^{\varepsilon}$n I tied it about my head (literally, my-head I-together-to-surround-it)
p!ā^{a}s wak!e^{e}wa'lxgwa snow is whirling around

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

walā^{a}la'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^{a}dini'$^{\varepsilon}$x (clouds) were spread out in long strips (literally, they stretched up) 13.3
bā^{a}t!ebe't'e$^{\varepsilon}$ I get up 186.14; (196.1)
bā^{a}wadawaya'k'^{w} he flies up with it
bā^{a}yānk'^{w} he picked it up 15.9; 24.3; 59.15
k!iyī^{i}x bā^{a}wōk' smoke comes out (literally, up-arrives) 29.3
(dānxda) ba$^{\varepsilon}$algwili's he turned up (his ear)
(dak'wilī) bā^{a}gini'$^{\varepsilon}$k' he went up (on top of house) 30.6
bā^{a}s·ā'$^{\varepsilon}$s· stand up!
bā^{a}yewe'$^{i\varepsilon}$ he got better (literally, he-up-returned) (15.2)
bā^{a}hawa'$^{\varepsilon}$k' she dipped up (water)

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

ba-iyewe'$^{i\varepsilon}$ they went out again
ba-ixodo'xat' 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$^{\varepsilon}$a'lyowo$^{\varepsilon}$ he looked outside
ba-ihimima'$^{\varepsilon}$n I drive him out
ba-i gwidi'k'^{w} he threw it out 92.15,16; (haxiya'dat') ba-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'$^{\varepsilon}$n 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^{u}ma'l) ba-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$^{\epsilon}$l-*)ba-i*mats!a'k'* he began to sing (lit., he-song-out-put) 102.17
ba-i*k!iyi'$^{\epsilon}$k'* he comes 92.1, 2; 156.24; 168.13

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

p!ai$^{\epsilon}$*īt!ana'hi$^{\epsilon}$n* I held him down
p!a-i*gwidi'k'^{w}* he threw it down
p!a-i*waya'$^{\epsilon}$* he went to lie down, to sleep (lit., he down-slept) 25.9
p!a-i*lohoīt'e$^{\epsilon}$* I fell down (literally, I down-died)
p!a-i*yewe'$^{i\epsilon}$* (arrow) fell down back 22.5; 48.14
p!a-i$^{\epsilon}$*a'lyowo$^{\epsilon}$* he looked down 26.14
p!ai*yowo'$^{\epsilon}$* they sat down (literally, they down-were) 56.2
p!a-i*sgaya'pxde$^{\epsilon}$* 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$^{\epsilon}$* HERE [= demonstrative adverb *e-* HERE + *me$^{\epsilon}$*]); its correlative relation to *ba-i-* makes it seem advisable to give examples of its occurrence here:

abai*gini'$^{\epsilon}$k'* he went inside 25.8; 27.7,13; 64.3
abai*hiwili'$^{u\epsilon}$* he ran inside 16.12
aba-i*wõk'* they went into house 29.6; (44.7); 160.19
aba-i*yowõt'e$^{\epsilon}$* I stay at home
abai*ts!ā^{a}k'ts!a'$^{\epsilon}$k'* he stepped into house 31.3

15. ***bam-*** UP INTO AIR

This prefix occurs often with preposed elements *gel-* or *dī^{i}-* as *gelbam-* or *dī^{i}bam-*, which would seem to mean respectively WITH BELLY SIDE UP and WITH BACK SIDE UP, OR IN FRONT OF and DIRECTLY OVER one:

bam*gwidi'k'^{w}* he threw it up
gelbam*gwidi'k'^{w}* he threw it up
dī^{i}bam*gwidi'k'^{w}* he threw it up
gelbam*sāk'^{w}* he shot it up 22.5
gelbam$^{\epsilon}$*a'lyowo$^{\epsilon}$* he looked up
gelba'm*s·i$^{\epsilon}$ulī* he was sitting up (in tree) 48.7

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

xam*alts!ayãp'* he washed himself in river
xam*gwidi'k'^{w}* he threw it into river (33.6); 108.5
xam*hiwili'$^{u\epsilon}$* he ran to river 29.13; 94.16
xa'm*hilãp'iauk'* they became in river (=were drowned) 166.16
xam$^{\epsilon}$*a'lyowo$^{\epsilon}$* he looked down from top of mountain 124.4 (contrast p!ai$^{\epsilon}$*a'lyowo$^{\epsilon}$* 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-dõmhiga^{ɛ} 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*^{ɛ}*wa-ts!ayagi'*^{ɛ}*n* I WASH HIM WITH THAT is related to an *al*^{ɛ}*wats!ayagi'*^{ɛ}*n* I WASH HIM WITH IT as, e. g., *xi al*^{ɛ}*wats!ayagi'*^{ɛ}*n* I WASH HIM WITH WATER, to the form *alxits!ayagi'*^{ɛ}*n* I WATER-WASH HIM, i. e., the *wa-* in *al*^{ɛ}*wats!ayagi'*^{ɛ}*n* is to be regarded as an incorporated *ga* THAT, IT (such forms as **algats!ayagi'*^{ɛ}*n* 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'^{ɛ}*n* arrow I-shoot[1] -him-with-it (with incorporated *wa-*, *wila'u* ARROW being outside the verb-structure and in apposition with *wa-*)

but:

ts!ayaga'^{ɛ}*n 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*^{ɛ}*walats!agi'*^{ɛ}*n* I touched him with my foot (literally, my-foot I-foot-with-it-touched-him)

(*xī*^{i})*wa*^{ɛ}*ū*^{u}*gwa'nhi* I drink (water) with it

(*yap!a*)*wat!omomi'*^{ɛ}*n* I kill (people) with it (but *yap!a t!omoma'*^{ɛ}*n* I kill people)

alwats!eyēk'wide^{ɛ} I washed myself with it

ga his dō^{u}*mia gelwagulugwi'*^{ɛ}*n* I try to kill him with that (literally, that trying killing-him I-with-desire-it)

se^{ɛ}*l-wats!elelamda*^{ɛ}*n* I write with it

(*īūxde'k'*)*wagaya-iwi'*^{ɛ}*n* 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 *sāag-* and *ts!āig-*.

(*p'im*)wa*sana'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^{s}īwa*t!oxo'xi*^{s}*n* I PICKED THEM TOGETHER WITH STICK. Literally translated, this sentence reads, STICK I-TOGETHER-HAND-WITH-IT-PICKED-THEM; the first *wa-* is the adverbial prefix; *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
t!omom-	*dōum-*	*dōum-* kill
naga-	*nāag-*	*nāag-*(*nag-*) say to
hāal-	*hala-*	*hāal-* answer
ōud-	*odo-*	*ōud-* hunt for
lohoi-	*loho-*	*loh-* die
yuluyal-	*yulyal-*	*yul-* 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. *dauy-*; 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^{u}m-* had followed the analogy of the phonetically parallel *nā^{a}g-*, 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^{u}h-*, 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
hcem-	1. mock	*hemcham-*
	2. wrestle	*hemem-*
heegw-	1. work	*hegwchagw-*
	2. relate	*hcgw(h)āagw-*, *hcgwe-hagw-*
heen-	1. be finished	*henen-*
	2. wait for	*henee-*
dāag-	1. find	*t!ayag-*
	2. build fire	*t!agâi-*

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'^{u}t' 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^{u}m 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
s·as·- stand	*sal-xogw-*	*s·as·inī* he stands	*sal-xogwī* they stand
		bāa-sāasa'sdᵉᵉ (= *sāas-sas-*) I come to a stand	*bāasal-xo'xiginak'* (= *xog-xag-*) we come to a stand
s·u^{e}al- sit	*al-xalī·i*	*s·u^{e}wiīit'eᵉ* (= *s·u^{e}alī-*) I am seated	*al-xalīyana'k'* 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-xalī^{i}-* 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·as·inīp'ik'* we stand and *s·u^{s}wilīp'ik'* we are seated, dwell, stay).

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

moyūgw-a'n-t'e^{s} I am spoiled, and *moyūgw-an-a'^{s}n* I spoil him
ligī-n-t'e^{s} I rest, and *ligī^{i}-n-a'^{s}n* I rest him
k!ūwū'^{s} 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't'p'*.

§ 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	$v+c$	$vv+c$	*ob-* dig up	*ōub-*
2	$v+(c)$	$v+c+v$	*yo-* be	*yowo-*
3	$v+c+c_1$	$v+c!+v+c_1$	*üüts!-* laugh *masg-* put	*üyüts!-* *mats!ag-*
4*a*	$vv+c$	$v+c+v+i$	*t'āag-* cry	*t'agai-*
4*b*	$v+c+v$	$v+c+v+i$	*loho-* die	*lohoi-*
5	$v+c+v$	$vv+c$	*yana-* go	*yāan-*
6	$vv+c!$	$vv+c$	*p'ōt!-* mix	*p'ōud-*
7*a*	$c+vv+c_1$	$c!+v+c_1+v$	*deeb-* arise	*t!ebe-*
7*b*	$c+vv+c_1$	$c!+v+c_1+\breve{v}+i$	*dūugw-* wear	*t!ūgūi-*
8	$c+vv+c_1$	$c!+v+c_1+v+c_1$	*gōul-* dig	*k!olol-*
9	$c+vv+c_1$	$c!+v+y+v+c_1$	*dāag-* find	*t!ayag-*
10*a*	$c+v(+c_1)$	$c+v+c(+c_1)$	*lōu-* play	*lōul-*
10*b*	$c+v+c_1$	$c+v+c_1+c(+v)$	*sana-* fight	*saans-*
11	$c+v+c_1+c$	$c+v+c_1+v+c$	*yawy-*talk	*yawai-*
12	$c+vv+c_1$	$c+vv+c_1+c+a+c_1$	*t!èu-* play shinny	*t!èut!au-*
13*a*	$c+v+c_1+c+a+c_1$	$c+v+c_1+v+c+a+c_1$	*sensan-* whoop	*senesan-*
13*b*	$c+v+c_1+c!+a+c_1$	$c+v+c_1+v+c!+a+c_1$	*dülü!al-* stuff with	*dülü!al-*
13*c*		$c+v+c_1+v+c+c_1$		*lobolb-* be accustomed to pound (also *lobolab-*)
14	$v+c$	$v+c+v+n$	*zeeb-* do	*zeben-*
(15*a*	—	*-āi*	*s·as·an-* stand	*s·as·inīi-*)
(15*b*	*-as*	*-āi*	*dink!as-* lie spread out	*dink!āi-*)
(16	$v+c+c_1+i$	$v+c+v+c_1$	*k!alsi* - be lean	*k!alas-*)

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^{a}l(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'-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]*[1]*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'*agani'*t'* 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'*agañ (-aga'n) he heard it; but imperative *dā'*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′$^{\varepsilon}$t‘ he will arrive (196.20)	wõ^{u}k‘ he arrived 47.15
oba′*n* I shall dig it up	ō^{u}ba′$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I dug it up (48.7)
yi‘lt‘ copulating 86.5	yī^{i}la′$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I copulated with her 26.3
ūgwa′*n* I shall drink it (162.17)	ū^{u}gwa′$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I drank it 186.3
hogw*ana′n* I shall make him run (138.2)	hō^{u}gw*ana′*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I made him run (79.2)
hin$^{\varepsilon}$*x*-nīwa′$^{\varepsilon}$*s* coward 76.5; (160.19)	*hin*$^{\varepsilon}$*x*-nī^{i}wa′$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I was afraid (17.7)
wīt‘*e*^{e} I shall travel (178.11)	wīt‘*e*$^{\varepsilon}$ I traveled (90.1)
t!ī^{i}l*a′mxade*^{e} I shall go fishing	t!ī^{i}l*a′mxade*$^{\varepsilon}$ I went fishing
yimi′*hin* I shall lend it to him (98.14)	yi^{i}miya′$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I lend it to him (98.15)
hūli′nt‘*e*^{e} I shall be tired out	hū^{u}li′nt‘*e*$^{\varepsilon}$ I was tired out (102.1)
hagaīt‘*e*^{e} I shall have a cold thrill	hagāīt‘*e*$^{\varepsilon}$ I had a cold thrill 166.1
lohon*a′n* I shall cause him to die	lohō^{u}*na′*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I caused him to die (100.8)
al-ge′yan*de*^{e} I shall turn my face	*al*- geyan*a′*$^{\varepsilon}$*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:

õ^{u}*p*‘ he dug it up 124.5, 12	*hin*$^{\varepsilon}$*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 *t!ap'g-* FINISH, aorist *t!abag-* (not Type 3, **t!ap!ag-*), but can be applied only where the first consonant of the verb-stem is *s*, *b*, *d*, or *g*. A more general phonetic test would seem to be the position occupied by the inorganic vowel *-a-*. In those cases in which we have most reason to consider the second consonant as part of the base, this *-a-* follows the cluster as "constant" *a*; while otherwise, and indeed in the majority of cases, it is inserted between the two consonants: *wisma't'e^e* I SHALL MOVE (base *wism-*), but *t'gisa'mt'e^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
ī-t!ani'*n* I shall hold him (28.11)	*ī*-t!ana'*hi^s n* I held him 73.16
wa-k!ō^u*ya'n* I shall go with him	*wa*-k!oyō^s*n* I went with him (33.15)
o'*sbin* (= ? ok-*s*-) I shall give it to you (178.15)	ogu'*sbi^s n* I gave it to you 23.3
oi*na'n* I shall give it	oyo*na'^s n* I gave it (180.20)
yāl*xaldan* I shall lose it (188.18)	yalā*xalda^s n* I lost it (77.10)
yo'*t'e^e* I shall be (33.10)	yowō*t'e^s* I was (42.1)
nāk'*ink'* he will say to him (94.16)	naga' he said to him 180.7
da-sgāī*pxde^e* I shall lie down	*da*-sgaya'*pxde^s* I am lying down
t'ū^u*ga'^s t'* it will get hot	t'ūwū'^s*k'* it got hot 94.15
s·om*da'n* I shall cook it	s·omo*da'^s n* I cooked it (58.10)

Examples illustrating the intrusive *-a-* are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
bil*a'ut'e^e* I shall jump (160.17)	bili*ūt'e^s* I jumped[1] (45.14)
mīl*ada'n* I shall love her	mīlī^i*da'^s n* I love her
k!iy*a'k'de^e* I shall come 196.1	-k!iyi'*k'de^s* I came (156.24)
gin*a'k'de^e* I shall go somewhere 14.3	gini'*k'de^s* I went somewhere 21.10
dūw*a'k'de^e* I shall be good	dūwū*k'de^s* I was good (146.7)

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
xuma′k‘de^{e} I shall be satiated	xumü′k‘de$^{\varepsilon}$ I was satiated (130.18)
wiya′k‘de^{e} I shall groan	wiyi′k‘de$^{\varepsilon}$ I groaned (192.11)
xuda′mt‘e^{e} I shall whistle	xudu$\tilde{m}$t‘e$^{\varepsilon}$ I whistled (33.16)
ts·!ela′mt‘e^{e} I shall rattle	ts·!ele$\tilde{m}$t‘e$^{\varepsilon}$ I rattled (102.13)
ts·!us.a′mt‘e^{e} I shall make whistling noise by drawing in breath between teeth and lower lip	ts·!us·u$\tilde{m}$t‘e$^{\varepsilon}$ I made whistling noise (78.9,10,12)
lī^{i}ga′nt‘e^{e} I shall rest	ligī^{i}nt‘e$^{\varepsilon}$ I rested (79.2,4)
yala′nt‘e^{e} I shall be lost (cf. 14.3)	yala$\tilde{n}$t‘e$^{\varepsilon}$ 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′$^{\varepsilon}$*) of some of the verbs listed has no *-a-*: *bilwada′$^{\varepsilon}$*, *gingada′$^{\varepsilon}$*, *dū^{u}gada′$^{\varepsilon}$*, *wī^{i}gada′$^{\varepsilon}$*, *yalnada′$^{\varepsilon}$*. Similarly the simple stem *xud-* WHISTLE appears in *xut‘ma′$^{\varepsilon}$s* WHISTLER.

In regard to vocalic quantity it will be observed that the verbs of this type divide themselves into two classes—those with short verb-stem vowel (such as *t!an-*, *og-*, *s·om-d-*, *gin-g-*, *yal-n-*) and those with long verb-stem vowel (*k!ō^{u}y-*, *yāl-x-ald-*, *lī^{i}g-[a]n-*, *t‘ū^{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!oyō^{u}-*, *yalā^{a}-x-ald*, *ligī^{i}-n-*, *t‘ūwū^{u}-g-*, *mīlī^{i}-d-*). The verb *nā^{a}g-* (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 (*yõt‘e^{e}* as well as *yo′t‘e^{e}*, *yowo′t‘e$^{\varepsilon}$* as well as *yowõt‘e$^{\varepsilon}$*), 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′$^{u\underline{\varepsilon}}$*k*·*ôp*·*de*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$ I shall jump (148.8)) s·owō′$^{u\underline{\varepsilon}}$*k*·*ôp*·*de*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$ I jump (48.15; 49.1)

Such forms as *wa-k!oyō*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$*n* are only apparently opposed to the rule (see § 65).

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
ī-lasg*i′n* I shall touch it	*ī*-lats!ag*i′*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$*n* I touched it
masg*a′n* I shall put it (102.15)	mats!ag*a′*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$*n* I put it 74.13
wism*ada′*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$ you will move	wits·!im*a*·*t′* you moved 148.16
yo′k·y*an* I shall know it (162.6)	yok!oy*a′*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$*n* I knew it 50.5
lop·d*ia′*$^{u\underline{\varepsilon}}$*t*· it will rain	lop!od*ia′*$^{u\underline{\varepsilon}}$ 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
t!amy*ana′n* I shall go to get her married (150.5,19)	t!amay*ana′*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$*n* I went to get her married (148.5)
ts!a-uy*a′*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$*s* fast runner 138.2	ts!awaī*t′e*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$ I ran fast
dī$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$-ū′its·!*amt*· fool him!	*dī*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$üyü′ts·!*amda*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$*n* I fooled him
baxma′*t′e*^{e}[1] (= *baxm-*) I shall come	baxam̄*t′e*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$ I came (114.16)
ga-iw*a′n* I shall eat it 128.18	gayaw*a′*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$*n* I ate it 30.11
moigw*ana′n* I shall spoil it	moyūgw*ana′*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$*n* I spoiled it (31.12)
yo′$^{u\underline{\varepsilon}}$*snan* I shall scare him (186.10)	yowo′$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$*sna*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$*n* I scared him (186.10)
malg*ini′n* I shall tell him	malag*ini′*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$*n* I told him (30.15)
ba-i-xilgw*i′n* I shall snatch it out	*ba-i*-xiligw*i′*$^{\underline{\varepsilon}}$*n* I snatched it out (33.4)

[1] This verb clearly belongs to Type 3 because of constant *-a-* following *-xm-*. Had it belonged to Type 2 it would have assumed the form **baxa′mt′e*^{e}.

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
gwel-leīs*de*^{e} I shall be lame	*gwel*-le′ye^{e}s*de*^{ɛ} I am lame
dawīt′e^{e} I shall fly (166.18)	dawaīt′e^{ɛ} I flew (166.18)
da-uya′^{ɛ}s flyer	
ba-i-hemga′*n* I shall take (food) out (16.10)	*ba-i*-hemega′^{ɛ}*n* I took (food) out (58.9; 118.12)
han-gīlba′*n* I shall put (beam) across	*han*-giliba′^{ɛ}*n* I put (beam) across (176.3)
ba-i-k!ā^{a}ls*i*′*n* I shall take it out	*ba-i*-k!ala′s*i*^{ɛ}*n* I took it out (25.4)
p′elga′*n* I shall go to war against them (124.19)	p′elega′^{ɛ}*n* I went to war against them (110.4)
yamda′*n* I shall ask him (70.6)	yamada′^{ɛ}*n* I asked him (56.3)
yi′ms·*aldan* I shall dream about him	yimi′s·*alda*^{ɛ}*n* I dreamed about him 186.3
ha-u-ha′n^{ɛ}s*dā*^{a} it will stop (raining) (198.9)	*ha-u*-hana′^{ɛ}s it stopped (raining) 196.8
yō^{u}ga′*n* I shall marry her (192.16)	yowoga′^{ɛ}*n* I married her (43.3)

As long as the first consonant of the cluster is a semivowel (*w*, *y*) or a liquid or nasal (*l*, *m*, *n*), the question as to whether the verb belongs to Type 2 or Type 3 is a purely etymological or historical one. Descriptively it makes no difference whether a form like *p′elega′*^{ɛ}*n* I WENT TO WAR AGAINST THEM is derived from *p′eleg-* by the insertion of the stem-vowel *-e-* between *l* and *g* (Type 3), or from *p′el-g-* by the addition of the *-e-* to a base *p′el-* (Type 2). From a purely descriptive point of view, then, the most typical aorist formation in Takelma may be said to be characterized by the repetition of the stem-vowel immediately after the first consonant following the stem-vowel.

From the point of view of vocalic quantity the verbs of Type 3 fall into the same two classes as those of Type 2—such as have a short vowel in the stem (*t!amy-*, *ts!awy-*, *malg-*, *p′elg-*, *hants!-*) and such as have a long vowel (*ūits·!-*, *gī^{i}lb-*, *k!ā^{a}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^{e}s-*, *üyü^{ü}ts·!-*). The accent of stressed stem vowels follows the same rules as in the case of verbs of Type 3 (*dowaīt′e*^{ɛ}, *han-gili\p′* with rising or raised pitch; but *hana′*^{ɛ}*s*, *he′*^{iɛ}*x-dā*^{a} HE WILL BE LEFT OVER, *üyü′*^{üɛ}*s·de*^{ɛ} 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^{a}*na'*^{ɛ}*n* I make him cry

while in certain other transitive derivatives it is preserved:

t'agay*agwa'*^{ɛ}*n* I cry having it

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
yè'ũt'*e*^{e} I shall return (92.24)	yeweīt'*e*^{ɛ} I returned (58.9,13)
p!ãk'*de*^{e} I shall bathe (58.5; 118.7)	p!agaīt'*e*^{ɛ} I bathed 58.2
t'ãk'*de*^{e} I shall cry (29.11)	t'agaīt'*e*^{ɛ} I cried (29.13; 62.2)
na'*t'e*^{e} (irregular) I shall say, do 196.5	nagaīt'*e*^{ɛ} I said, did 126.3; 180.1

Even less numerous are the examples of 4*b* that have been found:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
loho'*t'* dead (98.10; 170.1; 186.21)	lohoīt'*e*^{ɛ} I died 184.18
lehe'*t'* drifting dead to land	lehe'^{iɛ} he drifted dead to land 75.5

The aorist of verbs of Type 4 regularly have the rising accent on the *i-* dipthong formed by the repeated stem vowel and the *i-* suffix. The stressed stem-vowel of forms built on the verb-stem regularly has the rising (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^{a}n-*:

t!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}g*iwi'*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I brought it to him (176.17)
wege'*sink*' he will bring it to me	we^{e}g*a'si* he brought it to me (194.11)
yana'*t'e*^{e} I shall go 14.3	yānt'*e*$^{\varepsilon}$ I went 14.7
haxa'*t'e*^{e} I shall burn (92.29)	hāx*de*$^{\varepsilon}$ I burnt (98.1,4)
dak'-*da*-hala'*hin* I shall answer him	dak'-da-hā^{a}l*i'*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I answered him (122.4; 146.14; 180.18)
laba' carry it! (70.5); 192.8	lāp' he carried it 160.9
sagwa' paddle it! 112.3,9	sā^{a}gw*a'*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I paddled it (14.6)
wede'*k'ink*' he will take it from him (16.10,11; 17.10,11)	wɛ̄t'*gi* he took it from him 16.13; (76.1)
lebe'*n* I shall pick it up and eat it	le^{e}b*a'*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I picked and ate it 94.5,12
sebe'*n* I shall roast it (44.6)	se^{e}b*a'*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I roasted it (118.10)
he$^{e\varepsilon}$-īwi'*xink*' he will go away from me	*he*$^{e\varepsilon}$-īūs·*i* he went away from me (184.14,15)
hawax-xiwi'*t'e*^{e} I shall rot (194.8)	*hawax*-xīūt'*e*$^{\varepsilon}$ I am rotting (100.1)
odo'*n* I shall hunt for it (116.7,11)	ō^{u}d*a'*$^{\varepsilon}$*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'uyu*mda'n* I shall smoke them out	p'ōy*amda*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I smoked them out (76.11)
yomo'*n* I shall catch up with him (46.7; 136.12,13)	yō^{u}mīy*a'*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I caught up with him (final -*ī*^{i}- of aorist stem unexplained) (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'^{u}*t*' HE HUNTED FOR IT 13.9; 88.8, never *ō^{u}*t*'), 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^{u}*d-*, *odo*'- of Type 5 and ō'^{u}*d-*, *ō'^{u}*t!-* 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
ī-k'wā'^{a}k!*wi*n I shall wake him up	ī-k'wā'^{a}gwi^{ɛ}n I woke him up 16.4; (75.6)
k'wā'$^{a ɛ}$*xde*^{e} I shall wake up (190.5)	k'wā'^{a}*xde*^{ɛ} I woke up (16.3, 5)
xā^{a}-lā't!*an* I shall put it about my waist	*xā*^{a}-lā'^{a}da^{ɛ}n I put it about my waist
la-^{ɛ}ī-t'bā'k!*in* I shall burst it (118.5)	*la*-^{ɛ}ī-t'bā'^{a}gi^{ɛ}n I burst it (24.17)
wa-sgā'p!*in* I shall make it tight	*wa*-sgā'^{a}bi^{ɛ}n I made it tight (140.6)
al-xī'k!*in* I shall see him (146.21)	*al*-xī'^{i}gi^{ɛ}n I saw him 188.9
de^{ɛ}-ī-wī'k!*in* I shall spread it out (120.1)	*de*^{ɛ}-ī-wī'^{i}gi^{ɛ}n I spread it out
dak'-t'e'^{e}k!*in* I shall give him to smoke (170.13)	*dak'*-t'e'^{e}gi^{ɛ}n I gave him to smoke
bā^{a}-xō't!*an* I shall win over him (170.9)	*bā*^{a}-xō'^{u}da^{ɛ}n I won over him (168.5)
al-lō'k!*wan* I shall thrust it	*al*-lō'^{u}gwa^{ɛ}n I thrust it (152.19)
dal-p'ō't!*in* I shall mix it (178.5)	*dal*-p'ō'^{u}di^{ɛ}n I mixed it
de^{ɛ}-ī-nū't!*in* I shall drown him	*de*^{ɛ}-ī-nū'^{u}di^{ɛ}n I drowned him (118.9)
de-bū'k!*in* I shall fill it	*de*-bü'^{ü}gi^{ɛ}n I filled it (140.3)
ī'-gī^{ɛ}na take it! (102.14)	ī-gī'^{i}na 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-bü'^{ü}gi^{ɛ}n* the *g* (*k!*) seems to be a verbifying suffix (cf. *de-bü'^{ɛ}* 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'$^{i ɛ}$* 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'^{ɛ}k'* SEE HIM! As the catch tends to bring about a falling accent before it, the falling accent peculiar to verbs of Type 6 may plausibly be ascribed to the fortis (i. e., glottal catch) quality of the final consonant of the stem. Compare also, in Type 3, *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 *xō'ṭ!an* and *xō'ᵘdaᵋn* is, then, the same as that which obtains between *yowo'ᵋ* HE WAS and *yowō'ᵘdaᵋ* WHEN HE WAS 79.7.

The organic character of the fortis consonant of verbs of this type is still further evidenced by many derivative forms (iteratives, continuatives, *-xa-* forms used to imply lack of object) which are regularly derived from the verb-stem, not the aorist stem, even in their aorist forms. Thus from *sgō'ᵘṭ!-* 45.10 (aorist *sgō'ᵘd-* 72.10) CUT are derived the derivative aorists *sgoṭ!o'sgadeᵋ* I CUT FREQUENTATIVELY (62.1), *sgoṭ!ōl-haᵋn* I KEEP CUTTING IT (108.8), *sgüṭ!ü'xadeᵋ* I CUT (without object) (92.2). Parallel forms are derived from most other verbs of this type, such as *xī'ⁱk!-*, *lō'ᵘk!-*, *sgī'ⁱp!-* CUT, *sge'ᵉṭ!-* 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 *ṭ'baga'ṭ'bag-* 14.12 (from *ṭ'ba'ᵘk!-* 136.20) and *sege'sag-* 172.10 (from *se'ᵉk!-* NOD TO, OPEN DOOR 138.18).

TYPE 7. Verb-stem $c+v^{v}+c_1$; aorist $c!+v+c_1+v(+i)$. The second sub-group (*7b*) of this sparsely represented type of verbs is apparently related to the first (*7a*) as are verbs of Type *4a* to those of Type 2. It is very improbable, however, that the characteristic *-i-* element of the aorist is morphologically the same in both Type 4 and Type *7b*, as verbs of the latter type are clearly transitive, while in Type 4 the *-i-* was found to be a clearly intransitivizing element. A further difference between the two types lies in the marked length of the repeated vowel in verbs of Type *7b*. This vocalic length is perhaps responsible for the loss of the *-i-* in certain forms; e. g., *dī-ṭ!ūgūī* HE WORE IT, but *dī-ṭ!ūgūᵋn* I WORE IT. (See § 65.)

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
bāᵃ-dēp'*deᵋ* I shall arise 196.3	*bāᵃ*-ṭ!ebe'*ṭ'eᵋ* I arose 186.14
wa-dīl*nhin* I shall distribute them	*wa*-ṭ!ilīk'*niᵋn* I have distributed them (130.4)
dweᵉp'dwa'p*xdāᵃ* they will fly without lighting	ṭ!wepᵉ!e' ṭ!wap*x* they flew without lighting

The last example follows also Types 6 and 13*a*.

To Type 7*b* belong:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
da-dāk' build a fire!	*da*-t!agāī he built a fire 96.17
dī-düügʷa'nk' she will wear it 55.9	*dī*-t!ügūī she wore it 96.16
t'gwāᵃx*a'nt'gwide*ᵉ I shall tattoo myself	t'gwaxāī*k'wide*ᵋ I tattooed myself
k!āᵃd*a'nk'* he will pick them (116.17)	k!adāī he picked them
	swadāī 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!emèi-* MAKE (only with third personal object; otherwise *k!emeᵉ-n-*, corresponding verb-stem *k!em-n-* of Type 2) and *yehèi-* 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!ãt'* PICK THEM! *bāᵃ-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
gāīt'*e*ᵉ I shall grow (77.9)	k!ayaīt'*e*ᵋ I grew (77.9)
gōᵘd*a'n* I shall bury him (118.3)	k!ododa'ᵋ*n* I buried him (96.16)
gōᵘl*a'n* I shall dig it	k!olola'ᵋ*n* I dug it 73.10,14
gūᵘw*a'n* I shall plant it (94.10)	k!ūwūw*a'*ᵋ*n* I planted it (132.10)
dōᵘm*a'n* I shall kill him (178.14)	t!omom*a'*ᵋ*n* I killed him 71.7
*wa*ᵋ-ī-dõx*in* I shall gather them	*wa*ᵋ-ī-t!oxo'xiᵋ*n* I gathered them (112.6,11; 192.4)
*ba-i-*dīx*in* I shall pull (guts) out	*ba-i-*t!ixi'xiᵋ*n* I pulled (guts) out (92.17)
dāᵃl*a'n* I shall crack it	t!alal*a'*ᵋ*n* I cracked it
deᵉgw*a'ldan* I shall watch for him (116.20; 126.20)	t!egwegw*a'ld*aᵋ*n* I watched for him (118.2; 158.12)
*wa*ᵋ-ī-deᵉm*i'n* I shall gather them (for war)	*wa*ᵋ-ī-t!eme'm he gathered them (for war) 110.3
bāᵃb*a'n* I shall chop it (90.16)	p!ababa'ᵋ*n* I chopped it (90.11)
dī-büügw*a'n* I shall start (war, basket) (110.21; 170.10)	*dī*-p!ügügw*a'*ᵋ*n* I started it
s·āᵃd*a'n* I shall mash it	ts·!adad*a'*ᵋ*n* I mashed it (130.23)

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
s·ũmt'*an* I shall boil it (170.16)	ts·!ümũmt'*a*^{ɛ}*n* I boiled it (170.17)
de^{ɛ}-ī-s·ībi*n* I shall close door (90.4)	*de*^{ɛ}-ī-ts·!ibibi'^{ɛ}*n* I closed door (90.5)
ye^{e}gw*a'n* I shall bite him (88.2)	yegwegw*a'*^{ɛ}*n* I bit him (88.3)
lō^{u}b*a'n* I shall pound them (16.6)	loboba'^{ɛ}*n* I pounded them (16.9)
lī^{i}m*a'*^{ɛ}*t'* tree will fall (108.12)	limi'^{ɛ}m tree fell (108.11)
hēl*t'e*^{e} I shall sing (106.15)	helel̃*t'e*^{ɛ} 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!omom̃ he killed him 16.15; but *t!omōxbi*^{ɛ}*n* he killed you (cf. 178.12)

Before certain intransitivizing derivative suffixes, particularly *-x-* (see §56) and *-xa-* (see §53), the same loss of the repeated consonant of the aorist stem is to be noted. Thus:

p!aba'p' he chopped it 90.11; but *p!ebe'xa*^{ɛ} he chopped 55.6

wa^{ɛ}*-ī-t!emem̃* he gathered them together; but *dak'-t!emēx* 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 $c+v^{v}+c_1$; aorist $c!+v+y+v+c_1$. This type is not at all a common one. It differs from Type 7*a* 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
dā^{a}g*a'n* I shall find it (110.15)	t!ayag*a'*^{ɛ}*n* I found it (27.12)
sā^{a}g*a'n* I shall shoot him	ts!ayag*a'*^{ɛ}*n* I shot him (45.13)
da-dāī*t'e*^{e} (-dā^{a}y-) I shall go to get something to eat (33.9)	*da*-t!ayaī*t'e*^{ɛ} I went to get something to eat[1] (75.9)
da-dā^{a}l*di'n* (=dāil*d*-, see § 11) I shall go to get it to eat (33.9)	*da*-t!ayal*di'*^{ɛ}*n* (=t!ayail*d*-, see § 11) I went to get it to eat (76.9)

[1] This verb might be considered as entirely parallel to *gāay-* (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*-dā^{a}*ya'ldin*, **da*-t!ayaya'ldi^{ɛ}*n*.

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
lõ^{u}x to play 31.7; (31.6, 8, 9)	lõ^{u}l*t'e*$^{\varepsilon}$ I played
lā^{a}p'*de*^{e} I shall become (25.2)	lā^{a}l*īt'e*$^{\varepsilon}$ I became (also of Type 15*a*) 186.19
lā^{a}w*a'n* I shall twine basket	lā^{a}lw*a'*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I twined basket (61.7)
he$^{\varepsilon}$-*ī*-le'(l)*k!in* I shall let him go (182.20)	*he*$^{\varepsilon}$-*ī*-le'le*k!i*$^{\varepsilon}$*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 *-lelk!-*.

The only certain example of 10 *b* is:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
sana' spear it! (33.9)	*sãns* 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^{a}nsa'n-sinia$^{u\varepsilon}$* 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^{u}mī^{i}-* under Type 5. Stems of this type are more frequent among nouns than verbs, e. g., *bel̄p*' 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'l*t'e*^{e} (*a* is inorganic) I shall choke	lomõl*t'e*$^{\varepsilon}$ I choked
xalx*a'mt'e*^{e} I shall urinate (cf. *xā^{a}l-am-* urine)	xala'x*amt'e*$^{\varepsilon}$ I urinated[2]

[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 13*a*, *xalxam-* and *xalaxam-* being respectively dissimilated from **xanxan-* and **xanaxan-* (see §21).

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
yawī'*t'e*^{e} I shall talk (cf. base *yiw-* talk) (126.2)	yawaĭ'*e*^{s} I talked (30.4; 126.2)
	da-bo'k!op'*na*^{s}*n* I made bubbles (base *bōk!-*) 102.22
bā^{s}*-al*-mo'l^{s}*man* I shall turn things over (base *mol*^{s}-)	*bā*^{s}*-al*-mo'lo^{s}*ma*^{s}*n* I turned things over
dā^{a}-ye'hī^{i}*n* I shall go to where singing is heard	*dā*^{a}-yehēī he went where there was singing (see Type 7*b*) 106.10
	legwela'*mda*^{s}*n* I suck it out of it (186.18)
	lā^{a}mala'^{s}*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:

ging- go somewhere (aorist *ginig-*)
k!iy[*a*]*g-* go, come (aorist *k!iyig-*)
gel-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^{s}*n* I make bubbles	*yiwiya'ut'e*^{s} I talk (148.9)
mo'lo^{s}*mala*^{s}*n* I turn things over (170.16)	

A form like *mo'lo*^{s}*mat'* YOU TURNED THINGS OVER may go back to a **mo'lo*^{s}*mlat'* (Type 13*b*), itself a reduced form of the fully reduplicating *mo'lo*^{s}*malat'*; 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 umlauted to *i* by an *i* of the following syllable (see § 8, 3a). Morphologically such aorist stems are practically identical with the verb-stems of Type 13*a*, 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
sana′*n*[1] I shall fight him (28.15)	sā^{a}nsa′n*t′e*^{ɛ} I was fighting 184.13
he^{eɛ}*-sal-*t′gū^{u}*ni′n* I shall kick it off	*he*^{eɛ}*-sal-*t′gūnt′gin*i*^{ɛ}*n* I kicked it off (24.17)
t!èū*t′e*^{e} I shall play shinny	t!èut!a′u*t′e*^{ɛ} I played shinny (47.7)
*ī-*t!ā^{a}w*i′n* I shall catch him (33.8)	*ī-*t!āūt!iw*i*^{ɛ}*n* I caught him 33.4
bā^{a}*-*dī^{i}g*a′n* I shall make it stand up	*bā*^{a}*-*dīk′dag*a*^{ɛ}*n* I made it stand up (59.10)
he^{eɛ}*-*s·wīl*xk*′ it is torn	*ī-*s·wīls·wil*i*^{ɛ}*n* I tore it (73.3)
ts!ā^{a}g*a′*^{ɛ}*t*′ he will step	ts!ā^{a}k′ts!a′^{ɛ}k′ he stepped 32.9
dā^{ɛ}*-ī-*bō^{u}d*i′n* I shall pull out his hair	*dā*^{ɛ}*-ī-*bōt′bid*i*^{ɛ}*n* I pulled out his hair (194.7)
*bā-ī-*sgā^{a}g*i′n* I shall pick it up	*bā-ī-*sgāk′sgig*i*^{ɛ}*n* I picked him up (32.12)
lā^{a}w*i′n* I shall call him by name	lā^{a}liw*i′*^{ɛ}*n* I called him by name (for *lā*^{a}*-* = *lāu-* 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
lèū*xink*′ he will call me by name	le^{e}wila′us*i*[2] he calls me by name 59.7
līū*t′e*^{e} I shall look (142.18)	liwila′u*t′e*^{ɛ}[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*^{a}*la′uhi* HE CALLED HIM) or raised accent (*he*^{eɛ}*-sal-t′gū^{u}nt′ga*ˋ*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*^{e} I SHALL FIGHT) employ a stem (*sana-*) of Type 5. Most aorist forms, including the reciprocal aorist, use the stem *sāansan-* of Type 12 (*secnsa′nsi* HE FIGHTS ME; *sāansa′nsinik*′ WE FIGHT EACH OTHER). The stem *sāans-* of Type 10*b* is probably limited to such transitive forms of the aorist as have a third person object (*sāansa′*^{ɛ}*n* I FIGHT HIM; *sāns* HE FOUGHT HIM).

[2] Parallel form, perhaps with iterative significance, to *lcela′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 13*a*, which covers practically the whole number of type-cases, examples will be given under the characteristic stem-vowels.

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
(1) *a:*	
ī-gaxgix*i'n* I shall scratch him	*ī*-gaxagix*i'ᵉn* I scratched him
da-ts!a'lts!il*in* I shall chew it	*da*-ts!ala'ts!il*iᵉn* I chewed it
heᵉᵉ-*ī*-k'a'ᵉp'k'ib*in* I shall chip them off	*heᵉᵉ*-*ī*-k'ap!a'k'ib*iᵉn* I chipped them off (118.11; 120.16)
(2) *e:*	
ī-ts·!e'lts·!il*in* I shall rattle it	*ī*-ts·!ele'ts·!il*iᵉn* I rattled it
ī-he^{e}gwa'k'^{w}*nan* (see § 19) I shall work	*ī*-hegwe'hak'^{w}*naᵉn* I worked
al-gesgas*a'lt'eᵉ* I shall be washing	*al*-gesegas*a'lt'eᵉ* I was washing
se'nsant'*eᵉ* I shall whoop	sene'sant'*eᵉ* I whooped (180.15)
hemham*a'nk'* he will imitate him	heme'ham he imitated him 24.4, 8
(3) *o* (*u*)*:*	
dī^{i}-t'gumt'ga'm squeeze and crack (insects)!	*dī*^{i}-t'gumu'tg'im*iᵉn* I squeezed and cracked (insects)
ī-yulya'l rub it!	*ī*-yulu'yil*iᵉn* I rubbed it
al-p!ī^{i}-ts·!u'lts·!al*hip'* do ye put it on fire!	*al-p!ī*^{i}-ts·!ulu'ts·!il*iᵉn* I put it on fire (152.20)
(4) *i:*	
ī-sınīlsmil*in* I shall swing it	*ī*-smili'smil*iᵉn* I swung it (72.10)
ī-s·wi'ls·wil*in* I shall tear it to pieces	*ī*-s·wili's·wil*iᵉn* I tore it to pieces
ts·!i'nts·!an*xdeᵉ* I shall be angry	ts·!inī'^{i}ts·!an*xdeᵉ* I was angry (24.16; 148.15)
ī-s·i'ls·al*hi* distribute it!	*ī*-s·ili's·al*hi* he distributed it 31.1
de-k'iūk'au*k'wan* I shall brandish it before my face (172.11)	*de*-k'iwi'k'au*k'waᵉn* I brandished it before my face (172.12)
yiwiyaw*a'ᵉs* one who talks 148.18	yiwiya'^{uᵉ} 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^{e}wilau-* above (see under Type 12); *yiwiyawa'^{ɛ}s* is thus developed from a theoretical **yiwyawa'^{ɛ}s*.

The verb *k'a^{ɛ}p'k'ab-* above illustrates a slightly divergent subtype of Type 13*a*. 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'ap!ak'ap!-*, i. e., *k'a^{ɛ}b^{ɛ}ak'a^{ɛ}b^{ɛ}-* is dissimilated to *k'a^{ɛ}b^{ɛ}ak'ab-*, *k'ap!ak'ab-* (see § 22). In non-aorist forms, where the fortis becomes a syllabic final, it naturally gives way to the equivalent catch aspirated surd. Further examples of this subtype are:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
*ī-*sgō'^{ɛ}t'sgid*in* I shall cut them one after another (21.2,4)	*ī-*sgot!o'sgidi^{ɛ}*n* I cut them one after another (144.2,3)
*ha-u-gwen-*yu'^{ɛ}t'yid*in* I shall gobble them all down	*ha-u-gwen-*yut!u'yidi^{ɛ}*n* I gobbled them all down (126.10)
xa-^{ɛ}*ī-*sgī'^{ɛ}p'sgib*in* I shall cut them through (21.2)	*xa-*^{ɛ}*ī-*sgip!i'sgibi^{ɛ}*n* I cut them through (22.9; 138.7)
*bā^{a}-*t'e^{ɛ}k't'a'*xdā^{a}* (=*-ta'g-x-*) they will all bob up	*bā^{a}-*t'ek!e't'a*x* they all bobbed up
*ba-i-di^{ɛ}-*t'ga'^{ɛ}st'gā^{a}s stick out your anus! 164.19; 166.1,6	*ba-i-di^{ɛ}-*t'gats!a't'gisi^{ɛ}*n* 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^{i}lswal-*, *sgō^{u}^{ɛ}t'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'ls·wal (non-aorist of Type 13) tear it to pieces!; but *ī-s·wī^{i}l-s·wa'l* (aorist of Type 12) he tore it (with one tear)

A few verbs allow the repeated vowel, particularly in third personal forms, to be long; when stressed, as it generally is, it has a falling accent. Besides *ts·!inī'^{i}ts·!anx-* (also *ts·!i'nī^{i}ts·!anx-* or *ts·!i'nits·!anx-* 190.19), may be mentioned:

gwen-hegwe'^{e}hagwanhi he related it to him 57.9; cf. 59.6

p!ülü'^{u}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'^{us}t'sgad-*, *sgī'^{is}p'sgab-*). In the aorist the stress generally falls on the repeated vowel.

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
*de^{s}-ī-*ge'uk!iw*in* I shall tie (a salmon) bowstring-fashion	*de^{s}-ī-*gewe'k!iw*i^{s}n* I tied it bowstring-fashion (cf. 88.5)
dū̄'lt!il*in* I shall stuff them into it	dūlū̄'t!il*i^{s}n* 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 *dül-*, respectively, but *geu^{s}-* and *dül^{s}-*. 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 semivowel or diphthong-forming consonant (*w, y, l, m, n*) as the base final. The verb and aorist stems of *geu^{s}-* and *dül^{s}-*, formed according to Type 13 *a*, are theoretically **gew^{s}gau^{s}-*, **gewe^{s}gau^{s}-* and **dül^{s}dal^{s}-*, **dülü^{s}dal^{s}-*, 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 *dült!al-*, *dülüt!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
*bā^{a}-^{s}al-*mo'l^{s}mal*an* I shall turn things over	*bā^{a}-^{s}al-*mo'lo^{s}mal*a^{s}n* I turn things over
*dā^{a}-t'mū^{u}gal-*le'u^{s}liw*in* I shall shake shells in my ears	*dā^{a}-t'mū^{u}gal-*lewe'^{s}liw*i^{s}n* I shook shells in my ears 122.2
*ha-u-gwen-*yu'n^{s}yin*in* I shall gobble them down	*ha-u-gwen-*yunu'^{s}yin*i^{s}n* I gobbled them down (cf. *yut!uyad-* 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
gwida'k'^{w}d*an* I shall throw it (*a* inorganic)	gwidi'k'^{w}d*a^{s}n* I threw it (122.13); cf. *ī-*gwidigwidi'^{s}*n* (108.21)
	lobo'lp'*na^{s}n* I used to pound them; cf. lobo'lap'*na^{s}n* (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
xēp'*de*^{e} I shall do so (110.22)	xebeñt'*e*$^{\varepsilon}$ I did so (14.10; 168.10)
waīt'*e*^{e} I shall sleep (71.15; 142.14)	wayānt'*e*$^{\varepsilon}$ I slept (188.22)
gwen-p!īk'*wan* (=-p!iy-) I shall lie on pillow	*gwen*-p!iyi'nk'*wa*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I lay on pillow
p!è'$^{\varepsilon}$*t'* he will be lying down 146.9	p!eyēnt'*e*$^{\varepsilon}$ 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!iyin-*), sometimes long (*wayā*^{a}*n-, p!eye*^{e}*n-*. The stressed stem vowel bears a rising accent.

The *-n* of *wayā*^{a}*n-* and *p!eye*^{e}*n-* is eclipsed before a catch in the third person:

waya'$^{\varepsilon}$ he slept 152.22; 154.6
p!eye'$^{\varepsilon}$ he was lying down 49.5

but:

xebe'$^{\varepsilon}$*n* he did it 78.9; 118.14

The loss of the *-n* takes place also in the third person aorist of *yā*^{a}*n-* GO (Type 5). Thus:

ya'$^{\varepsilon}$ he went 15.3,11; 59.1; 92.26

subordinate form *yā'*^{a}*da*$^{\varepsilon}$ 58.8 and (rarely) *yā'*^{a}*nda*$^{\varepsilon}$ WHEN HE WENT.

TYPE 15. Verb-stem $\left\{\begin{matrix}— \\ —\,as\end{matrix}\right\}$; aorist stem *-ī*^{i}. The ending *-ī*^{i}*-*, 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^c I shall stand (cf. 23.6)	s·as·inīt'$e^ɛ$ I stand (34.1; 77.9)
s·u'^{ɛ}alt'e^c I shall sit (55.11; 186.21)	s·u^{ɛ}wilīt'$e^ɛ$ I sat (21.1; 178.21)
k'e'p'alt'e^c I shall be long absent	k'ebilīt'$e^ɛ$ I was long absent (124.20)
lāp'de^c I shall become (92.11; 166.14)	lā^{a}līt'$e^ɛ$ I became (see also Type 10*a*) 186.19

Of examples of Type 15*b* may be mentioned:

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
dink!a's$dā^a$ it will lie stretched out	dink!ī it lies stretched out
t!obaga's$dā^a$ he will lie like one dead (148.8)	t!obigī he lay like one dead

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

da-sma-ima'sde^c I shall smile	*da*-smayaⁿ he smiled

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

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
dī-k!a'l$side^c$ I shall be lean in my rump	*dī*-k!ala'$sna^ɛn$ I am lean in my rump 102.22
gwel-sal-t!e'$side^c$ I shall be lean in legs and feet	*gwel-sal*-t!eyēs$na^ɛn$ I have no flesh on my legs and feet 102.22

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
da-sga'li*t*'$\bar{a}^a$ it will lie scattered about	*da*-sgalī it lies scattered about
p'ildi'*t*'$\bar{a}^a$ flat thing will lie	p'ildī flat thing lies
t'ge'its·!i*dā*^{a} round thing will lie	t'geits·!ī round thing lies (138 24)
s·eini'*t*'$\bar{a}^a$ it will lie with opening on top (like box)	s·einī it lies with opening on top
s·u'k'di*dā*^{a} it will lie curled up	s·ugwidī it lies curled up
wī'$^{\varepsilon}$k'di*dā*^{a} it will lie heaped about	wīk!idī it lies heaped about

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

Verb-stem	Aorist stem
dā^a-sge'k!i*t*'e^e I shall listen	*dā*^{a}-sgek!iy*a*'$^{\varepsilon}n$ I listened (third person *dā*^{a}-sgek!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 (*-ī*^{i}*-*, *-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*'$^{\varepsilon}n$ I string (salmon) together (=fully reduplicated *xogxog-* ; otherwise to be analyzed as *xoxo-g-* of Type 10 a) 74.14

*sal-*s·ā^{a}xs·īx he slid

This latter verb with its mysterious *ī*^{i} 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·!ī something *round* lies (138.24)
t'geyeba'ᵉn I *roll* it
t'geᵉya'lxdeᵉ I run *around*
al-t'geye't'giyaᵉn I tie it *around* (my head) 188.5
wīᵉ-ī-t'geye'ᵉk!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 *heᵉᵉ-sgaya'pxdeᵉ* I LIE DOWN, *da-sgaya-na'ᵉn* I LIE DOWN, and possibly also *da-sgalī* 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 *di'nik!a$^{\varepsilon}$n* I STRETCHED IT OUT (62.1) and *bā^{a}-dinī'^{i}t!a$^{\varepsilon}$n* I HUNG THEM ON LINE (59.9). In some cases a difference of suffix is associated with a difference of direction of verbal action, transitive and intransitive. Thus we have:

al-ts!ayaga'$^{\varepsilon}$n I wash him (64.5): *al-ts!ayãp'de$^{\varepsilon}$* I wash myself (not reflexive in form)
p!alaga'$^{\varepsilon}$n I relate a myth to him: *p!ala'p'de$^{\varepsilon}$* I relate a myth
ts!ayama'$^{\varepsilon}$n I hide it (124.23): *ts!ayãp'de$^{\varepsilon}$* 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'$^{\varepsilon}$n I roll it (base *t'gey-*), with secondarily intransitive derivative:
al-t'geya'px it is round (literally, it rolls)
he$^{e\varepsilon}$-sgaya'pxde$^{\varepsilon}$ I lie down (derived, like *al-t'geya'px*, from some such transitive as **hc$^{e\varepsilon}$-sgayaba'$^{\varepsilon}$n* I lay it down flat, that, however, does not happen to occur in the material at hand)
de$^{\varepsilon}$-ī-gene'p'gwa he lay curled up like dog (also *-geneūk'wa*)
galaba'$^{\varepsilon}$n I twist it by rolling (cf. *gelg-* twirl fire-drill)
sgīlpx warm your back! (seems to imply **sgī'ilba'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!ayãp'de$^{\varepsilon}$ I washed my face
ts!ayãp'de$^{\varepsilon}$ I hid
p!ala'p'de$^{\varepsilon}$ I tell a myth
s·in-xinīxanp'de$^{\varepsilon}$ I sniff (cf. *xīn* mucus)
s·as·a'nhap'de$^{\varepsilon}$ I stand around (not trying to help anyone) (cf *s·a's·ant'e^{e}* I shall stand)
s·in-wi'lī'k'ap'de$^{\varepsilon}$ I blow my nose
bā^{a}-s·o'wō$^{u\varepsilon}$k'ap'de$^{\varepsilon}$ 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!ayãp'de^{ɛ} or not, but such seems likely. Intransitives with non-aoristic *-p'-* are:

lãp'de^{e} I shall become (92.11) (aorist *lã*^{a}*lĩt'e*^{ɛ}) 186.19
sana'p'de^{e} I shall fight (aorist *sã*^{a}*nsa'nt'e*^{ɛ} [184.13])
tgũnp'de^{e} I shall be cold (aorist *t'gunũk'de*^{ɛ} [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·inĩp'ik' we stand
s·a's·anp'ia^{uɛ}*t'* they (indef.) will stand
s·a's·anp' stand!
s·a's·anp'anp' do ye stand!
s·a's·anp'ga^{ɛ}*m* stand! (future)
s·a's·anp'k' he stood, it seems

There is small doubt, however, that this *-p'-* is quite distinct from the non-aoristic *-p'-* of verbs like *lãp'de*^{e}, which occurs in the entire future. A form like *lãp'* BECOME! is in that event perhaps to be analyzed as *lã*^{a}*-p'-p'*, the first *-p'-* being the non-aoristic element found also in *lãp'de*^{e}, while the second *-p'-* is identical with the imperative-inferential *-p'-* of *s·a's·anp'*. This analysis is purely theoretical, however, as contraction to a single *-p'-* is unavoidable in any case.

2. ***-p!-***. This consonant is evidently a suffixed element in:

ha^{ɛ}*-ĩ-hü'lüp!i*^{ɛ}*n* I skinned them (cf. *ha*^{ɛ}*-i-hü'lü*^{ü}*hal* they skinned them all 160.5)

3. ***-m-***. Apparently as transitive element *-m-* appears in:

ts!ayama'^{ɛ}*n* I hide it (124.23) (cf. *ts!ayãp'de*^{ɛ} I hide [24.2])

As intransitive suffix it appears in:

t'gisi'^{ɛ}m it gets green
xudumĩt'e^{ɛ} I whistle (base *xud-;* related to *xdeĩt'* flute [?]) (33.16)
ts·!us·umĩt'e^{ɛ} 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·!elemĩt'e^{ɛ} I rattle (102.13) (cf. *ĩ-ts·!ele'ts·!ili*^{ɛ}*n* 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^{a}himida'^{ɛ}n I speak to him (but with unexpressed object *wā^{a}himi'xade^{ɛ}* I was talking [to somebody]) (59.16; 63.10)

dak'-hene^{ɛ}da'^{ɛ}n I wait for him (cf. *hene'xade^{ɛ}* I wait)

k!ūyūmida'^{ɛ}n I call his name from distance, greet him (198.11) (probably derivative of *k!ū'yam* friend! 31.6, 8)

s·omoda'^{ɛ}n I cook it (58.10) (cf. *s·ümü'xade^{ɛ}* I cook)

ts·!ümũmt'a^{ɛ}n I cook it (170.17,19); future *s·ũmt'an* [1] (170.16) (cf. *s·ümxi`* stirring paddle 170.14)

dā^{a}-minīk'da^{ɛ}n I taught him; future *dā^{a}-miñt'an*

lawadana'^{ɛ}n I hurt him (186.12)

yamada'^{ɛ}n I ask him (70.6; 74.10; 120.16)

wiyimada'^{ɛ}n I "wish" to him, work supernatural power on him (57.1)

mīlī^{i}da'^{ɛ}n I love her

xa^{ɛ}-ī-ts·!iwi`t' he split it (26.6) (cf. *ī-ts·!iwī'^{i}ts·!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}-minī-k'-da^{ɛ}n*.

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^{i}-* in aorist, *-i-* in non-aorist forms (see § 40, 16). This aoristic *-ad-* appears always umlauted to *-id-*.

cugwidī^{i}-, non-aorist *cuk'di-* lie curled up

wīk!idī^{i}-, non-aorist *wī^{ɛ}k'di-* 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}-di'nīt!ana^{ɛ}n I strung (dentalia) on line (59.9) (cf. *dink!-* stretch out)

t'gemēt!ia^{uɛ} it gets dark 188.14 (cf. *t'ge^{ɛ}mt'ya`mx* it is quite dark [cf. 196.7]; *alt'ge`m* black 162.4; [196.6])

[1] *s·om-d-* and *s·üü̈m-t'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'ᵉn I tell him a myth
al-ts!ayaga'ᵉn I wash him (64.5)
p!ī^i-wa-gelegi'ᵉn 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!ʷas·i* he always pinches me)
da-t!abaga'ᵉn I finish it (61.8; 176.6)
dāᵃ-dalaga'mdaᵉn I put holes in his ear (22.1) (cf. *dāᵃ-dele'p'i* he stuck it across his ear)
swadãt'gaᵉn I run after him (59.13; 75.3; 120.19, 20)

Examples of its use in adjectival intransitives are:

t'ūwū'ᵉk' he feels hot, it is hot 94.15 (cf. *t'ũ* hot 57.15)
dūwū'ᵉk' it is good, he does right 180.11 (cf. *dū* good, beautiful 58.7,8)
t'gunũk'deᵉ I feel cold (90.3) (cf. *t'gũnp'iaᵘᵉt'* it will be cold)
xuma'k'deᵉ I shall be full, satiated (128.11) (cf. *xu'ma* food 54.4 and *s·īx-xu'm* dried venison 43.12,13)
gel-dulu'k'deᵉ I am lazy

Further examples of *-k'-* that are difficult to classify are:

de-lümü'sgadeᵉ I tell the truth (184.3)
s·in-wilīk'ap'dam you blow your nose
yala'k'deᵉ I dive (connected with *yal-* lose [?]) (60.10,11; 61.11)

In *wa-t!ilīk'niᵉn* I GAVE EACH ONE (130.4) (future *wa-dīlnhin*) and in the morphologically analogous *dāᵃ-minīk'daᵉn* I TAUGHT HIM (future *dāᵃmiñt'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 *weᵉd-* (verb-stem *wede-*) lack it:

wēsi (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:

wīᵉ-ī-t'ge'yeᵉk!in he is surrounded on all sides (transitives and passives are closely related) 48.5,13; (176.14)
al-p!ī^i-ts·!u'luk!iᵉn I burn it (73.9,12; 96.26) (cf. *al-p!ī^i-ts·!u'l-ts·!alhip'* do ye burn it! 198.10)

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dī^{ɛ}-ī-sgü'yük!i^{ɛ}n I make it fall (48.7,8,12)
he^{ɛɛ}-de-le'lek!i^{ɛ}n I finish talking 50.4
di'nik!a^{ɛ}n I stretch it out (see under suffix *-t!-*) (59.9; 62.1)
he'yek!i^{ɛ}n I left it over (61.7; 196.8)
p!ūwū'^{u}k!a^{ɛ}n I name him (158.5) (cf. *p!ū'wūp!ausi* he keeps calling me)
ts·!ini'^{ɛ}k' he pinched it 31.1; (32.7)
ba-i-yunu'k!i^{ɛ}n I pull it out forcibly
he^{ɛɛ}-ī-le'mek!i^{ɛ}n I killed them off (14.13; 43.1; 108.20)
ī-go'yok!i^{ɛ}n I pushed him (49.2) (cf. *ī-goyogiyi'^{ɛ}n* I kept pushing him)
ba-i-s·in-xi'lik!wi^{ɛ}n I blow my nose (cf. *xīn* mucus)
p!a-i-t'gwili'k!wana^{ɛ}n I spill (water, blood) (58.1; 72.8) (cf. *t'gwilī'^{i}t'gwal^{ɛ}* it keeps dropping)

-k!- seems to occur also in the perhaps only secondarily intransitive:
bā^{a}-s·owō'^{uɛ}k'ap'de^{ɛ} (=*-s·owō'^{u}k!-hap'-*) I jump up (48.15; 49.1) (cf. *s·o'wō^{u}s·a^{uɛ}* he keeps jumping [112.5,10])

8. **-ts·!-.** Only in a very few cases is this suffixed consonant met with:
t'geits·!ī round thing lies (138.24)
dī^{i}-t'gumu'tc!i^{ɛ}n I squeeze and crack it (cf. *dī^{i}-t'gumu't'gimi^{ɛ}n* I squeeze and crack many insects)
yowō'^{uɛ}s he starts 186.10; *yowō'^{u}ts!ana^{ɛ}n* I cause him to start
ha-yau-t'ge'nets!i^{ɛ}n I put it about my waist
ha^{ɛ}w-ī-ha'nats!i^{ɛ}n 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·!ī* is probably related to a transitive **t'ge'yets·!a^{ɛ}n*, as is *dink!ī* IT LIES STRETCHED OUT to *di'nik!a^{ɛ}n*.

-s- occurs as an evident suffix in:
dī^{i}-t!ī^{i}si'^{ɛ}n I mashed them (cf. *dī^{i}-t!iyī't!iya^{ɛ}n* I mashed them one after another)

9. **-(a)l-.** This suffix includes both intransitives and transitives:
al-gesegasa'lt'e^{ɛ} I was washing
k'cbilīt'e^{ɛ} I was long absent (124.20)
s·u^{ɛ}wilīt'e^{ɛ} I sit (21.1); 72.9; (178.21)
yamlīt'e^{ɛ} I look pretty ([*l*] = fat, sleek; cf. *ya'mx* fat, grease 54.5)
al-we'k!ala^{ɛ}n I shine (126.3; 128.14)
ī-t'wī^{i}yili'^{ɛ}n I make it whirl up
ī-k!e^{e}wili'^{ɛ}n I whirl it around
ī-t'ge^{e}yili'^{ɛ}n I roll it around
al-t'gī^{i}ya'lx (tears) roll down his face 138.25
bā^{ɛ}-ī-t'gwā^{a}la'lx (children) run about
k'ewe'k'awa^{ɛ}l he barks
de-gülü'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·inīt'e^{ɛ} I stand (34.1; 77.9; 144.14,17)
moyūgwa'nt'e^{ɛ} I'm spoiled
hü^{u}lī'nt'e^{ɛ} I am tired (102.1) (cf. *hülü'hilint'e*^{ɛ} I used to be tired [48.11])
ligīnt'e^{ɛ} 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'^{ɛ}*n* I hurt him (186.12)
ts·!ibina'^{ɛ}*n* I make a speech to him (146.11; 178.11)
wa-t!ilīk'ni^{ɛ}*n* I gave each one (130.4)
k!emna'n I shall make it (28.2,13,14) (aorist without object *k!eme'nxa*^{ɛ} he makes)
wa^{ɛ}*-ū^{u}gwini'*^{ɛ}*n* I drink it with it (*ū^{u}gwa'nxde*^{ɛ} I drink)
he^{ɛɛ}*-wa*^{ɛ}*-wā^{u}gini'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:

hiwilīt'e^{ɛ} I ran to (24.1), but *hiwilīlt'e*^{ɛ} I used to run to
sgeleīt'e^{ɛ} I shouted (196.1), but *sgelēlt'e*^{ɛ} [1] I kept shouting (59.3)

Examples of this group of verbs are:

Aorist	Future (non-aorist)
sgele'^{uɛ} he shouted 59.4; 90.8	*sgelwa'*^{ɛ}*t'* he will shout
hiwili'^{uɛ} he ran to 47.1; 70.7	*hiwilwa'*^{ɛ}*t'* he will run to (136.21)
bili'^{uɛ} he jumped 48 9; 58.3	*bilwa'*^{ɛ}*t'* he will jump (160.16)
de-wiliwa'ldaɛn I fight him (derivative of intransitive)(27.3)	*de-wilwa'ldan* I shall fight him (33.2,3)
hili'^{uɛ} he climbed (77.8)	*hilwa'*^{ɛ}*t'* 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*^{ɛ} is for an older**sgelēlwt'e*^{ɛ}. This supposition is greatly strengthened by the future *sgelwa'lt'e*^{ɛ} I'LL KEEP SHOUTING (cf. *sgelwada'*^{ɛ} YOU WILL SHOUT).

In non-aoristic forms the phonetic conditions may, as usual, necessitate an inorganic *-a-*:

ge wila'u run there! (29.10)
sgela'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'^{us} (second *a* inorganic) he goes with woman to see her married 148.6
t!emeya'nwia^{us} they (indef.) go with her to see her married 178.1
: *t!amayana'^{s}n* I take her to her husband (148.5)

(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'^{s}n I eat it 30.11 (*gayaū* he ate it 54.5); future *ga-iwa'n* 128.18; noun of agent *ga-iwa'^{s}s* eater (of it) 94.3; but imperative *gaī* eat it! 32.4; *gaīk'* he ate it (inferential) 142.19

al-sgalawi'^{s}n I turn my head to look at him; future *sgā^{a}lwi'n;* part. *sgala'uk'* (*-a'-* is inorganic) 144.17; but *sgālk'a^{s}* I looked at him turning my head (inferential)

al-sgalā^{a}liwi'^{s}n (Type 8) I keep turning my head to look at him; future *sgalwalwi'n;* but *sgelēlxi* he keeps turning his head to look at me

ba-i-de-ye^{e}giwida'^{s} you will drive (sickness) out of (body) 198.4,5; imperative *-ye^{e}ga'u*

wā^{a}giwi'^{s}n I brought it to him (176.17); future *wagawi'n;* but *wā^{a}ga'sbi^{s}n* I brought it to you (194.11)

lā^{a}la'uhi he caused them to become (*lā^{a}l-* 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^{s}* from **sgālwk'a^{s}*). 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^{a}ga'$^{s}n* I BROUGHT IT (110.17) as com-

pared with *wā^{a}giwi'^{ɛ}n* 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^{a}giwi'^{ɛ}n* stands by the side of *wā^{a}ga'sbi^{ɛ}n* with *-s-* to indicate the indirect object. That *-w-* is not the morphologic equivalent of *-s-* is evidenced by the fact that it stands also by the side of the transitive connective consonant *-x-* (cf. *al-sgalawi'^{ɛ}n*: *al-sgala'xbi^{ɛ}n* I TURN MY HEAD TO LOOK AT YOU). It must be confessed that after all no very distinct signification can be attached to either the intransitive or transitive *-w-*.

12. ***Constant -a.*** A number of verbs whose stem (including petrified suffix) ends in two consonants add to this stem an *-a* that appears in all their forms, even though the 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^{ü}mt'a-* BOIL with constant *-a-*, though ending in a finally permissible consonant-cluster, because of aorist *ts·!ümü^{ü}mt'a-;* contrast non-aorist *s·omd-* BOIL without *-a-* because of aorist *s·omod-*). The following are examples of verbs of the character described:

Aorist	Non-aorist
*swadāt'g*a he followed him 75.3	*swa't'g*a follow him!
*mats!ãsg*a he always put it 132.9	*masg*a` put it! 104.5
*ts·!ümũmt'*a he boils it 30.2	*s·ũmt'*a boil it!
*dā^a-minīk'd*a he taught him	*dā^a-miñt'*a teach him! (contrast *wā^{a}hīmt'* talk to him! with aorist *-himid-*)

If the verb is instrumental in vocalism (see § 64), the constant *a* is replaced by the instrumental *i*. Thus:

*ī-k!os·õs·g*i he keeps pinching him

That this constant *-a* is felt to be somewhat different in character from ordinary inorganic or connective *-a-* (as in *ts·!ela'mt'e•* or *wā^{a}ga'sbi^{ɛ}n*) 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}-minīk'dixbi he taught you
yowō'$^{u\varepsilon}$snixbi$^{\varepsilon}$n I cause you to start (but parallel *yowō'^{u}ts!anxbi$^{\varepsilon}$n* with connecting *a*)
wayãnhixbi$^{\varepsilon}$n I put you to sleep; *waīnhixigam* I was put to sleep
ī-k!üs·ûs·gixi he keeps pinching me; *ī-k!üs·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$^{\varepsilon}$ 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
lebe- pick up and eat (seeds)	*le'^{e}p'lap'* (non-aorist) pick and eat many (seeds)! 34.2
loho-n- cause to die	*loho'lahana^{ɛ}n* I used to kill them
wog- arrive	*wogowa'^{ɛ}k'* many arrived 112.2
t!oxox- (aorist) gather	*wa^{ɛ}-ī-t!oxo't!ixi^{ɛ}n* I used to gather them
dō^{u}x- (non-aorist)	*wa^{ɛ}-ī-dōxda'xk'* they have been gathering them (inferential)
hen-d- wait for	*hene'handa^{ɛ}n* I always used to wait for him
odo- hunt for	*odo'^{ɛ}at'* she always hunted for them 116.6
og- give to	*ogo'^{ɛ}ak'i* he always gave them 112.17
dō^{u}m- kill	*dō^{u}mda'mk'* he used to kill them (inferential) 25.1; 27.15
wī^{i}- go, travel	*wiyiwīt'e^{ɛ}* I used to go (there) (96.1)
p!ā^{a}g- swim	*p!aga'p!a^{ɛ}k'* he used to swim
ts·!iu-d- split	*xa^{ɛ}-ī-ts·!iwī'^{i}ts·!au* he split it to pieces
sgīp!- cut	*sgī^{i}^{ɛ}p'sga'p'gam* they had been all cut up (21.2; 138.7)
hül-p!- skin, peel off bark	*he^{e}^{ɛ}-ī-hü'lühal* he kept peeling off bark (160.5)
hog- run	*hogo'hak'de^{ɛ}* I am always running
he^{e}l- sing	*hele'hal^{ɛ}* he used to sing
al-hūi-x- hunt	*al-hūyū'hī^{i}x* he always hunted (*-hī^{i}-=-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 13*a*, directly from the simple bases *leb-* (verb-stem *le^{e}p'lab-*, aorist *lebelab-*) and *loh-* (verb-stem *lohlah-*, aorist *loholah-*). Similarly, a form like *p!aga'p!a^{ɛ}k'* 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^{ɛ}n* I CUT IT TO PIECES (144.2) (cf. *sgō'^{u}da^{ɛ}n* 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'!ümũmt'a* HE BOILS IT; *ts'!ümü'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^{u}xdax-*, are to be considered as of mixed type (in this case partly 8, partly 13*a*).

Verbs like *odo^{s}ad-* and *ogo^{s}ag-* 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'^{s}ag-* 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 13*c*). Such are:

Verb-stem	Repetitive
*wa-*yana*gwa'n* I shall run after him	*wa-*yana-in*agwa'^{s}n* I used to run after him
waī*t'e^{e}* I shall sleep (71.15; 142.14)	wayaũhi*de^{s}* I used to sleep (*-h-* conditioned by accent)
*he^{e}l-*yo^{u}na*'n* I shall sing a song (106.7)	yonoina*'^{s}n* I always sing it
waga*'n* I shall bring it	wagao'k'*na^{s}n* I used to bring it (?=**wagawg-*, but see 4, footnote) (45.6)

A very peculiar type of frequentative formation is illustrated by:

loha'lhi*k'* (*a'* is inorganic) they used to die (inferential) (168.9); aorist stem doubtless lohollhi-

derived from aorist *lohoi-* die, non-aorist *loho-* (contrast aorist *loholah-an-*, non-aorist *lohlah-an* in the causative). The otherwise purely aoristic *-i-* of Type 4 is here dragged into the non-aorist forms.

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
k!eme {*-n-* / *-i-*} make	*k!eme'ᵋamgaᵋn* I always make it (instead of **k!eme'-k!amaᵋn*) (77.5); *k!emᵋa'mk'* (=*-ᵋamg-k'* he used to make it (inferential) 122.18
t!omom- kill	*t!omo'amdaᵋn* I used to kill them (instead of **t!omo'-t!amaᵋn*) (13.10; 54.3)
k!ūwūw- throw away (pl. obj.)	*k!ūwū'ᵋaugaᵋn* I used to throw them away (instead of **k!ūwū'k!awaᵋn*) (134.6)
p!ūwū-k!- call, name	*p!ūwū'ᵋa-ugaᵋn* I keep calling his name (100.21) (instead of **p!ūwū'p!auk!aᵋn*; cf. *p!ū'-wūp!aus'i* he keeps calling me by name)
de-ts'!iniᵋ-x- (=*ts'!ini-k!-x-*) die	*de-ts'!inī'anx* he always died (instead of **ts'!inī'ts'!anx*) 74.7
leme-k!- take along (cf. 108.10)	*leme'amk'* he used to take (everything) (instead of **leme'lamk'*)

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'ᵋauᵋk'* (from **k!ūwū'k!au*) is dissimilated to *k!ūwū'ᵋauk'*. Similarly a theoretical **p!ūwū'ᵋauᵋk'* (from **p!ūwū'p!auᵋk'*) is dissimilated to *p!ūwū'ᵋauk'*. The non-aorist frequentative forms of these verbs sometimes follow the first method of formation (cf. *dō^{u}mda'mk'* under method 1), sometimes the second (as *k!emᵋamg-*).

3. $c+v+c_1+v+c$. 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	Repetitive
dī-t!ūgūi- wear	*dī-t!ūgū'ᵉt'* 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!emèī* HE MADE IT and *-n-* of *k!eme'nxaˢ* HE MAKES, also the aorist characteristic of *dī-t!ūgūī* HE WORE IT, are not found in their corresponding frequentative forms.

4. ***v*+*c*+*v*ʳ+*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 non-fortis repeated consonant characterizing the frequentative, so that the appearance at least of infixation is often produced. Externally, frequentatives of this type resemble aorists of verbs of Type 8, but differ from them in the consistent length of the repeated vowel. In signification these verbs are generally continuative or usitative rather than properly frequentative or iterative. As examples may be given:

Aorist stem	Repetitive
k!os·o-g- pinch	*ī-k!os·ōs·g i* he is always pinching him
himi-d- talk to	*wāᵃ-himīⁱmda'ᵉn* I used to talk to him
baxam- come	*baxāxmiaᵘᵉ* they keep coming (194.13)
t!ülü-g- follow	*ha-t!ülüᵘlga'ᵉn* I keep following in (trail)
al-sgal-aw- turn head to look at	*al-sgalāᵃliwi'ᵉm* I keep turning my head to look at them
gaya-w- eat	*gayāiwa'ᵉn* I used to eat it
hene-d- wait for	*heneᵉnda'ᵉn* I keep waiting for him
p!alag- tell a myth	*p!alāᵃlga'n* the myth is always told
hem-g- take out	*ba-i-hemeᵉnga'ᵉn* I always took them out
ūyūᵉs·- laugh	*ūyū'ᵉīⁱs·deᵉ* (dissimilated from **ūyū'ᵉīⁱᵉs·-* [?]) I keep laughing
ts!ayag- shoot	*ts!ayaīk'* he used to shoot them 154.14
yilim- ask for	*yilīⁱnma'ᵉn* I keep asking for it (see § 21)

Aorist stem	Repetitive
ts!aya-m- hide	*ts!aya-ima'ᵉn* I always hide it (134.8)
gini-g go to	*ginīnk'* they went there one after another 46.11
mats!ag- put	*mats!āsga* they always put it away 132.9
wits·!im- move	*wits·!īsmadeᵉ* I keep moving
sgelew- shout	*sgelēlt'eᵉ* (see § 18) I keep shouting (59.3)
hiwiliw- run to	*hiwilīlt'eᵉ* (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'deᵉ*, *yewèūk'deᵉ*[1] 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-imīk'* HE WAS ALWAYS HIDING IT; of *bil[à]uk'* HE JUMPED 160.17 it is *bilwàlk'* (?=**bilwàlwk'*) THEY ALWAYS JUMPED 160.16. From *gaīk'* (inferential) HE ATE IT 142.19 is formed *gayaīk'* (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·!ē'smadeᵉ* HE WILL KEEP MOVING, given as the future of *wits·!īsmadeᵉ*, can not, for want of parallel forms, be accounted for. From *sgāᵃlw-*, 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'naᵉn* I USED TO BRING IT (see above under 1) would be another example.

Simplex	Repetitive
yimi'sˑa^{ɛ} he dreams	*yimī'*^{i}*sˑa*^{ɛ} he is always dreaming
lük!ü'xa^{ɛ} he sets traps	*lük!ū'*^{u}*xa*^{ɛ} he used to set traps
geyewa'lxde^{e}*da*^{ɛ} *ba-ik!iyi'*^{ɛ}*kˑ* when I ate he came	*geye*^{e}*wa'lxde*^{e}*da*^{ɛ} *ba-i-k!iyī'*^{iɛ}*kˑ* whenever I used to eat he came
kˑewe'kˑawa^{ɛ}*l* he barks	*kˑewe'*^{e}*kˑawa*^{ɛ}*l* he is always barking

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
lohõn he caused them to die (100.8)	*lohõnha* he keeps killing them
liwila'utˑe^{ɛ} I looked (59.14)	*liwīlhautˑe*^{ɛ} I kept looking (144.19)
wõ^{u}*ltˑ* she went for (wood) (non-aorist *woo-*) (162.8); 186.6	*wo*^{ɛ}*õ*^{u}*ha* she used to go for wood 43.15; 158.18
dā^{a}*-sgek!ī* he listened 102.8	*dā*^{a}*-sgek!eīha* he listened around 102.3
dā^{a}*-agani'*^{ɛ}*n* I heard it (55.3)	*dā*^{a}*-agānhi*^{ɛ}*n* I used to hear about it
sˑu^{ɛ}*wilī* he sits, stays 21.1	*sˑū'*^{ɛ}*alha*^{ɛ} they always stayed (together) 112.2 *sˑū'*^{ɛ}*alhibikˑ* we always stay together
sˑas·inūtˑe^{ɛ} I stand (34.1)	*sˑas·a'nhap'de*^{ɛ} 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'utˑe*^{e} I SHALL JUMP, not **bilaūtˑe*^{e}, because of inorganic *-a-*). They also illustrate the loss in the frequentative of a non-radical element (*-ī*^{i}*-*) of the simplex; in *sˑū'*^{ɛ}*alha*^{ɛ} the loss of the *-ī*^{i}*-* involves also the transfer of the verb to the first class of intransitives (second person singular, Class I, *sˑū'*^{ɛ}*alhatˑ* YOU STAY AROUND; Class II, *sˑu*^{ɛ}*wilūtˑam* YOU SIT).

7. *ĕ+lha.* It is very probable that the verbs that belong here contain the continuative *-l-* treated under the head of petrified suffixes (see § 42, 9). The formula may then be considered morphologically identical with that listed as method 5, except that the continuative *-l-* is introduced before the *-ha*. Examples of this group are:

Aorist (or verb) stem	Repetitive
t!oxox- gather	*wa-ᵋī-t!oxōlhiᵋn* I always gather them
(*bāᵃ-t'ek!-x* emerge)	*bāᵃ-t'ek!ēlhixiaᵘᵋ* they all emerged 60.11 *bāᵃ-t'ek!ēlhixdeᵋ* I keep emerging (60.14)
(*sgīp!-* cut)	*xa-ᵋī-sgip!īlhi* he cut them all through 26.11
k!ot'k!ad- break	*xa-ᵋī-yāᵃ-k!odōlhi* he always just broke them in two 29.1
(*al-xīk!-* see)	*al-xik!īlhiᵋn* I used to see him
gwidi(k'ʷd)- throw	*gwidīlha* he kept throwing it (164.11)
(*lok!-* trap)	*lok!ōlha* he was always trapping them 78.4: 100.4

The non-aoristic forms of these frequentatives dispense with the repeated vowel (*ĕ*) 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!ōlha* 108.8 from verb-stem *sgōt!-* CUT, aorist *sgōʷd-*, like *sgot!o'sgat'*).

8. *ĕ+ă+ĕ+lha.* Only two verbs have been found that follow this very irregular formula for the frequentative:

Simplex	Repetitive
lāp' become! 25.2 *lāᵃlē'* it became 22.7	*lawa'lhip'* always become! (78.5) *dahōxa lawa'lhidaᵋ* whenever it became evening 44.1; 78.6
ligigwa'ᵋn I fetch (game) home (70.3,5; 164.4)	*liwi'lhagwaᵋn* 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, *līⁱgwa'n*, probably does not exhibit an absolute loss of the *-g-*, but rather a contraction of *līⁱg-gw-* to *līⁱgw-*.

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 umlauted) between it and the suffix; doublets (with and without connective *-a-*) sometimes occur, the combination of consonant + *-n-* then taking a constant *-a* (*-i*) after it. If the accented vowel (*ō*) of the aorist immediately precedes the *-n-* in all forms, an inorganic *-h-* must be introduced, the combination *-nh-* then necessitating a following constant *-a;* doublets, conditioned by the position of the accent, here also occur. Certain suffixed elements (*-i-*, *-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	Causative
yelnada'ᵉ you will be lost (*a* palatalized by preceding *y* to *-e-*) 14.3	*yalnanada'ᵉ* you will lose it
yowo'ᵉ he is 21.1	*bāᵉ-ī-yowoni'ᵉn* I woke him up (literally, I caused him to be up with my hand) 16.4

Intransitive	Causative
	ba-i-yowona'ᵋn I miss him in shooting (? = I cause him to be out) (138.5) *ba-i-yowõnhaᵋn*
t'ūwū'ᵋk' he is hot 94.15	*t'ūwūgana'ᵋn* I make him hot
ba-i-biliwa'ṭ you ran out 24.15	*ba-i-biliwana'ṭ* he ran him out
hãx it burns 94.18	*hãx*na he burned it 98.8 *hãxank'wa* he burned him up 27.16
t'aga'ⁱᵋ he cries 62.2	*t'agāᵃna'ᵋn* I make him cry *t'egēnxi* he makes me cry
hoyo'ᵋt' he dances 46.12 *hoida'ᵋt'* he will dance	*hoyod*ana'ᵋn I make him dance *hoid*ana'*n* I shall make him dance
yāᵃn- go (aorist)	*yāᵃn*a'n he made him go; *yāᵃ-nana'ᵋn* I made him go *yãn*ha (= **yãn-nha*) he made him go; *yãn*haᵋ*n* I made him go.
yana- go (non-aorist)	*yanāᵃna'n*[1] I shall cause him to go
hene'ᵋn they were used up 184.6	*ī-henen*ini'ᵋn I used them up
yowo'ᵋs he started, was startled 186.10	*yōwō'ᵘtsl*anxbiᵋn I startled you *yowō'ᵘᵋs*nixbiᵋn (for change of *a* to *i* see § 42, 12)
yō'ᵘᵋsdāᵃ he will start 186.10	*yō'ᵘtsl*an*an* I shall startle him *yōᵘᵋsnan*
t!obigī he lies like dead	*t!obig*īnhaᵋn I make him lie like dead
t!obaga'sdāᵃ he will lie like dead (148.8)	*t!obaga'snan* I shall make him lie like dead
s·as·inī he stands 144.14	*s·as·in*īnhaᵋn I make him stand *s·as·ã*nhaᵋn
s·a's·ant'āᵃ he will stand	*s·a's·anhan* I shall make him stand
de-gülü'k!alx it blazes 188.15	*de-gülü'k!alx*naᵋn I make fire blaze
p'ele'xaᵋ he goes to war 126.13	*p'ele'xana*ᵋn I make him go to war
dak'-limīmxgwaᵋ (tree) falls on him (108.12)	*dak'-limīmxgwad*iniᵋn I chop (tree) on to him

[1] Also *yana'k'nan* I SHALL MAKE HIM GO, with inserted and unexplained suffix *-k'-*.

Intransitive	Causative
yewe'$^{i\varepsilon}$ he returned 49.10; 88.5	*bā*$^{\varepsilon}$*-ī-yewẽ*n he cured him (literally, he caused him with his hand to return up) 15.2

The causative in *-ṽnha-* is sometimes usitative in meaning:

*lohõ*nha he used to kill them; *lohõ*n he killed them 142.9

Examples occur of transitives in *-n-* formed from intransitives in which no causative notion can be detected:

*da-lõ*nha$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I lied to him; *de-lũ*nhi*xi* he lied to me (intransitive *da-lõt'e*^{e} I shall lie [110.23])

gel-wayā^{a}n*a'*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I slept with her (26.4); *gel-wa-ina'n* I shall sleep with her (108.3) (intransitive *wayãnt'e*$^{\varepsilon}$ I sleep [188.22]; *waĩt'e*^{e} I shall sleep [188.20]); but *wayã*nha$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I cause him to sleep (162.1); *waĩ*nha*n* I shall cause him to sleep, *waĩ*nha 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
hō^{u}*gwa'*n he made him run	*hogwa'*n make him run!
(*yewẽ*n he caused him to return)	*ye*^{e}*wa'*n make him return!
(*p!agã*n he bathed him [186.25])	*p!ā*^{a}*ga'*n bathe him! 186.24

In other words, the phonetic relation between aorist and non-aorist illustrated by several verb types (e. g., *agan-* : *ag*[*a*]*n-*) is reflected also in the causative suffix (*-an-*: -[*a*]*n-*). The same is true of other -[*a*]*n-* suffixes not causative in signification (see § 42, 10):

Aorist	Non-aorist
ī-k!ū^{u}*ma'n* he fixed it 150.13	*ī-k!ūma'n* fix it!
(*k!emẽnxbi*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I make you 27.9)	*k!ema'n* make it! 186.24

§ 46. Comitative -(*a*) *gw-*

Comitatives, i. e., transitive forms with the general meaning of TO DO SOME ACTION (expressed by verb-stem) TOGETHER WITH, ATTENDED BY, HAVING SOMETHING (expressed by object of verb), may be formed only from intransitives by the suffix *-gw-* (final *-k'*^{w}, rarely *-k'wa* in monosyllables); after a consonant (including semivowel) a connective *-a-* appears before the *-gw-*, though in a few cases (as in aorist *yā*^{a}*n-* GO) the *-gw-* is directly appended. Dissyllabic stems ending in vowel + *-g-* or *-w-* often add the comitative *-gw-* directly, in

which case the preceding vowel is generally lengthened; doublets, however, are sometimes found with connecting *a*. The second vowel of aorist stems is apt to be lengthened in comitative forms, yet not as consistently as in the case of causatives. Differing in this respect from the causative *-n-*, the comitative suffix does not require the loss of a final aoristic intransitive element (e. g., *-i-*). From aorist *lohoi-* DIE are formed *loho^{u}-n-* CAUSE TO DIE, but *lohoy-agw-* DIE TOGETHER WITH. The reason seems clear. While the action of a causative verb is logically transitive, that of a comitative is really intransitive, and the verb is only formally transitive. In the former case the subject of the verb does not undergo the action that would be expressed by the intransitive stem (*lohoi-*); in the latter it does. Examples of the comitative are:

Intransitive	Comitative
yā^{a}n- go (aorist)	*yān*k'^{w} he takes it along (lit., he goes having it) 17.13
yana- (non-aorist)	*yana*gwa'*nk'* he will take it along
ligi- come home from hunt (aorist)	*ligi*'k'^{w} he fetched game home 70.3
lī^{i}g- (non-aorist)	*lī^{i}*gwa'*nk'* (=*lī^{i}g-gwa'nk'*) he will fetch game home (130.6)
gini(g)- go to	*ginī^{i}*gwa'$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I take it to (31.11); also *giniy*agwa'$^{\varepsilon}$*n* (13.12); future *gina*gwa'*n* (=*ginag-gwa'n* with inorganic *a* because of preceding *n*) (146.6)
dal-yewey- run away	*dal-yewey*a'k'^{w} he ran away with it
wī^{i}- travel	*wī*k'wa he travels around with it 14.2
lō^{u}l- play	*lō^{u}l*agwa'$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I play with him (124.14)
daway- fly	*bā^{a}-wa-daway*a'k'^{w} he flies with it
henen- use up, be satiated	*henen*agwa'$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I eat it all (43.12)
yewey- return	*yewey*agwa'$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I fetch them back (30.1; 47.13)
yaway- talk	*yaway*agwa'$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I talk about it (lit., I talk having it) 108.12
he^{e}l- sing (non-aorist)	*nāx-ī-he^{e}l*agwa'*n* I shall sing with pipe in hand
helel- (aorist)	*ī-hele^{e}l*agwa'$^{\varepsilon}$*n* I sing with it in hand

§ 46

Intransitive	Comitative
t!obagas- lie like dead (non-aorist)	*nãx-da-t!obaga'sgwank'* he lies like dead with pipe in mouth
ūyū^{ɛ}s·- laugh	*ūyū'^{ɛ}s·gwa^{ɛ}n* I laugh at him
baxam- come	*da-yawīx baxama'k'^{w}* they came talking (literally, mouth-talking they-came-with) 126.2
biliw- fight, jump	*lō^{u}x biliwagwana'k'* we play at fighting (literally, play we-fight-having) *wa-bilī^{i}gwa'^{ɛ}n* I jump having it (=**biliugwa'^{ɛ}n*, 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'^{ɛ}s·gwasi he laughs at me
*henen*agwa'*sam* he ate us up (192.15)
*bā^{a}-wa-dawiy*agwa'*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:

*lük!ü'xa*gwad*ini^{ɛ}n* I trap for him (probably = I cause [*-in*] him to be having [*-gwad-*] [some one] to trap [*lük!ü-xa-*] [for him]); but *lük!ü'xa*gwa*si* he traps for me

*p'ele'xa*gwad*ini^{ɛ}n* I go to war for him; but *p'ele'xa*gwa*si* 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-*:

*lük!ü'xa*gwan*t'gwide^{ɛ}* I trap for myself (probably = I cause [*-an-*] myself [*-gwi-*] to be having [*-gw-*] [some one] to trap [*lük!ü-xa-*] for [*-t'-*] [me])

Comitatives in *-gw-* are formed not only from intransitivized transitives in *-xa-* (e. g., *ī-lübü'xak'ᵘ* 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
sgō'ᵘsdeˢ (=*sgō'ᵘd-x-deˢ*) I cut (without implied object), am across (148.8)	*sgō'ᵘsgwaˢn* I got tired[1] of it (21.6)
heˢ-meˢ-t'bō'ᵘk't'bax he lay down with his arms folded, lay rolled up and put away (cf. *heˢ-meˢ-t'bō'ᵘk't'bagaˢn* I roll it up and put it away)	*heᵉˢ-wa-t'bō'ᵘk't'ba'xgwa* he lay down with it clasped in his arms 154.6
t'geᵉya'lx it runs around, rolls	*wa-t'geᵉya'lxgwaˢn* I roll with it
	wa-i-s·ügü's·üxgwaˢn I am sleepy (literally, something like: I am confused having sleep)
ba-i-s·ili'x he landed	*ba-i-s·ili'xgwa* he landed with (his canoe) 13.5

The obverse, as it were, of these transitive forms in *-x-gwa-*, is given by certain rather curious Class I intransitive forms in *-x-gwa-* built up on intransitive, not, like normal *-x-* derivatives, on transitive stems; they may be literally translated as TO BE WITH (or HAVING) (SOMETHING) DOING OR BEING. Thus from the intransitive aorist *dak'-limim-* (TREE) FALLS ON TOP OF is formed the intransitive *dak'-limīmxgwadeˢ* 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'-limī'mgwa'ˢn*. Morphologically similar to *dak'-limīmxgwadeˢ* are doubtless:

hewe'hōxgwadeˢ I yawn (literally, I am having —[?])

yele'ˢsgwadeˢ (= *yelet!-x-gwa-*) I am sweating (literally, I am —having it, i. e., perspiration [?])

With such an interpretation, the form *dak'-limīmxgwadiniˢn* I CHOP IT ON TO HIM becomes readily intelligible as a causative built

[1] *sgō'usdeˢ* and *sgō'usgwaˢn* 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 (*limī^{i}m-x-*) ON TOP OF (*dak'-*) (HIM). This chimes in well with the interpretation given above of the really very perplexing "for" forms in *-gwadin-* and *-gwant'gwi*.

As will have been noticed from some of the examples already given (*yawayagw-* TALK ABOUT, *ūyū$^{i^{z}}$s'gwa-* LAUGH AT, *sgō^{u}sgwa-* 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
hoyod- dance	*hoyod-agw-* dance (a particular kind of) dance 100.15; 102.9
bā^{a}-yā^{a}n- go up	*bā^{a}-yā^{a}n-gw-* pick up 24.3; 59.15
ba-i-ginig- go out to, come	*ba-i-ginī^{i}-gw-* take out (no leg motion necessarily implied)
xeben- do (so)	*xebe^{e}y-agw-*[1] 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!eme^{e}n-* 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
ogoyi'ᵉn[1] I give it to him 180.11	*o'k'in* (170.13; 180.9,16)
ogu'sbiᵉn I give it to you 23.3	*o'sbin* (178.15)
(*oyõnxbiᵉn* I give you)	(*oīnxbin* I shall give you)
wēt'giᵉn (for *-g-* see §42, 5) I took it from him 76.1	*wede'k'in* (17.10,11)
wēsbiᵉn I took it from you (17.3)	*wede'sbin* (16.10,11)
al-da-p'õᵘp'iwiᵉn I blew at it (15.1)	
al-da-p'ūp'ausbiᵉn I blew at you	
wāᵃgiwi'ᵉn I brought it to him (for *-w-* see §42, 11) (176.17)	*wagawi'n* I shall bring it to him
waᵃga'sam[2] he brought it to us (194.11)	*wege'sink'* he will bring it to me
eiyi'ᵉn I hurt him	
eīsbiᵉn I hurt you	
gayaū he ate him 54.5	*ga-iwa'nk'* 130.5
gayaūsbiᵉn I ate you	*gaīsbink'* he will eat you 26.8
al-yebebi'ᵉn I showed it to him (77.8)	*al-yeᵉbi'n* I shall show it to him
al-yebe'psbiᵉn I showed it to you	*al-yēpsi* show it to me!

[1] The *-y-* is peculiar to aorist forms of this verb with a third personal object (*ogoyi'ᵉ* YOU TO HIM; *ogoīhi* 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* (=*weᵉg-sdam*) would become confused with *wēsdam* (=*weᵉd-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
he$^{e\varepsilon}$-ī^{i}wi'$^{\varepsilon}$n I went away from him 23.12	*he$^{e\varepsilon}$-īwi'n*
he$^{e\varepsilon}$-īūsbi$^{\varepsilon}$n I went away from you (184.14,15)	*he$^{e\varepsilon}$-īwi'xbink'*
yī^{i}mīsbi$^{\varepsilon}$n I lent it to you 98.15	*yimi'xi* lend it to me! 98.14, 21
ī-t!aūt!iwi$^{\varepsilon}$n I catch him 33.4	*ī-t!ā^{a}wi'n* (33.8)
ī-t!aut!a'usbi he caught you	*ī-t!āūxbink'* (140.15)
naga'$^{\varepsilon}$n I said to him 72.9	*nā^{a}gi'n* (15.15; 196.20)
naga'sbi$^{\varepsilon}$n I said to you 108.4	*nãxbin* (60.3)
dak'-da-hā^{a}li'$^{\varepsilon}$n I answered him (61.6)	*dak'-da-hala'hin*
dak'-da-hãlsbi$^{\varepsilon}$n I answered you (134.20)	*dak'-da-hala'xbin*
sā^{a}nsa'$^{\varepsilon}$n I fight him (110.20)	*sana'n* (28.15; 33.9)
sā^{a}nsa'nsbi$^{\varepsilon}$n I fight you	*sana'xbin*

§ 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:

hiliūt'e$^{\varepsilon}$ I climb	*hiliwa'lda$^{\varepsilon}$n* I climb for it (77.8)
yada't'e$^{\varepsilon}$ I swim (*yadad-*)	*yadada'lda$^{\varepsilon}$n* I swim for him (to save him from drowning) *yededa'lsi* he swims for me
bili'$^{u\varepsilon}$ he jumped 32.13; 78.11	*biliwa'lsa$^{\varepsilon}$n* they fought (literally, they jumped at, for each other) 27.4
da-t!aya'$^{i\varepsilon}$ they went to get (something) to eat 75.9	*da-t!ayaldi'$^{\varepsilon}$n* I went to get it to eat; *da-t!ayãlt'* he went to get it to eat (*ã* shows by its accent that it is part of stem) 76.9
da-dā^{a}ya'$^{\varepsilon}$t' (future) (33.9)	*da-dā^{a}ldi'n* (future) (33.9)
sgele'$^{u\varepsilon}$ he shouted 59.4; 90.8	*sgelewa'lt'* he shouted to, for him 59.4; (94.1)

wiliw- go, run	*wiliwa'lda$^{\varepsilon}$n* I go and show it to him *de-wiliwa'lda$^{\varepsilon}$n* I fight him (27.3)
xudu'$^{\varepsilon}$m he whistled	*xuduma'lda$^{\varepsilon}$n* I whistled to him (33.16)
ligi'k'^{w} he fetched home (game) 70.3; 128.12; *ligi'$^{\varepsilon}$* he came home (with game) 124.22	*de-ligia'lt'* he fetched it for him to eat 126.9; 130.9
	yonoba'lt' they held nets waiting for fish 32.1

In *wõ^{u}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	-(*a'*)*md*-
	t!ī^{i}la'mda$^{\varepsilon}$n I fish for (salmon)
	ts·!elela'mda$^{\varepsilon}$n I paint him (=I put paint—*s·e'^{e}l*—on to him)
	s·in-delega'msdam you put holes in my nose 22.2
malagia'$^{u\varepsilon}$ they are jealous (cf. *malag-*, *malagan-* tell)	*malaga'msbi$^{\varepsilon}$n* I am jealous of you
yala'k'de$^{\varepsilon}$ I dive (61.8)	*yalaga'mda$^{\varepsilon}$n* I dive for it (60.10)
(*lagag-* feed)	*lagaga'mda$^{\varepsilon}$n* I paid him (184.17)
legwe'l he sucked it (186.18)	*legwela'mda$^{\varepsilon}$n* I sucked it out of him
(*geleg-* twirl)	*dī$^{i\varepsilon}$-al-gelegala'mda$^{\varepsilon}$n* I tie his hair up into top-knot (172.3)
ūyūts!- laugh	*dī$^{\varepsilon}$-ūyū'ts!amda$^{\varepsilon}$n* I fool him
ya'mt' ask him! 70.6	*yamda'mt'* (go and) ask of him! 74.10
	p'õyamda$^{\varepsilon}$n I smoke them out (76.11)
k!emen- make	*bā^{a}-k!emena'mda$^{\varepsilon}$n* I make him ready to go (76.13)
dak'-t'gū'^{u}ba$^{\varepsilon}$n I put (hat-like object) over as covering	*dak'-t'gū'^{u}bamt'* 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^{u}ninini'^{ɛ}n* 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
wa^{ɛ}-ī-t!oxõxi^{ɛ}n I gather them (192.4)	*wa^{ɛ}-ī-t!oxõxini^{ɛ}n* I gather them for him
	wa^{ɛ}-ī-t!ūxūxanxi he gathers them for me
ī-k!ū^{u}ma'n he fixed it (150.13; 186.16,18)	*ī-k!ū^{u}mininini'^{ɛ}n* I fixed it for him
	ī-k!ūmininini'nk' he will fix it for him
	ī-k!ū^{u}manan'xi he fixed it for me
	ī-k!ūmana'nhi fix it for him!

Transitive	Indirective
lāᵃba'ᵋn I carry it (178.4,5,6)	*lāᵃbinini'ᵋn* I carry it for him *lāᵃba'nhaᵋn*
	leᵉba'nxi he carries it for me
ō'ᵘgaᵋn I trap them (78.5)	*lōᵘginini'ᵋn* I trap them for him *lō'ᵘginiᵋn*
	(*p!iyin*) *lū'ᵘganxi* he traps (deer) for me *lō'k!inin* I shall trap them for him
k!adāi- pick (aorist)	*k!adayini'ᵋn* I pick them for him *k!adāihiniᵋn*
	k!edeya'nxi he picks them for him
k!āᵃd- pick (non-aorist)	*k!āᵃdinini'n* I shall pick them for him
deᵋ-ī-wī'ⁱgiᵋn I spread it out (120.1)	*deᵋ-ī-wī'ⁱganxi* he spreads it out for me
k!emen- make	*k!emenini'ᵋn* I make it for him *k!emnini'n* I shall make it for him
limimana'ᵋn I fell tree (cause it to fall) (108.11)	*limim*inini'ᵋn I fell it for him
lohōᵘna'ᵋn I cause him to die (142.9)	*lohōᵘninini'ᵋn* I killed him for him *lohōᵘnana'nhi* he killed him for him *lūhūᵘna'nxi* he killed him for me
dōᵘmk'wank' he will kill him (116.18)	*dōᵘmana'nk'wank'* he will kill him for him
sāᵃgwa'ᵋn I paddle it (60.1; 112.9)	*han-seᶜgwa'nsin* I am paddled across (literally, it, i. e., canoe, is paddled across for me)
p!ahanana'ᵋn I cause it to be cooked, done	*p!ahayinini'ᵋn*[1] 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.

al^{ɛ}-ō^{u}dini$'^{ɛ}n I look around for him (92.27)
ī^{ɛ}-odoni'n I shall feel around for it
} ({*ō^{u}da'$^{ɛ}n* I hunt for him [116.8])

*malag*ana'n*hi* he told him 30.15 (*mala'xbi* 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!edèīsi he picks them for me (literally, he picks to me, alongside of *k!edeya'nxi* he picks them for me)[1]
me^{ɛ}bēp'xip' come and chop out (a hole) for me (to enable me to get out) (literally, come and chop me!) 90.16
gel-ts!eye'mxi he hid it from me (158.7); but *gel-ts!ayamini'$^{ɛ}n* 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'^{u}gin(in)i$^{ɛ}n* I TRAP (DEER) FOR HIM built up on a transitive in both form and meaning (i. e., *lō'^{u}ga$^{ɛ}n*), but *lük!ü'xagwadini$^{ɛ}n* I TRAP FOR HIM built up on a formal intransitive (*lük!ü'xa^{ɛ}*). 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^{u}mana'nk'widā^{a} he will kill them for himself
t!ūmūk'wank'wide^{ɛ} I kill them for myself
de^{ɛ}-ī-wī'^{i}gank'wide^{ɛ} I spread it out for myself
han-se^{e}gwa'nk'wide^{ɛ} I paddle myself across, really, I paddle (canoe) across for myself

[1] There must be a difference in signification, however, between *k!edèīsi* 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^{ɛ}īse'exi* HE OPENED THE DOOR FOR ME (i. e., in order to let me in) (63.12) with *de^{ɛ}īse'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-*:

lük!ü'xagwant'gwit' 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-^{s}*ī-t'gili'^{s}*sgwa[1] he scratched his own nose 14.11; 15.7

mãnx al-*nū'^{u}*k'wa (=*gw-k'wa*) he painted his own face (cf. *nō^{w}gw-i^{s}n* I paint it)

*ī-gaxaga'x*gwa^{s}*n* I scratch myself, i. e., my own (cf. *ī-gaxagixi'^{s}n* I scratch him)

ī-*p!ī^{i}-nō'^{u}*k'wa warm your hands! (188.20) (cf. *ī-p!ī^{i}-nō'^{u}k'wi^{s}n* I warm his hands)

s·in-*de^{s}le'p'*gwa he stuck it into his own nose (cf. *dā^{a}-dele'p'i* he pierced his — another's — ear)

bīls ^{s}al-*giliga'l*k'wa^{s}*n* I covered myself with moss (48.14) (cf. *bīls ī-giligili'^{s}n* I covered him with moss)

bīls ^{s}ī-*giliga'l*k'wa^{s}*n* I covered my hands with moss

gwen-*p!iyi'n*k'wa he lies on pillow (probably = he causes his neck to lie)[2]

*k!edèī*k'wa^{s}*n* I pick them for myself (literally, I pick my own)

de-*k'iūk'au*k'wa*k'* he brandished it before his face 172.11

*ī-k!ū^{u}ma'n*k'wa he prepared himself, got ready 172.2 (cf. *ī-k!ū^{u}-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

[1] The 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^{c}le'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^{a}dele'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!a^{s}n* 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^{s}xade^{s}* I STRETCH (SOMETHING) OUT. Fourthly, a direct reflexive is formed by the suffix *-qwi-: ba-i-de-di'ni^{s}k'wide^{s}* 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^{s}xa^{s}n* THEY (actively and literally) STRETCH ONE ANOTHER OUT. Sixthly, the non-agentive voice is formed by a suffixed *-x-: ba-i-de-dini'^{s}x* 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'^{s}x* (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 *-ī^{i}-*, non-aoristic *-as-: dink!ī* IT LIES SPREAD OUT, referring to a long string or other elongated body extended on the ground; future *dink!a'sdā^{a}*. A synopsis for the second person singular (and reciprocal plural) of *dink!-*(*dinik!-*) SPREAD of the seven voices in the six tense-modes is given in Appendix A. The intransitive suffixes will now be taken up in order.

§ 53. Active Intransitive *-xa-*

The *-a-* of this suffix is a constant element except before a personal ending beginning with a vowel: *p'ele'xik'* WE GO TO FIGHT. Like other non-radical *-a-* vowels it may be umlauted to *i*: *s'om-lühūīxiya^{us}* THEY (indef.) OPERATE AS *s'omloho'lxa^{s}s* (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^{ɛ} she pounded 16.9; *ī-lū'p*xa*gwank'* she will pound having it (pestle) 55.10 (aorist transitive *lobo'p'* she pounded them 16.9)

*t!ī^{i}la'm*xa*de^{ɛ}* I went fishing (*t!ī^{i}la'mda^{ɛ}n* I fished for them)

*k!ā^{a}wa'n*xa^{ɛ} she sifts 57.15 (*k!ā^{a}wa'nda^{ɛ}n* I sift acorn meal [16.10])

*dak'-t'ek!e'*xa^{ɛ} he smokes 96.23 (Type 5 *dak'-t'e'^{e}gi^{ɛ}n* I give him to smoke [170.13])

*p!ebe'*xa^{ɛ} he beat off (bark) 55.6 (*p!abab-* chop [90.11])

*lebe'*sa*de^{ɛ}* I sew (*lebeda'^{ɛ}n* I sew it)

*sgūt!ū'*xa^{ɛ} he is cutting 92.2 (Type 5 aorist *sgō^{u}d-* 72.10)

*al-xīk!i'*xa^{ɛ} he looked around 102.12 (Type 5 aorist *al-xī^{i}q-* 124.8)

*lük!ü'*xa^{ɛ} he traps (Type 5 aorist *lō^{u}g^{w}-* 78.5); future *lü'^{ɛ}*x^{w}a*gwa-dinin* I shall trap for him

*wā^{a}-himi'*xa*de^{ɛ}* I was talking to somebody (*wā^{a}-himida'^{ɛ}n* I talked to him [59.16])

*dak'-da-hele'hal*xa*de^{ɛ}* I always answer (*dak'-da-hā^{a}li'^{ɛ}n* I answer him [146.14])

*dak'-hene'*xa^{ɛ} he waits; future *dak'-hen*xa't'e^{e} I shall wait (*dak'-hene^{e}da'^{ɛ}n* I wait for him)

yimi's·a^{ɛ}(= *-s·-*xa^{ɛ}) he dreams; future *yims·a't'e^{e};* imperative *yims·a'*

In *k!eme'n*xa*de^{ɛ}* I WAS MAKING, WORKING (future *k!em*xa't'e^{e}) 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!omõk'wide^{s} I kill myself (from *t!omom-*)
al-yebe'p'gwit' he showed himself (*yebeb-*)
al-xī'^{i}k'wit' he looked at himself
p!agãnk'wide^{s} I bathed (literally, I caused myself to bathe; cf. *p!agā^{a}na'^{s}n* I bathe him)
se^{e}la'mt'gwide^{e} I shall paint myself (*se^{e}la'mdan* I shall paint him)
t'gwaxāīk'wide^{s} I tattooed myself (*t'gwaxāī* he tattooed him)
t'gwā^{a}xa'nt'gwide^{e} I shall tattoo myself (=for myself)
ī-gis·iga's·gwide^{s} I tickle myself
al-wa-ts!eyēk'wide^{s} I washed myself with it
dā^{a}-dɛlega'mt'gwide^{s} (=*dā^{a}-dɛlē'p'gwa^{s}n*) I pierce my ears
(*yāk'*) *k!ɛmēnk'wit'* they made themselves (strong) 27.12
xuma ogoīk'wide^{s} I give food to myself (=I food-give myself)
ī-lesgi'k'wide^{e} I shall touch myself

Before the imperative endings *-p'*, *-p'anp'* the reflexive suffix becomes lengthened to *-gwī'-*:

k!ēt'gwī^{i}p'[1] pick them for yourself!
de^{e}gwa'lt'gwī^{i}p'anp' take care of yourselves! 126.20; (128.24)

The reflexive of *naga-* SAY TO is irregular in that is is formed not from the transitive stem, but from the corresponding intransitive *nagai-* SAY: *nagaīk'wit'* HE SAID TO HIMSELF 104.1 (cf. *nagaīk'wa*, §62).

§ 55. Reciprocal{-x, -s}-an-

The *-x-* and *-s-* preceding the characteristic reciprocal *-an-* (umlauted *-in-*) suffix are nothing but the connective consonant of direct and indirect transitive verbs respectively, the choice in the reciprocal form between the two depending entirely upon which is used in the corresponding simple transitive. A difference, however, in the use of this *-x-* (*-s-*) between the transitive and reciprocal is found in so far as in the latter it appears with a third as well as first and second

[1] Indirect reflexive (for oneself) in signification, though without indirective suffix of any kind. The form is thus analogous to such as *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!ā^{a}d-*); 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!oyõxinik' we go together, accompany one another (33.15)
t!èũxiniba^{ɛ}ni let us play shinny!
ī-lats!a'xinik' we touch one another
al-s·in-lō'^{u}xa^{ɛ}n they meet each other (literally, they thrust noses to one another)
t!omõxa^{ɛ}n they kill one another (33.10)
gel-wayãnxa^{ɛ}n they were sleeping together (literally, they caused each other to sleep facing each other) 190.2
al-xī'^{i}xa^{ɛ}n they looked at each other

Examples of *-s-an-*, i. e., of indirect reciprocals, are:

naga'sa^{ɛ}n they said to each other 31.9 (cf. *naga'sbi^{ɛ}n* I said to you [100.1]); future *nãxan^{ɛ}t'* (cf. *nãxbin* [60.3])
sā^{a}nsa'nsa^{ɛ}n they fight one another (23.14; 184.13) (cf. *sā^{a}nsa'nsbi^{ɛ}n*); future *sana'xan^{ɛ}t'* (23.15) (cf. *sana'xbin*)
he^{ɛɛ}-īūs·a^{ɛ}n they went away from one another (cf. *he^{ɛɛ}-īūsbi^{ɛ}n* [184.14]); future *he^{ɛɛ}-īwi'xan^{ɛ}t'* (cf. *he^{ɛɛ}-īwi'xbin*)
lā^{a}ma'lsa^{ɛ}n they quarreled with each other 27.2; 86.10
wā^{a}-himi'sa^{ɛ}n they talked to one another 124.14 (cf. *wā^{a}-himi'sbi^{ɛ}n*)
lō^{u}gwa's·iniba^{ɛ} let us play 32.5 (cf. *lō^{u}gwa'sbin* future)
t!ü'lt!als·iniba^{ɛ} let us play at gambling-sticks (*t!ü'l*) 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 unreduplicated *al-se'^{ɛ}xinik'* we nodded to each other)

§ 56. Non-agentive *-x-*

The difference in signification between the non-agentive *-x-* and the intransitive *-xa-* may be well brought out by a comparison with the distinctly double signification of English intransitively used transitives. If such a transitive word as SPLIT be relieved of its object, it may be employed in two quite distinct senses, either to indicate the same sort of action that is expressed by the transitive, but without explicit direction (as, THE CARPENTER CAN SPLIT, i. e., can split beams, boards); or to indicate a spontaneous non-volitional activity resulting in a static condition identical with that induced by the corresponding transitive action (as, THE BEAMS, BOARDS, SPLIT, i. e., spontaneously

undergo motion resulting in that condition which is brought about by corresponding activity from without: THE CARPENTER SPLITS THE BEAMS, BOARDS). SPLIT in the former case is rendered in Takelma by *xā^{a}-ts·!iwi'xa^{ɛ}* (aorist transitive *ts·!iwi-d-*); in the latter, by *xā^{a}-ts·!iwi`s·* (= *-ts·!iwi`d-x*). It is true that in some cases the use of *-x-* does not seem to be logically justified (e. g., *al-hūyūxde^{ɛ}* I HUNT 136.18; *al-ho-yoiya'^{ɛ}n* I HUNT THEM); but something must be allowed for idiomatic, not literally translatable usage. Such petrified suffixes as *-d-* do not drop out before the *-x-;* the repeated consonant of Type 8 verbs falls off as usual (yet cf. forms like *limīm-x-gwa-*, §46). Examples of the non-agentive are:

Transitive	Non-agentive
ī-k'wā'^{a}gwi^{ɛ}n I awakened him 16.4 (future *ī-k'wā'k!win*)	*k'wā'^{a}xde^{ɛ}* I awoke (16.3) (future *k'wā'^{a}^{ɛ}xde^{e}* [190.5])
leme'^{ɛ}k' they took them along 144.17	*leme'^{ɛ}x* they all went 136.7
ī-t'ge^{e}yili'^{ɛ}n I roll it	*t'ge^{e}ya`lx* it rolls
de-ts·!ibi`p' he closed door	*de-ts·!ibi`x* (door) shut
p!a-i-ha-u-t'gū'^{u}p' he upset it	*p!a-i-ha-u-t'gū'^{u}px* it upset 60.8
wa^{ɛ}-ī-t!eme`m he assembled them 110.3	*wa-t!emēxia^{uɛ}* people assembled 144.23
ha^{ɛ}w-ī-ha'nats!i^{ɛ}n I made it stop	*ha-u-hana'^{ɛ}s*(=*-a'ts!x*)it stopped (152.15; 198.9)
dī-sgü'yük!i^{ɛ}n I knock it down (48.7, 8)	*dī-sgü'^{iɛ}xk'* it fell (nobody pushing) (59.11; 62.1)
ī-gwidigwa't'i he threw them (108.21; 138.3)	*hü^{ü}lü'nk'wa* (tiredness) *gwidigwa`s* (= *-a`tx*) he was plumb tired out (probably = he tottered with tiredness) 120.12
ī-smili'smili^{ɛ}n I swing it	*smili'smalxde^{ɛ}* I swing[1] (73.2)
bā^{a}-t'e'^{e}gi^{ɛ}n I lift it up (Type 5)	*bā^{a}-t'ek!e't'ax* it bobs up and down (60.11,13,14)

In some verbs *-alx-* (= continuative *-al-* + non-agentive *-x-*) seems to be quite equivalent to the intransitive *-xa-:*

geyewa'lxde^{ɛ} I am eating (31.3) (but, hortatory, *geīxaba^{ɛ}* let us eat)
le^{e}ba'nxde^{ɛ} I carry (178.6) (*lā^{a}ba'^{ɛ}n* I carry it [178.3,4])
ū^{u}gwa'nxde^{ɛ} I drink (see § 21).

The non-agentive character of verbs in *-x-* may be reflected in transitives (causatives) derived from them, in that in such causatives

[1] It may not be uninteresting to note, as throwing light on the native feeling for *-x-*, that this form sounded somewhat queer to Mrs. Johnson, for, as she intimated, one can't very well be swinging without either actively swinging one's self or being swung by some one.

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'ˢ-x* WATER, BLOOD DROPS, DRIPS 58.1) are formed:

p!a-i-t'gwili'k!wanaˢn I (voluntarily) drop, spill it
p!a-i-t'gwili'ˢxnaˢn I have it drop (unavoidably), spill it (72.8,16)

§ 57. Positional-*ī*ⁱ-

As we have already seen (§ 40, 15), this suffix, though of clearly derivational character, is generally, probably always, confined to the aorist. A positional verb in *-ī*ⁱ- 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!idī* 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'ubaˢn* I UPSET IT and *p!a-i-ha-u-t'gū'upx* IT UPSET 60.8. From one point of view the suffix *-ī*ⁱ- serves to mark off a class of purely positional verbs, a different verb-stem being used for each general form-category of the object described. Such verbs of position are:

dink!ī long, stretched out object lies (transitive aorist *dinik!-*)
t'geits·!ī round object lies (138.24) (*t'geyets·!-*)
p'ildī flat object lies
t!obigī corpse, dead-looking body lies
s·einī box-like object with opening on top lies
p!a-i-ha-u-t'gup!idī box-like object with opening below lies (*t'gūᵘb-*)
s·ugwidī curled-up object (like bundle of rope) lies
da-sgalī scattered objects (like grain on floor) lie
wīk!idī several objects heaped together lie (*wīⁱg-*)
s·as·inī erect object is, he stands 34.1; 45.12; 77.9
s·uˢwilī sitting object (person) is, he sits, dwells 21.1; 57.2
k'ebilī absent object is, he is long absent 124.20

Not so clearly positional are:

lāᵃlī (generally heard as *lāᵃlē'*) 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 *dink!-*, not *dinik!-*). 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 *-ī* (or *-ī-k'*, *-i'-k'* with suffix *-k'* characteristic of geographical names) can hardly be otherwise explained than as positional verbs in *-ī^{i}-*, derived from nouns and provided with local prefixes defining the position of the noun. Such are:

Di^{ɛ}-danī[1] Table Rock (probably = rock [*da'n*] is [*-ī*] west [*di^{ɛ}-*]); west of the rock would be *di^{ɛ}-dana'* (cf. *dana't'k'* my rock)

Dak'-t'gamī-k' (cf. *Dak'-t'gamiya'^{ɛ}* person from D.) (= place where [*-k'*] elks [*t'ga'm*] are [*ī*] above, on top [*dak'-*])

Dal-dani'k' (cf. *Dal-daniya'^{ɛ}* one from D.) (=place where [*-k'-*] in brush, away from creek [*dal-*] is [*-ī*] rock [*da'n*])

han-xilmī ghost land (= across river [*han-*] are [*-ī*] ghosts [*xila'm*])

de-dī^{i}wī near the falls of Rogue River (=in front [*-de-*] are [*-ī*] 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^{a}nia'^{uɛ} people go 58.14; 152.5	future *yanaya'^{uɛ}t'*
wa^{ɛ}-ī-t!emēxia^{uɛ} people assemble 144.23	future *wa^{ɛ}-ī-dēmxia^{uɛ}t'*
e'bia'^{uɛ} people are 192.7 (cf. *e'bi'k'* we are 180.13)	
ts!āū yō^{u}ya'uk' there was (inferential) deep water (cf. 188.14)	
sā^{a}nsa'nsinia^{uɛ} fighting is going on 23.14	future *sana'xinia^{uɛ}t'*
dõmxbiya^{uɛ}t' people will kill you (intransitive; but transitive with definite third personal subject *dõmxbink'* 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 *Di'tanī'*.

lop!odia'$^{u\varepsilon}$ it is raining, hailing, or snowing 90.1; 152.11 (but definitely *nõx lop!o'ṭ* it rains 90.1; (198.9); *ts'!elam lop!o'ṭ* it hails; *p!ā'^{a}s lop!o'ṭ* it snows 90.2; 196.7)

*lep'ni*ya'u*k'* it has gotten to be winter

samgia'$^{u\varepsilon}$ṭ' it will be summer (92.9)

*samgia*u*gulugwa'n* it is about to be summer (literally, it is summer-intended, see § 68) (cf. 48.13)

ṭ'ūwūgia'$^{u\varepsilon}$ it is hot (i. e., it is hot weather; but *ṭ'ūwū'$^{\varepsilon}$k'* it, some object, is hot [25.10]; 94.15)

*we'^{e}g*ia-u*da$^{\varepsilon}$* 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 *eēṭ'e$^{\varepsilon}$* I AM, has forms of six tense-modes—aorist, future, potential, inferential, present imperative, and future imperative. Of these, all but the aorist, which is built up on a derived aorist stem, are formed from the verb-stem. A special tense or mode sign, apart from the peculiar stem of the aorist, is found in none of the tense-modes except the inferential, which, in all the voices, is throughout characterized by a *-k'*-(*-g-*) following the objective, but preceding the subjective, pronominal elements. Each of the tense-modes except the potential, which uses the personal endings of the aorist, is, however, characterized by its own set of pronominal endings. It is for this very reason that it has seemed best to use the term tense-modes for the various modes and tenses, instead of attempting a necessarily artificial classification into tenses (aorist and future) and modes (indicative, potential, imperative, and inferential), the method of distinguishing the latter being fundamentally the same as that employed to form the former, i. e., the use of special pronominal schemes.

The purely temporal idea is only slightly developed in the verb. The aorist does duty for the preterite (including the narrative past), the present, and the immediate future, as in NOW I SHALL GO; while the future is employed to refer to future time distinctly set off from the present, as in I SHALL GO THIS EVENING, TO-MORROW. A similar distinction between the immediate and more remote future is made in the imperative. The present imperative expresses a command which, it is intended, is to pass into more or less immediate fulfillment, as in GO AWAY! while the command expressed by the future

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!omõk'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 dõmk'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 *-iau-*, 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'ɛᵉ, -dɛᵉ*	*-t'ɛᵉ, -dɛᵉ*	*-k'-aᵉ*[1]		
Second person	*-(a')t'*	*-(a)da'ᵉ*	*-k' ᵉɛ̄t'*	——	*-(a')ᵉk'*
Third person	*-ᵉ*	*-(a')ᵉt'*	*-'k'*		
Plural:					
First person	*-t'k'*	*-(i)ga'm*	*-k'-ana'k'*	*-(a)ba'ᵉ*	
Second person	*-(a')t'p'*	*-(a')t'baᵉ*	*-k' ᵉɛ̄t'p'*	*-(a')np'* / *-'p'*	?

[1] It is possible that this suffix is really *-k'aᵉn; -n* after a eateh is practieally without sonority, and very easily missed by the ear. The first person singular and plural inferential endings are then both transitives in form (cf. *-aᵉn* and *-ana'k'* as first person singular and plural subject of transitives); the third person is without ending in both. The ending *-k'-aᵉn* is made particularly likely by the subordinate in *-k'-a'n-daᵉ* (see § 70).

The imperative is necessarily lacking in the first person singular and third person. The first person plural in *-(a)ba'ᵉ* of the present imperative is used as a hortatory: *yanaba'ᵉ* LET US GO! 158.11; (cf. 168.11). This *-(a)ba'ᵉ* is not infrequently followed by emphasizing particles: *-ni'* (e. g., *yubā'aᵉni'* LET US BE! [cf. 158.8]); *-hi* (e. g., *yeᵉba'ᵉhi* LET US RETURN! 63.1; see § 114, 2), or *-ha'n* (e. g., *ya'nabaᵉha'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'nabāaᵉniha'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'baᵉ* (*-dabaᵉ* 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'*, *-ᵉt'*, and *-t'baᵉ* 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^{ɛ}*, 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 *eīt'* THOU ART, *eīt'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^{a}nsan-san-* FIGHT WITH ONE ANOTHER), and an indefinite in *-iau-* (aorist *t'ūwū-g-iau-* BE HOT).

AORIST

Singular:				
First person . .	*yowo't'e^{ɛ}* I run	*baxa$\tilde{m}$t'e^{ɛ}* I come		
Second person . .	*yowo't'*	*baxama't'*		
Third person . .	*yowo'^{ɛ}*	*baxa'^{ɛ}m*	*sāansa'nsa^{ɛ}n* they fight	*t'ūwūgia'u^{ɛ}* it is hot
Plural:				
First person . .	*yowoyi'k'*	*baxami'k'*	*sāansa'nsinik'*	
Second person . .	*yowo't'p'*	*baxama't'p'*	*sāansa'nsant'p'*	

FUTURE

Singular:				
First person . .	*yu't'e^{ɛ}*	*baxma't'e^{ɛ}*		
Second person . .	*yuda'^{ɛ}*	*baxmada'^{ɛ}*		
Third person . .	*yu'^{ɛ}t'*	*baxma'^{ɛ}t'*	*sana'xan^{ɛ}t'*	*t'ūugia'u^{ɛ}t'*
Plural:				
First person . .	*yuga'm*	*baxmaga'm*	*sana'xinigam*	
Second person . .	*yu't'ba^{ɛ}*	*baxma't'ba^{ɛ}*	*sana'xant'ba^{ɛ}*	

POTENTIAL

Singular:				
First person . .	*yu't'e^{ɛ}*	*baxma't'e^{ɛ}*		
Second person . .	*yu't'*	*baxma't'*		
Third person . .	*yu'^{ɛ}*	*baxma'^{ɛ}*	*sana'xa^{ɛ}n*	*t'ūugia'u^{ɛ}*
Plural:				
First person . .	*yuwi'k'*	*baxmi'k'*	*sana'xinik'*	
Second person . .	*yu't'p'*	*baxma't'p'*	*sana'xant'p'*	

INFERENTIAL

Singular:				
First person	*yu'k'a$^{\varepsilon}$*	*baxma'k'a$^{\varepsilon}$*		
Second person	*yu'k!eĭt'* [1]	*baxma'k!eĭt'*		
Third person	*yu'k'*	*baxma'k'*	*sana'xank'*	*t'ūugiau'k'*
Plural:				
First person	*yu'k'ana'k'*	*baxma'k'ana'k'*	*sana'xank'ana'k'*	
Second person	*yu'k!eĭt'p'*	*baxma'k!eĭt'p'*	*sana'xank!eĭt'p'*	

[1] *-k'+ε=k!* See § 12.

PRESENT IMPERATIVE

Singular:				
Second person	*yu'*	*baxma'*		
Plural:				
First person	*yuba'$^{\varepsilon}$*	*baxmaba'$^{\varepsilon}$*	*sana'xiniba$^{\varepsilon}$* [1]	
Second person	*yu'p'*	*baxma'np'*	(?)*sana'xananp'*	

[1] The *-i-* of *-iba$^{\varepsilon}$* 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$^{\varepsilon}$w-ĭ-k!emniba'$^{\varepsilon}$* LET US SWEAT, with *-i-* because of instrumental *ĭ-*.

FUTURE IMPERATIVE

Singular:				
Second person	*yu'$^{\varepsilon}$k'*	*baxma'$^{\varepsilon}$k'*		

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:

eĭt' [1] thou art 108.2, *eĭt'p'* ye are 14.10 (contrast *yeweya't'* thou returnest [58.13], but *yeweĭt'e$^{\varepsilon}$* I return [188.4] like *eĭt'e$^{\varepsilon}$* I am 198.2)

nagaĭt' thou sayest 56.5, *nagaĭt'p'* ye say 170.4 (contrast *t'agaya't'* thou criest, but *t'agaĭt'e$^{\varepsilon}$* I cry [180.5] like *nagaĭt'e$^{\varepsilon}$* I say 180.1)

To this somewhat irregular group of verbs belongs probably also *lō^{u}-* 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: *lō'ul$^{\varepsilon}$* [2] 70.4 (not **lō'ul$^{\varepsilon}$*), 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 *e'ebi'k'* 180.13, and the (cf. class II) indefinite *e'ebia'u$^{\varepsilon}$* 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] *=l$^{\varepsilon}$* appears also in certain usitatives: *hiwiīl$^{\varepsilon}$* HE USED TO RUN, *sgelēl$^{\varepsilon}$* HE KEPT SHOUTING, in which the rising accent is probably radical (see § 43, 4); these forms, furthermore, have lost a *w*, § 18 (cf. *hiwiliāt'e$^{\varepsilon}$* I RUN, *sgeleāt'e$^{\varepsilon}$* I SHOUT).

lop!o't'[1] it rains 90.1, 2 (yet *lop!oda't'* you are raining 198.9; *lop'da'ᵉt'* it will rain; *lop'da'x* to rain, § 74, 1)
hãx it burns 98.1 (yet *haxa'ᵉt'* it will burn)

Several intransitive Class I usitatives seem to lack the catch of the third person aorist also:

ginīnk' he always went to 46.11 (from *giní'ᵉk'* he went to)
witc!īsma he keeps moving (from *witc!i'ᵉm* he moves 148.12)
yewèo'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!emn-*)
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 *-'ᵉk'*. Examples are:

heᵉnãk'ʷ (=*-a'gw-k'*) he consumed them (cf. 48.10); but *heᵉna'k'ʷ* consume them!
wa-yanãk'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'ᵉt'*, the form to be expected, as the subordinate is *lop!õ'aᵉ*, not **lop!õ'udaᵉ*, which would be required by a **lop!o'ᵉt'* (see § 70).

yō^{u}k'^{w} (=*yogw-k'*) she married him 192.16
he^{ɛ}-ī-le'm^{ɛ}k' (=*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 *-ǧwi-*, positionals in *-ī^{i}-*, and verbs with intransitivizing *-p'-* either in all their tense-modes or in all but the aorist (see § 42, 1). Besides these main groups there are a straggling number of not easily classified verbs that also show the peculiarities of the class; such are:

sene'sant'e^{ɛ} I whoop (110.20; 180.15)
wīt'e^{ɛ} I go about (90.1; 92.29; 122.23)
ligīnt'e^{ɛ} I rest (48.11; 79.2, 4; 102.1)
hü^{ü}li'nt'e^{ɛ} 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	*-t'e^{ɛ}, -de^{ɛ}*	*t'e^{e}, -de^{e}*	*(-p')-ga^{ɛ}*		
Second person	*-t'am, -dam*	*-t'a^{ɛ}, -da^{ɛ}*	*(-p')-k' ^{ɛ}ēī't'*	**(-p')**	*(-p')-ga^{ɛ}m*
Third person	{—} {-t'}	*-t'ā^{a}, -dā^{a}*	*(-p')-k'*		
Plural:					
First person	*(-p')-ik'*	*(-p')-igam*	*(-p')-g-ana'k'*	*(-p')-aba^{ɛ}*	
Second person	*-t'ap', -dap'*	*-t'aba^{ɛ}, -daba^{ɛ}*	*(-p')-k' ^{ɛ}ēī't'p'*	*(-p')-anp'*	

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^{ɛ}m* [? =*-^{ɛ}k'* + *-am*]); the *-a-* between the *-t'-* and the *-p'-* (*-b-*) in the second person plural aorist and future; the lack of a catch in the third person aorist; the ending *-t'ā^{a}* of the third person future; and the presence of a *-p'-* (*-b-*) in the first person plural aorist and future and in the inferential, present imperative, and future imperative forms. The last feature is, however, absent in the non-agentive *-x-* verbs and in the future of reflexives. The labial in

the first person plural of the aorist and future is evidently connected with the *-b-* of *e^{e}bi'k'* WE ARE (see § 60, fourth footnote); the parallelism is made complete by the fact that impersonal forms in *-iau-* derived from Class II intransitives (except non-agentives) show a *-p'-* before the suffix, analogously to *e^{e}bia'$^{u\varepsilon}$*:

sene'sanp'ia$^{u\varepsilon}$ there is whooping, *se'nsanp'ia$^{u\varepsilon}$t'* there will be whooping

In the third person of the aorist, positionals in *-ī^{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$^{\varepsilon}$s-* STOP), a reflexive (aorist *ī-lets!ek'wi-* TOUCH ONE'S SELF), a positional (aorist *s·as·inī^{i}-* STAND), and one of the miscellaneous verbs (*wī^{i}-* GO ABOUT).

AORIST.

Singular:				
First person .	*hana'^{e}sde$^{\varepsilon}$* I stop	*lets!ēk'wide$^{\varepsilon}$* I touch myself	*s·as·inī't'e$^{\varepsilon}$* I stand	*wīt'e$^{\varepsilon}$* I go about
Second person	*hana'^{e}sdam*	*lets!ēk'widam*	*s·as·inīt'am*	*wīt'am*
Third person	*hana'^{e}s*	*lets!ēk'wit'*	*s·as·inī*	*wīt'*
Plural:				
First person .	*hana'^{e}sik'*	*lets!ēk'wibik'*	*s·as·inīp'ik'*	*wīp'ik'*
Second person	*hana'^{e}sdap'*	*lets!ēk'widap'*	*s·as·inīt'ap'*	*wīt'ap'*

FUTURE

Singular:				
First person .	*ha'n^{e}sde^{e}*	*lesgi'k'wide^{e}*	*s·a's·ant'e^{e}*	*wīt'e^{e}*
Second person	*ha'n^{e}sda$^{\varepsilon}$*	*lesgi'k'wida$^{\varepsilon}$*	*s·a's·ant'a$^{\varepsilon}$*	*wīt'a$^{\varepsilon}$*
Third person .	*ha'n^{e}sdā^{a}*	*lesgi'k'widā^{a}*	*s·a's·ant'ā^{a}*	*wīt'ā^{a}*
Plural:				
First person .	*ha'n^{e}sigam*	*lesgi'k'wigam*	*s·a's·anp'igam*	*wīp'igam*
Second person	*ha'n^{e}sdaba$^{\varepsilon}$*	*lesgi'k'widaba$^{\varepsilon}$*	*s·a's·ant'aba$^{\varepsilon}$*	*wīt'aba$^{\varepsilon}$*

POTENTIAL.

Singular:				
First person .	*ha'n$^{\varepsilon}$sde$^{\varepsilon}$*	*lesgi'k'wide$^{\varepsilon}$*	*s·a's·ant'e$^{\varepsilon}$*	*wīt'e$^{\varepsilon}$*
Second person	*ha'n$^{\varepsilon}$sdam*	*lesgi'k'widam*	*s·a's·ant'am*	*wīt'am*
Third person .	*ha'n$^{\varepsilon}$s*	*lesgi'k'wit'*	*s·a's·ant'* (?)	*wīt'*
Plural:				
First person .	*ha'n$^{\varepsilon}$sik'*	*lesgi'k'wibik'*	*s·a's·anp'ik'*	*wīp'ik'*
Second person	*ha'n$^{\varepsilon}$sdap'*	*lesgi'k'widap'*	*s·a's·ant'ap'*	*wīt'ap'*

INFERENTIAL

Singular:				
First person .	*ha'nᵉsgaᵉ*	*lesgi'k'wip'gaᵉ*	*s·a's·anp'gaᵉ*	*wīp'gaᵉ*
Second person	*ha'nᵉsk!eit'*	*lesgi'k'wip'k!eīt'*	*s·a's·anp'k!eīt'*	*wīp'k!eīt'*
Third person .	*ha'nᵉsk'*	*lesgi'k'wip'k'*	*s·a's·anp'k'*	*wīp'k'*
Plural:				
First person .	*ha'nᵉsgana'k'*	*lesgi'k'wip'gana'k'*	*s·a's·anp'gana'k'*	*wīp'gana'k'*
Second person	*ha'nᵉsk!eit'p'*	*lesgi'k'wip'k!eīt'p'*	*s·a's·anp'k!eīt'p'*	*wīp'k!eīt'p'*

PRESENT IMPERATIVE

Singular:				
Second person	*ha'nᵉs*	*lesgi'k'wīᵊp'*	*s·a's·anp'*	*wīp'*
Plural:				
First person .	*ha'nᵉsabaᵉ*	*lesgi'k'wīᵊp'abaᵉ*	*s·a's·anp'abaᵉ*	*wīp'abaᵉ*
Second person	*ha'nᵉsanp'*	*lesgi'k'wīᵊp'anp'*	*s·a's·anp'anp'*	*wīp'anp'*

FUTURE IMPERATIVE

Singular:				
Second person	*ha'nᵉsgaᵉm*	*lesgi'k'wīᵊp'gaᵉm*	*s·a's·anp'gaᵉm*	*wīp'gaᵉm*

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'ᵃp' tell a myth! (cf. *p!ala'p'deᵉ* I shall tell a myth, with inorganic second *a*)

sanā'ᵃp' fight! (cf. *sana'p'deᵉ* 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'ᵉt'* 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'ᵉalhaᵉ they always dwell 112.2 (from *s·uᵉwilī* 21.1; but first person plural *s·ū'ᵉalhibik'*); contrast Class II *s·as·a'nhap'* he keeps standing (from *s·as·inī* 34.1)

wogowa'ᵉk' they keep arriving 112.2 (from *wōk'*)

s·o'wōᵘs·aᵘᵉ they keep jumping (112.5,10) (from *s·owō'ᵘᵉk'ap'* 48.15)

Several non-agentives in *-x-* drop the *-x-* and become Class I intransitives in the frequentative:

p!a-i-t'gwilī'^{i}t'gwal^{ɛ} (water) keeps dripping down (cf. *p!a-i-t'gwilī'^{iɛ}x* it drips down 58.1)

xā^{a}-sgot!o'sga^{ɛ}t' it breaks to pieces 62.1 (cf. *xā^{a}-sgō'^{u}s=-sgō^{u}d-x* it breaks [61.13])

xā^{a}-sgō'^{uɛ}t'sgada^{ɛ}t' it will break to pieces (cf. *xā^{a}-sgō'^{uɛ}sda* 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:

dõmxbina^{ɛ} you will be killed (178.15)
dõmxbigulu'k'^{w} he will kill you
dõmxbi^{ɛ}s one who kills you
dõmxbiya to kill you

are analogous, as far as the incorporated pronominal object (*-bi-*) is concerned, to:

dõmxbink' he will kill you; *t!omõxbi^{ɛ}n* I kill you

The pronominal objects are found in all the tense-modes, as far as the meaning of these permits, and are entirely distinct from all the subjective elements, except that the ending of the second person plural coincides with one form of the second person singular present imperative of the intransitive, *-anp'*. These elements are:

Singular: First person, *-xi* (with third subjective); second person, *-bi;* third person, ——; third person (human), *-k'wa*. Plural: First person, *-am;* second person, *-anp'* (*-anb-*).

It does not seem that *-k'wa-*, which is optionally used as the third personal object when reference is distinctly had to a human being (or to a mythical animal conceived of as a human being), can be combined with other than a third personal subject (at least no other examples have been found); nor can it be used as an indirect object if the verb already contains among its prefixes an incorporated indirect object. These restrictions on the use of *-k'wa-* enable us effectually to distinguish it from the indirect reflexive *-k'wa-* which has already been discussed, this element normally requiring an incorporated object prefixed to the verb. Examples of the objective *-k'wa-* are:

t!omõk'wa[1] it killed him 15.16; 28.11
he$^{\varepsilon}$-īūk'wa he went away from him
hãxank'wa he burnt him 27.16
sā^{a}nsa'nk'wa he fought with him 28.10
nagaīk'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-hãlk'wa he answered him 180.18; cf. *dak'-da-hā^{a}li'$^{\varepsilon}$n* I answered him (146.14)

It is thus evident that forms with suffixed *-k'wa* approximate intransitives in form (cf. *nagaīk'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 *-$^{\varepsilon}$k'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!os·õ^{u}k'wa they bit him 74.5 (aorist stem *-k!os·og-*)

he$^{e\underline{s}}$-īleme'$^{e\underline{s}}$k'wa he destroyed them (50.2); cf. *he$^{e\underline{s}}$-īleme'k!i$^{\underline{s}}$n* I destroyed them (110.2)

mül'ü$^{ü\underline{s}}$k'wa he swallowed him 72.16; cf. *mülü'k!a$^{\underline{s}}$n* 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 umlauted to *i*:

xebeyigi'k'wa he hurt him (cf. *xebeyagwa'$^{\underline{s}}$n* I hurt him [136.23])

ūyū'$^{i\underline{s}}$sgigwa he laughed at him 27.5 (cf. *ūyū'$^{\underline{s}}$sgwa$^{\underline{s}}$n* 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$^{\underline{s}}$-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^{i} t!aya'k'*, but THE ANTS FOUND HIM by *t!ibis·ī^{i} 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')ᵋn	-(a')n	-k'-aᵋ		
Second person	-(a')t' / -dam (1st sing. obj.)	-(a)daᵋ	-k' ᵋēit'		-(a')ᵋk' / -gaᵋm (1st sing. obj.)
Third person		-(a')nk'	-k'		
Plural:					
First person	-(a)nak'	-(a)naga'm	k'-anak'	-(a) ba'ᵋ	
Second person	-(a')t'p' / -dap' (1st sing. obj.)	-(a')t'baᵋ / -dabaᵋ (1st sing. obj.)	-k' ᵋēit'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'eᵋ: t'eᵋ = -ᵋn: -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 *dōᵘm-* (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!omōxbiᵋn	t!omoma'ᵋn		t!omōxanbaᵋn
2d per.	t!ümūxdam		t!omoma't'	t!omōximit'	
3d per.	t!ümūxi	t!omōxbi	t!omōm	t!omōxam	t!omōxanp' [1]
Plural:					
1st per.		t!omōxbinak'	t!omomana'k'		t!omōxanbana'k'
2d per.	t!ümūxdap'		t!omoma't'p'	t!omōximit'p'	

[1] Not to be confused with *t!omōxant'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.		*dōmɪbin*	*dōuma'n*		*dōmɪanban*
2d per.	*dŭmɪda^{ɛ}*		*dōumada'^{ɛ}*	*dōmɪimida^{ɛ}*	
3d per.	*dŭmɪxink'*	*dōmɪbink'*	*dōuma'nk'*	*dōmɪamank'*	*dōmɪanbank'*
Plural:					
1st per.		*dōmɪbinagam*	*dōumanaga'm*		*dōmɪambanagam*
2d per.	*dŭmɪdaba^{ɛ}*		*dōuma't'ba^{ɛ}*	*dōmɪimit'ba^{ɛ}* [1]	

PRESENT IMPERATIVE

Singular:					
2d per.	*dŭmɪxi*		*dōum*	*dōmɪam*	
Plural:					
1st per.			*dōumaba'^{ɛ}*		
2d per.	*dŭmɪxip'*		*dōump'* (*al-xī'-k!anp'* see him!)	*dōmɪamp'* [1]	

FUTURE IMPERATIVE

Singular:					
2d per.	*dŭmɪga^{ɛ}m*		*dōuma'^{ɛ}k'*	? [2]	

[1] These forms were not actually obtained, but can hardly be considered as doubtful.
[2] Probably expressed by simple future *dōmɪimida^{ɛ}*.

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:

dŭmxi he would kill me
dō^{u}ma'^{ɛ}n I should, could kill him
dō^{u}m 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:

dŭmxik' he killed me
dōmxamk!eīt' you killed us
dōmk'a^{ɛ} I killed him
dōmxanp'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^{ɛ}*, *-it'ba^{ɛ}*); this *-i-* naturally

carries the umlaut of *-am-* to *-im-* with it, but *-am-* reappears when *-i-* drops out, cf. inferential *dōmxamk!eīt'*. With the *-i-* of these forms compare the *-i-* of the first person plural intransitives *-ik'*, *-iga'm*, *-iba^{ɛ}* (§ 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'^{ɛ}n 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'^{ɛ}k'* hunt for him! (116.7)

Ordinarily forms involving the third personal object require a connecting vowel between the stem and the pronominal suffix. Not all verbs, however, show the purely non-significant *-a-* of, e. g., *t!omoma'^{ɛ}n*, 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'^{ɛ}n I shoot him (192.10); but *wa-ts!ayagi'^{ɛ}n* I shoot (him) with it

ī-lats!agi'k' 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'ᵉn I gave him to eat (30.12)
lāᵃliwi'ᵉn I call him by name (116.17)
lōᵘginini'ᵉn I trap them for him (and most other FOR-indirectives in *-anan-*)

Examples of *-i-*verbs with indirect object are:

ogoyi'ᵉn I give it to him 180.11 (contrast *oyona'ᵉn* I gave it [180.20])
wāᵃgiwi'ᵉn I brought it to him (176.17) (contrast *wāᵃga'ᵉn* I brought it [162.13])

A number of verbs have *-a-* in the aorist, but *-i-* in all other tense-modes:

yīⁱmiya'ᵉn I lend it to him, but *yimi'hin* I shall lend it to him
naga'ᵉn I said to him (second *-a-* part of stem) 72.9, but *nāᵃgi'n* I shall say to him; *nāᵃgi'ᵉk'* 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:

xāᵃ-p!īⁱ-nō'ᵘk'waᵉn 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:

xāᵃ-lā'ᵃt!an I shall put it about my waist, but *xāᵃ-lā'ᵃt!in* 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'ᵉn* I told him (172.1)
wa-t!omōmhi he killed him with it

ī-k!ū^{u}manana'nhi he fixed it for him
ī-k!ūmana'nhi fix it for him!
ī-k!ūmana'nhik' he fixed it for him (infer.), but *ī-k!ūmininini`nk'* 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'^{i}k' he saw him 124.6, 8 (cf. *al-xī'^{i}qi^{ɛ}n* I saw him, 188.11)[1]
ī-lats!a`k' he touched him (cf. *ī-lats!aqi'^{ɛ}n* I touched him)
ba^{ɛ}-ī-ye^{e}wa'n revive him! (15.2) (cf. *ba^{ɛ}-ī-yewe^{e}ni'^{ɛ}n* I revived him)
he^{ɛ}-ī-lele'^{ɛ}k' he let him go (13.6) (cf. *he^{ɛ}-ī-le'lek!i^{ɛ}n* I let him go [50.4])
he^{ɛ}-ī-le'l'^{ɛ}k' let him go! 182.15 (cf. *he^{ɛ}-ī-le'lk!in* I shall let him go)
ba-i-di-t'ga'^{ɛ}st'gā^{a}s stick out your anus! 164.19; 166.6 (cf. *ba-i-di-t'gats!a't'gisi^{ɛ}n* I stuck out my anus [166.8])
ī-k!ū^{u}ma`n he prepared it 190.22 (cf. *ī-k!ū^{u}mini'^{ɛ}n* 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 (*ogoīhi* he gave it to him 156.20)
aorist *we^{e}t'-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^{eɛ}-īū he left him (cf. *he^{eɛ}-ī^{i}wi'^{ɛ}n* I left him); but imperative *he^{eɛ}-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'^{ɛ}k'* (inferential) HE SAW HIM (**al-xīk!-k'* like *dōmk'* HE KILLED HIM), homonymous with *al-xī'^{ɛ}k'* (imperative) SEE HIM! (=**alxī'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-ᵉī-t'bā'ᵃk' he burst it (cf. *-t'bā'ᵃgiᵉn* I burst it)

ī-s·wili's·wal he tore it to pieces (cf. *-s·wili's·wiliᵉn* I tore it to pieces)

ī-s·wi'ls·wal tear it to pieces!

ī-s·wī'ls·wa'l he tore it (once)

ī-heme'm he wrestled with him 22.10 (cf. *-hememi'ᵉn* I wrestled with him

despite the prefixed *-ī-*; but:

la-waya-t'bā'ᵃk'i he burst it with a knife

han-waya-s·wils·wa'lhi tear it through in pieces with a knife! (73.3)

Similarly:

bā-ᵉī-sgāᵃk'sga'k' he picked him up 31.11 (cf. *-sgāk'sgigiᵉn* I picked him up)

but:

k!a'māᵃ dan bāᵃ-sgāᵃk'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 ᵉalk!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'oᵉpx bababa't'i wāᵃdi'xda ashes he-clapped-them-over his-body (perhaps best rendered by: he-beclapped-his-body-with-ashes) 182.9

the logically direct obiect is *k'oᵉpx*, 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'ᵃxaldiᵉn* I forgot him)

ogoīk'wa he gave it to him 96.18 (cf. *ogoīhi* 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-tlana'hi* HE HELD IT with *ī-tlana'hagwa* HE HELD HIM. Any ordinary transitive verb may lose its object and take a new instrumental object, whereupon the instrumental *-i-* becomes necessary. Examples of such instrumentalized transitives are:

ga'lᵉ wa-tslayagi'ᵉn bow I-with-shoot-it (cf. *tslayaga'ᵉn* I shoot him)

wa-ᵉūᵘgwi'ᵉn I drink with it (cf. *ūᵘgwa'ᵉn* 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:

yaplа wa-sāᵃginina'ᵉ people they-will-be-shot-with-it

xī'ⁱ wa-ᵉūᵘgwini'ᵉn 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 ᵉ + aspirated surd:

heᵉᵉ-ī-le'meᵉk'i he killed them off, but *-le'mekɬiᵉn* 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-tlana'hiᵉn I hold it; *ī-tlana'hi* he holds it 27.4

di-s'al-yomo'hin I shall run behind and catch up with him; *di-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'yok!iᵉn I nudge him; *ī-goyogiya'ᵉn* I keep pushing him
dīⁱ-t!īⁱsi'ᵉn I crush it; *dīⁱ-t!iyī't!iya*ᵉ*n* 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 *dōᵘm-* KILL (third personal object) will best illustrate the phonetic behavior of *-i-*:

	Aorist	Future	Potential	Inferential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Singular:						
First person . .	*t!omomi'ᵉn*	*dōᵘmi'n*	*dōᵘmi'ᵉn*	*dŏm*higaᵉ		
Second person . .	*t!omomi't'*	*dōᵘmi*da'ᵉ	*dōᵘmi't'*	*dŏm*hik!eīt'	*dōm*hi	*dōm*hiᵉk'
Third person . .	*t!omŏm*hi	*dōᵘmi'nk'*	*dōm*hi	*dŏm*hik'		
Plural:						
First person . .	*t!omom*ina'k'	*dōᵘm*inaga'm	*dōᵘm*ina'k'	*dŏm*higana'k'	*dōm*hibaᵉ	
Second person . .	*t!omomi't'p'*	*dōᵘmi't'*baᵉ	*dōᵘmi't'p'*	*dŏm*hik!eīt'p'	*dōm*hip'	

§ 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 *-ᵉn*, *-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 *dāᵃ-yehèīt'* YOU GO WHERE THERE IS SINGING and *dāᵃ-yehēn* (with passive *-n*) IT WAS GONE WHERE THERE WAS SINGING (from **yehèīn*) 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 -$^{\varepsilon}n$ follow, so that the first personal singular subject third personal object of such verbs (-$\tilde{v}^{\varepsilon}n$) stands in sharp contrast to the corresponding form of the great mass of transitive verbs (-$v'^{\varepsilon}n$).[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 -$^{\varepsilon}n$ (*k!adā^{a}na`k`* and *k!adãn* like *k!adã$^{\varepsilon}n$*). Examples of transitives with aorist stems ending in long diphthongs not followed by connective -*a*- are:

t`gwaxã$^{\varepsilon}n$ I tattoo him	:	*t`gwaxāĩt`* you tattoo him
dĩ-t!ügũ$^{\varepsilon}n$ I wear it	:	*dĩ-t!ügũĩ* he wears it 96.16
dā^{a}-yehē$^{\varepsilon}n$ I go where there is singing *dā^{a}-yehēn* (third person passive) *dā^{a}-yehe^{e}na`k`* (first person plural)	:	*dā^{a}-yehèĩt`* you go where there is singing (106.10)
k!adã$^{\varepsilon}n$ I picked them up	:	*k!adāĩ* he picked them up
da-t!agã$^{\varepsilon}n$ I built a fire	:	*da-t!agāĩ* he built a fire 88.12; 96.17
swadãn (passive) they got beaten in gambling	:	*swadāĩsa$^{\varepsilon}n$* they are gambling with one another
oyõ$^{\varepsilon}n$ I give it (= **oyõn$^{\varepsilon}n$*) but also *oyona'$^{\varepsilon}n$* with connecting -*a*-		
k!emē$^{\varepsilon}n$ I did it 74.13	:	*k!emèĩ* he did it 92.22; 144.6; 176.1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 14

In aorist *k!emèi-* MAKE the -*i*-, actually or impliedly, appears only when the object is of the third person (singular first, *k!emẽ$^{\varepsilon}n$;* second, *k!emèĩt`;* third, *k!emèĩ;* plural first, *k!eme$^{e}$na`k`;* second, *k!emèĩt`p`*); all other aoristic and all non-aoristic forms replace the -*i*- by a -*n*-:

k!emẽnxbi$^{\varepsilon}n$ I make you 27.9
k!emẽnxa$^{\varepsilon}n$ 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*-

[1] It may be noted in passing that the Takelma reduction of an over-long diphthong (*èin* to *e$^{\varepsilon}n$*) 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 **di̯ēu̯s* = Skr. *dyāu's*, Gk. *Ζεύς*, with preserved -*u̯*- because followed by -*s*, a consonant not capable of entering into diphthongal combination; but Indo-Germanic acc. **di̯ēm* = Ved. Skr. *dyâm*, Hom. Gk. *Ζῆν* with lost -*u̯*- 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 *yehē$^{\varepsilon}n$* is, as in *di̯ēm*, 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:

heme'ha^{ɛ}n I mocked him (= *-ham^{ɛ}n*)	:	*heme'ham* he mocked him 24.4, 5, 8; 182.6, 7
īmi'ha^{ɛ}n I sent him (=*-am^{ɛ}n*)	:	*imi'hamsin* I was sent (43.2)
gel-hewe'ha^{ɛ}n[1] I think (=*-au^{ɛ}n*) *gel-hewe'hat'* you think	:	*gel-hewe'hau* he thought 44.11; 142.20
p!a-i-di^{ɛ}-sgimi'sga^{ɛ}n[2] I set them in ground (=*-am^{ɛ}n*)	:	*p!a-i-di^{ɛ}-sgimi'sgam* he set them in ground
bā-^{ɛ}al-mo'lo^{ɛ}ma^{ɛ}n I turned them over (=*-al^{ɛ}n*) *bā-^{ɛ}al-mo'l^{ɛ}man* I shall turn them over (=*-aln*)	:	*bā-^{ɛ}al-mo'lo^{ɛ}mal* he turned them over (170.16)
sā^{a}nsa'^{ɛ}n I fight him (=*-an^{ɛ}n*)	:	*sā^{a}nsa'n* he fights him (28.10) (but also *sāns*, see § 40, 10b)
mā^{a}nma'^{ɛ}n I count them (=*-an^{ɛ}n*)	:	*da-mā^{a}nmini'^{ɛ}n* I count them up (156.14) (but also *mān*= **mānm* 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^{ɛ}ma^{ɛ}n* and *mo'-lo^{ɛ}mala^{ɛ}n*, *mo'lo^{ɛ}mat'* and *mo'lo^{ɛ}malat'*, *oyō^{ɛ}n* and *oyona'^{ɛ}n*, *sā^{a}nsa'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	*oyō^{ɛ}n*	*mo'lo^{ɛ}ma^{ɛ}n*
Second person	*oyona'n*	*mo'lo^{ɛ}mala'n*
Third person	*oyōn*	*mo'lo^{ɛ}mal*

which were then leveled out to:

oyona'^{ɛ}n	*mo'lo^{ɛ}mala^{ɛ}n*
oyona'n	*mo'lo^{ɛ}mala'n*
oyōn	*mo'lo^{ɛ}mal*

because of the analogy of a vast number of verbs with connecting *-a-* in both first and second persons, e. g., *ts!ayaga'^{ɛ}n*, *ts!ayaga'n*. Forms like *mo'lo^{ɛ}mat'*, *sā^{a}nsa'n*, would arise from leveling to the first

[1] This verb is transitive only in form, intransitive in meaning. The true transitive (THINK OF) employs the full stem *hewehaw-* with connective *-i-* for third personal object, and *-s-* for other objects: *gel-hewe'hiwi^{ɛ}n* I THINK OF HIM; *gel-hewe'hausdam* YOU THINK OF ME.

[2] The form *sgimi'sga^{ɛ}n* 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 *t!omoma'ᵉn, t!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 *sāᵃnsa'n*), as well as to the third person passive and first person plural subject transitive. Such forms as *oyõᵉn* 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'ᵉn*, not **gayāᵉn* from **gayaūᵉn*). 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'-ᵉn* I SAY TO HIM and *wa-k!oyõ-ᵉn* I GO WITH HIM,[1] non-aorist forms of Type 5 verbs (e. g., *odo'-n*), and such isolated irregularities as intransitive *eī-tᵗ* and *nagaī-tᵗ* (contrast *yewey-a'ᵗ* and *t'agaya'ᵗ*) and transitive contract verbs like *k!adāᵉn* and *sāᵃnsa'ᵉn*.

§ 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)naᵉ* 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 *dōᵘm-*, instrumental forms being put in parentheses:

	Aorist	Future	Potential	Inferential
Singular:				
First person	*t!ümũxin*	*dũmxinaᵉ*	*dũmxin*	*dũmxigam*
Second person	*t!omõxbin*	*dõmxbinaᵉ*	*dõmxbin*	*dõmxbigam*
Third person	*t!omoma'n* (*t!omomi'n*)	*dõᵘmana'ᵉ* (*dõᵘmina'ᵉ*)	*dõᵘma'n* (*dõᵘmi'n*)	*dõmk'am* (*dõmhigam*)
Plural:				
First person	*t!omõximin*	*dõmximinaᵉ*	*dõmximin*	*dõmxamk'am*
Second person	*t!omõxanban*	*dõmxanbanaᵉ*	*dõmxanban*	*dõmxanp'gam*

[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'hiᵉn*.

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$^{\varepsilon}$n*) remains unchanged:

ī-t!a'ut!iwi$^{\varepsilon}$n I caught him : *ī-t!a'ut!iwin* he was caught 29.12
naga'$^{\varepsilon}$n I said to him 72.7, 9 : *naga'n* he was spoken to 102.16
k!emē$^{\varepsilon}$n 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'^{a}p'dagwanwa` he-was-dug-up their-own-horns (not his-own-horns) with (in other words, they dug him up with their own horns) 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'$^{\varepsilon}$n* HE DID SO. Thus:

eī salk!omo'k!imin p!iyin xebe'$^{\varepsilon}$n 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 instransitive 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$^{\varepsilon}$*, plural

-daba^{s}). The *-n-* appears only in the first person singular and plural (aorist *-na^{s}n* and *-nana'k'*), yet its absence in the other persons may, though not probably, be due to a secondary loss induced by the phonetic conditions. The forms, though in part morphologically transitive (and, for some of the verbs, apparently so in meaning), are in effect intransitive. The object, as far as the signification of the verb allows one to grant its existence, is always a pronominally unexpressed third person, and the instrumental *-i-* can not be used before the personal endings. Among these semitransitives in *-n-* are:

*gwen-sgut!u'sgat'*na^{s}n I cut necks
gwen-sgut!u'sgat' he cut necks 144.2 (cf. transitive instrumentals *gwen-waya-sgut!u'sgidi^{s}n*, *gwen-waya-sgut!u'sgat'i* 144.3)
*da-bok!oba'k'*na^{s}n I make bubbles (or *da-bok!o'p'na^{s}n* 102.22)
*da-bok!o'p'*dam you make bubbles
*bā^{a}-xada'xat'*na^{s}n I hang them up in row
*lobola'p'*na^{s}n I used to pound them (57.14) (or *lobo'lp'na^{s}n*)
*lobo'lp'*dam you used to pound them
*ī-layā'^{a}k'*na^{s}n I coil a basket 122.2
ī-layā'^{a}k' she coils a basket
*k!ada'k!at'*na^{s}n I used to pick them up (116.11)
*da-dagada'k'*na^{s}n I sharpen my teeth (126.18)
*ūgū'^{s}ak'*na^{s}n I always drink it
*wagao'k'*na^{s}n I always bring it 43.16; 45.6)

Morphologically identical with these, yet with no trace of transitive signification, are:

*ī-hegwe'hak'^{w}*na^{s}n I am working
*xa-hege'hak'*na^{s}n I breathe (78.12; 79.1, 2, 4)
*xa-huk!u'hak'*na^{s}n (third person *xa-huk!u'hak'*)
*al-t'wap!a't'wap'*na^{s}n I blink with my eyes 102.20
*al-t'wap!a't'wap'*dam you blink with your eyes

The following forms of *ī-hegwehagw-* (verb-stem *ī-he^{e}gwagw-* [= *-he^{e}gwhagw-*]) WORK will serve to illustrate the *-n-* formation:

	Aorist	Future	Inferential	Present imperative
Singular:				
1st per.	*hegwe'hak'^{w}na^{s}n*	*he^{e}gwa'k'^{w}nan*	*he^{e}gwa'k'wa^{s}* (=*-ku'-k'a^{s}*)	
2d per.	*hegwe'hak'^{w}dam*	*he^{e}gwa'k'^{w}da^{s}*	*he^{e}gwa'k!wei't'*	*he'k'wā^{a}k'^{w}*
3d per.	*hegwe'hak'^{w}*	[?]	*he^{e}gwa'k'^{w}*	
Plural:				
1st per.	*hegwe'hak'^{w}nana'k'*	*he^{e}gwa'k'^{w}nanagam*	*he^{e}gwa'k'wana'k'*	*hegwa'k'^{w}aba^{s}*
2d per.	*hegwe'hak'^{w}dap'*	*he^{e}gwa'k'^{w}daba^{s}*	*he^{e}gwa'k!wei't'p'*	*he'k'wā^{a}gwa'np'*

2. Practically a sub-group of the preceding set of verbs is formed by a very few verbs that have their aorist like *ī-hegwe'hak'^{w}na^{s}n*,

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:

dī-k!ala'sna^{ɛ}n (but also *dī-k!ala'sde^{ɛ}*) I am lean in my rump	:	future *dī-k!a'lside^{e}*
dī-k!ala'sdam (second person)	:	future *dī-k!a'lsida^{ɛ}*
gwel-sal-t!eyēsna^{ɛ}n I have no flesh on my legs and feet	:	future-*t!eīside^{e}*

It may be observed that the existence of a form like **gwel-sal-t!eīsinan* 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:

dā^{a}-sgek!iya'^{ɛ}n I listened *dā^{a}-sgek!iya't'* you listened *dā^{a}-sgek!ī* he listened 102.8	:	future *dā^{a}-sge'k!it'e^{e}*
al-we'k!ala^{ɛ}n I shine *al-we'k!alat'* you shine *al-we'k!alana'k'* we shine	:	future *al-we'k!alp'igam* (third person inferential *al-we'-k!alp'k'*)
al-geyana'^{ɛ}n I turn away my face	:	future *al-ge'yande^{e}*
da-smayama'^{ɛ}n *da-smayañha^{ɛ}n* } I smile *da-smayañ* he smiles *da-smayana'k'* we smile	:	future *da-sma-ima'sde^{e}*

To these should probably be added also *da-sgayana'^{ɛ}n* 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'^{ɛ}n* was denied.[1]

[1] There are in Takelma also a number of logically intransitive verbs with transitive forms throughout all the tense-modes: *al-xalīyana'k'* WE ARE SEATED (56.2; 150.20); passive *al-xalīya'n* PEOPLE ARE SEATED 152.18. Similar is *sal-xogwī* THEY STAND; cf. also *gel-hewe'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 *aorist* 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-hema'k'=-hemg-k'*), but imperative *ba-i-he'mk'* 16.10

but, without inorganic *a:*

ī-hēmgulu'k'^{w} he will wrestle with him (cf. inferential *hēmk'*)

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'^{ɛ}n* I DESIRE IT 32.5, 6, 7. Alongside, e. g., of the ordinary future form *dō^{u}ma'n* I SHALL KILL HIM may be used the periphrastic *dō^{u}m-gulugwa'^{ɛ}n* literally, I KILL (HIM)-DESIRE, INTEND. This latter form is not by any means a mere desiderative (I DESIRE TO KILL HIM would be expressed by *dō^{u}mia' gel-gulugwa'^{ɛ}n* [=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'^{ɛ}xbi-gulu'k'^{w} he will see you

The reason is obvious. The normal futures (*yana'ᵉt'* HE WILL GO; *sana'p'dāᵃ; alxī'ᵉxbink'*) 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 (=*dōᵘma'n*) and I'M GOING TO KILL HIM (*dōᵘm-gulugwa'ᵉn*).

Though a form like *dũmxi-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 *dũmxi-* 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 (*dōᵘm-*), not formally (*-gulugʷ-*), main verb. This difference may be graphically expressed as follows: HE-[KILL-ME]-INTENDS-IT, but HE-[NOSE-HAND]-TOUCHES-ME; strict analogy with the latter form would require **dōᵘm-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 *dũmxi-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)naᵉ*:

dōᵘm-gulugwa'n he will, is about to, is going to be killed
dũmxi-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'xiniau-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'^{e}giau-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^{a}g-*) has hitherto been translated as SAY (intransitive), SAY TO (transitive). This, however, is only a specialized meaning of the constantly recurring base, its more general signification being DO, ACT, BE IN MOTION indefinitely. It is really never used alone, but is regularly accompanied by some preceding word or phrase with which it is connected in a periphrastic construction; the *na(g)-* form playing the part of an auxiliary. As a verb of saying, *na(g)-* is regularly preceded by a quotation, or else some word or phrase, generally a demonstrative pronoun, grammatically summarizing the quotation. Properly speaking, then, a sentence like I SHALL GO, HE SAID (TO ME) (=*yana't'e^{e}* [*ga*] *naga'^{iε}* [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^{e}* 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)-*

[1] Most of its forms, as far as known, are listed, for convenience of reference, in Appendix A, pp. 286–90. It will be seen to be irregular in several respects. Examples of its forms are to be found in great number in "Takelma Texts."

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 *łq!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*ᵋ do (cf. *na't'e*ᵉ I shall say, do)
s·as· come to a stand (cf. *s·as·inĩ* he stands 144.14)
s·il paddle canoe (cf. *ei-ba-i-s·ili'xgwa* he landed with his canoe 13.5)
*t'gel*ᵋ fall, drop
ts·!el rattle (cf. *ts·ele'*ᵋ*m* it rattles 102.13)
*t'bō'*ᵘ*x* make a racket (cf. *t'bō'*ᵘ*xde*ᵋ I make a noise)
*liwā'*ᵃ look (cf. *liwila'ut'e*ᵋ I looked [60.7])
le'yas lame (cf. *gwel-le'ye*ᵉ*sde*ᵋ I am lame)
p'i'was jumping lightly (cf. *p'iwits!ana'*ᵋ*n* I make it bounce)
we'k!alk' shining (cf. *al-we'k!ala*ᵋ*n* I shine)
sgala'uk' look moving one's head to side (cf. *al-sgalawi'n* I shall look at him moving my head to side)

The last two are evidently representatives of a whole class of quasi-adverbial *-k'*-derivatives from verb-stems, and, though syntactically similar to the rest, hardly belong to them morphologically. The *-k'* of these invariable verb-derivatives can hardly be identified with the inferential *-k'*, as it is treated differently. Thus:

we'k!al-k' shining 126.3; 128.14, but inferential *al-we'k!al-p'-k'* (Class IV, 3) he shone

Most frequently employed of those listed is *na*ᵋ, 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-nãk'i say that to him! 55.8, but *ga-na*ᵋ*nãk'i* do that to him! 182.4; 184.4
*ga-naga'*ⁱᵋ he said that 72.12, but *ga-na*ᵋ*naga'*ⁱᵋ he did that 58.3
*gwal̃t' a-na*ᵋ*na'*ᵋ*t'* the wind will blow as it is blowing now (literally, wind [*gwal̃t'*] this [*a-*]-do [*na*ᵋ]-act-will [*na'*ᵋ*t'*]) (152.8)
*ga-na*ᵋ*ne`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

§ 69

Examples of the other elements are:

ei-s·i'l-naga'^{iɛ} [1] he paddled his canoe (literally, he canoe-paddle-did) 13.5
s·as·-naga'^{iɛ} he came to a stand 22.6; 31.14, 15; 55.12; 96.23
s·as·-nā^{a}gi'n I shall bring him to a halt (literally, I shall *s·as·*-do to him)
liwā'^{a}-nagaīt'e^{ɛ} I looked (55.6; 78.10, 13; 79.5)
t'ge'l^{ɛ}-nagaīt'e^{ɛ} I fell, dropped down
t'gel^{ɛ} naga^{ɛ}nā'^{a}^{ɛ}k' he always fell down 62.8
ts!e'l naga'^{iɛ} (bones) rattled (literally, they did *ts!el*) 79.8
t'bō'^{u}x naga` they made a racket so as to be heard by them 192.9
we'k!alk'-naga'^{iɛ} he shines
sgala'uk'-naganā'^{a}^{ɛ}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'^{iɛ} 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'^{iɛ} they passed over it (literally, thereon they did) 190.21
ganau-nagana'^{ɛ}k' 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^{a}la`m (in the road) *-naga'^{iɛ}* (he did) (= he traveled in the road)
haxiya` (in the water) *-naga'^{iɛ}* (= he went by water)
dak'-s·inī'^{i}da (over his nose) *-nabā'^{a}^{ɛ}ha`n* (let us do) (= let us [flock of crows] pass over him!) 144.11
da'k'dā^{a}da (over him) *-na`* (do!) (= pass over him!)
dak'-yawadē (over my ribs) *-naga'^{iɛ}* (=he passed by me)
ge (there) *-naga'^{iɛ}* (= they passed there) 144.18
he^{eɛ}-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'^{iɛ} he come-to-a-stand-did, like *ge naga'^{iɛ}* he there-did

Compare the similar parallelism in Wasco of:

[1] *s·il* has been found as a prefix also in the comitative *ci-s·il-yā^{a}ngwa'^{ɛ}n* 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^{a}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-leīs 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^{a}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}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^{s}(-t'a^{s}), serving to subordinate the active forms of the aorist.

-ma^{s}, subordinating those of the passive aorist.

-na^{s}, subordinating all inferential forms in *-k'*. Periphrastic inferential forms in *eīt'* and *eīt'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^{s} (*-gi^{s}*), 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^{ɛ}-* forms of an intransitive verb like *hōg^{w}-* RUN are:

	Independent	Subordinate
Singular:		
First person	*hō'k'de^{ɛ}* I run	*hō'k'de^{ɛ}da^{ɛ}* when I ran, I running
Second person	*hōgwa'ṭ'*	*hōgwada'^{ɛ}*
Third person	*hō'^{ɛ}k'*	*hō'k'da^{ɛ}*
Plural:		
First person	*hōgwi'k'*	*hōgwiga'm*
Second person	*hōgwa'ṭ'p'*	*hōgwa'ṭ'ba^{ɛ}*
Impersonal	*hōgwia'^{uɛ}*	*hōgwia'-uda^{ɛ}*

Of these forms, that of the first person plural in *-a'm* is identical, as far as the suffix is concerned, with the future form of the corresponding person and number. The example given above (*hōgwiga'm*) was found used quite analogously to the more transparently subordinate forms of the other persons (*alxī'^{i}xam hōgwiga'm* HE SAW US RUN, like *alxī'^{i}xi hō'k'de^{ɛ}da^{ɛ}* 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 *hogwiga'm* WE SHALL RUN with short *o*). No form in *-i'k'da^{ɛ}*, 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^{ɛ}* (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'^{a}da^{ɛ} when he went 58.8 (*ya'^{ɛ}* he went 96.8); cf. 188.17
ba-i-k!iyī'^{i}k'da^{ɛ} when he came (*ba-i-k!iyi'^{ɛ}k'* he came 156.24)
yawa'ida^{ɛ} as they were talking 130.13 (*yawa'i^{ɛ}* they talked)
xebe'nda^{ɛ} when he did so 142.10 (*xebe'^{ɛ}n* he did so 118.14)

The subordinate form of the third person aorist of class II intransitives ends in *-ṭ'a^{ɛ}* if the immediately preceding vowel has a rising accent. Thus:

s·as·inīṭ'a^{ɛ} when he stood (*s·as·inī* he stood 120.12)
lop!ōṭ'a^{ɛ} when it rained (*lop!o'ṭ'* it rained 90.1)

In the second person singular the personal *-ṭ'* and the *-d-* of the subordinating suffix amalgamate to *-d-*. The subordinate second person plural in *-ṭ'ba^{ɛ}* is not improbably simply formed on the analogy of the corresponding singular form in *-da^{ɛ}*, the normal difference

between the singular and plural of the second person consisting simply of the added *-b-* (*-p'*) of the latter; similarly, *e-ida'ᵉ* WHEN THOU ART and *eīt'baᵉ* 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'aᵉ* (*-daᵉ*) and *-t'abaᵉ* (*-dabaᵉ*):

s·as·inīt'aᵉ when you stood (*s·as·inīt'am* you stood)
s·as·inīt'baᵉ when ye stood (*s·as·inīt'ap'* ye stood)

Note the ambiguity of the form *s·as·inīt'aᵉ* WHEN HE OR YOU STOOD; compare the similar ambiguity in *naga'-idaᵉ* WHEN HE SAID and *naga-ida'ᵉ* WHEN YOU SAID 130.14; 132.23.

The transitive subordinates of the aorist are also characterized by a suffixed *-daᵉ*, except that forms with a third personal subject invariably substitute *-(a)na'ᵉ* (*-ina'ᵉ* with first person plural object), and that the personal endings *-dam* (THOU—ME) and *-dap'* (YE—ME) become simply *-daᵉ* and *-dabaᵉ* respectively. The latter forms are thus distinguished from non-subordinate futures merely by the aoristic stem (*al-xī'ixdaᵉ* WHEN YOU SAW ME, but *al-xī'ᵉxdaᵉ* YOU WILL SEE ME). Analogously to what we have seen to take place in the intransitive, *-t'p'* becomes *-t'baᵉ*. 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.		*t!omōxbindaᵉ* (*t!omōxbiᵉn*)	*t!omoma'ndaᵉ* (*t!omoma'ᵉn*)		*t!omōxanbandaᵉ* (*t!omōxanbaᵉn*)
2d per.	*t!ümŭxdaᵉ* (*t!ümŭxdam*)		*t!omomada'ᵉ* (*t!omoma't'*)	*t!omōximidaᵉ* (*t!omōximit'*)	
3d per.	*t!ümŭxinaᵉ* (*t!ümŭxi*)	*t!omōxbinaᵉ* (*t!omōxbi*)	*t!omomana'ᵉ* (*t!omōm*)	*t!omōximinaᵉ* (*t!omōxam*)	*t!omōxanbanaᵉ* (*t!omōxanp'*)
Plural:					
1st per.		*t!omōxbinagam* (*t!omōxbinak'*)	*t!omomanaga'm* (*t!omomana'k'*)		*t!omōxanbanagam* (*t!omōxanbanak'*)
2d per.	*t!ümŭxdabaᵉ* (*t!ümŭxdap'*)		*t!omoma't'baᵉ* (*t!omoma't'p'*)	*t!omōximit'baᵉ* (*t!omōximit'p'*)	

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 *lī'igwanaga'm* we shall bring them home

yewē xebe^{e}yagwanaga'm if we should slay him (literally, perhaps that-we-slay-him) 136.23; contrast *xe^{e}bagwanaga'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-xī'^{i}xbina^{ɛ} when he saw you, but *al-xī'^{e}xbina^{ɛ}* 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^{ɛ}*. Thus:

gel-hewe'hana^{ɛ} when he thought 45.2; 142.10, 13, 16 (cf. *gel-hewe'ha^{ɛ}n* I thought); but *gel-hewe'hau* he thought 44.11

The subordinate of the form with personal object *-k'xa* is formed by adding *-na^{ɛ}*:

malāk'wana^{ɛ} when he told him 72.14 (*malāk'wa* he told him 142.4)

The aorist passive subordinates cause no trouble whatever, the characteristic *-ma^{ɛ}* being in every case simply appended to the final *-n* of the passive form:

t!omoma'nma^{ɛ} when he was killed 146.22 (from *t!omoma'n* he was killed 148.3)

t!omõxanbanma^{ɛ} when you (plural) were killed

The complete subordinate inferential paradigm is rather motley in appearance; *-na^{ɛ}* is suffixed to the third personal subject in *-k'*:

p!āk'na^{ɛ} when he bathed

laba'k'na^{ɛ} when he carried it 126.5

gaīk'na^{ɛ} when he ate it

dũmxik'na^{ɛ} when he killed me

The first person singular in *-k'a^{ɛ}(n)* becomes *-k'anda^{ɛ};* 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^{ɛ}*:

gaīk'amna^{ɛ} when it was eaten

dõmxamk'amna^{ɛ} when we were killed

The periphrastic forms in *eīt'* and *eīt'p'* become *-k'* + *eida'ᵉ* and *eīt'baᵉ* in the subordinate; e. g., *wāᵃhīⁱmt'k!eida'ᵉ* WHEN YOU ANSWERED HIM. The active inferential subordinates of *dōᵘm-* with third personal object thus are:

Singular:
First person, *dōmk'andaᵉ*
Second person, *doᵘmk!eida'ᵉ*
Plural:
First person, *dōmk'anaga'm*
Second person, *dōᵘmk!eīt'baᵉ*
Third person, *dōmk'naᵉ*; personal, *dōmk'wak'naᵉ*
Impersonal *dōᵘmiaūk'naᵉ*

The subordinating element *-naᵉ* also makes a subordinate clause out of a *-t'* participle (see §76):

gwi na't'naᵉ gaᵉ a'ldi naga'n how-he-looked (*gwi na't'* how-looking) that all he-was-called 60.5; (cf. 78.3)
yap!a ga na't'naᵉ that number of people 110.15

Also adjectives and local phrases may be turned into subordinate clauses by the suffixing of *-naᵉ*:

xilam-na'ᵉ when she was sick 188.10
aga dōᵘk' gwelda-na'ᵉ 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) *ü's·i* (2) *t!ümũxdaᵉ* (3) give me (2) dentalia (1), for you have struck me (3) (cf. 15.8)
a'nīᵉ (1) *gel-gülü'xi* (2) *gayawa'ndaᵉ* (3) he does not (1) like me (2), because I ate it (3)

gũxde^{ɛ} (1) *gayawana'^{ɛ}* (2) *goyo'* (3) *yap!a* (4) *aldī* (5) *he^{ɛ}-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^{ɛ} (1) *ya'^{ɛ}* (2) *gī^{i}* (3) *me^{ɛ}-wõ^{u}k'de^{e}da^{ɛ}* (4) *ga^{ɛ}a'l* (5) he did not (1) go (2), because I (3) came (4); *ga^{ɛ}a'l* (on account of, for) is employed to render preceding subordinate unambiguously causal

a'nī^{ɛ} (1) *s·in-ho'k'wal* (2) *yu'k'na^{ɛ}* (3) *ga* (4) *ga^{ɛ}al* (5) *sbīn^{ɛ}a* (6) *xa'm-hi* (7) *lãp'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:

hã^{aɛ}-yewe'^{iɛ} (1) *aldīl* (2) *t!omoma'nma^{ɛ}* (3) they all (2) returned far off (1), after (many of them) had been slain (3) 146.22

goyo (1) *gel-lohoigwa'nma^{ɛ}* (2) when shamans (1) are avenged (2) 148.2

ba-i-k!iyi'^{ɛ}k' (1) *p'im* (2) *gayawa'nda^{ɛ}* (3) he came (1) when I was eating (3) salmon (2)

al-xī'^{i}gi^{ɛ}n (1) *gwi^{ɛ}ne* (2) *yā'^{a}da^{ɛ}* (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^{ɛ} (1) *nek'* (2) *yok!oya'^{ɛ}n* (3) *lege'xina^{ɛ}* (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'^{ɛ}n (1) *nek'* (2) *laga'ximina^{ɛ}* (3) I know (1) who (2) gave us to eat (3)

mãn (1) *mi'xal* (2) *ha-lohõ^{u}nana'^{ɛ}* (3) he counted (1) how many (2) he had trapped (3) 100.8

a'nī^{ɛ} (1) *yok!õī* (2) *gwi* (3) *giniyagwa'nma^{ɛ}* (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!ododi'nma^{ɛ}* (4) they wore (3) the same (1) garments (2) with which they had been buried (4) 96.16

gī^{i} (1) *na^{ɛ}nagaīt'e^{e}da^{ɛ}* (2) *na^{ɛ}na'^{ɛ}k'* (3) do (future imperative) (3) what I (1) am doing (2)

ī-k'we'^{e}xi (1) *ulum* (2) *waīk'anda^{ɛ}* (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'^{ɛ}* (2) *laga'k'i* (3) he gave them (3) salmon (1) to eat (2) 30.11

The subordinate serves very frequently as a clause of indirect discourse after such verbs as KNOW, SEE, DISCOVER. With a regular

verb of saying, such as *na(g)-*, it is nearly always necessary to report the exact words of the speaker.

al-xī'ⁱgiᵉn (1) *xebeyigi'k'wanaᵉ* (2) I saw him (1) hurt him (2)
yok!oya'ᵉn (1) *p'im* (2) *gaīk'naᵉ* (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!omõxanbandaᵉ* (2) he saw me (1) strike you (pl.) (2)
al-xī'ⁱgiᵉn (1) *dal-yewe'idaᵉ* (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'ᵉsi(naᵉ)*, 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:

emeᵉ (1) *wala'ᵉsi* (2) *eīt'eᵉdaᵉ* (3) I am (3) right (2) here (1) (literally, here it-is really [?] that-I-am)
emeᵉ (1) *wala'ᵉsi* (2) *eida'ᵉ* (3) you are (3) right (2) here (1)
mīⁱ (1) *wala'ᵉsi* (2) *ī-k!ūmanana'nhik'naᵉ* (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 subordidates depending on predicatively used adverbs without *wala'ᵉsi* are:

a'nīᵉ (1) *wanã* (2) *emeᵉ* (3) *nè'idaᵉ* (4) [it is] not (1) even (2) here (3) that they did (4) (probably = even they did not get here) 61.3
hop!è'ᵉn (1) *p!ā'ᵃs* (2) *hi's* (3) *lop!õt'aᵉ* (4) it used to snow long ago (long ago [1] that snow [2] almost [3] stormed [4])
alī (1) *heᵉ-ī-leme'k!indaᵉ* (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'aᵉ* (3) that man is standing (literally, [it is] that [1] man [2] that is standing [3])

The form *wala'ᵉsinaᵉ* is in all probability a third personal aorist transitive subordinate form in *-naᵉ*, 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-*:

emeᵉ (1) *walaᵉsinaᵉ* (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'ᵉs'inaᵉ* (2) he is over there (literally, [it is] there [1] that-he-really-is [2])

Most astonishing is the use of *wala'ᵉs·inaᵉ* 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'ᵉsinaᵉ-hālsbinaᵉ* 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'ᵉsinaᵉ* is syntactically dependent, the main verb *-hālsbinaᵉ* 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-REALLY-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'iᵉ* (*-giᵉ*) 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 *-gulugʷ-*. The phonetic and to some extent psychologic similarity between the inferential (e. g., *dũmxik'* HE EVIDENTLY STRUCK ME) and the conditional (e. g., *dũmxigiᵉ* IF HE STRIKES, HAD STRUCK ME) makes it not improbable that the latter is a derivative in *-iᵉ* 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'iᵉ eīt'eᵉ*
Second person, *yana'k'iᵉ eīt'*
Third person, *yana'k'iᵉ*

Plural:

First person, *yana'k'i^{ɛ} e^{e}bi'k'*

Second person, *yana'k'i^{ɛ} eīt'p'*

Impersonal: *yanayaūk'i^{ɛ}*

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'^{ɛ}n (1) *nek'* (2) *lāxbigi^{ɛ}* (3) I know (1) who (2) will give you to eat (3)

dewe'nxa (1) *al-xī'k!in* (2) *gwi^{ɛ}ne* (3) *yana'k'i^{ɛ}* (4) I shall see him (2) to-morrow (1), when (3) he goes (4)

al-xī'^{e}xink' (1) *gwi^{ɛ}ne* (2) *yana'k'i^{ɛ} eīt'e^{ɛ}* (3) he will see me (1) when (2) I go (3)

gwen-t'gā^{a}-bo'k'danda (1) *ts·!ō'^{u}t!igi^{ɛ}* (2) *yā'^{a}* (3) *he^{ɛ}ne* (4) *yā'^{a}* (5) *xe^{e}bagwa'n* (6) just (3) [1]when 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!īi (1) *de-gü'k!alxgi^{ɛ}* (2) *na^{ɛ}naga'^{iɛ}* (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^{ɛ}nāk'i^{ɛ} eīt'* (2) *haxada'^{ɛ}* (3) if you do (2) that (1), you'll get burnt (3)

āk' (1) *yana'k'i^{ɛ}* (2) *gī^{i}* (3) *hono^{ɛ}* (4) *yana't'e^{e}* (5) if he (1) goes (2), I (3) go (5) too (4)

wede (1) *yana'k'i^{ɛ}* (2) *gī^{i}* (3) *hono^{ɛ}* (4) *wede* (5) *yana'k'a^{ɛ}* (6) if he does not (1) go (2), I (3) won't (5) go (6) either (4)

gwalt' (1) *mahai* (2) *wo'k'i^{ɛ}* (3) *ga* (4) *nā^{a}gi'^{ɛ}k'* (5) if a great (2) wind (1) arrives (3), say (5) that! (4) 196.19

[1]Just 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'^{u}sgi$^{\varepsilon}$* (2) *ga* (3) *loho't'e^{e}* (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!emniyaũk'i$^{\varepsilon}$* (2) *wa-t'bā'^{a}gamdina$^{\varepsilon}$* (3) whenever people will make (2) arrows (1), they (arrows) will be backed (literally, tied) with it (3) (with sinew) 28.2

wā^{a}dī'^{i} (1) *dũ* (2) *ba-i-ginãk'wi$^{\varepsilon}$* [2] (3) *goyo'* (4) *he$^{\varepsilon}$ne* (5) *dō^{u}-mana'$^{\varepsilon}$* (6) whenever a shaman (4) goes out with [3] (3) one whose body (1) is good (2), then (5) he shall be slain (6) 146.6

goyo (1) *gel-lohogwiaũk'i$^{\varepsilon}$* (2) *he$^{\varepsilon}$ne* (3) *yā'^{a}s·i$^{\varepsilon}$* (4) *yap!a* (5) *gama'xdi* (6) *p!è'$^{\varepsilon}$t'* (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$^{\varepsilon}$* (2) *ne'k'* (3) *al-xī'$^{\varepsilon}$k'wak'* (4) *yap!a* (5) *loho'k'i$^{\varepsilon}$* (6) no (1) one (3) will see him (4) again (2), when a person (5) dies (6) 98.10

gana$^{\varepsilon}$ne'x (1) *yo'$^{\varepsilon}$t'* (2) *yap!a* (3) *gāīk'i$^{\varepsilon}$* (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$^{\varepsilon}$ eīt'e$^{\varepsilon}$* (2) *mala'xbi$^{\varepsilon}$n* (3) if I knew (2) all (1), I should tell it to you (3) 162.5

nek' (1) *yo'k'i$^{\varepsilon}$* (2) *dak'-līmxgwa$^{\varepsilon}$* (3) if it were (2) anyone else (1), it (tree) would have fallen on him (3) 108.11, 13

ī'daga (1) *ge* (2) *yu'k'i$^{\varepsilon}$* (3) *wede* (4) *dō^{u}ma'$^{\varepsilon}$n* (5) if that one (1) had been (3) there (2), I should not (4) have killed him (5)

gī^{i} (1) *ge* (2) *yu'k'i$^{\varepsilon}$ eīt'e$^{\varepsilon}$* (3) *bõ^{u}* (4) *yana'$^{\varepsilon}$* (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'ʻk'awalda$^{\varepsilon}$* (2) *he$^{\varepsilon}$ne* (3) *yap!a* (4) *al-t!ayaīk'* (5) WHENEVER THE DOG (1) BARKED (2), THEN (3) HE FOUND (5) A PERSON (4).

[2] = *-ginãk'w* + *-k'i$^{\varepsilon}$*.

[3] Causes the death of.

form of the demonstrative pronoun *hā'ᵉga* THAT ONE; it is used also with persons other than the third:

yana't'eᵉ haga' I should have gone in that event

§ 72. USES OF POTENTIAL AND INFERENTIAL

The potential and inferential modes differ from the aorist in the negative particle with which they may be combined. An indicative non-future statement, such as is expressed by the aorist, is negatived, without change of the verb-form, by means of the negative adverb *a'nīᵉ*:

yānt'eᵉ I went; *a'nīᵉ yānt'eᵉ* I did not go

An imperative or future form, however, can not be directly negatived, but must be expressed by the potential and inferential respectively, the non-aoristic negative adverb *wede* being prefixed. Thus we have:

Negative future:

yana'ᵉt' he will go	:	*wede yana'k'* he will not go
yanada'ᵉ you will go	:	*wede yana'k!eīt'* you will not go
yana't'eᵉ I shall go	:	*wede yana'k'aᵉ* I shall not go
dõmxbin I shall kill you 178.15	:	*wede dõmxbigaᵉ* I shall not kill you (cf. 178.15)
dõᵘma'nk' he will kill him	:	*wede* (1) *ne'k'* (2) *yap!a* (3) *gama'xdi* (4) *dõᵘmk'* (5) no (1) one (2) will slay (5) a person (3) who is no shaman (4) 146.16

Negative imperative:

yana' go! (sing.)	:	*wede yana't'* do not go!
yana'np' go! (pl.)	:	*wede yana't'p'* do not go! (156.9)
dõᵘm kill him!	:	*wede dõᵘma't'* do not kill him!
ga naᵉna' do that!	:	*wede ga naᵉna't'* 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 negatived, e. g., *wede dõᵘma'ᵉn* 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·ᵉī*[1]*-k'we'ᵉxi ulum waīk'andaᵉ* 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 *waīk'andaᵉ* is used in preference to the matter-of-fact aorist *wayānt'eᵉdaᵉ* 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:

gemeᵉᵉdi (1) *gīⁱ* (2) *wayaūxagwat'* (3) *yu'k'aᵉ* (4) how (1) should I (2) be (4) daughter-in-lawed (3) (i. e., how do I come to have any daugher-in-law?) 56.10 I didn't know that you, my son, were married!

gīⁱ (1) *di'* (2) *ha'miᵉt'ban* (3) *dōᵘmk'aᵉ* (4) did I (1) kill (4) your father (3) ? (2) 158.2

s·-gwi dī' (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) *mīⁱ* (2) *di'* (3) *s·amgia'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) *xēp'k'* (3) *ga* (4) *di'* (5) *gūᵘxde'k'* (6) *gaīk'* (7) so it is those (1) that did it (3) ? (2) those (4) that ate (7) my wife (6) ? (5) 142.18

[1] *s·ᵉ-* merely marks the Coyote (see footnote, § 2).

e'me^{s} (1) *daba'^{s}x* (2) *di* (3) *^{s}eī^{s}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'^{a}nt'* (3) *gaīk'a^{s}* (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 *gwī^{s}ne* WHEN, HOW LONG followed by *wede* and the inferential, to denote a series of repetitions or an unbroken continuity of action. Examples are:

gwī^{s}ne (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

gwī^{s}ne' (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.

gwī^{s}ne (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^{s}di (1) *hono^{s}* (2) *al-dā^{a}gi'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., *dõmxbiyat'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:

waīxde^{ɛ} your sleeping	*yana'x* to go
bā^{a}-dawi'x to fly up	*hoida'x* to dance
hogwa'x to run	*lõ^{u}x* to play 31.7
t!e^{e}wa'x to play shinny	*na^{s}ne'x* doing 94.10; 72.4; 148.13
ne'x saying 108.16; 184.10	*gina'x* to go (176.8) (from simple base *gin-*; contrast third person future *ging-a'^{ɛ}t'*)

Stems ending in long diphthongs either take *-x* or *-ax*. Thus we have either *ha-yèū-x-dā^{a}da* or *ha-ye^{e}w-a'x-dā^{a}da* IN THEIR RETURNING 124.15.

2. From Class II intransitives:

k'wā'^{a}^{ɛ}xgwa to wake up (intransitive)	*t'gēlxgwa* to run around, roll
geiwa'lxgwa to eat	*ba-i-di'n^{ɛ}xgwa* to march
lāk'wa to become	*s·a's·ank'wa* to stand
p!ala'k'wa to tell a myth	*sana'k'wa* to fight

3. From Class IV verbs:

ī-he^{e}gwa'k'wa (= *-he^{e}g^{w}hag^{w}-k'wa*) to work

al-we'k!alk'wa to shine

da-bo^{s}k'ba'xgwa to bubble under water (observe verb-suffix *-x-* of infinitive; but *da-bok!oba'k'na^{s}n* I make bubbles)

4. From *-xa-* verbs:

lū'^{s}xwa`* (=*lūk!-xa`) to trap

p'e'lxa to go to war (but also *p'elxa'k'wa*[1])

5. From reflexives:

t'gwā^{a}xa'nt'gwidepxdagwa to tattoo himself

se^{e}la'mt'gwidepxdek' to paint myself

lū'^{s}xagwant'gwiapxde`k' to trap for myself

han-se^{e}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'^{a}k!wia to wake him

ī-k'we'^{es}xiya to wake me (164.20)

ī-gi's·gis·ia[2] to tickle him

wayanagwia` to run after him

dā^{a}-aganiа` to hear about it

lō^{u}gwia` to play with it

wa^{s}-ī-dōxia to gather them

dõmk'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!omõxā^{a}da wiyina'^{s}n I help him kill (literally, his-killing [no object] I-aid-it)

ho'gwax gel-gulugwa'^{s}n I like to run (lit., running I-like-it) (196.8)

a'nī^{s} yok!ōī nexde`k' he does not know what I said (literally, not he-knows-it my-saying)

xi-^{s}ūgwia ga^{s}a`l in order to drink water (literally, water-drinking for)

ba-i-k!iɣi'^{s}k' al-xī'^{s}xbiya ga^{s}a`l 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; *haxa'k'wā^{a}* TO BURN (also *haxa'xgwā^{a}*).

[2] Umlauted from **ī-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 *-t'aya*.

The normal method of expressing purpose, as the last two examples show, is by the use of an infinitive followed by the general locative postposition *ga$^{\varepsilon}$a'l* 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:

p!ala'k'wa myth 50.4; 172.17

t'ge^{e}mt'ga'mxgwa darkness

gina'x passage-way 176.9

ye'l$^{\varepsilon}$sgwix sweat (cf. *ye'l$^{\varepsilon}$sgwadē^{e}* I shall sweat [140.1])

ts·!ip'na'x speech, oration (cf. *ts·!i'p'nan* I shall make a speech to them [146.11])

sana'k'wa fight, battle

ts·!e^{e}ma'x noise (cf. *dā^{a}-ts!ēm-xde$^{\varepsilon}$* I hear a big noise 90.21)

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 dõmt' eīt'e^{ɛ}* (literally, MY-MOTHER HAVING-KILLED I-AM) and *wihin t!omoma'^{ɛ}n* both mean I KILLED MY MOTHER, but with a difference. The latter sentence simply states the fact, the emphasis being on the act itself; the former sentence, on the other hand, centers in the description of the subject as a matricide, I AM ONE WHO HAS KILLED HIS MOTHER. The latter sentence might be a reply to a query like WHAT DID YOU DO? the former, to WHO ARE YOU?

Examples of *-t'* participles are:

*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^{ɛ}n I make him old (cf. *wunūnt'e^{ɛ}* I grow old)
*t'gā^{a} haxa'*t' burnt field (not passive, but really=field that has at one time burned) 92.29
hēlt' eīt'e^{ɛ} I know how to sing (literally, singing I am)
yap!a lohõnt' eīt'e^{ɛ} 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' eīt'e^{ɛ} I am whistler
ni'xa yi'lt' 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^{u}mi'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* (*dõmk'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^{ɛ}n* THAT ONE I (ALWAYS) STRIKE, but differs radically in signification from both *ī'daga t!omoma'^{ɛ}n* I KILLED THAT ONE and *ī'daga dõmt' eīt'e^{ɛ}* I AM ONE THAT HAS KILLED THAT ONE.

Examples of *-k'^{w}-* participles are:

gwen-sgū'^{uɛ}t'ôk'^{w} (those) with their necks cut off (21.2, 4, 5)
xa-ī-sgī'^{iɛ}p'sgibik'^{w} (bodies) cut in two 21.2; 22.3
(mī^{i}) gela'p'ak'^{w} [1] something which is (already) twisted
gūhak'^{w} na^{ɛ}ne'x like something planted, sown
wa^{ɛ}-ī-dūxik'^{w}dek' I have been gathering them (literally, my gathered ones)
dal^{ɛ}-wa-p'ī'tlik'^{w} (manzanita) mixed with (sugar-pine nuts) 178.5
t'ān t'gwīl gūt'ôk'^{w}dā^{a} squirrel has been burying (*gō^{u}d-*) hazelnuts (literally, squirrel hazel-nuts [are] his-buried-ones) [2]
sēk'ak'^{w}de'k' I (always) shoot (*sā^{a}g-*) him (literally, my shot one)
mīla'shak'^{w}dek' I love her (literally, my loved one)

[1] Cf. *galaba'^{ɛ}n* I TWIST IT; *-a'-* above is inorganic, hence unpalatalized to *-e-*.

[2] *t'gwil* (HAZEL-NUTS) is the grammatical subject; *gūt'ôk'^{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:

dõᵘk'-sgū'ᵘt!ik'ʷ log-cut-with (=saw)
seᵉl-wa-seᵉla'mdik'ʷ black paint (writing)-therewith-painted (written) (=pencil)
ī-smi'lsmilik'ʷ (thing) swung (=swing)
dūk'ʷ-wa-sgū'ᵘt!ik'ʷ dress-therewith-cut (=scissors)
k!wāī-bāᵃ-sgēk'sgigik'ʷ grass-up-pitched-with (=pitchfork)
yap!a-wa-dõᵘmi'k'ʷ people-therewith-killed, e. g., arrow, gun
daᵉma'xau alᵉ-wa-xi'ᵉik!ik'ʷ far therewith-seen, e. g., telescope
mülmili'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
ts·!ele'i his eye 86.7, 9	*ts·!ele'i*k'ʷ eye-having 27.9
ni'xa his mother 17.11; 126.7	*ni'xa*k'ʷ he has a mother
ma'xa his father 17.12; 126.6	*me'xa*k'ʷ he has a father
k'aⁱᵉlā'p'ik!ī his woman (178.8)	*k'eⁱᵉlè'p'ik!i*k'ʷ he has a wife 142.6
t!īⁱᵉlā'p'ik!ī her husband 46.1	*t!īⁱᵉlè'p'ik!i*k'ʷ 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-güla'k'ak'ʷ-de'k' my liked one, I like him (=*gel-güla'xab-at'k'*)
gel-güla'k'ak'ʷ-da they like him (=*gel-güla'xap'*)

Forms in *-xap'* are in particular use as names of articles of clothing. Examples are:

*gwen-wī'$^{i\varepsilon}$*xap' handkerchief, neckerchief 188.5 (cf. *gwen-wī'^{i}k!an* I shall wind it about my neck)
*dak'-wī'$^{i\varepsilon}$*xap' something wound about one's head
*xā^{a}-le'$^{e\varepsilon}$*sap' (=*-t!-xap'*) belt (cf. *xā^{a}-lā'^{a}t!an* I shall put it about my waist)
*gwen-p!īx*ap' pillow (cf. *gwen-p!īk'wan* I shall lie on pillow)
*ha-lū'$^{u\varepsilon}$*xap' shirt (cf. *ha-lō'^{u}k!^{w}in* I shall put on shirt)
*ha-ya-u-t'ge'n$^{\varepsilon}$*sap' (=*-ts!-xap'*) vest (cf. *ha-ya-u-t'ge'nts!an* I shall put it about my middle, ribs)
*sge'$^{e\varepsilon}$*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, *-$^{\varepsilon}$s*, *-sā^{a}*, *-sī^{i}*, 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 *-sī^{i}*, 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). *-$^{\varepsilon}$s* and *-xi* are used with both transitive and intransitive stems.

§ 80. Nouns of Agency in *-(a')$^{\varepsilon}$s*

This suffix is used to form agentives with more freedom than the others seem to be. The ending *-$^{\varepsilon}$s* is added directly to the verb-stem, with connective *-a'-* (instrumental *-i-*) if phonetically necessary. No examples have been found of agentives in *-$^{\varepsilon}$s* from intransitives of Class II. Examples are (49.4; 60.10):

hoida'$^{\varepsilon}$s dancer
he'la'$^{\varepsilon}$s singer
p!ā^{a}ga'$^{\varepsilon}$s bather
yā^{a}da'$^{\varepsilon}$s swimmer
ts!a-uya'$^{\varepsilon}$s fast runner 138.2
ei-sā^{a}gwa'$^{\varepsilon}$s canoe paddler
hāpxi-t'ā^{a}ga'$^{\varepsilon}$s child-crier (= cry-baby)
xut'ma'$^{\varepsilon}$s whistler
k'aiwi'$^{\varepsilon}$ wa$^{\varepsilon}$-ī-dõxi$^{\varepsilon}$s one who gathers everything
xuma-k!emna'$^{\varepsilon}$s food-maker (=cook) 54.4
dõmxbi$^{\varepsilon}$s one who kills you
mala'xim$^{\varepsilon}$s one who tells us

The last two examples show incorporated pronominal objects; the first personal plural object *-am-* is, as usual, followed by the connec-

tive *-i-*. The strongly verbal coloring of the agentive in *-ˢs* is perhaps best indicated by its employment as a final clause. Examples of this use are:

ba-i-k!iyi'k'deˢ al-xī'ⁱˢxbiˢs I came to see you (literally, as one-seeing-you)
meˢ-giniˢk' al-xī'ⁱˢxiˢs he came to see me
hoida'ˢs di meˢ-giniga't' did you come to dance? (i. e., as dancer)
a'nīˢ meˢ-giniˢk'deˢ lõᵘˢs· I did not come to play, as player 31.6 (cf. § 74 for another method of expressing this idea)

§ 81. Nouns of Agency in *-sī^i, -sā^a*

These, as already observed, are less distinctly verbal in force than the preceding. Some verbs have agentives in both *-ˢs* and *-sā^a;* e. g., *heᵉla'ˢs* and *hĕlsā^a* SINGER. Not infrequently there is a distinct feeling of disparagement in a *-sā^a-* agentive as compared with one in *-ˢs;* e. g., *hogʷa'ˢs* 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 *-sī^i* and *-sā^a* are:

ī-heᵉgwa'k'ʷsī^i worker
da-lõsi liar (but non-disparaging *lõᵘˢs* player)
ū'ⁱˢs·ī^i (= *ū'ⁱˢs·-s·ī^i*) *k!emĕˢn* I make him laugh (literally, laugher)
al-t'wā^ap't'wa'p'sī^i 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's·ansā^a one always standing
s·ū'ˢalsā^a one always sitting
nōts!adam yu'sā^a eᵉbik' we are neighbors (literally, neighboring-to-us being [stem *yu-*] we-are)
t!obaga'sā^a (= *-a's-sā^a*) *eīt'* you are always lying like dead

A few nouns in *-sī^i*, in which an agentive meaning can not well be detected, nevertheless doubtless belong here: *lõᵘsi'* PLAYTHING

(110.6,11) (cf. verb-stem *lō^{u}-* PLAY); less evidently, *le^{e}psi'* FEATHER 28.2; *ala'ksī^{i}* 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^{e}xi' needle, awl (literally [?], biter [cf. verb-stem *ye^{e}g^{w}-* bite]) 122.8
gel-dula'xī^{i} eīt'e^{e} I am lazy, one who is lazy
gel-he'i^{is}xi stingy (cf. verb-stem *hei^{is}x-* be left over)
s·ümxi' paddle stirrer (cf. *s·ü^{ü}m-t'a-* boil) (170.16)
eī t'gēlxī^{i} 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) *mī^{i}* (3) *al-t!aya'k'* (4) then (3) he discovered (4) a burnt-down (2) field (1) 92.26
yap!a (1) *dō^{u}mi'ya* (2) *^{e}al-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:

dī^{i}-he'liya (1) *wa-iwī'^{i}* (2) girl (2) who sleeps on a raised board platform (1) (literally, perhaps, up-boarded girl [cf. *he^{e}la'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
se'^{e}l black paint, writing	*se^{e}l-a'md-a$^{\varepsilon}$n* I paint it
he'^{e}l song 106.7; (164.16)	*hēl* sing! (170.12)
liw-ā'^{a} naga'$^{i\varepsilon}$ he looked (perhaps = his-look he-did) 55.6	*liwila'u-t'e$^{\varepsilon}$* I looked (152.17) (imperative *līū* 14.11; [60.2])
dūk'^{w} shirt 96.16	*dī-dūk'^{w}* wear it! (55.9; 96.16)
t!ü'l gambling-sticks in grass-game	*t!ü'lt!al-siniba$^{\varepsilon}$* let us gamble at grass-game 31.9
xle'$^{e\varepsilon}$p' dough-like mass of camass or fat	*ī-xlep!e'xlib-i$^{\varepsilon}$n* I mash it into dough (94.11)
xān urine	*xala'xam-t'e$^{\varepsilon}$* I urinate

A number of cases have been found of stem + suffix serving as noun and verb (e. g., *wüülha'm* MENSTRUAL "ROUND" DANCE 100.10, 16: *wüülha'mt'e^{e}* I SHALL HAVE FIRST COURSES 162.7, 8); but in these it is probable that the verb is a secondary derivative of the noun. Even in the first two examples given above, a difference in pitch-accent serves to distinguish the noun from the verb-stem: *hēl-gulu'k'^{w}* HE WILL SING, but *he'^{e}l gel-gulu'k'^{w}* HE LIKES, DESIRES, A SONG. The use of a stem as both noun and verb in the same sentence may lead to such cognate accusative constructions as the English TO LIVE A LIFE, DREAM A DREAM:

se'^{e}l-se^{e}la'msi write to me!
dū^{u}gwī'^{i} dī-dū^{u}gwa'nk' she shall wear her skirt 55.9

If we analyze noun forms like *t!ibagwa'nt'k'* MY PANCREAS and *dā^{a}nxde'k'* MY EAR, we find it necessary to consider five more or less distinct elements that go to make up a noun with possessive suffix, though all of these but the radical portion of the word may be absent.

First of all we have the stem (*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-wīsin* 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^{a}nxde'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 *līu-* 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^{a}nxde'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't'k'* 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^{a}l-a'm in the road 62.6; *dā^{a}-gwā^{a}l-a'm* along the road; *gwā^{a}l-a'm-t'k'* my road (96.8); *dak'-gwā^{a}l-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^{e}ns-i-x-da'^{ɛ} and *se^{e}ns-i'-^{ɛ}t'* your hair
wā^{a}d-i'-x-da (92.24) and *wā^{a}d-ī'^{i}* 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 wô'k'i^ɛ 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^{a}l-a'm-t'k'*), with pre-positive (*ha-gwā^{a}l-a'm*), and with pre-positive and pronominal element (*ha-gwā^{a}l-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	Characteristic	Pre-pronominal	Pronominal	Meaning
(*ha-*) *wax.-*[1]		*g-a'n*			in the creek
le'-	*k'w-*	*an-*		*t'k'*	my anus
da-uyā'a-	*k'w.-*			*de'k'*	my medicine-spirit
dā^a-		*n-*	*x-*	*de'k'*	my ear
bo'k'd-	*an.-*		*x-*	*de'k'*	my neck
k'a i^ē-	*lā'p'a.-k!-*	*i-*		*t'k'*	my woman
lō^u-	*s·i'.-*			*t'k'*	my plaything
sge'^{ē}-	*xab.-*	*a-*		*t'k'*	my hat
li'u-	*gw-*		*ax-*	*de' k'*	my face
xā^a-		*ha'm-*		*da*	on his back
ts·le'k'ts·!ig-		*i-*	*x-*	*de'k'*	my backbone
(*ha-*) *yaw-*		*a-*		*dē*	in my ribs
dō^{u}m.-		*a'l-*		*t'k'*	my testicles
xā^{a}l-(xān.)		*a'm-*		*t'k'*	my urine
ī-		*ū-*	*x-*	*de'k'*	my hand
(*ha^ē-*) *ī-*		*ū-*		*dē*	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·oñ* MOUNTAIN, *mēx* CRANE, cf. *tlan-* HOLD, *s·om-* BOIL, *he^{e}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 *nāᵃy-* 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!u'n* 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!iy-* of *p!i'yin* DEER and *p!i'yax* FAWN with the aorist *-p!iyin-(k'wa-)* LIE ON PILLOW (cf. *gwen-p!īxap'* PILLOW), unless the deer was so called, for reasons of name-taboo, because its skin was used for the making of pillows (or, more naturally, the reverse);[1] the *way-* of *waya'* KNIFE with *way-* SLEEP; or the noun-stem *yaw-* RIB (occurring as *ya-u-* when incorporated) with the verb-stem *yaw-* (*yiw-*) TALK. It is not justifiable to say that noun-stems of apparently non-primitive form are necessarily amplified from the bases that seem to lie back of them (e. g., *wili-* from *wil-; yulu-m* from *yul-*), but merely that there is a strong tendency in Takelma for the formation in the noun of certain typical sound-groups analogous to those found in the verb.

§ 86. TYPES OF STEM FORMATION

Though it is probably impossible to duplicate all the various types of aorist and verb stem found in the verb, most of those that are at all frequent occur also in the noun.

[1] Improbable, however, if aorist *p!eyen-* LIE and *p!iyin-k'wa-* LIE ON PILLOW are radically connected (see § 31).

1. The most characteristic type of noun-stem in Takelma is the monosyllabic group of consonant (less frequently consonant-cluster) + vowel (or diphthong) + consonant (less frequently cluster). This type may be considered as corresponding to the normal monosyllabic verb-stem. Out of a very large number of such primitive, underived noun-stems are taken a selection of examples.

Occurring as naked stems only when incorporated:

s·in- nose
dā^{a}- ear
gél- breast
gwen- neck
dag- head
s·al- foot
gwel- leg
yaw- rib
ī- hand
xā^{a}- back
de^{e}- lips, mouth
ha- woman's private parts

Occurring as absolute nouns:

nõx rain 90.1
p!ī fire 62.10; 78.13
bē sun 54.3; 122.15; 160.20
bēm tree, stick 25.5; 48.7
xi` water 15.1; 57.14
t'gā land 49.12; 73.9
t'gwa` thunder 55.8
p!ā'^{a}s snow 90.2, 3; 152.16
p'i`m salmon 17.12; 30.10
lān salmon-net 31.2; 33.4
māl salmon-spear shaft 28.7
t'gwa`n slave 13.12
gwān trail 148.7
būs fly
dēl yellow-jacket 73.7, 10
mēx crane 13.1
xe`m raven 162.8, 12
s·ēm duck 55.2; 166.10
sēl kingfisher
mēl crow 144.9; 162.7
yāk'^{w} wildcat 42.1; 46.9
xa`mk' grizzly bear 106.14
dīp' camass 108.18; 124.12
k!wāī grass 31.8
hīx roasted camass 178.4
õ'^{u}p' tobacco 194.1
k!wal̄ pitch 88.13; 158.9
yūp' woman's basket-cap 178.3
mo`x grouse
t'gwe`lk'^{w} rat (sp.?)
t'ī'^{i}s gopher 78.4, 7
sbīn beaver 112.1; 166.12
s·ūx bird 22.4; 166.10
da`n rock 13.6; 16.12
lā'^{a}p' leaves
s·īx venison 16.6; 55.1
xīn mucus
la`' excrement 122.2
t'ga`m elk 158.4; 196.6
t!āk' mussel 26.7
bõ^{u}n acorn-hopper
xo` fir 24.10; 54.6
hūlk' panther 42.1
bīk'^{w} skunk 164.2
t'ān squirrel 94.2, 4
s·oñ mountain 43.6
xān urine
dõ^{u}m testicles 130.20
dõ^{u}m spider
hōū jack-rabbit 108.8
ga'l^{s} bow
hāī cloud 13.3
bīū grasshopper 92.28, 29
xni`k' acorn dough 16.12
gūī thick brush 71.1
t'gwīl hazelnut 116.5, 11, 14

Occurring generally with possessive suffix:

ma-[1] *ham-* } father 17.12; 70.7; 158.3

ni- *hin-* } mother 17.9; 76.10, 13; 172.17

gū^{u}x- wife 13.2; 45.3; 64.5; 142.12

t!ī^{i}- male, husband 45.14; 126.14

nī^{i}- teats 30.14 (*ni'* found as absolute form 130.9)

p!ā^{a}n- liver 120.15 (*p!ān* found as absolute form 57.9, 13)

wā^{a}d- body 92.24; 130.24; 146.6

xū^{u}l- brains

se^{e}n- skin

delg- buttocks 45.9; 72.10; 94.15

bilg- breast

k'ū^{u}b- hair 24.8; 162.4

a-is'- 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^{s}*, already given above, may be cited:

t'go'^{is} leggings
k!a'l^{s}s sinew 27.13; (28.1)
p!e'^{e}l^{s} basket-plate 168.15
k'o'^{s}x 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'^{u}p'*, *p!ā'^{a}s*, *t'ī'^{i}s*, and *lā'^{a}p'*, may be mentioned:

ne'^{e}l song 106.7
se'^{e}l black paint, writing
ge'^{e}t' xerophyllum tenax
ye'^{e}t' tears
wā'^{a}s bush (sp.?) 25.12
t!e'^{e}k'^{w} yellowhammer 90.18; 194.15
t'be'^{e}k'^{w} shinny-ball
a'lk' silver-side salmon
p!e'^{e}s (with derivative *-s?* see § 87, 8) flat rock on which acorns are pounded 74.13; 75.2; 118.17

For two of these nouns (*he'^{e}l* and *se'^{e}l*) the etymology is obvious. They are derived from the verb-stems *he^{e}l-* SING and *se^{e}l-(amd-)* PAINT; it may well be that the falling accent here characterizes substantives of passive force (THAT WHICH IS SUNG, PAINTED). Possibly *lā'^{a}p'* and *ō'^{u}p'* 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 UP[1] (cf. aorist stems *lā^{a}b-* CARRY and *ō^{u}b-* DIG UP).

2. A very considerable number of noun-stems repeat the vowel of the base, corresponding to aorist stems of Type 2 verbs. Such are:

wi'li house 13.1; 14.8; 192.6
ts·!i'xi dog
moxo` buzzard 105.23
sgi'si coyote 13.1; 70.1; 108.1
sgwini` raccoon
k!a'ma spit for roasting 170.17
yap!a` person 14.12; 96.2; 128.2
yana` acorn 15.16; 16.9; 58.9
gwit!i-(n)- wrist
k'aba- son 23.2; 128.5; 138.14
xaga- maternal aunt
xli'wi war-feathers 110.18
waya` knife 73.3; 144.20; 172.12
goyo` shaman 47.11; 142.7; 188.7
wō^{u}p!u-(n)- eyebrows

With probably derivative final consonant are:

lege`m- kidney
lap'ām frog 102.10; 196.3
yulu`m eagle 77.2; 122.15; 164.8
gulu`m oak 22.10
k'ülūm fish (sp.?)
loxo`m manzanita 126.17; 178.5
yūt!u`n white duck 55.5
p!i'yin deer 17.1; 42.2; 54.2
ga'k!an ladder 176.8
daga`n turtle
ts·!axā'^{a}n blue-striped lizard
wigīn red lizard
li'bin news 108.20; 194.9
yi'win speech 126.10; 136.12
ts·!amāl mouse 102.10; 104.9; 142.4
s·imi`l dew
(k!el)mehel-ī'^{i} basket for cooking 178.4

Here again it will be observed that the rising or raised accent is the normal one for the second syllable of the stem. But here also a well-defined, if less numerous, group of noun-stems is found in which the repeated long vowel bears a falling accent. Examples are:

t'gwalā'^{a} hooting owl 194.9
hū^{u}s·ū'^{u} chicken-hawk 142.6
s·ühū'^{u} quail 70.2, 5; 71.4
t!ibis·ī'^{i} ant 74.4; 75.5
da-uyā'^{a} shaman's spirit (? from *dawy-* fly) 164.14
mayā'^{a}-k'^{w}- orphan 154.5

Compare also *t!onō'^{u}s·* below (Type 3); *ts·!ilī'^{i}k!-* and *t'bele'^{ɛ}s* (Type 3) owe their falling accent to the presence of a glottal catch.

Very remarkable is the stem formation of the noun *t!üxū'i* DRIFTWOOD 75.5. It is evidently formed from the verb-stem *dō^{u}x-* (aorist stem *t!oxox-*) GATHER (WOOD) according to aorists of Type 7b, at the same time with vowel ablaut (cf. theoretic *t!üxū-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'^{u}p'* 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.

libīs crawfish 30.2
nihwi'k'^{w} black bear 116.1; 118.1
ts·!ilī'^{i}*k!-* elbow
s·idib-i- (house) wall 176.4, 9
lep!ēs cat-tail rushes
t'bele'^{e}*s* pine-nuts
t!ewēx flea
s·elēk'^{w} pestle 56.1
s·ülũk' cricket
t!onō'^{u}*s·* humming-bird (perhaps with derivative *-s*)
ü'*lük!-* hair 27.1; 140.6; 158.1
deges[1]*-* sifting basket-pan 196.13
k!aba's porcupine-quills
t'gwaya'm lark 22.1; 160.3
hülũn ocean 60.8; 154.14
oho'p' black shells (sp.?) 55.9
mot!o'p' seed-beater
yuk!um- salmon-tail 198.9
dugu'm baby 126.9

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:

ts·!elei- eye 27.8; 86.7; 92.20
k'wedei- name 100.21
k!elei- bark 54.6
k!oloī storage basket 61.5; 138.17
da-k!olo'i-da-x- cheek
maha'i (adjective) large 196.10 (cf. plural *mahmī* 130.4 for base)

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:

se^{e}*ns-* hair 136.28 (cf. *se*^{e}*n-* skin)
lü^{ü}*l-* throat 25.2 (? cf. aorist *lomol* choke)
bo'p' alder (94.17)
ts·!u'n^{e}*s* (*ts·!unts·!-*) 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?

suñs thick, deep (of snow) 90.3

bebe'-n rushes

bū^{u}b-a'n arm 23.2, 4; (172.4)

sēns bug (sp.?)

ts·!e'n$^{\xi}$s· (*ts·!ents·!-*) wild-rose berry 92.23

bāp' seeds (sp.?) (34.1; 79.9; 94.19)

ts·!a'$^{i\xi}$s·[1] bluejay (onomatopoetic) 22.14; 102.10; 166.11

bel̄p'[2] 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:

t'gwi'nt'gwin-i- shoulder (also *t'gwī'^{i}nt'gw-i-*)

gelga'l fabulous serpent (cf. aorist *gelegal-amd-* tie hair into top-knot 172.3)

sī^{i}nsa'n decrepit old woman

yūk'ya'k'w-a (place name) 188.13

t'ga'lt'gil-i- belly

ts·!e'k'ts·!ig-i- backbone 112.4; 198.6

gi'xgap' medicine, poison (irreg.) 188.12

gwi'sgwas chipmunk

p'ā$^{\xi}$t'p'id-i- salmon-liver (with dissimilated catch) 120.19,20

bō^{u}t'bid-i- orphans (also *bō^{u}t'ba*)

Also *wa-iwī'^{i}* GIRL 55.7; 96.23 doubtless belongs here; the *-wī'^{i}* of the second syllable represents a theoretic *-wi'y*, umlauted from *-wa'y*, the falling accent being due to the inorganic character of the repeated *a*. A very few nouns repeat only the first consonant and add *a*, leaving the final consonant unreduplicated. Such are:

ba'k'bā^{a} red-headed woodpecker (onomatopoetic) 92.2, 6

ha'$^{\xi}$k'ā^{a} (=**hak!-hā^{a}*) goose 102.10; 106.2, 5

bōt'bā^{a} orphan 122.1, 5

A few nouns, chiefly names of animals, show complete duplication of the radical element without change of the stem-vowel to *-a-* in the second member. This type of reduplication is practically entirely absent in the verb. Examples are:

ts·!e'$^{\xi}$ts·!e$^{\xi}$ small bird (sp.?)

dalda'l dragon-fly 21.1; 28.6

p'abā'^{a}p' manzanita-flour

al-k!ok!o'k' (adj.) ugly-faced 60.5

bobo'p' screech-owl 194.1

t'ga'nt'gan 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 *-$^{\xi}$s·* is felt to be equivalent to *-ts·!* is shown by Bluejay's song: *ts·!a'its·!i-ā gwa'tca gwatca* 104.7.

[2] *bel-* is felt as the base of this word, cf. Swan's song *belelđō+ wa'inha* 104.15, which shows reduplication of *bel-* like aorist *helel-* of *hel-* SING.

dalda'l may be very plausibly connected with aorist *t!alat!al-* from *t!alal-*, non-aorist *dā^{a}ldal* from *dā^{a}l-* CRACK); while *p'abā'^{a}p'* and *bobo'p'* may, though improbably, show Type 1 reduplication (*p'ab-ā^{a}b-* 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; *mele'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.

wãxa his younger brother 54.1, 5 — *t'awãxa* his younger sister 55.2
wi-^{s}obī 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-*lè'p'i-* see § 77). *-k!-* is added to it in forms with possessive or plural affix. For example, from *t!ī$^{i\varepsilon}$lā'p'a* 178.7 MALE, HUSBAND are formed *t!ī$^{i\varepsilon}$lā'p'ik!it'k'* MY HUSBAND (142.7) and *t!ī$^{i\varepsilon}$lā'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!ī$^{i\varepsilon}$lā′p‘a male, husband 178.7 (cf. *t!ī*^{i}- husband, male)
k‘a$^{i\varepsilon}$lā′p‘a woman 25 9, 12; 108.4, 5 (cf. *k‘a*$^{i\varepsilon}$*s·o′k‘da* girl who has already had courses)
*mologo*lā′p‘a old woman 26.14, 16; 56.3 (cf. *mologo‘l* old woman 168.12; 170.10)
bõ^{u}*t‘bā*^{a}lā′p‘a*k!an* orphans (cf. *bõt‘ba* orphan and *bõ*^{u}*t‘bid-i-t‘k‘* my orphaned children)
lomt!ī^{i}lā′p‘a*k!an* old men 128.11: 130.1 (cf. *lòmt!ī*^{i} old man 24.11; 126.19)
os·ō^{u}lā′p‘a poor people

3. *-k‘*. A number of place-names with suffixed *-k‘* have been found:

*La′mhi*k‘ Klamath river
*Sbīn*k‘ Applegate creek (cf. *sbīn* beaver)
*Gwen-p‘uñ*k‘ village name 114.14 (cf. *p‘u‘n* rotten 140.21)
*Ha-t!õn*k‘ village name
*Dak‘-t‘gamī*k‘ village name (cf. *t‘ga‘m* elk)
*Gel-yãl*k‘ village name 112.13; 114.8 (cf. *yãl* pine)
*Somolu‘*k‘ [1] village name
*Dal-dani‘*k‘ village name (cf. *da‘n* rock)

4. *-a′*$^{\varepsilon}$(*n*). Nouns denoting PERSON COMING FROM are formed by adding this suffix to the place-name, with loss of derivative *-k‘*. Examples are:

Ha-gwā^{a}*la′*$^{\varepsilon}$ person from Ha-gwãl, Cow creek
Lamhī^{i}*ya′*$^{\varepsilon}$ person from La′mhik‘, Klamath river
Sbī^{i}*na′*$^{\varepsilon}$ person from Sbīnk‘, Applegate creek
Dal-sa′lsana$^{\varepsilon}$ person from Dal-salsañ, Illinois river
Dī$^{\varepsilon}$*-lōmiya′*$^{\varepsilon}$ person from Dī$^{\varepsilon}$-lōmī
Gwen-p‘u′na$^{\varepsilon}$ person from Gwen-p‘uñk‘
Dal-daniya′$^{\varepsilon}$ person from Dal-dani‘k‘
S·omola′$^{\varepsilon}$ person from S·omolu‘k‘ (see footnote)
Ha-t!ō^{u}*na′*$^{\varepsilon}$ person from Ha-t!õnk‘
La-t‘gā^{a}*wa′*$^{\varepsilon}$ person from La-t‘gāū, uplands 192.14
Dak‘-t‘gamiya′$^{\varepsilon}$ person from Dak‘-t‘gamīk‘
Ha-t‘ī^{i}*la′*$^{\varepsilon}$ person from Ha-t‘īl
Gel-yā^{a}*la′*$^{\varepsilon}$ person from Gel-yãlk‘
Dak‘-ts!ā^{a}*wana′*$^{\varepsilon}$ person from dak‘-ts!ā^{a}wa‘n, i. e., above the lakes (= Klamath Indian)
Dak‘-ts!ā^{a}*mala′*$^{\varepsilon}$

[1] The *-u‘-* 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 *Somol̄k‘* (similarly, *wul̄x* ENEMY was often heard as *wulu‘x*), as implied by *S·omola′*$^{\varepsilon}$ ONE FROM SOMOL̄K‘. In that event *s·omol̄-* is very probably a frequentative in *v+l* (see § 43, 6) from *s·om̃* MOUNTAIN, and the place-name means VERY MOUNTAINOUS REGION.

Dā^{a}-gelma'$^{\varepsilon}$n person from Dā^{a}-gela'm, Rogue river (= Takelma Indian)

Dī-dalama'$^{\varepsilon}$n person from Dīdalam, Grant's Pass

Judging from the material at hand, it seems that *-a'$^{\varepsilon}$n* is used only when the place-name ends in *-m*, though the ease with which *-a'$^{\varepsilon}$n* may be heard as *-a'$^{\varepsilon}$* (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:

t!iba'k'^{w} pancreas 47.17; *t!ibag*w-*a'n-t'k'* my pancreas (47.5, 6, 7, 13) (incorporated *t!iba-* 46.1, 9)

*li'ug*w-*ax-dek'* my face (cf. verb-stem *līu-* look)

*da^{s}mada*gw-*a'n-t'k'* my shoulder

*da-uyā'^{a}*k'^{w}-*dek'* my medicine-spirit (incorporated *da-uyā^{a}-* 164.14)

*le'*k'w-*an-t'k'* my rectum (cf. *la'* excrement 122.2)

*ma'p!ag*w-*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^{e}la'm board 176.5 (cf. *dī^{i}-he'liya* sleeping on board platform 13.2)

ts·!ela'm hail 152.12, 16 (cf. verb-stem *ts·!el-* rattle)

*p!i'yi*n deer 13.10; 42.2 (cf. *p!i'yax* fawn 13.11; 49.11)

*yi'wi*n speech 126.10; 138.4 (cf. verb-stem *yiw-* talk)

*li'bi*n news 194.9 (? cf. verb-stem *laba-* carry)

yūt!u'n white duck 55.5 (cf. verb-stem *yut!-* eat greedily)

*do'lk'*am-*a-* anus (also *do'lk'-i-* as myth form 106.4, 8)
*do'lk'*im-*i-*
*do'lk'*in-*i-* 106.6, 9

*xdā*n eel (cf. reduplicated *hā^{s}-xdā'^{a}xdagwa^{s}n* 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'^{e}wald-in-*ī^{i}* rocks returning-to- them, myth name of Otter 160.10, 13 (cf. verb-stem *ye^{e}w-ald-* 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'la'm* BOARD can not be identified with the *-am* of *ha-gwā'a'la'm* IN THE ROAD, as *gwā'a'la'm* has no independent existence. The exact morphologic correspondent of *gwā'a'l-am-* is *he'lam-a-* (e. g., *he'lam-a'-t'k'* MY BOARD). A doubt as to the character of the *-n-* can be had only in words that never, or at least not normally, occur without possessive suffix:

lege'm-t'k' my kidneys
wō'u'p!u'n-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 *xümü'k'de'* I AM SATED [132.1]). Other possible examples of its occurrence are:

yola' fox (? cf. verb-stem *yul-* rub) 70.1, 4, 5; 78.2, 3, 9
mena' bear 72.3; 73.2, 3, 4, 5; 106.7, 10
p!elda' slug 105.25
noxwa' small pestle
t'e'lma small pestle 62.1; 116.18, 19; 118.2
ma'xla dust 172.3; 184.5, 9
k!eda' grass for string (sp.?)
t!ela' 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 *-ū-* (cf. *gwit!ūxde'k'* MY WRIST with *ūxde'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 *gōᵘl-*, 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[1] in *bomxi'* otter 13.5; 17.13; 154.13; 156.14; *ū'ᵉxi* seed-pouch; *hāᵃpxi'* child 13.8, 13 (cf. *hāp'da* his child 98.13 and *hāᵃp'-* incorporated in *hāᵃp'-k!emna'ᵉs* Children-maker 172.15)
pluralic *-x-* in *hāpxda* his children 16.3; 118.1, 14
-x- varies with *-s-* in adjective *hāpsdi* small; *hāᵃpxi' 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!ī'ⁱ old man 24.11, 12; 126.19 (cf. *t!ī'ⁱ-* male)
k'aⁱˢs·o'k'da girl who has had courses (cf. *k'aⁱˢlā'p'a* woman)

[1] Cf. *-xi* above, § 82.

Independent nouns may, however, be juxtaposed without change of form to make up a descriptive term, the qualifying noun preceding:

hapxi-t!ī'ⁱt'āᵃ child male-person (=boy) 14.1, 6; 17.3, 6; 156.10
hapxi-wa-iwī'ⁱ child female-person (=girl) 29.7; 30.1; 71.3
hapxi-t'āᵃga'ᵉs child crier (=cry-baby)
da'n mologo'l rock old-woman 170.10, 15, 20; 172.1
dan hapxi-t!ī'ⁱt'āᵃ rock boy 17.8
dan wīⁱlī'ⁱ his rock knife 142.20
gwa's· wili brush house (for summer use) 176.14
yãx wili graveyard house 14.8, 9; 15.5, 6
wilīⁱ heᵉla'm house boards 176.5
xamk' wa-iwī'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 haᵉīgo' yap!a' house nine people (=people of nine houses) 150.16
yap!a ᵉalt'gu'ⁱᵉs· 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-īūxgwa't' snake handed (=lizard) 196.4
t'gwīl ts·!ī'ⁱk'da hazel its-meat (=hazel-nut)
t'gwa heᵉlamā'ᵃ thunder its-board (=lumber) 55.8, 10
p!iyin sgeᵉᵉxabāᵃ deer its-hat (not deer's hat, but hat of deerskin)
p!iyin ts·!u'nts·!īⁱ deer its-cap-embroidered-with woodpecker-scalps
k'ai mologolā'p'axdāᵃ 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·inīxdᵉ salmon its-nose (=swallow) (perhaps so called because the spring run of salmon is heralded by the coming of swallows)
mena' ᵉalt'guna'px bear + ? (=dormouse [?])
xi'lam 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^{u}bin-i-* [from *bū^{u}-ba'n* ARM]), *-a-* (*he^{e}lam-a-* [from *he^{e}la'm* BOARD]), *-(a)n* (*gulm-an-* [from *gula'm* OAK]), and without characteristic (*bo'k'dan-x-dek'* MY NECK [from *bo'k'dan* 15.12, 15]).

1. **-(*a*)*n*.** Examples of this characteristic element are:

gwit!i-n- wrist (cf. variant *gwit!ī-ū-*)
t!ibagw-an- pancreas 45.15; 46.5 (absolute *t!iba'k'^{w}* 47.17)
da^{z}madagw-an- shoulder
lek'w-an- rectum
dā^{a}-n-*x*- ear 14.4; 15.13 (incorporated *dā^{a}*-)
ts!ā^{a}w-an- lake, deep water 59.16 (absolute *ts!āū* 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·ō^{u}m-al- mountain 124.2; 152.2 (absolute *s·om̃* 43.6; 122.16)
dō^{u}m-al- testicles 130.8 (absolute *dõ^{u}m* 130.20)
ts!ā^{a}m-al- (in *Dak'-ts!ā^{a}mala'^{ɛ}* Klamath Indian, parallel to *Dak'-ts!ā^{a}wana'^{ɛ}*)
gwā^{a}l-am- trail 48.6, 8; 96.8, 9 (absolute *gwãn* 148.7)
xā^{a}l-am- urine (absolute *xãn*)

-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*)
del-gan-(*x*-) anus 45.9; 72.10; 94.15
bil-gan-(*x*-) breast
gel-gan- breast (cf. variant *gel-x*-)

2. **-*a*-.** More frequently occurring than *-(a)n-* is *-a-*, examples of which are:

dana- rock (absolute *da'n* 17.8; *dal-am-* as possible variant in place-name *Dī-dala'm* over the rocks [?])
ey-a- canoe 112.6; 114.5, 13; 156.2 (cf. variant *ei-x*-)
t'gwan-a- slave (absolute *t'gwa'n* 13.12)
he^{e}lam-a- board 55.8, 10 (absolute *he^{e}la'm* 176.5)
yō^{u}k!w-a- bone 186.1; 196.17 (absolute *yõ^{uɛ}k'^{w}*)

[1] This word happened to occur with following emphatic *yā'a*, so that it is probably umlauted 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!ak'ʷ*)
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!ī* 88.12, 13; 96.17)

All nouns in *-xab-* take *-a-* as their characteristic, e. g., *sge'ᵉᵋxab-a-t'k'* MY HAT (from *sge'ᵉᵋxap'* HAT)

3. ***-i-.*** Examples of nouns with *-i-* as their characteristic are:

dū^{u}gw-i- shirt 13.4; 96.26; 192.4 (absolute *dūk'ʷ* 96.16)
bū^{u}bin-i- arm 31.4; 172.4, 5, 6 (absolute *bū^{u}ba'n* 23.2, 4, 9)
t'gwi'nt'gwin-i- shoulder
ts·!ugul-i- rope (cf. absolute *ts·!ūk'*)
k'ū^{u}b-i- hair, skin 24.8; 160.6
ülük!-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^{s}s* 27.13)
bā^{a}b-i- seeds (sp.?) 34.1; 79.9; 94.19 (absolute *bãp'*)
k!elw-i- basket bucket 170.14, 16, 18, 19 (absolute *k!e'l* 186.17)
mā^{a}l-i- spear-shaft 156.1 (absolute *mãl* 28.7, 9, 10)
dū^{u}l-i- spear-point (absolute *dūl* 28.8, 9; 156.19, 20)
lü^{ü}l-i-(*x*-) throat 25.2
mū^{u}l-i- lungs
t!egilix-i- skull 174.3
t'galt'gil-i-(*x*-) belly
ts·!ek'ts·!ig-i-(*x*-) backbone 112.4
ham-i- father 158.3 (e. g., *ham-i'-^{s}t'* your father, but *wi-ha'm* my father 138.19)

A number of terms of relationship show an *-i-* not only in the second person singular and plural and first person plural but also, unlike *ham-i-* FATHER, in the first person singular, while the third person in *-xa* (*-a*) and the vocative (nearly always in *-ã*) lack it. They are:

wi-k'abaī my son (23.2, 3)	:	*k'aba'*-xa his son 138.16
wi^{s}-obī my elder brother (46.10)	:	*o'p*-xa his elder brother 48.3; 62.2
wi-t'obī my elder sister	:	*t'o'p*-xa his elder sister 55.14; 56.6
wi-k!a'si my maternal grandparent 14.2; (15.12)	:	*k!a's*-a his maternal grandparent 16.1, 2; (154.18)
wi-xdāī my paternal uncle	:	*xdã*-xa his paternal uncle
wi-hasi' my maternal uncle	:	*ha's*-a his maternal uncle
wi-t'adi' my paternal aunt 22.14	:	*t'a'd*-a his paternal aunt (63.9; 77.14)
wi-xagaī my maternal aunt	:	*xaga'*-xa his maternal aunt
wi-ts!aī my (woman's) brother's child 22.1; 23.8, 10; my (man's) sister's child 148.19; 150.4	:	*ts!a'*-xa 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
gamdi'-xa his paternal grandparent (170.21; 188.13)	*gamdã*
siwi'-xa her sister's child; his brother's child	*siwã*
wak'di'-xa his mother's brother's son 77.6; 88.14; (188.9)	*wak'dã* 77.4
t!omxi'-xa[1] his wife's parent	*t!omxã*
lamts!i'-xa her brother's wife	*lamts!ã*
yidi'-xa her husband's sister	*yidã*
nanbi'-xa his brother's wife; his wife's sister	*nanbã*
ximni'-xa his relative by marriage after linking member has died	*ximnã*

The *-i-* has been found in the vocative before the *-ã* (but only as a myth-form) in *obiyã* O ELDER BROTHER! 59.3; 62.4 (alongside of *obã*), so that it is probable that the vocative *-ã* 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 *-ã* appended to characteristic *-i-* are *ts!ayã* O NEPHEW! 23.1 (beside *ts!ã*) and *wô'k'dia'* O COUSIN! 88.14, 15 (beside *wak'dã*). The stem *ham-* with its characteristic *-i-* is used as the vocative: *hamī* 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- wrist[2] (cf. variant *gwit!i-n-*)
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'gã* 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 *īūx-* 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- head[1] 90.12, 13; 116.8; 188.4, 5 (incorporated *dak'*-)
sal-x- foot 120.18 (incorporated *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 *eī*)
dī^{s}mo-x- hips (incorporated *dī^{s}mo-*)
liugw-ax- face
bok'dan-x- neck (absolute *bo'k'dan*)
hā^{a}n-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'^{s}alda-x-dek'* MY FOREHEAD from *dī'^{s}alda* AT HIS FOREHEAD (but also *dī^{is}a'l-t'k'* with first personal singular possessive ending directly added to stem or incorporated form *dī^{is}al-*); *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 ^{s}īū'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 *hāap-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	*wi-*	*-dᵉ'k'*	*-'t'k'*	*-dē*	*-deᵉ*
Second person	*-'ɛt'*	*-dɛˢ*	*-'ɛt'*	*-daˢ*	*-daˢ*
Third person	*-xa, -a*	*-da*	*-', -'t'*	*-'da*	*-da*
Plural:					
First person	*-da'm*	*-da'm*	*-da'm*	*-da'm*	*-(p')igam*
Second person	*-ɛt'ban*	*-dabaˢn*	*-'ɛt'ban*	*-dabaˢn* *-'ɛt'ban*	*-dabaˢ*
Singular reflexive:					
Third person	*-xagwa, -agwa*	*-dagwa*	*-'t'gwa*	*-'dagwa* *-'t'gwa*	
Plural reflexive:					
Third person	*-xagwan, -agwan*	*-dagwan*	*-'t'gwan*	*-'dagwan* *-'t'gwan*	

[1] A 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^{c}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	*wiha'm*	*wihi'n*	*wik!asi'*	*wibeya'n*
Second person	*hami'^{s}t'*	*hi'n^{s}t'*	*k!asi'^{s}t'*	*beya'n^{s}t'*
Third person	*ma'xa*	*ni'xa*	*k!a'sa*	*beya'n*
Plural:				
First person	*hamida'm*	*hinda'm*	*k!asida'm*	*beyanda'm*
Second person	*hami'^{s}t'ban*	*hi'n^{s}t'ban*	*k!asi'^{s}t'ban*	*beya'n^{s}t'ban*
Singular reflexive:				
Third person	*ma'xagwa*	*ni'xagwa*	*k!a'sagwa*	*beya'nt'gwa*
Plural reflexive:				
Third person	*ma'xagwan*	*ni'xagwan*	*k!a'sagwan*	*beya'nt'gwan*
Vocative	*hamī*	*hindē* / *[s·nā]*	*k!asā*	*[hindē* / *s·nā]*

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^{u}ya'm* MY FRIEND and *k!ū'yam* O FRIEND! 31.6, 8; 32.4, 6 but *k!ū^{u}ya'pxa* HIS FRIEND 190.2, 4 and *k!ūyaba'^{e}t'* (with inorganic rather than characteristic *a*) YOUR FRIEND 198.2. Irregular is also *wi-k!ō^{u}xa'* MY SON'S WIFE'S PARENTS: *k!ō^{u}xa'm-xa* HIS SON'S WIFE'S PARENTS 178.9, in which we have either to reckon with a double stem, or else to consider the *-m-* of the latter form a noun-characteristic. Other terms of relationship which, like *hin-*, append all the personal endings without at the same time employing a characteristic are:

wā^{a}- younger brother 42.1; 64.4 (also *t'awā^{a}-* younger sister 58.1, 5; 188.10)
k!e^{e}b- husband's parent
wayau- daughter-in-law ([?] formed according to verb-type 11 from *way-* sleep) 56.8, 9
s·iyā^{e}p'- woman's sister's husband *or* husband's brother
hasd-[1] man's sister's husband *or* wife's brother 152.22

k!ūya {*m-*, *b-*} 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 *-ã*, which, as in *wã* O YOUNGER BROTHER! may be the lengthened form with rising accent of the final vowel of the stem, or, as in *k!asã* 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^{e}p'-*, both of which lack a characteristic element, employ as vocative the stem with rising accent on the *a-* vowel: *wayaũ* O DAUGHTER-IN-LAW! and *s·iyã^{e}p'* O BROTHER-IN-LAW! (said by woman). This method of forming the vocative is in form practically equivalent to the addition of *-ã*. *s·nã*[2] MAMMA! and *haik!ã* 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·nã* into *s-* (cf. second footnote, p. 8) + *nã* (vocative of *ni-* in *ni'xa* 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*^{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'adxa* and **hasdxa*, however, should have become **t'a'sa* and **ha'sa* respectively. The analogy of the first two, which were felt to be equivalent to stem + *-a*, on the one side, and that of the related forms in *-d-* (e. g., *t'adā* and *hasdā*) on the other, made it possible for *t'a'da* and *ha'sda* to replace **t'a'sa* and **ha'sa*, the more so that a necessary distinction in form was thus preserved between *ha'sa* 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}*-himi't'* he spoke to his (some one else's) father
ma'xagwa wā^{a}*-himi't'* he spoke to his own father

There is small doubt that this *-gwa* is identical with the indirect reflexive *-gwa* of transitive verbs with incorporated object. Forms in *-gwan* seem to refer to the plurality of either possessor or object possessed:

k'aba'xagwan their own son *or* his (her) own sons
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!ōuy-* 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 *xāᵃham-* BACK, which follow Scheme III.

Singular:					
1st person	*da'gaxdek'*	*wili't'k'*	*dana't'k'*	*t!ibagwa'nt'k'*	*xāᵃha'mt'k'*
2d person	*da'gaxdᵉ*	*wili'ᵉt'*	*dana'ᵉt'*	*t!ibagwa'nᵉt'*	*xāᵃha'mᵉt'*
3d person	*da'gaxda*	*wilī'i*	*danā'a*	*t!ibagwa'n*	*xāᵃha'm*
Plural:					
1st person	*da'gaxdam*	*wilida'm*	*danada'm*	*t!ibagwa'ndam*	*xāᵃha'mdam*
2d person	*daga'xdabaᵉn*	*wili'ᵉt'ban*	*dana'ᵉt'ban*	*t!ibagwa'nᵉt'ban*	*xāᵃha'mᵉt'ban*
Singular reflexive:					
3d person	*daga'xdagwa*	*wili't'gwa*	*dana't'gwa*	*t!ibagwa'nt'gwa*	*xāᵃha'mt'gwa*
Plural reflexive:					
3d person	*daga'xdagwan*	*wili't'gwan*	*dana't'gwan*	*t!ibagwa'nt'gwan*	*xāᵃha'mt'gwan*

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'ᵉlt'ek' my writing, paint (absolute *se'ᵉl*)
he'ᵉlt'ek' my song (164.16; 182.6) (absolute *he'ᵉl* 106.7)
ts·!ī'ᵉik'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'lᵉ*)
la'psdek' my blanket (absolute *la'ps* 98.14, 15, 19, 21)
ts·!ixi-maha'it'ek' my horse (absolute *ts·!i'xi-maha'i*)

Scheme III is followed by all nouns that have a characteristic immediately preceding the personal suffix or, in nearly all cases, whose stem, or stem + derivative suffix, ends in *-a-* (e. g., *t!ela't'k'* MY SHINNY-STICK [from *t!ela'*]), *-i-*, *-ei-* (e. g., *ts·!eleit'k'* MY EYE [from *ts·!elei-*]), *-n* (e. g., *sēnt'k'* MY SKIN), *-m*, or *-l*[1] (e. g., *dīᵉᵉa'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$^{i\varepsilon}$al-*]). 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 *-ī′^{i}* respectively. Other forms are:

ts·!ele′i his eye 27.8; 86.7, 9; (cf. 54.6)
dō^{u}ma′l his testicles 130.8; 136.5
xā^{a}la′m his urine
gwit!i′n his wrist

There is no doubt, however, that these forms without ending originally had a final *-t‘*, as indicated by the analogy of third personal forms in *-da* in Scheme II, and as proved by the preservation of the *-t‘-* before the reflexive suffix *-gwa* and in monosyllabic forms:

p!ā′^{a}nt‘ his liver 120.2, 15
nī′^{i}t‘ her teats 30.14; 32.7
t!ī′^{i}t‘ her husband (17.13)
sā′^{a}t‘ 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 *wilī′^{i}* HIS HOUSE: *nī′^{i}t‘* HER TEATS = *s·as·inī* HE STANDS: *wīt‘* 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′^{i}l* SONG, but *hēl* SING!). Monosyllabic stems of Scheme III seem to have a rising accent before *-t‘gwa* as well as in the first person. Thus:

lāt‘gwa his own excrement 77.1
t!īt‘gwa her own husband (despite *t!ī′^{i}t‘*) 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^{u}bini′xdagwa his own arm, rather than *bū^{u}bini′t‘gwa*, despite *bū^{u}bini`t‘k‘* MY ARM

The limitation of each of the two schemes to certain definite phonetically determined groups of nouns (though some probably merely apparent contradictions, such as *ga′l-[1]t‘ek‘* MY BOW and *dī$^{i\varepsilon}$a`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^{ɛ}n* (as contrasted with *-t'* and *-^{ɛ}t'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^{ɛ}* 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^{ɛ};* third person, *-t'*. Reflexive: Third person, *-t'-gwa*. Plural: First person, *-d-a'm;* second person, *-t'-ba^{ɛ}n*.

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 prepositives and to local elements may be taken *dak'-* OVER, *wa-*[1] TO, *haw-an-* UNDER, and *ha-^{ɛ}īū-* IN HAND.

Singular:				
First person	*dak'dē* over me	*wadē* to me	*hawandē* under me	*ha^{ɛ}īūdē* in my hand
Second person . . .	*dāk'da^{ɛ}*	*wada'^{ɛ}*	*hawanda'^{ɛ}*	*ha^{ɛ}ī'ūda^{ɛ}*
Third person . . .	*da'k'dāada*	*wā'ada*	*hawa'nda*	*ha^{ɛ}ī'ūda*
Plural:				
First person	*dak'da'm*	*wada'm*	*hawanda'm*	*ha^{ɛ}īūda'm*
Second person . . .	*da'k'daba^{ɛ}n*	*wā'a^{ɛ}t'ban*	*hawa'n^{ɛ}t'ban*	*ha^{ɛ}ī'ū^{ɛ}t'ban*
Singular reflexive:				
Third person . . .	*da'k'dagwa*	*wa't'gwa*	*hawa'nt'gwa*	*ha^{ɛ}ī'ūt'gwa*
Plural reflexive:				
Third person . . .	*da'k'dagwan*	*wa't'gwan*	*hawa'nt'gwan*	*ha^{ɛ}ī'ūt'gwan*

The apparently double ending *-dā^{a}da* of the third person of *dak'-* is not entirely isolated (cf. *ha-ye^{c}wa'x-dā^{a}da* IN THEIR TIME OF RETURNING; *he'e^{ɛ}-dā^{a}da* BEYOND HIM), but can not be explained. The use of

[1] It is possible that this *wa-* is etymologically identical with the verbal prefix *wa-* TOGETHER. The forms of *wa-* given above are regularly used when reference is had to persons, the postposition *ga^{ɛ}a'l* being employed in connection with things: *wā'ada gini'^{ɛ}k'* HE WENT TO HIM (56.11); 148.6; *s·om ga^{ɛ}a'l gini'^{ɛ}k'* HE WENT TO THE MOUNTAIN (43.6).

-dagwa and *-daba^{s}n* on the one hand, and of *-t'gwa* and *-^{s}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'^{e}t'an* IN FRONT OF THEM 190.13 (but *de'^{e}da* BEFORE HIM 59.14); *xā^{a}-s·ogwī'^{i}t'an* BETWEEN THEM (see below, p. 240); *wā'^{a}t'an* TO THEM 160.15. A form in *-xa* seems also to occur with third personal plural signification: *wa'xa ts·!inī'^{i}ts·!anx* HE GOT ANGRY AT THEM; *dihaūxa* 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-dē[1] 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^{a}hamdē about my waist
gwelda' under it 190.17
gwe'nda (in *Gwenda yu'sā^{a}* = being at its nape, i. e., east of it)
dī'^{i}da close in back of him, at his anus 138.2
dindē behind me (?=verb-prefix *dī^{s}-* anus, behind + noun-characteristic *-n-*) (86.9; 138.3; 170.1)
hawandē under me (71.1, 5, 12)
geldē in front of me, for (in behalf of) me
dedē in front of me (59.14; 124.20)
hā^{s}yadē around me
he'^{e}^{s}dā^{a}da 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
di-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 *xāahamBACK* and the local element *xāahamON BACK, ABOUT WAIST*: *xāaha'm* HIS BACK, but *xāaha'mda* ON HIS BACK, AT HIS WAIST; *xāaha'mdam* OUR BACKS and ON OUR BACKS.

dī$^{i\varepsilon}$-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^{i}- above
dā^{a}- alongside
al- to, at
de-, *da-* in front of
xā^{a}- between, in middle of
gwen- at nape, east of
dī$^{\varepsilon}$- 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^{a}dē* IN MY COUNTRY 194.4) Examples of forms of the type *ha$^{\varepsilon}$īūdē* IN MY HAND are:

ha-dī't'gwa in back of him, in his anus (incorporated *dī$^{\varepsilon}$-*) 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-lü^{ü}lidē under my throat
dak'-s·inī'^{i}da over his nose 144.11
al-guxwida'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$^{\varepsilon}$waxdē in my returning (= when I return) (124.15)
dī-delga'nt'gwa behind himself, at his own anus (72.10)
al-wā^{a}dī't'gwan at one another (literally, to each other's bodies; *wā^{a}d-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
dī^{i}-dandē over my ear
dī^{i}-ts·!eleidē over my eyes
ha-dedē in my mouth (170.2; 182.17)
gwen-bok'dandē at my nape
xā^{a}-s·inidē resting on my nose (like spectacles)
gwel-^{s}wā^{a}didē down from my body 198.4

Several such forms with apparently simple local signification contain after the pre-positive a noun stem not otherwise found:

xā^{a}-s·ogwida'm between us
ha-^{s}winidē inside of me (73.1; 92.17)
di-bō^{u}widē at my side
da^{s}oldidē close to me (124.9) (cf. adverb *da^{s}o'l* near by 102.6)

Such a non-independent noun is probably also *ha-u-* in *gwen-ha-u-* and *di-ha-u-*, both of which were listed above as simple local elements.

Instances also occur, though far less frequently, of pre-positives with two nouns or noun and adjective; the first noun generally stands in a genitive relation to the second (cf., § 88, the order in juxtaposed nouns), while the second noun is followed by the third personal possessive *-da*. Such are:

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}-xi-ts·!ek^{s}ts·!igī'^{i}-da alongside water's backbone (= not far from shore)
xā^{a}-xi-ts·!ek'ts·!igī'^{i}da in middle of water's backbone (= equally distant from either shore) 112.4
Ha-yā^{a}l-bā'ls-da[1] in its long (i. e., tall) (*bāls*) pines (*yāl*) (= place-name) 114.9
Dī-p!ol-ts!i'l-da over (*dī^{i}*) its red (*ts!il*) bed (*p!ol* ditch) (= Jump-off Joe creek)
Al-dan-k!olo'i-da[1] to its rock (*da'n*) basket (*k!oloī*) (= name of mountain)

Rather difficult of explanation is *de-de-wilī'^{i}-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 (*wili*) 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 (*bāls*, *k!oloī*) 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 gwelda' rock under-it (i. e., under the rock)
da'n handa through the rock
dan hā'$^{a\varepsilon}$yā^{a}da around the rock
dan da$^{\varepsilon}$oldī'^{i}da 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'$^{a\varepsilon}$ya-dana' around the rock
gel-dana' in front of the rock
dī$^{\varepsilon}$-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'dā^{a}da* ROCK OVER-IT. *dak'-dana'*, according to the second method, is also possible.

§ 95. PRE-POSITIVES

The pre-positives employed before nouns without possessive suffixes are identical with those already enumerated (§ 94) as occurring with nouns with possessives, except that *hawa-* UNDER seems to be replaced by *gwel-*. It is doubtful also if *he^{ęę}-* BEYOND (also *han-* ACROSS ?) can occur with nouns followed by possessive affixes. Examples of pre-positives in local phrases are:

han-gela'm across the river
han-waxga'n across the creek
han-p!iya' across the fire 168.19
ha'-waxga'n in the creek
ha-xiya' in the water 58.6; 60.3; 61.11; 63.16
ha-bini' in the middle 176.15 (cf. *de-bi'n* first, last 150.15)
ha-p!ola' in the ditch
ha-gwā^{a}la'm in the road 62.6; 158.19
ha-s·ugwañ in the basket (cf. 124.18)
xa'-s·ō^{u}ma'l halfway up the mountain
xā^a-gulma'n among oaks
xā^a-xo (*yā'^{a}*) (right) among firs (cf. 94.17)
gwel-xi'ya under water 156.19
gwel-t'gāũ down to the ground 176.8
dā^a-ts!ā^{a}wa'n by the ocean 59.16
dā^a-t'gāũ alongside the field
gwen-t'gāũ 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^{u}ma'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^{ęę}-s·ō^{u}ma'l beyond the mountain 124.2; 196.13
al-s·ō^{u}ma'l at, to the mountain 136.22; 152.8; 192.5, 7, 8
hā'^{ę}ya-p!iya' on both sides of the fire 176.12
hā'^{ę}ya-s·ō^{u}ma'l on both sides of the mountain 152.2
di-t'gāũ west of the field 55.3
dī-waxga'n some distance west along the creek
dī-s·ō^{u}ma'l at foot ([?]=in rear) of the mountain
Dī^{i}[1]*-dala'm* place-name (=over the rock[?])
Gel-yālk' place-name (=abreast of pines) 112.13

[1] Perhaps really *Dī^ę-dala'm* WEST OF THE ROCK (?).

A few cases of compound pre-positives occur:

ha-gwel-p!iya' under the ashes (literally, in-under-the-fire) 118.4
ha-gwel-xiya' at bottom of the water 60.12, 14
ha-gwel-t'ge'ᵉmt'gam down in dark places 196.7

An example of a pre-positive with a noun ending in pre-pronominal *-x* is afforded by *ha-dāᵃnx molhi't* IN-EAR RED 14.4; 15.13; 88.2 (alongside of *dāᵃmolhi'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'ᵉal* 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
gidīⁱ (= *ga-dīⁱ*) on, over 49.12
gidī'ᵉ (=*ga-dī'ᵉ*) in back
gana'u in 47.2; 61.13; 64.4; 110.9
gada'l among 94.12
gaᵉa'l to, for, at, from 43.6; 44.4; 55.6; 58.11
gadāᵃ by, along 60.1
gaxāᵃ between
gede in front (?) 28.8, 9

and possibly:

gasal in adverb *gasa'lhi* 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'gāᵃ gidī upon the land 49.12
p!īⁱ gada'l in between the fire 94.12
da'n gada'l among rocks
da'n gadã alongside the rocks (cf. 60.1)
wüʷlham-hoidigwia gadāᵃ gini'ᵉk' he went right by where there was round-dancing (literally, menstruation-dancing-with by he-went) 106.13
eī gana'u in the canoe 96.24; 112.3

dola' gana`u in the old tree 24.1
wa-iwī'ⁱt'a·gaᵉa`l to the female 15.14
ga' gaᵉa`l for that reason 50.2; 124.6; 146.20, 21; 188.6; 194.11
bixal wiᵉin-wi'ᵉ gaᵉal ya'ᵉ he goes every month (literally, month different-every at he-goes)
da'n gaxāᵃ between the rocks
dīū 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; *wilī'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-wilī'ⁱda*. Sometimes a postposition takes in a group of words, in which case it may be enclitically appended to the first:

k!iyī'x gan`au ba-igina'xdāᵃ 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 gaᵉa`l* above), they have enough individuality to render them capable of being used quasi-adverbially without a preceding noun:

gada'k' s·uᵉwilīt'eᵉ I sat on him
gadak' ts!āᵃk'ts!a'k'deᵉ I step on top of it (148.17)
gidīⁱ gaīxgwa thereon eating (=table)
gidī'ᵉ-hi closer and closer (literally, right in back)
gadāᵃ yeweya`k'ʷ he got even with him (literally, alongside he-returned-having-him) 17.5
mãl yaxa aba`i dūl gede` salmon-spear-shaft only in-house, spear-point thereby 28.7, 9
gīⁱ gana`u I am inside
ga'nau naga'ⁱᵉ wili`t'k' he went through my house (literally, in he-did my-house [for *naga'ⁱᵉ* see § 69]) cf. 78.5

Other postpositions than those compounded with *ga-* are:

daᵉo`l* near (cf. *daᵉol-* as pre-positive in *daᵉoldidē* near me): *wili't'k' daᵉo`l near my house
wa with (also as incorporated instrumental *wa-*, § 38) 25.5; 47.5

[1] *Yuk'ya'k'wa gada* was said to be preferable, whence it seems possible that *gede* is not really equivalent to *ga* THAT + *de-* IN FRONT, but is palatalized as adverb (see below, § 104) from *gadāᵃ*.

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'^{e}dis* away from here; *dedewilī'^{i}dadi'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}k'wa-dis (cf. *dauyā'^{a}k'^{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}k'^{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'!elei 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 *maxa wa'k'i^{e} ēt'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 (? = *nõ^{u}* DOWN RIVER + demonstrative *ga* THAT) : *nogwa wilī* BELOW THE HOUSE 76.7; and *hinwa'* ABOVE, UP RIVER FROM (cf. *hina'u* UP RIVER) : *hi'nwa wilī* 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-*. *bee-bin-* SUN'S MIDDLE is compounded like, e. g., *t'gāa- 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'ᵘt'a* (2) THIS (1) IS SMALLER (2), but such an interpretation hardly hits the truth of the matter. The sentence just quoted really signifies THIS IS SMALL (NOT LARGE LIKE THAT). As a matter of fact, *-t'a* is rather idiomatic in its use, and not susceptible of adequate translation into English, the closest rendering being generally a dwelling of the voice on the corresponding English word. The following examples illustrate its range of usage:

*hapxit!ī'ⁱ*t'a child male (not female) (i. e., boy) 14.1; 156.8

*wa-iwī'ⁱ*t'a *gaˢal yewe'ⁱᵋ* the-woman to he-turned (i. e., he now proceeded to look at the woman, after having examined her husband) 15.14

maha'it'a a'nīᵋ gwī naˢnaga'ⁱᵋ 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'ᵋn this his-younger-brother did-it (not he himself)

k!wa'lt'a younger one 24.1; 58.6

ā'k'da dūt'a gī^{i}-s·i^{ɛ} ī'lts!ak'^{w} eīt'ê^{ɛ} he (*āk'*) (is) handsome (*dū*) I-but ugly I-am

ü'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'^{u}t'a ī'daga yaxa maha'it'a this (is) small, that but large (cf 128.7)

ī'daga s·ō^{uɛ} 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
sīnsan decrepit old woman	*sīnsan*han
ts·!i'xi dog	*ts·!ixi'*han
ya'p!a person 176.1, 12	*yap!a'*han 32.4
eī canoe 13.5; 112.3, 5	*eī*han
wik!ū^{u}ya`m my friend	*wik!ū^{u}yû'm*han
wits·!aī my nephew 22.1	*wits·!aī*han 23.8, 10; 150.4
bō^{u}t'bidit'k' my orphan child	*bō^{u}t'bidit'k'*han
nō'ts!adē neighboring to me	*nō'ts!ade'*han
hindē O mother! 186.14	*hindē*han 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^{a}t'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^{a}t'a-n* is perhaps etymologically as well as phonetically parallel to the unexplained *-dā^{a}da* of *da'k'dā^{a}da* OVER HIM (see §93). Examples of *-t'an* are:

Noun	Plural
lomt!ī'^{i} old man 112.3, 9; 114.10; 126.19	*lomt!ī'^{i}*t'an
mologo`l old woman 168.11; 170.10	*mologo'l*t'an
wa-iwī'^{i} girl 124.5, 10	*wa-iwī'^{i}*t'an 55.16; 60.2; 106.17
ā'i-hi` just they (cf. 49.11; 138.11)	*ā'i*t'an they
ts·!ixi-maha`i horse	*ts·!ixi-maha'i*t'an
lō^{u}sī'^{i} his plaything 110.6, 11	*lō^{u}sī'^{i}*t'an
mō'^{u}t'ā^{a} his son-in-law	*mō'^{u}t'ā^{a}*t'an their sister's husband[1] 150.22; 152.4, 9
t!ela` louse (116.3, 6)	*t!elā'^{a}*t'an
hapxi-t!ī'^{i}t'ā^{a} boy 14.6; 156.8, 10	*hapxi-t!ī'^{i}t'ā^{a}*t'an 160.14
dap!ā'la-u youth 132.13; 190.2 *bala`u* young	*dap!ā'la-ut*'an 132.12 *bala'ut*'an
wō^{u}nā'k'^{w} old 57.1; 168.2	*wō^{u}nā'k'^{w}*dan

[1] *mot'-* seems to indicate not only the daughter's husband, but also, in perhaps a looser sense, the relatives gained by marriage of the sister.

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!ī'ilā'p'a*k!an men 128.11; 130.1, 7, 25; 132.17
*k'a'isilā'p'a*k!an women 184.13
*mologolā'p'a*k!an old women 57.14; 128.3, 10 (also *mologo'lt'an*)
*o'pxa*k!an her elder brothers 124.16, 20; 134.8; 138.7
*k'aba'xa*k!an his, their sons 132.10; 156.14
*ma'xa*k!an their father 130.19, 21; 132.12
*t'awãxa*k!an their younger sister 148.5
*k!a'sa*k!an their maternal grandmother 154.13; 156.8, 15, 18, 21

§ 100. DUAL *-dīl*

The suffix *-dīl(-dī'l)* is appended to a noun or pronoun to indicate the duality of its occurrence, or to restrict its naturally indefinite or plural application to two. It is not a true dual in the ordinary sense of the word, but indicates rather that the person or object indicated by the noun to which it is suffixed is accompanied by another person or object of the same kind, or by a person or object mentioned before or after; in the latter case it is equivalent to AND connecting two denominating terms. Examples illustrating its use are:

*gō'um*dī'l we two (restricted from *gō'um* we)
*ga*dīl *gō'um īhēmxinigam* we two, that one and I, will wrestle (literally, that-one-and-another [namely, I] we we-shall-wrestle) 30.5
*sgi'si*dī'l two coyotes (literally, coyote-and-another [coyote])
*wãxa*dī'l two brothers (lit., [he] and his younger brother) 26.12
*sgisi ni'xa*dī'l 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); *hadedīlt'a* EVERYWHERE 43.6; 92.29; and *hat'gā'adīlt'a* IN EVERY LAND 122.20.

§ 101. *-wi'ɛ* every

This element is freely appended to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, but has no independent existence of its own. Examples are:

*be'*wi'ɛ every day (literally, every sun) 42.1; 158.17
*xū'ɛ*nwiɛ every night (*xū'ɛn*, *xū'ɛne'* 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$^{\varepsilon}$inwi'$^{\varepsilon}$ ba-i-wili'$^{u\varepsilon}$ month comes after month (literally, moon different-each out-goes)
*gwel-$^{\varepsilon}$wãk'wi*wi$^{\varepsilon}$ every morning (*gwel-$^{\varepsilon}$wãk'wi$^{\varepsilon}$* morning 44.1)
*da-hō^{u}xa*wi'$^{\varepsilon}$ every evening
*ha-be^{e}-bini*wi'$^{\varepsilon}$ every noon
k'aiwi'$^{\varepsilon}$ everything, something (*k'a-, k'ai-* what, thing) 180.5, 6
*ada't'*wi$^{\varepsilon}$ everywhere, to each 30.12; 74.2; 120.13

As illustrated by *k'aiwi'$^{\varepsilon}$*, the primary meaning of *-wi$^{\varepsilon}$* 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$^{\varepsilon}$*wi'$^{\varepsilon}$ sometimes, in regard to some 57.12
*xā$^{\varepsilon}$ne*wi'$^{\varepsilon}$ sometimes 132.25

With pronouns it means TOO, AS WELL AS OTHERS:

*gī^{i}*wi'$^{\varepsilon}$ I too
*mā^{a}*wi'$^{\varepsilon}$ you too 58.5

Like *-dīl, -wi$^{\varepsilon}$* 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$^{\varepsilon}$i`n* EVERY, DIFFERENT 49.1; 160.20; 188.12.

§ 102. DEICTIC *-$^{\varepsilon}$a`*

It is quite likely that the deictic *-$^{\varepsilon}$a`* 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:

*ma$^{\varepsilon}$*a` you ([I am ——,] but you ——) 26.3; 56.5; (cf. 49.8, 13)
*maha'i$^{\varepsilon}$*a` big indeed
*ga$^{\varepsilon}$*a` *ge wilī'^{i}* 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$^{u\varepsilon}$*a` but nowadays (so it was in former days, but now things have changed) 50.1; 194.5
*ge'-hi gī$^{i\varepsilon}$*a` *yok!oya'$^{\varepsilon}$n* that-far I-for-my-part know-it (others may know more) 49.13; 154.7
*p'i'm$^{\varepsilon}$*a` *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, *ãk'* 27.5; 156.12. Plural: First person, *gõ^{u}m* 30.5; 150.16; second person, *mãp'*; 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'^{ɛ}ya'* THEY (= *āi-^{ɛ}a'*) 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^{ɛ}* (see §101), the deictic *-^{ɛ}a'* (see §102), or the post-positive particles *yā'^{a}* and enclitic *-hi* and *-s·i^{ɛ}* (see § 114, 1, 2, 4):

mayā'^{a} just you 196.2
ma'hi you yourself
āihi' they themselves 104.13 (cf. 152.20)
gī^{i}s·i'^{ɛ} 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^{ɛ}x* or *-da'^{ɛ}xi* (= *-da^{ɛ}x* + *-hi*) to the forms given above:

gī^{i}da'^{ɛ}x(i) only I
mā^{a}da'^{ɛ}x(i) you alone
ãk'da^{ɛ}x(i) all by himself 61.7; 90.1; 142.20; 144.6
gõ^{u}mda'^{ɛ}x(i) we alone
mãp'da^{ɛ}x(i) you people alone
āida'^{ɛ}x(i) they alone 138.11

The third personal pronouns are not infrequently used with preceding demonstratives:

hā'ᵉga (or *ī'daga*) *āk'daᵉx* that one by himself (*āk'* used here apparently as a peg for the suffixed element *-daᵉx* by one's self)
hāᵉā'it'an and *īdaᵉā'it'an* those people

hāᵉ- 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 *ais·-* HAVING, BELONGING, PROPERTY: *a-is·de'k'* IT IS MINE 23.2; 154.18, 19, 20; *a-is·de'ᵉ* YOURS; *a'-is·da* HIS 23.2, 3; (156.7) and so on. These forms, though strictly nominal in morphology, have really no greater concreteness of force than the English translations MINE, THINE, and so on.

§ 104. *Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs*

Four demonstrative stems, used both attributively and substantively, are found: *a-*, *ga*, *īda-*, and *hāᵃᵉ-*. 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; *alī* this here 110.2; 188.20
Near second. *ī'daga* that 116.22; *īdalī* that there 55.16
Near third. *hā'ᵃᵉga* that yonder 186.5; *hāᵉlī* that over there

a- has been found also as correlative to *ga-* with the forms of *na(g)-* DO, SAY:

anaᵉne'x like this 176.13 (*ga-naᵉne'x* that way, thus 114.17; 122.20)
anaᵉna'ᵉt' it will be as it is now cf. 152.8 (*ga-naᵉna'ᵉt'* it will be that way)

perhaps also in:

ada't'wiᵉ everywhere (= *ada't'* this way, hither [see § 112, 1] + *-wi'ᵉ* 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. *īdaᵉā'it'an* and *hāᵃᵉā'it'an*, referred to above, are in effect the substantive plurals of *ī'daga* and *hā'ᵃᵉga*. *hāᵃᵉ-* as demonstrative pronoun is doubtless identical with the local *hāᵃᵉ-* 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'$^{a\varepsilon}$ga* with spacial 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 $^{\varepsilon}$aldīl all that, all of those 47.12

A demonstrative pronoun may modify a noun that is part of a local phrase:

ī'daga he$^{e\varepsilon}$s·ō^{u}ma`l beyond that mountain 122.22; 124.1

Corresponding to the four demonstrative pronoun-stems are four demonstrative adverb-stems, derived from the former by a change of the vowel *-a-* to *-e-*: *e-*, *ge*, *īde-*, and *he$^{e\varepsilon}$-*. 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$^{e\varepsilon}$-*, however, are never compounded with *ge*, as are *a-*, *īda-*, and *hā$^{a\varepsilon}$-* with its pronominal correspondent *ga;* a fifth adverbial stem of demonstrative force, *me$^{\varepsilon}$* (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'$^{\varepsilon}$* here 112.12, 13; 194.4; *me$^{\varepsilon}$-* hither
Near second. *ī'deme$^{\varepsilon}$* right around there 46.15
Near third. *he'$^{e\varepsilon}$me$^{\varepsilon}$* yonder 31.13

Of these, *me$^{\varepsilon}$-*, the correlative of *he$^{e\varepsilon}$-*, can be used independently when followed by the local *-al* : *me'$^{\varepsilon}$al* ON THIS SIDE, HITHERWARDS 58.9; 160.4. *he$^{e\varepsilon}$-* AWAY, besides frequently occurring as a verbal prefix, is found as a component of various adverbs:

he^{e}dada'$^{\varepsilon}$, *he^{e}da'$^{\varepsilon}$* over there, away from here, off 46.8; 194.10
he'$^{\varepsilon}$ne` then, at that time 120.2; 146.6; 162.3
he'$^{\varepsilon}$da`t` on that side, toward yonder

me^{s}- can be used also with the adverb *ge* of indefinite reference preceding; the compound, followed by *di*, is employed in an interrogative sense: *geme'^{s}di* WHERE? WHEN? 56.10; 100.16; 190.25. The idea of direction in the demonstrative adverbs seems less strong than that of position: *he'^{es}me^{s} baxa'^{s}m* HE COMES FROM OVER THERE, as well as *he'^{es}me^{s} gini'^{s}k'* HE GOES OVERTHERE. *me^{s}-* and *he^{es}-(hā^{as}-)*, however, often necessarily convey the notions of TOWARD and AWAY FROM the speaker: *me'^{s}-yewe^{is} hā'^{as}-yewe^{is}* HE CAME AND WENT BACK AND FORTH.

Demonstrative adverbs may take the restrictive suffix *-da^{s}x* or *-daba'^{s}x* (cf. *-da^{s}x* with personal pronouns, §103):

eme^{s}da'^{s}x 114.4, 5
eme^{s}daba'^{s}x 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!ümũxi perhaps he'll strike me 23.3

As interrogatives, these stems are always followed by the interrogative enclitic particle *di*, *k'ai* always appearing as *k'a-* when *di* immediately follows:

ne'k'-di who? 46.15; 86.4; 142.9
k'a'-di what? 47.9; 60.11; 86.8

k'a'i . . . di occurs with post-positive *ga^{s}a'l:*

k'a'i ga^{s}al di' what for? why? 71.15; 86.14; 98.8

As indefinites, they are often followed by the composite particle *-s·i^{s}wa'k'di:*

nek'-s·i^{s}wa'k'di I don't know who, somebody 22.8
k'ai-s·i^{s}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^{s}* or *wede*, according to the tense-mode of the verb (see § 72):

a'nī^{ɛ} ne'k' nobody 63.4; 90.8, 25
a'nī^{ɛ} 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'^{ɛ}* EVERY, *k'ai* forms *k'aiwi'^{ɛ}* EVERYTHING, SOMETHING. No such form as **nek'wi'^{ɛ}*, however, occurs, its place being taken by *aldīl, aldī* 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 nagaīt' 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^{ɛ}wa'k'di* (cf. 190.4):

gwis·i^{ɛ}wa'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^{ɛ}* or *wede:*

a'nī^{ɛ} gwī^{i} in no way, nowhere 23.6; 62.11; 192.14
we'de gwi na't' do not go anywhere!

As indefinite relative is used *gwī'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-iwī'ⁱ dũ girl pretty 55.7; 124.5
yap!a daldi' person wild 22.14
sgi'si da-sga'xit' Coyote sharp-snouted 86.3, 20; 88.1, 11
p'im xu'm yele'x debũ'ᵉ 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 *ya'p!a 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:

yũ'k!alx (1) *wa'k'iᵉ* (2), *ga* (3) *gaᵉal* (4) *deligia'lt'i* (5) *gwãs* (6) [as they were] without (2) teeth (1), for (4) that (3) [reason] they brought them as food (5) intestines (6) 130.22
masi'ᵉ (1) *al-nāᵃna'ᵉn* (2) *naga-ida'ᵉ* (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}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-*hü's'gal* big-nosed 25.1; 27.5, 13; 28.6
   s'in-*p'i'l^{s}s* flat-nosed

4. ***de-.***

   de-*ts'!ügü't'*, de-*ts'!ügū'^{u}* sharp-pointed 74.13; 126.18
   de-*t'ülü'^{s}p'* dull
   de-^{s}wini'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}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^{s}x* crooked-handed
   ī-*k!ok!o'k'* ugly-handed

8. ***xā^{a}-.***

   xā^{a}-*maha'i* big-waisted, wide
   xā^{a}-*xdi'l^{s}s* slim-waisted, notched 71.15; 75.6

9. ***dī^{i}-.***

   dī^{i}-*k!ēlix* conceited

10. ***dī^{s}-.***

    dī^{s}-*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!a'i* 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'gu'^{is}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'^{s}m* it gets green)
al-*k!iyī'x-nat'* blue (literally, smoke-doing or being)
al-*k!ok!o'k'* ugly-faced 47.2; 60.5
al-*t!e^{s}s·i'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!īū-t!a'i 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-p!iya'*, § 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-tle^{e}s·i't' little-eyed 94.3
(?) *ha'nt'* half ([?] cf. *han-* through) 146.22; 154.9; 192.7
t!oīt' 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'^{u}t' eīt'e^{ē} 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!ī't'al thin
(?) *dēhal* five ([?] = being in front[2]) 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
hī'p'al flat
mi'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 *he·la'm* BOARD; *ts·!ela'm* HAIL.

[2] Cf. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 9, p. 266.

3. ***-dli.*** A few adjectives have been found with this suffixed element:

*haps*dli' little 192.6; *hā'p'*dli 24.12; 60.15; 61.5 (cf. *hā^{a}pxi'* child 128.16)
*yap!a dal*dli' wild man (cf. *dal-* in the brush) 22.14
*gama'x*di raw 94.3, 6; 144.5; 182.4
*gwel*dli' finished (cf. *gwel-* leg) 34.1; 79.8; 94.18

4. ***-ts!-*** (**-$^{\epsilon}$*s*)**.** In a small number of adjectives this element is doubtless to be considered a suffix:

*ī'l*ts!*ak'^{w}* bad, ugly 182.1; 186.22; 198.4 (cf. pl. *īl$^{\epsilon}$a'lsak'^{w}*)
*s·in-p'i'l$^{\epsilon}$*s flat-nosed
*xā^{a}-xdi'l$^{\epsilon}$*s slim-waisted 71.15; 75.6 (cf. inferential passive *xā-ī-xdi'lxdalk'am* they have been notched in several places)

A few adjectives in *-s*, evidently morphologically connected with the scattering nouns in *-s*, also occur:

*gūm*s blind 26.14
*bāl*s long 14.5; 33.16; 158.1
*s·uñ*s· 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'gey*a'px round (cf. *al-t'geye'px* it rolls)
*sal-ts·!un*a'px straight
*da-ts·!ām*x sick 90.12, 13, 21; 92.5; 150.16
*al-t'mil*a'px smooth
*da-p'o'a$^{\epsilon}$*x crooked (cf. *p'owo'$^{\epsilon}$x* it bends)
*ī-ge'wa$^{\epsilon}$*x crooked-handed

More transparently derivational in character than any of those listed above are the following adjectival suffixes:

6. ***-gwat'*** HAVING. Adjectival forms in *-gwa't'* 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'^{w}*, themselves derived from nouns (see § 77), partly by the addition of *-gwa't'* to nouns in

their pre-pronominal form (*-x*). The fact that these various *-gwa'ṭ'* 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'-limīm-x-gwa-dᵉ* I AM WITH IT FALLING OVER ME, see § 46) that is suggestive of morphologic identity. Examples of *-gwa'ṭ'* adjectives are:

*waya'uxa*gwat' 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

*ni'xa*gwat' mother-having (cf. *ni'xak'ʷ* mothered)

*me'xa*gwat' father-having (cf. *me'xak'ʷ* fathered)

*k'eⁱᵉlè'p'iqiq*gwat' wife-having (cf. *k'eⁱᵉlè'p'iqik'ʷ* wived 142.6)

*gūᵘx*gwa'ṭ' wife-having 128.4 (cf. *gūᵘ-x-de'k'* my wife 142.9)

*dagax*gwa'ṭ' head-having (cf. *da'g-ax-dek'* my head 90.13)

*ts'!u'lx*gwat' 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'eᵉ I have money (literally money-having or moneyed I-am

ts'!ulx-gwa'ṭ' he has money

Aside from the fact that it has greater individuality as a distinct phonetic unit, the post-positive *wa'k'ⁱᵉ* WITHOUT is the morphologic correlative of *-gwat'* HAVING:

dagax wa'k'iᵉ eīt' head without you-are

da'gaxgwat' eīt' head-having you-are

Similarly:

nixa wa'k'iᵉ eīt'eᵉ mother without I-am

ni'xagwat' eīt'eᵉ 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* 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!ē^{ɛ}n*imik!i (men) of long ago 168.1 (*hop!ē^{ɛ}n* long ago 58.4, 7, 11)
*bõ^{uɛ}*i'mik!i (people) of nowadays (*bõ^{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-wilī'y*ik!i belonging to good folks, not "common" (from *ha-wilī* in the house)
*xā^{a}-bēm*ik!i^{ɛ} being between sticks
ha-bami'sik!i^{ɛ} dwelling in air
*xā^{a}-da'n*ik!i belonging between rocks (e. g., crawfish)
*dak'-p!i'ya*k!i^{ɛ} staying always over the fire
*ha-p!i'ya*k!i^{ɛ} belonging to fire

9. **-^{ɛ}*xi.*** A few adjectival forms in -^{ɛ}*xi*, formed from local phrases, seem to have a force entirely coincident with adjectives in -(*i*)*k!i:*

*ha-p!i'ya^{ɛ}*xi belonging to fire
*ha-xi'ya^{ɛ}*xi mink (literally, always staying in the water [from *ha-xiya'* in the water 33.4])

10. **-^{ɛ}*ī'^{i}xi.*** This suffix seems to be used interchangeably with -(*i*)*k!i* and -^{ɛ}*xi*. Examples are:

*ha-bami'sa^{ɛ}*ī'^{i}xi^{ɛ} belonging to the air, sky
*xā^{a}-da'ni^{ɛ}*ī'^{i}xi^{ɛ} belonging between rocks
*ha-wili^{ɛ}*ī'^{i}xi belonging to the house
*ha-xi'ya^{ɛ}*ī'^{i}xi belonging to the water
*ha-p!iya^{ɛ}*ī'^{i}xi belonging to fire

The following forms in -^{ɛ}*ī^{i}xi*, not derived from local phrases, doubtless belong with these:

*ge^{ɛ}*ī'^{i}xi belonging there 160.24
*goyo^{ɛ}*ī'^{i}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	Plural
de-bü'^{üɛ} full 49.14; 116.5	*de-bü^{ɛ}ba'x* (dissimilated from -*bü^{ɛ}ba^{ɛ}x*) 122.17
ī'lts!ak'^{w} bad 182.1; 198.4	*īl^{ɛ}a'lsak'^{w}* (dissimilated from *īl^{ɛ}alts!-*)
maha'i large 23.1; 74.15	*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^{s}ba'x* (also singular *de-bü'^{üs}x* from **de-bü'^{ü}k!-x* [cf. *de-bü'^{ü}k!in* I SHALL FILL IT] and the apparently passive participial *-ak'^{w}* of *ī'lts!ak'^{w}* strongly suggest that the first two of these adjectives are really adjectivally specialized verb-forms. *mahmī* is altogether irregular in type of reduplication. *t!os·ō'^{u}* LITTLE 56.15; 74.16 forms its plural by the repetition of the second consonant after the repeated vowel of the singular: *dak!oloi-t!os·ū's·gwat'* HE HAS SMALL CHEEKS. In regard to *t'ūt'* 170.18, the plural of *t'ū* HOT 57.15, it is not certain whether the *-t'* is the repeated initial consonant, or the *-t'* characteristic of other adjective plurals.

Most adjectives form their plural by repeating after the medial consonant the vowel of the stem, where possible, and adding to the amplified stem the element *-it'* (probably from *-hit'*, as shown by its treatment with preceding fortis), or, after vowels, *-t'it'*; a final non-radical *-(a)x* disappears in the plural. *ho's·au* GETTING BIGGER (with inorganic *-a-*) forms its plural by the repetition of the stem-vowel alone, *hos·ō^{u}* 156.11; 158.11; similar is *du^{s}ū'* 58.10 which seems to be the plural of *dū* PRETTY 58.8. *yo't'i* ([?] *yot'-hi*) ALIVE forms the plural *yot'i'hi* ([?] *yot'i-hi*) 128.16. Examples of the peculiarly adjectival plural in *-(t')it'* are:

Singular	Plural
al-t'geya'px round	*al-t'geye'p'it'*
al-t'mila'px smooth	*al-t'mili'p'it'*
sal-ts·!una'px straight	*sal-ts·!u'nup'it'*
sal-t!a'i narrow	*sal-t!a'yat'it'*
da-p'o'a^{s}x crooked (= *-ak!-x*)	*gwit'-p'o'o^{s}k'it'* crooked-armed
ī-ge'wa^{s}x crooked-handed (= *-ak!-x;* cf. aorist *gewe-k!aw-* carry [salmon] bow-fashion)	*ī-ge'we^{es}k'it'*
de-ts·!ügü't' sharp-pointed 126.18	*de-ts·!ügūhit'*
de-t'ülü'^{s}p' dull	*de-t'ülü'^{s}p'it'*
al-ts·!i'l red	*da'k!oloi-ts·!i'lit'it'* he has red cheeks
al-t'gu'^{is}s· white 55.2; 188.11	*da'k!oloi-t'guyu^{s}s·it'* he has white cheeks
al-t'ge'm black 13.3; 162.4	*da'k!oloi-t'ge'met'it'* he has black cheeks
bāls long 14.5; 15.12, 15	*s·inīxdā^{a}t'an bā^{a}la'sit'* their noses are long

That these plurals are really frequentative or distributive in force is illustrated by such forms as *da'k!oloi-ts'ł'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.	*mī'$^{i\varepsilon}$sga$^{\varepsilon}$* 13.2; 192.8; *mī'$^{\varepsilon}$s* 188.9	*mü$^{ü\varepsilon}$xda'n* once 182.20; 188.13
2.	*gā'$^{\varepsilon}$m* 22.7; 110.11 *gā'p!ini'*[1] 55.7,12; 116.1	*gā'$^{\varepsilon}$mûn* twice
3.	*xi'bini'* 150.8	*xi'nt'*
4.	*gamga'm* 148.5; 184.17	*gamga'man*
5.	*dēhal* 150.19, 20; 182.21	*dēhaldan*
6.	*ha$^{\varepsilon}$īmī'$^{\varepsilon}$s* 150.12	*ha$^{\varepsilon}$īmi'ts!ada'n*
7.	*ha$^{\varepsilon}$īgā'$^{\varepsilon}$m*	*ha$^{\varepsilon}$īgā'$^{\varepsilon}$mada'n*
8.	*ha$^{\varepsilon}$īxi'n*	*ha$^{\varepsilon}$īxinda'n*
9.	*ha$^{\varepsilon}$īgo'* 150.14	*ha$^{\varepsilon}$īgō^{u}gada'n*
10.	*i'xdīl* 13.1; 150.5; 182.22	*ixdīlda'n*
11.	*i'xdīl mī'$^{i\varepsilon}$sga$^{\varepsilon}$ gada'k'* ten one on-top-of	
12.	*i'xdīl gā'$^{\varepsilon}$m gada'k'*	
20.	*yap!ami'$^{\varepsilon}$s* 182.23	
30.	*xi'n ixdīl*	
40.	*gamga'mûn ixdī'l*	
50.	*dēhaldan ixdī'l*	
60.	*ha$^{\varepsilon}$īmi'ts!adan ixdī'l*	
70.	*ha$^{\varepsilon}$īgā'$^{\varepsilon}$madan ixdī'l*	
80.	*ha$^{\varepsilon}$īxi'ndan ixdī'l*	
90.	*ha$^{\varepsilon}$īgogada'n ixdī'l*	
100.	*t!eimi'$^{\varepsilon}$s* 23.2, 4, 9, 12, 13	
200.	*gā'$^{\varepsilon}$mûn t!eimi'$^{\varepsilon}$s*	
300.	*xin t!eimi'$^{\varepsilon}$s*	
400.	*gamga'mûn t!eimi'$^{\varepsilon}$s*	
1,000.	*i'xdīldan t!eimi'$^{\varepsilon}$s*	
2,000.	*yap!ami'ts!adan t!eimi'$^{\varepsilon}$s*	

mī'$^{i\varepsilon}$sga$^{\varepsilon}$ is the usual uncompounded form of ONE. In compounds the simpler form *mī'$^{\varepsilon}$s* (stem *mīts!-*) occurs as the second element:

ha$^{\varepsilon}$īmi'$^{\varepsilon}$s six (=one [finger] in the hand)
yap!ami'$^{\varepsilon}$s twenty (=one man)

[1] Often heard as *gā'p$^{\varepsilon}$ini'* 55.2, 5.

t!eimi'ˢs one hundred (probably = one male [*t!ī'-*])
meˢl t'gāᵃ-mi'ˢs crows earth-one (= land packed full of crows) 144.9, 11, 12, 13
deˢmī'ˢs in-front-one (= marching in single file)
almi'ˢs 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'bini`* THREE are evident compounds of the simpler *gā'ˢm* and *xi`n* (seen in *haˢīxi`n* EIGHT) and an element *-bini`* that is perhaps identical with *-bini`* of *ha'-bini`* IN THE MIDDLE. *gamga'm* FOUR is evidently reduplicated from *gā'ˢm* TWO, the falling accent of the second syllable being probably due to the former presence of the catch of the simplex. An attempt has been made[1] to explain *dēhal* FIVE as an adjectival form in *-al* derived from *deˢ-* IN FRONT. The numerals SIX, SEVEN, EIGHT, and NINE are best considered as morphologically verbs provided with the compound prefix *haˢī-* 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 *haˢīgo`* 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'xdīl* TEN is best explained as compounded of *ī-x-* HAND (but why not *īūx-* as in *īūx-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'ⁱˢs* ONE, *gā'ˢm* TWO, and *xi`n* THREE. All the rest are either evident derivations from these, or else (*dēhal* probably and *i'xdīl* 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. *gaˢa`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. *xi'n ixdīl* 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'ᵉs*), the numeral adverbs (*xin* instead of *xi'nt'* in three hundred) preceding *t!eimi'ᵉs*. Numerals above one thousand (=10×100) 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'ᵉs;* e. g., *dēhaldan ixdīldan t!eimi'ᵉs* 5×10×100=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-iwī'ⁱ gāp!ini girl two (i. e., two girls) 55.2, 5, 7, 12 (*wa-iwī'ⁱ-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'pxda* 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 *-ûn*) to *gā'ᵉm* TWO and its derivative *gamga'm* FOUR; *-t'*, to *xin* THREE; *-da'n*, to other numerals (*-ada'n*, to those ending in *-ᵉm* and *-ts!-* = *-ᵉs*). *haᵉīgā'ᵉm* SEVEN and *haᵉīxi'n* EIGHT, it will be observed, do not follow *gā'ᵉm* and *xin* in the formation of their numeral adverbs, but add *-(a)da'n*.

It is not impossible that *müᵘᵉx-* in *müᵘᵉxda'n* ONCE is genetically related and perhaps dialectically equivalent to *mīⁱᵉs-*, but no known grammatic or phonetic process of Takelma enables one to connect them. *haᵉīgōᵘgada'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 (*haᵉīgo'*) 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'ᵉmûn in two places
ha-gamgama'n 176.2, 3 in four places
ha-haᵉīgōᵘgada'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^{i}da't' in my direction (*gī* I)
*wadē*dat' from my side (*wadē* to me)
*a*da't' on, to this side 112.17; 144.2
*ī'da*da't' in that direction, from that side (*īda-* that)
hā'$^{a\varepsilon}$da't' from yonder (*hā*$^{a\varepsilon}$- that yonder)
*gwi'*dat' in which direction? 190.18 (*gwi* how? where?)
*ge*da't' from there 144.8
eme'$^{\varepsilon}$dat' from here
me'$^{\varepsilon}$da't' hitherwards 32.10, 11; 55.3 (*me*$^{\varepsilon}$- hither)
he'$^{\varepsilon}$dat' thitherwards (*he*$^{\varepsilon}$- away)
nō^{u}da't' from down river 23.9 (*nō*^{u} down river)

*han*da'*t*' (going) across (*han-* across) 30.4; 31.16
hā^{a}*nda*da'*t*' from across (the river) (*ha'nda* across it) 112.17; 114.17
*habam*da'*t*' from above (*ha-* in + *bam-* up)
*haxiya'*dat' from water on to land (*ha-xiya'* in the water)
dak'-wilī'^{i}dat' from on top of the house (*dak'-wilī* over the house) 27.5; 62.5
gwen-t'gā^{a}*- bo'k'danda*da'*t*' from the east (*gwen-t'gā*^{a}*-bo'k'danda* east) 144.23; (cf. 146.1)

More special in use of *-dat'* are:

*honõx*dat' last year (*honõx* some time ago)
*dewe'nxa*da'*t*' day after to-morrow (*dewe'nxa* to-morrow)
de^{e}*da'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^{u}xa' yesterday 76.9; 98.21
da-hō^{u}xa' 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'n*xa to-morrow 77.14; 112.15; 130.17; 194.1
*dap!a'*xa toward daylight, dawn 45.4
de'^{e}xa 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'm*sa ([?]=*-t-xa*) in spring ([?] cf. *bi'xal* moon)
da-yō^{u}*ga'm*xa in autumn 186.3
*ts'!i's'*a ([?]=*-t-xa*) at night 182.20
xamī'^{i}xa by the ocean (cf. *xam-* into water) 21.1; 55.1
(?) *bō*^{u}*-nē*xa-*da*^{s} soon, immediately (cf. *bō*^{u} now and *ne*^{e} well! or *na-*[1] do) 90.10; 108.2
(?) *da*^{s}*ma'*xa far away (for *da*^{s}- cf. *da*^{s}*-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 *honõx* 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
he$^{e\varepsilon}$- there yonder	*he'$^{\varepsilon}$ne`* then, at that time 45.6; 49.14
ge there 14.3; 15.5, 12	*ge$^{\varepsilon}$ne`* so long 92.10; 198.9
me$^{\varepsilon}$- hither	*me$^{\varepsilon}$ne^{e}* at this time 24.14 (cf. also *ma$^{\varepsilon}$nai* around this time 178.4)
e'me$^{\varepsilon}$ here 31.3; 192.9	*eme$^{\varepsilon}$ne* (*yā'^{a}-hi*) (right) here ([?] = now) 190.23
gwi how? 46.2; 78.5	*gwi'$^{\varepsilon}$ne* some time (elapsed), how long? 44.2; 48.9; 148.7

To this set probably belong also:

xū$^{\varepsilon}$n, *xū'$^{\varepsilon}$ne`* at night, night 45.3; 46.12; 48.10; 160.22
bē$^{\varepsilon}$n by day 166.2 (cf. *bē* sun, day)
hop!ē$^{\varepsilon}$n long ago 58.4; 86.7, 9; 192.15; 194.4
xā$^{\varepsilon}$newi'$^{\varepsilon}$ sometimes 132.25
bō^{u}nē now, yet 130.23 (cf. *bō^{u}* now)

ī'de$^{\varepsilon}$ne`*, 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'$^{\varepsilon}$ne* not infrequently may be translated as LIKE, particularly with preceding *k'ai* (§ 105):

k'a'i he$^{\varepsilon}$ne bēm something like wood 186.11
k'ai gwala he'$^{\varepsilon}$ne like various things 196.3

A number of other adverbial suffixes probably occur, but the examples are not numerous enough for their certain determination. Among them is *-ada`*:

nō^{u}gwada`* some distance down river 54.2 (cf. *nō$^{u}$* down river and *nō$^{u}$gwa` down river from 75.14)
hinwada`* some distance up river 56.4; 100.18; 102.4 (cf. *hina`u up river and *hinwa`* up river from 77.1)
ha'nt'ada across the river 98.5; 192.3; (cf. *ha`nt'* across, in half)

Several adverbs are found to end in *-(da)da$^{\varepsilon}$*, perhaps to be identified with the *-da$^{\varepsilon}$* of subordinate verb-forms:

bō^{u}-nēxada$^{\varepsilon}$ immediately 90.10, 12; 108.2
he^{e}(da)da'$^{\varepsilon}$ away from here 92.5; 172.5; 194.10; 196.11

gwel-$^{\varepsilon}$wāk'wi$^{\varepsilon}$ EARLY IN THE MORNING 44.1; 63.9; 77.14; 190.1 seems to be a specialized verb-form in *-k'i$^{\varepsilon}$* IF, WHENEVER. It is possible that there is an adverbial *-t'* suffix:

gwe`nt' in back, behind 94.15
ha`nt' across, in half 146.22; 154.9; 192.7

It may be that this *-t'* has regularly dropped off when final in polysyllables:

da$^{\varepsilon}$o'l near 100.15; but *da$^{\varepsilon}$o'lt'i* (=*da$^{\varepsilon}$o'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:

nõ^{u} down river 17.9; 63.1; 124.15
nõ'$^{u\varepsilon}$s· next door ([?] related to *nõ^{u}*) 17.4; 188.2
hina'u up river ([?] compounded with *nõ^{u}*) 22.7; 23.1; 61.13; 192.14
da$^{\varepsilon}$-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'$^{i\varepsilon}$wa far off 48.8; 192.1
aba'i in the house (cf. § 37, 14) 28.8; 43.13; 140.5
hā'$^{a\varepsilon}$ya' on both sides, mutually (cf. § 37, 5) 172.10; 176.6

2. Temporal adverbs:

bõ^{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
bõ^{u}nē hawi
ha'wi bõ^{u}ne' } 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$^{\varepsilon}$ hem* never
mī^{i} 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^{a}lī^{i}-* BECOME. Compare such English substantivized temporal phrases as AFTERNOON. Examples are:

sama'xa lãp'k' in-summer it-has-become 92.11
haye^{e}wa'xdā^{a}da lā^{a}lē' in-their-returning it-became (=it became time for them to return) 124.15
habēbini diha'-uda lā^{a}lī't'a$^{\varepsilon}$ noon after-it when-it-became (=when it was afternoon) 186.8

3. Negative and affirmative adverbs:

hīt' no 134.19, 21
ha'-u yes 24.13; 64.1; 170.12
a'nī^{ɛ} 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
nī^{i} not? (with following subordinate): *s·-nī'^{i} naga'sbinda^{ɛ}* 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'^{ɛ} (rarely heard as *honõ^{ɛ}n* 74.8; this is very likely its original form, cf. *-^{ɛ}n* for *-^{ɛ}ne*, § 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'^{ɛ}* just so, for fun
wana' even 47.10; 61.3; 71.8; 76.4; 186.2
yaxā'^{a}wa however (cf. *yaxa*, § 114, 9; for *-wa* cf. *gī'^{iɛ}wa*, § 113, 1) 72.11; 74.15
ha'ga explanatory particle used with inferential 28.10; 45.11 (e. g., *ga haga wa'la^{ɛ} yu'k'* so that one was really he 170.8)
nak!a' in every way, of all sorts (e. g., *k'adi' nak!a ^{ɛ}a'nī^{ɛ} īgī'^{i}nan* what kind was not taken?, i. e., every kind was taken 60.11)
yewē perhaps 136.23; 180.8; 196.18
s·o^{ɛ}, *s·ō^{uɛ}* perfectly, well 136.20; 166.1 (e. g., *s·o'^{ɛ} de^{e}gwa'lt'gwī^{i}p'* take good care of yourself! 128.24)
amadi'(s·i^{ɛ}) would that! 142.10 (e. g., *amadi's·i^{ɛ} t!omoma'^{ɛ}n* I wish I could kill him; *amadi loho'^{iɛ}* would that he died! 196.2)
wi'sa^{ɛ}m (cf. *wis*, § 114, 8) I wonder if 150.2, 3 (e. g., *mī^{i} wi'sa^{ɛ}m ya'^{ɛ}* 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^{ɛ}obiha'n ye^{e}wa'^{ɛ}t' wi'sa^{ɛ}m* MY-ELDER-BROTHERS THEY-WILL-RETURN I-WONDER-IF 150.2, 3).

Several of the adverbs listed above can be used relatively with subordinates, in which use they may be looked upon as conjunctive adverbs:

bō^{u}-gwan[1] (1) *yā^{a}nia'-uda^{ɛ}* (2) *bai-yeweya'k'^{w}* (3) as soon as (1) they went (2), she took him out again (3) 128.20
yewē (1) *xebe^{e}yagwanaga'm* (2) *yewē* (3) *wā'^{a}da* (4) *hiwili'^{uɛ}* (5) perhaps (1) that we destroy him (2), perhaps (3) he runs (5)

[1] Probably compounded of *bõ^{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^{ɛ}ne`* (2) *de-k'iwi'k'auk'wanma$^{ɛ}$* (3) *ga* (4) *na$^{ɛ}$nāk'ik`* (5) just as (2) a knife (1) is brandished (3), that (4) he did with it (5) 172.12 (cf. *he^{ɛ}ne`* 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 *-^{ɛ}a`* (§ 102), but differs from it in that it may be embedded in the verb-form:

ī-yā'^{a}-sge^{e}t'sga`t' he just twisted it to one side 31.5

It only rarely follows a verb-form, however, showing a strong tendency to attach itself to denominating terms. Though serving generally to emphasize the preceding word, it does not seem to involve, like *-^{ɛ}a`*, the idea of a contrast:

xā^{a}-xo yā'^{a} right among firs (cf. 94.17)
he^{ɛ}ne yā'^{a} just then, then indeed 63.13; 128.22; 188.1, 18
dō^{u}mxbin yā'^{a} I shall just kill you 178.15

It has at times a comparative force:

gī^{i} yā'^{a} na^{ɛ}nada'^{ɛ} 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 gwelda` just under that 190.17
han-yā'ᵃ-hi bāᵃ-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`eᵉdaᵋ hi` just as I went (cf. 138.23; 152.5, 7)
diha-udē hi` right behind me, as soon as I had gone

It may be enclitically attached to other particles, *yā'ᵃ-hi* 192.1 being a particularly frequent combination:

gīⁱ 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·ī'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 *eī*. A number of adverbs always appear with suffixed *hi;* e. g., *gasa'lhi* QUICKLY 16.10. Like *-ᵋa`*, 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 *-ᵋa`*, *yā'ᵃ*, *hi*, and *-s·iᵋ*, respectively, are well illustrated in *maᵋa`* YOU, BUT YOU (as contrasted with others); *ma yā'ᵃ* JUST YOU, YOU INDEED (simple emphasis without necessary contrast); *ma' hi* YOU YOURSELF; *mas·'iᵋ* AND YOU, YOU IN YOUR TURN (108.13)

3. ***-hi^{ɛ}.*** This particle is found appended most frequently to introductory words in the sentence, such as *mī^{i}*, *ganē*, and other adverbs, and to verb-forms:

mī^{i}-hi^{ɛ} t'aga'^{iɛ} then he returned 62.2; (cf. 188.15)
ganē-hi^{ɛ} aba-i-gini'^{ɛ}k' and then he went into the house 55.16
naga'-i-hi^{ɛ} = naga'^{iɛ} he said + *-hi^{ɛ}* (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^{ɛ}n-hi^{ɛ} that they said to each other, it is said 27.1, 3; 31.9

-hi^{ɛ} is also found attached to a verbal prefix (22.1; 140.8, 22, 23).

4. ***-s·i^{ɛ}*** AND, BUT. This is one of the most frequently occurring particles in Takelma narration, its main function being to bind together two clauses or sentences, particularly when a contrast is involved. It is found appended to nouns or pronouns as deictic or connective suffix:

āks·i^{ɛ} he in his turn 61.11; (cf. 47.14; 104.8, 13)
hūlk' sgi'sidi`l mēxs·i^{ɛ} Panther and Coyote, also Crane

An example of its use as sentence connector is:

ga nagañhan ha-t'gā^{a}dē hop!ē^{ɛ}n, bō^{u}-s·i'^{ɛ} eme'^{ɛ} a'nī^{ɛ} 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)

-s·i^{ɛ} is particularly frequently suffixed to the demonstratives *ga* THAT and *aga* THIS, *gas·i^{ɛ}* and *agas·i^{ɛ}* serving to connect two sentences, the second of which is the temporal or logical resultant or antithesis of the second. Both of the connected or contrasted sentences may be introduced by *gas·i^{ɛ}*, *agas·i^{ɛ}*, or by a word with enclitically attached *-s·i^{ɛ}*. In an antithesis *agas·i^{ɛ}* seems to introduce the nearer, while *gas·i^{ɛ}* is used to refer to the remoter act. Examples showing the usage of *gas·i^{ɛ}* and *agas·i^{ɛ}* are:

gas·i'^{ɛ} de^{e}l ha-de-dīlt'a dī-būmā'^{a}k' (I smoked them out), and-then (or so-that) yellow-jackets everywhere swarmed 73.10
k'aiwi'^{ɛ} t!omoma'nda^{ɛ} gas·i'^{ɛ} gayawa`t'p' something I-having-killed-it, thereupon you-ate-it 90.8
gas·i'^{ɛ} gūxda hülü^{ü}n wa-iwī'^{i} t!omxi'xas·i^{ɛ} aba`i on-one-hand his-wife (was a) sea woman, her-mother-in-law-but (lived) in-the-house 154.15

agas·iᵉ yõᵘk!ʷat'k' yā'ᵃ xu'ma-s·iᵉ a'nīᵉ deᵉügü'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·iᵉ a'nīᵉ mī'ᵉwa al-t!eye'xi naga'ⁱᵉ yulumᵉa' aga's·iᵉ xamk' wa-iwī'ⁱ mīⁱ al-t!ayãk'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·iᵉ and *agas·iᵉ* as syntactic elements are not to be confused with the demonstratives *ga* and *aga* to which a connective *-s·iᵉ* happens to be attached. This is shown by:

ga-s·i'ᵉ gaᵉal that-so for (= so for that reason)

where *gaᵉal* is a postposition to *ga*. There is nothing to prevent post-nominal *-s·iᵉ* from appearing in the same clause:

aga's·iᵉ mēls·iᵉ but Crow-in-her-turn 162.14

When suffixed to the otherwise non-occurring demonstrative *ᵉī-* (perhaps contained in *īda-* THAT) it has a concessive force, DESPITE, ALTHOUGH, EVEN IF 60.1:

ᵉī's·iᵉ-hi s·om gaᵉal ha-de-dīlt'a wīt' a'nīᵉ al-t!aya'k' p!iyi'n although-indeed mountain to everywhere he-went, not he-found deer 43.6

i's·iᵉ tslaya'k' a'nīᵉ t!omõm gũxdagwa although he-shot-at-her, not he-killed-her his-own-wife 140.17

-hiᵉ (see no. 3) or connective *-s·iᵉ* may be added to *ᵉī's·iᵉ*, the resulting forms, with catch dissimilation (see § 22), being *ᵉī's·ihiᵉ* and *ᵉī's·is·iᵉ* 47.11; 148.12. When combined with the idea of unfulfilled action, the concessive *ᵉīs·iᵉ* is supplemented by the conditional form in *-k'iᵉ* of the verb:

ᵉī's·iᵉ k'a'i gwala nãxbiyauk'iᵉ, wede ge līⁱwa'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·iᵉ* is the indefinite particle:

5. ***-s·iᵉwa'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·iᵉwak'di henenagwa't' perhaps (or probably) you ate it all up 26.17

The uncompounded *wak'di* also occurs:

ulu'm wô'k'di k'ai nāk'am formerly I-guess something it-was said to him 166.1

ga wa'k'di hogwa'ᵉsdāᵃ that-one, it-seems, (was) their-runner 49.3

Similar in signification is:

6. ***mīⁱᵉwa*** PROBABLY, PERHAPS 45.8; 63 15. This enclitic has a considerable tendency to apparently be incorporated in the verb:

ī-mī'ⁱᵉwa-t!āūt!iwin maybe he was caught (*ī-t!āūt!iwin* he was caught)

xaᵉ-ī-mī'ⁱᵉwa-sgī'ⁱbiᵉn müüᵉxda'n hi I'll-probably-cut-him-in-two once just 31.13

7. ***his, hīⁱs*** NEARLY, ALMOST, TRYING 44.7; 56.14. This element implies that the action which was done or attempted failed of success:

mīⁱ honoᵉ t!omõk'wa-his mãl 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-xiya' mīᵉwa sgā'ᵃt'ap'deᵉ" 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'ᵉxadeᵉ I used to smoke (but no longer do)

8. ***wis, wīⁱs*** IT SEEMS, DOUBTLESS. This particle is used to indicate a likely inference. Examples are:

mīⁱ-wis dapᵉā'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 wī'ⁱs 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'-hi yaxa ganga naga'$^{i\varepsilon}$ 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'$^{\varepsilon}$(sina$^{\varepsilon}$)*** REALLY, COME TO FIND OUT 45.11; 170.8. As indicated in the translation, *wala'$^{\varepsilon}$* indicates the more or less unexpected resolution of a doubt or state of ignorance:

ga haga wala'$^{\varepsilon}$ wili wa$^{\varepsilon}$-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'$^{\varepsilon}$si(na$^{\varepsilon}$)*, evidently an amplification of *wala'$^{\varepsilon}$*, have been already discussed (§ 70).

11. ***di*** INTERROGATIVE. The interrogative enclitic is consistently used in all cases where an interrogative shade of meaning is present, whether as applying to a particular word, such as an interrogative pronoun or adverb, or to the whole sentence. Its use in indirect questions is frequent:

mān t'ī'^{i}s mixal di' t!omomana'$^{\varepsilon}$ he-counted gophers how-many had-been-killed

The use of the interrogative is often merely rhetorical, implying an emphatic negative:

k'a-di' ma wili wa$^{\varepsilon}$-ī-t!a'nida$^{\varepsilon}$ literally, what you house you-will-keep? (=you shall not keep house) 27.16; (cf. 33.1; 47.9)

Ordinarily *di* occupies the second place in the sentence, less frequently the third:

yū'k!alxde$^{\varepsilon}$ mī^{i} di' $^{\varepsilon}$a'nī$^{\varepsilon}$ k'a'i your-teeth now (inter.) not any (i. e., have you no teeth?) 128.23

Besides these syntactically and modally important enclitic particles, there are a few proclitics of lesser significance. Among these are to be included *mī^{i}* 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'$^{\varepsilon}$ then he went 92.26; 118.19; 152.7
mī^{i} *loho'*$^{i\varepsilon}$ then he died 71.13; 98.19; 122.13

The proclitic *ne*^{e} WELL! is used chiefly as introductory to a hortatory statement:

ne^{e} *gō*^{u}*m-s·i'*$^{\varepsilon}$ *dak'-s·inī'*^{i}*da nabā'*$^{a\varepsilon}$*ha'n* let us-in-our-turn over-his-nose let-us-do (i. e., let us pass over him!) 144.11
ne^{e} *t!omoma'*$^{\varepsilon}$*n* 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 ^{n}], *ä* as in English BAT, *â* as in SAW, *dj* as in JUDGE, voiceless palatal *l* [written *l̄*], 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'gwãlam O yes! (with idea of pity) 29.13; *dit'gwā'*$^{a\varepsilon}$*lam wi*$^{\varepsilon}$*wã* 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!ã* wife! husband!)

2. SIMPLE INTERJECTIONS (expressing fundamental emotions):

ā+ surprise, generally joyful; weeping 28.5; 58.2; 150.2
*ă; ă'; *$^{\varepsilon}$*ă; *$^{\varepsilon}$*ă'* sudden surprise at new turn; sudden resolve 28.6; 29.7; 55.7; 78.9
a'$^{\varepsilon}$ 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
$^{\varepsilon}$*e*^{e}*;* $^{\varepsilon}$*e'* displeasure 27.16; 32.9; 33.6; 122.12
$^{\varepsilon}$*è; 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
$^{ɛ}e^{n\text{'}}$; $^{ɛ}e^{n}$ disapproval, "what's up?", sarcasm 28.11; 32.10
$^{ɛ}E^{n}$ $^{ɛ}E^{n}$ protest 112.6, 11; 114.3, 6, 13; $^{ɛ}E'^{n}$, $^{ɛ}E'^{n}$ decided displeasure 198.2
he^{n} scorn, threat 140.9; 152.14
$e^{n\text{'}}$ sniffing suspiciously 160.20
$E^{n\text{'}}$ $E^{n\text{'}}$ $E^{n\text{'}}$ $E^{n\text{'}}$ 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
A^{n}+ groan 182.11
$ho'^{ɛ}$ (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·^{ɛ}*e'hehehe* derisive laughter 71.7; 72.11; 73.15; 74.15
s·be'p' sharp anger 86.6, 22, 24
s·bè'+^{u} call for some one to come 92.1
$c^{ɛ}a'i$ 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' äu wä' äu* . . . . . (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
bō+ 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
hĕ 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'+*ximi* 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'lhi dolhi*ˋ 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. *wīⁱlī'ⁱ* his stone knife 142.21) Chicken-Hawk's cry for revenge 144.1

sgilbibī' + *ⁱx* "come warm yourself!" 25.7 (cf. *sgili'pxdeᵉ* I warm myself 25.8)

gewe'ᵉk!eweᵉ (cf. *gewe'k!iwiᵉn* I hold [salmon] bow-fashion) said by Pitch when Coyote is stuck to him 88.5, 9, 11, 12

p!idi-l-p'ā'ᵉt'p'idit'k' "O my liver!" (cf. *p'āᵉt'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

(sˑ)ha'u, ha'u cry of Grizzly Bear 106.12, 19; 140.12

wā' + *ᵘ* (hoarse) death-cry of Grizzly Bear woman 142.3

hâᵘ Bear's cry 72.15

p!ãk' p!ãk' "bathe! bathe!" supposed cry of crow

bak' bak' bak' bak' bak' bak' sound made by Woodpecker 90.11; 92.2 (cf. *ba'k'bāᵃ* 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'lelelele (whispered) sound of rattling dentalia 156.24 (cf. aorist stem *tc!elem-* rattle)

t'ul t'ul t'ul noise made by Rock Boy in walking over graveyard house 14.8

dem + *dem* + *dem* + 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-dāᵃn-t'gil-t'ga'lhi* 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'dididi sound of men wrestling 32.14

5. Song Burdens:

wa'yawene łō'ᵘwana medicine-man's dance 46.14

wainhā round dance; lullaby (cf. *waīnha* put him to sleep!) 104.15; 106.4, 8; 105 note

k!i'xinhi round dance (said by Frog) 102.18
ᵉo'cu ᵉo'cu round dance (said by Frog) 102.23
gwa'tca gwatca round dance (said by Bluejay) 104.7
tc!a'itc!īā round dance (play on *tc!a'ⁱᵉc* 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 *bīk'ʷ* skunk) 164.18, 22; 166.5
hâ'ᵉgwatci hâ'ᵉgwatci said by s'omloho'lxaᵉs 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·õ^{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 prepositives 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.

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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'ɛ	-(a')t'	-ɛ	-i'k'	-(a')t'p'
Aor. subj. intr. II	-t'ɛ	-t'am	—,-t'	-(p'-)ik'	-t'ap'
Fut. subj. intr. I	-t'ɛ	-(a)da'ɛ	-(a')ɛt'	-(i)ga'm	-(a)t'baɛ
Fut. subj. intr. II	-t'ɛ	-t'aɛ	-t'āa	-(p'-)igam	-t'abaɛ
Pr. imper.		——		-(a)baɛ	-(a')np', -'p'
Fut. imper. intr. I and trans.		-(a')ɛk'			
Fut. imper. intr. II		-(p'-)gaɛm			
Aor. subj. trans.	-(a')ɛn	-(a')t'	——	-(a)nak'	-(a')t'p'
Fut. subj. trans.	-(a')n	-(a)da'ɛ	-(a')nk'	-(a)nagam	-(a)t'baɛ
Infer. subj.	-k'-aɛ	-k' ɛɛi't'	-k'	-k'-anak'	-k' ɛɛi't'p'
Obj. trans.	-xi	-bi	——	-am	-anp'
Poss. with pre-positives	-dĕ	-daɛ	-da	-da'm	-dabaɛn, -'ɛt'ban
Poss. relationship	wi-	-'ɛt'	-xa, -a	-da'm	-'ɛt'ban
Poss. II	-dɛk'	-dɛɛ	-dāa	-da'm	-dabaɛn
Poss. III	-'t'k'	-'ɛt'	-', -'t'	-da'm	-'ɛtban
Independent pronouns	gĭi	ma	āak' (pl. āi)	gōum	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.)	*di'nik!at'*	*dink!ada'ɛ*	*di'nɛk' ɛcĭt'*	*di'nk!at'*	*di'nɛk'*	*di'nk!aɛk'*
Passive	*di'niɛxbin*	*dinɛxbina'ɛ*	*di'nɛxbigam*	*di'nɛxbin*		
Act. intr.	*di'niɛxat'*	*dinɛxada'ɛ*	*di'nɛxak' ɛcĭt'*	*di'nɛxat'*	*di'nɛxa*	*di'nɛxaɛk'*
Reflexive	*di'niɛk'widam*	*di'nɛk'widaɛ*	*di'nɛk'wip'k' ɛcĭt'*	*di'nɛk'widam*	*di'nɛk'wĭp'*	*di'nɛk'wip'gaɛm*
Recipr. (pl.)	*di'niɛxant'p'*	*di'nɛxant'baɛ*	*di'nɛk'ank' ɛcĭt'p'*	*di'nɛxant'p'*		
Non-agentive	*di'niɛxdam*	*di'nɛxdaɛ*	*di'nɛxk' ɛcĭt'*	*di'nɛxdam*	*di'nɛx*	*di'nɛxgaɛm*
Positional	*dink!it'am*	*dink!a'sdaɛ*	*di'nk!ask' ɛcĭt'*	*dink!a'sdam*		

3. Forms of *na(g)-* SAY, DO

A. Intransitive

	Aorist	Future	Potential	Inferential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Singular:						
1st per.	*nagaĭt'eᵋ*	*na't'eᵋ*	*na't'eᵋ*	*na'k'aᵋ*		
2d per.	*nagaĭt'*	*nada'ᵋ*	*na't'*	*na'k!cĭt*	*na'*	*na'ᵋk'*
3d per.	*naga'iᵋ*	*na'ᵋt'*	*na'ᵋ*	*na'k'*		
Plural:						
1st per.	*nagayi'k'*	*naga'm*	(?)*nayi'k'*	*na'k'ana'k'*	*nabā'aᵋ(ha'n)*	
2d per.	*nagaĭt'p'*	*na't'baᵋ*	*na't'p'*	*na'k!eĭt'p'*	*na'np'*	
Imper.	*neᵋyeᵋ'ᵋ* (subordinate *neye'edaᵋ* or *nè'idaᵋ*)	*neᵋyaŭk'iᵋ* (conditional)				

FREQUENTATIVE

	Aorist	Future	Inferential	Present imperative	Future imperative
Singular:					
1st per.	*nagaᵋna'k'deᵋ*	*naĭt'eᵋ*	*naĭk'aᵋ*		
2d per.	*nagaᵋnigi't'*	*nanada'ᵋ* [1]	*naĭk!eĭt'*	*naĭha*	*naĭhaᵋk'*
3d per.	*nagaᵋnā'aᵋk'*	*nana'ᵋt'* [1]	*naĭk'* [2]		
Plural:					
1st per.	*nagaᵋnigi'k'*	*nanaga'm* [1]	*naĭk'ana'k'*	*nanaba'ᵋ*	
2d per.	*nagaᵋnigi't'p'*	*nana't'baᵋ* [1]	*naĭk!eĭt'p'*	*naĭhanp'*	
Imper.	*neᵋnia'uᵋ*				

[1] These forms are to be carefully distinguished from *naᵋ-nada'ᵋ*, *naᵋ-na'ᵋt'*, and so forth (see §69). It is of course possible to have also *naᵋ-naĭt'eᵋ*, *naᵋ-nanada'ᵋ*, and so forth.

[2] Also *naĭkak'* is found, so that it is probable that doublets exist for other non-aorist forms, e. g., *naĭhadaᵋ*, *naĭhabaᵋ*.

B. Transitive

Aorist

Subject	Object: First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Singular:					
1st per.		*naga'sbiᵋn*	*naga'ᵋn*		*naga'sanbaᵋn*
2d per.	*neᵋge'ᵋs·dam*		*naga't'*	*naga'simĭt'*	
3d per.	*neᵋge'ᵋs·i*	*naga'sbi*	*naga'*	*naga'sam*	*naga'sanp'*
Plural:					
1st per.		*nagasbina'k'*	*nagana'k'*		*naga'sanbana'k'*
2d per.	*neᵋge'ᵋs·dap'*		*naga't'p'*	*naga'simĭt'p'*	

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.		*nāxbin*	*nāagi'n*		*nāxanban*
2d per.	*nēxda^{s}*		*nāk'ida^{s}*	*nāximida^{s}*	
3d per.	*nēxink'*	*nāxbink'*	*nāk'ink'*	*nāxamank'*	*nāxanbank'*
Plural:					
1st per.		*nāxbinagam*	*nāaginaga'm*		*nāxanbanagam*
2d per.	*nēxdaba^{s}*		*nāagi't'ba^{s}*	*nāximit'ba^{s}*	
Imper. condit.	*nēxiauk'i^{s}*	*nāxbiauk'i^{s}*			

Inferential

Singular:					
1st per.		*nāxbiga^{s}*	*nāk'iga^{s}*		*nāxanp'ga^{s}*
2d per.	*nēxik!ēlt'*		*nāk'ik!ēlt'*	*nāxamk!ēlt'*	
3d per.	*nēxik'*	*nāxbik'*	*nāk'ik'*	*nāxamk'*	*nāxanp'k'*
Plural:					
1st per.		*nāxbigana'k'*	*nāk'igana'k'*		*nāxanp'gana'k'*
2d per.	*nēxik!ēlt'p'*		*nāk'ik!ēlt'p'*	*nāxamk!ēlt'p'*	

Potential

Singular:					
1st per.		*nāxbi^{s}n*	*nāagi'^{s}n*		*nāxanba^{s}n*
2d per.	*nēxdam*		*nāk'it'*	*nāximit'*	
3d per.	*nēxi*	*nāxbi*	*nāk'i*	*nāxam*	*nāxanp'*
Plural:					
1st per.		*nāxbinak'*	*nāk'inak'*		*nāxanbana'k'*
2d per.	*nēxdap'*		*nāk'it'p'*	*nāximit'p'*	

Present Imperative

Singular:					
2d per.	*nēxi*		*nāk'i*	*nāxam*	
Plural:					
1st per.			*nāk'iba^{s}*		
2d per.	*nēxip'*		*nāk'ip'*	*nāxamp'*	

Future Imperative

Singular:					
2d per.	*nēxga^{s}m*		*nāagi'^{s}k'*		

3. Forms of *na(g)*- SAY, DO

B. Transitive—Continued

Passive

	Aorist	Future	Potential	Inferential
Singular:				
1st per.	*nege's·in*	*nēxinaᵉ*	*nēxin*	*nēxigam*
2d per.	*naga'sbin*	*nāxbinaᵉ*	*nāxbin*	*nāxbigam*
3d per.	*naga'n*	*nāᵃgina'ᵉ*	*nāk'in*	*nāk'am*
Plural:				
1st per.	*naga'simin*	*nāximinaᵉ*	*nāximin*	*nāxamk'am*
2d per.	*naga'sanban*	*nāxanbanaᵉ*	*nāxanban*	*nāxanp'gam*

FREQUENTATIVE

Aorist

Subject	Object				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Singular:					
1st per. . . .		*nagañsbiᵉn*	*nagañhaᵉn*		*nagañsanbaᵉn*
2d per. . . .	*negeñs·dam*		*nagañhat'*	*nagañsimit'*	
3d per. . . .	*negeñs·i*	*nagañsbi*	*nagañha*	*nagañsam*	*nagañsanp'*
Plural:					
1st per. . . .		*nagañsbinak'*	*nagañhanak'*		*nagañsanbana'k'*
2d per. . . .	*negeñs·dap'*		*nagañhat'p'*	*nagañsimit'p'*	

Future

Singular:					
1st per. . . .		*nānsbin*	*nānhan*		*nānsanban*
2d per. . . .	*nēns·daᵉ*		*nānhadaᵉ*	*nānsimidaᵉ*	
3d per. . . .	*nēns·ink'*	*nānsbink'*	*nānhank'*	*nānsamank'*	*nānsanbank'*
Plural:					
1st per. . . .		*nānsbinagam*	*nānhanagam*		*nānsanbanagam*
2d per. . . .	*nēnsdabaᵉ*		*nānhat'baᵉ*	*nānsimit'baᵉ*	

Passive

	Aorist	Future
Singular:		
1st per.	*negeñs·in*	*nēns·inaᵉ*
2d per.	*nagañsbin*	*nānsbinaᵉ*
3d per.	*nagañhan*	*nānhanaᵉ*
Plural:		
1st per.	*nagañsimin*	*nānsiminaᵉ*
2d per.	*nagañsanban*	*nānsanbanaᵉ*

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.		*nagānxbiᵉn*	*nagāana'ᵉn* (*nagāani'ᵉn*)[2]		*nagānxanbaᵉn*
2d per.	*negēnxdam*		*nagāana't'* (*nagāani't'*)	*nagānximit'*	
3d per.	*negēnxi*	*nagānxbi*	*nagān* (*nagānhi*)	*nagānxam*	*nagānxanp'*
Plural:					
1st per.		*nagānxbinak'*	*nagāanana'k'* (*nagāanina'k'*)		*nagānxanbana'k'*
2d per.	*negēnxdap'*		*nagāana't'p'* (*nagāani't'p'*)	*nagānximit'p'*	

Future

Singular:					
1st per.		*nānxbin*	*nāana'n* (*nāani'n*)		*nānxanban*
2d per.	*nēnxdaᵉ*		*nāanada'ᵉ*[3] (*nāanida'ᵉ*)	*nānximidaᵉ*	
3d per.	*nēnxink'*	*nānxbink'*	*nāana'nk'* (*nāani'nk'*)	*nānxamank'*	*nānxanbank'*
Plural:					
1st per.		*nānxbinagam*	*nāananaga'm* (*nāaninaga'm*)		*nānxanbanagam*
2d per.	*nēnxdabaᵉ*		*nāana't'baᵉ* (*nāani't'baᵉ*)	*nānximit'baᵉ*	

Passive

	Aorist	Future
Singular:		
1st per.	*negēnxin*	*nēnxinaᵉ*
2d per.	*nagānxbin*	*nānxbinaᵉ*
3d per.	*nagāana'n* (*nagāani'n*)	*nāanana'ᵉ* (*nāanina'ᵉ*)
Plural:		
1st per.	*nagānximin*	*nānximinaᵉ*
2d per.	*nagānxanban*	*nānxanbanaᵉ*

[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.	*naga'sinik'*	*nāzinigam*
2d per.	*naga'sant'p'*	*nāzant'baᵋ*
3d per.	*naga'saᵋn* (frequentative *nagañ-saᵋn*)	*nāzanᵋt'*

E. Nominal Derivatives

INFINITIVES

Intransitive: *neˋx*

	Object				
	First person singular	Second person singular	Third person	First person plural	Second person plural
Transitive	*nēxiya*	*nāxbiya*	*nāagiaˋ*	*nāzimia*	*nāxanbia*

PARTICIPLE

Active: *naˋtˋ*

Other forms derived from verb-stem *na(g)-* than those given above are of course found, but are easily formed on evident analogies. Observe, however, intransitive aorist stem *nagai-* in transitive derivatives *nagaīk'wa* HE SAID TO HIM (personal) and *nagaīk'wit'* HE SAID TO HIMSELF. Comitatives in *-(a)gw-* are not listed because their formation offers no difficulty; e. g., second person singular present imperative *nāk'ʷ* DO SO AND SO HAVING IT! It is possible that *bō^{u}-nēxadaᵋ* IMMEDIATELY is nothing but adverb *bō^{u}* NOW + subordinating form **nēxadaᵋ* of *-xa-* derivative from *nāᵃg-* 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'sidī\'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^{ɛ}[8]	nāk'ik':[9]	"laps[10]	yimi'xi[11]	hāp'dek'[12]	loho'ida^{ɛ},[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'-ihi^{ɛ}[14]	xilam[1]	sebe\'t'.[2]	"anī^{ɛ}[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-xilmī* ABODE OF GHOSTS, literally, ACROSS-RIVER ARE GHOSTS as verb with positional *-ī*). As base is left *xil-* or *xin-* (*-n-* of radical syllable dissimilates to *-l-* before nasal suffix); *xi'lam* from * *xin-an* or * *xil-an.* This *xin-* is perhaps etymologically identical with *xīn* mucus (verb-base *xin-* SNIFF).

[2] *sebe\'t'.* Participle in *-t'* of verb *seeba'^{ɛ}n* 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 *hāap'-* SMALL, CHILD (cf. *hap-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) *-x-* it becomes plural in signification: *hāpxda* HIS CHILDREN. This sort of plural formation stands, as far as known, entirely isolated in Takelma. In its absolute form *hāap'-* takes on derivative suffix *-xi, hāpxi\'* CHILD.

[4] *loho\'k'.* Third personal inferential of verb *lohoīt'e^{ɛ}* 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'sidī\'l. sgi'si* COYOTE, formed by repetition of base-vowel according to Type 2. *-dī\'l* is dual suffix *sgi'sidī\'l* by itself might mean TWO COYOTES, but *-dī\'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]+*-gwa-* [reflexive] + *-n* [plural]). First person singular *nōts!adē;* second person singular *nōts!ada'^{ɛ}.*

[7] *yu\'k'.* Third personal inferential of verb *yowo't'e^{ɛ}* Type 2 I AM; aorist stem *yowo-*, verb-stem *yo-* (*yu-*). *-k'* inferential element as in *loho\'k'.* Corresponding aorist, *yowo'^{ɛ}.*

[8] *gas·i^{ɛ}. ga* is general demonstrative THAT, here serving to anticipate quotation: *"laps* (2) . . . *yimi'xi* (3)." *-s·i^{ɛ}* as general connective indicates sequence of *nāk'ik'* upon *loho\'k'* (1).

[9] *nāk'ik'.* Third personal inferential of verb *naga'^{ɛ}n* Type 2 I SAY TO HIM; aorist stem *naga-*, verb-stem *nāag-.* 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 *yīimiya'^{ɛ}n* Type 1 I LEND IT TO HIM; aorist stem *yīimīi-*, 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^{ɛ}.* Subordinate form, with causal signification, of *loho'i^{ɛ}* HE DIED. Aorist stem *lohoi-* = verb-stem *loho-* + intransitive element *-i-* characteristic of aorist of Type 4; *-^{ɛ}*, third personal aorist subject intransitive Class I, dissimilated because of catch in subordinating suffix *-da^{ɛ}.* Syntactically *loho'ida^{ɛ}* is subordinated to *yimi'xi.*

[14] *naga'-ihi^{ɛ}.* = *naga'i^{ɛ}* HE SAID+ quotative enclitic *-hi^{ɛ}. naga'i^{ɛ}* third person aorist of irregular verb *nagaīt'e^{ɛ}* 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·i^{ɛ}* (2) is incorporated as direct object in *nāk'ik'* (it would be theoretically more correct to write *ga* [*-s·i^{ɛ}*]- *nāk'ik'*); while quotation *"laps . . . yimi'xi"* is syntactically direct object of *naga'-ihi^{ɛ}* which, as such, it precedes. *ga-nāk'ik'* anticipates *"laps . . . yimi'xi" naga'-ihi^{ɛ}.* Observe use of aorist instead of inferential from *naga'-ihi^{ɛ}* on.

[15] *a'nī^{ɛ}.* Negative particle with following aorist. True negative future would be *wede yimi'hixbiga^{ɛ}.*

yī[i]mīsbi[ɛ]n [16] gwidi'-s·i[ɛ] [17] yo'[ɛ]t' [18] xila'm [1] yèūk'i[ɛ]," [19] naga'-ihi[ɛ] [14]
I lend it to you for where they will be dead people if they return?" he said, it is said,

sgi'si. [5] nō[u]s·i[ɛ] [20] yewe'i[ɛ] [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[ɛ]. [24] ganēhi[ɛ] [25] dabalni'xa [26] lā[a]lē'. [27] mī[i]hi[ɛ] [28] sgi'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[a]lē'. [27] mī[28] loho'i[ɛ]. [29] mī[28] nō'[uɛ]s·[20] gini'[ɛ]k' [30] xilam [1] sebe't' [2]
sick it became. Now it died. Now next door he went Roasting-Dead-People

5 wā'[a]da. [31] "laps [10] yimi'xi [11] hā[a]p'de'k' [12] loho'ida[ɛ]." [13]—"k'adi' [32]
to him. "Blanket lend it to me my child since it died."— "What

nagaīt'," [33] xilam [1] sebe't' [2] ga[s] naga'i[ɛ]. [14] "hō[u]xa[ɛ]a' [34] ma[ɛ]a [35]
you said?" Roasting-Dead-People that he said. "Last time you

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[16] *yī[i]mīsbi[ɛ]n*. First person singular subject (*-[ɛ]n*) second personal singular object (*-bi-*) of verb *yī[i]miya'[ɛ]n* (see *yimi'xi* above). *-s-* indirect object used only in aorist of this verb, elsewhere *-x-*; e. g., future *yimi'xbin* 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[ɛ]*. *gwi-* general interrogative and indefinite adverb WHERE? SOMEWHERE. *di* interrogative enclitic serving to give *gwi-* distinct interrogative signification. *-s·i[ɛ]* has here slight causal tinge: FOR WHERE WOULD THEY ALL BE, IF THEY RETURNED?

[18] *yo'[ɛ]t'*. Third personal future of verb *yowo't'e[ɛ]* I AM (see *yu'k'* above). *-[ɛ]t'* third personal subject future intransitive Class I.

[19] *yèūk'i[ɛ]*. Third personal conditional (*-k'i[ɛ]*) of verb *yewèit'e[ɛ]* Type 4a I RETURN; aorist stem *yewei-*, verb-stem *yèu-* (*ye[ɛ]w-*).

[20] *nō'[u]s·i[ɛ]*. = *nō'[uɛ]s·* (stem *nōts!-* NEXT DOOR) + connective *-s·i[ɛ]*. *nō'[uɛ]s·* may best be considered as local adverbial prefix to *yewe'i[ɛ]*.

[21] *yewe'i[ɛ]*. Third person aorist of verb *yewèit'e[ɛ]* (see *yèūk'i[ɛ]* above (*-i* and *-[ɛ]* as in *loho'i[ɛ]* and *naga'i[ɛ]* above)

[22] *k!odo't'*. Third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *k!ododa'[ɛ]n* 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[ɛ]*. In this case subordinate form serves merely to explain *hāp'dagwa*, and may thus be rendered as relative, WHO HAD DIED.

[25] *ganēhi[ɛ]*. = *ganē* AND THEN (compound of demonstrative *ga*), used to introduce new turn in narrative, + quotative *-hi[ɛ]*.

[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[a]lē'*. Third person aorist intransitive Class II of verb *lā[a]lī't'e[ɛ]* Types 10a and 15a I BECOME; aorist stem *lā[a]lē-*, verb-stem *lā[a]-p'-*. *-ē-* = *īi-* of positional verbs. Corresponding inferential *lā'p'k'*.

[28] *mī[i]hi[ɛ]*. = *mīi* weak temporal adverb NOW, THEN, serving generally to introduce new statement, + quotative *-hi[ɛ]*.

[29] *loho'i[ɛ]*. See *loho'ida[ɛ]* (2).

[30] *gini'[ɛ]k'*. Third person aorist of verb *gini'k'de[ɛ]* Type 2 I GO (somewhere); aorist stem *ginig-*, verb-stem *ging-*, *ginag-* (present imperative *gink'*; future *gina'k'de[ɛ]*). *-[ɛ]* third person aorist intransitive Class I. Inasmuch as forms occur derived from base *gin-* (e. g., reduplicated *giniginia'[uɛ]*), *-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'[uɛ]s·* and *wā'ada*). HE WENT without expressed goal would have been *ya'[ɛ]*. Similarly: *bazam-* COME, *me[ɛ]-ginig-* COME HERE; *hōgw-* RUN, *hiwiliw-* RUN (somewhere); *s·owō'[uɛ]k'ap'-* JUMP, *biliw-* 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 *wadē*. These forms are regularly used when motion to some person or persons is meant: if goal of motion is non-personal, postposition *ga[ɛ]'a'l* 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] *nagaīt'*. Second person singular aorist of verb *nagaīt'e[ɛ]* (see *naga'-ihi[ɛ]* 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[u]xa[ɛ]a'*. = *hō[u]xa'* YESTERDAY, (here more indefinitely as) LAST TIME, FORMERLY + deictic *-[ɛ]a'*. *-xa* is adverbial (temporal) suffix (cf. *dabalni'xa* above). *-[ɛ]a'* serves to contrast LAST TIME with NOW.

[35] *ma[ɛ]a*. = *ma* second person singular independent personal pronoun + deictic *-[ɛ]a'*, which here contrasts YOU (as former object of supplication) with I (as present object of supplication).

ga[36]	nege's·dam[37]	'laps[10]	yimi'xi'[11]	naga'sbinda$^{\varepsilon}$:[38]	'yapla[39]		
that	you said to me	'Blanket	lend it to me'	when I said to you:	'People		
gwidī'i[17]	yo'$^{\varepsilon}$t'[18]	yèūk'i$^{\varepsilon}$.'[19]	mī[28]	hawa'xi$^{u\varepsilon}$[40]	hā^{a}p'de'k',"[12]	naga'-ihi$^{\varepsilon}$[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$^{\varepsilon}$[20]	sgisi[5]	yewe'i$^{\varepsilon}$.[21]	"sgā +"	t'aga'i$^{\varepsilon}$.[42]	ga[8]
Roasting-Dead-People.		And next door	Coyote	he returned.	"Sgā +"	he cried.	That
ga$^{\varepsilon}$al[43]	bō^{u}[44]	$^{\varepsilon}$a'nī$^{\varepsilon}$[15]	yapla[39]	yewe'i$^{\varepsilon}$[21]	loho'ida$^{\varepsilon}$.[13]		
because of	nowadays	not	people	they return	when they die.		

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[36] *ga.* Anticipates quotation "*yapla* (10) . . . *yèūk'i$^{\varepsilon}$* (11)."

[37] *nege's·dam.* Second personal singular subject, first personal singular object (*-dam*) of verb *naga'$^{\varepsilon}$n* (see *nāk ik'* above). *nege-* shows palatal ablaut characteristic of forms with first person singular object. *-s-* indirect object in aorist only, elsewhere *-x-*; e. g., *nēzda$^{\varepsilon}$* YOU WILL SAY TO ME. Direct object is *ga.*

[38] *naga'sbinda$^{\varepsilon}$.* Subordinate form, with temporal force, of *naga'sbi$^{\varepsilon}$n* I SAY TO YOU. *naga'sbi$^{\varepsilon}$n* = aorist stem *naga-* + indirect object *-s-* + second personal singular object *-bi-* + first personal singular subject *-n.* *naga'sbinda$^{\varepsilon}$* is subordinated to main verb *nege's·dam*; its direct object is quotation "*laps yimi'xi*'' (10).

[39] *yapla.* 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$^{u\varepsilon}$.* Third person aorist intransitive Class I of verb *hawaxiūt'e$^{\varepsilon}$* Type 5 I AM ROTTING; aorist stem *xiu-*, verb-stem *xiwi-*. This verb is evidently compounded of *hawa'x* MATTER, PUS and verbal base *xiu-*, 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'i$^{\varepsilon}$* Third person aorist intransitive Class I of verb *t'agaīt'e$^{\varepsilon}$* Type 4a I CRY; aorist stem *t'agai-*, verb-stem *t'āag-*. *-i$^{\varepsilon}$* as in *yewe'i$^{\varepsilon}$*, *loho'i$^{\varepsilon}$*, and *naga'i$^{\varepsilon}$* above.

[43] *ga$^{\varepsilon}$a'l.* Postposition TO, AT, ON ACCOUNT OF, used with preceding demonstrative *ga*; *ga ga$^{\varepsilon}$a'l* = therefore. *ga$^{\varepsilon}$a'l* is itself compounded of demonstrative *ga* and local element *al* AT, TO.

[44] *bō^{u}.* Temporal adverb NOW, TO-DAY. First $^{\varepsilon}$ of $^{\varepsilon}$*a'nī$^{\varepsilon}$* NOT intended merely to keep up distinct hiatus between final *-ō^{u}* 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

yap!a[1] wi'lī[i 2] k!emèī.[3] bēm[4] p!a-idī[ɛ]lō'[u]k',[5] eme'[ɛ]s·i[ɛ 6] hono[ɛ 7]
People house they make it. Post they set it down, and here again

p!a-idī[ɛ]lō'[u]k', he'[ɛ]me[ɛ 8] hono'[ɛ] p!a-idī[ɛ]lō'[u]k', hagamgama'n[9] p!a-idī[ɛ]lō'[u]k'.
they set it down, yonder again they set it down, in four places they set them down.

he'[ɛ]ne[10] hono[ɛ] hangili'p'[11] gada'k'[12] hagamgama'n, gada'k's·i[ɛ 13]
Then also they place (beams) across on top thereof in four places, and on top thereof

mū[ɛ]xda'nhi[14] hangili'p'. he[ɛ]ne yā'[a]s·i[ɛ 15] wi'li s·idibī'[i 16] k!emèī;
just once they place (beam) across. Then and just house its wall they make it;

5 he[ɛ]ne gada'k's·i[ɛ] mats!a'k'[17] wilī[i] he[e]la'm,[18] t'ga'l[19] ga[20] he[e]la'm
then and on top thereof they put them house boards. sugar-pine those boards

k!emèī. ganē[21] dak'da't'[22] dat!aba'k',[23] hā'[ɛ]ya[24] dat!aba'k'. ganē
they make them. And then from on top they finish it, on both sides they finish it. And then

dedewilī'[i]dadi's[25] k!emèī dak'dat's·i'[ɛ 26] daho'k'wal[27] k!emèī k!iyī'x[28]
door they make it, and from on top holed they make it smoke

gana'u[29] ba-i-gina'xdä'.[a 30] ganēs·i[ɛ 31] ga'k!an[32] k!emèī, xā[ɛ]īsgip!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. *yap!a* is to be understood as subject of all following finite verb forms.

[2] § 86, 2; quantity of final vowel varies between *-i* and *-ī*. Directly precedes verb as object.

[3] Third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *k!emē[ɛ]n* Type 3 I MAKE IT; §§ 63; 65.

[4] § 86, 1; object of following verb.

[5] *p!a-i-* DOWN § 37, 13; *dī[ɛ]-* § 36, 10. *lō'uk'* third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *lō'ugwa[ɛ]n* Type 6 I SET IT; §§ 63; 40, 6.

[6] *eme'[ɛ]* HERE § 104; *-s·i[ɛ]* 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'[a]n* Type 3; §§ 63; 40, 3.

[12] Postposition with force of independent local adverb § 96.

[13] See note 12; *-s·i[ɛ]* § 114, 4.

[14] *mūūxda'n* numeral adverb ONCE § 111; *-hi* enclitic particle § 114, 2.

[15] *yā'a* post-positive particle JUST § 114, 1; *-s·i[ɛ]* § 114, 4.

[16] *s·idib-* (HOUSE) WALL § 86, 3; *-ī'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'[a]n* Type 3 I PUT IT; §§ 63; 40, 3.

[18] Noun stem *he[e]l-* with nominal suffix *-am* dissimilated from *-an* §§ 87, 6; 21. *wilī[i] he[e]la'm* is compound noun § 88.

[19] § 86, 1. Predicate appositive to *he[e]la'm*: THEY MAKE THOSE BOARDS OUT OF SUGAR-PINE.

[20] Demonstrative pronoun of indifferent number modifying *he[e]la'm* § 104.

[21] Temporal or connective adverb compounded of demonstrative *ga* and element *-ni* (?=*ne[ɛ]*) of unknown meaning §§ 113, 2; 114 end.

[22] Adverb in *-dat'* from local element *dak'-* ABOVE § 112, 1.

[23] *da-* § 36, 2 end; *-t!aba'k'* third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *-t!abaga'[a]n* Type 3 I FINISH IT; §§ 63; 40,3.

[24] Local adverb § 113, 1.

[25] *dedewilī'[i]da* DOOR, local phrase with pre-positive *de-* IN FRONT OF and third personal possessive suffix *-da* § 93 end. *-dī's* postposition § 96 of unclear meaning here.

[26] See note 22; *-s·i[ɛ]* § 114, 4.

[27] *da-* §107, 5; *-ho'k'wal* adjective with suffix *-al* § 108, 2.

[28] § 86, 3.

[29] Postposition with *k!iyī'x ba-igina'xdā[a]* § 96.

[30] Third personal possessive form in *-dā[a]* 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[ɛ]* § 114, 4.

[32] § 86, 2; suffix *-n*, §§ 21; 87, 6.

sgap‘,[33] gwelt‘gāū[34] gina′x[35] k!emèī; wili s·idibī′ⁱs·iᵉ[36] k!emèī. ganē
places, down to the earth going they make it; house its wall and they make it. And then

dat!aba‘k‘ haᵉīt‘bū′xt‘bixik‘ʷ.[37] ganē lep!ēs[38] hahūwū′ᵘᵉk‘i,[39] gana′t‘[40]
they finish it all cleaned inside. And then rush mats they spread them out inside, of that kind

gidī[41] alxalī[42] yap!a‘; p!ī̄[43] yogā′a[44] has·s·ō̆ᵘ,[45] gas·iᵉ[46] alxalīyana′ᵉ[47]
thereon they sit people; fire its place in the center, so that they being seated

hā′ᵉya-p!iya‘.[48] ganaᵉne′x[49] hop!è′ᵉn[50] yap!aᵉa[51] wi′lī̄;[52] lep‘ni′xa[53]
on both sides of the fire. In that way long ago people, for their part, their house; in winter

wilī′ⁱ[52] gana‘t[53]. sama′xas·iᵉ[54] anaᵉne′x[55] alxalī, a′nīᵉ[56] wi′li gana‘u.[57]
their house of that kind. But in summer in this way they sit, not house therein

gwa′s·[58] wili yaxa[59] wit‘ge′yeᵉᵉk‘i,[60] gas·iᵉ p!ī̄ yogā′a k!emèī
Brush house just they set it around, so that fire its place they make it

habini‘.[61] ganaᵉnex sama′xa alxalī, anīᵉ 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] *xā-* § 36, 7b; *-ī-* instrumental §36, 6; *xāᵉī-* with ᵉ to mark hiatus § 6. *-sgip!isgap‘* third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *-sgip!isgibiᵉn* Type 13a I CUT IT UP TO PIECES iterative of verb *-sgī′ibiᵉn* Type 6; §§ 63; 40,13; 43,1.

[34] Local phrase with pre-positive *gwel* DOWN TO § 95 and noun-characteristic *-u* § 89, 4; *t‘gā* § 86, 1.

[35] See note 30; infinitive used as noun § 74 end.

[36] See note 16; *-s·iᵉ* § 114, 4. *s·iᵉ* is appended to *s·idibī′ⁱ* rather than *wili*, as *wili s·idibī′ⁱ* is taken as unit.

[37] *ha-* IN § 36, 11 b; *-ī-* instrumental § 36, 6; *haᵉī-* § 6. *-t‘bāxt‘bix-ik‘ʷ* passive participle with instrumental *-i-* in *-ik‘ʷ* § 77 from verb *-t‘boxot‘bax-* Type 13a, verb stem *-t‘boxt‘bax-*; *-t‘box-* ablauted to *-t‘būx-* § 31, 2; *-t‘bax-* umlauted to *-t‘bix-* § 8, 3a.

[38] § 86, 3.

[39] *ha-* IN § 36, 11b. *-hūwū′ᵘᵉk‘i* = *-hūwūᵘk!-hi* § 19 end; third personal subject, third personal object aorist of instrumental verb *-huwū′uk!iᵉn* 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-* umlauted from *ga-* § 8, 4.

[42] *al-* § 36, 15b, here with uncertain force; *-xalī* 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·ō̆ᵘ* §86, 1 does not seem otherwise to occur.

[46] Connective compounded of demonstrative *ga* THAT and enclitic particle *-s·iᵉ* § 114,4.

[47] Subordinate form of *alxalī*, note 42; § 70 (see transitive paradigm).

[48] Local phrase with pre-positive *hāᵉya-* ON BOTH SIDES OF and noun-characteristic *-a* § 95; *-p!iy-a‘* from *p!ī* FIRE.

[49] Modal adverb compounded of demonstrative *ga* THAT and *naᵉne‘x* infinitive of verb *naᵉnagai-*, verb stem *naᵉna-* §§ 69; 74, 1; Appendix A.

[50] Temporal adverb in *-n* § 112, 3.

[51] *yap!a* see note 1; *-ᵉa* deictic post-nominal element § 102 (people of long ago contrasted with those of to-day).

[52] *wi′lī̄i* or *wilī′ⁱ* 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·iᵉ* § 114, 4.

[55] Modal adverb compounded of demonstrative stem *a-* THIS § 104 and *naᵉne‘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′yeᵉᵉk‘i* = *-t‘geyeᵉᵉk!-hi* § 19 end; third personal subject, third personal object aorist of instrumental verb *-t‘ge′yeᵉᵉk!iᵉn* 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.

COOS

BY

LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

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INTRODUCTION

The material on which this account of the Coos language is based was collected at the Siletz reservation, Oregon, during the summer of 1909. I obtained nineteen complete myths and other texts with interlinear translations, and linguistic material consisting chiefly of forms, phrases, and sentences. I have also had at my disposal a number of texts and grammatical notes collected by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, during the summer of 1903, which were of great assistance on many points.

This material was obtained chiefly from James Buchanan and Frank Drew, both of whom proved to be intelligent and reliable informants. To the former especially I am indebted for the complete and rich collection of myths and texts, while the latter was my chief source of information on points of grammar and lexicography. Frank Drew's untiring efforts and almost perfect command of English made him a very valuable interpreter, in spite of the fact that this advantage was offset in a great many cases by his knowledge of the Hanis and Miluk dialects of the Coos, and by his inability to draw a dividing-line between the two dialects. Hence his information was very often contradictory, and showed many discrepancies; but, on the whole, he was found trustworthy and reliable.

In conclusion I wish to express my deep gratitude to my teacher, Professor Franz Boas, for the many valuable suggestions made in connection with this work, and for the keen and unceasing interest which he has taken in me during the many years of our acquaintance. It was at his suggestion that this work was undertaken; and its completion is due mainly to the efforts and encouragement received from him. He it was who first imbued me with an enthusiasm for the primitive languages of the North American continent, and the debt which I owe him in this and in a great many other respects will be of everlasting duration.

Columbia University,
April, 1910.

COOS

By Leo J. Frachtenberg

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

The Kusan stock embraces a number of closely related dialects that were spoken by the people inhabiting (until 1857) Coos bay and the region along the Coos river. Their neighbors were Siuslauan,[1] Kalapuyan, and Athapascan tribes. On the north they came in contact with the Umpqua[1] Indians, on the east they bordered on the Kalapuya, while on the south they were contiguous to the Rogue river tribes, especially the Coquelle.[2] In 1857, when the Rogue river war broke out, the United States Government, acting in self-defence, removed the Coos Indians to Port Umpqua. Four years later they were again transferred to the Yahatc reservation, where they remained until 1876. On the 26th day of April, 1876, Yahatc was thrown open to white settlers, and the Indians of that reservation were asked to move to Siletz; but the Coos Indians, tired of the tutelage of the United States Indian agents, refused to conform with the order, and emigrated in a body to the mouth of the Siuslaw river, where the majority of them are still living.

Of the two principal dialects, Hanis and Miluk,[3] the latter is now practically extinct; while the former is still spoken by about thirty individuals, whose number is steadily decreasing. As far as can be judged from the scanty notes on Miluk collected by Mr. St. Clair in 1903, this dialect exhibits only in a most general way the characteristic traits of the Kusan stock. Otherwise it is vastly different from Hanis in etymological and even lexicographical respects.

The name "Coos" is of native origin. It is derived from the reduplicated stem *ku'kwîs* SOUTH, which appears very often in phrases like *xkukwî'sume* FROM WHERE SOUTH IS, *kūsemī'tcîtc* SOUTHWARDS, etc.

[1] Erroneously classified by Powell as part of the Yakonan family. My recent investigations show Siuslaw to form an independent linguistic group consisting of two distinct dialects,—Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw. A grammatical sketch of the former dialect will be found in this volume.

[2] An Athapascan tribe living on the upper course of the Coquelle river.

[3] Spoken on the lower part of the Coquelle river, and commonly called Lower Coquelle.

The Coos call their own language *hā'nîs ʟ!ē'yîs* THE HANIS TONGUE. The present work deals with this dialect only, as sufficient material could not be obtained for the purpose of writing a grammar of the Miluk dialect.

Texts of myths and tales were collected by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, and by the author of the present sketch, and were published by Columbia University.[1] All references accompanying examples refer to page and line of that publication.

PHONOLOGY (§§ 2–14)

§ 2. Vowels

The phonetic system of Coos is rich and fully developed. Clusters of consonants occur very frequently, but are void of difficult complications. The vowels show a high degree of variability, and occur in short and long quantities. The obscure vowel ᴇ is very frequent, and seems to be related to short *e* and *a*. Resonance vowels occur very often, and are indicated in this work by superior vowels. The diphthongs are quite variable. Long *ē* is not a pure vowel, but glides from *ē* to *ī;* it can hardly be distinguished from long *ī*, to which it seems to be closely related. In the same manner long *ō* glides from *ō* to *ū*, and was heard often as a long *ū*-vowel.

The following may be said to be the Coos system of vowels and diphthongs:

Vowels								Semi-vowels	Diphthongs		
		ᴇ									
a	*e*		*i*	*î*	*o*	*u*	*û*	*w*, *y*	*ai*,	a^u,	e^u
ā	*ä*	*ē*	*ī*		*ō*	*ū*			$\bar{e}^i$		$\bar{o}^u$

Short *e* is pronounced like *e* in the English word HELMET, while the umlauted *ä* corresponds to the open *e*-vowel in German WÄHLEN. It very often occurs as the umlauted form of long *ā*. *î* represents the short *y*-vowel so commonly found in the Slavic languages; while *û* indicates exceedingly short, almost obscure *u*. *ō* can not occur after the palatal surd *k* and fortis *k!*.

§ 3. Consonants

The consonantic system of Coos is characterized by the prevalence of the sounds of the *k* and *l* series, by the frequent occurrence of

[1] Coos Texts, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 1.

aspiration, by the abundance of long (double) consonants $\bar{l}$, $\overline{m}$, $\bar{n}$, and $\bar{y}$, and by the semi-vocalic treatment of the nasals m, n, and of the lateral sounds (indicated in this sketch by a circle under the consonant). Surds and sonants were not always pronounced distinctly, especially in the alveolar series. No aspirated consonants were found besides the aspirated t' and k'. The fortis is pronounced with moderate air-pressure and glottal and nasal closure.

The system of consonants may be represented as follows:

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal
Velar	(*g ʔ*)	*q*	*q!*	*γ*, *x*	–
Palatal	*g*, *g(w)*	*k*, *k(w)*	*k!*, *k!* (*w*)	–	–
Anterior palatal	*g·*	*k·*	*k·!*	*x·*	–
Alveolar	*d*	*t*, *t'*	*t!*	*s*, *c*	*n*, $\bar{n}$
Affricative	(*dzʔ*), *dj*	*ts*, *tc*	*ts!*, *tc!*	–	–
Labial	*b*	*p*	*p!*	–	*m*, $\overline{m}$
Lateral	*ɻ*	*ʟ*	*ʟ!*	*l*, $\bar{l}$, *ɬ*	–
Glottal stop	*ɛ*	–	–	–	–
Aspiration	–	–	–	*x x·*	–

y, $\bar{y}$ *h* *w*

The glottal stop, when not inherent in the stem, may occur independently only before *l*, *m*, *n*, and *w*. It always disappears before velar and palatal sounds. The aspiration is always accompanied by a stricture corresponding to the quality of the vowel preceding it. After *a*, *o*, and *u* (and *u* diphthongs) it is of a guttural character; while when following *e*, *i*-vowels, or the *i*-diphthongs, it becomes palatal. It disappears before a following *w* or *y*.

ɲha$^{w'x}$ts I make it 10.4

ɲha^{u}wē$^{i'}$wat I have it 18.4

îs sō^{x}tîtä'nī we two trade mutually 15.6

ɲɬō^{ux}tā'ya I am watching it 26.11

tōwîtī'yeqᴇm he took care 66.3

pī'^{x}pī he went home 28.2

xpīye'etc backwards, homewards 42.7

qai^{x}·qa'yōnā'ya he became afraid of it 42.3

§ 4. Sound Groupings

As has been stated before, clusters of consonants are extensive, but present few complications. Whenever difficulties arise in pronouncing them, there is a strong tendency, inherent in the language, to

simplify them. Thus, combinations of more than two consonants are rare, except in cases where one of the component elements (frequently the middle consonant) is *m*, *n*, or one of the lateral series. Such combinations are made possible through the semi-vocalic character of these consonants. I have also found *xpq*, *xcx·*.

helq- to arrive	*halqtsō^{u}'wat* she would bring it to him 72.8
a'lqas fear 66.4	*agalqsîtō^{u}'wat* he scared him 92.20
dɛ'msît prairie 22.12	*dɛmste'tc* through a prairie 22.11

In the same manner initial clusters, of which *m*, *n*, or *l* is the first element, are syllabified by vocalization of the first consonant either initially or terminally. A similar process takes place in clusters consisting of two consonants that belong to the same group.

The only consonantic combinations that are inadmissible are those of a *t*, *ts* or *s*+*m* or *n*.

Terminal clusters of three consonants are admissible only in cases where one of the component elements is a consonant easily subject to vocalization (a lateral, *m* or *n*).

l'nq 7.5	*qa'mlt* 102.16
yîxa'ntcn̥ts 60.3	*tqa'nɪlts* 28.1

Terminal clusters of two consonants are confined to the combinations of *m*+*t*, *m*+*s*, *m*+*x*; *n*+alveolar or affricative, *n*+*k·*, *n*+*ɪ*; *l*+alveolar or affricative (excepting *l*+*n*), *l*+*m*; *l*+*t* and *l*+*tc*. All other combinations are inadmissible (see §11).

The following examples of terminal sound groupings may be given:

ɪ!ē'^{x}·sîmt 74.19	*ī^{i}lt* 7.8
hatā'yîms 20.14	*mîlt!* 76.12
yî'xumx 122.22	*tcîls*
k·!înt 5.2	*be'^{i}ldj*
xwändj 6.8	*he'wîlts* 140.14
k!wînts 96.11	*tc!îltc!* 26.26
ɪōwe'entc 6.1	*tk·elm* 136.7 (St. Clair)
denk· 82.9	*xalt* 10.9
hanɪ 7.1	*qe'ltc* 6.4

An exceptional instance of a usually inadmissible sound grouping was found in *xyî'helq* 20.21.

All inadmissible terminal clusters are avoided through the insertion of a (weak) vowel between the two final consonants.

dɛmst-	*dɛ'msît* prairie 22.12
helq-	*he'ɬaq* he arrived 20.18
ʟhînp-	*ʟhî'nap* he went through 22.11
mîɬx-	*mî'ɬax* lunch 28.15
alq-+-s (§ 25)	*a'lqas* fear 66.4
wînq-+-s (§ 25)	*wî'nqas* mat, spider 58.5

Inadmissible medial clusters are avoided through the insertion of a weak vowel or vowels:

wînq-+-xɛm	*wîna'qaxɛm* it is spread out 32.14
helq-+-xɛm	*heɬa'qaxɛm* it is the end 44.14
ɬnq-+-a	*ûx ɬna'qa* they two went down 8.4

§ 5. Accent

With the exception of the monosyllabic particles, that are either enclitic or proclitic, each word in Coos has its stress accent, designated by the acute mark (') or by the rising tone rendered here by ~. The former accent is not inseparably associated with any particular syllable of a word. It may, especially in cases of polysyllabic stems, be shifted freely from one syllable to another, although it is very possible that this apparent shifting of accent may be largely due to the rapidity with which the words in question were pronounced by the natives. The circumflex accent appears mostly on the last syllable, and may best be compared with the intonation given to the word so in the English interrogative sentence Is THAT SO ?

The accent very often modifies the syllable on which it falls by lending a specific coloring to the vowel, or by making it appear with a long quantity. This is especially the case in syllables with the obscure vowel, which, under the influence of accent, may be changed to an *a* or an *e*.

A very peculiar use of the accent is found in connection with the verbal stem *heɬaq*. This stem expresses two different ideas, that are distinguished by means of the two kinds of accent. When occurring with the stress accent ('), *he'ɬaq* denotes TO GET, TO ARRIVE; while *heɬāq* with the rising tone of *ā* expresses the idea TO CLIMB UP.

Phonetic Laws (§§ 6–14)

§ 6. *Introductory*

The phonetic laws are quite complex, and in a number of instances show such appalling irregularities that they defy all attempts at systematization. This is especially true of the contraction of two or more vowels into one, and of the law of hiatus. Broadly speaking, the phonetic processes may be said to be due to contact phenomena and, in rare instances, to the effects of accent.

Vocalic Processes (§§ 7–11)

The processes treated in this division may be classified as follows:

(1) Vocalic Harmony.
(2) Consonantization of *i-* and *u-* diphthongs.
(3) Contraction.
(4) Hiatus.
(5) Processes due to change from terminal to medial position.

§ 7. VOCALIC HARMONY

The most important phonetic law in the Coos language is the law of vocalic harmony. This tendency towards euphony is so strongly developed in the language, that it may safely be said to be one of its chief characteristics. Its purpose is to bridge over as much as possible the difficulties that would arise in trying to pronounce in quick succession syllables with vowels of widely different qualities. The process may be of a retrogressive or progressive character; that is to say, the suffix may change the quality of the stem-vowel, or *vice versa*. Only the vowels of the *a-* and *e-* series are affected by this phenomenon, which is not always purely phonetic.

The following suffixes cause a change from *a* to *ä*, a process called the *i*-umlaut:

-ī neutral § 31 -īl pronominal § 46 -īye transitional § 35

ẓhā'wîts I make it grow
ẓtsxaū'wat I kill him 26.22
ẓhā'k.!ᵘtîts I draw it up

hä'wī he grew up 64.24
ẓtsxewe'īl she kills me 24.14
îl häk.!ᵘtī'ye they were drawn up 30.1

A change of *a*-vowels into *e*-vowels due to other causes is effected by the pronominal suffixes *-ū* (§ 46), *-ēm* (§ 30), and by the imperative *-E* (§ 43).

ɳhā'k!^{u}tîts I draw it up	*ɳhä'k!^{u}tîtsū* he draws me up
k!a'wat he pecks at it 20.14	*ɳk·e'wîtū* he pecks at me
kwaā'nīya he knows it 26.18	*kwee'nīyēm* they know it 24.22
pa'yat he shouted 32.1	L *pEī'tE* you must shout 32.2
tsxa^{u}- to kill	*tsxe'wE* kill him! 68.3

The following suffixes change the *e*-vowels of the stem into *a*-vowels:

-āmî, *-āîs* pronominal § 46
-āȳam distributive § 37
-anāya § 50

tcîne'henī he is thinking 24.13, 14	*e^{s}tcînahanā'mî* I am thinking of you
he'wes a lie	*e^{s}hawasanā'îs* you are lying to me
x·ne'et it is on top 10.1	*ɳx·naatā'ya* I am riding (a horse)
k!le'es black	*k!laā'ȳam* blackish (black here and there)
xä'nîs sick 42.18	*xā'nanā'ya* he made him feel sorry 42.18
pLpä'wîs hat 136.14	*pLpā'wîsanāya* he made a hat out of it

[NOTE.—The suffix *-anāya* is composed of *-enī* + *-āya*. The long *ā* of *-āya* affects the *e* of *-enī*, and the compound suffix changes the quality of the stem-vowel.]

Here may also belong the qualitative change of *yîxē$^{i'}$* ONE and *yû'xwä* TWO into *yîxahî'nа* ONE EACH and *yûxwahî'nа* TWO EACH (see p. 374), and changes like —

îs we'länī hanL we two fight will 116.11 (*wîl-* to fight)
qamelänī'we he commenced to swim around (*mîl-* to swim)

[Compare also the change of the possessive pronoun *lä*, *līye*, into *la*, *līya*, when preceding stems with *a*-vowels (see § 98).]

Progressive assimilation occurs very frequently, and affects almost all suffixes that have *e*-vowels. The following suffixes change their *e*-vowels under the influence of an *a*-vowel of the stem:

-e auxiliary §44
-enī verbal §45
-īye transitional §35
-etc adverbial §68
-īyawa nominal §62

nwî'tîne with blood it is (*wî-tîn* blood) 20.6

îl ntc!wä'le they with fire are (*tc!wä'l* fire) 42.12

hätct!enī'yeqem the story is being told (*hä'tcît!* story) 44.14, 15

îc hewese'nī you two are lying 28.13, 14 (*he'wes* lie)

qalîmī'ye morning it got 20.4 (*qalîm-* morning)

ā'yu îx·ī'ye surely a canoe it was (*îx·* canoe) 126.10

dɛmste'tc ɬhî'ñap through a prairie he went 22.11 (*dɛ'm-sît* prairie)

yîxä'wɛxetc ɬa into the house he went (*yîxä'wɛx* house) 28.10, 11

ɬa^{u} nk!ā'ha they with ropes are (*k!ā* rope) 46.9

nmî'ɬaqa with an arrow he is (*mî'-ɬaq* arrow) 20.18

îl qanatcanī'waq they began to make fun (*qa'natc* joke) 50.12

îɬ kwā'xaɬanī they are making bows (*kwā'xaɬ* a bow)

ẓhainahā'ya I active became (*hai'-na* active)

ẓdōwāyahā'ya I happened to want it (*dōwa-* to desire)

t^{ɛ}k!wî'l xā'^{a}patc he dove into the water (*xā'^{a}p* water) 26.27

ɬ!tā'atc tsxawī'yat on the ground he put it down (*ɬ!tā* earth, ground) 36.20, 21

The same progressive assimilation may have taken place in the change of the transitive suffix *-ē^{i}wat* into *-ō^{u}wat* (see p. 337) whenever suffixed to stems ending in *u*-diphthongs.

t^{ɛ}kwīɬɛ̄^{i}'wat he is following him 22.2

ẓtcîntcînē^{i}'wat I am thinking (of him)

ẓtsxaū'wat I kill him (*tsxa^{u}-* to kill) 26.22

e^{ɛ}wîɬō^{u}'wat you are looking for it (*wîɬ-* to look for something) 54.3

Another assimilatory process of this type is the change of the particle *îl* into *el* (*hel*) after a preceding *n* or *ɬ* (see p. 388).

lɛ'yī îl good, indeed 5.3

īn hel not so! 42.23

lɛ'yī yū'ɬel good it would be indeed 70.5

In spite of this great tendency towards euphony, numerous instances will be found showing an absolute lack of vocalic harmony. Whether these cases are the result of imperfect perception, due to the rapid flow of speech or to other causes, cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty.

§ 8. CONSONANTIZATION OF I- AND U- DIPHTHONGS

The *i* and *u* of diphthongs are always changed into the semi-vocalic consonants *y* and *w* when they are followed by another vowel.

The only exception to this rule occurs in cases where the diphthong is contracted with the following vowel (see § 9).

pɛnlō'wai whale 30.10	*pɛnlō'wayɛtc* a whale with 88.30
ûx tîla'qai they two are living 24.1	*he'laq lɛ mä tîla'qayetc* he came to the people (who) lived (there) 36.12, 13
t!^{E}cî'ta^{u} flint point	*nt!^{E}cî'ta^{u}we lɛ mî'laq* flint points have the arrows 62.27
lō^{u}- to eat	*lōwā'was* food 22.14
xwî'lûx^{u} head 30.14	*xl!ts xwî'luxwītc* she hit him over the head 66.5, 6
k^{u} perhaps + *îs* we two	*kwîs* let us two 26.15

§ 9. CONTRACTION

In Coos the contraction of two vowels immediately following each other is so uncertain that it is difficult to formulate any rule that would cover all irregularities. The main difficulty lies in the fact that contraction of vowels, and hiatus, seem constantly to interfere with each other. The following rules may be said to apply in all cases:

(1) Two vowels belonging to the *u*-series are contracted into a long *ū*.

xtcî'tcū + *ūl*	*xtcī'tcūl* how would (it be) 5.2
yîku + *ūl*	*yî'kūl* perhaps it would (be) 17.7

(2) Two long *ī*-vowels are contracted into a long *ī*.

hä'k!^{u}tī + *-īye*	*îl hä'k!^{u}tī'ye* they were drawn up 30.1
henī + *-īye*	*he'nīye* a while 42.17 (*he'nīhen* many times 88.1)

(3) Long *ē* or *ī* are contracted with a following *ā* into long *ā* or *ē*.

-enī + *-āya*	*-anāya* (see § 50)
plpä'wîsenī he is making a hat	*plpāwîsa'nāya* he is making a hat out of it
-nē^{i} + *-āwas*	*-nē^{i}was* (see § 59)

(4) Vowels of very short quantities are usually contracted with the following vowels of longer quantities, regardless of quality. The quality of the longer vowel predominates in such amalgamations. In the process of contraction, an *h* preceding the second vowel disappears.

c^{E} + *hanl*	*canl* a particle denoting certain expectation (see § 90)
tsî + *hanl*	*tsanl* only then shall . . . 78.15

An exception to this rule is found in the case of the *u*-vowels, which change a following *h* into a *w*.

yū + *he*	*yuwe'* whenever 16.6
tsō then	*tsowe'* as soon as 52.14

An interesting case of contraction is presented by the amalgamation of the personal pronouns and the negative particle *īn*.

n̥ I + *īn* NOT is contracted into *nī*.
*e*ᵋ THOU + *īn* NOT is contracted into *ẽn*.
xwîn WE TWO + *īn* NOT is contracted into *xwîⁱn*.
łîn WE + *īn* NOT is contracted into *łîⁱn*.
cîn YOU + *īn* NOT is contracted into *cîⁱn*.

nī tcītc laᵘ tsxaū'wat not I how that one (to) kill it 62.21
ẽn hanL dīⁱł you not will (be) something 10.5
xwîⁱn kwaā'nīya we two not know it 120.23
łîⁱn canL xtcītc sqats we (can) not seize her 56.18
cîⁱn k·ełłēⁱ'wat you not forget it 40.18

Following are examples of uncontracted negative forms:

ûx īn kwaā'nīya they two (did) not know it 22.9, 10
îł īn k·îłō'wît they (did) not see it 32.3

§ 10. HIATUS

The same uncertainty that exists in the case of contraction of vowels is found in the law of hiatus. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the coming-together of two vowels of like quantities and qualities is avoided by means of infixing a weak *h* between them. Two vowels of dissimilar quantities and qualities are kept apart by means of the accent.

Examples of insertion of *h*:

kwaā'nīya + *-āya*	*kwaā'nīyahā'ya* (they) came to know it 102.29
n̥'ne + *-īye*	*n̥nehī'ye* I came to be (the one)
sīL'nēⁱ + *-īye*	*sīL'nēhī'ye* joined together it became 13.4
ts!xa + *-a*	*nts!xa'ha lE kwā'xaL* (covered) with skin is the bow 62.27, 28
hūᵘmä'k·e + *-e*	*ûx nhūᵘmä'k·ehe* they two with wives are 42.15
helmī + *-îs*	*helmī'hîs* next day 6.7

Examples of division by means of accent:

lE+-îtc	*xle'îtc ʟ!äts* with it he spoke 16.2
ʟ!tā +-atc	*ʟ!tā'atc lemī'yat* into the ground he stuck it 64.1

§ 11. PROCESSES DUE TO CHANGE FROM TERMINAL TO MEDIAL POSITION

Terminal consonantic clusters are avoided by inserting a weak vowel between two consonants standing in final position (see § 4). But as soon as a suffix is added to a stem thus expanded, changing the cluster from a terminal to medial position, the inserted vowel is dropped, and the consonants are combined into a cluster.

mî'ɬax lunch 28.15	*mîɬxa'nEm* lunch make me 114.5
dE'msît prairie 22.12	*dEmste'tc ʟhî'nap* to the prairie he came 22.11
ʟhî'nap he went through 22.11	*ûx ʟhînpī'ye* they two came through 112.1
a'lqas fear 66.4	*ûx alqsā'ya* they two are afraid of it 7.5
hä'tcît! story 20.2	*hätct!enī'yeqEm* a story is being told 44.14, 15
tcî'ɬats he was astonished 22.28	*tcî'ɬts^{E}xem* he was astonished 128. 15
kwā'xaʟ bow 60.14	*ûx nkwā'xɬa* they two have bows 12.9
mî'ɬat he swam 30.7	*mî'ɬt^{E}qEm* he swam (out) 100.16

On the whole, Coos shows a marked tendency toward clustering of consonants in medial position. Thus, when a suffix beginning with a long vowel is added to a stem that has already been amplified by means of a suffix whose initial vowel is weak, the vowel of the first suffix is dropped, and its consonants are combined with the final consonants of the stem into a cluster.

hä'ʟätc elder brother 72.27	*häʟtcī'yas* elder brothers
e'k^{u}ʟätc father 20.25	*ek^{u}ʟtcī'yas* fathers
la'^{x}ʟîs mud 52.10	*x^{i}lʟsa'Etc* with mud 52.13
ŋhū$^{w'}$mîsîts I marry her	*hū^{u}mîstsō$^{w'}$wat* he married 26.14

This change from a terminal to a medial position effects sometimes the dropping of a whole syllable.

mîʟkwī'yätc younger brother 72.1	*îɬ mîʟkwī'tcînī* they are younger brothers (mutually) 84.20

îluwe'ˣtcîs heart 5.3

îlū'tcîsītc lō'qᵘtats in his heart she was boiling 108.27

pīī'yat he took him home 30.13

xwîn eᶜpīītā'mî hanʟ we two thee take home will 126.19, 20

Another effect due to this law is the weakening of the vowel of the syllable immediately preceding the suffix. This change takes place regularly when two or more suffixes have been added to one and the same stem.

ʟhînptsō'wat he takes him through

ŋʟhînptsō'wîtū he takes me through

hūᵘmîstsō'wat he is marrying them 26.14

eᶜhūᵘmîstsōwîtā'mî hanʟ I marry thee will 184.6

Consonantic Processes (§§ *12–14*)

§ 12. TYPES OF CONSONANTIC PROCESSES

Consonantic changes are few in number, and due to contact phenomena. The following are the processes affecting consonants:

(1) Consonantic euphony.

(2) Simplification of doubled consonants.

§ 13. CONSONANTIC EUPHONY

This law affects the palatal sounds only, and results from a strong tendency, inherent in the language, to assimilate, whenever possible, the consonants of the *k*-series to the character of the preceding or following vowels. As a consequence of this tendency, *i*-vowels are invariably followed or preceded by the anterior palatals, while *u*-vowels change a following palatal into a *k*-sound with a *u*-tinge (a labialized *k*).

lā'nîk· river 14.6

wîx·ī'lîs food 14.7

tahā'lîk· quiver 66.26

x·nek· hair 50.3

g·îmg·î'mîs rain

tsä'yuxᵘ small 20.5

mā'lukᵘ paint 10.2

xwî'lux̌ᵘ head 30.14

mēlä'kukᵘ salmon heart 34.25

gōᵘs all 9.3

Instances are not lacking where actual palatalization has taken place, or where an anterior *k·* has been changed into a palatal *k* so as to conform to the character of the vowel following it.

k!a'lat he shouted 36.7

qak·elenī'we û mēn they began to shout 24.22

k!a'wat he pecks at it 20.9

k·!e'wîtēm some one is pecking

ha'kat he crawled 32.12
xha'k·îtc crawlingly 32.10
tka'lmîts he sinks it
t^{E}k·e'lmîxEm (a) deep place 84.24
k·!xa'ye'es he is talking to him 30.23
k·!xe'Em ye'es talk to me

pkāk· grandfather 28.19
pkā'katc grandfather 30.6
tahā'lîk· quiver 66.26
tahā'lîkatc into the quiver 116.19
ax·ī'axatc uncle
axā'x· uncle 34.9
k^{u}mā'x· horn 86.25
nk^{u}mā'xa it has a horn 88.7

The only cases of consonantic assimilation that occur in Coos are the changes of sonants into surds, under the influence of a following surd.

ya'bas maggots 40.12
xya'bas yaptî'tsa lä . . . maggots ate up his . . . (literally, maggoted his . . .) 40.6
bîsk·e'tc yî'xumx he had it (the water) in a cup 128.25
p^{E}sî'k· ā'tsem a cup give me 68.17

§ 14. SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLED CONSONANTS

Doubled consonants are simplified in consequence of the tendency to avoid the clustering of too many consonants. The process consists in the simplification of a long (doubled) consonant, when followed by another consonant. Owing to the fact that only *l*, *m*, *n*, and *y* appear in doubled (long) quantities, they are the only consonants that are affected by this law.

mîlat he swam 30.7
mî'lt^{E}qEm he swam (out) 100.16
tcî'lats he was astonished 22.28
tcî'lts^{E}xEm he was astonished 128.15
ɬhî'nap he went through 22.11
ɬhînptsō^{u}'wat he took him through
nmä'henet it is (crowded) with people 20.1
xmä'hentītc like a person 30.22, 23

§ 15. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

All grammatical categories and syntactic relations in Coos are expressed by means of one of the five following processes:

(1) Prefixation.
(2) Suffixation.
(3) Reduplication.
(4) Syntactic particles.
(5) Phonetic changes.

The number of prefixes is very small, and by far the majority of grammatical ideas are expressed by means of suffixes and syntactic particles. Reduplication, although frequently resorted to, is used to express only a limited number of categories; while the phonetic changes are very rare, and exhibit a decidedly petrified character.

§ 16. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

All stems seem to be neutral, and their nominal or verbal character depends chiefly upon the suffixes with which they are used. Consequently two different suffixes — one of a verbal and the other of a nominal character — may be added to the same stem, nominalizing or verbalizing it, according to the requirements of the occasion. In the following pages a distinction is made between verbal and nominal stems, which is based solely upon the sense in which the stem is used.

All prefixes express ideas of an adverbial character.

By far the majority of verbal suffixes indicate ideas of action and such concepts as involve a change of the subject or object of the verb. Hence ideas indicating causation, reciprocity, reflexive action, the passive voice, the imperative, etc., are expressed by means of suffixes. The pronouns denoting both subject and object of an action are indicated by suffixes. Only semi-temporal ideas, such as the inchoative, frequentative, and transitional stages, are expressed by means of suffixes; while the true temporal concepts are indicated by syntactic particles. Instrumentality and agency are also indicated by suffixes.

All local relations are expressed by nominal suffixes. Abstract concepts are formed by means of suffixes.

Ideas of plurality are very little developed, and, with the exception of a few suffixes, are expressed by different verbal and nominal stems. Distributive plurality occurs very often, especially in the verb, and is indicated by suffixes or by reduplication. Reduplication expresses, furthermore, continuation, duration, and repetition of action.

A great variety of concepts are expressed by syntactic particles, especially ideas relating to emotional states and to degrees of certainty.

In the pronoun, three persons, and a singular, dual, and plural, are distinguished. Grammatical gender does not exist. The first person dual has two distinct forms,— one indicating the inclusive (I AND THOU) and the other the exclusive (I AND HE).

The demonstrative pronoun shows a variety of forms, but does not distinguish sharply between nearness or remoteness in relation to the three pronominal persons.

The numeral is very well developed, exhibiting special forms for the ordinal, multiplicative, and the distributive, which are indicated by means of suffixes.

The syntactic structure of the Coos sentence is very simple, and is characterized by the facility with which the different parts of speech may shift their position without changing in the least the meaning of the sentence. Incorporation and compound words are entirely absent, and the various parts of speech are easily recognizable through their suffixes.

MORPHOLOGY (§§ 17–95)

Prefixes (§§ 17–24)

The number of prefixes is small. Three of the six prefixes found in this language — namely, the local, discriminative, and modal *x-* — must have originally expressed one general idea incorporating these three concepts, because the phonetic resemblance between these suffixes is too perfect to be a mere coincidence. In addition to these prefixes, the article and the personal pronouns may be treated in this chapter, as they are loosely prefixed to the nominal (or verbal) stems, and in a great many cases form a phonetic unit with the words that follow them.

§ 17. *The Articles* lE *and* hE

The article *lE*, or *hE*, is used in the singular and plural alike, and may denote a definite or indefinite object. The definite article indicates an object that actually exists or that is intimately known to the speaker. No fixed rules can be given for the occurrence of the two different forms *lE* and *hE*, but the following general principle may be said to hold good: *hE* tends to occur at the beginning of a sentence and after words ending in vowels, dentals, and sibilants; while *lE* occurs in all other cases.

hE hatā'yîms (1) *mîx·sō'wē'* (2) *k!a'wat* (3) *hE to'qmas* (4) the woodpecker (4) is pecking at (3) the lucky (2) money (1) 20.15

hî'nī stō^{u}q lE dī'lōl there stood the young man 22.27

wändj tcîne'henī hE dī'lōl thus was thinking the young man 24.13, 14

e'nek· lE L!tā sticking out was the earth 6.7

The article very often performs the function of the personal pronoun of the third person singular, and in such cases is to be rendered by HE, SHE, or IT.

he'ît lE he'laq lE wî'nqas û temî'snätc (in order) to gamble he arrived, the spider's grandson 66.20, 21
hE tsū'tsū he was killed 96.14

The article has a general nominalizing function, and when prefixed to adverbs, adjectives, etc., gives them the force of nouns.

hE gō^{u}s dī^{i}l k·yEaî's tsxawī'yat everything separately he put down 48.18, 19
gō^{u}s dī^{i}l łaî'^{x}·tset hEx kwî'na^{u}tc (of) everything was started the appearance (i. e., everything began to have its present appearance) 12.7
hE qa'ɪtEs the length
mā îl lE ehe'ntc mä γā'lanī surely, (whatever) the far-off people were talking 66.13
la^{u} he'îl kwî'leL lE e^{ɛ}k·î'lō^{u}ts that (was) their sweat-house, which you found 62.25
ɣ'ne ītE lE e^{ɛ}dōwāyExtā'îs qa^{u}'wa I am the one whom you wanted last night 50.25, 26

In some instances the article is prefixed to the personal pronoun of the third person singular for the sake of emphasis.

ta lE'xä la^{u} qats î'nīEx and he, he was just alone 68.2
ta lE î'łxä la^{u} pEnLō'wai îl lōwē^{i}'wat and they, they whale are eating 130.13

It is also prefixed for the same purpose to the demonstrative pronoun *la^{u}*.

lEla^{u} qaL!āxex·ī'we these began to flop around 17.6
qantc lEla^{u} łaā'ȳam wherever these went 22.17, 18

In certain local phrases the article prefixed to the whole and followed by the local term very often expresses local relation.

hE dE'msît ntce^{ɛ}ne'nîs ha^{u} tîl^{E}qtsū at the edge (of) the prairie they sat down 22.15
hE tskwa'^{x}ɪîs nhaL! stō'waq at the lower part (of) the fir-tree he stood up 26.17

(For the article as a possessive prefix, see § 98.)

§ 18. *The Personal Pronouns*

The following are the personal pronouns in Coos:

Singular	1st person	*n̥-*
	2d person	*eᵋ-*
	3d person	—
Dual	Inclusive	*îs-*
	Exclusive	*xwîn-*
	2d person	*îc-*
	3d person	*ûx-*
Plural	1st person	*lîn-*
	2d person	*cîn-*
	3d person	*îl-*

There is no special form for the third person singular, which is expressed by the mere stem or by the article.

he'm̄îs dīⁱł n̥k·îłō'wît big something I saw 62.21
tsî eᵋqa'qał merely you are sleeping 68.19
ā'yu tō'hîts indeed! he hit it 13.3
îs alî'canī hanL we (two) will play 38.11
mä xwîn wutxaī'yat a man we (two) brought home 128.8
tsō îc lE'γī now you two (are) well 120.20
ā'yu ûx LEãn surely they two went down into the water 54.16
łîn pī'ˣ·pī hanL we will go home 120.21
cîn sqats hanL tE tc!wäł you will seize that fire 40.18, 19
asō' tcī îł wu'txe again here they returned 30.5

The second persons dual and plural for the imperative form of intransitive verbs are *îceᵋ* and *cîneᵋ* respectively, instead of *îc* and *cîn*.

îceᵋ stōᵘq you two stand up! 120.15
tsî'x·tī îceᵋ djī here you two come! 82.13
cîneᵋ Lōᵘq you get up! 30.19

But compare—

îc hemī'yE you two lay him bare! 24.10
tēⁱ îc q!mî'tsE this you two eat! 120.16
tcī cîn L!eī'yE ten̥ k·e'ła there you put this my hand! 80.19

The pronoun of the third person plural (*îł*) very often precedes the article or the possessive pronoun of the third person singular in order to emphasize the idea of plurality.

gōᵘs dīⁱł laᵘ tc!lēⁱ'wat, îł lE mēlä'kukᵘ, îł lE ptsä, îł lE mî'lᵘxas everything he is drying,—the salmon hearts, the gills, the tails 34.25, 26

xle'îtc lîplī'yap lä ä, îl lä k·e'la, îl la kxla with it she painted their faces, their hands, their feet 122.7

The numerical particle *ī'k·ī* BOTH very often precedes the dual pronouns in order to emphasize the idea of duality.

tsō ī'k·ī qaxa'ntc ûx·x·î'ntset now both (of them) got on top 14.1

In the same way the particle *gō^{u}s* ALL is placed before the plural forms in order to bring out the idea of plurality.

la^{u} gō^{u}s wändj îl L!ä'xEm these all that way are talking 50.9, 10

As has been remarked before, the pronouns are loosely prefixed enclitics. They form no integral part of the word, although with a few exceptions they precede immediately the noun or verb to which they belong. They are always placed before the prefixes enumerated in §§ 19–24.

ī'k·ī ûx nkwā'xLa both of these have bows (literally, both they two [are] with bows) 12.9
tsō ŋqaLōwī'we now I commence to eat
îc xqantcū'wîs you two from what place (are)? 126.14
îl k·!äxā'^{a}p they have no water (literally, they [are] without water) 38.2

The personal pronouns are contracted with the negative particle *īn* into *nī* I NOT, *ēn* THOU NOT, etc. (see § 9). The prefixed personal pronouns are also used in the formation of transitive subject and object pronouns (see § 46).

§ 19. *Inchoative* qa-

This prefix denotes the commencement of an action. The verb to which it is prefixed takes, with a few exceptions, the suffixes *-īwe* or *-īye* (see §§ 32, 35).

ā'ȳu qaLōwī'we indeed (she) commenced to eat 24.11
qatcînehenī'we (he) began to think 20.7
ûx qaweläni'we they two commenced to fight
tsō ûx qayuwatī'ye now they two commenced to travel 12.6
qamîlī'ye (he) commenced to swim 30.3

When prefixed to an impersonal verb or to a noun with a verbal force, the suffix is omitted.

lä L!ahā'was la^{u} qa'xtō^{u} her garments (these) commenced to get stiff 110.3
ŋayîxumatā'îs (he) commenced to travel around (literally, [he] commenced the traveling) 32.10

§ 20. *Privative* k·!ä-

It has the same function as the English suffix -LESS. With the possessive pronoun, it expresses ABSENCE (p. 399).

îł k·!ätc!wä'ł they (have) no fire 38.1
k·!ä'tetc mî'l̄at (she) swam around naked (lit., without clothes) 86.1
k·!ähuwā'was mîtsīⁱltī'ye suddenly she became pregnant (literally, without delay she became pregnant) 10.7

§ 21. *Adverbial* n-

This prefix may be rendered by IN, AT, TO, ON, WITH. When preceded by the article or those pronouns that end in a vowel, it is suffixed to them, and the unit thus obtained is loosely prefixed to the noun. The same rule applies to the discriminative and modal *x*-.

aî'wît lE mä nL!tā'yas he killed (all) the people in the village 112.9, 10
ā'yu yu'kwe län yîxä'wEx surely he came ashore at his house (and not *lä nyîxä'wEx*) 36.6
LOwî'tat hE dī'lōł läł nmī'k·e ran the young man to that basket 28.27
nxala'wîs laᵘ he'l̄aq with heat she arrived 24.9

n- in the sense of WITH very often exercises the function of our auxiliary verb TO HAVE, TO BE. In such cases the noun to which it is prefixed takes the verbal suffix *-e* or *-a* (see § 44).

nwî'tîne lä kᵘhä'yeq his excrements are bloody (literally, with blood [are] his excrements) 20.6, 7
îs nhūmä'k·ehe we two have wives (literally, we two with wives are) 10.9
nāᵃnt mä laᵘ tc!pā'ȳaᵘ nk!ā'ha many people have braided ropes (literally, many people those braided with ropes are) 46.8, 9
ntc!a'ha dīⁱł animals (lit., with "walkers" something [that is]) 46.1

§ 22. *Locative* x-

The prefix *x*- signifies FROM.

xqantc laᵘ sī'ˣ·tᴱtsa from where that one scented it 22.24
xqał tqanLts from below he strikes it 28.1

When prefixed to nouns, the nouns usually take the adverbial suffix *-ēⁱtc* IN (see § 67).

xkwîl̄e'Lēⁱtc n̥djī I came from the sweat-house (literally, from in the sweat-house I came)

In some cases the nouns take, instead of the suffix *-ē^{i}tc*, the adverbial prefix *n-* (see § 21).

ha'lkwît hE k!ā häx nk!wî'nts he took the rope off his neck 98.23 (literally, he took off the rope his from on neck)

§ 23. *Discriminative* x-

The prefix *x-* occurs very often with the subject of transitive verbs, and denotes the performer of the action. (For *x-* preceded by the article or pronoun, see § 21.)

kā^{a}s tō'hîts hEx dī'lōł almost hit it the young man 20.20, 21
kwî'la^{u} ha^{w}'^{x}ts lEx mîtcL'tsînätc ice made the father-in-law 26.27,28
xyî'xē^{i} dä'mił la^{u} ha'lqait one man to him came 15.5
īn kwaā'nīya lEx wî'nqas hū^{w}mîk· not knew it the Spider-Old-Woman 58.9, 10

x- is always prefixed to the subject of the sentence when the sentence contains both subject and object, or when the person spoken to may be in doubt as to which noun is the subject of the sentence.

hū^{u}mîstsō^{w}'wat lEx dī'lōł lE yû'xwä hū^{u}mä'k·e married the young man the two women 26.14
k·îłō'wît hE wîx·ī'lîs lEx hū^{w}mîs saw the food the woman 64.16, 17
k·îłō'wît lEx dä'mîl lE xä'nîs saw the husband the sick (man) 128.11, 12
sqa'ts häł hū^{w}mîk· lEx swat seized that old woman grizzly bear 102.21, 22

x- is never omitted as a prefix when the subject of the sentence is an animal, an inanimate object, or any part of speech other than a noun.

xcx·îmł ŋk·îłō'wîtū the bear saw me (but *cx·îmł ŋk·îłō'wît* I saw the bear)
xya'bas yaptî'tsa lä pî'lîk·îs maggots ate up his anus 40.6, 7
ak'a'nak· he'^{i}lta hEx x·ōwā'yas sticking out is (the) tongue the snake 42.1, 2
xqaine'Es kā^{a}s tsxaū'wat cold (weather) nearly killed him 32.7
xwît ŋtō'hîtsū some one hit me
nī kwaā'nīya xwît I don't know who (it is)
xî'nīEx x·L!ō'wît LōpÎ'tetc alone (they) got into (the) basket 34.19, 20
xlala^{u} łō^{uz}tā'ya that is the one (who) watched it 94.6

īn lɛ'γī xkwî'na^{u}tc it does not look good (literally, not good [the manner of] looking 34.18

xnā^{a}nt la^{u} LŌ^{ux}LŌ^{w}'wax many (persons) her were clubbing 80.4, 5

x- is always prefixed to the vocative cases of nouns when they are used with the possessive pronouns. This is due to the desire on the part of the speaker to avoid ambiguity or obscurity of meaning.

tā'ī NEX *hū^{w}'mîs* halloo, my wife! 54.2

^{ɛ}djī NEX *dä'mîl* you come, my husband! 70.16

^{ɛ}lō^{ux}tīγEXtā'îs hanL NEX *cī't!ā* you shall take care of me, oh, my pet! 86.20.21

^{ɛ}djī NEX *temä'mîs* you come, my grandsons 82.12, 13

^{ɛ}LŌ^{u}k^{u} NEX *k!ō'la* sit down, my father

While the vocative cases (especially for nouns expressing terms of relationship) have special forms, the omission of the discriminative prefix could nevertheless obscure the meaning of the sentence, as the possessive pronoun coincides with the form for the personal pronoun. Thus, if in the sentence *^{ɛ}LŌ^{u}k^{u}* NEX *k!ō'la*, the NEX *k!ō'la* were deprived of its discriminative prefix, it might mean YOU SIT DOWN. I (AM THE) FATHER. Since, however, the action is to be performed by the person addressed (in this particular instance, "the father"), it is discriminated by the prefix *x-*. Such an ambiguity can not occur in sentences where the vocative is used without the possessive pronoun, where the prefix is consequently omitted.

^{ɛ}LŌ^{u}k^{u} pkā'k· you sit down, grandfather! 108.14

mîlxa'nEm L *ū'mā* make me (necessarily) lunch, grandmother! 114.5

§ 24. *Modal and Instrumental* x-

This prefix may be best translated by IN THE MANNER OF. Its function is the same as that of our English suffix -LY. There is an etymological relation between this suffix and the discriminative and locative *x-*, although I was unable to ascertain its exact nature. The suffix *-tc* is frequently added to stems preceded by the modal prefix *-x* (see § 36).

xLōwe'entc k!wî'nts entirely he swallowed her 102.23

xtcī'tcū ^{ɛ}xa'lal how are you? (literally, in what way you do?) 36.13

LŌwe'entc *lowî'tat* all (seals) ran (into the water) 56.9, 10

tcī'tcū yɛ^{ɛ} îluwe'^{z}tcîs what do you think? (literally, what your heart?) 6.9; 7.1

xqa'lyeqē^{i}tc îl kwîna'ē^{i}wat as salmon they look upon it (literally, in the manner of salmon they see it [*qa'lyeq* salmon]) 130.14

xpīye'etc qalnuwänī'we backwards she commenced to pull them (literally, in the manner of going home [*pī'^{x}pī* he goes home]) 80.8, 9

īn xā'yuwītc ā'tsa a small amount she gave her (literally, not in the manner of enough [*ā'yu* sure enough]) 64.21

ŋ̣ā'wîts hɛx t!^{E}cî'tc I finished shoving (literally, I finished in the manner of . . .)

This prefix is used frequently to express the idea of instrumentality. The noun is then usually followed by the adverbial suffix *-ɛtc* (see § 70). The idea of instrumentality is here so closely interwoven with that of modality, that the instrumental use of a modal prefix is very natural.

k!wînt xmî'laqɛtc he shot at him with an arrow (literally, he shot at him in the manner of an arrow) 22.16

paā'hīt hɛ lō'pît xqa'lyeqɛtc full (was) the basket with salmon 36.1

lɛx tsŋ̣na'hɛtc l!'ä'ts with the thunder language he spoke 18.9

xmīk·e'ɛtc tōwîtînī'ye by means of a basket he was dropped down 28.9, 10

Suffixes (§§ 25–80)

§ 25. *General Remarks*

The number of suffixes in Coos is quite small when contrasted with the numerous suffixes found in some of the neighboring languages. This number appears even smaller when we take into consideration the compound suffixes that consist of two, and in some cases of three, independent suffixes. A still more sweeping reduction may be obtained through an etymological comparison between the different suffixes. There can be little doubt that if the language, in its present status, would lend itself to an etymological analysis, many suffixes, apparently different in character and even in form, could be shown to be derived from one common base. Thus it is safe to say that the suffix *-t* primarily had a general verbal character, and that all the other suffixes ending in *-t* are derived from this original form. This assertion is substantiated by the fact that the present transitive suffix *-ts* is added to a number of stems that have already been verbalized by the general verbal *-t* suffix, and that the causative passive suffix *-et* is always preceded by the transitive *-t* or *-ts* (see § 26).

In the same manner it may be said that *-s* was the general suffix indicating nouns, and that all nominal suffixes ending in *-s* eventually go back to this nominal suffix.

This theory of a close etymological connection between the different suffixes is practically proven by a comparison of the various adverbial suffixes ending in *-tc*. Such a comparison will show that all these suffixes must have been derived from one universal form, which may be reconstructed as **tc*. Furthermore, all the suffixes expressing distribution have the element *n-* in common, which consequently may be regarded as the original suffix conveying the idea of distributive plurality; the more so, as in the following instances *n-* actually denotes distribution.

k·e'ła hand 48.17	*k·e'łnatc łtō^{w}'x·îts* he rubbed her in his hands (literally, with each of his hands he rubbed her) 108.20, 21
djī it came 52.8	*łE djî'nīt* they came (singly) 52.17
k·tsas ashes	*k·îtsî'snEtc łēpî'tît tet* with ashes he marked himself [all over] 28.16
cîne^{ε} tî'k·E you stand! 122.10	*tsEL'nē^{i} ûx tî'kîne* side by side they two were standing 62.22

There also seems to be an etymological connection between the suffix denoting neutral verbs and the suffixes expressing the passive voice, although in this case the relation is not as transparent as in the instances mentioned above; and there may have also existed an original relation between the verbal suffixes that end in *-ū*.

The following list will serve to illustrate better the theory set forth in the preceding pages. The forms marked with an asterisk (*) represent the reconstructed original suffixes, while the other forms indicate the suffixes as they appear to-day.

VERBAL SUFFIXES

**-t* general verbal	*-nē^{i}, -nī* distributive
**-t* transitive	*-änī* distributive
-ts transitive	*-înī* distributive
-eet causative passive	*-hînā* distributive
-et causative passive	**-u* modal (?)
-ī, ē^{i} neutral	*-u* transitional
-āyu, -ē^{i}yu, -īyu passive	*-ū* present passive
-āȳa^{u} passive participle	*-ū* transitive subject and object pronoun
-īyawa (?) agency	
**-n* general distributive	*-ū* reflexive plural

NOMINAL SUFFIXES

*-*s* general nominal	*-*tc* general adverbial
-*îs* nominal	-*tc* modal verbal
-*ES*, -*tES* abstract	-*ätc* (?) suffix of relationship
-*enîs* abstract	-*etc* local
-*āwas* abstract	-*ē*^{i}*tc*, -*ītc* local and modal nominal
-*nē*^{i}*was* abstract	-*ewîtc* local
-*ō*^{u}*nîs* verbal noun	-*Etc* instrumental
-*sī* verbal noun	
-*îs* local	
-*îs* ordinal	

All suffixes may be classified into two large groups as verbal and nominal suffixes; that is to say, as suffixes that either verbalize or nominalize a given neutral stem. I have included adverbial suffixes in the latter group, on account of the intimate relation between nominal and adverbial forms.

Verbal Suffixes (§§ 26–55)

TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 26–27)

§ 26. Transitive *-t*, *-ts*

-t. This suffix may have been originally the verbal suffix *par excellence*. It points out not only the active, transitive idea, but also presence of the object of a transitive action. It has frequently a causative meaning. It transforms impersonal or passive verbs into transitives, and verbalizes any other part of speech. It is usually suffixed to the bare verbal stems whenever these end in a vowel, nasal (*m*, *n*), or lateral; in all other cases it is preceded by *a* or *î*, making the suffix -*at* or -*ît*. No phonetic rule has been discovered that will show when -*at* or -*ît* ought to be used. It may, however, be suggested that -*at* denotes transitive actions not yet completed, while -*ît* designates a finished, transitive action. These connectives disappear when other suffixes are added to the transitive -*t*.

n̥p^{E}*cî't* I blow it away	*p*^{E}*cī hE dī'lōł* blew away the young man 26.21
n̥k!$^{u'x}$*wît* I lose it	*k!u*^{x}*wī' le'ûx dä'mîł* got lost their (dual) husband 22.9
n̥x·pît I burned it	*x·pī* it burned down 58.12
n̥qa'ltcît I slacken it	*xqe*^{i}*ltc* slowly 17.7
tcī L!kwît läł hū^{u}*mî'k·ca* there covered (them) that old woman (with blankets) 82.14	*L!kwī* blanket 84.8

§ 26

xā'ᵃpatc ʟōwa'*hait* into the water she runs 56.8
eᵉlō'kwît hanɪawe you will make lightning 18.7
laᵘ qanō'tca l'nuwît ʟᴇ *ā'la* that one outside (it) pulled, the child 11.1, 2
îl ŋγa'alt I am talking about them
ʟōwa'*hai* ʟᴇ *dī'lōl* ran the young man 78.27
lō'wakᵘ lightning 18.5
l'nuwī very much 98.28
wändj γā'lanī thus they are talking 56.18

qamłt he bit her 100.16
yî'xen ʟ!*x·ī'ⁱnt* once she examined it 86.18
k!wāᵃnt he heard it 24.8
ŋʟ!nōᵘt ʜᴇ *tc!î'lᴇ* I opened the door 74.9
qai'cītc haᵘ îl yū'wîlt into small pieces that thing they divided it 130.26
ŋha'mʟt I float it

mu'xwît la kœla she felt for her foot 80.21
ŋtc!pît I braided a rope
wî'luwît ʜᴇ tsᴇtse'*kwîn* he looked for the cane 28.18
ŋmu'xwat I am feeling it
ŋtc!pat I am braiding a rope
ŋwî'lat I am looking (around)

aᵘ'qat ʜᴇ *k!ᵘlā'was* he took off the shirt 78.11, 12

There are a few stems denoting intransitive ideas that occur with this suffix.

pî'nat ʟᴇ *we'hel* shaking was the stomach 58.24
kwîlāt (the bow) was bent 64.3

-ts. This suffix has the same function as the previously discussed *-t*. Not the slightest difference could be detected in the use of these two phonetically different suffixes.

-ts is either suffixed directly to stems ending in a vowel, nasal (*m*, *n*), or a lateral, or it is connected with the stem by means of *a* or *î*. The only phonetic law that I was able to observe in reference to the two connecting vowels, is that *î* can never serve as a connective between the suffix *-ts* and a verbal stem ending in the velar surd *q*.

ŋtsōᵂ'ˣʟts I greased it
ŋqaî'nts I cool it
ŋxaî'lts I made him warm
ŋhā'wîts ʟᴇ *tcîcī'mîl* I grew the spruce-tree
ʟ!*k·îts* she poured it 102.12
ŋpōᵂ'kwîts I made him a slave
tsōwe'ˣʟ grease 122.6
ŋqaî'na I am cold
xaî'la she became heated 108.26
hä'wī ʜᴇ *tcîcī'mîl* (it) grew up, the spruce-tree
ʟ!*k·ī'* it spilled 172.14
pōᵂ'kwîs slave

ŋhū^{w}mîsîts I marry (her)	*hū^{w}mîs* woman 70.3
tc!wä'łetc tsī'x·îts in the fire he held him down 106.5	*tsîx·* here 106.8
īn î'lxats not he looked at it 40.17	*tsō $e^{ɛ}$îlx* now you look 17.3
ûx łą'ats lɛ hū^{u}mä'k·e they two went over (the water) the women 128.4	*łą* he went (intransitive) 22.18
ŋp.!ī'xats I scatter it	*gō^{u}s qantc la^{u} p.!ī'yɛx* everywhere it is scattered 46.16
pōkwî'lnē^{i} tî'lqats opposite one another he set them down 112.12	*îł tîła'qai* they were living (literally, sitting) 84.20
ŋłta'ts I am painting it	*ŋłtî'ts* I painted it

There are a few stems that, in spite of this transitive suffix, are sometimes translated as intransitive verbs.

īn ʟōwa'kats she was not home (literally, not she was sitting) (*ʟō^{u}k^{u}-* to sit [down]) 58.7

kat'ɛ'mîs qa'lyeq la'ats län ʟō'pît five salmon got into his basket 34.23 (but *k.!ā hanʟ ye^{ɛ}n k.!wî'nts ŋła'ats* a rope I'll put around thy neck 94.12)

pā^{a}ts tɛ q^{ɛ}ma'tîs full (is) that fish-basket 36.7 (but *pā^{a}ts lɛ yîxä'wɛx lɛx tc!lā'ȳa^{u} qa'lyeqɛtc* he filled the house with dried salmon 36.3, 4)

gō^{u}s mî'lätc he qa'ya^{u}ts he always becomes afraid (of it) 126.1

That the transitive *-t* was originally a general verbal suffix, may best be demonstrated by the circumstance that in a number of instances neutral stems are verbalized by means of the suffix *-ts*, after they had previously been changed into verbs by means of the *-t* suffix. This double verbalization may be explained as due to the fact that the verbal function of the *-t* suffix was so conventionalized that it had become entirely forgotten.

mu'xwît she felt for it 80.21	*$e^{ɛ}$muxtîtsā'mî han* I want to feel of you 108.18
ŋyû'xwît I rub it	*îł yû'xtîts he'îltet* they rub themselves 52.13
ûx īn nî'x·îtēm those two no one touched 122.25	*nî'x·tîts* he touched him 106.20
ŋha'k.!wat I draw it up	*ŋha'k.!^{u}tîts* I draw it up
lî'cat hɛ ʟ!tā shaking is the earth 16.2	*ŋlî'ctîts* I shake it

§ 27. Causative *-iyat*

This suffix is always added to the bare stem of intransitive or neutral verbs. Stems ending in the palatal surd *k* or palatal spirant *x* palatalize these final consonants (see § 13).

ā'yu pīī'yat häl tō'mîL indeed, he took home that old man 30.13	*pī'ˣ·pī* he went home 56.11
L!tā'atc tsxawī'yat on the ground he laid (them) down 36.20, 21	*tsxū* he lies 20.12
ŋkwîlī'yat tE k!wä'sîs I roll that ball	*kwîlᴱlä'nī lE baltī'mîs* continually rolling is the ocean 6.2
ā'yu L!tcī'yat hE ā'la surely he took out the child 12.1	*L!ē'itc* he went out 20.4
dīᵘl ŋlaī'yat something I start	*la* he went 22.18
lîn helaqaī'yat we took him up	*helāq* he climbed up 13.10

There is practically no difference between this causative suffix and the transitive *-ts*, except for the fact that *-ts* seems to be regularly suffixed to stems ending in velar or palatal consonants. There is only one verbal stem ending in a velar surd (*q*) that takes the causative suffix *-īyat;* namely, the stem *helāq-* TO CLIMB. This stem infixes an *a* between its final consonant and the causative suffix, as shown by the last example above.

The reason why the causative *-īyat* is suffixed to this stem, and not the transitive *-ts*, may lie in the fact that there are two stems *helaq-* differentiated by accent only (see § 5); namely, *he'laq* TO ARRIVE, and *helāq* TO CLIMB UP.

Since the transitive *-ts* has been suffixed to *he'laq* TO ARRIVE (compare *hatāyîms halqtsō'wat* SHE BROUGHT THE MONEY 78.13, 14), the causative *-īyat* may have been suffixed to *helāq* TO CLIMB because confusion is thus avoided.

When followed by the pronominal suffixes, *-īyat* is contracted with them into *-ītā'mî*, *-ītā'îs*, *-ī'tū*, and *ī'ta* (see §§ 9, 11).

xwîn eˢpīītā'mî hanL we two will take you home 126.19, 20
eˢtsxawītā'îs you laid me down
ŋhelaqa'ītū he took me up

INTRANSITIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 28–31)

§ 28. Intransitive *-aai*

This suffix signifies that a verb usually transitive is without an object. It is consequently employed in the formation of intransitive verbs. With the exception of one or two sporadic instances, it is always suffixed to the reduplicated form of the verbal stem, thus denoting a repetitive action.

ʟqa'ai läl tō'mîʟ he believes that, old man 28.16

ī'nta dīł hexwînne'îtc yōyō^{s}waai bad something with us is stopping 24.3

yuwe' yî'mat ha^{u} gō^{u}s mî'lätc lōk^{u}lō'kwaai whenever he twinkles (his eyes), there always is lightning 16.6, 7 (*lō'wak^{u}* lightning)

gō^{u}s mî'lätc tsᴇsʟa'qaai le'îł *sʟaqa'ēwat* she bathed him 60.6
kwe'neʟ always bathing was their sister 84.21, 22

ak!a'laai lᴇ hū^{u}'mîs shouting is the woman 56.5
k!a'lat he shouted 36.7

sîtsa'ataai he läł hū^{u}mî'k·ca she was usually dancing the murder-dance, that old woman 116.26, 27
sa'at murder-dance

înī'naai (it is) nothing 122.27
īn not 10.8

kwîtkwa'taai he was dreaming 98.6
kw^{a}a'tîs dream 98.7

§ 29. Reciprocal *me^{u}*

-me^{u} is usually preceded by the transitive suffix *-t* or *-ts*. Owing to the fact that the consonantic combination of *t* or *ts* + *m* is not permissible, this suffix appears as *-ᴇme^{u}* (see § 4).

îł sqa'tsᴇme^{u} they seize one another

ā'yu ûx haītî'tᴇme^{u} surely they two gambled together 38.23

îł tsī'xtsᴇme^{u} lᴇ no^{u}'sk·îlī hatā'yîms they divided among themselves the Giant-Woman's money 80.29; 82.1

îł ī'nīye kweenī'yᴇxtᴇme^{u} they no longer know one another 46.9

ûx wî'lᴇme^{u} they two fight (together) 48.16

§ 30. Suffixes Defining the Subject: *qᴇm, -xᴇm; ū; -ēm*

***-qᴇm* (*-xᴇm*).** This suffix serves a double purpose. The stem to which this suffix is added must have a singular subject. There is another suffix, *-ū*, which expresses the same idea for plural subjects. This suffix will be treated in § 52 (p. 357).

(1) When preceded by the transitive suffix *-t* or *-ts*, it assumes a reflexive character, indicating that the subject of the action is at the same time its object.

hän k·e'la la'atsxem lE x·ōwā'yas into her hand came the snake (literally, put herself in) 86.4

Compare *mīk·e'etc ŋla'ats lE x·ōwā'yas* into the basket I put the snake

yuwe hī'ne alîcanī'waq la^{u} tcī he ē^{i}'k·t^{E}xem whenever children played, she there would go among them (literally, put herself among them) 70.19, 20

tqā'lîsEtc panā'qtsxem in the sun he is warming himself 32.8

tsxā'yat LŌ^{w}'qtsxem in the morning he got up (literally, got himself up) 34.22

ŋtc!ō^{w}'tsxem hanL I will go to bed (literally, I lay myself down will)

Compare *tcī îł tc!ō^{u}* there they went to bed 50.12

dī'lōłŋtsqem häł tō'mîL is making himself young that old man 22.7

yîqantce'wîtc tctcî'tsqem back she drew (herself) 64.29, 30

tsō łhe'tqem now it rested 88.16

tsō L!ha'tsqem lE hū^{w}'mîs then dressed (herself) the woman 86.6

Compare *ŋL!ha'ts lE ā'la* I dress the child

hî'nī t^{E}k·e'lmîtsqem there it let itself down 90.6

(2) When suffixed to the bare verbal stem, especially to intransitive stems or to stems expressing motion, it conveys the idea TO BE IN A POSITION, TO BE IN A CONDITION, TO BE IN THE ACT OF. For this last-named purpose the suffix *-xem* is mostly used.

wä'ndj L!ä'xem that way he is talking 15.8, 9

aî'wa īn kwī'l^{E}xem still not bent (it is) 62.29

tsemī'x·exem k!wî'nts lE k!ā'-hat the neck is fastened with a rope (literally, fastened condition, neck, with a rope) 92.4

ā'yu L!äts indeed he spoke 16.2

kwī^{i}lt he bends it 62.29

tcī he tsîmîx·tō^{w}'wat lE îx· there (they) fastened the canoes 46.6, 7

hî'nī k^{u} ē^{i}'k·exem there he may be among them 94.28

hats kwa ū'yu la^{u} wînā'q^{a}xem just like a rainbow (it is) spread out 32.14

tsō be'ltc^{E}xem now he is warming his back 32.18

īn tc!le'xem tE łā'nîk· not in a dry condition is that river 14.6 (*tc!lis* dry 166.2)

tsō le'tîx· he'lkwɛxɛm now from there she came out 108.28 (*ha'lkwît* she took it out 60.1)

hats he'nīhen tī'wîxɛm î la^{u} tsxū just many times it coiled up as it lay 88.1

In some instances the suffix *-xɛm* is used to express the place of a certain action. This use of the suffix is in perfect accordance with its general function of indicating the condition, or position of an occurrence.

qantc lɛ tc!we'xɛm where the bed was (literally, sleeping-place or place of lying down) 86.7 — *îl tc!ō^{u}* they went to bed 50.12

hî'nī t^{ɛ}k·e'lmîxɛm there was a deep place (literally, the place of sinking something into the water) 84.24 — *īn t^{ɛ}k·elm* it did not sink 136.7

c^{i}'γ^{i}tcxɛm a circle (literally, it is clear around [it]) — *ɳc^{i}γ^{i}tctō^{u}'wat* **I surround it**

(See also § 40.)

-ẽm. This suffix indicates that an indefinite person, unknown to the speaker, is the subject of an action. It is always added to stems expressing transitive ideas, or to stems that have already been verbalized by means of the transitive suffixes *-t* or *-ts* (see § 26). The pronominal objects of actions performed by an indefinite subject are expressed by prefixing the personal pronouns (see § 18) to the verb.

kwaā'nīya he knows it 26.19 — *ûx kwee'nīyẽm* those two somebody knows 19.10

nîxt- touch — *ûx īn nî'x·îtẽm* those two not somebody touched 122.25

latsā'ya he goes after it 94.7 — *latsōtẽm* somebody went after it 92.13

hā'k.!^{u}t- to draw up — *hä'k.!wîtẽm* somebody draws him up 92.9

§ 31. Neutral *-ī, -ẽ^{i}ff*

-ī (**-ẽ^{i}**) is employed in the formation of neutral verbs. It changes the *a*-vowels of the stem to *e* (see § 7).

yō'qē lɛ kā'wîl it split, the basket 8.1 — *ûx yō'qat* they two split it 7.9

kā^{a}s kwa tc!hē^{i} almost as if it went out (the light) 128.19 — *tc!hats* he put it out 128.26

lōwe'entc x·tī the whole thing (wholly) slid down 26.19 — *ɳx·tît* I slide it down

kwa kwî'nîs p.^{E}cī lɛ dī'lōł like (a) feather blew away the young man 26.21 — *ɳp^{E}cî't* I blow it away

gō^{u}s dī^{i}ł hä'ɯī everything grew up 9.3, 4 — *ɳhä'ɯîts* I grow it

x·pī lɛ yîxä'ɯɛx it burned down, the house 58.12, 13 — *x·pî'tsī* débris 58.19

wîtcwehe'^{x}tcī la ā'la it took sick, his child 42.17 — *waha'^{x}tcas* sickness

e^{ɛ}pî'ctcī hanɩ you will get warm 100.27 — *pî'ctcîts tet* he warmed himself 32.8

In a few instances verbs having this suffix were rendered by the passive voice, which may have been due to the fact that my informant could not express in English the intransitive neutral idea implied in the suffix.

ā'yu hä'k.!^{u}tī xqa'wax indeed, he was drawn up from above 98.2 — *ɳhā'k.!^{u}tîts* I draw it up

ma^{wu}xa'hī û xwî'l̄ux^{u} was chewed up his head 124.3 — *mau'xat* he chewed him up 68.10

k.!u'^{x}wī lɛ hū^{u}'mîs was lost the woman 54.19 — *k.!u'^{x}wît* he lost it

SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES (§§ 32–35)

§ 32. Inchoative *-īɯe*

-īɯe indicates the commencement of an action, and is suffixed to verbal stems expressing active or transitive ideas. If the stem to which it is to be suffixed does not express such an idea, it is preceded by the verbal *-enī* (§ 45), but never by *-t* or *-ts*. It may also be preceded by the distributive *-änī* (see § 37). The verbal stem must always be preceded by the prefix *qa* (see § 19).

ā'yu qaɩōwī'we indeed (she) begins to eat 24.11
tsō hanɩ qac^{E}alctī'we now (he) will begin to work 26.18
qałnī'we (he) commenced to hunt 106.16
îł qaskweyänī'we they begin to talk (among themselves) 66.21
qatcînehenī'we (he) began to think 20.7
qax·întetänī'we (he) began to jump about 102.15
qak·el̄änī'we û mēn began to shout at each other, the people (literally, mutually) 24.22
qameläni'we (he) began to swim around 176.16

§ 33. Frequentatives *-ēⁱwa(t)*, *-ōᵘwa(t)*

-ēⁱwa(t) indicates repetition, frequency or duration of action. The verbal stem to which it is suffixed is very often reduplicated, thus bringing out more clearly the frequentative idea. It is added to stems regardless of whether they express real transitive actions or not.

tkwīʟēⁱ'wat tᴇ to'qmas he is following that woodpecker 22.2	*ɳtᴱkwīʟts* I followed him
asō' īlnēⁱ'wat again he is setting the basket 34.23	*ɳīlnts* I set the basket
xqa'wax laᵘ kwîna'ēⁱwat from above these are looking at it 6.4	*qe'ltc ûx kwî'nait* down they two looked 6.4
gōᵘs dīⁱl aⁱwēⁱ'wat everything he is killing 68.23	*aⁱ'wît* he killed (them all) 112.9
ā'yu xwändj haᵘwēⁱ'wat surely that way he has been doing it 92.8	*yîxä'wᴇx haᵘˣts* a house he built 32.18
tcī îl k·îx·ʟ!ōwēⁱ'wat lᴇ hīⁱ'me there they are putting in the children 52.9	*ɳx·ʟ!ōᵘt* I put it in
ʟehᵉᵘ'nēⁱ laᵘ hîthītōwēⁱ'wat side by side she put them down 60.4	*laᵘ hî'tōᵘts* she put them down 60.4
k·!înk·!înēⁱ'wat hᴇ päʟ!ä'ye he was trying the weight 78.18	*ûx k·!înt* they two try it 7.4

This suffix appears sometimes as *-īwat*. For an explanation of this seeming irregularity, see § 2.

ûx kwîskwī'wat they two are informing him 20.25	*ɳskwī'wat hanʟ* I will inform him 74.4
ɳxʟ!ī'wat I am hitting him with a club	*xʟ!ts* he hit her with a club 64.28

Instead of an initial reduplication, the verbal stem very often appears with a reduplication of the final consonant, denoting continuity and distribution of action (see § 83).

ɳt!ᴱcîcī'wat I am shoving it (back and forth)	*t!cîts* he shoved it 32.24
îl pîctcatcī'wat they are warming (themselves singly)	*pî'ctcîts tet* he warmed himself 32.8

tcī tsîx·îx·ī'wat there he was holding him (for a long time) 104.15, 16 (*tsîx·* here 24.4)

-ō^{u}wa(t) exercises the same function as *-ē^{i}wat*. The only difference between the two suffixes is, that *-ō^{u}wat* is added to the verbs already amplified by the transitive suffixes *-t* or *-ts*, while *-ē^{i}wat* can be suffixed only to the stem.

tsō ûx tkwīLtsō^{u}'wat now they two follow him 9.9 — *tkwīLē^{i}'wat* he follows him 22.2

tc!e'etc hīt.^{E}tsō^{u}'wat hE pENLō'wai ashore it brought a whale 88.22, 23 — *hī'yet!* he came ashore 32.5

tcī halqtsō^{u}'wat there she is bringing it to him 72.8 — *he'laq* he arrived 22.22

aqalqsîtō^{u}'wat he is frightening him frequently 100.24 — *a'lqas* fear 66.4

In a few cases *-ō^{u}wat* is suffixed to the verbal stem.

ītîslō^{u}'wat lE tē^{i} L!tā he recognizes this (here) land 30.28
k!wenî'ya^{u} ƞwîlō^{u}'wat food I am looking for 54.4
ƞtsxaū'wat hanL I will kill him 26.22

The suffixation of *-ō^{u}wat* instead of *-ē^{i}wat* in these instances may have been caused by the law of euphony, as these stems end in a *u*-diphthong. Thus, the stem of *tsxaū'wat* is *tsxa^{u}-*, as shown by the form *tsxawī'yat* (36.21) HE LAID HIM DOWN, consisting of the stem *tsxa^{u}-* and the causative suffix *-īyat*.

Whenever the pronouns expressing both subject and object are suffixed to verbs ending in *-ō^{u}wat*, this suffix changes to *-ō^{u}wît* (see § 11).

e^{ɛ}hū^{u}mîstsōwîtā'mî hanL I will marry you 184.6
ƞhalqtsō^{u}'wîtū he brought me frequently

§ 34. Frequentative Causative *-aē^{i}wat*

There can be little doubt that the *-ē^{i}wat* in *-aē^{i}wat* is identical with the frequentative suffix *-ē^{i}wat*, discussed on p. 336. Owing to the fact that a number of verbal stems ending in *a* take the suffix *-ē^{i}wat*, there is a good deal of confusion between these two suffixes.

xā^{a}p la^{u} laa'ē^{i}wat water carried them away 46.16, 17 — *la* he went 22.18

îc sʟna'ēⁱwat you two are hiding him 24.11

ûx sʟnī'yat they two hide him 24.9

laᵘ tc!îcîla'ēⁱwat he (on) that (they) are sitting usually (literally, they caused it to be a mat) 38.3

tc!î'cîl mat 7.3

Compare, on the other hand,

xqa'wax ûx kwîna'ēⁱwat from above they two are looking at it 6.9

kwîna- to look

§ 35. Transitionals *-īye*, *-n̥ts*, *-u*

-īye indicates a transitional stage,—a change from one state into another, that has already taken place. It is suffixed mostly to nouns and particles, although frequently it is found added to verbs. It may best be rendered by IT BECAME, IT GOT, IT TURNED OUT TO BE, or by the passive voice. Stems ending in a vowel other than *i* insert an *h* between the final vowel and the suffix (see § 10), while stems ending in *-i* contract this vowel with the following *-i* of the suffix into a long *ī* (see § 9). When suffixed to a stem that has an *a*-vowel, it changes into *-aya* (see § 7).

dᴇmste'tc ûx ʟhînpī'ye they two came through a prairie (literally, through a prairie they two went through, it got) 112.1 (*ʟhî'n̄ap* he went through 22.11)

kwîna'ēⁱwatī'ye he began to look at him

łîn kwîne'weʟī'ye we became poor 28.21

tsłîmī'ye cᴱ it got summer, indeed (*tsłîm* summer 162.20) 30.20

ā'yu î'x·īye surely it was a canoe (*îx·* canoe 44.20) 126.10

yîxe'n qałîmī'ye one morning (literally, once morning it got) 20.4

îł he'tīye they became rich 84.17

n̥hai'nahā'ya I became active (*n̥hai'na* I am active)

qaᵘwahā'ya in the evening (literally, whenever evening it got) (*qaᵘ'wa* evening 50.26) 82.7

sīʟnēⁱhī'ye le'ûx mî'l̄aq joined together became their two arrows 13.4

le'ûx mî'l̄aq sīʟ'nēⁱ their (dual) arrows joined together are 13.7

îł hä'k!ᵘtī'ye they were drawn up 30.1

îł hä'k!ᵘtī they are (being) drawn up

tsō cîl xwändjī'ye now surely it was that way (literally, that way it turned out to be) 8.2

n̥nehī'ye laᵘ łō I became the owner of that thing (literally, me it became [to whom] that belongs)

go^{u}sī'ye la^{u} tsxaū'wat all (of them) he killed 68.9
ā'yu cîl īn dī^{i}lī'ye surely, indeed, nothing it turned out to be
tsō la^{u} îl kwaā'nīyahā'ya now they came to know it 92.14

When suffixed to the negative particle *īn*, or to the contracted forms of *īn* + the personal pronouns (see § 9), it forms new particles, *ī'nīye*, *nī'ye*, *ēnīye*, etc., which were always rendered by NO LONGER, I NO LONGER, THOU NO LONGER, etc.

îl ī'nīye kwaā'nīya they no longer know it 50.18, 19
nī'ye ᵑxä'nîs I am no longer sick
ēnīye hanL dī^{i}l you will no longer (be) something 104.1

It appears as a suffix to the stem *he'nī-*, forming a compound *he'nīye* A WHILE, LONG TIME.

he'nīhen tī'wîxem many times it coiled 88.1 (*-en* multiplicative suffix [see § 75]).
he'nīye ûx we'länī a long time they two fought (together) 132.8
īn he'nīye xä'nîs la ā'la not very long sick (was) his child 42.17, 18

It takes the place of the inchoative suffix *-īwe* (see § 32) in verbs not expressing a transitive, active idea, or not transitivized by the transitive suffix *-e'nī*. (See also § 19.)

qamîlī'ye (he) commenced to swim 30.3
ûx qayuwatī'ye they two commenced to travel 12.6

-ᵑxts conveys an active transitional idea. The difference between this suffix and *-īye* lies in the fact that the change indicated by the latter came about without any apparent active cause; while *-ᵑxts* expresses a change from one state into another, that presupposes a subject of the action. It is hence best rendered by TO CHANGE ONE INTO.

ᵑxtō'mîLᵑxts ᵑxte't I into an old man change myself — *tō'mîL* old man 22.7
dī'lōlᵑxtsqem läl tō'mîL he is making himself young that old man 22.7 — *dī'lōl* a young man 22.11
LE hī^{i}'me û lā'mak· tsî la^{u} yîxa'ntcᵑxts (of) the children the bones only she gathered up (literally, she changed into one) 60.3 — *yîxe'ntce* together, one by one 64.8, 9

-u indicates a change from one state into another, that has not yet been completed. It is often preceded by the transitive *-t*.

he'mîstu lE yîxä'wEx getting bigger is the house 34.14	*heē'îs* big 14.5
nā'ᵃntu lE mä multiplying are the people 12.4	*nāᵃnt* many 44.18
îc tELtä'mîltu hanL you two will get strong 120.17, 18	*dä'mîl* (strong) man 14.7
qai'cu it is getting small	*qaic* small, a chunk 128.29

MODAL SUFFIXES (§§ 36-43)

§ 36. Modal *-tc*

This suffix appears in four different forms, as *-îtc*, *-utc*, *-tc*, and *-eetc*.[1]

-îtc is added to verbal stems ending in a consonant, except *m*, *n*, and any of the laterals; *-utc* is suffixed to stems ending in vowels; *-tc* is suffixed to stems ending in laterals; and *-eetc*, to stems ending in *m* or *n*. This suffix is always added to the bare stem. There can be little doubt that this suffix is identical with the adverbial suffix *-tc* (see § 25); the more so, as it implies, to a great extent, an adverbially modal idea. The Coos expresses by its means our participial ideas. The verb taking this suffix is usually preceded by the discriminative and modal prefix *x-* (see §§ 23, 24).

qawîlaī'we xha'k·îtc (he) commences to look around crawling (literally, in the manner of crawling; *hak-* to crawl) 32.10

ɳłaī'yat hEx nî'x·îtc I commenced to touch it (literally, I commenced in the manner of touching)

tsᴱxaᵘ'tc îł dōwū'ya to kill they want him 66.22

īn lE'γī xkwî'naᵘtc it does not look good (literally, not good as to the manner of looking) 34.18

ɳā'wîts hEx tcî'cLtc I finished splitting (*ɳtcîcLEʲ'wat* I am splitting it)

ɳā'wîts hEx heme'etc I stopped bringing it out (*ɳhamī'yat* I brought it out)

qaiʲ'nîs wîne'etc Lᴱān into the water wading out she goes (literally, she goes down into the water in the manner of wading; *ɳwî'nat* I am wading out) 58.2

§ 36

[1] [This is obviously the adverbial *-tc*, and might have been discussed with §§ 67–70.—Ed.]

This suffix is often used in certain phrases to express abstract ideas. Thus, for instance, the Coos will express our sentence I AM GETTING HUNGRY by I AM GOING INTO HUNGER. (See § 118.)

łqatc ɳła I am getting hungry (*ɳłqa* I am hungry)
pL!îtc ɳła I am getting heavy

§ 37. Distributives *-nē^i, -nī; -ānī; -āɣam; -waq*

-nē^i, -nī, indicate distribution of an intransitive action. They are suffixed to intransitive verbs. Related to this suffix is the distributive *-înī* (§ 72).

kat'E'mîs tkwīL'nē^i lE djî'nīt five (winds) following each other (they) keep on coming (singly) 52.17	*tkwīL* -to follow
tsEL'nē^i ûx tî'k·îne side by side they two were standing 62. 22	*tsEL-* (?)
le'ûx mî'ĺaq sīL'nē^i their (dual) arrows are joined together (literally, one after the other) 13.7	*sīL-* to join together
k!ā'ɣenī he'ûx xwî'ĺux^u ûx L!ē'^{x}· sîmt against each other with their two heads resting they two go to bed 72.14	*k!āɣ-* (?)
pōkwî'lnē^i LōwaKa'ē^{i}wat opposite one another (they) were sitting 120.4, 5	*pukul-* across
hîtcō'nīhī'ye û mēn were assembled people, came together people 46.1	*hītc-* (?)

-ānī is suffixed to stems expressing transitive ideas. It is often accompanied by duplication of the final stem-consonant (see § 83).

îl tsa'k·înä'nī they help one another (mutually)	*tsak·în-* to help
îl L!x·īnä'nī they examine one another	*L!x·ī^{i}n-* to examine
îl tsak^{u}kwä'nī they continually spear one another	*ɳtskwîts* I speared him
îl tqanLLä'nī they mutually strike one another	*tqa'nLts* he struck it 28.1

îł k!'wanx^{u}xä'nī they mutually cut one another's hair — *k!'wa'nxat* he cut his hair

This suffix often changes the quality of the vowel of the stem to which it is suffixed (see § 7).

ā'yu îł qaheyänī'we surely they began to gamble 66.25 — *ha'yat* he gambled 66.15

îł tsxewä'nī they kill one another — *tsxaā'wat* he killed (them) 68.9

ûx we^{ɛ}länī they two fight 106.13 — *wîl-* to fight

When suffixed to intransitive verbs or to verbs expressing motion, it denotes an idea that may best be rendered by BACK AND FORTH, TO AND FRO, UP AND DOWN, etc. It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the close relationship that exists between the idea of mutuality and the idea expressed by these phrases.

tsō'nō kwîl^{E}lä'nī lE baltī'mîs both ways is rolling the ocean 6.2 — *kwîl-* to roll

qai'nîs la^{u} yaq^{E}qä'nī away from the shore they run continually 36.18, 19 — *yeq* he runs away 182.27

hî'nī sqaiLLä'nī l^{E} wā'wa there is going back and forth (through his fingers) the little girl 108.21 — *sqaiLē^{i}was* the space between two fingers

ẉL!ē^{i}tcîtcä'nī I keep on going out and coming in — *L!ē^{i}tc* he went out 20.4

ẉstōwaq^{E}qä'nī I keep on rising and sitting down — *stō'waq* he stood up 20.7

tīyetä'nī lE wî'nqas hū^{u}'mîk· continually looking for some supply was the Spider-Old-Woman 60.12

-āȳam is suffixed to intransitive verbs and to adjectives only. Its exact function is obscure. With verbs, it invariably denotes an action performed by more than one subject; while when suffixed to adjectives, it seems to convey the idea of the English suffix -ISH. Most likely it has a distributive character, which the informant, not well versed in the English language, could not bring out.

yû'xwä hū^{u}mä'k·e djînā'ȳam k·îłō'wît two women coming (towards him) he saw 126.13, 14

ā'yu kwī'yał îł łaā'ȳam surely now they were walking (singly) 32.7

tsō^{u}t x·ʟîmā'ȳam xā^{a}'pɛtc he washed it with luke-warm water 120.9, 10

xqaā'ȳam whitish, gray (literally, white here and there; *xqa's* white)

-waq. I am not quite sure whether this suffix really expresses distribution. All attempts to explain it have proved unsuccessful. It is suffixed to verbal stems, and may be preceded by the suffix *-enī* (see § 45). The best explanation that may be offered is that it implies a continual action performed by more than one subject, although instances have been found where the action was performed by a single subject.

tsō îł qanatcanī'waq now they make fun (of one another) (*qa'natc* joke) 50.12

yuwe' hī^{i}'me alîcanī'waq whenever children played (together?) 70.19

cîma'ēwaq lɛ cī'ț!ā dragging (them singly?) was the pet 88.7

Compare also the nouns

sʟtsā'waq a whale (?) 28.7

qalētā'waq ferry-men 140.15

The Passive Voice (§§ 38–42)

§ 38. *Present Passive* -ū

This suffix expresses the present tense of the passive voice. It is suffixed directly to the verbal stem with initial reduplication (see § 82).

asō' tcī tɛtī'k!ū lɛ tc!î'lɛ again there is shut the door 74.27 — *tī'k!wîts* he shut (the door) 74.6

gō^{u}s qantc la^{u} qɛqai'cū lä wî'tîn in all directions that is being clubbed his blood 10.5, 6 — *qaic* a piece 128.29

x·î'x·întū lɛ tc!wäl is being taken away quickly the fire 42.5 — *x·întī'yat* he runs with it 42.5

cɛcū'ʟū le'îł yîxä'wɛx fire is being set to their house 58.11, 12 — *cūʟ-* to burn

By adding to this suffix the transitional *-īye* (see § 35), the past passive is obtained. The initial *ī* of *-īye* is contracted with the *-ū* into a long *ū* (see § 9).

qɛqaicū'ye lä îluwe'^{x}tcîs it was beaten to pieces, her heart 76.8

mä pɛpîlsū'ye the person was torn to pieces 48.16 (*pîls-* to crush)

§ 39. *Past Passive* -āyu, -ē^{i}yu, -īyu

These suffixes are added directly to the verbal stem, which is invariably reduplicated. Stems ending in *w*, *l*, *m*, and *n*, immediately preceding these suffixes, appear with a glottal stop, no matter whether the stop is inherent in the stem or not (see §§ 81–82).

mä qᴇsqā'yu the person was seized 10.4	*sqa'ts* he seized it 68.8
îł aiai$^{ᴇ'}$wāyu they were killed 58.8	*aiwît* he killed them all 68.11
qaxʟ!ī'yu he was struck 96.14	*xʟ!ts* he hit her 64.29
tsō'k·îx·tī'yuʟᴇmîx·sō'wē$^{ia'}$ʟᴇc now was slid down the lucky stake 94.3	*ŋx·tî'ts* I slide it down
kwîlkwe$^{ᴇ'}$lēyu ʟᴇ hatā'yîms a'ʟᴇc was rolled down the money stake 92.11	*ŋkwîlī'yat* I roll it down
ā'yu kwîʟkwā'yu surely it was cut off 76.15	*ŋʟkwa'at* I cut it off
yᴇxyîxentce^{ᴇ}nē$^{i'}$yu it was gathered up 84.16	*yîxa'ntcŋts* she gathered up 60.3
hemhe^{ᴇ}mē$^{i'}$yu it was brought out	*hemī'yat* she took it out 62.23

§ 40. *Passive* -īyeqᴇm

This suffix is composed of the transitional *-īye* (see § 35) and the generic *-qᴇm* (see § 30). It serves a triple purpose, according to the manner in which it is suffixed to the verbal stem.

(1) When suffixed to the bare stem, it expresses a verbal conception of a continued character, which may best be rendered by the passive voice. This rendering is due largely to the fact that the *-īye*-element of the suffix predominates in these cases.

łō^{ux}t- to watch	*łōwîtī'yeqᴇm* he is watched 40.26
kwîna- to see	*lîn kwînā'yeqᴇm hanʟ* we shall be seen 30.23, 24
wîl- to look for	*gō^{u}s qantc wîlī'yeqᴇm* everywhere she is looked for 56.1, 2
tqanʟts he strikes it 28.1	*t^{ᴇ}qanʟī'yeqᴇm xwa'lwalyᴇtc* she is continually struck with a knife 80.5

The verbal stem is often reduplicated in order to bring out more clearly the passive idea and the idea of continuation (see § 82).

ʟō^{u}- to buy	*î la^{u} ʟō^{u}ʟō^{u}wī'yeqEm le'îl wîx·ī'lîs* when that was being bought their food 88.13, 14
mîntc- to ask	*mîtcmîntcī'yeqEm xtcī'tcū ye^{s} îluwe'^{x}tcîs* he is being asked continually, "What do you think about it?" 70.9
ʟō^{u}x- to club	*nî'k·înEtc ʟō^{u}xʟō^{u}xwī'yeqEm* with sticks she is being struck continually 80.6

(2) When preceded by the transitive suffix *-t* (see § 26), it denotes an intransitive action, of which the person spoken of is the object. Hence it was sometimes rendered by the reflexive.

î ûx ʟłdjītī'yeqEm when they two are fighting 122.25
tsō sōwîtī'yeqEm hE qā'yîs now it is changing, the weather
tsō lōwîtī'yeqEm now he took care of himself 66.3

(3) When preceded by the verbal suffix *-enī* (see § 45), it denotes a continued action, the subject of which is not intimately known to the speaker.

hä'tcît! story 20.1	*wändj hätct!enī'yeqEm* that way they are telling the story 44.14, 15
skw- to inform, to tell	*la^{u} skweyenī'yeqEm lE tc!wät* they are talking about the fire 38.5, 6

§ *41. Causative Passive* -eet, -et; -ɪyEm

-eet expresses the passive voice of causative concepts. It is suffixed to the verbal stem. The object that is caused to perform the action is always in the singular. The suffix *-īyEm* is used for plural objects (see § 53). This suffix may best be rendered by TO BE CAUSED TO. When suffixed to stems with *a*-vowels, it changes to *-aat* (see § 7).

qa'wax ʟ!e'et le'ûx e'k^{u}ʟätc high up was their (dual) father (literally, was caused to be high up; *ʟ!a-* to be in an upright position) 22.1

k·elé'ʟîsītc sʟné'et hE dī'lōt in a corner hidden was the young man (literally, was caused to be hidden; *sʟn-* to hide) 24.12

qā'yîsEtc ts^{E}né'et lE k!ā to the sky was stretched out the rope (*tsn-* to stretch) 28.20

xaya'nī LA *k·îlō'wît tana'at* old dog-salmon only he saw washed ashore (*pɛnlō'wai ta'ntan* whale came ashore) 130.3
ā'yu tc!île'et TE *tc!wäl* surely it was burning, that fire (literally, was caused to burn; *ɳtc!îlī'yat* I kindle the fire) 38.8
L!*nōwa'at ɳk·î'* L$\bar{O}^{u}$*ts* LE *tc!î'le* open I found the door (literally, caused to be open I found the door; L!*nō^{u}-* to open)
x·ne'et he is on top (*ɳx·înī'yat* I put it on top) 10.1
ɳła'at I was carried away (literally, caused to go; *ɳła* I go)

In certain instances this passive causative idea is not so apparent, owing, perhaps, to the fact that the verbal stem can not be analyzed.

ā'yu L!*le'et* surely he kept his eyes shut 17.3
wändj LŌwe'*et telînne'îtc* that way it is eaten among us 130.11
î'nīex hewe'et LŌwa'*kats* alone it was supposed she lived 60.10,11

-*et*. This suffix is always preceded by the transitive *-t* or *-ts*. Under the influence of the *a*-vowels of the stem, it changes to *-at* (see § 7).

gō^{u}s dī^{i}l lai'^{x}·tset everything was started (literally, caused to go [start]; *ɳła* I go) 12.7
xāap hɛ'mtset water was laid bare 42.8
yuwe' q^{E}tō^{w}'tset he'lakwetc whenever it got caught on a limb (literally, was caused to hang on a limb) 46.24
tsä'yuxwītc pî'lstat to pieces (the tree) was smashed (literally, was caused to smash to pieces) 124.14
hē^{i}hats L!*nō^{w}'tat* LE *tc!î'le* suddenly came open a door (literally, was caused to open [itself]) 62.5
tc!e'etc stō^{w}'qtset häl tō'mîl ashore was put that old man (literally, caused to stand [up] on the shore) 32.4, 5

In certain cases the passive idea is hardly recognizable.

g·î'mtset it commenced to rain 42.9
e^{ɛ}ha'k^{u}tat you were left 62.20
qa'lyeq ha'ltsat salmon came into the river 34.13
LAYETA'*t* he became hungry 32.9

LOwî'*tat* she ran (literally, was caused to run [?]) 56.9
la^{u} hanL ûx c^{E}a'lctet these two shall work 68.26
LŌwa'*hai* LE *dī'lōl* was running the young man 78.27
xwändj c^{E}a'lcît lex îloxqai'n that way doctors him the medicine-man (literally, works on him) 128.16, 17

§ 42. *The Past Participle* -āy̆aᵘ

The past participle is formed by means of the suffix *-āȳaᵘ* added directly to the transitive or intransitive stems.

tc!pā'ȳaᵘ k!ā braided ropes 44.22	*ɳtc!pat* I braid it
ɬtā'ȳaᵘ ä a painted face 10.3	*ɳɬtî'ts* I paint it
q!e'lē tcîcLā'ȳāᵘ k!ᵘhî'lt (with) split pitch-wood she lighted them 84.1	*ɳtcî'cLt* I split it
xā'ᵃpEtc LᴱãnlE tc!lā'ȳaᵘ into the water go down the dried (salmon) 36.18	*tc!lîs* dry 166.2
hem̄îsā'ȳaᵘ enlarged	*he'm̄îs* big 50.17

§ 43. The Imperative

The imperative of transitive verbs is expressed by means of suffixes added directly to the verbal stem, or, more frequently, following the transitive suffixes. Intransitive verbs, with the exception of a few stems indicating motion or ideas like TO HEAR, TO LISTEN, have no special suffixes. The imperative of such verbs is brought out by the (prefixed) pronouns of the second persons singular, dual or plural.

xle'îtc eᵋL!äts with it speak! 16.5
eᵋtᴱqa wake up! 68.18
cîneᵋ Lōᵘq you (pl.) get up! 30.19
eᵋalî'canī you play! 60.21

The following are the imperative suffixes in Coos:

-E. It follows the transitive suffixes *-t*, *-ts*, and expresses, beside the imperative idea, the presence of the object of the verb. The causative verbs in *-īyat*, and frequentatives in *-ēⁱwat* and *-ōᵘwat*, lose their final (transitive) *-t* when followed by the imperative suffix. It very often changes the broad *a*-vowels of the stem into *e*-vowels (see § 7).

k!wî'ntE shoot it 13.3
cîn sîtsīⁱ'ntE lE wî'nqas hūᵂ'mîkˑ you go and see the Old-Spider-Woman! 64.12, 13
tēⁱ îc q!mî'tsE this you two eat! 120.16
îc hemī'yE you two bring him out! (literally, cause him to come out!) 24.10

cîneᵉ tqalī'yE you wake up! 122.4

tqā'lîs sun 24.4

tcī cîn L!eī'yE teŋ k·e'ła there you put this my hand! 80.19

L!aī'yat she put it 72.11

kwîn Le tsxe'wE let us quickly kill him! 68.3

ŋtsxaū'wat I kill him 26.22

sqaiLtōᵘ'wE stick it in a crack!

ŋsqaiLtōᵘ'wat I stick it into a crack

tēⁱ L Lōᵘ'wE this you must eat!

Lōwēⁱ'wat she is eating it 24.5, 6

Lō nî'cîtc xāᵃp haᵘ'wE in it a little water have! 68.17, 18

îc haᵘwēⁱ'wat you two have him 128.9

-ẽn expresses, besides the imperative, the absence of the object of the action.

tōhîtsẽn you must hit!
Lōwẽn eat! 28.26
g·ī'kwa qai'nas îc t'aⁱltsãn a little closer to the fire you two dance! 82.19

-Ex, -Eq, suffixed to a few stems, expressing MOTION, or ideas like TO HEAR, TO CLOSE ONE'S EYES, etc.

eᵉk!ā'yEx temî'sī listen, O grandson! 114.7
tsîx·L tc!ōᵘ'wEx here you must lie down! 126.20, 21
L!lE'x L shut your eyes! 16.9
cîn ła'Ex you (pl.) go! 30.23
hamīL łhe'tEq (you) may take a rest!

-īt suffixed to verbs that are transitivized by means of the transitive suffix *-āya* (see § 47).

łā'tsīt eᵉpkāk· go and get your grandfather! 28.19

ûx łatsā'ya they two went to get him 20.14, 15

łōᵘ'ˣtīt yeᵉtet watch yourself! 74.3

łōᵘˣtā'ya he watches it 92.3

īn dōwā'īt don't desire it!

dōwā'ya he wants it 92.12

-Em expresses, besides the direct object, the indirect object of the first person. It is hence suffixed to verbal stems expressing ideas like TO GIVE, TO MAKE. It is highly probable that this suffix may be an abbreviated form of the pronominal *-āmî* (see § 46).

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p^E sî'k· ā'tsEm a cup give me! 68.17
tsä'yux^u kwā'xaL e^ε ha^u'^x tsEm a small bow make me! 60.14, 15
mîłxa'nEm L ū'mā lunch make me, you must, O grandmother! (*mî'łax* lunch) 114.5

-*Eîs*. This suffix expresses a command involving the second person as the actor, and the first person as the object of the action. From a purely morphological standpoint, it is a modified form of the pronominal suffix *-āîs* (see § 46).

teṇ nqatqai'L yîxuxwE'îs by this my belt you hold me! 54.12
tcī łaE'îs teka'^x tsī there take me, O granddaughter! 80.14

Compare *e^ε tsak·întā'îs hanL* you shall help me 80.16

In addition to these suffixes, the Coos language very often emphasizes the imperative idea by means of the particle *L* (see § 92).

VERBALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 44-45)

§ 44. Auxiliary *-e* (*-a*)

This suffix exercises the function of our auxiliary verb TO BE. The noun to which it is suffixed invariably takes the adverbial prefix *n-* WITH (see § 21). The phrase thus obtained expresses the idea TO HAVE. This suffix is always changed to *-a* whenever added to a stem having an *a*-vowel (see § 7).

nt!^E cî'ta^u we lE mî'l̄aq flint points have the arrows (literally, with flint points [are] the arrows; *t!^E cî'ta^u* flint point) 62.27
nwî'tîne lä k^u hä'yeq bloody are his excrements (*wî'tîn* blood) 20.6, 7
nk^u mā'xa lE cī't!ā horns had the pet (literally, with horns was the pet; *k^u mā'x·* horn) 88.7, 8
nā^a nt mä tc!pā'ȳa^u nk!ā'ha many people have braided ropes (literally, braided with ropes [are]; *k!ā* rope) 46.8, 9

It very often transforms nouns into intransitive verbs without the aid of the prefix *n-*. In such cases the *-a* form of this suffix is mostly used.

xba'ltîdj la^u k!wîsî'sa from the west it blew (*k!wä'sîs* wind) 52.4. 5
ṇkwaatî'sa I dream (*kwaa'tîs* a dream)
xc^i'γ^i tcîtc la^u xlī'sa clear around him (he put) slime (*xlīs* slime) 128.18

§ 45. Verbal *-enī*

This suffix expresses the idea TO DO, TO MAKE SOMETHING. It is usually suffixed to nouns and to verbal stems that do not imply an

active, transitive action. This suffix is changed to *-anī* whenever added to stems having an *a*-vowel (see § 7).

n̥pʟpäwîse'nī I am making a hat (*pʟpä'wîs* hat)
n̥yîxä'wʜxenī I am making a house (*yîxä'wʜx* house)
n̥kwā'xaʟanī I am making a bow (*kwā'xaʟ* bow)
eᵋlʜqaᵘwîya'tanī you tell a story (*lʜqaᵘwîya'tas* story) 38.13, 14
n̥hätcît!e'nī I tell a story (*hä'tcît!* story)
wändj tcînehe'nī that way he is thinking (*tcîn*[*e*]- to think) 40.14, 15
tsî kᵘ îc hewese'nī merely perhaps you two are lying (*he'wes* a lie) 28.13, 14
îł alî'canī they play (*a'lʜc* toy) 30.25
qawenîse'nī ł'nuwī he got mad very much 98.28
îł γā'lanī they were saying 76.17; *tʜ hā'nîs γā'la mä* those (who) talk Coos (literally, those *hā'nîs* [Coos] talker-people) 50.3
xwändje'nī that way she was doing it (*xwändj* that way [modal]) 164.6

PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (§§ 46-50)

§ 46. Transitive Subject and Object Pronouns

The Coos pronouns expressing both subject and object of a transitive verb are, morphologically speaking, suffixes added to verbal stems, or to stems that have been verbalized by means of some transitive suffix. The transitive suffixes may, however, be omitted, as the mere addition of these pronominal suffixes is sufficient to transform an intransitive stem into a transitive verb. These suffixes occur in four different forms, expressing the first, second, and third person as subject, and the first and second persons as object, of the action, regardless of number.

First person subject—second person object (sing., dual, plural) *-āmî*
Second person subject—first person object (sing., dual, plural) *-āîs*
Third person subject *-ū*, *-īł*
Third person object—first, second, third person subject, no suffix.

Since these suffixes are frequently preceded by the emphatic or abbreviated forms of the personal pronouns (see §§ 18, 96), the phonetic unit expressing the combined pronouns may be said to consist of the following elements:

(1) Personal pronoun for the subject.
(2) Personal pronoun for the object.

(3) Verbal stem.

(4) Suffixed form of the combined pronoun.

The following peculiarities in the manner of expressing the transitive subject and object pronouns are noteworthy:

(1) The forms having the third persons as object indicate the subject by the pronouns *n̥* for the first persons, *eᵉ* for the second (see § 18), regardless of number.

(2) The form expressing the second singular subject and the first singular object uses for its pronominal prefix the second singular *eᵉ*.

(3) All other forms indicate the object by prefixing the personal pronouns according to number.

(4) The pronominal prefixes expressing the subject occur in singular form regardless of the actual number that is to be indicated (see § 96).

The following is a complete table showing the formation of the combined pronouns for the different persons:

	I, We Two, We	Thou, Ye Two, Ye	He, They Two, They	
Me	——	*eᵉ -āis*	*n̥- ū*	*n̥ - īl*
Thee	*eᵉ- -āmî*	——	*eᵉ- ū*	*eᵉ - īl*
Him	*n̥- - - - -*	*eᵉ - - -*	*- - - - -*	*- - - - -*
Us (Incl) (Dual)	——	——	*îs-ū*	*îs-īl*
Us (Excl) (Dual)	——	*xwîn-āis*	*xwîn-ū*	*xwîn-īl*
You (Dual)	*îc- - āmî*	——	*îc-ū*	*îc -īl*
Them (Dual)	*úx n̥ - - -*	*ûx eᵉ - - -*	*ûx- -*	*ûx -*
Us	——	*lîn-āis*	*lîn -ū*	*lîn -īl*
You	*cîn-āmî*	——	*cîn -ū*	*cîn -īl*
Them	*îl n̥ - - -*	*îl eᵉ - -*	*îl - - - -*	*îl -*

The personal pronouns are usually omitted for singular subjects. They always occur, however, when the subject is dual or plural.

nᴇ'xkan wändj eᵉīⁱltā'mî I that way told you 17.2
eᵉmuxtîtsā'mî I (want to) feel of you 72.10
eᵉlaā'mî I take you along
n̥tō'hîts I hit it 64.5
eᵉtō'hîts you hit it 20.19
tō'hîts he hit him (or it) 20.19
n̥tō'hîtsū me he hit
eᵉtō'hîtsū thee he hit
cîn kwîna'īl you he sees
xwîn eᵉpīītā'mî hanʟ we two thee will take home 126.19, 20
lîn eᵉsîtsīⁱntā'mî we thee (came to) see 130.19, 20

§ 46

The personal pronouns for the objective third persons dual and plural always precede the subjective pronouns.

ûx ɳtō'hîts them two I hit *îl ᵉtō'hîts* them you hit

The suffixes for the combined pronouns are added either directly to the bare verbal stem or to the verb amplified by the transitive *-t* and *-ts*. This double system of adding the suffixes for the combined pronouns to the verb serves as a means of differentiating the duration of the action indicated by the verb. The bare verbal stem amplified by the pronominal suffixes denotes an action that has been performed more than once, or that has not yet been completed; while the verbs to which the pronominal suffixes are added *after* the transitive suffixes indicate actions that have been performed only once, or that are completed. The same purpose is served by the double forms of the combined pronoun having the third person as its subject. The suffix *-īl* is always added to the verbal stem; while *-ū* is suffixed to the stem, in addition to the transitive suffixes. It must be understood, however, that this interpretation of the double system of adding the combined pronominal suffixes does not apply to each individual case. Verbs with the pronominal suffixes added to the bare stem are frequently employed to denote past, completed actions, and *vice versâ*.

nᴇ'xkan ᵉwîlā'mî I am looking for you
ᵉwîwīnā'mî I am cheating you
ᵉk!wînā'îs you were shooting at me
ᵉsqā'îs you were seizing me
ɳk!wî'nīl he was shooting at me
ᵉwîlɨwîtā'mî I have looked for you
ᵉwī'ntsā'mî I have cheated you
ᵉk!wîntā'îs you took a shot at me
ᵉsqatsā'îs you seized me
ɳk!wî'ntū he shot at me

The imperative transitive pronouns have been described in § 43. They are *-ᴇm* TO ME, *-ᴇîs* ME.

§ 47. Transitive Verbs in *-āya*

Language in general has a number of verbal ideas, which, strictly speaking, do not imply any actions on the part of the subject; or denote actions, that, while intransitive, may be performed for the benefit of or in connection with a certain given object. Verbs like TO KNOW, TO UNDERSTAND, TO DESIRE, TO BELIEVE, TO WATCH, TO BE AFRAID, etc.,

express ideas that are not real actions, but which may be used as such in connection with some object. Thus, I may KNOW HIM, UNDERSTAND THEM, DESIRE IT, BELIEVE HER, WATCH MYSELF, etc. On the other hand, verbs like TO GO, TO RUN AWAY, etc., express intransitive actions that may be performed in connection with a given object. Thus it is possible TO GO TO HIM, TO RUN AWAY FROM ME, etc.

Coos treats the stems expressing such ideas as intransitive verbs, which do not take any of the transitive suffixes; but since these intransitive verbs may, without the aid of any additional grammatical device, become transitive, and imply the existence of an object (which is usually that of the third person), there is a special suffix *-āya* which indicates the (mental) process described above. This suffix, always added to the bare verbal stem, denotes an intransitive action that has become transitive by being used in connection with the third person object. It may therefore be called the "pronominal suffix," expressing, besides the subject, the third person object of an intransitive verb.

ûx alqsā'ya they two are afraid of it 7.5	*a'lqas* fear 66.4
ẓdōwā'ya I want her 70.6	*tsîx·tī' dō'wa wu'txe tī'ye pū'yatc* here wants to come back thy uncle 122.15
nEqā'ya he ran away from it 42.4	*nEq* he ran away 100.16
ẓx·na^{a}tā'ya I am riding (a horse)	*x·ne'et* he is on top 10.1
Lqā'ya lEx swāl believed it the grizzly bear 94.25	*Lq-* to believe
mîtsîsī'ya she knows it 60.1	*mî'tsîs* wise 132.6
īn kwaā'nīya (they) did not know it 86.12	*kwaān-* to know
łatsā'ya he went after it 94.7	*la* he went 22.18
łō^{ux}tā'ya he watched it 94.6	*ło^{ux}t-* to watch
îl Lō^{u}kwā'ya hE L!tā they occupy the country 44.21	*e^{ɛ}Lō^{u}k^{u}* you sit down! 38.22

The plurality of the object is expressed by the affixed numerical particle *hE$\overline{m}$a* ALL (§ 109), or by the separate suffix *-ītEx* (§ 54).

ẓlō^{ux}tā'ya hE'$\overline{m}$a I watch them all

The imperative of this form has the suffix *-īt* (see § 43).

§ 48. Subject and Object Pronouns of Verbs in *-āya*

The corresponding suffixes for the above discussed verbs, expressing, besides the object, also the subject of the first, second, or third person, are etymologically related to the suffixes treated on p. 351. They appear, however, in such changed form, that they require separate discussion. These forms are—

	I, We Two, We	Thou, Ye Two, Ye	He, They Two, They
Me	-	*eᵋ-yExtāis*	*n̥-yExtū*
Thee	*eᵋ-yExtāmi*	-	*eᵋ-yExtū*
Him	-	-	—
etc.			

They are suffixed directly to the verbal stem.

eᵋdōwā'yExtā'mî thee I want
eᵋlōˣtīyExtā'mî of thee I take care
eᵋlōˣtīyExtā'îs you take care of me 86.20
n̥kwee'nīyExtū me he knows
eᵋdōwā'yExtū thee he wants

The etymology of the first element in these suffixes (*-yExt-*) is quite obscure. It may be suggested that *-yEx-* is the adjectival suffix (see § 66), and *-t* the transitive (see § 26), although we are no longer able to understand the psychological principles underlying this peculiar formation.

§ 49. Transitive Verbs in *-a*

This suffix is preceded by the transitive suffixes. Its function is varied. It may have expressed originally the indirect object; but verbal ideas requiring both a direct and an indirect object are very few in number in the Coos language, and the functional scope of this suffix is much wider now, permitting its use for other purposes. Thus it is very frequently suffixed to transitive verbs where the object of the action is actually expressed, and not merely understood; and it is often, but not as a rule, used as a suffix denoting plurality of the object. The most plausible suggestion that can be offered in explanation of this suffix is that it may denote an action performed upon an object that possesses another object. At any rate, there can be no doubt that the predominating function of this suffix is that of a special characterization of the pronominal object.

§§ 48–49

ɳmîɬxa'na I made lunch for him — *mî'lax* lunch 28.15

ā'tsa he gave it to him 28.7 — *āts-* to give

tetc cᴱalcta'tᴇxa clothes he made for (his child) 108.5
kwîn̄ā'was sī'ˣ·tᴱtsa smoke he scented 22.23
kwā'xaʟ haʷ'ˣtsa lᴇ temî'snätc a bow she made for her grandson 112.25, 26
ā'yu ʟ!ha'tsa lä tetc surely (he) put on his clothes 28.23
kāᵃs yî'xē'ⁱ pᴇ'nʟta lᴇ tsî'ɣᴇn nearly he tore off one handle 30.4
pīī'ta lᴇ mä aï'wît he took to his house the people (pl.) whom he killed 112.11

eᵉwutxaī'ta lī'ye ū'māc ûx pkāk· you (should) take home, thy grandmother them two (and) grandfather 68.26

wutxaī'yat lä pkā'katc he brought home his grandfather 70.2

îl ɳî'lᴱxtsa at them I looked — *ɳî'lxats* I looked at him
ɳsqa'tsa lᴇ quwai's I seized the boards — *ɳsqats lᴇ quwaï's* I seized the board
ɬk!wa yîxu'xwa fern roots she had 64.14, 15 — *hî'nī yîxuxwē'ⁱwat* there he was holding it 64.3, 4

Compare, on the other hand,

tc!wä'letc t!cî'tsa into the fire he shoved it (no object is actually expressed here) 32.26

tc!wä'letc t!cîts into the fire he shoved it 32.24

or

yû'xwä wutxaī'yat hᴇ tcō'xtcōx two he brought home the rabbits
pōkwî'lnē'ⁱ tî'lqats opposite each other he set (them) down 112.12

§ 50. Verbs in *-anāya* with Direct and Indirect Object Pronoun

This suffix is composed of two suffixes, *-enī* (see § 45) and *-āya* (see § 47). The broad *a*-vowel of the second suffix effects the retrogressive assimilation of the *-enī* into *-anī*, and the final vowel of *-enī* coalesces with the initial of *-āya* into a long *ā* (see § 7). It may best be rendered by TO DO, TO MAKE SOMETHING OUT OF SOMETHING.

ɳkwāxaʟanā'ya I am making a bow out of it (*kwā'xaʟ* bow)
ɳyîxäwᴇxanā'ya I build houses out of it (*yîxä'wᴇx* house)
laᵘ k!wenîyawanā'ya lᴇ qa'lyeq he is making a supply out of the salmon (*k!we'nîyaᵘ* supply) 34.24

yanʟawe dīⁱł eᶜqaᵘwenîsa'nāya whenever something you will get mad at (*qaᵘwenîse'nī* he got mad) 16.4

laᵘ hanʟ eᶜł'nuwanā'ya at that thing you shall pull (*ł'nuwī* very) 72.2

îł wa'lwalanā'ya they (would) make knives out of it (*wa'lwal* knife) 136.14, 15

The *a*-vowels of this suffix very often change the *e*-vowels of the stem to which they are suffixed into an *a* (see § 7).

xā'nanā'ya he made him feel sorry for it (*xä'nîs* sick) 42.18

n̥pʟpā'wîsanā'ya I made a hat out of it (*pʟpä'wîs* hat)

Whenever suffixed to reduplicated stems, this suffix is changed to *-ōnāya*.

aqa'lqsōnā'ya la ā'la he became afraid of his child (*a'lqas* fear) 28.24, 25

mîtsma'tsōnā'ya lᴇx dī'lōł he became acquainted with him, the young man (*mî'tsîs* wise) 116.1

qaiˣ·qa'yōnā'ya he became afraid of it (*n̥qa'yaᵘts* I am frightened [I fear]) 42.3

PLURAL FORMATIONS (§§ 51–54)

§ 51. General Remarks

The question of plurality, as exhibited in the verbs, is, comparatively speaking, a complicated matter. The chief difficulty arises from the fact that Coos accords a different treatment to transitive and intransitive verbs, and that the phenomena connected with plural formation are by no means of a uniform character. As in most other American languages, the Coos intransitive verbs express plurality of subject, while stems expressing transitive concepts distinguish between actions relating to a singular object and those relating to plural objects.

As a rule, plurality of the subject of verbal ideas is not indicated. One and the same stem is used in the singular and plural alike. There are, however, a few verbal concepts that express such a plurality by means of different stems. While this question ought to be more properly treated under the heading "Vocabulary," it may nevertheless be found useful to give here a few examples of such different stems.

Singular	Plural	
ītsēm 26.20	*ne'tsī* 74.1	to do
yîxu'mē 10.3	*yuwī'tît*, *yuwat-* 12.6	to travel
tsxū 28.12	*ha'yatî* 58.19, 20	to lie
qa'qal 40.2	*tsî'msîmt* 74.1	to sleep
xne^{x}·t- 74.30	*xwaîlt-* 22.17	to fly, to jump
lEqa^{w}'wE 42.18	*e'qe* 84.14	to die
L!ä-, 14.6	*yā'la-* 50.3	to speak
Lōwa'kats, 38.10	*tîla'qai* 36.11, *kwee'tî* 50.7	to sit, to live

On the other hand, there are a few stems that seem to express singularity or plurality of subject by means of a grammatical process the history of which is not clear. This process may be said to consist in the change of the vowel connecting the suffix with the stem.

Singular	Plural
e^{ɛ}tc!a'at you walk 120.18	*îl tc!a'īt* they walk
ŋxa'yat I am whittling	*îl xa'yīt* they are whittling
ŋt'a'lats I dance	*îce^{ɛ} t'a'līt* you two dance 82.18
ŋwî'nat I wade out	*îl wî'nīt* they wade out

This process is the more puzzling, as it also seems to be used for the purpose of distinguishing between duration of action (see § 26). It is quite conceivable that there may be an etymological relation between these two phenomena, and that the phonetic similarity exhibited by them is more than accidental.

§ 52. Reflexive Plural -*ū*

In a number of cases intransitive verbs indicate plurality of subject by means of a suffix which is phonetically different from the suffix expressing the corresponding singular idea. This is especially true in the case of the suffix -*qEm*, -*xEm* (see § 30). This suffix is applied to singular subjects only, while the same idea for plural subjects is expressed by means of the suffix -*ū*, which is always preceded by the transitive -*t* or -*ts*.

Singular	Plural
lhe'tqEm it is resting 88.16	*îl lhe'tū* they are resting
ŋwe'lextxEm I went to bed	*îce^{ɛ} we'lextū* you two go to bed 82.13
ŋLō^{w}'k^{u}tsxEm I sat down	*tî'l^{E}qtsū* (they) sat down 22.15
ŋkwe'et^{E}tsxEm I settled down	*îl kwe'et^{E}tsū* they settled down 48.5
ŋsLn'txEm I hide myself	*îl sLn'tū* they hide themselves

§ 53. Causative Passive Plural *-īyEm*

The same principle is applied to intransitive verbs expressing passive causative ideas. Singular subjects are expressed by means of the suffix *-eet* (see p. 345), while plurality of the subject is indicated by the suffix *-īyEm*. The most perplexing problem connected with this suffix is the fact that its initial *ī* disappears before *u*-diphthongs without changing the *u* of the diphthong into a consonantic *w* (see § 8).

	Singular	Plural
sLn-		
ûx sLnī'yat they two hide him (caus.) 24.9	*sLne'et* 24.12	*sLnī'yEm*
x'En-		
ŋ̊x'înī'yat I put it on top	*x'ne'et* 10.1	*x'nī'yEm*
lEm-		
ûx lemī'yat they two set it up 8.10	*lEme'et* 90.18	*lemī'yEm*
q^Eto^u-		
$ŋ̊q^Etōwī'yat$ I hang it up	$q^Etōwe'et$ 46.27	$q^Etō^{u'}yEm$ 84.15
(*x*)*nō'we*, right 44.9	*nōwe'et*	$nō^{u'}yEm$ 44.22
L!a- to be on something		
îl L!aīyat they put it on 80.20	*L!e'et* 22.1	*L!eī'yEm* 144.4

§ 54. Direct Plural Object *-ītEx*

The idea of plurality of objects in transitive verbs is not clearly developed. The treatment accorded to the different stems is so irregular that no definite rules can be formulated. The majority of stems make no distinction between singular and plural objects, and occur in one form only. Other stems have different forms for the singular and plural; e. g., *tsxa*^{u}- TO KILL ONE, *aiw-* TO KILL MANY, *la-* TO PUT IN ONE, *x'L!ō*^{u}- TO PUT IN MANY, etc.; while a number of stems seem to express plurality of object by means of the affixed numeral particle *hEm̄a* (see § 109), or by means of the suffix *-ītEx*.

This suffix expresses the plural third person object, and may be added directly to the verbal stem, or after the transitive suffixes *-t*, *-ts*.

xwî'tsxūt cîma'ītEx (many) deer he pulled 88.12
ā'yu îl Lana'ītEx surely they headed them off 56.16
hats Lōwe'entc la^u *laaī'tEx* just all (wholly) she dragged them 80.9

§ 55. MISCELLANEOUS SUFFIXES

While the functions of the verbal suffixes discussed in the preceding pages are clear, and could be described fairly accurately, there are a few others that appear only now and then, and express ideas of a varying character. It is possible that these suffixes may represent the petrified remnants of grammatical formations that have become obliterated in the course of time. The following is a list of these suffixes:

-*a*. This suffix seems to express in a number of instances our infinitive idea.

lnē$^{i'}$wat xwî'tsxūt he is habitually hunting deer

ln'ta e'he lᴇ dä'mîl hunting (had) gone the man 108.9

helmī'hîs asō'la ln'ta next day again he went hunting 110.10

sʟaqa'ē^{i}wat she is bathing him (caus.) 60.6

yîxe'n sʟa'qa la once bathing she went (literally, to bathe) 84.24

In a few cases it has been found suffixed to neutral stems, and seems to denote impersonal actions.

lōq^{u}- to boil

lōqu'qwa lᴇ s^{ᴇ}aʟ! was boiling the pitch 102.11

kwînā'was smoke 22.23

īn kwî'na not it smokes 110.14

It is possible that this suffix may have the identical function with the *-a* (or *-e*) suffixed to the modal adverbs (see § 106), and it may consequently be related to the auxiliary *-e* (see § 44).

-*e*. I am at a loss to detect the exact nature of this suffix and its etymological connection with any of the other suffixes. In the few instances in which it occurs, it was rendered by the passive, or else as an abstract verbal noun.

k·îlō'wît she saw him 54.2

ā'yu k·îlō'we î la^{u} djī surely it was seen as it was coming 52.7, 8

k·î'ʟō^{u}ts he found it 32.10

lä îx· k·$^{i'}$ʟe her canoe was found 54.19

hä'wī he grew up 64.12

la û ha^{w}we it grew up (literally, goes its growth) 20.16

k!a'lat he shouted (at it) 36.7

ä'wī ŋk·e'le I quit shouting (literally, the shouts)

mî'ɬat he swam 30.7

ä'wī e^{ᴇ}mî'ɬe stop swimming (literally, finish your swimming)

-*anu*. This suffix occurs in two instances only, and expresses in both of them the infinitive. It seems to be related to the verbal suffix -*enī* (see § 45).

yu'weʟ a pack 70.22

laᵘ yuʷⁱʟe'nu he (went out in order) to pack (*enu*>*anu* [see § 7]) 162.25

a'lec toy 92.10

mä he'l̃aq tcī alî'canu people came there (in order) to play 90.26

-*am* occurs very rarely, and seems to denote the absence of the object of an action.

q!mîts he eats it 32.9

hats hanʟ eᵋq!a'mtsam just will you eat 42.23, 24

ʟō̃ᵘ- to eat 17.2

laᵘ tsîx· he ʟō̃'wîyam she usually here eats 24.4, 5

Nominal Suffixes (§§ *56-80*)

GENERAL NOMINALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 56-65)

§ 56. Nominal -*is*

This suffix may be said to have a general nominalizing function. It is found suffixed to a great number of stems, and expresses general nominal ideas, including many of our adjectival terms. For a discussion of its etymological nature, see General Remarks, § 25.

hä'wī he grew up 64.12
stō̃ᵘq he stood 20.4
ʟ!äts he spoke 16.2

hä'wîs ready 5.4
stōwa'qwîs wall 90.18.
ʟ!ē'yîs language 16.1

îluwe'ˣtcîs heart 5.3
wîx·ī'lîs food 14.7
hele'yîs salmon-roe 34.27
hūʷ'mîs woman 24.6
baltī'mîs ocean 6.2
pî'lîk·îs anus 40.7
pō̃ᵘ'kwîs slave
pʟpä'wîs hat 136.14
tama'lîs custom, fashion 19.8
tqā'lîs sun 24.2
sîk·e'ˣ·kîs shield 28.7
tskwa'ˣʟîs fir-tree 9.2
tceᵋne'nîs edge 22.15
g·îl̃ō'mîs breakers 8.1

k·el̃e'ʟîs corner 58.13
k·în̄a'wîs laziness 34.17
(*k·î'nwîs* lazy)
kwäye'îs ridge, mountain 22.13
kwä'sîs ball 38.19
kwî'nîs feather 26.21
k!wä'sîs wind 22.11
qā'yîs day, sky, world 6.1
qaï'nîs mouth of river 58.1
qᴱma'tîs fish-basket 36.7
xala'wîs heat 24.9
la'ˣʟîs mud 52.10
ltce'îs ocean beach 7.11
ʟda'lîs sand beach 58.1

he'm̄îs large 14.5
hū'wîs poor 42.5
pL.!îs heavy
mî'tsîs wise 132.6
t^{E}qa$^{i'}$Lîs solid 7.6
tc.!îcî'lîs sweet 32.27
tc.!lîs dry 166.2
k·î'nwîs lazy
kat̀$_{E}$'mîs five 5.4
x·î'lwîs deep
xa'lwîs hot 24.6
xä'nîs sick 42.18
Le'mîs raw 32.23

§ 57. Nouns of Quality in *-Es, -tEs; -enîs*

-Es, -tEs. This suffix changes adjectives (or adverbs) into abstract nouns. No explanation can be given for the phonetic difference between the two suffixes.

he'm̄îs big 14.5
hats kwa x·nek· hem̄î'stEs hE x·ōwā'yas the snake was just as big as a hair (literally, just like a hair [is] the size [of] the snake) 86.2

nā^{a}nt much, many 50.13
īn kwee'nīyēm ītse'ts he'îl nā$^{a'}$ntEs no one knew how many they were (literally, not knew they how [was] their quantity) 78.2

ŋqai'na I am cold
xqaine'Es kā^{a}s tsxaū'wat cold nearly killed him 32.7

he'nīye a while 38.15
ta^{u} henī'yeEs ŋyîxu'm̄e (for) such length of time I travel 26.9

hethe'te rich 26.2
hethe'teEs wealth

paa- to fill 15.7
łu û pad'wEs hE xā^{a}p the water reached its full mark (literally, goes its fullness [of] the water) 44.19

e'hentc far 26.23
ehe'ntcEs distance 52.16

qaL long
qa'LtEs length

k.!le'es black 162.13
k.!le'estEs black color

qat below 36.11
qa'tEs, the lower part, half 16.10

-enîs transforms adjectives expressing sensations and emotions into abstract nouns.

cîn łqa you are hungry 70.12
tē^{i} xwîn ā'ȳa łaqe'nîs these we two died from hunger (literally, these we two [are] hunger-dead) 36.13, 14

qa$^{u'}$net he got angry 32.25
qa^{u}we'nîs anger, wrath 16.4

§ 58. Nouns of Location in *-Em*

This suffix expresses the abstract conception of a local idea. It is suffixed to adverbs only, and is (with one exception) preceded by the adverbial suffix *-tc*. It may best be rendered by THE PART OF, THE SIDE OF.

lexa'tca kwî'nait inside he looked 62.6

lexa'tcem hanL ŋqa'qaL in the inside (part of my eye) will I sleep 40.2

hE yîxä'wEx lexa'tcem of the house the inside (part)

yîqantce'wîtc backwards 32.13

pEnLō'wai yîqa'ntcEm djī a whale behind it was coming 88.22

ī'la before, first 56.9

îL k'îtō'wît īla'hatcEm djī they saw it in front coming 88.5

le'wî û īla'hatcEm dōwā'ya lä e^{s}-nätc he liked his mother best (literally, it is [as] his first[-ness] he likes his mother) 120.19, 20

qat below 36.11

wwändj yā'lanī lE mä qa'tem tîla'qai that way are talking the people (who on the) lower part (of the river) live 66.12

§ 59. Verbal Abstract *-āwas, -nē^{i}was*

-āwas changes the verb into a noun. It expresses the abstract concept of a verbal idea. If the verb expresses an active, transitive idea, it is suffixed to the bare stem, while in intransitive verbs it is preceded by the intransitive suffix *-enī* (see p. 349). In such cases the final vowel of the transitive suffix disappears, and the *a*-vowel of *-āwas* effects the retrogressive assimilation of the stem-vowels and suffix-vowels (see § 7).

c^{E}a'lctet he is working 22.26

î la^{u} ä'wī c^{E}alctā'was when he quit (the) work 34.6, 7

LōwēI'wat she is eating 24.5, 6

ä'wī û LōwāI'was she finished (her) food 24.13

ŋL!hats I put it on

lä L!ahā'was her clothes 110.3

îs alî'canī we two play 38.11

alîcanā'was lîn ha^{uz}ts a game we (should) arrange 90.14

e'qe dead 42.19

aqanā'was funeral

ha'yat he gambled 66.15

hayanā'was Indian game

In one instance this suffix has been changed to *-āwaʟ*.

qa'ya^{u}ts he is scared 126.1 — *īn yū dī^{i}l qayawā'waʟ* hardly anything can scare him (literally, not very something scaring [to him] 40.24; *qayawā'waʟ* a thing that scares)

-nē^{i}was. Composed of the distributive *-nē^{i}* (see § 37) and the nominal *-āwas.* Hence it expresses an abstract concept that has a distributive character.

hä qtsä' nlaxanē^{i}'was lōwa'kats she was sitting between his teeth (literally, his teeth in the [mutual] between[-ness]) 102.18
sōwe'l laxanē^{i}'was between the fingers 108.21
sqaiʟnē^{i}'was the space between the fingers, a crack (*sqai'ʟ^{E}xem* it was sticking in a crack 62.8)

§ 60. Verbal Nouns in *-ōnîs, -sī*

-ōnîs. This suffix indicates that something has become the object of a certain action. It may best be rendered by WHAT BECAME THE OBJECT OF. Either it is suffixed to the verbal stem directly, or it is preceded by the transitive suffixes *-t, -ts* (see § 26).

îl γā'lanī they are talking 90.16 — *la^{u} îl γaaltō'nîs* they begin to talk about it (literally, this they [have as their] object of speech) 76.22

ɳ̓k·î'tîts I cut it — *k·îtîtsō'nîs la kxla* she commenced to cut her foot (literally, object of cutting her foot [became] 80.21)

ʟō^{u}- to eat 17.2 — *la^{u} ʟōū'nîs î ha'k·îtc la^{u} yîxu'$\overline{me}$* this became his food while he walked crawling (literally, that object of eating [it became] while crawling that one traveled) 32.11

ā'tsa he gave it to him 34.10 — *atsō'nîs* gift 188.26

-sī is used in the formation of nouns from verbal stems. The best rendering that can be given for this suffix is THE RUINS, THE REMNANTS OF.

ai'wît he killed them 68.11	*îs ai'wîtsī ītɛ* we two (are the) remnants of the slaughter 62.18
x·pī it burned down 58.12	*qawîlaï'we lɛ yîxä'wɛx nx·pî'tsī* she commenced to look around (of) the house the débris 58.18, 19

It is very likely that the following example may belong here:

k·îtsî'mîs, k·îtsîmä'mîs half 32.11	*hɛ k·îtsî'mîsī ai'wît* half of them he killed (literally, the remaining half he killed) 112.10

§ 61. Nouns of Quantity in *-în*

This suffix occurs in a few instances only. It is added to stems expressing adjectival ideas, and may be translated by PIECE, PORTION.

tcä'yux^{u} small 42.6	*ī'k·ī tcä'yuxwîn ā'tsa* (to) both a small portion he gave 120.17
qaic small 128.29	*qaicî'nîs ûx yū'*^{wi}*yū* in a small place they two are stopping 6.3
e'hentc far 26.23	*nā'yîm ehentcɛsî'nē*^{i}*tc djî'nīt* because quite far apart it keeps coming (literally, because distance-portion-modality, [they] are coming [singly]) 52.18

§ 62. Nouns of Agency in *-ayawa, -eyäwe, -īyawa*

These suffixes indicate the performer of an action. The *-eyäwe* form is added to stems with *e*-vowels (see § 7). Since the informant was frequently at a loss how to express in English the idea conveyed by this suffix, he invariably translated it by TO GO AND (perform the action in question).

t'a'lats he dances	*t'alīya'wa* a dancer
ʟ!x·ī·nt he examined it 32.23	*ʟ!x·īnīya'wa* examiner
nî'k·în wood 102.2	*mī'ʟan ɣnîk·îneyä'we* permit me to get some wood (literally, let me wood-getter be) 102. 1
mî'l̄aq arrow 12.10	*îs mîl̄aqayä'we* we two go and get arrows (literally, [we two are] arrow-makers) 160.6, 7
ʟō^{u}- to eat 17.2	*ɣʟōwīya'wa* I am an eater
	ɣte'^{x}*tîts ʟōwīya'wa* I go in and eat 168.2, 3

§ 63. Nominalizing Suffix Indicating Place, *-îs*

It is never suffixed to verbal stems.

qa'ntcū where? 94.25	*îc xqantcū'wîs* from where are you two? (literally, your two selves' whence place) 126.14
le'lɛx medicine	*xwîn lᴱlxeyäwe'wîs* we two have been after medicine (literally, our two selves' medicine-makers place) 126.15
tsä'yuxᵘ small 20.5	*tsäyuxwî'nîs ēnī'k·exem lɛ ɬ!tā* on a small place is sticking out the land 44.26
qaic small 128.29	*qaicî'nîs ûx yū'ʷiyū* on (some) small place they two are stopping 6.3

§ 64. Nominalizing Suffix Indicating Locality, *-ume*

It signifies WHERE THE . . . IS. It is added to nominal (or adverbial) stems only.

kūᵘs south	*xkukwî'sume hī'yet!* he came ashore on the south side (literally, from where south is, he came ashore)
tse'tîx· over here	*tsetî'x·ume ʟō heʷ'heᵘ haʷ'wɛ* here on this side make a knot! (literally, where this is, on it, a knot make) 92.7, 8
xwî'lɬuxᵘ head 30.14	*xwîlɬuxu'me* where the head is 146.26

§ 65. Terms of Relationship in *-ätc* (*-atc*)

Terms of relationship appear with the suffix *-ätc* or *-atc* (see § 7), except in the vocative case, where the stem alone is used. A few nouns exhibit in the vocative case an entirely different stem, while others occur in the vocative form only.

The phenomenon so characteristic of many American and other languages, whereby the different sexes use separate terms for the purpose of denoting corresponding degrees of relationship, is not found in Coos. This may in part be due to the fact that the language does not differentiate in any respect whatsoever between the two sexes, and that grammatical gender is a concept entirely unknown to the Coos mind. On the other hand, Coos has one trait in common

with some of the languages of the neighboring tribes, namely, in so far as two different stems are used to denote the same degree of relationship by marriage. One is employed as long as the intermediary person is living, while the second is used after the death of that person.

The following table shows the nouns expressing the different degrees of relationship:

English	Coos	Vocative case
Father	*e'kuʟätc*	*k!ō'la!*
Mother	*eˢnätc*	*nī'k!a!*
Son	(?)	*ʟowa!*
Daughter	*kwayā'citc*	*kwā'ya!*
Older brother	*hä'ʟātc*	*hāʟi!*
Younger brother	*miʟkwī'yatc*	*mā'lîk!*
Older sister	*henî'kunätc*	*he'nîkwī!*
Younger sister	*kwīya'xʟtc*	*kwe'ēʟ!*
Grandfather	*pkā'katc*	*pkā'k·!*
Grandmother	*ūmā'catc, ū'māc*	*ū'mā!*
Grandson	*temî'snätc, temi'sin*	*temî'sī!* (sing.) *temä'mis!* (pl.)
Granddaughter	*tek· îtsî'nätc*	*tcka'xtsī!*
Paternal uncle	*pū'yatc, pīˢ*	*pī'sī!*
Maternal uncle	*ax·ī'axatc*	*axa'x·!*
Paternal aunt	*ā'tatc*	*ā'at!*
Maternal aunt	*xukwî'nätc*	*kwä'kwī!*
Father-in-law	*mîtcʟ'tsînätc*	*ya'k·!* (?)
Mother-in-law	*qalî'ksätc*	*kwa'lîk!*
Son-in-law	*mî'nkatc*	(?)
Daughter-in-law	*mɛtūˢnätc* [1]	(?)
Brother-in-law	*ha'lîk!*	*hal!*
Sister-in-law	*kwī'hatc*	*kwī'hai!*
Relative, by marriage, after death of person whose marriage established the relationship.	*xa'yusʟätc*	(?)
Nephew (son of sister)	*tcwî'tätc*	*tcu!*
Nephew (son of brother)	(?)	*kwîne'wiʟ!* (?) *ncxlcu!* (?)
Niece (daughter of sister)	*upxanā'catc*	(?)
Niece (daughter of brother)	(?)	*pɛkwî'nʟī!*

[1] Alsea *maˢtūn.*

Besides the above-enumerated terms of kinship, there are two stems that are used as such, although they do not, strictly speaking, denote any degree of relationship. One of these is the term *sla'atc* (vocative *sla*), employed by the Coos in addressing a male member of the tribe, and even a stranger; and the other is *xwīl*, used in the same way in addressing females.

In one instance the term *kwe'nēL* is employed to denote SISTER, without mentioning the rank of her birth. All attempts to obtain the corresponding term for BROTHER have proved unsuccessful.

§ 66. SUFFIXES *-ēx, -īyEx, -īyetEx*

These three suffixes, occurring in a few instances only, seem to express the idea PERTAINING TO. They are suffixed to nominal and to adverbial stems.

be^{i}ldj north	*lE lā'mak· lala^{u} tE bîldjī'yEx* the bones those (are) the Umpqua Indians (literally, the Northern Indians) 50.5, 6
yî'qantc behind	*yîqa'ntcîmēx mä* the last generation 9.6
L!an-	*L!a'nēx qa'lyeq* new salmon 36.25
qa'lu winter (?) 162.20	*qa'lēx* old 38.18
qa'xan- up 14.1	*qaxanī'yetEx mä* from above the people 150.5
qā'yîs sky 6.1	*qāyîsa'yEx mä* the sky-people

ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES (§§ 67-70)

§ 67. Local and Modal *-ē^{i}tc, -ītc*

This suffix indicates rest, and was rendered by IN, AT, ON, UNDER. It is added to nouns and (very rarely) to verbs. For the parallel occurrence of *-ē^{i}tc* and *-ītc*, see § 2. (See note to § 36.)

yîxä'wEx house 22.25	*yîxä'wExē^{i}tc LōwA'kats* in the house he is sitting
L!tā country 30.28	*yEai' L!tā'ītc ɲītse'ts* in another country I stay 26.8, 9
he'wîlts road 138.17	*hewî'ltsītc stō^{u}q* on the road he stood 36.16
q^{u}wai'·s board 52.14	*î la^{u} quwai'·sītc tcî!cîle'·et* while she under the board was 58.25
xā^{a}p water 6.9	*xā^{a}'pītc djī û mî'le* in the water it was swimming 88.21
îx· canoe 44.20	*asî'L î'x·ītc ûx tc!ōwī'yat* in the middle (of the) canoe they two laid him down 126.23
kwî'leL sweat-house 62.25	*kwîle'·Lē^{i}tc tsxū läl tō'mîL* in the sweat-house lay that old man 28.11, 12

tîla'qai (many) live 36.11	*hî'nī* LŌ*wa'kats* LE *tīl* LE *mä xqat tîla'qayītc* there lived the kinsmen (among) the people (who) below lived 60.11

By prefixing to the noun the local prefix *x-* (see § 22), and by suffixing to it the suffix *-ē^{i}tc*, *-ītc*, the idea FROM is expressed.

qā'yîs sky 6.1	*xqa'yîsītc he'laq* from the sky he came
L*!tā* country 30.28	*xy*EA*i'* L*!tā'ītc* from another country 26.6
pqai' back 82.13	*xyû'xwä mä* L*!ō^{x}k·în̄ē^{i}'wat xpqai'-hītc* two men were supporting him from the back 40.9

When preceded by the discriminative *x-* (see § 23), this suffix assumes a modal significance, exercising the same function as the English adverbial suffix -LY or the word LIKE.

nmä'hen̄et it is populated 12.4	*hats kwa xmähe'ntītc stō'waq* just like a person he stood up 114.23, 24
	xmähe'ntītc k·îlō'wît LE *mä* like persons she saw the beings (look) 54.18
ā'yu sure enough 7.4	*gō^{u}s dī^{i}l īn xā'yuwītc tsxaū'wat* he killed a little of everything (literally, [of] everything not enough-ly he killed) 64.19, 20
qa'lyeq salmon 34.14	*xqa'lyeqē^{i}tc îl kwîna'ē^{i}wat* as salmon they look upon it 130.14
	xta'nuxwītc LŌ*wa'kats* sideways he was sitting 38.10
yîxē^{i}' one 5.5	*xyî'xē^{i}tc dä'mîl xyî'xē^{i}tc he'îl hū^{u}mä'k·e* each man has one wife (literally, one [modal] man, one [modal] their wives) 48.5

The prefix may sometimes be omitted, as shown by the following examples:

qantc where 8.8	*yî'kwan*L *qantcī'tc ten̥ la* perhaps shall which way this I go 100.18
qaic small 128.29	*qai'cītc ha^{u} îl yū'wîlt* into small pieces they divided it 130.26
tsä'yux^{u} small 20.5	*tsä'yuxwītc pî'lstat* to pieces it was smashed 124.14

Owing to its modal significance, this suffix expresses the idea of our collective numerals IN TWOS, IN THREES, when added to the cardinal numerals.

gō^{u}s qa'ntcītc xyûxwä'hē^{i}tc îł ła everywhere in pairs they went 48.8
xyîpsE'nē^{i}tc in threes (*yî'psEn* three)

§ 68. Local Suffix, Indicating Motion, *-etc*

The suffix *-etc* indicates motion, action, and may be rendered by AT, IN, THROUGH, ON, INTO.

tcîcī'mîł spruce-tree 20.5	*ʟ!aī'yat lE tsä'yux^{u} tcîcī'mîłetc* he put it on the small spruce-tree 20.8
dE'msît prairie 22.12	*lE'γī dEmste'tc ʟhî'ñap* a good prairie through he goes 22.11
yîxä'wEx house 22.25	*yîxä'wExetc ła* into the house he went 28.10, 11
	yîxä'wExetc djī to the house he came
tc!wäł fire 38.8	*tc!wä'łetc tłcîts* into the fire he shoved it 32.24
ä face 10.3	*kwîna'ē^{i}wat ä'hetc* he is looking at (his) face

When suffixed to a stem with an *a*-vowel, the suffix is changed to *-atc* (see § 7).

xā^{a}p water 6.9	*t^{E}k!wîł xā$^{a'}$patc* into the water he dove 26.27
ʟ!tā' ground 6.7	*ʟ!tā'atc lemī'yat* on the ground he put it 64.1

In some cases it may be suffixed to verbs.

tîła'qai (many) live 36.11	*tcī he'łaq lE mä tîła'qayetc* there he arrived, where the people were living 36.12, 13
stō^{u}q he stands 20.4	*tsō lE mä qał stō$^{w'}$qetc he'łaq* now to the person (that) below stood he came 92, 4, 5
alî'canī (they) play 94.8	*he'łaq lE mä alîcanī'waqatc* he came to the people (that) were playing 98, 14, 15

§ 69. Local *-ewîtc*

The local suffix *-ewîtc* is rendered by TOWARDS.

bᵉ'ldj north	*bîldje'wîtc qaï'cît* to the north he scattered 48.24
ē'qatce aside 26.20	*ēqatce'wîtc kwîlkwᵉ'lēⁱ'yu* to one side he was rolled 94.19,20
yî'qantc behind	*yîqantce'wîtc îlx* backwards he looked 32.13
qaits inside 140.24	*qaï'tsōwîtc îl te'ˣtîts* (inside) they entered 22.29
yîxä'wᴇx house 22.25	*yîxäwᴇxe'wîtc ǫla* towards the house I am going

§ 70. Instrumental *-ᴇtc*

It expresses our ideas WITH, AGAINST. When suffixed to a stem with an *a*-vowel, it is pronounced more like *-atc;* while, if suffixed to a stem with an *e*-vowel, it invariably sounded like *-etc.* When the instrumental idea WITH is to be expressed, the stem to which this suffix is added is very often preceded by the prefix *x-* (see § 24).

mā'lukᵘ paint	*mā'lukwᴇtc łtā'ȳaᵘ lä ä* red paint with was painted his face 10.2, 3
îx· canoe 44.20	*mä xîx·ᴇ'tc yîxu'm̄e* people in canoes travel (literally, with canoes) 90.3
tc!îltc! hammer 26.26	*tqanʟts tc!î'ltc!ᴇtc lᴇ kwî'laᵘ* he struck with a hammer the ice 28.1,2
mîx·sō'wēⁱ lucky 20.14	*hatā'yîms mîx·sō'wᴇtc alî'canī û mēn* lucky money with they are playing 94.27
q!e'lē pitch 82.23	*q!ɬē'yᴇtc laᵘ pāᵃts* with pitch it was full 74.25
mī'k·e basket 28.27	*xmīk·e'ᴇtc tōwî'tînīye* in a basket he was dropped down (literally, with a basket) 28.9,10
qā'yîs sky 6.1	*qā'yîsᴇtc tskwī* against the sky it struck 22.4
tqā'lîs sun 24.2	*tqā'lîsᴇtc panā'qtsxᴇm* in the sun he is warming himself 32.8
tc!î'lᴇ door 62.5	*x·neˣtîts tc!île'hᴇtc* she jumped against the door 76.2

In the following instance the suffix is changed, without any apparent cause, to *-yEtc.*

wa'lwal knife 78.11	*tᴱqanLī'yeqEm xwa'lwalyEtc* they hit her with a knife 80.5

In another instance it occurs as *-aᵘtc.*

gōᵘs dīⁱl tsäyä'nehaᵘtc nL!pe'ne dīⁱl with all kinds of small birds 46.2

When suffixed to the article or to the personal pronouns, this suffix is changed to *-îtc.*

lE it 5.1	*xle'îtc ûx k·!înt* with it they two try it 7.4
n̥'ne I 50.25	*n̥ne'îtc he'l̄aq* with (or to) me he came
eᵉne thou 15.7	*yeᵉne'îtc* with, to thee 18.11
xä he 15.10	*hexä'îtc* with, to her 86.3
xwîn we two	*hexwînne'îtc* with, to us two 24.3

§ 71. SUPERLATIVE *-eyîm*

This suffix indicates great quantity or quality. It corresponds to our superlative.

tsä'yuxᵘ small 20.5	*hE tsäyuxwe'yîm ā'la* the smallest child
he'm̄îs big 14.5	*hE hem̄îse'yîm yîxä'wEx* the biggest house

It is added mostly to terms of relationship that denote either a younger or an elder member of the family. In such cases it implies that the member spoken of is the younger (or elder) in a family consisting of more than two members of the same degree of kinship.

henî'kᵘnätc elder sister (out of two) 50.8	*wändj L!äts hE henîkuntce'yîm* that way spoke the eldest sister 126.16

§ 72. DISTRIBUTIVE *-înī*

-înī is suffixed to nouns of relationship only, and expresses a degree of mutual kinship. It is etymologically related to the verbal distributives *-nēⁱ*, *-änī* (see §§ 25, 37).

sla'atc cousin 42.21	*ûx sla'tcînī* they two were mutual cousins 42.15
hä'Lätc elder brother 72.27	*lîn häLtcî'nī* we are brothers mutually
mîLkwī'yätc younger brother 72.1	*kat'E'mîs îl mîLkwī'tcînī* five they (are) brothers (mutually) 90.8

§ 73. INTERROGATIVE *-ū*

It is added only to the particles *tcītc*, *qantc*, *mî'lätc*, *dīⁱl*, *wît*, *ītc*, to the adverb *nî'cîtc*, and to the stem *ītsé'ts* (see pp. 406, 407, 408, 411).

tcī'tcū xa'ɬal û mēn what are they doing? 92.18
xtcī'tcū teɳ xä'nîs how is it that I am sick?
laᵘ qa'ntcū ɬa that one where did he go? 94.25
mî'lätcū hanʟ eᵉwu'txe when will you return? 28.3,4
dīⁱ'lū he tᴇ eᵉwîɬō'wat what usually are you looking for? 54.3
dīⁱltcé'tcū hanʟ tᴇîs kˑ!înt with what shall we two try it? 7.1, 2
(*dīⁱltcé'tcū* = *dīⁱl* + *-tc* + *-ᴇtc* + *-ū* (see §§ 108, 25, 70, 11)
xwî'tū tsītxˑtī'yat who did it?
ī'tcū eᵉdōwā'ya é'xkan which one do you want? 50.17
îl nî'ctcū how many are they? (literally, [are] they a few?)
ītsé'tsū hemî'stᴇs tī'ye yîxä'wᴇx how big is your house? (literally, how [the] largeness [size] of your house?)

NUMERAL SUFFIXES (§§ 74–77)

§ 74. Ordinal *-îs*

The ordinal numerals are formed by adding to the cardinals (see § 101) the suffix *-îs*. The first two numerals are irregular, especially the ordinal for ONE. The adverbial stem *īla* AHEAD, the temporal adverb *yuwînt* BEFORE, or the same adverb with the adjectival ending *-īyᴇx*, are used in lieu of the missing regular ordinal numeral for ONE. The ordinal for TWO is formed by adding the suffix *-îs* to the adverb *asō* AGAIN.

ī'la, yuwî'nt, yuwî'ntīyᴇx first
asō'wîs second
yîpsᴇ'nîs third
hecʟⁱ'ʟîs fourth
katʿᴇ'mîsîs fifth

hēⁱ xä ī'la ʟowî'tat she first ran (literally, ahead) 56.9
leɳ yuwî'nt hūᵘ'mîs my first wife (literally, my wife [whom I had] before)
leɳ asō'wîs hūᵘ'mîs my second wife
Compare also *helmī'hîs* next day (*he'lmī* to-morrow 162.9) 6.7

Of an obscure composition is the indefinite ordinal *tsī'wîs* THE LAST. Its first component can not be explained, while the ending is plainly the ordinal suffix *-îs*.

tsō cku tsī'wîs now (this) must (have been) the last one 120.1

§ 75. Multiplicative *-en*

The multiplicative numerals are formed by adding to the cardinals the suffix *-en* TIMES.

1. *yîxe'n*
2. *tsō^{u}xe'n*
3. *yîpsE'nen*
4. *hecL$^{i'}$Len*
5. *kat'E'mîsen*
6. *yīxē$^{i'}$wîeqen*
7. *yûxwä'wîeqen*
8. *yīxē$^{i'}$ahälen*
9. *yûxwä'ahälen*
10. *Lep!qa'nîen*

The numeral for TWICE is irregular. It seems to be composed of the conjunction *tsō* NOW, of the inclusive personal pronoun *ûx*, and of the multiplicative suffix *-en*.

yîxe'n sLa'qa ła once bathing she went 84.24

tsō^{u}xe'n hanL ɳwu'txe in two days will I return (literally, twice) 28.4

kat'E'mîsen qa'xantc x'ne'^{x}tîts five times upwards (they) jumped 76.4

tsō k^{u} kwa nîctce'n qalîmī'ye then, perhaps, in a few days . . . (literally, now, perhaps, it seems, a few times, morning it got) 56.21

To this group belongs also the indefinite *weste'n* SO MANY TIMES, formed from the stem *wes* SO MANY.

hîs weste'n tsîx· ta hîs weste'n yEai' L!tā'ītc ɳītse'ts I stay here just as long as in the other country (literally, also so many times here, and also so many times in another country, I stay) 26.8, 9

§ 76. Ordinal-Multiplicative *-entcîs*

The ordinal-multiplicative numerals, expressed in English by AT THE FIRST TIME, AT THE SECOND TIME, are formed by means of the compound suffix *-entcîs*. This suffix consists of the multiplicative *-en* (see above), of the modal *-tc* (see § 36), and of the ordinal suffix *-îs* (see § 74).

xyīxē$^{i'}$wîeqe'ntcîs L!ē^{i}tc lä îluwe'^{x}tcîs at the sixth time went out her heart 76.6, 7

xkat'E'mîse'ntcîs at the fifth time

The ordinal suffix *-îs* may be omitted, as shown in the following example:

hecI$^{i'}$Lentc qalîmī'ye la^{u} łaatā'ya lä sla'atc on the fourth day he went to his cousin (literally, four times [at] morning it got . . .) 42.20, 21

§ 77. Distributive *-hîña*

Distributive numerals in the sense of ONE EACH, ONE APIECE, are formed by adding to the cardinal numerals the suffix *-hîña* (see General Remarks, pp. 326, 327). The first two numerals, *yîxẽ'* and *yûxwä*, change their final vowels into *a* before adding the suffix. This change may be due to purely phonetic causes (see § 7). The numeral for THREE, *yî'psEn*, drops its final *n* before taking the suffix.

yîxahî'ña one each
yûxwahî'ña two each
yîpsEhî'ña three each
hecL'Lhî'ña four each
kat'Emîshî'ña five each
gō^{u}s yîxahî'ña îł nhū^{u}mä'k·e lE wî'nqas û hī^{v}me all of the Spider's children have wives each (literally, all, one apiece, they with wives [are], the Spider's children) 58.9
yîxahî'ña hé'îs mî'laq we two have one arrow apiece

PLURAL FORMATIONS (§§ 78-79)

§ 78. Irregular Plurals

The majority of nominal stems have the same forms in singular and plural. There are, however, a number of nouns and adjectives that show in the plural a formation which is distinct from the singular form. This formation is based upon two grammatical processes, suffixation and phonetic change, and may be said to be of a petrified character. It is impossible to describe, or even suggest, the processes that may have taken place in this formation; hence no attempt will be made to discuss them in detail.

The following is a list of nominal stems that occur in two distinct forms, — one for the singular, and the other for the plural:

Singular	Plural	
ā'la 10.8	*hī^{v}me* 20.3	child
hū^{w}'mîs 24.6	*hū^{u}mä'k·e* 20.3	woman
tō'mîL 20.2	*tEmä'Le* 24.1	old man
dä'mîł 14.7	*tî'mîlī* 56.18	man
mä 10.1	*mēn* 24.22	human being
k·nes	*k·enē'yese* 30.16	hunchback
tsä'yux^{u} 20.5	*tsäyä'ne* 48.7	small
tce'xet	*tce'nîxet* 46.19	short
qaL	*kaLE'mka* 134.25	tall
aLî'maq 112.27	*aLî'maqa* 44.20	big
tcītc 10.9	*tîtcä'ne* 46.3	kind, manner

This distinction is not consistently carried out. Cases where the singular form is applied to denote plural concepts are quite numerous. This phenomenon is very natural, since in place of the idea of plurality we find rather the idea of distribution developed in Coos.

§ 79. Plural of Terms of Relationship, *-īyas*

The only substantives that form a plural by means of a specific plural suffix are the terms of relationship. The suffix employed for this purpose (*-īyas*) may be added directly to the stem, or may be preceded by the suffix of relationship, *-ätc* (*-atc*) (see pp. 365, 366).

	mEanī'yas parents 86.12
kwīya'ˣLtc younger sister 50.14	*kwīLtcī'yas* younger sisters 82.14
hä'Lätc older brother 72.27	*hälTcī'yas*, *hälī'yas* older brothers 130.23
e'kᵘLätc father 20.13	*ekᵘLtcī'yas*, *ekᵘLī'yas* fathers
eᵉ'nätc mother 68.16	*eᵉntcī'yas* mothers

This suffix may be present in the stem *L!tā'yas* VILLAGE, derived from *L!tā* EARTH, GROUND, COUNTRY. The initial *ī* of the suffix would amalgamate with the final *ā* of the stem into *ā* (see § 9), and the noun would express a collective plural.

§ 80. MINOR SUFFIXES

Besides the suffixes discussed in the preceding pages, Coos has a few suffixes of obscure function, that occur sporadically only, and that are confined to certain given stems. These suffixes are as follows:

-*i* occurs in one or two instances, and is rendered by AND ALL.

mî'laq arrow 12.10; *nmî'laqa* with arrow he is 20.18	*hemī'yat lE mä â kwā'xaL nmî'laqai* she took out a person's bow and arrow and all 62.23
lā'mak· bones 40.12	*ntᵉˣt ta nlā'mak·i* with flesh and bones and all

-*ca* is suffixed to the noun *hū'mîk·* OLD WOMAN. It was explained to me as having an endearing character, but instances are not lacking where the suffix is used in a derogatory sense.

wändj L!ä'xEm lE hūᵘmî'k·ca thus talking is the (dear) old woman 82.19, 20

Lxant tc!wälé'tc lE hūᵘmî'k·ca (she) threw it into the fire, the (bad) old woman (the Giant-Woman)

-*āyîms* occurs in three instances, and seems to have a nominalizing character.

tc!hats he put it out (the light) 128.16	*k·!ätc!hā'yîms la^{u} tc!île'et* it (the fire) is burning continually (literally, without [being] put out it is caused to burn) 40.25, 26
îce^{ɛ} tîtc! you two come in! 82.14	*tîtcā'yîms ŋdōwā'ya* to come in I (should) like
hethe'te rich 26.2	*hatā'yîms* money 20.15

-*īyaL, -āyaL,* are suffixed to a few verbal stems, and seem to denote the performer of an action.

ln- to hunt 24.26	*lnī'yaL mä* a hunter
alî'canī he plays	*alîcanī'yaL* a player
LōU- to eat	*Lōwī'yaL* a person that eats
	qacqayā'yaL a shadow (?) 104.9

-*īye, -äye.* This suffix is added to a number of stems expressing adjectival ideas. It is idiomatically employed in the formation of comparison (see p. 417), and in some instances it is used to indicate plurality of adjectival concepts. When used for the purpose of expressing comparison, it seems to have a nominalizing function.

pL!îs heavy	*yū kwa päL!ä'ye xkwî'na^{u}tc* they (pl.) look very heavy (literally, much as if weight [according to] appearance) 64.8
x·î'lwîs deep	*asî'L ła û x·îluwī'ye lEx ya'bas* the maggots go halfway deep (literally, middle, goes its depth [of] the maggots) 40.12
xū'us light	*hîs xä ta he'ûx xwä'wīye lE e^{ɛ}ne* they two are as light as you (literally, also he and their two light weight [as] yours)

Singular	Plural	
pL!îs	*päL!ä'ye*	heavy
mî'tsîs 128.20	*mätsä'ye*	wise
xū'us	*xwäwī'ye*	light

-*yîya* is suffixed in one or two instances to local adverbs, giving them an adjectival coloring, as it were.

hî'nī there 5.2

hînī'γîya mä dīⁱł laᵘ mî'tsîs from there the people something know 128.19, 20

tsî he'îł tama'łîs hînī'γîya mä just their fashion (of the) people from there 130.8, 9

The function of this suffix may best be compared to that of the German suffix *-ige* in phrases like—

der heutige Tag this day
die dortigen Einwohner the inhabitants from there

-ī has been found suffixed to the article only. It seems to express the idea of instrumentality, although this idea may be due to the prefixed instrumental *n-*.

lᴇ it, he, the 5.1

nle'hī ła with it he went 42.8

nle'hī wu'txe with it she returned 70.23

The infixed *h* is due to hiatus (§ 10).

Reduplication (§§ 81-83)

§ 81. *Introductory*

Reduplication as a means of forming grammatical processes is resorted to frequently in Coos. The reduplication may be either initial or final. Initial reduplication affects the consonant, vowel, or whole syllable. It consists in the repetition of the weakened vowel or consonant of the stem, or in the duplication of the first stem-syllable. The connecting vowel between two reduplicated consonants is the obscure ᴇ-vowel; but, owing to the great tendency of Coos towards euphony, this obscure vowel is frequently affected by the stem-vowel (see § 7). Final duplication is always consonantic, and consists in the repetition of the final consonant by means of a connecting obscure vowel, which very often changes its quality in accordance with the stem-vowel preceding it, or with the vowel of the suffix that follows it (see § 7).

The grammatical use of reduplication is confined chiefly to the verb.

§ 82. *Initial Reduplication*

Initial reduplication expresses, in connection with the proper verbal suffixes, intensity of action, repetition, duration, and customary action. It is employed, furthermore, in the formation of the passive

voice. Syllabic reduplication is used very often in addition to a phonetic device (see § 84) for the purpose of forming a number of verbs expressing transitive ideas of continuous duration. These verbs do not then require any of the transitive suffixes. This latter application may be of a later, secondary origin.

Examples of reduplication of initial sound, or of initial consonant and following vowel:

wī^{i}n- to cheat	*ᵉwîwīnā′mî* I am cheating you
qaic small 128.29	*qᴇqaĭ′cū lä wî′tîn* clubbed (into pieces) is his blood 10.6
aĭ′wît (he) killed them 124.4	*îl aiaⁱᵉwā′yu* they were killed 58.8
pîls- to tear up	*pᴇpîlsū′ye* he was torn up 48.16
tī^{w}- to coil	*ɳtîtīwē$^{i'}$wat* I am coiling it
ʟō^{u}- to buy	*ʟō^{u}ʟō^{u}wī′yeqᴇm* it is being bought 88.13, 14

Examples of syllabic duplication:

tcîne′henī he is thinking 24.13, 14	*ēn hanʟ tcîntcînā′îs* you sha'n't think of me 88.29
cîm- to attract	*cîmcîma′ē^{i}waq* it was attracting by means of its breath 88.25
ītîslō$^{w'}$wat he recognized it 30.28	*îtī′tîsî′lū* (she) is being recognized 56.5
ûx hî′tō^{u}ts they two put it down 7.4	*la^{u} hîthītōwē$^{i'}$wat* these he is putting down 34.8
lē^{i}p- to paint	*xle′îtc lîplī′yap lä ä* with it she painted their faces 122.6
ʟō^{u}r- to hit	*xnā^{a}nt la^{u} ʟō^{u}xʟō$^{w'}$wax* many that one were hitting 80.4, 5
pō$^{u'}$kwîs slave	*mä pō^{u}kpō$^{w'}$wak^{u}* people she was enslaving 70.15
wēʟ- to twist	*xqe′^{i}lʟc wîʟwē$^{i'}$yaʟ* slowly she is twisting him 60.7
sī′x·îts he shook it off 42.3	*ɳsîx·sī′yax·* I am shaking it off

Owing to the fact that reduplication and duplication are based upon the principle of consonantic or stem weakening, the repeated element occurs very often in a changed form. The following rules have been observed in this respect:

(1) The semi-vocalic *y* reduplicates into a long *ī*.

yîxe′ntce together 64.8	*īyîxantcū′ye* it was gathered up
yatē$^{i'}$wat he is coaxing him	*wändj îl ī′yatū* thus they were coaxed 98.4, 5

(2) The spirant *x·* in consonantic combinations, when reduplicated, becomes *k·*. In the same manner alveolar *s* becomes the affricative *ts*.

îs x·ʟ.!ō^{u}t we two put it in 26.25	*îl k·îx·ʟ.!ōwē$^{i'}$wat* they are putting them in frequently 52.9
x·tī it slid down 26.19	*k·îx·tī'yu* it was slid down 94.5
yîxe'n sʟa'qa la once to bathe she went 84.24	*tsîsʟa'qaai* she was bathing 84.21
stō^{u}q he stood 20.4	*tsEstōqē$^{i'}$yu* he was made to stand on his feet

(3) The reduplication of the fortis palatal *k!* consists in the mere amplification of the consonant by means of a prefixed *a*-vowel.

k!a'lat he shouted 36.7	*ak!a'laai lE hū$^{u'}$mîs* shouting is the woman 56.5

(4) Combinations of two or more consonants, of which a velar, a palatal, a nasal (*m*, *n*), an *h* or *l*, form the second element, reduplicate the second consonant. The lateral (*l*) is in such cases preceded by a vowel, since initial combinations of *l* + velar are impossible.

skwī'wat he informed him 164.22	*wändj kwîskwī'wat* that way he is informing her 60.19
tsxawī'yat he put it down 36.21	*xEtsxawē$^{i'}$wat* he is putting it down
ʟkwa'at he cut it off	*kwîʟkwā'yu* it was cut off 76.14
sqats he seized it 36.20	*mä qEsqā'yu* the person was seized 10.4
ʟ!xant he threw it 42.10	*xaʟ!xanē$^{i'}$wat* he is throwing it frequently
a'lqas fear 66.4	*aqa'lqsōnā'ya* he became afraid of him 28.24, 25
ʟ!ha'tsa he put on 28.23	*haʟ!hā'yu* it was put on
xmenī'yat he tipped it over 46.26	*mExmenē$^{i'}$wat* he is tipping it over
q!mîts she ate it 24.16	*mEq!mī'yu* it is eaten 142.6
x^{E}alī'yat he hugged him 116.4	*elxe^{ɛ}lē$^{i'}$yu* he was hugged

Compare also—

laî'xwît she jabbed him 112.17	*îlExā'ye* he was jabbed
ʟ!nō^{u}t he opens (the door)	*nōʟ!nōwe$^{i'}$wat* he is constantly opening (the door)

(5) Syllables ending in an *m*, *n*, *l* + consonant omit the *m*, *n*, and *l* in the repeated syllable.

kwîlt- to roar	*kwîtkwî'ltaai* it is roaring 114.6
qals- to cut	*qasqa'lsaai* he is cutting

x·ne'^{x}tîts he jumped 32.4	*x·îtx·î'ntaai* he is jumping
mî'ntcîts she asked him 62.15	*mîtcmî'ntcī'yeqEm* he is asked 70.9
ha^{u}mx- to dress hides	*ûx ha^{u}'xha^{u}ma^{u}x* they two are dressing hides 68.27, 28
dä'mîl man 14.7	*îc tɛltä'mîltu* you two (will) get strong 120.17, 18
k!ɯanx^{u}- to cut (the hair)	*k!ɯa'xk!ɯanax* he is cutting his hair
tsîlk· to tie a knot	*tsî'k·tsîlak·* he is tying a knot
sîlp- to comb (hair)	*sî'psîlap* he is combing (his hair)

A number of stems occur in parallel forms showing both consonantic reduplication and syllabic duplication.

yîxe'ntce together 64.8	*ĭyîxantce^{ɛ}nē^{i}'yu* it was gathered up
	yɛxyîxentce^{ɛ}'nē^{i}yu it was gathered up 84.16
x·ne'et he is on top 10.1	*x·înx·înē^{i}'ɯat* he is putting it on top
	x·î'x·întū it is being put on top
mîntc- to ask	*mîtcmî'natc* she is asking 80.12
	mɛmîntcū'ye he was asked
cūʟts he set afire	*cîʟcū'ʟaai* it is burning
	cɛcū'ʟū fire was set to 58.11

§ 83. *Final Reduplication*

Final reduplication is used for the purpose of expressing distribution, mutuality, and, in intransitive verbs, an action that is performed now and then (see § 37). It is also employed as a means of forming neutral verbs that indicate actions of long incessant duration.

yɛq he went away	*qai'nîs la^{u} yaq^{E}qä'nī* from the shore they are running away (one after the other, singly) 36.18, 19
sō^{ux}t- to trade	*îs sō^{ux}tîtä'nī hanʟ* we two will trade (mutually) 16.7, 8
hū^{u}'mîs woman 26.7	*înīɛxa'nā la^{u} hū^{u}mîsîsä'nī* themselves they marry 12.5
stō^{u}'ɯaq he stood 20.7	*stōɯa'qɛqänī* he is continually standing up and sitting down
kwîlī'yat he rolls it	*kwîl^{E}lä'nī lɛ baltī'mîs* rolling is the ocean 6.2
kw^{a}a'tîs dream 98.7	*la^{u} kwā^{a}t^{E}sîsä'nī* he is constantly dreaming (literally, now and then) 72.1

łk!wī tɛ xāᵃp runs down the water 16.9
x·pī lɛ yîxä'wɛx it burned down, the house 58.12, 13
wu'txe he came back 28.9

k!ᵘˣwī' lɛ hūᵘ'mîs the woman was lost 54.19
nɛq he ran away 100.16

łk!wa'kᵘ tɛ xāᵃp is continually running down the water 17.4
x·pa'ap lɛ yîxä'wɛx burning (down) is the house
wutxa'xa te'îs hī''me came back (one by one) our (dual) children 44.7

heẓ pʟpä'wîs k!u'waxᵘ my hat got lost (impersonal)
îł nɛqa'qa they ran away (severally)

There are a number of stems expressing verbal, nominal, and adjectival ideas, that appear invariably in reduplicated or doubled form. Some of these expressions are onomatopoetic in character; others may have been borrowed from the neighboring languages; while still others may be new formations, necessitated by the introduction of new ideas and concepts through the contact of the Coos with the white people. (See also § 116.)

The following is a partial list of such stems:

e'qeq killing spot 80.14 (compare *e'qe-* to die)
yî'myîm eyelash (compare *yîm-* to twinkle)
wa'lwal knife 78.11

ha'x·hax· wagon (compare *haⁱx·-* to drag)
hethe'te rich 26.2
heᵘ'heᵘ knot 92.8
pū'spūs[1] cat

pūᵘ'xpux a spout 30.25
mūs'mūs[1] cow

taᵘ'taᵘ basket 112.4
tsɛtse'kwîn cane 28.18
tsɛlî'mtsɛlîm button

lî'plîp white man's paint (compare *lēⁱp-* to paint)
tcō'xtcōx rabbit 60.23

g·îmg·î'mîs rain (compare *g·î'mīt* it rains)
k·î'nk·în stick

k·îsk·a'sîʟ fish-hawk
ku'kum raven
qatqaⁱ'ʟ belt 28.7 (compare *tqaⁱʟ-* to put a belt on)
qa'lqal digging-stick 26.17
x·î'nx·în saddle (compare *x·ne'et* it is on top)
xa'ʟxat ax (compare *ʟxat-* to chop)
xwa'lxwal eye 40.1
xwî'tsxūt deer 64.19

ta'ntan to come ashore (whale) 128.28
pī'ˣ·pī to go home 28.3
yū'yū to stop (while traveling) 5.2

[1] Chinook jargon.

Phonetic Changes (§§ 84-85)

Grammatical processes by means of phonetic changes are few in number, and not clearly developed. The phonetic change may be of a vocalic or consonantic character.

§ 84. *Vocalic Changes*

Vocalic change is confined to the verb, and consists in the amplification of the stem by means of a vowel (usually the *a*-vowel), or in the modification of the vowel connecting a suffix with a stem. Stem amplification is employed for the purpose of forming active or transitive verbs from verbal stems, and of denoting duration of action. The latter application occurs in verbs that have already been transitivized by means of some transitive suffix. The stem is frequently duplicated before amplification is applied to it (see §§ 82, 83). For another explanation of this phenomenon see §§ 4, 11.

tkwīL- to follow	*īn tcītc tkwī'yaL* (they) can not follow him
tcînL- to reach	*yîxä'wɛxɛtc tcî'naL lä k·umā'x.* to (the roof of) the house reached its horn 86.25, 26
stō·uq he stood 20.4	*nhaL.' stō'waq* at the foot of the tree he stood 26.17
ûx yū'yū they two stopped (for a moment) 5.2	*ûx yū'·wiyū* they two stopped (for a long time) 5.5
k.'a·u- to peck	*k·îlō'wît k.'a'wat* he saw him (in the act of) pecking at it 20.9
sîlp- to comb one's hair	*sî'psîlap* he is combing his hair
mîntc- to ask	*wändj mîtcmî'natc* that way she is asking 80.12
wīL- to twist	*xqe'ltc wīLwē'yaL* slowly she is twisting him 60.7.

Modification of a connecting vowel, whenever it occurs, is employed for the purpose of indicating duration of action. As this phenomenon has been discussed more fully in connection with the transitive suffixes *-t* and *-ts*, the reader is referred to the chapters dealing with those suffixes (see § 26 and also p. 357), in order to avoid repetition.

ûx lî'cît they two shake it 13.8	*lî'cat hɛ L.'tā* (he) is shaking the earth continually 16.2
ɣmu'xwît I felt it	*ɣmu'xwat* I am feeling it
ɣltîts I painted it	*ɣltats* I am painting it

§ 85. *Consonantic Changes*

The application of consonantic changes as a means of forming grammatical processes is a very peculiar phenomenon, characteristic of the Coos language. Its use is confined to a very few instances; and the process, while to all appearances consisting in the hardening of the final consonant, is of such a petrified nature that it is no longer possible to analyze it. It occurs only in a few nouns of relationship, and its significance may be said to be endearing and diminutive. The following examples of consonantic change have been found:

kwē'ⁱs a young woman 86.1	*kwē'îk·* a young girl 12.2
hū^{u}'mîs woman 24.6	*hū^{u}'mîk·* old woman (used in the same sense as we use our phrase MY DEAR OLD WIFE) 58.5
dä'mîł man 14.7	*tō'mîʟ* old man 20.2
dī'lōł young man 22.6	*dī'lōʟ* young boy 60.2

Syntactic Particles (§§ 86-95)

§ 86. *Introductory*

By syntactic particles is meant here the great number of enclitic and proclitic expletives that are employed in Coos as a means of expressing grammatical categories and syntactic relations. They cover a wide range of ideas, and refer more properly to the whole sentence than to any specific part of it. With the exception of two particles, none of them are capable of composition; that is to say, they can not be used with any suffix or prefix, although two or even three particles may be combined into one. Such combined particles usually retain the functions of each of the component elements. All syntactic particles are freely movable, and may be shifted from one position to another without affecting the sense of the sentence.

§ 87. *Temporal Particles*

1. ***han*** ABOUT TO. It denotes actions that will take place in the immediate future. Its position is freely movable, and it may be placed before or after the verb.

tsō han kwīⁱłt hɛ k·îtsîmä'mîs now he was about to bend the half 62.29

xᴱalī'yat han hɛ dī'lōł he is about to hug the young man 114.26.

2. ***hanL*** SHALL, WILL. It is regularly used to denote a future action, and it is the sign of the future. It either precedes or follows the verb.

neɣ pkā'katc hanL ɣk·îlō'wît I will see my grandfather
gō^{u}s dī^{i}l hanL hä'wī everything will grow 9.3
cîn sqats hanL tE tc!wäl you shall seize that yonder fire 40.18, 19
îs alî'canī hanL we two will play 38.11
īn lE'yī hanL not good will (it be)

3. ***Eît*** INTEND, ABOUT TO. It gives the sentence the force of a periphrastic future. It either precedes or follows the verb.

î qantc Eît e^{E}la when anywhere you intend to go 15.3
î dī^{i}l îl LōwēE^{i}'wat Eît when something they intend to eat 38.2
qaik^{u} ûx wutxa'xa Eît te'îs hī^{i}'me I thought that they two should come back, those our (dual) children 44.7

4. ***nīk!wa*** USED TO (BE). It denotes an action that took place long ago. It is often used as a sign of the past tense. In such cases it is always preceded by the particle *he* USUALLY (see below), and it follows the verb which is used in its repetitive form.

tē^{i} nīk!wa ye^{E}ne^{u} nā'hîn this used (to be) your shinny club 38.16
xā^{a}p ɣlu'qwît nīk!wa water I used to boil
ɣwîwī'naai he nīk!wa I used to cheat
ɣsî'psîlap he ɣx·ne'k· nīk!wa I used to comb my hair

By suffixing to *nīk!wa* the obsolete suffix *-lī*, the temporal adverb *nīk!wa'lī* YESTERDAY is obtained.

nīk!wā'lī ɣqa'la yesterday I crossed (the river)
hū^{u}'mîs he'laq lE nīk!wa'lī a woman arrived yesterday 142.10

5. ***he*** USUALLY, FREQUENTLY, HABITUALLY, denotes an action that is performed very frequently. The particle either precedes or follows the verb. The verb is very often used in the repetitive form, whenever possible.

gō^{u}s mî'lätc he L!ä'xEm always usually he is talking 15.4
tEmä'Le mä la^{u} tc!îcîla'ē^{i}wat he old people on that sit habitually 38.3

When following the future particle *hanL*, or its potential form *yanL* (see p. 391), *he* coalesces with them into *hanLawe* and *yanLawe* respectively.

yanLawe dī^{i}l e^{E}qa^{u}wenîsa'nāya, hanLawe xle'îtc l'nuwī e^{E}L!ä'xEm whenever you will get mad at something, you will talk with it

loud (literally, if shall usually something you get angry at it shall usually with it hard you be talking) 16.3, 4

yanʟawe xqantc mä hū'yam, lɛla^{u} hanʟawe e^{ɛ}kwā'nanā'ya whenever a person gets ready to come from somewhere, this you shall usually tell (literally, if shall usually from where a person get ready [to come] this shall usually you tell it) 19.3, 4

The particle *he* amalgamates with the adverb *yū* VERY into a temporal adverb, *yuwe* WHENEVER.

xa'lwîs he yuwe la^{u} yîxu'$\overline{m}$e warm usually (it is) whenever that one travels 24.6

yuwe yî'mat ha^{u} gō^{u}s mî'lätc lōk^{u}lō'kwaai whenever he twinkles (his eyes), it is always lightning 16.6, 7

The same process may have taken place in the rare adverb *towe* WHEN. The first component may be a stem, *to-*, while the second element is the particle *he*. The example given below will substantiate this assertion. We have here a complex of two sentences stating a fact of frequent occurrence. In the first sentence the repetitive particle occurs clearly, while it seems to be missing in the subordinate sentence. And since, according to the examples given above, all the components of a complex of sentences must show the particle *he*, it is safe to assume that the frequentative particle is one of the two elements in *towe*. The example follows:

xyɛaî' ʟ!tā'ītc he ûx yîxu'$\overline{m}$e towe hū^{u}'mîs hīk!a'mtīye from another country usually they two travel when(ever) a woman gets her monthly courses 26.6, 7

§ 88. *Particles Denoting Degrees of Certainty and Knowledge*

6. ***kwa*** IT SEEMS, AS IF, LIKE, KIND OF, denotes an object or an action the quantity or quality of which is not intimately known to the speaker.

hats kwa tō'hîts just as if he hit it

kā^{a}s kwa lî'cat he ʟ!tā almost as if he shook the earth 16.2

hats kwa ū'yu wîna'qaxɛm lāl lōwē^{i}'wat just like a rainbow is spread out that (which) he was eating 32.14

hats kwa ɳtō'mîʟ just like an old man I (am)

7. ***yîku, k^{u}*** MAYBE, PERHAPS, I GUESS. Both forms appear without any apparent distinction. This particle may apply to any part of speech in a sentence, and its position is freely movable. It has a

dubitative character. It expresses the possibility of a certain action taking or having taken place, and at the same time doubts the certainty of its occurrence.

hî'nī k^u ē'k·ɛxɛm lī'ye hä'lätc there perhaps amongst (them) is your elder brother 94.28
tsî k^u îc hewesé'nī merely perhaps you two are lying 28.13, 14
la'yɛtat k^u (she) may get hungry 64.15
e^{ɛ}xä'nîs k^u maybe (that) you are sick

This particle is very often followed by the negation *īn* NOT.

yîku īn xä'nîs he is probably sick (literally, maybe [or maybe] not he is sick)

When followed by the future particle *hanl*, it amalgamates with it into *yîkwanl* or *kwanl* (see §§ 8, 9), and it is translated by (I) WONDER WHETHER, (I) SUPPOSE IF.

nī kwanl ā'ȳa ŋqā'ya won't I loose my breath? (literally, not I perhaps will [be] gone my breath) 54.13, 14
la^u ŋxl!'ts kwanl suppose I hit that one with a club (literally, that one I hit it with a club perhaps shall) 124.16
yîkwanl dī'ltē^i ŋlōwē^i'wat I wonder what I shall eat (literally, maybe will that there I eat it) 32.19, 20

It is contracted with the following *ūl* into *yîkūl*, *kūl* (see § 9 and p. 391).

yîkūl īn le'yī perhaps that will be good (literally, perhaps would [be] that not good)
yîkūl xtcītc yūl lîm ŋha^{ux}ts I wonder how it would be if I should make a dam (literally, perhaps would [be] how, if should a dam I make) 34.16
īn kūl qaic ha^w'pît teŋ xmî'nkatc could not my son-in-law cut off a chunk? (literally, not perhaps would a chunk cut off this my son-in-law) 128.29

When followed by the particle *îl* SURELY (see p. 388), it is contracted with it into *yîkwîl* or *kwîl* (see § 8), and lends to a statement a high degree of probability.

qa'wax kwîl lī'ye hä'lätc above may (be) surely your elder brother 96.4, 5

The particle *yîku*, *k^u*, appears sometimes as *yîkwa*, *yîkwe*, or *kwe*. The reason for this phonetic change could not be found.

yîkwa qantc la where may it have gone? (literally, perhaps somewhere it went?) 88.3

yîkwe dīⁱł tE n̥k·îłō'wît what may it be that I see? (literally, perhaps something this I see it) 108.11

kwa kwe yū īn ā'yu L sla? (I) wonder if it is not so, cousin? (literally, as if perhaps very not surely [it] must be, O cousin!) 38.21

8. ***hakwał, kwał.*** A compound particle having the same significance as *kwa.* It consists of the unexplained prefix *ha-* (which seems to occur also in *hamīL*, see p. 392), the particle *kwa*, and the abbreviated form of *dīⁱł* (see p. 407).

hakwał x·îā'ȳam lE lî'kwît kind of reddish (were) the feathers 20.10

k!wāᵃnt hakwał qa'lᵘxtat he heard some kind of a noise (literally, he heard as if a noise were made) 60.29

9. ***qẽn*** denotes suspicion. It is very difficult to render it in English otherwise than by a whole sentence.

kwa qẽn dīⁱł L!î'mEq she suspected some scent (literally, as if, suspicion, something [a] smell) 24.10

kwa qẽn mä îc sLna'ēⁱwat it seems as if you two are hiding a person (literally, as if, suspicion, a person you two are hiding) 24.11

10. ***qaiku*** expresses a supposition on the part of the speaker. It was invariably rendered by I THOUGHT. Its first component can not be analyzed, while the second is clearly the particle *kᵘ*.

qaiku ûx wutxa'xa Eît te'îs hīⁱ'me I thought they two were going to come back, these our two children 44.7

qaiku īn îl yeᵉneᵘ' łō I thought not surely (this was) your property 112.7

11. ***qainī.*** Neither of the two elements of this particle can be analyzed. It indicates that a certain fact came suddenly into one's recollection, and may best be translated by OH, I RECOLLECT, I REMEMBER. It is usually amplified by the particle *L* (see p. 392), which either follows it immediately or else is placed at the very end of the sentence.

qainī L nwa'waLa û qāyîs he recollected that this was a spider (literally, recollection, must be, with [its] spider, world) 30.3

qainī kᵘ nłō'we û qā'yîs L he came to remember that there was such a thing (literally, recollection, perhaps, with such a thing, the world, must [be]) 32.9

12. ***natsī.*** It is used by the speaker for the purpose of expressing doubt. It was rendered by I DOUBT.

natsī xdīⁱł laᵘ ʟōwēⁱ'wat I doubt (whether) some one (will) eat it 36.9

natsī xtcītc łîn sqats (we) doubt (whether) we (shall) catch it 56.19, 20

13. ***hẽn*** HEARSAY. It denotes that a certain occurrence or fact is known to the speaker from hearsay only. It may best be translated by I WAS TOLD, IT IS SAID.

hä'wī hẽn lᴇ wî'nqas û temî'snätc grew up the Spider's grandson, it is said 66.11, 12

pᴇnʟō'wai hẽn ta'ntan whales are reported to (have) come ashore 128.28

yeᵉneᵘ ʟ̥'le hẽn laᵘ n̥ai'wît your enemies (as I heard you say) those I killed 110.16, 17

14. ***îl*** SURELY, CERTAINLY, confirms a statement, and gives it the appearance of certainty. It is often used in apposition to *hẽn*, whenever the speaker wishes to imply that he himself was a witness of a certain occurrence. It denotes knowledge by experience, and may be translated by I SAW IT. It either follows or precedes that part of a sentence which it is to specify more clearly.

mä îl n̥ʟōwēⁱ'wat persons I do eat, indeed 24.18

n̥îloxqai'nîs mä îl I am a doctor, surely 10.2

tcī îl eᵉʟōᵘkᵘ there, indeed, sit down 38.22

n̥k·îłō'wît îl I saw him, for sure

xä'nîs îl he is sick (I saw it)

lᴇ'γī hanʟel it will be good certainly 15.9 (*hanʟel* = *hanʟ* + *îl* see § 7)

īn hel sla not so, cousin 42.23 (see § 7)

15. ***cku*** indicates knowledge by evidence. It is used whenever the speaker wishes to state a fact that occurred beyond doubt, but whose causes are not known to him. It is composed of c^E (see p. 389) and k^u. It may be rendered by IT MUST HAVE BEEN THAT.

yû'xwä cku hūᵘmä'k·e yu'kwe two women must have gone ashore 126.11, 12 (the speaker knows this fact to be true by examining the tracks on the sand beach)

hats cku kwa xmä laᵘ tcī hîthītōwēⁱ'wat just it must be as if a person that thing there put it 112.2 (the evidence of this fact was the finding of the object in question)

§ 89. *Particles Denoting Connection with Previously Expressed Ideas*

16. ***yîqax, yîqa.*** The exact significance of this particle is not clear. It was rendered by STILL, ANYWAY, AT ANY RATE, NEVERTHELESS, RIGHT AWAY, JUST. In some cases it denotes a continual action.

yîqa īn tō'hîts hE to'qmas still not he hit the woodpecker 22.5
yîqa hanL tsîx· e^{s}hak^{u}tō^{w}'wat tī'ye îx· at any rate, you will here leave your canoe 54.10, 11
yîqax hanL n̥la right away I am going
mā yû'xwä mä la, yîqa îl tsxaū'wat even if two persons go, nevertheless they kill them 90.10
hats yîqa xqa'wax ûx kwîna'ē^{i}wat just continually from above they two look at it 6.9

17. ***qats*** HOWEVER, NEVERTHELESS, NOTWITHSTANDING.

xqa'wax hä'k!wîtēm, la^{u} qats kwa ā'yu LōwA'hai qa'xantc from above, some one pulled him, however, it seemed as if he surely ran upwards (by himself) 92.9, 10
qats kwîLkwā'yu, hats leqa^{w}'we lE ā'la nevertheless it was cut off (and) it just died, the child 76.15, 16

18. ***mā*** BUT, EVEN IF, REALLY.

mā yû'xwä mä la, yîqa îl tsxaū'wat even if two persons go, nevertheless they kill them 90.10
ma yanLawe tî'mîłī dī^{l} e^{s}tō'hîts, yîqa hanLawe la^{u} e^{s}tsxaū'wat even if strong something you will strike, still you will kill it 124.11, 12

mā with the negative particle *īn* is rendered by NOT AT ALL.

mā īn mä kwaā'nīya, mā wändj L!ä'xEm not at all people he saw, nevertheless that way he was talking (making believe that he saw them) 30.27

19. ***nā, nāyim*** BECAUSE.

e^{s}alqsîtā'mî, nāyîm wändj e^{s}L!ä'xEm you scare me, because that way you are talking 110.15, 16
nā ā'yu qa'lyeq ha'ltsat because surely salmon (will) come into the river 36.26

§ 90. *Particles Denoting Emotional States*

20. ***c^{E}*** expresses slight surprise at a state of affairs that has come into existence contrary to one's expectations.

hū^{w}'mîs c^{E} la ā'la a female (was) his child (a boy was expected in this case) 108.6

dä'mîł c^E *ā'yu* a man (it was) surely
tslîmī'ye c^E summer it got 30.20
tsō c^E *ʟq!* now it was cooked 34.2
yū c^E *ʟe* e^s*k!a'lat* too loud you shout (literally, very contrary to my expectations you shout [the speaker ordered the whale to shout loud, but he did not expect such a noise; hence the use of c^E in this sentence]) 36.15
hä'wī c^E *lɛ wî'nqas û temî'snätc* grown up (has) the Spider's grandson (this statement was made by a person who believed the boy to have been dead) 64.24, 25

c^E is combined with the future particle *hanʟ* into *canʟ*, and with the potential *ūʟ* into *cūʟ* (see § 9). These new particles express expectation that will certainly be fulfilled, and may be translated by I HOPE, IT OUGHT.

e^s*lɛ'yī canʟ* you will be all right (I hope) 124.14
nī canʟ tcītc xa'ltīł (I hope) he won't do anything to me (literally, not to me, it ought, what he does) 116.2
yū cūʟ ŋk·!äk·înā'wîs yūʟ ŋʟî'mlet I ought to get very tired, if I keep on spearing (literally, very much, it ought to be, I without laziness, if should I spear it) 34.17
lɛ'yī cūʟ î la^u *īn kwîʟkwā'yu* good it might have been if that one not had been cut off 76.16
la^u *cūʟ nî'cîtc îs pīī'yat* (of) that a little we two ought to take home 112.3

c^E is frequently prefixed to the demonstrative pronoun *tɛ*, forming a new particle *ctɛ* or *cta*. This particle often follows the interrogative forms of *tcītc*, *dīi'l*, and *wît* (see pp. 407, 411), giving the interrogation a tinge of surprise, as it were.

e^s*wî'tū cta* who are you? (literally, you, who is it?)
dīi'lū cta tɛ ŋk·îłō'wît what do I see? (literally, what is it that I see?) 106.16, 17
xtcī'tcū cta tɛ la^u *īn ʟ!nō^u'tat* why does it not come open? (literally, why is it that that one not comes open?) 76.4

21. ***cîł*** INDEED. Composed of c^E and *îł*. It has retained the significance of both of its component elements. It consequently denotes a fact known by actual experience, at the occurrence of which the speaker is surprised, as it came into existence contrary to his expectations.

hîs cîł e^s*ne ye*^{s} *mē^{i}lä'kuk^u la û x·na'at* also indeed, thou, O heart of salmon! runnest? 36.19, 20
tsō cîł xwändjī'ye now, indeed, that way it is 8.2
e^s*ne cîł* you it is, indeed 10.3

This particle occurs frequently with the transitional suffix *-īye* (see § 35).

hî'nī cîlī'ye māndj k!wā^{a}nt there, indeed, already he felt it 32.16, 17

22. ***hîtc*** indicates surprise. The native Coos is unable to render it. Its meaning was deduced from the sense of the sentences in which it occurred.

hē^{i}hats dä'mîl k·îlō'wît tsxū hîtc lɛn henî'k^{u}nätc suddenly a man she saw lying with her elder sister 50.22, 23

mä hem'tset hîtc a person was laid bare 58.22

§ 91. *Particles Denoting the Conditional*

23. ***ūL*** WOULD, SHOULD. It puts the sentence in which it occurs in a potential mode. It may either precede or follow the verb to which it belongs.

kat'ɛ'mîsen qałîmī'ye ūL wu'txe teƞ ā'la in five days, if should return my child 42.22, 23

la^{u} ūL ƞk·îlō'wît alî'canī û mēn (I) should be the one to see them play, if— 92.16

ƞk·î'lō^{u}ts ūL I should find it if—

xtcī'tcūL how would it be if— 5.2 (contracted from *xtcī'tcū* + *ūL*; see § 9).

24. ***yūL*** IF—SHOULD, IF—WOULD. It gives the sentence a conditional tinge. It occurs usually in the subordinate sentence whenever *ūL* has been used in the co-ordinate sentence, although it is frequently used independently of *ūL*. It always precedes the verb.

xtcī'tcūL yūL îs sō^{x}tîtä'nī how would it be if we two should trade? 15.6

yūL kwîna'ē^{i}wat la^{u} īn ūL aiai^{s}wā'yu lɛ hī^{i}'me if she had seen it, they not would have been killed, the children 58.10, 11

lɛ'yī yūL ƞnLî'me good (would it be) if I should have a fish-trap 34.19

25. ***yanL*** IF expresses the conditional in the present or future tense. It usually precedes the verb, and it is used in subordinate sentences in apposition to *hanL*. It also occurs independently of *hanL*. Since the native Coos does not distinguish between the conditional present and future tenses, *yanL* is used to express also the present conditional.

îł nī hanL kwîna'īł, yanL ƞc^{E}a'lctet they will not see me, if I [will] work 128.23, 24

yanL ēn dōwā'ya xwändj, yîxē'' dī'l hanL e^{s}mîtsmîtstā'mî if you don't want it that way, one thing I will teach you 124.7, 8

. . . *yanL yEai' L!tā'atc îs he'laq* when in another country we two shall arrive 28.23

ŋk·!int yanLel I guess, I will try, surely (literally, if I shall try, surely; *yanLel=yanL+îl;* see § 7)

§ 92. *Exhortative Particles*

26. *L* MUST, NECESSARILY. It signifies that a certain state of affairs or an action must take place. It has therefore the force of an emphatic imperative. It is placed either before or after the verb (or noun), no matter whether the verb is used in its imperative form or not.

ltcîla'aîs L cîn la'Ex close to the shore you (must) go 30.23

qa'xantc L pEī'tE loud you (must) shout (literally, shout upwards) 30.26

īn L tcītc xa'ltE teŋ dä'mîl don't you do anything to my husband (literally, not [must], manner, do it, [to] that my husband) 26.15

cîne^{s} tîla'qai L you must stay (here)

e^{s}lEqa^{u}wîya'tanī L you (must) tell a story 38.13, 14

lō L ūL le'yī this must be good (literally, that thing, necessarily, should be good) 40.25

27. ***hamīL, mīL, īL.*** The exact function of this particle defies all attempts at an explanation. It was usually translated by LET ME, I SHOULD LIKE TO, BETTER (IT WILL BE, IF), whenever it referred to the speaker. When referring to the person spoken to or spoken of, it was rendered by BETTER, YOU MAY, PLEASE, A WHILE.

hamīL ŋkwîna'ē^{i}wat I should like to look at him

mīL dîltē'' tō'hîts better hit this one 124.15

hamīL e^{s}ne xle'îtc e^{s}k·!'ntqEm you may with it try 92.1

hamīL e^{s}L!äts please, speak 16.2

mīL halt! e^{s}ne xle'îtc e^{s}L!äts now you with it speak (a while) 16.5

īL hanL xtcītc xa'ltd? what (would be) better to do? 86.10

In examining these sentences one must arrive at the conclusion that *hamīL* (or *mīL*) is of an exhortative character. By its means the speaker either asks permission of the imaginary person spoken to, to perform a certain action, or he conveys a polite command to the person spoken to. In both cases the granting of the desire is a foregone conclusion.

hamīL and *mīL* are contracted with the periphrastic *han* into *hamīLan* and *mīLan*, adding to the particle a future significance.

hamīLan ɳL!ē'tc let me go out 28.26
hamīLan nî'k·în ɳwîlō''wat let me look for wood 102.3
mīLan e'muxtîtsā'mî permit me to feel of you 72.17

28. ***kwîs*** LET US TWO. This particle is composed of the particle *k*^{u} PERHAPS and of the inclusive form of the personal pronoun *îs* WE TWO. Its function is that of an imperative for the inclusive. The verb, which it always precedes, takes the imperative suffixes.

kwîs Lxa'tE let us two chop wood 26.15, 16
kwîs tsE'mtîtsE tE tahā'lîk· let us two loosen that quiver 122.27

29. ***kwîn*** LET US (ALL) exercises the function of the imperative for the first person plural. The first component is, beyond doubt, the particle *k*^{u} PERHAPS. The second element can be no other than the personal pronoun for the first person plural *lîn*. The contraction of *k*^{u}+*lîn* into *kwîn* may have been effected by the analogy of *k*^{u}+*îs* into *kwîs*.

kwîn Le tsxe'we let us kill him quickly 68.3
kwîn sqa'tsE let us seize it

§ 93. *Particles Denoting Emphasis*

30. ***hē^{i}.*** By its means the Coos emphasizes any part of speech. It usually precedes the word to be emphasized.

hē^{i} yū xtcä'yux^{u} mä a very insignificant man (literally, emphasis, very small man) 42.6
hē^{i} xä ī'la Lowî'tat xā'^{a}patc she first ran into the water 56.9
hē^{i} cîl kwē^{i}k·ī'ye surely, indeed, it was a girl 12.1, 2

Whenever *hē^{i}* precedes the conjunction *hats*, it forms a new particle, which is rendered by SUDDENLY.

hē^{i}hats mä k·îlō'wît suddenly a person she saw 54.2
hē^{i}hats L!nō^{u}'tat lE tc!î'lE suddenly came open the door 62.5

31. ***hē^{i}kwaīn*** EXCEEDINGLY (like the English colloquial AWFULLY). This particle consists of the following three independent and separable components: *hē^{i}*, *kwa*, and *īn*. Literally translated, the particle means VERILY, IT SEEMS NOT. Since the phrase is used as a sort of an exclamation with an interrogative character, it may best be compared to our English exclamation ISN'T THIS A FINE DAY! which really means THIS IS A FINE DAY.

hē'kwaīn le'yī û îluwe'^{x}tcîs she was awfully glad (literally, what, as if not her heart good?) 64.9, 10

hē'kwaīn xhū'wîs mä a very poor man (literally, what, as if not a poor man?) 42.5

hē'kwa îl īn dōwā'ya they liked him very much (literally, what, as if they not liked him?) 24.29

32. ***ītE*** is used in direct discourse only. It always follows the word that is to be emphasized.

ẓ'ne ītE le e^{s}dōwāyExtā'îs qa^{u}'wa I am (emphatic) the one you wanted (last) night 50.25, 26

e^{s}hū^{u}'mîs ītE! you will (be) a woman (emphatic) 24.20

tē' ītE kwā'xaL lī'ye e'k^{u}Lätc this (emphatic) (is) the bow (of) thy father 62.24

qa'lyeq ītE īn ītE pEnLō'wai it is salmon, not whale (literally, salmon [emphasis], not [emphasis] whale) 130.12, 13

§ 94. *Restrictive Particles*

33. ***La*** ONLY. It limits the action to a certain object. It always follows the word so limited.

la^{u} La īn tcītc xalt (to) that only not anything he did 68.13

wa'lwal La ā'tsEm a knife only give me 80.14, 15

wändj La ûx kwee'nīyēm that way only people know them two 19.10

34. ***tsî*** SIMPLY, MERELY, JUST. It has a slight restrictive character.

tsî e^{s}qa'qal you were merely sleeping 68.19

yîxe'n qalîmī'ye tsî īn dī^{i}l one morning, it was simply gone (literally, once, morning it got, simply, not something) 88.3

tsî contracts with the following *hanL* into *tsanL* (see § 9).

tsanL e^{s}tā'tcînts only then shall you have it 78.15

§ 95. *The Interrogative Particle* ī

35. ***ī.*** This particle, exercising the function of our sign of interrogation, is used only in sentences that have no other interrogation. It is usually placed at the end of the sentence.

ā'yu e^{s}îloxqai'nîs ī surely (art) thou a doctor? 10.4

tsîx· ûx la ī did they two go (by) here? 96.18, 19

e^{s}kwîna'ē^{i}wat ī neẓ hä'Lätc have you seen my elder brothers? 96.18

When preceded by the particle *han*, ī is rendered by MAY I?

ẓq!mîts han ī may I eat it?

THE PRONOUN (§§ 96-100)

§ 96. The Independent Personal Pronouns

Coos has two sets of independent personal pronouns, formed from two different stems.

The first of these two sets is formed from the stem *-xkan* for the first and second persons, and *-xka* for the third person, to which are prefixed the personal pronouns (see § 18), giving the following series:

Singular	1st person	*nɛ'xkan*
	2d person	*e'xkan*
	3d person	*xä'kä*
Dual	Inclusive	*ísnɛ'xkan*
	Exclusive	*xwinnɛ'xkan*
	2d person	*icc'xkan*
	3d person	*úxxä'kä*
Plural	1st person	*linnɛ'xkan*
	2d person	*cine'xkan*
	3d person	*ílxä'kä*

The obscure vowel in *nɛ'xkan* is due to the law of consonantic clusters (see § 4).

For the dropping of the glottal stop, inherent in the second person singular, see § 3.

The peculiar vowels in the third person singular may be the combined effect of accent and of the dropping of the final *n*.

It will be seen from this table that the singular forms are the basis for the corresponding dual and plural forms. Thus, the inclusive is formed by combining the inclusive pronoun *ís* with the singular for the first person *nɛ'xkan;* the second person dual is composed of the personal pronoun for the second person dual *îc*, and the singular for the second person *e'xkan;* etc.

These pronouns have the force of a whole sentence, and may be translated by I (THOU, HE . . .) AM THE ONE, WHO ——

nɛ'xkan hanʟ la^{u} ŋx·întī'yat tɛ xā^{a}p I will be the one to run away with that water 40.20, 21

hîs hanʟ é'xkan yîxē$^{i'}$é^{ɛ}k!wînt also thou shalt be the one to shoot one (arrow) 13.1

That the dual and plural forms of this set are not felt to be integral units, and may easily be separated according to their component elements, is best shown by the following example:

tsō hanL nE'xkan xwîn e^{s}ī^{i}ltā'mî now will we two tell thee 126.21, 22 (*nE'xkan xwîn* instead of *xwînnE'xkan*)

This use of the singular pronouns in place of the plural has been referred to in § 46.

The second set of independent personal pronouns may be called the "verbal set." These pronouns are formed by prefixing the personal pronouns *ẓ*, *e^{s}*, etc., to the stem *-ne*, which seems to have a verbal significance. The pronouns thus obtained may be translated by IT IS I, IT IS THOU, etc.

The third persons singular, dual, and plural have no special forms in this set; but they are replaced by *xä*, *ûxxä*, *îlxä*, forms related to *xä'kä*, *ûxxä'kä*, and *îlxä'kä*.

The series follows.

Singular	1st person	*ẓ'ne*
	2d person	*c^{s}ne*
	3d person	*xä*
Dual	Inclusive	*t'sne*
	Exclusive	*xwîn'ne*
	2d person	*t'cne*
	3d person	*û'xxä*
Plural	1st person	*lin'ne*
	2d person	*cîn'ne*
	3d person	*îl'xä*

hîs hanL ẓ'ne tcī ẓla I too will go there 94.22
halt! e^{s}ne tsîx· e^{s}stō^{u}q now it is thy turn to stand here 64.32
hîs xä c^{E}a'lctet she too is working 22.26, 27

The Possessive Pronouns (§§ 97-98)

§ 97. *The Sign of Possession,* û

The idea of possession is expressed in Coos by means of the possessive particle *û*, which follows the term expressing the possessor, and precedes that indicating the possessed object. The possessor is not infrequently preceded by the article.

k!we'he û l^{v}nēk· k·îLō'^{wi}tsa leaves of a willow he found 30.17, 18
hE hä'tcît! û ā'la x·î'ntset Hetcit's child got on top 24.23
ûx lemī'yat lE mexä'ye û kwä'x^{u} they two set up the eagle's feathers 8.10
xwändj û łą'nas hE tsä'yux^{u} lā'nîk· such (was) the name of the small river 46.10, 11

The possessive sign very frequently takes the place of the possessive pronoun for the third persons singular and plural.

lE'γī û îluwe'^{x}tcîs he was glad (literally, good his heart) 32.5
ā'ȳa cku û qā'ya she must have lost her breath (literally, gone must be her breath) 58.24, 25
ła û ha^{w}'we lE tcîcī'mîł the spruce-tree is growing (literally, goes its growth, the spruce-tree) 20.16
ła û paa'wEs lE xā^{a}p the water is filling up (literally, goes its fullness, the water) 44.17
ä'wī û Lōwā'was she finished eating (literally, it ended, her food) 24.13
hE e'stîs mä aLî'maqa û îx· some people had large canoes (literally, some people, large their canoes) 44.20
yûxwä' û hū^{u}mä'k·e he has two wives (literally, two [are] his wives) 20.3
djī û x·na'at lE nō^{u}sk·î'lī the Big Woman came quickly (literally, comes her quickness, the Big Woman) 78.26

The possessive sign is employed in impersonal sentences, where the subject of the sentence is *qā'yîs* WORLD or *mēn* PEOPLE. In these cases the subject is placed at the end of the sentence, and the possessive sign is affixed to the possessed object, immediately preceding the subject. The sentences are rendered by THERE WAS, THEY ARE.

k·!äL!tā' û qā'yîs there was no land (literally, without [its] land the world) 5.5; 6.1
īn tc!le'xEm û qā'yîs there was no low tide (literally, not [has] its dry condition [the] world) 15.8
nwa'waLa û qā'yîs there was a spider (literally, with its spider [is] the world) 30.3
qaicî'nîs kwee'tî û mēn people were living in a small place (literally, in a small place their living [place have] people) 50.7
tcī tî'k·îne û mēn there they were standing (literally, there their standing [place, severally have] people) 74.28

§ 98. *The Possessive Pronouns Proper*

The possessive pronouns proper are formed by prefixing to the personal pronouns *ŋ*, e^{ε}, etc., the article *lE* or *hE*, or the demonstrative pronoun *tE*. These forms may be regarded as loose prefixes.

Singular . . .	1st person	*heŋ*	*leŋ*	*teŋ*
	2d person	*lī'ye*	*lī'ya*	*tī'ye*
	3d person	*hā*	*lä, la*	*tä (?)*
Dual	Inclusive	*he'ís*	*le'ís*	*te'ís*
	Exclusive	*he'xwîn*	*le'xwîn*	*te'xwîn*
	2d person	*he'îc*	*le'îc*	*te'îc*
	3d person	*he'ûx*	*le'ûx*	*te'ûx*
Plural	1st person	*he'lîn*	*le'lîn*	*te'lîn*
	2d person	*he'cîn*	*le'cîn*	*te'cîn*
	3d person	*he'îl*	*le'îl*	*te'îl*

The second person singular *lī'ye* has resulted from the combination *lE*+e^{ε}. This phonetic irregularity remains unexplained. The forms *lī'ya* and *la* occur before nouns having *a*-vowels (see § 7).

ā'yu cîlī'ye heŋ kw^{a}a'tîs surely, true came my dream 100.14
la^{u} kwîna'ē^{i}wat lī'ye îluwe'^{x}tcîs that one is looking into thy heart 14.8
pī$^{i'}$nts lī'ya kxla bend thy foot 120.13
hän ye'es la^{u} L!k·îts into his mouth she poured it 102.12
la^{u} hanL he'îs kałą'lîs these shall be our two subjects 124.6
halt!yū nā^{a}nt he'lîn c^{E}alctā'was too great (is) our work 68.27
Lōwa'kats he'îl e$^{\varepsilon}$nätc living is their mother 84.21
lä L!ahā'was her clothes 110.3
Lōwa'kats la ā'la his child remained 110.10
xä'nîs le'xwîn e'k^{u}Lätc sick is our (dual) father 126.18, 19
îc la'tsīt le'îc e'k^{u}Lätc you two go and get your (dual) father 20.13
ûx kwîskwī'wat le'ûx e'k^{u}Lätc they two were informing their (dual) father 20.25
ɬ^{E}yuwî'ltE le'cîn sō'wel! wiggle your fingers! 122.8
ŋtsxaū'wat hanL teŋ mî'nkatc I will kill that my son-in-law 26.22
tī'yex e'k^{u}Lätc hanL la^{u} k·ī'Lō^{u}ts tī'ye îx· thy father will find thy canoe 54.11

A peculiar form of the possessive pronoun for the first person singular is the frequently occurring *neŋ*. This form may be explained as a reduplicated stem, in which the first *n* is, so to speak, the article for the first person singular, formed in analogy to *lE* or *hE*.

neŋ pkā'katc hanL ŋk·îlō'wît my grandfather I shall see
aiai$^{\varepsilon}$wā'yu neŋ hī$^{i'}$me killed were (all) my children 62.18

The personal pronouns without prefixes are often employed as possessive pronouns. In such cases the second person singular *e*ᵉ occurs as *ye*ᵉ.

ī'tcū n̥dä'mîł? which one (is) my husband? 80.3
ā'ȳa n̥qā'ya I am out of breath (literally, dead my breath) 66.27
nāᵃnt hanʟ yeᵉ ʟōwā'was you will have much to eat (literally, much will [be] your food) 54.6
k!ā hanʟ yeᵉn k!wînts n̥la'ats a rope around thy neck I'll put 94.12

In two instances the possessive pronoun of the third person singular is amplified by the addition of the possessive sign.

lᴇ'γī hä û îluwe'ˣtcîs he is good-natured (literally, good [is] his heart)
dzū'lī lä û kwī'yōs a fur-seal (as) his dog 132.2

A possessive pronoun expressing absence is formed by prefixing to the personal pronouns the prefix *k·!ä-*. The form for the first person singular only could be obtained in this series.

nī kwîskwī'īł tᴇx k·!än̥ ū'mā not me informed that my (absent) grandmother 62.12

Besides these pronouns, there is another series of independent possessive pronouns. They are formed by prefixing to the verbal form of the personal pronouns *n̥'ne*, *eᵉne*, etc., the article *hᴇ* or *lᴇ*, or the demonstrative *tᴇ*, and by suffixing the possessive sign *û*.

Singular . . .	1st person	*hen̥'neᵘ*
	2d person	*yeᵉneᵘ'*
	3d person	*hexäᵘ'*
Dual	Inclusive	*heîsneᵘ'*
	Exclusive	*hexwîn'neᵘ*
	2d person	*heîcneᵘ'*
	3d person	*heûxxäᵘ'*
Plural	1st person	*helîn'neᵘ*
	2d person	*hecîn'neᵘ*
	3d person	*heîlxäᵘ'*

The second person singular shows a phonetic irregularity which I am at a loss to explain.

These pronouns are independent, and have a verbal significance. They may be rendered by IT IS MINE, IT IS THINE, etc.

heṇ'neᵘ ł̄ō TE *qE'mä* my property is that camas 112.6,7
eᵉheṇ'neᵘ ɻ'le you (are) my enemy 118.3
yeᵉneᵘ pīⁱł L*!a'nēx* thy cradle is new 38.17
hexäᵘ' ł̄ō hēn it is his property (it is said) 116.21, 22

§ 99. The Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive pronouns are formed by prefixing the possessive pronouns to the stem *tet* BODY. The possessive pronominal prefixes for the first and second persons singular are *ṇ-* and *yeᵉ-* respectively. The third person singular has no pronominal prefix. The rest is regular.

Singular . . .	1st person	*ṇtet*
	2d person	*yeᵉtet*
	3d person	*tet*
Dual	Inclusive	*he'istet*
	Exclusive	*he'xwîntet*
	2d person	*he'ictet*
	3d person	*he'ûxtet*
Plural	1st person	*he'lintet*
	2d person	*he'cintet*
	3d person	*he'iltet*

ṇtō'hîts ṇtet I hit myself
łōᵘ'ˣtīt yeᵉtet watch thyself 74.3
wändj pî'ctcîts tet thus he warmed himself 32.8
ûx L*!x·î'nx·ît he'ûxtet* they two examine themselves 84.3
îł yu'xtîts he'îłtet they rubbed themselves 52.13

The particle *î'nīEx* ALONE is not infrequently placed before the verb (see § 108), and emphasizes the subject.

xî'nīEx ṇtō'hîts ṇtet alone I hit myself

§ 100. The Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns exhibit a variety of forms. Attempts have been made to discover whether the different forms may not indicate position from the standpoint of the speaker; but they have proved unsuccessful, owing to the fact that this idea does not seem to be clearly developed in Coos. Only the first two pronouns seem to accentuate this distinction. The following demonstrative stems have been found.

§§ 99–100

***tē*^{i}** denotes an object that is near to the speaker, and may be translated by THIS HERE. It always precedes the object to which it refers.

tē^{i} *hanɪ tō'hîts* this here he shall hit 20.14
tē^{i} *e*^{s}*pā*^{a}*ts* this here you fill up 78.12

It is frequently employed as an adverb in the sense of HERE.

tē^{i} *ɳyîxu'm̄e* here I travel 26.9
ɳtē^{i} *hälɪ*^{i} I (am) here, O elder brother! 72.26.

tE indicates an object that is away from the speaker, and may be rendered by THAT THERE. It usually precedes the object.

tkwīlɛē$^{i'}$*wat tE to'qmas* he is following that (there) woodpecker 22.2
ûx k·îlō'wît tE ʟ!'tā they two saw that (there) land 6.5
dī^{i}*ltcE'tc tE ɳʟ!'aqa'ē*^{i}*wat* with what (shall) I point my finger (at) this one (there?) 40.24

tE often exercises the function assigned in English to the conjunction THAT.

xtcī'tcū tE gō^{u}*s mî'läte e*^{s}*yîxu'm̄e* why (is it) that always you travel? 48.14
xtcī'tcū tE wändj e^{s}*ī*^{i}*ltā'îs* why (is it) that thus you tell it to me?

(For *tE* as a prefix in possessive pronouns, see § 98. See also under *la*^{u} below, and *lewî*, p. 402.)

***dîltē*$^{i'}$.** A compound pronoun composed of the indefinite particle *dī*^{i}*l* SOMETHING (see p. 407) and the demonstrative *tē*^{i} THIS HERE. It may be translated by THIS HERE.

dîltē$^{i'}$ *k*^{u}*lī'yex* this stone here 124.16, 17

dîlte'. A compound of *dī*^{i}*l* SOMETHING (see p. 407) and *tE* THAT THERE. It is usually translated by THAT THERE.

dîlte' tE k^{u}*lī'yex* that stone yonder
dîlte' mä the person yonder

***la*^{u}, *ha*^{u}.** This pronoun has the force of a whole sentence. It applies to both subject and object, and it is used in singular and in plural alike. It invariably precedes the subject or object to which it refers. It may be translated by HE, THAT IS THE ONE; HE IT IS.

yîxe'n qalîmī'ye la^{u} *ʟ!'ē*^{i}*tc häl tō'mîɪ* one morning that one went out, (namely) that old man 20.4.
xqantc la^{u} *sī'*^{x}*·t*^{E}*tsa la*^{u} *tcī la* from where he (was the one to) scent it, there he (was the one to) go 22.24
la^{u} *lä xwî'lux*^{u} *ba'nx*^{u}*tat* that (was the one) his head became bald 30.14

la^{u} tEm̄ä'LE mä la^{u} tc!îcîla'ē^{i}wat he it is the old people (it is they who) sit (on) that, usually 38.3

la^{u} īn la^{u} î'lxats he did not look at it (literally, he was the one, not, it was the thing, he looked at it) 40.8

la^{u} hanL ûx c^{E}a'lctet it is they two (who) shall work 68.26

k·îda'mînatc ha^{u} x·L!īt into the bowl she put it 102.6, 7

la^{u} and *ha^{u}* are frequently emphasized by the prefixed article or by the demonstrative pronoun *tE*.

lE lā'mak·, lala^{u} tE bîldjī'yEx the bones, those are the Umpqua Indians 50.5, 6

lala^{u} he lōwē$^{i'}$wat that's what she usually eats 24.5, 6

tEla^{u} ŋha^{ux}ts tE L!tā I am the one who made that land 10.3, 4

In composite sentences having one and the same subject, *la^{u}* and *ha^{u}* are used in the subordinate sentence to avoid the repetition of the subject.

kwîña'was sī'^{x}·t^{E}tsa (lE dī'lōt) î la^{u} hî'nī stō^{u}q smoke scented (the young man) as he stood there 22.23, 24

xā'nanā'ya la ā'la î la^{u} lEqa$^{u'}$wE his child made him feel sorry, when it died 42.18, 19

lewî, a demonstrative pronoun with verbal force. It is invariably followed by the article or by the demonstrative pronoun *tE;* and it is sometimes, for the sake of emphasis, preceded by *la^{u}*. It may be translated by IT IS, THAT IS.

lewî lE eīī'k·exEm that is it, sticking out 46.11

hē^{i} cîl lewī'ye lE tc!î'lE surely, indeed, it was a door 72.25

läł, häł, a demonstrative pronoun used for subject and object, singular and plural. It precedes the subject or object. It denotes objects that have been previously mentioned. It is composed of the article *lE*, *hE*, and of the abbreviated form of the particle *dī^{i}ł* SOMETHING (see p. 407).

qa'nōtc stō^{u}q läł tō'mîL outside stood that old man 20.4, 5

wändj L!äts läł hū$^{u'}$mîk· thus spoke that old woman 102.10

asō' sqats häł hū$^{u'}$mîk· lex swał again seized that old woman the grizzly bear 102.21, 22

ûx nEqa'qa häł tEm̄ä'LE they two ran away, those old people 24.12, 13

häł and *läł* have a nominalizing function, and often take the place of our relative pronouns.

hats kwa la^{u} ū'yu wîna'qaxEm läł lōwē^{i}'wat just like a rainbow was spread out (that thing) which he was eating 32.14

tcī'tcū tɛ la^{u} xtō^{u}s häl ɛ^{s}ɬ.!aha'ē^{i}wat why (is it) that that thing stiff (is) which you have on 110.4, 5

ɬō has a nominal force, and denotes THAT KIND, SUCH A THING. It always precedes the object.

ā'yu ɬō k·î'ɬō^{u}ts hɛ pa'xwîya surely, that kind he found, the manzanita berries 32.10, 11

tsō ā'yu ɬō ha^{ux}ts now surely, that thing she made 60.16

When preceded by a possessive pronoun, *ɬō* expresses the idea of property.

heŋ'ne^{u} ɬō tɛ qɛ'mä that camas belongs to me 112.6, 7

ɬŌ has a local meaning, and may be translated by IN IT, ON IT. It always follows the object to which it refers.

p^{ɛ}'sîk· ā'tsɛm ɬō nî'cîtc xā^{a}p ha^{u}'wɛ a cup give me, in it a little water have 68.17, 18

tsetî'x·ume ɬō he^{u}'he^{u} ha^{u}'wɛ! on this side make a knot (literally, where this side is, on it a knot make) 92.7, 8

k·!äŋ̊ MY ABSENT. The prefix of this possessive pronoun may be regarded as a demonstrative pronoun (see pp. 323, 399).

THE NUMERAL (§§ 101-102)

§ 101. The Cardinals

1. *yîxē$^{i'}$*
2. *yûxwä'*
3. *yî'psɛn*
4. *he'cɬ^{i}ɬ*
5. *kat'ɛ'mîs*
6. *yîxē$^{i'}$wîeq*
7. *yûxwä'wîeq*
8. *yîxē$^{i'}$ahäl*
9. *yûxwä'ahäl*
10. *ɬep!qa'nē*
11. *ɬep!qa'nē yîxē^{i}û'qtsē*
12. *ɬep!qa'nē yûxwäû'qtsē*
20. *yûxwä'ka*
30. *yîpsɛ'nka*
40. *hecɬ$^{i'}$ɬka*
50. *kat'ɛ'mîska*
60. *yîxē$^{i'}$wîeqka*
70. *yûxwä'wîeqka*
80. *yîxē$^{i'}$ahälka*
90. *yûxwä'ahälka*
100. *yîxē$^{i'}$ nî'k·în*
111. *yîxē$^{i'}$ nî'k·în ɬep!qa'nē yîxē^{i}û'qtsē*

The Coos numeral system is of a quinary origin, and, strictly speaking, there are only five simple numeral stems; namely, those for the first five numerals. The numerals for SIX, SEVEN, EIGHT, and NINE are compounds, the second elements of which can not be explained. In the same manner the numeral for TEN defies all attempts at analysis.

Besides the cardinals, Coos exhibits special forms for the ordinal, multiplicative, and distributive numerals, formed by means of adding certain numeral suffixes to the cardinal numerals (see §§ 74–77).

The collective numerals expressed in English by the phrases IN TWOS, IN THREES, etc., are formed in Coos by means of suffixing to the numerals for TWO, THREE, etc., the adverbial suffix *-ē'tc* (see § 67).

yûxwä'hē'tc la'u hîthītōwē''wat in pairs he is putting them down 34.7, 8

xyîpsE'nē'tc in threes

The collective numeral for ONE, *yîxe'ntce*, shows a peculiar formation. It consists of the cardinal *yîxē''*, the distributive suffix *-n* (see pp. 327, 341), the modal suffix *-tc* (see pp. 327, 340, 369), and the suffix *-e* (see p. 359).

yîxe'ntce sqats together he seized them 64.8, 9

yîxe'ntce îl nL.!tā'yas together they (live) in (one) village 122.18.

§ 102. The Decimal System

The units exceeding multiples of ten have forms exemplified by TEN (TWENTY) ONE OVER. Thus *Lep!qa'nī yîxē'û'qtsī* ELEVEN literally means TEN ONE OVER, etc. The "tens" are formed by means of suffixing to the numerals from ONE to TEN (exclusive) the suffix *-ka*. The numeral for ONE HUNDRED, translated literally, means ONE STICK, which indicates that the Coos may have used counting-sticks for the purpose of counting up to one hundred. TWO HUNDRED would mean TWO STICKS, etc. The numeral ONE THOUSAND does not seem to have been used at all. There is no special stem for it. The natives to-day form this numeral by adding the noun *nî'k··în* STICK to the numeral stem for TEN, expressing ONE THOUSAND by the phrase TEN STICKS.

THE ADVERB (§§ 103-106)

§ 103. Introductory

The dividing-line between adverbs and particles can not always be drawn very definitely. This is especially true in the case of the three particles expressing locality, time, and modality (see § 112). Adverbs express local, temporal, and modal ideas. A few of them may be said to express local phrases. In a number of cases two adverbs have been combined for the purpose of indicating a new adverbial concept, which is nothing more than an amplification of the ideas conduced by each of the two separate component elements. Some of the local adverbs seem to distinguish slightly between the idea of locality that is near the first, second, or third person; although

I am somewhat doubtful on that point, owing to the fact that this idea is hardly recognizable in the demonstrative pronouns.

The great majority of modal adverbs occur with the adverbial suffix of modality *-tc* (see §§ 25, 36), and are often preceded by the modal prefix *x-* (see § 24). It is conceivable that this suffix may have been originally adverbial *par excellence*, and that it gradually became confined to adverbs expressing mode and manner. This opinion may be substantiated by the fact that the adverbial suffix *-tc*, when added to nouns, expresses other adverbial ideas besides those of modality. It is also suffixed to a number of stems expressing local phrases.

The following is a complete list of adverbs that have been found in Coos:

§ 104. Local Adverbs and Phrases

asî'ʟ between, halfway 5.1
ē'qatce to one side 42.3
î'la before, ahead, in front 56.9
yî'helq close by 60.21
yîqa'tē^{t} close there (?) 90.23
yîqa'ltsîx· close here 104.12
yîqai'nī so far, right here 14.4
hî'nī there 5.2
tī^{u} over there 90.21
tsîx· here 24.4
tsî'x·tī over here 13.5
tse'tîx· over here
tcī there 7.4
tc!e'etc back in the woods 88.11
qaya'^{a}tc, *qa'tîtc* down the stream 24.24; 54.1
qa'wax high up 8.11
qaî'nas close to the fire 82.19
qaî'nîs away from the shore 36.18
qaits inside the house 140.24
qat below 36.11
qapu'kul the other side, across 140.18
qa'xan up 34.4
qal down, below, under 116.9
xtse'tîx· from here 136.3
xqa'wax from above 6.4
xqa'lîn from under 90.4
xle'tîx·, *le'tîx·* from there 12.2; 78.28
ltcîla'ais close to the shore 30.23
ʟ*!ha'waîs* near, close to 50.20

§ 105. Temporal Adverbs

asō' again 6.1
aî'wa still, yet 7.6
yuwe whenever (*yū*+*he* [see § 9]) 24.4
yuwî'nt before 178.25
hats^{E}yū always (*hats*+*yū* [see § 110])
halt! now 15.6
māndj already (used for the purpose of expressing the past tense) 20.1
tE'm̄a at the same time 17.3
tī'^{x}·tse to-day 19.9
kwī'yal now 9.1
l^{E}aî'wa while (*lE*+*aiwa;* the article is prefixed here for the sake of emphasis)

§ 106. Modal Adverbs

ā'yu sure, enough 16.2
yū very, very much 11.5
halt!yū (*halt!* + *yū*) too 44.18.
wändj, *xwändj* thus, that way 68.16; 6.8
pE'lukwītc entirely 130.7
ta^{u}, *ta* so, such 52.16
nā^{a}*nt* much, many 44.18
nî'cîtc a few, a little 68.17
tsō'nō both ways 6.2
tsqé'yîxetc edgeways
g·î, *g·ī'kwa* a little 36.6; 28.10
kā^{a}*s* almost 20.19
x^{u}, *yûx*, *yûxtî'k·î* hardly 28.17
xwe'lîxetc in a stooping position 118.15
xpīye'etc homewards 42.7
txa'nuxwītc sideways 38.10
xtema'atc crossways 64.28
xnō'we right 44.9
xcî'γ^{i}*tcītc* clear around it 128.18
xqe'^{i}*ltc* slowly 60.7
xLa'qatc belly up and mouth open 102.11
xLeye'entc truly 148.1
xLōwe'entc wholly 44.17
ła'sama quickly, hurriedly 30.1
t'nuwī very, very much 15.6
L^{E}*pe'xetc* belly side down 58.14
Lōwe'entc entirely 30.11.

A number of purely local adverbs occur with the modal suffix, implying the modal character of a local idea.

qa'xantc upwards (literally, in the manner of up) 14.1
qa'nōtc outside 20.4
qełtc downwards 6.4
yî'qantc backwards
lE'xatc inside 62.8
e'hentc far off (compare *e'he* he was gone 108.9) 26.23
qa'tîtc down stream 54.1
tEqai'tc up stream 160.15

The temporal phrase *xtemī'towetc* FROM THAT TIME ON 42.12 may also belong here, although the original stem is no longer recognizable.

Whenever these modalized local adverbs are used in connection with verbs expressing motion or active ideas, they take the verbal suffix *-e* (see § 55).

e'hentc stō^{u}*q* far off he stood 26.23
qa'nōtc lîn tsxū outside we lay 50.10
qełtc ûx îlx down they two looked 14.2
īn e^{ε} *ehe'ntce yîxu'mē* not you far away go 112.24
qanō'tca îl L!ē^{i}*tc* outside they went 50.11
qe'ltce tsî'x·tī he'ła down right here it came 13.5

PARTICLES (§§ 107-112)

§ 107. Introductory

No formal distinction can be made between the stems that were termed "syntactic particles" (see §§ 86–95), and the words treated in the following chapters. Both exhibit practically the same phonetic structure. There is, however, a vast difference between these two sets of words, which asserts itself in the grammatical use to which they are applied, and in the morphological treatment that is accorded to them. None of the syntactic particles can be clearly and definitely rendered when used independently; or, in other words, the syntactic particles are capable of expressing concepts only in a complex of words. On the other hand, all particles proper express definite ideas, regardless of whether they are used independently or not. However, the most important point of distinction between syntactic particles and particles proper lies in the fact that the latter are capable of word composition. Hence all grammatical processes may be applied to them; and, as a matter of fact, the majority of them occur with a number of nominal and verbal suffixes.

§ 108. Pronominal Particles

By means of these particles Coos expresses the ideas conveyed by our indefinite, interrogative, and relative pronouns. The following particles are employed for this purpose:

wît SOMEBODY is applied to persons only. It often exercises the function of a relative pronoun, and is then translated by WHO.

īn xwît la^{u} k·îtī′wîta nobody that one can overtake 92.21, 22

kwaā′nīya wît lät hū^{u}′mîk· she knew who it was that old woman 102.20

dī^{i}l SOMETHING is applied to objects other than persons. It always follows the object to which it belongs.

he′mîs dī^{i}l ɳk·îlō′wît big something I saw 62.21

gō^{u}s dī^{i}l hanL hä′wī everything will grow (literally, all something will grow) 9.3

yû′xwä dī^{i}l ɳk·îlō′wît two things I saw 112.26, 27

ntc!a′ha dī^{i}l tcī he′laq animals arrived there (literally, something [that is] with legs [walkers] arrived there) 46.1, 2

nL!pe′ne dī^{i}l tcī he′laq birds arrived there (literally, something [that is] with wings arrived there) 46.2, 3

dī^{i}l is very often abbreviated to *l*.

k!wenî'ya^{u}l ŋwîl$\bar{o}^{u}$'wat for some food I am looking

(See also under *läl*, *häl*, p. 402.)

By suffixing the interrogative suffix *-ū* (see § 73) to *dī^{i}l* and *wît*, two interrogative pronouns are obtained that may be rendered by WHAT and WHO respectively (see also p. 390).

dī^{i}'lū he tE e^{ɛ}wîl$\bar{o}^{u}$'wat what are you continually looking for? 54.3
xwî'tū tsī^{i}x·tī'yat who did it?

wîctce' takes the place of our interrogative pronoun. It always stands at the beginning of the sentence, and may be rendered by WHICH ONE.

wîctce' e^{ɛ}dōwā'ya which one do you want? 50.16

ītc WHICH occurs very rarely. It may be said to exercise the function of our relative pronoun.

ītc yū he'mîs whichever is the biggest (literally, which [is] very big) 30.21
ītc he nq!e'^{i}ltse whichever had a handkerchief 70.19

î'nīEx ALONE. This particle exercises the function of the reflexive pronoun in intransitive sentences. It is usually placed at the beginning of the sentence, and precedes the verb. It is then rendered by MYSELF, THYSELF, etc. (see also p. 400).

xî'nīEx la^{u} L^{E}ăn alone they went down into the water 36.18
î'nīEx ŋc^{E}a'lctet alone I work, I myself work
înīEx LōwA'kats alone he lived 106.24

This particle occurs sometimes as *înīExa'mA* or *înīExa'nA*. These forms frequently precede verbs having reciprocal suffixes.

înīExa'nā la^{u} hū^{u}mîsîsä'nī they marry one another 12.5
înīExa'mA ûx yā'lanī they two speak to each other
înīExa'nā lîn tō^{u}sîsä'nī we are hitting one another

When used in connection with possessive pronouns, *î'nīEx* assumes the function of a reflexive possessive pronoun, and may be rendered by MY (THY) OWN.

xî'nīEx ŋha^{ux}ts ŋyîxä'wEx I build my own house
xî'nīExa'mA ŋha^{ux}ts ŋyîxä'wEx I build my own house

§ 109. Numeral Particles

ī'k·ī BOTH, ***gō^{u}s*** ALL, ***hE'm̄a*** ALL, ***denk·*** EACH, EVERY, and ***yEai'*** ANOTHER, may be called numeral particles. *hE'm̄a* is used to indicate plurality of the object, and immediately follows the verb, while *gō^{u}s* precedes the verb and usually denotes plurality of the subject (see § 18).

gō^{u}s wändj îł ɬ!ä'xɛm they all that way talk 50.9, 10
xgō^{u}s mä la^{u} kwaā'nīyahā'ya all people came to know it 102.29
n̨k·îtī'wîta hE'm̄a I overtook them all
alqsā'ya hE'm̄a he is afraid of them all
denk· k!wī'lîs every night 82.9
halt! yEai' x·ne'^{x}·tîts qa'xantc now another one jumped upwards 76.3, 4
halt! yEai' mä ɬowî'tat now another man runs 78.28

ī'k·ī expresses the idea of duality in both subject and object of the sentence.

ī'k·ī tō'hâts he hit both of them 114.4
e'qe ī'k·ī dead (are) both 120.5
īk·ī ûx tc!a'at both walked 120.19

§ 110. Conjunctions

Coos has a number of stems that must be classed as conjunctions. The following may be regarded as such:

hîs also	*hats* just
ta and	*tsō* now, then
î when, as, since, while	

hîs and ***ta*** serve as copulas between nouns and sentences.

hîs xä c^{E}a'lctet also she is working 22.26, 27
kwaā'nīyahā'ya läx hä'ɬätc hîs läx e^{ɛ}nätc hîs läx e'k^{u}ɬätc (they) came to know it, her elder brother, also her mother, also her father 86.22, 23
sqats ta tc!wälé'tc ɬ!xant he caught and into the fire he threw him 104.15

î connects subordinate clauses with the principal clause.

ā'yā û îluwe'^{x}tcîs î la^{u} łk!wa'k^{u} lɛ xā^{a}p he was tired (waiting), while it was running down, the water 17.3, 4
laqtsō^{w}'wat î djī he waited, as he came 118.9, 10
î la^{u} sqats la^{u} xähī'ye la^{u} lō when one seizes it, it belongs to him (literally, when that one seizes it, that one becomes he [to whom] that thing belongs) 92.22

hats serves to introduce a new idea. It was conventionally rendered by JUST, although it hardly conveys the idea expressed by our English word.

Lqa'at î tc!wä'łetc kwî'nait. Hats kwa mî^{s}la lE wā'wa î la^{u} xai'la he opened his mouth, as into the fire he looked. Just like a liver the little girl as she became warm 108.24, 25

ā'yu l'nuwī tc!îlī'yat hE tc!wät. Hats yî'qax qa'qał lE swał surely, she built a big fire. Just right away fell asleep the bear 100.27, 28

hats . . . hats is usually rendered by AS SOON AS. *Hats* prefixed to the adverb *yū* VERY forms a new adverb, *hats^{E}yū*, which was invariably rendered by ALWAYS (see § 105).

tsō indicates a syntactic division with a continuation of the same thought. It was translated by NOW.

"*hamī'Lan nî'k·în ŋwîlō^{u}'wat*" *wändj L!ä'xEm lE hū^{u}'mîk·. Tsō ā'yu tsä'yux^{u} mī'k·e sqats* "(please) for wood I will look," thus said the old woman. Now, surely, a small basket she took 102.3, 4, 8

mîtsîsī'ya läł hū^{u}'mîk· lEx swał, tsō asō' sqats häł hū^{u}'mîk· lEx swał knew that old woman the bear, now again he seized that old woman, the bear 102.21, 22

tsō e^{s}ī^{i}ltā'mî tsō hanL e^{s}îlx when I tell you, then you shall look (literally, now I tell it to you, now shall you look) 17.2, 3

§ 111. Interjections

ā'nta LOOK, BEHOLD! It is always placed at the beginning of the sentence.

ā'nta tē^{i} tī'ye mî'łaq look! here (are) your arrows! 22.28

ā'nta k·îłō'wîtE behold, see it! 94.25

tā'ī the greeting formula of the Coos. It was rendered by HALLOO.

tā'ī sla' halloo, cousin! 44.3

tā'ī nEx ā'la halloo, my child! 28.21

§ 112. Miscellaneous Particles

īn NOT, a particle of negation. The particle of affirmation is ***En.*** This is, however, rarely used, being supplanted by the syntactic particle *îl* SURELY (see p. 388).

īn k·î'Lō^{u}ts he did not find it 22.18, 19

ûx īn kwāā'nīya they two did not know it 22.9, 10

(See also § 9.)

qantc PLACE, WHERE.

qantc lɛla^{u} laā' ȳam, la^{u} hîs xä tcī la wherever they went, he also there went 22.17, 18
ɳkwaā'nīya qantc I know where (it is) 80.14
gō^{u}s qantc everywhere 46.22
īn qantc k·î'lō^{u}ts nowhere he found it

mî'lätc TIME. It is used mostly in connection with the numerical particle *gō^{u}s*, and is then rendered by ALWAYS.

gō^{u}s mî'lätc l.!ä'xɛm always he is talking 14.5, 6
mî'lätcū hanl ˋɛ^{ɛ}wu'txe when will you return? (literally, time, question, shall, you come back) 28.3, 4

tcītc MANNER, KIND, WAY, MODE (see also p. 390).

gō^{u}s tcītc îl alî'canī all kinds of (games) they are playing 30.25
tcītc he lōwē$^{i'}$wat whatever he is eating (habitually)
îl īn tcītc tsxaū'wat they can not kill her (literally, they [have] no way [to] kill her) 80.24

ā'watu WHETHER OR NOT. This particle is very rarely used.

ā'watu ɳdjī I may or may not come
ā'watu īn tsî'x·tī he'laq (they) may or may not come here 90.15

§ 113. The Stem *ītse'ts*

Morphologically speaking, it is a verbal stem *īts-*, transitivized by means of the suffix *-ts*, but its application covers such a wide range of different ideas that each of them will have to be enumerated separately.

(1) It is used as an expletive particle with a significance that adapts itself to the sense of the sentence.

īn kwce'nīyēm ītse'ts he'îl nā$^{a'}$ntɛs no one knew how many they were (literally, they [indefinite] not know it, *what* [was] their number) 78.2
yɛaî' l.!tā'ītc ɳītse'ts in another country I *stay* 26.8, 9
xtcī'tcū ītse'ts hɛ nō^{u}sk·î'lī what *is the matter with* the Big Woman 72.28
ītse'ts yî'k^{u} îl la^{u} henī'yɛɛs hînī' lōwa'kats he may have been sitting there for a long time 40.14
kwaā'nīya xtcītc hanl lɛ ītsēm he knew what was going *to happen* (the *-ēm* in *ītsēm* is the indefinite subject suffix [§ 30]) 26.19, 20
ûx īn kwaā'nīya qantc ha^{u} ītsēm they two did not know where he *was* 22.9, 10
ēn hanl tcītc ītsēm to you nothing will *happen* 66.5

(2) When the transitive suffixes, other than *-ts*, are added to it, its significance is clearly verbal.

yî'kwanL xtcītc n̥ītsîtsī'wat I wonder what I shall *do with it* 86.8
yî'kwanL xtcītc xwîn eᵉītsîtsā'mî I wonder what we two shall *do with* you, how we two shall *keep* you 24.3, 4
xtcī'tcū eᵉītsîtōᵘ'wat tī'ye wîx·ī'lîs how did you *get* that your food? 64.17, 18
īn kwee'nīyēm xtcītc îł ī'tsetū no one knew what *became of* them 52.1, 2

§ 114. Verbs as Adjectives

The use of verbs as adjectives is confined to a few sporadic instances. These verbs are, as a rule, intransitive, although they occur with the transitive suffix *-t*. (See also § 117.)

łkwî'l̄īt haᵘ yîxu'm̄e she travels blazing (red-hot) (*łkwîl-* to burn) 24.18, 19
łkwî'l̄īt tsaxa'lîsEtc laᵘ lō'qᵘtîts by means of red-hot pebbles she boiled it 102.6

Whether the phrases *paā'hīt lE yîxä'wEx* THE HOUSE IS FULL, *g·îmg·î'm̄īt* IT IS RAINING, belong here, is a problem which is hard to decide, although the psychological relation between these examples and those quoted above is not inconceivable.

§ 115. Nouns as Qualifiers

Substantives are often used to qualify other nouns. In such cases the qualifying noun always precedes the qualified substantive, and both nouns retain their nominal character.

dī'lōL ā'la a young boy (literally, a young male child) 60.2
hūᵘ'mîk· mä LōWa'kats there lived an old woman (literally, an old female being) 100.20, 21
tō'mîL dä'mîł tsxū an old man lay (literally, an old male man) 50.21
tsäyä'ne tî'mîłī le'ûx hīⁱ'me their (dual) little children were boys (literally, little male children) 42.16

§ 116. Vocabulary

All Coos stems are either monosyllabic or polysyllabic (mostly bisyllabic). Monosyllabic stems consist of a vowel followed by one or two consonants, of one or two consonants followed by a vowel, or of consonants, vowel, and consonants. Some of the bisyllabic stems that are found in the language have been expanded by means of grammatical processes (see §§ 4, 84).

Examples of monosyllabic stems:

ai^{w}- to kill (many) 58.8
a^{w}- to quit 14.4
ē^{i}k·- to be among 46.13
îlx- to look 14.2
ī^{i}l- to tell 7.8
īln- to set up 34.23
ha^{i}- to gamble 38.23
hū- to be ready 19.3
pā^{a}- to fill 15.7
sqa- to seize 10.4
ʟqa- to believe 28.13
tsxa^{u}- to kill (one) 14.7
yɛq- to run away 36.19
yōq- to split in two 7.3
wîn- to wade 58.2
hak- to crawl 32.10
ha^{u}p- to tear off 58.14
pîn- to shake 58.24
mîl- to swim 24.27
te^{x}t- to enter 22.29
tcîl- to be ashamed
k!al- to shout 24.22
wînq- to weave, to pile 18.1
mîntc- to ask 62.15
tsîmx·- to fasten 46.7
k·îmst- to pick 17.1
tkwīʟ- to follow 9.9
tqanʟ- to strike 28.1
tqa^{i}ʟ- to put a belt on 28.22

Examples of polysyllabic stems:

e'he to be gone 38.15
yî'xux^{u}- to have, to carry 54.12
wu'txe to come back 28.4
ha'k^{u}t- to leave 30.8
sîtsī^{i}n- to go and see 9.7
k·î'lō^{u}- to see 6.5
kwî'na- to look 6.4
ak'a'nak· to stick out 42.1
ītîsîl- to recognize 30.28
yîxu'mē to travel 10.3
tî'k·îne to stand 62.22

With the exception of the terms of relationship, the nouns indicating parts of the body, and all other words of a denominative character, the Coos stems are neutral and receive their nominal or verbal character through the suffixes.

stō^{u}q- to stand 20.4
ʟ!ä- to speak 9.3
ʟ!ha- to put on 28.22
lō'wak^{u} lightning 18. 5
stōwa'qwîs wall 90.18
ʟ!ē'yîs language 14. 5
ʟ!ahā'was clothes 110.3
lō'kwît it lightens 18. 8

In a few instances nouns have been formed by reduplication or duplication of a neutral stem.

tqaiʟ- to put around 28.22
tcō^{u}- to jump
ʟxat- to chop wood 26.16
pūx^{u}- to spout
l̄ē^{i}p- to paint
x·în- to be on top
yîm- to twinkle
qa'tqaiʟ belt 28. 22
tcō'xtcōx rabbit 60. 23
xa'ʟxat ax
pū^{u}'xpūx^{u} a spout 30. 25
l̄î'pl̄îp paint
x·î'nx·în saddle
yî'myîm eyelash

§ 117. Structure of Sentences

The structure of the Coos sentence is very simple, owing chiefly to the fact that in the absence of incorporation, subjects, objects, and predicates are expressed by means of independent words. No strict rules can be laid down for the consecutive order in which the different parts of a sentence occur. It may, however, be said in a most general way, that all adverbial ideas precede the verb, and that the subject of the sentence tends to appear at the very end, especially in subordinate clauses. The object may either precede the verb or follow it.

kwîlé'ʟē'tc tsxū läl tō'mîʟ in the sweat-house was resting that old man 28.11, 12
yîxä'wɛxetc la ʟɛ hū'mîs into the house went the woman
lɛx tsn̨na'hɛtc ʟ!äts ʟɛ mā'qaʟ with the thunder-language spoke the crow
xwändj û ln̨'nas hɛ tsä'yux lā'nîk· this is the name (of) the small river 46.10, 11
sqats ʟɛ hū'mîs lɛx swāl seized the woman the grizzly bear 102.21, 22
mä xwîn wutxaī'yat a person we two brought home 128.8, 9
n̨tō'hîts ʟɛ dī'lōl I hit the young man

Nominal attribute complements precede the noun. When following the noun, they assume a predicative function.

tsä'yux lā'nîk· a small river	*lā'nîk· tsä'yux* the river is small
he'mîs yîxä'wɛx the big house	*yîxä'wɛx he'mîs* the house is big
xä'nîs mä a sick person	*mä xä'nîs* the person is sick

No formal distinction is made between coordinate and subordinate clauses, nor is the succession of the parts of speech changed in different types of sentences. Subordinate clauses may precede the principal clauses whenever the occasion requires it. Subordinate clauses are distinguished by means of conjunctions that are placed at the beginning.

k·î'ʟō'ts ʟɛ qɛ'mä lɛx dī'lōl î la hî'nī he'laq the young man found the kamass when he arrived there
î la tsxū ʟɛ hū'mîs k·îlō'wît ʟɛ yū'mī as the woman lay (there) she saw the stars

§ 118. Idiomatic Expressions

An exhaustive discussion of the Coos idiomatic expressions is limited *a priori* by the scope of the present work. Consequently only the most salient features of this phase of the language will be pointed out in this chapter.

Perhaps the most striking examples of idiomatic phraseology are found in the manner of expressing verbal concepts, like IT GROWS, IT FILLS UP, IT RUNS, etc. These ideas are expressed in Coos by means of a phrase which consists of the verbal stem TO GO or TO RUN and of the abstract derivative of the particular verbal concept preceded by the sign of possession *û* (see § 97).

hä'wī he grew up 64.12

ła û ha^{u}'we hE tcîcī'mîł the spruce-tree grew up (literally, goes its growth [of] the spruce-tree) 20.16

ła û ha^{u}'we le'ûx hä'wîs ʟ!tā their (dual) ready land began to grow (literally, goes its growth [of] their [dual] ready land) 8.10, 11

x·î'lwîs deep

asî'ʟ ła û x·îluwī'ye lex ya'bas the maggots went halfway deep (literally, halfway went its depth [of] the maggots) 40.12

paa- to fill

ła û paa'wEs lE ā^{a}p the water is filling up (literally, goes its full [mark of] the water) 44.17

x·în- to run

nle'hī ła û x·na'at with it he ran (literally, with it went his swiftness) 42.8

ła û x·na'at hE cx·īmł the bear ran (literally, went his quickness [of] the bear)

mîl- to swim

djī û mî'łe [it] swam [towards her] (literally, came its swimming [motion of]) 86.3

hamʟ- to float

ła û hamʟaʟā'was łäł tsä'yûx^{u} ʟ!tā that small piece of land kept floating (literally, went its [conception of] floating [of] that small place) 46.10

Another idiomatic expression worth while mentioning is the manner in which our terms THERE IS, THEY ARE, are expressed. The Coos subject of such a sentence is either the noun *qā'yîs* WORLD or *mēn* PEOPLE, which are invariably preceded by the sign of possession (see § 97).

tc!l- to be dry	*tc!lī û qā'yîs* there was low tide (literally, dry its [condition of the] world) 18.6
	īn tc!le'xem û qā'yîs there is no low tide (literally, not dry its [condition of the] world) 15.8
nî'k·în wood, tree 26.25	*k·!änî'k·în û qā'yîs* there were no trees (literally, without trees its [appearance of the] world) 8.7, 8
wa'waL spider	*nwa'waLa û qā'yîs* there was a spider (literally, with spider its [condition of the] world) 30.3
łō that thing 32.10	*nłō'we û qā'yîs* there was such a thing (literally, with that thing [was as] its [asset the] world) 32.9
kwee'tî many live	*qaicî'nîs kwee'tî û mēn* they were living in a small place (literally, a small place [had as] their living [place the] people) 50.7
k!al- to shout	*qak·elenī'we û mēn* they began to shout (literally, began their shouting [act, of the] people) 24.22
tî'k·îne many stand	*tcī tî'k·îne û mēn* they were standing there (literally, there [the] standing [place was of] people) 74.28

To the same group of idiomatic expressions belong phrases like I (THOU, HE . . .) AM GETTING HUNGRY, I (THOU, HE . . .) AM GETTING HEAVY, etc. The verb of such phrases in Coos is always the stem *ła* TO GO, which is preceded by the attributive complement amplified by means of the modal suffix *-tc* (see § 36). Consequently such a phrase, literally translated, means INTO A STATE OF . . . I (THOU, HE . . .) GO.

łqa- to be hungry	*łqatc ɳła* I am getting hungry
pL!- to be heavy	*pL!îtc ła* he is getting heavy

A very peculiar expression, though by no means confined to Coos alone, is the manner of forming sentences that have dual subjects. Such sentences present two possibilities. Either both subjects are actually expressed, or only one is indicated while the other is understood.

1. In sentences where one subject is understood, duality of subject is indicated in Coos by using the verb in its dual form, followed immediately by the (expressed) subject.

yîxä'wexetc ûx wu'txe hät tō'mîL into the house they two returned (the whale and) that old man 30.15, 16

tsō ā'yu tcī ûx la, LE ūmā'catc now, surely, there they two went (he and) the grandmother 66.19

yî'xen qalîmī'ye tsî l'nta ûx la lä huʷ'mîs one morning just hunting they two went (he and) his wife 110.26

ā'yu tcī ûx la LE tek·'îtsî'nätc surely, there they two went (she and) the granddaughter 80.15, 16

2. If both subjects are expressed, it will be found that, in addition to the dual form of the verb, the dual pronoun is placed before either one or both subjects.

hî'nī hanL ûx tîla'qai LE ū'māc ûx pkāk· there shall they two live (namely) the grandmother (and the) grandfather 68.28

wändj LA ûx kwee'nīyēm TE ûx tsq'na ûx mā'qaL thus only they two are known, that Thunder (and) Crow 19.10, 11

In a few instances a similar treatment has been found in sentences with plural subjects.

yîxä'wEXetc îl la LE dä'mîl into the house they went (the two women and) the man 128.7

tsî îl huwe'ītsēm LE huʷ'mîs just they got ready (he and) the (two) women 130.17, 18

The last idiomatic formation worth mentioning here is the manner of expressing comparison of adjectives in accordance with the three degrees,—the positive, the comparative, and the superlative.

A comparative statement in the positive degree is expressed by means of a whole sentence in which the adjective is treated as a noun appearing with the nominal suffixes *-ES*, *-tES* (see § 57), or *-īye*, *-äye* (see p. 376), and is placed between the subject and object with which it is compared. The sentence is invariably introduced by means of the conjunction *hîs* ALSO (see § 110); and its comparative character is

further indicated by the use of the modal adverb *ta*, *ta*^{u}, SO, SUCH (see § 106), which immediately follows the subject of the sentence.

hîs n̥'ne ta n̥hethe'teEs tE e$^{\varepsilon}$*ne* I am as rich as you are (literally, also I such I [have] wealth [as] this you)
hîs n̥'ne ta n̥xä'nîsEs lE e$^{\varepsilon}$*ne* I am as sick as you are
hîs n̥'ne ta^{u} *n̥lE'γītEs tE e*$^{\varepsilon}$*ne* I am as good as you are
hîs n̥'ne ta^{u} *n̥he'm̄îstEs lE e*$^{\varepsilon}$*ne* I am as tall as you are
hîs xä ta xwä'wīye lE e$^{\varepsilon}$*ne* he is as light as you are
hîs xä ta^{u} *päL!ä'ye lE e*$^{\varepsilon}$*ne* he is as heavy as you are
hîs tE lā'nîk· ta^{u} *x·îluwī'ye tE baltī'mîs* that river is as deep as that ocean

In many instances the abstract noun expressing the adjective concept is repeated after the object, in which case the object (and also the subject) assumes the function of a possessive pronoun (for pronominal subjects and objects) or of a genitive case (for nominal objects and subjects).

hîs n̥'ne ta n̥qaine'Es lī'ye qaine'Es I am as cold as you are (literally, also [of] me such [is] my cold [condition as is] your cold [condition])
hîs e$^{\varepsilon}$*ne ta ye*$^{\varepsilon}$*ne*$^{u'}$ *q!āna'tEs tE hen̥'ne*^{u} *q!āna'tEs* you are as young as I am (literally, also [of] thee such [is] thy youth [as is] that my youth)

The comparative degree is expressed by means of a sentence in which the adjective is used in its simple form, while the object is indicated by the use of the instrumental suffix *-Etc* (see § 70). There is a marked tendency to place the object at the beginning of the sentence.

ye$^{\varepsilon}$*ne'îtc n̥lE'γī* I am better than you are (literally [as compared], with you I [am] good)
hexä'îtc n̥lE'γī I am better than he is
n̥ne'îtc e$^{\varepsilon}$*qaL* you are taller than I am
xä n̥ne'îtc tsä'yux^{u} he is smaller than I am
xwîn tî'mîlī y$^{\varepsilon}$*ne'îtc* we two are stronger than you are

The superlative degree may be expressed in two ways. Either the numeral particle *gō*^{u}*s* ALL (see § 109), amplified by means of the adverbial suffix *-Etc* (see § 70), is placed before the simple form of the adjective; or else the nominalized adverb *īla'hatcEm* (see §§ 58, 104) is used for that purpose.

xgō$^{u'}$*sîtc n̥lE'γī* I am the best of all (for the use of the prefix *x-* see § 24)
tEn̥ tē ka'pō xgō$^{u'}$*sîtc pL!îs* this here is my heaviest coat
xä īla'hatcEm he'm̄îs hethe'te he is the biggest chief
xä īla'hatcEm tō'mîL mä L!ta'yasītc he is the oldest man in the village

§ 118

TEXTS

Origin of Death

Ûx[1] sla'tcînī.[2] La^{u}[3] îł[4] kwee'tî.[5] La^{u}[3] ī'k·ī[6] ûx[1] uhū^{u}mä'k·e-
They two cousins (were) mutually. These they lived together. These both they two with wives

he.[7] Ī'k·ī[6] tsäyä'ne[8] le'ûx[9] tî'mîlī[10] hī^{i}'me.[11] Yî'xen[12] qalîmī'ye[13]
are. Both small their (dual) male beings children. Once morning it got

tsî[14] wîtcwehe'^{x}tcī[15] la[16] ā'la. In[17] he'nīye[18] xä'nîs[19] la[16] ā'la.
just sick it is his child. Not a long time sick his child.

Tsî[14] hats[20] lEqa^{u}'wE[21] la[16] ā'la. Xānanā'ya[22] la[16] ā'la, î[23] la^{u}[3]
Merely just died his child. Sorry (it) makes him (feel) his child, when that one

lEqa^{u}'wE.[21] Tsō[24] îł[4] aqanā'ya.[25] Helmī'hîs[26] īn[17] Lō'wîyam.[27]
died. Now they buried it. Next day not (he) eats.

La^{u}[3] maha'ē^{i}wat[28] lE[29] ā'la. HecL^{i}'Lentc[30] qalîmī'ye[13] la^{u}[3]
That one is looking after it frequently the child. Four times at morning it got that one

łaatā'ya[31] lä[16] sla'atc.[2] "E^{ε}[32] tcîne'henī.[33] Tā'ī[34] sla![35] Xtcī'tcū[36]
went to him his cousin. "Thou thinking art. Halloo, cousin! How

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[1] Personal pronoun 3d person dual (§ 18).
[2] *sla-* COUSIN; *-atc* suffix of relationship (§ 65); *-ínī* distributive (§§ 72, 11, 7).
[3] Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).
[4] Personal pronoun 3d person plural (§ 18).
[5] Plural stem (§ 51).
[6] Numeral particle (§ 109).
[7] *n-* WITH (§ 21); *hūumäk·e* WIVES (§ 78); *-e* auxiliary (§§ 44, 10, 7).
[8] Plural formation (§ 78).
[9] Possessive pronoun 3d person dual (§ 98).
[10] Plural formation (§§ 78, 115).
[11] Plural formation (§ 78).
[12] *yíxẽ́i* ONE (§ 101); *-en* multiplicative (§ 75).
[13] *qalîm-* MORNING; *-îye* transitional (§ 35).
[14] Restrictive particle (§ 94).
[15] *witcwahaxtc-* SICK; *-ī* neutral intransitive suffix (§§ 31, 7)
[16] Possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§§ 98, 7).
[17] Particle of negation (§ 112).
[18] *henī-* A WHILE; *-îye* transitional (§§ 35, 9).
[19] *xän-* SICK; *-îs* nominal (§ 56).
[20] Conjunction (§ 110).
[21] Singular stem (§ 51).
[22] *xän-* SICK; *-anāya* direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 50, 7).
[23] Conjunction WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).
[24] Conjunction (§ 110).
[25] *eqe* DEAD; *-anāya* direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 50, 7).
[26] *helmī* TO-MORROW; *-îs* ordinal (§§ 74, 10).
[27] *Lōu-* TO EAT; *-am* (§ 55).
[28] *maha-* TO WATCH; *-ẽ́iwat* frequentative (§ 33).
[29] Definite article (§ 17).
[30] *he'cL^{i}L* FOUR; *-entcîs* ordinal multiplicative (§ 76).
[31] *ła-* TO GO; *-t* transitive (§ 26); *-āya* non-active object pronoun (§ 47).
[32] Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 18).
[33] *tcîne-* TO THINK, *-enī* verbal (§ § 45, 10).
[34] Interjection (§ 111).
[35] Vocative (§ 65).
[36] *x-* modal (§ 24); *tcītc* particle (§ 112); *-ū* interrogative (§ 78).

ye$^{\epsilon}$ [37] îluwe'^{x}tcîs,[38] kat'ɛ'mîsen [39] qalîmī'ye [13] ūL [40] wu'txe teŋ [41] ā'la."
thy heart, five times morning it gets should return that my child."

Wändj [42] L!ä'xɛm.[43] "Īn [17] hel [44] sla.[35] Hats [20] e$^{\epsilon}$ [32] q!a'mtsam![45]
Thus talking condition. "Not surely cousin. Just thou eat!

La^{u} [3] nî'wets hanL [46] ye$^{\epsilon}$ [37] îluwe'^{x}tcîs."[38] Wändj [42] ī^{i}lt.[47]
That one happy will (be) thy heart." Thus (he) told it to him.

Tsō [24] qats [48] ī'nīye [49] tcītc [42] û [50] îluwe'^{x}tcîs.[38] Hats [20] wändj [42]
Now still no more manner his heart. Just thus

tcîne'henī.[33] "E$^{\epsilon}$ [32] Lalahā'mî [51] hanLel."[52] Ā'yu [53] īn [17] yū [54]
thinking (he) is. "Thee get even with, I—thee shall surely." Surely not very

he'nīye [18] ā'yu [53] wîtcwehe'^{x}tcī [15] la [16] ā'la. Īn [17] he'nīye [18]
long time surely sick it is his child. Not long time

xä'nîs.[19] Mändj [55] lEqa^{u}'wE.[21] Hē^{i}kwaīnta [56] û [50] îluwe'^{x}tcîs,[38]
sick. Already (it) died. Very bad his heart

î [23] la^{u} [3] lEqa^{u}'wE [21] la [16] ā'la. Ā'yu [53] cîlī'ye [57] lE [29] wändj [42]
when that one died his child. Surely indeed it was he thus

L!ä'xɛm, [43] î [23] la^{u} [3] dōwā'ya [58] wu'txe la [16] ā'la. Tsō [24] ā'yu [53]
talking condition when that one wants it (to) return his child. Now surely

tcī [59] ła. "Tā'ī [34] sla![35] Ā'yu [53] cūL [60] wutxa'xa [61] Eît [62]
there (he) went. "Halloo, cousin! Surely ought (to) return singly about to

te'îs [63] ā'la. Kat'ɛ'mîsen [39] qalîmī'ye [13] ûx [1] wu'txe hanL [46] te'îs [63]
this our (dual) child. Five times morning it gets they two return shall these our (dual)

ā'la." Wändj [42] ī^{i}lt.[47] "Īn [17] hel [44] sla![35] Hats [20] hanL [46]
children." Thus (he) told it to him. "Not surely cousin! Just shalt

e$^{\epsilon}$ [32] q!a'mtsam![45] La^{u} [3] nî'wets hanL [46] ye$^{\epsilon}$ [37] îluwe'^{x}tcîs."[38] Wändj [42]
thou eat! That one happy will (be) thy heart." Thus

L!ä'xɛm. [43] "Qaiku [64] ûx [1] wutxa'xa [61] Eît [62] te'îs [63] hī^{i}'me, [11] ta [65]
talking condition. "(I) thought they two return singly about to these our (dual) children, and

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[37] Possessive pronoun 2d person singular (§ 98).
[38] *îluwe'^{x}tc-* HEART (?); *-is* nominal (§ 56).
[39] *kat'ɛ'mîs* FOUR; *-en* multiplicative (§ 75).
[40] Syntactic particle denoting the optative (§ 91).
[41] Possessive pronoun 1st person singular (§ 98).
[42] Modal adverb (§ 106).
[43] *L!ä-* TO SPEAK; *-xɛm* generic (§ 30).
[44] Syntactic particle denoting degree of certainty (§§ 88, 7).
[45] *q!'m-* TO EAT; *-ts* transitive (§ 26); *-am* (§§ 55, 11).
[46] Syntactic particle (§ 87).
[47] *ī^{i}l-* TO TELL TO; *-t* transitive (§ 26).
[48] Syntactic particle (§ 89).
[49] *īn* NOT; *-īye* transitional (§ 35).
[50] Sign of possession (§ 97).
[51] *Lala-* TO GET EVEN WITH; *-āmî* transitive subject and object pronoun I—THEE (§§ 46, 10).
[52] *hanL* SHALL; *îl* SURELY (§§ 87, 88, 7).
[53] Modal adverb (§ 106).
[54] Modal adverb (§ 106).
[55] Temporal adverb (§ 105).
[56] Syntactic particle (§ 93); *ta* SO [literally, VERILY, NOT SO] (§ 106).
[57] *cîl* syntactic particle (§ 90); *-īye* transitional (§ 35).
[58] *dōw-* TO WISH, TO DESIRE; *-āya* non-active object pronoun (§ 47).
[59] Local adverb (§ 104).
[60] Syntactic particle (§§ 90, 91).
[61] Reduplicated stem *wutxe* TO COME BACK (§ 83).
[62] Syntactic particle (§ 87).
[63] Possessive pronoun inclusive, dual (§ 98).
[64] Syntactic particle denoting degree of knowledge (§ 88).
[65] Conjunction (§ 110).

qats[48] however | la^{u}[3] that thing | ēn[66] thou not | dōwā'ya[58] didst want it | xwändj.[67] thus. | Hē^{i}[68] (Emphatic) | hanL[46] shall | yîqa[69] still | în[17] not

wûtxa'xa[61] return singly | eît[62] going to | yanLawe[70] whenever | mä beings | lEqa^{u}'wE,[21] die, | nāyîm[71] because | ēn[66] thou not | dōwā'ya[58] didst want it

xwändj.[67] thus. | Xnōwe[72] Right | î[23] when | cîl[57] indeed | tE[73] that there | xwändj[67] thus | e^{ɛ}[32] thou didst tell it to, thou—me." | ī^{i}ltā'îs."[74] | Wändj[42] Thus

tcîne'henī.[33] thinking (he) is. | Mā[75] However | xnōwe[72] right | lEla^{u}[3] that's (the thing) | wändj[42] thus | ī^{i}lt.[47] (he) told it to him. | Kat'E'mîsen[39] Five times

qalîmī'ye[13] morning it gets | ūL[40] should | wutxa'xa[61] return singly | eît,[62] going to | yūL[76] if should | xwändj[67] thus | L!äts.[77] speak. | LE'γī Good | ūL,[40] would be

yūL[76] if should | kat E'mîsen[39] five times | qalîmī'ye[13] morning it gets | wutxa'xa[61] return singly | eît[62] intention | hE[29] the people (who) | mä | lEqa^{u}'wE.[21] die.

Tsō[24] Now | yîqai'nī[78] so far | he!a'qaxEm.[79] it got (the story). | Wändj[42] Thus | hätct!enī'yeqEm.[80] the story is being told.

[Translation]

Once upon a time there were two cousins. They lived together. They were both married, and each had a little boy. One morning one of the boys became sick. He was not sick long before he died. The father felt sorry when the child died. Then they buried it.

The next day he (the father of the dead boy) could not eat. He was merely looking at the dead child. On the fourth day he went to his cousin. "Halloo, cousin! What do you think? Should my child return after five days?"—"Oh, no, cousin!" answered the other one. "You simply eat, and you will feel happy." He did not know what to answer. He was merely thinking to himself, "I will certainly get even with you."

After a short time the other man's child became sick. It was not ill very long before it died. The father was very much grieved when his child died. He therefore went to his neighbor and said to him, "Halloo, cousin! I think our two children ought to return. They ought to come back after five days." But the other man answered,

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[66] *e^{ɛ}* THOU (§ 18); *în* NOT (§ 112, 9).
[67] *x-* modal (§ 24); *wändj* THUS (§ 106).
[68] Syntactic particle (§ 93).
[69] Syntactic particle (§ 89).
[70] *yanL* IF (future)(§ 91); *he* CUSTOMARILY (§ 87).
[71] Syntactic particle (§ 89).
[72] *x-* modal (§ 24); *nōwe* ALL RIGHT.
[73] Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).
[74] *īil-* TO TELL, *-t* transitive (§ 26); *-āis* transitive subject and object pronoun (§ 46).
[75] Syntactic particle (§ 89).
[76] Particle denoting the optative (§ 91).
[77] *L!ä-* TO SPEAK; *-ts* transitive (§ 26).
[78] Adverb (§ 104).
[79] *he!aq* TO ARRIVE; *-xEm* generic (§§ 30 4 11).
[80] *hätcit!* STORY; *-enī* verbal (§§ 45, 11); *-īyeqEm* passive (§ 40).

"Oh, no, cousin! You just eat and you will feel happy again. I had intended that our dead children should come back, but you did not wish it that way. And now, whenever people die, they will not come back, because you objected to it. You were right when you spoke against it."

He was justified in thus addressing him. People would have come back after five days if he had originally consented to it. It would have been good if the dead people could come back. Here the story ends. In this manner people relate this story.

The Theft of Fire and Water

Nmä′hen̄et[1]	tE[2]	L!tā.	Gōᵘs[3]	tcītc[4]	łî′mx·nēⁱ[5]	mä.					
With people it (mutually) was	that there	land.	All	kinds	mixed up (they were) mutually	(the) beings.					
Îł[6]	k·!ätc!wäł.[7]	Îł[6]	k·!äxāᵃp.[7]	Î[8]	dīⁱl[9]	îł[6]	Lōwēⁱ′wat[10]				
They	without fire.	They	without water.	When	something	they	eat frequently				
Eît,[11]	laᵘ[2]	îł[6]	L!pēqaqa′ēⁱwat.[12]	Xle′îtc[13]	t'a′lats.[14]	Laᵘ[2]					
intend,	that thing	they	in the arm-pits to be, cause it frequently.	With it with	(they) dance.	Those					
tEm̄ä′Le[15]	mä	laᵘ[2]	tc!îcîla′ēⁱwat[16]	he.[11]	Tsō[8]	he[11]	pî′ctcī,[17]				
old	people	that thing	cause it to be underneath, frequently	customarily.	Now	customarily	warm it gets,				
tsō[8]	he[11]	laᵘ[2]	q!mîts.[18]	Yuwe[19]	qa′lyeq	L!′le,	laᵘ[2]	he[11]	îł[6]		
now	customarily	that thing	(they) eat.	Whenever	salmon	comes out,	they are the ones	usually	they		
LtL!ēⁱ′yat.[20]	Wändj[21]	yuxtîk·[21]	he′îł[22]	Lōwā′was.[23]	Laᵘ[2]						
scoop it out.	That way	barely	their	food.	That thing						
skweyenī′yeqEm[24]	lE[25]	tc!wäł.	"Xtcī′tcū[26]	ūL,[27]	yūL[27]	laᵘ[2]	łîn[28]				
it is talked about	the	fire.	"How	would it be,	if should	that thing	we				

[1] *n-* adverbial (§ 21); *mä* PEOPLE; *-e* auxiliary (§§ 44, 10); *-n* distributive (§§ 37, 25); *-t* transitive (§§ 26, 4).
[2] Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).
[3] Numeral particle (§ 109).
[4] Particle (§ 112).
[5] *limx·-* TO MIX; *-nēⁱ* distributive (§ 37).
[6] Personal pronoun 3d person plural (§ 18)
[7] *k·!ä-* privative (§ 20).
[8] Conjunction (§ 110).
[9] Pronominal particle (§ 108).
[10] *Lōᵘ-* TO EAT; *-ēⁱwat* frequentative (§§ 33, 8).
[11] Syntactic particle (§ 87).
[12] *L!pēq-* TO BE IN ARM-PITS; *-aēⁱwat* frequentative causative (§ 34); see also reduplication (§ 83).
[13] *x-* instrumental (§ 24); *lE* article (§ 17); *-Etc* instrumental (§ 70).
[14] *t'al-* TO DANCE; *-ts* transitive (§ 26).
[15] Plural formation (§ 78).
[16] *tc!îcîl* MAT; *-aēⁱwat* frequentative causative (§ 34).
[17] *pîctc-* TO BE WARM; *-ī* neutral intransitive (§ 31).
[18] *q!m-* TO EAT; *-ts* transitive (§ 26).
[19] *yū* VERY (§ 106); *he* CUSTOMARILY (§ 87); see also § 9.
[20] *LtL!-* TO SCOOP OUT; *-īyat* causative (§§ 27, 2).
[21] Modal adverb (§ 106).
[22] Possessive pronoun 3d person plural (§ 98).
[23] *Lōᵘ-* TO EAT; *-āwas* verbal abstract (§§ 59, 8).
[24] *skw-* TO TALK ABOUT; *-enī* verbal (§ 45); *-īyeqEm* passive (§§ 40, 9).
[25] Article (§ 17).
[26] *x-* modal (§ 24); *tcītc* MANNER (§ 112); *-ū* interrogative (§ 73).
[27] Syntactic particle (§ 91).
[28] Personal pronoun 1st person plural (§ 18).

ɬ[a]atā'ya?"[29]—"Tcī[30] hanL[31] ĺîn[28] ła." Tsō[8] ā'yu[21] tcī[30] îl[6] ła.
go to it?"— "There shall we go." Now surely there they went.

Ā'yu[21] tcī[30] îl[6] he'ĺaq. Ā'yu[21] tc!îla'at[32] tE[2] tc!wäł, î[8] îl[6]
Surely there they arrived. Surely to burn it is caused that there fire, when they

te'[x]tîts.[33] Hats[8] yîqax[34] k·îlō'wît[35] lE[25] xā[a]p. LōwA'kats[36]
entered. Just right away (he) saw it the water. Sat

tcī[30] lE[25] mä ha'lqait.[37] Xta'nuxwītc[38] LōwA'kats.[36] "Tā'ī[39]
there the person (he) came to. Sideways (he) was sitting. "Halloo,

sla! Îs[40] alî'canī[41] hanL."[31] Hats[8] kwa[42] īn[4] k!ayaha'ē[i]wat.[43]
cousin! We two play shall." Just as if not (he) hears it.

XpEkwî'ltcume[44] 'LōwA'kats.[36] Tsō[8] he'nīye,[45] tsō[8] î'lxats.[46]
From the opposite side (he) sat. Now (after) a while now (he) looked at him.

"Qanîya'ta[47] e[ɛ][48] hen'ne[u][49] sla hîtc[50] cantE?"[51] Wändj[21] L!äts.[52]
Stranger thou my cousin (surprise) (?) " Thus (he) spoke.

"E[ɛ][48] lEqa[u]wîya'tanī[53] L."[54] "Mā[34] cku[42] e[ɛ][48] hen[49] nīla'hatcEm[55]
"Thou story tell must." "But it must be thou my at priority

ła ye[ɛ][56] ha[u]'we."[57] Tsō[8] qats[34] L!ē[i]tc. He'nīye[45] e'he qanō'tca.[58]
goes thy growth." Now, however, (he) went out. A while (he) was gone outside.

Tsō[8] asō'[59] te'[x]tîts.[33] "Tā'ī[39] sla! Ānta[39] tē[i2] nī'k!wa[31] ye[ɛ]ne[u][56]
Now again (he) entered. "Halloo, cousin!" Look this here used (to be) thy

pī·ł. TE[2] ye[ɛ]ne[u][56] pī·ł la[u2] L!a'nēx.[60] TE[2] hen'ne[u][49] pī·ł la[u2]
Indian cradle. That there thy Indian cradle that one (is) new. That there my Indian cradle that one

qa'lēx[61]; ta[8] tē[i2] nī'k!wa[31] ye[ɛ]ne[u][56] na[u]'hîn, ta[8] tē[i2] nī'k!wa[31]
(is) old; and this here used (to be) thy shinny-club, and this here used (to be)

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[29] *ła-* TO GO; *-t* transitive (§ 26); *-āya* non-active object pronoun (§ 47).
[30] Local adverb (§ 104).
[31] Syntactic particle (§ 87).
[32] *tc!îl-* TO BURN; *-eel* causative passive (§§ 41, 7).
[33] *texî-* TO ENTER; *-ts* transitive (§ 26).
[34] Syntactic particle (§ 89).
[35] *k·îlōu-* TO SEE; *-t* transitive (§§ 26, 8).
[36] *Lōuku-* TO SIT; *-ts* transitive (§§ 26, 11).
[37] *helq-* TO ARRIVE; *-t* transitive (§§ 26, 7, 11).
[38] *x-* modal (§ 24); *tanuxu-* SIDE; *-ītc* modal (§§ 67, 8).
[39] Interjection (§ 111).
[40] Personal pronoun inclusive, dual (§ 18).
[41] *alEc* TOY; *-enī* verbal (§§ 45, 7).
[42] Syntactic particle (§ 88).
[43] *k!ayaha-* TO HEAR; *-ē[i]wat* frequentative (§ 33).
[44] *x-* locative (§ 22); *pEkwil-* OPPOSITE; *-tc* adverbial (§§ 25, 104); *-ume* nominalizing (§ 64).
[45] *henī-* A WHILE; *-iye* transitional (§§ 35, 9).
[46] *îlx-* TO LOOK; *-ts* transitive (§ 26).
[47] *qanîya'ła* BELONGING TO A DIFFERENT TRIBE, A STRANGER.
[48] Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 18).
[49] Possessive pronoun 1st person singular (§ 98).
[50] Syntactic particle (§ 90).
[51] Can not be analyzed.
[52] *L!ā-* TO SPEAK; *-ts* transitive (§ 26).
[53] *lEqauwîyatas* STORY (compare *lEqauwE* TO DIE); *-enī* verbal (§§ 45, 7).
[54] Syntactic particle (§ 92).
[55] *n-* adverbial (§ 21); *îła* BEFORE (§ 104); *-tc* adverbial (§§ 25, 103, 10, 7); *-Em* adverbial abstract (§ 58).
[56] Possessive pronoun 2d person singular (§§ 18, 98).
[57] *hau-* TO GROW; *-e* (§ 80); see also §§ 8, 118.
[58] *qanō-* OUTSIDE; *-tc* adverbial (§§ 25, 104); *-a* directive (§ 55).
[59] Temporal adverb (§ 105).
[60] *L!an-* NEW; *-ēx* adjectival (§ 66).
[61] *qal-* OLD (compare *qalu* WINTER); *-ēx* adjectival (§ 66).

heŋ'ne[u 49] na[u']hîn, ta[8] tē[i 2] nī'k!wa[31] ye[ɛ]ne[u 56] kwä'sîs,[62] ta[8] tē[i 2]
my shinny-club, and this here used (to be) thy ball, and this here

nī'k!wa[31] heŋ'ne[u 49] kwä'sîs.[62] L!a'nēx[60] ye[ɛ]ne[u 56] kwä'sîs.[62] Qa'lēx[61]
used (to be) my ball. New (is) thy ball. Old (is)

tē[i 2] heŋ'ne[u 49] kwä'sîs.[62] Kwa[42] kwe[42] yū[21] în[4] ā'yu[21] L[54] sla."
this here my ball. As if perhaps very not surely must (be) cousin."

Tcī[30] hîtō[u]tsa'tɛxa.[63] Ā'yu[21] k·îlō'wît.[35] "Ā'yu[21] cîlī'ye[64] sla.
There (he) put them down for him. Surely (he) saw it. "Surely indeed it is cousin

Tcī[30] îl[65] e[ɛ 48] Lō[u]k[u]. Îs[40] alî'canī[41] hanL."[31] Tsō[8] ā'yu[21] ûx[66]
There surely thou sit down. We two play shall." Now surely they two

haītî'tɛme[u].[67] "Yî'kwanL[68] dī[i]ltɛe'tc[69] ten[70] L!aqa'ē[i]wat,[71]
gamble together. "Perhaps shall something with that I point my finger at him frequently,

î[8] la[u 2] L!'tɛta[72] lɛ[25] na'm[ɛ]xqa?" Tcîne'henī.[73] "Yî'kūL[74]
when that one puts (his) hands behind (his) back (one of) the players?" (He) is thinking. "Perhaps would be

xtcīte[75] yūL[27] wî'yetc nxwa'lxwal[76] n[77] x·L!ōwa'ē[i]wat?[78]
in the manner if would a piece of abalone shell in eye I cause it to be inside?

Lexa'tcɛm[79] hanL[31] n[77] qa'qal. Cîn[80] L!ō[x]k·înā'îs[81] hanL,[31] yanL[27]
Inside, the part shall I sleep. You support you—me shall, if shall.

n[77] L!'tɛta." [72] Wändj[21] L!ä'xɛm.[82] Wändj[21] ī[i]lt[83] lɛ[25] ma'nat.
I put (my hands) behind (my) back." Thus talking, condition. Thus (he) told it to the crowd.

Ā'yu[21] yîqa'x[34] wändj.[21] Tsō[8] ā'yu[21] L!aqa'ē[i]wat,[71] î[8] la[u 2]
Surely just that way. Now surely (he) points (the) finger at him, frequently when that one

L!tɛ'ta.[72] Ā'yu[21] yûxwä'[109] mä L!ō[x]k·înē[i]'wat,[84] Tcī'tcū[85] c[ɛ 86] dī[i]ł[9]
puts (his) hands behind (his) back. Surely two persons support him steadily. How sur- prise things

ītsēm.[87] Xya'bas[88] yaptî'tsa[89] lä[90] pî'lîk·îs,[91] lä[90] ye'es, lä[90] tcūł, lä[90]
happened. Maggots ate up his anus, his face, his nose, his

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[62] *kwās-* ? ; *-ts* nominal (§ 56).

[63] *hitōu-* TO PUT DOWN; *-ts* transitive (§ 26); *-tɛx* direct object pronoun plural (§ 54); *-a* indirect object pronoun (§ 49; see also § 7).

[64] *cil* syntactic particle (§ 90); *-īye* transitional (§ 35).

[65] Syntactic particle (§ 88).

[66] Personal pronoun 3d person dual (§ 18).

[67] *ha i-* TO GAMBLE; *-t* transitive (§ 26); *-t* transitive (§ 26); *-meu* reciprocal (§ 29; see also § 4).

[68] *yîku* syntactic particle (§ 88); *hanL* SHALL (§§ 87, 8, 9).

[69] *dī·l* SOMETHING (§ 108); *-tc* adverbial (§ 25); *-ɛtc* instrumental (§ 70).

[70] Personal pronoun 1st person singular (§§ 18, 98).

[71] *L!aqa-* TO POINT AT; *-ē·iwat* frequentative (§ 33).

[72] *L!tɛta* TO PUT ONE'S HAND BEHIND THE BACK (during a game).

[73] *tcîn-* TO THINK; *-enī* verbal (§§ 45, 10).

[74] *yîku* PERHAPS (§ 88); *ūL* WOULD BE (§§ 91, 9).

[75] *x-* modal (§ 24); *tcītc* particle (§ 112).

[76] *n-* adverbial (§ 21); *xwalxwal* EYE (§§ 83, 116).

[77] Personal pronoun 1st person singular (§ 18).

[78] *x·L!ōu-* TO BE INSIDE (§ 54); *-aē·iwat* frequentative causative (§§ 34, 8).

[79] *lexatc* INSIDE (§ 104); *-ɛm* adverbial abstract (§ 58).

[80] Personal pronoun 2d person plural (§ 18).

[81] *L!ōx·k·în-* TO STEADY, TO SUPPORT; *-āīs* transitive, subject and object pronoun THOU–ME (§ 46).

[82] *L!ä-* TO TALK; *-xɛm* generic suffix (§ 30).

[83] *ī·il-* TO SAY TO; *-t* transitive (§ 26).

[84] *L!ōx·k·în-* TO SUPPORT; *-ē·iwat* frequentative (§ 33).

[85] *tcītc* particle (§ 112); *-ū* interrogative (§ 73).

[86] Syntactic particle denoting surprise (§ 90).

[87] *īts-* TO DO, TO BE (§ 113); *-ēm* suffix defining the subject (§ 30).

[88] *x-* discriminative (§ 23); *yabas* MAGGOT.

[89] *yab-* MAGGOT; *-t* transitive (§ 26); *-ts* transitive (§§ 26, 25); *-a* indirect object pronoun (§ 49).

[90] Possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§ 98).

[91] *pîlîk·-* ANUS; *-îs* nominal (§ 56).

kᵘha′n̄as. Hîs[8] īnłhenī′yeEs[92] xya′bas[88] q!mîts.[18] Laᵘ[2] īn[4] laᵘ[2]
cars. Also (in) no time maggots ate him. That one not that thing

î′lxats.[46] Hats[8] yî′qa[34] tcī[30] Lōwa′kats.[36] Xyûxwä′[93] mä
(at) looked. Just continually there (he) sat. Two persons

L!ōˣk·în̄ēⁱ′wat[84] xpqai′hītc.[94] Wî′yax x·L!ōwa′ēⁱwat[78] län[95]
support him steadily from (the) back. Abalone shell (he) caused to be inside his in

xwa′lxwal. Lexa′tcEm[79] qa′qał. Laᵘ[2] qats[34] kwa[42] ā′yu[21]
eye. Inside, the part (he) slept. That one just as if surely

kwî′nait.[96] Hîtc[50] wî′yax lE[25] x·L!ī′ye[97] · län[95] xwa′lxwal. Hats[8]
looked at it. Surprise abalone shell it inside it is his in eye. Just

lā′mak· Lōwa′kats.[36] Asî′L[30] ła û[98] x·îluwī′ye[99] lEx[100] ya′bas, î[8]
bones sitting. Halfway goes its growth (of) the maggots, when

laᵘ[2] xya′bas[88] Lōweⁱ′wat.[10] Ītse′ts[101] yîku[65] îl[65] laᵘ[2] henī′yeEs[92]
that one the maggots eat him continually. May be surely he for some time

hî′nī[30] Lōwa′kats.[36] Tsō[8] wändj[21] tcîne′henī.[73] "Yîkwanl[68] dīⁱltcE′tc[69]
there (he) sat. Now thus thinking. "Perhaps shall something with

tEn̥[70] L!aqa′ēⁱwat?"[71] Hats[8] kwanL[102] īn[4] yū[21] dīⁱł[9] qayaᵘ′wīye,[103]
that I point my finger at him frequently?" Just as if shall not very something scared, he becomes

yūL[27] xle′îtc[13] n̥[77] L!aqa′ēⁱwat."[71] Wändj[21] tcîne′henī.[73] Yî′qa[34] īn[4]
if would with it with I point my fingers at him frequently." Thus thinking. Still not

î′lxats[46] lE[25] ya′bas; mā[34] îl[65] hats[8] lā′mak· sīL′nēⁱ.[104] Yî′qa[34] īn[4]
(he) looked at the maggots; however surely just bones joined together. Still not

î′lxats.[46] "Cîⁱn[105] k·ełlēⁱ′wat.[106] Cîn[80] sqats hanL[31] tE[2] tc!wäł, yanL[27]
(he) looked at it. "You not forget it. You grab shall that there fire, if shall

łîn[28] tqats.[107] Laᵘ[2] hîs[8] tE[2] xāᵃp cîn[80] x·întī′ta[108] hanL."[31]
we win (game). That one also that there water you cause it to run shall."

Wändj[21] L!ä′xEm.[82] Yîxēⁱ′[109] mä wändj[21] L!ä′xEm.[82] "NE′xkan[110]
That way talking, condition. One person that way talking, condition. "I

hanL[31] laᵘ[2] n̥[77] x·întī′yat[111] tE[2] xāᵃp.—Tēⁱ[2] laᵘ[2] eᵉ[48] x·întī′yat[111] hanL[31]
shall (be) the one I run, cause it that there water.— This here the one you to run, cause it shall

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[92] *īn* negation (§ 112); *ł* abbreviated form of *dīⁱł* (§ 108); *henīye* A WHILE; *-Es* noun of quality (§ 57).
[93] *x-* discriminative (§ 23); *yû′xwä* TWO (§ 101).
[94] *x-* FROM (§ 22); *pqai* BACK; *-ītc* local suffix (§§ 67, 10).
[95] *łä* possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§ 98); *n-* adverbial (§ 21).
[96] *kwîna-* TO LOOK; *-t* transitive (§ 26).
[97] *x·L!-* TO BE INSIDE (§ 54); *-īye* transitional (§ 35).
[98] Sign of possession (§ 97).
[99] *x·îlu-* DEEP; *-īye* nominal suffix (§§ 80, 8).
[100] *lE* article (§ 17); *x-* discriminative (§ 23).
[101] See § 113.
[102] *kwa* AS IF (§ 88); *hanL* SHALL (§§ 87, 9).
[103] *qayaᵘ-* TO BE AFRAID; *-īye* transitional (§§ 35, 8)
[104] *sīL-* TO JOIN; *-nēⁱ* distributive (§ 37).
[105] *cîn* personal pronoun, 2d person plural (§ 96); *īn* NOT (see § 9).
[106] *k·el-* TO FORGET; *-ēⁱwat* frequentative (§ 33); see § 83.
[107] *tq-* TO WIN; *-ts* transitive (§ 26).
[108] *x·Ent-* TO RUN; *-īyat* causative (§ 27); *-a* indirect object pronoun (§§ 49, 11).
[109] Cardinal numeral (§ 101).
[110] Personal pronoun 1st person singular (§ 96).
[111] *x·Ent-* TO RUN; *-īyat* causative (§ 27).

tE[2] tc!wäł.” Tsō[8] xwändj[21] ī!lt.[83] “Kwī'yał[112] halt![113] e^{s}ne[114] he[11]
that there fire.” Now thus (he) told it to him. “Now now thou customarily

L!tE'ta.”[72] Wändj[21] ī!lt.[83] “Yî'kwanL[68] dī!ltcE'tc[69] tEn[70] L!aqa'ē!wat?”[71]
put (thy) hands behind (thy) back.” Thus (he) told it to him. “Perhaps shall something with this here I point the finger at him continually?”

“Hats[8] īn[4] yū[21] dī!ł[9] yū[21] qayawā'waL.[115] Ło[116] L[117] ūL[27] lE'γī,
“Just not very something very scaring. That thing necessarily would be good,

yūL[27] x·ōwā'yasEtc[118] n̥[77] L!aqa'ē!wat.”[71] K·!ätc!hā'yîms[119] la^{u}[2]
if should snake with I point (my) finger at him continually.” Without dying down that one (the fire)

tc!îla'at.[120] Tsō[8] ā'yu[21] x·ōwā'yasEtc[118] L!a'qat.[121] Łōwîtī'yeqEm.[122]
to burn, it is caused. Now surely snake with (he) pointed (the) finger at him. (He) is watching himself.

X·ōwā'yas hän[123] djî'letc xa'lEmats.[124] Hats[125] kwa[42] xtcītc[7]
Snake his at thighs wraps around. Just looks like something

ītsēm.[87] Mā[34] ai'wa[126] īn[4] k·îlō'wît.[35] Hän[123] we'hel la^{u}[2]
happened However still not (he) sees it. His to waist that one

he'łaq lE[25] x·ōwā'yas. Hän[123] ye'es la^{u}[2] kwa[42] l'nuwît.[127]
arrived the snake. His to mouth that one as if threatens (to go).

Ak·a'nak·[128] he'^{i}lta hEx[129] x·ōwā'yas. Hats[8] han[130] kwa[42]
Sticks out (the) tongue the snake. Just will as if

hän[123] tcūł la^{u}[2] te'^{x}tîts[33] lE[25] x·ōwā'yas. Qai^{x}·qa'yōnā'ya,[131] î[8]
his in nose that one enter the snake. Afraid, (it) made him, when

la^{u}[2] k·îlō'wît.[35] Sī'x·îts[132] ē^{i}'qatce.[133] NEqā'ya.[134] L!xanā'yēm[135]
that one (he) saw it. (He) shook it off one side to. (He) ran away from it. Throw (indefinite) (People shout at him)

ye'es. X·î'x·întū[136] lE[25] tc!wäł. Hē^{i}kwaīn[137] xhū'wîs[138] mä
mouth. (It) is being taken away quickly the fire. Very poor person (is)

la^{u}[2] x·întī'yat[111] lE[25] tc!wäł. Hē^{i}yū[139] xtcä'yux^{u}[138] mä la^{u}[2]
the one (to) run, causes the fire. Very small person (he is) the one

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[112] Temporal adverb (§ 105).
[113] Temporal adverb (§ 105).
[114] Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 96).
[115] *qayau-* TO FEAR; *-āwaL* nominal suffix (§ 59).
[116] Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).
[117] Syntactic particle (§ 92).
[118] *x·ōwāyas* SNAKE; *-Etc* instrumental (§ 70).
[119] *k·!ä-* privative (§ 20); *tc!ha-* TO EXTINGUISH; *-āyîms* nominal (§ 80).
[120] *tc!il-* TO BURN; *-aat* passive causative (§§ 41, 7).
[121] *L!aqa-* TO POINT AT WITH ONE'S FINGER; *-t* transitive (§ 26).
[122] *lōuxt-* TO WATCH; *-îyeqEm* passive (§§ 40, 3, 11).
[123] *nā* possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§ 98); *n-* adverbial (§ 21).
[124] *xalm-* TO WRAP AROUND; *-ts* transitive (§ 26).
[125] Conjunction (§ 110).
[126] Temporal adverb (§ 105).
[127] *łinuwī* VERY, modal adverb (§ 106); *-t* transitive (§ 26).
[128] *ak'ank·-* TO STICK OUT (§ 4).
[129] *hE* article (§ 17); *x-* discriminative (§ 23).
[130] Syntactic particle (§ 87).
[131] *qayau-* TO SCARE; *-anāya* direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 50, 3, 82).
[132] *sīx·-* TO SHAKE OFF; *-ts* transitive (§ 26).
[133] Local adverb (§§ 104, 103, 55).
[134] *nEq* TO RUN AWAY; *-āya* non-active object pronoun (§ 47).
[135] *L!xan-* TO THROW; *-āya* (§ 47); *-ēm* suffix defining the subject (§§ 30, 9).
[136] *x·Ent-* TO RUN; *-ā* present passive (§§ 38, 82).
[137] Syntactic particle (§ 93).
[138] *x-* discriminative (§ 23).
[139] *hē* syntactic particle (§ 93); *yū* VERY, modal adverb (§ 106).

t!kwî'tsa[140]	lɛ[25]	xā^{a}p.	Xpīye'etc[141]	L^{o}wa'hait[142]	hɛ[25]	mēn.[143]		
kicks it	the	water.	In the manner of going home	run	the	people.		
K^{u}ha'ñasatc[144]	ha^{u}[2]	lɛxalxā'yu[145]	hɛ[25]	tc!wäl.	Nle'hī[146]	ła	û[98]	
Ear in	that one	was put in	the	fire.	With it	goes	his	
x·na'at.[147]	Lɛ[25]	xā^{a}p	ha'kwal[148]	hɛ'mtset,[149]	î[8]	la^{u}[2]	t!kwî'tsa.[140]	
quickness (he runs).	The	water	as if	(to) lay bare, caused, it was,	when	that one	kicked it.	
Māndj[150]	hats[8]	g·î'mtset[151]	lɛ'tsîx·.[152]	K^{u}mene'îletc[153]	L!xa'na[154]			
Already	Just	(to) rain caused it was	right here.	Brush into	(he) threw it,			
lɛ[25]	tc!wäl.	K!we'hetc[155]	la^{u}[2]	L!xant.[156]	Hats[8]	L!xant,[156]		
the	fire.	Willow into	that one	threw it.	Just	(he) threw it,		
māndj[150]	łkwî'Līlu.[157]	Tsō[8]	asō'[150]	îl[6]	wu'txe	tsî'x·tī.[158]		
already	to blaze, it begins.	Now	again	they	returned	here.		
Xtemī'towetc[159]	lɛîl[160]	ntc!wä'le.[161]	Xtemī'towetc[159]	towe[162]				
From that time on	they	with fire are.	From that time on	usually				
g·î'mīt.[163]	La^{u}[2]	xwändj[21]	towe[162]	g·î'mīt.[163]	Xwändj[21]	La[164]		
(it) rains.	That	(is) thus (the manner how)	usually	(it) rains.	That way	only		
kwee'nīyēm.[165]	Tsō[8]	tcī[30]	ä'wîxɛm.[166]					
know it (indefinite).	Now	there	end, condition.					

[Translation]

The earth was full of people. All kinds of people lived in a mixed-up fashion. They had no fire or water. Whenever they wanted to eat, they would put the food under their arms (in order to heat it). They would dance with it, or the old people would sit on it. And when the food became warm, then they would eat it. Whenever salmon came ashore, they used to scoop it out.

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[140] *t!kw-* TO KICK; *-ts* transitive (§ 26); *-a* indirect object pronoun (§ 49).
[141] *x-* modal (§ 24); *pīx·-* TO GO HOME; *-eetc* modal (§ 36; also § 3).
[142] *Lowaha'i-* TO RUN; *-t* transitive (§ 26).
[143] Plural formation (§ 78).
[144] *kuha'ñas* EAR; *-etc* local (§§ 68, 7).
[145] *lax-* TO BE INSIDE (singular object); *-āyu* past passive (§§ 39, 83, 54).
[146] *n-* adverbial (§ 21); *-lɛ* article (§ 17); *-ī* instrumental (§§ 80, 10).
[147] See § 118.
[148] Syntactic particle (§ 88).
[149] *hɛm-* TO LAY OPEN; *-ts* transitive (§ 26); *-et* causative passive (§ 41).
[150] Temporal adverb (§ 105).
[151] *g·îm-* TO RAIN; *-ts* transitive (§ 26); *-et* causative passive (§ 41).
[152] *lɛ* article (§ 17); *tsîx·* HERE, local adverb (§ 104).
[153] *kumene'il* BRUSH; *-etc* local (§ 68).
[154] *L!xan-* TO THROW; *-a* indirect object pronoun (§ 49).
[155] *k!wehe-* WILLOW; *-etc* local (§§ 68, 9).
[156] *L!xan-* TO THROW; *-t* transitive (§ 26).
[157] *łkwîl-* TO BLAZE; *-t* transitive; *-u* transitional (§§ 35, 114).
[158] Local adverb (§ 104).
[159] *x-* FROM, locative (§ 22); *temītowetc* (see § 106).
[160] *lɛ* article (§ 17); *îl* personal pronoun 3d person plural (§ 96).
[161] *n-* WITH, instrumental (§ 21); *tc!wäl* FIRE; *-e* auxiliary (§ 44).
[162] See § 87.
[163] *g·îm-* TO RAIN; *-t* transitional (§§ 26, 114).
[164] Syntactic particle (§ 94).
[165] *kwaan-* TO KNOW; *-āya* non-active object pronoun (§ 47); *-ēm* suffix defining the subject (§§ 30, 7).
[166] *äw-* TO FINISH, TO END; *-xɛm* generic (§ 30).

In this manner they had hardly any food. They were all the time talking about fire. "How would it be if we should go after fire?"—"Let us go." They went. When they arrived, they found the fire burning; and one of them saw the water. The chief of the people (to whom they came) was sitting indoors. He was sitting sideways. "Halloo, cousin!" said the earth-chief. "Let us gamble (for the fire and water)!" The sky-chief acted as if he did not hear. The earth-chief sat down opposite him. After a short time the sky-chief looked up and said, "You belong to a different tribe, so in what way are you my cousin? You must tell a story." But the earth-chief answered, "You are older than I," and he went out. After a while he came back and said, "Halloo, cousin! Look! this here is your Indian cradle.[1] Your Indian cradle[1] is new, while mine is old. And this here is your shinny-club,[2] while that there is my shinny-club.[2] This is your ball,[2] and that one is my ball.[2] Your ball[2] is new, but mine is old. Is it not so?" Then he put all these things before him. The sky-chief looked at them, and said, "Indeed, it is so, O cousin! Sit down here, we will gamble."

They began to play. The earth-chief thought to himself, "With what shall I point my finger at the player who puts his hand behind his back? Suppose I put a piece of abalone shell into my eye? I will sleep in the inside part of my eye." Then he said to his followers, "You shall support me when I put my hands behind my back;" and what he demanded was done.

Then he pointed his finger at him (the sky-chief) when he put his hand behind his back. Two men were supporting him. Thus things happened. Maggots began to eat up his (the sky-chief's) anus, his face, his nose, his ears. Soon the maggots ate him up; but he did not notice it. He kept on sitting there. Two men were still supporting him from the back. He had an abalone shell in his eye, and was sleeping in that inside part. Now it seemed as if the sky-chief were looking at it. To his surprise, he saw an abalone shell in the other man's eye. By this time only bones had remained of him, for

[1] "Cradle" or "bed" is a piece of canvas (in former days tanned hide) spread on the ground and stretched by means of pegs or nails, before which the player participating in the so-called "game of guessing" was squatting, while mixing the sticks in his hands, which were held behind his back. Upon receiving the guessing-signal from a player of the opposite side, the sticks were thrown on the "cradle," usually one by one, while the marked stick was laid bare.

[2] The informant was mistaken in the use of these terms. "Club" and "ball" are used in a game of shinny, while the game played by the two chiefs was the favorite game of "guessing."

the maggots had eaten up almost half of his body. The earth-chief was sitting there for a while, and began to think, "With what shall I point my finger at him? It seems that I ought to point at him with some very terrible thing." The sky-chief still did not look at the maggots. Only his bones, joined together, were sitting there. Still he did not look.

Now the earth-chief said to his people, "Don't forget to seize the fire as soon as we win the game.—And you take hold of the water." One of his men said, "I will run away with the water, and you ought to run with the fire." The earth-chief said to the head man of the sky-people, "Now it is your turn to put your hands behind your back." All the time he was thinking to himself, "With what shall I point my finger at him? It seems that nothing terrifies him. It will be very good if I point at him with a snake."

In the mean time the fire kept on burning. He then pointed at him with a snake. But he (the sky-chief) was on the lookout. The snake coiled around his thigh. Still he did not mind it. It crawled up to his waist and threatened to go into his mouth, all the while sticking out its tongue. Soon it seemed as if it were about to enter his nose. The sky-chief became afraid when he saw this. He shook off the snake and ran away. People were shouting at him.

The earth people quickly seized the fire. A very poor man ran away with the fire, while a little man kicked the water. They were running homewards. The man put the fire into his ear while running. As soon as the water was spilled, it began to rain. The fire was thrown into some willow-brush, and soon began to blaze. Thus they returned. From that time on, people have had fire; and from that time on, it has rained. Thus only the story is known. This is the end of it.

SIUSLAWAN (LOWER UMPQUA)

BY

LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

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INTRODUCTION

In 1884 J. Owen Dorsey spent a month at the Siletz reservation, Oregon, collecting short vocabularies of the Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua, as well as of other languages. Prior to Dorsey's investigations the linguistic position of Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua was a debated question. Some investigators believed that these two dialects belonged to the Yakonan family; while others, notably Latham and Gatschet, held them to form a distinct stock, although they observed marked agreement with some features of the Yakonan. After a superficial investigation, lasting less than a month, Dorsey came to the conclusion that Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua were dialects belonging to the Yakonan stock. This assertion was repeated by J. W. Powell in his "Indian Linguistic Families" (*Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 134), and was held to be correct by all subsequent students of American Indian languages. This view, however, is not in harmony with my own investigations. A closer study of Alsea (one of the Yakonan dialects) on the one hand, and of Lower Umpqua on the other, proves conclusively that Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua form a distinct family, which I propose to call the Siuslawan linguistic stock.[1] The term "Siuslaw" was given preference over "Umpqua" or "Lower Umpqua," in order to avoid the ambiguity of meaning which might arise from the fact that we have become accustomed to call the Athapascan dialect, spoken on the upper course of the Umpqua river, the "Upper Umpqua."

The material on which the following sketch is based was collected, under the joint auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology and of Columbia University, on the Siletz reservation, Oregon, during the months of March, April, and May, 1911.

My principal informant was Louisa Smith, a Lower Umpqua Indian over 70 years of age. Her advanced years, her absolute lack of knowledge of the English language, her ill health, and, above all, the fact that prior to my arrival on the reservation she had

[1] It is not at all impossible that this stock, the Yakonan, Kusan, and perhaps the Kalapuyan, may eventually prove to be genetically related. Their affinities are so remote, however, that I prefer to take a conservative position, and to treat them for the time being as independent stocks.

not used her native tongue for a considerable period, rendered her a poor, though willing informant. In the course of this investigation it was therefore necessary to employ such additional informants and interpreters as were available. By far the most important of these was William Smith, an Alsea Indian and the husband of Louisa, who had spent his childhood among the Siuslaw Indians, from whom he had gained a fairly good knowledge of their language. But he, too, was far from being an ideal informant. His command of English was imperfect, his degree of intelligence rather limited, his pronunciation of Lower Umpqua was affected by Alsea phonetics, and he was only too often unable to keep apart the Siuslaw, Lower Umpqua, and Alsea forms of a given word. However, in spite of these deficiencies, his services proved highly valuable, because, having previously assisted me in my work on the Alsea language, he knew more or less what was wanted of him. My other informants were Spencer Scott, a son of Louisa; Louis Smith, a full-blooded Lower Umpqua Indian; and Hank Johnson, the son of a Lower Umpqua father and of an Alsea mother. The three last mentioned were, comparatively speaking, young men, whose knowledge of Lower Umpqua was imperfect and rather vague. They were employed solely for the purpose of settling questions that pertained to phonetics, and of disentangling the frequent difficulties that were involved in the collection and translation of texts; and if I add that throughout the progress of this work, Louisa Smith was suffering from a severe ear-ache (which at times rendered her absolutely deaf), that William Smith had to undergo frequent surgical operations because of a poisoned finger, and that my other informants could give me only part of their time, I shall have mentioned all the difficulties under which the following material was collected. Should this sketch, therefore, be found deficient in completeness of treatment and clearness of interpretation, it will have to be accounted for by the extraordinary circumstances under which the work was conducted.

But if the actual work involved in this investigation was rather trying and tiresome, there were other features connected with it that rendered it pleasant and enjoyable. These features consist of the many courtesies and helpful assistance received from the inhabitants of Siletz; and it is a great source of pleasure to me to record my deep gratitude to these kind friends. My greatest obligations are due to

Superintendent and Mrs. Knott C. Egbert, to the former for his untiring efforts to assist me, both officially and personally, in whatever way he could, and to the latter for the motherly care with which she attended to my personal wants throughout my stay at the reservation. My sincere thanks are also due to Dr. Maximilian F. Clausius, the physician of the Siletz agency, for the numerous tokens of friendship received at his hand.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
September, 1911.

SIUSLAWAN (LOWER UMPQUA)

By Leo J. Frachtenberg

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

The Siuslawan stock embraces two closely related dialects—Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw—that were spoken by the people living on the lower courses of the Umpqua and Siuslaw rivers, in the southern part of Oregon. Their northern neighbors were the Alsea Indians[1] (whom they called *Hanī's hītc*[2]), on the east they came in contact with the Kalapuya (chiefly the Yonkalla tribe, known to them as the *Qa^{i}'xgax*), and on the south they were contiguous to the Coos (*Qū'yax*). The territory of the Lower Umpqua was bounded on the north by Five Mile lake, on the south by Ten Mile lake, while on the east they claimed the whole region adjoining the Umpqua river as far as Scottsburg. The possessions of the Siuslaw Indians extended as far south as Five Mile lake, on the north they bordered on the Yahach river, and eastwards they extended as far as Mapleton. Thus it may safely be assumed that these two dialects were spoken in the western parts of what are known today as Lane and Douglas counties. No information pertaining to the previous strength of these two tribes could be obtained. Their numbers have been so greatly reduced, that, besides the four individuals who served as my informants, and the two or three Siuslaw Indians said to be living near Florence, Lane county, there are no other members living; and since these people no longer converse in their native tongue, the Siuslaw family may be looked upon as an extinct linguistic stock.

[1] One of the two members of the Yakonan family.

[2] For explanation of alphabet see pp. 443, 444.

The Lower Umpqua call themselves *Qū'ītc*, and refer to their language as *Qū'ītcax wa'as*. These terms are of native origin, and are formed from the stem *qū'ī* or *qō'ī* SOUTH. The Alsea called them *Tkul-ma^{s}k'*, and they were known to the Coos as *Bîldjī'yex*, i. e. NORTHERN Indians. The Siuslaw refer to themselves as *Cā'yucla*, and were called *Cā'yūcle* by the Coos and *Qwas* or *Kwas* by the Alsea Indians. The etymology of these names could not be ascertained.

Judging from the scanty notes on Siuslaw obtained by Dorsey and myself, the differences between this dialect and Lower Umpqua were very slight and of a purely phonetic and lexicographic character. No distinct morphological formations were found. The chief phonetic feature that seems to separate these two dialects is the change of a Lower Umpqua *n* into *l* in Siuslaw.

Lower Umpqua	Siuslaw
pā'nū	*pā'l·ū* well, spring 76.12
qanī'nal 19.6	*qalī'nal* knife 50.19
qa'nnî	*qa'lnî* (D.)[1] face
tsnā'wî	*tsla'we* (D.) bone
łkwa'nuq^{u}	*łkwa'luk^{u}* (D.) hat

The lexicographical differences cover a limited number of stems and words, of which only a few examples may be quoted here.

Lower Umpqua	Siuslaw
łā'n- 23.7	*łtcîn-* to call by name
xîp-	*yîq.'a^{u}-* to split (pitch wood)
lī'ū- 8.3	*œumc-*to come, to approach 23.2
t.!āmc 40.19	*t.!î'lmîs* (D.) child
œwā'ka 29.5	*qamî'lîs* (D.) head
łī't.!a^{i} 34.23	*wîts.!ū'we* (D.) food
k.!wī'yōs[2]	*cqa'xtc*[3] dog
kō'tan[4] 34.10	*ta^{u}'wex* (D.)[5] horse

Texts of myths and tales in the Lower Umpqua dialect were collected by the author, and were published by Columbia University.[6] All references accompanying examples refer to page and line of that publication.

[1] Words marked (D.) are quoted from Dorsey's manuscripts in possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

[2] Coos *kwī'yos*.

[3] Apparently related to Alsea *tcqēnx*.

[4] Chinook jargon.

[5] Related to Alsea *t!awā'yū*.

[6] Lower Umpqua Texts, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 4.

PHONOLOGY (§§ 2–17)

§ 2. Vowels

The vowels have short and long quantities. Resonance vowels, marked here by superior vowels, are employed often, as is also the obscure vowel ɛ, which seems to be related to short *a*. In some instances, due to contact phenomena, the obscure vowel partakes of the quality of a short *o*, and is represented here by °. The open *e* vowel appears to be lacking, while the long *ē* frequently glides from *ē* to *ī* and resembles a long *ī*. Significant pitch appears in a few cases (see p. 447).

The a^i- and a^u diphthongs occur in two distinct forms, one with the initial element short or long (a^i, a^u, $ā^i$, $ā^u$), and the other with the first element short and the second long ($a^ī$ and $a^ū$). The latter two forms are closely related to the long *ī* and *ū* with which they constantly interchange. This interchange usually takes place after *a*, *h*, *m*, *n*, *q*, *x*, and *l*, although numerous instances will be found where the substitution of $a^ī$ and $a^ū$ for *ī* and *ū* respectively has taken place after vowels and consonants other than those enumerated, or where the interchange does not occur at all.

Examples of interchange between *ī* and $a^ī$:

îɴq!a'ī 30.23
mîła'ītîn
sî'nxīt 46.18
tī'kᴱnx here thou 56.19

hatc'ī'xam he was asked 66.16
tsī'k!yan hī'sītī ha'ī I am very glad 25.8

îɴq!a'a'ī river 30.20
qamîła'a'ītîn my mother 100.12
cî'nxa'īt he thinks 90.15
ta'ī'kᴱns here we two (incl.) 56.6
skwaha'ī'xam it is placed (in)
ta'ī'kᴱns aya'qa'ītī sī'xa'ī here we two (incl.) shall leave our canoe 56.5

Examples of interchange between *ū* and $a^ū$:

waa'ūn 7.4
waxa'yūtsmɛ he gave him his . . . 76.9
k!îmūʟ'ʟūn
k'îyatsî'tsūn he put it on 11.8
pîłq'tsū'nî made of raccoon (hides) 70.23, 24
kā'łūtūn I tire him out
yāk!îsk'înū' ʟ!aya' on a small place 38.19

waa'a'ūn he says to him 20.7
tkwîła'ha'ūtsmɛ he buried his . . . 40.22
k!îma'ūʟ'ʟūn I am hitting him
āqa'qa'ūn he took it off 13.1
hamxa'ū'nî made of tied (grass) 8.6
kā'ła'ūtîn I am tired
mīk!a'ū' ʟ!aya' in a bad place 12.10; 13.1

The Siuslaw[1] system of vowels and diphthongs may be represented as follows:

Vowels							Semi-vowels		Diphthongs				
		E, o											
a	(e)	i	î	o	u	û	w	y	a^i	a^u	a^i	$a^{\bar{u}}$	u^i
ā	ä	ē	ī	ō	ū				$\bar{a}^i$	$\bar{a}^u$			$\bar{u}^i$

The umlauted *ä* occurs rarely, and is pronounced like *ä* in German *wählen;* *î* is pronounced like the Slavic short *y*-vowel; and *û* indicates very short quantity.

§ 3. Consonants

The consonantic system deviates in a great many respects from those of the neighboring tribes. Its chief characteristics are the total absence of the anterior palatal series (*g·*, *k·*, *k·!*, *x·*); the absence of all sonants excepting *d;* the presence of a palatal lateral (*l·*); and, above all, the occurrence of a double series of glottalized explosives differing in the quality and amount of stress employed in their production. The real explosives are followed in this sketch by the sign of exclamation (!), while the glottalized stops of ordinary strength will be found accompanied by the apostrophe (ʻ). The latter seem to be confined to the consonants of the dental series and to *k*. The surds *t* and *k* occur also as aspirated consonants.

The following table illustrates the Siuslaw consonantic system:

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Aspirated	Spirant	Nasal
Velar	–	*q*	*q!*	–	*x*	–
Palatal	–	*k*(*w*)	*k!*(*w*)	*kʻ*	–	–
Alveolar	*d*	*t*	*t!*, *tʼ*	*tʻ*	*s*, *c*	*n*
Affricative	–	*ts*, *tc*	*ts!*, *tc!* *tsʼ*, *tcʼ*	–	–	–
Labial	–	*p*	*p!* (?)	–	–	*m*
Lateral	–	*ɬ*	*ɬ!*		*l*, *l·*, *ł*	–
Glottal stop	ʿ					
Aspiration	ʻ					

y *h* *w* h^u

The palatal *l·* is pronounced like *l* in the English word *lure*. The glottal stop occurs seldom, and seems to be associated with the explosive character of the consonants following it, although I did not succeed in verifying this connection definitely. The aspiration corre-

[1] Whenever the term "Siuslaw" is used, it is to be understood as referring to the whole group, and not to the dialect only.

sponds to the character of the vowels and consonants that precede or follow it: that is to say, after palatal vowels it is of a palatal character; while before the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u*, and before velar consonants, it becomes guttural. When followed by a vowel, it is changed into an *h*.

tū'tc- to spear 62.2	*tuhatca'yūn* he spears it
qaqū'n- to hear 30.18	*qa'q^{u}hantūn* he heard it 36.23
sī' to grow (intr.) 98.10	*sīhī'tcîn xîntyax* I began to grow up 100.17
qnū'- to find	*qnū'hūn* (they two) found it 56.9
wa''tūx again shall . . . 11.2	*waha'hūn h^{i}yatsî'tsūn* again he put it on 12.1

In some instances the aspiration results from the dropping of a *t* before a following *n* (see §§ 16, 58, 59).

§ 4. Sound Groupings

Clusters of two consonants are admissible, except *w* + any consonant other than *n*. Whenever a *w* is followed by a consonant other than *n*, it changes into a voiceless *w*, represented here by ^{hu}. Clusters of three or more consonants may occur medially or finally, provided a nasal or lateral forms the initial sound of such groupings.

When, owing to grammatical processes, three consonants that can not form a cluster come into contact, an obscure or weak vowel (mostly *ɛ*, *a*, or *î*) is inserted between two of the three consonants, thus facilitating the pronunciation of the cluster.

A similar insertion takes place in initial clusters beginning with *m* or *n*, and between two consonants belonging to the same series. The latter rule applies to clusters in initial, medial, and final position.

Examples of clusters consisting of *w* + consonant:

a^{i}tcnaw- to trade mutually + *-tūx* + *-ts*	*a^{i}tcna'^{hu}tūxts* you two will trade mutually
ɬōlnaw- to hit mutually + *-ɛm* + *-tcî*	*ɬōlna'^{hu}matcî* you hit one another!
	xnī'^{w}na he does 11.11

Examples of avoidance of clusters in initial position:

m- (prefix of relationship) + *ta* father	*mîtà* father 54.22
m- (prefix of relationship) + *ɬa* mother	*mîɬà* mother 54.23

Examples of avoidance of clusters in medial position:

wînx- (to be afraid) +*-nawa^{u}x*	*wîn^{E}xna'wa^{u}x* they two were afraid of each other 86.1,2
qātx- (to cry) +*-tūx*	*qā'tx^{a}tūx* he will cry

Examples of avoidance of clusters in final position:

qatcînī'tx (to keep on going) +*-n*	*qatcînī'txan* I keep on going
qa^{i}x (night) +*-nx*	*qa$^{i'}$x^{E}nx* (at) night thou . . . 70.18
ta^{i}k (here) +*-ns*	*ta$^{i'}$k^{E}ns* here we two (incl.) 56.6
ha^{i}q (ashore) +*-nxan*	*ha$^{i'}$q^{E}nxan* ashore we (excl.) 88.13
hatc'a'yūn (he asked him) +*-tcî*	*hatc'a'yūnatcî* ye ask her 74.10
tcīn- (to come back) +*-nx*	*tcī'nanx* they came back 72.23

Examples of avoidance of clusters of consonants belonging to the same series:

kumî'ntc (not) +*-tc*	*kumî'ntc^{E}tc* not his 92.15
ants (that one) +*cā'ya*	*ants^{E} cā'ya* that penis
pīūła'wax (he intends to hunt) +*-xûn*	*pīūła'wax^{u}xûn* we two (excl.) intend to go hunting 54.22
łīt!- (to eat) +*-tūx*	*łī't!^{i}tūx* (you) will eat 50.2
tcînt (how much) +*tEx*	*tcînt^{E} tEx* suppose 38.20,21
s^{E}a^{i}t (such) +*L.'a'^{ai}*	*s^{E}a^{i}t^{E} L.'a'^{ai}* such a place 15.1

Examples of clusters permissible in medial or final position:

Final	Medial
tsînq!t poor 16.10	*tsî'nq!tanx* you are poor
łakwa'ūłtx (their) . . . was taken away 50.22	*łakwa'ūłtxan* my . . . was taken
łakwī'xamłtx his . . . was taken away from him 54.14	*łakwī'xamłtxa^{u}x* their two . . . were taken away from them

The only consonantic cluster that does not seem to be permissible is the grouping of *nx*+*k*. Whenever these three consonants would appear together in the above-named order, the *x* is always changed into *a*.

ts^{i}ya'L.'īnx (you will be shot) +*k^{u}nà*	*ts^{i}ya'L.'īna k^{u}nà* you might get shot
k^{u}wā''nīnx (they will be beaten) +*k^{u}nà*	*k^{u}wā''nīna k^{u}nà* they may be beaten

An exception to this rule is found in the following sentence:

ł^{i}kwa'yūnanx k^{u} łt'ī'a^{ī} you may get (some) salmon 48.18

In like manner the combination *nx*+*ū* is changed into *a^{ū}* (see § 132).

ya'qu'yūnanx (thou art seen) + *-ū* (*-a^{ū}*)	*yaqu'yū'nana^{ū}* thou art seen here

§ 5. Accent

Siuslaw exhibits a stress accent, represented here by the acute mark (′); and a pitch accent, designated by the mark (`). Only a limited number of enclitic and proclitic particles show no accent whatsoever. The pitch accent occurs mostly in monosyllabic words that have a short vowel, and lends to the syllable a sharp, abrupt intonation. Both accents are freely shifted from one syllable to another. It seems, however, to be a fixed rule that in the past tense the accent is placed on the first syllable, and that the locative case-endings and the adverbial suffixes must be accented.

ha^{i}qa'q he goes ashore 58.17	*ha$^{i'}$qîqyax* (having) come ashore 56.13
qa^{i}xî'x it gets dark 64.19	*qa$^{i'}$xîxyax* it became dark 34.4
t^{o}watcî'tcūna^{u}x they two are spearing it 56.15, 16	*t^{o}wa'tcîtcyaxa^{ū}n* I have been spearing it 66.17
ts!ałn pitch 26.6	*ts!îłna'* (locative case) 94.18
łī't!a^{ī} food 34.23	*łīt!aya'* (locative case) 13.7
łqa$^{i'}$'tū log 32.21	*łqatūwīyū's* (locative case) 88.16
pk'ī'tī lake 62.18	*pk'ītīyū's* (locative case) 34.11
sī'xa^{ī} canoe 56.5	*s^{E}xa$^{ū'}$tc* into the canoe 34.5
qa'xûn above, up 34.21	*qaxûntcī'tc* upwards
s^{E}a'tsa thus 8.7	*s^{E}atsī'tc* in that manner 8.1
ya^{a}k!î'sk'în very small 36.23	*yāk!îsk'înū'* in a very small . . . 38.19

§ 6. Phonetic Laws

In both dialects a number of phonetic laws are found which affect both vowels and consonants. All phonetic processes are due either to contact phenomena or to the effects of accent. They may be summarized as follows:

Vocalic Processes:

(1) Diphthongization of *ī* and *ū*.

(2) Consonantization of *i-* and *u-*.

(3) Contraction.
(4) Vocalic hiatus.
(5) Vocalic harmony.
(6) Effects of accent.

CONSONANTIC PROCESSES:
(1) Consonantic metathesis.
(2) Consonantic euphony.
(3) Simplification of double consonants.
(4) Modifications of *t* and *k*.
(5) Minor consonantic changes.

§§ 7–12. Vocalic Processes

§ 7. *Diphthongization of* ī *and* ū

This is by far the most important phonetic change, owing to the fact that it gives rise to a double form of stems that contain these vowels, and because it is employed in certain grammatical processes (see §§ 111, 112). The principle may be described as follows: For the purpose of expressing (in nouns) the discriminative case and (in verbs) intensity or duration of action, long *ī* and *ū* are changed into *ya* and *wa* respectively.

Examples of diphthongization of *ī:*

hīna'yūn he brings him 23.2	*h^{i}ya'nyūtsanx* I'll take thee along 58.6
hītsī'xam it is put on 11.8	*h^{i}yatsî'tsūn* he is putting it on 11.8
īlqa$^{i'}$ he digs 84.2	*a'ntsux ya'lqa^{ū}n* those two (who) are digging (a hole) 84.5
cītx- to flop	*c^{i}yatx* it flops around 36.23
ya'q^{u}hītūnx thou shalt see 36.25	*yoq$^{u'}$ya'wax* he intended to see 70.8
^{u}l^{E}nx k!î'nk'īt they went to look for 60.5	*k!înk'ya'wax*(I) intend to go and look for 60.5
Qa'a^{i}tcīx along the North Fork 32.19	*qa$^{u'}$xûnyax* along the sky 32.19

Examples of diphthongization of *ū:*

qū'nī'xamīm^{E} it was poured into his . . . 29.2	*qwa''nyūx* pour it into his . . . 29.2
^{L}!xū'xū^{u}n he knows it 40.16	*kumî'ntc^{w}ax t^{E}'q ^{L}!x$^{u'}$wax^{u}* not they two anything knew it 54.16

§ 7

lakū'kūn he takes it
tū'tca'yūn he spears it 64.12

ułaᵘx tkūma'yūn they two made a dam 48.8

ū'ltī snow 76.10
pEkū'ya xāL!'aⁱ' L!'a'ᵃⁱ people make shinny-sticks 78.5

lakwa'kūᵘn he took it 64.10
tᵒwatcî'tcūnaᵘx they two are spearing it 56.15, 16

ᵘlns tkwa'mīsūn we two (incl.) will keep on making dams 48.14
walt it snows
a'ntsux pākwa'wax those two (who) are about to play . . . shinny 78.10, 11

Owing to the interchange between *ī* and *aⁱ* and *ū* and *aᵘ* (see § 2), these diphthongs are subject to the same amplification.

hī'q!'aⁱt he started 22.6
mEq!'aⁱtx they dance 72.13

qā'tkîn tE aⁱqa'qaᵘts (from) here he left me 60.4
kaᵘsî's he keeps on following 92.7

hīq!'ya'aᵘ it will be started 32.1
mEq!'ya'wax (I) intend to dance 72.12

taⁱ'kᴱns aya'qyūn here we two (incl.) will leave it 56.16, 17
kⁱwasⁱyū'tsanaᵘ you will follow me 92.3

The change of *ī* into *ya* often takes place in the third person singular, which ends in *-ī* (see p. 468).

Lī'wat!'în I come frequently
cî'nxyat!'în I am thinking
ha'kwat!'în I fall frequently
xî'l·xcîn I work

pEłī'tcîn I (am) ahead
ya'qᵘhîn I look
sî'nxîn I want

Lī'wat!'ī 68.5, (*Lī'wat!'ya*) he came frequently
(*cî'nⁱxyat!'ī*), *cî'nⁱxyat!'ya* 17.6 he is thinking
(*ha'kwat!'ī*), *ha'kwat!'ya* 90.12 it falls continually
xî'l·xcī 50.9, (*xî'l·xcya*) he was working
pEłī'tcya he was first 48.11
ya'qᵘ'ya he looked 70.16
sî'nⁱxya he desires

§ 8. *Consonantization of* i- *and* u-

The *i-* and *u-* elements of the diphthongs are changed into the semivocalic consonants *y* and *w* whenever they are followed by vowels of different qualities. This law affects also the simple short or long *i-* and *u-* vowels.

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Consonantization of *i*-:

pîtca$^{i'}$ (he goes over) + *-a^{u}x*	*pîtca'ya^{u}x* they two go over 88.15
lī'ṭ.!a^{i} (food) + *-a*	*yā'xatc'īst^{E}nx lī'ṭ.!aya'* for food you will always try to look 13.7
kū^{i} (not) + *-a^{u}x*	*kū'ya^{u}x* not they two . . . 98.11
qnūhū$^{i'}$- (he finds) + *-a^{i}*	*qnūhū'yūn* (they) found it 60.7
tEXmū'nî (male) + *-a*	*ła'kukyax tEXmū'nya* she took a mortal man 60.23
xîl·xcī- (to work) + *-a^{i}*	*xîl·xcya$^{i'}$* (they two) worked 48.10
ṭ.!ī (bear) + *-ūnî*	*ṭ!īyū'nî* made of bear (hides) 70.24
sî'nxī- (to desire) + *-ūn*	*sî'n^{i}xyūn* I want it 15.8

Consonantization of *u*-:

LīYa'a^{u} (fire) + *-a* + *-tc*	*ha$^{i'}$qmas LīYa'watc* alongside of the fire 25.4, 5
wīłū- (to affirm) + *-axam*	*wīłwa'xam* he was assured 30.11
xa'ū (he died) + *-īł*	*kumî'ntc xa'wīł* not he dies 15.8
xā'ts!ū (two) + *-a^{u}x*	*xā'ts!^{u}wa^{u}x* two of them 40.18

A peculiar case of consonantization seems to have taken place in the objective case *tcī'wa* 32.20, formed from the noun *tcī* WATER 36.20.

§ 9. *Contraction*

Contraction of two or three vowels following in immediate succession does not seem to be of regular occurrence, and there are no fixed rules governing this process. The following usages may, however, be stated to prevail:

(1) Short or long *i* or *u* following a vowel of different quality form diphthongs.

$$a^{i} < a + i \qquad u^{i} < u + i$$
$$a^{u} < a + u$$

The combination *i* + *u*, however, does not form a diphthong (see § 10).

tEmū'- (to assemble) + *-ītc*	*tEmū$^{i'}$tc xînt* (they) assembled 30.15, 16
qa'ntcya (from where) + *-ītc*	*qantcya$^{i'}$tc* from where
qatcū- (to drink) + *-ītxa^{u}n*	*qatcū$^{i'}$txa^{u}n* (they) drink (from) it 76.12

(2) A short vowel preceding another short vowel or a diphthong is contracted with the following vowel into a short or long vowel or into a diphthong.

a'tsa (thus) + *-a^{u}x*	*a'tsa^{u}x* thus they two . . .
waana'wa (to talk to each other) + *-a^{u}x*	*waana'wa^{u}x* they two talk to each other 10.4
s^{E}à (this) + *-a^{i}xa^{u}x*	*s^{E}a^{i}'xa^{u}x* on this they two . . . 88.18
xā'ts!ū (two) + *-a^{u}x*	*xā'ts!ūx* they two . . .
yalqa'a^{ū} (a hole) + *-ūn*	*ya'łqa^{ū}n* (they) dig holes 84.5
a^{w}'tcīsî (camas) + *-a^{u}x*	*a^{w}'tcīsa^{u}x yuwa$^{i'}$* camas they two dig 96.18

(3) The obscure vowel *E* is contracted with all vowels preceding it into a vowel of a clear quality.

haū- (to quit) + *-Em*	*ha'ūm* quit!
nà (I) + *-Eml*	*nam^{E}l* of me 20.6
s^{E}a$^{i'}$na (him) + *-Eml*	*s^{E}a^{i}na'ml* of him

An exception is

wa- (to speak) + *-Em*	*wa'am* speak!

(4) Two long vowels of similar qualities immediately following each other are contracted into one long vowel.

pEku- (to play shinny) + *-ūs*	*pEkū'^{u}s* (locative case) 78.18

A peculiar case of contraction has apparently taken place in the genitive case *łq!ānū$^{i'}$ml* OF HIDES 102.1, composed of *łq!ā'nū* HIDE, and *-Eml*, the genitive case-ending (see § 87).

Another process of contraction takes place whenever a personal pronoun (see § 24) is added to the suffix *-yaxs*, which expresses the past durative tense (see p. 526). In such cases the suffix *-yaxs* is invariably contracted into *-īxs*. Attention may be called to the fact that in this case we are dealing with a process that is of a character opposite to the diphthongization of *-ī*, which has been discussed in § 7.

a^{u}s- to sleep 24.1	*a^{w}'sīxsîn* I have been sleeping, instead of *a^{w}'syaxsîn*
qatcū- to drink 76.13	*qa'tcwa^{i}xsîn* I have been drinking, instead of *qa'tcūyaxsîn*
pEkū'- to play shinny 9.4	*pa'ku^{i}xsanx* you have been playing shinny, instead of *pa'kuyaxsanx*
łīt!- to eat 13.10	*łī't!īxs* he has been eating, instead of *łī't!'yaxs*

§ 10. *Vocalic Hiatus*

In cases where contraction has not taken place, two vowels occurring in immediate succession are separated by means of an inserted *h* or by means of the accent. No definite rules could be found that would show under what circumstances either of these processes may be employed. Separation of two vowels by means of an inserted *h* occurs more regularly than separation by means of accent.

hī'q!a (dentalia shells) + *-aᵘnî*	*hīq!ahaᵘ'nî* consisting of dentalia shells 70.6
ʟxaū' (pole) + *-īnᴇ*	*ʟxaᵘ'hīnᴇ* with a spear (in his hand) 64.11
mᴇklī' (mother-in-law) + *-ītîn*	*mᴇklī'hītîn* my mother-in-law
łt'ī'aⁱ (salmon) + *-anx*	*łt'īaⁱ'anx xayaⁱ'* salmon they catch 82.13, 14
ʟī'ū (he came) + *-ūn*	*ʟīū'ūn* he arrived 16.3

§ 11. *Vocalic Harmony*

The tendency towards vocalic euphony is so inconsistent in Siuslaw, that one is almost tempted to deny the presence of such a process. The two examples I have been able to find are extremely unsatisfactory and do not permit the formulation of any clearly defined rules.

haⁱ'mūt (all) + *-ᴇml*	*haⁱmūtū'ml* of all
qa'xûn high up, above 34.21	*qaᵘ'xûn* on top 32.19

§ 12. *Effects of Accent*

Besides the frequent tendency to lengthen the vowel of the syllable on which it falls, or to lend to it a clear quality, the loss of accent shortens or obscures the quantity of the stem-vowel as soon as it is shifted to one of the suffixed syllables. This law appears with such regular frequency as to make it a characteristic trait of Siuslaw phonology.

While examples covering the whole vocalic system could not be obtained, the following rules seem to prevail:

(1) The *a-*, *i-*, and *u-* vowels of the stem, when they lose their accent, are changed into open *i* (written here *î*) or obscure vowels whenever they precede or follow non-labialized consonants.

(2) These vowels are changed—for the sake of harmonization—into short *u* whenever they appear before or after labialized consonants or *w*.

(3) The unaccented diphthongs lose the second element, especially in cases where the stem-vowel is followed by the accented verbalizing suffixes *-a^{i}* and *-ū^{i}* (see § 75).

Examples showing the change of *a-*, *i-*, and *u-* vowels before or after non-labialized consonants:

mā'tī dam 48.10	*mîtī'yū'^{u}* the art of making dams 48.11
	mETī'txa^{u}x they two always made dams 50.12, 13
ts!'aln pitch 26.6	*ts!'îlna'tc* with pitch 24.1
ma^{a}tc it lay 32.22	*mîtcū'^{wi}* many were lying 36.27
	mETca'wanx they intended to lie down 38.23
yax- to see 34.4	*yîxa'yūn* he saw it 58.13
tcīn (they) came back 7.7	*tcEnī'tc xînt* he went back 58.15, 16
tsīL!'ī' arrow 50.11	*tsîL!'a$^{i'}$* he shot 50.20
	tsîL!'ī'tc by means of an arrow 15.8
sī'xa^{ī} boat 56.5	*sExa$^{ū'}$tc* into (a) boat 34.5
smūt`- to end 20.5	*smît'ū$^{i'}$* it ends 14.6
hū^{u}n- to be dark 34.8, 9	*hwînū$^{i'}$* it is dark
sūn- to dive 64.21	*sînū$^{i'}$* he dives

Change of *a-*, *i-* (and *u-*) vowels before or after labialized consonants or *w*:

mā'q^{u}L crow 34.23	*m^{u}qwa'LEm* of crow 34.21
ya'wīsūn (you) will pick 36.18	*yuwa$^{i'}$* he digs 96.18
îłqwa'^{a}tEm trunk of a tree 92.5, 6	*îłqūtmī'a^{u}x qaa$^{i'}$* into the stem they two went 92.6
mī'k^{u}tūx he will cut	*m^{u}kwa$^{i'}$* he cuts

Treatment of diphthongs:

xa^{i}tc- to roast (meat) 90.8	*xatca$^{i'}$* he roasts (meat)
p^{a}a^{i}Ln- to hunt 15.3	*^{u}łEnx paLnī'tx* they are hunting 82.16, 17
a^{u}s- to sleep 23.9	*asū$^{i'}$* he sleeps 70.2
tc!ha^{u}c- to be glad 23.3	*tc!hacū$^{i'}$* he is glad
qū^{i}t`- to dream 68.21	*qūt'a$^{i'}$* he dreams

Shortening of the stem-vowel frequently takes place after the suffixation of an additional syllable, regardless of whether the accent had been shifted or not.

yā$^{a'}$xa^{i} much, many 8.5	*ya'xtūx* (ye two) will multiply 32.6
	yɛxa$^{ī'}$tc^{w}ax xî'ntīs they (dual) continually multiply 98.12
t!āmc infant 40.19	*t!î'mct!^{i}tūx* (they) will raise children 32.3
tcîmtca'mî ax 27.10	*tcîmtcî'mya* (locative case) 29.1

In a few instances accent and suffixation have caused the loss or addition of a vowel, and hence that of an extra syllable.

qīūtcū'nî woman 30.21	*qīūtcna$^{i'}$* (when) he marries 76.8
mît!a'sk'în step-father	*mît!a'sk'nī'tîn* my step-father 100.5
waa$^{i'}$mux^{u} (they two) talk to each other 10.7	*waa'yɛmæust* (they two) begin to talk to each other 56.4
	waa$^{i'}$mæustx (they) began to talk to each other 64.20, 21
qayū'^{wi}nts stone	*qay^{u}na'ts^{i}tc* upon the rock 62.11

§§ 13–17. Consonantic Processes

§ 13. *Consonantic Metathesis*

This change affects mostly the subjective suffix for the third person dual *-a^{u}x* (see § 24), and (very seldom) the consonantic combination *n*+*s* or *n*+*ts*.

In the first instance *-a^{u}x* is transposed into *-^{w}ax* (contracted sometimes into *-ux*) or whenever it is added to stems or words that precede the verbal expression (see § 26). This transposition never takes place when the pronoun is suffixed to the verb.

tsîm (always)+*-a^{u}x*	*tsî'm^{w}ax* always they two . . . 50.10
pɛnî's (skunk)+*-a^{u}x*	*ants pɛnî's^{w}ax* those two skunks 88.6, 7
ants (that one)+*-a^{u}x*	*a'ntsux* those two 52.3, 5
s^{ɛ}atsī'tc (thus)+*-a^{u}x*	*s^{ɛ}atsī'tc^{w}ax* thus they two 50.15, 16
^{u}l (and, then)+*-a^{u}x*	*^{u}'l^{w}ax* and they two
an'tsîtc (this his)+*-a^{u}x*	*a'ntsîtcx^{u}* these their two 50.4

This transposition is seldom absent; and parallel forms, like *a'ntsa^{u}x* and *a'ntsux* 50.12, *stī'ma^{u}x* 50.21, and *stī'm^{w}ax* 52.20, are extremely rare. As a matter of fact, the tendency towards the metathesis of *-a^{u}x* is so great that it takes place even in cases where *-a^{u}x* is suffixed to stems ending in a vowel.

qwoa'txa$^{\bar{i}}$ (beaver) + -*a*^{u}*x*	*qwoa'txa*$^{\bar{i}w}$*ax* they two (he and) beaver 52.4
tsîmî'l·ä (muskrat) + -*a*^{u}*x*	*tsîmîl·a'wax* they two (he and) muskrat 54.19

The transposition of *n* + *s* and *ts* actually occurs in a few instances only, although I have no doubt that under more favorable conditions a greater number of cases could have been collected (see also p. 599).

ants . . . *ha*^{i}*qa*$^{i'}$ . . . when he comes ashore 82.5	*tsa'na*$^{\bar{u}}$ *ʟī'ūtūx* when it will come (this way) 62.21, 22
. . . *ants tkwa'myax* when it closed up 78.3	*tsa'ntcî* if you . . . 74.8
	kū^{i} *nàts* if not . . . 29.7

§ 14. *Consonantic Euphony*

This law requires that the consonants of the *k*-series should correspond to the quality of the vowel preceding or following it. Hence all velar and palatal *k*-sounds following a *u*-vowel become labialized. Owing to the fact that Siuslaw does not possess anterior palatal sounds, harmonization of consonants does not take place after or before *i*-vowels.

łk!anū'k^{u} screech owl 86.1	*łkwa'nuq*^{u} hat
tcu'x^{u}*s* vulva 90.16	*t'a'ntūq!wī* moccasins
qō'x^{u}*m* off shore 34.6	*ts!ū'xwī* spoon
cuqwa'an roast 90.12	*k!u*^{x}*wîna*$^{\bar{i}'}$ ice appears 76.13
qō'q^{u} knee	*cū'kwa* sugar[1]

§ 15. *Simplification of Double Consonants*

Double consonants, when not kept apart by means of an inserted weak vowel (see § 4), are usually simplified. This process especially takes place between two *t* and *n* sounds, in which case the repeated consonant is dropped. This phonetic law is of great importance; and it should always be borne in mind, because it affects the subjective suffix for the first person singular -*n*, when following the transitive form in -*ūn*. In such cases the subjective pronoun is invariably dropped; and since the third person singular has no distinct suffix, it becomes at times rather difficult to comprehend by which of these two persons a given action is performed (§§ 24, 28).

[1] English loan-word.

hatca't (tall, long) + *-t'ū*	*ha'tct'ū'^{u}* a long (time) 48.2
yîkt (big) + *-t'ū^{wi}*	*yîkt'ū'^{wi}* large size
wàn (now) + *-nxan*	*wa'nxan* now we (excl.) 30.13
sî'n^{i}xyūn (he wants it) + *-n*	*sî'n^{i}xyūn* I want it 30.4
anxa'xa^{ū}n (he gives it up) + *-n*	*anxa'xa^{ū}n* I give him up 60.11
mî'ltcîst (he begins to burn) + *tx*	*mî'ltcîstx* LAA' his mouth begins to burn 29.3
yāk.!ī'tc (in pieces) + *-yax* + *-xam*	*yāk.!ītcya'xam* into pieces it was cut 29.4

Compare, on the other hand,—

l^{i}kwa'yūn (he takes it) + *-nx*	*l^{i}kwa'yūnanx* you get it 48.18
L*!wā'nīsūn* (he keeps on telling him) + *-nx*	L*!wā'nīsūnanx* you keep on telling him 17.2

§ 16. *Modifications of* t *and* k

Siuslaw seems to have a tendency to avoid as much as possible the clusters *tn* and *kn*. Since the phonetic character of certain suffixes causes *t* and *n* to come into contact frequently, there are many cases of sound shiftings due to the influence of *n* upon the preceding *t*. Combinations of this kind are the passive suffixes *-ūtn*E and *-īsūtn*E (see §§ 58, 59). In these cases the *t* closure is not formed, but replaced by a free emission of breath, thereby changing these suffixes into *-ū'n*E and *-īsū'n*E respectively. It is not inconceivable that this process may have a dialectic significance, differentiating the Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw dialects, because it was noticed that William Smith (who spoke the latter dialect) never used the forms *-ūtn*E and *-īsūtn*E; while his wife[1] (a Lower Umpqua Indian) invariably hesitated to acknowledge the correctness of the use of *-ū'n*E and *-īsū'n*E. But as I had no other means of verifying this possibility, I thought it advisable to discuss this change as a *consonantic process*. The dialectic function of the process under discussion may be borne out further by the fact that in a good many instances these two suffixes occur in parallel forms.

waa$^{i'}$ he says 8.9	*waa'yūtn*E 20.6	*waa'yū'n*E he is told 72.3
sî'nxī- to desire 18.5	*sî'n^{i}xyūtn*E 18.4	*sî'n^{i}xyū'n*E it is desired 20.4

[1] See Introduction.

hatc' - to ask 66.16	*hatc'a'yūtnE* 68.3	*hatc'ayū''nE* he is asked 66.23
xnī^{w}n- to do 10.5	*xnī''^{w}nūtnE* 62.9	*xnī''^{w}nū'nE* it is done
waa$^{i'}$ he says 8.9	*waa$^{i'}$sūtnE* 24.3	*waa$^{i'}$sū'nE* he is continually told 23.10
LĪ'Ū- to come 8.3	*L!ĪL!wī'sūtnE* 26.2	*LĪ'wīsū'nE* he is continually approached 26.6
qaLx- to count 8.5	*qa'Lxūtnɛ* 62.8	*qa'Lxīsū'nE* (they) are continually counted 62.11
k!aha$^{i'}$ he invites	*tanx k!aha'yūtnE* this one you are invited 24.3	
tū'tca$^{i'}$ he spears 62.2	*tū'tca'yūtnE* it is speared 8.7	
hakwa$^{i'}$ he drops	*hakwa'yū'nE* it is thrown 8.7	
tqūɬū$^{i'}$ he shouts 92.6	*tqūɬū'yū'nE* he is shouted at 78.3	
haɬî'tx they shout 13.11	*ɬhalī'sū'nE* he is continually shouted at 14.2	
cîl·x- to move 27.3	*cî'l·xīsūtnE* he is continually shaken 27.2	
h^{i}yats- to put on 11.8	*h^{i}ya'tsīsūtnE* it is continually put on 11.7	

The verbal suffix *-t* expressing periphrastically the idea TO HAVE, TO BE WITH SOMETHING (see § 76), is very often dropped when followed by the subjective pronouns that begin with *n* (see § 24; see also § 88).

atsī'tcītîn ha^{i} thus I think	*s^{E}atsī'tcīn ha^{i}* thus I think 21.7
na'm^{E}lītîn wa'as my language 36.13	*na'm^{E}līn wa'as* my language
L!a'ītanxan our residence 100.3	*na'm^{E}līnxan* our . . . 102.5
	hī$^{i'}$sīnxan hītsī'^{i} good (was) our house 100.13

The same tendency of dropping a consonant prevails in clusters consisting of *k*+*n*.

ta^{a}k (this here) +*-nx*	*tanx* this one thou 20.6
ta^{a}k (this here) +*-nxan*	*ta'nxan* these ones we . . . 25.3

The dropping of *k* in these instances may also be explained as having resulted from the abbreviation of *ta^{a}k* into *tE* (see § 115); the more so, as an analogous case is furnished by the local adverb

stīmk THERE, which usually loses its *k* before all following subjective suffixes (see § 119).

stīmk (there) 30.18 +*-nx*
stīmkts (there you two) 32.12
stī'mᴇnx there they . . . 32.3
stīmts there you two . . . 32.6
stī'mtcî there you (pl.) 32.8

§ 17. *Minor Consonantic Changes*

In this section those changes affecting the consonants will be discussed, for which not enough examples could be found to permit the formulation of clearly defined rules.

Here belongs in first place the apparent change of a sonant into a fortis in initial reduplication, a process exemplified by only three cases.

ʟī'ū- to come 9.2
ʟ!īʟ!wī'sūtnᴇ he is continually approached 26.2
ʟ!īʟ!wa'xam he is approached 16.3

tᴇmū'- to assemble 7.3
t!'ᴇmt!'ma'xam people assemble about him (passive) 23.3

Another sporadic change is that of *q* and *q!* into *k* before the suffix of place *-aˢmū* (see § 103).

yaqᵘ'- to look 9.1
yîkyaˢmū a place from where one can see, a vantage point

ma'q!ī- to dance 28.7
mᴇkyaˢmū a dance hall

Compare, however, on the other hand,

yaqᵘ'ya'waxan I intend to look 25.8,9
mî'nq!yᴇm buy a woman!

A third doubtful process consists in the change which the modal adverb *kūⁱ xyal·x* ALMOST, NEARLY (see § 121), undergoes whenever used with the subjective pronouns for the second person singular or third person plural (see § 24). In such cases the form obtained is always *kwī'nᴇx yal·x* THOU ALMOST, THEY ALMOST, which may be explained as a result of a simplification from *kūⁱ+-nx+xyal·x* (see § 15).

kūⁱ xyal·x smū't'a it almost is the end 10.9, 11.1
kwī'nᴇx yal·x kū'na'ʷūn you almost beat him
kwīnx yal·x ʟī'wīl they had almost arrived 66.25

§ 18. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

All grammatical categories and syntactic relations are expressed in Siuslaw by one of the following four processes:

(1) Prefixation.
(2) Suffixation.
(3) Reduplication.
(4) Phonetic changes.

Prefixation as a means of expressing grammatical categories is resorted to in only two instances. Almost all grammatical ideas are expressed by means of suffixes. A singular trait of the suffixes in Siuslaw is presented by the fact that the adverbial suffixes are added to the locative form of the noun and must precede the pronominal suffixes. Reduplication is practically confined to the formation of intensive and durative actions; while phonetic changes are employed for the purpose of forming the discriminative case and of expressing duration and intensity of action.

§ 19. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

By far the majority of stems that constitute the Siuslaw vocabulary are neutral, receiving their respective nominal or verbal significance from the functional character of the suffix that is added to them. All stems expressing our adjectival ideas are in reality intransitive verbs.

Of the two prefixes employed as a means of expressing grammatical categories, one indicates relationship, while the other points out the performer of an action.

The suffixes are overwhelmingly verbal in character; that is to say, they indicate ideas of action and kindred conceptions. Hence they are employed for the purpose of expressing activity, causation, reciprocity, the passive voice, the imperative and exhortative modes, etc. The pronouns denoting both subject and object of an action are indicated by suffixes, as are also the possessive relations that may exist between the object of a sentence and its subject. All temporal ideas are conveyed by means of suffixes, and Siuslaw shows a remarkable development of this category, having distinct suffixes that express inception, termination, frequency, duration, intention of performing an action, as well as the present, future, and past tenses. Other ideas that are expressed by means of verbal suffixes are mainly

modal in character, indicating distribution, negation, location of action, and the attempt to perform a given act.

Nominal suffixes are, comparatively speaking, few in number, and express chiefly adverbial ideas, such as local relationships and instrumentality. They are used, furthermore, for the purpose of forming abstract concepts, diminutive and augmentative nouns, and also express cases of nouns.

Ideas of plurality are hardly developed; for, with the exception of two suffixes that express plurality of the subject of the sentence, Siuslaw has no other grammatical means of indicating plurality of action or of nominal concepts. Distinct verbal and nominal stems for singular and plural subjects or objects, such as are employed in other languages, do not exist. Plurality of subject and object is sometimes indicated by particles.

Reduplication expresses primarily repetition and duration of action; while phonetic changes serve the purpose of denoting the performer and intensity of action.

The grammatical function of particles covers a wide range of ideas, pertaining chiefly to the verb. Some express finality of action, sources of knowledge, emotional states, connection with previously expressed ideas, others have an exhortative and restrictive significance.

In the pronoun, three persons, and a singular, dual, and plural, are distinguished. Grammatical gender does not exist. The first person dual has two distinct forms,— one indicating the inclusive (I AND THOU), and the other the exclusive (I AND HE). In like manner the first person plural shows two separate forms,—one expressing the inclusive (I AND YE), and the other the exclusive (I AND THEY).

The demonstrative pronoun, while showing a variety of forms, does not accentuate visibility or invisibility, presence or absence, and nearness or remoteness, in relation to the three pronominal persons.

The numeral is poorly developed, exhibiting forms for the cardinals only. Means of forming the other numerals do not exist. They are expressed mostly by the cardinals. The ordinals are sometimes indicated by means of an adverbial suffix.

The syntactic structure of the sentence presents no complications. The different parts of speech may shift their position freely without affecting the meaning of the sentence. Nominal incorporation and

words that are compounds of independent stems do not exist, and words denoting nominal or verbal ideas can be easily recognized through the character of their suffixes.

MORPHOLOGY (§§ 20–136)

Prefixes (§§ 20–21)

Siuslaw has only two prefixes,—a fact that stands out most conspicuously when we consider the large number of prefixes that are found in some of the languages spoken by the neighboring tribes. Of these two prefixes, one is employed for the purpose of denoting nouns of relationship, while the other forms the discriminative case of nouns and pronouns.

§ 20. *Prefix of Relationship* m-

This prefix is found in a limited number of terms of relationship. All these terms occur also in Alsea,[1] and it is quite conceivable that they represent loan-words assimilated by means of this prefix. By far the majority of nouns expressing degrees of relationship occur without the prefix *m-*. Owing to the fact that Siuslaw does not permit an *m* to appear in initial consonantic clusters, the prefix is often changed into *mî-* (see § 4).

The following is a complete list of all terms employed in Siuslaw for the purpose of denoting the different degrees of relationship.

English	Siuslaw
Father	*mîtà*[2]
Mother	*mîlà*[3]
Elder brother	*māt.!ī'*[4]
Younger brother	*mᵘū'skᵘ*[5]
Elder sister	*mîsī'aⁱ*[6]
Younger sister	*mîctcī'ⁱ*
Grandfather	*ʟîpʟ*, *ʟîpʟ'mä* (see § 84)
Grandmother	*kamʟ*, *kamʟ'mä* (see § 84)
Grandson	*ltīmī'sk'în* (see § 83)
Granddaughter	*ltᴇkō'n*
Paternal uncle, stepfather	*mît.!'a'sk'în* (see § 83)
Maternal uncle	*t.!ā'ᵃsîts.!î*[7]
Paternal and maternal aunt	*kū'la*

[1] See p. 437, note 1.
[2] Alsea *tāᵗˢa*.
[3] Alsea *līᵗˢ*.
[4] Alsea *hāᵗˢt'*.
[5] Alsea *mū'tsîk'*.
[6] Alsea *saᵗˢa*.
[7] Alsea *t'!ā'ᵃtsa*.

Parent-in-law	*mɛktī'* [1]
Son-in-law	*mū'n(ī)* [2]
Daughter-in-law	*te'mxan* (?)
Brother-in-law, sister-in-law	*tā'maxt* [3]
Stepmother	*mîtaskî'l·mä* (see §§ 83, 84)
Stepbrother	*mū^{u}sku'l·mä* (see § 84)
Stepsister	(?)
Nephew (son of brother)	*līp*
Nephew (son of sister); stepson	*t.!ā·t* [4]
Niece (daughter of brother)	*lî'pxan* (?) [5]
Niece (daughter of sister); stepdaughter (?)	*tīnl* [6]
Term of relationship, by marriage, after the death of the person that caused this kinship	*xayū'sL* [7]

In addition to these terms of kinship, I have obtained a few other stems, whose exact rendering did not seem to be very clear in the minds of my informants. Thus, William Smith maintained that *q.!a^{i}sî'ntī* [8] denoted ELDER SISTER; while Louisa Smith thought she remembered that *taq.!'wî* signified BROTHER-IN-LAW. Other terms that may belong here are the nouns *tcmā'nī* (rendered by my interpreter by COUSIN), that seemed to be used in addressing a non-related member of the tribe; *ts'îl·mū't* FRIEND, referring to a person outside the consanguinity and affinity group; *tsî'mqma* PEOPLE, FOLKS; and *tɛ'q* RELATIVE (see § 123).

§ 21. *Discriminative* q- (qa-)

This prefix is added to all terms of relationship and to all independent pronouns for the first and second persons, whenever they are the subject of a transitive action or whenever the presence of both a nominal subject and object in one and the same sentence necessitates the discrimination of the subject. The discriminative case of nouns

[1] Alsea *mak·l.*
[2] Alsea *mūn.*
[3] Alsea *temxt* SISTER-IN-LAW.
[4] Likewise so by Dorsey for "nephew." The use of this term for "stepson" contradicts the term for "stepfather."
[5] Frequently rendered COUSIN.
[6] The same contradiction as mentioned in note 4.
[7] Coos *xa'yusLätc.*
[8] Alsea *qa'sint.*

other than terms of relationship is formed by means of an internal phonetic change (see § 111). The same case for the independent personal pronouns for the third person will be found discussed in § 113 (pp. 575 *et seq.*). The rules of consonantic clusters change this prefix frequently into *qa-* (see § 4).

mîtà father 54.22

m^{u}ū'sk^{u} younger brother 56.6

mîłà mother 54.23

nà I 21.8

na'han I 40.14

nīx^{a}ts thou 50.16

na^{u}'xûn we two (excl.) 36.15

na'nxan we (excl.)

watc who, somebody 10.1

qamîta'tc wî'ltcîstūn her father sent her 92.20

^{u}l wàn waha'ha^{ū}n qa'msk^{u}tc now again (said to him) his younger brother 56.20, 21

a'l^{a}q qīūtcî'l·mä ta'yūn qamîła'-a^{ī}tîn one old woman kept (in her house) my mother 100.12

tsī'k!yanx qnà sî'n^{i}xyūts very much thee I like 22.7

ʟ!xū'yūn qna'han I know it 19.9

hī^{i}'sanx mā'nīsūts qnī'x^{a}ts well thou shalt always take care of me 22.2, 3

^{u}lnx qnī'x^{a}ts xnī'^{w}nīsūn and you will continually do it 98.10

qna'xûn ʟɛłū'yūts we two (excl.) hit thee

qna'nxan ya'q^{u}hīsūts we (excl.) will watch thee 72.6

qwatc ʟ!xū'yūn he who knows it 44.8

kumî'ntc^{ɛ}nt qwàtc kū''nīsūts not us (excl.) anybody will ever beat 72.17

Suffixes (§§ 22–105)

§ 22. *General Remarks*

Besides the few ideas that are conveyed by means of other grammatical processes (such as prefixation, reduplication, etc.), Siuslaw employs suffixation as a means of forming practically all of its morphological and syntactic categories. These suffixes are either simple or they are compounded of two or more distinct formative elements. The compound suffixes usually have the cumulative significance of their separate component parts. In many cases, owing to far-reaching

phonetic changes, the derivation of the compound suffixes can not be given with certainty.

From a functional point of view all suffixes may be divided into a verbal and a non-verbal group; the former used in the formation of verbal ideas, the latter employed for the purpose of conveying grammatical concepts of a nominal, adjectival, or adverbial character. In one or two instances we do find a suffix denoting both verbal and nominal ideas. This is especially true of the suffix *-ū^{u}*, *-ū^{wi}*, which may indicate an act performed by several subjects, or else the abstract concept of that action (see §§ 79, 97); and of the auxiliary *-t*, which is also employed in the formation of a number of words denoting adjectival ideas. (See §§ 76, 104.) While it might have been more proper to discuss such suffixes in a separate chapter as "Neutral Suffixes," practical considerations have induced me to treat them in accordance with their functional values, notwithstanding the fact that this treatment entails some repetition.

The majority of Siuslaw stems are neutral, and receive their respective nominal or verbal meaning from the nature of the suffix that is added to them. There are, however, a few stems denoting adverbial ideas that can under no circumstances be amplified by nominal suffixes. Furthermore, it seems to be a general rule that nominalizing suffixes can not be added to a stem that has already been verbalized by some verbal suffix; while numerous instances will be found where a stem originally developed as a verbal idea, and nominalized by means of suffixes, can again be verbalized by adding to the derivative noun an additional verbal suffix.

The following examples will serve to illustrate the three possibilities that prevail in the derivation of verbs and nouns.

(1) NEUTRAL STEMS:

Stem.	Verb	Noun
tsīL!- to shoot 8.6	*tsîL!a$^{i'}$* he shoots 10.3	*tsī'L!ī* arrow 50.7
ɬīt!- to eat 13.10	*ɬ^{i}t!a$^{i'}$* he eats 44.19	*lī't!a^{ī}* food 34.23
hītṣ- to live	*h^{i}yatsū'^{wi}* they live	*hītsī'^{i}* house 25.2
ūlt- to snow	*walt* it snows	*ū'ltī* snow 76.10
tsxa^{i}- to shine (?)	*tsxaya$^{i'}$ L!a'a^{i}* day breaks 50.3	*tsxayū'^{wi}* day, sun 7.3
īlq- to dig 80.6	*a'ntsux ya'lqa^{ū}n* they two dig (the ground) 84.5	*yałqa'a^{ū}* hole (in the ground) 84.6

(2) ADVERBIAL PARTICLES:

s^{E}a'tsa thus 8.7	*yā'tsa s^{E}a'ts^{E}yax* for a long time he did it thus 11.3, 4
	s^{E}atsī'xamyax thus it was done 32.16
waha' again 19.5	*waha'ha^{ū}n qa'msk^{u}tc* again (said to him) his younger brother 56.21
	wa'ʿtūnx m^{u}qwa'LEmtc wa'as you will again (talk) Crow's language 38.8, 9 [1]

(3) NOUNS:

	Noun	Verb
qī'ūtc female 52.17	*qīūtcū'nî* woman 30.21	*qīūtcna$^{i'}$* (when) he marries 76.8
pīctc-?	*pīctcEm* summer 46.11	*pîctcîma$^{i'}$* (when) it gets summer 54.2
waa- to speak 7.1	*wa'as* language 34.21	*s^{E}a^{i}na'mltc wa'as wa$^{a'}$syaxa^{ū}n* his language he spoke 36.14

Verbal Suffixes (§§ 23–81)

§ 23. INTRODUCTORY

The study of the verbal suffixes of Siuslaw brings out a strong tendency to phonetic amalgamation between different groups of suffixes, by which the component elements are often obscured. For this reason the question of an ultimate relationship between many of the suffixes that occur in Siuslaw can not be ascertained as easily as might seem at first sight, owing chiefly to the fact that in most of the compound suffixes the originally separate elements have undergone considerable phonetic changes and have become to a large extent petrified. However, a careful examination of the phonetic composition of those suffixes that convey kindred psychological and grammatical concepts will show that certain phonetic elements of a given suffix may have served originally to conduce one leading idea, and have amalgamated, in the course of time, with other suffixes, thereby showing a genetic relationship between many of the verbal suffixes.

[1] See also § 135.

Thus, *-ū* may have had primarily a transitive indicative function occurring in the suffixes *-ūn* (see § 28), *-ūts* (see § 29), *-ūx* (see § 30), etc. In like manner, *-ts-* may have been the proto-suffix that indicated pronominal relations between subject and object, being present in suffixes like *-ūts* (see § 29), *-ɛmts* (see § 31), *-ūtsm-* (see § 34), *-ūlts* (see § 36), *-īts* (see § 42), etc.; and *-l-* seems to have been originally a modal suffix, denoting chiefly the possession of the object of the verb by another person or thing, because it is found in suffixes like *-ūl* (see § 35), *-ūlts* (see § 36), *-īl* (see § 45), *-īlts* (see § 46), etc. To all appearances *-ī* must have been an independent suffix implying a command, for it enters into composition with imperative and exhortative suffixes like *-īs* (see § 62), *-īts* (see § 42), *-īmts* (see § 44), *-īl* (see § 45), *-īlts* (see § 46), *-īxmî* (see § 63), *-īnī* (see § 41), etc.; and *-tc* was undoubtedly the general adverbial suffix.

The following table will best illustrate the plausibility of relationships between some of the suffixes that occur in Siuslaw. The forms marked with an asterisk (*) represent the probable original suffix, while the other forms indicate the suffixes as they appear today.

*-ū indicative
-ūn direct object of third person (see § 28)
-ūts direct object of first and second persons (see § 29)
-ūx indirect object of third person (see § 30)
-ūtsm object possessed by subject, but separable from it (see § 34)
-ūl object possessed by a third person object (see § 35)
-ūlts object possessed by a first or second person object (see § 36)
-yūn, -ī^{w}yūn exhortative (see § 41)
-a^{w}ūn intentional (see § 70)
*-ts pronominal relations between subject and object
-ūts direct object of first and second persons (see § 29)
-ɛmts indirect object of first and second persons (see § 31)
-ūtsm object possessed by subject, but separable from it (see § 34)
-ūlts object possessed by a first or second person object (see § 36)
-īts imperative with direct object of the first person (see § 42)
-īmts imperative with indirect object of the first person (see § 44)
-īlts imperative with object possessed by a first person (see § 46)
-tsx imperative expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject (see § 47)
-ītsmɛ exhortative expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject (see § 48)
*-ī imperative

-$ī^wyūn$, -$īnī$ exhortative with direct object of the third person (see § 41)
-$īts$ imperative with the direct object of the first person (see § 42)
-$īmts$ imperative with indirect object of the first person (see § 44)
-$īl$ imperative denoting that object is possessed by a third person (see § 45)
-$īlts$ imperative denoting that object is possessed by a first person (see § 46)
-$ītsmx$ exhortative with possessive interrelations between object and subject (see § 48)
-$īs$ imperative for transitive verbs (see § 62)
-$īxmî$ intransitive exhortative (see § 63)
*-l possessive interrelations between object and subject
-$ūl$ object possessed by a third person object (see § 35)
-$ūlts$ object possessed by a first or second person object (see § 36)
-$ūltx$, -$xamltx$ passive with possessive relations of subject (see § 39)
-$īl$ imperative denoting that object is possessed by a third person (see § 45)
-$īlts$ imperative denoting that object is possessed by a first person (see § 46)
-l (?) exhortative (see § 64)
*-tc adverbial
-tc' tentative (see § 52)
-tc local (see § 90)
-$ītc$ modal (see § 94)

In discussing these suffixes it seems convenient to begin with the group that appears in the sentence in terminal position and proceed backwards with our analysis. According to this treatment, we may distinguish—

(1) Pronominal suffixes.
(2) Objective forms.
(3) Modal suffixes.
(4) Temporal suffixes.
(5) Verbalizing suffixes.
(6) Plural formations.
(7) Irregular suffixes.

PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (§§ 24–26)

§ 24. The Subjective Pronouns

The pronouns denoting the subjects of an action, transitive and intransitive, as well as pronominal objects, are expressed by means of suffixes that invariably stand in terminal position. The third person singular has no distinct form. The first persons dual and plural have

distinct forms for the inclusive and exclusive. The same pronouns are used for all modes and voices. In the imperative the second person singular is omitted.

The following table will serve to illustrate what may be called the fundamental type of the subjective pronouns:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person sing. / Inclusive du. and pl.	*-n*	*-ns*	*-nî*
2d person	*nx*	*-ts*	*-tcî*
3d person	–	*-a^{u}x*	*-nx*
Exclusive du. and pl.	–	*-a^{u}xûn*, *-axûn*	*-nxan*

It would seem that the exclusive forms are derived from the third persons dual and plural and the first person.

These suffixes appear also in the independent personal pronouns (see § 113). The suffix for the first person singular, *-n*, disappears regularly after the transitive *-ūn* (see § 15), and the confusion that might arise from the fact that the transitive form for the third person singular ends in *-ūn* also, is avoided by accentuation of the first person singular as the subject of an action by the additional use of the independent pronoun that either precedes or follows the verb.

The second person singular and the third person plural happen to consist of the same phonetic elements, *-nx*. Ambiguity of meaning in both forms is avoided by addition of the independent personal pronouns. The suffix for the third person dual undergoes frequent changes, which have been fully discussed in § 13.

The rules regulating consonantic clusters require the insertion of an obscure (or weak) vowel between stems ending in a consonant and any of the subjective suffixes that begin with a consonant (see § 4).

According to the manner in which the subjective pronouns are added to a given verbal stem, the verbs may be divided into the five following distinct groups:

(1) Verbs that add the pronominal suffixes directly to the stem or that take them after the verbalizing suffixes *-a^{i}* and *-ū^{i}*.

(2) Verbs that end in *-ī*.

(3) Certain verbs that end in *x*.

(4) Verbs that express the third person singular by means of stem amplification (see § 112).

(5) Verbs that end in *-a*.

The first group presents no difficulties whatsoever. The subjective pronouns are added directly to the stem or else follow the verbalizing suffixes *-a^i* and *-ū^i* (see § 75).

A number of verbs seem to end in *-ī*, which undergoes a phonetic change whenever the pronominal suffixes are added to it. Thus, it is shortened when followed by the pronoun for the first person singular, and it undergoes the process of diphthongization (see § 7) whenever a pronoun for any of the other persons is added to it. Whenever the third person singular is to be expressed, the verb appears with *-ī*, which is often diphthongized into *-ya*. Verbs that take the tentative suffix *-tc'* (see § 52) and the frequentative *-at!ī* (see § 68) are treated similarly.

A peculiar treatment is accorded to certain verbs that end in *x*. Here belong only such verbs as have been amplified by means of the modal suffix *-īt'ax* (see § 51) and of the temporal suffixes *-awax*, *-tūx*, and *-yax* (see §§ 70, 73, 74). These suffixes do not change their phonetic composition when followed by the pronouns for the first person singular and second persons dual and plural. However, as soon as the subjective pronouns for any of the other persons are added to them, the final *x* disappears. An exception to this rule is offered by the future *-tūx* (see § 73) when followed by the pronoun for the third person dual. In this case the final *x* is always retained. Whether the disappearance of the *x* is due to contraction or to other causes, can not be said with any degree of certainty.

The last two groups comprise verbs the stems of which undergo a process of amplification whenever the third person singular is to be expressed. Verbs belonging to the fourth group show an internal change of the stem, while those of the fifth group add an *a* to the bare stem. A full discussion of the phonetic character of these two processes will be found in § 112, p. 574.

In accordance with these five types of verbs, the following tabular arrangement of the pronominal suffixes may be presented:

		1st type	2d type	3d type	4th type	5th type
1st person	Singular	*-n*	*-ín*	*-xan*	*-n*	*-n*
	Dual (incl.)	*-ns*	*-yans*	*-ns*	*-ns*	*-ns*
	Plural (incl.)	*-nł*	*-yanł*	*-nł*	*-nł*	*-nł*
2d person	Singular	*-nx*	*-yanx*	*-nx*	*-nx*	*-nx*
	Dual	*-ts*	*-yats*	*-xts*	*-ts*	*-ts*
	Plural	*-tcî*	*-yatcî*	*-xtcî*	*-tcî*	*-tcî*
3d person	Singular	—, *-a^i*, *-ū^i*	*-ī*, *-ya*	*-x*	(Amplified stem)	*-a*
	Dual	*-a^{u}x*	*-ya^{u}x*	*-xa^{u}x*, *-a^{u}x*	*-a^{u}x*	*-a^{u}x*
	Plural	*-nx*	*-yanx*	*-nx*	*-nx*	*-nx*
Exclusive	Dual	*-a^{u}xûn*, *-axûn*	*-ya^{u}xûn*, *-yaxûn*	*-a^{u}xûn*, *-axûn*	*-a^{u}xûn*, *-axûn*	*-a^{u}xûn*, *-axûn*
	Plural	*-nxan*	*-yanxan*	*-nxan*	*-nxan*	*-nxan*

(1) Pronominal suffixes added directly to the stem or following the verbalizing *-a^i* and *-ū^i*:

wînx- to be afraid 17.6
waa- to speak 7. 1
wînx- to be afraid 17.6
łna^{u}w- to be rich 76.3
łqaq- to pass wind 86.7
tsîⁿq!- to be poor 16.10
ł^{i}t!a^i he eats 46.5
tsîⁿq!- to be poor 16.10

tcīn- to come back
skwa'- to stand 10.9
tqūł- to shout 52.8
smūt'- to end 8.8
qa'tc^{i}nt he goes 12.
xînt- to start 23.1
tsîⁿq!- to be poor 16.10

yuwa$^{i'}$ he gets pitch 96.18

nEqū$^{i'}$tx- to be cold

wî'nxîn I was afraid 58.22
waa$^{i'}$n I say
wî'nxîns we two (incl.) are afraid
łna$^{u'}$wanł we (incl.) are rich
łqa'qanx thou passest wind 86.14
tsî'nq!ats you two are poor
ł^{i}t!a'yats you two eat
tsî'nq!atcî you are poor
tsîⁿq! he is poor
tcīn he returned 7.7
skwaha$^{i'}$ he stands 14.4
tqūłū$^{i'}$ he shouted 92.6
smît'ū$^{i'}$ it ends 14.6
qa'tc^{i}nta^{u}x they two go 23.1
xî'ntanx they started 88.20
tsî'nq!a^{u}xûn we two (excl.) are poor
yuwa'ya^{u}xûn we two (excl.) will get pitch 94.17, 18
nEqū$^{i'}$txanxan we (excl.) are cold 76.20

§ 24

(2) Pronouns added to verbs that end in *ī:*

xî'l·xcī- to work 50.3	*xî'l·xcîn* I work
	xî'l·xcyans we two (incl.) work
	xî'l·xcyanł we (incl.) work
sî'nxī- to desire 18.5	*sî'nⁱxyanx* (if) you desire 44.6
	sî'nⁱxyats you two desire
wî'nkī- to work 50.6	*wî'nkyatcî* you are working
	wî'nkī he is working
xî'l·xcī- to work 50.3	*xî'l·xcī* (*xî'l·xcya*) he is working 50.9
	xî'l·xcyaᵘx they two work
	xî'l·xcyanx they work
	xî'l·xcyaᵘxûn we two (excl.) are working
	xî'l·xcyanxan we (excl.) are working.

(3) Pronouns added to certain verbs that end in *x:*

qatcᴱn- to go, to start 8.2	*qa'tcⁱntūxan* I shall go 22.2
āq- to run away 52.10	*āqa'waxan* I intend to run away 90.21
ʟī'ū- to come 8.3	*ʟī'ūyaxan* I came
āq- to run away 52.10	*ā'qtūns* we two (incl.) shall run away 92.2
	āqa'wans we two (incl.) intend to run away 90.23
xwīʟ!- to return 12.6	*xwī'ʟ!tūnł* we (incl.) shall return 60.9
	xwī'ʟ!yanł we (incl.) have returned
hūtc- to play 8.8	*hū'tctūnł* we (incl.) shall play 7.2
ʟī'ū- to come 8.3	*ʟīwa'wanx* you intend to come 25.8
taⁱ it lives 32.21	*taⁱ'yanx* thou didst live
mīkū'- to cut 82.14	*mī'kᵘtūxts* you two will cut 90.5
tᴇmū'- to assemble 7.3	*tᴇmū'tūxtcî* you shall assemble 30.7
ʟī'ū- to approach 8.3	*ʟī'ūtūx* he will come 8.9
āq- to run away 88.3	*āqa'wax* he intends to run away 86.15
taⁱ it lives 32.21	*taⁱ'yax* (if) he lives 44.12
ʟī'ū- to approach 8.3	*ʟīū'tūxaᵘx* they two will come
	ʟī'ūyaᵘx they two came
āq- to run away 88.3	*āqa'waᵘx* they two intend to run away 86.18

āq- to run away 88.3	*āqa'wa^{u}xûn* we two (excl.) intend to run away
ʟī'ū- to approach 8.3	*ʟī'ūtūnxan* we (excl.) will come 30.11
	ʟī'ūyanxan we (excl.) have come

(4) Amplification of stem:

īlq- to dig 80.6	*yałq* (they two) dig 84.7
cītx- to flop	*c^{i}yatx* (they) flop (around) 36.23
ha$^{u'}$- to be ready 8.10	*ha'wa* it is ready 23.10
ʟ!ōn- to tell 16.9	*ʟ!wa^{a}n* he relates 16.6

(5) Verbs that end in *-a:*

haū'- to quit 11.4	*ha'wa* it is ready 23.10
wa- to speak 7.1	*waa'* he said 12.10
qa'tc^{i}n- to go 12.1	*qa'tc^{E}na* he goes 36.1
wīlw- to affirm 17.7	*wīlwa'* he affirms 58.9

§ 25. The Objective Pronouns

The same forms as those discussed in § 24 are used to express the pronominal objects. In these terms the verbal stem is followed by an objective element, which in most cases is followed first by the pronominal object, then by the pronominal subject. In all cases where this composition would bring two consonants into contact they are separated by a weak vowel (*a* or *î*).

The objective elements here referred to are *-ūn*, which expresses the relation to the third person object, and *-ūts*, which indicates the relation to the first and second persons. These will be treated more fully in §§ 27–29.

In all forms that express a relation of a second person subject or of an exclusive subject to a singular pronominal object, the latter is omitted, and the pronominal subject follows directly the objective element before referred to. Perfect clearness is attained here, since the objective element defines the person of the object. Thus the forms THOU, YE TWO, YE, acting upon either first or second person, can refer only to the first person; I AND HE, and I AND THEY, only to the second, for otherwise they would be reflexives. In the combination I–THEE the subject is omitted. In the combinations I–HIM, I–THEM TWO, I–THEM, the subject pronoun *-n* seems to have been contracted with the *n* of the objective element (see § 15); while in THEY–ME the order of subject and object is reversed.

These phenomena may be indicated in the following tabular form:

I. OBJECTIVE FORMS FOLLOWED BY SUBJECT

Third person object				First and second persons objects			
Subjects				Subjects			
Singular		Dual	Plural	Singular		Dual	Plural
Inclusive .	-	-ūnans	-ūnanl	Inclusive .	-	-	-
Exclusive .	-	-ūnauxûn	-ūnanxan	Exclusive .	-	-ūtsauxûn	-ūtsanxan
2d person .	-ūnanx	-ūnats	-ūnatcî	2d person .	-ūtsanx	-ūtsats	-ūtsatcî
3d person .	-ūn	-ūnaux	-ūnanx	3d person .	-	-	-

II. SUBJECT OMITTED

I-THEE—-ūtsanx.

III. INVERSION OF SUBJECT AND OBJECT

THEY-ME—-ūtsanxîn.

IV. SEQUENCE: OBJECT-SUBJECT

All dual and plural objects; all third person subjects (except THEY-ME).

The following table may serve to illustrate more fully the forms that are used in Siuslaw to express relations between subject and object. Suffixes marked with an asterisk (*) are forms reconstructed by analogy.

		SINGULAR		
		I	Thou	He
Singular	Me	-	-ūtsanx	-ūtsîn
	Thee	-ūtsanx	-	-ūtsanx
	Him	-ūn	-ūnanx	-ūn
Dual	Inclusive	-	-	-ūtsans
	Exclusive	-	*-ūtsauxûnanx	-ūtsauxûn
	You	-ūtsatsîn	-	-ūtsats
	Them	-ūnauxîn -ūn	-ūnauxanx -ūnanx	-ūnaux -ūn
Plural	Inclusive	-	-	-ūtsanl
	Exclusive	-	*-ūtsanxananx	-ūtsanxan
	You	-ūtsatcîn	-	-ūtsatcî
	Them	-ūnanxîn -ūn	-ūnanxanx -ūnanx	-ūnanx -ūn

		Dual			
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Ye	They
Singular	Me	–	–	-ūtsats	-ūtsînaux
	Thee	–	-ūtsauxûn	–	*-ūtsanxaux
	Him	-ūnans	-ūnauxûn	-ūnats	-ūnaux
Dual	Inclusive	–	–	–	-ūtsansaux
	Exclusive	–	–	-ūtsauxûnats	*-ūtsauxûnaux
	You	–	-ūtsatsauxûn	–	*-ūtsatsaux
	Them	-ūnauxans -ūnans	-ūnauxauxûn -ūnauxûn	-ūnauxats -ūnats	– –
Plural	Inclusive	–	–	–	*-ūtsanłaux
	Exclusive	–	–	-ūtsanxanats	-ūtsanxanaux
	You	–	-ūtsatcyaxûn	–	-ūtsatcyaux
	Them	-ūnanxans -ūnans	-ūnanxauxûn -ūnauxûn	-ūnanxats -ūnats	-ūnanxaux -ūnaux

		Plural			
		Inclusive	Exclusive	You	They
Singular	Me	–	–	-ūtsatcî -ūtsînatcî	-ūtsanxîn
	Thee	–	-ūtsanxan	–	*-ūtsanxanx
	Him	-ūnanł	-ūnanxan	-ūnatcî	-ūnanx
Dual	Inclusive	–	–	–	*-ūtsansanx
	Exclusive	–	–	*-ūtsauxûnatcî	*-ūtsauxûnanx
	You	–	-ūtsatsanxan	–	*-ūtsatsanx
	Them	-ūnauxanł -ūnanł	-ūnauxcnxan -ūnanxan	-ūnauxatcî -ūnatcî	-ūnauxanx -ūnanx
Plural	Inclusive	–	–	–	-ūtsanłanx
	Exclusive	–	–	-ūtsanxanatcî	*-ūtsanxananx
	You	–	-ūtsatcyanxan	–	-ūtsatcyanx
	Them	-ūnanxanł -ūnanł	-ūnanxanxan -ūnanxan	-ūnanxatcî -ūnatcî	-ūnanxanx -ūnanx

While all these forms may actually appear suffixed to the verb, there prevails a tendency (discussed on p. 479) to suffix the subjective pronouns to adverbial terms preceding the verb rather than to the verb itself. This transposition of the suffixes for the subject of the action considerably lessens the syllabic quantity of the whole verbal expression.

The pronoun I–THEE coincides phonetically with the form for THOU–ME; and in order to avoid ambiguity of meaning, the subjects

of these combinations may be indicated by means of the discriminative forms of the independent personal pronouns (see §§ 21, 113).

All forms having a third person as the object do not, as a rule, indicate the number of the subject. This is rather done by means of the numeral *xā'ts!ū* TWO for the dual, and the numeral particle *ha$^{i'}$mūt* ALL for the plural.

The difficulty arising from the fact that the suffix *-ūnanx* may express THOU–HIM, etc., and THEY–HIM, etc., is bridged over by the additional use of the independent pronouns for THOU and THEY (see § 113). This rule applies to all cases, so that it may be stated that, whenever, by some process of contraction, simplification, or abbreviation, two or more suffixes expressing identical relations between subject and object are phonetically alike, their subjects are indicated by the use of the independent pronominal forms. Thus, for instance, the form *-ūtsanx* may express I–THEE, THOU–ME, and HE–THEE. These are usually distinguished by means of the pronouns *qnà* I, *qnūx^{a}ts* THOU, and *s^{E}às* HE (see § 113), that are placed before or after the verb, denoting that the first, second, or third person respectively is the subject of the action.

The third person singular has no subjective element, owing to the fact that Siuslaw has no distinct form for that pronoun (see § 24).

sî'nxī- to desire 18.5

waa$^{i'}$ he says 19.3

l^{i}kwa$^{i'}$ he gets, he takes 82.6

hīn- to take along 9.5

tcaq- to spear 68.18

yaq^{u}'- to look, to watch 9.1

yax- to see 34.4

xnī^{w}n- to do 9.7

tEmū'- to assemble 7.3

sî'n^{i}xyūtsanx qnà hūtca'wax I want thee to have fun 21.6

s^{E}atsī'tc^{E}nx waa'yūts (when) thus thee I tell 36.19

s^{E}a'tsanx tanx l^{i}kwa'yūts qnà that's why I (came to) get thee 21.3

h^{i}ya'nyūtsanx hītsî'stcīn I'll take thee into my house 58.6

ya^{c}k^{u}sîn tcāqa'qa^{ū}n a seal I was spearing 68.8

ya'qu'yūtsats qnà I will look at you two

yî^{x}a'yūna^{u}xîn qnà I see them two

s^{E}a'tsa^{u}xîn xnīyunī'^{w}yūn thus to them two I will do it 88.17

kumî'ntc^{E}tcî nîctcī'tc ta'tcî tEmū'-ūts not you in vain these you I assembled 30.18, 19

sᴱa'tsa thus 8.7	*sᴱatsa'ūtsatcî* thus I (do it) for you 32.14
waaⁱ' he says 8.9	*haⁱ'mūtⁱnxan waa'yūn* (to) all them I tell it
tᴇmū'- to assemble 7.3	*temū'ūnanxîn* I assemble them
tqūl- to shout 52.8	*tqūlū'yūtsanx qnī'xᵃts* thou art shouting at me
mān- to take care of 38.13	*hīⁱ'sanx mā'nīsūts qnī'xᵃts* well thou shalt always take care of me 22.2, 3
ʟ*'waᵃn*- to tell 16.5	ʟ*'wā'nīsūnanx sᴱatsī'tc* thou wilt keep on telling him thus 17.2
ʟᴇ*lū*ⁱ' he is hitting	*lna'tînx* ʟᴇ*lū'yūtsaᵘxûn* always thou art hitting us two (excl.)
	ʟᴇ*lū'yūnanx tū'aᵘx xā'ts!'ū* thou art hitting those two
yaqᵘ'- to look 9.1	*ya'qᵘhīsūtsanxan hī'ⁱsa* thou shalt always watch us (excl.) well 70.14, 15
	ya'quʻyūnanx qnī'xᵃts thou wilt look at them
waa'- to speak 7.1	*waa'aᵘtsîn* he told me 58.18
	atsī'tcîn waa'aᵘts thus me he told 58.20
hīn- to take along 9.5	*ᵘlⁱn sᴱàs hī'nīxaᵘts qaⁱha'ntc* and me he took way off 66.18
ʟ*'xū*- to know 19.9	ʟ*'xū'yūtsanx sᴱàs* thee he knows
yax- to see 20.10	*tcī'kᴱnx yîxa'yūts mā'qᵘʟ ᵘlᴱnx wa'aⁱsūts tsîm* wherever thee sees Crow, to thee he will keep on talking always 38.16, 17
*skwa*ʻ- to stand 10.9	*skwaha'haᵘn sᴱàs* he set it up
yax- to see 20.10	*yîxa'yūn* he sees it 70.2
ʟᴇ*lū*ⁱ he hits	ʟᴇ*lū'yūtsans sᴱàs* he is hitting us two (incl.)
yax- to see 20.10	*yîxa'yūtsaᵘxûn* he is looking at us two (excl.)
xîntm- to travel 13.3	*ᵘlaᵘx xî'ntmīsūn* he takes them two along 92.16
kūʻn- to beat 78.18	*kumî'ntcᴱnl qwàtc kūʻ'nīsūts* not us (incl.) any one will ever beat 72.17

yaq^{u}'- to look 9.1

ya'qu'yūtsanxan $s^{E}às$ he looks at us (excl.)

lī'ū- to come 9.2

h^{i}ya'tc^{E}nxan l!ī'l!ūts people us (excl.) came (to see) 100.8

LEłū$^{i'}$ he hits

LEłū'yūtsatcî he is hitting you

s^{E}a'sūtsatcî LEłū'yūts he is hitting you

LEłū'yūnanx $s^{E}às$ he is hitting them

$s^{E}às$ ha$^{i'}$mūt LEłū'yūn he hits all

xnī^{w}n- to do 9.7

xnī^{w}nī'^{w}yūns 10.5 (abbreviated from *xnī^{w}nī'^{w}yūnans*) we two (incl.) will do it

LEłū$^{i'}$ he hits

LEłū'yūtsa^{u}xûn we two (excl.) are hitting thee

qna'xūn LEłū'yūts we two (excl.) are hitting thee

xaū' he died 40.21

xaū'na^{u}xûn ants mī'k!a hītc we two (excl.) killed that bad man 96.8.9

LEłū$^{i'}$ he hits

qna$^{u'}$xûn LEłū'yūtsats we two (excl.) are hitting you two

qna'xûn LEłū'yūn we two (excl.) are hitting him

LEłū'yūna^{u}xûn tū'a^{u}x xā'ts!ū we two (excl.) are hitting those two

qna'xûn LEłū'yūtsatcî we two (excl.) are hitting you two

qna'xûn ^{u}lxûn LEłū'yūn tū'a l!a'^{ai} we two (excl.) are hitting those (many)

LEłū'yūtsats qnī'x^{a}ts you two are hitting me

LEłū'yūnats you two are hitting him

qnī'x^{a}ts LEłū'yūtsa^{u}xûn you two are hitting us two (excl.)

LEłū'yūnats tū'a^{u}x xā'ts!ū you two are hitting those two

qnī'xts^{E}ts ha$^{i'}$mūt^{i}nxan LEłū'yūts you two are hitting us (excl.) all

LEłū'yūnats ha$^{i'}$mūt you two are hitting (them) all

s^{E}a's^{w}ax LEłū'yūtsîn they two are hitting me

ya'x- to see 20.10

yîxa'yūna^{u}x they two saw him 62.20, 21

qnū'- to find

^{u}la^{u}x qnū'hūn they two find it 56.9

ʟɛ*ɬū$^{i'}$* he hits

s^{ɛ}a's^{w}ax ʟɛɬū'yūtsans they two are hitting us two (incl.)

s^{ɛ}a's^{w}ax ʟɛɬū'yūtsanxan tney two are hitting us two (excl.)

tūa's^{w}ax ʟɛɬū'yūtsatcî those two are hitting you two

tūa's^{w}ax ʟɛɬū'yūn ha$^{i'}$mūt those two are hitting (them) all

ʟ*!xmīya$^{i'}$* he kills

ʟ*!xmīya'yūnanɬ* we (incl.) will kill him 28.3

*qnànɬ*ʟ*!xmīya'yūn tū'anx* we (incl.) will kill those (all)

k!a'- to invite 16.3

s^{ɛ}a'tsanxan k!aha'yūts that's why we (excl.) invite thee 24.10

hatc'- to ask 66.16

a'tsanxan tɛ hatc'a'yūts qnà that's why we (excl.) ask thee 74.15

yaq^{u}'- to look 9.1

qna'nxan ya'q^{u}hīsūts we (excl.) will continually watch thee 72.6

sî'nxī- to desire 18.5

sî'n^{i}xyūnanxan ʟī'ūtūx we (excl.) want him to come 17.2, 3

ʟ*xūī'-* to dry 60.19

yā^{a}'xa^{i}nxan ɬt'ī'a^{i} ʟxuyū'yūn lots we (excl.) salmon dry it

ʟɛ*ɬū$^{i'}$* he hits

qna'nxan ʟɛɬū'yūtsats we (excl.) are hitting you two

qna'nxan ʟɛɬū'yūn tū'a^{u}x xā'ts!ū we (excl.) are hitting those two

qna'nxan ʟɛɬū'yūtsatcî we (excl.) are hitting you (pl.)

ha$^{i'}$mūt^{i}nxan ʟɛɬū'yūn qnà we (excl.) are hitting (them) all

anx- to give up 54.12

a'nxa^{ū}tsatcî you (shall) let me alone 27.5

yaq^{u}'- to look 9.1

yaq^{u}'yī'^{w}yūtsatcî haya'mūt you all shall look at me 72.11, 12

hatc'- to ask 66.16

hatc'a'yūnatcî you (shall) ask her 74.10

yaq^{u}'- to look 9.1

ya'q^{u}'yūtsa^{u}rûn qnī'xts^{ɛ}tcî you are looking at us (excl.)

waa$^{i'}$ he says 19.3

atsī'tc^{ɛ}nxan waa'yūts thus they told me 46.20, 21

sî'nxī- to desire 18.5

ts'ⁱha'yūn he kills it 46.5, 6

ʟ!wa^{a}n- to tell 16.5

ʟ!'xma'yanxîn sî'nⁱxyūts (to) kill me they want 21.9

ts'ⁱha'yūnanx ants ʟî'mna'q they kill that elk 82.17, 18

tūa'sᴱnx ʟ!ōna'yūtsanl these told us (incl.)

§ 26. Position of Pronouns in Verbs Accompanied by Adverbial Forms

As has been stated before (see p. 474), the pronominal suffixes stand in terminal position, and theoretically are added to the verb; but whenever an adjective, an adverb, or a particle precedes the verb, the pronouns are preferably suffixed to these and precede the verbal expression. The verb appears in all such cases in what may be called the fundamental type (see pp. 470, 474).

nî'ctcîm because 18.8

kumî'ntc not 12.2

taⁱk here

sqaⁱk there 14.6

sᴱatsī'tc thus 8.1

haⁱ'na different 58.9

yā^{a}'xà^{i} much 8.5

tcīk where 34.2

^{u}l and, then 7.4

nî'ctcîmîn mEq!'ya'wax because I intend to dance 72.12

kumî'ntcᴱnxptna$^{i'}$ not you are sick 86.14

taⁱ'kᴱns aya'qaⁱtī tE sī'xaⁱ here we two (incl.) will leave this (our) canoe 56.5

sqaⁱkts qa'tcᴱntūx, sqaⁱkts t!'îmct!'ⁱtūx there you two shall go, there you two shall raise children 32.5

sᴱatsī'tcʷax waana'wa thus they two speak to each other 10.1, 2

haⁱ'nanl hū'tctūx differently we (incl.) will play 11.2

yā^{a}'xaⁱnxan hūtcū$^{i'}$ lots (of games) we (excl.) play 70.19

tcī'ktcî hūtcū$^{i'}$, sᴱatsa'tcî xnī'ʷnīs where (ever) you play, thus you will keep on doing it 72.20, 21

^{u}lnx wàn tcīⁱn then they finally returned 60.10, 11

The same tendency to suffix the subjective pronouns to adverbial expressions that precede the verb is shown even in cases where a verbal expression is preceded by a nominal subject or object.

hⁱya'tc people 60.25

ʟ!^{o}wa'x messenger 7.7

hⁱya'tcᴱnx lī't!'īsūts txū people thee will eat just 13.10

ʟ^{o}wa'xᴱnxan tE ʟīū' (as) messengers we (excl.) these come 30.6, 7

îlqwa$^{a'}$tɛm root, alder tree 92.5, 6

îlqūtmī'a^{u}x qaa$^{i'}$ an alder tree they two entered 92.6

ya^{ɛ}k^{u}s seal 62.4

yɛkū's^{ɛ}nx tū'tca$^{i'}$ sea-lions they spear 62.2

qa^{i}x night 40.14

qa$^{i'}$x^{ɛ}nx a'l·dū ya'q^{u}hītūx (at) night likewise you will watch 70.18, 19

OBJECTIVE FORMS (§§ 27–48)

§ 27. Introductory

In sentences containing subject and object the interrelation between them is expressed with great definiteness by means of suffixes that precede the subjective and objective pronouns. My original intention was to treat these suffixes as pronominal elements; but the chief objection to such a treatment lies in the fact that the pronouns, subjective and objective, are repeated after them. Hence it was found advisable to treat them as objective elements. In the expression of the relations a distinction is made between third person objects on the one hand, and first and second persons on the other. Furthermore, the indirect object is distinguished from the direct object, and the same classification of persons is found. The possessive relations between the subject and the two objects are also expressed with great clearness; and, finally, a sharp line of demarcation is drawn between the indicative, imperative, and passive modes.

It would seem that the following table represents all the suffixes belonging to this group:

	Indicative		Imperative		Passive
	Personal Interrelations				
Object	1st & 2d per.	3d per.	1st per.	3d per.	
Direct . .	*-ūts*	*-ūn*	*-īts*	*-yūn, -īnī -īwyūn*	
Indirect . .	*-ɛmts*	*-ūx*	*-īmts*	*-yūx*	*-īmɛ, -ūmɛ*
	Possessive Interrelations				
Forms of possession					
Not own .	*-ūlts*	*-ūl*	*-īlts*	*-īl*	*-ūltx*
Own insep. .	*-ītx, -tx*		*-ītsx*		
Own sep. .	*-ūtsm*		*-ītsm*		*-xamltx*

Some of these forms are applicable to the present tense only, showing different suffixes in other tenses. Thus, an entirely divergent treatment is accorded to the suffixes denoting possessive interrelations for the durative, intentional, and past tenses (see § 37).

For the purpose of greater clearness, these forms have been subdivided into the following four groups:

(1) Indicative forms denoting personal interrelations.
(2) Indicative forms expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject.
(3) Passive suffixes indicating pronominal and possessive interrelations.
(4) Imperative forms denoting pronominal and possessive interrelations.

Indicative Suffixes Denoting Personal Interrelations (§§ 28–31)

§ 28. *Direct Object of Third Person* -ūn (-a^{u}n)

This suffix transforms nouns into verbs, transitivizes all verbs expressing intransitive actions, and changes a transitive idea into a causative concept. In all these cases the object must be a third person. All stems ending in *i*-diphthongs change the *i* of the diphthong into *y* before adding the transitive suffix (see § 8). This suffix immediately precedes the subjective pronouns, and hence invariably follows the tense signs. For the interchange between *-ūn* and *-a^{u}n* see § 2.

k!u^{x}wîna$^{i'}$ ice appears 76.13	*k!u^{x}wī'nūn ʟ!a'^{ai}* ice he made all over 94.2, 3
tɛk!ā'kʟ!' trap 100.4	*tɛk!ā'kʟ!'ūn* he sets traps
yałqa'a^{u} hole 84.6	*a'ntsux ya'łqa^{u}n* those two (who) dig holes 84.5
s^{ɛ}a'tsa thus 8.7	*s^{ɛ}atsa'ūn* thus (he does it)
hī$^{i'}$sa well 12.2	*hīsa'ūn* he cures him
wînx he is afraid 17.6	*wî'nxa^{u}n* she was afraid of him 86.1
cîl·x it shook 36.10	*cî'l·xūn* she shook him 58.4
maltc- to burn 25.2	*ma'ltcū^{u}n ʟīya'wa* he made a fire 94.23
xaū' he died 40.21	*xaū'ūn* he killed him 96.13
ma^{a}tc it lay 32.26	*qa^{u}x ma'tcūn* on top (they) put it 80.9

xnī'^{w}nᴇ (they two) do 48.12	*xnī'^{w}nūn* he did it 94.14
ʟ!wa^{a}n he tells 16.5	*^{u}la^{u}x ʟ!wa$^{a'}$nūn* they two told her 96.10
waa' he says 12.10	*waa'a^{ū}n* he said to him 20.7
waa^{i} he said 8.9	*waa'yūn* he told him 36.26
l^{i}t!a$^{i'}$ he eats 44.19	*l^{i}t!a'yūn* he devoured him 15.2
yîxa$^{i'}$ (they) look 66.6	*^{u}l yîxa'yūn* and he saw it 58.13
tū'tca$^{i'}$ (they) spear 62.2	*^{u}lᴇnx tū'tca'yūn* they spear (them) 62.5
ta^{i} it sits 32.21	*ta'yūn qamîla'a^{i}tîn* my mother kept her 100.12
qnūhū$^{i'}$ he finds	*tᴇ'q qnūhū'yūn* something he finds
tqūlū$^{i'}$ he shouted 92.6	*tqūlū'yūn* he shouts at him
ya'q^{u}ha^{i}t he looked 25.3	*ya'q^{u}ha^{i}tūn* (I) look at them 25.5, 6
^{u}la^{u}x wī'lūt they two affirmed 90.6	*^{u}l mā'q^{u}ʟ wī'lūtūn* Crow answered him 36.6, 7
wa'ayax he spoke	*wa$^{a'}$yaxa^{ū}n* he spoke to him 36.11
x̂î'ntm^{i}yax he traveled	*^{u}l x̂î'ntm^{i}yaxa^{ū}n* he took (them) along 92.13
x̂î'ntmīs (you) will continually travel 13.3	*qnī'xtsᴇnx x̂î'ntmīsūn* you will always carry it 14.3
wa'a^{ī}s he says continually 26.8	*wa'a^{ī}sūn* (you) keep on telling him 19.5
ʟī'ū (they) came 9.3	*ʟīū'ūn* he got (there) 16.3
xaū' he died 40.21	*xaū'na^{u}xûn* we two (excl.) killed him 96.8, 9
yîxa$^{i'}$ he sees	*yîxa'yūna^{u}x* they two see it 62.20, 21
hatc'- to ask 66.16	*hatc'a'yūnatcî* you ask her 74.10

§ 29. *Direct Object of First and Second Persons* -ūts (-a^{ū}ts)

This suffix indicates that an action has been performed upon a first or second person as object. The person of the actor is expressed by suffixing to *-ūts* the corresponding subjective pronouns (see § 24). Its use corresponds to that of *-ūn* for the third person object.

An explanation for the interchange between *-ūts* and *-a^{ū}ts* will be found in § 2. This suffix follows all other verbal suffixes excepting, of course, the subjective pronouns. The *ū* unquestionably denotes the indicative mode, and is identical with the *ū* in *-ūn*, *-ūx*, *-ūlts*, *-ūl*, etc. (see §§ 23, 28, 30, 35, 36).

This suffix has been referred to in § 25, where a tabular presentation of the different combined subject and object pronouns will be found.

sî'nxī- to desire 18.5	*sî'n^{i}xyūtsanx qnà hūtca'wax* I want you to have fun 21.6
yaqu'- to look 9.1	*ya'qu'yūtsats qnà* I will look at you two
mān- to take care 38.13	*hī'sanx mā'nīsūts* well thou shalt always take care of me 22.2
yaqu'- to look 9.1	*ya'q^{u}hīsūtsanxan hī'^{i}sa* thou shalt always watch us (excl.) well 70.14, 15
waa'- to speak 7.1	*waa'a^{ū}tsîn* he told me 58.18
yāx- to see 13.7	*tcī'k^{E}nx yîxa'yūts mā'q^{u}L* wherever Crow sees thee 38.16, 17

For further examples see § 25.

§ 30. *Indirect Object of Third Person* -ūx (-a^{ū}x)

Each language has a number of verbal expressions that require the presence of a direct and indirect object. Such verbs are, as a rule, distinguished from other stems by means of some grammatical contrivance. Siuslaw uses for that purpose the suffix *-ūx* added to the bare stem. This suffix, however, is used only when the third person (singular, dual or plural) is the indirect object of the sentence. As soon as the first or second person becomes the indirect object, another suffix, *-Emts,* is used (see § 31).

The pronoun expressing the subject of the action always follows the suffix *-ūx.*

waxax- reduplicated stem of *wax-* to give 18.5	*^{u}ł waxa'xa^{ū}x ants mî'n^{i}xwī* then he gave him that lightning 38.2 (for *ūx* = *a^{u}x* see § 2)
hamts- to dip out	*s^{E}às ha'mtsūx* he dipped it out for him 46.6
h^{i}yatsî'ts- reduplicated form of *hīts-*, *h^{i}yats-* to put on, to wear 11.8	*h^{i}yatsî'tsūxan* I put it on him
łak^{u}- to take, to fetch 7.5	*łakwa'kūxan* I took it away from him
hamx- to tie 8.6.	*hamxî'xūx* he tied it on him

§ 31. *Indirect Object of First and Second Persons* -Emts

This suffix is used only with verbal stems that require a direct and indirect object. The direct object expressed by this suffix is always the third person, while the indirect object must be either a first or

a second person, regardless of number. The suffix expressing the same idea with the third person as the indirect object has been discussed in § 30. The pronominal suffixes denoting the subject of the action and its relation to the direct object are the same as those used in connection with the suffix *-ūts* (see § 29). The verbal stem to which this suffix is added has frequently terminal reduplication.

hamx- to tie 8.6	*hamxî'xEmtsanx* I tie it on thee
wax- to give 18.2	*qna'hamtsEnx wā'xaīsEmts* to thee I will keep on giving it 44.15
	wāxa'xEmtsanxîn they gave it to me
hītsa$^{i'}$ he put it on	*hītsa'yEmtsanx qnīx^{a}ts* you put it on me
	sEa'sîn h^{i}yatsî'tsEmts he put it on me
	sEa'sEnx hītsa'yEmts he put it on thee
a^{i}q- to leave 56.5	*a^{i}qa'qEmtsîn* he left it to me
wax- to give 18.2	*wāxa'xEmtsanx tā'la* he gives thee money

Indicative Suffixes Expressing Possessive Interrelations Between Object and Subject (§§ 32–37)

§ 32. *Introductory*

The phenomenon of expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject of a sentence through the medium of distinct suffixes is by no means of uncommon occurrence in the American Indian languages.[1] From a logical point of view such a formation is perfectly justifiable, and may be said to have its origin in the actual difference that exists between the concept of an act performed upon a given object and the conveying of the same act performed upon an object that stands in some relation to the subject of the sentence. Thus the English sentence I WHIP MY HORSE states a fact that is fundamentally different from the sentence I WHIP THE HORSE, in so far as it expresses, besides the act performed by the subject upon the object, also the possessive relation that exists between object and subject. In the Indo-European languages, in which each idea maintains an independent position in a complex of grammatical concepts, such

[1] See, for example, Sioux, Chinook, Kutenai.

relations are indicated by means of independent words, as a rule possessive pronouns; but in Siuslaw these relations are relegated to the verb, and consequently we find them conveyed by means of certain suffixes that are added to stems denoting verbal ideas.

The possessive relations that may exist between object and subject of a sentence are of a threefold nature. The object may form an inseparable part of the subject (I WASH MY FACE); the object may be separably connected with the subject (I LOSE MY KNIFE); or the object may stand in a possessive relation to another object (I LOSE HIS KNIFE). Siuslaw distinguishes clearly between these three types of relationship, and expresses each of them by means of a distinct suffix.

§ 33. *Suffix Indicating that the Object Forms an Inseparable Part of the Subject* -ītx (-aⁱtx), -tx

This suffix indicates that the object of the sentence is inseparably connected with the subject. Hence all stems expressing an action performed by the speaker upon any part of his own body (and even upon his name) occur with these suffixes. Now and then they will be found added to stems denoting actions that do not necessarily involve an integral part of the subject as its recipient. All such formations must be looked upon as ungrammatical; that is to say, as due either to analogy or to an unintentional mistake on the part of the informant.[1]

The verbal ideas which are expressed in this manner need not always be transitive in our sense of the word. They may, and as a matter of fact they do, denote conditions and states in which an integral part of the subject may find itself. Such expressions are possible, because to the mind of the Siuslaw they convey transitive ideas. Thus the sentence I AM SORRY expresses, according to our interpretation, an intransitive idea. The Siuslaw treats it as a transitive sentence, and expresses it by saying I MAKE MY MIND SICK. In the same manner Siuslaw conceives of our expressions MY HAIR BURNED, HIS CHILD DIED, IT IS COLD, etc., as transitive sentences, and renders them by (I) BURNED MY HAIR, (HE) CAUSED HIS CHILD TO DIE, THE EARTH MAKES ITS BODY COLD, etc.

No specific reason can be given for the occurrence of the parallel forms *-ītx* and *-tx*, nor has any distinction been detected in the use of

[1] My informant made such mistakes rather frequently, but corrected them promptly whenever her attention was called to them.

the two forms. It seems, however, that *-tx* tends to appear after other suffixes, while *-ītx* is added to bare stems.

This suffix must not be confounded with the frequentative *-ītx* (see § 68). *-ītx* interchanges frequently with *-aⁱtx*. For an explanation of this interchange see § 2.

kuts- to paint	*kutsaⁱ'txan qa'nnî* I paint my face
łk!- to open (mouth) 28.2	*łk!aⁱtx ʟaa'* he opened his mouth 96.1
skwa'- to stand 14.4	*haⁱ'mūtᴱnx łaⁱ'qat skwahaⁱ'tx xwāk!'* they all had feathers on their heads (literally, all they, feathers to stand caused on their heads 10.9
k!uˣwîn- ice 76.11	*k!uˣwînaⁱ'tx ʟ!a'ᵃⁱ* ice appeared (literally, ice made on its body, the earth) 76.10
pln- to be sick 40.21	*plnaⁱtx haˡ* they were sorry (literally, sick they made their minds) 15.4
yāᵃ'xaⁱ much 8.5	*yā'xaⁱtxan haˡ* I am crafty (literally, much I have in my mind) 20.7
tcanhatī- to club	*tcanhatī'nxutxaᵘx qᵘʟī'mt ants pᴇnî's* they two were clubbing each other's anus, those skunks 86.9
tīn- to boil, to be ripe 98.7	*tīntx haˡ* his heart cooked 96.9, 10
hamx- to tie 8.6	*ha'mⁱxtxan hī'qūⁱ* I tie my hair
mî'ltcîst he commenced to burn 29.3	*mî'ltcîstx haⁱ'mūt hī'qūⁱ* his hair began to burn (literally, it began to burn on him his all, hair) 29.4
haw- to end, to make 14.6	*haⁱ'na haū'tx haˡ* his mind had become different (literally, different on him it had made itself, his mind) 60.21

In the following examples, terms of relationship are treated as inseparable parts of the subject:

pln- to be sick 40.21	*plaᵃntx ants t!āmc* (he) got sick his boy 40.20

sî'nxī- to desire 18.5	*sî'nxītx ants t!āmc xwī'ʟ!tūxtc* he wanted that his child should come back (literally, he wanted his, that child, return shall his) 42.5, 6
waa'- to say 7.1	*sᴱatsī'tcʷax waaⁱ'tx ants mîlā* thus their (dual) mother told them (literally, thus their two, told, that mother) 54.23
hant'- to call	*ha'nt'ītx māt!ī'* he called his elder brother 58.16
xaū' he died 40.21	*tᴇ'qᴱnx xawaⁱ'tx* (when) their relatives died (literally, relatives they, die theirs) 68.13
waa'- to say 7.1	*sᴱatsī'tc wa'aⁱtx ants ʟxaᵘ'yax* thus he said to that his friend 42.7, 8

§ 34. *Suffix Denoting that the Object is Possessed by the Subject, but Separable from it* -ūtsm- (-aᵘtsm-)

This suffix seems to be a compound consisting of two separate suffixes, *-ūts-* and *-m*. While the original function of the second element is unknown, the first component is undoubtedly the suffix expressing the direct object of the first and second persons (see § 29 and also § 23).

It expresses a transitive action whose recipient is possessed by the subject without forming an integral part of it. Terms of relationship, and all concrete nouns, excepting those nominal stems that denote parts of the body, are thus considered; but, owing to frequent errors on the part of the informant, this suffix will be found used also in connection with objects expressing parts of the body.[1] All subjective pronouns are added to this suffix by means of a connecting weak vowel, as a result of the law regulating the use of consonantic clusters (see § 4); and, as the third person singular has no distinct form, this suffix appears in final position as *-ūtsmᴇ*. The *ū* of this suffix often interchanges with the diphthong *aᵘ* (see § 2). The suffix follows the tense signs, and is frequently added to reduplicated stems.

la'kᵘ- to take, to get 7.5	*łākwa'kūtsmîn kᴱā'nī* I take my bucket
qnū'- to find 56.9	*qnū'hūtsmîn qal·tc* I found my knife
ʟ!xmaⁱ'- to kill 15.3	*ʟ!xmaⁱ'yūtsmanx mᵘū'skᵘ* you killed your younger brother

[1] See § 33, p. 485.

lak^{u}- to take 7.5	*lākwa'kūtsmɛ kɛ̄ā'nī* she took her bucket 90.21
ɬ.!ōx- to send 16.10	*ɬ.!ōxa'xa^{ū}tsmɛ hītc* he sent his people 30.1, 2
waa$^{i'}$ he says 8.9	*atsī'tc waa'yūtsmɛ qī'ūtc* thus he said to his wife 48.17
ɬī'ū (they) come 9.3	*yā$^{a'}$xa^{i} tɛ lī't.!a^{ī} ɬīwī'wūtsmɛ* lots (of) this (their) food (they) are bringing 100.9, 10
	ɬīū'ūtsmɛ hītsî'stc she came to her (own) house 58.7, 8
waa - to speak 8.1	*waa'a^{ū}tsmɛ ants ɬ.!a'^{ai} hītc* he said to his many people 7.1
mî'ltcîst he begins to burn 29.3	*^{u}l q.!a'īl mî'ltcîstūtsmɛ* then her pitch began to burn 90.22
xî'l·xcī- to work 50.9	*xîl·xcī'yūtsma^{u}x a'nts^{ɛ}tc^{w}ax mā'tī* they two worked at their (dual) dams 48.10

In the following instances this suffix has been used in connection with nouns that form an integral part of the subject:

t.!ɛmx^{u}- to cut	*^{u}lɛ^{ɛ}nx t.!ɛmxū'yūtsmɛ hī'qū^{i}* then they cut their hair 68.14
pāx- to close (eyes) 36.16	*paxa'xūtsmɛ kōpx* he shut his eyes 36.20
ya'q^{u}ha^{i}t he looked 58.1	*yo'quha^{i}tū^{u}'tsmɛ kōpx* he opened his eyes (literally, he looked with his eyes) 36.20
wî'ltcîst he begins to send	*wî'ltcîstū'tsmɛ wa'as* he began sending his message (word) 92.19
plɑn- to be sick 40.21	*planya$^{i'}$tîstūtsmɛ ha^{l}tc* he was sorry (literally, he begins to make sick, his mind) 40.21
mînx^{u}- to lighten 38.5	*^{u}l wàn mî'nxa^{u}tū'tsmɛ ɬ.!a'^{ai}* now he made lightning (literally, then finally caused to lighten her body, the world) 38.6
tcī't'ī wind	*tcī't'a't'ūtsmɛ ɬ.!a'^{ai} ants tsxu'n-pɬī* Tsxunpɬī made a wind (literally, caused to blow his world, that Tsxunpɬī) 94.6, 7

§ 35. *Suffix Indicating that the Object is Possessed by a Third Person Object* -ūł (-a^{ū}ł)

This suffix expresses an act performed upon an object that forms an integral part of or that is separably connected with another object. Hence it indicates the possessive relation that exists between two objects as seen by the subject of the sentence. The possessor of the object of the action must be the third person, regardless of number. If, however, it is absolutely necessary to indicate the number of the possessor, this is accomplished by means of suffixing to the possessed object the possessive suffixes for the third person singular, dual or plural (see § 88). It is noteworthy that the possessed object appears in the absolutive form, and not with the locative case endings, as might be expected. The pronominal suffixes expressing the subject of the action follow the suffix *-ūł;* and as this suffix ends in a consonant, and some of the subjective pronouns begin with a consonant, the pronouns are frequently preceded by a connecting, weak vowel (see § 4). There exists undoubtedly an etymological connection between the *ū* of this suffix and the *ū* of the direct object of the third person *-ūn* (see §§ 23, 28). For the *ū* of *-ūł* the diphthong *a^{ū}* is quite frequently substituted. This interchange has been discussed in § 2.

sî'nxī- to desire 18.5
hamx- to tie 8.6
yax- to see 34.4
hīn- to take along 23.2
ya'q$^{u'}$- to see 23.9
yax- to see 34.4
ya^{a}k!- small 36.23
haw- to end, to make 14.6
łak^{u}- to take 7.5

sî'n^{i}xyūłn hītsī'^{i} I like his house
ha'mxa^{ū}łn tcīɪ I tie his hands
yīxa'yūłanx mîtà you see his father
hīna'yūłanx ɪ!'xmī'tī you took his bow along
^{u}ł ya'q$^{u'}$yūł mî'ck'la^{i} and he saw her vulva (bad thing) 90.10
yāxî'xūła^{u}x tcu'x^{u}s he saw their (dual) vulvas 90.15
yāk!'ī'tc^{i}tūł xwā'ka she cut his head into pieces 96.11
ha$^{i'}$na haū'ūł ha^{i} different she made his mind 58.9
t!'ī'ya^{i} łakwa'kūł ants māt!'ī' bear had seized that his older brother 58.16

qwa''n- to pour 29.2	*ᵘl wàn qwa''nūl ʟaaya'tcᴱtc* (they two) now pour it into his mouth 96.7
hatc'- to ask 66.16	*ᵘltcî hatc'a'yūl ha'* you ask her (literally, and you ask about her mind [opinion]) 74.8

§ *36. Suffix Expressing an Object Possessed by a First or Second Person Object* -ūlts (-aᵘlts)

This suffix has the same function as *-ūl*, but differs from it in so far as the possessor of the object must be either a first or a second person. The number of the possessor, when required, is indicated by the possessive suffixes added to the possessed object (see § 88). Owing to the variability of the person of the possessor, this suffix conveys, besides the idea of a possessive relation between two objects, also the connection that exists between subject and object. Hence it assumes a function, limited in scope, but similar in character to the suffix for the combined subject and object pronouns. This functional similarity is indicated even in the phonetic composition of the suffix. *-ūlts* is undoubtedly a compound suffix consisting of the previously discussed *-ūl* and of the suffix for the subject and object pronoun *-ūts* (see § 29). It is not inconceivable that the original form may have been *-ūlūts*, contracted later on into- *ūlts*. A comparison of the Siuslaw transitive indicative suffixes shows that the majority of them have the *ū* in common. Hence it may be claimed that the *ū* originally conveyed the idea of a transitive indicative action (see § 23); and as the *ū* was already present in the first element of this suffix (*-ūl*), it may have been omitted as superfluous in the second part.

Owing to this additional function of this suffix as a medium of expressing subject and object pronouns, the subjective pronouns are added to it in a method similar to the one employed in the suffixation of the subjective pronouns to the suffix *-ūts* (see § 25). After certain consonants this suffix is changed into *-aᵘlts* (see § 2).

hīn- to take along 23.2	*hīna'yūltsanx ʟ!xmī'tī* I take along thy bow
yax- to see 34.4	*yîxa'yūltsanx qa'nnî* I look at thy face
ʟ!x(ū)- to know 40.16	*ʟ!xū'yūtsanx mîtù qnà* I knov thy father

wax- to give 18.2

waxa'yūltsanx tā'kîn mî'n^{i}xwī I will give thee my lightning 38.1, 2

ʟ*!xmaī-* to kill 15.3

ʟ*!xmaī'yūltsanx m^{u}ū'sk^{u} qnīx^{a}ts* you killed my younger brother

tsxan- to comb

tsxana'yūltsanx hī'qū^{i} you combed my hair

łak^{u}- to take 7.5

ł^{i}kwa'yūltsîn ants qal·tc he took that my knife

ʟ*!x(ū)-* to know 40.16

ʟ*!xu'yūltsîn mîtù* he knows my father

s^{E}às ʟ*!xū'yūltsanx mîtù* he knows thy father

yax- to see 34.4

^{E}às yîxa'yūltsanx qa'nnî he looks at thy face

§ 37. *Suffixes Denoting Possessive Interrelations for Tenses other than the Present* -īsītî, -a^{w}ītî, -yaxa^{ł}tî

When possessive interrelations that occur in tenses other than the present are to be expressed, the Siuslaw language resorts to an interesting form of composition of suffixes. Thus the durative suffix *-īs* (see § 69), the intentional (see § 70), and the past *-yax* (see § 74), are combined with the possessive suffix *-ītî* (see § 88), forming new compound suffixes *-īsītî*, *-a^{w}ītî*, and *-yaxa^{ł}tî*, that indicate semi-reflexive actions performed constantly, or about to be performed, or performed long ago. In these new suffixes no sharp line of demarcation is drawn between objects that are inseparably connected with the subject, and objects that are possessed by the subject.

ya^{a}'k!- small 36.23

yāk!'īs he is constantly (getting) small

kwī'tcî yā'k!'īsītī ha^{ł} don't ye be downhearted! (literally, not you small always make your mind) 66.5

haw- to finish 14.6

ha^{u}'wīs he makes continually

u^{ł}^{E}nx kumî'ntc atsī'tc ha^{u}'wīsītī ha^{ł} and you don't believe it thus (literally, and you, not thus, make continually your mind) 46.24

qa'xantc ha^{u}'wīsītī ha^{ł} downward make continually your hearts 8.10

hīn- to take along 23.2

hī'nīs he always takes along — *nīx^{a}ts $^{ul^{E}}$nx qanī'nal hī'nīsītī* you will take along your knife (literally, you, and you, knife, take along will always yours) 50.16, 17

xnī^{w}n- to do 10.5

xnī'^{w}nīs (we) always do it 72.15 — *$^{ul^{E}}$nl xnī'^{w}nīsītī* still we will keep on doing our . . . 72.17

hamx- to tie 8.6

hamxa^{w}- to intend to tie — *hamxa'^{w}ītîn hī'qū^{i}* I intend tying my hair

pāx- to shut (eye) 36.16

paxa^{w}- to be about to close — *pāxa'^{w}ītîn kōpx* I intend to close my eyes

yā'xatc'- to try to look 13.7

yāxatc'a^{w}- to intend to try to look — *yāxatc'a^{w}'ītîn t!āmc k!$^{E'}$ʟū* I intend to try to look for my boy tomorrow 60.1, 2

tquya^{w}- to intend to boil — *$^{ul^{E}}$ns tquya'^{w}ītī* we will cook (our camas) 98.3

hamx- to tie 8.6

ha'mxyax he tied — *ha'mxyaxa^{i}tī hī'qū^{i}* he tied his hair

pāx- to close 36.16

pā'xyax he closed — *pā'xyaxa^{i}tîn kōpx* I closed my eyes

A similar process is resorted to whenever the prohibitive mode (see § 40) of an action denoting that the object is possessed by the subject is to be expressed. In such cases the durative *-īs* (see § 69) is combined with the possessive *-ītî-* (see § 88), and the whole verb is preceded by the negative particle *kū^{i}*, *kumî'ntc* NOT (see § 131).

tsxanu- to comb — *kwīnx tsxa'nwīsītī hī'qū^{i}* don't comb thy hair!

lk!a- to open 28.2 — *kū^{i}ts lk!a'a^{i}sītī ʟaa'* don't you (pl.) open your mouths!

hīn- to take along 23.2 — *kwīnx hī'nīsītī sī'xa^{i}* don't take thy canoe along!

haw- to finish, to work 14.6 — *kumî'ntc^{E}tcî qa'xantc ha^{w}'wīsītī ha^{i}* don't ye be continually downhearted (literally, not ye, downwards, make continually your, hearts) 8.10

Passive Suffixes Indicating Pronominal and Possessive Interrelations (§§ 38–39)

§ 38. *Passive Suffixes for Verbs Requiring in the Active a Double Object* -īmE, -ūmE (-a^{ū}mE)

-īmE. This suffix invariably follows the verbalizing *-ī* or *-a^{i}* (see § 75), and seems to express the passive voice of verbs that require in the active the presence of a double (direct and indirect) object, although it will be found suffixed to verbal stems that do not necessarily require such a double object. Whenever the subjective pronouns are added to it, the obscure *E* of this suffix is changed into a weak *a* or *î*. The form *-īmE* occurs in terminal position only. This suffix follows all temporal suffixes.

wax- to give 18.2	*waxa'yīmanx qanī'nal* it (will) be given to you, (a) big knife 19.6
	hī'q!a waxa'yūsīmE a'ntsEtc mîtà dentalia shells are usually given to him, to that her father 74.19
hīts- to put on 11.10	*hītsa'yīmîn* it is put on me
haw- to end, to make, 14.6	*txūnx hī^{i}'sa hawa'yīmE ha^{i}* they are just good-minded toward thee (literally, just thee well it is made towards, mind) 21.1

In two instances this suffix has been added to a stem without the aid of the verbalizing *-ī* (*-a^{i}*).

ha'ūs easy	*atsī'tc ha'ūsīmE* thus it was agreed upon (literally, thus it was [made] easy) 24.1
haw- to finish, to end 14.6	*ha'ūsīmE ants ts!aln* ready (made for him is) that pitch 26.5, 6

This suffix may be preceded—for the sake of emphasizing its passive function—by the present passive *-xam* (see § 55). In such cases the verbalizing suffix is omitted.

hīts- to put on 11.8	*waa' ants hītsī'xamīmE* said that one on whom it was put on 11.10
qū'n- to pour	*^{u}l wàn qū'nī'xamīmE* and now it was poured down into his . . . 29.2
āq- to take off 13.1	*aqa^{ī}'xamīmE* it was taken off him

§ 38

-ūmɛ has the same function as -*īmɛ*, and is used in connection with similar verbal stems. It differs from it only in so far as it is added directly to the stem. An explanation of the parallel occurrence of -*ūme* and -*aᵘmɛ* has been given in § 2.

waɛ- to give 18.2

tɛ''qîn waxaᵘ'mɛ what do you give me (literally, something to me, it is given?) 18.2

qanī'naɬ waxaᵘ'manx a big knife is given to you 21.4

pī'ū- to be noisy 36.24

waⁱ yāᵃ'xaⁱ tɛ'q ᵘɬ pī'ūmɛ they made noise with everything (literally, although many things [they have], still it is made noise with) 29.1

§ 39. *Passive Suffixes Denoting Possessive Relations of the Subject* -ūltx, -xamltx

These suffixes express, besides the passive voice, also the fact that the recipient of the action is either possessed or forms an integral part of a given object.

-ūltx seems to be composed of the suffix -*ūl*, which indicates that the object forms an integral part of or is possessed by another object (see § 35), and of the suffix -*tx*, denoting that the object is an integral part of the subject (see § 33). If this is the origin of the compound suffix, the amalgamation of these two independent suffixes into one new formative element that expresses the passive voice, and at the same time contains the idea of a possessive relation between object (grammatical subject) and object, presents a problem that must remain unexplained. The person of the possessed subject is indicated by the suffixed subjective pronouns (see § 24). The stem to which this suffix is added occurs frequently in an amplified form (see § 112). Stems ending in *i* (short or long) change it into *y* before adding the passive suffix (see § 8).

łakᵘ- to take, to get 7.5

kumî'ntcʷax łakwa'ūltx ants qī'ūtc not their (dual) were taken, those wives 50.22

łakwa'ūltxaᵘx ta'tcʷax qī'ūtc taken away were these their (dual) wives 52.3, 4

tū'- (also *t!ū'*) to buy 74.8	*kumî'ntcᴱnx txū t!ūha'ūltxanx t.!āmc* not for nothing will they buy your child (literally, not [of] thee just bought [will be] thy child) 74.5
xāʟ!- to make 50.8	*sîn^{i}xyū$^{'u}$ xāʟ!a'ūltx* they try to find some remedy (literally, they desire [that] made [cured] be his mind) 15.5
	hūya'ūltx ha^{i} his mind will be made different 19.2
sî'nxī- to desire 18.5	*sî'n^{i}xyūltxanx t.!āmc* thy child is desired (asked for) 74.4
tsî'nxī- to scorch	*^{u}la^{u}x tsîna'x^{i}yūltx q^{u}ʟī'mt* and their (dual) anus [will] be scorched 88.7
hatc'- to ask 66.16	*ha'tc'yaxa^{ū}ltx ha^{i} ants qīūtcū'nî* (when) asked was her opinion, that woman 74.16
	(*-a^{ū}ltx* = *-ūltx* see § 2)

In many instances this suffix is preceded by the verbalizing *-a^{i}* (see §§ 75, 8).

skwaha$^{'}$ he stands 14.4	*^{u}l skwaha'yūltx tᴇqyū$^{'u}$* then is stood up its (of the house) frame 80.7
tkwī'- to bury 80.10	*tkwīha'yūltx qaw^{u}ntī'yūwītc ants hītsī$^{'i}$* dirt is put on both sides (of) that house 80.10, 11
hatc'- to ask 66.16	. . . *ants hatc'a'yūltx ha^{i}* (when of) that one is asked his opinion 74.4, 5
waa$^{i'}$ he says 8.9	*waa'yūltxan mîtà* my father is spoken to

-xamltx is undoubtedly composed of the suffix for the present passive *-xam* (see § 55), of the abbreviated *-ūl* (see § 35), and of the suffix *-tx* (see § 33). When it is remembered that this suffix can be added only to verbs that require a double object, the amalgamation of these three independent formative elements into one suffix for the purpose of expressing the passive voice of an act whose recipient (grammatical subject) stands in some possessive relation to one of

the three persons (speaker, person spoken to, or person spoken of), becomes at once apparent.

The use of this suffix may be illustrated by an example. The verb TO PUT ON requires a double object, because it implies the idea TO PUT SOMETHING ON SOMEBODY, or *vice versâ*. Hence Siuslaw renders the English sentence HIS HAT WAS PUT ON (really, HIS HAT WAS PUT ON HIM) by a complex consisting of the verbal stem and the compound suffix *-xamłtx*. In this suffix the first element, *-xam*, indicates that the action is passive (performed by somebody upon the recipient); the second element, *-ł-*, denotes that the direct object (in this case the noun HAT) is possessed by the recipient of the action; while the last element, *-tx* (which when used alone indicates that the object forms an integral part of the subject), serves to bring out the idea that the action is performed upon the indirect object (ON HIM) which (in this case) can no be separated from the (logical) subject (HIS HAT).

The persons that are implied in the possessive relations as indicated by this suffix are expressed by means of the subjective pronouns added to it (see § 24). Since the first element of this compound suffix is the present passive *-xam*, the manner in which it is added to the verbal stem is similar to that employed in the suffixation of *-xam* (see § 55).

āq- to take off 13.1	*aqa^{ī}'xamłtxan łkwa'nuq^{u}* taken off (me) is my hat
hīts- to put on 11.8	*hītsī'xamłtxan łkwa'nuq^{u}* put on (me) is my hat
t.'Emx^{u}- to cut off	*t.'Emxwa'xamłtxanx tcīL* cut off (thee) was thy hand
łak^{u}- to take (away) 7.5	*s^{E}atsī'tc^{w}ax waa'xam a'ntsux łokwī'xamłtx qī'ūtc* thus were told those two from whom the wives were taken away (literally, thus they two were told, those two [of] whom taken away were [those their dual] wives) 54.14

Imperative Forms Denoting Pronominal and Possessive Interrelations (§§ 40–48)

§ 40. *Introductory*

In the following sections there will be discussed suffixes that express not only the imperative mode, but also the exhortative.

Besides separate suffixes indicating the imperative of intransitive and transitive verbs (see §§ 61, 62), Siuslaw shows distinct suffixes that express the pronominal and possessive interrelations between subject and object.

Another interesting feature that may be noted in connection with the formation of the imperative mode is the presence of a distinct negative form of the imperative or prohibitive mode, and the manner in which it is expressed. Generally speaking, the durative suffix *-īs* (see § 69), used in connection with the subjective pronouns for the second persons (see § 24), and in addition to the particle of negation (see § 131), expresses the prohibitive mode. This idiomatic expression may be justified by the fact that a prohibitive command addressed to the second person has much in common with the negative form of a durative action performed by the same person.

Owing to the fact that the imperative suffixes express other categories than a command, the prohibitive form of the imperative referring to such categories is expressed by adding to the durative *-īs* the respective suffixes that denote the non-imperative idea (see §§ 29, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37). Examples of the prohibitive mode and a detailed description of its formation will be found in §§ 60–62, 42–46.

§ 41. *Exhortative Suffixes Expressing the Direct Object of the Third Person* -yūn, -ī^{w}yūn, -īnī

These three suffixes express an admonition to perform an action having a third (not mentioned) person as its object. The difference between *-yūn* and *-ī^{w}yūn* could not be traced to any particular cause, owing chiefly to the fact that the latter form occurs very seldom. The informant always rendered the first two suffixes by a transitive future, and they seem to have been employed quite extensively in this secondary function.

-yūn is suffixed to verbs expressing transitive ideas only, and the stem to which it is added always occurs in an amplified form (see §§ 7, 112).

a^{i}q- to leave 56.6	*ta^{i}'l^{ɛ}ns aya'qyūn tɛ lt'ī'a^{i}* here we two (incl.) will leave this salmon (literally, let us two leave)
ʟ*!ōx-* to send 16.10	ʟ*.^{o}wa'xyūn hīte* I will send these people (literally, let me send) 30.19

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anx- to give up 60.11	*kumî'ntcînl ana'xyūn* not we (incl.) will give it up (literally, don't let us two) 16.8
ʟ!xmaī'- to kill 15.3	*ʟ!xmīya'yūnanl* we (incl.) will kill him (literally, let us kill him) 28.3
l!t!- to eat 15.2	*kumî'ntc lī't!īyun* not he will eat it (literally, don't let him eat it) 34.22
hamx- to tie 8.6	*hama'xyūn* he will tie it (literally, let him tie it)

-ī^{w}yūn exercises apparently the same function as the first suffix, but does not necessarily require amplification of the stem to which it is added.

xnī^{w}n- to do 11.11	*xnī^{w}nī'^{w}yūns* we two (incl.) will do it (literally, let us two do it) 10.5
	xnīyunī'^{w}yūn I will do it (literally, let me do it)
qatc^{i}n- to go 12.1	*qatcînī'^{w}yūn* I will make him go (literally, let me make him go)
kwa^{hu}n- to bend down 13.5	*kū'nī'^{w}yūn* I will bend it down

In an analogous manner Siuslaw seems to have formed an exhortative suffix expressing the direct object of the first person. This is done by substituting *-ts* (see § 23) for the *-n*. As but few examples of this formation were obtained, a full discussion is impossible. The examples follow.

yaq^{u}'- to look, to see 25.3	*yaq^{u}'yī'^{w}yutsatcî* ye look at me 72.11, 12
ʟ!xū- to know 40.7	*ʟ!x^{u}wa'x^{u}yūtsa'tcî* ye shall know me 30.17
ka^{ū}s- to follow 92.7	*k^{i}was^{i}yū'tsana^{ū}* you shall follow me 92.3
hīn- to take along 9.5	*h^{i}ya'nyūtsanx* I will take you along 58.6

-īnī is suffixed to transitive verbs, and is always used in connection with the exhortative particle *qa^{i}l* (see § 129). The subjective pronouns for the first and third persons as the performers of the action are always added to the particle (see § 26). This suffix appears frequently as *-a^{i}nī* (see § 2).

łak^{u}- to take, to seize 7.5	*qa^{i}'ła^{u}x łakwī'nī* let them two take (them)! 52.12, 13
waa'- to speak 7.1	*qa^{i}'l waa^{i}'nī* let him speak to him!
tqūł- to shout 52.8	*qa^{i}'ł^{E}ns tqūłī'nī* let us two (incl.) shout at him!
hīts- to put on 11.8	*qa^{i}'ł^{E}nx h^{i}yatsī'nī* let them put it on!
tū'n- to invite 16.2	*qa^{i}'ł^{E}nł tū'nī'nī* let us (incl.) invite

§ 42. *Imperative Suffix Expressing the Direct Object of the First Person* -īts (-a^{i}ts)

This suffix is added directly to the stem, and commands the person addressed (subject) to perform an act upon an object which must be one of the first persons. The *-ts* of this suffix is undoubtedly identical with the *-ts* found in all suffixes that express first and second persons objects (see §§ 23, 29, 34, 36). The combined pronominal forms that are added to this suffix can be only those indicating the second persons as the subject and the first persons as the object of the action (see table, pp. 473, 474). In this connection the following peculiarities may be noted:

(1) The singular subject is not expressed, being understood in the command.

(2) Dual and plural objects are not expressed in the suffixes, but are indicated by means of the independent personal pronouns for the first persons.

(3) For a singular object the subjective pronoun for the first singular (*-n*) is added to the imperative suffix.

(4) For dual and plural subjects the subjective pronouns for these persons are added to the imperative *-īts*.

The following table will best serve to illustrate these four rules:

	Thou	Ye	You
Me	*-ītsĭn*	*-ītsats*	*-ītsatcĭ*
Us two (exclusive) . .	*-ītsauxûn*	*-ītsats*	*-ītsatcĭ*
Us (exclusive) . . .	*-ītsanxan*	*-ītsats*	*-ītsatcĭ*

The subjective pronouns beginning with a consonant are added by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see §§ 4, 24).

This imperative suffix occurs often as *-a^{i}ts* (see § 2).

waa'- to speak 7.1	*wa'a^{i}tsîn tā'kîn wa'as* speak to me (with) this my language! 36.10
hīn- to take along 23.2	*hī'nītsîn* take me along!
L.*'wan-* to tell 7.3	L.*'wā'nītsîn* tell me!
	L.*'wā'nītsanxan* tell us (excl.)!
yaq^{u}'- to look 23.9	*ya'quhītsats tɛ nà* look ye at me!
a^{i}q- to leave 56.5	*a^{i}'qa^{i}tsatcî* you leave me!

The prohibitive form is expressed by combining the durative *-īs* with the objective form *-ūts* and by placing the particle of negation *kū^{i}*, *kumî'ntc*, before the verbal expression (see §§ 69, 29, 60). The pronominal suffixes are those used to express the second person as the subject, and the first person as the object, of an action (see § 24 and table, pp. 473, 474).

hīn- to take along 23.2	*kwīnx hī'nīsūts* don't take me along!
	kwī'nxan hī'nīsūts don't take us (excl.) along!
qn^{u}'- to find 34.12	*kwīnx qnū''wīsūts* don't find me!

§ 43. *Imperative Suffix Indicating the Indirect Object of the Third Person* -yūx

This suffix is etymologically related to the suffix *-ūx* discussed in § 30. It is added to verbs requiring the presence of a direct and indirect object, and it expresses a command that involves the third person (singular, dual and plural) as the recipient of the action.

wax- to give 18.2	*wa'xyūx* give it to him!
	wa'xyūxanx give it to them!
qū'n- to pour 29.2	*qwa''nyūx* Laaya'tc pour it down into his mouth! 29.2
hīts- to put on 11.8	*h^{i}ya'tsyūx* put it on him!
hamx- to tie 8.6	*ha'mxyūx* tie it on him!

The prohibitive mode is obtained by combining the durative *-īs* (see § 69) with the suffix *-ūx* (see § 30) and by placing the particle *kū^{i}* or *kumî'ntc* (see § 131), before the verbal expression.

wax- to give 18.2	*kwīnx wa'xa^{i}sūx* don't give it to him!
hīts- to put on 11.8	*kwīnx h^{i}ya'tsīsūx* don't put it on him!
qū'n- to pour 29.2	*kumî'ntc^{ɛ}nx qwa''nīsūx* don't pour it (into his mouth)!

§ 44. *Imperative Suffix Denoting the Indirect Object of the First Person* -ɪmts

This suffix expresses a command to perform an act the indirect recipient of which is the first person. It is etymologically related to the imperative suffix *-ī'ts* (see § 42) and to the objective form *-ɛmts* (see § 31), being composed of the initial element of the former suffix and of the whole of the latter formation (see § 23). The method of adding the pronominal forms to this suffix is identical with the method discussed on pp. 472–475.

wax- to give 18.2	*wā'xīmtsîn* give it to me! *wā'xīmtsanxan* give it to us!
hīts- to put on 11.8	*hᵢya'tsīmtsîn* put it on me!
hamx- to tie 8.6	*ha'mxīmtsatcî* you (pl.) tie it on me!

The suffixed particle *-ū* (see § 132) is frequently added to this combined suffix. In such cases it denotes an act performed near the speaker.

xwīL!- to return 12.6	*xwīL!'ī'mtsînū* give it back to me!
hamx- to tie 8.6	*hamxī'mtsînū* tie it on me!

The prohibitive mode is expressed by combining the durative *-īs* (see § 69) with the suffix *-ɛmts* (see § 31 and also § 40).

wax- to give 18.2	*kwīnx wa'xaᵢsɛmts* don't give it to me!
hīts- to put on 11.8	*kwīnx hᵢya'tsīsɛmts nàtc* don't put it on me!

§ 45. *Imperative Suffix Denoting that the Object is Possessed by a Third Person* -ɪ̄ɬ.

This suffix indicates that the possessor of the recipient of the action is the third person singular. Duality and plurality of the possessor is expressed by suffixing the subjective pronouns for the third persons dual and plural (see § 24) to the possessed object (see § 35). This suffix is added directly to the stem, and is related (phonetically and etymologically) to the suffix *-ūɬ*, indicating that the object is possessed by a third person object (see §§ 23, 35). Duality and plurality of the subject of the action are expressed by adding the subjective pronouns *-ts* and *-tcî* (see § 24) to the suffix *-ī̄ɬ*; and as these pronouns begin with

a consonant, they are merged with the imperative suffix by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see § 4).

yūʷiʟ!- to break 94.4	*yū'ʟ!īl qal·tc* break his knife!
tsxanu- to comb	*tsxa'nwīl hī'qūⁱ* comb his hair!
hīn- to take along 23.2	*hī'nīl ʟ!xmī'tī* take along his bow!
łān- to call 23.7	*łā'nīl lī'ntcʷax* call their (dual) names!
hamx- to tie 8.6	*ha'mxīl tcī'ʟtcⁱnx* tie their hands!
	hamxī'łats tcīʟ you two tie his hands!
t!ᴇ'mxū- to cut 48.12	*t!ᴇmxū'łatcî xwā'ka* you cut (off) his head!

The prohibitive mode is expressed by combining the durative *-īs* (see § 69) with the suffix *-ūl* (see § 35) and by placing the negation *kūⁱ*, *kumî'ntc* NOT before the verb (see § 40).

yūʷiʟ!- to break 94.4	*kwīnx yū'ʟ!īsūl qal·tc* don't break his knife!
hamx- to tie 8.6	*kumî'ntcⁱnx ha'mxīsūl tcīʟ* don't tie his hands!
tsxanu- to comb	*kwīnx tsxa'nwīsūl hī'qūⁱ* don't comb his hair!

§ 46. *Imperative Suffix Indicating that the Object is Possessed by a First Person* -ilts

It expresses a command to perform an action, whose recipient is either possessed or forms an integral part of the first person. It is related to the imperative *-īts* (see § 42) and to the suffix *-ūlts* discussed in § 36. The combined pronominal forms that are added to this suffix for the purpose of indicating the number of subject and possessor are identical with those discussed on pp. 472–475.

xāʟ!- to make 50.8	*xā'ʟ!īltsîn qal·tc* fix my knife!
xamʟ- to wash	*xa'mʟīltsîn qa'nnî* wash my face!
hīn- to take along 23.2	*hī'nīltsatcî sī'xaⁱ* you take my canoe along!
hamx- to tie 8.6	*ha'mxīltsanxan tcīʟ* tie our (excl.) hands!

The prohibitive form is obtained by combining the durative *-īs* (see § 69) with the suffix *-ūlts* (see § 36). The negative particle *kūⁱ*, *kumî'ntc* NOT must precede the verb, while the pronouns expressing

the person spoken to may be suffixed either to the negation or to the combined suffix (see §§ 40, 26).

tsxanu- to comb	*kwīnx tsxa'nwīsūlts hī'qū^{i}* don't comb my hair!
hamx- to tie 8.6	*kumî'ntc^{E}ts ha'mxīsūlts tcīL* don't you two tie my hands!
hīn- to take along 23.2	*kwī'tcî hī'nīsūlts L!xmī'tī* don't you take along my bow!

§ 47. *Imperative Suffix Expressing Possessive Interrelations between Object and Subject* -tsx

In the imperative the suffix *-tsx* is used for expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject in both cases, when the object forms an integral part of the subject and when it is only separably connected with it. Considering that actions involved in such a command presuppose the presence of a pronominal subject and object, it is not improbable that the suffix *-tsx* may be related to the suffixes *-ūts* and *-ītx* (see §§ 23, 29, 33). For subjects other than the second person singular, the different subjective pronouns are added to *-tsx* (see §§ 24, 4).

hî'n^{E}k!y to rain 78.1	*hî'n^{E}k!ītsx L!a'^{ai}* cause (thy) rain to come down! 76.18
tsxanu- to comb	*tsxa'nutsx hī'qū^{i}* comb thy hair!
łk!a'a- to open 28.2	*łk!a'atsx Laa'* open thy mouth!
łak^{u}- to take 7.5	*ła'kutsx k^{E}ā'nī* get thy basket!
L!ōx- to send 16.10	*L!ōxtsx hīte* send thy man!
pāx- to close 36.16	*pāxtsx kōpx* shut thy eyes!
mînx^{u}- to lighten 38.5	*mî'nx^{u}tsx L!a'^{ai}* make lightning! 38.5
a^{i}tc- to trade 36.4	*a^{i}tcna'^{hu}tsxans* let us two (incl). trade!
łak^{u}- to get 7.5	*ła'kutsxats qī'ūtc* you two take your wives! 52.17
hî'n^{E}k!y- to rain 78.1	*hî'n^{E}k!ītsxats L!a'^{ai}* you two cause your rain to descend 76.19
	hîn^{E}k!ī'tsxatcî L!a'^{ai} you fellows make rain!

For the formation of the prohibitive mode see § 37.

§ 48. *Exhortative Suffix Expressing Possessive Interrelations Between Object and Subject* -ītsmE (-a^{i}tsmE)

This suffix may be called the imperativized form of the suffix *-ūtsm* denoting that the object is separably connected with the subject (see §§ 23, 34). It expresses, however, possessive relations between subject and object regardless of the kind of possession, and is used only in connection with the particle *qa^{i}l* (see § 129). By its means Siuslaw expresses a desire addressed to the first and third persons that a certain act be performed upon an object that either forms an integral part of or else is separably connected with the third person. All subjective pronouns are added to the particle *qa^{i}l* (see §§ 24, 26). Siuslaw has no distinct suffixes for the purpose of expressing possessive relations with the first or second persons as the possessor, or relations between subject and object. For the interchange between *-ītsmE* and *-a^{i}tsmE* see § 2.

pāx- to close 36.16	*qa^{i}l paxa^{i}'tsmE kōpx* let him shut his eyes!
xāL!- to build 50.8	*qa^{i}'l^{E}ns xāL!ī'tsmE hītsī'^{i}* let us two (incl.) fix his house!
xamL- to wash	*qa^{i}'lnx xamLī'tsmE qa'nnî* let them wash their faces!
hīts- to put on 11.8	*qa^{i}'la^{u}x hiyatsī'tsmE lkwanu'q^{u}* let them two put on their (dual) hats!

MODAL SUFFIXES (§§ 49–64)

§ 49. Introductory

In the succeeding chapters will be discussed, besides the suffixes that indicate the passive voice and the imperative and exhortative modes, also the formative elements expressing such concepts as reciprocality, distribution, and tentative and negative actions. A separate section might have been devoted here to a discussion of the formative elements *-ū* and *-ī*, the former expressing the indicative and the latter indicating the imperative mode. Since, however, these two elements never occur alone, and since they have been fully discussed in connection with other suffixes (see §§ 23, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 36, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48), it has been thought advisable to call attention here to their modal functions, but not to treat them separately.

§ 50. Reciprocal *-naaw(a)*, *-muxu-*

-naaw(a) precedes all other suffixes, and is followed by the subjective pronouns. Owing to the fact that Siuslaw does not permit clusters of *w*+ any consonant (excepting *n*), the *w* of this suffix changes into a voiceless *w* (written here ^{hu}) before all consonants except *n* (see § 4). For that reason the reciprocal *-naw(a)*, when followed by the present *-t* (see § 72), the future *-tūx* (see § 73), or by the imperative *-ɛm* (see § 61), is heard as *-na^{hu}t*, *-na^{hu}tūx*, and *-na^{hu}m* respectively.

The stem to which this suffix is added is not infrequently followed by the reflexive particle *ts'îms* (see § 123). The full form *-nawa* is added when the suffix stands in final position; that is to say, when it expresses the subjective pronoun for the third person singular (see § 24).

ɬōl- to hit	*ɬōlna'wans* we two (incl.) hit each other
	ɬōlna'wa^{u}xûn ts'îms we two (excl.) hit each other
	ɬōlna'wats ts'îms you two hit each other
wînx- to be afraid 17.6	*wîn^{ɛ}cna'wa^{u}x* they two were afraid of each other 86.1, 2
waa'- to speak 7.1	*waana'wa^{u}x* they two talk to each other 10.4
	s^{ɛ}atsī'tc^{w}ax waana'wa thus they two speak to each other 10.1, 2
	waana'wīsa^{u}x ants m^{a}ā'tī they two keep on talking to each other, those chiefs 78.8, 9
sî'nxī- to desire 18.5	*a'tsanł kumî'ntc mī'k!a'na sîn^{i}xna'wīs* thus we (incl.) won't try to abuse one another (literally, thus we not badly will desire [to abuse] one another continually) 78.12, 13
wînx- to fear 17.6	*wîn^{ɛ}cna'wanxan ts'îms* we (excl.) are afraid of one another.
tqūl- to shout 52.8	*tqūlna'wanx* they shout at one another.
a^{i}tc- to trade 36.4	*a^{i}tcna'^{hu}tūx^{ɛ}ns* we two (incl.) will trade 36.7
	^{u}ła^{u}x a^{i}tcna'ha^{u}t then they two traded 36.7

ʟōł- to hit	*ʟōłna'^{hu}tūxts* you two will hit each other
	ʟōłna'^{hu}mats you two hit each other!
tqūł- to shout 52.8	*tqūłna'^{hu}tūnxan* we (excl.) will shout at one another
yaq^{u}'- to look 23.9	*yaq^{u}hīna'^{hu}matcî* look you at one another!
waa'- to speak 7.1	*waana'^{hu}txanx wa'as* they speak one another's language

In two instances this suffix is followed by the verbalizing *-a^{i}* implying the commencement of a reciprocal action. For an explanation of this inchoative idea see § 75.

waa'- to speak 7.1	*atsī'tc^{w}ax waanawa$^{i'}$* thus they two (begin to) talk to each other 78.13
kū'n- to beat 72.17	*u^{ł}^{E}nx wàn kū'na'wa^{i}* now they (begin to) beat one another 80.1.

In a few instances this suffix is used to express distribution of action.

t!^{E}'mxū^{u}- to cut 48.12	*u^{ł} t!^{E}mx^{u}na'^{w}ū^{u}n* he cut it into pieces (literally, he cut it here and there) 52.23, 24
łqu'nwî knot	*łqunwîna'^{hu}tūn yā$^{a'}$xa^{i}* he made lots of knots (literally, he made many knots here and there)
sū'qu- to join 80.9	*sūq^{u}na'^{hu}tūn* he joined it together
ʟāpq- (?) 80.15	*ʟāpqana'^{hu}tūn* he put them side by side
āq- to take off 13.1	*āqna'^{hu}tūn* he took it apart.

-mux^{u}- has the same function as the preceding *-naw(a)*, but is employed less often, and seems to be confined to a limited number of stems. This suffix is frequently affected by the shifting of the accent (see § 12).

waa$^{i'}$ he says 8.9	*waa$^{i'}$mux^{u}wa^{u}x* they two talk to each other 10.6
	s^{E}atsī'tca^{u}x waa$^{i'}$mux^{u} thus they two talk to each other 10.6, 7
	atsī'tc^{w}ax waa'y^{E}mxust thus they began to talk to each other 56.4
	waa'y^{E}mx^{u}sta^{u}x they two began to talk to each other 48.13

tcanhatī- to club — *tcanhatī'mœutœa^{u}x q^{u}ʟī'mt ants pᴇnî's* they two were clubbing each other's anus, those skunks 86.9

kîma^{ū}ʟ!- to hit — *kîma^{ū}ʟ!muœwanœ* they hit one another

§ 51. Distributive *-īt'ax*

This suffix expresses the distributive of intransitive verbs. Owing to the fact that most nouns, even without the aid of any specific device, may have the function of intransitive verbs, this suffix will be found added to nouns, especially to terms of relationship. The initial *ī* is frequently changed into *a^{ī}* (see § 2).

The form *-īt'ax* followed by certain subjective pronouns is subject to a peculiar law of contraction (see § 24).

k!în- to hear 70.5 — *k!^{ī}na^{ī}'t'axtc wa'as xā'ts!ū înq!a'-a^{ī}* two rivers will have one language (literally, hear mutually their language [the people of] two rivers) 32.6, 7

sūqu- to join — *sū'qū^{ī}t'ax ants hītsī'^{ī} xāʟ!ī'yūsnᴇ* adjoining these houses are built 80.9, 10.

ʟāpq- (?) — *ałqa'tc ʟ!ayaʼ ᵘł cīn^{a}x hītsī'^{ī} xāʟ!a'yū'nᴇ ʟā'pqa^{ī}t'ax* on one place three houses are built side by side 80.14, 15

nīctc- to fight — *nī'ctcat'a^{u}x sî'n^{ī}xyūn* (to) fight mutually they two want (with them) 52.2

m^{u}ū'sk^{u} younger brother 56.6 — *mā'skwīt'a^{u}x xā'ts!^{u}wa^{u}x* younger brothers mutually they two (were) 40.18

nī'ctcat'a^{u}x, mā'skwīt'a^{u}x = nī'ctcat'axa^{u}x, māskwīt'axa^{u}x (see § 24)

mîctcī'^{ī} younger sister 40.2 — *ma'ctcīt'anxan* (= *ma'ctcīt'axanxan*) sisters mutually we (excl.) are

§ 52. Tentative *-tc'*

This suffix indicates an attempt on the part of the subject to perform a certain action, and may best be rendered by TO ATTEMPT, TO TRY . . . The native Siuslaw, unable to express its exact meaning, rendered it by various phrases, chiefly by sentences like TO DO SOMETHING SLOWLY, TO "KIND OF" . . ., etc. Verbal stems ending in a consonant insert a weak vowel between its final sound and the suffix (see § 4). In terminal position this suffix appears as *-tc'ya* (see § 24).

yax- to see 34.4	*stī'mᴱnx yāxatc'a'wax* there they intend to try to look 60.7
	yā'xatc'îstᴱnx līt!aya' you (will) try to begin to look for food 13.7
	yāxatc'aʷ'wītîn t!āmc I intend trying to look for my boy 60.1, 2
ʟxat- to run 12.3	*ʟxa'tatc'îst k!ēxū'tc ʟ!aya'tc* he begins to attempt to run everywhere 13.8, 9
kū'n- to beat 72.17	*ᵘl sᴱa tsī'k!ya kū'nū'tswa* that one very (hard) tries to beat (them) 78.18
t!ūha'- to sell, to buy 74.5	*t!ūhatc'ī'ntxaᵘx* (they two) try to sell their (dual) many (hides)
līt!- to eat 13.10	*lī't!atc'în* I eat slowly
mīx- to swim	*mī'xatc'ya* he is "kind of" swimming

§ 53. Negative *-īl* (*-aⁱl*)

This suffix expresses negation of action, and is used with intransitive verbs only. Negation of transitive verbs by means of a special suffix is not exhibited. The verbal stem to which this suffix is added must be preceded by the negative particles *kūⁱ*, *kumî'ntc* NOT (see § 131). An explanation of the parallel occurrence of *-īl* and *-aⁱl* is given in § 2.

aᵘs- to sleep 23.9	*kumî'ntcᴱnxan aʷ'sīl* not we (excl.) sleep 70.19
xîntm- to travel 12.10	*kumî'ntc nī'k!a xî'ntmīl* not alone he traveled 94.11
cî'nxī- to think	*kumî'ntc nîctcī'tc cî'nxīl* not (of) anything he was thinking 60. 20, 21
cî'l·x- to move, to shake 27.2	*kūⁱ cî'l·xīl* not he moved 27.2, 3

wīlw- to affirm, to answer 17.7	*kū^{i} yā'tsa wī'lwīl* not (for) a long time he answered 74.4
ta^{i}- to live 32.21	*sqū'ma ^{u}l kumî'ntc ta'īl înq!a'ītc* pelican did not live in the bay 44.1
sînq!- to be hungry 44.11	*^{u}ln kumî'ntc sî'nq!a^{ī}l* I (am) not hungry 44.15, 16
xaū- to die 40.21	*kumî'ntc xa'wīl* he does not die 15.8

Modal Elements of the Passive Voice (§§ 54–59)

§ 54. *Introductory*

Siuslaw employs a great number of suffixes for the purpose of expressing the passive voice. Many of these suffixes express, besides the passive idea, some other grammatical category, and according to this secondary function they may be divided into the following classes:

(1) Pure passive suffixes.

(2) Suffixes conveying the passive voice and temporal categories.

(3) Passive suffixes indicating pronominal and possessive interrelations.

The suffixes of the last category have been fully discussed in §§ 38 and 39.

§ 55. *Present Passive* -xam

It expresses the present tense of the passive voice, and may be added directly to the stem or may be preceded by the verbalizing suffix *-a^{i}* (*-ī*) (see §§ 75, 2). In the latter case it conveys an inchoative passive idea. In narratives this suffix assumes the function of an historic present. Stems ending in a consonant insert a weak vowel between their final sound and the suffix (see § 4).

ʟ.'^{o}wa'x- to send 7.7	*^{u}l wàn ʟ.'ōxa'xam* then finally he was sent 16.10
qaa- to enter 44.4	*sᴇxa^{ū}'tc qaa'xam* into a canoe it was put in 34.5
waa'- to speak 7.1	*waa'xam sᴇatsī'tc* he was told thus 8.1
wīlw- to affirm 17.7	*wīlwa'xam* he was answered "yes" 30.11
skwa'- to stand 10.9	*skwaha'xam ants xa^{i}tca'a^{ū}* placed was that roast (in the fire) 90.9
hatc'- to ask 66.16	*^{u}l hatc'ī'xam* he was asked 66.16
łak^{u}- to get, to take 7.5	*tcîmtca'mî łokwī'xam* an ax was seized 27.10

In two instances the verbal stem, to which this suffix is added, has been reduplicated (see § 107).

ʟī'ū he comes 9.3	*ᵘł wàn ʟ!īʟ!wa'xam* finally he was approached 16.3
tᴇmū- to assemble 7.3	*t!ᴇmt!ma'xam wàn* they come to see him now (literally, he is assembled about, now) 23.3, 4

For forms in *-xamltx*, expressing passives with indirect object, the grammatical subject being the property of the indirect object, see § 39.

§ 56. *Future Passives in* -atam, -ī (-aᴵ), -aaᵘ

These suffixes indicate the future tense of the passive voice. No explanation for the occurrence of the variety of forms can be given. Similarly, all attempts to correlate these different suffixes with certain stems have been without results.

-atam is added directly to stems. Stems ending in *a*-vowels contract this vowel with the initial *a* of the suffix (see § 9). Final *ī* and *ū* of the stem are diphthongized into *ya* and *wa* respectively before the addition of the suffix (see § 7).

tᴇmū- to assemble 7.3	*nîctcī'tcᴱtcî tᴇ tᴇmᵘwa'tam* . . . why these you, will be assembled 30.17
qnᵘ'- to find 34.12	*qnᵘ'wa'tamîn* I will be found
sᴱa'tsa thus 8.7	*sᴱatsa'tamîn* thus it will (be done) to me
k!a'- to invite 16.3	*k!aha'tamanx* you will be invited
waa'- to speak 7.1	*waa'tam* he will be told
hīn- to take along 23.2	*hīna'tam* it will be taken along

By adding to *-atam* the objective form *-ūn* (see § 28) a compound suffix *-atamūn* is obtained which exercises the function of a causative passive for the future tense. No examples of this formation have been found in the texts.

hīn- to take along 23.2	*hīna'tamūn* he will cause him to be taken along
skwa'- to stand 10.9	*skwaha'tamūn* I will cause him to be placed
	skwaha'tamūn = *skwaha'tamūnîn* (see § 15)

tū'n- to invite 16.2	*tū'na'tamūn* I will cause him to be invited

-ī (**-a^i**). This suffix must not be confounded with the nominalizing suffix of identical phonetic value. The stem to which it is added invariably undergoes a phonetic change, which may be called stem-amplification (see § 112). An explanation for the parallel occurrence of *-ī* and *-a^i* is found in § 2.

hīn- to take along 23.2	*hⁱya'nīn* I shall be taken along
kū'n- to beat 72.17	*kᵘwa''nīn* I shall be beaten
ʟōl- to hit	*ʟᵒwa'līnx* you will get hit
hakw- to fall 8.7	*ᵘłaᵘx tcī'wate hakwa'aⁱ* they two into the water will be thrown 88.7, 8
ana'x- to give up 16.8	*nīctx kᵘ a'naxaⁱ* suppose he be given up 64.26
ʟ!xūxᵘ- reduplicated form of *ʟ!xū-* to know 40.16	*ʟ!xᵘwa'xwīn* I shall be known

-*aa*^{u} occurs more frequently than the two previously discussed suffixes, and is added to the bare stem. Stems ending in *a* contract their final vowel with the initial *a* of the suffix (see § 9). Sometimes, but not as a rule, the stem is amplified before adding the future passive *-aa^u*. This suffix usually requires the accent.

xnīʷn- to do 10.5	*yā^a'xaⁱ hūtcaⁱ' xnīʷna'aᵘ* much playing will be done 9.6, 7
ʟ!xmaī'- to kill 15.3	*ᵘłn kumî'ntc sî'nⁱxyūn ʟ!xmaya'aᵘ* I not want it (that) he shall be killed 15.8, 16.2
tū'n- to invite	*sᴱa'tsa tū'na'aᵘ* thus he will be invited 16.2
ma'q!'ī- to dance 28.7	*atsī'tc waa'xam mᴇq!'ēⁱna'aᵘ* thus it was said, "A dance will be arranged for him" 19.1, 2
ʟ!ōx- to send 16.10	*cî'nⁱxyat!ya ants hītc ʟ!'ōxa'aᵘ* was thinking that man (who) was going to be sent 19.8, 9
xaū- to die 40.21	*sî'nⁱxyū'nᴇ xawa'aᵘ* it was desired (that) he be killed 24.1
hīn- to take along 9.5	*wàn hīna'aᵘ* now he will be taken along 25.1

tū'tc- to spear 62.2	*t°watca'a°* it will be speared 62.8
łak°- to get 7.5	*kumî'ntcᴱnx txū łakwa'a°, tūha'a°nx yā°'xa* not for nothing they will get you, they will buy you big (literally, not you just taken will be, bought you will be much) 74.16, 17

§ 57. *Past Passive* -xamyax

This suffix is (loosely) composed of the present passive *-xam* (see § 55) and of the suffix for the past tense *-yax* (see § 74).

qnū'- to find 56.9	*ʟîmna''q qn°'wa'xamyax* elk was found 34.12, 13
łak°- to seize 7.5	*ants hītc łōkwī'xamyax* that man (who) was seized 60.12
sᴱa'tsa thus 11.10	*sᴱatsī'xamyax* thus it was (done) 32.16
hīq!- to start 15.1	*sᴱa'tsa hīq!a'xamyax* thus it was started 32.16
xaū' he died 40.21	*xa°wī'xamyax* he was killed 29.6

That the composition of this suffix is felt to be rather loose may be best inferred from the fact that the sign of the past (*-yax*) may precede the passive suffix *-xam*, as is shown in the following instances:

cî'nxī- to think 60.21	*cî'nⁱxyaxam sᴱatsī'tc* it was thought thus 27.6
hū'- (?) to lose	*hū'ⁱ'yaxan* (I) got lost 68.2
yāk!'ī'tc- in pieces 96.11	*yāk!'ītcya'xam xwā'katc* into pieces was (cut) his head 29.4, 5
tc!ha°c- to be glad 27.1	*tc!ha°cya'xam wàn* gladness was felt now 23.3

In all these instances the suffix *-yaxam* has resulted from an original *-yaxxam* (see § 15).

§ 58. *Passive Verbs in* -ūtn- (-aūtn-), -ū'nᴇ (-aū'nᴇ)

These suffixes are extensively employed in the formation of the passive voice; alone they do not express any particular tense. They may be added either directly to the stem, or to the stem verbalized by means of the suffix *-aⁱ* (see § 75). The subjective suffixes are added to these suffixes by means of a weak vowel (see § 4); but since the third person singular has no distinct form, and as clusters of

consonants in final position are inadmissible, the form of this suffix in terminal position is always *-ūtnE* (*-a^{ū}tnE*).

The form *-ū'nE* has resulted from the change of the *t* of *-ūtn-* to a weak aspiration (see § 16). The interchange between *ū* and *a^{ū}* has been discussed in § 2.

qaLx- to count 8.5	*^{u}ł qa'Lxūtnε* then it was counted
xnī^{w}n- to do 10.5	*s^{E}a'tsa xnī'^{w}nūtnε* thus it was done 62.9
waa- to speak 7.1	*kumî'ntc nîctcī'tc wa^{a}'a^{ū}tnε* nothing was said 18.3
qatcū^{i}'tx he drinks	*pā'l·ū qatcū^{i}'txa^{ū}tnε* (from the) well it is drunk 76.12
łhałī'tx- to shout continually 11.10	*łhałī'txa^{ū}tnε* he is continually shouted at
waa^{i}' he says 8.9	*atsī'tc^{i}n waa'yūtnε* thus I am told 20.6
tū'tca^{i}' he spears 62.2	*tū'tca'yūtnε* it is speared 8.7
xāL!a^{i}' he makes 50.8	*tsī'L!ī L!a'^{ai} ^{u}ł xāL!a'yūtnε* many arrows are made 78.6
xnī^{w}n- to do 10.5	*s^{E}a'tsa xnī'^{w}nū'nε* thus it is done 74.2
mîłtc- to burn 26.9	*ma'łtcū'nε ants hītsī'^{i}* a fire was built (in) that house 25.2
waa^{i}' he says 8.9	*s^{E}atsī'tc waa'yū'nε ants hītc* thus was told that man 30.2, 3
xāL!a^{i}' he makes 50.8	*k!īx tε'q xāL!a'yū'nε* everything is made 78.5, 6
k!a'- to invite 16.3	*k!aha'yū'nîn* I am invited 17.9
	k!aha'yū'nanx thou art invited 16.3
	k!aha'yū'natcî you are invited 30.10
sî'nxī- to desire 18.5	*sî'n^{i}xyū'nanx Lī'ūtūx* you are wanted (to) come 19.7, 8
L!ōnītx- to tell continually	*atsī'tc L!ōnī'txa^{ū}'nε* thus it is frequently said 16.9

When preceded by the sign of the past tense, *-yax* (see § 74), these suffixes denote the passive voice of the past tense.

hatc'- to ask 66.16	*atsī'tc waa^{i}' ants ha'tc'yaxa^{ū}'tnε* thus said that one (who) was asked 66.24, 25

§ 58

haw- to finish 14.6	. . . *ants hītsī'ⁱ haᵘwaⁱ'styaxaᵘtnE* (when) that house began to be finished

§ 59. *Durative Passives in* -īsūtn- (-īsū'nE), -ūsn-

-īsūtn- (***-īsū'nE***). This suffix is composed of the durative *-īs* (see § 69) and of the passive *-ūtn-* (see § 58). It denotes a passive action of long duration. Owing to its durative character, the verbal stem to which this suffix is added is frequently amplified (see § 112) or duplicated (see § 107). *-īsūtn-* interchanges constantly with *-aⁱsūtn-* (see §§ 2, 69). The subjective pronouns are added by means of a weak vowel. In final position it occurs as *-īsūtnE*, because a final cluster of *t*+*n* is inadmissible (see § 4). The change of the *t* to a weak aspiration in *-īsū'nE* has been fully discussed in § 16 (see also § 58).

lān- to call by name	*lā'nīsūtnE ants hītc* he is constantly called, that man 23.7
cîl·x- to shake 27.3	*cî'l·xīsūtnE* he is constantly shaken 27.2
waa'- to speak 7.1	*atsī'tc waa'aⁱsū'nE* thus he is always told 24.2
hīts- to put on 11.8	*hⁱya'tsīsūtnE* it is frequently put on 11.7
LīU'ū (they) come 9.3	*L!īL!wī'sūtnE* he is being approached 26.2
yaqʷ'- to look 23.9	*ya'qᵘhīsū'nE* he is continually watched 26.1
qaLx- to count 8.5	*qa'Lxīsū'nE* it is being counted 62.11
waa'- to speak 7.1	*atsī'tc waaⁱ'sū'nE* thus he is being told 23.10
hal- to shout 13.11	*ɬhalī'sū'nE* he is continually shouted at 14.2
L!xū- to know 40.16	*kūⁱ L!xū'xūⁱsūᶜnE tcaītcī'tc ants xînt* not it was known where that one went 64.15, 16

-ūsn- is a combined suffix. Its first element is undoubtedly the durative *-ūs* (see § 69); while the second component seems to represent an abbreviated form of the passive suffix *-ūtn-*, discussed in § 58. It indicates a passive action of long duration or frequent occurrence, and may best be rendered by IT WOULD . . .

This suffix is always added to the verbal stem by means of the verbalizing *-a*^{i} (changed into *-ī;* see § 75). Both *-ī* and *-a*^{i} are subject to consonantization before the initial vowel of the passive suffix, so that this suffix invariably occurs as *-īyūsn-* or *-ayūsn-* (see § 8). In a few instances it appears as *-ē*^{i}*yūsn-* (see § 2). The subjective pronouns beginning with a consonant are added to this suffix by means of a weak vowel; and as a third person singular has no special form, and since a terminal cluster of *s* + *n* is inadmissible, these suffixes in terminal position always appear as *-ūsnᴇ*, *-īyūsnᴇ* or *-ayūsnᴇ* (see § 4).

tqūł- to shout 52.8 — *tqūłī'yūsnᴇ ants tcîxnī'nᴇ* he is always shouted at, that raccoon 76.16, 17

hał- to shout 13.11 — *łhałī'yūsnᴇ* he would be shouted at 70.22

waa'- to speak 7.1 — *atsī'tc waa'yūsnᴇ* thus he would be told 24.7

łān- to call 23.7 — *łānat.!ī'yūsnᴇ* he is continually called 76.17, 18

tū'- to buy 74.17 — *tūha'yūsnᴇ* she would be bought 74.18, 19

xnī^{w}*n-* to do 10.15 — *sᴇa'tsa xnī*^{w}*nī'yūsnᴇ* thus it would be done 76.5

ūłq- to dig 84.2 — *ûłqē*$^{i'}$*yūsnᴇ ants* ʟ*.!a'*^{ai} dug would be the ground 80.6

xāʟ.!- to make 50.8 — *xāʟ.!ī'yūsnᴇ ants hītsī'*^{i} made is that house 80.13

In one instance this suffix has been added to a verbal stem by means of the verbalizing *-ū*^{i} (see § 75).

tcîn^{u}- to pack — *tcîn*^{w}*ū'yūsnᴇ* ^{u}*ł qatcᴇnī'yūsnᴇ* they pack it and go (literally, it is packed and carried off) 100.20

In another instance the suffix appears as *-wūsnᴇ*.

ʟ*ī'ū* (they) come 9.3 — ʟ*!mî'kcū* ʟ*īwī'wūsnᴇ* flounder is brought continually 100.10

This occurrence of the *w* before *-ūsnᴇ* may be explained as due to retrogressive assimilation; that is to say, the original *y* has been changed into *w* to agree in character with the *w* of the stem ʟ*īwa*$^{i'}$ ʜᴇ ᴄᴏᴍᴇs.

Modal Elements of the Imperative and Exhortative Modes (§§ 60–64)

§ 60. *Introductory*

Attention has been called in § 40 to the variety of suffixes that are employed in Siuslaw for the purpose of expressing the imperative mode. By far the majority of these suffixes indicate, besides the imperative idea, also pronominal and possessive interrelations between subject and object. These have been treated as primarily objective forms, and have been fully discussed in §§ 40–48. In the following sections only such suffixes will be discussed the primary functions of which are those of an imperative mode.

Siuslaw makes a clear distinction between a true imperative, a prohibitive, and an exhortative mode, and expresses these three varieties by means of distinct formative elements.

The difference between the ideas expressed by the imperative and exhortative is one of degree rather than of contents. The imperative expresses a command more or less peremptory; while the exhortative conveys an admonition, a wish. Furthermore, the exhortative rarely applies to the second person as the subject of the action. All exhortative expressions are preceded by the particle *qa'l* (see § 129) and are rendered by LET ME, HIM . . . , PERMIT ME TO . . . , MAY I . . . , etc.

§ 61. *Imperative Suffix for Intransitive Verbs* -Em

This suffix is added to intransitive verbs only, regardless of whether they express a real active idea or a mere condition. It is suffixed directly to the verbal stem; and when added to stems that end in a vowel, the obscure *e* of the suffix is contracted with the vowel of the stem. In such contractions the quality and quantity of the stem-vowel usually predominate (see § 9). The second person singular is not expressed. The imperative for the second persons dual and plural is obtained by suffixing to *-em* the subjective pronouns *-ts* and *-tc̣* respectively (see § 24). These pronouns are added by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see § 4).

lī't!- to eat 13.10	*lī't!em* eat! 40.26
kwīs- to wake up 40.9	*kwī'sem* wake up! 58.5
waa'- to speak 7.1	*wa'am* speak!
qatc̣en- to go 8.2	*qa'tc̣nem* go!
ma'q!ī- to dance 28.7	*maq!yem* dance!

haw- to quit, to end 14.6	*ha'ūm* quit!
qatcᴱn- to go 8.2	*qa'tcɴᴇmats* you two go!
tqūl- to shout 52.8	*tqū'lᴇmats* you two shout!
qātx̣- to cry 58.15	*qā'tx̣ᴇmatcî* you cry!
x̣alⁱn- to climb up 12.4	*x̣a'lnᴇmatcî* you climb up!

In negative sentences the imperative suffix *-ᴇm* is replaced by the durative *-īs* (see § 69). The whole phrase is preceded by the particle of negation *kūⁱ, kumî'ntc* NOT (see § 131), to which are added the subjective pronouns for the second persons (see §§ 24, 26).

x̣întm- to travel 12.10	*kwī'nx̣ x̣î'ntmīs* don't travel!
aᵘs- to sleep 24.1	*kwīnx̣ aᵘ'sīs* don't sleep! 23.9
qaⁱha'ntc far 10.3	*kwīnx̣ qaⁱha'ntcīs* don't (go) far away! 56.21
waa'- to speak 7.1	*kwīnx̣ sᴱatsī'tc wa'aⁱs* don't thus say! 50.1
qatcᴱn- to go 8.2	*kūⁱts qa'tcᴱnīs* don't you two go! 54.23, 56.1
ma'q.'ī- to dance 28.7	*kumî'ntcᴱtcî ma'q.'īs* don't ye dance!

By suffixing to the imperative the subjective pronouns for the first persons dual and plural (see § 24), an exhortative mode for these persons is obtained.

tca'x̣um go!	*tca'x̣umans* let us two (incl.) go! 58.5
lī't.'ᴇm eat! 40.26	*lī't.'ᴇmans* let us two (incl.) eat! *lī't.'ᴇmanl* let us (incl.) eat!
na'lᴇm start!	*na'lᴇmanl* let us (incl.) start!

§ 62. *Imperative Suffix for Transitive Verbs* -īs (-aⁱs)

This suffix expresses an imperative transitive idea. It must not be confused with the durative suffix *-īs* (see § 69), the phonetic resemblance between these two suffixes being purely accidental. It must be borne in mind that the durative *-īs* indicates an intransitive action, and is made transitive by the addition of the transitive *-ūn* (see § 28).

The student is easily apt to confuse these two suffixes, because in the prohibitive mode the transitivized durative *-īsūn* (see p. 518) is used; but this use is perfectly logical, since a transitive prohibitive is intimately connected with the idea of a (negated) action of long duration performed by a second person as subject.

The following table may best serve to distinguish at a glance between the different suffixes in *-īs* that occur in Siuslaw:

Not related	*-īs* transitive imperative	*-īs* intransitive durative
Related	*-īsūn* transitive prohibitive	*-īsūn* transitive durative

The imperative for the second persons dual und plural is not often expressed by suffixing to *-īs* the subjective pronouns *-ts* and *-tcî* respectively (see § 24), because the subjective pronouns are usually suffixed to attributes and particles that precede the verbal term (see § 26). The interchange between *-ī* and *-aⁱ* has been discussed in § 2.

waa'- to talk 7.1	*wa'aⁱs* talk to him! 76.18
ʟ!wan- to tell 7.3	*ʟ!wā'nīs* tell him! 30.13
	hī'satcî ʟ!wā'nīs well you tell (them)! 30.3
tū'tc- to spear 62.2	*tºwa'tcīs* spear it! 64.2
hīn- to take along 9.5	*hī'nīs* take it along!
skwa'- to stand 10.9	*skwa'haⁱs* set it up!
hamx- to tie 8.6	*ha'mxīs* tie it!
qatcᴱn- to go 8.2	*qa'tcᴱnīsats* you two make him go!
łīt!- to eat 13.10	*łī't!īsatcî* you eat it!

In negative sentences the imperative suffix is replaced by the transitive form of the durative *-īsūn* (see § 69). The verb is preceded by the negative particle *kūⁱ*, *kumî'ntc*, used in connection with the subjective pronouns for the second persons (see §§ 131, 40).

ʟ!wan- to tell 7.3	*kwī'nx ʟ!wā'nīsūn* don't you tell him! 17.1, 2
qatcᴱn- to go 8.2	*kwīnx qa'tcᴱnīsūn* don't you make him go!
hīn- to take along 9.5	*kumî'ntcⁱnx hī'nīsūn* don't you take it along!

The exhortative for the first persons is formed by adding to *-īs* the subjective pronouns for these persons (see § 24).

łakᵘ- to take 7.5	*ła'kwīsans* let us two (incl.) take it!
haw- to quit, to stop 14.6	*ha'wīsanł* let us (incl.) stop it!

§ 63. *Intransitive Exhortative* -ĭxmî (-aⁱxmî)

This suffix expresses an admonition, addressed to a first or third person, to perform an action that has no object. The verb must be preceded by the exhortative particle *qaⁱł* (see § 129), and the subjective

pronouns indicating the subject of the action are added to this particle and never to the exhortative suffix (see § 26).

The reasons for the interchange between *-īxmî* and *-aᴵxmî* are discussed in § 2.

qatcᴱn- to go 8.2	*qaⁱl qatcᴱnī'xmî* let him go!
aᵘs- to sleep 23.9	*qaⁱln aᵘsī'xmî* let me sleep!
waa'- to speak 7.1	*qaⁱ'lᴱns waaᴵ'xmî* let us two (incl.) speak!
ma'q!ⁱī to dance 28.7	*qaⁱ'lᴱnxan maq!ī'xmî* let us (excl.) dance!
hał- to shout 13.11	*qaⁱ'lᴱnl hałī'xmî* let us (incl.) shout!
qatcū- to drink 76.12	*qaⁱ'lᴱnx qatcūⁱ'xmî* let them drink!
łīt!- to eat 13.10	*qaⁱl łīt!ī'xmî* let him eat!

In one single instance the exhortative for a second person (singular) occurs. The suffix is followed by the future passive *-ī* (see § 56), and the exhortative particle is missing.

mâltc- to burn 25.2	*mâltcī'xmīnx* you may get burned (literally, to burn [exhortative, future passive] thou) 26.9

§ 64. *Exhortative -ł*

This suffix admonishes the speaker to perform an act, the object of which must be one of the second persons, and may best be rendered into English by LET ME, THEE . . . . The object of the action is expressed by adding the subjective pronouns to this suffix (see § 24) by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see § 4). Singular subjects are not expressed phonetically; duality or plurality of subject is indicated by means of the independent personal pronouns (see § 113). The particle *kᵘ* (see § 127) frequently follows these exhortative forms, and, when preceding a form with the second person singular as the object (*-lanx*), it changes the final *x* into *a* (see § 4).

ʟ*!wān-* to tell 17.1	ʟ*!wā'nłanx* let me tell thee!
ʟ*ōł-* to hit	ʟ*ōłᴇ'łats* let me hit you two!
hatc'- to ask 66.16	*ha'tc'łatcî* let me ask you!
ʟ*!wān-* to tell 17.1	ʟ*!wā'nłanakᵘ* let me tell thee! < ʟ*!wā'nłanx kᵘ*

For other devices employed in Siuslaw for the purpose of expressing the exhortative mode, see § 129.

TEMPORAL SUFFIXES (§§ 65–74)

§ 65. Introductory

Siuslaw shows a rich development of the category of time, and employs a variety of suffixes for the purpose of denoting the different tenses of actions and conditions. The simple form of the verb has an indefinite character and is used to denote past and present occurrences, but otherwise the temporal classification is strictly adhered to.

All temporal suffixes may be divided into semi-temporal and true temporal suffixes. Primarily, each of these suffixes expresses the tense of an intransitive action only; but by suffixing to the tense sign transitive suffixes, such as *-ūn*, *-ūts*, etc., the same idea of time for transitive occurrences is obtained. The only exceptions are found in the intentional and future tenses, which show two separate forms—one for intransitive verbs and the other for transitive actions (see §§ 41, 70, 73).

Semi-temporal Suffixes (§§ 66–70)

§ *66. Inchoative* -st

This suffix denotes the commencement of an action, and assumes in some instances a transitional significance. Stems ending in a consonant insert a weak vowel between the final consonant and the initial element of the suffix (see § 4). When it is desired to express the inchoative tense of a transitive action, the transitive *-ūn* or any of the other transitive forms is added to the suffix (see §§ 27 *et seq.*).

qwaxtc- to go towards 62.8.	*ᵘł qwa'xtcîst tcī'watc* and she began to go towards the water 90.22
małtć- to burn 25.2	*mî'ltcîst* he began to burn 29.3
ʟ!'xatatc'- to attempt to run	*ʟxa'tatc'îst k!'ēxū'tc ʟ!'aya'tc* he begins to attempt to run in all directions 13.8, 9
qaⁱnᵘ- to be tired	*qaⁱ'nūst a'ntsᴱtc mᵘū'skᵘ* he began to get tired, his younger brother 58.11
qātx- to cry 58.15	*ᵘłaᵘx stīm qa'txast* and they two there began to cry 58.17
wîltc- to send	*qamîta'tc wî'ltcîstūn* her father (discriminative) began to send her 92.20
matc- to lie 38.21	*sᴱatsī'tc mî'tcîstūn . . .* thus he began to fell . . . 94.7, 8

ha'nînīt!- to believe 78.1, 2 — *ᵘł wàn ha'nᴱnī't!îstūn* and finally she began to believe him 46.3

In a few instances this suffix will be found added to a stem after the same has been verbalized by means of the suffix -a^i (see § 75).

xîntm- to travel about 12.10 — *k!ēxū'tc ʟ!'aya'tc ᵘłᴱnx xî'ntma'ist* everywhere they began to travel about 72.20

ˢʰa'itū'nî ᵽᴇlī'tc xî'ntma'istūn the big one first he began to take along 92.18

wusī- to be sleepy — *wusya'a'ist ants mī'k!a hītc* began to feel sleepy that bad man 26. 1, 2

wusya'a'istîn I begin to feel sleepy 26.8

līt!- to eat 13.10 — *wā'nwîts łt!ī'stūn* already he (had) commenced to devour him 94.19 ($ī = a^i$ see § 2)

It sometimes follows the other true temporal suffixes, lending to the inchoative action a definite tense.

ɬanya'it- to be sorry (present tense) — *ɬanya'i'tîstūtsmᴇ ha'itc* he began to feel sorry for his (boy) 40.21

maɬtc- to burn 25.2 — *ᵘł maɬtcī'ūst* he will begin to build a fire 90.6

In a number of cases this suffix expresses an adjectival idea.

ɬn- to be sick 40.21 — *ants ɬnast* he (who) begins to get sick, he (who) is sick: *hence* the sick (man) 86.15

yî'q!a'ᵘ- to split — *yî'q!a'ᵘst q!a'īł* pitch (that) begins to split, split pitch

haw- to finish 14.6 — *haᵘwa'i'st* finished

tsîma'st any kind of a place (*sic*) 66.6

§ 67. *Terminative* -ixaˡ (-aˡxaˡ)

This suffix expresses termination of an action. The stem to which it is suffixed must be preceded by some form of the verb *haū*- TO END, TO FINISH. For the interchange between -$īxa^i$ and -a^ixa^i see § 2.

pîtc- to go over 88.15	*haū'ūn pîtcaⁱ'xaⁱ* I quit going over (logs)
qātx- to cry 58.15	*haū'ūn qatxaⁱ'xaⁱ* I quit crying
waltl- to snow	*haū'tx waltī'xaⁱ* it stopped snowing
hał- to shout 13.11	*haū'txan hałaⁱ'xaⁱ* I stopped shouting
hamx- to tie 8.6	*haū'ln hamxī'xaⁱ* I quit tying his . . .
ln- to call	*haū'ln lnaⁱ'xaⁱ līntc* I quit calling his name
waa'- to talk 7.1	*haū'ln waaⁱ'xaⁱ* I quit talking to him

It seems that the terminative suffix is frequently subject to the law of vocalic harmony, in spite of the fact that Siuslaw makes but little attempt at the harmonization of its vowels (see § 11). I have found a few examples showing that the initial vowel of the suffix has been assimilated to the quality of the vowel of the stem. Whether this rule applies to all cases could not be determined with any degree of certainty.

xūn- to snore 27.9	*haū'txan xūnūⁱ'xaⁱ* (and not *xūnaⁱ'xaⁱ*) I quit snoring
hūn- it gets dark 34.8	*haū'tx hūnūⁱ'xaⁱ* L.*a'ᵃⁱ* (and not *hūnaⁱ'xaⁱ*) it stopped getting dark
tEmū'- to assemble 7.3	*haū'tx tEmaᵘyaᵘ'xaⁱ hītū'tc* (and not *tEmaᵘyaⁱ'xaⁱ*) he quit assembling (the) people

§ 68. *Frequentatives* -at!ī, -ītx (-aˡtx)

-at!ī denotes frequency of action, and may best be rendered by FREQUENTLY, ALWAYS. In the first person singular the final long vowel of this suffix is shortened (see § 24). In terminal position the suffix *-at!ī* is often changed into *-at!ya* (see §§ 7, 24).

cî'naī- to think 60.21	*cî'niⁱxyat!ya* he is always thinking 12.4
hakw- to fall 8.7	*ha'kwat!ya* it always falls down 90.12
qatcᴱn- to go 8.2	*qa'tcⁱnat!ya* he frequently goes 14.5
nakwaⁱ- to be poor	*nākwa'yatyanxan* we (excl.) are always poor 76.19

ʟī'ū- to come 9.2

ta^{i}- to live 16.2

qaa'- to enter 34.5

nî'ctcîm sqa^{ī}k ʟī'wat!ī because there he came frequently 68.4, 5

pī''tsîs ta'yat!ī in the ocean he always lived 44.18

nîctcī'tcanx tanx kū^{i} qaa't!ī înq!a'a^{ī}tc why do you, this one, not frequently come into the river? 44.3, 4

In one instance this suffix occurs as *-t!ī*.

k!ap- low tide 36.18

tᴇ k!apa$^{i'}$t!ī înq!a'a^{ī} (so that) always dry (may be) this river 38.2

When frequency of action in transitive verbs is to be expressed, the transitive suffixes are added to the frequentative *-at!ī*. This suffix amalgamates with the transitive *-ūn* into *-at!yūn* (see § 8).

cî'nxī- to think 60.21

cî^{n}xyat!yūn mîta'īn I am always thinking of my father

cîl·x- to shake 27.2

cî'l·xyat!yūn qnà I always shake it

p̓lanya$^{i'}$ he is sorry

tsī'k!ya p̓lanya$^{i'}$t!yūn ha^{ì}tc (everybody) is very sorry for him, (everybody) hates him 19.2, 3 (< *p̓lanya^{i}ya't!yūn*).

ta^{i}- to sit to live 16.2

ants t!ī't!yūn (<*taya't!yūn*) that (on which) he was sitting 94.6

-ītx has the same function as *-at!ī*, and was invariably rendered by CONSTANTLY, ALWAYS. It is usually preceded or followed by the temporal adverb *ɬnàt* ALWAYS (see § 120). The phonetic resemblance between this suffix and the objective *-ītx* (see § 33) I believe to be purely accidental. This suffix occurs often as *-a^{ī}tx* (see § 2).

qatcᴇn- to go 8.2

yā$^{a'}$xa^{u}x ʟ!ōna$^{i'}$ a'ntsux qatcᴇnī'tx much they two talk, those two (who) keep on going 56.7

pᵃa$^{i'}$ʟn- to hunt 15.3

tsî'mqmatc ^{u}lᴇnx paʟnī'tx some of them are constantly hunting 82.16, 17

ma'q!ī- to dance 28.7

mᴇq!a$^{i'}$tx he always dances 86.2

xîl·xcī- to work 48.10	*xî'l·xcītxa^{u}x a'ntsîtcx^{u} mā'tī* they two were constantly fixing those their (dual) dams 50.3, 4
sî'nxī- to desire 18.5	*sî'nxītx tɛtc mîctcī'^{i}* he always wants that her younger sister 92.13, 14
tāqn- to be full 60.19	*taqanī'tx hītū'stc* it is always full of people 70.3, 4
yîxum- to watch	*yîxumī'txana^{u}x* they two were constantly watching him 94.1
qatc^{E}n- to go 8.2	*qatcînī'txa^{ū}n łnàt* I always make him go

In a few instances, especially when following other suffixes, the frequentative *-ītx* seems to lose its initial *ī*.

hawa$^{i'}$ it ends 14.6	*hawa$^{i'}$stx ants ʟīya'wa* he begins to finish (kindling) that fire (*hawa$^{i'}$stx* < *hawa$^{i'}$st* + *-tx*, see § 15) 90.7, 8
t!'ūhatc'īn- to try to sell severally (?)	*yaxa$^{ī'}$txa^{u}x ta'tc^{w}ax łq!'ā'nū ^{u}łā^{u}x t!'ūhatc'ī'ntxa^{u}x* (when) they begin to multiply (have much) these their (dual) hides, then they two constantly tried to sell them 100.19
yūʟ!- to break	*yū^{wi}ʟ!'a'tx qa^{u}xânū'* it constantly broke on the top 94.4

These three examples may also be explained as demonstrating the application of the pronominal suffix *-ītx* (see § 33).

§ 69. *Duratives* -īs (-a^{i}s), -ūs

Duration of action is expressed in Siuslaw by means of the suffix *-s*, which, however, never occurs alone. It invariably enters into composition with other suffixes, such as the suffix for the past tense, for the passive voice, etc., or it is preceded by either *ī* or *ū*. It is not inconceivable that this durative *-s* may be related to the auxiliary *-s* (see § 76). The difference between *-īs* and *-ūs* seems to be of a true temporal nature.

-īs (***-a^{i}s***) denotes duration, continuation of action of a clearly marked future significance, and, owing to this future character, it is employed extensively in the formation of the imperative mode (see

§§ 60, 62). Transitive verbs add *-ūn* or its equivalents (see § 28) to the durative *-īs*. For the interchange between *-īs* and *-aⁱs* see § 2.

xînt- to travel 23.1 — *tcī'ɯans xî'ntīs* to the water we two (incl.) will keep on traveling 92.9

taⁱ- to live, to stay 16.2 — *stīm ta'īs* there he kept on staying 70.12

ma'q.'ī- to dance 28.7 — *waˡ yā'tsa ᵘln mā'q.'īs* even for a long time I still keep on dancing 72.10

xnīʷn- to do 10.5 — *sᴱa'tsanł xnī'ʷnīs* thus we (incl.) will do every time 72.14, 15

waa'- to speak 7. 1 — *atsī'tc wa'aⁱs ants hītc* thus kept on saying the man 25.9

skwa'- to stand 10.9 — *skwa'haⁱs ants hītc* continually standing is that man 64.11

xnīʷn- to do 10.5 — *qnī'xtsᴱnx xnī'ʷnīsūn* you will continually do it 70.11, 12

waa'- to speak 7. 1 — *atsī'tc wa'aⁱsūn* thus he kept on saying to him 64.14

tkūm- to make a dam 48.8 — *ᵘlns tkwa'mīsūn* and we two (incl.) still will keep on making dams 48.14

qaʟx- to count 62.8 — *qa'ʟxēsūn ants tsxayū'ʷi* (they) keep on counting those days 8.5

-ūs is suffixed mostly to stems that have been verbalized by means of the suffix *-aⁱ* (see § 75), and expresses a continuative action performed in the present tense. It applies to transitive verbs having a third person object. Examples for similar forms with a second person object were not obtained.

îłqaⁱ' he digs 84. 2 — *a'ntsux îłqa'yūs ants ʟ!a'ᵃⁱ* those two (who) continually dig that ground

ʟ!xmay- to kill 16.1; *łīt!-* to eat 13.10 — *uł sᴱàs ʟ!xmaī'yūs uł łīt!'ī'yūs* and he would kill and devour him 15.3, 4

tkūm- to make a dam 48.8 — *tcī'kʷax tkwamī'yūs ʟ!a'ᵃⁱ* wherever they two were making dams 52.24

ʟī'ū (they) come 9.3 — *ᵘlaᵘx łt'ī'aⁱ ʟ!īʟ!wī'yūs* to them two salmon continually came 98.16

haᵘwaⁱnaⁱ- to finish — *haᵘʷaⁱnī'yūsaᵘx wàn* they two finish it finally 84.6, 7

yax- to see 20.10	*yāxī'ūs^{i}n tɛ sī'xa^{l}* (whenever) I saw that canoe (coming) 100.8, 9
qn^{u}'w to find 34.12	*^{u}l^{ɛ}nx qnū'wī'wūs yā^{a}'xa^{i} hītcū'^{wi}* they would find lots of people (*qnū'wī'wūs* < *qnūwī'yūs*) 66.22

By suffixing the durative *-s* to the sign for the past tense, *-yax* (see § 74) a compound suffix *-yaxs* is obtained which denotes an action of long duration performed in the past. This suffix is often contracted into *-īxs* (see § 9).

a^{u}s- to sleep 24.1	*a^{u}'syaxsîn, a^{u}'sīxsîn* I had been sleeping
qatc^{ww}- to drink 76.11	*qa'tcwa^{i}xs, qa'tcwayaxs* he had been drinking
līt.!- to eat 13.10	*lī't.!yaxsîn* I have been eating
pɛkū'^{u}- to play shinny 9.4	*pā'kū^{i}xsîn, pā'k^{u}yaxsîn* I have been playing shinny

§ 70. *Intentionals* -awax, -a^{w}ūn

-awax. This suffix indicates intention to perform a certain action. Hence it was usually rendered by I (THOU). . . AM ABOUT TO, I (THOU) . . . AM GOING TO, I (THOU) . . . WILL, I (THOU) . . . WANT TO. It is used with intransitive verbs only; and it is contracted with the subjective pronouns, for persons other than the first person singular and the second dual and plural, into *-awanx*, *-awans*, *-awa^{u}x*, *-awanł*, *-awanxan*, and *-awanx* (see § 24).

āq- to run away 52.10	*āqa'waxan* I intend to run away 90.21
	ants pɬna'st ^{u}l cî'n^{i}xyat!ya āqa'wax that sick (man) always thought of running away 86.15
lī'ū (they) come 9.3	*līwa'wanx* you intend to come 25.8
yaq^{u}'- to look 23.9	*yoq^{u}'ya'wax* he intended to see 70.8
	yaq^{u}'ya'wanxan we (excl.) are going to see
qaqū'n- to listen	*qaqū'na'wax l!a'^{ai}* they were going to listen 30.18
hūtc- to play, to have fun 7.2	*hū'tcawans* we two (incl.) are going to play 10.5
pīūł- to hunt	*pīūła'wax^{u}xûn* we two (excl.) intend to go hunting 54.22
mīk^{u}- to cut 90.5	*mīkwa'waxts* you two will cut

xa^{i}tc- to roast 90.9	*^{u}ła^{u}x xa^{i}tca'wa^{u}x* and they two finally intend roasting 90.8
ʟī'ū (they) come 9.3	*ʟīwa'want wàn* we (incl.) are about to arrive now 66.1
tᴇmū'- to assemble 7.3	*tᴇmūa'waxtcî* you will assemble
ma^{q}tc it lay 32.22	*mᴇtca'wanx* they intended to lie down 38.23

-a^{w}ūn. This suffix expresses the same idea as *-awax*, from which it differs in so far only as it implies a transitive action that has a third person as its object. It is probable that by some process of contraction this suffix represents an abbreviation from an original *-awaxa^{u}n* or *-awaxūn*.

hīn- to take along 9.5	*hīna'^{w}ūn ants plna'st* she intends taking along that sick (man) 88.1, 2
waa'- to speak 7.1	*^{u}ł waa'^{w}ūn ants hītc ʟ!a'^{ai}* and he was about to talk to these people
łak^{u}- to take, to get 7.5	*yā^{a}'xa^{i} t!āmc łakwa'^{w}ūn* many children he wants to have (to get)
tᴇmū'- to assemble 7.3	*tᴇmūa'^{w}ūn ants ʟ!a'^{ai} hītc* many people are about to assemble 30.8
yaq^{u}'- to look 23.9	*sqā'tma^{u}x yoq^{u}'ya'^{w}ūn* from there they two intended to watch 62.18, 19

True Temporal Suffixes (§§ 71–74)

§ 71. *Introductory*

Siuslaw distinguishes between three true temporal categories, namely, present, future, and past. Excepting for the first of these, which is used to denote present and past, this differentiation is clearly marked and strictly adhered to.

§ 72. *Present* -t

It denotes an action performed at the present time. Stems ending in a vowel lengthen the vowel before adding the suffix *-t;* stems ending in a *t* insert an obscure (or weak) vowel between their final consonant and the suffix (see § 4). Transitive present actions are expressed by adding to the *-t* the transitive suffixes *-ūn* and *-ūts* (see §§ 28, 29).

wīlw- to affirm 30.11	*ᵘłaᵘx wàn wī'łūt* they two finally affirmed 90.6
hīq!- to start 15.1	*sᴱatsī'tc waa' ᵘł hī'q!aⁱt* thus he talks and starts (off) 22.5, 6
sî'nxī- to desire 11.7	*sî'nxīt tāqaⁱ'na* he wants something 18.5
wa'sʟsī- to be angry	*wa'sʟsīt ants tsîmî'l·ä* was angry that muskrat 52.17
tca'xu- to turn back 58.5	*ᵘł tca'xaᵘ̄t* he turns back 16.5
qatcᴱn- to go 8.2	*qa'tcⁱnt* he goes 12.9
	qa'tcⁱntaᵘx they two are going 23.1
xałn- to climb up 62.7	*txū xa'łⁱnt* he just climbs up 12.4
qaⁱha'ntc way off 10.3	*qaⁱha'ntctanł wàn* we (incl.) have come far now 66.3, 4
małtc- to burn 25.2	*haⁱ'mūt ma'łtcⁱt* everything burned (down) 34.18
qaqū'n- to listen 30.18	*qa'qᵘhantūn pī'ū hītc* he heard (make) noise (the) people 36.23, 24
łīt!- to eat 13.10	*łī't.!ᴱtūn* he ate him (up) 94.19
yaqᵘ'- to see 23.9	*yo'qᵘhaⁱtūn ants înq!a'aⁱ* he looked at that river 36.21, 22
wīlw- to affirm, to agree 30.11	*ᵘł mā'qᵘʟ wī'łūtūn* then Crow agreed to it 36.6, 7

§ 73. *Future* -tūx

This suffix is added to intransitive stems only, and it denotes an action that is to take place in the future. Stems ending in a vowel lengthen the same before adding this suffix. When added to stems that end in a *t*, an obscure (or weak) vowel is inserted between the final *t* of the stem and the initial consonant of the ending (see § 4).

Whenever *-tūx* is to be followed by the subjective pronouns for the second person singular, inclusive and exclusive dual and plural, and the third person plural, it is contracted with them into *-tūnx*, *-tūns*, *-taᵘxûn* (?), *-tūnł*, *-tūnxan*, and *-tūnx* respectively (see § 24). The transitive future is rendered by means of the suffixes *-yūn*, *-īʷyūn* (see § 41).

qatcᴱn- to go 8.2	*qa'tc ntūxan* I will go 22.2
	qa'tcⁱntūnx thou shalt go 22.2
ʟ!wān- to tell, to relate 17.1	*ʟ!wā'ntūnx* thou shalt tell 30.12
	ʟ!wa'ntūxtcî you will tell 7.3

smūt'- to end 9.1	*smū't'ᴇtūx* it will end 20.5
ʟī'ū- to come 9.2, 3	*ʟī'ūtūx* he will come 9.2
	ʟī'ūtūnxan we (excl.) will come 30.11
qwaxtc- to go down to the river 48.18	*nī'k!anł qwa'xtcⁱtūx* alone we (incl.) will go down 62.14
hūtc- to play 7.2	*hū'tctūns* we shall play 10.6
	hū'tctūnł we (incl.) shall play 7.2
āq- to run away 52.10	*ā'qtūns* we two (incl.) will run away 92.2
sînq!- to be hungry 44.11	*sî'nq!taᵘxûn* we two (excl.) will be hungry
mīkᵘ- to cut	*mī'kᵘtūxts łt'īaya'* you two will cut salmon 90.5
xaū' he died 40.21	*xa'ūtūxaᵘx* they two will die 88.7
xwīʟ!- to turn back 12.6	*xwī'ʟ!tūnł* we (incl.) will turn back 60.9
k!înk'y- to look for 16.1	*tqaᵘwī'tcⁱns k!î'nk'ītūx* upstream we two will look for . . . 56.17

§ 74. *Past* -yax

This suffix expresses an act performed long ago. The idea of a past transitive action is conveyed by suffixing to *-yax* the transitive *-ūn* and *-ūts* (see §§ 28, 29, 2). It is subject to contraction whenever followed by the subjective pronouns for the second person singular, inclusive and exclusive dual, third dual, inclusive and exclusive plural, and third plural (see § 24). The contracted forms for these persons are *-yanx*, *-yans*, *-yaᵘxûn*, *-yaᵘx*, *-yanł*, *-yanxan*, and *-yanx*. This suffix always requires that the accent be placed on the first syllable of the word.

qūⁱt'- to dream	*hītc qūⁱ't'yax* a person dreamt 68.21
tkūm- to close 48.8	*ants tkwa'myax* (when) it closed 78.3
ʟīha- to pass by 80.12	*Qa'aⁱ cīx ʟī'hayax* along North Fork it passed by 32.19
taⁱ- to live 16.2	*mᴇyōˢkᵘs taⁱ'yax ʟ!'aya'* in the beginning (they) lived in a place 82.11, 12
xînt- to start 20.3	*ᵘłn sīhī'tc xî'ntyax* (when) I began to grow up (literally, then I [into] growing started) 100.18
ʟī'ū (they) come 9.3	*ʟī'ūyans* we two (incl.) came

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hūtc- to play 7.2	*hū'tcyans* (when) we two (incl.) play 78.9
	hū'tcyanl (when) we (incl.) play 78.13
ʟī'ū (they) came 9.3	*ʟī'ūyanxan* we (excl.) came
xîntm- to travel 12.10	*ᵘl xî'ntmⁱyaxaᵘ̄n* and he took (them) along 92.13
sî'nxī- to desire 18.5	*tcîna'taᵘ sî'nⁱxyaxaᵘ̄n* whoever desired it 11.6, 7
hīn- to take along 9.5	*qaⁱha'ntc hī'nyaxaᵘ̄n yaᵋkᵘs* way off took him seal 68.17, 18
waa'- to speak 7.1	*sᴱatsītc waᵃ'yaxaᵘ̄n* thus he told him 36.11
ʟ!wān- to relate 17.1	*sᴱatsī'tc ʟ!waᵃ'nyaxaᵘ̄n* thus he related to him 38.8

The past suffix is frequently added to a duplicated stem, denoting a past action of long-continued duration (see § 108).

łakᵘ- to get, to have 7.5	*łā'kᵘkyax hītū'tc tᴇxmū'nya* she was taking a male person
hīq!- to start 22.6	*sᴱa'tsa hī'q!aq!yax* thus it started 15.1
haⁱq- shore 44.7	*tcī'wanᴇ haⁱ'qîqyax* from the water ashore it had come 56.13
qaⁱx darkness, night 38.21	*qaⁱ'xîxyax tᴇ ʟ!aᵃⁱ* it was getting dark 34.4
tū'tc- to spear 62.2	*tᵒwa'tcîtcyaxaᵘ̄n tᴇ yaᵋkᵘs* I have been spearing this seal 66.17

In a few instances it has been found following the present *-t*, although for what purpose could not be ascertained.

hīq!- to start 22.6	*hī'q!aⁱt* 22.6	*a'ntsux hī'q!aⁱtyax pᵘkwaⁱ't* those two who had started to play shinny 78.15
t!îmct!ⁱ- to raise children 30.23	*t!î'mct!īt*	*ᵘlaᵘx wàn t!î'mct!ītyax* then they two finally raised children
wīlw- to affirm 30.11	*wī'lūt* 90.6	*wī'lūtyaxan* I agreed
qatcᴱn- to go 8.2	*qa'tcⁱnt* 12.1	*qa'tcⁱntyaxan* I went away
maᵃtc- to lie 32.22	*mᴇ'tcît*	*mî'tcⁱtyaxaᵘ̄n ʟ!ayū'stc* I laid it down on the ground
xaⁱtc- to roast 90.8	*xaⁱ'tcît*	*xaⁱ'tcîtyaxaᵘ̄n* he roasted it

(For the idiomatic use of the past suffix in conditional clauses see § 136.)

VERBALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 75–77)

§ 75. Verbalizing *-a^i*, *-ū^i*

While the majority of Siuslaw stems do not require the addition of a specific verbal suffix in order to convey a general verbal idea, these two suffixes have been found added to a large number of neutral stems, especially in the present tense. They may therefore be explained as verbalizing a neutral stem and as expressing an intransitive action of present occurrence. They are frequently used to denote an action performed by the third person singular, for which person Siuslaw has no distinct suffix (see § 24). There can be no doubt, however, that these suffixes are identical with the Alsea inchoative *-aī*, *-ūī*,[1] and that *-a^i* bears some relation to the Coos intransitive *-aai*.[1] While no difference in the use of these two suffixes could be detected, it was observed that *-ū^i* is never added to stems that end in a *q*, *p*, or in *a*.

płn- to be sick 15.4	*płna$^{i'}$* he was sick 40.21
hūtc- to play 7.2	*hūtca$^{i'}$* 72.6, *hūtcū$^{i'}$* 23.8 he plays
waa'- to speak, to say 7.1	*waa$^{i'}$* he says 8.9
łīt!- to eat 13.10	*ł^{i}t!a$^{i'}$* he eats 46.12
ha^{i}q- shore 44.7	*ha^{i}qa$^{i'}$* he comes ashore 82.5
yax- to see, to look 20.10	*yîxa$^{i'}$* he looks 66.6
skwa'- to stand 10.9	*skwaha$^{i'}$* he stands 14.4
smūt'- to finish, to end 11.1	*smît'ū$^{i'}$* it ends 14.6
a^{u}s- to dream, to sleep, 23.9	*asū$^{i'}$* he dreams 68.22
ʟxas- to fly, to jump	*ʟxasū$^{i'}$* he jumps
tqūł- to shout 52.8	*tqūłū$^{i'}$* he shouted 92.6
sūn- to dive 64.21	*sînū$^{i'}$* he dives

That these suffixes are not essentially necessary for the purpose of expressing a verbal idea, but that, like their Alsea equivalents, they may have originally conveyed inchoative ideas, is best shown by the fact that all such verbalized forms are parallel to bare stem-forms. In all such cases the amplified form seems to denote inception and (at times) finality of action.

wàn wītwa' now he affirms 58.9	*wàn wītwa$^{i'}$* he begins to affirm 17.7
u^l tcīn and he came back 7.7	*tcîna$^{i'}$* he came back 68.16

[1] See Coos, p. 332.

ʟī'ū (they) arrive 9.3	*tcî'nta^{u} hītc ʟīwa$^{i'}$* whatever person came 24.7
xāū' he died 40.21	*xawa$^{i'}$ hītc* (when a) person dies 42.11
atsī'tc ʟ!wa^{a}n thus he tells 58.22	*yā$^{a'}$xa^{u}x ʟ!ōna$^{i'}$* much they two begin to talk 56.7
a'nts^{ɛ}nx xnī'^{w}n$_{ɛ}$ those (who) do it 78.20	*s^{ɛ}a'tsanx xnī^{w}na$^{i'}$* thus they begin to do (it) 78.19
ta^{i} he is sitting, he lives 16.2	*tqa$^{u'}$wītc taya$^{i'}$* upstream (they) commence to live 82.12, 13
kumî'ntc yax not (he) sees 34.4	*yîxa$^{i'}$ wàn* (they) commence to look 66.9
^{u}ʟnx haū' they quit 11.4	*sqa^{ī}k wàn hawa$^{i'}$* here finally it ends 14.6
^{u}ʟ wàn skwaha' now he stands (up) 28.8	*skwaha$^{i'}$* he stands 14.4
^{u}ʟ waa' then he says 11.2	*waa$^{i'}$* he says 8.9
smū't'a it ends 11.1	*smît'ū$^{i'}$* it ends 14.6

§ 76. Auxiliary *-s*, *-t*

These suffixes express our ideas TO HAVE, TO BE WITH. A peculiarity that remains unexplained is the fact that they are always added to the locative noun-forms that end in *-a* or *-ūs* (see § 86).

-s is always added to the locative form ending in *-a*, and never to the *-ūs* form, which may be due to phonetic causes. The use of this suffix is rather restricted. It is not inconceivable that it may be related to the durative *-īs* (see § 69).

Absolutive	Locative	Auxiliary
tsī'ʟ!ī arrow 50.14	*tsīʟ!ya'* 50.9	*na'han ^{u}ʟn tsīʟ!^{i}ya's* I will have an arrow 50.16
qal·tc knife	*qal·tcya'*	*qa'l·tcyas* he has a knife
ĺkwa'nî pipe	*ĺkwa'nya*	*ĺkwa'nyasîn* I am with a pipe
lqa$^{i'c}$tū log 32.21	*lqa't^{u}wa*	*lqa't^{u}was* he has a stick

-t occurs very often, and is added to all forms of the locative case. It can never be confused with the sign of the present tense *-t*, because it is invariably preceded by the locative forms in *-a* or *-ūs*, while the suffix for the present tense follows vowels and consonants other than *a* or *s* (see § 72).

Absolutive	Locative	Auxiliary
qīūtcū'nî woman 30.21	*qīūtcū'nya* 76.7	*qīūtcūnya't* he has a wife 48.8
kō'tan horse 34.9	*kōtana'*	*kumî'ntc kōtana't* not they had horses 100.20, 102.1
t'îx tooth	*t'îxa'*	*t'îxa't cā'ya* teeth has (his) penis 90.19
yîktî'l·ma big 40.6	*yîktî'l·ma*	*yîktî'l·mat cā'ya* he has a big penis 92.1
lī't.!a^{i} food 34.23	*līt.!aya'* 13.7	*kumî'ntc līt.!aya't* (they) had no food 34.10
kłī'nū ladder	*kłī'nwa*	*kłī'nwat ants hītsī'*^{i} a ladder has that house 80.12
tɛ'q something 13.2.	*tāqa*$^{i'}$*na* 18.5	*ha*$^{i'}$*mūt kumî'ntc tāqa*$^{i'}$*nat*^{i}*tc hī'qū*^{i} they all had no hair (literally, all not with something is their hair) 68.12
sīxa^{i} canoe 56.5	*sɛxa*$^{ū'}$ 48.18	*sɛxa*$^{u'}$*tîn* I have a canoe
tcī't.!ī wind	*tcīt.!yū's*	*kumî'ntc tcīt.!yū'st* (there) was no wind
mîtà father 54.22	*mîta'yūs*	*mîta'yūst* he has a father
mîłà mother 54.23	*mîła'yūs*	*mîła'yūst* he has a mother
łqa$^{i'}$*tū* log, stick 32.21	*łqatūwīyū's* 88.16	*łqatūwī'yūst* he has a stick
hītsī'^{i} house 25.2	*hītsî's* 48.7	*hītsî'st* he has a house
ʟî'mstī raw	*ʟîmstī's*	*tcīk ants ʟîmî'stīst ʟ.!a'*^{ai} where (there was) that green place 34.2, 3

§ 77. **Suffix Transitivizing Verbs that Express Natural Phenomena** *-ʟ.!*

A suffix with a similar function is, as far as my knowledge goes, to be found in but one other American Indian language; namely, in Alsea. This suffix is added exclusively to stems expressing meteorological phenomena, such as IT SNOWS, IT RAINS, THE WIND BLOWS, NIGHT APPROACHES, etc.; and it signifies that such an occurrence, otherwise impersonal, has become transitivized by receiving the third person singular as the object of the action. Its function may best be compared with our English idiomatic expression RAIN, SNOW OVERTAKES

HIM, NIGHT COMES UPON HIM, etc. By adding to -ʟ! the subjective pronouns for the first and second persons (see § 24), the same expressions with these persons as objects are obtained. This suffix always follows the tense signs, and immediately precedes the pronominal suffixes.

qa^{i}x night, darkness 38.21	*^{u}lxûn stīmk qa$^{i'}$xtūxʟ!* us two (excl.) there night will overtake 94.18
tcī't'ī wind	*tcī't'īʟ!* a storm overtook him
tsxaya$^{i'}$ day breaks 50.3	*tsxaya$^{i'}$ʟ!a^{u}x* (when) day came upon them two 48.9
k!ap- low tide 36.18	*k!a'ptūxʟ!* low tide will overtake (them) 36.18
ū'ltī snow 76.10	*wa'lt^{E}tūxʟ!în* snow will overtake me
hî'n^{ɛ}kīt it rains	*hî'n^{ɛ}k!īt^{i}ʟ!anx* rain pours down upon them

It is not inconceivable that this suffix may represent an abbreviation of the stem ʟ!a'^{ai} PLACE, WORLD, UNIVERSE (see § 133), which the Siuslaw always employs whenever he wants to express a natural phenomenon.

tsxaya$^{i'}$ ʟ!a'^{ai} day breaks 50.3
hî'n^{ɛ}k!ya ʟ!a'^{ai} it rains 78.1
k!uwîna$^{i'}$ ʟ!a'^{ai} (there was) ice all over 76.11
qa$^{i'}$xîxyax tE ʟ!a'^{ai} it got dark 34.4

PLURAL FORMATIONS (§§ 78–80)

§ 78. Introductory

The idea of plurality in verbal expressions may refer either to the subject or object of the action. In most American Indian languages that have developed such a category, and that indicate it by means of some grammatical device, plurality of subject is exhibited in intransitive verbs, while plurality of object is found in transitive verbs. Such plurality does not necessarily coincide with our definition of this term. It may, and as a matter of fact it does, in the majority of cases, denote what we commonly call distribution or collectivity. Thus the Siuslaw idea of plurality is of a purely collective character, and seems to have been confined to the subject of intransitive verbs only. Even the contrivance so frequently employed by other American Indian languages, of differentiating singularity and plurality of objects by

means of two separate verbal stems—one for singular and the other for plural objects—is not found in Siuslaw.[1] One and the same verbal stem is used in all cases; and when it becomes necessary to indicate that there are more than one recipient of a transitive action, this is accomplished by the use of the numeral particle *yā^{a}'xa^{i}* (see § 139) or of the stem *ʟ!a'^{ai}* (see § 133), as may be seen from the following examples:

yuwa'yūn ants q!a'īl he gathered pitch	*yuwa'yūn yā^{a}'xa^{i} ants q!a'īl* (they) gathered lots (of) that pitch 88.5, 6
yîxa'yūn hītc I saw a person	*yîxa'yūn yā^{a}'xa^{i} hītc* I saw many people
wa'a^{ū}tsmᴇ ants hītc he said to his man	*waa'a^{ū}tsmᴇ ants ʟ!a'^{ai} hītc* he said to all (of) his people 7.1
ʟ!ōxa'xa^{ū}tsmᴇ hītc he sent his man	*ʟ!ōxa'xa^{ū}tsmᴇ hītc ʟ!a'^{ai}* he sent many people 30.1, 2

But if Siuslaw does not employ a distinct grammatical process for the purpose of pointing out plurality of objects of transitive actions, it has developed devices to indicate collectivity of subjects of intransitive verbs. For that purpose it uses, besides the numeral particle *yā^{a}'xa^{i}* (see § 139) and the stem *ʟ!a'^{ai}* (see § 133), two suffixes (*-ū^{u}* and *-tx*) that are added directly to the verbal stem. These suffixes are always added to verbal stems that denote an intransitive act, and their functions may best be compared to the functions exercised by the French *on* or German *man* in sentences like *on dit* and *man sagt*.

§ 79. Plural *-ū^{u}, -ū^{wi}*

This suffix expresses an action that is performed collectively by more than one subject. Etymologically it is the same suffix as the verbal abstract of identical phonetic composition (see § 97), and the use of one and the same suffix in two functions apparently so different may be explained as due to the fact that there exists an intimate psychological connection between an abstract verbal idea and the concept of the same act performed in general.[2] The following example, taken

[1] I have found only one case of such a differentiation. I was told that the stem *qaa-* TO ENTER, TO PUT IN, refers to singular objects, while the stem *ʟxaa-* can be used with plural objects only. But as this information was conveyed to me after much deliberation and upon my own suggestion, I am inclined to doubt the correctness of this interpretation. It is rather probable that these two stems are synonymes.

[2] The same phenomenon occurs in Dakota.

at random, will serve to illustrate the comparison more clearly. The Siuslaw word *xîl·xcū'^{wi}* (stem *xîl·xcī-* TO WORK) may have two distinct meanings. When used nominally (as a verbal abstract), it may best be rendered by THE CONCEPT OF WORKING, WORK; when used verbally, it is to be translated by TO WORK IN GENERAL, ALL (MANY) WORK. This psychological connection between such terms as WORK and TO WORK GENERALLY, COLLECTIVELY, may have led to the use of one and the same suffix in a nominal and verbal capacity (see § 22). This suffix is added directly to the verbal stem, and its double form may be due to rapidity of speech rather than to any phonetic causes. It is frequently preceded by the temporal suffixes, especially the present *-t* (see § 72), and it was always rendered by THEY . . . The subject of the action is usually emphasized by the use of the numeral particles *ha^{i}'mūt* ALL, *yā^{a}'xa^{i}* MANY (see § 124), and of the stem *L!a'^{ai}* (see § 133). The particle either precedes or follows the verb. This suffix requires the accent.

tEmū'- to assemble 7.3	*tEmū'^{u}* they came together 30.16
hūtc- to play 7.2	*hūtcū'^{u} L!a'^{ai}* they play 8.8
pEkū'- to play shinny 9.4	*pEkū'^{wi} L!a'^{ai}* they play shinny 70.10
h^{i}yats- to live	*yā^{a}'xa^{i} h^{i}yatsū'^{wi}* lots (of people) live
hał- to shout 13.11	*hałū'^{u} ants hītc L!a'^{ai}* shout collectively, those people 70.9
ma'q!ī- to dance 28.7	*mEq!yū'^{u} L!a'^{ai}* they dance 28.8
xnī^{w}n- to do 10.5	*s^{E}a'tsa xnī^{w}nū'^{u} ants L!a'^{ai}* thus do it collectively, those people 70.22, 23
mīk^{u}- to cut 90.5	*qīūtcū'nî L!a'^{ai} ^{u}ł mīkū'^{u} łt'īa^{i}a'* many women cut salmon 82.14
qatc^{E}n- to go 8.2	*qatc^{E}natū'^{u}* they walk about 34.19
tsîL!- to shoot 10.3	*tsīL!atū'^{u} yā^{a}'xa^{i} L!a'^{ai}* they are shooting 8.6
ma^{a}tc- to lay 32.22	*ya'q^{u}'yūn ants łī't!a^{ī} mîtcū'^{wi} L!a'^{ai}* he saw that food lying (around in great quantities) 36.26, 27

Owing to the frequent interchange between the *ū*-vowel and the diphthong *a^{ū}* (see § 2), this suffix occurs often as *-aa^{ū}*, *-aa^{ūwi}*.

§ 79

skwa'- to stand 10.9	*stīm skwaha$^{ū'wi}$ L!a'^{ai}* there they are standing (collectively) 28.9
hīq!- to start 15.1	*s^{E}a'tsa hīq!ya$^{ū'wi}$ ants L!a'^{ai}* thus they (will) start
s^{E}a'tsa thus 11.10	*s^{E}atsa$^{ū'wi}$ tE hītc L!a'^{ai}* thus (they do it) these people
k!înk'- to go and see 16.1	*k!înk'ya'a^{ū} nî'ctca tE ta^{i}* many (were) going to see how this (one was) living

§ 80. Plural *-tx*

This suffix exercises the same function as the preceding *-ū^{u}*, differing from it in so far only as its subjects must be human beings. It is added either to the bare stem or to the stem verbalized by means of the suffixes *-a^{i}*, *-ū^{i}* (see § 75), or it follows any of the temporal suffixes. The function of this suffix as a personal plural is substantiated by the fact that the verb to which it is added must be followed by the collective forms of *hītc* PERSON, *hītcū$^{u'}$*, *hītcū'^{wi}* (see § 97). Whenever this suffix is added to a stem that has been verbalized by means of the suffixes *-a^{i}*, *-ū^{i}*, it coincides in phonetic structure with the temporal and objective form *-ītx* (see §§ 33, 68). But the following collective *hītcū'^{u}* differentiates these two forms. Stems ending in an alveolar or affricative add this suffix by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see § 4). This suffix is always rendered by THEY, PEOPLE.

tEmū'- to assemble 7.3	*u!* *wàn tEmū'tx hītcū'^{u}* finally the people assembled 7.6
	tEm^{u}wa$^{i'}$tx hītcū'^{wi} sqa^{i}k people assembled there 66.15
s^{E}a'tsa thus 11.10	*u!* *wàn s^{E}atsa'tx hītcū'^{wi}* now they (began to do it) thus 7.5, 6
hūtc- to play 7.2	*u!* *wàn hūtca'tx hītcū'^{u}* now they (commence to) play 9.3
waa'- to talk 7.1	*u!* *wàn waa'tx hītcū'^{u}* then finally people said 16.1
	atsī'tc waa$^{i'}$mxustx hītcū'^{u} thus they began to talk to each other 64, 20, 21
qatc^{E}n- to go 8.2	*u!* *wàn qa'tc^{i}ntx* finally they went 16.2
ta^{i}- to live 16.2	*ha$^{i'}$mūt tqa$^{u'}$wītc taya$^{i'}$tx hītcū'^{wi}* all up-stream they lived 82.13

pɛkū'u- to play shinny 9.4	*pākwa'i'tx hītcū'u tɛ l!a'ai* these people play shinny 78.7
hat- to shout	*hatî'tx hītcū'u* people shout 13.11

§ 81. IRREGULAR SUFFIXES *-n* (*-īn*), *-myax* (*-m*)

Here belong two suffixes whose exact function and etymology can no longer be analyzed. It is even impossible to tell whether they represent petrified formative elements, or elements of an exceedingly restricted scope, which may be responsible for their sporadic appearance.

The first of these suffixes to be discussed here is the suffix *-n-* or *-īn-*. It never occurs independently, being always followed by another verbal suffix, such as the transitive *-ūn* (see § 28), the temporal (see §§ 65–74) and the passive suffixes (see §§ 38, 39, 54–59). It seems to be related to the reciprocal *-naw* (*a*), and its function may be characterized as expressing a transitive action involving reciprocality or mutuality.

t!ū'hatc'- to try to sell	*t!ūhatc'ī'nūn*[1] I try to sell it
	ula'ux t!ūhat'cī'ntxa'ux[1] they two try to sell their (hides) 100.19
ma'q!ī- to dance 28.7	*maq!ēna'wūn* I will cure him (literally, dance for him)
	mɛq!ē'ina'au a dance will be arranged for him 19.2
	sɛ'à ata's ants ma'q!īnūtnɛ (for) him only this dance is arranged 28.7
mînq!- to buy (in exchange for a slave) (?)	*u'l mî'nq!īnū'nɛ tsxax'u* she is bought in exchange for a slave 76.3
lī'ū- to come 9.3	*lūna'u'wya'ux*[2] (when) they two come together 46.7

The other irregular suffix is *-m*, which, however, occurs by itself in only one instance. It is usually followed by the suffix for the past tense *-yax* (see § 74), and expresses in such cases an action that almost took place. It was invariably rendered by ALMOST, VERY NEAR.

[1] The use of this suffix may be justified here by the fact that the idea TO SELL requires a seller and a buyer.

[2] The *-n* is used here because the action involves two persons—one that comes, and another that is approached.

xînt he goes, he travels 20.3	*pī''tsîs xî'ntma* in the ocean he travels (around ?) 44.1, 2
hakw- to fall 8.7	*ha'kumyaxan* I almost fell down
$a^{u}s$- to sleep 24.1	$a^{u'}sm^{i}yaxan$ I very nearly fell asleep
$qatc^{E}n$- to go 8.2	$qa'tcn^{i}myaxan$ I very nearly went
kū'n- to beat 72.17	$kū''namyaxa^{ū}n$ I almost beat him
qātx- to cry 58.15	$qā'tx^{E}myax$ he very nearly cried

Nominal Suffixes (§§ 82–105)

§ 82. INTRODUCTORY

The number of nominal suffixes found in Siuslaw is, comparatively speaking, rather small, and the ideas they express do not differ materially from the ideas conveyed by the nominal suffixes of the neighboring languages. There is, however, one striking exception, for among the neighboring languages (Coos and Alsea) Siuslaw alone possesses nominal cases. Another interesting feature of the Siuslaw nominal suffixes is the large number of suffixed formative elements that require the accent, and their phonetic strength (see § 12).

§ 83. DIMINUTIVE *-îsk'în*

This suffix conveys our diminutive idea, and may be added to stems that express nominal and adjectival concepts. Under the influence of the consonant preceding it, it may be changed into *-ask'în*.[1] When added to stems that end in a vowel, the vowel of the suffix is contracted with the final vowel of the stem (see § 9). When followed by the augmentative *-îl'mä*, the *-în-* element of this suffix disappears (see § 84). This suffix requires the accent.

t!āmc infant 40.19	*t!āmcî'sk'în* a little boy 94.16
$łł'ī'a^{ī}$ fish 56.1	*łł'ī'sk'în* $ɮ!a'^{ai}$ many small fish 46.6, 7
qīūtcū'nî woman 30.21	*qīūtcūnî'sk'în* a little woman, a girl
mîtà father 54.22	*mît!a'sk'nī'tîn* my step-father (literally, my little father) 100.3, 4
łî'pxan niece (?) 92.17	$łîpxanî'sk'întc^{w}ax$ they two (were) his little nieces 92.15, 16
kō'tan horse 34.9	*kōtanî'sk'în* a small horse, a pony

[1] Owing to the fact that most of the texts and examples were obtained from William Smith, an Alsea Indian (see p. 438), whose native tongue has no true alveolar spirants (*s*, *c*), this suffix appears frequently in the texts as *-îck'în*.

ʟ!māk'- short	*ʟ!māk'î'sk'în* very short 50.18
yāk- small 29.4	*ya^{a}'k!î'sk'în* very small 36.23
xyal·x almost, very nearly 11.1	*xyal·xî'sk'în qa'tc^{i}nt qa^{i}ha'ntc* he went a little ways (literally, almost, a little, he goes, far) 12.1
hī'catca a while	*hīcatca'sk'în* a little while 64.8

§ 84. AUGMENTATIVE *-îl·mä*

-îl·mä expresses the idea of LARGENESS, and, in terms of relationship, that of AGE; and it may be suffixed to stems expressing, besides nominal, also adjectival ideas. When added to stems that end in a lateral, the lateral of the suffix disappears in accordance with the law of simplification of consonants (see § 15). This suffix requires the accent.

qī'ūtc woman 48.17	*qīūtcî'l·mä* old woman 94.22
ʟîpʟ- grandfather	*ʟîpʟ'mä* grandfather
kamʟ grandmother 96.22	*waa^{ï}'tx ants kamʟ'matc* she said to that her grandmother 96.21
t!āmc infant 40.19	*t!āmcî'l·mä* old infant, *hence* young (man) 54.22
tɛx^{a}m strong 10.1	*tɛxmî'l·mä* very strong (man), *hence* old (man) 40.10
pɛnî's skunk 86.1	*pɛnîsî'l·mä* a large skunk
yîkt big 48.8	*yîktî'l·ma* very big 40.6

The diminutive suffix is not infrequently added to the augmentative for the purpose of mitigating the impression made by the augmentative, and *vice versâ*.

t!āmc infant 40.19	*t!āmcîl·ma'sk'în* little big infant, *hence* little boy 94.20
mîlà mother 54.23	*mîlask'î'l·mä*[1] step-mother (literally, little old mother)

CASE-ENDINGS (§§ 85–87)

§ 85. Introductory

Unlike the languages spoken by the neighboring tribes, Siuslaw shows a rich development of nominal cases. Two of these, the genitive or relative case and the locative, are formed by means of separate suffixes, while the discriminative case is formed by means of a vocalic change (see § 111). In addition to these distinct case-endings,

[1] The contraction of *mîlask'î'l·mä* from *mîlask'înî'l·mä* may be explained as due to the assimilation of *n* to *l* following the contraction of the vowels.

there exists a great number of nominalizing suffixes indicating nominal ideas of an absolutive (nominative) form; so that the Siuslaw noun may be said to show four possible cases,—the nominative or absolutive case, the discriminative, the genitive or relative case, and the locative, which has an extended meaning. In discussing these case-endings it will be found preferable to begin with the locative case, because of the important position it occupies in the language.

§ 86. The Locative Case *-a*, *-ūs*

These two suffixes indicated originally local ideas of rest, and, as such, are best rendered by our local adverbs ON, IN, AT, TO, etc. It would seem, however, that this primary function was extended so that these suffixes may also mark the noun as the object of an action, thereby exercising the function of an accusative case-ending. The use of these suffixes for the purpose of expressing objects of action and the adverbial idea of rest may be explained by the intimate psychological connection that exists between these two apparently distinct concepts. The following example will serve to illustrate this connection. The sentence I CUT SALMON may, and as a matter of fact does, denote the idea I CUT ON THE SALMON.

The correctness of this interpretation is furthermore brought out by the fact that the verb, upon which these suffixes are dependent, can under no circumstance appear in transitive form. Should, however, such a verb appear with a transitive suffix, the noun will then occur in the absolutive form; and, since confusion might arise as to the identity of the subject and object of the action, the subject of the action is always discriminated (see §§ 21, 111).

The importance of these two suffixes as formative elements may be deduced from the fact that they enter into the formation of the forms expressing our periphrastic conjugation TO HAVE, TO BE WITH (see § 76) and that the adverbial suffixes (see §§ 90, 91, 93) can be added only to nouns that occur with these locative endings.

-a expresses, besides the nominal object of an action, also the local idea of rest. There is a tendency to have the accent fall upon this suffix.

lt'ī'a^{ī} fish 56.1	*mī'k*^{u}*tūxts lt'īaya'* you two shall cut salmon 90.5
ʟīya'a^{ū} fire 25.5	*ha*^{i}*'qmas ʟīya'wa* near the fire 26.1
ts!aln pitch 26.6	*yuwa'ya*^{u}*xûn yā*^{a}*'xa*^{i} *ts!îlna'* we two (will) get much pitch 94.17, 18

§ 86

qīūtcū'nî woman 30.21	*hītc sî'n^{i}xya qīūtcū'nya* (a) person wants a woman 76.7
pɛkū'^{u}- to play shinny 9.4	*pɛkū'ya xāʟ!a$^{i'}$ʟ!a'^{ai}* many shinny sticks (they) make 78.5
tcī water 36.20	*tcī'wa ma^{a}tc ants* . . . in the water lay that . . . 32.22
	tcī'wa ^{u}l k!u^{x}wîna$^{ī'}$ on the water ice appeared 76.13
ʟ!a'^{ai} ground, place 7.1	*mīk!a$^{ū'}$ ʟ!aya'* in a bad place 12.10; 13.1
kō'tan horse 34.9	*kumî'ntc kōtana't* not they had horses 100.20; 102.1
t'îx tooth	*t'îxa't* (it) has teeth 90.19
tcī water 36.20	*^{u}ła^{u}x tcī'watc hakwa'a^{ī}* they two into the water thrown will be 88.7, 8
	tcī'wanɛ ha$^{i'}$qîqyax from the water (it) came ashore 56.13
tcîmtca'mî ax 27.10	*tcîmtca'myatc xawa'a^{u}* with an ax (he) killed will be 28.1

-ūs. Like the preceding *-a*, it is employed for the purpose of forming the locative case of nouns and of expressing the local idea of rest. It is suffixed to nouns in *-ū* (see § 97) and in *-ī* (see § 98). When added to nouns in *-ī*, the *-ī* of the noun is consonantized, so that the suffix appears to be *-īyūs* (see § 8); while, when suffixed to nouns in *-ū*, the *-ū* of the suffix is contracted with the *ū* of the noun (see § 9).

k!u^{x}wī'nī ice	*qa^{u}xa$^{ī'}$x k!u^{x}wînīyū's* on top of the ice 76.14, 15
pk'ī'tī lake 62.18	*tsî'sqan pk'ītīyū's tɛmū'yax* deer at (the) lake assembled 34.11.
tsō'tī sand beach	*ta'îs tsîtīyū's* (you) will keep on living on the sand beach 46.15
pɛkū'^{u} shinny game	*s^{ɛ}a ku'nū'tswa pɛkū'^{u}s ʟ!aya'* he always beats (people) at shinny 78.18, 19
hūtcū'^{wi} fun 8.5	*a'l·tūtūnx hūtcū$^{w'}$stc* thou also shalt come to the fun 22.8
u'mlī thunder	*umlīyū'stc ʟīū'* to thunder (it) came 36.8, 9

A number of nouns undergo unexplained phonetic changes whenever the locative suffix is added, while others employ an abbreviated form of this case-ending. Since no fixed rules can be given that will cover each of these cases, it will be best to tabulate all such nouns, giving their absolutive and locative forms. These nouns are as follows:

Absolutive case	Locative case
mîsī'a^{ī} elder sister 90.23	*mîsa'yūs* 40.12, 13
mîctcī''^{i} younger sister 40.2	*mîctca'yūs*
mîtà father 54.22	*mîta'yūs*
mîłà mother 54.23	*mîła'yūs*
ʟ*!a'^{ai}* earth, many 7.1	ʟ*!ayū's* 76.10
łqa^{i}''tū log 32.21	*łqatūwīyū's* 88.16
a^{u}'tcīsî camas 96.20	*a^{u}tcīyū's* 98.11, 12
hītc person 15.2	*hītū's* 66.14
sî'max^{u} landing-place	*sîma'x^{u}s* 48.21
*ts*ᴇ*ha^{u}'ya* grass 8.6	*ts*ᴇ*ha^{u}'ya^{ī}s*
ya^{ū}xa fern-root 80.18	*ya^{ū}'xa^{u}s*
hītsī''^{i} house 25.2	*hītsî's* 58.8

In many cases one and the same noun shows in its locative forms both case-endings, as may be seen from the following examples:

ʟ*!a'^{ai}* ground, many 7.1	ʟ*!aya'* 13.1 and ʟ*!ayū's* 76.10
a^{u}'tcīsî camas 96.20	*a^{u}'tcīsya* and *a^{u}tcīyū's* 98.11, 12
hītc person 7.1	*hītū's* 66.14 and *hītū'tc* 7.5

A few nouns appear with locative case-endings that seem to bear no relation to the suffixes *-a*, *-ūs*. The following have been found:

Absolutive	Locative
sī'xa^{ī} boat 56.5	*s*ᴇ*xa^{ū}'*[1] 48.18
	*s*ᴇ*xa^{ū}'tc qaa'xam* into a canoe it was put 34.5
hamī''tcī whale 82.5	*hamītcū'*
	ha^{i}'mūt hamītcū' ł^{i}kwa^{i}' all (some) whale got 82.6
*îłqwa^{a}'t*ᴇ*m* alder tree 92.5, 6	*îłqutmī'*
	îłqūtmī'a^{u}x qaa^{i}' an alder tree they two entered 92.6
xwā'ka head 29.5	*xwākī'*
	ła^{i}'qat skwaha^{i}'tx xwākī' feathers (they) placed on their heads 10.9
ʟ*xaū'* spear 64.7	ʟ*xa^{u}'hī* 64.11

[1] The locative form *s*ᴇ*xa^{ū}'* may be explained as a noun with the local suffix of rest used as the object of an action (see § 91).

hītc person 7.1	*hītū'tc*
	ła'kᵘt!wî hītū'tc a sheriff 7.5
mā'qᵘʟ crow 34.23	*mᵘqwa'ʟ* 34.21
qayū'ʷⁱnts stone	*qayuna'ts* 62.7
qᵘʟī'mt anus 86.9	*qᵘʟîmī't*
yaᵋkᵘs seal 62.4	*yɛkū's* 62.2
ʟaa' mouth 28.2	*ʟaaya'* 29.2, 96.7

Nouns that end in the augmentative suffix *-íl·mä* (see § 84) change the final *ä* into a clear *a*-vowel whenever the locative is to be expressed.

yîktî'l·ma very big 40.6	*yîktî'l·mat cā'ya* he has a big penis 92.1
qīūtcî'l·mä old woman 96.15	*qīūtcî'l·matc* to the old woman 94.16

In a few instances the locative suffix *-a* has the function of an adverbial suffix of instrumentality.

tcîmtca'mî ax 27.10	*ᵘłaᵘ x wàn tcîmtcî'mya qa'tcⁱnt* and they two now an ax take along (literally, with an ax go) 96.10, 11
	skwahaᵃ'ʷⁱ ʟ!a'ᵃⁱ haⁱ'mūt ants tcîmtcî'mya they are standing, all those who have axes 28.9; 29.1

§ 87. The Relative or Genitive Case *-Emł, -Em*

These suffixes have the function of the Indo-European genitive case-endings.

-Emł is suffixed to the absolutive form of the noun; and when added to nouns that end in a long vowel, its obscure *ɛ* is contracted with the long vowel of the noun and disappears (see § 9). The noun to which this suffix is added is always the object of the action.

łt'ī'aⁱ salmon 56.1	*łt'īayɛ'mł txaⁱnᵋ* salmon's tracks
łq!ā'nū hide 100.15	*łq!ānūⁱ'mł*[1] *yîxī'ⁱ* many hides (literally, of hides a multitude) 102. 1, 2
t!ī, t!ī'yaⁱ bear 56.11; 58.14	*t!īyayɛ'mł txaⁱnᵋ* bear tracks 56.10
pî'łqᵘts raccoon	*pîłqᵘtsɛ'mł łq!ā'nū* raccoon-hide
tɛxmū'nî man 30.21	*tɛxmū'nyɛmł ʟ!xmī'tī* a man's bow

[1] See § 9.

This suffix may be added to pronouns and particles, as may be seen from the following examples:

nà I 21.8	*nî'ctcîm^{E}nx na'm^{E}l tE'q* because thou (art) of me (a) relative 21.5
ha^{i}'mūt all 10.9	*ha^{i}mūtū'ml*[1] *m^{a}ā'tī* of all (the) chief

This suffix is also employed in the formation of the independent possessive pronouns (see § 114).

-*Em* differs from the preceding *-Eml* in so far as it can be added only to the locative form of the noun, and that in the few examples that were obtained it denotes the subject of an action.

Absolutive	Objective	Relative
mā'q^{u}L crow 34.23	*m^{u}qwa'L*	*m^{u}qwa'LEm wa'as* Crow's language 34.21.
u'mlī thunder	*umlī'yūs*	*umlī'yūsEm wa'as* Thunder's language 36.8
hītc a person 7.1	*hītū'tc* 7.5	*hītū'tcEm L!xmī'tī* (an) Indian's bow
hītsī'^{i} house 25.2	*hītsî's* 58.8	*hītsî'sEm tEqyū'^{wi}* of house (the) frame

When followed by other suffixes, the obscure *E* of *-Em* drops out, and the consonants are combined into a cluster.

Absolutive	Objective	Relative
mîlà mother 54.23	*mîla'yūs*	*mîla'yūsmītîn mîtà* of my mother (her) father; my grandfather
māt!ī' elder brother 58.11	*māt!ī'yūs*	*māt!ī'yūsmītîn t!āmc* my elder brother's boy

§ 88. THE POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Possessive relations of the noun are expressed in Siuslaw by means of the suffix *-ī* that is followed by the subjective pronouns (see § 24). Posssession for the third person singular is expressed by the suffix *-tc* added to the noun without the aid of the sign of possession, *-ī*. Possession for the third persons dual and plural is indicated by adding the subjective pronouns *-a^{u}x* and *-nx* to the suffix *-tc*. Thus it would seem that Siuslaw employs two distinct suffixes for the purpose of expressing possession: *-ī* used for the first and second persons, and *-tc* for the third persons.

[1] See § 11.

The possessive suffixes are verbalized by adding the auxiliary suffix *-t* (see § 76) to the sign of possession; so that Siuslaw may be said to possess two sets of possessive suffixes,—one purely nominal set and one with a verbal significance. In the latter set the suffixes for the third persons are missing.

All possessive suffixes stand in terminal position following even the case-endings and the adverbial suffixes.

The following table will serve to illustrate the formation of the possessive suffixes:

		Nominal	Verbal
Singular	1st person	*-īn*	*-ītīn*
	2d person	*-īnx*	*-ītīnx*
	3d person	*-tc*	-
Dual	Inclusive	*-īns*	*-ītīns*
	Exclusive	*-īxûn*	*-ītauxûn*
	2d person	*-īts*	*-ītīts*
	3d person	*-tcwax*	-
Plural	Inclusive	*-īnl*	*-ītīnl*
	Exclusive	*-īnxan*	*-ītīnxan*
	2d person	*-ītcî*	*-ītītcî*
	3d person	*-tc^{E}nx*	-

The pronominal suffix for the exclusive dual *-a^{u}xûn, -axûn*, has been abbreviated here to *-xûn*. This abbreviation may be the result of contraction. The *ī* of the possessive suffixes appears frequently as a diphthong *a^{ī}* (see § 2). The possessive suffixes follow all other nominal suffixes.

ts'îl·mū't friend 23.4
mîtà father 54.22

hītsī'^{i} house 25.2

līn name 13.10

txa^{i}n^{ɛ} track, path 56.10

mîsī'a^{ī} elder sister 90.23
wa'as language 34.21

ts'îl·mū'tīn my friend 36.15
mîta'a^{ī}tîn . . . mîła'a^{ī}tîn my father . . . my mother (literally, I have a father . . . a mother) 100.1
tca'xumans hītsî'stcīn let us two go back to my house! 58.5
lī'tc^{E}t lī'nīnx cougar (will be) thy name 13.5, 6
ma^{a}tc txa^{i}nī'tcīnx it lies in thy path 48.22
mîsī'a^{ī}tc her elder sister 40.11
s^{E}atsī'tc wa'astc thus he said (literally, thus his language) 40.26

t!āmc child 40.19	*t!āmcīns tcī'ntūx* our (dual incl.) boys will return 42.7
kōpx eye 36.16	*kōpxa$^{i'}$xûn* our (dual excl.) eyes
tcīL hand 50.18	*tcī'ʟīts* your (dual) hands
mîtà father 54.22	*mîta'tc^{w}ax* their (dual) father 52.8
xwā'ka head 29.5	*xwā'ka^{i}nl* our (incl.) heads
m^{a}ā'tī chief 11.2	*m^{a}ātī'nxan* our (excl.) chief *m^{a}ātī'tcî* your chief
xu'nha^{i} a bet 78.15	*xu'nha^{i}tc^{E}nx* their bets 70.7

The possessive suffixes may be added to particles and attributive elements that precede the noun. This is due to a tendency inherent in the language to keep the principal parts of speech free from all pronominal elements, and which finds its counterpart in the tendency to add all subjective suffixes to the adverbs that precede the verb instead of to the verbal stem (see § 26).

In many instances the independent possessive pronouns (see § 114) are used in addition to the possessive suffixes. This is done for the sake of emphasis; and in all such cases the suffixes are added to the independent pronouns, and not to the nominal stem.

s^{E}atsī'tc thus 8.1	*s^{E}atsī'tcīn ha^{l}* thus I think (literally, thus my mind) 21.7
nà I 21.8	*wa'a^{i}s^{E}nx na'm^{E}lītîn wa'as* you will continually speak my language 36.13
nîctcī'tc how, manner 36.4	*nîctcī'tcīnx ha^{l}* how (is) thy mind 40.3
hīs good 38.21	*hī'sīnx ha^{l} haū'tūx* you will feel better (literally, good thy heart will become)
s^{E}a'tsa thus 11.10	*s^{E}a'tsatc nîctcîma^{ɛ}mū* thus (is) his custom 38.16
s^{E}a$^{i'}$na he, that one 15.4	*s^{E}a^{i}na'mîtc wa'as wa$^{a'}$syaxa^{ŋ}n* his language he spoke 36.14
nà I 21.8	*na'm^{E}līns kō'tan* our (incl. dual) horses
kīx^{E}s ten 8.1	*kī'x^{E}stc^{w}ax haū'yax t!āmc* they two had ten children (literally, ten their two, had become, children) 60.16, 17
hīs good 38.21	*hī'^{i}sīnl ha^{l}* we are glad (literally, good our [incl.] heart) 72.18

hīs good 38.21

nà I 21.8

ants that there 7.1

hī'sīnxan hītsī'ⁱ good (was) our (excl.) house 100.13

na'mᴱlīnxan tᴇ'q our (excl.) relative 102.5

t!ī'yaⁱ ƛakwa'kūᵘn a'ntsîn māt!ī' (a) bear caught that there my elder brother 58.18

Nominal possessive suffixes are added to verbal stems in many cases when the object stands in some possessive relation to the subject of the sentence (see § 33). Siuslaw uses for that purpose the verbal set of possessive suffixes (see table on p. 546); and, since the pronouns indicating the subject of the action are added to particles and attributive elements preceding the verb (see § 26), these suffixes occur mostly in terminal position.

aⁱq- to leave

haū- to become

yāᵃ'xaⁱ much 8.5

hīs well 38.21

waa'- to speak 7.1

yāᵃ'xaⁱ much, many 8.5

ʟxū'īs dry 60.19

taⁱ'kᴱns aya'qaⁱtī tᴇ sī'xaⁱ here we two (incl.) shall leave our canoe 56.5

haⁱ'nanx haᵘ'tūxaⁱtī haˡ different will become thy mind 60.14

sᴱa'tsan ᵘƛⁱn yā'xaⁱtī haˡ that's why I (know) much (in) my mind 20.9

tsī'k!yanxan hī'sītī haˡ we (excl.) are very glad 24.5, 6

atsī'tcᴱnx wa'aⁱsītī tsî'mqma thus you shall tell your people 78.10

ᵘƛᴱnx yāᵃ'xaⁱtc lī't!aⁱ they have much food (literally, and they much their food) 80.17

ʟxū'īstcᴱnx ants ƛt'ī'aⁱ dry (is) that their salmon 80.17, 18

The possessive suffixes are sometimes added to the verbal stem, especially the suffix for the third person singular.

xwī'ʟ!tūx he will return

waaⁱ' he says 8.9

ʟ!xūxᵘ- reduplicated form of *ʟ!xū-* to know 40.16

sî'nxītx ants t!āmc xwī'ʟ!tūxtc he wanted his boy to come back (literally, he desired his, that boy, shall come back, his) 42.5, 6

kumî'ntc wa'aⁱtc ants qasʟī'ū not she said (to) that her husband

kūⁱ ʟ!xū'xᵘtc haˡ not he knew his mind 58.4

The subjective pronouns may at times perform the function of the possessive suffixes. This is especially true in the case of the pronoun for the first person singular when used in connection with a demonstrative pronoun.

tā^{a}k this here 32.13

t!ī'ya^{i} łakwa'kū^{u}n tā'kîn t!āmc (a) bear caught this my boy 60.9, 10

wa'a^{i}tsîn tā'kîn wa'as speak to me (with) this my language 36.10

ants that there 7.1

t!ī'ya^{i} łakwa'kū^{u}n a'ntsîn māt!ī' (a) bear caught that there my elder brother 58.18

ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES (§§ 89-96)

§ 89. Introductory

Siuslaw expresses all adverbial relations derived from nouns by means of suffixes, that precede even the pronominal suffixes. Of these, the local suffixes indicating motion and rest, and the local suffix expressing the ablative idea FROM, can be added only to the locative forms of the noun (see § 86). It is rather interesting to note that there is no special suffix denoting instrumentality. This idea is either expressed by means of the locative *-a* (see § 86), or it is conveyed through the medium of the local suffix of motion *-tc* (see § 90) and of the local *-ya* (see § 93), or it may be contained in the suffix of modality *-ītc* (see § 94). All these ideas are so closely interwoven with that of instrumentality, that the instrumental use of elements denoting primarily objects, motion, and modality, presents no difficulty whatsoever.

§ 90. Local Suffix Indicating Motion *-tc*

It is added to the locative forms of the noun (see § 86), and may be best rendered by TO, INTO, AT, ON, UPON, TOWARDS.

tcī water 64.24

^{u}*ła^{u}x tcī'watc hakwa'a^{i}* and they two into the water will be thrown 88.7, 8

hītsī'^{i} house 25.2

^{u}*łnx wàn tcī^{i}n hītsî'stc* they now returned into the house 60.10, 11

mîsī'a^{i} elder sister 90.23

wî'łtcîstūn mîsa'yūstc he sent her to her elder sister 92.20

ɬ!a'^{ai} ground 76.10	*ɬ!ayū'stc* to the ground 94.8
sī'xa^{ī} canoe 56.5	*sɛxa$^{ū'}$tc qaa'xam* into a canoe were put 34.5
pk'ī'tī lake 62.18	*pk'ītīyū'stc tɛmū'yax* at the lake (they) came together 34.13, 14
qīūtcî'l·mä old woman 94.22	*ɬīū'wa^{u}x qīūtcî'l·ma'tc* they two came to an old woman 94.16
qayū'^{wi}nts rock	*xalna^{i} qayuna'ts^{i}tc* (one) climbs up the rock 62.7
mā'q^{u}ɬ crow 34.23	*ɬīū' m^{u}qwa'ɬ^{i}tc* he came to Crow 36.3
k!īx ɬ!a'^{ai} everywhere	*k!ēxū'tc ɬ!aya'tc waa'ūn* everywhere he said . . . 7.2

Local adverbs and stems denoting local phrases are not considered as nouns. Hence they can have no locative forms, and the adverbial suffixes are added directly to such words.

ha^{i}q shore 44.7	*yîxa$^{i'}$ ha^{i}qtc* (they) looked ashore 66.6
ɬnū outside 38.23	*^{u}ɬ^{ɛ}nx ɬnū'tc ɬīha'* and they outside went 38.23
qō'x^{u}m away from shore 34.6	*qō'x^{u}mtc ha$^{i'}$mūt qɨwa'xtc^{i}st* out into the water all went 34.15
qa'xûn up, above 34.21	*qa'xûntc hakwa'yū'nɛ* upwards it is thrown 8.7
qa^{i}hā'n far 56.8	*qa^{i}ha'ntc tsîɬ!a$^{i'}$* he shot far 10.3

In like manner the local suffix is added to the independent pronouns; and all such pronouns, when followed by this suffix, have the function of objective pronouns (see § 113).

nà I 21.8	*tɛmū'tūxtcî nàtc* you shall come to me 72.11
nīx^{a}ts thou	*kumî'ntc hī$^{i'}$sa nī'x^{a}tc* not good (it is) on you 12.5

In a few instances the local suffix *-tc* has been found added to the absolutive form of nouns. This ungrammatical suffixation may be due either to imperfect perception on my part, or to errors on the part of the informant. The instances referred to are as follows:

paa$^{ū'}$wî sand beach	*paa$^{ū'}$wītcīx qatc^{ɛ}natū'^{u}* along the sand beach they walked 34.14
ɬk!'ī'a^{ī} mouth of the river	*ɬīū'wanx ɬk!'ī'a^{ī}tc* they came to the mouth of the river 66.11

înq!a'ī river, creek 30.23	*ᵘlaᵘx* LĪŪ' *înq!a'ītc* and they two came to a creek 56.4

In many instances the locative form of a noun or pronoun followed by the local suffix of motion *-tc* indicates the idea of instrumentality.

tcī water 64.24	*hītsī'ⁱ tā'qnîs tcīwa'tc* the house (is) full of water
hītc person 7.1	*taqanī'tx hītū'stc* it was always full of people 70.3, 4
tcîmtca'mî ax 27.10	*tcîmtca'myatc xawa'aᵘ* with an ax he will be killed 28.1
lī't!aⁱ food 34.6	*tā'qnîs līt!aya'tc ants hītsī'ⁱ* full with food (was) that house 54.5
ts!aln pitch 26.6	*sî'nⁱxyū'nE ts!îlna'tc xawa'aᵘ* it was desired (that) with pitch he should be killed 24.1
sᴱà that one 10.1	*sᴱaⁱna'tc xawa'aᵘ* with that (thing) he will be killed 26.6

§ 91. Local Suffix Indicating Rest *-ū* (*-aᵘ*)

This suffix is added to such stems as are not considered nominal, and hence can not express the local idea of rest by means of the locative *-a* or *-ūs* (see § 86). It is consequently suffixed to adjectives—which are really intransitive verbs—and it performs for such terms the additional function of a locative case-ending. The only noun to which this suffix has been found added in its local and objective meaning is the stem *sī'xaⁱ* CANOE (see § 86). This apparently exceptional use of the local suffix *-ū* in connection with a noun may be due to the fact that the informant, unable to recall a single instance of the noun *sī'xaⁱ* in its proper objective form (*sīxaya'?*), and not conscious of the grammatical processes of her language, has endeavored to form the objective case according to her own idea. The idea implied by this suffix may be rendered by IN, AT, ON. The interchange between *-ū* and *-aᵘ* has been discussed in § 2.

mī'k!a bad 14.7	*nî'ctcī tEx xî'ntmīs hītc mīk!aᵘ'* L*!aya'* how (can) always travel a person in a bad place? 12.10; 13.1
k!īx each, every 24.4	*txū'nx k!ēxū'* L*!aya' xî'ntmīs* just you everywhere will continually travel 13.6, 7

k!īx each, every 24.4	*k!ēxū'* L*!aya'* ^{u}*l* $s^{E}a^{i}t^{E}$ on each place such (was the world) 14.6; 15.1
$s^{E}a^{i}t^{E}$ such, in that manner 15.1	$^{u}l^{E}nx$ *sqa*$^{\bar{i}}$*k* *l*^{i}*t!a*$^{i'}$ $s^{E}a^{i}t\bar{u}'$ and they eat on such (a place) 62.5, 6
ya$^{a'}$*k!î'sk'în* very small 36.23	*yāk!îsk'înū'* L*!aya'* ^{u}*l* *tīyū'*^{wi} on a very small place they lived 38.19
sī'xa$^{\bar{i}}$ boat 56.5	*lqa*$^{i'}$*'tū txū ma*^{a}*tc ants* SEXA$^{\bar{u}'}$ sticks merely were lying in that boat 48.20, 21

Instances where this suffix has the function of a locative case-ending may be given as follows:

k!īx each, every 24.4	*k!ē'xū'tc* L*!aya'tc* L*!ōxa'xa*$^{\bar{u}}$*tsm*E to each place he sent his . . .30.1
mī'k!a bad 14.6	LĪ'ū *mī'k!a*$^{\bar{u}}$*tc* L*!aya'tc* he came to a bad place
sī'xa$^{\bar{i}}$ canoe 56.5	SEXA$^{\bar{u}'}$*n sî'n*^{i}*xya* a canoe I want
	SEXA$^{\bar{u}'}$*tc qaa'xam* into a canoe were put 34.5

§ 92. Local Suffix *-īx* (*-a*$^{\bar{i}}$*x*, *-yax*)

This suffix is used chiefly in connection with verbs of motion, and is added to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. Its function may best be compared to the function performed by our adverbs ON, OVER, ALONG, when used in connection with verbs of motion. The long *ī* of the suffix is often changed into *a*$^{\bar{i}}$ (see § 2) or diphthongized into *ya* (see § 7).

Qa'a^{i}*tc* a tributary of the Siuslaw river called at present North Fork	*Qa'a*^{i}*tcīx* pEłī'*tc* LĪ*ha'yax* along North Fork at first it passed 32.19
paa$^{\bar{u}'}$*wî* sand beach	*paa*$^{\bar{u}'}$*wītcīx qatc*^{E}*natū'*^{u} along (its) sand beach they walked 34.14
ha^{i}*q* shore 44.7	*ha*$^{i'}$*qa*$^{\bar{i}}$*xanł tca'xwītūx* along the shore we will go back 66.12, 13
qa^{u}*x* high, up 80.9	*qa*^{u}*xa*$^{\bar{i}'}$*x k!u*^{x}*wînīyū's* on top of the ice 76.14, 15
hīs well, straight 38.21	*tcī'watc hī'sa*$^{\bar{i}}$*x* LĪ*ū'* to the water on (a) straight (line) it was coming 32.20
qa$^{u'}$*xûn* sky	*qa*$^{u'}$*xûnyax xînt* along the sky it traveled 32.19
tcīk where 34.2	*tcī'kyax* LĪ*ha*$^{i'}$ TE *hītc* whereon climb up people 80.13

In one instance this suffix is added to a demonstrative pronoun.

sᴱà that one 10.1	*sᴱaⁱ'xaᵘx pîtcaⁱ'* over that one they two stepped 88.18

§ 93. Local Suffixes *-ya*, *-nᴇ*

-ya is added to those locative forms of the personal pronouns and nouns that end in an alveolar or affricative consonant (*t*, *s*, *tc*) and to adverbs the final consonant of which belongs to the same series.

qᵘʟī'mt anus 86.9	*qᵘʟîmī'tyatc ʟīha'* from his anus he came out 94.20
pī''tsîs ocean (locative form) 44.1	*pī'tsîsya haⁱqaⁱ'* from the ocean he came ashore 82.4
qū'ītc Umpqua river	*qū'ītcyaaᵘ* from the Umpqua river (they came) 100.15
hītsī'ⁱ house 25.2	*hītsî'sya* from the house
nà I 21.8	*nà'tcya* from me
haⁱq shore 44.7	*haⁱ'qaⁱtcya* go away from the fire! (literally, what is shore like from it you go away) 26.7
qantc where	*qa'ntcyanx ʟīū'* from where (dost) thou come 66.16

-nᴇ is suffixed to nouns and to personal pronouns whose locative forms end in a vowel (see § 86), and to such stems as form the locative cases by means of the local suffix of rest *-ū* (see § 91).

kˌ!īx ʟˌ!a'ᵃⁱ every place	*kˌ!ēxū'nᴇ ʟˌ!aya'nᴇ* from each place, from everywhere 8.2
tcī water 64.24	*tcī'wanᴇ haⁱ'qîyyax* from the water he came ashore 56.13
xwā'ka head 29.5	*xwākī'nᴇ* from the head
sī'xaⁱ canoe 56.5	*sᴇxaᵘ'nᴇ* from the canoe

These local suffixes are frequently used as implying the idea of instrumentality.

qal·tc knife	*ʟ!xmaī'yūn qa'l·tcya* he killed him with a knife (literally, from a knife)
tcīʟ hand 50.18	*tcī'ʟnᴇ ʟōlᴇ'lūn* with the hand he struck him
ʟxaū' spear 64.7	*ʟxaᵘ'hīnᴇ ants hīte skwahaⁱ'* with a spear (in his hand) that person stood up 64.11, 12

§ 94. Adverbial Suffixes Indicating Modality *-ītc* (*-aītc*), *-ʻna*

-ītc. This suffix has both a nominal and a verbal function. As a nominal suffix it signifies LIKE. It is found suffixed to a number of modal adverbs (see § 121), and it invariably requires the accent. The interchange between the long *ī* and the diphthong *aⁱ* has been discussed in § 2.

ckō'tc hill 46.10	*qa'xântc qa'tcⁱnt ckō'tcī'tc* he went up a hill (literally, upwards he goes, hill-like) 12.9
txaⁱnˢ tracks, road 56.10	*tcīk ants łqaⁱ''tū ʟºwaⁱ' txaⁱnī'tc* wherever that tree falls across the road (literally, road-like) 84.2, 3
alᵃq one 18.7	*a'łqaⁱtcîn ʟ!xū'yūn qnà* half I know it (literally, one [half] like I know it) 92.12
sᴱa'ɪsa thus 11.10	*waa'xam sᴱatsī'tc* he was told thus 8.1
nî'ctcɑ something, how 16.2	*kwī'nx nîctcī'tc ʟ!wā'nīsūn* don't you tell him anything 17.1, 2

My informant frequently rendered this suffix by the phrase WHAT YOU WOULD CALL A . . . , SOME KIND OF . . . , especially in cases where the noun employed did not convey the exact idea that was wanted.

mᵃā'tī chief 10.2	*mᵃā'tītc tᴇ qwo'txaⁱ* beaver (was) (what you would call a) chief 50.6, 7
mātī'yūʷⁱ chief, general	*sᴱatsī'tc waa' ants mātī'wītc ants sī'xaⁱ* thus said that (what you would call) captain (of) that boat 64.26; 66.1
łnaᵘ'wⁱ rich man 86.4	*łnaᵘ'wītc ants hītc* (what you would call a) chief (was) that man 76.3
tᴇqyū'ᵘ frame 80.7	*tᴇqyū'wītc* (what you would call a) frame
łk!ī'aⁱ mouth (of river)	*łk!ī'aⁱwītc ants pkʻī'tī* (something like the) mouth (of) that lake

When added to adverbs that convey local ideas, it must be preceded by the local suffix of motion *-tc* (see § 90).

sqa^{i}k there 14.6

qanîs- down

tqa^{u}wī'- up-stream 56.8

sqa^{i}ktcī'tc qa'tc^{i}ntūx there (they) will go 30.22

qanîstcī'tc txū sLōxu'x^{u} down simply he went (slid) 12.6

qa'tc^{E}nt tqa^{u}wītcī'tc he went up-stream 58.12

This modal suffix may also express the idea of instrumentality, as will be seen from the following examples:

tsī'L.'ī arrow 50.7

tsax^{u} slave 76.3

kumî'ntc xu'wīl tsîL.'ī'tc not he can die through (literally, with) an arrow 15.8

tūhu'ha^{ū}n tsExwī'tc he bought her in exchange for a slave

When added to verbal stems, *-ītc* is almost invariably followed or preceded by the verbs *xînt-* TO GO, TO START, and *hīq.'-* TO START, TO BEGIN; and the idea conveyed by such a phrase may best be compared with our English sentences I GO INTO A STATE OF . . ., I START . . . -LY. The Siuslaw informant, unable to express this native phrase in English, usually rendered it by I, THOU, HE ALMOST. . . .

tcī^{i}n- to go home, to return 12.10

tEmū'- to assemble 7.3

Lī'ū- to arrive 9.2

tcax^{ų}- to go back, to return 30.14

xaū' he died 40.21

qūtx tcEnī'tc xînt he cried as he went home (literally, he cries when homewards he starts) 58.15, 16

tEmū^{i}'tc xînt L.'a'^{ai} people came together (literally, into a state of coming together go many) 30.15, 16

Līwī'tc^{w}ax wàn xînt they two are almost home (literally, in the manner of arriving they two finally go) 23.1

kī'x^{E}s tsxayū'^{wi} a'ntsîn tcExwī'tc xînt for ten days I was going back (literally, ten days this I returningly went) 66.20, 21

xEwī'tc^{E}nx hī'y.'ya (when) you are near death (literally, [when] in the manner of dying you start) 34.25

k!ap- low tide 36.18 — *ᵘl k!apī'tc xîntî't ants tcī* and the water began to get low (literally, into a state of low tide went that water) 36.20

sī'- to grow 98.10 — *sīhī'tcîn xî'ntyax* (when) I began to grow up (literally, [when] into a state of growing I went) 100.17

In one instance this suffix occurs as *-aᵘtc*, and is preceded by the stem *qatcn-* TO GO.

yax- to see 20.10 — *ᵘl qa'tcᴱnt yɛxaᵘ'tc a'ntsⁱtc tcmā'nī* he went to see his cousin 40.24

The verbs *xînt-* and *hīq!-* may be omitted, as is shown in the following example:

tcɑ̄q- to spear 68.8 — *qaⁱha'ntc lī'nyaxaᵘn yaᵉkᵘs tcaqaⁱ'tc* the seal took him way off as he speared him (literally, way off took him, seal, spearingly) 68.17, 18

-'na is added to adjectives only, and expresses an idea similar to that of the English suffix -LY.

mī'k!a bad 14.7 — *kwī'nx ʟ!wā'nīsūn mī'k!a'na* don't tell it to him badly 17.1, 2

kumî'ntc mī'k!a'na sînⁱxna'wīs not badly (we shall) keep on thinking of each other 78.12, 13

t!ī'sa grease — *nî'ctcîm t!ī'sa'nanx līt!a'wax* because greasy (things) they are going to eat 82.8

§ 95. Adverbial Suffixes Indicating Time *-tīta, -īta*

These suffixes are added to nouns that indicate division of time, and to verbs expressing celestial phenomena, and they may best be rendered by TOWARDS, WHEN THE TIME OF . . . COMES. Both suffixes require the accent.

pīctcɛm summer 46.11 — *pîctcɛmtīta' ᵘlᴱnx sqaⁱk tayaⁱ'* towards summer (hence, in the spring-time) they there live 62.2, 3

q!ɛxa^{u}yū'wî salmon season	*q!ɛxa^{u}yu'witīta' ^{u}l tqa^{u}'wītc taya$^{i'}$* when salmon-time comes (they) up-stream live 82.12, 13
qīū'nɛm winter 80.18, 19	*qīū'nɛmtīta'* towards winter
hî'n^{ɛ}k!ī- to rain 76.18	*hîn^{ɛ}k!īta'* in the rainy season
qa^{i}x night 38.21	*qa^{i}xīta'* towards night-time
nîctcînwa$^{i'}$ spring comes	*nîctcînawīta' ^{u}la^{u}x s^{ɛ}a'tsa xnī'^{w}nɛ* towards spring-time they two thus do it 98.5

§ 96. Modal Adverbs in *-a*

This suffix may be called the suffix of modality *par excellence*. By its means all stems expressing adjectival ideas, and all particles, are transformed into adverbs. Many of these stems (amplified by means of the modal suffix *-a*) do not occur in their original form, being used adverbially only. All such stems are denoted here by an asterisk (*). Whether this suffix may not be ultimately related to the locative *-a* (see § 86) is a debatable question.

hīs good 38.21	*kumî'ntc hī$^{i'}$sa nàtc* not well (it is) on me 12.2
lī'ū near 40.12	*līū'wa k^{u}nà înq!a'ītc tɛ ta^{i}* near, perhaps, the creek, these live 66.7, 8
yā$^{a'}$xa^{i} much, many 8.5	*hū'tctūns yā$^{a'}$xa* we shall play a great deal 10.6
yîkt big, large 48.8	*qanîstcī'tc īlqa'yūsnɛ yî'kta* very deep it would be dug (literally, down-like it is dug largely) 84.3, 4
**lîmq-* quick	*lî'mqan tcī'ntūx* right away I shall return 56.22
**ha^{i}n-* different	*ha$^{i'}$na* differently 58.9
**nīk!-* alone	*nī'k!a* alone 94.11
**s^{ɛ}ats-* thus	*s^{ɛ}a'tsa* thus, in that manner 18.4
**tsīk!-* much, very	*tsī'k!ya* very, very much 13.9

GENERAL NOMINALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 97–105)

§ 97. Nominal *-ū^{u}* (*-a^{ū}*), *-ū^{wi}*

This suffix conveys a general nominal idea, changing any neutral stem into a noun, and is employed extensively in the formation of verbal abstract nouns. It is also used to express collectivity of action,

an application that is in perfect harmony with its nominal character, as has been explained in § 78. The forms $-\bar{u}^u$ and $-\bar{u}^{wi}$ may be explained as due to imperfect perception on my part, while the double occurrence of $-\bar{u}^u$ and $-a^{\bar{u}}$ is caused by the phonetic relation that exists between the $\bar{u}$ and the diphthong $a^{\bar{u}}$ (see § 2).

hūtc- to play 7.2	*hūtcū'^{wi}*, *hūtcū'^{u}* fun, 8.5; 16.6
tᴇmū'- to gather 7.3	*tcîk ants ʟ!a'^{ai} tᴇm^{u}ū'^{u}* where (there is) that big assembly 88.3
paʟn- to hunt 82.17	*qwà'tc ʟ!xū'yūn paʟnū'^{wi}* (he) who knows (the art of) hunting 82.18
xîl·xcī- to work 48.10	*tsī'k!ya ʟ!xū'yūn xîl·xcyū'^{u}* very (well) he knows (the art of) working 52.22, 23
sī- to grow 98.10	*s^{ᴇ}a'tsatc sī'ya'a$^{\bar{u}}$* such (was) her growth 98.6
ʟxat- to run 12.3	*ʟxatū'^{wi}* a race 78.18
xîntm- to travel 12.10	*wî'nxanx tcī'wa xîntmū'^{wi}* thou art afraid to go to the ocean (literally, thou fearest to water the journey)
yałq- to dig 84.5	*yałqa'a$^{\bar{u}}$* a hole 84.6
xa^{i}tc- to roast 90.8	*xa^{i}tca'a$^{\bar{u}}$* roast 90.9
anxī- to sing	*anxyū'^{wi}* a song

This suffix is found in a great number of nouns whose original stems can no longer be analyzed. The following list may be given:

ha^{u}wī'yū shaft	*tcmîłqū'^{wi}* ring (*tcmîłq* finger)
paa^{ū}'wî sand beach 34.14	*k^{u}tsū'^{wi}* saliva
pahū'^{wi} codfish	*kū'cū* hog (from French through medium of the Chinook jargon)
pā'l·ū spring, well 76.12	*kū''tcîyū* sea-otter
ma'tcū bed (place of lying?)	*kmū'kū* pipe-stem
ma'ltcū chimney, stove (place of burning?)	*kcîkyū'^{wi}* wall
tᴇqyū'^{u} frame (of a house) 80.7	*klī'nū* ladder, stairway
tūqya'a^{ū} up the river 32.22	*kwīnī'ntxū* throat
t'ū'nîxyū pocket	*k!a'l·apū* navel
nîctcîma^{s}mū custom, fashion 36.28	*qasʟī'ū* husband 48.20
cîmī'ʟtxū upper lip	*qa^{i}wa'a^{ū}* bay, down-stream 80.6
tsxayū'^{wi} day, sun, weather 8.1	*qa^{u}łī'ū* bark 90.8
	q!ᴇxa^{u}yu'wī salmon-time 82.12
	łna$^{u'wi}$ rich man, chief 86.4

łk^{w}una'atsū live-coals
łqa^{i}''tū tree, log 32.21
łq!ā'nū hide, skin 100.15
ʟīya'a^{ū} fire 25.5
ʟxaū' pole, spear 64.7
ʟ!mî'kcū flounder 100.10

When added to the numeral particle *yā$^{a'}$xa^{i}* MUCH, MANY, it denotes the idea expressed by a noun of quality. This particle is to all appearances a stem amplified by means of the nominal suffix *-a^{i}* (see § 98); and since two nominal suffixes of a similar function can not be added to one and the same stem, the *-a^{i}* disappears, and the suffix *-a^{ū}* is added to the bare stem *yāx-*.

yā$^{a'}$xa^{i} much, many 8.5

tcî'nt^{E}tc ya'xa^{ū} xałna$^{i'}$ how many had climbed up (literally, what their number climbed up) 62.11
tcî'nt^{E}tc ya'xa^{ū} tɛ'qtc ants qīūtcū'nî as many relatives as that woman had (literally, how much their number [of] her relatives [of] that woman) 76.1
ʟxa$^{i'}$p^{i}stc ya'xa^{ū} five their number 100.15

§ 98. Nominal *-ī* (*-a^{ī}*)

This suffix is found in a large number of nouns expressing a variety of concepts. It occurs with nouns indicating instrumentality, with verbal abstract nouns, with nouns of relationship, with terms designating animals, with stems expressing natural objects, etc. It is not altogether inconceivable that this nominal formative element may be identical with the verbalizing suffix *-a^{i}* (see § 75), even though its nominalizing function can no longer be explained in a majority of cases. In many instances the original stem to which this suffix has been added does not occur in its independent form. The substitution of the diphthong *-a^{ī}* for the long *ī* has been discussed in § 2.

pɛkū'- to play shinny 9.4
tsīʟ!- to shoot 8.6
mînx^{u}- to lighten 38.5
wî'nkī- to work 50.6
ta^{i} he sits 16.2

pā'kwī shinny stick
tsī'ʟ!ī arrow 50.7
mî'n^{i}xwī lightning 38.2
wî'nakī work
tī'ta^{ī} chair

łī't!- to eat 13.10
hū'tc- to play 7.2

aswît'ī' blanket
înq!a'a^{ī}, *înq!a'ī*, river 30.20, 23
umłī' thunder 36.8
ū'łtī snow 76.10
hamī'^{c}tcī whale 82.4
ha'kwī mussels 82.2
hī'a^{ī} clouds
hītsī'^{i} house 25.2
ha^{ì} heart, mind 8.9
pk'ī'tī lake 62.18
mɛkłī' father-in-law
ma'ī kidney
m^{a}ā'tī chief 10.2
mā'tī dam 48.10
māt!ī' elder brother 58.11
mîsī'a^{ī} elder sister 90.23
mîctcī'^{i} younger sister 40.2
mî'ck'la^{ī} something bad, vulva 26.5
tqā'tī hook
tqu'nī smoke

łī't!a^{ī} food 34.23
hūtca$^{ī'}$ fun 10.5

sī'xa^{ī} canoe 56.5
tsalī'swalī beads (?)
tsîtī'^{i} sand beach
tsō'tī waves, breakers
tsxu'npɪlī coyote 88.9
tcī water 36.20
tcī't!ī wind
ts!'ū'xwī spoon
k^{ɛ}ā'nī basket 90.21
qa'xī chicken-hawk
qā'wī blood
q^{u}nîtī'^{i} perforation in the ear
q^{w}unaxī'^{i} cheek
qwo'txa^{ī} beaver 48.6
q!a'tctī cedar
łt'ī'a^{ī} salmon 56.1
łq!ā'sī eel
ɪ!a'^{ai} ground, world, earth, place, many 7.2
ɪ!'ī''nī floor
ɪ!xmī'tī bow

When added to stems that express adjectival ideas, this suffix forms nouns of quality.

hīs good 38.21
yîkt big 48.8

yāx- much, many 8.5

hīsī'^{i} goodness
hītsī'sɛm yîktī'^{i} of the house the large (size)
łq!ānū$^{i'}$ml yîxī'^{i} of hides a great number 102.1, 2

§ 99. Nouns of Quality in *-t'ū^{u}* (*-t'ū^{wi}*)

There can be little doubt that the vocalic elements of this suffix are identical with the nominalizing suffix discussed in § 97. The etymology of the initial consonantic element is obscure. This suffix is added to adjectives and adverbs only. Owing to the fact that a number of adjectives end in *-t* (see § 104) and that double consonants are invariably simplified, these adjectives drop their final consonant before adding the suffix (see § 15).

hatca'ṭ long 76.1	*tcî'ntᴱtc ha'tcṭ'ū'ᵘ* for a long time (literally, how much its long period) 48.2
ɬna^{uwi} rich 86.4	*ɬna^{u}wîṭ'ū'^{wi}* wealth
yîkt large 48.8	*yîkṭ'ū'^{wi}* large size
qa'xûn high 8.7	*qaxûnṭ'ū'^{wi}* height
qa^{i}n- deep	*qa^{i}nṭ'ū'^{wi}* depth
hīs good 38.21	*hīsṭ'ū'^{wi}* kindness
qa^{i}ha'n- far 10.3	*qa^{i}hanṭ'ū'^{u}* distance

§ 100. Nouns of Agency in *-ya^{u}x*, *-îɬ* (*-a^{i}ɬ*), *-ṭ!*, *-ṭ!wɪ*

Nomina actoris are formed by means of the following suffixes:

-ya^{u}x This suffix seems to have been used frequently.

ɬak^{u}- to fetch, to catch 7.5	*ɬa'k^{u}kya^{u}x* sheriff (literally, a catcher [of people])
xū^{u}n- to snore 27.9	*xū'nya^{u}x* a snorer
ɬa'wat!- to gamble	*ɬa'wat!ya^{u}x* a gambler
ɬn- to call (?)	*ɬna'ɬya^{u}x* an interpreter
tᴇmū'- to gather 7.3	*tᴇma^{u}'ya^{u}x* a person who assembles (people) 30.2

***-îɬ* (*-a^{i}ɬ*).** This suffix is easily confounded with the verbal negative suffix of similar phonetic structure (see § 53); but this similarity is purely accidental.

wî'nkī- to work	*sᴱà tsī'k!ya wî'nkīɬ* he (is a) very (good) worker 50.5, 6
xîɬ·xcī'- to work 48.10	*xî'ɬ·xcîɬ* a workingman
xîntm- to travel 12.10	*xî'ntmīɬ* a traveler
waa'- to speak 7.1	*wa'a^{i}ɬ* a speaker
pᴇkū'- to play shinny 9.4	*pa'kwīɬ* a shinny player

-ṭ! It is quite possible that this suffix may have some connection with the initial element of the suffix for nouns of quality, *-ṭ'ū^{u}* (see § 99).

ʟ!wîn to tell 8.2	*ʟ!wānṭ!* an informant
tsīʟ!- to shoot 8.6	*tsīʟ!ṭ!* a marksman
yuw- to pick, to dig 96.18	*yū'ya^{ū}ṭ!* a person who picks (berries [reduplicated stem])
paʟn- to hunt 82.17	*paʟ'nṭ!* a hunter
ṭ!āmc child, infant 40.20	*ṭ!îmcṭ!* one who raises children 30.23

§ 100

-t!wî seems to be another form of the preceding suffix.

lak^{u}- to fetch	. . . *tɛ la'k^{u}t!wî hītū'tc* this gatherer of the people 7.5
	la'k^{u}t!wî a fetcher 22.9

§ 101. Nouns in *-ax*

This suffix is used for the purpose of forming nouns from verbal stems, adverbs, and stems denoting geographical terms. When added to verbs or to adverbs, it is best rendered by PERSON, PEOPLE; while when used in connection with geographical terms, it denotes a tribal name and may be translated by INHABITING, BELONGING TO.

xaū' he died 40.21	*kū^{i} nàts xā'wa^{a}xa^{ū}tnɛ* if he had not been killed (literally, not had he been a person [who was] killed) 29.7
ʟ!ōx- to send 16.10	*tcīn ants hītc ʟ!^{o}wa'x* returned this human messenger (literally, returned that person [who was] sent) 7.7
	(*ʟ!^{o}wa'x* instead of *ʟ!^{o}wa'xax*, see § 24)
a^{w}'stūx he will sleep 27.7	*sî'n^{i}xyū'$^{\backprime}$nɛ ts!îlna'tc xawa'a^{u} a^{u}'stūxax* it was desired (that) with pitch killed shall be the person (who) will sleep 24.1
wā'nwîts long ago 14.7	*nî'ctcîm s^{ɛ}a'tsa wā'nwîtsax* because thus (did it) the old-timers (literally, [people belonging to] long ago) 68.13
nîctcîma^{c}mū custom, fashion 36.28	*s^{ɛ}atsī'tc wā'nwîtsax nîctcîma^{c}mwax* thus (was) the custom of the old-timers (literally, thus [of people of] long ago the [things pertaining to their] customs) 76.6, 7
pɛlī'tc first 32.19	*pɛlī'tcax* a first settler
ʟxa^{wi}-?	*ʟxa^{u}'yax* the other one, friend 42.8
qū^{i}-, qū'ītc south	*qū'yax, qū'ītcax* an Umpqua Indian (literally, a person inhabiting the south)
qpa^{i}- north	*qpa'yax* an Alsea man
qa^{i}xq- east	*qa^{i}'xqax* a Kalapuya Indian
pī'$^{\backprime}$tsîs ocean 44.1	*pī'$^{\backprime}$tsîsax* inhabitants of the ocean
ckō$^{\backprime}$tc mountain 46.10	*ckō'$^{\backprime}$tcītcax* a mountaineer

§ 102. Nouns in *-ūnî* (*-aᵘnî*)

This suffix is added to adjectives, a few adverbs used in an adjectival sense, and to nouns. It has a double function. When added to adjectives or to adverbs, it transforms them into nouns, just as any adjective is transformed into a noun by adding ONE to it (compare our phrases THE BIG ONE, THE GOOD ONE, etc.). When used with other nouns, this suffix has an adjectival character, which may be best rendered by MADE OF, COMPOSED OF.

tɛxᵉm strong 10.1	*tɛxmū'nî* the strong one, a man 30.21
ɬxaᵘ'yax other 42.8	*ɬxaᵘyaxaᵘ'nî* the other one 86.18
yîkt big 48.8	*yîktū'nî* the big one
sʰaⁱt large	*sʰaⁱtū'nî* the larger one 92.18
yāk!- small 38.19	*tū yāk!aᵘ'nî* that small one 88.12
lîmnī'tc behind 86.11	*lîmnītcū'nî mîctcī'ⁱ* the youngest sister 40.2
hī'q!a beads, Indian money, dentalia shells 74.19	*hīq!ahaᵘ'nî* consisting of dentalia shells 78.14
pî'lqᵘts coon	*pîlqᵘtsū'nî tahā'nîk* made of raccoon (-hide) quivers 70.23, 24
t!ī bear 12.4	*t!īyū'nî tahā'nîk* made of bear (-skin) quivers 70.24
k!īx tɛ'q everything 24.4	*k!ēxū'nî tɛ'qaᵘ'nî hūtcaⁱ'* composed of every sort (of) fun 10.5
ła'qłaq boards	*łaqłaqaᵘ'nītc hītsī'ⁱ* made of some kinds of boards the house 80.7

This suffix may be added to verbal stems provided the verb has been changed into an attribute of a following noun.

hamx- to tie	*ᵘl hamxaᵘ'nî ants tsɛhaᵘ'ya* and that made of tied grass . . . 8.6

§ 103. Nominalizing Suffix Indicating Place *-aᵉmū*

This suffix indicates the place where a certain action is performed. When added to stems ending in a velar or palatal consonant, it appears as *-yaᵉmū*, and changes the final velar of the stem (*q*, *q.'*) into a palatal *k* (see § 17). After all other consonants it occurs as *-aᵉmū*. The short *u*-vowels following velar and palatal consonants disappear before this suffix. It is possible that the final *ū* of the suffix may be related to the general nominalizing suffix *-ū* discussed in § 94 (see § 23).

ma'q!ī- to dance 28.7	*mɛkya^{s}mū* a dance-hall
ya'q^{u}- to see 23.9	*yɛkya^{s}mū* a vantage point
pɛkū'- to play shinny 9.4	*pɛkya^{s}mū* a place where shinny is played, ball-grounds
nīctcat!- to fight	*nīctcat!a^{s}mū* battlefield
tūhatc'- to try to buy	*tūhatc'a^{s}mū* a store
ɪxat- to run 12.3	*ɪxata^{s}mū* track (literally, a place where people run)
	nîctcîma^{s}mū custom, fashion 29.9

§ 104. Adjectives in *-t*

Siuslaw has no true adjectives. All stems denoting adjectival ideas are intransitive verbs, and may be used as such, as may be seen from the following examples:

mī'k!a hītc that bad man 23.2,3	*tsī'k!ya mī'k!a* very bad it was 14.7
hatca't hī'q!a long (strings of) dentalia shells 76.1	*hatca't ants łqa$^{i''}$tū* there was a tall tree 92.21

Owing to this verbal significance, the Siuslaw adjective shows no special suffixes. A few stems denoting adjectival concepts appear in duplicated form, mostly those expressing color (see § 109). There will be found, however, a number of words expressing attributive ideas that end in *-t*.[1] Whether this consonant is related to the auxiliary *-t* (see § 76) or whether it may be looked upon as a true adjectival suffix, is a question open to discussion. The following is a list of such adjectives:

yîkt big, large 48.8	*t'xulī't* straight
hawā'tsît new	*s^{h}a^{i}t* big, old 92.18
hatca't long, tall 76.1	*tsînq!t* poor 16.10
hīxt wild	*tsîɪt* thick
pā^{a}la'st[2] spotted	*kî'k'īt* heavy 11.9
pînî'łt sharp	*k!wī'act* proud
mɛkct fat 90.16	*q^{u}cī'ct* thin
tîmsqayā't bitter, sour	*ɪqut* red
tînt ripe	*ɪ!āqt* wet 56.13
tqatīya't dear, expensive	*ɪ!nuwā'tît* deep

§ 105. Irregular Suffixes *-ɛm, -īsî, -wî, -yūwî, -īwî*

These suffixes occur very seldom, and, while their function is to all appearances nominal, it can not be explained accurately.

[1] See also § 124.

[2] Dorsey: *p'āl-łâst* gray.

-*Em* occurs with a few nouns.

îłqwa$^{a'}$tɛm root, alder tree 92.5, 6	*tsamî'tsɛm* chin
pī'ctcɛm summer 98.8	*qīū'nɛm* winter 80.19
	xa$^{i'}$tsɛm woman's basket

-*īsî* seems to denote an abstract idea.

płn- to be sick 40.21	*płnī'sî* sickness, cough
qa^{i}x dark, night 38.21	*qa^{i}xī'sî* darkness, night
hwu'nhwun black	*hō'nīsî* dusk
nî'ctca (?) how 16.2	*nî'ctcīsî* arrival (?) 40.16
nîctcînwa$^{i'}$ spring comes	*nîctcanū'wīsî* year 92.12

The following nouns have analogous form:

a$^{u'}$tcīsî camas 96.20	*ɬ!ntī''tcīsî* crawfish
lī'xtsnīsî small-pox	

The nouns *tswa'sî* FROST and *ɬ^{u}wa'sî* NOSE may also belong here.

-*wî* is found in a small number of nouns.

sî'na^{u}wî grouse	*k!ō$^{o'}$xwî* gnat
tsna'wî bone	*q^{u}hā'qwî* broom

In a few instances this suffix seems to form nouns of agency, and may be related to the suffixes discussed in §§ 97 and 99.

tsxan- to comb one's hair	*tsxa'nwî* a comb
qatcū^{i}- to drink 76.12	*qatcwī'wî* a person who waters animals (?)
c^{u}xū- to drive away, to scare 56.11	*cūxwa'wî* a driver (?)
īłq- to dig 80.6	*îłqa'wî* one who digs holes

-*yūwî*, -*īwî*. These two suffixes have a peculiar function. They seem to denote the nominal object of an action performed by a noun of agency (see § 100). The most puzzling phenomenon connected with their function is the fact that they can be added only to the discriminative form of a noun (see § 111), which seems to stand in direct contradiction to its objective significance, because the discriminative case points to the noun as the subject of the action.

Absolutive	Discriminative	Objective
pɛnî's skunk 86.1	*pɛna's* 86.7	*tsīɬ!t! pɛnasyū'wî* a skunk-shooter

Absolutive	Discriminative	Objective
hītc person 7.1	*hⁱya'tc* 13.10; 15.2	*tsīʟ!t! hⁱyatcū'wî* a man-killer
		tɛma^{u}'ya^{u}x hyatcī'wî a gatherer of people
swal grizzly bear	*swāl* 15.2	*tsīʟ!t! swālyū'wî* a grizzly-shooter
(?) huckleberries	*tɛ'xya*	*la'k^{u}tlwî taxyū'wî* a picker of huckleberries
qwo'txa^{l} beaver 48.6	*qwoa'txa^{l}* 52.4	*tsīʟ!t! qwoatxī'wî* a beaver-killer

Another nominalizing suffix that seems to be confined to one stem only is *-as* in the noun *wa'as* LANGUAGE, WORD, MESSAGE 34.21, formed from the verbal stem *waa-* TO SPEAK, TO TALK.

Reduplication (§§ 106–109)

§ 106. *Introductory*

Reduplication as a factor in the formation of grammatical categories and processes does not play as important a rôle in Siuslaw as in many other American Indian languages.

Considered from a purely phonetic point of view, the process of reduplication may affect a single sound, a syllable, or the whole word, while from the standpoint of position of the reduplicated elements it may be either initial or final. In accordance with these processes, a given language may show the following possible forms of reduplication: Vocalic or consonantic initial reduplication; consonantic final reduplication, commonly called final reduplication; syllabic reduplication, usually referred to as doubling or reduplication of the syllable; and word-reduplication, better known as repetition of the stem.

Of the forms of reduplication known actually to occur in the American Indian languages, Siuslaw shows only duplication of the (first) syllable, duplication of the final consonant, and repetition of the stem. Syllabic duplication occurs rather seldom, final duplication is resorted to frequently, while repetition of the stem plays a not unimportant part in the formation of words.

Reduplication is confined chiefly to the verb; its use for expressing distribution—a phenomenon commonly found in American Indian languages—is entirely unknown to Siuslaw, which employs this process solely for the purpose of denoting repetition or duration of action.

§ 107. *Duplication of the Initial Syllable*

This process occurs in a few sporadic instances only. The repeated syllable occurs in its full form, the original syllable losing its vocalic elements. Initial stops of both the original and repeated syllables are usually changed into fortis (see § 17).

tɛmū'- to assemble 7.3	*t!ɛmt!ma'xam wàn* they come to see him (literally, he is assembled about) 23.3
lī'ū (they) come 9.3	*l!īl!wa'xam* he is approached 16.3
	l!īl!wī'sūtnɛ he is continually approached 26.2
	sᴱa'tsanx tɛ l!ī'l!ūtūts that's why I came (to see) you 21.6, 7
	hⁱya'tcnᴱxan l!ī'l!ūts people us came (to see) repeatedly 100.8
taⁱ- to sit, to live 16.2	*ants Tsxuna'pɬī t!ī't!yūn* (that) on which Coyote was sitting 94.6
hal- to shout 13.11	*ɬhalī'yūsnɛ* he would be shouted at 70.22 (this form may be explained as derived from an original *halhalī'yūsnɛ*)
	ɬhalī'txaᵘ̈'nɛ he is continually shouted at 11.10
yuw- to pick 96.18	*yū'yaᵘ̈wt!* one who picks

§ 108. *Duplication of Final Consonants*

This process is employed extensively, and consists in the repetition of the final consonant with insertion of a weak *a-* or *î-* vowel. In many instances the quality of the connecting vowel is affected by the vowel of the stem. This is especially true in cases where the stem ends in a *u*-vowel, after which the connective vowel is assimilated and becomes a weak *u*. The short vowel of the stem is not infrequently changed into a long vowel. This duplication plays an important part in the formation of the past tense (see § 74), and, in addition to denoting frequency and duration of action, it seems to be capable of expressing commencement, especially of intransitive actions.

aᵘs- to sleep 23.9	*aᵘ'sî's* he began to sleep 26.9
qax dark 38.21	*qaⁱxî'x wā'nwîts* it got dark long ago 64.19

xînt- to go 20.3	*ᵘł wàn xîntî'ᵗ* he kept on going now 56.23
sLōxᵘ- to go down	*ᵘł sLōxu'xᵘ wīL!a'xL!* he came down again 12.6
haⁱq shore 44.7	*haⁱqa'q wan* he then went ashore 58.17
loqw- to boil 96.1	*ᵘł txū lōqwa'qᵘ* and just he was boiling 96.7, 8
mī'k!a bad 14.7	*mīk!a'k! ants tsxayū'ʷⁱ* began to get rough that weather 64.15
smūt'- to end 11.1	*wàn smūt'a't'* it ends finally 9.1
tcīt'- to blow 94.5	*tcīt'a't'* the wind blew 94.5
hūtc- to play 7.2	*ᵘłᴱnx āL hūtca'tc* and they now began to play 72.23, 24
k!ap- low water 36.18	*k!āpî'p* low water (comes)
xwīL!- to go back 42.6	*xwīL!a'L! wàn* he finally came back 12.7
nał- to start	*sqā'tEm nāłî'ł* he started from there 68.10
hī'q!- to start 22.6	*sᴱa'tsa hī'q!aq!yax* thus it began 15.1
łakᵘ- to take 7.5	*ᵘła'ᵘx łakwa'kū'ᵘn* they two took (them) away 52.16
	ła'kukyax she took 60.23
xumc- to come, to approach	*xumca'caᵘx wàn* they two are approaching now 23.2
hīts- to put on 11.8	*hⁱyatsî'tsūn ants łaⁱ'qat* he is putting that feather on 11.8
tū'tc- to spear 62.2	*tᵒwatcî'tcūnaᵘx* they two began to spear it 56.15, 16
	tᵒwa'tcîtcyaxaᵘ̄n I have been spearing it 66.17
tcaq- to spear 68.18	*ᵘła'ᵘx tcaqa'qaᵘ̄n* and they two began to spear it 56.19
yax- to see 20.10	*ᵘła'ᵘx yaxî'xūn* they two saw it 56.15
qnū'- to find 56.9	*ᵘłn qnūhū'hūᵘn* I am finding it

A very interesting case of duplication applied to formative elements is presented by the nominal suffix *-ax*. This suffix signifies PEOPLE, BELONGING TO, and, when added to the adverb *wā'nwîts* LONG AGO, it was invariably rendered by OLD-TIMERS (see § 101). Whenever the speaker wants to imply the intensive idea PEOPLE OF VERY LONG AGO, he usually repeats this suffix.

wā'nwîtsax old-timer 68.13

wā'nwîtsaxax people of long, long ago 29.9

sᴱa'tsa xnīʷ'nūtnᴇ wā'nwîtsaxax thus it was done (by) people of long, long ago 62.9

wā'nwîtsaxax nîctcîmaᵉmū (of) old, old-timers their custom 68.19

Similarly the modal *-ītc* (see § 94) is found repeated in a few instances.

tcā where 34.4

tcaītcī'tc nī'ctūx where he will go 64.20

§ 109. *Duplication of Stems*

While this process is, strictly speaking, of a lexicographical character, and as such ought to be treated more properly under the heading "Vocabulary" (see § 137), it will nevertheless be found useful to give here a list of doubled stems. Barring a few nouns, most of these terms are adjectives denoting color and quality.

hwu'nhwun black

pxū'ⁱpxūⁱ sorrel, yellow

tu'ktuk deaf

ⁱn'k!ⁱnk! soft

kî'k'īt heavy 11.9

pūna'pūna' gopher, mole 96.19

mū'smūs cow [1]

t!'a'l·t!'al· tongue

tsîyî'ktsîyî'k wagon [1]

qa'sqas stiff, hard

qa'ʟquʟ white 40.10,11

qtsî'nqtsîn blue, green

xu'sxus naked

łîma'tîm blind

tsînī'ʟtsînī'ʟ [2] little beaver (?) 50.15

tcîmtca'mî ax 27.10

qᵘlaⁱʟ'qᵘlaⁱʟ otter from ocean (?)

łaqłaq board 80.7

Vocalic Changes (§§ 110–112)

§ 110. *Introductory*

Siuslaw expresses two distinct grammatical categories by means of vocalic change. Of these two categories, one is nominal, while the other has a strictly verbal character pertaining to intensity and frequency of action. When applied to nouns, vocalic change expresses the discriminative case.

[1] Chinook jargon. [2] Chinook.

§ 111. *The Discriminative Case*

The discriminative case is that form of the noun which singles it out as the performer of an action directed upon an object; i. e., it designates the nominal subject in sentences containing pronominal or nominal object.

The discriminative form of pronouns and of nouns of relationship is expressed by means of the prefix *q-* (see § 21). All other nouns express the discriminative form by means of a vocalic change that varies according to the quantity of the stem-vowel, and in polysyllabic stems according to the quantity of the vowel of the accented syllable. The following rules may be said to apply in all cases:

1. The discriminative form of nouns the stem-vowel of which is a long *ī* or *ū* is obtained through the diphthongization of these vowels into *ya* and *wa* respectively (see § 7). For purely physiological reasons a weak vowel corresponding to the quality of the diphthongized vowel is inserted between the diphthong and its preceding consonant.

hītc person, people 7.1	*ul ya'q^{u}'yūn hi'ya'tc* and people looked on 70.4
lī'tc^{E}t cougar 13.3	*li'ya'tc^{i}t hi'yatsî'tsūn* Cougar put it on 13.4
mī'k!a bad 14.7	*mi'ya'k!a hi'ya'tc li't!a'yūn* a bad person devoured him 15.2
hīq^{u} wild-cat 34.17	*hi'yatsî'tsūn hi'ya'q^{u}* Wild-Cat put it on 11.11
lk!anū'k^{u} screech-owl 86.1	*tsī'k!ya wî'nxa^{ū}n ants pEnî's lk!-an^{u}wa'k^{u}* Screech-Owl feared that Skunk very much 86.3
	hīna'^{w}ūn ants plna'st lk!an^{u}wa'k^{u} Screech-Owl intended to take along that sick man 88.1, 2
qīūtcū'nî woman 30.21	*cî'l·xūn qīūtc^{u}wa'nî* (a) woman shook him 58.4
tExmū'nî man 30.21	*wī'lūn tExm^{u}wa'nî* (the) man agreed with her 58.7
tsxayū'^{wi} sun, day 8.1	*mîtkwī'tūtsîn tsxay^{u}wa'wî* (the) Sun had pity on me 72.14

Somewhat irregular discriminative forms are shown by the nouns *t!ī* GRIZZLY BEAR and *qī'ūtc* WIFE, which occur as *t!īya$^{i'}$* and *qa'yūtc* respectively.

t!ī grizzly bear 12.4	*t!īya$^{i'}$ h^{i}yatsî'tsūn* Grizzly Bear put it on 12.3
qī'ūtc wife 48.17	*ma^{a}tc qa'yūtc^{E}tc* (he and) his wife had lain 60.13

2. Nouns with short stem-vowels, or with short vowels in the accented syllable, change these vowels into an *a* in their discriminative forms. Short *a*-vowels of the stem are lengthened into *ā*.

pEnî's skunk 86.1	*l'na$^{u'wi}$ hītc ^{u}l lqaqa$^{ī'}$txa^{ū}n pEna's* (at) a rich man he always broke his wind, (namely) Skunk 86.6, 7
tsî'sqan deer 13.9	*h^{i}yatsî'tsūn tsa'sqîn* Deer put it on 13.8
qwo'txa^{ī} beaver 48.6	*a'tsa ^{u}l kumî'ntc sî'n^{i}xyūn qwoa't-xa^{ī}*[1] *ants q^{u}L!ī'tc* that's why not liked Beaver that Otter 54.8, 9
pîlq^{u}ts raccoon 70.23, 24	*pa'lq^{u}ts h^{i}yatsî'tsūn* Raccoon put it on
q!a'xa^{u}xt wolf 13.2	*q!ā'xa^{u}xt h^{i}yatsî'tsūn* Wolf put it on 12.8
swal grizzly bear	*swāl l^{i}t!a'yūn* Grizzly Bear devoured them 15.2
sqūma' pelican 44.1	*waa'a^{ū}n sqūmā' ants lq!al·ō'mä* said Pelican to Sea-Gull 44.17

3. Stems containing diphthongs, or stems whose accented syllables end in the diphthong *a^{i}*, add a short *a* to the diphthong for the purpose of forming the discriminative case.

ha$^{i'}$mūt all 9.5	*haya'mūt h^{i}ya'tc L!xū'yūn* all people know it 60.24, 25
	yaq$^{u'}$yī'^{w}yūtsatcî haya'mūt you all shall look at me 72.11, 12
ha$^{i'}$na different 58.9	*haya'na h^{i}yatsî'tsūn* another (one) put it on 12.8

4. Polysyllabic stems whose accented syllable ends in a consonant and is followed by a syllable beginning with a consonant form the discriminative case by inserting a short *a* between these two consonants.

tsxu'npLī coyote 88.9	*ants Tsxuna'pLī t!ī't!yūn* that (on which) he was sitting, (namely) Coyote 94.6
tExmî'l·mä old people 58.25	*tExmîl·a'mî L!xū'yūn* an old man knew it 76.15, 16

[1] Probably misheard for qwa'txa^{ī}.

um'lī thunder

qīūtcî'l·mä old woman 96.15

tcî'nta^{u} which one 90.1

s^{E}*atsī'tc wad'a*^{ū}*n uma'lī* thus said to him Thunder 36.9

qīūtcîl·a'mî ta'yūn ants tsī'ʟ!ī the old woman kept that arrow 96.2

tcîna'ta^{u} *sî'n*^{i}*xyaxa*^{ū}*n ants* . . . whoever wanted that . . . 11.6, 7

§ 112. *Intensity and Duration of Action*

Vocalic change as a means of expressing intensive and durative actions is of a twofold character. The change consists either in the diphthongization of the long *ī*- and *ū*- vowels of the stem (see § 7), or in stem-amplification. In both cases the underlying principle may be described as the change of a monosyllabic root into a stem having two syllables.

Diphthongization is applied to those stems only whose vowels are either long *ī* or *ū*. A verbal stem with a diphthongized vowel expresses durative actions only in connection with other proper devices, such as the temporal suffixes or duplication of final consonants (see §§ 41, 56, 69, 108). Owing to the fact that certain temporal suffixes—notably the inchoative, the frequentative, the durative, the present, the future, and the imperative—imply to a certain extent intensive actions, or actions that are being performed continually, the suffixes for these tenses are frequently found added to the verbal stem whose vowel has been diphthongized, while all other tenses are formed from the simple root.

ʟ!ōn- to tell 16.9

s^{E}*atsī'tc ʟ!wa*^{a}*n* thus he was speaking 16.6

kū'n- to bend down

^{u}l txū kwa'^{hu}*nt* and (they) would just bend down 11.9

^{u}l kwa^{hu}*na't!îst* and he would continually lower his head 13.5

tkūm- to close, to shut 48.8

^{u}lns tkwa'mīsūn and we two shall keep on making dams (literally, closing [the river]) 48.14

tū'tc- to spear 62.2

^{o}wa'tcīs wàn spear it now! 64.2

^{o}watcî'tcūna^{u}*x* they two are spearing it 56.15, 16

qū'n- to pour 29.2

qwa''nyūx pour it into his . . . ! 29.2

ʟ!ōx- to send 16.10

ʟ!^{o}wa'xyūn (I) shall keep on sending (them) 30.19

ʟ!xū- to know 19.9	*ʟ!xᵘwa'xᵘyūtsa'tcî* you shall know me 30.17
lakᵘ- to take, to get 7.5	*wàn lakwa'kūᵘn* now (they two) were taking them 52.16
hīts- to put on 11.8	*hⁱyatsî'tsūn* he is putting it on 11.8
cītx- to flop	*cⁱyatx* it is flopping 36.23
īłqaⁱ' he digs 84.2	*ya'łqaᵘn* (they two) are digging (holes) 84.5
tsīʟ!- to shoot 8.6	*tsⁱyaʟ!-* to shoot

Intensity and duration of action of verbal stems whose root-vowels are vowels of quantities and qualities other than *ī* and *ū* are expressed by means of amplification of the root by the insertion of a weak vowel between its two final consonants. This process occurs in a few rare instances.

anx- to give up 60.11	*kumî'ntcînł ana'xyūn* not we shall give it up 16.8
hamx- to tie 8.6	*k!ᴱ'ʟūn hama'xyūn* tomorrow I will tie it up
xnīʷn- to do 10.5	*sᴱa'tsaᵘxûn xnīyunīʷ'yūn* thus to them two I will do it 88.14, 15
	sᴱa'tsaᵘxûn xnīyuna'ʷūn thus to them two I intend doing it

Another example of stem-amplification for the purpose of expressing duration of action is furnished by the stem *aⁱq-* TO LEAVE, which is changed into *ayaq-*.

taᵛ'kᴱns aya'qyūn here we two (incl.) will leave it 56.16, 17

Stem-amplification may have also caused the change of the root *ʟ!xmaⁱ-* TO KILL into *ʟ!xmīyaⁱ-*.

yāᵃ'xaⁱ hītc ʟ!xmīya'yūn ants Swāl many people he is killing, that Grizzly Bear 94.9

ʟ!xmīya'yūnanł we (incl.) are going to kill him 28.3

Siuslaw possesses a number of stems that occur in such double forms, and I give here a few of the most important.

ʟ!ōn- 16.9	*ʟ!waᵒn-* to tell 16.6
kū'n-	*kwaʰʷn-* to lower one's head 11.9
tkūm- 48.8	*tkwam-* to close, to shut 48.14
tū'tc- 62.2	*tᵒwatc-* to spear 56.15
qū'n- 29.2	*qwa'n-* to pour 29.2

ʟ!ōx- 16.10	*ʟ!°wax-* to send 7.7
k^{u}ts-	*kwats-* to paint one's face
ʟōł-	*ʟ°wał-* to strike
ka^{ū}s- 92.7	*k^{i}was-* to follow 92.3
ūlt- 76.10	*walt-* to snow
łak^{u}- 7.5	*łakwa'-* to take, to get, to fetch 52.16
xaū'- 40.21	*xawa'-* to die 15.5
haū'- 11.4	*ha'wa-* to be ready 23.10
t!ū'- 74.5	*t!ūha'-* to buy 74.5
t!ᴇ'mxū^{u}- 48.12	*t!ᴇmxwa-* to cut into pieces
wī'lū- 58.7	*wīlwa'-* to agree 30.11
yax- 40.11	*ya'xa-* to see 20.10
hīts 11.8	*h^{i}yats-* to put on 11.7
hīn- 9.5	*h^{i}yan-* to take along
ūłq- 80.6	*yałq-* to dig 84.5
tsīʟ!- 8.6	*ts^{i}yaʟ!-* to shoot
q!ū^{i}p-	*q!uyap-* to twinkle 36.14
cītx- 36.23	*c^{i}yatx-* to flop 36.23
łīt!- 13.10	*ł^{i}yat!-* to eat
tcī^{i}n- 12.10	*tc^{i}yan-* to come back
a^{i}q-	*aya'q-* to leave 56.5
hamx- 8.6	*hamax-* to tie
anx- 60.11	*ana'x-* to give up 16.8
xnī^{w}n- 10.5	*xnīyun-* to do 88.14, 15
ʟ!xū- 19.9	*ʟ!x^{u}wa-* to know 30.17
ʟ!xma^{i}-	*ʟ!xmīya^{i}-* to kill 28.3

Amplification of the stem seems to have been used in a few instances for the purpose of expressing intransitive actions performed by the third person singular. It will be remembered that this person has no special suffix, the same being understood in the stem or in the verbal suffixes. In some cases, however, Siuslaw adds a weak *a* to the stem, provided the same is not followed by any of the subjective suffixes (see § 24).

haū' to quit, to be ready 28.2	*wā'nwîts ha'wa* long ago it (was) ready 23.10
xaū'- to die 22.5	*txūn xa'wa sî'n^{i}xyūtnᴇ* just I to die am wanted 20.8, 9
yax- to see 40.11	*txūnx ya'xa sî'n^{i}xyūtnᴇ* merely thou to (be) see(n) art wanted 20.10

t!ū'- to buy — *tsa'ntcî tū'ha sî'n^{i}xyūn* if you to buy want her 74.8

waa'- to speak 7.1 — *^{u}l waa'* and he said 12.10

In one instance the quality of this weak vowel has been assimilated to that of the stem-vowel.

tqūl- to shout 92.6 — *mîta'tc^{w}ax ants tqūlū' waa'* their (dual) father, that one shouted (and) said (*tqū'lū* instead of *tqū'la*) 52.8

The Pronoun (§§ 113–115)

§ 113. *The Independent Personal Pronouns*

The independent personal pronouns occur primarily in two forms, according to whether they are used as subjects or objects of an action; but, owing to the fact that from the subjective pronouns there is obtained by means of the prefix *q*- (see § 21) a discriminative form, the independent personal pronouns may be said to have three distinct forms—the discriminative, subjective, and objective or locative sets. Both the discriminative and subjective pronouns refer to the subject of the sentence, differing, however, in so far as the former applies to subjects of transitive actions, while the latter is used mostly in connection with intransitive verbs. The discriminative form, moreover, is employed whenever the sentence absolutely requires that subjectivity of action be indicated (see §§ 21, 111). To be sure, cases where the subjective pronouns are used with transitive verbs are by no means rare.

Siuslaw, like so many other Indian languages, has no distinct pronoun for the third person singular, this person being supplied by the demonstrative pronouns *s^{E}à*, *s^{E}a^{i}na*, *s^{E}às* (see § 115). The first person dual has two separate forms, one for the inclusive (I AND THOU), and the other for the exclusive (I AND HE). Similarly, in the first person plural are distinguished the inclusive (I AND YE) and exclusive (I AND THEY).

These pronouns perform the function of a whole sentence, and may be rendered by I, THOU, HE, etc., AM THE ONE WHO. . . .

The tabular presentation of the independent personal pronouns is as follows:

		Subjective	Objective	Discriminative
Singular. . .	1st person . . .	*na'han, nà*	*nàtc*	*qna'han, qnà*
	2d person . . .	*nīxᵃts*	*nīxᵃtc*	*qnīxᵃts*
	3d person . . .	*sᴱà*	*sᴱaí'na, sᴱaí'natc*	*sᴱàs*
Dual. . . .	Inclusive . . .	*nans*	*na'tcᴱns*	*qnans*
	Exclusive . . .	*naᵘ'xún*	*na'tcaᵘxún*	*qna'xún*
	2d person . . .	*nīxᵃts*	*nī'xtcᴱts*	*qnīxᵃts*
	3d person . . .	*sᴱa'wax, sᴱaᵘx*	*sᴱaina'tcaᵘx*	*sᴱa'saᵘx*
Plural. . . .	Inclusive . . .	*nanł*	*na'tcinł*	*qnanł*
	Exclusive . . .	*na'nxan*	*na'tcinxan*	*qna'nxan*
	2d person . . .	*nī'xᵃtsᴱtci*	*nī'xtcᴱtci*	*qnī'xᵃtsᴱtci*
	3d person . . .	*sᴱànx*	*sᴱaina'tcinx*	*sᴱ'asᴱnx*

This table shows that the independent pronouns are derived from two stems—*nà* for the first persons, and *nīx* or *nīxts* for the second persons; the first singular and all dual and plural persons being obtained by suffixing the subjective pronouns for these persons (see § 24) to the singular forms. Thus the inclusive and exclusive dual *nans* and *naxûn* are composed of the first person singular *nà* and of the subjective suffixes *-ns* and *-xûn*. In like manner the inclusive and exclusive plural *nanł* and *na'nxan* consist of *nà* + *-nł* and *nà* + *-nxan* respectively.

The second person dual *nīxᵃts* is abbreviated from an original *nī'xtsᴱts*. This abbreviation is due to simplification of double consonants (see § 15), causing a phonetic similarity between the pronouns for the second person singular and dual. In order to avoid possible confusion, duality of subject is indicated by suffixing to the verb the subjective pronouns for the second person dual. The second person plural is regular, consisting of the singular form for the second person plus the subjective suffix plural for that person.

The third persons dual and plural are obtained by adding the subjective pronouns for these persons to the subjective form of the demonstrative pronoun *sᴱà*.

The objective forms of the personal pronouns—that is to say, those forms that are used as objects of a sentence—are formed by adding to the subjective pronouns the local suffix indicating motion *-tc* (see § 90). The form for the second person singular is the result of an abbreviation from an original *nī'xtsᴱtc* caused perhaps by a reduction of the cluster of final consonants.

It will be noticed that the subjective suffixes employed in the formation of the corresponding dual and plural persons are added after the adverbial *-tc*, a trait which Siuslaw has in common with the Alsea language. The objective pronouns for the third persons have as their basis the corresponding forms of the demonstrative pronoun.

For the sake of emphasis the subjective suffixed pronouns are sometimes used in addition to the independent forms.

Examples of subjective pronouns:

na'han ᵘln tsīL.ⁱya's I have an arrow (literally, I am the one who [I] is arrow-having) 50.16
a'tsan tE nà L!ōxa'xam that's why this I was sent 21.8
na'han a'ntsᴱnx sî'nⁱxyūts I am that one whom you wanted 40.14
kumî'ntcîn nà nîctcī'tc wa'aⁱl not I anything will say (literally, not I, I am the one who anything will say) 74.9
k!ixaⁱ' nà alone (was) I 100.3
nīxᵃts ᵘlᴱnx qanī'nal hī'nīsītī you'll take along your knife (literally, you are the one, you, knife take along will, yours) 50.16, 17
nīxᵃts ⁱlⁱt!aⁱ' you are eating
ᵘl sᴱà pᴇlī'tcⁱtūx and he will be first 10.1
nans hī'sa we two (incl.) are well
naᵘ'xûn xā'ts!ū we two (excl.) are two 36.15
sᴱaᵘx ata's L!xū'yūn they two only knew it 98.9
sᴱànx tsī'k!ya L!xū'yūn they very (well) know it 72.1, 2

Examples of objective pronouns:

kumî'ntc hīⁱ'sa nàtc it is not good for me 12.2
ᵘlnx nàtc LĪ'wīs then you shall come to me 44.6
kumî'ntc hīⁱ'sa nī'xᵃtc it (does) not (look) good on you 12.5
kumî'ntc na'tcᴱns sî'nⁱxya tE qīūtcū'nî not us two (incl.) like these women 52.13

Examples of objective and discriminative pronouns for the third persons will be found under "Demonstrative Pronouns" (see § 115), while the discriminative pronouns for the first and second persons have been illustrated in § 21.

§ 114. *The Possessive Pronouns*

The independent possessive pronouns are compound forms consisting of the following three separate elements: the independent personal pronoun (see § 113), the relative case-ending *-ᴇml* (see § 87),

and the sign of possession -ī (see § 88). The sign of possession is not present in forms that express the third persons as the possessor. To these compound forms are added the suffixed subjective pronouns (see § 24) for the purpose of indicating the person of the possessor. The suffixed pronouns, to be sure, agree always with the independent pronouns that form the initial elements of the compound. The following peculiarities will be observed in connection with the pronominal forms that enter into the composition of the independent possessive pronouns:

1. For the first and second persons (singular, dual and plural) the subjective forms of the independent pronoun are used. The stems *nà* and *nīx* are employed for that purpose.

2. For the third person (singular, dual and plural) the objective form of the independent pronoun ($s^Ea^{i'}na$) is used.

3. Singularity, duality, or plurality of the person is expressed, not in the initial pronominal element, but in the suffixed subjective pronoun. Consequently the initial element remains unchanged for all numbers.

Owing to the fact that Siuslaw has no distinct subjective suffix for the third person singular, the suffix *-tc* is added without the aid of the sign of possession -ī. Duality and plurality of the third person are indicated by adding to *-tc* the subjective suffixes $-a^ux$ and *-nx* respectively.

In § 88 the fact has been mentioned that possessive phrases are verbalized by adding the auxiliary suffix *-t* (see § 76) to the sign of possession. This *-t* often figures in the composition of the independent possessive pronouns, especially those for the first and second persons.

The following table shows the independent possessive pronouns:

Singular . . .	1st person	$na'm^Elīn$, $na'm^Elītīn$
	2d person	$nī'xamlīnx$, $nī'xamlītīnx$
	3d person	$s^Eaina'mltc$, $s^Eaina'ml$
Dual	Inclusive	$na'm^Elīns$, $na'm^Elītīns$
	Exclusive	$na'm^Elīxûn$, $na'm^Elītau^xûn$
	2d person	$nī'xamlīts$, $nī'xamlītīts$
	3d person	$s^Eaina'mltcwax$
Plural	Inclusive	$na'm^Elīnl$, $na'm^Elītinl$
	Exclusive	$na'm^Elīnxan$, $na'm^Elītinxan$
	2d person	$nī'xamlītcl$, $nī'xamlīt^Etcl$
	3d person	$s^Eaina'mltcn^Ex$

It will be noticed that the obscure ɛ of the relative suffix *-ɛml* has been contracted with the preceding vowels of *nà* and *sɛa'na* into a clear *a*-vowel (see § 9). The weak vowel in *na'mɛlīn, na'mɛlīns*, etc., is due to the law of sound-groupings (see § 4).

The third person singular often loses its distinct suffix for that person (*-tc*). This loss is due to the fact that the form *sɛaina'ml* is in itself capable of expressing a possessive idea that has the third person as its possessor.

These possessive pronouns have the force of a whole sentence, and may be properly translated by IT IS MINE, IT IS THINE, etc. They are frequently used for the sake of emphasis in addition to the possessive suffixes that are added to nouns, and in such cases invariably precede the nominal concept.

wa'aīsɛnx na'mɛlītîn wa'as you shall continually speak (with) my language 36.13
na'mɛlīn q!a'īl my pitch, this is my pitch
na'mɛlītîn łkwa'nuqu this is my hat
na'mɛlīn mîtà (he) is my father
nī'xamlīnx kō'tan your horse
nī'xamlīnx mîłà (she is) your mother
sɛaina'mltc wa'as wa'a'syaxaⁿn his language he had spoken 36.14
sɛaina'mltc ʟaa' his mouth
sɛaina'ml kō'tan his horse
na'mɛlīns kō'tan our (dual, incl.) horses
na'mɛlīxûn tcīʟ our (dual, excl.) hands
nī'xamlīts kwīyō's your (dual) dog
sɛaina'mltcwax kō'tan their (dual) horse
na'mɛlīnl kō'tan our (plural, incl.) horses
na'mɛlīnxan tɛ'q our (plural, excl.) relative 102.5
nī'xamlītcî tɛ'q your (plural) relatives
sɛaina'mltcinx qal·tc their (plural) knives

§ 115. *The Demonstrative Pronouns*

Although Siuslaw has a number of stems that are used as demonstrative pronouns, there could not be detected in them such categories as visibility or invisibility, presence or absence, nearness to or remoteness from the speaker. It is true that in some instances the informant would render a certain demonstrative pronoun as indicating nearness or remoteness; but this rendering was invariably caused by

the leading character of my questions, and never appeared spontaneously.

The demonstrative pronouns, however, present another striking feature that is not commonly found in the American Indian languages. This feature consists in the fact that some of them occur in two distinct forms, one being used with subjects of the sentence, while the other is applied to objects only. This fact serves as another instance illustrating the extent to which the category of subjectivity and objectivity permeates this language.

The following demonstrative pronouns have been found in Siuslaw:

tā^{a}k has been invariably rendered by THIS, and in some instances by HERE. It may be used in connection with subjects and objects alike. Duality and plurality of subjects and objects are indicated by the suffixation of the subjective pronouns *-a^{u}x* and *-nx* respectively (see § 24).

tā^{a}k pɛnî's this skunk
tā^{a}k tɛxmū'nî this man
tsī'k!ya hīs tɛ'q tā'kîn łakwa'kūn (a) very good thing this here I have obtained 72.15, 16
ɬ!^{o}wa'xan tā'kîn ɬīū' as a messenger here I come 17.6, 7
tā^a'k^{w}ax qa'tc^{i}ntūx these two will go 32.10, 11
tā^a'k^{i}nx tɛxmū'nî these men

tɛ applies to subjects and objects. There can be no doubt that it is an abbreviated form of the demonstrative pronoun *tā^{a}k* (see above). It was usually rendered by THIS or THE. When followed by the subjective pronouns (see § 24), the obscure vowel assumes a clear tinge and appears as a distinct *a*-vowel.

u^ł mɛq!a$^{i'}$tx ha$^{i'}$qmas ɬīya'wa tɛ łk!anū'k^u and she danced near the fire, this Screech-Owl 86.11, 12
ɬīha'yax tɛ ɬīya'a^u it passed (by), this fire 32.19
tī'k^{i}n tɛ ta^i this here is my house (literally, here I, this one, live) 58.8
s^{ɛ}a'tsa hī'tc^{ɛ}tc nîctcîma^{ɛ}mu tɛ t!ī that's why bear acts like a person (literally, thus [of a] person his fashion [has] the bear) 60.26
wî'nxa^{u}n tɛ pɛnî's she was afraid of this skunk 86.1
hīna'yūn tɛ mī'k!a hītc he took along this bad man 23.2, 3
nī'ctcanx tanx yā^a'xa^i qātx why do you cry much (literally, how [is it that] you this, much cry) 94.16, 17

s^{E}a'tsa tanx sî'n^{i}xyūtn$_{E}$ that's why this you are wanted 18.4
łakwa'ūłtxa^{u}x ta'tc^{w}ax qī'ūtc ta^{u}x tsîmî'l·ä qwou'txa^{i}^{w}ax taken away (were) these their (dual) wives, (namely of) them two, Beaver and Muskrat 52.3, 4
. . . . *ta'nxan hūtcū$^{i'}$* . . . . (as) these we (here) play 70.12

In some instances this pronoun may have a verbal force, and is then best rendered by THIS WHO. . . .

s^{E}a'tsa ł^{i}t!a$^{i'}$ t$_{E}$ ta$^{i'}$yax thus ate those who lived (there) 82.12

s^{E}às is used with subjects of transitive verbs only, and seems to have a distinct discriminative character. In this capacity it exercises the function of the missing independent pronoun for the third person (see § 113). It may either precede or follow the verb, although there is a prevailing tendency to place it at the end of the sentence. It may be translated by THIS or HE.

^{u}ł ł^{i}t!a'yūn s^{E}às and he devours him 94.10
mī'k!a t$_{E}$'q xaū'ūn s^{E}às bad something this (one) had killed 96.12, 13
s^{E}às k^{u}nà c^{u}xū'yūn ants łt'ī'a^{i} he, perhaps, has scared away that salmon 56.11
s^{E}às qata'yūn ants$_{LX}$aū' he hooks that spear 64.7
s^{E}a's^{E}nł k!^{i}xa'yūts he killed us 28.3

s^{E}à refers to subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs. The difference between this pronoun and the above discussed *s^{E}às* lies in the strictly discriminative character of the latter. It may best be rendered by THIS, HE, and is mostly employed as a personal pronoun for the third person singular (see § 113). Duality and plurality of the subject are indicated by suffixing to *s^{E}à* the subjective pronouns *-a^{u}x* and *-nx* respectively (see § 24).

s^{E}à t$_{E}$xmū'nî this man
^{u}ł tsîm s^{E}à ya'q$^{u'}$yūn always he sees it 68.22
^{u}ł s^{E}à p$_{E}$lī'tc^{i}tūx and that one will be first 10.1
s^{E}a^{u}x ata's$_{LX}$ū'yūn łī'l!a^{i} these two only know (where) food (is) 98.9
s^{E}ànx tsī'k!ya$_{LX}$ū'yūn hūtcū'^{u} these very (well) know (how to) play 72.1, 2

In four instances this pronoun has been used as referring to objects. I believe this use to be the result of erroneous application on the part of the informant. The examples follow.

s^{E}à ɬ!xū'yūn łk!an^{u}wa'k^{u} him she knows, Screech-Owl 86.7
s^{E}à ^{u}łn qī'ūtc hawa'yūn that one I (will my) wife make 90.1, 2
s^{E}à ata's ants ma'q!īnūtn^{E} (for) him only the dance was arranged 28.7
t^{o}wa'tcīs wàn s^{E}à yîktî'l·mä spear now that big (one)! 64.2

s^{E}a^{i}'na refers to objects only, and serves as the objective form of the missing personal pronoun for the third person (see § 113). Hence it may be rendered by THIS, THAT, HIM. By adding the subjective suffixes to it (see § 24), the dual and plural persons for this pronoun are obtained.

yā^{a}'xa^{i} hītc plna^{i}tx ha^{i} s^{E}a^{i}'na many people were sorry for that 15.4
kumî'ntcîn nà nîctcī'tc wa'a^{i}ł pɛłī'tc s^{E}a^{i}'na not I anything will say first (without) her 74.9
s^{E}a'tsa^{u}x ^{u}ł kumî'ntc tɛ'q s^{E}a^{i}'na^{u}x that's why they two (cared) nothing about them two 54.11, 12

tū, tū'a, a demonstrative pronoun that may best be rendered by THAT ONE. It denotes subjects and objects alike. A comparison between this pronoun and the previously discussed *s^{E}à* suggests that the initial elements *t* and *s* may be petrified prefixes having the function of demonstrative pronouns. This assertion receives further substantiation from the fact that Siuslaw forms, in analogy to *s^{E}às*, a discriminative pronoun *tū'as*, and that it has two other demonstrative stems whose initial elements are *t-* and *s-* respectively. These pronouns are *tū'a^{i}t* THAT KIND and *s^{E}a^{i}t* THIS KIND, and they may be explained as being composed of *t-* (*tū-*) + *-a^{i}t* and *s-* + *-a^{i}t*. The function of the second element can not be explained. The *t-* occurs, furthermore, independently as *tɛ* (see p. 580).[1]

The pronoun *tū, tū'a,* occurs also in dual and plural forms, obtained by adding the subjective suffixes *-a^{u}x* and *-nx* (see § 24) to it.

tū yāk!a^{ū}'nî qīūtcū'nî that small(est) woman 88.12
kumî'ntc hīs tū tɛxmū'nî not good (is) that man 90.23; 92.1
tū'a tɛxmū'nî that man
qna'nxan ɬɛłū'yūn tū'a^{u}x xā'ts!ū we (incl.) are hitting those two
tū'anx tɛxmū'nî those men
ɬɛłū'yūtsîn tū'as that one is hitting me
tū'a^{i}t that (is the) kind 102.2
kumî'ntc hīs nàtc tɛ s^{E}a^{i}t ɬ!a'^{ai} not good (is for) me this kind (of a) place 44.4, 5

[1] The *s* as a demonstrative element has been also found in Alsea.

s^{E}a^{i}t^{E} L!a'^{ai} such (a) world 15.1

wa^{i} yā^{a}'xa^{i} t^{E} hītc, s^{E}a^{i}tū' sî'n^{i}xya although many (are) these people, that kind (of a thing every one) likes 102.2, 3

ants is the only pronoun that may be said to contain a locative force. It is invariably used in connection with objects that are away from the speaker, and may be rendered by THAT ONE. It may refer to subject and object, and is used in the singular, dual, and plural, although in most cases duality and plurality are accentuated by suffixing the respective subjective pronouns *-a^{u}x* and *-nx* (see § 24). This pronoun may also have a verbal force, and is then best rendered by THAT ONE WHO . . . , THOSE WHO. . . . It always precedes the noun.

hamxa^{ū}'nî ants ts^{E}ha^{u}'ya that tied (up) grass 8.6

s^{u}kwî'tc tsînq!t ants hītc very poor (was) that person 16.10; 17.1

ants qa^{i}x last night (literally, that night) 40.14

łk!an^{u}wa'k^{u} wî'nxa^{ū}n ants p^{E}nî's Screech-Owl was afraid of that Skunk 86.5

ants łqa$^{i'}$'tū ants Tsxuna'p^{L}lī t!ī't!yūn that tree on which Tsxunplī (Coyote) was sitting 94.6

xaū'na^{u}xûn ants mī'k!a hītc we two killed that bad person 96.8, 9

łakwa'kū^{u}n ants qīūtcū'nî ants^{u}x tsînī'^{L}tsînī'^{L} those two otters took away those women 52.16

ants L!a'^{ai} hītc those many people 7.1

ants p^{E}kū'^{wi} those who play 70.6, 7

atsī'tc waa'xam ants hītc tca'xa^{ū}t thus was told that man who was going back 30.13, 14

łk!anū'k^{u} ya'q$^{u'}$yūn a'ntsux m^{E}q!a$^{i'}$tx Screech-Owl watched those two who kept on dancing 86.8

s^{E}a'tsa xnī'^{w}nīs a'nts^{E}nx pukwa$^{i'}$ thus keep on doing those who play shinny 78.17

In a number of instances two demonstrative pronouns are used, following each other in immediate succession. This is done primarily for the sake of emphasis. In such sentences the second demonstrative stem may be rendered by a relative pronoun.

ha$^{i'}$natc a$^{i'}$sxa lī't!a^{i} t^{E} s^{E}à q^{u}L!ītc that otter is eating a different food (literally, different her, also, food, [of] this here sea-otter) 54.7, 8

u^{l} s^{E}à t^{E} t!āmcî'sk'în and this here (is) the little boy 94.16

u^{l} waa'xam ants s^{E}a qa'tc^{i}ntūx and was told that man who will go 16.7

kumî'ntc^{w}ax sî'n^{i}xyūn lī'ū ta'īs ants s^{E}à they two don't want to stay near here (literally, not they two, want it, near [to] keep on staying, that one here)

Parallel to these forms are the indefinite, interrogative, and reflexive pronouns. The following have been observed:

wàtc. It has the function of an interrogative, relative, and indefinite pronoun, and applies to animate beings only. When used in an interrogative sense, it is best rendered by WHO, while as an indefinite pronoun, it is to be translated by SOMEBODY. The interrogative character of this particle can be recognized only by the interrogative tone of the sentence in which it occurs.

wátc^{i}tc kō'tan whose horse (is it)?
wàtc xa'ltntūx somebody will climb up
watc tE'x^{a}mtc ha^{l} (he) who strong (is) his heart 10.1
wàtc L!xū'yūn Lxatū'^{wi} (he) who knows (the art of) running 78.18

tE'q is used as an interrogative and indefinite pronoun, and applies to animals and inanimate objects only. It may best be rendered by WHAT OR SOMETHING.

tE'q what (is it)?
ha^{i}'mūt tE'q everything 9.5
tsī'k!ya hīs tE'q (a) very good thing 72.15, 16
kumî'ntc^{i}nx tE'q you (will be) nothing 13.2
ats tE'q waxa'yExayîm when something will be given to him 18.5
u^{l} s^{E}a'tsa tE'q qnuhū'yūn that's why something he finds

In a few instances *tE'q* has been rendered by RELATIVE. This free rendering is perfectly justifiable, because in the instances quoted *tE'q* implies the idea of BEING SOMETHING TO the person spoken to or spoken of.

na'm^{E}līnx tE'q you (are) my relative (literally, my something you [are]) 20.6
ts'îmstc tE'q ants lq!al·ō'mä her own relative (was) that pelican (literally, her own something) 46.1

An objective form of this particle has been found in one instance.

tE'qa^{u}na'nl la'kwīsūn something we (incl.) will always get 72.17,18

tāqa$^{i'}$na is the regular objective form of *tE'q*, and occurs frequently.

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kumî'ntcxûn tāqa$^{i'}$na wî'nx not we two (excl.) anything fear 94.17
sî'nxīt tāqa$^{i'}$na he wants something 18.5
wa'sL^{i}syanx tāqa$^{i'}$na (when) you get mad at anything 36.11, 12
wa'a^{i}s^{E}nx tāqa$^{i'}$na (when) you will say something 38.4

Another objective form of this particle may be the form *tā'qan*, occurring in one single instance.

tā'qan tEx tcaītcī'tc xî'ntmīs why do you want to go anywhere (literally, for something, perhaps, somewhere [you] keep on going) 48.1, 2

tcînt, tcî'nta^{u}, serves primarily as an interrogative pronoun, in which case it is rendered by WHICH ONE? Its scope, however, has been widened, permitting its use as a relative pronoun and in some instances as a numeral adverb. In the latter sense the form *tcînt* is invariably used. It is then translated by WHOEVER, WHATEVER, or by HOW MUCH, HOW MANY?

tcî'nta^{u}n tEx l!kwa'yūn which one I (wonder) shall I take? 88.20; 90.1
tcî'nta^{u}nx sî'n^{i}xyūn which one do you want? 40.4, 5
tcî'nta^{u} nîctca$^{i'}$ ants hītc whatever does that man 70.22
tcî'nta^{u} hītc LīwA$^{i'}$ whatever person came (here) 24.7
tcî'nta^{u} yî'kt^{i}tc . . . whosoever . . . is big 90.1
tcînt hītc qa'ntcya LīwA'wax whatever person from somewhere is going to come 38.10, 11
tcî'ntīnx hī'q!a how many shells have you? (literally, how many thy dentalia shells?)
tcînt kō'tan how many horses?
. . . *tcînt tsxayū'^{wi}* . . . on such a day (literally, [on] whatever [a] day) 7.3

ts'îms has the function of a reflexive pronoun, and is best rendered by (I) MYSELF, (THOU) THYSELF, etc., or, when used with nouns, by (MY) OWN, (THY) OWN, etc.

ts'îms s^{E}atsī'tc cî'n^{i}xyat!ya to himself thus he always thinks 88.11
LElū'yūn ts'îms I hit myself
ts'îmstc tE'q ants lq!al·ō'mä ants sqūmā' her own relative that Pelican (is of) that Sea-Gull 46.1, 2
L!xmaī'yūtsmîn ts'îms m^{u}ū'sk^{u} I killed my own brother

qa'w^{u}ntî, qa'w^{u}ntītc, imparts the idea of reciprocality, and is best rendered by EACH OTHER, MUTUALLY. The difference between the two parallel forms lies in the fact that the latter has been amplified by means of the modal suffix *-ītc* (see § 94).

ᵘł k!īx tɛ'q skwaha'yūsnɛ qa'wîntī everything was placed on both sides 80.8

qawᵘntī'tcʷax wînᴱxna'wa each other they two feared 86.2

qa'wᵘntî on both sides

The Numeral (§§ 116–117)

§ 116. The Cardinals

1. *alᵃq* 18.7
2. *xā'ts!ū* 30.23
3. *cī'nᵃx* 62.12
4. *xā'ts!ūn* 40.23
5. *Lxaⁱ'pⁱs* 72.8
6. *qa'tīmx*
7. *xā'ts!ū qtā'max*
8. *cī'nᵃx qtā'max*
9. *a'lᵃqxaᵘt*
10. *kīxᴱs* 8.1
11. *kī'xᴱs ᵘł a'lᵃq*
12. *kī'xᴱs ᵘł xā'ts!ū*
13. *kī'xᴱs ᵘł cī'nᵃx*
14. *kī'xᴱs ᵘł xā'ts!ūntc aⁱxwî'yu*
15. *kī'xᴱs ᵘł Lxaⁱ'pⁱstc aⁱxwî'yu*
16. *kī'xᴱs ᵘł qa'tīmx*
17. *kī'xᴱs ᵘł xā'ts!ū qtā'max*
18. *kī'xᴱs ᵘł cī'nᵃx qtā'max*
19. *kī'xᴱs ᵘł kumî'ntc alᵃq qaⁱ'nat*
20. *xā'ts!ū kīxe'stîm*
21. *xā'ts!ū kīxe'stîm ᵘł alᵃq*
30. *cī'nᵃx kīxe'stîm*
40. *xā'ts!ūn kīxe'stîm*
50. *Lxaⁱ'pⁱs kīxe'stîm*
60. *qa'tīmx kīxe'stîm*
70. *xā'ts!ū qtā'max kīxe'stîm*
80. *cī'nax qtā'max kīxe'stîm*
90. *a'lᵃqxaᵘt qtā'max kīxe'stîm*
100. *kī'xᴱs kīxe'stîm*
101. *kī'xᴱs kīxe'stîm ᵘł alᵃq*

By origin the Siuslaw numeral system is probably quinary, although there seem to be only four simple numeral stems; namely, those for ONE, TWO, THREE, and FIVE. The numeral *xā'ts!ūn* FOUR is to all appearances a plural form of *xā'ts!ū* TWO. The numeral *qa'tīmx* SIX could not be analyzed. It is not improbable, however, that it may signify ONE (FINGER) UP, in which event SEVEN could be explained as denoting TWO (FINGERS) UP, while EIGHT could be rendered by THREE (FINGERS) UP. In spite of incessant attempts, the numeral for NINE could not be analyzed. Its probable rendering may be suggested as ONE (LACKING TO) TEN. The numerals for FOURTEEN and FIFTEEN may be translated as by TEN AND FOUR ITS ADDITION and TEN AND FIVE ITS ADDITION respectively. The exact rendering of NINETEEN is obscure, while TWENTY evidently denotes TWO TIMES TEN, etc.

Siuslaw does not possess the series of ordinal numerals. These and the numeral adverbs, such as the multiplicative numerals, are expressed idiomatically by means of adverbs or adverbial suffixes. The adverbs *pɛlī'tc* AHEAD and *lîmnī'tc* BEHIND (see § 119) are very often used as ordinal numerals for the first two numbers.

pɛnî's pɛłī'tc ᵘł łk!anū'kᵘ łîmnī'tc Skunk (doctored) first, and Screech-Owl second 86.11

sʰa'tū'nî pɛłī'tc xî'ntma'stūn the biggest one first he took along 92.18

Qa'a'tcīx pɛłī'tc łūha'yax tɛ łīya'aᵘ along North Fork at first it came, this fire 32.19

Multiplicative numerals are sometimes formed by adding to the cardinals the modal suffix *-ītc* (see § 94).

xāts!ūwī'tcîn yîxa'yūn twice I saw him

a'łqa'tcîn ɬ!xū'yūn qnà once I knew it 92.12

Ordinal numerals in the sense of AT THE FIRST, SECOND, etc., are sometimes formed by suffixing to the cardinals the suffix *-a'tū*.

ałqa''tū tsxayū'ʷi on the first day, in one day

xāts!ūwā''tū tsxayū'ʷi on the second day, in two days

xāts!ūna''tū tsxayū'ʷi on the fourth day, in four days

The suffix for the numeral FIVE appears in a somewhat changed form. Instead of the expected *-a'tū*, this numeral takes the suffixes *-ta'tū, -tya'tū*. The suggestion may be offered that the inital *t-* of these suffixes is the adjectival suffix *-t* (see § 104), and the *-a'tū* the regular modal suffix. Of course, this does not explain the occurrence of the semi-vowel *y* in *-tya'tū*.

t!āmcīns tcī'ntūx ɬxa'pîstū''tū tsxayū'ʷi our (dual, incl.) boys will return in five days 42.7

ɬxa'p'stya''tū ᵘł wàn tcī'n hītsî'stc on the fifth day he finally came home 72.9

tcī'ntūx ɬxa'pîstya''tu tsxayū'ʷi he will come back in five days 40.25, 26

Two stems, *k!ˡx* and *hai'mūt*, are used as definite numerals. The former is best rendered by EACH, EVERY; while the latter, to all appearances an adjective in *-t* (see § 104), is best translated by ALL.

k!īx tɛ'q everything 24.4

tɛxmū'nîtcʷax ants t!āmc k!ˡx they two had each a boy (literally, males their two, those boys, each) 40.19

ha'i'mūt ma'łtc'it ants łîmma''q all elks got burned 34.18, 19

ha'i'mūt qa'tc'int sqa'ktcī'tc all go there 23.6

§ 117. *The Decimal System*

The units exceeding multiples of ten are expressed by forms whose exact rendering would be TEN (TWENTY) AND ONE (TWO) as, for instance, *kī'xᴱs ᵘł a'łᵃq* TEN AND ONE, etc. The "tens" are formed by means of

the suffix *-tîm*, that is added to the cardinal numerals for TEN. The numeral thus amplified is preceded by the cardinals from TWO to TEN (inclusive). Thus TWENTY, literally translated, means TWO TIMES TEN, THIRTY signifies THREE TIMES TEN, and ONE HUNDRED denotes TEN TIMES TEN. The numeral for THOUSAND was, naturally enough, never used. The informant invariably gave the English equivalent for it.

The Adverb (§§ 118–121)

§ 118. *Introductory*

Siuslaw has, comparatively speaking, a small number of adverbial stems. These express ideas of a local, temporal, and modal character. A few of them are compounds,—that is to say, they consist of two or more adverbs that occur independently also,—while others occur with the adverbial suffixes whose function is always in harmony with the ideas expressed by the bare stem. Thus a few adverbs indicating local ideas appear with the local suffix *-tc* (see § 90), while most of the modal adverbs take the suffixes of modality *-ītc* or *-a* (see §§ 94 and 96).

It is quite conceivable that the final *k* in the local adverbs *tīk*, *stīmk*, and *sqa^{i}k*, may imply some local idea, especially in view of the fact that both *stīm* and *stīmk* occur.

A very important law applying to local adverbs (and phrases) is the fact that, whenever they are used in connection with nouns, the nouns invariably take the locative case-endings (see § 86).

§ 119. *Local Adverbs and Phrases*

a'mha^{i}tx in the middle
ha^{i}q ashore 44.7
ha$^{i'}$qmas alongside, near 25.4
ha^{u}wī's beyond
pɛlī'tc ahead, first 32.19
m^{ɛ}yō^{ɛ}k^{u}s in the beginning 82.11
tūū'ts[1] here 17.3
tīk, *ta^{i}k* here 56.5, 19
tūtī'm there 72.3
tūqa'tmɛ over there, across
tūqya'a^{ū}[2] up-stream 32.22
qa'tītc[3] across the river, opposite 80.16
qā'tkî from here 60.4
qa'xantc[4] under, down, below 8.10
qa'xûn, *qa^{u}'xûn*[5] high up, above, on 8.7; 34.21

[1] Probably related to the Coos *tī^{u}* OVER THERE.
[2] Alsea *to'qwī*.
[3] Coos *qa'tîtc* DOWN THE STREAM.
[4] Related to Alsea *qē'xan* UNDER, BELOW.
[5] Coos *qaxan-* UP.

qa^{u}x[1] on top 76.14
qa^{i}u'tc[2] below, down the stream 62.17, 18
qa^{i}wa'a^{u} below, down stream 80.6
tqa^{u}wī', *tqa$^{u'}$wītc* up-stream 56.8, 12
stīm, *stīmk* there 30.23; 32.12
sqā'tem from there 34.3
sqa^{ï}k, *sqēk* there 14.6
qa^{i}hā'n 56.8, *qa^{i}ha'ntc* far 10.3; 56.5
qan, *qanîstcī'tc* down, below 12.6
qō'x^{u}m off shore, out in the water 34.6
qtsī inside
łîmnī'tc behind, after, second 86.11
łnū outside 38.23
ɪ.ī'ū near (used also as a verb in the sense TO COME, TO APPROACH) 40.12

§ 120. Temporal Adverbs

ats[3] at that time, when 16.8
a$^{i'}$lał then, afterwards 34.3
hī'nak!^{i} right away 20.1
wā'nwîts long ago, already 14.7
wī'yū still, yet
yā'tsa a long time 11.3
ta'līts after a while 50.2
tîɪ. awhile
tsā'nxa^{i}ts yesterday
tsîm always 15.5
ts'ū'xtīts early in the morning 40.9
tcī'kyac ɪ.!a'^{ai} sometimes 100.7
kū^{i}yā'tsac ɪ.!a'^{ai}[4] after a while, soon 7.7
k!^{i}sā't today 38.16
k!$^{E'}$ɪ.ū[5] tomorrow 60.2
łnàt always 13.3
ɪ.î'mqa quick, right away 19.6

§ 121. Modal Adverbs

a'tsa, *atsī'tc* thus 15.5; 11.2
hī'catca a little
yā$^{a'}$x$^{a^{i}}$ much, many 8.5
yux^{u} too much 12.2
tî'mwa together 40.18
nîctcama$^{i'}$nat'^{E} differently 9.3, 4
s^{E}a'tsa,[6] *s^{E}atsī'tc* thus 8.2, 7
s^{u}kwī'tc very, very much 16.10
cî'ntcata in a circle
tsī'k!ya very, very much 13.9
xyal'x, *kū^{i} xyal'x* almost, very nearly 11.1; 10.9, 11.1

Particles (§§ 122–133)

§ 122. Introductory

Siuslaw has a great number of particles which serve to define more clearly a certain part of speech or even a whole sentence. Their

[1] Alsea *qa^{u}x* HIGH.
[2] Possibly related to Coos *qaya'atc* DOWN THE STREAM.
[3] See § 136.
[4] A compound adverb consisting of the negation *kū^{i}* NOT, the adverb *yā'tsa* A LONG TIME, amplified by the obscure suffix *-c*, and of the stem *ɪ.!a'^{ai}* (sec § 133).
[5] By prefixing to this adverb the demonstrative pronoun *ants*, Siuslaw forms a compound adverb *ants k!$^{E'}$ɪ.ū*, which is best rendered by YESTERDAY.
[6] See § 125.

meaning was deduced mostly from the sense of the sentence in which they occurred. These stems are either monosyllabic (in which case they may be enclitic or proclitic) or they consist of two or more syllables. A limited number seems to be composed of two or more originally independent particles. As a rule, particles are not capable of word-formation—that is to say, they can not be amplified by means of any of the grammatical processes, such as prefixation, suffixation, etc. But owing to the fact that Siuslaw shows a tendency to keep the verbal stem free from all subjective suffixes, these suffixes are preferably added to the particles that precede the verb (see § 26). Some of these particles seem to be in reality verbal stems, but do not convey a clear verbal idea unless used in conjunction with a proper verbal suffix (see § 135).

In accordance with their syntactic function, the particles may be conveniently subdivided into the following categories:

(1) Pronominal particles.
(2) Numeral particles.
(3) Conjunctions.
(4) Temporal particles.
(5) Particles denoting degrees of certainty.
(6) Particles indicating connection with previously expressed ideas.
(7) Exhortative particles.
(8) Restrictive particles.
(9) Miscellaneous particles.
(10) Suffixed particle -*ū* (-$a^{\bar{u}}$).
(11) The stem ʟ*!a'*^{ai}.

§ 123. *Pronominal Particles*

The pronominal forms treated in § 115 are used sometimes without formative prefixes, and appear then like true particles. The following are particularly used in this manner:

tū^{a}*k* this, here
tɛ this
tū that
ants that one
wàtc who, some one
tɛ'q what, something
tcînt, *tcî'nta*^{u} which one, whoever, whatever, how much, how many
ts'îms (reflexive) self
qa'w^{u}*ntî* mutually

Related to *tcînt* are the particles *tcīk* WHERE, and *tcā*, *tcaītcī'tc* WHERE TO.

tcīk, a local particle denoting REST. It may be used indicatively and in an interrogatory sense. It is best rendered by WHERE.

tcīk sᴱa'na'ml kō'tan where is his horse?
tcīk qnūhū'yūn hītc where (ever) he finds a person 94.9, 10
kū' tcīk nowhere 56.11
tcīk ants k.'ālatū'ᵘ where that fun (is) 88.2
tcīk ants yîktî'l·mä łqa'''tū where that big log (is) 88.17, 18

tcā, tcaītcī'tc, a local particle indicating MOTION. It is used in an interrogative and indicative significance, and is best rendered by WHERE (TO). The form *tcaītcī'tc* may be explained as caused by the double suffixation of the adverbial suffix *-ītc* (see §§ 90, 94). Such double adding of a suffix occurs in only one other instance; namely, in the case of the nominal suffix *-ax* (see § 101).

kumî'ntc tcā yax nowhere (anything to) see 34.4
kumî'ntcxûn qa'ha'ntc tcā nî'ctcīs not we two (excl.) far somewhere will go 56.2
. . . tcān tᴇ līū' . . . where this I arrived 66.19
tcaītcī'tc lō'ᶜL nī'ctūx (I) wonder where he will go 64.20
tcaītcī'tc qa'tc'ntyax he went somewhere

§ 124. Numeral Particles

Here belong the following stems: *yāᵃ'xa'* MANY (see also § 12), *tᴇ'mxut*, *tsî'nᴇxma*, *tsî'nīxt* HALF, and *kᴱa'ł't* HOW MANY. The particles serving as fractional numerals invariably follow the noun they define, while the two other numeral particles may either precede or follow it.

yîxa'yūn yāᵃ'xa' hītc I saw many people
tᴇ'mxut tā'la half a dollar
hī'tcᴱtc tsî'nᴇxma ants t.'ī that bear is half a person (literally [a] person [is] his [one] half, that bear) 60.16
hītc tsî'nīxt ants t.'ī half human (is) that bear 60.22

These forms might also be considered as adjectives. It will be noted that most of them end in the adjectival suffix *-t* (see § 104).

§ 125. Conjunctions

Only three particles were found that may be properly said to have the function of our conjunctions. These particles are *a'l·dū*, *a''sxa*, and *ᵘl*.

a'l·dū refers to nouns only, and its function is of an inclusive character, indicating that the defined noun is included in the action. It always follows the noun and is best rendered by LIKEWISE. It is frequently used as a verb (see § 135).

ᵘł t!ī a'l·dū ma'łtcⁱt Bear likewise got burned 34.16
hī'qᵘ a'l·dū mî'łtcîst Wild-Cat likewise burned 34.17
yaᵘ'xaᵘx a'l·dū łⁱt!a'yūn fern-roots they two likewise eat 98.15
qaⁱ'xᴱnx a'l·dū ya'qᵘhītūx at night you likewise shall watch 70.18, 19

aⁱ'sxa serves the same purpose as the preceding *a'l·dū*, but may either precede or follow the noun to which it refers. It is best rendered by ALSO, TOO.

a'łᵃq tᴇxmū'nî ᵘł a'łᵃq qīūtcū'nî ᵘł aⁱ'sxa sqaⁱłktcī'tc qa'tcⁱntūx one man and one woman too will go there 30.21, 22
haⁱ'natc aⁱ'sxa lī't!aⁱ her food belonged to some one else (literally, different her, also, food) 54.7

ᵘł has various functions. Its chief function is that of a copula between nouns and sentences, and in that case is best rendered by AND. Its position is free, although it tends to follow the noun and to precede the verb.

a'łᵃq tᴇxmū'nî ᵘł a'łᵃq qīūtcū'nî one man and one woman 30.21, 22
mîta'aⁱtîn ᵘł mîla'aⁱtîn my father and my mother
pᴇnî's pᴇlī'tc ᵘł łk!anū'kᵘ łîmnī'tc Skunk (doctored) first, and Screech-Owl second 86.11
sᴱatsī'tc waa', *ᵘł hī'q!aⁱt* thus he said and started 22.5, 6
taⁱ ᵘł łⁱt!aⁱ' he sits and eats

It serves, furthermore, to introduce a new idea, in which case its functional character may best be compared to that of our syntactic period. Its exact rendering is a rather difficult matter, unless the arbitrary THEN be excepted.

L!xū'yūn mī'k!a tsī'k!ya. L!xū'yūn hī'sa łk!anᵘwa'kᵘ ants pᴇnî's. Łnaᵘ'wⁱ hītc ᵘł łqaqaⁱ'txaᵘn pᴇna's she knew him (to be) very bad. Screech-Owl knew that Skunk very well. At a rich man Skunk was breaking his wind 86.5, 6, 7
sᴱatsī'tc waaⁱ' ants łk!anū'kᵘ. Ants płna'st ᵘł cî'nⁱxyat!ya āqa'wax. ᵘł sᴱatsī'tc waa' ants łk!anū'kᵘ. Thus said that Screech-Owl. Then that sick man thought of running away. Then thus said that Screech-Owl 86.14, 15, 16

Finally, it may denote a connection with a previously expressed idea, especially when used in conjunction with the particle *wa*^{i} (see § 128).

wa^{l} *yîkt ants hītsī'*^{i}, *u*^{l} *tā'qnîs hītū'stc* although big (is) that house, still (it is) full (of) people 25.2, 3

wa^{l} *tcī'wa majᵃtc ants łqa*$^{i''}$*tū*, *u*^{l} *mîltca*^{i} 'although in the water lay those logs, nevertheless (they) began to burn 32.22

wa^{l} *yā*$^{a'}$*xa*^{i} *hītc*, *u*^{l} *ha*$^{i''}$*mūt sᴮàs ł*^{i}*t!a'yūn* although many (were) the people, still he devoured (them) all 94.10, 11

This subordinate function, as it were, is particularly brought out when *u*^{l} is followed or preceded by the modal adverb *a'tsa*, *sᴱa'tsa* THUS (see § 121). This phrase is invariably rendered by THAT IS WHY.

a'tsa u^{l} *wàn tᴇmū'tx hītcū'*^{u} that is why now people assemble 15.5, 6

a'tsan u^{l}*n kumî'ntc sî'n*^{i}*xyūn* that is why I don't want it 15.8

sᴱa'tsa u^{l}*kumî'ntc nī'k!a xî'ntmīł hītc* that was why not alone traveled a person 94.11

u^{l} *sᴱa'tsa u*^{l} *haya'mūt h*^{i}*yàtc* L*!xū'yūn* and this is why all people know it

§ 126. Temporal Particles

While Siuslaw employs distinct suffixes for the purpose of expressing the different tenses in the verb, it has a few particles that are used to define more clearly the time, duration, or occurrence of a certain action. These are used mostly in conjunction with the proper temporal suffixes. The following particles serve this purpose:

āL denotes commencement of an action, and has been rendered rather freely by NOW.

*ā'*L*an łīt!a'wax* now I commence to eat

*ā*L *sīła'wax* now he commences to swim

u^{l}*ᴱnx ā*L *hūtca'tc* now they began to play 72.23, 24

wàn indicates finality, completion of action. It either precedes or follows the verb. The informant invariably rendered it by NOW, THEN, but the most proper rendering would be FINALLY.

u^{l} *wàn tcī*^{i}*n* he finally returned 68.12

āqa'qa^{u}*x wàn* they two finally ran away 92.5

wàn smūt'a't' finally it ends 9.1

sqa^{i}*k wàn hawa*$^{i''}$ there finally it ends 14.6

wa', waha', expresses repetition of action, and is best rendered by AGAIN. It rarely occurs as an independent particle, being mostly used as a verb (see § 135). The explanation for the occurrence of the double form has been given in § 3.

qa'tc^{i}nt ants hītc waha' that man went again 19.5
k!înk'ya'waxan waha'wax I will look again 56.20
^{u}ł wàn waha'ha^{u}n qa'msk^{u}tc finally again (said) to him his younger brother 56.20, 21
^{u}łn kumî'ntc xwī'ʟ!tūx wa'ʻtūx I will not go back again 46.8
waha^{i}' xałna^{i}' ants ya^{ɛ}k^{u}s again climb up those seals 62.10

łīyax- indicates short duration of action. It always occurs in verbal form (see § 135), and is best rendered by A WHILE.

łī'yaxɛm qa'q^{u}'nɛm! listen a while!
łī'yax^{a}xyaxan a^{u}'sîsyax I slept a while
łīyaxa'waxan a^{u}sa'wax I intend to sleep a while 27.5, 6

§ 127. *Particles Denoting Degrees of Certainty and Emotional States*

a'ck!alî indicates a supposition on the part of the speaker, and is best rendered by PERHAPS, (I) THOUGHT. It consists of two etymologically obscure stems, *a'ck!a* and *łî*. The subjective pronouns, when added to this particle, are always suffixed to the initial element, and never to *łî*. It is invariably placed at the beginning of the sentence.

a'ck!anł łî xaū' (I) thought you (had) died 68.14, 15
a'ck!alî atsī'tc xwīʟ!a'wax ants t!ā'mcīns (I) thought thus were going to return our (dual, incl.) boys 42.9, 10
a'ck!alî qa'tc^{i}nt he went (away) perhaps

ha'nhan emphasizes a statement as having actually occurred. Hence it is rendered by INDEED, TO BE SURE. It precedes the verb.

^{u}ł wàn ha'nhan s^{ɛ}atsa'tx hītcū'^{u} now, indeed, thus people play 7.4
^{u}ł wàn ha'nhan ʟīū'wanx hītsî'stc finally, sure enough, they were coming to different houses 30.6

hank! "KIND OF," LIKE, has a double function. When used with verbs, it implies that the action is not intimately known to the speaker. When referring to nouns (objects), it expresses a comparison between the defined noun and one already known to the speaker. It always precedes the noun or verb.

hank! tcīktc ha^{ł} he is in a way glad (literally, "kind of" somewhere his mind?) 70.15
hank! wî'nx^{i}tx ha^{ł} he is rather afraid

hank! hī'tc^{E}tc nîctcîma$^{\epsilon}$mū tE qwo'txa^{ī} the beaver acts like a person (literally, like a person his actions [of] this beaver) 54.11
hank! hītc (he is) like (an) Indian 102.5

tEx (I) WONDER, SUPPOSE (IF), (I) DON'T KNOW. This particle has a dubitative character, expressing doubt on the part of the speaker as to the possibility or advisability of a certain action. It may refer to any part of the sentence, but must always precede the verb.

tcî'nta^{u}n tEx ɬ^{i}kwa'yūn I wonder which one (shall) I take 88.20; 90.1
nî'ctcī tEx xî'ntmīs hītc (I) wonder how (a) person (can) keep on traveling
nî'ctcan tEx nîctca'wax (I doubt whether we) shall accomplish (anything) 60.9
nî'ctcanɬ tEx xawa'ūn (I) wonder how we (incl.) can kill him 15.7

kîɬ. This particle occurs in the texts only once; but, judging from the examples obtained in conversation, it seems to express agreeable surprise.

hī^{i}'san kîɬ wàn waa'yūts well he told me (I was agreeably surprised) 46.18
ta^{i} kîɬ wàn he is here (literally, he stays, surprise)

k (I) MAY, PERHAPS. This is a dubitative particle, occurring also in Coos,[1] and denoting possibility of action. Owing to its dubitative character, it has often an interrogative significance.

nī'ctca k^{u} what is the matter? (literally, how, perhaps . . .) 90.12
k!înk'ya'waxan tqa^{u}wī'tc k^{u} waha'wax I may look again up-stream 56.20
nī'ctxan k^{u} a'ntsîn māt.!ī' tE kū^{i} tcī'nīɬ what may (be the cause that) that my elder brother, this here, not comes back? 58.11, 12
ɬ^{i}kwa'yūnanx k^{u} ɬt'ī'a^{ī} you may get salmon 48.18

k^{u}nà, a compound particle, consisting of the preceding one and of the particle of interrogation *nà* (see § 131). Its significance is dubitative, and it may be rendered by IT SEEMS, PERHAPS, MAYBE, (I) GUESS. Its position is freely movable.

wàn k^{u}nà tā'kîn s^{E}atsī'tc a^{u}sî's now it seems, this I thus dream 70.1
yā$^{a'}$xa^{i} ɬt'ī'a^{ī} tqa^{u}wī' k^{u}nà much salmon may be up-stream 56.8

[1] See Coos, p. 385.

sᴱàs kᵘnà cᵘxū'yūn he, I guess, drove it away 56.11
łakwa'kūᵘn kᵘnà he took him (away), perhaps 58.14
kumî'ntc kᵘnà sᴱatsī'tc not thus (it is), I guess 21.10

xī has the same function as the previously discussed *hank!* (see p. 594). It may best be rendered by (IT) LOOKS LIKE, AS IF.

xā'ts!ū xī hītc tᴇ kî'nna (it) looks as if two people here were talking
plna²tx xī (it) looks as if he were sick
tqaLa²'txan xī I feel rather warm

LōᴱL (I) WONDER, (I) DON'T KNOW. It either precedes or else follows the verb.

tcaītcī'tc LōᴱL nī'ctūx (I) wonder where (he will) go 64.20
tcā LōᴱL Lī'ūtūx (I) wonder where he will stop (arrive) 64.24
plna²' LōᴱL (I) wonder whether he is sick

§ 128. *Particles Denoting Connection with Previously Expressed Ideas*

Siuslaw has only two particles that serve this purpose. These are *nî'ctcîm* and *wa¹*.

nî'ctcîm indicates causality, and is best rendered by BECAUSE.

. . . *nî'ctcîm sqa²k Lī'wat!ī* . . . because there he frequently came 68.4, 5
. . . *nî'ctcîm sᴱàs k!ᴵxa'yūn tᴇ hītc* . . . because he made disappear these people 18.8
. . . *nî'ctcîmîn mᴇq!ya'wax* . . . because I intend to dance 72.12
. . . *nî'ctîmᴱnx namᴱł tᴇ'q* . . . because you are my relative 21.5

wa¹ is best rendered by ALTHOUGH, EVEN, IN SPITE OF. It may refer to the sentence as a whole or to any of its parts. The complex of ideas dependent upon *wa¹* is invariably introduced by the conjunction *ᵘł* (see § 125).

cuqwa'an hawa'yūn, wa¹ cā'yatc he passes it as roast, although his penis [it was] (literally, roast he makes it) 90.13
nî'ctcîm sqa²k Lī'wat!ī, wa¹ yā'tsa, because there he frequently came every time (literally, because there he came frequently, even for a long time) 68.4, 5
wa¹ mī'k!aᵘ ʟ!aya' ᵘł ʟxata²' even on a bad place he runs 14.1
wa¹ yîkt ants hītsī'ᴵ ᵘł tā'qnîs hītū'stc although big (was) that house, nevertheless full (it was of) people 25.2, 3

wàì qa'x, ᵘl xînt in spite of (the fact that it was) night, (they) kept on going 64.24

wa' tɛ'q mī'k!a ᵘl l'it!a'yūn sᴱàs even (if it is) something bad still she eats it 44.20

§ 129. *Exhortative Particles*

qa'ł expresses a polite command addressed to the first and third persons. It is hence employed in the formation of the exhortative mode. The verb usually occurs with exhortative suffixes (see §§ 41, 48, 63, 64), although instances of idiomatic expressions are not lacking where these suffixes have been omitted (see § 139). This particle is best rendered by LET (ME, HIM, US, etc.).

qa'ł qatc'nī'xmî let him go!

qa'ł'la'x lakwī'nī let them two seize (them)! 52.12, 13

qa'łn xāL!ī'tsmɛ hītsī'ł let me fix his house!

qa'ł wàn a'w'stūx let him sleep now! 27.8

tcū serves to emphasize the imperative and exhortative modes. It invariably follows the verb, which must occur in either of these two forms. It can not be translated easily. In some instances the informant rendered it by TRY TO.

qaqū'ᶜnɛm tcū listen now!

lī't!ɛmans tcū let us (incl. dual) eat!

qa'txɛm tcū cry!

a'w'sɛm tcū try to sleep!

tɛmàᶜ indicates a polite command addressed to any person. The informant rendered it by IT IS BETTER TO. . . . Although it usually followed verbs having imperative suffixes, I was able to obtain examples showing the use of this particle in conjunction with verbal expressions of a non-imperative character.

qwa'ᶜnyūx tɛmàᶜ Laaya'tc better pour it into his mouth! 29.2

a'w'sɛm tɛmàᶜ (you had) better sleep!

tɛmàᶜ wa'tūx it is better (that) he should talk

ak'ha'n is apparently a compound particle, whose component elements can no longer be analyzed. It has an emphatic character, implying that a certain command addressed to the second person must be obeyed. It is best rendered by MUST, NECESSARILY.

lī't!ɛm ak'ha'n you must eat!

L!wā'nīs ak'ha'n you must tell him!

L!ī'līs ak'ha'n you must hit him!

§ 130. *Restrictive Particles*

***ata'*s** limits the action to only one object, and is to be rendered by ONLY, MERELY. It usually follows the restricted object.

łqa'qa^{i}nx ata's your wind only (is sick) 86.16, 17
pā'l·ū ata's qatcū$^{i'}$txa^{ū}tnᴇ from (one) well only it is being drunk (plural) 76.12
sqa^{i}k wàn ata's hara$^{i'}$ only there now it ends 29.7
s^{ᴇ}às ata's ʟ.'xū'yūn he only knows it 44.8

ha$^{i'}$tsī has a restrictive function, and is best rendered by NOTHING BUT.

hīq.!aha$^{ū'}$nî ants xu'nha^{i} ha$^{i'}$tsī nothing but dentalia shells these (people) bet 78.14
ha$^{i'}$tsīn kō'tan yîxa'yūn nothing but horses I saw

txū MERELY, ONLY, JUST. It refers mostly to the verb, and may either precede or follow it.

txū xyal·xî'sk'în qa'tc^{i}nt just a little ways he went 12.1
txū łī'tc^{ᴇ}t łī'nīnx just Cougar (will be) thy name 13.5, 6
xa^{u}w^{i}ya$^{i'}$ txū hīcatca'sk'în he merely came out for a little while 64.8
łī't.!ᴇm txū just eat! 40.26; 42.1
cî'n^{i}xyat.!ya txū he was only continually thinking 42.2
kumî'ntc txū qīūtcūnya't hītc not for nothing a person gets a wife (literally, not just a woman has [gets a] person) 74.1

§ 131. *Miscellaneous Particles*

kū^{i}, kumî'ntc, NO, NOT. These are two etymologically related stems that are used as particles of negation. The final *tc* in *kumî'ntc* is the adverbial suffix (see §§ 23, 94)

kū^{i} cî'l·xīł he did not move 27.2, 3
kū^{i} nî'ctca nī'ctcūtnᴇ nothing could be done to him 94.12, 13
kū^{i}yā'tsaᴄʟ.!a'^{ai} not long then . . . 7.7
kumî'ntc hī$^{i'}$sa not good (it is) 12.2
kumî'ntc łīt.!aya't ants kō'tan not food had the horses 34.10

When followed by the subjective pronouns (see § 24), *kū^{i}* is contracted into *kwī*. This contraction is not based on any distinct phonetic law, but is the result of rapidity of speech.

kwī'ya^{u}x ya'xa^{ū}ł nî'ck'la^{i} not he saw their (dual) vulvas 90.3
kwīnx yā'tsa s^{ᴇ}a'ts^{ᴇ}yax not they long (did) thus 11.3, 4

In certain cases the negated verb takes, beside the negative particle, the distinct suffix of negation *-īl* (see § 53).

ha^{ū}, hā'nîk, YES, ALL RIGHT, are used as particles of affirmation.

ha^{ū} yes, all right 21.8
hā'nîk yes
ha^{ū} ʟî'mqan tcī'ntūx all right, I'll come back right away 56.21, 22
ha^{ū} wa'nxan hatc'a'^{w}ūn yes, now we (excl.) shall ask her 74.12

nà serves as a particle of interrogation, and refers to the sentence as a whole. Its phonetic similarity to the independent personal pronoun for the first person singular (see § 24) is merely accidental.

nîctcī'tcîn tɛx nà wa'a^{ī}s I wonder what shall I say? 74.7
pɬna^{ī} nà is he sick?
pākwa'wanx nà are you going to play shinny?

a^{ū}, hē, have an exclamatory character, and may be called interjections.

a^{ū}, nîctcī'tc pɬa^{a}n nà waha' what! is he sick again?
hē, kumî'ntc hī'^{ī}sa nī'x^{a}tc Hey! it (does) not (look) well on you 13.5

ka'tī, katī'xtî, an emphatic particle. It never occurs alone, being always preceded by the negation *kū^{ī}*, *kumî'ntc* (see p. 598), and is then best rendered by NOT AT ALL.

kumî'ntc katī' xa^{u}'wīl not at all he came out (from water) 64.7, 8
kū^{ī} katī'xtî ʟ!xma^{ī} ants ya^{ɛ}k^{u}s he did not entirely kill that seal 64.12, 13
kū^{ī} katī'xtî xa^{u}'wīl not again he floated up 64.16, 17

mîntc, a temporal particle indicating time in general. It is rendered by WHEN, SOMETIMES. The final *tc* is the adverbial suffix *par excellence* (see § 23).

mîntc ʟ!aya' some time
mîntc ʟō^{ɛ}ʟ ʟī'ūtūx (I) wonder when he will arrive
mî'ntc^{ī}nx tca'xaūtyax when did you go home?

tsan, ants, kū^{ī} nàts. These three particles are etymologically related. The last one is composed of the particle of negation *kū^{ī}* NOT and of *nàts*. The forms *ants* and *nàts* resulted from the law of consonantic metathesis (see § 13); *ants* is easily confused with the demonstrative pronoun of similar phonetic structure (see § 115).

These particles serve to introduce conditional clauses, and are best rendered by IF, SINCE. *kū'* *nàts* is rendered by IF NOT (see also § 136).

tsa'ntcî tū'ha sî'n'xyūn . . . if you want to buy her . . . 74.8
tsa'ntcî sî'n'xyaxa'n, 'ltcî hatc'a'yūn since you want her, (go and) ask her 74.10, 11
yā'a'xa' hītc tEm'wa'' sqa'k, ants ha'qa'' ants hamī''tcī many people assembled there, when (if) those whales come ashore 82.21, 22
. . . *ants tkwa'myax ants înq!a'a'* when (ice) closed up that river 78.3

Whenever the subordinate clause is introduced by the negative *kū' nàts*, the co-ordinate sentence that follows must be preceded by the particle *nàts*.

kū' nàts xā'wa'xa'tnE, 'l nàts tsī'k!ya mī'k!a L!a'a' if he had not been killed, it would have been a very bad country 29.7, 8
kū' nàts LĪ'ūyax, 'ln nàts nakwa'yatītī ha' if he had not come, I should have been sorry

nî'ctca, nī'ctca, nīctx. These three forms are undoubtedly etymologically related. Their primary function can not be easily defined, owing to the fact that they are used for the purpose of expressing grammatical concepts of a varying character. The most frequent uses made of these particles are those of an interrogative and indefinite pronoun. The function of an interrogative pronoun is chiefly confined to the form *nî'ctca* when followed by the demonstrative pronoun *tE* (see § 115), while it serves as an indefinite pronoun whenever it is preceded by the negative particle *kū'*, *kumî'ntc* NOT. *nî'ctca* is frequently amplified by means of the modal suffix *-ītc* (see § 94).

nī'ctca k'u tE cuqwa'an tE ha'kwat!ya what may (be the reason that) this roast here continually falls down? 90.12
nī'ctcanx tanx yā'a'xa' qātx why do you (this one) cry (so) much? 94.16, 17
nî'ctcan tEx nîctca'wax I doubt whether (we) shall accomplish anything 60.9
nî'ctcanl tEx xawa'ūn how can we kill him? 15.7
. . . *nî'ctca tE ta'* . . . how this one was living 16.2
kū' nî'ctca nī'ctcūtnE nothing could be done (to stop) him 94.12, 13
kū' nî'ctca qa'tc'wīl not able to get a drink 76.11
kū' nî'ctca ta'kwīl līt!aya' she could not get food 96.16, 17
nîctcī'tc'Etcî tE tEm'wa'tam . . . why you have been gathered 30.17

kumî'ntc nîctcī'tc cî'nxīl he thinks of nothing (else) 60.20, 21
kumî'ntcᴱtcî nîctcī'tc ta'tcî tᴇmū'ūts not for nothing did I assemble you (here) 30.18, 19

nîctx occurs in two instances only, and to all appearances has an interrogative significance.

nī'ctxan kᵘ a'ntsîn māt!'ī' tᴇ kū'ⁱ tcī'nīl what may (be the reason that) my elder brother here does not come back? 58.11, 12
nîctx kᵘ a'naxaˀ how (would it be if) he were given up? 64.26

In a great many cases *nî'ctca* and *nī'ctca* are used as verbs with a significance that adapts itself to the sense of the sentence (see § 135). The particles are then verbalized by means of some of the verbal suffixes.

kū'ⁱ nî'ctca nī'ctcūtnᴇ nothing could *be done* (*to stop*) *him* 94.12, 13
kū'ⁱ nî'ctca tcaītcī'tc nî'ctcīl not *can* anywhere (*they*) *go* 76.14
kumî'ntcxûn nî'ctcīs not we two (excl.) *will keep on going* 56.2
nî'ctcan tᴇx nîctca'wax I doubt whether (we) are *going to do* (anything) 60.9
nī'ctcat'aᵘx sî'nⁱxyūn to fight mutually they two want (it) 52.2

In one instance the addition of a nominal suffix has transformed *nî'ctca* into a noun.

kumî'ntc qwatc ʟ!xū'xᵘn nî'ctcatc ants nî'ctcīsî no one knows what happened to them (literally, how their *arrival*) 40.15, 16

§ 132. *The Suffixed Particle* -ū (-aᵘ)

It indicates an action, transitive or intransitive, that is performed near the speaker, and may be added to stems other than verbal. It always stands in final position as a loose suffix. Since similar formative elements expressing other locative categories were not found in Siuslaw, and in view of the fact that Alsea employs, besides this suffix, many other suffixes denoting location of action, I am inclined to believe that this element represents a formative element borrowed from Alsea. The Siuslaw render it by HERE, THIS WAY. A peculiar phonetic law seems to be intimately connected with this particle. When following the consonantic cluster *nx*, it causes the dropping of the *x* (see § 4). The interchange between *ū* and *aᵘ* has been discussed in § 2.

kaᵘs = to follow 92.7

kⁱwasⁱyū'tsanaᵘ you will overtake me 92.3

qaᵘ'xûn above 80.12

yūᵘⁱʟ!a'tx qaᵘxûnū' it broke on top 94.4

qa'tcîntūx he will come	*qa'tc^{i}ntūxa^{ū} nàtc* he will come to me
xwī'ʟ!Em come back!	*xwīʟ!'Ema^{ū}* come back this way!
ʟīū'ūnanx they come (trans.)	*ʟīū'ūnana^{ū} tcī'wa'nE* they come out from the water
xî'ntanx they travel 88.20	*xî'ntana^{ū} tî'mwa* they travel this way together
ya'qu'yū'nanx thou art seen	*ya'qu'yū'nana^{ū}* thou art seen here
qa^{i}hā'n from afar 56.8	*qa^{i}hā'hana^{ū} ʟīū'* he came from afar
sqā'tEm from there 34.3	*sqā'tmanū tsīʟ!a'ʟ!ā^{u}n* I shoot at him from there

§ 133. *The Stem* ʟ!a'^{ai}

The original function of this stem is that of a noun denoting PLACE, COUNTRY, GROUND, WORLD, and it occurs in this function in a great many instances. Its locative form is *ʟ!aya'* or *ʟ!ayū's* (see § 86).

mī'k!a ʟ!a'^{ai} a bad world 29.8
yāk!'isk'înū' ʟ!aya' ^{ul} tīyū'^{wi} on a small place they were living 38.19
mî'tcîstūn ʟ!ayū'stc he made (them) fall to the ground 94.7, 8

In most cases, however, it is used with a significance which, while intimately connected with its original meaning, seems to lend to it a peculiar function. Thus it is employed in the formation of verbs expressing meteorological phenomena, and serves as the (impersonal) subject of such verbs.

hî'n^{ɛ}k!ya ʟ!a'^{ai} it rained 78.1
k!u^{x}wîna$^{i'}$ ʟ!a'^{ai} ice (appeared) all over 76.11
qa$^{i'}$xîxyax tE ʟ!a'^{ai} it got dark 34.4
nā'qutyax ʟ!a'^{ai} it got cold 76.10, 11
hū$^{u'}$nyax ʟ!a'^{ai} it was dark (foggy) 34.8, 9
kumî'ntc wī'ʟīl ants ʟ!a'^{ai} there was no low tide 34.22
qīūnEma$^{i'}$ ʟ!a'^{ai} (when) winter begins 78.5

From the Siuslaw point of view this application of *ʟ!a'^{ai}* is perfectly justifiable, because to his mind verbs expressing natural phenomena represent real actions performed by the UNIVERSE as a personified subject. Consequently he renders our neutral phrases IT RAINS, etc., by THE WORLD RAINS, etc., using the noun *ʟ!a'^{ai}* as the general subject of the action.

As a further consequence of this general significance, *ʟ!a'^{ai}* is used to denote plurality of subjects and objects, especially in cases where the verb is used in its singular form (see §§ 78, 79, 139).

t!āmcî'l·mä L*!a'^{ai}* all the children 34.6, 7
qīūtcū'nî L*!a'^{ai}* many women 82.14
sExa^{ū}'tc qaa'xam ants L*!a'^{ai} tE'q* into the canoe were put many things 34.5
mEtcī'tc^{E}tc xwā'ka ants L*!a'^{ai}* one-sided their heads (of) those (people) 70.5, 6
yā^{a}'xa^{i} xu'nha^{i} L*!a'^{ai}* they bet a great deal 70.6
hīq!aha^{ū}'nî L*!a'^{ai}* many dentalia shells 70.6
tsī'k!ya mī'k!a wā'nwîts L*!a'^{ai}* very bad (things existed) long ago 14.7
stīm L*!a'^{ai} ma'q!īs* there they keep on dancing 29.3
waa'a^{ū}tsmE ants L*!a'^{ai} hītc* he said to all his people 7.1
pEkū'^{u} L*!a'^{ai}* they play shinny 9.4
L*!ōxa'xa^{ū}tsmE hītc* L*!a'^{ai}* he sent all his people 30.1, 2
k!u^{x}wī'nūn L*!a'^{ai}* he made ice all over 94.2, 3
tcīt'a't'ūn L*!a'^{ai}* he caused the wind to blow all over 94.5

This stem occurs also as a suffix. In such cases it is abbreviated into -L*!* (see § 77).

§ 134. Nouns and Verbs as Qualifiers

Siuslaw has no means of indicating by a grammatical device the sex of a given noun; that is to say, it does not exhibit grammatical gender. Hence, whenever it is desired to distinguish between the male and the female of a species, the nouns *tExmū'nî* MAN and *qīūtcū'nî* WOMAN are used as qualifying a given appellative term. The qualifying noun either precedes or follows the qualified term.

qīūtcū'nî kwī'yōs a female dog
tExmū'nî kō'tan a male horse, stallion
tsî'sqan qīūtcū'nî a female deer, doe
ła'kukyax hītū'tc tExmū'nya she took a male person 60.23
tExmū'nîtc^{w}ax ants t!āmc k!īx they two had boys each (literally, male their [dual] those infants each [are]) 40.19

Not infrequently verbs are used to qualify the actions implied by another verbal stem. The qualifier has then the function of a modal adverb, and its significance may best be compared to that of our adverbs ending in -LY. The position of the qualifier is freely movable.

^{u}ɬ sLōxu'x^{u} xwīL!a'L! so down(-wardly) he came back (literally, he slid down and came back) 12.6

xawa$^{i'}$ hītc ^{u}l kumî'ntc tcī'nīl xwī'ʟ!īl (when) a person dies, (he will) not come back (by way of) return(-ing) (literally, not he comes back [and] returns) 42.11

mîta'tc^{w}ax ants tqūlū' waa' their (dual) father, that one, shouted, saying (literally, shouted [and] said) 52.8

§·135. Particles as Verbs

The frequent use of particles as verbs constitutes a characteristic feature of Siuslaw that is chiefly due to the fact that the majority of stems are neutral, deriving their nominal or verbal significance from the nature of the suffix that is added to them (see § 22). Consequently any particle (or adverb) may serve as a verb when occurring with the proper verbalizing suffixes, mostly the pronominal and temporal elements.

ha^{i}q shore (§ 119)	*ha$^{i'}$qîqyax* it was (coming) ashore 56.13
s^{ɛ}a'tsa thus (§ 121)	*yā'tsa s^{ɛ}a'ts^{ɛ}yax* for a long time thus they (did) 11.3, 4
yā$^{a'}$xa^{i} many (§ 124)	*stīmts ya'xtūx* there you two will multiply 32.6
a'l·dū likewise (§ 125)	*al·twa'wanx* also you (come) 16.4
	a'l·tūtūnx hūtcū$^{u'}$stc also you will (have) fun 22.8
	^{u}la^{u}x al·twa$^{i'}$ hītū'stc they two again were among people 98.17, 18
wa', waha' again (§ 126)	*^{u}l wàn waha'ha^{ū}n qa'msk^{u}tc* finally again (said to him) his younger brother 56.20, 21
	wa'tūnx m^{u}qwa'ʟɛmtc wa'as you will again (talk with) Crow's language 38.8, 9
lī'yax- a while (§ 126)	*līyaxa'waxan a^{u}sa'wax* a little while I intend (doing it), (namely to) sleep 27.5, 6
nî'ctca (§ 131)	*tcî'nta^{u} nîctca$^{i'}$ ants hītc* whatever does a man 70.22
	kumî'ntcxûn nî'ctcīs not we two (excl.) will keep on (going) 56.2

§ 136. The Conditional Clause

The rendering of the conditional clause in Siuslaw is accomplished in so many different ways, that it was thought best, for the sake of

conciseness, to devote a separate section to this subject. The usual procedure is to introduce a conditional clause by means of the temporal adverb *ats* AT THAT TIME, WHEN (see § 120), or by means of either of these three related particles: *tsan, kū^{i} nàts, ants* (see § 131).

ats tɛ'q waxa'yɛxayîm if something (will) be given to him 18.5
tsa'ntcî tū'ha sî'n^{i}xyūn if you (to) buy want her 74.8
yā^{a}'xa^{i} hītc tɛm^{u}wa$^{i'}$ sqa^{i}k, ants ha^{i}qa$^{i'}$ ants hamī''tcī many people assemble there, when those whales come ashore 82.21, 22
kū^{i} nàts xā'wa^{a}xa^{ū}tnɛ if he had not been killed 29.7

There are, however, other ways of expressing a conditional clause that are resorted to more frequently than the process just mentioned. Of these, the use of the past tense as conveying conditionality is of an exceedingly frequent occurrence, and is due to the participial function that is assigned by the Siuslaw to that tense (see § 74). In such cases the conditional clause tends to precede the sentence expressing the co-ordinate thought, although instances of a reversed order are by no means rare. The verb of the co-ordinate clause takes usually (but not as a rule) the durative suffix (see § 69).

tcī'k^{ɛ}nx ya'xyaxa^{ū}n hītc, ^{u}l^{ɛ}nx l.!wa'nīsūn if somewhere you see a person, you will tell of it (literally, having seen . . .) 38.12, 13
wa'sl^{i}syanx tāqa$^{i'}$na, ^{u}l^{ɛ}nx tsī'k.!ya qa$^{u'}$xûn wa'a^{ī}s if you get mad at anything, you very loud will always talk (literally, having become mad . . .) 36.11, 12
lī'wayanx înq.!a'ītc, ^{u}l^{ɛ}nx qnū'wī'wūs whenever they came into a river, they would find (literally, having come . . .) 66.21, 22
lūūna$^{u'w}$ya^{u}x, ^{u}l s^{ɛ}atsī'tc waa'yūn when they two came together, then thus she said 46.7
înq.!a'ītc hītc ta$^{i'}$yax, ^{u}l yā$^{a'}$xa^{i} sînq.! if in the ocean a man lives, (very) much he is hungry 44.12, 13
tsī'k.!ya hīs atsī'tc wa$^{a'}$yax very good (it would have been) if thus he had said 42.13

The conditional clause is also expressed by the use of the future tense.

sî'n^{i}xyū'nɛ ts!îlna'tc xawa'a^{u}, a$^{u'}$stūxax it was desired (that) with an arrow he (should) be killed, if he should (be a) sleep(er) 24.1
tsī'k.!ya hīs t.!ā'mcīns tcī'ntūx very good (would it be) if our children (dual incl.) should come back 42.6, 7
hawa$^{i'}$tūx tɛ tsī'l.!ī, ^{u}l^{ɛ}ns tsīl.!a't^{ɛ}tūx when finished will (be) these arrows, then we two (incl.) will shoot 50.14
sī''tūnx, ^{u}lnx qnī'x^{a}ts xnī'^{w}nīsūn when (if) you will grow up, then you will do it 98.10

The conditional clause may also be expressed by the verb in its present tense.

sî'n^{i}xyanx līt!aya', *^{u}lnx nàtc* L*ī'wīs* if you want food, then you will always come to me 44.6

*t*E*'q xawa$^{i'}$ pī''tsîs*, *^{u}l s^{E}às l^{i}t!a'yūn ha$^{i'}$qyax* if something dies in the ocean, he eats it (it) having come ashore 44.19, 20

*wī*L*a$^{i'}$* L*!a'^{ai} ^{u}l ha$^{i'}$qmas tcī'wa xî'ntm*E when the water is low, alongside of the beach he travels 46.16

*tcīn hītsî'stc ants qwo'txa^{ī}, atsī'tc waa'yūtsm*E *qī'ūtc* when he gets home, that Beaver, thus he says to his wife 48.17

§ 137. VOCABULARY

All Siuslaw words may be divided into two distinct classes, those of a denominating character and neutral stems. To the former belong all nouns of relationship, terms denoting parts of the body, animal names, words expressing natural objects, etc. These nouns never consist of more than three syllables. By far the greater part of the vocabulary consists of neutral stems, whose nominal or verbal function depends solely upon the sense in which they are used in a sentence and upon the functional value of the suffix with which they occur (see § 22). These stems are mostly monosyllabic, and consist of a vowel and consonant, of a consonant or consonantic cluster followed by a vowel, or (in most cases) of a consonant vowel and consonant.

a^{u}s- to sleep 24.1
anax- to give up 16.8
āq- to go away 52.10
āq- to take off 13.1
a^{i}q- to leave
a^{i}tc- to trade 36.4
*ī*L*!-* to break 94.4

wa- to speak 7.1
ta^{i}- to sit, to live 16.2
sī'- to grow 98.10
qaa- to enter 34.5
xaū- to die 16.8
lk!a- to open (one's mouth) 28.2

*m*E*q!-* to dance 19.2
*xā*L*!-* to do, to make 50.8
yax- to see 20.10
wînx- to be afraid 17.6
xîntm- to travel 12.10
tqūl- to shout 52.8
cîl·x- to shake 27.2
L*!wān-* to tell 17.1
*qatc*E*n-* to go 8.2

As examples of bisyllabic stems, the following may be given:

*was*L*^{i}s-* to be angry 36.11, 12
qaqū'n- to listen
sînxi- to desire 11.7
*t*E*mū-* to assemble 7.3
k!ā'la^{u}- to be tired 36.21
xîl·xcī- to work 48.10
*ha'n*E*nīt!-* to believe 46.3

Onomatopoetic expressions are exceedingly rare, being confined to three animal names and one verbal stem.

mî'tcmîtc grouse (probably called so from its cry *mît-mît*)
pūpuhū'nîk! owl
qō'qōq swan (white)
xūn- to snore *ᵘɬ wàn xū^{u}n* now he snores 27.9

A few terms appear in a reduplicated form (see § 109).

§ 138. STRUCTURE OF SENTENCES

The absence of nominal incorporation and polysynthesis as grammatical devices renders the Siuslaw sentence subject to easy analysis, and prevents the many complications that are met with in many other American languages. Each part of the sentence—such as subject, nominal object, predicate, and attribute—is expressed by means of a phonetically independent word. The successive order in which these parts of a sentence are arranged is arbitrary and exempt from any well-defined rules. The subject may be placed at the beginning or at the end of the sentence, usage favoring its occurrence at the very end, especially in cases where the sentence contains a nominal subject and object.

lk!anū'k^{u} ᵘɬ mEq!a^{i}'tx ha^{i}'qmas ʟīya'wa Screech-Owl was continually dancing alongside of the fire 86.2, 3
łk!an^{u}wa'k^{u} wî'nxa^{ū}n ants pEnî's Screech-Owl fears that Skunk 86.5
tsī'k!ya wî'nxa^{ū}n ants pEnî's lk!an^{u}wa'k^{u} very much is afraid of that Skunk, Screech-Owl 86.3
pîtca'ya^{u}x łqatūwīyū's ants qīūtcū'nî they two go over logs, these women 88.15, 16

Nominal objects may either precede or follow the subject of the sentence.

hīna'^{w}ūn ants plna'st lk!an^{u}wa'k^{u} she intends to take along that sick man, Screech-Owl 88.1, 2
waa'a^{ū}n sqūmā' ants łq!al·ō'mä said Pelican to that Sea-Gull 44.17

Of a similar free position are those parts of the sentence that express adverbial ideas. They may precede or follow the verb.

ᵘła^{u}x tcī'watc hakwa'a^{i} they two into the water will be thrown 88.7, 8
xa'ł^{i}nt qa'xûntc łqatūwīyū'stc he climbs up on a tree 12.4
yāk!îsk·înū' ʟ!aya' ᵘɬ tīyū'^{wi} on a small place they live 38.19
ł^{i}kwa'yūnanx k^{u} łt·ī'a^{i} sExa^{ū}' you may get salmon in the boat 48.18

Nominal and adverbial attributive complements may precede or follow the noun or verb, excepting the demonstrative pronouns *ants*, *tɛ* (see § 115), which are usually placed immediately before the noun. Owing to the fact that all adjectives are intransitive verbs, they seldom refer to the noun, and are freely movable.

yā^{a}'xa^{i} hītc plna^{ì}tx ha^{ì} many people were sorry 15.4
yî.xa'yūn hītc yā^{a}'xa^{i} he saw many people
wî'nxa^{ū}n tsī'k!ya tɛpɛnî's she was very much afraid of Skunk 86.1
tsī'k!ya^{u}x xaū' sî'n^{i}xyūn very much they two wanted him to die 86.19
yuwa'yūn yā^{a}'xa^{i} ants q!a'īl they collected lots of that pitch 88.5, 6
lxa^{u}yaxa^{ū}'nî ants pɛnî's that other skunk 86.18, 19
yîkt ants hītsī'^{i} big (is) that house 25.2
hî'tc^{ɛ}tc nîctcîma^{ɛ}mu tɛ t.!ī a person's fashion (has) this Bear 60.26

The same freedom of order as is exhibited by the different parts of the sentence is found in the relative position of coordinate and subordinate sentences. Subordinate clauses are usually introduced by particles, and they may precede or follow the principal clause.

wa^{ì} tcī'wa ma^{a}tc ants lqa^{i}''tū, ^{u}l mîltca^{i}' although in the water lay those logs, still (they) burned 32.22
nî'ctcîm sqa^{ì}k lī'wat.!ī, wa^{ì} yā'tsa because there he came frequently, even for a long time 68.4, 5
yā^{a}'xa^{i} hītc, ^{u}l tɛm^{u}wa^{i}' sqa^{ì}k, ants ha^{i}qa^{i}' ants hamī''tcī many people assemble there, when those whales come ashore 82.21, 22
tɛ^{ì}q xawa^{i}' pī''tsîs, ^{u}l s^{ɛ}às l^{i}t.!a'yūn ha^{i}'qyax when something dies in the ocean, he eats it after it has come ashore 44.19, 20

§ 139. IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

Here belongs in first place the manner of expressing comparison of adjectives. The comparative degree is expressed by using the objective form of the pronoun (or noun) for the compared object, which is invariably placed at the end of the sentence. In some cases the idea of comparison is brought out more forcibly by the adverb *pɛlī'tc* AHEAD, FIRST, following or preceding the object.

s^{ɛ}à hīs nàtc he is better than I (am)
na'han hī'sa nī'x^{a}tc I am better than you (are)
yîktî'l·män s^{ɛ}a^{i}'na pɛlī'tc I am taller than he (is)
yîkt s^{ɛ}à pɛlī'tc na'tc^{ɛ}nl he is taller than we (are)

The superlative is expressed in the same manner, although the augmentative or diminutive suffixes (see §§ 83, 84) or the suffix *-ūnî* (see § 102) are preferably used to indicate the superlative degree.

l'na^{uwi} s^{E}à na'tc^{E}nxan he is (the) richest of us all
s^{E}à yāk.!'sk'în tExmū'nî he is the smallest man
na'han yîktî'l·mä I am the tallest
s^{E}à yîktū'nî that biggest one
tū yāk.!a^{ū}'nî that smallest one 88.12

A very important example of idiomatic phraseology is the (colloquial) use of the singular number for the plural. It will be remembered that Siuslaw has only two suffixes expressing plurality, neither of which is used consistently (see §§ 79, 80). In many cases the adverb *yā^{a}'xa^{i}* MUCH, MANY (see § 121), the numeral particle *ha^{i}'mūt* ALL (see § 124) or the stem *L!a'^{ai}* PLACE, WORLD (see § 133), is employed for the purpose of denoting plural subjects and objects, and, while these stems are at times used in conjunction with one of the plural suffixes, they more frequently express plurality without the aid of these suffixes; that is to say, the verb is more often used in the singular form.

yā^{a}'xa^{i} L!a'^{ai} hītc yîxa'yūn he saw many people 70.2
yā^{a}'xa^{i} hītc plna^{i}tx ha^{l} many people were sorry 15.4
ha^{i}'mūt . . . l^{i}kwa^{i}' all get it 82.6
ła^{i}'qat skwaha^{i}'tx xwākī' ants L!a'^{ai} feathers have on their heads those people 10.9

Very often, however, the singular number has a plural function, even without the aid of any of these particles, as may be seen from the following examples:

s^{E}a'tsa l^{i}t!a^{i}' tE ta^{i}'yax thus eat those who lived here 82.12
^{u}l tqa^{u}'wītc taya^{i}' they lived up stream 82.12, 13
^{u}l tEm^{u}wa^{i}' sqa^{i}k they assemble there 82.21, 22
cī'n^{a}xtc ya'xa^{ū} ants ya^{s}k^{u}s three were the seals (literally, three his number, that seal) 62.16, 17
xā'ts!ū hītc ītqa^{i}' two people dig 84.2
sî'n^{i}xyūn łq!ā'nū they wanted (to buy) hides 100.15
hīq!aha^{ū}'nî ants xu'nha^{i} ha^{i}'tsī nothing but dentalia shells these (people) bet 78.14

Another peculiar idiomatic expression is found in the manner of expressing an act performed by two subjects, both of whom are mentioned. This is usually done by adding the subjective pronoun for

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the third person dual *-a^{u}x* (see § 24) to one of the subjects, using the other in its absolutive form. The noun taking the pronominal suffix occurs invariably in its discriminative form (see § 111). It is not absolutely necessary that these two subjects should follow each other in immediate succession.

s^{E}a'tsatc nîctcîma^{E}mū tE sqūma' wā'nwîts lq!al·ōa'ma^{u}x thus was long ago the custom of pelican and sea-gull (literally, thus his custom, [of] this pelican long ago, [of] sea-gull, [of] them two) 48.4, 5

qwo'txa^{ĭ} tsîmîl·a'wa^{u}x ta^{i} beaver and muskrat lived 48.6

s^{E}atsī'tc^{w}ax halk! mā'q^{u}L tE uma'lī^{w}ax thus is told the story of Crow and Thunder (literally, thus their two, story, Crow [of] this [and] this Thunder [of them two] 38.18

qīūtcî'l·mä ltEk^{o}wa'ntc^{w}ax ta^{i} tî'mwa an old woman and her grandchild lived together (literally, old woman, her grandchild, they two, lived together) 96.15

^{u}la^{u}x stīm qa'txast ants tExmū'nî qayū'tc^{E}tc^{w}ax they two there commenced to cry that man and his wife (literally, they two, there, commenced to cry, that man, his wife, they two) 58.17, 18

LxA^{u}yaxa^{ū}'nî ants pEnî's tsī'k!ya^{u}x xaū' sî'n^{i}xyūn ants plnast (he and) that other skunk very much they two wanted (that) that sick man (should) die 86.18, 19

An idiomatic expression of irregular occurrence is the formation of the imperative mode of a verb that is preceded by the stem *haū-* TO STOP. Such a phrase consists of the imperative form of the verb TO STOP followed by the demonstrative pronoun *s^{E}à*, and of the past tense of the verbal stem that expresses the prohibited action.

ha'ūm s^{E}anx qā'txyax quit crying! (literally, stop, this one you [who] has been crying)

ha'ūm s^{E}anx tsī'L!yax stop shooting!

ha'ūm s^{E}anx qā'Lxyax stop counting!

The verb expressing the prohibited action may sometimes occur without the suffix for the past tense.

ha'ūmatcî s^{E}a'tcî waana'wa stop talking to one another!

ha'ūm s^{E}anx c^{u}xū'yūn tE kō'tan stop scaring these horses!

As the last instance of idiomatic phraseology may be mentioned the use of the durative as a negative imperative, a use that has been fully discussed in §§ 40, 60, and 61.

TEXTS

The Death of Grizzly Bear[1]

Wā'nwîts.[2]	Tsī'k!ya[3]	mī'k!a	wā'nwîts[2]	L!a'^{ai}.[4]	K!ēxū'[5]	L!aya'[6]	
Long ago.	Very	bad	long ago	world.	Each on	place on	
u!ł[7]	s^{E}a^{i}t[8]	L!a'^{ai}.[4]	S^{E}a'tsa[3]	hī'q!aq!yax[9]	wā'nwîts.[2]	M!ya'k!a[10]	h!ya'tc[11]
then	such	world.	Thus	it had started	long ago.	Bad	person
ł!tl!a'yūn.[12]	Swāł[13]	ł!tl!a'yūn[12]	hītc	L!a'^{ai}[4]	wā'nwîts.[2]	Hītc	
devoured him.	Grizzly	devoured	people	many	long ago.	Person	
p^{a}a^{i}'Ln[14]	qatc^{i}na^{i}',[15]	u!ł	s^{E}às[16]	L!xmaī'yūs[17]	u!ł	ł!tł!'yūs.[18]	
to hunt	goes,	then	he	would kill him	and	would devour him.	
Yā^{a}'xa^{i}[19]	hītc	płna^{i}'tx[20]	ha^{l}	s^{E}a^{i}'na.[21]	u!ł	tEmū'tx[22]	hītcū'^{u}.[23]
Many	persons	sorry their	hearts	for that.	Then	assemble (pl.)	people.
Sîn^{E}xyū'^{u}[24]	xāL!a'ūłtx.[25]	Tsîm[26]	xawa'a^{u}.[27]	A'tsa[28]	u!ł	wàn[29]	
Desire (pl.)	be fixed his (disposition).	Always	killed shall be.	That's	why	now	
tEmū'tx[22]	hītcū'^{wi}.[30]	u!ł	waa^{i}'tx[31]	mātīyū'^{u}[32]	tE[33]	L!a'^{ai}.[4]	
assemble (pl.)	people.	Then	say continually	chiefs (of)	this	region.	
"Pła'ntxan[34]	ha^{l}	tsī'k!ya.[3]	Nî'etcanł[35]	tEx[36]	xawa'ūn?[37]	u!ł	
"Sorry our	hearts	very.	How we	doubt	kill him?	For	

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[1] See Leo J. Frachtenberg, Lower Umpqua Texts, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. IV, pp. 15 *et seq.*

[2] Temporal adverb (§ 120).

[3] Modal adverb (§ 121).

[4] See § 133.

[5] *klīx* EACH, EVERY (§§ 124, 2); *-ū* local suffix of rest (§ 91).

[6] *L!a'^{ai}* particle (§ 133); *-a* locative case (§§ 86, 8).

[7] Conjunction (§ 125).

[8] Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

[9] *hīq!-* TO START, TO COMMENCE (§ 108); *-yax* past tense (§ 74).

[10] Discriminative form of *mī'k!a* (§ 111).

[11] Discriminative form of *hītc* PERSON (§ 111).

[12] *łît!-* TO EAT (§ 12); *-aī* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

[13] Discriminative form of *swał* GRIZZLY BEAR (§ 111).

[14] Transposed from *paLna^{i}'* (§ 14); *paLn-* TO HUNT; *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§ 75).

[15] *qatcn-* TO GO, TO START; *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§§ 75, 136).

[16] Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

[17] *L!xmaī-* TO KILL; *-aī* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9, 2); *-ūs* durative (§§ 69, 8).

[18] *łît!-* TO EAT; *-aī* verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); *-ūs* durative (§§ 69, 8).

[19] Modal adverb (§ 121).

[20] *płn-* TO BE SICK; *-aītc* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33).

[21] Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

[22] *tEmū-* TO ASSEMBLE; *-tx* plural (§ 80).

[23] *hītc* PERSON; *-ū^{u}* plural (§ 79).

[24] *sînxī-* TO WANT, TO DESIRE; *-ū^{u}* plural (§§ 79, 8)

[25] *xāL!-* TO MAKE, TO FIX; *-ūłtc* passive (§ 39).

[26] Temporal adverb (§ 120).

[27] *xaū-* TO DIE; *-aau* future passive (§§ 56, 8).

[28] Modal adverb (§ 121); *a'tsa ul* FOR THAT REASON (§ 125).

[29] Temporal particle (§ 126).

[30] *hītc* PERSON; *-ū^{wi}* plural (§ 79).

[31] *waa-* TO SPEAK; *-aītc* frequentative (§§ 68, 9).

[32] *maā'tīł* CHIEF (§ 98); *-ū^{u}* plural (§§ 79, 8).

[33] Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

[34] Abbreviated; for *płą'ntxanxan*; *płn-* TO BE SICK (§ 112); *-tx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33); *-nxan* exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

[35] *nî'etca* particle (§ 131); *-nł* inclusive plural (§ 24).

[36] Particle (§ 127).

[37] *xaū-* TO DIE (§ 112); *-ūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

kumî'ntc[38] xa'wîł[39] tsîtɬī'tc.[40] A'tsan[41] ᵘłn[42] kumî'ntc[38]
not he die not arrow through. Thus I so I not

sî'nⁱxyūn[43] tsîɬī'tc[40] ɬ!xmaya'aᵘ."[44] ᵘł wàn[29] waa'tx[45] hītcū'ᵘ,[23]
want it arrow with killed he shall be." Then finally say (pl.) people,

k!înk'ya'aᵘ[46] nî'etca[47] tE[33] taˡ.[48] SᴱA'tsa[3] tū'na'aᵘ.[49] ᵘł wàn[29]
it will be gone and seen how this lives. Thus he will be invited. Then now

qa'tcⁱntx[50] k!înk't'ū'ʷⁱ.[51] ᵘł wàn[29] ɬ!ɪɬ!wa'xam.[52] ɬīū'ūn.[53]
go (pl.) searchers. Then now he is approached. He got there.

"K!aha'yū'nanx[54] alˑ'twa'wanx[55] hūtcūᵘ'ste[56] ɬ!aya'tc."[57] Kumî'ntc[38]
"Invited art thou, also about thou fun to place to." Not

a'mhatc[58] haˡ. ᵘł tca'xaᵘt[59] ᵘł tcⁱn ants[60] hītc. ᵘł sᴱatsî'tc[61]
willing his mind. So goes back and goes home that man. And thus

ɬ!wa'n.[62] "Kumî'ntc[38] a'mhatc[58] haˡ." SᴱatsI'tc[61] ɬ!wa'n[62] ants[60]
relates. "Not willing his mind." Thus relates that

hītc. Yā'xaˡ[19] hūtcū'ᵘ[63] ɬ!a'aⁱ[4] ants[60] tɛmū'ᵘwⁱ.[64] ᵘł waa'xam[65]
man. Much fun they (of) that assembly. Then is told

ants[60] sᴱà[66] qa'tcⁱntūx.[67] "Kumî'ntcînł[68] ana'xyūn.[69] Ats[70]
that who go will. "Not we give it up will. When

xa'ūtūx,[71] ᵘłnł[72] ana'xyūn."[69] Atsî'tc[73] ɬ!ōnī'txaū'nɛ.[74]
he die will, then we give it up will." Thus it is repeatedly said.

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[38] Particle of negation (§ 131).

[39] *xaū-* TO DIE; *-ił* negative (§§ 53, 8).

[40] *tsī'ɬī* ARROW (§ 98); *-ītc* adverbial (§§ 94, 9, 12).

[41] *a'tsa* THUS (§ 121); *-n* 1st person singular (§ 24).

[42] *uł* THEN (§ 125); *-n* 1st person singular (§ 24). *a'tsan uln* FOR THAT REASON I (§ 125). Singular instead of plural (§ 139). Should have been *a'tsanxan uɬɛnxan.*

[43] *sinxī-* TO DESIRE (§ 4); *-ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 24, 28, 8).

[44] *ɬ!xmai-* TO KILL; *-aau* future passive (§§ 56, 8).

[45] *waa-* TO SAY; *-tx* plural (§ 80).

[46] *k!înk'ī-* TO GO AND LOOK; *-aau* future passive (§§ 56, 8).

[47] Particle (§ 131).

[48] *t-* (?) TO LIVE, TO RESIDE; *-ai* verbalizing (§ 75).

[49] *tū'n-* TO INVITE; *-aau* future passive (§ 56).

[50] *qatcn-* TO START, TO GO (§ 4); *-tx* plural (§ 80).

[51] *k!înk'ī-* TO GO AND LOOK; *-t'ūwi* nominal (§ 99).

[52] *ɬīū-* TO COME, TO APPROACH (§§ 107, 112); *-xam* present passive (§§ 55).

[53] *ɬīū-* TO ARRIVE, TO COME; *-ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 10).

[54] *k!a'-* TO INVITE; *-ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 3); *-ū'nɛ* passive (§§ 58, 8); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[55] Contracted; for *al·twa'waxanx* (§ 9); *a't·dū* LIKEWISE (§§ 125, 135); *-awax* intentional (§§ 70, 8); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[56] *hūtcū'ᵘ* FUN (§ 97); *-ūs* locative case (§§ 86, 9); *-tc* local (§ 90).

[57] *ɬ!a'aⁱ* GROUND (§ 133); *-a* locative case (§§ 86, 8); *-tc* local (§ 90).

[58] *a'mha* WILLING; *-tc* possessive 3d person singular (§ 88).

[59] *tcaxū-* TO TURN BACK; *-t* present (§§ 72, 2).

[60] Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

[61] *sᴱa'tsa* THUS (§ 121); *-ītc* modal (§§ 94, 9).

[62] *ɬ!ōn-* TO RELATE (§ 112).

[63] *hūtc-* TO PLAY; *-ūu* nominal (§ 97).

[64] *tɛmū-* TO ASSEMBLE; *-ūwi* nominal (§§ 97, 9).

[65] *waa-* TO SPEAK, TO SAY; *-xam* present passive (§ 55).

[66] Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

[67] *qatcn-* TO GO (§ 4); *-tūx* future (§ 73).

[68] *kumî'ntc* NOT (§ 131); *-nł* inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

[69] *anx-* TO GIVE UP; *-yūn* exhortative with direct object of third person (§§ 41, 112).

[70] Temporal adverb (§ 120).

[71] *xaū-* TO DIE; *-tūx* future (§ 73).

[72] *uł* THEN (§ 125); *-nł* inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

[73] *a'tsa* THUS (§ 121); *-ītc* modal (§§ 94, 9).

[74] *ɬ!ōn-* TO TELL, TO SAY; *-ītx* frequentative (§ 68); *-aū'nɛ* passive (§ 58).

ᵘł wàn[29] ʟ!ōxa'xam[75] waa'xam[65] ants[60] hītc. Sᵘkwī'tc[76] tsînq!t[77]
Then finally is sent is told that man. Very poor

ants[60] hītc ʟ!ōxa'xam.[75] "Hī'sanx[78] ʟ!wa'nīsūn.[79] Kwīnx[80] nîctcī'tc[81]
that man who is sent. "Well thou shalt tell him. Not thou what-like

ʟ!wa'nīsūn[79] mī'k!a'na.[82] ʟ!wa'nīsūnanx[83] sᴱatsī'tc,[61] 'Sî'nᴱxyūt-
shalt tell him bad-ly. Shalt tell him thou thus, 'Desire

sanxan[84] lī'ūtūx[85] tūū'ts.[86] Tsī'k!yanxan[87] sî'nⁱxyūn[43] hūtca'aᵘ.'[88]
we-thee come shall here. Very we want it fun shall be (had).'

Atsī'tcᴱnx[89] ʟ!wā'nīsūn.[79] Kwīnx[80] ʟ!wā'nīsūn[79] mī'k!a'na.[82]
Thus thou shalt tell him. Not thou shalt tell him bad-ly.

Yāᵃ'xa!tc[90] ha!, tsī'k!ya[3] mī'k!a." ᵘł wàn[29] qa'tcⁱnt[91] ants[60]
Much his mind, very bad." So finally starts that

hītc. Wînx tsī'k!ya.[3] "Lᵒwa'xan[92] tā'kîn[93] lūū'." ᵘł wàn[29]
man. He fears very. "Messenger I this I come." Then now

wīlwaⁱ'.[94] "Nîctcī'tcanx[95] waᵃ'yaxaᵘ̃ts[96] ants[60] lī'ūyax?'"[97]—
he assents. "What-like thee told he-thee that (who) came?"—

"Kumî'ntc[38] nîctcī'tc[81] wa'aᵘ̃ł.[98] Txūn[99] ʟ!ōna'yūtnᴇ[100] sᴱatsī'tc:'[1]
"Not what-like he said. Just I am told thus:

'k!aha'yūˈnîn.'[101] Atsī'tcîn[102] ʟ!ōna'yūts.[103] 'Tsī'k!yanx[104] sî'nⁱxyūn[43]
'invited am I.' Thus me he tells he-me. 'Very they want it

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[75] *ʟ!ōx-* TO SEND; *-xam* present passive (§§ 55, 4).

[76] Modal adverb (§§ 121, 94).

[77] *tsînq!-* TO BE POOR; *-t* nominal (§ 104).

[78] *hīts* GOOD; *-a* modal (§ 96); *-nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

[79] *ʟ!ōn-* TO TELL (§ 112); *-īs* durative (§ 69); *-ũn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

[80] *kūⁱ* NOT (§ 131); *-nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

[81] *nî'ctca* WHAT (§ 131); *-ītc* modal (§§ 94, 9).

[82] *mī'k!a* BAD (§ 96); *-'na* modal (§ 94).

[83] *ʟ!ōn-* TO TELL (§ 112); *-īs* durative (§ 69); *-ãn* direct object of third person (§ 28); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[84] *sînxī-* TO DESIRE; *-ūtsanxan* direct object of first and second persons WE-THEE (§§ 29, 8, and Table, p. 473).

[85] *līū-* TO COME; *-tūx* future (§ 73).

[86] Local adverb (§ 119).

[87] *tsī'k!ya* VERY (§ 121); *-nxan* exclusive plural (§ 24).

[88] *hūtc-* TO PLAY, TO HAVE FUN; *-aaᵘ* future passive (§ 56).

[89] *atsī'tc* THUS (§§ 121, 94); *-nx* 2nd person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[90] *yāa'xaⁱ* MUCH (§ 121); *-tc* possessive 3rd person singular (§ 88).

[91] *qatcn-* TO START (§ 4); *-t* present (§ 72).

[92] Contracted; for *ʟ!ᵒ'waxaxan* (§ 24); *ʟ!ōx-* TO SEND (§ 112); *-ax* nominal (§ 101); *-n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[93] *tāak* THIS (§ 115); *-n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[94] *wīlũ-* TO AFFIRM, TO AGREE, TO ASSENT; *-aⁱ* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).

[95] *nî'ctca* WHAT (§ 131); *-ītc* modal (§§ 94, 9); *-nx* 2nd person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[96] *waa-* TO SAY; *-yax* past (§ 74); *-aũts* direct object of first and second persons (§ 29).

[97] *līū-* TO COME; *-yax* past (§ 74).

[98] *waa-* TO SAY; *-aⁱł* negative (§§ 53, 9).

[99] *txū* JUST (§ 130); *-n* 1st person singular (§ 24).

[100] *ʟ!ōn-* TO TELL; *-aⁱ* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ũtnᴇ* passive (§§ 58, 8).

[101] *k!a'-* TO INVITE; *-aⁱ* verbalizing (§§ 75, 3); *-ũ'nᴇ* passive (§§ 58, 8); *-n* 1st person singular (§ 24).

[102] *atsī'tc* THUS (§§ 121, 94); *-n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[103] *ʟ!ōn-* TO TELL; *-aⁱ* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ũts* direct object of first person and second persons (§§ 29, 8, and Table, p. 480).

[104] *tsī'k!ya* VERY (§ 121); *-nx* 3d person plural (§ 24).

Līwa'wax.[105] S^{E}atsī'tcîn[106] L!^{o}wa'x[107] tā'kîn[93] Līū'.'" S^{E}atsī'tc[61]
intend to come (thou). Thus I messenger this I come.'" Thus

waa^{i}'.[108] "Tᴇ''qîn[109] waxaū'ɪnᴇ[110] tā'kîn[93] k!aha'yū'nᴇ?"[111]—
he says. "Something I be given this I (who) am invited?"—

"Kumîn'ntc[38] nîctcī'tc[81] wa^{a}'aūtnᴇ.[112] Txū[113] wàn[7] hūtcū'^{u}[114]
"Not anything is said. Just now have fun

L!a'^{ai}.[4] S^{E}a'tsa[3] tanx[115] sî'n^{E}xyūtnᴇ[116] Lī'ūtūx."[85]— "S^{E}atsī'tc^{E}nx[117]
many. Thus this thou art wanted come shall."— "Thus thou

L!wa'nīs,[118] 'Sî'nxīt[119] tāqa^{l}'na.[120] Ats[70] tᴇ'q[120] waxa'yᴇxayîm,[121] ^{u}ɬ
shalt tell, 'He wants something. When something be given to him, then

wàn[29] Lī'ūtūx.'[85] S^{E}atsī'tc^{E}nx[117] waa'yūts."[122]
finally he come will.' Thus thee tells he-thee."

^{u}ɬ s^{E}atsī'tc[61] waa' ants[60] a'ɬ^{a}q[123] hītc. "Txū[113] yā^{a}'xa^{i}tc[90]
Then thus says that one man. "Just much his

ha^{l}. S^{E}atsī'tc[61] sî'n^{i}xya,[124] nî'ctcîm[125] s^{E}às[16] k!^{l}xa'yūn[126] tᴇ[33]
mind. Thus he desires, because he kills these

hītc. A'tsa ^{u}ɬ[23] yā^{a}'xa^{i}tc[90] ha^{l}." Atsī'tc[73] waa' ants[60] hītc.
people. That's why much his mind." Thus says that man.

"Atsī'tc[73] waa'xam,[65] 'Mᴇq!ē^{i}na'a^{u}.[127] Hūya'ūltx[128] ha^{l}. Tsī'k!ya[3]
"Thus he is told, 'It will be danced for him. Changed his (will be) mind. Very

planya^{i}'t!yūn[129] ha^{i}tc.'[130] S^{E}atsī'tc[61] waa^{l}'.[108] 'Ats[70] tᴇ'q[120]
sorry continually for him mind his.' Thus he says. 'When something

wā'xyaxaūmᴇ,[131] ^{u}ɬ Lī'ūtūx."[85] S^{E}atsī'tcîn[106] wa^{a}'aūts."[132]
be given to him, then he come will.' Thus me tells he-me."

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[105] *Līū-* TO COME; *-awax* intentional (§§ 70, 8).
[106] *s^{E}atsī'tc* THUS (§§ 121, 94); *-n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).
[107] Contracted; for *L!^{o}wa'xax* (§ 24); *L!ōx-* TO SEND (§ 112); *-ax* nominal (§ 101).
[108] *waa-* TO SAY; *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9).
[109] *tᴇ'q* pronominal particle (§ 123); *-n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).
[110] *wax-* TO GIVE; *-aūmᴇ* passive (§ 38).
[111] *k!a'-* TO INVITE (§ 3); *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ū'nᴇ* passive (§§ 58, 8).
[112] *waa-* TO SAY; *-aūlnᴇ* passive (§ 58).
[113] Restrictive particle (§ 130).
[114] *hūtc-* TO HAVE FUN; *-ū^{u}* plural (§ 79).
[115] *tāak* THIS (§ 115); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 16).
[116] *sînxī-* TO DESIRE; *-ūlnᴇ* passive (§§ 58, 8).
[117] *s^{E}atsī'tc* THUS (§§ 121, 94); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).
[118] *L!ōn-* TO RELATE (§ 112); *-īs* durative (§ 69).
[119] *sînxī-* TO DESIRE; *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); *-t* present (§ 72).
[120] Pronominal particle (§ 123).
[121] Mis-heard for *wā'xyaxaīmᴇ; wāx-* TO GIVE; *-yax* past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136); *-aīmᴇ* passive (§ 38).
[122] *waa-* TO SAY; *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); *-ūts* direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 466, § 8).
[123] Numeral (§ 116).
[124] *sînxī-* TO DESIRE (§§ 112, 8).
[125] Particle (§ 128).
[126] *k!ēx-* TO DISAPPEAR; *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).
[127] *maq!-* TO DANCE; *-īn* verbal (§§ 81, 2); *-aa^{u}* passive (§ 56).
[128] *hūya-* TO CHANGE; *-ūltx* passive (§ 39).
[129] Contracted; for *planya^{i}ya't!yūn*; *pln-* TO BE SORRY (§ 112); *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); *-at!ī* frequentative (§ 68); *-ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).
[130] *ha^{i}-* MIND, HEART (§ 98); *-tc* possessive 3d person singular (§§ 88, 139).
[131] *wax-* TO GIVE; *-yax* past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 135), *-aūmᴇ* passive (§ 38).
[132] *waa-* TO SAY; *-aūts* direct object of first and second persons (§ 29 and Table, p. 480).

ᵘɬ wàn[29] qa'tcⁱnt[91] ants[60] hītc waha'.[133] "Sᴱatsĭ'tcᴱnx[117]
Then now starts that man again. "Thus thou

wa'aⁱsūn.[134] 'Waxa'yīmanx[135] qanī'naɬ.' A tsĭ'tcᴱnx[89] Lɬōna'yūn.[136]
shalt tell him. 'Is given to thee knife.' Thus thou tell him.

'Lĭ'mqanx[137] qa'tcⁱntūx,[67] kɬaha'yū'nanx.[54] Hūtcū'ʷⁱ[114] Lɬa'ᵃˡ[4]
'Quick thou start shalt, invited art thou. Play many

yā'a'xaⁱ.[19] Sĭ'nⁱxyū'nanx[138] Lī'ūtūx.'[85] Atsĭ'tcᴱnx[89] Lɬōna'yūn."[136]
much. Wanted art thou come shall.' Thus thou tell him."

Cĭ'nⁱxyatɬya[139] ants[60] hītc Lɬōxa'aᵘ.[140] "Qna'han[141] waa'yūn.[142]
Thinks continually that man (who) sent will be. "I say to him.

Lɬxū'yūn[143] qna'han[141] nîctcĭ'tc[81] waa'yūn,[142] ᵘɬ hī'nakɬⁱ[144]
Know it I what-like say to him, and right away

qa'tcᴱntūx."[67] ᵘɬ wàn[29] qa'tcᴱnt[91] ants[60] hītc. "Qna'han[141]
he start will." Then now goes that man. "I

waa'yūn,[142] ᵘɬ hī'nakɬⁱ[144] qa'tcᴱntūx."[67]
say to him, and right away he start will."

Atsĭ'tc[73] cĭ'nⁱxyatɬya[139] ants[60] hītc. ᵘɬ xînt ᵘɬ Līū'. Līū'ūn.[53]
Thus thinks continually that man. So he goes and arrives. He comes to him.

"Lɬᵒwa'xan[92] tā'kîn[93] Līū'. Tsĭ'kɬyanx[145] sĭ'nⁱxyū'nᴇ[146] Līwa'wax.[105]
"Messenger I this I come. Very thou art wanted intend to come.

Kūⁱ yā'tsac Lɬa'ᵃˡ[147] ᵘɬ smū't'ᴱtūx[148] ants[60] Lɬa'ᵃˡ[4] hūtcū'ᵘ.[63]
Pretty soon then end will that big fun.

Atsĭ'tcîn[102] waa'yūtnᴇ.[149] Na'mᴱlīnx[150] tᴇ'q.[120] Nîctcĭ'tcanx[95]
Thus I am told. Mine thou relative. What manner thou

tanx[115] kūⁱ[151] a'mhaⁱtī[152] haˡ?" Atsĭ'tc[73] waa'aū'n.[153] "Yā'a'-
this thou not willing (thy) mind?" Thus he says to him. "Much

xaⁱtxan[154] haˡ. Sᴱaⁱtsanⁱⁱ[155] tᴇ[33] kumî'ntc[38] a'mhaⁱtī[152] haˡ. Txūn[99]
(think in my) mind. Thus I this not willing (my) mind. Just I

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[133] Temporal particle (§ 126).

[134] *waa-* TO SAY; *-aĭs* durative (§§ 69, 9); *-ūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

[135] *wax-* TO GIVE; *-aⁱ* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ⁱmᴇ* passive (§§ 38, 8); *-nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

[136] *Lɬōn-* TO RELATE; *-aⁱ* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

[137] *Lĭ'mqa* RIGHT AWAY (§§ 120, 96); *-nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

[138] *sînxĭ-* TO DESIRE; *-ū'nᴇ* passive (§§ 58, 8); *-nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

[139] *cînxĭ-* TO THINK (§ 4); *-atɬī* frequentative (§§ 68, 8, 7).

[140] *Lɬōx-* TO SEND; *-aaᵘ* future passive (§ 56).

[141] *q-* discriminative (§ 21); *na'han* personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113).

[142] *waa-* TO SAY; *-aⁱ* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

[143] *Lɬxu-* TO KNOW; *-ūⁱ* verbalizing (§§ 76, 9); *-ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

[144] Temporal adverb (§ 120).

[145] *tsĭ'kɬya* VERY (§§ 121, 96); *-nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

[146] *sînxĭ-* TO DESIRE (§ 4); *-ū'nᴇ* passive (§§ 58, 8).

[147] Temporal adverb (§ 120).

[148] *smūt'-* TO END, TO FINISH; *-tūx* future (§§ 73, 4).

[149] *waa-* TO SAY; *-aⁱ* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūtnᴇ* passive (§§ 58, 8).

[150] Contracted; for *na'mᴱlīnᴱnx* (§ 15); *nà* I (§ 113); *-ᴇml* relative (§§ 87, 9); *-ln* possessive 1st singular (§ 88); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[151] Particle of negation (§ 131).

[152] *a'mha* WILLING; *-aⁱtī* possessive (§§ 88, 9).

[153] *waa-* TO SAY; *-aūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

[154] *yāa'xaⁱ* MUCH (§ 121); *-tx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33), *-n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[155] *sᴱa'tsa* THUS (§ 121); *-n* 1st person singular (§ 24).

kᵘnà[156] xa'wa[157] sî'nⁱxyūtnᴇ.[116] Sᴱa'tsan[155] ᵘl̥n[158] yā'xaⁱtī[159] ha!."—
perhaps to die am wanted. Thus I and I much (think in my) mind."—

"Kumî'ntc[38] sᴱatsī'tc,[61] txūnx[160] ya'xa[161] sî'nⁱxyūtnᴇ.[116] Sᴱa'tsanx[162]
"Not thus, just thou to see art wanted. Thus thou

tᴇ[33] k!aha'yū'nᴇ.[111] Txūnx[160] wàn[29] hī'sa[163] hawa'yīmᴇ[164] ha!.
this art invited. Just thee now well (towards) it is made mind.

Tᴇ'q'ᴱnx[165] waxaᵘ'mᴇ.[110] Sᴱa'tsanx[162] tᴇ[33] k!aha'yū'nᴇ.[111] Na'mᴱ-
Something thee it is given. Thus thou this art invited. Mine

līnx[150] tᴇ'q,[120] sᴱa'tsanx[162] tanx[115] l̥kwa'yūts[166] qnà.[167] Sᴱatsī'-
thou relative, thus thee this thee fetch I-thee I. Thus

tcîn[106] tā'kîn[93] Lî'mqa[168] Līū'. Qanī'nal waxaᵘ'manx.[169] Sᴱa'-
I this I quickly come. Knife is given to thee. Thus

tsanx[162] tanx[115] k!aha'yū'nᴇ,[111] sᴱa'tsa[3] tā'kîn[93] Līū', nî'etcî-
thou this thou art invited, thus this I come, because

mᴱnx[170] na'mᴱl[171] tᴇ'q.[120] Sᴱa'tsanx[162] tᴇ[33] Līū'ūts[172] qnà.[166]
thou me of relative. Thus thee this come I-thee I.

Sî'nⁱxyūtsanx[173] qnà[166] hūtca'wax.[174] Sᴱa'tsanx[162] tᴇ[33] L!î'L!ūtūts.[175]
Want I-thee I intend to play. Thus thou this approach I-thee.

Sᴱatsî'tcīn[176] ha!: kumî'ntc[38] kᵘnà[156] tᴇ'q[120] mī'k!a'na[82]
Thus my mind, not perhaps something badly

nīxᵃtc.[177] A'tsan[41] tᴇ[33] nà[178] L!ōxa'xam."[75] — "Haū![179] Tsī'k!yanx[145]
thee to. Thus I this I am sent." — "Yes! Very thou

mī'k!a. L!xma'yanxîn[180] sî'nⁱxyūts.[181] Sᴱa'tsan[155] kūⁱ[151] a'mhaⁱtī[152]
bad. Kill they me want he-me. Thus I not willing (my)

ha!." — "Kumî'ntc[38] kᵘnà[156] sᴱatsī'tc.[61] Sᴱa'tsan[155] tā'kîn[93] nà[178]
mind." — "Not perhaps thus. Thus I this I I

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[156] Dubitative particle (§ 127).

[157] *xaū-* TO DIE (§ 112).

[158] *ul* THEN (§ 125); *-n* 1st person singular (§ 24): *sᴱa'tsa ul* THAT'S WHY.

[159] *yāa'xaⁱ* MUCH (§ 121); *-aītī* possessive (§§ 88, 9).

[160] *txū* JUST (§ 130); *-nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

[161] *yax-* TO SEE (§ 112).

[162] *sᴱa'tsa* THUS (§ 121); *-nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

[163] *hī's* GOOD; *-a* modal (§ 96),

[164] *haū-* TO MAKE, TO FINISH; *-aⁱ* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); *-īmᴇ* passive (§§ 38, 8).

[165] *tᴇ'q* SOMETHING (§ 123); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[166] *l̥akū-* TO TAKE, TO FETCH (§ 12); *-aⁱ* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); *-ūts* direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480 and § 8).

[167] *q-* discriminative (§ 21); *nà* personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113).

[168] Modal adverb (§§ 121, 96).

[169] *wax-* TO GIVE; *-aūmᴇ* passive (§ 38); *-nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

[170] *nî'etcîm* BECAUSE (§ 128); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[171] *nà* personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113); *-ᴇml* relative (§§ 87, 9).

[172] *Līū-* TO COME; *-ūts* direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p 480, § 10).

[173] *sînxī-* TO DESIRE; *-ūtsanx* direct object of first and second persons I-thee (§ 29, Table, p. 473, § 8).

[174] *hūtc-* TO PLAY; *-awax* intentional (§ 70).

[175] *Līū-* TO APPROACH (§ 107); *-t* present (§ 72); *-ūts* direct object of first and second persons (§ 29 and Table, p. 480).

[176] *sᴱatsī'tc* THUS (§§ 121, 94); *-în* possessive 1st singular (§ 88).

[177] Objective form of personal pronoun 2d singular (§ 113).

[178] Personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113).

[179] Particle of affirmation (§ 131).

[180] *L!xmī-* TO KILL; *-aⁱ* verbalizing (§ 75); *-nx* 3d person plural (§ 24); *-n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[181] *sînxī-* TO DESIRE; *-ūts* direct object of first and second persons (§§ 29, 8, Table, p. 480).

L!ōxa'xam.[75] S^{E}atsī'tc[61] nàts,[182] kū^{i}[151] nàts[182] nà[178] L!ō'xyaxa$^{ū'nE}$.[183]
am sent. Thus if not, not conditional I had been sent.

Qa'tc^{i}ntūnx[184] wàn?"[29]— "Qa'tc^{i}ntūxan.[185] Hī$^{i'}$sanx[78] mā'nīsūts[186]
Start wilt thou now?" — "Go will I. Well thou shalt watch thou-me

qnī'x^{a}ts."[187] S^{E}atsī'tc[61] waa'a^{ū}n.[153] "Ha$^{ū!}$[179] Atsī'tcīn[188] ha^{l}.
thou." Thus he tells him. "All right! Thus my mind.

Kumî'ntc[38] k^{u}nà[156] tE'q[120] mī'k!a'na[82] tE[33] hūtcū'^{u}[63] L!a'ai."[4]—
Not perhaps something bad-ly this fun big." —

"Ha^{ū},[179] qa'tc^{i}ntūxan[185] wàn.[29] Kumî'ntc[38] wàn[29] tE'q,[120] xaū'-
"Yes, start will I now. Not now something, die

tūxan."[189] S^{E}atsī'tc[61] waa$^{i'}$[108] u^{l} hī'q!a^{l}t.[190] "Kumî'ntc[38] k^{u}nà[156]
if will I." Thus he says and starts. "Not perhaps

wàn[29] s^{E}atsī'tc.[61] Qa'tc^{i}ntūnx?"[184] Atsī'tc[73] waa'a^{ū}n.[153] "Tsī'k!-
now thus. Go wilt thou?" Thus he tells him. "Very

yanx[145] qnà[166] sî'n^{i}xyūts.[181] A'l·tūtūnx[191] hūtcū$^{u'}$ste."[56] Atsī'tc[73]
thee I like I-thee. Also shalt thou fun to." Thus

waa'ūn.[192] "Qa'tc^{i}ntūxan[185] wàn."[29] u^{l} wàn[29] qa'tc^{i}nt.[91] Cī'n^{i}x-
he tells him. "Go will I now." Then finally he starts. Keeps

yat!īs[193] ants[60] hītc ła'k^{u}t!wî.[194] S^{E}atsī'tc[61] cî'n^{i}xyat!īs.[193]
on thinking that man fetcher. Thus he thinks continually.

Qa'tc^{i}nta^{u}x[195] wàn.[29] Līwī'tc^{w}ax[196] wàn[29] xînt. u^{l}a^{u}x[197] s^{E}atsītc[61]
Go they two now. "Approach, manner of, they two now go. So they two thus

waa'xam.[65] "Xumca'ca^{u}x[198] wàn.[29] Hīna'yūn[199] wàn[29] tE[33] mī'k!a
are told. "Come they two now. He brings him now this bad

hītc." Tc!ha^{u}cya'xam[200] wàn.[29] Wàn[29] tcī^{l}n. T!emt!ma'xam[201] wàn.[29]
man." Gladness was felt now. Finally he returns. He is assembled about now.

"Tsī'k!yanx[145] hīs tanx[115] Līū'. ts!î·mū't. Hū'tctūn!^{l}[202] yā$^{a'}$xa."[203]
"Very thou good this thou comest, friend. Play will we much."

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[182] Particle (§ 131).

[183] *L!ōx-* TO SEND; *-yax* past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136); *-a$^{ū'}$nE* passive (§ 58).

[184] Contracted; for *qa'tc^{E}ntūxanx* (§ 24); *qatcn-* TO GO (§ 4); *-tūx* future (§ 73); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[185] *qatcn-* TO GO (§ 4); *-tūx* future (§ 73); *-n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[186] *mān-* TO WATCH; *-īs* durative (§ 69); *-ūts* direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480).

[187] *q-* discriminative (§ 21); *nīxats* personal pronoun 2d singular (§ 113).

[188] *atsī'tc* THUS (§§ 121, 94); *-īn* possessive 1st singular (§ 88).

[189] *xaū-* TO DIE; *-tūx* future denoting conditionality (§§ 73, 136); *-n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[190] *hīq!-* TO START, TO COMMENCE; *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); *-t* present (§ 72).

[191] Contracted; for *a'l·tūtūxanx* (§ 24); *a'l·dū* LIKEWISE (§§ 125, 135); *-tūx* future (§ 73); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[192] *waa-* TO SAY; *-ūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

[193] *cînxī-* TO THINK (§ 4); *-at!ī* frequentative (§§ 68, 8); *-īs* durative (§§ 69, 9).

[194] *łaku-* TO TAKE, TO FETCH; *-t!wî* nominal (§ 100).

[195] *qatcn-* TO GO (§ 4); *-t* present (§ 72); *-aux* 3d person dual (§ 24).

[196] *Līū-* TO APPROACH; *-ītc* modal (§§ 94, 8); *-wax* transposed for *-aux* 3d dual (§§ 24, 13,

[197] *u^{l}* THEN (§ 125); *-aux* 3d dual (§ 24).

[198] *xumc-* TO APPROACH, TO COME (§ 108); *-aux* 3d dual (§ 24).

[199] *hîn-* TO TAKE ALONG; *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

[200] Abbreviated; for *tc!haucyaxxam* (§15); *tc!hacu-* TO FEEL GLAD (§ 12); *-yax* past (§ 74); *-xam* present passive (§§ 55, 15).

[201] *tEmū-* TO ASSEMBLE (§ 107); *-xam* present passive (§ 55).

[202] Contracted from *hū'tctūxanł* (§ 24); *hūtc-* TO PLAY; *-tūx* future (§ 73); *-nł* inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

[203] *yāax-* MUCH; *-a* modal (§ 96).

Atsī′tc[73] waa′ ants[60] hītc. TEmū′tx[22] hītcū′u[23] ants[60] L!a′ai.[4] Wai[204]
Thus says that man. Assemble (pl.) people those many. Although

yāa′xai[19] ants[60] hītc, uł hai′mūt[205] qa′tcint[91] sqaīktcī′tc,[206] ants[60] L!a′ai.[4]
many those people, still all go now there to, manner, that crowd.

Łā′nīsūtnE[207] ants[60] hītc. "Tsī′k!ya[3] hīs tanx[115] Līū′. Yāa′xanxan[208]
Is called continually that man. "Very good this thou comest. Much we

hūtcūi′.[209] Hū′tctūns."[210]—"Haū!"[179] SEatsī′tc[61] waa′ ants[60] hītc.
have fun. Play will we two." — "All right!" Thus says that man.

"Ya′quhītūnx,[211] kwīnx[80] au′sīs.[212] Yāa′xanxan[208] hūtcūi′."[209] Atsī′tc[73]
"Look shalt thou, not thou shalt sleep. Much we play." Thus is

waaī′sū'nE[213] ants[60] hītc. Wā′nwîts[2] ha′wa.[214] Sî′nixyū'nE[146]
repeatedly told that man. Long ago it is ready. It is desired

ts!îłna′tc[215] xawa′au,[27] au′stūxax.[216] Atsī′tc[73] ha′ūsīmE.[217] "Ts'îl·mū′t,
pitch with killed he shall be, when sleeper he will be. Thus it is agreed. "Friend,

kwīnx[80] au′sīs.[212] Hū′tctūns."[210] Atsī′tc[73] wa′aīsū'nE.[213] "SEa′tsanx[162]
not thou sleep continually. Play will we two." Thus he is repeatedly told. "Thus thou

tanx[115] k!aha′yūtnE."[218] SEatsī′tc[61] waai′sūtnE.[219] "Yāa′xai[19] L!a′ai[4]
this thou art invited." Thus he is told continually. "Many they

nîctcamai′nat'ū′wi[220] ants[60] tīyū′wi[221] hūtcū′wi.[222] K!īx[223] tE'q[120] hūtcai′[224]
different (of) those inhabitants games. Each something fun

uł Enx[225] yîxa′yūn.[226] SEa′tsanx[162] tanx[115] k!aha′yū'nE.[111] Tsī′k!y-
and thou seest it. Thus thou this thou art invited. Very

anxan[87] hī′sītī[227] hai. Kumî′ntc[38] tE'q[120] mī′k!a'na."[82] Atsī′tc[73]
we good is (our) heart. Not something badly." Thus

wa′aīsū'nE.[213] Tcî′ntau[228] hītc Līwai′,[229] uł atsī′tc[73] waa′yūsnE.[230]
he is repeatedly told. Whatever person comes, so thus he frequently was told (by him).

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[204] Particle (§ 128).
[205] Numeral particle (§ 124).
[206] *sqaīk* THERE (§ 119); *-tc* local of motion (§ 90); *-ītc* modal (§ 94).
[207] *łn-* TO CALL BY NAME; *-īsūtnE* durative passive (§ 59).
[208] *yāax-* MUCH; *-a* modal (§ 96); *-nxan* exclusive plural (§ 24).
[209] *hūtc-* TO PLAY, TO HAVE FUN; *-ūi* verbalizing (§ 75).
[210] Contracted; for *hū′tctūxans* (§ 24); *hūtc-* TO PLAY; *-tūx* future (§ 73); *-ns* inclusive dual (§§ 24, 4).
[211] Contracted; for *ya′quhītūxanx* (§ 24); *yaqu'-* TO LOOK (§ 3); *-ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); *-tūx* future (§ 73); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).
[212] *aus-* TO SLEEP (§ 12); *-īs* durative (§ 69).
[213] *waa-* TO SAY; *-aīsū'nE* durative passive (§§ 59, 9).
[214] *haū-* TO MAKE, TO HAVE READY (§ 112).
[215] *ts!aln* PITCH; *-a* locative case (§§ 86, 12); *-tc* adverbial (§ 90).
[216] *aus-* TO SLEEP (§ 12); *-tūx* future denoting conditionality (§§ 73, 136); *-ax* nominal (§ 101).
[217] *haū* YES (§ 131); *-ūs* durative (§§ 69, 9); *-īmE* passive (§ 38).
[218] *k!a'-* TO INVITE; (§ 3); *-ai* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūtnE* passive (§§ 58, 8).
[219] *waa-* TO SPEAK; *-aīsūtnE* durative passive (§§ 59, 9).
[220] *nîctcamai′nat'-* DIFFERENT; *-ūwi* plural (§ 79).
[221] *tai-* TO LIVE (§ 2); *-ūwi* nominal (§§ 97, 8).
[222] *hūtc-* TO PLAY, TO HAVE FUN; *-ūwi* nominal (§ 97).
[223] Numeral particle (§ 124).
[224] *hūtc-* TO HAVE FUN; *-aī* nominal (§ 98).
[225] *uł* THEN (§ 125); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).
[226] *yax-* TO SEE (§ 12); *-ai* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).
[227] *hīs* GOOD; *-ītī* possessive (§ 88).
[228] pronominal particle (§ 123).
[229] *Līū-* TO COME; *-ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).
[230] *waa-* TO SAY; *-ai* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūsnE* durative passive (§§ 59, 8).

"Tsī'k!ya[3]	hīs tanx[115]	Līū',	ts'îl·mū't.	Wa'[204]	yā'tsa[231]	ants[60]
"Very	good this thou	come, friend.		Although	long time	that
L!a'ai',[4]	u!ł xnī'ʷnīs.[232]	Ya'q^{u}hītūnx."[211]		u!ł s^{E}atsī'tc[61]	wa'a'sū'nE.[213]	
crowd,	still does continually.	Look shalt thou."		Then thus	he is told repeatedly.	
"S^{E}a'tsanxan[233]	k!aha'yūts.[234]	Yā^{a}'xa'[119]	hūtcū'wi"[63]	Wàn[29]	hīna'a^{u}[235]	
"Thus we	invite we-thee.	Much	fun."	Finally	he taken will be	
tcīk[236]	ants[60]	hūtcū'^{u}[63]	L!a'ai.[4]	Sqa'k[237]	hīna'a^{u}.[235]	Ma'łtcū'nE[238]
where	that	fun	great.	There	he taken will be.	Fire is made (in)
ants[60]	hītsī'i.[239]	Wa'[204]	yîkt[240]	ants[60]	hītsī'i,[239]	u!ł tā'qnîs
that	house.	Although	big	that	house,	still full
hītū'stc.[241]	Stīm[242]	ya'q^{u}ha'ît[243]	ants[60]	hītc.	"Tī'k^{E}nxan[244]	
people with.	There	looks	that	man.	"Here we	
ta'nxan[245]	hūtcū'',[209]	ta'nxan[245]	k!aha'yūts[234]	qnà."[167]	Ha'qmas[246]	
these we	play,	these we	invite we-thee	I."	Alongside	
tī'xam[247]	Līya'watc.[248]	Q!a'îł	ants[60]	Līya'a^{ū}.[249]	"Yaxa^{ū}'wītc[250]	
he is seated	fire at.	Pitch	that	fire.	"Multitude kind of	
L!a'ai[4]	hītc	ya'q^{u}ha'ītūn."[251]	Atsī'tc[73]	cî'n'xyatlīs[193]	ants[60]	hītc.
many	people	look at now I."	Thus	keeps on thinking	that	man.
Ma'łtcū'nE[238]	ants[60]	hītsī'i.[239]	"Kwīnx[80]	a^{u}'sīs[212]	ts'îl·mū't.	Atsī'tc[73]
Fire is built (in)	that	house.	"Not thou	always sleep,	friend.	Thus
ta'nxan[245]	waa'yūts[122]	qnà[167]	Līwa'wanx."[252]—	"Ha^{ū}![170]	tsī'k!yan[253]	
these we	tell we-thee	I	intend to come thou."—	"All right!	very I	
hī'sītī[227]	ha'.	Yaq^{u}'ya'waxan[254]	hūtcū^{u}'stc[56]	L!aya'."[255]	Atsī'tc[73]	wa'a's[256]
good (my)	mind.	Intend to look I	fun at	great at."	Thus	says continually
ants[60]	hītc.	Ha'qmas[246]	tī'xam[247]	Līya'wa.[257]	Ya'q^{u}hīsū'nE.[258]	
that	man.	Close by	he is seated	fire.	He is continually watched.	

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[231] Temporal adverb (§ 120).

[232] *xnīwn-* TO DO; *-īs* durative (§ 69).

[233] *s^{E}a'tsa-* THUS (§§ 121, 96); *-nxan* exclusive plural (§ 24).

[234] *k!a'-* TO INVITE (§ 3); *-ai* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūts* direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p.480, § 8).

[235] *hīn-* TO TAKE ALONG; *-aa^{u}* future passive (§ 56).

[236] Particle (§ 131).

[237] Local adverb (§ 119).

[238] *maltc-* TO BURN: *-ū'nE* passive (§ 58).

[239] See § 98.

[240] See § 104.

[241] *hītū's* locative form of *hītc* (§ 86); *-tc* adverbial (§ 90).

[242] Local adverb (§ 119).

[243] *yaqu'-* TO LOOK (§ 3); *-ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); *-t* present (§ 72).

[244] *tīk* HERE (§ 119); *-nxan* exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

[245] *tāak* THIS (§ 115); *-nxan* exclusive plural (§§ 24, 16).

[246] Local adverb (§ 119).

[247] *tai* TO SIT (§ 2); *-xam* present passive (§ 55).

[248] *Līya'aū* FIRE (§ 97); *-a* locative case (§§ 86, 8); *-tc* local (§ 90).

[249] See § 97

[250] *yāx-* MANY; *-aūwi* nominal (§ 97); *-ītc* modal (§§ 94, 9).

[251] *yaqu'-* TO LOOK; (§ 3); *-ai* verbalizing (§ 75); *-t* present (§ 72); *-ūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

[252] Contracted from *Līwa'waxanx* (§ 24); *Līū-* TO COME; *-awax* intentional (§§ 70, 8); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[253] *tsī'k!ya* VERY (§ 121); *-n* 1st person singular (§ 24).

[254] *yaqu'-* TO LOOK (§ 3); *-awax* intentional (§§ 70, 8); *-n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[255] *L!a'ai* particle (§ 133); *-a* locative case (§§ 86, 8).

[256] *waa-* TO SAY; *-aīs* durative (§§ 69, 9).

[257] *Līya'aū* FIRE (§ 97); *-a* locative case (§§ 86, 8).

[258] *yaqu'-* TO LOOK (§ 3); *-īsū'nE* durative passive (§§ 59, 9).

Wusya'a^{i}st[259] ants[60] mī'k!a hītc. L!ī!wī'sūtnE[260] wàn.[29] "Kwīnx[80]
Begins to feel sleepy that bad man. He is continually approached now. "Not thou

a^{u}'sīs,[212] ya'q^{u}hīs^{E}nx.[261] A'tsanxan[262] ta'nxan[245] waa'yūts[122]
always sleep, always look thou. Thus we these we tell we-thee

Līwa'wanx.[252] Kwīnx[80] a^{u}'sīs,[212] ya'q^{u}hīs^{E}nx.[261] Atsī'tc[73]
intend to come thou. Not thou sleep always, watch always thou. Thus

tanx[115] k!aha'yū'nE.[111] Hī!'s^{E}nxan[263] hawa^{i}'tx[264] ha^{i}.'' Wusya'a^{i}st[259]
this thou art invited. Good we make our heart." Begins to feel sleepy

ants[60] mî'ck'la^{i}.[265] Ya'q^{u}hīsu'nE.[258] Ha'ūsīmE[266] ants[60] ts!aln.
that bad man. He is constantly watched. Is made ready for him that pitch.

S^{E}a^{i}na'tc[267] xawa'a^{u}.[27] Lī'wīs^{u}'nE[268] ants[60] mEq!yū'^{u}[269] L!a'a^{i}.[4]
That with killed he will be. He is constantly approached by those dancers many.

''Ha^{i}'qa^{i}tcya,[270] ts'îl·mū't, mîltcī'xmīnx.''[271] Atsī'tc[73] wa'a^{i}sū'nE.[213]
"Shore-like from, friend, thou mayest get burned." Thus he is constantly told.

''Kwīnx[80] a^{u}'sīs[212] ts'îl·mū't.''—''Wusya'a^{i}stîn.''[272] MEq!yū'^{u}[269]
"Not thou always sleep friend." — "Begin to feel sleepy I." Dance (pl.)

L!a'a^{i}.[4] A^{u}sî's.[273] ''Ha^{i}'qa^{i}tcya,[270] mîltcī'xmīnx.''[271] Tc!ha^{u}'cīsūtnE.[274]
many. He sleeps. "Shore-like from, mayest get burned thou." Gladness is constantly felt.

S^{E}a'tsa[3] xawa'a^{u}.[27] Wusya'a^{i}st[259] wàn.[29] Atsī'tc[73] wa'a^{i}sūtnE,[219]
Thus killed he will be. He begins to sleep finally, Thus he is constantly told,

cî'l·xīsūtnE.[275] ''Ha^{i}'qa^{i}tcya,[270] mîltcī'xmīnx.''[271] Kū^{i}[151] cî'l·xīł.[276]
he is shaken constantly. "Shore-like from, mayest get burned thou." Not he moves not.

^{u}ł wàn[29] qaa'xam[277] ants[60] L!iyaxa$^{ū'wi}$[278] ts!aln. MEq!yū'^{u}[269]
So finally is brought in that boiled pitch. Dance (pl.)

L!a'a^{i}.[4] ''Ha^{i}'qa^{i}tcya[270] ts'îl·mū't.'' Kū^{i}[151] kwī'sīł,[278] tsī'k!ya[3]
many. "Shore-like from friend." Not wakes up not, very

a^{u}sî's.[273] Atsī'tc[73] waa'. ''A'nxa^{ū}tsatcî.[280] Ł!iyaxa'waxan[281] a^{u}sa'wax.''[282]
he sleeps. Thus he says. "Leave alone you-me. A while intend I sleep intend."

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[259] *wusī-* TO FEEL SLEEPY; *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§ 75); *-st* inchoative (§ 66).
[260] *Lī!ū-* TO APPROACH (§ 107); *-īsūtnE* durative passive (§§ 59, 8).
[261] *yaqu'* -TO LOOK (§ 3); *-īs* durative (§ 69); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).
[262] *a'tsa* THUS (§ 121); *-nxan* exclusive plural (§ 24).
[263] *hī!s* GOOD; *-nxan* exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).
[264] *haū-* TO MAKE; *-aītx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§§ 33, 8).
[265] See § 98.
[266] *hc'ūs* READY, DONE; *-īmE* passive (§ 38).
[267] *s^{E}a^{i}'na* HE, THAT ONE (§ 115); *-tc* adverbial (§ 90).
[268] *Lī!u-* TO APPROACH; *-īsū'nE* durative passive (§§ 59, 8).
[269] *maqł-* TO DANCE; *-ū^{u}* nominal (§§ 97, 8).
[270] *ha'iq* SHORE (§ 119); *-aītc* modal (§ 94); *-ya* local (§ 93).
[271] *malte-* TO BURN (§ 12); *-īxmî* intransitive exhortative (§ 63); *-ī* future passive (§§ 56, 9); *-nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).
[272] *wusī-* TO FEEL SLEEPY; *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§ 75); *-st* inchoative (§ 66); *-n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).
[273] *asu-* TO SLEEP (§§ 12, 108).
[274] *tc!hacu-* TO BE GLAD (§ 12); *-īsūtaE* durative passive (§ 59).
[275] *cil·x-* TO SHAKE, TO MOVE; *-īsūtnE* durative passive (§ 59).
[276] *cil·x-* TO MOVE, TO SHAKE; *-īl* negative (§ 53).
[277] *qaa-* TO ENTER; *-xam* present passive (§ 55).
[278] *L!īxu-* TO BOIL (§§ 112, 7); *-aūwi* nominal (§§ 97, 9).
[279] *kwīs-* TO WAKE UP; *-īl* negative (§ 53).
[280] *anx-* TO LET ALONE; *-aūtsatcî* direct object of first and second persons YOU-ME (§ 29, Table, p. 473, and §§ 24, 4).
[281] *liyax-* A WHILE (§§ 126, 135); *-awax* intentional (§ 70); *-n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).
[282] *asu-* TO SLEEP (§ 12); *-awax* intentional (§ 70).

ᵘɬ wàn[29] cî'nᴵxyaxam[283] sᴱatsī'tc:[61] "Qaᴵɬ[284] wàn[29] aᵘ'stūx."[285]
Then now it was thought thus: "Let now he sleep shall."

Ła'qwīs[286] ants[60] ts!aɬn Lᴵᴵyaxaᵘ'ʷⁱ.[278] Atsī'tc[73] waa'xam,[65] "Qaᴵɬ[284]
Boils continually that pitch boiled. Thus it is said, "Let

wàn[29] aᵘ'stūx.[285] Haᴵ'qaᴵtcya,[270] ts'îl·mū't." Kūⁱ[151] cî'l·xīɬ.[276] ᵘɬ
now he sleep shall. Shore, manner, from, friend." Not he moves not. Then

wàn[29] xūᵘn.
now he snores.

Haᴵ'mūt[205] L!a'ᵃⁱ[4] tᴇ'q[120] ɬokwī'xam.[287] Tcîmtca'mî[288] ɬokwī'xam.[287]
All many something is seized. Axes are seized.

Kā'stⁱtūx,[289] ᵘɬ txū[113] tcîmtca'myatc[290] xawa'aᵘ.[27] ᵘɬ wàn[29] xūᵘn.
Get up will he, then just ax with killed he will be. And now he snores.

Łk!a'atc[291] Laa' xūᵘn. ᵘɬ wàn[29] haū'tx[292] hītcū'ᵘ.[23] Tsī'k!yaˢ
Open his mouth he snores. Then finally quit (pl.) people. Very

tcīmā'nīsū'nᴇ.[293] "L!xmīya'yūnanɬ.[294] Sᴱa'sᴱnɬ[295] kᴵᴵxa'yūts,[296] ᵘɬ
he is watched constantly. "Kill him will we. He us kills he-us, so

sᴱa'tsanɬ[297] L!xmīya'yūn."[298] Łokwī'xam[287] wàn[29] ants[60] Lᴵᴵyaxaᵘ'ʷⁱ.[278]
thus we kill will him." Is seized now that boiled (pitch).

"Haᴵ'qaᴵtcya[270] ts'îl·mū't, mîɬtcī'xmīnx."[271] Kumî'ntc[38] cî'l·xīɬ.[276]
"Shore-like, from friend, mayest get burned thou." Not he moves not.

ᵘɬ wàn[29] xwākī'tc[299] tī'xam[247] ants[60] Lᴵᴵyaxaᵘ'ʷⁱ.[278] Tc!haᵘcū'ʷˡ[300]
So now head on is placed that boiled (pitch). Glad are (pl.)

ants[60] L!a'aⁱ.[4] Sᴱà[66] ata's[301] ants[60] maq!ī'nūtnᴇ.[302] Hūya'ūɬtx[128]
those many. He only that (one) it is danced for. Is changed on him his

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[283] *cînxī-* TO THINK (§ 4); *-yax* past (§§ 74, 8); *-xam* present passive (§§ 55, 15).

[284] Exhortative particle (§ 129).

[285] *asu-* TO SLEEP (§ 12); *-tūx* future (§ 73).

[286] *łaqu-* TO BOIL; *-īs* durative (§§ 69, 8).

[287] Instead of *łakwī'xam* (§§ 11, 14); *łaku-* TO TAKE; *-aⁱ* verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); *-xam* present passive (§ 55).

[288] See § 109.

[289] *kast-* TO GET UP; *-tūx* future denoting conditionality (§§ 73, 136, 4).

[290] *tcîmtca'mî* AX (§ 109); *-a* locative case (§§ 86, 8); *-tc* adverbial (§ 90).

[291] *łk!aᵃ-* TO OPEN ONE'S MOUTH; *-tc* possessive 3d singular (§ 88).

[292] *haū-* TO QUIT; *-tx* plural (§ 89).

[293] *tcīmān-* TO WATCH; *-īsū'nᴇ* durative passive (§ 59).

[294] *L!xmī-* TO KILL; *-aⁱ* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); *-yūn* exhortative with direct object of third person (§§ 41, 8); *-nɬ* inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

[295] *sᴱa's* HE (§ 115); *-nɬ* inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

[296] *kᴵᴵix-* TO DISAPPEAR; *-aⁱ* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūts* direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480, and § 8).

[297] *sᴱa'tsa* THUS (§§ 121, 96); *-nɬ* inclusive plural (§ 24).

[298] *L!xmī-* TO KILL; *-aⁱ* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); *-yūn* exhortative with direct object of third person (§§ 41, 9).

[299] *xwakī'* locative form of *xwā'ka* HEAD (§ 86); *-tc* local (§ 90).

[300] *tc!hacu-* TO FEEL GLAD (§ 12); *-ūwⁱ* plural (§ 79).

[301] Restrictive particle (§ 130).

[302] *maq!ī-* TO DANCE; *-īn* verbal (§§ 81, 9); *-ūtnᴇ* passive (§ 58).

ha^{l} s^{E}a′tsa.^{3} S^{E}a′tsa^{8} ants^{60} mEq!yū′$^{u\,269}$ L!a′$^{ai.4}$ u^{ł} wàn^{29} skwaha′.^{303}
mind thus. Thus those dance (pl.) many. Then finally he stands up.

Łokwī′xam^{287} ants^{60} L^{li}yaxa$^{ū′wi.278}$ u^{ł} stīm^{242} skwaha$^{ū′wi\,304}$ L!a′$^{ai\,4}$
Is seized that boiled (pitch). And there stand (pl.) many

ha$^{i′}$mūt^{205} ants^{60} tcîmtcî′mya.^{305} Wa$^{l\,204}$ yā$^{a′}$xa$^{i\,19}$ tE′q,^{120} u^{ł}
all those axes with (are). Although much something, still

pī′ūmE.^{306} u^{ł} kumî′ntc^{38} kwī′sīł.^{279} "Qwa′nyūx^{307} tEmà′^{308}
noise is made with it. Still not he wakes up not. "Pour it it is better

Laaya′tc!"^{309} u^{ł} wàn^{29} qū′nī′xamīmE.^{310} Txū^{113} mî′łtcîstx^{311} Laa′.
mouth into!" So now it is poured into (his mouth). Just begins to burn his mouth.

Stīm^{242} L!a′$^{ai\,4}$ ma′q!īs.^{312} Mî′łtcîst^{313} ants^{60} hītc. Mî′łtcîstx^{311}
There many keep on dancing. Begins to burn that man. Begins to burn his

ha$^{i′}$mūt^{205} hī′qū^{i}. Stīm^{242} wàn^{29} yāk!ī′tcyaxam^{314} xwā′katc^{315}
all hair. There finally was cut into pieces head his

tcîmtca′myatc.^{290} Stīm^{242} tqū′nīs^{316} ants^{60} mī′k!a hītc. Xa^{u}wī′-
ax with. There diffuses smoke constantly that bad man. Killed

xamyax^{317} tE^{33} mī′k!a hītc.
was this bad person.

Sqa^{i}k^{237} wàn^{29} ata′s^{301} hawa$^{i′}$.^{318} Kū$^{i\,151}$ nàts^{182} s^{E}a′tsa^{3}
There now only it ends. Not if thus

xa′wa^{s}xa^{ū}tnE,^{319} u^{ł} nàts^{182} tsī′k!ya^{3} mī′k!a L!a′$^{ai.4}$ S^{E}a′tsa^{3}
he had been killed, then conditional very bad world. Thus

xa^{u}wī′xamyax^{317} mī′k!a hītc. S^{E}atsī′tc^{61} wàn^{29} ata′s^{301}
was killed bad man. Thus finally only

wā′nwîtsaxax^{320} nîctcîma^{c}mū.^{321} Sqa^{i}k^{237} wàn^{29} smît′ū$^{i′}$.^{322}
old-timers (of) custom. There finally it ends.

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303 *skwa′-* TO STAND (§§ 3, 112).

304 *skwa′-* TO STAND (§ 3); *-aūwi* plural (§ 79).

305 *tcîmtca′mi* AX (§ 109); *-a* locative case (§§ 86, 12, 8).

306 *pīū-* TO MAKE NOISE; *-ūmE* passive (§§ 38, 9).

307 *qū′n-* TO POUR (§§ 7, 112); *-yūx* imperative with indirect object of third person (§ 43).

308 Exhortative particle (§ 129).

309 *Laaya′* locative form of *Laa′* MOUTH (§ 86); *-tc* local (§ 90).

310 *qū′n-* TO POUR; *-ī* (*-a^{i}*) verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); *-xam* present passive (§ 55); *-īmE* passive (§ 38).

311 Contracted from *mî′łtcîst^{E}tx* (§ 15); *maltc-* TO BURN (§ 3); *-st* inchoative (§§ 66, 4); *-tx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33).

312 *maq!ī-* TO DANCE; *-īs* durative (§§ 69, 9).

313 *maltc-* TO BURN (§ 3); *-st* inchoative (§§ 66, 4).

314 Contracted from *yāk!ī′tcyaxxam* (§ 15); *yāk!-* SMALL; *-ītc* modal (§ 94); *-yax* past (§ 74); *-xam* present passive (§§ 55, 57).

315 *xwā′ka* HEAD; *-tc* possessive 3d singular (§ 88).

316 *tqūnī′i* SMOKE (§ 98); *-īs* durative (§§ 69, 9).

317 *xaū-* TO DIE; *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§§ 75, 2, 8, 11); *-xamyax* past passive (§ 57).

318 *haū-* TO END, TO FINISH; *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).

319 Evidently for *xa′ūyaxaūtnE*; *xaū-* TO DIE; *-yax* past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136); *-aūtnE* passive (§ 58).

320 *wā′nwîts* LONG AGO (§ 120); *-ax* nominal (§§ 101, 108).

321 See § 103.

322 *smūt′-* TO END, TO FINISH (§ 12); *-ū^{i}* verbalizing (§ 75).

[Translation]

(It happened) long ago. The world was very bad long ago. Everywhere it was so, and this was the cause of it: A bad person was devouring (the people). Grizzly Bear was devouring them long ago. Whenever a man went out hunting, he would kill and devour him. Many people felt sorry because of that. So one day the people came together and tried to devise some remedy. (They all agreed that Grizzly) must be killed. For that reason they came together. Then the chiefs of that region said, "We feel very sorry, but how are we going to kill him? He can not be killed by means of arrows: hence we don't want to kill him with an arrow." Then finally someone suggested to go and see how Grizzly lived, and to invite him (to come to the meeting-place). So one man went in search of him. And (when the messenger) came to Grizzly's residence, (he said,) "You, too, are invited to come to the play-grounds." But Grizzly Bear was not willing to go: hence the messenger went back, and, upon returning, related thus: "He does not want (to come)." (In the mean while) the people who had assembled had lots of fun. (Then after a while another messenger was sent), and the man who was about to go was told thus: "We won't give up. When he is dead, then we will give up." Thus it was repeatedly asserted.

Then finally the man was ordered to go. He was a very poor man. "Speak to him carefully, don't tell him anything bad. Tell him thus: 'We want you to come here. We are going to have lots of fun.' Thus you shall tell him. Don't tell him anything bad. He is shrewd and very bad." Then that man started out, thinking (a great deal) to himself, for he was very much afraid (of Grizzly). (And when he came to Grizzly, he said,) "I come here as a messenger." (He then told him his mission and departed. Not long afterwards Grizzly's friends came to visit him and inquired about the messenger's mission). One of them said, "What did the man tell you who came (here)?"—"He said nothing (of importance). I was simply informed that I am invited (to some games). Thus he told me: 'People want you to come very much. For that purpose I came here as a messenger.'" (After a while another messenger was sent to Grizzly, requesting him to come at once.) Then (Grizzly) said thus (to the messenger): "Will anything be given to me, if I come?"—"Nothing was said (about that). People

are just playing, and that's why you are invited to come." (Then Grizzly said), "You tell them thus: 'He wants something. If something be given to him, then he will come.' Thus he says to you."

(The messenger went back to his people and told them what Grizzly said). And he (furthermore) said, "He is shrewd. He thinks (of not coming), because he has killed (so many) people. That's why he is shrewd." Thus the messenger said. "He was (evidently) told (by some friend) that a dance had been arranged for the purpose of changing his (mean) disposition, and that everybody dislikes him. That's why he replied, 'If something be given to him, then he will come.' That's why he told me (so)."

Then another messenger went to Grizzly. "You tell him thus: 'A knife will be given to you.' Thus tell him. 'You shall start right away, you are invited to come. Many people are playing (there), and it is desirable that you should come.' Thus you tell him." And that messenger kept on thinking, "I will speak to him. I know what to tell him, so that he will start right away." Then the messenger started. "I will speak to him, and he will start right away." Thus he was thinking as he kept on going. Finally he came to (Grizzly, and said), "A messenger I come. You are wanted very much. Pretty soon the games will come to an end, and for that reason I was told (to come here). You are my relative. Why don't you want to go?" And (Grizzly) answered him thus: "I am wise, that's why I don't want to go. It seems to me that I am simply wanted (there) to be killed. That's why I am wise."—"Not so, they want you to see (the fun). For that purpose (only) you are wanted. Their intentions toward you are good. A present will be given to you. For that reason you are invited. You are my relative, hence I (came to) fetch you. That's why I came quickly. A knife will be given to you, because you are invited. I came right away, since you are my relative. The reason why I came to you is because I want you to have some fun. That's why I came to you. I don't think that anything bad will happen to you. That's why I was sent." (And Grizzly answered,) "Yes, you are a bad man. They want to kill me, that's why I don't want (to go)."—"I don't think (it will be) thus. (Not) for that purpose I was sent. If it were as you say, I should not have been sent. Will you go now?"—"I shall go. You will have to take

good care of me." And (the messenger) said thus to (Grizzly): "All right, I don't think that anything bad will happen (to you) on the part of those who play (there)."—"All right, I will go. I don't care, even if I die." Thus said (Grizzly) as he started. "I don't think (it will be) as (bad as you imagine). Are you coming?" Thus said (the messenger) to him. "I should very much like to have you, too, at these games." Finally (Grizzly) said, "I will go." So he started. And the man who came to fetch him was thinking continually. He was thinking thus.

Now they two kept on going; and when they were almost there, the two (chiefs) were told, "They two are coming. He is bringing that bad man." So everybody was glad; and when he arrived, people assembled about him. "It's very good that you came, O friend! We shall have a great deal of fun." Thus everybody said (to him). Many people assembled (around him). Although there were many of them, still they all went there (to Grizzly), shouting, "It's very good that you came. We will play a great deal. We two will play." (Then Grizzly would say,) "All right."—"You shall watch (us). You sha'n't sleep. We will play a great deal." Thus he was constantly told. (Everything) had been made ready long ago. It had been decided to kill him with pitch during his sleep. Thus it had been agreed upon. "Friend, don't sleep! we two will play." Thus people kept on telling him. "For that reason you were invited." Thus he was told. "People who live here know different kinds of games, and you will witness all kinds of fun. For that purpose you have been invited. We are well disposed (towards you). No mishap will befall you." Thus he was constantly told. Whoever came in would tell him thus. "It's very good that you came, O friend! You will see, they will play for a long time." And he would (also) be told, "That's why we invited you. There is going to be a great deal of fun."

At last he was taken to the play-grounds. A fire was started in the house, which, although very large, was nevertheless full of people. Grizzly Bear was looking there. "Here we play, those who have invited you." He was seated near the fire, which consisted of pitch. "It seems to me I see (too) many people." Thus Grizzly was thinking. And the fire in the house kept burning. "Don't sleep, O friend! (Not) for that purpose we asked you to come (here)."—"All

right! I am glad. I intend to watch the fun." Thus Grizzly was saying, seated close to the fire. He was constantly watched.

(After a while) he began to feel sleepy. Then people kept on approaching him, (saying,) "Don't sleep, look on! For that purpose we invited you. We have abandoned all our hatred." (Again) he began to feel sleepy, (and again) he was constantly watched. The pitch with which he was going to be killed was made ready; while many dancers went to him, (saying,) "Move away from the fire, you may get burned, friend!" Thus they were telling him. "Don't sleep, friend!"—"I feel sleepy." People kept on dancing, while he began to fall asleep. "Move away from the fire, you may get burned!" Everybody was glad, because he was going to be killed. At last he began to sleep. Then people kept on shaking him, saying to him thus: "Move away from the fire, you may get burned!" But he did not move. So the boiling pitch was brought in, while the people kept on dancing (and saying), "Move away from the fire, friend!" But he did not get up. He was very sleepy, and (merely) said, "Leave me alone! I intend to sleep a while." So the people thought thus: "Let him sleep." And while the pitch kept on boiling, they said, "Let him sleep. Move away from the fire, O friend!" But he did not move, and (soon) commenced to snore.

Then people took hold of all kinds of things. They seized axes, (because it had been decided that as soon as) he should wake up, they would kill him with an ax. He was snoring, keeping his mouth wide open. Then the people got ready. They watched him closely. "We will kill him, because he has killed (so many of) us." Then the boiling pitch was seized, (and one man shouted,) "Move away from the fire, friend, you may get burned!" But he did not move. Then they held the boiling pitch over his head, and everybody was glad, for the dance had been arranged with the purpose in view of getting rid of (the consequences of) his mean disposition. For that purpose so many people had been dancing. Finally (one man) stood up and took hold of the boiling pitch. And around Grizzly there were standing many armed with axes. They made noise with all kinds of implements, but he did not wake up. (Then one man said,) "Better pour it into his mouth!" So it was poured into his mouth, which began to burn (right away). And the people kept on dancing,

(as Grizzly Bear) was consumed (gradually) by the fire. His hair got burned, and then his head was cut into pieces with an ax. And while suffering death, he was constantly diffusing smoke.

Here (the story) ends. If (Grizzly Bear) had not been killed, this would have been a very bad place. Thus that man was killed. Such was the custom of people living long ago. Here at last it ends.

Invocation of Rain[1]

K!uˣwînaⁱ'tx[2]	L!a'ai.[3]	Yāa'xai	ū'ltī[4]	L!ayū's.[5]	Nā'qutyax[6]	
Ice (has on) its (body)	world.	Much	snow	ground on.	Cold became	
L!a'ai,[3]	k!uˣwînaⁱ'[7]	L!a'ai.[3]	Kūⁱ[8]	nî'etca[9]	qa'tcwīɬ[10]	ants[11] L!a'ai.[3]
universe,	ice has	world.	Not	how	drink not	that crowd.
Pā'l·ū[12]	ata's[13]	uɬ[14]	qateūⁱ'txaūtnE.[15]	Haya'mūt[16]	hⁱyàtc[17]	qateūⁱ'-
Well	only	then	it is drunk from.	All	people	drink
txaūn.[18]	Waⁱᵛ[19]	yāa'xai	hītc,	uɬ[14]	sqaⁱk[20]	qateūⁱ'tx.[21]
(from) it.	Although	many	people,	still	there	drink (pl.).
Tcī'wa[22]	uɬ[14]	k!uˣwînaⁱ'.[7]	Kū[18]	nî'etca[9]	tcaītcī'tc[23]	nî'etcīɬ[24]
Water on	then	ice appears.	Not	manner	where manner	go not
ants[11]	tīyū'wi.[25]	Qauxaⁱ'x[26]	k!uˣwînīyū's[27]	qatcᴱnatū'u[28]	ants[11]	hītc
those	inhabitants.	Top along	ice on	go (pl.)	those	people
L!a'ai.[3]	uɬ[14]	wàn[29]	tɛxmîl·a'mî[30]	L!xū'yūn[31]	ants[11]	wā'nwîtsaxax[32]
many.	Then	now	people old	know it	that	long ago people
nîtcîmaᶜmū.[33]						
custom.						

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[1] See Leo J. Frachtenberg, Lower Umpqua Texts (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. IV, pp. 76 *et seq.*)

[2] *k!uxwīn-* ICE (§ 12); *-aītx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33).

[3] Particle (§ 133).

[4] See § 98.

[5] *L!a'al* GROUND (§ 133); *-ūs* locative case (§§ 86, 9, 8).

[6] *naqut-* TO BE COLD; *-yax* past (§ 74).

[7] *k!uxwīn-* ICE (§ 12); *-ai* verbalizing (§ 75).

[8] Particle of negation (§ 131).

[9] Particle (§ 131).

[10] *qatcū-* TO DRINK; *-īɬ* negative (§§ 53, 8).

[11] Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

[12] See § 97.

[13] Restrictive particle (§ 130).

[14] Conjunction (§ 125).

[15] *qatcū-* TO DRINK; *-ūi* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); *-tx* plural (§ 80); *-aītnE* passive (§ 58).

[16] Discriminative form of *haⁱ'mūt* ALL (§§ 111, 124).

[17] Discriminative form of *hītc* PERSON (§§ 111, 7).

[18] *qatcū-* TO DRINK; *-ūi* verbalizing (§ 75); *-tx* plural (§ 80); *-aīn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

[19] Particle (§ 128).

[20] Local adverb (§ 119).

[21] *qatcū-* TO DRINK; *-ūi* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); *-tx* plural (§ 80).

[22] *tcī* WATER (§ 88); *-a* locative case (§§ 86, 8).

[23] Particle (§§ 131, 94, 108).

[24] *nî'etca* MANNER (§§ 131, 135); *-īɬ* negative (§§ 53, 9).

[25] *tai-, tī-* TO LIVE (§ 2); *-ūwi* nominal (§§ 97, 8).

[26] *qaux* HIGH, TOP (§ 119); *-aix* local (§ 92).

[27] *k!uxwī'nī* ICE (§§ 98, 12); *-ūs* locative case (§§ 86, 8).

[28] *qatcn-* TO GO (§ 4); *-t* present (§§ 72, 4); *-ūu* plural (§ 79).

[29] Temporal particle (§ 126).

[30] Discriminative form of *tɛxmî'l·mā* (§ 111); *tɛxam* STRONG; *-ll·mā* augmentative (§ 84).

[31] *L!xu-* TO KNOW; *-ūi* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); *-ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

[32] *wā'nwîts* LONG AGO (§ 119); *-ax* nominal (§§ 101, 108).

[33] See § 103.

^{u}ł[14]	tqūłī′yūsnE[34]	ants[11]	tcîxnī′nE,	^{u}ł[14]	tqūłī′yūsnE[34]	a′l·dū[35]	ants[11]
Then	is shouted at constantly	that	Raccoon,	and	is shouted at constantly	also	that

tsxu′npLī.[36]	Łānat!ī′yūsnE,[37]	"Tcîxnī′nE,	tcîxnī′nE,	hî′n^{ɛ}k!ītsx[38]	
Coyote.	He is called constantly,	"Raccoon,	Raccoon,	to rain cause thy	

L!a′^{ai}![3]	Wa′a^{ī}s[39]	tE[40]	mō′łuptsînī′sla![41]	Hî′n^{ɛ}k!ītsxats[42]	L!a′^{ai}![3]
world!	Tell to	this	Coyote!	To rain cause ye two your	world!

Nākwa′yatyanxan,[43]	nEqū^{i}′txanxan[44]	yā^{a}′xa."[45]	^{u}ł[14]	wàn[29]	
Poor we	cold our (bodies have) we	muchly."	Then	now	

łānat!ī′yūsnE:[37]	"Tcîxnī′nE,	tcîxnī′nE,	hî′n^{ɛ}k!ītsx[38]	L!a′^{ai}![3]
he is called continually:	"Raccoon,	Raccoon,	to rain cause thy	world!

Mō′łuptsînī′sla,[41]	hî′n^{ɛ}k!ītsxats[42]	L!a′^{ai}!"[3]	^{u}ł[14]	wàn[29]	hî′n^{ɛ}k!ya^{i}[46]
Coyote,	to rain cause ye two your	world!"	Then	finally	begins to rain

L!a′^{ai}.[3]	Haya′mūt[16]	h^{i}yātc[17]	ha′nînīt!ūn.[47]	S^{E}a′tsa[48]	^{u}ła^{u}x[49]
universe.	All	people	believe it.	Thus	and they two

tqūłī′yūsnE,[34]	^{u}ł[14]	wàn[29]	hîn^{ɛ}k!ya^{i}′tx[50]	L!a′^{ai}.	S^{E}a′tsa[48]	^{u}ł[14]
are shouted at continually,	then	finally	causes to rain its (body)	world.	Thus	then

tqūłū′′nE,[51]	ants[52]	tkwa′myax[53]	ants[11]	înq!a′a^{ī}.[54]
it is shouted,	when	closes up	that	river.

Sqa^{ī}k[20]	wàn[29]	hawa^{i}′.[55]	Smît′ū^{i}′[56]	wàn[29]	sqa^{ī}k.[20]	Tā′kîn[57]
There	now	it ends.	It ends	finally	there.	This I

L!xū′yūn.[31]
know it.

---

[34] *tqūł-* TO SHOUT; *-a^{i}* (*-ī*) verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); *-ūsnE* durative passive (§§ 59, 8).

[35] Conjunction (§ 125).

[36] See § 98.

[37] *łn-* TO CALL; *-at!ī* frequentative (§ 68); *-ūsnE* durative passive (§§ 59, 8).

[38] *hîn^{ɛ}k!ī-* TO RAIN; *-a^{i}* (*-ī*) verbalizing (§§ 75, 2, 9); *-tsx* imperative (§ 47).

[39] *wàa-* TO SPEAK; *-a^{ī}s* transitive imperative (§§ 62, 9).

[40] Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

[41] Alsea term for COYOTE.

[42] *hîn^{ɛ}k!ī-* TO RAIN; *-a^{i}* (*-ī*) verbalizing (§§ 75, 9, 2); *-tsx* imperative (§ 47); *-ts* 2d person dual (§§ 24, 4)

[43] *nākwa′yat-* TO BE POOR; *-nxan* exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4, 8).

[44] Contracted from *nEqutū^{i}′txanxan* (§ 15); *naqut-* TO BE COLD (§ 12); *-ū^{i}* verbalizing (§ 75); *-tx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of subject (§ 33); *-nxan* exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

[45] *yā^{a}x-* MUCH; *-a* modal (§ 96).

[46] *hîn^{ɛ}k!ī-* TO RAIN; *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).

[47] *hanînīt!-* TO BELIEVE; *-ūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

[48] Modal adverb (§§ 121, 96).

[49] *^{u}ł* THEN (§ 125); *-a^{u}x* 3d person dual (§ 24).

[50] *hîn^{ɛ}k!ī-* TO RAIN; *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); *-tx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of subject (§ 33).

[51] *tqūł-* TO SHOUT; *-ū′nE* passive (§ 58).

[52] Particle (§ 131).

[53] *tkūm-* TO SHUT, TO CLOSE (§§ 7, 112); *-yax* past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136).

[54] See § 98.

[55] *haū-* TO END; *-a^{i}* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).

[56] *smūt′-* TO END (§ 12); *-ū^{i}* verbalizing (§ 75).

[57] *tā^{a}k* THIS (§§ 115, 12); *-n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[Translation]

(When in former days the) ground was covered with ice, much snow (lay) on the ground, and it became very cold, then the people had no way of drinking (water freely). From one well only could they drink, and all people drank from it. Although many were the people, still they all drank there. (And when) ice began to appear on the water (of the rivers), then all inhabitants could not go anywhere. They were forced to go along the surface of the ice. Then (at such times there would always be some) old man who knew that (ancient) custom of the people of long ago. (He would then tell it to his people.) And Raccoon would be invoked, and Coyote likewise would be invoked. He would be called by name, "Raccoon, Raccoon, cause thy rain (to flow)! Speak to Coyote! Cause ye two your rain (to flow)! We are in straits, we are very cold." Then (once more Raccoon) would be invoked, "Raccoon, Raccoon, cause thy rain (to flow)! (You and) Coyote cause ye your (dual) rain (to flow)!" Then at last it would rain. All people believed in (the efficacy of this formula). For that reason they two would be invoked, (until) it would commence to rain. Thus people were shouting whenever (ice) closed up the rivers.

Now there it ends. It is the finish. (Thus) I know it.

CHUKCHEE

BY

WALDEMAR BOGORAS

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

The following grammatical sketch of the Chukchee group of languages is based on a manuscript by Mr. Bogoras, in which all the main facts presented here are contained. Since the principal object of the series of sketches presented in this Handbook is an elucidation of the grammatical categories found in the present condition of each language treated, I thought it best to re-arrange the material on the basis of an analytical study. I am therefore responsible for the essential form of arrangement and presentation here given. The re-arrangement was, however, made in consultation with Mr. Bogoras, the final form being given to the description of the grammar in accordance with his criticisms and suggestions. The references to the Chukchee and Koryak Texts have also been added by me in order to prove the statements contained in the grammar. These also were revised, supplemented, and corrected by Mr. Bogoras. Finally I have added sample texts with explanatory notes. These have also been revised by Mr. Bogoras.

It seemed important to add the Chukchee to the sketches contained in the Handbook, because it proves conclusively that those features which are most characteristic of many American languages are found also on the Asiatic continent. It seemed essential, furthermore, to present material for determining the position of the Eskimo language in relation to all its neighbors.

The war has delayed the publication of this work beyond expectation, and the final revision had to be made by the editor.

FRANZ BOAS.

NEW YORK, *December, 1921.*

CHUKCHEE

By Waldemar Bogoras

INTRODUCTION

The material for the following study was collected by me in 1895–97, when I was a member of the Sibiryakov Expedition of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society; and in 1900–01, when I was engaged in anthropological researches for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History.

The group of languages treated in this sketch includes the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal. Of these, the first two are closely related, while the Kamchadal shows markedly divergent forms. Its phonetics are more complicated than those of the other two languages, and it seems to have preserved some ancient traits. Its morphology, however, is obscured by the recent process of Russianization, which has had a marked influence upon the language of the people.

Since I spent several years among the Chukchee on the Kolyma and Anadyr, and attained full command of the language in a practical manner, my Chukchee material is much fuller and also more accurate than that collected in the other languages. The work on the Chukchee is also facilitated by the fact that the language has no dialects, the dialect of the maritime Chukchee of the Pacific coast being almost identical with that of the reindeer-breeders of the Kolyma river.

Besides grammatical and lexicographic data, I have collected a large number of texts. I have also collected texts from the Asiatic Eskimo,[1] with literal translation into Chukchee, made by natives and carefully revised with their aid, as a means of avoiding inexactness in the translation of the Eskimo material.

[1] Some of these have been published in my paper, "The Eskimo of Siberia" (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. VIII, part III). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1913.

My work on the Koryak was done during the months from December, 1900, to March, 1901. While Mr. Waldemar Jochelson studied the ethnology of the Koryak on behalf of the Jesup Expedition, the morphological study of the language was assigned to me on account of my familiarity with the Chukchee. I left the Anadyr in November, 1900, joined Mr. Jochelson at Kamenskoye, and spent about a month with him. From there I proceeded to Kamchatka and studied the Kamchatka Koryak and the Kamchadal. On account of the necessity of devoting some time to the Eskimo of Indian Point, I could not devote more time to the study of these dialects.

The Koryak is spoken in a number of dialects, which may be classed in two groups, the western and the eastern. The western group includes the maritime villages on Penshina Bay of the Sea of Okhotsk,[1] some of which are the largest of the Koryak settlements, and the reindeer breeders on the rivers flowing into the Pacific Ocean. Here belong, for instance, the villages of Qa'yılın, Čimi'tqa, and Po'qač.[2] The eastern group includes all the maritime Koryak of Kamchatka and the villages of the Pacific shore, mainly around Alutor Bay. The Kerek may form a third group, which, although situated farthest to the east, is more closely related to the western branch.

I shall call the western group "Koryak I;" the eastern group "Koryak II." Since the majority of the former group are reindeer breeders who live north from the maritime villages, and, along the northern border of the country, come into contact with the Chukchee, I have elsewhere called the Koryak I the northern group; the Koryak II, the southern group.

The bulk of my Koryak material and all the texts are principally from the village Kamenskoye on Penshina bay, and also from Paren, 50 miles farther to the west. I have marked this material, respectively, "Kor. Kam." and "Kor. Par." All words and forms marked simply "Kor." are common to the various dialects. The chief difference between the dialects of Kamenskoye and Paren—both members of the eastern branch—lies in the rules governing the harmony of vowels. My material on the Koryak of Kamchatka is not extensive.

[1] See W. Jochelson, The Koryak (Ibid., vol. VI), pp. 437 et seq. Leyden, E. J. Brill.

[2] Ibid., p. 440. See also map at end of volumes VI and VII of the Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.

The Kamchadal material that I have been able to collect is not very full. The study of this dialect is at present very difficult on account of its corruption by the introduction of Russian elements.

In Krasheninnikoff's time there were three dialects of the Kamchadal—a southern, an eastern (spoken on the Kamchatka river), and a western. The first two are extinct, the language of the natives having been replaced by Russian. The eastern dialect is spoken in 13 villages on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. The largest of these is Kharghiusova (Kamchadal, Plŏ'xŏn), where I stayed 20 days. Another dialect is spoken in the village Sedanka, on the upper course of the Tighil river. Apart from phonetic differences, the chief features of this dialect are due to a strong Koryak influence. This, however, is also quite strong in the dialect of the Sea of Okhotsk. During the last 50 years, Koryak reindeer breeders have been living on the tundras of the eastern part of Kamchatka. The Kamchadal visit them, and purchase from them reindeer meat and skins for clothing. These Koryak are not Christianized, and speak only their own language. Thus it happens that the Kamchadal of the eastern shore, as far south as the village Kol, speak more or less the western Koryak dialect (I); and that among the half-Russianized Kamchadal, remnants of Koryak have almost completely replaced the old, native Kamchadal. In a few folk stories, fragments of which I was able to collect, the Kamchadal names have been forgotten, and Koryak names have taken their places. Sometimes it is not easy to determine whether we are dealing with Kamchadal or with Koryak terms. In the Sedanka dialect the influence of Koryak is felt even more markedly. The people are in the habit of using whole Koryak sentences, or begin a sentence in Kamchadal and end in Koryak. The dialect that has influenced the Sedanka people is the Kamchatka Koryak II.[1] Besides, there is a strong intrusion of Russian into both dialects. The Kamchadal has lost many of its numerals, several pronouns, and a considerable number of nouns and adjectives, all of which have been replaced by Russian terms. These have not been assimilated so as to conform with the morphology of Kamchadal, but remain unaltered. A Russianization may also be observed in the grammatical structure.

Nevertheless the Russian spoken by the Russianized natives of Kamchatka also bears evidence of the influence of the Kamchadal.

[1] Sedanka Kamchadal *g'ava'teḷkal* THEY PERISHED (*-ḷk* inchoative in Koryak II, *-ñīvo* in Koryak I) *sęqi'tītī* HE WILL FREEZE TO DEATH (*sę-* future prefix Koryak II, *yę-* in Koryak I).

The Russian suffixes for case and gender do not occur, and all nouns and adjectives are used in the nominative singular masculine. All vowels are strongly marked as long, short, or obscure.

In the following study I have confined myself to the main points of the morphology. The description is based mainly on Chukchee and on a comparison of Chukchee and the western Koryak of Kamenskoye. Kamchadal has been utilized only so far as to indicate the peculiar characteristics of this dialect.

Notes on the Koryak are indicated by a single, those on the Kamchadal by a double marginal vertical rule. Examples without reference are taken from field notes.

All references for the Chukchee indicated by page and line (for instance, 21.3) are to my Chukchee texts contained in the Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition; those marked R, followed by page and line (for instance, R 23.5) are to my collection of texts published by the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences. All references to Koryak (marked, for instance, Kor. 27.6) are to my Koryak Texts published by the American Ethnological Society. The following previous publications on this family of languages may be mentioned:

L. RADLOFF, Ueber die Sprache der Tschuktschen (Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg, 1861, Series VII, vol. III, No. 10).

В. Г. Богоразъ, Образцы матеріаловъ попэченію чукотскаго дзыкаи фольклора, собранныхъ въ Колымскомъ округѣ. Оттискъ изъ Извѣстій Императорской Академіи Наукъ Т. X. No. 3 (Мартъ 1899).

[WALDEMAR BOGORAS, Sample Text for the Study of the Chukchee Language and Folk-Lore, collected in the Kolyma District. Reprint from the Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, vol. x, no. 3 (March, 1899).]

Матеріалы по изученію чукотскаго языка и фольклора, собранные въ Колымскомъ округѣ. Изданіе Императорской Академіи Наукъ. В. 1. С.-Петербургъ 1900.

[Materials for the Study of the Chukchee Language and Folk-Lore, collected in the Kolyma District, Part I. Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1900.

Chukchee Mythology (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. VIII, Part 1). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1910.

Koryak Texts (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, vol. V). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1914.

IGNACY RADLINSKY, Ze zbiorow Prof. B. Dybowskiego. Słowniki Nazzeczy Ludów Kamczackich, 5 parts, Krákow, 1891–94.

С. Крашенинниковъ Описаніе земли Камчатки. С.-Петербургъ 1819. Т. 1. II.

[S. KRASHENINNIKOFF, Description of the Land Kamchatka, vols. I and II. St. Petersburg, 1819.]

В. Н. Тюшовъ, По хзападному берегу Камчатки, С. П. Б., 1906.

[W. N. TUSHOFF, Along the Western Shore of Kamchatka. St. Petersburg, 1906.]

PHONETICS (§§ 1–24)

Chukchee (§§ 1–13)

§ 1. *Vowels*

The vowels of the Chukchee language may be divided into three classes:

(1) Weak vowels: ᵉi i e ä u
(2) Strong vowels: ê a ɵ o
(3) Neutral vowels: ɪ ᴇ ᴀ ŭ

The vowels of the first and second classes are always long.

i, *e*, *u*, have their continental values.

ä is a long obscure vowel, in rest position of all the muscles of the oral cavity, posterior nares closed, teeth and lips slightly opened.

ᵉ*i* is a glide from *e* to *i*, with long, accented *i*. It is always combined with a glottal stop.

ê is the open *e* of *hell*, but long.

a has its continental value.

o like *o* in *nor*.

ɵ a *u* with very slight rounding of lips, with the acoustic effect of a sound between *o* and *u*.

ɪ, ᴇ, ᴀ, obscure, short vowels corresponding to the respective long vowels.

ŭ an *i* with rounded lips, short; somewhat like the Russian ы.

Unusual length or shortness of vowels is indicated by the macron and breve respectively (*ā*, *ă*).

Diphthongs are formed by the combination of any of the vowels with following *i* and *u:*

ai like *i* in *hide*.
ei like *ei* in *vein*.
oi like *oi* in *choice*.
au like *ow* in *how*.
eu like *eu* in Italian *leucojo*.

The *i* and *u* of diphthongs belong to the neutral vowels. Combinations of the vowels with the weak vowels *i* and *u* do not form diphthongs.

The *i* and *u* of true diphthongs must be considered as voiced consonants, because, in all intervocalic positions where they are not lost, and in proper position before certain consonants, they have consonantic character; and because they often modify following consonants in the manner of the preceding consonants *y* and *w* (see §§ 5, 9).

Generally the accent of diphthongs is on the first vowel, although it is often placed on the second vowel.

qailo'qɪm indeed *ŭpau'ma* while drinking

When the diphthong is followed by a consonantic cluster, the terminal vocalic sound of the diphthong is lengthened. This gives the effect of an accent on the first vowel.

ŭpa'urkɪn thou drinkest

Before vowels, the *u* of the diphthong becomes *w*.

nɪpa'w-ê-ŭm I am drinking (stem *ŭpau*)

NOTE.—In many cases *i* neutral, which does not form diphthongs, originates from contraction of *yɪ* (see § 10).

Doubled vowels are also of frequent occurrence, particularly

ii in *ti'rkiir* (male pronunciation [1]) sun
ee in *e'ek* lamp
uu in *ɪntu'ulpɪr* son-in-law
êê in *êê'thŭpŭ* from the skin intended for clothing
aa in *pa'arkin* thou ceasest
oo in *ro'olqal* food
ɪɪ in *taiñ'ɪrgin* sinful action

After the loss of *ĭ*, *y*, or *ġ*, between two vowels (see § 10), clusters of three repetitions of the same vowel may appear.

mɪya'aaᵉk < *mɪya'agaᵉk* I will use

A comparison with Koryak suggests that whenever two vowels appear in contact, an elision of a consonant has occurred. Examples of this are given in § 16, no. 18, p. 670. It would seem that in all these cases the Chukchee has the tendency to assimilate the vowels (see § 13, p. 665).

§ 2. *Consonants*

	Stop		Affricative		Nasal		Continued.	Lateral			Trill
	Surd	Sonant	Surd	Sonant	Sonant	Surd		Affricative		Continued	
								Surd	Sonant		
Labial . .	*p*	—	—	—	*m*	—	*v*	—	—	—	—
Alveolar .	*t*	— [*d*]	(*š*), *č*	*j*	*n*	*n*	—	*ʟ*	*ɻ*	*l*	*r*, *ŕ*
Palatalized alveolar	*t·*	—[*d·*]	*č·*	*j·*	*n·*	—	*s·*	—	—	—	—
Palatal . .	*k*, *wkw*[1]	—	—	—	*ñ*	*ñ*	—	—	—	—	—
Velar . . .	*q*	*ġ g*(*u*,*o*)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glottal . .	—	ᵉ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

h, *w*, *y*

[1] See § 13.

[1] Written *kw* before and after *u*.

p, *m*, as in English.
v bilabial.
t as in English.
š like *z* in German *Zeit*, used only in female pronunciation.
č like English *ch* in *choice*.
ǰ like English *j* in *joy*.
n as in English.
L stop produced by the tip of the tongue touching the upper alveoli, back of the tongue pressed against the hard palate, and sudden lateral release with slightly continued stricture.
Ḷ like L, but sonant.
l as in German.
r as in French (hard trill, *roue*).
ř dental *r* with weak trill.
t·, *d·*, *s·*, *ǰ·*, *n·*, the corresponding consonants strongly palatalized, similar to *ty*, *dy*, *sy*, *ǰy*, *ny*.
č· strongly palatalized, intermediate between *t·* and *č*, but weaker than either.
k as in English.
wkw labialized *k*.
ñ like *n* in *singing*. Voiceless *ñ* is always terminal, and appears after terminal I, E.
q, *ǫ* } velars corresponding to *k* and *g*; *ǫ* in this combination
ǫ (*u*, *o*) } is often labialized.
h, *w*, *y*, consonantic, as in English. Initial *w* is sometimes pronounced nasally, as in *wo'tqan* THIS ONE. In my Russian publications I have indicated this nasalization; but it has not been indicated here, since it is not morphologically significant, and seems to be a characteristic feature of the sound, which appears, however, of varying strength.

d and *d·*, which are bracketed in the table of consonants, appear only as the development of a strong palatalization of *n·*, as in

ta'nd·an < *ta'n-yan* a good one

In only one case is initial *d* found,—*di'ndin* FIRE (from stem *yɪn;* compare *ǫayɪ'nlaᵉn* THE ONE THAT HAS FIRE). The reduplicated form *yɪnyɪn* changes to *yɪnd·ɪn*, from which develops—by assimilation, *d·ɪnd·ɪn;* and by intensification of the obscure vowel, *di'ndin*.

NOTE.—Examples of the importance of the glottal stops are—

iᵉ'rɪrkɪn he comes across	*i'rɪrkɪn* he hits
reᵉ'tɪrkɪn he rejoices	*re'tɪrkɪn* he brings
yoᵉ'rkɪn thou overtakest	*yo'rkɪn* thou puttest in
yeᵉ'tɪrkɪn the sky becomes overcast	*ye'tɪrkɪn* thou comest
čeᵉ'čeᵉ cold	*če'če* lengthwise
eᵉče'pŭrkɪn it shows itself	*eče'pŭrkɪn* it grows damp

§2.

The consonants *l* and *č* are intimately related, and frequently replace each other, sometimes with a slight change of meaning (see § 122).

vôtča'rkın and *vêla'rkın* (from *vêt-la'rkın*, see § 7, no. 17, p. 654), he stands
vilu^{ə}'ttım and *viču^{ə}'ttım* (from stem *vilu-* ear) ear-bone
čeĭ'wurkın he walks; *leĭ'wurkın* he wanders about
lä^{ə}'leñ winter; *čä^{ə}'čeñ* cold

Initial *tı* is sometimes replaced by *čı*.

tıli-tto'oču > *čičičo'oču* in front of the entrance

Note.—In words borrowed from the Russian, the following substitutions occur:

For Russian б (*b*), Chukchee *v* is substituted.
For Russian ф (*f*), Chukchee *p* or *ġ* is substituted.
For Russian х, Chukchee *k* or *q* is substituted.
For Russian с, ш (*s*, *sh*), Chukchee *č* is substituted.
For Russian с (*s*), Chukchee *t* is substituted.

Examples:

Chukchee	Russian
čaĭ'ran	сайба (storehouse)
Apo'n	Афонька (Athanasius)
Ġê'čhan	Федька (Teddy)
ča'qar	сахаръ (sugar)
čol	соль (salt)
trê'n·non	средне (middle)

§ 3. *Vocalic Ablaut*

The vowels have been classified in three groups,—weak, strong, and neutral. The weak ones are indicated by $_{\wedge}$, the strong ones by $_{\circ}$. A word, simple or compound, must contain only strong vowels and neutrals, or only weak vowels and neutrals, or only vowels of one of the three classes. When, in composition, weak vowels and strong vowels come together in the same word, the former are changed by the ablaut into strong vowels.

$^{e}i_{\wedge}$ and $i_{\wedge}$ into $ê_{\wedge}$
$e_{\wedge}$ and $ä_{\wedge}$ into $a_{\wedge}$
$u_{\wedge}$ into $o_{\wedge}$ or $ə_{\wedge}$

The sound $a_{\circ}$ differs in origin, therefore, from $a_{\wedge}$, the latter being the ablaut of $e_{\wedge}$ or $ä_{\wedge}$. This process is not confined to preceding or following vowels, but pervades the whole word. Elements containing only weak vowels are combined without ablaut. The same is true of elements containing either neutral vowels alone or neutral and weak

vowels. A polysyllabic stem which contains a single strong vowe must have all its vowels strong.

Examples of such compositions are—

Weak vowels or weak vowel and neutral vowel:

pi̯'ri̯-rkɪn he takes
te̯ñ-te̯ki̯'čhɪn good meat
me̯i'ñɪ-ti'mkɪtɪm great hummock 145.1
i̯ul-u̯'ttu̯u̯t long wood
ä̯qä̯i̯n̥i̯-tri̯'rkɪn the weather grows warm
pi̯ñe̯'pi̯ snowstorm
nu̯'nu̯n blade of knife

Ablaut of weak vowel and strong vowel:

pê̯rê̯'yo̯ (from *pi̯ri̯-yo̯*) taken
pê̯ña'i̯o̯pŭ (from *pi̯ñe̯-ŭpŭ*) from a snowstorm
no̯no'ŭpu̯ (from *nu̯'nu̯-ŭpŭ*) from the blade of knife
a̯qa̯ine̯'nma̯ (from *ä̯qäi̯n̥i̯t-ma̯*) while the weather is growing warm
a̯wkwa̯'tɪño̯k (from *e̯wkwe̯t-ño̯*) at the beginning of leaving
e̯u'lu-wa̯'lo̯t (from *iul-va̯lo̯*) long knives 15.2
ta̯ñ-ma̯iñɪ-me̯'mɪl good, big seal
gɪle̯'-a̯qa̯'ñ-qo̯r greedy[1] right-hand driving-reindeer

There are a number of words with neutral, probably auxiliary vowels (see § 8), which produce the ablaut, as *tɪm* TO KILL; and quite a number of suffixes of the same phonetic character that have the same effect. In these cases it is therefore conceivable either that a strong vowel has been lost or that the phonetic effect is primarily due to other reasons. I give here a list of strong stems of this character:[2]

ɪm rising of water
iñ glue
ɪpɪiñ first dawn
yɪp to put on 37.8
yɪt (*-gtɪ*) to get
yɪm fire
yɪnŭ steep bank
yɪkɪrg mouth 18.12
yɪgo̯gɪ bountiful
wŭt leaf
wŭlh thin, with short hair 102.12
wulhɪp to fling
wur branching
wurg dwarf birch
wukw stone 68.36
pɪtr doubled
piñl (*-mñɪl*) news 78.4
pɪlɪl ripples, to bubble 41.1
pɪlvɪnt iron, metal
pɪlm darkness produced by a storm
pɪlhɪrr flat, flattened 84.25
pŭg float of sealskin
pŭgl large, round, wooden bowl
mɪnq hand
mɪl nimble

[1] Greedy for urine given in a small vessel. See W. Bogoras, The Chukchee (The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, VII, 85).

[2] Forms preceded by a hyphen are those in which stems appear when in medial position (see § 12)

mɪlɪñ five 107.23
tɪm (*-nm*) to kill 23.5
tɪmg (*-mg*) to choke
tɪmɬɪ to get near to 44.1
tɪmp to stab
tɪɪ door
tɪrk testicle
tuw (*-tvu*) word, promise 49.6
-tkɪm to crouch
čɪmy bitter
čuw bruise
lɪp neck (bone)
lɪm something kept in reserve, spare material
lɪgŭp deadfall (trap)
luˢw to vanquish
-lpɪnř (*pɪnř*) to give
-lpɪl (*pɪl*) to drink
rɪthɪl bridge of nose.
rɪnn tusk, antler R 3.31
rɪnnɪm gums
rɪng shy
rɪn'ñ to whittle (moving knife toward body)
rɪl (*-ɪ*) to enter the sleeping-room
rɪlh finger 22.7, 47.2
rɪr to hunt down; (*rɪr* [*-rrɪ*] TO UNTIE has a weak stem)
rɪrrɪt sinew-thread
rɪg hair
rɪggɪt to be too narrow, to have no room.
ruv (*-nv*) to scrape; (*ruv* [*-nv*] TO PUSH OFF is a weak stem)
-rkɪpl (*kɪpl*) to strike 45.12
kɪt hard
kɪtčɪ to hatch (eggs)
kɪlt middle part of sternum
kɪrg dry
kɪrgɪl fibrous
gɪt thin, sparse
gɪt lake
gɪlh skin
qɪml (*kɪml* 33.12) marrow
ñɪn'ñ stanchion of sledge
ñɪl smoke R 32.38
ñɪrkɪl shame.

Prefixes of the same character are—

ŋm- all
kŋt- (*-gtŋ-*) much, strongly

There are also a number of suffixes with neutral vowel, that are strong:

-gtŋ, *-ĝtŋ*, *-ωtŋ*, allative (§ 41)
-ŋpŭ, *-ĝpŭ*, *-gŭpŭ*, ablative (§ 42)
-ŋh(ɪn), *-ŋɪñ(ɪn)*, substantival suffix (§ 52)
-ĝh(ɪn), *-ĝɪñ(ɪn)*, substantival suffix (§ 53)
-ŋñ-, *-ŋñɪn*, augmentative (§ 98, 1)
-gŋrg(ɪn) verbal noun (§ 106, 44)
-tkɪn surface (§ 101, 19)
-s'q, *-s'qän* over, top of (§ 101, 20)
-nv, *-n*, place of (§ 109, No. 50)

Still other suffixes are strong because they have strong vowels:

-(ɪ)na allative of personal nouns (§ 41)
-nqg ablative, adverbial (§ 43)
-gg augmentative, (§ 98, 3)
-lqgñɪn, *-lqgñɪn*, space of, (see § 101, 20.)

-lɪño̥ diminutive (§ 98, 7)
gḁ—mḁ comitative (§ 100, 15)
-mḁčɪ comitative (§ 100, 17)
-qḁč, *-qḁl*, by the side of (§ 101, 26)
-yḁnv, *-yḁn*, provided with (§ 104, 38)
-yo̥čh, *-o̥o̥čh*, receptacle (§ 105, 40)
-yo̥ passive participle (§ 107, 47)
ññ̥o̥, *-ño̥*. inchoative (§ 110, 63)
-čhat, verbal suffix expressing contempt (§ 110, 66)

In the following sketch the symbols ̑ and ̥ have been used wherever clearness seemed to require the exact statement of the character of the vowels. Wherever the character of the vowel is irrelevant or the changes due to harmony of vowels are obvious, the symbols have been omitted.

In a few words, *i* is apparently a neutral vowel; as in

ya̯'tirgɪn (stem *ye̯'t*) the act of coming
ka̯ñka̯'č̥irgɪn (stem *kenkel-*) the act of descending

In these cases the *i* has originated through palatalization of the preceding consonant and the elision of *g*, which, after *t* and , has hanged to *h* (see §§ 7 and 10).

ya̯'tirgɪn < *ya̯'t·-hɪrgɪn* < *ya̯'t-gɪrgɪn*
ka̯ñka̯'čirgɪn < *ka̯ñka̯'č·-hɪrgɪn* < *ka̯ñka̯'č-gɪrgɪn*

In pronunciation, *e̯*, and *ê̯*, *ê̥*, differ very little. The pronunciation of the last two is, of course, identical. The manner in which the ablaut occurs with *e̯*, while it is absent in *ê̥*, demonstrates, however, their etymological difference.

e̯le̯re̯'rkɪn he feels dull
a̯la̯ra̯'mḁ while feeling dull } (stem *e̯le̯re̯*)
mê̥rê̥mê̥r tear
mê̥rê̥'gtɪ to a tear } (stem *mê̥rê̥*)
pi̯ñe̯'pi̯l snowstorm
pê̯na̯-ĭ̯pŭ from a snowstorm } (stem *pi̯ñe̯*)
kê̥to̥'rkɪn (stem *kê̥to̥*) he remembers

In most cases *ä* precedes or follows *q*, or is followed by the glottal stop ᵉ, which has probably originated through a loss of *q*e With few exceptions, *ä* is a weak vowel.

a̯ᵉqä̯'-mi̯'mɪl bad water, brandy
ä̯ᵉ'qä̯lpe̯ quick! hurry!
qä̯iū̯' fawn
ä̯ᵉlqe̯'p nail
ä̯ᵉmu̯'lɪn workingman

This *ä* is probably developed from *e̯* under the influence of the following glottal stop.

In several suffixes *ä̯* appears without connection with *q* or *ᵉ*.

vi̯lu̯'tä̯ by means of an ear
va̯la̯'ta̯ by means of a knife

In a few cases *ä* belongs to the group of strong vowels, and is probably derived from *ê̥* under the influence of the glottal stop.

ḁ̈ᵉlo̥' day
äᵉttwê̥i'-ñan interjection, WHAT DO YOU CALL IT!

In several compounds *ä* appears as connecting vowel instead of *ɪ*. This happens also generally before or after *q*. The sound of *ä* in these cases is short, and it belongs to the neutral vowels.

In the words *aᵉ'ttɪn* DOG, *aᵉ'ttɪm* BONE, the *aᵉ* replaces the weak *äᵉ*, and is therefore also weak.

u of diphthongs is generally a nequivalent of *w*, vocalized when preceding a consonant. Therefore it is neutral, even if the accent is on the first part of the diphthong, which increases the vocalic character of the *u*.

te̯ɪke̯'urkɪn he wrestles
ta̯ika̯ulê̥'pŭ̥ from the wrestler
ŭpa̯'urkɪn he drinks

In other cases *u* is by origin vocalic, and therefore changes to *o* or *ə*.

i̯'u̯ᵉrkɪn it thaws *ê̯o̯ᵉma̯* while thawing

but consonantic

i̯'urkɪn he speaks *ê̯u'ma̯* while speaking

This *i̯'u̯ᵉ* may be explained as originating from *ɪ'yu̯ᵉ*, where, according to the rule, the intervocalic *y* dropped out, strengthening at the same time *ɪ* to *i*.

Consonantic *w*, especially when initial, requires a *u* preceding it. This *u*, which is simply a strong glottal intonation, is neutral, and drops out after prefixes.

uwi̯'rkɪn he cooks
čuwi̯'rkɪn he cuts it off
luwa̯'urkɪn he can not

uwê̯'ma̯ while cooking
čuwê̯'ma̯ while cutting
ge'čvilin he cut it
ga̯lva̯ulê̯n being unable to do something

Russian loan-words also conform to the rules of vocalic harmony.

vi̯'lkᵩn fork (Kor. Kam. *vi̯'lka*); stem *vi̯'lkᵩ;* Russian вилка

čų'mᵩn bag (Kor. Kam. *čų'ma*); stem *čųmᵩ;* Russian сума

kǫmᵩ'k paper; stem *kǫmᵩk;* Russian бумага

mų'lᵩmų̇l soap (Kor. Kam. *mų'la*): stem *mų̇lᵩ;* local Russian мыло, instead of мыло

yᵩkų̇'tɪlɪn Yakut; stem *yᵩkų̇t;* Russian Якутъ

prêkᵩ'čɪk commercial agent (Kor. *preka'ssek*); Russian прикащикъ

(Kor. Kam. *čai'n·ek*) teakettle;[1] Russian чайникъ

Compositions conform to the rules of harmony, with very few exceptions. The particles ELO'N and *ñan* enter into close combination with other particles without affecting their vowels: *emiLo'n*<*ᵩmi̯* ELO'N where is he? *euña'n*<*ᵩun ñᵩn* so then R41.96. The former compound may even form an augmentative *ᵩmi̯Lǫnᵩíñɪn* ?where is he then? 43.6.

In *pɪčᵩ'g-tuwᵩ'rkɪn* THOU TAKEST OFF THE BOOTS, the second part alone has the ablaut.

In *čêq-ᵩ'mnɪñên* IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS, both parts have the ablaut, while the weak forms *čᵩq* and *emnɪn* would be expected.

The separate words of the sentence are not affected by these rules.

§ 4. *Initial and Terminal Consonants*

All sounds occur in initial position, except the consonants L, Ļ, *č·*, *ǰ·*, which are not found in uncompounded stems, but seem to be due throughout to assimilation (see § 7).

L<*t+l* *č·*<*t·+y*

Ļ<*l+l* or *r+l* *ǰ·*<*d·+y*

All sounds occur as terminals except

Ļ, L, *t·*, [*d*], [*d·*], *č·*, *ǰ*, *ǰ·*, *wkw*, *ř*

v, *h*

I presume the absence of the former group is due to the fact that they are by origin double consonants (see § 5).

Voiceless *n* and *ñ* appear only as terminal sounds after *ɪ* and *ᵩ*.

No clusters of more than two consonants occur. Terminal consonantic clusters are not admissible, and are broken either by the introduction of an obscure vowel or by being placed in medial position by the addition of a terminal obscure vowel. It is important to note that the glottal stop does not count as a consonant in these clusters. It always follows a long vowel.

[1] Chukchee *pi'lhikuk* throat-kettle.

Terminal *ñ*, particularly after *ɪ*, becomes voiceless, and hence very weak.

keñuˈneñ STAFF ends in voiceless *ñ*, but in the plural *keñuˈneñɪt* the *ñ* is voiced

This may account for the slight nasal character of unaccented terminal *ɪ*.

§ 5. *Medial Consonantic Clusters*

The following consonants never appear in clusters:

ɬ, *ʟ*, *tˑ*,[1] [*d*], [*dˑ*],[2] *čˑ*, *ǰ*, *ǰˑ*, *ɯkw*

This proves again that all of these must be considered as double consonants (see § 4).

Besides this, the following do not occur as the first member of a medial cluster:

k,[3] *q*,[4] *řˑ*, *h*.

The medial cluster *tr* occurs in some derivations of the loan-word *trêˈnˑnon* (Russian средне).

gatrêˈnˑnontaˈlen they went to Sredne Kolymsk

The following do not occur as second member of a cluster:

sˑ, *nˑ*, [5]

The consonantic medial clusters that have been found are contained in the following table, in which dashes indicate inadmissible clusters.

	p	*t*	*k*	*q*		*č*	*m*	*n*	*ñ*	*v*	*l*	*r*, *ř*	*y*	*w*	*h*
p	*pp*	*pt*	*pk*	*pq*	*pǫ*	*pč*		—	—		*pl*	*pr*	*py*		
t		*tt*	*tk*	*tq*		*tč*	—	—	—	*tv*	—	(*tr*) —	*ty*	*tw*	*th*
ǫ	—	*ǫt*		*ǫq*	*ǫǫ*	*ǫč*	—	*ǫn*	—	—	*ǫl*	*ǫr*	*ǫy*	—	
ˈ		*ˈt*	*ˈk*	*ˈq*	*ˈǫ*		*ˈm*	*ˈn*	*ˈñ*		*ˈl*	*ˈr*			
č	—	—	—	—		*čč*	—	—		*čv*	—	— —			*čh*
sˑ	*sˑp*		*sˑk*	*sˑq*				*sˑn*							
m	*mp*	*mt*	*mk*	*mq*	*mǫ*	*mč*	*mm*	*mn*	*mñ*		*ml*	*mr*	*my*	*mw*	
n	*np*	*nt*	*nk*	*nq*	—	*nč*	*nm*	*nn*	—	*nv*	*nl*	(*nr*) *nř*	*ny*		
nˑ	*nˑp*		*nˑk*	*nˑq*	*nˑǫ*		*nˑm*		*nˑñ*	*nˑv*		— —			
ñ	—	—	*ñk*	*ñq*	*ñǫ*	—		—	*ññ*	—	—	— —	—	—	
	lp	*lt*	*lk*	*lq*	—		*lm*			*lv*	—		*ly*	*lw*	*lh*
r		—	*rk*		*rǫ*	—		—		*rv*	—	*rr*	—	*rw*	
y	*yp*	—			*yǫ*		*ym*	—	*yñ*		—	— —			
w		*wt*	(*wk*)	*wq*	*wǫ*		*wm*	*wn*		—		*wr*	—	*ww*	

[1] Except *tˑh*.
[2] Except *ndˑ*.
[3] Except *kk*, and in one case *kr*, which is probably an affricative *q*.
[4] Except *qq*.

§ 6. *Vocalic Contraction*

When sounds that form inadmissible combinations come into contact through composition, phonetic changes occur.

(1) Of two weak or strong vowels in contact, the first one is elided.

qaʟ-aa'čêk < *qaʟê'-aa'čêk* lazy boy
ä^ɛq-u'ttuut < *ä^ɛqä-u'ttuut* bad wood

(2) Obscure *ɪ*, *ᴇ*, *ŭ*, *ᴀ*, *ä*, *a^ɛ*, following another vowel are elided. The glottal stop is always retained.

añqa-nna'n < *añqa'-ᴇnna'n* sea-fish
g̥a̯pḁu'lê̯n < *g̥a̯-ŭpḁ'ulê̯n* he drank
če'ri^ɛl < *če'ri-ä^ɛ'ʟel* muddy snow
ñeu^ɛ'ttɪn < *ñe'u-a^ɛ'ttɪn* female dog

§ 7. *Medial Consonantic Processes*

When two consonants come into contact, certain changes occur. The consonants given on the left-hand side form, when followed by the consonants at the head of the columns, the following combinations:

			p	*m*	*v*	*w*	*t*	*n*	*č*	*y*	*r*	*ł*	*k*	*ñ*	*q*	*g̥*
p	*forms*	*with*						*mn*						*mñ*		
v	*forms*	*with*											*wkw*			
w	*forms*	*with*			*wkw*	*wkw*				*wg̥*						{*wkw* / *wg̥*
t	*forms*	*with*		*nm*				*nn*		*č·*	*rr*	*ʟ*		*n·ñ*		{*th* / *ty*
n	*forms*	*with*								*nd·*	{*nr* / *nř*			*n·ñ*		*n·g̥*
č	*forms*	*with*	*s·p*	{*s·m* / *nm*			} *tt*	{*s·n* / *nn*			}*rr*	*ʟ*	*s·k*	*čh*	*s·q*	*čh*
y	*forms*	*with*					*g̥t*	*g̥n*	*g̥č*		*g̥r*	*g̥l*				
r	*forms*	*with*					*tt*	*nn*	*tč*	*č·*		{*ʟ̥* / *ʟ̥*				
l	*forms*	*with*							{*ǰ* / *ly*		}*rr*	{*ʟ* / *ʟ̥*		*lh*	{*lq* / *s·q*	*lh* / *ly*
k}	*form*	*with*	*wp*	*wm*	*wkw*	*wkw*	*g̥t*	*g̥n*		*g̥g̥*	*g̥r*	*g̥l*	*g̥k*	{*g̥ñ* / *ññ*	*g̥q* / *qq*	*wkw* / *g̥g̥*
ñ	*forms*	*with*	*mp*	*wm*	*mv*	*mw*	*nt*	*g̥n*	*nč*	{*nd·* / *ny*	*nr* / *nř*}	*nl*				
q	*forms*	*with*	*ᵉp*	*ᵉm*	*ᵉv*	*ᵉw*	*ᵉt*	*ᵉn*	*ᵉč*	*ᵉy*	*ᵉr* / *ᵉř*	*ᵉl*	*ᵉk*	*ᵉñ*	(*ᵉq*)	*ᵉg̥*

These changes may be summarized in part as follows:

(1) Voiceless labial and dental stops before nasals become nasals.

(2) *k* and *g̥* before labials become *w*; with *v* and *w*, they form a labialized *k*.

(3) *k*, *g̥*, and *y* before dentals become *g̥*.

(4) q before consonants becomes $^{\varepsilon}$; only qq occurs.

(5) $\tilde{n}$ before labials becomes m; before dentals, n.

(6) $\check{c}$ before labials, palatals, and n, becomes $s^{\cdot}$. When l replaces $\check{c}$, it is treated in the same manner.

(7) Dentals before palatals are palatalized.

(8) w with following r, m, and sometimes also with g, forms labialized k.

(9) y following r, m, and g, becomes g.

(10) t ($\check{c}^{\cdot}$), and r with following y, form $\check{c}^{\cdot}$.

(11) l with following y forms $\check{j}^{\cdot}$, or ly.

(12) t, $\check{c}$, and (r) with following r form rr.

(13) (t), $\check{c}$, and r with following t form tt.

(14) $\tilde{n}$ with following n and $\tilde{n}$ forms gn and $g\tilde{n}$.

(15) n and $\tilde{n}$ with following y form $nd^{\cdot}$.

(16) n and $\tilde{n}$ with following r form often $n\check{r}$.

(17) t, $\check{c}$, r, and l with following l form $ɬ$. The last two with following l also form $ɮ$.

(18) l with following r forms rr.

(19) l with following $\tilde{n}$ forms lh.

(20) r with following n forms nn.

(21) r with following $\check{c}$ forms $t\check{c}$.

(22) k with following k and q form gk and gq.

(23) k and g with following $\tilde{n}$ form $\tilde{n}\tilde{n}$.

(24) k with following g forms gg; with following gu, wkw (u).

(25) g with following q forms qq.

(26) l and t with following g form lh, ly, and th, ty.

Examples:

pn > mn (1)	$gemnɛ'lin$ whetted < ge-$pnɛ'$-lin
	$valamna'lɪn$ < $vala$-$pna'lɪn$ the knife-whetter 44.4
	$rɪmnɛ'pŭ$ from the inner skin ($rɪ'pɪn$ inner skin)
pn > $mñ$ (1)	$gɪttɛ'mñew$ < $gɪttɛ'p$-$ñew$ clever woman
	$namñɪlo'a^{\varepsilon}n$ < na-$pñɪlo'$-$a^{\varepsilon}n$ they asked him 66.24
tn > nn (1)	$mɪni'nnɪk$ < $mɪn$-$i't$-$mɪk$ let us be! 57.1
	$ni'lqän$-$muri$ < $nɪ$-$yɪ'lqät$-$muri$ we slept
	$na'nmua^{\varepsilon}n$ < na-tmu-$ä^{\varepsilon}n$ they killed it 8.2
	$mnɛ'wkwɛnmɪk$ < mn-$ɛ'wkwɛt$-$mɪk$ let us go away! 17.8
tn > nn (1)	$ɛi'miннin$ < $ɛi'mit$-nin he took it 117.9
$t\tilde{n}$ > $n^{\cdot}\tilde{n}$ (1, 7)	$rɛi'lqän^{\cdot}ñɪt$ < $rɛ$-$yɪ'lqät'ñɪt$ they will sleep
	$gɛn^{\cdot}ñi'ulin$ < $gɛ$-$tñiu$-lin he sent it 104.10 (cf. 19.1; 104.3)
kp > wp (2)	$mŭwpe'nvel$ < $mŭkpe'nvel$ many two-year-old reindeer-bucks

km > *wm* (2)	*mŭwmo̯'o̯qo̯r* < *mŭk-mo̯'o̯qo̯r* many pack-reindeer
kv > *wkw* (2)	*pičawkwa'gliñin* < *pič̌a'k-va'gliñin* boot-grass (i. e., grass insole)
kw > *wkw* (2)	*mŭwkwê't·ho̯u* < *mŭk-wê't·ho̯w* (too) many words
g̣p > *wp* (2)	*ê̯w-pê̯ro̯'rkin* < *ê̯g̣-pê̯ro̯'rkin* he looks wolf-like
g̣m > *wm* (2)	*e̯ɪe̯'w-mɪ'tqämɪt* < *e̯ɪe̯'g̣-mɪ'tqämɪt* sweet blubber (honey)
	čê̯'wmo̯ak < *čê̯g̣-mo̯ak* egg-shell
g̣v > *wkw* (2)	*a̯ɪa̯'wkwo̯'no̯u* < *a̯ɪa̯'g̣-vo̯'no̯u* chewing-gum (lit. sweet gum)
g̣w > *wkw* (2)	*a̯la̯wkwê't·hau* < *a̯la̯g̣-wê't·hau* sweet talk
kt > *g̣t* (3)	*u̯wi̯'g tɪmnê̯'n* < *u̯wi̯'k tɪmnê̯'n* she killed herself 72.27
kn > *g̣n* (3)	*mŭg̣-ne̯'nnet* < *mŭk-ne̯'nnet* many otter (skins)
kr > *g̣r* (3)	*mŭg̣-re̯ᵉ'w* < *mŭk-re̯ᵉ'w* many whales
kl > *g̣l* (3)	*mŭg̣ li̯'gli̯g* < *mŭk-li̯'gli̯g* many eggs
yt > *g̣t* (3)	*čo̯g̣-ta̯i̯'o̯čhin* < *co̯i-ta̯i̯'o̯č-hin* tea-bag
yn > *g̣n* (3)	*mo̯'g̣nɪ* < *mo̯i̯'-nɪ* property piled up outside of house.
	ñe̯'gnɪ < *ñe̯i'-nɪ* mountain
yč > *g̣č* (3)	*ve̯ᵉg̣-čv'rmɪn* < *ve̯ᵉi-čv'rmɪn* grass border
yr > *g̣r* (3)	*va̯ᵉg̣ra̯n* < *va̯ᵉɪ-ra̯n* grass house
yl > *g̣l* (3)	*va̯ᵉ'gli̯ñin* < *va̯ᵉ'ɪ-li̯ñin* grass
q before consonants > ᵋ (4)	*na̯rko̯ᵉ'gŭo̯pŭ* < *ne̯rkŭq-gŭo̯pŭ* from the swan
	a̯ᵉne̯ê̯'po̯ŭ < *a̯'qn-ê̯o̯pŭ* from the fish-hook
	ma̯ᵉmê̯'ĭo̯pŭ < *mäqmê̯-ĭo̯pŭ* from the arrow
	g̣e̯ᵉli̯'ke̯ɪi̯n < *g̣e̯-qli̯'ke̯t-li̯n* he has married

A few stems, when preceding consonants, change *q* to ᵋ, and their vowels become subject to ablaut.

	te̯ᵋ < *tɪq* to cast metal
	ye̯ᵋ < *yɪq* quick
	me̯ᵋ < *mɪq* small
For instance:	*tɪ'qɪrkɪn* he casts metal
	te̯ᵋ'ni̯n he has cast it
ñp > *mp* (5)	*tampêra'ê* < *tañ-pêra'ê* he appeared well
	g̣e̯mpe̯'li̯n < *g̣e̯-ñpe̯'-li̯n* they landed 12.9
ñv > *mv* (5)	*ta̯m-va̯'ɪrgɪn* < *ta̯ñ-va̯'ɪrgɪn* good being, good state of things
ñw > *mw* (5)	*ta̯m-wo̯añê̯'ɪrgɪn* < *ta̯ñ-wa̯añê̯'ɪrgɪn* good work
ñt > *nt*	*ra̯nto̯'a̯ᵋt* < *ra-ñto'-a̯ᵋt* they went out 56.8
ñč > *nč*	*ta̯n-ča̯i* < *ta̯ñ-ča̯i* good tea

ñy > *ny*	*tẹlẹ'n-yẹ'p* < *tẹlẹ'ñ-yẹ'p* long time ago
ñr > *nř*	*tẹlẹ'n-řẹmkɪn* < *tẹlẹ'ñ-řẹ'mkɪn* ancient people
	tan-řa'n < *tañ-ra'n* a good house; but *tạn-rọọlgạl* < *tạñ-rọ'ọlgạl* good food
ñl > *nl*	*ten-le'ut* < *teñ-le'ut* good, clever head
čp > *s·p* (6)	*mạs·-pạ'ạê̯ᵉ* < *mạč-pạ'ạê̯ᵉ* he seemed to cease
čm > *s·m* (6)	*mẹs·-kịrpị's·-mịč* < *mẹs·-kịrpị'č-mịč* of about the size of a cake of brick tea; but also *mẹs·-kịrpị'n-mịč*
čn > *s·n* (6)	*mes·ni'mpäqin* < *meč-ni'mpäqin* somewhat slow; but also *mennɪ'mpäqin*
čk > *s·k* (6)	*kịrpị's·kịn* < *kịrpị'čkịn* belonging to a cake of brick-tea; but from *va'ᴇñqač* THERE is derived the adjective *vaᴇñqa'tkên*
čq > *s·q* (6)	*kirpi's·qäi* < *kirpi'č-qäi* small piece of brick-tea (see 29.8)
nñ > *n·ñ* (7)	*qun·ñe'ekɪk* < *qun-ñe'ekɪk* single daughter (see, however, *qun-ñe'ekɪk* 29.8)
nḡ > *n·ḡ* (7)	*qon-ḡɪtka'ta* < *qon-ḡɪtka'ta* one-legged
lq > *s·q*, when *l* replaces a *č*	*wu's·quus·* < *wu'lquul* darkness
wv > *wkw* (8)	*rạạnạwkwạ'ɪrḡɪn* < *rạạ'nạw-vạ'ɪrḡɪn* straight acting
	lạu'lạwkwạ'ɪrḡạ < *lạu'lạu'-vạ'ɪrḡạ* by mischievous being 117.21
ww > *wkw* (8)	*ñạwkwạñê̯'ɪrḡɪn* < *ñạw-wạñê̯'ɪrḡɪn* female work
wḡ > *wkw* (8)	*tɪmạrạ'wkwạᵉk* < *tɪmạrạu'-ḡạᵉk* I quarreled
	ẹimẹ'wkwị̯ᵉ < *ẹimẹ'u-ḡị̯ᵉ* it approached 9.12
vy > *vḡ* (9)	*nuvgê̯'ntọqê̯nạt* < *n-vyị̯-ñtọ-qị̯nẹt* their breath went out 34.6
wy > *wḡ* (9)	*ạwḡọ'lɪkạ* < *ạ̈-wyọl-kạ̈* without assistant 124.5
	ñạ'wḡê̯l < *ñạw-yê̯l* female cousin
ḡy > *ḡḡ* (9)	*êḡḡa'ɪlhɪn* < *êᵉḡ-ya'ɪlhɪn* wolf's paw
	ạʟạ'ḡḡạn < *ạʟạ'ḡyạn* the sweet one
ty > *č·* (10)	*yɪ'lqạč·ạn* < *yɪ'lqạt-yạn* the sleeper
ry > *č·* (10)	*ko'č·o* < *ko'r-yọ* the one bought
ly > *ǰ·* or remains unaltered (11)	*a'lkɪǰ·o* < *a'lkɪlyọ* the one recognized. The unaltered form occurs also.
tr > *rr* (12)	*ḡɪr-ra'ttam* < *ḡɪt-ra'ttam* thin curried reindeer-skin
čr > *rr* (12)	*marra'ᴇñkɪ* < *mač-ra'ᴇñki* somewhat back of you
čt > *tt* (13)	*mạt-tọrê̯'tu-wạ'lɪn* < *mạč-tọrê̯'tu-wạ'lɪn* somewhat crazy
	mạ'ñê̯nqạt-tạê̯ᵉ < *mạ'ñê̯nqạč-tạê̯ᵉ* in what direction he moved on

rt > *tt* (13)	*tut-tei'kɪk* < *tur-tei'kɪk* newly made
ñn > *ġn* (14)	*teġ-ne'lhɪn* < *teñ-ne'lhɪn* good skin
ññ > *ġñ* (14)	*teġ-ñe'us·qät* < *teñ-ñe'us·qät* good woman 62.13
ny > *nd·* (15)	*mɪndi'lqänmɪk* < *mɪnyɪ'lqänmɪk* let us go to sleep!
	ä^{ɛ}'ndilhä^{ɛ}n < *ä'nyɪlhä^{ɛ}n* let us give it to him!
ñy > *ñd·* (15)	*tand·a'n* < *tañ-ya'n* a good one
nr > *nř* (16)	*ñu̯'nři* < *ñu̯'nri̯* there (to the right or to the left side from the speaker)
tl > ʟ (17)	*ġe̯'lqäʟi̯n* < *ġe̯'-lqät-li̯n* he departed
ƚl > ʟ (17)	*maʟŭ'mñuñ-va'lɪn* < *mač-lŭ'mñuñ-va'lɪn* somewhat lazy
rl > ʟ (17)	*tu̯ʟu̯^{ɛ}'k* < *tu̯r-lu̯^{ɛ}'k* just on seeing it
ll > ʟ (17)	*a^{ɛ}tto'oʟa'ut* < *a^{ɛ}tto'ol-la'ut* front head (the star Arcturus)
	ġe̯ne̯'ʟi̯n < *ġe̯-ne'l-li̯n* he has become 116.21
lr > *rr* (18)	*ġɪrġo̯'r-ra̯'mkɪn* < *ġɪrġo'l-ra'mkɪn* "upper people" (i. e., the beings supposed to live in the world above)
lñ > *lh* (19)	*ġe'lhɪlin* > *ġe'lñɪlin* (auxiliary verb, active)
rn > *nn* (20)	*tu̯n-ne̯'lhɪn* < *tu̯r-ne̯'lhɪn* new tea
rč > *tč* (20)	*tŏ̯t-ča̯i̯* < *tŏ̯r-ča̯i̯* new tea
	walka'tčiñɪn < *walka'r-čiñɪn* the jaw-bone house 59.8
kk > *ġk* (22)	*mŭġ-kuke'ñɪ* < *mŭk-kuke'ñɪ* numerous kettles, a number of kettles
kq > *ġq* (22)	*mŭg-qora'ñɪ* < *mŭk-qora'ñɪ* a number of reindeer
kñ > *ññ* (23)	*pe̯'ĕčvañ-ña'lvŭl* < *pe'ĕčvak-ña'lvul* one-year reindeer-herd
ġñ > *ññ* (23)	*čĕñ-ñɪto'rkɪn* < *čĕġ-ñɪto'rkɪn* egg goes out; i. e., young bird hatches
kg > *wkw* (24)	*mŭkwui̯'ġun* < *mŭk-gui̯'ġun* many block-houses
kġ > *ġg* (24)	*mŭg-ġa'ʟe* < *mŭk-ġa'ʟe* many birds
ġq > *qq* (only in suffixes) (25)	*^{e}i^{ɛ}qqäi* < *^{e}i^{ɛ}g-qäi* little wolf; but *^{e}i^{ɛ}g-quli'qul* wolf's voice
lg > *ly* (26)	*ne'lyi^{ɛ}* it became 9.11
tġ > *ty* (26)	*ri'tyä^{ɛ}* thou shalt be

§ 8. *Auxiliary Vowels*

(1) When clusters of more than two consonants are formed by composition, the clusters are broken up by an auxiliary vowel, ordinarily *ɪ*.

Before *w*, *v*, the auxiliary vowel is *u*.

Before or after a *p* which forms part of a consonantic cluster, the auxiliary vowel is *ŭ*. §8

Before or after *q*, the auxiliary vowel is *ä*.

tɪ'mk-ɪ-le'ut (*tɪ'mkɪlgi-le'ut* R 278) hummock-head
i'tč-ɪ-pɪlvɪ'ntɪn precious metal (i. e., gold)
ḡêl-ɪ'-tkɪn-ɪ-k on the top of the sea-ice 9.1
ña'lvŭl-ɪ-čhɪn the herd 79.6, see also *ña'lvîlîčhɪn* 32.11
e̯le̯u't-ɪ-kä̯ without head 47.8 (<*e̯-le̯wt-kä̯*)
i'tč-u-wil precious ware
ê̯ul-u-wḁ'lḁt long knives 15.2 (<*i̯wl+vḁlḁt*)
n-ɪ'-np-ŭ-qin old one
n-ŭ-plu'qin small one 10.2
lê̯la̯npɪnḁ'čhäqa̯i eyes (had) the small old man
n-i'tč-ä-qin heavy, dear

(2) Consonants that can not form clusters—like ʟ, ḷ, *wkw*, *d*, *d·*, *t·*, *č·*, *ǰ*, *ǰ·*—take also auxiliary vowels when in contact with other consonants.

mu'ʟɪmul blood 117.12
tɪ'ʟ-ɪ-tɪl the entrance 105.15
mɪnḡɪ'ʟɪnɪn hand 57.10
ḡa'ḷɪlên he entered into the sleeping-room 109.22
ḡe̯'wkuʟi̯n they have tied him up 20.10 (<*ḡe-wkut-lin*)

(3) When two consonants forming a cluster come to stand in final position, an auxiliary vowel is introduced.

pɪ'ñɪl news
pŭ'kɪl big bowl
evi'rɪt dresses 7.8

In some cases, however, there is a terminal obscure vowel, which is derived from an older, stronger vowel.

ḡa'ʟᴇ bird (stem *ḡḁlhḁ*)
ri'rkɪ walrus (stem *rɪrkḁ*)
ve'ʟᴇ raven (stem *ve̯lve̯*)
kɪ'rñɪ buck, male (stem *kɪrñe̯*)

§ 9. *u, w*

Short, obscure *u* may change to *w* or *v*.

tu̥'urkɪn thou sayest	*tu̥'wtuw* word	*ḡa̯'tvɪlê̯n* he has said
r̥u'urkɪn thou splittest	*r̥u'wḡo̥* the split one	*ḡa̯'r̥vɪlê̯n* he has split
ru̥'urkɪn thou scrapest	*ru'w̥ḡo̥* the scraped one	*ḡa'nv̥ĭ̥lên* he has scraped
ru̯'urkɪn thou displacest	*ru'wḡo̥* displaced	*ḡe'nv̥ɪlin* he has displaced
ro̥'orkɪn thou pluckest	*ro̥'wḡo* plucked	*ḡeiḡo'lên* he has plucked

§ 10. *Intervocalic Elision*

(1) Intervocalic *w*, *y*, (*ĭ*), and *g̣* are either much weakened or drop out altogether. This happens particularly when the vowels preceding and following these sounds are alike. After an elision, the two vowels are often assimilated.

ñe'ekɪk < *ñew-ekɪk* daughter
g̣a̯a̯la̯'lê̯n < *g̣a̯g̣a̯la̯'lê̯n* he has passed by
g̣aa'lhɪʟên < *g̣aya'lhɪʟên* he has moved away
muwa'qθaᵉk < *muwa'qθg̣aᵉk* let me sit down!
ya'ɪlhɪn and *ya'g̣ilhɪn* foot
mɪtɪ'nmuut < *mɪt-ɪ-tmŭ-g̣ɪt* we killed thee 10.12
pe'g̣tu-u'rg̣ɪrg̣ɪn < *pe'g̣tɪ-wu'rg̣ɪrg̣ɪn* runner-noise 32.10
čime'erkɪn < *čime'tɪrkɪn* thou creakest

(2) *ɪ*+*y* followed by a vowel, and *y*+*ɪ* preceded by *e* and *ɪ*, form neutral *i* (see § 2, p. 644). The preceding *ɪ* is assimilated by this neutral *i*.

g̣e̯'iʟi̯n < *g̣e̯'yɪʟi̯n* given
tio̯'lhɪn < *tɪyo̯'lhɪn* vein
qia̯'lhɪn and *qɪya̯'lhɪn* heel
g̣e̯i'lqäʟi̯n < *g̣e̯-yɪ'lqä̯ʟi̯n* he slept
mi'ilhɪt < *mɪ'yɪlhɪt* I will give thee

§ 11. *Phonetic Influences between Words*

The changes described in §§ 6–10 occur not only in word composition, but also between the end and beginning of words that form parts of a syntactic unit.

g̣ŭmni'n ewkwewkwala'êᵉ < *g̣ŭmni̯'n e̯'wkwe̯w g̣a̯la̯'ê̯ᵉ* my left-hand driving-reindeer passed by
yaᵉ'ran mu̯'ri nan·ñênai'pŭ-mθ'rê < *yaᵉ'rat mu'ri* we grew too angry (*yaᵉ'rat* too much; *mu̯'ri* we; *an·ñênai'pŭ* to become angry)
ᴇnne'n· ŭm äᵉlqe'm ñɪto̯'ê̯ᵉ < *äᵉlqe'p ñɪto'êᵉ* a nail went out (*ᴇnne'n·* one; *äᵉlqe'p* nail; *nto̯*, *-ñɪto̯* to go out; *-i̯ᵉ* 3d per. sing.)
nɪ'mnɪmɪǰ·-a'lhɪtyaᵉt < *nɪ'mnɪmɪt ya'lhɪtyäᵉt* the neighboring camp moved away

Sometimes *ñ* or *t* is inserted between two vowels—one terminal, the next initial—that come together in a sentence.

tele'g̣-viᵉ'tä-ñ-i'irkɪn gradually dying he is

Such insertions, as well as the assimilation of sounds belonging to different words, are used with a great deal of freedom.

§ 12. *Initial Consonantic Clusters*

I have found the following initial consonantic clusters:

Initial sound	Second sound					
	č	m	n	ñ	r	l
p	pč		*pn*	*pñ*	pr	pl
t			*tn*	*tñ*	tr	
k		*km*			*kr*	*kl*
q				*qñ*	*qr*	*ql*
g					gr	
m			mn	mñ	mr	ml
n					nr	
ñ						ñl

It appears from this table that the stops and nasals, with following nasal *r* and *l*, are the only admissible classes of initial clusters, and not all the combinations of these are found. The combination *pč* seems exceptional in this series. Combinations which occur in initial but not in medial position are printed in italics.

Examples:

pr interjection 88.17
pre'rem meat pudding
plägi' that is all 107.21
pla'kılhın boot
pčêgtuwa'rkın thou takest off the boots
pné'rkın thou whettest it
pño'rkın thou imbibest
tni'rkın thou sewest
tñaırgê'tı to the dawn 135.16
traya'aa$^{\varepsilon}$n shall I use it? 93.19
trennike'wkwä$^{\varepsilon}$n I shall do to it 99.10
kmi'ñäqäi small son 126.11
krı'tkın upper course of a river
kloka'lhın a kind of berry
qra'qu to the disowning 94.30
qres'qi'wkwi$^{\varepsilon}$ gıt enter! 102.35
qla'ulqai little man 9.6
gro'ê$^{\varepsilon}$ she brought forth 104.8
mlé'rkın thou breakest
mñe-eñe'ñılın sacrificing-shaman 42.5
mné'wkwenmık let us go away! 17.8
mra'gtia$^{\varepsilon}$k I shall go home 99.2
mra'yo$^{\varepsilon}$ñın shall we visit him? 108.10

nre'q-i-gɪt what dost thou want? 125.6
ñle'n·ñlet flame
*qñaunra'gtatyê*ᵉ take wife home 115.8

Since many stems consist of consonantic clusters that are not admissible either medially or initially, a great number of very curious phonetic changes of stems occur, either by consonantic assimilation or dissimilation, or by the insertion of auxiliary vowels. Since these changes are not so frequent in Koryak, the latter dialect often shows the original form of the stem, which can not be recognized from the Chukchee forms alone. I will give here examples of a series of phonetic changes of this type.

(1) Medial modifications.

Initial cluster of stems		
Initial form	Probable stem	Medial form
pn	**pn*	*mn*
tn	**tn*	*nn*
tñ	**tñ*	*n·ñ*
km	**km*	*wm*
ql	**ql*	*ˁl*

(2) In the second group the stem, when in initial position, loses the first sound of the consonantic cluster.

Initial form	Probable stem	Medial form
k	**rk*	*rk*
p	**lp*	*lp*
k	**lk*	*lk*
q	**lq*	*lq*
l	**tl*	*tɪl*
k and *tɪk*	**tk*	*tɪk*
w	**wk̆w*	(*wkw*)
v	**tv*	(*tv*)

(3) In a few cases a substitution of sounds occurs, partly due to the phonetic laws described before.

Initial	Probable stem	Medial
r	**r*	*n*[1]
ɣ	**ɣ*	*h, y*

[1] Not in all cases.

(4) In a great many cases an auxiliary vowel is introduced between the members of the cluster.

Initial	Probable stem	Medial
pr and *pɪr*	**pr*	*pr*
pŭk	**pk*	*pk*
pɪñ	**pñ*	*mñ*
v and *tuw*	**tv*	*tv*
tɪtt	**tt*	*tt*
k and *tɪk*	**tk*	*tk*
tɪl	**tl*	*l*
kɪt	**kt*	*gt*
yɪt	**yt*	*ǥt*
kɪy	**ky*	*ǥǥ*
tɪm	**tm*	*nm*
ǥɪt	**ǥt*	*ǥt*
mŭk	**mk*	*mk*
ñɪp	**ñp*	*mp*
ñɪt	**ñt*	*nt*
ño	**ñv*	*mg*
rɪǥ	**rǥ*	*rǥ*
ǥɪl	**ǥl*	*ǥl*
tr or rɪr	**rr*	*rr*
qɪy	**qy*	*ˢy*
vŭ(i)	**vy*	*vǥ*
wɪy	**wy*	*wǥ*
lɪl	**ll*	*ʟ*
yu	**yǥ*	*ɣǥ*
čuw	**čv*	*čv*
lɪñ	**lñ*	*lh*

Stem

**pne* *pnǥ'rkɪm* thou whettest it *ninemnǥ'qi̯n* she whetted it 44.4

**tni* *tni'rkɪm* thou sewest it *ǥe'nnilin* he sewed

**tñi* *tñi'urkɪm* thou sendest it *ǥen'ñiu'lin* he sent it

**kmiñet* *kmiñe'tɪrkɪn* she brings forth *ǥewmi'ñeʟin* she brought forth

qli'kkin twenty (lit., that of a man) *eˢlikkeu'kĔlin* nineteen (lit., one lacking to a man)

**rkɪle* or **rkele* *kɪle'nnin* he followed them 50.8 *ǥerkele'lin* she followed him 37.1

**rkur* *ku'rɪrkɪm* thou buyest it *ǥe'rkuɻin* he bought

**rkipl* *kɪ'plɪnên* she struck her 86.5 *ǥa'rkɪplɪlên* he had struck 86.7

**lpɪnř* *pi'nřɪrkɪn* thou givest to him *ǥalpɪ'nřɪlên* he gave *nɪlpɪ'nřɪqênat* they gave them 14.3

Stem		
**lpinit* or **lpɪnit*	*pinï'irkɪn* thou bindest him	*nelpinï'tyä^{ɛ}n* they bound him 8.1
**lqät*	*qä'tyi^{ɛ}* he left 100.16	*ge̥'lqäɪin* he left 59.1
**lqäin*	*qäineu'nin* he shot at it 78.13	*nɪlqäineu'nin* they shot 78.10
**tku*	*ku'rkɪn* thou consumest it	*ge̥'tkulin* he consumed it 7.2
**wkut*	*wuti'lhɪn* tying stick 104.24	*ge̥'wkuɪi̥n* they had tied him 20.10
**tva*	*vḁ'rkɪn* he is 125.2	*qatva'rkɪn* stay! 57.3
**tvêtča*	*vêtča'rkɪn* he stands	*ge̥atvê'tčalên* he stood
	wêtča'lɪn standing 48.3	*nɪtvê'tčaqên* he stood 48.1
**pr*	*pɪ'rgä^{ɛ}n* thou hast plucked it	*ge̥'prɪlin* plucked out
	prɪ'rkɪn he tears out	*ne̥'priä^{ɛ}n* they tore off 30.7
**pkir*	*pŭki'rgä^{ɛ}t* they came 64.2	*ge̥'pki̥i̥n* he came 8.6
**pñlo*	*pɪnlo'nên* he asked him 80.3	*namñɪlo'a^{ɛ}n* they asked him 66.24
**tvu*	*ty̥'wnên* she promised it 49.6	*ge̥a'tvy̥lên* he promised 101.21
**ttu*	*tɪttu'rkɪn* he blows	*gettu'lin* he blowed
**tle*	*tɪle'ä^{ɛ}t* they moved 64.9	*mɪnle'ge̥it* let me move thee! 89.7
**tkê*	*tɪkê'rkɪn* thou smellest of	*ge̥a'tkêlên* he smelled
**yto*	*yɪty̥'nên* he pulls it out 45.2	*ge̥agto'lên* he had been pulled out 42.8
**kyeu*	*kɪye'wkwi^{ɛ}* he awoke 55.8	*ge̥ge̥geu'lin* he awoke 55.3
**tm̥*	*tɪmnê'n* he killed him 43.11	*na'nmua^{ɛ}n* they killed him 8.2
**gtiñ*	*ge̥ɪti'n-lu'lqäl* pretty face	*nɪ'gtiñqin* he is pretty
**mk*	*mŭ'kɪčɪm* more numerous 12.3	*nŭ'mkäqin* numerous 12.7
**ñpe*	*ñipe'ä^{ɛ}t* they came ashore 7.8	*ge̥mpe'li̥n* they landed 12.9
**ñto*	*ñɪto'e^{ɛ}* he went out 56.4	*ge̥anto'lên* he has gone out 8.4

Stem		
**ñt*	*ñɪtɪ'rkɪn* it detaches itself	*ge'ntɪlɪn* it has detached itself
**ñvo*	*ño'orkɪn* he begins	*gamge'lên* he has begun
**rg*	*ri'gɪrkɪn* he digs out	*ge'rgɪlin* he has dug out
**g'lo*	*gɪlo'lên* the one sorrowing 27.12	*nɪglo'qên* she sorrowed 27.10
**rr*	*rɪ'rɪg* untying 63.12	*nerri'net* they were untied 63.11
**rrl*	*rɪrɪ'lɪrkɪn* he puts down	*gerri'ɪ·in* he has put down
	rɪrrɪ'lnin he let him go 121.33	*nerri'lhä^{e}n* they set him free 8.2
**wya*	*vŭia'arkɪn* he lets go (an animal)	*gavga'ɪ·ên* he has let go
**wyo*	*wɪ'yowi* sling	*gawgo'ta* with a sling
**llep*	*lile'pgi^{e}* he looked 7.6	*gäɪ·e'pgi^{e}* look! 79.11 (stem *liɪ·e* eye; *-p* to put on)
**ygu*	*yu'urkɪn* thou bitest it	*ge'igulin* he has bitten it
**čvi*	*čuwi'pɪt* piece cut off 72.19	*nine'čviqin* they cut it 72.18
**lñ*	*lɪ'ñɪnrkɪn* he has him as	*tɪ'llɪgɪt* I have you as 15.8

The change from initial *r* to medial *n* occurs only in transitive verbs:

	re'urkɪn thou piercest it	*geneu'lin* he pierced
	ru'rkɪn thou eatest it	*genu'lin* he ate
but	*riñe'rkɪn* he flies	*geri'ñelin* he flew

Initial *tɪ* is sometimes replaced by *čɪ* (see § 2, p. 646).

čɪ'čɪ-čo'oča before the entrance (lit., entrance before), instead of *tɪ'ɪ·ɪ-tto'oča*.

In a number of cases stems seem to be reduplicated when initial, and lose this reduplication in medial position.

me'rɪnřę slow	*nɪ'nřeqin* the slow one (stem *nřę*)
yarg'ñɪ house	*garg'lę̂n* having a house (stem *rg*)
yorg'ñɪ sleeping-room	*garg'lę̂n* having a sleeping-room (stem *rg*)

Perhaps the initial *y* of the last two examples is derived from *r*, as in Koryak it replaces *r*.

Irregular is—

i^{e}rerkɪn he arranges a reindeer driving-match. *geri^{e}'lelin* he has arranged a reindeer driving-match

When a stem consisting of a consonantic cluster stands alone, auxiliary vowels are introduced after the initial and before the terminal consonant.

pɪ'ñɪl news (stem *pñl*)
ku'kɪl one-eyed man (stem *kkl*)

§ 13. *Pronunciation of Men and Women*

The pronunciation of the women[1] differs from that of the men. Women generally substitute *š* for *č* and *r*, particularly after weak vowels. They also substitute *šš* for *rk* and *čh*. The sounds *č* and *r* are quite frequent; so that the speech of women, with its ever-recurring *š*, sounds quite peculiar, and is not easily understood by an inexperienced ear. Women are quite able to pronounce *č* and *r*, and when quoting the words of a man,—as, for instance, in tales,—use these sounds. In ordinary conversation, however, the pronunciation of men is considered as unbecoming a woman.

Examples are—

Men's pronunciation	Women's pronunciation	
ra'mkɪčhɪn	*ša'mkɪššɪn*	people
Pa'rkala	*Pa'ššala*	by Parkal
čŭmña'ta	*šŭmña'ta*	by a buck
Čaivu'urgɪn	*Šaivu'uššɪn*	(a name)

The men, particularly in the Kolyma district, drop intervocalic consonants, principally *n* and *t*. In this case the two adjoining vowels are assimilated.

nɪtva'qaat < *nɪtva'qênat*
ǧei'miʟeet < *ǧei'miʟinet*
ti'rkiir < *ti'rkɪtir*

[1] An example of woman's pronunciation is given in my Chukchee Mythology (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, VIII, pp. 144, 145); and more fully in my Chukchee Materials pp. 121–126, Nos. 26, 27, 28.

It would seem that this process of elimination of intervocalic consonants has been very important in the development of the present form of the Chukchee (see § 10).

Among the maritime Chukchee, the men use both the fuller and shorter forms. Among all the branches of the tribe, women use only the fuller forms.

Koryak (§§ 14–18)

§ 14. *Vowels*

The system of vowels of the Koryak is considerably reduced. Corresponding to the Chukchee, we may distinguish three classes of vowels:

(1) Weak vowels *i* *ä* *u*
(2) Strong vowels *e* *o*, *ɵ*
(3) Neutral vowels *a* *ɪ* *ɛ* *a* *ŭ*

In this series, *ɵ* and *ŭ* are rare
ɵ is generally replaced by *o*
ŭ is generally replaced by *ɪ* or *a*

A comparison of the table of Koryak vowels with that of the Chukchee vowels shows that the glide *ᵉi* is missing, *e* has taken the place of *ê*, and *a* neutral that of *e* weak and *a* strong (see § 3).

Diphthongs formed with terminal *i* and *u* occur, but the *u* of the Chukchee is often replaced by *w* or *v*.

Kor. Kam. *apa̰'vekɪn* Chukchee *ŭpa̰'u̯rkɪn*

In the dialect of the Kerek, *i* often replaces strong *e*, and is a strong vowel.

Kor. Kam.	Kerek	Chukchee
me' mɪl̩ thong-seal	*mi'mɪl̩* thong-seal	*mê'mɪl* spotted seal
taññḛ'tɪ	*taññḭ'tɪ*	*taññḛ̂'tɪ* to a *taññɪn*

I have observed that the Asiatic Eskimo, when speaking Chukchee, also have a tendency to replace *ê* by *i*. They say—

mi' mɪl instead of Chukchee *mê'mɪl* spotted seal
tirga'arkɪn instead of Chukchee *têrga'arkɪn* he cries

I do not know whether this peculiarity of the Eskimo is related to that of the Kerek.

§14

§ 15. Consonants

	Stop		Affricative		Nasal		Continued	Lateral	Trill
	Surd	Sonant	Surd	Sonant	Surd	Sonant			
Labial	*p*	—	—	—	—	*m*	*v*	—	—
Alveolar	*t*	—	—	—	—	*n*	*s, c*	(*ɮ ɻ*) *ɬ l*	—
Palatalized alveolar	*t·*	*d·*	—	—	—	*n·*	*s·, č*	—	—
Palatal	*k*	—	—	—	—	*ñ*	—	—	—
Velar	*q*	*g*	—	—	—	—	*x*	—	—
Glottal	—	*ʿ*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

h, w, y,

§ 16. Comparison with Chukchee

The principal differences between this system and that of the Chukchee are found in the series of affricatives, laterals, and trills. The laterals and trills are absent in the Koryak of Kamenskoye.

(1) *č* is often replaced by *c* (in Kor. II, pronounced like English *sh*).

Koryak II *oia'kocik* Kor. 96.22 (Chukchee *uwaᵉqoče'gtɪ* Kor. 95.6)

ora'cek Kor. 102.17 (Koryak I *oya'ček* Kor. 101.1)

(2) *č·* and *ǰ·* are replaced by a strong and long *yy*.

ko'yyon the one bought (Chukchee *ko'ǰ·o*)

(3) As in Chukchee, *ɬ* is closely related to *č*, *s·*, *s*, (see § 2).

la'xlañ winter	*čᴇ'xčex* cold
gayɪ'sqata sleep! Kor. 31.8	*tɪyayɪ'ɬqatɪñ* I will sleep Kor. 31.8
pipi'kalñɪn mouse Kor. 58.7	*pipi'kča-ñaw* Mouse-Woman Kor. 23.3
vaɬvɪ'nɪtlaᵉnañ to Raven-Man Kor. 12.4	*ra'čvɪ-ña'ut* Raven-Woman Kor. 18.4

Correspondences of Koryak *ɬ* and Chukchee *č*, *s·*, *s*, and *vice versâ*, are also not rare.

Koryak *yaɬqɪ'wikɪn* he entered Kor. 13.9 (Chukchee *resqi'wkwiᵉ* 11.2)

vos·qe'tɪ to darkness Kor. 57.6 (Chukchee *wu'lqɪk* 126.1)

(4) Koryak *ɬ* is pronounced almost like Polish *ł* (Russian *л*), the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth, the posterior part of the back of the tongue being depressed at the same time. The tip of the tongue is a little farther back than in the corresponding Polish sound. This sound may be recognized even preceding an *i*.

gaviᵉ'yalin he has died (Chukchee *geviᵉ'lin*)

The ordinary post-alveolar *l* is also found.

ñaw'anpil little woman.

milya'qpil small shell Kor. 23.8

(5) The Chukchee ɻ and ɻ̣ are replaced by a sonant sound produced by contact between the tip of the tongue and the upper teeth and between the back of the tongue and the palate. The sound is continued, and accompanied by a slight trill of the back of the tongue. Although this sound replaces both ɻ and ɻ̣ of Chukchee, I have retained for it the second Chukchee symbol, ɻ̣.

(6) The Chukchee *r* is replaced in Koryak I by *y*, which, with preceding vowels, forms diphthongs.[1]

The *y* of the Koryak is always pronounced with a raising of the tip of the tongue, which gives it a somewhat sibilant, strongly aspirated effect. In Paren it sounds sometimes almost like *č*.

Kor. Kam.	Chukchee
koi'ñɪn	*koi'ñɪm* cup
va'ykɪn Kor. 13.10	*va'rkɪm* there is
nɪto'ykɪn Kor. 12.5	*ñɪto'rkɪn* he goes out
yaḷqɪ'wikɪn Kor. 13.9	*resqi'wkwi*$^{\varepsilon}$ 11.2, 19.3 he entered
ya'qɪykɪn Kor. 66.14	*re'qärkɪn* 18.6 what has happened to you?
tɪyayai'tɪñ I'll go home Kor. 30.5	*ra'ɻ̣tiê*$^{\varepsilon}$ he goes home 122.7
Paren	
ye'ḷɪ Kor. 60.1., 64.14	*če'ḷɪ* there
ya'ḷviññen	*če'ḷviññin* he will vanquish him; but *ya'ḷvuñnen* Kor. 92.20

In a number of cases *r* is replaced by *s·*, *s*, *t*, or *č*.

Koryak	Chukchee
ɻ̣ayɪ'ččalin Kor. 17.3	*ɻ̣eyɪrre'ɻ̣in* 96.21 it was full
ɻ̣a'ččɪlin Kor. 15.10	*ɻ̣e'lhɪlin* 64.4 he had him for
ɻ̣ɪčgolai'tɪ to a high place Kor. 20.1	*ɻ̣irɻ̣o'lqên* 124.1 from above
ñačñɪn Kor. 60.9	*ña'rgɪn* 49.7 outside
ɻ̣apɪ's·qalin Kor. 84.11	*ɻ̣epɪ'rqɪlin* she fell down
yɪ'ssɪk Kor. 39.2	*rɪ'rɪk* to untie something
ɻ̣ɪ'ssa Kor. 18.7	*ɻ̣ɪr* thou
ina'ssɪnañ Kor. 24.10	*ine'rrɪne* marline spike, awl (instrument to untie with)
wu'ssɪñ Kor. 30.3	*wŭ'rrɪ* on the back
-ɻ̣ɪtñ(ɪn)	*-ɻ̣ɪrg(in)* abstract noun
paḷqa'thɪtñɪn	*palqa'tirgɪn* old age

[1] I have written the *i* corresponding to Chukchee diphthongs with *i*, while for the sound corresponding to *r* I have retained *y*.

The sound *r* appears in Koryak I folk-lore as characteristic of several monsters and evil spirits. It is also used in Russian loan-words.

ka'rman pocket (from карманъ)
preka'ssek commercial agent (from прикащикъ)
ča'qar· sugar (from сахаръ)

In the last of these the *r* is palatalized.

(7) In Koryak II, *r* is used in the same way as in Chukchee, and also sometimes replaces the *ļ* of Koryak I.

ka'mak-ru (village Rekı'nnok)
ka'mak-ļu (Kamenskoye) } small image of a guardian

In other cases *r* is replaced by *t*, *s·*, *č*, as in Koryak I.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Voyampolka, Kamchatka
ti'rkıtir sun	*ti'ykıtiy* Kor. 19.3	*ti'tkıtit*
e'ñer star	*a'ñay*	*e'ñer*
mu'ri we	*mu'yi* (dual)	*mu'ri* (dual)

(8) The Chukchee *ř* is replaced by *y* or by palatalization of the preceding consonant in Koryak I, by *t* in Koryak II.

Koryak I, *ġape'nyıļen* he attacked him. Kor. 96.8 (Chukchee *pê'nřınên* Kor. 95.10, Koryak II, *ġape'ntıļen*, Kor. 96.26)

(9) In the dental series, *s* appears chiefly in place of Chukchee *r;* *č* sometimes replaces *y;* *tč* often replaces *tk.*

mıssaa'ļomı we shall hear (Chukchee *mırraa'lomı*)
čı'ļıļ tongue Kor. 56.4 (Chukchee *yi'liil* 7.10)
ġıtča't legs Kor. 57.2 (Chukchee *ġıtka't* 51.4)
qiļu'tču drum! Kor. 59.4 (Chukchee *qilu'tkui*$^{\varepsilon}$)

(10) *y* often replaces Chukchee *ġ*.

yıkča'vekın he makes haste (Chukchee *ġaiča'urkın*)
tayyeñıvo'ykın he began to cough Kor. 84.20 (Chukchee *têġġı* 102.35)

(11) *v* often replaces Chukchee *w*. Initial *v* is much more frequent than initial *w*.

vaļo'm Kor. 55.7 (Chukchee *walo'm* 32.7) to hear.

(12) *d·* of the Kamenskoye dialect is analogous to the same sound in Chukchee, and appears after palatalized *n*.

Kor. Kam. *ñaw-ı'nd·uļa$^{\varepsilon}$n* < *ñaw-ı-nyu-ļa$^{\varepsilon}$n* the one serving for a wife (stems *ñaw* woman; *nyu̯* to watch the herd)
Chukchee *ñeund·u'lın* < *ñeu-nyu-lın* (stems *ñe̯w*, *-nyu̯* [*riu̯*])

The Paren *n* in this position is simply palatalized, and we have the corresponding word *ñewɪ'nn·uḷa^{ɛ}n*.

In the same way,—

Kamenskoye *ña'nd·en*, or even *ña'nǰen* (from *ña'nyen*)
Paren *ña'n·en* that one

(13) *h* is almost a velar continuant, and after consonants sounds similar to *ġ*.

paḷqa'theñɪn and *paḷqa'tgeñɪn*
qɪya'thi Kor. 21.10 come! (Chukchee *qäye'tyi^{ɛ}* 15.11)

(14) *wġ* or *ġ^{u}* (labialized *ġ*) replaces Chukchee labialized *k*, (*wkw*).

Koryak	Chukchee
yiwġɪči'ta Kor. 32.1	*iwkuči'tä* 37.3 drinking
ġawġu'ɻin Kor. 23.4	*ga'wkuʟin* 20.10 they tied him
qakya'wġi Kor. 28.9	*qäġge'wkwi^{ɛ}* 75.31 wake up!

(15) *x* often replaces Chukchee *q*.

(16) In place of the glottal stop of Chukchee, when due to the elision of *q*, the older *q* is often retained or replaced by *x*.

čɛ'xčex cold (Chukchee *čä^{ɛ}'čeñ*)
ma'qmit arrows (dual) (Chukchee *mä^{ɛ}'mit*, plural)

The glottal stop of Koryak is always stronger than the corresponding sound of Chukchee, and has a tendency to lengthen the preceding vowel.

yō^{ɛ}'ekɪn he overtakes (Chukchee *yo^{ɛ}'rkɪn*)

(17) ' indicates a pause (glottal stop), which does not occur in Chukchee. *upɪn'ali'nin* he kicked him

(18) The marked tendency of Chukchee to lose intervocalic consonants like *y*, *ġ*, and *w* — a tendency which in the men's speech affects also *n* and *t* — is absent in Koryak; and consequently many fuller forms occur which presumably explain the frequent vocalic clusters of Chukchee. In all those cases in which the Chukchee loses intervocalic consonants, these are found in Koryak.

Kor. Kam. *tyō^{ɛ}'ġa^{ɛ}an* I overtook him (Chukchee *tɪyo^{ɛ}'a^{ɛ}n*)

Other words that retain no trace of the intervocalic consonant in Chukchee have it in Koryak.

vai'am river (Chukchee *ve'em*)
yawa'ykɪn he uses it (Chukchee *ya'arkɪn*)
a^{ɛ}'ḷa^{ɛ}ḷ axe (Chukchee *a^{ɛ}'al*, but also *a^{ɛ}lha'ttɪ*, *a^{ɛ}l-ġa'ttɪ*, *ġa'ttɪ* hatchet)
uyɪčvat to play Kor. 32 7 kchee *uučvet* 43.3)

These older forms are even more pronounced in Paren.

Kor. Paren *ei'ek* lamp	*ɪntu'welpɪy* son-in-law
Kor. Kam. *a'ak*	*ɪntu'ulpɪy*
Chukchee *e'ek*	*ɪntu'ulpɪr*

The Chukchee cluster *lh* is replaced by *l̥ñ* in Kamenskoye.

Kor. Kam. *ke'nmɪl̥ñɪn* root (Chukchee *kê'nmɪlhɪn*)

§ 17. Vocalic Ablaut

The range of the ablaut is more restricted in the Koryak of Kamenskoye than in Chukchee.

i̯ changes into *e̯*,

u̯ changes into *o̯;*

e̯i̯'wlinat they said Kor. 21.2 *e̯e̯wñɪvo̯'l̥en* he said Kor. 14.4

nu'tanut country, land *ya'nya-nota'lo* foreigners

but *a* as ablaut of *e* does not occur, both sounds being represented by a neutral *a*. The Chukchee *ê* is replaced by *e̯*, the same sound that represents the ablaut of *i̯*.

The neutral *a* is exemplified in the following words of the Kamenskoye dialect:

Kor. Kam.	Chukchee
kal̥i̯'ykɪn (stem *kal̥i̯*)	*ke̯l̥i̯'rkɪn* (stem *ke̯l̥i̯*)
nu̯'tanu̯t land (stem *nu̯ta*)	*nu̯'te̯nu̯t* (stem *nu̯te̯*)
a'kkat sons (stem *a'kka*)	*e̯'kke̯t* (stem *e̯kke̯*)
aima'wikɪn thou approachest (stem *aimaw*)	*e̯ime̯'urkɪn* (stem *e̯ime̯u*)
kama'ña dish (stem *kami̯a*)	*ke̯me̯'ni* (stem *ke̯me̯*)

Since *a* is neutral, these stems are also combined with weak vowels. For instance,

i̯'tčɪ-kama'ña heavy dish (from *i̯tčɪ* heavy, dear)

There are, however, cases in which the *a* represents the type *a̯*, which requires the ablaut,

e̯'vɪl̥-ta̯'mta̯m goitre, long tumor (stems *i̯'vɪl̥* long, *ta̯'mta̯m* tumor); Chukchee *ta̯'mta̯m*

qa̯ta̯'p–e̯'mat load of food for winter use Kor. 86.17 (stems *qa̯ta̯p* fish for winter use; *i̯mt* load); Chukchee *qata'p–ê'mɪt*

An example of the occurrence of *e̯*, corresponding to Chukchee *ê*, is—

me̯'ye̯me̯y tear (stem *me̯ye̯*); Chukchee *mê̯'rê̯mê̯r* (stem *mê̯rê̯*)

e̯ape'nyɪl̥en she attacked her, Kor. 96.8 (stem *pe̯ny*); Chukchee *pê'nřɪnên* Kor. 95.10 (stem *pê̯nř*)

Since the vowel-pair *ę̆–ą̆*, and the vowels *ę̊* and *ą̊* of Chukchee, are much more common than the *i̯* and *u̯* groups, the ablaut is not as striking a feature of Koryak as it is of Chukchee.

In the Kamenskoye dialect the ablaut of *i̯* and *u̯* is not as rigidly required as in Chukchee. Particularly in word composition the weak vowels often remain uninfluenced by the strong vowels with which they come into contact. We find, for instance,—

nąpę̆lą'-mu̯'yu̯ instead of *nąpę̆lą'-mo'yo̯* we are left.

The weak *i* of Chukchee, which is due to the contraction of *thɪ* and *čhɪ* into *ti* and *či*, does not occur, since the consonantic cluster remains unchanged.

palqa'thɪtñɪn or *palqathe'ñɪn* old age (compare Chukchee *palqa'tirgɪn* < *palqa'thɪrgɪn*)

Initial *u* inserted before *w*, labialized *k* (*wkw*), and *y*, occurs here as in Chukchee, and is neutral.

Koryak	Chukchee
uwa'tikɪn he kisses (stem *uwat*)	*ukwę̆'ę̆rkɪn* (stem *ukwę̆t*)
uyä$^{ɛ'}$quč husband (stem *uya$^{ɛ'}$qu̯č*)	*uwä̯$^{ɛ'}$qu̯č* (stem *uwä̯$^{ɛ'}$qu̯či̯*)

Several dialects of both groups of the Koryak have retained the vowels *ę̆* and *ę̊*. These have the ablaut analogous to that of the Chukchee.

Kor. Kamenskoye *gatai'kɪlin*	(stem *taikɪ*)	} he has made
Kor. Paren *gętę̆i'kɪlin*	(stem *tę̆ikɪ*)	
Chukchee *gętę̆i'kɪlin*	(stem *tę̆ikɪ*)	

§ 18. Other Phonetic Processes

Lack of Vocalic Contraction.—When two vowels come together, contraction rarely occurs.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
añqa'-nna'n < *añqa'-ɛnna'n*	*añqa'-ɛnna'n* sea-fish
ñew$^{ɛ'}$ttin < *ñew-a$^{ɛ'}$ttin*	*ñaw-a$^{ɛ'}$ttɪn* she-dog

Medial Consonantic Processes.—The alveolars *t* and *č* are not palatalized by following *g* or *h* (see § 7, 26).

Chukchee	Koryak
palqa'ti-rgɪn < *palqat-gɪrgɪn*	*palqath-e'-ñɪn* old age

ñ generally remains unchanged before other consonants.

Chukchee	Koryak
tam-pera'rkɪn < *tañ-pera'rkɪn*	*tañ-peye'ykin* he looks well
qinere'mpei^{ɛ} take meat out of kettle for me (stem *mpe*)	*kokañpalai'ke* they take meat out of kettle Kor. 27.5

k before other consonants occurs.

Chukchee	Koryak
nig̣täqên < *ni* < *ḳt-qê̯n*	*nıktä'qen* hard

The medial clusters *km*, *pñ*, *pn*, which are absent in Chukchee, occur in Koryak.

Chukchee	Koryak
g̣ewmiñe'ʟin < *g̣e-kmiñel-lin*	*g̣akmi'ñalin* she brought forth a child
amñılka < *a-pñl-ka*	*apñıḷka* no news
namñıla'tınat 78.4 < *na-pñl-atınat*	*g̣apñıḷañvo'ḷenau* they told about Kor. 26.1

Auxiliary Vowels.—The most frequent auxiliary vowel is *ı*; but *a*, which replaces Chukchee *ä*, also occurs.

Chukchee	Koryak
yara'ñi	*yaya'ña* house
nitčäqin	*ni'tčaqin* heavy

The terminal vowel *ı* in Koryak often assumes a more perceptible nasalisation than the corresponding Chukchee sound (see § 2, p. 645).

ee'tı and *ee'tıñ* to the sky Kor. 14.9, 10.

(Compare Chukchee *añqa-čormê'tı* to the seashore 67.17)

Initial Consonantic Clusters.—I have found the following initial clusters in the Koryak of Kamenskoye:

Initial sound	Second sound						
	č	*m*	*n*	*ñ*	*y*	*ḷ*	*v*
p	*pč*		*pn*	*pñ*	*py*	*pḷ*	
t			*tn*	*tñ*	*ty*		*tv*
k		*km*			*ky*	*kḷ*	
q					*qy*	*qḷ*	
g̣							
m						*mḷ*	
n						*nl*	
ñ							

It will be seen that this table agrees well with the corresponding table in Chukchee (*r* being throughout replaced by *y*), except that *tv* occurs, which is impossible in Chukchee.

Kor. Kam.	Chukchee
tvi'tikın he stands	*vêtč'a'rkın* (stem *-trêtča*)
čottai'nık-tve̯'te̯kın he stands on the outer part of the house Kor. 43.5	*g̣atvê'tčalên*
g̣atvi'lin he stood	

However, *va'ykɪn* Kor. 13.10 < *tva-ykɪn* loses its initial *t*.

The changes that occur in consonantic stems in medial and initial position are quite analogous to those of the Chukchee, except that *k* appears with following consonant in initial position. Other differences are shown in the following table:

Chukchee			Koryak		
Initial	Stem	Medial	Initial	Stem	Medial
pn	**pn*	*mn*	*pn*	**pn*	*pn*
km	**km*	*wm*	*km*	**km*	*km*
k or *tɪk*	**tk*	*tɪk*	*k* or *tɪk*	**tk*	*tč*
k	**rk*	*rk*	*k*	**yk*	*yk*
q	**lq*	*lq*	*q*	**lq*	*lq*
v or *tuw*	**tv*	*tv*	*v* or *tv*	**tv*	*tv*
pɪñ	**pñ*	*mñ*	*pɪñ*	**pñ*	*pñ*
ño	**ñv*	*mǫ*	*ñɪv*	**ñv*	*nv*
rɪǫ	**rǫ*	*rǫ*	*sh* or *yɪǫ*	**sh*	*sh*
tr or *rɪr*	**rr*	*rr*	*yɪy* / *yɪss*	**yy* / **ss*	*yy* / *ss*
wŭ (*i*)	**vy*	*vǫ*	*vɪy*	**vy*	*vy*
yu	**yǫ*	*ɨǫ*	*yɪǫ*	**l̆ǫ*	*l̆ǫ*

Examples:

pna'ŭkɪn he whets	*ǫapna'lin* he has whetted
tni'ŭkɪn thou sewest it	*ǫanni'lin* he has sewed it
tñi'rikɪn thou sendest it	*ǫañiu'lin* he has sent it
kmiña'tikɪn she brings forth	*ǫakmi'ñalin* she has brought forth
ku'yikɪn thou buyest it	*ǫaŭku'ylin* he has bought it
pɪnye'kɪn thou givest to him	*ǫalpɪ'nyeļen* he has given
qati' you left Kor. 18.5	*ǫa'lqaɹin* he has left Kor. 17.3
ku'ŭkɪn thou consumest it	*ǫa'tčulin* he has consumed it
ki'pļɪk striking Kor. 62.4	*ǫaykɪpļa'ǫɪtča* strike him! Kor. 23.8
va'ikɪn he is	*ǫa'tvaļen* he has been
vañvo'ykɪn he begins to stay Kor. 13.6	*ǫatvañvo'ļenau* they began to stay Kor. 23.1
tvi'tikɪn he stands	*ǫa'tvilin* he stood
tve'tɪk to stretch Kor. 38.8	*ǫa'tveļen* they stretched it Kor. 38.8
pyɪ'ŭkɪn thou tearest it out	*ǫapyɪ'lin* he has torn it out
piñlo'ŭkɪn thou askest him	*ǫapñɪlo'ļen* he has asked
tɪttu'ŭkɪn he blows	*ǫettu'lin* he has blown
tɪļa'ŭkɪn he moves	*ǫaļa'lin* he has moved Kor. 14.9
tɪke'ŭkɪn thou smellest of	*ǫa'tčeļen* he smelled of

yıto'ĭkın he pulls out	*ǧaĭto'ļen* he has pulled out
tıme'kın thou killest it	*ǧa'nmıļen* he has killed it Kor. 43.6
ñıto'ykın he goes out	*ǧanto'ļen* he went out Kor. 48.6
ñıvo'ĭkın he begins	*ǧanvo'ļên* he has begun Kor. 48.3
yıgĭ'kın or *shı'kin* he digs out	*ǧa'shilin* he has dug out
yı'yĭkın thou untiest it	*ǧayyı'lin* he has untied it
yı'ssik to untie Kor. 39.2	*nassĭ'ñvoǧŭm* they are untying me Kor. 39.3
yıssı'ļĭkın thou puttest down	*ǧassı'lin* he has put down
vıya'tekın he lets go (an animal)	*ǧavya'ļen* he has let go
vuyaļanñıvo'ykın a snowstorm set in Kor. 13.10	*ǧawya'lyoļen* there was a snowstorm Kor. 13.1
yıgu'ĭkın thou bitest it	*ǧaigu'lin* he has bitten
ya'wĭkın thou piercest it	*ǧana'wlin* he has pierced it
yu'kka to eat Kor. 57.1	*ǧanu'linat* they have eaten (transitive) Kor. 57.2
yu'ĭkın he eats	
yiña'ĭkın he flees	*ǧayı'ñalin* he has fled (intransitive)
ļeļapıtčoñvo'ykın he looks up Kor. 42.8	*aqaʟapñıvo'ykın* he looks bad Kor. 13.8

Irregular is—

iya^{e}'ĭkın he arranges a reindeer driving-match	*gali'ya^{e}lin* he has arranged a reindeer driving-match

Dropping of Suffixes.—It may be mentioned here that all dialects of the Koryak tend to drop the last syllables or sounds—mostly suffixes—when these are not accented

Kor. Kam. *mını'lqanmık* or *mını'lyat* (Chukchee *mını'lqännık*) let us go!

Kor. Kam. *ǧaa'ʟin*, Kor. II (village Qare'ñin) *ǧeye'ʟin* or *ǧeye'ʟı* (Chukchee *ge'eʟin*), he has come

Kor. Kam. *vi'tvitpilı*, Kor. II (village Voyampolka) *vi'tvitpi*, small seal

Kamchadal (§§ 19–23)

§ 19. *Vowels*

(1) Weak vowels *ĭ i e u ü Ë*
(2) Strong vowels *ë ê a o ö ŏ U*
(3) Neutral vowels *Ĭ E I ä A ă*
a o u

The symbols designate the same sounds as those in Chukchee.

ĭ almost like a diphthong *ie*, long; a glide from long *i* to long *o*.

ĕ like English *a* in *make*, long, lips wide apart, corners of mouth much retracted.

Ë French *eu* in *beurre*.

ö German *ö* in *öffnen*.

ü French *u* in *lune*, but harder; more like the Yakut *ÿ*.

ŏ English short *o* in *not*.

ʊ English *u* in *hut*.

ŭ as in Chukchee.

^{a}, ^{o}, ^{u} indicate the resonance of the respective vowels; for instance, in *k!tx^{a}l kŏju'i^{e}n*.

Unusual length and shortness are expressed by the macron and breve respectively.

§ 20. *Consonants*

	Stop			Affricative		Nasal	Continued		Lateral	Trill
	Surd	Fortis	Sonant	Surd	Fortis		Surd	Sonant		
Labial	*p*	*p!*	—	—	—	*m*	*f*	*v*	—	
Alveolar	*t*	—	—	—	—	*n*	*s*	*z*	*ɬ l*	*r*
				č	*č!*		*c*	*j*		
Palatized alveolar	—	—	—	—	—	*n·*	*s·*			
Anterior palatal	—	—	—	—	—	—	*x·*			
Palatal	*k*	*k!*	—	—	—	*ñ*	—			
Velar	*q*	*q!*	*ɣ*	—	—	—	*x*			
Glottal			*ɛ, '*							

w, y, h

f is rather rare; for instance, in *flič* a fish of the genus *Coregonus*.

x German *ch* in *Bach*.

x· German *ch* in *ich*.

j French *j* in *jour*, but with a weak preceding trill, somewhat like Polish *rz* in *rzeka*.

z sonant *s*, as in French *rose*.

ɬ as in Koryak.

w, *y*, always consonantic.

ɛ, ', glottal stops, the former only after short vowels, the latter after consonants, as in *viʻɬ'viɬ*.

l‘, *č*‘, *n·*‘, are pronounced with strong initial aspiration.

j, *c*, *č*, are often pronounced with the tip of the tongue in dental position, so that they attain a lisping character,—

j between *z·* and *z*
c between *s·* and *s*
č between *š·* and *š*

I am inclined to attribute this mannerism, which is affected by many individuals, to the influence of the speech of the Russian creoles and half-bloods, who have this peculiarity in the whole area between the Kolyma and the Sea of Okhotsk. In Krasheninnikoff's records there are only slight indications of this tendency.

It may be, however, that some of the older dialects had this tendency. Thus Krasheninnikoff writes (in my transcription)—

cemt (Western dialect) } earth, ground
semt (Southern dialect) }

At present in the western dialect, the only one surviving, the word is pronounced both *cimt* and *simt*.

§ 21. *Comparison with Chukchee and Koryak*

(1) Chukchee *r*, Koryak I *ị*, *č*, *s*, or *t*, is replaced in most cases by *j*,

Chukchee	Kamchadal	
ġɪt, ġɪr	*kɪ'ja*	thou
mɯ'ri	*mɯ'ja*	we

(2) Chukchee and Koryak *ġ* is replaced by *k* or *x*.

Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadal	
ġŭm	*ġŭm*	*kɪ'mma*	I
ġi'ñɪngi	*yiġi'ngɪn*	*xi'lɪġɪñ*	fish-net

(3) Initial *ġ* of the comitative and verbal prefix (see §§ 48, 64, 66) is replaced by *k!*.

Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadal	
ġeñe'wänä	*ġaña'wana*	*k!ñe'čum*	with a wife
ġenu'lin	*ġanu'lin*	*k!nu'kīñin*	he has eaten

(4) Chukchee *ġw* (Koryak *ġv*) is replaced by *xv*.

xo'xvaḷ thence

(5) Chukchee and Koryak *w* and *v* are replaced by *hv*.

Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadal	
watta'p	*vata'p*	*hvata'pč*	reindeer-moss
va'lE	*va'ḷa*	*hvalč*	knife
wi'ut	*viut*	*hivt*	whalebone
vi'n·vɪ	*vi'nva*	*hvi'nve*	secretly

(6) The glottal stop following the initial vowel of Chukchee and Koryak is often replaced by *x* or *k* preceding the vowel.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
ᵉiᵉ'tin	*iᵉ'nnɪin*	*xei'ten*	neck
ᵉiᵉ'nɪ	*iᵉ'gɪr, eᵉgɪ'lñɪn*	*xei'hinɪ*	wolf
äᵉ'ʟel	*aᵉ'ḷaᵉḷ*	*ko'ḷoḷ*	snow
eᵉ'leᵉl	*aḷaᵉ'aḷ*	*keᵉ'ḷaḷ*	excrement

(7) Chukchee *ʟ̣* and *ʟ* are replaced by *tl* and *tč*.

Chukchee	Kamchadal	
tɪʟe'äᵉk	*tček*	I entered
——	*tle*	there!

(8) In Kamchadal, *l*, *č*, *c*, and *j* often replace one another (see § 2, p. 646).

čhijč thou art	*l'ič* thou wert
txcjɪn I strike him	*txlin* I struck him

(9) In the Sedanka dialect, *c* changes to *j*; *s* changes to *z*; and sometimes *k*, *k!* change to *q*, *q!*

Examples:

Okhotsk dialect	Sedanka dialect	
cuncjčɪᵉn	*juncjčɪᵉn*	they live
sönk	*zönk*	into the wood
ci'ḷa–tumx	*zḷa–tomx*	brother
kŏ̆ni'ñ	*qŭni'ñ*	one
k!ö'lkɪñin	*q!ö'lkɪñin*	he has come

(10) In the Sedanka dialect there is also a tendency to drop the last syllables of suffixes. Not as many auxiliary vowels occur as in other dialects, and of double consonants one is always omitted.

Okhotsk dialect	Sedanka dialect	
a'tinŭm	*a'tnom*	village
te'vsxɪcjk	*te'vsxis*	I ascend
kɪ'mma	*kɪma'*	I

(11) Instead of the pure *n*, we find an *n* with somewhat lateral pronunciation.

Okhotsk dialect	Sedanka dialect	
E'nu	*E'ˡnu*	then

§ 22. *Vocalic Ablaut*

In Kamchadal the ablaut affects almost all the vowels, which are much more numerous than those of either Chukchee or Koryak.

i̯ changes to *ë̯*.	*u̯* changes to *o̯*.
i̯ changes to *ê̯* or *a̯*.	*ü̯* changes to *ö̯*.
e̯ changes to *a̯*.	*E̯* changes to *ŏ̯* or *u̯*.

Examples:

ki̯'stẹnk at the house	*kê̯'stạnk* to the house (stem *ki̯st* house)
sü̯nk in the wood	*sö̯nk* to the wood (stem *sü̯n*)
txi̯' i̯nk by them	*txạ'ạnkᴇ* to them (stem *ɪtx*)
kᴇ̯'px·ᴇ̯nk in the trough	*kŏ̯'px·ŏ̯nk* to the trough (stem *kᴇpx·*)
kï̯'x·ẹnk in the river	*kë̯'x·ạnk* to the river (stem *kï̯x·*)
ku̯kẹ'-hŭmni̯n he cooked it	*kọkạ jọ-hŭmnê̯n* he began to cook it

The obscure vowels *ɪ*, *ᴇ*, *ᴀ*, *ŭ*, are neutral, as are also *e*, *a*, *ŏ*. In this respect Kamchadal differs from Chukchee, in which dialect vowels that are hard or weak never appear as neutral.

In Kamchadal the initial vowels of suffixes, and auxiliary vowels, are also subject to the ablaut, their form being determined by the vocalic character of the stem, which is generally monosyllabic. Thus a system develops which is somewhat similar to the vocalic harmony of the Ural Altaic languages.

ki̯'stẹnk at the house	*kê̯'stạnk* to the house (stem *ki̯st*)
kŏ̯'l'xọnk at the lake (stem *kŏ̯l'x*)	*kᴇ̯'px·ᴇ̯nk* at the trough
	kŏ̯'px·ọnk to the trough (stem *kᴇ̯px.*)

tɪsü̯nü̯lo'tɪjk I always live in the woods (*tɪ* I; *sü̯n* wood; *ü̯* auxiliary vowel; *lo* to live; *t* always; *-jk* I)

§ 23. *Other Phonetic Processes*

Consonantic Clusters.—In Kamchadal consonantic clusters are of frequent occurrence. I have found, for instance, *ktxt*, *txcj*, *txcjh*, *txctx*, *ntxcjh*, *k!lkñ*.

Sometimes auxiliary vowels are inserted, or some of the consonants have a decided vocalic resonance, but more often the clusters are free from vocalic elements. The peculiar consonantic character of pronunciation may be observed also among the Russianized Kamchadal; and the natives are taunted by the Russian creoles, and even in the intercourse of various villages, on account of this peculiarity of their speech. Nevertheless not all consonantic clusters are admissible.

ḷl changes to *nl*.

ko'ḷoḷ (absolute form), *koḷo'nl'* < *koḷoḷ-l'* (instrumental), snow
e'ḷheɪñ (absolute form), *i̯nl* < *i̯l-l* (instrumental), ear (pl. *iᵉl*)

Note, however,

lŭl (absolute form), *lŭle'l'* < *lŭl-l'* (instrumental), eye

Auxiliary Vowels.—Auxiliary vowels are introduced to avoid consonantic clusters originating by composition, although the corresponding clusters may be admissible in the stem itself. All neutral vowels perform this function. Although *ɪ* is more frequent than all the others, *ŭ*, *ɐ*, *ə*, (*a*), are also found rather often.

lŭle'l' < *lŭl–l'* eye
tveta'tɪjk < *tveta't–jk* I work

Initial Clusters.—The prefix *k!* is omitted before *k* and *k!*

k!ö'lkɪñin he has come

The prefix *k* before initial *k* and *k!* changes to *x*.

xke'jxčɪk accept him

The prefix *t* of the first person singular is dropped before verbal stems with initial *t*.

tælin < *ttælin* I struck him

The prefix *t* of the first person singular changes to *č* before verbal stems with initial *čɪ* or *čɪ*.

kɪ'mma čɪčɪ'niñɪjk < *t-činiñ-jk* I sew

Compare also

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
ə'tqiñ	*a'ččrñ*	*ə'čkeläx*	the bad one
wuwčêlka'llɪn	*četče'lñin*	*čɪ'xčax*	shrew

Stems with the initial clusters *lk* and *rk*, when appearing at the beginning of a word, add a preceding vowel.

ɪ'lkarujə < *lk-r-jə* (Chukchee *qätɪ'rkɪn* < *lqät-rkɪn*) he leaves

In other cases the Chukchee *l* or *r* of these clusters is replaced by *č* and *ə* respectively.

čkļa'ujk < *čkļau-jk* (Chukchee *kɪla'urkɪn* < *rkɪlau-rkɪn*) e runs

§ 24. Accent

In all three languages the accent usually recedes to the beginning of the word, even as far as the fourth or fifth syllable from the end.

Chukchee *pa'rɪlɪñɪn* shoulder-blade
Kor. Kam. *nɪqe'shɪqenat* those two that have been bought
Kamchadal *k!ta'tɪlkajukñan* they began to perform the ceremonial

To give emphasis to the word, the accent may be thrown upon the last syllable, the vowel of which then changes to *o*.

Chukchee	*tɪpênřɪrko'n* < *tɪpê'nřɪrkɪn*	I attack him
Kor. Kam.	*tɪpenn·eko'n* < *tɪpe'nn·ekɪn*	
Kamchadal	*tɪpencɪjo'n* < *tɪpe'ncɪjɪn*	

MORPHOLOGY (§§ 25–129.)

§25. Morphological Processes

The Chukchee group of languages uses a great variety of morphological processes for expressing grammatical relations. The unity of the syntactic group which forms a close unit is maintained by a law of vocalic harmony which requires that if one vowel of the unit is strong, all the others, that may be either weak or strong, must also take the strong form. This law does not act in any particular direction; but whenever a strong vowel appears in any part of the word, it strengthens all the other preceding and following vowels. In the present condition of the language, this law is not quite strictly confined to certain vowels; but a few stems and endings that have no vocalic element except auxiliary vowels are always strong. It may be, of course, that here strong vocalic elements have been lost.

Stems appear almost always with morphological affixes. Only particles and a number of nouns occur as independent members of the sentence in the form of the simple stem, their independence being indicated by their failure to modify their weak vowels in conformity with the strong vowels of those words with which they are most closely associated. The general occurrence of nominal affixes, and the restriction of stem forms occurring independently to certain phonetic types of nouns, make it plausible that we are dealing here also with a loss of older affixes. If this view should be correct, there would be no forms of nouns or verbs and related classes of words without affixes. Either the stems consist of consonantic clusters or they are monosyllabic or polysyllabic. Only predicative stems consist of consonantic clusters. Denominative stems have fuller phonetic values. In all polysyllabic stems a certain symmetry of form is required by the laws of vocalic harmony; so that in the same stem we find, besides neutral vowels, only strong vowels or only weak vowels.

Owing to the inadmissibility of extended consonantic clusters, and to the avoidance of initial consonantic clusters, stems undergo important changes due to the insertion of auxiliary vowels, to elision of consonants, or modification of consonants, according to the position and connections of the stems in the word.

Composition of stems is of extended use; and we find many types of composition of denominative, predicative, and of denominative with predicative stems, which form firm units. Owing to the significance of some of these stems, they never appear outside of such compounds, and therefore take on the aspects of elements that are no longer free, although their phonetic character and general appearance are such that they might appear as independent elements. Certain particles are also incorporated in the word complex. The stems which are united in such synthetic groups influence one another according to the laws of vocalic harmony and by contact phenomena, which often modify the terminal sound of the first member of a compound, and the initial sound of the following member, or cause the introduction of auxiliary vowels. Although ordinarily these compounds originate by a simple juxtaposition of stems, there are cases in which certain formative elements may be recognized.

The function of a simple or compound nominal or verbal unit in the sentence is further determined by reduplication, prefixes, and suffixes.

Reduplication is confined to denominating concepts, and is of peculiar character, the first part of the stem being repeated at the close of the stem as far as the first consonant following the first vowel. This gives the impression of a partially suppressed repetition of the stem: for instance, stem *orgo* SLEDGE, reduplicated *orgo-or*.

Both prefixes and suffixes are numerous. The same phonetic laws that cause a differentiation of the forms of the stem cause differentiation in the manner of joining affixes to the stems or to the compounds. In some cases a distinction between compounds and words with affixes is difficult to draw, neither is it possible to carry through a rigid distinction between nominal and verbal affixes. There is great freedom in the use of stems for either predicative or denominative purposes.

In the Chukchee language nominal concepts are classified as common nouns and proper names. A nominal singular and plural occur, but in Koryak we find besides these a dual. As in many

American languages, the relation between subject and predicate is conceived differently in the case of the transitive and of the intransitive verb.

The relation between noun and verb is expressed by inflection of the noun. A subjective form of the noun expresses the subject of the transitive verb and an absolute form designates the subject of the intransitive and the object of the transitive verb. The subjective form is primarily instrumental. It expresses also the object which is used in the performance of an action as: COOKING (WITH) MEAT. It would seem that the transitive verb has primarily a passive significance, but this view does not satisfactorily explain many of the forms.

Locative ideas—in, at, towards, from—are expressed by means of nominal postpositions. These are given extended meanings and are applied to express a variety of relations between verb and indirect object. The genetive relation is not ordinarily expressed by postpositions and is not analogous to a case form, but is rather expressed by derivatives which signify, PERTAINING TO, BELONGING TO. These elements are even added to the personal pronoun to express possessive relations. The characteristic American incorporated possessive pronoun is not found. Demonstrative ideas are expressed with great nicety particularly in the Chukchee dialect. The syntactic forms of the personal demonstrative and indefinite pronouns are analogous to the corresponding forms of proper names.

In the predicate are expressed singular and plural, (in Koryak also dual), tense and modality. There is no distinction made between inclusive and exclusive first person plural. Declarative and interrogative have the same forms. Among the tenses only the future is derived from the verb theme in a manner analogous to the formation of modes. A continuative is expressed by a derived form, the verbal theme being expanded by the suffix-*irkin*. Other temporal concepts are expressed by nominal derivatives, and temporal subordination is often expressed by syntactic forms of the verbal noun. Other modes are a subjunctive, expressing conditional and other subordinate clauses—which, however, is very rarely used,—an exhortative and an imperative.

The verb complex consists of pronominal prefixes which enter into combination with temporal and modal prefixes. These are followed

by the verbal theme which takes additional temporal and modal suffixes. The end of the verbal complex is a pronominal suffix. In the transitive verb, the pronominal prefix designates the subject, the pronominal suffix the object. There is a strong tendency to express the predicate in the form of a predicating noun analogous to a relative clause. For instance, instead of I KILL THE REINDEER, the Chukchee will say, THE REINDEER ARE THE ONES WHOM I KILLED. These forms receive a treatment different from that of the true verb.

Stems may be developed by affixing subordinate elements. There are a number of attributive elements of this class such as LARGE, SMALL, NUMEROUS. Furthermore, we find locative terms such as, WHAT IS ON, WITH, ON TOP OF, NEAR, INSIDE OF SOMETHING ELSE and also, WHAT IS SIMILAR TO, WHAT IS USED FOR, WHAT IS PROVIDED WITH SOMETHING, A RECEPTACLE FOR SOMETHING. Nominal forms derived from verbs are abstract nouns, results of actions, instruments. The verb is developed by adverbial suffixes expressing for instance, reciprocity, a desiderative, single action, intensity, beginning, duration, causation, negation and also ideas like, TO FEEL LIKE SOMETHING or the bad temper of the speaker. Verbs derived from nouns are TO BRING, TAKE OFF, LOOK FOR, CONSUME SOMETHING. Prefixes are quite numerous and are largely of an attributive or adverbial character as, A LITTLE, QUITE, ALL, ENTIRELY, MERELY, SOMEWHAT, TRULY, NOT.

Furthermore, words may be compounded quite freely, adverbs with verbs, verbal stems among themselves, nouns among themselves. Nouns are also incorporated in the verbal complex, both as the subject of the intransitive verb and the object of the transitive verb. Such incorporated themes are used both for habitual and single actions.

§ 26. Comparison of Dialects

The chief differences between Chukchee and Koryak lie in the lesser amount of consonantic decay of stems in Koryak, the modification of stems due to phonetic processes being considerably less extended in the latter dialect; in the lesser extent of the occurrence of the ablaut in the Koryak; and in the substitution of other consonants for the Chukchee *r*, which process is more pronounced in Koryak I than in Koryak II. Besides this, Koryak I is characterized by the restriction of the forms of the Chukchee plural to the dual, while a distinct form

is used by all the Koryak dialects, even those that have no dual for expressing the plural.

Chukchee and Koryak are so much alike, that the languages, are mutually intelligible at least in part. On the northern border of the Koryak territory a considerable amount of lexicographic borrowing may be noticed, which extends even as far as the Anadyr country. Thus we find—

Kolyma Chukchee	*teŋŋe'ñɪrkɪn* he desires
Anadyr Chukchee	*teŋŋe'ñɪrkɪn* or *ŋaima'tɪrkɪn*
Koryak, Kamenskoye	*tajja'ñikɪn* or *ŋaima'tekɪn*

Of these words, the first one is common to Chukchee and Koryak, while the second is Koryak and is borrowed from them by the Anadyr Chukchee.

Kolyma Chukchee	*wêtha'urkɪn* he speaks
Anadyr Chukchee	*wêtha'urkɪn* and *vanava'tɪrkɪn*
Koryak, Kamenskoye	*vetha'vekɪn* and *vanava'tŋekɪn*

The lexical differences between Koryak and Chukchee are considerable. Still certain Chukchee words that do not occur in the Kamenskoye dialect re-appear in other dialects, some even in remote villages in the valleys of Kamchatka.

	AGAIN	NEGATION (refusal)	WHALE
Chukchee	*lŭ'mña*	*qarê'm*	*re^{ɛ}w*
Koryak, Kamenskoye	*ŋŭ'mla*	*qaye'm*	*yu'ñi* (stem *yuñyu*)
Koryak II Qare'ñm .	*i'nnɪk*	*i'hut*	*yu'ñi* (stem *yuñyu*)
Koryak II, Lesna (Kamchatka). . .	*lɪŋɪ'nmen*	*ŋate'mmɪ*	———
Kerek	———	———	*ya^{ɛ}w*
Kamchadal	———	———	*yu'ñyu* (stem *yuñyu*)

On the whole, however, all branches of the Koryak, even in their most distinct dialects,—like those of the Kerek near Cape Anannon on Bering Sea, and of Voyampolka on the Sea of Okhotsk,—are much more closely related among themselves than to the Chukchee.

In the pronunciation of men of the Kolyma district many intervocalic consonants are dropped (see § 13). This is not so common among the men of the Anadyr Chukchee, who use both the fuller forms and those with dropped consonants. Among the Kolyma people the difference between the pronunciation of men and that of women is so regular that the use of the fuller forms by the eastern people lays them open to ridicule as using the speech of women.

Nouns (§§ 27–55).

§ 27. *General Remarks*

The noun appears in a number of forms and with a number of suffixes, the interpretation of which is not easy. A few of these have clearly purely syntactic meaning, while others appear rather as post-positions which are somewhat loosely connected with the noun. Some elements of this group seem to form compound nouns, while I suspect that others may have a verbal character.

The forms which are clearly syntactic are—

(1) The absolute form, which expresses the subject of the intransitive verb, and the object of the transitive verb.

(2) The absolute form, plural.

(3) The subjective form, which expresses the subject of the transitive verb, and the instrument with which an action is performed. In several cases our indirect object appears as direct object, while our direct object appears as instrument, somewhat as in the two expressions I GIVE IT TO HIM and I BESTOW HIM WITH IT. In Kamchadal this form is not used for the subject of the transitive verb, but the locative-possessive. In Koryak sometimes the one form is used, sometimes the other.

(4) The locative possessive expresses the place where an event happens or where an action is performed. With terms designating living beings it expresses possession.

Suffixes which express the allative and ablative form a second group. These are not so distinctively syntactic forms, but give the impression of post-positions, particularly since they appear sometimes in composition with syntactic forms of the first group.

A third class, quite distinct from the first two in form as well as in function, comprises derivations of nouns and verbs which express WHAT BELONGS TO, WHAT PERTAINS TO, THAT WHICH HAS THE QUALITY OF SOMETHING, THE POSSESSOR OF, THE MEASURE OF BEING IN A CERTAIN CONDITION. These are frequently used to express the relations between two nouns or between an adjective and a noun.

The fourth class expresses mainly various types of emphatic forms of the noun.

We shall first take up the syntactic forms.

The Absolute Form (§§ 28-32).

§ 28. ABSOLUTE FORM EXPRESSED BY STEM

The absolute form of the noun serves to express the subject of the intransitive verb and the object of the transitive verb. It shows a great variety of formations.

The absolute form is expressed by the nominal stem. This form can occur only in those cases in which the terminal sound is a vowel or a single consonant. Since no ending occurs, the stem has no ablaut. Examples are—

(1) Stems with terminal vowels:

kitve'yu old walrus 8.12, 14
ELA' mother 30.6
qe'li cap
lo'lo penis 45.1
ri'ɻu carcass 65.14
ä$^{\varepsilon}$s·qe'ku a barren doe 97.17
veñke'nřu a mother doe

(2) Stems or compounds with single terminal consonant (including diphthongs in *i* and *u*). To this class belong words ending in *y*, *w*, *p*, *m*, *t*, *n*, *k*, *č*, *r*, *q*, *l*.

ELQ'qai little mother 35.5
ñi'nqai little child 37.14
mi'rgew a suit of armor 116.24
re$^{\varepsilon}$'w whale 73.4
INPIñe'w old woman 19.5
tinu'p blue fox 96.17
re'lup quid
ve'em river 37.3 (Koryak *ve'yem*, *va'yam* Kor. 17.6, according to dialect)
rêt trail 37.1
le'ut head 44.11 (Koryak *ɻa'wut* Kor. 82.11)
ñe'wän wife 36.3 (Koryak *ña'wan*)
Ai'wan the Ai'wan 7.1
na'nqan belly 43.9
uwä$^{\varepsilon}$'quč husband 105.12
ke'per wolverene 78.2, *qe'per* 92.21 (*ke'perä* 78.11) (Koryak *qapay*)
krI'mqor three-year-old doe 117.9
wañqa's·qor two-year-old doe 117.10
ê'lhar polar fox 92.19
Intu'ulpIr son-in-law 80.6
u'nel thong-seal 70.7
pe'nvel two-year-old buck 117.12
mê'mIl seal 96.4 (Koryak *me'mIl* Kor. 90.6)
lă'mñIl story 61.5
pe'kul butcher-knife 85.23 (Kor. *pa'quɻ* Kor. 78.23)
ñe'lvul herd 49.3
qe'ptiril backbone 51.3
qla'ul man 43.1 (Kor. *qɻa'wuɻ* Kor. 17.4)
uwi'k body 35.11 (Kor. 32.5)
ka'mak evil spirit 61.6 (Kor. 35.5)
ai'mak carcass 81.17
gInni'k game 84.28 (Koryak *gI'ynik* Kor. 61.8)
e'ek lamp 68.12, 106.18
pu'req white whale 96.9
o'Laq sea-lion 65.16

(3) Stems ending in two consonants generally insert a vowel in the terminal consonatic cluster.

qe'pɪl football (stem *qepl*); (Kor. Kam. *qa'pɪḷ;* Kor. Par. *qepɪḷ*)
mä^{ɛ}'qɪm arrow 75.23
lo'ñɪl walrus-blubber 47.4
pɪ'ñɪl tidings 61.5
čɛ'ñɪl trunk 96.3

§ 29. REDUPLICATED FORMS

Some stems are reduplicated.

(1) Monosyllabic stems are doubled. When the contact between the last consonant of the repeated word and of the stem form an inadmissible cluster, the usual changes occur.

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form
nim	*ni'mnim* settlement 7.7
kêr	*kê'rkêr* combination-suit 37.8
yɪn	*dï'ndïn*[1] fire 39.11
e^{ɛ}l	*e^{ɛ}'le^{ɛ}l* excrement 80.11; (*e^{ɛ}'lu* 81.12)
liġ	*li'gliġ* (Kor. *lɪġlɪġ*) egg
rɪġ	*rɪ'ġrɪġ* hair
om	*o'mom* (Kor. *o'mom*) heat
liñ	*li'ñli* heart (see §31, 3)
poñ	*po'mpo* fly agaric (see §31, 3)
tuw	*tu'wtuw* word
oč	*o'čoč* chief
čot	*čo'tčot* bag-pillow 29.5
wŭt	*wŭ'twŭt* leaf
ġil	*gilgil* sea ice 8.14
	(*^{ɛ}i^{ɛ}'tit* Anser segetum)
Koryak:	
kiḷ	*ki'ḷkiḷ* navel string Kor. 63.10
pip	*pi'pip* comb Kor. 78.9
vit	*vi'tvit* ringed seal Kor. 17.12
ñai	*ñai'ñai* mountain Kor. 42.2
wɪy	*wɪ'yɪwɪ* breath Kor. 33.8

(2) Stems ending in a consonantic cluster always insert an auxiliary vowel (§ 8), and therefore appear in dissyllabic form. The reduplication consists in the repetition of the beginning of the word at the

§29 [1] Compare § 2, p 645.

end, including the initial consonant, vowel, and the first consonant following the first vowel.

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form
pilh	*pi'lhɪpil* famine
qêrg	*qê'rgɪqêr* light
tirk	*ti'rkɪtir* sun
têrg	*tê'rgɪtêr* crying 20.12
tɪrg	*tɪ'rgitɪr* meat 48.8
tumg	*tu'mgɪtum* companion 103.35
mɪtk	*mɪ'tkämɪt* blubber 47.4
(Kor.) *ye'lk*	*ye'lkɪyel* pudding Kor. 34.2
muʟ 19.3	*mu'ʟumul* 25.3 blood
**wilq*	*wɪ'lquul* 22.7 coal (Kor. Kam. *wŭ'lkuul*, cf. Kor. 31.9)
**qêrg* (Kor. Kam. *qesh*)	*qê'rgɪqêr* light (Kor. Kam. *qe'shɪqes*)
vɪyɪl (Kor. *vyil*)	*vɪ'yɪlvɪyɪl* image (*vɪ'yilvɪyil* Kor. 32.3)

A number of words of this group, particularly those beginning with a vowel, repeat the stem vowel before the repeated syllable.

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form
org	*o'rgoor* sledge
omk	*o'mkoom* 79.5 willow
wus'q (Kor. Kam. *vus'q*)	*wu's'quus* (Kor. *vu's'quvus* cf. Kor. 57.6) darkness
el	*e'leel* summer (Kor. Kam. *a'laal*)
il	*i'liil* rain (Kor. Kam. *mu'qamuq*)
yäq	{ *yäqā'q* / *yäqa'aq* } nose
(*yil*) *yi'liil* language 7.10	
yɪr	*yɪ'rɪir* a full one 86.29
Related to this group are—	
eiv	*ei'veei* part of meat given to neighbors, alms (Kor. Kam. *ai'vaai* cf. Kor. 63.12)
Ennn	*Ennē'n* fish (Kor. Kam. *Ennā'n*)

(3) Some bases which end in inadmissible sound-clusters have initial or terminal reduplication, and insert auxiliary vowels.

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form.
iml (Kor. *iml*)	*mi'mɪl* water (Kor. *mi'mɪl*)
mlŭ (Kor. *mlŭ*)	*mŭ'mɪl* louse (Kor. *mŭ'mɪl; mɪ'mɪč* Kor. 55.1)
elv, *ɪlv* (see *elve'tulä* 89.32; *ge'lvulin* 88.1)	*ɪlvɪlu'* wild reindeer 88.4 (Kor. Kam. *ɪlhu'lu*, *elhu'lu*)

(4) Dissyllabic words repeat the first syllable at the end of the word:

Stem	Reduplicated absolute form
mêrê	*mê'rêmêr* tears 116.8
qoᵉlê 41.5	*qoᵉlê'qoᵉl* snuff 41.4
yile (see 90.2)	*yi'leil* marmot 89.33
yili (Kor. *čɪl*)	*yi'liil* tongue 48.8 (Kor. *čɪ'ḷɪɪḷ* Kor. 56.4)
quli	*quli'qul* voice 44.7
nute	*nu'tenut* land
yɪ'lqä(t) (Kor. Kam. *yɪlqa[t]*)	*yɪ'lqäil* sleep (Kor. Kam. *yɪ'ḷ-qayɪḷ*)

Koryak:

mɪ'tqa	*mɪ'tqamɪt* oil Kor. 90.17
qanga	*qa'ngaqan* fire Kor. 30.8
ki'lka	*ki'lkakil* shell-fish Kor. 70.2

(5) Some polysyllabic words double the whole word.

eñe'neñen southeast wind

In Kamchadal analogous forms are derived principally from adjective stems:

o'mlax warm	*o'mom* heat
a'txᵃlax bright	*a'txatx* light
txu'nläx dark	*txu'ntxun* darkness
tpilhe'tɪjk I suffer from hunger	*pi'llhɪpil* and *pê'lhêpêl* famine

Other Kamchadal forms of duplication and reduplication for the absolute forms are:

ču'xčux rain (stem *čux*)
pa'lapal leaf (stem *pal*)
kö'mlokömm marrow (Chukchee *kɪ'mɪl*; Kor. Kam. *kɪ'mɪḷ*)
lu'ñuluñulč heart (Chukchee *li'ñli*; Kor. *li'ñliñ*)

NOTE 1.—A number of stems which in Koryak form their absolute form by duplication have different forms in Chukchee.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
ǥo'pkɪ elk	*ve'pkavep*
rɪ'rkɪ walrus	*yɪ'ykayɪk*

Presumably the Koryak has retained here the older forms.

NOTE 2.—In a few cases the reduplicated or doubled form is used not only in the absolute form, but also with other suffixes and in composition.

kê'rkêr combination-suit (stem *kêr*); Kor. I *key'key* (stem *key*) ; *kêrkê'rgŭpŭ* and *kê'rgŭpŭ* from the combination-suit; *kê'rkêrık* in the combination-suit
ña'wkêr woman's suit
nimnĭ'mgŭpŭ from the settlement 10.12
ǥêlǥêlı'tkınık on the ice fields 7.3; *ǥêlı'tkınık* on the sea-ice 9.2
mêmlı'tkınık on top of the water 9.3

NOTE 3.—It is not impossible that the forms

yara'ñı house
yoro'ñı sleeping-room } (see § 30)
ya'rar drum

contain reduplicated stems in which the initial *r* has changed to *y*.

§ 30. SUFFIXES *-n, -ñı*

Stems ending in a vowel take the suffixes, in Chukchee *-n*, *-ñı*, in Koryak *-ñe*, *-ña*, according to dialect.

Iu'metun name of a spirit 22.6
kuke'ñı kettle (*ku'kek* 75.13); Kor. Kam. *kuka'ña;* Kor. Par. *kuke'ñe*
yoro'ñı sleeping-room 107.9
yara'ñı house 7.8; 30.11 (Kor. *yaya'ña* Kor. 22.4)
keme'ñı dish 86.23; 87.31, 33 (*kama'ǥtı* to a dish 88.24) (Kor. *kama'ñı* Kor. 64.3)
qora'ñı reindeer 51.6
rıpe'ñı stone hammer 77.13, 16 (Kor. *yıpa'ña* Kor. 43.2)
ᵉi'ᵉ'nı wolf 78.2, 96.28
ŭpa'ñı broth (Kor. *ipa'ña* Kor. 28.6)

Stems ending in two consonants, or in consonants that can not form clusters with the terminal *n*, take the ending *-n* with a connective vowel, *ı*, *ᴇ;* after *q* the connective vowel is *ä* (Kor. Kam. *a*).

poi'ǥın spear 97.27 (*poi'ǥe* 117.29) (Kor. *poi'ǥın*)
na'nqan belly 43.9 (Kor. Par. *na'nqän*)
rıǥǥo'lgın cellar 36.8 (*rıǥǥolgê'tı* to the cellar 36.10)
re'mkın people 8.8, 10 (*re'mku* 107.20) (Kor. *ya'mkın* Kor. 39.7)
tu'mgın companion 38.12 (*tu'mgä* 37.7)
ǥı'thın lake 37.4 (*gî'thık* in a lake 37.5)
ŭpa'llın tallow 87.4 (*ŭpa'lla* 86.23)
ǥĭ'llın skin 23.9
ǥêla'rgın gray fox 96.14
e'ĕın fat (Kor. *a'ĕın* Kor. 15.4)
ᴇlı'ǥın father 73.10 (stem *ᴇ*)

ke'ñɪčvɪn boy 11.7
kopa'lhɪn walrus-blubber 12.6 (*kopa'lha* 14.11)
yi'lgɪn month 7.2
a$^{\epsilon}$'ttɪn dog 135.20 (*a$^{\epsilon}$'ttu* 135.20) (Kor. *a$^{\epsilon}$'tta$^{\epsilon}$n* Kor. 48.8)
keiñɪn brown bear 78.3 (*keiñu* 136.20) (Kor. Kam. *kai'ñɪn*)
rêɻoi'ñɪn big old carcass 136.19
kokai'ñɪn big kettle 33.10
i'rɪn fur shirt 83.24 (*i'ru* 116.26)
wu'kwun stone (stem *wukw* R 3.19) (Kor. *vu'gvɪn*)
ñi'lhɪn thong 41.10 (Kor. *ñi'ɻñɪn* Kor. 40.5, 8)

To this group belong the endings *-lhɪn*, *-yñɪn*, *-čhɪn*, *-gɪrgɪn*, *-yɪrɪn* *-lɪn* (see §§ 52; 53; 98; 1,99,8; 106, 44)

§ 31. ABSOLUTE FORM WITH LOSS OF PHONETIC ELEMENTS

(1) Stems ending in a vowel weaken their terminal vowel or lose it entirely. Those ending in *e* often change it to *ɪ* slightly nasalized.

va'lE knife 15.13; 16.4; 43.7 (stem *va'la*)
rɪ'ɾkɪ walrus 8.5
ke'lE an evil spirit 61.6
čū'mñɪ buck (stem *čumña*)
krɪmɪ'ntɪ three-year-old buck 117.11
u'mkɪ bear 110.11
wi'ur scraping board (stem *wiuri*)
e'wič small bag (stem *ewiču*)

In case the loss of terminal vowel results in an inadmissible terminal cluster, auxiliary vowels are introduced:

e'kɪk son (stem *ekke*)
e'rɪm, *e'rem* chief (stem *erme*)
ku'kɪl one-eyed (stem *kuwle* <**kukle*)
lu'kɪl driving-reindeer, not properly broken in; (stem *luwle* <**lukle*?)

(2) Stems ending in *–nv* lose their terminal *v*.

ê'wgan incantation 129.18 (stem *êwganv*)
ê'tɪn master 122.38 (stem *êtɪnv*)

(3) Stems ending in *ñ* with preceding vowel drop the terminal *ñ* or at least reduce its pronunciation to a voiceless *ñ*. This occurs particularly in Chukchee.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
ênaʻnvɪna scraper (stem *ênaʻn-vɪnaʻñ*)	*enaʻnvɪna* (stem *enanvɪnañ*)
keñuʻne staff (stem *keñuʻneñ*) 101.9	
liʻñli heart (stem *liñ*)	*l̥iʻñl̥iñ*
poʻmpo mushroom (stem *poñ*)	*poᵋʻnpoᵋn*
piʻmpi powder (stem *piñ*)	

(4) A number of stems with consonantic ending have a double form of the stem, one ending with the consonant, another one ending in *a*, *e*, or *i*, which are suffixed to the stem. The absolute form is the stem form without terminal vowel.

Aiʻwan an Asiatic Eskimo (stems *aiʻwan* and *aiwana*)
ɪntuʻulpɪr son-in-law (stems *ɪntuulpɪr* and *ɪntuŭlpɪre*)
uwäᵋʻquč husband (stems *uwäᵋʻquč* and *uwäᵋquči*)
ilir island (stems *ilir* and *iliri*)

(5) Irregular forms are—

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
ᵉi̯ᵋʻnɪ wolf (stem [*l*].*ᵉi̯ᵋg*)	*iᵋʻyɪy* (stem *iᵋy*)
ᵉi̯ᵋʻtɪn neck (stem *ᵉi̯ᵋnn*)	*iᵋʻnnɪin* (stem [*l*]*iᵋnn*, *iᵋnn*)
ELuʻê nephew (stem *ELuwgo*)	*IL̥oʻyo* (stem *IL̥oy*)
ɪntêʻ daughter-in-law (stem *ɪntɪyo*)	
aʻkan fishhook (stem *aᵋn* <**aqn*?)	
g̥aʻLE bird (stem *g̥alhg̥*)	
veʻLE raven (stem *vg̥lvg̥*)	
ᵉi̯ᵋʻtit anser segetum (stem *ᵉi̯ᵋtu̯*)	
tuʻmg̥ɪn stranger (stem *tumŭk*); compare, however, the reduplicated form *tuʻmg̥ɪtum* COMPANION formed from *tuʻmg̥ɪn* (in compounds *-tuʻmg̥ɪn*, as *yiče'mit-tuʻmg̥ɪn* BROTHER) *tuʻmŭk* serves also as possessive form.	

§ 32 SPECIAL FORMS

A number of pronouns form the absolute form in a special manner.

(1) Personal pronouns.

g̥ŭm I (Kor. *g̥ŭmma*; Kamch. *kɪʻmma*)
g̥ɪt thou (Kor. *g̥ɪʻssa*; Kamch. *kɪʻja*)

(2) The personal pronoun *Enaʻn* (Kor. *eʻnnu*; Kamch. *Enaʻ*) HE is formed from the stem *En-*.

(3) The personal pronouns of the plural are formed with the suffix *-i*. In Koryak the dual has the suffix *-i*; the plural, *-u*. In Kamchadal we find *-a* for the first and second persons.

mu'ri (Kor. dual *mu'yi*, pl. *mu'yu;* Kamch. *mu'ja*) we (stem *murg-* [Kor. *muč-*, Kamch. *mɪjg-*])

tu'ri (Kor. dual *tu'yi*, pl. *tu'yu*; Kamch. *tu'ja*) ye (stem *turg-* [Kor. *tuč-*, Kamch. *tɪjg-*])

E'rri (Kor. dual *a'čči*, pl. *a'ču*; Kamch. *ɪtx*) they (stem *erg-* [Kor. *ač-*, Kamch. *tx-*])

(4) Interrogative personal pronoun.

me'ñin who (stem *mik-*) (Kor. *ma'ki* [stem *mik*])

(5) Indefinite pronoun.

rä^{e}nut what (stem *req*) (Kor. *yɪ'nna* [stem *yaq*])

ni'rkɪñut a certain one (stem *nirkg*) (Kor. *ni'yka*, *ni'ykɪñvut* [stem *niyka*])

ni'kiñut a certain thing (stem *nikg*)

Dual and Plural (§§ 33-35).

§ 33. GENERAL REMARKS

Chukchee, Koryak II, and Kamchadal have only two numbers; while Koryak I has also a dual, which corresponds in form to the plural of the Chukchee. The plural of the Koryak, both I and II, presents a set of distinct forms.

§ 34. PLURAL OF COMMON NOUNS

The plural of common nouns occurs only in the absolute form. In Chukchee it is formed by the suffix *-t*. Stems ending in *l*, *r*, *n*, *č*, *y*, *t*, take *-ti* instead.

lile't eyes
e'kket sons

qu'tti the others 115.17
qla'ultê men 121.9
yičemre'tti brothers 64.3
ñg'wänti women 50.4, 6
ñeus·qä'tti women 112.5
pe'kulti butcher-knives 84.21
ñi'nqäiti children 112.10, 15; 113.12
ñi'nqägti 51.10
a^{e}'ttɪqägti pups 122.18
ɪnpɪñe'wqägti little old women 45.1
le'utti heads 86.8

Words which have a double stem form (see § 31, 4), have also double forms in the plural.

Ai'wan an Asiatic Eskimo (stems *aiwan*, *aiwana*); plural *ai'wantê*, *ai'wanat*

uwä^{e}'quč husband (stems *uwä^{e}quč*, *uwä^{e}quči*); plural *uwä^{e}'qutti*, *uwä^{e}'qučit*

i'lir island (stems *ilir*, *iliri*); plural *ili'tti*, *i'lirit*

Koryak:

The dual of Koryak I has the same suffix.

l̥il̥a't two eyes
qo'yat two reindeer (Chukchee *qa'at* reindeer)
vai'amɪt two rivers (*vai'amti* Kor. 17.1, Chukchee *ve'emɪt* rivers)

The plural is formed in many Koryak dialects by *-u̯* after terminal consonants, *-wg̥i*, *-vv̥i* (according to dialect), after terminal vowel.

g̥l̥a'wul̥u men Kor. 44.3
ña'wɪtqatu women Kor. 44.2
qai-pipi'kalñu little mice Kor. 25.6
ñawa'kku daughters Kor. 27.1
a'g̥ɪmu bags Kor. 28.5
kmi'ñu children Kor. 44.7
vai'amu rivers (stem *vaiam*)
l̥il̥a'wg̥i eyes
mɪmlu'wg̥i lice Kor. 25.4
imčanal̥a'wg̥e ermines Kor. 66.18
qo̯yo̯'wg̥e̯ reindeer (stem *qoya; qoya'we* Kor. 22.4)
qapa'au wolverenes (<*qapay-u*) Kor. 12.7
u'kkamau vessels Kor. 28.5
ki'plau mortars Kor. 51.5 (*kipla'wi* Kor. 53.8)

Kamchadal:

The plural suffix of Kamchadal is *-(ɪ)^{ɛ}n*.

u^{ɛ}h tree	*u^{ɛ}'hɪ^{ɛ}n* trees
kocx dog	*kcxo^{ɛ}n* dogs
kist house	*ki'stɪ^{ɛ}n* houses

Stems ending in *n* or *l* take the glottal stop before the terminal consonant, and take no ending, but may modify the last vowel of the stem.

lŭl eye	*lŭ^{ɛ}l* eyes
kĔli'lan spotted seal	*kĔli'lɪ^{ɛ}n* spotted seals
me'mɪl̥ ground-seal	*me'mɪ^{ɛ}l̥* ground-seals

In the material collected by Dybowsky[1] in southern Kamchatka, *t* and *d* occur as plural endings.

iauin ear	*ivut* ears
kosch dog	*kosgut* dogs
uan stone	*uad* stones

[1] Słowniki Narzeczy Ludow Kamczeckich Rozprawe Widziału filologicznego Akademii Umejętności w Krakowie, 1892, vol. xvii, pp. 107, 113, 120.

The Kamchadal dialect of Sedanka also has the ending *-t*.

veta'tɪl̥an workman	*veta'tɪl̥at* workmen
sü'nkil the one who flies	*sü'nkilat* those who fly

This can not be due to the influence of the neighboring Koryak II, which has no dual, and uses only the *u̯* ending of the plural.

§ 35. PLURAL OF PERSONAL NOUNS.

-(*ɪ*)*ntɪ̯* (Kor. Kam. the same) [-(*ɪ*)*n* + *tɪ̯* ; for -(*ɪ*)*n* see § 39], expresses a group of people belonging to and including a person of the name to which the suffix is added. In Koryak Kamenskoye the ending designates two persons only. This form is also used with the interrogative pronoun.

Yɣ'tɪlɪnti Yetɪlɪn and his family
(Kor. *Ačče'pɪnɪnti*) Ačče'pɪn and his wife
ñe'wänti their wives
mi'kinti (Kor. Kam. *ma'kinti*) who? (see p. 726)

Koryak Kamenskoye:

Val̥ɪmtɪl̥aᵉ'ninti Raven-Man and his wife Kor. 12.1
Yini'a-ña'wgutinti Yini'a-ñawgut and her husband Kor. 19.5

A group of more than two is expressed in Koryak Kamenskoye by the plural ending *-wg̣ɪ̯*, but also by *-inu*.

Aččepɪna'wgɣ̯ Ačče'pɪn and his family.
Quyqɪnn'aqu'wgi Big-Raven and his people Kor. 39.10
Amamqu'tinu Ememqut's people Kor. 43.7
pipi'kča-ña'wg̣utinu mouse-women Kor. 23.3

§ *36. Exclamatory Form of Nouns*

Nouns may be given an exclamatory form by transferring the accent to the end of the stem, especially with the last word of the sentence.

kimilhi'n worms 39.3

When the accentuation is stronger, the last vowel is changed to *o*. In this case, proper names lose their suffixes, and have the accent on the last vowel of the stem.

Yɣ̣to'l	O Ye'tɪlɪn!	*remkɪlo'n* a guest! 111.19
Qu̯to'w	O Qutu'wgi!	

Koryak:

miko'n vannɪlño'n! whose tooth Kor. 34.4
ñawako'k! daughter! Kor. 22.7
tɪl̥ago'n! I found! Kor. 24.1

In some cases, when the noun ends in a vowel, an *-ĭ* is added, and the accent thrown upon the end of the word.

Araroi'	O Ara'ro!
Upenkei' R 72.15	O Upe'nke!
Mitei' 83.12 Kor. 37. 2	O Miti!
Kor. *Quqe'!* Kor. 74.29	O Quyqinn·a'qu
Kor. *Yiñei'* Kor. 88.1	O Yini'aña'wg̣ut
also *qlei*	O man! (from *qlik*, which otherwise is used only in compounds)

§ 37. *Subjective Form*

-e̯, *-tä̯*, *ä̯* (Chukchee). Instrumental; used in place of object when the verb is intransitive (e. g., she cooked with meat = she cooked meat); subject of transitive verb.[1]

(*a*) After terminal vowel *-tä̯:*

ekke'tä by the son 18.9
temu'netä with shell-fish 9.8
uwäᵉ'qučitä i'unin the husband told her
li̯le̯'tä̯ with an eye
vala'ta with knives 16.4
rɪ'rkata by walrus 9.9; 10.6
tar-qa'ata g̣e'rkuḷin bought with how many reindeer

(*b*) After terminal consonant *-ä̯*:

eñe'ñɪlä by a shaman 7.5; 14.12; 15.9
wu'lqä by darkness 18.12
ĔLɪ'g̣ä by the father 18.4
rä'yipä with a drill 8.1; 11.2
yî'lqä by sleep 10.6, 7
aᵉ'ttwɪlä by the boat's crew 10.9; 12.4
reᵉ'rɪlä by the bow-man 10.10
eñe'ñä with the spirits 16.3
evi̯rä clothing (obj.) 13.6
u̯'ttä̯ with wood
ELɪ'g̣ä re'nnin the father brought it
poi'g̣a with a spear 12.9
kopa'lha with walrus-blubber 14.11
Aiwhuyanpɪna'čha by an old St. Lawrence man 13.9
Eiwhue'lä by the St. Lawrence people 11.10; 12.3, 11; 17.1

(*c*) After terminal consonant *-e*. This *e* may be part of the stem that drops out on the absolute form.

e'če uwi'iᵉ with fat she cooked (i. e., she cooked fat)

(*d*) After terminal *n* often, after *r* sometimes, *-e̯tä̯*. Words of this group are those with double-stem forms § 31.4

g̣êlêtkɪna'ta along the ice-top 13.7
rɪmne'tä and *rɪ'mnä* with the inner skin

[1] For proper names, see § 39. Compare nominal forms of verbs, No. 3, § 64.

aiwana'ta the Aiwan 46.6; 49.2
ɪntu'ulpɪretä by the son-in-law 80.22 and *ɪntu'ulpɪrä*

-ta̯, -a (Kor. Kam). Instrumental and subject of transitive verbs (as in Chukchee).

lila'ta with an eye
u̯'tta̯ with the wood
aᵉl̥a'ta with excrement Kor. 12.5
čake'ta by the sister Kor. 18.10
ñi'l̥ña with a line Kor. 41.3
yiča'myi-tu'mg̣a by the brother Kor. 20.6
ña'wɪtqata by the woman Kor. 21.5
yaᵉ'mka by the people Kor. 39.7
yɪ'pna with the inner skin Kor. 48.8

With these endings are also found, formed from locatives (see §§ 38, 58) —

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
minke'tä	*minka'ta*	by which place
wutke'tä	*wutča'ta*	by this place
ᴇn·ke'tä	*ᴇnka'ta*	by that place
vä'añkata	*vaieña'ta*	by that place (midway)
nɪki'tä 12.9; 14.10	*nɪki'ta*	at night
g̣ɪnɵ't-aᵉlo'	*g̣ɪno't-aᵉl̥o'*	at mid-day

ñunqe'tä there, by itself
ño'tɪnqata there, behind the speaker
ño'onkata there, farther on
ñenke'tä there, far off

Here belong also the Chukchee forms—

ñunqe'tä there, by itself
ño'tɪñqata there, behind speaker
ño'onqanata there, farther on
ñenke'tä there, far off

-l' Kamchadal. Instrumental.

u̯ᵉl' with wood (from *u̯ᵉh* wood)
lŭle'l' with the eye (stem *lŭl*)

Locative Form (§§ *38-39*)

§ 38. COMMON NOUNS

-(i̯)k, -kɪ, -qɪ (Koryak the same) expresses the locative.[1]

ve'emɪk nɪtvḁ'qê̯n he lives on the river
ᴇʟa'qɪ nɪtvḁ'qê̯n he lives with the mother
nu̯'te̯k (Kor. *nu'tak*) on the land

[1] See also Nominal Forms of Verb, §§ 64, 65,

The forms *-kɣ̣* and *-qɣ̣*, also *-ekɣ* and *-eqɣ* are used after some stems, but no definite rule in regard to their use can be laid down.

ġŭ'mŭk and *ġŭ'muqɣ* in my possession
yo'oqɣ in the wind (from *yo'o* WIND)
ELA'qɪ at the mother's (from *ELA'* MOTHER)
ñelvŭle'kɣ at the herd (from *ñe'lvŭl* HERD)
vêlɪ'tkə-laula'kɪ at the merchant's (from *vêlɪtkə-la'ul* MERCHANT)

Stems with the terminal clusters *lh*, *čh*, *th*, *rg*, *ng* may drop the terminal sound in the locative:

pĭ'lhɪn throat	*pĭ'lɪk* in the throat
gɪ'thɪn lake	*gɪ'tɪk* at the lake
mɪ'ngɪLIÑɪn hand	*mɪ'nɪk* at the hand

The forms *pĭ'lhɪk*, *gɪ'thɪk*, *mɪ'ngɪk*, however, are also in use.

Verbal nouns with the suffix *-gɣrg(ɪn)* (§ 106.44) have in the locative *-ɪnkɪ* or *-rɪk:*

kañka'čirgɪn descent	*kañka'čirɪnkɪ* and *kañka'čirɪk*
tɪtta'tirgɪn climbing up	*tɪtta'tirɪnkɪ* and *tɪtta'tirɪk*

NOTE.—These two forms appear with distinctive meaning in the locative of *gɪto'lhɪn* SIDE:

gɪto'lɪñkɪ on the side of the mountain
gɪto'lhɪk on the side of a person

This suffix is often weakened to *-g*, or even disappears entirely. Thus we find *nu'tek*, *nu'teg*, and *nu'te* IN THE COUNTRY; *ya'rak* and *ya'ra* AT HOME; the *k* may also be replaced by ɪ. The *leu'tɪ* ON THE HEAD 44.5; *a'ñqa-čo'rmɪ* ON THE SEASHORE 12.4

walqa'rɪk in the jawbone house, 44.14
nute's·qak on the ground, 15.5
rag-čo'rmɪk on the house border, 12.12
a'ñqak on the sea, 13.3; Kor. 25.7
gĭ'lgilɪk on the sea ice, 13.3
tu'wkɪk on the ice-floe, 13.3
tɪ'mkɪk on a hummock, 62.7
qä'čekɪčhɪk on a thong of young walrus-hide, 62.8
lile'k (Kor. *lɪ̣la'k*) in the eye

Koryak:

va'amɪk in the river Kor. 32. 1, 2
čĭ'čhiñɪk in the armpits Kor. 18.9
ya'yak in the house Kor. 19.9
ulgu'vɪk in the cache Kor. 80.10
yaqa'lɪk in the porch Kor. 80.13
i'ya'g in the sky Kor. 19.3
qas·wuge'ñkɪ at the foot of the stone-pine bushes Kor. 21.7

With nouns designating animate beings, the suffix *-k* expresses the possessor.

e'kkek va'rkɪn (Kor. Kam., *a'kkak va'ykɪn*) it is the son's
ɪnaa'lɪk va'rkɪn in the neighbor's (house) he is 19.2
ge'mge-ni'kek whosoever 20.7
Kor. *a'al tu'yɪk va'ykɪn* have you an axe? Kor. 63.5
Kor. *Tɪke'nvɪyɪk va'ykɪn* With-Smell-Pusher-Away has it Kor. 63.4

Personal pronouns also have this ending, while proper names and personal demonstrative pronouns have the ending *-(ɪ)nä* (see § 41).

The personal pronoun is used with the ending *-k*, particularly when the noun to which it is attached with possessive significance has a suffix (*-tä̆*, *-g̣ti*, etc.), while in the absolute form the suffix *-in* BELONGING TO or MADE OF IS used (see § 46 and also § 47). In similar cases nouns designating animate beings are often used with the ending *-k*.

g̣ămă'k e'kkeg̣ ñalvălĕ'pă qäi'mithɪn take from my son's herd
g̣ămă'k akka'ĭpă from my son (*g̣ăm* I; *-k* possessive; *ekke* son; *-ĭpă* from [§ 42])
ENI'g̣-nu'tek ne'rmeqin ke'lE in his own country the kele is strong 123.25
mə'rêg̣-rak in our houses 84.16
Kor. *mama'nak tetei'tɪñ* on mamma's needle Kor. 25.2
Kor. *Miti'nak čai'učhu* into Miti's work-bag Kor. 38.4.

Here belong—

wu'tku (Kor. *wu'tčuk*) here
E'n·kɪ (Kor. *ä'nki*, Kamchadal *E'nki*) there
va'äñkɪ (Kor. *vai'eñ*) there (midway to)
ño'onkɪ there (farther on)
ra'äñkɪ there (behind the person addressed)
ño'tɪñkɪ, *ño'tɪñg̣ɪ*, there (behind the speaker)
ñu'nkɪ (Kamchadal *ño'nke*) (aside by itself)
mi'ñkɪ (Kor. *mi'nki*) where
ñe'n·ku there (far off)

All these form allative, ablative, and instrumental, see § 58.

-nk (Kamchadal); after terminal *n*, **-k**, also in some other cases. Locative, and subject of transitive verbs.

lŭ'lenk on the eye
ci'mtenk on the land.
txu'ntœunk in the darkness (from *txu'ntœun*)
a'tɪnŭnk and *a'tɪnŭk* in the village (from *atɪnŭm*)

With nouns designating animate objects, the suffix *-nk* designates the possessor.

p!i'č!ink čhi'zkinin it is the son's

The suffixes expressing DIRECTIONS TO AND FROM of the Kamchadal also contain the ending *-nk*, while in Chukchee and Koryak they are formed by the endings *-g̣tɪ̥*, and *-g̣ŭ̥pŭ̥* (see §§ 40–43). The distinct origin of these elements may still be recognized in Kamchadal by the fact that the termination for TOWARD always, that for FROM generally, causes ablaut, while the *-nk* of the locative is neutral. For DIRECTION FROM we find, for instance—

ki̯st house	*ki'stenk* in or from the house *kê'stank* to the house
ki̯x· river	*ki'x·enk* in or on the river *kê'x·ank* to or from the river
txu'ntxun darkness	*txu'ntxunk* in the darkness *txo'ntxonk* to the darkness
a'tɪnŭm village	*a'tɪnŭnk* or *a'tɪnŭk* in, to, or from the village

These forms may be related to the possessive form of the Koryak proper names (see § 39).

§ 39. PERSONAL NOUNS

-(*ɪ*)*nä̯*. Subjective and possessive of proper names of persons and of a few appellative nouns.

Ye̯'tɪlɪnä̯ Yetɪlɪn's
ḁ'tê̯na̯ father's (*a'tE* FATHER, in the language of children)
apa̯i̥'ñɪna̯ grandfather's (*a̯pa̯i̥'ñin* < *e̯pe̯-y̥ñɪn* GRANDFATHER, in the language of children)
e̯pe̯qä'yɪnä grandmother's (*e̯pe̯'qä̯i* < *e̯pe̯-qä̯i* GRANDMOTHER, in the language of children)
tu̯mg̣i'inä̯ friend's (*tumg̣ɪ'nɪnä*, in the pronunciation of women)
Telpŭñe'nä lo$^{\varepsilon}$'o things seen by Telpŭñe R 379, no. 142 title
Tño'tirg̣ɪna tɪ'lqätyä$^{\varepsilon}$k I go to Tño'tirgɪn 120.36

ni̯'rke̯- a certain one, *qut* another one (§ 60), all personal demonstratives and interrogatives (§ 58) have the same forms.

-(*ɪ*)*nak* (Kor. Kam.). Probably formed from the suffix *-(ɪ)na* and the possessive *-k*.

Miti'nak Miti's Kor. 15.11
Pĭči'qal̥a$^{\varepsilon}$nak Bird-Man Kor. 16.4
Ačče'pɪnak Ačče'pɪn's
wu'tininak this one's
mi'kinak who Kor. 12.7

NOTE.—The subjective of the personal pronoun in *-nan* may be related to this form. The possessive form of these pronouns, however, is formed in *-n* (see § 56)

Allative and Ablative (§§ 40–43.)

§ 40. ALLATIVE OF COMMON NOUNS, CHUKCHEE AND KORYAK

-ɣtɪ̨, ***-ɛ̂tɪ̨***, ***-wtɪ̨*** (Chukchee); ***-ɪ̆tɪ (ñ)***, ***-etɪ (ñ)*** (Koryak), expresses THE DIRECTION TO, also THE INDIRECT OBJECT, ON ACCOUNT OF, FOR THE BENEFIT OF.

In Chukchee *-ɣtɪ̨* is used after vowels, except *o*;
-ɛ̂tɪ̨ after consonants;
-wtɪ̨, after *o*.

Examples of *-ɣtɪ̨* after vowels:

qaa'ɣtɪ̨ tɪ'lqätyä^{ɛ}k I went to the reindeer
añqa'ɣtɪ̨ eiñe'utkui^{ɛ} he called to the sea 8.5; also 49.5; 25.5
ɣañqɣañqɣačɣa'ɣtɪ̨ to the seaside 49.6
nɣta'ɣtɪ̨ to the country 51.2
čaučuwa'ɣtɪ̨ to the reindeer-breeder 48.9
yɣarɣ'ɣtɪ̨ to the house 105.27
lɛ̂lɛ̂a'ɣtɪ̨ to the eye
ɛ̂^{ɛ}lɛ̂a-qɣplɛ̂a'ɣtɪ̨ on an excrement-pile 45.5
kɛ̂alɛ̂a'ɣtɪ̨ to a kele 97.12
ɣɪrɣola'ɣtɪ̨ upward 16.5
ɣɪrɣogčɛ̂a'ɣtɪ upward 47.4
ɣanvɛ̂'nɣauka'ɣtɪ̨ to an unbroken one 50.12 (*ä—kä* not)
ta'lva-pa'lko-vɛ̂^{ɛ}'ɣtɪ to one merely dying of old age 21.7
akka'ɣtɪ tre'tyä^{ɛ}n I brought it for the son
qaa'ɣtɪ̨ on account of the reindeer 48.12
uwaqočɛ̂'ɣtɪ̨ on account of the husband 48.12

Examples of *-ɛ̂tɪ̨* after consonants:

kaltɛ̂'tɪ̨ to the bottom 9.7
naranɛ̂ntɪtko'ñɪñoñɪn notas'qɛ̂'tɪ̨ it shall be thrown on the ground 25.3; also 16.7
mɛ̂mlɛ̂'tɪ̨ to the water 48.5
ra^{ɛ}ulɛ̂'tɪ̨ to the whaler 46.5
a^{ɛ}qa'kamaanvɛ̂'tɪ̨ to the owners of bad dishes 96.7
rɪmnɛ̂'tɪ to the inner skin
ñočɛ̂'ti to the poor ones 96.26
ELIɣɛ̂'ti qätɪ' he went to the father 109.3
yɛ̂'čamɛ̂t-to'mɣɛ̂tɪ qätɪ' he went to the brothers 110.1
tñaɪrgɛ̂'tɪ to the dawn 41.7
yɛ̂^{ɛ}lhɛ̂'tɪ to the moon 41.11

pênyolhê'tɪ on to the hearth 32.7
ɡɪno'nêtɪ to the middle 10.7; 16.8
ergɪp-ya'lhêtɪ on account of the bright moon 14.11

Examples of *-wtɪ*, *-utɪ*, after *o*

qaaračikou'tɪ under the sledge-cover 110.8
yorou'tɪ to the sleeping-room 39.10
mêmlɪčɪkou'tɪ into the water 17.4

-ɪ̌tɪ, -etɪ (Koryak)

-ɪ̌tɪ used after all vowels.

yaya'ɪtɪ to the house (*yaite'tɪ* verbal, from *yaite'kɪn* Kor. 17.3)
yoyo'ɪtɪ to the sleeping-room
ļeļa'ɪtɪ to the eye
ɡičɣoļai'tɪ to the upper part Kor. 20.1
yɪnoi'tɪ to the rear storeroom Kor. 35.6

-etɪ after consonants.

yɪpnê'tɪ to the inner skin
oļhɪwɣ'tɪñ to the cache Kor. 36.3
yɪnootñe'tɪ into the vent-hole Kor. 43.3

Here belong the allatives of the locative demonstratives and interrogatives, which take *-ri* in Chukchee.

	Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadel
whither	*mi'ñkri*	*menkei'tɪ*	*ma'nke*
hither	——	*wotčai'tɪ*	
thither	*eñkri*	*änkai'tɪñ* *enkai'tɪ* Kor. 17.2	
thither (midway)	*va'änřê*	*vaieñai'tɪ*	
thither	*ñe'nři*	*ñankai'tɪ*	

§ 41. ALLATIVE OF PERSONAL NOUNS

-(ɪ)ŋa TO, TOWARDS. Used only with proper names, personal demonstratives, and with a few appellative nouns.

Ya'tɪlɪŋa to Yetɪl IN
a'tênŋa to father (*a'tɛ* FATHER, in the language of children)
apai'ñɪŋa to grandfather (*apai'ñin* [<*ɣpɣ-yñɪn*], GRANDFATHER in the language of children)
apaqa'yɪŋa to grandmother (*ɣpɣ'qäi* [<*ɣpɣ-qäi*] GRANDMOTHER in the language of children)
tɵmɣê'êna to the friend (*tɵ'mɣɪnɪna*, in the pronunciation of women)
wo'tqanêna (Kor. Kam. *wo'tenena*) to this one
mê'kêna (Kor. Kam. *me'kena*) to whom

-(ɪ)na(ñ) (Kor. Kam.) TOWARDS, TO. Used only with proper names. Pronouns belonging to this group have *na* like the corresponding Chukchee form.

Ačče'pɪna(ñ) to Aččepɪna
Mete'na to Miti Kor. 43.2

The related suffix, *-(ɪ)ñ* or *-na(ñ)*, may be used with a few appellative nouns; *-ĭtɪ* (see § 40) occurs as well.

ta'tañ or *ta'tanañ* to father; *ta'tana* Kor. 74.15 (*ta'ta* FATHER, in the language of children); but *ɪḷai'tɪ* to the mother

§ 42. ABLATIVE IN *-g̣ŭpŭ*

-ĭ̥pŭ̥, -ê̥'pŭ̥, -g̣ŭ̥pŭ̥ (Chukchee) FROM, OUT OF, ACROSS, ALONG.

-ĭ̥pŭ̥ with stems ending in a vowel.

lêla'ĭpŭ from the eye
Roltannênai'pŭ from Rulte'nnin 124.8 (see § 31, 4)
qaai̥'pŭ̥ lei'wulɪn along the reindeer (herd) the walking one
ñarg̣ɪnoi'pŭ̥ from outside 12.10 (see § 31, 4; of *ñarg̣ɪno'lɪn* that staying in the outer tent)
qolê-notai'pu from another land 14.12; 113.11; 136.21
notai'pŭ nɪlei'vuqinet they walked along the (open) land 17.9
pottɪñai'pŭ by the holes 47.2
añqañqačai'pŭ from the seaside 49.8 (see § 31, 4)
qaačɪkoi'pŭ from the herd 51.2
pag̣talkoi'pŭ along the crevices 22.6
čottag̣nɪčɪkoi'pŭ from the outer tent 131.5
êučai'pŭ from below 131.5
ᴇn·kêčɪkoɪ'pŭ from there (inside) 131.12

-g̣ŭ̥pŭ̥ mostly with stems ending in a single consonant.

va̯'a̯mg̣ŭ̥pŭ̥ from the river
nɪmnɪ'mg̣ŭ̥pŭ̥ nɪ'pkir-mu'ri we came from the settlement 10.12
pêpê'g̣g̣ŭpŭ by the ankle 50.11

-êpŭ̥ mostly with stems ending in two consonants.

org̣ê'pu from the sledge
la̯utê̥'pŭ̥ kɪ'plɪnên he struck him across the head (see 8.1)
ronmê'pŭ̥ from under the outer tent-cover 12.9
yɪkɪrg̣ê'pu across its mouth 115.1
čot-tag̣nê'pŭ from the outer tent
g̣amg̣a-va'ɪrg̣ê'pŭ among all beings 22.2
ranmê'pŭ from the border of the house 130.16
êpɪ'nmêpŭ from under the wall 130.16

-e'pu (only in Koryak II, in a number of dialects; for instance, in the village of *Ki'čhɪn* in Kamchatka).

nute'pu g̣aḷai'vuḷin he walked along the open land

§ 43. POST-POSITIONS IN *-nk, -nq, -ñq, -(n)qo, -ñqorɪ*

-ñqo (Koryak I) FROM, OUT OF (not with the meaning ACROSS, ALONG).

leḷa'ñqo from the eye
ega'ñko from heaven Kor. 33.4
kɪpla'ɣɪgiñko out of the bottom of the mortar Kor. 53.3
meṅka'ñqo (*mañe'nko* Kor. 33.7) whence
wotča'ñqo from here
ñanka'ñqo thence
ña'nakañqo Kor. 42.3
änka'nqo from there
vaĭ'eñqo from there (not very far)

-nqo, -ñqo'rɪ (Chukchee) FROM, not free; only in the following adverbs:

mê'nqo and *mêñqo'rɪ* whence (*mê'ñko* 113.19)
ño'onqo and *ño'oñqo'rɪ* from there (far off) (*ño'onko* 76.5; 131.8)
va'ɛnqo va'äñqo and *va'änqorɪ* from there (not very far)
ño'tɛnqo and *ño'tɪñqorɪ* from behind the speaker
ra'ɛnqo from behind the person addressed
ñu'nqu and *ñunqu'ri* from there
ɛ'ñqo, 86.18 *ɛn'qo'ro* 65.18 and *ɛnqo'rɪ* from there 125.3;
wo'tqo, *wotqoro* 124.10 and *wotqo'rɪ* from here
(*ña'nqo* means, however, simply HERE)
ña'nko 12.7 From this is formed the ablative *ñan'koĭ'pŭ*.
ña'nɪko there Kor. 32.1
qoro' COME HERE! (Kor. *qoyo* is probably the exclamatory form for *ña'nqorɪ* HITHER. The latter form is rarely used. Kor. Kam. *qo'yɪn* HITHER is perhaps the ablative of the same form.
qoro' ña'nko then come here! R 73.76 *qo'ro* 101.3

-nk (Kamchadal). Used in most oblique cases. Since all Kamchadal stems end in consonants, this suffix requires a connecting vowel which corresponds in character to the vowel of the stem.

i̯, *ï̯*, *e̯*, *u̯*, *ü̯*, *ɤ̯*, are found in this position.
The allative always has the strong form of the connecting vowel.
The suffix often takes the termination *-e*.

sün the wood
sünk from the wood
sö'nke to the wood
kïx the sea
kï'œnk from the sea
kë'xanke to the sea
lŭl the eye
lŭ'lank from the eye
lŭ'lank to the eye
ɛ'nkɪ there
ño'nke there, thus
ma'nke whence, whither, how

§ 44. *Post-positions of Plurals of Personal Nouns*

The plurals of personal nouns form their locative, allative, ablative (§§ 39, 41), and possessives (p. 709) by adding the stem of the pronoun *(ı)rg* THEY (Kor. Kam. *[ı]y*) to the stem. The allative and ablative forms differ, however, somewhat, from the forms of the independent pronoun.

stem *(ı)rg* THEY

	Independent pronoun.	Suffix of plural of personal noun.
absolute	*E'rrı*	———
allative	*Erıka'gtı*	*—Erık*
ablative	*Erıkaï'pŭ*	*—ı'rgŭpŭ*

qla'ul man — *qlaulı'rgŭpŭ* from the people
ora'wêʟan person — *orawêʟa'rgên* belonging to men
Tiña'p (a name) — *Tiña'pErık* with Tiña'p and his family (locative and allative)
Tiña'pırgên belonging to Tiña'p's family, belonging to Tiña'p[1]

Kor. Kam.:

Pipï'kča-ña'wgut Mouse-Woman	*Pipï'kča-ña'wgutiyık* by Mouse-Women Kor. 31.1
Annımaya't Frost-Man	*Annımaya'tıyık* by those with the Frost-Man Kor. 38.9
Aï'gınvı With-Odor-Pushing-Away	*Aigınvı'yıkıñ* to the people of With-Odor-Pushing-Away Kor. 63.6
Quyqınn·aqu Big-Raven	*Qoyqınn·aqoyıkaï'tı* to the Big-Raven's people Kor. 19.9; 35.6

The *k* in the suffixes of these forms is evidently related to the *k* which appears in the allative and ablative of the independent pronoun derived from the stem *(i)rg* (Chukchee), as given in § 56.

Mitï's·hin belonging to Miti Kor, 28.7
Quyqınn·aqu'čhin belonging to Big-Raven Kor. 28. 7

Here Koryak *s·h* and *čh* are analogous to Chukchee *rg*.

[1] In cases of this kind the plural is often used to refer to the person himself.

§§ 45-50. *Form in -in*

§ 45. GENERAL REMARKS

A considerable number of forms ending in *-in* occur, which are seminominal in character. I have found—

Chukchee	Koryak	Kamchadal	
-in	*-in*	*-in*	possessive
-kin	*-kin*	*-in*, *-n*	pertaining to
-lin	*-la$^{\varepsilon}$n*		measure of a quality
nɪ—qin	*nɪ—'qin*		quality of
ge—lin	*ga—lin*		possessor of

All of these form their plural and post-positional forms by adding the vowel *e* before the affix added to *-in*. For example:

	Chukchee	Koryak Kam.
Absolute	*nɪmeʔlqin*	*nɪmaʔlqin*
Subjective	*nɪmelqineʔtä*	*nɪmalqinaʔta*
Locative	*nɪmeʔlqinek*	*nɪmaʔlqinak*
Plural-Dual	*nɪmeʔlqinet*[1]	*nɪmaʔlqinat*
Plural		*nɪmaʔlqinaw*

On the whole, forms of this type with post-positions are rare.

mi'ñkri-va'lɪt pleʔkɪt tegge'ñu nɪmeʔlgɪgɪt? Nɪmeʔyɪñqinet mei'-mitɪnet. How do you want your boots? I want large ones (*mi'ñkri* how; *va'lɪt* being, pl. (§ 54); *pleʔkɪt* boots pl.; *teggeñ* desire; *-u* serving for; *nɪ-* prefix of nominalized verb [§ 73]; *-nelg* to have; *-gɪt* thou; *nɪ—qinet* nominalized form of verb, pl.; *meʔiñ* large, *m-* 1st per. exhortative; *eimit* to take; *-net* [I]— them, exhortative)

To the question *räˢ-neʔlhä geʔrkuɪin?* With what kind of skins has it been bought? (*req* what; *ne'lhin* skin; *-ä* instrumental; *ge—lin* nominalized verb [§ 73]; *-rkur* to buy) one may answer—

nɪteñqineʔtä with good ones (*nɪ—qin* nominalized verb; *nɪ—qinetä* instrumental of this form; *teñ* good);

but it is better to avoid the nominalized form with suffix, and to say,

ten-ne'lhä with a good skin

em-te'n·ñɪla nike'iᵉ the sportful people teased him (*em-* mere; *te'n·ñɪla* subjective form of *te'n·ñɪlɪn* sportful [the corresponding verb with the suffix *-eu* is *ten·ñe'urkɪn* TO LAUGH]; *nike'iᵉ* indefinite pronominal verb, *nike'rkin* TO DO SOMETHING)

[1] Men's pronunciation *nɪmeʔlqeet*.

These forms, however, have definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms.

tệñ good	*nıte'nqin*	definite form *nıtanqê-na'čhın* (see § 53)
	te'ñıčın (see § 55)	augmentative form *tañıčı'yñın* (see § 98, no. 1)
	ta'ñum-va'lın (see §76)	augmentative form *ta'ñum-valı'yñın*
	tand·ya'n (see §104.38)	diminutive form *tand·ya'nvuqai*

In Koryak these forms are not found, as a rule.

§ 46. SUFFIX *-in.*

-*i̯n* (Kor. **-*i̯n;*** Kamchadal **-*i̯n***) expresses material of which an object is made, and possession.

(*a*) Material.

u̯'ttı̯n wooden (Kor. *u̯'ttı̯n*)
ı̯ą̊'lgê̯n ŭm ẹ̊vi̯'rı̯t bird dresses 7.8
ı̯ą̊'lhê̯n i̯'rı̯n bird clothes 14.3
qo̯'rê̯n nẹ̊'lhı̯n reindeer-skins 14.4
ẹ̊ᵉlẹ̊ᵉ'lin qla̯'u̯l man of excrement 39.6
ya̯ra̯'ñı wu̯'kwê̯n house of stone 92.5
ko̯'nê̯n made of horse (hair) (stem *ko̯'nê̯* from Russian конь)
rı̯'gr̥ı̯gê̯n made of hair

Koryak:

kuka'kin ı̯atai'kılin it is made of a kettle Kor. 78.1
mı'mčin (made) of a louse Kor. 78.1

The same idea is also expressed by composition.

ı̯a'lga-na'llın bird-skin
u'tti-yu'ñı wooden whale Kor. 40.9

(*b*) Possessive. Used only in absolute form.

ẹ̊'kki̯n the son's (Kor. Kam. *a'kkin*)
(Kamchadal *i̯'cæin* the father's)
qo̯'rê̯n the reindeer's (Kor. Kam. *qo'yen;* Kamchadal *k!o'jan*)
čo̯u'čuwê̯n ñe'wän the reindeer-breeder's wife 48.6
e'kki̯n yo̯ro̯'ñı the son's sleeping-room 53.8
ınpınq̊'čhê̯̂n ELI'*gınê̯n yoro'ñı* the old man's, the father's sleeping-room 53.9
tu̯'mgın stranger's (see p. 689) 53.9
o̯rą̊'wê̯̂ı̯ê̯n aimakı'yñın a man's big body 90.14

ña̯u̯s·qa̯'tčɪñɪnê̯n ELA' the woman's father 85.22
ñe̯'e̯kki̯n ya'nřa yo̯ro̯'ñɪ daughter's separate sleeping-room 28.3
ñe̯'e̯kki̯n čo'tčot the daughter's bag pillow 29.4
o̯ra̯'wê̯ʟê̯n ga̯'mga̯-tE'či̯rgɪn man's every source of illness 24.3
ke'le̯-ñe̯'us·qätin kê̯'rkê̯r the combination-suit of the kele-woman 85.33
qla̯'u̯lqaiê̯n i'rɪn the man's suit 85.35
ñinqa'yin evi'rɪn the child's clothes 25.8
Ku'urkɪlin e'kɪk Ku'urkɪl's son 79.23
Tño'tirgɪnên Tño'tirgɪn's 120.16
Umqäqäi'in U'mqäqäi's 63.12

Koryak:

tami'nñɪ-qla'wuḷen ñawa'kak an artisan's daughter Kor. 24.10
awa'ñɪ-ña'win ñawa'kak the daughter of a seamstress Kor. 25.2
tu'mgɪnau kawa'ssočhu other people's wallets Kor. 46.1
qo'yen gɪtča'ḷñɪn reindeer-leg Kor. 53.3

Proper names form their possessives of this type also with the suffix -(ɪ)*n*, especially when the terminal sound of the stem is a vowel.

A'nna (a name)	*A'nnan* belonging to A'nna
Qutu'wgi (a name)	*Qutu'wgin* belonging to Qutu'wgi
Aiñanwa't (a name)	*Aiñanwa'tɪn* and *Aiñanwa'tên* belonging to Aiña'nwat.
Upe'nken belonging to Upenke R72.13	
Ñiro'nên belonging to Ñɪro'n R377, 141 title.	

In Koryak the suffix —*ɪn*, characteristic for the postpositional forms of proper names, is sometimes inserted before the possessive suffix —*ɪn*.

Amamqu'tɪnin ña'wɪtqat Ememqut's woman Kor. 45.1.
Quyqinn·aqu'nin ñawa'kak Brig Raven's daughter Kor. 76.14

The plural takes the regular plural ending -*e̯t* (Kor. Kam. -*at* dual, -*au* plural, Kamchadal -*e'ᵉn* instead of -*in*)

e̯'kki̯ne̯t those of the son (Kor. Kam. *a'kkinat* dual, *a'kkinau* pl.)
(Kamchadal *i'cxēᵉn* those of the father)

Often, however, the singular is used instead of the plural.

The possessive forms of proper names have no plural.

The possessive pronoun is evidently based on this suffix. It has, however, somewhat irregular forms.

	Chukchee		Kor. Kam.		Kamchadal	
	Per. Pron.	Poss. Pron.	Per. Pron.	Poss. Pron.	Per. Pron.	Poss. Pron.
1st per. sing. .	*ǧŭm*	*ǧŭmni'n*	*ǧŭmma*	*ǧŭmni'n*	*kɪ'mma*	*kɪma'n*
2d per. sing. .	*gɪt*	*gɪni'n*	*gɪ'ssa*	*gɪni'n*	*kɪ'ja*	*kɪni'n*
3d per. sing. .	*ena'n*	*eni'n*	*e'nnu*	*ani'n*	*ena'*	*ena'n*
1st per. pl. . .	*mu'ri*	*mu'rgin*	*mu'yu*	*mu'čhin*	*mu'ja*	*mɪ'jgin*
2d per. pl. . .	*tu'ri*	*tu'rgin*	*tu'yu*	*tu'čhin*	*tu'ja*	*tɪ'jhin*
3d per. pl. . .	*e'rri*	*e'rgin*	*a'čču*	*a'čhin*	*itæ*	*tæi'in*

The Koryak dual has no possessive forms.

Plural and dual are formed in the same way as in all attributive terms in *-in*:—

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
my	*ǧŭmni'net* (pl.)	*gumni'nat* (dual) *gumni'nau* (pl.)	*kɪma^{e}n* (pl.)

From these possessives, forms with suffixes originate.

ǧŭmnine'tä (Kor. Kam. *ǧŭmnina'ta*) with mine.

It is, however, more customary to use the personal pronoun with the suffix instead.

gomokaŭ'pŭ qäi'mityin TAKE IT FROM ME! (instead of TAKE IT FROM MINE) (*gomokaŭpŭ* see § 56; *q—gin* imperative; *eimit* to take)

Demonstrative pronouns form two possessive forms:

wo'tqan this { *wo'tqanên* and *wo'tqanenên* (men's pronunciation *wo'tqäên* and *wo'tqäenên*) } belonging to this

enqa'n that { *enqa'nên* and *e'nqanenên* (men's pronunciation *enqä'ên* and *.enqaenên*) } belonging to that

The forms in *—enin* may be considered as compounded with the possessive of the third person singular personal pronoun *eni'n*, so that they would be parallel to the plural forms of the demonstrative possessives discussed in § 58, p.729: *wo'tqanergên* (man's pronunciation *wo'tqäergên*) and *e'nqanergên* (man's pronunciation *e'nqäergên*).

The possessives of proper names in Koryak are formed in the same manner; as

Quyqinnaqu'nin ñawa'kak Big-Raven's daughter Kor. 76.14.

Amamqu'tinin ña'witqat Ememqut's woman Kor. 45.1.

Kamchadal uses the suffixes with the possessive pronoun quite frequently.

kima'nl'inl' with my ears (*kiman* my; *-l'* instrumental; *in* ear)

mi'nenl' x'va'nl' with which knife?

i'knini' kcx'ol' with other dogs

§ 47. SUFFIX *-kin*

-kin (Kor. Kam. ***-kin***; Kamchadal ***-in, -n***) PERTAINING TO. This suffix is added to all kinds of stems,—nominal, pronominal, verbal, and adverbial.

ąñqą'kên of the sea 69.9 (Kor. Kam. *ąñqą'qen* Kor. 76.17)
tele'nkin pertaining to the remote past (*tele'n-yep* long ago); Kor. Kam. *ankıye'pkin* (stem *ankı-ye'p*)
ergą'tkın pertaining to to-morrow (Kor. Kam. *miti'wkin*)
pi'lhıkin pertaining to the throat 9.3
a^{e}ttwıle'kin pertaining to the people of the boats 11.9; 12.1
a^{e}'ttwukin pertaining to the boat 14.6
qe'ptikin pertaining to the back 16.10
tile'kin pertaining to motion 16.10
mê'ɳılıkên pertaining to water 25.6
kele'kin pertaining to spirits 104.26
ą'rgukên pertaining to a sledge 62.11
qąi'mą-rą'kên pertaining to the rear sleeping-room 55.8
nute's·qäkin tı'mkılhın a ground hummock 62.5
telenye'pkin belonging to olden times 61.5
mênką'kên whence belonging? 113.20
wañê'kęn working, referring to work (from *wañê*)
yılqä'tkin referring to sleep

Forms with post-positions are rare.

gırgąlkênąa'ta by the one belonging above 126.6

The possessive of the personal and of some demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, with the suffix *-kin* (Kor. Kam. *-kin*) expresses THAT PERTAINING TO—

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
murıke'kin	*muyka'kin* (dual)	——	one being with us, one of ours
	mučka'kin (pl)	——	one of our country
tite'kin	*tita'kin*	*ite'an, ite'nan*	from what time being
miñke'kin, *mênko'kên*	*miñkakin* Kor. 66.11	*mi'nein*	from where being, belonging to what country
wutke'kin	*wutča'kin*	*ta'nin*	belonging here
——	*minka'kinau*	——	whose? Kor. 60.4
——	*ya'qkinau*	——	of what kind (pl.) Kor. 64.14
——	*ñanka'kenat*	——	the two belonging there Kor. 70.22

Here belong also the following Chukchee forms:

en·ke'kin belonging there
ñen·ku'kin belonging there (farther on)
raenqa'kên belonging there (not very far, midway to)
vaenqa'kên belonging there (behind the person addressed)
ñotınqa'kên belonging there (behind the speaker)

Such Koryak forms as *minka'kiḷaᵉn* BELONGING TO WHAT COUNTRY (Kor. 40.7), *ganka'kıḷaᵉn* BELONGING TO THAT COUNTRY (Kor. 40.7), combine two suffixes,-*kin* and-*ḷaᵉn*, and refer to persons.

Temporal adverbs also take this suffix.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
i'ġıtkin	*a'čhıkin*	what belongs to the present
tite'kin	*tita'kin*	belonging to which time

Numeral predicates with the ending -*kin* express ordinal numbers.

mılınkau'kên or *mılınka'ulın* the fifth

§ 48. SUFFIX -*liṇ*

-*liṇ* (Kor. Kam. -*ḷaᵉn*) (oblique cases formed from -*l*, Kor. -*l*) expresses the measure of a quality.

miñke'mil ǫe'tvuliṇ what likeness strong? (i. e., how strong?); Kor. Kam. *menke'mič qa'tvulaᵉn*; Kor. Par. *menke'mis· qe'tvulaᵉn*

en·ke'mil gıtte'pılıŭm that likeness I am sensible (i. e., I am so sensible) (*en·ke* that; -*ıŭm* [§73])

With the prefix *ǫe-* it indicates the possessor of an object.

ǫe—liṇ (Chukchee), ***ga—liṇ*** (Kor. Kam). This is identical with the verbal forms given in § 73. It expresses possession.

ǫa-ǫa'ǫ-lêṇ (Kor. Kam. *ga-ǫǫya'-leṇ*) he who has reindeer
ǫ-ekke'-liṇ (Kor. Kam. *ǫ-akka'-liṇ*) he who has sons
ǫarai'-gıt thou who hast a home 89.7 (see § 73).
ǫa-pêla'-i-ǫŭm I have left
ǫa-qaa'-i-ǫŭm I who have reindeer.

Koryak:

ǫavagınña'ḷen with nails Kor. 24.2
ǫaḷa'lin with eyes Kor. 24.2

§ 49. SUFFIX *-qin*

n*(*ɪ*)—*qin and ***-lɪn*** (Chukchee), ***n*(*ɪ*)—*qin*** (Kor. Kam.), are added to stems, most of which express a quality. Many of these are also bases of intransitive and transitive verbs which are formed with the suffixes *-eu* or *-et* (see p. 810). Some verbs, however, are formed without these suffixes.

The attributive terms in *n*(*ɪ*)—*qin* are identical in form with the verbal mode in *n*(*ɪ*)—*qin*, discussed in § 73. When the verb has no verbifying suffix *-eu* or *-et*, the verbal form and the attributive term are the same, and the verbal form seems to assume nominal functions. It may even take post-positions.

Examples of stems that are verbified by means of the suffixes *-eu* or *-et:*

Stems *têrg-*; *têrgat* to weep		*nɪ-tê'r-ä-qên* or *te'rg-ɪ-lɪn*	tearful
Stem *kɪm-*; *kimg'u* (Kor. Kam. *kima'w-* [*ikɪn*])	slow	*nɪ-ki'm-ä-qin* *nɪ-ki'm-a-qin*	slow-going
Stem *ayɪlh-*; *gayɪlhay* (Kor. Kam. *ayɪlhar*)	afraid	*n-gayɪ'l-ä-qên* *n-ayɪl-a-qen*	fearful

Examples of words that take no verbifying suffix:

Stem *ño-*; *nɪ-ño'-qên* poor, needy
Stem *tam-pêra*; *nɪ-tam-pêra'qên* pretty

A number of words expressing qualities do not take the forms in *nɪ—qin*.

ŭplɪ'lɪ (stem *ŭplil*); (Kor. Kam. *ɪplɪ'lɪ* [stem *ɪplɪl*]), yellowish
e^{ɛ}'tqiñ (stem *eg^{ɛ}'tqiñ* and *äqä*); (Kor. Kam. *a^{ɛ}'tčiñ* [stem *a^{ɛ}'tča*]; Kor. Par. *e^{ɛ}'tqeñ* [stem *äqä*]); bad
gŭmni'n qa'at e^{ɛ}'tqiñɪt my reindeer are bad
also *uwe'lɪ* (stem *uwelg*) and *nu'uqin* (stem *uu*[1]) Kor. Kam. *nu'qin* [stem *u*]), black

When used in nominal form, such adjectives take the usual suffixes.

e^{ɛ}'tqiñ a bad one
e^{ɛ}tqi'ñɪčɪn or *äqä'čɪn* a worse one
a^{ɛ}tqê'ñɪñ-va'lɪn or *aqa'm-ra'lɪn* a bad or worse one
a^{ɛ}tqênd·ya'n or *aqaya'n* one who is bad

Examples of forms in *-lɪn* are given in § 54.

For other adjective forms see §76.

[1] This stem consists of two consonants *uu* < *ww* which form a vocalic unit.

§ 50. KAMCHADAL SUFFIXES

-lä̯x, -ḷä̯x, is added to stems expressing qualities:

ö'm-lax (from *öm*) deep (cf. Chukchee *num-qin* broad)
iuläx (from *iul*) long (cf. Chukchee *n-iu'l-ä-qin*
o'lo-lax (from *olo*) small.

The plural of these is formed with the usual suffix -(*ɪ*)ᵉ*n*

ololax-ɪᵉn ki'stɪᵉnč small little houses.

In post-positional forms the attribute forms a compound with the noun:

o'lolax-kê'stčanke to the small houses.

Several adjectival forms borrowed from Russian and Koryak II are also used.

vo'stroi· xvalč, ni'ruqin xvalč a sharp knife.
nvê'thaqên uᵉh a straight tree.

Here *vo'stroi* is Russian, *ni'ruqin* and *nvê¹'thaqên* are Koryak II. The last forms the Kamchadal plural *nvê'thaḷaᵉn uᵉ'hɪᵉn.*

k!—i̯n (*-ffa̯n*) corresponds to the Chukchee and Koryak forms in *n*(*i*)—*qin* (§ 49), and is used with verbal themes expressing qualities as well as with intransitive verbs.

k!-ni'ta-in (Chukchee *nɪ-gɪte'p—qin*) clever
k!-nu'-in (from *nu* TO EAT) voracious
k!-vêta't- an (from *vêtat* TO WORK) laborious

k!-kɪñi̯n seems to correspond to the Chukchee and Koryak forms in *ge̯—līn* (§ 48), and is used with intransitive verbs.

k!-nu'-kɪñi̯n (from *nu* TO EAT) the one who ate

Both of these suffixes are also used with the transitive verb, *k!—i̯n* with verbs of Type I (see § 70, p. 744), *k!—kɪñi̯n* with verbs of Type II (see § 71, p. 746). These forms have a passive meaning.

-ki̯l', pl. ***-ki̯l'aᵉn,*** forms the personal noun of intransitive verbs.

nu'kil', pl. *nu'kil'aᵉn*, the one who is eating
vêta'tkal', pl. *vêtatkal'aᵉn*, the one who busies himself
colkêl', pl. *colkêl'aᵉn*, the one who lies down

With transitive verbs it expresses the same idea.

txlkil' the one who beats
ke'jkil' the one who keeps

Suffixes in -ɪ(n) §§ 51-55

§ 51. GENERAL REMARKS

A considerable number of nominal suffixes have the termination *-n* in the absolute form. Some of these occur only in the absolute form.

-lhi̥n (Kor. *-ḷñɪn*)
-lɪ̥ñɪn,- ɪLɪñɪn (Kor. *-ḷɪ̥ñɪn*)
-č̥hɪn (Kor. *-č̥ñɪn*)

-čɻñɪn (Kor. *-ɕ̧ñɪn*)
-ɻñɪn augmentative (§ 98, No. 1)
-ɡɪrɡɪn (§ 106, No. 44) (Kor. *-ɡeñɪn*, *-ɡɪtñɪn -ɡɪčñɪn*) abstract noun
-čɪn
-lɪn
-tkɻn (Kor. Kam.*-tčîn*) surface

§ 52. SUFFIXES *-lh̥-* and *-ɻñ-*

-lh̥(ɪn) (Kor. **-ɻñɪn**), the absolute form of a suffix *-lh̥-*, which occurs with great frequency as the absolute form of certain words. In most cases it is not retained with other suffixes, although cases of its retention are also numerous.

lêla'lh̥ɪn eye (stem *lile*)
tɪ'mkɪlh̥ɪn (and *tɪ'mkɪtɪm*) hummock 79.2 (stem *tɪmk* 62.7; but *tɪmkɪlhê'tɪ* 62.5)
mêl̥ɔta'lh̥ɪn hare 78.24 (stem *mɪl̥ute* 78.15)
rêqɔqa'lh̥ɪn fox 78.3 (stem *rɪqɔqe* 78.12)
wu'kwulh̥ɪn stone 35.11 (stem *wukw* 35.11)
kɪ'mɪlh̥ɪn[1] worm 37.3 (stem *kɪm* 36.11)
tamɔna'lh̥ɪn a bivalve shell 9.7 (stem *temune* 9.8)

Koryak:

ɻeɻa'lñɪn eye Kor. 49.5
ɡɪtča'ɻñɪn leg Kor. 53.3
pipi'kaɻñɪn mouse Kor. 58.7
va'nnɪɻñɪn tooth Kor. 34.3,4

-ɻɪñ(ɪn) (Kor. **-ɻɪñ[ɪn]**, sometimes **-ɪLɪñ[ɪn]** is used in the same way as the preceding suffix.

vaᵉ'ɡliñɪn (stem *veᵉg*) (Kor. Kam. *vaᵉ'y-ɻñɪn* [stem *veᵉy*]) grass

It is not always easy to determine whether the *-lh* belongs to the stem or not.

ŭpa'lhɪn tallow 86.23 (*ŭpa'lha* 87.4)
kopa'lhɪn walrus-blubber 12.6 (*kopa'lha* 14.11)
rêpa'lhɪn walrus-hide 13.13
pênyo'lhɪn hearth 31.13
ñawgo'lhɪn old woman 39.5; 40.1
vamɪlqa'lhɪn lip 14.5
pênaka'lhɪn tassel 16.10
auta'lhɪn obsidian scraper 39.12
pêrka'lhɪn bowlder 129.6
rɪ'lhɪ'lɪñɪn and *rêlɪlɪñɪn* wing (stem *rɪlh*, *rɪl*) 15.2

Of these, the first five stems retain the suffix *lh̥* with post-positions. The primary stem, however, is without this suffix: for instance,

[1] The text has *kɪmɪlh̥ɪ'n* because emphasis is laid on the word which is the last in the sentence. If there had been more stress this form would have been *kɪmɪlho'n* (see § 36).

pêṇyo'lhiṇ hearth (stem *pin*, absolute form *pi'mpi* powder, ashes)

The following have weak vowels, and it may be assumed that the *lh* belongs to the stem.

pi'lhɪn throat (stem *pilh*); (Kor. Kam. *pi'lḥin* [stem *pilh*]). Locative: *pi'lhɪk'*, *pi''lɪk*; (Kor. Kam. *pi'lḥik*)

ñi'lhɪn thong 48.4

ne'lhɪn skin 7.9

§ 53. SUFFIXES *-čh-* and *-čɪñ-*

-čh(ɪn), -čɪñ(ɪn) (Kor. **-čg[ɪn], čɪñ[ɪn]; -tg[ɪn]; -s·g[ɪn]**,— according to dialect). This suffix seems to express an emphatic form. Sometimes it corresponds to the definite article or designates an object as referred to before. In other cases it might be translated as A PARTICULAR ONE, in contradistinction to other objects of the same or other classes. Some words seem to have the suffix throughout.

Etymologically it may be related to the suffix *-lh-*, since *č* and *l* (Kor. *č* and *ḷ*) replace each other frequently (see § 122).

ṿaḷa'čhɪn knife (stem *ṿaḷa*, absolute *va'lE*); Kor. Kam. *ṿaḷa'-čṇɪn* (stem *ṿaḷa*, absolute *ṿa'ḷa*)

ṿa'mkɪčhɪn people (stem *ṿemk*, absolute *ṿe'mkɪn*); Kor. *ya'mkɪčgɪn* (stem *yamk*, absolute *ya'mkɪn*)

ELI'gɪčhɪn the aforesaid father 19.11

ọra'wêḷačhɪn the aforesaid man 18.11

pênyo'lhɪčhɪn the aforesaid hearth 32.9

yê'lɪčhɪn the aforesaid tongue 40.10, 12

lêla'lhɪčhɪn the aforesaid eye 106.19

qọlo-a^{E}'ttɪčhɪn a particular kind of dog 121.11

kaḷa'čhɪn a particular kele 105.14

ṿa'amɪčhɪn a particular river 40.12

lolo'čhɪn a particular penis 26.8

ña'lvŭlɪčhɪn a particular kind of herd 79.6

Koryak:

qoqlo'wɪčñɪm hole Kor. 15.8

ḷawtɪkɪ'ḷčɪčñɪm head-band Kor. 17.12

-čɪñ (ɪn).

ñawa'nčɪñɪn a particular wife 38.4

ñaus·qa'tčɪñɪn the aforesaid woman 39.7

pako'lčɪñɪn a particular kind of woman's knife 44.3, 5

NOTE 1.—A number of stems end in *čh*, and are not related to this class.

taï'ọčhɪčhɪn the bag mentioned before (stem *teiuch*, absolute *teï'-uchɪn*); Kor. Kam. *čaï'ọčhɪčñɪn* (stem *čaiuch*, absolute *čaï'ụčhɪm*)

NOTE 2.—In words which have the absolute form in *-lḫ-*, *-lɪ̥ñ-*, the suffix *-čḫ-*, *-čɪ̥ñ-*, may be added to the stem or to the suffixes *-lḫ-*, *-li̥ñ-*.

lê̯la̯'lḫɪčḫɪn 106.19, or *lê̯la̯'čḫɪn* eye (stem *li̯le̯*, absolute *lê̯la̯'lḫɪn*); Kor. Kam. *ḷe̯ḷalhɪ̥čñ̥ɪn* or *ḷeḷa'čñ̥ɪn*, (stem *li̯ḷa*, absolute *ḷe̯la'ḷhɪn*)

§ 54. SUFFIXES *-lɪ-* (*-le̯ᵉn*, *-čeᵉn*)

-lɪ-, -le̯ᵉn, (Kor. Kam. ***-laᵉn, -[a]ḷaᵉn, -[i]ḷaᵉn*** are similar to the participle of the intransitive verb. As suffixes of substantives, they indicate a person related in some more or less direct way to the object.

After stems with terminal vowel *-lɪn* is used; after the terminal consonant of a stem (except *l*, *r*, *n*, and *t*) the auxiliary vowel *ɪ* is inserted before *-lɪn*. After terminal *l*, *r*, *n*, and *t*, the suffix *-leᵉn* is used, which forms with terminal *l* or *r* the ending *-ḷeᵉn*, with terminal *t* the ending *-ʟeᵉn*. With names this ending expresses A PERSON ACTING(?).

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
ri̯'ḷe̯n (<*ri̯l*+*-le̯ᵉn*; base *ri̯l*)	*yi'ḷaᵉn* (base	winged
re̯lɪ'ʟi̥ñin	*yiḷ*) *yeḷɪ'ḷñin*	wing
ña̯w-kêḷaᵉn (<*kêr-leᵉn*)	*ñaw-ke'ĭḷaᵉn*	clad in woman's dress
ya'aḷaᵉn (<*ya'al-laᵉn*)	*ya'aḷaᵉn*	that in the rear
ve̯'e̯mɪlɪn	*vaya'mɪlaᵉn*	River man
ḁ'ñqḁlɪn	*a'ñqalaᵉn*	Maritime man
ña'čhɪla ḡenpelqu'wlin		by a left-handed man was he vanquished

Numeral terms with the ending *-lɪn* express ordinal numbers.

mɪʟɪṇka'ulɪn or *mɪʟɪnkau'kên* the fifth

With intransitive verbs this suffix forms the expression THE ONE WHO —.

ŭpa'ulɪn the one who drinks (stem *ŭpau* to drink) (Kor. *apa'uḷaᵉn* [stem *apau*])

Here belong also

e'čelɪn the one who is fat (Kor. Kam. *ḡača'ḷin*)

ḡai'mɪčɪlɪn the rich one[1]

Plural, dual, and oblique cases are formed like those of the adjective in *-lɪn* (§ 49).

Verbal stems terminating in *l* and *r* are contracted with this suffix, and form *-ḷe̯ᵉn*.

uñe'ḷeᵉn < *uñel-lɪn* wood-carrier 27.5

te'ḷeᵉn < *tel-lɪn* the suffering one 34.7

rɪltê'ḷaᵉn one who is lying there 28.6

[1] See §§48, 49. The two examples here given have no corresponding forms in *n(ɪ)—qi̥n*.

iᵉḷeᵉn < *iᵉr-lɪn* the one who crosses over
aᵉttooʟê'tɪ qi'wkwiᵉ say to the one in front!

In Koryak the corresponding forms are not contracted.

te'ḷaᵉn the suffering one
eᵉ'ylaᵉn the one crossing over

In Koryak the same suffix is used with transitive verbs to express the actor.

pe̥ḷa'ḷaᵉn the one who leaves

In Chukchee the same form, when derived from transitive verbs, requires the prefix *i̯ne̯-* or the suffix *-tku̯*.

ê̯na̯pê̥lḁ'lɪn } the one who leaves
pê̥lḁ'tkə̯lɪn }

In some cases both forms in *-lɪn* and in *-ki̯n* (see § 47) are used indiscriminately.

ña'čhɪlɪn (Kor. Kam. *ña'čhalaᵉn*) or *ña'čᴇn·kên* that to the left
mra'lɪn (Kor. Kam. *mya'ḷaᵉn*) or *mra'kên* that to the right

Similar forms in *-laᵉn* occur in Kamchadal. These seem to be due however, to the influence of the Koryak.

ki'stɪlaᵉn and *ki'stɪin* that of the house
atɪno'laᵉn and *atɪno'an* that of the village

§ 55. SUFFIX *-čɪn-* (*-če̯ᵉn*)

-čɪn (***-če̯ᵉn***) (Kor. Kam. ***-čaᵉn***, Kor. Par. ***-saᵉn***) is used principally to express the comparative. The form *-če̯ᵉn* is used after the single terminal consonants *n*, *r*, *l*. With this ending, the object of the comparison assumes the locative form.

me̯'lčeᵉn the better one (Kor. Kam. *ma'ḷčaᵉn*)
meiñɪčɪn the larger one (Kor. Kam. *mai'ñɪčaᵉn*; Kor. Par. *mei'ñɪsaᵉn*)

ia'm mɪ'kɪčɪn ine'ilɪrkɪn ta'aq, mei'ñɪčɪn ŭm qine'ilhiᵉ why do you give me the smaller bundle of tobacco? Give me the larger one (*ia'm* why; *mk* large; *i̯ne̯-yɪl-ɪ-rkɪn* you give me [§ 67]; *ta'aq* tobacco; *me̯ɪ'ñ* large; *ŭm* particle expresssing slight emphasis; *q-i̯ne̯-yɪl-g̣iᵉ* give me! [§ 67]); (Kor. Kam. *me'nqanqač ɪplu'čaᵉn ine'yɪlɪ ta'waq, maiñɪčaᵉn qine'yɪl;* Kor. *aᵉ'ččiñɪčaᵉn* the worst Kor. 30.7)

g̣a̯'mg̣a̯-qlḁ'ulɪk qe'tvŭčiŭm I am stronger than all others (*g̣e̯mg̣e-* every; *qla'ul* man; *-k* locative; *qe'tvu* strong; *-iŭm* [§ 73]); Kor. Kam. *g̣a'mg̣a-qḷa'wuḷak ɪna'n qa'tvučeg̣ŭm*)

It would seem as if the older meaning of this form were related to *-čhɪn* THE PARTICULAR ONE. We find, for instance,

ę'rmęčın the strong man (stem *ęrmę*)
ñǫ'čın the poor man (stem *ñǫ*)

This ending has oblique cases:

ya^{ɛ}čę'pŭ qäčvi'ęın čımqŭk cut off some rawer part (*ya^{ɛ}* raw; *-êpu* from; *qä-čvi-ęın* [stem *čvi*] to cut [§ 67]; *čı'mqŭk* some)
armačę'tı to the strong man
armačę'pŭ from the strong man

The ending appears also in composition without formative endings.

ı'npıč-ąkkąi'pŭ from the elder son (*np* old; *ekke* son)

The subjective form of the third person pronoun combined with the suffix *-čın* or *vą'lın* (Kor. Kam. *-ča^{ɛ}n* or *i'taļa^{ɛ}n*) expresses our superlative.

ena'n mai'ñıčın (Kor. Kam. *ına'n-mai'ñiča^{ɛ}n*)
ena'n-ma'yınku-wa'lın (Kor. Kam. *ına'n-ma'yıñkıñ-i'taļa^{ɛ}n*) } the largest one

-čei (Kamchadal) expresses the emphatic comparative form of the adjective, and replaces the ending *-laæ*. As in Chukchee and Koryak, the object of comparison is expressed in the locative form.

kı'mma kını'nk činıñčei' I am prettier than you (*kımma' I; kını'nk* on thee; *činı'ñläæ* pretty)

Pronouns (§§ 56-60).

§ 56. *Personal Pronouns*

The personal pronouns are —

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
I . . .	*ğŭm*	*ğŭmma*, *ğŭm*	*kı'mma*
thou . .	*gıt*	*ğı'ssa*,[1] *ğı*	*kı'ja*
he . . .	*ena'n*[2]	*a'nnu*	*enā'*
we . . .	*mu'ri*	*mu'yi* (dual) *mu'yu* (plural)	*mu'ja*
ye . . .	*tur'i*	*tu'yi* (dual) *tu'yu* (plural)	*tu'ja*
they . .	*e'rrı*	*a'čči* (dual) *a'ču* (plural)	*ıtæ*

From these absolute forms, forms analogous to those of the noun are derived. The locative, subjective, and possessive are derived from the stems; while the forms in *-ğtı*, *-ipu*, of Chukchee, require the suffix *ka* after the pronominal stem. Thus we find the following forms:

[1] The Koryak of Paren has *ğtča*, although ordinarily *tč* is characteristic of Kamenskoye, *ss* of Paren.

[2] The particle *elo'n* is also used in the absolute form of the pronoun. Otherwise its meaning is generally weakly concessive, like that of German *doch*.

CHUKCHEE

	Singular			Plural		
	1st person	2d person	3d person	1st person	2d person	3d person
Absolute	*gŭm*	*gɪt, gɪr*	*Ena'n*	*mu'ri*	*tu'ri*	*E'rrɪ*
Locative	*gŭmŭ'k, gŭmŭ'g*	*gĭnɪ'k, gɪnɪ'g*	*Enɪ'k, Enɪ'g*	*mu'rɪk, mu'rɪg*	*tu'rɪk, tu'rɪg*	*E'rɪk, E'rig*
	gŭmŭ'kɪ	*gɪnɪ'kɪ*	*Enɪ'kɪ*	*mu'rɪkɪ*	*tu'rɪkɪ*	*E'rɪkɪ*
Subjective	*gumna'n*	*gɪna'n*	*Ena'n*	*mərgɪna'n*	*tərgɪna'n*	*Ergɪna'n*
Possessive	*gumni'n*	*gɪni'n*	*Eni'n*	*mu'rgin*	*tu'rgin*	*E'rgin*
Allative	*gŭmŭka'gtɪ*	*gɪnɪka'gtɪ*	*Enɪka'gtɪ*	*mərêka'gtɪ*	*tərêqa'gtɪ*	*Erɪka'gtɪ*
	gọmọka'gtɪ					
Ablative	*gŭmŭkai'pŭ*	*gɪnɪkai'pŭ*	*Enɪkai'pŭ*	*mərêkai'pŭ*	*tərêkai'pŭ*	*Erɪkai'pŭ*
	gọmọkai'pŭ					

KORYAK

Absolute	*gŭmma*	*gɪ'ssa, gị*	*E'nnu*	*mu'yi mu'yu*	*tu'yi tu'yu*	*a'čči a'čču*
Locative	*gŭ'mɪk*	*gɪ'nɪk*	*ɪ'nɪk*	*mu'yɪk*	*tu'yɪk*	*a'ččɪk*
Subjective	*gŭmna'n*	*gɪna'n*	*ɪna'n*	*močhɪna'n*	*točhɪna'n*	*ačhɪna'n*
Possessive	*gŭmni'n*	*gɪni'n*	*ani'n*	*mu'čhɪn*	*tu'čhin*	*a'čhin*
Allative	*gŭmkai'tɪ*	*gɪnkai'tɪ*	*ɪnkai'tɪ*	*moikai'tɪ, močaitɪ*	*toikai'tɪ, točkai'tɪ*	*aččai'tɪ*
	gŭ'mkɪñ	*gɪ'nkɪñ*	*ɪ'nkɪñ*	*moi'kɪñ, mo'čɪn*	*toi'kɪñ, to'čɪñ*	*a'ččɪñ*
Ablative	*gŭmka'ñqo*	*gɪnka'ñqo*	*ɪnka'ñqo*	*moika'ñqo, močka'ñqo*	*toika'ñqo, točka'nqo*	*ačka'ñqo, ača'ñqo*

	Singular			Plural		
	1st person	2d person	3d person	1st person	2d person	3d person
Absolute	*kɪ'mma*	*kɪ'ja*	*ɛnā'*	*mu'ja*	*tu'ja*	*ɪtx*
Locative	*kɪmma'nk*	*kɪnɪ'nk*	*ɛna'nk*	*mɪɟgi'nk*	*tɪɟgi'nk*	*txi'ink*
Subjective	*kɪmɪlu'n*	*kɪlu'n*	*xunä'a*	*mjilu'n*	*ɟjilu'n*	*tlun*
Possessive	*kɪma'n*	*kɪnɪ'n*	*ɛna'n*	*mɪ'jgin*	*tɪ'jin*	*txi'in*
Allative	*kɪmma'nke* *kɪma'nke*	*kɪna'nke*	*ɛna'nke*	*mɪɟga'nke*	*tɪɟgo'nke*	*txa'anke*
Ablative	*kɪmma'nk*	*kɪnɪ'nk*	*ɛna'nkɪ*	*mɪɟgi'nk*	*tɪɟgi'nkɪ*	*txi'ink*

In Chukchee and Koryak there is also a form expressing the aequalis i. e. similar to, of the same size as, according to the wants of.—They are generally used with this suffix—*mi̯č*,-*mi̯l* (§ 102, 30).

	Chukchee	Koryak
similar to me	*g̊ŭ'muw*	*g̊ŭ'muw*
similar to thee	*g̊ɪ'nɪw*	*g̊ɪ'nɪw*
similar to him	*ɛ'nɪw*	*a'nɪw*
similar to us	*mu'ruw*	not known
similar to you	*tu'ruw*	
similar to them	*ɛ'rɪw*	

In both Chukchee and Koryak the plural forms of the first and second persons are often used in place of the singular, without, however, conveying the idea of respect.

amto', *g̊eyɪ'lqät-tu'ri* well, have you slept? (singular or plural)

In Koryak the dual and plural forms are not sharply distinguished.

In Chukchee the plural subjective forms are, in the pronunciation of men, as follows:

mərgäa'n, *tərgäa'n*, *ɛrgäa'n*

In several dialects of Korak II the following forms of the third person plural occur:

Absolute *ɛthu*
Locative *ɛthɪk*
Subjective *ɛthɪna'n*

The Kamchadal forms in *ɪtæ*, and the Chuckchee forms derived from *ɛrg.*, are evidently related to this series.

In both Chukchee and Koryak of Kamenskoye the subjective form is used in some compounds.

g̊ŭmna'n činï't myself (Ch. and Kor. Kam.)

In other cases the possessive forms are used:

g̊ŭmnin činï'tkin (Kor. *g̊ŭmnï'n činï'nkin*) my own.

The idea of SELF, however, is expressed differently in oblique cases.

kata'm-g̊o̯mo̯ ka'gtɪ (Chukchee) just to me (i. e., to myself)

činï't ɯwï'k g̊a'nmɪlên he killed himself, (lit. his own body; *ɯwï'k* body)

Kor. *u'wik qnu'ñɛon* he consumed himself (literally, his body) Kor. 56.10.

Kor. *g̊ɪtčä't ɯwï'kinat g̊anu'linat* he consumed his own legs, lit. legs body belonging to he consumed them Kor. 57.2

The term *ɯwï'kin* BELONGING TO THE BODY is thus used to express OWN.

We find, however, in Koryak, the pronoun also used in oblique cases to express OWN:

ǧŭ'mkıñ činï'nkina with my own.

Personal pronouns have also definite, augmentative and diminutive forms, which take the suffix *-onaiolh* following the possessive form of the pronoun.

ǧŭmŭk-onaiolh-ıčh-ê-ŭm big I

These forms are used in jesting, in children's play, etc.

Demonstrative and Interrogative (Indefinite) Pronouns (§§ *57–58*)

§ 57. PARTICLES AND ABSOLUTE FORMS

The idea of position is expressed with great nicety, and in Chukchee there are nine terms expressing the position of an object in relation to the speaker. In Koryak there are only five, and in Kamchadal I have found only two. The exact relation to the speaker is not quite clear in all of these. In Chukchee the independent form of all of these is formed by the suffix *-qan* (with *n* belonging to the suffix); only one has the ending *-qin*. In Koryak a few have the corresponding endings *-kin*, *-qen*, *-qala'ken*.

	Particles	Chukchee		Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
		Stem	Independent form		
this	*vai*	*wǧ'ı-*	*wǧ'ıqqn*, 65.22; 137.1; 133.4	*wu'ssın* *wu'tcın* (Paren)	*nuᵉ, tiᵉn*
that	*ñan* *Enqan*	*En·ñ-*	*Enqǧ'n* 115.21; 71.13, 29; 63.7, 10	*ña'nyen*	*hë'nñın*
that yonder	*ñoon*	*ñǫ'ǫn-*	*ñǫ'ǫnqqn* 70.22; also as adverb	*Enka'kin*	
that yonder		*ñǧ'ǧn-*, less frequently *ñǧ'n-*	*ña'anqan*		
that there (not very far)	*ñan*		*ña'nqan* 133.3		
there (quite far)	*ǧan*		*ǧa'nqan* 63.13		
that there (midway to some other object)	*vai*	*vǧ'En-* *va'En*	*va'Enqan* 121.24	*va'yenqen*	
that behind the person addressed	*rai*	*ra'En-*, *ra'En*	*ra'Enqan*		
that behind the person speaking	*ño'tı*	*ño'tıñ* 70.21	*ño'tınqan*	*ñotınqala'ken*	
that apart from the speaker	*ñun*	*ñŭ'n-*	*ñu'nqin* 137.3		
who, somebody	—	(*mik-*)	*me'ñin* 11.4		*min-*

It may be noted that all demonstratives, except *wut-*, *ɛn'ñ-*, and *ño'tiñ*, end in *-n* which remains in all forms.

The demonstrative stems have strong vowels, except *wut-*, *ɛn'ñ-*, and *ñun*. The last of these is treated more frequently as an unchangeable stem; for instance,—

ñu̯'ni̯n-no̯ta̯i̯'pŭ̯ from that land,—

although the two vowels *u* and *i* belong to the weak, changeable group.

When the demonstratives enter into composition, they take the ending *-i̯n*, except *ño'tiñ*. The same ending is found in the interrogative *me̯'ñi̯n*, which, according to the forms with suffixes, must be derived from a stem *mi̯k-* (see §58, p. 1726). These forms appear in adjectival form in oblique cases.

wo'tiñ-notanqa'tkên that one belonging to this country 7.1
wo'tin-irgiro'k that (morning) dawn 10.3
wu'tin-nu'tek (Kor. Kam. *wu'tin-nu'tak*) in that country
mañê'n-notai'pŭ (Kor. Kam. *ma'ñen-noto'ñqo*) from what country.
Kor. *ma'ñin-ni'kli-ye'l̨kiyel̨* which stone-pine nut pudding? Kor. 34.2
Kor. *ma'ñin-qai-ña'wis'qatik* to which small woman? Kor. 34.5

For greater emphasis the independent, absolute forms of the demonstrative may be used with the corresponding particle, as given on p. 723, or with repetition of independent form, connected by the particle *ŭm* (see also p. 726).

ño'onqan ŭm ñoon
ɛnqa'n ŭm ɛnqa'n 130.9, etc.

The particles are, however, used also independently or combined with various other forms.

rai 61.8
vai 61.9; 62.7; 63.6; 66.30, 35; 71.15; 76.25, 30
ñan 71.3, 16; 62.4, 8; 65.1; 66.32
ña'an 63.13
ño'on 64.1
wot 81.12
wô'tên-rai 29.1
ɛlo'n ŭm vai 66.29
ɛlo'n vai 67.33
vai ŭm ña'n(i) 131.3, 10
e'nme ñan 66.32
ɛnqa'n ŭm vai 130.7
wo'tqanm ŭm vai 45.12
vai ñan 62.9
wu'tku-m vai 120.11

NOTE.—The Koryak form in *-qa̯l̨a'ken* given in the preceding table of demonstratives is derived from the post-position *-qa̯l̨*,- *qač* (Chukchee *-qal*,-*qač*) CLOSE TO, BY THE SIDE OF. The Koryak suffix *-qala'ken* cor-

responds to the Chukchee form *-qatkên*, which is used to form a great many derivatives. The following forms derived from demonstrative pronouns may serve as examples:—

Adverbial form *va'ᴇnqač* (Kor. Kam. *va'yeñqaḷ*) by the side, half-way
Independent form *vaᴇnqa'tkên* (Kor. Kam. *vayeñqaḷa'ken*)
Adverbial form *wo'tênqač* (Kor. Kam. *vo'teñqal*) here
Independent form *wotɪnqa'tkên* 14.2 (Kor. Kam. *voteñqaḷa'ken*)
wotqanɪ'rg̣ŭpŭ (pronunciation of men *wotqaᴇ'rg̣ŭpŭ*) from those

§ 58. PLURAL AND POST-POSITIONAL FORMS

Plural and suffix forms are derived from the forms in *-qan* adding the *-e̯* (Kor. Kam. *-a*) to the terminal *n* that is found in all words with terminal *n* of the stem (§§ 31, 4; 34). For personal forms the connective vowel is *i̯*.

As examples may serve,—

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
Absolute	*wo̯'tqa̯n*	*wu̯'ssɪn* Kor. 49.9
Plural (Dual Kor.)	*wo̯'tqa̯na̯t*[1]	*wu̯'tịssat*
Plural (Koryak)	——	*wu̯'tịssau* Kor. 32.2
Subjective, not personal	*wo̯tqa̯na̯'ta̯*	*wu̯tissa'ta*
Subjective, personal	*wo'tqanêna*[2]	*wu̯'tịnịnak*
Locative, not personal	*wo'tqanak*	*wu̯'tịssak*
Allative, not personal	*wo̯tqa̯na̯'g̣tɪ̯*	*wo̯te̯ssaɪ̯'tɪ̯*
Allative, personal	*wo̯'tqa̯nêna̯*[2]	*wo̯'te̯ne̯na̯*
Ablative, not personal	*wotqanai'pŭ*	*wotessa'ñqo*
Ablative, personal	*wotqanai'pŭ*	*wotenena'ñqo*

[1] Pronunciation of men *wo̯'tqaat*. [2] Pronunciation of men *wo'tqaᴇna*.

Also *ᴇnqa'nat* 49.5; 53.10; 96.6; *ᴇnqaa't* those 62.10; *ᴇnqa'nêna* by that one 44.8; *wo'tqana* this time 76.18

Koryak:
ña'nyen that one (absolute) Kor. 17.5, 9; 51.2, 5
ña'nyeu (pl.) Kor. 21.1; 44.6; 62.4; *ña'nyau* 25.6, 9; 42.4
ña'nyenata (subjective, not personal) Kor. 43.5
ña'nenenak (subjective, personal) Kor. 34.11; *ña'nyenena* Kor. 76.16

The plural of the demonstrative is used in nominal, adjectival, and predicative expressions.

ᴇnqa'nat qäni'ntɪñinet throw away those! 49.5
wo'qaat qänu'utkɪ eat these! 33.12
ᴇnqa'at qa'at those reindeer
Kor. Kam. *ña'nyenau aᵉ'ttu* those dogs

In some cases the singular form is used when we should expect the plural:

ɛnqa'n gittle'tı nine'l-i-ŭm there I give to those who are hungry 96.24 (cf. 96.9, 12, 17).

ɛnqa'n oravêḷat these men 63.5

ɛnqa'n Umqäqäi'ınti these people of Umqäqäi 63.10

ɛrqa'n ñi'räq ora'wêḷat these two men 7.10

The corresponding forms of the personal interrogative WHO, SOMEBODY, and of the Kamchadal impersonal interrogative, are—

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	Kamchadal
			WHO	WHAT
Absolute	*me'ñin*	*ma'ki* Kor.17.6	*k!e*	(*min*)
Plural (Dual Koryak)	*mi'kinti*	*ma'kinti*	*k!eˢn*	*mi'niˢn*
Plural (Koryak)	——	*maku'wg̣i*	——	——
Subjective	*mi'kinä*	*mi'kinak* Kor. 76.16	*k!ink*	*mi'nenl'*
Allative	*mê'kêna*	*me'kena*	*k!a'nke*	*mê'nank*
Ablative	*mêkênai'pŭ*	*mekena'ñqo*	*k!ink*	*mi'nenk*

Examples:

me'ñin ŭm ɛla' who is (your) mother? 113.14

mi'kin yaarkınê'tkı kančı'irg̣ın whose lullaby are you singing? 120.14

mi'kinä ganto'lên by whom born? 142.1

In Kamchadal the form corresponding to the stem *mik-* signifies the inanimate interrogative.

Nominal forms of the plural, when appearing with suffixes, have, instead of the regular plural, forms compounded with the third person plural personal pronoun (see p. 706).

In Chukchee we find also *ma'kırg̣ın*, pl. *ma'kırg̣ıntê*, WHOSE HOUSE'S, WHOSE FAMILY'S; related to the Koryak stem *mak-*, and formed with the stem *-ɛrg̣* of the personal pronoun third person plural (see § 44).

These particles doubled, and connected by *ŭm*, are also used as exclamations.

ñan ŭm ñan! you there! *ña'an ŭm ñan* 95. 35 yonder

vai ŭm vai! halfway there!

ñoon ŭm ñoon! far off there!

They occur in the same way with interrogative pronouns.

me'ñin ñan ye'tırkın? who comes there?

rä^{ɛ}'nun ñot wurre'erkın? what is visible behind there?

mi'ñkri rai ne'lhi^{ɛ}? how then became he? 29.7

mi'ñkri ñot a^{ɛ}qa-ras'qê'um-va'lıt? why! those are bad ones to pass! 130.3

Demonstrative and interrogative adverbs are derived from the particle stems by means of the locative endings. From these are derived others by means of nominal suffixes (see examples below).

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
here	*wu'tku* 7.5	*wu'tčuk, ä'nki*	*nux, te'a*
there	*ɛ'n·kɪ* 119.31	*ña'nko, ña'nako, ñe'-nɪko*	*ɛ'nki, x·u,* (*xo'xval* therefrom)
there (midway to some object)	*va'änkɪ*	*vai'eñ*	
there (behind the person addressed)	*ra'äñkɪ*		
there (behind the speaker)	*ño'tɪñkɪ*		
there (away from the speaker)	*ñu'nkɪ*		
where	*mi'ñkɪ, me'ñkɪ* 12.2	*mi'ñki,* Kor. 20.1	*ma, mas*

In Chukchee two forms in *-qan* are also used as adverbs.

there (some distance away)	*ño'onqan*
there (far away)	*gā'nqan*

Derived from demonstrative elements are also—

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
thus	*ɛn·ñu'n* 63.13; 65.22	*ɛnñā'an* Kor. 13.1, 10	*ño'nke*

Adverbs with suffixes derived from the locative forms are the following:

	HERE		THERE		WHERE		
	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal
Stem	*wut*	*wutč*	*ɛn*	*ñan, än*	*mik*	*mik*	*ma*
Instrumental	*wutke'tä*	*wutča'ta*	*ɛnkc'tä*	*ñanka'ta, änka'ta*	*miñke'tä*	*minka'ta*	—
Allative	—	*wotčai'tɪ*	*ɛñkri*	*ñankai'tɪ, änkai'tɪñ*	*miñkri* 60.6, 61.8	*menkei'tɪ*	*ma'nke*
Ablative	*wo'tqorɪ*	*wotča'ñqo*	*ɛ'ñqo, ɛñqo'rɪ, ɛñqo'ro* 65.24	*ñanka'ñqo, änka'ñqo*	*mɛ'ñqo* 60.5, 11; 71.26; 72.12 *mɛñqo'rɪ*	*menka'ñqo*	*ma'nke*

Also in the same way Chukchee *va'äñkata, va'änrê, va'äñqo* or *va'äñqorɪ;* Koryak *vaieña'ta, vaieñai'tɪ, vai'eñqo* from stem *vai.*

Examples:

wo'tko from here 43.1; *wo'tqo* 121.20; 131.14; *wu'tqu* here 73.14
ɛn·ke'čiku in there 73.20
ɛn·no't 64.7; 66.3; 72.6
ɛn·qe'kin one from there 67.3
ɛn·qo'ro thence 49.2; 65.18, 24
ɛn·ke'gqi thither 71.23
ɛn·ñata'l from that time on, after that 64.19; 65.31
ño'onrê thither 76.20
ña'nko hither 137.13

Koryak:

wŭ'tču this time Kor. 41.2
ña'nko there Kor. 41.6
ñe'nako there Kor. 19.11
ña'nıko there Kor. 32.1; see Kor. 62.7
ñanikaï'tıñ thither Kor. 36.5
ña'nakanqo from that one Kor. 42.3
ᴇ'nke here (vocative form) Kor. 13.7; 58.7
ᴇnka'ta at that place Kor. 21.8, 9
ᴇnkaï'tı to that place Kor. 17.2; 19.1
meñkeito' whither (vocative form § 36) Kor. 64.21
mañe'nqo whence Kor. 60.10

The forms *mi'ñkri* (Chukchee), *me'ñkañ* (Kor. Kam.), *ma'nke* (Kamchadal), also signify HOW.

Derivatives with suffixes are—

mêñko'kênat where are you from 65.10

miñke'-mil 66.34
menke'mič, *mañı'nn·ač* (Kor. 66.1)
men·ke'ml', also *lact* (Kamchadal)
} to what degree, in what manner

Demonstrative elements with the verbal noun *va'lın* (Kor. Kam. *i'talaᵉn*) THE ONE WHO IS—, are also used to express demonstrative terms.

ᴇn·ñi'n-va'lın 128.24 (Chukchee), *ᴇnnaᵉ'an i'talaᵉn* (Kor. Kam.), one being thus; i. e., such a one
ᴇnño't-va'lın (Chukchee) being near here thus; i. e., such a one nearer to the speaker than the preceding
ᴇn·ñu-wı'lın such a one (expressing reproach)
ᴇn·ñu'-wa'lê-gıt such a one art thou 21.11
mi'ñkri-va'lın (Chukchee 14.4), *me'ñkañ italaᵉn* (Kor. Kam.) what kind of (also in oblique cases)

In Kamchadal only a few forms of the demonstrative survive, and these take the nominal suffixes.

	THIS	THIS HERE	WHICH, WHAT
Absolute	*nyᵉ*	*tįᵉn*<*tiᵉnu*	*min*(<*minu*)
Plural			*mi'nlᵉn*
Possessive	*nyᵉhe'nk*	*tįᵉ'nuhenk*	*mi'nenk*
Subjective	*nyᵉhe'nk*	*tiᵉ'nuhenk*	*mi'nenk*
Instrumental	*nyᵉ'hcl'*	*tiᵉ'nuhcl'*	*mi'nenl'*
Allative	*nǫᵉha'nk*	*tęᵉnohank*	*mę'nank*
Ablative	*nuᵉhe'nk*	*tiᵉ'nuhenk*	*mi'nenk*

Most of the other forms are replaced by the corresponding Russian forms, which are usually taken in the nominative singular masculine; such as *e'koi* (экой), *edakoi* (эдакой).

§ 58

As in Chukchee and Koryak, the interrogative appears in synthetical form *mi̯'ne̯n*, which corresponds to Chukchee *me̯'ñi̯n* (see p. 726.)

mê'nan-ktxoj-qol which road along?

but the oblique cases are also used in attributive form.

mi'nenl' hvanl' ckan with which knife have you made it?

From the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns verbal forms are derived in the same manner as from nouns. I give here a number of examples. The verbal forms will be found discussed in § 82.

ᴇnqanai'-gɪt this art thou 20.7.
wotqanai'-g̣ŭm this am I 43.5, 121.14
wotqana'-mɵ'rê here we are 69.5
mi'k-i-ŭm who am I
mi'k-i-g̣ɪt who art thou; *mi'k-i-or* 127.11
mi'w-mu'ri who are we
mi'g̣-tu'ri who are ye 120.9
Kor. Kam. *wutɪnnaḷai-g̣ŭm* this am I Kor. 22.1

Possessives:

ᴇni'n his 17.13
ᴇnqa'nen of this one 50.10
mi'kin whose (possessor sing., object possessed sing. and pl.); Kor. Kam. *mi'kin*, dual *mi'kinat*, pl. *mikina'wg̣i* (possessor sing.; object possessed sing., dual, pl.), vocative *miko'n* (§ 36) Kor. 34.4
mi'kirg̣in (possessor pl., object possessed sing.), *mi'kirg̣inet* (object possessed pl.), whose; Kor. Kam. *mi'kičhin*, dual *mi'-kičhinat*, pl. *mi'kičhinau* (§ 34); Kamchadal *k!en*, pl. *k!eᵉn*

§ 59. *Indefinite Pronoun rä̯q*

The non-personal interrogative and indefinite pronoun is, Chukchee *rä̯q;* Kor. Kam. *ya(q), yax;* Kor. II *ta(q);* Kamchadal *seq.*

The following are the forms with post-positions:

	Chukchee		Kor. Kam.
Stem	*räq*		*yaq*
Absolute	*räᵉ'nut*		*yɪ'nna*
Plural (dual Kor.)	*rä'ᵉnuti*	*räᵉ'nutet*[1]	*ya'qat*
Plural Kor.	—		*yaqu'wg̣i*
Instrumental	*re'qä*	*räᵉnute'tä*	*ya'qa*
Locative	*re'qäk*	*räᵉnutek*	*ya'qak*
Allative	*raqê'tɪ*	*raᵉnota'g̣tɪ*[2]	*yaqe'tɪ*
Ablative	*ra'g̣ŭpŭ* / *raqê'pu*	*raᵉnotai'pŭ*[3]	*yaqɪ'ñqo*
Designative (see § 94)	*re'qu*		*ya'qu*
Comitative (see § 100)	*g̣araᵉ'ma*		*g̣aya'qa*

[1] Men's pronunciation *rä'ᵉneet.* [2] *raᵉnaa'g̣tɪ.* [3] *raᵉnaai'pŭ.*

The set of forms derived from *räᵋnut*, except the plural, are not often used.

i'me-räᵋ'nut whatsoever; i. e., of every kind 13.13; 133.18
räᵋ'nut what? object 29.1, subject 111.4; something obj. 29.5
räᵋ'nut ŭm what was it then? 34.1
räᵋ'nut ŭm qine'ilhiᵋ give me something
räᵋ'nutet whatever kind of things obj. 32.5; intr. subj. 58.2
reqä by what means? 22.1; 23.5; 14.2
re'qä what? 34.8, 9; whatever 32.5
ra'qa-ñot with what there 139.8
re'qäk at what? 26.1
reᵋqŭm why 88.7
reᵋ'qu how 17.5, 7; why 23.1
Kor. Kam. *ya'qa* with what Kor. 46.9
Kor. Kam. *ya'qkɪn-ki* what for Kor. 26.10
Kor. Kam. *ya'qin-yaq* what then? Kor. 45.9

These forms are also used in composition:

raᵋ'-qa'at (Chukchee), *yax-qoya'wge* (Kor. Kam.), *seq-ko'jᴇᵋn* (Kamchadal), what kind of reindeer
räq-aᵋ'ttä ge'eḷin (Chukchee) with what kind of dogs has he come?
raᵋ'-nɪ'mnɪm what settlement, obj. 33.7
raᵋ-pɪ'ñɪl what tidings? 11.2
räᵋnota'čhɪt what kind are 14.3

Koryak I:

ya'qlau what are they doing Kor. 24.5
yaqlaikɪne'tɪk what are you (pl.) doing? Kor. 24.8

Koryak II has the same forms as Koryak Kamenskoye, derived from the stem *taq*.

Verbs derived from these stems are used with great frequency (see § 82); for instance,—

re'qarkɪn (Chukchee), *ya'qɪykɪn* Kor. 28.10 (Kor. Kam.), *ta'qatkɪn* (Kor. II) what do you want? what are you doing?
reᵋ'iᵋ what is the matter 19.11
re'qärkɪn what is the matter with thee 18.9
re'q-i-gɪt what do you want? 18.12
rɪraqa'unve what for? 19.1, 6
re'qälɪt which ones 139.9
re'qäl-i-gɪt what do you want? 22.8
nre'q-i-gɪt what are you doing? 33.1
Kor. Kam. *nɪya'qi-gi* what are you doing? Kor. 39.5

Kamchadal has another form for WHAT, SOMETHING, evidently corresponding to the demonstrative in *enk-*.

Absolute	*E'nka*
Instrumental	*E'nkal'*
Locative	*Enka'nk*
Allative	*Enka'nk*
Ablative	*Enka'nk*

Verbs derived from this stem are formed as in Chukchee and Koryak.

enka'nejč what are you doing?

Under Russian influence, these forms are going out of use, and are being replaced by post-positional forms and verbs.

Enka'nke k!öjč why, or for what do you come?

§ 60. *Other Indefinite Pronouns*

1. The stem *nirk-* (Kor. Kam. *niyk-*) expresses a certain well-known person, THE ONE WE THINK OF, THE ONE REFERRED TO; *nik-* A CERTAIN WELL-KNOWN THING OR ACT WE THINK OF, OR REFERRED TO.

These form post-positional forms analogous to demonstrative pronouns.

PERSONAL

	Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
Absolute	*ni'rkıñut*	*ni'yka, ni'ykıñrut*
Plural (dual Koryak)	*ni'rkenti*	*ni'ykanti*
Plural Koryak	—	*niyka'wǫi, ni'ykau* Kor. 50.4
Subjective	*ni'rkenā*	*ni'ykanak*
Allative	*nē'rkana*	*ne'ykana*
Ablative	*nērkai'pŭ*	*neyka'ñqo*
Designative (see § 94)	*nirke'nu*	*niyka'nu*

NON-PERSONAL

Absolute	*ni'kıñut*
Plural	*ni'ket*
Subjective	*nike'tä*
Locative	*ni'kek*
Allative	*nēka'gtı*
Ablative	*nēkai'pŭ*
Comitative (see § 100)	*ʃganēka'ma* / *ʒgenike'tä*
Designative (see § 94)	*nike'nu*

Examples:

ni'rkeñut a certain one 90.20; 119.12
ni'kek somewhere 12.12

Also derived forms, as

ni'rken (Kor. Kam. *niyka'nen*) belonging to the one referred to or thought of
ni'kin belonging to the thing referred to or thought of 20.8
ai've nêrkai'pŭ qora'ñı tei'mityä^{s}n yesterday I took reindeer from the man we are thinking of

Verbal forms are also derived from this pronoun; for instance,—

nike'rkın (Kor. Kam. *nika'ykın*) he does the thing referred to or thought of
rınike'urkin whatsoever shall be 21.10
Kor. Kam. *mnikak* I'll do something Kor. 42.1
Kor. Kam. *nekañvo'ykın* he did something Kor. 51.9

In Kamchadal, *sxu'zıjč* YOU DO A CERTAIN THING is used in the same way.

2. *qol* (Chukchee), *qoḷḷa'* (Kor. Kam.), *k!ola$^{s'}$* (Kamchadal) OTHER.

In Chukchee the synthetic stem *quli* is used throughout with non-personal nouns. It is also used in adverbial form in temporal adverbs.

quli'-nikek afterwards (=at another certain one)
qolê't-a^{s}lo' some future day (=in the other day)
gol yara'čhın a house 86.17
qol yi'lgın another month 7.2

Post-positional forms occur only with personal nouns, while in Koryak these are used for all kinds of nouns.

	Chukchee—Personal	Koryak		Kamchadal
		Personal	Non-personal	
Absolute	*qǥl*		*qoḷḷa'*	*k!ola'*
Plural (dual Koryak)	*qu'tti*		*qu'tti*	
Plural Koryak	——		*qu'tčau*	
Subjective	*quti'(n)inä* [1]	*quli'ninak*	*qutinina'ta*	
Possessive (locative)	*quti'(n)inä* [1]	*quti'ninak*	*quli'ninak*	*k!ola'nk*
Allative	*qǝtê'(n)êna* [1]		*qote'nınañ*	*k!ola'nk*
Ablative	*qotê(n)ênai'pŭ* [1]		*qotenına'ñqo*	*k!ola'nk*
Designative	*quti'(n)inu* [1]		*qutinina'nu*	

[1] Without *n* in men's pronunciation.

qol ELI'*gın* another father, a certain father 107.22
qol ŭm na'nmırkın they kill the other one 8.1 (see also 8.12; 15.6; 14.9; 17.1)

qu'tti others (subj. intr.) 12.5
qutti'inä by one of them 8.11 (see also 7.4; 15.3), on one of them 8.13
Kor. Kam. *qo'ḷḷa* another one Kor. 24.9

Synthetic forms:

qolê-notai'pu from another land 14.12
qolê-ra'gti to another house 12.11
qolê-tke'unvuk on another sleeping 13.5

3. *e̯lve̯* (Chukchee), *aḷva* (Kor. Kam.), *êknên* (Kamchadal), OTHER, occur in synthetic form as given here, and in the forms—

elve'lin (Chukchee), 117.7, *elve'linet* 113.3, *aḷva'ḷɪn* (Kor. Kam.) Kor. 76.19.
ček-a'lvam-va'lɪn how differently it is Kor. 80.9 (Kor. Kam).
a'ḷva tɪtva'ñvok I was in a different way Kor. 18.6

4. A number of prefixed particles express also ideas related to the indefinite pronoun (see § 113, nos. 6, 7, 14, 24):

ɪm- all	*gemge-* every
em- mere	*ter-* how much

Most of the interrogative and indefinite pronouns take the definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms, the same as nouns, and some of these are used with great frequency.

mañêna'chɪn that one, who is he (from *me'ñin* WHO)
rä^{ɛ}'nutqäi (from *rä^{ɛ}'nut* WHAT) or
rä'qqäi
ya'xpil (Kor. Kam.)
} some little thing
qo̯ḷai'ñɪn another big one
qu̯'ḷeqä̯i another little one
} are used quite often

The Predicate (§§ 61–82)

§ 61. Introductory Remarks

The predicate appears in two distinct forms, according to the character of the word forming the predicate. The first class is formed by verbs; the latter, by nominal terms which are used as predicate. While all verbs may appear in nominalized forms, and therefore may take the form of the noun as predicate, nouns can not readily be transformed into verbs—except by the use of verbalizing suffixes, which give the compound stem a verbal character. Thus we find that true verbal forms are confined to verbal stems, to the numerals (except ONE), and

to the indefinite (or interrogative) pronouns, which may be used as nouns as well as verbs.

The structure of the first class of predicative forms is quite complex. We have to distinguish between intransitive and transitive verbs. The following structural elements may be recognized. We have—

I. Intransitive verbs:
1. Pronominal prefix.
2. Temporal or modal prefix.
3. Verbal theme.
4. Temporal or modal suffix.
5. Pronominal suffix.

II. Transitive verbs:
1. Pronominal subjective prefix.
2. Temporal or modal prefix.
3. Verbal theme.
4. Temporal or modal suffix.
5. Pronominal objective suffix.

The following simple modes and tenses may be distinguished:

Indicative	without prefix,	no suffix
Subjunctive:		
(*a*) Exhortative . .	with the prefix *n(ɪ)*	the suffix *g̣ɪ*
(*b*) Subjunctive . .	with the prefix ᵉ	the suffix *g̣ɪ*
Imperative	with the prefix *q*	the suffix *g̣i*
Future	with the prefix *rᵉ*	the suffix *ñ(ɪ)*

Besides these, there is a peculiar series of derived modes in *-ɪrkɪn* (Koryak I *-ɪykɪn*, *-i̯kɪn;* Koryak II *-ɪtkin*, Kamchadal *-jk*), the pronominal endings of which differ from the ordinary forms, many of them being dropped. In some cases the Koryak drops the terminal *-ɪn*, as is done in all forms in Kamchadal.

The second class, predicative nominal terms, consists either of nouns or of verbal stems, which are nominalized by certain prefixes, and which take suffixes expressing the terminal relations. The simple nominalized forms are used as predicative terms of the third person. These have been discussed before. They are the nominalized forms in *-in*, *-kin*, *-lin*, *n(ɪ)-qin* (§§ 45–49). In the first and second persons singular these take a suffix *-i̯-*, which may be derived from the verb *-it*[1] TO BE. In the first and second persons plural the nominalized form appears in composition with the personal pronouns *mu̯ri̯* WE, and *tu̯ri̯* YOU; so that the whole complex represents in the same way a nominal form with predicative function, as in the third persons. The nominalized form has no true tenses.

[1] I consider this unlikely, since in Koryak the *t* should be preserved, although in Chukchee it might disappear according to the phonetic laws governing the pronunciation of men. Mr. Bogoras points out that the *i̯* can not be an auxiliary vowel, since this would have to be *ɪ*. — F. BOAS.

§ 62. Structure of the Intransitive Verb

1. The pronominal prefixes of the intransitive verb are confined to the first person, singular and plural: *t-* for the singular, *mt-* for the plural. The *m* of the plural may perhaps be related to the same element in *mu̯ri̯* WE, while the *t* of singular and plural may be the same. The element *mt-* conveys the idea of plurality of the first person with such energy, that, in Koryak at least, the suffix *-mɪk*, which repeats the same idea, may be omitted; the same omission occurs rarely in Chukchee.

2. The temporal and modal elements enter into close relation with the pronominal prefixes. Most of these follow the ordinary phonetic laws. Thus

t + *rę̇* becomes *trę̇-*
mt + *rę̇* becomes *mɪrrę̇-*
mt + $^{\epsilon}$ becomes *mɪn*$(ɪ)^{\epsilon}$-

The last of these is not quite regular, since *mɪt*$(ɪ)^{\epsilon}$ would also seem to be possible. The forms of the exhortative can not be explained by phonetic laws. Here we find that the expected

t + *n* becomes *n*
mt + *n* becomes *mɪn*

In the subjunctive (*b*), when the verb begins with a vowel, the auxiliary vowel disappears, and the glottal stop follows the initial vowel of the stem. This occurs both in Chukchee and Koryak:

tu$^{\epsilon}$*wi̯*$'$*ä*$^{\epsilon}$*k* (stem *uwi̯*) I should cook

3. The verbal themes may be simple or compound. The former undergo peculiar phonetic changes according to their position, the forms in initial position differing from those found in medial position. This subject has been discussed in § 7 and § 12. A number of formations, however, are irregular, and not due to the action of phonetic laws.

qämi-plɪtku eating finishing (stem *qämi*, from *qamɪtva*)
tara$'$*ñga*$^{\epsilon}$*t* they built a house (from *tę̇ɪkɪ* to make, *yara* house)
kɪnmɪ$'$*rkɪn* he kills children (*kmiñɪn tɪmɪrkɪn*)
kuwi$^{\epsilon}$$'$*rkɪn* he has dead children (*kmiñɪn*, *vi*$^{\epsilon}$*rkɪn*)

The vocalic elements of prefixes, personal and modal, are modified by the vowels of the stem (see § 3).

The terminal phonetic character of the stem also influences the temporal, modal, and the pronominal suffixes (see § 72).

4. The temporal and modal suffixes have been mentioned before. Through contraction between them and the pronominal suffixes originate forms the historical development of which is not by any means clear. It would seem that there is also a suffix *-gi-* which appears in many forms, and does not seem to form part of the pronominal element. This, however, has undergone so many changes that its character and function are not clear.

5. The pronominal suffixes do not show a very close relation to the personal pronoun, and, furthermore, are somewhat differentiated in different modes of the verb. A comparison of the various forms suggests the following as the essential elements of the suffixed pronominal verbal forms:

	INTRANSITIVE		
I	*-k*	we	*-mk*
thou . . .	?	ye	*-tk*
he	—	they	*-t*

It may be that the *m* and *t* of the first and second persons plural are related to *muri* and *turi*, which may contain the same endings as *erri* (see pp. 706, 719, 726). The second person singular is quite doubtful; but it is conceivable that it may contain by origin a form in *-gi* related to the pronoun *grt*. In the intransitive verb the second and third persons singular are, in their present forms, identical. The third person plural has clearly the element *t*,[1] which is not the same as the *t* of the second person plural.

§ 63. *Structure of the Transitive Verb*

The structure of the transitive verb is, on the whole, analogous to that of the intransitive.

1. For the first persons singular and plural, the same pronominal prefixes as in the intransitive appear, as subjects. The transitive forms of the third person, singular and plural, have the prefix *ne-*. The clearness of the picture is obscured by the fact that the transitive forms

THOU—US; YE—ME, US and
THOU, YE, HE—ME

do not exist, and generalized intransitive forms are used in their place. These are formed with the prefix *ine-* or with the suffix *-tku* (see p. 819, no. 28; p. 808, no. 67). It is possible that the peculiar form YE—HIM, THEM has the same origin (see p. 809). I presume this

[1] See plural of nouns, p. 691.

form has originated from *-tku-tik* and is parallel to *-tkuiᵉ* THOU—US. The *g* of the intransitive endings disappears in the series of forms THOU—US because its position is intervocalic; for instance—

-tku-gᵉ becomes *-tkuiᵉ*

2. The temporal and modal prefixes are the same as those of the intransitive.

3. The stems are treated like those of the intransitive verb.

4. The temporal and modal suffixes enter into compound forms with the pronominal suffixes. The intransitive *g* is apparently absent, owing to its frequent intervocalic position.

5. The analogy between the transitive pronominal suffixes and the intransitive suffixes is fairly clear, if we consider only those forms which have true pronominal suffixes. We find then the object

-gɪt thee *-mɪk* us *-tɪk* you

which evidently correspond to the subjects of the intransitive verb. The correspondence is strict for the two plural pronouns: *-gɪt* may be the older form of the second person intransitive pronoun *-gi* (pp. 719 et seq.; p. 710).

The third person object shows forms in *-n* which recall the nominal forms in *-in* (§§ 45–49), and, like these forms, form their plurals in *-et*. In a way these forms seem related to the nominal predicate. To the same group belongs the form in *-ăm* THEY—ME, which contains the pronoun *găm*, like the nominal forms.

Attention may be called to the fact that the number of the pronominal suffix, which designates the object, is naturally determined by the number of the object.

qa'at tɪpê'lanat (Kor. Kam. *qoya'wge tɪpe'lanau*) I left the reindeer

For the first person object the intransitive form with *ing-* is used.

rä^{ɛ}'nutqäi gine'ilä give me something

The Koryak forms resemble the Chukchee forms. The Koryak dual corresponds to the Chukchee plural. The plural *-la-* of the Koryak is always placed immediately following the stem. It indicates plurality of subject or object, but occurs once only in each form, even if both subject and object are plural.

Certain verbal stems may be used both as transitive and as intransitive, generally with a slight change in meaning.

tuwalo'mŭrkɪn I know, hear, obey (intransitive)
tuwalo'mŭrkɪnegɪt I know thee (transitive)
tuwa'lomgä^{ɛ}k I heard
tuwa'lomga^{ɛ}n I knew him

The Forms of the Intransitive Verb (§§ 64–66)

§ 64. CHUKCHEE

PRINCIPAL MODES

Person	Past I	Subjunctive: Prefixes (a)	Subjunctive: Prefixes (b)	Subjunctive: Suffixes	Imperative	Future
2d pl.	*—tɪk*	*	*n* (*ɪ*^{ɛ},*u*^{ɛ},*ŭ*^{ɛ})	*—tɪk*	*q* (*ɪ*,*ä*,*a*)*—ǫ̣tɪk*	*rǫ̣—ñɪtɪk*
3d pl.	*—ǫ̣ä^{ɛ}t*	*n* (*ɪ*,*u*,*ŭ*)	*n* (*ɪ*^{ɛ},*u*^{ɛ},*ŭ*^{ɛ})	*—nǫ̣t*		*rǫ̣—ñɪt*
2d, 3d sing.	*—ǫ̣ɪ^{ɛ}* / *—ɪ̣*	* / *n* (*ɪ*,*u*,*ŭ*)	*n* (*ɪ*^{ɛ},*u*^{ɛ},*ŭ*^{ɛ})	*—ǫ̣ä^{ɛ}n* / *—ɪn*	*q*(*ɪ*,*ä*,*a***)*—ǫ̣t*	*rǫ̣* *—ǫ̣ä^{ɛ}* / *—ɪ*
1st sing.	*tɪ* *—ǫ̣ä^{ɛ}k* / *—ɪk*	*mɪ*	*t* (*ɪ*^{ɛ},*u*^{ɛ},*ŭ*^{ɛ})	*—ǫ̣ä^{ɛ}k* / *—ɪk*		*trǫ̣* *—ǫ̣ä^{ɛ}* / *—ɪ*
1st pl.	*mɪt—mɪk*	*mɪn*	*mɪn* (*ɪ*^{ɛ},*u*^{ɛ},*ŭ*^{ɛ})	*—mɪk*		*mɪrrǫ̣—ǫ̣ä^{ɛ}*

*No 2d person. **No 3d person.

DERIVED MODES IN *-ɪrkɪn* (PREFIXES AS IN PRINCIPAL MODES)

2d pl.	*—ɪ̣tɪk*	—	—	*—ɪ̣tɪk*	*—ɪ̣tɪk*	*—ɪ̣nɪtɪk*
3d pl.	*—t**	—	—	*—ǫ̣t*	—	*—ɪ̣ñɪt*
Other forms	—	—	—	—	—	—

**t* takes the place of final *n*: *ɪrkɪt*.

The prefix *t-* of the first person singular appears without auxiliary vowel when it forms an admissible cluster with the initial sound of the verbal theme.

The derived form *-rkɪn* is used after vowels. After terminal consonants an auxiliary *ɪ* is inserted between stem and suffix:

qamɪ'tva-rkɪn he eats
walo'm-ɪ-rkɪn he knows

NOMINAL FORMS

	I	II
1	*—ɛ'tɪ*	
2	*—ɪk*,*-ɪ*	
3	*—(t)ä̱*	*ǫ̣ǫ̣—(t) ä̱*
4	*—ma*	
5	*—ma'čɪ*	

§ 65. KORYAK

PRINCIPAL MODES

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Person	Past I	Subjunctive: Prefixes. (a)	Subjunctive: Prefixes. (b)	Subjunctive: Suffixes.	Imperative	Future	Present indefinite
2d dual . . .	—tɪk	*	naᵉ	—tɪk	q—(gɪ)tɪk	ya—ñɪtɪk	ku̯-***
2d pl.	—ḷa'tɪk	*	naᵉ	—ḷatɪk	q—ḷatɪk	ya—ḷantɪk	ku̯-
3d dual . . .	—gi̯	n(ɪ)	naᵉ	—nat		ya—ñi̯	ku̯-
3d pl.	—ḷaĭ or —ḷage	n(ɪ)	naᵉ	—nau		ya—ḷañe	ku̯-
2d, 3d sing. . .	—i̯	*n	naᵉ	—ɪn	q**—(gi̯)	ya—ɪ	ku̯-
1st sing. . . .	tɪ—ɪk	mɪ	taᵉ	—ɪk		tya—ɪ	tɪku̯-
1st dual . . .	mɪt—mɪk	mɪn	mɪnaᵉ	—mɪk		mɪssa—mɪk	mɪtku̯-
1st pl.	mɪt—ḷamɪk	mɪn	mɪnaᵉ	—ḷa(mɪk)		mɪssa—ḷa(mɪk)	mɪtku̯-

() May be omitted. * No 2d person. ** No 3d person.
*** Also qu̯. This form does not exist in Koryak II.

DERIVED MODES IN -ɪrkɪn (PREFIXES AS IN PRINCIPAL MODES)

2d dual . . .	—i̯kɪni̯tɪk	—i̯kɪni̯tɪk	—i̯kɪni̯tɪk	—i̯ntɪk
2d pl.	—ḷaĭkɪnetɪk	—ḷaĭɪne'tɪk*	—ḷaĭkɪnetɪk	—ḷaĭkɪnentɪk
3d dual . . .	—i̯kɪ	—i̯kɪnat		—ĭkɪni̯ñi̯
3d pl.	—ḷaĭke	—i̯kɪni̯nau**		—ḷaĭkɪneñe
1st, 2d, 3d sing.; 1st dual	—i̯kɪn	—i̯kɪn	—i̯kɪn	—i̯kɪn
1st pl.	—ḷaĭkɪn	—ḷaĭkɪnemɪk*		—ḷaĭkɪni̯mɪk

* Subjunctive (b) has ḷa-ĭ instead of ḷa. ** Subjunctive (b) has au instead of i̯nau.

The prefix *tɪ-* of the first person singular appears without auxiliary vowel whenever it forms an admissible cluster with the first sound of the verb.

The ending *-i̯kɪn* (Koryak I) of the derived forms is used mostly after stems ending in a single consonant, as *waḷo'm-e̯kɪn* HE KNOWS. After terminal vowel the *i̯* changes to a neutral *ĭ*, as *va-ĭkɪn* HE IS. In many cases, however, the *i̯* is also weakened to *ĭ* or *y* after a terminal consonant and an auxiliary *ɪ* is inserted preceding it, as in *ya'qɪykɪn* WHAT ART THOU? Kor. 29.1; *i'tɪykɪn* ART THOU? Kor. 29.2

NOMINAL FORMS

	(a)	(b)
1 2	—ɪk	
3 4		ga—a
5	—mači	

§ 66. KAMCHADAL

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Person	Past I	Subjunctive (a) Exhortative	Subjunctive (b) Conditional	Imperative
2d sing.	—č		k!—{čnɪᵉn or un}	k—xč
2d pl.	—cx		k!—cx	k—jcx
3d pl.	—{čɪn or uᵉn}	xan—{čñɪᵉn or un}	k!—un	
3d sing.	—č	xan—{čñɪᵉn or un}	k!—un	
1st sing.	t—{k or kɪčn}	m—{k or kɪčɪn}	tk!—k	
1st pl.	n—{k or kɪčɪn}	mɪn—{k or kɪčɪn}	nk!—k	

The subjunctive (*b*) of modern Kamchadal takes in all forms the terminal particle *-bɪ*, which is the Russian conjunction бы.

tk!nukbɪ if I eat.

The future is compounded with the terminal verb *ŏl*, (*ŏ*) TO DESIRE, which may form modes and tenses like the others; the present, with the terminal verb (or suffix) *j*. The third person plural of this form is *-jčɪn* or *jɪᵉn*.

The numerous Kamchadal verbs ending in *-l* change this to *-c* in the derived present. This occurs both in intransitive and transitive verbs (see § 122).

tɪlk I left — *tɪcjk* I leave
tñüklk I slept — *tñükcjk* I sleep
tcolk I lay — *tcō'locjk* I lie

VERBAL NOUN

1 2	—kŏj[1]
3	
4	k!—enk

tujuk nu'kŏj I began eat-beginning; i. e., I began to eat (*t-* I; *uju* to begin; *-k* I; *nu̯* to eat)

[1] This is the inchoative terminal verb (see p. 808, no. 63). The verbal noun never appears without it.

§66

The Forms of the Transitive Verb (§§ *67–71*)

§ 67. CHUKCHEE

Transitive Suffixes

TRANSITIVE FORMS

FIRST AND SECOND PERSON OBJECTS

Object	Indicative I; Subjunctive I*a*	Imperative II	Future III	Derived Modes in *-ɪrkɪn* IV
(1) thee	*-g̣ɪt*	—	*-g̣ɪt*	*-ị̣g̣ɪt*
(2) you	*-tɪk*	—	*-ntɪk*	*-ị̣tɪk*
(3) us (except thou, ye—us)	*-mɪk*	—	*-mɪk*	*-ị̣mɪk*

THIRD PERSON FORMS

(4) him (except he, ye—him)	*-g̣ạ̈ᵉn*	*-g̣ɪn*	*-ñɪn*	(no ending)
(5) them (except he, ye—them)	*-ne̱t*	*-g̣ɪne̱t*	*-ñɪne̱t*	*-e̱t*
(6) he—him	*-nị̣n*	—	*-ñɪnị̣n*	*-ị̣n*
(6′) he—them	*-nị̣ne̱t*	—	*-ñɪnị̣ne̱t*	*-ị̣ne̱t*

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative I	Subjunctive I*a*	Imperative II	Future III	Derived Modes in *-ɪrkɪn* IV
(7) he—me (8) thou—me, us	*-g̣ị̣ᵉ*	*-ạ̈ᵉn*	*-g̣ɪᵉ*	*-g̣äᵉ*	(no ending)
(9) ye—me, us [1]	*-tɪk*	*-tɪk*	*-tɪk*	*-ntɪk*	*-ị̣tɪk*
(10) ye—him, them	*-tkɪ*	*-tkɪ*	*-g̣ɪtkɪ*	*-ñɪtkɪ*	*-ị̣tkɪ*

[1] With *-tku* preceding pronominal suffix.

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

(11) they—me [2]	*-ŭm*	*-ŭm*	—	*-ŭm*	*-ium*

[2] See § 73. This form takes the prefix *ne-*.

Transitive Prefixes

TRANSITIVE FORMS

Subject	Indicative I	Subjunctive I *a* (*a*)	Subjunctive I *a* (*b*)	Imperative II	Future III
I	*t(ɪ)-*	*mɪ-*	*tɪᵉ-*	—	*tre̱-*
we	*mɪt-*	*mɪn-*	*mɪniᵉ-*	—	*mɪrre̱-*
he	*ne̱-*	*äᵉn-*	*nä̱niᵉ-*	—	*ne̱re̱-*

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object me	*(ị̣ne̱)-*	*(nᵉne̱)-*	*(nị̣ᵉne̱)-*	*q-ine*	*(rị̣ne̱)-*
Other forms	—	*nɪ-*	*-nɪᵉ-*	*q-*	*re̱*

The form -*g̥i*ᵉ (I7; II7) is rarely abbreviated to -*ĭ*.

qênapêlaêᵉ and *qênapêlai'* leave me!

This shortening is quite frequent in Koryak I (see below).

NOMINAL FORMS

	I	II
1	—**g̥tɪ̥*	
2	—*k*	
3	—*tä*	*ɕɛ̥*—*tḁ̈*
4	—*mą̥*	
5	—*mą̥čɪ*	

Besides this there are a number of impersonal forms.

Future	*rɛ̥*—*ñ*
Exhortative, sing. .	*nɪ*—*aᵉn*
pl. . .	*nɪ*—*nat*
Exhortative, derived	
sing. .	*nɪ*—*rkɪn*
pl. . .	*nɪ*—*rkɪnat*

§ 68. KORYAK, KAMENSKOYE

Transitive Suffixes

TRANSITIVE FORMS

FIRST AND SECOND PERSON OBJECTS

Object	Indicative I; Subjunctive Ia	Imperative II	Future III	Derived Modes in -*ykɪn* IV
(1) thee	—*g̥i̥*[1]	——	—*g̥i̥*	—*i̥g̥i̥*
(2) you	—(*l̥a*) *tɪk*	——	—(*l̥a*)*ntɪk*	—(*l̥a*)—*i̥tɪk*
(3) us	—(*l̥a*) *mɪk*	—(*l̥a*) *tɪk*	—(*l̥a*) *mɪk*	—(*l̥a*)—*i̥mɪk*
THIRD PERSON FORMS.				
(4) him (except he, ye—him) . .	—*g̥aᵉn*[2]	—*g̥ɪn*	—*ñɪn*	no ending
(5) them dual (except he, ye—them)	—*nat*	—*g̥ɪnat*	—*ñnat*	—*i̥nat*
(5′) them pl. (except he, ye—them) .	—*nau*	—*g̥ɪnau*	—*ñnau*	—*i̥nau*
(6) he, they—him, them	—*ni̥n*	——	—*ñnɪn*	—(*i̥n*)

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative I; Subjunctive Ia	Imperative II	Future III	Derived Modes in *ykɪn* IV
(7) he—me	—*ĭ* —*g̥aᵉn*	——	no ending	no ending
(8) thou—me	—*g̥i̥* —*g̥aᵉn*	—(*g̥i̥*)	no ending	no ending
(9) ye—me	—(*l̥a*)*tɪk*	—(*l̥a*)*tɪk*	—(*l̥a*)*ntɪk*	—(*l̥ą̥*)—*i̥tɪk*
(9′) ye—us	—(*l̥a*)*mɪk*	—(*l̥a*)*mɪk*	—(*l̥a*)*mɪk*	—(*l̥ą̥*)—*i̥mɪk*
(10) ye—him, them	—(*l̥a*)*tča*	—(*l̥a*)*g̥ɪtča*	—(*l̥a*)*ñɪtča*	—((*l̥ą̥*)—*i̥tča*

§68

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORM

(11) they—me	—ǧŭm[1]	— .	—ǧŭm	iǧŭm

[1] we—thee -ɬaǧe [2] we—him -ɬaǧa^{ɛ}n

In the derived modes, ɬa occurs in the same places as in the simple modes, but preceding -ĭkɪn.

The suffixes -ǧi̯ and -ǧa^{ɛ}n (I 8, 4; II 8) of this series are often contracted to -ĭ and -n. The former is similar to an intransitive form.

qenapeɬa'e^{ɛ} and *qenapeɬai'* leave me!

In Chukchee these forms are quite rare (see p. 741)

PREFIXES

	Indicative I	Subjunctive		Imperative II	Future III
		I (*a*) Exhort.	I (*b*) Subj.		
I	*t*	*mɪ-*	*ta^{ɛ}-*		*tya-*
we	*mɪt-*	*mɪn-*	*mɪna^{ɛ}-*		*mɪssa-*
thou, ye, he—me . . .	*ɬna-*	*niɬna-*	*na^{ɛ}ɬna-*	*qi̯na-*	*yi̯na-*
they, he—thee, you, us thou, ye—us	*na-*	*a^{ɛ}n-*	*nana^{ɛ}-*		*naya-*
he—him, them thou, ye—him, them	no prefix	*ɪɪ-*	*na^{ɛ}-*	*qa-*	*ya-*

The second indefinite of Koryak has the prefix *qu̯-*, *ku̯-* (*k-* before vowels) and the future endings, except that

he, thou—me has the ending *-ñ*

I, he—you (dual, pl.) has the ending *-ñtɪk*

NOMINAL FORMS

	I	II
1	—*k*	
2	—*k*	
3 4	missing	*ǧa—ta*
5	—*mačɪ*	

As in Chukchee there occur also a number of impersonal forms.

Future	*ya—ñ*
Exhortation, sing	*nɪ—aᵉn*
Dual	*nɪ—nat*
Exhortation, period, pl. . . .	*nɪ—nou*
Sing. . . .	*nɪ—ĭkɪn*
Dual . . .	*nɪ—ĭkɪnat*
	nɪ—ĭkɪnau

KAMCHADAL (§§ 69–71)

§ 69. Types of Transitive Verb

The Kamchadal transitive verb shows peculiarities of structure similar to those of the Chukchee and Koryak. Only the forms with the objects THEE, YOU, US, are formed with the pronominal forms corresponding to the intransitive suffixes. The combination YE—US is here also excepted, although no indication of a change of the verb into an intransitive form by means of a special suffix is found. Instead of that, the forms THOU, YE—ME have the ending *-mɪñk*, which does not occur in the intransitive verb, but seems to correspond to *-mɪk* WE of Chukchee-Koryak. It may be mentioned here again that in Koryak this ending tends to be dropped. In the Kamchadal forms here discussed it may express the intransitive first person plural, as though we had, for instance, instead of THOU LEAVEST ME, WE PART. When used for the singular THOU—ME, the ending is often pronounced *-mɪñ*, which may be an older form. The form YE—ME, US takes, in addition to *-mɪñk*, the ending *-cx* YE, which corresponds to the intransitive subject. In agreement with the nominal forms, the third person plural object has *-ᵉn*. The nominal-predicative form is used here for both singular and plural of the third person with the object ME.

The forms of a second type of conjugation are not quite so clear.

§ 70. Type I

TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES

TRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
thee	*-hin* he, *-ᵉn*	*-hin*	—	*-hɪn* he, they, *-n*
you	*-cxɪn*	*-cxɪn*	—	*-cxɪn*
us (except ye—us)	*-mɪñk*	*-mɪñk*	*-mɪñk*	*-mɪñk*

§§69, 70

THIRD PERSON FORMS

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
him (except he, they, ye—him)	*-n*	*-n*	*-x*	*-n*
them (except he, they, ye—them)	*-ᵉn*	*-ᵉn*	*-xɪn*	*-ᵉn*
he, they—him	*-nin*	*-nin*	—	*-nin*
he, they—them	*-niᵉn*	*-niᵉn*	—	*-niᵉn*

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

thou—me	*-mɪñk*	—	*-mɪñk*	*-mɪñk*
ye—me, us	*-miñkcx*	—	*-mɪñkcx*	*-mɪñkcx*
ye—him	*-cxɪn*	—	*-cx*	*-cxɪn*
ye—them	*-cxɪᵉn*	—	*-cxɪᵉn*	*-cxɪᵉn*

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

he—me	*-humni'n*	*humni'n*	—	*humni'n*
they—me	*-humni'n*	*humni'n*	—	*humni'n*

PREFIXES

Subject	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
I	*t-*	*ṅ-*	—	*t-*
we	*n-*	*mɪn* or *x·an-*	—	*n-*
he	—	*x·an*	—	—
they	*ăn-*	*x·an*	—	*ăn-*
thou, ye	—	—	*k-*	—

A comparison between this table and the one on p. 740 shows that all the prefixes, except *ăn-* of the third person plural, are the same as those of the intransitive verbs.

An example of this type of verb is the stem *txl-* (present *txc-*) TO BEAT. In verbs beginning with *t*, the prefix *t* of the first person singular is dropped.

Indicative forms have the theme *txli-*.

Subjunctive forms have the theme *txlɪ-*.

Present forms have the theme *txcj*(*ɪ*)- with auxiliary vowel *ɪ* before terminal *n* and before glottal stop.

Indicative:

txli'hɪn I beat thee
txliᵉn he beat thee
txlihŭmni'n he beat me
txli'mɪñk you beat me, us; he beat us
ăntxli'cxɪn they beat you
ntxlɪn we beat him
ăntxli'nin they beat him

Subjunctive:

mtɛlɪ'hɪn let me beat thee
x·antɛlɪ'nin let him beat him
x·antɛlɪ'mɪñk let him, them, beat us
x·antɛlɪhŭmnɪ'n let him, them, beat me
mɪntɛlɪ'cɛɪn let us beat you

Imperative:

ktɛlɪ'mɪñk beat thou me, us
ktɛlɪmɪ'ñkcɛ beat ye me, us
ktɛlɪɛ beat him
ktɛlɪcɛ beat ye him

Present:

tɛcjhɪn I am beating thee
ntɛcjhɪn we are beating thee
tɛcji^{ɛ}n thou art beating them
tɛcjnin he is beating him
ăntɛcjcɛɪ'n they are beating you
ntɛcjin we are beating him

§ 71. Type II

TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES

TRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
thee	I -*xkɪn* he -*čɪñɪn*	-*xkɪn*	—	-*xkɪn*
you	I -*xkɪsxɪn* he -*cɛɪñɪn*	-*xkɪsxɪn*	—	-*xkɪsxɪn*
us (except ye—us)	they -*xkmɪñk* he -*xkɪmɪñk*	-*xkmɪñk*	-*xkmɪñk*	-*xkmɪñk*

THIRD-PERSON FORMS

I—him	-*ñɪn* -*kɪčɪn*	-*ñɪn* -*kɪčɪn*	—	-*ñɪn* -*kɪčɪn*
thou—him	-*čɪñɪn*		-*xčɪk*	-*ñɪn*
we—him	-*ñɪn*	-*ñɪn* -*kɪčɪn*	—	-*ñɪn*
I—them	-*ñɪ^{ɛ}n* -*kɪčɪ^{ɛ}n*	-*ñɪ^{ɛ}n* -*kɪčɪ^{ɛ}n*	—	-*ñɪ^{ɛ}n* -*kɪčɪ^{ɛ}n*
thou—them	-*čɪñɪ^{ɛ}n*	—	-*xčkɪn* -*xčñɪ'n*	-*ñɪ^{ɛ}n*
we—them	-*ñɪ^{ɛ}n*	-*ñɪ^{ɛ}n* -*kɪčɪ^{ɛ}n*	—	-*ñɪ^{ɛ}n*
he—him	-*čɪñnin*	-*čɪñnin*	—	-*nin*
they—him	-*ɪñnin*	-*ɪñnɪn*	—	-*ɪñnin*
he—them	-*čɪñni^{ɛ}n*	-*čɪñni^{ɛ}n*	—	-*ni^{ɛ}n*
they—them	-*ɪñni^{ɛ}n*	-*iñnɪ^{ɛ}n*	—	-*ɪñni^{ɛ}n*

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

Object	Indicative	Subjunctive	Imperative	Present
thou—me	-*ɤkmɪñk*	—	-*ɤkmɪñk*	-*ɤkmɪñk*
ye—me, us	-*ɤkɪmɪñkɛɤ*	—	-*ɤkmɪñkɛɤ*	-*ɤkmɪñkɛɤ*
ye—him	-*čɛɤɪñɪn*	—	-*čɛɤɪñɪn*	-*ɛɤɪñɪn*
ye—them	-*čɛɤɪñɪᵉn*	—	-*čɛɤɪñɪᵉn*	-*ɛɤɪñɪᵉn*

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

he, they—me	-*ɤkumni'n*	-*ɤkumni'n*	—	-*ɤkumni'n*

Evidently these forms are closely related to those of Type I, but the symmetry is disturbed by a number of peculiar contractions, some of which seem to be due to misunderstandings. The prefixes are the same as those of Type I.

As an example may be given forms of the stem *kej* TO ACCEPT.

Indicative and subjunctive have the theme *kej-*.

Present has the theme *kejɪj-*.

Indicative:

tkeʻjɤkin I accepted thee
keʻjčɪñɪn he accepted thee
ănkeʻjɤkɪmɪñk they accepted us
nkeʻjñɪn we accepted him
tkeʻjñɪᵉn or *tkeʻjkɪčɪᵉn* I accepted them
keʻjčɛɤɪñɪᵉn ye accepted them

Subjunctive:

mkeʻjɤkɪn let me accept thee
xʻankejɤkŭmniʻn let him accept me
mɪnkeʻjñɪᵉn or *mɪnkeʻjkɪčɪᵉn* let us accept them
xʻankeʻjɤkɪn let him, them, accept thee

Imperative:

ɤkejɤčɪʻk accept him
ɤkejɤčkɪʻn or *ɤkejɤčñʻn* accept them (*k* before *k* changes to *x*)
ɤkejɤkmɪʻñk accept me, us
ɤkejɤkmɪʻñkɛɤ accept ye me, us
ɤkeʻjčɛɤɪñɪn accept ye him
ɤkeʻjčɛɤɪñɪᵉn accept ye them

Present:

tkejɪjɤkɪʻsɤɪn I am accepting you
nkeʻjɪjñɪn we are accepting him
ănkeʻj-ɪj-ɪñnin they are accepting him
keʻjɪjniᵉn he is accepting them
keʻjɪjñɪᵉn thou art accepting him, them

The nominal forms of these two types are—

	Type I	Type II
1, 2	. . . *-ic, -il*	*-čœč*
3	. . . *-êka* (rare)	*-čœeka* (rare)

As in the intransitive verb, the future is expressed by the present of the desiderative.

tœlaxın I shall beat thee
tœlalın I shall beat him

tkeja'œkın I shall accept thee
tkejalñın or *tkejalkičın* I shall accept him

The two types of conjugation depend upon suffixes which precede the pronominal elements. Some verbal stems are used with and without these suffixes, with a modification of meaning.

tëœli'jın (Type I) I take away my boots
tëœli'jñın (Type II) I take away something from the table

The loss of modes in Kamchadal may be due to Russian influence. There are a number of Kamchadal forms, evidently remains of older forms, which resemble the Chukchee even more closely than the forms just described. Thus we find—

Kamchadal	Chukchee	
jılјın	*yı'lırkın*	thou givest him
jı'lıjhŭm	*ne'yılhŭm*	they gave me
(ă)ŋjı'ljımŭk	*ne'yılmık*	they gave us

§ 72. *Examples of Verbal Suffixes*

CHUKCHEE

The phonetic rules discussed in §§ 1–23 bring about frequent changes in the verbal suffixes. As a matter of convenience I will summarize here the most common modifications, a few of which can not be explained by the general phonetic laws.

1. Verbal stems terminating in a vowel add the verbal suffix without auxiliary vowel. Whenever the initial *g* of the suffix stands in intervocalic position, it is either dropped or pronounced very weakly.

telere'ä$^{\varepsilon}$k < *t-elere'-gä$^{\varepsilon}$k* I felt lonesome
nayo$^{\varepsilon}$'ñño$^{\varepsilon}$ < *ne-yo$^{\varepsilon}$ñño-gi$^{\varepsilon}$* he began to be overtaken 10.7

In stems ending in a double vowel this may lead to trivocalic clusters, which are never contracted.

tıpa'aa$^{\varepsilon}$k < *tı-pa'a-gä$^{\varepsilon}$k* I ceased 21.1
tıya'aa$^{\varepsilon}$k < *tı-ya'a-gä$^{\varepsilon}$k* I used

2. When stems ending in consonants would form consonantic clusters of more than two consonants, when combined with suffixes, an auxiliary vowel is inserted before the suffix.

pê'nřınên < *pênr-nin* he attacks him
tei'kınin < *teik-nin* he made it
qêna'nmŭê^{ɛ} < *qêna-tm-gi*^{ɛ} kill me!

3. In a few cases auxiliary vowels are also introduced when two consonants come into contact that would form inadmissible clusters.

pegtime'tılın < *pegti-met-lin* hauling a sledge 15.3

Among the types of assimilation of sounds may be mentioned —

4. Stems with terminal *u* diphthong transform the combination *ug* into *wkw*. The following auxiliary vowel is *u*.

tıma'rawkwa^{ɛ}*k* < *tı-ma'rau-gä*^{ɛ}*k* I quarreled.
tımara'wkut < *tı-marau-gıt* I blamed thee
i'wkwi^{ɛ} < *iu-gi*^{ɛ} he spoke 8.14
res·qi'wki^{ɛ} < *res·qiu-gi*^{ɛ} he entered 11.2

When the diphthong is accented, and followed by a consonant with which *w* would form an admissible cluster, the *u* has a vocalic character.

mara'urkın he quarrels

With those stems in which *u* is by origin a weak vowel or an unchangeable vowel, the *g* of the suffix, being an intervocalic sound, drops out.

i'urkin he rows (perhaps from *iyu*)
tê'urkın he shakes
tıtê'ua^{ɛ}*n* I shook

5. Stems ending in *t* change the initial *g* of suffixes into *y*.

ewkwe'tyi^{ɛ} < *ewkwet-gi*^{ɛ} he left 8.7
tıye'tyä^{ɛ}*k* < *tı-yet-gä*^{ɛ}*k* I came 124.11
tewkwe'tyä^{ɛ}*k* < *t-ewkwe't-gä*^{ɛ}*k* I left

6. Stems ending in *l* change the initial *g* of suffixes into *y* or *h*.

uñe'lyä^{ɛ}*t* < *uñel-gä*^{ɛ}*t* they gathered fuel 30.6
ne'lyä^{ɛ}*t* < *nel-gä*^{ɛ}*t* it became 12.2
quñe'lhi^{ɛ} < *q-uñel-gi*^{ɛ} gather fuel! 27.1
mi'ilhıt < *mı-yil-gıt* let me give thee 121.24

7. Stems ending in *l*, *r*, *č*, *t*, with following *l*, form ʟ or ɮ.

gi^{ɛ}*'ɮin* < *g-i*^{ɛ}*r-lin* he has gone across
gene'ɮin < *ge-nel-lin* he became 10.8

ge'lqäʟin < *ge̯-lqät-li̯n* he left 59.1
gakɪ'tɪmaʟên < *ga̯-kɪ'tɪmḁt-lê̯n* he had his hand extended 47.6

8. Terminal *ñ* of the stem before *l* changes to *n*.

ga̯tḁḁro̥nlê̯n < *ga-taaroñ-lên* he has brought sacrifice

9. In the pronunciation of men, among the Reindeer Chukchee, *t* and *n* between vowels are dropped, and the vowels are assimilated to *aa*, *ee*, *ii*, and after preceding *q* to *äe*.

ewkwe'erkɪn < *ewkwe't-ɪ-rkɪn* he leaves
gênatva'ʟaat < *ge̯-i̯ne̯-tvḁt-li̯ne̯t* they promised 71.4 (see § 73)
ninenlɪpe'tqäet < *n-ine-r-lɪp-et-qinet* he broke them 20.11

I give here a series of examples of the forms described before.

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Past I:

2d pl.	*pɪ'ntɪqättik* you appeared 74.21
3d pl.	*pŭki'rgäᵉt* they came 64.2
	tara'nga̯ᵉt they pitched a tent 56.9
	ñipe'äᵉt < *ñɪpe-gäᵉt* they came ashore 7.8
	tɪle'äᵉt < *tɪle-gäᵉt* they walked 64.9
	qɪmɪ'tvaaᵉt < *qḁmɪ-tvḁ-gäᵉt* they ate 87.32
	yɪlqä'tyäᵉt < *yɪlqät-gäᵉt* they slept 8.4
2d sing.	*ye'tyiᵉ* < *yet-giᵉ* thou hast come 37.6
	qätɪ' thou art going 82.23
	gɪtte'wkwiᵉ < *gɪtteu-giᵉ* thou art hungry 9.13
3d sing.	*e'gripgiᵉ* she felt pain 63.8
	iᵉ'rgiᵉ he crossed over 13.13
	pŭki'rɪ he came 90.26
	ñḁ'wtɪngê̯ᵉ he married 58.8
	pŭki'rgiᵉ he arrived 57.8; 58.1
	lile'pgiᵉ he looked 7.6
	kê̥'rgŭpgêᵉ she dressed up 52.9
	eiñe'utkuiᵉ < *eiñe'u-tku-giᵉ* he called 8.5
	wa'qo̥êᵉ < *wḁqo̥-gê̯ᵉ* he sat down 15.7
	euño'êᵉ < *i̯u-ñño̥-gi̯ᵉ* he began to say 117.25
	ra'gtɪêᵉ < *rḁgtɪ-gi̯ᵉ* he came home 122.7
	ewkwe'tyiᵉ < *ewkwet-giᵉ* he left 8.7
	têrga'tyêᵉ < *tê̥rg-e̯t-gi̯ᵉ* he cried 7.6
	kiye'wkwiᵉ < *kiyeu-giᵉ* he awoke 9.4
	ki'wkwiᵉ < *kiu-giᵉ* he passed a night 8.4
	notas·qa'wkwêᵉ < *nute-s·qeu-giᵉ* land approached 8.8
1st sing.	*te'gripgäᵉk* I felt pain 101.17
	tɪye'tyäᵉk < *t-yet-gäᵉk* I came 124.11
	teiu'äᵉk < *t-eiu-gäᵉk* I revived 83.14
	tɪlva'wkwaᵉk < *t-lvḁu-gäᵉk* I could not 16.9

1st pl. *mɪtyɪ'greumik* we are thirsty 71.14
mɪtvi^{ɛ}'mɪk we died 64.15

Subjunctive (*a*):

3d pl. *nɪyɪlqä'tɪnet* < *n-yɪlqät-ɪ-net* let them sleep
3d sing. *nɪ'lqätyä^{ɛ}n* < *n-lqät-g̣ä^{ɛ}n* let him go! 13.12
nɪča'atvaa^{ɛ}n < *n-čaa-tvạ-g̣ä̯^{ɛ}n* let her be a castaway 39.3
nɪyɪ'lqätyä^{ɛ}n < *n-yɪlqät-g̣ä^{ɛ}n* let him sleep 9.1
1st sing. *mɪlɪmala'ññoa^{ɛ}k* < *mɪ-lɪmạlạ-ññọ-g̣ä̯^{ɛ}k* let me obey 21.10
mɪ'lqätyä^{ɛ}k < *mɪ-lqät-g̣ä^{ɛ}k* let me go 125.5
muanla'a^{ɛ}k < *mɪ-ạnlạ-g̣ä^{ɛ}k* I may ask (for help) 135.19
mɪne'etyä^{ɛ}k < *mɪ-neet-g̣ä^{ɛ}k* let me turn black 23.6
1st pl. *mne'wkwen ɪk* < *mn-ewkwet-mɪk* let us go away 17.8
mɪnuñe'lmɪk let us gather fuel 30.6
mɪnra'g̣tɪmŭk let us go home 126.4
mra'g̣tia^{ɛ}k let me go home 99.2
mɪta'aqθa^{ɛ}k let me smoke 99.26

Subjunctive (*b*):

nɪ^{ɛ}tva'nat if they had stayed 68.27
nu^{ɛ}wi'ä^{ɛ}n < *nɪ^{ɛ}-vi^{ɛ}-g̣ä^{ɛ}n* she would die 37.12

Imperative:

quwi^{ɛ}'tɪk die ye! 64.16
qäle'tɪk walk ye! 65.29
qämñi'i^{ɛ} < *q-mñi-g̣i^{ɛ}* celebrate the thanksgiving ceremonial 60.5
qanto' < *q-ntọ-g̣i^{ɛ}* come out! 26.3
qạg̣nọ'pg̣ê̯^{ɛ} sit with head bent down! 32.4

Future:

2d pl. *revi^{ɛ}'ntɪk* ye will die 64.20
3d pl. *rẹ̯'pki̯rg̣ä^{ɛ}* they will come 10.5 (sing. used as plural)
2d sing. *rečipe'tyä^{ɛ}* < *re-čip-et-g̣ä^{ɛ}* thou wilt dive 114.22
revi^{ɛ}'i^{ɛ} < *rẹ̯-vi^{ɛ}-g̣i^{ɛ}* thou wilt die 65.6 (cf. 21.12 *revi^{ɛ}'ä^{ɛ}* 37.8)
ra'tvaa^{ɛ} < *rẹ̯-tvạ-g̣ä̯^{ɛ}* thou wilt live 108.25
3d sing. *remñi'ä^{ɛ}* < *re-mñi-g̣ä^{ɛ}* he will celebrate a thanksgiving ceremonial 118.12
ratopa'wkwa^{ɛ} < *rẹ̯-tọpạu-g̣ä̯^{ɛ}* she will be pregnant 104.5
rara'lêčêtya^{ɛ} < *rẹ̯-rạlê̯-či̯t-g̣ä̯^{ɛ}* he will slide down 114.15
reurre'tyi^{ɛ} < *re-urr-et-g̣i^{ɛ}* it will appear 119.10
1st sing. *trara'g̣tɪa^{ɛ}* < *t-rẹ̯-rạg̣tɪ-g̣ä̯^{ɛ}* I shall go home 99.14
trevi^{ɛ}'ä^{ɛ} < *t-re-vi^{ɛ}-g̣ä^{ɛ}* I shall die 108.1
trene'lhä^{ɛ} < *t-re-nel-g̣ä^{ɛ}* I shall turn to 24.12
1st pl. *mɪrreyɪ'lqätyä^{ɛ}* < *mɪrre-yɪlq-ät-g̣ä^{ɛ}* we shall sleep 9.3

§72

Derived Modes in *-ırkın*.

Past I:

inenreqeurkını'tık < *ine-r-req-eu-rkın-ıtık* what are you doing with me 10.10
ewkwé'erkıt < *ewkwet-ırkıt* they leave 13.6
mñi'rkıt they celebrate the thanksgiving ceremonial 67.29
pılqä'erkın he dived 9.7
va'rkın he is 19.2
rıqamıtva'urkınên he was made to eat
kimé'urkın thou causest delay 18.6
ré'qärkın how art thou? 18.9
tınqäé'rkın I refuse 19.7
mıttegimi'n·ñirkın we suffer 32.2
mıtteñiče'erkın we feel merry 69.8
mınqamı'tvarkın let us eat 65.4
qatva'rkın stay! 57.3; 67.23
remeiñé'erkın he will grow up 21.7

Koryak:

Past I:

3d pl.	*ıs·hımḷavai'ñaḷai* they shout aloud and dance Kor. 24.6
2d sing.	*i'yi* thou hittest Kor. 26.1
	i'tı thou wert Kor. 16.3
	ya'ti thou camest Kor. 68.12
	qati' you went away Kor. 18.5
3d sing.	*vannınta'tı* she lost a tooth Kor. 34.1
	a'wyeñvoi he begins to eat Kor. 20.7
	vi$^{\varepsilon}$'gi he is dead Kor. 22.1
1st sing.	*tıvi$^{\varepsilon}$'yak* I died Kor. 84.14
	tıtva'ñvok I began to be Kor. 18.6
	tuva'nnıntatık I lost a tooth Kor. 33.1
	tapka'vık I could not Kor. 35.2
	ti'yak I hit Kor. 26.2
	tına$^{\varepsilon}$'ḷık I remained Kor. 16.2
1st dual.	*mıtquqıta't* we are hungry Kor. 74.17

Subjunctive (*a*):

2d sing.	*nına$^{\varepsilon}$'ḷın* may it become Kor.20.2
3d sing.	*né'wñıvon* he would begin to say Kor. 27.6
1st sing.	*mıḷqa'tık* let me go! Kor. 33.10
	mas·hı'ntıḷık I'll walk along the shore Kor. 82.19
	mınan·ačo'mık let us try the divining-stone! Kor. 80.20
1st dual	*mını'lqat* let us go! Kor. 22.5 (see § 62,1)
	mına'wyi let us eat! Kor. 28.9

1st pl. *mɪnɪlqaḷa'mɪk* let us go! Kor. 28.5; 62.6
mɪ̈no'yɪčvaḷa let us play! Kor. 32.7
mɪnɪkya'wḷa let us get up! Kor. 39.4.
mɪna'wyeḷa let us eat! Kor. 27.7
minno'tantaḷa let us go for a walk! Kor. 86.8.

Subjunctive (*b*):
nɪᵉtvaᵉ'an it should be Kor. 34.12
naniᵉ'wɪn one could say Kor. 24.10
tiᵉ'wɪk I should say 45.9

Imperative:
sing. *quvɪᵉyas·qi'wgi* die! Kor. 35.1
qa'lqathi go away! Kor. 35.3
qɪmḷa'we dance! Kor. 37.6
qamla'wge dance! Kor. 45.9
qɪta'pañ cook soup! Kor. 42.10
qawas·vu'gi look in! Kor. 27.3
dual *qamaḷɪtva'thɪtɪk* make it better! Kor. 13.2
qanto'tɪk go out! Kor. 74.15
qɪyai'tɪtɪk go ye two home Kor. 21.1
qi'thɪtɪk be ye two! Kor. 21.2
pl. *qawas·vɪḷa'tɪk* look ye in! Kor. 27.1
qɪkyawḷa'tɪk awake ye! Kor. 29.3
qaivɪḷaḷa'tɪk carry ye meat as a present! Kor. 63.12
qalqaḷa'tɪk go away! Kor. 14.7

Future:
3d pl. *yewñɪvoḷa'ñe* they shall tell Kor. 22.5
1st sing. *tyaviᵉ'yañ* I shall die Kor. 33.1
tɪyayai'tɪñ I will go home Kor. 30.5
1st pl. *mɪssaviᵉ'yaḷa* we shall die Kor. 16.9

Derived modes in *-ɪykɪn:*
2d pl. *yaqḷaikɪne'tɪk* what are you doing? Kor. 24.8
3d dual *vai'ke* they two are Kor. 48.7
3d pl. *kɪya'wḷaike* they awoke Kor. 12.6
vañvoḷai'ke they lived Kor. 43.7; 45.5; 62.7; 12.6.
kokaivɪḷai'ke they are cooking Kor. 27.4
ɛnkayaḷai'ke they are snoring Kor. 28.4
3d sing. *ḷeḷapɪtčoñvo'ykɪn* he looks up Kor. 42.8
kaña'tɪykɪn he is fishing Kor. 45.1
va'ykɪn he lives Kor. 18.4
1st sing. *tɪqɪtta'tɪykɪn* I am hungry Kor. 35.5
tɪyañlanñɪvo'ykɪn I shall feel smoky Kor. 37.10
1st pl. *mɪtɪtvañvoḷai'kɪn* we remain Kor. 17.11 §72

Subjunctive:
1st sing. *mañɪnmɪḷa'tɪykɪn* I should feel elated Kor. 84.17
Imperative:
2d sing. *qiwɪykɪn-i'-ḍi* say! Kor. 25.4

TRANSITIVE VERB

Transitive Forms

FIRST AND SECOND PERSON FORMS

Past I and subjunctive:

tɪ'lhɪ-ḍɪt I have thee for something 15.8 (I 1*)
ne'ntɪ-ḍɪt they bid thee 19.5 (I 1)
mɪnletc'ttɪk let us carry you away! 74.15 (I 2)
ne'ntɪtɪk he bid you 74.24 (I 2)
nayo^{ɛ}'mŭk they visit us 34.6 (I 3)
nantɪmla'nmɪk they press on us 63.9 (I 3)

Future:

nara'nmŭḍɪt they will kill thee 37.10 (III 1)
nara'nmŭntɪk it will kill you 70.12 (III 2)

Derived modes:

nayo^{ɛ}'rkɪn-ê-ḍɪt they visit thee 52.4 (IV 1)
nanmɪrkɪnê'mɪk let them kill us! 67.33 (IV 3)

THIRD-PERSON FORMS

Past I and subjunctive:

tre^{ɛ}'tyä^{ɛ}n I brought it 20.1 (I 4)
tɪ^{ɛ}lhɪ'ä^{ɛ}n if I should do for it 38.12 (I*a* 4)
mɪlu^{ɛ}'ä^{ɛ}n let me see it 19.5; 20.2 (I*a* 4)
mɪpê'nřɪa^{ɛ}n let me catch him 66.16 (I*a* 4)
mɪtlu^{ɛ}'ä^{ɛ}n we saw it 33.7 (I 4)
napêla'a^{ɛ}n they left it 30.12 (I 4)
mɪnpê'laa^{ɛ}n let us leave him 29.11 (I 4)
ḍɪna'n lɪ'ngä^{ɛ}n thou hast put it 38.11 (I 4)
tule'tinet thou hast stolen them 18.1 (I 5)
nenu'net they ate it 14.8 (I 5)
ä^{ɛ}nlu^{ɛ}'net they might see it 62.1 (I*a* 5)
yopa'nnên he visited him 7.4 (I 6)
lu^{ɛ}'nin he saw it 18.11 (I 6)
nɪ^{ɛ}yo^{ɛ}'nên they would visit it 53.1 (I*a* 6)
tɪmnê'nat he killed them 34.1 (I 6′)
pɪnlo'nênat he asked them 13.9 (I 6′)
iu'ninet he said to them 8.10 (I 6′)

* Numbers in parenthese refer to the table of forms on pp. 741-743.

Imperative:

qägtı'gın fetch it! 30.9 (II 4)
qärri'lhın put it down 40.6 (II 4)
qai'pŭgun put it on! 16.6; 37.8 (II 4)
qätei'kıgınet make them! 49.4 (II 5)
qre'tınet fetch them 73.11 (II 5)

Future:

tre'ntıñın I will manage him 67.22 (III 4)
mırraioᵉ'ñın we shall see him 66.30 (III 4)
mırrı'wkut-hıt we shall bind thee 23.8 (III 1)
replı'tkuñınet thou wilt finish them 49.5 (III 5)
ra'nmugnên he will kill him 37.14 (III 6)

Derived modes:

qoi'pıtkoi'vŭrkın thrust it in all! 72.24 (IV 4)
tılhı'rkınet I do them 29.2; 30.5 (IV 5)
nata'rkınat they left them 68.17 (IV 5)
tımı'rkınên he kills him 23.5 (IV 6)
te'grırkınin he threw him 10.10 (IV 6)
tımı'rkınênat they kill them 44.8 (IV 6')
nelu'rkın they saw it 7.8 (IV 4)

Intransitive Forms.

Past I, and derived form:

ine'lhiiᵉ thou hast for me 25.1 (I 8)
gına'n ineluᵉ'iᵉ thou hast seen me 22.10 (I 8)
ênapêlarkınê'tık ye are leaving me 10.5 (IV 9)
inenreqeurkıni'tık what are you doing to me? 10.10 (IV 9)
inentᴇle'urkın thou causest me pain 31.11 (IV 8)
mıtıwku'tırkın-i-gıt we bind thee (IV 1)

Imperative:

qıne'ilhiᵉ give me! 15.12 (II 8)
qênata'gêᵉ move to me! 37.10 (II 8)
qênankêrgipa'tyêᵉ dress me! 48.9 (II 8)
qıgite'tkuiᵉ look at us! 35.7 (II 8)
qeiñe'tkutık carry ye us away! 74.12 (II 9)
qinerri'lhıtık (*qinerri'ltık* 23.7) let ye me go! 24.1 (II 9)
qênagta'tyıtık haul ye me up! 67.8 (II 9)
qineluᵉ'tık look ye at me! 70.31 (II 9)
qaivalponaurkınê'tkı hit ye them on the head! 69.32 (IV 10)
qänu'utkı eat ye it! 14.7; 33.12 (II 10)
qata'gıtkı pass it! 70.10 (II 10)
qata'ʟıngıtkı answer ye them! 11.11 (II 10)
qänınle'wkutkı light ye them 68.13 (II 10) §72

Future:

raala'ñɪtkɪ ye will pass it 64.20 (III 10)
relu$^{\varepsilon}$'ñɪtkɪ ye will see it 64.21 (III 10)

Nominal Predicative Forms

napêla'-ŭm they left me 31.9 (I 11)
nančaatwa'wkŭm they cast me off 31.10 (I 11)
nanlɪmalawa't-ê-ŭm they make me obey 21.3 (I 11)

For examples of verbal nouns, see § 95.

KORYAK

1. Stems with terminal vowel form a diphthong with the ending *-ykɪn* of the derived forms.

tɪ-tva'ĭkɪn < *tɪ-tva'-ykɪn* I am
tɪ-čvi̯'ĭkɪn < *tɪ-čvi̯'-ykɪn* I cut
va'ykɪn he lives Kor. 18.4

2. The *g̣* of the suffix is never dropped.

tɪ-čvi'-g̣än I cut off

3. Stems with terminal consonant have for the derived forms in *-ykɪn* the form *-i̯kɪn*, an auxiliary vowel being introduced on account of the formation of a triconsonantic cluster.

tɪvalo̥'me̯kɪn (Chukchee *tuwalo'mɪrkɪn*) < *tɪ-valom-ykɪn* I hear
tḁpḁte̯kɪn (Chukchee *tḁpḁtɪrkɪn*) < *t-ŭpat-ykɪn* I cook
ti̯'vi̯kɪn (Chukchee *tiurkɪn*) < *t-i̯v-ykɪn* I say

4. Terminal *v* of the stem (which corresponds to Chukchee *u*) is not regularly assimilated by the initial *g̣* of the suffix.

ti'vg̣ä$^{\varepsilon}$k I said

In other cases *vg̣* is changed to *wg̣*, which corresponds to the Chukchee *wkw*.

tyi'wg̣i (Chukchee *tri'wkut*) < *t-y-iv-g̣i* (Chukchee < *t-r-iu-g̣ɪt*) I shall say to you
quvɪ$^{\varepsilon}$yas·qi'wg̣i die! Kor. 35.1

5. Terminal *t* does not influence the *g̣* of the suffix.

pɛlq̣a'tg̣i he grew old

6. Stems in terminal *ĭ* of Koryak I, which correspond to stems in *r* of the Chukchee, form the derived modes in *-ĭi̯kɪn* (Chukchee *-rɪrkɪn*).

Kamenskoye	Chukchee	
ti̯$^{\varepsilon}$'yi̯kɪn	*ti$^{\varepsilon}$rɪrkɪn*	I cross over

7. Terminal *t* before *ļ* either forms the Koryak analogue of *ɻ* or drops out.

ġapa'ɻen < *ġa-pat-ļen* he has cooked

ġapᴇ'lqaļin < *ġa-pᴇ'lqat-lın* he has grown old

Examples:

tıyanu'wġi I shall swallow thee Kor. 78.18; 84.24 (I 1)
mıtı'mtıngi I shall carry thee Kor. 21.4 (I*a* 1)
mınınyai'taļa-ge let us take thee home Kor. 33.3 (I*a* 1)
aᵋntai'kı-gi one should make thee Kor. 38.4 (I*a* 1)
naļñıļaikıne'tık they do to you Kor. 64.17 (IV 2)
mınyai'tatık I'll carry you two home Inc. 4 line 6, p. 63[1] (I*a* 2)
nenenėla'mık he appears to us Kor. 29.9 (I 3)
nanaᵋyıva'wmık he is reproaching us Kor. 74.19 (I 3)
naļñıļaikıne'mık they do us Kor. 64.16, 62.5 (IV 3)
ļuᵋ'waᵋn thou sawest it Kor. 23.8 (I 4)
mıyoᵋ'ogan let me visit him Kor. 20.7 (I*a* 4)
mıtlaᵋ'wļaᵋn we found it Kor. 26.9 (I 4)
qıyaᵋ'thın bring it here! Kor. 29.4 (II 4)
mınu'mkawın I will lay it aside Kor. 49.10 (I 4)
tıyai'ļıñın I'll give him Kor. 12.3; 76.17 (III 4)
tıyanñawtıña'nñın I'll give you your wife Kor. 13.3 (III 4)
ya'nmıñın you will kill it Kor. 76.7 (III 4)
nataļaikıné'mık it has caught us Kor. 66.7 (IV 3)
tı'nmın I killed him Kor. 20.5 (I 4)
ļuᵋ'nin she found it Kor. 24.3 (I 6)
tai'kmin he made them Kor. 20.9 (I 6)
nayoᵋ'onau ye visit them Kor. 24.7 (I 10)
qutei'kıñınau you are making them Kor. 50.7 (I 10)
qupka'wñunenau it could not do them Kor. 40.2 (I 6′)
nayoᵋñvo'ykinenau they visit them Kor. 61.8 (IV 5′)
yıleñvo'ykınen she turns him Kor. 19.2 (IV 6)
yawa'ykınen she has him for Kor. 22.6 (IV 6)
ina'nui he swallowed me Kor. 84.13 (I 7)
tenanıkyo'nñıvoi he wants to awaken us Kor. 39.4 (I 7)
ninanuvaᵋ'an let him swallow me! Kor. 84.15 (I*a* 7)
yena'nmı she will kill us Kor. 96.14 (III 8)
qina'nu swallow me! Kor 84.22 (II 8)
qinanu'wgi swallow me! Kor. 84.24 (II 8)
genanyaikmi'ġi cheer me up! Kor. 84.27 (II 8)
qinamlıļa'tık ye louse me! Kor. 24.9 (II 9)
qinatinuñla'tık prepare ye provisions for me Kor. 13.4 (II 9)
qwuɻa'ġıtča tie ye her! Kor. 23.4 (II 10)

[1] Waldemar Jochelson, The Koryak. Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI.

qi'wg̣utča tell ye him! Kor. 74.20 (II 10)
qɪyoᵉoḷa'g̣ɪtča visit ye her! Kor. 23.7 (II 10)
nɪyanñepñɪvoi'g̣ŭm they will keep me back Kor. 60.5 (I 11)
naya'nuw-g̣ŭm they will eat me Kor. 78.21 (I 11)

For examples of verbal nouns, see § 95.

§§ 73-74. *Predicative Form of Nominalized Verb*

§ 73. FORMS DERIVED FROM INTRANSITIVE VERB

Nouns, adjectives, and pronouns are combined with the suffixed personal pronouns of the first and second persons, and thus express the idea TO BE ———. Verbal stems are nominalized in the same manner. In the third person such verbs take the affixes—

1. sing. *nɪ—qi̯n* } one who is in a condition or performs an action
   pl. *nɪ—qi̯ne̯t* }
2. sing. *g̣e̯—li̯n* } one who has attained a condition or who has performed an action
   pl. *g̣e̯—li̯ne̯t* }

The second form may also be used with nouns, and expresses ONE WHO HAS ———. In the singular a connective *i̯* occurs between the verbal stem and the suffixed pronoun. In the first person singular of verbs ending in a consonant the connective *i̯* forms a syllable and the initial *g̣* of the suffix *g̣ŭm* drops out. In Koryak, on the other hand, it is retained. When the stem ends in a vowel, the *i̯* forms a diphthong with it and the *g̣* of *g̣ŭm* is retained. The following table illustrates these forms.

	Prefix			Suffix		
	Noun	Nominalized Verbs		Noun	Nominalized Verbs	
		(*a*)	(*b*)		(*a*)	(*b*)
3d sing.				—	*-qin*	*-lin*
3d pl.				*-e̯t,-t,-ti̯*	*-qine̯t*	*-line̯t*
1st sing.	—	*nɪ-*	*g̣ê-*		*-i̯-ŭm*	
2d sing.					*-i̯gɪt*	
1st pl.					*-mu̯ri̯*	
2d pl.					*-tu̯ri̯*	

KORYAK

	Prefix			Suffix		
	Noun	Nominalized Verb		Noun	Nominalized Verbs	
		(a)	(b)		(a)	(b)
3d sing.				—	-qin	-lin
3d dual				-at,-t,-tị	-qinat	-linat
3d pl.				-au, u̯, -wwi,-wgi	-qịnau	-linau
1st sing.					-ịgŭm	
2d sing.					-ịgị	
1st dual	—	nɪ			-muyi	
2d dual					-mu̯yu̯, mu̯u̯, mu [1]	
1st pl.					-tuyi	
2d pl.					-tu̯yu̯, tu̯u̯, tu̯ [1]	

[1] The contracted forms *mu* and *tu* do not change their vowels in harmony with hard vowels of the stem.

Examples:

Nouns:

1st sing. *o'rgukäl-ê-ŭm* I am one who has no sledge 78.6.
ke'lei-(g)ŭm < *kele-i-gŭm* I am a kele
qla'ul-ê-ŭm I am a man 116.32

2d sing. *ñe'us·qät-i-gɪr* thou art a woman 136.15.
ke'lei-gịt thou art a kele 15.11

1st pl. *ili'ʟä-mu'ri* we are islanders 11.11.

Nominalized verbs (*a*):

3d sing. *nɪgnopɪtva'qên* he was one who remained crouching 7.4.
nine'lqin he is one who becomes a — 8.7.

3d pl. *nɪmɪtva'qênat* they were those who lived in a camp 13.3.

1st sing. *nɪ'lqät-i-ŭm* I am one who was there 66.36.
na̯ᵉlaioi'gŭm < *n-a̯ᵉlaio-i̯-(g)ŭm* I defecated 76.5

2d sing. *wu'tku nɪtvai'-gɪr* you are one who stays here 7.5.
nɪne'l-i-gɪt you are one who becomes a — 10.11.

1st pl. *nɪ'pkir-muri* we are those who came 11.1.

2d pl. *me'ñkɪ ni't-turi* where are you? 12.2.

Nominalized verbs (*b*):

3d sing. *ganto'lên* he was one who had gone out 8.4.
ge'tkulin he was one who had spent time 7.2.

3d pl. *gi'ulinet* they were those who had said 11.11.
gene'ʟinet they were those who had become — 9.4.

1st sing. *gene'l-i-ŭm* I am the one who has become a — 17.6.
gele̯re̯i'-gŭm < *g-elere-i̯-(g)ŭm* I was feeling dull

1st pl. *ge'lhɪ-muri* we were the ones to whom it happened 65.11.

Koryak:

Nouns:

1st sing. *qla'wuḷ-e-ġŭm* I am a man Kor. 22.1.

1st pl. *kmi'ñɪ-mu'yi* we are children Kor. 70.20.

Nominalized verbs (*a*):

3d sing. *naˢčañvoqen* he was the one who was urinating Kor. 14.2.

nɪqahaiañvoqen he was the one who began to cry aloud Kor. 78.10.

3d du. *nalñɪqa'tvuqinet* they were the ones who were quite successful Kor. 88.21.

3d pl. *nanyamča'čaqenau* they are those that taste of fat Kor. 25.5.

1st sing. *nanñɪčvɪna'w-ġŭm* I am one who is getting angry Kor. 31.2.

2d sing. *nɪta'witkɪñi-ġi* you are one who is doing mischief Kor. 82.9.

Nominalized verbs (*b*):

3d sing. *ġaya'ḷqɪwlin* he was the one who had entered Kor. 14.1.

3d du. *ġata'wañḷenat* they were the ones who had moved on Kor. 19.9.

3d pl. *ġaqi'tilinau* they were the ones who were frozen Kor. 14.2.

1st sing. *ġatuyɪkmiña't-i-ġŭm* I am the one who has given birth to a child Kor. 64.12.

1st pl. *ġanoˢ'l-mu'yu* we are the ones who have become — Kor. 37.4.

2d sing. *ġalu'tai-ġi* you are the one who has urinated Kor. 66.6.

§ 74. FORMS DERIVED FROM TRANSITIVE VERB

The nominalized form of the transitive verb has in the *n(ɪ)*- form throughout the prefix *iṇġ-*, which makes the verbal theme passive.

	Prefix		(*a*)	(*b*)	
	(*a*)	(*b*)			
3d sing. . . .			(*iṇġ*)—*qin*	(*iṇġ*)—*liṇ*	
3d pl.			(*iṇġ*)—*qiṇġt*	(*iṇġ*)—*liṇġt*	
1st sing. . . .			(*iṇġ*)—*i-ġŭm*	—*i·(g)um*	
2d sing. . . .	*n(ɪ)*	*ġ*	(*iṇġ*)—*ɪġɪt*	(*iṇġ*)—*ɪġɪt*	*-tkų-ɪġɪt*
1st pl.			(*iṇġ*)—*mųri*	—*mųri*	
2d pl.			(*iṇġ*)—*turi*	(*iṇġ*)—*tųri*	*-tkų-tųri*

KORYAK

	Prefix		(a)	(b)
	(a)	(b)		
3d sing.			*ina—qin*	*-lịn*
3d dual.			*ina—qinat*	*-ḷinat*
3d pl.			*ina—qinau*	*-ḷinau*
1st sing.			*ina—ĭgŭm*	*-ĭgŭm*
2d sing.	*n(i)*	*ga*	*ina—ĭgɪt*	*-ĭgɪt*
1st dual.			*ina—muyu*	*-muyu*
1st pl.			*ina—tuyu*	*-tuyu*
2d dual.			*ina—muyi*	*-muyi*
2d pl.			*ina—tuyi*	*-tuyi*

In meaning this form agrees with the intransitive nominalized verb. It may be translated THE ONE WHOM I —, etc.

ELO'n nênapêla'ĭgŭm he is the one whom I leave
gɪt nênapĕlai'gŭm you are the one whom I leave
qa'at ninei'mitiŭm the reindeer are the ones whom I take
nêna'nmê-gɪt they are the ones whom you kill 23.4

Accordingly, when the object of the verb is in the plural, the nominal third person appears also in the plural.

The third person plural subject occurs also without *i̯ne̯-* and has active sense.

qa'at nɪpê̥lḁ'qê̯na̯t the reindeer are the ones whom they leave (or, perhaps, the reindeer are in the condition of being left).
qa'at ni̯ne̯i'mi̯tqi̯ne̯t the reindeer are the ones whom he takes
nɪ'nmŭqên ora'wêḷan Eiwhue'lä the St. Lawrence people were the ones who killed the men 12.11
pɪpE'kɪlkɪn nêna'nmŭqên a mouse was killed by him 89.24
ni'uqinet qu'tti several were the ones who said to them 59.2
nini'uqinet they were told by him 73.13
tɪ'LɪK neime'nqäet they were those who were approaching (to) the entrance (intransitive) 103.1
nineimeu'qin wa'lqar he was one who approached the house 57.6
tayo'lhɪt nê̯na̯imê̥'qê̯na̯t he was one who hung up the needlecases 82.10

The nominalized transitive verb in *ge̯-* has two forms—one the passive, meaning I, THE ONE WHO HAS BEEN—, etc.; the other active, derived from those forms of the transitive verb which are replaced by intransitive forms (see p. 741), except *-tkɪ*.

The third person, with or without-*i̯ne̯*-may be used in an active or passive sense.

§74

ǧapê'lalên he was leaving him, or he was left
ǧenlete'n-muri he was the one who took us away 74.23
ǧeniǧǧewgu'ulinet he was the one who awakened them 12.12

Examples, Koryak:

(*a*) *nenaaiñawñɪvo'qen* she was the one who called him Kor. 74.29
nenanuñvo'qenau she was the one who ate them Kor. 59.9
ninataikɪñvo'qenau she was the one who made them Kor. 59.5
nassi'ñvo-ǧŭm they are the ones who are untying me Kor. 39.3
nenemeye'ye-ǧe art thou the one who is seeking it? Kor. 49.9
nenavoᵋ'ñvo-mu'yu we are those who find them Kor. 59.9
(*b*) *ǧêwñɪvo'ļenat* they were the two whom he told Kor. 13.2
ǧa'nmɪļenau they were the ones whom they had killed Kor. 12.8
ǧanta'witkɪñau-mu'yi we are the ones whom they have defiled Kor. 29.6
ǧanta'witkɪñaw-i-ǧ-i thou art the one whom they have defiled Kor. 31.1

§§ 75–81. *Notes on Certain Verbs*

§ 75. To be, —*ɨt*

The Chukchee verbal stem *-ɨt*, Kor. Kam. *-ɨt*, expresses the idea TO BE. In the pronounciation of men the *t* is lost in Chukchee in intervocalic position. The women say instead of *i'ɪrkɪn* of the men *i'tiššɪn*. In other words with terminal *t* of stem they may drop it, as in *yɪlqaeššɪn* he sleeps.

i'ɪrkɪn, Kor. Kam. *itɪ'ykin* he is
me'ñkɪ nit-turi? where are you?
mi'ñkri ni'tqin? how was he? 17.12

It is used with the verbal noun in *-tä*, and with the noun in *-nu* (see § 95, p. 784, § 103, no. 34).

čaučuwa'-va'rat čɪ'mqŭǧ viri'tä-ñ i'irkɪn the Reindeer Chukchee people are partly self-destroying
Ta'n·ñɪčhɪt ŭm em-viᵋ'tä ni'tqinet the Russians are just dying
lɵñ-qamɪ'tvata i'tyiᵋ he could not eat 80.7
aqamɪ'tvaka qi'tyitɪk don't ye eat (of it) 64.19
e'rmu ti'tyäᵋk I was a chief (literally, I was what serves as a chief)
ǧai'mɪčɪlɵ tri'tyäᵋ I am going to be rich
qarêmêna'nɵ ri'tyäᵋ thou shalt not be it 23.6
lɪ'ê-ñarau'tilɵ mɪni'nmɪk (<*mɪn-it-mɪk*) let us really try to get wives 57.1
êna'nmɪču i'tkäl-i-ŭm I am not a murderer 24.8

It seems possible that the element *i̯* in the nominalized verbs is derived from this stem (see note 1 p. 734).

nu-wa'lom-ê-um I am hearing
nɪ-yɪ'lqät-i-ŭm I am sleeping

§ 76. TO LIVE, TO BE *-tvᵹ*

This stem occurs both in Chukchee and Koryak. It expresses a longer duration than *i̯t*.

äqäliñe'tä ti'tyäᵉk I was in fear
em-äqäliñe'tä tɪtva'aᵉk I was continually just in fear
va'rkɪn (Chukchee), *va'ykɪn* (Kor. Kam.) he lives
awgo'lɪka tɪtva'rkɪn I remain without an assistant 124.5
ni'mnim vai čɪ'mčeqäi va'rkɪn a settlement then quite near is 7.7
i'lukä qatva'rkɪn remain without motion! 57.3
mi'ñkri mɪtɪtva'rkɪn how shall I be? 124.3
em-nu'ñɪčɪn mi'ñkri nɪ'tvaqên how are those from the mainland? 13.9
wu'tku nɪtvai̯'gɪr you stay here 7.5

It is used as a synthetic element in many verbs.

ratva'rkɪn (<*ra-tva*) he house-lives (i. e., he is at home)
oratva'rkɪn (<*ora-tva*) he stays long
waqotva'lɪk (*waqo-tva*) he (remained) seated 102.24
a'ñqak nɪmɪtva'qênat (<*nim-tva* settlement remains) they lived on the sea 13.3
nuwkotɪtva'qên (<*wkot-tva*) he was tied
ᵹawkɵtɪtva'ta being tied 122.24
ᵹamɪtva' to eat
êulêtê'l-va'lɪn being of elongated form 91.15

In Koryak the stem *i̯t* occurs much more frequently than *tva* in independent form.

ɛn'ñi'n-va'lɪn (Chukchee), *ɛnñā'ᵉan i'talaᵉn* (Kor. Kam.) one being thus

Still in compounds the stem *tva* occurs with great frequency.

vaha'le-tva'ykin (Kor. Kam.) he is seated

Some stems when combined with *vᵹ'lɪn* do not take the *ablaut:*

mi̯ñkri-vᵹ'lɪn of what kind
me'čen'ku-wᵹ'lê-ŭm I am a fairly good one

A number of stems expressing qualities form adjectival forms by composition with *-tva-* (*it-* Koryak), in the form *va'lɪn* (*i'taḷaᵉn* Koryak) (see p. 814).

koulo'qu-wɪ'lɪn (stem *koulo'qɪ*) round
wɪ'čhɪñ-vɪ'lɪn (stem *wɪ'čhɪñ*) flat

Koryak:
qo'loñ-i'taḷaᵋn (stem *qo'ḷoñ*) round
vičhɪyɪñ-i'taḷaᵋn (stem *vičhɪyɪñ*) flat.

In all these cases the stem takes the suffix—*(ɪ)ñ*, which in some positions undergoes phonetic modifications; as *ta'ñum-va'lɪn* a good one, from *ta'ñɪñ-va'lɪn*.

The stem in composition with *va'lɪn* may also take postpositions.

ê'mpum-va'lɪn or *êmpa'qu-wa'lɪn* (stem *imp*) the one who is downcast
vičha'qu-wa'lɪn flat

This form frequently expresses the comparative:

qa'tvum-va'lɪn (stem *qe̤tv*) the stronger one
Kor. *qa'tvɪñ-i'taḷaᵋn* (stem *qatv*) the stronger one
ga'mɣa-qḷa'ulɪk qa'tvum-va'l-ê-ŭm I am stronger than all (the other) men
ge̤ŭm gɪmɪ'k mai'ɛñku-wa'l-ê-ŭm I am greater than you 92.11

The allative with *va'lɪn* signifies possession of a quality to a slight degree.

čêutê'tu-wa'lɪn (stem *čiut*) somewhat low
tañê'tu-wa'lɪn (stem *teñ*) somewhat good, moderately good

§ 77. TO BECOME *ne̤l*

The stem Chukchee *ne̤l*, Kor. Kam. *naḷ* is used much more frequently in Chukchee than in Koryak. It is combined with the noun in *-nu* (see § 103, no. 34).

ge̤ŭ'mŭk êmño'l-tə'mgo qɪne'lhiᵋ become ye what serves as my spleen companions[1] (i. e., became ye my friends)
rɪrka'nə ne̤'ligɪt you have become a walrus 10.11 (also 10.8)
gɪnni'ku ne'lyäᵋt they became the quarry 12.2
ñe'us·qätu gene'ḷin he became a woman 116.21
mi'mlu gene'ḷin it became water 101.27
aᵋqa'-rkɪla gene'lĭŭm I became one to be pursued hard 17.6
em-gɪnu'n-nɪki'tä ne'lyiᵋ it came to be just midnight 9.11
gɪrgo'l gene'ḷinet they came to be high 9.4
aᵋtto'oča ninə'lqin he came to be in front 8.7
ne'lɪrkɪn (Chuckee), *na'ḷikɪn* (Kor. Kam.) he becomes, turns into

The corresponding Koryak stem is used but rarely.

[1] See The Chukchee, Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 563, Note 2.

§ 78. TO TAKE OR HAVE SOME ONE AS —— *lñ*

The Chukchee stem *lñ* (medial *lh*), Kor. Kam. *ļñ*, signifies TO TAKE OR HAVE SOME ONE AS SOMETHING. The direct object is in the absolute form; the indirect object, in *-nu* (see § 103, no. 34).

lı'ñırkın (Chukchee), *ļıñıykın* (Kor. Kam.) you take him for
gıtta'p-qla'ulə mı'lhıgıt let me take you for a clever man
giu nı'lhäqinet ne'lhıt as unknown ones they had their skins (i. e., they did not know them)
pu'relu nalhıññó'aᵉn they began to have him for a slave 8.2
va'lat rı'lhə nine'lhäqin he has knives as wings 15.2
wı'yolu qinelhı'rkın have me as a servant 95.7
leule'wu ine'lhıiᵉ he has me as something to be wronged 25.1

With nouns expressing emotions this verb is used throughout as indirect object, to express emotional conditions.

yei'veču lı'ñırkın (Chukchee), *yaira'ču lıñı'ykın* (Kor. Kam.) as one serving as (an object of) compassion you have him
te'ññu lı'ñırkın (Chukchee), *ta'ññu lıñı'ykın* (Kor. Kam.) as one serving as laughing-stock you have him
re'qä leule'wu ge'lhıăm what made me a laughing-stock? 117.19
pegči'ñu tı'lhıgıt I have thee as an object of interest 15.8
pegčı'ñu ine'lhiiᵉ you have meddling interest in me 22.9; also 15.8

§ 79. TO MAKE SOME ONE SOMETHING *rtč*

The stem, Chukchee *rtč* (medial *tč*), Kor. Kam. *ytč* (medial *tč*), Kor. Par. *yss* (medial *ss*), signifies TO MAKE SOMETHING INTO SOMETHING. The direct object is in the absolute form; the indirect object, in *-nu* (see § 103, no. 34).

rıtčı'rkın (Chukchee), *ytčı'ykın* (Kor. Kam.), *yıssı'ykın* (Kor. Par.) you make him into
ɛnqa'n vai rawku'tčıñın moo-qa'anə mıtčı'rkın that here doe, one serving as sledge train reindeer I shall make her
elqu'tkä rıtčınin he made him not standing 115.4
eñi'nqäikä nere'tčımŭk they will make us childless 39.4
pai'wakə rı'tčınin he rejects it 136.28

§ 80. TO HAVE SOME ONE FOR SOMETHING *rt*

The stem, Chukchee *rt* (medial *nt*), Kor. Kam. *yt* (medial *nt*) takes the direct object in the absolute case, the indirect object with the ending *-nu*.

ekke'nu tı'ntıäᵉn Ri'nto I have Ri'nto as what serves as a son

It is often combined with the verbal noun of transitive verbs in *-tä* to express the same idea, thus forming a periphrastic expression. The verb *rt* is referred directly to the object of the transitive verb, to the nominal form of which it is joined.

ġŭmna'n činï't luᵉ'tä trentɪ'ñɪnet qa'at myself as something to look on I shall have the reindeer (i. e. I myself shall look on the reindeer)

luñ-luᵉ'tä nɪ'ntäqinet not having seen they had them (i. e., they had not seen them) 11.9

rɪtɪ'rkɪn (Chukchee), *yɪtɪ'ykɪn* (Kor. Kam.) you have him for

en'ñe' ġɪna'n enne'kä qäntɪ'ġɪnet do not you carry them out 88.3

ɪmgêtä'ta nine'ntɪ-ŭm I have them to look after 92.36

tule'tä nine'ntɪ-ŭm ora'wêḷat I also treat the people as something to steal (i. e., I can steal people) 93.14

ġɪna'n tule'tä nine'ntɪ-ġɪt you steal them 93.15

em-ġɪnřï'tä nine'ntɪ-ġɪt you lay in ambush for them 93.21

§ 81. NOTES ON CERTAIN KAMCHADAL VERBS

The special verbs discussed in the preceding pages are represented in Kamchadal by a number of very irregular forms of a number of evidently related stems: *čh*, *ck*, for the present or derived forms; *l'*, *lh*, *lk*, for the indicative and exhortative. The forms with *k* correspond, on the whole, to the transitive forms of the paradigm on pp. 744–745, although not all the forms can be interpreted in this manner. The derived form of the intransitive form is defective, only the second person singular and the third person plural being found. The verb, when relating to objects or animals (i. e., not to persons), has forms which recall the transitive forms. Their use corresponds to the use of the Chukchee stem *tva*.

Kamchadal	Chukchee	
kɪma'nk čhï'jɪn	*ġŭ'mɪk va'rkɪn*	it is (belongs) to me
kɪma'n l'in	*ġŭmnï'n va'ĉᵉ*	it was mine

Both constructions, with the locative-possessor's and with the possessive cases, are found.

The personal form is transitive, but has peculiar endings.

tcki'nin p.!e'ki I am to him (as) a son

VERBAL STEM **čh, ck, l', lh, lk**

PRESENT

	Intransitive TO BE	Non-personal	Personal	
		TO ME / MINE } IT IS, etc.	TO BE TO HIM (AS) A—	TO BE TO THEM (AS) A—
1st sing.	—	*kɪma'n(k) čhi'jɪn*	*tcki'nin*	*tcki'pnin*
2d sing.	*čhijč*	*kɪni'n(k) čhi'jɪn*	*cki'nin*	*cki'pnin*
3d sing.	—	*ena'n(k) čhi'jkinen*	*c'in*	*cki'pnin*
1st pl.	—	*mɪ'jhin(k) čhi'jɪn*	*ncki'nin*	*ncki'pnin*
2d pl.	—	*tɪ'jhin(k) čhi'jkɪsɤin*	*c'isɤ*	*c'isɤ*
3d pl.	*čhijci^{s}n*	*tɤi'in(k) čhi'jkipnin*	*c'in*	*cki'pnin*

PAST

1st sing.	*tl'ik*	*kɪma'n(k) l'in*	*tlki'nin*	*tlki'pnin*
2d sing.	*l'ič*	*kɪni'n(k) lhin*	*lki'nin*	*lki'pnin*
3d sing.	*l'ič*	*ena'n(k) l'i'nin*	*lhin*	*lki'pnin*
1st pl.	*nl'ik*	*mɪ'jhin(k) l'in*	*nlki'nin*	*nlki'pnin*
2d pl.	*l'icɤ*	*tɪ'jhin(k) lkɪ'sɤɪn*	*l'isɤ*	*l'isɤ*
3d pl.	*l'či^{s}n*	*tɤi'in(k) l'ki'pnin*	*lhin*	*lki'pnin*

EXHORTATIVE (ALSO FUTURE)

1st sing.	*mł'ik*	*kɪma'n(k) ɤanli'hɪn*	*mlki'nin*	*mlki'pnin*
2d sing.	*kł'isč*		*klki'nin*	*klki'pnin*
3d sing.	*ɤ·anł'i'hɪn*	*ena'n(k) ɤ·anlki'nin*	*ɤ·anlhi'n*	*ɤ·anlki'pnin*
1st pl.	*mɪnɪł'k*		*mɪnlki'nin*	*mɪnlki'pnin*
2d pl.	*kł'icɤ*		*kł'isɤ*	*kł'isɤ*
3d pl.	*ɤ·anł'i'hɪn*	*tɤi'in(k) ɤ·anlki'pnin*	*ɤ·anlhi'n*	*ɤ·anlki'pnin*

VERBAL STEM **le**

The auxiliary verb *le* TO BECOME has also an intransitive and a personal transitive form, like the last stem.

tlejk I become something

tle'jkipnin I become something for them

VERBAL STEM **sɪ**

The stem *sɪ* TO BE lacks the present, but has otherwise regular intransitive forms.

sɪč you were

VERBAL STEM **īs, īl**

The stem *īs, īl* corresponds to the Chukchee *lñ-*, and *rt-*. It is used often with the nominalized verb 2, 3 (see p. 748). With the intransitive verb it has intransitive forms, while the corresponding Chukchee verbs are always transitive. §81

xë k!ö'lki milk not coming I will be

älxtalka tīsjhın I like thee (*älxtalka* modalis of LIKING; (*t-* I; *īs* stem; *-j-* present; *-hın* thee); compare Chukchee *älhutılhırkını'gıt* (*älhu* as object of LIKING; *t-* I; *lh-* to have for—; *-rkın* present; *-igıt* thee)

l'a'mal mī'lin I will kill him (*l'a'mal* to killing; *m-* let me; *īl* stem; *-in* him); compare Chukchee *ąm-tmą' mı'ntiä^{s}n* (*ąm-* merely; *tm-* to kill; *-a* modalis; *m-* let me; *-nt* medial stem; *-ä^{s}n* him)

VERBAL STEM issi

This stem corresponds to Chukchee *tč-*, Kor. Kam. *ssı-*, and expresses nearly the same idea as the last verb.

qam ke'jkek tï'ssıhın I do not accept you (*qam* not; *kej* to accept; *-kek* negative ending; *t-* I; *issı* stem; *-hın* thee) compare Chukchee *ehn-ei'mitkä tı'tčıgıt* (*ehn—kä* negation; *ei'mit* to take; *t-* I; *tč* stem; *-gıt* thee)

VERBAL STEM teļ

The stem *teļ* has a meaning similar to the last two, but expresses prolonged action. It follows Type II of the transitive verbs.

xtel tıte'ļıjñın I came to fear him (*xtel* fear; *t-* I; *teļ* stem; *-j-* present; *-ñın* [I]—him)

THE PERSONAL TRANSITIVE FORMS.

A number of intransitive verbs have forms analogous to the personal transitive of the auxiliary verb (p. 767), which are used to express relations to a personal object.

tvetatkŏju'jkıpnên I am busying myself on their behalf (*t-* I; *vetat* to be busy; *-kŏju* inchoative; *-j-* present; *-kıpnên* see p. 767.

i^{s}sx txi'in no'nul' intılıtkŏjujkıpni'n they always bring food to their father (*i^{s}sx* father; *txi'in* their; *no'nul'* modalis, with food; *intıl* to bring; *-t* durative; *-kŏju* inchoative; *-j-* present; *kıpnin* as before)

The Chukchee sentence

tu'mgıtum e'če muwi'ä^{s}n I will cook fat for my companion (*tu'mgıtum* absolute form, COMPANION; *e'če* modalis; WITH FAT; *m-* LET ME; *uwi* TO COOK; *-ä^{s}n* HIM) is quite comparable to this (see p. 741).

§ 82. *Predicative Forms of Pronouns and of Numerals*

Indefinite (interrogative) pronouns and numerals are frequently used in predicative form, and take all verbal forms. They may also take verbal affixes, but of these only a few are in frequent use.

Chukchee	Koryak Kamenskoye	
rę̣q	*yaq*[1]	WHAT
rę̣'qärkɪn (*req* + *rkɪn*)	*ya'qikɪn*[1] (*yaq* + *ikɪn*) *ya'qiykɪn* Kor. 28.10	what do you do, want?
rɪreqe'urqin (*rɪ* — *eu* to cause)	*yɪyaqa'wikɪn*	what do you make him do?
raqiñg'rkɪn (*-ññg* to begin)	*yagñɪvo'ĭkɪn*	what do you begin to want? (expressive of annoyance)
raqɪčña'tɪrkɪn (*-čñat* annoyance)	*yaqɪčña'tekɪn*	what do you want? (expression of strong annoyance)
nike	*nĭka* Kor. 80.9	SOMETHING
nike'rkɪn	*nika'ĭkɪn*	you do a certain thing
rɪnike'urkɪn	*nika'ĭkɪn*	you make him do a certain thing
ñireq	*ñiyeq*	TWO
ñireqe'urkɪn	*ñiyeqɪ'wikin*	you are the second
mɪ'ʟɪñêñ	*mɪ'ʟɪñcn*	FIVE
mɪʟɪnkau'kɪn	*mɪʟɪnka'wekin*	you are the fifth
Here belongs also		
terke'urkɪn	*ta^{ɛ}ika'wikin*	what number in the series are you?

Koryak:

ya'qlau what are they doing? Kor. 24.5
yaqlaikɪne'tɪk what are you doing Kor. 24.8
gaya'qlinat what happened to them Kor. 30.9
nɪya'qi-gi what is the matter with thee Kor. 39.5

The predicative numerals are freely compounded with other verbs.

gŭmni'n e'kik kɪtu'r mɪngɪtka'wkwê^{ɛ} (Chukchee) my son last year ten reached (*gŭmni'n* my; *e'kik* son; *kɪtu'r* last year; *mɪngɪt* ten *-kę̣u* verbal suffix of numerals; *gi*^{ɛ} 3d sing.)

kiu'kɪ tɪmɪʟɪnka'wkwa^{ɛ}k I stayed there five nights (*kiu'kɪ* passing nights; *t-* I; *mɪʟɪn* five; *-kę̣u* verbal suffix of numerals; *-gä^{ɛ}k* 1st sing.)

[1] Koryak II *taq* WHAT; *ta'qatkɪn* WHAT DO YOU DO, WANT?

The indefinite (interrogative) pronouns of Kamchadal occur also in predicative form. At present only a few forms of the present tense are used.

ɛnka'nejč what are you (sing.) doing?
ɛnka'nejcx what are you (pl.) doing?
lajč how are you (sing.)?
la'jčɪᵋn how are they?
sxuzɪjč you (sing.) do a certain thing
ñuᵋn sxu'sɪjčɪn Čɪja'l-ku'txaᵋn there the people of Čɪja'l-kutx live (*ñuᵋn* there; *sxu'sɪjčɪn* they do a certain thing; *-aᵋn* plural)

The use of pronouns or pronominal adverbs is much more common, perhaps due to Russian influence.

ɛnka'nkê k!öjč for what do you come?
lact cunljč how do you live?

Sentences which contain the verbalized and the nonverbal pronoun also occur, and are probably the result of a mixture of Kamchadal and Russian syntax.

ɛnka'j kɪmma tɛ'nɪjɪn what now have I done to him?
ɛ'nkaj ɛ'nin what now has he done to him?
ɛ'nkaj ɛnk!'ö'lčɪñɪn why did you (sing.) come to him?

We find even the following compound of the pronoun with allative post-position and verb:

ɛnkank!ö'lčɪñɪn = *ɛnka'nke k!ö'lčɪñɪn* (cf § 59, p. 731)

There are also two demonstrative verbs:

tea here	*te'a-sɪjk* here I am
hei look here!	*he'yɪsɪjk* here I am (close to the person addressed)

Both contain the auxiliary verb *sɪ* (see p. 767).

§§ 83-90. Syntactic Use of Tenses and Modes

§ 83. *Declarative Mode*

Declarative forms of the simple, derived, and nominalized forms are used to express the predicate in declarative and interrogative sentences.

Simple forms:

ñawanê'tɪ i'wkwiᵋ he said to his wife 83.23
gɪ'thɪn luᵋ'nin he saw a lake 37.4

ñi'nqäi ra'nmŭgnên she will kill the child 37.14
ralaulawa'tıñoaᵋ thou wilt do wrong 21.5
kuwi'čın treᵋ'tyäᵋn I brought children's death 20.1

Derived forms:

mıč·ınguмge'erkın we are terrified 63.4
tınqäe'rkın I refuse 19.7
čı'mquk pêla'arkın some are leaving 8.9

Nominalized forms:

näqᵋälile'tqin re'mkın the people were at war 97.23
nre's·qiuqin ñe'us·qät the woman entered 63.3
čêq-a'lvam-va'lı-tə'rê ye are quite strange 63.4
evi'rä getule'ʟeet they have stolen clothing 13.6
elere'iᵋ dost thou feel lonesome? 96.2

Examples of interrogative sentences are—

Simple forms:

eñeñıtvi'iᵋ hast thou become a shaman? 18.4
mê'nko pı'ntıqättık whence did ye appear? 74.21
mi'ñkı-m ra'tvaaᵋ where wilt thou live? 108.25

Derived forms:

re'qärkın what are you? 18.9
re'qä tımı'rkınên what has killed him? 23.5

Nominalized forms:

mi'ñkri gewkwe't-i-gıt where have you gone?
mi'ñkri nı'tvaqên how is he? 13.10
re'q-i-gıt what do you want? 18.12
gei'čemit-tu'mgı-gır hast thou brothers? 99.18

Koryak:

Simple forms:

ñawa'kak naya'tın they brought the daughter Kor. 86.20
tapka'vık olñaqa'tik I could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2
tłyayı'lqatıñ I shall sleep Kor. 31.8
tıqa'payuk I killed a wolverene Kor. 59.1
Miti'nak ena'nme, enapa'te Miti has killed me and cooked me Kor. 96.7

Derived forms:

tıgıtta'tıykın I am hungry Kor. 35.5
Eᴎñaᵋ'an Amamqu'tinu vañvolai'ke thus Eine'mqut and his people were living Kor. 45.5
penye'kımen talai'vik he rushed at it to strike it Kor. 53.3
mılu'ykınınau she was looking for lice Kor. 59.4
pelhanñıvolai'ke they began to have nothing to eat Kor. 95.17

Nominalized forms:

va$^{\varepsilon}$'yuk ɣayo$^{\varepsilon}$'oḷen vai'amn·aqu then they found a large river Kor. 21.3

ɣaḷa$^{\varepsilon}$wkali'lin wŭ'ḷka they painted her face with coal Kor. 31.9

ɣaqqaika'makatu ɣana$^{\varepsilon}$'l-mu'yu we came to be with (to have) a small kamak Kor. 37.4

ña'cñɪn nenanyopanñɪvo'qenau outside they were hung up Kor. 60.9

atau' ña'no ɛnña$^{\varepsilon}$'an nɪtva'ñvoqen that one was living thus Kor. 61.3

ña'no nɪtɪnma'tqen that one is telling lies Kor. 62.3

In the indefinite nominalized predicate the subject pronoun may be repeated to emphasize the question.

ɣeet-tu'ri tu'ri have you come?

Impersonal verbs do not differ from the ordinary intransitive verbs.

ile'erkɪn (Kor. Kam. *muqa'tikɪn*; Kamchadal *čxu'jɪn* or *čxujč*) it is raining

ile'tyi$^{\varepsilon}$ (Kor. Kam. *muqa'thi$^{\varepsilon}$*; Kamchadal *čxun*) it has been raining

lä$^{\varepsilon}$leuru'i$^{\varepsilon}$ winter came 14.9

čêlhɪro'ê$^{\varepsilon}$ it becomes red 23.9

§ 84. *Tenses*

Tenses are not clearly distinguished. The declarative form of the verb, unless modified by the future prefix, is used to express a past action, although cases occur in which only a present can be meant.

tɪqêwgaññó'a$^{\varepsilon}$k I begin to be called 94.31

In Koryak the declarative form is rarely used in narrative, while it is in common use in direct discourse.

mai, ya'ti halloo, have you come? Kor. 68.12

Valvɪ'mtɪḷa$^{\varepsilon}$n tɪ'nmɪn I killed Raven-Men Kor. 20.5

In Chukchee its use in narrative is very common.

e'nmen nɪki'rui$^{\varepsilon}$ then night came 36.12

lu'ur wêthau'ñoê$^{\varepsilon}$ then he began to speak 31.11

The derivative is generally used to express a present continued action, but it occurs also frequently in narrative. This use is more frequent in Koryak than in Chuckchee (see § 87).

The nominalized verb (*a*) expresses a continuative regardless of time. When coordinated with another verb it expresses contempo-

raneity (see § 88). The nominalized verb (*b*) is used commonly in narrative to express the progress of an action. When coordinated with another verb, it expresses an antecedent (see § 88).

The future is formed by the prefix *re-* and the correlative pronominal forms. Quite commonly the future is given the form of an exhortative.

§ 85. *The Subjunctive*

The subjunctive (*a*) and (*b*) are, the former an exhortative form, the latter the form used in conditional and other subordinate clauses. The former is frequently used for expressing the future, particularly when it implies the idea of intention.

Subjunctive (*a*):

nuwa'lomgaᵉn let him know
va'nɪvan nuwa'lomgaᵉn he would not hear anything
mewkwe'tyäᵉk let me depart 17.10
mɪlɪmala'ññoaᵉk let me begin to obey 21.4
mɪnranto'mɪk let us leave the town 56.8
nɪyɪ'lqätyäᵉn let him sleep 9.1
ničа'atvaaᵉn let her be cast away 39.3
mi'ilhɪr let me give thee 15.13
mɪmata'gɪr let me marry thee 77.1
mɪnlete'ttɪk let us carry you away 74.15
ñɪro'q ya'rat va'nêvan äᵉnlᵘᵉ'net three houses, not at all they could see them 61.10
ñeuwi'rit aᵉnei'mityäᵉn she would take the soul of the woman 37.11

Koryak:

mɪnyaitɪla'mɪk let us go home! Kor. 26.8
nayanva'nññɪnɪn let them skin it! Kor. 26.10
mɪnɪlqala'mɪk let us go! Kor. 28.5
mɪkɪpl̥ɪs·qewla'tɪk I will stun them with blows Kor. 29.7
ya'qu-yak quwai'matɪn aᵉntai'kɪ-gi into what desirest thou one should make thee? Kor. 38.4

Subjunctive (*b*) does not appear very often in the texts.

e'ur ᴇn·ñi'n· niᵉ'tyäᵉn, qora'ñɪ mɪnɪᵉ'yɪlhɪt if you were like this, we should give you reindeer
ᴇnqa'n nɪᵉgite'nin, nuᵉwi'äᵉn if she should look upon that one, she would die 37.12
ia'm leule'wu tɪᵉlhɪ'äᵉn why should I harm her? 38.12
va'nᴇvan nute's·qän nɪᵉyoᵉ'nên he would not at all reach the ground 52.12

ᴇnqa'n ora'wêḷat ê'čča nɪᵉtva'nat, nɪᵉčvitkui'vunet viu'ta if the men had stayed on the surface, the whalebone would have cut them down 68.26 (*ᴇnqa'n* THAT; *ora'wêḷan* MAN; *-tva* TO REMAIN; *nɪᵉ* -for full form *nanɪᵉ-*; *čvi-* TO CUT; *-tku* suffix ALL; *-ĭv* suffix GREAT QUANTITY; *viut* WHALEBONE; *-a* subjective)

čitê'un ɪm ǥŭmna'n wu'tku tiᵉnři'qäᵉn if only I could keep it R 45.21

čitê'un kɪnta'ɪrǥa memɪlqa'a neᵉna'lpɪnřɪeᵉ if only good luck wouid give me seals R 46.42

čitê'un vêᵉwǥênto'êᵉ in order that he should give up his breath R 49.15

ekeña'n ǥŭmna'n tɪᵉpi'reäᵉn I wish I would (rather) take it

Koryak:

me'ñqañ nɪᵉtvaᵉ'an how could she be? Kor. 34.12
naniᵉ'wɪn one might say Kor. 25.2

§ 86. *The Imperative*

The imperative expresses command, but also the idea of obligatory future.

nota's·qêtɪ qäčɪpe'tyiᵉ into the ground plunge! 17.2
qineti'ñuiᵉ haul me up! 131.22
ñe'lvŭl qaǥtɪ'ǥɪtkɪ bring ye the herd! 129.19
qɪnilhe'tyɪtkɪ lower ye me! 131.15

Koryak:

appa', qakya'wǥɪ grandfather, get up! Kor. 31.9
quwa'ñɪḷat open your mouth! Kor. 34.7
qa'lqathi go away! Kor. 35.3
ne'nako qɪyoᵉ'oǥe čača'me then you will find an old woman Kor 51.1
Quyqɪnn·aqu'nak qɪyaipɪḷa'tɪk live ye with Big-Raven! Kor. 62.2
qanto'tɪk go ye outside! Kor. 74.12
qi'wǥutča tell ye him! 74.20

§ 87. *Derived Forms*

The derived forms express continued action. For this reason they are found most frequently in direct discourse when a continuous condition is described.

ia'm têrǥa'arkɪn why art thou weeping? 48.12
ǥŭm ñe'uk tɪle'rkɪn I am walking about to get a wife 57.2
mɪthɪtte'urkɪn we are hungry 70.24
kele'tä nayoᵉ'rkɪn-ê-ǥɪt the kele are visiting thee 52.4

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Koryak—

mɪtɪpaᵉḷai'kɪnen we are thirsty Kor. 16.9
yaqḷaikɪne'tɪk what are you doing? Kor. 24.8
kokaiviḷai'ke they are cooking it Kor. 27.4
tɪtaᵉ'ḷiykɪn I am feeling unwell Kor. 84.26

In Chukchee the derived forms are not often used in narrative as an historical present, while in Koryak this use is quite common.

temyu'ñɪrkɪn ELA' she was deceiving her mother 29.2
pŭkirgiᵉ. Aiwana'čhin ŭm nɪčvi'tkurkɪn reᵉw. He arrived. The Aiwan was cutting up the whale 46.10
e'nmen yê'gɪčhɪn rɪnři'rkɪnin he was carrying about a walrus penis 67.10

See also 8.1, 9; 9.7, 8; 16.3

qolê-tke'unvuk ewkwe'erkɪt, evi'rä ǧetule'ʟeet. E'nmen ewkwe'tyäᵉt during another night they were about to leave, having stolen clothing. Then they left (*qul* ANOTHER; *tkiu* TO PASS THE NIGHT; *-nv* PLACE OF [§ 109, 50], *-k* LOCATIVE; *ewkwet* TO LEAVE; *evirit* CLOTHES; *-ä* subjective [§ 37]; *tulet* TO STEAL; *ǧetule'ʟeet* < *ǧe-tulet-linet*) 13.5

Koryak—

gaimanñɪvo'ykɪn he had a desire Kor. 12.2
ḷŭmñeua'ykɪn she was following Kor. 23.3
vañvoḷai'ke they were beginning (and continued) to live Kor. 43.7
nanoñvo'ykɪnenau they were beginning to consume them Kor. 42.7

This form is used even when it is difficult to conceive of the action as continued:

ñɪto'ykɪn he went out Kor. 12.5; 72.15
ñɪvo'ykɪn she began Kor. 72.16
yaḷqɪ'wikɪn he entered Kor. 13.9
newñɪvo'ykɪnenat they began to say to both of them Kor. 12.7

A habitual action is expressed in the following example:

ča'mañ ENqa'nêna gɪnnig-gili'lɪqä'gti tɪmɪ'rkɪnênat also by this one are the little game-procurers killed (i. e. he is in the habit of killing the hunters) 44.8

With the imperative the derived forms express a continued condition, or a repeated action.

ilu'kä qatva'rkɪn stay without motion! 57.3
qaivalponaurkɪnê'tkɪ you will hit (the children) upon the head 69.32
quwalo'mɪrkɪn listen! 32.1

Koryak—

aqalhai'aka qiti'ykin-i'-ġi do not cry! (not be without crying) Kor. 37.1

The derived forms in the future are sometimes used to express a remote future.

miqami'tvaᵉk I shall eat now
miqami'tvarkin I shall eat later on (perhaps to-morrow)
inenreqeurkini'tik what are you going to do with me? 10.10
ti'ġtirkin I am going to bring it 57.4

Koryak—

tiyanto'ykin I shall go out Kor. 14.5
tiyañlañivo'ykin I shall begin to feel smoky Kor. 37.10

In some cases it seems to express a repeated or customary action.

trêrêvilitku'ñirkin I shall (occupy myself with) selling R. 46.43

The exhortative of the derived forms is used like the future.

minqami'tvarkin let us continue to eat! 65.4
miniwkurkini'ġit let us tie thee! 20.9

§ 88 *Nominalized Verb (a)*

The nominalized form (*a*) of the verb, *ne—qin* expresses the condition of an object or a person, or the condition of performing an action. Its use is not confined to intransitive verbs which in this form often have the meaning of an attributive term (see p. 713), but it is also used with transitive verbs. When the noun to which the nominalized verb stands in an attributive relation is the subject of a clause, the nominalized verb often indicates that the two verbs express contemporaneous conditions or actions and may be translated by the conjunction WHILE. Examples of the attributive use of this form have been given on p. 713. Additional examples are the following:

u'nel va'rkin nime'yeñqin (there) is a large thong-seal 70.7
niču'uqin kê'rġäqai a bright little hole 74.2,3

Koryak:

nepplu'qin a small one Kor. 15.2
ġatai'kilin nima'yiñqin he made it (one that is) large Kor. 15.4
nima'yinqin ñai'ñai the largest mountain Kor. 42.2

Examples in which the form (*a*) has a predicative meaning are more numerous.

qača'ken lөᵉ'qač nu'uqin, qol ŭm niče'loqên lөᵉ'qač one-half was black, the other half was red 88.15,16

niu'läqin it was long 91.24
yara'ñɪ nɪte'ñqin the house is good 92.9
mi'nkri nɪ'tvaqên how (of what kind) are they 13.10
wu'tku nɪtvai'-gɪr you are staying here 7.5
nɪg̣gi'nqin mərêqa'gtɪ they are eager for us 8.9
ɪnpɪnačɪ'yñɪn neiñe'tqin the old man was the one who called out 86.13
ninei'mitqin u'nelti he was taking thong-seals 67.18

Koryak:

nɪlhɪkyu'qin it is watchful Kor. 39.9
nɪma'lqin it is good Kor. 64.24
nanñɪčvɪna'w-g̣ŭm I am angry Kor. 31.2
nɪtɪñpuvaqa'tqen she is one who is striding and pecking Kor. 47.11
Tanño nigala'qenau the Chukchee were the ones who passed by Kor. 66,12.

Examples of relative clauses:

ɪnpɪñawqa'g̣ɛɪnɪn . . . pako'lčrñɪn nine'nřaqin it was an old woman . . . who was carrying a butcher knife 85.20,21
g̣ɪt kele'tä nayoᵋ'ikɪn-ê-g̣ɪt you are one who is being visited by the kelet 52.4
yara'qai . . . kele'tä nêna'yoᵋqên it was a small house . . . which was visited by the kelet 51.9

Koryak:

veḷɪ'ḷñu nenataikɪñvo'qenau (those are) thimbles that had been made Kor. 60.8,9
Miti'nak nenaaiñawñɪvo'qen; e'wañ it was Miti who called him she said Kor. 74.29
niqalhai'aqen he was the one who was crying Kor. 37.1
nɪnnipñɪvo'qen they were the ones who began to keep it Kor. 41.9

Examples of temporal coordination:

tɪ'ttɪl nênarkɪpčeu'qên, ɛ'nk·i ñe'wän ure'wkwiᵋ (at the time) when he pushed the entrance, then the wife appeared 53.5, 6
qän·vér ñi'nqäi nɪtê'rg̣ɪlatqên, qän·ve'r i'wkwiᵋ uwaᵋ'quč when the child cried, the husband said 38.3
qaia'qañ e'ur neimeu'qin, êwkurg̣a nɪg̣ɪnteu'qin whenever he was coming near, again he fled (was in flight) 66.14
nɪtɪnpɪčê'tqênat . . . ɛn·qa'm . . . qolê-ra'g̣tɪ qä'tyäᵋt while they were stabbing them . . . then . . . to another house he went 12.9, 10

Koryak:

nenavoˢñvo-mu'yu eˢ'en ġanu'linau when we find them they have been eaten Kor. 59.9, 10

mɪ'mla nɪnu'qen, qalñe-key gate'wɬaɬen when a louse bit (ate) her, then they shook her combination suit Kor. 76.4,5

On the whole the forms in *ne—qin* are used much more frequently in Chukchee than in Koryak, in which dialect the progress of the narrative is more prominent.

§ 89. *Nominalized Verb (b)*

The nominalized verb (*b*) *ga—lin* expresses a completed transition and may often be translated by TO HAVE BECOME.

ya'rat qaño'tweˢlen she was one who had (become poor), R 45.22

ño'č-e-um ġene'l-i-um poor (I) I had become R 45.28

Koryak:

ġama'ɬalin it had grown better, Kor. 14.11

ġăqi'tilinau they had became frozen Kor. 14.3

In narrative it expresses the progress of action, but apparently not with the same intensity as the verbal forms.

ġûmni'n pe'nin-ñe'w ġêwiˢ'lin my former wife died R. 45.29.

yičemre'tti gettwɪle'ɪɪnet a company of brothers went to sea in a boat 64.3

e'ur ġɪrġɪronta'ɪên aˢ'ttwɪlä then day broke while the boat's crew was approaching 10.9

Koryak:

vaˢ'yak gaya'ɬqɪwlin afterwards he entered Kor. 14.1

ġa'ɬqaɮin he went Kor. 16.3

In a number of cases it clearly expresses temporal sequence.

e'nmen ġequ'pqänteɪɪn i'wkwiˢ after she was quite starved she said 39.1

Ai'wan-a'kkata ñi'lhɪn ġečheiulu'ulin a'ñqa-čo'rmɪ, ɛnřa'q ŭm ñi'lhɪn ġetiñusˑqiče'ɪɪn e'ur ŭm nêčhêtau'qên mêmlê'tɪ the Aiwan's son had hidden a thong on the sea-shore, then (when) he had tugged the thong, then he made him fall into the water 48.3–5

ġɪtte'ulɪt ŭm ñan, ki'pu-ri'ɮu nelu ˢ'äˢn after they had become hungry they saw a whale carcass 65.1

ġaa'lomlêˢn, i'wkwiˢ after he had heard it he said 56.12

ġanto's·qêulên e'ur ɛnqa'n . . . ninerkile'qin after he had rushed out he was being pursued 57.11

Koryak:

miti'w ǥečha'ḷen ᴇnka'ta tɪlai'vɪkɪn ñe'ḷa next day, after it had dawned, at that place a herd was walking Kor. 21.8

With nouns the form *ǥa—lin* expresses possession (see p. 712.)

§ 0. *Negative Forms*

Negative forms are partly expressed by adverbs with the ordinary forms of the verb, partly by the derivative in *ę—kä̯*, which is either nominal or forms nominal predicative terms. The particles which may take the ordinary verbal forms are—

va'nêvan not at all (see p. 882)
qa'rêm always with the future or exhortative (see p. 882)
ča'mam always with the future (see p. 883)

See also *e'ʟe, en·ñe, ui'ñä* (p. 883).

The forms in *ę—kä* and in *eǥn-* will be found discussed on pp. 818, 821 et seq.

In Kamchadal the negative is expressed by the derivative in *x·ë—ki* for intransitive verbs, *x·ë—kic* (see p. 826) for transitive verbs. These are nominal in character. Predicative terms are formed by means of auxiliary verbs.

x·ënu'ki ml'ik I will not eat
x·ënu'kɪ ksɪ'xč do not eat!

§§ 91–94. Syntactic Use of Nominal Forms

§ 91. *The Absolute Form*

The absolute form of the noun and pronoun is used to express the subject of the intransitive verb, and the object of the transitive verb. Independent pronouns may be added to the verb in this form for the purpose of emphasis.

Subject of intransitive verb:

yaai'pŭ ye'tyiᵉ ri'rkɪ from afar a walrus came 8.5
kɪtve'yu i'wkwiᵉ the old walrus spoke 8.14
mu'ri . . . mɪrreyɪ'lqätyäᵉ we shall sleep 9.3
rɪrkanpɪna'čhɪn pɪlqäe'rkɪn the old walrus dived 9.6
re'mkɪn nɪ'lqätyäᵉn the people shall go 13.12
iᵉ'rǥiᵉ re'mkɪn the people crossed over 13.13
ri'rkɪ ǥe'pkiḷin a walrus arrived 8.6
nite'rmečɪnqin ramkɪ'yñɪn the great people are doing acts of violence 11.3

Koryak:

attaᵉyol-yaᵉ'mkɪñ ɡalai'vɪñvoḷen people (from) down the coast walked about Kor. 41.1

Ama'mqut e'wañ Eme'mqut said Kor. 40.7

ɪ'npɪ-qḷa'wuḷ ɡewñɪvo'ḷen the old man said Kor. 47.1

ñalvɪla'n·aqu . . . ɡaḷañvo'ykɪn a great herd began to pass Kor. 51.9

ña'wɪs·qat va'ykɪn a woman was there Kor. 52.1

Object of transitive verb:

u'ttuut tɪčvi'äᵉn I cut wood

yo'nên lautɪ'yñɪn she pushed the big head into it 28.6

uwi'lkan qätei'kɪɡɪn make a woodpile! 31.12

wŭ'rɡɪrɡɪn walo'mɪñonên she heard a noise 32.10

kokai'ñɪn yɪre'nnin she filled the kettle 33.10

ñeuwi'rit aᵉnei'mityäᵉn she would take the woman's soul 37.11

mač-êwɡa'n tɪtvu'rkɪn I tell it as an incantation 39.13

u'ttuut ne'npŭäᵉn they stuck a stick into the ground 40.9

Koryak:

tɪyoᵉ'an ɪ'npɪ-qḷa'wuḷ I found an old man Kor. 52.4

ɡaqa'yɪčulin ḷoᵉ'ḷqaḷ he chopped up the face Kor. 53.6

qai-mɪ'mɪč ɡayo'oḷen she put into it a small louse Kor. 55.1

čɪ'ḷɪɪḷ čvitču'ykɪnin he cut the tongue Kor. 56.4

ᴇni'n kmi'ñɪpil ɡaquḷumti'lin he carries his son Kor. 57.9

The absolute form is also used for the indirect object.

tu'mɡɪtum muwi'än let me cook for (my) friend

ɡŭmni'n e'kik keli'tulä mɪ'lpɪnřɪɡaᵉn I will give money to my son

§ 92. *The Subjective*

The subjective expresses the subject of transitive verbs.

wo'tqan ñan a'ačêk ᴇnɪ'k-ᴇlɪ'ɡä kɪ'plɪnên the father struck this young man (*wo'tqan* this; *ñan* here; *a'ačêk* youth; *ᴇnɪ'k* subjective third person singular pronoun; *ᴇlɪ'ɡɪn* father; *rḳpl* to strike; *-nin* he—him)

ɪmɪlo re'mkä napê'laaᵉn nɪ'mnɪm the whole people left the camp

čo'urɡɪn tɪlo'mnên kele'tä the kele opened the door-flap 106.16

kɪtve'yuta i'unin the old walrus said to him 8.7

Aiwhuyanpɪna'čha pɪnlo'nênat a St. Lawrence old man asked them 13.9

Ta'n·ña ɡaioᵉ'laat the Ta'n·ñɪt attacked them 97.25

mərɡɪna'n mə'rêɡ-ra'k ñe'wänti ɡi'wä we in our houses to our wives say 84.16

Koryak:

atta^{ɛ}'yol-ya^{ɛ}'mka ġava'ḷomḷen the people down the coast heard it Kor. 39.7

Amamqu'tınak u'ttı-yu'ñı ġatai'kılin Eme'mqut made a wooden whale Kor. 40.8

iḷa^{ɛ}'ga ini'wi mother told me Kor. 46.1

an·a'nak ini'wi grandmother[1] told me Kor. 46.2

ı'npı-qḷa'wuḷa ġai'ḷiḷin kı'plau the old man gave him mortars Kor. 51.5

kmi'ña ġama'taḷen the son married her Kor. 80.1

mı'mḷa ınuqin the louse ate her Kor. 76.4.

ġŭmna'n ñawa'kak tıyai'ḷıñın I will give (him) the daughter Kor. 12.3

In passive constructions with *-ine*, the actor is expressed by the subjective form.

Ta'n·ña nini'uqin she was told by the Ta'n·ñıt 98.8

The subjective is used with some transitive verbs to express the object with which something is done to some one. In these cases the person to which something is done is given the absolute form. Such verbs are *-(l)pinŭ* TO GIVE, *o'ntı* TO REFUSE.

ġŭmni'n e'kık keli'tulä mı'lpınŭıga^{ɛ}n I presented my son with money

teki'čhä qêna'lpınŭıgê^{ɛ} I present thee with meat

This form is especially used when an intransitive verb is made transitive

tu'mġıtum e'če muwi'ä^{ɛ}n I shall cook for (my) companion (with) fat

qla'ulqai rıqamıtva'urkınên tenm'netä he made the little man eat (with) a shellfish 9.8

In Kamchadal also the subjective form is used with transitive verbs to express the object that is used in the performance of the action expressed by the verb.

he'ulil' xkoka-ju'jcx (with) a fish-head cook! compare Chukchee *ɛ'nnı-leu'tä quwi'tık*

The subjective is used to express instrumentality and modality.

añqa'ta leule'wu ge'lhı-mu'ri by the sea we were badly treated 65.27

genilule'ññılin keñuneñe'tä he moved it with the staff 101.8

ê'tin yıkı'rga pi'rinin it took its master with the mouth 104.33

qrilu'tkui vala'ta move about with the knives! 16.4

mu'lä ġakañoi'pālên with blood he is besmeared 19.3

[1] Treated here like a personal name.

Koryak:

vaᵉ'ga tyančıma'wiıkıniñın I shall tear him with (my) nails Kor. 84.16
tui-ñi'ḷña gata'kyılin they throw (it) with the harpoon line Kor. 41.3
ma'qmita tuva'nnıntatık I lost a tooth by means of an arrow Kor. 33.1
aᵉla'ta awyeñvo'ykın he eats (with) excrements Kor. 12.5
ai'kıpa gapı'wyalin she threw about (with) fly-eggs Kor. 45.2
vaḷa'ta gaqa'yıčulin he chopped it up with a knife Kor. 53.6
vai'čita qatha'ai they two went on foot Kor. 22.8

§ 93. *Locative, Allative, and Ablative.*

The locative expresses the place where something is or happens.

čotta'gnık in the outer tent 52.7
ro'čᴇn·kı nıtva'qên it stays on the other shore 52.11
ênno'tkınık tara'ngaᵉt they pitched their tent on the slope of a hill 56.9
Telqä'pık . . . geke'ñılıt in the Telqä'p country they were driving reindeer 61.8
em-ñi'lhin nuwotıtva'qên tı'mkık only the thong remained tied to the hummock 62.7
ñe'wänık pêla'nên he left him with the wife 105.7
re'mkık oratva'ê he stayed long with the people 54.2
gını'k čauču ge'eḷin a reindeer-breeder came to thee 46.11

Koryak:

i'yaᵉg ga'plin to the sky it was fastened Kor. 19.3
gŭmni'n ya'yak vaḷai'ke my things are in the house Kor. 19.9
gŭ'mma a'ñqak ti'yak I hit (on) the sea Kor. 26.2
ña'nıko va'amık yiwgıči'ta there in the river have a drink! Kor. 32.1
gaḷa'lin va'amik he arrived at the river Kor. 32.2
gawga'ḷen ena'tık he was caught in the snare Kor. 36.6

The allative expresses—

1. The direction toward.

aᵉqa'-kamaanvê'tı nine'il-i-ŭm I give them to the possessors of bad dishes 96.7
kala'gtı qaiñe'utkurkın call to your kele 102.5
kala'gtı nıpênřıčê'tqên it rushed at the kele 104.25
čei'vutkuiᵉ nimnıme'tı he went to a camp 105.5
notas·qačıkou'tı ničipe'tqin he dives into the interior of the surface of the ground 131.7
Tñaırgê'tı, gırgola'gtı nuwêthau'qên he talks to the Dawn, the One on High 135.16

Koryak:

ga'lqaɬin e^{s}e'tɪ he went to the sky Kor. 14.9
e^{s}e'tɪñ ganï'ñɬalin he threw it to the sky Kor. 14.10; 15.7
qaɬte'nñɪn ganqu'lin yayačɪkoï'tɪñ the stopper was thrust out into the house-interior Kor. 15.2
panenaï'tɪñ gayï'ñalin to the same place he flew Kor. 15.5
yaite'tɪ ga'lqaɬin he went to the house Kor. 17.3
gata'wañlenat Qoyqɪnn·aqoyɪkaï'tɪ they moved to Big-Raven's Kor. 19.9

2. For, on account of.

qaa'gtɪ gɪlo'lên sorrowful on account of the reindeer 48.12
uwaqočĕ'gtɪ gɪlo'rkɪn do you sorrow on account of the husband 48.12
nɪlvaɪ'qên ergɪp-ya'lhêti he was tired on account of the bright moon 14.11

The allative is often used to express the indirect object, corresponding to our dative, even if in the incorporated pronoun the direct object is used.

gŭ'muk-akka'gtɪ kelï'tulti mï'ilinet I will give moneys to my son.

The ablative expresses the direction from; also along.

qêtɪ-notas·qê'pŭ nɪpiu'riqin from the frozen ground he emerged 102.18
qolê'-notaï'pŭ nua'lomga^{s}n I heard it far and wide 104.14
têrkɪra'ɪrgêpŭ nɪye'tqin he came from sunset 105.14
yoročɪkoï'pŭ nuwa'lomqên he heard from the sleeping-room 106.13
êučaï'pŭ mɪññño'a^{s}n let us begin from below 131.5
pêpêggŭpŭ neï'mityä^{s}n they took him by the ankle 35.3
pottɪñaï'pŭ eimï'nnin he took it by the holes 47.2

Koryak:

ega'ñko nalqaine'w-gŭm from the sky have I been shot Kor. 33.4
kɪpla'gɪgiñko gače'pñɪtoɬen out of the mortar it peeped Kor. 53.3
mañe'nqo yatha^{s}'an? nuta'nqo. Whence did you bring her? from the country Kor. 60.10

§§ 94. Designative.

On account of its nominal character I have not included in the list of post-positional suffixes the element *-nu* (*see* § 103.34), which, however, is used syntactically very much like the suffixes treated in the last section.

Taaro'ñ-Va'ɪrgu ŭm qän·re'r he became Sacrifice-Being thus 41.9
Va'ɪrgu ne'ɻe^{ɛ}n (destined) to (be) a "Being" he became 41.10
yara'nə ne'lyi^{ɛ} it became a house 43.5
rɪrɪra'nnên . . . taikaus·qɪa'lvu he spread it for a place to wrestle 47.4
wɪ'yolə mɪ'llıgɪt let me have thee as assistant 124.2
ɡaqanqa'anə nɪya'anat let him use them for driving reindeer 124.8

Koryak:

maḷ-i^{ɛ}'yu nɪna^{ɛ}'ḷɪn a good sky let it become! Kor. 20.2
ya'qu mɪntaikɪḷa'-ɡi into what shall we make thee? Kor. 37.9
kmêña'tɪnvu no'tañ nɪlaï'-ɡŭm for delivery in the country I went away Kor. 60.6
i'ssu ɡana'^{ɛ}linau they became dresses Kor. 60.10
a'nku naḷñɪḷaikme'mɪk we are rejected (put to refusal) Kor. 62.5

§ 95. Verbal Nouns

As stated under the sections dealing with various post-positions nominalized verbs appear often with these endings. Following is the series of forms observed.

	Chukchee	Koryak Kamenskoye
Allative	-ɡ̊ɪ	-(ɪ)k, -(ä)k, -ka, kka
Locative	-(ɪ)k, -k(ɪ)	
Subjective	-tɪ̈, -ä	-ta, -a
Comitative I	-ma	
Comitative II	-mačɪ	-mačɪ

Among these forms, the last one does not correspond to a nominal post-position; the Comitative I is analogous to the nominal suffix, which, however, has the prefix *ɡa-*, which is absent in the verbal noun.

ALLATIVE

In Chukchee the allative of the verbal noun is used with verbs expressing attempt, desire, preparation.

awkwatê'tɪ tɪɡaiča'urkɪn I make haste to depart (*ewkwet* to leave; *t-* I; *ɡaičau* to hasten; *-rkɪn* present)
lə^{ɛ}ɣ̊'tɪ lile'pɡi^{ɛ} he looked to see; (*lɣ̊^{ɛ}* to see; *lile* eyes; *-p* to put on; *-ɡi^{ɛ}* he)
new·ñi'uä^{ɛ}n takêčhê'tɪ they sent him to get provisions 66.32

The Koryak uses the locative instead.

penye'kɪnen taḷai'vɪk he rushes to strike it Kor. 53.3

It expresses temporal coordination:

kɪle'nin e'ur vai têrgatê'tɪ he pursued, however, while he (the pursuer) was crying 57.9

e'ur ɛnqa'n têrgatê'tɪ ni'nerkile'qin while he was crying he pursued him 57.11

gevin·vuten·ñe'ulin ñɪtou'tɪ he laughed secretly as he went out 71.30

ñɪtou'tɪ ki'tkit nɪten·ñew-i-ŭm as I was going out I laughed a little 72.13

a'un-tɪpaiñou'tɪ nɪču'uqin kê'rgäqai wurre'tyiᵋ gɪrqo'l while she was singing, a little hole appeared above 74.2

le'utti ñɪtou'tɪ rɪ'nɪninet he carried the heads going out 86.8

a'un-wêthawê'tɪ . . . while they were talking, he . . . 100.9

LOCATIVE

In Chukchee and Koryak the locative seems to signify AT THE PLACE, AT THE TIME.

qaiñe'i yɪ'lqaññok roar at the time of beginning to sleep 10.6

geri'ñelin pukê'rɪñok he flew up when (the other one) arrived 15.4

pŭkê'rɪñok rɪčɪpeu'nin when he arrived, (the other one) made him dive 19.12

awkwa'tɪñok nɪmeiñeu ga'tvŭlên aᵋ'ttɪn when he left, he promised to sacrifice a dog 101.21

a'mkɪn-wolqatvê'ñño k every time when it began to be evening 104.12

qaa'gtɪ ga'tɪk ąą'ląką i'tyiᵋ he had no knife while going to the reindeer (*qaa'* reindeer; *-gtɪ* to; *qat* to go; *a—ka* without; *va'la* knife; *it-* to be; *-giᵋ* he)

e'mkɪn -kiyeu'kɪ nênaio'gên whenever she awoke, she shoved it in 29.2

qemi'-plɪ'tkuk at the time of having finished eating 33.11

Koryak.

gas·s·alvɪye'lin vɪᵋya'tvɪk she remained all day, being dead Kor. 64.9

The stems *lvau* NOT TO BE ABLE, *nkä* TO REFUSE, always govern the verbal locative:

luᵋk nɪlva'w-ê-ŭm I could not be seen 22.9

nênalwau'qên luᵋk he could not find her 38.7

ŭpau'kɪ tɪlva'urkɪn I can not drink (*ŭpau'* to drink; *t-* I; *lvau* to be unable; *-rkɪn* present)

qäi'rɪk tɪlwa'urkɪn I can not seek for her 38.8

vele'rkɪlek luva'wkwêᵋ he could not pursue him 15.6

taq-aimê'tık pınlə'tkə mıtılva'urkın we can not divine how to get provisions 101.13
pıntıqä'tık nılvau'qên he could not disengage himself 101.34
qlike'tık ni'nkäqin she refused to marry 26.1
nınkä'tqinet pŭki'rik they refused to come 106.3
glike'tık aa'lomkĕlên not (listening) consenting to marry 26.2

In Koryak the verbs *ñvo* TO BEGIN, *pḷı* TO FINISH, *nkau* TO CEASE, *pkau* NOT TO BE ABLE, always govern the verbal locative.

ga̤ñvo'le̤n gıya'pĕak she began to sing Kor. 16.10
ga̤ñvo'le̤n čilala'tık it began to bubble Kor. 17.2
ga̤ñvo'le̤n-ñawa'kak kitai'ñak they began to scold the daughter Kor. 17.8
ga̤ñvo'le̤n tenma'witčuk she began to prepare Kor. 18.3
ga̤na'nkaule̤n tınale̤ᵋ'tık they ceased to carry it out Kor. 41.8
ganka'wlinau tule̤'tık they stopped to steal Kor. 41.9
quqka'wñunenau yanıkya'wñak it could not awaken them Kor. 40.2
tapka'vık olñaqa'tık I could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2
napkawñıvo'ykın tule̤'tık they could not steal it Kor. 39.8
tawi'tkıñık ga̤va'nnıntale̤n when pilfering she lost a tooth Kor. 34.3
ga̤naᵋ'linau pa'yittok they came to be eating blackberries Kor. 41.6
gaple̤'tčulin kukai'vık she finished cooking Kor. 51.2
ga̤ñvo'lenau yu'kka he began to eat them Kor. 57.1

It serves also as iterative of numeral verbs.

Chukchee
ñireqeu'kı the second time
ñıroqau'kı the third time

In Koryak it is also used in those cases in which the Chukchee uses the allative.

vale̤'mık tıga̤ima'tekın I want to know (*vale̤'m* to know; *t-* I; *ga̤inat* to want; *-ekın* present)

THE SUBJECTIVE

The subjective is used to express an adverbial idea.

wa̤'qə̤ta̤ tuwañe'rkin I work sitting (*wa'qə* to sit; *t-* I; *wañe* to work; *-rkin* present)
am-ıpa'wa nıtvai'gŭm I was just drinking (*am-* merely; *ŭpau* to drink; *nı-* indefinite tense; *tva* to live, be; *-igŭm* I)
luñ -iwkuči'tä i'tyiᵋ not drinking she was (i. e. she did not drink) 37.3
luñ-i'rä i'tyiᵋ not crossing it was 41.5

luñ-lu^{ɛ}'tä nɪ'ntäqinet not seen they had them 11.9
wêtha'wa qäntɪ'gɪn speaking do to her (i. e. speak to her!) 29.12
li'en· äq-eiñe'wa quli'tä only badly crying (and) sounding 57.6

The analogy between this form and the nominal subjective appears very closely in those cases where the adverbial idea expresses instrumentality.

tačai'wêwa lautɪ'yñɪn nineninnuteu'gin by means of striking he made the big head swollen 48.10
ettɪ-kɪpče'wa by striking with a stick 48.10

The verbal noun in *gę—tä̆* is often used both in Chukchee and in Koryak as an imperative.

ganto'ta, gi'wä go out and say!
gi'wä say! 21.11
gaa'neta he shall go first! 84.13

In other cases it has the meaning of a present.

mərgɪna'n gi'wä we are wont to say 84.16

Koryak:

gayɪ's·qata sleep! Kor. 31.8
gaḷa'xtata wu'tčau, gā^{s}a'nñɪvota take these along, haul them away! Kor. 51.6

The corresponding forms of the transitive verb occur in the past, future, exhortative, and in the derived present and exhortative (see § 68, p. 741). They are also used impersonally.

amto', mi'ñkri re'ntɪn, ra'nmɪñ well, how will it be done? will there be killing?
ga'nma killed
rä'nut gelu'tä whatever seen
tu'mgɪtum ra^{s}'nutqäiä ga'lpɪnřa give something to (your) companion

COMITATIVE I AND II

These forms express an action done while the subject of the sentence performed another action. Comitative I is used when the subject of both actions is the same; Comitative II, when the two subjects are distinct.

Examples of comitative I:

têrga'nma ninegepčiygi'ugin weeping she kicked it 31.8
uwê'ma takɪmla'gnênat when cooking she prepared marrow for them 33.11

gɪ'nmɪl yɪ'lkama garêtêlaï'gŭm recently, while I was sleeping, I dreamed it (*gɪ'nmɪl* recently; *yɪlqa* to sleep; *ga—igŭm* I; *rêtêla* to dream)

kɪye'wkwiˢ êaamya'ma he awoke while they (he himself and his dog) were galloping about 104.36

Examples of Comitative II:

ɪpau'mači equ'lĭkä while (the others) are drinking, be silent (*ŭpau* to drink; *e—kä* negative; *quli* noise)

Nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, when used in verbal forms, may have the Comitative II, which is used when the subject is the same as well as when two distinct subjects are concerned.

miñke'kin luˢ'äˢn ñaus·gatɪma'čɪ when you have found this, bring a woman 99.23

equ'lĭkä rolma'čɪ be silent, since you are weak (*e—kä* negation; *quli* noise; *rol* weak)

miñke'kin poi'gɪn luˢ'äˢn ñaus·qatɪma'čɪ where did you find the spear being a woman 99.22.

KAMCHADAL

nɪkêmačɪ at night 56.8

Kamchadal has only two forms.

-kŏj (intransitive); *-c, -l* (transitive) and

k!—enk

The former is simply the inchoative of the verb, which is used as a noun in absolute form.

qe'čelˈ nu'kŏj enough to eat

tu'tun tœlil I could not beat him

In the negative form the ending *-kŏj* is not used.

ӕ nu'ki it is impossible to eat (*ӕ—ki* negative, p. 826)

ӕ tœle'kic it is impossible to beat him (*ӕ—kic* negative of transitive verb, see p. 826)

ӕ nu'ölki it is impossible to eat (*-öl* to desire, p. 808, no. 64.)

The second form expresses an action done at the same time with the one expressed by the predicate of the sentence. It is derived from the *k!-* prefix of the corresponding form of the noun, and the suffix of the possessive.

k!-nu'enk qam qe'lkek while eating I do not talk (*nu* to eat; *qam* not)

§§ 96-129. COMPOSITION

§ 96. Introductory Remarks

We have seen that in the formation of grammatical forms both prefixes and suffixes occur. Their use is much more extended, and they

serve to express a great many modifications or amplifications of the meaning of the stem. It is difficult to draw a sharp line between the grammatical endings and those that add new significance to the word. From a purely morphological point of view the two classes merge into each other; and neither can a sharp line be drawn between the nominal post-positions treated before, and others of similar meaning, like *-nu* (p. 798, no. 34), *-mil* (p. 798, no. 30), *-in* (see below); nor can the nominalizing endings in *-in* and *-n* be sharply separated from other, analogous forms. For this reason I repeat the nominal endings here in their proper places with reference to the sections in which they are more fully treated.

Neither is the line of demarcation clear between affixes and compounds of independent elements. This appears most clearly in those cases in which the same element may appear either as a prefix or as a suffix, like *qäi* and *mil*; and also in those cases in which an element appears rarely alone. The line of demarcation between particle and incorporated adnominal or adverbial element is indicated through the occurrence or non-occurrence of vocalic harmony in the group.

The use of affixes is very extended, and a series of prefixes as well as of suffixes may appear combined.

qamitva-čhat-ɪ-ño'-rkɪn he begins to gobble down

ru-wakɵ-s'qê-čhat-a'u-rkɪn he makes him sit down once with great force.

§§ 97–112. Suffixes

§§ *97–109. Nominal Suffixes*

§§ 97–105. DERIVED FROM NOUNS

§ 97. Nouns in *-in* and *-n*

These have been discussed in §§ 45–49, pp. 707–713, and in §§ 51–55, pp. 714–719. Here belong also the nominalized verbs (*a*) and (*b*), which have been discussed in §§ 73, 74, pp. 758–762.

§ 98. Augmentative and Diminutive

1. ***-ĭñ-***, subjective *-ĭñɪn*, AUGMENTATIVE. The suffix forms plural and oblique cases regularly.[1]

ra'lɛ knife	*valaĭ'ñɪn* large knife
a^{ɛ}'ttɪn dog	*a^{ɛ}ttɪ'yñɪn* large dog
	a^{ɛ}ttɪyñê'pu from the large dog
rę'mkɪn people 13.10	*rąmkĭ'yñɪn* big people 11.3
	Aiwhuyanpinačhĭ'yñɪn old big St. Lawrence man 13.11

[1] Mr. Bogoras thinks that this suffix may be related to *męiñ*. This does not seem quite probable, because the vowel *e* of this word is weak.—F.B.

Some words do not take the suffix *-ɣ̊ñ-*, but use the definite form in its place.

ñę̊'wä̤n woman
Kor. Kam. *i*^{e}*ñui'ñɪn* big nose Kor. 72.12

ñą̊wą̊'nčɣ̊ñɪn the woman, the large woman

2. ***-nʷa'ku, -nʷaqu*** AUGMENTATIVE (Kor. Kam.).

va'ḷa knife
a'ttan dog
qḷawuḷ man
vai'amn·aqu big river Kor. 21.3
Quyqɪnn·a'qu Big Raven Kor. 24.5
kuka'-yɪčɪn a'qu a big kettleful Kor. 43.1

vaḷa'n·aku large knife
atta'n·aku large dog
qḷawuḷn·a'quñgo from the big man

3. ***-gg̊*** AUGMENTATIVE.

ñą̊wgg̊'lhɪn the big wife 39.5; 40.1
pę̊ttɪ-wą̊lką̊č·g̊lhę̊'tɪ to the big old jaw-bone house 59.8

4. ***-qä̤i*** DIMINUTIVE. Plural, oblique cases, and definite, are formed from this freely. This is evidently related to the stem *qä̤iu̯* SMALL. It may also precede the noun, and be used in both positions at the same time. When preceding the noun it means THE YOUNG OF AN ANIMAL; compare also *gä̤in* FAWN; *ge'yɪ̆gei* FLEDGELING.

kuke'-qä̤i a little kettle
gɪ'lgɪ-qä̤i a small skin 45.6
qlą̊'ul-qą̊i a small man
wą̊'lqarą̊-qą̊i small jaw-bone house 44.13
ɪmpɪ'ñe'w·qä̤yɪk to the little old woman 45.2
ñi'nqä̤i child 42.8
ñɪmqäɛtɪle'kɪ to those with children 20.7
ɪmpɪñawqa'gčɣ̊ñɪn the small woman
qäi-u'nel young thong-seal 70.26
gäi-a^{s}*ttɪgäi* pup
gäi-ɪ-li^{ɛ}*'gg̊äi* cub of wolf

qai (Koryak) is used only as incorporated adjective. Its use is very frequent.

qai-qḷa'wuḷ-pel a very small man
qai'-ña'wis·qat little woman Kor. 33.10
qai-ka'mak little kamak Kor. 38.9
qai-pipi'kaḷñu little mice Kor. 25.6
qai-ka'mak-pel little kamak Kor. 37.2

-ai SMALL AND MISERABLE (Kamchadal).

ki'stai a miserable little house (*kist* house)
kcxai a miserable little dog (*kocx* dog)

5. ***-pi̯l*** DEAR LITTLE.

ekke'pi̯l sonny
tu'mg̣äpi̯l dear little friend

Koryak:

-pi̯l (Kor. Kam.) dual and pl. ***-pi̯laq*** (with the endings *-t* and *u*); ***-pi*** (Kor. II),—express the DIMINUTIVE.

ñawa'n-pi̯l small woman (Kor. Kam.)
ñawan-pi̯la'qɪt two small women (Kor. Kam.)
ñawan-pila'qu small women (Kor. Kam.)
ql̥ḁ'wul̥-pel small man
milya'qpil a little shell Kor. 23.8
va'gɪl̥ñɪpel a small nail Kor. 23.7
vi'tvitpil a little ringed seal Kor. 24.4

-pi̯liñ (Kor. Kam.)—the last suffix *-pi̯l* with the additional suffix *-in*—conveys the sense of ENDEARMENT.

atta'pi̯liñ doggy
vai'ampil̥ɪñ a little river Kor. 17.2
il̥uᵉ'pɪlɪñ little (shaman's) wand Kor. 27.7
ñi'l̥ñɪpilɪñ little thong Kor. 39.4

6. ***-čax, -čx, -cx*** DIMINUTIVE (Kamchadal). The diminutive of the plural is formed by the suffix *-č* added to the plural form.

	Singular	Diminutive	Plural	Diminutive
dog	*kocx*	*ko'cxčax*	*kcxoᵉn*	*kcxoᵉnč*
game	*hu'rnik*	*hu'rnikčax*	*hu'rnɪkɪᵉn*	*hu'rnɪkɪᵉnč*
village	*a'tɪnŭm*	*a'tɪnocx*	*a'tinoᵉn*	*a'tɪnoᵉnč*

To intensify the degree of diminution, this suffix may be used in a doubled form.

atɪno'cxɪčax a very small village
a'tɪnocxanč very small villages

7. ***-lɪño̥*** TINY. It always precedes the diminutive *-qä̯i* (No. 4 of this section), and intensifies the idea of smallness.

qaa-lɪño̥'-qa̯i tiny reindeer
ña̯wa̯n-lɪño̥'-qa̯i tiny woman

§ 99. Collectives

8. ***-yi̯ri̯n*** or ***-yIrIn*** a company; (Kor. Kam. ***-yIssan***) the stem of the noun *yi'riir* or *yɪ'riir* FULLNESS, CONTENTS.

ñe̯wä'nyi̯ri̯n a company of women
ra'yɪrɪn a houseful 45.13
Kor. Kam. *nɪmyɪ'ssaᵉn* people of a village Kor. 70.9
Compare *wa̯lqa̯'čɪriir* a jaw-bone-house-ful 54.13.

9. ***-gi̯ni̯w*** GROUP OF (Kor. Kam. ***-gi̯ni̯u***).

ra̯ê̯'nê̯u (Kor. Kam. *ra̯-ge̯'ne̯w*) group of houses (i. e., village)
ya̯ra̯'-ge̯'nêw a group of houses 111.15
u'mqä-gi'niw a set of polar bears 113.29
yi'čemit-tu'mgɪ-gi'niw a set of brother-companions 113.28
uwi'ritqäi-gi'niw a lot of little souls 122.31
Kor. Kam. *qaña'tɪla-gi'niw* a lot fishing with drag-nets Kor. 70.10

10. ***-ri̯l*** (Kor. Kam. ***-yi̯l***) set, collection (used only for inanimate objects).

o'rgurêl a caravan of sledges
aᵉ'mri̯l (Kor. *aᵉ'm-yi̯l*) a set of bones, *i. e.* a skeleton
Koryak *mu'u-yi̯l* a line of sledges, a caravan Kor. 78.5

11. ***-re̯t*** SET, LITTER (Kor. Kam. ***-yat***).

va̯'ra̯t (Kor. Kam. *va'yat*) a group of beings (i. e., family group)
yičemre'tti a set of brothers 64.3
ple'gret a pair of boots
li'liret a pair of mittens

12. ***-tku̯*** INDEFINITE COLLECTIVE.

ne'lhɪtkun all kinds of skins
gɪ'nnɪkɪtkun various kinds of game
orawêla'tkən men living in various places, people

This suffix is also used with adjectives and pronouns:

mainɪya'nɪtkən everything big
räᵉ'nutetkun (*räᵉ'neetkun*) all kinds of things
čiñe'waq panŕa'tkəqaia tei'mityäᵉn somehow with all kinds of small leg-skins I bought it (i. e. I succeeded in buying it with a small number of leg-skins, i. e., cheaply).

13. ***-mk*** NUMEROUS (Kor. Kam. ***-mk***) is used to express plurality.

yara'mkɪn (Kor. Kam. *yaya'mkɪn*) a cluster of houses (collective)
rɪrka'mkɪčhɪn several walrus 102.17.
aᵉttwɪlɪ'mkɪčhɪn the great assembly of boatmen 11.5

Compare the stem *mk* in the independent forms

mŭkɪčɪ'yñɪn the more numerous ones 11.7

mŭ'kɪčɪn more numerous 12.3

nŭ'mkäqin numerous 12.7

and in the compound form

mŭg-gɪtka'k with many legs 119.9

14. ***-ffrg,*** the stem of the third person plural pronoun *E'rri*, serves to form the plural of proper names and of some other words designating persons, when these appear with the suffixes *-gŭpŭ* and *-k* and with the particle *re'en* TOGETHER (p. 794, no. 18). (See § 44, p. 706.)

qlaulɪ'rgŭpŭ < *qlaul-ɪrg-gŭpŭ* from the men

qla'ulɪrɪk < *qla'ul-ɪrg-k* by the men, with the men

qla'ulɪrɪg-re'en < *qla'ul-ɪrg-k-re'en* with the men

The possessive form *E'rgin* is used in the same manner.

orawêla'rgên that belonging to the (human) people

§ 100. Comitatives

15. ***gą—mą*** COMITATIVE (Kor. Kam. ***awun—mą***) not used with names of persons, for which *re'en* is used.

gąlêląa'mą (Kor. Kam. *a'wunlela'ma*) with the eye

gą'rgumą with the sledge 15.4

gąta'ttɪwalmą with the splinters of thigh-bone 33.11

gąmą'ɪlɪmą with blood 43.8

gąañênąąi'mą with children 50.6

gąprą'rmą with the aorta R 2.2

gą'twuma with the boat 71.4

galau'tɪma with the head; i. e., the whole body 137.8

Kor. Kam. *awun-qama'ma* with the dish 64.7

Kor. Kam. *a'wun-e'ñvelma* with the nostrils

Compare the nominal derivatives of verbs, in *-mą* (§64, p. 738; § 95, p. 787).

k!—m (Kamchadal). Comitative.

k!lŭ'lŭm with the eye

16. ***gę—(t)ą̈*** COMITATIVE (Kor. Kam. ***ga—[t]a***); not used with names of persons, for which *re'en* (p. 794, no. 18) is used. (Compare § 37, p. 697.)

gęlɪlę'tä (Kor. Kam. *galɪla'ta*) with the eye

ɪnpɪna'čhɪn gęñe'wänä an old man with his wife 28.1 (subject)

ELI'gɪt gęñe'wänä the fathers with the wife, i. e. the parents 28.4 (subject); 39.11; 33.9

Kor. Kam. *gaqqaika'makata* with a small spirit Kor. 37.3
Kor. Kam. *ga'ttata* with a hatchet Kor. 56.3
Kor. Kam. *gaqla'wula* with her husband Kor. 68.7

Verbal:

ñe'us·qät genutegči'tä, notai'pŭ gelei'vä the woman while walking in the wilderness, while walking in the country, she — 28.5

notai'pŭ gelei'vä ñe'usqät, vai ELA'—while the woman was walking in the country, her mother—29.4

en·qam ELI'*hin gette'tä gi'wä*—then the father with sudden doing, with saying—29.11

17. ***-mačI*** verbal noun expressing MEANWHILE (Kor. Kam. ***-ma'čI***) (see pp. 738, 788.)

18. ***-re'en*** added to the locative, TOGETHER. It is used principally with nouns designating persons, and replaces the comitative. Its vowel does not form an ablaut.

gŭmu'g re'en together with me
Omru'wgêna-re'en together with Omru'wgê
tu'muq-re'en with the strangers 59.1
ni'lhi-re'en together with the thong 44.12

§ 101. Locatives

19. ***-tkIn*** SURFACE (Kor. Kam. ***-tkIn, -tčIn***); used chiefly in oblique cases.

qrqu'tkinik on the sledge
qrqutkina'ta along the surface of the sledge
uwêkê'tkinik on the body 8.11
qêli'tkinik on the sea-ice 9.1, 2
qêlqêli'tkinik on the sea-ik 7.3, 5
kano'tkinqŭpu on the crown of the head 8.2
mêmli'tkinik on the water 9.3
čo'titkinik on the top of the pillow 44.2

In the absolute form the suffix designates THE POINT OF.

yäqa'tkin point of nose
ričhi'tkin finger-tip (stem *rilh*)
yêči'tkičhin tip of tongue 40.4 (stem *yil*)

Koryak:

va'gitčinu yu'kka eating points of nails Kor. 57.1
o'pitčinik on the point of a beam Kor. 72.13

20. ***-q·q-*** absolute form ***-s·qän; -čäq*** absolute form—***čäqan*** TOP OF; OVER, ON TOP OF (Kor. Kam. ***- lq,*** absolute form ***-lqan***)

ɵttɪ'ş·qän tree-top
ɵ̯ttɪ'ş·qä'k on the top of the tree
tɪʟi's·qäk over the door
ɡ̣ɪ'thɪs·qä-no̯ta̯i'ñɪ̯n lake-top-big-land, i. e., the land over (near) the lake 144.3
tñe's·qä-re'mkin people of top of dawn R 2.11
nute's·qäk on top of ground, i. e., on the ground 98.24

Koryak:

ña'nkalqak the top of it Kor. 78.15
va'yamɪlqak on top of river Kor. 25.8
wu'ɡ̣wulqak on top of pebbles Kor. 25.8
yas·qalkai'tɪñ (*ya-s·qa-lqa-ê̯tɪ*) to the house top Kor. 36.1
ya's·qaḷqak on the house top Kor. 84.12
wapɪs·qalqak on top of slime Kor. 25.7

21. ***-ɡ̣i̯, -ɡ̣i̯ñ*** THE BASE OF: in oblique cases, UNDER

u̯ttɪ'ɡ̣i̯ñ base of the tree
ɵ̯ttɪɡ̣ê̯'nɡ̣ŭ̯pŭ̯ from under the tree
uttɪɡ̣i'ñkɪ under the tree
čo̯thê̯'ñkɪ under the pillow (<*čo̯t-ɡ̣i̯ñ-kɪ*)
nu̯te̯'s·qä̯ɡ̣i̯'ñkɪ underground
no̯ta̯s·qa̯yê̯'ñɡ̣ŭ̯pŭ̯ from underground 143.6

Koryak:

e'n·mɪɡ̣enka under a cliff Kor. 13.6
qas·wuɡ̣e'ñkɪ at the foot of the stone-pines Kor. 21.7
pḷakɡ̣eñe'tɪñ into the bottom of the boots Kor. 14.2, 6
ɡ̣ankaɡ̣eñe'tɪ into the bottom of that one Kor. 40.9
atvɪɡ̣eñe'tɪ into the bottom of the boat Kor. 41.5

22. ***-ɡ̣ɡ̣i̯t*** TOWARD; not in oblique cases

ɡ̥ñqa̯'ɡ̣ɡ̣ê̯t toward the sea
u̯ttɪ'ɡ̣ɡ̣i̯t toward the wood
ya̯ka̯'ɡ̣ɡ̣ê̯t noseward 45.2
tɪʟê̯'ɡ̣ɡ̣ê̯ toward the entrance 62.9
e'ekeɡ̣ɡ̣it toward the lamp R 2.6

23. ***-yi̯'wkwi̯*** (absolute form ***-yi̯'wkwi̯n***) THE SPACE ALONG —.

ɡ̥ñqa̯yê'wkwê̯n the space along the sea
a'ñqa-čormɪyê'wkwɪ along the seashore 66.12
ɡ̥ñqa̯yê̯wkwê̯'ta̯ along the sea, on the sea
no̯tas·qačiye̯uˢ'kɪ along underground 44.12

I have found also the form—

rečê'wkwä<*ret-yê̯'wkwê̯* along the tracks
(See *rêč·êu'kɪ* 106.24.)

§ 101

24. **-*čɪkᵾ*** (Chukchee, Kor. Kam.) INSIDE OF; also with neutral ***u***.

u'tčɪku in the wood
uttɪ'čɪku within the tree
yara'čɪku or *ra'čɪku* within the house
kegri'čɪku inside of palm 20.3
kona'rgičɪku inside of leg of breeches 28.6
wus·qŭ'mčɪku in the dark 34.5
yɪlhɪ'čɪku in the moon 41.8
ple'kičɪku in a boot 43.4

This suffix appears often combined with locative elements.

o'nmɪčɪkou'tɪ (Kor. Kam. *anɪnkačɪko'ttĭ* from *anɪnka-čɪku*) inward, into the inside
o'nmɪčɪko'ŭpŭ from within
êrɪčɪkou'tɪ into the clothes 32.4
dinčɪkou'tɪ into the fire 31.13
yoročɪkou'tɪ into the sleeping-room 28.7; also 28.8, 35.3
yɪkɪrgičɪkou'tɪ into the mouth 50.3
qaačɪkoi'pŭ from the reindeer-herd 51.2
mêmlɪčɪkou'tɪ into the water 17.4
notas·qačɪkou'tɪ into the ground 18.7
notas·qačɪkoi'pŭ from underground 44.12

Koryak:

wus·qŭ'mčɪku in the dark Kor. 16.10, 17.5
yayačɪkoi'tɪñ into the house Kor. 15.2
qaya'čɪku in a covered sledge Kor. 52.1
aia'čɪku in the storehouse Kor. 55.5

The Kamchadal *čäck* INSIDE corresponds to Chukchee *čɪkᵾ*. It is used as an independent adverb.

ci'mtenk čäck in the ground, inside.

Here may belong also Kamchadal *č^{a}cxe'* INWARD.

25. **-*lɪkᵾ*** AMONG THE MULTITUDE, one of the suffixes of plurality.

qaa'lɪku among the reindeer
uttɪ'-lɪku among the trees
murɪ'g-lɪku among us

26. **-*qačˌ*, -*qal*** BY THE SIDE OF (Kor. Kam. **-*qal***)
-*qačɪ* near, close to (Kor. Kam. **-*qača***)

qa'ptenqač by the side of the back 11.8
ya'alɪñqač by the rear side 12.3
tĭ'ɪnqač by the side of the entrance 53.3
gɪtka'ñqač (Kor. Kam. *gɪtka'ñqal*) at the feet
mɵ'rɪqqač (Kor. Kam. *mɵ'rɪqqal*) by our side
gɪnɪkqa'č by thy side 9.3

gɪtkaqa'čɪ near the foot
mərɪqqa'čɪ near us
Nota'rmenqača near Notarmen 121.10
ra-gro'lmɪnqal from the rear side of the house 51.10

A great number of adverbs are derived from this suffix.

wo'tɪñqač (Kor. Kam. *wo'teñqal*) on this side
va'ʀñqač (Kor. Kam. *vaieñqaḷ*) halfway on this side

All forms with *-qač* (Kor. Kam. *-qaḷ*) may also form oblique cases.

mərɪqqačai'pŭ (Ch.) from our side
Kor. Kam. *woteñqaḷai'tɪ* to this side
añqañqača'gtɪ to the seaside 49.6
añqañqačai'pŭ from the seaside 49.8
ya'alɪnqačai'pŭ from the rear side 12.4
yarau'-lɪha'nlɪnqač-va'lɪn being from the other side of the houses 11.7
qača'kên the other one of a pair
qača'kênata with the other hand 20.5

With the adjective suffix *-ki̯n* they form adjectives which are in frequent use.

mərɪqqa'tkên being at my side
wo'tɪnqa'tkên being from this side 14.2
Kor. Kam. *wo'teñqaḷa'ken* being at this side

Kamchadal:

qo'lɪñ NEAR TO, CLOSE BY, corresponds to Chukchee *qa'čɪ*, Kor. Kam. *qa'ča*. It is also treated as an independent adverb.
kɪ'mank qo'liñ (Chukchee *gŭmu'k-qa'čɪ*) near me

27. ***-tu̯l*** PART OF, PIECE OF (Kor. Kam. ***-tu̯ḷ***).

me̯nigɪ'tu̯l (Kor. Kam. *manigɪ'toḷ*) a piece of calico
qḁ'ḁto̯l (Kor. Kam. *qoya'toḷ*) a piece of reindeer (meat)
mi'mlɪtulqäi a little particle of water 134.17
teki'čhɪtulqäi a little piece of meat 134.31
Kor. Kam. *pêḷhɪnolñi'toḷa* piece of reindeer mane Kor. 92.11

The Kamchadal uses a separate noun for expressing this idea.
a'ncčax txa'ḷtxaḷɪn a small piece of meat (*anc-* piece; *-čax* small; *txa'ḷtxaḷɪn* [adjective] of meat)

28. ***-kīt*** (Kamchadal) INSTEAD, IN PLACE OF.

vi'ḷe-kīt in place of payment

§ 101.

29. ***-xŏ̥l*** (Kamchadal) ALONG.

cê̯mt-xŏ̥l along the ground (stem *ci̯mt* ground)
ê̯ᵋ-xŏ̥l along the water (stem *i̯ᵋ* water)
ktxo̥'j-xŏ̥l along the road

§ 102. Similarity

30. ***-mi̯l*** IN THE SIZE OF, AT THE DISTANCE OF (Kor. Kam. ***-mič -mis***). (Compare § 113.10,11); also § 105, 42 *-mi̯č* which is a variant of this stem.)

ñe̯i'mi̯l as far as the mountain
mi̯ñke'mi̯l (Kor. Kam. *menke'mɪs*) of what size? how much? 94.32
ᴇri'wmil like them 14.9
muru'wmil like us 10.6; 16.7
ḡumu'wmil like me 16.13
utte'mil size of a tree 20.2
ro̥rḁ'mêl size of reindeer-fly 23.3
o̥rḁwê̯ʟḁ'-mêl like men 64.11
rɪrkḁ'mêl like a walrus 10.8; 12.1
qa̯a̯'mêl size of a reindeer 122.23

Possessive forms with the suffix—*ki̯n* added to the suffix—*mi̯l* are

ḡŭmuwmi'tkin according to my wants
muruwmi'tkin according to our wants

31. ***-wurrin*** SIMILAR TO, LIKE.

pin-wurrɪn flour (literally CINDER-LIKE)
See *ᴇna'n čini't wu'rri nitqin* thus she was 26.9

32. ***-wä̯ᵋt*** SIMILAR TO.

33. ***-čhi̯čä̯*** SIMILAR TO (Kor. Kam. ***-čhi̯na***).

qä̯čɪ̯kɪ'čhê̯ča̯ (Kor. Kam. *qlḁ'wuḷɪčhe̯'na*) similar to a man (i. e., transformed shaman[1])

§ 103. Purpose

34. ***-nu̯, -u̯*** MATERIAL FOR; WHAT SERVES AS SOMETHING; SERVING A PURPOSE; SERVING AS SOMETHING.

ple'ku qäi'mit·kɪn take it for boots (i. e., to make boots of it)

This suffix is used with various verbs to express the idea TO MAKE SOMETHING OUT OF, TO CONSIDER AS SOMETHING, TO BECOME SOMETHING.

e̯kke̯'nu̯ mɪ'lhɪgɪt let me have thee as a son

[1] *qäčɪk* or *qlik* is an obsolete form for *qla'ul* MAN.

-nu after stems ending in a vowel.

lile'nu serving as an eye
rɪrkḁ'nθ as a walrus 10.8
ɡaqa̯nqḁ'ana̯ for a driving reindeer 124.8
qḁrê̥mê̥nḁ'na̯ ri'tyäᵉ you will not be the one to serve this purpose 23.6
ko'ñkoñ-ra'nθ serving as a ball-shaped house 130.22
ke'ñɪčvɪnu that which serves as a bay 133.4, 9
aᵉqa'-ɡê'lčɪnθ that which serves as a bad ice-floe 133.10
tθr-ɪrɡa't-paloᵉta'nθ what serves as a beaver that has just shed hair 137.2

-u after stems ending in a consonant.

ñe'wänu for a wife
taikaus·qɪo'lvu for a place to wrestle 47.4
Iumetu'nu ri'tyäᵉ you will be for me like Iumetun 23.7
kei'ñu what represents a bear 136.20
qoraɪnře'tilθ to be used as herdsmen 50.9
lθᵉ'nvθ for looking on 19.2; 23.1
rɪraqa'unvθ what for? 19.1
ênaɡya'ɡtačhθ va'ɪrɡθ what serves as life-giving being 21.6
wɪ'yolθ for assistant 124.2, 4

Koryak Kamenskoye:

-nu̯, -u̯. The use of this suffix is the s me as in Chukchee.

l̥i̯la'nu as an eye
akka'nu̯ as a son
ña'wanu̯ as a wife
qoia'no̯ as a reindeer
tomñena'ñu as a cover for the roof-hole Kor. 37.9
kulipčina'ñu as a vent-hole plug Kor. 38.1
qanɡekɪpl̥ena'ñu as a means of striking the fire Kor. 30.7
ya'qu into what Kor. 38.4
čai'učhu into a working bag Kor. 38.4

35. ***-ki̯*** (***ka***) (Kamchadal) corresponds to ***-nu̯, -u̯*** (No. 34) of Chukchee.

p!ï'ki̯ as a son
ñi'ki̯ as a wife
olě'naka̯ as a reindeer (*ole'n* from Russian олень; the old Kamchadal word *koj* is also still in use)
lŭle'ki as an eye

36. ***-sx*** (Kamchadal) is synonymous with the last, but is less frequent.

p!ësx as a son
ñesx as a wife

37. ***-lqäl*** DESTINED FOR —, MATERIAL FOR —, (Kor. Kam. ***-ḷqaḷ***). This suffix implies the future.

ple'kılqäl (Kor. Kam. *pla'kılqal*) material for boots
uwäᵉ'qu̯cılqäl bridegroom to be, destined to be a husband
ELA'*lqäḷ* stepmother, serving as a mother
Kor. Kam. *ñawa'nıḷqaḷ* bride to be, destined to be a wife
luᵉlqäl (Kor. Kam. *ḷoᵉ'ḷqaḷ* Kor. 53.5) a face (perhaps; something destined to be looked on) 88.14
rĕpa'lhılqäl destined to be a dried walrus hide 46.11

With verbal stem, in most cases with the passive participle -(*y*)*o*:

tai'kıyolqäl material (for work)
rırrê'lyolqäl destined to be put down R 2.5
yımê'yolqäl destined to be hung R 2.6
ro'olqäl food R 44.11
malĕ'čhılqal means of getting well 135.10
tımyo'lqal (Kor. Kam. *tımyo'ḷqaḷ*) destined to be killed (epithet used like SCOUNDREL)

§ 104. Possession

38. ***-yḁnv-***, absolute form ***yḁn*** PROVIDED WITH (Kor. Kam. ***yanv-***, absolute form ***yana***)

(*a*) As a nominal suffix, *yanv* means PROVIDED WITH.

čḁ'g-gḁn (Kor. Kam. *čai-ya'na*) one who has tea, rich in tea
qa'a-yḁn (Kor. Kam. *qoya-ya'na*) one who has reindeer
tañ-kamaanvê'ti to those provided with good dishes (*te̯ñ* good; *keme* dish) 92.21

(*b*) With intransitive verbs it indicates the person who performs an act once or habitually.

ŭpa'w-gan (Kor. Kam. *apaw-ya'na*) the one who drinks
qamı'twa-yan (Kor. Kam. *awye-ya'na*) the one who eats

(*c*) With transitive verbs it indicates the object of the action, and has a passive meaning.

yı'l-yan (Kor. Kam. *yıl-ya'na*) what has been given
ro'mkaw-gan (Kor. Kam. *yomkaw-ya'na*) what has been hidden

(*d*) With adjectives it indicates a person having a certain quality.

qa̯tvu-yḁ'n the one who has strength
ma̯iñı-yḁ'n that which is big
a'tqend·an (Kor. Kam. *aᵉ'ččen-ya'na*) the one who is bad

Oblique cases are derived from this form. In Koryak these forms are not of frequent occurrence.

ma̯iñıya'nvuk at the big one (Koryak the same)
ınpıya'nvıt the older ones 108.12

§ 104.

39. ***-lq(än)*** ABOUNDING IN (Kor. Kam. ***-ḷq[än]***)
mi'mlɪlqän (Kor. Kam. *mi'mḷɪḷqän*) place abounding in water
wata'pɪlqän (Kor. Kam. *wata'pɪḷqan*) place abounding in reindeer-moss

§ 105. Miscellaneous

40. ***-yo̥čh, -o̥o̥čh*** RECEPTACLE (Kor. Kam. ***-yočh***); perhaps from the verbal stem *yo-* TO PUT INTO, *yo'rkɪn* (Kor. Kam. *yo'ykɪn*) HE PUTS INTO.
mɪtqo'očhɪn (Kor. Kam. *mɪtqɪ'yočhɪn*) blubber-bag (stem *mɪtq* blubber)
tai'očhɪ-poka'tkɪnɪk in bottom of bag 29.3
Kor. Kam. *kawa'ssočhu* for wallets Kor. 46.2

41. ***-ñi̯t*** a space of time (Kor. Kam. ***-ñi̯t***).
ḁᵉlo̥'ñê̯t the whole day 21.1 (stem *aᵉlo* day)
(Kor. Kam. *ḡi'wiñit*) the whole length of the year (from *ḡiwik* [only in the locative] in the year)

42. ***-mi̯č*** A CERTAIN AMOUNT, with nominal and pronominal stems indicating persons; also with verbal stems (compare § 102, 30 to which the suffix is clearly related).
qäineu'mič at the distance of a shot
ḡŭmu'wmič as much as I need
ḡŭmuwmi'tkin it is as much as I need (i. e., I have nothing to spare)

43. ***-kwu, -wkw-*** PROTECTOR, AVERTOR
muču'kwun shirt made of calico (lit. louse-avertor, because the Chukchee think that the shirt is worn to collect lice from the body).
taiñɪkwut charm-strings (lit. misfortune avertor)

§§ 106–109. DERIVED FROM VERBS

§ 106. Abstract Nouns

44. ***-ḡɪ̥rḡɪ̥n.*** If the base contains an *l*, it is often changed to *č*. ABSTRACT NOUN; CAUSE, SOURCE, OBJECT OF AN ACTION (Kor. Kam. ***-ḡeñɪn, -ḡɪtñɪn;*** Kor. Par. ***-ḡeñɪn, -ḡɪčñɪn***).

Note that the initial *ḡ* follows the phonetic rules § 7.

t + ḡɪ > ti; č + ḡɪ > či; u + ḡɪ > wkw; u, o + ḡɪ > ou

qalhɪlo'urḡêḡɪt you are source of sorrow 20.7
pa̯lqa̯'tirḡɪ̥n (from *pe̯lqä̯t*) old age (Kor. Kam. *palqathe'ñɪn* or *palqa'thɪtñɪn* [from *palqat*])

pêrê'ɪrgɪn the place which he had taken 23.9
té'lhɪrgɪn or *tɛ'čirgɪn* 24.3 (from *tel*) illness, pain, cause of pain
yaivaˌ'čirgɪn (from *yeivеč*) (Kor. Kam. *yaiva'čhɪtñɪn* [from *yai'vač*]) compassion, cause or object of compassion
lɪmvɪtté'ɪrgɪn object of pity 11.3
wŭ'rgɪrgɪn noise 32.10
vêᵉɪrgɪn death 22.1
vêᵉ'ɪrgê-gɪt thou art source of death 22.7
gɪntaˌ'wkurgêˌgɪt (from *gɪnteu*) (Kor. Kam. *gɪnta'whɪtñege*) thou art the cause of my flight (i. e., you have frightened me)
té'čirgɪ-tɵ're (from *tɛl*) ye are the source of my pain (i. e., you have hurt me) (Kor. Kam. *té'čhɪtñe-to'o*)
yê'mgumgɪ'ɪrgɪn object of fear 29.8
aña'čɪrgê-gɪt thou art source of trouble 21.2; 23.11

Koryak:

vantɪge'ñɪn dawn Kor. 18.1
vetke'gɪčñɪn annoyance Kor. 20.9

This suffix may be added either to the simple verbal stem or to the verbal stem with added suffixes. The latter form expresses more particularly the process of an action. The former is sometimes used to express the object or the source of the action.

ñɪrkɪla'tirgɪn the feeling of shame
ñɪrkɪ'čirgɪn the object of shame
wŭ'rgɪrgɪčhɪn noise 15.1
am-vɪyê'irgä only by breathing 24.4

With the stem *tva* TO BE, this suffix expresses the idea of QUALITY.

Yai'vač-va'ɪrgɪn quality, substance of compassion; Merciful Being
(Kor. Kam. *vage'ñɪn* or *va'gɪtñin*) being, mode of life, substance, deity

With adjective bases this suffix also expresses qualities.

aˌtqêˌ'ñgɪrgɪn (from *e'tqiˌñ*) (Kor. Kam. *aᵉtqe'ngɪtñɪn* [from *a'ččiñ* or *aᵉ'tqiñ*]) badness, spite
êˌuču'rgɪn (from *iˌu'l*) length
ɪnpu'urgɪn (from *ɪnp*[*ŭ*]) old age

With substantives it expresses the condition or state of the object.

aᵉ'mgɪrgɪn (from *aᵉ'ttɪm* bone) condition of the bones (i. e., of the body)
ɵttɪ'ɪrgɪn (from *u'ttuut* wood) degree of woodiness

The range of abstract nouns compounded with these nominal suffixes is quite considerable, and these are in common use.

va'ırgın (Kor. Kam. *vage'ñın*) being, substance, custom, benevolent being, deity

yai'vač-va'ırgın (Kor. Kam. *yai'vač-vage'ñın*) compassion-being, merciful deity

a'ñañ-va'ırgın (Kor. Kam. *a'ñañ-vage'ñın*) shaman's spirit deity

tam-va'ırgın goodness, condition of goodness

taiñı'ırgın (Kor. Kam. *taiñıge'ñın*) sin

qas·mu'urgın (Kor. Kam.) misfortune

There are also a number of concrete nouns which are formed with this suffix:

yıkı'rgın (Kor. Kam. *čıkı'tñın* Kor. 56.8) mouth

Kor. Kam. *pča'ggıtñın* (*plak* boot) boot-string Kor. 59.3

45. **-*j*, -*l*** (Kamchadal) form abstract nouns of simpler and more limited sense than those of Chukchee and Koryak. This suffix is probably identical with the *c*, *l*, of the transitive verbal noun I (p. 748) which has the sense of the infinitive.

co'nlej life	*tcuncjk* I live
ča'kalej song	*tčakacjk* I sing
o'jılaj blow	*tujılјın* I strike him
noj[1] food	*tnujk* I eat
pilhetej hunger	*tpilhe'tıjk* I suffer from hunger
pê'lhetel and *pi'lhıpil* famine	

46. **-*nŭ***, absolute form **-*nŭm*** (Kamchadal). Abstract noun.

no'nŭm (stem *nu*) food
hê'lnŭm (stem *hil*) drink
conlınŭm (stem *cunc*, *cunl*) life

§ 107. Passive Participle

47. **-*yo*** (Kor. **-*yo*,** absolute form **-*yon***) expresses the PASSIVE PARTICIPLE; (in Koryak with the meaning of the future). It forms plural, dual, and oblique cases like all substantives.

pêla'yo the one who is left (Kor. Kam. *pelayon* the one to be left)

In Chukchee the suffix is contracted with terminal consonants, and elided after vowels, according to the phonetic rules given in §§ 6–10.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
tai'kio < *tai'kı-yo* the one made	*tai'kiyon* that to be made
yi'Lo < *yi'l-yo* the one given	*yi'lyon* that to be given

[1] This word is applied almost exclusively to dried fish as the food *par excellence*.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
ɪpa'wgo<*ɪpa'w-yo* that which has been drunk	*apo'vyon* that which is to be drunk.
ko'ǰ·o<*kor-yo* that which has been bought	*ko'ryon* that to be bought

yɪto'ot born ones 42.7
oraio'činat born ones 21.2
a'n·ñênθ lɪ'nyo made to be the object of anger 42.3
tɪmyo' one killed 43.8
rɪpalqa'wgo one drowned 49.9

NOTE.—Several transitive verbs with the prefix *ȩm-* MERE, ENTIRE, and the suffix *-lɪn*, express the passive participle, the same as *-yo*.

ȩm-rȩ'tɪlɪn (stem *ret* to buy) what has been brought; or
ra'ǰ·o or *ąm-ra'ǰ·o* all that has been brought

(***-yąnv,*** see § 104, No. 38.)

§ 108. Instrumentality

48. ***-ɪ̨nȩ̨ñ,*** suffixed to verbal stems, expresses INSTRUMENT (Kor. Kam. ***-ɪ̨nañ***).

tȩ̨wȩ̨'nąñ (stem *tȩ̨u*) (Kor. Kam. *tȩwȩ̨'nañ* [stem *tȩw*]) paddle, oar 73.11
qȩlɪ̨'nȩ̨ñ (stem *qȩlɪ̨* to paint, engrave, write); (Kor. Kam. *qalɪči'neñ* [stem *qalɪčit*]): pen
teï'kineñ (*K. K. inataiki'nañ*) instrument (for work)
wąñȩ̨'nąñ instrument for work
lȩ̨'ê-têwênaña'ta with a genuine paddle 31.4
(Kor. Kam. *tomñena'ñu* as cover for roof-hole Kor. 37.9)

me stems use with this suffix the prefix *ɪ̨nȩ̨-* (Kor. Kam. *ɪ̨na-*) See pp. 736, 819, no. 28

ȩ̨na'nvȩ̨nañ (stem *nv* [initial *ruu*]; *tɪnvɪ'rkɪn* I scrape); (Kor. Kam. *ȩna'nvȩnañ* [stem *nv*; *tɪnvȩ'kɪn* I scrape]) scraper

49. ***-ɪ̨čh*** instrument (Kor. Kam. ***-ɪ̨tñ***).

gɪtte'wičhɪn (stem *gɪ̨ttȩu* to wipe, *-ɪn* absolute form); (Kor. Kam. *gɪtta'witñɪn* [stem *gɪ̨ttaw*]) wiping-cloth
uneči'čhɪn thong of thong-seal hide 102.13, 30 (from *unel* thong seal)
mêmɪčê'čhɪn thong of seal-hide 134.31 (from *memil* seal)
Kor. Kam. *ynootñe'nqo* from the vent-hole Kor. 54.7

§ 109. Place

50. **-*nv*** PLACE OF (absolute form **-*n***) (Kor. Kam. **-*nv*** [absolute form **-*nu***]).

van (stem *tva-*); (Kor. Kam. *va'na* [dual, plural, *va'nvɪt*]) place of being
wakɵtva'n (stems *wakɵ* and *tva*); (Kor. Kam. *vagalɪtva'na* [stems *vaga'lɪ* and *tva*]) place of sitting
notaǧčênvê'pu while walking in the wilderness 29.4
ralqa'ñɪnvuk on the house-site 31.6
ralêya'n sliding-place 114.16
tɪla'n (Kor. Kam. *tɪla'n*) place of moving, trail
tɪla'nvun place of trail 36.12
tɪla'nvuk on place of traveling 43.1
taĭkaus·qio'lvu for a place to wrestle 47.4
oočvê'nvɪpŭ (better *oočvɪ'nvɪpŭ*) from the playground 74.17
oočvɪ'nvɪk on the playground 74.18
oočvɪnvê'ti to the playground 74.20

It also expresses an action in progress. In this case it appears generally with the designative suffix—*u*.

êtɪnva'tɪnvɵ tɪye'tyäˢk I came to get the position of house-master R 287, footnote 1.
yaqqaĭ' ûm yagta'lɪnvɵ tɪye'tyäˢk did I come for the sake of living? R 239, footnote 2.
rɪraqa'unvɵ for what purpose? 19.1

Koryak:

kmeña'tɪnvu nɪlai'-ǧŭm I came away to bear children Kor. 60.6
kɪplo'nvu for the purpose of striking them Kor. 31.3

§§ 110–111. *Verbal Suffixes*

§ 110. ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES

51. **-*wulhɪ*** expresses RECIPROCITY (Kor. Kam. **-*vɪlñɪ***).

pênřuu'lhɪrkɪt (stem *pênřɪ* to attack wrestling) (Kor. Kam. *penn·ɪ'vɪlñĭkɪt* [stem *penn·*], dual) they close for wrestling
luˢ'ulhɪrkɪt (stem *luˢ* to see) (Kor. Kam. *luˢ'vɪlñĭkɪt* [stem *luˢ*]) they see each other, they meet
galɵˢolhɪočɪma'-mɵ'rê we have seen each other 121.15

52. **-*s·qu***** expresses AN ACTION PERFORMED ONCE ONLY (Kor. Kam. **-*s·qw***).

yatɪs·qi'urkɪn (Kor. Kam. *yatɪs·qi'wikɪn*) he comes once
tɣmɪs·qê'urkɪn (Kor. Kam. *tɣmɪs·qe'wekɪn*) he kills once

taikaus·qio'lvu for a place to wrestle once 47.4
qänıggeus·qiwkutkı make them wake up all at once 56.3
ganto's·qêulên rushed out 57.11

Koryak:

mınčıčatıs·qiwnau I'll look at them once Kor. 33.10
quvı^{ɛ}yas·qi'wgi go and die! Kor. 35.1
gawyis·qi'wa eat! Kor. 36.1
mıntu'ļas·qewļan let us steal it! Kor. 39.1
myalitčus·qi'wak I will slide down-hill Kor. 42.1

Also in the form—*ļqiu*
gatomñalqi'wlinat they stopped the smoke-hole Kor. 57.7

53. ***-ļet*** expresses a FREQUENTATIVE, DURATIVE, or more generally INTENSITY OF ACTION (Kor. Kam. ***-ļat,*** less frequently ***-čat***).
ñıtoļa'tırkın (Kor. Kam. *ñıtoļa'tekın*) he goes out often
tgmıļa'tırkın (Kor. Kam. *tgmıļa'tekın*) he kills many
nınletele'tqin it flashed out always 32.8
qulile'tyı^{ɛ} gave voice repeatedly 33.1; 55.8
nıqulile'tqin they are noisy 60.9
nıtê'rgılatqên he cries aloud 38.3
nıtepleññıle'tqin she made many boots for him 112.24 (stem *plek-* boots; *te—ñ* to make [§ 113, 2, p. 821])

Koryak:

gañvo'len čilala'tik it began to bubble Kor. 17.2
yiykuļa'ti you were soft Kor. 26.7
gaļaļañıvo'ykın she passed by often Kor. 84.19
nıquliļa'tqin he sang vigorously Kor. 68.17

54. ***-yw(u), -yv(u)*** expresses a FREQUENTATIVE (Kor. Kam. ***-yvi***),
tala'iwurkın (Kor. Kam. *taļa'ivekın*) he strikes many times
ninemılkı'ywunin let it bite him! 104.29
Kor. Kam *gaitoi'vıļenau* she brought forth many Kor. 44.7

55. ***-t*** (Kamchadal) expresses the durative.
ti'ntili^{ɛ}tıjın I bring it always (*t-* I; *intili^{ɛ}* to bring; *-t* always; *-ı* auxiliary vowel; *-jın* I it)

56. ***-čet*** weakens the intensity of the action, A LITTLE, RARELY.
ñıtočaa'tırkin or *ñıtoča'arkın* he goes out rarely
ten·ñeučet'tırkın or *ten·ñeuče'erkın* he laughs on the sly
marauča'arkın he fights rarely
pênřıča'arkın he wrestles rarely
mınpo'ntočêta let us eat liver! 43.7
maraučêtıno'ê^{ɛ} he began to chide 56.1

57 **-čir** expresses a frequentative or intensive.
ten·ñeuči'rırkın he laughs all the time
walomčê'rırkın he gathers news continually
maraučê'êrkın he fights always
pênřičê'êrkın he rushes at him

Kor. Kam. *qulumtičitalat* they carry something large on their shoulders (*qulu* large; *imti* to carry) Kor. 57.9

58. **-ntet** indicates INCREASED ACTION, often with somewhat altered meaning; and with intransitive meaning (Kor. Kam. **-ntat**).

čuwi'rkin (Kor. Kam. *čvi'ŭkın*) thou cuttest it
čuwintę'tırkın (Kor. Kam. *čvinta'tikin* it is cut through in several places); it is divided into several parts
ro'rkın (Kor. Kam. *čho'ŭkın*) he tears out hair
roonta'arkın (Kor. Kam. *čhonta'tękın*) he becomes bald
ırgıro'k at dawn 10.4
gırgıronta'lên dawn came 10.9
qu'pqälin lean 80.5
gequpqänte'lin she has been quite starved

59. **-s·qi-čet**—a compound suffix formed of *-s·qi* SINGLE ACTION, *-čet* homologous to *-let* INTENSIVE ACTION—expresses an action performed suddenly with great force and rapidity.

qu'tırkın he stands up
qutıs·qičę'tırkın he jumps up
ñıto'rkın he goes out
ñıtos·qêča'tırkın he rushes out
gantos·qačalên he rushed out 57.11[1]
gapę'nřıs·qičalên he rushed on 44.4
getiñus·qiče'lin he gave a sudden tug 48.4
gereli's·qičelin she suddenly pushed it in 89.4

60. **-ala** (Kamchadal) weakens the intensity of the action.

tnu'alajk I eat but little (*t* I; *nu* to eat; *-jk* I)
thê'lalajk I drink but little (*t* I; *hêl* to drink)

61. **-qäet**, with verbs, expresses ENDEARMENT and DIMINUTION; evidently related to *-qäi* (§ 98,4).

ma'ñên-nətai'pŭ yetqäetı from what country hast thou come, my dear?

62. **-keu**, with transitive verbs, gives them a PASSIVE meaning, and conveys the idea of DERISION of the subject.

kêma'wkurgêum re'tkęwiŭm I am a source of delay, my humble self has been brought here
valo'mkautę'rê, equ'likä they will hear your despised self, do not make a noise

[1] Evidently better, *ganto's·qčcalęn.*

63. **-ññǫ, -ño** expresses the INCHOATIVE (Kor. Kam. **-ñvǫ;** Kamchadal **-kǫju, -kǫj, -kju, -jǫ**). Since these elements occur independently, the forms are in reality compound verbs. The independent stem in initial position is *ñoo,* in medial position *–mgo,* (Kor. Kam. *ñvo-,* Kamchadal *uju-*)

ño'orkın (Kor. Kam. *ñıvo'ĭkın,* Kamchadal *ujujk*) he begins

In all three dialects the idea of the beginning of an action is expressed with precision, and the inchoative forms are therefore very common.

yılqaññǫ'rkın (Kor. Kam. *yılqannıvo'ĭkın,* Kamchadal *ñükcı-kju'jk*) he goes to sleep

*tıpaiña'ññǫê*ᵋ he begins to sing 59.9

nımñê'ññǫê he begins to take part in the thanksgiving ceremonial 59.3

ǫaplıtko'ññǫ'lênat they begin to finish 30.12

Koryak:

ǫewñıvo'ǫenau they began to say Kor. 22.7

ǫaᵉa'nñıvota haul them away! Kor. 51.6

ǫepıñvoǫaı'ke they began to go upstream Kor. 61.7

64. **-ŏl, -ŏ** (Kamchadal), with transitive verbs **-al, -a**, expresses the desiderative. The same form is used to express the future.

tñükcıōlk } (stem *ñükc*) I wish to sleep, I am going to sleep
tñükcıojk }

tce'jajk (stem *tce'j*; I leave *tce'jıjk*) I wish to leave

65. **-vatǫ** (Kamchadal) expresses intention to act, and beginning of an action.

tŭlčkvǫ'tǫjın (stem *ŭlčk*) I am going to have a look at him

tnǫ'vatǫjk (stem *nu* to eat) I am going to eat

66. **-čhat** expresses ANGER OF THE SPEAKER. (Kor. Kam. **-čñat**)

qamıtvačha'tırkın or *qamıtvačha'arkın* confound him! he eats

pıntıqaačha'tyaᵉn the bad one appeared 27.3

ǫaraqêchǫ'lêǫn what has the bad one done 31.9

vêᵉčha'tyêᵉ the bad one perished 43.11; 44.5

tımı'čhannên he killed the bad one 44.5

am-ravêᵉčha'n·ña naličha'tyêᵉ you bad one want to die 65.23

Kor. Kam. *ñıtočña'tekın* he lumbers forth

67. **-tkǫ.** This suffix has been discussed on p. 736 (Kor. Kam. **-tčǫ**).

pêla'tkolıt those who had left her 33.8

This suffix also transforms transitive verbs into intransitive verbs. The subject is then placed in the absolute form; the object, in the possessive form. These forms, however, are used only with personal pronouns.

ǫŭmu'kı ǫıt pêla'tkorkın you leave me

The suffix *-tku* (Kor. Kam. *-tču*) also indicates prolonged or increased action.

vilï'urkın (Kor. Kam. *vilı'vikın* he makes peace with) he buys
vilı'tkurkın (Kor. Kam. *vilıtču'kın*) he trades
geilıtkoï'vulin u'kkäm they distributed vessels 14.1
tımıtkoï'vuk slaughtering 49.3
timï'tkonênat he killed all 61.4; 112.3
mınranmŭtko'ñınat let us slay them all 101.19
veᵋtkoča'aᵋt they all died 112.2
tımı'tkorkın (Kor. Kam. *tımı'tčoï'kın*) he kills many

Koryak:

gačvï'tčulinau they are all cut entirely Kor. 47.7
gaplıtču'linau they finished it Kor. 50.1
ļelapıtčoñvo'ykın he looks up Kor. 42.8
gaļapıtčoñvo'ļen she looked around Kor. 44.9
yenotčoñvo'ykın he is eating Kor. 13.6
gaqanñıtčoñvo'ļen she was jealous Kor. 96.1
Paren *qigitetkın'gın* look at it! Kor. 101.11
tigiļñu-ču'ču-ñaw-i-ŭm snow-shoe-strings-verily-eating-woman am I (*tigi'lñın* snowshoe-string; *-u* to consume *-ču'ču* [< *tku-tku*] verily; *ñaw* women) Kor. 59.7

The suffix *-tku* is always used in the transitive verb to indicate the forms THOU—US; YE—ME, US (see § 63). It gives the verb a generalized form. For instance:

pêla'tkoêᵋ thou leavest a number (meaning US)
pêla'tkotık ye leave a number (meaning ME or US)

The element *inê-* has the same sense, but the two are never used together (see § 113, 28).

68. ***-tvi*** TO ATTAIN A CERTAIN QUALITY, TO BECOME (Kor. Kam. ***-tvi***).

uᵋmıtvï'rkın (stem *uᵋm*) (Kor. Kam. *umıtvï'kin* [stem *um*]) he becomes broad.
gıtıtvê'rkın (stem *gıt*) (Kor. Kam. *gıtıtvę'ïkın*) he becomes thin
eñe'ñetvıiᵋ he acquired shamanistic power 19.12; 18.4
eñe'ñıtvi-turi you acquired shamanistic power 18.3
nŭmqıtvï'qin it diminished 20.2, 4
nŭpluᵋtvï'qin it becomes small 20.3
wulqätvï'iᵋ it grew dark 54.9
Kor. Kam. *qamalıtva'thıtık* cause it to become better Kor. 13.2
Kor. Kam. *vıᵋya'tvık* to fainting Kor. 64.9

69. ***-čęt*** with adjectives: TO FEEL—(Kor. Kam. ***-čat***).

mıtteñiče'erkın we feel good 69.8
tęñıčę'tırkın (*tęñ* good) (Kor. Kam. *tañıča'tįkın*) he feels good
tanıčê'tınoêᵋ he began to feel well 33.5
ǫmıčê'tırkın (Kor. Kam. *ǫmıča'tekın*) he feels warm

70. **-ɣw, -ɣt,** are often added to the stem, but the meaning of these suffixes is not clear.

ɣimɣ'u to approach	*eimet* to take
ɣiñɣu to call	*eiñet* to roar
urɣu to appear 53.6	*ureut*
omɣu to get warm	*gɪ'tteu* hungry
ulvɣu to remain motionless 37.2	*gɪttekau* guide
	gɪnteu to flee
yɪgrɣu thirsty	
wêthɣu to talk	*lpuuret* to exchange
puulqɣu to float	*ewkwet* to depart
ptkɣu to hit	*eret* to fall
marɣu to quarrel	*ergewet* to be submerged 17.4
meteu to be unable	*yɪret* full
tɣikeu to wrestle	*yopat* to visit
teñ·ñeu to laugh	*yuulet* alive
tumgeu to become friendly	*wêttat* to tear with antlers
numekeu to gather	*ventet* to be open
notas·qɣu land approaches	*vinřet* to help
lɪmala'u to obey	*pelqäntet* to return
lvau unable	*pêkagtat* to fall down
lqäineu to shoot	*peñet* tired
kɪyeu to be awake	*tautauat* to bark
kimeu to cause delay	*têrgat* to cry
korgau to be glad	*tulet* to steal
yɣlhɣu fear	*čipet* to plunge
terkeu to be a certain number on a series	

Possibly related to the preceding is ***nɪ—ɣu*** (Kor. Kam.***-au***) adverbial suffix. The Koryak form is not used very frequently (see p. 842).

nɪme'leu qatvg'ê^{s} be kind (to us)! a common form of prayer
nɪte'lɣu tɪrkɪpli'a^{s}n I struck him painfully (*tɣl* to suffer, to have pain)
nɪglɣu qatv ɪ'rkɪn be sorrowful! (*glo* SORROWFUL, here contracted with *au*; *tva* to be)
nimə'leu well (*məl* good); (Kor. Kam. *nima'lɣu* [*malɣ* good])
ni'tčeu heavily (*ităč* heavy); (Kor. Kam. *ni'tčau*)

Some adverbs are formed in an irregular manner.

a^{s}'tqêuma (from *e'tqiñ* bad; stem *äqä'* R 62.72)
Kor. Kam. *a'tčɪñau* (from *a'tčɪñ* bad; stem *aqa*)
Kamchadal *hä'qä^{s}* (from *e'č!kelax* bad)
} badly

me'čEn·kɪ (Chukchee *meč*<*mel* good; *En·kɪ* thus) well
ɪ'naᵉ (Koryak *ni'naqin* quick) quickly

71. **-*ru̯*** forms the INCHOATIVE of impersonal verbs expressing phenomena of nature (Kor. Kam. **-*yu̯***).

i̯le̯'erkɪn it is raining
ilɪru̯'rkɪn it is beginning to rain
yo̥o̥a'arkɪn (Kor. Kam. *yoyoa'tekɪn*) the wind is blowing
yo̥o̥ro'rkɪn (Kor. Kam. *yoyoyo'ekɪn*) the wind begins to blow

läᵉlenru'iᵉ winter came 14.9
aivê'čɪrok in the evening 26.3
ɪrgɪro'ññok (stem *ɪrg* 27.13) at the beginning of dawn 26.9
laᵉlaᵉ'nroma at the beginning of cold 33.6
gɪtharo'k in the beginning of the autumn 33.6
ɪrgɪro'ka not dawning 56.9
iliru'iᵉ it begins to rain 116.8
gaᵉlɪgtɪygɪro'lên the snow began to drift 94.28

The same suffix is used with stems of different character.

čêlhɪro'ê it becomes red 23.9
nɪtêrgɪrθ'qên he began to cry 55.3

Koryak:

gawyaḷyo'ḷen a snowstorm set in Kor. 15.1
laqlañyo'ykin winter came Kor. 72.5
pi̯ña'tikɪn it is snowing
peñayo'ĕkɪn it is beginning to snow

72. **-*ru*** is used also to express GREAT NUMBER. This suffix is different from the preceding.

qärru'äᵉt they came in great numbers 67.16
waqθro'aᵉt they were sitting in great numbers 68.29

Kor. Kam. *gawya'ḷyoḷen* a strong snowstorm came Kor. 15.1
ḷaqḷañyo'ykin winter came strongly Kor. 72.5 (see above).

§ 111. DERIVED FROM NOUNS

73. **-*ñɪta*** TO FETCH (Kor. Kam. the same).

rañ-ñɪta'rkɪn what are you going to fetch? why do you come?
añañalɪnta'lɪt shaman fetchers 45.7

Koryak:

yax-ñɪta'ykɪn what are you going to fetch?

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74. ***-tuwe̯. -tv*** TO TAKE OFF (clothing) (Kor. Kam. ***-tɪva***).

kê̥'ttuwa̯'ê̯ᵉ he took off his clothes 109.15
kê̥ttuwa̯'nnê̯n he undressed her 50.11
nɪčvituve'qin he took off his outer coat 57.3
wutɪ'čhɪtvuê he took off his overcoat 35.5
mêrêg̣tuwa'ê he brushed away the tears 49.9
ninečinqetuwe'qin (*n-ine-čiñke-tuwe-qin, čiñke* saliva) he removes saliva 134.27

Koryak:

nɪmeyeyɪtva'qen he brushed off the tears Kor. 36.10
g̣atamtɪva'l̥en he spit out bones Kor. 56.8
pčai-tɪvai' he took off his boots

75. ***-ĭp̥*** (***-êp̥, -g̣ŭp̥***) TO PUT ON CLOTHING; *-ĭp̥* after vowels; *êp̥* after consonants; *-g̣ŭp̥* after diphthongs ending in ɪ and in a few other cases (compare the ablative *-ĭpŭ* § 42, p. 704)

tɪqalêi'pŭaᵉk < *t(ɪ) -qe̯li̯ -ĭp̥ -(ŭ) -ä̯ᵉk* I put on my cap
têrêpŭaᵉk < *t -i̯r -êp̥ -(ŭ) -ä̯ᵉk* I put on my fur-shirt
tɪkonai'g̣ŭpg̣aᵉk < *t(ɪ) -ko̥nai-g̣ŭp̥-g̣ä̯ᵉk* I put on my breeches
kêrêg̣ŭpg̣êᵉ < *kê̥r-g̣ŭp̥-g̣iᵉ* she put on her dress 52.9

76. ***-g̣i̯li̯-*** TO SEARCH FOR (as in hunting) (Kor. Kam. the same).

kulte'-ili'rkɪt they are looking for thong-seal sole-hide
g̣ɪnni'g̣-g̣ili'lɪqäg̣ti little game-procurers 44.8
pilɪg̣ɪli'lɪt food-procurers 44.9
g̣ɪnni'g̣-g̣ili'lɪt game-procurers 44.9

77. ***-u̯*** TO CONSUME, TO EAT (Kor. Kam. ***-u̯***) (perhaps related to the verb *nu̯* [initial *ru̯*], Kor. Kam. *yu̯* [initial *nu̯*]).[1]

ᴇnnu̯rkɪn (Kor.Kam. *ᴇnnu̯'ĭkɪn*) he eats fish
po̥nto̥'rkɪn (Kor. Kam. *po̥nto̥'ĭkɪn*) he eats liver
kɪmlu'äᵉt they ate marrow 33.12
mɪnpo'ntočêta let us eat a little liver 43.7
nɪpo'ntoqên he ate liver 43.9
qaponto'tɪk eat liver! 64.21

also

g̣amêmᴇlɵ'lên he caught a seal 43.2

Koryak:

mɪtaᵉttayɪ'pnul̥a we eat inner skin of dog Kor. 48.9
tɪya'yil̥ku I'll eat pudding Kor. 30.2
also
tɪqa'payuk I got a wolverene Kor. 59.1

[1] *ru'rkɪn* (Kor. Kam. *yu'ykɪn*) he eats it.

§ 112. *Adjective and Adverb*

ADJECTIVE (Kamchadal)

Adjectives are formed with the suffix—

78. **-*lăx*** (sometimes **-*lax***)

ö'mlax deep (cf. Ch. *um* broad)
iu'lăx long (cf. Ch. *iul* long)
o'lolax small

The plural is formed with the usual suffix -(ɪ)^{ɛ}*n*.

o'lolaxɪ^{ɛ}n ki'stɪ^{ɛ}nč small houses (diminutive form)

This usage differs from that of Chukchee and Koryak, where the plural attribute is used in synthetic form.

qai-yaraqa'gtê (Chukchee) small houses

In forms with post-positions the adjective in *-lax* is placed before the noun.

o'lolax-kê'stčanke to the small house (diminutive allative)

It seems not unlikely that the synthetic use of attributive stems has disappeared under Russian influence. Russian and Koryak adjectives are often used by the Kamchadal, in their foreign form, almost without change.

niru'qin xva'lč a sharp knife (*niru'qin* is Koryak)
n'mi'tqin k!ča'mjanl' a wary man (*n'mi'tqin* is Koryak)
nve'thaqen u^{ɛ}h a straight tree (*nve'thaqen* is Koryak)
nve'thaḷa^{ɛ}n u^{ɛ}' hɪ^{ɛ}n straight trees (*nve'thaḷa^{ɛ}n* is a Koryak form)
vo'stroi xvalč a sharp knife (*vo'stroi* is Russian)

There is no phonetic assimilation of any of these adjectives.

A few predicative forms correspond to the Chukchee-Koryak forms in *nɪ—qin*.

k!ni'tain the clever one (from *ni'ta* sense, wit); cf. *nɪ-gɪtte'p-qin* (Chukchee) the clever one.

79. **-*q***, **-*aq***, are sometimes found with attributive stems. These forms are generally compounded with verbs. This form is probably identical with the locative form of the stem.

wɪčha'qu-wa'lɪn the flat one
koulo'qu-wa'lɪn the round one
êmpa'qu-wa'lɪn the downcast one
koulo'qɪ qätei'kɪgɪn (Kor. Kam. *qo'ḷoñ qatai'kɪgɪn*) make it round
em elvula'q re'mkɪn ralai'vŭññoê only in a different manner people shall begin to walk about 86.14

80. ***-yu̯t*** DISTRIBUTIVE NUMBERS (K. K. ***-yu̯t*** dual, ***-yu̯wgɪ*** pl.)

(See also § 123, p. 839)

CHUKCHEE	KOR. KAM.		
	Dual	Plural	
Enne'nyut	*Ena'nyut*	*Ennanyu'wgɪ*	one each
ñire'yut	*ñiye'yut*	*ñiyeyu'wgɪ*	two each
ñɪro'yot	*ñɪyo'yot*	*ñɪyoyo'wgɪ*	three each
ñɪra'yot	*ñaya'yot*	*ñayayo'wgɪ*	four each
mɪlɪ'nyot	*mɪl̥ɪ'nyot*	*mɪl̥ɪnyo'wgɪ*	five each
mɪngɪ'ṭyot	*mɪngɪ'yot*	*mɪngɪyo'wgɪ*	ten each

The Chukchee distributives have also the prefix *ɐ̯m-* (see § 113, no. 7, p. 816; § 123, p. 839).

em-ñire'yuta qanpɪtvaarke'etkɪ just two each make it double (the clothing)

These forms take post-positions, definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms.

Ennanyou'tɪ to one each

Ennanyoi'pă from one each

81. ***-čɐ̯, -čä̯*** NUMERAL ADVERBS (Kor. Kam. ***-ča***).

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
qune'čä [1]	*Enna'nča, qu'n·ač* [1] Kor. 53.2	once
ñire'čä	*ñiye'ča*	twice
ñɪro'ča	*ñɪyo'ča*	three times
ñɪra'ča 12.8	*ñaya'ča*	four times
mɪlɪ'nča	*mɪl̥e'nča*	five times
mɪngɪ'tča	*mɪngɪ'tča*	ten times

Kor. Kam. *exune'če* all the time Kor. 92.19

82. ***-(ɪ)ñ*** (Chukchee and Koryak) is a suffix which is often added to the stems of adjectives when compounded, in Chukchee with the form *va'lɪn* (< *tva+lɪn*) THE ONE WHO IS, in Koryak with *i̯'talaᵉn* (*i̯t* + *laᵉn*.[2]) (see p. 764)

In Chukchee the *ñ* before *v* generally changes to *m*. In other cases the suffix is dropped entirely. The connective vowel then changes to *u* before the *v*, which in turn changes to *w*.

qa̯'tvum-va̯'lɪn (Kor. Kam. *qa'tvuñ-i̯'talaᵉn*) being strong

ta̯'ñum-va̯'lɪn or *ta̯'ñu-wa̯'lɪn* (Kor. Kam. *ta'ñɪñ-i̯'talaᵉn*) being good

[1] Derived from *qu̯n* single.

[2] The corresponding Chukchee form *i'tɪlɪn* THE ONE WHO IS is not used in compounds of this type.

A number of predicative stems do not form the nominal form in *-lɪn* (§ 54, p. 717), but always use the form in *-(i)ñ* compounded with *vḁlɪn*.

wɪ'čhɪm-vḁ'lɪn (Kor. Kam. *vɪ'čhɪyɪñ-i'taḷaᵉn*) the flat one
ê'mpum-va'lɪn the one downcast
Kor. Kam. *qo'ḷoñ-itaḷaᵉn* the round one

These Chukchee forms may also take the ending *-q* or *-aq* (see this section, No. 79). The compounds with *vḁ'lɪn*, when referred to a locative case, express the comparative. They are used frequently in this connection.

ga̯'mga̯-qlḁ'ulɪk qa̯'tvum-vḁ'lê̯ŭm I am stronger than everybody (*ge̯mge̯-* every; *qlḁ'ul* man; *-k* possessive; *qe̯tv* strong; *-i̯-um* I [§ 73, p. 758])

§ 113. Prefixes

1. ***êto-*** A LITTLE.

êto'-qaia'qañ a little afterwards 45.11, 136.24 (*ᴇto'* 51.4)
mač-êto'pêl a little better 135.7

2. ***e̯'mkɪn-*** EVERY.

a̯'mkɪn-aivêčhê'tɪ every evening 28.9
e'mkɪn-kɪyeu'kɪ at every awaking 29.2

3. ***tɪlv-*** QUITE.

tɪlv-am-gina'n quite you only 30.4
tɪlv-a'mɪnan quite alone 31.6, 13; 58.9
tɪlv-ui'ñä quite nothing 56.4; 60.1

4. ***tɪ̯ñkɪ***—JUST is used less frequently, generally with a deprecatory meaning.

tɪnk-am-gŭmna'n just I only
tɪnk-ui'ñä just nothing
tɪnk-ui'ñä ränut he has nothing at all R 63.88
tɪnk-a'tqêuma quite badly (see § 125, p. 842)

5. ***pɪč-*** only, merely.

6. ***ɪm-*** (*Kor. Kam.* ***ɪmɪñ-***, Kamchadal ***mĭni'l***) ALL.

i'me-räᵉ'nut all kinds 111.28
i'mu-gɪnni'kä all kinds of game 128.9

Koryak

ɪmɪ-pḷa'ku all boots
ɪ'mɪñ noo'wge all the boiled meat Kor. 28.6
ɪ'mɪñ qai-vai'amti all little rivers Kor. 17.1

The form *ɪmɪlo'* 28.9 occurs as a particle, and independently with noun and without; *ɪmɪ'lɪn* takes the same kinds of forms as nouns in *-lɪn* (see p. 717).

The Kamchadal form *mĭnĭ'l* forms—

Allative *mĭnela'nke*
Allative, possessive, instrumental *mĭnĭ'link*, less often *mi$^{\varepsilon}$l*.

7. ***ệm-*** MERE (Kor. Kam. ***am-***, Kamchadal ***ệm-***). The prefix is always used with Chukchee distributive numbers.

em-ñe'us·qätti (Kor. Kam. *a$^{\varepsilon}$m-ña'wɪs·qatu*, Kamchadal *êm-ñi'm cɤɪ$^{\varepsilon}$n*) mere women
em-a$^{\varepsilon}$'ttɪm mere bones 35.5
em-mu'ʟitä all with blood 40.10
em-ñe'nři all these 41.10
em-nu'ñɪčɪt those from the mainland 64.12; 65.26
čiq-em-nu'ñgi far inland 114.25
em ệɪnu'n-nɪki'tä midnight 9.11
ệm-nộñệ'tị̊ just inland 67.19; 114.24
am-ệɪna'n only thou 30.3
am-taaro'ña with all kinds of sacrifices 41.9
am-ravê$^{\varepsilon}$ča'n·ña merely to die 65.23
am-ya'ata only by using it 143.3

Koryak:

am-čerepro'nau entirely silver Kor. 22.10
am-ma'kil-ñe'eta only with two diaper-strings Kor. 23.5
am-ma'na just in different directions Kor. 25.6

8. ***plɪ-*** (with nouns) EVERY.

ệaplɪkoi'ñɪlên every one has a tea-cup
nɪplɪtañte'nmŭqên they were applying everything 41.3

9. ***mệ$^{\varepsilon}$-***, ***mɪq-*** SMALL.

10. ***mệč-*** SOMEWHAT.

met'-ki'it somehow 40.7
meč-telenye'pkin somewhat of old 61.5
mač-ya'a far enough 62.12
mač-êwga'n as an incantation 39.13
meč-ä$^{\varepsilon}$'qälpe somewhat quick 45.10

11. ***mệl-*** LIKE (Kor. Kam. ***maḷ-***).

mel-uwä$^{\varepsilon}$'quč it seems like a husband 49.9

12. ***mịtệ-*** ACTUALLY.

mite'-vilɪn actually dead
mite'-ệɪnni'k actually game 84.28

13. ***tɪmñe'-*** ANY (Kor. ***paḷa'***).

tɪmñe'-me'ñin whosoever
tɪmñe'-rä$^{\varepsilon}$'nut whatsoever

tŭmñ-alva'lag wheresoever 24.11
tŭ'mñê-mê'mlikên ginni'k any kind of water game 25.6
timñ-añqa'gti somewhere to seaward 13.1

14. ***teŗ-*** HOW MANY (Kor. Kam. ***ta^{s}y-***).

tar-qa'ata ewkwe'tyi^{s} with how many reindeer did he drive away?

15. ***čiq-*** EXCESSIVELY.

cêqi-yą'ą too far
čêq-a'lvam-va'lag how very strange! 76.5; 63.4
čiq-em-nu'ñqi far inland 114.25
čêq-a'lvam va'lin being very strange 29.8; 38.8; 63.4, 6; 86.27
čiq-etuwä'k all at once 43.10

16. ***čhi-*** HARDLY, always used with the negative (probably from *gičhi*, as in *nigi'čhiqin* RARE).

ačhêqamitvaka almost nothing eaten, hardly anything eaten

17. ***li-*** (only with certain pronouns and pronominal adverbs) EVERY.

li-mê'nki everywhere
li-mê'ño from everywhere

18. ***lii-, lhi-, lii-, lhi-*** TRULY (Kor. Kam. ***liqi-, lhi-***).

li'i-teñ-evi'rälin really well closed 33.3
li'ê-taničê'tinoê^{s} she began to feel truly well 33.5
nilhinŭ'mkäqin really quite numerous 111.16
lê'ê-têwênaña'ta with a genuine paddle 31.4
li'ê-ñarau'tilo really wife seeking 57.1
li'i-i'ppe quite truly 57.2

Kor. Kam. *nilheni'ktaqen* a very hard one

19. ***pil-*** (Kamchadal) quickly.

‖ *xpil-nu'xč* you eat quickly

20. ***x'i-*** (Kamchadal) quite, very.

‖ *x'ê-ploqx* very large
‖ *x'i-čini'ñläx* very pretty, very good

21. ***lhi-, l'ii*** (Kamchadal) actually, truly.

‖ *t-l'i-tpi'lijk* I really shake myself (i. e., I can shake myself properly)

22. ***kit-*** (after prefixes ***-gti-***) VERY (Kor. Kam. ***kit-*** [after prefixes ***-kti-***]).

nigtilauau'qên he mocked much 143.1; 144.4
gagtan'ñinai'pŭlên she was very angry 89.3
gagti-palka'ła^{s}n very decrepit 111.26
qagtiqami'tvatik eat ye enough! 65.16

When this prefix is used with the nominalized verb in *nɪ—qin*, *kɪ̥t* either precedes the prefix *nɪ-*, or the *nɪ-* may be repeated initially

kɪm-nɪmai'ᴇñqên or *nɪg̣tɪ-nɪmai'ᴇñqên* it is quite large

23. ***qu̯n-*** SINGLE (Kor. Kam. ***qu̯n-***).

qon-mɪ'nga with a single hand 67.19
qon-qa'a with a single reindeer
qon-ra'lɪn with a single house 34.1
qona'čɪnkɪna with nine (i. e. with a single [finger remaining] behind) 147.1

24. ***g̣e̯mg̣e̯-*** EVERY (Kor. Kam. ***g̣a'mg̣a-***).

g̣e̯'mg̣e̯-g̣ɪnni'k every kind of game 41.11
g̣e'mg̣e-ni'kin everybody 66.28
g̣a'mg̣a-nɪ'mg̣ŭpŭ from every settlement 36.1
g̣e'mg̣e-nute'qin from every land 11.5

Koryak:

g̣a'mg̣a-qai-ña'wɪs·qat every little woman Kor. 34.9
g̣a'mg̣a-ol̥g̣ɪwe'tɪñ to every cache Kor. 66.17

25. ***paḶa-*** (Koryak) ANY (Chukchee ***tɪmñ'e-*** (see No. 13, p. 816)).

paḶa'-ma'ki whosoever
paḶa'-yɪ'nna whatever

26. ***lu̯ñ-*** NEGATIVE PARTICLE, always used with nominal forms of the verb. There is no corresponding form in either Koryak or Kamchadal.

lu̯ñ-i'rä not crossing 41.5
lu̯ñ-iwkuči'tä not drinking 37.3
luñ-res·qi'wäi'tyäᵉt they did not want to enter 115.19
lu̯ñ-luᵉ'tä not seen 11.9
teg̣g̣e'ñu luñ-ɪ'lhɪlɪn has no desire 93.32
luñ-čei'vä without walking
lo̯ñ-êna'tvata without promises 101.23
loñ-ɪpa'ulɪn not drinking
loñ-wa'loma not heeding 21.13

With the auxiliary verb *-nt-* (initial *rɪt-*), it is the usual form of expressing the negative of the transitive verb.

luñ-luᵉ'tä tɪ'ntɪg̣ɪt I had thee an unseen one (i. e., I did not see thee)

27. ***e̯g̣n-*** sometimes replaces the negative particles *ui'ñä*, *e'ʟe*, and *en·ñe'*.

a̯g̣n-a̯qa̯mi'tva̯ka̯ do not eat!
a̯g̣n-a'nmŭka without killing R 44.11

28. ***ine-*** transforms transitive verbs into intransitives, either without other change of meaning or with the significance TO DO ON BEHALF OF ONE'S SELF. The object, when retained, is expressed in the locative.

tinenlete'erkɪn ki'mitɪk I take the load away for myself (*t-* I; *nlete* to take away; *-rkɪn* present; *ki'mit-* load)

The use of *ine-* in the transitive verb has been discussed in § 63, p. 736.

Examples are:

ênapêla'ê^{ɛ} thou leavest some one (namely, me)
ênapêla'tɪk ye leave some one (namely, me)

See, also, § 110, 67.

29. ***inen-*** TRANSITIVE (see *te—ñ*(*ɪ*), § 114, 2, p. 821).

30. ***ʃaʃk-*** (Kamchadal) HOW MANY, SOME; used independently in the plural.

ʃa'ʃɪ^{ɛ}*n kœxo*^{ɛ}*n* how many dogs?
ʃaʃi^{ɛ}*n kʃœ̄ʃ olœta'tockepñin* he passed there a few days

§ 114. Inclusive Affixes

1. To cause to.

(*a*) With intransitive verbs.

	Chukchee.	Kor. Kam.
r(*ɪ*) —	*u* (after terminal vowel)	*y*(*ɪ*) — *v*
r(*ɪ*) —	*eu* (after terminal consonant)	*y*(*ɪ*) — *aw*, *av*
r(*ɪ*) —	*et* (after terminal *u* diphthong *iu*, *eu*, *au*)	*y*(*ɪ*) — *at*

After verbal prefixes, the *r*(*ɪ*), *y*(*ɪ*), changes to *n*(*ɪ*).[1]

rɪ-qamɪtva'-u-rkɪn-en he was made to eat 9.8 (from *qamɪtva*)
rɪ-tel-e'u-rkɪn you cause to be unwell (from *tel*)
rɪ-ñelkiwe'-n-nin he was made to sit on it 8.11
rɪ-gg-eu'-nin he awakened him 7.5
nɪ-nto-w'-nên he made him go out 60.3
rɪ-pɪntɪk-eu'-nin he made it appear 9.8
ga-n-êčhêt-au'-lên he made it jump off 47.7
rɪyɪrrau'nênat they caused them to be anointed 74.33
ineqäli'keukɪ (we) induced her to marry 26.5
gantɵ'mgaulên has been created 42.1
anɪntoña'tkelên she does not make it go out 54.6
qanɪntoña'tyê^{ɛ} cause him to go out! 54.7

[1] See also p. 735.

Koryak:

y-awy-a't-ikın you cause to eat (from *awyi*)
yı-taḷ-a'w-ikın you cause to be unwell (from *taḷ; ta^{ɛ}ḷ-ı'-ikın* you are unwell)
yıyıgıčha'wik tickling (him) Kor. 18.9
ginathıleu' make it warm! Kor. 29.3
ganva'kyıntat tear him up Kor. 30.7
tenanıkyo'nñıvoi it begins to awaken us Kor. 39.4
ganıpga'wlenau he made them climb up Kor. 43.4
ganvaqyiḷa'wlen she made him stand with legs apart Kor. 80.20

(*b*) With transitive verbs.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.
r(ı) — *ñet*	*y(ı)* — *w, v*
rı-kêto-ña't-ı-rkın you remind him (from *kêto* to remember)	*yı-keto-v-e'kın* you remind him (from *keto*)

(*c*) A number of verbs have no suffixes, but only the prefix *r(ı)*-Kor. Kam. *y* [*ı*]-)

r-ere'erkın you cause it to fall down (from *ere'e*)
ra'tvunên she carried it in 28.7
reimeu'ninet it approached them 41.4
rintıninet she threw them out 87.30
Kor. Kam. *yı-kima'w-ikın* you detain him (from *kimaw* to be ow)

(*d*) A number of intransitive verbs belonging to group (*a*) become transitive.

ru-wêthaw-a't-ı-rkın you speak to him (from *wêthau* to speak)
ru-wêt·hawau'nên it talked to her 32.3

In Kamchadal two prefixes are found, *n-* and *lin-*. Of these, the former corresponds to the Chukchee-Koryak forms—
t-ı-n-ki'le-j-ın I surround him (from *kile; t-ki'le-jk* I turn around)
t-li'-nu-j-ın I feed him (from *nu* to eat; *t-nu-jk* I eat)
t-lin-hi'l-ı-j-ın I give him to drink (from *hil; t-hi'l-ı-jk* I drink)
t-o-n-cl-ı'-j-ın I cause him to lie down (from *cl; t-col-o-jk* I lie down)

NOTE.—Certain verbs may be used both intransitive and transitive:

tŭpa'urkın I drink	*ñi'räq ča'gtê napa'unea* they have drunk two pieces of bark tea
ñe'us·qät gi'ulin the woman said 98.7	*Ta'n·ña g.i'ulin* the *Tan·ñit* told him 98.5

2. ***tệ—ñ(ɪ)*** TO MAKE SOMETHING (Kor. Kam. ***ta—ñ[ɪ]***). This may be related to the verb *tệikɪ* (Kor. Kam. *taikɪ*) TO MAKE.

tirvu'ñɪrkɪn he makes sharp things, i. e., arms (stem *ịrv*); Kor. Kam. *tịsvɪ'ñikɪn*

nɪtepleññɪle'tqịn she made boots for him 112.24 (stem *plek-* boots; *-let* frequentative [§ 110.53])

When this prefix is used with verbs, the additional prefix *ịnện-* (Kor. Kam. *ịnan-*) is generally inserted. It indicates the transitive. The meaning of the compound is causative.

tịnệnyệ'nñɪrkɪn (Kor. Kam. *tinanya'nñikɪn*) you make him come

tênantomgɪ'ñɪrkɪn you cause it to create itself, and from this the noun *Tênanto'mgɪñ*[1] (Kor. Kam. *Tệnanto'mvɪñ*) one who causes things to create themselves (i. e., Creator)

tệnanyi'lñ-ora'wêlan a person who causes one to give (i. e. beggar)

3. ***rệ—ñ(ɪ)*** expresses the desiderative (Kor. Kam. ***ya—ñ[ɪ]***). The prefix and suffix of these forms are identical with those of the future, but the suffix is placed immediately following the stem and is itself followed by the suffixes belonging to the tenses.

rapa'wñɪrkɪn (Kor. Kam. *yapa'wñekin*) he desires to drink (stem: Ch. *ŭpau*, Kor. Kam. *apaw*)

rerku'rñɪrkɪn (stem *rkur*) (Kor. Kam. *yaĭku'yñikɪn* [stem *ĭkuy*]) he desires to buy

rạntọ'ñɪñọi he wanted to come out 83.10 (stem *ntọ* to come out; *-ññọ* to begin)

rạvệᵉčhạ'n·ña do you want to die? 67.1 (stem *viᵉ* to die; *-čhạt* [§ 110.66])

nɪre'viᵉñqin he wants to die 99.27

nerelu'ᵉñɪrkɪn-i-gɪt they want to see thee 19.6

Koryak:

tɪyayɪ'lqatɪñ I want to sleep Kor. 30.3

tɪyayaĭ'tɪñ I want to go home Kor. 30.5

ganka'wlinau ya's·qanñɪk they ceased to wish to go Kor. 58.2

4. ***ệ—ki, ệ—kä*** (Kor. Kam. ***a—ki, a—ka***; Kor. Par., ***e—ki, a—ke***; Kamchadal ***—ki —k, —(ñ)kin, ñkan***) NEGATION, expressing WITHOUT —.

[1] This form is different from the form for HE CREATES THEM. The "Creator" is therefore, even in grammatical form, only a "*Weltgestalter*."

The compounds formed with *ę—ki* are nominal. They are formed from both nominal and verbal basis.

anvênauka'gtı gewku'lin he tied her to an unbroken (reindeer) 50.12 (*nvineu* to break a reindeer; *-gtı* allative [§ 40]; *ge—lin* [§ 74]; *wkut* to tie)

elile'ki eyeless

aa'lakê a person without knife

enı'nnıki nameless one (=fourth finger)

Koryak:

| *a'xgike kuma'tı* the hairless one grew angry Kor. 24.8

The compounds formed with *ę—kä* are used as complements of the verb.

equ'lıkä qäne'lhıtık make yourselves voiceless 60.10

i'mlıkä tıtva'a^{ɛ}k I was without water

akê'rrıka ne'lyi^{ɛ} it became lightless 94.11

êñi'nqäikä nere'tčımŭk we shall be made childless 39.4

res'qi'wkwi^{ɛ} a'kêrka he entered without clothing 35.10

a'kêrka ñan ra'gtiê^{ɛ} he came home without clothing 35.10

ęiwę'nka mıtne'l we came to be without an Aiwan 47.12

aqamı'tvaka tıtva'ak not eating I was

awgêtkınka not saying anything 26.6

e'le e'lqätä not going 46.8

aurrikê'gti not appearing 66.10

aa'lomka heedless 67.9

e'le eu'rretkä not appearing 62.1

akêrkıtvı^{ɛ}'at they took off clothes (they became without clothing) 47.5

e'gripgi^{ɛ} awgêntoya'nvuka she felt pain the breathless one 63.8 (*e'grip* to feel pain; *-gi^{ɛ}* [§ 64]; *wgi-* breath; *ñıto* to go out; *-yanv* verbal noun [§104.38])

eqäññe'tkä gene'lin he had become without moaning (i.e., he had ceased moaning) 34.7

ete'lkä nine'lqin he came to be without suffering 25.11

Koryak:

| *akmi'ñıka gi'linat* childless they were Kor. 43.8

| *aqalhai'aka qitı'ykın-i'-gi* not crying be! Kor. 37.1

| *akle'woka tına^{ɛ}'lık* without bread I remained Kor. 16.2

| *ava'leika yana^{ɛ}la'ntık* you will be without blubber Kor. 80.13

| *gŭmna'n ui'ña yı'nna ei'lika tı'ntıga^{ɛ}n* (Chukchee *gŭmna'n e'le rä^{ɛ}'nut e'ilkä tı'ntiä^{ɛ}n*) I not anything (not) given I had to him

In some cases, particularly with *ui'ñä* NOTHING, THERE IS NOTHING, the forms in *-ka* appear apparently predicative, presumably with

omission of a predicate of existence. More frequently the forms in *-kälin* are used as predicative forms (see p. 824)

ui'ñä aa'raka nothing, houseless (i. e., there was nothing, not [even] a house) 31.7

ui'ñä eleu'tikä nothing, headless (i. e., there was nothing, not [even] a head) 47.8

ui'ñä epi'ñkä (Kor. Par. *e'ʟe epi'ñke*) there is no powder

Koryak:

ui'ña aña'wtiñka he had no wife Kor. 50.5

ui'ña a'nviḷka he did not stop Kor. 51.8

ui'ña ava'ḷeika? is there no blubber? Kor. 80.12

ui'ña kama'kanu ana^{ɛ}'ka (I) did not become a kamak Kor. 88.10

ui'ña ane'lhiyipnuka (we) do not eat inner skin Kor. 49.1

Transitive verbs, when adding *ę—ką̈* to the stem, have a passive meaning; with the prefix *ine-* placed immediately preceding the stem, they have active meaning.

Passive:

anintoña'tka ri'tirkin you make him one who is not caused to go out (i. e., you do not make him go out) 54.10

evegi'tkukä têu'lanên he shook what was not dug out with the nails 47.2

enñi'ukä mi'ni'ntinet let us have them not sent over (i. e. I wish we had not sent them) 58.2

e'ʟe enu^{ɛ}'ka not being eaten 48.8

alo^{ɛ}ka'ḡti va'lE-ŭm I am not seen 22.10

elu^{ɛ}'kä not seen ones 62.1

e'ʟe a'lomka it was not heard 60.10

Koryak:

uiña i'wka ga'ntiḷen he was not told so Kor. 62.3

Active:

ênа'nmŭka rine'ntii^{ɛ} thou wilt be one who does not kill 99.9

inenvente'tkäl-i-ḡit thou art one who has not caused it to be open 88.27

inenu'käli-muri we are those who do not consume it 35.1

ḡŭmna'n ênalwau'kĕl-ê-ŭm I am not unable to do it 92.30

inelu^{ɛ}'kälinet he has not seen them 70.33

inegite'kälin, e'ʟe she does not look at me 88.31

The form *e—kä* is always used for the negative imperative, with the particle *en·ñe'*.

en·ñe' eʟe'pkä do not look 32.6

en·ñe' inegite'kä do not look at her 37.9

en·ñē' ai'pŭka do not put it on 37.8

en·ñe' aa'qɵka do not sit down 37.13
en·ñe' a'tvɪtkoka do not tell 66.29
en·ñe' aqamɪ'tvaka qi'tyitɪk do not be without eating 64.19 (without verb 65.30)
en·ñe' rɪrowa'ta ata'ka qantɪ'gɪtkɪ do not pass it at a distance 70.9
en·ñe' gi'inu e'lhɪkä do not attock it 70.14
en·ñe' ênа'nmŭka don't kill me! 103.30
en·ñe' ineqe'plukä do not kick me! 31.12 (31.11 is the same form without *en·ñe'*)

Koryak:

| *kɪtta' atawaḷñɪḷa'ka* do not look back! Kor. 51.6
| *kɪtt-a'wyika qi'thiᵋ* do not eat!

Kamchadal:

‖ *jak-nu'kek* (*ksɪæc*) do not eating (be)!

Without *en·ñe'*, we find—

atê'rgatka do not cry! 7.6
ineqe'plukä do not kick me! 31.11

Koryak:

| *annuwai'ka* do not leave anything! Kor. 46.2

Here also the auxiliary verb is usually omitted.

Apparently in the form of an adjective, we find—

na'qam ŭm e'un aqora'ɪnrêtka Ai'wan then, however, the Aiwan, careless of the reindeer, . . . 48.6
qora'ñɪ enrineukä yɪlhe'nnin he attached an unbroken reindeer 50.11

Derived from the negative suffix *-kä* are *-kĕlin*, *-kälin* (Kor. Kam. *-kăḷaᵋn*), formed with the suffix *-lin* (see §§ 48, 73, 74). This form, in accordance with the character of *-lin*, is more markedly predicative.

imlɪ'kĕlin he is waterless

Koryak Kamenskoye:

| *wotta'kin ake'ykɪḷaᵋn* that one had no cloths Kor. 78.14

Kamchadal:

‖ *ilčilkin* without tongue
‖ *qaqe'kan* without nose
‖ *ki'mma qam ni'kin* I am not wifeless

The verbal character appears most clearly with pronouns of the first and second person.

ạntọ'kĕl-ê-gɪt you do not go out 54.10
ạạ'lọmkĕl-ê-gɪt you do not hear 54.11

a̯lɪmḁ'lkĕl-ê̯-g̣ɪt you do not obey 54.11
e'ʟe êna'nmɪču i̯'tkä̯l-i̯-ŭm I do not become a murderer 24.8
e'ʟe enpɪlku'wkäl-i-ŭm I am not vanquished 15.9
inenvente'tkäl-i-g̣ɪt thou art one who has not caused it to be open 88.27
g̣ŭmna'n ênalwau'kĕl-ê-ŭm I am not unable 92.30
eiwule'tkɛlɪ-mu'ri we do not know it 34.8
inenu'käli-muri we do not eat 35.1
e'ʟe aqamɪ'tvakäl-ê-ŭm I did not eat

Koryak Kamenskoye:

ui'ña awyikaḷai'g̣ŭm I did not eat, but *ui'ña a'wyika ti'tɪk* not eating I was
ui'ña api'ñkäḷaig̣ŭm I am without powder

Kamchadal:

qam nu'kek tsɪk not eating I was
qam nuke'ñkin (*kɪ'mma*) I did not eat

Examples of verbal forms of the third person are—

e'ʟe a̯lɪmḁlau'kɛlê̯n he is one who does not heed 15.12
a̯qlḁ'ulkĕlê̯n she was without a man 28.2
amata'kĕlê̯n she was unmarried 28.2
aa'lomkĕlê̯n she did not listen 26.2; 54.7; 56.2
čit e̯vi̯ᵉ'kä̯li̯n re̯'mkɪn formerly people were death-less 42.2
ɛnřa'q ŭm ɛʟa' e̯vi̯ᵉ'kä̯lin now the mother was immortal 41.12
e'ʟe a̯nto̥'kĕlê̯n she did not go out 54.9 (without *e'ʟe* 54.5)
va'nêvan a̯nto̥'kĕlên not at all she went out 54.8
emɪte't-ŭm a̯tḁḁ'nkĕlê̯n tê'rg̣ɪlɪn since she did not touch the crying one 56.6
va'nêvan e̯u'rrekĕli̯n it does not appear at all 62.2
eres·qiu'kälin ɛna'n čini't he himself did not want to enter 103.17
emɪtkätvu'kĕlin the blubber was not scraped off 47.1
nene'neqäi anɪntoña'tkɛlên she did not cause the child to go out 54.6
aa'lomkɛlênat they did not listen 13.5
eyɪ'lqakɛlinet they were not sleeping 34.3
inelu^ɛ'kälinet he has not seen them 70.33
ineg̣ite'kälin she did not look at me 88.31

A few constructions of *-kälin* with *ui'ñä* seem quite analogous to forms in *-kä* with this particle (see p. 823).

ui'ñä aa'lomkĕlên they do not listen 56.2
ui'ñä a̯kê̥'rɪkä̯lê̯n there was nothing, without light 40.9

ɛnqa'n ui'ñä čit eñe'ñkälin that one was nothing, before not with guardian spirits 60.1

Kor. *ui'ña ama'yıñkälę-i-gŭm* I am not large

Decidedly nominal is—

elile'kĕläqägti little eyeless ones 45.1

In Kamchadal the adjective suffix *-lax* (§112, 78) before the negative changes to *-lĭx*.

ki'mma qŭm ululĭ'xkin I am not small

Kamchadal ***x·ë—ki*** with intransitive verbs, ***x·ë—kic*** with transitive verbs, form the negative. These are nominal forms, which are given predicative forms by means of auxiliary verbs (see p. 779).

x·ënu'ki impossible to eat

x·ëtælekic impossible to beat him

x·ë is presumably of the same origin as the particle *x·ënc*.

§§ 115–121. Word-composition

§ *115. Introductory Remarks*

Stems may be compounded in such a manner that one stem which qualifies another is placed before it. The two stems together form a unit which takes morphological affixes as a whole—prefixes preceding the first stem, suffixes following the second stem. The first stem, therefore, always terminates without morphological suffixes, the second one begins without morphological prefixes. If in the complex of stems a strong vowel or syllable occurs, the whole complex takes the ablaut.

maiñ-a'čı-kalę'lı-čŭ'mñł (Kor. Kam. *maiñ-a'čı-kalę'lı-čŭ'mña*) a big fat speckled buck

Each stem may retain the word-forming suffixes or prefixes enumerated in §§ 97–114.

Composition is used particularly for the following purposes.

1. When the second stem is a noun, the first element is an attribute of the second.

2. When the second element is a verb, the first element is an adverbial qualifier of the second. Here belongs particularly the case that when the first stem is a noun, the second a verb, the former is the object of the latter.

§ 116. *Attributive Composition*

Attributive composition of two nouns is used when the first noun expresses the particular species of the class expressed by the second noun. These are used in the absolute form as well as with postpositions.

1. The first element expresses the particular species of the class expressed by the second term.

ga'lga-na'lhın bird-skin 7.9
rı'rka-ka'la walrus spirit 8.4
pa'nvar-rı'rkat two-year-old walrus 8.10
rı'rka-npına'čhın walrus old man 9.6
aiwhua'-npına'čhäqai Eiwhue old man 11.10
eiwhue'-ora'wêɻan Eiwhue person 12.4
eiwhue'-ñe'ut Eiwhue woman 12.5
wo'lqı-vaırgê'ti to the Darkness-Being 18.11
ora'wêr-ra'mka by human people 21.8
a'nqa-va'ırgın sea-being 25.4
ke'lE-ñe'wän kele wife 38.11
aˢl-qla'ul excrement man 39.9
poiġ-ɵ'ttɵɵt (Kor. Kam. *poiġ-o'ttoot*) spear wood
pılvı'ntı-pna'wkun iron file
raˢ'-pı'ñıl (Kor. Kam. *yaq-pı'ñıl* or *yaqa'-pñıl*) what news 11.2
lile'-ču'rmitä on the sight border (=just out of sight) 11.8
ra'g-čo'rmık on the house border 12.12

Koryak:

ñawa'kak daughter Kor. 12.4
pıɻvı'ntı-yı'nnalaᵉn with iron antlers Kor. 21.8
yı'ɻhıɻıu finger-gloves Kor. 22.2
ɻawtı-kı'ɻčıčñın head-band Kor. 17.12
vai-kı'ltıpilıñ little grass-bundle Kor. 27.8

The following special cases deserve mention:

The words *qlaul* (Kor. Kam. *qla'wuɻ*) MAN, *ñew* (Kor. Kam. *ñaw*) WOMAN, are used to express the idea of the *nomen actoris*, and are compounded with verbs as well as with nouns. Thus we find—

tu'lı-ñew (Kor. Kam. *tu'ɻı-ñaw*) stealing-woman (=female thief)
vı'n·vı-ñaw (Kor. Kam. *vı'n·vu-ñaw*) secretly-acting woman (=female lover)

Kor. Kam. *taɻa'-qla'wuɻ* striking-man (=blacksmith)

Compounded with a noun is—

pılvı'ntı-qla'ul iron-man (=blacksmith)

The stems *qlaul* and *qlik* (Koryak *qlık*) in first position express also MALE.

qla'ul-keiñɪn (Kor. Kam. *qlık-kai'ñɪn*) male bear

For most animals the word *čŭ'mña* (Kor. Kam. *čŭ'mña*) is used to express the male.

čumña-rɪ'rkɪ male walrus

Kor. Kam. *čŭmña'-me'mil* male thong-seal

For females the stem *ñew* (Kor. Kam. *ñaw*) is used.

ñe-e'kik (Kor. Kam. *ñaw-a'kik*) daughter 28.2

ñew-kei'ñɪn (Kor. Kam. *ñaw-kai'ñɪn*) she-bear

ñeuwi'rit female soul 37.11

The Koryak word *mtala^{ɛ}n* (Kamchadal *mtilx·*) is a contraction of *oya'mtavɪla^{ɛ}n* PERSON (*qla'wul* in Koryak desi ates a male adult person), and means literally THE ONE WHO WALKS OPENLY, and is meant to designate man as walking visibly, while the spirits walk about invisibly.[1] The Chukchee has the corresponding word *ora'wêlan*, which has the same derivation. Compositions with *-mtala^{ɛ}n* are applied to a number of mythical personages.

Enni'-mtala^{ɛ}n Fish-Man, Fish-Woman

Valvi'-mtala^{ɛ}n Raven-Man

The Chukchee use in these compositions the element *qlaul*.

E'nnɪ-qla'ul Fish-Man

E'nnɪ-ñew Fish-Woman

The Kamchadal forms in *-mtilx·* are probably borrowed from the Koryak.

Elr'he-mtilx· (Koryak *ılve'-mtala^{ɛ}n*) Wild-Reindeer-Man

têpa'-mtalx· (Koryak *kitepa'-mtala^{ɛ}n*) Wild-Sheep-Man

2. In nouns with suffixes, composition is used to express a number of relations.

(*a*) The material of which an object is made.

rä^{ɛ}-kupre'tä tı'mnên with what kind of a net did he kill it? (*räq* what; *kupre* net; *tım* to kill)

ko'nê-kupre'tä tı'mnên he killed it with a net of horse-hair (*ko'nê* horse [from Russian КОНЬ])

(*b*) The idea PERTAINING TO.

tala'n-ramkê'pŭ tuwa'lomga^{ɛ}n I heard it from people of past times (*telenyep* long ago; *remk-* people; *walom* to hear)

[1] The Koryak have also the term *oya'mya* for PERSON, which is supposed to be used by the hostile spirits only, and designates man as the game pursued by the spirits. In Chukchee myths the term *ora'wĉr-ra'rat* BEINGS WALKING OPENLY (=MANKIND) is used

(*c*) Parts of a whole.

ya'al-ɡıtka'ta ɡeɡɡil-ɡe'ptılin he has kicked him with the heel of the hind-foot (*ya'al* hind; *ɡıtka* foot; *-ɡɡil* heel)

(*d*) Possession.

ɡŭmŭ'k e̯'kke̯-ña̯lvŭlê̥'pŭ̥ qäimi'tyın take it from my son's herd (*ɡŭmŭk* my [possessive]; *e'kke* son; *ñe̯lvŭl* herd; *-ɡŭpŭ* from [§ 42, p. 704])

NOTE.—In Koryak the possessor may take the same suffixes as belong to the possessed object. This seems to be always the case in the locative.

ɡŭmı'k kme'ñıñqo ñalvıḷa'nqo qakmi'tın take it from my son's herd

3. An intransitive verb (adjective) may be combined with a nominal stem so that it qualifies the latter. These compositions are used particularly in oblique cases.

i̯ul-u'ttä (Kor. Kam. *i̯wḷ-u'tta*) with a long stick
me̯iñı-lile't (Kor. Kam. *maiñı-ḷiḷa't*) big eyes
Kamchadal *pḷčx-ki'-stenk* in the large house
tañ-qlaul, pl. *tañ-qla'ultê* (Kor. Kam. *maḷqḷa'wuḷ*, dual *maḷ-qla'-wuḷte*) good man
ta̯'ñ-ŭm-vḁ'lın good one
maiñu-wa'l a large knife 16.1
pŭ'ɡlı-lauti'yñın big bare head 27.13
äᵉqä'-ke'le-ñe'us·qät bad kele woman 37.11
äᵉqä-ɡre'pqäi bad little song 59.5
teɡ-ñe'us·qät a nice woman 62.13
ñıto'-čŭ'mñı a shy buck 49.5
korɡa'-ča'ut a lively man 40.3
lii-teñ-evi'rälin really good cloths having 33.3
rıɡ-aᵉ'ttin a shaggy dog 72.28
êlh-u'kwut a flat stone (=anvil) 77.12
yıtko'mk-u'kwun divining-stone 101.3

Koryak:

E'nnu maḷ-ña'wıtkata this is a good woman Kor. 19.1
maḷ-qḷa'wuḷ a good man Kor. 19.10
tañ-iᵉ'yu to (be) a good sky Kor. 20.2
ka'li-qa'nyan ornamented (spotted) palate Kor. 20.2
qai-ña'wis·qat little woman Kor. 25.1
qai-ka'mak little kamak Kor. 35.5
maḷ-kaḷ-yekoi'ɡu-waḷ knife with well ornamented handle Kor. 46.8.

4. When the theme of a transitive verb appears as the first part of a compound, it has a passive meaning:

teĭk-evĭ'rɪn (ready) made clothing 86.22
aᵋ'tti-yño-kamaanvê'tɪ to (by) dog-sniffed-(at)-dishes 96.10
tot-taĭ'ka-kamaanvê'tɪ to newly made dishes 96.18
tər-ɪgto'-qaiə'nə to a newly born fawn 129.13

§ 117. *Incorporation of Noun*

A nominal stem may be incorporated in the verbal complex, and then forms a unit with the verbal stem which it precedes. The incorporated noun may express the subject of intransitive verbs, the object or instrument with transitive verbs.

(*a*) Intransitive verbs which incorporate an inanimate noun as subject express a verbal concept relating to a person.

uwĭ'k plɪ'tkurkɪn the body becomes ready
but *twuwĭ'k-ŭ-pĕɪ'tkurkɪn* I become body-ready (i.e., I am grown up)
va'lɪ ñɪto'rkɪn (Kor. Kam. *va'ḷa ñɪto'ykɪn*) the knife comes out
but *vala-nto'rkɪn* (Kor. Kam. *vaḷa-nto'ykɪn*) he is knife-coming-out (i. e., he draws his knife)
nuwgê'ntoqên he is one whose breath goes out 126.9
awgệntoya'nvuka he is without breath going out 63.8
nɪqolênto'aᵋn his voice goes out 127.8

(*b*) Verbs with incorporated nominal object. It is hardly feasible to draw a sharp line of demarcation between verbs with incorporated object and the verbal suffixes which form derivatives of nouns (§ 111, Nos. 73–77). These are *-ñɪta* TO FETCH, *-tuwe* TO TAKE OFF, *ĭp* TO PUT ON *-gili* TO SEARCH FOR, *-u* TO CONSUME, TO EAT. Owing to their meaning, these would hardly be expected to occur without object, and they are always suffixed to it—or the object is always incorporated with them. In the texts the incorporated object is used most frequently in phrases in which the action is performed habitually on a certain object, although incorporated forms that express single actions that are not performed habitually are not absent. On the whole, this process does not appear very frequently in the texts.

tɪqaanma'tɪrkɪn (Kor. Kam. *tɪqoyanma'tekɪn*) or *tɪnmɪ'rkɪn qa'at* (Kor. Kam. *tɪnme'kɪn qoya'wge*) I slaughter reindeer
qêna-takê'čhɪ-lpɪ'nřɪgêᵋ me meat give!
gŭmnĭ'n e'kɪk qä-kalê'təl-lpɪ'nřɪ-gɪn my son money-give him!
u'tti-mlə'rkɪn (Kor. Kam. *u-mḷa'ykɪn*) he breaks a stick

rɪ'lhɪ-čvi'rkɪn (Kor. Kam. *yɪ'lhɪ-čvi'ykɪn*) he cuts a finger
kale'-ɣpŭrkin (Kor. Kam. *pañka-ɣpe'kɪn*) he puts on a cap
qaa-nma'arkɪn (Kor. Kam. *qoya-nma'tekɪn*) he slaughters reindeer
tɪkoiñɪnto'rkɪn I take out glasses
tɪleu'tɪpɪ'ɣtɪrkɪn I have a headache
ɣeleu'tɪlvilin he cut off her head 86.7
nɪlautɪpa'tqên she boiled heads 43.12
načɪpa'tɪnat they boiled fat 14.7
nênavêrɪpa'tqên he put cloths on him 127.1
mɪnpêčarê'ra let us search for food 119.18
valamna'lɪn knife-whetter (*vala* knife) 44.4
nɪqaa'nmatqên he slaughtered reindeer 48.8, 11
nɪquimeviriu'qin he turned the upper part of his trousers outside (*qu'yim* upper part of trousers; *viriu* to turn out) 46.7
ɣeleutɪrgɪ'tkutä scratching the head 126.7
nênavêruwanla'qên he asks for clothing 126.10
kê'rgŭpgê^{ɛ} he put on the dress 52.9
qärê'thŭpgê^{ɛ} follow the trail! 52.8
tɪlɪ-lo^{ɛ}*'k* looking for the entrance 131.1
nɪtɪlarê'rqên searching for the entrance 131.1
qñaunra'ɣtatyê^{ɛ} take your wife home! 115.8
va'la-rɪ'nŭa knife holding 106.13
ɣɪna'n inenmuligrele't-i-ɣɪt thou art the cause of blood-vomiting 93.11
omqa'-pênŭa'tyê^{ɛ} they attacked the bears 115.12

Koryak:

ɣayuñyupe'nyɪlenau they attacked the whale Kor. 41.3
ɣaqoleya'waɣe (*qole* voice; *ɪya'wa* to use) use your voice! Kor. 48.7
ɣanɣekɪplena'ñu (to be used) to strike the fire with Kor. 30.7
ɣavannɪntalen she lost a tooth (*va'nnɪlñɪm* tooth) Kor. 32.8

The attributes of the object may be included in the compound.

tɪ-maiñi-lau'ti-pɪ'ɣtɪrkɪn (Kor. Kam. *tɪ-mai'ñɪ-ļa'wtɪ-pɪ'ktɪkɪn*) I much head suffer

Verbs with incorporated object are intransitive. They may be made transitive, however, when they are referred to a new object.

qaanma'arkɪn he slaughters reindeer
qaanmɪ'rkɪn he slaughters reindeer for him
tɪrɪ'lhɪčvi'ɣɪt (Kor. Kam. *tɪyɪ'lhɪčvi'ɣi*) I finger-cut thee (i. e., I cut your finger)

In a number of Koryak examples verbs with incorporated object appear as elements of incorporated complexes. In these cases they are always treated as intransitive verbs.

qɪm-aᵉ'ḷu-ču'ču-ñaw-i-ŭm hard-excrement-eating-woman am I Kor. 47.4

tigi'lñu-ña'w-iy-ŭm snowshoe-strings-eating-woman am I Kor. 47.4

(*c*) Verbs with incorporated noun expressing instrumentality.

ɵtti-kɪpčê'wa by striking with a stick 48.10

nɪ-ke'g-teġiliñɪtku'qinet groping about with the palms 73.26

gamoʟêtiño'laat they are covered with blood 91.27

Koryak:

čɪḷɪnmɪḷuḷa'tikɪn he licked with the tongue Kor. 56.3

§ 118. Composition of Verbal Stems

Compounds consisting of two verbal stems are quite common. In all of these the first stem appears as qualifier of the second stem.

tê'rgɪ-plɪ'tkɵ finished crying 27.11

a'un-rê'ña-tɪla'gtɪ with easy flying motion 16.8

nu-waqɵ-tva'qênat sitting they were 62.9

qämi-plɪ'tkuk (Kor. Kam. *a'wyi-plɪtčuk*) eating finishing (i. e. after the meal) 33.11 contains the stem of the compound verb *qamɪ-tva* TO EAT.

vɪ'yi-tiui'wunin breathing he drew them in 61.4

Koryak:

ġa-mḷawa-nka'w-ḷen she ceased to dance Kor. 48.6

ġ-awya'-nkaw-ḷen he refused to eat Kor. 51.3

ġen'ačiɤčat-paa-ñvo'-ḷenat to send them away ceased began they Kor. 72.2

§ 119. Adverbial Composition

Intransitive verbs are combined with verbal stems in the same manner as they are with nouns, and then assume adverbial functions. Stems expressing modality, quality, quantity, appear frequently in this position. The forms are quite analogous to those treated in § 116.3.

ine-teñ-ɪmpi'lkuum thou hast well vanquished me 17.7

ġa-tan-yoro-tukwa't-yê arrange the sleeping-room well 58.6

tur-qi'tɪlɪn newly frozen 13.7

tur-ure'tɪlɪn newly born 21.6

tɵr-kalêññó'qênat newly adorned ones 29.1

liê-ñarau'tilɵ truly wife-seeking 57.1

aᵉqa'-rkɪla badly pursued 17.6

tur-ɵwkwé'tyiᵉ he departed just now

tɪ-teñ-yilqä'tyäᵉk (Kor. Kam. *tɪ-maḷ-yɪlqa'tɪk*) I slept well

Koryak:

aqaḷapñıvo'ykın looks badly Kor. 13.8
ga-aqai'paḷen it fitted badly Kor. 34.9
ga-qayıčhıḷanñıvo'ḷen it began to be a little light Kor. 18.1
ga-qa'yı-čulin he chopped it small Kor. 53.6
tañ-a'wyeñvoi he began to eat well Kor. 20.7
ga-maḷ-ınai'vuḷen he bit well Kor. 41.4
ga-maḷ-hinta'wḷen he fled well Kor. 41.7
ga-tuyı-kmiña't-i-gŭm I have recently given birth Kor. 64.13

Verbal nouns are treated in the same way.

a'rıčhı-tva'rkın (Kor. Kam. *a'yıtñı-tva'ykın*) you are lying on the side

§ 120. Multiple Composition

Compound terms may include more than two elements of the classes described in the preceding sections.

ä^{ɛ}qä'^{ɛ}-lŭ'mñı-ñe'us·qät (Kor. Kam. *aqa'-lŭ'mña-ña'wıs·qat*) a bad, lazy woman
čaučuwa'-gai'mıči-lau'lčıñın reindeer-breeder-rich-man R59.4.
tañ-ê'tčı-têñ-poi'gın a good, heavy ice-spear
tı-mei'ñı-leu'ti-pıgtırkın (Kor. Kam. *tı-maiñı-ḷau'tı-pı'ktikın*) I greatly head am aching
qine-či'in-mi'mlı-i'lhi^{ɛ} give me warm water!
ičču-wgi-ne'lırkın heavily breathing he becomes (i. e. he sighs)
nêl-êp-rılhı'lıñın thimble-put-on-finger, the second finger
t-uwä^{ɛ}'quči-lqär-re'thıt I husband-destined for brought to thee (i. e. I brought you a suitor)

Other examples have been given before.

§ 121. Composition in Kamchadal

The composition of words in Kamchadal is quite similar to that of Chukchee and Koryak.

ke'lı-yu'nyučx (Chukchee *keli'lı-re^{ɛ}w*) spotted whale

However, the collected texts show that the use of compounds is much more restricted. Besides, constructions are found that do not agree with the synthetic method of Chukchee and Koryak.

ñi'mcx·in p!'ič! child being a woman (i. e., daughter)
(Chukchee *ñee'kık*, Kor. Kam. *ñaw-a'kak* woman-child)

In Kamchadal *ololaxı^{ɛ}n ki'stı^{ɛ}nč* SMALL LITTLE HOUSES the adjective remains an independent word, as is indicated by its being in the plural form.

§ 122. Consonantic Shifts

It has been stated before that the consonants *l* and *č* are closely related. A comparison of the parallel forms in *l* and *č* show that the former sound applies often to generalized terms and continued actions, while the latter expresses the special term and single momentary action. This explanation applies well enough in some of the following examples, but not by any means in all of them.

It would seem as though this process were no longer free. Still, a few times I heard the change introduced as though it were still functional:

palomtɛ'lırkın and *pačomtɛ'lırkın* he listened

The following examples will illustrate the differences in meaning of the parallel forms:

leivu, čeivu TO WALK

l forms:

ga'mga-notai'pŭ nılei'vuqinet they traveled through every country 17.9

gamga-vaırgê'pŭ nılei'vuqin he traveled to every being 18.5

nute's·qäk pagtalkoi'pŭ nilei'vuqin he traveled through the clefts of the ground 22.6

yei'velqäi ku'likä ralai'vrñño an orphan child shall (from now on) travel alone 24.10

keimi'tılä lei'vuk räᵉ'nutqäiti ge'ilä to traveling shaman small things must be given 25.9

gŭmna'n atča'ta lei'wukin mi'ilhır ' give you the means of traveling secretly 93.4

atča'ta qälei'wuiᵉ walk about in secret! 93.5

notai'pŭ lei'wulıt luᵉ'ninet he saw them walking about in the country 113.11

ia'm nılei'vutku-i-gır why don't thou wander about (all the time)? 87.18

č forms:

lautıtkına'ta čei'wutkuiᵉ he walked (for a little while) on the heads 8.6

kıta'm mıčei'vutkuäᵉk let me go 79.27; 80.10

qla'ul pŭki'rgiᵉ čeivutkulın a man arrived walking 86.26

ırga'tık ečei'vutkukä mi'tyäᵉk tomorrow not walking let me be!, i. e., tomorrow I shall not go 87.9

ne'me čei'vutkuiᵉ again he went 87.25; 88.1

ne'me čvei'vutkurkın again he was going (for a short while and once only) 88.7

luwi (initial), *lvi* (medial); *čuwi* (initial), *čvi* (medial) TO CUT

l forms:

geleu'tılvilin the head was cut off 86.7

č forms:

nečvitkuı'vuä^{ɛ}n they cut it off 27.3
nine'čviqin, *nine'nuqin* he cut it and ate it 43.10 (see also 72.18)
nıčvi'tkurkın re^{ɛ}w he was cutting the whale (when the other arrived 46.10)
lêla'lhıčhın gečvi'lin he cut the eye 106.19
gınonê'tı čuwi'nin he cut it in the middle 109.33

kıle (initial), *rkıle* (medial); *kıč* (initial), *rkıče* (medial) TO FOLLOW

a^{ɛ}qa'-rkıla difficult to be pursued 17.6
kıleu' mılva'wkwa^{ɛ}n I should not be able to follow 17.5
kıla'wkê^{ɛ} she followed 31.2 (here a single act)
kıle'nin he gave pursuit to him 57.8

č form:

kıčauča'tyê^{ɛ} he ran off quickly 57.5.

kıpl (initial), *rkıpl* (medial); *kıpč* (initial), *rkıpč* (medial) TO STRIKE

l forms:

kı'plınên ŭm leu'tık he struck it on the head (as he was accustomed to do) 110.26
ga'rkıplılên he struck her (until she let go) 31.4

č forms:

ɛ'nıkıt kıpčı'tkɵnên suddenly he struck it 35.11
nineınınnuteu'qin ɵttı-kıpčê'wa he makes it swollen by striking with sticks 48.10
nênarkıpčeu'qin he gave it a push 53.5

lilep (initial), *ʟep* (medial); *čičep* (initial), *čep* (medial)

l forms:

lile'pgi^{ɛ} she looked up 7.6; 79.11; see also 107.14
qäʟe'pgi^{ɛ} look up! 79.11; see also 107.14
lile'pŭrkın he looks on

č form:

čiče'pgi^{ɛ} they looked about 86.22
rıčiče'urkın he inspects

talaiwu, *tačaiwu* to strike

nıtalai'wuqên they strike him 59.7
natačai'wuan they struck him once 59.5

plı, *pčı* to finish

uwi'k plı'tkurkın his body becomes ready
tuwi'k-ı-pčı'tkurkın I become ready-bodies, i. e., grown up

-lqiu verbal suffix expressing requested action; *-s·qiu* verbal suffix expressing single action

l form:

nɪtule'lqiuqinet they would come to steal 13.4

č (*s·*) forms:

ganto's·qêulên he rushed out 57.11

qänɪggeus·qi'wkutkɪ go and wake them up at once 56.3

-lɪku AMONG A NUMBER; *-čɪku* INSIDE

l form:

uttɪ'lɪku among the trees

č forms:

ple'kɪčɪku in a boot 43.4

wus·qŭ'mčɪku in the darkness 34.5

-qal, *-qač* by the side of

ragro'lmɪnqal from the rear side of the house 51.10

gɪnɪkqa'č by thy side 9.3

-lqän, *-s·qän* TOP [1]

l form:

koivi'lqan top of glacier 91.16

č form:

gɪ'thɪs·qän surface of lake 144.3

nute's·qän surface of ground 98.24

mel-, *meč* LIKE TO

l form:

mel-uwä^{e}'quč it seems my husband 49.9

č forms:

meč-ä^{e}'qälpe somewhat quick 45.10

mač-êto'pêl somewhat a little better 135.7

A number of nouns show generally the *l* forms, but have in cases when parts of the object or special forms of the object are named *č* forms.

yê'lɪčhɪn tongue 40.10	*yêčɪ'tkɪčhɪn* tip of tongue 40.4
rɪ'lhɪn fingers	*rɪčhɪ'tkɪn* finger-tips
(*qlĭk*) man	*qäčgkɪ'čhêča* the man transformed (similar to a man) [2]
u'nel thongseal	*uneči'čhɪn* thong of thongseal skin 102.13, 30
mêmɪl seal	*mêmɪčê'čhɪn* thong of seal skin 134.31

[1] See also *-lqän* ABOUNDING IN (§104.39).

[2] See Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 449.

muLI blood	*gamočê'pılên* full of dried blood 68.2

Also:

tEl sick	*tE'čirgın* disease 133.7
lä$^{\varepsilon}$'lE winter	*čä$^{\varepsilon}$'čE* cold

To this group may be added, as also differing in regard to the specific character of the term:

lu$^{\varepsilon}$'rkın he sees	*ču$^{\varepsilon}$-tu'mgın* or *lu$^{\varepsilon}$-tu'mgın* old acquaintance (=seeing companion)
lêlê'lhın mitten	*čê-mıngı'LIñın* glove (=mitten hand)
li'glig egg	*čıg·ı'-ttım* egg-shell (=egg-bone)
vêlô'lhın ear	*vilu'-ttım* or *viču'-ttım* auricular bone
vilu'ptırkın he marks the ear (of the reindeer)	*eviču'ptıki* (reindeer) without ear-mark

Attention may also be called to the relation between the nominal endings *-čhın* and *-lhın*, which have been treated in §§52, 53, and which may also be considered from this point of view, *-lhın* being used in nouns with indefinite meaning, *-čhın* in those indicating particular representation of the class of object.

In other cases the forms in *l* and *č*, while related, do not differ in their more or less specific character, but in other ways:

qulile'erkın he cries	*qučiče'erkın* he shouts, makes a noise
gemle'lin it is broken	*gemče'tkulin* broken to pieces
ŭmı'lın ä$^{\varepsilon}$lo'ñêt the whole day	*ŭmı'čı-čo'ñêt* or *ŭmı'č-ä$^{\varepsilon}$čo'ñêt* a long time
añqa'lı-ra'mkın maritime people	*añqa'čı-ra'mkın* reindeer-breeders who come in summer to the seashore
li'ñılın the hearty one, avenger (from *li'ñliñ* heart, *liñıle'erkın* he avenges)	*čiñe'erkın* he yearns for something

§§ 123–124. Numerals

§ *123. Introductory Remarks*

The system of numbers is derived from manual concepts. Even the expression TO COUNT really means TO FINGER (Chukchee *ri'lhırkın*, Kor. Kam. *yıl̥ñe'kın*, HE COUNTS [from stem *rılh-*, Kor. Kam. *yılñ*, FIN-

GER]). In a number of cases the relations between the numerals and manual concepts can easily be given.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.		From stem
mɪ'ʟɪñên	*mɪ'ʟ̣ɪñên*	five	*mɪnɡ̣* HAND (contracted from the absolute form *mɪnɡ̣ɪ'ʟɪñɪn*)
am-ñɪro'otkên	——	eight	*am-ñɪro'kên* JUST THE THIRD (i. e., of the second hand)
qon·a'čɪñkên	*qonya'ačɪñɪn*	nine	*qon-ya'ači* (Kor. Kam. *qon-ya'wačɪ* probably ONE BEHIND i. e., one finger left over)
mɪnɡ̣ɪ'tkên	*mɪnɡ̣ɪ'tčên*	ten	BELONGING TO THE HANDS, refers evidently to the completion of the count on two hands
kɪlhɪ'nkên	——	fifteen	may be derived from stem *ɡ̣ɪtka'lh* FOOT, referring to the five toes of the first foot, added to the ten fingers
qli'kkin BELONGING TO A MAN	*qḷɪk*	twenty	a man, refers to all the fingers and toes. The form *qlik* is obsolete in both languages.

Larger numbers are composed with *qli'kkin* or with the ordinary modern word *qla'ul* (Kor. Kam. *qḷa'wuḷ*) MAN.

The term *qliɡ̣-qli'kkɪt* or *qli'kkin qla'ul* FOUR HUNDRED is the highest term of the older Chukchee numeration. Every number higher than four hundred is called *ɡ̣ɪyeu'-te'ɡ̣in* LIMIT OF KNOWLEDGE. In modern times this term, under Russian influence, has been applied to express the idea of ONE THOUSAND. This recalls the old Russian term for TEN THOUSAND TMA (Greek *μύριας*), which literally signifies DARKNESS.

§123

In Chukchee, 11, 12, 13, etc., contain the particle *pa'rol* (also pronounced *pa'roč*) BESIDES. This element, however, may be omitted. It is not used in Koryak. The numbers 9, 14, 19, 99, are negative verbal forms containing the negative prefix and suffix *e̯—kĕlı̯n* (see § 114, 4).

amıngıtkau'kĕlên not being the tenth
akılhınkau'kĕlên not being the fifteenth, etc.

When used as nouns, all numerals may take post-positions. When numerals stand with nouns with post-positions, they form compounds with the nouns for which the stems without affixes are used.

mıngıt-kalê'tɵla tačıñı-plı'tkɵaᵉk I pay my debt with ten rubles paper money (*mıngıt* ten; *kalê'tol* scratched one; *-a* instrumental; *t-* I; *ačıñ* debt; *plıtko* to finish)

Numerals are also compounded with personal pronouns.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
ñire-mu̯'ri̯	*ñi'ye-mu'yi*	we two
ñĭro'-mɵre̯	*ñıyo'-mu'yu*	we three
ñi're-tu'ri	*ñi'ye-tu'yi*	ye two
ñıre'rgerı	*ñiye'čhei'tı*	they two

Numeral adverbs are formed with the suffix, *-če̯*, *-čä̯* (Kor. Kam. *-ča*) (see § 112, 81), from the stems of the cardinal numbers, except *qu̯ne̯'čä̯* ONCE (Kor. *qu'n·ač* Kor. 53.2), which is derived from *qu̯n* SINGLE.

ñĭra'ča giwi'kinek on passing the year a fourth time 12.8

Distributives are formed with the suffix *-yu̯t*; (Kor. Kam. *-yu̯t* [dual],*-yu̯'wgı* [pl.], see § 112, 80), from the stems of the cardinal numbers. In Chukchee they have also the prefix *e̯m-* JUST (§ 113, 7).

Ordinals are expressed by the verbalized numerals, except ONE.

ñireqe'urkın (Kor. Kam. *ñiyeqı'wikın*) he is double, he is the second

Collective forms are derived from the numerals with the suffix, *-nle̯ñ* (Kor. Kam. *-lañ*) (see § 124, p. 841).

The Kamchadal numerals have almost been lost, and their place has been taken by Russian numerals. Only the first four numerals are still in use, side by side with their Russian equivalents. The word *lüne'jın* HE COUNTS is also derived from the stem *lü̯x* FINGER (absolute form *lü̯xlü̯xč*).

§123

Numerals	Cardinal	Iterative	Ordinal
1	*kŏ̆ni'ñ*	*qun*	———
2	*kasx, ka'cɪx*	*ntel*	*nte'lñin*
3	*čok*	*čol*	*čo'laña*
4	*čak*	*čal*	*ča'laña*

ka'cɪx kcxoᵉn two dogs
ka'cxaᵉn ḷɪᵉḷ two mittens
čo'kaᵉn kcxoᵉn three dogs

Kamchadal *qun* may be compared with Kor. Kam. *qu̯n* SINGLE.
Kamchadal *čok* may be compared with Kor. Kam. *ñĭyo'x* THREE.
Kamchadal *čak* may be compared with Kor. Paren *ñĭya'x* FOUR. (perhaps from an older form *ñĭča'x*)

§ 124. Cardinal Numbers and Other Derivatives

	Chukchee	Koryak Kamenskoye	Koryak Paren
1	*Enne'n·, Enne'-n·čeᵉn*	*Enna'n*	*Enne'n·*
2	*ñi'räq*	*ñi'yax*	*ñi'čax*
3	*ñĭro'q*	*ñĭyo'x*	*ñĭyo'x*
4	*ñĭra'q*	*ña'yax*	*ñɪya'x*
5	*mɪ'Lɪñên*	*mɪ'Ḷɪñen*	*mɪ'Ḷɪñen*
6	*Enna'n mɪ'Lɪñên*	*Enna'n-mɪ'Ḷɪñen*	
7	*ñêra'-mɪ'Lɪñên*	*ña'a-mɪ'Ḷɪñen*	
8	*am-ñɪro'otkên*	*ñĭyo'-mɪ'Ḷɪñen*	
9	*qon·a'čɪñkên* *amɪnɡɪtkau'kĔ-lên*	*qonya'ačɪñɪn*	
10	*mɪnɡɪ'tkên*	*mɪnɡɪ'tčen*	*mɪnɡɪ'tken*
11	*mɪnɡɪ'tɪk Enne'n· pa'rol*	*mɪnɡɪ'tɪk Enna'n*	
12	*mɪnɡɪ'tɪk ñi'rä pa'rol*	*mɪnɡɪ'tɪk ñi'yax*	
13	*mɪnɡɪ'tɪk ñĭro' pa'rol*	*mɪnɡɪ'tɪk ñĭyo'x*	
14	*mɪnɡɪ'tɪk ñɪra' pa'rol* *akɪlhɪnkau'kĔ-lên*	*mɪnɡɪ'tɪk ña'yax*	
15	*kɪlhɪ'nkên*	*mɪnɡɪ'tɪk mɪ'Ḷɪñen*	

	Chukchee.	Koryak Kamenskoye.
16	*kɪlhɪ'nɪkɛnne'n· pa'rol*	*mɪnɣɪ'tɪk ɛnna'n mɪ'-ɻɪñen*
19	*kɪlhɪ'nɪk ñɪra' pa'rol elikkeu'kĕlin*	*mɪnɣɪ'tɪk qonya'ačɪñɪn*
20	*qlï'kkin*	*qɻɪk*
21	*qlï'kkɪk ɛnne'n· pa'rol*	
30	*qlï'kkɪɣ mɪnɣɪ'-tkên pa'rol*	*qɻɪ'kɪk mɪnɣɪ'tčen* *ñɪyo'x mɪ'nɣɪtu*
40	*ñï'räq-qlï'kkin*	*ñï'yax qɻɪ'kɪt* *ña'yax mɪ'nɣɪtu*
50	*ñï'räq-qlï'kkɪɣ mɪnɣɪ'tkên pa'rol*	*ñï'yax qɻï'kɪt e'n·ki mɪnɣɪ'tčen* *mɪ'ɻɪñen mɪ'nɣɪtu*
60	*ñiro'q-qle'kkên*	*ñɪyo'x qɻɪ'ku* *ɛnna'n mɪɻɪñen mɪ'n-ɣɪtu*
80	*ñɪra'q-qle'kkên*	*ña'yax qɻɪ'ku* *ñɪyo'x mɪ'ɻɪñen mɪ'n-ɣɪtu*
99	*amɪlɪñqlêkkau'-kĕlên*	
100	*mɪlɪnqlê'kkên*	*mɪɻɪñen qɻɪ'ku* *mɪnɣɪ'tčen mɪ'nɣɪtu*
200	*mɪnɣɪtqlê'kkên*	*mɪnɣɪ'tčen qɻɪ'ku*
400	*qliɣ-qlï'kkin*	*qɻɪk-qɻɪ'ku*

Numerals are verbalized by the suffix *-eu* (Kor. Kam. *-aw, -(ɪ)w*).

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
ñɪreqe'urkɪn	*ñiyeqɪ'wikɪn*	he is double, he is the second
ñɪroqa'urkɪn	*ñɪyoqa'wekɪn*	he is threefold, he is the third

-nlɻñ (Kor. Kam. ***-lañ***) with numerals form collective terms.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	
ɛnne'nlɻñ	*ɛnna'nlañ*	a single one
ñɪre'nlɻñ	*ñiya'qlañ*	two together
ñɪrɣ'nlɲañ	*ñiyo'qlañ*	three together
ñɪra'nlañ	*ñaya'qlañ*	four together

§ 125–131. Adverbs.

§ 125. MODAL ADVERBS.

Modal adverbs are formed by means of the inclusive affix *n(ɪ)-eu*, (Kor. Kam. *n(ɪ)-au*) (see p. 810.) These forms are parallel to the adjective form *n(ɪ)-qin* (see § 49).

nɪme'leu well (Kor. Kam. *nɪma'ḷau*) stem Ch. *mel* (Kor. Kam *maḷ*)
nɪme'leu qatva'ê be kind (to us)! a common form of prayer.
nɪmeï'ñeu ga'tvŭlên aᵉ'ttɪn he made a great promise, a dog 101.21
nŭ'mkeu ki'wkiw ni'nelqin the nights passed (there) became many 108.8 (*ki'wkiw* is sing.; *nŭ'mkeu* adverb).

These forms however are not used very frequently, especially in Koryak. In most cases they are replaced by adverbial composition (see § 119, p. 832).

Kamchadal *-q* designates adverbs.

ömq deeply (adjective *ö'mläx* deep)
me'čaq far (adjective *me'čalax* distant)
k!ï'jhɪq shallowly (adjective *k!ɪ'jhɪlax* shallow)

NOTE.—I have found a few forms in Kamchadal which correspond to Koryak forms:

n'mï'ta (Kor. Kam. *n'mï'tau*) warily (adjective *n'mï'tqin*)
nu'raᵉ far.

Other adverbs of modality are derived from verbal stems in an irregular manner.

a'tqêuma (Kor. Kam. *atčiñau* regular) badly R 62.72 (stem *äᵉqä*, Kor. Kam. *aᵉqa*; adjective form *e'tqin*, Kor. Kam. *a'tčɪñ*)
me'čᴇn·kɪ (*meč* < *mel* good; *ᴇn·kɪ* there) well 67.22
me'čᴇn·ku-wa'l-ê-ŭm I am a fairly good one 114.34. Here *meč* does not assume ablaut (see p. 763)
me'rinře slowly (stem-*nř;* adjective form *nɪ'nřäqin* slow)

A number of synthetical bases are used as adverbs, either without any change or mostly with added *-ɪ,-qɪ,-akɪ,-êtɪ* which are locative and and allative suffixes (see § 95). The same bases are used also with *va'lɪn* (Kor. Kam. *i'taḷaᵉn*), (see § 76).

As adverbs they always have the ablaut, those without suffix as as well as those with the suffix *-i,-qi*, although the locative generally is used without ablaut.

Adverbs without suffixes are—

o'ra openly 121.30; stem *u̯rᵉ* (Kor. Kam. *o'yañ*) (see p. 862.)
oma'ka (Kor. Kam. *oma'ka* Kor. 61.2) together; stem *u̯mᵉkᵉ*

yê'ta in readiness 105.20, slowly 64.17 stem *yi̯tẹ*
a'lva (Kor. Kam. *a'ḷvañ*) wrongly, go away! Kor. 37.5 stem *ẹlvẹ* (Kor. Kam. *aḷva*)

With suffix *-kɪ*, *-qɪ*

tê'kɪ of cylindrical form; stem *ti̯k*.
koulo'qɪ (Kor. Kam. *ko'loñ*) round; stem *ku̯wl*.
a'rkɪčɪ (Kor. Kam. *aykiča*) aslant, stem *arkɪč* (Kor. Kam. *aykɪč*)
a'rkɪčɪ qata'ê (Kor. Kam. *ay'kɪča qata'wañ*) more aslant!
vê'tɪ truly 120.24 (*vê'tê* 107.8); stem *vêth*
vê'tirê straight (irregular); stem *vêth* (adjective form *nuwê'thäqên*)
ḡê'mɵ without my knowledge; *ḡe'mu* 103.5 (Kor. Kam. *a'mu* Kor. 55.3). This form is designative; stem *-(t)hêm* not to know.
rathêma'un without my knowledge 11.9. The affix *rẹ——ẹu* is causative.
ḡêwê'tɪ without my knowledge 120.37; stem *-(t)hiu* not to know; allative.
pulhɪrra'kɪ flatly; stem *pɪ̨lhɪrrɪ*
apaqa'ʟɪ(ñ) (Kor. Kam. *apaqa'čɪ*) face downward; stem *apaqaʟɪ*.
pɪ'tvɪ, *pɪtva'kɪ* double; stem *pɪ̨tv*
ê'mpŭ(ñ), *êmpa'kɪ* downcast; stem *i̯mp*
tɪ'mla, *tɪmla'kɪ* close to; stem *tɪ̨ml*
yɪ'čhɪ(ñ), *yɪčha'kɪ* uninterrupted, stem *yɪčh* and several others.

Those with the suffix *-êtɪ*, *-ḡtɪ* express a diminished intensity of the adverbial term:

čeutê'tɪ somewhat low; stem *či̯ut*
qaʟê'ḡtɪ somewhat lazy; stem *qä̯ʟi̯*
yɵrḡê'tɪ somewhat foolish; stem *yu̯rḡ* [1]
qêwrêḡtɪ somewhat hasty; stem *qi̯wri̯*
tañê'tɪ somewhat better; stem *teñ*

All these forms combined with *-va'lɪn* (Kor. Kam *i'taḷan*) are commonly used to express the absolute form of the adjective.

In Chukchee some of these adverbs may form with the prefix *tɪ'ñkɪ* quite (§ 113, 4) a kind of superlative.

tɪñk-a'tqêuma quite badly
tɪñk-äᵉ'qälpe with great hurry
tɪñkɪ-me'rinře quite slowly

[1] See also *yorḡêtu-wa'lɪčhɪn* a foolish one 65.3.

Some others may form dimunitives, as—

kitkinn·u'qäi very little 118.6
qaiaqan·ə'qai a trifle more 106.6.
čɪ'mčeqäi very near 100.15
vi'n·vɛqäi very cautiously 106.16.

§ 126. LOCATIVE ADVERBS.

For demonstrative adverbs see § 57.

Chukchee.	Koryak Kam.
čɪ'mčɛ 103.9 near	*čei'mɪk*
ya'a 113.20 far	*ya'wak*
ya'al, ya'ačɪ 119.29 in the rear	*ya'wal̥*
atto'ol in the front, earlier; *atto'oča* 8.7 in the front, down the coast	*atta^{e}'yol* Kor. 39.7
gɪrgo'l 68.35; *gɪrgo'gča* 123.7 above	*gɪčho'l̥, gɪčho'ča*
iu'tɪl below	*i'wtɪl̥*
ê'uča-êučai'pŭ from below 131.5	
mra' on the right hand	*mya'*
ña'ɛɛn·kɪ, ñač(h)-e'n·kɪ; stem *ñač*, on the left side	*ña'čñɪñ-qač, ñačñe'tɪ;* stem *ñačñ*
ro'čɛn·kɪ 52.11; stem *ročh*[1], on the other shore	*yočñe'tɪ;* stem *yočñ*
ña'rgɪn; stem *ña'rgɪn* outside	*ña's·hɪn* Kor. 64.8
o'nmɪ inside	*anɪnka'čɪku* Kor. 60.9
onmɪčɛkoi'pŭ from within 59.9	
e'mi where (is it) 81.16	
ê'čča, ê'ččaq near the surface	
ê'čča nitva'nat if they had remained on the surface 68.27	
ra'nau straight ahead	(K. K. *ya'nau*, Kamchadal *čñil*)
ɪ'mla close by	(K. K. *tɪ'mla*, Kamchadal *ti'mal*)
ña'lhil on both sides, on all sides 129.24	*ga'l̥ñɪl̥* Kor. 58.2
rɪma'gɪt farther on, beyond	*yɪmai'tɪ*
a'čhɪtä side by side	*a'čñɪla*
em–nu'ñkɪ inland 112.6	*am-nuñɪk*
wŭ'rrɪ on the back	*wŭ'ssɪñ* Kor. 30.3
ya'gna in the presence	
riagnau'kɪ (*rɪ-yagna-u-kɪ; rɪ—u* causative) opposite to 100.28	
kamle'lɪ around	
am–lɪga'nlɪ back to back	
ye'tir half-way 109.1	
rɪnere' askance	
wolva'kɪ across; stem *wulv*	*mal̥-vol̥ve'tɪ, vol̥va'kɪ*
êulêtê'lɪ lengthwise	*ew'l̥etɪñ*
če'če along	
qa'čɪ, qa'ča close to (see § 100.26)	
ai'gêpŭ windward 111.10 (*ɛig* odor coming with the wind; *-êpŭ* ablative)	

Most of these may form compounds with nominal and verbal stems, or with the locative of the noun.

[1] The form *ročhê'tɪ* to the other shore 30.11 suggests a nominal stem.

nuwolvênaña'tvaqên across sitting was carried 145.3 (*n(u)—qin* nominalizing prefix; *wulv* across; *ineñe* to sit on a sledge; *tva* to be)
ǧŭmŭǧga'gna in my presence
êulêtê'l-va'lın of elongated shape 91.15
ya'rau-lıha'nlınqač-va'lın to the houses from the other side being 11.7
tê'rkı-ırgo'l at sunrise 104.16
va'am-gırgoǧča'gtı up river 119.14
kamlê'lı -ya'rak around the tent 104.20
yoro'wtı kamle'lı sleeping room all around 12.10 (*yoro'wtı* allative)
ve'emık va'êᵉ qa'ča he lived close to the river 122.8
Nota'rmêñqača close to Nota'rmeñ 121.10

§ 127. Temporal Adverbs.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
ti'te	*ti'ta* Kor. 27.7	*i'te*	when
ᴇ'n·kı	*ᴇ'nki* Kor. 39.2	*knaᵉñ, ñur*	then
ᴇn'ñıte'q	——	——	of late
lŭ'mña 19.1	*ǧŭ'mlañ* Kor. 84.11	*te'nax*	again
pı'tkä-lumña	——	——	double again, i.e. the third time
ya'nɔt 43.9	*ya'not*	——	at first
yep	*ye'ppe*	——	still
te'le 7.1	——	——	in olden times
telenye'p 112.20	*ankıyep*	——	long ago
tite'ep	*titoo'n*	——	from what time on, after a long time Kor. 57.5
ǧı'nmıl 83.19	——	*iᵉne*	recently
ǧınmıye'p	——	——	from recent time on
i'ǧıt 21.1; 36.9	*a'čhı* Kor. 30.9	*neᵉn*	now, at present
aï'vᴇ	*aï'ǧive* Kor. 78.26	*a'činčk*	yesterday
aivᴇnd·a'p	——	——	from yesterday
(*ǧıvᴇñ-yêp*)	——	——	on
aiǧo'on	——	*qlank*	lately
aiǧoond·a'p	——	——	from late times
(*ǧiǧoon-yǧp*)	——	——	on
ırǧa'tık	*mitï'w* Kor. 21.8	*a'jujk*	to-morrow
kıtu'r	*vo'tın-aï'ñun*	*i'xıltu*	last year
kıtuje'p (*kıtur-yǧp*)	——	——	from last year on

Chuckchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
kɪtur-ño'on	——	——	many a year ago
yawrɪ'nak	*ya'wyɪn*	*tal'a'nank*	next year
pe'ʟe 20.2	——	——	soon
pɪ'tkä-yawnak	——	——	the year after next
čit 17.6	——	——	before this
pa'nêna 54.9	*pa'nena* Kor. 15.6	——	another time
ī'ne, ī'neñ 113.11	——	——	early
quli'ninek	*quli'nikak*	——	
aiөk 118.20	*vaᵉyuk* Kor. 21.3 *vaᵉ'ak* Kor. 56.5	——	afterwards
ña'nɛnqač	——	——	day after to-morrow
qolê-t-aᵉlo'	*qoḷe'-aḷo'*	——	
aivɛ ña'nen-qač	*aiġɪv-ai'ġɪ-večña*	——	day before yesterday
ɪmɪčɪčo'ñêt	*a'mñuč*, Kor. 53.1, *a'wun a'mñut* Kor. 54.5	*könčpol*	always
a'mkɪnɪčo 112.8	——	——	all the time
(*e'mkɪn* every)	——	——	
čo probably analogous to *čᵉ* numeral adverbial; a suffix)			
——	*ai'ñum* Kor. 61.1	——	long ago
——	*a'mliɪñ*	——	after that Kor. II
quli'-thi'wik	——	——	in future years
čiq-etuwä'k 44.4	——	——	all at once (*čiq* see § 113.13)
——	*yu'ḷaq* Kor. 16.2; 64.10	——	for a long time
wŭᵉ'tku	*wŭᵉ'tču* Kor. 31.2; 41.2; 47.9; 80.2	——	just then
——	*woᵉ'tvañ* Kor. 96.8		

Chuckchee	Kor. Kam.	Kamchadal	
unᵉ'tku	*ituᵉ'pil*	——	after a while (see *êto'pel* Ch.)
——	*akiḷaᵉ'č* Kor. 27.4; 28.3	——	just now
——	*akiḷaᵉ't* Kor. 27.5	——	
——	*vê'tha-qo'nom* Kor. 56.10	——	just now
——	*pɪče'* Kor. 14.11	——	for a while
——	*qoḷa* Kor. 70.14	——	after a while
——	*qu'lin* Kor. 60.2	——	afterwards
——	*ñɪnvo'q* Kor. 13.5	——	many a time

A number of these are adverbial phrases:

quli'ninek at something else (from *quli* some, *ni'kek* see p. 731).
qolê-t-aᵉlo' another day
ɪmɪčɪčo'ñêt all days
ɪrga'ɪk on to-morrow, etc.

Other adverbial terms are derived by means of post-positions from the forms here given.

ɪrgatê'tɪ towards to-morrow
ɪrga'thŭpŭ from to-morrow

Others, like *lŭmña* AGAIN, *yanət* AT FIRST, do not take post-positions.

Seasons of the year, sections of the day and night are expressed by the locative—

wulqätvi'k in the evening time 120.3 (*wu'lq* darkness *-tvi* to attain a certain quality §110, 68)
läᵉle'ñkɪ in the winter 51.1 (stem *läᵉleñ*)
ɪrgiro'k at dawn (*ɪrg* dawn; *-ru*: phenomena of nature (§110, 71)

Following are some examples of their use.

yep still

yep wu'kwu ya'rañɪ na'qam but the tent was still stone 107.11
yep ɪrgɪro'ka while (the day) was not yet dawning 56.8
mɪ'nkri re'lqu va'ma yep while he is still in the inner room 135.15
telen-ye'p in olden times 61.5
telen-ye'pkin belonging to olden times 61.5
yep e'čhɪ not yet

gɪ'nmɪlkin lately

e'nmen lu'ur gɪ'nmɪlkin ro'o then there was the one who had lately been eaten 35.9

me'mɛlqai gɪ'nmilkin ɛni'n tɪmyo' yarro'nên the seal he had lately killed, he put in his bosom 43.8

gɪ'nmɪlkin lo^{ɛ}'o the one recently seen 104.8–

pe'nin(e) as before

pe'nin nɪma'yɛnqanačhɪn of large size as before 20.5

pe'nin ɛni'n i'gɪtkin lu^{ɛ}'lqäl it was his face as before 77.14

pe'nin tautawa'tɪlɪn as before he barked 104.13

peninei'-gɪt lei'wul-i-gɪt from olden times on thou art travelling 133.12

pa'nêna releulewe'urkɪn will you as before do wrong? 20.12-21.1

pa'nêna nɪkɪtɪma'tqen he was as before extending his hands 47.8

qän·ve'r e'nmen ɪrga'tɪk pa'nêna wulqätvi'i^{ɛ} at this time then in the morning it became as before dark 54.9

go'onqan panêna'gtɪ genlete'tä that to the former (place) is carried 133.2

Koryak:

assa'kin pa'nin gayo^{ɛ}'olen the one of the other day (who) before had found him Kor. 52.6

pa'nena . . . ga'npɪlen another time he stuffed it in Kor. 15.6

qa'wun pani'ta mi'kinak nayamata'ge though some time thou wilt marry some one Kor. 78.17

pa'ninau vača'pgɪčñu . . . the scars of former times Kor. 86.1

čit FORMERLY

a'mɛn čit gŭmu'w-či'mgutä a^{ɛ}qa'-rkɪla gene'l-i-ŭm before this, in my own mind, I have become one who can hardly be pursued 17.6

ɛnqa'n ui'ñä čit eñe'ñkälin that one formerly had no spirits 60.1

čit vai ke'lɛ eččaka'ta nɪlei'wuqin formerly there ke'lɛ wandered outside 61.6

qailo'qum čit kime'k me'čɛn·ku-wa'l-êum in truth formerly I was a fairly good one 114.34

čit ŭm wutkekinei'-gŭm formerly I belonged to this place 97.10

guiwele'li'n čit one who had formerly had evil charms 50.11

čit mɪtu'ren·mɪk êlɪ ge'nu ñi'rä-mu'ri before we were born to father, we two R44.2–3

The following example seems to refer to the future:

čit ɛlɪgɪqai'gŭpŭ ta'a^{ɛ}t e'un ui'ña after some time they passed by the father's place and (there was) nothing 109.34–35

tele in olden times

te'le e'nmen . . . näqäliči'tqinet in olden times, then they were at war 7.1

pe'ʟe soon

naqa'm pe'ʟe nŭmqɪtvi'qin but soon it decreased in size 20.2

pe'ʟe ñeuᵉ'ttɪn topa'wkwêᵉ soon the bitch was 104.7

a'čhi va'n this time

ačhi va'n qo'npŭ maḷa'tɪ this time it grew much better Kor. 20.5-6

e'čhi-van tɪ'nmɪn this time I killed her (Lesna) Kor. 97.13

ačhi va'n qaye'm this time not Kor. 54.3 (see also Kor. 20.5; 54.3)

a'čhi just now (i. e. before a little while)

a'čhi ni'w-i-gi qanga'tiykɪn now you said, "it burns" Kor 30.9

ačhi'kin nenenaye'ye-ge? wert thou looking for it just now? Kor. 49.8-9

ačhikɪ'ču-ai'ñaka now do not cry! Kor. 60.7

See also Kor. 68.13

§128. Miscellaneous Adverbs and Conjunctions, Chukchee.

On the following pages I give a list of adverbs and conjunctions without attempting to differentiate between the two groups. The meaning of many of the adverbail or connective particles is so uncertain that a division seems hardly possible. Many of them have such nice shades of meaning that they can not be rendered adequately in English.

The use of such particles is much more extended in Chukchee than in Koryak. In Kamchadal most of the particles, particularly most conjunctions have been lost and replaced by Russian loanwords.

The particles occur frequently in groups as will be seen for instance in the use of *ŭm*, *ʟo'n*, *a'mɛn*, etc. Some are always postpositional and tend to unite phonetically with the word they modify (see examples under *ŭm*)

ŭm, ɪm, -m an emphatic adverb. It is always postpositional and seems to emphasize the word to which it is attached

Following nouns:

ɛnŕa'q ñe'us·qät ŭm . . . ganra'gtaʟên then the woman . . . took it home 28.5–6

pênyo'lhɪn ŭm nlete'tyiᵉ the hearth blazed up 32.3

wŭ'rgɪrgɪn ŭm vai ge'pkiʟin the noise reached there 32.13

ɪnpɪna'čhɪn ŭm ʟi'gɪn geñe'wänä the old father and his wife 33.9

ENqa'n E'n·kI erre'č ñe'us·qät, . . . qora'k ŭm uwä^{ɛ}'quč there was only she the woman, . . . with the reindeer (was) the husband 51.9–10

uwä^{ɛ}'qučitä ŭm by the husband 39.6

yorou'tI ŭm to the sleeping room 39.10

Following pronouns:

wo'tqan ŭm vai this one here 45.12

ENqa'n ŭm vi'n·vI te'ṛgIlm this one who was weeping secretly 49.1

ṛŭmna'n ŭm I 137.1

Following verbs:

teqe'lignin ŭm a'mI she made a cap too 28.8

ye'tti-m vai she came there 29.13

qaplêta't ŭm qora'ñi the reindeer fell down 51.6

ṛuq, ṛemI's·qälIn ŭm, a'nI it is deep! 53.1

mInpêla'a^{ɛ}n ŭm let us leave it 53.1

The emphatic *ŭm* appears frequently in combination with other particles. Examples of these will be found on the following pages.

I'mI also, furthermore,

I'mI am-vIyê'irgä ṛi'lhIn naranauño'ñIn furthermore, by only breathing on the skin, he shall be cured 24.4-5

i'ṛIt I'mI yei'velqäi ku'likä ralai'viññoi furthermore, from now on an orphan child may travel alone 24.10

ImI ñouñou'lIñ In e'LE wu'tku epki'rkälin ṛ ŭ'nurk not even a hair here would reach me 93.6

i'ṛIr I'mI Nota's·qa-Va'IrgIn narataaro'ñIñoñIn from now on, furthermore, the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1-2

ENqa'at ṛei'lqäLeet I'mIñ they also were sleeping 55.2

Ina'n exhortative particle

pu'ru Ina'n wo'tqan va'lE mi'ilhIr in exchange let me give thee this knife 15.12 (see also 93.30; 103.31; 104.3)

Ina'n am-taaro'ña qätči'ṛItkI no'ta-mla'IrgItkon only with sacrifices provide the ground-crevices 24.1-2

le'uti-tELe^{ɛ}n Ina'n nanwa'qoa^{ɛ}n let the head-sufferer be seated! 45.11

In the following example *Ina'n* appears with the future:

Ina'n tre'etyä^{ɛ} meč-ä^{ɛ}'qälpe I shall come quickly 45.9-10

The following are probably derived from the demonstrative stem *EN-*

E'nIkIt all at once

na'qam E'nIkIt poi'ṛa nItI'npŭqên ŭm but all at once they struck him with a spear 36.2

In most cases *e'nıkıt* appears in coordinate clauses and may be translated AS SOON AS

e'nmen e'nıkıt rilu'tku then all at once he moved 16.5

e'nıkıt uwi'k kıpĕı'tkənên (as soon as) he struck the body (i. e. himself) 35.11

e'nıkıt ŭm naramata'gıt (as soon as) they will take thee 36.9–10

e'nıkıt gai'mı'čın nıgite'ä^{ɛ}n (as soon as) they looked upon the wealth 107.16

e'nıkıt rečipe'tyä^{ɛ} (as soon as) you will be submerged 114.22

e'nıkıt ne'rgıä^{ɛ}n ilule'tyi^{ɛ} as soon as he was loose he stirred 102.25

e'nıkım gite'nin . . . as soon as he looked on it 23.9

Enna'nI in like manner

Enŭ'a'q then (see under *e'nmen*)

Enqana'ta therefore (instrumental of *enqa'n*, BY THAT)

enqana'ta e'nqu tılgı'rkınêt therefore I gave them up R46.39

enqana'ta ño'č-e-ŭm gene'l-i-ŭm therefore I become poor R45.28

gaño'twey-gŭm enqana'ta qo'n·pu therefore I became quite poor R45.28

enqana'ta ılva'-nəta'gtı tıtêggê'ñırkın therefore I wish for the wild reindeer country R46.52

enqana'ta čaučuwa'-ra'mkıčha a^{ɛ}'ttın nıggi'pqin therefore the reindeer breeding people keep dogs R53.31

En·ke'mIr, En·qe'mIr, En·ke'mir e'ur moreover (see also *ačhê'mıra*)

en·qe'mir e'ur a^{ɛ}qa'-ra'mkıčhın ya^{ɛ}'rat moreover, they are very bad people R 53.20–21

En·qam then (see under *e'nmen*)

En·ñata'l THIS TIME.

en·ñata'l ŭm li'itı'lhı-gır from now on I shall know thee 93.21

en·ñata'l enqa'n ru'nin this time she ate 90.6

en·ñata'l añqañqačagtı . . . *rı'ntıninet* this time she threw them seaward 49.6

en·ñata'l kirvete'ru qinetei'kıtık from now on jostle me! (literally with elbow jostling do me) 61.3

en·ñata'l ŭm revi^{ɛ}'ntık this time (if you do so) you will die 64.19

en·ñata'l ŭm qalhêqamı'tvatık of that you may eat your fill 65.31

en·ñata'l ŭm qa·s·qäče'wkwi^{ɛ} this time he did it in earnest 83.20

en·ñata'l ŭm lu-ora'wêɻan this time they were real people 84.29

en·ñata'l ŭm i'ppe gına'n i'me rä^{ɛ}'nut em-gınři'tä nine'ntı-gıt this time evidently you for everything lie in ambush 93.20

en·ñata'l ŭm na'nmırkın-ê-gıt this time he will kill you 114.32

en·ñata'l enqa'n êrrêttêgın this time it is ended R4.50

'nkri gratis

en·ñi'n· thus

nıgnopıtva'qên EN·ÑI'N· *ırı'čıku* he remained crouching thus in his coat 7.4

EN·ÑI'N· *ŭm ñan nıpiu'riqin* thus that one plunged along 8.11–12

*qaqno'pqê*ᵉ . . . EN·ÑI'N· crouch down thus 32.4

*e'*LE EN·ÑI'N· *va'la inenu'käli-muri* not of [thus being] such we eat 34.9–35.1

Also 9.4; 15.4; 90.1, 10; 94.1; 95.34; 105.17

En·ñu thus

E'n·ñu-wa'l-ê-gıt such a one art thou 70.25

EN·ÑU-*wa'lı-tə'rê* such are you 106.28

E'n·ñot thus

ni'wkwäᵉn E'n·ñot they spoke thus 78.4

ti'wkwäᵉk E'nñot I say thus 15.8

ELO'n emphatic particle

gık ELO'N oh! 10.1

ELO'N *gınni'ku ne'lyäᵉt* now they became (our) game 12.2

gık, e'nmen ñıpe'äᵉt. ELO'N *re'mkın tumge'wkwi*ᵉ oh, they landed. Now the people became friendly 14.1

ELO'N EN·ÑU'-*wa'lê-gıt* such a one art thou 21.11

ELO'N *mırrı'wkut-hıt* let us bind thee 23.8

ia'm ELO'N *ten·ñe'urkın* why doest thou laugh? 30.3

ELO'N *nara'nmŭgıt* they will kill thee 37.10

ELO'N *vai tıyı'lırkın-i-gıt* this one I give thee 104.1

ELO'N *gına'n* ELO'N *Piti'yñ-i-gıt* thou art Rheum 103.21

i'gıt ŭm ELO'N but now! 123.18

Here belongs also—

*e'mi*LON somewhere 97.23; 121.1 (< *emi-*ELO'N)

*e'mi*LON*ai'ñın* (augmentative of *e'mi*LON) 43.6

awe'tuwaq suddenly, at once

*awe'tuwaq êwkwê'tyi*ᵉ suddenly he left R 13.27

yılg-awe'tuwaq ñaus·qatı'yñın orgŭ'tkını kenema'nnen at once he tied the girl to the sledge R 13.23

a'm*EN *ŭm ELO'n expresses displeasure, somewhat like German "aber doch" without disjunctive meaning.

*gık, a'm*EN *ŭm* ELO'N *notas·qa'wkwê*ᵉ Oh, the land is near 8.8 ("aber das Land ist doch nahe")

*guq, a'm*EN *ŭm* ELO'N *čı'mquk pêla'arkın* oh, some are leaving 8.9.

*guq, a'm*EN *ŭm* ELO'N . . . *re'mkın qäiñunre'lqıä* oh, the people will come 10.3–4

*guq, a'm*EN *ŭm* ELO'N *mınıwkurkın-i'-gıt* let us tie thee 20.9; see also 23.13

a'mEn ŭm ELO'*n e^{ɛ}'tqi nintewimin·ge't-i-um* I was badly tortured by them 21.9

a'mEn ŭm ELO'*n Nota's·qa-Va'ırga ini'wkwi^{ɛ}* I am told by the Ground-Beings 23.11–12

ǧuq, ELO'*n ŭm a'mEn ga'mga-vaırgê'pŭ tımete'wkwä^{ɛ}k* among all beings I could not do it 18.9

ELO'*n ŭm a'mEn, wotqanai'ñın* ELO'*n ǧaraqêčha'lên* that big one, what has the bad one done! 31.9

amEn ŭm ELO'*n wot uwä^{ɛ}'qučitä ai'mak em e^{ɛ}'lu getei'kılin* this husband made the whole carcass into excrement 81.11

a'mEn ŭm ELO'*n ñe'us·qät-i-ǧır* so you are the woman 136.15

a'mEn seems to introduce an unexpected event—AND THEN UNEXPECTEDLY—or to introduce an entirely new idea, to which emphasis is given 40.4; 41.12.

a'mEn ŭm e'nmen pênyo'lhın nuurgırge'tqin and then unexpectedly the hearth made a noise 32.8

e'nmen ŭm uwä'quč qla'ul a'mEn ŭm nıtvêtča'qên wŭlh-ê'räqaia a'mEn ŭm vai li'i-teñ-evirälin then the man, the husband, was standing there unexpectedly with a little thin fur shirt, unexpectedly really well clothed 33.2

also 24.1; 29.11; 33.11; 39.3, 4, 5; 38.9, 11; 81.1; 88.8

am, a'mEn oh! (another idea) 56.8

—, *a'mEn-!* 58.7

a'mEn-ŭm 8.10; 9.5; 13.10; 9.13; 39.3; 58.5; 65.20; 77.29; 80.25; 89.9; 93.31; 99.1; 101.2

a'mınam (= *amEn-ŭm* 15.10)

a'mEn ŭm ñot! such a one 98.33

a'mEn ŭm ELO'*n* 8.8, 9; 10.3; 39.1, 13; 41.6; 64.1; 81.11; ELO'*n ŭm a'mEn* 31.9 (see under ELO'*n*) it should not be expected, but

a'mEn ŭm qarê'm 16.9; *a'mEn qarêm* but I will not! 16.1

a'mEn ŭm naqa'm 39.4; *na'qam a'mEn* 63.11; however

venli'i ŭm a'mEn 40.7

a'mI

tepe'lignin ŭm a'mı she made a cap too 28.8

nananaqa'ǧčıñın ŭm a'mı ǧeǧǧeu'lın the little child awoke 55.3

telenye'p ŭm a'mı long ago 61.5–6

kırga'm ŭm a'mı . . . well (if you had found him) 121.4

a'nI an emphatic particle (?)

e'nmen a'nı qänu'r qun nute's·qän then certainly just like ground 8.6

e'nmen a'nı ǧilu'tkulin then she practised shamanism 39.7 (see also 39.8, 9; 40.4; 102.15; 104.35; 105.2, 15; 109.32)

ǧečenıte'lin ŭm a'nı she was startled 29.6–7

ǥenpeu'lin ŭm a'nɪ he became quite decrepit 107.26
a'nɪ,ǥeilɪtkoi'vulin u'kkäm so they distributed vessels 14.1
a'nɪ,ǥilu'tkulin he beat the drum 107.9
a'nɪ,ǥetɪpeiñe'lin he continued to sing 102.17
a'nɪ a'ttau for no particular object 30.4
a'nɪ qu'num,qanto'ê^{ɛ} oh, look here! come out! 81.27

atau' without purpose; for no particular reason; it does not matter
atau', li'en re'qärkin (you went to no purpose) what is the matter with thee? 18.6
atau', lɵ^{ɛ}*'nvɵ* (to no purpose, only) in order to be looked at 19.2 (also 19.6; 23.1; 30.4; 48.12; 125.1,6)
ata'um nɪ'rǥɪpa'tqên to no purpose was he discussed 15.7
ǥ^{e}*i*^{ɛ}*ñkeli'y-ǥɪr, a'ttau* it is your (own) tattooed face; (you act) to no purpose 77.8
attau' ǥɪrǥo'l-qla'ulɵ nine'lhäqin for no particular reason he takes it for the man above 124.6–7
ǥuq, attau'-qun o'rgoor yê'taqätĭr'ǥɪn just get (your) sledge ready 105.20 (see also 119.18)
e, gu'nä, a'ttau oh, well, it does not matter 78.7
ǥuk, attau' ǥumɪ'k oh, it does not matter, with me (sit down) 78.24

ačhê'mɪra, ačhê'mɪra-ñ-e'ur moreover (see also *ɛn·ke'mɪr*)

a'lɪmɪ disjunctive
a'lɪmɪ alo^{ɛ}*ka'ǥtɪ va'lɛ-ŭm* although I am invisible 22.10
a'lɪmɪ va'lɛ ra'qalqal however, there is no need of the knife 57.4
ka'ko, a'lɪmɪ inelu^{ɛ}*'kälinet* he has not seen them anyway 70.32
ya'am tɪle'lɪt a'lɪmɪ lu'ur ñan titqä'nninet but it swallowed them 71.3
a'lɪmɪ quwalo'mŭrkɪn ŭm vê'tɪ do obey! 88.10
a'lɪmɪ eñe'ñɪlɪn however, he was a shaman 105.1
a'lɪmɪ kamaǥra'ñnoi he really gave a start 101.16–17

a-lŭ'mña expresses surprise (see *lŭ'mña*)
ǥ.uq, a-lŭ'mña qai've ǥɪt oh, is that so, is it thou? 97.13
a-lŭ'mña is that so? 121.1; 125.7
a-lŭ'mña ño'on me'ñin who was here? 109.21

a*^{ɛ}'qälpe*** quickly 122.2

ei'uk, ai'ɵk
ɪna'n ai'ɵk ñeu^{ɛ}*tte'pɪk trenurete'ur* let me in due time make it appear (be born) through a female dog 121.31
ǥɪk,ǥɪmɪ'k ei'uk ekälu'k oh, in due time (I see) thee at last 19.4
ɛn·qa'm ɪna'n ai'ɵk . . . re'etyä^{ɛ} then after a while . . . he shall come 83.5-7

Also 118.20

e'un seems to be a connective with weak temporal tone.

mi'ñkri, e'nmen, ge'mge-ni'kin ñi'nqäi nêna'gtoqên, e'un navi$^{\varepsilon}$'qin how, then to whomsoever a child is born, and (then) it dies 20.8

ñi'lhä ge'wkuʟin e'un ninenlɪpe'tqäet with thongs he is tied and he breaks them 20.9

e'ur pŭki'rgi$^{\varepsilon}$ e'un nelki'nkä$^{\varepsilon}$t then she came and they had gone abroad 31.2

e'ur ᴇnqa'n ä$^{\varepsilon}$'ttwet geti'neñeʟin, e'un geplɪ'tkuleet and that boat was loaded and they had finished 31.1

qagno'pgê$^{\varepsilon}$ . . . e'un eʟe'pkä sit with head bent down . . . and do not look 32.4–5

"en·ñe' eʟe'pkä," e'un walo'mgê$^{\varepsilon}$ "Do not look!" and she obeyed

e'un nine'čviqin and they cut it 72.18

e'un gepelqäručeu'linet ñe'wanti and their wives had become decrepit with age 72.29

čeq-alvam-va'lɪt, e'un ɪ'pe kele'tä gayo$^{\varepsilon}$'laat how very extraordinary! and evidently they are visited by kelet 106.8

e'nmen e'un ᴇ'n·kɪ nɪtva'qên i'me-rä$^{\varepsilon}$'nut and then there was everything 106.32

e'un yara'nɵ nine'lqin and it became a house 107.14

gɪk, rɪpe't ŭm e'un! (now they are coming!) 11.10

gɪk, neqe'm e'un qarê'm e'un, gɪk oh, but it was not there 27.11

gai'mɪčɪn nɪgite'ä$^{\varepsilon}$n, e'un kukwa't-koko'ñalhɪn they looked at the wealth and all was turned into dry leaves 107.16

NOTE: Not to be confounded with the prefix *e̯'un-* ACTUAL, PRINCIPAL, as in *e'un-ñe'lvŭl* PRINCIPAL HERD; *a'un-gêta'gtɪ* JUST IN THEIR SIGHT 83.28

eur, eur-ŭm is connective AND with the added connotation AT THAT TIME; it always refers to two events taking place at the time.

ra'gtia$^{\varepsilon}$t, ᴇn·qa'm e'ur lŭmñêna'ê$^{\varepsilon}$ they went home, and at the same time he also followed 120.26

e'ur gɪrgɪronta'ʟên, a$^{\varepsilon}$'ttwɪlä nɪčamɪtaqên at that time the dawn came, (and) a boat's crew crept up to him 10.9

e'ur rɪrka'ta i'unin, "E'ur yɪ'lqä narayo$^{\varepsilon}$'git, muru'wmil qaiñe'i" at that time the walrus said to him, "At the time when sleep overtakes you, roar like we (do)" 10.6

e'ur ŭm qo$^{\varepsilon}$laro'a$^{\varepsilon}$t, Aiwhuanpɪna'čhäqai gi'ulin at the time when they began to make a noise, the little old St. Lawrence Island man said 11.10

a$^{\varepsilon}$'ttwu-yê'ñkɪ nɪgite'qin, e'ur ŭm geyɪ'reʟin they looked into the canoe and at that time it was full 67.6

e'ur is used also quite frequently as conditional.

e'ur Iumetu'nu ri'tyäᵉ, rine'newkwäᵉ at the time when you are *Iumetun*, you shall make me black 23.6 (=if you are the same); also 24.2

kıta'm e'ur lı'ê-va'ırrıñki ġañau'tıñ-ê-gıt, vai u'mkı qaġtı'gın this time if you have indeed married among real gods, then bring a polar bear 110.5

iᵉ'tık e'ur tegge'ñırkın, ġına'n či'mñutä if actually you want it, do as you please

euʟıŭ'mña<e'ur lŭ'mña or, or again

euʟıŭ'mña e'kık or again the son R 23.88

but *e'ur lŭmña* 98.9

Before the initial *n* of the following word *e'ur* changes to *e'un* (see § 7.20; § 11). See 20.8; 72.18

Still *e'un* and *e'ur* are not identical, *e'ur* being used as connective AND between separate nominal (or verbal) forms while *e'un* is not so used.

ġettu'tä e'ur geleu'tırgıtkutä with blowing or with scratching the head 126.7

ılh-aᵉ'ttin e'un, e'ur ŭm uneči'čhın also the white dog and the thong-seal 102.29; also 97.18

also 8.7; 9.2; 21.6; 31.1, 2, 3; 98.9

NOTE: Between proper names, instead of the connective *e'ur*, the plurals of the personal pronouns may be used.

Ġi'thılın e'rrı Tña'ırgın geñeutu'mgä Sunset and Dawn are connected by group marriage R 228, footnote 1 (lit. Sunset they Dawn)

mu'ri Qla'ul I and Qla'ul (lit. we Qla'ul)

eple'un

kı'tam qun eple'un li'i eñeñıtvi'eᵉ well, did he really obtain shamanistic power? 18.4

êwkurġa, êwkurġa-m however

ê'wkurġa tu'mgıtum uı'ñä however, companion none (i. e. my companion is not with me) 11.1

ê'wkurġa ginenčeññıtew-i-gıt however, you have frightened me 15.10

ê'wkurġa tılv-a'mınan trene'lhä (if I do so) however, I shall be all alone 31.13–32.1

ê'wkurga Nota's·qa-Va'ırga nênanwêthawa'tqên however, the Ground-Beings spoke to me (against my will) 24.9

egei', ê'wkurġa ča'mam all right, however, (it will be) in vain 108.30

ê'wkurga-m čotolêu' o'čo nine'lh-i-ŭm, however, that under my pillow I have for my leader 128.13

êwkurga-m ILO'n vai nɪtermeče'nqin however, he does much violence 66.26

See also 45.7; 66.14; 79.20; 84.6; 85.8

e'pte likewise, in the same manner

qän·ve'r kĭme'k êna'nmuê^{ɛ} e'pte ǧŭm at this time almost you killed me likewise 121.16, 17

attau' a^{ɛ}'ttu mɪlhɪ'a^{ɛ}n e'pte ǧŭm simply as a dog I'll use it (I) likewise 135.20–21

e'pte gɪnni'g-gili'lɪt ne'mäqäi gɪna'n nêna'nmê-gɪt likewise the game procurers also thou has killed 44.9–10

a'mEN ŭm ELO'n e'pte ǧŭm mɪñau'tɪnga^{ɛ}k let me likewise take a wife R12.8

emɪte't at once, just now

emɪte't ŭm muwê'ññɪtaaq I shall go for (my) body 31.12 (see 32.2 *emɪte't ŭm* in final position

emɪte't ŭm tê'rgɪlɪn ra'qal ñan even thus crying for what? 27.12

ǧuq, emɪte't ŭm evi'rɪt qätei'kɪgɪnet oh, at once clothing make! 49.4

emɪte't-ŭm tɪpêla'nat nɪme'lqinet I just left them in safety (=good ones) 53.4

emɪte't-ŭm ataa'nkĕlin tê'rgɪlɪn they did not touch the one who cried, (so at once . . .)

emɪte't ŭm qagtɪ'gɪn bring it at once 111.3

emite'tɪm tɪgite'ä^{ɛ}n I looked on her 88.30

e'tI evidently, probably.

e'tɪm vai nɪpa'tqênat vên·va'kɪ evidently they cooked them secretly 9.9

e'tɪm nu'tenut mɪnnei'meukwä^{ɛ}n evidently we are approaching land 9.11

e'tɪm am ǧemǧe-nute'qin evidently from every country 11.4

e'tɪm a'mEN kuwi'čɪn tre^{ɛ}'tyä^{ɛ}n evidently I brought Children's Death 20.1

e'tɪm ke'lek qäli'ketyi^{ɛ} evidently thou wilt marry a kele 26.2

ê'tɪm wu'tku evidently he is here! 125.2

e'tɪm ñĭro'rgarɪ there many have been three 97.26

ELO'n ŭm ê'tɪm evidently that! (a term expressing annoyance) 31.10; 108.22

ê'tIlIn necessarily

êto—

Eto'qaia'qañ rɪpkire'nnin after a while he brought her back 51.4

e'nmen êto'qaia'qañ ŭm ǧre'lgi^{ɛ} after a while he vomits 136.24–25

qai'vE-mač-êto'pêl indeed I am a little better 135.7–8

erre'č gɪt êto'pêl thou art most fit 135.19

ɛto'pêl ɛn·kɪ iwkuči'iᵋ she better drank then (i. e. she could drink then) 37.4

ê'toqon wo'tqan qäimi'tgɪn will you take this one?

ê'toqon mɪrrenu'tergi-gɪt shall we bury thee rather in the ground? R 60.23

e'nmen, ɛn·qam, ɛnřa'q THEN, coordinating conjunctions. Of these *enme'n* seems to express the most definite temporal sequence, *ɛn·qa'm* a closer temporal connection, while *ɛnřa'q* should be translated *in turn* and indicates a still closer connection. It seems to depend upon the liveliness of the narrative which of these three is used. The first one is the most frequent connective conjunction, although a constant use of *ɛn·qam* is not rare 62.6 et seq.

The difference between *e'nmen* and *ɛn·qa'm* appears most clearly when their use alternates; as in the following examples.

ɛn·qa'm ɛnqa'n Umqäqäi'ɪnä rɪlhɪndɪgɪwe'nnɪn ñe'us·qät. e'nmen lu'ur e'grɪpgiᵋ At that time U'mqäqäi pointed with his finger at the woman. Then thereafter she felt pain 63.7–8

ɛn·qa'm ɛnqa'n Umqäqäi'ɪnti gegɪnteu'linet; e'nmen qu'ttɪrgɪn qa'at nerri'net at that time U'mqäqäi and his people fled; then the others untied the reindeer 63.10–11

ɛn·qa'm nɪte'giñqin . . . e'nmen nɪten·ñe'w-i-ŭm . . . ɛn·qa'm gi'ulin At that time she sniffed . . . . then I laughed a little; . . . then she said 72.11–13

e'nmen ya'yak qamɪtvača'qên mɪ'tqak, ɛn·qa'm ɛnqa'n rɪyɪrrai'nênat then the gulls ate all the blubber and at that time they anointed them

en'men uwi'lkan qätei'kɪgɪn . . . ɛn·qa'm dinčikou'tɪ qineni'ntɪri- then make a woodpile and throw me into the fire! 31.12–13

In all these examples, the impression is conveyed that *ɛn·qa'm* signifies a closer connection than *e'nmen*.

The form *ɛnřa'q* is parallel to *mə'rgɪn-řaq* WE NEXT 69.22 and *gŭm-řaq* I NEXT 77.21 Its meaning IN TURN THIS TIME appears clearly 17, 23, 96.11.

ɛnřa'q appears also together with *e'nmen*

e'nmen nute's·qän ɛnřa'q nuwêthau'qên then this time he spoke to the ground 15.9–10

e'nmen ɛnřa'q ya'yakɪt namɪngukwa'arkɪnat then in turn he rewarded the gulls 74.28–29

In the beginning of a story *e'nmen* means ONCE UPON A TIME.

§ 128

e'nmeč because

va'nêvan nɪ'tvɪnên, e'nmeč ŭm nayɪlhau'nên she did not tell him anything because she feared his anger 88.22–23

e'nmeč ŭm e'un pŭki'rgiᵉ ya'rak garančêmau'lên uwäᵉ'quč when she came home, her husband had broken the tent 30.10–11

e'nmeč ŭm ñan e'čhi wulqätvi'iᵉ, keñkele'nnin because of this, before evening came, he made her descend 97.5–6

e'nmeč ä'qälpe because of this, hurry up!

e'nmeč geplɪ'tkulin and already it is finished

e'nmeč qui'mɪk taᵉla'iorkɪn already I soil my trousers 94.19

e'nmeč wɪ'yolu qi'nelhɪ'rkɪn already you shall have me for a servant 95.7, also 95.15

eče'nur eču'ur

eče'nur vintuwɪ'lin it shall be (this way) a well trained one 24.6

eče'nur . . . veime'nu nere'lhɪñɪn it shall be (this way) one who is kindly treated 25.8–9

guq, eče'nur yê'ta qäle'tɪk it shall be this way! (you shall) move on slowly 65.28

eču'ur yep vai atêvga'tka vai yegte'ʟeᵉt it shall be this way! as yet without crying (shall be) those living R 54.40

ečhi before

e'čhi ras·qêuño'aᵉt čit nepi'rirkɪn qla'ulqai before they could enter they attacked the man 85.15

e'čhi yɪlqä'tyät ganto'lên before they had gone to sleep he went out 8.4

e'čhi eime'wkwiᵉ ɪrgɪro'ññoi before it approached the dawn came 9.12

See also 10.9, 12.10, 11; 13.3; 20.3; 31.3; 55.6, 8; 97.20

Followed by *-rkin* WHEN ABOUT TO—

e'čhi pelqänte'erkɪn . . . gapêkagta'ʟên when about to come back, she fell down 97.20

e'čhi čit qamɪ'tvarkɪn lu'ur pi'rinin when she was about to eat, after that he caught her 87.12

e'nmen e'čhi reᵉ'nɪlä te'grɪrkɪnin lu'ur i'wkwiᵉ then, when the bow-man was about to fling the harpoon, after that he said 10.10

elhɪle'ñki in case, if

elhɪle'ñkɪ reluᵉ'ñɪn in case you should see him

erre'č only

erre'č qun ñe'ekɪk an only daughter R 12.10

erre'č ᴇnqa'n ñe'ekɪk (there was) only that daughter 28.2

erre'č ñɪro'rgarɪ there were only three of them 34.3

na'qam erre'č yi'liil ru'rkɪnin he eats only tongues 49.3

erre'č ŭm am-gɪtka't gegnu'linet only just the legs were left 51.4
erre'č ai'kolak moli'yñɪn ŭm on the bedskins was only blood 56.4–5
erre't-te'gɪn limit of end (i. e. it is the end); from *-tegn* limit (only in compounds) 64.2
erre'č mi'mɪl, yaᵉ'rat mi'mɪl nine'uqin a'mkɪnɪčo only water, verily water they were consuming in quantities R 32.28

eke'ɪn but (weaker than *naqa'm*)
eke'ɪn gɪt nɪru'l-ɪ-gɪt; gi'newän ŭm gŭmna'n me'čen·kɪ tre'ntɪñɪn but you are weak; I, on the contrary, shall do it very well

ekälu'k
gɪnɪ'k ei'uk ekälu'k at last for thee 19.4

ekeña'n, ečena'n I wish I could (with subjunctive *b*)
ekeña'n gŭmna'n tiᵉpi'reäᵉn I wish I could take it

eke'upčɪ and now, but now
eke'upči tɪplɪ'tkurkɪn and now I am finishing it

ia'm>ɪyam why 19.5
ia'm elo'n ten·ñe'urkɪn why are you laughing 30.3
ia'm pegči'ñu nine'lhɪ-gɪr ora'wêɪan why doest thou meddle with man? (lit. to meddling interest doest thou become) 23.11
ia'm gemge'-gɪnni'k qo'nmuᵉan why do you kill all the game? 92.32

iu'kä oh if! I wish—
guq, iu'kä qaia'qañ mɪnqamɪ'tvarkɪn I wish we could eat more 65.4
guq, iu'kä mɪnpontorkɪn-ê-gɪt I wish I could eat of your liver! 95.19
iu'kä ño'onqan mɪnɪ'nmŭrkɪn I wish we might kill this one 70.22

i'ppe, yɪ'pe actually
en·qa'm i'ppe mŭkɪči'yñɪn . . . gata'lên then actually very many . . . moved 11.7
en·ñata'l ŭm i'ppe gɪna'n this time it is really thou 93.20
e'un ɪ'pe kele'tä gayoᵉ'laat now really kele visit them 106.8
i'pe-qun really 45.3
gŭm, gu'nä li'i-i'ppe ti'urkɪn I, indeed, quite truly say 57.2

iᵉ'tik
iᵉ'tɪk a'men ärunte'erkɪn in reality thou desirest 24.11
qarê'mên ora'wêɪan, iᵉ'tɪk ŭm ke'lᴇ (she is) not a human being, in reality she is a ke'lᴇ 29.9
qarê'mên iᵉ'tɪk lŭ'mñɪl this is not a real myth 61.5
gɪk, attau' iᵉ'tɪk ŭm tiᵉluᵉ'äᵉn in vain, if in reality I had seen him 121.6
galəᵉočɪna'-mərê iᵉ'tɪk ŭm in reality we have met 121.23

Nota's·qa-Va'ırga leule'wu ine'lhıi^{ɛ} li'en i^{ɛ}'tık the Ground-Beings induce me to do wrong, just really 25.1

li'en· i^{ɛ}'tık amñı'čvınla gŭ'mık rınike'urkin qarê'm mılımala'ñ-ñoa^{ɛ}k just really the angry ones order me to do something, let me not obey them 21.10

i^{ɛ}'tıg lŭ'mña Tño'tirgê-gıt in reality again, thou art Tño'irgın

i^{ɛ}'tıg lŭ'mña qailhına'n·gêt eñe'ñetvii in reality again he has acquired real shamanistic power 19.11–12

i^{ɛ}'nqun lest

nênaio'qên i^{ɛ}'nqun nere'lu^{ɛ}ñın she shoved it in, lest they should find it 29.3

· · · *i^{ɛ}'ñqun vai kıntaya'n ragno'urkın vê'tı gınni'k* lest even the lucky one should feel great scarcity of game 42.3

nini'uqinet, titi't remle'gıtkı, i'nqun nere'lu^{ɛ}ñın he said to them, "You will break the needles!" lest they should look at them 82.12

i'gıt now

i'gır ı'mı Nota's·qa-Va'ırgın narataaro'ñıñoñın now also the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1–2

qu'num i'gıt ŭm mınra'gtatya^{ɛ}n let me now take it home 121.28

i'gıt-ŭm-ılo'n o'ra tıyo^{ɛ}'wkut now I have come to thee openly 123.18

ya'nət first

go,gŭm ŭm ya'nət oh, I first 43.9

ya'nřa separately, alone

nıtkiu'qin ya'nřa she passes the nights by herself 28.3

ya^{ɛ}'rat very (sometimes *ya^{ɛ}'čat*)

nıthı'lqinet ya^{ɛ}'rat very hot ones 9.9

ya^{ɛ}'rat nite'nqinet very good ones 14.8

nıte'ñqin ya^{ɛ}'rat a very pretty one 36.3

eñeñitvi'i^{ɛ} ya^{ɛ}'rat he acquired great shamanistic power 35.10

ya^{ɛ}'ran nigło'qên she sorrowed very much 27.10

a'mɛn ŭm ya^{ɛ}'rat verily! 85.2

yaka'n·-kın probably 9.13

yäqqäi a particle giving a slightly emphatic shade to the phrase, like German "ja"

yäqqäi' ɛn·qa'm pe'ıe tre'etyä^{ɛ} I'll soon be back (ich werde ja bald wiederkommen) 30.8

yäqqäi' ŭm qu'num tu'ri qarê'mêna-tərê ye are not (human beings) (ihr seid ja doch nicht Menschen) 85.4-5

mi'ñkri-m-e'un yäqqäi' gŭmna'n mılu^{ɛ}'a^{ɛ}n tuwêlvača'arkın how is it then? I shall find him. I am unable to do it (ich soll ihn ja finden) 124.3

yäqqäi'-ñan ɡɪt tratara'ññaᵉ for thee I'll pitch the tent (für dich will ich ja das Zelt aufstellen) R 61.38

yäqqäi' ora'wêḷa-taiñatıčha'tıl-ê-ɡɪt you are a murderer of men (du bist ja ein Mörder) 94.6

yäqqäi' ŭm räᵉ'nut what is it? (ja, was soll das denn?) 111.3

yäqqäi' ŭm yaɡtalê'n·vo tıye'tyäᵉk have I come for life? (bin ich etwa gekommen, um mein Leben zu erhalten) 113.26

yeᵉli'i (evidently containing the element *li'i* TRULY, REALLY, see also *uʟi'i, venli'i, miteli'i, qäʟi'i, quʟi'i*)

e'nmen yeᵉli'i ᴇnqa'n is he the only one? 21.13

yeᵉli'i ɡŭmna'n rather (let) me (be the one)

Also R 12.7

yu'raq perhaps.

opo'pɵ exhortative

opo'pɵ ɡarai'-ɡɪt mınle'ɡɪt thou hast a home, let me take thee there 89.7

opo'pŭ mınpa'awkut let us stop! 98.6

opo'pɵ mıtalai'ruut let me give thee a beating R 61.50

o'ptɪma like (see Koryak Kamenskoye *opta*)

o'ra openly

ɡına'n qanra'ɡtatyaᵉn o'ra if thou shouldst take it home openly 121.30

i'ɡɪt-ŭm-ıʟo'n o'ra tıyoᵉ'wkut I have come to thee openly 123.18–19

uru'ur it seems that

u'rri thus, so

u'rri nŭpluᵉtvi'qin it was so small 20.3

u'rri lı'ñkı nŭmqıtvi'qin thus becoming it decreased in size 20.4

qaɡno'pɡêᵉ êrıčıkou'tı u'rri ᴇñ·ñi'n sit with head bent down in your clothes thus 32.4

u'rri mınɡı'ʟının rı'nnin thus he did (with) his hand 57.10

u'rri ñan ɡıni'n . . . thus it is yours . . . 93.9–10

wu'rrɪ thus

na'qam ŭm neyule'tqin wu'rrı still he was alive (although he was) in this condition 50.3

e'nmen vai wu'rrı ᴇnqa'n ɡama'tıñolên there thus that one dragged her 51.1

ᴇnqa'n ᴇna'n čini't wu'rri ni'tqin that one there herself was thus 26.9

e'nmen wu'rri puulqe'wkwiᵉ then he floated thus 77.23

e'nmen ᴇ'nıkıt rilu'tku wu'rri ɡırɡola'ɡtı there at once he moved thus upward 16.5

u'nmŭk greatly, strongly

uLi'i in this case indeed (or besides indeed?) (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *yeᵋli'i, venli'i, miteli'i, qäLi'i, quLi'i*)

uLi'i yara'ñɪ qamata'gɪn wu'kwên then take also my stone-house 92.4 (in the same way 92.14, 24; 93.3, 8, 18, 26)

ve'tɪ really, truly, very, at once; an intensifying particle

ve'tɪ veime'nu nere'llıñɪn truly friendly he will be treated 25.9

vêtɪ gɪnni'k ŭm a'mɛn nenankêttuwa'tqên truly they made game scarce by means of magic 42.4

vê'tɪ nɪmei'ɛnqin he was very large 73.9

vê'tɪ nɪqe'tvŭqin he was very strong 47.3

vê'tɪ nara'nmŭntɪk it will kill you at once 70.12

vê'tɪ-m reᵋ'w nêna'nmŭqên he killed really (many) whales 73.3

a'lɪmɪ quwalo'mŭrkɪn ŭm vê'tɪ but obey me strictly 88.10–11

trañautɪ'ñɪrkɪn vê'tɛ qun I shall marry at once 57.2

nɪre'viᵋñqin vê'tɪ he really wanted to die 99.27

vê'tɪ, qaya'arkɪnat ñan do sing it again! 120.24

vetči'in ŭm, velči'in for my part granted!

vê'nom

vê'nom ɛrgɪna'n let them (be) 55.11
Also 56.1

vên·va'kɪ secretly (see *vi'n·vɪ*)

venli'i unexpectedly 60.7; 61.2; 69.33 (Bogoras: still, meanwhile, notwithstanding), (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *yeᵋli'i, uLi'i, miteli'i, qäLi'i, quLi'i*)

qän·ve'r met·-ki'it venli'i ŭm a'mɛn rɪma'gtɪ nine'lqin at this time somehow unexpectedly to the other side it came (i. e. nevertheless it came across somehow) 40.7

venli'i leu'tɪ kɪ'plɪnên unexpectedly he hit him on the head 45.12

qai'vɛ teiñele'erkɪn, venli'i aa'lomka i'irkɪn indeed, I blame him; unexpectedly he does not obey

na'qam pa'nêna venli'i nuurgeimeu'qin but unexpectedly more thunder approached 69.30

ne'me čuwi'pɪt nɪmei'ñetqin venli'i unexpectedly the remaining piece also was growing in size 72.18

venli'i nɪtiu'qin unexpectedly he is persistent 137.15
Also 74.4; 137.13

vele'r, vele'r-ŭm, vele'r ŭm ñau AT LEAST (Kor. Kam. ***va'ɬan***) limited qualification of action)

gailo'kɪm mi'ñkri, vele'r-ŭm wo'tqan indeed, how then, at least this one?

vele'r-um mɪčaqaro'aᵋk at least I will eat some sugar R 65.124

vele'r-ɪm yara'ñɪ ga'tvata although a house had been there (lit. at least with house's being) 31.6

vele'r čımče'tä qênata'gêᵉ at least move near! 37.10 (see also 37.9,13)
vele'rım mıtwêt·ha'urkın at least I can talk with thee 32.1
vele'r-qun, vele's·-qun at least (with a shade of anger) R 72.20

vien· < ***viyen*** just, simply
tıkimıče'erkın am, vi'en· mewkwe'tyäᵉk I am staying too long, just let me depart
vi'en· pŭki'rgıᵉ êuño'aᵉt he just arrived (and) they began to speak 110.3
go, vi'en· qra'gtıtık just go home! 45.9
vi'en aa'lomkĕl-ê-gıt thou just doest not listen 54.11

vı'n·vı, vên·va'kı secretly 108.14

pıla', pıla'q apparently, pretending
pıla' viᵉ'lın pretending death 82.4; 124.6

pläg̣i' that is all! 107.21 (from stem *pl*— to finish)

mę̨l, mę̨č, like, somewhat like (see § 113.10, 11).

mei
ka'ko mei oho, there! 14.5

met·-ki'tkit, met·-ki'it (?)

me'čičŭ besides
i'tkenin ŭm me'čičŭ êrg̣a'wkwêᵉ he robbed him and ridiculed him besides

mač exhortative particle
mač g̣ŭmna'n let me be the one!
mač ırgına'n let them be the ones! R 62.70
ma'činan < *mač-ena'n* let it be (impersonal)
ma'činan čei'vä let it be (done) on foot R 60.21

mite' of course 121.6

miteli'i undoubtedly (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *yeᵉli'i, ulı'i, venli'i, qälı'i, qulı'i*)
miteli'i tıla'nvu va'rkın rıg̣u undoubtedly there is a stranded carcass 64.18
miteli'i ranto'aᵉ undoubtedly she will come out 82.21
miteli'i kitkin·u'qai rakêrg̣a'tyaᵉ undoubtedly a small bright spot will appear 118.6

mitiu' (perhaps *mithiu'*) I thought—
mitiu' eñe'ñılı-gıt I thought thou wert a shaman 22.3
mitiu' ke'le-i-g̣ıt I thought thou wert a kele 15.11
mıti'ŭm elo'n qäigi'pe viri'irkın we thought he really wanted to die R 52.7

tam, tagam all right!

ge, tam! oh, all right! 121.28

gi, tam, a'mɛn! oh, all right then! 84.14

i, tam! yes, all right 84.19

te'naq if perhaps (always with future)

te'naq nara'nmi-ŭm if perhaps they should kill me

te'če-ñ how many times

ne'me te'če-ñ giiwi'iᵉ again how many times a year passed (i. e. after several years) 12.8

naqa'm however, but

utte'mil nimayɛnqana'čhin naqa'm pe'le nŭmqitvi'qin like a tree was he large, but soon he decreased (in size) 20.2

nara'nmŭñqên na'qam . . . nênalwau'qên they wanted to kill him, but . . . they could not do it 36.1–2.

na'qam nin·ñi'uqin ne'me but they ordered him again 59.6

u'ttäqai—na'qam ɛnqa'n gelelu'qäglin it is little piece of wood!—But it has whiskers 75.4–5

na'qam čemi'ngit yito'nenat but (this time) she pulled out a pair of gloves 111.5–6; also 76.4, 6, 24

na'qam ŭm is more strongly adversative

guq, naqa'm ŭm re'qä but with what then? 34.9

naqa'm ŭm ño'onqan but this one 35.1

na'qam ŭm tew-mu'lilin but this one's blood was good 117.14

na'qam ŭm niqe'tvuqin but this one was strong 66.20

With *a'mɛn* it is strongly adversative

e'nmen qu'ttirgin qa'at pe'leqäi nerri'net, na'qam a'mɛn Umqäqäi'in . . . nênalwau'qên then the others' reindeer quickly were untied, but on the other hand *Umqäqäi''s* . . . could not 63.11–12

a'mɛn ŭm naqa'm inpilu'tkul-i-git you on the other hand, are an old shamanistic practitioner 39.4

naqa'm lŭmña (literally *but again*). In this complex the adversative meaning is not always marked. It seems to mean AFTER ALL THAT HAS HAPPENED.

naqa'm lŭmña ña'wtingêᵉ after all, he married 58.7–8

naqa'm lŭ'mña gaa'qelên after all he sat down 98.24

na'qam lŭ'mña inennike'wkwiᵉ after all I am treated thus 98.28–29

na'qam lŭ'mña čeq-ê'ččaq after all, quite on the surface (?) 102.25–26

inenpelqu'utkălin ŭm wot, naqa'm lŭ'mña he can not be vanquished, after all 114.27

na'qam lŭ'mña i'liil wi'ñä ne'lyiᵉ after all, the rain stopped 116.11–12

naqa'm lŭ'mña gınni'k reurre'tyäᵉ after all that has been done game shall appear 25.6

Clearly adversative are:

naqa'm lŭ'mña awgê'tkınka nevertheless they did not say anything 26.6

e'nmen ım-nıkê'řêt nıkamagra'qên, naqa'm lŭ'mña vaˢglıñın no'mräqên then the whole night he struggled, however the grass (with which he was tied) was (too) tough (to be torn) 20.10–11.

It is also used before nominal forms, pronouns, and nominalized verbs

kıčauča'tyêᵉ na'qam wusˑqŭ'mčıku, na'qam nıki'tä he galloped off notwithstanding the darkness, notwithstanding the nighttime 57.5

na'qam yo'yo qänˑve'r . . . naa'lomgaᵉn notwithstanding the wind, just at that time they heard it 34.4

eñe'ñılın naqa'm go'rgulên but the shaman had a sledge 14.10

naqa'm am-gına'n but only thou (i. e., but you are all alone) 30.3

Apparently following the verb to which it belongs:

gapê'nřılên na'qam, ganmıtkoi'vulên but they were attacked, they were slaughtered 12.4

ni'näqin ŭm naqa'm but this one was swift 40.4–5

ne'me again

ne'me gıtte'wkwiᵉ again thou art hungry 9.13

ne'me čipe'tyiᵉ again he dived 10.1

gu, ne'me oh, again 36.6 !

ne'mäqäi also

e'nmen ŭm Ai'wanat ŭm ne'mäqä'i they are also Aiwan 7.9

e'nmen ne'mäqäi, geri'ñelin then he also had flown up 15.3

e'pte gınni'g-gili'lıt ne'mäqäi gına'n nêna'nmê-gıt likewise the game procurers also thou hast killed 44.9–10

nemäqäi gŭmna'n I also 93.13

ne'mäqäi ɛnqa'n eñe'ñılın nıpe'gtımet also that shaman is hauling a sledge 14.12–15.1

neqe'm but, nevertheless

gık,neqe'm e'un qarê'm e'un, gık oh, but it was not there 27.11

neqe'm ŭm lı'ı-vêñnolın nigtaqin vêᵉ-re'mkä nevertheless having just died, he is taken away by the dead people R 52.12

čɪ'mqŭq partly, somewhat

čı'mqŭq nŭ'mkäqin re'mkın nımıtva'lın somewhat many people were encamped 58.9

čɪ'mqŭq ENqa'n niqulile'tqin in part they were noisy 60.9

čɪ'mqŭk kuke'čɪku e'ret nɪtva'qên partly in the kettle boiled meat was (left) 75.11

e'nmen vai yê'tvuêᵉ čɪ'mqŭk then it grew somewhat brighter 94.22–23

ča'ma also

ča'ma ENqa'n mač-êwga'n tɪtvu'rkɪn also this is an incantation I tell 39.13

ča'ma mu'ɻa e'ur also with blood (they sacrifice) 41.11

ča'ma li'en· ai'makɪk naᵉlai'oqên he also defecated on the carcass 81.6

ča'ma qu'tti ga'nmɪlaat also the others were killed 98.3

tɪnɪn-la'lɪ-mə'rê vai ča'ma we come here also carrying antlers 121.20

ča'ma nuwêthau'qaat orawêɻa'-mêl they also talk like men 64.10

guq, a'mEN ŭm na'qam ŭm gai'mɪč-ai'wan ča'ma oh, he was however a rich Aiwan 50.7

See also 42.3

če'mit therefore

če'mɪt gŭ'muk êna'tvat epki'rkä nɪtva'qen therefore to me promised gifts do not come 93.16

go, e'ur qu'num če'mɛt li'i iulule'tyiᵉ lă'mña walqa'ɪIñɪn oh, and therefore really has become long again the jaw 45.8

čê'ñêt since, because

čê'ñêt ɪm vinřê'tɪlɪt nă'mqäqäet since there are many helpers R 4.44

čê'ñêt ŭm qaalvɪlu'EN·ñi'n· ñu'rri nɪtva'qen since the buck is there on its back R 4.34

čê'ñêt vêᵉ'lɪčhɪn, ia'm mɪnyoᵉ'aᵉn since he is dead, why should we visit him? 108.13–14

čê'ñêt ŭmEnnê'n·-mi'mlä giwkuči'tä since they drink one water R 45.13–14

čê'ñêt gumni'n E'nnɪ-ku'prên u'iñä ENmêqa'etɪ tralva'wñɪn since I have no fish nets, I cannot trade in fish R 46.47–48

gu, če'ñet ŭm ili'ɻä-muri oh, since we are on an island! (an exclamatory phrase) 11.11

čite'un

čit gŭmɪk ga'tvalen, čite'un ta'n·ñɪk tɪtva'rkɪn ŭm i'gɪt before it was with me, and later (now) with the Russians I am staying now R 45.19

čit ai'vanana me'tal rɪnřɪrkɪnin . . . čite'un ŭm gŭmna'n wu'tku tɪᵉnři'qäᵉn before the Aivan kept the medal, . . . and later (now) here I should (like to) keep it R 45.20–21

čite'un akka'gtı tıtêggê'ñırkın and later (now) with (my) son I should like (to be) R 46.38

čite'un kınta'ırga memılqa'a naᵉna'lpınřıeᵉ later on (now) good luck may give me seals R 46.42

čite'un aᵉ'ttılu a'lvañqan nıta'qênat and later on some dog-drivers were moving on in unwanted directions R 32.38

ınpič-ekke'tä rırı'lpınnên čite'un vêᵉ-wgênto'êᵉ the eldest son was with him later on then he gave up his breath (i. e. that he might die an easier death) R 49.15

le'ñıtaq already (?)

le'ñıtaq ŭm napêla'an ŭm vai ñe'ekık already they had left this daughter 30.12

leñıta'q ŭm . . . čŭmña'čhın na'nmugaᵉn already they had slaughtered the reindeer-buck R 52.7

li'en· and simply, and only; restricted action

nineimeu'qinet, li'en· aᵉ'ttä gape'nrčılên they approached, the dogs just jumped at them 111.21

li'en· êlhipêra'rkın e'če it is simply white with fat 81.27

ta'yolhın ŭm lo'lo li'en· the needle-case was simply his penis 82.13

See also 67.19; 81.6; 86.8, 12, 25; 87.1, 28.

li'en· iᵉ'tık (see *iᵉ'tık ŭm*) I tell you what (implying contempt) R 61.1

li'en· iᵉ'tık kêma'wkurgê-gıt and let me tell you that you are causing delay

li'en· iᵉ'tık ra'ññıtaêᵉ and may I ask you what do you want here?

li'en· ŭm iᵉ'tık eᵉ'tqi and really, as I tell you, it is bad 11.3

attau' li'en· utterly in vain (see *atau'* p. 854)

lu.u., before vowels *lu'un* just, just like

loon-ai'vᴇ just yesterday

li'i really

ᴇn'ñata'l ŭm li'i tı'lhı-gır from now on I shall really know thee 93.21–22

li'i eñeñıtvi'iᵉ he has really acquired shamanistic power 18.4

lu'ur AFTER THAT, THEREUPON always refers back to a preceding event.

e'nmen ai'gêpŭ eiñe'nıkuiᵉ, goq, lu'ur qa'at ye'tyäᵉt and he called to the east; oh, thereupon reindeer came 108.32

atčau' luwau'nen, lu'ur yopa'tyêᵉ she could not wait, thereupon she went to look 30.13

lu'ur wêthau'ñoêᵉ thereupon he began to speak 31.11

lu'ur pıntıqoro'aᵉt thereupon they began to emerge 102.23

kıye'wkwäᵉt. e'nmen lu'ur qla'ul ye'tyiᵉ they awake. Then, after that, a man came 66.11

rılhındiġiwe'nnin; e'nmen lu'ur e'ġripġiᵉ he pointed at her with a finger; thereupon she felt pain 63.7

See also 8.5; 10.8, 10; 15.1; 29.6; 61.9; 68.11; 70.27

lu'un matalı'yñın êuñoi' thereupon the father-in-law said 114.9

lŭ'mña again

ġu, mê'ñko lŭ'mña pı'ntıqätyiᵉ oh, whence doest thou appear again? 10.12

ra'ᵉnota'čhıt lŭ'mña what are these again? 14.3–4

naga'm lŭ'mña . . . erġewe'tyiᵉ but again he dived 17.4

See *a-lŭ'mña* p. 854.

rīpe't even

rıpe't têrġa'tyêᵉ he even began to cry

eyı'lqakĕlinet rıpe't ELI*'ġit* without sleep were even the parents 34.3–4

lile'-mi'mlä nıpyuči'tqin rıpe't the eye fluid even spurted out 106.19

rıpe't ġe'mu lı'nġäᵉn you did not even mind it 109.25

*e'nmen rıpe't têna*ᵉ*lai'okwut* I even eased myself over you 109.23

rattạn·ñauñīn enough 65.6

re'en I confess

-řam with personal pronouns MY, THY, HIS TURN (perhaps < *Enřaq ŭm, ġŭm-ra'q ŭm* it is my turn)

e'ŭn nıpampıče'teqen Enřa'm či'čhınčıku aŭnra'lın he puts on tufts of reindeer hair in their turn in the armpits of the owner (i. e. the owner puts on . . .) R 4.46

Enřa'm rımne'tä ġaikola'Leet this time they spread the skins the inside upward R 59.13

Enřa'm nımtu'mqäqäi eñinqä'ikĕlin on his part their camp companion has no child R 12.11–12

kīme'l, qīme'l at once (?)

kıme'l e'lhu ine'tčiiᵉ at once he has a liking for me 137.14 (see also 137.5, 11)

Enqa'm ñaus·qatê'tı qıme'l then at once (he said) to the woman 58.6

kīme'k almost

kıme'k mitı'nmuut almost we killed thee 10.11

a'mEn-ŭm-ILO'n tı'nma ine'ntıiᵉ kıme'k but now you did almost kill one 123.17–18

qän·ve'r kĭme'k ênanmŭêᵉ e'pte ġŭm this time you have almost killed me 121.16–17. See also 66.35; 71.6; 85.27; 128.12.

kīta', kīta'm, kitau

kıtau'

kıtau'qun, mi'ñkri ni'tqin now then! how was he? 17.12 (*kıta'm qun* 18.1)

kɪtau' qun aˢtti'yña ninenyeġtele'nmɪk well then! the big dog saved us 106.26

kɪta'

kɪta' ña'nko go ahead! (bring him) here! 20.1

kɪta'm 46.4; 79.1; 80.10; 87.8; 94.9; 110.20; 113.21; 124.2; *kɪta'm qun* 16.6; 18.4; *kɪta'm qu'num* 21.5 well then!

kɪta'm ñu'nři now then (bring home) here! 23.2

ġuq, kɪta'ɪn lŭ'mña well! now then again! 68.17

It may be separated from the imperative or subjunctive by a clause

kɪta'm e'ur li'ê-va'ɪrɪñkɪ ġañau'tɪñ-ê-gɪt qailhɪna'n·ġêt, vai u'mkɪ qaġtɪ'ġɪn now then, if among real being (gods) thou hast married really, here a polar bear bring! 110.5–6. Compare 110.9–10.

kɪta'tkE unfortunately 25.12

kɪ'tvil-qun notwithstanding

kɪ'nmal together (?)

kɪ'nmal mɪnuñe'lmɪk let us go for fuel! 30.6

kɪ'nmal . . . pilɪgɪli'lɪt . . . gɪna'n nêna'nmê-gɪt thou wert killing at once (?) the food procurers 44.9. See also 83.26

kĭrga'm ŭm a'mEn, kĭrga'm ŭm a'mi well now! 121.4

kite' seldom

ki'tkit a little

ki'tkit nɪten·ñe'w-i-ŭm I laughed a little 72.13

ki'tkit qänve'ntetyiˢ open it a little 94.21, 34

ki'tkit nuurre'tqinet they were a little visible 95.30

ku'likä alone 24.10.

qaia'qañ a while

e'nmen qaia'qañ tɪle'äˢt they walked a while 64.8. See also 66.8.

ġuk,iu'kä qaia'qañ mɪnqamɪ'tvarkɪn I wish we could eat a while 65.4

qaia'qan e'ur neimeu'qin for a while he approached 66.13

qaia'qan e'ŭli-ġêlêññó'êˢ ven-čŭmñ'a'chɪn for a while the trained reindeer-buck was looking for urine R 13.26

ɛto'-qaia'qañ rɪpkire'nnin after a while he brought her back 51.4

qälɪ'i êto'-qaia'qañ ġewkwe'ɪin after a while he departed 45.11

qai'vE indeed, truly, really.

qai'vɛ qine'ilhiˢ really, give (it) to me 16.1

ɛnqa'n qai'vɛ Iu'metui-gɪr thou art really Iu'metun

qai'vɛ-m ɪ'mɪ yei'velqäi nu'tek tŭmñ-alva'lag rayɪ'lqañño indeed, also a little orphan in the country anywhere may (will) sleep 24.10–11

ǥuq, qai'vɛ-m ñan me'čɛn·kɪ tre'ntɪ'ñɪn oh, indeed, I shall be able to manage him 67.22

Also 23.6; 80.27; 85.3; 92.23; 97.14

qailo'kɪm

gɪk, qailo'kɪm re'gä qäta'lɪñɪtkɪ with what will you answer 14.2

qailo'kɪm mi'ñkri mɪñi'ntɪn how shall we act 53.1

qailo'kɪm wu'tku mɪ'ntɪ-gɪr how should I keep thee here 109.30

qailo'kɪm pe'nin wolvɪtva'lɪn before he was motionless 125.4

qailo'kim ɛlɛ'nyutä rɪrɪ'lpɪnnen the younger brother accompanied him R 50.22–23

qailhɪna'n·gêt, qaglêna'ngêt and actually

qailhɪna'n·gêt lɪ'ê-taničĕ'tɪñoê and actually, he began to feel quite well 33.5

ǥuq, qailhɪna'ngêt ŭm ne'luˢn and indeed, they saw it 10.3

qailhɪna'ngêt nɪ'rgɪpatqên and actually, he was talked about 17.5, 7

Also, 15.7; 18.3; 67.22; 80.27; 104.9

qa'tin just so 127.10

qalêlE vertically

qäi-ɪ'pe, qäiǥi'pe really, in truth

qäi-ɪ'pe li'ê-va'ɪrɪñkɪ ǥañau'tɪñ-ê-grt really among the gods (real beings) you married 110.30–31

mɪti'ŭm ɛlo'n qäiǥi'pe viri'irkɪn we thought he really wanted to die R 52.7

qäi'ñun it seems (Kor. II, Pallen *qa'iñun* Kor. 90.2)

qä'iñun tu'rgin re'mkɪn eˢ'tqi it seems your people are bad 8.9–10

tu'rǥin re'mkɪn qä'iñun re'lqɪä it seems your people will appear 10.4

qa'iñun meti'u rine'lhɪiˢ certainly I shall not be believed by them 19.8

Also 21.2, 5, 12; 24.2.

qänu'r like, as

ǥene'ɪi'net qänu'r pe'welti they became like bladders 9.4

mi'ñkri va'lɪt qänu'r aˢ'ttwukin pu'ttɪñet how big! like holes of a boat (cover) 14.6

naqa'm lŭ'mña qänu'r mêmlɪčɪkou'tɪ ergewe'tyiˢ but again as into [the inside of] water he dived 17.4

qänu'r vêˢlê'tɪ gɪlo'lên as for a dead one she mourned 27.12

e'nmen qänu'r aˢ'ttɪn arê'ta nɪ'ntäqin then like a dog they held him back 66.17

kele'tä va'nêvan eluˢ'kä qänu'r mərgɪna'n i'grt ka'mak va'nêvan eu'rrekĕlin to the spirits they are invisible, as to us now an evil spirit is invisible 62.1–2

. . . *qänu'r vai mu'rgin re'mkɪn* like our people here 61.6
e'nmen a'nɪ qänu'r qun nute's·qän then it was just like earth 8.6
qänu'r qun wɪ'lquul just like coal 22.7
qänu'r qun nɪthɪ'lqinet they were like hot ones 9.10
e'nmen qol qänu'r ɪnpɪna'čhɪn geñe'wänä then another one, like the last (namely in the preceding story) an old man with his wife 28.1
qänu'r li'en ne'ntiäᵉn just as though simply they did to him 35.4
e'nmen qänu'r qun nɪčiite'ruqin then it was as though they were heated 9.8

qän·ve'r the fundamental meaning seems to be AT THIS MOMENT, AT THIS TIME
qän·ve'r galθᵉolhɪočɪna'-mθ'rê just at this moment we have met 121.15
qän·ve'r gɪnmɪ'lkinek tɪl-eime'wani'tqinet at this time they drew nearer 103.8
qän·ve'r gɪtte'pɪčɪn kele'kin i'wkwiᵉ at that moment the leader of the kelet said 104.26
e'nmen qän·ve'r neime'wkwäᵉn qän·ve'r ăm aᵉttɪ'yñɪn ăm wêthau'ñoê at that moment they approached and at that moment the dog began to speak 103.19
Taaro'ñ-Va'ɪrgu ăm qän·ve'r . . . Va'ɪrgu ne'ɻeᵉn a Sacrifice-(receiving-) Being at that time . . . a (spiritual) Being he became 41.9–10

Often it may be translated *therefore*.
qän·ve'r ăm têrgɪla'tɪñoêᵉ therefore (at this moment) she began to cry 31.7
lu'ur wo'tqan qän·ve'r wă'rgɪrgɪn walo'mɪñonên afterwards, therefore, she began to hear this noise 32.9 (in the following lines, however, the translation AT THIS MOMENT is suitable)

qäčɪ'-qu'ɯm as you like it(?) R 54.36

qäLi'i (<*qä[t]-li'i*) but in fact (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *yeᵉli'i, uLi'i, venli'i, miteli'i, quLi'i*)
ni'mnim vai čɪ'mčeqäi va'rkɪn, Eiwhue'n qäLi'i a settlement is quite near there, but in fact St. Lawrence Islanders 7.7
qäLi'i gɪt but in fact, it is you 23.5
qäLi'i Re'kkeñɪt but in fact, they were Rekken 34.5
qäLi'i êto'-qaia'qañ ɻewkwe'lin in fact after a short time he departed 45.11
qäLi'i riᵉ'lin in fact (it was) the dead one 52.2
qäLi'i ɛnqa'n . . . ê'tɪn ye'tyiᵉ in fact this was the master 70.28–30
qäLi'i pinlθ'nênat in fact, he asked them 70.30

qälı'i notas·qa'urkıt in fact they were digging the ground 71.9
qälı'i qun ɛnqa'nat tei'n·ñičıt in reality they were murderous 68.20
qälı'i ŭm qun qäi-a^{s}'ttıqäi in fact it was (only) a pup 80.4
qälı'i ɛnqa'n . . . ɛla' in fact that was the mother 85.21–22
qälı'i pala'wkun yara'ñı in fact a funeral circle 108.17

qeteu' even now
ǫaraqêča'lên qeteu' what has the bad one been doing, even now 31.9

qǫtǫ'm, qǫttǫ'm, kete'm just, just like
qette'm gŭ'mnin yara'ñı just like my house
kete'm plı'tku just as it is finished R 3.24

qo'nırı, qo'nırı-m, qo'nırı e'ur (contracted also *qi'en-e'ur*) since
qol qoi'maron wŭ'thıčı, tu'mgın ɛnqa'n qo'nırım ǫeñewtu'mgeleet ɛnqa'nat the other rear sleeping room was in the middle, a strange person's (not a member of the family) that, because they were wife-companions (lived in group-marriage), these 53.9–10
qo'nırım ča'ma qo'čer-qla'ŭl-e-ŭm ɛnqana'ta ño'o-e-ŭm ǫene'l-i-ŭm because also a gambling-man I was, therefore poor I became R 45.27–28
qo'nırım gumni'n i'gıt i'rälqäl u'iñä . . . trê'lqätya^{s}q Velewkwaygo'ŭtı because my now clothing material nothing . . . I'll go to Merchants Point (i. e. because I have no material) R 46.43–44
qo'nırı tılv-e'tqiñ-i-gıt since you are utterly bad
qo'nırım e'un ɛlı'ǫın ı'mı viri'tägi'ǫin since (the) father has also died a voluntary death R 49.11. See also R 32.37
qo'nırım Eñe'neñe eiñe'wä ča'ma i'lil ŭm, qa'ko because he calls the East wind, it rains 132.20–21. Also R 13.21

qo'n·pŭ quite
qo'n·pŭ vi^{ɛ}'i^{ɛ} he was quite dead 83.21
qo'n·pŭ nımı'tvañño'a^{s}t they began to be quite a camp 107.19
gık, goñpŭ ninenmelewe'tqin he is made quite well 127.3; 135.12–13

qun, qu'num, qun-ŭm probably an emphatic particle, stronger than *ŭm* (p. 849) and *ɛlo'n* (p. 852). It stands in second position, generally following another particle
qänu'r qun wı'lquul just like coal 22.7
e'nmen qänu'r qun nıčiite'ruqin they were just as though they had been heated 9.8–9
qänu'r qun nıthı'lqinet just as though they were hot 9.10
qä'nur qun mı'mlik just as though (they were) in water 101.32

e'nmen a'nɪ qänu'r qun nute's·qän they were just like land 8.6

a'nɪ qun qrilu'tkui valata thus it is! they move about with the knives 16.4

a'nɪ qun li'en· re'pkirgäˢ ratopa'wkwaˢ thus it is! simply you will come home, she will be pregnant 104.4

a'nɪ qu'num te'kɪčhɪn qänu'utkɪ thus it is! then eat the meat! 14.6

a'nɪ qu'num qanto'êˢ come out! 81.27

a'nɪ qun, i'ppe qun thus it is! really! 94.8; also 45.3

têrga'tyêˢ qun ŭm he cried 116.7

kɪ'tam qun eple'un li'i eñeñɪtvi'iˢ did he this time attain shamanistic power? 18.4

kɪta'm qun mi'ñkri ni'tqin how is he this time? 18.1

kɪta'm qun êˢ'nnɪčhɪn qai'pŭgun this time put on the necklace 16.6

kɪta'm qu'num mɪnɪrri'l-hɪt this time we will let thee go 21.5–6

kɪta'm qu'num ineʟe'tti qatvu'gɪnat this time what shall there be for payment? 102.11

kɪtau'qun aˢtti'yña ninenyegtele'nmɪk this time the big dog saved us 106.26–27.

kɪtau' qun mi'ñkri ni'tqin how is he this time 17.12

attau'-qun ñon ŭm Tño'tirgɪna mɪnpêčarê'ra we are just going to Tño'tirgɪn for food 119.18

attau'-qun o'rgoor yê'ta qätčɪ'gɪn just get the sledge ready 105.20

e'nmen -qun ra'gtieˢ ʀʟa' then the mother went home 30.10

qäɪ'i'i ŭm qun qäi-aˢ'ttɪqäi in fact, it was only a small pup 80.4

In the following examples *qun* follows verbs, verbal nouns and pronominal forms.

ñɪpe'äˢt qu'num ʀ'n·kɪ they went ashore there 71.12

pančа'tɪk nɪmpe'qinet qu'num gɪ leaping it went ashore, indeed! 122.16

a'un -gêta'gtɪ pɪlhɪrra'tyäˢ qu'num he makes himself flat before them 83.28–84.1

ti'ñunin qu'num he pulled it out 84.7

ei'miunin ŭm qun he caught him 121.13

viˢ'lɪn ŭm qu'num ʀnqa'n nine'lqin dead that one had become (he had died) 125.10

yiˢ'lhin ŭm qu'num, räˢ'nut it was the moon, what was it? 86.26–27

räˢ'nut qu'num lo'ñɪl what was it? walrus-blubber 47.4

i'me-räˢ'nut qu'num everything 107.2

mi'ñkri qu'num mɪthɪtte'urkɪn it is because we are hungry 70.24

čei'vutkuiˢnɪmnɪmeitɪ, qu'num aˢtto'rguqaia he went to the camp with a dog sledge 105.5

According to punctuation *qunum* is in initial position in the following example

ge, tam! qu'num i'gɪtŭm mɪura'gtatya^{ɛ}n let us take it home now! 121.27

It seems, however, that instead of *ge, tam* we might read *kɪta'm* as p. 21.5

quLi'i in this case indeed (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye^{ɛ}li'i, uLi'i, venli'i, miteli'i, qälɪ'i*)

quLi'i va'añqan a^{ɛ}'ttin ni'ilhɪt in this case indeed I will give you that dog 121.24

gečeu'kI together.

githite' against one's will

gi'newän besides

ñe'wäq strong emphasis

ñe'wäq gi'wä you do say 21.11

ñe'wäq ninemɪrke'w-i-ŭm I have been working hard 81.9

qai'vE ñe'wäq ena'n čini't mini'uqin indeed, he himself did say it R 50.23

ñe'wäq qai'vE and indeed

§129. Miscellaneous Adverbs and Conjunctions; Koryak

ImI also

ɪ'mɪ gaaqai'paɻen also it fitted badly Kor. 34.9

ɪ'mɪñ yuqya'nu gana^{ɛ}'linau they also become bumble bees Kor. 45.3

ɪmɪñ gayai'tɪɻen nevertheless he came home Kor. 42.8

ɪ'mɪñ . . . pɻa'ku wu'gwa gayi'lin also (her) boots they filled with stones Kor. 28.7

Also adj. Kor. 66.8, 72.14, 76.19

Ina'n-awi'wut quickly Kor. 70.12

Enna'n that one alone

Enna'n koro'wapel gana^{ɛ}'lin only the cow was left Kor. 78.12

Enna'niku from that time on Kor. 80.7

Enqa'ta

Enka'ta tɪɻai'vɪkɪn ñe'ɻa then a herd was walking about Kor. 21.8

Enqa'ta gassa'ɻen qata'p-vai'am then he dragged a net along the bottom of the river Kor. 70.11

E'nki then, at that very moment

E'nki yu'ɻa^{ɛ}n gapɻɪtču'linau then they finished what was to be eaten Kor. 50.1

E'nki tryanu'wgi then I shall eat you Kor. 78.18

ᴇ'nki ᴇnnɪ'mtɪḷaᵉn pipi'tčuykɪn ᴇ'nki qata'p-e'mat va'ykɪn then Fish-Man was combing his hair; then a load of winter-fish was (there) Kor. 86.16

ᴇnke' ᴇnnɪ'mtɪḷaᵉn then (there was) Fish-Man Kor. 88.15

Eñnaᵉ'an thus

ᴇnñaᵉ'an thus it is! Kor. 78.2

ġalqaḷin qaičayiči'ña ᴇnñaᵉ'an wŭs·qŭ'mčɪku she went groping thus in the dark Kor. 16.9–10

ᴇnñaᵉ'an vañvoḷai'ke thus they lived Kor. 43.7

ᴇnña'an ġayɪḷteḷñɪvo'ḷenat thus they began to lie down Kor. 82.10

ġɪna'n ᴇnñaᵉ'an ina'ntɪ thou didst thus to me Kor. 88.2

qo'ḷa ᴇnñaᵉ'nač Yayo'ča-ñawġut ġai'ḷɪḷin after a while they gave Fox-Woman to him Kor. 70.14

ᴇnñaᵉ'nvot ġani'kalimau all at once something happened Kor. 70.17–18

Dual forms:

ᴇnñaᵉ'anet ġana'tvɪlen thus they brought him in Kor. 59.2

ᴇnñaᵉ'anet pattaᵉ'ḷa mani'ti ġayɪ'ssalinat thus the two filled with dried meat two bags Kor. 70.21

ayi'kvan at least Kor. 18.1

ɪna'n-awi'wut quickly Kor. 70.12

avi'ut Kor. 44.5

a'wun (Kor. II, Kor. Paren, Lesna *e'wun* Kor. 96.30; 97.17)

a'wun ġaya'lqɪwlinau and so they entered Kor. 80.18–19

a'wun ɨm-ḷa'wtalin and so his head became hairless Kor. 82.13

a'wun ui'ña and then there was no one Kor. 96.12 (=*e'wun i'tka* Kor. II, Kor. 96.30: *e'wune'ḷe* Paren, Kor. 97.17

awnu'p (?) Kor. 64.11

a'wġi falsely Kor. 88.14

am (Paren *ɪm*)

qun-am nu'tak ui'ña ane'lhɪyɪpnuka even in the open country we eat no inner skin Kor. 49.1

pe'nin qun-ɪm Uwe'ñpilɪñ the same (former) little U'weñ (Paren) Kor. 92.7

a'men

a'men ġawġu'ḷin and they tied her Kor. 23.4

a'men e'wañ and they said Kor. 23.6; 28.1

a'men yɪ'nna and now what! Kor. 28.2

a'čhi a'men ġŭ'mkɪñ ni'wi-ġi just now like me thou wert talking Kor. 29.2

a'mu I do not know Kor. 55.3

atau vainly Kor. 61.3

ata'mtɪm in vain Kor. 30.8

as·s·o' since

as·s·o' qati' since you went away Kor. 18.5

a'ččɪč, aččo'č (Ch. *erre'č*) that is all, only, no more Kor. 62.8; 70.8 *aččo'č* Kor. 66.19; 68.19

a'nam then, and so

me'ñqañ a'nam ġi'ɻinau how then did they become? Kor. 61.9–10

a'nam . . . ġaɻa'lin then he came to him Kor. 63.6

Also Kor. 66.6; 78.1

a'nam-eᵋ'en all right then! Kor. 30.5; 31.8

eᵋ'en a'nau all right then! Kor. 32.1

a'naqun and so Kor. 36.10

anuva't just as, just when

anuva't nɪyatɪɻqi'wqin, ᴇ'nki mɪtyɪ'ɻqaɻa just when he was about to come, we went to sleep

a'ɻɪmɪ I wish it were!

a'ɻɪmɪ vai'čɪta I wish (we would go) on foot Kor. 21.2–3

ġina'n a'ɻɪmɪñ ġeti'ġin I wish thou wouldst take it Kor. 72.24–74.1

aɻva' other

aɻva'lin it is of different material Kor. 76.23

a'kyeɻ also

ġayo'oɻenan, a'kyeɻ ipa'ña they put it into it, also into the soup, Kor. 28.6

eᵋ'en (Ch. *e'ur*) then, and

ġayoᵋ'oɻen, eᵋ'en ġavɪᵋ'yalin he visited him and he was dead Kor. 20.8

ya'nya eᵋ'en ña'wɪtqatu partly also women Kor. 44.2

eᵋ'en . . . ġamɻawanka'wɻen and she ended her dance Kor. 48.6

ġakya'wɻinau eᵋ'en yaq ñi'ɻñɪn ni'tɪn they awoke and what thong was there? (*i. e.* and there was no thong) Kor. 40.5

e'enač once upon a time Kor. 58.4

e'wun (see *a'wun*)

matuɻa'tɪn e'wun mɪssaitɪɻa'ñɪn they stole it but we shall bring it back Kor. 40.8

i'pa really; indeed Kor. 37.8

i'pa a'nam ġɪ'ssa but really thou Kor. 66.6

Also as adjectives:

i'pa kmi'ñɪn the real child Kor. 68.11

ġŭmni'n i'pa qɻa'wul viᵋ'ġi my real husband died Kor. 21.10–22.1

i'pa lɪ'ge-ta'ta our real father Kor. 74.20

i'naᵋ quickly Kor. 39.2

qaye'm i'n·a nɪya'tin he did not come back quickly Kor. 72.19

i'n·ač enough! Kor 30.4; 86.11, 18; 88.15

inya'wut (?) Kor 16.5

i'nmɪq really, in truth

i'nmɪq tapañañɪvo'ykɪn in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8

i'nmiqu'nŭm all right! Kor. 28.1–2.

Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3

iñi'nninɪk in this manner Kor. 14.3 (from *iñi'nñin* such)

o'ya openly

ui'ña o'ya a'tvaka she was not (there) openly Kor. 76.14

o'pta also (Lesna: THE WHOLE; Kamchadal *o'ptıma* THE WHOLE); Chukchee *o'ptıma* LIKE)

a'čɪn o'pta ǧei'liɣin he also gave him fat Kor 15.4–5

qļa'wuļ o'pta ɛnka'ta tıļai'vɪkɪn a man also was walking there Kor. 21.9

Quyqınn·a'qu o'pta e'wañ Big-Raven also said Kor. 29.5

qo'ɣa ai'ak o'pta . . . ǧayo'oļen an other one she also put into the storeroom Kor. 55.1

See also Kor. 56.5

oma'ka together

Ama'mqut a'nke o'maka kaña'tıykɪn Ememqut was fishing together (with them) Kor. 44.10

eᵉ'en ña'nyeu oma'ka ı'ssa and then together they (were her children) Kor. 61.2

oᵉnnen verily, indeed, Kor. 59.9

u'nmi (?) Kor. 74.10

ya'wač (?) Kor. 64.9

y'anya (Ch. *ya'nŭa*) partly, separately

yaq (indefinite pronoun, see § 59) and now

wu'tčɪn yaq yı'nna and this now, what is it? Kor. 36.9

ame'yaq ña'wɪs·qat well, how is the wife Kor. 68.2

ǧɪn-ya'q thy turn Kor. 46.7 (See *yaq*, § 59, p. 729)

ya'qam only

ya'qam ai'kɪpa ǧapı'wyalin only (with) fly-eggs she scattered Kor. 45.2

ve'ļo ya'qam ninataikɪñvo'qenau she was only making thimbles Kor. 59.5

ya'qañ why

ya'qañ ya'ti why hast thou come Kor. 64.1

yaqqai'-qun (Paren *yäqqai'-qun* Kor 92.5) then

ye'lɪ

ye'lı ǧayi'ñalin and so she flew away Kor. 46.5

eᵉ'en yeᵉl ǧañekeļa'ļen and so she felt ashamed Kor. 60.1

vɪ'yañ, ve'eñ (?)

vɪ'yañ iskuḷa'ti (if that is so) then you were cold Kor. 26.2

vɪ'yañ ḷeḷapɪ'tčoñvo'ykɪn nevertheless he looked up Kor. 42.8

ña'no vɪ'yañ kɪsva'čɪk va'ykɪn of course, it is there on the cross-pole Kor. 68.5

vɪ'yañ gapanqaɪ'pɪḷen (without clothes) but with a cap Kor. 76.22

vi'n·va, vi'n·vɪ secretly Kor. 61.1; 76.14

vaᵋ'yuk afterwards Kor. 14.7; 19.5

vaᵋ'ak Kor. 56.5; 64.9

van (never in initial position; perhaps related to the Chukchee demonstrative particle *ñan* which is also used adverbially).

ui'ña-van minka'kɪḷa not by anybody else Kor. 40.6–7

qaye'm ña'no-van mɪnutñana'wge not those I shall be able to eat Kor. 55.8–9

a'mḷɪñ-van kɪtve'-lɪ'ga penči'ykɪn after that he rushed at her every time (Paren) Kor. 92.10

pa'ɪ.a perhaps Kor. 60.5

mačɪ maybe

ma'či wu'tčuk mayhap (it was) here? Kor. 49.7

ma'ččɪ vi'ḷka va'ykɪn mayhap a fork is there Kor. 19.7

me'če mɪma'tage mayhap I'll marry thee Kor. 32.6

mal well

mal-kit properly Kor. 15.6; 74.6; 88.9

mal-kɪ'tɪl very well! Kor. 21.5

Also *met·-ki'tkit*

male'ta quietly Kor. 54.7

ma'kiw somewhere Kor. 80.9

me'ñqañ how Kor. 82.4; 84.21; 88.1

me'ñqač mi'qun maɪ'mɪk how indeed shall I get water? 16.7–8

me'ñqan mi'qun how, indeed? Kor. 17.12

mi'qun (Paren *mu'qun* Kor. 92.23) indeed; an intensifying particle

mi'qun naña'nqin indeed he is a shaman Kor. 42.9

mi'qun Ama'mqut e'wañ Ememqut said even (this) Kor. 64.11

ya'qu mi'qun qatai'kɪgɪn what indeed will you do? Kor. 76.7

Also 16.3, 8; 17.12; 39.10; 84.21; 86.12

(***ti'wgak*** [literally: I SAY] it seems Kor. 57.9)

ti'ta when

ilu ᵋ'pɪlɪñ ti'ta mɪnelo ᵋ'čoḷa when we find a shaman's wand Kor. 27.7

ti'ta gŭ'mma tra'tɪk when was I at home? Kor. 68.13

ti'ta o'pta ninanuva ᵋ'an let him also swallow me Kor. 84.15

ti'taq mu'yu mɪta ᵋttayɪ'pnaḷa when did we feed on inner skin of dogs Kor. 48.9

tito-o'n after a long time Kor. 57.5

ɯɪme' very; very much Kor. 16.1, 8

ča'myeq indeed Kor. 24.2

čemya'q really Kor. 56.1

čemečeˢ'n it is so! Kor. 46.4

čini't since

čini't ɛnñaˢ'an qi'tɪ since thou art so Kor. 56.9–10

ɬɪ'ɣɪqai much less Kor. 49.1

ɬɪ'ɣan simply

ɬɪ'ɣan mɪmtelhɪyalai'ke simply they were resplendent Kor. 44.3

kĭma'k almost Kor. 21.7; 84.13

kalê'ɬE, qalê'ɬE vertically

ke'nam Kor. 39.3; *kena'm* Kor. 40.3 already

ki'wan truly Kor. 26.9

kit, ki'tɪl see *mal-kit*

ki, kɪč (never in initial position) and

ya'qkin-ki and what for? Kor. 26.10 (for *ya'qkin* see §§ 47, 59)

ki'tañ; kɪtta' then (?)

ki'tañ amyaqaɬheñe'tɪñ taya'ñikɪn then she wanted to go to the porch Kor. 33.8–9

gŭ'mma kɪtta' tu'kwak I am caught Kor. 36.10

kɪtta' atawaɬñɪɬa'ka do not look back by any means Kor. 51.6; 52.10

kɪ'tta negative particle; see § 131.3, p. 883 (Ch. *en·ñe*)

ki'tkit a little

ki'kit; ki'kič as soon as 84.3

ki'kit ɣayɪ'ɬtiɬen as soon as he went to sleep Kor. 84.3

ki'kič ɣaya'lqɪwɬin as soon as they entered Kor. 72.21

qai'ɣut indeed Kor. 84.23

qa'wun though

qa'wun pani'ta mi'kinak nayamata'ge though later on thou wilt marry someone Kor. 78.17

qačɪ'n

qačɪ'n plakgeñe'tɪñ naˢ'čañvoqen for he had passed water into the boots Kor. 14.2

qačɪ'n qo'npŭ nɪki'ta ɣanaˢ'ɬen therefore altogether it became night Kor. 16.6

qa'čɪn milya'qpil because it was a small shell Kor. 23.8

ɣayoˢ'oɬen, qačɪn vi'tvitpil they visited her, for there was a small ringed seal Kor. 24.4

qačɪ'n ɛna'n tawi'tkɪñik for she (had been) pilfering Kor. 34.3

ña'nyeu qačı'n Yaqyamtıla^{s}'nu for those were Bumble-Bee-Men Kor. 44.6

qa'čın ui'ña ana'ļuka ǥatı'kaļen for without chewing he swallowed her Kor. 84.1

qa'čık

ǥı'ssa qa'čık ui'ña a'ļva a'tvaka for this reason will you be (feel) wrong Kor. 18.7

ǥŭ'mma qa'čık oyamya'-ǥum for am I human game Kor. 42.6

qun, qun-am

ǥına'n qun nıta'witkiñi-ǥi' so thou art playing mischief Kor. 82.9

qu'nam nu'tak ui'ña ane'lhı-yıpnuka even in the open country we eat no inner skin Kor. 49.1

pe'nin qun-ım Uwe'ñpilıñ the same (former) little U'weñ (Paren) Kor. 92.7

qu'nam *mu'yi . . . oya'myañ mıtı'nmın* even we too (alone) have killed a man Kor. 68.3

qu'nam qun Kor. 74.17

vê'tha-qo'nom just now Kor. 56.10

qo'nрй very, quite (*qon'pu* Chukchee; *xë* Kamchadal); Kor. 13.10; 15.8; 41.8, etc.

ǥŭmļañ again Kor. 15.8; 18.8; 19.8 etc.

ña'nyeu then 63.10; 72.8; 74.3 etc.

§130. KAMCHADAL CONJUNCTIONS

Most of the Kamchadal conjunctions have been replaced by the Russian (local) forms.

i, dai (и, дай) and
je (же) but
tolko (только) merely, only
dotopera (до топера) until now
potom (потомъ) after that

Other conjunctions of Kamchadal origin are still in use. Among these I mention

hälč, hälčëq it is time! then, now, altogether Kor. 99.5

This particle is used quite frequently with a great variety of meanings. Its use has even influenced the local Russian dialect inasmuch as the Russian adverb пора IT IS TIME is used also as a conjunction, although this does not agree with Russian usage.

-ılme, -me (never initial) AND, AND NOW, corresponds to the Chukchee *-ŭm* K. K. *-am*.

-ke (never initial) AND, AND NOW, but more emphatic than *-me*.

-ven (never initial) Kor. 98.9. This emphatic particle corresponds to K. K. *van*, and may have been borrowed from Koryak.

kat THEN in the beginning of tales corresponds to Chukchee *e'nmen*.

e'wun AND, AND SO corresponds to Ch. *e'un*, K. K.; *a'wun*, K. Paren *e'wun*, but may also have been borrowed from Koryak.

lact HOW IS IT, WHEREFORE.

§131. NEGATIVE ADVERBS

1. *va'nêvan* negative particle, NOT AT ALL (stem probably *vanê*). This occurs either alone or with other negative elements.

va'nêvan nɪnutewurre'erkɪnen not at all land appears 7.3

va'nêvan nuwa'lomnên he would not hear anything

va'nêvan gɪna'n li'i qälhɪ'gɪn? have you no knowledge at all? 38.4

yi'liil rurkɪnin te'kičhɪn va'nêvan tongues he eats, meat not at all 49.4

va'nevan nute's·qän nɪ^{ɛ}yo$^{ɛ'}$nĕn they did not at all reach the ground 52.12

va'nêvan ne^{ɛ}nlu$^{ɛ'}$rkinet kele'tä the kele could not see them at all 100.29

va'nêvan na^{ɛ}nayɪlhau'nên a$^{ɛ'}$ttɪn they were not at all afraid of the dog 105.25

va'nêvan anto'kĕlên ñe'us·qät the woman did not go out at all 54.8

va'nêvan qarĕ'm nuwa'lomnên he would not hear anything

va'nêvan ä^{ɛ}nlu$^{ɛ'}$net they could not see them at all 61.10

va'nêvan ele a'lomka they did not hear anything 60.10

va'nêvan elu$^{ɛ'}$kä they are invisible 62.1

va'nêvan eu'rrekĕlin it is not visible 62.2

2. *qarê'm;* Kor. Kam. ***qaye'm;*** Kor. Par., ***qeye'm;*** Kor. II (village Qare'ñɪm and others in Kamchatka ***i'ġut***); Kamchadal. ***x·ĕnĕ, x·ĕ.*** Used always with the exhortative, or alone with exhortative meaning, and ignifying negative future.

qarê'm mɪnɪ'nmɪtɪk we shall not kill you 13.4

qarê'm mɪne'etyä^{ɛ}k I shall not become black 23.6

qarê'm mɪlhɪññо'a^{ɛ}n I shall not treat him 24.10

qarê'm mɪnmu'ut I will not kill thee 98.25; 99.7

qarê'm mra'gtɪa^{ɛ}k I will not return home 99.2, 24

qarê'm eli'gä rinenyeġtele'tyä^{ɛ} father will not allow me to live 99.15

qarê'm mi'ilhä^{ɛ}n I will not do it 99.20

qarê'm mi'ilhɪt I will not give it to thee 15.13; 16.9

qarê'm mɪye'tyä^{ɛ}k I will not come

a'mɛn qarêm! but no! (i. e., I shall not do so) 16.1

qarê'm i'gɪt! not now! (i. e., I shall not do so from now on) 21.1
qarê'm! no! (i. e., I shall not do it) 99.13
Kor. Kam. *qarê'm mḷaᵉ'k*, Kor. II. *i'hut mḷeᵉk*, Kamchadal *x·ënč mnuk* I will not eat

Koryak.—

ačhiva'n qaye'm this time I shall not! Kor. 54.3
qaye'm ña'no-van mɪnutñana'wge I shall not be able to eat them Kor. 55.8
qaye'm enaḷha'ḷmɪk he will not catch us Kor. 72.19

Even future imperatives take this particle.

qarê'm quwiᵉ'tɪk do not die! (i. e., you shall not die) 64.16, 17

Derived from *qarê'm* is the verbal form *qarê'mên* (Kor. Kam. *qɪyme'en* Kor. 38.5, Kor. Par. *qɪsme'nen*) it is not so, not true.

qḁrê̥'mê̥n iᵉ'tik lŭ'mñɪl it is not really a story 61.5
qḁrê̥mê̥nai'-gŭm I am not this one 23.5
qḁrê̥'mê̥n ora'wêḷan he is not a human being 29.9
qḁrê̥mê̥nḁ'ĭgŭm qlḁ'ulê̥ŭm I am not a man
qḁrê̥mê̥nḁ'ĭgɪt qlḁ'ŭlê̥gɪt thou art not a man
qḁrê̥mê̥nḁ'ĭgŭm nɪru̥'li̥ŭm I am not feeble
qḁrê̥'mê̥na'ĭgɪt nɪru̥'li̥gɪt thou art not feeble
qḁrê̥'mê̥n nɪru̥'lqi̥n he is not feeble
qaremênai'gŭm ñe'usqätiŭm I am not a woman 116.31
Kor. Kam. *qɪyɪme'w un* impossible! Kor. 14.3.

3. ***en·ñe*** Kor. Kam. ***kɪ'tta***, Kamchadal ***jak***, ***x·ë*** do not! (see § 114 p. 823)

4. ***êlo'*** NO ***eḷo'*** (Reindeer Kor.) 30.9

elᴇ no 30.8
räᵉt'uri?-êlo' what is the matter with you?—nothing 53.6

4*a*. ***ča'mam*** NO! I DO NOT WANT TO (referring to future events) 78.6; used with future indicative. There is no corresponding form in either Koryak or Kamchadal.

ča'mam I do not want to 98.5, 8
ča'mam tre'ilhɪt I shall not give thee

5. ***e'Ḷe*** NOT, signifying simple denial Kor. Par. ***e'Ḷe***, Reindeer Kor. ***e'Ḷe***, Kor. II., village Qare'ñɪn and others in Kamchatka ***eḷḷa***, Kamchadal ***qam*** Kor. Kam. ***ui'ñä*** instead (see below). See 15, 12, 21.3, 24.8

6. ***ui'ñä*** NONE (with nouns; substantives and adjectives). (Kor. Kam., ***ui'ña***, Kor. Par., ***ui'ña e'Ḷe***, Kor. II., village Qare'ñɪn and others in Kamchatka ***em***, ***e'mma*** NOT. The Kamchadal uses *qam* (see above, under *e'Ḷe*). Kor. Par. uses also *e'Ḷe* alone

uɪ'ñä e̯pi̯'ñkä̯ I have no powder
See also 18.5; 22.3; 27.9

Without the negative-prefix-suffix we find—

čai ui'ñä, ta'aq ui'ñä, ta̯m-vḁ'i̥rg̣ɪn g̣ŭmni'n no tea, no tobacco, mine is a good life!

(Kor. Par.) *e'ḷe epi'ñke* I have no powder

Derived from this particle is *ui'ñɪlɪn* HAVING NONE.

ui'ñɪliŭm e̯pi̯'ñkĕli̯ŭm I have none, I am without powder 59.2

§ 132. Interjections

Chukchee and Koryak are rich in interjections. These may be divided into several groups; namely, *a*) ejaculations expressing a state of strong emotion, without definite tone; *b*) exclamations expressing assent, disapproval, surprise, fear, pain, question, call, and answer, etc.; *c*) onomatopoetic interjections, sound pictures, imitations of sounds, such as singing of birds, thumping of stones, swishing of rapidly moving slabs, etc.; *d*) words and phrases used as exclamations. Some of these are derived from pronominal or conjunctional stems, while others can not be reduced to such sources, at least not at present.

a. Ejaculations

a! 45.3 (Kor. *a! A!* Kor. 55.5) oh!
g̣a! R 104.48 oh!
o! 63.9 oh!
e! 85.12; 90.6; 91.7 ah!
e! 101.20 all right
g̣o, g̣o! R 65.119 (call)
g̣a, g̣a! 122.1 call
g̣ɪ, g̣i! R 72.16 ah, ah!
g̣ei! 69.4 oh!
g̣g̣g̣! (Kor. *g̣g̣g̣!*) yes!
g̣uq! 10.3; 52.3; 53.1; (Kor. *g̣ek!* Kor. 50.4) ugh! oh!
g̣oq! 24.1 108.32; *g̣ɪk!* 10.1; 11.2; *g̣i!* 68.30; R 69.35; Kor. 51.1, 5; 58.6
g̣u! 26.4; *g̣o!* 69.7; 108.19
og̣og̣og̣og̣oi! 70.2 oh, oh, oh!
ug̣ug̣ug̣ug̣u! 29.7 uhuhuhuh!

Koryak

e! oh! Kor. 47.1
ye! ah! Kor. 49.2
eñi'! oh! Kor. 64.19
§132 *añe'!* Kor. 49.3 *iñe'!* Kor. 27.6

b. Exclamations

Their stems are independent and some of them form derivatives.

qo! expresses ignorance: I DO NOT KNOW!

qoña'arkin to speak always of one's ignorance; to answer: "I do not know."

Assent:

ı! 9.6, 13; 66.25; 84.10 (Kor. *o!* Kor. 30.2; 38.6) yes.

ı! 84.19 ah!

ęgei'! 133.24 R 71.5; R 73.34 (Kor. *uga'*) all right! assent and approval.

ęgei'! 75.30 oh!

taga'm! R 59.9, 16; R 66, 134 (Kor. *toq! to!* Kor. 35.3; Kor. 45.8) come! well!

taga'm is used also as the usual leave taking.

taga'm tewkwe'erkın! R 41.98 (in Koryak *toq* is used as leave taking) good-bye! I am going.

The usual greeting is *ye'tı?* or less frequently *ge'et-i-gıt;* R 62.62; R 76.25 (Kor. *yati?* HAVE YOU COME? as greeting)

The answer is *ı!* yes! or *ı, tıye'tyäᵉk!* yes, I have come!

Greeting borrowed from Russian, *toro'ma* (здорово) (Kor. *toro'va*) how do you do?

tam contracted from *taga'm,* mostly with an ejaculation preceding, COME! WELL!

ee, tam! 30.9; 89.23; *e tam!* 90.3.

ı, tam! 84.19.

gı, tam! 84.14.

Assertion:

gu'nä! 82.16; 85.6; R 76.27 sure!

gu'nä, qai'vᴇ 24.8 indeed, yes!

Calls:

mei! 76.22 R 73.32; R 59.11, from man to woman 53.6; Kor. *mai!* Kor. 64.24 *amei!* Kor. 63.6; *mei!* Kor. 32.5; here addressed from a man to a woman; *me!* Kor. 100.5 K. Paren *ve!* Kor. 101.13; Koryak II Qareñin *mei* Kor. 102.4 there, you! you! halloo!

ña'ul 45.3 (Kor. *nā'wal*) call among women

wui'! 83.13; R 72.15; *goi* 60.2 (Kor. *goi'!*) answer to call

yago'! 67.8 (Kor *yawo'!* Kor. 33.9) halloo

wago'! R 125.22 halloo! there, take it!

Disapproval:

e'wi! 120.10 so!

ee'! 81.17; 83.14; is it? (doubt and disapproval)

eei'! 108.19 aha! (doubt and disapproval)

Surprise:

Used by men

ka'ko'! generally reduplicated *kako, kako!* 8.5; 12.6; 68.31 oho!; *qako!* 84.10; *qako, qako!* 77.26; 104.14; *ga'ko* 21.4

kako, mei'! 14.7; R 64.93. *ga'ko mei!, go'čo mei!*

Used by women

ke'ke'! 52.2; 71.26.

ke'ke, ña'ul!

keke', keke', keke'! 29.7 great surprise and fear

Koryak, for both sexes.

če Kor. 47.6 (surprise and disapproval) ugh.

qe'e Kor. 82.14 surprise

Fear:

gokkoi'! 63.1 oh, oh!; *goqoi'!* 18.8

kokkoi'! 22.5 surprise and fear

akakaka! 87.14 sudden fright

Question:

wa? (Kor. *va?* Kor. 46.10) would you?

amto'? 13.9; 80.4; R 92.18 (Kor. *amto'?*) well? what news? also used as a conjunction: *amto' gɪtka'lhɪn?* how is your leg?

Pain:

gɪ,gɪ,gɪ R 74.46 (Kor. *mikɪkɪkɪk!* Kor. 29.1) sudden acute pain

ge, ge, ge! 63.8 (Kor. *igigi'!* Kor. 23.9) crying

Warning:

ga, ga, ga! 85.17,28 (Kor. *got!*) off! look out!

Laughing:

ga, ga, ga! R 79.10

gigi! 30.2

gm! 30.2 laughing of a skull.

Anger:

gm! R 72.20 (Kor. *gm!* Kor. 31.2)

gŭm! (terminal) 61.2

taga'm, qapa'ae, gŭm! 61.2 well, cease, will you!

Miscellaneous:

qo! (Kor. *qo!* Kor. 49.6) I do not know

yau yau! 66.17; R 73.35 wait a while! (Kor. *ya'wo*)

c. Onomatopoetic Interjections

qa,qa,qa! R 140.10; R 277.8, yapping of fox

gɪn, gɪn! 105.27 barking of dog

m-m! 106.15 mumbling of ke'le (hence derived a noun *mŭ'ŭmgɪn* KELE'S MUMBLING)

kabeu', kabeu'! R 307.8 cackling of ptarmigan §132

aña', aña', aña'! 84.8 crying of small infant
ew, ew, ew! R 104.47 singing of thanksgiving ceremonial
čig, čig! 68.25 swishing of slabs of whalebone
piw, piw! 68.8 thumping of stone on the ground
pɪg, pɪg! 76.3 thudding of small objects on the ground
pr! 88.17 sound produced with lips
(Koryak) *vakɪkɪkɪ'!* Kor. 46.1 jabbering of magpie

Shaman's calls

egẹgẹgẹgei'! 15.7; 68.28; (Kor. *ogọgọgọgoi'!*); 66.35 (here merely fatigue, though borrowed also from shamanistic practice)
otototototototoi'! 59.4
otatatatatatatai'! 59.4

Answer to shaman's call

gịt, gịt, gịt, gɪge't! 39.9
gẹ'we, gẹwe! R 306.1 raven's shamanistic song
gọ'oñ-kale', gọ'oñ-kale' R 314.23 (Kor. *qo'oñ, qo'oñ* Kor. 48.2; *ann, ann!* Kor. 47.2; Koryak, *umyu'm* Kor. 90.15; Kor. II Pallan, raven's cawing) raven's shamanistic song
gẹ'we, egẹgẹgei'! R 122.2 mosquito's shamanistic song R 306.7
qaia'qañ, qaia'qañ! foxes shamanistic song (a little more! at the same time onomapoetic)
gẹ'wye, gẹ'wye ko'onɪn R 315.31 polar bear's shamanistic song

Calls of reindeer-herders

gọ, gọ, gọ, gọq, gọq, gọq! 32.11 for driving the herd
gạ, gạ, gạ, gạq, gạq, gạq!
eia', eia', eia'! R 307.13 for calling a broken reindeer (chiefly in offering it urine)
qrr! R. 4.38 the same; also reindeer's snorting, onomatopoetic

Interjections are often used in groups

guq, ɪ! 9.13; *gɪk, i'!* 65.26 oh, yes!
ee, ta'm! (see before)
gei, gu'nä! 69.4 oh, indeed!

d. Words and phrases used as interjections

ɪna'nkên, ɪna'nkên ŭm 9.5; 64.7, 14; 68.16 oh, my!
tɪte'ñet! 64.15; 68.16; 80.22 (great emphasis) used also in compounds with personal pronouns in verbalized form
tɪte'ñet-i-gɪt it is wonderful with you
tɪte'ñet-tu'ri (plur.) it is wonderful with you
tɪte'ñet-ve'rin it is wonderful with him (stem *verin* unknown otherwise)

i, tu'n-nikek! oh, my! sudden surprise; (*tur* new; *nikek* verbal noun of indefinite verb *nike* (§82)

ečhinre'wän! 80.23 oh, goodness!

am no't amen! R. 73.27 (surprise and anger; *em* mere §113.5) *ñot* demonstrative particle (§57) *amen* adversative conjunction p. 853) how is it then!

čêq-a'lvam va'lın! 76.5 (§113.15) how very strange!

vê'nom wonder and blame; in compounds with subjective form of personal pronoun

vênom gına'n 55.11; 109.24 something like OUT WITH YOU!

alŭ'mña! 120.16,23 (*a* ah, *lŭmña* again) only think of it! sudden surprise (see also p. 854)

nıre'qin-ŭm! I do agree! 84.19; R 62.58; R 65.112 regular nominalising form of indefinite verb *req* (§82)

rere'q-ŭm R 75.6 I do agree! (causative *re-reqŭm*)

re'qu lŭ'mña the same! R 73.24 (*re'qu* designative of *req* what; *lŭmña* again)

ra'qal 80.25 what of that; (*req* what; *al* otherwise unknown)

u'nmuñ a'nı, u'nmŭñ a'nı-m e'un 84.26; 87.7 Oh, how bad it is! (*u'nmuñ* very, *a'nı-m* even so; *e'un* and so)

KAMCHADAL

tea there!	*qu* call; ha lloo!
tle there, take it!	*hë, hei* answer to call
nux here!	*qa* what do you want?
ee yes	*xi* surprise

§ 133. Euphemism

For diseases, dangerous animals, and unfortunate events or conditions, euphemistic phrases are in use, some of which express the idea to be stated by the opposite idea.

nıgıtte'pqin (literally, clever) fool

čıkayê'tu-wa'lın (from *čıka'yoñ-va'lın* intelligent) silly

erme'urkin (literally, he acquires force) he becomes possessed by madness

also

emtıne'urkın (literally, he reposes) he dies of hunger

uulvılu' (literally, black wild reindeer) brown bear

lei'wulın (literally, the one who walks about) wolf

re'qätkurkın (literally, something is happening) contagious disease is spreading

va'ırgıtkərkın (from *va'ırgın* being) disease

§ 134. New Words.

On the whole, Chukchee and Koryak have not borrowed many terms from the Russian, but have rather coined new words for new ideas. Following are a few examples of these.

Chukchee	Kor. Kamenskoye	
e'rem	*a'yım*	commander (literally, strong man)
te'qenañ	*ta'qana*	tribute (literally, thing for bowing down with)
teq-e'rem	*taqa'-a'yım*	chief officer of district (literally, tribute-strong-man)
añañ-ra'n	*añañ-ya'n*	church (literally, spirit-house)
tin-koi'ñın	*e'tti-koi'ñın*	glass (literally, ice-cup)
wui'gun	*gui'vın*	fortified log-house
tin-u'kkäm	*puti'ļkan*	bottle (Russian бутылка; in Chukchee literally, ice-vessel)
äᵉq-i'mıl	*aᵉqa'-mi'mıļ*	brandy (literally, bad water)
keli'kel	*kaļi'kaļ*	letter, book, writing (literally, carving)
keli'tul	*kaļi'tuļ*	ruble, paper ruble (literally, piece of carving)
ta'aq-koi'ñın	*ka'nča*	tobacco-pipe (local Russian ганза, borrowed from Turkish, in Chukchee literally, tobacco-cup)
êmtê'-qal	——	(one side of) horse-pack (literally, carrying-side)
yara'r-ɵ'kkam	——	flat brandy-keg (literally, drum-vesse)
aima'lqal	——	long brandy-keg (literally, thigh-bone)
ilh-u'kkäm	——	plate (literally, white vessel)

Russian loan-words are always modified to suit the phonetic character of the language. The Koryak, even those that have no *r*, retain, however, the Russian *r*.

Chukchee	Kor. Kam.	Russian	
ča'qar	*ča'qar*	сахаръ	sugar
ta'aq	*ta'wax*	табакъ	tobacco
čai	*čai*	чай	tea
ko'nekon	*ko'n·e*	конь	horse
ko'čır	*ko'čır*	козырь (trump)	cards

čol	*čol*	соль	salt
toro'ma	*toro'wa*	здорово	how is your health?
če'čver	*če'čver*	четверть	quarter
koro'walhin	*koró'wa*	корова	cow
ka'čak	*ka'sak*	казакъ	cossack
ettó'l	*stoḷ*	столъ	table
torê'lqan	*toré'ḷka*	тарелка	plate

CHUKCHEE TEXT

The Woman Who Married the Moon[1]

E'nmen[2] qol[3] yara'čhɪn,[4] ñe'us·qät[5] ŭm[6] qol[3] ora'weɬa-
Once a certain house, woman certain human
ña'us·qat[7] uwä[ɛ]'qučitä[8] ɛ'nku[9] ge'tčilin,[10] e'nmen[2] gequ'pqäɬin,[11]
woman the husband to rejection used her, then she was starving,
elvetiñe'tä[12] gene'ɬin[13] em-qu'pqätä.[14] E'nmen[2] gɪte'.[15] Qän·ve'r
crawling on all-fours she became just by starving. Then she was hungry. After that
ŭm[6] yara'čhɪn[4] lu[ɛ]'nin,[16] res·qi'wkwi[ɛ],[17] čiče'pgi[ɛ],[18] e'ur[19] teik-
a certain house she saw it, she entered she looked about at the same time made
evi'rɪn[20] gaimêi'vŭlên,[21] e'ur[19] ŭpa'lha[22] keme'ñɪ[23] geyɪ'reɬin,[24]
garments were hanging, at the same time with tallow a dish was full,
nɪqamɪ'tvaqên[25] ŭm[6] e'nmen,[2] li'en· nɪplɪ'tkuqin,[26] nɪgɪnteu'qin[27]
she eats and then, just she finished, she fled
nota'gtɪ.[28]
to the country.

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[1] From W. Bogoras, Chukchee Texts; Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition Vol. VIII, pp. 86-89.

[2] Once upon a time, also connective and then, then; always in narrative (p. 858).

[3] Absolute form; with non-personal nouns the synthetic *qulĭ* is also used (§ 60, p. 732).

[4] Stem *ra* house; *yara* probably reduplication from *rara*: *-čɬɪn* a particular one (§ 53, p. 716), absolute form; here in predicative sense there was a particular house.

[5] Stem *ñeu* female; *-s·qät* a suffix, probably related to others in *-s·q-*, but not free. Absolute form as before.

[6] Particle, indicating that the whole story is well known to the narrator, and is supposed to be known to the hearer (§ 128, p. 849).

[7] *ora'wer+laᵉn* what belongs to the human race (§ 54, p. 717); *r+l* in contact form ɬ (§ 7, 17; p. 654) the strong vowels of the word produce ablaut in the second part of the compound (§ 3, p. 646) The first part of the compound has dropped the suffix *-n* of the absolute form (§ 115, p. 826).

[8] Subjective form in *-ta* (§§ 37, p. 697); here as subject of transitive verb (§ 92, p. 780).

[9] *ɛ'nku*; verbal stem *ɛnk* to reject, to refuse;—*u* suffix (§103.34) expressing purpose, depending upon the following verb.

[10] *rɪtčɪ'rkɪn* or *rɪtči'rkɪn* to make some one something (§ 79, p. 765); stem *rtč*—initial; *tč* medial ;*ge—lin* nominalized verb (*b*) (§ 73, p. 758).

[11] Stem *qupq(ät)* to starve; *ge—lin* she who had attained a starving condition (§ 73); *ɬ<l+* (§ 7).

[12] Stem *elvetiñ, -et* adverbial suffix (§ 110.70, p. 810); *ä* Nominal Form I,3 (§§ 64; 95, p. 786).

[13] Stem *nel* (§ 77); *ge-lin* (see note 10); *ɬ<l+l* (§ 7).

[14] *em-* mere (§ 113, 7, p. 816); *qupqäl* to starve (see note 11; *-ä* Nominal Form I, 3 (§§ 64, 95).

[15] *gɪtteu* to be hungry.

[16] Stem *luᵉ* to see; *-nin* he—him (§ 67, p. 741).

[17] Stem *res·qiu* to enter; *-gɪᵉ* he (§ 64, p. 738); *wkw<u+g* (§§ 7.2; 72.4).

[18] Stem *čičep* related to *lilep* to look (§§ 2; 122, p. 834), also *čiče* to look; *-gɪᵉ* he (§ 64).

[19] § 128, p. 855.

[20] Stem *leik* to make; *evi'rɪn* garment, absolute form (§ 30, p. 691), here subject of intransitive verb (§ 91, p. 779); composition see § 116, 4, p. 830.

[21] Stem *yɪm* to hang; suffix—*yv(u)* frequentative or intensive (§110.54); *gə—lĕn* (§ 74, p. 760); with ablaut (§ 3).

[22] *ŭpg'lhɪn* tallow; subjective form in *-ə* expressing modality (§§ 37, 92); with ablaut (§ 3).

[23] *keme'ñɪ* dish, absolute form in *-ñɪ* (§ 30); absolute form as subject of intr. verb (§ 91).

[24] Stem *yɪr* full; with suffix *-el* (§ 110, 70); *ge—lin* (see note 10); *ɬ<l+l*.

[25] Stem *qäm*, compounded with *tvə* to be; *n—qin* one who is performing an action (§ 73, p. 758); with ablaut (§ 3).

[26] Stem *pl* and suffix *-tku* (§ 110, 67), compare *plägi* it is ended; *n—qin* see note 25.

[27] Stem *gɪnt*; with suffix *-eu* (§ 110, 70); *n—qin* see note 25.

[28] Stem *nɣɪɣ*; *-gtɪɣ* after vowel, allative (§ 40); ablaut (§ 3).

Qla'ul[29] pŭki'rgi$^{\varepsilon}$[30] čeivutku'lın.[31] Yi$^{\varepsilon}$'lhin[32] ŭm[6] qu'num, rä$^{\varepsilon}$'nut.[33]
A man came walking. The moon really, what.

"Ġuq, čêq-a'lvam-va'lın,[34] rä$^{\varepsilon}$'nut[33] lei'vurkin[35] qamıtvala'rkın,[36]
"Oh, quite extraordinary being, what is walking is eating much,

u'kkäm-yı'riir[37] te'lpırkın.[38]" Ne'me ırga'tık[39] ewkwe'tyi$^{\varepsilon}$.[40]
vessel-full is finished." Again in the morning he started.

Elve'lin[41] li'en· ple'kıt[42] nênai'pŭqênat,[43] na'qam eu'rrekĕlin[44]
Other ones just boots he put on, however not appeared

ñe'wän.[45] Ne'me qätı',[46] e'ur[19] Enqa'n[47] ñe'us·qät[5] pŭki'rgi$^{\varepsilon}$,[30]
a wife. Again he went, at the same time then the woman came,

ŭpa'lhın[22] ne'me lu$^{\varepsilon}$'nin.[18] Qamıitvala'tyê$^{\varepsilon}$,[48] qän·ve'r gın·kew'kwi$^{\varepsilon}$.[49]
the tallow again she saw it. She ate much, after that she grew fatter.

Qla'ul[29] ŭm[6] ne'me ragtiê$^{\varepsilon}$.[50] "Ġuq, u'nmuñ a'ni.[51] Čêq-a'lvam-
The man again came home. "Oh, how bad! Quite extraordinary

va'lın.[34] Rä$^{\varepsilon}$'nut[33] ılo'n[52] qamıtvala'rkın ?[36] Kıta'm e'ur[19] ırga'tık[39]
being. What then is eating much? Well then this time in the morning

ečei'vutkukä[53] mi'tyä$^{\varepsilon}$k!"[54] Ne'me am-gınotılo'[55] ne'lyi$^{\varepsilon}$.[56] Lu'ur[57]
not going let me be!" Again mere mid-day it became. Thereupon

ne'me ño'tı[58] ye'tyi$^{\varepsilon}$,[59] res·qi'wkwi$^{\varepsilon}$[17] ŭm[6] ne'me, takêčhê'tı[60] qäti'.[46]
again behind there she came, she entered again, to the meat she went.

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[29] Probably reduplicated absolute form from a stem *qla* (*qla$^{\varepsilon}$l*) (§ 29); *q* before consonant becomes $^{\varepsilon}$ (§ 7); absolute form as subject of intransitive verb (§ 91).

[30] Stem *pŭkir* in initial position; *pkir* in medial position (§ 12, p. 662).

[31] Stem *čeivu*, related to *leivu* (§§ 2, 122); *-tku* (§ 110, 67); *-lın* ONE WHO (§ 54). See note 35.

[32] Absolute form; predicative.

[33] See § 59 p. 729; absolute form.

[34] *čiq-* EXCESSIVELY (§ 113, 15); *ġlvę* DIFFERENT; *alvam-va'lın* EXTRAORDINARY (§ 112, 82, p. 814) stem *tva-* TO BE, initial *va-* (§ 12.2, p. 661); *-lın* (§ 54).

[35] Stem *leivu*, related to *čeivu* (note 31); *-rkin* derived form (§§ 64, 87).

[36] See note 25; derived form (§§ 64, 87); *-let* FREQUENTATIVE, (§ 110.53 with *t* dropping out in intervocalic position (§ 10).

[37] *u'kkäm* DISH, stem *yir* FULL, here reduplicated absolute form (§ 29).

[38] Stem *tetp*; derived form (see note 35).

[39] Stem *irg* dawn; a locative form (§ 38). Compare *irġıro'ñño* IT BEGAN TO DAWN 9.13; *irġıro'k* at dawn 10.3.

[40] Stem *ewkw* with suffix *-et* (§ 110, 70); *ty*<*t*+ *g* (§ 7. 26, p. 654).

[41] *elve* DIFFERENT, OTHER; *-lin* absolute form (§ 60.3); singular and instead of plural (§ 46, p. 709). The strong form *alva* signifies AWAY!

[42] Plural.

[43] Stem *ipä*; prefix *ine-* making transitive verb intransitive, here passive (§ 113, 28); *n—qin*, ONE WHO IS PERFORMING AN ACTION (§ 73), plural because referring to *ple'kit*: THOSE THAT ARE BEING PUT ON (§ 74); with ablaut (§ 3).

[44] Stem *urr(eu)* often medially *wurr*; *e—kĕlin* negation (§ 114, 4; p. 824).

[45] Derived from *ñeu* FEMALE.

[46] Stem medially *lqät*; 3d person past, more frequently *qä'tyi$^{\varepsilon}$*; *ty*<*t*+*g* (§ 7. 26, p. 654).

[47] Demonstrative (§ 57).

[48] See note 36, *ty*<*t*+*g* (§ 7. 26, p. 654).

[49] Stem *gınk+eu* (§ 110, 70); *wkw*<*u*+*g* (§ 7.2).

[50] From *ra* house, probably the allative form *ragtı* which serves here as verbal stem: *tti$^{\varepsilon}$*<*t-gi$^{\varepsilon}$* with ablaut (§§ 3, 7).

[51] Particles (§ 128, p. 853).

[52] § 128, p. 852.

[53] Stem *čeivu*, see notes 31 and 35; *-tku* (§ 110, 67); *e—kä* negation (§ 114, 4), see also note 44.

[54] Stem *it* to be, 1st person subj. (*a*); *ty*<*t*+*g* (§ 7. 26).

[55] *em-* MERE (§ 113, 7); *ġınon* middle; *ılo'-*, *a$^{\varepsilon}$lo'* DAY.

[56] Stem *nel-* TO BECOME; *ly*<*l*+*g* (§7): see Note 13.

[57] § 126, p. 868.

[58] Demonstrative particle (§ 57).

[59] Stem *yet-* TO COME.

[60] *tekí'čhin* MEAT; allative form in *-čti* (§§ 53, 40).

Ne'me ečhi čit[61] qamɪ'tvarkɪn,[62] lu'ur[57] pi'rinin.[63]
Again before as before she ate, thereupon he took her.

"Akakaka'! ilu'kä[64] a'lva!"[41] nɪqama'graqên.[65] "Ġu, e'uñan[66]
"Ah, ah, ah! motionless away!" she struggled. "Oh, so

gɪna'n."[67]—"Ġu'nä, a'lva,[41] qine'rrilhiᵉ![68]—"Ġu'nä, ilu'kä.[64] Qarê'm[69]
thou." — "Oh, away! let me go!" — "Oh motionless. Not

mɪnre'qewkur,[70] mɪmñɪlo'ur.[71] Ġɪk, ia'm nɪlei'vutku-ĭ-gɪr?[72]
I shall do anything to thee, I will question thee. Oh, why art thou walking about?

Qai'vê gêtɪ'nvê-gɪr?"[73]—"Ui'ñä."[74]—"E'mim?"—"Uwäᵉ'qučitä[8] E'nku[9]
Indeed thou hast a master?" — "No." — "Where is he?" — "My husband to rejection

gine'tčilin,[75] gênančaatvau'lên,[76] ginenqu'pqeulin."[77]—"En·qa'm[78]
used me, he cast me off, he let me starve." — "Then

va'nêvan[79] wu'tku[80] yara'čɪku[81] re'qän[82] qineluᵉ'rkɪn."[83]—"Va'nê-
not at all here inside of the house something thou hast seen." — "Nothing."

van."[79] "Ġuq, a'mên[84] ŭm, mɪmata'gɪt."[85]
"Oh, then let me marry thee."

Ma'tanên.[86] Ne'me čei'vutkuiᵉ.[87] Wulqätvi'k[88] ŭm[6] pŭki'rɪ.[89]
He married her. Again he walked. In the evening he came.

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[61] Before, formerly (§ 127, p. 848).

[62] See notes 25, 36, 48; here *qamɪtva*, derived tense in *-rkɪn* (§§ 64, 87).

[63] Stem *piri* to take; *-nin* he—him (§ 67).

[64] *ilu* TO MOVE; *e—ka* negation (§ 114, 4). The initial *e* is contracted with the *i* of the stem.

[65] Stem *qama'gra*; *n—qên* (§ 73); with ablaut (§ 3).

[66] § 126, p. 855.

[67] Subjective form (§ 56); presumably as subject of an idea like YOU HAVE EATEN IT.

[68] Stem initial *rɪrrɪl*, medial *rrɪl*; *ine-* (§§ 67; 113. 28); *q—gi*ᵉ imperative 2d person sing.

[69] Negation with exhortative meaning (§ 131.2).

[70] Medial form of the causative prefix—*n*; stem *raq* WHAT, SOMETHING; *—eu* (§ 110.70); predicative form of the indefinite pronoun; *m—gɪt* LET ME—THEE, subjunctive (§ 67); *wku*<*u*+*g*; in place of *gɪt* we have here and in the next word the alternating form *gɪr*.

[71] Stem **pñlo*; initial form *pɪnlo-*: medial form *-mñɪlo-*; *m—gɪt* LET ME—THEE, see note 70.

[72] Stem *leivu*, see notes 31, 35, 53; *-tku* (§§ 110, 67); predicative form of nominalized verb (§ 73).

[73] Stem *êtɪnv* MASTER (§§ 48, 73).

[74] NO (§ 131.6).

[75] See note 10; here with the prefix *-ine-* referring to the first person (§ 73).

[76] See note 75, the same form; stem *-čaatv-*; *r—au* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1).

[77] See note 75, the same form; stem *qupq* TO STARVE (see note 11); *r—eu* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1).

[78] Conjunction (§ 128, p. 858).

[79] § 131. 1.

[80] Demonstrative (§ 57); as particle *vai*; stem *wut-*; locative in *-k*.

[81] See note 4; *-čɪku* inside of, nominal (§ 101, 24).

[82] *räq* SOMETHING; here absolute form (irregular) used as object with the verbs *iu* TO SAY, *lu*ᵉ TO SEE

[83] Stem *lu*ᵉ TO SEE; derived tense in *-rkɪn* (§ 64); *ine-* (§ 113. 28); *q-* imperative (§ 64); here used as a past (§ 85).

[84] Conjunction (§ 128, p. 853).

[85] Stem *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY; subjunctive (*a*), *m—gɪt* LET ME—THEE (§ 67).

[86] Stem *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY; *-nin* HE—HER (§ 67).

[87] Stem *čeivu+tku*, see notes 31, 35, 53. The *g* of the ending *-gi*ᵉ has dropped out on account of its intervocalic position.

[88] Stem *wulq* EVENING, compare *wu's·q* DARKNESS; a locative form (§ 38); *-tvi* to become (§ 110, 68)

[89] Initial stem *pŭkir*, medial *pkir*; abbreviated termination for *-gi*ᵉ.

I'wkwi$^{\epsilon}$[90] En·ño't[91] ñawanê'ti,"[92] "En·ñe'[93] a'ntoka[94] ralkočıkoı'pŭ.[95]
He said thus to his wife, "Don't not going out from the inside of the inner room.

Mınre's·qıumık,[96] li'en· čot-tagnê'tı[97] ple'kıt[42] qäni'ntıñınet."[98]
Let us enter, just pillow edge to boots throw them."

E'nmen[2] rı'ntınınet.[99] E'nmen[2] lu'ur[57] vai[100] keme'ñı[23], em-keme'ñı[55]
Then she threw them. Then thereupon here a dish, a mere dish

res·qi'wkwi$^{\epsilon}$,[17] e'un[101] ere'tä[102] ǥeyı'reɻin.[103] Qamı'tvaa$^{\epsilon}$t,[104] ne'me
came in, then with boiled meat being full. They ate, again

li'en· ne'nvuä$^{\epsilon}$n[105] keme'ñı,[23] ırga'tık[39] ŭm[6] kıye'wkwä$^{\epsilon}$t.[106] E'un[101]
just they put out the dish, in the morning they awoke. At that time

keme'ñı[23] ǥite'nin[107] ñe'us·qätä,[108] genu'mkeulin[109].
the dish she saw it the woman, it was put in its proper place.

Ne'me čei'vutkui$^{\epsilon}$.[87] Ǥe'lvulin,[110]—"Ǥık,ırga'tık[39] ŭm[6] mınine'tčımık[111]
Again he went. He obtained a wild reindeer,— Oh, to-morrow let us have a thanksgiving ceremonial.

Tai'ñıkwut[112] en·ñe'[93] gına'n[67] enne'kä[113] qäntı'gınet."[114] E'un[101]
The charm-strings don't thou not carry out have them for ones being thus." And so

nayopa'tya$^{\epsilon}$n[115] êna'tčıyo[116] ılvılu',[117] e'un[101] tai'ñıkwut[112] ǥene'ɻinet.[118]
they went to it made to be the thanksgiving ceremonial wild reindeer, and so the charm-strings were on it.

Ǥuq, yılqä'tyä$^{\epsilon}$t.[119] Irga'tık[39] ŭm[6] kıye'wkwä$^{\epsilon}$t,[106] ne'me
Oh, they slept. Next morning they awoke, again

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[90] Stem *iu*; suffix *-gi$^{\epsilon}$*; *wkw<u+g* (§ 7).

[91] See § 58, p. 727.

[92] Stem *ñewän* wife: *-ɬ̣ti* ALLATIVE (§ 40).

[93] § 131.3.

[94] Initial stem *ñıto*, medial *nto* TO GO OUT; *ǥ—kä* not (§ 114.4).

[95] Stem *relku*; *-ıku* interior (§ 101. 24); *-ıpŭ* ablative (§ 42).

[96] Stem *res·qiu* TO ENTER; subjunctive (*a*), *mın—mık* LET US (§ 64); see Note 17.

[97] *čot* PILLOW; *te'gin* edge; *-ɬ̣ti* ALLATIVE (§ 40); PILLOW-EDGE i. e. THE OUTER TENT.

[98] Stem *int*; *r-* to cause to (§ 114. 1 *c*); *qä—ñınet* THOU—THEM, imperative (§ 67).

[99] Stem and prefix as in note 98; *-ninet* HE—THEM (§ 67).

[100] Demonstrative particle; stem *wul-* (§ 57, p. 723). See note 80.

[101] § 128, p. 855.

[102] *e'ret* boiled meat; *-ä* instrumental (§ 37).

[103] Stem *yır* FULL. See note 24.

[104] See notes 25, 36, 48, 62; here 3d per. plur. ending *-gä$^{\epsilon}$t*, with intervocalic *g* dropping out; ablaut (§ 3).

[105] Stem *nvu*.

[106] Initial stem *kıy+eu*, medial *gg+eu*, suffix *-eu*; *wkw<u+g* (§ 7).

[107] Stem *ǥite* TO SEE, *-nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).

[108] See note 5, *-ä* SUBJECTIVE as subject of transitive verb.

[109] Transitive prefix r—, in medial position *-n* -(§ 114.1); Stem *umk+eu* (§ 110. 70); *ǥe—lin* (§ 73).

[110] Stem *ılv* WILD REINDEER, *-u* to consume (§ 111, 71); *ǥe—lin* (§ 73).

[111] Stem *inetč* TO HAVE A THANKSGIVING CEREMONIAL (perhaps *ine+tč* but never used without *ine*; cf. Kor. Kam. *ina- čaxč-at*); subjunctive (*a*), *mın—mık* LET US (§ 64).

[112] *tai'ñıkulhın* pl. *tai'ñıkut* MISFORTUNE-PROTECTOR; Stem *taiña* TO TRESPASS; *-kwk* protector (§105.43).

[113] *e—kä* negation (§114,4). If it were affirmative this would be a verbal noun in *-(t)ä* dependent upon following verb (§ 80, p. 766); stem, initial *rne*, medial *nne*.

[114] Initial stem *rt*, medial *nt*; *qä—gınet* THOU—THEM, imperative (§ 67).

[115] Stem *yǫpǫt* to visit; *nǫ—ǫä$^{\epsilon}$n* THEY—HIM (§ 67).

[116] Stem *inetč*, see note 111; *-yo* past participle (§ 107, 47); ablaut (§ 3).

[117] Stem *ılv*, absolute reduplicated form (§ 29).

[118] Stem *nel*; *ge—linet*, 3d person plural (§ 73).

[119] Stem *yılqät* TO SLEEP; *ty<t+g* (§ 7).

čei'vutkurkɪn.[87] "Reᵋqŭm[82] a'mên[84] i'unin,[120] 'Ño'onqan[121] če'ñɪl[122]
he was going. "What then he said to her, 'That trunk

en·ñe'[93] enve'ntetkä[123] qäntɪ'rkɪn.[124] En·ñe'[93] pegčɪ'ñu[125] e'lhikä.[126]
don't not opened have it for one that is thus. Don't for object of concern not having it as one.

A'lɪmɪ[127] quwalo'mŭrkɪn[128] ŭm[6] vê'tɪ.'"[129]
However obey truly.

Ġɪk, e'nmen[2] čei'vutkuiᵋ,[87] če'ñɪl[122] ruwentečewiu'nin.[130] E'un[101]
Oh, then he went, the trunk she opened it. And so

E'n·kɪ[131] ñe'usqät[5] nênanva'tqên,[132] en'men[2] luᵋ'lqäl[133] čɪña'ta[134] va'lɪn,[34]
there a woman was placed then destined to be a face split being

qača'kên[135] lɵᵋ'qač[136] nu'uqin,[137] qol[138] ŭm[6] ničê'ʟoqên[139] lɵᵋ'qač.[136]
one side side of face black, the other red side of face.

E'nmen[2] ñe'us·qät[5] yɪkɪ'rga[140] puke'nnin:[141] "Pr.!"
Then the woman with mouth made a noise at her: "Pr!"

E'nmen[2] gite'nin,[107] e'ur[19] ñan[142] vai[100] viᵋ'iᵋ,[143] pêkagta'tyêᵋ.[144]
Then she saw her, at that time that one here died, she fell down.

E'nmen[2] rɪnênnoma'nnên,[145] mɪñkri[146] nayɪlhau'qên,[147] qailo'qim.[14]
Then she closed it, how she was afraid of course.

Pŭki'rgiᵋ-m[149] uwäᵋ'quč.[150] Res·qi'wkwäᵋt.[151]. Va'nêvan[79] nɪ'tvɪnên,[152]
He came the husband. They entered. Nothing she told him,

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120 Stem *iu* TO SAY; *-nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).
121 THAT YONDER, independent form (§ 57, p. 723).
122 Absolute form (§ 28).
123 Stem *vent* TO BE OPEN; *r—et* CAUSEATIVE (§ 114, 1); *e—kä* negatiou (§ 114, 4).
124 Stem *rt*, see note 114; derived form (§ 67).
125 *pegčɪñ* CONCERN; *-nu* SERVING FOR (§ 103. 34).
126 Stem *-lñ* (§ 78); *e—kä* negation (§ 114, 4).
127 Disjunctive conjunctiou (§ 128, p. 854).
128 Stem *walom* TO HEAR; imperative of derived form (§ 64).
129 Particle (§ 128, p. 863).
130 Stem *vent* TO BE OPEN; *r—et* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1); *-čewiu* contracted from—*čet—yw(u)*, (§100.54,56); she opened with great care and after several attempts; *-nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).
131 Locative.
132 *n-ẹ̄nạ-n-vạ-t-qẹ̄n* (§ 74; also § 114.1).
133 § 103.37.
134 Stem *čɪñ*; suffix—*at;* verbal noun in *-(t)ä* dependent on the following participle *va'lɪn*.
135 *qạčạ'kẹ̄n* belonging to one side (§ 47).
136 *lụᵋ* FACE; *-qač* SIDE OF (§ 101, 26).
137 See § 49.
138 See § 60, p. 732.
139 *n—qin* (§ 49)
140 *yɪkɪ'rgɪn* MOUTH; *-a* subjective (§ 37).
141 *-nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).
142 Demonstrative (§ 57).
143 Stem *viᵋ* TO DIE, *viᵋ'iᵋ* <*viᵋ'giᵋ* with loss of intervocalic *g* (§ 10).
144 Stem *pêkagt-*; suffix—*at*
145 Stem *om(r); r—at* (§114.1); *n-ên-n* prefixes, *n—n* transitive, *ên-* intransitive (?).
146 Stem *mik* (§ 58, p. 727)
147 *ayɪlhau; n—qin* (§ 73).
148 Particle (§ 128, p. 871).
149 Contraction of *ŭm*.
150 Absolute form (§ 28).
151 Ending *wkwäᵋt* <*u-gäᵋt*.
152 Initial stem *tuw*, medial *tvu; ni—nên* (§67, 1a 6).

e'nmeč[153] ŭm[6] nayɪlhau'nên.[154] Ple'kɪt[42] ri'ntɪninet[99] čot-tagňê'tɪ,[97]
because she feared him. The boots she threw them out pillow-edge to,

e'nmen[2] a'tčak-[155] luwa'wkwa^{s}t[156] kama'gtɪ.[157]
then to wait they were unable for the dish.

Ġuq, uwä^{s}'quč[150] ure'wkwi^{s},[158] "Ġuq, qa'ko. Tɪte'ñet-ve'rɪn.[159]
Oh, the husband appeared, "Oh It is wonderful

Enňa'q[160] e'mi?[161] Qai'vE e'Le[162] če'ñɪl[122] i'nenvente'tkäl-i-gɪt?"[163] —
Now where is it? Indeed not the trunk not you opened it?" —

"E'Le."[162] — "Na'qam ŭm e'mi? Ġu'nä quwalo'mŭrkɪn,[164]
"No." — "However where is it? Do listen,

qatvu'gun!"[165] Qän·ve'r tu'wnên,[166] "Emɪte'tɪm[167] tɪgite'ä^{s}n.[164]
tell!" After that she told him, "Namely "I saw her.

Inegite'kälin,[169] e'Le.[162] Yɪkɪ'rga[140] tɪpuke'tyä^{s}k,[170] lu'ur[57]
She did not see me, no. With the mouth I made a noise, thereupon

kaplêta'tyê.^{s}"[171]
she fell down."

Ġuq, č'êq-a'lvam-va'l-ê-gɪt.[172] Ia'm agêro'lkäl-ê-gɪt?[173] Atta'um[174]
Oh, quite extraordinary you are. Why dost thou not obey? With reason

e'un[101] uwä^{s}'qučitä[8] E'nku[9] ge'tčigɪt.[175] Ya'rar[176] rai qine'ilhi."[177]
and so the husband from there deserted thee. Drum behind there give me."

E'nmen[2] rɪnɪrgɪrgeu'nin.[178] E'nmen[2] ei'ui^{s}.[179] En·qa'm[78] lu'ur[57]
Then he drummed on it. Then she revived. Then thereupon

ġagtan·ñɪnai'pŭlên,[180] keme'ñɪ[23] gereli's·qičeLin.[181]
she was quite angry, the dish she pushed in strongly.

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[153] See § 128, p. 859.

[154] See note 147, transitive form; *n—nēn* (67, *Ia* 6).

[155] *a'tča* TO WAIT (§ 95, p. 786).

[156] Initial stem *luw+au*, medial *lv+au* TO BE UNABLE ; 3 p. pl.

[157] From *keme'ñɪ* dish; *-gtɪ* ALLATIVE; with ablaut (§ 3).

[158] Initial stem *ur+eu*.

[159] It is a wonder! (Interjection).

[160] From demonstrative stem *En*.

[161] Interrogative adverb.

[162] Negation (§ 131.5).

[163] Stem *vent*, see notes 123, 130; *r—et* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1); *i—kälin* NEGATION (§ 114, 4); 2d person verbalized noun (§ 73).

[164] Stem *walom* TO HEAR, LISTEN, OBEY, see note 128; derived tense, imperative.

[165] Stem *tuw*, see note 152; imperative.

[166] Stem *tuw; -nin* HE—HIM; with ablaut (§ 3).

[167] *em-ɪte't-um* (§ 128, p. 857).

[168] Stem *gite* TO SEE; *tɪ—gä^{s}n* I—HIM.

[169] Stem *gite* TO SEE; *ine-* (§ 67); *i—kälin* negation (§ 114, 4).

[170] Stem *puket; tɪ—gä^{s}k* I—, intransitive (§ 64).

[171] 3d person sing.

[172] See note 34; 2d person, nominatized verb (§ 73).

[173] Stem *gêroļ* TO OBEY; *e—kälin* negation (§ 114, 4); 2d person sing.

[174] *atau'-ŭm* BUT WITH SOME REASON (§ 128, p. 854).

[175] 2d person nominatized verb (§ 73).

[176] Absolute form, perhaps for *rar-rar* (§ 29).

[177] Stem *yɪl; q-ine—gi^{s}* THOU—ME, imperative; transitive form.

[178] *r—eu* TO CAUSE; *·nin* HE—HIM.

[179] Stem *ei'u*, with vocalic *u*; therefore with loss of intervocalic *g* of the suffix *-gi^{s}*.

[180] *-gtɪ* very (§ 113, 22); stem *an·ñɪn* ANGER; *ipŭ* TO PUT ON; *ge—lin* (§ 73).

[181] Stem *reli; -s·qičet* INTENSITY (§ 110, 59); *ge—lin* (§ 73).

Irga'tɪk[39]	ŭm[6]	kɪye'wkwä^{ɛ}t,[106]	rɪle'rkɪnin.[182]	I'unin,[120]	"Atta'um[174]	
In the morning		they awoke,	he carried her (back).	He said to her,	"With reason	
uwä^{ɛ}'qučitä[8]	E'nku[9]	ge'tčɪgɪt.[175]	Opo'pɵ[183]	garai'-gɪt,[184]	mɪnle'gɪt."[185]	
the husband	from there	he deserted thee.	Let!	thou hast a house,	let me carry thee (back)."	
ELɪ'gêtɪ[186]	rɪle'nnin,[187]	rɪpkire'nnin,[188]	mata'lɪn[189]	i'unin,[120]	"Guq,	
To the father	he carried her (back),	he took her,	to the father-in-law	he said to him,	"Oh,	
a'mên[84]	ŭm	gŭmna'n[190]	i^{ɛ}'tɪk[191]	gɪnřɪ'tɪk[192]	tɪlva'wkwa^{ɛ}n."[193]	
then	I	indeed	watching	I could not do her."		

[182] Stem **rle*; initial *rɪle*, medial *nle*; derived form; *-nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).
[183] An exhortative particle (§ 128, p. 862).
[184] Stem *ra* HOUSE; *gara'lin* HE WHO HAS A HOUSE; 2d person sing. (§ 73).
[185] Stem **rle*, see note 182; *mɪn—gɪt* LET ME—THEE.
[186] *ELɪ'gɪn* FATHER; allative (§ 40).
[187] Stem **rle*, see note 182; *-nin* HE—HIM.
[188] Stem *pkir* to come; *rɪ—cu* causative (§114, 1); *-nin* HE—HIM.
[189] From *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY; absolute form.
[190] Subjective form (§ 56).
[191] Adverbial.
[192] *gɪnřit* TO WATCH verbal noun in *-k* depending on the verb *lvau*.
[193] Initial stem *łuv+au*, medial *lv+au* cannot; *tɪ—ga^{ɛ}n* I—HIM.

KORYAK TEXT

Little-Bird-Man and Raven-Man[a]

Vaḷvımtıḷaᵉ′ninti[1] E′ččı[2] Pĭči′qaḷaᵉn[3] ñawınyoñvo′yke[4] Quyqınn·a
Raven-Man the two they Little-Bird-Man wanted for a wife at Great-

qu′yık.[5] Quyqınn·a′qu Pĭče′qaḷaᵉnañ[6] ġaimanñıvo′ykın,[7] e′wañ,[8]
Raven's. Great-Raven to Little-Bird-Man had desired, he said,

Ġŭmna′n[9] ñawa′kak[10] Pĭče′qaḷaᵉnañ[6] tıyai′ḷıñın."[11] Miti′ e′wañ,[8]
"I daughter to Little-Bird-Man I shall give her." Miti said,

"Ġŭmna′n[9] ñawa′kak[10] Vaḷvı′mtıḷaᵉnañ[6] tĭyai′ḷıñın"[11] Vaᵉ′yuk Vaḷ-
"I daughter to Raven-Man I shall give her." Afterwards Raven-

vı′mtıḷaᵉn[3] vı′n·va ñıtoi′kın,[12] aᵉḷa′ta[13] awyeñvo′ykın,[14] attaᵉ′wawa[15]
Man secretly went out, with excrement he ate, with dog carrion

awyeñvo′ykın.[14] Kıyaw′ḷaike,[16] E′nkı[17] vañvoḷai′ke[18] qapa′au[19] qu′tti[20]
he ate. They awoke, there are lying wolverine (skins) some

iᵉu′wi.[21] Newñıvo′ykınenat,[22] "Mi′kinak[23] ġa′nmıḷenau?"[24] Vaḷvı′m-
wolf (skins). They began to say to both, "Who killed them?" Raven-

tılaᵉn,[3] "Ġumna′n."[9]
Man, "I."

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[a] From W. Bogoras, Koryak Texts; Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. V, pp. 12—19.

[1] *-ḷaᵉn* HAVING THE QUALITY OF (§ 48); *-inti* dual of personal nouns (§ 35).

[2] Personal pronoun, 3d person dual, absolute form.

[3] *-ḷaᵉn* as in note 1;

[4] *ñaw* WOMAN; *ı* auxiliar vowel; *-nyu̯* TO WORK AS A HERDSMAN; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN (§ 110, 63); *-yke* derived form, 3d person dual (§ 65). See Publications Jesup Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 579.

[5] *Quyqın* RAVEN; used only in augmentative; *-n·aqu* AUGMENTATIVE (§ 98.2); *y(ı)* personal plural suffix for *-wgi* (§ 35); *-k* LOCATIVE (§ 38).

[6] *-nañ* ALLATIVE used with personal nouns (§ 41).

[7] *gaimat* TO DESIRE; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN (§ 110.63); *-ykın* derived form (§ 65).

[8] Stem *iu* TO SAY. Irregular adverbial form, used as a quotative, SAYS HE.

[9] Subjective form (§ 56).

[10] *ñaw* FEMALE; *akak* SON.

[11] *tı-* I; *ya-* FUTURE; *yıḷ-* stem TO GIVE; *-ñın* HIM, future (§ 68).

[12] *ñıto* TO GO OUT; *-ikın* derived form, 3d person singular.

[13] Subjective here as instrumental; stem *aᵉḷ* EXCREMENT.

[14] Stem *awyi*; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN (§ 110.63); *-ykın* derived form, 3d person sing. (§ 68).

[15] *attaᵉ* DOG; *awaw* CARRION; subjective here as instrumental.

[16] Stem *kıyau* TO AWAKE; *-ḷaike* 3d. per. plural, derived form.

[17] Locative adverb.

[18] Stem *tva* TO BE, in initial position *va* (§ 18, p. 674); *-ñvo* TO BEGIN; *-ḷaike* 3d per. pl., derived form.

[19] *qapa′au*, plural in *u* (§ 34, p. 732).

[20] Non-personal form, dual (§ 60, p. 695).

[21] For *iᵉu′wgi* plural (§ 34).

[22] Stem *iu* TO SAY; *-ñıvo* TO BEGIN; *n—ykınenat* derived form, 3d per. dual (§ 68, p. 744).

[23] Subjective form (§ 39).

[24] Stem *tı̯m*, in medial position *nm̥* TO KILL (§ 18); *ġa—ḷı̯nau* nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d per. pl. (§ 74).

Va$^{\epsilon\prime}$yuk gawya'ḷyoḷen,[25] qo'npŭ Enña$^{\epsilon\prime}$an[26] ama'ḷatča.[27] Quyqınn'a-
Afterwards a snowstorm came, altogether thus not getting better. Great-

qu'nak[28] gewñıvo'ḷenat,[29] "Toq, qamaḷıtva'thıtık![30] Ma'ki[31] yamaḷı-
Raven told the two of them, "There, ye two make it better! Who makes it

tva'tıñ,[32] ña'nyen[33] tĭyanñawtıña'nñın."[34] Vaḷvı'mtıḷa$^{\epsilon}$n, "Ġŭ'mma[35]
better, to that one I shall give the wife." Raven-Men, "I

mımaḷıtva'tık."[36] E'wañ,[8] "Qinatinuñḷa'tık!"[37] Ñınvo'q pḷa'kıḷñu[38]
shall make it better." He said, "Prepare the provisions for me!" A number of boots

gatai'kılinau.[39] Ġa'ḷqaLin.[40] E'nkı[17] vañvo'ykın[41] e'n·mıgenka,[42]
they made them. He went. There he stayed under a cliff,

yenotčoñvo'ykın.[43] Pĭči'qaḷa$^{\epsilon}$n[3] ñıtoñvo'ykın,[44] Enke'[17] vañvo'ykın,[41]
he wanted to eat. Little-Bird-Man went out, there he stayed,

awyeñvo'ykın.[14] Čemya'q Pĭčeqaḷanai'tıñ[45] Vaḷvı'mtıḷa$^{\epsilon}$n[3] aqa-ḷapñı-
he ate. Of course on Little-Bird-Man Raven-Man badly

vo'ykın.[46] Pĭči'qaḷa$^{\epsilon}$n yaḷqı'wikın,[47] ui'ñä i'wka[48] enñıvo'ykın.[49]
looked. Little-Bird-Man entered, not saying he was.

Vaḷvı'mtıḷa$^{\epsilon}$n E'nkı[17] va'ykın.[41] Enña$^{\epsilon\prime}$an[26] qo'npŭ vuyaḷanñıvo'ykın,[50]
Raven-Man there stayed. Thus altogether there was a snowstorm,

ui'ña ama'ḷatča.[27] Ġo, va$^{\epsilon\prime}$yuk ġaya'ḷqiwlin,[51] ı'mı-pḷa'ku[52] gaqi'tilinau,[53]
not not it became better. Oh, then he entered, all boots were frozen,

qačı'n pḷakgeñe'tıñ[54] na$^{\epsilon\prime}$čañvoqen,[55] iñi'nñınık pḷa'ku[52] gaqi'tilinau.[53]
meanwhile into the boots he urinated, therefore, the boots were frozen.

"Qĭyĭme'wun, i'ya$^{\epsilon}$n[71] gači'malin." Va$^{\epsilon\prime}$yuk Pĭči'kaḷa$^{\epsilon}$n gewñıvo'ḷen,[56]
"Impossible, heaven is broken." Then Little-Bird-Man they said to him,

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[25] Stem in initial position *vuyaḷ* medial *wyġḷ; yu* verbal suffix, phenomena of nature (§ 110.71, p. 811) *ġa—ḷin* nominalized form of intransitive verb (§ 73).

[26] Demonstrative adverb (§ 129, p. 876).

[27] Stem *maḷ* GOOD; *a- tča* negative (§ 114, 4).

[28] Subjective in *-nak* (§ 39).

[29] Stem *iu* TO TELL; *-ñıvġ* TO BEGIN; *ġa—ḷinat* nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d pers. dual (§ 74).

[30] Stem *maḷ* GOOD; *tva* TO BE; *q—gıtık* imperative, 2d pers. dual (§ 65).

[31] Absolute form (§ 58, p. 726).

[32] *ya-* future.

[33] Absolute form of demonstrative (§ 57).

[34] *Iıya-* 1st pers. sing. future; *-ñın* 3d pers. sing. object.

[35] Absolute form (§ 56).

[36] 1st person sing. exhortative, intransitive.

[37] *qina—ḷatık* imperative, YE—ME; *t(a)—ñ* TO MAKE (§114.2); *inu* PROVISIONS.

[38] Stem *pḷak* BOOT; *-ḷñın* (§ 52); *-u* PLURAL; more frequently *pla'ku*.

[39] Stem *taıkı* TO MAKE; *ġa—linau* nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d pers. pl. (§ 74).

[40] Stem *ḷġaL* TO GO; nominalized form, 3d pers. sing. (§ 73).

[41] Stem *tva*, in initial position *va* TO STAY; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN; *-ykın* derived form.

[42] *-giñ* BASE (§ 101.21), locative.

[43] *ye-* DESIDERATIVE; *nu* TO EAT; *-tĭcu* intensive action § 110.67); *-ñıvġ* TO BEGIN; *-ykın* derived form.

[44] Stem *ñıto* TO GO OUT; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN; *-ykın* derived form.

[45] *-ttı* allative (§ 40); with nasalization added to terminal vowel (§§ 18, 41).

[46] Stems *aqa* BAD; *liḷa* TO SEE; *yp* TO PUT ON; *ñıvo-ykın* as in note 44.

[47] *ya'ḷqiu*, Ch. *re's·qiw* TO ENTER; derived form.

[48] Stem *iu* TO SAY; *a—ka* NEGATION (§ 114, 4); *a* contracted with *i* to *i*.

[49] Stem *it*; *-ñıvo-ykın* as in note 44.

[50] Stem *vuyġḷ* in medial position *wyġḷ; -at* (§ 110.70) (see note 25).

[51] *yaḷqiw* TO ENTER (see note 47); *ġa—lin* nominalized verb (§ 73).

[52] *ımı* ALL (§ 113.6); *-u* plural (§ 34).

[53] *qit* FROZEN; *ġa—linau* nominalized verb, 3d pers. pl. (§ 73).

[54] *pḷak* BOOT; *giñ* BOTTOM; *-ittı* ALLATIVE (§ 40).

[55] *aᵊča* URINE; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN; *n—qin* nominalized verb (§ 73).

[56] Compare note 29; here 3d pers. sing.

"Toq, gɪnya'q[57] qmaḷatva't!"[58]—"Qĭyĭme$^{\epsilon}$'en, gɪ'niw[59] gŭ'mma[35]
"Oh, thou now make it well!" — "Impossible, like to thee I
tɪyanto'ykɪn,[60] pḷakgeñe'tɪñ[54] tɪyaa$^{\epsilon}$čañvo'ykɪn?"[61] Ġewñɪvo'ḷenau[62]
shall go out, into the boots shall I urinate?" He said to them
Quyqɪnn·aqu'nak,[28] "Qalqaḷa'tɪk,[63] kɪtta'ñ aña'wtɪñka!"[64] Va$^{\epsilon}$'yuk
Big-Raven "Go away, there unmarried!" Then
ġewñɪvo'ḷen,[62] "Atau'-qun." Qo'ɪa[65] ača'pil[66] ga'kmiɪ̣in,[67] qalte'nñɪn,[68]
he said, "Well now." Some small fat he took," a stopper,
wŭlpa'pel;[69] ga'lqaɪ̣in[70] e$^{\epsilon}$e'tɪ,[71] gayɪ'ñalin,[72] gaḷa'lin,[73] iya$^{\epsilon}$'kin[74]
a little shovel; he went to the sky, he flew up, he came, the sky's
čêma'thɪtñɪn[75] qalte'nña[76] gai'pɪḷen,[77] ača'pil[66] ee$^{\epsilon}$'tɪñ[71] ganɪ'ñḷalin;[78]
cleft with the stopper he closed, little fat to the sky he threw;
pɪče' gama'ḷalin.[79]
for a while it grew better.

Ġŭ'mḷañ gayai'tɪḷen,[80] gŭ'mḷañ gawyaḷyo'ḷen.[25] Ña'nyen[33]
Again he went home, again there was a snowstorm. That
qalte'nñɪn[68] ganqu'lin[81] yayačɪkoi'tɪñ,[82] nɛpplu'qin[83] mi'qun. E'wañ,[8]
stopper came out into the house, small one even. He said,
"Qĭyĭme'wun. I'ya$^{\epsilon}$n[71] gači'malin." Quyqɪnn·aqu'nak[28] qalte'nñɪn[68]
"Impossible. The sky is broken." Big-Raven the stopper
va'sqɪn ġatai'kɪlin[39] nɪma'yɪñqin[83] ġei'ḷɪɪ̣in,[84] a'čɪn[66] o'pta nɪma'yɪñqin[83]
another one he made a large one he gave it, fat also large
ġei'ḷɪɪ̣in.[84] Ġa'lqaɪ̣in[70] gŭ'mḷañ, paneuai'tɪñ[85] gayi'ñalin.[72] Ġala'lin,[73]
he gave. He went again to the former place he flew. He came,
pa'nena[85] ña'nyen[33] qalte'nñɪn[68] mal-kit[86] ga'npɪḷen,[87] taḷa'wga[88]
that time that stopper well he closed it, with a mallet

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[57] *gɪn-* thou; *-yaq* indicates that another person is to perform an act which the subject has performed before.

[58] Stems *maḷ, ɬva* WELL, TO BE; imperative.

[59] Second person personal pronoun *ġin-* (§ 56; 129, p. 878 under *yaq*).

[60] *ɬɪya-* I, future; stem *ñɪto*, medial *nto*; derived form.

[61] See note 55, 1st pers. sing. future, derived form.

[62] See notes 29, 56; here 3d pers. pl. instead of dual.

[63] Stem *ḷqat* TO GO; *qa—ḷatɪk* imperative, dual.

[64] *a—ka* NEGATION (§ 114, 4); *ñaw* WOMAN.

[65] Indefinite pronoun (§ 60, p. 732).

[66] *ača* FAT; *-pil* SMALL (§ 100.15).

[67] Stem *akmɪl*; *ġa—lin* nominalized verb (§ 74).

[68] Absolute form (§ 30).

[69] *-pil* small (§ 100.15); here with ablaut.

[70] Stem *ḷqat* TO GO (see note 63); *ġa—lin* nominalized verb (§ 73).

[71] Absolute form *i'ya$^{\epsilon}$n* SKY; *-ġ̊ti* allative.

[72] Stem *yɪñа* TO FLY UP; *ġa—lin* nominalized verb.

[73] Stem initial *ɬɪḷa*, medial *ḷa* TO MOVE, TO GO; *ġa—lin* as before.

[74] Belonging to the sky (§ 47).

[75] Absolute form.

[76] Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92).

[77] Stem *aip* TO STOP UP, CLOSE; *ġa—lin* as before, here with ablaut.

[78] Stem *iñḷa* (Ch. *ɬnt*) TO THROW; *ġa*-lin nominalized verb.

[79] Stem *maḷ* GOOD.

[80] Stem *yait* (allative of *ya* HOUSE) TO GO HOME.

[81] Stem *yɪqu*, medial *nqu* TO COME LOOSE, TO COME OUT (like a plug out of a hole).

[82] Stems *yaya-* HOUSE; *-čɪku* INSIDE; *-itɪ* ALLATIVE, with terminal nasalization.

[83] *plu* SMALL; *n—qin* (§ 49) *ma'y(ɪ)ñ* LARGE.

[84] Stem *yɪḷ*, medial *yɪɪ* TO GIVE; *ġeiḷɪɪ̣in* instead of *ġai'ḷɪɪ̣in* irregular.

[85] *panina* before, former; absolute form *pa'nin;* adverb *pa'nena* AGAIN, ANOTHER TIME; *-ti* ALLATIVE, with terminal nasalization.

[86] *ma'l-kit* WELL, ALL RIGHT (Ch. *met'-ki'tkit, met'-ki'it* SOMEHOW); *mal* (Ch. *meč, mel*) see § 113.10 and 11; (Ch. *ki'tkit*, adverb, A LITTLE).

[87] *yɪp*, medial-*np* TO STICK INTO, TO STUFF INTO; *ġa-lin* with ablaut.

[88] Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92); stem *taḷa* TO STRIKE.

gata'ḷaḷen,[88] ña'nyen[33] a'čɪn[66] eᵉe'tɪñ[71] gani'ñḷalin,[78] gŭ'mḷañ ä'ᵉläḷa[89]
he struck it, that fat to the sky he threw it, again with snow

gaᵉ'ḷmelin[90] qoqḷo'wɪčñɪn;[91] qo'npŭ gama'ḷaḷen.[92]
he shoveled the hole; altogether it became better.

Ḳaḷa'lin;[73] ña'nyen[33] Vaḷvɪ'mtɪḷᵉan aqa'nn·u[93] ga'ččɪlin.[94] Miti'nak[95]
He came; that Raven-Man to hate they had. At Miti's

eñyei'ña vaga'ḷekɪn,[96] newñɪvo'ykɪn[22] Vaḷvɪ'mtɪḷaᵉn, "Meñqañqa'če[97]
near he was sitting, she said to Raven-Man, "How

enñ·ɪvo'ykɪn,[49] nɪme' aᵉḷatčɪñvo'ykɪn?"[98]—"Mi'qun,[99] ui'ña yu'ḷaq[100]
it happens to thee, quite thou smellest of excrement?"— "Why, not a long time

akle'woka[101] tɪnaᵉ'ḷɪk."[102] Ḳewñɪvo'ḷen[56] "I'n·ač, ga'ḷqata![103] Ui'ña
without bread I have been." She said, "Enough, go away! Not

mi'qun amaḷatva'tča[104] i'tɪ!"[105] Ḳa'ḷqaḷin.[70] Pĭči'qaḷaᵉnak[28] ña'nyen[33]
even not making better thou wert!" He went. Little-Bird-Man that

Yini'a-ñawgut ḳama'taḷen.[106]
Yini'a-ñawgut married.

Toq, gaḷai'ulin,[107] inya'wut ḳamuqai'ulin.[108] Vaḷvɪ'mtɪḷaᵉn
Oh, summer came, then it was raining. Raven-Man

ti'ykɪtiy[109] gaya'ḷuplin.[110] Qači'n qo'npŭ nɪki'ta ḳanaᵉ'ḷen.[111]
the sun took in mouth. So altogether night it became.

Vaᵉ'yuk ḳewñɪvo'ḷen,[56] "Čan·ai', qaimŭ'ge!"[112]—"Me'ñqač mi'qun
Then they said, "Čan·ai', feteh water!" — "How even

mai'mɪk?"[113] Vaᵉ'yuk ḳewñɪvo'ḷen,[56] "Me'ñqan nɪme' mɪtɪ-
let me draw water?" Then they said, "Why quite we

paᵉḷai'kɪnen.[114] Vaᵉ'yuk mɪssavɪᵉ'yaḷa."[115] Ḳa'ḷqaḷin[70] qaičayiči'ña,[116]
are thirsty. Then we shall die." She went groping,

Enñaᵉ'an wŭs·qŭ'mčɪku,[117] vaᵉ'yuk ḳa'ñvɪlin,[118] ḳañvo'ḷen[119]
thus in the dark, then she stopped, she began

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[89] Subjective as instrumental; absolute form *äᵉ'läḷ*, *aᵉḷaᵉḷ*

[90] Stem *aᵉḷme*.

[91] Absolute form as object.

[92] Stem *maḷ* GOOD.

[93] *aqa'nn·ɪn* hate, stems probably *aᵉq* BAD, *a'n·ñɪn* ANGER; designative form in *-u* (§ 94).

[94] See § 114.4.

[95] Locative form (§ 42).

[96] Stem *vagal*, medical *tvagaḷ* TO SIT DOWN.

[97] Stem *mik* WHERE; *-qača* NEAR (§ 101.26).

[98] Stem *aᵉḷ* EXCREMENT; *-tč* TO SMELL OF.

[99] Stem *mik* (§ 58, p. 726).

[100] Stem *yuḷ* LONG; *-aq* adverbial suffix (§ 112, 79).

[101] *a—ka* negation (§ 114, 4).

[102] Stem *naḷ* TO BECOME (§ 77).

[103] Verbal noun in *-a* used as imperative (§ 95, p. 787).

[104] From *a—ka* negation (§ 114, 4); *maḷ* GOOD; *tva* TO BE.

[105] Stem *it* TO BE (§ 75).

[106] Stem *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY.

[107] *aḷa* SUMMER; *-yu* suffix. phenomena of nature (§ 110.71).

[108] *muqa* RAIN; *-yu* as in note 107.

[109] Reduplicated absolute form (§ 29).

[110] *yaḷu* TO CHEW; *yop* TO PUT ON (see Note 46); *yaḷup* A QUID.

[111] Stem *naḷ* TO BECOME (§ 77); *ga—lin* nomiualized verb (§ 73); *ḷ* < *l*+*l* (§ 18).

[112] Stem *aim* TO DRAW WATER; *q—ge* imperative.

[113] Subjunctive (*a*), 1st pers. sing.

[114] Derived form, 1st person pl.

[115] Future, without ending *-mɪk* (§ 65).

[116] Verbal noun in *-a* expressing modality (§ 95).

[117] Stems *wŭs* DARKNESS; *-čɪku* INSIDE (§ 101.24); *ŭm* is an unusual form of the connective vowel (see § 18, 1): the parallel form *wŭs·qŭ'mčɪku* is found in Chukchee.

[118] Stem *ñuv*, medial *ñv* TO STOP.

[119] Stem *ñvo* TO BEGIN.

gɪya'pčak.[120] E'wañ,[8] "ɪ'mɪn qai-vai'amti[121] aḷña'we^{e}ye."[122] Va^{e}yuk
singing. She said, "All the little rivers are stingy." Then

ǥani'kalin[123] Enkai'tɪ[124] vai'ampiḷiñ,[125] ǥañvo'ḷen[119] čilala'tik.[126]
it did so to that place a small river began bubbling.

Ǥayɪ'ččalin[127] miḷh-u'kkam,[128] yaite'tɪ[129] ǥa'lqaḷin,[70] miḷh-u'kkam[128]
She filled a Russian vessel, to the house she went, a Russian vessel

ǥemtei'pɪlin;[130] qla'wuḷ ǥaḷa'lin.[73] Ǥapkau'len,[131] e'wañ,[8] "Ǥŭmna'$_{m}$,[9]
she carried on her back; a man came. She could not (carry), he said, "I,

ǥŭmna'n mɪ'mtɪn."[132] Ǥayai'tɪḷen[80] wŭs·qŭ'mčiku.[117] Ña'nyen[33]
I will carry it." She came home in the dark. That one

ǥaḷɪmñena'ḷen[133] vai'am. Ǥewñivo'ḷen,[56] "Eni'n ma'ki?" E'wañ,
followed the river. She was told, "That one who?" He said,

"Ǧŭ'mma[35] Vaiamenai'-ǧŭm.[134] Ǧŭmna'n[9] yai'vaču[135] tɪ'tčɪn[136] Ena'n
"I am the River. I pity had that

gɪya'pčala^{e}n."[137] Ǥañvo'ḷen[119] ñawa'kak[10] kɪtai'ñak.[138] Ña'nyen[33]
singer." They began daughter scolding. That one

Vaia'mɪnak[28] ǥama'taḷen.[106]
River married her.

To, va^{e}'yuk qo'npŭ wŭs·qŭ'mčɪku[117] vañvoḷai'ke.[139] Ǥewñivo'ḷen[56]
Oh, then altogether in the dark they remained. He was told

Vai'am, "Me'ñqañ[97] nɪki'ta[140] mɪtɪtvañvoḷai'kɪn?"[141] E'wañ,[8] "Men'qañ[97]
River, "Why in the night we remain?" He said, "Why

mi'qun?" Lawtɪkɪ'ḷčɪčñɪn[142] vi'tvitin[143] ǥai'pɪḷen,[144] ǥanto'ḷen,[145] ayi'-
indeed?" Head-band of ringed seal thong he put on, he went out at

kvan ǥaqayɪčhɪḷanñɪvo'ḷen;[146] vantɪge'ñɪn[147] ǥato'mwaḷen.[148] Va^{e}'-
least a small light began to be; dawn was created. Then

yuk ǥewñivo'ḷen,[56] "Me'ñqañ[97] mɪ'ntɪn?"[149] Yini'a-ña'wǥut
they talked, "How shall we do it?" Yini'a-ña'wǥut

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[120] Stem *gɪyapča;* verbal noun, locative form (§ 95, p. 785).

[121] *qai-* SMALL, related to Chukchee suffix *-qāi* (§ 98.4); *-nti,* after terminal *m* of *vaiam, -ti* dual (§ 34).

[122] 3d pers. dual (§ 65) instead of plural; stem *aḷñ* STINGY.

[123] *nika* SOMETHING (§ 60); *ǥa—lin* verbalized.

[124] *-itɪ* allative (§ 58).

[125] Diminutive in *-piḷ,* absolute form in *-iñ* (§ 30).

[126] Stem *čilal+at* TO BUBBLE; verbal noun, in *-k,* dependent on *ñvo* TO BEGIN (see notes 138, 150).

[127] Stem *yɪčč* TO BE FULL.

[128] *miḷh* STRIKE-A-LIGHT, FIRE (see Publ. Jesup Exp. Vol. VII, p. 18); *u'kkäm* VESSEL.

[129] *yait* TO GO HOME (see § 95); verbal noun allative.

[130] Stem *ɪmt, ɪmtɪ* TO CARRY; *-yop* TO PUT TO; *ǥa——lin* with ablaut.

[131] Stem *pkau* TO BE UNABLE.

[132] Stem *ɪmt* TO CARRY; subjunctive (*a*) 1st pers. sing. subject, 3d pers. sing. object.

[133] Stem *ḷɪmñena* TO FOLLOW.

[134] Stem *vaiam* RIVER; *-ena* suffix for living being; nominalized verb, 1st pers. sing. (§ 73).

[135] *yai'vač* TO HAVE PITY WITH; designative in *-u* (§ 94).

[136] *t—ɪn* I—HIM (§ 65); stem *-tč* (§ 79).

[137] Compare note 120.

[138] Verbal noun in *-k* dependent on *ñvo* TO BEGIN (see notes 126, 150).

[139] Stem *tva,* in initial position *va* TO BE; *ñvo* TO BEGIN; *-laike* 3d pers. pl., derived form.

[140] Stem *nɪki* night; probably verbal noun in (*t*)*ā,* although the verb has usually the suffix *yu* expressing phenomena of nature. (Ch. *nɪki—ru'—rkɪn* NIGHT COMES).

[141] Stem *tva* TO BE; 1st pers. pl., derived form.

[142] Compound noun *lawt* HEAD, *kɪ'ḷčɪčñɪn* BAND (from *kɪḷɪ* TO TIE (§§ 53; 106.44).

[143] Reduplicated form retained in a derived form in *-in* (§ 29, p. 690, note).

[144] Stem *yop* TO PUT ON.

[145] Stem *nto,* in initial position *ñɪto* TO GO OUT.

[146] *qai-* SMALL; *ɪčh* TO DAWN, TO LIGHT *ñɪvo* TO BEGIN; *ǥa—ḷin* nominalized verb.

[147] Stem *vant* TO DAWN; *ǥe'ñɪn* (§ 106.44).

[148] *tomwa* TO BE CREATED.

[149] Stem *yt,* in medial position *nt* TO DO, MAKE (§ 80).

ġañvo'ḷen[119] tenma'witčuk,[150] Vaḷvɪmtɪḷa^{ɛ}yɪkɪñ[151] ġaḷa'lin.[73] "Mai,
began preparing, to Raven-Man she reached. "Halloo,
Vaḷvɪ'mtɪḷa^{ɛ}n va'ykɪn?"[152] Va'čvɪ-ña'ut[153] e'wañ,[8] "Va'ykɪn."
Raven Man is staying?" Raven-Woman said, "He is."
Ġewñɪvo'ḷen Vaḷvɪ'mtɪḷa^{ɛ}n, "As·s·o' qati',[154] qo'npŭ a'ḷva tɪtva'ñvok."[155]
He was told Raven-Man, "Since you left, altogether wrong I was."
Ġayo^{ɛ}'oḷen[156] Vaḷvɪ'mtɪḷa^{ɛ}n, gewñɪvo'ḷen, "Gɪ'ssa[157] qa'čɪk uɪ'ña
She found Raven-Man, he was told, "Thou really not
aḷ'va a'tvaka?[48] Qe'nñɪvo?"[158] Qa'pten[159] gayɪ'ḷtiḷen,[160] yai'na[161]
wrong wert? Wilt thou stay so?" The back he turned, to the front
yɪli'ykɪnɪn.[162] Ġŭ'mlañ qa'pten li'ykɪn.[163] Va^{ɛ}'yuk ġañvo'ḷen[119]
she turned him. Again the back he turned. Then she began
čičhi'ñɪk[164] yɪyɪgɪča'wik,[165] gačečheñqatvɪñvo'ḷen;[166] čake'ta[167]
in the armpits tickling, putting her hands in his armpits; the sister
gewñɪvo'ḷen,[56] "Quya'qɪ?[168] I'nač! E'nnu maḷ-ña'wɪtkata."[169] Va^{ɛ}'yuk
said, "What is the matter with thee? Enough! This one a good woman." Then
Enkai'tɪ[124] ġañvo'ḷen,[119] "Ġm, ġm, ġm!" Qo'yɪñ[170] yɪḷeñvo'ykɪnen.[171]
there to he began, "Ġm, ġm, ġm!" To the other side she turned him.
Va^{ɛ}'yuk ġaktača'čhaḷen,[172] "Ġa, ġa, ġa!" Tɪ'ykɪtiy[109] ġače'pñɪtoḷen,[173]
Then he laughed aloud, "Ġa, ġa, ġa!" The sun peeped out,
ɪ'ya^{ɛ}g[174] ga'plin,[175] qo'npŭ ġečha'ḷen.[176]
to the sky it fastened itself, altogether it became light.

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[150] Stem *tenm* TO PREPARE; verbal noun in *-k* dependent on *ñvo* TO BEGIN (see notes 126, 138); *-tču* intensity of action.

[151] *-yɪkɪñ* a personal allative form (see §§ 41 and 44).

[152] Derived form of stem *tva*, in initial position *va* TO BE.

[153] *Va'čvɪ*< *Valvɪ* (§§ 16.3; 122).

[154] Stem *lqat* TO WALK, in initial position *qat*; 2d pers. sing.

[155] Stems *tva-ñvo* TO BE-TO BEGIN, *tɪ—k* 1st pers. sing.

[156] Stem *yo^{ɛ}* TO VISIT.

[157] Absolute form (§ 56).

[158] Stem *it* TO BE *ñɪvo* TO BEGIN; *q* (*u*)—(§ 68), no personal ending.

[159] Absolute form.

[160] *yɪḷɪ* TO TURN; *ga—lin* nominalized verb.

[161] *yaina* TO MEET; adverbial: face to face.

[162] *yɪ*——causative; *li* TO TURN; derived form, HE—HIM.

[163] Stem *li* TO TURN; derived form.

[164] Locative.

[165] *yɪ*——*aw* causative; *yɪgɪčh* TO ITCH.

[166] Stems *čičhiñɪ* ARMPITS; *qatv* TO PUT IN; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN.

[167] Subjective as subject of transitive verb.

[168] *yaq* WHAT; predicative form (§ 82); second person (§ 68).

[169] *maḷ* GOOD; *ñaw* +*ɪtqat* WOMAN; here subjective.

[170] *qo'yɪñ* allative of *qoyo'*. (See § 43, p. 705.)

[171] See note 162; the same form with added *ñvo* TO BEGIN.

[172] Prefix *kt*—VERY (§ 113.22); *ačačhat* TO LAUGH; *ga*——*lin* with ablaut.

[173] Stem *lilep*, medial *ḷep*; for *čep*, see § 16.3; 122. *ñɪto* TO GO OUT.

[174] Locative (see note 71).

[175] Stem *ap* TO FASTEN ITSELF.

[176] Stem *ġčh*, *ɪčh* TO DAWN (see note 146).

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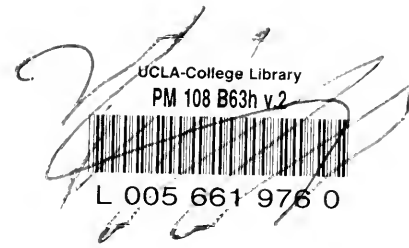
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