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BY

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TONKAWA
AN INDIAN LANGUAGE OF TEXAS
BY
HARRY HOIJER

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INTRODUCTION.

The Tonkawa appear to have been an important and warlike tribe living in central Texas during most of the 18th and 19th centuries. From the scanty accounts of their culture which have come down to us through mission and governmental reports, they were a nomadic people living on the buffalo. Their myths and stories, of which I have collected about thirty, give indications of their dependence upon buffalo and deer, and, insofar as this sort of evidence is reliable, indicate a Plains type of culture. A more complete account of their culture — or, rather, of what little is known of their ethnological relations — may be found in the Handbook of the American Indian, B. A. E. Bulletin 30, part 2, under the heading "Tonkawa".

The name "Tonkawa" is supposed by Gatschet to be derived from a Waco word *tonkawéya* meaning "they will stay together." I am unable to verify or disprove this etymology. The Tonkawa call themselves *didjganwa·didj*, which may be translated as "the people."

Powell, in his linguistic classification, considered that the Tonkawa language formed an independent linguistic stock, i. e., was unrelated to any other American Indian language. Certain lesser tribes — the Yojuane, Mayeye, and Ervipianne — were certainly associated in culture and may have spoken languages related to Tonkawa. I have not had access to the material extant on these languages. Certain other small tribes, notably the Sana (sometimes written Zana and Chana), situated between the Tonkawa and the Coahuiltecan speaking groups, may also have spoken a language related to Tonkawa. Only fragmentary material on Sana is extant. Relationship between Tonkawa and the Coahuiltecan languages has been postulated: the difficulty of proving any such relationship lies in the scarcity of material on the Coahuiltecan languages, a difficulty that cannot, unfortunately, be remedied since these languages are now extinct.

The language groups mentioned above are probably the closest to Tonkawa. There is also a possibility that it is very distantly related to languages of the so-called Hokan group. I have not had the opportunity of making an adequate investigation of this possibility. So far as this work is concerned, then, it will be necessary to consider Tonkawa as an independent language: as one for which no cognates have been proven.

Tonkawa is now spoken by only six persons — all of them past middle age. There are approximately forty Tonkawa (including mixed bloods) who are living at present in the vicinity of Tonkawa, Oklahoma. The language is not being learned by any of the younger people and, with the death of the present speakers, will become extinct.

The following account of the language is based upon about 360 manuscript pages of text with accompanying grammatical forms. All of this material was obtained from one informant, John Rush Buffalo, who has the reputation among his people of being the best of their story tellers. Most of this information was gathered during the summer of 1928: additional material being obtained in the winter of 1928 and on two subsequent visits. The work was financed by the Committee on Linguistic Research in American Indian Languages, and I am grateful to the members of that Committee — Dr. Franz Boas, Dr. Edward Sapir, and Dr. Leonard Bloomfield — for their interest and cooperation. Dr. John R. Swanton of the Bureau of American Ethnology very kindly sent me his copy of the Tonkawa material collected by A. S. Gatschet in 1884¹. The kinship terminology included in this paper was collected by Dr. Alexander Lesser of Columbia University. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Sapir for his careful reading of the manuscript and the constructive criticisms he has unfailingly supplied.

¹ See Sixth Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. XXXIII.

CHAPTER I. PHONOLOGY (2—19)

2. Introductory.

The Tonkawa word is composed of two major units or sets of units. The first of these is the theme or invariable portion of the word form. These rarely stand alone but are completed in meaning by several affixes which amplify the meaning of the theme and serve to relate it to other words in the sentence. There is never any difficulty in distinguishing theme and affix: the technique binding them together is prevailingly agglutinative. Thus, in the following forms:

<i>yamx-o'c</i>	I paint his face
<i>ge-imax-o'</i>	he paints my face
<i>yamx-a'ha'a</i>	I shall paint his face

the theme is *yamx-* or *-imax-* and the affixes, *-o'c* first person singular present tense, declarative mode; *ge-* first person object pronoun; *-o'* third person singular present tense, declarative mode; and *-a'ha'a* first person singular, intentive mode.

The theme in this particular case is disyllabic as are the vast majority of verb and noun themes of Tonkawa. It is evident, too, that it changes in form according to its position in the verb: e. g. contrast *yamx-* of the first example with *-imax-* of the second. This alternation in phonetic form illustrates the most far-reaching phonetic law in Tonkawa — that of vocalic elision by which every other element in the theme (this rule does not apply to affixes) is “reduced”, i. e., either loses its vowel altogether or has its vowel shortened. It follows, then, that themes are built up, phonetically at least, of smaller units which we shall call “elements.” These elements are, roughly speaking, of two types: simple elements, composed of consonant plus vowel, and complex elements, composed of consonant plus vowel plus consonant. Furthermore, these elements vary in form according to their position in the word — the odd numbered elements having a “full” form and the even numbered elements being “reduced” in form. The details of this phonetic law must come later (cf. 5); the matter is mentioned here in order to illustrate the fact that the phonology of Tonkawa is best considered, not as directly affecting the individual phoneme, but as affecting combinations of such phonemes or elements. In other words, the basic word building unit (phonologically considered) is not the individual sound but the element.

As mentioned above, this peculiar alternation of elements is true only of the theme. Affixes do not vary their form no matter what

position they hold in the word. Phonologically, then, there are three types of element: simple theme elements, complex theme elements and affixed elements — the first two sub-classes contrasting with the last in phonetic treatment. Affixes fall also into two divisions: those identical with a single element and those composed of two or more elements. Disyllabic affixes are not separable, however, and must be treated as units.

Returning now to the word, we find it composed of several element groups rather loosely bound together. The elements of any one of these groups form a firmly knit unit — one that is rarely (in the case of themes) or never (for affixes) separable. It appears likely that themes represent the oldest of these structures; in fact, as we shall see later (cf. 13) they are “petrified” formations. It is not now possible to form new themes on the analogy of the old — words in the language that can definitely be said to be new are invariably compounds of older themes. Nor is it possible to vary the essential structure of the theme except in a few rare cases.

We shall then, consider the phonetic laws of Tonkawa as they apply directly to the three types of word building elements and how, in this indirect way, they affect the individual phoneme.

3. The Vowel.

Tonkawa recognizes both short and long vowels as basic phonemes. In some cases, it can be shown that long vowels result from certain contractions (cf. 9—13); in others, contractions cannot be demonstrated. In the same way, the diphthongs listed below are basic — i. e., while in many cases diphthongs can be proven to result from contractions, other unanalyzable word forms also contain diphthongs.

Vowels		Diphthongs	
<i>Short</i>	<i>Long</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-u</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>a'</i>	<i>a_i</i>	<i>au</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>e'</i>	<i>e_i</i>	<i>eu</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>i'</i>	—	—
<i>o</i>	<i>o'</i>	<i>o_i</i>	<i>ou</i>

The vowels have the following values:

<i>a</i> as in German 'mann'.	<i>a'</i> as in English 'father'.
<i>e</i> as in English 'let'.	<i>e'</i> as in German 'weh'
<i>i</i> as in English 'hit'.	<i>i'</i> as in English 'bead'.
<i>o</i> as in German 'voll'.	<i>o'</i> as in German 'Sohn'.

The diphthongs are all falling diphthongs; i. e., the second vowel is subordinate to the first. In all cases, there is a slight length to the first vowel giving the diphthongs a full two morae length.

The vowel *e*, preceding an element with a vowel *a* or *o* takes on the quality of the vowel following. Examples:

<i>ga-'adcaw-o'</i>	I revive (<i>ge-'adcaw-o'</i>)
<i>ha-'adnayew-o'</i>	they love each other (<i>he-'adnayew-o'</i>)
<i>no'oc-o'c</i>	I wipe his nose (<i>ne'oc-o'c</i>)
<i>ho'oxaw-o'c</i>	I steal it (<i>he'oxaw-o'c</i>)
<i>nenco'yaw-o'c</i>	I ferry it (<i>nenco'yaw-o'c</i>)

The vowel *o*, coming directly before an element beginning with a vowel or *h*, becomes *w*.

<i>yago-</i>	to fetch water
<i>yagw-an</i>	bucket, container (<i>-an</i> noun forming suffix)
<i>yadxo-</i>	to fill pipe; prepare for smoking
<i>yadxw-an</i>	pipe
<i>necnaxo-</i>	to cause to ripen
<i>nadj-dam'axan-necnaxw-an</i>	cricket, he who causes pecans to ripen
<i>hec'ago-</i>	to shave oneself
<i>hec'agw-an</i>	razor

4. The Consonant.

The consonantal scheme has the rather unique feature of glottalized nasals, spirants, sibilants and laterals. These glottalized consonants, as well as the glottalized stops, appear almost exclusively as initial consonants of complex elements (cf. 13). The question of their being basic consonants is, therefore, contingent upon the structure of the complex element. As will be shown later, the complex element is not always susceptible to closer analysis: for this reason and because of the rarer cases of the occurrence of glottalized consonants in unanalyzable forms, these consonants have been listed as on a par with the others. The bilabial stop *b* never appears in the glottalized form even when it is the initial of a complex element comparable to those requiring a glottalized initial consonant. A unique feature is the glottalized *gw'*, in which the glottal stop affects not the stop but its labialization. This feature is, however, congruent with the rest of the system: in all cases the glottal closure survives the oral closure and, when the nasals, spirants, sibilants, and laterals are glottalized, the glottal stop always follows.

	Stops		Nasals		Spirants		
	V. L. Media	Glott. Stops	Voiced	Glott.	V. L.	Voiced	Glott.
Labial	<i>b</i>	—	<i>m</i>	<i>m'</i>	—	<i>w</i>	<i>w'</i>
Dental	<i>d</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n'</i>	—	—	—
Sibilant	—	—	—	—	<i>c</i>	—	<i>c'</i>
Palatal	—	—	—	—	—	<i>y</i>	<i>y'</i>
Guttural	<i>g</i>	<i>k'</i>	—	—	<i>x</i>	—	<i>x'</i>
Labial							
Gutturals	<i>gw</i>	<i>gw'</i>	—	—	<i>xw</i>	—	<i>xw'</i>
Faucal	—	—	—	—	<i>h</i>	—	—

Lateral: *l*; glottalized lateral: *l'*

Affricative: *dj*; glottalized affricative: *t'c*

The voiceless media (*b, d, g, gw*) are pronounced in a manner about halfway between the corresponding English surds and sonants; somewhat as the *b, d,* and *g* of the central German dialects. They occur in all positions — initially, medially, and finally. In the final position, *g* becomes the surd *-k*.

<i>co'bgoc</i>	I swell up
<i>co'bak nadjgo'c</i>	I swell up and die
<i>yax'ago'c</i>	I shovel it
<i>yax'ak do'xo'c</i>	I shovel it all up

The sibilant *c* is the *sh* of English 'ship' with a forward articulation: *sh* pronounced halfway between English *s* and *sh*. It occurs in all positions. *x, xw,* vary in pronunciation between the guttural and palatal. Before or after back vowels (*a, o,*), they are guttural; before or after the front vowels (*e, i,*), they assume the palatal pronunciation of the *ch* of German 'ich'.

dj varies with *dz*. It is approximated in pronunciation by the *j* of English 'judge'. In the final position it is entirely unvoiced, *-tc*.

<i>t'caxw yabetc</i>	thread
<i>yabdjo'c</i>	I sew it
<i>ben'ats</i>	spring
<i>ben'atc</i>	spring

h, w, y, l, m, and *n* are pronounced as in English. *-h-*, in the medial position is usually absorbed by the preceding element (cf. 8). The semi-vowels *w* and *y*, in the final position, become *-u* and *-i*, respectively.

<i>'c'eyawo'c</i>	I work
<i>'c'eyau do'xo'c</i>	I finish working
<i>yaxoyo'c</i>	I hunt it
<i>yaxoi ciliwo'c</i>	I go about hunting

A. THEME ELEMENTS (5—13)

5. Full and Reduced Forms: Vocalic Elision.

Before entering upon the explanation of vocalic elision — the most important single phonetic alternation affecting the theme — it will be necessary to define more accurately the various types of theme elements. We have already called attention to the fact that there are two main types — the simple and the complex. The simple element is composed of consonant plus vowel; the complex element, generally built up of consonant plus vowel plus consonant, has several types. In the following list of types of theme elements, C is to be read as any consonant and V as any vowel. The lower

case letters refer to specific consonants and vowels and a period after a letter indicates length.

Simple:	CV	
Complex:	CVw	CVy
	CV·	
	CVC	CV·C
	C'V	C'V·
	C'VC	C'V·C

The first two types of complex element (CVw and CVy) may, under certain conditions, appear in the form *Co·* (cf. 10). They are found only in the final theme position; i.e., directly before the first suffix position. The others, for the most part, occur only in positions other than the final though there are a few cases of a type *CVC* element in the last position. In the examples that follow, the complex elements are set in black faced type.

<i>nahawa-</i> (<i>naho·-</i>)	to ask about...
<i>'e'eyawa-</i> (<i>'e'eyo·-</i>)	to work, to do...
<i>'oigawa-</i> (<i>'oigo·-</i>)	to put... in an enclosed space
<i>xal'oya-</i> (<i>xal'o·-</i>)	to cut...
<i>danxoya-</i> (<i>danxo·-</i>)	to take from...
<i>wa·na-</i>	to fall, pitch forward
<i>xa·la-</i>	to be cold, chilled
<i>ma·ga-</i>	to cry, weep
<i>ha·na-</i>	one person goes off
<i>calge-</i>	to pull (sinew) from (meat)
<i>xeidje-</i>	to rub <i>tr.</i>
<i>m'aye-</i>	to set fire to...
<i>c'ago-</i>	to scrape...
<i>c'e·da-</i>	to cut, knife...
<i>xw'e·la-</i>	to miss (e. g. a mark in shooting)
<i>k'am'e-</i>	to bend around (e. g. bend soft metal into a bracelet)
<i>c'e·t'e-</i>	to scratch (e. g. a match)

The criterion for the distinction between simple and complex elements is the law of vocalic elision. According to this rule, simple elements vary in form according to their position in the word. Those elements in odd numbered positions (i. e., first, third, fifth, etc.) have the full form (*CV*), and those in even numbered positions are reduced (*C·*). Complex elements of types *CV·*, *CV·C*, *C'V·*, and *C'V·C*, in the even numbered position, reduce the length of their vowels, becoming *CV*, *CVC*, *C'V*, *C'VC*, respectively. The complex elements *CVw* and *CVy* have the same form in both positions even when they have contracted to *Co·*. The remaining types (*CVC*, *C'V*, and *C'VC*) have the same form in both positions. In the following paragraphs the law will be considered in its application to each type of element and examples of its workings will be given.

A. THE SIMPLE ELEMENT (6—8)

6. The Simple Element.

The simple element has been defined as consonant plus short vowel. It has three forms depending upon its position in the word. In the full form, it appears as *CV*, in the reduced form as *C'*, and when in the final position it takes the form *C*. It will be noted that, in the reduced form, the consonant is lengthened compensatively for the loss of the vowel. If the consonant happens to be *m*, *n*, or *l*, this lengthening gives it a syllabic quality. The final form of this element will be discussed in detail in the following paragraph — certain other changes occur which do not directly concern us here.

ya-d'-c(a)-o'c I stab him

ya-, being in the first position, has the full form; *-d'-*, in the second position, has been reduced from *da*; *-c(a)-*, in the third position, should have the full form but, being followed by the theme affix *-o-* merges with it to form *-co-* and the full form is not evident. The word as it actually appears is, then, *yad'co'c* 'I stab him'.

ya-i -da-c -o'c I stab him repeatedly

Here, *ya-* is reduplicated and the repeated portion, in the second position, is reduced: *-da-*, in the third position has the full form; *-c-*, in the fourth position, is reduced from *ca* but again merges with the following *-o-* affix to form *-co-*, obscuring its actual form. The word: *yaidaco'c*. It is necessary to note here that other theme suffixes besides *-o-* have certain effects upon the final element of the theme obscuring its real form. These will be discussed in sections 15 to 18.

ge-i -da-c -o' he stabs me

Here the theme affix *ge-* has been added, causing the first element of the theme (but the second with reference to the word) to have the reduced form (from *ya*) and the others to take forms suitable to their positions in the word.

ge-ya-i -da-c -o' he stabs me repeatedly

Here, *ge-* is added as in the previous example but, since a reduplicated element has the same form in both even and odd positions, there is no change. Other examples:

<i>ya-m -x(a)-o'c</i>	I paint his face
<i>ge-i -ma-x -o'</i>	he paints my face
<i>ne-d -l(e)-o'c</i>	I lick him (with tongue)
<i>ge-n -da-l -o'</i>	he licks me
<i>ya-l -b(a)-o'c</i>	I stick it (in the ground)
<i>we-i -la-b -o'c</i>	I stick them (in the ground)

When reduplicated, simple elements have either the form *CVC* or *CVCV*. The former is the one we should expect to find. It is possible that those elements reduplicating according to the latter pattern (*CVCV*) are older complex elements of the type *CV·* (which, in the reduplicated form, becomes *CVCV*; cf. 11) which have lost all characteristics of that class except the reduplicated form. Another explanation would ascribe such forms to analogy with complex elements of the type *CV·*. No proof can be adduced for either theory.

'ego'c	I give it to him
'e'ego'c	rep.
gwedo'c	I carry him in my arms
gwegwedawo'c	rep.
djexo'c	I turn him loose; loosen him
djedjexo'c	rep.
gomo'c	I have it in my mouth; suck it
gogomo'c	rep.

For this verb there is some doubt as to the status of the element *go-*. Note the following:

wo-g-m(o)-o'c	I have them in my mouth
wo-go-m -o'c	I have them in my mouth

In the first example the element *-go-* is elided as it should be if it is a simple element. But the second example can also be used. This fact, taken in connection with the reduplicated form of the element, lends a certain weight to the theory that *-go-* is a complex element of the type *CV·* which has lost the vocalic length of the full form and is treated in some cases as a simple element. Doublets of this type are very rare.

dobo'c	I cut it
dodobo'c	rep.
naulo'c	I spread it out (e. g. a blanket)
nawewelo'c	rep.
yagbo'c	I hit him
yagagbo'c	rep.
yabxo'c	I slap him
yababxo'c	rep.
yagwo'c	I kick him
yaigawo'c	rep.
yabdjo'c	I sew it
yaibedjo'c	rep.
djoxno'c	I sleep
djodjxa'yewo'	several sleep together

It appears, from this list of examples, that, with some exceptions, reduplications of the form *CVCV* occur most often when the element is the first of the theme and that the other type of reduplication is confined to second position elements. This fact is born out by the mass of my material: only one element, the *ya-* as illustrated in *yagwa-* to kick, consistently taking the reduplicated

form *CVC* in the first position. A contradiction, however, to the notion that the type of reduplication may be dependent upon the position of the element is that the reduplicated form of either type is consistent no matter how the position of the element may change. Thus, in the following examples:

<i>dodobo`c</i>	I cut it (<i>rep</i>)
<i>gedodobo`</i>	he cuts me (<i>rep</i>)
<i>yabab.xo`c</i>	I slap him (<i>rep</i>)
<i>geibab.xo`</i>	he slaps me (<i>rep</i>)
<i>nawewelo`c</i>	I spread it (<i>rep</i>)
<i>wenwewelo`c</i>	I spread them (<i>rep</i>)

the reduplicated element has the same form in both even and odd numbered positions.

7. The Simple Element in Final Position.

Simple elements in final position always have the reduced form regardless of whether the position is even or odd in number. The final form of the element differs from the reduced form in that the consonant is not lengthened. By 'final position' is meant either absolute or relative final: in most cases, theme elements can only be relatively final since it is necessary to complete a form by means of formal suffixes.

<i>no-w-o`c</i>	I lose (gambling)
<i>nou do.xo`c</i>	I lose all
<i>he-i -la-b -o`c</i>	I stand
<i>he-i -la-b hadjxo`c</i>	I stand up, arise

In the above examples, the final elements happen also to be in even numbered positions. If, however, the final element is in odd position, the penult is even and should have the reduced form. But, because of the rule acquiring the final element to be reduced no matter what its position is with reference to the word, the penult re-inserts its vowel — takes the full form. Thus:

<i>no-d -x(a)-o`c</i>	I hoe it
<i>no-do-x</i>	hoc

Here, *-do-* is in the second position but *-xa*, which has the third position, is reduced because final, causing *-do-* to re-insert its vowel and take the full form. Other examples:

<i>ya-b -dj(e)-o`c</i>	I sew it
<i>t'caxw ya-be-te</i>	thread
<i>no-d -cfa)-o`</i>	several persons stand
<i>ha'ago'n no-do-c</i>	a group of men standing
<i>na-xw -dj -o`c</i>	I rattle it
<i>na-xwe-te</i>	rattle
<i>bi-l -w -o`c</i>	I round it, shape it
<i>bi-la-u didj</i>	biscuit (<i>didj</i> like, as)

<i>xa-dj -ya-w -o'c</i>	I have gonorrhoea
<i>xa-djo-i</i>	gonorrhoea
<i>'a-c -ya-w -o c</i>	I am pregnant
<i>'a-co-i</i>	pregnant

8. Total Elision of Simple Elements.

Three kinds of simple elements, those with initial consonant *h-*, *y-*, or *'*, are elided completely under certain circumstances. Since the factors governing such elision vary for the three element types concerned, they must be considered separately.

h- as Initial Consonant.

Simple elements with *h-* as the initial consonant — unless in the first position of the word or followed by certain theme affixes — are absorbed to the vowel of the preceding element. Thus:

<i>'e-da-we'c</i>	I come here
<i>'e-dah(a)-a'dono'c</i>	I will come here
<i>nec-'e-dah(a)- a'we'</i>	he makes you come here

In the first example, *-daha-* has contracted to *-da-*; in the second and third examples, the addition of the theme suffixes for the future tense and second person pronoun object respectively has caused a long vowel to follow *-ha-* whereupon it cannot contract with the preceding element *-da-*. Note, in the last two examples, that *-ha-*, being in the fourth position, should have the reduced form but that the theme suffixes following obscure the issue. Other examples follow:

<i>ha-i -x -o'c</i>	I ride it
<i>ga'-yo-x -o'</i>	he rides me

Notice here that the initial *ha-* of the theme contracts with the theme affix *ge-* me, and that the resulting contracting element has a long vowel, compensating for the loss of the element.

<i>ha-b -l -o'</i>	they attack him
<i>ga'-bi-l -o'</i>	they attack me
<i>ha-i -w -o'c</i>	I buy it, him
<i>ga'-ya-w -o'</i>	he buys me
<i>he-b -dj -o'</i>	several fall
<i>xe'-ba-dj̄ -o'</i>	several fall from a distance
<i>he-u -l -o'c</i>	I catch him
<i>ge'-we-l -o'</i>	he catches me
<i>we'-we-l -o'c</i>	I catch them

y- as Initial Consonant.

Simple elements with initial consonant *y-* usually follow the regular rule — appearing as *CV* in the full form and *C* in the reduced

form. There are, however, a few examples of such an element being completely elided.

<i>ya-m -g -o'c</i>	I call him
<i>ge'-ma-g -o' or ge-i -ma-g -o'</i>	he calls me
<i>we'-ma-g -o'c or we-i -ma-g -o'c</i>	I call them
<i>hengwa'-n -o'c</i>	I run away
<i>hengwai-xa'x -o'c</i>	I arrive running
<i>ga-'a'x-'e'-no'</i>	I am thirsty (<i>cont.</i>)
<i>ga-'a'x-'cy-o'</i>	I am thirsty

Examples of this type of elision are not common: the above list is practically exhaustive.

'- as Initial Consonant.

There are only two examples of elements of this type in the even numbered position. In these two cases, the element is completely elided and the vowel of the preceding element is lengthened compensatively.

<i>'e-g -o'c</i>	I give it to him
<i>ge'-g-o'</i>	he gives it to me
<i>we'-g -o'c</i>	I give it to them

In the above examples, the glottal stop of the reduced element probably merges with, or drops out before, the following stop consonant.

<i>he-i -'a-djew-o'c</i>	I watch it
<i>ya'-dj -o'c</i>	I see it

There is reason to believe that the two themes go back to the same source, *ya'dje-* (**ya'-a-dje-*) being the simple form, having elided the second element completely. In the second example, the prefix *he-* (and the suffix *-wa*) have been added, reducing the first element of the theme and allowing the second to appear. Curiously enough, however, the element *ya'-* of *ya'dje-* is no longer felt as *ya'a-* but follows the elision pattern of a type *C'V'* element (cf. 11). Thus:

<i>ya'-dj -o'c</i>	I see him
<i>ge-ya -dj -o'</i>	he sees me

B. COMPLEX ELEMENTS (9—13)

9. General Remarks.

We have already listed the types of complex elements and given examples of them (cf. 5). They may be regrouped as follows:

CVw (Co·)	CV·	C'V
CVy (Co·)	C'V·	CVC
	CV·C	C'VC
	C'V·C	

In the first column will be found those elements having two forms, the uncontracted, *CVw*, *CVy*, and the contracted, *Co*· in both cases. Neither form is affected by the position of the element in the word. The elements in the second column are those having a long vowel in the full form (i. e., when the element is in the odd numbered position) and a short vowel in the reduced form. The elements of the third column do not vary in form at all.

10. Complex Elements: Types: *CVw*, *CVy*.

These elements appear in the contracted form (*Co*·), unless:

- a. followed by an element beginning with a vowel or the consonant *h*.
- b. in final position.
- c. reduplicated.

The form of the element may, then, be summarized in the following table:

Condition a.	<i>CVw</i>	<i>CVy</i>
Condition b.	<i>CVu</i>	<i>CVi</i>
Condition c.	<i>CVCVw</i>	<i>CVCVy</i>
All others	<i>Co</i> ·	<i>Co</i> ·

Examples:

<i>'e'eyaw -o'c</i>	I work
<i>'e'eyo'-no'c</i>	I am working
<i>'e'eyaw -a'dono'c</i>	I will work
<i>'e'eyaw -a'ha'a</i>	I shall work
<i>'e'eyau do:x -o'c</i>	I finish working
<i>yagew'-o'c</i> or <i>yago'-o'c</i>	I transform it
<i>yagew'a-no'c</i> or <i>yago'-ono'c</i>	I am transforming it
<i>yagegew'-ano'c</i>	<i>rep.</i>

In this verb, the alternation between the form *CVw* and *Co*· is clearly shown since both are possible. Note, however, that the reduplicated form has no variant.

<i>nedjbaw-o'c</i>	I touch him
<i>ge-ndjebaw-o'</i>	he touches me
<i>ge-ndjebo'-no'</i>	he is touching me
<i>nedjbo'-no'c</i>	I am touching him

Notice, in the preceding example, that the variation in the position of the contracted element *-bo*· does not have any effect upon its form.

<i>xal'oy -o'c</i>	I cut him
<i>xal'o' -no'c</i>	I am cutting him
<i>gexal'o' -no'</i>	he is cutting me
<i>xal'oy -a'we'c</i>	I cut you
<i>xal'oy -a'ha'a</i>	I shall cut him

<i>danxoy -o`c</i>	I take it from him
<i>danxo`-no`c</i>	I am taking it from him
<i>danxo`-kla</i>	having taken it from him
<i>danxoy -a`we`c</i>	I take it from you
<i>danxoy -a`kla</i>	having taken it from you
<i>da`e` -no`c</i>	I am married
<i>da`ey -e`no`c</i>	I marry you
<i>da`e`-k</i>	wife, husband
<i>ga`a`x`ey -o`</i>	I am thirsty
<i>ga`a`x`e` -no`</i>	<i>cont.</i>
<i>`a`x`ey -e`we`</i>	you are thirsty

11. Complex Elements with Long Vowels.

These, as has been said, have two forms: the full form appearing in the odd numbered positions in the word and the reduced form (i. e., the element is reduced when its vowel is shortened) in the even numbered positions.

<i>Full</i>	<i>Reduced</i>	<i>Reduplicated</i>
CV·	CV	CVCV
C`V·	C`V	C`VC`V
CV·C	CVC	CVCVC
C`V·C	C`VC	C`VC`VC

Final forms cannot be given for these elements because they do not appear except in the first position of the theme. It will be noted too, that the vowels are shortened in the reduplicated forms. Examples follow:

	<i>CV·</i>
<i>ba`dj -o`c</i>	I pile it, stack them
<i>we-ba`dj -o`c</i>	I pile them
<i>na`d -o`c</i>	I step on it
<i>ge-nad -o`</i>	he steps on me
<i>nanad -o`c</i>	<i>rep.</i>
<i>ba`b -o`c</i>	I set it down
<i>we-ba`b -o`c</i>	I set them down
<i>xa`m -o`c</i>	I defeat him
<i>ge-xam -o`</i>	he defeats me
<i>ya`dj -o`c</i>	I see him
<i>ge-yad`j -o`</i>	he sees me
<i>he-yayad`je-wo`</i>	several look at it
<i>ga`n -o`c</i>	I throw it away
<i>xa-gan -o`c</i>	I throw it to a distance

<i>ya'lo'n -o'c</i>	I kill him
<i>ge-yalo'n -o'</i>	he kills me
<i>wa'n -o'c</i>	I fall, pitch forward
<i>ge-wan -o'</i>	I stumble and fall (invol.)
<i>ge-wawan -o'</i>	<i>rep.</i>
<i>ma'g -o'c</i>	I cry, weep
<i>mamaga-no'c</i>	<i>rep.</i>
	<i>C'V·</i>
<i>c'e'd -o'c</i>	I cut him
<i>ge-c'ed -o'</i>	he cuts me
<i>c'ec'ed -o'c</i>	<i>rep.</i>
<i>xw'e'l'-o'c</i>	I miss (e. g. mark in shooting)
<i>ge-xw'el'-o'</i>	he misses me
<i>x'e'b -o'c</i>	I pull it out
<i>ge-x'eb -o'</i>	he pulls me out
<i>x'ex'eb -o'c</i>	<i>rep.</i>
<i>y'a'dj -o'</i>	he vomits
<i>ge-i'adj -o'</i>	I vomit
<i>he-y'ay'adj -o'</i>	<i>rcp.</i>
<i>t'co'm -o'</i>	he closes his eyes
<i>ge-t'com -o'</i>	I close my eyes
<i>t'cot'coma-no'</i>	several are closing their eyes
	<i>CV·C</i>
<i>ga'lw -o'c</i>	I gamble
<i>djo'l'-o'c</i>	I defecate
<i>ge-djol'-o'</i>	I defecate (invol.)
<i>djodjol'-o'</i>	several defecate
<i>co'bg -o'</i>	he swells up
<i>ge-cobg -o'</i>	I swell up
<i>cocobg -o'c</i>	<i>rep.</i>
<i>ge'exay -o'</i>	it is evening
	<i>C'V·C</i>
<i>m'e'dn -o'</i>	lightning strikes him
<i>ge-m'edn -o'</i>	lightning strikes me
<i>c'e'l'-o'c</i>	I scratch it (e. g. a match)
<i>we-c'el'-o'c</i>	I scratch them (several matches)
<i>t'ca'bx -o'c</i>	I put up a bed
<i>we-t'cabx -o'c</i>	I put up several beds

<i>m'e'ln -o'</i>	it shines, burns, glows
<i>ge-m'eln -o'</i>	I shine, glow
<i>m'e'idj -o'</i>	he urinates
<i>ge-m'e'idj -o'</i>	I urinate
<i>he-m'cm'e'idj -o'e</i>	<i>rep.</i>
<i>c'c'djx -o'</i>	he is satisfied, has has enough
<i>ge-c'c'djx -o'</i>	I am satisfied

12. Complex Elements with Short Vowels.

Complex elements of this type — i. e., *C'V*, *CVC*, *C'VC* — do not alter in form according to their position in the word. They appear generally in the first theme position.

<i>Full or Reduced</i>	<i>Reduplicated</i>
<i>C'V</i>	<i>C'VC'V</i>
<i>CVC</i>	<i>CVCVC</i>
<i>C'VC</i>	<i>C'VC'VC</i>

Examples of themes containing such elements follow:

	<i>C'V</i>
<i>m'ay -o'e</i>	I set fire to it
<i>ge-m'ay -o'</i>	he sets fire to me
<i>e'ag -o'e</i>	I scrape it
<i>we-c'ag -o'e</i>	I scrape them
<i>y'odj -o'e</i>	I pinch him
<i>ge-i'odj -o'</i>	he pinches me
<i>y'oy'odjo-no'e</i>	I am pinching him (<i>rep.</i>)
<i>x'el'-o'e</i>	I sharpen it
<i>we-x'el'-o'</i>	I sharpen them
<i>x'el'e-no'e</i>	I am sharpening it (<i>rep.</i>)
<i>x'en -o'e</i>	I sweep it
<i>we-x'cn -o'e</i>	I sweep them
<i>x'cx'en -o'e</i>	<i>rep.</i>
<i>x'ac'ag -o'e</i>	I scratch him
<i>he-x'ac'ag -o'e</i>	I scratch myself
	<i>CVC</i>
<i>calg-o'e</i>	I pull (e. g., sinew from meat)
<i>we-calg -o'e</i>	I pull them out
<i>cacalge-no'e</i>	<i>rep. cont.</i>
<i>xeidj -o'e</i>	I rub him
<i>ge-xeidj -o'</i>	he rubs me
<i>xexeidj -o'e</i>	<i>rep.</i>

<i>doi'-o'c</i>	I moisten, wet it
<i>ge-doi'-o'</i>	he wets me
<i>'oigaw -o'c</i>	I put it in an enclosed space
<i>wo-'oigaw -o'c</i>	I put them in an enclosed space
<i>'encaw -o'c</i>	I am jealous of him
<i>ge-'encaw -o'</i>	he is jealous of me
<i>dol'aw -o'c</i>	I knead it
<i>we-dol'aw -o'c</i>	I knead them
<i>dodol'aw -o'c</i>	<i>rep.</i>
<i>xadljew-o'</i>	he is angry
<i>ge-xadljew -o'</i>	I am angry
<i>ge-xaxadljew -o'</i>	I am very angry
<i>ge-xacdeu -o'</i>	I am alone
<i>xacdeu -o'</i>	he is alone
<i>ga-'andjew -o'</i>	I awake
<i>'andjew -o'</i>	he awakes
	<i>C'VC</i>
<i>k'am -o'c</i>	I bend it in a circle
<i>we-k'am -o'c</i>	I bend them in a circle
<i>k'ak'am -o'c</i>	<i>rep.</i>
<i>x'ax'ai -o'c</i>	I laugh
<i>ge-x'ax'ai -o'</i>	I laugh (invol.)
<i>ge-c'edxwan -o'</i>	I choke
<i>c'edxwan -o'</i>	he chokes
<i>c'egwdjaw -o'</i>	he is wrinkled
<i>ge-c'egwdjaw -o'</i>	I am wrinkled

13. Remarks on the Phonetic Structure of the Complex Element.

It will be seen from the preceding paragraphs that the complex element is, formally, comparable to the simple element. In other words, it responds to the law of alternating forms as a unit rather than as a combination of separate simple elements. There is reason to believe, however, that these units are older combinations — perhaps of elements comparable to the extant simple elements. One of these reasons is found in the structure of one type of complex element — i. e., *CVw*, which may also appear in the form *Co*. The following examples will make this clear.

<i>naday -o'c</i>	I choose it
<i>he-n dadayaw -o'</i>	several choose it
<i>he-n dadayo' -no'</i>	several are choosing it

In this example, an element *-w* has clearly been added to the simple element *-ya-*, forming the complex element *-yaw-*, *-yo'-*.

<i>doxwn -o'c</i>	I smell, sniff it
<i>doxwnaw -o'c</i>	I smell it (i. e., there is a smell about)

Here, too, a simple element *-na-* has been transformed into a complex element *naw-*, *-no'-*.

<i>com'ax -o'c</i>	I skin it
<i>he-neocom'axaw -o'</i>	several skin it
<i>he-neocom'axo'-no'</i>	<i>cont.</i>
<i>gwd -o'c</i>	I carry him (in arms)
<i>gwegwedaw -o'c</i>	<i>rep.</i>
<i>gwegwedo' -no'c</i>	<i>rep. cont.</i>
<i>nadj -o'c</i>	I bite him
<i>nanadjew -o'c</i>	<i>rep.</i>
<i>nanadjjo' -no'c</i>	<i>rep. cont.</i>
<i>nod -o'c</i>	I touch it, press it
<i>nonodaw -o'c</i>	<i>rep.</i>
<i>nonodo' -no'c</i>	<i>rep. cont.</i>

These examples, and there are many others, show clearly, I think, that at least one of the complex elements may be regarded as a combination of simple element and suffix — or, as a combination of two simple elements. The combination once made, however, is treated as a unit: i. e., $CV + CV = Co'$ is not comparable to the ordinary combination of two simple elements.

This, of course, applies directly to only one type of the complex element. No such demonstration is possible with the others. But it is possible that other complex elements were, at one time, formed in some such manner. As evidence that processes of this sort have not entirely ceased functioning in the language, we may cite those combinations of simple elements mentioned in section 8 where, it will be remembered, the complete elision of an element was accompanied by the compensatory lengthening of the vowel of the element preceding. Assuming, then, that such processes as are now extant in the language may have contributed to the formation of complex elements, we can divide the latter into two groups — those composed of two parts and those built up of three component parts.

$CV \cdot < CV + CV$ } These formed by the complete elision of the second unit — the process similar to that illustrated in section 8.
 $C'V \cdot < C'V + CV$ }

$CV \cdot C < CV + CV + CV$ } These formed by the elision of the second unit and the vowel of the third unit.
 $C'V \cdot C < C'V + CV + CV$ }

CVw and CVy are, of course, special cases of the type $CV \cdot$ and serve to give weight to our speculations concerning their structure. Elements of the type $C'V$, CVC , and $C'VC$ may either be examples

of elements further reduced from types $C'V'$, $CV\cdot C$, and $C'V\cdot C$, respectively, or may be considered as in the same category as type CVw .

§ This theory cannot, however, be proved. It must be regarded simply as a speculation based upon certain phonological processes which may have had, at one time, a wider function. The theory, carried to its logical conclusion, would indicate that, at one time, the basic phonemic elements of Tonkawa were of two general types: the simple element, and certain suffixes functioning to amplify the meaning of the simple element. These then combined to form theme elements of two sorts, simple and complex. With the passage of time, these phonologic processes became inoperative: themes were no longer formed in this manner and came to be felt as indivisible units.

B. AFFIXED ELEMENTS (14—18)

14. Prefixed Elements.

These are generally of four types: CV , CVC , CV' , $CV\cdot C$. The first is the most common and, when added directly to a theme, causes its elements to reverse their forms (i. e., those which had the full form are reduced and those reduced become full). Examples:

<i>yamx -o'c</i>	I paint his face
<i>ge-i max -o'</i>	he paints my face
<i>we-i max-o'c</i>	I paint their faces
<i>ga'n -o'c</i>	I throw it away
<i>xa-gan -o'c</i>	I throw it to a distance
<i>caxw -o'c</i>	I am frightened
<i>ya-cxaw -o'c</i>	I scare him; cause him to be frightened

As a general rule, when prefixes of this type are preceded by other single element prefixes, they do not elide their vowels. Thus:

<i>xa-gan -o'c</i>	I throw it to a distance
<i>we-xa-gan-o'c</i>	I throw them to a distance
<i>ya-cxaw -o'c</i>	I scare him
<i>ge-ya-cxaw -o'</i>	he scares me
<i>we-ya-cxaw-o'c</i>	I scare them

However, the pronoun object for the first person plural, which is a combination of *ge-* me, and *we-* plural object, results in the form *geu-*, the vowel of the second element being elided. Whether or not *ge-* would behave similarly cannot be determined since it is never preceded by a single element prefix.

Prefixes of type CVC do not cause theme elements to reverse their forms.

<i>yamx -o`c</i>	I paint his face
<i>nec-yamx -o`c</i>	I cause him to paint his face
<i>ge-nec-yamx -o`</i>	he causes me to paint my face
<i>we-nec-yamx -o`c</i>	I cause them to paint their faces

It will be noticed, from the last two examples, that the prefix *nec-* does not change form when preceded by a single element prefix. Another prefix of the type *CVC*, *dac-*, does, however, alter its form.

<i>dac-edjn -o`c</i>	I lie down with him
<i>ge-dc-edjn -o`ga</i>	you lie down with me
<i>we-dc-edjn -o`c</i>	I lie down with them

Before themes of certain sorts, this prefix appears as *daca-*

<i>daca-dan -o`c</i>	I go off with him
<i>ge-dca-dano`</i>	he goes off with me
<i>daca-yadjox`o-no`c</i>	I live with him
<i>ge-dca-yadjox`o-no`</i>	he lives with me
<i>daca-co`yan -o`c</i>	I swim off with him
<i>we-dca-co`yan -o`c</i>	I swim off with them

Finally, in other circumstances, the prefix takes the form *da`-*.

<i>da`-he`cogyaw -o`c</i>	I fight with him
<i>ge-d -e`cogyaw -o`</i>	he fights with me
<i>da`-hegdaw -o`c</i>	I play with him
<i>ge-d -egdaw -o`</i>	he plays with me
<i>da`-he`banew -o`c</i>	I discuss it with him
<i>ge-d -e`banew -o`</i>	he discusses it with me
<i>da`-gon -o`c</i>	I search for him
<i>ge-d -gon -o`</i>	he searches for me

This variation in form is not regular: i. e., there seem to be no definite rules governing it. It may be that *daca-* is the regular form, and *dac-* and *da`-* are variants produced by phonetic decay. In many cases, any of the three may be used.

The fourth type of prefix, *-CVC-*, is illustrated by the following:

<i>hec`eg -o`c</i>	I ask for it (<i>`eg-</i> to give)
<i>we`c`eg -o`c</i>	I ask for them
<i>hec-gwadj -o`</i>	he likes it
<i>ge`c-gwadj -o`</i>	I like it
<i>we`c-gwadj -o`</i>	they like it

In these examples, it appears that the pronoun objects, *ge-* and *we-* have combined with the prefix *hec-* resulting in *ge`c-* and *we`c-*, respectively.

15. Suffixed Elements: General Remarks.

There are many more theme suffixes than prefixes and their phonology is a little more complex. There are three classes of theme suffixes: those made up of a single element; those containing an element which is contracted to *-o-* under certain conditions; and those built up of more than one element. It will be impossible and unnecessary to consider in detail every theme suffix. Type suffixes will be discussed in the phonology and the detailed treatment for individual suffixes will be given when their morphology is discussed.

16. Suffixes made up of a Single Element.

These are simple in form and easily disposed of. When in the final position they elide their vowels unless preceded by an element containing a long vowel. Thus:

<i>ya'dj -o'-c</i>	I see him
<i>ya'dj -o'-ga</i>	you see him

Here, in the first example, the suffix *-ce*, being in the final position, has elided its vowel. The suffix *-ga*, though also in the final position, retains its vowel because of the preceding long vowel. Other cases in which the final element retains its vowels are:

<i>hoxolo'go</i>	shell
<i>dan ca'le</i>	chicken hawk
<i>ga'la</i>	mouth
<i>co'na</i>	duck

17. Suffixes with a Contracted Element.

The declarative *-we-* suffix; the *-we-* of the plural subject suffix *-wec'*; and the *-we-* of the future tense suffix *-a'dewa-* become *-o-* except under the following conditions:

- a) When preceded by a long vowel;
- b) When the vowel of *-we-* is lengthened by a following element.

These suffixes appear, then, in the following forms:

	<i>-we-</i>	<i>-wec'</i>	<i>-a'dewa-</i>
Under (a)	<i>-we-</i>	<i>-wec'</i>	—
Under (b)	<i>-wa-</i>	—	<i>-a'dewa-</i>
Contracted	<i>-o-</i>	<i>-o'c'</i>	<i>-a'do-</i>

Examples:

<i>ya'dje'we'c</i>	I see you
<i>ya'djo'c</i>	I see him

<i>ya'dje'wec'o'c</i>	we see you
<i>ya'djo'c'o'c</i>	we see him
<i>ya'djadewano'c</i>	I will see you
<i>ya'djadono'c</i>	I will see him

These examples illustrate each of the three suffixes in the contracted and uncontracted forms.

18. Suffixes Containing more than One Element.

These suffixes are peculiar in that they all have a definite effect upon the preceding element. If the preceding element happens to be a theme element, the addition of the suffix usually obscures its form. There are three types of suffixes.

The first of these types includes only one suffix — that denoting the second person object pronoun. It is unique in that it is always elided and is expressed by simply lengthening the vowel of the preceding element. When the preceding element is of the theme, it is lengthened whether in the even or odd numbered position. Thus:

<i>ya'dje'we'c</i>	I see you
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Here *-dje-* is in the third position and should have the full form — its length is due to the addition of the unknown element for the second person pronoun object.

<i>ya'gwa'we'c</i>	I kick you
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In this example, *-gwa-* is in the second position and should have the reduced form. That it is long indicates that the second person pronoun object causes the vowel of the preceding element both to remain and be lengthened. That the vowel belongs to the preceding element and not to the pronoun object can be seen by the fact that the long vowel is *-a-* in this example and *-e-* in the preceding one. Other examples:

<i>'adnawa'we'c</i>	I like you
<i>'adnawa'no'c</i>	I am liking you
<i>nadj'e'we'c</i>	I bite you
<i>'ei-camxe'we'c</i>	I break your head
<i>'ci-wecmaxe'we'c</i>	I break your (plural) heads

A second class of suffixes — including those for the dual and plural subject — simply cause the vowel of the preceding element to remain. When the preceding element is of the theme — its form is thereby obscured.

<i>necgabanec'o'c</i>	we two shut it
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-ba- is in the fourth position and should have the reduced form were it not for the dual subject suffix *-nec'* following.

<i>hengamenec'o'c</i>	we two clench our fists
-----------------------	-------------------------

-me- is also in the fourth position but full because of the following suffix. Note, too, that the vowel is *-a-* in the preceding example and

-e- in this one, indicating that it belongs to the preceding theme element rather than to the suffix *-nec'*.

maganec'o'c we two weep

-ga-, in the third position, is full both for that reason and by reason of the *-nec'* following.

As was seen in section 17, the plural subject suffix *-wec'*, unless preceded by a long vowel, always contracted to *-o'c'*. The long *-o-* of this contraction is due to the fact that *-wec'* also causes the retention of the vowel of the preceding element.

The third class of suffix is always preceded by a long *-a-* vowel. Added directly to the theme, this *-a-* obscures the form of the final theme element. A good example of this class is the future tense suffix *-a'dewa-* which appears, except under the condition noted in section 17, as *-a'do-*.

<i>ya'dja'dono'c</i>	I will see him
<i>neba'xga'dono'c</i>	I will smoke
<i>yala'dono'c</i>	I will hit it

In all cases, the vowel is a long *-a-* so that it can be assumed to be part of the suffix rather than the vowel of the preceding element. Note how it interferes with the form of the final theme element in the above examples.

Within these three classes fall most of the theme suffixes of this type. There are special cases which will be explained when the morphology of these elements is discussed.

C. SYLLABIFICATION AND ACCENT (19)

19. Syllabification and Accent.

Each syllable of a Tonkawa word must begin with a consonant and, if possible, be composed of consonant plus vowel plus consonant. Where there is a series of sounds of the type *CVVCVC*, the first syllable will be *CV*, the second, *CVC*. Examples of syllabification:

<i>ne-bax-gan</i>	tobacco
<i>ne-bax-go'c</i>	I smoke
<i>yad-co'c</i>	I stab him
<i>gei-da-co'</i>	he stabs me

If the vowel of a syllable be long, it need not be completed by a consonant.

<i>ya-djo'c</i>	I see him
<i>ge-ya-djo'</i>	he sees me
<i>ya-be-djo'c</i>	I make clothes

If, however, an element containing a long vowel be followed by a consonant plus consonant, the first consonant must be included in the first syllable. Thus:

<i>ga'l-wo'-c</i>	I gamble
<i>ba'b-no'-c</i>	I set the table

Glottalized consonants are treated as are any others in the syllabification of a word.

<i>ha-m'am- o'-c</i>	I burn
<i>c'e'l'o'-c</i>	I scratch it

In all of the preceding examples, it will be noted that a final consonant may comprise a syllable.

Accent in Tonkawa is evenly distributed — each syllable receives substantially the same accentuation. Occasionally, however, a slightly heavier accent may be noted for the penult. Neither syllabification nor accent seem to have any effect upon the phonology of the word nor are any morphological distinctions entirely dependent upon them.

CHAPTER II: MORPHOLOGY (20—96)

20. Introductory.

The distinctive treatment accorded theme and theme affix is no less important to the study of Tonkawa structure than it is for the phonology. The theme, defined as the invariable portion of a word form, carries the concrete significance of the word — the affixes serve either to amplify (or restrict) this meaning or to relate the word to the rest of the sentence.

The theme can, then, be studied quite apart from the affix. The rules governing its structure and the elements composing it, if they could be isolated, would give information as to the "prehistory" of Tonkawa. That is, variation in theme form is not relevant to the grammar of the language. But, the theme, as it exists today, is a petrified formation and it is not easy to determine whether or not it is analyzable into smaller morphologic units. We shall see later that some themes yield to analysis and, on this evidence, it is possible to speculate upon its former structure.

Grammatical variations in Tonkawa words are accomplished chiefly by affixation. The predominant grammatical process is suffixation: the definite article, case, number, tense, mode, subordination, and aspect are all expressed by suffixes. Prefixes are used much more sparingly — there are no more than six altogether. They are more concrete in meaning than the suffixes, generally adding significance to the word rather than serving to relate it to other words in the sentence.

The degree of cohesion between theme and affix is rather slight: there is never any difficulty in breaking up a word form. In other words, agglutination is the predominant technique, although there is, in the case of a few suffixes, a tendency towards a fusional technique. Verb prefixes and the case suffixes of the noun exhibit a surprising lack of unity with and dependence on the theme. Between a noun and its case suffix may be inserted two, or even three, modifiers and there are many examples of such suffixes being quite independent of any particular theme; serving, instead, to modify whole clauses. To sum up, the variation in combinatory technique is from a very loose semi-independent type of affix to a combination of theme and affix rather firmly welded with decided dependence of affix upon theme.

To apply the classificatory notion of "parts of speech" to Tonkawa would be to do extreme violence to the spirit of the language. It is much more in accord with this feeling to divide all words into

two very general classes: independent themes, i. e., those which can stand alone, and themes which must be completed in meaning by one or more affixes. These are, of course, purely formal divisions. The essential criteria of function are the affixes which may be attached to the theme in question and the position that theme may occupy in the sentence. Thus, the word,

xa'x-ano' he is arriving

is composed of the theme *xa'x-* to arrive, plus certain verbal affixes. But this complex may also take noun suffixes; thus,

xa'x-ano'-a'la the one to arrive

where *-a'la* is not an agentive or relative suffix but the regular noun suffix for the nominative singular definite case. This variation in function according to suffix and position is even more clearly illustrated by the following where the same theme — *t'cel* up, above — becomes either nominal, adverbial, or adjectival in function according as these criteria are varied.

<i>t'cel-'a'y'ik ha'no'</i>	he goes to the top
<i>t'cel ha'no'</i>	he goes upwards
<i>na'don-t'cel-'a'y'ik ha'no'</i>	he goes to the top of the mountain

In the first sentence, *t'cel*, used with a noun suffix is nominal in function; in the second, standing directly before the verb, it is adverbial; and, in the last, inserted between a noun and its suffix, it has adjectival significance. "Parts of speech" in Tonkawa, then, are, formally, simply two — independent themes and themes plus affixes. The former includes words which may be nominal, adjectival, pronominal, or adverbial in function; the latter, words having verbal significance and particles.

The Tonkawa sentence is dominated by the verb complex. It includes the subject and object pronouns and defines the tense, mode, and aspect of the action. It is rarely, however, that any verb is equivalent to a sentence: other words are always necessary to complete the proposition. The verb is the most complex in structure and is generally synthetic with a tendency towards a polysynthetic structure. Nouns generally take only two suffixes; the case suffixes and the definite article. Modifiers, inserted between noun and case suffix, complicate its structure: it is hardly possible, however, to regard combinations of noun and modifier as unified word complexes; they are better described as compounds.

GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES (21—24)

21. Affixation.

The prefixes are all mixed relational in character; that is, they serve both to add significance to the word and to relate it to other

words in the sentence. They are all verbal prefixes — no noun prefixes have been isolated. Three of them are pronominal objects, *ge-* me, *we-* them, and *geu-* us, the last being a combination of the first two (cf. 41). There are also two causative prefixes (cf. 50), and a transitivizer restricted in usage to particular themes (cf. 36). A prefix *da-* is used in combination with the pronominal prefixes to indicate the indirect object of an intransitive verb. Finally, there is an adverbial prefix, *xa-*, *x-* to a distance, with force. Examples follow:

<i>yamx -o'c</i>	I paint his face
<i>ge-imax -o'</i>	he paints my face
<i>we-imax -o'c</i>	I paint their faces
<i>geu-yamx -o'</i>	he paints our faces
<i>nec-yamx -o'c</i>	I cause him to paint his face
<i>xacdeu -o'c</i>	I have been left alone
<i>ya-xacdeu -o'c</i>	I take all but one; leave one
<i>he'malew -o'c</i>	I dance
<i>da-he'malew -o'c</i>	I dance with him
<i>ga'n -o'c</i>	I throw it away
<i>xa-gan -o'c</i>	I throw it to a distance
<i>hedjn -o'c</i>	I lie down
<i>xe-edjn -o'c</i>	I fall down
<i>gec'adjo'</i>	his (e. g. back) is broken
<i>'ei-gec'adjo'c</i>	I break his (back)

Suffixes are much more numerous. They, too, are predominantly mixed relational in form and, generally, those with greater concrete significance come nearer the theme than those having less concrete meaning (i. e., the more formal suffixes). Verbal suffixes are much more dependent upon the theme than are the noun suffixes. The latter, in fact, appear to have a semi-independent character as illustrated in the following examples.

<i>yadjox'an -'a'lak</i>	I see the tipi
<i>ya'djo'c</i>	
<i>yadjox'an -gwa'lou-awa-</i>	I see the very tall, big tipi
<i>adak-'a'lak ya'djo'c</i>	

In the first sentence, the formal suffix *-'a'lak* is attached directly to the noun *yadjox'an*, tipi. But, in the second the modifiers *gwa'lou* big, *hawai* tall, and *hadak* very are inserted between the noun and its formal suffix.

In the verb, the subject pronouns, number, mode, tense, aspect, and subordination are indicated by suffixes. The suffixes of the noun express case and the definite article: some demonstratives, too, may be regarded as noun suffixes (cf. 91).

22. Compounding.

Compounding is very free in Tonkawa. Almost any two verb themes may be compounded and compounds of noun and modifier are very common. In all such compounds, the second theme is subordinate to the first. Examples:

<i>ga'n-aidjona-</i>	to throw (it) up (<i>haidjona-</i> to move up)
<i>yagau-nadjga-</i>	to kick to death (<i>-nadjga-</i> to kill; cf. 33)
<i>hedai`o'-he'cogyaw-</i>	to join in a fight, war (<i>he'cogyaw-</i> to fight)
<i>yag-xailaba-</i>	to shoot (e. g. an arrow) into (the ground) (<i>xailab-</i> to stick (a pointed object) in (the ground))
<i>gwe'-necdjodan</i>	pencil (<i>gwe'</i> stick, <i>necdjodan</i> writing)
<i>t'caxw-yabete</i>	thread (<i>t'caxw</i> cloth, <i>yabete</i> sewing)

A classification of compounds according to type and more examples of them will be found in sections 36 and 85.

As will appear later, the function of theme formation has been lost in Tonkawa. All new ideas are expressed by compounding old themes: as far as I can determine, no new themes have been formed in the language for a very long time. It will appear, however, from what little can be told of theme formation, that probably composition has always been important in theme formation. Themes seem to be composed of smaller morphologic units (cf. 39); in an early stage of the language, it may have been that such smaller units were compounded to form the present themes. In the present state of the language, we find compounds in all stages of growth — those of two themes, either of which can stand alone; compounds in which only one theme has an independent existence; and, finally, those in which both themes have lost independent status. The latter are classed as compounds because they follow a definite pattern of behavior characteristic of compounds (cf. 36). More detailed material will be presented on this subject in section 36: it is only mentioned here for the purpose of showing the importance of composition as a grammatical process.

23. Word Order.

The normal word order of the Tonkawa sentence is subject, object and verb. It is, however, not a necessary order since syntactic relations are sufficiently indicated by suffixes. Word order is only important in distinguishing the functions of certain modifiers. That is, the distinction between adjective and adverb depends upon the position of the form in question. If the modifier stands between

a noun and its formal suffix, it has adjectival function; if it stands directly before a verb, it has adverbial function. Examples:

<i>gwa'n-enox-la</i>	a pretty woman
<i>henox yagnano'</i>	he shoots well
<i>ha'ago'n-gwa'lo'dak-la</i>	a very big man
<i>gwa'lo'dak bandjalo'</i>	he opens his mouth very widely

24. Reduplication.

The grammatical processes described in the preceding sections have all related to alternations of theme with affix or theme with theme. Reduplication is the only grammatical process which varies the internal form of the theme itself. The whole theme is rarely repeated: generally only one element (i. e. phonologic element) is repeated (cf. 37). The function of reduplication is to indicate repeated action. Examples:

<i>dobo-</i>	to cut
<i>dodobo-</i>	to cut repeatedly
<i>y'odjo-</i>	to pinch
<i>y'oy'o'djo</i>	to pinch repeatedly
<i>x'ele-</i>	to sharpen (e. g. a knife)
<i>x'ex'ele-</i>	to sharpen repeatedly

A. THE VERB (25—82)

25. General Remarks.

The elements making up a verb complex may be divided into three classes according to their position in the word: theme affixes, theme, and theme suffixes. The first and last of these classes are the same in function; that is, they provide for the grammatical and syntactical relations of the verb and also serve to amplify the meaning of the theme. The theme itself contains no formal elements; its meaning is the concrete, the basic one of the verb form. An example will make this clear.

<i>ge-nec-xa-ile-nec'-o'</i>	they two cause me to throw it to a distance
------------------------------	--

Theme: *-ile-*, the reduced form of *yale-* to throw, hit with a missile.
Theme prefixes: *ge-* me; *nec-* causative; *xa-* with force, to a distance.
Theme suffixes: *-nec'*, dual subject; *-o*, declarative mode; *-'*, third person, present tense.

There are illustrated above three verb prefixes. A complete list in the order of their appearance in the verb, is given below.

- ge-* first person object pronoun
- we-* third person plural object pronoun
- geu-* first person plural object pronoun
- nec-* causative
- da-* to, with
- ya-* causative
- xa-, x-* to a distance, with force

These will be discussed in detail and examples of their use given in sections 47—51.

The theme suffixes are much more numerous and express all ideas of tense, mode, person (except for the three object pronouns prefixed), and number. In general, they have the following order.

Theme

- Negative suffix
- Future tense suffix
- Second person object pronoun (singular)
- Number suffixes (subject only)
- Continuative suffix
- Tense and mode suffixes
- Subjective pronouns

There are minor exceptions to this order; these details and others will be discussed in section 52.

It is apparent from this classification that our study of the Tonkawa verb will fall rather neatly into two parts: the theme, and the theme affixes. The first is to deal with the few variations undergone by verb themes and to establish, if possible, the rules governing its structure and manipulation. In the second part — the study of theme affixes — the grammatical and syntactical variations of the verb form will be discussed.

a. THE VERB THEME (26—39)

26. Types of Verb Theme.

Tonkawa verb themes may be divided, roughly, into two classes — two element themes (i. e., themes composed of two phonetic elements, cf. 5), and three element themes. The latter class may be sub-divided, however, according to the character of the first position element. That is, certain elements (*na-*, *ne-*, *ya-*, *ha-*, and *he-*) appear consistently as the first elements in so many of these themes that they may be considered as prefixes. The themal types are,

then: two element themes, three element themes (placing here those three element themes not containing any of the above "prefixes"), *na-* themes, *ne-* themes, *ya-* themes, *ha-* themes, and *he-* themes. Finally, there are a number of two and three element themes which always appear with certain theme prefixes (*nec-*, *hec-*, *ya-*, and *da-*). In these cases, the theme prefixes have become so much a part of the theme that it cannot be used without them. The whole classification may, then, be summarized in the following manner.

1. Prefix-less Themes;
 - a. Two element themes.
 - b. Three element themes.
2. Themes whose first elements appear to be old prefixes.
 - a. *na-* themes.
 - b. *ne-* themes.
 - c. *ya-* themes.
 - d. *ha-* themes.
 - e. *he-* themes.
3. Themes requiring theme prefixes to complete their meanings.
 - a. *ya-* themes.
 - b. *nec-* themes. (*hec-* themes are a sub-division of this group)
 - c. *da-* themes.

27. The Two and Three Element Themes.

In this section we shall list examples of the two and three element themes (excluding, of course, those three element themes requiring prefixes of any sort). These will be presented in order of increasing complexity with the simplest types first. Whenever possible, three forms will be given for each theme; the full form (i. e., the theme not preceded by a theme affix), the reduced form (its form when preceded by a single element theme prefix, cf. 5), and the reduplicated form.

<i>'eg-</i> , <i>-ge-</i> , <i>'e'eg-</i>	to give something to ... <i>tr.</i>
<i>bil-</i> , <i>-ble-</i> , <i>bilil-</i>	to roll, wrap <i>tr.</i>
<i>mam-</i>	to carry, pack <i>tr.</i>
<i>dob-</i> , <i>-dbo-</i> , <i>dodob-</i>	to cut <i>tr.</i>
<i>nadj-</i> , <i>-ndje-</i> , <i>nanadjew-</i>	to bite <i>tr.</i> (cf. 45)
<i>nod-</i> , <i>-ndo-</i> , <i>nonodaw-</i>	to touch, press <i>tr.</i>
<i>gob-</i> , <i>-gbo-</i> , <i>gogob-</i>	to choke, throttle <i>tr.</i>
<i>gom-</i> , <i>-gmo-</i> , <i>gogom-</i>	to have in one's mouth <i>tr.</i>
<i>gwed-</i> , <i>-gwde-</i> , <i>gwegwedaw-</i>	to carry in arms <i>tr.</i>
<i>xan-</i> , <i>-xne-</i> , <i>hexaxanew-</i>	to drink <i>tr.</i> (cf. 45)
<i>wawana-</i>	to swallow <i>tr.</i>
<i>yax-</i> , <i>-ixa-</i> , <i>heyaxiyax-</i>	to eat <i>tr.</i> (cf. 45)
<i>djex-</i> , <i>-djxe-</i> , <i>djedjex-</i>	to turn... loose <i>tr.</i>

The above is a fair sampling of the simplest form of the two element themes; i. e., those composed of two simple elements. It will be noted that, in the reduplicated form, the first theme element is oftenest the repeated one and that it has the form *CVCV*.

The following lists will illustrate themes in which the first element is complex.

'age-, -'age-,	to have sexual relations with...
'ale-, -'ale-,	to pull <i>tr.</i>
baba-, -baba-,	to set... on (a table) <i>tr.</i>
badjo-, -badjo-,	to pile, stack <i>tr.</i>
maga-, -maga-, mamaga-	to cry, weep <i>intr.</i>
nade-, -nade-, nanade-	to step on... <i>tr.</i>
gana-, -gana-,	to throw away <i>tr.</i>
hana-,	one person goes away <i>intr.</i>
heca-, -e'ca-, he'cacana-	to point, indicate <i>tr.</i>
xawa-, -xawa-,	to grow fat <i>intr.</i>
xala-, -xala-,	to be cold <i>intr.</i>
yadje-, -yadje-, heyayadjew-	to look at, see <i>tr.</i>
wana-, -wana-, wawana-	to fall, pitch forward <i>intr.</i>
cola-, -cola-, cocola-	to drip on... <i>tr.</i>
m'aye-, -m'aye-,	to set fire to... <i>tr.</i>
x'ene-, -x'ene-, x'ex'ene-	to sweep <i>tr.</i>
x'ele-, -x'ele-, x'ex'ele-	to sharpen <i>tr.</i>
y'odjo-, -y'odjo-, y'oy'odjo-	to pinch <i>tr.</i>
c'ago-, -c'ago-	to scrape <i>tr.</i>
x'eba-, -x'eba-, x'ex'eba-	to take... off <i>tr.</i>
xw'ela-, -xw'ela-	to miss (mark in shooting)
y'adje-, -y'adje-, hey'ay'adje-	to vomit <i>intr.</i>
c'eda-, -c'eda-, c'ec'eda-	to cut, stab <i>tr.</i>
t'coma-, -t'coma-, t'cot'coma-	to close one's eyes <i>intr.</i>
banxo-, -banxo-, hebnono'xaw-	to bathe <i>intr.</i>
doi'o-, -doi'o-,	to put... in water <i>tr.</i>
ncblele-	to drill (a hole) <i>tr.</i>
gadwe-, -gadwe-,	to give birth to <i>tr.</i>
xeidje-, -xeidje-, xexeidje-	to rub <i>tr.</i>
yo'na-, -yo'na-, yuyuxa'na-	to fly away <i>intr.</i>
calge-, -calge-, cacalge-	to pull (sinew) from (meat)
hadjxa-, had'jedjexa-	several ride two on a horse
cobga-, -cobga-, cocobga-	to swell up <i>intr.</i>
djol'a-, -djol'a-, djodjol'a-	to defecate <i>intr.</i>
k'am'e-, -k'am'e-, k'ak'am'e-	to bend (e. g. bracelet) in a circle <i>tr.</i>
x'a'x'ai'a-	to laugh <i>intr.</i>
t'cei'e-, -t'cei'e-,	to be jealous of...
m'edna-, -m'edna-,	lightning strikes...
m'e'idja-, -m'e'idja-, hem'em'cidja-	to urinate
m'e'lne-, -m'e'lne-,	to be alight, burning
c'edjxa-, c'edjxa-,	to be satisfied, have had enough
e'e'l'e-, -e'e'l'e-,	(e. g. to eat)
t'ca'bx'e-, -t'ca'bx'e-,	to mark, scratch <i>tr.</i>
	to put up (a bed) <i>tr.</i>

In the above list, the first theme element has the complex form: in all the examples given, the second theme element has the simple

form. The remaining examples of two element themes illustrate, first, themes composed of a simple plus a complex element, and, secondly, those having two complex elements.

<i>'e'eyaw-</i> (<i>'e'eyo'-</i>)	to work, do to ... <i>tr.</i>	
<i>djodjixaw-</i> (<i>djodjixo'-</i>)	to be afraid	
<i>nahawa-</i> , - <i>n haw-</i> , (<i>naho'-</i>) (- <i>n ho'-</i>)	to ask ...	
<i>lobaw-</i> , (<i>lobo'-</i>)	<i>lolobaw-</i> (<i>lolobo'-</i>)	to dive
<i>na'hew-</i> , (<i>na'ho'-</i>)	to build a house	
<i>gam'ow-</i> , - <i>gam'ow-</i> , (<i>gam'o'-</i>) (- <i>gam'o'-</i>)	to shingle ...	
<i>xol'awa-</i> , - <i>xol'awa-</i> , <i>xoxol'awa-</i> (<i>xol'o'-</i>) (- <i>xol'o'-</i>) (<i>xoxol'o'-</i>)	to wash ... <i>tr.</i>	
<i>xal'oya-</i> , - <i>xal'oya-</i> , <i>xaxal'oya-</i> (<i>xal'o'-</i>) (- <i>xal'o'-</i>) (<i>xaxal'o'-</i>)	to cut ... off	
<i>xadjyawa-</i> , - <i>xadjyawa-</i> , (<i>xadjyo'-</i>) (- <i>xadjyo'-</i>)	to have gonorrhoea	
<i>'adnawa-</i> , - <i>'adnawa-</i> , (<i>'adno'-</i>) (- <i>'adno'-</i>)	to like ... <i>tr.</i>	
<i>'acyawa-</i> , - <i>'acyawa-</i> , (<i>'acyo'-</i>) (- <i>'acyo'-</i>)	to be pregnant	
<i>encawa-</i> , - <i>encawa-</i> , (<i>enco'-</i>) (- <i>enco'-</i>)	to be jealous	
<i>danxoya-</i> , - <i>danxoya-</i> , (<i>danxo'-</i>) (- <i>danxo'-</i>)	to take from ... <i>tr.</i>	
<i>nagwdawa-</i> , - <i>nagwdawa-</i> , (<i>nagwdo'-</i>) (- <i>nagwdo'-</i>)	to be close to ...	
<i>xadjlewa-</i> , - <i>xadjlewa-</i> , <i>xaxadjlewa-</i> (<i>xadjlo'-</i>) (- <i>xadjlo'-</i>) (<i>xaxadjlo'-</i>)	to be angry	
<i>c'egwdjawa-</i> , - <i>c'egwdjawa-</i> , (<i>c'egwdjo'-</i>) (- <i>c'egwdjo'-</i>)	to be wrinkled	

Note that the form of the complex element in the final theme position is invariably *CVw* or *CVy*, both of which become *Co* under certain circumstances (cf. 10).

These, then, illustrate the two element themes. It is probably the most common of the theme types comprising perhaps one fourth

the total number of verb themes. Next in number and complexity are the themes containing three elements.

<i>bidjna-</i> , <i>-bdjen-</i> ,	to cut . . . hair <i>tr.</i>
<i>doxwno-</i> , <i>-dxwan-</i> ,	to smell, sniff <i>tr.</i>
<i>nodxo-</i> , <i>-ndo.x-</i> ,	to hoe <i>tr.</i>
<i>nodco-</i> , <i>-ndoc-</i> ,	several stand <i>intr.</i>
<i>wexwa-</i> , <i>-uxaw-</i> ,	to grow up <i>intr.</i>

The above themes are composed of three simple elements.

The next group of three element themes are characterized by a complex first position element.

<i>ban'oxo-</i> , <i>-ban'oxo-</i> ,	to smell, scent <i>tr.</i>
<i>bandjale-</i> , <i>-bandjale-</i> , <i>babandjale-</i>	to open one's mouth <i>intr.</i>
<i>dol'axe-</i> , <i>-dol'axe-</i> , <i>dodol'axe-</i>	to shell corn <i>tr.</i>
<i>nai'oma-</i> , <i>-nai'oma-</i> ,	to nurse, suck <i>tr.</i>
<i>gai'axe-</i> , <i>-gai'axe-</i> , <i>gagai'axe-</i>	to cut . . . at joint <i>tr.</i>
<i>gwan'ace-</i> , <i>-gwan'ace-</i> , <i>gwagwan'ace-</i>	to dig <i>intr.</i>
<i>xem'ace-</i> , <i>-xem'ace-</i> , <i>xexem'ace-</i>	to rub <i>tr.</i>
<i>com'axe-</i> , <i>-com'axe-</i> , <i>cocom'axe-</i>	to skin, flay <i>tr.</i>
<i>ge'caxaya-</i> ,	to become dark
<i>xa'bdjeda-</i> , <i>-xa'bdjeda-</i> ,	to build a fence <i>tr.</i>
<i>xwe'ngoxo-</i> ,	to put on pants
<i>m'adjxane-</i> , <i>-m'adjxane-</i> ,	to like, love <i>tr.</i>
<i>c'edxwane-</i> , <i>-c'edxwane-</i> ,	to be choking
<i>x'obdjodjwa-</i>	to discharge wind

The first set of themes above is notable in that there appears to be a definite distinction in function between the first theme element and the second two. Compare, for example.

<i>dol'axe-</i>	to shell corn
<i>gai'axe-</i>	to cut . . . at the joint
<i>com'axe-</i>	to skin

all having to do with cutting or breaking. Perhaps the combination *'axe-* means 'to cut, break off', and the first position elements refer to the objects of the action, thus: *dol-* 'corn', *gai-* 'a joint', and *com-* 'a skin'. We shall refer to this analysis again in sections 35 and 36.

Finally, there are a few themes composed of two complex elements plus a simple element.

<i>x'ac'age-</i> , <i>-x'ac'age-</i> ,	to scratch <i>tr.</i>
<i>ya'lo'na-</i> , <i>-yalo'na-</i> ,	to kill <i>tr.</i>
<i>xa'weida-</i> , <i>-xa'weida-</i> ,	to turn around <i>intr.</i>
<i>bal'il'e-</i> , <i>-bal'il'e-</i>	to rub (e. g. brains on skin) <i>tr.</i>
<i>xaidel.xa-</i>	to come up (in water after a dive)
<i>xaidibdje-</i> , <i>-xaidibdje-</i> ,	several fall down
<i>yalxilna-</i> , <i>-yalxilna-</i> , <i>yalalxilna-</i>	to run away

These, then, are the major forms of the themes of class one — the prefix-less themes. It may be significant that reduplicated forms

rather consistently repeat only a certain one of the theme elements — generally the first. This fact gains in importance when viewed in the light of the tentative analysis made on the preceding page. Here, we noted that the second part of the theme seemed to supply the verbal connotation and the first appeared to be an incorporated object — or, at least, a class indicator (i. e., a prefix limiting the object of the verb to a certain class of noun). In the reduplicated form, this “class indicator” was the repeated element. However, there is no way of generalizing this tendency — the majority of themes cannot be analyzed in this way.

28. *na-* Themes

The themes in this class all have an element *na-* in the first position. It will be seen that this is a simple element (i. e., its vowel is elided when the theme is preceded by a single element prefix) and that these themes repeat the second element of the complex in the reduplicated form.

<i>nabga-</i> , <i>-nbag-</i> ,	several lie down <i>intr.</i>
<i>nadgo-</i> , <i>-ndog-</i> ,	have an erection <i>intr.</i>
<i>hangab-</i> , <i>-angaba-</i> , <i>hanangab-</i>	(e. g. leech) is fastened to . . . ; be fastened to . . .
<i>naxdje-</i> , <i>-nxadj-</i> ,	to make a fire
<i>naule-</i> , <i>-nwel-</i> , <i>nawewel-</i>	to spread (e. g. blanket) out
<i>naule-</i> , <i>-nwel-</i> ,	to roast
<i>naboxa-</i> , <i>-nbixa-</i> , <i>naboboxa-</i>	to blow at . . .
<i>nadaya-</i> , <i>-ndaya-</i> , <i>hendadayaw-</i>	to choose . . . ; pick . . . out
<i>nahena-</i> , <i>-nhena-</i> ,	to hunt . . .
<i>nacoxa-</i> , <i>-ncoxa-</i> ,	to fry . . .
<i>nam'ene-</i> , <i>-nm'ene-</i> ,	to broil . . .
<i>nac'oga-</i> , <i>-nc'oga-</i> , <i>nac'oc'oga-</i>	to squeeze . . .
<i>nabacxa-</i> , <i>-nbacxa-</i> , <i>henbabacxa'yew-</i>	to play shinny
<i>namaiga-</i> , <i>-nmaiga-</i> , <i>namamaiga-</i>	to whirl (e. g. stick, stone) about one's head
<i>nak'am'e-</i> , <i>-nk'am'e-</i> , <i>nak'ak'am'e-</i>	to bend . . . at a joint (e. g. to close a clasp-knife)
<i>nac'ol'a-</i> , <i>-nc'ol'a-</i> , <i>nac'oc'ol'a-</i>	to have sores, blisters

The above list, which is exhaustive, does not give any clue to either the meaning or function of *na-*. There are, however, three examples of theme variation involving this element.

<i>na-bacxa-</i>	to play shinny
<i>ya-bacxa-</i>	to run into . . . ; to bump . . . <i>tr.</i>

It appears here that the complex *-bacxa-* has, in the first example, a prefix *na-* and, in the second, a prefix *ya-* (for a discussion of the *ya-* prefix, see 30). The difference in meaning between the two forms is not, however, sufficiently clear to define *na-*.

<i>k'am'e-</i>	to bend . . . in a circle (e. g. to bend soft metal into a bracelet)
<i>na-k'am'e-</i>	to bend . . . at a joint; to bend a jointed object (e. g. to close a clasp-knife).

Here, the difference in meaning is of the same character as that above: it seems, however, that *na-* is a derivational element serving to expand the meaning of the theme.

<i>nec-gaba-</i>	to close (a door, window, etc)
<i>han-gaba-</i>	(e. g. leeches) stick, are fastened to . . . ; to be stuck, caught fast (on some sticky substance)
<i>nec-hanan-gaba-</i>	to cause several objects to be fastened to . . .

In this set of examples, the *nec-* of the first form is the causative theme prefix (cf. 50): the form can, then, be translated 'to cause . . . to be shut, closed, fastened', whereupon the meaning 'to be closed, shut, fastened' can be attributed to *-gaba-*. *hangaba-* is conjugated as follows:

<i>ga'ngabo'</i>	(e. g. leeches) fasten to me; I am stuck fast, caught (by sticky substance)
<i>hangaba'we'</i>	2nd p.
<i>hangabo'</i>	3d p.

The function of *ha-* seems to be to establish a relationship between *-n-* and *-gaba-* (cf. 31). The form *ga'ngabo'* may then be analyzed as follows: *g-* me plus *ha-* to; *-n-* incorporated object of *-gaba-* to be fastened. This analysis receives support from the reduplicated form: *hanangaba-* several objects are fastened to . . . ; the element *-na-* being repeated.

Applying this analysis to the other two examples, *na-bacxa-* may be analyzed: *na-* object of *-bacxa-* to strike against, bump, thus; to play shinny: whereas *ya-bacxa-* would simply refer to the bumping of any object. In short, the latter is universally transitive — the former transitive only within itself, i. e., has a limited transitivity. *na-k'am'e-* illustrates this factor of limited transitivity even more clearly: *k'am'e-* applying to the bending of any object, *na-k'am'e-* only to jointed objects.

It is evident, of course, that this analysis is far from being a thoroughly convincing one. It is to be taken simply as a possible explanation: it is obvious that the Tonkawa theme is a very old formation and has doubtless undergone semantic changes since its elements lost their independence and that such changes have obscured the original meanings of the elements comprising the themes. However, partial analyses of this sort (and of the sort mentioned in section 27) give a strong indication that the theme must have been, at one time, a less complex unit than it is today. Further evidences of this fact will be found in the sections to follow.

29. *ne-* Themes.

The element *ne-* is similar to *na-* in phonetic structure — that is, it is a simple element — but it seems to have a different position in the verb theme. This point is illustrated by only one example:

<i>na-m'ene-</i>	to broil ...
<i>ne-n -m'ene-</i>	to roast, barbecue ...

but there are a number of themes similar in structure to the second form above. For none of these, however, are the primary forms (i. e., those without *ne-* similar to *nam'ene-*, above) available. *nen-* is not to be interpreted as a reduplicated form of *ne-* because, as will be seen from the subjoined list, the reduplicated forms of *ne-* themes repeat the second element of the complex.

ne- themes.

<i>nedle-</i> , <i>-ndal-</i> , <i>nedadal-</i>	to lick ...
<i>nedjbe-</i> , <i>-ndjeb-</i> , <i>nedjedjebaw-</i>	to put one's hand on ...
<i>nelde-</i> , <i>-nled-</i>	to pull out, pluck (e. g. feathers)
<i>negewa-</i> , <i>-ngewa-</i> ,	to be related to ...
<i>nexale-</i> , <i>-nxale-</i> , <i>nexaxale-</i>	to snore, bellow
<i>nex'abe-</i> , <i>-nx'abe-</i> , <i>nex'ax'abe-</i>	to eat hackberries (the word refers to the cracking of the seeds of the berries)
<i>ney'edje-</i> , <i>-ny'edje-</i> ,	to milk a cow
<i>nel'aye-</i> , <i>-nl'aye-</i> , <i>nel'al'aye-</i>	to spit ... out
<i>nebaxge-</i> ,	to smoke
<i>nedic'e-</i> , <i>-ndic'e-</i> , <i>nedidic'e-</i>	to press ...; jab ...
<i>negaw'e-</i> , <i>-ngaw'e-</i> ,	to yawn
<i>negel'e-</i> , <i>-ngel'e-</i> ,	to drown ...
<i>nek'am'e-</i> , <i>-nk'am'e-</i> , <i>nek'ak'am'e-</i>	to gnaw ...

nen- themes

<i>nendege-</i> , <i>-nendege-</i> ,	to plug ...; stop a hole
<i>nengoxo-</i> , <i>-nengoxo-</i> ,	to chase ...
<i>nenxace-</i> , <i>-nenxace-</i> ,	to light, ignite ...
<i>nenxale-</i> , <i>-nenxale-</i> ,	to find ...
<i>nenxele-</i> , <i>-nenxele-</i> ,	to poke ... with burning stick
<i>nencona-</i> , <i>-nencona-</i> ,	to kiss ...
<i>nenm'ene-</i> , <i>-nenm'ene-</i>	to roast ...; barbecue ...
(From <i>nam'ene-</i> to broil ... over open fire)	
<i>nengo'na-</i> , <i>-nengo'na-</i>	to braid ...
(From <i>nogo-</i> to pick, gather several objects)	
<i>nenco'yawa-</i> , <i>-nenco'yawa-</i>	to swim with a burden, ferry
(From <i>co'yana-</i> to swim away)	

Note, in the above list, that the element *ne-* does not elide its vowel in the reduced form of the theme. This is probably because, if it did, the elision of the vowel would result in the total elision of the element — i. e., the two consonants *n* would come together. Such combinations are avoided in Tonkawa.

There are quite a number of test cases involving *ne-* but we shall see that they help very little in defining the element.

<i>nam'ene-</i>	to broil ... (e. g. fat) ... over an open fire
<i>ne-nm'ene-</i>	to roast ...; barbecue ...

In the texts, the first of the above forms seems confined to the cooking of fatty meats over an open fire while the second refers to the roasting of any kind of meat. The distinction appears rather artificial and the evidence supporting it is scanty. It is evident, however, that *ne-* is a derivational element rather than one adding merely formal significance to the theme.

<i>k'am'e-</i>	to bend ... in a circle (e. g. to bend soft metal into a bracelet)
<i>ne-k'am'e-</i>	to gnaw ...

Here, though the forms appear, formally, to be related, the difference in meaning casts doubt upon such a connection.

<i>nogo-</i>	to pick up, gather (several objects)
<i>ne-ngo'na-</i>	to braid ...

Not only has *ne-* been added but an element *-na* has also been suffixed to the theme (assuming that *nogo-* is the original theme). *-na* may be the directive element "off, away (from the speaker)" found on many verbs and giving a progressive signification to the action (cf. 34 for examples of such usages). Thus, the theme could be translated "to pick, gather together several objects progressively (i. e., off in a line)" — in other words, "to braid". *ne-* would, therefore, add derivational significance. The analysis is admittedly speculative.

<i>gelne-</i>	to be drowned
<i>ne-gel'e-</i>	to drown ...

Here we have a clear distinction between a neuter intransitive verb and an active transitive verb. It may be well to remark, however, that this is but an isolated example — no such verbal distinction is generally recognized in theme forms. Nor is it possible, in this particular case, to determine how much of this alternation has been caused by the change from *-ne* to *-e* and how much is due to the addition of *ne-*. The evidence with regard to *-ne*, *-e* alternations are few but they do indicate that *-ne* is a characteristic of some — not all — neuter verbs and that *-e* generally appears in an active theme. The transitive signification is probably not due to *ne-* since it is used with transitives and intransitives. The only conclusion is that *ne-* cannot be defined from this set of forms.

<i>ya-diere-</i>	(e. g. a bull) butts ...
<i>ne-dic'e-</i>	to press, jab ... (with finger)

In this case, too, we have an alternation of final theme elements for which there is little definition possible (cf. 35). In view of this fact, the *ya-*, *ne-* variation is not definable.

<i>co'yana-</i>	to swim off, away
<i>co'yada-</i>	to swim (towards the speaker)
<i>nenco'yawa-</i>	to swim with a burden; to ferry . . . across (e. g., to swim across holding a bundle of clothes out of the water)

In this case, two elements have been added, *ne-* and *-n-* and the final elements of the themes are varied. *-na* and *-da* are clearly definable as directives, the former referring to direction away from the speaker, the latter to direction towards the speaker (cf. 34). *-wa* appears to have a durative function — or, at least, appears in a good many themes expressing repeated or long continued action (cf. 45). *-n-* may be the reduced form of *na-* and *ne-* is evidently the element we have been discussing. If *na-* is defined as an incorporated object (cf. 28), *ne-* would appear to establish an oblique relationship between *-co'yawa-* and *na-*: thus, the complete analysis, *ne-* with, *-n-* an object, *-co'yawa-* to swim duratively.

The application of this analysis to other *ne-* themes requires, of course, an analysis of the rest of the theme — a thing which is not always possible. Thus: *ne-gel-'e-* could be analyzed: to do to . . . by drowning — i. e., to drown . . . — if we were sure that *'e-* could be defined as an active transitive verbalizer — an element empty of concrete significance but adding these more formal meanings to the verb. This is not always possible (cf. 34).

Our conclusions with regard to the definition of *ne-*, then, must be that its meaning cannot be deduced with accuracy without knowing quite a bit about the rest of the theme. This knowledge is not available for all themes: there are simply a few indications as to their structure (cf. 39). But we can suggest that *ne-* has to do with the relationship between theme elements — that *ne-* themes are three element themes in which the second and third elements are indirectly connected through *ne-*.

30. *ya-* Themes.

Themes having *ya-* as the first element are rather more numerous than either of the two preceding groups. *ya-* is also a simple element and has the reduplicated form *yai-*. This alone is unique; it will be remembered that neither *na-* nor *ne-* were reduplicated. A number of *ya-* themes repeat *ya-* in the reduplicated form; some repeat the second element of the verb complex, and, for a few themes, both types of reduplication are found. It is not possible to place *ya-* with

respect to *ne-* since they do not appear in the same themes. Nor are there any test forms to show its relative position with respect to *na-*.

<i>yabxa-</i> , <i>-ibax-</i> , <i>yaibax-</i> (or <i>heibabxa-</i>)	to slap ...
<i>yamga-</i> , <i>-imag-</i> ,	to call, signal ...
<i>yamxa-</i> , <i>-imax-</i>	to paint ... body
<i>yadge-</i> , <i>-idig-</i>	to be frozen stiff
<i>yadxo-</i> , <i>-idox-</i>	to fill a pipe; prepare to smoke
<i>yadca-</i> , <i>-idac-</i> , <i>yaidac-</i>	to stab ...
<i>yanwa-</i> , <i>-inaw-</i>	to defeat ... (gambling)
<i>yagba-</i> , <i>-igab-</i> , <i>yaigab-</i> (or <i>yagagba-</i>)	to hit ... (on the head)
<i>yagxe-</i> , <i>-igex-</i>	to push ...
<i>yagwa-</i> , <i>-igaw-</i> , <i>yaigaw-</i>	to kick ...
<i>yagwa-</i> , <i>-igaw-</i> , <i>heigagawa-</i>	to dance
<i>yagdja-</i> , <i>-igadj-</i>	several sit down
<i>yaɣwya-</i> , <i>ixwoy-</i> , <i>yaɣwoɣwoy-</i>	to hunt, look for ...
<i>yaɣwdje-</i> , <i>-ixwedj-</i> , <i>yaiɣwedj-</i>	to hit ... with a club
<i>yacna-</i> , <i>-ican-</i>	to put ... in one's mouth
<i>yadjba-</i> , <i>-idjab-</i>	to crack ... (e. g. nut)
<i>yadjdo-</i> , <i>-idjod-</i>	something is in one's eye
<i>yadjxe-</i> , <i>-idjox-</i>	to bake, boil (solids only)
<i>yadjga-</i> , <i>-idjag-</i> , <i>yadjadjga-</i>	to put ... on one's back
<i>yadjle-</i> , <i>-idjel-</i>	to empty (a receptacle)
<i>yalba-</i> , <i>-ilab-</i> , <i>yalalaba-</i>	to stand ... up; place ... erect
<i>yagona-</i> , <i>-igona-</i> , <i>yaigona-</i>	to strike ... with hand or fist (not with weapon)
<i>yagoca-</i> , <i>-igoca-</i>	to whistle
<i>yagodja-</i> , <i>-igodja-</i>	to scream
<i>yaɣoxona-</i>	to pant, puff
<i>yaɣoya-</i> , <i>-ixoya-</i> , <i>yaɣoxya-</i>	to hunt, search for ...
<i>yaweɣe-</i> , <i>-iweɣe-</i> , <i>yaweɣeɣe-</i>	to tie up; bind ...
<i>yadjoxo-</i> , <i>-idjoxo-</i> , <i>yadjodjoxo-</i>	to cover one's self with a blanket
<i>yabaxga-</i> , <i>-ibaxga-</i> ,	to strike fire with flint
<i>yabacxa-</i> , <i>-ibocxa-</i>	to run into ...; bump ...
<i>yadal'a-</i> , <i>-idal'a-</i>	to indulge in sapphism with ... <i>tr.</i>
<i>yadalba-</i> , <i>-idalba-</i> ,	to make fry-bread
<i>yadin'e-</i> , <i>-idin'e-</i> , <i>yadidin'e-</i>	to scrape ... (a hide)
<i>yadicxe-</i> , <i>idicxe-</i> , <i>yaidicxe-</i>	(a bull) butts ...
(<i>yadidicxe-</i>)	
<i>yagew'a-</i> , <i>-igew'a-</i>	to transform ... (by magic)
<i>yagegew'a-</i>	to chop ... to bits
<i>yageɣna-</i>	to make a war bonnet
<i>yagel'e-</i> , <i>-igel'e-</i> , <i>yaigel'e-</i> (<i>yagegel'e-</i>)	to jab ... with elbow
<i>yadjox'a-</i> , <i>-idjox'a-</i> , <i>yadjodjox'a-</i>	to build a tipi (vide: <i>yadjoxo-</i>)
<i>yam'ede-</i> , <i>-im'ede-</i> , <i>yaim'ede-</i>	to brush ... off
<i>yam'ega-</i> ,	(a steer) bellows
<i>yaɣ'age-</i> , <i>-ix'age-</i>	to shovel ...
<i>yaw'edja-</i> , <i>-iw'edja-</i> , <i>yaiw'edja-</i>	to look for ...
(<i>heiw'ew'edjaw-</i>)	
<i>yac'ene-</i> , <i>-ic'ene-</i>	to be cut by ...
<i>yam'adjxa-</i> , <i>-im'adjxa-</i> ,	to sneeze
<i>yam'am'adjxa-</i>	
<i>yaɣ'ecge-</i> , <i>-ix'ecge-</i> , <i>yaɣ'ex'ecge-</i>	to rub one object against another; to play violin
<i>yane'yawa-</i> , <i>-ine'yawa-</i>	to get close to ...; catch up to ...

There is the same difficulty with the test forms involving the *ya-* element as we found in the case of the other two elements: they are not sufficiently definitive. Take, for example, the following comparison:

<i>nec-dige-</i>	to be cold, freezing
<i>ya-dge-, -i -dig-</i>	to be frozen stiff

-dige- is not used alone but, since it appears with *nec-*, the causative theme prefix (cf. 50), it can be defined "to freeze, chill, be cold". But the use of *ya-* with the same theme does not alter the meaning in a manner helpful to a definition of *ya-*.

<i>ga'na'wa-</i>	to throw ... with the hand (e. g. to throw a ball, stick, etc.)
<i>ya-ga'na'wa-</i>	to swing (e. g. on a rope swing)

In this example, it may be seen that *ya-* appears to establish a relation between the other elements of the theme. If we assume the complex *-na'wa-* to mean "moving through space (as if thrown)" and *ga-* to refer to an act of propelling or throwing (perhaps related to *ga-na-* to throw ... away, and *ga-da-* to throw ... towards the speaker, where *-na* and *-da* are the directives, cf. 34), then *ya-* would appear to establish an instrumental relationship between the second and third elements of the theme. Thus, the whole form would have the meaning "to move through space by reason of throwing (pushing, some means of propulsion)" or, "to swing". The case is necessarily weak since we cannot offer any evidence for the meaning of the second part of the theme complex.

<i>ya'xwdje-</i>	to strike ... with a club
<i>ya'xw-nadjga-</i>	to beat ... to death with a club

Notice, in this pair of forms, that the third theme element *-dje* is dropped when the theme is compounded with *-nadjga-* to kill. That seems to imply that *ya-xw-* means "by means of a club" and *-dje* "to strike". In other words, *ya-* establishes an instrumental relationship between *-dje* "to strike" and *-xwe-* (the full form of *-xw-*) referring to a club or stick. Unfortunately, there is no further evidence for this analysis.

In conclusion, then, we are left with the feeling that *ya-* is a separable theme element possibly serving to establish a type of relationship between the second and third elements of the theme similar in form to that postulated for *ne-*, though, in neither case, have we conclusive proof.

31. *ha-* Themes.

ha- represents an element of quite a different class from any of the preceding — at least, as far as phonetic behavior is concerned. In the first place, it precedes both *na-* and *ya-* in the verb complex

and therefore, by implication, precedes *ne-* though there are no test forms illustrating its use with *ne-* themes.

<i>hangaba-</i>	(e. g., leeches) stick, are fastened to . . . ; to be stuck, caught fast (on some sticky substance)
<i>hanangaba-</i>	several objects (e. g., leeches) stick to . . . ; it holds several fast

These examples, quoted before in section 28, illustrate the use of *ha-* with a *na-* theme. It will be remembered that, in this case, *ha-* seemed to indicate an indirect relationship between *na-* and *gaba-*; that the form was tentatively analyzed as: an object (*na-*) is fastened (*-gaba-*) to (*ha-*). . . . Another curious phase of phonetic behavior may be illustrated by this verb.

<i>hangab -o'</i>	(leech) sticks to him
<i>ga'ngab -o'</i>	(leech) sticks to me

Notice here that the addition of the single element theme prefix *ge-* does not reverse the forms of the theme elements: *-n-*, *-ga-*, and *-ba-* have the same form in the second example as they had in the first. *ha-*, of course, is absorbed to the preceding prefix *ge-*, giving *ga-* (cf. 8). This behavior is characteristic of all *ha-* themes composed of more than three elements (including *ha-*). Note the following:

<i>habdjen -o'</i>	it is full
<i>ga'bdjen -o'</i>	I am full; I eat or drink until satisfied
<i>hadxec -o'c</i>	I know him; am acquainted with him
<i>ga'dxec -o'</i>	he . . . me
<i>haixoy -o'c</i>	I doctor him; make him well
<i>ga'ixoy -o'</i>	he . . . me
<i>haidjab -o'</i>	he is half starved, skinny
<i>ga'idjab -o'</i>	I am . . .

ha- themes having only three elements behave regularly:

<i>habl -o'</i>	several persons attack him
<i>gabıl -o'</i> me
<i>haix -o'c</i>	I mount (a horse); ride it
<i>gayox -o'</i>	he . . . me
<i>hayoyox -o'c</i>	I . . . rep.
<i>haiw -o'c</i>	I buy, sell it
<i>gayaw -o'</i>	he buys, sells me
<i>hawaun -o'c</i>	I carry, pack it
<i>gawaun -o'</i>	he . . . me

The above are composed of *ha-* plus two simple elements: below are listed the *ha-* themes having a complex second element.

<i>ha'en -o'c</i>	I brought it
<i>ga'en -o'</i>	he . . . me
<i>habax -o'</i>	he looks up, raises his eyes
<i>ga'babax -o'</i>	I . . .
<i>hadol -o'</i>	he doesn't want it
<i>ga'dol -o'</i>	I . . .
<i>hagox -o'</i>	he is tired, weary
<i>ga'gox -o'</i>	I . . .
<i>ham'am' -o'</i>	it is burning, flaming
<i>ga'm'am' -o'</i>	I . . .

Notice, in the last list, that the reduplicated forms repeat the second element of the theme.

This variation in phonetic behavior taken in connection with the first example quoted on page 40 would seem to indicate that *ha-* plus another initial theme element of the class of *na-* does not elide according to the law of vocalic elision, whereas *ha-* attached directly to a theme does vary phonetically according to this rule. In other words, the themes of the first list seem to contain traces of other theme elements of the *na-* class: perhaps, at one time, there was a complete list of such elements classifying various types of object. This is, of course, only a suggestion: no further proof of such an organization can be adduced.

The test forms for *ha-* are more definitive than any discussed heretofore. For example:

<i>yagona-</i>	to hit . . . with the fist <i>tr.</i>
<i>ha'agona-</i>	to box <i>intr.</i> (<i>ha-</i> plus <i>ya-</i> > <i>ha'-</i>)
<i>ya'xgoca-</i>	to follow . . . <i>tr.</i>
<i>ha'xaxgoca-</i>	several go in single file
<i>yadca-</i>	to stab . . . <i>tr.</i>
<i>ha'daca-</i>	several stab each other; a fight with knives takes place

In all of these forms, the addition of *ha-* appears to confine the action to an object expressed within the theme: to make the action intransitive as far as the English translation is concerned. We have seen, however, that Tonkawa verbs do not fall into definitely transitive and intransitive classes: that there appears to be no consistently formal distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in Tonkawa. Rather, the question of transitivity seems bound up with the analysis of the theme. Thus, while *hangaba-* is transitive in the sense that it may take an object (*ga'ngabo'* it sticks to me; *hangaba-we'* it sticks to you), the subject is limited to a certain type of object apparently once clearly defined by *na-*, and *ha-* does not affect the transitivity of the whole verb theme but expresses an

indirect relationship between the elements *-n-* and *-gaba-* of the theme. In other words, the question of the transitivity of the whole theme with regard to an object expressed by a theme affix is bound up with the relationship — direct, indirect, or instrumental — between elements of the theme. I do not believe, therefore, that *ha-* is necessarily an element indicating the intransitivity of the whole theme (indeed, that point is contradicted by many of the *ha-* themes), but that it has to do with the more important relations between elements of the theme in much the same way as *ya-* and *ne-* appear to serve this function. The curious and apparently contradictory facts of theme variation discussed so far can, at least speculatively, be explained by postulating two theme elements either standing in direct relationship one to another (the prefix-less themes) or being indirectly related by one or other of the first position themes elements (*ha-*, *ne-*, *ya-* themes). It is not necessary of course, to assume that all themes have both these elements — some of the prefix-less themes may be composed of only one; others, which appear transitive, may have a limited transitivity due to the inclusion within its structure of an element designating or referring to a possible object (cf. 28). This theory of theme structure cannot be proven: but, as I have said, it appears to be an hypothesis that does justice to the few test forms that exist. In the following sections, we shall find further confirmation, or, rather, further indications that this theory has some degree of validity.

32. *he-* Themes.

The element *he-* is on the border line between the first position theme elements which have been discussed and the theme prefixes. In fact, there is no formal difference between *he-* and the reflexive pronoun *he-* (cf. 43) except that the themes containing the theme element *he-* cannot be used without it. *he-* also does not elide its vowel when preceded by a single element prefix, a behavior characteristic of theme prefixes.

<i>hedjn -o'</i>	he falls down
<i>ge'djn -o'</i>	I . . . (<i>ge- + he- > ge'-</i>)

There are a great number of themes in this class — it is the second largest group of themes in Tonkawa, the largest class being the prefix-less themes. The following list is arranged in order of increasing complexity of theme form, the simplest coming first. Since these themes have no reduced forms — or, rather, since their reduced forms are the same as the full forms — only two forms will be given for each theme — the full form and the reduplicated form.

<i>hewawa-</i>	to be dead, dying
<i>hehewa- (heho'-)</i>	to stop dying; recover (from an illness)

<i>hego-</i>	several persons sit down
<i>hedjne-</i>	to lie down
<i>helne-</i>	several things (e. g. snow) fall
<i>hexale-</i>	to be happy, glad
<i>hedjaxa-</i>	to lie on one's back
<i>helexa-</i>	to come up (in the water after a dive)
<i>hebai'a-, hebabay'ew-</i>	to put on beads, a necklace
<i>hegai'e-, hegagai'ew-</i>	to bend one's head
<i>hen'oca-, hen'on'oca-</i>	to blow one's nose
<i>hel'eina-</i>	to peer about, look around
<i>hendadabe-</i>	to dodge, shrink (as from a blow) <i>intr.</i>
<i>hengegxa-</i>	to cough
<i>hengwagwde-</i>	to smack one's lips
<i>hengawa- (hengo'-)</i>	to put (a breechcloth) on
<i>hengwa'na-</i>	to run away
<i>hendaidja-</i>	to chew . . .
<i>henxilca-, henxilca-</i>	to stare in astonishment, open one's eyes wide
<i>henx'olya-, henx'ox'olya-</i>	to whirl around
<i>hencaxge-</i>	to breathe
<i>heglaxe-</i>	to throw . . . off (as a horse throws a rider)
<i>hedlawa- (hedlo'-)</i>	to refuse
<i>hegdaw- (hegdo'-), hegedaw-</i>	to sing
<i>heigeuda-</i>	several come (in a body)
<i>heigwidje-</i>	to put a ring on
<i>heixaxale-</i>	to put an earring on
<i>heidicna-</i>	to feel embarrassed
<i>heiwaxge-</i>	to be lame
<i>heicaxwa-</i>	to rest
<i>heidjecaw- (heidjeco'-)</i>	to be frightened
<i>hedjx'om'a-, hedjodjx'om'a-</i>	to draw one's foot back
<i>hedjx'ol'o-, hedjodjx'ol'o-</i>	to draw one's hands back
<i>hebaixwede-</i>	to put on a dress
<i>hedan'aya-</i>	to hurry
<i>henengoxo-</i>	to put on gloves
<i>hecangew- (hecango'-)</i>	to put on a shirt, coat
<i>hedjal'ane-, hedjadjal'ane-</i>	to open one's hand
<i>heidjanenxoyo-</i>	to turn suddenly (while running)
<i>hec'egena-, hec'ec'egena-</i>	to stretch one's neck

It will be seen from the above list that *he-* appears to give a medio-passive significance to the theme — limiting the action to the subject. It is evident, however, that this factor does not affect the ultimate transitivity of the whole theme. For, though most of the themes are intransitive or confined to a reflexive object, one

of them (e. g., *hendaidja-* to chew) is transitive. It is possible here that *-n-* is the reduced form of *-na-*, the incorporated object (cf. 28), and that the verb is therefore limited in transitivity. Just to what spheres of influence these different elements are confined and how they combine to result in the present meanings, cannot, of course, be determined since we are unable to isolate the other theme elements. As was the case with *ya-*, *ne-*, and *ha-*, it is quite possible that the function of *he-* is bound up with that of the other theme elements and not with the formal relations of the whole theme to its object.

The test forms following confirm the impression that *he-* gives medio-passive significance to the theme.

<i>dai'ew-</i>	to be one of a group
<i>he-dai'ew-</i>	to join a group
<i>'ei-dai'ew-</i>	to place ... with a group

Here, the first theme is used only passively (i. e., I am one of a group; I am in the group; cf. 42), the second, medio-passively, and the third is transitivized by the element *'ei-* (cf. 33). Other test forms follow:

<i>he-ne'o'ido-</i>	to stretch oneself
<i>'ei-noc'o'ido-</i>	to stretch ...
<i>he-ndidxew'a-</i>	to move about, tremble
<i>'ei-nedidxew'a-</i>	to move ..., poke, jab ...

It will be noted, in all the above forms, that the themes themselves (viz., *-dai'ew-*, *-noc'o'ido-*, and *-nedidxew'a-*) are not transitive but require the transitivizing element *'ei-*. The function of *he-*, therefore, seems to be to direct the action to the subject. If it is the reflexive pronoun, it is evident that certain verbs can be confined — as regards transitivity — to the reflexive: that the reflexive pronoun is not functionally similar in type to the other object pronouns (cf. 41). There is a possibility here that themes requiring *he-* were originally simply transitive themes used exclusively with the reflexive pronoun: that, in harmony with the petrification that has affected the Tonkawa themes, this *he-* prefix has become an irremovable theme element and, that, in the few forms in which the theme can dispense with it, the theme is felt as intransitive. Whatever the cause, there seems to be little doubt that *he-* themes generally designate an action intransitive except as regards the reflexive: i. e., a medio-passive construction.

33. Themes Requiring Theme Prefixes.

Theme prefixes, as has been mentioned, are normally used freely. A number of themes, however, cannot be used without one or another of these prefixes: in them, the free prefix has become

indissolubly united to the theme which is no longer able to stand without it. There are four classes of such themes: *ya-* themes (not to be confused with the *ya-* themes of section 30), *nec-* and *hec-* themes, *da-* themes, and *'ei-* themes.

ya- themes.

The prefix *ya-*, which generally adds causative significance to a theme (cf. 49), is the least freely used of all the theme prefixes. *nec-*, the other causative (cf. 50), seems to have replaced it and is certainly used more freely. *ya-* causative themes differ from the *ya-* themes of section 30 in that the causative *ya-* does not elide its vowel when preceded by a single element affix and does not have a reduplicated form (these differences in addition to the functional difference).

<i>xacdcw -o'</i>	he is alone, by himself
<i>ya-xacdcw -o'c</i>	I leave him alone; cause him to be alone
<i>ge-ya-xacdcw -o'</i>	he ... me ...

The above is, of course, a case in which the theme may be used without *ya-*. Others of this type will be discussed in section 49. The following lists only those themes always appearing with the *ya-* causative element.

<i>yadmaxe-</i> , <i>-yadmaxe-</i> , <i>yadidmaxe-</i>	to break ... (e. g., egg, melon, a fragile object)
<i>yadxalga-</i> , <i>-yadxalga-</i> , <i>yadadxalga-</i>	to hang ... up
<i>yadcane-</i> , <i>-yadcane-</i>	to think about ...
<i>yandjadjai'a-</i> , <i>-yandjadjai'a-</i>	to meddle with ...
<i>yagl'axe-</i> , <i>-yagl'axe-</i>	to break ... (e. g. his neck)
<i>yagwaxe-</i> , <i>-yagwaxe-</i> , <i>yagwagwaxe-</i>	to open ...; tear ... down
<i>yxmadje-</i> , <i>yxmadje-</i> , <i>yxexmadje-</i>	to break ... (e. g. stick)
<i>yxgoca-</i> , <i>-yxgoca-</i>	to follow
<i>yalmede-</i> , <i>-yalmede-</i>	to deceive ...

nec- and *hec-* themes.

nec- is the regular causative theme prefix and may be applied to practically any verb theme (cf. 50). The themes listed below are those which cannot be used without *nec-*. It will be noted that, in the reduplicated forms, the prefix *nec-* is repeated.

<i>necbedje-</i> , <i>-necbedje-</i> , <i>neccebedjaw-</i>	to fill ...
<i>necdewe-</i> (<i>necdo'-</i>), <i>-necdewe-</i>	to name ...; call .. by name
<i>necdige-</i> , <i>-necdige-</i>	to be freezing
<i>necgede-</i> , <i>-necgede-</i>	to count ...
<i>necgaba-</i> , <i>-necgaba-</i> , <i>neccegaba-</i>	to close, fasten (a door, window, drawer)
<i>necgwide-</i> , <i>-necgwide-</i> , <i>neccegwide-</i>	to tie ...; bind ...
<i>necwal'e-</i>	to fish
<i>necdjodo-</i>	to write
<i>neccedjoca-</i>	to use sign language
<i>necclaxge-</i> , <i>-necclaxge-</i> , <i>necceclaxge-</i>	to cough, clear one's throat

hec- is also a causative but appears to give medio-passive significance as well. It may be that the prefix is a combination of *he-* plus *-c*, the former cognate with the *he-* of section 32, and the later with the *-c* of *nec-*. In that case, one could assign active significance to *ne-* and perhaps equate it with the *ne-* of section 29. This analysis is, however, purely speculative: there is no means of proving it. There are three test forms involving the alternation of the elements.

<i>nec-dewe-</i>	to name ... ; call ... by name
<i>hec-dewe-</i>	to give one's name; to name oneself
<i>nec-gede-</i>	to count
<i>hec-gede-</i>	to be tied in score; there is a tie game
<i>nec-gaba-</i>	to shut, fasten ... (door, window, drawer)
<i>hec-gaba-</i>	to be knocked gasping; out of breath

The rest of the *hec-* themes follow:

<i>hec'ege-</i> , <i>-hec'ege-</i> , <i>hecec'ege-</i>	to ask for ... (probably from <i>'ege-</i> to give to ...)
<i>hecgwadje-</i> , <i>-hecgwadje-</i>	to like ...
<i>hecjadjxe-</i> , <i>-hecjadjxe-</i>	to mount ... (a horse)
<i>heclomo-</i> , <i>-heclomo-</i> , <i>heccclomo-</i>	to cover oneself (as with a blanket)

da- themes.

The prefix *da-* "to, with" is found with only two themes:

<i>da'gona-</i> , <i>-dgona-</i>	to look for ...
<i>da'clew-</i> (<i>da'clo-</i>)	several wander about

It is possible that the first element of the theme *da'xa-* "to be hot, warm" may be cognate with *da-*. In that case, *-xa* would mean "to be hot" and the whole theme could be translated "to be hot with...". This analysis cannot be proved. Examples of the free use of *da-* and the details of its phonetic structure and treatment will be found in section 48.

'ei- themes.

'ei- is not, properly speaking, a prefix but a theme which only exists in compounds — which can no longer be used independently. This is shown by its behavior when *'ei-* themes are compounded with others, viz:

<i>'ei-dil'ay -o'c</i>	I fall on him, hurting him; press him with my body
<i>'ei-ge-dil'ay -o'</i>	he ... me
<i>da'an-dil'ay -o'c</i>	I squeeze him, hurting him
<i>da'an-ge-dil'ay -o'</i>	he ... me

Notice here that *'ei-* is dropped when the *'ei-* theme (i. e., *'eidil'aye-*) is compounded with *da'ane-* to pick, grasp... Note, also, that the

pronoun object *ge-* is inserted between *'ei-* and *-dil'aye-* as it is between *da'an-* and *-dil'aye-*. This treatment of the pronominal prefixes is characteristic of compounds (cf. 36).

Whatever the origin of *'ei-*, it is obvious that it now adds only a transitive connotation to the theme it modifies. It is found with a good many themes, but, in most cases, is removable (cf. 36). The themes that follow cannot be used without it, except, of course, when compounded with other themes.

<i>'ei-bage-</i>	to slice (meat)
<i>'ei-bedje-</i> , <i>'ei- -bdje-</i>	to drop ... (several objects)
<i>'ei-dil'aye-</i> , <i>'ei- -dil'aye-</i>	to fall on ... hurting ...
<i>'ei-nadjga-</i> , <i>'ei- -ndjag-</i>	to kill ...
<i>'ei-nedxew'a-</i> , <i>'ei- -ndxew'a-</i> , <i>'ei-nedidxew a-</i>	to poke, jab ...
<i>'ei-necexa-</i> , <i>'ei- -necexa-</i>	to scare ...; start ... up
<i>'ei-go'ndjo-</i> , <i>'ei- -gondjo-</i>	to get in ... way; intercept ...
<i>'ei-camxe-</i> , <i>'ei- -cmax-</i> , <i>'ei-cacamxe-</i>	to break ... head
<i>'ei-djane-</i> , <i>'ei- -djne-</i>	to drop ...

34. Final Theme Elements, 1.

In the preceding sections, we have discussed the types of verb theme from the point of view of their initial elements and have succeeded in isolating, with indifferent success, a number of such elements. There are a number of themes which can be analyzed more fully and these analyses affect principally the final elements of the theme complex. With few exceptions, the same difficulties attend these analyses as were present in the treatment of initial theme elements — they are generally isolated cases incapable of generalization.

The best defined of these final theme elements are *-na* and *-da*, meaning 'direction away from the speaker' and 'direction towards the speaker', respectively. In a number of themes, they appear as irremovable theme elements. These are listed below.

<i>'eina-</i>	to go away
<i>'eida-</i>	to come
<i>dana-</i>	two persons go off
<i>na'xcogna-</i>	to scout, guide away <i>intr.</i>
<i>na'xcogda-</i>	to guide this way
<i>ga'na-</i>	to throw ... away
<i>ga'da-</i>	to throw ... here
<i>ha'na-</i>	one person goes off
<i>haunana-</i>	to move away (i. e., move one's camp)
<i>haunada-</i>	to move back, here

<i>hengwa'na-</i>	to run off
<i>hengwa'da-</i>	to come running

(This theme in compound appears without the directives: *hengwai-citwe-* to go about running; *citwe-* to go about)

<i>heigcuna-</i>	several persons march off
<i>heigcuda-</i>	several come marching
<i>wana-</i>	to fall, pitch forward
<i>wada-</i>	to fall backwards
<i>yoxna-</i>	to fly away
<i>yoxda-</i>	to come flying
<i>co'yana-</i>	to swim away
<i>co'yada-</i>	to come swimming
<i>djegana-</i>	to take a step, pace off
<i>djegada-</i>	to step this way
<i>djedxana-</i>	to jump away
<i>djedxada-</i>	to jump this way

A third directive connotation is produced by adding the theme prefix *xa* (*x-*) to a distance, with force (cf. 51) to forms employing *-da*. This combination gives the meaning 'around, in a circle' to the theme.

<i>xa-gada-</i>	to throw . . . in a circle, swing (compare: <i>ga'na-</i> to throw . . . away)
<i>xe'ngwa'da-</i>	to run in a circle (<i>hengwa'da-</i> to come running)
<i>xa-yoxda-</i>	to fly in a circle
<i>xa-coyada-</i>	to swim in a circle
<i>xa-djgada-</i>	to pace in a circle

Two of the themes 'to go' employ a suffix *-xa* giving the connotation of arrival at a certain point. In both cases, the themes require also the prefix *xa-* to a distance.

xa'xa- one person arrives at a distant point
from *ha'na-* one person goes off; *xa-* plus *ha'-*, giving *xa'-* and the suffix *-xa* of arrival replacing *-na* off, away.

xadx- two persons arrive at a distant point
from *dana-* two persons go off.

There are also a number of test forms involving these elements — themes which can stand without the elements and to which the elements may be added.

<i>ba'ba-</i>	to set (a cup, dish) on a table
<i>bab-na-</i>	to set (several) in a line
<i>dobo-</i>	to stalk . . . (e. g., an animal)
<i>dob-na-</i>	to go along stalking . . .
<i>dob-da-</i>	to come stalking . . .

<i>nodxogo-</i>	to expectorate
<i>nodxog-na-</i>	to expectorate off, away
<i>nodxog-da-</i>	to expectorate in this direction
<i>he'dxane-</i>	to talk, discourse <i>intr.</i>
<i>he'dxan-na-</i>	to telephone, talk off
<i>he'dxan-da-</i>	to phone from there to here
<i>heilaba-</i>	to stand up
<i>heilab-na-</i>	to stand over there
<i>heilab-da-</i>	to stand here
<i>he'ca-</i>	to point at ...; indicate ...
<i>he'ca-na-</i>	to point over there
<i>he'ca-da-</i>	to point this way
<i>yax'age-</i>	to shovel ...
<i>yax'ag-na-</i>	to shovel ... over there
<i>yax'ag-da-</i>	to shovel ... here
<i>ya'dje-</i>	to see ...; look at ...
<i>ya'dje-na-</i>	to look off
<i>ya'dje-da-</i>	to look in this direction
<i>cogo-</i>	to put ... away; hide ...
<i>cog-na-</i>	to put ... away; bury ...
<i>cog-da-</i>	to put ... in this direction

Finally, there are a few themes in which the directives alternate with other final elements, *-e* and *-a*.

<i>yacyag'e-</i>	to tear ... (paper, fabric)
<i>yacyagna-</i>	to tear ... along, be tearing ...
<i>yag'e-</i>	to shoot ...
<i>yagna-</i>	to shoot off, away
<i>yagda-</i>	to shoot in this direction
<i>yagew'a-</i>	to make ...; transform ...
<i>yagewna-</i>	to make ... in a line; go along making it (as making a war bonnet)
<i>yageuda-</i>	to make ... towards this direction
<i>djo'l'a-</i>	to defecate
<i>xa-djolda-</i>	to go in a circle defecating

It appears likely, from these examples, that *-na*, *-da*, *-e*, and *-a* are of the same class of element (at least, they all seem to have the same position in the theme complex) — all possibly giving active significance to the verb theme. *-e* and *-a* appear to be empty of any other meaning but *-na* and *-da* add directive connotation as well. The functions of *-e* and *-a* are more clearly illustrated by the following themes.

<i>hegai'e-</i>	to bend one's head, put one's head down
<i>hegai-aglana-</i>	to bow one's head low; put ... down (<i>haglana-</i> to go down)

<i>yadin</i>	scraper (noun)
<i>yadin'e-</i>	to scrape ... (a hide)
<i>bal'il</i>	brains (noun)
<i>bal'il'e-</i>	to smear (brains) on (skin); rub (medicine) on ...
<i>negel'e-</i>	to drown ...
<i>negel-nadjga-</i>	to kill ... by drowning (<i>nadjga-</i> to kill)
<i>gelne-</i>	to be drowned
<i>hebai'a-</i>	to put on beads, necklace
<i>hebai-xwede-</i>	to put on a dress (<i>xwede-</i> to clasp, enfold)
<i>yadjoxo-</i>	to cover ... with blanket
<i>yadjox'o-</i>	to build a tipi
<i>yadjox'aw-</i>	to build a tipi (no difference in meaning).

Note especially the cases in which *-e* makes a verbal form of a noun form; viz., *yadin'e-* to scrape... from *yadin* scraper, and *bal'il'e-* to smear ... with brains, medicine, from *bal'il* brains. These alternations seem to confirm the theory that *-e* serves as a verbalizer, activating nominal themes. This fact cannot be proved from the rest of the themes concerned.

There are no conclusive test forms for the *-a* element. The contrast between *yadjoxo-* to cover ... with blanket, *yadjox'o-* to build a tipi, and *yadjox'aw-* to build a tipi, suggests that *-a* may have a function similar to that of *-e* (*-o* is probably *-a* colored to *-o* by vocalic harmony with the preceding vowel. The difference between *yadjox'aw-* and *yadjox'o-* does not come out in the meanings of the two). Since *yadjoxo-* means "to cover... with a blanket", *yadjox'o-* may be translated "to do, make a covering of blankets, skins", i. e., to build a tipi.

Another alternation worthy of notice is that between *gelne-* to be drowned and *ne-gel'e-* to drown... Here is introduced an element *-ne* which appears, in this case, to characterize a neuter theme. Only one other test form is available.

<i>m'e'ne-</i>	(light) shines, glares; (sun) is shining
<i>m'eldjidjen'e-</i>	there is sheet lightning; lightning plays

The second form is obviously an old compound: *m'e'l-* plus *-djidjen-* plus *-e'*. Of these, *-e'* alone is definable. It is the auxiliary verb theme to be (cf. 38). *m'e'l-djidjen* can exist alone and is defined as a noun: sheet lightning. *m'e'l-*, therefore, appears to be definable as a glowing, a shining, but there is no evidence for a definition of *-djidjen-*. *-ne* appears to have the same function here as in the preceding example.

Finally, there are a number of verb themes formed by adding a *-wa* element to a noun theme. These themes seem to be of the same type as those having *-'e*, *-'a*, and *-ne* verbifiers. The difference, of course, lies in the fact that in most of the latter cases the noun theme back of the verb has not been retained in active usage — has lost its independent existence. For the themes we are about to list, we have, in each case, the noun themes.

<i>'acoi</i>	abdomen
<i>'acya-wa-</i>	to be pregnant
<i>ben'ats</i>	spring
<i>bendza-wa-</i>	to be spring time
<i>daxac</i>	day, sun, morning
<i>daxce-wa-</i>	day breaks; morning comes
<i>noxlul</i>	screech owl; the hoot of an owl
<i>noxlul-wa-</i>	an owl screeches, hoots
<i>ho'o'ox</i>	robbers, thieves
<i>ho'oxa-wa-</i>	to steal . . .
<i>xa'</i>	fat (noun)
<i>xa'-wa-</i>	to be fat, corpulent
<i>xadj'an</i>	stingy
<i>xadjna-wa-</i>	to be stingy; unwilling to give
<i>xadjoï</i>	gonorrhea
<i>xadjya-wa-</i>	to have gonorrhea
<i>yo'tc</i>	foam (as from soap or on beer)
<i>yo'dj-wa-</i>	(water, beer) foams

The same sort of alternation between noun and verb theme may be accomplished by adding the auxiliary verb theme *-we-* to a noun theme. For example, *calal* tears, becomes *calal-we-* to be in tears, to weep, by the addition of the auxiliary *-we-*. This fact leads to the belief that *-'e*, *-'a*, *-ne*, *-na*, *-da* and *-wa* exemplify old auxiliaries which have, in the process of theme petrification, lost independent status. Any noun theme of present day Tonkawa can be verbified by one or other of the three auxiliaries still possessing independent status, *-'e-*, *-ye-*, or *-we-* (cf. 38). We have seen that *-na* and *-da* alternate with *-'e* and *-'a*; that *-ne* alternates with *-'e* and that *-wa* appears to perform essentially the same function as *-'e* and *-'a*. For these reasons, it appears likely that a good many verb themes can be explained as having been formed by the addition of a verbifier to an old noun theme. These old noun themes have gone out of existence (as nouns) probably because nouns are today formed by adding a suffix to the verb theme (cf. 75). The themes listed below are those which seem to agree formally with the test forms for *-'e*, *-'a*, *-ne*, and *-wa* above (the *-na* and *-da* themes have already

been given). There is no proof that they have been formed in this way but their very numbers add weight to our interpretation.

<i>nac'ol'a-</i>	to have sores, blisters
<i>hendid.xcw'a-</i>	to move, tremble
<i>hedj.x'om'a-</i>	to draw one's foot back
<i>x'ax'ai'a-</i>	to laugh
<i>yadal'a-</i>	to indulge in sapphism with ... <i>tr.</i>
<i>yandjadjai'a-</i>	to meddle with ...
<i>djo'l'a-</i>	to defecate
<i>nak'am'e-</i>	to bend ... (a jointed object)
<i>nedic'e-</i>	to press ...
<i>ned.x'e'i'e-</i>	to tan ... (a hide)
<i>negaw'e-</i>	to yawn
<i>nek'am'e-</i>	to gnaw
<i>ne'gwec'e-</i>	(a horse) neighs
<i>k'am'e-</i>	to bend ... in a circle
<i>yagel'e-</i>	to jab ... with elbow
<i>c'e'l'e-</i>	to mark, scratch ...
<i>t'cei'e-</i>	to be jealous of ...
<i>hagne-</i>	to be dry
<i>hawaune-</i>	to carry, pack ...
<i>haididjne-</i>	to fall down
<i>ha'xeine-</i>	to go off, away
(Compare the above form with <i>ha'xeida-</i> to come back)	
<i>hedjne-</i>	to lie down
(Compare the above form with <i>haididjne-</i> (to fall down))	
<i>he'bne-</i>	to tell (a story)
<i>'e'cyawa-</i> (<i>'e'eyo-</i>)	to work, do to ...
<i>negewa-</i>	to be related to ...
<i>nenco'yawa-</i> (<i>nenco'yo-</i>)	to ferry ...; swim with a burden
(Compare: <i>co'yana-</i> to swim off; <i>co'yada-</i> to come swimming)	
<i>nexeldjwa-</i>	to drag ...
<i>go'wa-</i>	to be cold
<i>ha'cicwa-</i>	to be stiff, sore
<i>he'icaxwa-</i>	to rest
<i>x'objodjwa-</i>	to discharge wind
<i>wexwa-</i>	to grow up
<i>caxwa-</i>	to be scared, frightened
<i>t'co'wa-</i>	to have fits; go into a frenzy
<i>djodj.xawa-</i> (<i>djodj.xo-</i>)	to be afraid

Not all themes, however, are built up in this manner; i. e., are composed of possible old noun themes plus auxiliaries. In proof of this, there are a number of themes which, when used without affixes, have nominal or adjectival significance and are made into verbs by simply adding formal verb suffixes.

<i>m'e'dan</i>	lightning
<i>m'e'dn-</i>	lightning strikes ...
<i>dol'au</i>	dough (for making bread)
<i>dol'aw-</i> (<i>dol'o-</i>)	to knead ...

<i>naxwetc</i>	rattle
<i>naxwdje-</i>	to rattle . . . ; shake a rattle
<i>nexwa</i>	winter
<i>nexowa-</i>	to be winter time
<i>nodox</i>	hoe
<i>nodxo-</i>	to hoe . . .
<i>nodoc</i>	(a group) standing
<i>nodco-</i>	several stand; stop moving
<i>goloxma'dja</i>	fist
<i>goloxma'dja-</i>	to clench fist
<i>hogobagxon</i>	hat
<i>hogobagxon-</i>	to put a hat on
<i>holgam'adjxe</i>	bucking (as of a horse)
<i>holgam'adjxe-</i>	(a horse) bucks
<i>t'caxw yabetc</i>	thread (<i>t'caxw</i> cloth)
<i>yabdje-</i>	to sew, stitch . . .
<i>dol'axan yadoc</i>	pop corn (<i>dol'axan</i> corn)
<i>yadco-</i>	to pop
<i>yagau</i>	spurs
<i>yagwa-</i>	to kick, spur, dance
<i>yawei</i>	field
<i>yauya-</i>	to plant . . .
<i>heic'ok</i>	comb
<i>heic'ogo-</i>	to comb oneself
<i>ya'goxou</i>	box, barrel
<i>ya'goxow-</i>	to make a box
<i>yo'm'am</i>	rain
<i>yo'm'a-</i>	to rain

35. Final Theme Elements, 2.

This section will be devoted to the presentation of a few isolated cases of theme alternation involving final elements. Some of these may be of the same type as those discussed in section 34 but, since there appears to be no way of proving them analogous, it was thought best to handle them separately.

<i>da'ane-</i>	to pick . . . (one object) up; to take . . .
<i>da'ane-ye-</i>	to have . . . picked up; in one's hand
<i>da'an-ge-</i>	to take . . . away; steal . . .
<i>da'an-dje-</i>	to grasp, hold . . .

In this case, the elements *-ge* and *-dje* are quite clearly added to an original theme *da'ane-* and the meaning definitely changed. These

are, however, isolated cases. From the manner in which they are added to the theme (i. e., they are added to the final form of the theme, *da'an-*, as contrasted to the form of the theme, *da'ane-*, to which the auxiliary *-ye-* "to be" is added) it is possible that *-ge* and *-dje* are reduced forms of old themes existing only in composition with *da'an-*.

<i>hexwe-</i>	a noise is heard; there is a noise
<i>hexcaca-</i>	to yelp, yell, give a cry
<i>he-exexca'-yew-</i>	several persons scream

-we is probably cognate with the auxiliary *-we-* to be; therefore *hex-* may be assumed to mean "a noise". *-caca* appears to be a reduplicated element since, in the third form, it appears as *-ca* (its length is due to the influence of the following reciprocal suffix *-yew-*, cf. 46). *-ca* may, then, be an element of the type of *-'e*, *-'a*, etc., a verbalizer adding, at the same time, a momentaneous connotation. Thus, *hex-caca-* to (utter) sharp noises repeatedly, to yelp (as a dog). Our evidence is limited to this one form and the analysis must, therefore, be judged accordingly.

<i>yagoca-, -igoca-</i>	to whistle
<i>yagodja-, -igodja-</i>	to scream

These forms, if comparable, show a nice alternation between two elements, *-ca* and *-dja*, which appears to modify the action derivationally. No further evidence is available and even a tentative explanation is hardly possible on the basis of these two forms.

<i>ha'dj-'ida</i>	both of them (cf. 86 for <i>-'ida</i>)
<i>ha'djidj-ai</i>	both sides (cf. 87 for <i>-ai</i>)
<i>ha'djxa-</i>	two persons ride (on a horse); several ride, two (on a horse)

This appears to be a clear case of composition: *ha'dj-* both, two, plus *-xa* to ride (on a horse). An interesting comparison is found in word *'egwan-c-xau* horse, which appears to be a compound of *'egwan* dog, *-c* noun instrumental, (cf. 86), and *-xau*. If the *-xa* of *-xau* is cognate with the *-xa* above, *'egwan-c-xau* would mean, literally, "dog used for riding".

<i>he'bne-</i>	to tell ... (a story)
<i>he'babne-</i>	<i>rep.</i>
<i>he'banewa- (he'bano'-)</i>	to discuss ...
<i>hebage-</i>	to tell ...; inform ...

Here is an alternation between *-ne-*, *-newa (-no')*, and *-ge*. *he'b-*, *he'bab-*, *he'ba-*, and *heba-* may be variations of a complex referring to speaking, talking, discussing, etc., and the final elements may be activizers of various sorts. These are only tentative analyses — no other evidence is available.

<i>m'aye-</i>	to set fire to . . .
<i>m'ai-na-</i>	to set fire in a line off
<i>m'ai-da-</i>	to set fire in a line this way
<i>ham'am'a-</i>	to burn <i>intr.</i>

The element *-ye* appears to be separable from this evidence. The question is, what element takes its place in *ham'am'a-?*; that is, is the *-a* of the second *-m'a-* simply a part of that element or the verbalizer *-a*? The following conjugation bears on the point.

<i>ham'am'-o'</i>	it burns
<i>ham'am'a'-no'</i>	it is burning
<i>ham'am-do'xa-</i>	to burn completely <i>intr.</i>

Note here the lengthening of the vowel of the second *-m'a-* and the fact that the glottal stop of the second *-m* drops out when the theme is compounded with *-do'xa-* to do . . . completely. This would imply, it seems, that *ham'am'a-* may be regarded as *ham'am'-a-* where *-a* is cognate with the verbalizer *-a*. If this is so, *-ye* would also be a verbalizer.

These cases conclude our examination of the final theme elements. The evidences presented are exhaustive and admittedly weak in many instances. The only safe conclusion is that we have only indications for the partition of the verb theme and that these indications, coupled with those concerning the initial theme elements, warrant the hypothesis that the theme was, at one time, a less complex organism.

36. Theme Compounding.

Another factor affecting theme structure in Tonkawa may be found in the process of composition. The language of today is very fertile in compounds and it may well be that a number of themes now felt as indivisible units are old compounds, the themes of which have lost independent status. As a matter of fact, there are examples of such formations but, before discussing them, it will be necessary to examine the process of composition in general (only, of course, as it applies to verb compounds: noun and other compounds will be handled in section 85).

Verb plus verb is the predominant type of compound involving verb themes. In fact, there are only three examples of other types: *ho'c-daxcew-* morning dawns; to be morning, from *ho'c* early, before, and *daxcew-* day breaks; *hagoxa-adak-we-* to be very tired, from *hagoxa-* to be tired, *hadak* very, and *-we-* to be (*hadak*, in all likelihood, may be compounded with other themes of a character similar to *hagoxa-* but there are no other examples available); and, *na'x-cogna-* to scout, guide, reconnoitre, which seems to be composed

of the noun *na'x* road, plus *cogna-* to put away, have, keep ... — the compounded theme means literally, then, "to put away, have the road", i. e., "to know the trail" or "to guide, scout".

In most compounds of verb plus verb, neither theme seems to dominate or modify the other: both appear to retain their full meanings.

Where this is not true, the first theme appears to be the dominant one, the second modifying. The following list will illustrate the type.

<i>yag-xailaba-</i>	to shoot (arrow) into the ground
<i>yag'c-</i> to shoot (-'e- dropped in compounds); <i>xailaba-</i> to stick in the ground (<i>tr.</i>)	
<i>negel-nadjga-</i>	to kill, by drowning
<i>negel'e-</i> to drown; <i>'ei-nadjga-</i> to kill ...	
<i>hawaune-daxga-</i>	to carry ... here
<i>hawaune-</i> to carry ... ; <i>daxga-</i> two persons arrive	
<i>yagau-ga'na-</i>	to kick ... away
<i>yagaw-</i> to kick ... ; <i>ga'na-</i> to throw away	
<i>hedai'o'-he'cogyawa-</i>	to join in fighting
<i>hedai'o'-</i> to join a group; <i>he'cogyawa-</i> to fight (<i>intr.</i>)	
<i>hengwai-cilwe-</i>	to wander about running
<i>hengwa'na-</i> to run off; <i>cilwe-</i> to wander, go here and there	
<i>hemama'go'-dana-</i>	several walk off weeping
<i>hemama'go'-</i> several weep; <i>dana-</i> several go off	
<i>yac'en-nadjga-</i>	to be cut to death (by grass)
<i>yac'en-</i> to be cut; <i>'ei-nadjga-</i> to kill ...	
<i>yamga'da-</i>	one person comes to call ...
<i>yamga-</i> to call ... ; <i>ha'da-</i> one person comes	
<i>da'an-aidjona-</i>	to pull ... up
<i>da'an-</i> to grab, take ... ; <i>haidjona-</i> to go up	

An interesting feature of compounded themes is that the pronominal prefixes are placed between the two themes of the compound (the normal position of the pronoun prefixes is the first position in the verb; cf. 42).

<i>xicb -o'</i>	he (his sinews) are cut, broken
<i>nadj-xicb -o'c</i>	I bite him cutting a sinew
<i>nadj-</i> to bite	
<i>nadj-ge-xicb -o'</i>	he ... me
<i>nadj-we-xicb -o'c</i>	I ... them
<i>nadj-geu-xicb -o'</i>	he ... us

This would seem to indicate that the compound is not quite felt as a complete unity but, rather, as a combination of two independent themes.

There are a number of locative themes most of which have no independent usage but are found only in compound with either *ha-* one person goes (from *ha'na-* one person goes off) or *da-* two (or more) persons go (from *dana-* two or more persons go off).

<i>ha-idjona-</i>	one person goes up
<i>ha-idjoda-</i>	one person comes up
<i>da-idjona-</i>	several persons go up
<i>da-idjoda-</i>	several persons come up
<i>ha-glana-</i>	one person goes down
<i>ha-glada-</i>	one person comes down
<i>da-glana-</i>	several persons go down
<i>da-glada-</i>	several persons come down
<i>ha-gxona-</i>	one person goes in
<i>ha-gxoda-</i>	one person comes in
<i>da-gxona-</i>	several persons go in
<i>da-gxoda-</i>	several persons come in
<i>ha-dxilna-</i>	one person goes out
<i>ha-dxilda-</i>	one person comes out
<i>da-dxilna-</i>	several persons go out
<i>da-dxilda-</i>	several persons come out
<i>ha-ixena-</i>	one person goes across
<i>ha-ixeda-</i>	one person comes across
<i>da-ixena-</i>	several persons go across
<i>da-ixeda-</i>	several persons come across

Only one of the above locatives has independent status: *goxna-* several persons go in, appears to be the locative theme of *ha-gxona-* one person goes in. These themes, it is evident, illustrate a special type of compound: note, first, that *ha-* has lost the length it had in *ha'na-* one person goes off; in short, the form of the first theme of the compound has been altered. Secondly, though these themes may be compounded with other verbs, they retain the form illustrated above; i. e., they do not lose the *ha-* or *da-* elements even when compounded with other themes. Thus:

<i>yagex-aidjona-</i>	to push it up (<i>yagex-</i> to push)
<i>yago-daidjona-</i>	several fetch up water
<i>yago-</i>	to fetch water
<i>wa'n-adxilna-</i>	to fall out (<i>wa'na-</i> to fall)
<i>heigew-adxilna-</i>	several went out
<i>heigew-</i>	several go, march

In short, therefore, the *ha-* and *da-* elements — though independently used — have, in these compounds, become a part of a new verb: the combination *ha-* plus *-gxona-*, for example, is not felt as a compound but as an indivisible theme.

The two themes *'ei-* and *dab-* are also found only in compounds. *'ei-* has been discussed in section 33. It was seen there that it follows the regular behavior of a compounded theme — i. e., the pronoun object comes between it and the theme to which it is attached and it is dropped when the theme it modifies is compounded with another. Thus, *'ei-xicb-o'c* I bite his sinews, *'ei-ge-xicb-o'* he . . . me, *nadj-xicb-o'c* I bite him cutting a sinew (*nadj-* to bite . . .). The *'ei-* themes are listed in section 33.

dab- appears in only one compound: *dab-edjne-* to lie on one's side from *hedjne-* to lie down. This compound also follows the regular pattern:

<i>dab-ge-edjn -o'</i>	I lie on my side
<i>dab-x -edjn -o'</i>	he falls on his side (<i>x-</i> with force)
<i>dab-ge-x -edjn -o'</i>	I fall on my side

dab-, then, appears to mean "to one's side, on one's side", and may be either an old locative theme or an adverb which has been "frozen" to the theme *hedjne-*. It will be noticed, however, that both *'ei-* and *dab-* are less a part of the themes with which they are found than the *ha-* and *da-* elements of the locative themes.

The other secondary themes of this type are always found in the second position of the compound. The complex *-aye-*, for example, appears with two themes, as follows;

<i>yag'e-</i>	to shoot ...
<i>yag-ay -o'c</i>	I pierce him (as with an arrow); pierce him by shooting (with an arrow)
<i>yag-ga-ay -o'</i>	he ... me
<i>yadca-</i>	to stab ...
<i>yadac-ay -o'c</i>	I pierce him (as with a spear); pierce him by thrusting (with a spear)
<i>yadac-ga-ay-o'</i>	he ... me

The complex *-aye-* is not used alone: it appears only in compound with these two themes. It may be seen from the examples given that it appears to add a connotation "piercing ... through" to the themes it modifies.

-bel- is another such secondary theme. It is found only with the verb *hedjne-* to lie down.

<i>hedja-bel-</i>	to lie on one's abdomen, lie face down
<i>xe'dja-bel-</i>	to fall flat

Note, here, that the final element *-ne* of the theme *hedjne-* has been dropped in the compound. This, coupled with the fact that the prefix *x-* with force, is added to the beginning of the form and not inserted between the two elements of the compound, makes it appear that *-bel-* can be construed as a final element of the type of *-ne* rather than as a secondary theme.

The theme *-do:xa-* on is found with a number of themes. An example of its use appears below:

<i>co'la-</i>	to drip
<i>co'l-do:x -o'</i>	it drops, drips on him
<i>co'l-gc-do:x -o'</i>	it drips on me

-dola- in vain, is found with only one theme.

<i>da'gona-</i>	to search for . . .
<i>da'gona-dol -o'c</i>	I search for it in vain
<i>da'gona-ge-dol -o'</i>	he . . . me

-yax'oidjo-, *-ix'oidjo-* is found with only one theme.

<i>go'm -o'c</i>	I have it in my mouth
<i>go'm-yax'oidj -o'c</i>	I suck it
<i>go'm-we-ix'oidj -o'c</i>	I suck them

The meaning of this secondary theme is not very clear: it appears to modify *go'ma-* to have . . . in one's mouth, so that it refers to sucking in the sense of sucking stick candy, for example.

-yabal'a-, *-ibal'a-*, also found with only one theme.

<i>yago'n -o'c</i>	I hit him with my fist
<i>yago'n-yabal' -o'c</i>	I knock him down with my fist
<i>yago'-ge-ibal' -o'</i>	he . . . me

The above compounds illustrate the use of an independent theme with one not found except in compounds. In the following two examples, neither theme can be used independently.

<i>nebil-djan -o'c</i>	I make fire by friction
<i>nebil-we-djn -o'c</i>	I make several fires by friction
<i>nog-xodj -o'c</i>	I pull out his hair
<i>nog-go-xdj -o'</i>	he . . . my . . .
<i>nog-wo-xdj -o'c</i>	I . . . their . . .

In both of these, the behavior of the pronominal prefixes is the only clue to the fact of their being compounds: both themes involved have lost independent status.

The complex *naxadj-* is found in the following series of themes.

<i>naxadj-a'na-</i>	one person goes to visit (a friend)
<i>naxadj-a'da-</i>	one person comes to visit
<i>naxadj-dana-</i>	two persons go to visit
<i>naxadj-ic-'e-</i>	to indulge in sexual play with one's sweetheart
<i>naxadj-gan-we-</i>	to be married

In the first three forms, *naxadj-* is compounded with *ha'na-* one person goes off, *ha'da-* one person comes, and *dana-* two persons go off, and seemingly adds to those themes the notion of visiting or communion with a friend. In the fourth example, *naxadj-* has the noun instrumental suffix *-ic* (cf. 86) and is coupled with the auxiliary *-'e-* to be, to do (cf. 38). Literally, then, the form could be translated "to do by means of a companion; to act as to a friend" — this idiomatically referring to sexual play. In the last example, *naxadj-* is used with a noun suffix *-gan*, implying ownership and the auxiliary *-we-* to be. Thus, "to be possessed of a companion" is the literal translation.

nedjyaxe-, *-nedjyaxe-*, *nedjidjyaxe-* to shake out (a blanket, clothes, etc.), and *nedjlegwe-*, *-nedjlegwe-* to wash (a blanket, clothes), seem to have the complex element *nedj-* in common. It may be that these two verbs are old compounds but note that the pronouns come before the whole complex in each case and not between the two elements of the theme.

<i>ha'nadjidjxile-</i>	several persons run away
<i>yandjidjxile-</i>	to run away
<i>yalxilna-</i>	to run away
<i>ya'ncxile-</i>	to run

In these forms, all meaning practically the same thing, we notice the element *-xile-* as the only complex common to all four themes. It may be that it is an old theme referring to direction which has become fused to these themes expressing running. There is, however, no way of proving this analysis.

<i>'ei-gel'axe-</i> , <i>'ei-gegcl'axe-</i>	to smash, shatter . . .
<i>gai'axe-</i> , <i>gagai'axe-</i>	to cut . . . off at a joint
<i>dol'axe-</i> , <i>dodol'axe-</i>	to shell corn
<i>'eibac'axe-</i> , <i>'ei-babac'axe-</i>	to break, burst . . . by pressure
<i>'ei-dam'axe-</i> , <i>'ei-dadam'axe-</i>	to smash . . . (glass, dishes)

In this set of themes, all have an element of the type CVC in the first position and the complex *'axe-* in the second two positions. Notice, too, that there is enough similarity in meaning to postulate a relationship between them. It is quite possible that *'axe-* refers to breaking in a general sense and that the first position elements refine this concept to suit the particular occasion. Thus, *gai-* may refer to cutting or chopping and we find it again in the theme, *'ei-gaidje-*, *'ei-gagaidje-* to chop . . . ; cut . . . with an axe. In the same way, the other first position elements may serve to refine the meaning of the general complex *'axe-* though we cannot adduce any proof of this. In short, it is a possible hypothesis that these themes are old compounds of smaller morphologic units which once had a greater variability.

To conclude, then, the evidence presented in this section has indicated that the origins of some themes at least may be due to compounds formed in an earlier period in the history of the language. In preceding sections, other material has suggested that the theme, though now indivisible, may have been, at one time, a combination of elements each having certain definite functions and I think that the indications presented in this section strengthen that hypothesis somewhat. It is evident, however, that we shall not be able to prove conclusively that such a process has occurred: that would require either historical material or comparative material from languages related to Tonkawa and both of these aids are lacking.

37. Theme Reduplication.

Reduplication serves two purposes in Tonkawa: first and most often, it indicates repetitive action, and, secondly, it may indicate that many persons are engaged in a particular action. Thus:

<i>hebag -o'c</i>	I tell, inform him
<i>hebabag -o'c</i>	I inform him several times
<i>namaig -o'c</i>	I whirl it about my head
<i>namamaig -o'c</i>	several whirl things about their heads

In rare cases, reduplication serves to intensify the act as in *walaba-* to boil (intr.), *walalaba-* to boil vigorously. Additional examples of these functions will be found in the lists below.

It is evident, from the examples given in the preceding sections, that the whole theme is very rarely repeated in the reduplicated form. Generally, only one element of the theme is repeated and, in this section, we shall attempt to classify themes according to the element repeated — coordinating this classification with our earlier classification (cf. 26) of themes according to structure.

i. Two Element Themes.

These reduplicate very consistently in the same manner: the first position element is repeated and has the repeated form CVCV — this, whatever the phonetic form of the element may be. In the following list, the reduplicated forms are to be interpreted as repetitive forms of the verb unless otherwise stated.

<i>dob-</i> , <i>-dbo-</i> , <i>dodobo-</i>	to cut ...
<i>gob-</i> , <i>-gbo-</i> , <i>gogobo-</i>	to choke ...
<i>gom-</i> , <i>-gmo-</i> , <i>gogomo-</i>	to have ... in one's mouth
<i>djex-</i> , <i>-djxe-</i> , <i>djedjexe-</i>	to loosen
<i>lobaw-</i> , <i>lobaw-</i>	to dive
<i>ma'ga-</i> , <i>-maga-</i> , <i>mamaga-</i>	to cry, weep
<i>wana-</i> , <i>-wana-</i> , <i>wawana-</i>	to fall forwards
(Reduplicated form: several fall forwards)	
<i>co'yana-</i> , <i>-coyana-</i> , <i>cocoyana-</i>	to swim away
(Reduplicated form: several swim away)	
<i>co'la-</i> , <i>-cola-</i> , <i>cocola-</i>	(water) drips, runs
<i>x'ene-</i> , <i>-x'ene-</i> , <i>x'ex'ene-</i>	to sweep ...
<i>x'ele-</i> , <i>-x'ele-</i> , <i>x'ex'ele-</i>	to sharpen ...
<i>y'odjo-</i> , <i>-y'odjo-</i> , <i>y'oy'odjo-</i>	to pinch ...
<i>x'e'ba-</i> , <i>-x'e'ba-</i> , <i>x'ex'e'ba-</i>	to take ... off
<i>c'eda-</i> , <i>-c'eda-</i> , <i>c'ec'eda-</i>	to cut ...

Note, in the last two examples, that the repeated form preserves the length of the vowel.

<i>xal'oya-</i> , <i>-xal'oya-</i> , <i>xaxal'oya-</i>	to cut ... off
<i>xadjlewa-</i> , <i>-xadjlewa-</i> , <i>xaxadjlewa-</i>	to be angry
(Reduplicated form: to be very angry)	
<i>xeidje-</i> , <i>xeidje-</i> , <i>xexeidje-</i>	to rub
<i>xol'awa-</i> , <i>-xol'awa-</i> , <i>xoxol'awa-</i>	to wash ...
<i>calge-</i> , <i>-calge-</i> , <i>cacalge-</i>	to pull ... out

There are but two exceptions to this rule — i. e., that the first element of two element themes is repeated in the reduplicated forms: *bile-*, *-ble-*, *bilele-* to roll, wrap ... up; and *he'ca-*, *-e'ca-*, *he'caca-* to point to ... These reduplicate the second element of the complex.

ii. Three Element Themes.

These vary considerably in form. A majority of them — particularly those having a simple element in the first position — repeat the second element of the complex and the repeated element has the form CVCV.

<i>naboxa-</i> , <i>-nboxa-</i> , <i>naboboxa-</i>	to blow at ...
<i>namaiga-</i> , <i>-nmaiga-</i> , <i>namamaiga-</i>	to whirl ... about head
<i>nak'am'e-</i> , <i>-nk'am'e-</i> , <i>nak'ak'am'e-</i>	to bend ... at a joint
<i>naule-</i> , <i>-nuel-</i> , <i>nawewel-</i>	to spread ... out
<i>nac'oga-</i> , <i>-nc'oga-</i> , <i>nac'oc'oga-</i>	to squeeze ...
<i>nac'ol'a-</i> , <i>-nc'ol'a-</i> , <i>nac'oc'ol'a-</i>	to have sores, blisters
<i>nedle-</i> , <i>-ndal-</i> , <i>nedadal-</i>	to lick ...
<i>nedic'e-</i> , <i>-ndic'e-</i> , <i>nedidic'e-</i>	to press ...
<i>nek'am'e-</i> , <i>-nk'am'e-</i> , <i>nek'ak'am'e-</i>	to gnaw ...
<i>nexale-</i> , <i>-nxale-</i> , <i>nexaxale-</i>	to snore
<i>nex'abe-</i> , <i>-nx'abe-</i> , <i>ncx'ax'abe-</i>	to eat hackberries
<i>nel'aye-</i> , <i>-nl'aye-</i> , <i>nel'al'aye-</i>	to spit ... out
<i>haixo-</i> , <i>-ayoxo-</i> , <i>hayoyoxo-</i>	to mound (a horse)
<i>ham'aga-</i> , <i>-a'm'aga-</i> , <i>ham'am'aga-</i>	to send for ...
<i>hebage-</i> , <i>-ebage-</i> , <i>hebabage-</i>	to inform ...
<i>hen'oca-</i> , <i>-en'oca-</i> , <i>hen'on'oca-</i>	to blow one's nose
<i>hegai'e-</i> ; <i>-egai'e-</i> , <i>hegai'e-</i>	to bend one's head
<i>walaba-</i> , <i>walalaba-</i>	to boil <i>intr.</i>

(Reduplicated form: to boil vigorously)

<i>yam'adjxa-</i> , <i>-im'adjxa-</i> , <i>yam'am'adjxa-</i>	to sneeze
<i>yadin'e-</i> , <i>-idin'e-</i> , <i>yadidin'e-</i>	to scrape ...
<i>yadicxe-</i> , <i>-idicxe-</i> , <i>yadidicxe-</i>	(a bull) butts

(Reduplicated form: several (bulls) butt ...)

<i>yagel'e-</i> , <i>igel'e-</i> , <i>yagegel'e-</i>	to jab ... with elbow
<i>yax'ecge-</i> , <i>-ix'ecge-</i> , <i>yax'ex'ecge-</i>	to rub two objects together
<i>yaweye-</i> , <i>-iweye-</i> , <i>yaweweye-</i>	to tie ... up
<i>yadjoxo-</i> , <i>-idjoxo-</i> , <i>yadjodjoxo-</i>	to cover ... with blanket
<i>yalba-</i> , <i>-ilab-</i> , <i>yalalaba-</i>	to stand ... up

This list, it will be noted, contains all the *ne-* and *na-* themes and quite a few *ya-* themes. Just as many *ya-* themes, however, repeat the *ya-* in the reduplicated form and it has the form *yai-*.

<i>yabxa-</i> , <i>-ibax-</i> , <i>yaiabx-</i>	to slap ... with hand
<i>yadca-</i> , <i>-idac-</i> , <i>yaidac-</i>	to stab ...
<i>yag'e-</i> , <i>-ig'c-</i> , <i>yaiig'e-</i>	to shoot ...
<i>yagba-</i> , <i>-igab-</i> , <i>yaiigab-</i>	to pound ... (with hammer)
<i>yagwa-</i> , <i>-igaw-</i> , <i>yaiigaw-</i>	to kick ...
<i>yagona-</i> , <i>igona-</i> , <i>yaiigona-</i>	to hit ... with fist
<i>yaxwdje-</i> , <i>-ixwedj-</i> , <i>yaixwedj-</i>	to hit ... with a club
<i>yale-</i> , <i>-ile-</i> , <i>yaiile-</i>	to hit ... with a missile

Certain three element themes repeat the second element of the complex in the reduplicated form but differ from those in the first list in that the repeated element has the form CVC. Note that this list contains three *ya-* themes.

<i>yaxoya-</i> , <i>-ixoya-</i> , <i>yaxoxya-</i>	to hunt . . .
<i>yaxwya-</i> , <i>-ixwoya-</i> , <i>yaxwoxwya-</i>	to hunt, look for . . .
<i>yadjga-</i> , <i>-idjag-</i> , <i>yadjadjga-</i>	to put in on . . . back
<i>hegdawe-</i> , <i>-egdawe-</i> , <i>hegedawe-</i>	to sing

Finally, those three element themes having a complex element of the type CVC in the first position repeat this element in the reduplicated form.

<i>bandjale-</i> , <i>-bandjale-</i> , <i>babandjale-</i>	to open one's mouth
<i>dol'axe-</i> , <i>-dol'axe-</i> , <i>dodol'axe-</i>	to shell corn
<i>gai'axe-</i> , <i>-gai'axe-</i> , <i>gagai'axe-</i>	to cut . . . at the joint
<i>gel'axe-</i> , <i>-gel'axe-</i> , <i>gegel'axe-</i>	to smash, shatter . . .
<i>gwan'ace-</i> , <i>-gwan'ace-</i> , <i>gwagwan'ace-</i>	to dig
<i>xem'ace-</i> , <i>-xem'ace-</i> , <i>xexem'ace-</i>	to rub . . .

iii. Miscellaneous.

There are a number of four element themes which repeat the second element (form CVC) when reduplicated.

<i>nedx'eí'e-</i> , <i>-nedx'eí'e-</i> , <i>nedidx'eí'e-</i>	to tan . . . (a hide)
<i>hangaba-</i> , <i>-angaba-</i> , <i>hanangaba-</i>	(leeches) stick to . . .
<i>hec'egena-</i> , <i>-ec'egena-</i> , <i>hec'ec'egena-</i>	to stretch one's neck
<i>yadmaxe-</i> , <i>-yadmaxe-</i> , <i>yadidmaxe-</i>	to break . . .
<i>yadxalga-</i> , <i>-yadxalga-</i> , <i>yadadxalga-</i>	to hang . . . up
<i>yagwaxe-</i> , <i>-yagwaxe-</i> , <i>yagwagwaxe-</i>	to open . . .
<i>yaxmadje-</i> , <i>-yaxmadje-</i> , <i>yaxaxmadje-</i>	to break . . .
<i>yacyag'e-</i> , <i>-yacyag'e-</i> , <i>yacecyag'e-</i>	to tear, rip . . .
<i>yaxilna-</i> , <i>-yaxilna-</i> , <i>yaxalxilna-</i>	to run

Themes having *nec-* or *hec-* as the first element repeat these elements in the form *necec-* or *hecec-*, respectively, when reduplicated:

<i>hec'ege-</i> , <i>hecec'ege-</i>	to ask for . . .
<i>necgaba-</i> , <i>nececgaba-</i>	to shut (door, window)
<i>necgwíde-</i> , <i>nececgwíde-</i>	to tie . . . up; fasten . . .
<i>neclaxge-</i> , <i>nececclaxge-</i>	to cough, splutter, clear one's throat

iv. Conclusions.

The fact that only one element of a theme is repeated and that, in different classes of themes, varying elements are the repeated ones, seems to imply that elements of a certain type must be repeated in reduplicated forms. But, it is impossible to say whether this variation is due simply to phonetic circumstance or if it is because of the functions of the elements. There is no evidence for either position. It may be significant that first position elements

are generally repeated except when these are *na-*, *ne-*, *ha-*, *he-*, and *ya-* (here again an exception must be made of *ya-* themes which reduplicate the *ya-* element). In these last cases, the second position element is the one repeated. However, our evidence for theme analysis does not permit of any generalizations as to the functions of most theme elements and, though this fact of reduplication may be significant, there appears to be no way of applying it to the problem of theme structure.

38. Auxiliary Themes and Particles.

There are three auxiliary themes in Tonkawa, *-ye-*, *-e-* to be; *-we-* to be (as the result of having become), to become; *-'ei-*, *-'e-* to be (in a certain place), to do. We have seen, in the discussion of final theme elements, that there may have been others but these three are the only ones now freely used — i. e., not permanently a part of any particular theme or group of themes. (cf. 34).

i. *-ye-*, *-e-* to be,

This theme has the form *-ye-* when attached to themes which can stand alone — i. e., which need no formal suffixes to complete their meaning (themes functioning as nouns, adjectives, and adverbs) and the form *-e-* when used with verb themes. Thus:

<i>hocac-ye-</i>	to be young (<i>hocac</i> young)
<i>xalat-ye-</i>	to be hot, have a fever (<i>xalat</i> hot)
<i>wixwan-ye-</i>	to be small (<i>wixwan</i> small)
<i>ha'ago'n-ye-</i>	to be a man (<i>ha'ago'n</i> man)
<i>hedjn-e-</i>	to be lying down (<i>hedjne-</i> to lie down)
<i>yel-e-</i>	to be sitting (<i>yela-</i> to sit down)
<i>heilab-e-</i>	to be standing (<i>heilaba-</i> to stand up)
<i>hendoc-e-</i>	several are standing (<i>hendoc-</i> several stand, stop moving)

Note that the combination of active verb and the auxiliary *-e-* gives a static significance to the expression.

ii. *-we-* to be, become.

This auxiliary is also used with themes functioning as adjectives and adverbs but differs in meaning in that it defines a static condition resulting from preceding activity. Thus, *go'c'a-we-* to be old, have become old, is a possible form but *hocac-we-* is impossible since one cannot become younger.

-we- added to noun themes has the function of verbifying those themes and the resulting verb may either be active or static. Thus:

<i>'o'a</i>	night
<i>'o'a-we-</i>	to be night, night falls

<i>daxac</i>	day
<i>daxce-we-</i>	day breaks
<i>neiganak</i>	first
<i>neiganak-we-</i>	to be first, to come in first (in a race)
<i>yo'ts</i>	foam
<i>yo'dz-we-</i>	to foam, bubble

we- is not added to verb themes.

iii. *'ei-*, *'e-* to be (in a certain place), to do.

This auxiliary is used with all forms as is *-ye-* but differs in that the meaning of the resulting combination may be active as well as static. Thus, *m'e'ldjidjen* sheet lightning, plus *'e-* becomes *m'e'l-djidjen'e-* sheet lightning plays, flashes. The variation in form between *'ei-* and *'e-* is phonetic (cf. 8).

The meaning "to be" of *'ei-* emphasizes locality rather than quality as in the case of *-ye-*. Contrast, for example, *yel'e-* to be sitting, where the emphasis is on the fact of a person sitting and having been seated for a long time, with *yel'e'i-* to be sitting there, the emphasis being on the position of the person concerned. This difference is very neatly brought out in the following pair of text forms: *heilaban-t'cel'a'y'ik* (at the top of the tree), *yel'e-laklakno'o* he was sitting, it is said, at the top of the tree, as contrasted with *da-yel'e-noklakno'o* he was sitting there with her, it is said. In the last form no location is specified, the auxiliary placing the action.

A peculiar usage of *'ei-* is illustrated in the following two themes:

<i>yax'e'i-</i>	to be hungry (<i>yaxa-</i> to eat)
<i>'ax'e'i-</i>	to be thirsty (<i>'ax</i> water)

Here the auxiliary appears to imply desire, thus: *'ax'e'i-* to want water, be thirsty, *yax'e'i-* to want to eat, be hungry. There are no other examples of this usage.

Tonkawa particles are all formed by the addition of various conjunctive, subordinating and participial suffixes (cf. 64) to a theme much resembling the auxiliary *'ei-*.

<i>'e-d</i>	then, and
<i>'e-da</i>	and then
<i>'e-k-la</i>	then (being so)
<i>'e-nik</i>	then
<i>'e-no-k-lak</i>	it happened then . . .
<i>'e-la</i>	just as, when, as
<i>'e-no-la</i>	after (awhile), before
<i>'e-lga</i>	thus, in consequence of
<i>'e-lga'ak</i>	whereupon, at that, when (it) happened
<i>'e-yo'ok</i>	then, at that point, upon so doing
<i>'e-l'ok</i>	but, and

39. Summary and Conclusions.

We have now presented all the available evidence for the partition of the theme. The evidence, though scattered and largely incapable of generalization, is enough, it seems to me, to justify an hypothesis concerning the possible process involved in theme structure.

First, it is quite apparent that there are a number of first position elements sufficiently represented to indicate that they are not fortuitous similarities but are the vestiges of a once more complete list of prefixes governing the relation between the other elements of the theme. It seems likely that there are three classes of elements — or groups of elements — used in constructing themes. These are, in order of their occurrence, prefixes (such as *ya-*, *ne-*, *ha-*, *he-*, and possibly *na-*), stem elements, and suffixes (such as *-ʼa*, *-ʼe*, *-we*, *-ne*, etc.). Not all themes, however, have now or ever had at an earlier time all of these elements. It is more likely that a typological classification of themes can be made — somewhat as follows.

A. Themes identical with stems. This section would include such themes as *mama-* to carry, pack . . . , *dobo-* to cut . . . , *ʼege-* to give to . . . , *djex-* to loosen, untie . . . and many others. There are indications that even these simple forms can be broken up — perhaps into two units, one defining the class of the object, and the other the action itself. There is not, however, enough evidence of such partition on which to construct a tenable hypothesis.

B. Themes composed of stem and suffix. Included here would be such themes as *ha-na-* one person goes away, *da-na-* two persons go away, *ua-na-* to fall forwards, *ga-na-* to throw . . . away, *xʼaxʼai-ʼa-* to laugh (*xʼaxʼai-* considered a reduplicated form of a complex element *xʼai-*), *mʼe-l-ne-* to be alight, burning, *tʼcei-ʼe-* to be jealous of . . . , and others.

These would seem to be old nouns or verb participals compounded with the elements we have described as verbalizers (cf. 34). In only a few cases, as was seen in section 34, can these verbalizers be definitely isolated: our hypothesis must rest on those cases and be judged accordingly.

C. Themes composed of prefix, stem, and suffix. This is, theoretically, a refinement on class B. There a direct relationship exists between stem and suffix, the latter activizing the former. Here that relationship is, theoretically again, modified by the initial element of the theme. Thus, in such a theme as *ya-din-ʼe-* to scrape . . . (a hide), *-din-* may be an old word for the act of scraping or doing with a scraper, *-ʼe* the verbalizer, and *ya-* an element establishing an instrumental relationship between *-din-* and *-ʼe*. Therefore, the form would be translatable, literally, “to do by means of scraping” or “to scrape . . . (a hide)”. Or, in the verb *ya-xw-dje-* to strike . . .

with a club, the *-dje* might be considered a verbalizer and *-xw* (the reduced form of *-xwe*) may refer to action with a club or possibly to the noun "club" itself. Therefore, "to do by means of clubbing" or "to strike by means of a club". This feeling for *-dje* as a verbalizer is strengthened by the fact that it is dropped in the compound *ya^{xw}-*nadjga*-* to kill . . . by means of a club (*-*nadjga*-* to kill). Here, the verb *-*nadjga*-* seems to take the place of *-dje*, substituting a different verbal activity for that of striking.

There are other verb themes which could be brought forward on this point but these are the most illustrative and convincing. It is apparent that the evidence as a whole is not entirely convincing: we have, for example, no analogous forms with *ne-*, *ha-*, or *na-* to show the precise effects these elements have on the themes they appear to modify (cf. 28—32).

In conclusion, then, we can only submit the above scheme as a tentative explanation of the variations in theme form discussed in the preceding sections. It is not possible to do more with the evidence at hand. Possibly evidence from related languages, if such are still extant, will aid in clarifying the theme morphology of Tonkawa: until such evidence is available, I am convinced that only tentative hypotheses such as this one can be advanced to interpret the data.

b. THEME AFFIXES (40—82)

(1) *The Pronominal Affixes (40—46)*

40. General Remarks.

Under this heading, we propose to discuss only the pronominal forms affixed to the verb. The independent personal pronouns, the demonstratives, and the interrogative pronouns will be separately treated in sections 89-92. There, also, will be discussed the possessive pronouns which are normally expressed separately. In a few relationship terms, however, the possessive pronoun is prefixed to the noun: these exceptional cases will be covered in the section on the kinship terms (cf. 93—95).

The only pronouns affixed to the verb theme, then, are those of the subjective and objective series. Both of these are, upon occasion, also expressed separately: this is done for emphasis (cf. 89—92).

The object pronouns, except for that of the second person, are prefixed and occur as the first prefixes of a verb complex. The second person pronoun object is suffixed. The subject pronouns are all suffixed and generally occur in final position. In the subjective series, the singular, dual, and plural are distinguished; the latter two by distinctive suffixes unconnected with those for the personal pronoun. Only the plural is recognized in the objective series.

The order in which the pronouns occur both with respect to each other and to the other units of the verb complex is as follows: *First person singular, first person plural, or plural object pronouns* — Theme Prefixes — Theme — Theme Suffixes — *Second Person Object* — *Dual or Plural Subject* — Theme Suffixes — *First, second or third person subjects* — Theme Suffixes (in some cases).

41. The Objective Series.

There is but one objective series. The indirect object is expressed by suffixing the post-position *-da'* to the pronouns listed below (cf. 48).

<i>Person</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1	<i>ge-</i>	<i>geu-</i> (<i>ge-we-</i>)
2	<i>-'</i>	<i>we- . . . -' . . .</i>
3	<i>-</i>	<i>we-</i>

The single element pronoun prefixes (*ge-* me, and *we-* plural object), when attached directly to the theme, upset the phonetic balance of its elements, causing reduced theme elements to become full and vice versa.

<i>yagb -o'c</i>	I hit him
<i>ge-igab -o'</i>	he hits me
<i>we-igab -o'c</i>	I hit them

When, however, another theme prefix has been added the pronoun prefix has no such effect.

<i>xa-igab -o'c</i>	I hit him with force
<i>ge-xa-igab -o'</i>	he hits me with force
<i>we-xa-igab -o'c</i>	I hit them with force

In the above examples, *xa-* with force, a theme prefix, has been added to the theme *yagba-* to hit, and has upset the balance of elements. The addition of the pronominal prefixes has, therefore, no effect upon the theme.

Only one of the pronominal prefixes (*we-* plural object) appears in other than the full form. In the object pronoun *geu-* us, it has the form *-u*. Whether or not the others may be reduced cannot be decided since no single elements prefix ever precedes the pronominal object. When the prefix *geu-* us, is attached directly to the theme, the theme elements remain unaffected due to the fact that *geu-* is a two element prefix.

<i>geu-yagb -o'</i>	he hits us
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The second person pronoun always appears as an increment of length to the vowel of the preceding element. If the preceding

element is of the theme, it is lengthened whether in the full or reduced form.

<i>yagba-we'c</i>	I hit you
<i>we-igaba-we'</i>	I hit ye

Should the preceding element be of the theme and already long, due to a previous contraction, the addition of the second person pronoun will cause the contraction to resolve itself into its component parts.

<i>nec-'e-da-we'c</i>	I make him come
<i>nec-'e-daha-we'</i>	he makes you come

-da-, in the first form, represents *-da-ha*. In the second form, the pronoun object lengthens the vowel of *-ha-* forcing it to resume its identity.

Certain theme suffixes with long vowels, however, do not behave in this manner when the length for the second person object is added. In those cases, the suffixation of the second person object makes the vowel tri-moric.

<i>yagba:gwa</i>	when he hit him, . . .
<i>yagba:gwa</i>	when he hit you, . . .

The position of the second person object suffix varies in relation to other theme suffixes. Normally, it follows the future tense suffix *-a-do-* and the order is as follows:

Theme — Fut. — 2d. pers. — Contin. — Mode — But when the negative suffix *-abe-* is added to the theme, the order becomes:

Theme — 2d pers. — Neg. — Fut. — Contin. — Mode —

Examples:

<i>ya'lo'n -a'dono'c</i>	I will kill him
<i>ya'lo'n -a'dewa'no'c</i>	I will kill you
<i>ya'lo'n -ab -a'dono'c</i>	I will not kill him
<i>ya'lo'na'b -a'dono'c</i>	I will not kill you

The second person plural object is expressed by prefixing *we-* in addition to the suffixed length.

<i>we-yalo'na'we'c</i>	I kill ye
<i>we-i gaba'we'c</i>	I hit ye
<i>we-yadje'we'c</i>	I see ye

The third person object is never expressed in the singular: in the plural it is indicated by the prefix *we-*.

<i>yagbo'c</i>	I hit him
<i>we-igabo'c</i>	I hit them

42. Pronoun Object Forms used as the Subject.

The pronoun object may also be interpreted as the subject of the action and such an interpretation gives a slightly different connotation to the verb. For example, *t'ca'b-o'c* I hide (intr.), becomes *ge-t'cab-o'* I hide him, where *ge-* is the subject and the form really means "I act as a hiding place for him. I hide him by standing before him". Or, *hedjn-o'c* I lie down, as contrasted with *ge-djn-o'* I fall down, i. e., I lie down involuntarily, stumble and fall. In general, then, the interpretation of the object as subject gives a sort of passive significance to the action: the subject being acted upon by forces beyond its control. Further examples of these alternations follow.

<i>hedlaw-o'c</i>	I refuse (active)
<i>ge'dlaw-o'</i>	I refuse (as when someone calls me and I indicate refusal by ignoring the call)
<i>'adj-o'c</i>	I sicken, become ill (active; rarely used)
<i>ga-'adj-o'</i>	I am sick (regular form)
<i>'adje-we'</i>	you ...
<i>'adj-o'</i>	he is ...
<i>geu-'adj-o'</i>	we are ...
<i>wa-'adje-we'</i>	ye are ...
<i>wa-'adj-o'</i>	they are ...
<i>m'e'idj-o'c</i>	I urinate
<i>ge-m'e'idj-o'</i>	I urinate involuntarily
<i>yadicx-o'</i>	(a bull) butts him
<i>ge-idicx-o'</i>	(a bull) butts me; I bump my head
<i>ya'lo'n-o'c</i>	I kill him
<i>ge-yalo'n-o'</i>	he kills me <i>or</i> I was killed
<i>ya'lo'na-we'</i>	he kills you <i>or</i> you were killed
<i>ya'lo'n-o'</i>	he kills him <i>or</i> he was killed

In the above series, there is a choice of translations and the exact meaning of the form depends upon the context in which it is used.

camoxa'dak heyadje-noklakno'o it (an iron house) was looking very red (hot), it is said, *camoxa'dak* very red; *he-* reflexive pronoun, cf. 43; *-yadje-* to see, look at ...

ha'na'gwa yadjox'an'a'la heyadjenoklakno'o as he went on, a tipi became visible, *he-* reflexive pronoun; *-yadje-* to see, look at ... Here, the form *heyadje-noklakno'o* may also be translated "made itself visible, came into view".

In certain verbs, usually those defining such notions as *'adje-* to be sick, this form is the regular one: the active formation being but rarely, if ever, used. Thus:

<i>ge-xadjlew-o'</i>	I am angry
<i>ge-xicb-o'</i>	something (a sinew) breaks inside me (<i>xicb-o'c</i> impossible)
<i>ge-dic'abx-o'</i>	I have been punctured; I bleed to death (<i>dic'abx-o'c</i> impossible)
<i>ge-xamdj-o'</i>	my (arm, legs) breaks (<i>xamdj-o'c</i> impossible)
<i>ge-dam'ax-o'</i>	my (teeth) break (as from chewing a hard object) (<i>dam'ax-o'c</i> im- possible)
<i>ge-nc'ol-o'</i>	I have sores, blisters
<i>ga'm'am'-o'</i>	I am burning
<i>ham'am'a'-we'</i>	you ...
<i>ham'am'-o'</i>	he ...
<i>ge'waw-o'</i>	I die
<i>hewawa'-we'</i>	you ...
<i>hewaw-o'</i>	he ...

43. The Reflexive Pronoun.

The reflexive is expressed by the prefix *he-* which occurs in the same position as do the pronominal prefixes. It, too, has the power of upsetting the phonetic balance of the theme elements when added directly to the theme.

<i>yamx-o'c</i>	I paint his face
<i>he-imax-o'c</i>	I paint my face
<i>yagb-o'c</i>	I hit him
<i>he-igab-o'c</i>	I hit myself
<i>he-igab-o'ga</i>	you hit yourself
<i>he-igab-o'</i>	he hits himself

For the sake of emphasis, the forms *ca'-* I, *na'-* you, and *'a'-* he, are occasionally prefixed before the reflexive pronoun. Thus:

<i>ca'he-ganaglano'c</i>	I, I throw myself down
<i>na'he-ganaglano'ga</i>	you, you ...
<i>'a'he-ganaglano'</i>	he, he ...
<i>geuca'he-ganaglananec'o'c</i>	we, we ...
<i>wena'he-ganaglananec'o'ga</i>	ye, ye ...

The forms *ca'-*, *na'-*, *'a'-*, *geuca'-*, and *wena'-* are probably reduced forms of the personal independent pronoun (cf. 90).

We have already discussed the possible relationship between the *he-* element of *he-* themes (cf. 32) and the reflexive pronoun. We noted that the *he-* element had a position probably between that of *ha-* and the pronominal prefixes: the *he-* reflexive seems to hold the same position as the rest of the pronoun prefixes. It is not possible, however, to determine the absolute position of the *he-* reflexive with reference to the other pronoun prefixes because the two kinds of

element do not appear in the same forms. Consequently, the only formal difference between the two elements is that the *he*-element is "frozen" to the theme while the *he*-reflexive is a movable theme prefix. Wherefore our conclusion here must be the same as in section 32: while the evidence does not disprove a relationship between the *he*-element and the *he*-reflexive, neither does it prove that the *he*-element is the reflexive pronoun "frozen" to the theme.

44. The Subjective Series.

The position of the subjective pronoun at the end of the verb form has rendered it peculiarly susceptible to the processes of phonetic decay. Added to this is the influence exerted upon these forms by the neighboring modal suffixes. These forces have resulted in the presence of eight distinct series of the subjective pronoun, depending upon the particular paradigm considered. The suffixes indicating number have not been affected and are the same for all the series: viz., zero for the singular, *-nec'*- for the dual, and *-wec'*-, *-oc'*- for the plural. The following lists will indicate only the personal forms: it is to be understood that the dual and plural can be made up by adding the above mentioned suffixes. One exception to this rule is the third person plural in those paradigms in which it exists. These do not use the suffix *-wec'*-, *-oc'*-, but have special forms added to the third person singular which will be listed.

Subject Pronouns in the Declarative Mode

Person	Immediate Present	Present	Past
1	-c'	-c	'
2	-n'ei	-ga	-ne
3	-	-	-
3 pl.	-nik	-yuk	-lok

Example: Theme *-yagba-* to hit, strike

	Immediate Present	Present	Past
Sg. 1	<i>yagbanwa'c'</i>	<i>yagbo'c</i>	<i>yagbo'o'</i>
2	<i>yagbanwa'n'ei</i>	<i>yagbo'ga</i>	<i>yagbo'oino</i>
3	<i>yagbanwa'</i>	<i>yagbo'</i>	<i>yagbo'o</i>
Du. 1	<i>yagbanec'enwa'c'</i>	<i>yagbanec'o'c</i>	<i>yagbanec'o'o'</i>
2	<i>yagbanec'enwa'n'ei</i>	<i>yagbanec'o'ga</i>	<i>yagbanec'o'oino</i>
3	<i>yagbanec'enwa'</i>	<i>yagbanec'o'</i>	<i>yagbanec'o'o</i>
Pl. 1	<i>yagbo'c'enwa'c'</i>	<i>yagbo'c'o'c</i>	<i>yagbo'c'o'o'</i>
2	<i>yagbo'c'enwa'n'ei</i>	<i>yagbo'c'o'ga</i>	<i>yagbo'c'o'oino</i>
3	<i>yagbanwa'anik</i>	<i>yagbo'o'yuk</i>	<i>yagbo'olok</i>

The above table illustrates the subjective pronoun suffixes used in the various tenses of the declarative mode (cf. 55).

Following are two other series of subjective pronouns used in the potential and a certain subordinating mode (cf. 62, 66).

<i>Person</i>	<i>Potential</i>	<i>Subordinating</i>
1	-n'ec	-c-
2	-n'ei	-yo-
3	-l'a	-l-
Indef.	-k'a	

As before, the dual is formed by *-nec'* and the plural by *wec'* or *-o'c'*. No third person plural forms were obtained for these paradigms.

Example: Theme *-yagba-* to hit, strike

<i>Person</i>	<i>Potential</i>	<i>Subordinating</i>
Sg. 1	<i>yagba'a'n'ec</i>	<i>yagbac'ok</i>
2	<i>yagba'a'n'ei</i>	<i>yagbayo'ok</i>
3	<i>yagba'ai'l'a</i>	<i>yagbal'ok</i>
Indef.	<i>yagba'ai'k'a</i>	
Du. 1	<i>yagbanec'a'n'ec</i>	<i>yagbanec'ec'ok</i>
2	<i>yagbanec'a'n'ei</i>	<i>yagbanec'eyo'ok</i>
3	<i>yagbanec'ai'l'a</i>	<i>yagbanec'el'ok</i>
Pl. 1	<i>yagbo'c'a'n'ec</i>	<i>yagbo'c'ec'ok</i>
2	<i>yagbo'c'a'n'ei</i>	<i>yagbo'c'eyo'ok</i>

The forms illustrated above for the potential mode are undoubtedly bound up with the modal suffix to such an extent as to make it difficult to separate the two suffixes. Considering, in the first and second persons, *-a'n'e-* as the modal suffix instead of simply *-a-*, the pronouns would be *-c* and *-i*, respectively, analogous to other pronominal forms. However, such an analysis will not suffice in the forms for the third person and the indefinite pronoun. The indefinite pronoun form is unique with this paradigm and even here is used only for the passive forms (cf. 62).

The pronouns in the subordinating paradigm are unique in that series — the pronoun *-yo-* for the second person being used in no other series unless we are to consider the final *-i* of *-n'ei* as a cognate form.

The subjective pronouns appearing in another of the subordinating paradigms (cf. 67) are so bound up with the modal suffixes that it appears impossible to isolate them. This paradigm is illustrated below with the verb theme *ya'dje-* to see, look at . . .

Sg. 1	<i>ya'dje'gwanec</i>
2	<i>ya'dje'gen</i>
3	<i>ya'dje'gwa</i>
Du. 1	<i>ya'djenec'e'gwanec</i>
2	<i>ya'djenec'e'gen</i>
3	<i>ya'djenec'e'gwa</i>
Pl. 1	<i>ya'djo'c'e'gwanec</i>
2	<i>ya'djo'c'e'gen</i>
3	<i>ya'dje'ngwa</i> or <i>ya'djeyayagwa</i>

It is probable that here the tense-modal suffix is *-egwa*, and that the first and third person personal pronouns are, therefore, *-nec* and zero. The problem is: what sort of contraction has occurred in the second person forms where, obviously, the suffix *-egwa* plus some unknown quantity indicating the second person pronoun has resulted in the form *-egen*? And, further, the third person plural form has also been contracted in an irregular manner and, in both cases, seems to have inserted the pronoun between the theme and the tense-modal suffix. These questions cannot be answered since there are no analagous contractions elsewhere in the language.

Finally, we have series used in the *-k* participial forms (cf. 74), and in certain other subordinating paradigms (cf. 65). They are as follows:

<i>Person</i>	<i>-k Forms</i>	<i>Subord. Paradigms</i>
1	<i>-ce-</i>	<i>-c-</i>
2	<i>-ne-</i>	<i>-ne-</i>
3	—	<i>-l-</i>

Example: Theme *-yagba-* to hit, strike

Sg. 1	<i>yagbacek</i>	<i>yagbacga'ak</i>
2	<i>yagbanek</i>	<i>yagbanega'ak</i>
3	<i>yagbak</i>	<i>yagbalga'ak</i>
Du. 1	<i>yagbanec'ecek</i>	<i>yagbanec'ecga'ak</i>
Pl. 1	<i>yagbo'c'ecek</i>	<i>yagbo'c'ecga'ak</i>

The forms last illustrated for the first and second persons are probably basic since, in these paradigms, which are tenseless and modeless, the pronoun was protected both from the influence of accompanying mode suffixes and the final position.

The absence of third person pronoun subjects in so many paradigms leads to the belief that there is no such person recognized in Tonkawa but that the forms given are absolutive forms idiomatically used for the third person. The presence of *-l-* as third person pronoun in some paradigms does not necessarily contradict this because the *-l-* may well be cognate with the nominative case suffix of the noun *-la* (cf. S6). With no comparative material available, however, such generalizations, based, as they are, on the evidence of one language, carry little weight.

45. Irregular Third Person Plural Forms.

In many — perhaps the majority — of the verb themes, the third person singular may also be used with a third person plural subject. Thus, *neceexo'* he shouts, may be used in the expression, *ha'ac'ida neceexo'* many of them shout, (*ha'ac'ida* many of them); *ya'djeno'*

he looks off, *lococ'ida yayadjeno'* all of them looked off (note here that the theme has the reduplicated form); *he'cogyawo'* he fights, goes to war, *he'cocogyawo'* several fight, go to war; *hegda'wo'* he plays, *hegegda'wo'* several play; *yaxilno'* he runs away, *yalaxilno'* several run away.

Some themes, however, require a prefix *he-* or *he'-* (the reason for the difference in length cannot be determined) and a suffix *-wa* in such plural forms. In addition, the themes have the reduplicated form.

he- ... -wa

<i>yagwa-</i> <i>he-igagawa-w-o'</i>	to dance several dance
<i>yadje-</i> <i>he-yayadje-w-o'</i>	to be stuck, pierced several are pierced
<i>com'axe-</i> <i>he-cocom'axa-w-o'</i>	to skin ... several skin it
<i>nadaya-</i> <i>he-ndadaya-w-o'</i>	to pick out, select, choose ... several choose it
<i>banxo-</i> <i>he-bnonoxa-w-o'</i>	to bathe, swim several bathe
<i>ma'ga-</i> <i>he-mama'ge-w-o'</i>	to cry, weep several weep
<i>na'de-</i> <i>he-nana'de-w-o'</i>	to step on ... several step on it
<i>xane-</i> <i>he-xaxane-w-o'</i>	to drink ... several drink it
<i>yag'e-</i> <i>he-yayag'e-w-o'</i>	to shoot ... several shoot him

he'- ... -wa

<i>nadje-</i> <i>he'-namadje-w-o'</i>	to bite ... several bite him
<i>nexale-</i> <i>he'-nexale-w-o'</i>	to bellow, snore several snore (here, the theme is not reduplicated)
<i>nencona-</i> <i>he'-nencona-w-o'</i>	to kiss several kiss him (no reduplication)
<i>nex'eye-</i> <i>he'-nex'eya-w-o'</i>	to be lost, ignorant several are lost
<i>x'ax'ai'a-</i> <i>he'-x'ax'ai'e-w-o'</i>	to laugh several laugh
<i>t'cei'e-</i> <i>he'-t'cei'e-w-o'</i>	to be jealous of ... several are jealous of him

It is clear that this *he-* has no relationship with either the *he-* reflexive or the *he-* theme element. In four themes, we find it without the suffix *-wa*.

<i>y'adje-</i>	to vomit
<i>he-y'ay'adje-</i>	to vomit repeatedly
<i>m'e'idja-</i>	to urinate
<i>he-m'em'eidja-</i>	to be continually urinating
<i>yaxa-</i>	to eat . . .
<i>he-yaxyax-o'</i>	several eat it
<i>lobaw-</i>	to dive
<i>he-lolobaw-o'</i>	several dive

Here it seems to indicate long continued or durative action though it is difficult — and dangerous — to generalize from so few examples. *-wa* also appears alone in a few themes:

<i>heba'i'a-</i>	to put on beads, a necklace
<i>hebabai'e-wa-</i>	to put on several necklaces
<i>nedjbe-</i>	to touch with hand, handle . . .
<i>nedjedjeba-wa-</i>	to . . . repeatedly
<i>doxwno-</i>	to smell, sniff . . .
<i>doxwna-wa-</i>	to smell something, there is a smell of something in the air
<i>nodo-</i>	to touch, press (with fingers)
<i>nonoda-wa-</i>	to . . . repeatedly
<i>nadje-</i>	to bite . . .
<i>nanadje-wa-</i>	to bite . . . repeatedly (Vide p. 15)
<i>gwede-</i>	to carry . . . in arms
<i>gwegweda-wa-</i>	to . . . repeatedly

In the first of the above examples, *-wa* appears to be associated with plural action; in the third example, with durative action; and, in the rest, with repetitive action. The themes are reduplicated in each case; so it is difficult to determine which of the processes is responsible for the change in meaning.

It does not appear possible, therefore, to isolate the functions of each of these elements — nor, indeed, to determine why some themes should require the affix *he-* . . . *-wa*, and others should not.

46. The Reciprocal Pronoun.

The reciprocal idea is expressed by a suffix *-yew*, *-yo'* and a prefix *he-* or *he'-*. It seems likely that this prefix is cognate with that discussed in the preceding section: it is present in reciprocal forms probably because they involve either a dual or plural subject.

The difference in form between *-yew* and *-yo* is a phonetic alternation (cf. 17); another phonetic peculiarity of the reciprocal suffix is that it causes the vowel of the element preceding it to lengthen. Thus,

<i>nabacxa-</i>	to play shinny
<i>he-nbabacxa'-yew-o'</i>	they play shinny with each other

Very often, too, the final theme element is dropped when the suffix for the reciprocal is added. This would seem to indicate that the reciprocal form may have the functions of a verbalizer.

For example:

<i>'encawa-</i>	to be jealous of . . .
<i>he-'enca'-yew-o'</i>	they are jealous of each other
<i>'adnawa-</i>	to like, love . . .
<i>he-'adna'-yew-o'</i>	they love each other
<i>djoxna-</i>	to sleep
<i>he-djodjxa'-yew-o'</i>	they sleep together, with each other
<i>hedadxane-</i>	to talk, discourse
<i>he-edadxaxa'-yew-o'</i>	they talk among themselves, to each other
<i>hexcaca-</i>	to scream
<i>he-xexca'-yew-o'</i>	they scream to one another (<i>he-hex-hex- > he-xex-</i>)

The theme elements dropped in the above list (*-wa*, *-ne*, *-na*, *-ca*) may be final theme elements of the type discussed in sections 34 and 35 having a meaning incompatible with that of the reciprocal suffix. There is, however, no further proof of this.

(2) Theme Prefixes (47—51)

47. General Remarks.

In addition to the pronominal prefixes discussed in the preceding section, there are but four theme prefixes: the postposition *da-*, the causative prefixes *nec-* and *ya-*, and the adverbial prefix *xa-*, *x-*, with force, to a distance.

48. The Postposition *da-* with, to

This prefix has three forms: *daca-*, *dac-*, and (the most common) *da-*. It has no effect upon the theme elements (being a two element prefix) but is reduced when preceded by a single element prefix. The reduced forms are *-dca-*, *-dc-*, and *-da-*, respectively. The reason for three forms is not entirely clear: in all probability *daca-* is the oldest, *dac-* and *da-* representing more recent forms caused by phonetic decay.

<i>daca-yelo`c</i>	I sit with him
<i>ge-dca-yelo`</i>	he sits with me
<i>we-dca-yelo`c</i>	I sit with them
<i>dac-edjno`c</i>	I lie with him
<i>ge-dc-edjno`</i>	he lies with me
<i>da`-hedjno`c</i>	I lie with him
<i>ge-da-hedjno`</i>	he lies with me
<i>da`-nodco`c</i>	I stand with him
<i>ge-da-nodco`</i>	he stands with me

49. The Causative *ya-*.

This is probably the older of the two causative prefixes, first, because of its limited use, and, secondly, because it is not always separable from the theme it modifies. The causative *ya-* differs from the theme element *ya-* (cf. 30) in two ways: its position is that of a theme prefix rather than of a stem prefix and it does not elide its vowel when preceded by a single element prefix. The causative *ya-*, when attached directly to the theme, causes the phonetic balance of its elements to be disturbed in the same manner as when the single element pronominal prefixes are added (cf. 41).

Examples:

<i>xamdjo`c</i>	I am broken, my bones are broken
<i>ya-xamdjo`c</i>	I break it
<i>ge-ya-xamdjo`</i>	he breaks my (bones)
<i>caxwo`c</i>	I am frightened
<i>ya-caxwo`c</i>	I scare him
<i>ge-ya-caxwo`</i>	he scares me
<i>`adcawo`c</i>	I revive, come to life
<i>ya`adcawo`c</i>	I revive him
<i>ge-ya`adcawo`</i>	he revives me

In the above examples, *ya-* can be removed from the theme leaving a meaningful entity. In the following examples, *ya-* has become a part of the theme (cf. 33).

<i>yalxilno`c</i>	I run off, away
<i>ge-yalxilno`</i>	I am being run away with
<i>yadcano`c</i>	I think of him
<i>ge-yadcano`</i>	he thinks of me
<i>yadxo`c</i>	I fill pipe
<i>we-yadxo`c</i>	I fill pipes

50. The Causative *nec-* and *hec-*.

The causative form of the verb is most commonly built up by prefixing *nec-*. It differs from *ya-* in that it connotes a compulsive causative; i. e., to make, force . . . to do so and so. Since it is a

two-element prefix, it does not affect the theme elements. And, it is not affected by single element prefixes preceding it. Examples:

'ego'c	I give it to him
nec-'ego'c	I cause him to give it to him
ge-nec-'ego'	he causes me . . .
'adjo'c	I become sick
nec-'adjo'c	I cause him to become sick
ge-nec-'adjo'	he causes me . . .

There are a few verbs in which the causative *nec-* has become a part of the theme and is not, therefore, removeable (cf. 33).

nec-laxgo'c	I clear my throat, cough
nec-wal'o'c	I fish
nec-gabo'c	I close the door
necec-gabo'c	I close the door repeatedly

As stated in section 33, *hec-* is very likely a combination of the *he-* theme element and *-c-*, the latter probably cognate with the *-c* of *nec-*. *hec-* is much less readily used than *nec-*; it is oftenest found as an essential part of the theme (cf. 33). A few examples of its free use follow:

'ego'c	I give it to him
hec-'ego'c	I ask him for it
ge'c-'ego'	he . . . me . . .
we'c-'ego'c	I . . . them . . .

Note, here, that the pronominal prefixes merge with *hec-*, forming *ge'c-* and *we'c-*. The change in meaning is curious: *hec-'ego'c* is literally: I cause him to give it to me, where the notion "to me" is probably due to *he-*; *ge'c'ego* he causes me to give it to him, where *ge-* refers to "me" and *he-* adds the notion "to him".

ge'c-doxwnono'	I am smelling it; it makes its smell known to me (<i>doxwnono'</i> I am smelling, sniffing it (active).)
ge'c-da'ano'	I get, secure it
hec-da'ana'we'	you . . .
da'ano'c	I pick it up

The meaning of the example, *ge'c-da'ano'* is, literally: it causes me to pick it up, i. e., it is made possible for me to secure it, or: I am able to get it. A text form: *ge'c-da'anbeno'* I cannot reach it, having the negative suffix (cf. 53), illustrates this meaning.

51. The Adverbial *xa*, *x-* with force, to a distance.

This element is directly prefixed to the theme and, being a single element prefix, disturbs the phonetic balance of theme elements. When preceded by single element prefixes, it does not elide its vowel. Examples:

<i>ha'no'c</i>	I go off
<i>xa'no'c (xa-ha'no'c)</i>	I go off to a distance
<i>ga'no'c</i>	I throw it away
<i>xa-gano'c</i>	I throw it to a distance
<i>yagbo'c</i>	I hit him
<i>xa-igabo'c</i>	I hit him with force
<i>ge-xa-igabo'c</i>	he . . . me
<i>co'vano'c</i>	I swim off
<i>xa-covano'c</i>	I swim off to a distance

When prefixed to a theme having the suffix *-da*, hither (cf. 34), the meaning becomes: in a circle (to . . . to a distance and back).

<i>xa'do'c (xa-ha'-do'c)</i>	I go in a circle
<i>xa-gado'c</i>	I swing it (throw it in a circle)
<i>xa-coyado'c</i>	I swim in a circle

In certain themes, it has the form *x-*: I have not been able to find a reason for this alternation in form.

<i>hedjno'c</i>	I lie down
<i>xe'djno'c</i>	I fall down; lie down with force
<i>heilabo'c</i>	I stand up
<i>xe'ilabo'c</i>	I stand up at a distance
<i>hengwa'no'c</i>	I ran away
<i>xe'ngwa'no'c</i>	I ran far away
<i>hebdjo'</i>	several fall down
<i>xe'bdjo'</i>	several fall from a height
<i>helexo'c</i>	I emerge (from water after a dive)
<i>xe'lexo'c</i>	I emerge at a distance

Since the form *x-* is found exclusively with verbs having *he-* in the initial element, it may be that *xa-* plus *he-* gives *xe-* or that the *-a* of *xa-* drops out before *he-*. In neither case are there any analagous changes in the behavior of other elements.

(3) Theme Suffixes (52—82)

52. General Remarks.

All Tonkawa themes may be divided into two classes: those which have meaning when used without formal suffixes, and those which require formal suffixes to complete their meanings. Themes functioning as verbs fall largely into the latter class: the few verb themes that can stand without formal suffixes function as nouns when so used (cf. 35). In other words, all themes functioning as verbs must employ one or more formal suffixes.

The positions of these suffixes in the verb form vary according to certain combinations which may be summarized as follows:

1. Theme — Negative suffix — Future tense — Dual or Plural — Pronoun.
2. Theme — Negative suffix — Future tense — Dual or Plural — Continuative — Mode (declarative) — Tense (present or past) — Pronoun — Mode (interrogative).
3. Theme — Negative — Future tense — Dual or plural — Pronoun — Mode (assertive or subordinating).
4. Theme — Negative — Dual or plural — Mode (intensive, imperative, or potential) — Pronoun.
5. Theme — Negative — Pronoun — *-k* — Mode (hortatory).
6. Theme — Negative — Future tense — Dual or plural — Continuative — Pronoun — *-k* — Mode (declarative, interrogative, resultative, quotative, or subordinating).

The first of the above schemes illustrates the simplest form in which a verb may appear. This form is tense-less, except for the future, and entirely mode-less. It is used only in the first person singular, dual, and plural and to express threatening or annunciatory intention in direct discourse (cf. 54).

It is evident that the tense suffixes are of two categories, the first including only that for the future, the second those for the present and the past. These two categories are not mutually exclusive: the modes built up according to the second of the above schemes can be sub-divided into four tenses: present, past, future of the present (near future — sometime within the day), and the future of the past¹ (remote future — sometime from tomorrow on to infinity). The future suffix may also be used in other mode forms ordinarily tense-less: only the intensive, imperative, hortatory, and potential modes are completely tense-less. The future suffix used in otherwise tenseless forms generally indicates an indefinite future (some unspecified time in the future).

It appears also that there are three modal positions in the verb — the first before the pronoun, the second after the pronoun, and the third attached to a *-k* (participial, cf. 74) form of the verb. The declarative and interrogative modes may either be formed by suffixes attached to a *-k* form or by means of scheme 2. These differ in that the former connotes completed action (cf. 77). There is but one aspect suffix — that for the continuative. This may be used in all forms except the intensive, imperative, potential, and certain of the subordinating modes.

¹ That is, the future tense suffix is employed with the suffix for the past tense. This combination functions as a distant or remote future. cf. section 55, IV.

Finally, there are two other verb suffixes not illustrated in these schemes. They are the *-n* suffix forming infinitives (cf. 73), and a suffix *-an* changing a verb to a noun (cf. 75).

53. The Negative Suffix.

The negative of any verb may be formed by adding the suffix *-abe-* directly to the theme. When, however, the verb takes the second person object, this suffix is inserted between the theme and the negative suffix (cf. 41). The order is, then, as follows:

Theme — Second Person Object — Negative — . . .

The initial *-a-* of the suffix, when added directly to the theme, obscures the form of the final theme element causing its vowel to be *-a-* in either the full or reduced form.

<i>yagb-ab-o'c</i>	I do not hit him
<i>geigab-ab-o'</i>	he does not hit me
<i>yagb-abe-no'c</i>	I am not hitting him
<i>yagb-abe-nec'o'c</i>	we two do not hit him

When the verb takes the second person object, the vowel *-a-* of the suffix is lengthened.

<i>yagba'b-o'c</i>	I do not hit you
<i>yagba'be-no'c</i>	I am not hitting you
<i>weigaba'be-no'c</i>	I am not hitting you people
<i>yagba'be-nec'o'c</i>	we two do not hit you

It is probable that *-abe-* is an incorporated form of the adverb *gabai* not, nothing, though no such relationship can be proven.

54. The Mode-less Paradigm.

In its simplest form, this paradigm is not only modeless but tense-less as well. It is formed by adding the subject pronouns directly to the theme and is found only in the first person singular, dual, and plural.

Theme: *yag'e-* to shoot . . .

	<i>with 3d person object</i>	<i>with 2d person object</i>
Sg. 1	<i>yag'c-c</i>	<i>yag'e-c</i>
Du. 1	<i>yag'e-nec'e-c</i>	<i>yag'e'-nec'-c-c</i>
Pl. 1	<i>yag'-o'c'e-c</i>	<i>yag'e'-wec'e-c</i>

Its use is illustrated by the following text examples:

'oyuk-de'dja cogna'c I'll put you in this sack, *'oyuk* sack; *cogna-* to put . . . in. Rabbit is suggesting a hiding place to Coyote.

'egwanxau-ca'gen nenxalec I've found my horse, *nenxale-* to find . . . Coyote, seeing Rabbit lying asleep by the side of the road, makes the above remark and pounces on him.

wedadana'e I'll take you people with me, *dawdana-* to go off with ...; take ... off with me

daca'eye'e I want to be with you, *daca-* with ...; *'ei-* auxiliary, to be; sometimes used to mean, to desire (cf. 38).

hegda'wanec'ec we two want to play, *hegda'wa-* to play. Two children, having found Coyote and thinking he is a dog, ask their parents for permission to play with him.

xanda'e'e I want to drink, am thirsty, *xane-* to drink, *-da* subordinating suffix (cf. 71) compounded with *'e-* auxiliary (cf. 38). As a group of men are sitting about a fire, one of them announces that he is thirsty.

These examples show the usage of this form in direct discourse when the question of tense or mode is not important. An expression of fact about oneself: a desire, or announcement of intention, or a suggestion.

The form may also be used with the future tense suffix *-a'do-*, *-a'dew-* as follows:

hedjedon ha'n-a'do-nec I'll go back, *hedjedjo'n* back, here used adverbially (cf. 87); *ha'na-* one person goes off. Note that the person suffix *-nec* as compared with the *-c* of those in the preceding paradigm. I cannot account for the element *-ne*. The context of this statement: his wife threatens to leave Coyote if he does not stop gambling and accompany her back home: this is his answer.

yago'n-nadjg-a'dewa-nec I'll kill you with my fist, *yago'na-* to strike ... with the fist, plus *-nadjga-* to kill ... Note the expanded form of the future tense suffix. The variation between *-a'do-* and *-a'dew-* is phonetic (cf. 18). Coyote here is announcing his intention of killing Rabbit for the latter's pranks.

hehei' *'a'do-nec* all right, I'll do it, *'-* reduced form of *'ei-*, auxiliary, to be, do (cf. 38).

holau'a'lak wa'dil yang-a'dewa-nec this is the very last time I'll call you, *holau'a'lak* the last (time); *wa'dil* very, just, here used adverbially; *yang-* to call ...

t'cel-'ey-a'do-nec I'll go after him, *t'cel* up, after, here used adverbially (cf. 87); *'ei-* to go

The future tense suffix used in this way seems to connote intention or the immediate future. Compare this usage with that illustrated in section 55.

(a) *The Tense and Mode Suffixes (55—63)*

55. The Declarative Mode.

The suffix for the declarative mode is an element *-we* which may also have the form *-o* under certain phonetic conditions (cf. 17). It is always used with a tense suffix: the declarative mode may, therefore, be subdivided into four tenses, the present, the past, the near future, and the remote future.

I. The Present Tense.

The present tense suffix is *-e* and it directly follows the mode suffix *-we*. The paradigm is as follows.

Theme: *yagba-* to hit, strike

	<i>with 3d person object</i>	<i>with 2d person object</i>
Sg. 1	<i>yagb-o'-c</i>	<i>yagba'-we'-c</i>
2	<i>yagb-o'-ga</i>	
3	<i>yagb-o'</i>	<i>yagba'-we'</i>
Du. 1	<i>yagba-nec'-o'-c</i>	<i>yagba'-nec'-o'-c</i>
2	<i>yagba-nec'-o'-ga</i>	
3	<i>yagba-nec'-o'</i>	<i>yagba'-nec'-o'</i>
Pl. 1	<i>yagb-o'e'-o'-c</i>	<i>yagba'-wee'-o'-c</i>
2	<i>yagb-o'e'-o'-ga</i>	
3	<i>yagb-o'o'-yuk</i>	<i>yagba'-we'e-yuk</i>

The full forms of both suffixes appear in the third person plural with second person object. In all but the two third person plural forms, the tense suffix *-e* has the reduced form *-'* and in the second person singular forms, it has been elided altogether causing the vowel preceding it to be lengthened compensatively. Note that the declarative mode suffix has the contracted form *-o* except when preceded by a long vowel (cf. 17).

This form defines a time between the immediate present and the past: a line in time, as it were, as opposed to a point in time. For this reason, it might just as well be termed the immediate past. The following examples from the texts will bring out its meaning.¹

<i>'egwan-wi.xwan-lak nen.xal-o'-c'-o'-c</i>	we found a little dog
<i>djagau-'a'y'ik yaxad-o'-ga</i>	you are near the river
<i>"djigwo'dak yandjidjxileu" genw-o'-ga</i>	"run faster", you told me
<i>nadjekla 'eiganxaidjon-o'-c</i>	when he (the fish) bit, I pulled him up
<i>gwa'gwan-wa'a'lak wedadaxg-o'-c</i>	I brought these women here
<i>xadjlew-o'</i>	she is angry
<i>we'y'ik da'daxg-o'</i>	he has brought her here
<i>he'e'k go'e'a'ac-wa'y'ik xa'x-o'-c</i>	I went over there to the old people
<i>gwan-edjodjxo'k-wa'a'lak ya'lo'n-o'-c</i>	I killed that bad woman
<i>geu'a'x'e'y-o'</i>	we are thirsty
<i>djigwo'dak yandjidjxilu-o'-ga</i>	you ran faster
<i>heigwidjan-ca'gen-'a'lak 'eiganaxein-o'-c</i>	I lost my ring

The continuative suffix *-no* may be used with this tense. It defines an action that is going on at the moment of speaking or at the moment of time referred to. In some contexts, it defines habitual or customary activity. Thus,

<i>heigwidjan-lak da'gona-nec-n-o'-c</i>	we two are looking for a ring
<i>"heilabau" newc-n-o'-c</i>	"stop!" I was telling you
<i>xadaglan-abe-nec-n-o'</i>	they two are not getting off; are not going to get off

¹ A vocabulary of all the words used in these and the examples to follow will be found in the Appendix.

<i>do'na-no'-n-o'-ga</i>	you are prevaricating
<i>gwo'n-na'xen-la yamga'-n-o'</i>	your wife is calling you
<i>'au-gak da'gona-n-o'</i>	he hunts deer (i. e., makes a living by hunting deer)

II. The Near Future.

Both continuative and non-continuative forms of the present tense may be given a future sense by inserting the suffix *-a'dew-a'do-*. Thus:

<i>yagb-a'dew-o'-c</i>	I will strike him
<i>yagb-a'do-n-o'-c</i>	I am going to strike him; will be striking him

This tense defines a time in the near future — sometime in the day on which the remark is made. The following text examples illustrate its usage:

<i>'awac-gak ya'lo'n-a'do-n-o'-c</i>	I am going to kill buffaloes
<i>daxac-wa'da'ac na'ey-a'dew-o'-c-n-o'-c</i>	we are going home this very day
<i>de'w'an dan-a'do-nec-n-o'-c</i>	we two are going over there
<i>yadjox'an-galak-e'e'k ha'n-a'dew-o'-c</i>	I will go to the other camp
<i>he'malew-a'dew-o'-c-n-o'-c</i>	we are going to dance
<i>geunecjoxn-ab-a'do-n-o'</i>	he will not let us sleep

III. The Past Tense.

The past tense of the declarative mode is formed by a suffix *'ei*, having the same position as the present tense suffix. The final *-i* of the tense suffix appears only in the second person subject forms; in all other cases, the suffix *'ei* has been reduced to *'e*. The *-o-* color of the suffix is due to the influence of the preceding mode suffix (cf. 3). The paradigm is as follows:

Theme: *yagba-* to hit, strike

	<i>With 3d person object</i>	<i>with 2d person object</i>
Sg. 1	<i>yagb-o'o'-'</i>	<i>yagba-we'e'-'</i>
	<i>yagb-o'oi-no</i>	
	<i>yagb-o'o</i>	
Du. 1	<i>yagba-nec'-o'o'-'</i>	<i>yagba-we'e</i>
	<i>yagba-nec'-o'oi-no</i>	
	<i>yagba-nec'-o'o</i>	
Pl. 1	<i>yagb-o'c'-o'o'-'</i>	<i>yagba-we'e-log</i>
	<i>yagb-o'c'-o'oi-no</i>	
	<i>yagb-o'o -log</i>	

This tense defines an action in the definite past, near or remote. Examples:

<i>hedobo'a'lak ha'ac 'eiwendjaga-nec'-o'o'-'</i>	we two have killed many Osages
<i>'e'da we'icba'x ya'we'd djana-nec'-o'o'-'</i>	and one we two tied up and left lying

<i>naxadʒanw-o'o'-ʔ</i>	I married
<i>heigwedʒan-wa'a'lak ya'dj-o'o'-ʔ</i>	I saw that ring
<i>dina-dak bax ya-x-o'o'-ʔ</i>	I ate a long time ago; it is a long time since I ate

The connotation of habitual or customary activity is clearly brought out in the continuative form of the past tense. Thus,

<i>'egwancxaw-ca'gen-de'la djigeu yan-djidjxile-n-o'o'</i>	this horse of mine is a fast runner, i. e., has always run fast in the past
<i>djo.xn-abe-n-o'o'-ʔ</i>	I have never been asleep, I habitually do not sleep
<i>naxdʒan-de'lak nenxale-n-o'o'-ʔ</i>	I have been guarding this fire, I habitually guard this fire
<i>'adjxaudak-e'w'an ga'lwa-n-o'o'</i>	he has been gambling up north
<i>didʒan-eigak 'eg-abe-n-o'o'-ʔ</i>	I have never given it to any person; I habitually refuse to give it to anyone
<i>hedju'ax-eigak gedjodjxo'-be-n-o'o'</i>	nothing has ever frightened me; I am not afraid of anything
<i>'egwan-eigak bax yaxa-n-o'o'-ʔ</i>	I have been eating only dogs; I customarily eat only dogs
<i>na'a he'bano'-n-o'o'</i>	so it has been told; so it is customarily told

IV. The Remote Future.

This tense form is supplied by inserting the future tense suffix *n* in the paradigms for the past tense. Thus,

<i>ha'n-a'dew-o'o'-ʔ</i>	I will go away
<i>ha'n-a'do-n-o'o'-ʔ</i>	I am going to go away

It defines an action to take place some time in the future beyond the present time — from tomorrow on to infinity. Unfortunately, it does not occur in any of my texts — the above forms were obtained from the informant by direct questioning. In spite of this, the form is probably valid, and the meaning given above fits nicely into the Tonkawa tense system.

56. The Assertive Mode.

The suffix for the assertive has either the form *-a'a* (which is probably its full form) or *-a'* (in which the second element has been totally elided, (cf. 8). This suffix may be used in three different ways, viz.,

Theme — Negative — Future tense — Dual or plural — Continuative — Assertive — Pronoun.

Theme — Negative — Continuative — Assertive.

Theme — First person pronoun — Assertive.

The paradigm according to the first of the above schemes follows:

Theme: 'ei- auxiliary to be, do

Sg.	1	'-a'-n'ec
	2	'-a'-n'ei
	3	'-a'a
Du.	1	'e-nec'-a'-n'ec
	2	'e-nec'-a'-n'ei
	3	'e-nec'-a'a
Pl.	1	'-o'c'-a'-n'ec
	2	'-o'c'-a'-n'ei

With the continuative suffix: 'e'-n-a'-n'ec, etc.

With the future tense suffix: 'a-dew-a'-n'ec, etc.

The following examples from the texts illustrate its meaning.

ca'ya 'e'-n-a'-n'ec that's me! *ca'ya* independent personal pronoun (cf. 90).

Four dogs are chasing a buffalo heifer who is really the wife of their owner — she calls this way to them so that they will not kill her.

do'na-n-a'a he lies!

do'na-n-a'-n'ei you lie! *do'na* falsely, untruly, plus *n-* (reduced form of *ne-*) to say.

de'l 'e'-n-a'a here it is! *de'l* here, plus '-ei- to be

"*awac-a'ago-n-cax'o'n-gak da'gono'c'ou*" *no'-n-a'a* "hunt for young buffalo bulls", he is saying

we'bag-a'dew-a'-n'ec I shall inform him

ga'n-a'do-nec'-a'-n'ec we two will throw it away, Alligator, who is matching his strength with Coyote, suggests a test.

ha'djocogonai-la daxco'l'ok da'he'cogya-wa'doyou no'-n-a'a Coyote says that he will fight with him tomorrow

xe'djwa-la heinai-gabai'-a'a Alligator cannot be defeated, *heinai-* to defeat, *gabai* not, '- reduced form of the auxiliary '-ei- to be

ha'djocogonai-la da'ga'lwardok n-a'a Coyote says he will gamble with him *n-* reduced form of *ne-* to say.

Used according to the second scheme, the theme plus the suffix for the assertive is completed in meaning by the auxiliary '-ei-. There are only two examples of this usage in the texts.

da'e'-n-a'a 'e'noklakno'o she wanted to marry him, it is said. *da'e'-* to marry . . . plus continuative suffix *-n* plus the assertive. 'e-', auxiliary, is here used to indicate desire (cf. 38) plus the continuative *-no* and the quotative suffix *-klakno'o* (cf. 81).

yax-ab-a'a 'e'-n-o'c I have certainly not eaten (freely: I am starving). *yax-* to eat plus *-abe*, negative suffix, plus the assertive.

The third usage of *-a'a* (i. e., theme plus first person pronoun plus assertive) is illustrated by only one example.

xaxad yadje-c-a'a I'll go to see it! *yadje-* to see . . . A young boy, having been warned to keep away from a certain camp, decides to go there anyhow.

57. The Declarative-Assertive Mode.

The suffix for this mode is *-nwa'a* or *-nwa'*, depending upon phonetic circumstances. This suffix appears to be a combination of a suffix *-n*, the declarative *-we*, and the assertive *-a'a*. The paradigm is as follows.

Theme: *yagba-* to hit. strike

Sg. 1	<i>yagba-nwa'-c'</i>
2	<i>yagba-nwa'-n'ei</i>
3	<i>yagba-nwa'</i>
Du. 1	<i>yagba-nec'e-nwa'-c'</i>
2	<i>yagba-nec'e-nwa'-n'ei</i>
Du. 3	<i>yagba-nec'e-nwa'</i>
Pl. 1	<i>yagb-o'c'c-nwa'-c'</i>
2	<i>yagb-o'c'e-nwa'-n'ei</i>
3	<i>yagba-nwa'-a-nik</i>

With the continuative suffix: *yagba-no-nwa'-c'*, etc.

With the future tense suffix: *yagb-a'do-nwa'-c'*, etc.

Only in the third person plural does the full form of the suffix appear but note that the same type of contraction (*-nwa'-* from *-nwa'a*) occurs in this paradigm as in that for the assertive. Note, too, that the second person pronominal form is the same here as for the assertive. These points of similarity are the only bases for our placing this as a declarative-assertive mode. The initial *-n* element of the suffix cannot be isolated.

All except one of the following text examples have the future tense suffix.

gogon-wa'l'an 'ahen-'a'la 'e-nwa'-c' I am the chief's daughter
'e'yo'ok he'dobou'ila xe'badj-a'do-nwa' then (as you do this) the Osage will
 fall backwards
'e'yo'ok lococ'ida daidjod-a'do-nwa' then (when you have done so) all of
 them will come up

cigd'ac yaxw-gagai'adj-adxilnana'-'a'la 'ahen-wecek-de-lak da'-a'do-nwa' the
 one who cuts through to the other end (e. g., of a field of sharp grass)
 four times will marry this daughter of mine
'e'ye'n da'daidjon-a'dewa-nwa'-c' then (when you have done so) I will take
 you up
daxco'gwa hem'ac-'a'la ya'lo'n-a'do-nwa' tomorrow the mother-in-law will
 kill him
yaxac'ok necwal'an geigew'-a'do-nwa' if I eat it, I will become a fish
,o'c'eyo'ok cocgo'n-a'do-nwa'-a-nik if you do that, they will hear of it

It appears from the above examples that this mode is used oftenest in the future tense to define an action to take place at some definite point in the future. In all of the examples the time is definitely specified either by a word like "tomorrow" or by defining it in terms of an immediately preceding or concurrent action.

58. The *-gwa* Mode.

This mode is formed by the suffix *-gwa* and exists only for the third person singular. There is one isolated example in the first person which may belong to this paradigm: *ho'oxaw-e-gwa'ac* I have stolen it! The paradigm is as follows.

Theme: *nadjē-* to bite . .

Sg. 3 *nadjē-gwa*

With continuative suffix: *nadjē-no-gwa*

With future tense suffix: *nadj-a-do-gwa*

If the first person form quoted above belongs to this paradigm, the suffix may be reconstructed as *-g-w-a'a* and be related to the declarative-assertive suffix *-n-w-a'a*. But this analysis would still leave two problems unsolved: namely, what has become of the final glottal stop in the third person? (it will be remembered that the *-nwa'a* paradigm had *-nwa'* in the third person) and, what is the function of the *-e-* element in the first person form? It seems best, therefore, to consider the *-gwa* paradigm as confined to third person forms and, though surface resemblance may be to the contrary, unrelated to *-nwa'a*.

The meaning of *-gwa* forms is not easy to determine — it will appear, however, from the following examples, that it generally occurs in an exclamatory context. Thus,

'egwanczau-'a'la ha'ac heigeuda-gwa many horses are coming!

This sentence is uttered by Coyote who was sent to the top of the hill by Tiger to look for game.

gwa'lou yo'm'-a-do-no-gwa it is going to rain hard!

Rabbit, trying to escape the vengeance of Coyote, says this to distract the latter's mind.

da'he'bano'n-na'xen-ge-lak ya'lo'-no-gwa your friend has been killed

ha'ago'n-ca'gen-'a'la hedjodjxo'k heigo'o-gwa 'e'd gena geix-a-do-no-gwa
gedableu my husband has become mad, and I think he will eat me;
help me!

gedableu hedjodjxo'k-la genengoxo-gwa help me, an evil one is chasing me!

'awac-'a'la hedoxa-gwa the meat is all gone!

he'maya'l'ila no'-no-gwa it is a ghost that is talking!

yaxoyaxeidak no'-no-gwa the enemy is coming, they say!

hexal'oi-ga gendje-no-gwa many ants are biting me!

59. The Interrogative Mode.

Any of the tense forms of the declarative mode may be made interrogative by dropping the declarative *-we* and adding, after the subject pronoun, a suffix *-'*. If, however, the form is preceded by an interrogative pronoun, this final suffix is not necessary — the form is obtained by simply dropping the declarative suffix. This is the more common form of the interrogative found in the texts.

I. The Present Tense.

Theme: *yagba-* to hit, strike

Sg. 2	<i>yagba-'ga-'</i>
Du. 2	<i>yagba-nec'e-'ga-'</i>
Pl. 2	<i>yagb-o'e-'ga-'</i>

With the continuative suffix: *yagba-no-'ga-'* etc.

With the future tense suffix: *yagb-a'do-'ga-'* etc.

The glottal stop of the present can be heard clearly in slow speech: in rapid speech, however, it tends to merge with the following *-g*. Text examples: (there are, unfortunately, no text examples of the future tense of this interrogative form).

yaxa-'ga-' did you eat?

gwan-la wardedja hengward-o' ya'dj-abe-'ga-' a woman ran towards this place, you did not see her?

hedju'ed ge'bag-abe-nec'e-'ga' why didn't you tell me? (*hedju'ed* why?)

hedju'ed ma'ga-no-'ga' why are you crying?

hedju'ed daclo-nec-no-'ga' why are you two wandering about?

hedju-gak ge'yadje-no-'ga' what are you looking at? (*hedju-* what? cf. 92)

hedju-'a'y'ik ha'na-no-'ga' to what place are you going?

hededj'ed wa'dil webdje-no-'ga' just how did you shear them?

hededja 'e-no-'ga' where have you been?

II. The Past Tense.

Theme: *yagba-* to hit, strike

Sg. 2	<i>yagb-ei-no-'</i>
Du. 2	<i>yagba-nec'-'ei-no-'</i>
Pl. 2	<i>yagb-o'e'-'ei-no-'</i>

With the continuative suffix: *yagba-n-oi-no-'* etc.

With the future tense suffix: *yagb-a'do-'oi-no-'* etc.

In the singular form, the initial glottal stop of the tense suffix has been lost — in the dual and plural forms, it has merged with that of the dual and plural suffixes. Here, too, we find that the interrogative suffix is dropped when the form is preceded by an interrogative pronoun. There are only two text examples available:

hedju'axeigak hadxec-abe-n-oi-no-' have you thought of some way (to escape)?

The pronoun in this case is the indefinite; hence the final *-'* is necessary (cf. 92).

hedju-gak yaxanec-n-oi-no' what have you been eating? (i. e. on what do you subsist)

III. Other Interrogative Forms.

Theme: *yagba-* to hit, strike

Sg. 2	<i>yagba-ya-'a-'</i>
3	<i>yagba-l-'a-'</i>

Du. 2	<i>yagba-nec'e-ya-'a'</i>
3	<i>yagba-nec'e-l-'a'</i>
Pl. 2	<i>yagb-o'e'e-ya-'a'</i>

With the continuative suffix: *yagba-no-ya-'a'* etc.

With the future tense suffix:

Sg. 2	<i>yagb-a'do-ya-'a'</i> or <i>yagb-a'do-'a'</i>
3	<i>yagb-a'do-l-'a'</i>

This form is reminiscent of the assertive paradigm. It appears to have dropped the initial element of the assertive suffix preserving the final *-a*. It may be, therefore, that this initial element is the assertive suffix and that *-a* has to do with tense. There is still, however, the problem of the pronoun suffixes — quite different in this paradigm from what they were in the assertive. As before, we find it best to consider this form apart from the assertive, even though the resemblance is fairly close.

These forms are found rather frequently in the texts and here, too, the final *-'* drops off when the form is preceded by an interrogative pronoun.

hedju-lak 'e-ya-'a what do you want?

hedel 'e-ya-'a where are you?

na'gw-ededj 'a'do-ya-'a now, what will you do?

hededj-'an'ok henox ya'djed ya'lon-a'do-ya-'a but how can you see well enough to kill her?

hededj-'eda geudadan-a'do-'a how will you take us away?

hedju 'a'do-l-'a what does it matter?

Finally, the *-gwa* paradigm may also take the interrogative suffix *-'* or be preceded by an interrogative pronoun and thus be given that connotation. Examples follow.

didjgan-'a'ga ha'xeida-gwa-' did the people come?

hedju 'e-gwa what is the matter?

hedju-la weino-gwa who won?

60. The Intentive Mode.

The intentive mode may be formed in two ways, by adding the suffix *-a'ha'a*, or by means of a suffix *-a'*. The difference between these two forms of the intentive is not entirely clear. It is possible that *-a'* is simply a reduced form of *-a'ha'a*: the elements *-a-* and *-ha-*, in accordance with the processes of phonetic contraction, so often illustrated in this language, having been contracted to *-a'*, and the final *-a* having dropped off. Whatever the formal difference may be, the text forms show that no functional distinction exists.

The intentive is used only in the first person, singular, dual, and plural. It does not take either the continuative or future tense suffix. The paradigm is as follows:

Theme: *yagba-* to hit, strike

	-a'ha'a	-a'
Sg. 1	<i>yagb-a'ha'a</i>	<i>yagb-a'</i>
Du. 1	<i>yagba-nec'-a'ha'a</i>	<i>yagba-nec'-a'</i>
Pl. 1	<i>yagb-o'e'-a'ha'a</i>	<i>yagb-o'e'-a'</i>

Note, that when the intensive suffix is added directly to the theme, the form of the final theme element is obscured. The suffix for the second person object causes the *-a'-* of the suffix to become extra long (i. e., three moric), for example:

<i>yagba'ha'a</i>	I shall hit him
<i>yagba:ha a</i>	I shall hit you

Examples from the texts:

heul-a'ha'a I shall catch him
yandjidjxil-a'ha'a I shall run
'o'o'gwa ya'lo'n-a'ha'a tonight, I shall kill her
t'ca'mou ca'ya ya'lo'n-a' let her go, I shall kill her
xa'xad da'dah-a'ha'a I shall go there to get her
'o'o'gwa da'gon-o'e'-a'ha'a tonight we shall search for it
hedai'o'-he'cogyaw-a'ha'a I shall join the fight
he'i'adjew-a'ha'a I intend to watch it
'a'x-gak yagoda '-a'ha'a I shall be getting some water
'e'yo'ok yalxiln-a'ha'a then I shall run away
deyei-'alak yax-abe-u ca'ya yax-a' do not eat the liver, I intend to eat it
da'xco'l'ok da'he'cogyaw-a'ha'a tomorrow I shall fight with him
'adjxon-e'u'an ga'lwen-a'ha'a I intend to gamble in the north
yela-'c'k-'a'y'ik ge'bage-u 'e'yo'ok ya'lo'n-a' tell me where she sits, then I shall kill her
'e'ye'n ca'xwa wa'an wa'dja hedjn-a' then I, too, shall lie down right here
bae '-ab-a' I do not intend to stay long
gedai hedjneda 'e'dah-a' I intend to return in two days

61. The Imperative Mode.

The imperative is formed by adding the suffix *-u* to the vowel of the final element of the verb form. It is not differentiated as to tense and is not used with the continuative suffix. The paradigm is as follows:

<i>yagba-u</i>	hit him!
<i>ge-igaba-u</i>	hit me!
<i>yagba-nec'e-u</i>	(ye two) hit him!
<i>yagb-o'e'o-u</i>	(ye) hit him!

Note, that when the imperative suffix is added directly to the theme, the final element of the theme must be in the full form regardless of its position. Text examples:

'andjo-u wake up
we'bage-u 'awac-a'ago'n-eax'o'n-gak da'gon-o'e'o-u tell them (this) "(you) hunt for young buffalo bulls"

'e'la necexwe-c-'ok ma'dan wedjxe-u when I shout, quickly turn them loose
we'il nengox-o-c'o-u now, chase him!
ca'ya 'e'n-a-n'ec gedjn-o-c'o-u it is me, let me go
dona n-a'a heul-o-c'o-u she lies, catch her
de-lak cogo-u put this away!
hebag-abe-u do not tell him!
na'gw yaxa-u go ahead, eat!
he'e'k xe'ilaba-u stand way over there!

62. The Potential Mode.

This mode is formed by adding the suffix *-'a-* or *-'ai-* to the verb form. The suffix has the form *-'a-* in the first and second persons, *-'ai-* in the third. The potential is not differentiated as to tense and cannot be used with the continuative suffix. The paradigm is as follows:

<i>ya'dj-'a-n'ec</i>	I might see him
<i>ya'dj-'a-n'ei</i>	you ...
<i>ya'dj-'ai-l'a</i>	he ...
<i>ya'djenec'a-'a-n'ec</i>	we two ...
<i>ya'djenec'a-'a-n'ei</i>	ye two ...
<i>ya'djenec'a-'ai-l'a</i>	they two ...
<i>ya'djo'c'a-'a-n'ec</i>	we ...
<i>ya'djo'c'a-'a-n'ei</i>	ye ...
<i>ya'dja-'a-n'ec</i>	I might see you

The pronominal scheme used with this mode is unusual, appearing in this exact form in no other paradigm. Another unique feature of it is the indefinite third person pronoun that appears in the passive form of this paradigm. The passive is formed as usual — using the object pronoun as subject — except that an indefinite third person form is suffixed instead of the regular third person.

<i>geyalo'n-'ai-k'a</i>	I might be killed
<i>ya'lo'na-'ai-k'a</i>	you ...
<i>ya'lo'n-'ai-k'a</i>	he ...
<i>geuya'lo'n-'ai-k'a</i>	we ...
<i>weyalo'na-'ai-k'a</i>	ye ...

The paradigms for this mode were obtained from the informant by direct questioning: no forms of it appear in the texts.

63. The Suffix *-e'l*.

This is another of the irregular suffixes apparently defining a mode which appears only in the third person singular, dual, and plural. It may be also be used with the future tense suffix. The paradigm:

<i>ham'am-do-x-e'l</i>	let him burn up
<i>ham'am-do-xa-nec'-c'l</i>	let them two . . .
<i>ham'am-do-x-o'-c'-e'l</i>	let them . . .
<i>ham'am-do-x-a-dew-c'l</i>	let him be burned up

Text examples:

'cxadxad ganagxon-o'-o-u ham'am-do-x-a-dew-e'l take him there, throw him in, let him be burned up
we'l'ad 'eid-e'l here he comes
ma'dan 'o'-o-u yadjox'an-de-la naw-e'l come quickly, these tipis are burning
ha'djogonai-la da'e-k-la de'l xa'n-e'l there goes Coyote's wife
we'icbax xadew-e'l (do it) once more
xa'xad hebage-u ma'dan 'e'dah-a'dew-e'l gai'xoy-a'dew-e'l go tell him (to) come quickly and doctor me

From these examples, the suffix appears to characterize an exhortation or command concerning the third person. There are no other forms even remotely related and these examples are exhaustive.

(b) The Subordinating Suffixes (64—71)

64. General Remarks.

There are six subordinating suffixes all of which are attached to the theme subordinated. Three of them require the theme to be conjugated as to person and number: the others are attached to an absolute form of the theme.

65. The Suffix *-ga'ak* but, when, while, as

The verb complex to which this suffix is attached expresses the subject and object pronoun. The paradigm for the subordinated verb is as follows:

Theme: *da'yaxa-* to feed . . .

Sg.	1	<i>da'yaxa-c-ga'ak</i>
	2	<i>da'yaxa-ne-ga'ak</i>
	3	<i>da'yaxa-l-ga'ak</i>
Du.	1	<i>da'yaxa-nec'e-c-ga'ak</i>
	2	<i>da'yaxa-nec'e-ne-ga'ak</i>
	3	<i>da'yaxa-nec'e-l-ga'ak</i>
Pl.	1	<i>da'yax-o'-c'e-c-ga'ak</i>
	2	<i>da'yax-o'-c'e-ne-ga'ak</i>

There are no examples of the use of either the continuative or the future tense suffix with this suffix. Text examples follow.

yaxaneigak da'yaxa-l-ga'ak hedlo'noklakno'o much food he offered her but she refused it
xal'ongak gegbayo-l-ga'ak but I have no knives

hagoxa-nec'e-l-ga'ak 'axwa gedai'a'la da'andjenecno' when they two became tired, another two held him
hegdo-l-ga'ak damo'dak djodjomano'o while singing, shut your eyes tightly
x'e'l'e-l-ga'ak ha'ago'n-ocac-wa'l'an dja'l-'a'la hendidxo'onoklakno'o as he filed it, that young man's testicles shook, it is said.

66. The Suffix *-'ok* when, as, if

This is the second of the subordinating suffixes requiring a conjugated theme. The paradigm is as follows:

Theme: *neceawe-* to shout, scream

Sg. 1	<i>neceawe-c-'ok</i>
2	<i>neceawe-yo-'ok</i>
3	<i>neceawe-l-'ok</i>
Du. 1	<i>neceawe-nec'e-c-'ok</i>
2	<i>neceawe-nec'e-yo-'ok</i>
3	<i>neceawe-nec'e-l-'ok</i>
Pl. 1	<i>neceaw-o'c'e-c-'ok</i>
2	<i>neceaw-o'c'e-yo-'ok</i>
3	<i>neceawe-ye-l-'ok</i>

There are no examples of this suffix being used with the future tense suffix or the continuative. Examples:

e'la neceaw-c-'ok ma'dan wedjxeu when I shout, turn them loose quickly
hedidj'a'donekye hedju'axeiga nengox-ol-'ok what would you do if someone chased you?

daxcou-l-'ok xam'al'e'w'an gedadanau tomorrow take me to the prairie
yandjidjxel-ec-'ok geyadjau as I run, you watch me
necwal'ane'e'lak yaxa-c-'ok necwal'an geigewa'donwa' when I eat that fish, I'll become a fish

da'daglanc-'ok naxdjan'eda naxdjan-a'djin-'a'y'ik heilabayen hedew'an'ax
neceawe-l-'ok na'xwa neceawe-u when I take you there, build a fire and, standing near the fire, if you hear a shout from any direction, you also shout

hededja'ax ge'cyawdje-yo-'ok ya'lo'n-a'dewa-no'c wherever I see you, I will kill you

'awac-el'ad-la haidjoda-l-'ok ya'lo'nanon when that buffalo comes up, let us kill him

wedaxadxa-c-'ok yaxa-nec'e-u when we have arrived, you two may eat

When the subject of both subordinated and principal clauses is the same, the suffix *-'an'ok* may be used. Examples:

hagxon-'an'ok hedew'an'ax 'a'beda godok-djadjxok-e'e'k hagxona-u as you go in, go straight to the middle of the room

geyadjan didc-'an'ok ya'ded geyadj-a'd-o'c'e-ne-k-djo' if they want to see me, they may come to see me

wa'anbax yax-'an'ok wa'an we'y'ik hedjne-u as soon as you have eaten, lie down right there

necwal-'an'ok "gwa'lo'daka nadje-u" n-ab-a'do-ne-k-djo' when you fish, do not say "Bite, biggest one"

67. The Suffix *-gwa* when, as

Besides requiring the theme to be conjugated for person and number, this suffix causes the final vowel of the theme to lengthen. The paradigm is as follows:

Theme: *ya'dje-* to see . . .

Sg. 1	<i>ya'dje'-gwa-nec</i>
2	<i>ya'dje'-gen</i>
3	<i>ya'dje'-gwa</i>
Du. 1	<i>ya'dje-nec'e'-gwa-nec</i>
2	<i>ya'dje-nec'e'-gen</i>
3	<i>ya'dje-nec'e'-gwa</i>
Pl. 1	<i>ya'dj-o'e'-gwa-nec</i>
2	<i>ya'dj-o'e'-gen</i>
3	<i>ya'dj-e'ngwa</i> or <i>ya'dje-yayagwa</i>

With future tense suffix: *ya'dj-a'do'-gwa-nec*, etc.

The peculiarities of this conjugation are unique. First, notice the second person forms: evidently the suffix *-gwa* has combined with an unknown suffix for the second person pronoun, but it is entirely impossible to say where the division should be made. Note, also, the irregular third person plural. It is possible here that we have the full form of the suffix in *-yagwa*, the preceding *-ya-* pluralizing the pronoun. If this is so, it must be assumed that the *-ya* element of the suffix has been totally elided in all the other forms of the verb, leaving behind it only the compensatory lengthening of the vowels of the elements preceding *-gwa*. And, finally, there is a striking similarity between this paradigm — especially the third person form — and that discussed in section 57. It is possible that this has substantially the same meaning as the *-gwa* mode save that it carries a subordinating connotation as well. Text examples follow:

wa'anec hcdew'an'ax wa'na'-gwa-nec genecyaxa-u as soon as I fall to the side (stagger), feed me
wa'anec hagxona'-gen yalxibn-o' as soon as you went in, she ran away
na'e'-gwa ha'ago'n-oeac-wa'-a'la ca'x'ai-'a'xen-'a'lak da'aneklakno'o as they went off, that young man picked up his arrow, it is said
da.xac-'a'la haglana'-gwa yadjox'an-wa-'y'ik xa'xaklakno'o he arrived at that camp when the sun was going down (i. e. at sundown)
gedadana-u ha'djocogonai-de'-la djo'xno'-gwa take me away while this Coyote sleeps
'awac-wa'-ga heul-a'do'-gwa djagau-wixwan-'a'y'ik hcngway-aglana-klakno'o as they were about to catch him, he ran down to a small river
ya'dje-yayagwa t'caw'al 'einaklakno'o as they watched, he went far away
xan-do-x-a'do'-gwa hadjxod yalxibn-aklakno'o as they were about to finish drinking it, he, jumping up, ran away
'a'x-'a'y'ik xe'badj-a'do'-gwa ha'djocogonai-lak "we'il ya'djen-a'we" noklakno'o as they were about to glide down on the water, they said to Coyote, "Now you may look"

68. The Gerundial Suffix *-ʼan*.

This suffix is added to a constant theme, i. e., one not conjugated for person and number. Person and number are expressed by the principal verb for the two verbs. Text examples:

- nexʼeu-ʼaʼlak nog-ʼan ʼeiwendjaganaklaknoʼo* taking the gun, he killed them,
it is said
ʼawac-wa-ʼaʼla holgamʼadjxe-dan-ʼan hewawad xeʼdjneklaknoʼo the buffalo
went along bucking and fell dead
haʼn-ʼan meʼdnaklaknoʼo he, going off, was struck by lightning
ʼawac-gak yaʼloʼn-ʼan ʼoyuk-ʼaʼlak cigid necbedjeklaknoʼo ʼawac-ʼaʼlak killing
the buffalo he filled four sacks with meat
ʼaxwa necangwaʼn-ʼan ʼeigagaidjedanaklaknoʼo he, too, making (his horse)
run, went along chopping it (down), it is said
ʼawac-wa-ʼaʼla haʼn-ʼan didjgan heigoʼod that buffalo, going off, transformed
himself into a man
hegdo-ʼon wenecyagwanoklaknoʼo singing, she made them dance, it is said
ʼawac-ʼaʼlak naul-ʼan yaxanoklaknoʼo cooking the meat, he ate it, it is said

69. The Suffix *-lʼila* while, when, as.

With this suffix, too, person and number are expressed by the principal verb for the two verbs. This suffix may be used with the future tense suffix but not with the continuative. It serves to relate two verbs defining actions that take place simultaneously or nearly so. Generally, it appears that the action defined by the principal verb results from that of the subordinated verb — but it is clear that both actions then continue together. Thus, in the following example,

xʼaxʼaiʼanoklaknoʼo weyadje-lʼila he laughed when he looked at them

the context is as follows: a boy, seeing his uncles with shaven heads, is moved to laughter and continues to laugh as he looks at them.

Examples:

- caxʼai yagew-a-do-lʼila xalʼoʼn-gak gegbayo-l-gaʼak noʼn-oʼc* I am saying (that
I) will make arrows but have no knives
hemaya-lʼila noʼ-no-gwa it is his ghost (it is) talking
xʼaxʼaiʼanoklaknoʼo weyadje-lʼila he laughed when he looked at them
naxcogna-lʼila necwalʼan-wa-yʼik xayad hedaʼonoklaknoʼo when they go out
scouting, they go to the fish and pray
ʼaw-ei-gak yaʼloʼna-lʼila daʼyaxanoklaknoʼo whenever they killed many deer,
they ate together, it is said
heʼbanoʼnoklaknoʼo didjgan-aʼac naxdjan-lak hoʼoxaw-a-do-lʼila many people
were discussing the stealing of fire, it is said
yaʼdje-lʼila djedxanaʼdonoklaknoʼo when he sees them, he will jump, it
is said
hededj ʼeyeʼnokye djoxn-aʼdak-we-lʼila how do you behave when you are fast
asleep?

70. The Suffix *-d*.

This suffix is added to the constant theme and may be used together with the future tense suffix or the continuative. It characterizes a verb whose action immediately precedes that of the principal verb. In some cases — as in the first example below — the two actions take place together: the combination, in the example mentioned, is practically a compound verb, viz., *hedjne-d ma'ga-* “to lie weeping”. An interesting proof of the validity of such compounds is found in the following example:

ba'bna-d yaxa- to set the table to eat (*yaxa-* to eat)
ba'bna-d yax-an table; that which⁴ is set for eating

where the combination is made a noun by the noun forming suffix *-an*. That the suffix nominalizes the whole compound and not only *yaxa-* is clear because the word *yax-an* also exists but has the meaning “food”. Examples:

hedjne-d ma'ganoklakno'o he lay crying, it is said
cogona-d xadjlokklakno'o hearing it, she became angry, it is said
hewawa-d xe'djneklakno'o he fell down dead, it is said
haglana-d da'gonanoklakno'o he went down looking for him, it is said
hadjxo-d yalxilnaklakno'o jumping up, he ran away, it is said
ha'djogonai-la cogona-d xa'xaklakno'o Coyote, hearing him, came to him,
 it is said
ha'djogonai-la xadjlo-d heuloklakno'o Coyote, being angry, seized him, it
 is said
'eixandj-a'do-d hagoxaneenoklakno'o just as it was about to break, they
 got tired (and let it go), it is said
ha'nadjidjxil-xa'xa-d 'awac-wa-'alak wenengoxoklakno'o arriving at a run,
 they chased those buffaloes, it is said

71. The Suffix *-da* and.

This suffix is also added to the constant theme and may be used with future tense or continuative. Examples:

no-da hengwa'na-gwa he said and started off
necgaba-da haxeineklakno'o he shut the door and went off, it is said
ya'dje-da haidjodaklakno'o he saw it and went up, it is said
'awac-gak nogo-da wedaxaxa-da “*na'gw xadaglana-da yaxa-nec'e-u*” *no-u*
 get some meat, take them back and tell them “Now get off and eat”
hexcaca-da yalxilnaklakno'o she screamed and ran away, it is said
gwe-'alak da'ane-da han-bilna-klakno'o he took a stick and went over
 there, it is said
necayadji-da cilayo'noklakno'o they made him stay home, and they went
 hunting, it is said
necgaban-'alak da'an-xaidjona-da hel'ey-agxonaklakno'o he lifted up the
 door (of a tipi) and peeped in, it is said

(c) *Participial Suffixes (72—74)*

72. General Remarks.

There are two participial suffixes in Tonkawa, *-n* and *-k*. The former has been referred to as an infinitive suffix since it is added to the verb form not conjugated as to person and number. It is used, however, as a third person plural in the *-k* paradigms.

73. The *-n* Suffix.

Used alone, the *-n* forms can be translated in two ways — as an infinitive, and as a hortatory — according to circumstances. It is also used in the third person plural of the *-k* paradigm: this usage will be discussed in section 74. The suffix is added to the theme plus pronoun object.

The infinitive use of the *-n* form is illustrated by the following:

- hedlo'no'c yaxa-n* I don't want to eat
hedlo'no'c xana-n I don't want to drink
hedlo'no'ga yagba-n you don't want to hit him
hedlo'no'c yagba-n I don't want to hit you
hedlo'no' geigaba-n he doesn't want to hit me
babacan'e yela-n "a'x-gak xanida 'e'c" nonoklakno'o (after) sitting a while,
 "I need water", he said, it is said
hedjna-n hadjocogonai-la the Coyote lying down
we'dedja'a ya'lo'na-n yax-a'do-ne-k-djo' this is the way to kill so you will
 (have food to) eat
hebage-u 'e'da-n tell him to come
hadxilna-n yoxnaklakno'o going out, she flew away, it is said
nex'eu-'a'lak noga-n 'eiwendjaganoklakno'o taking the gun, he killed them,
 it is said

By far the most common use of the *-n* suffix is to put the verb in the hortatory mode. This form of the hortatory is only used for a definitely plural subject: the other form of the hortatory will be taken up in section 80.

- da'daglana-no-n* let's take him down
hedjodjxayo-no-n let's go to sleep
we-'y'ik 'a'be-no-n don't go over there
t'cel de'dja 'e'-no-n go up here
'awac-gak ya'lo'na-u yaxa-no-n kill buffaloes, let's eat
hadjocogonai-lak nedjoxn-abe-no-n 'o-'a-wa'dak let's not let Coyote sleep
 tonight
gwa'n-'a'lak ho'oxo-no-n let's steal his woman
haidjoda-l'ok ya'lo'na-no-n as he comes up, let's kill him
da'ane-no-n let's keep him
wa'-de-dja 'e'-no-n let's stay right here

Note, in all the above examples, that the *-n* suffix is added to the theme plus the continuative suffix *-no*.

Certain theme compounds are formed by putting the first theme of the compound into the infinitive form. The secondary themes used in these compounds have no independent existence. They are listed below.

-xwo nearly, almost

<i>yagban-xwo'e</i>	I nearly hit him
<i>yagban-xwono'e</i>	I am almost hitting him
<i>geigaban-xwono'</i>	he is almost hitting me

-bil outside, another place

This theme is attached to the infinitive form of the verb it modifies. It is never used without either the suffix *-na* off, away, or *-da* towards, hither, following. Examples:

<i>yaxan-bilno'e</i>	I go there to eat
<i>yaxan-bildo'e</i>	I come here to eat
<i>'e'eyo-dan-bilda-klakno'o</i>	she cooked it and brought it in to them, it is said
<i>nogo-dan-bilna-klakno'o</i>	she took them away, it is said

74. The *-k* Suffix.

The *-k* suffix is attached to the theme plus its pronominal elements and may also be used with the future tense suffix and the continuative. The paradigm is as follows:

Theme: *yagba-* to hit, strike

Sg. 1	<i>yagba-ce-k</i>
2	<i>yagba-ne-k</i>
3	<i>yagba- -k</i>
Du. 1	<i>yagba-nec'e-ce-k</i>
2	<i>yagba-nec'e-ne-k</i>
3	<i>yagba-nec'e- -k</i>
Pl. 1	<i>yagb-o'e'e-ce-k</i>
2	<i>yagb-o'e'e-ne-k</i>
3	<i>yagba-n</i>

With the continuative suffix: *yagba-no-co-k*, etc.

With the future tense suffix: *yagb-a'do-co-k*, etc.

Note, in the third person plural, that *-n* replaces *-k*. The *-n* so substituted is probably cognate with the infinitive *-n*; i. e., the infinitive is used idiomatically in the third person plural.

-k forms may be used alone, with noun suffixes, or as bases for the modal enclitics. The last named will be discussed in the section following. The first two usages have a variety of functions, for example:

hexal'oi ha'ac 'e'nok gcnana'djo'nogwa there are many ants biting me.
hexal'oi ants, *ha'ac* many, and *'e-*, auxiliary to be, plus *-no* con-

tinuative and the *-k* suffix seem to form the subject of the sentence which the verb "they are biting me" completes. Compare this with the following example:

yadjax'an-e'e'ek na'e-no-k xai-'an'ok we'bag-o'e'o-u go to camp; when you arrive, tell them, in which the *-k* form (*na'e-no-k*) is used simply as a verb.

These are the only two examples of *-k* forms used alone. In all the others, it has some noun case suffix attached and functions either in a subordinate sense or as a verbal noun.

xa'xa-k-la "haglan-a-d banxo-u" *noklakno'o* when he arrived (or, he having arrived), they said "Go down and take a bath", it is said. In this example, one can take a choice of interpretations — translating *xa'xa-k-la* either as "when he arrived" or as the subject of the sentence "he, having arrived, (was told 'Go down and take a bath')". The latter is probably the better; *-la*, as we shall see later (cf. 86), defines the nominative case.

"*gwa'lo'dak-la nadjje-u*" *no-co-k-la nadjje-k-la 'eigan-aidjo-no'e* "big one, bite," I told him: when he bit I dragged him up. This example illustrates the subordinating function of the *-k* form.

'e'd caz'ai-lak yalba-da t'cel-'a'y'ik yela-k-la heilaban-awa'dak heigo'oklakno'o and he set an arrow into the ground and, as he sat on top of it, it became a very tall tree, it is said

'e'gwa 'o'o-k-la hedjnenec'eklakno'o then, night having come, they two lay down, it is said

gwa'n-wa-'a'la ha'na-d t'caw'al-'a'y'ik xe'ilaba-k-la yag'eklakno'o that woman going off and standing a distance away, he shot her, it is said

'awac-'a'la yax-do-xa-k-la hadjxo-d yalzilnaklakno'o the buffalo having eaten it all, he jumped up to run away, it is said

'awac-'a'la he'nex'eyo-k-la the buffalo having lost him

The examples following are clearly cases of verbal noun forms in *-k*. Thus,

da'danaklakno'o he'cogyo-k-wa-'y'ik he brought him to where they had fought, it is said

cocgo'naklakno'o hegdo-k-wa-'a'lak he was listening to that singing, it is said

xa'xaklakno'o he'bano-k-wa-'y'ik he arrived at that council, it is said
(*he'bano-* to discuss)

madnogon dodoba-u geiwewei-k-de-lak quickly cut these bonds of mine

da'ane-da yagda-k-wa-'y'ik taking it to where they sat

'awac-da'e-k-wa-'a'lak that buffalo he married

hendoc-e-la-klakno'o hedjne-nec'e-k-wa-'y'ik they were standing about where those two lay, it is said

'egwanxau-'a'lak djane-k-wa-'y'ik xa'xad heuleklakno'o going to where he left his horse, he caught him, it is said

(d) The Noun Forming Suffix (75)

75. The Noun Forming Suffix *-an*.

A great number of verb themes may take this suffix which makes them function as nouns. Examples:

<i>heilaba-</i> <i>heilab-an</i>	to stand up, arise tree, that which stands
<i>yagwa-</i> <i>yagw-an</i>	to kick . . . , dance leg, that with which one kicks or dances
<i>ya.ra-</i> <i>ya.r-an</i>	to eat . . . food, that which is eaten
<i>naxdje-</i> <i>naxdj-an</i>	to build a fire fire
<i>gadwe-</i> <i>gadw-an</i>	to give birth to . . . female animal (not human female)
<i>na'xcogna-</i> <i>na'xcogn-an</i>	to guide, scout, reconnoiter scout, guide
<i>x'ene-</i> <i>x'en-an</i>	to sweep broom
<i>c'e.da-</i> <i>c'e.d-an</i>	to cut . . . rope
<i>hec'ago-</i> <i>hec'agw-an</i>	to shave oneself razor (cf. 3)

Many other examples could be listed — probably half the nouns of the language are formed in this way. When the verb theme has an element of the type *CVw* or *CVy* as final element, that element becomes *Co* and the noun suffix *-n*.

<i>he'cogyaw-</i> <i>he'cogyo'-n</i>	to fight, go to war war, war party
<i>na'hew-</i> <i>na'ho'-n</i>	to build a house house
<i>xal'oy-</i> <i>xal'o'-n</i>	to cut . . . knife
<i>'e'eyaw-</i> <i>'e'eyo'-n gabai</i>	to work Sunday, no work (<i>gabai no</i>)

Certain compounded verb themes in which the first theme takes a subordinating suffix may be made into nouns by adding this suffix to the second theme of the combination.

<i>naule-d yara-</i> <i>naulc-d yax-an</i>	to spread a cloth to eat tablecloth; that which one spreads in order to eat
<i>ba'bna-d yara-</i> <i>ba'bna-d yax-an</i>	to set the (table) to eat table; that on which (things) are set and eaten
<i>yago-d xana-</i> <i>yago-d xan-an</i>	to dip up water to drink dipper; that with which one dips water to drink

dayo-d bilili-d xana-
dayo-d bilili-d xan-an

to mix, roll (it) for smoking
a headache medicine composed of
sage mixed with tobacco and
smoked in a cigarette

(e) *The Modal Enclitics (76—82)*

76. General Remarks.

The modal suffixes added to the *-k* form of the theme may, in most cases, also be added to nouns, adjectives or demonstratives. The modes so formed are the declarative, interrogative, resultative, hortatory, quotative, and certain subordinated modes.

77. The Declarative *-au*, *-a'we*.

The declarative formed by adding *-au* to the *-k* form of the verb differs from the ordinary declarative in that it defines a completed action. It is ordinarily tenseless but may be used with the future tense suffix. Examples:

didjgan-galak-ga geu'eiwidja-k-au the enemy have caught us
hedju'ax 'e ye'-no-k-au something has happened to you
'egwan-wi.xwan-la hewawa-k-au a little dog has died
t'celai necgaldei 'e-k-au she has gone to the other side of the sky
'a x-ge-la hagne-k-a'we the water of the (river) has dried up
'ix 'e'-ne-k-au you did wrong
wa'dew'an 'abe-k-au it isn't on this side
na'ya da'hable-ne-k-au you have helped her

-au may also be added to verb themes and to nouns. In those cases, it defines a static notion. Examples:

hedjodjxo'-k-la geucog-au a bad one owns us (*cog-* to put away)
de'l heilab-au she is standing right here
heidicnan-au she is bashful
djagau-e'e'-k-au where the creek is
na'yak hel'a'd-au yours is over there (*hel'a'd* over there)
ca'gen gab-a'we that is not mine
we'l ad-la yadcanan-au that's the heart (*yadcanan* heart)
yadalban-gwa'lou-la hedjn-au a big loaf of bread is lying there

It appears very likely that *-au* is a form of the auxiliary *ye'-* to be, which has become specialized in usage. In support of this the paradigm for *ye'-* in the present tense of the declarative mode is appended.

Sg.	1	<i>ye'-we-'-c</i>
	2	<i>ye'-we'-ga</i>
	3	<i>ha'we</i> or <i>han</i>
Du.	1	<i>nec-ye'-we-'-c</i>
	2	<i>nec-ye'-we'- ga</i>
	3	<i>nec-a'we</i> or <i>nec-au</i>
Pl.	1	<i>wec-ye'-we-'-c</i>
	2	<i>wec-ye'-we'-ga</i>
	3	<i>ha'weyagagw</i>

This paradigm lists an *ha·we* or *hau* form in the third person singular which is the same as the modal enclitic described above in form, and is probably cognate with it. Note, also, the curious positions of the dual and plural subject elements which here come before the theme itself. This phenomenon is unique with this paradigm.

78. The Interrogatives, *-ye*, and *-ye·lgwa*.

-ye, added to the *-k* form of the verb, may be translated "have (you) done . . ."; while *-ye·lgwa* means "are (you) certain of . . .", or "do (you) assert that . . .". Both may take the interrogative suffix *-'* which is dropped when the form is preceded by an interrogative pronoun. The text forms available are nearly all preceded by interrogative pronouns. Examples:

hededj '·a·do·nek·ye hedju'ax·ei·ga nengo·xo·l'ok what will you do if someone chases you?

hededja yamga'·k·ye to what place were you called?

hededja ye'la·k·ye tadyaw·de·la where did you find these sweet potatoes?

waxec 'egwan·ye·lgwa·' are you sure it's a dog?

hededj '·a·do·ne·k·ye·lgwa will you do it?

hedju 'e·no·k·ye what is the matter with you?

de·la hedju·ye what is this?

hededj '·a·do·k·ye c'e'da·l'ok what will happen if I cut it?

xam'al·e'e·la t'caw'al·ye·' is the prairie wide?

hededj 'an'ok ya'dj·a·do·ne·k·ye ma'ga·no·ne·k·wa·'·al'ak how will you see her by that weeping of yours (how will your weeping help you to see her)?

From the above examples, we see that these forms made be added to noun, verb theme, or demonstrative, and are not confined to *-k* forms. It is clear, too, that neither *-ye* nor *-ye·lgwa* are inherently interrogative: that connotation is supplied either by the suffix *-'* or the interrogative pronoun. Besides, there is one form with *-ye* which is not interrogative in meaning: *bac gedjxwa·ne·k·ye* I have slept too long. It seems likely, therefore, that *-ye* is cognate with the auxiliary *-ye·-* and has lost its length when used in this particular situation. *ye·l·gwa*, too, is probably the auxiliary plus *-l-* third person suffix (for other examples of such a third person suffix, cf. 44) and the mode suffix *-gwa*.

79. The Resultative *-djo'*.

The suffix *-djo'*, added to the *-k* form of a verb, defines an action resulting from one preceding. It may also be used with nouns: in such cases it assumes a static connotation similar to that of *-au* and *-ye*, except that preceding action is implied. Examples.

de'dj 'a-do-ce-k-djo' (if someone were after me), I should behave in this manner
ge'waw-ab-a'do-k-djo' (now), I will not die
geyadjan-dide'-an'ok yaded geyadj-a'd-o'c'e-ne-k-djo' if they want to see me, they may come to see me
we'-didj-a'a ya'lo'na-n yax-a'do-ne-k-djo' having killed it in that manner, you will have food
cax'ai-na-xen-djo' this is your arrow (after searching for it)
ya'lo'n-o'-c xal'o'n-de-la 'o'n-bax-djo' I killed her . . . , this knife has blood on it
we'-y'ik gee'eda-l'ok . . . ge'waw-a'do-k-djo' if I am cut there . . . I will die
henox 'e-ne-k-djo' you have done well
holau.'a'la we'l'ad-djo' this (then) is the end (of the story)

-djo', we see from the above examples, is less generalized than the preceding enclitics: it is found oftener with *-k* forms. It is probable, however, that it, too, is an old auxiliary which has lost independent status and is now confined to forms such as these.

80. The Hortatory *'e'*.

This enclitic may only be added to verbs. It is never used in conjunction with the suffix for the future tense or with the continuative suffix. Examples:

dana-ce-k-'e' let's go!
daixena-ce-k-'e' let's go across!
t'celai-de-la xawan-a'do-no-gwa geda'ble-u yagex-aidjona-ce-k-'e' the sky is going to fall; help me, let's push it up!
cax'ai-de-l-ac yag'e-xamyo'-ce-k-'e' let's have a contest in shooting with arrows!
geda'ble-u ma'dan ya'lo'na-ce-k-'e' help me, let's kill him quickly
dacl'o'-ce-k-'e' let's go wandering

81. The Quotative Suffixes, *-no'o* and *-lakno'o*.

Both of these suffixes can only be added to the verb form in *-k*. The first of them, *-no'o*, means "it is being said . . ." or "one hears that . . .". Examples:

djane-ne-k-no'o it is being said that you left her
ya'lo'na-k-no'o it is said that he killed him
we'-y'ik gwa'n-la hedjodjxo'-k-la 'eiwendjaga-no-k-no'o it is said that over there (is) a bad woman (who) habitually kills people
'eigagaidj-a'do-k-no'o he says it will be cut

The suffix *-lakno'o* is used by a speaker when telling myths and indicates that the events recounted happened a long time ago. It is really a narrative form and must be added to every verb in a story except those employed in direct discourse within the story. Examples:

da'yadjox'o-no-k-lakno'o he lived with her, it is said
hebairwedan-la xa'xa-k-lakno'o a woman arrived, it is said
 "egwan bax yaxa-n-o'o-''" *no-k-lakno'o* "I eat only dogs" she said, it is
 said

For other examples of narrative forms cf. Chapter III, Text Analysis.

The *-no'o* in both suffixes is probably the third person form of the declarative past of the theme *new-* to say, tell. The *-lak* of the narrative suffix is probably cognate with the accusative suffix of the noun. Therefore, the quotative may be translated as "they have said that . . .", while the narrative form would be "they told of . . .".

82. The Subordinating Enclitics.

These are three in number: *-a'lagid* because, *-'ai* as, while, and *-ladoi* but, except. They may only be added to the verb form in *-k* and are not commonly used in the texts.

ya'dje-ce-k-a'lagid yalxiln-o' because I saw him, he ran away
yalxiln-o' yagba-ne-k-a'lagid he ran away because you hit him

hadjne-k-'ai 'adcaw-o' as he lay there, he came to life
hedjne-ce-k-'ai geigab-o' as I lay there, he hit me

t'caw'al dana-nac'e-k-ladoi yandjidj-xa'xa-k-lakno'o they went far off, but
 he ran catching up to them

hauna'dan-'a'y'ik 'e-k-ladoi ha'ago'n-ocac-wa-'a'la all came to camp ex-
 cept that young man

B. THEMES FUNCTIONING AS NOUNS, ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS (83—88)

83. General Remarks.

We have seen, in the preceding sections, how the verb dominates the Tonkawa sentence: how, by means of its theme and affixes, it expresses and modifies the action and incorporates the subject and object pronouns within its structure. However, few sentences are complete without other words; words defining the subject and object of the action, and words modifying the verb and its subject and object. These, too may be studied in two sections: the theme and its affixes. Themes of this sort are very similar to each other formally: are, indeed, no different from the verb in formal structure save in one respect — they have meaning when used apart from their affixes, whereas the verb has full meaning only when used with its formal affixes. Formally, then, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and pronominal themes are similar and, in a good many cases, one theme

can be used in any one of the four functions. The difference in function depends upon, first, the position of the theme in the sentence and, secondly, upon the affixes it may take.

Themes functioning as nouns and personal pronouns take certain definite suffixes which define their relationship to the verb. Demonstratives may also take such suffixes and are, in addition, often found inserted between the noun and its formal suffix. Themes functioning as adjectives are invariably placed between the theme they modify (a noun functioning theme) and its formal suffix. Themes functioning as adverbs take no suffixes whatever but are placed — generally — before the verb themes they modify. In a few cases, where no confusion will result, they follow the verb theme. A Tonkawa sentence is, then, composed of a number of themes, formally alike, each possessing characteristic affixes defining its function in the sentence and its relationship to other words in the sentence and each having a more or less fixed position in the sentence. For example,

'*egwan-edjodjxo'k-la ha'ago'n-gwa'lou-lak djigeu nadj-o'* The bad dog severely bit a big man

In this sentence the themes are: '*egwan* dog, *hedjodjxo'k* bad, *ha'ago'n* man, *gwa'lou* big, *djigeu* severely and *nadje-* to bite The suffixes: *-la* nominative singular indefinite, *-lak* accusative singular indefinite, and *-o'* declarative present, third person singular. Neither *hedjodjxo'k* bad, nor *gwa'lou* big nor *djigeu* severely, function exclusively as modifiers. *hedjodjxo'k-la* would mean "a bad (one)" or in the phrase *hedjodjxo'k nadj-o'* he bites him badly, would function as an adverb; *gwa'lou-la* a big (one), or *gwa'lou bandjal-o'* he opened his mouth widely; and *djigeu-la* the sharp (one), or *xal'o'n-djigeu-la* a sharp knife.

For this reason we have found it best to consider themes functioning as nouns, adjectives, and adverbs as in the same category, omitting only the pronouns (personal, possessive, and demonstrative) because they have certain specialized functions.

84. The Theme.

It will be remembered that the verb theme, though fixed and rigid in form, was in some cases analyzable into stem and stem affixes. Themes functioning as nouns, adjectives, and adverbs may also be so analyzed and, in the following lists, we have arranged these themes according to the character of their first position elements — attempting to duplicate the verb classes defined in sections 28—32. It is, of course, impossible to apply the phonetic criteria to these that were applied to the verb since these themes do

not vary their forms. In spite of this drawback, it will be interesting to note how many of these themes fall into classes resembling those of the verb.

ya- Themes.

<i>yax'aban</i>	spear	<i>yagwdocwan</i>	water-fall
<i>yagadzgobxan</i>	armpit	<i>yadjgaganan</i>	spike
<i>yagew'an</i>	entrails	<i>yadjak</i>	small, little
<i>yadjax</i>	chest		

na- Themes.

<i>nam'ek</i>	firewood	<i>nahenan</i>	flower
(cf. <i>nam'e-ne-</i> to broil . . . over hot coals')		<i>na'ac</i>	light
<i>naheigac</i>	sunflower	<i>nacac</i>	turtle

ne- Themes.

<i>negak</i>	vine	<i>nel'edjxan</i>	grapes, raisins
<i>nedxal</i>	tongue	<i>neiganak</i>	first
(cf. <i>nedle-</i> to lick . . . ?)		(compare <i>nenganak</i> below)	
<i>nex'eu</i>	bow, gun		

nen- Themes.

<i>nenxacan</i>	firewood, me- dicine	<i>nengadzan</i>	hoot-owl
(cf. <i>nenxac-</i> to ignite . . . ?)		<i>nen djoban</i>	bear
		<i>nenganak</i>	first

ha- Themes.

<i>haiwal</i>	blackjack (tree)	<i>haglanan</i>	sharp
<i>hadjib</i>	hole	<i>hawai</i>	tall
<i>hadjidj'e'n'an</i>	forehead	<i>hagaida</i>	this side
<i>hanil</i>	rat	<i>hadak</i>	very
<i>hangabou</i>	leech	<i>hayon</i>	itchy

(cf. *hangaba-* to stick to . . . , be attached to . . . ?)

ha- Themes.

<i>hadjon'ok</i>	eyebrows	<i>ha'ac</i>	many
(probably a compound of <i>hadjon-</i> ? and 'ok hair, fur)		<i>ha'naxok</i>	many
		<i>hadjin</i>	close, near

he- Themes.

<i>hega'neu</i>	skunk	<i>henenwan</i>	red paint
<i>hem'ac</i>	mother-in-law	<i>heu'ax</i>	alike, similar to
<i>hexal'oi</i>	ants	<i>hedjedjo'n</i>	back, towards the rear
<i>hemaxan</i>	chicken		thickly cluster- ed (like grapes)
<i>hendjan</i>	pond, lake	<i>hewil</i>	
<i>henbagolai</i>	owl		

<i>hec'au</i>	insignificant	<i>henox</i>	nice, good,
<i>hedjodjxo'k</i>	bad, fearsome		pretty
(cf. <i>hedjodjxo-</i> to be afraid ?)		<i>hew'adan</i>	other side

he- Themes.

<i>hecaxeu</i>	giant (a mythological character)	<i>hec'icalan</i>	turtle
		<i>he'nax</i>	easy
<i>hedobou</i>	Osage	<i>hexadok</i>	poor, poverty stricken

(cf. *dobo-* to cut . . . ?; the Osage are referred to as cut-throats in the sign language)

There is, of course, no way of proving that the initial elements of the themes listed above are of the same character as those found in the verb themes. But the number of forms classifiable in this way is surprisingly large taking into consideration the fact that this class of theme comprises much less than half the number of verb themes.

Besides the above classification it is notable that these themes may also be classified according to their final elements.

-c Themes.

<i>'abancu'c</i>	house-fly	<i>na'ac</i>	light
<i>'awac</i>	meat, buffalo	<i>ha'ac</i>	many
<i>'au'ic</i>	little	<i>yamac</i>	lips
<i>gelec</i>	spotted	<i>xe'c</i>	sand
<i>gegele'ec</i>	spotted	<i>lococ</i>	all
<i>daxac</i>	day, sun, god		

-x Themes.

<i>'a'x</i>	water	<i>glix</i>	high bank (of river)
<i>'ix</i>	bad		
<i>na'x</i>	road	<i>henox</i>	good, pretty
<i>ga'x</i>	blind	<i>camox</i>	red

-a Themes.

<i>'i'c'a</i>	minnow	<i>go'c'a</i>	old (in years)
(compare <i>'ic'ix</i> gar)		<i>go'l'a</i>	bird
<i>'o'a</i>	night		

-u Themes.

<i>'au</i>	deer	<i>gaxau</i>	black, Negro
<i>'okme'lou</i>	pig	<i>gwa'lou</i>	big
<i>bandjeu</i>	bee	<i>hec'au</i>	little, insignificant
<i>mo'lagol'ou</i>	donkey		
<i>danceu</i>	star	<i>hobdjou</i>	soft
<i>yoxanan gamleu</i>	bat		

-k Themes.

'ok	hide	<i>namek</i>	dead tree
'awa'kt'ee'k	gum	<i>godok</i>	inside, room
'egak	grandmother	<i>hadak</i>	much
'oyuk	sack	<i>ha'naxok</i>	many
'ok-ma'ik	cat	<i>he'xadok</i>	poor, property-
<i>maqik</i>	yellow	less	
<i>maetak</i>	white	<i>hedjodj.co:k</i>	fearful, frightful
<i>degek</i>	brush		

-l Themes

<i>ma'lol</i>	plum	<i>noxlul</i>	screech-owl
<i>dek'al</i>	a very hard wood	<i>gobul</i>	round
<i>nal</i>	vagina	<i>dangol</i>	back of the head
<i>ne'l</i>	penis	<i>xalal</i>	warm
<i>ned.xal</i>	tongue	<i>xe'l</i>	seed
<i>nok.xol</i>	heel		

-i Themes

'awa'hei	Pawnee	<i>gabai</i>	nothing
'acoi	belly	<i>hawai</i>	long
<i>hexal'oi</i>	ant	<i>xam'ei</i>	gray-haired
<i>makai</i>	dun (color)	<i>xagai</i>	wide
<i>dinai</i>	old	<i>xa'eei</i>	leaf

Quite a few nouns appear with the suffix *-n*. In some cases, at least, it appears that these may be nouns formed from verb themes; the verb form having fallen into disuse. In other cases, the *-n* ending must be considered on a par with the consonantal endings listed above.

-n Themes.

'ahan	daughter	<i>nando'on</i>	mountains
'e'eyon	feathers	<i>nengadzan</i>	hoot-owl
'egwan	dog	<i>nendjoban</i>	bear
'cyei'on	war shield	<i>nccyexemyon</i>	money
'o'ayon	baby	<i>galwan</i>	wagon
'on	blood	<i>gogon</i>	chief
<i>mai'an</i>	land terrapin	<i>gwan</i>	woman
<i>dan</i>	tail	<i>gwa'gwan</i>	women
<i>didjan</i>	people, person	<i>x'a'don</i>	blue
<i>t'oyan</i>	drum	<i>ha'djin</i>	near, close
<i>na'don</i>	mountain	<i>henevwan</i>	paint

A few nouns and adjectives have no apparent endings — or, rather, illustrate a miscellaneous set of endings. These are:

'exwa	buzzard	<i>naco'nti</i>	Caddo
'o'o'	owl	<i>hoxologo</i>	shell
<i>benedixga'</i>	Comanche	<i>nexwa</i>	year, winter
<i>me'm</i>	cheeks	<i>gadma'adj</i>	meadow-lark
<i>t'alaba</i>	buckskin	<i>ga'la</i>	mouth
<i>dodoyo'ob</i>	spotted	<i>gobhodj</i>	rock lizard

This is as much analysis as is possible for these themes end one can readily see that we have not succeeded in penetrating deeply into the structure. Quite obviously, however, there are not many differences between these themes and verb themes and, perhaps, if we could be more definite in our analysis of the verbs, the nouns and others would not be so unyielding to analysis.

There are only a very few themes having separate plural forms: plurality is normally taken care of by suffixation (cf. 86).

<i>na'don</i>	mountain
<i>nando'on</i>	mountains scattered here and there — a range of mountains
<i>gwa'n</i>	woman
<i>gwa'gwan</i>	women
<i>hocac</i>	young
<i>hoca'ac</i>	young (persons)
<i>henox</i>	pretty
<i>heno'ox</i>	pretty (things, persons)
<i>'o'n</i>	blood
<i>'o'on</i>	blood veins
<i>gelec</i>	spotted
<i>gegele'ec</i>	spotted (referring to several)
<i>yeiga'ai</i>	large (referring to many objects)

In most of these, one of the theme elements is reduplicated in the plural form. It will also be noted that this reduplication is accompanied by a "breaking" of the vowel of another theme element — i. e., the insertion, it seems, of an element composed of glottal stop plus vowel. This process is unique with these forms.

85. Compounded Themes.

Nouns may be compounded with adjectives, nouns, and verb themes. In all such compounds the second theme modifies the first. Examples:

noun plus adjective:

'*abancu'c-yeiga'ai* horsefly; '*abancu'c* fly, '*yeiga'ai* big (referring to many objects).

'*a'x-bix* cider; '*a'x* water, '*bix* sweet.

'*a'x-na'ac* clear water; '*a'x* water, '*na'ac* light, clear.

'*au-gwa'lou* elk; '*au* deer, '*gwa'lou* big.

'*awac-adak* buffalo; '*awac* meat, '*hadak* much; the word buffalo may also be expressed by '*awac* alone.

'*awac-ec'au* camel; '*hec'au* little, insignificant.

'*ale'n-ec'au* barley; '*ale'na* wheat.

mam'an-djigeu red peppers; '*mam'an* pepper, '*djigeu* sharp (in taste)

bandjeu-gegele'ec spotted bee (referring to a species of bee); *bandjeu* bee, *gegele'ec* spotted.
dan-gelec raccoon; *dan* tail; *gelec* spotted.
dan-maclak rabbit; *maclak* white.
necyexemyo'n-magik gold; *necyexemyo'n* money, *magik* yellow

noun plus noun.

'a'x-ga'noc whiskey; *ga'noc* Mexican (probably from the Spanish, *Mejicano*).
'au-'ok deer hide; *au* deer, *'ok* hide.
'awac-na'dan buffalo foot; *'awac* buffalo, *na'dan* foot.
danceu-daxco'n morning star; *danceu* star, *daxco'n* morning, day-break.
gala-yamac lips; *gala* mouth; *yamac* may also be used independently for lips.
gal'ok moustache; *'ok* hair, hide.
yagwan-'oyuk leggings; *yagwan* legs, *'oyuk* sack
go'l'a-'e'eyon bird feathers; *go'l'a* bird, *'e'eyon* feathers.

Some nouns and noun plus adjective compounds have the modifier *-didj* like, as, suffixed. Examples:

yelan-obdjou-didj cushioned chair; *yelan* chair, *hobjou* soft.
necwal'an-ce'nan-didj eel; *necwal'an* fish, *ce'nan* snake.
didjgan-wa'-didj Tonkawa; *didjgan* people; *wa'* - the aforementioned, the particular
xa'cei-didj cabbage; *xa'cei* leaf.
necgaicanan-didj gunny sack; *necgaicanan* yucca.

The compounds so far illustrated — with the exception of the last group — have all been composed of two independent themes. Compounds built up of noun plus verb theme differ in that the last element cannot be used alone (except, of course, with appropriate formal suffixes).

'awac-n'a'n sausage; *'awac* meat; *-n'a'n-*, a verb stem used in *n'a'n-we-* to be ground, mashed, and *ya-n'a'n-we-* to pound, mash (corn, etc.)
'egwanc-xau horse; *'egwan* dog, *-c*, an instrumental noun suffix (cf. 86), *-xau-* to move great distances (?).
maclak-daxco' frost; *maclak* white, *daxco'*, a verb theme day breaks; morning arrives.
daxac-haglanak West; *daxac* day, sun, *haglanak*, the *-k* participle of *haglana-* to go down.
daxac-haidjodak East; *haidjodak*, the *-k* participle of *haidjoda-* to come up, arise.
didjgan-yacxaw'a quail; *didjgan* people, *yacxaw'a* is evidently derived from the verb theme *yacxaw-* to frighten, scare. The suffix *-a* may be cognate with the suffix *-a* illustrated in section 84.
nebaxgan-bibil cigarette; *nebaxgan* tobacco, *bibil-* to wrap up, roll.
t'ca'w-yabete thread; *t'ca'w* cloth, fabric, *yabdje-* to sew.

Several compounds involve more than two themes. Some of these are illustrated below:

'au-dan-gaxau black-tailed deer; *'au* deer, *dan* tail, *gaxau* black.
'i'c'a-dan-camox red-tailed minnow; *'i'c'a* minnow, *camox* red.
dan-'ok-gabai oppossum; *'ok* hair, hide, *gabai* none, nothing.

dol'axan-ho'oxo'n-na'x Milky way; *dol'axan* corn, *ho'oxo'n* that which is stolen; *na'x* road.

yagwan-'oyuk-t'alaba buckskin leggings; *yagwan* leg, *'oyuk* sack, *t'alaba* buckskin.

Many noun compounds involve themes which no longer exist independently and to which the informant could give no meaning.

'a'x-yaidjan kingfisher; *'a'x* water.

'atc-'ix bad, cold weather; *'ix* bad, ugly.

ben-'atc spring (of year). Neither of the elements of this compound can be interpreted but the second part is probably cognate with the *'atc-* of *'atc'ix*.

'ok-ma'ek cat; *'ok* fur.

'ok-me'lou pig, hog.

'ok-xai'otc shell-fish.

dac-'ok pubic hair.

magik-'ogite oranges; *magik* yellow.

camox-'ogite tomatoes; *camox* red.

mo'la-gol'ou donkey; *mo'la* (from Spanish 'mula') 'mule'.

ma'lol-nedjmai a species of plum; *ma'lol* plum.

dan-coidad squirrel; *dan* tail.

dan-ca'le hawk.

yagogxon-'edjwin Mescalero Apache; *yagogxon* shoe, moccasins. This term is said to refer to the turned up toes of Apache moccasins.

yoxanan-gamleu bat; *yoxanan* wings.

86. The Formal Suffixes of the Noun.

The noun may be followed by its adjective modifier, a demonstrative (or possessive) pronoun, or an auxiliary verb theme. In the first two cases and when the noun is used alone, it must also be followed by one or more formal suffixes. These suffixes define three concepts: 1) the definite article (*'a'* for the definite, zero for the indefinite article); 2) singular and plural (*-l* for the singular, *-g* for the plural); and, 3) the relation of the noun to the verb whether nominative, accusative, dative, or instrumental. There are also certain suffixes denoting possession between two nouns and conjunction of two nouns. The suffixes align themselves as follows:

	Indefinite		Definite	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	<i>-la</i>	<i>-ga</i>	<i>'a'-la</i>	<i>'a'-ga</i>
Accusative	<i>-lak</i>	<i>-gak</i>	<i>'a'-lak</i>	<i>'a'-gak</i>
Dative				
(arriving)	—	—	<i>'a'-y'ik</i>	
(towards)	—	—	<i>'a'-w'an</i>	
Instrumental		<i>-ec</i>	<i>'a'-lac</i>	<i>'a'-gai</i>

I. The Nominative and Accusative.

These two series are the most complete, having forms for singular and plural, both definite and indefinite. The plural definite forms for both cases are, however, rather rare. Text examples:

hebaxwedon-la xa'xaklakno'o a young woman arrived, it is said
ha'djocogonai-la 'awac-gak ya'lo'n'an Coyote, killing (much) meat, ...
ha'ago'n-ocac-la cax'ai-gak 'e'eyo'-no-k-lakno'o a young man was making
 arrows, it is said
daxac-'a-la haglana'-gwa as the sun was setting
holau'a-lak ya'lo'naklakno'o the last one he killed, it is said
cax'ai-'a-xen-'a-lak da'ane-k-lakno'o he picked up his arrow, it is said
'oyuk-wa-'a-lak xadyau-'a-lak nebedje-da he filled the sack with sweet
 potatoes
co'na-gwa'guan-ga -'c'-no-k-lakno'o they were duck women, it is said
didjgamwa'dj-ga ha'ago'n-oca'ac-ga na'e'-k-lakno'o (a number of) Tonkawa
 young men were travelling, it is said
necwal'e-no-k-lakno'o 'i'c'a-gak he fished minnows, it is said
'awac-gak ya'lo'n-a'do-n-o'-c I am going to kill buffaloes
ca'ya 'e'-ce-k de-dj 'e'-n-o'o ha'ago'n-'a-ga I have done as men do
didjgan-'a-ga ha'xeida-gwa' did anyone come?
ya'lo'na-k-lakno'o he'dobou-'a-ga the Osages killed him, it is said

The definite is often interpreted as a third person possessive. Examples:

ha'ago'n-ocac-la 'egak-'a-lak da'yadjo'x'o-no-k-lakno'o a young man lived
 with his (the) grandmother, it is said
ganxaidjon-'a-l-ac heule-nec'e-k-lakno'o they two caught it by means of
 their (the) horns, it is said
x'ai-'a-lak hebage-k-lakno'o she told her mother, it is said
'egwanxau-'a-gak we'cyadjo'x'-gwa mounting their horses, ...

These noun suffixes may also be added to third person forms of the verb and, in such an event, are translated as an agentive, 'the one who does so and so'. Examples:

neiganak xa'xano'-'a-la the one arriving first (*xa'xa-n-o'* he is arriving)
'ax-wa-'a-l-cogano'-'a-la the one owning the waters (*coga-n-o'* he is
 putting it away, he owns it)
wa'dil cogano'-'a-la the one who owns that
ganoc-cogano'-'a-la yadmaxan-wa-'a-lak the Mexican who owned the
 water-melon
ya'xu-gagai'adj-adxilnana'-'a-la the one who cuts through to the other end
dodobo-k-lakno'o yaweno'-'a-lak she cut that by which he was tied
 (*yawe-n-o'* he is being tied)

Note, in the above examples, that agentive forms always require the noun suffix for the definite.

There are also a few examples of noun suffixes attached to verb themes: such constructions are generally interpreted as subordinated forms.

da'ane-da ha'na-la he took it and, going off, . . . (*ha'na-* one person goes off)
cilweno-la cogona-k-lakno'o while wandering about, he heard it, it is said
 (*cilwe-* to wander about). This could also be interpreted "he wandering
 about heard it, it is said", where "he wandering about" is the subject
 of the verb.

ha'djogonai-la hewawa-d hedjne-no-la 'adco-k-lakno'o Coyote, lying there
 dead, came to life, it is said (*hedjne-* to lie down)

'awac-maclak-la heilab-'a-la no-k-lakno'o a white buffalo stands (there)
 he said, it is said (*heilab-* to stand)

xa'xa-l'ok ga'noc-la heilab-'a-lak as he arrived, a Mexican (was) standing
 (there)

The suffix *-lak* is very often used independently or, at least, semi-independently, to set off certain word groupings. Its exact function in this connection will best be explained by a few examples. Thus, *'e'l'ok 'a-x-'a-la x'adon-dak ye-la-k-lakno'o lak wa'y'ik 'eda ha'ago-n-ocac-wa-'a-la hadjxo-k-lakno'o* which, translated literally, means: but the water very blue there was *lak* from this then that young man arose it is said. The young man was a magician and had turned himself into a patch of intensely blue water: his wife, looking for him, could not see him but saw 'this patch of very blue water from which that young man arose'. It appears, then, that *lak* makes the phrase *'a-x-'a-la x'adon-dak ye-la-k-lakno'o* "a (patch of) very blue water was lying" the object of *'e'l'ok* which, as was shown in section 38, is a particle based on the auxiliary verb: to be, to do. Therefore, a free translation is "(she did not see him) but (saw) a patch of very blue water lying there from which, then, the young man arose". *hadxilna-l'ok ha'djogonai-la heilab-e-la-k-lakno'o lak da-dagxona-k-lakno'o* when she went out Coyote was standing *lak*, she brought him in, it is said. Here again *lak* refers the phrase "Coyote was standing" to the verb "when she went out" so that, translated freely, the sentence means, "when she went out (she saw or noticed) Coyote standing (there); she brought him in, it is said".

In the examples to follow, the phrase objectified by *lak* will be put in parenthesis.

'egwa (yadjox'an-'a-la na'don-'a-y'ik wa-y'ik yadjox'an-a'naxok ye-la-k-lakno'o) lak it so happening that there was a large camp below the mountain, . . .

t'caxw-'a-lak da'an-yaidjona-l'ok (gandjeu bax ye-la-k-lakno'o) lak when she lifted up the blanket (she found) it was all worm-eaten, it is said
yada-l'ok (hedjn-e-la-k-lakno'o) lak when he came (there), (he found) him lying (there), it is said

'e'l'ok (heiqwedjan-wa-'a-la 'acoi-'a-y'ik hedjn-e-la-k-lakno'o) lak then it happened (that) that ring was lying in his stomach, it is said

ha'djogonai-la ha'na-no-k-lakno'o 'egwa (dan-maclak-gwa'lou hedjn-e-la-k-lakno'o) lak Coyote was walking along, it is said, and there (was) a large Rabbit lying down

'e'l'ok (gwa'n-wa-'a-la gab-e-la-k-lakno'o) lak but it appeared (that) that woman was not (there)

ha'djin 'e.xadxa-l-'ok (*naxdjan ye'la-k-lakno'o*) *lak* when he brought him close to (where) the fire was, . . .
'e'gwa (*'awac-adak-la hedjn-e'la-k-lakno'o*) *lak* it happened a buffalo was lying down

We note, in these examples, that, in every case, the verb of the objectified phrase (i. e., the phrase in parentheses) has compounded with is the reduced form *-e-* of the auxiliary *ye-* to be (cf. 38); and is, therefore, a static verb. The part of the expression in parentheses is this static verb and this totality is referred to the active verb preceding by the element *lak*.

II. The Dative Suffixes.

There are, as we have seen, two dative suffixes. The former one *-a-y'ik*, is most commonly used. It carries with it an "endpoint" notion; the concept of "(arriving) at, to, in (a certain point)". The other, *-a-w'an* (used mostly with verbs of going) implies a motion towards an indirect object. Examples:

t'cagau-'a-y'ik wa'na-k-lakno'o he fell into the river, it is said
yadjox'an-'a-y'ik xadxa-nec'e-k-lakno'o they two arrived at the tipi, it is said
madjxanan-'a-la ca'hal-'a-y'ik heilaba-no-k-lakno'o his sweetheart was standing at the door, it is said
ha'dj-'a-y'ik hagxona-k-lakno'o he (Turtle) went into the ground, it is said
'awac-wa-'a-lak djal-'a-y'ik nadje-k-lakno'o he bit that buffalo (in) the testicles; bit that buffalo's testicles, it is said
yadxan-'a-y'ik may'an-wa-'a-lak yal-dadamaxe-k-lakno'o he threw that turtle on a stone, smashing him, it is said
dana-nec'e-k-lakno'o yadjox'an-'a-w'an they two went towards the tipi, it is said
nando'on-'a-w'an da'da-no-k-lakno'o he started off with her to the mountains, it is said
hemama'go-dana-k-lakno'o yadjox'an-'a-w'an they went off, weeping, towards their tipis, it is said
gwa'n-la hedjne-k-'a-w'an hedjne-k-lakno'o he (made to) lie down by the side of) the woman, it is said
 (Note that *-a-w'an* is used instead of *-a-y'ik*, showing that he did not actually lie down by the woman but simply started to do so and was stopped.)
na'don-'a-lak necgaldei-'a-w'an yag-xailaba-k-lakno'o he shot (an arrow) in the ground on the other side of the mountain, it is said
 (*-a-w'an* is suffixed to the word meaning 'other side': he shot towards the other side so that the arrow would be stuck in the ground.)

III. Instrumental Suffixes.

These are distinguished for definite and indefinite (indefinite *-ec*, definite *-a-lac*) and there occurs, but rarely, a plural definite form (*-a-gai*). Examples:

yan'a'nwan-el'a'd-ac by means of this chain
ha'ago'n-la heilaba-da 'egwan'a-lak weile-no-k-lakno'o gwe'h-ec a man stood
 and threw by means of a stick at the dog (threw sticks at the dog), it is
 said
'e'kla 'egwan-wixwan-ec hexcaca-k-lakno'o then he (Coyote) yelped like a
 little dog, it is said
he'dobow-ec bidjna-k-lakno'o dagei'a-lak they cut his hair according to the
 Osage style, it is said (*he'dobou* Osage)
ganxaidjon'a-l-ac heule-nec'e-k-lakno'o they two grasped it by means of
 their horns, it is said
cax'ai'a-l-ac yag'e-d nabacxan'a-lak yag'e-k-lakno'o he, shooting with an
 arrow, shot the ball, it is said
da'andje-nec'e-k-lakno'o he'dyan'a-gai they two held him by means of his
 arms, it is said
haucecan'a-lak c'adj'a-gai 'oyugo-k-lakno'o he put the glowing coals in
 under his finger nails (carried them by means of his finger nails), it is said
yadexan-gak yadjax'a-gai henecanangaba-da he caused the stones to stick
 to him by means of his chest

IV. Other Suffixes.

Possession between two nouns is indicated by a suffix *-an* attached to the noun denoting the possessor.

hebaixwedan-ocac-wa-l'an x'a'i'a-la the young lady's mother
ha'ago'n-ocac-wa'a-l'an madjxanan'a-la the young man's sweetheart
xal'o'n-de-la gwa'n'an 'o'n-bax-djo' this knife has a woman's blood on it
ha'ago'n-ocac-wa-l'an dja'l'a-la that young man's testicles
ha'djcogonai'an da'e-k-la Coyote's wife
ha'djcogonai-la gwa'gwan-wa-l'an hexwid-lak ho'oxo-k-lakno'o Coyote stole
 a belt belonging to those women, it is said
ha'na-k-lakno'o yadjox'an-oca'ac-wa-l'an he went off to the camp of the
 young (men)
gan'oc-gogon-gwa'lou-wa-l'an 'ahan'a-lak da'e-k-lakno'o he married the
 daughter of that big Mexican chief, it is said
'awac-wa'a-lak cogano'a-l'an 'o'dja'a-la the children of him who own-
 ed that buffalo

Conjunction is expressed by means of a suffix *-en* which may either be attached directly to the nouns involved or to the noun plus nominative suffix. Examples:

heigwedjan'en heixaxal'an'en henenwan'en rings and ear-rings and red
 paint and . . .
ha'ago'n-ocac-la'en hebaixwedan-ocac-la'en a young man and a young wo-
 man and . . .
dan-maclak-wa'a-lak yaxa-no-n-lakno'o necwal'an-wa-l'en the rabbit they
 ate and the fish
yawe-k-lakno'o he'dyan'a-l'en yagwan'a-l'en they tied his arms and his legs
hanil-wa-ga 'egwan-wa-l'en 'okma'ek-wa-l'en weimaga-d those mice, call-
 ing that dog and that cat, . . .
'okma'ek-la'en 'egwan-la'en wcnecda'gona-k-lakno'o he made a cat and a dog
 look for it, it is said
'ewac'a-l'en x'a'i'a-l'en "henox 'e-ne-k-djo'" no-k-lakno'o her father and
 her mother said "you did well"

A suffix *-ida*, *-da* meaning (two, three, etc.) of them may be added to numerals and other words defining quantity or number. Themes taking this suffix require no case suffix. Examples:

cigid-ida 'e-n-o-lok there are four of them
ha'dj-ida eoeoyana-nee'e-k-lakno'o both of them swam away, it is said
ha'na.xok-ida weda'ho-k-lakno'o many of them met them, it is said
ha'noxok-ida na'e-k-lakno'o many of them went off, it is said
loeoc-ida daidjod-a-do-nwa' all of them will come up
gwa'gwan-ga cigid-ida hebnono'xo-no-k-lakno'o four women (women, four of them) were bathing, it is said
ha'ago'n-oca'ae'a-la eigid-ida da'andje-da the young men, four of them, grasped him and . . .
gedai-da da'andje-nee'e-k-lakno'o two of them had hold of him, it is said
gedai-da hagoxa-nec'e-l-ga'ak when two of them got tired . . .
go'e-a'ac-la gedai-da yadjox'an-ec-awe'lak old people, two of them, live there
hebnono'xo-no-k-lakno'o hebaxvedan-gabai-da they were bathing without dresses (dressed — none of them)

87. Themes Functioning as Modifiers.

It is only necessary here to list a number of text examples to illustrate the varying positions and functions of the themes commonly used as modifiers since, as we mentioned before, there structure is similar to that of the noun functioning themes.

'a'yai down, below, under

heilaban-'a'yai-wa-y'ik hedjne-no-k-lakno'o he was lying under that tree, it is said

na'don-'a'yai-wa-y'ik yadjox'an-a'na.xok ye'la-k-lakno'o there was a big camp at the foot of that mountain, it is said

Note, here, that the complex *yadjox'an-a'na.xok* takes no case suffix. This is because it precedes the auxiliary *ye'* to be, and, as such, is a part of the static verb "there is a big camp".

'a'yai-wa-y'ik yela-da sitting down inside, . . .

yadjox'an-'a'yai-'a-y'ik ma'ga-no-k-lakno'o someone was weeping inside that tipi, it is said

na'e-d na'don-'a-lak 'a'yai-wa-y'ik they went to the other side of the mountain

In this sentence, the theme *'a'yai* is separated from the noun *na'don* and given its own noun suffix. Literally, the sentence reads "they went the mountain (accus.) to that inside". That is, "to that inside the mountain" means idiomatically "the other side of the mountain".

ma'dan quickly

ma'dan wedjne-u turn them loose quickly

ma'dan ya'lo'na-cc-k'e' let's kill him quickly

neiganak first, ahead of

neiganak xa'xano'-a-la the first one arriving

neiganak xa'xa-d he, arriving first, . . .

neiganak-'a-w'an xe'ngwa'na-d running along ahead of him (literally, running along to the fore)

go'c'a old (in years)

gwa'n-go'c'a-wa'-a-la that old woman

xa'xa-d ya'dje-c-a' go'c'-a'-ac-wa'-y'ik I shall go to see those old (people)

ga'x blind

ha'ago'n-ga'x-la a blind man

ha'ago'n-go'c'a-didj-la ga'x-la an oldish man, a blind one

galak other

didjan-galak-ga the enemy, other people

galak-'a-y'ik hedjne-k-lakno'o he lay down on the other (side)

galak-'a-y'ik yela-k-laknoo he sat down on the other (side)

gabai no, not

hengwa-cilwa-n 'a'x-gabai-e'e-k running around (he came) to no water (i. e., dry land)

ha'ago'n-ocac-gocam-gabai-la a crazy young man

(Note the number of modifiers between the noun *ha'ago'n* and the formal suffix *-la*: *hocac* young, *gocam* senses, brains, and *gabai* none.)

gabai 'e'-no-k-lakno'o he did not come, it is said

hadjocogonai-la 'andjo'-k-lakno'o 'e'd gabai-lak Coyote awoke and (found) him gone, it is said

gwa'lou big, large

dan-mactak-gwa'lou-la a big rabbit

gwa'lou heigo'o-gwa as he became big, grew up

gwa'lo-dak bandjale-k-lakno'o he opened his mouth very wide, it is said

gwa'lo-dak naxdje-da he built a very big fire, and . . .

(*gwa'lo-dak* is compounded of the theme *gwa'lou* big, and *hadak* very: the initial element of the final theme has been absorbed to the final element of the preceding theme, cf. 8).

ha'djin close, near

heilaban-a'djin-'a-y'ik heilaba-da he stood close to the tree and . . .

yadjox'an-a'djin-'a-y'ik xa'xa-da he came close to the camp and . . .

ha'djin 'e'xadxa-l'ok when he brought him close, . . .

ha'djin-'a-y'ik hengwai-xa'xa-k-lakno'o he ran arriving close (to it) it is said

hadak very

This is generally used to intensify the meaning of a particular modifier. It has the forms: *hadak*, *ha'dak* (rhetorical length), and *-dak*. Thus,

heilaban-awa-dak a very tall tree (*hawai* tall)

go'la-dak eagle, big bird (*go'la* a bird)

'awac-ayon-dak-la a buffalo itching badly (*hayon* itching. Note here that the final consonant of the modifier *hayon* is lengthened compensatively for the loss of the initial element *ha-* of *hadak*.)

x'adon-dak intensely green, intensely blue

hawa-dak nexale-k-lakno'o he bellowed very loudly, it is said (*hawai* loud; compare with *hawai* tall)

ha'djin-dak nagwo-k-lakno'o they came very close to it, it is said

'awac-adak buffalo (much meat)

gwa'n-enox-a-dak a very pretty woman

henox pretty, good

gwa'n-enox-a-dak a very pretty woman

gwa'gwan-eno'ox pretty women

cax'ay-e-gak henox yagna-n-o' I shoot these arrows well

hededj-'an'ok henox ya'dje-d ya'lo'n-a-do-ya'a how can you see well enough to kill her?

yeiga'ai big (referring to several)

ha'djegonai-yeiga'ai-camox-ga the red wolves (the big red coyotes)

yeiga'oi-'a-lak we'bage-k-lakno'o he informed their parents; i. e., their big ones

camox red

Note the use of *camox* as an adjective in the first of the examples illustrating *yeiga'ai*.

camox-a-dak heyadje-no-k-lakno'o it (a furnace) was looking very red (hot), it is said

camox-a-dak neegal-o'c'o-u heat it red (hot)

djigeu fast, hard

This is really an intensifier as may be seen from the examples below. It means "fast", when modifying "to race"; "badly" when modifying "to be sick", etc.

go'la-djigeu-yandjidjxe'xel road runner (bird who runs fast)

djigeu yandjidjxil-n-o'o' I have been a fast runner, have been running fast

djigwo-dak weglaxe-no-k-lakno'o he threw them off hard, it is said

djigeu 'adje-k-lakno'o he is badly sick, it is said

dja'djxok middle, center

yadjox'an-dja'djxok-'a-y'ik yadjox'an-awai-'a-y'ik gwa'lou-'a-y'ik xa'xa-d he, arriving at a big tall tipi in the center of the camp, . . .

Note the number of modifiers and the way in which they are placed.

Literally, this sentence may be translated: camp-center-to tipi-tall-to big-one-to he, arriving. The following sentence, expressing the same modifications, does it quite differently:

yadjox'an-dja'djxok-e'e-k yadjox'an-awai-gwa'low-e'e-k we-y'ik gcimag-o'o' (literally) camp-center-to-that tipi-tall-big-to-that to-that-place they-have-called-me.

It is clear, then, that there is considerable freedom in the arrangement of nouns and modifiers.

ha'djogonai-la dja'djxok-'a-y'ik co'yan-'an Coyote, swimming to the center (of the river), . . .

88. The Numerals and Numeral Adverbs.

I. Cardinals:

1. *we'ic-bax*
2. *gedai*
3. *med'ic*
4. *cigid*
5. *gacgwa*
6. *cikwa'lau* (*cig-* plus *gwa'lau* (?))
7. *cikye'ecdau*
8. *cigidye'ec*
9. *cik-we'ic-xw'e'l'a*
10. *cik-bax*
20. *cikbax'a'la gedai*
100. *ce'ndo we'icbax*
1000. *ce'ndo'a'la cikbax*

The word for the number "one" is simply *we'ic*; *-bax* is an adverb meaning "only, just". For ten the word is simply *cik*. All the numbers except two, three, and five, are, then, based on the theme *cik*. The word for six seems to be *cik* plus *gwa'lau*; the latter resembling the adjective *gwa'lou* big, large. Nine is formed by compounding *cik* plus *we'ic* one, and *xw'e'l'a*, which resembles the theme *xw'e'l-* to miss (a mark in shooting). In the word for seven, the suffix is unknown; the word for eight is *cigid* four, plus an unknown suffix. The theme *cik* corresponds to nothing else in the language.

The teens are formed as follows:

cikbax-'en med'ic-'en thirteen

The suffix *-'en* is the conjunctive suffix for nouns which has been discussed in section 86. The word thus reads "ten and three" = "thirteen". Twenty is formed by saying two tens; thirty by three tens, etc. The word for one hundred is borrowed from the Mexican *ciento*.

II. Ordinals.

<i>neiganak</i>	first
<i>yaxgocan</i>	second
<i>medcai</i>	third
<i>cikdai</i>	fourth
<i>holau</i>	last

neiganak, *yaɣgocan*, and *holau* do not fit into the series. The second is also used to mean "the next one". The words for third and fourth are, however, regular, and seem to be formed from the cardinals by adding a suffix *-ai*.

III. The Numeral Adverbs.

These are formed from the cardinals by adding a suffix *-'ic*.

<i>we'ic-'ic bax</i>	only once
<i>gedaya-'ac</i>	twice
<i>mede-'ac</i>	three times
<i>cigd-'ac</i>	four times
<i>gucgw-'ac</i>	five times

Note here that the adverb forming suffix *-'ic* is placed between *we'ic* and *bax* of the word for "one".

C. THE PRONOUN (89—92)

89. General Remarks.

We have already discussed (cf. 40—46) the pronominal affixes of the verb. Here we shall treat the independent personal pronouns, the possessive pronouns (which are independently expressed), the interrogative pronouns, and the demonstratives. All of these entities are treated as noun themes and take the regular noun suffixes.

90. The Personal and Possessive Pronouns.

The independent personal pronoun is used only for emphasis — normally the pronominal affixes of the verb are sufficient. Possessive forms, however, are normally expressed independently and occur after the noun possessed — between it and its formal suffixes. The pronominal scheme is as follows:

	<i>Nominative</i>	<i>Accusative</i>	<i>Possessive</i>
Sg. 1	<i>ca'-ya</i>	<i>ca'-cik</i>	<i>ca'-gen</i>
2	<i>na'-ya</i>	<i>na'-yak</i>	<i>na'-xen</i>
3	<i>'a-ye'-la</i>	<i>'a-ye'-lak</i>	<i>'a'-xen</i>
Du. 1	<i>geu-ca'-ya</i>	<i>geu-ca'-cik</i>	—
2	<i>we-na'-ya</i>	<i>we-na'-yak</i>	—
3	<i>'a-we'-la</i>	<i>'a-we'-lak</i>	—
Pl. 1	<i>geu-ca'-ga</i>	<i>geu-ca'-gak</i>	<i>geu-ca'-gen</i>
2	<i>we-na'-ga</i>	<i>we-na'-gak</i>	<i>na-we-ne-xen</i>
3	<i>'a-we'-ga</i>	<i>'a-we'-gak</i>	<i>'a-u-xen</i>

There are, then, only three personal pronouns, *ca'*-, *na'*-, and *'a*-. The others are made up by adding certain elements to these forms

and, as may be seen in the above table, in a rather irregular manner. *-ya* is evidently a personal suffix for the singular and dual — note, however, that it is replaced by *-ci-* in the first person of the accusative and by *-la* in both the third person forms. The whole third person is, however, irregular and the forms listed above are rarely used. Note, also, the various ways in which duality and plurality are expressed — in the first person dual by prefixing *geu-* which is a verb prefix meaning “us”; in the second person dual by prefixing *we-*, the pronominal prefix of plurality; and in the third person by suffixing *-we*. The plurals are similarly modified and, in addition, take the plural case suffixes of the noun. Note, in the plural, that the first person of the accusative becomes regular. The possessive paradigm is no less irregular and I have no explanation for its complexities.

Examples:

cax'ai-na-xen-djo' this is your arrow
ca'gen gab-a-we that is not mine
cax'ai-'a-xen-'a-lak da'ane-k-lakno'o he picked up his arrow, it is said
'egwanxau-ca'gen nenxale-c I found my horse
deyei-'a-lak yaxabe-u ca'ya yax-a' do not eat the liver, I intend to eat it
'ix 'e-ne-k-a-we na'ya yaxa-u you have done wrong, you eat (alone)
na'ya lococ hadxece-n-o'oi-no you have learned everything
ca'cik ga'yoxo-u ride me
na'ya yela'eu you stay here
ca'ya ya'lo'n-a' I shall kill her
ca'cik na'a gedjxwane-l'ila . . . me, when I'm asleep, . . .
na'yak ge'xdawa-k-la I, taking pity on you, . . .
da'hebanon-na-xen-ge-la ya'lo'na-gwa your friend has been killed
“de-lak” no-k-lakno'o yagwan-'a-xen-'a-lak “this” he said (indicating)
 his leg
ha'ago'n-ca'gen-'a-la hedjodjxo'k heigo'o-gwa my husband has become wicked
gwa'n-na-xen-la yanga'-n-o' your wife is calling you
ge'ge-u heqdo'n-na-xen-de-lak give me this song of yours

The personal pronouns appear also in two other connections: with a suffix *-xwa* also, too, and *-djoc* by oneself.

Sg. 1	<i>ca'-xwa</i>	<i>ca'-djoc</i>
2	<i>na'-xwa</i>	<i>na'-djoc</i>
3	<i>'a'-xwa</i>	<i>'a'-djoc</i>
Pl. 1	<i>geu-ca'-xwa</i>	<i>geu-ca'-djoc</i>
2	<i>we-na'-xwa</i>	<i>we-na'-djoc</i>
3	<i>'a-wa-xwa</i>	<i>'a-wa-djoc</i>

Examples:

dja'ne-n 'a'djoc hehew-a-do-nwa' let him recover by himself
'a'djoc-a-nan automobile (that which goes off by itself: *ha'na-* one person goes off)
'a-xwa gedai-'a-la da'andje-nec'e-k-lakno'o two others also grasped him, it is said

'a'xwa necengwa'n-'an he, too, making (his horse) run, . . .

na'xwa necexwe-u you shout also

'a'xwa necexwe-k-lakno o he also shouted, it is said

na'xwa de'-lak naule-d yaxa-u you cook and eat this one also

'e'ye'n ca'xwa wa'an wa'dja hedjn-a' then I also shall sleep right here

ca'xwa heilaban-'a yai-de'dja 'a'ha'a I, too, shall be under this tree

91. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs.

There are four demonstrative themes, each distinguishing a definite position with reference to the speaker. Thus, *wa'-* refers to persons, places, and things which have been mentioned before: the . . . aforementioned; *de'-* to persons, places, and things in the immediate neighborhood; *he'e-* or *he'-* to persons, places, and things a distance away; and, *we'-* to persons, places, and things a greater distance away. All vary their meanings according to whether they are used alone (with appropriate case suffixes) or whether they employ certain suffixes denoting place, direction or manner. There is, then, the following configuration of forms.

Theme	Place: <i>-dja</i>	Direction: <i>-l</i>	Manner: <i>-dj, -didj</i>
<i>wa'-</i>	<i>wa'-dja</i>	—	—
<i>de'-</i>	<i>de'-dja</i>	<i>de'-l</i>	<i>de'-dj</i>
<i>he'e-</i>	<i>he'e-dja</i>	<i>he'e'-l</i>	<i>he'-dj</i>
<i>we'-</i>	—	<i>we'-il</i>	<i>we'-dj, we'-didj</i>

Thus *wa'dja* this particular spot aforementioned, *de'dja* this place, and *he'edja* that place (*we'-* is not used with this suffix). *wa'-* cannot be used with the direction suffix nor with the manner suffix. *de'-l* here, in this direction, *he'e-l* over there, that way, and *we'il* far away, way off in that direction. The last form is irregular: I have no explanation of its structure. *de'dj* in this manner, *he'dj* in that manner, and, *we'dj, we'didj* in that manner.

All of the themes, when used alone, are employed with certain noun suffixes of case. The place, direction, and manner forms may also be used with case suffixes: more often, however, they have adverbial function and, as such, require no case suffixes. The following table gives only the case forms for the four themes:

	Nominative	Accusative	Dative (to)	Dative (towards)
Sg. <i>wa'-</i>	<i>wa'-'a'la</i>	<i>wa'-'a'lak</i>	<i>wa'-y'ik</i>	<i>wa'-w'an</i>
Pl.	<i>wa'-ga</i>	<i>wa'-gak</i>	—	—
Sg. <i>de'-</i>	<i>de'-la</i>	<i>de'-lak</i>	—	<i>de'-w'an</i>
Pl.	<i>de'-ga</i>	<i>de'-gak</i>	—	—
Sg. <i>he'e-</i>	<i>he'e-la</i>	<i>he'e'-lak</i>	<i>he'e'-k</i>	<i>he'e'-w'an</i> or <i>he'-w'an</i>
Pl.	<i>he'-ga</i>	<i>he'-gak</i>	—	—
Sg. <i>we'-</i>	—	—	<i>we'-y'ik</i>	<i>we'-w'an</i>

Examples: *wa-*

ha'ago'n-ocac-wa-'a'lak that young man aforementioned
gogon-wa-'a'la the aforementioned chief
gwa'gwan-wa'-ga those women aforementioned
ha'ago'n-ocac-wa'-ga those young men aforementioned
nex'eu-wa'-gak those bows aforementioned
ha'djogonai-wa'-gak 'eiweidje-da he caught those aforementioned wolves
 and . . .

Many examples illustrating this demonstrative may be found in Chapter III of this paper. It will be seen that when a person or thing is mentioned for the first time in the text it will not have this demonstrative but, as soon as it is mentioned again, it must employ *wa-* so that the listener will know the thing one is speaking of is one mentioned before. Necessarily, of course, this demonstrative is always found with the definite article since it refers to a specific person or thing. In the plural forms, however, the element denoting the definite article seems to have been totally elided.

'awac-wa'-wan ha'na-k-lakno'o he went off towards that buffalo aforementioned
na'don-'a'yai-wa'-y'ik yadjox'an-a'naxok ye'la-k-lakno'o below that mountain aforementioned there was a large camp, it is said
yadjox'an-a'naxok-wa'-y'ik xadxa-nec'e-k-lakno'o they two arrived at that big camp aforementioned, it is said
t'ca'bxan-wa'-y'ik hedjne-k-lakno'o he lay down on that bed aforementioned
da'xadxa-k-lakno'o 'awac-wa'-y'ik she arrived with him at the buffalo aforementioned, it is said
heilaban-'a'yai-wa'-y'ik hedjne-no-k-lakno'o he was lying down under that tree aforementioned, it is said
wa'an wa'-dja heilaba-u stand exactly in this place aforementioned
wa'an wa'-dja hedjn-a' I intend to lie down right here

Examples: *de-*

'ahan-we-ce-k-de'-lak da'-a'do-nwa' he will marry this daughter of mine
gedadana-u ha'djogonai-de'-la djoxno'-gwa take me away when this Coyote goes to sleep
lobau-xa'meno'-'a'lecla da'-e-k gwa'n-de'-lak the one who wins the diving contest is (considered) married to this woman
hededj-e'la-k-ye xadyau-de'-la where did you get this sweet potato?
de'-lak cogo-u put this away
de'-la doxuno'-n-o' this (thing) smells
de'-la hedju'-ye what is this?
de'-w'an hedjne-u lie on this side
de'-w'an dan-a'do'-nec-n-o'-c we two are going this way
de'-w'an yoxan-aglana-k-lakno'o he flew down in this direction, it is said
de'-dj 'a'do-ce-k-djo' I would behave in this manner
de'-dj 'e'-n-o'-o'-' I have usually done this
hedjedjo'n de'-dj 'ey-agxona-k-lakno'o he (pulled) it back in (literally: he did it in this rearwards manner)
de'-dj heigo'o-k-lakno'o xagai in this way he made it wide, it is said
de'-l 'e'-n-a'a here he is
de'-l heilab-a'we she is standing here

Examples: *he'e-*, *he'*-

genecyagna-u 'awoc-e'e-lak put that meat in my mouth

xam'al-e'e-la t'caw'al-ye' is that prairie wide?

nek'am'an-e'e-lak yadjel-aglana-u throw those bones in

he'e-k go'c'a'ac-wa-y'ik xa'x-o'-c I arrived over there at those old ones
aforementioned

he'e-k gili-x-bax-e'e-k ha'djin-e'e-k han-bilna-u go over there close to that
high bank

Note the number of times the demonstrative is repeated: literally,
"to-over-there to-that-high-bank close-to-that go-to-that-place".

he'e-k xe'ilaba-u stand over there

t'celai-ca'xal-e'e-k necgaldei-'a'y'ik-a-we she is on the other side of that
entrance to the sky

he'e-w'an yadjox'an-a-naxok-e'e-k gwa'n-lak geneeda'e-d ge'imag-o'o they
called me over there to that large camp to marry a woman

he'-w'an gwa'n-edjodjox-k-wa-'a-lak ya'lo'n-o'-c I killed that bad woman
aforementioned over there

he'-w'an ha'djogonai-ye'iga'ai-'ok-e-ga camox 'e-n-o'o there are many big
wolves with red fur over there

daxac-aidjodak-e-w'an yclna-da he sat towards the east

yandan-awai-e-w'an yclna-da he sat towards the south

daxco-l'ok xam'al-e-w'an gedadana-u tomorrow, take me to that prairie

ha'ago'n-ocac-didjganwa'dj-e-ga hadxecan-bax 'e-n-o'a those Tonkawa young
men know everything

didjganwa'dj-e-ga na'xeogna-l'ila when those Tonkawa go scouting, . . .

didjgan-galak-e-gak ha'ac ya'lo'na-da he killed many of those enemies
'egwanxau-e-gak ha'ac wedanxono-n-lakno'o they captured many of those
horses, it is said

ea'ay-e-gak henox yagna-n-o' he customarily shoots those arrows well

didjgan-e-ga ha'xeida-d nahawa-l'ok hebag-abe-u if those people come to
ask you about it, don't tell them

t'cel-e-dja wa'n-aidjona-k-lakno'o he is pitched into the air, it is said

he'e-dja yadalban-gwa'low-la hedjn-a-we over there, a big loaf of bread is lying

heilaban-e'e-dja yadxalga'-c I'll hang you on that tree

he'e-l na'don-e'e-lak gandjadjay-abe-u don't meddle with that mountain
over there (in that direction)

he'e-l na'don-e'e-k haidjon-abe-u do not go up that mountain over there

Examples: *we'*-

we'-y'ik ge'imag-o'o they called me over there

we'-y'ik n-o'o ca'xwa they said I, too, (was to go) over there

we'-y'ik da'daxgex-o' he has taken him over there

we'-y'ik gcc'eda-l'ok if you cut me there, . . .

we'-y'ik 'abenon let's not go over there

we'-w'an djagau-e'e-k-a-we they are over there by that river

we'didj-a'a ya'lo'n-an killing by that method, . . .

we'didj 'abou do not do it that way

we'didj-a-we it is that sort of thing

we'didj-lak yabacxa-d yadca-k-lakno'o running in that way, he stabbed it,
it is said

we'dj n-o'o like that, he said it

ea'xwa we'dj n-o'o they said the same sort of thing to me too

we'il hawaunc-du xa'na-k-lakno'o carrying it, he went far off, it is said

djagau-we'il that river far away

The theme *wa-* may be compounded with *de-* producing the following two forms: *wa-de-w'an* towards this . . . aforementioned, and *wa-de-dja* this place aforementioned.

wa-de-w'an 'a-be-k-a-we it isn't on this side aforementioned

wa-de-dja ge'cdoxwono-n-o' I smell it right here

wa-de-dja 'e-no-n let's stay right here

na'ya yela'e-u wa-de-dja you stay right here

Other compounds of this sort are probably possible: there are, however, no examples other than those above.

Finally, there are a number of demonstratives not fitting into the pattern given above. The most important of these is *ge-* which seems to have a connotation of possession. Thus,

'a-x-ge-la hagne-k-a-we the water of (the river) has dried up *'a-x* water, *hagne-* to dry up, *-a-we* modal enclitic, cf. 77.

gwa'n-ge-la 'ok-'a-la ha'ac hawe'lagw that woman of his has lots of hair. In this example there is no possessive pronoun attached to *gwa'n* woman but because of *ge-* the translation is correct.

gwa'n-wenxene-ge-la naxadiganw-o' our woman is married. Here both possessive pronoun *wenxene-* (cf. 90) and *ge-* are used but note that the suffix *-xen* of the possessive pronoun is not employed.

da'he'banon-na'xen-ge-la ya'lo'na-gwa your friend has been killed. In this example, the complete form of the possessive pronoun and *ge-* both are used.

'en gwa'n-ge-la and my woman?

gwa'n-la wa'dedja haglada-k-ge-lak ya'dj-abe-ga-' you did not see my woman who ran down to this place? (literally; a-woman this-place my-she-ran-down you-did-not-see. ?)

The other demonstratives are:

<i>hel'a'd</i>	that one, that one over there
<i>hega'd-gak</i>	those
<i>we'l'ad</i>	that one (near); it; that
<i>wa'da'ac</i>	this particular time

Examples:

na'yak hel'a'd-djo' you (go) over there

na'yak hel'a'd-a-we yours is over there

'awac-el'a'd-la that buffalo over there

wa'anec xa'-hel'a'd-la as soon as that grease . . .

hel'a'd hedai'o'-ga'lwe-n-o' he is gambling with them over there

yan'anwan-el'a'd-ac necgwid-weidjo-u tie them up with that chain over there

hebaixwedan-el'a'd-lak yamg-o'c'o-u call that woman over there

yadjox'an-ega'd-gak damou neccegaba-u close those tipis tightly

we'l'ad-lak de'dj 'e-n-o'o'-' I have been doing this way with it

we'l'ad gwa'lo'dak-ga nadje-u here, biggest one, bite!

we'l'ad-la yadcanan-a-we that is the heart

yadjox'an-'a-la we'l'ad heyadje-no-k-lakno'o a tipi became visible there, it is said

naxdjan-wa-y'ik we'l'ad hadxilna-k-lakno'o that one came out to the fire, it
is said
we'l'ad 'eide'l here he comes

wa'da'ac daxeo-l'ok de-w'an ha'nabe-u today (on this very day) do not go
in this direction
daxac-wa'da'ac na'e-y-a-dew-o-c-n-o'-c this very day we are going away
ya'lo'n-a-dewa-nec wa'da'ac I will surely kill you this time

92. The Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.

All the interrogative pronouns are characterized by an initial element *he-* and it is apparent that most of them have been formed by prefixing *he-* to a demonstrative theme. For example:

<i>de'l</i>	here
<i>he-del</i>	where?
<i>de-w'an</i>	in this direction
<i>he-dew'an</i>	which way; in what direction?
<i>de'dj</i>	in this manner
<i>he-dedj</i>	how, in what way?
<i>de'dja</i>	this place
<i>he-dedja</i>	where, in what place?

There are only three themes, *hedju* what?, *hedju'ed* why, for what reason? (*hedju-* what? plus *'ed?*), and *hedwan* how many?, which cannot be analyzed in this way.

hedel where is he?

hedew'an 'e-gwa which way did she go?

hededj 'eye-no-k-ye djoxn-a'dak-we-l'ila how do you act when you are
sound asleep?

hededj 'a-do-ne-k-ye'lgwa how will you do it?

hededj 'a-do-k-ye c'e'da-l'ok how will you act if I cut it?

hededj-'an'ok ya'dj-a-do-ne-k-ye ma'ga-no-ne-k-wa-'al'ak how will you see
her by that weeping of yours?

na'gw hededj 'a-doya'a now, what will you do?

hededj 'e'da geudadan-a'do'a how can you take us home?

hededj 'a-do-ne-k-ye hedju'ax-ei-ga nengoxo-l'ok how will you act if some-
one chases you?

hededja yamga-k-ye to what place did they call you?

hededja 'e-no-ga where have you been?

hedju-gak yaxa-nec-n-oi-no what have you two been eating?

hedju 'e-no-ga what are you doing?

de'la hedju-ye what is this?

hedju 'e-gwa what is the matter?

hedju 'e-ga what have you done?

hedju-la weino-gwa who (what person) won?

hedju-gak geyadje-no-ga what are you looking at?

hedju-'a'y'ik ha'na-no-ga where are you going (to what place are you
going?)

Note that *hedju'* functions as a pronoun or an adverb. As a pronoun, it may take any of the case suffixes of the noun. The others, we have seen, function most often as adverbs. There are no examples illustrating the use of *hedwan* how many?.

The indefinite pronouns are formed from the interrogatives by suffixing an element *-'ax*. Thus,

<i>hedju'</i>	what?
<i>hedju-'ax</i>	anything, anyone, something
<i>hedwan</i>	how many?
<i>hedwan-'ax</i>	several
<i>hededj</i>	how, in what way?
<i>hededj-'ax</i>	some way
<i>hededja</i>	where, in what place?
<i>hededja-'ax</i>	somewhere
<i>hedew'an</i>	which way?
<i>hedew'an-'ax</i>	some way, in any direction

Examples:

hedju-'ax-'a'gak ya'lo'n-abe-no-n-lakno'o they didn't kill anything, it is said
hedju-'ax ge'ey-abe-n-o' nothing is wrong with me; something is not wrong
 with me

hedju-'ax 'eye-no-k-a'we something is wrong with you

hedju-'ax-ei-gak had.xec-abe-noi-no' don't you know something?

hedwan'ax hedjne-gwa da'e-k-lakno'o after a few days had passed, he
 married her, it is said

hedwan'ax hedjne-no-n-lakno'o they slept several times, it is said (i. e.
 several days passed)

hedwan'ax hedjne-dana-no-n-lakno'o they camped out several days, it is said

hededj'ax 'e-gwa if there is some way, . . .

hededja'ax ge'cyadje-yo'ok ya'lo'n-a'dewa-nec wherever I see you (if I see
 you somewhere), I'll kill you

wa'anec hedew'an'ax wa'na-gwa-nec if I fall in any direction (if I stagger
 about), . . .

hedew'an'ax 'a'beba godok-djadjxok-e'e'k hagxona-u go straight into the
 center of the room

The last example translated literally: "in-any-way not-going to-that-center-of-room you-go-in". The combination "not go in any direction" is idiomatic Tonkawa for "go straight".

D. Kinship Terminology (93—95)

93. General Remarks.

The kinship terms listed in the following section were obtained by Dr. Alexander Lesser of Columbia University from Coachina Rush, the oldest living Tonkawa. They are presented here with his permission. I have duplicated many of the forms with my informant but, due to his ignorance of the system, my information is incomplete.

Since my orthography differs somewhat from that of Dr. Lesser, I have inserted my transcriptions in parentheses after his whenever I have duplicate forms.

94. The Kinship Terminology.

(These terms and uses were obtained in 1929 from Coachina Rush, reputed to be the most informed Tonkawa then alive, in the course of an afternoon's work and part of another, without the assistance of interpreters. As a result it was impossible to avoid inconsistencies and errors due to misunderstandings. The terms were sent to Dr. Hoijer in the hope that he would have an opportunity to complete and correct this record. Without such completion, it has proved impossible to overcome the inconsistencies of some usages given by Coachina Rush, so that the Tonkawa "system" can not be said to be controlled. As it now appears that this list may prove our final word on kinship usages of the Tonkawa, I have recompiled my notes so that in the following the usages given by Coachina Rush, inconsistent as a number of them are, are preserved as recorded. — A. Lesser).

Consanguinities

Own Generation:

Siblings:

- hi'na* (*he-na'*); *hine'ⁱ* voc., brother, m. s. (man speaking)
ya'na (*ya-na'*); *yani'* voc., sister, w. s. (woman speaking)
o'la (*'o-l'a'*); *ole'ⁱ* voc., sibling of opposite sex.

Relative age is expressed by the addition of "small" and "large":

- hi'na wi'xwan* (*he-na' wixwan*) younger brother
hi'na kwa'lo (*he-na' gwa-lou*) older brother,

and similarly for "sister", and "sibling of opposite sex".

Also given:

- i'xi'nai* brother.

Sibling terms are used for parallel cousins.

Sibling terms are used between relatives four generations removed (great-grandparent: great-grandchild generation). Thus parents of ego's *ka'ka*, *ka'sa*, or *kata'* are siblings; and children of ego's *ka'ka*, *ka'sa*, *kata'*, or *tca'xwa* are siblings.

Cross-Cousins:

Usages secured were inconsistent. On one occasion Coachina implied that all cross-cousins, like parallel cousins, were siblings. At other times the following usages were given:

- cahan'* (*cahan*) father's sister's daughter, w. s.
ta'wa (*da-wa'*) father's sister's son, w. s.

na'caki' (na-cage) mother's brother's daughter, w. s.; father's sister's son, w. s.

tsaxwa'na', saxwa'na' mother's brother's daughter, m. s.

Parent-Child Generation:

Lineal:

i'was (ewac); ta'ta (da-da') voc., father, father's brother.

xai' (x'ai); i'sa (eca') voc., — but both forms may be used with pronouns — mother, mother's sister.

ha.akv'n kwa'lo (ha'ago-n gwa-lou), "old man", and

kwan kwa'lo (gwa-n gwa-lou) "old woman", may be used for father and mother respectively.

sa'txan (cadxan) son, m.s., w.s.; brother's son, m. s.; sister's son, w. s.

saha'n (cahan) daughter, m. s., w. s.; brother's daughter, m. s.

wi'xwan (wixwan) "small one" is used for child.

Collateral:

cahan' (cahan) father's sister, m. s., w. s.

tsaxwa'na, saxwa'na, mother's brother, m. s., w. s.; sister's son, m. s.; sister's daughter (?) m. s.

ta'wa (da-wa') mother's brother, m. s., w. s.; mother's father's sister's son, m. s.

oca'n brother's son, w. s.; mother's father's sister's son and daughter m. s., w. s. (?); mother's brother's daughter's son, w. s.

na'caki' (na-cage) brother's daughter, w. s.

sa'kas (ca-gac) sister's daughter, w. s.

i'nkut (hingut) mother's brother's daughter's son, m. s.

Grandparent-Grandchild Generation:

kata' (gada'); kati' voc.; *i'kata axin (egad 'a-xen)* 3rd. person, father's father, mother's father, m. s., w. s.; son's child, daughter's child, m. s.

ka'sa' (gaca'); kasi' voc., father's mother, m. s., w. s.; son's child, w. s.

ka'ka (gaga'); kaki' voc.; *ika'ka axin (egak 'a-xen)* 3rd. person, mother's mother, m. s., w. s.; mother's father's sister, m. s., w. s.; daughter's child, w. s. (?)

tca'xwa daughter's child, w. s.; sister's daughter's child, w. s.; brother's daughter's child, w. s.; mother's brother's daughter's child, w. s.

Great-grandparent-Great-grandchild Generation:

Sibling terms, reciprocally.

Ascending and Descending Generations (?):

ta'sa' great grandson's (in direct male line) child, m. s.; reciprocally, great-great-grandfather, m. s., w. s.; suggested also for relatives

related as great-great-great grandfather and great-great-grandchild, m. s.; also given as a use of this term, father's mother's father, m. s.

i'nkut (hingut) reciprocally, great-great-grandparent and great-great-grandchild.

tca'·xwa great grandson's child, w. s.; reciprocally, great-grandfather's mother, m. s., w. s. (In view of the reciprocity between *ka'ka* and *tca'·xwa* in the grandparent-grandchild generation, *tca'·xwa* is perhaps to be interpreted as used in the fifth generation between great-great-grandmother and great-great-grandchild in the female line; while *i'nkut (hingut)* is probably the complement of *ka'sa* and refers to the analogous relationship in the male line — A. L.).

Affinities.

kwan sa'kin (gwa-n ca-gen), etc.; *kwa'n* voc., wife, wife's sister; grandson's wife, m. s.; great grandson's wife, m. s. (The latter two uses should probably be referred to the following form of the wife term — A. L.).

ikwan sa'kin, etc., brother's wife, m. s.

itekwan sa'kin, etc., spouse of *ta'sa'*.

ha.akv'n sa'kin (ha'ago-n ca-gen), etc., husband, husband's brother; sister's husband, w. s.; son's daughter's husband, w. s.

hum'as (him'ac) brother's wife, w. s.; son's wife, m. s., w. s. (this term evidently groups women of the family into which a male relative has married — A. L.).

ma'sik (macek) husband's sister; husband's sister's husband; wife's brother's wife; wife's mother.

ti'tekxan (didjgan) sister's husband, m. s.; daughter's husband, m. s.; son's daughter's husband, m. s.; (? wife's father; wife's brother?). (This term is apparently the correlative of *hum'as*, and groups the men married into a man's family — A. L.)

saxwas son's son's wife, w. s.; daughter's son's wife, w. s. (wife of male *tca'·xwa*).

tca'·xwa husband's sister's son; daughter's daughter's husband, w. s. (husband of female *tca'·xwa*).

ka'ka (gaga'), *kaki'* voc. mother's brother's wife, m. s.

i'nkut (hingut) father's sister's husband, m. s., w. s.; wife's brother's son.

Associated customs

Residence: Matrilocal.

Avoidances: Strong avoidance between a man and his wife's father and mother; son-in-law and parent-in-law each cover the face in the other's presence.

There is mild avoidance between a girl and her husband's

father, a certain reserve being indicated; while a girl and her husband's mother speak freely.

Joking: Those between whom any form of the spouse terms is used practise licensed familiarity; likewise those whose relationship to each other's spouse is equivalent, such as a man and his grandson. A special joking relationship is defined by the term *tca' xwa*: The relatives whom a woman addresses by this term she jokes familiarly with. This was the joking relationship stressed by Coachina Rush.

Levirate and Sororate: The usual sororate in which a man marries the wife's sister was general (during the life of the spouse as well as after death); the relationship was extended to include the wife's grandmother (almost certainly this reference was to the wife's mother's mother, who would call the daughter's daughter, and the daughter's daughter's husband, *tca' xwa* — A. L.). The levirate is apparent from the usages of the term for wife.

Linguistic Notes (A. L.)

Coachina Rush used the following possessive pronouns regularly with the terms:

sa'ken (*ca·gen*) my
na'xin (*na·xen*) your
a'xin (*a·xen*) his

Vocatives are in a number of cases distinguished by a change of final vowel, accompanied in some cases by a shift of accent. In some forms, the third person was given with the addition of an initial *i-*; these forms were used by Coachina Rush with the regular pronouns as above.

95. The Linguistic Form of the Kinship Term.

I was unable to duplicate any of the vocative forms obtained by Dr. Lesser. This does not, however, disprove those forms: my informant was but poorly versed in the kinship terminology. It may also be mentioned that no other nouns in the language have vocative forms.

I did, however, record the addition of "the initial *i-*" mentioned by Dr. Lesser for the third person forms. In my transcriptions, it appears as *'e-* and may be used in other than the third person possessive.

<i>gaga'</i> , <i>'egak</i>	mother's brother
<i>gada'</i> , <i>'egad</i>	grandfather
<i>gaca'</i> , <i>'egac</i>	grandmother
<i>ya'na'</i> , <i>'eyan</i>	sister, w. s.
<i>he'na'</i> , <i>'ehen</i>	brother, m. s.

These alternations cannot be explained. Only for the last two terms (i. e., *ya'na'*, *he'na'*) was there a difference in usage. The first

forms (*ya'na'*, *he'na'*) were used with the regular possessive and the possessives of the others were built as follows:

<i>'ehen-'o-cik-'a-la</i>	my brother, m. s.
<i>'ehen-'o-ni-k-'a-la</i>	your . . .
<i>'ehen-'a-'a-la</i>	his . . .
<i>'ehen-'o-nec'eci-k-'a-la</i>	our (two) brother
<i>'ehen-'ew-o'c'eci-k-'a-la</i>	our brother

These may be analyzed as *-we-* to be, plus pronominal subject plus participial *-k* plus the noun suffix for the nominative definite. They could then be translated: the one who is . . . brother.

In a few kinship terms, another type of possessive was used.

<i>'eca'</i>	mother
<i>ca-'eca'</i>	my . . .
<i>na-'eca'</i>	your . . .
<i>'a-'cca'</i>	his . . .
<i>geuca-'eca'</i>	our mother
<i>wena-'eca'</i>	your (pl:) . . .

Possessives of this type appear in no other connection.

Some terms exist with a constant possessive of the type illustrated above.

<i>ca-dxan</i>	my son
<i>'e'dxan</i>	son
<i>ca-han</i>	my daughter
<i>'ahan</i>	daughter

For these terms, the possessive existed (in this form) only in the first person: other possessives were formed in the regular way using the alternates given above as bases.

E. Interjections and Curses (96)

96. Interjections and Curses.

I. Interjections.

There are in Tonkawa two classes of interjections, the first comprising exclamations having fairly definite meaning and the second including those expressive of emotional states. They are as follows.

<i>'ana</i>	look there, see it!
<i>'a'gai</i>	no!
<i>'al'</i>	oh, all right!
<i>'eyeu</i>	all right, agreed!
<i>'o'go</i>	no!
<i>na'gw</i>	now, go ahead!
<i>newei</i>	come, hurry!
<i>he'e'wa</i>	(I) don't know!
<i>hei'</i>	yes!
<i>hehei'</i>	yes!
<i>hedjodjo'k</i>	shut up, be still!
<i>wa'an</i>	wait, just a moment!
<i>wa'an-a'lecuk</i>	wait, just a moment!
<i>we'il</i>	all right, let's go!

The above are the meaningful particles: below are listed those cries indicative of emotion.

'aiye	pain
'ehehehe...	pain
'i 'i ...	exertion (as one dragging a heavy object)
'o:dj	surprise, wonder
he:	surprise, astonishment
heiya	pain
hu	disbelief, contempt
we'l'a	pain

II. The Curses.

All of these, except one, are meaningful words used in a profane context.

hemayan	ghost!
hemayan cilwan	ghost wanders!
hemayan'dak cilwan	ghosts wander!
hemayan gadau	may you give birth to a ghost!
hemayan gadau cilwan	may you give birth to a wandering ghost!

The above increase in intensity from *hemayan*, a fairly mild oath, to *hemayan gadau cilwan*, which is the very acme of profanity. The same series may be gone through, substituting 'egwan dog, for the word "ghost"; or 'ix evil, for "ghost"; and, finally, 'idjxic, a word of no meaning. These are not so seriously taken: to swear by the ghost is the most profane.

APPENDIX

The following list of themes contains only those used in the examples to sections 55—92, inclusive, which are somewhat difficult to follow without this aid. Full and reduced forms of verb themes have been included only when both of them are found in the examples.

'adcaw-, ('adco-) to revive, regain consciousness	'e-daha- ('e-da-) to return, come back
'ahen daughter	'egak grandmother
'a-x water	'ege- to give something to ...
'a-xen poss. pronoun his	'egwan dog
'a-xwa he, also	'egwanxau horse
'au deer	'e-xadxa- to arrive over there with ...; to take ... to a distance
'awac meat; buffalo	'ewac father
'awacadak buffalo ('awac meat, plus hadak very (much))	'ey- ('e-) auxil. to be, to do
'a-yai under, inside (a tipi), at the foot (of a mountain), below	'eida- to come
'acoi abdomen, belly, paunch	'eina- to go away
'adjxaudak north	'ei-nadjga-, 'ei-ndjag- to kill ...
'adjxo-n north	'eigagaidje-dana- to go along chopping ... ('eigagaidje-, to chop repeatedly; dana- several go off)
'e'eyaw- ('e'eyo-) to do to ...; work ...; make ...; prepare ...	'eiganxaidjona- to pull ... up

'*eiganaxein-* to lose ...
 '*eiganaidjona-* to drag ... up (compare with '*eiganxaidjona-* to pull ... up)
 '*eixamdje-* to break ... (e. g., stick, tree, long object)
 '*eyadje-* ('*ei-yadje-*), '*ei-* -*idje-* to catch ..., capture ...
 '*ix* evil, bad, ugly
 '*i-c'a* minnow
 '*o'a* night
 '*o'aw-* ('*o'o-*) night falls, to be night
 '*o'a wadak* tonight
 '*o'n* blood
 '*ok* hair, hide, fur
 '*okma'ek* cat
 '*oyuk* sack, pouch
 '*oyugo-* to put ... inside, into an enclosure
 '*o-dja* children

babacan'e a little while
banxo- to bathe
bax just, only
bac a while, period of time (compare with *babacan'e* a little while)
bidj-, -*bdje-* to cut ..., shear ...

madnogon quickly
ma-dan quickly
ma-ga- to cry, weep
mai'an land terrapin
maclak white
madjxanan sweetheart
me-dna- lightning strikes ...

da'ane- to get pick ... up, take ...
da'an-xaidjona- to lift ... up (*da'ane-* to pick ... plus *xa-* with force and -*idjona-* movement upwards a secondary theme . *xaidjona-* may be defined, a heavy object moves upwards.)
da'andje- to hold grasp ... (compare with *da'ane-* to get pick ... up)
da'e- to marry ...
da'e-k spouse
damou tight, tightly
damo-dak very tightly (*damou* plus *hadak* very)
da-dana- to go off with ..., take ... away (*dana-* several go off with the postposition *da-* with)

da-daglana- to take ... down, to go down with ... (*daglana-* several go down)
da-daxga- to bring ... here
dannaclak cottontail rabbit (*danna-* tail, *maclak* white)
dana- several persons go off
dagei head (body part)
da-gona- to look for ..., hunt for ...
da-hable- to help ..., assist ...
da-he-bano-n friend, he to whom one tells, narrates ... (*he-bano-* to narrate ...)
da-he-cogyawa- (*da-he-cogyo-*) to fight with ... (*he-cogyawa-* to fight, go to war)
daxac day, sun
daxac-aidjodak east (*daxac* sun, plus *aidjodak*, -*k* verbal noun from *haidjoda-* one comes up)
daxco-gwa tomorrow
daxco-l'ok tomorrow
daidjoda- several come up
dayaxa- to feed ..., to eat with ... (*yaxa-* to eat)
dayadjox'o- to live with ...
dacl'o- to wander about together, to wander about with ...
dew'an towards this (place), over there
deyei liver
de-l here
dinai old, long ago
dinadak long ago (*dinai* plus *hadak* very)
didjgan person, people
didjganwa-didj Tonkawa ("the people")
dodoba- to cut ... repeatedly
doxwnaw- (*doxwno-*) to smell, give forth an odor

na'a so, thus
na'e-i-, (*na'e-*) many go off
nabacxan ball (used in shinny game)
na-don mountain
nando'on mountains scattered here and there, a range of mountains
na-gw now, go ahead
nahawa- (*naho-*) to ask ... about something
nardje- to build a fire
nardjan fire
na-xogna- to scout, guide, reconnoitre

na-xwa you, also
nav- to burn, intr.
naule- to cook, roast ...
nadj-, -ndje- to bite ...
nengoxo- to chase ...
nexxale- to guard, watch over ...
nexxale- to find ...
nek'am'an bone
nex'eu gun, bow
new- (*no-*), *-nwe-* to tell ...
neiganak first, ahead of
necyadje- to cause, make ... stay
 home (*nec-* causative prefix;
hayadje- to stay home)
necengwa-na- to make ... run;
 idiomatically: to run one's horse
 (*hengwa-na-* to run off)
necexwe- to shout
necbedje- to fill ...
necgaba- to shut, close ... (door,
 window, etc.)
necgaban door, tent flap
necgaldei other side, opposite side
necgwid-yadje- to bind ... securely
 (*necgwid-* to tie ... bind ..
-yadje-?)
necwal'e- to fish
necwal'an fish
necyagwa- to cause ... to dance
 (*yagwa-* to dance)
necyaxa- to cause ... to eat; to
 feed ... (*yaxa-* to eat)
necyacna- to put in ... mouth
necdjoxna- to cause ... to sleep;
 put ... asleep (*djoxna-* to sleep)
nogo- to pick ... up; take ...

gab-e- to be gone, have disappeared
 (*gab-*, reduced form of *gaba* not,
 nothing plus *-e-*, reduced form
 of the auxiliary *ye-* to be)
ganxaidjon horn (of an animal)
ga-noc Mexican (< Mejjicano)
gaujjeu worm
galak other, enemy
ga-lwa- to gamble
gedai two
gilix bank (of a river)
gilixbax high, sheer bank
godok room, inside (of tipi)
gogon chief
go-c'a old, old one
go-c'a'ac old ones, old people
gwa'n woman, wife
gwa-gwan women

gwa-lou big, much
gwe- stick, club

ha'ago-n male, man, husband
ha'ac (-a'ac) many
ham'am-do-xa- to burn completely
 (*ham'am'a-* to burn, intr.; *do-xa-*
 to do completely, finish)
hadxeca- to know
hadxilna- one person goes out
hamil mouse
hanbilna- one person goes to another
 place
ha-na- one person goes off
ha-naxok many, numerous
ha-nadjidxil-xa-xa- several come
 running (*ha-nadjidxilna-* several
 go off; *xa-xa-* one person arrives)
hagoxa- to be tired, exhausted
hagne- to dry up (of a river, well)
hagxona- one person goes in
haglana- one person goes down
ha-xeida- to come
haxeine- to go away
haixoy- to doctor ... : to make ...
 well
haidjoda- one person comes up
hawaune- to carry ... ; pack ...
hawai, (-awai-) tall
hawa-dak (-awa-dak) very tall (*ha-*
wai plus *hadak* very)
hauna-dan temporary camp
haucecan ashes, glowing coals
hadjxo- to arise suddenly, jump up
ha-dj ground, earth
ha-djin (-a-djin-) close, near
ha-djcogonai coyote
ha-djcogonai-yeiga'ai wolves (*ha-djco-*
gonai coyote plus *yeiga'ai* big ones)
he'e-k over there
hebage- to tell ... ; inform ...
hebaixwedan young woman, female
 dress
hebnono-xo- several bathe (compare
 with *banxo-* to bathe)
he-banewa- (*he-bano-*) to tell, nar-
 rate ...
hemamago-dana- several go off weep-
 ing (*hemamago-* several weep
 from *ma-ga-* to weep; *dana-*
 several go off)
he-maya- to be a ghost
hem'ac mother-in-law
hedai'aw- (*hedai'o-*) to join a group,
 to mingle with a group

hedal'ewa- (*hedal'o-*) to pray, preach
hedew'an'ax anywhere, in any direction
hededj how?, in what manner?
hededja where?, in what place?
hededj'ed how?, in what manner?
hededja'ax any place, whatever spot
hedel where?
hedoxa- to be gone, disappear
he'dobou Osage Indians
hedlaw- (*hedlo-*) to refuse
he'dyan arm
hegbayo- to have no ...; be without ...
hedaw- (*hedgo-*) to sing
henenwan red paint (for face painting)
he-nex'eyaw- (*he-nex'eyo-*) to be in ignorance of ...; to be lost
henox good, pretty, well
hendid.xew'e- (*hendid.xo'o-*) to shake, quiver
hendoc-e- several are standing about (*hendoc-* < *nodco* to stop moving plus *-e-* the reduced form of the auxiliary *ye-* to be)
hengwa-da- to come running
hengway-aglana- to run down (*hengwa-* (*hengwai-*) plus *haglan-* one goes down)
hexal'oi ants
hexaca- to scream, yelp
hexwid belt, girdle
hewawa- to die
heule- to catch ..., grasp ...
heyadje- to become visible (compare with *ya-dje-* to see ...)
heidicanan bashful, embarrassed, shy
heigwuda- several come (in a body)
heigo'o- to become, make oneself (compare with *yagew'e-* to make ...)
heigwidjan ring
heixaxal'en ear-ring
heilaba- to stop moving, stand
heilaban tree
hecyadjxo- to mount ... (e. g. a horse)
hedjedjo-n back, rearwards
hedju'ax anyone, anything
hedju'ed why?
hedjodjxo-k bad, wicked, fearsome
hedjne- to lie down
hel'a'd (*-el'a'd*) that one, he
hel'ey-agxona- to peep, peer in (*hel'ei-* to peer, plus *hag.xona-* one goes in)

ho'oxaw- (*ho'oxo-*) to steal ...
hocac (*-ocac-*) young
holau last, finally, the end
holgam'adjxe-dana- to go along bucking (*holgam'adjxe-* to buck, pitch as a horse; *dana-* several go off)
xa- fat, grease
xam'al prairie
xadaglana- several descend, get off (as off a horse's back) (*xa-* with force plus *daglana-* several go down)
xan-do-xa- to finish drinking, drink all (*xane-* to drink; *do-xa-* to finish)
xa-na- one person goes to a distance
xagai wide
xa-xa- one person arrives at a distant point
xawana- to fall from a distance (compare with *wa-na-* to fall forward)
xaya- several go to a distance
xacdeu- (*xacdo-*) to be (one) left, to leave (one)
xadjlew- (*xadjlo-*) to be angry
xal'o-n knife
xe-badje- to fall backwards
xe-ilaba- to stand, stop moving at a distance (compare with *heilaba-* to stand)
xe-djne- to fall (compare with *hedjne-* to lie down)
xe-djwal alligator
x'a.x'ai'a- to laugh
x'a-i mother
x'e'l'e- to file ..., sharpen ...
wa'an right, exactly
wa'anec when, just as, as soon as
wa'anbar as soon as
wa-da'ac this very ...
wa-dedja this place aforementioned
wa-dil just
wa-na- to fall, pitch forward
wa-n-aidjona- to be thrown up, pitched up (*wa-na-* to fall forward plus *haidjona-* one goes up)
waxec surely, certainly, (are you) sure
wadja this place, here

we'icax one, only one
we'il now, go ahead
we'l'ad that one, he
wixwan small, little

yabacxa- to run against ..., bump into ...

yamga-, *-imag-* to call ...

yamxa-, *-imax-* to paint ... face

yadalban (loaf of) bread

yadexan stone, rock

yadmaxan watermelon

yadxalga- to hang ... up

yadca- to stab, prick ...

yadcanan heart

ya-de- several persons come

yandan-awai south (*yandan* wind plus *-awai* long, steady)

yandjadjay- to meddle with ...

yandjidjxilna- to run away

yan'anwan metal, chain

yagex-aidjona- to push ... up (*yagex-* to push .. plus *haidjona-* one goes up)

yagew'e- (*yago'o-*) to make, transform ...

yago- to fetch water

yag'e- to shoot ...

yag'e-xamyo- to contest with each other in shooting (*yag'e-* to shoot ... plus *xame-* to defeat and the reciprocal suffix *-yo-*)

yagba-, *-igab-* to hit, strike ...

yagda- several sit about

yagwan leg

yaxa-, *-ixa-* to eat

yaxacd- to be near ...

yaxoyaxeida- a group come to fight, to war

yaxwdje- to hit, strike

yaxw-gagai'adj-adxilna- to slash through to the other end (*yaxw-* from *yaxwdje-* to strike, plus *gagai'adj-* to cut repeatedly, plus *hadxilna-* one person goes out)

yawe- to bind ..., tie ... up

ya-dje-, *-yadje-* to see ..., look at ...

ya-djan-didce- to want to see ... (*ya-dje-* to see ... in the infinitive form, plus *didce-* to wish, desire)

yadjax chest (body part)

yadjox'an tipi, camp

yal-, *-ile-* to throw at ...

yal-dadamaxe- to throw ... smash-

ing ... (*yal-* to throw ..., plus *-dadamaxe-* to shatter, a secondary theme in *'ei-dadamaxe-* to shatter ...)

yalba-, *-ilab-* to set ... in the ground; to make ... stand erect

yalxilna- to run away

ya-lo-na-, *-yalo-na-* to kill ...

yela- to sit down

yo-m'a- to rain

yo-xna- to fly away

camox door

ca-xal doorway, entrance

cax'ai arrow, bullet

cax'o-n young

ca-xwa I, also

cigid four

cig'dac four times

cilayaw- (*cilayo-*) to hunt, go hunting

cilwe- to wander about

co-na duck

cogo- to put ... away

cocoyana- several swim off

cocgo-na- to hear, listen to ...

c'a-dj finger-nail

c'e-da-, *-c'eda-* to cut ...

djane- to leave ...; to let ... go

djagaw river, creek

djadjxo-k center, middle

dja-l testicles

djedxana- to jump away

djexe-, *-djxe-* to loosen ...; to turn ... loose

djigeu fast, sharp (functions as an intensifier and its meaning varies with the verb or noun it modifies)

djo-xna- to sleep

djodjoma- several shut their eyes

djodjxaw- (*djodjxo-*) to be frightened

t'ca-bxan bed, sleeping place

t'carm- to let ... go

t'caxw blanket, robe, fabric

t'caw'al far away, at a distance

t'cel up, upwards, on top

t'celai sky, heavens, place above

lobaw- (*lobo-*) to dive

lobaw-xame- to defeat by diving (*xame-* to defeat ...)

lococ all, everyone

lococ'ida all of them

CHAPTER III: TEXT ANALYSIS.

Coyote and the Monster.

ha'dj cogonai-la (1) *ha'nanoklakno'o* (2) *'e'nola na'don-'a'y'ik*
 Coyote was going along, it is said when to a mountain
haidjonad heilabanoklakno'o (3) | *'e'l'ok* (4) *na'don-wa-'a'-*
 ascending he was standing, it is said. It happened that mountain

(1) Coyote is said to be the owner of all the earth; his permission was invoked by hunters when they invaded new hunting grounds. The word is a compound of *ha'dj* land, surrounding country, and the verb theme *cogona-* to own, put away, which has apparently a suffix *-i*. It is possible that this final element is cognate with the *-i* element listed for nouns in section 84 and is to be interpreted as a noun forming suffix. There are, however, no other examples of such an alternation.

-la is the nominative indefinite singular case suffix. It is notable that, all through the texts, the word "Coyote" always takes the indefinite form of the case suffix and is never followed by the demonstrative *wa-* that . . . aforementioned. No other character in the myths is described in this manner.

(2) Theme: *ha-* one person moves, goes, plus *-na* directive suffix, off, away (cf. 34). Theme suffixes: *-no* continuative, *-k* participial suffix, and *-lakno'o* narrative suffix (cf. 81).

This text selection illustrates nicely the wide usage of narrative forms so characteristic in Tonkawa. Note that every verb not employed in direct discourse or having subordinate function has this suffix. The suffix indicates that the events recounted were not participated in by the raconteur but that he is repeating the story told him by others, who, in their turn, had it from some one else, etc. If the story had been the experience of the one who told it to the present teller the quotative suffix would be used (cf. 81).

(3) "when, ascending a mountain, he was standing (there), it is said". The indirect relationship of *na'don* mountain, to the verb *haidjona-* one person goes up, is expressed by *'a'y'ik* (cf. 86). The *-d* suffix of *haidjona-* subordinates it to the following verb *heilaba-* to stand. *'e'-no-la*, a particle based upon the auxiliary *'e-* to be, do (cf. 38), links the first phrase with the second thus, "Coyote was going along, it is said, when it happened that he, ascending a mountain, stood (there), it is said". The continuative forms of the principal verbs add a connotation of customary activity: according to the myths, Coyote spends most of his time wandering about and intruding upon the affairs of others.

(4) *'e-l'ok* as it happened: *'e-*, the auxiliary, plus the third person form of the subordinating suffix *'ok* (cf. 66). The particle here refers

<i>lak</i> (5)	<i>'a:yai-'a:y'ik</i> (6)	<i>yadjox'an-a'naxok</i>	<i>ye'laklakno'o</i> (7)
mentioned	below (it)	a large camp	there was, it is
<i>lak</i> /	<i>ha'djogonai-la</i>	<i>haglanad</i>	<i>yadjox'an-a'naxok-wa-'y'ik</i>
said.	Coyote	descending	to that big camp aforementioned
<i>xa:xad</i>	<i>holau-'a:y'ik</i>	<i>xa:xal'ok</i>	<i>yadjox'an-'a:yai-'a:y'ik</i>
arriving	at the last	as he arrived	inside the tipi
<i>ma'ganoklakno'o</i> (8)		/	<i>'e:kla</i> <i>ha'djogonai-la</i> <i>hagxonad</i> (9)
they were weeping, it is said.		Then	Coyote going in

the preceding action to that which is to come — note that all the rest of the sentence is objectified by *lak* (cf. 86). The sentence reads, then, "as it happened there was a large camp below that mountain *lak*" and the function of *lak* is to refer this fact to that of Coyote standing on the mountain. Freely translated, "as it happened (Coyote saw that) there was a large camp below that mountain".

(5) The demonstrative *wa-* that . . . aforementioned, is used here because the mountain has already been mentioned: to omit the demonstrative would be to imply that the speaker was referring to another mountain.

(6) *'a:yai* here has nominal function. Compare this usage with that in line 3, page 141, where it has adjectival function (cf. 83, 87).

(7) *yadjox'an* camp, tipi, is formed from the verb theme *yadjox'a-* to build a tipi, by the noun forming suffix *-an* (cf. 75).

The combination *yadjox'an-a'naxok* needs no case suffix since it is followed by the auxiliary verb *ye-* to be, and the whole is interpreted as a static verb, "to be a big camp". *ye-la-k-lakno'o* is the third person form of the auxiliary in the *-k* paradigm plus the narrative enclitic. It will be seen that this is an irregular third person form, *-la-* being the third person suffix (compare with the *-k* paradigm in section 74 and the *ye-* paradigm for the present tense of the declarative mode in section 77).

(8) This sentence is remarkable for the number of subordinate phrases: "Coyote, descending, arriving at that big camp aforementioned, as he arrived at the last (tipi), they were weeping, it is said, inside that tipi".

-wa- is used with *yadjox'an-a'naxok* since it has been mentioned before (cf. note 5).

xa:xa- one person arrives, is analyzable as *xa-ha-xa-*; *xa-* (from, to) a distance; *ha-* one person moves, goes; *-xa* arrival suffix (cf. 34).

holau last, is here used as a noun. The idiom is curious: it is really the first tipi that Coyote comes to but the last with reference to the camp (i. e., a tipi on the outskirts of the camp).

xa:xa-l'ok, cf. 66 and note 4.

Note the meaning of *'a:yai* in the complex *yadjox'an-'a:yai-*

- “*hedju* *'e-gwa*” (10) *noklakno'o* / *'e-kla* *gwa'n-wa-'a-la* (11)
 “What is it?” he said, it is said. Then that woman aforementioned
- “*de-w'an* *yadjox'an-dana-de-la* *didjgan-'a-ga* *gab-a-we*” (12)
 “this way all of this camp people there are none”
- noklakno'o* “*hedjodjxo-k-la* (13) *wedoxano'o*” (14) *noklak-*
 she said, it is said “an evil one has been killing them all she said, it

'a-y'ik inside the tipi. Literally, the expression means “under the tipi”. Cf. note 6. Compare the meaning of *yadjox'an* tipi, here with its meaning of “camp” in line 1, page 141. Probably *yadjox'an-anaxok* is better interpreted as “many tipis” than as “big camp”.
ma-ga- to weep, *-no* continuative suffix.

(9) Three locative themes have now been illustrated in this text: *ha-idjo-na-* one person goes up (line 2, page 140), *ha-gla-na-* one person goes down (line 2, page 141), and *ha-gxo-na-* one person goes in. These have been discussed and listed in section 34.

(10) *hedju* what? (cf. 92); *'e-gwa*, auxiliary *'e-* to be, do, plus the mode suffix *-gwa* (cf. 58).

(11) *gwa'n* woman, *-wa-* that aforementioned. The demonstrative is used because the woman was mentioned by implication in the expression, “they were weeping, it is said” in line 4, page 141.

(12) “there are no people in all of this camp”.

de-w'an towards this (way); *de-* this, plus the dative (towards) suffix (cf. 91).

yadjox'an-dana-de-la. The suffix or theme *-dana-* cannot be explained: it occurs in no other connection.

didjgan person, plus *-a-ga*, nominative definite plural case suffix.

gab- is probably a reduced form of the modifier *gabai* no, nothing, plus *-a-we*, the declarative modal enclitic (cf. 77).

The meaning of the sentence is, then, “towards this direction, this is an uninhabited (people-less) camp”: the speaker is probably gesturing towards the camp (her tipi being on the edge) while speaking. It is possible that *-dana-* is related to the verb theme *dana-* several go off, and that the sentence means “going off in this direction the camp is uninhabited”. If so, this is a unique example of a noun plus verb compound (cf. 85).

(13) *hedjodjxo-k*, probably *hedjodjxo-* to be frightened, plus the participial suffix *-k* (cf. 74). The word would then mean “frightening, fearsome” rather than “evil”.

(14) *we-*, third person plural object, *-doxa-* to finish, do completely, *-n-*, continuative, and *-o'o*, third person singular of the past tense of the declarative mode. *do-xa-*, *-doxa-* is used idiomatically to mean “to kill”: ordinarily it is found compounded with other themes, thus *'e'eyau-do-xa-* to finish working (*'e'eyaw-* to work).

- no'o* / *'e:kla ha'djogonai-la* "*na'gw ma'gabou*" (15) *noklakno'o*
 is said. Then Coyote "well do not cry" he said, it is said
- "daxco'l'ok* (16) *da'he'cogyawa'ha'a*" (17) *noklakno'o* / *'e:kla*
 "tomorrow I intend to fight with him" he said, it is said. Then
- gwa'n-wa-'a'la* *galdei-'a'y'ik* (18) *hadxilnada* (19)
 that woman aforementioned to the outside went out and
- "ha'djogonai-la* *daxco'l'ok* *da'he'cogyawa'doyou* (20) *no'na'a*" (21)
 "Coyote tomorrow he will fight with him he says"
- noklakno'o* / *"daxco'l'ok* *da'he'cogyawac'ok* *yalxilnabou*" (22)
 she said, it is said. "tomorrow when I fight with him do not run away"
- noklakno'o* *"ya'dj-ge'xw'elabou"* (23) *noklakno'o* / *'e:kla*
 he said, it is said "watch me closely" he said, it is said. Then

(15) *na'gw*, interjection (cf. 96). *ma'ga-* to weep, *-abe-* negative suffix (cf. 53), and *-u* imperative suffix (cf. 61). Note that the final *-e* of the negative suffix is colored to *-o* by the imperative suffix *-u*.

(16) *daxco-* day breaks, *-l'ok* subordinating suffix (cf. 66). "when day breaks, morning comes" idiom for "tomorrow".

(17) *da-* postposition, with (cf. 48), *he'cogyaw-* to fight (intransitive), and *-a'ha'a*, intensive suffix (cf. 60). *he'cogyaw-* is unexplainable but may be connected with *cogo-* to put away, and *cogna-* to own.

(18) *galdei* outside, plus the noun suffix for the dative. *galdei* may also be used adjectivally.

(19) *ha-dxil-na-* one person goes out, cf. note 9 and section 34.

(20) This modal form — if it is a modal form — is unique. The suffix *-you* appears in no other connection: here it seems to subordinate the expression "he will fight with him" to the following "he says". Thus the sentence reads, "Coyote says that he will fight with him".

(21) *no-* to say, plus *-n-*, continuative suffix, and *-a'a*, assertive suffix (cf. 56).

(22) *yalxilna-* to run away, plus the negative suffix *-abe* and the imperative suffix *-u*. Note here, as in note 15, that the final *-e* of the negative suffix becomes *-o* before the *-u* of the imperative.

(23) One of the more interesting Tonkawa compounds: *ya'dje-* to see, look, plus *xw'e'la-* to miss (e. g. a mark when shooting). The combination is invariably found with the negative suffix and thus forms the verb "to not miss seeing . . .", i. e., "to watch closely". That it is a true compound is seen here by the position of the first person pronoun *ge-* between the two themes (cf. 36). Note here, too, the vocalic coloring of the final vowel of the negative suffix *-abe* (cf. notes 15, 22).

"hehei"	<i>noklakno'o</i>		<i>ge'cxaya-gwa</i> (24)	<i>djagau-'a-y'ik</i>	<i>haglanad</i>
"yes"	she said, it is said.		When night fell	to the river	going down
<i>degal-lak</i> (25)	<i>yaxw-gaidjed</i> (26)		<i>gaxau</i>	<i>necam'am'ada</i> (27)	
hard wood	cutting it off		black	burning it	
<i>cogoda</i>	<i>djoxnaklakno'o</i>		<i>'e'd ho'cdaxco'n</i>	<i>hadjxod</i> (28)	
putting it away	he went to sleep, it is said.		And at daybreak	arising	
<i>galdei-'a-y'ik</i>	<i>hadxilnada</i>		<i>daxac-aidjodak-e-w'an</i> (29)	<i>yelnada</i> (30)	
to the outside	going out		towards the east	sitting	
<i>hawa:dak</i>	<i>hexcacaklakno'o</i> (31)		<i>'e-da</i>	<i>yandan-awai-e-w'an</i> (32)	
very loudly	he howled, it is said.		And	towards the south	

(24) *ge'cxaya-* night falls, plus the subordinating *-gwa* suffix. Note the lengthening of the final vowel of the theme (cf. 67).

(25) *degal* refers to a species of very hard wood which I have been unable to identify. It was used in the old days to make bows.

(26) This verb is a compound of *yaxw-*, from *yaxwdje-* to strike . . . with a weapon, and *gaidje-* (my finger, etc.) has been chopped off, (used in a static sense only, cf. 42). Note the loss of the final element of the first theme when compounded — other material on this alternation will be found in section 39.

(27) *nec-*, causative prefix plus *ham'am'a-* to burn, (intr.). Note the use of *gaxau* black, as an adverb.

(28) *ho'c* early, plus *daxco'n* (formed from *daxco-* day breaks, by the noun forming suffix *-an*, cf. 75) "morning". *hadjxo-* to get up, arise. Note that the compound *ho'c-daxco'n* has no case suffix: it functions here as an adverb.

(29) *daxac* sun; *haidjoda-k*, *-k* participial form of *ha-idjo-da-* one person comes up; *-e-* demonstrative "that" (cf. 91); *-w'an* dative (towards) suffix. *daxac-aidjodak* is regularly used to refer to the east.

(30) *yel-* to sit down, plus the directive suffix *-na* off, away: thus, *-yel-na-* to sit towards (an object off in the distance).

(31) *hexcaca-* to yell, yelp, howl. *hawa:dak*, (excess length rhetorical) here used adverbially, a compound of *hawai* tall, loud, and *hadak* very. Note that the final *-i* of *hawai* has been elided in the compound. Note also the meaning of *hawai* in this context: cf. section 87 for examples of such variations in the meanings of modifiers.

(32) *yandan* wind; *hawai* long. *yandan-awai* long wind, is regularly used to denote the south in evident reference to the constant south wind prevailing in the American Southwest. Compare this meaning of *hawai* with that in note 31.

<i>yelnada</i> sitting	<i>hexcacaklakno'o</i> he howled, it is said	<i>'e-da</i> and	<i>'edcin'e</i> (33) again	<i>daxac-aglanak-e-</i> towards the
<i>w'an</i> (34) west	<i>'edcin'e</i> again	<i>hexcacaklano'o</i> he howled, it is said	<i>'e-da</i> and	<i>holau-'a-lak</i> the last (time)
<i>'adjxo-n-de-w'an</i> (35) towards the north	<i>yelnada</i> sitting	<i>hexcacaklakno'o</i> he howled, it is said.		<i>'e-gwa</i> Then
<i>gwa'gwan-ga</i> (36) women	<i>noho'na'e-kla</i> (37) going for wood	<i>ha'djogonai-la</i> Coyote	<i>hedai'o-kla-k-</i> he joined them.	
<i>no'o</i> it is said.		<i>'e-gwa</i> Then	<i>"we'l'ad 'eide'l"</i> (38) "there he comes"	<i>noklakno'o</i> they said, it is said.
	<i>hedjodjxo-k-wa-'a-la</i> that evil one aforementioned	<i>xogoc-'a-w'an</i> (39) above the waist	<i>camox</i> red	<i>ye'laklakno'o</i> he was, it is said
<i>'enik</i> and	<i>gec'adjan-'a-w'an</i> (40) below the waist	<i>gazau</i> black	<i>ye'laklakno'o</i> he was, it is said.	
				<i>'e-kla</i> Then
	<i>gwa'gwan-wa-ga</i> those women aforementioned	<i>caxwaklakno'o</i> (41) they ran away, it is said		<i>'e-kla</i> then
<i>ha'djogonai-la</i> Coyote	<i>t'ca'beklakno'o</i> he hid, it is said.		<i>'e-gwa</i> Then	<i>wa'dil hengwa-dakla</i> as that one came running
<i>ha'djogonai-la</i> Coyote	<i>da'he'cogyo-klakno'o</i> he fought with him, it is said		<i>hedjodjxo-k-wa-'a-lak</i> that evil one aforementioned.	

(33) It is not clear how *'edcin'e* functions in this sentence: formally, having no case suffixes, it should have adverbial function as, indeed, it does have at the end of line 2, page 287, but there is no verb following unless we connect it with the preceding particle *'e-da*.

(34) *daxac* sun, *haglana-k*, -*k* form of *ha-gla-na-* one person goes down. Cf. note 29.

(35) *'adj-xawa-* (*'adjxo-*) wind blows from the north; cold, disagreeable wind blows. The analysis of this form is not so clear: the element *'adj-* appears to occur in *ben-'ats* spring (the meaning of *ben-* is unknown), and in *'adj-'ix* cold, disagreeable (*'ix* bad). Perhaps *'adj-* has reference to weather in a sense of disagreeable weather and *-xawa-* refers to the blowing of the wind. This analysis is purely speculative.

(36) Note the plural form of the noun *gwa'n* woman (cf. 84).

(37) *noho'na'e-* to go for wood, — an unanalyzable theme. Perhaps compounded of *noho'na-*, which may be an old theme meaning "wood" and *-e-*, a form of the verb *'ei-na-* to go off.

(38) *we'l'ad* he, that one (over there), cf. 91. *'ei-d-* to come, plus the modal suffix *-e'l*, cf. 63.

(39) *xogoc* refers to that part of the body above the waist; *-a-w'an* singular definite dative (towards) suffix.

(40) *gec'adjan* below the waist.

(41) *caxwa-* to run away, — also means 'to be frightened'.

<i>'e'gwa</i>	<i>ha'djogonai-yeiga'ai-'a-la</i>	<i>ha'naxok-'ida</i>	<i>hedjodjxo-k-</i>
Then	wolves	many of them	that evil one
<i>-wa-'a-lak</i>	<i>heuled</i>	<i>da'he'cogyo-nonlakno'o</i> (42)	
above-mentioned	catching him	they were fighting with him, it is said	
<i>'enoga</i>	<i>ya'lo-nanlakno'o</i>	<i>hedjodjxo-k-wa-'a-lak</i>	<i> 'e-da</i>
so doing	they killed him, it is said	that evil one above-mentioned.	And
<i>ha'djogonai-yeiga'ai-wa-ga</i>	<i>na'e'klakno'o</i> (43)	<i> 'e-kla</i>	
those wolves above-mentioned	they went off, it is said.	Then	
<i>ha'djogonai-la</i>	<i>yadjox'an-e'w'an</i>	<i>didjgan-gabai-e'e-lak</i> (44)	
Coyote	towards the camp	that (of) no people	
<i>"yadjox'an-ega'd-gak</i>	<i>da'mou</i>	<i>nececgabou"</i>	<i>noklakno'o</i>
"those tipis	tightly	shut them"	he said, it is said
<i>yadjox'an-wa-'a-lak</i>	<i>lococ</i>	<i>nececgabaklakno'o</i> (45)	<i> 'enik</i>
those tipis above-mentioned	all	they closed, it is said.	Then
<i>ha'djogonai-la</i>	<i>de'dja-'a'y'ik</i>	<i>ha'nada</i>	<i>yandjidjxilda'an</i> (46)
Coyote	to this place	going off	came running
<i>"ma'dan 'o'c'ou</i> (47)	<i>yadjox'an-de-la</i>	<i>nawe'l</i> (48)"	<i>noklakno'o</i>
"quick	be	this camp	is burning"
			he said, it is said
<i>'e'l'ok</i>	<i>gabai</i>	<i>'e'noklakno'o</i>	<i> 'e-kla 'edcin'e ha'nada</i>
but	nothing	happened, it is said.	Then
			again
			going off

(42) This sentence illustrates the usual word order in Tonkawa: subject, subject modifier, object, subordinated verb, and principal verb. This order is, of course, not a necessary one since the suffixes of the words regulate most of the syntactic relations.

ha'djogonai-yeiga'ai wolves, — a compound of the word for "Coyote" and that for "big" (referring to several).

ha'naxok many, plus *'ida* of them (cf. 86). Note, here, the separation of noun and modifier.

da'he'cogyo-no-n-lakno'o — an example of the third person plural of the *-k* paradigm (cf. 74).

(43) *na'e'e-* several go off. This verb can only be used with a plural subject.

(44) Note separation of noun and modifiers: "towards-the-camp that-of-no-people", i. e., "towards that camp of no people".

(45) Here *lococ* all, is used as an adverb: it may also be used adjectivally (cf. 87).

(46) Note how the directive suffixes are used: "Coyote to-this-place going-off comes-running". "this place" is a literal translation: freely, it is to be interpreted "a short distance away".

(47) *'-*, a reduced form of *'ei-* to be, do, plus *-o'c'o* plural subject suffix and *-u* imperative suffix.

(48) *naw-* to burn, plus suffix *-e'l*; cf. note 38 and section 63.

yandjidxilda'an "hedan'ok 'o'c'ou *yadjox'an-de-la nawe'l'*
 coming running "Hurry up! come! this camp is burning"
noklakno'o 'e'l'ok gabai 'e'klakno'o / *'e'kla 'edcin'e*
 he said, it is said but nothing happened, it is said. Then again
harnada hengwa'dan (49) "hedan'ok 'o'c'ou *yadjox'an-de-la*
 going off coming running "Hurry up! come this camp
nawe'l' *noklakno'o 'e'kla gabai 'e'klakno'o* /
 is burning" he said, it is said but nothing happened, it is said.
'e'kla holau'a'lak harnada hengwa'dan "hedan'ok 'o'c'ou
 Then the last (time) going off coming running "Hurry up come
yadjox'an-de-la nawe'l' *noklakno'o* / *'e'kla didjgan'a'la*
 this camp is burning" he said, it is said. Then people
harnaxok harnadjidjxileklakno'o / (50) *'e'kla hadjcogonai-lak*
 many they ran out, it is said. Then Coyote
gwan-enox-lak necda'e'klakno'o /
 a pretty woman they caused him to marry, it is said.

Free Translation of Text

Coyote was going along, it is said, and while so doing, he climbed a mountain and was standing there. It happened there was a large camp below that mountain. Coyote, descending, arrived at that large camp. As he came to the last (tipi), (he heard someone) weeping inside the tipi. Coyote, entering, said, "What is the matter?"

The woman said, "All this camp off in this direction has no people in it. An evil one has killed them all."

"Well, don't cry," said Coyote, "tomorrow I intend to fight with him (the monster)."

The woman went out and announced, "Coyote says he will fight him tomorrow."

"When I fight him tomorrow, don't run away," said Coyote, "Watch me closely."

"Yes," she said, it is said.

(49) Note that two different verbs "to come running" have been used: *yandjidxilda-* and *hengwa-da-*. There are two others: *yanxil-* to run away, and *yalxilda-* to come running. Except that the third of these cannot take the directive suffixes, no differences in meaning can be distinguished.

(50) *harnadjidjxile-* several run away, can only be used with a plural subject. Note that *harnaxok* many, is here used adverbially, and that *didjgan*, though actually referring to many people, has the nominative definite singular suffix. Literally the sentence reads: "then person many several-ran-out-it-is-said".

That evening, (Coyote), going down to the river and cutting a (stick of) very hard wood, he burned it black, put it away and went to sleep. The next morning he arose and, going outside, he sat down facing the east and howled loudly. Sitting towards the south, he again howled; again towards the west; and, finally, he sat facing the north and howled.

When the women went for wood, Coyote joined them. Suddenly they said, "Here he comes!" And that evil one was red above the waist and black below the waist, it is said. The women ran away and Coyote hid. Just as he (the evil one) ran towards him, he fought that evil one. At that moment many wolves, catching hold of him and fighting with him, killed the evil one, it is said. And then the wolves went away.

Coyote said then to that camp of no people. "Close tightly all these tipis", and all the tipis were closed. Then Coyote went off a ways and, running back, shouted, "Come, quickly!, this camp is burning!" but nothing happened. Again he went off and, running back, shouted, "Come, quickly, this camp is burning", but (again) nothing happened. Again he went off, and, running back, shouted, "Come, quickly, this camp is burning", and nothing happened. Then the last time, he went off and, running back, shouted, "Come, quickly, this camp is burning." Then many people ran out, it is said.

Then they gave Coyote a pretty woman for his wife, it is said.

QUILEUTE

BY

MANUEL J. ANDRADE

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PREFACE.

Quileute is spoken at present by 180 individuals at the mouth of the Quileute river, on the northwestern coast of the state of Washington. About 15 miles further south, at the mouth of the Hoh river, there survive a few members of the Hoh tribe, whose speech, according to several Quileute informants, differs only slightly from theirs.

Quileute has always been affiliated with Chemakum, the language once spoken in the same state near Port Townsend. The writer had the opportunity of working for a few hours with the last survivor of the Chemakum tribe, Luise Webster. A study of the material collected previously by Professor Boas¹, together with the scanty data recorded on this occasion, confirms the close relationship which has been claimed for these two languages. It must be remarked, however, that even in the limited information available there is a considerable proportion of unrelated words as well as some important grammatical differences. From the phonetic notes published by Professor Boas, and so far as we may judge from our brief contact with Chemakum, we may infer that the sounds of the two languages are very similar. Among the most outstanding differences, we may mention first, that the Chemakum *m* and *n* are replaced by the Quileute *b* and *d*, respectively. The latter sounds do not occur in Chemakum, and *m*, *n* are found in Quileute only when quoting the speech of the mythologic giantess Da's'k'iyá'. Secondly, the Chemakum vowels seem to be less variable than the Quileute, and the tonal characteristics of the Quileute accent do not seem to exist in Chemakum. At least, they were not found in a number of Chemakum words decidedly cognate with those which present such tonal characteristics in Quileute. Nor were such tonal features found by Professor Boas in 1890, when Luise Webster must have had a more vivid recollection of the language, as she still spoke it occasionally with her brother. At the time of our acquaintance, this informant had forgotten most of her language.

A cursory comparison with other languages of the north Pacific coast discloses a number of significant points of contact between Quileute and the Wakashan stock.

¹ I refer to his field notes, which he kindly placed at my disposal, as well as to his "Notes on the Chemakum Language," in the *American Anthropologist* for January, 1892. I have also examined a Chemakum vocabulary collected by Dr. Livingston Farrand.

The linguistic material on which the present account is based consists of 52 myths, vocabularies and grammatical notes recorded by Dr. Leo J. Frachtenberg in the summer of 1915 and in the summer and fall of 1916; and of 26 myths and other texts collected by the author in the summer of 1928 under the auspices of the Committee on Research in Native American Languages. The texts will be found in Volume XII of the Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology.

About two years before going to the field, the author was given an opportunity to study Dr. Frachtenberg's texts and notes, from which the structure of the language was inferred to the extent that the material permitted. The six weeks spent in the field in 1928 were devoted mainly to the solution of certain problems which required additional information. The presence of four types of accentual phenomena distinguished by the characteristic pitch and duration of the accented vowel retarded the work considerably, for this feature, which had not been observed before, entailed a revision of all the material previously collected, as well as a close examination of the grammatical principles which had been derived therefrom. For the study of these accentual types additional material was recorded besides the 26 myths above mentioned. This amount of material proved to be insufficient for reasons which will be pointed out at the proper place. Hence the writer feels that the present account of the language is incomplete in regard to the principles which govern the changes in the position and type of accent, as well as to other facts, which a sufficient amount of text material might reveal. These limitations have been kept in mind, and conclusions which have been reached on an insufficient number of facts will be presented with the proper caution. On the whole, however, one may be confident that further study would not alter the presentation of the essential structural features. This statement applies in particular to our characterization of the formatives treated under the heading of *Objective Relations*. The complex problem presented by these formatives was duly taken into account before going to the field, and it was kept in mind throughout the time spent there. The amount of data available on this point seems quite adequate to support our conclusions.

Dr. Frachtenberg's informant was Hallie George, a half-blood Quileute who spoke English fluently. All the myths collected by the writer were dictated by Sei'xtis, one of the oldest members of the tribe who spoke no other language than Quileute. For the translation of the myths given by Sei'xtis, as well as for additional text and grammatical material, I am indebted to Mr. Jack Ward, a full-blood Quileute, 45 years of age. Mr. Ward, whose Indian name, idaxe'b, may be taken as evidence of the kinship which he claims

to have with the last of the Chemakum "chiefs", ə'naxem, has an excellent command of the English language. His brother, Eli Ward, furnished some of the material collected for phonetic and grammatical purposes. He also had a good knowledge of English. The pronunciation of many other members of the tribe was carefully observed, and several of them were questioned to determine the prevalent articulation of sounds in which individual differences had been detected.

The following abbreviations have been used; Q.T. refers to Quileute Texts by Manuel J. Andrade, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Volume XII, 1931. The figures 12:2 refer to the number of the text and line, respectively. References to the first six texts with interlinear translation indicate the page and line of the Quileute text, thus, Q T. p. 2:1.

I acknowledge my obligations to the Committee on Research in Native American Languages, and particularly to Professor Franz Boas for invaluable help received in various ways. Should there be any qualities worthy of note in the present study, they are to be attributed to the influence of the critical rigor which characterizes his work.

New York, May 10, 1929.

Manuel J. Andrade.

QUILEUTE

BY MANUEL J. ANDRADE

PHONOLOGY.

In the following description of Quileute-sounds the speech of the older members of the tribe has been taken as the standard. Individual differences exist, as in all languages. Moreover, some of the divergences from the standard adopted here seem to be rather prevalent and uniform among the younger generation. If this observation is accurate, the fact may be attributed either to the prevalence of bilingual individuals among the younger Quileute, or to a natural drift of the language within one generation¹. For one of the most obvious differences one might be tempted to postulate a social cause. The harsh, cracking sounds of *q'* and *t'l* are much softer among the young folk, who because of their fluent command of English are in more intimate contact with the white people. These sounds frequently provoke ridicule from some of the Whites upon hearing them for the first time, and even those to whom these sounds are more or less familiar frequently mimic them in a grotesque manner when jesting with the Indians. This may exert a restraining influence upon the younger Quileute who as a rule seem to be very sensitive to ridicule and aspire to social equality with the Whites. Of the several phonetic variations which seem to exist between the pronunciations of these two age groups, only the most noticeable will be mentioned, for, as many phoneticians may concede, acoustic impressions are not very reliable for an accurate determination of such distinctions, particularly if they are to be observed in an unfamiliar language.

¹ Instances of phonetic changes that have taken place within one generation are not rare among illiterate peoples. The writer has conclusive evidence that a change from a clear *l*-sound to a distinct *d* has taken place within 60 or 70 years in Mopan, a Mayan dialect spoken in Guatemala and in British Honduras. A similar situation was found in the village of Lunkini, state of Campeche, Mexico, where Yucatecan Maya is spoken.

CONSONANTS.

The Quileute consonants may be tabulated as follows:¹

	Plosive			Fricative		Affricative	
	voiced	voiceless	glottalized	voiced	voiceless	voiceless	glottal.
labial	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p'</i>	<i>w</i>			
dental	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t'</i>		<i>s</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>t's</i>
Palato-alveolar					<i>c</i>	<i>tc</i>	<i>t'c</i>
dental lateral				<i>l</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>tl</i>	<i>t'l</i>
palatal		<i>k</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>x</i>		
palatal labialized		<i>k^u</i>	<i>k'^u</i>		<i>x^u</i>		
velar		<i>q</i>	<i>q'</i>		<i>ɣ</i>		
velar labialized		<i>q^u</i>	<i>q'^u</i>		<i>ɣ^u</i>		
depending on the fol- lowing vowel					<i>h</i>		
vocal cords			' (glottal stop)				

1. The plosive consonants are generally followed by a strong aspiration. When the palatal and velar plosives are articulated emphatically, we observe that the tongue, upon releasing the air pressure, passes to the position of the corresponding fricative or glides through it while the air pressure continues, producing thus affricative combinations which in careful pronunciation we might represent by the symbols *kx*, *qx*; however, the duration of the fricative elements in these articulations is shorter than when *x* and *ɣ* occur as independent consonants. In the normal pronunciation of *k* and *q* the aspiration is most noticeable in a medial position, but in the sound of the *t* the opposite tendency is observed. Before a vowel the pronunciation of the *t* is closer to the unaspirated articulation of the Romance languages than to the English *t*, but it is identical with the latter at the end of a word or before another plosive. No acoustic difference has been noted between Quileute and English in the articulation of the *p*.

2. With the aid of the proper instruments it might have been found that the duration of the glottalized velar and palatal plosives is longer than in other Indian languages in which these sounds occur. If this observation is correct, we may infer that a comparatively long period of compression takes place between the release and the beginning of the following vowel. When these sounds occur at the end of a syllable their duration may be the same, but the fact is not so perceptible. So far as one may judge by the acoustic impression, the process of the so-called glottalization, whatever the nature of this process may be, seems to be present throughout the duration of these sounds. Therefore, if, as stated above, a careful articulation of the *q* may be represented by the symbols *qx*, in analogous conditions the sound of the *q'* could be rendered by

¹ The phonetic notation has been explained in No. 6, Vol. 66, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, (Publication 2415) Washington, 1916.

q'x'. The continuation of the process of glottalization throughout the period of such articulations is particularly noticeable in the affricatives *tʔ*, *t's*. Here we get the acoustic impression of a sudden release of air pressure into a constricted aperture. Hence, these sounds might be rendered in all cases by *tʔ* and *t's*. This orthography has been avoided for the sake of simplicity. The articulation of the whole glottalized series is much more energetic among the old generation.

3. In regard to the point of contact, the palatals seem to have a greater range of variation than the other consonants. Before *e*, *i* the point of contact of the *k*, for example, is mid-palatal, while before *o*, *u* it is post-palatal.

4. The articulation of the *d* is initiated with a nasal resonance that is more noticeable than in the unavoidable resonance of the nasal cavity for this sound in English and in other languages. This phenomenon does not seem to be present in the *b*.

5. In the pronunciation of the *w* the lips do not restrict the passage of the voice as much as in English.

6. The voiceless *l* followed by a vocalic element has often a decided vibratory quality resembling a voiceless *r*, but this varies considerably with the individual and with the emphasis with which the word is pronounced. The voiced lateral has practically the same sound as in English, though its articulation is linguo-dental, so far as the tip of the tongue is concerned. At the end of a word its duration is much shorter than that of a final English "dark" *l*.

7. The *s* has a sharp hissing sound. It is normally pronounced with the upper and lower teeth in contact, and the tip of the tongue touching the lower incisors.

8. The *h*, as in most languages, has no fixed point of articulation. The tongue, which is the main organ that restricts the passage of the air during the period of its articulation, is in motion toward and finally adopts the position required for the following vowel.

9. The glottal catch or glottal stop is not as audible in the pronunciation of most individuals as in other languages, so far as the writer may rely upon the recollection of such acoustic impressions. Judging by what has been observed through the laryngoscope in other languages¹, one may infer either that the vocal cords do not

¹ The explanation offered here was derived from the study of my own imitation of the Quileute glottal stop with the aid of a laryngoscope designed for self-observation. Such observations are, of course, open to question, since we have no proof that the native Quileute may not produce the same acoustic effect by a different process. However, this possibility seems rather remote, considering the nature of this sound. At any rate, my experiments agree with the findings of several phoneticians in regard to the production of the glottal stop. It is produced by the vocal cords, and not by the epiglottis, as some students of language think.

pass from a position of complete contact to that required for the production of the following voiced sound, and likewise a voiced sound is not terminated by a complete closure, or else these movements are not as rapid or energetic as in other languages. But individual differences are considerable in this respect, and, as in the instances mentioned above (sect. 2), the intensity of this sound is greater among the older Quileute. In the speech of the informant who has been taken as the standard, there was a tendency to echo the preceding vowel after a glottal closure. In most instances the echoed vowel was voiceless or weakly voiced, but in emphatic articulation or in the case of an accented syllable, a fully voiced vowel of shorter duration than the preceding one was heard. The glottal stop described here functions as a consonant. When it is omitted, the native feels that the word has been deprived of one of its phonetic elements. On the other hand, when we omit the less audible variety of this articulation mentioned in Section 11, the effect upon the native, if he can be made aware of it at all, seems to be analogous to that of a failure to reproduce exactly the quality of the vowel concerned. For this reason and for others mentioned below (Secs. 11, 37, 42), it seems justifiable to consider this glottal stop as a manner of articulating all initial vowels, and hence its transcription would be irrelevant in a structural presentation of the language.

VOWELS.

10. The quality of the Quileute vowel depends to a large extent upon its position in the phonetic structure of the word. To a greater or lesser extent, this may be said to be true of most languages, if subtle qualitative differences are taken in consideration, but in Quileute such differences are patent even to the untrained ear. We find, for example, that there is a vowel whose quality is very similar, or perhaps identical, to that of the *u* in the American pronunciation of "but". This sound occurs only in a final unaccented syllable in which the vowel is followed by *k*, and is not preceded by a velar consonant. Should a suffix be added to the word, with a consequent shift of the accent, this vowel may change to the quality of *a* in "hat" or to that of the French *â* in "pâte", depending on the following consonant. Since our interest centers in the structure of the language, rather than in a detailed rendition of its sounds, we have disregarded in our transcription most of the qualitative distinctions which are due to the position of the vowel in the word. Thus, each of the symbols *u*, *o*, *a*, *ä*, *e*, *i*¹ represents two or more

¹ For the use of the symbol *ü* see Section 43.

vocalic qualities which replace one another according to the conditions defined below¹. Therefore, our notation for the vowels in particular, but to some extent also for the consonants, is not phonetic in the strict sense of the term. It is rather a convenient means of writing the language, comparable with the conventional orthography of any literary language, but free from the irregularities of the latter.

11. All initial vowels begin with a slightly audible acoustic effect suggestive of the glottal stop. No such effect has been observed in unaccented final vowels. The presence of this manner of articulation in accented finals and between two vowels will be discussed elsewhere (Secs. 37, 42).

12. The symbol *u* stands for a vocalic quality very similar to that of the *u* in the English word "full", when the Quileute sound occurs in a final syllable followed by a dental plosive. It is like the vowel in "fool", when preceded or followed by a fricative, but with less labial protrusion. Before or after a palatal or a velar plosive, as well as between consonants with opposite influence, it is an intermediate sound between the latter and the *o* of "obey".

13. In some situations it is difficult to distinguish the sound represented here by an *o* from that of the *u* in the third instance above mentioned. The positions described for the *u* affect the *o* in a similar manner. Its range of variation is from a quality which is perhaps identical to that of the French vowel in "faute", to that of the American pronunciation in "low", without the diphthongal modification prevalent in the latter.

14. In most situations, the quality of *a* is that of the French vowel in "part", or even nearer perhaps to Spanish *a* in "paz". After a velar, and when accented with a low pitch (Sec. 28), it varies toward French *â* in "pâte". After *y*, *s*, *c*, and the affricatives it is similar to the English *a* in "at". When it occurs in a final unaccented syllable followed by a dental or a palatal consonant, its quality is similar to that of the English vowel in "but", and is perhaps identical to it if the final consonant is *k*, as in *y'isdak*, dress.

15. The *ä*-sound is not affected as much as the other vowels by phonetic contact. Its quality may be characterized as an "open" variety of the American English sound of *a* in "mat". It occurs in comparatively few words, some of which are presumably of foreign origin; as, *q'wäeti'*, the name of the culture hero; *läa'u*, two (when counting without mentioning the things counted); *yä'üwa*, snake; *pä*, day.

¹ For certain accidental changes in vocalic quality see Sections 28, 29. Cf. also Sec. 38.

16. When in contact with a velar or a *k*, the symbol *e* stands for a quality almost identical with that of the vowel in "met". After *s*, *ts*, *t's*, *l*, *t*, it approximates French *é* in "été". In other contacts intermediate qualities are heard. When its pitch is raised by an accent or by the intonation, and when preceded by *y* or *w*, if the following contact favors it, an etymologic *e* acquires a sound rather similar to the Middle-West American pronunciation of *i* in "milk". In such cases, its quality is hardly distinguishable from that of the Quileute *i* in certain positions. The change of an etymologic *e* to *i* will be discussed in section 29.

17. The *i* represents more than one nuance, but the distinctions are no more marked than those of the so-called short English *i* as in "divorce, him", etc. in various contacts and positions in the word.

18. There are no clear diphthongs in Quileute. The combination of *a* and *o* at the end of a word approximates to the acoustic effect of a diphthong, but in deliberate pronunciation we hear two distinct syllables. A similar effect is obtained when the objective pronouns ending in *lawo* are accented on the first syllable, which becomes *la'u*¹. In these cases the second element of this combination sounds like a very slightly labialized *u*-sound as in "full". The sound of *a* in its various nuances is occasionally followed by *i*, but these two vowels do not blend into a diphthong.

THE SYLLABLE.

19. Experiments performed with three informants to determine to what extent they would be consistent in dividing a word into syllables, gave the following results:

a. When the syllable constitutes a morphologic element, it is isolated rather consistently, depending on its meaning or grammatical function. As one would expect, more inconsistency and hesitation was shown with morphologic elements which perform an abstract function than with those which refer to concrete objects and actions. Thus, two informants agreed in the division of these two words among others: *kits-i-li'-xa'-a*, did he kick him? and the noun *hé-t'e-tsi't-lit*, material designed for some purpose. We notice that *ts* was grouped with the preceding syllable in the first word, and with the following syllable in the second. This division conforms with the morphologic analysis of the word, as *kits-* is the stem for the verb "to kick", but the *ts* of the second word is a causative suffix. On the other hand, the syllable *-tsi't-* is composed of three different elements, *tsi-i-t* (causative, connecting vowel, and a suffix indicating purpose) but it felt to both informants as an indissoluble

¹ In the Quileute Texts this pseudo-diphthong is transcribed thus *la'v*.

unit. The division of *kitsi·li' xa'a* was in strict accordance with its morphologic composition, excepting, perhaps for the treatment of the glottal stop. The separation of this sound, which is quite audible between two vowels, may be accounted for by the observations made in Sections 9 and 11 regarding its articulation before a vowel.

b. In the division of words that cannot be analyzed into significant or functional elements, it was observed that the three informants had the tendency to avoid initial and final combinations of consonants which do not occur in analogous positions in Quileute words (Secs. 32, 33).

c. When a given consonant in an unanalyzable word could be either initial or final, according to the principles just mentioned, there seemed to be no definite choice as to what syllable it should be assigned.

d. The idea that each vowel should be considered as the nucleus of a syllable was readily grasped and applied, though totally ignorant of the distinction between consonants and vowels, and without receiving any instruction to that effect. The problem was presented to them in these terms: "If you had to break up these words into small pieces, how would you do it?" Then a few English words were used to illustrate the process. It occurred occasionally that when a morphologic element in the word was composed of two syllables the two vowels were kept together in the syllabic division. It must be admitted that these experiments are not conclusive, since they were performed with only three informants.

DURATION.

20. The determinants of quantitative phenomena may be etymological, functional, or phonetic. As examples of the first class we have the following distinctions: *ó't'a'yat*, hand; *ó't'a'yat*, arm; *xa'ba*, to be dressed; *xaba'*, all; *xa'ba'*, not to know how to do something. Here we may also mention numerous nominal stems which are invariably found with the same quantitative pattern. We may consider in the second class the lengthening of a monosyllabic stem to express durative action, as *tcatci'*, it flew; *tca'tca*, it is flying.

21. Quantity is phonetically determined in the use of two of the pitch accents (Secs. 27, 28), and in the tendency to avoid long, initial vowels in composite words of more than four syllables. There are also some quantitative variations due to rhetorical effect, and still others of a very arbitrary character, which may respond to a rhythmic feeling for the phonetic structure of the word. Thus, the word for adultery may be pronounced indifferently, *taqo'sibet's* or *tá.qosibe't's*.

22. The duration of a long vowel is normally about the double of a short one, but Quileute speakers attribute a certain aesthetic value to the prolongation of long vowels under the proper conditions; so, we often hear long vowels, and occasionally normally short ones, pronounced with triple or longer duration, depending on the emotional character of the utterance.

23. We may also speak of reduced short quantity in a final accented vowel. In such cases the rapid glottal closure with which the vowel seems to end appears to facilitate its short duration, e. g.: *hitci'*, was frightened; *base'*, bad; *tatci'*, it flew.

24. It may not be altogether arbitrary to consider as a part of the quantitative system a certain phenomenon which we may call *dieresis*. In deliberate speech we notice an absolute silence of about half the normal duration of a vowel between certain elements of a composite word. In rapid pronunciation the effect is that of an increment in the quantity of the preceding short syllable. This interruption never occurs after a long vowel. Its presence is constant after the formal base *hé*, especially in long composite words. In other cases it seems to respond to a rhythmic principle, and in part also to a feeling of recognition of the various individual elements which integrate the word, e. g.: *ta'tcasé.li'ilitc*, you will be paid for it; *tsoxó-li.xalu'b'a'a*, did we shoot at him? In these two cases the dieresis, indicated by the period, may be a part of the rhythmic pattern of the word, for several other words with the same accentual and quantitative structure present the dieresis in the same position, but since it occurs only between separable morphologic elements, phonetic factors¹ may not be the only determinants.

25. Consonantal lengthening performs no grammatical function. Lengthening of a consonant occurs chiefly when a single consonant closes an accented syllable followed by an affixed element. This quantitative distinction often throws light on the structure of words which might be regarded as unanalyzable elements. For example, in *t'ca'a*, ripe, and *qa'ta*, perhaps, the duration of the interval between the glottal closure and the *a*, which is about twice that of an intervocalic glottal stop, as well as the duration of the aspiration following the *t* in the second word, makes it more probable that the final *a* in both words is an applicative classifier (Sec. 85). In *kwa'c'kwac*, blue jay, we may suspect duplication of elements which may still be felt as independent or which were formerly treated as such. On the other hand, the disjunctive pronoun *lu'b'a*, we, cannot be dissolved into simpler elements, and likewise we have no evidence of suffixation or compounding in words like *sábas*,

¹ For the presence of this phenomenon with a high tone accent see Sec. 30.

shark; $xá'xe$, now, and several others. In most of these cases we notice that the long consonant follows the accented vowel, but since the consonant is not long after every accented vowel, and it may occasionally be long after an unaccented syllable, we may conclude that at least some of these long consonants are due to etymological causes.

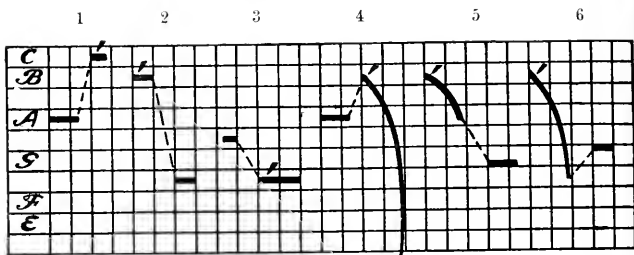
ACCENT.

26. Students of the classical languages, as well as those acquainted with Lithuanian and Swedish, are well aware of the fact that accent is not always as simple a phenomenon as it appears in the modern languages most commonly studied. But even in these the phonetician finds that, although stress (that is, a greater intensity in the sound of the accented vowel) is present in all accentual phenomena, this factor is generally accompanied by a difference in pitch, and frequently by an element of duration, besides minor distinctions of vocalic quality and precision of articulation. As is well known, some of these factors are more prominent in some languages than in others. Quileute presents a rather unusual¹ diversity of accentual phenomena. In most languages the accented vowel has a higher pitch than the unaccented ones. In Quileute it may be higher or lower, and it may begin with a higher pitch and end with a lower pitch than that of the prothetic vowel. Duration is an integral factor in some types of Quileute accent, but it is an independent element in others, although, as we shall see below, duration always affects the tonal aspect of the accent. Moreover, in order to gain a complete view of all the tonal phenomena observed in these various types of accent, other factors must be considered, for the tone of the accent changes with its position in the word, and with the presence of another type of accent in the same word. Thus, owing to such modifications, the melodic pattern of the Quileute word strikes us as a more obvious fact than the accentual types. In some cases, the latter can be abstracted from the recurrent melodic units only by taking into account various structural and functional factors. The recognition of the melodic pattern requires no such deductions. This does not imply that accent is not as definite a phonetic element as in any other language, but rather that in an objective view of the phonetic aspect of the word, the melodic pattern is as definite a feature of this language as accent. Whether or not the native is more conscious of melodic patterns than of

¹ Among the American Indian languages Sapir reports a similar accentual system for Takelma. Handbook of American Indian Languages, Part 2. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 40.

accentual types, it is difficult to determine. One informant, upon hearing a list of words which had the same melodic pattern, could decide without much hesitation whether any additional word belonged to that pattern, but he could not identify the same type of accent in two different patterns. This may be due to the difficulty of conveying the concept of accent to an untutored individual. Obviously, such psychological observations, however reliable they may be, are of doubtful application to the solution of linguistic problems. Since the native speaker is generally unaware of a great many fundamental facts which can be definitely established by linguistic analysis, his awareness of a given phenomenon is not a reliable criterion to rate its linguistic importance. The objective facts presented by this language are sufficient justification to regard the melodic aspect of the word as a significant feature, particularly for words of no more than three syllables. We shall see that the melodic patterns of dissyllables and trisyllables are definable and fairly constant facts. The accents are identifiable elements, subject to variations which can be defined with respect to their positions in the melodic patterns. Hence, we cannot attribute any more significance to one aspect than to the other.

The following diagrams represent all the melodic patterns that have been found in dissyllables. The list of trisyllables is less complete, but the ones which have been omitted are of rare occurrence. Observations on other polysyllables will be included in the discussion of the accentual types. The material for the study of these patterns was gathered in the field. Words with the same patterns were grouped together. Different informants were asked to pronounce the words of each group in succession and alternatively with other groups in order to determine the stability of the melodic units. One of the informants, Mr. Jack Ward, was brought to the State University of Washington at Seattle, where Dr. Melville Jacobs recorded on a dictaphone the selected groups of words spoken by Mr. Ward. I am indebted to Dr. George Herzog, of the University of Chicago, for the transcription of the dictaphone records. The pitch, duration, and stress factors were recorded originally in musical notation, indicating tonal differences of less than a semitone. With Dr. Herzog's approval, the musical notation was transposed to the graphic forms given here. The tones indicated represent only approximately absolute pitch. In determining the intervals within each pattern, differences of less than a semitone have been taken into account. This is indicated by the position of the tone marks on the upper or lower part of the space representing the approximate semitone. The length of the tone-marks indicates approximate duration. Primary stress (intensity) is represented by an accent sign, and secondary stress by the same sign in parenthesis.



1.
base'', bad
hitei'', scared away
tcatci'', it flew
tciko'c, became big
xaya'sx, again

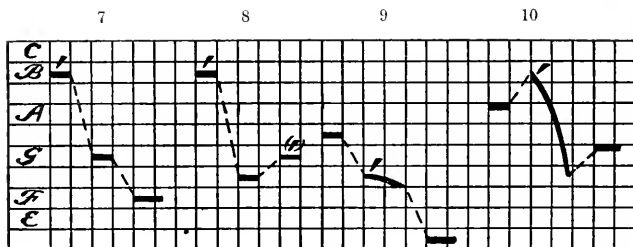
2.
hé.ol, to accompany
hé.lk'wal, to be pregnant
qát'al, to emerge
t'cá'a, ripe
k'ú'ats, to wedge

3.
lüwò, to bring
ko'ò'd, sallal berry
ya.xò't, high sea
lobò'q, rain
t'axà'ts, summer

4.
tca.xó, empty
qalé, ocean
t'a'ól, anemone
ko.xó'l, to roll down
tse.xá', to throw

5.
tsé'ilil, to push
p'á.xa', braid
ó'lit, mouth
ó'q'os, neck
t'á'kul, to mend clothes

6.
dá'kil, then, so
bá.yaq, raven
k'wá.ya', water
qó'tul, nose pendant
quá't'la', whale



7.
hók^ut'sat, blanket
quá'ayat, early summer
tótisil, drill
táx^ulo', bow (for arrows)
k'í'it'sol, to anchor

8.
lá'awi't, to bark
qá'awa'ts, cedar basket
xós-ida't, to bathe
hé.tqa't, mattress
wá.x^uoli't, moustache

9.
t'uwà-dak, blue huckle berry
t'aqà'tcil, thimble berry
k'e'è-lit, a bridle
likà't'so', married woman
pe't'è-so', yellow

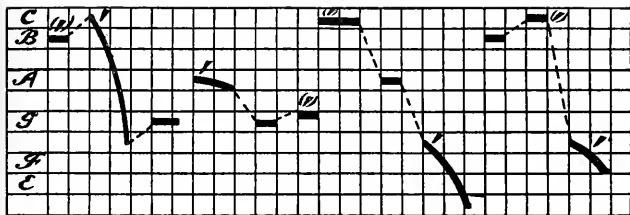
10.
yaló'lat, wife
sí'k'ó.ya', cedar bark
tukó.yo', snow
a'è.wa, platform
ha'è-tat, arrow

11

12

13

14



11.

- hé't'cô-dat*, arrow-point
ôtcqê-dit, belly
t'sô'bâ-yo', barnacle
t'si-kâ-bai, water tight basket
ô't'cô-sit, bill of a bird

12.

- á-xuyo'*, box, pot
á'axi't, mountain
á-lita', fish, salmon
tá-yidi't, fish club
ô-q'wayi't, the back

13.

- tei.ca'a'*, it blows (the wind)
béb-a'a', blind
ké.da'a', to bother
sip'a'a', to brush
há't'ca'a', slowly

14.¹

- sisá'wà*, before
teiya'wà, beneath
t'layo'wà, after
ateo'wà, to be in bed with
liko'wà, to wait

All the dissyllabic patterns, excepting No. 1 are quite constant in all the words recorded. Among the trisyllabic, Nos. 10, 11, and 12 are equally stable. In the other patterns some words show deviations from the norm given in the above graphs. No. 7 is the most variable. All these variations affect the pitch, not the stress or duration, and they do not alter the pattern to the extent of confusing it with another pattern. Further details about the characteristics of various patterns will be found in the following discussion of the accentual types.

27. Two types of accent can be readily abstracted from the above patterns on the basis of the tone and duration of the accented vowels. Their characteristics are easily recognized in spite of the alterations imposed by their position in the pattern, and the presence of other accents. We notice that in patterns 6, 10, and 11 the pitch of the stressed vowel glides through an interval of two and one half tones. This accentual type, which we shall call the *high-falling accent*, appears on a penultima followed by a short unstressed ultima. When it is preceded by an unstressed syllable, as in No. 10, it invariably begins with a pitch slightly higher than one whole tone

¹ In the material collected this pattern occurs only when the suffix *-wa* (Sec. 66) is added to a morpheme ending in a vowel with the middle-tone accent. In such cases *-wa* takes the low-tone accent.

above the preceding vowel. In pattern No. 11 this interval is reduced to a semitone, presumably because of the presence of another accent in the initial. The double duration of the vowel is a constant characteristic of the high-falling accent. When its typical tonal inflection disappears from the word, the originally accented vowel becomes normally short. Whether this accent should be called middle-falling or high-falling is a matter of choice. Its rise from the level of the initial unaccented syllable in pattern No. 10 would suggest the term middle-falling, but in No. 11 it starts with a slightly higher pitch than the high-tone accent of the initial. However, the modifications due to the presence of another accent are generally so diverse that no conclusion can be drawn with any degree of certainty. The interval between the peak of the high-falling tone and the level of the final syllable cannot be taken into account, for it is observed that the pitch of the ultima, whether stressed or unstressed varies with the pattern. The high-falling accent has been indicated by a circumflex mark. Although length is a fixed factor, it has been marked in every instance, thus *â*, *ê*, *î*. Illustrations of words containing this accent will be found in the examples given above for patterns Nos. 6, 10, and 11.

28. Another accentual type easily indented is the *low-tone accent* (*à*, *è*, *ì*, etc.), found in patterns Nos. 3, 9, 13, and 14. Its constant characteristics are its pitch and its duration. The stressed vowel appears with a lower pitch than that of the preceding unstressed vowel. Its occurrence is limited to the ultima and penultima. When it is found on a penultima, the ultima is short and unstressed. Unlike the high-falling accent, the low-tone type never appears in the initial syllable. When it disappears from the word, the originally stressed vowel becomes short. Its tone and duration are less constant than in the high-falling accent. It will be noticed that in pattern No. 3 the stressed vowel is slightly more than one whole tone lower than that of the preceding unstressed syllable. In No. 13, although it occurs also in the ultima, its pitch is fully three semitones at the onset of the vowel, and glides to a pitch three whole tones lower than that of the preceding vowel, while its duration is greater than in No. 3. Are the differences observed between these two cases due to the presence of another accent in the initial syllable in No. 13 or to the fact that this pattern consists of three syllables? All that we can be certain of is that the words of these two groups have different melodic patterns. The intervals between the unstressed initials and the syllable with the low-tone accent are approximately the same in Nos. 3 and 9. In No. 14 we have an interval of three and one half tones followed by a glide of more than one tone. We might regard this greater interval as a mechanical result due to the presence of a middle-tone accent in the preceding syllable. The

latter is only one tone above the level. If we should raise the pitch of the penultima one tone in No. 13, the drop to the low-tone would be two and one half tones. In 14 it is half a tone still lower. This difference is not significant, but we cannot account for the fact that the intonation and duration of the vowel is constantly different in the two patterns. Examples of the low-tone accent will be found in the above groups.

29. Contrasted with the high-falling and the low-tone accents, we find two others which have been designated by the terms *middle-tone accent* and *high-tone accent*. They are indicated by acute accent marks placed after and above the vowel, respectively, thus: *a'*, *e'*; *á*, *é*. The distinction between these two types is open to question, and still, if we consider their differences as modifications of one accent, it is difficult to account for a number of facts. Contrary to the fixed duration and position of the two previous types, we find that the high-tone and the middle-tone accents occur in practically all positions, and they may be heard on a long or on a short vowel, although it seems that the high-tone accent generally prolongs a short vowel or compensates for a lack of increment by the dieresis (Sec. 24). The middle tone accent is by far the most common. In its most frequent use, as a secondary accent in words of more than three syllables, it rises about one semitone above the pitch of the preceding unstressed vowel as in No. 14. Dissyllables with a long initial and an accented ultima fit in pattern No. 1, except for the duration of the initial syllable, as

tsa-li'', got up
a-ti'y, next year
pa-qe't, work

a'qa'', was on top of
q'e-t'sa'', berry, fruit
wa-a'l, disappeared

No constant distinction can be found between the middle-tone and the high-tone accents on the basis of pitch. If we take as a basis the intervals between the higher pitch of the accented vowels and the lower pitch of the unaccented, it will be found that in No. 14 it is half a tone; in 12, one tone; in 13, about one tone and a quarter;¹ in No. 1, one and a half; in 7, two tones; while in 2 and 8 it is two and one half. This range of variation² from one to five semitones may be interpreted in various ways. The variations may be regarded

¹ These measurements refer to the pitch represented in the above graphs. They must not be construed as absolute standards. A few of the words recorded for these groups deviate as much as a semitone above or below the majority.

² Throughout this discussion it must be born in mind that the words on which the estimates are based were spoken out of context, thus precluding any influence which the intonation of the sentence might have upon the accents.

as changes of one type of accent, or as alterations of two types which merge or approximate each other in pitch under such influences as position in the initial or final syllable, upon a long or short vowel, and before or after another accent. Once more we may contend that the word pattern is a more constant fact than the accentual type. Our guide for marking a stressed vowel with the middle-tone or with the high-tone sign is principally the behavior of such accented vowels in different situations. It is observed that if a word of two or three syllables appears with a short accented vowel whose pitch is two or two and one half tones above the unstressed vowel, in most conditions such a vowel will be found with a higher pitch than if it appears originally with a pitch of one or one and a half tones. Furthermore, such a higher pitch will be accompanied in favorable situations by the dieresis¹. Such observations have led us to regard the accent in pattern No. 4 as a form of the high-tone accent in a final syllable. Let us take, for example, the word *koḫól*, (he) rolled down, which appears with this accentual pattern. Here the pitch of the accented vowel rises one tone above the unaccented initial and falls from four to four and one half tones. Should we affix other syllables, the first interval will change to two or two and one half tones, the pitch no longer glides downward, and the vowel becomes short, followed by a dieresis, or remains long, as in *koḫól'i'tas*, he is going to roll down; *koḫó.si'ili*, I shall make him roll down; *koḫó.s'ta'tas*, he is going to make me roll down. The small rise of one tone in pattern No. 4 would lead us to identify it rather with the middle-tone accent, but against this we find that a word with the middle-tone like *tcikó'c*, it became large, which fits into pattern No. 1, upon taking a suffix, as in *tcikó'cil*, it will become large, the pitch of the accented vowel is reduced to half a tone, as in pattern No. 4; whereas the accent in *koḫól* rises to two tones in *koḫólaks*, she rolled down. Again, the downward glide of four and one half tones in No. 4 might suggest that this is a form of the high-falling accent. If that were the case, we could not account for the fact that upon adding one syllable to *koḫól* we do not obtain pattern No. 10.

A peculiar phenomenon is observed in the accent of trisyllables consisting of two short syllables (initial and final) and a long accented penultima. In such situations the accented long vowel may be pronounced with the same pitch as the initial, the accent depending only on a greater intensity (stress), or the word may take the intonation of pattern No. 9, the accent being practically the

¹ As heard in the dictaphone records, this phenomenon impressed Dr. Herzog as a "hesitation" in passing from the accented vowel to the next phonetic element.

same as the low-tone accent. However, Dr. Herzog observes that in such cases the downward glide is more constant and definite in the words of group No. 9 than in these, and the interval between the initial and the lower pitch is less than in the low tone. It is hardly justifiable to consider this as a special modification of the middle-tone accent, but it has been so regarded partly because of the unstable character of the melodic pattern, and principally in view of the changes which take place when other syllables are affixed. For example:

Low-tone (pattern No. 9)

- t'aqà·tcil*, thimble berry
t'áqatci'l-t'sa, little thimbleberry
t'uwà·dak, blue huckleberry
t'uwádake'do, it became a blue huckleberry
kadè·do', dog
kádedo'o'c, he became a dog
kádedo''t'sa, little dog
kade'do'o'ças, he is a dog

Middle-tone

- q'ala'pat*, placed across
q'ála·patsi''ili, I shall place it across
üxwa't'so, animal
üxwa't'so''t'sa, little animal
üxwa't'so'o'c, he became an animal
laqo't'soks, adze
laqó't'soksi''t'sa, little adze
láqo't'so'ks-ya''ak, it is his adze

We notice that in every instance in which the low-tone accent disappears the vowel becomes short. This is true even in *kade'do'o'ças*, although the stress remains on the *e*. In this case the accented syllable has a higher pitch than the initial, as in pattern No. 14. Hence, we conclude that the quantity of these vowels was due to the presence of the low-tone accent. In contrast with this behavior we see that in the middle-tone group the vowel stays long, whether accented or not. If only one syllable follows the long accented vowel, the pitch of the latter is either equal to or lower than that of the initial, thus merging into the low-tone pattern. Our inference is that in this group the duration of the accented vowel is etymologically determined, it is inherent in the vowel. When a middle-tone accent falls upon such a vowel in a trisyllable with a short unstressed ultima, the melody of the word approximates or perhaps merges into that of pattern No. 9.

As an additional characteristic of the high-pitch accent, we should mention its effect upon the quality of the vowel. Such effects are more or less marked depending on the specific quality of the vowel in the situations defined in Sections 12 to 17. For the sake of brevity we shall mention only the two most important. When the quality of the *e* approaches that of the *i*, the high-pitch accent transforms the *e* into *i*; similarly, *o* becomes *u*.

30. Few statements can be made in regard to melodic patterns in words of more than three syllables. In the first place, the high-falling and the low-tone accents are very rarely found in such words. We find chiefly a distribution of high-tone and middle-tone accents which give us the impression of primary and secondary accents, as they occur in most languages. Two high-tone accents are found only in very long words. A word of more than three syllables generally contains one high-tone accent and one or more middle-tone accents. The high-tone accent is most frequently found on the first or second syllable, although it has occurred in others. The material at our disposal does not justify any further conclusions. The Quileute accentual system cannot be studied from texts without the additional information of how each word behaves in different contexts.

31. On the whole it may be said that accent is not a fixed element of Quileute morphemes, but that it is associated rather with the composite word formed by whatever morphemes may be combined into one unit in a given sentence. However, certain observations lead us to think that some accentual types, in spite of their shifts and modifications, are etymologically determined. We could not account otherwise for the fact that a word which appears with pattern No. 9, for example, could not be pronounced with the melody of pattern No. 10, since the position of the stress and that of the long and short vowels are identical in both patterns. The same holds true for patterns Nos. 3 and 4, or 5 and 6. Moreover, there are certain morphemes which require the middle-tone accent almost invariably, regardless of whatever other accents may precede or follow. Others, which consist of one single consonant require the the middle-tone accent on the preceding vowel. It is possible that these fixed accents serve as pivots upon which the accentual pattern of the word must find its rhythmic equilibrium, either by shifting or by passing from one type of accent to the other, but no definite conclusions can be reached with any degree of confidence from the material that has been collected. If there are any principles governing the distribution of accents within the word, they must be very complex. The following morphemes have been found with a fixed accent: the objective pronouns, the suffix *-i'* which expresses momentaneous action with intransitive verbs; the adverb

-qwa' (or *-qwa'*), well, very much; the sign of the inceptive aspect *-c*; the future of the first and second persons *-'* (a glottal stop with an accent on the preceding vowel); and a suffix expressing contemplated or inferred future action *-l*. A few examples with the indirect object pronoun of the first person may suffice to illustrate this fixity of accent:

lüwó-s-ta'xas, he brought it to me

há.kutlas-ta'xax^u, he (invisible person) is bringing it to me

qwáqwa'e-c-kola's-ta'lite, you are surprising me continually

hé.sta'lite, you gave it to me

It should be born in mind, however, that there are exceptions to the rules governing the position of such accents. Emphasis on one element of a given composite word may alter its usual accentual pattern. We may speak of prevalent tendencies, but not of fixed principles.

The only morphemes which are constantly found with the high-tone accent are the formal bases (Sec. 48), and the negative *é·*. These morphemes appear with a short vowel, with a long one, or with a dieresis, depending chiefly on the following consonants. As a rule, the dieresis is not used before affricatives. When the affricative is glottalized, and hence (Sec. 40) the preceding vowel ends with a glottal closure, these morphemes are found with short vowels, as in *á't'cit*, chief; *hé't'sit*, when. Their pitch remains constant and conforms with patterns Nos. 2, 5, 8, 11, or 12, depending on the length of the accented vowel or on the presence of another accent. In regard to the negative *é·* we are hardly justified in speaking of accent, since it is a monosyllable. However, its high-tone is constant, and distinguishes it from *è·*, yes, which is always pronounced with a low-tone. It is only in this particular instance that Quileute can be said to be a tone language like Chinese, Ewe, and others.

Three morphemes are invariably found with the low-tone in determined positions. The applicative classifier (Sec. 85) *è·* is used instead of *-i* when affixed to an unaccented monosyllabic morpheme. The element *-a*, which denotes a durative or continuative aspect, appears with the low-tone (*à·*) when final. In the same position, *-wa*, which indicates direction of motion or analogous meanings is always found with the same type of accent.

PHONETIC STRUCTURE.

32. Any one consonant may be the initial of a word. More words begin with *q*, *q'*, *k*, *k'*, *ts*, *t's*, *tc*, *t'c* than with any other consonant. Only three words have been found with initial *tl*. More than one consonant as initials occur only in the word *spela'q*, exactly. The use of no more than one initial consonant is confined to the word. Thus we find that affixable elements may begin with the sounds

qt, ql, qc, qp, qlt, tq, tq^u, tk, tcx, sp, sd, sk, st, st', sq sq'w, lq, lk, lk'w. But even here we notice that the combinations are limited in number and in kind. There are only five instances of two plosives in direct contact, and in four of them *q* is one of the sounds, while in the fifth one, *tk*, the plosive may have a postpalatal point of contact. In regard to the other combinations, we find that *s* and *l* combine more readily with any consonant than any other sound, whether initial, final, or medial.

33. All the consonants have been found as finals, excepting *p, p'*. More than two final consonants in direct contact have been met with only in the word *tsaqotca'qlx*, it is impossible. Even two terminal consonants are not very frequent. The following have been observed: *tq, tx, ks, kc, kt'c, kl, ql, sk, sx, st'c, ls, lt', tsk', tsl, tcx*.

34. Combinations of more than two consonants between two vowels are rare. The following, which were brought about by the union of two morphologic elements are the only ones which have been found: *ksx, qlt, qst, qlx, qtx, ltx*. A glottalized consonant is never followed by any other consonant. Two plosives seldom come together. The following have occurred: *tq, tq^u, tk, kt, qp, qt*. In most of the other medial sequences we find that fricatives and affricatives predominate, the voiceless *l* being by far the one that enters into the greatest number of combinations. The following is a list of normal sequences:

bs
ptc
kl, kt's, kc
ql, qd, qt'l, qt's, qs, qc
sp (rare), *sq, sl, sd, stc, st, sl, sq^u; sx*
ck, ck^u, ct, cl
xt, xk^u, xts, xt', xtc (the same combinations are possible with *x*)
tsq, tsk', tsl, tsx, tsk, tsk^u
tcq, tcx, tcs, tct
ll
lt's, lk^u, lk, ll, lq, lq', lx, ls, lt, ltc, lp, lk', lt', ld
t.l, td, tx
dl

35. Our observations on the phonetic structure include the frequency with which certain vowels occur before and after determined consonants. The utility of such a study will, perhaps, appear more evident in the discussion of phonetic contact, and in the treatment of the connecting vowels (Secs. 36, 37), but it also throws some light on the divergences of vocalic quality due to consonantal contact (Secs. 10—17). The tendency for certain vowels to appear in contact with determined consonants is most marked when a single consonant stands between two vowels. In such situations the vowels *e, i*, appear more frequently in contact with the con-

sonants which are articulated with the tip of the tongue in contact with or near the front teeth or gums, while *a*-sounds occur most frequently when the tongue recedes from this position for the articulation of the consonant. A similar tendency is manifested in the vowels of initial and final syllables, but not to the same extent.

The following is a tabulation of 3097 instances of single consonants between two vowels, which occurred in 2467 unanalyzable independent words and in stems and suffixes of two or more syllables. Two examples may suffice to illustrate how the three sounds involved in each situation have been tabulated. A word containing such a sequence as *-iwa-* is recorded as one occurrence in column 2, line 2; where we find a total of 24 like cases. The opposite vocalic sequence with the same consonant (*-awi-*) has occurred 12 times, as shown in column 4, line 2.

Second vowel	<i>a</i>			<i>e, i</i>			<i>o, u</i>			No. of cases
	<i>a</i>	<i>e, i</i>	<i>o, u</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e, i</i>	<i>o, u</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e, i</i>	<i>o, u</i>	
<i>b, p, p'</i>	26	19	6	20	11	5	3	2	4	96
<i>w</i>	92	24	9	12	4	21	13	4	15	194
<i>d, t, t'</i>	85	29	11	72	60	5	16	6	11	295
<i>s, c</i>	41	54	6	73	67	18	17	9	6	291
<i>ts, t's</i>	32	49	10	78	70	15	14	18	9	295
<i>tc, t'c</i>	15	39	12	41	30	12	15	9	12	185
<i>l</i>	60	45	15	28	23	16	8	6	4	205
<i>l</i>	43	54	13	52	89	30	11	24	7	323
<i>tl, t'l</i>	11	8	2	13	11	4	10	13	5	77
<i>y</i>	21	58	9	32	30	14	11	8	6	189
<i>k, k', x</i>	102	44	22	50	29	15	27	13	20	322
<i>q, q', x</i>	173	44	21	15	26	6	17	8	35	345
	107	14	35	10	55	2	8	6	43	280

Doubtless, inferences from computations of this nature should be made with extreme caution, since we are dealing with a number of unknown factors. We should not regard as significant, for example, the fact that in 62.5% of the instances in which *l* is preceded by *a* it is also followed by the same vowel. In the total number of 5,894 vowels found in the elements tabulated, we find *a* in 45%; *e, i* in 38%; *o, u* in 17% of all cases. On this basis the sequence *ala* might be expected among 120 cases 54 times (observed 60); *al-e, i* 46 times (observed 45); *al-o, u* 20 times (observed 15). These deviations are not significant. On the other hand we cannot attribute to mere chance the fact that, when a velar is preceded by *a*, it is also followed by *a*. Among 238 cases we might expect *a-a* 107 times (observed 173); *a-e, i* 90 times (observed 44); *a-o, u* 41 times (observed 21). The tendency of the sequence *a* velar *a* is most marked in the combinations *aqā, aq'a, aḡa*, but it is rather evident with any other vowel and a velar, and to a less extent with the *k*-series. We

do not mention the glottal stop in this connection because of the various factors which may possibly be involved (Secs. 9, 37). Since the assimilation of any vowel to the one preceding a velar takes place in determined conditions between two morphologic elements (Sec. 39), the above observations may indicate that we are dealing with a general principle, which may have played an important part in the history of the language. Among other sequences which have occurred with a rather high ratio of frequency are: *awa*, *si*, *se*, *tsi*, *tse*, *tci*, *tce*, *ka*, *xa*. Future comparative work may, perhaps, reveal whether or not this tendency of certain vowels to appear after determined consonants has any bearing on such vocalic correspondences as, Nootka *-wi* (beach), Quileute *-wa*; N. *t'ca* (water), Q. *-t'si*; N. *tlukw* (big), Q. *tce'k^w*; N. *t'soqw* (hit), Q. *tsex*. Chemakum *ksuk-* (to die), Q. *t'ciq-*; Ch. *tcind'n'o'* (dog), Q. *kadè'do'*; Ch. *t'so-* (water), Q. *-t'si*.

PHONETIC PROCESSES.

36. We shall consider here the phonetic phenomena which are due to affixation. The phonetic modifications observed within the structure of the morphologic element have been dealt with in previous sections. As a rule, the sounds which constitute a morphologic element suffer no changes in affixation. In some situations even direct contact is avoided. This separation, which is effected by the insertion of vowels or the glottal stop, may be regarded in some instances as a tendency to avoid consonantal sequences which do not occur in the phonetic structure of the language, (Secs. 32—34), but in many instances the insertion of such sounds takes place between some of the most frequent sequences. On the whole this phenomenon seems to be of a morphologic nature. There are, however, various irregularities, which we may assume to depend on the meaning or function of the morpheme. Morphemes which can be readily translated by our nouns, verbs or adverbs are more regularly kept apart than those which perform purely grammatical functions.

37. If we disregard these irregularities, we can formulate the three following rules: (1) When one morphologic element is affixed to another, we find direct contact without insertions or modifications only when a consonant and a vowel come together. (2) The fusion of two vowels is prevented by inserting a glottal stop. (3) The contiguity of two consonants is avoided by inserting the vowels *a*, *i(e)*, which we shall call connecting vowels, or by using the vocalic form of certain suffixes (Sec. 38). The choice of *a*, *e* or *i* seems to be determined mainly by the preceding consonant. There is a distinct tendency to use *a* after *k*, *q*, *q'*, *x*, *ɣ*, *w*; and to insert

i or *e* before and after *s*, *c*, *ts* (cf. Sec. 35). A situation in which two tendencies conflict, as when one element ends with *k* and the next one begins with *s* or *c*, is disposed of in various irregular ways, one of which is to insert no vowel if the consonantal sequence is permissible. The following observation may be of interest: The word for *school* is *kúlxa'ositi*, which is an imitation of the English pronunciation of *school-house*, with the addition of the suffix *-ti*, meaning "house" and the insertion of the connecting vowel *i*. Phonetically, the connecting vowel seems unnecessary, because the sequence *-st-* within a word is quite common. There can be no doubt that in this instance the vowel *i* does not belong to either element, and that its insertion is due to a morphologic principle.

It is often impossible to determine whether a given vowel has been inserted in accordance with the above rules or whether it belongs etymologically to the following element. We find, for example, that the suffix which expresses causation has the form *-its* after *s*, *ts*, *w*, but after any other consonant *-ats* is used. After a vowel we find *-ts* for the same morpheme. In this case various explanations seem equally reasonable, but at least after the vowel *o* we may be fairly certain that its form is *-ts*, since the identity of the element *o* indicating location is quite clear. From the frequent occurrence of the vowel *a* before this element, we might infer that its primary form is *-ats*, and that the *a* is changed to *i* under the influence of the preceding consonants, but then we cannot account for the form *-ts* after a vowel, considering that the normal process in such cases (Sec. 37) would be to retain the form *-ats* and insert a glottal stop between the vowel of the preceding element and the *a* of *-ats*.

38. Owing to the regularity with which some suffixes appear preceded by *i* or *a*, as in the above instance, we may consider these vowels as integral parts of these suffixes, which for some unknown reason resist phonetic contact influences in some situations, and disappear only when in contact with other vowels. Such is clearly the case with *-at*, which expresses continued activity; *-ic*, meaning *to become* or used as the sign of an inceptive aspect of action; *-il*, which expresses immediate or purposive future action; and also all the pronouns listed with two forms (Sec. 67). We may illustrate these various contact processes by contrasting different words which contain the same elements:

1. *lasátsas*, he broke it (*las-*, to break; *-a-*, classifier (Sec. 85); *-ts-*, causative (Sec. 104); *-as*, he) This example is given to introduce the elements *-ats* and *-as* in contact with each other, as a basis for the next example.
2. *lás-atsi'tas*, he is going to break it. (*-il-*, immediate or purposive future action. The other elements as in example 1. This instance seems to define the form of the element *-il-* since it appears between the two

elements *-ats* and *-as* of the preceding example. In the following example *-il-* becomes *-l-*.

3. *kól-os^wwo't-li*, I am going to put you inside. (*kol-*, to place; *-o-*, classifier for location; *-s^wwo-*, object pronoun; *-l-*, as in example 2; *-li*, subject pronoun). For the long duration of the *l* see section 25.
4. *áq-so^wat*, he is on the roof. (*aq-*, to be on top of; *-so-*, roof; for the *w*-glide between *o* and *a* see Sec. 43; *-at*, continued action or condition. No pronoun is used for this instance.
5. *áq-so^wata'q^lti*, he feels at ease on the roof. (*áq-so^wat-*, as in example 4; *-a-*, connecting vowel or part of the suffix *-q^lti*, to do something easily. The connecting vowel disappears in the following example.
6. *hé.q^lti*, expert, one who does something without much effort. (*hé-*, formal base (Sec. 48); for the dieresis between the stem and the suffix see Sec. 24.
7. *tsil-a'à*, he is pushing. (*tsil-*, to push; *-a-*, classifier as in examples 1 and 2; *-à*, durative aspect, separated from the preceding vowel as explained in Sec. 39).
8. *tcí' i'là-tít*, that which you were doing. (*tcí'*, demonstrative; *i'l-*, to be busy, to be active in; *-à-*, durative, as in example 7; showing that the glottal stop in example 7 does not belong to the *-à-*).
9. *kí'ta's-walí't-as*, he is going to send it to him. (*kí'ta-*, to go; *-s-*, causative (Sec. 104); *-swa-*, indirect object pronoun; *-l-*, verbal classifier (Sec. 93); *-l-as*, as in example 2.
10. *xekó.tipilí't-as*, he is going to shut the door. (*xek^u*, to shut; *-tip-*, door; *-i-*, connecting vowel; *-l-*, as in example 9.)
11. *xekó.tí'p-as*, he shut the door. (All the elements have been explained i) example 10. Notice the absence of the connecting vowel after *-tip-n*

39. Contrary to the prevalent tendency to preserve intact the different morphologic elements, we find a process of assimilation, whereby a vowel affixed to an element ending in *q*, *x* or the glottal stop is replaced by the sound of the preceding vowel, e. g.:

ká.dedo'o'c, it became a dog. (*kadè-do'*, dog; *-ic*, to become)

pó.oqo'c, it became a human being (*poò-q*, human being, Indian)

k'wá.ya'a'c, it became water. (*k'wá.ya'*, water)

eci'c, it increased (*ec*, much)

40. Vowels generally end with a glottal closure when a glottalized affricative or glottalized velar follows, or occasionally when *k'* is affixed to a vowel. This happens more regularly when the contact is due to suffixation, but it occurs also in unanalyzable morphemes. In the following examples this phenomenon was caused by suffixation:

hé't'sis, when he, if he. (*hé-*, initial formative (Sec. 48); *-t's-*, occasion, event; *-is*, or *-as*, he).

t'lá'k'wal, it broke. (but *t'lába-xa'l*, he broke it).

bix-a'a't'sa, little flower (*bixa'à*, flower; *-t'sa*, diminutive).

hétkulí't'ca'yo'li, I imagine I am sick (*hé*, formal base; *-tkul-*, sick; *-i'*, connecting vowel with the glottal catch due to the following glottalized affricative; *-t'cayo'*, to talk out of one's imagination, to report a rumor; *-li*, subject pronoun).

41. The converse of the above process has been observed in the use of the suffix *-ts*, to make, which becomes glottalized after a glottal stop, e. g.:

te'kwa', rope; *te'kwa't'sis*, he made a rope
tcatei'', it flew; *tcatei''t'sis*, he made it fly.

42. A glottal stop is produced by the presence of a middle-tone accent on a final vowel. A reduction of the normal duration of such vowels is quite noticeable. That this glottal stop is produced by the accent is evident from the constant recurrence of such situations, and from the fact that suffixation, with a consequent shift of the accent makes such glottal stops disappear. This phenomenon takes place with more frequency at the end of a sentence. E. g.:

base'', bad; *bá.sedi'st'cli*, I have a bad hat
ká'ayo'', crow; *ká'ayoʒa'li*, I eat crow (meat)
tcatei'', it flew; *tcá.tcili'l*, it is going to fly

43. Between a palatal or a velar consonant and a vowel, *o* and *u* become *w*. For example: *ce'qol*, he is pulling (*-o* is a classifier, Sec. 85); *ce'qwats*, he jerked (the suffix *-ats* is used for a sudden action). If other consonants precede the *o* or *u*, these vowels do not change to *w*, but a *w*-glide is heard between them and the following, as in examples 4 and 5 in Section 38.

The proximity of *o*, *u*, or *w* influences the quality of an *i*-sound in the preceding morphologic element to the extent that we hear a quality which is very similar to that of the French *u* in "tu". Since this phenomenon does not take place regularly in the pronunciation of all individuals, it has seemed advisable to use the symbol *ü* whenever such instances occur. Examples:

yü'x-o, this one here (*yix-o*, demonstrative and locative)
üxwa't'so', animal.
liüwò, he carried to a definite place; but *liwè'l*, he carried away.

MORPHOLOGY.

44. Some of the terms generally used in the analysis of morphology are not adequate to present the structure of the Quileute language in the proper perspective. It has seemed advisable, therefore, to deviate from established usage in some aspects of our presentation. In so far as it is feasible, the plan of the present analysis will be based on morphologic facts. Function will be discussed coincidentally with the form that performs it, or in subdivisions of the general morphologic scheme.

The morphologic elements of the Quileute language may be divided into three classes:

1. *Initial morphemes*¹. Their characteristic feature is that they must occupy the first position in a composite word. In by far the majority of cases they require at least one suffix to form a word. Some of them can be used without affixes when they function as qualifiers (Sec. 124).

2. *Postpositive morphemes*. These can never occupy the first position in the word, but must always be affixed to their coordinates or to the elements of the other two classes.

3. *Free morphemes*. In most cases these elements appear without affixes, but some of them permit the suffixation of postpositive morphemes to modify their meaning.

From these definitions one might infer that the classical terms stem and suffix would be quite applicable. In fact, they would be suitable with minor modifications in their definition, were it not for their non-morphologic connotations². When we consider the semantic and grammatical functions performed by these Quileute elements, the inadequacy of the usual terms becomes patent. This point may be more readily elucidated by borrowing the nomenclature of Sapir's classification of grammatical concepts³. The term root or radical or stem suggests not only the morphological fact that it serves as a basis for affixation, but also that it expresses "basic concepts" in Sapir's sense. But the Quileute initial morphemes, though they generally express "basic concepts", they may occasionally be so void of concrete meaning (in so far as we can express it in English words) that they may be characterized as conveying "pure relational concepts." Furthermore, the elements of class 2 can express the same "basic concepts" that we associate with roots or radicals. Again, the term suffix connotes the expression of "relational concepts" or "derivational concepts", but the Quileute postpositive morphemes very often express such "basic concepts" as *hat*, *canoe*, *roof*. For the sake of brevity we shall often use the term suffix referring to these Quileute elements, but it is to be understood only in its morphologic sense.

¹ I use the term *morpheme* as defined by Bloomfield in *LANGUAGE*, II, 3, 1926, p. 155. In the use of the term *free* for the third class of Quileute morphemes, there is a slight departure from Bloomfield's definition. It has seemed preferable, however, to make this modification, rather than to introduce a new term. The forms of class 1 are generally *bound* and those of class 2 are always *bound*, in Bloomfield's sense. In contrast with these, the forms of the third class are *free* in most of the cases in which they occur. But my use of the term *free* does not refer exclusively to the specific instances in which the form is free, but to the possibility of using it thus (without any suffixes).

² "La racine indique le sens général du mot, le suffixe en précise la valeur. . . ." Meillet: *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*, Paris, 1924, p. 116.

³ Sapir: *LANGUAGE*, New York, 1921, p. 106.

45. In contrast with the above restrictions governing form, we find that there is considerable freedom in regard to the function which the three classes of morphemes can perform. Most of the morphemes may be used as nouns or as verbs, provided their function is indicated by the proper suffixes. It is not infrequent, however, to find words whose function is determined only by their position in the sentence or by the presence or absence of proclitic demonstratives. Considering the meaning of the morphemes, we observe that the words which we should classify as adjectives in Indo-European languages are identical in their morphology and syntax with the Quileute verbs. This applies even to the numerals (Sec. 118). In the freedom with which various functions are performed by the morphemes, we note that it is more common to form nouns with elements whose meanings we should regard as primarily verbal, than to form verbs by the reverse process. In fact, Quileute has a decided predilection for nominalizing morphologic composites which contain the characteristic verbal suffixes. Only a few examples will be given here to illustrate some permutations of function, others will be found elsewhere (Secs. 55, 56, 66, 122).

yix tsoxo'' laki'' xe' de'q'deq', the hunters lost the duck. (*yix*, demonstrative, subjective case; *tsoxo''*, hunt, generally used as a verb; *laki''*, lost; *xe'*, demonstrative, oblique case; *de'q'deq'*, duck.)

ke'e-tasa'l tsó-xole'c deq'de'q'a'al, they went hunting for ducks. (The first word means "to be moving about"; in the second word we have the same free morpheme as in the preceding example, plus the element *-l* (Sec. 93), and the sign of the inceptive aspect; the last word means "duck" as in the preceding example, but here we find it with the verbal classifier *-a*, and the postpositive morpheme *-al*, meaning *to go after*.)

sákt'caq^u x^u sa'kt'cít, put on an eagle feather. (We notice here the initial morpheme *sakt'c-* used as a verb meaning *to don an eagle feather* with the verbal classifier *-a*, and the postpositive morpheme *-q^u*, *on* or *at a place*; the same initial morpheme being used as a noun after the indefinite demonstrative *x^u*, with the nominalizer *-ít*.)

yix te- tcá'aba'a''t'ot', the grandparents who were inside; literally: the inside grandparents. (The element *te-* means *house, inside the house* or *where one dwells*. *yix* as in the first example. *-t'ot'* is a special possessive used with kinship words, meaning *some one's*.)

te- axu, Stay inside. (*te-* as in the preceding example; *axu*, a special pronoun for the second person singular in the imperative.)

yix ü'xwalo'la'te-, the shaman's house. *ü'xwalo'la'*, free morpheme meaning *shaman*. *yix* and *te-* as in the preceding examples.

yix hé'ol, those who had gathered. *hé'ol*, to be together; composed of the initial element *hé*, with practically no semantic value (Sec. 51), and the postpositive *-ol*, to be together. For the glottal catch see Sec. 39.

hé'ol, he accompanied him. (The pronouns *he* and *him* are understood.)

INITIAL MORPHEMES.

46. The majority of the initial morphemes are monosyllabic. In isolating these morphemes we meet with the difficulty that they are always accompanied by suffixes, the latter being in most cases the applicative classifiers (Sec. 85). Since there are considerable irregularities in the use of the classifiers, it is impossible to discover in many cases whether such a vowel belongs to the initial element or is affixed to it. Notwithstanding, we may be fairly certain, that the majority of the initial morphemes are of the following types¹: VC, CV, CVC, the last type being the most prevalent. There are no instances of initial morphemes represented by a single vowel or consonant.

47. Certain obviously compounded² morphemes can be analyzed into simpler elements, although we cannot ascertain the meaning of all their components. For a few groups of such morphemes we can find a general concept which will be common to all the instances in which one of the components occurs, but the others remain obscure, as they have not been found in other combinations. Thus we notice in the following examples that the element *la* occurs in a number of words implying motion, and that *t'co* is associated with the concept of *end* or *point*, but no information is available on the meaning of the other elements.

<i>la'o-</i> , to walk	<i>t'co-</i> , end
<i>lato-</i> , to cross	<i>t'cod</i> , arrow-head
<i>lak-</i> , to come out	<i>t'coq^u</i> , foot
<i>laq'</i> , to chase away	<i>t'cos</i> , nose
<i>tala'o-</i> , to run	

It may be of interest to note in this connection that a number of Quilute words have some syllables in common with those which we may assume to be their Chemakum cognates, but they appear arranged in a different order or combined with other elements which are not common to the two languages:

Quilute	Chemakum	
<i>tala'o</i>	<i>lata-</i>	to run
<i>ha'dequa</i>	<i>kahaqwa</i>	salmon
<i>a'lotq</i>	<i>akutq</i>	sealing canoe
<i>wesa't'sopat</i>	<i>kwet'sosapat</i>	woman

FORMAL BASES.

48. As remarked above (Sec. 44) the postpositive morphemes can never occupy the first position in the word or be used by themselves. We shall see in Sec. 64 that though apparently the same meaning can be expressed in many cases either by a postpositive morpheme

¹ The symbol V stands for any vowel, and C for any consonant.

² We refer here to the history of the morpheme; not to its present structure.

or by a free morpheme, it is possible that the two kinds of morphemes are seldom synonymous. Thus, for example, our word *hat* can be expressed by the free morpheme *tsiyá.pus*¹ or by the postpositive *-dist'c*, but the latter can also refer to a cap or to some kinds of head-dress, if no specific hat has been mentioned in the context. Naturally, the postpositive *-dist'c* appears generally together with another morpheme which expresses some other meaning, as *há't'cidist'cit*, good hat, or *t'labá:xadist'ci'ili*, I shall smash the hat. What happens, then, when such a generic concept as conveyed by *-dist'c* has to be expressed by itself as a word? In such situations the semantic demands are fulfilled without violating the morphologic restrictions. The postpositive *-dist'c* remains postponed, but it is postponed to an initial morpheme whose meaning approaches zero. We may thus say *ó'dist'cit*, where the morpheme *ó'* conveys a very general idea of location, and the suffix *-it* indicates that the word functions as a noun. There are three of these substitutes for the initial morphemes, *á'*-, *hé*-, *ó*-, which we shall call *formal bases*. The above example illustrates only one of the several situations in which it is necessary to use a postpositive without a meaningful initial element; other instances will be found in the following sections.

49. The phonetic character of the formal bases is rather constant. Their high-tone accent may be considered as one of their normal features, since it is disturbed only in rare instances, presumably, by such factors as the duration of the following vowels and by the proximity of the other high pitch accents. The duration of their vowels is not so fixed. The vowel of *hé*- is prolonged only in a few sporadic instances, but *ó*- is often long, and *á'*- drops the glottal stop in many cases and the vowel is then prolonged. It is very difficult to predict in what phonetic situations these variations take place, but it seems probable that they respond exclusively to phonetic influences. When the glottal stop is retained in *á'*-, a voiceless reproduction of the vowel *a* is heard after the glottal release, but in careful pronunciation it may become fully voiced. When insisted upon, the native is generally in doubt as to whether it should be voiced or unvoiced (cf. Secs. 9, 24).

50. It may not be altogether fortuitous that these three formatives are parallel in their vocalic sounds to the applicative classifiers (Sec. 85), and that the use of *á'* is as irregular as that of the classifier *-a-*, while *hé*- has many points of contact with *-e (-i)*, and *ó*- and the classifier *-o* agree in their connotations of location. This correspondence may indicate simply an etymological connection between the two series of elements, the nature of which we cannot determine. Disregarding this possible historical relation between the two series,

¹ Perhaps of French origin.

and attending to their present functions, we may say that the formal bases classify all the words in which they occur into three classes, which correspond in their main outline to those distinguished by the three classifiers, *-a*, *-e (-i)*, *-o*; namely, in the *ó*-class we find words which refer to objects or actions which can be confined to a more or less definite location. Hence, the names of practically all the parts of the body appear with the formative *ó-*. There are very few initial or free morphemes that serve as names for such parts. The formative *hé-* introduces verbs which refer mainly to actions in which localization is irrelevant, and which on the whole seem to be directed to a specific object: however, only by a stretch of the imagination could we find such concepts in many verbs formed with *hé-*. As to nouns, we find that most of those which occur with *hé-* are artifacts designed, as most artifacts are, for specific purposes. The formative *á'* appears in a variety of nouns whose meanings cannot be logically embraced by any general concept. Postpositive morphemes whose meanings we cannot definitely classify either as nouns or verbs are always affixed to *hé-*. Examples of typical, and irregular uses of these formatives are:

<i>ó-lit</i> , mouth	<i>hétsida't</i> , to swim
<i>ót'a'yat</i> , arm	<i>hé't'se'xat</i> , fishing line
<i>ótcqé-dit</i> , belly	<i>hé.ya'at</i> , arrow-feather
<i>ó-la'yo'</i> , sound, noise	<i>hétkul</i> , to be sick
<i>ót'cowo't'sit</i> , sky	<i>hé.lac</i> , to eat
<i>ó-gale'k</i> , to arrive	<i>hé.swa</i> , to give
<i>ó-sit</i> , roof	<i>hé.tac</i> , to catch
<i>á-lita''</i> , fish	
<i>á'saya't</i> , meat	
<i>á'lotq</i> , sealing-canoe	
<i>á-q'ti</i> , expert	
<i>á-tea'à</i> , yonder	
<i>á-xu'yo'</i> , box, pot	

It might seem that these formatives, *hé- ó-*, *á'*, could be regarded as prefixes. On such an assumption we should have to say that these prefixes appear only before suffixes (postpositive morphemes) when the latter function as stems (to use the classical word). But we also notice that they are never prefixed to any morpheme which can be regularly used as a "stem". This last observation is incompatible with the usual acceptance of the term prefix, and the former introduces a strong element of doubt in the fact that a prefix should be used only when a suffix acts as a stem. Considering the regularity with which the postpositive morphemes occur after other elements and never as the first element in the word, and considering, further, the fact that no other Quileute elements can be regarded as prefixes, it seems more reasonable to conclude that the formal bases serve as substitutes for "stems", and that the language has no

prefixes. Further corroboration will be found in Sec. 55, if we consider the meaning of some of the elements that can be suffixed to these formal stems.

51. There are many words with *á'* or *á* for their initial sound, from which their presumably affixed elements cannot be separated. In the case of dissyllables we may be fairly certain that this initial vowel is a formal base, since the high-tone accent is of very rare occurrence in words of two syllables, unless they be compounded. Thus, the words *á'xít*, mountain; *á't'cít*, rich man, chief; *á'beyat*, ocean canoe; *á't'co*, to lie beside some one; and others, are dealt with as though they were indissoluble units, owing, perhaps, to the fact that the postpositive elements have lost their morphologic independence, and consequently are no longer understood if deprived of their initial syllable. This is clearly the case with the word for slave, *á'woqo'l*, whose distributive plural may be formed by substituting *tcí'* for *á'* (*tcí'woqo'l*), but the element *-woqo'l* cannot be affixed to any other morpheme. However, most of the postpositives which occur with the formal base *á'* may be suffixed to other morphemes, as illustrated by the following examples:

ót'a'yat, hand

á't'a'yat, branch of a tree

á'q^usi'yat, small branch

tcí.las-i'q^usiyas, it has six small branches

á'lotq, sealing-canoe (generic term)

hélotq, a definite sealing-canoe

á'la_x, to be eating (in answer to the question "What is he doing?")

héla_x, to be eating (the food already mentioned)

á'tca'à, yonder

ótca'à, there (at a comparatively short distance)

héq_{ti}, expert (referring to a specific person)

á'q_{ti}, expert (referring to the qualifications)

á'lita', fish

hé.lita'a't'so', sea-food

52. So far, we have regarded the elements *á'*-, *hé*-, *ó*-, mainly as morphologic devices, although we have also pointed out that they classify words into three vaguely definable groups. We may now note some facts which indicate that the semantic value of these elements is not always as near zero as may appear from the preceding discussion. In the examples given above (Sec. 51), we notice that in some instances a word built with the formative *hé*- has a more specific meaning than when *á'*- is used. Similarly, we may say

á-da''adal, he talked, but *hé.da''adal*, he talked about it (the matter just mentioned). We may infer from these instances that *hé-* has a demonstrative force, since reference to context is doubtless a characteristic demonstrative function. However, this shift from *á'-* to *hé-* cannot always be made, and besides, the number of words which appear with the formative *á'-* is rather limited. No such shifts have occurred between *á'-* and *ó-*, or between *hé-* and *ó-*, but we observe certain connections between these elements and others whose functions are definitely demonstrative, as will be shown in the following sections, and also a definite demonstrative function performed by *hé-* and *ó-*, when they do not serve as formal bases (Sec. 56). All these facts may indicate that at least two of the initial formatives (*hé-* and *ó-*) were at one time demonstratives, but we are not justified in concluding that they perform at present any demonstrative function in the majority of the cases in which they occur. The instances cited above and those which follow (Sec. 56) may be vestiges of their original character. We find further that all the demonstratives may be used before the words formed with these elements which we suspect to have been demonstratives originally. This is, perhaps, a conclusive proof that they have no demonstrative value in such cases, particularly, if we notice that when *hé-* is used as an independent demonstrative (Sec. 56) it refers to something that is present, but when it appears as an initial formative, the word may be preceded by demonstratives with the opposite meaning. For example: *há't'cik'é'tat* means *a good fishing equipment*. The analysis of this word is: *há't'c-*, initial morpheme meaning *good*; *-i-*, connecting vowel between the consonantal sequence *t'c-k'*; *-k'et*, postpositive morpheme meaning *equipment*; *-at*, postpositive morpheme indicating that the word is used as a noun (if it were a verb it would be *há't'cik'é'tas*, it is a good equipment). Now, if we wish to say simply *equipment*, the postpositive *-k'et* is affixed to the initial formative *hé-*, and we have *hé.k'é'tat*. This *hé-* cannot have any demonstrative value, because we may say *yix hé.k'é'tat*, the or that equipment (just mentioned in the context); *xwa' hé.k'é'tat*, that equipment (which I know of only by hearsay); *tcí' hé.k'é'tat*, the or that equipment (which is not present, nor mentioned in context, but known by direct experience to the speaker as well as the listener); or we may, likewise, use the demonstrative *x^u* to refer to an equipment that the speaker just thought of, as in "Has he an equipment?" Other examples are QT. 18:11; 19:3; 19:16; 30:8; 34:39.

53. The three elements *á'-*, *hé-*, *ó-*, are not the only ones which may serve as formal bases. A limited number of words have been found in which the same office is performed by the morpheme *üxwa*, which means *some, any, that* (indefinite thing) when used

independently as a demonstrative. There has also occurred in the texts, though in very rare cases, that the same function is performed by another demonstrative, *xwa'*, meaning the, this, that (referring to something absent at the moment and known only by hearsay). In such cases, the informants were ready to substitute *hé-* or *üxwa-* for *xwa'*, but the latter could not be used to form other words. The following are practically all the words in which a postpositive morpheme has been affixed to *üxwa'*:

ü'xwalo'la', shaman
üxwa'kusil, dream
üxwa''q'ol, potlatch
üxwa'tcaqt, to be pregnant
üxwa'lk'wal, to give birth
üxwa''at'so', animal
üxwa'te-lit, to hunt big game
üxwa''at'a't, a wound
üxwa't'owa, small pox
ü'xwaqawo'l'xal, to inform

54. All the formal bases are replaced by the form *tcí'* to express distributed plurality in nouns, and iterative or continued action in verbs. These functions are regularly performed by reduplication when the words are not built with the initial formatives. This element *tcí'* is identical in form with the demonstrative that refers to an object that is not present, but is known by previous, direct experience (Sec. 114). Examples are:

<i>ü'xwalo'la'</i> , shaman	<i>tcí'ílo'la'</i> , shamans
<i>üxwa''q'ol</i> , potlatch	<i>tcí'aq'o'l</i> , potlatches
<i>xwá't'cí'sta'</i> , bait (just mentioned)	<i>tcí't'cí'sta'</i> , baits
<i>ó-laxat</i> , ear	<i>tcí'laxat</i> , (several person's) ears
<i>ó't'eq^u</i> , head	<i>tcí't'eq^u</i> , heads
<i>hé.ya''at</i> , arrow-feather	<i>tcí'ya''at</i> , arrow-feathers
<i>hétkula's</i> , he is sick	<i>tcí'kula's</i> , he is often sick
<i>á'xuyó''</i> , box	<i>tcí'ixuyó''</i> , boxes

55. By means of the formal bases words can be formed with post-positive morphemes, however abstract their meaning may be. They may thus be brought into prominence in the sentence and emphasized, e. g.:

qala'xal (1) *hé'yi* (2) *héqabitaxa'l s é-wala't' hé.xat s kole'iyut'*, there had already been war between the Ozettes and the Quileute. 1, they made war; 2, the formal base *hé-* with the suffix *'yi* (Sec. 130) which expresses completion of action or the transition from existence to nonexistence; ordinarily it occurs in the verb, and its office may be compared with that of our tense suffixes; here it appears as an independent word, and is strongly emphasized to indicate that this war had already taken place.

hé'xatc (1) *la* (2) *ti* (3) *á'kil* (4) *llwits'ta'* (5), he himself, Bear, made me carry it. 1, the formal base with the pronominal suffix for *he* (when the person

is not visible); in normal conditions this pronoun would be affixed to the verb; 2 and 3 enclitic words meaning *surely, indeed*; 4, bear; 5, (*liw-i-ts-sta*), initial morpheme meaning *to carry*, connecting vowel, causative, object pronoun.

yi: (1) *hé't'e-li'et* (2) *liüwo''oqa''a* (3), the one by whom they had been taken. 1, demonstrative (Sec. 109); 2, formal base, followed by the suffix *-t'e*, which indicates instrument or means, formal element *-li* (Sec. 136), and *-e* which is another form of *'yi*, as in the first example; 3, initial morpheme *liw-*, as in the second example, with the change of *i* to *ü* due to the following *o* (Sec. 43); *-qa*, passive voice, *-a*, modal suffix (Sec. 144).

See QT. p. 3:17; p. 9:9; p. 13:3, 5, 10, 13, 16; p. 14:7; 15:7; 12; 16:1.

56. It may be advisable to discuss here the use of *hé* and *ó* as free morphemes, although we may thereby alter the general plan of our presentation. As an independent word, *hé* is a verb meaning *it is, it was*, asserting identification, as in many uses of the copula *to be*. Similarly, *ó* is equivalent to the verb *to be* expressing location, presence, or like the French "voici, voilà", directing the attention to the presence of something or somebody. Examples:

é: (1) *t'atca'a'* (2) *s* (3) *hé* (4) *q'wäeti'* (5), he did not know that it was *Q'wäeti'*.

1, negative; 2, to know; 3, subjunctive pronoun, introducing the subordinate clause (Sec. 75); 4, it was; 5, the name of the culture hero.

hé: (1) *t'ciqa'l* (2) *xe'* (3) *á't'cit* (4), it was he who killed the chief. 1, *it was*; asserts a relation of identity between the person mentioned in the context and the subject of this sentence; 2, kill; 3, oblique case of the demonstrative; 4, chief.

ó: (1) *dá-kil* (2) *yiluxo* (3) *ciqwa'd-o* (4) *s* (5) *tcí'beqib* (6), there it was when the land dried up and they drifted to Chemakum. 1, there it was, referring to the place just mentioned; 2, then, therefore; 3, to dry up; 4, were pulled (by the stream); 5, demonstrative indicating direction of motion; 6, Chemakum.

For other examples see QT. p. 13:14; p. 14:1; p. 14:10; p. 16:2; p. 18:9; p. 18:13; p. 19:13; p. 7:11; 8:3; 8:8; 8:15; 8:31; 8:50; 9:31; 13:38; 21:7; 21:9; 23:31; 23:20.

REDUPLICATION AND INFIXATION.

57. These two modifications of the initial morphemes or of the free morphemes will be discussed together for the following reasons: first, if we disregard the possible historical development of Quileute infixation from reduplication, we shall have to say that in many words we find both reduplication and infixation as a single process; secondly, the words which appear with infixes cannot be reduplicated; each word has its own particular process; third, though the processes differ with the words, the functions performed by the processes are identical, excepting the office performed by the infix *-y*, which is always a kind of diminutive. Adhering to the morpholo-

gic facts, regardless of what their history may possibly be¹, we shall call infixation the insertion of any sound that does not appear in the morpheme; the term reduplication being limited to the repetition of one or more sounds found in the morpheme. We find the following types:

Type 1. Reduplication of the initial consonant and of the following vowel. This is by far the most prevalent type.

<i>da'q'ò</i> , eye	<i>dada'q'o</i> , eyes
<i>dók^{ut}'cít</i> , head	<i>dódok^{ut}'cít</i> , heads
<i>t'abò·q^{us}</i> , navel	<i>t'á't'abò·q^{us}</i> , navels
<i>wék'wa'yo'o'l</i> , mouse	<i>wéwek'wa'yo'o'l</i> , mice

Type 2. Reduplication of the initial vowel of the stem with the insertion of a glottal stop:

<i>á't'cít</i> , rich man, chief	<i>á'á't'cít</i> , chiefs
<i>éca''^aq'wa</i> , warrior	<i>é'eca''^aq'wa</i> , warriors
<i>éla'xali</i> , I left him	<i>é'ela'xali</i> , I leave him often
<i>ó'xwal</i> , he carries water	<i>ó'o'xwal</i> , he carries water often
<i>á'woqo'l</i> , slave	<i>á'awoqo'l</i> , slaves

Type 3. Reduplication of the vowel of the first syllable with the insertion of a glottal stop:

<i>bí'b-a'á</i> , blind man	<i>bí'í'b-a'á</i> , blind men
<i>xálatšli</i> , I cut it	<i>xá'alatšli</i> , I cut it often, repeatedly
<i>tsíla'tsas</i> , he pushed	<i>tsí'íla'tsas</i> , (iterative)
<i>ya'tcoli</i> , I sold it	<i>yá'a'tco'li</i> , I sold (several things on different occasions)

Type 4. Reduplication of the initial consonant after the first syllable:

<i>qa-té'</i> , he failed	<i>qáqle'</i> , frequentative
<i>tsi'ko</i> , he put it on	<i>tsítsko</i> , frequentative
<i>kwe'tsa'</i> , he is hungry	<i>kwe'k^{ut}tsa'</i> , several people are hungry
<i>tukó·yo'</i> , snow	<i>tukó·yo'</i> , snow here and there

Type 5. Reduplication of a consonant and infixation or modification of a vowel:

¹ It seems quite possible, for example, that in type 5, listed below, we have a special development from the more common process of reduplication, by modifying the vowel of the reduplicated syllable, though it is also possible that this apparently modified vowel represents an older sound of the first syllable. But the same may be true even in cases in which the infixes *-s-* and *-ts-* appear. It is conceivable that these consonants represent or developed from old initial consonants in these words. It would be arbitrary to draw a line between these two types of infixation just because we can more easily account for one than for the other. These possible etymological connections should be noted, but they do not affect the morphologic fact that at the present time this language has infixes, according to our definition. If the term infix is not restricted to the morphologic fact, we may question that there are infixes in most of the languages in which this grammatical process is said to exist.

qa'wats, potato
t'á-dax, tail (of bird)
há.ba, tree
k'á't'la, stone

qá-ge-wats, potatoes
t'at'è-dax, tails
há.hiba', trees
k'ak'è-t'la, stones

Type 6. Reduplication of a vowel and infixation of a consonant:

kwáti', he tried
t'lè-x, stiff
sayà'li, I like it
hétkul, he is sick

kwáyá.ti', he tried a little
t'leyéx, rather stiff
sayá.yaa'li, I rather like it
heyítkul, he is a little sick

Type 7. Reduplication of the consonant and of the vowel of the first syllable and infixation of a consonant between the duplicated syllables:

kadè-do', dog
tcibò-d, fish hook
tsiyá.pus, hat
ka-ya'd, shark

káskadé-do', dogs
tcístcibò'd, fish-hooks
tsístsiya'pus, hats
káskaya'd, sharks

58. From the various instances found in the texts, and in extensive material gathered especially for this purpose, the following general principles come to light:

(A) There are few cases of infixation without reduplication of either a consonant or a vowel. We must exclude here, however, the appearance of *e* instead of *i*, or the reverse, for these are due to phonetic influences (Sec. 35). Therefore, the increment has generally one element in common with the initial syllable of the word.

(B) Only three consonantal infixes can occur without duplication of the initial consonant, namely, *y*, *t'*, and *ts*; the latter becoming glottalized when the initial of the stem is a glottalized sound. We may call *-y-* an independent infix, since it may be found in any stem, regardless of its initial consonant. On the other hand, *t'* and *ts* stand in a fixed relation to the initial of the stem, thus: if the initial is a plosive, the infix is the affricative *ts*; whereas if the initial is an affricative, the infix must be the plosive *t'*. We can point to only one exception to these correspondences: *k'a't'axil*, distributive plural of *k'a'xil*, iron. Only three words have been found with an initial fricative which take any consonantal infix except *y*:

xwaxa'lpát, white pine
hókwa't, white man
sé-kabats, clam shell (for drinking)

xwatsxa'lpát, white pines
hótskwa't, white persons
sé-t'í'skabats, distributive

The following examples illustrate these three types of consonantal infixation:

k'wéselaqwa'li, I firmly believe
ce'qol, he pulled
t'áx-a, hot

k'weyése-li, I hardly believe
ciyè-qol, he pulled a little
t'ayáx-a, warm

pi''ko', root basket
poò·q, human, Indian
t'é'là, vulva
ti·la', hemlock
kéyuta'd,¹ horse
qa'xadi's, arrow notch

t'séxetili'l, hill
t'sa'p·is, cedar tree
tsi'k·il, fork
t'lo'ooqol, lake
lta'·qwa', a bruise

pi'tsko', root baskets
póts.oò·q, Indians
t'ét'sè·la, vulvas
ti·tsila', hemlock trees
kétsiyuta'd, horses
qátsaxadi's, arrow notches

t'sét'exi'lili'l, hills
t'sa·t'apis, cedar trees
tsit'è·kil, forks
t'lól'o'ooqol, lakes
lta't'e·qwa', bruises

(C) When the vowel of the initial syllable of the stem sounds as the English *e* in "met", the quality of the infixed vowel is like that of English *i* in *hit*.

se·ya, he sees
de'q'deq', mallard duck
wésa't'so·pat, woman

sesi·ya, he sees now and then
dediq'deq', mallard ducks
wewisa't'so·pat, women

(D) Reduplication concerns regularly only the initial consonant or the first vowel of the word or both. So, in words whose initial is a vowel, this is the only element that is reduplicated. This principle is strictly adhered to even in cases in which a monosyllabic stem has a terminal consonant, or when we may infer from the general phonetic tendencies that the consonant following the first vowel belongs to the initial syllable. For example:

ha'tc-, good
qa·x, bone
ba'k-, to ask
ci·p-, black; *hókwal'*, white man
 (non-Indian)

hahé't'capa''li, I have good weapons
qqa·x, bones
babá'k'etid, they asked one another
cici·p·ho'kwat', negroes

(E) The first syllable of the reduplicated word is identical with that of the original, which means that the increment appears always as infixed. Only one exception has been found:

tcá'le·tiqo'l, pencil

tcitcá'le·tiqo'l, pencils

(F) The following irregular cases have occurred, in which the second syllable is reduplicated instead of the first one:

lila·p, soft
sowa'tc, alive
é·t'iklo'wà·, crazy
q'aba·ala, white color
t'su'wi·tcil, a boil
haya'qa', weak
kide'qet, whetstone
tcudó·tcá·was, he rolled on
 the beach

lilale·p, soft things
sowa·wite, living things
é·t'et'i'klowà·, crazy persons
q'aba·bi'la, white things
t'suwe·wi'tcil, boils here and there
haya·yiq'a', weak persons
kide'qet, whetstones
tcudó·do·tcá·was, he rolled re-
 peatedly on the beach

¹ Probably borrowed from Chinook.

(G) The substitution of the demonstrative *tcí'* for the formal base in order to form the distributive plural has been noticed above (Sec. 58). Occasionally, however, we find the formal base *ó-* duplicated. This seems to occur mainly in the most common words. This process is not employed by the older Quilute. The following were given by Frachtenberg's informant and by one of my own, Eli Ward:

<i>ó-laxat</i> , ear	<i>ó'olaxat</i> , ears
<i>ó-lit</i> , mouth	<i>ó'olit</i> , mouths
<i>ó-tit</i> , face	<i>ó'olit</i> , face
<i>ó-doqwa't</i> , forehead	<i>ó'odoqwa't</i> , foreheads

59. The expanded word (by reduplication or infixation) performs two fundamentally different functions. It denotes, on the one hand, the existence or occurrence of conceptually identical objects or actions in different situations or occasions; on the other hand, it expresses what we may call the diminutive of objects or actions. The first of these general concepts appears in nouns with the more specific aspect of a distributive plural; and in verbs with the analogous designation of an act which takes place frequently or occasionally, or, in more rare instances, in continuous repetitions at one given occasion, or simultaneously if the acts are performed by different persons.

At the present time, perhaps under the influence of English, the younger Quilute reduplicate their words to express plurality, without any connotation of distribution. Due to the nature of the occasion, it is difficult to determine in some instances whether distribution or only plurality is denoted; but in by far the majority of the reduplicated nouns in the texts dictated by Sei'xtis, distribution is clearly expressed, and in numerous occasions in which plurality was implied in the sentence, the nouns were not reduplicated.

60. Any of the seven types of expansion described above, may express the concept of distribution in space or time; but the diminutive is denoted exclusively by the infix *-y*. For nouns, the diminutive suffix *-t'sa* is more commonly employed than the infix *-y*; but for verbs the latter is the only one admitted. By the diminutive of a verb we mean here the expression of the idea that an act fails to reach perfection or is performed to a lesser extent than expected, or sometimes to a somewhat surprising degree beyond expectation, as when we say in English, "It is rather chilly!" For illustrations we may refer to the examples already given, and to the text references given in the following section.

61. It is difficult to predict what word or words will be reduplicated when the sentence connotes distribution. On the whole we notice that an abstract concept involved in a unit of thought is more liable

to be reduplicated than the more concrete ones which integrate such a unit. The following are typical examples:

teik^u (1) *ka'yad* (2) *lawé-ll'wa'as* (3) *hahé't'c* (4). Big Shark had two daughters who were pretty, 1, big; 2, shark; 3, *lawé-*, two, *-ll'wa-*, postpositives meaning *son* or *daughter*; *-as*, subjective pronoun, *he*; 4, pretty; *ha't'c-*, is reduplicated, presumably because the quality of beauty was distributed (each one was pretty in her own way).

teitcikut'os ha', he had big thighs, *teik^{u-}*, big, reduplicated; in this example it is difficult to see anything else than plurality, unless we view it as each thigh being big.

se'yac (1) *s* (2) *xaba'* (3) *yiḡ* (4) *éwala't'* (5) *t'cít'ciqa'* (6), he saw that all the Ozettes were dead. 1, began to see; 2, demonstrative introducing the subordinate clause; 3, all; 4, article; 5, Ozettes; 6, *t'ciqa'*, to die or be dead; reduplicated as each one died at a different time and place during the attack.

q'ot'ül (1) *ḡe'* (2) *tsixa''* (3) *ḡe'* (2) *t'lat'lat'citi''lo'x^ua'es* (4) *yiḡ* (5) *teitcoo'tsk'* (6), she melted the gum that had been sealing the eyes of the children. 1, melted; 2, demonstrative oblique case; 3, gum; 4, reduplication of *t'lat'c-*, to gum or stick together; *-tilox^u*, postpositive morpheme meaning *eye*; *-e* expresses transition from existence to non-existence; 5, demonstrative, subjective case expressing the syntactic relation between 4 and 6; 6, reduplication of *teoo'tsk'*, child.

ec (1) *yiḡ* (2) *kole'yut'* (3) *t'cát'ceyoo't* (4), many of the Quileute were gossiping. 1, much, many; 2, demonstrative, subjective case; 3, Quileute; 4, reduplication of *t'cayo-*, to talk from hearsay or out of imagination.

For other examples see QT. 7:12; 15:9; 19:4; 19:5; 19:35; 19:42; 19:43; 19:44; 23:9; 23:35.

POSTPOSITIVE MORPHEMES.

62. These elements have already been defined (Sec. 48). In regard to their phonetic character, we notice that some consist of one consonant, as *-t*, which indicates that the word is used as a noun; others consist of a single vowel, as *-o*, a locative adverb; but most of them have a more complex phonetic structure. The majority are monosyllabic. There is some probability that a few of the dissyllabic, and even some of the monosyllabic postpositives may be analyzable into two etymologically independent elements, but we are unable to do so confidently because in each case one of the two elements has lost its independence. Thus, *-galek*, to arrive, may be composed of *-qal*, an element of unknown meaning, and *-k*, which signifies *to go*, the *-e* being the usual connecting vowel (Sec. 37). Likewise, *-cats*, to use, may contain the element *-ts*, to do, together with another morpheme of obscure sense. Of course, isolated instances like these may be mere coincidences, but there are other cases in which the recurrence of a given element can hardly be attributed to chance. For example, *-qal*, to look; *-t'sil*, to spy; *-qol*, to intend; *-tqa'yil*, to have as a goal; *-qawol*, to talk for the

purpose of conveying information or news. Here, the element *l* may be identified with the postpositive *-l*, which expresses direction of motion or purpose when used as the last element in the word or just before the pronoun. Naturally, this analysis throws light only on the history of these morphemes. Since the element *-qa* in *-qal*, to look, has never been found without the *l*, we have to regard *-qal* as a simple morphologic element, regardless of its history.

63. Although it is not customary to insert lexicographic material in the body of a grammatical discussion, it may be justifiable to include here a list of postpositive morphemes with their meanings, principally to illustrate the facts discussed in section 48, concerning the use these affixed elements. Moreover, a grammatical study must necessarily deal with the forms which express tense, aspect, mode, voice, etc., but in this language a separation of such morphemes from those which express nominal, verbal, or adverbial notions would have no morphologic foundation, as noted in section 48, and as illustrated further in Sections 66, 92, 130, 131.

Two opposite extremes may be observed in the functions¹ of the postpositive morphemes. The meaning of some of them can be defined only in grammatical terms, as *-qa*, the sign of the passive voice for neutral verbs; *-t*, denoting that a word is used as a noun. In contrast with these, there are others which can be defined with reference to items of human experience linguistically classified, as *-qalek*, to arrive; *-t'ada*, to smell; *-sp*, fire; *-tip*, door. An attempt to draw a line between these two classes meets with the usual difficulties encountered in any classification of function. Furthermore, in Quileute, as in all languages, a given form may perform coincidentally or in different contexts two or more functions which may belong to two different categories. Notwithstanding these difficulties, it seems preferable for the purposes of a grammatical study to present these forms in groups having similar functions, rather than to deal with them in alphabetical order, which is the only alternative. In the following groups of postpositive morphemes we shall find mainly those whose meanings may be rendered by our nouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, etc. Their functions are more objectively referential, and hence they constitute the kind of linguistic material more commonly found in vocabularies. Those

¹ The term function is used here in its broadest sense. It includes what is generally called meaning. Thus, we can say that *-yax* means *rock*, or that the function of the form *-yax* is to refer to those aspects of matter which we classify under the concept symbolized by the English word *rock*. This will be called *referential function*. The office performed by such forms as *-t*, a nominal ending, is a *grammatical function*. This distinction is useful, although an attempt to show that any given form performs only a grammatical function would involve us in philosophical or psychological discussions, which have, so far, proved to be fruitless.

Quileute postpositives corresponding to the Indo-European elements generally dealt with in grammars will be discussed in separate sections. The first two groups embrace those forms whose meanings we can more readily characterize as nominal or verbal. The distinction between nominal and verbal morphemes is based on whether they can be rendered by an English verb or by a noun; since, as stated in Section 127, we have no means of determining whether the post-positive morphemes within a Quileute word perform verbal, adverbial, nominal or adjectival functions. A third group includes those whose functions are of a more complex nature. In some cases we cannot be certain as to whether they perform a subordinated referential function as our ending *-less* in *homeless*, or whether the reference is comparable to that of our preposition in *without a home* or to that of our verb in *to have no home*.

POSTPOSITIVE MORPHEMES EXPRESSING NOMINAL CONCEPTS.

64. Many of the concepts which are commonly expressed by nouns in other languages are represented in Quileute by the post-positive morphemes, although they can also be expressed by independent words. In many cases the two forms are available. Thus, we may refer to a person's head by the independent word *do'ku'cit*, or, if the syntax permits it (Sec. 127), by affixing *-t'e* or *t'eq^u* to another morpheme. However, this duplicity of form is not available for all nominal concepts, and, as we shall see below, it does not exist at all for the expression of non-nominal concepts. For some nominal concepts the language has no morphologically independent word. In such cases, when the structure of the sentence requires that the concept be expressed by itself in a word (cf. Sec. 48), such a word can be formed, as shown above (Sec. 55), by appending a postpositive morpheme to a formal base. It is only by this process that most of the parts of the body can be named independently from other concepts. For example, there is only one word for *mouth*: *ó'lit*, in which we find the element *-li*, of common occurrence as a suffix meaning *mouth*. The other elements are mere devices to form an independent word that can function as a noun.

No inferences can safely be drawn from the present state of the language as to the origin of these affixed elements which express nominal¹ concepts. In about 60 per cent of the cases in which the language has two forms for the same nominal concept, it is not conceivable that there can be any etymological connection between them. For example:

¹ They are nominal from the point of view of most of the languages that are familiar to us. In reality, all we can say is that they express concepts which may be rendered by our nouns.

	Free	Postpositive
arrow	<i>hae-ta't</i>	<i>-k'i</i>
child	<i>tcoo'tsk'</i>	<i>-lk'wa</i>
water	<i>k'wá·ya'</i>	<i>-sid</i> or <i>-t'sit</i>
tree	<i>há'ba·</i>	<i>-ya</i>

In other duplets the free and the postpositive forms have at least one or two phonetic elements in common:

	Free	Postpositive
blanket	<i>ho'k^ut'sat</i>	<i>-t'sai</i>
basket	<i>ba'x^ui</i>	<i>-bai</i>
dress	<i>t'sik·t'sal</i>	<i>-t'sa</i>
sealing-canoe	<i>á'lotq</i>	<i>-tq</i>

In many cases in which we find these duplets, no distinction of meaning can be discovered, but in others we may infer that the postpositive morphemes are more generic, and the free forms more specific. At the present time, *tsiyá.pus* means simply *hat*, but *-dist'c* is a hat or a cap. Similarly, there are several words for the different types of canoes, but the postpositive *-qa* may refer to any of them, as well as to a wagon or an automobile. Also, there are free morphemes for bow and arrow, as well as for the modern gun, besides the generic term *a'tcta'*, weapon; but all these concepts may be rendered by the postpositive *-pa*. Nevertheless, it is not possible to determine to what extent this distinction is prevalent. We find that in connected discourse the same object is referred to by a free form used as the subject of the sentence, and in the very next utterance by a postpositive morpheme in a different syntactic connection. This may indicate either that the two forms have the same meaning in that particular context, or that the postpositive may even in such cases have a generic meaning, as when we use the word *hammer* in one sentence but in the following context refer to the same individual object by the generic term *tool*. Illustrations of such situations will be found in QT. 15:8; 19:6; 19:27; 23:7, 8.

The following is a list of the nominal postpositives that have been isolated from various words:

<i>at'</i> , color ¹	<i>os</i> , nose
<i>at</i> , weather	<i>o'lwa</i> , point (<i>t'sobo·'lwa</i> , sharp point)
<i>eli</i> , wood	<i>wa</i> , beach
<i>elwa</i> , food	<i>wiy</i> , wall
<i>idis</i> , decorated blanket	<i>wo'</i> , sky
<i>ya</i> , tree, log	<i>bai</i> , basket
<i>ya'</i> , intestines, sinew	<i>pa</i> , bow, gun, weapon
<i>ya'at</i> , stone arrow-head	<i>pat</i> , plant, bush, tree (affixed to names of trees)
<i>ya.x</i> , rock	<i>patska</i> , bow (arrow)
<i>yit</i> , flounder	<i>dask</i> , leg, foot
<i>oqus</i> , navel	

¹ See also p. 197.

<i>da-qwa</i> , fish tail	<i>k'aq^u</i> , size, room (space)
<i>daqo</i> , anus (male)	<i>k'at's</i> , river
<i>dat'sil</i> , anus or buttocks (female)	<i>k'a'das</i> , throat
<i>dis</i> , skin, hide	<i>k'edax</i> , egg of salmon
<i>dist'c</i> , hat	<i>k'es</i> , body
<i>dil</i> , tooth	<i>k'eli</i> , heel
<i>doq^u</i> , forehead	<i>k'i(t)</i> , arrow
<i>dosqwai</i> , elbow	<i>k'is</i> , kelp
<i>t</i> , day (used with numerals)	<i>k'wa'</i> , strand of a rope
<i>tay</i> , gravel at bottom of sea	<i>qa</i> , canoe or any vehicle
<i>takil</i> , foot-prints	<i>qa'</i> , hair
<i>taqs</i> , dress	<i>qas</i> , friend
<i>taqol</i> , fishing equipment	<i>qal</i> , canoe mate
<i>taql</i> , food to be eaten in a journey,	<i>qei</i> , bunch, handful
<i>taxo</i> , bow-string [lunch	<i>qe-tqal</i> , custom
<i>tal</i> , place where something is done	<i>qo-t</i> , inside, interior of a box or cave
(<i>paqe'tal</i> , workshop)	<i>qol</i> , tool, instrument, utensil, artifice
<i>ta-l</i> , mind, heart	<i>q^u</i> , place, location, dish, container
<i>te (ti)</i> , dwelling, indoors	<i>qus</i> , side of a canoe (<i>t'sixite-qusa'</i> ,
<i>tepil</i> , breast, trunk, lungs	high side of a canoe)
<i>tiyol</i> , village	<i>qtiya'</i> , sun
<i>ti' (to')</i> , dead whale	<i>qli</i> , kind, sort
<i>tip</i> , door	<i>q'o</i> , an indefinite place, somewhere
<i>tits</i> , breasts (mamma)	<i>q'os</i> , neck
<i>ti'lox^u</i> , eye	<i>q'uts</i> , mussels
<i>to'ot</i> , prairie	<i>q'w</i> , piece
<i>toq^u</i> , place, location (<i>l'awatoq^u</i> , two	<i>q'wa</i> , hip
<i>tkul</i> , sick [places)	<i>q'wa-i</i> , pack (carried on the back) ¹
<i>tq</i> , sealing-canoe	<i>q'wa-l</i> , fur
<i>tqei</i> , trap (for fish)	<i>saya'</i> , meat, flesh
<i>tqo</i> , bed	<i>sa-ya</i> , box
<i>t'</i> , consort (husband or wife)	<i>s (si, so)</i> , roof
<i>t'ai</i> , hand, twig, branch	<i>sid</i> , water (generally a body of water)
<i>t'ada</i> , odor ¹	<i>sidal</i> , human hair
<i>t'adax</i> , tail of a quadruped	<i>sil</i> , load
<i>t'e</i> , head (also: <i>t'e-q^u</i>)	<i>sil</i> , guardian spirit
<i>t'e-q</i> , shaman (<i>we-sa't'so-patt'e'qat</i> ,	<i>suwa</i> , egg of salmon
female shaman)	<i>suwa'</i> , muscle
<i>t'e'lat</i> , vulva	<i>sp</i> , fire
<i>t'ida(q^u)</i> , extreme, end	<i>stake-til</i> , remainder, waste
<i>t'is</i> , eyebrow	<i>ski</i> , feather, wing, gill
<i>t'il (t'ot)</i> , knife	<i>sko</i> , penis
<i>t'os</i> , thigh	<i>sqobe'</i> , companion ¹
<i>kapo</i> , man's coat ²	<i>sq'wa'</i> , language ¹
<i>keda</i> , manner, way	<i>sx</i> , occasion, turn, time
<i>kisi</i> , territory	<i>ciks</i> , food
<i>kil</i> , wife	<i>ci'l</i> , platform
<i>ku</i> , river canoe	<i>ci-l</i> , food
<i>kwal</i> , whale	<i>xai</i> , shoulder
<i>kwa'</i> , a fire (built for warming or	<i>xe</i> , testicles
cooking purposes)	<i>xiksa</i> , year

¹ See also p. 197.² Loan word from Chinook Jargon, here used as postpositive.

<i>xwa'das</i> , inside of the mouth	<i>t'ciral</i> , shoulder
<i>tse-dog^u</i> , back of the head, nape of the neck (see <i>do^l</i> forehead)	<i>t'cod</i> , arrow point
<i>t'sai</i> , blanket, bed covers ¹	<i>t'coq^u</i> , foot, leg
<i>t'sep</i> , stump	<i>t'cos</i> , nose
<i>t'si</i> , spear	<i>t'co</i> , river bank
<i>t's</i> , trout, smelt, sucker	<i>t'col</i> , point, peak
<i>t'sidaxai</i> , pack strap	<i>läyo'</i> , noise, sound
<i>t'si</i> , water	<i>lat</i> , wood (combustible)
<i>t'sitqo</i> , rib	<i>la'q'</i> , coast
<i>t'six</i> , fishing line	<i>lar</i> , ear
<i>t'so'</i> , thing, ground	<i>li</i> , mouth
<i>t'so'op</i> , female	<i>lil</i> , hill
<i>tca'</i> , side (of any object)	<i>l</i> , face
<i>tcapas</i> , top of a bag	<i>lal</i> , grass, hay
<i>tci</i> , gill net	<i>le</i> , child (son or daughter)
<i>tciso</i> , fire (same sense as <i>-sp-</i>) ²	<i>li</i> , cape, point of land projecting into river
<i>t'cata</i> , shoulder (top part)	<i>lib</i> , road
<i>t'celi</i> , foot, leg	<i>lile'to'</i> , tongue
<i>t'ciyil</i> , leaf	<i>lo-l</i> , magic
<i>t'ciyol</i> , village	<i>lk'wa</i> , child, youngster
<i>t'c</i> , egg of bird	<i>t'la'tc</i> , hand
<i>'cisa'</i> , small basket	<i>t'lo't'late</i> , palm of the hand
<i>t'cista</i> , bait	<i>t'lol</i> , ground, soil, dirt

POSTPOSITIVE MORPHEMES EXPRESSING VERBAL CONCEPTS.

65. The duplex expression of a given concept by a postpositive morpheme and by a free form, so frequent in nominal notions, is not possible with verbal notions. Approximations in meaning are often found, but the distinctions are quite evident; for example: the initial morpheme *t'atc-* and the postpositive *-ats* may be rendered by our verb *to pay*, but *t'atc-* refers exclusively to paying for what is bought or given on credit, while *-ats* is limited to paying for a service. For many verbal concepts there are no initial morphemes, although most of these are verbal. We find, for example, that for a group of concepts which we may roughly define as ideas of *catching*, there is no free morpheme, and there is only one initial morpheme, *k'i'*, meaning to catch animals in traps. In contrast with this, we notice that there is the postpositive *-qa*, denoting the general idea of seizing; *-al*, to catch an animal or a person who tries to escape; to be successful in catching fish in large quantities is expressed by *-soq^u*; but to catch fish for the specific purpose of drying it for future use, we must use *-pats*; to take some one by surprise at an act is rendered by *-aq^{li}*, if the act is considered proper, but by *-ba'*, if it is wrong.

Examples of verbal postpositives are:

¹ See p. 197.

² See p. 198.

- ap*, to grow (said of persons or animals)
aqli, to take by surprise, to catch an animal while asleep or unaware
at', to be of a certain color (*cipa'at'*, it is black)¹
ats, to pay for a service
'al, to catch a person or animal that tries to escape
ol, to be with, to own
ba', to catch some one at a wrong doing
pats, to fish in order to store it away
tac, to fish, hunt, the act of catching the fish or the game
ti, to have, to be in connection with
tite(xa), to need
tqa'yil, to be one's purpose, to intend
t'ada, to smell (intransitive)²
t'al, to come from
t'et's, to use
k, to go to a definite place (*diya'k*, he went to Neah Bay)
ke'da, to be surprised
kel, to dance
kiyi, to paddle
kwa', to speak, to make use of the faculty of speech, to make an address
kwal, to go through
k'o, to conjecture (*á't'cittcak'o*, I wonder if you are a chief)
qa, to take hold of, to seize
qawol, to inform
qalek, to arrive
qal, to look (*kolowaqal*, to look down)
qpa'at', to be a part of what has ceased to exist as such (*t'é'k'a-liqpa'at'*, these are parts of a broken house)
qlli, to be an expert, to have as a trade, to do as an established custom, to be at one's ease
q'wayi, to pack (to carry a pack)²
q'o't, to give away
s, to give
si'e, to sleep
soq^u, to catch fish in large quantities
st'al, to command, to order
sqal, to carry
sqobe, to have something on one's person, or together with him (*léba't'e-lis-qobe'las*, he slept with it on (a coat))²
sq'wa, to speak a language (this stem is also used as a noun) (*diyat'isq'wa'as*, he spoke in Mahah)²
xa, to eat (*á'asayatxaci*, he began to eat meat)
xal, to be gone, to be missing or lacking (*wé-dilxal*, one tooth is missing)
xal(s), to sing about something
t's, to eat (*hé-yo't'sili*, when he finished eating)
t'sa, to dress, to have clothes on³
t'sags, to cry over something
t'sil, to spy, to catch a glimpse of, to see at a distance
t'sol, to share with
tcaq, to walk like some one else (*á'kiltcayil*, he walks like a bear)
tcaq, to be like, to look like

¹ See p. 194.² See p. 195.³ See p. 196.

teaglx, to happen

tcas, to carry something for a specific purpose

tcats, to use as (*baxui'tcatsas*, he uses it as a basket)

tcí-so, to burn (intransitive, said of a fire)¹

tco, deceased or destroyed (*hadostcoyítc*, your deceased brother)

t'cayo, to talk idly, to pretend, to oneself to be (*hétkulí't'cayo*, he made believe he was sick, he imagined he was sick)

t'co', to have inside, to contain, (*pe-t'itt'co'*, it has light inside)

t'col, to wish, to want

la, to move, to be in motion

lix, to claim, to assert one's rights

lo, to belong

loku, to keep, to be in charge of

los, to be on something that moves, to use a canoe or a horse (*t'a'be-la'lo-sli*, I use a river canoe)

lwe'l, to come

lalo', to be fond of (*á'asaya'tlalo'li*, I am fond of meat)

lo-wo'ot, to walk behind some one

lqa, to have as an obligation (*lá'q'ale'lqa'lo*, we ought to send him away)

ha, to have.

POSTPOSITIVES NOT INCLUDED IN THE PRECEDING GROUPS.

66. As stated in Sec. 63, this is a miscellaneous group of post-positive morphemes whose functions are not decidedly nominal or verbal:

'e or 'yi, two phonetic variations of a morpheme which expresses transition from existence to non-existence. It may be used with nouns or verbs. With the former it indicates either that the person or thing has ceased to exist or that the relation of such a person or object to another person has come to an end. In the case of a deceased person it is preceded by the element *-tco*, which may be identical to the form *-tco(xat)* given below. When used with verbs it denotes that the action has or had been discontinued. It may also be equivalent to our past tense, but always with the connotation that conditions are now different. It often stands for the English idiom "to have just done something". Its uses with verbs will be further illustrated in Sec. 130.

t'ét'se-k'ale''yi, house that used to be (they have been destroyed)

póts-oqo''yi, the people that used to be (people of other times)

t'cáqe'qala''yi, those who had been fighting

hé-li ó'yi, I am the one who used to be there

hé-ík'wa'e tí'l, my former child (he had disowned her)

ó't'i'e tí'l, my former dwelling (he had moved elsewhere)

tcóotsk'itco'yi, the deceased boy.

Other examples will be found in QT. p. 15:7; p. 20:10; p. 20:16.

¹ See p. 196.

isli, expresses coincidence of durative actions. When no other verb follows the one to which it is attached it indicates that the action took place while moving. This idea is modified by the sequence of another verb, in which case it indicates that the action of the second verb took place while that of the first verb was going on.

ó-de'sisli, he cried as he walked
léli'sli, he bled as he moved, walked or rode
ada'disli á-lax, I talk while I eat
lada'sisli la'au, I break it as I walk

wa or *wà*, to move away, or an adverbial expression of direction away; it is often equivalent to the sense of *-ward* in *upward*, *toward*, etc. In many instances its use is very idiomatic:

basatowa'lo, we are having bad weather (*bas-*, bad; *-o*, locative classifier; *-lo*, we)
t'silowasli, I took it up (to some high place). (*t'sil-*, up, high; *-o*, locative classifier; *-s*, to cause; *-li*, I)

When *-wa* stands at the end of a word, it takes the low tone accent:

sisawà, before
tciyawà, beneath
satowà, below
atcowà, side by side in bed
t'ótocawà, in the middle
t'layowà, after
likowà, to wait for some one
yalowà xe' k'wáya, near the water

It serves as a sign of the comparative degree by affixing it to the word which indicates the quality or to the initial morpheme *baqa-*, which means *to have advantage over*:

tcèk^u, big; *tcikuwà*, it is bigger than
hat'c-, pretty, good; *há't'cawà*, or *há't'ca baqa'wà* it is prettier

dak, to do something to an excess. Used with verbs or nouns. With the latter it is equivalent to the agentive of other languages:

lá'wa-da'k, he walks too much
ada'didak, a talkative person (*ada'd-*, to talk)
k'o'k'o'tsta'dak, thief (*k'o'k'o'ts-*, to steal)

do, to become. It denotes in most of its uses the beginning of a state which is the result of an action or of a purposive process; but in many cases its use seems very arbitrary. Other functions of this suffix will be discussed below (Secs. 92, 134). Examples:

á't'ce'd-o, he became a chief
loboqwa'd-o, he got wet with the rain (became rained on)
pá'qe'tdo, he began to work

It is used sometimes together with the inceptive *-ic* or *-c*, e. g.: *awi-c-qua'-d'o*, it became completely night, night overtook us; *awe-* (or *awi-*) night; *-c*, inceptive; *-qua*, completely, very much; *-do*, to become.

t or *ta*, there is a need, to be obliged to do something. When used with this sense the formative *-l* indicating purpose or contemplated action (sec. 131) precedes it, e. g.:

ála-c-i-l-ta-li, I have to eat
la'wa-l-i-l-ta-xas, he has to walk
k'i'ta-x-a-l-ta-li, I have to go

The same form (*-t* or *-ta*) has been found with the meaning of *from* preceding an object pronoun. Possibly this is a different morpheme with the identical phonetic elements; e. g.:

tílá-t-l-i-swo-li, I bought it from you
qaqá-t-l-i-sta-litc, you took it away from me

For the uses of a formative *-t* which may be historically related to this see Secs. 91, 122, 138.

tax^u, to be probable, to be evident.

hé.tax^u kéyuta'd, it must be a horse
é-wa'litcala'tax^u, he must have arrived

lqua, be means of, by dint of.

hétsida'tqwali ógalek sa'a, I arrived there by swimming
t'caqe'do'otqwa'li petsta'tsqats, I teach him by punishing him

t', to live, or one who lives at a certain place or with some one.

It is the suffix with which most of the names of the tribes end, including the Quileute themselves:

kole'yut', Quileute
diya't', the Neah Bay people

t'e, indicates the material of which something is made, the instrument with which it is made, the reason for doing something.

xa'bil xe' yisda'k xitsa't'e'is, he adjusted the dress with a leather strap
tso'o't'e dá'kil, for that reason
hétsi't'e'is, that with which he did it

It is used idiomatically with the meaning of *although*:

k'e-da'a't'e á-lax, although he is full he continues to eat
hétkuli't'e'li kitsi', although I was sick I danced.

kil, to be able, to be possible

de'xa' xá-ba'kil yix pótsooq se'ya, so that all the people might see it. In some of its uses it appears as a modal element.

k'ade, so, therefore; used very idiomatically. One of its most frequent uses is to express meekness or hesitation, as

t'hxulista'k'ade, will you not show it to me?

It is also used to express a kind of challenge, as

óke-sik'ade, put it there, then! (if you say you have it, prove it by showing it)

qata, perhaps

atlá:xedo'oqata'li, perhaps I heard it
t'clqatse'liqata'x^u, perhaps some one has died
hé-s^uwo'qatali, perhaps I will give it to you

gotcx, after

wétaqotcx, after one day
wé'awaqotcx, after one hour (-*awa*-, from the English *hour*)

qu, on, at, and any other locative relation, excepting inside and outside

t'ci-yo't'coquli, I dropped it on him
t'ate-pa'taqwas, it is on the door
poxo'qus^uwoli, I blew it at you
se'lebg^u, at Selem

qwa, thoroughly, definitely, too much, exceedingly, certainly.

k'ude'qwa, too small
hésiqwa'li st'yci't'col, I want to see him specially
walqwa'lite é-caxaqwa's-i, you should not eat so much
waqwa'li hétkuli, I am certainly not sick
t'á-tcaqwa'li, I know it very well.

qcil, nevertheless, although

bo'q'otaqcil, although he was on his knees
ho-qwa'a'qcil sa' t'é'k'al tea'we'la te'wa, although the house was burning, he went in.

sal, indicates distributive plurality: one here, one there; or action performed by various individuals at different times: one now, another later. It may be used alone or followed by a pronominal suffix, as

hétkusal, or *hétkusa'las*, they were sick (on different occasions)

sqal, reflexive suffix for all persons. The purely reflexive usage will be treated in Section 102. A number of idiomatic uses seem to be related to or are developments of the reflexive meaning. The fundamental idea in these uses seems to be one of pretence, simulation, imitation, misrepresentation.

yaló-latsqal, supposed wife (said to be so)
hétkuli'sqal, he pretends to be sick
poq'osqal, an imitation of a human being (an effigy)
we-sá't'so-patsi'sqali', disguised as a woman
kóca'asqal, pretended to be menstruating

c, (-*ic*) to begin, to become; used formally and also as a sign of the inceptive aspect. Its grammatical functions will be discussed in Sections 92 and 134. In the following examples this formative has been affixed to nouns:

awi'c, it became night
póogo'c, he became a human being
eci'c, they became many (multiplied)

ɣ, its use varies from that of a sign of durative or continuative action, formally employed, to a verbal expression of continuation. It is most frequently employed with verbs of locomotion, as to go, to come, to go up stream, etc. Its formal uses are discussed in section 91.

álaɣa'sto, let us continue to eat
tat á-laɣ, while he was eating
sa't'aɣ, he came down stream
t'silo'wa'tɣ, go up!
k'a-sa'ql.ɣa-li, I am ashamed

ts, to make, to do. For other important uses of an identical form see Secs. 91, 104.

héts, do it
há'eta'tsis, they made arrows

tsi'la, evidently

tce'k^u á-kiltsi'la, it must be a big bear

t'sa, used as a diminutive suffix. *kádedo''t'sa*, little dog; *á't'ce'tt'sa*, the son of the chief (the little chief)

t'si, on account of

béqua'at'sit, on account of the fog

tcal, necessarily

e'wa'litcala'tax^u, he must have arrived

tco, apart, separated by a distance

pé-te'tco.ɣat, enough apart

tcx(a), by means of, because of

ciq^utaxuli'tcxali la's-ats, I broke the bow-string by pulling it

l, forward direction, progression, to intend, purpose, instrument, and other volitional concepts. For other uses see Sec. 131.

t'suyu'q'walli, I point at him
si-kwa'lli, I aim at him
ada''adals-ta'ɣas, he spoke to me
q'o't'sa'lli, I peeked at it
taske'las, he is coming out
bó't'e''lel, she is getting fat
yali'lel, they were about to die

For its use with names of tools or utensils see Sec. 139.

PRONOUNS.

Pronominal functions are performed in Quileute mainly by post-positives, but there are also a number of free morphemes whose office comes under this heading. It seems desirable to alter the plan of our presentation at this point, and group under one functional category all the pronominal forms regardless of their morphological classification. In attention to their grammatical and referential functions, they may be divided into *subjective*, *possessive*, and *objective* pronouns, there being three different series of forms corresponding to this division. The objective pronouns will be treated together with other related elements under the heading of Objective Relations (Sec. 96).

SUBJECTIVE PRONOUNS.

67. The uses of the various forms of the subjective pronouns are on the whole determined by modal functions. Accordingly, four of the main series have been named after the modes with which they are associated, namely, *indicative*, *interrogative*, *subjunctive*, and *imperative*. For the sake of uniformity of nomenclature, one of the series has been called *conditional*, although its functions are not exclusively modal. Whether or not the uses of the *vocative* forms are to be regarded as modal, depends on what definition of mode is preferred. The chief functions performed by the subjective pronouns may be tabulated as follows (see next page):

Some of these forms are free morphemes, and others are suffixes, as indicated by the hyphens. The three forms of the indicative, third person, singular and plural, *-xas*, *-as*, *-s*, do not stand for any distinction of meaning. After *a* and *e* we find *-xas*; after *i*, *o*, *u*, the form *-s* is employed, while *-as* appears after consonants. The vowels inserted before the other pronouns when the preceding elements end in a consonant depend on phonetic influences (Secs. 36, 37). There is, besides, a prevalent tendency to insert the vowel *-i* (Sec. 35) before the pronominal suffixes which have an initial *-l* (*-li*, *-la*, *-litc*, *-lo*).

As already suggested, the preceding table presents a system rather than a list of different forms. Thus we find that the pronoun *ku* appears in three of the series, and *s* is repeated for the singular and plural of the subjunctive. Such repetitions have no morphologic significance, but merely conform with the general practice in giving paradigms, by showing what morphemes occupy various points in the system. In reality, the suffix *-k^u*, for example, is the identical morpheme whether used in an indicative or in an interrogative sentence. On the other hand, its presence as a free morpheme in the

	INDICATIVE		INTER.	SUBJ.	COND.	IMP.	VOCATIVE
I	<i>-li</i>	<i>lab</i>	<i>-la</i>	<i>al</i>	<i>tí'l</i>		
THOU	<i>-litc</i>	<i>tche</i>	<i>-tca</i>	<i>tc</i>	<i>títc</i>	<i>ax^u</i>	<i>tcá·lí</i> (masc.) <i>dá·lí</i> (fem.)
HE, IT							
visible	<i>-xas, -as, -s</i>	<i>hé.xas</i>	<i>-xá'a</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>tas</i>		
invisible,							
known	<i>-atc, -tc</i>	<i>hé.xatc</i>	<i>-a</i>		<i>tat</i>		
invisible,							
unknown	<i>-x^u</i>	<i>xu'xwa'</i>	<i>-ax^u</i>		<i>tax^u</i>		
SHE							
visible	<i>-aks, -ks</i>	<i>heks</i>	<i>-ksa</i>	<i>ks</i>	<i>taks</i>		
invisible,							
known	<i>-akc, -kc</i>	<i>hekc</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>kc</i>	<i>take</i>		
invisible,							
unknown	<i>-k^u</i>	<i>ku'kwa'</i>	<i>-k^u</i>	<i>k^u</i>	<i>tak^u</i>		
WE	<i>-lo (-q^u)</i>	<i>lub·a'á·</i>	<i>-lub·a'á·</i>	<i>aq^u</i>	<i>t'oq^u</i>	<i>-sto</i>	
YE	<i>-ka</i>	<i>hé.ka'a</i> (<i>ka</i>)	<i>-ka</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>tik</i>	<i>axo't</i>	
THEY (non-feminine)							
visible	<i>-a'as</i>	<i>hé.xá'as</i>	<i>-a'a</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>tas</i>		
invisible,							
known	<i>-a'atc</i>	<i>hé.xá'atc</i>	<i>-a'a</i>		<i>tat</i>		
invisible,							
unknown	<i>-xa'ax^u</i>	<i>xu'xwa'a</i>	<i>-xa'ax^u</i>		<i>tax^u</i>		
THEY (feminine)							
visible	<i>-a'aks</i>	<i>hé.ksa'a</i>	<i>-ksa'a</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>taks</i>		
invisible,							
known	<i>-a'akc</i>	<i>hé.ksa'a</i>	<i>-ksa'a</i>		<i>take</i>		
invisible,							
unknown	<i>-k^u</i>	<i>ku'kwa'a</i>	<i>-k^u</i>		<i>tak^u</i>		

subjunctive is a significant fact, for the use of the same morpheme as a free form and as a postpositive runs contrary to the fundamental principles of Quileute morphology.

We are impressed by the recurrence of certain elements in the forms of each person in different modes. The first person singular, for instance, has an *-l* in all the series, and likewise *tc* and *ks* occur in all the second and third persons respectively. It is further observed that all but three of the interrogative pronouns end in *-a*, while all the forms of the conditional, excepting *t'oq^u* have an initial *t*-followed by *i* or *a*. Doubtless, such recurrences indicate that all these forms are historically related. It is also reasonable to conclude that the conditional series is the result of coalescence between a hypothetical morpheme *tə* and the pronominal suffixes. Similarly,

the forms of the subjunctive may have been produced by phonetic decay. However, these genetic considerations do not enable us to proceed with a morphologic analysis of the present forms. The process of differentiation has gone too far. If on etymologic considerations we conclude that *ti'l* and *-li* have at present one morpheme in common, we could, with more justification, allege that the words *first* and *foremost* are phonetic variations of the same modern English morpheme. Similar difficulties are encountered in separating the final *-a* from the interrogative pronouns, especially, if we take into account the fact that the pronoun is invariably the last affix in all Quileute verbs.

Several coincidences are noticed between the pronouns and other morphemes. The form *ku* occurs in a number of contexts in which no pronominal office can be inferred. For example, in *hé-tkul-i-ku-l-atic*, it is said that he is sick, the postpositive *-ku* indicates that the statement "he is sick" is based on hearsay rather than on direct experience. There is doubtless the same fundamental concept in denoting that a person has never been seen, and in signifying that a fact is not known from direct experience. Again, we can be fairly certain that these two uses of *ku* are grammatical differentiations of what may have been formerly a single morpheme, but at the present time the situation is to be viewed as two grammatical functions performed by homonyms. If the semantic and etymological identity is taken as a basis for speaking of a single morpheme *-ku*, we cannot account for the fact that in its pronominal office it is confined to the feminine gender, nor could we explain its duplication in *hé-tkul-i-ku'-ku*, it is said that she is sick, speaking of a woman who is unknown to the speaker. For the same reason we must regard the corresponding non-feminine pronoun *-x^u* as a different morpheme from the evidently cognate *x^u* which appears as a free morpheme performing a demonstrative function (Sec. 113).

A more difficult problem is presented by the pronouns *s*, *as* of the subjunctive and the identical forms of the indefinite article (Secs. 109, 111). In this case we have morphologic coincidence accompanied by a considerable divergence in grammatical and referential function. Regarding their etymological connection, several possibilities are conceivable, namely, that the subjunctive pronouns *s*, *as* are modified forms of the indicative or interrogative pronouns, suggested by such correspondences as indicative *-as*, *-s* and subjunctive *s*; interrogative *-tea*, and subjunctive *tc*; indicative *-ks*, interrogative *-ksa*, and subjunctive *ks*. On this assumption, the articles can be regarded as special developments of the pronouns, or as accidental convergences in form (homonyms), or it may be possible that both the pronouns and the articles developed from forms now extinct. Nevertheless, the use of a demonstrative as a

pronoun is common in Quileute, as evidenced in the uses of the free forms of the indicative.

The composition of many of the free forms of the indicative is quite clear. In *hé.ças*, *hé.çatc*, *héks*, *hékc*, and others, we have the formal base *hé-* and the pronominal suffix. This, as illustrated in Section 55, is the normal method of using a postpositive as a free morpheme. The form *xu' xwa'* may be identical with the corresponding demonstrative (Sec. 116). In fact, most of the demonstratives can be used as emphatic pronouns for the third person, when it is necessary to establish distinctions of visibility and reference to previous experience (Secs. 113, 114).

MODES.

68. Adhering to our morphologic plan, we may regard the modes as functions of the pronominal series. In Quileute, the pronoun is the chief sign of the mode. In some cases special modal suffixes are present with or without the pronoun, but since some modes do not have such suffixes, the pronoun must be taken as the basis for the distinction of mode. The enumeration of modes is not based here on the number of modal concepts manifested in the language, but rather on the special morphologic systems which perform modal functions. If the function were taken as a basis, we could mention many more Quileute modes. Accepting for the sake of argument the definition of modal function given by Brugman, Oertel, Jespersen and others, to the effect that modes reflect certain attitudes of the speaker toward the contents of the sentence, one may say, for example, that *á·la·c·i'·t'col·aks*, she wishes to eat, is in the optative mode; and that *á·la·c·i'·st'al·aks*, she ordered him to eat, is in the jussive mode. Similarly, a necessitative mode may be formed by means of the suffix *-tax^u*, as, *á·la·c·i'·tax^u*, surely, he must eat (for if he did not he would not be alive); and we have an inferential mode in *á·la·ç·a'·tsa*, he must have been eating (because his plate is empty); a concessional in *á·la·ç·a'·qcil*, although he was eating; an obligative in *á·la·ç·a'·lqa·li*, I ought to eat. We may likewise regard *-ku* as another modal suffix, since it gives us the characteristic attitude of mind that we may have toward an assertion that is founded only on hearsay, as in *á·la·ç·a'·ku·l·atc*, it is said that he eats. There is no morphologic basis for equating these elements with the modal uses of the pronouns, nor can we be certain that they are modal signs and not as fully significant as any other affixed morpheme. In the first example, the morpheme *-t'col* can be regarded as one of the many postpositives which may be rendered by our verbs. We can say that *-t'col* means "to wish" in *ki.taç·a·t'co'l·aks*, she wishes to go, just as *-ça* means "to eat" in *á·saya-*

xa'-ks, she eats meat. In other languages the fact that the concepts of wish or desire are expressed by means of suffixes, other things being equal, may be accepted as an indication that such suffixes are signs of an optative or desiderative mode. In Quileute the situation is different, for, as shown in Sec. 63, a "suffix" may have such concrete meanings as *to eat, to go*, or even as *hat, head, canoe*.

The indicative mode.

69. A formal presentation of the indicative mode seems superfluous. In Quileute, as in most languages, the uses of this mode are difficult to define, since they generally include all the modal attitudes that are not represented by the other modes. It may suffice to mention briefly the uses of the pronouns of the free form series. Their composition has already been discussed. Their function is often similar to that of the French disjunctive pronouns "moi, toi", etc. In other instances they are comparable to the French expressions "me voici, la voilà", etc. Thus, *hé.xas* can mean "he" (emphatic), or "there he is, he is the one, it is he." The following examples illustrate other uses:

wet lub-a'à, one of us
ba'ayas héka'a, four of you
lub-a'a tcitcísqal, it is we, ourselves
itso'li lab ats ti'l, that is the way I do, myself.

Other illustrations will be found in QT. p. 13:4; p. 14:6; p. 15:5; 7:2; 7:11; 7:17; 8:24; 10:11; 11:5; 21:46.

The interrogative mode.

70. Whatever reasons may be alleged for regarding the imperative use of the verb as a modal function are equally applicable to the interrogative. The subjective element in the imperative is the purpose of the speaker to induce the second person to act. In the interrogative we have a special application of this general purpose, namely, to induce the second person to give information. Most languages distinguish in one way or another between these two purposes of communication, but, if by mode we do not mean a function, as indicated above, it will be proper to speak of an interrogative mode only in those languages in which the same kind of morphologic system is employed for the interrogative and the other modes. In Quileute the morphologic signs of the interrogative mode are a special system of pronouns and two suffixes, *-t'a* and *-xa*. The suffixes establish the distinction so prevalent in language between the "yes and no" questions and those in which the speaker asks for supplementary information. For the latter, Quileute has

special initial morphemes which correspond to our interrogative pronouns, and the postpositive morpheme *-t'a*. Whether these initial morphemes should be called interrogative pronouns or not is a matter of choice. They are pronouns from a functional point of view, if we accept the usual definition of pronouns. They have not been regarded as such for morphologic reasons which, we must admit, are not very convincing. No other Quileute pronouns are initial morphemes, according to our definition in Sec. 44. These interrogative elements cannot be used as free morphemes. Thus, one cannot say in Quileute simply "What? Who?" but a complete sentence must always be used: "What did you say? Who did it?" The independent possessive pronouns may also take suffixes, (Sec. 84) and thus they can function as initial morphemes, but the fact that they can be used without affixes places them in a different morphologic class from these interrogative elements. The interrogative initial morphemes are:

ak'is- (or *a-*) Used only when the designation of a nominal concept is desired; corresponding in meaning to some of the uses of "what".

asaq- Indicates that the characterization of an action is desired, as, "What is he doing?" It generally asks for an explanation when it refers to an object. It may be rendered by "what, how, why".

taqa- Who?

qo- Where?

at's When? This may be a compound of the interrogative *a-* and the postpositive *-t's* commonly found in the word *hé't'sit*, introducing a subordinate temporal clause.

qots- How much? How many?

aso' Has the same notional reference as *asaq-*, but reflects besides a state of emotion on the part of the speaker. It is used in situations in which the speaker uses the interrogative sentence as a manifestation of perplexity or other emotional condition rather than to solicit information, as "What am I to do? Is it possible?" (expressing surprise).

It is probable that the initial vowel in *ak'is-*, *asaq-*, *at's-*, and *aso'* was formerly an independent morpheme. Although *a-* is used occasionally for *ak'is-* (which the natives regard as an abbreviation), and *-t's*, as suggested above, appears in other contexts, it is advisable to consider these elements as functionally indivisible units, since the forms *-k'is-*, *-saq-*, and *-so'* have no independent value.

71. The postpositive *-t'a* is not used when the second person is the subject of the interrogative sentence. We shall illustrate the structure of this type of question by using the postpositive *-k*, which

means *to go* (to a definite place). The suffix *-i* is an applicative classifier (Sec. 85).

qó-k-i-t'a'-la, where am I going ?
qó-k-i-tca', where are you going ?
qó-k-i-t'a'-a, where is he going ?
qó-k-i-t'a-lu'b'a'a, where are we going ?
qó-k-i-ka', where are you (pl.) going ?
qó-k-i-t'a'-a'a, where are they going ?

72. The "yes and no" type of question is distinguished from the above by the absence of the interrogative initial elements, and by the use of the suffix *-xa* instead of *-t'a*. The suffix *-xa* is omitted when the second person is the subject, as in the preceding case. In the following examples *say-* means "to like"; *-á* is the applicative classifier.

say-á-xa-la, do I like it ?
say-á-tca, do you like it ?
say-á-xa'-a, does he like it ?
say-á-xa-lu'b'a'a, do we like it ?
say-á-ka, do you (pl.) like it ?
say-á-xa'-a'a, do they like it ?

Examples of both types will be found in QT. p. 18:7; 10:17; 21:41; 21:45; 22:28; 23:47; 24:12; 28:14; 28:30; 32:36; 33:3; 33:14; 33:48; 33:52; 35:6; 36:24; 36:70.

The subjunctive mode.

73. Morphologically, this mode is distinguished from the others by a special series of pronouns. The subordinating suffixes *-a*, *-i* (Sec. 136) are invariably appended at the end of the verb when the subjunctive is used, but since they can also be found in the conditional mode and in other subordinate clauses, they cannot be regarded as supplementary signs of the subjunctive. The subjunctive pronouns are placed immediately before the verb. Notwithstanding the fact that some of the pronominal forms consist of a single consonant, they cannot be considered either as prefixes or proclitics. There is always a dieresis (Sec. 24) between the consonants of these pronouns and the initial sound of the verb, whether the latter be a consonant or a vowel. Their independent character is more evident when *aq^u* and *as* are used, for the vowels of these two pronouns are stressed and have a higher pitch than that of the initial syllable of the verb.

74. In regard to function, we observe that this mode is used exclusively in subordinate clauses. In the majority of cases, the action expressed by the Quileute subjunctive is not asserted as an actual occurrence, but it is merely thought of or contemplated as a design or possibility. The subjunctive is not employed in subordin-

ate clauses of indirect discourse with verbs of saying. These uses characterize it as a more typical subjunctive, according to prevalent definitions, than the modes which have been so called in some European languages, but contrary to this general impression, we find that it occurs after verbs of knowing, and others whose subordinate clauses express an occurrence which is viewed as an actuality. We may thus conclude that its grammatical function as a device for subordination is more constant than its referential function, which in fact, is also the case in the majority of languages that have a subjunctive. The distinction between the subordinate clauses that require the subjunctive and those in which the conditional pronouns are employed depends on syntactic as well as on semantic relations. The subjunctive occurs in clauses which are treated as objects of transitive verbs, whereas the conditional pronouns appear mainly in subjective, adverbial, and other syntactic relations. The distinctions in meaning are difficult to define. On the whole we find that the subjunctive follows verbs of volition or implied command or request, and verbs of knowing. In such cases the subordinate clause expresses the action desired or the facts known. Whereas in the sentences in which the conditional pronouns appear in object clauses there is an implication of manner, cause, reason, or instrumentality.

75. The subjunctive is not used when the subject of the main clause and that of the subordinate refer to the same individual¹, but the subordinate clause still retains the subordinating suffixes *-a* or *-i*, with the functions described in Secs. 136, 143.

The following examples illustrate the use and omission of the subjunctive pronouns. Other illustrations are found in QT. p. 18:15; 19:21; 23:72; 26:56; 26:65; 32:16; 36:13; 36:30; 36:41; 36:52.

t'a'tca-li ki.taṣ-a, I know I am going

t'a'tca-ṣas al ki.taṣ-a, he knows I am going

t'a'tca-ṣas te ki.taṣ-a, he knows you are going

t'a'tca-ṣas ki.taṣ-a, he knows he (himself) is going

t'a'tca-ṣas s ki.taṣ-a, he knows he (some one else) is going

t'a'tca-ṣas aq^u ki.taṣ-a, he knows we are going

t'a'tca-lo ki ki.taṣ-a, we know you (pl.) are going

wa-sta' al á-lac-i, do not permit that I eat

bú'k'íl-as al ó-gale-'k-i, he asked whether I had arrived

teá'wa'ac-li t'a'tc-i te á't'cít tsi'la, that is how I found out that you are really a chief.

In the last example, the subject pronoun (*-li*) is affixed to the verb *teá'wa'ac*, which means "therefore, that is the reason". The verb *t'a'tc-*, to know is subordinated to the preceding by the suffix *-i*.

¹ It is of interest to note that in such situations the Quilteute subjunctive follows the rules observed in various European languages, as for example, in French, "je veux qu'il parte," but "je veux partir."

This suffix is *-i* instead of *-a* because the aspect is momentaneous, the verb meaning here "to become aware of a fact", rather than to have knowledge of it. The word *á't'cit*, chief, and *tsi'la*, really, form a subjunctive clause preceded by the subjunctive pronoun *tc*, and is subordinated to the preceding subordinate verb; that is, *á't'cit* functions here as a verb, "to be a chief", for if *tsi'la* were the verb of this clause, it would precede *á't'cit* (Sec. 149).

Uses of the conditional pronouns.

76. Only one of the uses of the conditional pronouns can be characterized as a mode. In the other contexts in which these pronouns occur no modal meaning can be discovered, if we are consistent in our use of the term mode. Furthermore, the analogical connections between the various uses are too vague to justify the formulation of one general concept applicable to all of them. Such a general concept could be found, but, of course, in the most heterogeneous group of notions expressed in any language by one morpheme it is generally possible to discover a common factor by a convenient selection of their logical connotations, or else to find a common multiple, so to speak. In such cases the investigator is generally successful to the extent that his own vocabulary may possess the proper abstract term. In the writer's opinion, the validity of such a procedure is to be judged in the light of all the facts present in each particular situation. In the present case its application would be indefensible. By way of illustration, let us consider three of the divergent uses of one of these pronouns. We find the pronoun *ti'l* performing a modal function in *ti'l hákuta' xate*, if I should come (I shall bring it); but as a special possessive for certain kinds of genitival relations in *hé.qa'li ti'l*, my canoe-mate; and again, as the subject of a verb expressing habitual action in *hé.k'i't'a ti'l*, I generally use it. We could say that the common factor in these three examples is a notion of potentiality. Such a concept is clear in the conditional clause, and it could be abstracted from the last example, though with less plausibility, if we consider that the statement "I generally use it" does not connote exclusively the use of the object in the past, but also future repetitions of the use; that is, a potential condition which determines behavior, or a contemplated possibility comparable to that of the clause "If I come". Allowing for a rather divergent extension of this meaning, one could allege that "my canoe mate" is analogous to the statement of a habitual action. My canoe mate is the person who habitually goes with me in the canoe; the relation between him and me implies future possibilities of going together, hence, a relation of potentiality.

Several objections may be made to this explanation: first, the concept of potentiality and its opposite, actuality, are comprehen-

sive enough to embrace all human experience. It is not significant, therefore, that one of these universal concepts can include three uses of a morpheme by choosing the connotations that may seem pertinent. Secondly, the fact that we can connect these three uses with a single concept, does not warrant the conclusion that there is such a connection in the mind of the native. It is a well-known fact that a given form, by gradual extensions of its meaning, may eventually perform the most divergent functions, which in the end may appear totally unrelated to all but the etymologist¹. Further, the concept of potentiality does not define the use of these pronouns, for the same concept may be abstracted in most of the uses of the subjunctive pronouns.

In view of these considerations, we may assume that at least three of the uses of the pronouns in question are functionally unrelated, although they are doubtless historically connected. For convenience of reference, this pronominal series has been named *conditional*. The choice of the term was suggested by its use in conditional sentences, and in those expressing customary action, which from a different point of view may also be said to be expressions of conditions. It would have been equally proper to take another usage as a point of departure, and to characterize them as a special series of possessive pronouns for certain genitival relations, and regard their office as subjects in subordinate clauses as an extension of their possessive meaning. A similar situation is found in the use of the English possessives as logical subjects of nominalized clauses, as in "He left without my seeing him; I insist on your paying the debt".

77. The conditional pronouns generally follow the verb², but in conditional sentences they precede it. In such sentences they are most commonly found only in the protasis, but they can be used coincidentally in the protasis and in the apodosis. The suffixes *-a* and *-i* are present, as in most subordinate clauses (Sec. 136), and in addition, the postpositive *-tc* is used if the condition is hypothetical or contrary to fact. Examples:

t'i'l (1) *xudeqó-stis* (2) *xe'* (3) *tcik'u* (4) *ha''ba* (5) *t'i'l* (1) *ha'bè-l* (6), if I scratch this big tree, I shall fell it. 1, conditional pronoun. 2, to scratch with one's finger nails. 3, oblique case of the article. 4, big. 5, tree. 6, to fell a tree.

¹ As, for example, in such uses of the preposition "at" as in "to throw something at some one, to be at home, at his request, not at all," etc.

² In such cases they are enclitics, pronounced as though they were unaccented final syllables of the preceding nouns. They were erroneously written as suffixes in some instances in the Quileute Texts. Certain morphologic facts indicate that they are independent words both before and after the noun.

té-xwal (1) *ax^u* (2) *títc* (3) *téxwale't'colí'tc* (4), go thou home, if thou wantest to go home. 1, to go home. 2, imperative pronoun. 3, conditional pronoun. 4, *té-xwal*, to go home; *-e*, connecting vowel (Sec. 37); for the glottal stop see Sec. 40; *-t'col*, to wish; *-i*, subordination suffix; *-tc*, indicates a hypothetical condition (Sec. 77).

títc (1) *há't'catc* (2) *t'cigali* (3), if you are slow (move slowly) you will die. 1, conditional pronoun. 2, to be slow; the suffix *-tc* as in the preceding example. 4, to die; no future tense suffix is used; the verb is just subordinated by the suffix *-i*, and the tense is implied by the meaning of the protasis and the context.

78. Possibly related to the above, is the use of the conditional pronouns in temporal and other subordinate clauses which do not admit the use of the subjunctive (Sec. 74). In these cases the pronouns generally follow the verb, although, presumably for purposes of emphasis, they may occasionally precede it. Examples are:

t'silo'wasta (1) *ax^u* (2) *tí'l* (3) *hiyo'sítc* (4) *k'ia'tsítc* (5), pull me up when I finish tying it. 1, pull me up. 2, imperative pronoun. 3, conditional pronoun. 4, to finish; with the causative *-s*, the subordinating suffix *-i*, and *-tc* for hypothetical notions, as above. 5, to tie; *-i*, and *-tc* as in the preceding word.

hé't'si (1) *tí'l* (2) *ó-gale'ki* (3), when I arrived. 1, when; this is a verb whose meaning is difficult to render by our words; the subordinating suffix *-i* is used because the whole clause is subordinated to the rest of the sentence omitted in the example. 2, conditional pronoun, subject of the preceding verb. 3, to arrive, with the subordinating suffix *-i*; the verb is subordinate to the preceding verb.

tí'l (1) *hiyo'do'otc* (2) *k'atse'lítc* (3), after I may finish hitting him. 1, conditional pronoun. 2, to finish; with the resultative *-do*; *-o* is the subordinating suffix *-i* assimilated to the *-o* of the preceding morpheme by the glottal stop (Sec. 39) which must be inserted between the two vowels (Sec. 37); *-tc* for hypothetical occurrence. 3, to hit; *-i-tc*, as in preceding examples.

79. Habitual action is expressed only by the use of the conditional pronouns. Thus, *hé.laxá'li*, I ate it (at one particular occasion) with the addition of the pronoun *tí'l* means I generally eat it or ate it, *hé.laxá'li tí'l*. It should be noted that the pronominal suffixes of the indicative can be used together with the conditional pronouns, the latter following immediately after the former. Their omissions are about as frequent as their occurrences, and the choice of either construction seems to imply no distinction in meaning. Examples:

t'a'tcali tí'l xe' xaba't'so', I generally know everything
tsátsali'li tí'l, I usually get up early ("early" expressed by reduplication)
xa'li'it'ca'qla xe' itca'lala t'oq', knives like the ones we use.

80. It is difficult to define the genitival use of the conditional pronouns. In fact, the only justification for regarding this use as genitival is the rather irrelevant fact that it can be rendered by our possessive pronouns. But who can enumerate all the notional

relations expressed by our possessives and the equivalent use of the preposition "of?" Certainly in each of the expressions, my head, my knife, my father, my country, my illness, a different notional relation is implied between the "possessor" and the entity "possessed." The data collected upon this use of the Quileute pronoun are not sufficient to define it. Most of the examples available were obtained out of context, in order to supplement their rare occurrence in the texts. In one instance it was possible to find the following distinction. "My foot" is generally rendered by the common possessive, *ó't'celi't-s*, but in a sentence literally translated as "these tracks were made by my foot", the conditional pronoun was used (*ó't'celit ti'l*). The translation given by one informant, being prevailed upon to find a distinction, was "These tracks were made by the foot I use."¹ A similar notional relation may be derived from "my canoe mate, my clothes," and perhaps, "my wife," but it is not so readily inferred from "my children," and other contexts in which these pronouns have occurred,² e. g.:

tcilk'wa'a ti'l, my children
hé't'sa'e ti'l, my former clothes
hé.qa'li tite, your canoe mate
yabó-la'e ti'l, my former wife
tsitskwa'asido'ól ti'l, my future son
gata'a'e ti'l, my former failure

The following are a few examples illustrating some uses of the conditional pronouns which differ from the above. Other illustrations of similar uses and of those discussed above will be found in QT. 5:2; p. 10:15; p. 13:1; p. 14:9; p. 14:7; p. 14:13; p. 14:17; p. 15:3; p. 15:9; p. 19:1; p. 19:9; 7:7; 9:34; 10:8; 14:9; 18:5; 21:15; 23:10; 23:46; p. 20:16; p. 20:13; 24:22; 31:50.

hé.ali ti'l, what I (propose) to catch
yix hé.kulasi'e ti'l, what I had thought
tciswa'li'e ti'l, what I had given him
yix hé.lilo ti'l, what I travel in
ó't'ala' ti'l, the place I come from
ó-t'i'e tite, where you used to live
xwa'a'uli xe' itcala' ti'l, I arrived at my destination
tea'qti'si tite, the way you do it
bá'k'il xwa' itca'qts'ala-tqa'a ti'l, ask him how I ought to dress
xwa'a'uli sa' poð-q adá-sa'a'e ti'l, I found the man I had been looking for
yix kadè-do kádatse'e t'oq'u, the dog we had hanged
t'a'tcali xe' itse'kil tite, I know how you do it

¹ This may possibly mean "by using my foot," (as I generally do).

² It is possible that with some nouns it makes little difference whether the conditional pronoun or the common possessive is used. See the last paragraphs of Section 83.

The imperative mode.

81. The second person pronouns *ax^u* (singular) and *axu'l* or *axo'l* (plural) are used exclusively in imperative sentences. The pronoun *-sto*, of the hortatory imperative is probably identical with the form used for an indirect object (Sec. 96). The verb itself shows no imperative characteristic apart from the intonation of the imperative utterance. The presence of the low-tone accent on the applicative *-a* in verbs which require the verbal classifier *-l* seems to be optional or may, perhaps, indicate a milder request. When this tonal modulation is used, the pronoun is generally omitted, and the informants have frequently rendered its force by the word "please". Thus, *t'laɣà'l*, please, get ready; *t'laɣa'l ax^u*, get ready. In addition to the following examples may be found in QT. 5:2; p. 14:8; p. 18:3; p. 19:8; 8:19; 26:66; 28:20; 31:53; 31:67; 33:24.

álaci'sto, let us begin to eat
ki.taɣa'sto, let us go (be going)
álac ax^u, eat, (begin to eat)
ki.taɣ, go
t'lé'kasta', tatoo me
wa ax^u ki.taɣa, do not go
wa axu'l álaci, do not begin to eat (plural)

The vocative pronouns.

82. The vocative pronouns are used in polite imperative sentences, as well as in any other form of address either to attract the attention of the person spoken to or to manifest esteem or respect in a manner similar to our uses of the word "Sir". *t'á'li*, *tcá'li*, *tca* are employed when addressing a man, the first one being the most respectful and the last one the least formal. Corresponding to these masculine pronouns in the order given, *dá'li*, *da*, *hed* are used when addressing a woman. Husband and wife frequently employ *tcá'li* and *dá'li* when addressing each other. Examples may be found in QT. p. 18:7; p. 19:1; p. 20:4; p. 20:13; 7:2; 7:6; 7:10; 11:2, 3; 14:34; 18:2; 20:19; 24:17.

Possessive pronouns.

83. There is one series of postpositive and one of free morphemes for the expression of genitival relations, e. g. (see next page): The form *-ya'ak* is used for both genders and numbers. Its use is somewhat irregular. It must be employed when the possessor and the subject of the sentence is not the identical person, but it may also be used in a noncommittal manner when the subject is the possessor. The affixed possessives establish a genitival relation between the nouns to which they are appended and the possessor;

	Postpositive	Free
my	-s	<i>ta'ad</i>
thy	-tc	<i>tcí'id</i>
his own	-ya'as	<i>lá'aya'as</i>
her own	-ya'aks	<i>lá'aya'aks</i>
another's	-ya'ak	<i>lá'aya'ak</i>
our	-t'oq ^u	<i>tá'aq'ó'la'</i>
your	-tctik	<i>tcí'tcí'iq'ó'la'</i>
their (masc.)	-salaya'as	<i>lá'salaya'as</i>
their (fem.)	-salaya'aks	<i>lá'salata'as</i>

the latter being represented by the suffix itself or by the suffix and the noun which follows the name of the possession. The relation may be one of possession in the literal sense of the term or one of the various relations generally classified as genitival. Examples:

he'das, my father
he'datc, thy father
hé'daya'as yix á't'cit, the chief's father
hé'daya'aks yik wésa't'sopat, the woman's father

The possessive suffixes of the third person are formed by appending the subjective pronouns to the element *ya-*. For the sake of brevity only one form has been given above, but any of the subjective pronouns of the third person, non-feminine or feminine, can take the place of *-as*, *-aks*. Thus, the possessive for a person who is not present is *-ya'atc*, masculine; *-ya'akc*, feminine; and for an unknown person *-ya'ax^u*, *-ya'ak^u*. We might, accordingly, be justified in saying that there is one general possessive for the third person, *-ya*, and that this suffix is made more explicit by adding the subjective pronouns. In the same manner various forms of the third person plural could be constructed by adding the distributive plural suffix *-sal* (Sec. 66), and the pronouns of this person.

84. The free forms of the possessives predicate possession, as, *ta'ad*, it is mine; or may, in addition, have a demonstrative value by referring to a noun mentioned in the context, as, *qaga'l xe' ta'ad*, he took mine (i. e., of the object mentioned, the one that belongs to me). Their verbal character is further evidenced by the fact that they can take the usual affixes which denote tense and appear with subjective pronominal affixes, like any other verb, v. g.:

ta'ad-as tcí' hákult-i-s, he is my friend
tá'ad-i't-as x^u hákult-i-s, he is going to be my friend
tá'ad-i''-yi-salas xwa' hákult-i''-yi-s, they used to be my friends

We may add to the list of possessives the element *-t'ot'*, which means *belonging to some one's family*. This suffix has occurred only

with nouns denoting family relations, most of which cannot be used without a possessive element; as, *hé.ças yix'o hé'dat'ot'*, he is a father, someone's father.

A different type of genitival relation has already been discussed as one of the uses of the conditional pronouns (Sec. 80). There are still other methods of denoting possession. By affixing the subjective pronouns to a noun, a predication of possession can be expressed, thus:

hé.lk'wa'a, child (formal base *hé-*, postpositive *-lk'wa'a*)

hé.lk'wa''a-li, I have a child

hé.lk'wa''a-ças, he has a child

lawi-lk'wa''a-li, I have two children

kadè-do, dog

kádedoli, I have a dog

káskade'do-ka, you (pl.) have dogs (reduplication for distributive plural).

These constructions may be used in a subordinate clause expressing a relation of possession which, so far as we can determine, is identical to that denoted by the possessive suffixes, viz.

yix hé.lk'wa''ali, the child I have (my child)

yix kádedoli, the dog I have (my dog)

In all cases in which such constructions have occurred it has been possible to substitute the possessive suffixes: *yix hé.lk'wa''as*, my child; *yix kadè-dos*, my dog. In one instance it was possible to express possession in three different ways, and the informant was not conscious of any difference. It is probable, however, that in special contexts the choice of one of these methods would be preferable to the others. The word we refer to is *taxe'lit*, guardian spirit. "My guardian spirit" may be rendered thus:

taxe'lit, (possessive suffix)

ta''ad taxe'lit (independent possessive)

taxe'lit ti'l (conditional pronoun)

Similarly, the assertion of possession, as expressed by our verb *to have*, may be denoted by the affixation of the subjective pronoun, as indicated above, by the affixation of the postpositive *-ti* to the formal base for location (*ó-*), by the postpositives *-ha* or *-lo* affixed to the noun. The general meaning of *-lo* is "to belong, to be together"; *-ha* indicates an intimate relation of possession (not necessarily inseparable); *-ti*, can be rendered by "to have" or "to be". Examples:

taxe'lit.ha'ali, I have a guardian spirit

ó-tili táx'lo', I have a bow

kádedolos, he has a dog

to-pa'tilha, he has a belt (or *to-pa'til'a*)

xa-ba't'so'ol-as, he has everything

ó-tili xu qali'it, I have an enemy

qatí'ít.ha'ali, I have an enemy
á.xuyo'li, I have a box
ó.tili xwa' á.xuyo', I have a box
hé.xas ó.til xwa' á.xuyo', he has a box

In the last example *hé-* is the formal base; *-xas*, subjective pronoun; *ó-ti-l*, the first two elements referred to above and the verbal classifier *-l* (Sec. 93); *xwa'* is a demonstrative (Sec. 113).

OBJECTIVE RELATIONS.

The expression of objective relations in Quileute presents a greater complexity than any other aspect of the language. We have grouped under this heading the functions which are equivalent to our direct and indirect objects, as well as those which partake of the nature of voices, and still others which have been designated by various terms in the analysis of other languages. As we shall see, all these functions present some points of contact in Quileute. In the analyses of languages in which the term voice has been consistently applied on the basis of some uniform principle, the voices deal with some aspect of the relation of the object to the subject, or with a more complex relation of the object to the verb and the subject, as in the applicative voice. This connection between voice and grammatical object cannot be regarded as a mere logical deduction, if we take into account the numerous instances in which it is manifested either in the etymology or in the use of object pronouns in various unrelated languages. The reflexive pronoun, for example, seems to afford an easy analogical transition, particularly if we consider its common occurrence in reciprocal action. The reflexive is an object pronoun, but it specifies a particular objective relation in which the subject is affected. The transition from this to a kind of passive voice expressed by reflexive pronouns is quite familiar to us. In this construction the subject is affected logically, as in the purely reflexive, and still it is a subject, although only grammatically. We refer to such uses of the reflexive pronoun as in German, "Salz löst sich auf"; French, "Ce journal se publie à Paris"; and particularly, in the extensive use of the reflexive passive in Spanish and Italian. Since semantic development, so far as we know, does not follow any predictable course, it seems reasonable to assume that when two given functions are performed in various languages by the same class of morphemes, whatever logical connection may be discovered between such functions is to be regarded as having some linguistic significance. These considerations may, perhaps, lend some support to our extension of the term objective relation. In so far as Quileute is concerned, such an extension is amply warranted by the morphologic facts. In this language, we are confronted with the occurrence of identical morphologic elements in

what we may provisionally call accusative and dative relations, in reflexive and reciprocal constructions, in the passive voice, and in causative relations. Moreover, the nature of the action expressed by the verb, as well as its locative and purposive application seem to be inextricably interwoven with the other relations of a more definitely objective character. The question of whether the morphologic coincidences represent only etymologic connections, with present divergent functions, or whether they reveal present functional connections, will be treated together with the different morphemes concerned. The forms involved in the expression of objective relations may be more readily isolated if we treat first of three important elements whose functions partake of the same nature.

Applicative classifiers.

85. The formatives *-a*, *-i*, *-o* are the first postpositive elements that must be affixed to an initial morpheme before a word can be formed. Occasionally, they are the only affixes, as in *t'ciq-a*, he died; *qat-i*, he failed; *tok-o*, he descended. But regardless of how many more elements may be affixed, they are always present¹, and in the same position. We find *-o* when the action is applied to a definite location, to a particular part or portion of an object, or when it takes place inside of an object, other than a house. The uses of *-o* are by far more regular than those of *-i* or *-a*. The functions of the latter are difficult to define. In most situations in which *-i* occurs, the action is momentaneous or connotes that it is directed toward a particular person or object, that is, specific application of action to an entity, rather than to a point in space. The most practical way to characterize the use of *-a* is to say that it occurs when neither *-o* nor *-i* are definitely applicable. It is most frequently found with all verbs which are decidedly durative, as are those expressing state or condition, with those which denote motion through space, particularly locomotion, and with others whose action, whether momentaneous or durative, is not directed to any particular location or object.

If we look for a basic concept in these distinctions, we may infer one of delimitation. We may, then, say that *-a* does not delimit the action either in time, space or purpose; *-i* delimits it in its application and also in its duration, since it connotes a momentaneous aspect; while *-o* delimits it only in space. We may also assume a concept of application involved in this delimitation. In its favor we could allege that *-o* occurs with considerable regularity in situations in which an action is applied to a delimited location, and that *-i*

¹ They are omitted when the formal bases are used for initial morphemes, but cf. Sec. 86.

is found in many cases of application to a specified person or thing, whereas *-a* is neutral in regard to application. This characterization of *-a* receives a slight support from the fact that it occurs in about seventy five per cent of the verbs which do not require an object, and accordingly, may be considered intransitive. Whether these are merely logical abstractions or actual functional principles in this language, we have no means of determining. The application of these general concepts, or even of the more limited rules given above, meets with numerous exceptions. Thus, the situations in which *-i* would be indicated according to these principles often coincide with those which likewise would require *-a*. For example: the verb which means "to follow some one", to walk behind him in order to see where he is going, would be expected to take *-a*, considering that it is durative or that it connotes motion through space; but if we take into account the fact that the action is aimed at a definite goal, the use of *-i* would be expected. How actual usage will decide, cannot be predicted. For this meaning of "to follow" we find *ab-i-l*, but for the verb which means "to be going toward (a particular place), to be headed for," we have *ít-a-x*.

In view of these difficulties, we have decided to characterize these elements as classifiers. Classifier is a convenient term in such situations. It could be applied to the gender suffixes in Indo-European languages, to the class prefixes in Bantu, and to the arbitrary use of "instrumentals" in some American Indian languages, in all of which experience (as expressed by nouns or verbs, or both) is arbitrarily classified under a limited number of groups, from some arbitrary point of view. In such a manner the elements *-a*, *-i*, *-o* classify all verbal action into three classes. Their application seems logical in some cases, as it appears also in many of the distinctions of gender in European languages, but it is quite inconsistent in many others. These elements will be referred to as *applicative classifiers*, to distinguish them from the verbal classifiers discussed below. The qualification of *applicative* is not to be construed as a conclusive characterization of their function. It is intended chiefly to facilitate reference, although there is some probability that such is their nature. Other tripartite classifications of all the verbs in this language occur in the use of the objective pronominal forms (Sec. 96), in the expression of causation (Sec. 104) and in the passive voice (Sec. 106). Another threefold classification has already been presented in Section 48 in the use of the formal bases.

86. It is of interest to note the morphologic points of contact between the formal bases, *á'*-, *hé*-, *ó*-, and the applicative classifiers, *-a*, *-i*, *-o*, as well as the further coincidence that *ó*- and *-o* are associated with location; *hé*- occasionally specifies reference (Secs. 52, 56), which is a characteristic of *-i*; and *á'*- and *-a* seem to be neutral

in regard to such connotations. These are doubtless significant facts, but any attempt to trace functional connections leads into confusion. In the first place, no more than a dozen verbs are formed with the initial morpheme *á'*, and only four occur with *ó'*, these two morphemes being used mainly with nouns. Moreover, considering the diversity of verbs that can be constructed with *hé'*, it is hopeless to trace its connections with *-i*. Worthy of note in this connection is the fact that the applicative classifiers are not affixed to the formal bases, but only to the meaningful morphemes.

87. When a verbal classifier (Sec. 93) is affixed to a monosyllabic morpheme, it frequently happens that the accent falls on the classifier. In such cases the latter takes the low-tone accent, and *-i* becomes *-è* (cf. Sec. 29). A few words have been found with the high-pitch accent on the classifier *-o*. In polysyllables, these elements may appear with the main accent of the word. No principles governing the accentuation of the verbal classifiers have been discovered. Due to phonetic contact (Sec. 35), *-i* often changes to *-e*, even when unaccented.

The following are examples of verbs with their normal classifiers. The formative *-l* is a verbal classifier, discussed in subsequent sections. The glottal stop after some of the applicative classifiers has been explained in Section 42.

- lila'q-o-l*, to be across
- k'í'í't's-o-l*, to anchor
- le'xw-o-l*, to turn inside of something
- t'la''y-o-l*, to be behind
- tó'w-o-l*, to cover with soil
- ko'l-o-l*, to embark in a canoe
- lo'-ó-l*, to disembark (from up stream)
- ko-t-o-l*, to look into a hole
- ha''t's-o-l*, to go to bed
- la'k-o-l*, to wipe
- tok-o*, to descend
- lat-o-s*, to take across
- hé-l-o*, to travel in a canoe, car, or horseback
- liw-ò*, to bring something to a definite place
- ce-q-o-l*, to pull
- xwa'a-o*, to find
- t'lix-ò-l*, to examine
- bo-x-o*, to warm food in a pot
- tsa'da-o*, to approach
- laku't's-o-l*, the spirit of the shaman returns with the soul of the sick person

- yik-i*, to resume action
- lob-i*, to die
- tca'tl-i*, to go into a fit
- tsa-l-i*, to get up
- ki'itl-i*, to continue in the same direction

kik-i, to land on the beach
let-i, to step out of a canoe
kix-i, to tell a myth
kwat-i, to try
ba'k'-i-l, to ask
k'à-y-i-l, to blow an ember into flame
ab-i-l, to follow
tsi't-i-l, to push
was-i-l, to prevent
tak'et-i-l, to jump
tsi-x-i-l, to mention, speak of
xal-i-l, to cut
t'si'la'k'-i-l, to dive
t'atc-i-l, to pay a debt
kiye-x-i-l, to tear down
xq-b-i-l, to fix, repair
hawa-y-i-l, to hunt deer
ha'b-i-l, to fell a tree
il-è-l, to untie

t'atc-a, to know
kits-a, to dance
hó-kw-a, to drift
say-a, to like, covet
t'ciq-a, to die
bai-a, to laugh
laq'-a, to run away
sey-a, to see
ka'dé-y-a, to hide
k'aiy-a, to hold for ransom
wé-qa-l, to assemble (intrans.)
lé-ew-a-l, to cough
ha'a-b-a-l, to deceive
lâ-q'-a-l, to drive away
ɣat'l-a-l, to stumble
xwa'q'w-a-l, to loosen

88. Although a verb appears generally with the same applicative classifier, this constant association is not of such a mechanical nature, as for example, that of the endings of the four conjugations in Latin. However arbitrary the choice of the classifier for a particular verb may seem, its use is constant with the normal sense of the verb or with the application of its action. If the verb appears with a different sense or in a different context, a different classifier may be required¹. In such cases the choice seems rather consistent with the rules given above in regard to aspect and application of action to a definite location. For example:

t'la''t'c-i-l, he stuck it (made it adhere)
t'la''t'c-a-'â, it is stuck
t'la't'c-ó-stista al-â-b, stick it on me

¹ The use of the applicative classifiers for the expression of aspect is discussed in Section 133.

letc-è-l, he wrapped it
letc-a-'à-li, I am wrapping it
létc-o-sti's-ta''as, he wrapped it around me

lex-w-a-l, it is going around (outside of something)
lex-w-o-l, it is going around (inside of something)

kwat-i''ili, I shall try it
kwát-o-sti's, try it on him
kwát-i-las, he is trying it (he is going to try it; the durative aspect cannot be used with this verb).

Verbal classifiers.

89. We shall again resort to the employment of the term classifier as a convenient device to designate the elements *-l*, *-t*, *-ts*, *-s*, *-x*, the uses of which, like those of the applicative classifiers, conform only in part to a barely discernible system. For reasons which may become apparent in the course of their discussion, they have been given the noncommittal name of *verbal classifiers*. These elements seem to be more directly involved in the expression of objective relations than the applicative classifiers, as evidenced by the fact that they cannot be used in normal conditions when the object is incorporated in the verb, and by the further observation that they are more frequently found with transitive than with intransitive verbs, or, more accurately, they occur oftener with verbs which can take an object. Nevertheless, an exclusive concern with the relation of the object to the verb cannot be asserted. Here, as well as in the applicative classifiers and the pronominal objective forms treated below, we discern a possible convergence of two or more principles.

One of these principles which becomes apparent in many cases is the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs, just mentioned. As we all know, this distinction seldom, if ever, coincides point for point in any two languages, although on the whole we find considerable agreement even between the most distant and unrelated. Granting that disagreement on various points is to be expected, the problem that confronts us in Quileute is to decide to what extent we are to make allowance for such divergences and still regard the distinction as based on transitive and intransitive action. Let us take as an example the uses of one of these elements. If we characterize *-l* as the sign of the transitive verb, we find evidence of this function in such instances as *t'ciq-a*, to die; and *t'ciq-a-l*, to kill; *kul-è*, to be named; *kul-è-l*, to name, give a name to; and likewise in the following cases:

hiye-x-i-l, to destroy
t'o't's-i-l, to lift
tsa'b-è-l, to stab
quwas-è-l, to dig up

liw-è-l, to carry, take along
k'i-è-l, to trap animals
xal-i-l, to cut with a knife
bá'k'-i-l, to ask
ha'q'-o-l, to carry with the pack strap
k'ok'ó-t-a-l, to steal
like't-i-l, to wrap

yel-a, to be angry
bai-a, to laugh
aq-a, to be on top of
xab-a, to be dressed
k'a-k'-i, to groan
tcac-a, to be flying
xwas-a, to return, come from a trip
tok-o, to descend
qal-i, to fail
tca't'-i, to faint
lob-e, to die (respectful term)
q'we-l-a, to be late, delay
téxw-a, to go home
lakt-i, to be puzzled, hesitate

In contrast with the above examples, we find that *liw-è-l*, to take an object along, to pick it up and carry it away, is transitive, assuming that such is the meaning of *-l*; but *liw-ò* (*liw-o*) to bring or take an object to a definite place and lay it down, is intransitive. Under no circumstances can the *-l* be used with this verb when the applicative classifier is changed from *è* to *ò* to convey this meaning. Nor can we aptly account for the presence or absence of the *-l* as a sign of transitive action in the following verbs, considering that those which have this sign cannot take an object, while those which omit it are generally followed by the oblique case of the article and the noun object.

lé-exw-a-l, to cough
kwat-a-l, to come out, appear
ha't's-o-l, to go to bed, retire
kok-o-l, to be alone, be deserted
las-a-l, to snap, break (intransitive)
pux-w-a-l, to drift
tek'et-i-l, to jump, leap
t'si'la'k'-i-l, to dive
ha'b-è-l, to fall
pat'-a-l, to stumble
lex-w-a-l, to move in a circle
tca'-a-l, to run away

say-a, to like, long for
t'a'bil-a, to hate
it-a, to drink
kade-y-a, to conceal

qay-i, to hold in the hand
t'atc-a, to know
sey-a, to see
k'aiy-a, to hold for ransom

In perhaps two thirds of the cases in which the verbal classifiers are omitted, the verb is intransitive from our point of view, and from the fact that such verbs never take an object in Quileute. Among the other third there are verbs like *t'atc-a*, to know; *sey-a*, to see; *it-a*, to drink; and *t'abil-a*, to hate, which appear to be transitive from our point of view, and because they are generally followed by an object. But since in Quileute the oblique case of the article makes no distinction between dative and accusative, the presence of the object cannot be taken as a proof that the verbs are transitive. If we assume that with such verbs the oblique case of the article is equivalent to our dative case, the verbs can possibly be intransitive. Similar situations could be cited from languages that are better known to us. For example, we use in English a transitive verb when we say "I helped him," but the same idea is conveyed by an intransitive verb with the dative case in Spanish: "Le ayudé." As we may all concede, it is futile to attempt to define transitivity and intransitivity on the basis of meaning. This distinction can be drawn only on the basis of grammatical phenomena, which is tantamount to saying that whatever meanings a given language may regard as transitive or as intransitive, their distribution is neither more nor less arbitrary than any other we may be familiar with. Nevertheless, these considerations do not remove all our obstacles. We may find an explanation for the morphologically intransitive verbs in Quileute which are found with an object (the apparent object may stand in some oblique relation other than accusative), but it is difficult to understand how a verb which can never take an object may be morphologically transitive. If *-l* marks the transitive verb, how can we account for its use with such verbs as *lé'axw-al*, to cough; *púxw-a-l*, to drift? No object ever follows these verbs, nor do the natives admit any sentence in which one may be supplied, as, for example, "to cough blood."

A conjecture which readily suggests itself is that the *-l* in such verbs is a survival of their former transitive nature, when they had perhaps a more extensive meaning. By a process of semantic specialization, the expression of an object became superfluous, and was finally eliminated. This hypothesis, of course, may account for the irregularities, but does not enable us to understand the present function of *-l* with such verbs. Furthermore, we observe that some of the *l*-verbs that are used intransitively do not retain the *-l* in transitive usage. Thus, *las-a-l*, which signifies that a string or a rope accidentally breaks while pulling it, becomes *las-a-ts*, to cause to

break, when used transitively. The use of the causative here clearly indicates that this and other similar verbs are at present intransitive from every point of view. Is it conceivable that *-l* may connote transitivity when *t'ciq-a*, to die, becomes *t'ciq-a-l*, to kill, while in *las-a-l* it is so closely associated with an intransitive idea that it cannot be retained if the verb is used transitively? Still, in about seventy five per cent of the cases in which *-l* is present the verb may be regarded as transitive without resorting to much conjecturing. Two conclusions seem possible. The fact that *-l* coincides with transitive action in so many cases may indicate that this was its original function, but that at present its adherence to these verbs and to others which later became intransitive has no more functional significance than the four conjugations or the five declensions in Latin. The other possibility is that *-l* performs an entirely different function which incidentally happens to group together more transitive than intransitive verbs. For example, if we should in some conventional manner separate in any language all the verbs which express a state of mind, a relation or a condition from those which denote action, we would find more intransitive verbs in the former and more transitive verbs in the latter, while a probable concomittant result would be a similar distribution of durative and momentaneous aspects. If such a separation were effected in any language by a given morpheme, the probability is that we would find about the same proportion of irregularities and doubtful cases whether we attributed to such a morpheme the function of distinguishing between momentaneous and durative aspects, transitive and intransitive verbs, or static and dynamic predication. An attempt to discover a dynamic connotation in the uses of *-l*, and a static implication in its omission, meets with considerable success, but the number of exceptions is about equal to that of the transitive-intransitive distinction. It is interesting to note, however, that in many cases the two classifications do not overlap. Thus, when we find an exceptional use of a transitive verb, it is frequently observed that it expresses an action, rather than a condition. The last two groups of examples were selected because of their incompatibility with a transitive-intransitive distribution, but we notice that the majority of those which would be expected to be intransitive, express an action, event or occurrence, while those which, contrary to expectations, are used apparently as transitive verbs without the *-l*, are expressions of a state or condition. Nevertheless, the exceptions and doubtful cases should not be overlooked. In the *l*-group, *kok-o-l*, to be alone, to be deserted, denotes a condition, so far as we may judge by the translation. What the native "feeling" is we do not know. *pux-wa-l*, which is applicable to a situation in which a canoe is being driven by the wind, the tide or the current

of a stream, may be regarded as a condition if we view the situation as a whole; but if we fix our attention on one of its aspects, namely, the fact that the canoe is moving, it may be regarded linguistically as an expression of action or occurrence, analogous to that of *lex-w-a-l*, to move in a circle, go around. Passing now to the last group of examples, the most striking exception is *kade-y-a*, to conceal or hide an object. That this verb is actually transitive, and expresses an action may be inferred from the fact that the English intransitive use of to hide is rendered by *kade-y-a-sqal*, to hide oneself. Since the postpositive *-sqal* is a typical reflexive in all its uses, we cannot imagine from what point of view this reflexive expression can be intransitive or express a condition. The same conclusion can be reached for *it-a*, to drink, in *ita'c xe' lab*, he began to drink the whiskey. If we should alledge that this sentence is to be understood in such a sense as "he entered upon a whiskey-drinking-condition," then, by one device or another we should be at liberty to regard most utterances either as conditions or as actions. Referring now to *sey-a*, to see; *qay-i*, to hold in the hand; *k'aiy-a*, to hold for ransom, may we not reckon them as static or dynamic depending upon which we choose to fix our attention? It is impossible therefore, to decide with any degree of confidence to what extent the element *-l* connotes action, and its omission indicates a state or condition.

90. In a few instances, the substitution of the classifier *-ts* (*-ats*) instead of the normal *-l* indicates a more rapid or energetic action. For example: *ceq-o-l*, to pull, and *ceq-w-ats*, to jerk; *k'i'x-a-l*, to lift gradually and *k'i'x-a-ts*, to lift suddenly; *wa-x-i-l*, to stop, and *wa-x-a-ts*, to stop suddenly; *k'wada'q-a-l*, to tear (cloth or any fabric or textile), *k'wada'q-a-ts*, to tear with a jerk; *tux-a-l*, to spit, *tux-a-ts*, to sputter.

Evidently, the implications of the element *-l* in the preceding examples are rather divergent from those which we have thus far considered, but any attempt to follow any suggestions derived from such cases meets with obstacles in the majority of the contexts in which this element occurs.

91. Were we able to decide with any degree of certainty that *-l* is a sign of transitive action and that its omission indicates intransitive predication, the use of the other classifiers of this group could be characterized as special subdivisions of these two classes, although their office is not always clear. Three of them, *-ts*, *-s*, and *-x* are identical in form with morphemes whose meanings are rather evident. The first one is employed in some contexts with the meaning of "to do" or "make", and in others (Secs. 103, 104) as a sign of causation. The second, *-s*, is also a causative, but disregarding for the moment a considerable number of exceptions, it seems to

specify the production of continued activity, in contrast with *-ts*, which generally denotes a causation of momentaneous action. Moreover, there is a morpheme *-s* which means "to give". It is also curious to notice that it is identical with one of the components of the pronominal forms which express an indirect object relation or a direct object connection with continued activity, as discussed below. The formative *-x̄* is a sign of the durative or continuative aspect, used most frequently with verbs signifying locomotion. In regard to the other classifier, *-t*, no single concept can be formulated for all the verbs with which it appears, but about half of them express a complex activity with a concomitant durative aspect, like "to fight, to bathe, to work, to ride on horseback," etc. In form it is identical with the sign of nominalization discussed in Secs. 122, 148. Intermediate between the presumably formal use of *-t* under consideration and the employment of a *-t* to nominalize a verbal morpheme, we find some instances in which a formative *-t* can be characterized as a participial suffix. The analogical transition between these three offices is rather obvious, but considering that numerous unanalyzable nouns end in *-t* (Sec. 138), and that no single concept underlying all its presumably formal uses can be found without venturing into psychological or logical abstractions, it seems advisable to consider these points of contact as having only a possible historical significance. We shall, therefore, regard the nominalizing *-t* as a separate morpheme from the *-t* used formally in many cases, but with a clear implication of continued activity in others. There seems to be no ground for speaking of a special morpheme *-t* changing a verb into a kind of participle, since the syntactical relation of such verbs to the main verb of the sentence is either equivalent to that of a noun or to that of a subordinate verb. In the former case it would be arbitrary to separate it from the general nominalizing function of *-t*, and in the latter we have simply one of the instances in which the meaning of *-t* is that of an activity, the nature of which is inherently durative, as stated above; this being the only meaning that can be attributed to the use of *-t* with words which function as verbs.

It is important to state that, excepting an occasional combination of *-t* and *x̄*, these classifiers are mutually exclusive, and, as stated above, they must be omitted when the object or complementary noun is incorporated in the verb. Furthermore, their use is limited to certain verbs, and one is not at liberty to use *-s*, for example, to denote the causation of any durative action. Thus, in *talawe-ts-i-li*, I made him run, we must use *-ts* instead of *-s*, although the use of the latter would be expected, to judge by its most frequent usage. Nor is it clear why *qé't'la-x̄*, to go up stream, should take *-x̄* instead of *-t*. If we say that the latter is due to the fact that it is a verb of

locomotion, we cannot account for the presence of $-x$ in *é'lati'tc-x*, to need, and in *tságotca'ql-x*, to be impossible. These facts may be taken as conclusive evidence that, whatever meaning these elements may have in other contexts or may have had formerly in their constant presence with certain verbs, they are now employed formally rather than semantically.

92. It is possible that in the use of two other formatives which we have somewhat arbitrarily excluded from this group, there is an indication of how these classifiers came into existence. A few verbs are generally found with the elements $-c$ and $-do$, which mean "to begin", and "to result", respectively, when affixed to verbs, and "to become" when used with nouns. They are also employed formally as signs of an inceptive and resultative aspect. The constant, conventional use of these formatives resembles that of the verbal classifiers. The verb *sey-a*, to see, for example, must be used with $-c$ in all situations in which a momentaneous aspect is expressed by our verb. That is, in Quileute one fixes his attention on the threshold of a visual perception, and, accordingly, one would say "I began to see him" where we would say "I saw him." Similarly, the postpositive $-do$, to become as a result of previous action (generally purposive) is constantly used with certain verbs presumably to denote a resultative aspect of action. For example, *hiy-o-do*, to finish, unless it is employed in a causative sense (to cause to end), can never be used without $-do$. In spite of these points of contact with the verbal classifiers, it may be justifiable to reckon $-c$ and $-do$ as essentially different from them. In the first place, they are not omitted when the object is present in the verb, which is the most regular characteristic of the verbal classifiers. Secondly, their meaning seems clear in all situations, and they are replaced by the continuative $-x$ when the inceptive implication is altered. However, even here we have to contend with formal usage, for *ala-c*, to eat, becomes *ala-x*, to be eating; but *se'ya-c*, to see, forms the continuative by lengthening (*se'ya*) and cannot, under any circumstances take $-x$. Even the use of $-c$ is restricted to certain verbs: *saya'li*, I like, would be expected to require the sign of the inceptive $-c$ in "I begin to like," but we find a change of the applicative classifier with an implication of momentaneous aspect, instead of the normal durative, thus, *say-i''-li*. An analogous change takes place if the objective pronouns are used: *sayá-gala'wo-li*, I like you; *sayí-tila'wo-li*, I begin to like you. On the whole, verbs which do not express an objective activity but signify a mental action or condition express inceptive action by changing to a momentaneous aspect.

Examples of the uses of $-c$ and $-x$ for inceptive, durative and continuative action are:

ál-a-c-i'-sto, let us eat (begin to eat)

ál-a-x-a'-sto, let us keep on eating

é: ál-a-c-i'", he did not eat (did not begin to eat)

é: ál-a-x-a'", he did not continue to eat

ál-a-x-a t'oq^u, we used to eat

hiy-ò-do ál-a-x-a'", he finished eating

hiy-o-t's-i-do, he finished eating (referring to the mechanical act of taking the food into his body, rather than to the whole social situation of eating a meal.)

Similar to the conventional selection of the inceptive aspect in such experiences as seeing, eating, hearing, recognizing, etc. instead of viewing the experience as a whole, it is observed that the continuative aspect is always chosen for many verbs of locomotion. Thus, *ki't-a-x*, means "to be going", rather than "to go", and cannot be used in any other aspect. It cannot be made inceptive to express the idea of starting out. In such situations the Quileute manner of expression would be "he was leaving and was going," or "he intended to be going (*ki't-a-x-al*) and was on the way (*itc-a-x*)." Such an occurrence as would be conveyed by our sentence "he went to so-and-so's house" is generally analyzed by a Quileute speaker into several acts: "He was going, being headed for so-and-so's house; he arrived, entered." If the person did not intend to enter, they would say, "He arrived at the walls (of the house)." It is conceivable that these ways of viewing experience, which are so different from ours, may have involved at one time all the classifiers in a manner analogous to the uses of the inceptives *-c*, *-do* and the continuative *-x*. At present, their use may have become entirely or partially formal.

93. In view of all these difficulties, it seems advisable to content ourselves with a description of the morphologic facts, and to suspend judgment in regard to conceptual functions. We may, therefore, say that there are five formatives in Quileute which divide all the verbs into six classes. Accordingly, these formatives may be called *verbal classifiers*. They are *-l*, *-ts*, *-t*, *-s*, *-x*. Five of the classes are designated by the constant presence of one of the classifiers, when no object is expressed by a morpheme within the verb. The sixth class is defined by the absence of a classifier in all situations. This has been labeled *neutral class*. The other five will be mentioned by their respective classifiers, as the *l*-class, the *ts*-class, etc.

Special material was collected to determine what classifiers are required by various verbs. To secure uniformity in the answers, and preclude as much as possible a choice of aspect by the informant, each sentence that he was asked to translate had a noun for its subject, so that the Quileute verb might be given without any pronominal suffixes, and the English verb was in the past tense. Verbs which could be used transitively were placed in complete

sentences with a nominal object which could not be incorporated, as, this man saw the horse, or with a nominalized clause, as, that woman knew what you did. The examples which follow were selected from such answers with the special design of presenting a variety of meaning. This information was given for 439 verbs, which were used with the various classifiers or without them in the following proportion. The verbs which are generally found with the inceptive and resultative suffixes *-c*, *-do* have been included to illustrate their formal use as discussed in Sec. 92.

<i>-l</i>	239	<i>-s</i>	17
neutral	98	<i>-x̄</i>	12
<i>-ts</i>	34	<i>-c</i>	11
<i>-t</i>	19	<i>-do</i>	9

l-class

<i>tca'al</i> , escaped	<i>tek'e'til</i> , jumped
<i>tci'al</i> , took care of	<i>hiyé.ril</i> , destroyed
<i>kás'al</i> , it broke	<i>á-bil</i> , followed
<i>pux-wal</i> , drifted	<i>t'a-tcil</i> , paid a debt
<i>lé-exwal</i> , coughed	<i>xwal-i-wil</i> , overtook
<i>kwát'al</i> , came out	<i>t'ó-t'sil</i> , raised
<i>luwa'qual</i> , transformed	<i>hé-qcíl</i> , applied magic
<i>k'ok'ó-tal</i> , stole	<i>likè-til</i> , wrapped
<i>tila'qol</i> , was across	<i>la'è-l</i> , gathered
<i>hé'ol</i> , accompanied	<i>tsa'bè-l</i> , stabbed
<i>toqó-ol</i> , avenged	<i>k'i'è-l</i> , caught in a trap
<i>ha'q'ò-l</i> , packed	<i>t'e'k'è-l</i> , started a fire
<i>ha't'sol</i> , went to bed	<i>p'e't'lè-l</i> , filled
<i>te'lol</i> , met at the beach	<i>qwas-è-l</i> , dug roots
<i>ko'kol</i> , was isolated	<i>liwè-l</i> , brought along

Neutral class

<i>xel-à</i> , was angry	<i>i't-a</i> , drank
<i>la'q'a</i> , ran away	<i>á-qa</i> , was on top of
<i>baià</i> , laughed	<i>k'a'k'à</i> , opened his mouth
<i>xa-ba''</i> , was dressed	<i>wé'k'wa</i> , chewed (trans.)
<i>sayà</i> , liked	<i>t'ciqa''</i> , died
<i>kax-à</i> , opened (trans.)	<i>kadé-ya''</i> , hid it
<i>t'á-bila''</i> , hated	<i>t'ca'a''</i> , cooked it
<i>xwasà</i> , returned	<i>t'ca'à</i> , it was cooked (was done)
<i>kí'di''</i> , got busy	<i>yiki''</i> , resumed action
<i>héqti</i> , came upon him	<i>tcitci''</i> , opened his eyes
<i>típi''</i> , turned over (intrans.)	<i>qaye''</i> , held in his hand
<i>t'é-kili''</i> , felt (trans.)	<i>kulè</i> , his name was
<i>k'a'k'e''</i> , shouted with pain	<i>ta'.xoli</i> , became ashamed

ts-class

<i>xékwats</i> , he closed	<i>t'ókwats</i> , he cut in two
<i>óxwats</i> , he dipped it	<i>i'xuts</i> , he exchanged
<i>p'e't'cats</i> , lit a candle	<i>t'so'o-sats</i> , shook the discs

kadá-qwats, rolled the discs
kábats, mixed
qwa''t'lats, piled up (trans.)
t'sá-bats poked
t'la^u-a'ts, (he) shot (with gun)
q'wa'tats, stretched (trans.)

tsó'otsats, jerked (intrans.)
k'ada''t'sats, cut a piece from
yaxo'ts, placed in front
q'ó't'lats, poured (trans.)
wá-t-ats, split (trans.)
k'iya'ts, he tied

t-class

t'cá.qe'xat, fought with
xosida't, bathed (intrans.)
t'sílo-wa't, went up
pa'qet, worked
á-tcoxa't, lay together with
ha'p'is-pat, roasted (trans.)

k'o'-xwat, divided profits with
k'isé.dat, tied canoe to kelp
kwó-lo''ot, rode on horseback
k'opa't, loved, coveted
qá-le^axat, waged war with
t'íktada't, smelled (trans.)

s-class

tcícóstitis, put into, introduced
ada's, searched for
üxwa''atsis, paid (for service)
k'apa'lis, doubled in two (trans.)
há't'ca''t'isis, cured (trans.)
laqá-tsis, made smaller, reduced

xwasáq^tis, revived from faint (tr.)
wakalaxe's, listened to
héciks, happened to find
ítaq^tis, described
wa''t'isis, stopped (trans.)
ó-qolis, brought nearer

x-class

ila.xa'sx, set free
íta'x, was headed for
suku'sx, came empty handed
lá'lowa'tx, withdrew (intrans.)

k'i'tax, was going
qé't'la^x, was going up stream
é-lati'tc^x, needed
tságotca'q^tx, was impossible

Inceptive verbs

síyac, he saw
hét'ic, he married (her)
kukwa-'lec, heard, understood

koli'c, he hurried (intrans.)
típíle'c, was tired, worried
t'síxale'c, recognized

Resultative verbs

híyò-do, he finished (trans. or intr.)
atla^x-d-o, received news
t'aqló-do, missed the guess
i'sido, urinated (said of a woman)

xile-klí'd-o, forgot
píke'd-o, gave news
ba'd-o, defecated
t'lica'd-o, departed for a trip

94. The verbal classifiers are associated with the meaning expressed by the verb in a given context rather than with its form. Thus, when a form is used in a different sense, the verb may pass from one class to another. A few examples have already been given (Sec. 90); others are:

t'ciq-a, to die
las-a-l, to break
kol-o-l, to embark
ha'kut-a-x, to be coming

t'ciq-a-l, to kill
las-a-ts, to cause to break
kol-o-s, to place in the canoe
ha'kut-a-s, to send

95. As already mentioned, when the object of the verb is expressed by a postpositive, whether nominal or pronominal (Sec. 96), the classifier is omitted. Rare exceptions to this rule have occurred in verbs composed of two or more meaningful postpositives which seem to have become stereotyped compounds.

ce'q-o-l-as, he pulled

ce'q-o-l-as xe' te'kwa', he pulled the rope

céq^u-ti'p-as, he pulled the door (-*tip*, door)

céq^u-ici'l-i-sta-xas, he pulled my leg (pulled-leg-to-me-he)

céq^u-a-tila-xas, he pulled me

xék^u-a-ts-is, he closed it

xék^u-a-ts-is xe' áxuyo', he closed the box

xék^u-tip-as, he closed the door

Objective relations expressed by pronominal forms.

96. Certain forms occur in all cases in which a relation similar to our direct or indirect object is expressed by pronominal suffixes. Their uses can be more accurately defined by reference to the verbal classifiers. Connotations of momentaneous, durative, and continuative aspects may be disclosed, as well as a distinction which corresponds to some extent with that established by our direct and indirect objects. However, the difficulties encountered in an attempt to account for the exceptions are analogous to those pointed out in the use of the verbal classifiers. If we take the verbal classes (Sec. 93) as a basis, it is generally possible to predict which objective forms will be used. No verb of the neutral class, for example, has been found with any other than the *qa*-objective forms given below, unless a kind of ethical dative is expressed, in which case the *s*-forms would be employed. The *l*- and *ts*-classes may take the *ti*-forms or the *s*-forms according to the rules given below. These correspondences may be presented as follows:

Person	neutral	- <i>l</i> , - <i>ts</i>	- <i>t</i> , - <i>s</i> (- <i>l</i> , - <i>ts</i>)
1st sing.	- <i>qala</i>	- <i>tila</i>	- <i>sta</i>
1st plur.	- <i>qalo</i>	- <i>tilo</i>	- <i>sto</i>
2nd.	- <i>qalawo</i>	- <i>tilawo</i> ¹	- <i>swo</i>
3rd.			- <i>swa</i> (- <i>b</i>)

If regard is had to their correspondence with our objective relations, we observe that the *ti*-forms coincide quite regularly with our direct object, the *qa*-forms express the same relation but not as regularly, while the *s*-forms may perform either function, depending

¹ The forms -*qalawo* and -*tilawo* become -*qala'v* and -*tila'v* when the accent falls on the penult. But this depends on the individual; in careful articulation the accent does not produce this contraction.

on the verbal class and the aspect of the action. Verbs of the *l*- and *ts*-classes which would normally take the *ti*-forms, require the *s*-forms in any aspect but the momentaneous. For example, *xwats-è-l*, to hit (or he hit him); *xwáts-e-tila'-liti*, you hit me; *xwáts-e-sta'-liti*, you kept on hitting me; *xwáxwats-e-sta'-liti*, you hit me repeatedly, you hit me now and then. This is not to be construed as signifying that the *ti*-forms cannot be used in durative action. The principle seems to be rather that a verb of the *l*-class requires the *ti*-forms regardless of the normal aspect connoted by the verb. For example, *tcí''-a-l*, to take care of, look after, takes the *ti*-forms so long as the verb is used in its normal aspect. If we should use it in a continuative or iterative aspect, the *s*-forms would be employed, v. g.: *tcí''-a-tila-ças*, he takes care of me; *tcí''-a-sta'-ças*, he continues to take care of me. Hence, in order to determine whether the *s*-forms denote aspect or a relation which can be rendered by our indirect object, as in *t'sí'x-i-sta' ax^u*, show it to me, it is necessary to know to what class the verb belongs in its normal usage. Of course, this is necessary only when the verb is found out of context, for in actual discourse the presence of an object, either expressed by an independent word or understood, reveals at once the function of the pronominal forms.

97. The composition of these forms presents an interesting problem in linguistic analysis. From an inspection of the above table, we can readily isolate two sets of pronominal morphemes: *-la*, *-lo*, *-lawo*, and *-ta*, *-to*, *-wo*, *-wa*. On technical considerations no objection can be raised in regard to the first set. The forms *-la*, *-lo*, *-lawo* may be considered separable from the accompanying elements, since they are in one case preceded by *qa-* and in the other by *ti-*. Furthermore, the element *-ti* may possibly be identical with one morphologic factor in the obviative *-sti* (Sec. 100), while *qa-* is identical, at least in form, with one of the signs of the passive voice (Sec. 106), and may with less probability be one of the components of the reflexive *-sqal*. Whether these coincidences argue for functional identity in the present language, or are to be reckoned only as indications of cognate origin is a question we cannot answer with any degree of confidence in the light of the data at our disposal. The isolation of the second series of pronominal forms contemplated above raises more serious doubts. We may state at the outset that the forms *-ta*, *-to*, *-wo*, *-wa* are functionally inseparable from the *s*-that precedes them. They cannot be appended to any other forms, and it is problematic whether the consonant which invariably precedes them is functionally identifiable with the verbal classifier *-s* (Sec. 91), with the postpositive *-s* which means "to give" or with the causative *-s* (Sec. 104). If we disregard these doubtful connections, we must conclude that the forms *-sta*, *-sto*, *-swo*, *-swa* are morpholog-

ically indivisible. The fact that they have one consonant in common and the observation that the analogous forms *-tila*, *-qala*, etc. may perhaps be composite, is not sufficient ground to regard *-s* as a separate morpheme. An analogous situation is present in the English words "what, which, who, when, where, whence, whither". Were we to adopt the methods which are frequently applied in the analysis of illiterate languages, we could isolate an initial element *hw-*, to which we might assign an interrogative function. Then, the remaining elements *-at*, *-ich*, *-en*, etc. would be characterized as adverbs or pronouns denoting place, time, thing, etc. Some support for this analysis would apparently be found in such points of contact as, "what", and "that"; "where, there, whither, here". Such a method of procedure, besides failing to discover the actual facts in the history of these words, misrepresents the functional facts in modern English or even in Anglo-Saxon. To us, "what, that, where, there" are indivisible morphemes, as are also "that, those, this, these, there, they, them, the, thus," in spite of the evident morphologic element *th-* which these words have in common, and which incidentally represents an actual historic connection. Likewise, when one Quileute informant was asked what part of the word *t'si'xista'*, show it to me, means me, his reply was *-sta*, not *-ta*, as we would expect from the logical analysis contemplated above. In the same manner *-qalawo*, and *-tilawo* were given for *you*. Considering the doubtful functional connection of *ti-* and *qa-* with the other elements mentioned above, these reactions of the native suggest caution.

It seems advisable, therefore, to regard all the forms of the above table as functionally indivisible. The recurrence of the elements *ti-*, *qa-*, *s-* we may consider only of historical significance. Of the same nature may be such mutual points of contact as *-a* in *-tila*, *-qala*, *-sta*, for the first person singular; *-o* in *-tilo*, *-qalo*, *-sto* for the first person plural; *-wo* in *-tilawo*, *-qalawo*, *-swo* of the second person; and the presence of *-l* in all the forms of the direct object, contrasted with its absence in those which can be used as indirect objects. Further identities of form and similarities of function will be pointed out below. In the light of the preceding discussions, these points of contact will be presented, without further comment, as possible etymologic connections, unless it is otherwise stated.

98. Certain limitations are observed in the use of the above objective pronouns. We notice, first, that there is no form for the direct object of the third person. The use of a transitive verb without an object is sufficient to indicate that a third person is affected. However, when emphasis, contrast, or precision of reference is desired, the free objective pronouns given below are used after the verb. These free morphemes perform no other function.

When the action of the verb is regarded as a benefit or as a detriment to the indirect object, *-b* is used instead of *-swa*. This rule, however, does not apply in cases in which a person serves as a substitute for another in the performance of an act, unless it is desired to bring into relief the benefit derived therefrom. In many cases in which *-b* occurs it appears from our point of view that it stands for a direct object rather than an indirect. This is due, of course, to the fact that the same meaning is expressed by a transitive verb in one language and by an intransitive in the other. For example, to curse some one, is dealt with as an intransitive in Quileute, the person cursed being an indirect object.

Another important limitation in the use of the objective forms is found when the subject is a third person and the object a second person. In this situation the passive voice is used for the direct or the indirect object. Thus, "he hit you" is rendered by "you were hit." "They gave you many dogs," becomes "you were given many dogs."

The omission of the objective pronoun in relation to the persons which are subjects or objects and the substitution of the passive voice may be represented as follows:

	I, WE	THOU, YE	HE, THEY
ME, US		pronoun	pronoun
THEE, YOU	pronoun		passive
HIM, THEM (direct)	omitted	omitted	omitted
(indirect)	pronoun	pronoun	pronoun

The following examples illustrate the uses of the objective pronouns. Other illustrations will be found in QT. 16:15; 18:3; 18:8; 18:11; 19:49; 20:7; 20:17; 20:20; 21:13; 22:26; 26:77.

ti-forms

xwa''t'sátilas, he hit me
xwa''t'sátilawo'li, I hit you
xwa''t'sátilolít, you hit us
céquatilawo''oli, I will pull you
céquatila'lít, you pulled me
hé'otilaci'las, he is going to accompany me
ké.xatila's, he lifted me
qáqatila'woli, I carried you away

s-forms

xwa''t'sás-ta'xas, he was hitting me
xwa''t'sáswo'li, I was hitting you
xwa''t'sásto'lít, you were hitting us
céqwaswa'lít, you were pulling him
céqwaswo'li, I was pulling you
hés-ta'xas, he gave it to me
xe'la'áswoli, I am angry at you
xe'la'ástoḡas, he is angry at us

liiwó'os-ta'xas á-lita', he is bringing me salmon
keqátswo'oli, I shall push it away from you (-t, from)
ká.de-yaswo'li, I hid it from you
tílatswà-li, I bought it for him
ki'ta'swa ax^u, send it to him
ha'yog^us-ta'xas, he invited me

qa-forms

se'yagqalas, he sees me
se'yagqalawo'li, I see you
se'yagqalo'lite, you see us
t'a'tca'a'qalawo'li, I know you
t'a'tca'a'qalas, he knows me
baye'qolá-qalas, he was making fun of me
adú-sa-qalas, he is looking for me
hálaqalawo'li, I am speaking to you
hé-t'iqalawoci'ili, I will marry you
baqa'wata libe'tiqalawo'lo, we are stronger than you

Uses of -b

lás-taxo-pa-b-li, I broke his bow string (broke-string-bow-him-I)
ki'yabli, I coaxed him
lá'elabli, I cursed him
céq^uqabli, I pulled the canoe for him (-qa, canoe)

99. The following free morphemes are used as objective pronouns for the direct and the indirect object:

me	<i>al-à-b</i>
thee	<i>he</i>
him, it	<i>xo''o</i> (near the speaker) <i>so''o</i> (near the second person) <i>sa''a</i> (removed from both) <i>tca''a</i> (visible at a long distance) <i>tci''tci'</i> (invisible, known) <i>xu'xwa'</i> (invisible, unknown)
her	<i>ki'ksa</i> (visible) <i>ki'kci</i> (invisible, known) <i>ku'kwa</i> (invisible, unknown)
us	<i>q^uloba''a</i>
you	<i>kika'a</i>
them (non-fem.)	<i>so'ó'o</i> (near) <i>sa'á'a</i> (at a distance)
them (fem.)	<i>ki'ksa'a</i> (visible) <i>ki'kci'i</i> (invisible, known) <i>ku'kwa'a</i> (invisible, unknown)

This pronominal series includes various elements which are found either in the subjective pronouns (Sec. 67) or in the locative demonstratives (Sec. 116). All the forms of the third person singular, non-feminine gender, are identical with the locative demonstratives. The feminine *ku'kwa'* is found also in one of the subjective series.

Whether the subjective *ku'kwa'* is to be considered as a different morpheme from the objective *ku'kwa'*, and a like distinction is to be drawn between the locative demonstratives and the objective pronouns of the third person, depends on how we define a morpheme. Their inclusion in the above list may be justified on the ground that our purpose is to present a system rather than a list of unique forms. In the other members of this series we find only points of contact, e. g.: objective *al'à'b*, subjective indicative *lab*, subjunctive *al*; objective *he*, indicative *tche*, subjunctive *tc*; objective *q^uloba'a*, subjective indicative *lub'a'à*, subjunctive *aq^u*, conditional *t'oq^u*. The process by which the singular forms of the third person are pluralized is evident also in the subjective pronouns. The uses of the pronominal free morphemes were indicated above (Sec. 98). Examples in connected discourse will be found in Q. T. p. 13:3; 4:3; 36:42.

100. It was shown in Sec. 96 that the pronominal forms *-sta*, *-sto*, *-swo*, *-swa* may express two objective relations which are entirely different from the point of view of the languages that are more familiar to us. In some situations they are equivalent to our indirect objects, while in others they are direct objects of verbs expressing continuous action, and which of these two relations is meant can be determined by the context or by the presence of an object expressed by an independent word or clause. It would seem that although these pronominal forms are used for both relations, the Quileute speaker is conscious of their difference. That is, these morphemes perform two distinct functions; not one, as we might infer from the morphologic facts. This inference is supported by the fact that in situations in which the *s*- pronominal forms can be ambiguous, the elements *-sti*, *-li*, *-la* are used to indicate that they stand for an indirect object. These elements cannot be regarded as pronouns, for they can refer to any direct object regardless of the person. They seem to be special symbols of a direct object relation when the indirect object is expressed by a pronominal form, or they merely indicate that another entity is concerned. We may call them *obviatives*, considering that their office is somewhat similar to the obviative in Kutenai. In *t'lico-sti-swo-oli*, I shall separate it from you, were we to omit the element *-sti*, the pronoun *-swo* of the second person, could stand for a direct object in durative action, and hence, *t'lico-swo-oli* would mean "I shall be separating you, drawing you apart". Likewise, *kwati-sta*, means "try me, put me to a test"; but *kwati-sti-sta* indicates that something or some one else is the direct object, and may, accordingly, mean "try it for me (in my stead)".

As in most languages, when a direct and an indirect object are present, in the majority of cases the direct object is a thing and the

indirect is a person. Very few verbs have been found in this language whose meaning would require a person as a direct object coincidentally with an indirect object, but where such a situation is possible the same obviatives are used regardless of what person is the direct object. Thus, *t'lico-sti-swo-'oli*, means "I will separate him from you," while *t'lico-sti-swa-'ali*, means "I will separate you from him;" similarly "you will separate me from him" necessitates only a change in the subject pronoun: *t'lico-sti-swa-'alitic*.

It should be noted that the obviatives are used occasionally when the object to which they refer is expressed by a noun, viz. *le'tco-sti-sta-'as s ho'k^{ut}'sat*, he is going to wrap a blanket around me.

The choice of each of the three obviatives depends on the same tripartite division observed in the use of the objective pronominal forms, as explained in Sec. 96, and is governed, accordingly, by the verbal classes (Sec. 93).

In the cases in which a single object pronoun would be expressed by the *ti*-forms, *-sti* represents the direct object; and a similar relation is observed between the *s*-forms and *-li* or *-la*. The verbs requiring the *qa*-forms, being of the neutral class, which are intransitive in their majority, can seldom be used with two objects. In a few cases in which it has been possible to form double object constructions with the neutral verbs, *-la* was employed to refer to the direct object. With other verbs, *-li* is used for the normal aspect of the verb (Sec. 132) and *-la* for an accidental durative or continuative. Examples of the uses of these elements are:

t'labaxo-sti-sta-litic, you broke it on me
lexo-sti-swo-'oli, I shall put it around you
kwato-sti-swo-'oli, I shall try it on you
t'latco-sti-sta, stick it on me
tciyo-sti-swo-'oli, I shall put it under you
sa·ko-sti-s, sew it on it
keqats-li-swo-lli, I am going to push it away from you
k'ok'ot-li-swo-lli, I am going to steal it from you
tilat-li-sta-litic, you bought it from me
k'ok'ot-li-litic tci' tsiyapo's·tc, he stole your hat
k'ok'ot-li-sta-litic tc kadè·do', you stole that dog from me
kwato-la-swo-li, I am trying it on you
kwato-la-sta-litic, you are trying it on me
kwato-la-sta-litic k'i'tat, you try on me every day
tilat-la-sta-xas k'i'tat, he buys it from me every day
tciyo-la-swo-li, I am putting it under you
lexo-la-swo-li, I am putting it around you

Although it is possible to use the obviatives in any case in which the reference to the direct object is ambiguous, with certain verbs the native prefers a periphrastic construction, and it is observed further that their use is avoided where they seem superfluous. The

following are instances in which the periphrastic construction is preferred:

k'i'ta-swo-lli tci'tci', I am sending it to you (*tci'tci'* represents the direct object; see Sec. 99)

xa'bili hé't'e'tsis, I fixed it with it (literally, "I fixed by using it")

k'alap'o-q^u-swo-li, I slammed it on you (*-q^u*, place, location; the introduction of this concept *-q^u* indicates that some object affected a part of something or somebody, hence, the pronoun *-swo* is readily interpreted as an indirect object.)

ɣela-swo-li héq'tsoo't tci'tci', I am angry at you for it (literally, "I-am-angry-at-you, the-reason-is that-thing")

é-xo'ts-li hé'kis, I exchanged it for it (literally, "I-changed-it substituting-it")

101. Reciprocal objective relations are expressed by three formatives: *-ɣat*, *-tid*, *-sid*. Their uses are governed by the tripartite division effected by the pronominal forms of the objective case (Sec. 96). Thus, the reciprocal *-ɣat* is used in situations in which a pronominal object would be represented by the *qa*-forms, and similarly *-tid* corresponds to the *ti*-forms, and *-sid* to the *s*-forms. The possible etymologic significance of the recurrent elements *ti*- and *-s*, and the difficulties of attributing any functional value to them has been pointed out in Secs. 96, 97. Examples:

<i>t'cáq-e-ɣa't-t'col</i> ,	they wished to fight (one another)
<i>se'ya-ɣa't-is</i> ,	they (can) see each other
<i>hál-a-ɣa't-lo</i> ,	we speak (to each other)
<i>ha'yoq^u-sid-a's</i> ,	they invite one another
<i>ɣe'la'-a-sid-lo</i> ,	we are angry at each other
<i>lá'el-a-sid-a's</i> ,	they cursed each other
<i>xwa't's-á-tid-a's</i> ,	they hit each other (once)
<i>céqw-a-tid-a's</i> ,	they pulled each other
<i>céqw-a-sid-a's</i> ,	they kept on pulling each other

See also QT. p. 9:12; 13:5, 7, 9, 12; p. 13:15, 16; p. 21:5; p. 19:41; 21:2; 23:34.

102. Reflexive action is denoted by the formative *-sqal*, which serves for all persons. It is of interest to note that this is the only objective element which can be used with all the verbal classes, and with the three divisions observed in the uses of all other morphemes involved in the expression of objective relations. Coincident with this observation we notice that it has considerable semantic independence, for it may be affixed to nouns or verbs to express a concept of disguise, pretence,¹ or simulation, viz.: *we'sát'sopat-sqal-é'-l*, he was going to pretend to be a woman (make some one believe he was one); *hé'l'e.cí'-sqal-aks*, she pretended she was married; *hé.tk-a-sqal-as*, he pretended to be sick. It is possible that these are

¹ In Spanish a concept of pretence is commonly expressed by the reflexive of the verb *hacer*, to make, viz.: *se hizo el enfermo*, he pretended to be sick.

idiomatic uses of a reflexive morpheme, or that the reflexive function is a special development of such meanings, or else that a concept unfamiliar to us underlies all these uses.

Examples of the reflexive usage:

<i>tcilá-sqal-a's,</i>	he warmed himself
<i>se'y-a-sqal-a's,</i>	he sees himself
<i>xe'la-'a-sqal-aks,</i>	she is angry at herself
<i>xwa't's-á-sqal-i'ili,</i>	I shall hit myself.

See also QT. 15:28; 19:39; 20:7; 21:32; 23:13, 30; 24:8.

Causation.

103. One of the most prevalent notions connoted in all languages in the relation between the subject and the verb is one of causation. The subject causes or produces an effect with the majority of the transitive and with many intransitive verbs. Logically, the production of an effect is as clear in "I stopped him," as in "I made him stop." Within a given language the expression of causation by a special morpheme or by implication in the subject-predicate relation, generally involves a distinction of meaning, either in its reference to experience or in the subjective attitude of the speaker. But this holds true mainly for the use of a given verb in one or the other manner, as in the above example with "stop." In other cases the language may resort to the use of a special morpheme to denote causation merely as an expedient to employ an intransitive verb transitively. Moreover, it frequently happens that a more direct causation is expressed by the subject-predicate relation than by a special morpheme, as in "I set him down" and "I made him sit down." Evidently we are dealing with a question of form which each language determines for itself and bears mainly on the use of particular verbs. This is quite evident in the Quilente morphemes which express causation.

There are no definite lines of demarcation between the expression of causation and the use of the verbal classifiers *-ts*, and *-s*. In fact, these two morphemes occur in both situations. We have regarded them as classifiers when they are semantically inseparable from a given verb, as in *kaba-ts*, to mix; *t'okwa-ts*, to cut in two; *t'laxwa-ts*, to shoot with a gun; *t'sa-ba-ts*, to poke. Obviously, if we knew the meaning which *kaba-*, *t'okwa-*, etc. had originally or, perhaps, have at present, the use of the causative might seem quite logical, but it has not been possible to find a context in which they can be used without it. These morphemes are reckoned as signs of causation when a verb which generally appears with another classifier, as *talawe-l*, to run, changes the normal classifier to introduce a notion of causation, as *talawe-ts*, to cause to run.

This functional distinction is supported also by the fact that there is a special sign of causation, *-tces*, which does not occur as a classifier. Whether the *-s* in this formative is to be identified functionally with the classifier *-s* or the concurrence represents a historical connection, or is a mere accident, we have no means of determining.

104. There are, therefore, three signs of causation, *-tces*, *-ts*, *-s*. The choice of one of them in a given situation can be more definitely predicted on a formal basis than on an analysis of meaning. Verbs of the neutral class (Sec. 93) take *-tces*, those of the *l*-class and most of the *t*-class use *-ts* when the nature of the causal act is momentaneous, but when the causal agency is continuous or repetitive, as in "I kept on making him run," *-s* is used. This use of *-s* is analogous to one of the functions of the pronominal forms *-sta*, *-sto*, *-swo*, *-swa* (Sec. 96). A further point of contact with these pronominal functions is the occasional use of *-s* to denote that a person was compelled or persuaded to perform an act for his own benefit.

Most of the verbs of the *x*-class cannot be employed in causative predication, but a change of verb or idiom is generally resorted to. One of these verbs, *t'silowatz*, to climb, ascend, takes *-s*. One verb of the neutral class, *ita*, to drink, occurs with the causative *-ts*, instead of *-tces*, in *ita'tsilo*, we made (them) drink (start drinking), and with *-s* in *ita'silo*, we kept on making them drink. Other irregularities have occurred, but in no case can a verb appear either with *-tces* or with one of the other causatives, regardless of the change in context.

The tripartite division of the causatives is analogous to the use of the three series of pronominal forms for objective relations (Sec. 96). In both cases there is an interchange between two classes (the *ti*- and *s*- series in the pronominal forms and the causatives *-ts*, *-s*), and one which remains isolated (the *qa*- pronominal forms and the causative *tces*-). The further correspondence of the two functions of the *s*-pronouns and the *-s* causative has already been mentioned. The verbal classes (as determined by the verbal classifiers) which fall within the province of each causative correspond in general with those which take each of the three series of pronominal forms, although there are many exceptions. The most regular correspondence is exhibited by the neutral class, which requires the causative *-tces* and the *qa*-series of pronominal forms. A further correspondence to this threefold division will be shown in the passive voice.

Illustrations of the uses of the causative formatives are:

lebat'e-tces-ili, I caused him to fall asleep
tc'i'yaxo-tces-as, he makes it stand up
t'seqa-tces-as, he causes it to hail
á-lati-tces-sta-xas, he made me cry

talawe-ts-ili, I made him run
waxi-ts-ili, I made him stop
kaxa-ts-as, he caused it to open
be'exa-ts-as, he made it thunder
ada'ada-ts-ili, I made him talk
kitsi-ts-ilitc, you made him kick
ita-ts-ilo, we made them drink

qwase''li-s-li, I let him dig roots
ha''t'so-s-litc, you made him go to bed
kitsa-tilawo-s-li, I made him kick you
talawe-s-ili, I kept on forcing him to run
ada'ada-s-ilitc, you kept on forcing him to speak

See also QT. 15:17; 19:13; 23:23; 23:24; 23:33; 24:2; 24:4; 26:13, 18, 19, 29, 51; 27:4; 38:39, 53; 39:25; 42:25, 28, 37; 43:25; 45:9.

PASSIVE VOICE.

105. The Quileute passive voice is a construction in which the normal subject-predicate relation is inverted. The normal relation is not to be reckoned by logical implications or by our standards, but by Quileute usage. Thus, if in *se'ya-litc*, you see (him), the pronoun *-litc* refers to the person who sees, while in *se'ya-qa-litc*, the same subject pronoun refers to the person who is seen, we are to regard the latter as a passive voice construction notwithstanding the fact that in most cases it corresponds to our sentence, "he sees you". However, many uses of the Quileute passive correspond to ours. The passive voice is resorted to much more frequently than in English.

106. Besides the inversion of the relation normally connoted by the subjective pronouns, four formatives are employed. One of these, *-t*, has been found only with four verbs, the other three, *-qa*, *-tsil* (*-tsel*), *-sil* (*-sel*), divide all the verbs into three classes which correspond in every respect to those of the causative formatives. Thus, if one knows what causative is used with a given verb, it is possible to predict almost invariably what passive voice suffix it will require. The correspondence is as follows:

Causative	Passive
<i>-tces</i>	<i>-qa</i>
<i>-ts</i>	<i>-tsil</i>
<i>-s</i>	<i>-sil</i>

We are at once impressed by the morphologic points of contact between the causative *-ts*, *-s*, and the passive *-tsil*, *-sil*. The *-l* element of the passive morphemes might be identified with the verbal classifier *-l* (Sec. 93). Only, the validity of a morphologic identification based on a single phonetic element is questionable, partic-

ularly in cases like the present, where the meaning of the morpheme cannot be determined. As shown in Sec. 89, the uses of the verbal classifier *-l* are predominantly formal. On the other hand, the morphologic correspondences of the causatives *-ts*, *-s* and the passive *-tsil*, *-sil* is doubtless significant, for they are used in the two presumably different functions with the same verbal classes. It may be argued further, that the connotations of the passive voice are not very divergent from those of causative action, considering that the meaning of most of the verbs with which these morphemes are used (Secs. 104, 106) is such that the subject of the causative and the agent ("logical subject") of the passive actually cause an effect upon the entity represented by the object of the causative or by the grammatical subject of the passive. Nevertheless, the fact that the person affected is represented in one construction by an object and by a grammatical subject in the other, leads us to conclude that these two constructions are fundamentally different in form and function. The points of contact we have observed may represent a historic connection, rather than a functional fact in the present language.

It is of interest to note in this connection that the causative signs have been used in a few instances with a passive meaning. Generally, a causative passive, like *lebat'e-tces-i-sil*, (he) was put to sleep (literally, he was caused to fall asleep) is constructed by employing the proper causative sign (*-tces* in this case) together with the sign of the passive (*-sil*). It is possible, however, to say *lébat'e'-tces xe' ū'xwalo'la'*, (he) was put to sleep by the shaman. Here, the agent of the action is preceded by the oblique case of the article, as in the normal use of the passive voice (Sec. 112). It would seem that, apart from the help of the context, this construction is ambiguous unless the agent is expressed, thus.

xile'', he became angry

xile's, he made (him) angry

xile's xe' tcoo'tsk', he was made angry by the boy

xile's yi:x tcoo'tsk', the boy made him angry

xile'' yi:x tcoo'tsk', the boy became angry.

Obviously, we have no means of determining whether this use of the causative suffixes is a survival or a later development.

107. One of the most common services rendered by the passive voice is to express an objective relation in which a third person is the subject and a second person is the object. As stated in Sec. 98 in such situations the second person objective forms *-tilawo*, *-galawo*, *-swo* cannot be used; e. g.:

sayá'a-qa-litc, he likes you (you are liked)

xali-tsil-i''ilitc, he will skin you

ada'adal-sel-elitc, he spoke to you

t'atca''a-qa-litc, he knows you, they know you

108. Some uses of the Quileute passive voice are strange to us, and occasionally cannot be translated by our passive voice without considerable periphrasis. For example:

t'ciqa-sel-e'ilitc, it was killed for you (you were benefited by the killing of it)
t'ax'te-li-tsel-ilitc, they warmed your feet (you were feet-warmed)
t'li'q'a-st'a'daxa'-tsel-ilitc, he slapped you with his tail

The following sentences illustrate the uses of the passive voice formatives. Other examples will be found in QT. 13:28; 13:22; 17:30; 19:5; 20:4; 21:34; 22:2; 23:24; 24:20; 24:23; 26:61; 38:34.

t'atca'a-qa-li, I am known
tso'o-st'ale-qa-li, I was ordered to do so
e siya-qa-'a ax^u, do not be seen
t'ciqa-tila-st'ale-qa-xas, he was ordered to kill me
wakalaxesta-qa-li, I am listened to
ha'yoq^u-qa-li, I am invited
k'op-qa-litc, you are loved
te'lo-qa-xas, he will be met at the beach
yalo'-qa-lo, we were approached

luwe-t'e-tsil, his head was carried away
tsoxo'-tsil, they were shot
t'ciqa-tsil, he was killed
ciqo-tsil-li, I was pulled
q'isi-tsil-litc, you were hurt
letce-tsil, they were wrapped up
ka'ada-tsil, they were hung
t'la-k'i-tsil-i''ilitc, you will be pricked

tsixi-sel-as, he was shown it (it was shown to him)
kule-sel-i''ilitc, you will be named
wéqwala-sel, they were summoned
ada'adal-sel-li, I was spoken to
hé-yi-(s)-sel-li, I was given a little (*hé-yis-el-i*)
kixtce-sel, they told him a story (a myth)
tciye't'coq^u-sel-litc sa' k'á't'la, they dropped a rock on you
héqa-wo'txats-sel-illitc xwa' ha'tc, you are going to be told something good,

The following are the only verbs which have been found with the element *-t* as a sign of the passive voice:

ba'k'-e-t-a-'yi-litc, you had been asked
tip-e-t-a-c-e-litc, you are gotten tired of (he got tired of you)
ba'q'olx-a-t-a-li, I am being waited for (they are waiting for me)
t'ikasq-a-t-a-litc, you are obeyed

FREE MORPHEMES.

As stated in Section 45, the majority of the free morphemes are nouns of two or three syllables which cannot be analyzed into simpler elements. Consequently, most of them may be regarded as

lexicographical subject-matter. We shall mention here only the free morphemes whose functions may be properly discussed in a grammatical study.

DEMONSTRATIVES.

109. There are two groups of demonstratives: those which refer to an entity (a being, an object, or an idea) and those which designate a location. The latter are conventionally classified as adverbs in most grammars. Those which refer to an entity are:

ARTICLES	NON-FEMININE	FEMININE	
		Singular	Plural
Subjective	<i>yix</i>	<i>yik</i>	<i>ya'ak</i>
Oblique, definite	<i>xe'</i>	<i>ki'</i>	<i>ka'ki'</i>
Oblique, indefinite	<i>s</i>	<i>ks</i>	<i>as</i>
INVISIBLE			
Unknown, unrelated	<i>x^u</i>		<i>k^u</i>
Unknown, related	<i>xwa'</i>		<i>kwa'</i>
Known	<i>tei'</i>		<i>kci'</i>
VISIBLE			
Near speaker	<i>yü'x-o</i>		<i>yü'k-o</i>
Near second person		<i>yi'tea</i>	
Near both	<i>sa'a</i>		<i>ksa'</i>
Removed from both		<i>ha</i>	

These demonstratives perform some of the most important syntactic functions in the Quilute sentence. As we shall see below (Sec. 112) the cohesion of the sentence depends very largely upon these free morphemes. In regard to the melodic aspect of the phrase in which they occur, it should be noted that some of them are pronounced as proclitic particles before the nouns or nominalized clauses to which they refer, but most frequently they are stressed as though these substantival units were subordinated to them. It may seem strange that such demonstratives as *s* and *ks* are here regarded as free morphemes. In the natural flow of connected discourse they sound as long initial consonants belonging to the following word, but the native readily isolates them when asked, for example, whether *s t'éi'k'al*, a house, is a single word or two words. The distinctions denoted by the different demonstratives may be classified under the following heads:

1. Visibility and invisibility
2. Relative position
 - (a) near the speaker
 - (b) near the person addressed
 - (c) near both
 - (d) removed from both

3. Relation to previous experience

- (a) unknown
- (b) known by hearsay
- (c) known by immediate experience
- (d) mentioned in the present conversation or known to all persons.

4. Gender

- (a) feminine
- (b) non-feminine

5. Number

- (a) singular
- (b) plural

6. Syntactic relations

- (a) subjective case
- (b) oblique case

The fundamental principle which seems to govern the employment of the various forms of the demonstratives is the degree to which the object or person is felt as a perceptive reality. Each form responds to more or less definite differentials in a scale that ranges from actual perception to the feeling of unreality that may accompany the thought of an object that has never been seen by the speaker or has been presented to him as a reality by some one else. From this point of view of degree of perceptive reality we can arrange the demonstratives in the following ascending order: (1) x^u , k^u ; (2) xwa' , kwa' ; (3) $tc'i$, $kc'i$; (4) $sa'a$, and the others which refer to visible objects. The articles do not fit properly into this scheme.

110. The demonstrative function of the articles does not differ much from that of the articles in English and other European languages, except that they cannot be used before distributed terms (distributed in the logical sense), as "the dog is man's oldest friend." We may contrast them with the other Quileute demonstratives from the viewpoint that the article is a word of anaphoric reference to an entity in the speaker's discourse, or one which is generally known by all persons; whereas the other demonstratives connect directly with the thought of objective reality, or refer to an entity that is known or unknown to either the speaker or the person addressed. For example, the article $yi\dot{x}$ may be rendered by the words *the* or *this*, but *this* is to be interpreted as "the one I mentioned," or "the thing everybody knows;" while xwa' , which may be equivalent to *this* or *that* is to be paraphrased as "the one which I heard of," or "the one which you know of." A closer step toward objective reality may be taken by using $sa'a$, which may mean *this* or *that* but must be accompanied by a gesture in its normal use.

The feminine articles are used before nouns which refer to female beings, as 'woman, girl, sister, wife, female shaman, mare, or the female of any large animal. The non-feminine forms are used before any noun that does not signify a female being. This includes men, inanimate objects, abstract ideas, and clauses which are syntactically dealt with as though they were nouns.

111. The fundamental distinction between the definite and the indefinite articles corresponds in several respects to that of our articles *the, a*. In its most common use, the Quileute definite article refers to an object that has been mentioned in the discourse, whereas the indefinite article introduces a new reference into the discourse. The new object may be known to both the speaker and the listener, but the speaker withholds that fact from the listener, at least for the moment, or the fact that the object is known may be irrelevant, and the speaker introduces it by merely referring to the general class, as *a hat, a canoe*, that is, one of those things we all know which are called hats, canoes, etc. Most frequently, the object is known to the speaker and not to the listener, as in "I bought a hat." In such cases, if the speaker intends to give more details about the hat, he will use the demonstrative *xwa'*, which can be interpreted as "not known to you." But if his intention is merely to introduce the new fact without considering its relation to the second person's experience, it is probable that he will use the indefinite article. However, personal habits of speech seem to incline to the use of one or to the other. In the language of the myths the articles are used in practically all situations in preference to the demonstrative *xwa'*, but the latter occurs more frequently in conversation.

It is not clear why the indefinite articles are always used before proper nouns of persons or localities, regardless of how familiar they may be to the speaker as well as to the listener. When a clause is treated as a noun, as it is often the case, the definite non-feminine articles are used if the fact expressed in the clause is related to previous experience, while the indefinite article is generally employed if such a relation does not exist.

112. The oblique forms of the articles perform a variety of syntactic functions, which are quite diverse from our point of view. They denote every possible relation between a noun and a verb, excepting that of the subject to the predicate. The most important functions assigned to them are: to designate (1) the object of the verb, which, from our point of view, may be direct or indirect; (2) to subordinate a clause to a noun; a construction equivalent to our relative clause; (4) various other relations of space, time, instrumentality, and purpose, the determination of which depends on the context; (5) to introduce the agent of the passive voice.

The following sentences illustrate the most common uses of the articles discussed in the preceding sections:

é-c (1) *yix* (2) *kule'yt*' (3) *tcat'ce'yot* (4), many of the Quileutes were chatting. 1, to be much or many. 2, article, non-feminine gender, subjective case, referring to 3, which is the subject of 1 and 4, the latter is a coordinate verb. 5, Quileute. 6, to chat, talk idly; the suffix *-t* (Sec. 91) expressing a state of activity turns this verb into a kind of participle: many were the Quileutes who were chatting, or the chatting Quileutes.

xaba'c (1) *yix* (2) *kule'yt*' (3) *t'atci* (4) *xé'* (5) *kule-'s* (6) *yix* (7) *ho'kwat'* (8), practically all the Quileutes knew the name of this white man. 1, to be all, to be complete; the inceptive *-c* gives the whole sentence an inceptive aspect; that is, the name was beginning to be known to all, or more literally, it was beginning to be all of them who knew the name; this idea is reflected also by the ending of 4. 2, article, as in the preceding sentence. 4, *t'atc-*, to know; this verb takes the applicative classifier *-a* (Sec. 88) in its durative sense of being in possession of knowledge, the use of *-i* in this case indicates the fact of coming into possession of knowledge, learning; verbs of the neutral class, like this, do not admit the inceptive *-c*. 5, article, non-feminine, oblique case, referring to the following clause which is the object of 4. 6, *kule-*, name; *-s*, to cause a condition (Sec. 91), that is, a person causes others to apply a certain name to him; to assign a name to (for the first time) requires the classifier *-l*; to have a name requires no verbal classifier, neutral class (Sec. 93). 7, article, like 2, as modifier of subject of 6. 8 — white man.

q'waeti' (1) *yi'kal* (2) *xé'* (3) *itca'tat* (4), Q'waeti' went on his way. 1, the name of the Quileute culture hero. 2, to keep on going. 3, article, oblique case. 4, *itc-*, to move through space toward a definite point; *-a*, applicative classifier; *-l*, to intend or sign of purposive action (Sec. 131); *-t*, sign of nominalization (Sec. 122).

é-cas'il (1) *s* (2) *pótsxwíl* (3) *xé'* (4) *ka'ptid* (5), they were given much canvas by the captain. 1, *é-c*, to be much or many; see 1 in the first example; *-sil* (or *-sel*), passive voice (Sec. 106); the postpositive meaning "to give" is *-s*, which collides with the *-s* of the next element; the word can be pronounced also *é-cas-i'l*; the meaning being "(they) were given much". 2, indefinite article, oblique case. 3, canvas. 4, definite article, oblique case for the logical subject of the passive voice. 5, Quileute adaptation of the English word "captain".

hawa'yicka (1) *toqo'l* (2) *s* (3) *bá-yaq* (4) Deer answered Raven. 1, Deer, personification of the animal. 2, to answer. 3, indefinite article required before all proper nouns in the oblique case. 4, Raven.

état (1) *siya* (2) *xé'* (3) *potsòd-q* (4) *xé'* (5) *liwò-* (6) *xé'* (7) *si'yat* (8) *á-lita'* (9), she could never see the people who brought the salmon that she saw. 1, never. 2, see, without any verbal classifier denotes the possibility of seeing. 3, article, oblique case. 4, *pòd-q*, man, with infix for distributed plural (Sec. 59). 5, article performing a function equivalent to our relative pronoun, it governs the clause which completes the sentence. 6, to bring to a definite place (*liw-*, and the applicative classifier for definite location). 7, article governing the object of 6. 8, the suffix *-t* converts the verb into a kind of participle; see 4 in the first example; for the convergence of this with the nominalizing function see Sec. 91. 9, salmon or food; this noun is either the object of the participle, or 8 is substantival and qualifies 9.

siyac (1) *xé'* (2) *lé'tcti* (3) *ó'* (4) *xé'* (5) *ó't'oslaks* (6), he saw the blood on her thighs. 1, saw; -c, inceptive. 2, article governing object of 1. 3, blood. 4, to be at a place, independent use of the formal base for location (Sec. 56). 5, article, oblique case after 4. 6, her thigh; *ó'*-, formal base for location; -*ks*, subject pronoun used as a possessive (Sec. 83).
xabi'k'ilq'os (1) *xé'* (2) *tiyalo''* (3), (she) prepared a pillow for her husband. 1, prepared a pillow; *xabi-* to make ready, mend, fix; *k'ilq'o-*, pillow; -*s*, causative. 2, oblique case of the article expressing a relation equivalent to that of the dative in other languages.

q'waeti' (1) *tei'tcal* (2) *yiḡ* (3) *atlaxe''e-qa* (4) *tibc'ti* (5) *ü'xwalo-'la'* (6), Q'waeti' made use of magic, for he was reported to be a powerful shaman. 1, Name of the culture hero. 2, to apply magic, to discover or cure by means of magic. 3, subjective case of the article, which, to use a conventional terminology, is in apposition with *q'waeti'* and hence serves as a pronoun, subject of the following clause. 4, was reported, was said commonly; -*qa*, sign of the passive voice of neutral verbs (Sec. 106). 7, strength, power; used as a qualifier. 8, shaman (see Sec. 53 regarding *üxwa-* as a formal base).

113. In direct discourse, when the object is not known to the speaker, *x^u* (non-feminine), *k^u* (feminine) or *xwa'* (non-feminine), *kwa'* (feminine) precede the noun. The distinction between these two pairs is parallel to that of *xé'* and *s*. That is, *x^u* introduces an unknown unrelated object, while *xwa'* refers to an object that is known to only one of the interlocutors or not known to either, but has been mentioned in the discourse, or is otherwise related indirectly to previous experience, as when the speaker has been told about the object by his interlocutor or some one else in previous conversations. Thus, the meaning of *xwa'* merges into that of the definite article, as pointed out in Sec. 111. This distinction between *x^u* and *xwa'* is shown very clearly in the following sentence:

wéts-wo (1) *x^u* (2) *qwa-'t'a'* (3) *xwa'* (4) *hélitse''t'a* (5) *tít* (6) *xwa'* (7) *póoq* (8) *tít* (9) *é-wa-tít* (10), a whale will be given to you which you may feed to the people when you arrive. 1, *wel-*, one; -*s*, to give; -*swo*, pronominal object, to you; a kind of impersonal construction equivalent to the passive voice; literally, "some one give you." 2, demonstrative for an unknown, unrelated object; the speaker intended to fish a whale for this purpose, hence the whale is entirely unrelated to experience and is introduced in the discourse for the first time. 3, whale. 4, demonstrative for an unknown object, previously mentioned; since the whale has just been mentioned, all the demonstratives referring to it will no longer be *x^u*, they may be *xwa'* or *yiḡ* (*xé'*), the articles; *xwa'* is preferred here because the whale is the important topic; this demonstrative refers back to 3 and is the object of 5, equivalent to our relative pronouns; similar to the last example under Sec. 112. 5, to feed, to serve as food; the suffix -*a* is the sign of subordination required by all verbs whose subjects are represented by a conditional pronoun (Secs. 76—78). 6, conditional pronoun subject of a subordinate clause expressing contingent future action. 7, demonstrative for persons unknown to the speaker, but mentioned by his interlocutor in previous conversations; it refers to the tribe from which the interlocutor had come. 9, conditional pronoun for contingent occurrence, subject of 10. 10, *é-wa-t*, to arrive from an ocean trip; -*ít*, suffix expressing eventuality (Sec. 76).

114. When the object is known to the speaker, but not present in the circumstantial context of the communication, the proper demonstrative is *tci'* (non-feminine), *kci'* (feminine). The same forms are used for all syntactic relations. As already stated (Sec. 54), these demonstratives take the place of the formal bases *hé-* and *ó-* to express a distributed plural. An interesting contrast in the use of *tci'* and *x^u* (Sec. 113) is seen in the expressions for *yesterday* and *to-morrow*. The word *tawi'l* may be rendered as *contiguous day*, which is equally applicable to the day following and to the day preceding the present. By using the demonstrative for an invisible, experienced fact, we obtain the expression for "yesterday," *tci' tawi'l*; while "to-morrow" requires the demonstrative for invisible, unexperienced facts, *x^u tawi'l*. Examples of the normal uses of *tci'* and *kci'* are:

tci' (1) *hél-osi* (2) *t'oq^u* (3) *loto'li* (4), the canoe in which we used to go across.

1, demonstrative, referring to a canoe known to both interlocutors but not present. 2, *hé-*, formal base; *-l-*, to travel in a canoe; at present also to ride in an automobile; *-o*, applicative classifier for location; *-s*, causative for continued action (Sec. 104); *-i*, subordinating suffix; the clause of the above example is taken from a sentence in which it was subordinated to the main verb; literally, "that in which we travelled"; there are many words for various types of canoes, but in Quileute one frequently refers to an object by mentioning its use; the word for "canoc" could be used in this context, but it seems superfluous, since both interlocutors know the canoe in question. 3, conditional pronoun, first person plural, used for customary action (Sec. 79). 4, *lot-*, to cross a stream or body of water; *-o*, applicative classifier for space; *-l-*, verbal classifier; *-i*, subordinating suffix, as in 2.

liweli'ilo (1) *sa'a* (2) *á-saya't* (3) *itca'si* (4) *kci'* (5) *tsi'tskwa'as* (6), we shall take that meat to my daughter. 1, we shall take. 2, demonstrative for an object present; the meat was in the canoe between the speaker and his interlocutor. 3, meat. 4, *itc-*, to be going in a definite direction; *-a*, applicative for motion; *-s*, causative for continued action; that is, they will cause the meat to go in a definite direction, namely, to his daughter's house; *-i*, sign of subordination, this verb being subordinate to the first verb. 5, demonstrative, feminine gender, for a person known to both interlocutors but not present. 6, daughter with the possessive *-s*.

115. When the person or object is visible or present, different demonstratives are used according to the position, the gender and syntactic relation, as shown in the table above (Sec. 109). The forms *yi'tca* and *ha* are used with any gender. Referring to a statement or an object which has just been mentioned *sa'a* or *sa'* may be used instead of the demonstratives for invisible objects, extending, thus, the concept of presence in space to include presence in mind. Illustrations in connected discourse will be found in QT. p. 14:18; p. 15:15; 6:1; 6:2; p. 18:10; p. 18:16; p. 20:16; p. 21:5; p. 21:10; 7:3; 7:10; 18:5; 19:5; 19:35; 24:12.

Locative demonstratives.

116. The locative demonstratives direct the attention of the person addressed toward a location, just as the preceding demonstratives direct it towards an object, a person or any other entity. They are:

Visible location

xo'o, near the speaker

so'a, near the second person

sa'a, at a comparatively short distance from both

á-tca'a (*tca'a*) at a long distance

Invisible location

xá'x'e, near, indefinite in extension

tcí'tcí, known place

xu'xwa', unknown place

The concept "here" is expressed by *xá'x'e* when the location is near or when the speaker is in it, and hence, visible only in part. It corresponds to such English expressions as "over here, in this region, on this side." It is used also for such ideas as, "now, now-a-days," and functions as an initial morpheme with the postpositive *-qtiya*, day, to mean "to-day" (*xaxéqtiya*).

The other two locative demonstratives, *tcí'tcí* and *xu'xwa'*, may be used for an immediate location as well as for a remote one. Their use depends on whether the place is known to the speaker from previous direct experience, having been there, or whether he imagines the place or has heard of it. For illustrations see QT. p. 14:7; p. 15:11; p. 15:17; p. 8:7; p. 18:9; 7:7; 7:8; 8:47; 14:13; 16:2; 16:12.

OTHER FREE MORPHEMES¹.

117. There are very few elements besides nouns, demonstratives and some of the pronouns, which we may confidently classify as unanalyzable free morphemes. The predilection for verbal forms is so manifest in Quileute, that even such words as *hé'xat*, *hé'qati*, *abe'*, whose meaning is apparently identical to our conjunctions "and, also, because," respectively, are perhaps verbal compounds. The first one, *hé'xat* may possibly consist of the formal base *hé-*, and other elements we cannot definitely identify. If the final element *-at* is the element which converts a verb into a noun or a participle (Sec. 122), the *-x* may be the continuative for motion (Sec. 66). We cannot be certain of the composition of *hé'qati*, but it is quite possible that it consists, like the latter, of the combination of two elements

¹ Pronominal morphemes belonging to this morphologic class of free morphemes have been discussed in Sections 69, 73, 76, 81, 82, 84, 99.

appended to the formal base, bringing those elements into prominence as illustrated with other affixes of the same nature in Section 55. We notice, further, that there are two other words of conjunctive meaning, which are similarly formed: *héqal*, to, for, against; and *héqale'k*, due to. We may be sure that *abe''* is a verb, as evidenced by its occurrence with pronominal affixes, e. g.:

abe''li é t'a'tea'a, because I do not know

Here, *abe''* is the main verb, to which the pronoun *-li*, I, is affixed. *é*, negative; *t'a'tc-*, to know, with the applicative classifier *-a*, and the subordinating suffix separated by a glottal stop (Sec. 37); this verb is subordinated to *abe''li*.

In other cases no data are available upon the elements which integrate the words, but we have some reason to suspect that they are composite. Compare, for example:

tca''wa'ac (or *tca''wac*), then, after
tca''we'la, nevertheless
la, still, yet, even so, etc.

hoi, only, just
hoyat'i'l, always, not only . . . but also

The following free morphemes have not been found with affixes:

a', oh, (surprise)
ayi, oh, ah, (pain, reproach)
é', yes
é', no
dā-kil, and, but, then, therefore, etc.
dē-xa'', so that, in order that
tit'seka, confound you
xec, for, for the benefit of
la, still, yet, even so, indeed (Greek δέ), and other meanings
ho'ho, well, now, (French "done")

118. A few remarks about the numerals may be pertinent in this grammatical study. There are two forms for each of the first ten numerals. One series which we may name *absolute*, is used when counting objects or when employed independently, as in answer to the question "How many?" The other series precedes the noun which denotes the objects enumerated. The first six numbers of this series may be used as initial morphemes to which postpositives may be affixed. Individual usage varies for number *seven*. Some persons affix postpositive elements to this numeral, while others claim that it is not proper to do so. Thus, *lāwaqt'si' silk'wa*, seven children, may also be expressed by two free morphemes, *lāwaqt'si' si' tcoo'tsk'*. But all informants concur in using *eight* and the other numerals above *eight* without affixes. The forms for the first ten numerals are:

	Syntactical	Absolute
one	<i>wa-l-, we-l-, we-</i>	<i>wel</i>
two	<i>lawe-</i>	<i>lä'u</i>
three	<i>qwa'le-</i>	<i>qwa'l</i>
four	<i>bayas-</i>	<i>bä'yis</i>
five	<i>tasi-</i>	<i>tas</i>
six	<i>tcilasi-</i>	<i>tcila's</i>
seven	<i>lawaq't'sisi-</i>	<i>lä'uaqt'sis</i>
eight	<i>lawet'ali-</i>	<i>lä'ut'al</i>
nine	<i>wilt'ali-</i>	<i>we't'al</i>
ten	<i>t'ópa-</i>	<i>kstcíl</i>

There is only one series for the numerals above ten. They may be used absolutely or before nouns. In the latter case, those which end in *-o* change this vowel to *-i*, while those ending in *-a'* add *-a*, e. g.: *lawás-ta'a tcoo'sk'*, twenty children. It might thus be said, that this is the only instance of an adjectival formative in Quileute.

The numerals above ten are compounded as follows:

11 <i>wi't'siyo'</i>	21 <i>lawás-ta' he'xat we-l</i>
12 <i>läwe't'siyo'</i>	22 <i>lawás-ta' he'xat lä'u</i>
13 <i>qwa'let'siyo'</i>	30 <i>qwa'las-ta'</i>
18 <i>lawé't'ale't'siyo'</i>	40 <i>ba'yás-ta'</i>
19 <i>wét't'ale't'siyo'</i>	100 <i>tcíl-ta's-ta'</i>
20 <i>lawás-ta'</i>	

THE WORD.

119. The Quileute word may consist of one morpheme, as *è'*, yes, or of two or more, as *t'lá'q'asi'dast'a'daxa'las*, it is going to strike the water with its tail. In this language the judgment of the native is quite consistent in dividing the sentence into its morphologically independent units. Phonetic tendencies, as well as morphologic principles probably facilitate this clear delimitation. We observe, on the one hand, that there is no phonetic coalescence between the words, and on the other hand, that the free morphemes, which are the only elements capable of semantic independence, and also the initial morphemes, which, so far as we may infer from our experiments, approximate semantic independence, are never affixed to other elements. The native as a rule cannot recognize a disconnected postpositive, however concrete its meaning may be. It seems reasonable, therefore, to expect that the initial morphemes should clearly indicate the beginning of the word, and that the postpositives affixed to them should not be mistaken for separate elements. Similarly, there being no prefixation in Quileute, an erroneous transposition of a formative from the preceding word to the following, is very improbable. Apart from the native's awareness of such demarcations, the analyst can generally gather unmistakable morphologic and phonetic evidence to delimit the word.

PARTS OF SPEECH.

Linguists are at variance as to the number, definition, and nomenclature of the "parts of speech." In the present classification it is not our purpose to propose a solution of this debatable question for all languages, but merely to treat such grammatical functions in the light of the morphologic and semantic phenomena exhibited in this particular language. It may not be superfluous to state at the outset that in the present analysis, the terms noun, verb, etc. denote functions; not ideas or forms. Thus, the word *t'laχà'l* is a verb in *t'laχà'l ó.ki s á.qala't*, get ready to go to James Island. That is, its functional share in the formation of this sentence is of a verbal nature. On the other hand when this word stands alone as in *t'laχà'l*, get ready! it is not a part of speech, but a complete act of speech, an utterance. If we should regard it as a verb in this case, our term would merely designate a form that can be used as a verb, but would not characterize its function in the particular act of speech under consideration. Accordingly, we may say that Quileute words serve as utterances, verbs, nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, qualifiers, and conjunctions.

120. All main verbs, as defined below, may function as utterances. Apart from these, very few Quileute words can perform this function. The forms that are used as nouns can never¹ be utterances. In English and other languages, in answer to the question "Who is there?" we may use a noun in the so-called elliptical sentence "John." In Quileute one must say "It is John." (*hé.χas* John). Aside from the verbal forms and interjections, the only words which are used as utterances are the absolute numerals (Sec. 118), most of the demonstratives, and the free morphemes *é*, yes; *la*, indeed, *dâ.kil*, very well, so, (French "donc"). A negative reply cannot be expressed by a single morpheme as in English, "No." It is always necessary to affix a pronominal, temporal or aspect formative to the negative verb, *wa*, or in the case of a verb of the neutral class, (Sec. 93) the use of both negatives *é wa-*, with the proper suffixes appended to the latter. These expressions are equivalent to saying "Not I," "You will not," etc.

121. We may dispense with a discussion of the nature of verbal function, and assume that it is identical to that of our verbs, there being no evidence to the contrary. What words function as verbs in a given Quileute sentence can be determined by certain morphologic characteristics, the most reliable of which is the use of pronouns. A word functions as a main verb when a pronominal postpositive

¹ Unless we include the unique situation of asking a Quileute for the equivalent of an English word, and even in this case the word is often preceded by *hé* (Sec. 56) it is.

is or can be affixed thereto. The function of a word as a subordinate verb can be disclosed by the presence of a pronominal free morpheme before or after it or, in its absence, by the final subordinating suffix *-i* or *-a* (Sec. 136). A consistent application of these rules will lead us to classify as verbs certain words the meanings of which might not seem adaptable to verbal function, e. g.: *abe'*, because; *wa*, no; *ec*, much, many; *xaya'*, other; the syntactic forms of the numerals (Sec. 118), the free forms of the possessive pronouns (Sec. 84), and many others. These apparent oddities are doubtless due to our conventional translation. Should we render the predicative reference of *abe'* by a clause, such as, "the reason is" or "this is due to the fact that," its use as a verb would seem more natural. However, this translation fails to convey the meaning of *abe'* in such a clause as *abe'li é t'átca'a'*, because I do not know. The affixation of the subject of the sentence (*-li*) to *abe'*, which apparently establishes a relation of cause and effect between two statements, clearly indicates that it is well-nigh impossible for us to realize the full import of this Quileute verb. Whether the affixation of the subject pronoun to *abe'*, is merely a matter of form which does not impede the connection of the pronoun with the main thought expressed by *t'átca'a'*, or whether it forms a thought unit with *abe'*, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to decide. We must content ourselves with the morphologic fact that this word *abe'li* is treated as any other main verb; while *t'átca'a'* is morphologically and syntactically a subordinate verb.

122. The noun, as in all languages, denominates an entity. A word functions as a noun in a given sentence if it is preceded by a demonstrative. This definition excludes the use of proper nouns when they appear as subjects, but these also must be preceded by demonstratives when used in any other syntactic relation.

Any word may be used as a noun, however typically verbal its morphologic composition may be, and regardless of its meaning. All that is required for this alteration of normal usage is the precession of a demonstrative and the affixation of the nominalizer *-t*, e. g.: *yiḡ hé't'ets'íllit*, the material with which they are going to do it; *yiḡ hét'oa'sici'llit*, those who are going to help him.

123. The pronouns and the demonstratives refer to an entity present or included in a context. In the social context of an act of communication, the pronoun refers to the speaker, or to the person or persons addressed, or to the latter and the speaker. The third person of the pronoun refers to some one or something that may be present in the circumstantial context or has been mentioned in the discourse. Reference to the third person converges with the function of the demonstrative. Accordingly, some Quileute morphemes are used as pronouns for the third person (Secs. 67, 69, 99) or

as demonstratives before nouns, or referring to a local point in the circumstantial context. These two related parts of speech possess no general morphological characteristics. They are to be identified by their individual forms. When the possessive pronouns treated in Sec. 84 are used as verbs, they perform two functions coincidentally: they retain their usual characteristic of referring to a person, and predicate a genitival relation.

124. The qualificative function may be characterized as a subordinated predication of a quality or attribute. The only Quileute words which adopt a special form to perform this function are the numerals above ten (Sec. 118), and the verbs which appear without the classifiers in this syntactic relation. But in all cases the melody of the sentence symbolizes this function by assigning a higher pitch to the qualifier and by connecting it in the phonetic word-grouping (phrasing) with the word it qualifies. Most of the qualifiers are normally used as verbs in other syntactic constructions. Examples are:

s (1) *tcoo'tsk'* (2) *ha't'c* (3) *tsi''da* (4) *poò·q* (5), a handsome young man, 1, indefinite article. 2, youth. 3, handsome, good, pretty; it may be used as a verb, but if it were so used here it would have the applicative classifier *-a*. 4, young; the verbal form is *tsi''da'ù*. 5, man, human being; Indian.

tsix (1) *há't'cá-towa''* (2), very good weather, 1, very, a great deal; may be used as a verb with the applicative *-a*; it cannot be used here verbally, because *ha't'c*, good, is an initial morpheme, and, accordingly, cannot be affixed. 2, good weather; *há't'c*, good; *-a*, applicative classifier lengthened by the accent.

125. The conjunctive function partakes of the nature of the demonstrative and of the verbal office. It is a reference to the preceding and the following context, as well as the predication of a relation between the two. Most of the words whose meanings may be rendered by our conjunctions are actually used as verbs or exhibit some verbal morphologic characteristics. A few, however, do not seem to function as verbs, so far as we may infer from the fact that they cannot take pronominal affixes. These are the only ones which we may regard as exclusively conjunctive, although we must assign both verbal and conjunctive value to such a word as *abe''*, discussed above. There is a very limited number of non-verbal conjunctions:

dú·kil, and, but, then, therefore, so
dé·xa'', so that, in order that
tca''wa'ac, then, after
tca''we·la, nevertheless
la, still, yet, even so
hé·xat (*hé·xat*) and
hé·qatí', and also, as well as

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VERB.

126. The words which are most commonly composed of more than one morpheme are those which perform nominal and verbal functions. We may now consider the structure of such composite words.

A certain order is observed in the affixation of postpositive elements, an order which is rigidly observed with some formatives, but is subject to alterations with others. These alterations seem to be required by logical connections. Thus, the inceptive *-c* generally follows all the morphemes whose meanings appear to us as more decidedly nominal, verbal or adverbial, but this normal sequence is altered in *séy-a-c-i'-t'col-aks*, she wishes to see it. We may account for the position of *-c* after *sey-a*, to see, and not after *-t'col-*, to wish, on the ground that the logical connection of the inceptive aspect is with the former. Making due allowance for such changes, the formatives of a verb in the indicative mode appear in the following order:

1. Initial morpheme (Secs. 44, 48).
2. Applicative classifier (Sec. 85). If the element is one of the formal bases *hé-*, *ó-*, *á'* (Sec. 44) the classifier is omitted.
3. One or two postpositives of notional import (Secs. 64, 65).
4. Objective pronoun (Sec. 96).
5. Formative with qualificative or modal value (Sec. 66).
6. Formative denoting tense, aspect (Secs. 129—135) or voice (Sec. 106).
7. (a) Subjective pronoun, or
(b) Sign of subordination (Sec. 136).

The following examples illustrate the order of these classes of elements.

- ce'q-o-l*, (he) pulled
ce'q-o-l-ka, you (pl.) pulled
céq-o-l-i't-ka, you are going to pull
céq-o-tilawo'-l-li, I am going to pull you
céq-o-tei'l-i-swo'-l-li, I am going to pull your leg (pull leg to you)
céq-o-tei'l-i-swo-qua'-l-li, I am going to pull your leg very hard
céq-o-tei'l-i-swo'-st'al-qa'-li, I was ordered to pull your leg.

The last example exhibits an alteration of the normal order due to the meaning of the morphemes involved. The postpositive *-st'al*, to order, command, would be expected to precede the objective pronoun *-swo*, according to the order indicated above. Such a sequence would be proper in other contexts if *-swo* were the object of *-st'al*, but the meaning of the present word connects the concepts pull-leg-affecting-you. Incidentally, we observe that the concept expressed by the main verb of our sentence seems to occupy a subordinate position in the Quileute utterance. This may indicate that *-st'al* functions as a modal element, (a jussive mode) or that

position is not correlative with the subordination of ideas within the word. We shall turn presently to such considerations.

127. A few remarks anent the meaning of some of the verbal components may be pertinent. We shall attend to the postpositives which occupy the third position in the verb, and to those which denote tense and aspect, having treated the other classes in previous sections. It would be arbitrary to conclude that because the meaning of a given formative is rendered by a noun in English it must perform a nominal function within the Quileute word. Let us take as an example the utterance *há't'cidist'c*, it is a good hat, or: that hat is good. We know that *ha't'c* expresses a concept equivalent to the general sense of our word *good*, and likewise, *-dist'c* refers to a hat, but we have no means of determining whether the grammatical relations connoted by *ha't'c* are verbal, adjectival or nominal, or whether any of these relations can be attributed to *-dist'c*. To people with the Quileute habit of thought formulation, this word may be equivalent to saying "it is hat-ly good", or "it is a hat-ish goodness" or possibly no such relations are connoted and the word stands as a unified predication, as a sequence of concepts whose relations are supplied by experience and conventional modes of expression. We shall borrow a few examples from English to elucidate this point. In the sequence of the concepts "stone" and "wall" in "stone-wall," experience supplies a relation of object and material of which it is made, but in "stone-mason, stone-blind, stone-cold, stone-hearted, Stone Age," entirely different relations are supplied by experience and convention. To say that in "stone-blind, stone-cold and stone-hearted" the first element functions as an adverb, while in the other cases it serves as an adjective, is a grammatical expedient to be consistent in the application of the rule that a word which modifies an adjective is an adverb. As regards the function of modification, we may say that "blind, cold, and hearted" modify the meaning of "stone" perhaps to the same extent that the latter modifies the former. This holds true in various degrees for the other examples, as evidenced by the fact that in each combination different attributes or connotations of "stone" are brought into prominence while others are excluded. The order of the components in these combinations corresponds with a subordination in thought of the concept "stone," but the context may invert this relation, as in "Is it a stone wall or a brick wall?"

These English examples, however, are not parallel to the Quileute composite words under consideration, for the English elements retain to a great extent their word character in these constructions, while the Quileute postpositives are as a rule meaningless when detached from a word. A closer parallel would be obtained if we

attempted to determine whether in the comparative degree of an English adjective, as "higher," the element "-er" functions as an adverb modifying "high," or whether "high" is subordinated in thought to the concept denoted by "-er", as it obviously is in "This building is high, but the other is higher," or whether we are to conclude that the characterization of the functions performed by the words within a sentence as verbal, nominal, adverbial, etc., is not applicable to the interrelations of the morphemes which constitute a word. Such is our conclusion for the apparently nominal or verbal formatives in a Quileute word. We may be certain that *-dist'c* in the above example refers to the class of objects designated by our word "hat", but we do not know whether its grammatical relation to *ha't'c*, good, should be regarded as one of subject and verb, or verb and object, or as one of a verb meaning "to be good" and an adverb referring to the attributes of "hat," in a manner analogous to our abstraction of the attributes of "stone" in "stone-blind, stone-cold."

The order of the elements does not aid us in determining subordination of concepts in a Quileute word, nor can we conclude that an affixed element conveys its meaning less obtrusively than an initial morpheme. This last statement can be substantiated by contrasting the above word, *há't'cidist'c* with *á'li'ta'a-xa-li*, I eat salmon. Here the initial morpheme means *salmon*, while the concept "eat" is expressed by the affix *-xa*. In this case, if the initial morpheme conveys the main force of the predication, the word is presumably understood as "I salmon eating-ly" (using salmon as a verb), whereas if we insist on regarding the concept "eat" as the principal thought-factor, we must conclude that an affixed element can be the nucleus of the predication. Both assumptions are equally tenable. The first one may seem less convincing due to the strange formulation of thought entailed. However, upon reflecting on analogous uses in English and other languages it seems quite possible. We commonly employ the name of an object verbally to denote some activity which involves the use of the object, as "to paddle" for the customary use of a paddle, while it is just as common to employ a verb adverbially as "lovingly, amusingly." It is thus quite conceivable that in Quileute "to salmon" may signify an undetermined activity involving the use of salmon, this general activity being defined by an adverbial element which refers to the characteristics of the act of eating. But, after all, these considerations are influenced by our linguistic habits. Being unable to penetrate into the native's mind, we may content ourselves with the observation of the objective facts. From such facts we are inclined to infer that the order of the elements in question is chiefly a matter of form.

Which concepts are expressed by an initial morpheme and which by an affixed element seems to depend on whether the language possesses a postpositive or an initial or free morpheme for the meaning required. Their order is determined by the rigid morphologic principle that an initial morpheme and a free morpheme cannot be affixed, while postpositive morphemes must be affixed. Referring to the above example, *á-lita'axali*, I eat salmon, we observe that the language has no postpositive morpheme meaning "salmon". But the two morphemes which may be rendered by our verb "to eat", *-la*, and *-xa*, are postpositive. Hence the only way to embody in one word the concepts "salmon" and "eat" is to affix the formative which means "eat" to the one that means "salmon". This order does not necessarily imply subordination of the affixed element, as is generally the case with suffixes in other languages. However, it is possible that the word thus formed blends these two concepts in a manner unknown to us, as may be inferred from the following observations. A more exact rendering of the word *á-lita'axali* is "my diet is salmon", or in a situation in which a choice is given between eating salmon or some other kind of food, we may say "I shall have salmon". In order to say in Quileute "I am eating salmon", i. e. I am in the act of eating this salmon, the two concepts are expressed by independent words, and *-la* must be used instead of *-xa*. Thus: *á-la xali¹ xe' á-lita'*. It is further observed that it is not permissible to use *-xa* with a formal base and construct a separate verb, as it was done with *-la* in the preceding sentence. This and other observations give us the impression that the concepts expressed by the initial morpheme and the affixed elements constituting a single word blend into a more unified thought than when conveyed by separate words, and that the expression of a concept like "hat", for example, by the postpositive *-dist'c* is not identical to that of the free morpheme *tsiyá.pus*, referring to the same object (cf. Sec. 50). Nevertheless, whatever distinctions may be thus established are confined to the cases in which the language has a free morpheme as well as a postpositive referring to the same object or activity. In a great many cases it is impossible to embody two given concepts into a single word because there is no postpositive element to express one of them.

The following sentences illustrate various combinations of morphemes whose meanings would be normally expressed in European languages by independent verbs, nouns, or adjectives:

¹The syllable *-xa* should not be confused with the postpositive *-xa*, to eat. The analysis of this verb is *á-la-x-a-li*; *-x*, continuative; *-a*, connecting vowel (Sec. 37). This syllable is replaced by the inceptive and a different connecting vowel in *á-la'-c-i-li*, I began to eat.

- siya*(1)-*takil*(2)-*lic* (3), he began to see the footprints. 1 — to see (*siy-* and the applicative classifier *-a*; in these examples the applicative classifiers, connecting vowels and verbal classifiers will not be mentioned). 2 — footprint. 3 — to become, begin, or sign of inceptive aspect (*-c*).
- xwa'a*(1)-*wi-yi'*(2)-*l* (3), he approached the wall. 1 — approach. 2 — wall. 3 — verbal classifier. In this and in other examples the subject third person pronoun is omitted.
- lao'*(1)-*t'lo-*(2)-*l-li* (3) I walked in the dirt. 1 — walk. 2 — dirt. 3 — subject pronoun, *I*.
- t'ca't'ci*(1)-*spe*(2)-*s(3)-li* (4), I placed it by the fire. 1 — to set, place, locate. 2 — fire. 3 — sign of causation of a state or condition. 4 — pronoun, *I*.
- taxa'*(1)-*t'col*(2)-*as* (3), he went toward the bank of the river. 1 — to go toward a region, an extended location, rather than a definite point. 2 — bank of the river. 3 — pronoun, *he*.
- kits*(1)-*t'ida*(2)-*qu* (3) *xe'* (4) *ta'xulo'* (5), he kicked the end of the bow. 1 — to kick. 2 — an indefinite portion of the end of a long object. 3 — spot, place, point. 4 — article, oblique case. 5 — bow.
- t'lá'q'a*(1)-*sida'*(2)-*s(3)-t'a'dax* (4), it slaps the water with its tail. 1 — to slap. 2 — water. 3 — causative, serving here as a sign of instrumentality. 4 — tail.
- ba's*(1)-*sida''* (2) (*ba's-ida''*), it was bad water. 1 — to be bad. 2 — water.
- tcikò*(1)-*yit* (2), big flounder, 1 — big, large. 2 — flounder.
- xaba'*(1)-*qli* (2), there were all kinds. 1 — to be all, be complete. 2 — kind, sort.
- lawe'*(1)-*t'ci-yil* (2), there were two leaves. 1 — two, syntactic form of the numeral (Sec. 118). 2 — leaf.
- la'k'u*(1)-*sida* (2), it came out of the water. 1 — to come out into the open, appear. 2 — water.
- t'lic*(1)-*spa*(2)-*t* (3), it is far from the fire. 1 — to be far. 2 — fire (rather, *-sp*, fire; *-a*, connecting vowel). 3 — verbal classifier (Sec. 91).
- litca*(1)-*t'o-s*(2)-*at* (3), it was between his thighs. 1 — to be between. 2 — thigh. 3 — as 3 in the preceding example.
- kádedo'o'*(1)-*ʒa*(2)-*li* (3), I eat dog (meat). 1 — dog; used generally as a free morpheme. *-ʒa*, to eat. 3 — pronoun, *I*.
- ákili*(1)-*tcay*(2)-*il* (3), he walks like a bear. 1 — bear; used generally as a free morpheme. 2 — to walk like some one; imitate some one; for any other imitation, a morpheme expressing the characteristic imitated must be used. 3 — connecting vowel *-i*, and verbal classifier.
- dí'ya*(1)-*k* (2), he went to Neah Bay. 1 — Quileute adaptation of Neah. 2 — to go to a definite place.
- aga'la*(1)-*t'*(2)-*i*(3)-*li* (4), I live on James Island. 1 — the Quileute name of the little island off the mouth of the Quileute River; literally, *the high place*. 2 — to live. 3 — connecting vowel. 4 — pronoun, *I*.
- te'kwa''*(1)-*t's*(2)-*i*(3)-*s* (4), he made a rope. 1 — rope. 2 — to make (for the glottalization of *-ts*, see Sec. 41). 3 — connecting vowel. 4 — pronoun, *he*.
- p'é't'it*(1)-*t'co'*(2)-*t'*(3)-*as* (4), it will contain light. 1 — light. 2 — to have inside. 3 — sign of the future (Sec. 129). 4 — pronoun, third person, non-feminine gender.
- ha't'c*(1)-*i*(2)-*kits* (3), he dances well. 1 — good. 2 — connecting vowel. 3 — to dance or kick.
- hiyo'*(1)-*t's*(2)-*i*(3)-*li* (4), I stopped eating. 1 — to discontinue action, to finish or stop. 2 — to be in the act of eating. 3 — connecting vowel. 4 — pronoun, *I*.
- hé*(1)-*qo*(2)-*sqa*(3)-*l(4)-aks* (5), she uses it for carrying (loads). 1 — formal base (Sec. 48). 2 — to make use of. 3 — to carry. 4 — verbal classifier. 5 — pronoun, *she*.

hal(1)-*a*(2)-*xals*(3)-*i*(4)-*li* (5), I said in my song (I said singing). 1 — to say. 2 — applicative classifier. 3 — to sing. 4 — connecting vowel. 5 — pronoun, I.

TENSE AND ASPECT.

128. The position of the elements which express tense and aspect is invariably next to the subject pronoun or final if the latter is omitted, as it often happens when the subject is a third person, or when it is expressed by an independent word. The Quileute verb makes no distinctions corresponding to our present and past tenses. In other words, no reference is made to the temporal context of the actual communication. Thus, *céqwas-ta' xas* means from the point of view of our language "he is pulling me" or "he was pulling me", depending on the context of the discourse or upon the external context of the communication. When momentaneous action is expressed, as in *céqwat'las*, we must render it by our past tense, "he pulled me", but the time of the action may be just one second after the act or any other occasion in recent or remote time. It would not be proper to characterize this as a tense. It appears to us as a past tense because of the intrinsic nature of a rapid action when it is not expressed as a future event. Namely, due to its short duration, by the time the speaker refers to it, it is generally a recent past event. In the durative, repetitive, usitative and inceptive aspects, the same verbal form is used for past and present.

However, one should not infer from the lack of morphologic distinctions, that a Quileute speaker at any time ignores or is unaware of the fact that he is referring to a present or past occurrence. So far as we may judge by the reactions of the informants and by certain incidents in the course of a conversation, both the speaker and the listener are ever aware of the relation implied between the time of the event predicated and the time of the predication. The external context, that is, the whole setting of the communication, the attitude of the speaker as expressed in his countenance or by his gestures or posture, his emotional attitude as manifested by the emphasis, melody or speed of his speech, the circumstances which preceded the communication, or the context of the discourse, all these things combined are in most cases sufficient to supply all the temporal reference conveyed by our tense suffixes or auxiliaries. When they are not sufficient, the interlocutor asks for a definition of the temporal relation, viz.: *hé'yi*, Has it ceased to be thus? or *látcal*, immediately, or *la tí*, still, yet, just the same. The last two expressions are employed idiomatically in such situations to refer to the present time. They are not interrogative in form. The speaker utters them as statements, expecting to be corroborated or corrected.

129. The future is the only temporal concept whose expression may be properly regarded as a tense in Quileute. Apart from the morphologic features mentioned below, it is signified by the affix *-t'* when the subject of the verb is a third person, and by a glottal stop (') with the first and second persons. So far as we may judge by its uses, it predicts a future event, without any other connotations. The vowel preceding the sign of the future bears the middle-tone accent, and its stress seems to be of greater intensity than that of any other accented vowel in the verb. If the verb does not belong to the *l*-class (Sec. 93), this vowel is lengthened. Such vowels are connecting vowels (Sec. 37) when the preceding element ends in a consonant. In the case of the first and second persons, which require the glottal stop as a sign of the future tense, the vowel is duplicated after this articulation (Sec. 9). If owing to the influence of the preceding consonant (Sec. 35) the vowel is *e*, the sound *i*, instead of *e* is heard after the glottal stop, but in all other cases the preceding sound is reproduced. If the verb belongs to the *l*-class, and the word contains no objective pronoun (cf. Sec. 95) the classifier *-l*, with the connecting vowel *i* comes before the sign of the future tense. The following paradigms illustrate the application of these rules:

its-e'-i-li, I shall do
itse''ilitc, thou wilt do
itse't'as, he will do
itse't'aks, she will do
itse''ilo, we shall do
itse't'ka, ye will do
itse't'asala's, they will do

há-x-i-l-i'-i-li, I shall boil (it)
há-xili''ilitc, thou wilt boil
há-xili't'as, he will boil
há-xili''ilo, we shall boil
há-xili't'ka, ye will boil
há-xili't'asala's, they will boil

See also QT. p. 21:4; 17:35; 18:4; 20:7; 22:21; 33:4; 34; 39; 35:4; 37:6; 38:44; 38:46.

130. There is one formative (*-e* or *'yi*) which denotes that a certain relation or condition existed previous to the time of the communication, and is now nonexistent, or that it existed previous to a time designated in the discourse and ceased to exist at the time thus designated. If we define tense as a relation of time between the actual temporal context of the act of communication and a point in the past, present or future, there is no tense connotation in the meaning of this formative, since the relation of priority is not confined to the time of the communication. This reference should be characterized rather as a cessative aspect. However, some of the

uses of this morpheme indicate that it cannot be considered always as a mere sign of aspect. It may be affixed to nouns or verbs, and may even form a meaningful independent word when affixed to the formal base *hé* (*hé'yi*), signifying "it used to be so," "it had already been done." It is affixed to the name of a person to express a thought equivalent to "the late Mr. So-and-so," and to a noun indicating any relation that has ceased to exist. In No. 49 of the Quileute Texts, a father uses it to refer to his daughter, whom he has disowned because of her immoral act. Examples are:

há·xili''yilitc, you had boiled
itsó'e'x^u, as they used to do
pótsogo''yi, the people of other times
hé-ik'wa'a'e ti'l, my deceased child

See also QT. p. 21:1; 7:1; 7:7; 9:5; 9:40; 21:33; 21:42; 23:9; p. 24:1; 11:10. Cf. sec. 66.

131. The formative *-l* designates an occurrence which is or was planned or predicted as a consequence of previous conditions. If the condition or the design exists at the time of the communication it is equivalent to a future or perhaps more closely related to some uses of the verb "to go" as in, "I am going to buy it," "It is going to rain," "I was going to stop," "It was going to fall" or "It was about to fall." This cannot be characterized as a tense, since it does not establish a connection with the temporal context of the communication, but may be used indiscriminately for a past or a future sequence of action. If we are justified in speaking of a resultative aspect of action, as some linguists do, we may regard *-l* as the sign of an aspect of eventuality. In both cases we are dealing with a condition or an occurrence which is viewed as a result. In the resultative aspect the result is an actuality; in the use of *-l* it is an eventuality. This applies to predications in which no volition is implied, as in *háb·ali'l*, it is going to fall (speaking of a tree that is being felled). But in *hés·wo'lli*, I am going to give it to you, the volitional element is distinctly felt by the native, and accordingly, if we are consistent in our definition of mode, we must conclude that *-l* performs a modal function. The analogical transition from one of these uses to the other is rather clear, but it would be unwarranted to assume that in cases in which no volition is implied we have a figurative expression, or that the fundamental function of *-l* in both uses is to predict a result, considering the volitional element whenever it exists as an accidental concomitant. It seems more advisable to conclude that we have one morpheme with two functions, which is a rather common situation in language. The formative *-l* may or may not imply volition depending on the circumstances. When it does, it may be regarded as a modal element; when it does not, it may be called a sign of aspect, for the same

reasons, whatever they may be, that the term is applied to resultative action.

Like the sign of the cessative aspect (Sec. 130) this formative can be affixed to nouns. Its function, then, is to denote intended or expected use of an object, or contemplated relation to a person. This function may be related to the frequent occurrence of the final consonant *-l* in the names of materials, implements and utensils (Sec. 139).

The rules given above (Sec. 129) for the affixation of the future formative *-t'* apply also to *-l*, in regard to accent, the insertion of a connecting vowel, and the use of the classifier *-l*, excepting that the vowel preceding *-l* is not lengthened. A few examples will illustrate the uses of *-l* with verbs and nouns. Other instances will be found in QT. 13:26; 14:13; 15:7; 15:15; 15:16; 15:27; 15:28; 16:14; 17:36; 19:29; 20:8; 21:37; 23:3.

lās·atsi'las, he is going to break it
kiyis·wo'tlo, I am going to persuade you
hé·ci't-s, my future food
yalo·la'l ti'l, my future wife

132. The designation of momentaneous and durative action merges into the use of the applicative classifiers (Sec. 85), the verbal classifiers (Sec. 93), and the expression of the objective relations by pronominal forms (Sec. 96). Having dealt at length with these aspects in previous sections, we may limit the present discussion to the cases where a change occurs in the normal aspect of the verb.

It was seen in the sections referred to that although the momentaneous and durative aspects blend with other notions, it seems that a verb is viewed as having a normal aspect. This normal aspect cannot always be inferred from morphologic features, although the majority of verbs in a given class, the neutral class for example, are durative while others are predominantly momentaneous. However, the normal aspect comes to light when it does not fit in a particular situation. In such cases the morphologic changes in the applicative classifier, in the verbal classifier, or in whatever formative expressing an objective relation may be used, indicate how the normal aspect has been altered. The normal aspect of some verbs is so fixed that the language does not permit a change to other aspects without altering the meaning. For example: *t'lák'wal*, it broke, and *t'lák'wa'tsis*, he broke it, are normally momentaneous, and cannot be used duratively to signify "it is breaking" or "he is breaking it." In such situations the language resorts to what we have called the aspect of eventuality (Sec. 131), viz.: *t'lák'wal'l*, it is going to break; *t'lák'watsi'las*, he is going to break it. With other verbs a change of aspect entails a change in meaning, at least

from our point of view. Thus, *l'a'ica*, he knows, (durative), but *t'atci'*, he found out, he has just learned.

133. Verbs which are adaptable to durative or momentaneous action appear as a rule with the applicative classifier *-a* in the durative and with *-i* in the momentaneous aspect. Verbs which require the applicative classifier *-o* retain this vowel in all aspects. Verbs of the neutral class with monosyllabic initial morphemes, and the monosyllabic verbs with the classifier *-o* lengthen the vowel of the initial morpheme to express past or present durative action in the main clause. In the future tense and in any other construction this vowel remains with its normal length. With all other verbs a present or past durative aspect requires the addition of *-a'* to the applicative classifier *-a*, the two vowels being separated by a glottal stop (Sec. 37). If the phonetic structure of the word permits it (Sec. 28), the special durative sign *-a*. takes the low-tone accent. In the momentaneous aspect, *-i* takes the middle-tone accent, adding a glottal stop (Sec. 42). The same accent appears on the vowel which has been lengthened according to the preceding rules. Examples:

<i>tatc-i''</i>	it flew away
<i>tca'tc-a</i>	it is (was) flying
<i>q'wá't's-i-li</i>	I stretched it
<i>q'wá't's-a-'à-li</i>	I am (was) stretching it
<i>ce'q-o-l</i>	he pulled
<i>ce'q-o-l</i>	he is (was) pulling
<i>há·x-i-li</i>	I boiled it
<i>há·x-a-'à-li</i>	I am (was) boiling it.

See QT. 14:43; 19:25; 21:9, 11; 22:3, 7, 31; 26:65; 26:15, 16, 20, 32, 40; 47:20; 48:17; 44:101.

134. The inceptive aspect is denoted by the formative *-c*, and the resultative by *-do*, both of which are affixed also to nouns. With nouns, *-do* means "to become" as the result of an endeavor as, *á't'ci't-do*, he became a chief; *-c*, signifies "to become" without any volitional implication, as *awi-c*, it became night. When affixed to verbs, these elements may be considered signs of aspect, rather than morphemes meaning "to begin, to result" due to the position they occupy. Were they meaningful forms they would be placed before the objective pronouns, but they are affixed to the latter, which is the normal position for tense and aspect elements. Various uses of *-c* and *-do* are treated in Sections 66 and 92. See also QT. p. 18:6; 8:1; 8:11; 19:30; 23:2; 23:12; 23:21.

135. Repetition of an action takes two forms of expression in Quileute. If the repetition is successful, it is expressed by means of reduplication, as illustrated in Sections 60 and 61. If the repetitions are only attempts, the verb takes the element *'al*, preceded by the suffixes *-i* or *-a* (Sec. 136), e. g.:

taxo'li'al, he was trying to string the bow
á-laṣa'al, he was trying to eat
tsale'li'al, I tried repeatedly to get up
ki'taxa'al-i, I was trying to go

See QT. 14:44; 20:11; 23:10; 23:64; 24:7; 24:14; 31:62.

A single trial or attempt is expressed by using the verb *kwat-i*, to try, as the main verb, while the action contemplated is expressed in the subordinate clause e. g.:

kwati' ki'taxa, he tried to go
kwati'ilo tsale'ti, we shall try to get up

See also QT. 22:19; 26:54; 26:72; 49:61, 94.

THE SIGNS OF SUBORDINATION.

136. The modal elements which occupy the fifth position in the verb have been treated in Section 66. We may now attend to the two formatives which occupy the last position in subordinate verbs.

Subordination is indicated by the suffixes *-i* and *-a*. The choice of these formatives is determined by the verbal classes (Sec. 93). Subordinate verbs of the neutral class, and those which take the *-x* and *-t* classifiers require *-a*, while the others go with *-i*. After the inceptive *-c*, and the formative *-l* (Sec. 131), we always find *-i*, regardless of the class to which the verb belongs. It is not possible to determine which of these two formatives is used with the resultative *-do*, for whichever is used becomes assimilated to the *-o*, owing to the effect of the glottal stop inserted between the two vowels (Secs. 37, 39). The same phenomenon occurs with many other elements ending in a vowel. With verbs of the *l*- and *s*-classes this assimilation of the vowels is avoided by using the verbal classifiers *-l*, *-s* before the subordination suffixes. This is one of the exceptional cases in which the verbal classifiers are not affixed to the applicative classifiers¹.

One of the most common uses of these signs of subordination is seen in negative sentences. In this construction the negative morphemes *ua* or *é* or the two in succession (*é ua*) function as the main verb, and the action negated is expressed by a subordinate verb, which must, therefore, end in *-a* or *-i*. The principal distinction between the negative morphemes *é* and *ua* is of a morphologic nature. No affixes may be appended to *é*, while *ua* may be used as an initial morpheme with pronominal, temporal, and aspect suffixes, as well as with the causative or verbal classifier *-s*. In regard to the use of these negatives, we observe that *é* followed by *ua* can be

¹ These elements are used for the same purpose with the inceptive *-c*; the sign of eventuality; *l*, and the nominalizer *-t* (*-at*, *-it*).

used with all verbs and modes for an emphatic negation. When no particular emphasis is laid on the negation, *é'* can be used alone in all constructions, excepting in the interrogative and in the imperative modes. The use of *wa* without the precedence of *é'* occurs in the imperative and interrogative modes, and also when the action negated is expressed by a verb of the *l-*, *s-*, and *ts-*classes. It is understood, however, that even in these cases *é'* may precede *wa*, but it cannot be used without *wa*, as implied above, in the imperative and interrogative modes. In many instances the use of *wa* after *é'* seems to be a morphologic expedient, rather than an expression of emphasis. Since no suffixes may be attached to *é'*, when the structure of the sentence requires the use of the suffixes with the negative (Sec. 149) *wa* seems to be introduced solely for this purpose. The following sentences illustrate the use of these two negatives and that of the sign of subordination, which must be affixed to their subordinate verbs. Illustrations and further details about the use of the subordination suffixes will be given in Sec. 143.

é' t'átca'-a' xé' ó-t, (she) did not know where they were

é' kí.ta.xa'-a', he did not go

é' ásqá''l-i, he did not succeed

wa axo'l q'wélats-qa'l-a, do not hesitate (you, pl.)

wa-sto é'l-a, let us not do (that)

wa tea si'ya tci' qá-tsa'la'e? Have you seen, sir, the one has been in search of shell-fish?

é' wa-s la tea, not yet, sir.

é' wa's lák-lilo''-o, do not worry

é' wa-l-lítc siya''-a, you do not intend to see it

é' wa ax^u ce'qol-i, do not pull

THE STRUCTURE OF COMPOSITE NOUNS.

137. The order of the morphemes in a composite noun is parallel to that of the verb in various respects. Let us take, for example, the noun *hadó's-tco-'yi-tc*, your deceased brother, and the verb *te'kwa''-t'si-'yi-lítc*, you had made a rope. We observe that in both cases the composite word consists of a free morpheme (*hadó's*, brother, and *te'kwa''*, rope), followed by a postpositive with concrete notional value (*-tco*, dead, and *-ts*, to make), to which the formative element *-'yi* denoting cessation (Sec. 130) is affixed; both words terminating with a pronoun (*-tc*, your, and *-lítc*, you).

A further agreement between the noun and the verb is that both may be constructed with postpositive elements using the formal bases for their initial morphemes (Sec. 48). The use of any composite verb as a noun has been treated in Sec. 122.

Examples of composite nouns are:

hé(1)-lk'wa(2)-sqal(3)-i(4)-tc (5), your supposed child. 1 — formal base.

2 — child. 3 — a morpheme which may be used as a reflexive or to

denote falsity or pretence (Sec. 102). 4 — connecting vowel (Sec. 37). 5 — possessive pronoun.

hé(1)-lislo'(2)-o'(3)-l(4)-ya''as (5), his future wife. 1 — formal base. 2 — consort, can be used for husband or wife. 3 — connecting vowel assimilated to the preceding by the glottal stop (Sec. 39); the accent is required by the following morpheme. 4 — expression of purpose or eventuality (Sec. 131). 5 — possessive pronoun.

ó(1)-t'co-l(2)-t'e(3)-t (4) crown of the head. 1 — formal stem for location. 2 — point, top (of a mountain). 3 — head. 4 — sign of nominalization (Sec. 138).

138. The nouns which end in *-t* present an interesting phenomenon. Many of them are built with a formal base, which indicates that they consist of this element as an initial morpheme, followed by a postpositive, and terminating with the nominalizer *-t* (Sec. 66). The postpositive elements thus used have been found in other compositions, as, *ó-li-t*, mouth; *há't'c-a-li-ks*, she has a pretty mouth; *hé-ya''-a-t*, arrow feather; *tcí'-ya''-a-t*, arrow feathers (Sec. 54). But there are many nouns ending in *-t* which are not formed in this manner, and still the element *-t* is dropped when they are used verbally, showing that the *-t* is a separate morpheme, presumably identical with the nominalizer. Thus:

wa'xulít, moustache
wa'xulíts, my moustache
wa'xul-a-lí, I have a moustache

qa'xolít, grandson
qa'xolíts, my grandson
qa'xol-a-lí, I have a grandson

139. Many nouns are composed of one or more elements whose primary meaning we cannot determine and a terminal suffix whose meaning is evident. In regard to others we may conclude that they are compounded, though the meaning of their elements is unknown. In the first class we have (1) those nouns which end in *-qol*, which may perhaps contain the elements *-q^u*, place, and *-l*, (Sec. 131) presumably denoting purpose; a frequent ending for nouns denoting tools and utensils; (2) those ending in *-l*, which are also words for the majority of utensils and tools, as well as material destined for special purposes; (3) those ending in *-t'*, which are names of tribes, (4) others ending in *-tal*, which denote the place where something is done habitually; (5) a few ending in *-q^u*, which are geographical names. In a number of possibly composite nouns whose formation is obscure to us, we notice that certain endings are common to a number of them, a fact which should not, perhaps, be considered as a mere coincidence. Examples of nouns with the above derivative suffixes are:

xwa't'si'yaqol, ax (hit-tree-tool)
xwa't'sò·qol, war club
la''apedi'sqol, needle
latsò·qul, war spear
k'o''bò·qul, spit for smoking salmon
lotsowó't·soqol, shaman's poles (representing a guardian spirit)

to'tisil, drill (old type)
tá·yidi'l, fish club
há'q'wa'qstil, pack strap
t'lé'exel, pole (*t'lé'ex*, stick, twig)
ká·axu'l, bailer

kole'yut', Quileute
tcidò·kut', Chinook
tcibeqi'bit', Chemakum
tcitca'ásto't', Ozette (*tcitca'a*, near; -*sto*, us)

140. A few groups of nouns seem to be compounded, as evidenced by the fact that they have one morphologic element in common, and by the further observation that they are more or less connected in meaning. Nevertheless, their possible components have no semantic independence at present. The following groups have been selected among those which exhibit these features more clearly:

ka·ya'd, shark
pa''délad, sturgeon
t'co'x^usid, sucker (fish)
tša'tsad, trout
ya't'co'bad, summer whale
kákawa'd, killer whale
pa'kwad, a species of sturgeon
ádad, sea-gull

supi·ya'', board
si'k'ó·ya'', cedar bark
saq'ò·ya, entrails (used as material)
ka'dé·ya'', hide

ó·doqwat, forehead
ó't'ceyu''qwat, side of a canoe
ó·teo'·doqwat, bottom of a canoe
ó·la·qwat, hill

THE SENTENCE.

141. It is not always easy to delimit the Quileute sentence. Not infrequently, the intonation and the reaction of the native are the only basis for regarding as a single sentence a sequence of two or more verbs which, so far as their grammatical features are concerned, could be considered as independent utterances. Let us take, for example, the sentence *é· wa dá·kil á·la·ci' bâ·yaqt'sa task*, a free

rendition of which is "So, not being able to eat, little Raven went out." Literally, "So, little Raven did not eat he went out." The context of the narrative clearly indicates that Raven's going out was a consequence of his not being able to eat. The intonation of the whole utterance is characteristic of most Quileute sentences. The first word has the highest pitch, and the melody descends gradually, except for one or more incidental vowels whose pitch rises above the level of the descending curve, without altering, however, its general downward trend. In long sentences, however, the melody does not always descend continuously. After a marked descent from the pitch of the first words, several components may be pronounced on practically the same pitch, there being a final descent at the last word. In the example under consideration, *task*, went out, is pronounced with a slightly lower pitch than the normal trend of the individual's voice. Were this word a separate utterance, its pitch would be considerably higher than that of the preceding word, and there would be a perceptibly longer pause. This fact was clearly demonstrated by one informant, when in a different context, "not eating" and "going out" were presented as antithetical thoughts to disprove a previous assertion that Raven had eaten. Thus, we may see that unless we regard intonation as a morphologic factor performing syntactic functions, it can be asserted that in many cases the morphology of this language does not indicate whether certain words are parts of a sentence or constitute syntactically independent units.

COORDINATION.

We shall call coordination¹ the juxtaposition of words which are capable of standing alone as independent utterances. The term is not to be construed, however, as precluding the probability that in many such situations there may be subordination or connection in thought. It is intended mainly to contrast this construction with that described below, in which subordination is indicated by various morphologic devices. In fact, thought subordination, meaning the presentation of certain concepts as parts of an experience complex summed up by one of the words in the utterance, is evident in many instances. In Sec. 92 we mentioned the usual manner of expressing in Quileute such an occurrence as "He went to so-and-so's house." The verbs *kí.ta.x*, he was going, and *itca'x*, he was headed for, ever present in such expressions, are invariably used to express two aspects of the same occurrence, without any morphologic indication of their connection. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to infer that

¹ Perhaps a more proper term is *asyndeton*, but it may be objected that the melody of the sentence serves as a connecting device.

the native does not regard these concepts as two separate acts. One of the informants, Jack Ward, who had a good command of English, generally rendered the second verb by a participle, "he was going, being headed for so-and-so."

Relations of cause, reason, manner and many others may be expressed by coordination of two or more verbs. In the following sentences each of their verbal components could constitute an independent utterance, and they could be so regarded were it not for the melody of the sentence, and the information supplied by the informant¹.

betsé.t'saci'l ceqwa'à· te-la's, he was getting so tired of pulling — it was heavy.
alits'i'ili'c hé't'si'slil s á-lita', they were served food, some fish having been cooked for them.

kí.taṣ qá-qal ṣe' á'a't'se·xat, he was going, carrying the halibut lines.
hiyò-do téxwal, having finished, he went home

yaló'watṣ dá-kil bá·yaq't'sa itca'ṣ ṣe' ó-s yìṣ t'ó-pa' teù'át'si'c yilé-kil, then little Raven was approaching, coming in the direction in which the trap was located, prepared the basket and immersed it.

Occasionally, the fact that the coordinate verbs precede a noun which can be a complement to either or both verbs, clearly indicates that they do not constitute independent utterances, viz.:

kê·xil (1) *t'laṣotcé·s ṣe'* (2) *tsítswa'a''* (3), he awoke his son by shaking him.
 1 — he shook; 2 — he awoke; 3 — son.

hal (1) *dá-kil* (2) *bá·yaq* (3) *ada''adal* (4) *kí'* (5) *yaló·lat* (6), then Raven spoke to his wife and said. . . 1 — said; 2 — then; 3 — Raven; 4 — he intended to speak; 5 — to the; 6 — wife.

A looser type of coordination is prevalent in the enumeration of acts in a temporal or logical sequence necessary for the accomplishment of one single purpose, or which the speaker regards as parts of a single occurrence. For example:

xaya'sḡ (1) *its* (2) *xwa'* (3) *áe·o* (4) *its* (5) *xwa'* (6) *itsi'l·a* (7) *tcíya'x'tcis* (8) *hé·gati'* (9) *hiyo's* (10), on another occasion (1), he makes the platform (2—4), makes the network (5—7), sets it up (8), and so (9), he completes it (10). Here, although clauses 1—4, 5—7, and 8 could be complete sentences, the voice does not fall to its rest key-note until the final word is reached. This last word and the first one are the summation of the occurrence presented by the speaker as a unit of expression.

Other examples will be found in Q.T. p. 4:18; p. 10:8; p. 3:6; p. 3:7; p. 7:3; 2:2; p. 3:3, 4; p. 3:1.

142. Two other types of syntactic connection denoted by juxtaposition is seen in the use of qualifiers, and in words which, to use a conventional term, may be said to stand in apposition. As already

¹ As the comparatively short time spent in the field did not permit such detailed observations for each instance in which such constructions occurred, the division of those sentences in the author's Quileute Texts may be inaccurate in many cases.

stated (Sec. 124) most of the words which express quality bear the morphologic characteristics of the verb. The function of such words as qualifiers is indicated by the absence of applicative classifiers and verbal classifiers, besides the position of the demonstrative. For example: *há't'ca'a yix tcoó'tsk'*, the boy is good; *yix há't'c tcoó'tsk'*, the good boy. Examples of qualifiers will be found in Sec. 124; the following illustrate special instances of qualification and apposition.

- xwa'* (1) *t'sixà-l* (2) *á't'cít* (3), the chief above (referring to the Christian god). Literally, the (1) above (2) chief.
- é* (1) *yu'kíl* (2) *tá-we* (3), he does not go near it. Literally, not (1) near (2) approach (3).
- xé'* (1) *xá-ba'qli*(2) *á-lita''* (3), all kinds of fish. Literally, the(1) *xa-ba-*, all(2), *-qli*, kind, fish (3).
- hé.ka''a* (1) *yix* (2) *kwé-da-yi'lt'* (3), you, Quinaults. Literally, it is you (pl.) (1), the (2) Quinault (3).
- yix* (1) *ó-t'is* (2) *yí-r* (3) *xabà* (4) *pod-q* (5) *ó* (6) *xo''o* (7) *xaxé'qtiya* (8), the place where all the Indians who are here to-day live. 1 — the. 2 — *ó-*, formal base; *-t'*, live; *-s*, third person pronoun; for the use of this verb as a noun see Sec. 147. 3 — the. 4 — all. 5 — man or Indian. 6 — independent use of the formal base (Sec. 56), to be at a place. 7 — here. 8 — to-day; *xaxé'*, this, present; *-qtiya*, day.
- yix* (1) *itcá.qayí'la* (2) *t'oq''* (3) *lub-á'* (4) *kolè-yut'* (5), the way we, Quileute do. 1 — the. 2 — manner of acting. 3 — our (Sec. 80) 4 — we. 5 — Quileute.

See QT. 2:2; 2:6; p. 3:9; 3:11; 4:8; 4:10, 16; 7:22; 15:15; 21:33; 23:49; 39:11, 12; 43:5, 6; 49:32.

SUBORDINATION.

143. Contrasted with the above constructions in which the relation of the various verbal components is implied by juxtaposition, and the cohesion of the sentence depends upon intonation as the only morphologic feature, we find many others in which subordination is denoted by the suffixes *-i*, *-a* (Sec. 136). The use of these suffixes is subject to various semantic restrictions. Their affixation to the subordinate verbs of negative sentences has been discussed in Sec. 136, and their use in subordinate clauses whose subjects are represented by subjunctive or conditional pronouns has been treated in Sections 73 and 76. Another common employment of these suffixes is seen in subordinate clauses which specify the inner contents of the main verb. Thus, any verb subordinate to *t'atc-*, to know, appears always with these signs of subordination, v. g.: *t'a'tcaças kí.taç-a*, he knows he is going. For the same reason they are required after the verbs which mean to *think*, *communicate* (excepting *hal*, he said, which introduces direct discourse), *remember*, *ascertain*, *wish*, *refuse*, to act for a reason (*héqt'so'ót*), to prepare to do something, and others with analogous meanings. They are like-

wise employed in subordinate clauses whose connection with the preceding clause implies a relation of purpose, or of contemplated action, as, *qe't'laḡ adâ's-i xwa' ha't'c há'ba* (cf. QT. p. 2:2), they go up stream (*qe't'laḡ*) to search for (*adâ'si*) a good tree. Similarly, they are always used after the word *dê'xa'*, in order to.

An analogous office is performed by these suffixes in subordinate clauses which express a contingent or eventual action, as, *tax^u qé't'lat-i' xwa' qwá'wiyis*, whenever the steal-head salmon may be going up stream.

However, when purpose is expressed by the formative *-l* (Sec. 131) or when eventuality is denoted by *-tc* (Sec. 77), these signs of subordination are not used, v. g.: *tax^u ḡaxeyas:ḡa'-tc*, whenever he may do it again and again (repetition expressed by reduplication); *dekwa'tsqal bá'yaq hóxwá'li-l*, Raven made preparations to go to the ocean; *qá'gal ḡe' á'a't'se:ḡat pá't'sili'-l*, he carried the halibut lines in order to soak them.

144. We may thus see that these signs of subordination occur in all clauses which express an action that is merely contemplated as a purpose or a possibility. Adding to these uses their employment with subordinate verbs in negative sentences, and with subjunctive and conditional pronouns, we would be led to regard these suffixes as signs of a mode which we might term *modus irrealis*. Against such a conclusion, however, we have the numerous instances in which the verb to which they are appended expresses an accomplished fact, as in *t'a'tcaḡas al hákuta's-i*, he knows I sent it; and in numerous temporal clauses with *hé't's*, when, as shown below.

The following are examples of the various uses discussed above; others will be found in the sections referred to, and in QT. 2:2; 2:3; p. 7:9; p. 8:2; p. 9:16, 17; p. 10:2; p. 10:13; p. 13:12; p. 15:3; p. 20:2; 23:65.

é.la'tctisi'lkuli' (1) *ḡa'ḡe* (2) *cé'qol-i* (3), I was told to pull now. Literally,

I was told I must act (1) now (2) in order to pull (3).

wá't'col (1) *suwa'tcá-l-i* (2), do not hope to resurrect him. 1 — negative verb *wa-*; *-t'col*, to wish.

heyás-qal suwa'tcá-l-i, he refused to resurrect him

t'laḡà-l (1) *yiḡ* (2) *poò-q* (3) *háyo.kul-i* (4) *ḡe'* (5) *héla'qtciyoli't'ot'* (6) *téwas-i* (7) *ḡe'* (8) *ó't'it* (9), (he said that) the people should prepare to invite their tribesmen and have them come to his house. 1 — prepare; 2 — the; 3 — man; 4 — to invite; 5 — the; 6 — tribe folks belonging to them; 7 — to enter a house; 8 — the; 9 — where he lives.

145. Some verbs whose intimate connection with their subordinates is analogous to that of the verbs mentioned above, do not require the signs of subordination. The verb *hiy-o-do*, to finish, complete, cease, is an outstanding example. Its subordinate verb appears with whatever sign of a continuative aspect may fit the nature of its action (Secs. 132, 133), but with no morphologic

indication of its relation to the main verb. If the normal aspect of the verb is continuative (Sec. 132), no change is made in its form.

hiyò-do á-la-x, he finished eating

hiyò-do hal-a, he finished saying (this), he had just said it.

hiyò-do bó-te-l xe' á'at'se:zat, he finished moistening the halibut lines.

QT. p. 21:5; p. 3:18; 9:23; 13:30; 26:60, 66, 75, 102; 39:14; 49:101.

146. One of the words most frequently used in temporal clauses which require in almost every case that the suffixes *-i* or *-a* be appended to the subordinate verb is *hé't's*. This word is composed of the formal base *hé-* and the postpositive *-t's*, which adds a glottal stop to the preceding vowel (Sec. 40). The meaning of *-t's* is difficult to translate. In some contexts it may be rendered by *occasion*, as in *hé't's xu'x'wa* (QT. 19:16), on this occasion; in others it means *to happen*, as in *hé't's tá-la'yi kila* (QT. 27:1), it happened long ago, it used to be so long ago. Most commonly it may be rendered by "when, after, upon," as conjunctive adverbs. We find this word in the majority of cases with the suffix *-t*, which denotes a state of activity (Secs. 66, 91). This expression of a state of activity reflects the aspect of the action expressed by the subordinate verb, which, from our point of view is the principal verb in the temporal clause. When the meaning of this temporal clause is viewed as an occurrence, an act, rather than a state, quality or condition, the pronouns *-s*, he; *-ks*, she, are affixed to *hé't's* (*hé't'sis* or *hé't'ses*, *hé't'siks* or *hé't'seks*). The pronouns of the first and second persons are never affixed, for in such cases the subordinate verb requires either the conditional or the subjunctive pronouns, since the subject of the subordinate verb and that of the main verb (*hé't's*) are different persons (Sec. 75). Before a conditional or a subjunctive pronoun, *hé't's* appears only with its applicative classifier *-i* or *-e* (for the change from *-i* to *-e* see Secs. 35, 87). e. g.:

teilá-xe'ksata'e hé't's-e ti't là-b t'layo'sxa t'lo'q"qa-li't'sol, Literally, six years it was when I myself for the last time helped to carry it out of the woods.

The distinction established by the use of the suffix *-t* or the pronouns is subject to the choice of the speaker in regard to the manner in which the experience is envisaged. This gives occasion to apparent exceptions to the rules given above. In identical external situations the same individual may view the predication expressed by the temporal clause with *hé't's* as a background for the action conveyed by the main clause, or the two clauses may be regarded as a sequence of two facts. In the former case *-t* is employed; while the latter requires the pronouns *-s* or *-ks*. Thus, in the context "When he arrived, he told his wife so-and-so," we often find

hé't'set é.wali', when he arrived. Here, the two occurrences may be viewed as a sequence, or, considering the fact that in the context there existed a condition which prevented the communication to his wife, while after his arrival this condition gave place to one which made it possible, his communication coexisted with this latter condition. This, of course, is a mere guess in our attempt to justify the exceptional use of *-t*. Contrasted with this, we find *hé't'seks é.wali'* (QT. 26:24), when she arrived, in a very similar context: "When she arrived, the tribe became very much perturbed." Since the news which she brought to the tribe produced their consternation, the two facts may be viewed as a sequence, but we could also take the opposite point of view, as in the preceding example.

When customary action is expressed, *hé't's* appears with no other suffix than its applicative classifier, *-i* or *-e*, which in careless enunciation is elided. For example:

hé't'si tat e-là ha'bè-l xe' hét'etsi'llit é. yu'kil tá-we., when they fell the (tree) of which it is to be made, they do not come near to it.

hé't'se xwa' tá.laqua'se kila hóg^uq^uala''e, a long time ago they used to burn it

147. Aside from the free morphemes which perform conjunctive functions (Sec. 125), the demonstrative *xwa'* (Sec. 113), the articles (Secs. 110, 111) and the formal base or free morpheme *ó* (Sec. 56), are the most common connectives in the Quileute sentence. The morpheme *ó* (*ó*) is frequently equivalent to our conjunctive adverb *where*, or to a relative pronoun with the verb to be (which is, who is); e. g.:

yix (1) *á-lita'* (2) *ó* (3) *xe'* (4) *k'wá.k'uya''* (4), the (1) fish (2) existing in (4) waters (4).

wá.alic (1) *ü.xwa-'t'so* (2) *ó* (3) *xe'* (4) *qa'ba.luwa't* (5), the animals of the forest are beginning to disappear. 1 — begin to disappear. 2 — animals. 3 — exist. 4 — the, oblique case. 5 — forest, woods.

laká. (1) *xwa'* (2) *hé'q^ti* (3) *ó* (4) *xe'* (5) *kole'yut'* (6), there are few experts among the Quileutes. 1 — are few. 2 — the, invisible known. 3 — experts. 4 — exist. 5 — the, oblique case. 6 — Quileute.

t'loqwa''at'col (1) *se'yac* (2) *kó.xod* (3) *dápt'á.yat* (4) *s* (5) *tétsida't* (6) *há'ba* (7) *ó* (8) *kuló'oqwa'l* (9), they came out to the bank of a river and saw an owl screeching, perched upon the branch of a tree which was floating on the water. 1 — to pass from the woods to the bank of a river. 2 — began to see, saw. 3 — owl. 4 — *dap-*, to perch upon; *-t'á.yat*, arm or branch of a tree. 5 — indefinite article functioning as a relative pronoun. 6 — *tcitc-*, to float; *-sid*, water; *-t*, continued action. 7 — tree. 8 — existing, being. 9 — to screech.

It may be of interest to note in this connection that verbs which are built with *ó-* as a formal base do not require the affixation of the nominalizer *-t*, even when an article precedes, as explained below. Thus, such verbs are converted into nouns by the articles, without any morphologic change. For example:

á-tca'a' ó-t'is, yonder he lives

yiṣ ó-t'is, the (place where) he lives.

há-kuta'ṣ (1) *yiṣ* (2) *há'ba* (3) *yiṣ* (2) *ós* (4) *yiṣ* (2) *kó-xod* (5), the tree upon which the owl was (perched) was coming. 1 — was coming. 2 — the subjective case of article, non-feminine gender; in the first and in the third instances, the article stands before the subject of the preceding verb; in the second instance it introduces a clause (4—5) in a manner similar to our relative pronouns. 3 — tree. 4 — was. 5 — owl.

hé-q^u (1) *xo'ò* (2) *yiṣ* (3) *t'siqâ-ti* (4) *yiṣ* (5) *ó-t'oq^u* (6), here, in the country where we live. 1 — it is the place. 2 — here. 3 — the. 4 — country, region. 5 — the. 6 — we live.

148. The articles and the demonstrative *xwa'* may connect a noun or a clause whose syntactic relation to the preceding elements may be that of a qualifier, of a direct object, or of any other complementary nature, as illustrated in Sec. 112. There is an important morphologic difference between the use of the articles and that of the demonstrative *xwa'* in such constructions. Excepting the instances already pointed out and those mentioned below, the articles require the affixation of the element *-t* (Sec. 122), which converts the subordinate verb into a noun or participle; whereas *xwa'* performs the same function without the use of this affix. It must be understood, however, that the use of the nominalizer *-t* is confined to cases in which the subject of the subordinate verb is a third person, since with any other person the conditional pronouns are employed (Secs. 76), and the subordinate element functions as a verb rather than as a noun. Examples of uses of the articles with nominalized verbs will be found in Secs. 111, 112, 122. The following illustrate the same constructions with *xwa'* and with the conditional pronouns.

xá-bat'so' (1) *xwa'* (2) *hé.et'é'eux* (3) *xwa'* (4) *t'o'pa'* (5) *poóqolo'ó-t'owasq^u* (6), all the material used in the fish trap is made by our people. 1 — everything. 2 — demonstrative, invisible, but known. 3 — is being used in it. 4 — demonstrative. 5 — fish trap. 6 — material belonging to our people.

yiṣ (1) *halá.qalawó-t'colí'* (2) *t'oq^u* (3), what we wish to tell you. 1 — the. 2 — hal-, to say; -qalawo, you (Sec. 96); -t'col, to wish; -i, sign of subordination. 3 — conditional pronoun, we, probably functioning as a possessive (Sec. 80).

yiṣ (1) *ítá.qayí'la* (2) *tí'l* (3), the way I do it. 1 — article. 2 — *ít-*, to be like; -qayí'l, to behave, act; -a, sign of subordination, continuative. 3 — conditional pronoun.

WORD ORDER.

149. The order of the words in the Quileute sentence is quite regular. In the main clause, the normal order is (1) verb, (2) subject, (3) object. In the subordinate clause the subject precedes the verb. As shown in Sec. 109, the distinction between subject and object is generally indicated by the form of the article. Temporal clauses (Sec. 146) generally precede the main verb. All other subordinate

clauses follow the main clause, including its subject and object. Qualifiers precede the word qualified.

All these rules are to be construed as applying only in the majority of cases, for in Quileute, as in most languages, emotional factors may alter the normal word order. The most common alteration due to such influences is seen in the position of the subject before the verb.

A most striking characteristic in the order in which concepts are expressed is seen in the tendency to begin the sentence with the most abstract concepts. This order is most evident when the subject and the modal and temporal aspects are expressed by affixable elements. In the majority of such cases we are given the general setting of the sentence in its temporal modal and subject aspects before other concrete ideas are reached. For example:

hoyaso(1)-*o*(2)-*litc* (3) *wa*(4)-*c*(5)-*i* (6) *siya*(7)-*qala* (8), you certainly will not see me. Here, the first element (1) expresses the assurance felt by the speaker: *it is certain*; the sign of the future (2) and the subject of the sentence (3) are affixed to this first word; then follows the negation (4) with the normal aspect of the occurrence of seeing (5), which, as stated in Section 92, is always inceptive; this verb is subordinated to the preceding, as evidenced by the sign of subordination (6); then follows the expression of the act of seeing (7) with the object pronoun (8); a verb subordinated to a subordinate verb does not require the sign of subordination.

Examples of word order are readily obtained from the interlinear translations in the Quileute texts. The following illustrate the various points discussed above.

wá·alí'c (1) *xwa'* (2) *á·lita''* (3) *ó* (4) *xe'* (5) *qalé·* (6), the fish of the sea are beginning to disappear. 1 — begin to disappear. 2 — demonstrative. 3 — fish. 4 — existing. 5 — the, oblique case. 6 — sea, ocean.

liwò· (1) *yix* (2) *á't'cít* (3) *xe'* (4) *á·xuyo''* (5), the chief brought the box. 1 — brought. 2 — article, subjective case. 3 — chief. 4 — article, oblique case. 5 — box.

hé· (1) *yix* (2) *ho'kwa't'* (3) *itsó·* (4) *xe'* (5) *há·la* (6) *tí'l* (7) *qá·xayo''otaqwa'* (8), it is the white people, as I said, who overdo it. 1 — it is (Sec. 56). 2 — the. 3 — White. 4 — it is thus. 5 — the, oblique case. 6 — said. 7 — conditional pronoun, *I*. 8 — to do something excessively.

SPECIMEN TEXT AND ANALYSIS

*tsó·*¹ *sa'·a·*² *kí'tax*³ *yik*⁴ *á't'cít*⁵ *hé·olic*⁶ *kakí'*⁷ *tsitsí'itskwa'·a*⁸
Well, then. Going the chief's wife accompany the daughters
*t'iyó·qo't'solíl·*⁹ *kí'tax*¹⁰ *xabá·*¹¹ *la*¹² *ha'yéq'·ba'·yili·*¹³ *tsix*¹⁴
to dig fern roots. Going all indeed carry basket. Very
*há't'cá·lowa'·*¹⁵ *é·la·*¹⁶ *sa'·a·*¹⁷ *xwa'áv*¹⁸ *xe'*¹⁹ *itcá·la't*²⁰ *t'layo'·wà·*²¹
good weather. Did this, reach the destination after
*tá·lí'c*²² *la'·v*²³ *itcá·lí*²⁴ *xe'*²⁵ *óq'otse·cé·lilí't*²⁶ *qwa'seli·*²⁷ *lá·tcal·*²⁸
long time walk headed for the place chosen dig roots. Immediately,

dâ-kil,²⁹ *hé'bô-li*³⁰ *ó.qale.k*³¹ *t'iyogó't sol*.³² *dâ-kil*,³³ *tsa'di*³⁴
 then, as soon as arrive dig fern roots. But almost
*t'otcógqtiya'*³⁵ *xe*³⁶ *hé't'sit*³⁷ *ó.qalè.ki*.³⁸ *qwaslá.qwa'at*³⁹ *la*⁴⁰
 was noon the when arrive. Digging for food indeed
*dâ-kil*⁴¹ *x*⁴² *kopiláqtiya'd'o*.⁴³ *ó.las*⁴⁴ *awí'c*⁴⁵ *tsáqotca'qlx*⁴⁶
 therefore that become dusk. Stay become night was impossible
té.xwá'li.⁴⁷ *há'tesi'sal*⁴⁸ *dâ-kil*.⁴⁹ *se'ya*⁵⁰ *dâ-kil*⁵¹ *s*⁵² *é'c*⁵³ *yíx*⁵⁴
 go home. Lie down therefore. Seeing then that were many the
t'lotóloo't. *dâ-kil*⁵⁶ *yik*⁵⁷ *k'adé'et'ot*⁵⁸ *k'wé'sec*⁵⁹ *adá'dal*⁶⁰ *ki*⁶¹
 star. Then the younger sister finally began to speak the
ha'dó'sya'a'k.⁶² *hal*⁶³ *ku'd'asé*.⁶⁴ *tca'à*.⁶⁵ *ha*⁶⁶ *k'udè* *t'lotóloo't*⁶⁸ *s*⁶⁹
 her elder sister said, "Would that yonder that little star he
*há.kuta'xa'*⁷⁰ *da'qala*.⁷¹ *toqò't*⁷² *dâ-kil*⁷³ *yik*⁷⁴ *hadós't'ot*⁷⁵ *ki*⁷⁶
 come fetch me." Replied then the elder sister the
*k'adé'ya'a'k*⁷⁷ *hé.sé'kli*⁷⁸ *tca'à*.⁷⁹ *ha*⁸⁰ *tcè'k*⁸¹ *t'lotóloo't*⁸² *tas*⁸³
 her younger sister, "I prefer yonder that large star he
*há.kuta'xa'*⁸⁴ *hal*⁸⁵ *ki*⁸⁶ *k'adé'*.⁸⁷ *hé*.⁸⁸ *adá'ada'l*⁸⁹ *xe*⁹⁰
 come," said the younger sister. It is this talk to the
*t'lotóloo't*⁹¹ *pata'qtiya'sqa*⁹² *ya'a'k*⁹³ *t'a't'sá.xe'it*.⁹⁴ *xile'*⁹⁵ *dâ-kil*⁹⁶
 star until about midnight the girls. Got angry then
*yik*⁹⁷ *kátc.t'ot*⁹⁸ *abe'*⁹⁹ *é*.¹⁰⁰ *xé'sitce.sí'liá'li*¹⁰¹ *kaki'* *tsitsi'itskwa'a'*.¹⁰³
 the mother because not was allowed to sleep by the daughters.
*hal*¹⁰⁴ *dâ-kil*¹⁰⁵ *kub'ilé'ci'l*¹⁰⁶ *lebat'é'lel*¹⁰⁷ *abe'q*¹⁰⁸ *t'ce'é't'alxa'l*¹⁰⁹
 Said then, "Must be quiet, must go to sleep because we at dawn
*x*¹¹⁰ *t'ce'è*.¹¹¹ *tsá.lé'li*.¹¹² *xaya'sxá'alo*¹¹³ *t'iyogó't sol*.¹¹⁴ *é*.¹¹⁵
 in the morning get up. Again we shall dig fern roots." Not
*dâ-kil*¹¹⁶ *ku'b'ilé'cia'li*¹¹⁷ *ya'a'k*¹¹⁸ *t'a't'sá.xe'it*.¹¹⁹ *tá'li*¹²⁰ *la*¹²¹ *hé*¹²²
 but try to be quiet the girls. Continue still this
*adá'ada'l*¹²³ *xe*¹²⁴ *t'lotóloo't*.¹²⁵ *hal*¹²⁶ *la*¹²⁷ *hé's*¹²⁸ *la*¹²⁹ *sayà*.¹³⁰
 talk the star. Said still it is the same indeed likes
*xe*¹³¹ *hé.sí't*¹³² *la*.¹³⁶ *é*.¹³⁷ *dâ-kil*¹³⁸ *t'átca'a'*¹³⁹ *ya'a'k*¹⁴⁰ *t'a't'sá.xe'it*¹⁴¹
 the same one indeed. Not then know the girls
*xe*¹⁴² *hé't'set*¹⁴³ *lchat'é'li'*.¹⁴⁴ *t'la'xo'*¹⁴⁵ *dâ-kil*¹⁴⁶ *yik*¹⁴⁷ *kátc.t'ot*.¹⁴⁸
 the when fall asleep. Awoke then the mother.
*la*¹⁴⁹ *ke'das*¹⁵⁰ *as*¹⁵¹ *wá.al*¹⁵² *ya'a'k*¹⁵³ *tsitsi'itskwa'a'*.¹⁵⁴ *é*.¹⁵⁵
 Indeed was astonished that disappeared the daughters. Not
*t'atca'a'*¹⁵⁶ *xwa*¹⁵⁷ *ó.kita'as*.¹⁵⁸ *té.xwa'li*¹⁵⁹ *kula's*.¹⁶⁰
 know that place where were gone. "Went home," it occurred to her.
tsó.¹⁶¹ *sa'a*.¹⁶² *té.xwa'l*¹⁶³ *kò'lic*.¹⁶⁴ *tsó*.¹⁶⁵ *sa'a*¹⁶⁶ *t'la'xo'*.¹⁶⁷ *ya'a'k*¹⁶⁸
 So, then, went home hurried. Then awoke the
t'a't'sá.xe'it.¹⁶⁹ *é*.¹⁷⁰ *t'átca'a'*¹⁷¹ *xe*¹⁷² *ót*.¹⁷³ *hó.ya'so'*¹⁷⁴
 girls. Not know the where they were. Absolutely

- hopé-la*¹⁷⁵ *hé't cé-yo-li't*¹⁷⁶ *yik*¹⁷⁷ *k'adé't ot*¹⁷⁸ *s*¹⁷⁹ *t'lo-xwa'das*¹⁸⁰
 strange lay in bed with the younger sister an old man
*ki.lisp'i*¹⁸¹ *ki*¹⁸² *ha-dó'sya'a k.*¹⁸³ *hé't cé-yo-li't*¹⁸⁴ *ki*¹⁸⁵
 other side of fire the her elder sister. Lay in bed with the
*ha-dó'sya'a k.*¹⁸⁶ *s*¹⁸⁷ *tcoo'tsk*¹⁸⁸ *ha't c*¹⁸⁹ *tsi'da*¹⁹⁰ *poò-q.*¹⁹¹ *tsó*¹⁹²
 elder sister a boy handsome young man. Well,
*sa'a*¹⁹³ *ke-di'*¹⁹⁴ *dá-kil*¹⁹⁵ *yiç*¹⁹⁶ *t'é k'a' à*¹⁹⁷ *hé't seks*¹⁹⁸
 then, became agitated therefore the tribe when
*é-wa'li*¹⁹⁹ *yik*²⁰⁰ *kátc.t'ot*²⁰¹ *ó.t'ali'*²⁰² *t'liba'q*²⁰³ *t'iyogó't soo't.*²⁰⁴
 arrived home the mother coming from over night digging fern roots.
*tsáqli*²⁰⁵ *ki*²⁰⁶ *o'kulás'e'i't*²⁰⁷ *kaki'*²⁰⁸ *tsitsi'itskwa'a'*²⁰⁹
 She missed the she had thought there the daughters.
*bá'k'il*²¹⁰ *dá-kil*²¹¹ *yik*²¹² *kátc.t'ot*²¹³ *çe*²¹⁴ *hé't it*²¹⁵ *á't'cit*²¹⁶ *as*²¹⁷
 Asked then the mother the husband chief if they
*óqalè-ki*²¹⁸ *ya'a k*²¹⁹ *tsitsi'itskwa'a'*²²⁰ *xwa*²²¹ *awè.*²²² *wá'alax*^{u,223}
 arrived the girls the (last) night. "Not present,"
*hal*²²⁴ *dá-kil*²²⁵ *yiç*²²⁶ *á't'cit.*²²⁶ *tsó*²²⁷ *sa'a*²²⁷ *é.xwa'o*²²⁸ *bá'k'il*²²⁹
 said then the chief. Then on his turn asked
*yiç*²³⁰ *á't'cit*²³¹ *ki*²³² *yaló-lat*²³³ *çilà.'*²³⁴ *hal*²³⁵ *dá-kil*²³⁶ *yik*²³⁷
 the chief the wife being angry. Said then the
*likà't'so*²³⁸ *é.*²³⁹ *t'atca'a'*²⁴⁰ *üxwa'qawó-l'xat*²⁴¹ *dá-kil*²⁴² *çe*²⁴³
 married woman not know. Communicated then the
*hé.t'it*²⁴⁴ *yik*²⁴⁵ *likà't'so*²⁴⁶ *as*²⁴⁷ *hé*²⁴⁸ *adá'ada'l*²⁴⁹ *çe*²⁵⁰
 husband the married woman that they this talk the
*t'lot'oolo't*²⁵¹ *pat'a'qtiya'sqal*²⁵² *hal*²⁵³ *as*²⁵⁴ *dá'aga-t'co-las*²⁵⁵
 star until about midnight said that they wished to be fetched
*çe*²⁵⁶ *t'lot'oolo't*²⁵⁷ *dè-xa*²⁵⁸ *hé.t'ici'*²⁵⁹ *liyá*²⁶⁰ *la*²⁶¹ *dá-kil*²⁶²
 by the star in order to marry. Immediately indeed then
*yiç*²⁶³ *á't'cit*²⁶⁴ *t'atci'i*²⁶⁵ *as*²⁶⁶ *qaga'*²⁶⁷ *çe*²⁶⁸ *t'lot'oolo't.*²⁶⁹
 the chief knew that they were taken by the star.
*tsó*²⁷⁰ *sa'a*²⁷¹ *kidi'*²⁷² *hayóq^ulil*²⁷³ *çe*²⁷⁴ *t'é.k'a'a'*²⁷⁵ *qwa't'lats*²⁷⁶
 Then got busy to summon the tribe assemble
*hé*²⁷⁷ *adá'adali'*²⁷⁸ *ki*²⁷⁹ *tsi'itskwa'a'*²⁸⁰ *qwa't'lats*²⁸¹ *dá-kil*²⁸²
 this to talk (about) the daughters. Assembled so
*ó.kis*²⁸³ *çe*²⁸⁴ *tcè-k*²⁸⁵ *t'é k'a'lo'*²⁸⁶ *hé*²⁸⁷ *adá'ada'l.*²⁸⁸ *bá'k'il*²⁸⁹ *s*²⁹⁰
 coming to the large his house this talk. Asked the
*kalá'to'b*²⁹¹ *héxat*²⁹² *s*²⁹³ *tatá'q^uyal*²⁹⁴ *xwa*²⁹⁵ *itca'ql-tise-lqa'at*²⁹⁶
 Kalá'to'b and the Tatá'q^uyal the manner ought to plan
*taxáowi'*²⁹⁷ *çe*²⁹⁸ *t'lot'oolo't*²⁹⁹ *tsoo't*³⁰⁰ *qál'é.t.sil.*³⁰¹ *liyá.*³⁰² *la*³⁰³
 reach the star because took away. Immediately indeed
*dá-kil*³⁰⁴ *kalá'to'b*³⁰⁵ *axó-c*³⁰⁶ *hal*³⁰⁷ *t'caqé.do'oci'lqa'lo*³⁰⁸ *hal*³⁰⁹
 then Kalá'to'b spoke said, "We ought to fight," said

*kalá'to'b*³¹⁰ *héqaliti.ɣa'l*³¹¹ *ɣe'*³¹² *a't'ci't*³¹³ *hé.xat*³¹⁴ *la*³¹⁵ *ɣe'*³¹⁶
 Kalá-to'b addressing the chief and indeed the
*t'é'k'a'a*³¹⁷ *bá'k'il*³¹⁸ *dá'kil*³¹⁹ *bá.yaq*³²⁰ *xwa'*³²¹ *itcáq.qwa'sido'o'*-
 tribe. Asked then Raven the what manner will
*t'át*³²² *t'siló.wa't.ɣa*³²³ *héqaliti.ɣat*³²⁴ *s*³²⁵ *kalá'to'b*³²⁶ *tsó*³²⁷ *sa'a*³²⁸
 it be to go up, addressing the Kalá-to'b. Then
*hé*³²⁹ *tatá.q^uya'l*³³⁰ *axó.c*³³¹ *é*³³² *was*³³³ *lák.lilo'o*³³⁴ *xwa'*³³⁵ *itcáq.qwa'*-
 it was Tatá-q^uya'l spoke, "Not worry the what
*sido'o'*³³⁶ *t'oq^u*³³⁷ *t'siló.wa't.ɣa*³³⁸ *t'siló.wat.ɣa'alo*³³⁹ *wa*³⁴⁰ *axó'l*³⁴¹
 manner we to go up. We shall go up. Not you
*lákli'lá'*³⁴²
 despair."

ANALYSIS

- ¹⁻⁹ Now then. The chief's wife was going with her daughters to dig fern roots. ¹ — contraction of *itso*; *its-*, to do; *-o*, applicative classifier for space (Sec. 85). This word together with the following constitute a conventional introduction to a narrative, which may be rendered by "now then, well, so." ² — demonstrative (Secs. 109, 115). ³ — *ki't-* or *kít-*, to go; *-a*, applicative classifier (Sec. 85); *-ɣ*, continuative used mainly with verbs of motion, or verbal classifier with an analogous meaning (Secs. 91, 93); i. e., were going. ⁴ — article, subjective case, feminine gender (Secs. 109, 110). ⁵ — noun meaning "chief," with the postpositive *-t'*, a derivative for one who lives with or at; with the name or title of a person it has the specific meaning of wife (Sec. 66). ⁶ — *hé-*, formal base (Sec. 48); *-ol*, together, belong, accompany, be with; *-i*, connecting vowel (Sec. 37); *-c*, inceptive; this is one of the verbs which are always used with the inceptive in a formal manner like a verbal classifier (Sec. 92). ⁷ — article, oblique case, feminine gender, plural (Sec. 109). ⁸ — Reduplication of *tsitskwa'a* (Sec. 59); in this word, as in many others, it seems that the position of the middle-tone accent may be on the ultima or on the penult; if it is placed on the ultima the vowel ends with a glottal closure as stated in Sec. 42; a secondary accent of this kind has a very small degree of intensity. ⁹ — *-o-l-i'-l*, Secs. 85, 131.
- ¹⁰⁻¹³ They went on, each with her pack basket. ¹⁰ — see word No. 3. ¹¹ — *xab-*, to be all; *-a*, applicative classifier; the syntactic relation of this verb to the preceding is one of coordination: "they were going," "it was all of them" (referring to having baskets). ¹² — This particle is used very idiomatically; its force may be rendered here in connection with the preceding word as an emotional evaluation of the fact that every one of them carried a basket. ¹³ — *ha'yéq^u*-, to carry with the pack-strap; the element *q^u* is probably the postpositive *-q'o*, position upon, location on a particular spot, but it is inseparable from *há'y(c)*, since the latter has no semantic independence; see word No. 26; *ba-y-*, postpositive morpheme, meaning *basket*; *-i*, connecting vowel (Sec. 37); *-l*, verbal classifier required before the subordinating suffix *-i*, because the initial morpheme belongs to the *l*-class (Sec. 136). This verb is subordinated to No. 11.
- ¹⁴⁻¹⁵ It was very good weather. ¹⁴ — a free morpheme used frequently as an initial morpheme; in this context its syntax is that of a qualifier, as evidenced by the fact that it has no suffixes (Sec. 142). ¹⁵ — *ha't'c-*,

to be good; *-a'l*, weather; *-o*, connecting vowel of frequent occurrence before *w*; *-wa*, indicates direction away, continuous process in a vague direction; the glottal stop is due to the accent (Sec. 42), particularly on the final word of a sentence. This postpositive is used idiomatically with many words for temporal or other abstract relations (Sec. 66), cf. also No. 21.

¹⁶⁻²⁷ So, they arrived at their destination, after walking for a long time toward the place where they had planned to dig roots. ¹⁶ — *é.l-* (or *e'l-*) to be active or occupied doing something; this, together with the following demonstrative constitutes a conjunctive phrase. ¹⁷ — see No. 2. ¹⁸ — the affix *-v* is the applicative *-o* for space (Sec. 85), the phonetic change is due to the influence of the preceding vowel (Sec. 18). ¹⁹ — article (Secs. 109, 110), oblique case, non-feminine gender; for its syntactic function see Sec. 112. ²⁰ — *ít-*, to be going toward a specific place, be headed for; *-a*, applicative classifier; *-l*, indicates purpose (cf. No. 9); *-at*, (*-it*, or *-t*) (Sec. 38), transforms this verbal composite into a noun (Secs. 122, 138). ²¹ — *t'layo'*, a verb meaning *to be subsequent to*; *-wà*, is identical with *-wa* (cf. No. 15), the low-tone accent (which includes duration, Sec 28) is probably an etymologic characteristic which disappears in many cases due to the accentual pattern (Sec. 26). ²² — *ta'l-*, to last, to take a long time; *-i*, applicative classifier; *-c*, inceptive (cf. No. 6). ²³ — *la'*, to walk; *-v*, applicative classifier for space, cf. No. 18. Verbs 21, 22, 23, are coordinate (Sec. 141). ²⁴ — for the first two elements see No. 20; *-i*, subordinating suffix (Sec. 136); principal verb of the clause subordinated under No. 23. ²⁵ — article cf. No. 20. ²⁶ — *ó-*, formal base (Sec. 48); *-q'o*, upon, space upon which an activity takes place, in contrast with *-q'u*, which indicates a location where something stands or lies; *-tse-c*, to select; *-é*, a connecting vowel lengthened by the high-tone accent (Sec. 29); *-l*, purpose (cf. Nos. 9, 20); *-i*, connecting vowel; *-l*, verbal classifier; *-ít*, nominalizer (cf. No. 20). ²⁷ — *quas-*, to dig any kind of root; more general in meaning than No. 9; *-e*, applicative classifier, for its form *-e* instead of *-i* see Sec. 87; *-l*, verbal classifier; *-i*, sign of subordination; this verb depends on the verbal meaning of the nominalized verb which precedes it, that is, it is subordinated to it as though it functioned verbally in this context.

²⁸⁻³² No sooner had they arrived they were digging fern roots. ²⁸ — *lá.tc-*, to take place at once, to wait no longer; *-a*, applicative classifier, *-l*, verbal classifier. ²⁹ — a free morpheme which does not take suffixes; a conjunctive utterance of frequent occurrence, it is used in cases in which we would say, "so, then, for, furthermore, therefore, but," etc. Here it connects 28 and the following clause. ³⁰ — *-o-l*, classifiers; *-i*, sign of subordination; asserts coincidence of action or immediate sequence; to judge by other occurrences, it is subordinated to the following verb, as verbs with such meanings are wont to be (Sec. 143). ³¹ — *ó-*, formal base for space relations (Sec. 48); *-qal*, or *qale-*, a postpositive of obscure meaning inseparable from this word; *-k*, to go to a definite place. ³² — see 9. Verbs 28, 31, and 32 are coordinate, as shown by the absence of subordinating suffixes. The sentence is to be understood as "There was no delay (for) they arrived (and) got busy." Verb 32 is normally durative, since it does not refer to digging up one root, but to be engaged in the activity of procuring food in this manner. Hence it seems proper to translate it in this context as a durative.

³³⁻³⁸ But it was almost noon when they arrived. ³³ — see 29. ³⁴ — free morpheme, a qualifier. ³⁵ — *t'otc-*, middle; *-o*, applicative for space;

- qtiya*, day; this is the main verb of this sentence. ³⁶ — article, oblique case, expressing a relation of difficult interpretation between the preceding verb and the following nominalized clause. ³⁷ — *hé*-, formal base; the glottal stop is due to the following glottalized affricative (Sec. 40); *-t's*, predicates a relation of time, may be rendered generally by *when*; *-(i)t*, nominalizer. ³⁸ — see 31; *-i*, sign of subordination; this subordinate syntax is identical to that of 26, and 27.
- ³⁹⁻⁴³ So, they kept on digging for food until dusk. ³⁹ — *quas*-, see 27; *-la*, eat; this postpositive affixed to the formal base *á*- gives the verb to eat *á-la*-; *-qwa*, thoroughly, an intensifier; its force in this context is approximately "they dug and dug;" *-a*, connecting vowel or vocalic form of *-t*; *-t*, an element expressing a state of activity (Sec. 66; cf. Sec. 91). ⁴⁰ — see 12, an emotional evaluation of their persistence in digging. ⁴¹ — see 29 and 33; here it connects with the previous sentence implying a consequence. ⁴² — demonstrative for invisible entities unrelated to previous experience (Sec. 113); establishes a syntactic relation with the main verb, 39, and the following verbal noun; a kind of accusative of time, end-point of a period. ⁴³ — dark, evening; *-a*, applicative classifier; *-qtiya*, day (see word 35); *-do*, resultative (Secs. 92, 134), the long consonant is due to the accent; the glottal stop may occur with any vowel at the end of a sentence; it is optional; a verb with the sign of the resultative aspect may be used as a noun without the sign *-t* of nominalization.
- ⁴⁴⁻⁴⁷ There they stayed until night overtook them and they were unable to return home. ⁴⁴ — *ó*-, formal base for location (Sec. 50); *-t*, to persist (Sec. 66); *-as*, third person pronoun. ⁴⁵ — *aw*-, night; *-c*, to become (Sec. 134). ⁴⁶ — *tsa*-, to be without, not to do or have; *-go*, an element of rare occurrence whose meaning has not been ascertained in this and two other words from which it is inseparable; *-taqly*, to happen. ⁴⁷ — *tc*-, house; *-xwa*, probably identifiable with the initial morpheme meaning *to arrive*, see 18; *-i*, sign of subordination, depending syntactically upon the main verb, *to be possible*. The high-falling accent here is rhetorical, if we may judge by the fact that the word may be pronounced without it.
- ⁴⁸⁻⁴⁹ So, they lay down. ⁴⁸ — *há-t*-, to lie down; *-e*, applicative classifier *-i* changed to *-c* by phonetic contact; *-i*, is considered proper in spite of the phonetic tendencies; *-s*, verbal classifier for causation of a state or condition; *-i*, connecting vowel; *-sal*, distributive suffix (Secs. 66, 67); i. e. each one lay down, one here, one there. ⁴⁹ — see 29.
- ⁵⁰⁻⁵⁵ They observed then that there were many stars. ⁵⁰ — *sey*-, to see; the lengthening denotes durative aspect (Secs. 132, 133); *-a*, applicative classifier; literally, they were seeing. ⁵¹ — see 29. ⁵² — indefinite article before the following clause, which is treated as a noun (Secs. 111, 112). ⁵⁴ — article, referring to the subject of the preceding verb. ⁵⁵ — un-analyzable noun, except for the possible nominalizer *-t*. (Sec. 138).
- ⁵⁶⁻⁷¹ Then the younger sister spoke to her elder sister saying, "I wish that little star yonder would come and take me." ⁵⁶ — see 29. ⁵⁷ — article, subjective case, feminine. ⁵⁸ — *k'ade'*, the youngest child in the family, male or female; *-t'ot'*, belonging to some one's family; some kinship terms cannot as a rule be used without a possessive (Sec. 83). ⁵⁹ — *k'we-s*-, to be a consequence of, to evolve from a previous condition; it is used sometimes together with the resultative suffix *-do* (Sec. 134) for emphasis, but serves more frequently as a conjunctive verb. *-c*, inceptive, used formally or perhaps with the idea that the following predication starts from the preceding premise. ⁶⁰ — article, feminine gender, oblique case,

object of 60. ⁶² — *ha-do's*, eldest brother or sister in the family; *-ya'ak*, possessive. ⁶³ — unanalyzable; although the *-l* could be a verbal classifier, it is inseparable from this morpheme. ⁶⁴ — a free morpheme, never found with pronominal affixes; a kind of impersonal verb expressing a wish. ⁶⁵ — locative demonstrative for a remote object. ⁶⁶ — *ha*, a demonstrative for an entity distant from the speaker and the listener; the glottal stop is due to the anticipation of the *k'* in the following word (cf. Sec. 40) to which it is a proclitic. ⁶⁷ — can be used as a noun or as a verb; unanalyzable; a qualifier in this construction; if it were a verb, a demonstrative would precede 68. ⁶⁸ — see 55. ⁶⁹ — subjunctive pronoun (Secs. 67, 73, 74), subject of the subordinate clause; although in form it is identical with the indefinite article, it can be recognized by the fact that the following verb is not nominalized, but takes the subordinating suffix. ⁷⁰ — *há.kut-*, to come; *-a*, applicative classifier; *-x*, verbal classifier (Secs. 91, 92); *-a*, sign of subordination for durative action; the sense of this verb is "to be moving toward the speaker" (Sec. 92). ⁷¹ — *da'*, to fetch; *-qala*, object pronoun, first person, for verbs of the neutral class (Sec. 96); a coordinate verb, "that he would be coming and fetch me," a verb coordinate to a subordinate verb does not require the subordinating suffix (Sec. 143).

⁷²⁻⁸⁷ Then the elder girl said to her younger sister, "I should prefer that big star yonder would come," she said to her younger sister. ⁷² — *toq-*, to reply or answer; for unknown reasons this verb takes the applicative classifier for space, *-o*; *-l*, verbal classifier. ⁷⁴ — feminine article, subjective case. ⁷⁶ — feminine article, oblique case, expressing an objective relation between 72 and 77. ⁶⁸ — *hé'*, formal base; *-sekl*, to choose, select; *-li*, subject pronoun. ^{79, 80} — as in 65, 66. ⁸¹ — unanalyzable free morpheme; its syntactic relation to 82 is that of a qualifier. ⁸² — third person of the conditional pronoun; the conditional is used here with a sense of eventuality; with verb 64 the subjunctive was used as a more definite wish; here the thought was interpreted as "if one is to come, I wish it were the big one." ⁸⁷ — an exceptional use of this kinship term without a possessive; no explanation can be offered; however, the suffix *-t'ot'* could be used in this context.

⁸⁸⁻⁹⁴ The girls talked in this manner about the stars until about midnight. ⁸⁸ — use of the formal base as a free morpheme (Sec. 56). ⁹² — *pat-*, an initial morpheme of unknown meaning; it has occurred only in composition with *-qtiya*, day, to mean *midnight*; *-sqal*, reflexive suffix in one of its non-reflexive meanings (Sec. 102); literally, "it simulated midnight." ⁹³ — plural, feminine article. ⁹⁴ — *t'á.xei't*, girl, with the infix *-t'sa* (Sec. 57) for distributed plural.

⁹⁵⁻¹⁰³ Then their mother became angry, because her daughters did not let her sleep. ⁹⁵ — *xil-*, angry; when used with the applicative *-a*, it means to be angry; *-e*, is a modified form of the applicative *-i* (Sec. 87); as with many other verbs expressing a mental condition, the applicative *-i* is equivalent to the inceptive (Sec. 92); for the glottal stop see Sec. 42. ⁹⁸ — *kac*, mother; for *-t'ot'* see 58 and 75. ⁹⁹ — see Sec. 121. ¹⁰⁰ — negative (Sec. 136). ¹⁰¹ — *xes-*, to sleep; *-tes*, causative for a state or condition (Sec. 104); her efforts to cause a condition of sleep is the causation referred to; *-sil*, one of the signs of the passive voice (Sec. 106); *-ial* (or *-i'al*) repetitive for attempts which fail (Sec. 135); *-i*, subordinating suffix (all negative action appears as subordinated to the negative verb; Sec. 136). ¹⁰² — article, feminine, plural, oblique case for the agent of the passive voice (Sec. 112); the passive voice may be understood in the sense that she was so affected by the girls that

her repeated attempts to bring about a condition of sleep had failed.

- 104-112 So, she said, "You must keep quiet and go to sleep, because we are going to get up at dawn." 104 — see 63. 106 — *kub'il*, to be silent, not to speak; -c, inceptive; -l, aspect of eventuality (Sec. 131); a stern command given in the indicative, rather than in the imperative with the pronoun *axo'l*, as normally; literally, "(You) are going to begin to be still." 107 — *lebat'*, to fall asleep; -l, as in the preceding verb. 108 — a conjunctive verb (Sec. 125); -*q^u*, pronoun, first person, plural, indicative, used occasionally instead of -*lo* with no distinction of meaning, so far as can be determined, but appearing generally with the same words. 109 — *t'ce'e*, morning, as in 111; -*t'al*, come from, originate; -*x*, continuative for motion (Sec. 92); -l, aspect of eventuality; literally, the time from which morning is going to start. 110 — demonstrative for an invisible, unexperienced entity. 111 — the early part of the day, applicable till the sun is considerably above the horizon. 112 — *tsa-*, perhaps the initial morpheme meaning not to have, a kind of negative verb; -*le'l*, element of unknown meaning; -*i*, sign of subordination, this verb being subordinated to 108.
- 113-114 We shall again dig fern roots. 113 — *xaya-*, another; -*sx*, time, turn; the accent and the glottal stop constitute the sign of the future (Sec. 129); -*lo*, subject pronoun, we; this is the main verb of this predication: we shall do again. 114 — as in 32; -*i*, sign of subordination, being subordinated to 113.
- 115-119 But the girls made no effort to be quiet. 115 — as in 100. 117 — see 106, and 101 for -*ial*; -*i*, sign of subordination.
- 120-125 They still went on talking in this manner about the stars. 120 — *tal-*, to persist, to last, be a long time; -*i*, applicative classifier for definite purpose (Sec. 85); -*l*, verbal classifier. 121 — see 12 and 40. 122-125 — see 88-91.
- 126-136 Each girl kept on saying that she liked the same star. 128 — *hé-*, formal base; -*s*, pronoun; literally, "it is he." 130 — *say-*, to like, love, covet; -*à-*, continuative (Sec. 132); the glottal stop was verified, but cannot be accounted for. 132 — nominalization of 128.
- 137-144 Then, the girls did not know when they fell asleep. 139 — *t'ate-*, to know; -*a*, applicative classifier separated by a glottal stop (Sec. 37) from the sign of subordination -*a*; being subordinated to the negative verb 137. 143 — *hé-*, formal base; glottal stop due to the influence of the following glottalized sound (Sec. 40); -*t's*, to be the time when; -*l* nominalizes this verb. 144 — see 107; -*i*, sign of subordination; being subordinated to 143.
- 145-148 Then the mother awoke. 145 — *t'la^x-*, to be alert, at attention, active; with the applicative -*a* and the verbal classifier -*l* means to get ready, to be active in preparation; for some reason the applicative for location is used for *awaking*.
- 149-154 She was astonished, indeed, (to find) that her daughters had disappeared. 150 — *ke'ad-*, to be astonished; upset, excited; -*a*, applicative; -*s*, causation (Sec. 104); a causative construction is occasionally equivalent to the passive voice (Sec. 106); the mother, understood, is the subject, since the following clause is preceded by the oblique case of the feminine article, which is the case required for the agent of the passive voice. 151 — indefinite article for a new fact introduced in the discourse (Secs. 111, 112); it is the oblique case for the agent of the passive voice (Sec. 112). 152 — *wá.a-l*, this verb may possibly be identical with the negative *wa*; with this applicative and verbal

classifier it means *not to exist, not to be present, to there be no or none*; being preceded by an article one would expect the verb to have the nominalizing or participial suffix *-t*; but the use of the nominalizer is limited by the meaning of the verb as well as by that of the demonstrative used (cf. Sec. 148), and on the whole it seems that its use is more constant with verbs of action than with others.

- 155-158 She did not know where they had gone. ^{155, 156} — see 137, 139. ¹⁵⁷ — demonstrative, for its use here see Sec. 113. ¹⁵⁸ — *ó-*, formal base for location; *-k*, to go to a definite place and arrive; *-t*, verbal classifier for a state of activity or continuous condition (Sec. 91); *-a's*, plural, subjective pronoun.
- 159-160 "They went home," she thought. ¹⁵⁹ — *texwa-*, to go home; a composite verb; *te-*, house, *-xwa*, probably an element in *xwa-'a-o*, to arrive; the lengthening of the *-a* is probably due to a slurring of the glottal stop which will be expected to separate the vowel of the stem from the applicative classifier *-a*; *-l*, verbal classifier; *-i*, sign of subordination; the verb is subordinated to the next one. ¹⁶⁰ — *kul-*, to have an idea; *-a*, applicative; *-s*, sign of causation for a condition (Sec. 104); it is a kind of passive voice expressed by causatives; see 150; she was led to think.
- 161-164 So, she hurried home. ^{161, 162} — see 1, 2. ¹⁶³ — see 159. ¹⁶⁴ — *ko-l-*, to hurry; *-c*, inceptive; this verb is normally used with the inceptive (Sec. 92); coordinate with 163.
- 185-169 Then the girls woke up. ¹⁶⁷ — see 145. ¹⁶⁸ — article, subjective case, feminine, plural. ¹⁶⁹ — see 94.
- 170-173 They did not know where they were. ^{170, 171} — see 137, 139. ¹⁷² — article, oblique case before a nominalized verb. ¹⁷³ — *ó-*, independent use of the formal base for location (Sec. 56); *-t*, nominalizer or participial suffix (Sec. 91).
- 174-183 Much to their surprise, on the side of the room opposite the elder sister, there lay the young one in bed with an old man. ¹⁷⁴ — a word whose meaning is difficult to define; in the contexts in which it has occurred it seems to express a feeling of intensity of the quality predicated, or of magnitude of the occurrence; it has occurred with pronominal and aspect suffixes as a verb. ¹⁷⁵ — strange, surprising, generally used as a qualifier. ¹⁷⁶ — *hé-*, formal base with glottal stop due to the influence of the following glottalized sound; *-t'ce-yo-lit'*, when used in a context in which a man and a woman are concerned it means to lie in bed with, but this is a special implication, for it is used also in descriptive names of tribes, as *tsét'ipt'eqwa'tciyo-'lit'*, the tribe of the hair tied on top of the head (QT. 23:65); *-t'*, to live with; see 5; 177, 178 are the subject of this verb; 179, 180 are the object. ¹⁸¹ — *kil-*, to be on the other side of; *-sp*, fire, referring to the old Quileute houses where the fire-place was in the center of the lodge; *-l*, verbal classifier. ¹⁸² — oblique case of the feminine article before the object of 181.
- 184-191 The elder sister lay in bed with a handsome young man. ¹⁸⁴ — see 176. ¹⁸⁷ — indefinite article for a new fact introduced in the narrative (Sec. 111). ¹⁸⁸ — boy, adolescent. ^{189, 190} — qualifiers.
- 192-204 Well, the tribe was upset when the mother returned to her house the next day from the place where she had been digging roots. ¹⁹⁴ — see 150; with a verb of state of mind the use of the applicative *-i*, which stands frequently for a momentaneous aspect, is equivalent to an inceptive (Sec. 133, 134). ¹⁹⁸ — *hé-*, formal base; *-t's*, occasion; *-ks*, pronoun, "she." ¹⁹⁹ — *é-wa'l* (or *é-wa'l*), to return home from a trip; *-i*, sign of subordination; subordinated to 198, which having a pronoun,

functions here as a verb. ²⁰² — *ó-*, formal base; *-t'al*, to come from; *-i*, sign of subordination.

²⁰⁵⁻²⁰⁹ She did not find her daughters, whom she expected to be there. ²⁰⁵ — not to do, or to have; *-qł*, to hit the mark, to do in an efficient manner, used in *hé.qłti*, expert; *-i*, applicative classifier for action directed to a specific purpose. ²⁰⁷ — *o*, identical to the formal base for location (Sec. 50). It could not be said in this case that it functions as a formal base, since *kulas* is not a postpositive, as evidenced by its use in 160; it is possible that *-o* should be considered a separate word, but we should not be able to explain the absence of the high-tone accent; if it is a part of the word in question, the omission of the accent can be accounted for by the presence of a high-tone accent on the *-a* (cf. Sec. 30); *-i*, cessative (Sec. 130); *-t*, nominalizer, the word functioning as a noun with article 206; the use of the singular form of the feminine article is occasionally used when for some reason the women referred to are thought of collectively; notice also that noun 209 in apposition with 207 takes the plural article.

²¹⁰⁻²²² Then the mother asked the chief, her husband, whether the girls had arrived the previous night. ²¹⁰ — *ba'k'*, to ask for an object or to question; *-i*, applicative classifier for a specific purpose; *-l*, verbal classifier. ²¹⁶⁻²¹⁶ — noun No. 215 functions as a qualifier; were 216 in apposition with 215, the former would be preceded by the article. ²¹⁷ — see 31; *-i*, sign of subordination required by all verbs preceded by a subjunctive pronoun (Sec. 73). ²²¹ — demonstrative for invisible entity related to previous experience; see remarks on the expression for *yesterday* and *to-morrow* in Sec. 114.

²²³⁻²²⁶ "They are not here," said the chief. ²²³ — the quantity of the accented vowel may be rhetorical (Sec. 24); this word is generally pronounced with the dieresis after the high-tone accent; *wa-*, is probably the usual negative verb (Sec. 143), with the applicative classifier *-a*, and the verbal classifier *-l*; with these suffixes it means *not to exist*, to be no more, to there be none or no more, not to be at a place; the locative meaning is not likely to be predominant, or it would take the applicative classifier for location (*-o*); *-x^u*, pronoun for an invisible entity unrelated to previous experience; one would not expect the use of this pronoun here, considering that the daughters are related to previous experience; the fact that the feminine form *-k^u*, equivalent to the non-feminine *-x^u*, was not used, would lead us to infer that it does not stand for the daughters, but refers, perhaps, to the fact itself of being present; it must be admitted, however, that even so, its use cannot be definitely accounted for.

²²⁷⁻²³⁴ Then the chief was angry, and proceeded to question his wife. ²²⁸ — figurative use of a verb whose literal meaning is to turn around; *-o*, applicative classifier for location. ²³⁴ — *xil-* (or *xel-*); see 95; applicative classifier for a state or condition, lengthened by the low-tone accent (Secs. 28, 133); the glottal stop may always occur at the end of a sentence if the vowel is accented; the syntactic relation of this verb is one of coordination (Sec. 141).

²³⁵⁻²⁴⁰ Then his wife said she did not know. (Implying that her husband had asked her a similar question about the whereabouts of the girls). ²³⁸ — in talking about another's wife this general term is often used instead of *yaló-lat*, which refers specifically to a woman's relation to a particular man.

²⁴¹⁻²⁵⁹ Whereupon the woman informed her husband that they had been talking about the stars until late in the night, saying that they wished

to be taken away by the stars in order to marry them. ²⁴¹ — *úxwa-*, something, an indefinite thing; *-qawolx*, to be acquainted with; *-ts*, causative. ²⁴⁷ — subjunctive pronoun; see 217. ²⁴⁸ — functions as a demonstrative (Sec. 56); commonly used with 249 to refer to the subject of the conversation, which generally precedes, as shown more clearly in 287, but may also follow the verb. ²⁵² — *pat'*, middle; *-qtiya*, day; *-sqal*, false, not quite, almost, and other meanings given in Sec. 102. ²⁵⁵ — *da-*, to go and bring or come and take away, fetch; *-qa*, passive voice; *-t'col*, to wish; *-as*, pronoun. ²⁵⁸ — oblique case of the article before the agent of the passive voice. ²⁵⁸ — see Sec. 125. ²⁵⁹ — *hé-*, formal base; *-t'*, to be a husband to (but notice the suffix in 5); the combination of these two morphemes is seen in 244 with the nominalizer *-t*; *-c*, inceptive; *-i*, sign of subordination.

²⁶⁰⁻²⁶⁹ At once the chief realized that they had been taken away by the stars. ²⁶⁰ — to take place suddenly; this word has not occurred with any other suffixes; we presume that *-á-* may include the applicative classifier *-a*, but we cannot account for the high-tone accent; it must function as a verb, for 265 appears with the sign of subordination. ²⁶⁵ — this verb generally takes the applicative classifier *-a*, but as stated in Sec. 92, some verbs of the neutral class form their inceptives by changing this classifier which may connote durative action for *-i*, which frequently expresses momentaneous action; the momentaneous aspect of this verb refers to the moment of becoming aware; *-i* is the sign of subordination separated from the preceding vowel by a glottal stop (Sec. 37). ²⁶⁶ — subjunctive pronoun. ²⁶⁷ — *qa-*, to take away; *-qa*, passive voice; for the glottal stop see Sec. 42. ²⁶⁸ — oblique case before the agent of the passive voice.

²⁷⁰⁻²⁸⁰ Then he got busy summoning the tribe, and had them assemble to talk about this matter. ²⁷³ — with the applicative classifier *-a*, this verb means *to be busy*, the inceptive aspect being expressed as in 265. ²⁷³ — *hay-*, to call; *-o*, applicative for location; *-qu*, a definite place (Sec. 64); for the *-l* see Sec. 136; *-l*, expresses contemplated action (Sec. 131); for the omission of the sign of subordination see Sec. 143. ²⁷⁶ — caused (them) to assemble; *-ts*, causative. ²⁷⁸ — see 249; *-i*, subordination with implication of purpose (Sec. 131).

²⁸¹⁻²⁸⁸ So, he assembled them and they came to his large house. ²⁸³ — *ó-*, formal base for location; *-k*, to go to a definite place; *-s*, pronoun. ²⁸⁵ — a word which can be a verb, but functions here as a qualifier without verbal suffixes (Sec. 124). ²⁸⁶ — the syllable *-lo*, includes the final *-l* of *t'é'k'al*, house, and the initial of *-lo'*, to belong.

²⁸⁹⁻³⁰¹ He asked Kalá-to'b and Tatá-quyal in what manner they could reach the stars, because they had abducted (his daughters). ²⁹⁰ — the indefinite article before a proper noun in an objective relation (Sec. 111). 291, 294, names of two mythologic giants fabulously strong. ²⁹⁶ — *itcaq-*, to do something in accordance with a plan, in imitation of a model; also to be like something else; the elements *-ltis* are of limited use, it has not been possible to determine their meaning definitely; *-l*, indicates purpose (Sec. 131); *-qa'a*, to need, have as a duty; *-t*, nominalizer. ²⁹⁷ — *tava-*, to reach; *-o*, applicative classifier for location; for the sound of *o* after *a* see Sec. 18; *-w* is a glide between the *u*-sound of the *-o* and the next vowel; *-i*, subordination with implication of purpose (Sec. 143). ³⁰¹ — *qa-*, to take away, (see 267); *-let*, violently; *-sil*, passive voice, mainly for momentaneous or rapid action parallel to the use of the causative *-ts* (Secs. 90, 103, 105, 106).

- ³⁰²⁻³¹⁷ Immediately Kalá-to'b spoke and said, "We must wage war," said he addressing the chief, and also the tribe. ³⁰⁶ — inceptive verb with *-c* (Sec. 92). ³⁰⁸ — *t'caq-*, to fight; *-do*, resultative; *-c*, inceptive; *-l*, contemplated action; *-qa*, passive voice; *-lo*, subject pronoun, *we*; the use of the resultative together with the inceptive has occurred in other contexts with the idea of an action undertaken as a consequence of facts previously stated; the use of the passive voice may be paraphrased in such a sense as, "in view of the outrage committed by the stars, it is incumbent upon us to wage war." ³¹¹ — *hé-*, formal base; *-qalix*, against, toward, used of any action except locomotion.
- ³¹⁸⁻³²⁶ Then Raven asked Kalá-to'b how would they go up. ³¹⁸, ³¹⁹ — Cf. Nos. 210, 211. ³²¹, ³²² — Cf. Nos. 295, 296; *-qwa*, definitely, see page 197; *-s*, causative (Sec. 104); *-do*, resultative (Sec. 134); *-o'-t'*, future (Sec. 129); *-t*, nominalizer (Sec. 122), for the connecting vowel *-a*-cf. Sec. 38. ³²³ — *t'sil-*, initial morpheme; *-o*, applicative classifier for location; *-wa*, direction away, page 195; *-t-x*, verbal classifiers (Sec. 91); *-a*, sign of subordination (See No. 311).
- ³²⁷⁻³²⁸ Then Tatá-q^uyal was the one who spoke, "Do not worry about how we may go up. ³³², ³³³ — for the use of the double negative see Sec. 136. ³³⁴ — *lák.lil-*, to worry, cannot be analyzed; none of its elements have occurred in other contexts; the final *-o* represents the subordinating suffix required in a negative sentence; it may be *-i* or *-a* assimilated to the preceding vowel of the applicative *-o* by the glottal stop (Sec. 39). ³³⁷ — conditional pronoun (Sec. 78).
- ³³⁹⁻³⁴² We shall go up. Do not despair. ³³⁹ — see 338; *-a*, future of first persons (Sec. 129); *-lo*, pronoun, *we*. ³⁴¹ — imperative pronoun, plural. ³⁴² — see 334; *-a*, sign of subordination required by the negative verb *wa*.

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YUCHI
BY
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The material on which this grammatical sketch of the Yuchi Language is based has been collected during several field trips to the Yuchi Indians of Central Oklahoma which were undertaken during the summer of 1928 and in the winter of 1929, covering in all a period of about five months. Both trips were financed by the fund for linguistic research of the Council of Learned Societies at the recommendation of Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University, New York City.

I am deeply indebted to Professor Boas for many useful suggestions regarding the methods of fieldwork as well as the following elaboration and arrangement of the grammatical information.

The present grammatical sketch is intended to be used in connection with the collection of Yuchi Tales published by the same author as vol. XIII of the „Publications of the American Ethnological Society (New York 1931).” The illustrating examples contained in this grammar are without exception taken from that volume. To enable the reader to place them into their proper context all examples have been given with page and sentence references. Thus the reference 20,1 behind the example “dicaxdji I have reached” which will be found on page 306 of the present volume refers to page 20 sentence no. 1 of the “Yuchi Tales” where the example occurs in the full context of the narrative.

The lists of stems given in the chapters on the noun and the verb are not intended to be exhaustive. A full vocabulary of the Yuchi Language will be published separately.

London, May 1934.

Günter Wagner.

YUCHI

BY GÜNTER WAGNER

§§ 1—17. I. PHONOLOGY

A. VOWELS

§ 1. DESCRIPTION OF VOWELS

There are four series of vowels in Yuchi which seem to be of equal importance: 1) an open, 2) a nasalized, 3) a closed, and 4) a glottalized series. The vowels occurring in each series are:

1) open series:

- ɪ* as in English "pin", "thin" etc.,
- ɛ* as in English "get",
- ɔ* voiced exactly as the German open "o", e. g. in "noch".

Of these three vowels *ɛ* and *ɔ* occur frequently and may be considered the most characteristic vowel sounds of Yuchi. *ɪ* occurs exclusively before *n* and may have developed from the nasalized *ɪ* = *ɪ̃*. (see § 9). Open *a* and open *v* occur only as nasalized sounds.

2) nasalized series:

- ɪ̃* there is no equivalent in English for the open, nasalized *i*. It is articulated far forward: *ɪ̃a, dɪ̃ʔ*.
- ɛ̃* an open, nasalized e, similar to French "fin".
- ɔ̃* as in French "dans".
- ɔ̃* as in French "mon".
- ṽ* nasalized *v*.

3) closed series:

- i* as in English "meat", "feet" etc.,
- a* as in English "father",
- o* as in German "rot",
- u* as in English "room" or German "Buch".

A closed *e* (as the French *é*) does not occur. There is, however, an obscure final *ə* (as the *e* in German "Name") which is sometimes slightly lengthened and then heard as *e*; e. g.: *hawetwa'le, kalq're*.

4) glottalized series:

All three series of vowels just discussed occur glottalized. In initial position the glottal stop is weaker than after a vowel or a consonant, but it can be distinctly recognized in initial *'i, 't, 'ε,* and *'a* where it is very frequent.

§ 2. JUXTAPOSITION OF VOWELS

While there is no true diphthongization in Yuchi we frequently encounter juxtaposition of two vowels which enter into a more or less close relationship. Altogether we can distinguish three types of juxtaposition:

a) two vowels of equal length with a diphthongal glide between them:

a'odehe, tsiaç'ε', catio'ne, tsiv'a, talaonç', s'a'çka.

As may be seen from these examples the accent can be on the second vowel; vowels of all three series may be combined in such a diphthongal glide.

b) both vowels have a separate impulse of voicing:

ts'iga pε'.ende¹ wedza.a'onç
kiwe'.εwe'ta yu.aç'a'

c) the vowels are separated by a glottal stop:

alε'we'ε'ç' hç'ç'dit'ε
açκε'ç'ε s'a'ç'ε
hçk'çκi'ε'də

The combinations in which these various types of juxtaposition occur do not seem to be limited, although the diphthongal glide occurs most frequently in the combinations *ao* and *io*. The following table shows the most frequent vowel combinations and the types of juxtaposition:

	ι	ε	ο	ι	ξ	α	ç	ψ	i	a	o	u
ι												
ε		ε'ε			ε'ξ		ε'ç					
ο												
ι												
ξ					ξ'ξ					ξ'a		
α												
ç	ç'ι	ç'ε			ç'ξ		ç'ç			ç'a		
ψ												
i		i'ε			i'ξ i'ε					i'a ia i.a	io	
a		a'ε		a'ι	a'ξ					a'a	a'o ao a.o	
o		o'ε			o'ξ		o'ç			o'a oa		
u		u'ε								u'a		

¹ This type of juxtaposition is indicated by a dot on the line between the two vowels.

§§ 3—6. VOWEL PROCESSES

§ 3. (a) *Contractions*

Contraction is one of the most frequent processes of Yuchi phonology. It occurs exclusively in rapid speech and the full forms can always be easily reconstructed. There are two types of contraction, one which shortens words to mere fragments and which does not seem to underlie any phonetic rules¹ and another one which is restricted to a few definite combinations of sounds. Thus we have:

1) Whenever the semi-vowel *w* is preceded by the vowels *i*, *e*, *a*, *o* and followed by *ε* a contraction may take place which results in the elimination of *w* and produces a different vocalic quality:

<i>i</i> + <i>wε</i>	becomes	<i>u</i>
<i>e</i> + <i>wε</i>	..	<i>o</i>
<i>a</i> + <i>wε</i>	..	<i>o</i> , <i>ao</i> , or <i>a</i>
<i>o</i> + <i>wε</i>	..	<i>o</i> , <i>oo</i>

Examples:

ti'wekwɛdjin becomes *tu'kwɛdjin* in he put
ti'wɛfa becomes *tu'fa* in they stand
ti'wɛp'a becomes *tu'p'a* in he looked

alɛ'wɛgahe becomes *alo'gahe* when they get there
lɛ'wɛnɔ becomes *lo'nɔ* that one
gont'ɛ'wɛnɔ becomes *gont'o'nɔ* the person

cafa'wɛ'nɔ becomes *cafo'nɔ* the moon
talawɛnɔ' becomes *talaonɔ'* the wolf
a'wɛgwadjin becomes *a'gwadjin* he said

tso'wɛnɔ becomes *tso'onɔ* the sun
got'o'wɛnɔ becomes *got'o'nɔ* the child
ya pi'lo'wɛnɔ becomes *ya pi'lo'nɔ* the wagon

2) In connection with the semi-vowel *y* only one instance of contraction has been observed, viz.:

o + *ya* becomes *a*:

goya'ɣka becomes *ga'ɣka* a white man

3) If *h* stands between two vowels a contraction may occur in the following combinations:

ahi becomes *a*:

hahit'ɛ' becomes *ha't'ɛ* not one

ahɔ becomes *a*:

ahɔgwahɛ' becomes *a'gwahɛ* when they say
s'a'hɔwi becomes *s'a'wi* he fell down

. g. *k'ala' wɛ'ɛ'ndi* becomes *k'a'ndi*.

s'a'hɔp'awɛ becomes *s'a'l'awɛ* he drops
yahɔkwɛdʒi'n becomes *ya'kwɛdʒin* he sang

ehɛ becomes *ɛ*:

yone hɛ'ndɛ becomes *yone'ndɛ* the fawn and then, . . .

4) If *n* stands between two vowels the following contractions may occur:

ane becomes *ɑ*:

tsha'nehe becomes *tshaq'he* you swim

ene becomes *ɛ*:

tse'ne becomes *tsɛ* dog

ale'negaya becomes *alɛ'gaya* if you get back there

5) Intervocalic *l* is eliminated and the vowels contracted in the following case:

ala becomes *a·*:

k'ala'ra becomes *k'a'ra* things on top of

6) Contractions of vowels standing in juxtaposition is extremely rare. Only the two following examples have been observed:

gou'dene becomes *ga'dene*

wɛ'ɔ'ntaha becomes *wɔ'ntaha*

§ 4. (b) NASALIZATION

In a few cases nasalization of the vowels *o*, *a*, and *ɛ* has been observed without any accompanying change in meaning:

na becomes *nɑ* and 88,47 and 100,11

ɛ becomes *ɛ̃* in: *ɛ'ɔ'ndzɛla* she will eat us 102,31, and

ɛ̃yʉ'ɔ'nɔ'cɔ she makes signs.

§ 5. (c) ASSIMILATION

Vowel assimilation has been observed in a few cases only, all of which represent the type of a regressive assimilation:

1) Assimilation to *i*:

weditne' becomes *widitne'* I saw him 250,10

kewi'he becomes *kiwi'he* when it passed 176,46

wɛ'ɔ'ɛ̃ɛ̃ wɛ'nɔ becomes *wi'ɔ'ɛ̃ɛ̃ wɛ'nɔ* the big ones 292,10

2) Assimilation to *a*:

hɔndzɛ'twa becomes *hɔndzɑ'twa* they kill me 170,12

yab'a' becomes *yabɑ'a'* high 172,21

3) Assimilation to *ɛ*:

hi'le becomes *he'le* all

f'owɛ'da becomes *f'ewɛ'da* 4, 6

§ 6. (d) DISSIMILATION

Vowel dissimilation seems to be restricted to the vowel *ɔ*.

Examples:

hɔnɔ becomes *hɛ'nɔ* they

hidɔ'ɔ'ndɔ becomes *hidɔ'ɔ'ndɔ* I know

hɔk'ɔ'gɔ becomes *hɔk'ɛ'gɔ* they run with

hɔhɔlɛ'nɔ becomes *hohɔlɛ'nɔ* catch him. 126, 76

§§ 7—10. B. CONSONANTS

§ 7. SURVEY OF CONSONANTS

	Stops				Spirants			Affricatives				Nasals		Laterals			
	Sonant	Surd	Aspirate	Glottalized	Labialized	Surd	Glottalized	Labialized	Sonant	Surd	Glottalized	Labialized	Sonant	Surd	Sonant	Surd	Glottalized
bilabial	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p'</i>	<i>p'</i>									<i>m</i>				
labio-dental						<i>f</i>	<i>f'</i>	<i>fw</i>									
ling. dental to alveolar	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>tw</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s'</i>		<i>dz</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>ts'</i>	<i>tsw</i>					
ling.-alveol.						<i>c</i>	<i>c'</i>	<i>cw</i>	<i>dʒ</i>	<i>tr</i>	<i>te'</i>	<i>tcw</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>l</i>		
dorsal- palatal	<i>g</i>	<i>κ</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>gw</i> <i>kw</i>	<i>x</i>							(<i>ɣ</i>)			<i>l</i>	<i>ɸ</i>
velar			<i>k'</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>kw</i>	<i>χ</i>											

Further:

Semi-vowels: *w*, *y*,

Aspirated: *h*,

The stops occur in five series:

1. Sonant bilabial *b*, linguo-dental or alveolar *d*, and dorsal-palatal *g*.

2. Unaspirated *p*, *t*, and *κ* which in the texts have been described as intermediate between sonant and surd. Since no experiments have been made on the kymograph, it is impossible to decide whether these entirely unaspirated stops are partly voiced or not. According to my impression they actually stand between sonant and surd.

3. Surds *p*, *t*, and *k* which occur with various degrees of aspiration. In cases of strong aspiration this is denoted by '.

4. Glottalized *p'*, *t'*, and *k'*. *k* in rare cases is articulated as a velar or even a uvular *ḳ* or *k̠*; e. g.: *k̠u* tribe, *k̠ya'fa* behind.

5. Labialized series, comprising surd *tw*, sonant *gw* and surd *kw* (*k̠w*).

The spirants are restricted to the surd series which is well developed with a labio-dental *f*, a linguo-dental *s*, an alveolar *c*, a dorsal-

palatal *x* (as in German "ich"), and a velar *ɣ* (as in German "ach"). *f*, *s*, and *c* also occur glottalized as *fʰ*, *sʰ*, and *cʰ*, and *f* and *c* labialized as *fw* and *cw*.

Among the affricatives there are four series: 1. sonant, 2. surd with varying degrees of aspiration, 3. glottalized and 4. labialized. As to the point of articulation we have linguo-dental *dz* and *ts*, and linguo-alveolar *dj* and *tc*.

There are only two nasals, the sonant bilabial *m*, and *n* which varies from linguo-dental to alveolar. Before palatal stops a nasalization of a vowel often develops into a palatal *n*, e. g. *nɔŋka* three.

Of the laterals *l* is an alveolar sonant and *l* a dorsal-palatal surd which also occurs glottalized as *lʰ*.

§§ 8—10. CONSONANTIC PROCESSES

§ 8. (a) *Elimination of consonants*

The semi-vowels *w* and *y*, the aspirate *h* and the consonants *n* and *l* may be eliminated when they stand between certain vowels (see vowel contractions, p. 4).

§ 9. (b) *Consonantic development of vowel quality*

(α) Whenever a nasalized vowel is followed by a stop an assimilative consonant may be inserted. Thus:

<i>ɪ</i>	becomes	<i>im</i>	}	before <i>b</i> , <i>p</i> , <i>ɸ</i>
<i>ɛ</i>	..	<i>em</i>		
<i>ɑ</i>	..	<i>am</i>		
<i>ɔ</i>	..	<i>om</i>		
<i>ʊ</i>	..	<i>um</i>		

Examples:

<i>hɔmp'a'</i> they look for	<i>sɛmpɛ'ʰɛ</i> very good
<i>hɛmp'adj'i'</i> you look for	<i>ɣɔ'mp'ac'ɛ'ɛ'</i> his backbone

<i>ɪ</i>	becomes	<i>in</i>	}	before <i>d</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>ʈ</i>
<i>ɛ</i>	..	<i>en</i>		
<i>ɑ</i>	..	<i>an</i>		
<i>ɔ</i>	..	<i>on</i>		
<i>ʊ</i>	..	<i>un</i>		

Examples:

<i>gowɑ'c'ɛndʒim</i> I was burning	<i>ɛ'ndʒubi</i> all day
<i>hɔndzɛ</i> they	<i>a'ntsole</i> are you asleep?
<i>andzɛ</i> you	

<i>ɪ</i>	becomes	<i>ɪɣ¹</i>	}	before <i>g</i> , <i>κ</i> , <i>k</i>
<i>ɛ</i>	..	<i>ɛɣ</i>		
<i>ɑ</i>	..	<i>ɑɣ</i>		
<i>ɔ</i>	..	<i>ɔɣ</i>		
<i>ʊ</i>	..	<i>ʊɣ</i>		

¹ The palatal *ɣ* has not been distinguished from the linguo-alveolar *n* in the text.

Examples:

a'nɔŋga we arrive
nɛŋga'lɛ true enough
ca'ŋka bull snake

(β) Whenever an open or closed unnasalized vowel is followed by a dental or alveolar stop (*d*, *t*, *t*) or by a palatal stop (*g*, *κ*, *k*) the surd spirants *x* (dorsal-palatal) and *ɣ* (velar) respectively may be inserted. Thus:

<i>i</i>	becomes	<i>ix</i>	}	before <i>d</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>κ</i> , <i>k</i>
<i>t</i>	..	<i>tx</i>		
<i>e</i>	..	<i>ex</i>		
<i>a</i>	..	<i>ax</i>		
<i>a</i>	..	<i>aɣ</i>		
<i>o</i>	..	<i>oɣ</i>		
<i>ɔ</i>	..	<i>ɔɣ</i>		
<i>u</i>	..	<i>uɣ</i>		
<i>v</i>	..	<i>vɣ</i>		

Examples:

dica'ɣdʒi I have reached 20,1
aɣκɛ'lə there 20,6
wɛxtit hɛ' they were pulling 22,6
yu'ɣκɛ yonder
dixradʒigo'la I may have been afraid 26,19
wɛxtə' go with them 30,2
goɣdi'cɛ liar 196,18

§ 10. (c) PHONEMES

There are a number of parallel sounds in Yuchi which are either freely interchangeable or which replace each other according to their position in the word-unit and therefore may be considered as the same phonemes:

(α) *tnɛ* — ^ʔ*ɛ*:

aɣκɛ'ʔɛ — *aɣκɛ' tɛ*
pado'ʔɛ — *pado' tɛ*
ta pi'ʔɛ — *ta pi' tɛ*

see § 50,

(β) *nɛ* — *ɛ*:

wahɛ'nɛca — *wahɛ'.ɛca*

(γ) *n* — *h*:

These two sounds are interchangeable in initial position only:

na — *ha*

(δ) *ts* — *dʒ*, *tc* — *dj*:

The surd affricative changes often but not always into the sonant when it occurs within a word:

tset'ε — *na'dzet'ε*

tse — *no'ndze*

tci — *s'q'dji*

§§ 11—14. C. RELATIVE FREQUENCY AND GROUPING OF SOUNDS

§ 11. RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF SOUNDS

An analysis of a few pages of texts (taken from different tales to avoid the frequent repetition of the same words) yielded the following distribution of sounds:

<i>i</i> = 79	<i>o</i> = 21	<i>m</i> = 0	<i>k</i> = 0
<i>ι</i> = 41	<i>q</i> = 99	<i>f</i> = 13	<i>x</i> = 4
<i>ł</i> = 4	<i>u</i> = 11	<i>d</i> = 66	<i>χ</i> = 23
<i>e</i> = 0	<i>v</i> = 0	<i>τ</i> = 41	<i>l</i> = 41
<i>ə</i> = 31	<i>ʋ</i> = 0	<i>t</i> = 26	<i>ł</i> = 18
<i>ε</i> = 169	<i>y</i> = 20	<i>n</i> = 146	<i>dz</i> = 11
<i>ξ</i> = 30	<i>w</i> = 36	<i>s</i> = 9	<i>dj</i> = 66
<i>a</i> = 185	<i>h</i> = 146	<i>c</i> = 18	<i>ts</i> = 14
<i>q</i> = 1	<i>b</i> = 3	<i>g</i> = 48	<i>tc</i> = 3
<i>α</i> = 1	<i>p</i> = 2	<i>κ</i> = 27	
<i>o</i> = 43	<i>p</i> = 2	<i>k</i> = 34	

Although the number of sounds analysed in this index is not sufficient to represent accurately the numerical proportion of sounds in Yuchi, it is sufficiently large to demonstrate the following points:

Among the vowels the closed *a* (as in father) and the open *ε* occur most frequently while open *a* and closed *e* are lacking almost entirely. *i* and *o* are fairly equally distributed. *u* occurs much less frequently than all other vowels which, however, may be due to the fact that it does not occur in any of the pronominal forms.

As to consonants there is a considerable predominance of the nasal *n* and the spirant *h*. The stops come next, the dentals being the most and the labials the least frequent ones. The other numbers are not sufficiently large to permit any generalizations.

Comparing all vowels with all consonants we find a proportion of 771 vowels to 729 consonants.

§ 12. DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS AND CONSONANTS WITHIN A WORD

An analysis of several hundred mono- and bisyllabic words yielded the following distribution of vowels and consonants:

v
 c v
 v c v
 c c v
 v c c v
 c v c v
 c c v c v
 c v c c v
 v c v c v

This list gives the possible combinations only without reference to the relative frequency of their occurrence. Such a list would be difficult to obtain as there are many homonyms and derived stems which would render the results irrelevant. Approximately, the combination *v c v* is the most frequent one, next to which come the monosyllabic stems consisting of *c v*.

§ 13. INITIAL AND FINAL POSITION

Both vowels and consonants occur in initial position. A survey of several hundred verbal and nominal stems shows that every sound occurs in initial position except the vowels *e*, *u*, and *v*, and the spirants *x* and *ɣ*. With the exception of the temporal *-djin* (see p. 118) all words end in a vowel which may be open, closed, nasalized, aspirated or glottalized.

§ 14. CONSONANTIC CLUSTERS

The juxtaposition of two consonantic sounds is not frequent, as may be seen from the list of sound-combinations given above in the paragraph on "distribution of vowels and consonants." Out of the nine sound-combinations that occur only four have consonants in juxtaposition (*cev*, *vecv*, *cevev*, *evcev*). Clusters of more than two consonants do not seem to occur at all (except in cases of *m*, *n*, *x* or *ɣ* developed from nasalized or aspirated vowels. see § 9).

By far not all consonants can stand in juxtaposition. The only combinations that have been found in more than 3000 words and word complexes are: the fricatives *s* and *c* with the stops *p*, *p*, *d*, *t*, *k*, *k*, resulting in *sp*, *sp*, *sd*, *cp*, *cp*, *cd*, etc.; the dental stops *t* and *t* with *n* = *tn*, *tn*, and, finally, *n* followed by *d*, *t*, *tw*, *s*, *c*, *ts*, *tc*, *tsw*, *tcw*, and *l*. (for examples see §§ 24, 45).

§§ 15—16. D. ACCENT

§ 15. ACCENT IN BISYLLABIC WORDS

In Yuchi the significance of stress is more psychological and semantic than morphological. There is no primary position of the accent on a fixed syllable within the word-unit. Nevertheless certain tendencies may be observed: With bisyllabic nominal stems the accent in most cases falls on the second syllable. This seems to be due to the fact that the second syllable, as a rule, modifies and specifies the first syllable which represents the general element:

yɔs pa' pecan
yɔnt'o' acorn

yɔc pi' walnut

see § 24.

In some cases the position of the accent has a semantic significance, e. g.:

<i>ca'ya</i> squirrel	<i>caya'</i> weeds
<i>ne'wenʔ</i> this	<i>newe'nʔ</i> these

Nominalized verbal stems (see § 25) that end in the suffix *-ne* have the stress on either the first or the second syllable, e. g.:

<i>gone'</i> baby	<i>tso'ne</i> pig nut
<i>gwa'ne</i> owl	<i>tse'ne'</i> dog
<i>cane'</i> duck	<i>se'ne'</i> iron
<i>c'rine'</i> spoon	<i>se'ne</i> bird

The bisyllabic nouns of a third group seem to be composed of two monosyllabic stems of equal value with the accent on either the first or the second syllable, e. g.:

<i>ɾʔ'ra</i> light	<i>a'ga</i> day
<i>nʔnʔ'</i> creek	<i>p'i'hɛ</i> noise

etc.

In bisyllabic verbal stems the position of the accent seems to be entirely irregular (see § 45).

§ 16. ACCENT IN POLYSYLLABIC WORD-UNITS

(a) Primary and secondary accent

In most word-units that consist of more than two syllables we may distinguish a primary (') and a secondary (˘) accent. As in the case of the bisyllabic words it is impossible to recognize definite rules as to the position of both accents: The secondary accent may precede or follow the primary accent, both may stand close together, or they may be separated by several syllables, e. g.:

<i>a'gawaha'lə</i> days many	<i>raha'hʔnʔ'</i> the older one
<i>anehe'nedʒi'n</i> we used to stay there	<i>hʔwelane'ce'dʒi</i> (the road) that he used to go

(b) Change of accent in compounded words

(a) If two nouns are compounded the more specialized noun usually carries the main accent:

<i>goc'i-bilo'ne</i> shirt (cloth round)	<i>yudac'i'-rene'</i> door-lock
<i>yu-dac'i'</i> door (house-mouth)	<i>yn'so-yas'i'</i> pine-stick

(β) Whenever contractions take place the contracted syllable is stressed:

gə'nt'ewε'nʔ becomes *gənt'o'nʔ*
(cp. § 3).

Pitch accent, if it occurs at all, is of no grammatical-significance.

§ 17. E. QUANTITY

Aside from its grammatical and semantic significance (see § 54) the quantity of vowels figures phonetically in cases of vowel con-

tractions. Thus the vowels resulting from the contractions discussed above (see § 3) are lengthened: $i + u\epsilon$ becomes u^1 , ahi becomes a etc.

In rapid speech the last vowel that is stressed in each sentence is often lengthened and slightly raised in pitch.

§ 18. II. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The following grammatical processes may be distinguished in Yuchi:

1. Compounding (see §§ 24, 48),
2. Prefixing (see §§ 30—42, 57—59),
3. Suffixing (see §§ 25—27, 50—56),
4. Reduplication (see §§ 27, 54),
5. Nasalization (see § 51),
6. Position (see §§ 22, 32).

§§ 19—22. III. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY MORPHOLOGICAL DEVICES

§ 19. A. NOMINAL IDEAS

The basic element in the nominal complex is the mono- or bisyllabic stem which is either primary or a compound of several primary stems. Apart from this class of stems a word can be nominalized by suffixing a noun-forming element to an adjectival or verbal stem.

Nouns are classified by means of article-suffixes as animate and inanimate. Within the former group a general dividing line is drawn between members of the tribe and all other animate beings, the former again being distinguished according to kinship and sex. Within the second, the inanimate group, the distinction between round, upright and horizontal dimensions of objects serves as the classifying principle.

The idea of number is not very well developed. Both collectivity and plurality of inanimate objects are denoted by one nominal suffix which replaces the classificatory suffixes of the singular forms. With animate nouns the distinction between tribal and non-tribal is upheld by two distinct plural suffixes while the kinship and sex differentiations are reduced to a few forms. When the number is indicated by numerals or numeral adverbs like "a few", "many" etc. the plural suffixes do not occur.

Local and temporal distribution (here and there, in places, now

¹ Lengthening of vowels is denoted by a raised dot following the vowel.

and then etc.) are expressed by reduplication of the nominal or adjectival stem (see § 54).

Locative concepts are expressed in the noun by a few suffixes of a general character (see § 29), the more specific expressions of location always being found in verbal prefixes or in independent locatives.

§ 20. B. PRONOMINAL IDEAS

The pronoun is by far the best developed grammatical category of the Yuchi language. Except in the independent emphatic forms it does not constitute a word-unit by itself but is prefixed either to the noun or to the verb.

Personal and possessive pronouns have first, second, and third persons singular, an inclusive and exclusive first person plural (but no dual) and a second person plural. The third person plural is identical with that of the singular. Within the third person the same ideas are distinguished as in the nouns designating animate objects, viz.: tribal membership as against all other animate beings, different degrees of kinship-relationship between the speaker and the person referred to (this includes reference to sex in some pronominal forms), and male and female speech. There is only one third person referring to inanimate objects with no further distinction as to the shape or dimension of the object.

The personal pronouns have three subjective series, the first implying a general and the second a specific object, while the third one is independent and emphatic. Furthermore there are a direct objective and an indirect objective series. The reflexive series consist of contracted forms of the first two subjective series and the direct objective series.

Among the possessive pronouns four distinct series may be recognized with forms parallel to the personal pronouns. It has not been possible, however, to show corresponding differences in meaning between the four series.

The ideas of dual reciprocity (e. g.: they [two] talk to each other) and of plural reciprocity (e. g. they [many] fight one another) are expressed by two particles, placed between the pronoun and the verbal stem.

The interrogative pronouns are not well developed. There is only one formative prefix that can be modified by compounding it with various other elements, especially the classifying suffixes (see § 26).

There are two general demonstrative prefixes corresponding to English "this" and "that" which are modified by compounding with the classifying elements discussed above.

§ 21. C. THE VERB:

The verbal, like the nominal stems, are either monosyllabic or compounds of several elements of speech which cluster round a primary verbal stem. Furthermore verbs are formed by suffixing a verbalizing element to nouns, adjectives, adverbials and even prefixes (e. g. "to be on," "to be inside" etc.)

The ideas of a general and a specific object of the verb are expressed by two different pronominal series (see § 31). With some verbs this approaches the distinction between transitive and intransitive (e. g. I burn a field, and I am burning [as a state]).

Instrumentality as a general concept (without implication or mentioning of the instrument) is expressed by a prefix, the range of which extends beyond those verbs the English equivalents of which are usually thought to involve an instrumental (see § 57).

Locatives which are suffixed when they modify the noun are prefixed when they function in the verbal complex (see above).

All other ideas modifying the verbal stem are expressed by suffixes. The tenses are comparatively well developed. Approximately the forms express: 1) The incomplete past (corresponding closely to the English imperfect), 2) the completed past, 3) the near future, and 4) the distant future. These ideas, moreover, are considerably extended and modified by compounding the temporal suffixes with modal and other elements. Such compounds are understood as units with a stereotyped meaning and may be considered secondary temporal suffixes.

The following modes may be distinguished: The infinitive (the verbal stem prefixed by an impersonal pronoun "people" or "human"), the indicative, the imperative, the hortative, the potential, the emphatic, the mood denoting "ability" and, finally, the interrogative. Except the infinitive they are all indicated by suffixes.

There are only a few aspects that are denoted by formal devices: The continuative or durative, the habitual, the reiterative and the distributive, the last two being denoted by reduplication of the verbal stem.

Comparison is expressed both in adjectives and static verbs, a distinction being made between the degrees "quite", "too" and "very". The suffix denoting "very" also occurs with the meaning of a true superlative while the comparative can only be expressed by the adverbial "more" following the adjective which it modifies.

§ 22. D. SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE

The definition of the word-unit in Yuchi cannot be given in absolute terms as it is extremely flexible, due to the far reaching

processes of compounding. The determination of the word-unit in one direction, viz. its minimal extent, is indicated clearly by the criterion of the independent and meaningful unit¹. Although this is a subjective criterion which does not primarily rest upon formal (e. g. phonetic) principles, it seems to be the only valid principle of classifying the elements of speech into independent words and affixes.

The upper limit of the word-unit, viz. the maximal size of a compound, is more difficult to determine. Thus noun plus adjective may be considered as two independent words in juxtaposition or as a nominal compound (see § 24b).

Wherever affixes enter into a compound the word-unit is determined by the first prefix and the last suffix modifying the central stem; e. g.: *ha-hi-ta-we-p'a'-te-dji'n* = they could not pull up with; *p'a* is the verbal stem "pull"; *ha-hi-ta-we* are the various prefixes: *ha-* negative, *hi* instrumental, *ta-* locative, *we-* personal pronoun "they"; *-te* is the suffix denoting ability and *-dji'n* the temporal suffix, indicating the incomplete past.

Proclitics and enclitics which modify the whole sentence are loosely connected with the word with which they precede or follow, and do not form with them word units.

As the nominal complex precedes the verbal complex it was sometimes difficult to decide whether we are dealing with a nominal suffix or a verbal prefix. Thus in the sentence: *yu-ti-hq-la-djin* house-into-he-go-past, *ti* may be considered suffixed to the noun *yu* or prefixed to the verb *la*. In such cases the decision has been made either on phonetic grounds (accent and hiatus between two words) or by analogy with parallel forms where the position of the affix clearly indicates whether it belongs to the nominal or the verbal complex.

The following types of word-units may be distinguished:

- 1) The noun or nominal complex,
- 2) The independent (emphatic) pronoun,
- 3) The verb or verbal complex,
- 4) The independent particle (locative, temporal, conjunctive, adverbial and exclamatory).

The position of the various pre- and suffixes within the word-unit is definite. Of the prefixes the pronouns (both personal and possessive) stand nearest to the stem, the objective pronoun in most forms preceding the subjective pronoun (see § 32). In the nominal complex there are no prefixes apart from the possessive pronouns, the demonstratives being independent words preceding and following the nominal complex. In the verbal complex the personal

¹ This could be ascertained in each case by isolating certain parts of word-complexes and asking my informants for their meaning. Whenever this could not be given without putting the element in question into a larger context I have called it an affix or an enclitic respectively.

pronouns are preceded by the locative prefixes and by the instrumental, the latter preceding the former. If there is a proclitic (e. g. the negative *na-*) it precedes all other prefixes.

Of the suffixes the nominalizing and verbalizing elements immediately follow the stem. In the nominal complex the only other suffixes are the classifying elements (singular and plural forms) which are followed by the general locatives (see § 29). In the verbal complex the sequence of suffixes is: Comparative, modal, interrogative, temporal. The enclitics, as a rule, follow the temporal suffixes (see accompanying chart with analysed verb forms).

Proclit.	Instrum.	Locative	Pronouns			Reciprocal	Stem	Modal	Interrogat.	Temporal	Enclitics
			Object-ive	Sub-jective	Object-ivo						
1.				<i>hɔ</i>			<i>ce</i>			<i>dji'n</i>	<i>we'nɔ</i>
2.				<i>nɔ</i>			<i>fe</i>	<i>ne'</i>		<i>djin</i>	
3.	<i>hi'</i>			<i>di</i>			<i>p'a</i>			<i>dji'n</i>	
4.		<i>ke</i>		<i>we'</i>			<i>he</i>	<i>ne</i>		<i>djin</i>	<i>we'nɔ</i>
5.		<i>a'</i>					<i>(x)dji</i>			<i>dji'nfwa</i>	
6.		<i>ti'</i>		<i>hɔ</i>			<i>'ɔ</i>			<i>dji'nfwa</i>	
7.				<i>hɔ</i>	<i>nɔtso'</i>		<i>pi'pi</i>				
8.				<i>hɔ</i>	<i>dzo</i>		<i>tyɔ'</i>				
9.				<i>ho(hɔ)</i>	<i>nɔ'dzo</i>		<i>gwa</i>				<i>he'la</i>
10.			<i>nendze'</i>	<i>di</i>			<i>rne</i>			<i>djin</i>	
11.			<i>hɔ</i>	<i>do</i>			<i>ci'</i>				
12. <i>na</i>		<i>ka</i>		<i>hɔ</i>		<i>k'ɔ'</i>	<i>fe</i>				<i>he</i>
13.				<i>we</i>		<i>k'a'</i>	<i>fa</i>			<i>dji'n</i>	
14.				<i>hɔ</i>	<i>nɔdzə</i>	<i>k'ɔ'</i>	<i>la</i>			<i>dji'n</i>	
15.		<i>ta</i>		<i>o</i>			<i>fa'</i>				<i>ɔɔ</i>
16.				<i>hɔ</i>			<i>wo</i>	<i>ne'</i>			<i>to</i>
17.		<i>ke</i>		<i>ne</i>			<i>fa'</i>				<i>lahɔ</i>
18.		<i>pe</i>		<i>we'</i>			<i>dji</i>			<i>djinfwa</i>	
19.		<i>kyā'</i>					<i>weda</i>				<i>ce'ha</i>
20.		<i>kyā'</i>					<i>tcu</i>	<i>te</i>			
21.				<i>a</i>			<i>tsa'</i>		<i>la</i>		
22.			<i>hɔ</i>	<i>ne</i>			<i>rne'</i>		<i>la</i>		
23.	<i>hi'</i>			<i>di</i>			<i>nɔ</i>				
24.	<i>hi</i>			<i>do</i>			<i>k'ɔ</i>			<i>djin</i>	
25.				<i>we</i>			<i>'we'de</i>				<i>ce'dji</i>
26. <i>na</i>		<i>tcya'</i>		<i>di</i>			<i>tcya</i>				
27. <i>na</i>				<i>yɔ'</i>			<i>wɔ</i>				
29. <i>na'</i>			<i>tse</i>	<i>'a</i>			<i>pa</i>	<i>nɔ'</i>			
29.			<i>hɔ'</i>				<i>hɔle'</i>	<i>nɔ</i>			
30.				<i>di</i>			<i>wado'</i>	<i>go</i>			

Translations of analysed verbal forms on accompanying chart:

- 1) those who had died, 248,18
- 2) we used to go, 260,2
- 3) I was born from, 104,46
- 4) those that used to stay there, 248,7
- 5) it happened to be there, 286,17
- 6) she had put in, 86,41
- 7) they fiddle for us, 14,12
- 8) he scolded me, 262,19
- 9) when they said to us only, 266,17
- 10) I saw you
- 11) I pity him
- 12) and there when they went with her, 22,8
- 13) they hit one another, 302,39
- 14) they went with us, 272,14
- 15) while he was standing on, 256,34
- 16) whether he used to fish, 280,10
- 17) you are standing here and so, 134,16
- 18) she had been up there, 40,23
- 19) (things) that I have gone through, [weda = I go, § 35, 10], 286,26
- 20) it could pass through, 266,9
- 21) are you asleep? 14,11
- 22) do you see him?
- 23) I become with
- 24) I made with
- 25) (something) that he talked about, 260,2
- 26) not into the water I jump (I wanted), 262,21
- 27) not they give (they wanted), 116,26
- 28) do not turn me loose! 102,31
- 29) catch him! 126,76
- 30) I may die, 94,45

The sentence structure is comparatively simple and very regular. The simple sentence consists of a subject noun (which may be modified by attributes, classifying suffixes etc.), an object noun, and the predicative verbal complex in which the subject and object are always repeated in the forms of the personal pronouns. Thus the sentence: "the man saw the horse" is rendered in Yuchi: *gɔnt'ɛ'nɔ b'axɾɛ'wənɔ wɛ'hɔɾnɛ* Man the — horse the — it he saw. If there are several verbal ideas they are expressed by juxtaposition of verbal complexes (e. g. p. 92, 31: How to get home she did not know but she ran, she kept on, she went).

The position of the independent particles seems to be free; they either precede or follow the subject (e. g. the rolling stone there it was in the water, he found).

Sentences are coordinated and subordinated by enclitics (see §§ 60—63) placed following the verb of the first clause. Subordination of a clause under a word (corresponding to the English relative clause) is achieved by suffixing enclitics to the last element of the relative clause (see § 62 b).

The more specific features of syntax will be dealt with in the following discussion of morphology.

§§ 23—69. IV. MORPHOLOGY

§§ 23—29. A. THE NOUN

Although in a few exceptional cases there is no distinction between nominal and verbal or adjectival stems¹ noun and verb can, as a rule, be clearly distinguished. However, nouns can often be used in a predicative sense and verbs, on the other hand, can be transformed into nominal forms. The specific positions taken by the nominal and verbal categories will be elucidated through the subsequent discussion of the nominal and verbal complexes.

The nominal stem is either monosyllabic or polysyllabic. All polysyllabic stems which may be compounds of practically every element of speech, belong to one class and differ only in the degree to which the compounded elements are fused together. While this fusion in some bisyllabic stems is so firm (and probably so old) that they cannot be analyzed into their compounding elements, others yield to analysis easily. The stems of more than two syllables can almost always be reduced to their component elements. Nevertheless, they function as stems and can only be modified by affixation to the whole unit.

§ 23. Monosyllabic stems

The number of monosyllabic stems is limited to a short list of words of rather elementary meaning:

<i>i</i>	tobacco	<i>tso</i>	mint
<i>o</i>	horn	<i>tce</i>	belly
<i>ya</i>	wood, tree, log	<i>tcu</i>	bed
<i>'yɔ</i>	star, spider, uncle	<i>tcu</i>	penis
<i>yu</i>	house	<i>s'a</i>	earth
<i>'yu</i>	pain	<i>ci</i>	juice
<i>wa</i>	summer	<i>c'ε</i>	pond, lake
<i>pa</i>	sack	<i>ca</i>	farm, field
<i>pa</i>	evening	<i>ca</i>	snake
<i>ri</i>	rock	<i>co</i>	body
<i>dju</i>	boat	<i>cu</i>	string
<i>dε</i>	leg	<i>cu</i>	fish
<i>τξ</i>	cedar	<i>c'u</i>	vine
<i>ta</i>	face	<i>cpa</i>	blackberry
<i>ta</i>	heart	<i>gε</i>	tooth
<i>to</i>	potatoe	<i>ko</i>	neck
<i>ri</i>	name	<i>k'o</i>	throat
<i>tc'i</i>	eye	<i>k'u</i>	tribe, country
<i>tε</i>	water	<i>la</i>	bullet
<i>ts'ε</i>	jay-bird	<i>la'</i>	cause
<i>tso</i>	sun		

¹ *a'ga* means as well "day" as "it comes"; *dit'a'* "my heart", and "I want"; *dit'ac'ε'* "my breast" and "I am jealous".

§ 24. POLYSYLLABIC STEMS

(a) *Bisyllabic stems*

Bisyllabic stems are by far more numerous than the monosyllabic ones and, in fact, comprise the bulk of nominal stems. As to their structure we may distinguish three groups:

(α) Compounds, consisting of a noun plus an adjective, both of which also occur as independent words; e. g.:

yꞑspa' pecan (*yꞑ* nut, *spa* oblong)
yꞑcpi' walnut (*cpi* black)
gocpi' negro (*go* human being)

(β) Compounds, consisting of a monosyllabic noun plus a specifying element which does not occur as independent word. A few typical examples of this second group are furnished by the derivatives formed from the nominal stems *ya* tree, log, wood; *go* human being; and *cu* fish:

<i>yawꞑ'</i>	shade, shadow	<i>goyu'</i>	ache, pain, sickness
<i>ya'ha</i>	forest, timber, wilderness	<i>goha'</i>	old
<i>yapo'</i>	peach	<i>gop'a'</i>	shawl
<i>yafe'</i>	prairie	<i>got'ε'</i>	man
<i>ya'dzꞑ</i>	scratcher	<i>got'o'</i>	child
<i>yas'a'</i>	woods	<i>gone'</i>	baby
<i>yaso'</i>	pine	<i>gotξ'</i>	ghost, wizard
<i>ya'ha</i>	war-stick, war-staff	<i>gont'ε'</i>	person
<i>ya't'a'</i>	gun	<i>gok'a'</i>	vulva
<i>yas'i'</i>	stick, switch		
<i>yasta'</i>	table	<i>cuca'</i>	eel
<i>yace'</i>	charcoal	<i>cucpa'</i>	garfish
<i>yac'a'</i>	leaf	<i>cuxri'</i>	catfish
<i>yact'a'</i>	camp		
<i>yaꞑdju'</i>	limb, branch		
<i>yaꞑri'</i>	fire		

(γ) Compounds, consisting of a general theme-element the meaning of which cannot be ascertained plus a specifying element which may occur as an independent word or not. Such theme-elements are: *wε*, *tε*, *ra*, *ca* etc.

wε- theme:

<i>wε'yꞑ'</i>	deer	<i>wεca'</i>	chicken
<i>wεyu'</i>	lard, oil	<i>wεc'o'</i>	tiger, panther
<i>wεhi'</i>	feather	<i>wεla'</i>	hawk
<i>wεp'a'</i>	fin	<i>wεc'ε'</i>	bone
<i>wεdza'ꞑ</i>	hog	<i>wεctꞑ'</i>	winter

ca- theme:

<i>ca'ε'</i>	rattle snake	<i>cane'</i>	duck
<i>ca'ya</i>	squirrel	<i>cagξ'</i>	beaver
<i>caya'</i>	weeds	<i>cal'o'</i>	crow
<i>ca'fa</i>	moon	<i>cadi'</i>	paddle

*τ*ε- theme:

<i>τεζ'</i>	bullfrog	<i>τετι'</i>	root
<i>τερ'α'</i>	bottom	<i>τεσα'</i>	ankle
<i>τεδju'</i>	strawberry	<i>τεσα'</i>	clean
<i>τετα'</i>	edge	<i>τεκ'ι'</i>	track

τα- theme:

<i>ταρι'</i>	salt	<i>τασα'</i>	fishotter
<i>ταρε'</i>	end	<i>τακ'ε'</i>	ball
<i>ταρ'α'</i>	turtle	<i>τασι'</i>	sputum
<i>τατα'</i>	bin, crib	<i>ταχτα'</i>	forehead
<i>ταστι'</i>	basket	<i>τακα'</i>	notch
<i>ταστυ'</i>	soft end of a grain of corn		

(b) *Polysyllabic stems*

Nominal stems of three and more syllables are always compounds of several words. Although there is no limitation as to the number of compounded elements, the possible combinations are restricted to the following basic types:

1) Noun plus noun:

- hocduda'c'i* gate (*hocdu'* fence, *da'c'i* mouth)
tseTa'Pa bank of a river (*tse* water, *Ta'Pa* edge)
tsot'okaP'o' cornbread (*tsot'o'* corn, *kaP'o'* bread)
k'a'ndiTaPi' bacon (*k'a'ndi* meat, *TaPi* salt)
ya'soyas'i' pine-stick (*ya'so* pine, *yas'i'* stick)
wetciayont'o' chicken-egg (*wetcia* chicken, *yont'o'* egg)

2) Noun plus adjective:

- ya'po'εPacPa'* pear (*ya'po* peach, *εPacPa'* oval)
ya'TεPi'Po wheel (pine lumber round)
yaces'i' spark (coal little)
ya'po'atiχTitaPiha' lemon (peach big yellow sour ones)
ya'stemPado' fog (smoke dark)
yac'aχTi' autumn (leaves yellow)
yaχPi'Po' wagon (wood round)
yaχPi'osa'ga buggy (wagon light)
γp'igε' sword (knife long)
Titcya'taTi' copper (stone (rock) red yellow)
Tikap'a' rock-cave
yakap'a' hollow tree (tree cave)
toTapiε' sweet potatoe (potatoe sweet)
tsebaka' whisky (water bitter)
tseadjuge' wine, vinegar (water sour)
seneta'tsa parrot (bird noisy)
sεs'igε' needle (iron little)
ka'os'i' biscuit (bread small)
ka'os'i'ka'pa roll (bread small swollen)

3) Noun plus neutral verb:

- tsot'o'bilika'* corn meal (corn round pulverized)
s'ayucu' earthquake (earth shakes)
yɔ'itc'o' pocket knife (knife bends)

4) Noun plus suffix:

- agqfa'* east (day towards)
aga'le morning (day again)
yastarek'ɔ' chair (board leg[s] with)

5) Noun plus independent particle:

- sɛhafa'* heaven (good[ness] towards)
s'ayub'a' hill (earth upward)
c'iɛhafa' hell (bad[ness] towards)
ka'opohe' pie (bread under)

6) Noun plus possessive pronoun plus noun:

- yahot'o'* fruit (*ya* tree, *ho* its, *t'o* fruit)
yapi'ohict'ɛ' road (wagon its path)
yapitoriraho'i'ct'ɛ railroad (wagon inside burns its road)
'yɔwek'i' spider web (spider its web)
b'axɾewetsole' barn (horse its home)
crahot'o' blackberry seed (blackberry its seed)

(see possessive pronouns § 39).

Each of these types, of course, can take the part of the noun in the same or any of the other types whereby the number of actual combinations becomes considerably larger. Thus the word for railroad *yapir'otiraho'i'ct'ɛ* is a combination of the types 2 plus 4 plus 3 plus 6 as the following analysis shows:

- yapi'p'o'* wood round > noun plus adjective (type 2)
yapi'p'o ti wagon inside > noun plus suffix (type 4)
yapir'oti pa (wagon inside) burns > noun plus verb (type 3)
yapir'otipa ho 'ic'p'ɛ (wagon inside burns) its path > noun plus possessive pronoun plus noun (type 6)

§ 25. NOMINALIZATION

As has been shown in the preceding discussion of polysyllabic nouns the first element in any nominal compound is always a primary nominal stem. This initial element seems to determine the nominal character of the whole compound. In all cases, however, where an active verb enters into the nominal compound the verbal element weighs so strong that the suffixation of a nominalizing element *-ne* is required. This suffix is identical with the verbal habitual and it seems possible that its nominalizing force rests upon the implied idea of frequent repetition.

Examples:

- yaχti pa'ne* fireplace (*yaχti* fire, *pa* burn)
wε'yɔpone' elk > deercaller (*wε'yɔ'* deer, *pɔ* call)
tek'ik'ɔ'ne trackmaker (*tek'ik'* track, *k'ɔ* make) *
tsep'ene' drunkard (*tse* water, *p'e* drink)
culane' fish otter (*cu* fish, *la* eat)
b'aχtolane' oats (*b'aχte* horse, *la* eat)
ic'εc'ene' soldier (*ic'ε* road, *c'e* watch)

A number of animal names which do not yield to analysis seem to have been formed after the same pattern:

<i>ca'ane'</i>	duck	<i>c'etane'</i>	black bird
<i>capane'</i>	wildcat	<i>gosone'</i>	goat
<i>caɟwane'</i>	rabbit	<i>gwa'ne</i>	owl
<i>catione'</i>	fox	<i>tcone'</i>	ground-squirrel

In a few cases *-ne* is suffixed to a noun plus adjective compound which seems to be exceptional:

- hocru's'iene'* garden (fence little)
s'ahistrane' prairie (earth flat)
decone' May (mulberry ripe)
cracone' June (blackberry ripe)

Single verbal stems are nominalized by suffixing *-ne* to the infinitive form of the verb which is formed by the verbal stem and a general pronominal prefix *go-* human being, people (see § 34).

Thus:

- goeri'* to dance becomes *goerine'* a dance
gotwa' to kill becomes *gotwane'* a murder
gota' to eat becomes *golane'* food
go'e' to lie becomes *go'ene'* bed, bedspread
gokyɔ'wɔ to think becomes *gokyɔwɔne'* thought

While practically all verbal stems can be nominalized in this way only a few adjectives can be transformed into nouns:

- pi'po* round becomes *pi'pone'* wheel
ispi' black becomes *ispine'* blackness
c'ie' bad becomes *c'iene'* badness, ugliness

cf. however:

- ta'pi* salt, salty
pado' dark, night
ta'pisε' sweet, sugar
ta'ts'a noisy, *tea'hc* noise
hicah'i' hot, heat

§ 26. CLASSIFICATION

Nouns are classified in several groups by a number of article suffixes, the main principle of classification being that of a distinction between animate and inanimate objects. Within the first group

of nouns, designating animate beings, the article suffixes are differentiated into two groups, one referring to members of the Yuchi tribe only and the other one to all other animate beings, comprising all humans outside the tribe, animals and a few mythological beings such as the Sun and the Moon. The further differentiation is restricted to the tribal group within which different degrees of kinship are distinguished (for the exact definition of these kinship classifications see the chapter on personal pronouns, § 31).

The suffixes denoting these various ideas are:

1) tribal:

-n _ɔ	} denoting different degrees of kinship and male and female speech, see § 31
-se'n _ɔ	
-s'e'n _ɔ	
-e'n _ɔ	
-o'n _ɔ	
-i'n _ɔ	

2) non-tribal:

-wən_ɔ'

Examples:

ta'tawən_ɔ the wolf

gəm'ən_ɔ' the (Yuchi) man

gəm'ewən_ɔ' the man (a white man, and Indian of another tribe, a negro, etc.)

tsowatne'sen_ɔ my sister

dotaoones'e'n_ɔ my brother

ditschē'e'n_ɔ my mother

tset'ē'i'n_ɔ my father

The inanimate objects are differentiated into three parallel groups of equal importance:

1) objects with a prevailingly vertical dimension (such as standing poles, trees, high mountains, tall houses etc.).

2) objects with a prevailingly horizontal dimension (such as lakes, streams, roads, fields, logs lying on the ground, etc.).

3) objects of a roundish shape or, generally speaking, of a dimension that is indifferent to the ideas of vertical and horizontal (such as rocks, bushy trees, chairs etc.).

The suffixes expressing these are: vertical = *-fa*, horizontal = *-ε*, and round = *-dji*. They are identical with the verbal stems "to stand", "to lie", and "to sit".

Examples:

ya'fa the tree

yu'fa the house

ya'ε' the log

s'a'ε' the field

n_ɔ'n_ɔ'ε the creek

r'i'dji the rock

yasradek'ɔ'dji the chair

Abstract nouns and nouns the physical extension of which is insignificant may be grouped under any one of the three categories. A few examples from the text will illustrate this usage:

tseŋa'paɣdʒi my strength
dita'ɣdʒi my heart
hɣwedeŋe'ʔe their language
k'alagoyune'ʔe the sickness
ɣɕicine'ʔe the poverty

tse'ɕ'ε' the rain
k'ala'ʔe the thing
tsewoneja' my spirit
diteifa' my eye

§ 27. NUMBER

With all inanimate objects plurality and collectivity are expressed by a suffix *-ha* which takes the place of the classifying suffixes *-fa*, *-ʔe* and *-dʒi*. If the noun is followed by one or several adjectives, *-ha* is suffixed to the last adjective modifying the noun. There is no dual form of the noun.

Examples:

ya'ha trees
yagɕ'ha long trees
yas'ie'ha small logs
yuha' houses
yu'a'yaɣkaha' big white houses
golak'ɔ'neha food
tsoka'ɣkaha flour
tsosoriha' sugar
tobioloha' a pile of potatoes

If the noun is modified by a numeral or by adverbials implying the idea of plurality *-ha* is not suffixed:

yanɣwe' two trees
yatala' four trees
yuk'a'ʔe a few houses
wawaha'le many summers (*waha'le* many)

Nouns denoting animate beings are pluralized by the addition of suffixes that correspond closely to the singular forms of the article suffixes. While the distinction between Yuchi and non-Yuchi and between male and female speech is carried over to the plural, the various degrees of kinship relation (expressed by *hɣ*, *se*, *s'ε* in the singular) are not expressed in the plural forms. Thus we have:

1) tribal members:

- a) male speech: *-he'nɣ*
- b) female speech: *-o'nɣ*
-i'nɣ

2) animate beings outside of the tribe:

-we'nɣ

Examples:

gnt'ehé'nɣ the people
doŋa'oŋe'ʔo'nɣ my brothers (woman talking)
ɔndzetsé'ɕ'i'nɣ our fathers (women talking)
gocpiwé'nɣ the negroes
b'aɣɣwe'nɣ the horses

With a number of tribal names the plural suffix for inanimate objects *-ha* occurs as an element of the stem without, however, denoting plurality:

yudjîha' a Yuchi
yudjîhahé'nq the Yuchi Indians
sagehawé'nq the Sac and Fox
kacahawé'nq the Chickasaw
panéwa' hawé'nq the Pawnee
waca'cihawé'nq the Osages

Another device for expressing plurality is that of reduplication of the stem. Although in a few instances nouns representing inanimate objects are thus pluralized (e. g. *k'ala'* a thing, *k'akala'* things, but also *k'alaha'*) this device is principally limited to a number of kinship terms:

tsiorané' my (♂) brother
tsioratané' my (♂) brothers
tsowarne' my (♂) sister
tsowarne'tné' my (♂) sisters
dotaone' my (♀) brother
dota'one' my (♀) brothers
do'wene' my (♀) sister
do'wewene' my (♀) sisters
dis'ane' my (♂) son
dis'as'ane' my (♂) sons
di'yane' my (♂) daughter
di'ya'yane' my (♂) daughters
dots'one' my (♀) son, daughter
dots'ots'one' my (♀) sons, daughters
tset'é' my father
mdze-t'ét'ene' our fathers
di'yq' my uncle
di'yq'yme' my uncles
dîtset'és'ié' my little father
dîtset'és'i's'ine' my little fathers
dîtseh'és'ié' my little mother
dîtseh'és'i's'ine' my little mothers
dodjine' my grandchild
dodjidjine' my grandchildren

cf. however:

tsesone' my nephew
tsesonehé'nq my nephews
dîtseh'é' my mother
mdzehene' our mothers
dilaha' my grandmother
dilahane' our grandmothers (see *goha'hane'* old ones 2, 1)

§ 28. NEGATION

Negation of the noun is expressed in the same way as in the verb by prefixing *na-* and *ha-*; (see verbal negation, § 59).

Examples:

- na'gənt'ε* no person, nobody
nak'ala' not a thing, nothing
nahit'ε' noone
na'dzet'ε' no father (lit.: not my father, see 316,167)

§ 29. LOCATION

Most locative ideas are expressed by a number of verbal prefixes (see § 58) or by independent particles which, as a rule, follow the noun they modify (see § 65).

There are, however, four locative suffixes of a very general character: *-hε*, *-lε*, *-kε* and *-fa* which are suffixed to the noun:

-hε, denotes a static location near the speaker (or the object talked about) "at", or a motion away from the speaker (or the object talked about) to a certain locality within close range:

- nətsole'hε* at our home 244,1
nət'ət'kihε at our arms 248,4
s'ε'sghε at the clean ground, (ceremonial town-square) 276,39
k'a'həndəkwenε'hε at his belt 250,8
nətət'hε to the creek 270,34
s'ac'i'hε to the grave 22,8

-lε, denotes the motion "along" an object and "back" to an object (cf. the homonym *-lε* = again);

- iet'ε'le wεp'a'* along the road she looked 116,38
nətət'le' wεludji'n along the creek it went 142,15
tcule' hətje' back to the sitting logs they went 182,12
yuha'le back to the house 162,12

-kε, denotes a static location away from the speaker "yonder", "over there":

- yuxkεfa' xkε* house yonder where it was standing 294,18

-fa, denotes the motion towards an object:

- aga'fa* towards day, towards the east 148,8
əkmlvgifa' towards Okmulgee 288,11

cp. these four suffixes with their independent forms in connection with the locative prefixes, § 65.

§§ 30—42. B. THE PRONOUN

§§ 30—38. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

§ 30. (a) *Introductory*

The pronoun in Yuchi is always prefixed to the stem, both in the nominal and in the verbal complex. Within the group of personal pronouns we can distinguish eight different series:

1) subjective series, occurring with or implying a general object. (This group comprises also the subjects of intransitive verbs).

2) Subjective series, occurring with or implying a specific object.

3) Subjective independent series.

4) Direct objective series, occurring with the first subjective series.

While the distinction between the general and the specific object is recognized quite clearly when the object is a noun (see § 31), it is apparently lost when the object is a pronoun. The difference in meaning, therefore, between this and the following series is not clear.

5) Direct objective series, occurring with second subjective series.

6) Indirect objective series.

7) Reflexive series, occurring with or implying a general indirect object.

8) Reflexive series, occurring with or implying a specific indirect object.

§ 31. (b) *Subjective personal pronouns*

	Subjective 1. series	Subjective 2. series	Independent series	
Sing.	1. <i>di-</i>	<i>do-</i>	<i>di</i>	
	2. <i>nε-</i>	<i>yo-</i>	<i>tε</i>	
	3. {	<i>hɔ-</i>	<i>hɔ-</i>	<i>hɔdi'</i>
		<i>sε-</i>	<i>sio-</i>	<i>sed'i'</i>
		<i>s'ε-</i>	<i>s'io-</i>	<i>s'edi'</i>
		<i>ε-</i>	<i>εyɔ-</i>	<i>edi'</i>
		<i>o-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>odi'</i>
<i>i-</i>	—	—		
<i>wε-</i>	<i>yɔ-</i>	<i>wedi'</i>		
Plur.	1. incl. <i>ɔ-</i>	<i>ɔ-</i>	<i>ɔdi'</i>	
	1. excl. <i>nɔ-</i>	<i>nɔ-</i>	<i>nɔdi'</i>	
	2. <i>ɑ- (a-)</i>	<i>a'yɔ-</i>	<i>a'dze</i>	
	3. {	<i>hɔ-</i>	<i>hɔ-</i>	<i>hɔdi'</i>
		<i>o-</i>	—	<i>odi'</i>
		<i>i-</i>	—	—
<i>wε-</i>	<i>yɔ-</i>	<i>wedi'</i>		

As this table shows the forms of the three series are not entirely distinct. In most cases they correspond closely and in some they are even identical. Nevertheless, it does not seem possible satisfactorily to reduce the different forms to one basic series. As contractions of vowel — semi-vowel — vowel to *o* are very frequent (see phonology, § 3) it seems likely that the second series consists of the contracted forms of the first series plus an objective element. A reconstruction of the hypothetical full forms, however, has not yet been possible.

Definition of these pronouns:

dī-, *do-*, *dī* "I", are used by one person speaking regardless of who he is.

nε-, *yo-*, *tε* = "thou", refer to any second person singular regardless of who is speaking and who is addressed.

hɔ-, *hɔdī'*, are used by men only and refer to a third person singular or plural, male or female Yuchi, except certain female relatives (cp. *se*, *sio-*, *sedī'*). Their English equivalents are: he, she, and they.

se-, *sio-*, *sedī'*, are used by both men and women and refer to a third person singular female Yuchi. If used by men they are restricted to a female relative of the same or a descending generation as the speaker (sister, daughter, niece, granddaughter). They thus correspond to *s'ε-*, *s'io-* in female speech (see below). If used by women they refer to any female of the same or a descending generation whether related or not.

s'ε-, *s'io-*, *s'edī'*, are used by women only and refer to a third person singular Yuchi who is a male relative of the speaker and belongs to the same or a descending generation (brother, son, nephew, grandson).

ε-, *εyɔ-*, *εdī'*, are used by both men and women and refer to a third person singular Yuchi who is a female relative of the speaker and belongs to an ascending generation (mother, aunt, grandmother).

o-, *odī'*, are used by women only and refer either to a third person singular male Yuchi not related to the speaker or, in the plural, to any third persons Yuchi that belong to the same or a descending generation whether related or not, male or female (this pronoun must not be confused with the contracted form of the pronoun *wε-* = *o*, see phonology, § 3).

i- (which occurs in the first series only) is used by women only and refers to a third person singular male Yuchi who belongs to an ascending generation (father, uncle, grandfather, husband, and not related old men) or any third persons Yuchi who belong to an ascending generation whether related or not, male or female. It is a term of respect¹.

wε-, *yɔ-wedī'*, are used both by men and women and refer to any third person singular or plural outside of the Yuchi tribe, regardless,

¹ I failed to ascertain the corresponding pronominal form of the second series. It appears, however, that *o-*, *odī'* (the female pronouns corresponding to male *hɔ-*) is of wider meaning in the second series, so that the definition given for *o-*, *odī'* must be extended in the second series so as to comprise the ascending generation also. As these forms occur in the text only where female talk is quoted and in the tales told by my female informants (Ida and Sally Clinton) there are only a few examples to check its use.

of age, sex, race or species. They comprise, therefore, all animate beings other than the Yuchi Indians.

ʔ-, *ʔdi'*, are used by both men and women in the first person plural, including the addressed person or persons. No further distinctions are made.

nʔ-, *nʔdi'*, are used by both men and women and refer to any first persons, excluding the addressed person or persons.

q-, (*a-*), *ayo-* *a'dze*, "you" are used by both men and women and refer to any second persons, regardless of who is speaking and who is addressed.

As may be seen from this discussion of the pronominal forms the differentiation of ideas is almost exclusively restricted to the third person. As in many other languages the practical need of expressing sex, age, and kinship-relationship arises primarily in the use of these third person pronouns. The reflection of the social structure of the tribe in the pronominal forms is an interesting and rare example of an interrelation between culture and language.

Although the different third person pronouns are still clearly distinguished by the older generation¹, there are certain indications that the distinction of the various pronouns in the actual use of the language is slowly breaking down. Thus in the texts given by my female informant Ida Clinton (Yuchi Tales nos. 48—52) "*hʔ'gwa*" is often used instead of "*ogwa*" while in the texts given by her mother (nos. 44—47) the pronouns correspond with the above definitions with only three exceptions (206,3: *hʔta'*; 208,6 and 208,3[2]: *hʔgwa*). In the animal stories the pronouns referring to animals sometimes denote Yuchi and sometimes non-Yuchi. Otherwise, however, and especially in Maxey Simms' Life Story the distinction of the various pronominal ideas is carried through consistently.

The less rigid distinction of ideas in the plural forms seems to be due to the fact that in the actual use of a language the majority of plural pronominal forms refer to a heterogeneous group of people.

Examples from the texts:

dinʔ'djigo' I may have been 20,2
wɛxtsa' they slept 14,8
nʔkila' we escape 14,10
yʔfe' they went 14,14
hʔgwadji'n they said 36,15
ɛyurnʔ'cʔ she is making signs 102,31
do'ta'le I stopped 328,74
aneɣa'he when you get there 334,123
sio'ladjin she went 320,15
segwa' she said 230,2

¹ I have checked the definitions given above with three informants at three different places and there were no contradictions or uncertainties.

ogwadji'le everytime he says 208,5
ɔlaha' let us eat 42,34
yoɔdjineha' if you stay 302,28

The difference between the subjective first series implying a general object and the second series, implying a specific object, is demonstrated by the following examples:

diade' I hunt (with no definite aim in mind)
doade' I hunt (for a certain animal)
di'wede' I talk, I am talking
do'wede' I talk to somebody
di'lahɛ I offer (for anybody to accept)
dola'hɛ I offer (to a definite person)
di'yaɔtsɛ I set afire
do'yaɔtsɛ I burn (e. g. a patch of grass around a fence or haystack)
tsot'odi'ho I plant corn
tsot'o' hɔ'doho I plant corn for him
di'hi I carry on my back
do'hi I carry something on horseback
we'gwa he said
he'yɔgwa that he said

As these examples show the definition of what is a general and what is a specific object is only relative. But once defined the distinction can in each case be recognized quite clearly.

While some verbs can take the pronouns of both the first and the second series, others are restricted to one series.

1) Examples of verbal forms and their English equivalents, implying a general object:

<i>diade'</i> I hunt	<i>dite'a'</i> I drown
<i>diɔtca'</i> I groan, I grunt	<i>ditcura'</i> I listen
<i>di'ya'</i> I roast	<i>dixteu'</i> I pound
<i>diya'ha</i> I dip	<i>di'teatcwa'</i> I whisper
<i>diyahɔdi'c'o</i> I starve to death	<i>dinɔ'</i> I become
<i>diya'pɔ</i> I sow, I pour out	<i>disatɛ'</i> I scrape, I shave
<i>di'ya'gwa</i> I tell	<i>distɔ'</i> I swim
<i>diyaɔtsɛ'</i> I set afire	<i>di'ce</i> I hide myself
<i>di'yɔhɔ</i> I am hungry	<i>dicri'</i> I dance
<i>di'wi</i> I am lost	<i>dixpɔ'</i> I yell (also <i>doxpɔ'</i>)
<i>di'wedeɛ</i> I talk	<i>di'xricɛ</i> I lie on
<i>diwe'ndjidi</i> I crawl	<i>dixra'</i> I fear, I am scared
<i>diwele'</i> I wake up	<i>di'xathɛ</i> I sweep
<i>diwa'c</i> I bite	<i>di'xtsa</i> I sleep
<i>diwɔhɔ'</i> I play	<i>digɛ'pɛ</i> I smile
<i>di'wɔndji</i> I buy	<i>di'ke</i> I always say, I do say
<i>di'hi</i> I carry on my back	<i>di'k'i rɔ</i> I am lazy
<i>dih'i'tadjubi</i> I am pleased	<i>di'kila</i> I escape
<i>dih'a'</i> I breathe	<i>di'kilɔ</i> I miss
<i>dih'o'</i> I plant	<i>dik'ene'</i> I swallow
<i>dipa'</i> I file, I saw	<i>dik'ɛ'ne</i> I visit
<i>diparɛ'</i> I twist	<i>dikaga'</i> I hasten

dip'ε' I drink
dipa' I chop
tip'a' I am born
di'ja I whip
didji' I am going
di'dit.hε I pull
dirne' I see
diti' I beg
dit'awε' I loose
ditaja' I am afraid
dit'at'a' I braid
dit'as'ie' I hate
dito'patɔ' I am dizzy
dityayu' I love, I like, I am
 stingy with

di'k'a I laugh
di'k'aha' I watch
dik'ahɔ' I fight
dik'a'se I bet
di'k'ɔweɾε I read, I talk with
di'kyɔwɔ' I think
dikwane' I borrow
dilahε' I offer
di'Pi I cut
di'Pentci I chase, I run after
di'Po I dig
di'Po I bake, I roast
di'Pɔkε I push

2) Examples of verbal forms and their English equivalents, implying a specific object:

do'ɔta' I know, I foretell
do'weha' I notice, I discover
do'wede' I speak, I call
dowage' I hunt
dowq' I give
doha' I smell
doho'ε'ε I frighten, I scare some-
 body
dohol'ε' I let go
dohocpi' I use force
dohq' I take
dohɔle' I catch
dobili' I wind, I turn
dopa'pa I brush, I shake
dopε' I row
dop'ε' I grip, I squeeze
dop'a' I cut open
dop'a' I send for
dofa'ja I flap
dojɔ' I cut off
dodo' I touch
dornεga' I have an idea
do'a'le I stop
dote'wa' I hear

dotcala' I paint red, I redden
done' I blow
dos'ε' I bite a piece off
dos'ɔ' I suck
dosɾenɔ' I smash, I bust
dosɾa' I break
doci' I pity
doc'ε' I wait
doctɔ' I close
doka' I rest
dokasa' I crush
dok'we' I send
dok'ε's'ie' I sneer at, I criticize
dokwa'ne I borrow from
doxpi'Po I roll
dolaha' I eat up
dolaɾε' I cut down
dola'hε I offer to somebody
dolaha' I win
do'Pi'Pi I fiddle
dotε' I fear
dola' I weave

The pronouns of the independent series occur emphatically either without a verb or preceding the verbal pronouns. They occur with both the first and the second series:

di'diɾne I see
tse' neɾne you see
hɔdi' hɔɾne he sees
sed'i seɾne she sees

di' dop'a I cut open
tse' yop'a you cut open
hɔdi' hɔmp'a he cuts open

<i>sedì' siop'a</i>	} 3rd person cuts open
<i>s'edì' s'iop'a</i>	
<i>edì' eyǫmp'a</i>	
<i>odì' op'a</i>	
<i>wedì' yǫmp'a</i>	
<i>ǫdì' ǫmp'a</i>	we (inclusive plur.) cut open
<i>nǫdì' nǫmp'a</i>	we (exclusive plur.) cut open
<i>adze' a'yop'a</i>	you cut open

§ 32. (c) *Objective personal pronouns*

The objective personal pronouns correspond closely to the subjective pronouns. In many cases their forms are identical with the subjective pronouns but they can always be recognized as objective pronouns by their position. There are three partially distinct series, the first two denoting the direct object and the third the indirect object. The first direct objective series occurs with the first subjective series (*di-*, *ne-*, etc.) while the second direct objective and the indirect objective series occur with the second subjective series (*do-*, *yo-*, etc.). Within each series again there are two forms for most objective pronouns, each being used within a definite range of combinations with the subjective pronouns (see the following examples). The forms are:

	Direct objective first series	Direct objective second series	Indirect objective series	
Sing.	1. <i>tse</i>	<i>tse, dzio</i>	<i>tso</i>	
	2. <i>nendze</i>	<i>nendze, nendzio</i>	<i>so</i>	
	3. {	<i>hǫ, hǫdì'</i>	<i>hǫ, hǫdì'</i>	<i>hǫ</i>
		<i>se, sedì'</i>	<i>se, sedì'</i>	<i>se, sedì'</i>
		<i>s'ε, s'edì'</i>	<i>s'ε, s'edì'</i>	<i>s'ε, s'edì'</i>
		<i>ε, ξdì'</i>	<i>ε, ξdì'</i>	<i>ε, ξdì'</i>
		<i>o, odì'</i>	<i>o, odì'</i>	<i>o, odì'</i>
		<i>i, —</i>	<i>—, —</i>	<i>i, —</i>
		<i>wε, wedì'</i>	<i>wε, wedì'</i>	<i>wε, wedì'</i>
	Plur.	1. i. <i>wε, ɔndze</i>	<i>wε, ɔndzio</i>	<i>wε, ɔntso</i>
1. e. <i>wε, nɔndze</i>		<i>wε, nɔndzio</i>	<i>wε, nɔntso</i>	
2. <i>andze</i>		<i>andze, andzio</i>	<i>aso</i>	

The position of the objective pronoun shifts for the different persons. It precedes the subjective pronoun in the subjective first and second person, singular and plural and in those forms where the subjective third person and the objective third person coincide (he — him, she — him etc.). It follows the subjective pronoun in the other forms of the subjective third person.

Example:

Direct objective first series:

	to see <i>rne</i>				
	I	thou	he ¹	we, excl.	you
me	—	<i>tse'-ne-</i>	<i>hɔ'-tse-</i>	—	<i>tse-a'-</i>
thee	<i>nendze-di'</i> ²	—	<i>hɔ'-ne'ndze-</i>	<i>nendze-nɔ'-</i>	—
3d pers.	<i>hɔ'-di-</i>	<i>hɔ'-ne-</i>	<i>hɔ'di'-hɔ-</i>	<i>hɔ-nɔ'-</i>	<i>hɔ-a'-</i>
	<i>se'-di-</i>	<i>se'-ne-</i>	<i>sed'i'-hɔ-</i>	<i>se-nɔ'-</i>	<i>se-a'-</i>
	<i>s'e'-di-</i>	<i>s'e'-ne-</i>	<i>s'edi'-hɔ-</i>	<i>s'e-nɔ'-</i>	<i>s'e-a'-</i>
	<i>e'-di-</i>	<i>e'-ne-</i>	<i>edi-hɔ-</i>	<i>e-nɔ'-</i>	<i>e-a'-</i>
	<i>o'-di-</i>	<i>o'-ne-</i>	<i>odi-hɔ-</i>	<i>o-nɔ'-</i>	<i>o-a'-</i>
	<i>i'-di-</i>	<i>i'-ne-</i>	—	<i>i-nɔ'-</i>	<i>i-a'-</i>
us incl.	—	<i>we'-ne-</i>	<i>wedi-hɔ-</i>	<i>we-nɔ'-</i>	<i>we-a'-</i>
us excl.	—	<i>we'-ne-</i>	<i>hɔ'-nɔ'ndze-</i>	—	<i>we-a'-</i>
you	<i>andze'-di</i>	—	<i>hɔ-a'ndze-</i>	<i>a'ndze-nɔ'-</i>	—

With a few intransitive verbs the subjective pronominal idea (I, you, he etc.) is expressed by the first series of objective pronouns. Such verbs are:

<i>tseoxpa'ʔε</i>	I am full of
<i>tseyada'</i>	I am called
<i>tseyu'</i>	it hurts me, I ache
<i>tseyucε'</i>	I am wounded
<i>tseyucu'</i>	I shake, I move around
<i>tseṭa'pa</i>	I am strong
<i>tseṭa'dε</i>	I am broke
<i>tseṣa'sahε</i>	I tremble
<i>tsecε'cε</i>	I am ready
<i>tsecεle'</i>	I recover, I get well
<i>tsec'o'</i>	I am tired
<i>tsek'aco'</i>	I am accustomed to
<i>tseḷε'pε</i>	I am wrapped up

Example:

<i>tsec'o'</i>	I am tired
<i>nendzεc'o'</i>	thou are tired
<i>hɔc'o'</i>	} he (she, etc.) is tired
<i>sec'o'</i>	
<i>s'εc'o'</i>	
<i>εc'o'</i>	
<i>oc'o'</i>	
<i>ic'o'</i>	
<i>wεc'o'</i>	} we (incl.) are tired
<i>ɔndzεc'o'</i>	
<i>nɔndzεc'o'</i>	
<i>andzεc'o'</i>	you are tired

The forms *wε* us, *dzio*, *nendzio*, *ɔndzio*, *nɔndzio* and *andzio* do not occur with these verbs.

¹ The other third persons are formed in the same way: *se'-tse* she-me, etc.

² The hyphens separate the pronouns.

Direct objective second series:

to pity *ci*

	I	thou	he	we, excl.	you
me	—	<i>tsɛ'-yo-</i>	<i>hɔ'-dzio-</i>	—	<i>tse-a'yo-</i>
thee	<i>nɛndzɛ-do-</i>	—	<i>hɔ-nɛ'ndzio-</i>	<i>nɛndzɛ-nɔ'-</i>	—
3d persons	<i>hɔ-do-</i>	<i>hɔ-yo-</i>	<i>hɔdi'-hɔ-</i>	<i>hɔ-nɔ-</i>	<i>hɔ-a'yo-</i>
	<i>sɛ-do-¹</i>	<i>sɛ'-yo-</i>	<i>sɛdi'-hɔ-</i>	<i>sɛ-nɔ-</i>	<i>sɛ-a'yo-</i>
	<i>s'ɛ-do-</i>	<i>s'ɛ'-yo-</i>	<i>s'ɛdi'-hɔ-</i>	<i>s'ɛ-nɔ-</i>	<i>s'ɛ-a'yo-</i>
us incl.	<i>wɛ-do-</i>	<i>wɛ'-yo-</i>	<i>hɔ-o'ndzio-</i>	—	<i>wɛ-a'yo-</i>
us excl.	<i>wɛ-do-</i>	<i>wɛ'-yo-</i>	<i>hɔ-no'ndzio-</i>	—	<i>wɛ-a'yo-</i>
you	<i>a'ndzɛ-do-</i>	—	<i>hɔ-a'ndzio-</i>	<i>andzɛ-nɔ-</i>	—

The other third persons (*sio*, *s'io*, *ɛyɔ*, *o*, *yɔ*, cp. § 31) are formed in the same way. But *sio* and *s'io* become *sɛ* and *s'ɛ* (forms of the first subjective series) in the first and second persons:

<i>sɛ'-dzio-ci</i>	she pities me	<i>s'ɛ-dzio-ci</i>	he pities me
<i>sɛ-nɛ'ndzio-ci</i>	she pities thee	<i>s'ɛ-nɛ'ndzio-ci</i>	he pities thee
<i>hɔdi'-sio-ci</i>	she pities him	<i>hɔdi'-s'io-ci</i>	he pities him
<i>sɛdi'-sio-ci</i>	she pities her	<i>sɛdi'-s'io-ci</i>	he pities her
<i>ɛdi'-sio-ci</i>	she pities her	<i>ɛdi'-s'io-ci</i>	he pities her
<i>oɔi'-sio-ci</i>	she pities him	<i>oɔi'-s'io-ci'</i>	he pities him
<i>wɛdi'-sio-ci'</i>	she pities him	<i>wɛdi'-s'io-ci</i>	he pities him
<i>sɛ-ɔndzio-ci'</i>	she pities us (incl.)	<i>s'ɛ'-ɔndzio-ci</i>	he pities us (incl.)
<i>sɛ'-nɔndzio-ci</i>	she pities us (excl.)	<i>s'ɛ'-nɔndzio-ci</i>	he pities us (excl.)
<i>sɛ-a'ndzio-ci</i>	she pities you	<i>s'ɛ-a'ndzio-ci</i>	he pities you
	<i>ɛ'yɔ-dzio-ci</i>	she pities me	
	<i>o'-dzio-ci</i>	he pities me	
	<i>yɔ'-dzio-ci</i>	he (not Yuchi) pities me	

Indirect objective series:

to work something for² *k'ala'* — *k'ɔ*

	I	thou	he	she ³	we	you
me	—	<i>-nɛ'n-tso-</i>	<i>-hɔ-tso'-</i>	<i>-sɛ-tso-</i>	—	<i>-a'-tso-</i>
thee	<i>-a'so-</i>	—	<i>-hɔ-so'-</i>	<i>-sɛ-so-</i>	<i>-nɔ'-so-</i>	—
3d pers.	<i>-hɔ'n-do-</i>	<i>-hɔ'-yo-</i>	<i>-hɔ-</i>	<i>-hɔ-sio-</i>	<i>-hɔ-nɔ'-</i>	<i>-hɔ-a'yo-</i>
	<i>-sɛ'-do-</i>	<i>-sɛ'-yo-</i>	<i>-sɛdi'-hɔ-</i>	<i>-sɛdi-sio'-</i>	<i>-sɛ-nɔ'-</i>	<i>-sɛ-a'yo-</i>
	<i>-s'ɛ'-do-</i>	<i>-s'ɛ'-yo-</i>	<i>-s'ɛdi'-hɔ-</i>	<i>-s'ɛdi-sio'-</i>	<i>-s'ɛ-nɔ'-</i>	<i>-s'ɛ-a'yo-</i>
us incl.	<i>-wɛ'-do-</i>	<i>-wɛ'-yo-</i>	<i>-hɔ-o'ntso-</i>	<i>-sɛ-o'ndzo-</i>	—	<i>-wɛ-a'yo-</i>
us excl.	—	—	<i>-hɔ-nɔ'ntso-</i>	<i>-sɛ-nɔ'ndzo-</i>	—	—
you	<i>-a'so-</i>	—	<i>-hɔ-a'so-</i>	<i>-sɛ-a'so-</i>	<i>nɔ-a'so-</i>	—

As will be seen from this example, in a few cases the indirect objective pronouns differ from the direct objective pronouns also in regard to their position: cp. thou — me and thou for me, we — thee and we for thee.

¹ the other third person forms correspond to the direct objective first series.

² *k'ala'* "something" or a definite direct object must always precede these forms. With some verbs the direct object is expressed by the impersonal pronominal prefix *ho-* it which follows the indirect object, cp. § 40.

³ The other third persons (*ɛ*, *o*, *wɛ*) are formed in the same way.

Furthermore the subjective pronouns¹ undergo some changes in connection with the indirect objective series. Instead of *doso* we have *aso* "I for thee (you)" and instead of *yotso* and *a'yotso* we have *ne'ntso* and *a'ntso* respectively, the subjective pronouns following in the last two cases the first subjective series, while *a'so* is apparently a contracted form.

Examples from the texts:

a'sol'i'i'ne I will fiddle for you 14,13
wetso'wɔ she gave to me 262,17
hɔdzo'tyɔ he was mad at me 262,19
hɔnɔtso'ɔ'i'i' they fiddle for us 14,12

§ 33. (d) Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive pronouns are amalgamated forms of the objective first series with slight changes in the third person plus the first subjective and the second subjective series respectively:

	First reflexive series:	Second reflexive series:	
Sing.	1. <i>tse di'-</i>	<i>tse do'-</i>	
	2. <i>nendze ne'-</i>	<i>nendze yo'-</i>	
	3. {	<i>hɔde'-</i>	<i>hɔndio'-</i>
		<i>siodé'-</i>	<i>siodio'-</i>
		<i>s'iodé'-</i>	<i>s'iodio'-</i>
<i>é'yɔde'-</i>		<i>é'yɔndio'-</i>	
	<i>ode'-</i>	<i>odio'-</i>	
	<i>yɔde'-</i>	<i>yɔndio'-</i>	
Plur.	1. i. <i>ɔndze.ɔ'-</i>	<i>ɔndze.ɔ'-</i>	
	1. e. <i>nɔndzenɔ'-</i>	<i>nɔndzenɔ'-</i>	
	2. <i>andze.ə'-</i>	<i>andze.a'yo-</i>	

Examples:

tse-di-ɔ'i' I cut myself *tse-do-ci'* I pity myself
nendze-ne'-ɔ'i' you cut yourself *nendze-yo-ci'* you pity yourself
hɔde-ɔ'i' he cuts himself

A number of verbs occur exclusively with the reflexive pronouns:

tse dia'a' I am embarrassed, *tse dos'aha'ɛ'* I am careful
 I am ashamed *tse doci'* I mourn, I weep
tse dipé'nde I twist myself *tse docé'* I enjoy myself
tse dotnetné' I attempt *tse doge'* I call myself
tse dotyɔ' I abstain from, I fast *tse dolage'* I burn myself
tse donɔ' I believe *tse do'ɔ'* I scorch myself

§ 34. (e) Indefinite Pronominal Prefix

The idea of an indefinite personal pronoun "one", "somebody" is expressed by the prefix *go-* which is of a much more general character

¹ These follow partly the subjective second series (I, thou, you) and partly the subjective first series (she, and the other third persons).

than the personal pronouns. It is a compounding element in a number of bisyllabic nouns (cp. § 24 α β) and also acts as an infinitive-forming prefix.

Examples:

- agoga'xtε* one should say 8,26
gnt'ε' go'widjmfwa somebody had gone (there) 10,29
got'wa' one would hear 176,42
goxt't'ε'neha' if one pulls 62,7
g'nt'ε goya' somebody passed by 128,98
g'nt'ε go'kmdjm somebody was coming 154,51

With infinitive meaning:

- gola'* to eat 112,43
go'tnε to see 26,17
gok'ine' to get 258,37
go'anεnε' to ask 264,30

The prefix *go-* must not be confused with the contraction of *κε-* (locative prefix [see § 58] and *we* (third person pronoun); e. g.:

- gog'ε' < κεweg'ε'* he was coming 162,104
we'nt'ε gon'ε' < we'nt'ε κεwe'n'ε a woman was there 170,1
tala gon'ε' < tala κεwe'n'ε Wolf was here 36,1

§§ 35—37. (f.) *Irregular Personal Pronouns*

§ 35. (α) Amalgamation of pronoun and verb

While as a rule pronoun and verb can be clearly distinguished there are a number of verbs with irregular pronominal forms in the first and second person. These incorporated pronominal forms are quite different from the regular forms and, although they show similarities among themselves, they cannot be reduced to one common pattern.

The verbs are:

(1) *go'a'* to cry:

- ts'a'* I cry
tc'ya' you cry
h'ε'a' he cries
se'a' }
s'ε'a' } he (she etc.) cries
o'a' }
ε'a' we (incl.) cry
n'ε'a' we (excl.) cry
adj'ya' you cry

(2) *agogo'ne* to come:

- adza'* I come
adja' you come
ah'εga' he comes

(8) *nehe'goli* to arrive:

- nehe'dzi* I arrive
nehe'ci you arrive
nehe'li he arrives
nehe'seli }
nehe's'eli } he (she etc.) arrives
nehe'li we (incl.) arrive
nehe'neli we (excl.) arrive
nehe'aci you arrive

(9) *ke'εgota* to do:

- ke'εdica* I do
ke'εneca you do
ke'εh'εlu he does, etc. cp. 3

usega' he comes
ane'ga we (excl.) come
a'a'dja you come
ahε'ga they come

(3) *gote'de* to beat, to hit:

tse'de I beat
tce'de you beat
hεte'de }
sete'de } he (she etc.) beats
s'ete'de }
ote'de }
nεte'de we (excl.) beat
a'tcede you beat

(4) *gotwa'* to kill:

tswa' I kill
tcwa' you kill
hεtwa' he kills
 (for the following forms cp.3).

(5) *a'go'ε* to think:

a'dits'ε I think
a'dj'yε you think
a'hε'ε he thinks
a'nε'ε we think
a'a'dj'yε you think

(6) *a'gogwa* to say:

a'ditsa I say
a'ndja you say
a'gwa (*a'hεgwa*) he says, etc.
 cp. 3 and 5

(7) *gola'yi* to shoot at:

tsa'yi I shoot at
ya'yi you shoot at
hεla'yi he shoots at, etc. cp. 3

(10) *gota* to go:

weda' I go
weca' you go
hεla' }
sela' } he (she etc.) goes
s'ela' }
εla' we two go
εfe' we (incl.) go
nεfe' we (excl.) go
afe' you go

(11) *k'ala'gota* to eat:

k'ala'da I eat
k'ala'ca you eat
k'ala'hεla he eats
k'ala'nεla we (excl.) eat
k'ala'a'ca you eat

(12) *ge'ta* to find:

hi'tsa I find
hi'ca you find
hε'ba he finds
e'na we (incl.) find
ne'na we (excl.) find
a'ca you find
he'na they find

(13) *go'ε'* to be here:

εε' I am here
εε you are here
hε'ε' he is here
neha' we (excl.) are here
a'ha you are here
hε'ha they are here

§ 36. (β) Irregular pronominal forms

With a few verbs *o* changes to *e* in the third person singular and plural and in the first person plural:

ancha'djm where we lived 24,13
kenεhe'nedjm we used to stay there 26,19
anenε' we were there 246,19
anendji' we were going 270,10
kanε'ndjiε when we were going 280.9
kehe'nεdji'n they were there 148,12
kehe'hadjigo' they may have been here 148,17
he'npidode after they scratched 148,6

hεyadanε' they were called 148,16
hε'na' they cried 150,19
hε'nda they traced 168,146
ahε'hendji'dε as they went there 168,147

§ 37. (γ) Amalgamation between pronoun and instrumental prefix

The instrumental prefix *hi-* (see § 57) which precedes the pronoun in the first person, enters into a close connection with the personal pronoun, resulting in the following forms:

hi plus *dī* (first subjective series):

<i>hi'di-ca</i>	I steal with	
<i>hε'nε-ca</i>	you steal with	
<i>hε'-ca</i>	}	he (she etc.) steals with
<i>sε'-ca</i>		
<i>s'ε'-ca</i>		
<i>ε'-ca</i>		
<i>o'-ca</i>		
<i>i'-ca</i>		
<i>wε'-ca</i>		
<i>ξ'-ca</i>	we (incl.) steal with	
<i>nξ'-ca</i>	we (excl.) steal with	
<i>ξ'-ca</i>	you steal with	

hi plus *do* (second subjective series):

<i>hi'do-sti</i>	I deceive	
<i>hi'yo-sti</i>	you deceive	
<i>hɔyu'-sti</i>	}	he (she etc.) deceives
<i>sεyu'-sti</i>		
<i>s'εyu'-sti</i>		
<i>εyu'-sti</i>		
<i>ɔyu'-sti</i>	we (incl.) deceive	
<i>nɔyu'-sti</i>	we (excl.) deceive	
<i>a'yo-sti</i>	you deceive	

An exceptional form is the verb *hi'doki* "I suspect", which follows partly the first and partly the second paradigm:

<i>hi'do-ki</i>	I suspect	
<i>hi'yo-ki</i>	you suspect	
<i>hε'-ki</i>	}	he (she etc.) suspects
<i>sε'-ki</i>		
<i>s'ε'-ki</i>		
<i>ε'-ki</i>		
<i>ξ'-ki</i>	we (incl.) suspect	
<i>nξ'-ki</i>	we (excl.) suspect	
<i>a'yo-ki</i>	you suspect	

§ 38 (g) *Reciprocal and Collective*

The ideas of mutual or reciprocal and of collective or social action are closely associated with the pronoun, so that it seems appropriate

to deal with them in this place rather than with the verbal complex. They are expressed by two particles *k'a* and *k'ɔ* (*k'ε*) which follow the pronoun, being the only affixes in Yuchi that stand between the pronoun and the verbal stem:

k'a, denotes reciprocity:

he'hɔk'a'gwa they said to each other 46,8
gotia'ha wek'a'k'ɔ wars they made with each other 270,1
hɔk'a'k'εnrne' they visit one another 284,4
wek'a'fadji'n they hit one another 302,39

k'ɔ, denotes collective action "together", "in company with" and the relation between the subjective and the objective pronoun:

naκahɔk'ɔ'fehe and when they went with her 22,8
we'k'ɔweɛ'djɪn he was talking with him 260,4
gohɔrone' hɔk'ɔ'wededji'nha life-ruler that they talked with (him)-. . .
 268,29
gone' gok'onodji' baby she was there with 268,31
hɔnɔ'dzək'ɔ'ladjɪn they went with us 272,14
κəs'ahɔk'ɔ'nt'εhe when he was running with 274,35
κεk'o'nɔdjɪn he was there with 286,18

k'ɔ changes into *k'ε* if it occurs with the verbal stems: *nɔ*, *ha*, *dji* etc., see § 44.

wetsek'ε'ndji (away) that they went with me 254,16
gok'εnɔ'dji that she was here with 270,32
a'ok'εnɔ'nɛdji'n they used to be there with 290,20
we'k'εha' they were (there) with 312,122

§ 39. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

The possessive pronouns are prefixed to the nominal stem, just as are the personal pronouns to the verbal stem. There are four different series, the first being identical with the first personal subjective series (*di-*, *nε-*, etc.), the second and third showing similarities to the second personal subjective series with different forms in the first and second persons, and the fourth being identical with the personal objective series:

The pronouns of the first series seem to imply inalienable possession as they are used in connection with most parts of the body and the majority of kinship-terms (see § 39).

Example:

<i>dito'</i>	my head	
<i>neto'</i>	your head	
<i>hɔto'</i>	} his (her etc.) head	
<i>seto'</i>		
<i>s'eto'</i>		
<i>eto'</i>		
<i>oto'</i>		
<i>ito'</i>		
<i>weto'</i>		

ɣto' our head (incl.)
nɣto' our head (excl.)
qto' your head

Nouns following this series:

diʔɣ^mpa my finger
diʔɣ^ssa my wrist
diʔɣ^kki my arms
diɣdi^lʔe my shoulder
didε^ʔ my legs
didε^ta^ʔ my feet
di^ʔda^ca my lips
dida^mpⁱ my nose
diɣdju^ba my car

di^ʔε^ka my tongue (I lick)
di^tac^ε' my breast (I am jealous)
di^ta^ʔ my heart (I want)
di^to' my head
di^tot^a' my back
di^tce^ʔ my stomach, my entrails
di^kε^ʔ my teeth
di^kenda^ca my gum

also:

diwe^dene my talk
ditocⁱinε' my hat
ditsole' my home

dik^aɣti' my friend

dik^aɣtɣ' my husband, my wife,

and kinship terms, see p. 90.

The differences in meaning between the three other series of possessive pronouns is not clear and we can, therefore, only give the forms and examples as such:

	Second series:	Third series:	Fourth series:
1.	<i>tso-</i>	<i>tsio-</i>	<i>tse-</i>
2.	<i>so-</i>	<i>nendzio-</i>	<i>nendze-</i>
	<i>hɣ-</i>	<i>hɣ-</i>	<i>hɣ-(hε-)</i>
	<i>sio-</i>	<i>sio-</i>	<i>se-</i>
3.	<i>s^ʔio-</i>	<i>s^ʔio-</i>	<i>s^ʔε-</i>
	<i>εyɣ-</i>	<i>εyɣ-</i>	<i>ε-</i>
	<i>o-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>o-</i>
	<i>yɣ^ʔ-</i>	<i>yɣ^ʔ-</i>	<i>wε-</i>
1. i.	<i>mdzo-</i>	<i>mdzio-</i>	<i>mdze-</i>
1. e.	<i>nmdzo-</i>	<i>nmdzio-</i>	<i>nmdze-</i>
2.	<i>aso-</i>	<i>andzio-</i>	<i>andze-</i>

The majority of nouns follow the second series, e. g.:

tso-b^aɣtε' my horse
so-b^aɣtε' your horse

Nouns following the third series:

tsio-wi^ʔi' my blood *tsio-ʔol^ʔone'* my kidneys
tsio-yɣ^mpi my liver *tsio-tewa'* my skin
tsio-b^aa^cε my backbone *tsio^ʔ-ɣtsaɣta'* my sides
tsio-cⁱibilone' my shirt *tsio-cⁱa'* my coat

Nouns following the fourth series:

tseyadane' my name *tse^sa'* my land
tseyu^ʔɣta my clan *tse^sɣ'* my hair
tsewɣne' my shadow, my spirit *tseco'* my body
tse^ta^ʔpa my strength *tseɣti'* my (clan) name

Possessive pronouns in connection with kinship-terms:

The possessive pronouns, occurring with kinship terms, comprise all the four series just discussed and in addition the second personal subjective series. Thus we have:

di- series:

<i>ditschɛ'</i>	my mother
<i>dis'ane'</i>	my son
<i>dɪ'yanɛ'</i>	my (man's) daughter
<i>dik'a wene'</i>	my (woman's) sister
	my (woman's) father's brother's daughter
	my (woman's) mother's sister's daughter
<i>dɪ'yɔ'</i>	my mother's brother
	my mother's brother's son
<i>ditschɛs'v'ɛ</i>	my mother's sister
	my father's sister
	my mother's brother's daughter
<i>dis'anes'iɛ'</i>	my (man's) brother's son
<i>dɪ'yanɛs'v'ɛ</i>	my (man's) brother's daughter
<i>ditco'o'</i>	my grandfather (on both sides)
	my father's sister's husband
<i>dilaha'</i>	my grandmother (on both sides)
<i>dicɔhɔ'</i>	my brother's wife
	my wife's sister
	my husband's brother
	my husband's sister
	my (woman's) sister's husband
<i>diwɛɔro'</i>	my sons's wife
<i>diwɛɔtso'</i>	my daughter's husband

tso- series:

<i>tsowarne'</i>	my (man's) sister
	my (man's) father's brother's daughter
	my (man's) mother's sister's daughter
<i>tsogoto'</i>	my child
<i>tsogolu'hane</i>	my parents
<i>tsok'ala'</i>	my kin

tsio- series:

<i>tsiorane'</i>	my (man's) brother
	my (man's) father's brother's son
	my (man's) mother's sister's son
<i>tsiodjiyanɛ'</i>	my (man's) sister's husband
<i>tsiodjiɛne'</i>	my wife's brother

tse- series:

<i>tse'ɛ'</i>	my father
<i>tse'ɛs'v'ɛ</i>	my father's brother
<i>tseɔne'</i>	my (man's) sister's son
	my (man's) sister's daughter
	my (man's) father's sister's son
	my (man's) father's sister's daughter
	my wife's (husband's) father
<i>tsethi'</i>	my wife's (husband's) mother

do- series:

<i>dots'one'</i>	my (woman's) son
	my (woman's) daughter
<i>doraone'</i>	my (woman's) brother
	my (woman's) father's brother's son
	my (woman's) mother's sister's son
<i>do'wene'</i>	my (woman's) sister
<i>dots'onēs'iē'</i>	my (woman's) brother's son
	my (woman's) brother's daughter
	my (woman's) sister's son
	my (woman's) sister's daughter
	my (woman's) father's sister's son
	my (woman's) father's sister's daughter
<i>dodjine'</i>	my grandchild (no further differentiation)

§ 40. IMPERSONAL PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

The impersonal third person pronoun, both "it" and "its" is expressed by the prefixes *hi-* and *ho-*. The differences in meaning between both prefixes are not clear.

Examples:

hi-:

- 'yq'spa hiha'he* pecans where they are 256,31
yufa' tsaxtci'b'i' hi'pendji'n the house window it had 258,43
k'ala't'ele' 'yapi'po rih'i'hadjinha'de other things wagon that had
 been in 270,8
tic'o' hi'yada' they were called *tic'o'* 158,79

ho-:

- howag'p'* it is left 182,14
tsoti'xdji pe'hēhonone' the medicine it will overcome (them) 182,11
hocuk'q'la'ε it was tied to 98,35
tso'ti ho'a'ga medicine its day 276,39
gowa'do'ε ho'yuhe the grave its house 176,44
to'oha' nqdetaha' hodjula' the sand our feet it burned 284,1
k'ala't'ele' howale'lade'εgo' other things they may have been
 left out 288,30
gob'il'vine'ε hocuha' the fiddle its strings 312,121
k'a'sogqrane' ho'yu'fari'he the school in its yard 312,122

In a few cases *ho-* occurs as objective impersonal pronoun:

- ka'po howage' holanq'* bread hunt it, eat it! 300,10

With the following verbs *ho-* occurs as the direct impersonal object following the indirect object. As a rule, however, the direct object precedes the indirect object, e. g.: *k'ala' a'sok'q'* something I work for you (cp. § 32).

- | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>asohot'a'</i> | I let it go for you | <i>asohohq'</i> | I took it from you |
| <i>asoho'kasa</i> | I crush it for you | <i>dohokila'</i> | I escape from it |
| <i>asoho'la</i> | I wove it for you | <i>asoho'ε</i> | I spread it out for you |

§ 41. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

There are only two general demonstrative prefixes in Yuchi which are modified by the various forms of the classifying suffixes discussed above (see § 26).

The two demonstrative prefixes are *nε-* = this (local and temporal proximity) and *le-* = that (local and temporal remoteness).

From a combination with the classifying suffixes the following forms result:

a) inanimate:

sing.:	<i>nεfa'</i>	<i>lefa'</i>
	<i>nεdji'</i>	<i>ledji'</i>
	<i>nε'e'</i>	<i>le'e'</i>

plur.:	<i>nε'ha</i>	<i>le'ha</i>
--------	--------------	--------------

b) animate:

sing.:	<i>nε'nɔ</i>	<i>le'nɔ</i>
	<i>nε'senɔ</i>	<i>le'senɔ</i>
	<i>nε's'ɛnɔ</i>	<i>le's'ɛnɔ</i>
	<i>nε'ɛnɔ</i>	<i>le'ɛnɔ</i>
	<i>nε'onɔ</i>	<i>le'onɔ</i>
	<i>nε'i'nɔ</i>	<i>le'i'nɔ</i>
	<i>nε'wɛnɔ</i>	<i>le'wɛnɔ</i>

plur.:	<i>nεhe'nɔ</i>	<i>lehe'nɔ</i>
	<i>nεwe'nɔ</i>	<i>lewe'nɔ</i>

Examples:

Inanimate:

<i>nε'fa ya'fa</i>	this tree	<i>le'ha ya'ha</i>	those trees
<i>nεdji' di'dji</i>	this rock	<i>nε'ha yu'ha</i>	those houses
<i>nε'e s'a'e</i>	this field		

Animate:

<i>nε'nɔ gɔm'ε'nɔ</i>	this man (referring to a Yuchi)
<i>nε'senɔ s'ant'ε'senɔ</i>	this girl (referring to a man's sister etc.)
<i>le's'ɛnɔ</i>	that one (referring to a woman's brother etc.)
<i>nεhe'nɔ ciqcanεhe'nɔ</i>	these boys
<i>nεwe'nɔ b'aχtεwe'nɔ</i>	these horses
<i>nε'i'nɔ gɔm'ε'i'nɔ</i>	these men (woman speaking)
<i>lewe'nɔ gocpiwε'nɔ</i>	those negroes

nε'wɛnɔ is frequently contracted to *nɔ'nɔ*, cp. phonology, § 3:

nɔ'nɔ gɔ'nt'onɔ this person (not Yuchi) 392,38

§ 42. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Corresponding to the general demonstrative prefixes there is a general interrogative prefix *wa-* which is specified by suffixing the classifying elements and general locative elements (see §§ 26 and 29).

1. Interrogative referring to animate beings: *wanɔ'*

Subjective form:

wanɔ' aɣke' ahɔga'? who (Yuchi) comes there?*wanɔ' aɣke' ayɔga'?* who (not Yuchi) comes there?*wanɔ' hɔya'gwa'?* who told (that)?

Objective form:

In the objective forms the interrogative pronoun remains unchanged and the objective personal pronoun precedes the subjective pronoun:

wanɔ' hənɛɾnɛ? who him you see = whom (Yuchi) do you see?*wanɔ' wənɛɾnɛ'?* whom (not Yuchi) do you see?

2. Interrogative referring to inanimate objects:

With the interrogatives referring to inanimate objects the classifying suffixes do not occur. There is only one pronoun: *wika'* what.

Example:

wika' nɛɾnɛ'? what are you looking at?*wika' yok'ɔ'?* what are you doing?

The selective interrogative pronoun "which" is denoted by *wa-* plus a classifying element (*-nɔ*, *hɛ'nɔ* etc. when it refers to animate beings and *-fa*, *-ɛ*, *-dji* when it refers to objects). Like the adjectives it follows the noun it refers to.

The forms are:

1. Referring to animate beings:

sing.: *wanɔ'* which one (Yuchi)*wahɛwənɔ'* which one (not Yuchi)plur. *wahɛ'nɔ* which ones (Yuchi)*wawɛ'nɔ* which ones (not Yuchi)*waɣkɛhɛ'nɔ* which ones of us*waɣkɛ.anɔ'* which ones of you*waɣkɛhɔ'nɔ* which ones of them (Yuchi)*waɣkɛwɛ'nɔ* which ones of them (not Yuchi)

2. Referring to inanimate objects:

sing.: *waɣkɛfa'* which one (of vertical objects)*waɣkɛ'ɛ'* which one (of horizontal objects)*waɣkɛdji'* which one (of roundish objects)plur.: *waɣkɛha'* which ones (of objects of any kind)

Examples:

gɔ'nt'ɛ wanɔ' which (Yuchi) man?*gɔ'ɕpi wahɛwənɔ'* which negro?*wahɛ'nɔ nedji' hɔladji'n* which ones have done this?*b'aɣɾɛ' wawɛ'nɔ* which ones of the horses?*ya'fa waɣkɛfa'* which tree?*s'a'ɛ waɣkɛ'ɛ'* which land?*ɾi'dji waɣkɛdji'* which rock?*ɾi'ha waɣkɛha'* which rocks?

The interrogative "where" is formed by *wa-* and addition of the locatives *-hε* and *-fa*. Thus we have:

wahε' where at ?
wafa' where to ?

Examples:

wahε' hqTε'? where does he live ?
wahε' yoγTε'? where did you put (it) ?
b'a'χTεwəŋə wahε'wəŋə? where is the horse ?
wafa' nədji'? where are you going ?

The other interrogative ideas are apparently of a very vague nature and have not developed definite forms. Thus the interrogative "how" can be expressed by:

1) *wahε'*:

wahε' nεca yo'k'ə? how do you make it ?
wahε' la'tε how much ?

2) *waxkε'tnε*:

waxkε'tnε sonə'la? how do you feel ?

3) *wahε'tnε*:

wahε'tnε sonə'la how do you feel ?

§§ 43—59. C. THE VERB AND ADJECTIVE

§§ 43—47. VERBAL AND ADJECTIVAL STEMS

§ 43. (a) *Introductory*

Like the nominal stem the verbal or adjectival stem is either primary or secondary, i. e. mono- or polysyllabic. Except for a few cases of plural stems all modifications of the verb are achieved by suffixing and not by internal changes of the stem.

Verbal and adjectival stems are closely related; adjectives occur as verbs without any formal changes:

§ 44. (b) *Monosyllabic stems*

verbal:

<i>ε</i> to lie	<i>ʋo</i> to menstruate
<i>a'</i> to carry	<i>tyq</i> to be angry
<i>o</i> to belong to	<i>tša</i> to sleep
<i>ya</i> to roast	<i>te'a</i> to drown
<i>wi</i> to pass	<i>te'wa</i> to hear
<i>wε</i> to dream	<i>tewε</i> to rub
<i>wa</i> to bite	<i>nε</i> to blow
<i>wq</i> to give for a present	<i>s'ε</i> to bite off
<i>hi</i> to carry on the back	<i>so</i> to stink
<i>hε</i> to bathe	<i>s'o</i> to suck
<i>ha</i> to live	<i>sta</i> to break
<i>ha'</i> to smell	

<i>ho</i> to plant	<i>stɔ</i> to swim
<i>hɔ</i> to take	<i>ci</i> to stick (trans.)
<i>pa</i> it burns	<i>ci</i> to pity
<i>pʰe</i> to drink	<i>ce</i> to hide
<i>pɛ</i> to row	<i>cʰɛ</i> to wait
<i>pʰɛ</i> to grip	<i>cti</i> to dance
<i>pa</i> to cut open, to saw	<i>ctɔ</i> to close, to shut
<i>pʰa</i> to send for, to look for	<i>gɔ</i> to come
<i>pʰa</i> to be born	<i>gwa</i> to say
<i>pʰa</i> to chop	<i>ke</i> to call
<i>fa</i> to stand	<i>ka</i> to rest
<i>faʰ</i> to whip	<i>kɔ</i> to cook
<i>fɔ</i> to cut off	<i>kʰi</i> to get, to earn
<i>do</i> to touch	<i>kʰa</i> to laugh
<i>dʒi</i> to sit, to go, to stay	<i>kɔ</i> to blow
<i>ri</i> to wash	<i>kʰɔ</i> to make, to build
<i>ro</i> to go with	<i>kwɛ</i> to send, to put
<i>ɾɔ</i> to set a date	<i>kwa</i> to fetch, to bring
<i>tne</i> to see	<i>ʰi</i> to cut, to scratch
<i>ti</i> to beg	<i>ʰɛ</i> to fear
<i>ʰi</i> to urinate	<i>la</i> to weave
<i>te</i> to play	<i>lɔ</i> to make
<i>ʰɛ</i> to cough	<i>ʰa</i> to dig
<i>ta</i> to pick	<i>ʰo</i> to bake
<i>ʰa</i> to let go, to bury	

adjectival:

<i>a</i> big	<i>tea</i> hard, loud
<i>di</i> yellow	<i>sɛ</i> good
<i>ɾɛ</i> wild	<i>co</i> soft, ripe, sore
<i>to</i> small	<i>cpɪ</i> wet, moist
<i>tsɔ</i> low, short	<i>gɛ</i> long
<i>tsya</i> dry	

§ 45. (c) *Bisyllabic stems*

The bisyllabic stems cannot be grouped under themes nor analysed into their compounding elements. The following list, although it may not be exhaustive, comprises most of the bisyllabic verbal and adjectival stems:

verbal:

<i>ɟtaʰ</i> to groan	<i>tataʰ</i> to braid, to plait
<i>yaʰha</i> to dip	<i>ʰɛkaʰ</i> to taste, to lick
<i>yabɔʰ</i> to pour	<i>ʰaleʰ</i> to quit
<i>yaʰgwa</i> to tell	<i>tyayuʰ</i> to love
<i>yaʰcta</i> to camp	<i>tcuɾaʰ</i> to listen
<i>yɔhoʰ</i> to be hungry	<i>satɛʰ</i> to scrape, to shave
<i>wedeʰ</i> to call	<i>kilaʰ</i> to escape
<i>wɛʰɾɛ</i> to talk, to speak	<i>kilɔʰ</i> to miss
<i>wɛleʰ</i> to wake up	<i>kʰeneʰ</i> to swallow
<i>waʰdi</i> to brag about	<i>kʰeʰneʰ</i> to visit
<i>wageʰ</i> to hunt	<i>keʰge</i> to hasten
<i>wahɔʰ</i> to play	<i>kʰaʰɔʰ</i> to smile

wqle to give up
wəne' to fish
wəndji' to buy
hɔle' to catch
bili' to turn
bi'p'o' to roll
pade' to twist
rit.hɛ' to pull
tat.hɛ' to sweep
tale' to appear
tnɛgo' to believe
pawɛ' to loose
taja' to be afraid of

k'aha' to watch, to take care of
k'ahɔ' to fight
k'ase' to bet
k'actɔ' to scuffle
kyɔ'wɔ' to think
kwanɛ' to borrow
lawɛ' to wake up (trans.)
lahɛ' to offer
laha' to eat up
laha' to win
latɛ' to cut down, to fell
pɛ'ntci to chase
p'ɔ'kɛ to push

adjectival:

ispi' black
ilɛ' big
awi' loose
ali' heavy
oxpa' full
ɔ'nda plain, clear
yaɣka' white
watci' slow, stupid
hidzɔ' green, blue
hite' last
hitsɔ' short
hi'sta flat, level
hico' wet
hicu' slow
hiki' fierce
hapa' flat
hoto' brief, short
holo' deep
pado' dark (night)
fifi' bright, shiny
djugɛ' sour
ti'ɛ' mean, low
tesa' clean

teki' different
tapa' strong, hard
tats'a' noisy
tatca' difficult
tanɛ' fat
ta'ce ripe
p'he' different, next
tsobi' straight
tsura' short, low
tsya'pa red
tciga' rotten
'nɛga' true, rich
s'iɛ' little, small
s'ati' low
safi' fast, quick
s'ulɛ' bare, bald, naked
c'i'ge deep
cɛ'cɛ ready
cale' raw
coco' rotten
kac'o' left
ka'ɣka white
k'asɛ' industrious

§ 46. (d) *Polysyllabic stems*

Polysyllabic verb-stems of more than two syllables are extremely rare. An analysis of more than three hundred printed pages of texts yielded only the following few examples:

verbal:

dih'tadjubi' I am pleased
di'pas'iɛ' I hate
dita'aɣtɛ I order
(dita'tseyu I mourn, (my heart hurts))
ditopatɔ' I am dizzy
ditciɔ'lə I blink, I twinkle (*tcɪ* = eye)
dikɔ'nɛc'iɛ I am provoked (my thought is bad), and a number of reduplicated bisyllabic stems (see § 54)

adjectival:

<i>hitafa'</i> greedy	<i>hofle'</i> mild
<i>hitnegj'</i> new	<i>tapise'</i> sweet (salt good)
<i>hicige'</i> deep, steep	<i>tsobila'</i> straight, just
<i>hicahi'</i> hot	<i>sphj'e</i> still, quiet
<i>hapa'e'</i> broad	<i>goxtice'</i> false, untrue
<i>hapas'ie'</i> narrow, (broad little)	<i>gok'ita'</i> lazy, lonesome
<i>hatsihe'</i> silent	<i>gpcine'</i> poor
<i>hase'e'</i> bad (not good)	<i>k'iyaa'</i> careful
<i>hoha'e</i> empty	<i>k'abile'</i> even, smooth
<i>hopaya'xka</i> pale	<i>teweue'</i> sparkling, brilliant

§ 47. (e) NUMERALS

The numerals are independent words of adjectival character following the noun they refer to. If the noun occurs with one or more adjectives the numeral follows those. It takes the place of the plural suffix *-ha* (see § 27). The numeral classification is that of the decimal system, as is shown in the following list:

Cardinal numbers:

<i>hit'e'</i> one	<i>icdu'</i> six
<i>nj'we</i> two	<i>laxdju'</i> seven
<i>njka'</i> three	<i>bija'</i> eight
<i>tala'</i> four	<i>te'xka</i> nine
<i>te'wae'</i> five	<i>laxpe'</i> ten

laxpe hit'pe ta'wi eleven (ten one laid over)

laxpe nj'we ta'wi twelve (ten two laid over)

k'oxtanjwe' twenty

k'oxtanjwe' hit'pe ta'wi twenty-one

k'oxtanjwe' njwe ta'wi twenty-two

k'oxtanj'ka thirty

k'oxtatala' forty

k'oxtate'wae' fifty

k'oxta'icdu' sixty

k'oxtalaxdju' seventy

k'oxtabija' eighty

k'oxtat'ekka' ninety

ict'et'e' one hundred (road one)

ict'et'pe hit'pe' one hundred and one

ict'et'pe nj'we one hundred and two

i'ct'et' nj'we two hundred

i'ct'et' nj'we nj'we two hundred and two

i'ct'et' njka' three hundred

i'ct'et' tala' four hundred

ict'et'ekka k'oxtat'ekka te'ekka ta'wi nine hundred ninety nine

ict'a'at'e' one thousand, (road big one)

ict'a'a njwe' two thousand

ict'ε'a'laχpe' ten thousand (road big ten)

ict'ε'a' .ict'εhit'e' one hundred thousand (road big road one)

ict'ε'a goha'ne hit'e' one million (road big old one)

Ordinal numbers:

There is no formal difference between cardinal and ordinal numbers except for "the first" which is *craha'*ε. instead of *hit'e'*. With the other numerals the ordinal character is denoted by adding one of the article suffixes *-fa*, *-ε* or *-dji* (according to the character of the noun, see § 26) to the numeral; e. g.:

ya nχwe'fa the second tree

a'ga craha'ε the first day

nχ'nχ nχwe'ε the second creek

s'ayub'a' tala'χdji the fourth

a'ga laχpe'fa the tenth day

hill

The numeral adverbs are denoted by suffixing the pluralizing element *-ha* to the cardinals. Only the first two have different forms:

sahχ' once

talaha' four times

nχha' twice

laχpeha' ten times

nχkaha' three times

§ 48. COMPOUND VERBS

While, as we have seen, the composition of verbal stems serves only to a very limited degree to express complex verbal ideas, there is another type of compounding which represents an almost universal pattern of verb-formation. This type of compound consists of specifying element plus personal pronoun plus verbal stem.

The specifying element may be a noun, an adjective, a prefix, an independent particle or an adverbial, but the unit of the whole word-complex is expressed both by the fixed position of the specifying element and by the stereotyped meaning of the compound. Although every verbal stem can be thus modified and specified, there are a few monosyllabic verb-stems of an auxiliary character which prevailingly take the place of the general verb. These auxiliary verbs are:

1) *gola'* to do, to make, to cause, (*dica'* = I make, see. § 35),

Examples:

aχke'endica I pretend, I act like

oχpa'dica I fill (full I make)

oχpale'dica I refill

nda'dica I explain (plain I make)

yχ'dica I boil

yucu'dica I shake

wel'i'dica I plough

hipe'ndica I put it on

hite's'ndica I bend (bent I make)

hinχ'dica I grease

hi'xrodica I wrap in

hae'xi'dica I burn
howa'dica I save
hoha'dica I make empty
hohɔ'dica I join together
ho'palé'dica I stop
hoxti'dica I pay
pihxi'dica I shoot
pa'dica I set fire to
depolé'dica I repeat, I do again
djahé'ndica I rattle
tesa'dica I clean
tapxi'dica I finish
tapa'dica I tighten
tactu'dica I pour on
t'ehé'endica I change, I make different
tahé'dica I uncover, I turn over
ta'p'adica I saddle
tsya'dica I dry
tca'dica I harden, I dry fruit
s'a'p'idica I plough
s'a's'adica I waste
soso'dica I write, I mark
soti'dica I soften, limber I make
e'ix'dica I spoil
cp'i'dica I moisten
cra'dica I spread
kect'u'dica I pile up
k'a'a'dica I finish
k'a'fidica I comb
k'a'radica I include, I put with
kasa'dica I crash
laja'dica I bust open

2) *gowi'* to pass,

Examples:

ogaledi'wi I forget
djika'di'wi I go along
s'aledi'wi I get down
s'apó'diwi I set into the ground (plants, fence posts, etc.)
s'adi'wi I fall down

3) *gok'ɔ'* to make,

Examples:

ɔ'pa'dok'ɔ' I sharpen
hoxtile'dok'ɔ' I pay back
tsotici'dok'ɔ' I make medicine, I doctor
nɔcɔ'dok'ɔ' I draw, picture I make
sxi'sxi'dok'ɔ' I plead, peace I make
cado'k'ɔ' farm I make, I farm
gedok'ɔ' I sharpen, sharp I make
godjihɔ'dok'ɔ' I arrest, prisoner I make
k'a'dok'ɔ' I work, something I make

4) *gokwε'* = to put, to send.

Examples:

ya'dokwε I sing
yub'a'dokwε I lift, I raise
yule'dokwε I tie around
hopale'dokwε I diminish, I make less
deki'dokwε I divide, I separate
tahε'dokwε I continue
pa'dokwε I tear
κεττυ'κεradokwε I throw in a pile (pile there on I throw)
k'aka'dokwε I split
k'γ'ladokwε I gather, I heap up

5) *goxta'* (occurs with compounds only),

Examples:

taneκ'σ'nta I take it off
(ta'wγwe'ta I walked on to it, I found, I discovered)
ta'wγdixta I appoint
σε'lek'a'dixta I appreciate, I think well of
κεδεκ'a'dixta I am satisfied
κελεκ'σ'nda I take home
κεκ'σ'nda I begin
k'ahi'dixta I am pleased, I mind, I count for
k'atse'dixta I am proud
k'alε'dixta I regard
k'σ'ndita I climb
lahεk'σ'nda I take it out

Examples of other verbs:

γ'pase'dola I point at
σdad'i'γε I explain (plain I say)
weyu'dikγ I fry, lard I cook
ha'ado'ε I neglect
hopale'dinγ I fail, (left over I become)
pele'we'ta I join
tak'ε'ndite I play ball
tale'doxji I get up
ταxtale'dip'a I look around
to'dohγ I cover
tsa'difa I stand
tsobila dik'a'ε I make an agreement
neledzi' I come back
s'apo'di'ε I bury, ground under I put
s'adote' I run off
s'a'dit'awε I drop
golane'dowγ I feed, something to eat I give
k'a'dop'a I sew
kodota' I open
lahε'dipa I throw away

§ 49. IMPERSONAL VERBS

These are a small group of verbal stems which express an impersonal act or state and can neither take personal nor impersonal pronouns. In all other respects, however, they are treated like true verbs and can be modified by suffixing. Such verbs are:

<i>a'ga</i> it reaches	<i>pi'he</i> it blasts, it explodes
<i>ya''ε</i> it is dead	<i>djile'</i> it is said (usually ends a tale)
<i>ya'ste</i> it smokes	<i>τε</i> it melts
<i>yɔ'</i> it swells, it boils	<i>tse''ε</i> it rains
<i>yuhe''ε</i> it is strange	<i>stenɔ'</i> it bursts
<i>yu'c'o</i> it is withered	<i>st'a'hi</i> it cracks, it pops
<i>yucu'</i> it shakes	<i>cra''ε</i> it snows
<i>piyɔ'ctɔctɔ'</i> it thunders	<i>ga'ge</i> it sounds
<i>pele'ctu</i> it spills over	<i>kɔ'</i> the wind whistles
<i>pacε''ε</i> it is burning	

§ 50. VERBALIZATION

Nominal stems and particles are transformed into static verbs by suffixing the verbalizing element ${}^{\prime}\epsilon$ (or *tnε*, see phonology, § 10). This device can be used with all nouns the meaning of which can be transformed into a verbal idea.

Examples:

<i>tse</i> rain, becomes <i>tse''ε'</i> it rains
<i>τɔ'ta</i> light, becomes <i>τɔ'ta''ε</i> it is light
<i>wa</i> summer, becomes <i>wa'tnε</i> it is summer
<i>wεctɔ'</i> winter, becomes <i>wεctɔ'tnε</i> it is winter
<i>hɔto'</i> child, becomes <i>hɔto'εdjin</i> it was a child
<i>aɣke'</i> there, becomes <i>aɣke''ε</i> that way (or there) it is
<i>teca'</i> close, becomes <i>teca''ε</i> it is close
<i>ti</i> inside, becomes <i>ti''ε</i> it is inside
<i>ta</i> on, becomes <i>ta''ε</i> it is on
<i>s'ayab'a''εya</i> if he is a warrior (<i>ya</i> if, see § 62) 148,7

Although *tnε* in most cases seems to be a synonym with ${}^{\prime}\epsilon$ (see phonemes) there are a few cases in which it implies a slightly different meaning; e. g.:

<i>pado''ε</i> it is dark, but: <i>pado'tnε</i> it is too dark
<i>a'tnε</i> it is too big

${}^{\prime}\epsilon$ is often suffixed to adjectives, even though adjectives may occur as verbs without the verbalizing particle:

<i>s'iε''ε</i> it is little 42,39
<i>coco''ε</i> it is rotten 162,113
<i>wεxtɔ''ε</i> it is covered with 142,12
<i>wihiki''ε</i> it is fierce 142,16
<i>goyalili''ε</i> it is fierce 88,46
<i>hawe'sε''ε</i> he is not good 152,34
<i>hatsihe''ε</i> it is quiet 246,20
<i>gok'ita''ε</i> it is lonesome 24,16

§ 51. TEMPORAL SUFFIXES

Tenses are not very fully developed in Yuchi. As far as they find expression they are denoted by a number of verbal suffixes.

The verbal stem as such without any temporal suffixes generally implies the present tense (cp. the suffixes denoting aspects). In the past tenses the ideas of incomplete and complete past are distinguished. The temporal suffix, however, is not added to every verb that stands in the past but, as a rule, only to the last verb in the sentence which thus renders the whole sentence in the past tense. Outwardly, at least, this position of the past tense suffix after the last verb in the sentence gives the impression of an enclitic rather than a verbal suffix.

The forms are:

(1) *-djin*, denoting the incomplete past:

tala' gonʔ' yone'nde gonodji'n wolf was here, fawn also was here 36,1(2)

depole' goyali'nʔnʔ yʔʔʔdji'n again the young man he called 72,26
ya'dεmbilo'xdji ke'yʔhobil'o we'la'i gok'ʔfedji'n the wheel he rolled for him, he shot, he went with. (This is a typical example of a sentence in the past with several verbs of which only the last one takes the temporal suffix) 74,28

(2) *-dji'nfwa*, denotes the complete past, corresponding closely to the English pluperfect; e. g.:

hʔhʔle'dodedji'nfwa after she had caught them 86,41

we.odji'nfwa they had climbed 104,43

we.oʔte'dji'nfwa she had put him there 148,7

Verbs denoting a static idea usually take *-dji'nfwa* in the past tense, the past in a static verb being always complete:

ka'xkadjinfa (he) was a white (man) 154,51

aʔke'ledji'nfwa right there it was 164,125

na'wecedji'nfwa they were not dead 104,43

gohaha'ʔdji'nfwa they were very old 88,46

pewe'djidjinfa she was sitting on 40,23

When *dji'nfwa* is followed by the habitual suffix *-ne* (see § 54) it changes to *djinfa'*:

wewaha'djinfa'ne they used to be many 246,2

kahe'nʔdjinfa'ne they used to be there 264,30

hʔk'a'yugwadjinfa'ne they had been discussing 268,23

kahe'hadjinfa'ne they used to be there 272,19

wexridji'nfane happened to be his name 282,30

aʔketne'djinfa'ne it had been that way 308,88

In some cases *-djin* is added to *-dji'nfwa*, so that the whole suffix becomes *-djinfwadji'n*; e. g.:

go'ladjinfwadji'n (the disease) it had spread 248,10

yudjiha'djinfwadji'n they happened to be Yuchi 260,7

kefa'djunfwadji'n he happened to be standing there 282,35
k'at'e'la yɔwadjmfwadji'n few only they were left 248,9
k'a'tawɔdji'nfwadji'n chance it had been 330,84
wewado'ɔ'djunfwadji'n she had been dead 326.7

The suffixation of *-djun* seems to lend emphasis to the past. In some cases it has the idiomatic meaning of "it happened to have been", or "it must have been."

(3) *djigo'*, denotes the aspect of uncertainty in the complete past: "may have been". The second part of the compound is identical with the potential suffix *-go* (see § 53).

dji'le go'nt'e dinɔ'djigo' at that time person I may have been 20,2
dip'adjigo' (In Tuskegee) I may have been born 20,3
wewado'djigo' she may have been dead 20,5
aɣke'tnedjigo' it may have been that way 26.17
hɔndionɔ'djigo' they may have thought 244,4
k'ala' se'le kɔtnɔ'ladjigo'la something good they may have done
 but (*-la* but, see § 61) 254.17a
kehɛ'hadjigo'la they may have been here but... 264,30
na'i'kɔga la'de'ɛdjigo' not too long it may have been 288,4
aɣke'tnedjigo'la it may have been that way but ... 190,19
aɣkicrale' la'de'endjigo' at that time it may have been 344,3

The future tense is indicated by two devices. The first one that is most frequently employed consists of lengthening, nasalizing and stressing the last syllable of the verbal stem; e. g.:

weta' I go becomes *weta'* I shall go
dicit'i' I dance becomes *dicit'i'* I shall dance
dote'wa' I hear becomes *dote'wa'* I shall hear
neledzi' I come back becomes *neledzi'* I shall come back

While this stress more properly denotes the intention and hencewith the immediate future with an active verb, the idea of the remote future is expressed by a special suffix, *ɛ'le*; e. g.:

siola'e'ledji'n she would surely run off 320,15
ditsa'e'le I shall sleep, I have to sleep
diwato'e'le I shall die

With impersonal verbs the future tense is denoted by the potential suffix *-go* (see § 53); e. g.:

tse'ɛgɔ' it may (will) rain
cta'ɛgɔ' it may snow

All other temporal ideas are expressed by independent particles, see § 66.

§ 52. PLURAL STEMS

A formal distinction of a verbal singular and plural by changes of the stem is limited to a few exceptional cases:

hɔla' he goes, changes to:

nʔfe' we go
qfe' you go
hʔfe' they go (ep. § 35)

hʔʔ' he is here, changes to:

nɛha' we are here
qha' you are here
hɛ'ha they are here

di'wi I am lost, changes to:

nʔya' we are lost
qya' you are lost
hʔya' they are lost

A peculiarity of these three verbs is that they can form an inclusive dual by the prefixing of the pronoun *ʔ* (otherwise first person inclusive plural) to the singular stem. Thus we have:

ʔla' we two go
ʔfe' we (incl. plural) go
nʔfe' we (excl. plural) go

A parallel formation of an exclusive dual by prefixation of *nʔ*- to the singular stem is apparently not possible.

§ 53. MODAL SUFFIXES

With the exception of the infinitive (see the indefinite pronoun *go-*, § 34) the modality of the verb is expressed by suffixes. The following forms can be distinguished:

1. Indicative,
2. Imperative,
3. Exhortative,
4. Emphatic,
5. Potential,
6. Ability.

Indicative:

The indicative mood is simply denoted by the stem itself without the suffixing of any formal elements.

Imperative:

In both direct and indirect speech the imperative mood is expressed by the suffix *-nʔ*. e. g.:

tcu'e' rɪ' dzoʔdjinʔ' get with me into the boat! 78,11
tse'a'yudonʔ' reach for me! 102,28
na'tse'at'anʔ' do not turn me loose! 102,31
ke'aʔanʔ' you lie there! 16,19
ho'waa'solanʔ' leave them for me! 154,44
tsek'a'da alanʔ' together with me put them! 170,13
kele' no'ndzek'mlanʔ' home take us! 260,4
nas'asetelanʔ' do not let her run off! 320,14
ralega' k'a'hanʔ' study hard! 336,123
hohʔle'nʔ catch him! 126,76

Indirect speech:

yɔlanɛ'nɔ she should do! 8,20
hɛɔlanɛnɔ' they shall use 162,96

Exhortative:

The Exhortative is expressed by the suffix *-wɔ*:

k'ala' ɔla'wɔ he'yɔɔwadjin something let us eat, he said 62,2
hodjura'wɔ they should listen (he said) 68,16
yula'ade'wɔ he shall go around, let him go around 72,17
ɔk'a'k'ɔnte'wɔ let us play together (he said) 74,30

Exception:

nɔfɛ'nə let us go! 246,14

Emphatic:

The emphatic suffixes *-hɔ* and *-wɔ* are used idiomatically and can, therefore, only be roughly defined. The range of their meaning will come out most clearly by giving a list of examples:

hɛɛ'yɔɛɛ dodehɔ' all he had killed already 116,25
yɔɔwadji'hɔ that he said 118,10
dihɔ' I! 52,15
kehɔ' now! 16,19
nɛndjuhɔ' you said, you did say! 164,123
hɔɔwahɔ' he did say! 62,9
hɔ'a'ndziɔhɔle'nedji'hɔ he used to catch you 64,9
ditsahɔ' (very poor we were) I had said 258,41
wɛɛɛɛ'c'iɛɛɛ'ɛhɔ they were very angry 260,48
dɪyagwadode'hɔ I told already 262,21
na'ɛ'le nɔdi'hɔ but we 266,12
dɪ'yɔhɔ'lelehɔ' I was very hungry (*le* very) 300,11
hɔɛɛɛ'ɛga'hɔ he was too mean! (*ga* too, see § 55) 320,12
a'odega'hɔ they were too many! 348,33

In some cases *hɔ* changes to *-yɔ* (*yɔ*):

a'digeɔ' I do say 268,29
kedoɔɔdji'yɔ I am going to stay here! 252,1

-wa:

hɪtsawa' (old arrow) I found! 40,29
yul'sɔwa' polecat! (she said) 44,7
nadzɛ'ɛnɔɔɔ'wa not you should imitate me (I told you) 48,13
tɛnɔ'wa you also (not a thing you can do) 110,30
s'apole' hɔɔdjiwa' under the ground they are going (he called) 60,4
a'lanɔwa' make it (he said), (*nɔ* imperative, see § 53) 74,40

Potential:

The potential mood is expressed by the suffix *-go*:

dɪwado'go I may die 94,45
hɔwado'go he may be dead 58,18
wɛ'yustɛ'go you may be lying to us 64,5(1)
haxkɛ'ɛgo'la it may be that way but (*la* but, see § 61) 22,9
naɪukɔ'le nɔ'lude'ego' not long it may be! 284,8

In a few cases *-go* is suffixed to a noun which occurs in a predicative sense:

wetsagowa'go opossum, maybe 42,3

When *-go* denotes future possibility it occurs nasalized and stressed (cf. § 51):

sɛʔneɣʔ' = seneʔne'gɔ you may see her 306,76

doʔiʔiʔeɣʔ' I may write 328,61

Ability:

The ability of action (I can) is expressed by the suffix *-te*:

na'ke'ɛdica'te not that way I can do 134,17

na'wela'te they could not find her 40,22

'yaʔiʔo'ɣdʒi hahi'dawep'a'te the wagon they could not pull up the bank 270,8

keɣʒe'te they could go there 248,17

na'nɔdzəga'ɣte not enough for us it would be 286,17

k'ala' kewɔdʒiʔe'ndʒi something that one could buy 256,29

In some cases the potential suffix *-go* and *-te* occur in combination, thus rendering the idea of a subjunctive:

na'a'ditsaxʔəgo' I could not say, I cannot possibly say 288,1

gok'ira'ʔɛ sonʔtego' lonesome you might be, you can possibly be 298,3

awe'nɔtego' they might be there 334,123

§ 54. ASPECTS

Only a very few of the various verbal aspects are expressed by formal devices, most of them being denoted by independent adverbials.

The distributive and reiterative are expressed by reduplication while the durative and the habitual are formed by suffixing formal elements.

Distributive:

wek'ot'at'a' he zigzagged around 46,7

wɛ'sosoxɛ'dʒm she was beautifully spotted 36,2(2)

ahɛ'hɔgaga' they roamed about 168,151

gonʔwɛ'wɛ they were two by two 276,48

pɛxpele'tcadʒm they jumped over here and there 278,51

teatca'ɣɔleɣa'bɔ they threw themselves into the water here and there 40,22

ahɛɛ'hadʒi'n (the clouds) were there in spots 330,78

In the last two examples the locative prefix is reduplicated instead of the stem.

Reiterative:

wek'ɔwɛdɛdɛ' they talked with them 104,45

wɛ'fafa he whipped 10,30

k'ala' hɔtɔ'wa'tɔ'wa na'ndɛ k'ala' hɔtɔnetɛ' something they heard and then something they saw (again and again) 26,20

yucucu' it was shaking 250,3
wes'is'i'wela' they cut into pieces 40,31
wε'papa he cut up (into pieces) 100,10
ʔʔti'i' they kept asking 208,1
wεk'a'yugwagwa he was talking now and again 208,2
doPi'Pi I write (I scratch repeatedly)

Durative:

The Durative or continuative is indicated by the suffix *la*:

ʔʔfe'la they kept going 76,3
wεgwala' she was saying 102,21
yucucu'la (pines) they were shaking 146,22
wεʔʔla' he was swimming 106,52
dʒik'a'wεyala they were going along 106,54
ʔa'okwεla he was singing 170,16
goʔʔtne'la he kept looking at 64,11

Sometimes the durative is expressed by *-ge*:

ʔa'okwεge he was singing 106,55
aogʔ'ge she was coming 102,21
wεdʒi'ge as they were going

Habitual:

The habitual is expressed by the suffix *-ne* (cf. the nominalizing suffix § 25):

ʔʔge'nedʒin they used to say 24,10
gowane' weha'hane quilts they used to wear 24,17
wεʔʔale' ʔʔdelane'dʒi he used to appear 28,23
ciqane'he'nʔ he'nʔine' the boys they used to scratch 244,8
hendits'ene' I used to think 254,17a
adoʔʔtne'dʒin I used to stay there 254,21
hʔdota'ne they used to want 264,31
hʔhene' he would take a bath (from a description of an annual tribal ceremony) 278,54
hεk'one' he uses 280,12
honɔmʔzo'ane' he used to ask us 286,24
hʔgene'dʒi'n they used to call (him) 292,37

§ 55. COMPARISON

Comparison in static verbs and adjectives is expressed by suffixes:

1) *-ga*, denotes "too", "very";:

nadehe'si se'ga not much too good 280,6
s'atsafaga' it is too hot 280,8
hicahiga' too hot 284,1
ts'a'staga'dʒinʔwa too shallow it had been 304,45
hɔnʔi'ega'hʔ he was too mean 320,12
nʔ'a'gadʒi'n we stopped entirely 338,5
ʔub'a'ga too high 334,119

2) *-le*, denotes "very", "quite", "fairly", "rather", and sometimes also the superlative:

hiki'le very fierce 182,12
b'aχte'wec'iξ'lewənɔ the poorest horse 126,76
ratcyalə very hard 246,15
tapa'le very strong 22,9
aχtele' (quite) enough 42,39

3) *-pe'ξ*, denotes the superlative:

ilεpe'ξ very big 246,16
taχpe'ξ very strong 270,7
g'a'npe hɔwahape'ξ people they were very many 272,17
tsec'oχpe'ξdjin I was very tired 288,7

§ 56. INTERROGATIVE SUFFIXES

In direct speech the interrogative form of the verb is expressed by the suffix *-lə*:

hɔtsa'lə does he sleep ?
hɔnerne'lə do you see him ?
necri'lə do you dance ?
k'alacqta'lə do you want to eat (lit.: something you eat-want-interrog. suf.)
qdzalə a'ndja 'a'djɔ you sleep interrog. suf. — you said — you have come ? = you said you have come to sleep here ? 12,4

If the question is negative the interrogative is suffixed to the negative proclitic (see § 59):

nale' hɔnerne' don't you see him ?
nale' hɔdjɔdjɔ'n didn't he go ?

The suffix *-yi* is used when the interrogative implies the future:

nɔkila'yi how shall we escape ? 14,10
wahε'ε nɔla'yi what shall we do ?
wa'fa ɔjε'yi where shall we go ?
wahε' lat'εnɔ'yi how much shall it be ?

These cases seem to be exceptional, for, as a rule, there is no interrogative suffix when the sentence begins with an interrogative pronoun (as *wahε'*, *wafa'* etc.).

§ 57. INSTRUMENTAL PREFIX

The idea of instrumentality in connection with active verbs is not differentiated as to the particular instruments or means of doing something. It finds its only expression in a prefix of very general character: *hi-* which establishes the relation between the implied or mentioned "instrument" and the verb; e. g.:

ɔɔ'i' hi'dok'ɔ knife I make with
ɔa'hi'dok'ɔ stick I make (it) with
diεε'ha hi'dok'ɔ my teeth I do (it) with

Examples from the texts:

- s'a'xdji hityubi' tɔ'ta hi'oxpa'* the earth all over light it was filled with 6,18
tse'co hiraha'leda water moss I eat with only (spare my teeth) (*tada* I eat, cp. § 35) 154,44
cu'wone' k'axtane'ε hi'dok'ɔ fish-pole I did it with 252,5
k'aso gək'a'yup'ane' gɔcine' hidin'ɔ' playing cards poor I became with 118,5

In the following cases *hi-* simply expresses the relation to the object:

- na'k'alakərne' hi'dop'a'* nothing of that kind I was looking for 316,163
s'a dohɔce'dji nak'ala' hi'dok'i land that I had bought not a thing I got for 354,101
hoda' tse k'a'ε hi'dip'adjin wind rain together I was born from 104,46

(cp. the impersonal pronoun *hi-*, § 40).

hi- has entered into such a close connection with many verbs that together with the verbal stem it has formed a verbal compound of a stereotyped meaning:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>hidin'ɔ'</i> I make signs | <i>hi'do'ɔ'nda</i> I know |
| <i>hi'dica</i> I steal | <i>hido'ndale'</i> I recognize, I know again |
| <i>hi'dipilahε</i> I chase away | <i>hidoha'</i> I wait for |
| <i>hi'dipa</i> I paint | <i>hidop'a'</i> I expect, I look for |
| <i>hi'dipatε'</i> I lock | <i>hidopε'</i> I mend, I patch |
| <i>hi'difa</i> I pound | <i>hi'dofɔ</i> I stop somebody |
| <i>hi'ditne</i> I measure | <i>hido'tnə</i> I try |
| <i>hi'ditε</i> I hide something | <i>hidornacε'</i> I expect, I hope |
| <i>hidita'a</i> I depend on | <i>hidotyɔ'</i> I forbid |
| <i>hi'dityɔ</i> I help | <i>hi'dotwa</i> I spit on |
| <i>hi'ditce</i> I lean against | <i>hi'dostri</i> I deceive, I cheat |
| <i>hi'dise</i> I possess | <i>hi'dosra</i> I spread out, I sprawl |
| <i>hi'dixta</i> I hold something | <i>hidoki'</i> I suspect |
| <i>hi'dixtɔ</i> I supervise | <i>hidok'ɔ'</i> I use |
| <i>hi'ditε</i> I go with | <i>hidolo'</i> I singe |
| <i>hi'dilε</i> I wrap | |
| <i>hi'dila</i> I trace | |

§ 58. LOCATIVE PREFIXES

Direction in the verb is expressed by prefixes¹ which have a fixed position before the personal pronouns. Only a few locative ideas, however, are expressed by these prefixes, the others being denoted by independent particles:

¹ In the texts these prefixes have sometimes been erroneously suffixed to nouns since their position between noun and verb left some uncertainty as to their character (see § 22). A thorough analysis, however, has shown that the locatives treated in this section exclusively occur as verbal prefixes. Direction in the noun can only be expressed by the suffixes dealt with in § 29 and by independent particles, § 65.

(1) *a-*, *κε*, apparently synonymous, denote general static location: here, there:

ηζ'ηζ κε'ε' creek was lying there 22,10
κενεθε'νεδji'n we used to stay there 26,19
κεηζjedji'tne that we went there 22,6
κετζ'νεδji'n I used to be there 244,4
κεεε'ηενεδjηεε'ηζ those that used to be there 248,7
κεεεχα'χdji where they live 316,12
κεεκε'ηα (the houses) they were there 248,21
γζ'ητ'ε κεε'ηζ people they were here 250,10
κετζ'dji I was here 417,6
κε'γζ'χdji'n they were lying there 14,14

αηε'dε αηεχα'djηη there we lived 24,13
α'γζγadjj'i'n they got there 24,17
αηζφεε'djηη we used to go there 246,13
αηεηζ' we were there 246,19
ηα'αδiηadjj'i'n not there I wanted 246,19
α'χdjiηdjj'i'ηfwa it happened to be there 286,17

Verbal compounds with *a-*:

<i>α'dioχτε</i> I keep, I put there	<i>α'dits'ε</i> I think
<i>αdi'wi</i> I come off	<i>α'diga</i> I get there, I reach
<i>α'diwε</i> I untie	<i>α'do'ε</i> I care
<i>α'diεζ</i> I take off	<i>α'dohζ</i> I reach
<i>α'diε'α</i> I glance	<i>α'doχτε</i> I stay there
<i>α'dide</i> I have been there	<i>α'doge</i> I mean it, I call it
<i>α'di'awε'</i> I deliver, I turn over	<i>αdzζ'</i> I come
<i>α'ditsa</i> I say	

Verbal compounds with *κε-*:

<i>κεdi'α'βζ</i> I throw	<i>κε'digo</i> I send (somebody)
<i>κεdi'wi</i> I pass, I go by	<i>κε'dotwa</i> I spit
<i>κε'diε'α</i> I look over	<i>κεdosτεηζ'</i> I scatter
<i>κε'diζα</i> I stand there	<i>κετζ'</i> I am here
<i>κε'diteγα</i> I jump	

(2) *τι-*, denotes "inside" (any hollow object):

τζ^mρ'αhocdu' τi'hζ'χdji'ηfwa gourd shell in she had put (them) 86,41
γυτi'kwε = γυτi'wekwε house she put in 38,6
ταλαονζ' τi'γζ'τε wolf she put in 38,6
αχκε' caicpi' τu'χdji (contraction of *tiwe*) there black snake was
 in 100,10
γαχτi'dji ya'kab'a' τi'wek'ζλα the fire hollow tree in he went with
 46,10
διλα'' τi'odzio'χτε block they put me in 36,4

Verbal compounds with *τι-*:

τιdi'wi I enter, I go in
τι'diζα I wear, I am in
τιdit.ηε' I pull

- (3) *f'o-*, denotes: "inside the earth" and "under the water":

la'c'u powe' arrow they stuck into the ground 18,24
f'o'o'k'pla he went into the water with 234,5
f'ole'yp'e back under the water they went 234,8
powe'ta (contracted to *f'oda*) I dive

- (4) *tca-*, *tcya-*, denotes "into the water" and "in the water":

tcahe' in the water 40,21
tcya'ta I go into the water
tcya'dokwe I throw into the water
tcya'ditcya I waded in the water
tcaj'i' it was in the water

- (5) *ta-*, denotes: "on", "on top of":

s'ayub'a' ta'wela' hill on top of she went 38,16
k'ala' s'aχtaofa'onə things that are standing on earth 6,18
na'p'e s'aχtaləhe'nə not one (that) should be on the ground 10,30
tahe'ə they put on 258,40
b'aχte' weχtanə'dji horse we were sitting on 278,1
yuda'c'i ta'səfa door she stood at 318,4

Verbal compounds with *ta-*:

radiwete' I complain *ta'ditca* I step on
ta'difa I get on *ta'di'p'əke* I push on

- (6) *po-*, denotes: "under":

p'o'a'k'antcofe (when they dance) take them in there with 88,43
tei'cane tca'la p'o'χdjidj'nfwa a red rat happened to be under
 there 106,56
neh'i'ra'ba' p'o'we'ə' your wings under put us 260,4
ya'ha p'o'wedadj'i'n into the woods I went 318,169

- (7) *kya-*, denotes: through any object or through a distance:

kia'wela'i'xte he could shoot through 160,93
kyale'dica just little over I reached 20,6
k'ala' kya'wedacə'ha things that I have gone through 286,26
kya'helade'əgo' longer time it may have been 262,15
na'hoda' kya'ta te haχke'həla not air through could pass that way
 they make 266,9

Verbal compounds with *kya-*:

kya'difa I follow *kya'ga* fluently, to the end
kya'diga I catch up with

- (8) *la-*, denotes: "out" of any object:

hoda' la'tca wind jumped put 88,44
yufa' yəχtə'la'wela the house she shut, out she went 38,7
ca'onə la'wetcaha'le the snake as soon as she came out 100,10
tsia'hende lao'wi when it was dry he went out 46,10
t'i'sta ke'dji aχke'polawe'wi flat rock was there, under there out
 she (would) come 160,91
aχke'lahote'ia' there she jumped out 164,117

Verbal compounds with *la-*:

lahék's'nda I take it out
la'dip'a I peep out
la'ditca I jump out
la'dokwε I pour out

(9) *pe-*, denotes: "above" or "over" any object:

pewedjihz' she was up there 38,21
pewe'djidji'njwa she had been up there 40,23
s'a'daga tala' pele'wek'z' four mountains over they ran 36,4

Verbal compounds with *re-*:

rewe'da I go up
re'donq I conquer, I overcome

(10) *yu-*, denotes "up in the air":

k'ala yu.zwe'nq things that fly
yu'tε he flew
yula'oredji'n he flew around
yub'a'ogq she came up

Verbal compounds with *yu-*:

yuwe'ra I grow
yuwe'ladica I grow (trans.), I make grow
yub'a'dokwε I lift, I raise something
yup'ap'ale'ditca I jump up and down
yudi'tε I fly
yu'dica I hurt somebody

(11) *ya-*, denotes "across", "to the other side":

ta'pi nqnq yge' ya'nqta salt-creek they call across he went 288,7
nqnq'e' ya'nqfe across the creek we went 294,14
k'ala' hq'a yake'hqk'z'djidji'n something he carried, across he was taking 270,9

§ 59. NEGATION

The verbal complex is rendered negative by prefixing *na-* or *ha-* which are synonymous and freely interchangeable (see phonology, § 10; also § 28).

Examples:

na'ditadjin not I wanted 254,16
'yapip'o'xdji hahitawep'a'tε the wagon they could not pull up with
 (*ha-* negative, *hi-* instrumental, *ta-* locative, *wε-* pronoun, *p'a* stem, *-tε* suffix, denoting ability)
ha'wegotnese'ε they were not many 248,11
ni'hojurndq he did not know 110,20

In some cases *na-* occurs as a proclitic, preceding the first element of the sentence which it thus renders negative:

na'teyago'la gq^mpadi'ne gelale'reha'la not into the water to go
 fingerring could have been found (by going into the water
 the fingerring could not have been found) 120,27

- nayq'wə wetadji'n* not they give they wanted (not they wanted to give) 116,26
nateya'diteya ditadji'n not into the water I jump I wanted (I did not want to jump into the water) 262,21
na'dzet'ε' hqgo'tne not my father he lives (my father does not live) 316,167
nadehe'si hqyurnda' not much they know 264,30
nasphq'də anqla'ndji gə'nt'ε a'hqndzoguadji'n not all the time that we go there the people they said to us (they said to us that we should not go there all the time) 266,18

§§ 60—63. D. ENCLITICS

§ 60. INTRODUCTORY

The coordinative and subordinative relation between two clauses and a word and a clause is expressed by a number of verbal enclitics. However, as will be seen from the following discussion only a few conjunctive ideas are expressed by the formal device of enclisis while in the majority the conjunction is an independent particle (see § 67).

§ 61. COORDINATIVE ENCLITICS

- lahq'* therefore, and so
-ya'hq' therefore, and so (after negation)
-de and, also
-le'ndε only and then
-la but

-lahq', denotes the illative "therefore", "and so",:

- keneja'lahq* you are standing here and so, . . . 134,16
yqge'lahq yqwege' he told (her) and so she hunted 42,38
yqge'lahq cugεk'q'wenq tao'wi they said and so the fish with sharp teeth ran against him 106,53
k'ala'k'alεki'tne kyawedacε'ha diyagwa'lahq' k'ala' nεxke'ε'ha di'yagwa things whatever kind that I have gone through I told; therefore things these kinds I am telling 286,26
na'diyagwa' kewi'lahq' di'yagwa (things) I did not tell, (I) left out and so I am telling them (now) 352,75
wεkwε'lahq' pε'wela'dji they sent (him) and so down into the water he went 4,7
wεxti'ε' yq'anε'lahq' wεxti'ε' wεyugwadji'n (for) his name he asked and so his name he told 156,57
gocrineha' hoyurnda'εlahq' yok'a'da hqctri'djm the dances he knew, therefore he was with them, he danced 278,54

-ya'hq', denotes the illative "therefore", "and so" after a negative sentence:

- 'yaχtica'leha'de na'gotneya'hq ya'χti pa'legoge'ne tapa'ledjm* matches also did not exist, therefore fire to make burn was very hard 258,38
na'p'ε a'honə'ndzo'εya'hq nq's'ntaha' nek'q' no-one took care of us and so our hands we used, 320,5

nadzet'ε' hqg'rneya'hq na'adita' he'hondogwadji'n my father does not live, therefore not there I want (to go) I said to him 316,167
nahidə'ndaya'hq q'wphenq'lə sεp'εtcine' hqdio'k'onedji'n (prayers) I did not know and therefore others only prayers they made for themselves 264,29

Sometimes *-ya'hq* stands at the end of a sentence, apparently without establishing the connection with the following sentence. Its meaning then is not clear. Examples:

ka'xkawε'nq ha'wegotnese'ε dji'yahq the white people they were not very many at that time 248,11
na'fa k'ala' hqgwadjiyahq (he may have been glad) never a thing he said 302,29
ca'nqnq'ε' yufa' nayukq'lə holaya'hq the snake-creek the house not far from it was 435,7
nagə'ntpele' hqk'a'harεya'hq no other person could take care of him 336,135

-de, occurs as a copulative of words: "and", "also":

rala' gonq' tsənt'a'dε gonodji'n wolf was here, terrapin also (and terrapin) was here 36,1(1)
yone'ndε and the fawn 36,1(2)
yq'yaxka'dji'dε her dress also 296,34
k'asoso'a'dji'dε the bible also 328,64
yaka'ε'dε the war-stick also 162,104
tse'dε you also 96,13

-le'ndə, is a contraction of the conjunctions *-ε* = only, and *he'ndε* = and then (see independent particles):

s'aə'wihelε'ndə when he falls only then, . . . 144,5
agehe'lendə (the appointed day) when it reached only then, . . . 178,51
we'q'helendə (the big logs) when they put only then, . . . 344,7

-la, denotes the disjunctive conjunction "but":

yudjiha'honq cr'a'ha s'a'xrahqfadjigo'la dqrehe'lehqfa the Yuchi first he may have been standing on earth but he was backward 164,122
go'penq'ha natal'e'ga ra'tcia hqladjigo'la went'εnq' ra'tcia hqlanedji' hqgwadjin the man not too much hard they may have treated but the woman hard that they used to treat they said 178,52
hohəndjigo'la (many people) it may have taken but (it did not take us) 248,14
sε'le kətnq'ladjigo'la something good they may have done but (at that time I did not think so) 254,17a
axke'rnədjigo'la it may have been that way but (I did not know) 290,19

-la occurs often combined with one of the subordinative enclitics *-fa* and *-dji* (see § 62 b); e. g.:

hi'le we'xsafa'la wa'hanq'nq na'wεxtsa'dε all they slept but the old woman she could not sleep 14,7
na.oyu'rndqfa'la wekwε'lahq' (whether he could get there) he did not know but they sent him 4,8

- kenēha'fa'la na'senqdzio'p'adji'n* (we had hard times) we were there
but she did not leave us 286,16
cp. also: 244,10, 298,49, 340,20
- wa'tnēnē'wenq wē'k'awenē' k'a't'ewenq'dji'la yqcele'* the women
sisters many they were but he killed (them) 116,21
- na'fa weditnedji'la* never I had seen her but (that time I saw her)
288,14
- dote'wane'dji'la* I had heard about it but, 308,87
- yudinq'widji'la* we came into the house but (what they did I do not
know) 322,19

§ 62. SUBORDINATIVE ENCLITICS

(a) Subordination of one sentence to another:

List of enclitics:

<i>-ya</i>	}	if	<i>na- . . -le</i>	before
<i>-fa'la</i>			<i>-dode</i>	after
<i>-ne'ha</i>			<i>-djile'</i>	everytime when
<i>-Tq</i>	}	while	<i>-to</i>	whether
<i>-Tε</i>			<i>-ha'he</i>	where
<i>-he</i>				when

The copulative conjunction "if" is expressed by three enclitics: *-ya*, *-fala* and *-ne'ha* which are synonymous:

-ya:

- na'ke'eca'ya neha'e'w'* if you do not do so your life will be lost
122,31
- gowetso'we'nq kekeweha'εya* the intermarried ones if there were
(any) 180,8
- tsotifa' nahqkia'aya'* the medicine if they do not take care of (it
would overcome them) 182,11
- ale'negaya na'fa gok'a'xtq'nq na'q'la gonek'a'xtq'ya depole' nenq'* if
(when) you get home never marry but if you marry again you
will die 54,22
- alek'j'ntsrya* if I come back with (dirty water will come to the
surface) 4,7
- k'alē'nq s'ayaba'εya* whoever was a warrior = whatever person
if he was a warrior 148,7
- ka'djifa'ya* (something) if going on (they would get there) 284,7
- agat'e' neli'ya* one day if it comes (the end would be there for us)
284,11
- s'a'εla'dε'εya* if he lies down (the pole-carriers would punch him)
278,52

-fa'la:

- k'alē'he g'j'nt'ε a'odefa'la* wherever person if he comes (they would
call for him) 180,10
- hqk'a'xtq k'q'fa'la* his wife if (he) had (he was not allowed to sleep
with) 56,31
- tsē'ha gop'εfa'la* water if one drinks (it is very salty) 250,22

-ne'ha:

- yw'ahē' k'q'ləh'jε'neha'* big house when (if) they gathered 178,2
- wē'yw'we'nq hqtwa'neha'* the deer if he killed (only the hide he took
off) 52,4

- la hɔtauwi'neha'* bullet if he was hit by (strong things were forbidden for him) 54,28
sɛpɛ'ɛ'neha if very good 152,35
gɔ'nɛ'ɛnɔ' hɔwa'dɔ'neha' person if he dies (they bathe him) 174,32
ta'lega' goxti't'ɛ'neha' too hard if one pulls (deeper they go into the ground) 62,7
pado'neha' if it (was) dark (they were afraid) 26,19
hɔndik'ada'nɔtneha' if I would stay with him (he would buy red boots for me) 256,24
hi'letneha' if all (gone) 258,37
k'ala' gɔ'nɛ s'at'a'wɛ'neha' something person if he drops (the pole-carriers would take it) 278,53
neɛkɛ' goxdji'neha' here if you stay (would you not run off?) 302,28

The copulative conjunction "while" or "as" is expressed by the synonymous enclitics *-tɔ* and *te*:

-tɔ:

- raofa'tɔ ya'ɔdju wɛfa'ɛ' wɛkilɔ'* while he was standing on the branch that he hit he missed it 256,34
kɛfa'tɔ yub'a'fa gohɔ'tɔnɛ' a'hɔgwa' while standing there high above the life-ruler he said 268,29
ahɛ'nenɔ'tɔ ka'ɔka aoga' while we were there a white man he came there 312,134
kɛweha'tɔ tɛ' eiga tɛɛtauwi' while they were there dirty water came to the surface 4,9

-te; *-de*:

- kɛdji'dɛ* while (he was) sitting there (he thought) 88,52
wɛdji'dɛ while they were going (one of them grew tired) 102,20
gok'ɔfɛ'dɛ wɛdabalɛ' while they were going with he grew strong 54,21
ahɛ'hɛndji'dɛ tso'ka hi't'ɛ'lɔ s'a'hɔ'ɛ' as they were going grass one by one they put down 168,147
gok'ɛha'dɔ while they were there with him (they filed his teeth) 154,44
wɛɛtsalɛ' wɛ'hadɛ wɛɛdji'n in their sleep while they were they died 140,7

-hɛ, denotes "when". It is the by far most frequently used conjunction:

- hɔk'ɔ'fɛhɛ* when they went with her 22,8
aoga'hɛ when he got there 62,8
yɔ'tɔ'wahɛ when they heard 66,19
nɛndji'hɛ' when we went 262,20
dikyɔwɔ'hɛ when I think 284,11
pa'dohɛ when (it was) night 290,23

In a few cases *-lɛ* takes the meaning of "when"; *e. g.*:

- hi'tnɛ kɛwɛɔ'lɔ lɛ'fa 'yuhɛ'fa na'ditnɛdji'n* when I first went I had not seen that house 254,9
kɛnɔ'lɔ when he was here (yet) 246,23

The conjunction "before" is expressed by the prefix *na-* (*ha-*) and the enclitic *-lɛ*¹:

¹ The literal meaning is perhaps not yet;

has'εsεnɔla'le before we went to the clean ground 276,45
ha'hɔyukε'lə before he told 322.15
na'hɔyurnda'le before he knew 262,23
nawε'yale'le before he hit 40,28
hak'ala'hɔla'le before they eat 176,46
napεε'wεda'lə before I go further 290,35

The conjunction “after” is expressed by the enclitic *-dode'* or *-dodehe'* after, when:

hɔhɔle'dode'djɔmfwa after she had caught them 86,41
nɔεtidode' nɔtsane' after we dance we sleep 14,12
s'a'ɔdji k'a'adode'he the earth after it was made 6,13
henp'i'dode after they had scratched him 148,6
hi'le kε'tnedodehe' all after it was done that way 152,33
wεkε'ha yɔ^mbadode' his teeth after they filed 154,44
wela'dode'he after he had gone 162,109
wεwaha'le kεwidode'he after many summers had passed 22,7
gocrup'o' kεwidode'he small pox after it had passed 248,18
goatsane' k'ɔ'honɔdode' trial after it had been made 252,14
k'ala'radode'he after I had eaten 254,11
le'dji kεwidode'he that after it had passed 262,10
gowe'dane kε'εdode'he talk after he had made 272,20

In some cases *-dode'* takes the meaning of “already”:

nehε'lidode' (what has been forecasted) it has already come 286,12
di'ya'gwadodehɔ' I have already told 300,16

The conjunction “everytime”, “everytime when” is expressed by the enclitic *-dji'le*:

na'gotne hɔgwadjji'le there is none everytime she said 42,38
yɔs'endji'le everytime they bite (the meat said “I suck”) 102,17
yub'a'oɔwεritε'dji'le everytime they pull her up 102,34
kεεtɔladji'le every once in a while 106,58
kεhenɔdji'le when they were here (yet) 178,1
yɔfedji'le everytime they go 12,2
s'aɔtale' wεkɔdji'le everytime they come to the surface 152,30
nɔfene'dji'le everytime we used to go 262,15
ahɔgadji'lə everytime they came 274,31
agadji'lə everytime it comes 336,129
tasele' wεp'adjji'le one side everytime she chopped 18,27

Sometimes *-dji'le* means “but” and “while”:

na'kohɔp'ha' hɔgwadjji'le kohɔp'ha not he (should) open she had said
 but he opened 88,49
nagolane' hɔywa'εdji'le not to eat they said but (they are very good
 to eat) 112,43
wε'ya'gwadjji'le she told but (it was not so) 306,64
k'a'sogɔtane'he do'ɔdjidji'le while I stayed at school 328,64
p'a'pε goɔdjidji'le while he was chief 250,6

Suffixed to a numeral *-dji'le* means “at that time”:

wε'iεp'ε'a'ε i'εp'εbifa' k'o'ɔtala'dju i'εtuxta'wi dji'le summer
 one thousand eight hundred eighty one at that time 20,2

The conjunction "whether" is expressed by the enclitic *-to*:

- a'weyogwadjit'o'* whether you told him 62,17
hɔwone'to whether he used to fish 280,10
hek'onet'o' whether he uses 280,12
k'alɛ'he anə'ɔto' wherever whether we have been (if he said) 286,24
nas'a'nt.heret'o' would you not run off? 302,28
kele' wedzek'ɔatɔ'dji back that they might go with me... 308,84
hɔditnɛne'to whether I had seen him (she asked) 322,24
ahɛ'ditarɛnto' whether I would want to go (he asked) 334,120
dɔ'yagwa' lade'ɛ'ɛet'o' whether I would tell (they thought) 350,66

The conjunction "where" is expressed by *-ha'he*:

- 'ywa'djiha'he* where the town is (it was close by) 330,86
yuhe' afa'ɛha'he the house where it had stood 128,97
adit'a'djiha'he (it may have been eight or nine miles to) where I
 wanted to go 254,19
ahɔ'pahahe' where they were to bury him (they took him there)
 316,155

Probably *-hahe* is a compound of the enclitic *-ha* (see § 62 b) and *-he* = locative suffix, (see § 29).

(b) Subordination of a clause to a word, and of one verb to another verb:

List of enclitics:

<i>-cɛ</i>	<i>-dji</i>
<i>-ja</i>	<i>-ha</i>
<i>-'ɛ</i>	

animate classifiers:

-nɔ, *-wənɔ'*, *he'nɔ*, *we'nɔ* etc.

-cɛ, denotes the attributive relation of the verb to the antecedent. It corresponds to the English relative pronoun. The relation is made specific by suffixing one of the classifying elements: *-ja*, *-'ɛ*, *-dji*, *-ha*, etc.:

- k'ala'wegwacɛ'ha* things that he had said 44,20
ya'ɛhɔwɛlacɛ'hɔnɔ he who had climbed the tree 108,11
yuhe' aja'ɛha'he the house where it had stood 128,97
ke'hɔjɛɛ'ɛ (the way) that they had gone. In this case the antecedent "the way" to which *ɛ'ɛ* refers is only implied 168,145
k'alɛ'ja hɔjɛɛ'dji whichever way that they had gone 168,148
dɔ'ɔdji aχke'djicɛ'haχke aχke'djidji'n the rock where it had been (before) right there again it was 142,9
k'alɛ'kɛɛa'ɛ adə'ɔdjicɛ'ndji how long it was that I stayed 250,1
Time Barnett-cɛ'honɔ the one who was Time Barnett 256,26
k'alɛ'ɔ' la'le diwicɛ'dji which way out again that I went 258,45
k'ala' we'we'dɛɛ'dji something that he talked about 260,2
gə'p'a he'wedɛɛ'dji na'hidə'ɔ'nda Creek (language) that he talked
 I do not know 262,11
k'ala' hɔyutnɛɛ'dji something that they believed in 264,30
gohə'ɛnɛ' he'sa'ne hɔ'p'acɛ'dji life-ruler his son that was born;
 (*-dji* in this case is exceptional; the regular form should be *-we'nɔ* as it refers to a human being)

Often the same idea of bringing the verbal complex into an attributive relation to the preceding noun is expressed without *-cε*, simply by suffixing the classifying elements to the verbal complex.

Examples:

(α) Inanimate classifiers:

-fa:

axki'ʔε hɔlafadji'n that way it was what they did 272,23
axkəla' he'nɔlafadji'n it was like this that they were 274,28

-ʔε:

həndε'k'ihə' welane'ε their tracks those they traced 160,81
i'cʔε kets'cε'ε the road that I had come 254,8
ya'ɔdju wefa'e' the branch that he hit 256,34

-dji:

k'aləhi'ε'də d'kyɔwɔle'dji one thing also that I remember 22,6
titsia'so axkε'djidjɔfwa money that had been there 28,24
axkε'ʔε wela'ndji that way that they (would) do 104,41
goɔdju'bada hɔk'ɔtε'ndji mischief that they could do 180,6
k'alε'he adiga'ndji where that I would get to 252,3

-ha: (plural suffix):

gɔ'ntε wede'k'i hɔtneha' person his tracks that they saw 144,3
k'ala' k'alε'weladjinaha things whichever she had done 100,9
goɔdju'bada hɔk'ɔtεha mischief that they can make 180,4
tiɔɔfa'neha djɔfala'la tihe henedji'naha clothes even that they used to wear 182,19
golane' hɔk'ɔ'ha food that they make 174,33
k'ala' wegwaha' things that he said 44,19
ya'c'a hɔ'aha' leaves that they carried 274,37
k'a'so ditneha' books that I study 334,119
gocti'ne hɔcti'djinha' dances that they danced 276,51
gɔc'ie'c'ie' tsya'εha' rags that were dry 258,40

In this case the verbalization of the adjective *tsya* dry seems superfluous as the same idea could be expressed by suffixing the plural element *-ha* to the adjectival form: *gɔc'ie'c'ie' tsyaha'* dry rags.

(β) Animate classifiers:

gɔ'ntε ra'wɔhɔta djihε'nɔ persons whom they appointed 136,26
wεya'line na'fa he'gehɔhε'nɔ young girl who had never been away 56,30
lehe'nɔ rahafa'le hɔyu'hahɔladji'nhenɔle' those who had watched before (again they appointed) 134,13
k'ala'yu'ɔwe'nɔ things (beings) that fly 2,2
tɔ'ta wela'we'nɔ light those who make 6,13
k'ala' s'axtaɔfa'we'nɔ beings that are standing on the earth 6,18
wi'hikiki' yɔ'ndeta'we'nɔ fierce those who wanted to be 150,24

The suffix *-dji* also expresses the object relation of one verb to another verb. It is suffixed to the dependent verb:

- s'a'ok'alawε'dji tso'bila wek'a'εdji'n* to run a race straight they agreed 36,3(1)
- na'i'le yu'xtafale'dε aχκε'ε wele'ndji weyu'rndadji'n, k'ale'nrne wele'ndji sεle'de wek'a'yuxTεTε'dji'n* but beforehand that way that they would do they knew, whatever to do right away they told each other 104,41
- ahε'ndε aga'ε'dε κε'ε' pado'ε'dε κε'ε'ndji hi'le wek'a'hornegadji'n* and then the day also to lie there, the night also to lie there all they agreed 8,24
- aga'ε' pado'ε' k'are'tenε'dji hi'le wek'a'hornegadji'n* the day the night separate to be all they agreed 8,25
- padohe' k'ala'k'one'dji wegodji'n* when night something to work he told him 120,25
- goyu'dodji hε'gwa* to reach for her, they said 102,29
- na'go'yaga hεk'ε' κελεhqdji' hεk'ε'wede'* not they commit adultery that way to be they talked to them 180,6
- wedi'lε yuru'k'εdji tso'tiha yεk'one' wegwadji'n* he only he would be in the house with 48,16
- k'alε'tne hεla' hεkila'ndji na'hεyu'rndadji'n* what he (should) do to escape he did not know 108,11
- wetwa'ndji εεε' yεladji'n* to kill (her) he got ready 118,42
- naκε'dε tca'le hεwelε'dji aga' κε'hε'εdji'n* and now back into the water for him to go it came he was lying there 68,19

In a few cases *-ha* seems to take the same meaning:

- hεndzek'εε'ha a'hεgafadji'n* to take me with them they had come there 316,164
- s'a'goroteha' aχκεε'ε'ndε yεndyonε'* to run away I was there they thought 308,83

§ 63. ENCLITICS OF ADVERBIAL CHARACTER

There are only a few enclitics of adverbial character, most adverbial ideas being expressed by independent particles (see § 68):

-le, denotes "again":

- hε'oxpaledji'n* it filled up again 18,27
- yujfa' yεTεledji'n* the room she closed again 116,17
- neso'gwalenε'* to tell you again 136,31
- we'εTεale'nedji'n hεgwadji'n* they she used to light up again, they said 150,19
- hida'ndale'he* when I knew again (when I came back to consciousness) 330,91

-le, denotes "only" being homonymous with *-le* = again:

- yεtwadji'le* his hide only 52,4
- yaxkale'* white only 56,30
- cyqcanε'le* boys only 100,1
- hi'ε'lε* one only 116,26

§§ 64—69. E. INDEPENDENT PARTICLES

§ 64. INTRODUCTORY

The particles so far discussed were either nominal or verbal affixes or enclitics, i. e. formal elements which cannot be detached from the word complex they modify; the particles which will be dealt with in this chapter are independent words. Even detached from the word complex or sentence they have a definite meaning and their position in the sentence is only determined by the syntactical structure.

An analysis of these independent particles shows that most of them are compounds of various affixes.

§ 65. LOCATIVE PARTICLES

A great number of independent locatives are compounds of a monosyllabic prefix and one of the four general locative suffixes *-he*, *-le*, *-ke*, and *-fa* (see § 29). Thus the general locative prefix *a-* becomes:

<i>ahe'</i> here	<i>aχke'</i> there, yonder
<i>ale'</i> back to (here)	<i>ajfa'</i> towards

In the same manner and with an analogous variation of meaning the following compound particles are formed:

there	<i>kehe'</i>	<i>kele'</i>	—	<i>kefa'</i>
across	<i>yahē'</i>	<i>yale'</i>	—	<i>yafa'</i>
above	<i>yuhē'</i>	—	<i>yuχke'</i>	<i>yufa'</i>
in	<i>rihe'</i>	<i>rile'</i>	<i>riχke'</i>	<i>rija'</i>
through	—	<i>kyole'</i>	—	<i>kyafa'</i>
over	<i>pehe'</i>	<i>pele'</i>	—	—

Examples:

- antsole' rihe' a'newelenq'* your home inside you will wake up 88,42
yud'le hqwi' house into he went 164,116
k'ala' hq'a 'yahē' hqk'q'djidji'n something he carried that he was taking across (a river) 270,9
tse'aya'ja k'ala' wi'hikikiwe'nq awe'nq big water across (towards the other side) fierce beings they were there 162,100
yu'χke ke'idji he'hqgwa up yonder they are going there she said 86,40
k'aka'ξ aχke' yōnt'a in the middle there she put 38,6
tse pehe' above the water 38,21
kele' nqk'qje'ndji'n back home we went with 312,134

Another group of independent locatives are bi- or polysyllabic the majority of which yield to a partial analysis only:

<i>ada'le</i> all around	<i>djik'a'</i> along
<i>aχke'la</i> here	<i>dja'ka</i> through (during)
<i>aχpele'</i> any way, to all sides	<i>teca'</i> near
<i>agehe'</i> from	<i>tahe'ξ</i> farther
<i>yaχtahe'</i> in front of, ahead	<i>tapi'</i> on

yuha' high up
yub'a' upward
yukʷlə far (also temporal: long
 time)
yula around
hitʷq' on, it is on
hila' towards
he'geja away
hagye' away from
bil'i' around
dane' off
dʷtele' backward

tase' across (the earth)
tale''ε in sight
ɾq'wɔ right there (right then)
ɾq'lə at the same place
s'edi' down
keɾta''ε far
k'atawɔ''ε between
k'a'bi straight towards
k'at'e' between
k'akahε' in the middle
le'kyε through

Most of these particles can be modified in the same way as the monosyllabic prefixes by suffixing the general locative elements *-he*, *-le*, *-ke*, and *-fa*:

yub'ahε' upward
yub'ale' from above
yub'afa' upward towards
ɾεcafa' near towards

tasehε' across at
tasefa' across towards
k'ak'ale' along in the middle

§ 66. TEMPORAL PARTICLES

icu''ε later
i'kɔ long time
endjubi' all day
ε'ndε during day
εle'dji at day time
abε'dji now
abε'ki''ε just now
aɣke'dε right then
aɣkeɾale' at that time
yaɣɾafa'le before that
yukʷ' a long time
hitohε' later on, afterwards
hitohε'ndε afterwards and then
hi'tne first, at present
hitne'ndε just now
ha'fa sometimes

hafale' seldom
hafale'ndε seldom and then
haɣke' at that time
ha'ɣkeɾa since
hale'dε right then
depole' again
ɾafa'le before
ts'its'i'ε' often
ts'its'i'ga too often
ts'ala' suddenly
sahq't'ε once
sɔhɔ'dε all the time
sɔle'dε right away
εɾahafa'le long before
ke'də now
kekele' often

§ 67. CONJUNCTIVES AND DISJUNCTIVES

ɬ'le but
ahε'ndε and then
mdeɣ' and also
ya.i' also
wahε'tne why
he'ndε and then
djunja'la also
na and
na'ɬ'le however, but (in the be-
 ginning of a sentence)

na'εya'ndε or else
nahɔ' and so
na'ndε and then
ɾahε''ε further
k'alatnele' for what reason
k'alεhe'dε wherever
k'alεnɔ' whoever
k'alε'ntne whatever
k'alε'ke whatever

Examples:

ná' goctine' a'gahε and to dance when it came = and when it was time to dance 88,47

na'nde pado'ndji go'one' a'yɔgwa and then at night the devil he said... 124,56

na'ɬlɔ nak'ala' aχκεrne' but not a thing it was like that 306,61
..ɬlɔ weta' dit'a' ... but I go I wanted = ... but I wanted to go 306,76

wa'nenehe'nɔ ya.i' hɔti' the women also they dance 278,58

go'p'a na'εya'nde ka'χka Creek or else Whites 342,28

gotcala' p'ele'wenɔ djunfa'la hɔk'a'hɔ red people others also they fight with 158,77

k'alé'nɔ yahé'ntc.εε whoever tree if he leans against... 278,52

§ 68. INDEPENDENT ADVERBIALS

ati'la enough

aχte' enough

tesí' almost

taχke' in vain

§§ 70—72

§ 70. LIST OF PERSONAL AND

	Subject. first series	Subject. second series	Indep. series Emphat.	Direct Object. first	Direct Object. second	Indir. Object. series	
Sing.	1. <i>di-</i>	<i>do-</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>-tse-</i>	<i>tse</i> <i>dzio</i>	<i>aso</i>	
	2. <i>nε-</i>	<i>yo-</i>	<i>tse</i>	<i>-nendze-</i>	<i>nendze</i> <i>nendzio</i>	<i>so</i>	
	<i>hɔ-</i>	<i>hɔ-</i>	<i>hɔdi</i>	<i>hɔ-</i>	<i>hɔ</i>	<i>hɔ</i>	
				<i>hɔdi-</i>	<i>hɔdi</i>		
	<i>se-</i>	<i>sio-</i>	<i>sedí</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>s'ε, s'edi</i>	
				<i>sedí</i>	<i>sedí</i>		
	<i>s'ε-</i>	<i>s'io-</i>	<i>s'edi</i>	<i>s'ε</i>	<i>s'ε</i>	<i>se, sedí</i> etc.	
				<i>s'edi</i>	<i>s'edi</i>		
	3. <i>ε-</i>	<i>εyɔ-</i>	<i>ɛdi</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>ε</i>		
				<i>ɛdi</i>	<i>ɛdi</i>		
<i>o-</i>				<i>odi</i>	<i>o</i>		<i>odi</i>
<i>i-</i>				—	<i>i</i>		—
<i>wε-</i>	<i>yɔ-</i>	<i>wedi</i>	<i>wε</i>	<i>wε</i>	<i>wε, wedí</i>		
			<i>wedi</i>	<i>wedi</i>			
<i>hi-</i>	<i>ho-</i>	—	—	—	—		
Plur.	1. in. <i>ɔ-</i>	<i>ɔ-</i>	<i>ɔdi</i>	<i>wε</i> <i>ɔndze</i>	<i>wε</i> <i>ɔndzio</i>	<i>wε,</i> <i>ɔntso</i>	
	1. ex. <i>nɔ-</i>	<i>nɔ-</i>	<i>nɔdi</i>	<i>wε</i> <i>nɔndze</i>	<i>wε</i> <i>nɔndzio</i>	<i>wε</i> <i>nɔntso</i>	
	2. <i>q- (a-)</i>	<i>ayo-</i>	<i>adze</i>	<i>andze</i>	<i>andze</i> <i>andzio</i>	<i>aso</i>	

aχκε'ε that way
aχκε'ε'nde anyhow
aχτε'λε normally, usually
aχkile'ε the same way
aχki'la in that manner
hi'le all
pe'ε very
peεε' more
dodehq' already

ts'i'ε almost
'nega'le indeed, truly
si almost
safi'le quietly
gu'iyο maybe
kya'ga fluently
lade'ε' possibly
la'le easily, quietly

§ 69. EXCLAMATORY PARTICLES

aba' now!
adju' that's it!
aχκε'ε'cha well then!
aχκε'le that's all
yi'q' alas!
hi'hq alas!
hona'ε no!

hq yes!
dja oh my!
goho'go oh pshaw!
kehq' now!
ko oh!
le yes, all right!
la'ya' well then!

APPENDIX

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

reflex. with first	reflex. with second	1. subject. with Instr.	2. subj. with Instr.	1. Poss.	2. Poss.	3. Poss.	4. Poss.
<i>tsedi</i>	<i>tsedo</i>	<i>hidi</i>	<i>hido</i>	<i>di-</i>	<i>tso-</i>	<i>tsio-</i>	<i>tse-</i>
<i>nendze ne</i>	<i>nendze yo</i>	<i>hene</i>	<i>hiyo</i>	<i>ne-</i>	<i>so-</i>	<i>nendzio</i>	<i>nsndze-</i>
<i>hqde</i>	<i>hondio</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>hyu</i>	<i>hq-</i>	<i>hq-</i>	<i>hq-</i>	<i>hq-</i>
<i>sioε</i>	<i>siodio</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>seyu</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>sio-</i>	<i>sio-</i>	<i>se-</i>
<i>s'ioε</i>	<i>s'iodio</i>	<i>s'e</i>	<i>s'eyu</i>	<i>s'e-</i>	<i>s'io-</i>	<i>s'io-</i>	<i>s'e-</i>
<i>εyqde</i>	<i>εyondio</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>εyu</i>	<i>ε-</i>	<i>εyq-</i>	<i>εyq-</i>	<i>ε-</i>
<i>oε</i>	<i>odio</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>oyu</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>o-</i>
—	—	<i>i</i>	<i>iyu</i>	<i>i-</i>	—	—	<i>i-</i>
<i>yqde</i>	<i>yondio</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>weyu</i>	<i>we-</i>	<i>yq-</i>	<i>yq-</i>	<i>we-</i>
—	—	—	—	<i>hi-</i>	<i>ho-</i>	—	—
<i>ndze.q'</i>	<i>ndze.q'</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>qyu</i>	<i>q-</i>	<i>ndzo</i>	<i>ndzio-</i>	<i>ndze</i>
<i>nndzenq'</i>	<i>nndzenq'</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>nqyu</i>	<i>nq-</i>	<i>nndzo</i>	<i>nndzio-</i>	<i>nndze</i>
<i>andze.q'</i>	<i>andze.a'yo</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>a'yo</i>	<i>q-</i>	<i>aso-</i>	<i>andzio-</i>	<i>andze</i>

§ 71. LIST OF HOMONYMOUS AFFIXES

Throughout the discussion of morphology the various homonymous affixes have been dealt with in regard to the ideas they express, and, accordingly, have been mentioned in different places. It seems appropriate, therefore, to group them together here in a list:

1. Prefixes:

- hi-* 1) Impersonal pronoun, see § 40
 2) Instrumental prefix, see § 57
- go-* 1) Indefinite personal pronoun, see § 34
 2) Contraction of *κε + wε*, see § 3.

2. Suffixes and enclitics:

- nɔ* 1) Demonstrative and interrogative suffix (*ne'nɔ*, *le'nɔ*, *wa'nɔ* etc., see §§ 41, 42
 2) Imperative suffix, see § 53
 3) Verbal stem, "to become"
- nε* 1) Nominalizing suffix, see § 25
 2) habitual, see § 54
- lε* 1) Verbal interrogative suffix, see § 56
 2) adverbial "only", see § 63
 3) adverbial "again", see § 63
 4) conjunctive "when", see § 62
- tε* 1) modal suffix, denoting "ability", see § 53
 2) conjunctive "while", see § 62
 3) conjunctive "also", see § 61, (*dε*)
- fa'la* 1) conjunctive "but", see § 61
 2) conjunctive "if", see § 62
- fa*, *-ε*, *-dji*, *-ha*, *-he'nɔ*, *-we'nɔ*, etc. occur both as nominal classifiers and as relative pronouns by establishing the relation of the verb to the antecedent. *-dji* also expresses the object relation of one verb to another verb.

§ 72. TEXT

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

(Told by Maxey Simms)

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>hi'tnə</i> (1) | <i>ctaha'.endji</i> (2) | <i>nak'ala'</i> (3) | <i>go'tnə</i> (4) |
| First | (in) the beginning | it was | not a thing exist(ed) |
| <i>tse'ε'la</i> (5) | <i>κε'ε'</i> (6) | <i>k'ala'</i> (3) | <i>t'εlε'wεnɔ'la</i> (7) |
| the water only | lying there | something | other ones only |
| <i>ha.εκεtne'</i> (9) | <i>goha'hanehe'nɔ</i> (10) | <i>hɔya'gɔmedji'n.</i> (11) | |
| in this way | the older ones | they used to tell. | |

2. *k'ala'yū.ɔwε'nɔ* (12) *κewε'nɔ* (8) *tsoonɔ'ndə* (13) *go'ɔdji* (14)
 Things that fly they (were) here the sun also was here
- κ'alεκκ'ε.gola* (15) *s'a' gεlaTε'ndji* (16) *wεk'awε'dε* (17)
 whatever to do earth to be able to find they talk with each other
- κewε'hadji* (18) *hɔgɛnedji'n.* (19) 3. *tsoonɔ'* (13) *k'ala'* (3)
 they were here they used to say. The sun something
- wε'xTɔTɔ* (20) *κewε'hadji'n.* (18) 4. *k'ala'* (3) *f'o'a'*-
 she dictated they were here. Something that belongs into
- odonɔ* (21) *s'a' hɔwage'nə* (22) *wεTɔdji'n* (23) *cageɔnɔ'* (24)
 the water earth to hunt for they asked the beaver
- weyu' Tnəcə'* (25) *gok'εnɔ'la* (26) *na'.εwεlaTɛdji'n.* (27)
 they expected he could they were with him but not he could do.
5. *ahε'ndə* (28) *culanε'* (29) *ya'i' weyu' Tnəcə'* (25) *lonɔ'də* (30)
 And then fishotter also they expected he could that one also
- na'Tnεwεla' Tɛdji'n.* (31) 6. *ahε'ndə* (28) *tsia'ɔtsaonɔ'* (32) *wεko-*
 not he could do. And then the crawfish they
- dji'n* (23) *tsia'ɔtsaonɔ'* (32) *a'ogwa* (33) *f'wε'daya* (34)
 asked the crawfish he said if I go down into the water
- k'ala'goyu' rnda'ne* (35) *nεha'* (36) *adjunɔ'* (37) *natse'tale'* (38)
 something to know (signs) these will be the ones: not water top
- diwi'* (39) *axTɛnɔ'.εya* (40) *wi'i' tsexrawi'.* (41) 7. *na'ɔ'lə* (42)
 I come if it can be done blood water top comes. However
- s'a'ɔdji* (43) *hi'tsa* (44) *alek'ɔ'ntsɔya* (45) *tse ciga Tɔ'ε* (46)
 the earth I find if I come back with water dirty yellow
- tsexrawi'* (41) *hɔgwadji'n.* (47) 8. *s'a'.axɔdji'he* (48) *a'oga'*-
 water top comes he said. Where the earth is (whether) he
- Tε'ndji* (49) *na.oyu' rndεfa'la* (50) *wεkwε'lahɔ'* (51) 9. *f'ε'wε-*
 could get there he did not know but they sent him. Down into the
- la'dji* (52) *yuk'lə* (53) *aga'* (54) *κewεha'Tɔ* (55) *tse' ciga*
 water he went long time it took while they were there water dirty
- Tɔ'ε* (46) *tsexrawi'* (41) *wεTnε'* (56) *κewε'hahe* (57)
 yellow water top come they saw while they were there
- tsia'ɔtsaonɔ'* (32) *wε.ɔcTα'* (58) *κ'at'εhe'* (59) *s'a'co s'iε'ε* (60)
 the crawfish his claws between dirt (it) was little
- hiPε'* (61) *tseTalowɔ'dji* (62) *hɔgε'nɛdji* (63) *hɔgwadji'n.* (47)
 on with water top he came they used to say they said.
10. *s'a'co s'iε'εdji* (64) *yɔhɔ'* (65) *k'ala'* (3) *κeyɔ'ɔ'a* (66)
 Dirt very little it was they took something stuck up
- wε'tεTε'* (67) *s'a' k'a'adji'* (68) *hɔgwadji'n.* (47) 11. *na'ɔ'lə* (42)
 they hit it (with) earth it was made they said. However
- ɔ'wɔ* (69) *agwa'he* (70) *s'aco'ɔdji* (71) *yɔhɔ'* (65) *κewεp'a'he* (72)
 some when they say the dirt they took when they threw

- ahé'*(28) *s'a' k'a'dji*(68) *həgə'nədji'n.*(19) 12. *yuk'ə*(53) *s'a'xdji*(43)
 then earth was made they used to say. Long time the earth
wək'wah'ə(73) *tsextalé'*(38) *wé'k'əgə'hé*(74) *s'aco'xdji*(71) *té'*
 he went after water top when he was coming with the dirt melted
s'ie'ə(60) *ho'wa*(75) *tsextalé'*(38) *wək'ə'widji'kə'*(76) *s'a'ə*(77)
 little it (was) left water top he may have come with the earth
k'a'a(68) *k'ala'*(3) *pələ'wənə'də*(78) *hi'lə wé'k'a'adj'i'*(68) *hə-*
 made something else they also all they were made they
gwadj'i'n.(47) 13. *s'a'xdji*(43) *k'a'adodé'hé*(79) *na'tətago'tnə*(80)
 said. The earth after it was made there was no light
kədj'dji'n(81) *k'ələwé'ha*(82) *tsoonə'*(13) *k'ala*(3) *wé'xtə'tə*(20)
 it was here they gathered the sun something she dictated
kəwəhadji'(18) *həgwadj'i'n*(47) *tə'tawəlawé'nə*(83) *wəyu'*-
 they were here they said those who were to make light they
wagə'(84) *kəwə'hadji'n.*(18) 14. *s'ədjiba'c'o*(85) *wəyu'tnəcə'*(25)
 hunted for they were here. Lantern-fly they expected he could
yu'te(86) *kəwə'ta'.'lə*(87) *s'ie's'ie'lə*(88) *tə'ta' kətə'de*(89)
 he flew there he went but very little only light it flashed
wəta(90) *a'xkə'lə*(91) *yula'otədj'i'n*(92) 15. *ahé'*(28) *'yə'wənə*(93)
 he made that (much) only he flew around. Then the star
ya'i' wəkodji'n.(23) 16. *aonə'de*(94) *p'a'lə*(95) *tə'ta wəta'*(90)
 also they asked. There he also very dim light he made
a'xkələdj'i'n(96) *ca'faonə*(97) *ya'i' wəkodji'n*(23) *tə'ta'*
 that much only it was the moon also they asked light
wəta'.'lə(87) *tə'ta pado'ə*(98) *a'xkə'ledji'n.*(96) 17. *ahé'*(18)
 she made but light was dark that much only it was. Then
tsoonə'(13) *ya'i' wəyu'tnəcə'*(25) *kəwə'ta'djin.*(99)
 the sun also they expected (she could) there she went.
 18. *hi'tnə yub'a'ogə*(100) *kə'də*(101) *s'a'xdji*(43) *hityubi'*(102)
 Just as soon as she came up now the earth all over with
tə'ta hi'oxpə'(103) *k'ala'*(3) *s'a'xtaofa'onə*(104) *hile'*
 light it was full of things that are standing on earth all
yə'ndeyu'cə(105) *taxkə'*(106) *wé'kə*(107) *tca'tca*(108) *kəwə'ha-*
 they were glad just they sing loud all over they were
dji'(18) *həgwadj'i'n.*(47) 19. *tsoonə'*(13) *kəwə'ta'*(87) *yuxpə'ə'*(109)
 here they said. The sun there she went at noon
ha'xkə(110) *hi'loxədj'dji'n.*(111) 20. *a'xkə'tnə*(112) *wətnəhə'*(113)
 right then (all) she stopped. That way when they saw
tsoonə'(13) *s'a'xdji*(43) *tə'ta yə'tanə'nə*(114) *wəgwadj'i'n.*(115)
 the sun the earth light she should make they said.
 21. *na'*(116) *ahé'ndə*(28) *kəwə'hahə*(57) *ə'wə*(69) *aogwa'hə*(117)
 And then when they were here some when they said

- agaʷεʷle* (118) *keʷεʷ* (6) *naʷradogornεʷ* (119) *wεgwadjin.* (115)
the day only (should) lie here not dark it should be they said.
22. *ʷwɔdε* (120) *agaʷεʷdε* (121) *keʷεʷ* (6) *radoʷεʷdε* (122) *keʷεheʷ* (123)
Others the day also (should) be the night also when it is here
- sεleʷte* (124) *wεgwaʷ* (115) *wεkʷawεʷdε* (17) *kewεʷ-*
would be good they said they talked with each other they
- hadjin.* (18) 23. *tconεʷ* (125) *aʷogwa* (33) *radoʷεʷdε* (122)
were here. Ground-squirrel there he said "the night also
- keʷεʷ* (6) *gɔʷntʷεheʷnɔ* (126) *radoheʷ* (127) *hɔkʷaʷga* (128)
(should) be here the people when night they have intercourse
- hɔwaleʷaʷxte* (129) *dɔdzaʷ* (130) *hɔgwadjin.* (47) 24. *ahεʷndε* (28)
they could increase I say" he said. And then
- agaʷεʷdε* (121) *keʷεʷ* (6) *radoʷεʷdε* (122) *keʷεʷndji* (131) *hiʷle*
the day also to be here the night also it was to be here all
- wεkʷaʷhornεgadjin.* (132) 25. *tsoonɔ* (13) *εleʷdji* (133) *ɔʷra-*
they agreed with each other. The sun day time light was
- otaʷ* (134) *caʷfaonɔ* (97) *ʷyɔwenɔdε* (135) *radoheʷ* (127) *ɔʷra wεlaʷ-*
to make the moon the stars also when night light they were
- djin* (99) *agaʷεʷ* (118) *radoʷεʷ* (136) *kʷatʷεʷenɔdji* (137) *hiʷle*
to make the day the night was to be separate all
- wεkʷaʷhornεgadjin.* (132) 26. *ahεʷndε* (28) *tconɔnɔ* (138)
they agreed with each other. And then the ground-squirrel
- aʷogwa* (33) *diadidzaʷnsʷi* (139) *aʷkeʷtne* (112) *hɔʷgwa* (47)
he said "I did say it (and) it is done that way" he said
- tsitsʷiʷε* (140) *aʷogwa* (33) *goʷxɔdji* (14) *catʷaneʷ* (141) *wεpʷ-*
every now and then he said he was there wildcat he got
- asiεʷ* (142) "gohoʷgo (143) *godɔʷaʷgogwa* (144) *aʷkeʷtne.εfaʷla* (145)
mad "Oh pshaw! you you did say that way if it is
- sɔhɔ.εleʷdε* (146) *agogwaʷxte*" (147) *hɔʷgwa* (47) *taloʷfa* (148) *hileʷ*
once only you should say" he said he jumped on him all
- yɔtʷatʷadjin* (149) *tconεwεʷnɔ* (138) *wesosodjiʷ* (150) *hɔgwadjin.* (47)
he scratched him the ground-squirrel he got spotted they said.
27. *sʷaʷε* (77) *hiʷtneʷaʷahε* (151) *coʷε* (152) *keʷdji* (81)
The earth when it was just finished it was soft it was here
- sʷaʷsra* (153) *sεʷεʷlenɔ* (154) *wεgwaʷ* (115) *kewεʷhadjin.* (18)
ground flat should be good they said they were there.
28. *nakʷalaʷ* (3) *taʷriwεlaʷ* (155) *keʷdji* (81) *tsianɔdjin.* (156)
Not a thing over it (he) goes it is here it was to dry.
29. *yɔpʷiʷ* (157) *sʷaʷwεtneʷtneʷ* (158) *wεkwεʷ* (159) *wεladjin* (160)
Buzzard earth he inspects they sent he went
- naʷyɔfafaʷ* (161) *wεyusʷaʷεʷle* (162) *yulaʷotendjin* (163)
he was not to flop he was to spread out only he was to fly around

<i>weta'</i> (155) he went	<i>aodji'he</i> (164) while he was going	<i>gont'ε'</i> (126) somebody	<i>go'wifjinfwa</i> (165) he must have gone there
<i>wede'ki</i> (166) his tracks	<i>ahi'ha</i> (167) they were there	<i>wεrne'</i> (113) he saw	<i>weta'</i> (168) he traced
	<i>te'zdjinfwa</i> (170) it happened to be a bull frog	<i>kya'ogadji'n.</i> (171) he overtook (him).	30. <i>na'pe</i> (172) Not one
<i>saxtalehe'nq</i> (173) ground on should (go)	<i>hɔgwadji'n</i> (47) he said	<i>axkela'yq</i> (174) you are here	<i>he'yɔgwa</i> (175) he said
<i>wehi'tapaha'</i> (176) his wings	<i>wε'fafa</i> (177) he whipped him (with)	<i>te'znq</i> (178) bull frog	<i>wε'a'djin</i> (179) he cried
<i>wetci'xte</i> (180) his eye-brows	<i>kaba'dji</i> (181) swelled	<i>hɔgwadji'n.</i> (47) they said.	31. <i>kewe'wi</i> (182) He went on
<i>ao'djihe'</i> (164) while he was going	<i>depole'</i> (183) again	<i>k'ala'</i> (3) something	<i>keweta'djinfwa</i> (184) must have gone there
<i>wε'ta</i> (168) he traced	<i>kia'ogadjin</i> (171) he overtook	<i>tca'ti'zdjinfwa</i> (185) it happened to be a raccoon	<i>tsia'xtsa</i> (32) crawfish
<i>yza'</i> (186) he was fishing for	<i>ao'xdjidjinfwa</i> (187) he had been sitting there	<i>lonq'da</i> (30) him also	<i>wε'fafa'</i> (177) he whipped
<i>wε'adji'n</i> (179) he cried	<i>wεta'sosodji'</i> (188) his face got spotted	<i>hɔgenedji'n</i> (19) they used to say	<i>na'</i> (116) and
<i>yɔt'u'nq</i> (189) the buzzard	<i>hɔyu'sta'ε'lε</i> (190) he was to spread only	<i>s'a'dase</i> (191) earth across	<i>a'oten-</i> he was to
<i>dji'la</i> (192) fly there but	<i>wε'c'o</i> (193) he was tired	<i>ts'i'ha</i> almost	<i>s'as'a'owi</i> (194) to the ground he fell
			<i>he'ndə</i> (28) and then
<i>yɔ'fafa</i> (161) he flopped	<i>yub'a'le</i> (195) upward again	<i>weta'djin</i> (160) he went	<i>s'ayub'a'</i> (196) mountains
<i>'adji'n.</i> (197) made.	32. <i>s'atne'ne'</i> (158) Earth to inspect	<i>wεkwedji'n</i> (198) they sent (him)	<i>yula'</i> - he flew
<i>ote'la</i> (199) around but	<i>wε'c'o</i> (193) he got tired	<i>yɔ'fafadji'n</i> (200) he flopped	<i>s'ayu'b'a</i> (196) mountains
<i>kehadji'</i> (201) (they) were here	<i>hɔge'nedjin.</i> (19) they used to say.		

FREE TRANSLATION

1. In the beginning not a thing existed; there was only water and some animal creatures, as the old people used to tell. 2. The fowl of the air and the sun met together: They held council what they could do to find the earth. 3. The sun took the lead at their meeting. 4. They asked the animals in the water to search for earth; they expected the beaver could find some earth, but he could

not do it. 5. And then they expected the fishotter to dive, but he also could not do it. 6. Thereupon they asked the crawfish who said, "If I dive into the water, the following sign will show you: if I cannot come back to the surface of the water, blood will rise up. 7. If, however, I come back with earth, some dirty yellow water will rise to the surface." 8. He did not know whether he could get to where the earth was, but they sent him anyway. 9. He went down into the water, and after they had waited for a long time they saw some dirty yellow water coming to the surface, and then the crawfish himself appeared with a little dirt between his claws. 10. It was only very little dirt; they took it and hit it against something that was sticking out of the water, and the earth was made. 11. Some storytellers, however, say that they just threw the earth upon the water and then the earth was made. 12. The crawfish had dived for earth for a long time, and when he came back to the surface of the water the dirt had almost melted, just a little was left over; after the earth was made the other animals were also created. 13. At first there was no light on the earth, and so they all met under the leadership of the sun to look for someone who would light the earth. 14. They expected the glow-worm could do it; it flew around, but it only made very faint gleams of light. 15. Then they asked the star. 16. He also made only a dim light, and then they asked the moon too; she gave light, but it was still too dark. 17. Then they expected the sun could do it, and up she went. 18. Just as soon as she came up the earth was flooded with light; all the creatures on earth were glad and sang aloud. 19. Right at noon the sun stopped on her way. 20. When they saw it, they said the sun should light the earth that way. 21. And then some were saying, it only should be day and never night. 22. Others said it would be good if there would be day as well as night; in this way they talked with one another. 23. After a while the ground squirrel said, "I say the night also should be for the people to have intercourse so that they may increase." 24. And then they all agreed with one another that day should be and night as well. 25. The sun should make the light during the daytime and the moon and the stars during the night; they all agreed that day and night should be separate. 26. Then the ground squirrel said, "I said it and it is done that way;" every now and then he said this, and then the wildcat got mad at him; "Oh pshaw, even if you did say it you should say it only once," he said; he jumped on him and scratched him all over, and so the ground squirrel became spotted. 27. When the earth was just made it was soft, and they thought it would be good if the ground were flat. 28. Nobody was to go over it so that it could dry. 29. They sent the buzzard to inspect the earth; he was not to flop with his wings but only to spread them out and fly around; while he was flying he

noticed tracks where somebody must have gone; he traced them and it happened to be a bullfrog whom he overtook. 30. "Nobody is to go on the ground and here you are!" he said; he whipped him with his wings, and the bullfrog cried, and his eyebrows swelled. 31. The buzzard flew on, and while he was flying he saw again some tracks; he traced them and when he overtook them he saw it had been a racoon who was fishing for crawfish; he whipped him too and the racoon's face became spotted; the buzzard was only to spread his wings, he was to fly across the earth, but he got tired and almost fell to the ground, and then he flopped; when he ascended again, the mountains were made. 32. They had sent him to inspect the earth; he flew around but he got tired, and so he flopped and the mountains were made.

- (1) *hi* (?) (notes 61, 102, 105); *tnə* verbalizing particle, § 50.
 (2) *craha'* verbal or nominal stem; *en* = ξ verbalizing suffix, §§ 9, 50;
dji temporal particle denoting past, § 51; at end of sentence *djin*.
 (3) *na* prefix expressing negation, § 28; *k'ala'* something.
 (4) *go* indefinite personal pronom. § 34; *tnə* stem „see“.
 (5) *tse* water; ϵ classifier for inanimate, horizontal objects (= to lie), § 26;
la only, § 63.
 (6) *ke* locative particle, § 65; ϵ to lie (note 5).
 (7) *Pele'* others; *wen η* demonstrative, 3rd person, singular and plural,
 beings not Yuchi, § 26; *n η* to be; *la* (note 5).
 (8) *ke* (note 6); *we* (note 7); *n η* (note 7); *djin* (note 2).
 (9) *ha'xke* temporal particle, § 66; *tnə* (note 2).
 (10) *go-* classifying prefix, referring to human beings (note 4); *ha'ne* old,
 reduplicated, § 27; *ne* nominalizing suffix, § 25; *he'n η* demonstrative pronoun,
 referring to Yuchi, plural (note 7).
 (11) *h η* personal pronoun, third person singular and plural, Yuchi; § 31;
ya'go to tell; *ne* repeated or customary action, § 54; *djin* (notes 2, 8).
 (12) *k'ala'* something, (note 3); *yu* above, § 65; η verbal stem 'to belong to',
 to be here, § 35, no. 13; *we'n η* (note 7), § 62b.
 (13) *tsoon η* > *tso-wen η* (note 7). The sun is considered a living being;
də also, § 61.
 (14) Contracted from *kəwə'xdji*, § 3; *ke* (note 6); *we* (note 7); *x* § 9;
dji to sit, stay.
 (15) *k'al ξ ke* independent conjunctive, § 67; ξ (note 2); *go* (note 4); *la* to do.
 (16) *ge* irregular indefinite personal pronoun, § 35, no. 12; *la* to find;
te intention or ability, § 53; *ndji* > *nedji* (?); for *dji* (note 2).
 (17) *we* (note 7); *k'a* reciprocal, § 38; *we'de* to talk.
 (18) *ke* (note 6); *we* (note 7); *ha* to be; *dji* (note 2).
 (19) *h η* (note 11); *ge* to say; *ne* (note 11); *djin* (note 8).
 (20) *we* (note 8); *x*, § 9; *t η t η* to teach, instruct (duplicated).
 (21) *po* under water, § 58, no. 3; *a* > *ah ϵ'* here, § 65; *odon η* > *wedew'n η* (?)
we (note 8); *d ϵ* stem (perhaps of generic character and identical with the
 stem *te* in note 86); *wen η* (notes 7, 12).
 (22) *h η* (note 11); *wage'* to hunt; *ne* (§ 25): "their hunting (it) they asked
 for"; (*nə* usually occurs as a modal particle denoting the frequentative,
 § 54 (note 11)).
 (23) *we* (note 7); *ko* to ask; *djin* (notes 2, 8).
 (24) *eage* beaver; *on η* > *wen η* (note 7).

- (25) *wε* (note 7); *yurnæç'* to suspect, irregular verb, § 37.
 (26) *go* (note 4); *k'ε > k'a* (note 17); *nə > nɔ* (note 8); *la* but, § 61.
 (27) *na* (note 3); *ε* (note 2); *wε* (note 8); *la* to do; *τε* (note 16); *djin* (notes 2, 8).
 (28) *ahé'ndə > ahé'na'ndə* independent conjunctive, § 67.
 (29) *cu* fish; *ta* to eat; *nε* nominalizing suffix, § 25.
 (30) *lonɔ'də > lewenɔ'də*, § 3; *le* demonstrative pronoun, § 41 (note 13).
 (31) *tnə* (note 2).
 (32) *tsia'xtsa* crawfish; *-onɔ* (note 13).
 (33) *a'ogwa > ahé'wegwa*; *ahé'* (note 21); *gwa* to say.
 (34) *f'ε > f'o*, § 5 no. 3, (note 21); *wé'da* I go, irregular, § 35, no. 10; *ya* if, § 62a.
 (35) *k'ala* (note 3); *go* (notes 4, 26); *yurndq'* to know; *nε* nominalizing suffix (note 29).
 (36) Demonstrative pronoun, § 41.
 (37) *adju'* the right one; *nɔ* (note 8).
 (38) *na* negation, § 59 (note 3); *tse* water; *ta* on, § 58, no. 5; *le*, § 29.
 (39) *dí* subj. pronoun I; *wi* to come.
 (40) *aɔtε* enough, § 68; *nɔ* (note 7); *ε* (note 2); *ya* if, § 62a.
 (41) *tse* water; *x*, § 9; *-ta* on, § 58; *wi* to come.
 (42) *na* and; *i'lə* but, § 67.
 (43) *s'a* earth; *dji* round objects, § 26.
 (44) *la* to find, irregular verb, § 35, no. 12.
 (45) *alε* locative particle, § 65; *k'ɔn > kɔ* together with, § 38; *tsɔ* irregular verb 1st person, *ya* if, § 62a (note 34).
 (46) *ti* yellow; *ε* (note 2).
 (47) *hɔ* (note 11); *gwa* to say, § 35, no. 6; *djin* (notes 2, 8).
 (48) *s'a* earth; *a* locative, § 65; *x*, § 9; *dji* to sit, to stay (note 14); *he* locative, § 29.
 (49) *a'oga'tε'ndji > ahé'wegatε'ndji*; *ahé'* (note 21); *wε* (note 7); *ga* to arrive, § 35 no. 2; *τε* (note 16); *ndji* (note 16).
 (50) *na* not, § 59; *o > wε* (note 7); *yurndq'* to know; *fala* if, but, §§ 61, 62.
 (51) *wε* (note 7); *kwε* to send; *lahɔ*, § 61.
 (52) *f'ε > f'o* (note 34); *wε* (note 7); *la* to go; *dji* (note 2).
 (53) *yukɔ'* a long time; *-le* very, § 55.
 (54) *a* § 65 (note 45), *ga* to arrive (note 49).
 (55) *kε* (note 6); *wε* (note 7); *ha* plural stem to be, § 52; *τɔ* while, § 62a.
 (56) *wε* (note 7); *tnə* to see.
 (57) *kε* (note 6); *wε* (note 7) *ha* to be; *hε* (note 48).
 (58) *wε* possessive, § 39; *ɔcta'* claw.
 (59) *k'at'ε'* between; *hε* (note 48).
 (60) *s'iε'* little; *ε* (note 2).
 (61) *hi* (note 1), instrumental prefix, § 57; *pε* to be on, to be covered.
 (62) *tse* water-; *ta* (note 38); *lo > lewε*, § 3; *le* locative, § 29; *wε* (note 7); *wi* to come (note 41); *dji* (note 2).
 (63) (note 19).
 (64) *s'iε'* little; *ε* (note 2); *dji* (note 2).
 (65) *yɔ* personal and possessive subjective pronoun, third person, not a Yuchi, § 31; *hɔ* to take.
 (66) *kε* (note 6); *yɔt'a*, perhaps *yu* above, § 58, no. 10; *t'a* to let go.
 (67) *tεtε'* to hit, to beat.
 (68) *k'a'a* to be finished; *dji* (note 2).
 (69) *ɔ'wɔ* some.
 (70) *agwa'hε > awé'gwahe*; *a* (note 21); *wε* (note 7) *gwa* to say; *hε* (note 48).
 (71) *s'a* earth; *co* soft; *x*, § 9; *dji* (note 43).
 (72) *kε* (note 6); *wε* (note 7); *p'a* to throw; *hε* (note 48).

- (73) *wε* (note 7); *k'wa* to go after; *hɔ* emphatic, § 53.
 (74) *wε*; *k'ɔ* (note 45); *gɔ* to come; *hε*, § 29.
 (75) *ho* impersonal pronominal prefix, § 40; *wa* to be left.
 (76) *wε* (note 7); *k'ɔ* (note 45); *wi* to come; *dji* (note 2); *κɔ* > *go* possibility, § 53.
 (77) *s'a* earth; *ε* classifier (note 5).
 (78) *Pεle'* others; *wenɔ'* (note 7); *də* also, § 61.
 (79) *k'a.a* to be finished; *dode'hε* after when, § 62a.
 (80) *na* not, § 59; *ɾɔɾa* light; *gornə* (note 4).
 (81) *κε* (note 6); *dji* to sit, § 26; *djin* (note 8).
 (82) *k'ɔ* together (note 45); *lə* again, § 63; *wε* (note 7), *ha* (note 55).
 (83) *ɾɔɾa* light; *wε* (note 7); *la* to do; *wenɔ'* (note 7).
 (84) *wε* (note 7); *yu* above, § 58, no. 10; *wage'* to hunt.
 (85) *s'ɔ* to wink; *dji* > *tei* (§ 10, 8) eye; *ba* (*pa*) to burn; *c'o* tired.
 (86) *yu* above, § 58, no. 10; *yu* > *yuwe*; *ɾε* to fly.
 (87) *κε* (note 6); *wε* (note 7); *la* to go; *ilə* (note 42).
 (88) *s'iε'* reduplicated "very little" (note 64); *lə* (note 5).
 (89) *ɾede* to flash (see note 67).
 (90) *la* to do, to make.
 (91) *aɾκε* there, that yonder, § 65; *lε* (note 5).
 (92) *yula* around; *o* > *wε*; *ɾε* to fly; *djin* (notes 2, 8).
 (93) *'yɔ* star; *wenɔ'* (note 7).
 (94) *aonɔ'dε* > *ahewenɔ'dε*; *ahε* (note 28); *wenɔ'* (note 7); *dε* note 13.
 (95) *pa* dim, easy; *lε* (note 53).
 (96) *aɾκε* (note 91); *lε* (note 5); *djin* (notes 2, 8).
 (97) *ca'fa* moon; *onɔ* > *wenɔ* (note 7).
 (98) *pado'* dark; *ε* (note 2).
 (99) *κewe* (note 87); *la* to go; *djin* (notes 2, 8).
 (100) *yub'a'* upward, § 65; *wε* (note 7); *gɔ* to come (note 74).
 (101) *κε'də* now, § 66.
 (102) *hi* (note 61); *tyubi'* entirely.
 (103) *hi* (note 61); *oɾpa'* full.
 (104) *s'a* earth; *ɾ*, § 9; *ta* on (note 38); *o* > *wε* (note 7); *fa* to stand; *onɔ* > *wenɔ*, § 62b.
 (105) *yɔ'ndeyu* 3rd person pronoun of second reflexive series (§ 33) amalgamated with the instrumental prefix *hi-* (§ 37); *cε* to be glad, to enjoy, § 33.
 (106) *ɾaɾκε'* just.
 (107) *κɔ* to sing.
 (108) *tea* reduplicated, § 54.
 (109) *yu* up, § 58, no. 10; *pa* to burn; *Pε(?)*.
 (110) *ha'ɾκε* right then, at that time, § 66.
 (111) *hi'le* all, § 68; *oɾdjidjin*; *wε* (note 7); *dji* to stop; *djin*.
 (112) *aɾκε* (note 91); *ɾnε* (note 2).
 (113) *ɾnə* to see; *hε* when, § 62.
 (114) *yɔ* (note 65); *la* to do; *nε* (note 11); *nɔ* imperative suffix, § 53.
 (115) *gwa* to say.
 (116) *na* and, § 67.
 (117) (note 33); *hε* (note 48).
 (118) *aga* day; *εlε* (note 5).
 (119) *na* not, § 59; *pado* dark; *goɾnε* (note 4); *nɔ* (note 114).
 (120) *ɔ'wɔ* some; *dε* (note 13).
 (121) *aga* day; *ε* (note 5); *dε* (note 13).
 (122) *pado* dark, *ede* (note 121).
 (123) *κε'ε* (note 6); *hε* when, § 62.
 (124) *sε* good; *lε* very, § 55; *ɾε* intention or ability, § 53.

- (125) *tco(?)*; *ne* nominalizing suffix, § 25.
 (126) *g'o'nt'e* person (human one); *he'nq* classifier, §§ 26, 27.
 (127) *pado* dark; *he* when, § 62.
 (128) *hq* (note 11); *k'a* (note 17); *ga* stem.
 (129) *hq*; *wale waha'le* to increase; *ax're* (note 40).
 (130) *gwa* to say, irregular verb, § 35, no. 6.
 (131) *ke* (note 6); *en* > ϵ (§ 9) verbalizing suffix (note 2); *dji* (note 2).
 (132) *wε*; *k'a* (note 17); *hornεga'* to agree; *djm.*
 (133) $\epsilon le(?)$; *dji* classifying suffix (?), § 26.
 (134) *ɽ'ra* light; *o* > *wε*; *la* to make.
 (135) *'yq* star; *wenq* (note 7); *də* (note 13).
 (136) *pado* dark; ϵ classifier (note 5).
 (137) *k'at'e* to be separate, reduplication of second syllable; *nq* (note 114); *dji* § 62 b.
 (138) > *tcnε-wenq*.
 (139) *di* independent personal pronoun, § 31; *adidza* > *aditsa* (§ 10, δ) I say, § 35, no. 6 (the repetition of the personal pronoun makes it emphatic); *n* > *na* and; *s'i* almost.
 (140) *ts'i* then, reduplicated with loss of glottal stop, §§ 8, 54; ϵ (note 2).
 (141) *ca* classifier in many animal names, § 24 b; *t'a* stem; *ne* nominalizing suffix, § 25.
 (142) *wε*; *pasig'* to be angry.
 (143) *goho'go* exclamation, § 69.
 (144) *god'i'* independent, indefinite pronoun, § 31; *a'gogwa* to say, § 35, no. 6
 (145) *ax'ke* (note 91); *rnə* (note 1); ϵ (note 2 ?); *fala* but (note 50).
 (146) *sphq* once; ϵ (note 2); *le* only, § 63; *dε* (?).
 (147) *a'gogwa* to say, (note 144); *x*, § 9; *re* (note 16).
 (148) *ra* on (note 38); *lo* > *lewe*, § 3; *le* (note 38); *wε*; *fa* to stand.
 (149) *yq* (note 65); *t'a* to scratch, reduplicated, § 54.
 (150) *so* spot, reduplicated, § 54.
 (151) *hi* (note 1); *rnə* (note 1); *k'a'a* to be finished; *he* (note 48).
 (152) *co* soft; ϵ (note 2).
 (153) *s'a* earth; *sta* flat.
 (154) *sε* good; *elε* future, § 51; *nq* imperative, § 53.
 (155) *rap'i'* on, § 65; *wε*; *la* to go.
 (156) *tsia* dry; *nq* (note 7); *djm.*
 (157) *yɽ'i'* buzzard.
 (158) *s'a* earth; *wε*; *rne* to see, duplicated, § 54.
 (159) *wε*; *kwε* to send.
 (160) *wε*; *la* to go; *djm.*
 (161) *na* not, § 59; *yq* (note 65); *fa* to flop, duplicated.
 (162) *wε*; *yustra* to spread out (*yu* above; *sta* flat ?); *elε* = *elε* future (?), § 51.
 (163) (note 92); *n* (? see note 16).
 (164) > *ahε'wedjihe*; *ahε'* (note 28); *wε*; *dji* to go; *he* (note 48).
 (165) *go* (note 26); *wi* to come; *djmfwa* perfect, § 51.
 (166) *wε* his, § 39; *dek'i* tracks.
 (167) > *ahε'waha*; *ahε'* (note 28); *wε*; *ha* to be, § 52.
 (168) *wε*; *la* to go.
 (169) *wε*; *k'q* (note 45); *la* to go; *djm.*
 (170) *ɽ'q* bullfrog; *dji'nfwa* perfect, § 51.
 (171) *kya* through § 57, no. 7; *o* > *wε*; *ga* to arrive; *djm.*
 (172) *na* negation, § 28; *t'e* contraction of *hi'te* one, §§ 41, 3, 3.
 (173) *s'a* earth; *ra* on (note 38); *le* (note 38); *he* locative, § 65; *nq* imperative, § 53.
 (174) *ax'kela'* locative particle; *yq* irregular verb *go'q'*, § 35, no. 13.

- (175) *he* (?); *yɔ* (note 65); *gwa* to say.
 (176) *wε* his, § 39; *hirapa* wing; *ha* plural, § 27.
 (177) *wε*; *fa* to flop, whip, duplicated.
 (178) > *te'ɔwεnɔ*. *te'ɔ* bullfrog; *wεnɔ* (note 7).
 (179) *wε*; *a* to cry; *djin*.
 (180) *wε*; *tei* eye; *x*, § 9; *te* rim.
 (181) *kaba'* to swell; *dji*.
 (182) *ke* (note 6); *wε*; *wi* to come.
 (183) *depole'* again, § 66.
 (184) *ke* (note 6); *wε*; *la* to go; *djɔmfwa* perfect, § 51.
 (185) *tea'tiɔ* raccoon; *djɔmfwa* perfect, § 51).
 (186) *yɔ* (note 65); *fa* to fish.
 (187) > *ake* here, § 65; *wε*; *x*, § 9; *dji* to sit; *djɔmfwa*.
 (188) *wε*; *ta* face, on; *so* spotted, duplicated; *dji*.
 (189) *yɔp'u'nɔ* > *yɔp'iwεnɔ*, § 3.
 (190) *hɔ* (note 11); *yustq'elɛ* (note 162).
 (191) *s'a* earth; *dase'* across, § 65.
 (192) (note 163); *la* (note 26).
 (193) *wε*; *c'o* tired.
 (194) *s'a* earth, duplicated; *owi* > *hewewi*; *he* locative, § 29; *wε*; *wi* to fall.
 (195) *yub'a* (note 100); *le* (note 38).
 (196) *s'a* earth; *yub'a* upward (note 100).
 (197) *k'a'a* to be finished; *djin*.
 (198) *wε*; *kwɛ* to send; *djin*.
 (199) *yulaote* (note 92); *la* (note 26).
 (200) *yɔfafa* (note 161); *djin*.
 (201) *ke* (note 6); *ha* to be; *dji*.

ZUNI

BY

RUTH L. BUNZEL



1632

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INTRODUCTION

Zuni is the language of the so-called Zuni Indians, a tribe occupying a single pueblo with outlying villages in Valencia Country, western New Mexico. The population in 1928 was 1,920 having increased somewhat since the federal census of 1910 in which the tribe was numbered at 1,640. The village of Zuni is situated on the north bank of the Zuni River, 38 miles south of Gallup, division point of the Santa Fé Railway and the nearest town and trading center. The reservation extends some miles west of Zuni along the river, and northeast along the river valley to the continental divide. In addition to the town of Zuni, which has grown greatly in extension in recent years, are four farming villages occupied for the most part in summer only, although a few families remain in their country houses all year round. These villages are situated at distances of from four to twenty miles from the town.

The Zunis call themselves *a'ciwi*; the word may possibly be derived from *ci-*, "flesh". (*a-* plural prefix; *-wi* unknown significance. Cf. *ci'le*, a piece of meat; plural *ciwe*. Note difference in final vowel.) Mrs. Stevenson erroneously connects this word directly with the stem word *ciwe* despite the significant difference of the final vowel.

The word may also be related to the Keresan word *ciwan-a* storm cloud, which finds its way into the Zuni language in the word *ciwan-i* "priest," and in songs, as *ciwan-a*, "rain cloud;" also the *ciwana-kwe*, a curing society.

The popular name for the town is *ciwina-kwi* (*ciwi* + *na*, "at," common affix for place names, + *kwi* "place"). The term *ciwona* given by Cushing, Bandelier and others quoting them, has never been heard by the writer during years of residence in the village. The proper name of the village is *i'tiwan-a*, "the middle," a term of mythological significance. The word Zuni was first applied to the village by Antonio de Espejo, and is the Keresan term *sini*, which, according to Boas, is an obsolete and sacred Keresan word for "middle".

The language contains many Spanish and fewer English loan words. The Spanish words for the most part are names of objects of foreign provenience, and were taken over along with the objects, during the early period of Spanish contact, e. g. *ka'ne-lu* sheep (Sp. *carnero*), *olo*, gold (Sp. *oro*), *wa'kaci*, cattle (Sp. *vaca* + *ci* Zuni

termination for animal names), *ma'nsana* apple (Sp. *manzana*), *ma'kina* sewing machine (Sp. *máquina*). The present tendency is to use a Zuni descriptive phrase for borrowed objects, e. g. *he'onan-e* railroad (*he-* "metal" + *onan-e* "road"); *he'kākwen-e*, railway train (*he-* "metal" + *k'ākwen-e* "house"); *k'ā'kwenla'tap'a* (*k'ā'kwen-e* "house" + *latap'a* "winged"); *ci'wayan Pa'tepololon-e* automobile (*ci'wayan-e* derivation unknown + *tatebololon-e* "wagon", a descriptive term, literally "wood roller"); but *ci'porea* (Chevrolet) any automobile that is not a Ford.

Almost all Zuni proper names are of foreign origin. There are a great many Spanish names frequently not recognized as being of Spanish origin, but given as "Zuni"¹ names. There are also many names of Navajo and Keresan origin. It is probable that all names ending in *-tiwa* (m.) and *-titsa* (f.) are of Keresan origin, since these are the obligatory masculine and feminine endings in that language. The ending *-tiwa* for masculine personal names is also common among the Hopi.

Zuni's nearest neighbors at present are the Navajo (Athapaskan), who practically surround their reservation. Their nearest neighbors among the settled peoples are the Acoma and Laguna (Keresan) about 60 miles northeast, and the Hopi (Shoshonean) 150 miles to the northwest. Their most frequent contacts seem to have been with the Hopi and Navajo. There is a tradition of tribal warfare with both of these tribes. They have extensive trading relations with both.

The published material on the Zuni language comprises a few short ritual texts included by F. H. Cushing in *Zuni Fetishes* (RBAE 2) and by Stevenson in *Zuni Indians* (RBAE 23). These texts are not analyzed. A series of ritual texts collected by the writer has been published in the 47th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and a collection of ethnological texts and folk tales in the *Publications of the American Ethnological Society*, Vol. 15. The references marked (Z) in the following pages are to this publication.

The material upon which the grammar is based was collected in 1926—1928 in the course of two trips under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University and the Social Science Research Council of the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation. Texts were dictated by the following informants:

1. Flora Suni, F., age 40, (daughter of 4), English.
2. Clarence, M., age 28, English.
3. Margaret Suni, F., age 42, daughter of 4, no English.

¹ See E. C. Parsons, *Zuni Names and Naming Practises*, J.A.F.L. 36: 171—176.

4. Lina Suni, F., age 70 (wife of 8.), no English.
5. Walelio, M., age 55, no English.
6. Lio Suni, M., age 45, son of 4, no English.
7. Nick, M., age 65, Spanish, English.
8. Suni, M., age 85, no English; father of 1, 3, 11.
9. Andelesi, M., age 60, no English.
10. Dick, M., age 65, a little English.
11. Josie Suni, F., age 25, daughter of 4, no English.

Warren Andelesi interpreted for his father; Flora Suni for the members of her family. Nick was his own interpreter. Flora proved to be not only a first rate interpreter but an excellent linguist as well, and much of the analysis is on the basis of her information. Informants 1—9 dictated texts published in the Ethnological Society Publication.

Ruth L. Bunzel.

New York, September 1934.

ZUNI

BY RUTH L. BUNZEL

1. Naming

1	<i>ho'na'wan</i> (1)	<i>wi'hatsa'na</i> (2)	<i>tem</i> (3)	<i>hic</i> (4)	<i>e'le</i> (5)	<i>i'yaiyu'ya'</i> -
	Our	baby	still	very	girl	getting to know
	<i>k'äp'a</i> (6)	<i>ci'ik'än'a</i> (7).	<i>ɔ'tsi</i> (8)	<i>te'känuap'a</i> (9)	<i>an</i> (10)	<i>na'na</i> (11)
	something	will have a name.	Man	if it had been	his	grandfather
	<i>yam</i> (12)	<i>ci'in</i> (13)	<i>u'tsin'a</i> (14).	<i>ta'htic</i> (15)	<i>tcim</i> (16)	<i>an</i> (17)
	his own	name	would give.	Meanwhile	first	his

(1) Possessive pronoun, 3rd person, plural. See ¶ 138 of Grammar.

(2) *wiha*, stem, "baby"; *tsana*, stem, "small".

(3) adverb, "still, yet".

(4) adverb, "very".

(5) *e-*, stem, "girl"; *'le*, nominal suffix with monosyllabic stems, inanimate class, singular; here an exception. See ¶ 128.

(6) *i-* reflexive, special usage with causative *-k'*- ¶ 25; *-y-*, glide; between *i* and *a*; *ai* = *an*, direct object; *yu'ya'*- transitive stem, "to know", possibly compounded of *yu'*, frozen stem, ¶ 23a "to feel", and *ya'*-, active stem "to become complete"; *-k'*- causative, special usage with *i-*; *-ä-* active, completive; *-p'* (*a*), present participle, new subject following. ¶ 105. Literally, "causing herself to know something".

(7) *ci'*- neutral stem, "name"; *-i-*, reduplicated vowel between ' and *k*; *-k'än'a*, present subjunctive, static, singular by inference, since there is no plural prefix. Literally, "there may be a naming." See ¶ 70.

(8) nominal stem, "male".

(9) *te-* neutral stem, "to be, to do"; *-känuap'a*, subjunctive participle, based on present subjunctive. "had it been". See ¶ 111.

(10) *an*, possessive pronoun, 3rd person, singular.

(11) stem, "grandfather," (father's father or mother's father), "grandchild", man speaking. Reciprocal.

(12) reflexive possessive pronoun, "his own".

(13) *ci'in*, syntactic form of *ci'ine*, *ci'*- neutral stem, "name"; *n.e*, nominalizing suffix, singular, inanimate (cf. *ci'le*, [pl. *ciwe*] based on stem *ci-* "meat"). The duplication of the vowel is due to the glottal stop which is part of the stem, followed by the long consonant *n*. ¶ 130.

ci'in(13) *a'can-a*(18). *tcims*(16) *ci'unan*(19) *hom*(20) *na'na*(11)
 name would make. So first naming my grandchild
t'o'(21) *tsa'wak*(22) *yo't'u'*(23). *t'o'*(21) *la'ci't'u'*(24). *t'o'*(25) 5
 you youth may become. You may grow you old. You
o'na-ya't'u'(26). *t'o'*(21) *te'hyat'u'*(27) *hom*(20) *p'i'nan*(28)
 road may become finished. You may be valuable my breath

(14) present subjunctive, singular of the irregular verb *utsi*, to give it to him. See ¶ 104 for complete conjugation.

(15) adverb, "meanwhile", "on the other hand".

(16) adverb, "then", "first".

(17) independent pronoun, 3rd person, singular, oblique. "For him." ¶ 137.

(18) *ac-* transitive stem, "to make"; *-a-*, completive aspect; *na*, present subjunctive, singular. ¶ 70, 90.

(19) *ci'*-, neutral stem, "name"; *-u-*, conjugating vowel, transitive conjugation; completive; *-nan*, present participle; "naming her". See ¶ 80.

(20) possessive pronoun, 1st person, singular.

(21) independent personal pronoun, 2nd person, singular, subjective.

(22) *-ki*, nominal suffix used with names of classes of human beings. The stem *tsawa-* is probably related to *tsana*, "small, young".

(23) *yo-*, active intransitive stem, "to become"; *t'u*, optative, singular. See ¶ 77.

(24) *laci-*, stem, "old", also, "to be old, to grow old"; *t'u*, optative.

(25) *t'o'*, see note 21. Not strictly grammatical. Strictly speaking, the subject of the following verb is *ona*. See below.

(26) *ona-* neutral stem, "road"; *ya-*, active intransitive stem, "to become complete"; *t'u*, optative. Literally, "may (your) road become complete", *ona*, being the incorporated subject. However, it is used as a fixed compound, *ona* being regarded as part of the stem, and is used with the subjective pronoun, *t'o'*, freely translated, "may you finish your road". The transitive verb "to finish" is *ya-k'ä*, *ya-* and causative *k'*. See ¶ 36.

(27) *tehya*, neutral stem, "valuable", *t'u*, optative, singular. "may you be valuable", or "may you be saved".

(28) *p'i'nan* syntactic form of *p'i'nan-e*. *p'i'na-*, stem, "breath"; *-n-e*, nominalizing suffix, inanimate, singular.

(29) *tehya-* stem, "valuable"; *-p'(a)*, present participle, new subject following. ¶ 105.

(30) *le'*, stem, "this", *an-* indirect object, "to him", *ikw-* transitive stem, singular "to say"; *-a-* active, completive; *-nan*, present participle; *-s*, connective particle, "so". ¶ 40.

<i>te'h yap'a</i> (29)	<i>le'anikwanans</i> (30)	<i>ci'un-a</i> (31).	<i>o'kã</i> (32)	<i>te'</i>
being valuable	thus to him saying	he will name him.	Woman	if
<i>kãnuwap'a</i> (9)	<i>an</i> (33)	<i>hot</i> (34)	<i>hol</i> (35)	<i>ta'htci</i> (15)
it should be	her	maternal grandmother	either	meanwhile
<i>an</i> (33)	<i>wo'wo</i> (36)	<i>hol</i> (35)	<i>ci'in</i> (13)	<i>u'tsin-a</i> (14).
her	paternal grandmother	or	name	will give.
10 <i>ta'htci</i> (15)	<i>an</i> (37)	<i>tcim</i> (16)	<i>na'na</i> (11)	<i>a'can-a</i> (18).
Meanwhile	for her	first	grandfather	will make.
				First
<i>ci'un-a</i> (31).	<i>pa</i> (38)	<i>u'hsite</i> (39)	<i>p'e'na-wa'k-ã</i> (40)	<i>yam</i> (41)
will name,	and	those same	words with	her own
	<i>tsa'na</i> (42)	<i>o'na-ya'tun'ona</i> (43)	<i>an</i> (44)	
daughter	little	road that it may be the one to be finished	for her	
<i>p'e'yen-a</i> (45).				
will speak.				

(31) *ci'*-. neutral stem, "name;" -*u*-. conjugating vowel, active completive; *n-a*, present subjunctive, singular. Cf. *p'ot'u*, ¶ 80.

(32) stem, "woman".

(33) possessive pronoun, 3rd person, singular.

(34) *hot* = *hota*, stem, "mother's mother". See note 42.

(35) *hol* ... *hol*. "either or".

(36) stem, "father's mother".

(37) This might be either 3rd person possessive pronoun, "her", or independent personal pronoun, 3rd person, dative, "for her". ¶ 137.

(38) stem, "and".

(39) *uhsi*, demonstrative pronoun, "that"; -*te*-. intensifying suffix, "that very one".

(40) *p'enaw* = *p'enawe*, words (pl.) from stem *p'e*- "to speak", *ak-a*, post position, "by means of". ¶ 157.

(41) reflexive possessive pronoun, "her own".

(42) *hota*, stem, "mother's mother" or any grandchild, woman speaking; not a reciprocal term; *tsana*, adjective. "small, young".

(43) *ona*-, stem, "road;" *ya*- stem, "to become complete" (see note 26); *t'un*- participle based on the optative; *'ona*, agentive. Literally "may she be the one whose road may become complete". ¶ 112, and 167.

(44) Independent personal pronoun, 3rd person, singular, oblique, "for her".

(45) *p'e*-. intransitive stem, "to speak," (irregular); -*n-a*, present subjunctive durative, singular by inference. See ¶ 104 for complete conjugation.

1. Naming

As soon as our baby is quite a girl and begins to recognize things, then she will have a name. If it should be a male his grandfather would give him his own name, or else he would make up a name for him. Then he would name him. "My grandchild, may you become a young man. May you grow old. May your road be fulfilled. May you become valuable, since my breath is valuable." So he would say and he would give him the name. If it should be a female, her mother's mother, or else her father's mother would make a name for her, and would name her. Then she would use these same words. She would speak to her grandchild that her road might be fulfilled.

2. Witchcraft

<i>a·p'i'la·ciwan·i</i> (1).	<i>kwa</i>	<i>tem</i>	<i>luknia</i>	<i>a·ho'i</i>	<i>a·team·ep'a</i> (1a).	1
Bow priests.	Not	yet	these here	persons	not being	
<i>kak'holi</i>		<i>i·halikwicena'kä</i> (2).		<i>tem</i>	<i>ho'</i>	
long ago	there used to be a taking away of witchcraft.			Still	I	
<i>Popin·te tca'l il·ikä</i> (3).	<i>laciki</i>	<i>halikwikä.</i>	<i>ha'i</i>	<i>p'i'laciwan·i</i>		
only one child	had.	Old man practiced sorcery.	Three	bow priest		
<i>Popa naiyutci</i>	<i>Popa</i>	<i>k'iye'isi</i>	<i>na·palu</i>	<i>uhsona</i>	<i>p'i'yanapkä.</i>	
one (name)	one (name)	(name)	those the ones	hung him.		
<i>ma·k'ona</i> (4)	<i>ank'etsana</i> (5).	<i>uhsona</i>	<i>ma·ki</i>			5
Young woman the one	in her he delighted.	That one	young woman			
<i>kwa antecemanam·e.</i>	<i>ikane'a</i> (6).	<i>ma·ki</i>	<i>samu</i>	<i>we'a.</i>		
(not) does not want him.	He is angry.	Young woman	ugly	is sick		

(1) In the following pages stress accent has not been indicated. It is always on the first syllable. See ¶ 10. ¶ (1a.) *kwa* . . . *a·team·ep'a*. *kwa* introduces the negative phrase; *a·* plural of intransitive verbs; *te-* neutral stem, to be or do; *am·e*, present, static, negative; *-p'a*, participle, new subject following.

(2) *i·* plural, indirect object (see ¶ 40); *halikwi*, neutral stem, "witch" "to be a witch", (*kwi* possibly is a suffix); *-c-* suffix, "to remove" (see ¶ 27); *-e-*, repetitive; *na'kä*, resultative, past. Literally "witchcraft used to be removed from them".

(3) *il·*, neutral stem, "with," *-i-*, static; *kä*, past, singular.

(4) *ma·ki*, young married woman with children; *ki*, nominal suffix (see ¶ 126); *'ona*, "the one who is", indicating direct object; See ¶ 136.

(5) *an*, indirect object; *k'et'sa-* active stem, "to enjoy"; *na*, adjectival or static suffix. See ¶ 34.

(6) An active verb, like *we'a* below. The stem is *ikä-* (cf. *ikäti*, "to become angry") *ikäne'a* is based on a participial or adjectival form. Present tense, durative. The narrative precedes in the present tense.

- acen'iha*(7). *an e'nin-e pipto le uhsona ante-*
 She is about to die. Her belt fringes this much that one from her
- hakikā*(8) *ak-ä halicotikā*(9). *halikwi p'i'nakā*(10) *t'sume*
 he cut off; therefore she became crazy. Witch wind strong
- ye-makuna*(11) *an e'nin-e an pipton-e antehak'i'koa*(12)
 coming up her belt its fringe which was cut off
- 10 *tołto-kā* *ak-ä halicotikā. acen'iha.*
 he set up on a stick therefore she became crazy. She is about to die.
- napātu cema-kā. halikwi we'an'ona*(13) *ma-ki tcu-al-*
 (name) sought him. Witch the sick one young woman lying down
- kwin*(14) *ikā. halikwi i-mukā*(15). *kwa antecemanam-*
 where she is he came. Witch seated himself. (Not) he did not wish
- kā*(16). *kwa ho' lesnunam-kā. kwa ho' anikwam'e t'o'*
 it. (Not) I this did not do. (Not) I do not know how. You
- tekwante p'eye'a. kwa ho' anikwam'e. t'o' yosek'e'a*(17).
 all in vain are talking. (Not) I do not know how. You lie.
- 15 *kwa kā-k'i t'om ho' al-tena'ma*(18). *t'o' tekwante t'o'*
 Not ever you I did not approach (you). You all in vain you

(7) *ace-* stem, "to die", *n'iha*, present imminent. See ¶ 66.

(8) *an-*, indirect object, "for her"; *te*, a pluralizing and probably a distributive element; *hak-i-* active stem, "to cut off"; *kā*, past tense, singular. *te* probably refers to plural object, cf. *tehaktco*.

(9) *halico*, "crazy", *-ti-* inceptive; *kā*, past tense, active, singular.

(10) *kā*, a suffix for abstract nouns and infinitives; there is no corresponding verbal form. *p'i'nan-e* is the usual word for wind.

(11) *ye-mak^u*, "to ascend"; the stem is probably *ak^u* (cf. *elemaku*, to stand up, *pilaku* to sit up); *na* = *nan*, present participle.

(12) a static, not a passive form. *'koa*, the one which was . . ."

(13) *we'an-*, adjectival or participial form of the active verb *we'a*; *ona*, "the one who is".

(14) *tcu-*, stem, "lie down", (of a person); *a(l)-* stem, "a long or flat object lies", static conjugation of the verb *a-*; *kwin* locative suffix "where it is".

(15) *i-* reflexive; (*i*)*m-* stem, "to sit or be sitting"; *-u-*, active; *-kā*, past, singular.

(16) *antecema*, "to desire", at present unanalysable, but probably based on *cema*, "to ask for"; *nam-kā*, past, singular, negative. See ¶ 164.

(17) *yose*, adjectival stem, "false"; *-k²-*, causative; *-e'a*, present, durative.

(18) *a* = *an*, direct object; *l²te*, neutral stem, "near"; *na'ma*, active, present, singular, negative.

p'eye'a. ele-te homan t'o' e'nin'e pipton-e t'o' antehakikā
are talking. Yes indeed from me you belt fringe you cut off.

ak-ā kwa hom tse'makwin k'okcam-e. p'ene pi'laciwan-i
Therefore (not) my spirit is not good. Speak! bow priest

le'anikwakā(19). halikwi lesanikwakā(19). kwa
thus to him said. Witch this that follows to him said. (Not) [I]

antecema-na'ma. t'o' kwa p'ena'map'a yātokwi(20) t'o' kwa'in-a.
do not wish it. You (not) not speaking sun to you will go out.

t'elapte lesanikwakā. ma-ki hom 20
At night even this-that follows she said to him. Young woman me

ankohati. homa-ni(21) e'nin'e pipton-e hom t'o' lesnac-
pity (me). Mine belt fringe my you which you have

koa(22). uhsona hom a-wutsi. hom ankohati.
thus taken away those to me give them. Me pity.

ten-a' hom t'o' lesalewukā. t'o' yam ołpan-e t'o'
Notwithstanding to me you thus did. You your headband you

a-pik'aiakā. pi'laciwan-i ołpahkā(23). isk'on peha'kū
tied them to it. Bow priest; headband took off. There it was wrapped.

e'nin'e am piptowe a-pik'aiakā. an ank'ohakā. 25
Belt its fringes he had tied them on. Him he discovered (him).

kwa antecemanam-kā. ikānikā kwa halikwam-e(24).
(Not) he did not wish it. He was angry. (Not) [I] am not a witch.

kwa antecema-na'ma. ikāne'a.
(Not) he did not want it. He is angry.

ma-ki acen'iha. t'ek'ohati(25)kwa p'eyena'ma.
Young woman is about to die. Daybreak (not) she does not speak.

(19) *le-* "thus or this much"; *an*, "to him"; *ik^u-*, stem, "to say", (with direct quotation.) This form follows the quotation. *leskwa*, or *lesanikwa* precedes the quotation.

(20) *yāto-*, stem, "to cross over"; *kā*, abstract nominal suffix; (cf. *yātowe*, "day", literally "a crossing over" (of the sun). The meaning of the sentence is "your crime will be revealed to the Sun."

(21) Independent personal pronoun, 1st person, singular, genitive.

(22) One of a number of verbs based on the stem *les-*, "thus"; *-c-* is a suffix meaning to remove. See ¶ 27.

(23) *ołpa-*, neutral stem, "headband"; *-h-*, suffix, "to undo"; *kū*, past, singular, active.

(24) *halikw(i)*, neutral stem, "witch, to practise sorcery"; the form is static, present, negative.

(25) *t'e-*, "time, space"; *k'oha*, "white, to be white" (the adjective "white" is *k'ohana*, based on a participial form. See ¶ 34) *-ti-*, inceptive; "space (the sky) begins to whiten".

- ʔelap'a kəwi p'eyekä. halikwi ʔewus amp'eyekä. kwa*
 At night a little she spoke. Witch prayers to him she spoke. (Not)
- 30 *antecemanam-kä. halikwi ikänikä. an tateu piʔaciwan-i*
 he did not wish it. Witch was angry. His father bow priest
- yam ʔam ak'ä ikätikä. yam ʔamk'äpnan·e(26).*
 his own club with he became angry. His war club.
- itowenapkäʔap'a(27) ma·ki acekä. halikwi ma·ki*
 They ate and then young woman died. Witch young woman
- acen'ihap'a(28) ana-kwavi·ikä. wan·an yam*
 being about to die running he went out. For a moment his own
- k'äkwin a·kä. halikwi an-a·kä. ma·ki acekä. an*
 house to he went. Witch running went. Young woman died. Her
- 35 *a·tsita an a·papa a·k'oyekä. kwanteapkä(29). k'ocon'a-*
 mothers her elder brothers wept. She was dressed. She was
- kä(30). an kuku a^uvatekä(31). an kuku k'äwaia·wak'ä*
 washed. Her aunt washed her head. Her aunt prayer meal with
- tem·l k'usk'äkä(32). acekä. halikwi aina·kä. k'wamasi e'nin·e*
 all dried her. She died. Witch killed her. Worthless belt
- piptowe ak'ä an eleteakä(33).*
 fringes with her he fixed.
- ma·k'ona acekä. piʔaciwan-i ha'imona hali-*
 Young woman the one died. Bow priest three the ones exor-
- 40 *kwicä(34). ha'imona ʔopa naiyutci ʔopa kiye'isi kwil·i hic*
 cised. Three the ones one (name) one (name) two very

(26) *ʔa(m)*- a short thick stick, *k'äp(i)*, transitive verb, "to beat"; *-nan*, participial or nominalizing suffix; *-ne*, nominal suffix, singular, inanimate. See ¶ 130.

(27) *ito-*, stem, "to eat", here in durative aspect; *nap*, plural (transitive); *kä*, past; *ʔa*, enclitic, "and", with the gerundive ending, *ʔa*. See ¶ 105.

(28) participle based on the imminent aspect, *acen'iha*, "she is about to die".

(29) *kwantea* (*we*), "clothing", from *kwa*, "something" and *lea*, "to carry"; an impersonal plural. See ¶ 58.

(30) *k'oco-*, transitive stem, "to wash"; resultative, past tense. ¶ 67.

(31) *a^u*=*an*, direct object. The *n* is elided and the *a* diphthongised due to stress accent and following *n*. See ¶ 3, 14.

(32) *k'us-* active stem, "to become dry"; *-k'*-, causative.

(33) Probably *ele*, "well", and *te-*, "to be or do".

(34) *halikwi*, stem, "witch", *-c-*, suffix "to remove", *kä*, past, active, completive, singular. See note 2, ¶ 399.

məsiye(35). *i-lata-we.* *ʔa ʔopa napalu haʔi a-piʔla-ciwan-i.*
are leaders. Wars. And one (name) three bow priests.

ma-kʷona an a-papa an akʷonap-kä(36).
Young woman the one her elder brothers for her dug a grave.

ahnän(37) *kwaʔikä.* *akʷo tetacakʷänap-kä. a-kʷoyekä.*
Taking it a they went out. Grave deep they made. They cried.

ete-lokwi(38) *ʔʷalonap-kä. hatikwi an kʷäkwin ana-*
Corpse burying place they buried her. Witch his house to running

kwaʔikʷänap-kä(39). *i-wəhanapʷenankwi*(40) *a-piʔla-* 45
they brought out. At the place where they used to hang them bow

ciwan-i halikwi il-ap a-wikä. ma-kʷona
priests witch being with they came. Young woman the one

ainakoa(41) *kʷume tacana kwaʔina*(42) *ʔʷiyanap-kä.*
the one who had killed her log long coming out they hung him.

kempikʷaianak-ä. yalicekä. kwa antecemanam-kä. piʔlacivan-i
Hide string with. He denied it. (Not) he did not wish it. Bow priest

ma-kʷona ʔʷalokä. ak-ä ikaneʷa. napalu hic
young woman the one he buried. Therefore he is angry. (Name) very

ace-we kʷoyeʷa. makʷona ʔʷalokä. hic yam 50
hard wept. Young woman the one he buried. Very his

ʔamkʷapman-e ak-ä contelaʷkoa(43) *ocokwiʷkoa ʔam ak-a ʔam-*
war club with face all over head all over club with war

(35) Dual; the dual pronoun is omitted.

(36) *akʷo*- neutral stem, "hole, to dig a hole"; past tense, active, plural.

(37) *a*- "one small or long thing lies"; *-h*- conversive; *-nan*, present participle. This does not refer to the corpse, but to some small implement.

(38) *ete* (*we*) corpses; *-lo*- "to hide or bury", (cf. following word, *ʔʷalonap-kä*); *kwi*, locative.

(39) *ana*- stem occurring in compounds only, "to run"; *kwaʔi-*, to go out", *-kʷ-*, causative.

(40) *i-*, plural object; *wəhana*, neutral stem, "many things hang", *ʔe*- customary (See ¶ 29); *nan*, present participle; *-kwi*, post position, "where"; "where they always used to hang them".

(41) *aina*-, transitive stem, "to kill or strike one;" *koa*, nomen actoris, past tense, "the one who killed her"; *ma-kʷona* is the direct object of the clause.

(42) *kwaʔi*, "to come out"; (*n*)*a*, locative. The final aspiration does not appear to be a significant part of the suffix, but is frequent enough and pronounced enough to be recorded. It may indicate something elided.

- k'äpman·e ak'* *ainakä.* *halikwi kwa k'onam·kä*(44). *ace-*
club with he struck him. Witch not he did not cry out. Hard
- ainapte*(45) *kwa k'onam·kä.* *p'iyaye.* *itiwap'a*
striking even not he did not cry out. He is hanging. At midday
- p'iyakä.* *el paloknan* *p'iyakä.* *yätonil'i*
he was hanging. Corpse being buried he hung him. All day long
- 55 *p'iyakä.* *lesnapte kwa halikwam·e.* *kwa antecema-*
he was hanging. Even so (not) he is not a witch. Not he does not
- nam·kä.* *ainanapkä.* *a-pi'ta·ciwan·i ha'imona aina-*
wish it. They struck him. Bow priests three the ones they
- napkä.* *kwa antecemana'mapte p'ek'änawetiha*(46)
struck him. (Not) not wanting even though they will make him speak
- ak'ä ace ainanapkä.* *lesnapte acen'iyahnan·te*(47)
therefore hard they struck him. Even so even though about to die
- kwa p'ena'ma.* *tawak'a ainanapkä.* *a-pi'ta·ciwan·i*
not he does not speak. Clubs with they struck him. Bow priests.
- 60 *ko·macko·na a·ho'i anhap'okä*(48). *pi'lacivan·i weatco-*
Many people gathered about him. Bow priest called out to all
- kä*(49). *k'äl hap'o a·ho'i.* *ho'na·wan hap'o.* *lukä*
directions. Hither gather people! To us gather! This one
- p'eyen'iha.* *kwahot yam ai'yutcian'ona*(50)
is about to talk. Something, his own to be marvelled at, the ones
- p'eyen'iha.* *k'äl ho'na·wan hap'o.* *lukä p'eyen'iha.*
he is about to speak. Hither to us gather! This one is about to talk.

(43) *contela*, "side of the face"; *-koa*, post-position, "at different places, all over"; not to be confused with the other *koa*, "the one who did..."

(44) negative of *k'one*, completive aspect of *k'oye'a*.

(45) *aina-*, "to kill or strike one"; *-p*, participle, new subject following; *-te* intensifying (see ¶ 29a).

(46) *p'e-* stem, "to speak", *-k'*, causative; *na·we*, plural, active; present; *-tiha*, imminent aspect, plural.

(47) Based on the present imminent, *acen'iha*. See ¶ 7 for phonetic shift.

(48) *an-*, indirect object; *hap'o*, stem, "to gather together", (intransitive); *kä*, past.

(49) *wea-* transitive stem, "to call out"; *-tco-* suffix, "on all sides", *kä*, past, singular.

(50) *ai* = *an*, indirect object; *yutci-* stem, "to marvel", *-an*, participial or adjectival suffix; *'ona*, "the one". See ¶ 167 for discussion of the syntax.

wan *p'iyahnapkä*(51) *akä* *p'eyen-a.* *anha-*
 For a moment they took him down so that he might speak. They gathered
p'okä. halikwi yam a-ho'i late'koa uhsona p'eyekä. 65
 to him. Witch his own people the ones he had killed that he spoke.
komacko-na a-ho'i hap'okä. anhatianapkä. p'eyekä.
 Many people gathered. They listened to him. He spoke.

aiyutçiana p'eyekä. tüholi teak'okci tcawit-ap'a
 Things to wonder at he spoke. Whoever child good children having
kwaholi wəwak'ä käne-lu wakäci kwahol ak'ä eleteap'a
 something flocks with sheep cattle something with being well fixed

ho'na-wan ike-nan(52) *uwe. ak'a hon latena-we*(53). *kopla-ti*
 our hearts in it hurts. Therefore we are killing them. Why

lesap t'o' ma-k'ona ainakä? le'ana-käp'a ho' 70
 being thus you woman the one killed her? This to him being said I

il alan'ihap'a kwa antecemanam.e. ikänikä.
 with her wishing to sleep (not) she did not wish it. She was angry.

ma-ki hom anap'ekä. isk'onholi hom ike-nan
 Young woman me scolded. There somewheres my heart in

wetikiä(54). *ak'ä ho' antehakikä. t'owayälakwi*
 it began to hurt. Therefore I cut it off from her. Corn Mountain at

p'ina-kä t'sume ye-makunankwi an e'nin an pipto-we ho'
 wind strong coming up where her belt its fringes I

antehakikä. ho' p'ehan ackä. käpuli latsiton-we ho' tcolto-kä. 75
 cut off. I bundle made. twig I set it up on a stick.

ak'ä p'ina-kä t'sume ye-makunan p'ehan tcolto-kwi
 Therefore wind strong coming up bundle where it is tied up

ak'ä natilik'äkä. halicotikä ma-ki
 therefore it shook in the wind. She became crazy. Young woman

acekä. komacko-na ho'o a-ho'i ho' latekä. pa tenati
 died. Many I people I killed them. And notwithstanding

le-wi ho' tehya'kä. komacko-na hon i-yanaiyu'ya-nap'a(55)
 this much I was valuable. Many we one another knowing

(51) *p'iya-*, neutral stem, "to hang"; *-h-* conversive; *-nap-*, plural transitive; *kä*, past.

(52) *ike-na*, "heart"; *-n-*, locative suffix. See ¶ 151.

(53) *lat-*, transitive stem, "to kill many"; *-e-*, durative; *na-we*, plural, present.

(54) *uwe*, static verb, "it hurts", *ti*, inceptive.

(55) *iyana*, reciprocal; *ai=an*, direct object, "it"; (see ¶ 3 for vocalic shift); *yu'ya-na*, transitive stem, "to know" (see note 6 p. 396); *p'a*, irregular plural, present tense, probably distributive (¶ 58).

- 80 *kwa ho' sama team·e. hom takikwi hom a·tatcu hom*
 not I alone am not. My paternal household my fathers my
tatcutsana a·tci tem a·tci ho'i. luknok'ona hom
 little father (uncle) both still both people. These the ones me
puanapkä. ma i·cemanawe'(56). a·p'ila·ciwan·i le'a·wanikwa·kä.
 initiated. Well call them! Bow priests thus to them he said.
i·cemanapkä. an tatcutsan'ona a·p'ila·ciwan·i i·ce-
 They called them. His little father, the one bow priests they
manapkä. an kuku an tatcu kwilim'ona lał an kuku
 called them. His aunt his father two the ones then his aunt
- 85 *ha'imona i·cemanapkä. p'o'ula'kä. halikwic-*
 three the ones they called them. He was sitting outside. They stripped
napkä. an tatcutsana p'o'ulakwi te'tcinan
 off his witchcraft. His little father sitting outside where arriving
ikätikä. an tatcu ikätikä. kwahol p'o' tekwan·te
 he became angry. His father became angry. Something you all in vain
p'eye'a. kwa ho' aiyu'ya·nam·e. imatci' p'o' sam aiyu'ya·na.
 speak. (Not) I do not know how. Of course you alone know how.
p'o' yosek'e'a. kwa kwahol pek'aiala kwa ho' aiyu'ya·nam·e.
 You lie. (Not) anything destructive (not) I do not know.
- 90 *p'o' yosek'e'a. imatci' hol p'o' yanik'äkä(57). an kuku*
 You lie. Of course somewhere you learned it. His aunt
k'oyekä. kwa halikwam·ekän'iyahnan(58) k'oyekä. kwa p'eye-
 cried. (Not) not wanting to be a witch she cried. (Not) she did
nam·kä yam kuku yam tatcu unatikana kwa p'eyenam·kä.
 not talk. His own aunt his own father seeing (not) he did not talk.
Pas ak'a a·p'ila·ciwan·i anhemotinapkä(59). anap'enap-
 Again then therefore bow priests tortured him. They scolded
kä. ik'walte p'iyakä. kwa p'eyena'map'a pas ainana'kä.
 him. Once again they hung him. (Not) not speaking and so he is struck.
- 95 *pawakä a·p'ila·ciwan·i i·känikä(60). p'ena·p'sumek'e·kä(61).*
 clubs with bow priests were angry. Words strong he is making.

(56) *i·-*, plural object; (see ¶ 46); *cema*, transitive stem, "to call", *na·we*, plural imperative. Note final accent.

(57) *y-*, reflexive; *anikw-*, intransitive stem, "to know (a technique)", *-k'*-, causative; the *kw* of the stem and *k'* have become assimilated, (see ¶ 5); *-a-*, conjugating vowel, active, complete; *kä*, past, singular.

(58) *halikw(i)*, stem, "witch". Negative imminent participle. See ¶ 105, 163.

(59) *an*, direct object; *hemo-*, stem, "to boil over," *-ti-* inceptive; plural, past tense.

- anhātiana-we' et t'on lol wōsliye. ko-macko-na t'on yam*
Listen to him! But you around are with them. Many you your
- i'yanaiyu'ya-nap'ona(62) luk p'eye'a. kwa luk sam-a*
knowing one another the ones this one speaks. (Not) this one alone
- team-e. uhsitetcoli(63) honkwati kwanhohi hon luwalaye.*
is not. That very one whoever perhaps or else a few we are standing.
- tewus ike-n'ona honkwat t'on puckwai'i. uhsitetcoli*
Prayer heart the ones perhaps you exceed. That very one whoever
- a-hatikwi ko-macko-na luk p'eye'a. ele yu'hatiak'āna-we'. 100*
witches many this one speaks. Well heed him!
- yam ko'lehol ho'na a-wana-t'sumena-we. uhsona luk p'eye'a.*
His something us he tries us. That this one speaks.
- kwa luk sam-a team-e. lon hol t'on wōsliye.*
Not this one alone is not. Around somewhere you are with them.
- ace konhohi t'o'na lakna'kāt'apte(64) kwa t'on*
Hard whatever you have been beaten and even so (not) you
- a-p'eyena'ma(65). t'opehol ainan-a itonuwanhohi(66).*
do not speak. Whichever one he may kill whether onemay eat it.
- imatciē kwa yu'ya-nam-ep'a(67). a-wiyanikinān-e(68) is kwa 105*
Surely not are not wise. One another relatives that (not)

(60) *i'*-, plural; *ikā*, stem, "to be angry". See note 6, ¶ 399.

(61) *p'ena*-, "words", from *p'e*-, "to speak"; *t'sume*, strong; *-k'*- causative; *-e*-, durative; *kā*, past, singular. "He shouted".

(62) A common way of rendering indirect discourse, syntactically simple, but impossible to translate literally. See ¶ 167.

(63) *uhsi*, "that"; *-te*, intensifying (¶ 29a); *tcu(w)*- "someone" (140); *hohi*, "somewhere". *hohi . . . hohi*, "either . . . or".

(64) *lat*- "to kill many," (*t* changes to *k* before *n*;) resultative, past, with connective, *t'ap*, "and"; and the intensifying *-te*. "You have been beaten, and even so . . .". The preceding *t'o'na* is incorrect for *t'on*. However the usage in regard to the subject of resultatives is not always clear.

(65) *a*-, plural; *p'e*, intransitive stem, "to speak", irregular. See ¶ 104.

(66) Subjunctive participle (see ¶ 105), with the particle *hohi*, "whether". The whole sentence is a rhetorical question, "Can you eat whichever one you may kill?"

(67) *yu'ya-na*-, intransitive, "to know"; to be distinguished from the transitive *aiyu'ya-na*, "to know something"; *me*, negative (with preceding *kwa*); *p'a*, irregular plural (See ¶ 58).

(68) *a(w)*- plural of nouns denominating classes of human beings; *iyānikinan-e*, "relative"; (*ikina* is the term for younger sister, man speaking; *iyān*-, reciprocal pronoun.) *iyānikinan-we*, is a more usual plural.

elam·e ak̄ʷ acetcop'a(69) *kwac*(70) *ik̄e·na uwam·e?*
not well therefore on the point of death does (not) heart not hurt?

imatcic halikwap'a kwa yam i·yanik̄inan·e kwa ankohaticukwa(71).
Surely witches being not your relative not would not pity.

kwa k̄'et'sanak̄ām·e(72) *luk̄ä p'eye'a. k'wamas lestenate*
Not it is not to be happy. This one speaks. Worthless even being thus

ʔon tcuwaiya ak̄-ä antehack̄'äna·wa(73). *imat'hol*
you someone therefore will cause him to suffer. It seems however

110 *tcwa tcak'ʷ·kci tcawil·ap'a yam tcawaḳä eleteap'a*
someone child good children having his children because of prospering

kwa to'na·wa tse'nakwi k'ʷkcam·e. is luk̄ä p'eye'a
(not) for you thoughts are not good. That this one speaks

aiyutciana. ko'teholi luk̄ä pu'ana'koa(74)
wonderful. Whatever this one according to which he was initiated

luk̄ä p'eye'a. ʔopa kwaholi ak̄-ä elete·ap ainanan an
this one speaks. One whatever with prospering killing him his

hol kwaholi il·ik̄änwanholi(75). *imatcic kwa yu'ya-*
somewhere whatever whether one may have it? Surely not they are

115 *nam·ep'a. kwahol tem·la tewu'asela*(76) *hol tcuholi*
not wise. Something all jealous all the time somewhere whoever

kwahol ak̄-ä eleteap'a to'na·wan ik̄e·na kwa elam·e.
something because of prospering your heart (not) is not well.

ʔo'na hon a·wantehack̄'äna·wa. kwa uhson holi ʔon i'pse-
You we shall cause to suffer. (Not) that whether you do not

mana'ma. yam ʔon ho'i antehack̄'äna·wa. ʔopaholi
think of it. Your own you person you cause him to suffer one whichever

(69) *ace-*, stem, "to die"; this form has no parallel.

(70) *kwa*, indefinite pronoun, here introducing a negative clause; *-c-*, interrogative particle.

(71) *ankoha*, stem, "to pity", (*an* is probably incorporated object; *-ti-*, inceptive); *cukwa*, negative subjunctive (see ¶ 165).

(72) *k̄'et'sa-*, active stem, "to enjoy"; *-na*, participial or adjectival suffix; *k̄ä*, infinitive; *me*, negative; "it is not at all a happy time".

(73) *an*, object; *k̄'*- causative; *na·wa*, present, subjunctive, active, plural. The rest at present unanalysable.

(74) *pu'a-*, transitive stem, "to initiate"; *-na*, resultative; *'koa*, "that which was"; the glottal stop appears in the past tense of static verbs.

(75) See note 66 above.

(76) *yu'asela*, "to feel jealous"; *te-* is a pluralizing or distributive element; probably the meaning is "jealous of everyone".

<i>ainan-a</i>	<i>itonuwanhohi.</i>	<i>kwahol</i>	<i>ak-ä</i>	<i>ele-</i>	
one may kill	whether one may eat him.	something	with it	that with	
<i>tea'koa</i>	<i>hohi</i>	<i>il-ikänwanhohi</i>	<i>lopa</i>		120
which he had prospered	whatever	whether one may have it.	One		
<i>ainanak'än-a.</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>pon</i>	<i>yaiyu'yanam-e.</i>	<i>imatci</i>	<i>hohno</i>
will be killed.	(Not) you	are not wise.	Surely	wherever	you
<i>tekwial</i>	<i>yani'kenawe.</i>	<i>pon</i>	<i>awantehaca.</i>	<i>kwahol</i>	<i>il-ik'</i>
destruction	learn.	You	them	make suffer.	Something
<i>hol</i>	<i>taphohi</i>	<i>kwahol</i>	<i>ak-ä</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>il-am-ek'änuwapa(77)</i>
either	or else	something	with it	(not)	if you may not have
<i>yam</i>	<i>ulohnan-e</i>	<i>yam</i>	<i>ho'i</i>	<i>pon</i>	<i>antehack'änawe.</i>
your own	country	your own	people	you	cause to suffer.
<i>halikwap'a</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>kwahol</i>	<i>iy(78)</i>	<i>team-e.</i>	<i>tcuwaiya</i>
being witches	not	something	poor thing!	is not.	Whoever
<i>an ant'elakwina'(79)</i>	<i>pon'arwan</i>	<i>tse'makwiwe</i>	<i>halikwap'a</i>	<i>kwahol</i>	
his	sustenance	your	thoughts	being witches	something
<i>ak-ä</i>	<i>k'oyetun(80)</i>	<i>te'tei</i>	<i>tcuhol</i>	<i>tse'makwiwe</i>	<i>tcatur'ona</i>
with it	to weep	only	whoever	thoughts	the ones to be
<i>tse'makwiwe</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>pon</i>	<i>yaiyu'yanam-e.</i>	<i>halikwap</i>	<i>kwa</i>
thoughts	not	you	are not wise.	Being witches	not
<i>ankohatina-wam-e.</i>	<i>pon'arwan</i>	<i>tse'makwin</i>	<i>ak-ä</i>	<i>hol</i>	
(you) do not pity him.	Your	thought	because of	somewhere	
<i>tcuw</i>	<i>ike-na</i>	<i>we'a.</i>	<i>tcuwa</i>	<i>k'oye'a</i>	<i>imatatci</i>
someone	heart	is sick.	Someone	is weeping.	It seems indeed
<i>pon</i>	<i>ik'et'sana(81).</i>	<i>tcuwa</i>	<i>k'oyap'a</i>	<i>yam</i>	<i>tcawak-ä</i>
you	rejoice.	Someone	weeping	his own	children
<i>ike-na</i>	<i>we'ap'a</i>	<i>pon'arwa</i>	<i>tse'makwi</i>	<i>k'okci.</i>	<i>kwa</i>
hearts	being sick	your	thoughts	good.	(Not)
<i>halikwap'a</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>telankohatina'ä(82)</i>	<i>team-e.</i>	<i>le'kwa'ä.</i>	
being witches	(not)	ever to feel sorry for him	is not.	Thus he said.	

(77) Negative subjunctive participle, expressing negative condition. See ¶ 165.

(78) An exclamation of pity.

(79) *pelakwi*, "touching or embracing"; cf. *tse'mak-pelakwi*, "beloved", a poetic term. *ant'elakwina'* was translated "that by which we live".

(80) Gerund based on the optative. Stem, *k'o-*, "to cry out".

(81) *i-*, plural subject, intransitive (see ¶ 51); *k'et'sa-*, stem, "to enjoy"; *-na*, adjectival ending (See ¶ 33).

(82) *tel-* prefix without parallel, but probably related to distributive *te-*.

- pʷlaciwani* *ikānikā.* *weatcoḡā.* *yam*
Bow priest was angry. He called out to all directions. His own
- 135 *a-hoʷi* *i-na-pʷeḡā*(83). *luwalan* *tem-la* *kwa* *aiyuʷya-namwe.*
people he scolded. Village all not he did not know it.
i-na-pʷeḡā. *ma-ḡi* *acekoʷ* *aḡ-ā*
He scolded them. Young woman the one who had died because of
halikwinaʷḡā. *tcimʷap* *yaliceḡā.* *yose* *kwa*
the witchcraft was removed. First and he denied it. In vain (not)
ittemana-wam-e(84). *ʷa* *tenati* *imate* *tcimi-*
they did not believe him. And notwithstanding it seems when the
kʷānaʷḡā-pʷa(85) *kolehol* *yanhetocnaʷḡā*(86).
first beginning was made something instruction was given to them.
- 140 *aḡ-ā* *lesna a-hoʷi.* *a-wan a-lacina-we* *holno* *i-wihtohnaye*(87).
Therefore thus people. Their ancestors somewhere are tied end to end.
holno *kwa* *yaiyuʷya-nam-e* *a-lacina-we.* *hom* *nana*
Somewhere (not) they do not know ancestors. My grandfather
hom *uhsona* *hom* *ampʷeyeḡā* *ʷa* *teḡati* *kwa*
me that me he spoke to and in spite of all this (not)
ittemana-wam-e. *ten a-halikwi* *ten elanaye.* *uhkwati* *hic*
they do not believe it. Yet witches yet abound. For indeed really
ma-ḡi *aceḡā.* *halikwi* *ainaḡā.* *an* *tatcu* *kʷonete*
young woman died. Witch killed her. Her father even crying
- 145 *halikwi* *ainaḡā.* *pʷiyaḡā.* *yam* *koʷna*(88) *antseʷ-*
witch he killed him. He hung him. His according to that which he
manʷona(89) *ainaḡā.* *ʷamaḡ-ā* *awaḡ-ā.* *aʷyocnan*
thought about he struck him. Club with stones with. Stones picking up

(83) *i-*, plural object (see ¶ 46, 47). Cf. *anapʷeḡā*, "he scolded him". We would expect the plural to be *yanapʷeḡā*, but this is not used.

(84) *ilte*, "true", *-ma*, verbalizing suffix (see ¶ 27a); *na-w-* plural, active, present; *amwe* negative.

(85) *tcimi-* "first," "then"; *-kʷ(ā)-* causative; *naʷḡā*, resultative, past tense; *pʷa*, participle. "when it had come to be made first", or, freely translated, "at the first beginning". ¶ 67.

(86) *y-*, plural indirect object; *an*, object; *hetoc-* "to instruct" (probably related to *haito*, "custom"); *naʷḡā*, resultative, past.

(87) *iʷi-*, reciprocal (see ¶ 41); *ihtoh-* intransitive stem, "tie on", *naye*, resultative, present.

(88) post-position, here used as a preposition, following the reflexive pronoun *yam*.

(89) *an-*, direct object, "it"; *tseʷma*, stem, "think"; *ʷona*, "that which". *tseʷma* (intransitive) means "to think", *antseʷma*, (transitive), "to desire".

<i>ainakä.</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>a'tsita</i>	<i>a'k'oyekä.</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>a'papa</i>	<i>tem't</i>
he struck him.	His	mothers	wept.	His	elder brothers	all
<i>a'k'oyekä.</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>tcawe</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>i'yanikina'we</i>	<i>ansam</i>	<i>a'k'oyekä.</i>
wept.	His	children	his	relatives	together	wept.
<i>hatikwi</i>	<i>ma'k'ona</i>	<i>ainakä.</i>	<i>uhkwati</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>ho'</i>	<i>t'unakä.</i>
Witch	young woman	the one	he killed her.	Verily	really	I saw it.
<i>hic</i>	<i>ho'</i>	<i>aiyu'ya'na.</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>ko'lehol</i>	<i>teatikoa(90)</i>	<i>ho'</i> 150
Really	I	know it.	Really	whatever	that which happened	I
<i>aiyu'ya'na.</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>käk'ona</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>tsita</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>käkä</i>
know it.	There	the one who has her house	her mother	her	uncle	
<i>kwili</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>käkä</i>	<i>ha'i</i>	<i>hatikwi</i>	<i>p'o'ulakä.</i>	<i>komacko'na</i>
two	her	uncles	three	witches	sat outside.	Much
<i>aiyu'ya'na.</i>	<i>a'hatikwi.</i>	<i>ho'</i>	<i>yam</i>	<i>tcawe</i>	<i>ho'</i>	<i>yatine.</i>
know it.	Witches.	I	my own children	I	tell them.	

(90) *te-* neutral stem, "to exist or do"; *-ti*, inceptive; *koa*, "that which was;" "that which began to be".

2. Witchcraft.

Concerning the bow priests. Long ago when these people were not yet born, they used to exorcise witches. Then I had only one child. An old man practiced witchcraft. Three bow priests, one Naiyutei another K'iy'e'isi, and Na'pahu. These hung him.

He was in love with a young married woman. This young woman did not want him. He was angry. Then the woman became dangerously ill. She was about to die. He had cut off a little piece from the fringe of her belt. Therefore she went crazy. The witch went up to where the strong wind ascended. He hung up in a high place the little piece of the fringe of her belt which he had cut off. Therefore she went crazy. She was about to die. Na'pahu sent for him. The witch came to where the young woman who was sick was lying. The witch sat down. He did not want (to admit it). "I didn't do it. I don't know how. You are talking nonsense. I don't know how. You are lying. Never have I come near to you. You are talking nonsense." "Oh yes, indeed! You cut off a piece of the fringe of my belt. Therefore I do not feel well." "Speak!" the bow priest said to him. So he said to the witch. But he did not want to. "If you do not speak you will be brought out before the Sun, even though it is night." So he said to him. The young woman said, "Have pity on me! What have you done with the fringe of my belt? Give it back to me, that which you took from me. Have pity on me! For, indeed, you have done this to me. You have tied them in your headband."

The bow priest took off his headband, and there it was wrapped up. The fringe of her belt was tied to it. So they discovered him. He did not want to admit it. He was angry. "I am not a witch!" He did not want to admit it. He was angry. The young woman was about to die. At daybreak she could no longer talk. During the night she had spoken a little bit. She had implored the witch to save her, but he did not want to. The witch was angry. His father, the bow priest, became angry (and struck him) with his club. With his war club.

After they had all eaten the young woman died. When the young woman was about to die the witch ran out. For a little while he went to his house. The witch ran away. The young woman died. Her mothers and her brothers cried. They dressed her. They bathed her. Her aunt washed her hair. Her aunt dried her all over with prayer meal. She died. The witch killed her. With the worthless fringes of her belt he did for her.

The woman died. The bow priests, three of them, stripped the witch of his power. There were three of them. One was Naiyutci, and another K'iye'isi, these two were the war chiefs. And another Na'pañu. Three bow priests. The young woman's brothers dug a grave for her. They took her out. They made the grave deep. They cried. They buried her in the graveyard. They dragged the witch out of his house. The bow priests brought the witch to the place where they used to hang them. Where the long beams stick out they hung the one who had killed the young woman. They hung him with thongs. He denied it. He did not wish to admit it. The bow priest buried the young woman. Therefore he was angry, Na'pañu. He cried bitterly. He buried the young woman. With his club, his war club, he struck him on the face and on the head. With his club, his war club. The witch did not cry out. Even though he struck him hard, he did not cry out. There he was hanging. At noon they hanged him. After they had buried the body they hanged him. All day long he hung there. Nevertheless, he was not a witch. He would not admit it. They struck him. The bow priests, three of them, struck him. But he would not admit it. They wanted to make him speak, therefore, they struck him hard. Nevertheless, even though he was about to die, he would not speak. They struck him with clubs, the bow priests. Many people gathered there. The bow priest called out, "Come hither, people! Come here to us! He is going to speak! He is going to tell all his marvels! Come here to us! He is going to speak!" For a while they took him down so that he might speak. The people gathered about him. The witch told about his people, those whom he had killed. Many people gathered there, and listened to him. He spoke. He spoke wonders. "Whenever anyone has fine children, whenever

anyone has children, or any kind of animals, sheep or cattle, or anything by which he prospers, then our hearts ache. Therefore we kill them." "But why, if this is so, did you kill this young woman?" they said to him. "When I wanted to sleep with her, she did not wish it. She was angry. The young woman scolded me. Ever since then my heart has hurt. Therefore I cut off a bit (of her clothing). On Corn Mountain, where the strong wind blows up, I cut off a fringe of her belt. I hung it up on a shrub¹, so that the strong wind might blow it. I hung the bundle up there so that it shook. So the young woman went crazy. She died. Many people have I killed, but it can't be helped. That is all. I was valuable. There are many of us who know one another. I am not alone. My father's people, my fathers and my uncle, two of them, are still alive. These are the ones who initiated me. Now call them." So he told the bow priests. They called them. The bow priest called his uncle. His aunt and his uncles, two of them, and his aunt, three of them altogether, they called. He was sitting outside. They had stripped him of his power. His uncle came to where he was sitting. He was angry. His father was angry. "You are talking some nonsense! I don't know anything. Of course you alone know. You are lying. We do not know anything destructive. You are lying. Surely you learned it somewhere else." His aunt cried. She did not want to be a witch, and she cried. She did not talk. And the witch did not talk again. When he saw his aunt and his father, he did not talk again. Therefore the bow priests tortured him. They upbraided him. They hung him up again. When he did not speak, again they struck him. With their clubs (they struck him). The bow priests were angry. He talked loud. "Listen to him! But many of you around here are in this. There are many of you known to one another. He says so. He is not the only one. Maybe all of you are like that! Or else perhaps a few of us live here who truly pray in our hearts! Maybe you are more. Maybe all of you, everywhere, are witches. There are many, he says. He told us. Heed him well. He is telling us all the ways in which he tried us. That he has told us. He is not the only one. Many of you here are in this. Even though you are beaten severely you will not speak. Can you eat those whom you kill? Why then have you no sense? Now here, one of your relatives is suffering. He is on the point of death. Does not this hurt your heart? Surely you are witches. Surely since you are witches you do not have pity on your relative. He is in misery. He is speaking. And even though it is worthless, one of you will cause him to suffer because of it. And so if anyone has fine children, and prospers because of his children, your thoughts are not good. This

¹ He names two unidentified shrubs, *k'äpuli* and *latsitona*.

one talks wonders. He speaks of how he was initiated. If you kill anyone because of that by which he prospers, will you get his property? Surely it seems you have no sense. All of you are always jealous. Whenever any one prospers because of something your hearts are not right. We shall make you suffer. You do not think about that. You torment someone. But can you eat the one whom you have killed? When you kill someone will you get that by which he has prospered? You have no sense. Indeed, where do you learn this destruction? You torment us, but do you gain anything by it? Even though you do not gain anything by it, you torment your country and your people. I wonder that even though you are witches, you do not feel sorry for him. Whoever possesses anything whereon to live, because of the thoughts of you witches, it is merely something to weep for. Your thoughts are what make him worry. You have no sense. Because you are witches you do not feel sorry for anyone. Because of your thoughts someone's heart is heavy. Someone weeps. I wonder that you can be happy thus. Whenever any one weeps, whenever he is sick at heart because of his children, then you feel happy. Because you have no sense, because you are witches, you do not know how to feel sorry for anyone." So he said. The bow priest was angry. He called out. He scolded his people. The whole village, even though he did not know them, he scolded them. Because of the woman who had died, they stripped the witch of his power. But still he denied it. In spite of everything, they did not believe him. It cannot be helped. Indeed, at the time of the first beginning, someone instructed them. Therefore there are such people. Somehow their parents pass it on. Somewhere there are people who have no sense. The old people, my grandfather, used to talk to me like that. But nevertheless, some people do not believe it. For there are still some witches now. For indeed, did not this woman die? The witch killed her. Even while her father was weeping for her, he struck the witch. He hanged him. He struck him as much as he wished with his club and with stones. He picked up stones and threw them at him. His mothers cried. His brothers all cried. His children and his relatives all cried together. The witch killed the woman. Indeed, I myself saw it. I know all about it. I know just the way it happened. This woman who lives here, her mother and her uncle, two of her uncles, three witches, sat there outside. I know many things. And so I told my children about the witches.

3. Marriage Customs

<i>e'lactok</i>	<i>oyeme</i>	<i>yi-lup</i> (1)	<i>tapnikän</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>oyemci</i>	<i>ant'e-</i>	1
Girl	husband	taking	for the first time	her	husband	coming	
<i>wanan</i> (2)	<i>tem</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>camli</i>	<i>ana-kwai'in-a</i> (3)	<i>yatsanan</i>		
to day	still	very	early	running will go out	being ashamed		
<i>ak-ä.</i>	<i>a-witenaän</i>	<i>ʔelap</i>	<i>inan</i>	<i>tcims</i>	<i>yam</i>	<i>oy</i>	
because of.	Four times	at night	coming	first then	his own	wife	
<i>an eha</i>	<i>le-iyana.</i>	<i>ʔewaps</i>	<i>e'lactok</i>	<i>yam</i>			
her dress	carrying he will come.	Next day then	girl	her own			
<i>ulakwin</i>	<i>tcu'lak'än-a</i> (4).	<i>ats</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>k'äkwen</i>			
husband's household at	she will prepare	shelled corn.	Man	his	house		
<i>te'tcip</i>	<i>an tsita</i>	<i>i-munan</i> (5)	<i>hakänans</i>	<i>itok'än-a</i> (6).			5
arriving	his mother	to seat herself	inviting her	so will give her to eat.			
<i>iton-tcunekäp'ap</i> (7)	<i>s'an</i>	<i>tsita</i>	<i>aiyalak'än-a.</i>	<i>kop</i>			
Eating finished and then	so her	mother	will question her.	What			
<i>ʔo' ikwe'a.</i>	<i>le'kwan-a.</i>	<i>et-a.</i>	<i>homan</i>	<i>mi'le</i>	<i>eto'u.</i>		
you say	thus she will say.	No.	For me	ear of corn	put down.		
<i>le'kwan-a.</i>	<i>s'an</i>	<i>tsita</i>	<i>telitokwin</i>	<i>kwatonan</i>	<i>an</i>		
Thus she will say.	So her	mother	inner room to	entering	her		
<i>miwe</i>	<i>wölanan</i> (8)	<i>wölea</i>	<i>kwai'in-a.</i>				
ears of corn	putting in (a basket)	carrying them	she will come out.				

(1) *y-* reflexive; *il-*, neutral stem, "with"; *-u-*, conjugating vowel active conjugation; *-p*, participle, new subject following.

(2) *an-*, incorporated subject; *ʔewa-* "day", from *ʔe-*, "time, space"; *-nan*, participle. See ¶ 39 for discussion of this word.

(3) *ana-* frozen stem, "run", found only in compounds; *kwai'i*, "to go out". *-na*, present subjunctive, singular. See ¶ 71.

(4) *tcu'l(e)*, "a grain of corn", from *tcu*; a grain of corn, *-le*, nominal suffix, inanimate, singular; *-k'*- causative; "she will cause it to be single grains of corn". Cf. *tcucan-a*, "she will remove the grains of corn" below.

(5) gerund, active reflexive, "to seat herself". See ¶ 105.

(6) *ito-*, "to eat it", *-k'*- causative; present subjunctive, complete.

(7) *iton-* from *itonan*, present participle of *ito*; *tcunekä*, past tense, durative of *tcun(a)*, "to stop", *ʔa*, "and", *-p*, gerund, new subject following. See ¶ 105.

(8) One of a number of words, very specific in meaning, relating to the handling of objects. It means "to put many small things into a closed or deep receptacle," based probably on the stem *ul-* "to put one thing in it". *wöla'up*, on the next line, "to put down a receptacle containing many things".

- kwa'inans* *an* *wola'up* *tcucan-a*(9).
Coming out so for her putting them down she will remove the grains.
- tem'l* *tcucnan* *pa* *te-ya* *le'kwap* *pa* *an* *tsit* *an*
All grains removing and again thus saying and her mother for her
- alnāt* *mi'le* *etonan* *tcims* *pa* *e'lactok* *yam*
once more ear of corn putting down now so again girl her
- tcuw* *antelian* *tcucan-a*. *hic* *mi* · *lo'*
grains of corn adding to will remove the grains. Very ears will
- 15 *ok'än-a*(10) *kwa* *an* *tsita* *hanilinam-e*(11). *ta'htcic* *hanilinan*
be hard not her mother does not like her. However liking her
- kwa* *an* *mi* · *lo'am-e*(12) *wolun-a*. *tem-la* *tcuc-*
not for her ears not hard she will put in. All she has
- käpap*(13) *ans* *ho'inak-ä* *tcuwe* *wolacan-a*(14)
removed the grains and for her and basket with corn grains pouring in
- an* *pisenak-ä* *wolpeha'un-a*(15). *an* *pisena* *wolpeha'ups*
for her cloth with she will wrap it up. For her cloth wrapping up
- wole* *le'anans* *a-nuwa* *yam* *käkwi*(16). *tculea*
bundle carrying it she will go her own house to. Corn
- 20 *te'tcips* *an* *tsit* *an* *tcu* *k'älk'än-a*(17). *tem-l*
carrying arriving her mother for her corn will roast. All
- a-k'älkäp*(18) *s'ake* · *picnans* *tcuwe* *wolunans*
roasting them so grinding stones brushing corn putting in

(9) *tcu*, "grains of corn", -*c*- suffix, "to remove", see ¶ 27.

(10) *lo'o*, adjectival stem, "hard". Here used as a static verb, present subjunctive, singular.

(11) *kwa* . . . *hanilinam-e*, "she does not like her". The indefinite pronoun *kwa* introduces the negative. The form in this place should rightly be participial, *hanilina'map*.

(12) Adjectives form negatives, like verbs.

(13) A periphrastic construction based on the past tense of the verb, used instead of the expected participle. See ¶ 105.

(14) *w-*, incorporated collective pronoun; -*t*-, probably from the stem *le-*, to carry in the hand, (cf. *wolea* below); *ac-* transitive stem, "to make". Literally, "making the corn grains into something to be carried."

(15) *wol-*, "many things done up to be carried", (see above); *peha-* neutral stem, "bundle".

(16) Contraction of *k'äkwekwi*, *k'äkwe* (*en-e*), "house", -*kwi*, post position, "at, to".

(17) *k'äl-* active stem, "to become hot", -*k'*- causative. (Cf. *k'älna*, "hot").

(18) *a-* plural object.

<i>sak'o-w</i>	<i>acan-a.</i>	<i>sak'o-wacnans</i>	<i>a-tsak'än-a(19).</i>
coarse meal	she will make.	Coarse meal making	she will make it small.
<i>ta-htcic</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ulakwin</i>	<i>tcim</i> <i>tculea</i>
Meanwhile	her	husband's household at	first corn carrying
<i>kvai'ikät'ap</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>wleak'än-a(20)</i>	<i>an</i> <i>cokya</i>
she went out and then	for her	there will be stew	for her waiting
<i>wleatun'ona(21).</i>		<i>itiwap</i>	<i>itowens</i> 25
those which are to be taken away, the ones.		Midday being	eating so
<i>lutsik'än-a.</i>	<i>kəkwas</i>	<i>i-p'o'un-a(22)</i>	<i>owes</i>
she will make it fine.	A little while so	she will bend over	meal now
<i>a-lutsiap</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>i-te'tcun-a.</i>	<i>o-mokämon</i>
being fine	it	she will test.	Meal ball
<i>kwa</i>	<i>k'uhmona'map</i>	<i>tcims</i>	<i>wöun-a.</i>
(Not)	not breaking	first now	she will put it in.
<i>sunhanam-ens</i>	<i>o-lea</i>	<i>a-nuwa.</i>	<i>ta-htci</i>
evening (not) being	meal carrying	she will go.	Meanwhile
<i>känuwap(23)</i>	<i>ace</i>	<i>sunhap</i>	<i>tcim</i>
be lazy	very	evening	first
<i>itok'än-ak'än-a(24).</i>	<i>iton-tcunaps</i>	<i>ots</i>	<i>an</i>
she will be given to eat.	Eating finished so	man	his
<i>wlea</i>	<i>sa'lak'ä</i>	<i>wöacan-a</i>	<i>pa</i>
stew	bowl with	she will pour into	and
<i>pehanan</i>	<i>e'lactok'ona(25)</i>	<i>seto'un-a(26).</i>	<i>seto'unan</i>
wrapping	girl the one	she will put it on her back.	Putting on her back

(19) *a-* plural object; *tsa-*, basic form of *tsana*, meaning, probably, "to become small", *-k'*- causative.

(20) *wlea(n-e)*, "stew", from *w-* and *(u)l-* "many things in a receptacle"; the form is static, present, subjunctive; literally, "there will be stew", but meaning "they (impersonal) will be cooking stew for her". Not to be confused with the homonym "she will cause many things to be inside".

(21) *w-* collective pronoun; *lea-* "to carry", *tun*, gerund based on the optative; *'ona*, nomen actoris. Freely translated, in order that she may take them away with her. See ¶ 163, 112.

(22) *i-* reflexive; *p'oa*, "to stand bent over", as of an animal.

(23) Subjunctive participle, based on the static, *amina*, "lazy". "If she should be lazy".

(24) *ito-* stem, "to eat"; *-k'*-, causative; *-na-*, resultative; *k'än-a*, present, subjunctive, static. Literally, "she will be given to eat", generally translated freely, "they (impersonal) will give her something to eat".

(25) *-ona*, demonstrative particle, "the one", here used to indicate direct object. See ¶ 136.

p'a'un-a. *wle'ups* *s'yam* *k'äkwin*
she will put a blanket on her. Bowl of stew handing her so her own house to

35 *a-nuwa.* *te'tcinans* *sa'le* *pehwanans* *sa'le* *pa* *pisens*
she will go. Arriving bowl emptying so bowl and cloth so

a'uk'än-a *yam* *tsit* *a-ni(27).* *le* *tcim* *iwil-ik'äp*
she will put down her mother hers. So much first marrying

le'nap'e'a(28).

so it always is.

e'lactoks *pas* *eha* *uknakätekwin(29)* *o-kän-a.* *yamte*
Girl now again so dress given her for that she will grind. Her very own

tcuwe *pewana.* *o-kän-a.* *emak'änan(30)* *o-l*
corn every day she will grind. Much making basket of meal

40 *haktos* *ots* *an* *k'äkwen* *a-tcis* *i'wili(31)*
carrying on the head man his house both now together

s'a-nuwa. *a-tci* *te'tcips* *a-tcia* *aniktohnak'än-a(32).* *hic*
now will go. Both arriving them they will be met. Very

o-lea *yu-ktap* *ak-ä* *an* *tsita* *o-le*
meal basket being heavy therefore her mother basket of meal

aiyo-nan *ake-lokwi(33)* *wlea* *kwatanan* *isk'on*
taking from her grinding bin to carrying the basket going in there

ipokwik'änans *an* *kälun-a* *an* *ho'ina(34).* *a-tci*
turning it out for her wheat will put in her basket in. Both

(26) Transitive, not reflexive. "She will put it on (the girl's) back".

(27) Independent pronoun. genitive. See ¶ 137.

(28) The stem is *le'na*, "thus". A special customary form. See ¶ 29.

(29) Stem *uts-* "to give it to him", an irregular verb; *ts* becomes *k* before *n*, (see ¶ 104 for full conjugation); *na-* resultative; *k'ä*, infinitive (see ¶ 114) or perhaps past tense. *tekwin*, post position, usually locative or temporal, "where (or when) it was", A common way of expressing purpose. See ¶ 156.

(30) *ema*, "much", also, "it is much"; *-k'*, causative.

(31) *i'wi-*, reciprocal (see ¶ 41); *il-*, neutral stem, "with".

(32) *aniktoha*, stem, "face to face", at present unanalysable; *-na-*, resultative; *k'än-a*, present subjunctive, dual; "(the two) will be met face to face."

(33) *ake-(we)*, "grinding stones", (from *a-* "stone"); *-lo-* neutral stem, "bury" (found in *p'aloje*, it is buried, and *woloje*, they are buried); *kwi*, post position. "Where the grinding stones are embedded."

(34) *ho'in-* "basket", *a*, post position, locative. See ¶ 150.

<i>yam</i>	<i>ho'in</i>	<i>cokya</i>	<i>te'tci</i>	<i>a'tcia</i>	<i>itok'änak'än-a.</i>	<i>kälean-</i>	45
their	basket	waiting	only.	To them	will be given	to eat.	Wheat
<i>tin-kwai'ips</i>		<i>a'tci</i>	<i>tcunanans</i>	<i>e'la-ctok</i>	<i>käli-</i>		
carrying	coming out	both	finishing	so	girl	basket of	wheat
<i>hakto'ups(35)</i>	<i>yam</i>	<i>käkwins</i>	<i>a'tc</i>	<i>a-nuwa.</i>	<i>ha'i-</i>		
putting on	her head	their own	house to	so	both	will go.	Three
<i>känhol</i>	<i>ta-h'tci</i>	<i>a-witena-känhol</i>	<i>ots</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>tsi-</i>		
times either	on the other hand	four times or		man	his	mother	
<i>tanan(36)</i>	<i>tculahanan</i>	<i>o-kän-a.</i>	<i>tcims</i>	<i>teatip'a.</i>			
for her	corn shelling	she will grind.	So first	it always is.			

(35) *käl-*, "wheat in something", from *kä(we)*, wheat; *i-* reflexive; *hakto*, neutral stem, "to carry or place on the head."

(36) Genitive case, peculiar to terms of relationship. See ¶ 136.

3. Marriage customs

When a girl takes a husband, the first time her husband stays over night, he will run out very early in the morning, because he is ashamed. Four times he will come at night and then he will bring a dress for his wife. Then next day the girl will shell corn at her husband's house. When she reaches the man's house his mother will invite her to sit down and will give her to eat. When she has finished eating, her mother will question her. "What have you to say?" she will say. "Nothing. Put down an ear of corn for me," she will say. Then her mother will go into the inner room and put ears of corn into a basket for her. She will come out carrying them. When she comes out she will set the basket down for her, and the girl will remove the grains of corn. When she has removed all the grains, "Yet again," she will say, and her mother will put down one last ear of corn for her, and the girl will remove the grains to add to the shelled corn she already has. The ears will be very hard if her mother does not like her, or else, if she likes her, she will put down for her ears that are not hard. When she has removed all the grains, (her mother) will pour them into a basket for her and wrap it up with a cloth. After she has wrapped it up in a cloth for her, (the girl) will take it and go to her own house. When she arrives carrying the corn, her mother will roast the corn for her. When she has roasted them all, (the girl) will brush the grinding stones and pour the corn into the grinding bin and will grind it to coarse meal. After she has made the coarse meal, she will grind it fine.

Meanwhile at her husband's house, as soon as she has gone out carrying the corn, they will start to cook stew for her, while they are waiting for her, — the stew that she is to take away with her.

After she has eaten at midday, she will make the very fine meal, After she has been bending over a little while, if the meal is fine she will test it. She will make a ball of meal and throw it down, and if the ball does not break, then she will put it in a basket. When it is still not late in the afternoon she will go, carrying the basket of meal. Or, on the other hand, if she should be lazy, she will go late in the evening. When she arrives carrying the meal, they will give her to eat. When she has finished eating, the man's mother will put some stew into a bowl for her and will wrap up bread in a cloth. She will put this on the girl's back. After she has put this on her back, she will give her the stew to carry. And so (the girl) will go to her house. When she arrives she will empty the bowl and put down the bowl and cloth (to return) to her mother. This is how they do when they are first married.

So then again the girl will grind for the dress which they have given to her. Every day she will grind her own corn. When she has made much she will put the basket of meal on her head and together the two will go to the man's house. When they arrive there they will be met. The basket of flour will be very heavy, and therefore her mother will take the basket of flour from her and take it inside and empty it in the grinding bin. After she has emptied the meal there she will fill her basket with wheat. While they are waiting for their basket they will be given to eat. As soon as their mother comes out with the basket of wheat they will stop. The girl will put the basket of wheat on her head and so the two will go to their own house. Three or else four times she will ask the man's mother for corn to grind. That is when they are first married.

4. Gathering Salt.

1	<i>kāk'hol</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>ho'</i>	<i>tsavak̄i</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>ho'</i>	<i>le·hol</i>
	Long ago	really	I	youth	really	I	this much somewhere
	<i>a·nap'a(1)</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>litam·e.</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>kok</i>	<i>otiwe.</i>	<i>ṽevana</i>
	having gone	not	it did not rain.	Very	katecinas	dance.	Every day
	<i>kwa</i>	<i>litam·e.</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>lita'map</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>a·p'eye</i>	<i>a·ciwi.</i>
	not	it does not rain.	Not	not raining	very	they talk	Zunis.
	<i>ma·k'aiakwin</i>	<i>a·nak̄ä</i>	<i>p'ewo'.</i>	<i>lestikwanan(2)</i>	<i>tcuwap</i>		
	Salt lake to	to go	discussion.	This they saying,	Who		
5	<i>m̄os</i>	<i>a·nak̄ä</i>	<i>k'ɔ·kci?</i>	— <i>hinik</i>	<i>k̄älici</i>	<i>ciwan·i</i>	<i>palto·kwe</i>
	leading	to go	good?	I think	west	priest	end people

(1) "having gone about so far", an idiom meaning "being about so big", indicating the stature of a child.

(2) *les-*, "thus"; *tikw-*, "they say", (plural of *ikw-*); *anan*, present participle. The quotation follows.

<i>pi'laciwani</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>mas'ona.</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>a-wacuwakä.</i>	<i>a-witen</i>
bow priest	really	leader.	Very	they talked to them.	Four
<i>Pewanan</i>	<i>a-wa-nuwa.</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>Pewap</i>	<i>camli</i>	<i>pi'laciwan</i>
days being	they will go.	Very	next day	early	bow priest
<i>tcokä.</i>	<i>ta-htcic</i>	<i>a-mu-kwe</i>	<i>u-kwe-kä.</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>ko-macko-na</i>
out to all sides.	Meanwhile	Hopis	came out.	Very	many
<i>hinik</i>	<i>a-witenakän</i>	<i>astem-la</i>	<i>mecok'o.</i>	<i>ha'i</i>	<i>Pewap</i>
perhaps	four times	ten	burros.	Three	days being
<i>a-wa</i>	<i>hanelawackä.</i>	<i>lawaptsiclenapkä.</i>	<i>hic</i>		10
for them	provisions they made.	Prayersticks they cut.	Very		
<i>ko-macko-na</i>	<i>homkwati</i>	<i>a-witenakän</i>	<i>asiastem-la</i>	<i>mecok'o.</i>	<i>ta-htcic</i>
many	perhaps	four times	hundred	burros.	Meanwhile
<i>hom</i>	<i>tatcu</i>	<i>a-n'iha.</i>	<i>kwili</i>	<i>mecok'o.</i>	<i>hic</i>
my	father	is about to go.	Two	burros.	Really
<i>ho'</i>	<i>il-i(3)</i>	—	<i>yätcun</i>	<i>a-ni.</i>	<i>kwa</i>
I	have		month	its.	Not
<i>kw-w</i>	<i>itwap</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>yeleteap'ap</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>akc</i>
a little	midday being	really	getting ready	very	along
<i>hic</i>	<i>k'oyekä.</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>mokwa-we</i>	<i>ku-wa.</i>	<i>hic</i>
Very	(I) cried.	Not	moccasins	none.	Very
<i>kwa</i>	<i>kutcin</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>utcu.</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>hamon</i>
no	trousers	just	shirt.	Just	bacon
<i>hic</i>	<i>w-k'ocona'kona</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>i-pi'lap'a</i>	<i>ho'</i>	<i>utcuye.</i>
just	which had been washed	just	sewed together	I	had for a shirt.
<i>hic</i>	<i>Pek'älip</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>icana</i>	<i>kwa'i'inaiye(5).</i>	<i>hic</i>
Very	sunny being	very	grease	is coming out.	Just
<i>hic</i>	<i>ho'</i>	<i>k'oye:</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>akc</i>	<i>a-n'iha.</i>
Just	I	cry:	Really	along	(I) want to go.
<i>kwa</i>	<i>mokwa.</i>	<i>ku-wa.</i>	<i>hom</i>	<i>käwona'(6)</i>	<i>Pumokwa-we</i>
no	moccasins,	none	my	elder sister's	stockings
<i>a-k'äp'anap'a(7)</i>	<i>hom</i>	<i>a-wukä.</i>	<i>hom</i>	<i>a-wutsip</i>	<i>ho'</i>
soled	to me	she gave them.	To me	having given them	I
<i>akc</i>	<i>a-kä.</i>				
along	went.				

(3) indicating a Cactus society prayerstick.

(4) *peha-*, neutral stem, "wrap"; -*p-*, distributive plural (see ¶ 58), -*kona*, alternate form of *koa*, "the one that was".

(5) resultative of *kwa'i'i*, intransitive stem, "to go out".

(6) *käwu*, "elder sister," -*ona*, "the one", used to express the genitive relation with terms of relationship. See ¶ 136.

(7) *a-*, plural, intransitive; *k'äp'a*, stem, "flat"; -*na-*, resultative; *p'a*, participle; literally, "flattened".

hi...c(8) *ko-macko-n a-ho'i. hic la...k^u olaya-kwin*
 Very many people. Very yonder (far away) Dry weed place

hon a-te'tcip hic yäto p'iyahap(8a) *hic ace titon i-kä.*
 we arriving very sun falling very hard rain came.

25 *hic tehtse'. hic hon a-wa-kä. a'humo'anankwin hon a-te'tcikä.*
 Very cold. Just we went. Roaring cave to we arrived.

isk'on hon a-wan'tewakä. hic ko-macko-na a-ho'i ko-macko-n
 There we passed the night. Very many people many

a-mukwe hon a-wan'tewakä. tewap hon a-wa-kä. ko-macko-na
 Hopis we passed the night. Next day we went. Many

a-ho'i hi...c itiwap. a'k'ap-clakwin hon a-te'tcinan isk'on
 people just midday flat rock standing to we arriving there

a-ciwi a-tsawaki hompic kwilikänas ha'ikänas astem-la
 Zuni youths maybe twice three times ten

30 *holi la-l a-mukwe hinik aptenakän astemla holi. hic*
 or else then Hopis perhaps five times ten or else. Just

a-ciwi hic pi'l i'tuwakä(9). *a-mukw' i-yas-ena a-ciw*
 Zunis just in a row stood. Hopis mixed together Zunis

a-wan telikina luvapa la-l a-mukw' a-wan cotsito-
 their prayersticks standing up then Hopis their sweet corn

muwe woyaklina'kona a-lacowap'a wotipkä.
 cakes the ones that had been roasted feathered put they down.

ta-hctic mosan'on an pi'tacivan-i a-tci a-tci
 Meanwhile the one who leads them his bow priest both both

35 *yam a-ho'i a-wil-i a-te a-kä. yälaniukwin lotek'äna-wap*
 their people with them both went. Mountain sitting to approaching

i-luwahna(10) *kwa'ikä. yu-holomace hic ko-macko-na yäla*
 running started out. Further on very many mountains

Petacana a-ye-makä. isk'on k'ätsowan a-te'tcinan ta-hctic
 high they climbed. There summits to reaching meanwhile

a-ciwi yam telikina Pop'in-te a-wantcuk'oclenana i-cu-
 Zunis their prayersticks only one on them spitting cleansing

(8) *hi...c*, the vowel is prolonged for emphasis.

(8a) *p'iya-*, neutral stem, "hang"; *-h-*, reversive; *-ap*, participle, new subject following. "When the sun begins to fall", i. e. about two o'clock in the afternoon.

(9) *i-*, reflexive; *luwa-*, neutral stem, "stand" (plural only); *-kä*, past tense, singular, active.

(10) *i-*, reflexive; *luwa*, stem; "stand"; *-h-*, reversive; *na* (*nan*), participle. Literally, "unstanding themselves".

- wahnan* *kvihonan* *a-p'ani-lekã*(11). *ta-htcic* *a-mukwe*
 themselves throwing them down they descended. Meanwhile Hopis
- yam* *cotsito* *motse-wak-ä* *i-cuwacnan* *a-p'ani-lekã*. 40
 their sweet corn paste with cleansing themselves they descended.
- ta-htcic* *kw-witean* *a-ho'i* *cokyapkä*. *a-te'tcikã*.
 Meanwhile nearby people were waiting. They arrived one by one.
- isk'on* *kwan-i-leanapkã*(12). *isk'on* *luwalemaknan* *s'a-wa-kã*.
 There they dressed themselves. There arising so they went.
- su-nhan'ihap* *yãto* *p'yihap* *a-te'tcikã*. *k'ãna-lana-kwe*
 Evening about to be sun falling they arrived. Great lake people
- pinaiye*. *hic* *ho'i-p'op'ikã*(13). *isk'on* *iyana-na-kã*.
 are staying there. Just people it is full. There they were unsaddled.
- yam* *wãwe* *tanan'o-nan* *p'ehwate* *ukwai'ik'ãnapkã*. *isk'on* 45
 Their animals herd made apart they drove out. There
- mõsa-n'ona* *a-tci* *kwatokã*. *a-tci* *la-tukã*(14).
 the ones who were leading both went in. The two put down prayersticks,
- a-tci* *kwai'ip* *ho'i* *tem-l* *u-kwatokã*. *la-tipkã*(15).
 The two coming out people all went in. They put down prayersticks,
- ta-htcic* *ho'* *ahaiyut* *a-tci* *yãlakwin* *a-kã*. *Pomt*
 Meanwhile I (name) the two mountain to went just
- itiyulana* *latukã*. *So* *pani-kã*. *ma-*
 standing against it (I) put down prayersticks. So I came down. Salt
- kwai'ile*. *m—m!* *ho'i* *põtiye*. 50
 is coming out separately. people it is full.
- Pewap* *camli* *hon* *latakãn* *a-kã*. *õkik'* *ainakã*. *hon*
 Next day early we to hunt went. Cottontail (I) killed. We
- le-i-nan* *Psikwahnan* *ala-pila'kã*. *ta-htcic* *a-lacik*
 carrying coming skinning it it was lying by the fire. Meanwhile men

(11) *a-*, plural, intransitive; *p'ani-*, intransitive active stem, "descend"; *-le-*, distributive; *-kã*, past tense.

(12) *kwan*, probably related to *kwa*, "something"; *i-*, reflexive; *lea-*, neutral stem, "carry", "wear"; *-nap-*, (*naw-*), plural, transitive; *-kã*, past tense (cf. *kwanlea*, "clothing", ("something to wear")). (incorporated subject?)

(13) *ho'i*, „person”; *p'op-*, neutral stem, "full"; *-i'kã*, static, past.

(14) *la-*, "stick", incorporated object; *-t-*, neutral stem, "put down many things" (cf. *wõtu*); *-u-*, conjugating vowel, active; *-kã*, past tense, present.

(15) distributive plural of *latukã* (note 14); there is another plural, *latunapkã*, not idiomatic. See ¶ 58.

- ma kwai'ilek'āna-we. wetsi tek'āl i-k'ākcikāp*
 salt brought out one by one. A little getting warm it becoming pleasant
a-wi-kā a-laci. kwa not'capi-w(15a) ku-wa. kwa ma-tcikwa.
 they came, the old ones. No coffee none. No sugar.
- 55 *hic kō-wi ciwe hewe kwa mulōwe. hic mātcikwa*
 Just a little meat paper bread no wheat bread. Just peach
ķere mākwiwe k'ola hic i-tona'kā. ta'tcic t'op aktsikwin
 skins onions chili just was eaten. Meanwhile one boy with
yam ōcik' hon i-ton'ihap ho'n aiyoķā. hō-lo t'on
 our rabbit we about to eat from us he took it. No! You
ci'teckwiye. kwa hon i-tonam-kā.
 meat are taboo. Not we did not eat it.
- tewap hon tūwalemakā. camli ma-p'o. tsi'laiye*
 Next day we arose. Early salt sacks are in single file
- 60 *ham-e a-laci ma haluk'āna-kwe ma-p'o-setop'a kāl*
 some men salt greedy ones salt sack carrying on the back hither
a-wa-kā. pipat-inkwin a-wiyulaknan a-want'ewakā.
 they came. Fringe lying place close against they passed the night.
ko-macko-na Pinaiye ak'āp ho'i tem-la. lal tewap
 Many are staying there because people all. Then next day
camli tūwalemaknan kāl a-wa-kā. hic it'ivap kāmākākwīn
 early arising hither they went. Just midday
a-wi-nan isk'on i-towena'kā. itowenaķ'āp si' ace. litokā.
 coming there it was eaten. Having eaten now hard it rained.
- 65 *liton i-kā. liton-p'ō'p'iye. tūwalemaknan kāl a-wa-kā. ķecok-*
 Rain came rain it is full. Arising hither they went. Rock Slab
takwin a-wi-kā. isk'on hon a-want'ewakā. tewap camli
 Hollow to they came. There we passed the night. Next day early
tcim t'ek'ohatip yeleteapķā. kāl a-wa-kā. palikālwin
 first daybreak being they made ready. Hither they went. Navajo smoke place
a-wi-kā. tetcapik'āna'kā. ta'tcic lik'aian unap'an ha-
 they came. Fires were made. Meanwhile smoke seeing they
p'elķā. yam tcaw a-wan k'ākwe'kōna hap'elķā.
 assembled. Their children their houses at they assembled.
- 70 *tcim-na-kwe a-wa-kōa yanil-ikā wō-p'onap'a. ta'htcic*
 First time the ones who had gone utensils brought together. Meanwhile
kāl a-wa-kā. a'lahon inkwin a-wi-nan i-p'inaķā. isk'on
 hither they went. Red Coral Sitting to coming they stopped. There

(15a) *no(we)*, "beans"; *t'capi*, "burn".

yacuwatina'kä. *yalakwai'ip* *käl* *a-wa-kä.* *a-wi-kä.*
talking they stayed. All finished hither they went. They came.

a-wiyulaknan *isk'om* *weatconapkä:*
Coming close there they called out on all sides:

pi'tci-kwe *to'nxwan* *tca'le* *s'iya*
Dogwood people your child now comes.

tonaci-kwe *to'na-wan* *tca'le* *s'iya* 75
Badger people your child now comes

hic *hap'etnap'a* *a-wan* *k'äkwe'kon* *hap'etnap'a* *a-wan*
Just assembling their houses at assembling their

a-kuku *a-wi-yap* *ma-kwatelap* *a-wan* *a-wowo*
aunts coming salt going in their paternal grandmothers

Pehwitiwa'kona *so'tenan* *hek'onan* *elek'äna'kä* *teakona*
center spaces at sand putting down hollow was made ready when it was

luwenan *kwan-a-teacnan* *k'ätsen* *ak-ä* *lun*
standing them clothing removing from them water cold with body

temla *wok'oconapkä.* *a-wawatenapkä.* *a-wawatenak'äp* 80
all they washed them. They washed their heads. Washing their heads

an *woleap'ewak-ä.* *an* *hep'alokä.*
for him cooking they passed the night. For him they made *hepuloka*

an *wola-ti-kä.* *i-tona'kä.* *an* *a-kuku* *i-towenapkä.* *i-tona*
for him they made stew. It was eaten. His aunts ate. Eating

yalakwai'ip *an* *a-kuku* *a-wam* *ma-lipkä.* *ho'ikäp*
all finished his aunts for them packed the salt. People coming

am *ma-we* *elthol* *yalakwai'ip* *i-wohhaiyaka.*
his salt nearly finished they separated.

ta'htcic *a-mukwe* *ham-e* *tekuaiye*(16) *il-ap'ona* *yam* 85
Meanwhile Hopi some friends the ones who had their (own)

a-kuaiye *a-wan* *k'äkwe'koa* *a-wan'ewacip* *ta'htcic* *ham-e*
friends their houses at they passed the night meanwhile some

kwa *tekuaiye* *ila-wam'ona* *patekwi'kona* *a-want'ewacle.*
(not) friends the ones who had [not corrals in pass the night.

Pewap *kwil* *ewactok* *civi* *a-tcia* *cemanan* *a-tc* *il-ap'a*
Next day two girls Zuni for them asking they with them

tsihkwa'inan *otipkä.* *otipkä'tap* *luwalan* *tem-la*
hair coming out they danced. They danced and village all

hap'elkä. *hap'elap* *luwalemaknan* *s'a-wa-kä.* 90
assembled. Assembling arising so they went.

(16) *te-*, a pluralizing element in verbs (see ¶ 56), somewhat obscure; this is the only instance where it occurs in a noun. *kuaiye*, friend. Note *a-kuaiye*, in following line.

tcims li-łk'ən lito-kä. lanhol t'oyakona hecot'a-t'sina'
So then right here it rained. Outside Planting at Rock Painting

kona k'äpkwe-na'kona luwala paltop'a(17) k'ewoe'a.
at Water Coming out at village edges thirst.

tahtcic lak^u Peciwan-inan(18) ma-ki acekä. lehol
Meanwhile there the priests' house at young woman died. About so

t'sana tea'l il-i. tahtcic an hota set-al-u'ya.
small child has. Meanwhile his grandmother carrying him goes about.

95 *hic yu'aca(19). an tsit an hota an alekwi-we*
Very lonely. His mother his grandmother for him parched corn

he'awacnan i-to-k'e'a. k'wi wihatsana k'o-ki. k'wi
masticating gives him to eat. A little baby good. Little

tewap i-seto-nan set-al-u'ya. hic
time putting him on her back carrying him she goes about. Very

Pewu'acona. kwa Pina-wam'e. luwala paltop'a. hic
lonely place. Not they are not staying. Village edges being. Just

k'wi su-nhan'ihap an tsana k'oyip i-seto-nan
little evening about to be her little one crying putting him on her back

00 *kwai'inan teala'kona set-it'i-yälacop k'wi*
going out housetop on carrying him walking around a little

yaselak'äp litan i-kä. hic k'wi holomace k'wi lito-kä.
turning over rain came. Just a little far off a little it rained.

lak^u yäla'kona kwa li-l litam'e. luwalan wilo'
Yonder mountains in not here it did not rain. Village lightning

atinan. hic a-tci itehkä. a-tc an-asiatikä.
played just the two struck. The two were struck by lightning.

hic luwalana hic ukwai'ip a-tc acekä. kwa tcuhol
Just village people just coming out the two died. Not anyone

05 *a-tcia yatena'ma. hic a-tci al-yäla-Pewa. tewap*
them did not touch. Just they lay up there all night. Next day

lakhol kwa tem a-tci yaiyu'ya-na'map tcim
just about now not yet they not becoming conscious then

li-łk'ən hol tcuwa an-asiatik'ona
right here somewhere someone one who had been struck by lightning

tecuna'kä. cemanak'äp luk'ən i-nan a-tcia ya-t'ekä.
was sought. Asking for him this one coming them he touched.

(17) i. e. the outlying farming villages.

(18) *Pe-*, "place"; *ciwan-i*, "priest"; *an*, post position, "at".

(19) *yu'*- (see ¶ 23), probably "to feel"; *aca*, stem, "lonely". Cf. *Pewu'acona*, "lonely or deserted place".

<i>a-tcia</i>	<i>ya-Penan</i>	<i>tcims</i>	<i>a-tcia</i>	<i>kwatok'āna'kă.</i>	<i>kwato-</i>
Them	touching	then	first	for them	it was brought in.
					When they
<i>k'ānaknan</i>		<i>tcims</i>	<i>a-tci</i>	<i>a'ikă.</i>	
had been brought in		so then	them	they buried.	
<i>le'na</i>	<i>teatikă.</i>				
Thus	it happened.				

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4. Gathering Salt.

Long ago, when I was just a boy, when I was just about so tall, it did not rain. The katcinas danced all the time, but it did not rain. When it did not rain they talked much about it, the Zunis. There was talk of going to the Salt Lake. They said, "Who would be best to go as chiefs?" "I think the west priest of Pałtowa." The bow priest was head of all. They talked together a great deal. In four days they would go. Early the next morning the bow priest called out. Meanwhile the Hopis started out. There were many of them, I think about forty burros. After three days the Zunis prepared their provisions. They cut prayersticks. There were many, perhaps four hundred burros. Now my father wanted to go. He had two burros. I had only one prayerstick, like this, the one for the month. I had none for the Salt Lake. Next day, just before noon, they were all ready. I wanted very much to go along. I cried. I had no moccasins. We were very poor. I had no trousers, only a shirt. The cloth wrappers from bacon, all washed and sewed, I had for a shirt. It was very warm, and the grease ran out. The dust stuck to it. I just cried. I wanted to go along. "No, it's too far. You have no moccasins." My sister gave me her stockings with soles underneath. She gave them to me and I went along.

There were lots of people. We came way over there to Dry-Weed-Place. Just as the sun began to sink heavy rain came. It was very cold. We went on. We came to Roaring-Cave. There we camped over night. There were many people. Many Hopis. We camped over night. Next day we went on. There were many people. Just at noon we came to Where-The-Rock-Slab-Stands-Upright. There the Zuni boys, maybe twenty or thirty, and the Hopis, I think about fifty, and all the Zunis, stood in line. The Hopis were mixed in with them. The Zunis stood their prayersticks up. Then the Hopis put down their sweet corn cakes that had been roasted in the fire, and their prayer feathers. Meanwhile the leader and his bow priest, these two went with their people. When they approached the mountain they began to run. Further on they climbed many high mountains. There they came to the summit. Then the Zunis spat on one of their prayersticks, purified themselves with it and threw it

down. Meanwhile the Hopis purified themselves with their sweet corn bread and they came down. Meanwhile, a little ways off, the people were waiting. When they came they dressed. Then they started out and went on. When it was nearly evening, when the sun was sinking, they arrived. The Laguna people were there. It was full of people. They unsaddled their animals and drove the herd out a little ways off. Then their two chiefs entered (the lake.) They planted their prayersticks. Then they came out and all the people went in. They planted their prayersticks.

Meanwhile I went to Ahaiyuta's Mountain. I just stood against the side of the mountain and planted my prayerstick. Then I came down. They were bringing out the salt. The place was full of people.

Early next morning, two of us went hunting. I killed a rabbit. We brought it in, skinned it and it was lying beside the fire. Meanwhile the men were taking out the salt. When it got a little warm, it became very pleasant. Then they came, the men. There was no coffee, no sugar; just a little meat and paper bread. No wheat bread. Just dried peaches and onions and chili. That is what one ate. Meanwhile the other boy and I were about to eat our rabbit when they took it away from us. "Oh no, you must fast from meat." So we didn't eat it.

Next day we got up early. (The animals with) sacks of salt went in single file. Some old men who were greedy for salt carried a sack of salt on their backs. So they came hither. We came close to Where-The-Fringe-Lies and camped over night. There were many camping there, because all the tribes (were there). Early next morning we arose and came this way. Just at noon we came to Kāmaḡā. There we ate. After we had eaten, now it rained hard. The rain came. The air was full of rain. We arose and came this way. We came to Rock Hollow. There we camped over night. Next morning, just at dawn, they made ready. They came this way. We came to Navajo Smoke. They made a signal fire. Meanwhile, when (the village people) saw the smoke, they gathered together. They gathered at their children's houses. They brought everything they needed for those who had gone for the first time. So they came this way. They came to Where-The-Red-Coral-Sits and there they waited. There they talked together. When this was over they came this way. They came. As they came close to the village they called out:

Dogwood Clan, your child is coming.

Badger Clan, your child is coming.....

So they all met. They met at their houses. There their aunts came when the salt came in. Their fathers' mothers put the sand down in the middle of the floor where they had made a hollow ready. There

they stood them up and took off their clothing. There they bathed their whole bodies with cold water. They washed their hair. After they washed their hair, they spent the night cooking for them. They put out *hepalokä* for them. They ate. His aunts ate. After they had finished eating his aunts put the salt in baskets for them. Many people came and his salt was nearly all gone. Then they separated.

Meanwhile the Hopis, those of them who had friends, stayed over night at the houses of their friends. And those who had no friends camped over night in the corrals. Next day they asked for two Zuni girls and with them they danced the Buffalo Dance. After they had danced the whole village gathered together provisions for them. After they had gathered these things together, they started out and went.

And now here, it rained. But outside, at Nutria and Pescado and Caliente, in all the farming villages, the land thirsted.

Meanwhile, over there at the house of the priests, a young woman died. She had a little child, so big. So now his grandmother carried him around on her back. He was very lonely. His mother (i. e. mother's sister) and his grandmother masticated parched corn and gave it to him to eat. After a little while the baby was all right. In a few days she took him on her back and carried him around with her. The village was deserted. No one was staying here. They were all out at the farming villages. It was in the early afternoon. Her little one cried. She put him on her back and went out, and walked around the housetop carrying him. The sun had just turned over; then rain came, just a little. It was far off and it only rained a little. The storm was over in the mountains; here it did not rain. The lightning played around the village and struck them. The two were struck by lightning. The people of the village came out. The two died. No one would touch them. They lay out on the roof all night. Next day, about this time, they had not yet come to their senses. Then they looked around here for someone who had been struck by lightning. They summoned him and he came and touched them. After he had touched them, then they took them in. They took them in and buried them.

So it happened.

PHONOLOGY

1. The outstanding features of Zuni phonology are the absence of consonantal clusters and all harsh sounds, very slight intensity of articulation, and a characteristic and subtle rhythm of speech. Precision of articulation is not a feature of Zuni speech, and the consequent slurring of words has made the language difficult to record. There is considerable variation in the speech of different groups, e. g. men and women and old and young. The young people at Zuni are all bilingual. In addition to these dialectic differences there is a considerable range of variation in the speech of any one individual. The variations are marked in the slurring of unaccented syllables, variability of vowel quality, omission of glottal stops and loss of glottalization. All of these features, found frequently in the speech of older people, and especially women, have become more marked in the speech of the younger generation who are accused by their elders of "not speaking plainly".

2. THE VOCALIC SYSTEM

The vocalic phonemes are as follows:

	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>
		<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɪ</i>
			<i>a</i>		
	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>
semivowels			<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	
diphthongs		<i>ai</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>oi</i>	

The open and closed vowels alternate freely, even in the same word as pronounced by the same person at different times. There is a tendency for the quality of the vowel to be influenced by surrounding consonants and conditions of accent. Unaccented short vowels are usually open; accented or long vowels, and especially vowels that are both long and accented, are usually closed, except *ɔ*; vowels followed or preceded by glottalized consonants or followed by glottal stops tend to be closed. However, these are tendencies, and cannot be stated as rules. *ä* is a variant of *a* following *y* and the palatalized consonants *k̟* and *k̟ʰ*.

w and *y* are both vowel and consonant. They are treated as consonants in combination with other consonants (*p* being considered the unvoiced form of *w*; see below ¶ 5), but under certain conditions

described below, they unite with preceding vowels to form diphthongs. *ai* is the only true diphthong. Pseudodiphthongs *ai*, *oi* and *au* are formed when short *a* or *o* in an accented syllable unites with the following long *y* or *w*. All short vowels in unaccented syllables are variable or obscure in quality. There is an alternation of *o* and *u* and of *e* and *i* in such positions, although in positions of importance they are distinct phonemes.

More significant than the quality of vowels is their quantity which will be discussed, along with other dynamic features, below (see ¶ 12 et seq.).

3. VOCALIC SHIFTS

We have already called attention to the variable quality of all vowels, and their tendency to be influenced by surrounding consonants. Short vowels are influenced by preceding and succeeding consonants, long vowels are never influenced by what follows. There are, moreover, a number of regular vocalic shifts.

a and *a'* become *ä* (*ä'*) after the palatalized *k̂* and *k̂'*.

a becomes *ä* after *y*; except when followed by *n*, *m*, *k*, *k'*, *l*. *a'* does not change following *y*.

a becomes *ai* before *y*, especially in accented syllables. In unaccented position the shift is common, but not invariable.

a becomes *a^u* before *w* in accented syllable.

a^uwanap̂kä

a^uwatin'e

o becomes slightly diphthongized before *y*.

oⁱyemci, *oⁱye*

A word composed entirely of vowels never occurs, and the consonant *l* is sometimes introduced between the two vowels. This explains the apparent irregularity of the verb *a-*, a stem which predicates concerning a single flat object:

a'u put it down (*a'e'a*, durative; the glottal stop is a consonant) and *ale*, it lies there, but *a'kä* it lay there. The *l* obviously is not part of the stem.

4. THE CONSONANTAL SYSTEM

The consonantal system is relatively simple. There are two series of consonants, the unaspirated surd, with a very slight intensity of articulation and a series belonging to the group usually called glottalized. There is no glottal closure; these sounds are produced by the simultaneous release of anterior and posterior palatal closures. The term *fortis* which has been suggested as an alternative to the misleading term *glottalized* is hardly applicable to sounds with so strikingly little force of articulation. The characteristic feature

of these sounds is that there is a small amount of air in the mouth, under pressure. Hence it seems preferable to retain the term "glottalized." Due to characteristic Zuni slovenliness of speech the glottalization is frequently lost, or the posterior release precedes the anterior release sufficiently to destroy the impact. The resulting sound is a true medial *B*, *D*, *G*, etc., barely distinguishable from the unaspirated surd *p*, *t*, *k*. This general tendency in the language has gone furthest in the labials in which it is almost impossible to distinguish the two series. There is a single aspirated consonant, *t'*, which occurs only in *-t'u*, the optative suffix, which is always accented, at variance with the usual pattern for accentuation. *t* and *t'* are, therefore, one phoneme.

The anterior palatals are subject to a special variation, especially marked in women's speech, whereby they move forward and assume a slightly affricative quality, *k̤* becoming *ty* sometimes even *te*; and *k̤'*, *Dy* or *DJ*.

The dental stops are true dentals but the corresponding continuants are dento-alveolar.

k and *k̤* (as also *k'* and *k̤'*) are variants of the same phoneme, appearing as *k̤* (*k̤'*) before *ā*, *e*, *i*, and as *k* before *o* and *u*. *kw* is a distinct phoneme. *ŋ* has been recorded in one or two words as a variant of *n* before *k* in an accented syllable.

There are no velar consonants.

Any consonant, including *h* and *ʔ*, may be lengthened according to the rules of dynamics given below.

The complete series of consonants is as follows:

	Stops		Continuants				Laterals	
	Unv.	Glott.	Spirant		Affricatives		Voiced	Unv.
			Voiced	Unv.	Affricative Glott.-Affr.	Nasal		
Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>p'</i>	<i>w</i>	—	—	<i>m</i>	—	—
Dental	<i>t</i>	<i>t'</i>	—	<i>s</i> , <i>c</i>	<i>ts</i> , <i>t's</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l'</i>
Dental					<i>tc</i> , <i>t'c</i>			
Alveolar								
Anterior								
Palatal	<i>k̤</i>	<i>k̤'</i>	<i>y</i>	—	—	(<i>ŋ</i>)	—	—
Palatal	<i>k̤</i>	<i>k̤'</i>	<i>y</i>	—	—	—	—	—
Lab. Pal.	<i>kw</i>	<i>k'w</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glottal	—	<i>ʔ</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—

5.—7. CONSONANTAL SHIFTS

5. ASSIMILATION

Most consonantal changes come under the head of assimilation. Some of these shifts are the obvious ones, such as:

Unvoicing of voiced consonants before voiceless stops. The only voiced consonants are *l* and *w*, which change to *l* and *p* respectively, and *y*, which has no unvoiced form.

acna'we, they make it; *acnapkä*, they made it.

ukwatela, they come in one by one; *ukwatelan*, having come in, one by one.

n becomes *m* before *p* or *p'*

am papa, his elder brother (*an*, possessive pronoun)

amp'eyekä, he exhorted him (*an*, 3rd person objective pronoun).

n sometimes becomes *ŋ* before *k* or *k'*

tenkä, it was used up (*tenaye*, it is wearing out)

lowo'anġkä, it became cloudy

tekānaŋkä, it would have been Z 20:71

but *ank'ohati*, he finds out

ank'et'sana, he delights in her, and all combinations of the pronoun *an*,

ku becomes labialized *kw* before vowels (except *u*)

teku, stick it in; *tekuġä*, *tekwiha*, *tekwiye*, etc.

also *vecku*, *veckwiye*, *paku*, *pakwiye*, etc.

kw + *k* become *k'* and

kw + *k'* become *k'*

ak'a, it got cooked (*akw-*, to get cooked + *kä*)

anik'ä, teach him (*anikw-* to know + *k'ä*, causative)

yemak'āna'we, they made him go up (*yemaku* + *k'ä*)

t + *k* become *k'*

lak'ä, he hunted (stem *lat* + *kä*)

6. OTHER PHONETIC SHIFTS

The cause of other phonetic shifts is less apparent:

n is dropped before *w* and *y*, and the preceding vowel is lengthened or diphthongized.

a^wwate'a, she washes his hair (*an*, objective pronoun + *wat-*; cf.

i'wate'a, she washes her own hair)

aiyu'ya'na, he knows it (cf. *yu'ya'na*, to know)

aiyoseke'a, she is lying to him (*yosek'e'a*, she is lying)

p'a'i'we, blankets, plural of *p'a'in'e*

p'ena'we, words, plural of *p'enan'e*, and all plurals of nouns in *-n'e*. See ¶ 130

The sequence *t* + *n* never occurs; *t* changes to *k* when followed by *n*.

laknapkä, they hunted; *laknaye*, they were killed but *latakä*¹, hunting, *latap*, having hunted, etc.

ya^hekä, he grabbed it, *yaknaye*, it is held, *yaknahan'a*, he will put it aside.

also *utsi*, give it to me (*utsin'a*, present subjunctive) and *uknam-kä*, he did not give it, *uknaye*, and also, *yaknaye*, they have been given away.

h + e (in durative aspect of verbs) changes to *c lesnaha*, take it away, *lesnaca*, durative; *lesnackoa*, etc. (*lesnah + e'a*)

yelahkä, he ran; *yelaca*, he is running and *yelackä*, he was running,

but also *ace'a*, durative of *aha*, and *akcice'a*, durative of *akciha*

7. METATHESIS

There are a few cases of metathesis.

The suffix *iha-* (imminent aspect) becomes *iyah* in the past tense, before the suffix *kä* or before the participial ending *-nan*).

The distributive suffix appears in two forms *le* and *el*.

kwatela, to come in severally (stem *kwato*)

lawapsicle, to cut many prayersticks.

8.—14. SYLLABIFICATION, ACCENT AND QUANTITY

8. THE NORMAL SYLLABLE

The normal Zuni syllable consists of consonant and following vowel:

a'-ye''-ma-ku¹

i'-le-a-na

te'-a-ye

Glottal stops are treated as consonants. Where two consonants occur together the syllable division is between the consonants:

yu'-ya'na

yak-na'-kä

k'us-k'e'-a

ak-cih-kä

Long or lengthened consonants between two vowels are treated as two consonants and the syllabic division comes *in* the consonant. However, long stops are not doubled, e. g. *ak-ä* not *ak-kä*.

9. SYLLABIFICATION OF COMPOUNDS

Words formed by composition retain the syllabification of the component parts. The break between the syllables is marked but there is no glottal closure as in such a word as *a-u*.

¹ Double accent designates secondary accent.

wɔ-ta-pan-a-ne (*wɔ-tapan* + *a-ne*), not *wɔ-ta-pa-na-ne*.
k'ä-tul-u-lap-na
al-u-le

Certain morphological elements also retain their identity although forming part of the word complex.

The prefixed pronoun *an* (*a-wan*) is treated independently, i. e. as a syllable

a'n-a-ha (not *a-na-ha*)
a'n-uta-we
ya'n-il-te-ma
a'-wan-a-ce-'a

The suffixes *-ona*, *-iha*, are similarly treated.

The corresponding *koa* and *tihä*, beginning with consonants, form no exception to the rule of syllabification.

mos-o-na not *mo-so-na*
ti-kil-o-na
a'n-i-ha

10.—11. ACCENT AND QUANTITY

10. Rules of Accentuation

The Zuni language has clearly marked and characteristic stress accent. The primary accent is always on the first syllable. Words of five or more syllables have a secondary accent, usually on the penult, occasionally on the antepenult, but never on the final syllable, except for a rhetorical accent in the imperative and optative.

a'ntecemana''we
a'pani'le''kä
lu'walema''knan

but also

te'tcapik'ä''na'kä
hu'momo'a''nankwin
a'nhatia''napkä

11. Accentuation of Compounds

Compounds retain the original stem accents:

a'nah-kwai''ik'äna'pkä
a'tel-i'minan
o'na-e'latekä (pl. *a wona-e'latekä*)
o'na-ya'nakä

In compounds of which the first part is a monosyllabic stem, followed by a polysyllabic stem or stem plus suffixes, the two stems are accented, the primary accent being on the second syllable:

i''m-yä'tto' up
t'u''n-a'l'u'ya
ci''-te'ckwiye

Prefixes and prefixed pronouns, however, take the primary accent:

	<i>ta'tcu</i>	pl. <i>a'tatcu</i>
	<i>i'l'i</i>	pl. <i>a'wil'i</i>
	<i>k'e't'sana</i>	pl. <i>i'k'e't'sana</i>
	<i>tse'me'a</i>	pl. <i>a'ntse'me'a</i>
but	<i>a'nt'ewa^hkä</i>	<i>a'want'e''wa^hkä</i>
	<i>wə hana^hye</i>	<i>i'wə'ha''nap'e''nankwi</i>

12.—14. QUANTITY

Principles of syllabification and accent have farreaching effects upon vocalic and consonantal quantity. Each sound, whether vocalic or consonantal, has its morphological quantity. Furthermore, each syllable has its dynamic quantity determined by the position of the stress accent.

13. Syllabic Value

There are two kinds of syllables, strong and weak. A strong syllable is one that contains either a long vowel or a diphthong, or a short vowel followed by a consonant, e. g., the first syllable of each of the following words: *a'-kä*; *mu'-la*; *an-te-ce-ma*; *a'-le*. The presence or absence of initial consonant does not affect syllabic value. Weak syllables are those terminating in short vowels. All accented syllables must be strong syllables; and the accent lengthens the syllable. If the accent falls on a syllable containing a long vowel the vowel is lengthened slightly, giving a double long vowel. This subsidiary length disappears when the accent is shifted to another syllable, e. g. *a':kä* (pl. *a':wa^hkä*).

In syllables containing a short vowel plus consonant, there is a slight lengthening of the consonant under the influence of the accent.

<i>a'n(·)tecema</i>	pl. <i>a'wantecema</i>
<i>i'l(·)tema</i>	pl. <i>ya'n(·)iltema</i>

If the accent falls upon a morphologically weak syllable, i. e. one terminating in a short vowel, the syllable is lengthened by borrowing from the following syllable, whose initial consonant is lengthened,

the syllabic division occurring in the consonant. There is a slight lengthening of the preceding vowel, but not sufficient to make it a full length vowel.

<i>tsi(·) ta</i>	pl. <i>a:'tsita</i>
<i>ta(·)'t'cu</i>	pl. <i>a:'tatcu</i>
<i>i(·) m'e</i>	(cf. <i>i:'mu</i> , <i>i + im + u</i>)
<i>a^wwatin'e</i>	
<i>a^wwanapkä</i>	("he found it," cf. <i>a^wwanapkä</i> ,
	"he found them") See ¶ 3.

These features are especially marked in initial syllables which receive the principal stress accent. Secondary accents are usually attracted to morphologically strong syllables. If, as sometimes occurs, subsidiary accents fall upon weak syllables, there is a similar secondary lengthening. However, except for initial syllables, the quantitative distinctions are not clearly maintained, and the quantities of final syllables are frequently doubtful.

14. *Vocalic Quantity, Phonemic and Acoustic*

There are, therefore, four vocalic quantities, double long (morphologically long and accented); full long (morphologically long and unaccented); half long (morphologically short and accented); and short (morphologically short and unaccented). The two middle quantities are very similar acoustically, especially when not occupying initial position.

The following are examples of various types of syllables:

- a:kä*, "he went" (initial *a:* long and accented)
- a(·)'kä*, "therefore" (initial *a(·)* short, accented)
- a:wäkä*, "they went" (*-wä-* long, unaccented)
- a.wä'kä*, "they got cooked" (*-wä-*, short, unaccented)

In the following pages only morphological quantities will be indicated, the dynamic shifts due to accent being regular and understood.

15. LOSS OF SYLLABLES

Final vowels are regularly dropped before words beginning with vowels. Frequently the words contract, the final consonant of the preceding word, if a stop, becoming glottalized. Although the vowel is regularly elided contraction does not always take place. Frequently whole syllables are elided in this way. Nominal suffixes are regularly dropped in syntactic relations. Certain verbal suffixes are elided in rapid speech but reappear in dictation. Nominal suffixes never appear in texts or connected discourse except where emphasis is desired. There is a marked tendency to slur all unaccented syllables in the middle of words.

16. DIALECTIC DIFFERENCES

Reference has already been made to the range of variation in the pronunciation of sounds by different individuals. There is considerable difference in the speech of men and women. There are a few words restricted to one or the other sex — principally exclamations. *tí'comaha'* (oh dear!) is a man's word, *a'na'ha'* the corresponding woman's word. There are a few others. But there is no woman's speech, distinct from man's. There are a few children's words, and a simplified set of relationship terms used by young children — *tsime* for *tsita*, mother, mother's sister, *home* (*hota*) mother's mother, *kume* (*kuku*) father's sister, classificatory, etc.

There is a tendency among women to soften all glottalized sounds, and to pronounce the anterior palatals far forward (*kä* becomes *tya*, *k'ä* becomes *dya*). However, these features appear occasionally also in the speech of men. There is marked pitch accent, which turns women's speech into a singsong. Inflection has not been recorded, since it is not constant and has no morphological significance.

There is a tendency among young people of both sexes to elide glottal stops and soften glottalized consonants. This is characteristic of the speech of all people under fifty, and is especially marked among those who speak English. Many of these younger people are not aware of the true character of the sounds and cannot distinguish between such words as *p'i'yukä*, he hung it up, and *p'i ya'kä*, it was hanging. There is also some inaccuracy in quantities of such words as *i'käne'a*, he is angry and *i'käne'a*, they are angry.

With dialectic differences might be classed the elisions and contractions referred to above, since they appear and disappear in the texts with no regularity. The slurring of syllables in rapid speech, characteristic alike of Zuni and English, is perhaps a tendency of all languages with marked stress accent.

17. PHONETIC DECAY

There is reason to believe that the present decay of the language is nothing new, but that the language has been undergoing phonetic disintegration for a long time. The consonantal system was probably once richer than it is at present. The glottal stop is being lost. But the behavior of glottal stops in certain verbal conjugations (e. g., *p'i'yaye*, *p'iya'kä*, *p'iyak'än'a*; *p'iyau*, *p'iyakä*, *p'iyana*; *i'to'ya*, *i'to'na'we*) invites the hypothesis that the glottal stop in turn replaces lost consonants. There are words that appear variously as *pelikto*, *pel'ito*, *pel'ipo* (rare). We have also such series as *a'le*, "stone," pl. *a'we* but, based on this stem, *apk'oskwi*, "window pane," (formerly a translucent stone).

The general wearing down of distinctions, which is the present phonetic trend, makes it seem plausible that many elements that now sound alike were at one time distinct, e. g., *i*-plural, also indirect object, and *i*- reflexive; *yanik'ä*, he learns (lit. makes himself know) and *yanik'ä*, he teaches them. Furthermore, the reflexive prefix displays numerous irregularities in combination with other sounds, e. g., *i**mu*, he sits down (*i* + *im*, to sit or be seated) but *yil'u*, she marries (*y* (*i*) + *il'*, stem, "with"). *yo'a*, to become (*y* + *o*- stem "to be made") forms a plural *a'wiy'o'a*, whereas other words beginning in *y*- form their plurals *a'*- (*a'ya'a*, *a'yemaku*, etc.).

MORPHOLOGY

18. MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

Syntactic relations and the various categories of thought are expressed through mechanisms of affixation, composition of stems and juxtaposition of word complexes. Of these the first two processes are most important. There are a few reduplicated words, but reduplication is not used as a grammatical process. There is no internal stem modification (except the single instance of the verb *staye*, to dance, pl. *stiwe*).

The usual word order is subject — object — verb, but this is not fixed. Hence there is a slight ambiguity in all sentences which do not employ other means for distinguishing subject and object, and this ambiguity may be used for literary effect. See "Zuni Ritual Poetry"¹ for a discussion of this point. Adjectives always follow the nouns they modify, but adverbial clauses occupy first position, with the connective, if any, following the clause.

Ap'ewan ho' satorwe wotukä. ho' hekätco ackä.
 Stone floor on I potsherds them put down. I clay paste made.
 Z 5:85, 86

but also, *sa'le ho' ackä.*
 bowl I made. Z 5:88

hom tsita hom atinekä.
 my mother me told. Z 35:63

a'tsawaki hol ank'ohanapkä e'lactok'ona.
 Youths somewhere her they discovered girl the one. Z 177:8

¹ R. B. A.E 47: 619.

laciki kwa yaiyu'ya'nam'e an tse'makwin ak'a luwalan
 Old man know-nothing his thoughts because of village

lana hic i'tse'mekä.
 large very much they worried.

The old man had no sense and because of his doing the large village worried.
 Z 51:83

ho' t'sanap atel imikä.
 I being small mountain side fell.

When I was small the mountain side fell. Z 52:98

lil t'o'na ho' a'lea'up'a. . .
 Here to you I them offering. . .

Complex ideas are expressed by stem composition; many derivational ideas, by verbal suffixes. Mode, aspect, tense and number are also expressed by suffixes. The only prefixes are prefixed pronouns and pluralizing prefixes, which are probably part of the pronominal system. Independent pronouns are always used for first and second persons, subject and object. There are also incorporated objective pronouns, which appear in a few instances as the subjects of intransitive verbs.

19.—23. STEM COMPOSITION

19. Stem composition is used for the expression of numerous types of complex ideas. All types of composition are employed: noun and noun, noun and adjective, noun and verb, pronoun and verb, verb and verb.

20. NOUN AND NOUN

When two nouns are compounded, the modifying element precedes, e. g.

ma'k'aiakwin salt lake (*ma'[we]*, salt; *kai[a'n'e]*, water, lake; *kwin*, at) 420:4

pi'laci'wain'i bow priest (*pi'la*, bow; *ci'wan'i*, priest) 399:3

a'na-wo'p'un sack of tobacco (*ana*, tobacco; *wop'un'e*, sack)
 Z 139:33

t'a'sakwin'e digging stick (*t'a-*, wood; *sakwin'e*, leg) Z 1:2

t'su'tikän'e shell society Z 39:34

21. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE

Adjectives follow nouns in composition as in juxtaposition.

t'e'k'ohanan'e space white, i. e. daylight

<i>k'ä'kwenla'tap'a</i>	house winged, i. e. aeroplane (not a true compound, since the initial stem retains its nominalizing suffix)
<i>wiha'tsana</i>	baby (<i>wiha</i> , baby, doll; <i>'sana</i> , small)
<i>k'ä'p'ali</i>	whisky (<i>k'ä-</i> , water; <i>p'ali</i> , bitter, hot) Z 45:45
<i>motcikwa</i>	peach (<i>mo-</i> , fruit; <i>tcikwa</i> , sweet)
<i>k'ätsena</i>	cold water Z 1:8

22. NOUN AND VERB

Noun-verb combinations may be the result of subject or object incorporation.

<i>p'e'na'tsu'mek'ekä</i>	he talked loud (<i>p'ena</i> , words; <i>'sumek'äkä</i> , he made strong) 406:95
<i>o'na-ya't'u</i>	may your road be fulfilled 397:6 (<i>ona</i> , road; <i>ya-</i> to become finished; <i>'u</i> , optative)
<i>na'p'tiye</i>	there are many deer (<i>na</i> , deer; <i>p'tiye</i> , it is full) Z 101:71
<i>mop'iyakwin</i>	peach orchard (<i>mo-</i> , fruit; <i>p'iya</i> , hang; <i>kwin</i> , where) Z 53:11
<i>la'waptsielena''pkä</i>	make prayersticks (<i>lawe</i> , sticks; <i>aptsi</i> , to cut, -c-repetitive ?; <i>le</i> , one by one) 421:10
<i>t'si'lahnan</i>	picking up a basket (<i>t'si'le</i> , basket; <i>ahnän</i> , picking up) Z 139:31
<i>tcawackä</i>	she gave birth (<i>tcawe</i> , children; <i>aca</i> , make) Z 122:2
<i>up'inaye</i>	it snowed (<i>u</i> , wool; <i>p'inaye</i> , to blow) Z 210:69

Nouns may be incorporated to express locative concepts, e. g.:

o'na-e'latena (on the) road pass

Pronominal incorporation is discussed below, ¶ 37 et seq.

23. VERB AND VERB

Verbal stems are compounded freely to express many types of complex action or condition:

<i>t'un-a'l-ukän</i>	look, go about, i. e. in order to hunt Z 101:73
<i>i'teh-kwai''ik'ä</i>	drop, make go out, i. e. throw it out! (imperative) Z 117:90
<i>p'o'a-yä'laye</i>	sit, be above, i. e. sit in a high place

<i>i'm-iyältokä</i>	sit, put on top (reflexive), to climb up on it Z 67:89
<i>o'ceman-a'ce</i>	starve, die; to be starving to death
<i>ya'pena-p'sumek'e'a</i>	hold, make strong; to hold fast
<i>olea-te'tcip</i>	meal carrying arriving; to come carrying a basket of meal 417:30
<i>puna-kwai'ip</i>	look, come out; to come over the top Z 2:27

Among verbal compounds are to be found a number of petrified stems, found only in certain combinations, e. g.:

<i>imapila'kä</i>	it was lying by the fire (<i>im-</i> to be sitting)
<i>alapila</i>	to lie by the fire
<i>ana-kwai'ikä</i>	he ran out (<i>kwai'i</i> , to go out)

23a. *yu'*

Probably *yu'*, used initially in many words relating to sensation or emotion, is a petrified stem.

yu'ya'na, to know; *yu'su*, to feel warm; *yu'acona*, to be lonesome, (cf. *pewuacona*, a place is deserted); *yu'teclati*, to be frightened, etc.

24.—29. AFFIXING

24. VERBAL SUFFIXES OF DERIVATION

Besides the suffixes that are used to express grammatical categories in the verb, there are a number of verbal suffixes that express derivational ideas. These are all suffixes of first position, i. e. they precede endings denoting time, aspect, number, mode, etc.

25. *-k'*- CAUSATIVE

This suffix is free and can be attached to any verb as a causative or transitive suffix. It precedes suffixes denoting aspect, tense, number.

Attached to active intransitive verbs its meaning is causative and transitive.

<i>i'tok'än'a</i>	she will give him to eat (<i>i'to</i> , to eat)
<i>a'k'äk'ä</i>	she sent him away (<i>a'(n)</i> - to go) 415:5
<i>pena'kwatok'äk'ä</i>	he called in (<i>kwato</i> , to go in) Z 141:63
<i>p'ani-k'änap'kä</i>	they let him come down (<i>p'ani</i> , come down) Z 340:52
<i>kwatok'änan</i>	pushing it in (<i>kwato</i> , go in, <i>-k'</i> -; <i>anan</i> , participle) Z 100:49

It is attached with similar function to static verbs or adjectives, which partake of many of the characteristics of static verbs (see ¶ 159).

- alok'ä*, make a light! (*alofnaye*], there is a light; cf., however *aklu*, light a fire; and *akliye*, there is a fire)
elek'e'a, she is getting it ready (*ele-* to be ready)
k'äpak'ä, spread it out (*k'äpa*, flat)
lo'ok'änan, making it hard (*lo'o*, hard) Z 111:77
ikwanik'e'a, he is working at it (*ikwani'a*, there is work)
lutsik'än'a, she will grind it fine (*lutsi*, soft) 417:26
p'ena'tsumek'ekä, they were talking loudly (lit.: making strong words) 406:95

It is sometimes used with the reflexive prefix *i·* (*y*) to form active verbs from static stems.

- yelanak'ä*, they became plentiful, lit.: they caused themselves to be many (*elanaye*, there are many)
yantcianak'ä, it becomes difficult (*antciana*, difficult)
i·yu'ya·k'äp'a, getting to know something 396:1
i·celk'änan, when he was satisfied (lit. had filled himself) Z 100:55
i·yu'hetok'än, to show themselves (*yu'heto*, clear) Z 18:41

With the inceptive *-ti-*:

- ikätik'ä*, it makes him angry (*ikä* [*ne'a*] he is angry)
i·natik'ä, he fails (*i·na*, to lack)
k'et'satik'ä, it makes (him) rejoice. Cf., however, *k'et'sanak'ä*, it is a source of happiness to him, from the static verb stem *k'et'sana*, to be happy
yunatik'änapkä, they acquired (literally they caused themselves to begin to see them) Z 42:98

26. *-ti-* INCEPTIVE

Attached to active verbs with the meaning "it begins to"

- ocetinan*, getting hungry (*oce'a*, he is hungry) Z 99:34
tse'matikä, (I) felt badly, i. e. began to worry (*tse'ma*, to think) Z 103:14
i·nati, it fails, i. e. gives out (*i·na*, to lack)
ikätikä, he became angry (*ikäne'a*, he is angry) 402:31
a'tc unatik'äp'a, when they looked at him Z 167:91

With adjectives or static verbs:

- lacitikä*, she grew old (*taci*, old, an adjective; as a verb it exists only in the optative, in prayers, *lacit'u*, may you grow old) Z 120:70
te'ohatip, at daybreak (*te*, place, time; *k'oha(na)*, white) 424:67
halicotikä, she went crazy (*halico*, crazy) 400:8

Sometimes the reflexive prefix *i-* is required:

i-lo'oti, it gets hard (*lo'o* hard)

i-p'sumeti, he gets strong (*p'sume*, strong)

i-hemotikā, he works himself into a fury (lit., he causes himself to begin to boil over, from *hemo'a*, to boil over)

yanikwati, he learns (from *anikwa*, to know how)

ipisatikā, she became annoyed (cf. *ampisa*, mischievous)

Z 207:9

27. *-h-(c)* CONVERSIVE

Can be attached freely to all active and many neutral verbs with the meaning of undoing. The variation between *h* to *c* is phonetic. It appears as *c* when followed or preceded by two vowels; therefore it is always *c* in the continuative aspect.

aha, pick it up (stem *a-*, in *a'u*, put it down; *ale*, it is lying, of one flat object) pl. *ahna'we*

akciha, he chooses one (*akc-* among, neutral verb stem)

p'iyahnapkā, they took him down (*p'iya*, to hang) 405:64

p'sikwacekā, he was skinning it (*p'sikwaye*, to have a skin; static aspect,) Z 114:44. See ¶ 6 for phonetic shift *h* to *c*.

p'sikwahnan, having skinned it, 423:52

With the reflexive *i-*

i-luwahna, running (plural stem.) (*luwa*, many things are standing upright) *i-luwackā*, they raced 422:10

i-wlohk'ä, they come out of ambush (*w'loye*, to lie buried)

Z 131:64

i-yu'tetcinaha, rest (*yu'tetc*, to feel tired) Z 175:64

i-setohnan, taking them from his back (*seto*, to carry on the back) Z 15:73

c, probably a variant of *-h-* is attached to nominal stems, with the meaning of remove.

tcucan'a, she will remove kernels from the cob; 416:11 (but also *tcu'tahanan*, with the same meaning)

ateacip, picking squash blossoms (*atear'we*, squash blossoms) Z 130:43

i-leacan'a, he will remove his clothing (*lea*, to wear; also clothing)

halikwicnapkā, they stripped off his witchcraft (*halikwi*, witch) 406:85

27a. *ma* TO THINK OF

The suffix *ma* is used in a number of words relating to mental processes, and is primarily a verbalising suffix with the meaning, "to think or feel".

ittema, to believe (*ilte*, true)

otcoma, to envy (*otco*, an exclamation of pleasure)

ocema- to feel hungry (*oce'a*, to be hungry, or possibly to lack food)

itsuma, to feel cold- (*itsu*, an exclamation of cold)

The same ending is found in

tse'ma, to think

itcema, to love or value

antecema, to desire

28. DISTRIBUTIVE SUFFIXES

There are a number of closely related suffixes attached to active verbs, all of them referring to distributed action. *tco* refers especially to spatial distribution, *-el-*, with its variants *-le-*, *-tel-*, refers to distribution in time, *tcel* is perhaps a combination of *tco* and *el*. These distinctions are not clearly maintained in accordance with the general lack of distinction in concepts of time and space.

-tco- distributive, "in different directions," also, rarely, "many times".

This is attached to certain verbs only. Its use is not free.

With the idea of scattering:

weatcoḱä, he called out (a formal announcement) (*wea*, to cry out) 421:7

ipaktco, to throw away many things, to scatter (*ipaku*, to throw one thing, to shoot)

iloptco, to go about borrowing from many places (*ilopi*, to borrow one thing)

lepaktco, to chop wood (*le-*, pieces of wood, *paku*, to throw)

but also:

awletcoḱä, they used to go there repeatedly, (cf. *elctela*, she goes back and forth; however, there is no stem *ele* meaning "to go") Z 1:14

anhemotcoḱä, he scolded her Z 174:39

antehtco'ya, he is watching him closely

aiyanhaktconan, breathing on him Z 100:48

-l-, *-le-*, *-tel-*, distributive, "one by one," "one after another (not to be confused in meaning with other suffixes for customary, repeated, or continuous action).

ukwatelḱä, they came in one by one: *u-*, pl. *kwat* (*o*), go in; *-el* (*-el*) distributive, the *l* is an voiced preceding consonant; *ḱä*, past, active, singular Z 109:40

ate'tcila, they arrive one after another Z 127:89

ma'kwai'ile, the salt is coming out 423:49

anip'elna-hapelkä, they came to court her (*anip'ela*, to court, probably from *p'e-*, to speak, plus *-l*, *hap(o)*, to gather; *-el (-el)*, one by one; *-kä*, past, singular) Z 139:23

yätokwai'ilenankwi, where the sun always comes out (*yato*, sun, day; *kwai'i*, come out; *le-*, distributive following a vowel; *-nan*, participle; *-kwi*, postposition, where, place of) Z 79:42

itecpani-lek'änapkä, they kept on throwing them down (*iteh-*, throw plus repetitive; *pani-*, descend; *-le* distributive; *-k'*, causative; *-ä*, active, momentaneous; *nap (naw)*, plural; *-kä*, past for phonetic shift $h > c$ see ¶¶ 6, 65.

a'witela, they came separately, (or many times) (*-tel*, distributive following vocalic stem) Z 229:59

up'inatela, it snowed intermittently Z 210:81

In a number of words the element *-c* appears before the distributive prefix. This is, perhaps, related to the durative-repetitive *e'* which appears as *c* under certain phonetic conditions. See ¶ 6

lawap'siclenapkä, they made prayersticks (*lawe*, sticks; *apt'si*, cut; *-c-*, repetitive (?); *-le*, distributive) 421:10

yatcuclekä, he trampled on it (*yatcu*, step; *-c-*, repetitive (?); *-le*, distributive; *-kä*, past) Z 211:97

a'want'ewacle, they passed the night (in various places) 425:87

-tcel- distributive, "back and forth", "one after another":

eletcela, he goes back and forth (stem does not exist in other combinations)

a'haktcela, he takes food for sacrifice from each dish (*a'*, plural object; *hak-*, to divide; *-tcel-*, distributive; *-a*, indicative, active, present, singular); *tehaktco'ya*, has the same meaning (*te-*, distributive plural; *hak-*, *-tco-*, distributive, here and there; *-ya*, present indicative, durative)

29. CUSTOMARY

There are two suffixes for customary or habitual action, *-p'e-*, *-k'e-*. The use of both of these suffixes is restricted and idiomatic and not enough examples have been collected to formulate any rule for the use of one or the other. Customary action is usually expressed by the use of the durative or repetitive aspect. See ¶ 65.

-k'e-, customarily

towowok'e'a, they always blow it Z 40:59

ist imok'e'a, this is where she always sits

akcik'e'a, he is always among them

ulalak'e'kä, it used to snow all the time Z 30:61

una'ke'nankwin, the place they had always seen Z 165:62

-*pe-*, customarily (possibly related to the distributive plural in -*p-*). See ¶ 58).

yut'ulap'e'a, they always run away Z 41:83

iw'haiyap'ekä, they used to scatter Z 1:17

luwalap'e'en'ona, the ones who always live here Z 62:3

iw'hanap'enankwi, where they always used to hang them
403:45

le'nap'e'a, so it always is 418:37

29a. -*te*. INTENSIFYING

The most important use of this suffix is with participial phrases with the meaning, "even as", or "even though," but it is also used with locatives, demonstratives, numerals etc.

lesnapte, even so 404:55

k'onete, even as he was crying Z 91:85

kwa antecemanapte, even though he didn't want to 404:58

uhsite, those same

yamte, her very own 418:38

t'opinte, only one 399:3

isk'onte, right there

30—115. MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB

30. GENERAL CHARACTER OF VERB

The simplest complete predication consists of the stem alone. The absence of affixes indicates that the verb is singular, present, active, indicative, completive. The statement is grammatically complete, but not wholly unambiguous since this form is customarily used to express commands. There is also a regular imperative form in addition to the exhortative and optative. For grammatical correctness all of the above categories must be expressed either directly or by implication.

ito, "he eats," or "eat!" also, "he eats it"

al'u, "he goes about," or "go about!"

kwato, "come in!" or "he comes in"

Only a few active stems (see ¶ 33) can be thus used without affixes. All other verbal stems require various affixes to make a grammatically complete predicate.

The order of elements in the predicative complex is as follows:

1. Initial elements: *a-*, *i-*, *te-*, (pluralising) and the prefixed objective pronouns, *an-*, *i-*, *w-* and their variants.
2. Radical elements.
3. Suffixes of first position: the derivational suffixes, *-k'*, causative; *-ti*, inceptive; *-el*, *-le*, *-tco*, *-tcel*, distributive; *-p'e*, *-k'e*, customary, and *-ma*.

4. Suffixes of second position. These form a complex that carries the burden of relational concepts, the aspective, pluralising, modal and temporal elements occurring, roughly, in the order named. The negative, when present, forms part of this complex.
5. Terminal elements: The subordinating suffixes, *-nan* and *-p*, participial and gerundive, and *-ona*, relative.
6. Post positions, *-ak'a*, instrumental, and *-kwin*, *'tekwin*, *-tea*, locative and temporal.

The affixes that express relational concepts are not distinct and separable entities, but coagulate in complexes, with special meanings. For example, the ending for the present tense active, singular, is nothing, or vowel, or glottal stop plus vowel; the corresponding plural form ends in *-na'we*, or vowel plus *-na'we*; the corresponding forms for the past tense end in *-kã* (or vowel plus *kã*) and *-napkã*. But the present tense singular of the static verb ends in *-ye*, the past tense in *'kã*. The plural of static verbs is always indicated by prefixed *a*. The element *-kã* occurring finally in a verb always indicates past time (there is also a nominalizing *-kã*) but there is no corresponding element to indicate present time, and the element *-'* as such certainly does not indicate static aspect. This is further complicated by distinct endings used to indicate special aspects of the verb, such as durative or imminent or resultative. For this reason it is impractical to approach verbal analysis from the purely formal side.

31. FUNDAMENTAL VERBAL CATEGORIES

The fundamental classification of predicative concepts is into verbs of condition and verbs of action, which are differently conjugated in regard to tense and number. The true static verb predicates a quality. Included among the static verbs in Zuni are verbs of condition, verbs predicating existence, (there is a house, e. g., literally "it houses"), position, (to be on, in, beside a certain class of object). There is also a special class of static verbs derived from active stems, to which belong all passives of transitive verbs, which predicate condition as a result of action ("it has been made," "he lies dead," "he stands descended.")

Adjectives, in their attributive aspect, are equivalent to static verbs, conceptually and formally.

Equal in importance to the classification of verbs as active or static is the classification as transitive or intransitive. Many verbs ordinarily considered intransitive are in Zuni transitive, e. g. to sing, eat, drink, to cry out, to sweep, cook, plant, etc., the real meaning being always to sing *it*, eat *it*, shout *it* out, etc. Object may or may not be expressed. All transitive verbs are active, and all static

verbs are intransitive. This leaves a middle group, the active intransitive verbs. It is in these verbs that most irregularities are found. The conjugation of these verbs resembles the active transitive verb in indication of time, but resembles the static verb in the indication of plurality.

In all verbs number of subject (and of object, if any), tense and mode must be expressed. Active and static verbs are conjugated differently in regard to tense, transitives and intransitives in regard to number. The prefix that indicates plural subject in all static and most active intransitive verbs is the same as that indicating plural object of the transitive verb, and probably survives from an old set of incorporated objective pronouns. In active verbs condition of action, whether completive, durative (also repetitive) or not yet begun, is expressed.

The durative of intransitive verbs if of very rare occurrence, and repeated action in intransitives is usually expressed by means of derivative suffixes (see ¶ 28).

32—34. CHARACTER OF VERBAL STEMS

32. *Neutral Stems*

A large number of Zuni stems are neutral in regard to active or static aspect. Chief among these are stems relating to the position and handling of objects. With suitable affixes such stems become either active or static, the active form being transitive, with the object appearing as subject of the static form. Nouns also may be formed from these stems. For example:

aklu, he makes a fire; *akliye*, there is a fire; *aklin'e*, fire

ela'u, he sets it up (a single object); *elaye*, it is standing

p'ewu, he spreads out a blanket; *p'ewiye*, a blanket lies spread out

p'a'u, he puts a robe on him; *p'a'iye*, he is wearing a robe;

p'a'in'e, robe

atana, he fears it; *atani*, it is dangerous

Also *te'u*, he does it; *teaye*, it exists

33. *Active Stems*

Other verbal stems are basically active. The corresponding static verbs are formed by derivation from the participle, and are really passives or resultatives.

i'ya, he comes; *i'naye*, he is coming along

aca, he makes it; *acnaye*, it has been made

ace'a, he dies; *acenaye*, he lies dead

ya'a, it gets finished; *ya'naye*, it is finished

In some stems of this class the original active verb has been lost, and only the participle, now used as an adjective, remains:

k'ohana, white (*k'oha-* does not exist as an independent stem, but there is a verb *ʔek'ohati*, day breaks, with the inceptive suffix *-ti*)

teclana, afraid (*teclati*, to become frightened)

34. Static or Adjectival Stems

Words denoting quality or condition, including all adjectives used attributively are static verbal stems. The corresponding active verbs are formed by derivative suffixes:

lo'o, hard; it is hard; *lo'oti*, it hardens; *lo'ok'ä*, he makes it hard
ele, well; it is all right; *elek'ä*, he gets it ready

There are very few adjectival, or fundamentally static stems. Many common adjectives can be traced to active verbal stems, the fundamental idea being a change of state, the derivative, based on the participle, being the resulting condition,

lana, large, from *la'a*, to get large

k'usana, dry, from *k'usa*, to get dry

k'älna, hot, from *k'äti*, to get hot, etc.

35—42. INCORPORATION

35. The incorporation of nouns or pronouns into the verbal complex is common. Due to the loss of formative nominal suffixes in all syntactic relations (see ¶ 15) the line separating juxtaposition from true incorporation is vague. In many cases, especially monosyllabic nouns, stress accent can be used as the deciding criterion. (See ¶ 11)

36. Nominal Incorporation

The incorporation of direct object in the verbal complex is very common:

ti'kil'i, he belongs to a society (*tikün'e*, society + *il'i*, to have)
la'wapsiclenapkä, they cut prayersticks (*lawe*, sticks + *apsi*, cut + *le*, distributive) 421:10

le'pakteo, to chop wood (*tewe*, boards + (*i*)*pakteo*, to scatter)
tea'wackä, she gave birth (*taawe*, children + *ac-* to make; *kä*, past tense) Z 122:81

co'yälto-nan, inserting an arrow Z 111:77

i'tsukwatcikä, he ripped open his (own) stomach Z 37:94 (*i-*, reflexive; *tsu-*, stomach; *kwatc-*, to tear) Z 37:94

ayocnan, picking up stones (*a*, stone; *yoc-*, pick up, (plural obj.); *-nan*, participle) 410:146

These are all cases of indisputable incorporation. Such cases are comparatively rare; it is more usual for the noun and verb to be less firmly united, and for the noun to appear sometimes in juxtaposition with formative endings, and sometimes incorporated, without its nominal suffixes. Incorporation of this type is common in ordinary speech but tends to disappear in dictation, when the nominal suffixes reappear.

t'o' sawe arwaca, you make bowls, and, on the same page,
t'o' sawaca Z 6:7

ole ha'ktokä, she carried the basket of meal on her head, and immediately afterwords *ohlaktokä* Z 12:17

The subject of intransitive verbs may also be incorporated into the verbal complex:

hom a'tip'otikä, I had a hemorrhage, literally "my blood filled itself"

na'p'otiye, there were many deer (*p'ot-*, full) Z 101:71

mo'p'iyakwin, peach orchard (*mo-*, fruit; *p'iya*, hang; *-kwin*, locative) Z 67:100

p'ena-hai'yakäp, word having gone about (*p'ena-*, words; *haiya-*, to spread out, like water; *-käp*, participle) Z 129:27

tca'wo'a, a child is born (*tca-*, child; *o'a*, to come into being)

37—42. Pronouns

37. Pronominal Incorporation

There are independent pronouns (subjective, objective, genitive and dative) for first and second person and third person dual (see below ¶ 137). Except for the last, these are never incorporated into the verbal complex. There are, however, a number of pronominal elements incorporated in the verb which are related to the third person possessive pronouns, *an*, *atcian*, *awan*.

38. Incorporated Objective Pronouns

ho' antse'ma, I think of her (from *tse'ma*, to think, intransitive) Z 139:38

aiyu'aconan, they were lonesome for him (*ai-* from *an-*, *yu'aco*, to feel lonely) Z 193:49

ansatukä, she helped her Z 169:43

awamatcikä, (I) mocked them (*matci*, to smile) Z 37:88

kwas awaiyonam:kä, she didn't take them away from them Z 180:72

awantcuk'oclenana, spitting on them 422:38

These prefixed elements, although related to the third person possessive pronoun (*an*, his; *awan*, their) cannot be considered

third person direct object, because they form an integral part of the verb, and do not disappear with the use of independent objective pronouns:

hom ampatcu, sit next to me (*hom*, me; *am-(an-)*, singular object; *patcu*, to stick against)

t'o'n a'wam'peye'a, he is talking to you (*to'n*, you; *a'wam-*, plural object; *p'eye'a*, he speaks)

t'o'na hon a'wantehack'äna'wa, we shall cause you to suffer
408:117

These pronominal prefixes are rarely used when the direct object is a thing, but even where they are not used, plurality of object is indicated by the prefix *a'* (*a'w*)

ac'ea, he is making . . . , or he is making it; *a'wace'a*, he is making them

39. The Objective Pronouns as Subjects

There is one clear case of the incorporation of the objective pronoun as subject of an intransitive verb:

ant'ewakä, he passed the night, literally, "he dayed"; *a'want'ewakä*, they passed the night (from *t'ewa*, day; cf. *t'opin'te t'ewaye*, it is the first day). This form cannot be interpreted "it was day for him," or "it dayed on him," since in other persons it appears with indubitable subjective independent pronouns, i. e., *ho' ant'ewakä*, I passed the night, never *hom ant'ewakä*

Although this is the only clear case, there are a number of intransitive verbs beginning in *an*, where incorporation may be inferred, although comparative forms do not exist that would prove beyond doubt that *an* is not part of the stem.

aniktcia, he is lucky (cf. *aniktcia'u*, he gives him good luck, i. e., blesses him)

ho' ant'sumeha, I am anxious (*t'sume*, strong)

analtiye, he is locked up (*altu*, close it!)

Like the objective pronouns, these are unaffected by the use of independent first or second person pronouns:

ho' ant'ewakä, *t'o' ant'ewakä*, *ho' ant'sumeha*, etc.;

also *atc ant'ewakä*, the two passed the night

The incorporated objective pronoun also becomes subject of the corresponding resultative:

a'wampoktikäna'kä, they were given smoke (*a'wam*, pronoun; *pokti*, to smoke; *k'(ä)*, causative; *na'kä*, resultative, past tense) Z 109:38

a'waiyu'tciana'kä, they used to be wonderful (*yu'tcia*, to wonder at) Z 39:27

40. Indirect Object

Indirect object (singular *an*; plural *yan*, see ¶ 47) is regularly prefixed: *hom anhetocna'k̄ä*, I was told what to do (lit: it was instructed to me) Z 107:95

yaniltemana, believing in them Z 30:60

yanhetocna'k̄ä, they were instructed 410:139

artci yanikik̄ä, they (dual) greeted them Z 237:24

yaiyosek'e'a, she used to lie to them. (See ¶ 3 for phonetic shift.)
Z 240:99

Where indirect object is not incorporated, *i* (*y*) indicates plural indirect object:

ho'na yatinaḡk̄ä, they told us (*hom atinaḡk̄ä*, they told me)

yanik'e'a, he is teaching them (*anik'e'a*, he teaches him; but *awanik'e'a*, he teaches them, also is correct but not idiomatic)

41. Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns

Reflexive constructions are exceedingly common and varied. The reflexive pronoun is *i*.

i'k'ocok̄ä, she washed herself (*k'oco*, wash) Z 99:29

imuk̄ä, he sat down (lit., seated himself, from *im-*) Z 112:88

yela'u, stand up! (*ela'u*, stand it up)

iyu'te'tcinaha, she rested (lit., she untired herself, from *yu'te'tcina*, tired)

oyemc yil'up, when she marries (lit., when she puts herself with a husband) (*oyemc(i)*, husband; *y* reflexive; *il'*, neutral stem with; *-u*, active; *-p*, participle) 415:1

i'ḡinak'ä, be seated (polite form) (lit., cause yourselves to be sitting) Z 159:41

There are two reciprocals, *iwi'-(i' + i'-)* which is really a double or plural reflexive, used where the basic form is reflexive, and the true reciprocal *i'yan* (*i' + an*), used with verbs in which the direct object *an* is expressed.

iwi'tok'an'iyahnan, when they would give one another to eat
Z 32:96

hon i'wiyat'en-ḡsumek'änap̄k̄ä, we held one another fast (*iwi'*, reciprocal; *yat'e*, stem, "grasp", not reflexive; *n*, participle; *ḡsume*, stem "strong;" *-k'ä*, causative; *-nap̄k̄ä*, plural, past tense)

iwi'tcemanap̄k̄ä, they loved one another (*iwi(i)*, reciprocal; *itcema*, stem, love) Z 56:79

iwiatinap̄k̄ä, they told one another (*iwi-*, reciprocal; *atin-*, stem, tell; *-(n)ap̄k̄ä*, plural, past tense)

iwil'i, together (*iwi-*, reciprocal; *il'i*, to be with) 418:40

- i'yantehkunanapkä*, they questioned one another (*i'*, reflexive; *antehkuna*, question him; *-napkä*, plural, past tense)
- i'yaniktohna p'oaye*, they are sitting face to face (*i'*-, reflexive; *aniktohna*, stem, face to face; *p'oaye*, to be sitting)
- i'yank'olonapkä*, they played hidden ball together (*i'*-, reflexive; *an-*, indirect object; *k'olo-*, stem, hide; *-napkä*, plural, past tense) Z 135:53
- i'yanenap'lapkä*, they sang their song sequences for one another (*i'*-, reflexive, *an-*, indirect object; *tena*, stem, to sing (or songs); *pi'l-*, stem, to count; *-ap*, distributive plural; *-kä*, past tense)
- i'yaiyu'k'älna'we*, they quarrel together all the time (*i.*, reflexive; *ai-(an)-*, object; *yu'*-, to feel; *k'äl-* stem, to get hot; *-na'we*, plural, present tense. Cf. *a'iyu'k'äli*, I hate him; *yu'k'äli*, I feel hateful, or angry)
- iyana'p'ena'we*, they quarrel with one another Z 9:70
- iyani'kinan'e*, relative (*ik'ina*, younger sister, man speaking)
- hon iyanitcup'alowena'wa*, let's play hide-and-seek (lit., hide from one another) Z 215:13

42. *wə-*

Another incorporated pronoun is the impersonal, collective, objective pronoun *wə* which, like *an*, represents the object of the transitive and subject of the intransitive verb. It is used chiefly with plural stems, and usually refers to inanimate objects:

As a plural object:

- wə'tukä*, he put them down (singular *a'ukä*, he put it down, used for flat things; for persons and round objects the corresponding stem is *t'ina'u*, singular *animu*)
- wə'low'ya*, he is burying them (*p'alo'ya*, he is burying it, round objects or persons)
- wə'lu*, she puts them in a bowl, etc. (*eto'u*, she puts one thing in a bowl)
- wə'ptsickä*, he separated them (*aptsi*, to cut)
- wə'k'oconan*, when I have washed them (*wə-*; *k'oco*, to wash; *-nan*, participle) Z 4:68.

As subject of corresponding intransitives:

- wə'tiye*, they are lying there (singular *ale*; for persons and round things)
- wə'low'ye*, they are hidden (singular *p'alo'ye*)
- wə'liye*, they are in a bowl (singular *eto'ye*)
- wə'hanaye*, they are hanging (singular *p'i'yaye*) (persons or objects)
- wə'k'oconak'än'a*, (the wool) should be washed (*wə-*; *k'oco*, to wash; *-nak'än'a*, resultative, subjunctive) Z 5:79.

43—77. ANALYSIS OF VERBAL CATEGORIES

43—58. NUMBER

The concept of number is fundamental in the language, and the various ways in which plurality is expressed in verbs form the true index to their character and meaning.

The number of subject and of object, direct and indirect are invariably expressed. There are three numbers, singular, dual and plural. There are, moreover, distributive plurals. The dual in the verb is essentially a modified singular. Duality is expressed only in the pronoun, the verb appearing as singular; the dual can, therefore, be disregarded in the analysis of number in verbs.

44. *Ways in which Plurality is expressed*

Plurality of subject or object may be expressed by prefixes, suffixes, or the use of different and specifically plural stems, the mechanism employed being conditioned by the character and fundamental significance of the verbal stem.

45—47. *Number in the Active Transitive Verb*

45. Number of Subject

Simple plurality of subject of the active transitive verb is expressed by the suffix *-na-w-*. The suffix appears in three forms: present tense *na-we*, past tense *napkã*, (see ¶ 5 for the phonetic law covering this shift), future (present subjunctive) *na-wa*. The discussion of distributive plurals, and the plurals of special forms such as imminent aspect, imperatives, exhortatives, optatives, participles and all negatives, must be deferred to a later place, but in all of these except the imminent aspect the element *-na-w-* or its variant *-nap-* may be isolated.

hom anhatiana-we, they listen to me Z 57:6

wɔ'haye-na-we, they are spreading them out (*wɔ'haye'a* he is spreading them out)

akcuna-we, they put him among them (*akcu*, he puts him among them)

piyahna-we, take it down! (pl.) (*piyaha*, he takes it down)

icemana-we, call them! 406:82

anulanapkã, they appointed him (*anulakã*, he appointed him)

k'äpunapkã, they drew water (Z 17:19)

ak'onapkã, they dug a grave 403:42

p'iyanapkã, they hung him 399:4

ainana-wa, they will kill him (*ainan'a*, he will kill him)

a'una'wa, they will put it down (*a'un'a*, he will put it down)
ankohanena'wa, they will always feel sorry for her (*ankohanen'a*,
 he will feel sorry for her, durative)
pani'k'āna'wa, they will take him down (*pani'*, to go down;
 -*k'*-, causative) Z 15:77
i'tona'wa, they will eat. Z 11:8

46. Number of Direct Object

In most transitive verbs plurality of direct object is expressed by the prefix *a'*, which has already been referred to in the discussion of incorporated pronouns.

a'wito'k'āna'we, they give them to eat (lit.: cause them to eat:
a'(w), pl. object; *ito*, stem, eat; *k'(ā)*, causative, momentaneous;
na'we, plural, present) Z 53:17

ho' a'wapsi, I cut them (*apsi*, I cut it)

a'hanlikā, he stole them (*hanlikā*, he stole it)

a'pehe'a, he is tying them up (*pehe'a*, he is tying it up)

a'wanhatiawa, listen to them! (*anhatiawa*, listen to him!
hatiawa, listen!)

ho' a'k'ālukā, I sprinkled them with water Z 79:22

a'wawatenapkā, they washed their hair (*a'watekā*, she washed
 his hair; *i'watekā*, she washed her own hair) 425:80

a'wutsip, giving them to him (*utsi*, give it to him) 421:21

a'wunap'a, they saw them Z 91:71

ho' a'witcema, I love them Z 9:67

also *ukwai'ik'ānapkā*, they made them come out (*u'*, variant of *a'*)
 before labialized *kw*

In many cases, however, different stems are used, according to singularity or plurality of object of the action. To this class belong many transitive verbs which are derived from neutral stems (see ¶ 32), in which the corresponding static verb relates to the position or existence of objects.

ela'u, he sets it upright; *luwala'u*, he sets them upright

a'u, he puts it down; *wɔ'tu*, he puts them down

patce'a, he is putting it against something; *wɔ'pane'a*, he is
 putting them against something

akcu, he puts it among them; *wɔ'slu*, he puts them among them

i'mu, he sits down (reflexive); *i'ina'u*, they sit down

aina, to kill or strike one person; *lata*, to kill or strike many, to
 hunt (See 405:70, 78)

Occasionally, plurality of direct object is expressed by the prefix *i*, the usual prefix for indicating plural indirect object (see below ¶ 47).

icemana'we, call them (*cema*, call him)

itapi, pick them up (round things or human beings *tapi*, pick it up)

yelete'u, get them ready (*elete'u*, get it ready, do it right)

The use of *wɔ* to express collective plurality has already been noted (§ 42). *wɔ* is frequently used with plural stems.

47. NUMBER OF INDIRECT OBJECT

Plural indirect object is indicated by prefixed *i-* (*y*).

ho'n yaniktcia'u, it brings us good luck (*hom aniktcia'u*, it brings me good luck)

ho'na yatinapkä, he told us (*atinapkä*, he told him)

ho' ihanukwahn'a, he will prevail over us (*hom hanukwan'a*, he will prevail over me) Z 40:48

kwa yan'ewusuna'ma, he will not yield to them (*ewusu*, prayer) Z 131:75

inap'ekä, he scolded them 410:135 (*anapenapkä*, they scolded him) 406:93

yaniltemana, believing in them Z 30:60

but also *le'awanikwakä*, thus he said to them (*le'kwakä*, thus he said to her)

The verb *utsi* is used for giving to one person, *yakna* for giving to many. These stems are undoubtedly related (cf. *ukä*, he gave it to him; *uknaye*, it has been given to him). The apparent irregularity is probably due to a phonetic shift, which cannot be traced. (See § 6.) The prefixed *y-* indicating plural indirect object is regular.

48—51. Number in Static Verbs.

Most static verbs either are based on neutral stems, or derived through suffixes from active transitive verbs. Plurality of subject in verbs of condition is expressed by the same devices that are used to express plurality of object in the corresponding transitive verbs.

49. Singular and Plural Stems

p'iya^ye, it is hanging; *wɔ'hanaye*, they are hanging (cf. *p'iya'u*, he hangs it, and *wɔ'hana'u*, he hangs them)

akci^ye, he is among them; *wɔ'sli^ye*, they are among them (cf. *akcu* and *wɔ'slu*)

el^ye, it is standing upright; *luwal^ye*, they are standing upright (cf. *ela'u*, *luwala'u*)

ale, it is lying; *wɔ'ti^ye*, they are lying there (cf. *a'u* and *wɔ'tu*)
ainan^ye, he has been struck; *lakn^ye*, they have been struck, or killed (from *aina* and *lata*)

utce, he is inside; *upe*, they are inside (cf. *utcu* and *upo'ya*)

50. Plurals in *a*-

Where the transitive has plural object in *a*- the corresponding verb of condition forms its plural in *a*. By far the greater number of static verbs form their plurals thus:

a'wat'ani, they are dangerous (*at'ani*, it is dangerous; cf. *at'ana* and *a'wat'ana*, he fears it or them) Z 14:59

a'p'a'iye, they are wearing robes (*p'a'iye*, he is wearing a robe; cf. *p'a'u*, he puts a robe on him, and *a'p'a'u*, he puts a robe on them)

a'wapsinaye, they have been cut (*apsinaye*, it has been cut; cf. *a'wapsi*, he cuts them)

a'hanlinaye, they have been stolen (*hanlinaye*, it has been stolen; *hanli*, he steals it; *a'hanli*, he steals them)

hon a'halowilap'a, if we have good luck. Z 7:28

a'teckwi'kä, they were taboo. Z 13:31

also *hon a'teaye*, we live. Z 23:36

Also the plurals of adjectives, whether based on adjectival stems or derived from active intransitive verbs, are formed by prefix *a*-

a'lo'o, hard, they are hard (*lo'o*, hard)

a'lana, large, they are large (*la'a*, to get large)

a'k'usna, dry, they are dry (*k'usa*, to get dry), etc.

a'tewuko'lia'kä, they were very poor. Z 27:6

lou a'tohaiyap'a, you with gray hair... Z 55:65

a'k'akci'kä, they were good (*k'akci*, good) Z 6:2

51. Plurals in *i*-(*y*)-.

Static verbs based on transitives that have plural object, direct or indirect, in *i*-(*y*) from plurals in *i*-(*y*-):

yeleknaye, they are ready (*yelek'e'a*, to get them ready; *elek'e'a*, to get it ready)

yanulaye, they are appointed (*anulaye*, he is appointed, *anula'u* and *yanula'u*)

yaknaye, it has been given to them (*uknaye*, it has been given to him, *yak'ä* and *utsi*. There seems to be no reason for the change of initial vowel *u* to *a*. However, the verb is irregular throughout. See ¶ 104)

i'ket'sana, they are happy. Z 9:57

yaniktcia, they have been blessed. Z 9:60

52—58. Plurals of Active Intransitive Verbs

The greatest variability exists in the formation of the plurals of active intransitive verbs. In so far as they generally form plurals by prefixing, they resemble verbs of condition. There are several classes.

53. Plural Stems

ala, he sleeps; *ya'tela*, they sleep
elemaku, he stands up; *luwalemaku*, they stand up
 (*luwalemakä* 424:59)

54. Plural in *a'-(u-)*

Most verbs of motion and change of state belong to this class.

<i>a'ne</i> , he goes	<i>a'wa'ne</i> , they go
<i>ye'maku</i> , he ascends	<i>a'ye'maku</i> , they ascend
<i>la'a</i> , it grows	<i>a'la'a</i> , they grow
<i>ya'a</i> , it gets to be finished	<i>a'ya'a</i> , they get to be finished
<i>we'a</i> , he is sick	<i>a'we'a</i> , they are sick
<i>a'k'usa</i> , they are drying up Z 7:23	
<i>a'cohokä</i> , they turned yellow Z 69:36	
<i>a'koyekä</i> , they cried 402:35	
<i>a'p'eye</i> , they talk 420:3	
<i>a'wa'nuwa</i> , they will go 421:7	
<i>a'te'tcikä</i> , they arrived 422:25	

To this group probably should be added also the following:

kwato, he enters; *u'kwato*, they enter; and
kwai'i, he comes out; *u'kwai'i*, they come out; although the change to *u* before labialized *k* is not a regular phonetic shift (e. g. *akwa'we*, *a'k'win'e*, etc.)

55. Plural in *i-(y-)*

<i>k'et'sati</i> , he becomes happy	<i>ik'et'sati</i> , they become happy (<i>iketsana</i>)
<i>acekä</i> , he died	<i>yacekä</i> , they died. Z 31:85
<i>yu'ya'na</i> , he finds out	<i>iyu'ya'na</i> , they find out
<i>ikäne'a</i> , he is angry (active)	<i>ikäne'a</i> , they are angry
<i>tse'ma</i> , he thinks	<i>itse'ma</i> , they think
<i>i'känikä</i> , they were angry (<i>ikänikä</i> , he is angry) 406:95	
<i>i'halicotikä</i> , they became crazy. Z 41:77	

56. Plurals in *te* (RARE)

tcune'a, he is stopping; *tetcune'a*, they are stopping
t'unaye, he looks, has his eyes open; *te't'unaye*, they look
 (*t'unaye* also has another plural, *t'unap'a*)
tetcapik'äna'kä, fires were made (*tcapi*, it burns)
tetcunap'a, finished Z 14:49
tep'oap'ap, standing up (of animals) Z 101:74

Very few words form their plurals this way; one should note, however, the transitive verb *ikwe'a*, he says (it); *tikwe'a*, they say it and possibly *ela* and *luwala*. There are a few special idioms containing *te*, which would indicate a distributive function:

tehaktco, to remove a bit from each dish at a meal for sacrifice, an alternative and more idiomatic form for the regular *a'haktcela* (*a'*, plural object; *hak(i)*, stem, to cut off; *-tcel-*, severally; (¶ 28); *a*, present tense, active)

teloce'a, there is famine in the land (*oce'a*, he is hungry; the regular plural is *a'woce'a*)

tew'ascla, jealous all the time

Moreover, both tenses of the imminent aspect form their plural by the suffix *-t-* preceding the aspective suffix.

57. Stem Modification

The verb *ota*, to dance, has irregular plurals, formed by stem modification.

otaye, he is dancing

otakä, he danced

otak'an'a

otiwē, they are dancing

otipkä, they danced¹

otiwā, they will dance

58. Impersonal and Distributive Plurals

Certain verbs, both transitive and intransitive, have special distributive or impersonal plurals in *p'* (*p'a*, *pkä*, *p'ana*, or *wa*). These forms, in transitives, usually have an impersonal meaning.

hom atinap'a, people tell me (cf. *ho'n yatina'we*, they tell us)
aincokyapkä, they were waiting for him Z 102:92 (*cokyapkä*, they were waiting; 423:41)

acura'wa, people will speak to her (cf. *acuwena'wa*) Z 97:92
(The future of *atinap'a* is *atinap'an'a*)

latipkä, people planted their prayersticks (cf. *latunapkä*)
kwanleapkä, they dressed her

tse'manap'an'a, they will still be thinking about it Z 11:11

i'luwalapkä, they built their villages Z 29:52

up'inap'a, it snowed all the time Z 210:70

hon lata'wa, we shall have a hunt Z 97:93

The plurals of *una*, to see, and *il'i*, to have, follow this form. *unap'a*, they see; *il'ap'a*, they have; *il'apkä*, they had; *ila'wa*, they will have; *p'una*, to look, has two plurals, *te'punaye*, and *p'unap'a*.

In the case of static verbs the meaning is definitely distributive:

aklip'a, there are fires all around (*akliye*, there is a fire)

¹ Regular phonetic shift of *w* to *p* before a stop.

- lenap'a*, he has crops growing in different places (*lenaye*, he has crops, or really, there are crops) Z 7:20. *lenapkä*, Z 25:60
etcip'an'a, they will be left (here and there) Z 2:29
wcanap'a, there were wild fruits all over. Z 277:32
k'äkwenip'a, they live in different houses, Z 9:68 (plural of *k'äkweniye*, they live together in one house, literally, there is a house, Z 9:69)
a-pasikwipkä, they had them around their wrists (cf. *a-pasikwiye*, he has them on his wrist, literally, they are around a wrist)
onap'an'a, there will be many roads (*ona*, road)

59—62. TENSE

59. *Expression of Tense*

The location of an act or condition in past, present or future time is expressed or implied in all predicative concepts. There are two tenses, present and past, which relate to absolute time and are not to be confused with the quasi-temporal aspects to be considered later.

The expression of tense is always in suffixes; but these suffixes express more than tense alone. They express also aspect, temporal-aspect, and, in the transitive verb, number of subject. Verbal conjugations had best be left, therefore, to a later time, after a consideration of other verbal categories.

60. *Present.*

The present tense is used for events occurring at the moment of speaking. Therefore in active verbs the completive aspect of the present tense is rarely encountered in text, and is sometimes secured only with difficulty, as in the verb "to die", for instance; informants cannot conceive of dying as occurring in present time; one has already died or is on the point of death. As in English, the usage of the present tense is extended with rhetorical effect to rapid narrative to relate events occurring in past time, where it is desired to convey the sense of suspense of present action. The present tense has many forms.

- le'ap'e'a*, so they always do 418:37
hon latena'we, we are killing them 405:69
p'eye'a, he is speaking 408:111
we'a, it is sick 409:130
ho' aiyw'ya'na, I know it 411:151
lo' ikwanike'a, you are working Z 8:41
hon k'äkweniye, we are living Z 9:69

hon a'waiyupatic'ena'we, we look after them Z 20:68
a'p'eye, they spoke 420:3
p'inaiye, they were staying there 423:44
ik'äne'a, he was angry 401:27
hap'onaiye, they were meeting together Z 156:74
p'una'-p'ewa, she stayed up all night Z 170:53
a'ne, she went on Z 185:77
kwato, she came in Z 216:97

61. Past

The past tense is used to describe any event or condition occurring or existing previous to the narration. So it covers both the perfect and imperfect tense of European languages. It is formed by suffixing *-kä* in final position

ho' latekä, I have killed 405:78
k'usk'äkä, she dried her 402:37
otpahkä, he pulled off his headband 401:24
halicotikä, she became crazy 400:8
ho' p'ehya'kä, I was valuable 405:79
peha'kä, it was wrapped up 401:24
k'ocona'kä, she was washed, or she had been washed 402:35
ho' ikä, I have come Z 110:48
anawanapkä, they had guessed it Z 54:32
hon a'te'tcikä, we have reached Z 79:41

62. Expression of Futurity

There is no future tense. Futurity may be expressed in either completive, durative or static aspects by the use of the present subjunctive, or by the use of the present tense of the intentional or imminent aspect. The latter usage implies either intention or certainty.

a'nuwa, she will go 416:19
 but *a'n'iha*, he is about to go 421:12
 and *ho' a'n'iha*, I want to go 421:19
c'i'ik'än'a, she will have a name 396:2
te-i'yan'a, he will bring (lit., he will come carrying) 415:4
ho' acan'a, I shall make Z 3:50
te'k'än'a, there will be Z 98:5
a'pik'aiap'ana, they will be tied Z 3:37
ite'tcip'ana, they will try to practice Z 27:76
toweyek'än'iha, he is going to plant Z 1:1
ainan'iha, he wanted to kill her Z 39:43
acen'iha, she is about to die 400:10
otiwetiha, they are going to dance Z 25:68
hom piyana'wetiha, they are going to hang me Z 47:93

63—67. TEMPORAL ASPECT

Action is conceived as single and momentaneous (completive), durative or repeated, or as imminent but not yet begun. The first and third are categories of all active verbs, the second of transitive verbs only. Intransitive verbs practically all relate to motion or to change of state and are durative in their essence; repeated action is expressed by derivative suffixes. See ¶ 29.

It is impossible to generalize in any way concerning the formal character of the present tense. In the completive aspect, the present may be merely the stem, or else stem plus *-a*, *'u*; the durative ends in *e'a* or *'ya*. The present tense of static verbs ends in *-ye*, *-e* or has no suffix (e. g. some adjectives). With subjunctives, plurals, etc. new complexities appear, which only the verbal paradigms on pages 469 cf. can make clear.

64. *The Completive*

The completive aspect describes a single completed action. It exists in two tenses: present and past, but is rarely found in transitives in the present except when used as an imperative.

65. *Durative and Repetitive*

The durative expresses action in progress at the time of statement. It is used also for repeated or customary action:

itetcu, he tries it; *itetce'a*, he is trying it, or he practices, i. e.

tries over many times

ok'äkä, she ground it Z 98:18

ho' ökekä, I was grinding Z 54:26

a'kok'ä, they cried out Z 42:93

a'koyekä, they were crying Z 51:84

aklukä, he made a fire Z 9:85

akle'a, he was making the fire Z 9:85

hahikwicna'kä, the witch was exorcised 410:15

i'hahikwicena'kä, witches used to be exorcised 399:2

k'usk'äkä, she dried her 402:37

i'k'usk'ekä, (did you) dry yourself? (customary)

lak'ä, he fought with them (*lat* + *-kä*, see ¶ 5) Z 45:64

latekä, he used to kill (deer) Z 35:61

Some few verbs, transitive and intransitive, have a special customary aspect. Customary action is usually expressed by the durative. See also ¶ 29.

ace'e'a, he always makes it (*ace'a*, he is making it)

we'e'a, she is always sick (*we'a*, she is sick)

66. *Imminent*

The imminent expresses an action that is impending, or desired, and has not yet begun; it is not to be confused with the simple future. It exists in two tenses, present and past:

- e. g., *ho' a'n'iha*, I want to go (*ho' a'nuwa*, I shall go) 421:19
ho' a'niyahkã, I was about to go, or I wanted to go (*a'kã*,
 he went)

The plurals in transitive verbs are formed by the suffix *-t-* (cf. *te-* as a pluralizing prefix, ¶ 56).

- acan'iha*, he is about to make it; 401:28
acantiha, they are about to make it; and *acan'iyahkã* (sing.)
 and *acantiyahkã*
acen'iha, she is about to die
yacentiha, they were about to die Z 156:65
p'e'k'ãna'wetiha, they are going to make him speak 404:57
a'n'iha, (I) want to go
ho' alewuniyahkã, I wanted to do that Z 115:48
el ho' acaniyahkã, I was going to make them well Z 152:87
acurawetiha, they wanted to talk to her Z 97:91
to' ansewahan'iha, you are going to consent Z 167:87
o'aniyahkã, he almost became (war chief) (*o'a*, to come to be)

67. *Resultative*

This is a category of all active verbs, whether transitive or intransitive, and whether derived from active or neutral stems. The resultative describes a condition resulting from an action. The resultative of transitive verbs corresponds to our passive. It expresses a condition of which the object of the active verb is subject. Morphologically the resultative is a static verb based on the present participle.

The resultative aspect is conjugated like any other static verb. The tense suffixes are:

Present	<i>-naye</i>
Past	<i>-na'kã</i>
Present subjunctive	<i>-nak'ãn'a</i>

Plurals of the resultatives of transitives are formed by prefixing *a-* unless a different stem is used; the plurals of resultatives of intransitives are variously formed.

- acenaye*, he lies there dead (*ace'a*, he dies; plural, *yacenaye*)
ya'naye, it is finished (from *ya'a*, it gets to be finished; plural
a'ya'naye)
p'a'inaye, he has been robed (*p'a-*, neutral stem. Cf. *p'a'iyē*,

- he is wearing a robe, and (*i*)*p'a'u*, he puts a robe on himself;
plural *a'p'a'inaye*)
akcihnaye, he has been chosen (*akciha*, he picks him out, from
akc- neutral stem + *h*, conversive suffix; plural *woslihnaye*)
kwai'inaye, it was running out (*kwai'i*, to come out) 421:18
ci'na-ya'naiye, he is full fleshed (*ci'na[n'e]*, flesh; *ya'*, to come
to be finished) Z 156:80
a'naiye, it goes along Z 104:38
yätomaiye, they (dual) will be wearing over their shoulders . . .
(*yäto*, to cross over) Z 44:24
kwai'ina'kä, it was coming out Z 145:46
toveyena'kä, they planted (literally, it was planted) Z 155:58
tcimaiyacnak'an'a, they will cut wheat (literally, it will be
wheat-harvest; *tcimaiya*, standing wheat; *c*, conversive, see
¶ 27) Z 16:2
hom ancemana'kä, it was demanded of me Z 263:67
k'ocona'kä, she was washed 402:35
halikwicna'kä, witchcraft was removed 410:137
tetcapik'äna'kä, signal fires were lighted (*te*, plural; *tcapi*, to
burn; *k'ä*, causative)
a'wukna'kä, they (corn) were given to him Z 27:7
t'owo'atina'kä, he was shot Z 91:80
awaiyutciana'kä, they were wonderful (literally, they were
marvelled at) Z 254:71
i'tok'änak'an'a, she will be given to eat 417:31 (cf. *itokän'a*,
she will give her to eat, 415:5)
w'aticnak'an'a, they will be fetched (*w'atic-*, to pick up many
things, *w* + *t(i)* + *h*) Z 2:25
ho'na anhetocnak'an'a, it will be told us Z 238:59
i'p'anaye, he will be punished Z 85:79
akna(ye), it is cooked Z 4:64
hap'onaye, they are gathered together Z 11:1

68—77. MODE

In addition to the indicative mode of the verb, there are distinguished the subjunctive and conditional, imperative, exhortative, and optative. The usage of the last three is not always clearly differentiated. They, together with periphrastic constructions, are used idiomatically to express various subtle shadings in the issuing of commands.

69—74. Subjunctive

The subjunctive exists in two tenses, present and past. The present is used to express conditional or problematical statements,

hence for all simple futures, and for queries, indirect, polite commands and instructions. It is formed by adding *-n'a* (plural *-wa*) in final position. It has both completive and durative forms. Completive *-an'a, un'a, in'a*; durative, *-en'a*.

The past tense is formed by adding *-nkä* to the present subjunctive (*-kä* is the usual element for expressing past time).

hon a'wianankä, we would have come

ho' il'in tom ho' utsinankä, if I had had it I should have given it to you

et 'om han'i tek'änankä, it would have been your sister but. . .
Z 20:71

70—74. Uses of the Subjunctive

70. (1) To express futurity

ho' acan'a, I shall make Z 3:50

a-la'an'a, they will grow Z 8:37

itona'wa, they will eat Z 11:8

a'yälu^k'än'a, they will be behind Z 15:86 (*yälu*, "behind," neutral stem)

up'o^k'än'a, they will be in Z 17:23

hon a'walacna^k'än'a, we shall be run down Z 104:33

t'o'na hon ona-elatena'wa, we shall pass you on your roads
Z 153:9

71. (2) For statements of events not definitely placed in time:

e'lactok yi'lup . . . an oyemci anakwai'ina . . ., 415:2 whenever a girl marries . . . her husband will run out . . . (The whole description which follows is in present subjunctive, freely translated by our future tense)

k'äkwen o'antiahnan . . . ihap'o^k'än'a, when a house is to be built . . . they are gathered together

ak'a kwai'in'a, so that it may come out Z 1:6

akä peyena, that he might talk 405:64

72. (3) For conditional statements

amina^k'änuwap sunhap a'nuwa, if she should be lazy she would go in the evening (The form *a'nuwa* is irregular; see below.)

t'on oyemc il'in t'o'na ak'ä aiylacina^k'äna, if you have a husband, respect will be shown you for it (*t'on*, you; *oyemc*-, husband; *il'in*, having; *t'o'n* (*t'o'na*), to you; *ak'ä*, on account of; *aiylacina^k'än'a*, it will be respected) Z 126:64

otsi tek'änuwap'a an nana yam ci'in utsin'a, if it had been a boy his grandfather would give him his own name (*otsi*, male; *tek'änuwapa*, see below, ¶ 111; *an*, his; *nana*, grandfather; *yam*, reflexive pronoun; *utsina*, *u[ts]*, give)

p'iyahanankä, he would have fallen...

honkwati akä elek'änankä, perhaps with this it might have been all right. Z 41:72

yu'yackwi a'tek'änankä, (you) would have been well provided with food. Z 130:57

Where the subjunctive is used to express conditional statements, the subordinate clause stating the condition may be expressed by a participle (see ¶ 111). In regard to the form of the conditional participle, it might be pointed out that the two irregular verbs *a'ne* and *-p'ene* have present subjunctive in *-uwa*.

amina'k'änuwap, if she should be lazy (*amina*, lazy; *aminap*, if (when) she is lazy) 417:29

otsi tek'änuwap'a, if it should be a boy (*teaye*, it is; the present participle would be *teap'a*, being, but it is rarely used) 396:2

kwa elam'ek'änuwap hom atinen'a, if anything were wrong she would tell me (*kwa*, negative participle; *el-*, stem, right; *-a-*, conjugating vowel; *-m'e*, negative; *-k'änuwap*, participle; *-p*, form (see ¶ 105); *hom*, me; *atinen'a*, she would tell, present subjunctive)

73. (4) For questions

tcuwahol' o' tekän'a, whoever may you be? Z 110:43

kotcimat ho' ikwan'a, whatever should I say? Z 126:64

kwako'na' o' anteceman'a, whatever may you want? Z 124:34

koplea ho' samukän'a, why should I be angry? Z 9:66

74. (5) For polite commands

pos a'nuwa, now you will go. Z 105:61

pon aiyu'aya'känawa, you (pl.) will let them know. Z 133:2

po' awayupaticän'a, you will take care of them. Z 171:84

pon tem'la itowa, you must eat it all. Z 152:92

75. The Imperative

The common way of expressing direct commands is the present tense completive.

itowena'we', eat! (pl.) Z 189:46

kwato, come in (pl., *wkwato*)

aca, make it!

ipa'u, put on your robe (*i*, reflexive)

icemana'we', call them 406:82

eto'u, put it down 415:7

altu, shut the door Z 75:47

yulak'äti', stand still! Z 105:44

This is usually, but not always, differentiated from the indicative by a heavy stress accent on the final syllable, which by men may be diphthongized (*kwatoi'*, *yaktohai'*, *wan yucanai'*).

For polite commands and instructions the present subjunctive is used, as has already been pointed out.

There is a peremptory imperative ending in *-naknana'* employed only in addressing children (or by priests in addressing their people, who are their children). Morphologically this seems to be not a direct imperative, but rather a periphrastic construction based on the past participle (see ¶ 105).

lepaktconaknana', chop the wood! (literally, have the wood chopped. *lepaktconaknan*, wood having been chopped, past participle of *lepaktco*, to chop wood)

ip'ewenaknana', spread the beds! (*i-*, pl. object, *p'ew-*, stem, spread out a blanket; *-naknan*, past participle) Z 140:44

sewahnaknana', see that you say yes! Z 125:50

anilinaknana', they must be saved Z 138:19

76. Exhortative

The exhortative, the use of which is confined to first person dual and plural, is expressed by the suffix *-ce* attached to the present tense forms, singular or plural. This probably is related to the interrogative particle *-ci*. It is used with personal pronouns,

hon kwai'ice, let's go out (dual) Z 171:70

hon a'ce, let's go (dual) Z 173:29 (*hon a'ne*, we are going.)

hon a'wa'ce, let's go (plural) Z 167:100

si' hon itonapce, well, let's eat (*si'*, now; *hon*, we; *ito*, stem, eat; *-nap* (*-na'w*), plural; *-ce*, exhortative) Z 125:58

iyu'te'tcinace, let's rest. Z 146:75

Without the pronoun it is used as an imperative, more peremptory than the usual imperative, but more respectful than the periphrastic forms:

tu cemace, go on, call him! (*tu'u*, go on)

tu k'äpuce, go, get water (more emphatic than the optative

tu k'äput'u)

tuno a'ce, go ahead! (dual) Z 102:94

77. Optative

The suffix for the optative is *t'u* (plural *napt'u*) attached to the present tense. It is the mode of polite greetings and of prayers. It is always used with personal pronoun.

t'o' k'et'sanici p'ewanan teat'u, may you always live happily.

Z 147:81

t'o' tsawaḱ yo't'u, may you live to be a young man (*t'o'*, you; *tsawaḱi*, youth; *yo'*, stem, become) 397:5

hon t'ek'ohanan yanikt'cianapt'u, may they bless us with life
lesnapa lesnatik Pon a't'u, even thus may you go (dual) Z 164:29

Frequently it is used as a polite exhortative:

eles yalakwet'u, better let it be destroyed Z 41:65

wan t'elat'u, wait till it gets dark (wait, let it get dark)

ama ho' ye'makt'u, please, let me go up there Z 117:92

a'ho' unapt'u, let the people see him Z 40:51

hon a'wat'u te'ya, better let's go back again

sewulan haḱät'u, let me send him with a message Z 143:22

Or it is used for polite commands or requests:

ele t'o' imot'u, you had better stay here

t'o' dat'u, you are to dance, or, please dance Z 71:74

homan to' otsit'u, you are to be my partner Z 72:83

ipakut'u, you had better cover yourself Z 146:80

t'o' heciḱät'u, you had better hurry Z 47:2

78—104. VERBAL PARADIGMS — THE CONJUGATIONS

78. Verbs are inflected according to several patterns which have no connection with their conceptual or phonetic character, and which must therefore be regarded at present as arbitrary conjugations. The actual syntactic suffixes, except present, completive singular, follow the same pattern, the variation occurring in the presence or absence of various conjugating vowels.

79—83. Conjugation of neutral stems

The basic verbal pattern is a neutral stem with an active transitive and a static conjugation. It is these verbs that best illustrate the fundamental character of the language, and which, moreover, show the fewest irregularities. Neutral stems belong to one of two conjugations; the first has no conjugating vowel, although *u* appears in all tenses of the active complete. The second conjugation has *a* as a conjugating vowel, in both active and static aspects. The vowel vanishes, however, before the durative *-e'a*.

80. Class I (Stem Ending in Consonant)

Example: *p'ot-*, full

INDICATIVE

Active

Completive

Singular

Plural

Present *p'otu*, he fills it
a'p'otu, he fills them

p'otuna'we, they fill it
a'p'otuna'we, they fill them

Past *p'otukä*, he filled it

p'otunapkä, they filled it

*Durative*Present *p'ote'a*, he is filling itPast *p'oteḱä*, he was filling it*p'otena-we*, they are filling it*p'otenapḱä*, they were filling it*Imminent*Present *p'otun'iha*, he is about to fill itPast *p'otuniyahḱä*, he was about to fill it*p'otuna-wetiha*, they are about to fill it*p'otuna-wetiyahḱä*, they were about to fill it*Static*Present *p'otiye*, it is fullPast *p'otiḱä*, it was full*a-p'otiye*, they are full or *p'otiḱä**a-p'otiḱä*, they were full*Resultative*Present *p'otinaye*, it has been filledPast *p'otinaḱä*, it had been filled*a-p'otinaye*, they have been filled*a-p'otinaḱä*, they had been filled*SUBJUNCTIVE**Active**Completive*Present *p'otun'a*, he might fill itPast *p'otunayḱä*, he might have filled it*p'otuna-wa*, they might fill it*p'otunawayḱä*, they might have filled it*Durative*Present *p'oten'a*, he might be filling it*p'otena-wa*, they might be filling it*Static*Present *p'otik'an'a*, it might be fullPast *p'otik'anayḱä*, it might have been full*a-p'otinak'an'a*, they might be full*a-p'otik'anayḱä*, they might have been full*Resultative*Present *p'otinak'an'a*, it might be filledPast *p'otinak'anayḱä*, it might have been filled*a-p'otinak'an'a*, they might be filled*a-p'otinak'anayḱä*, they might have been filled.

IMPERATIVE

<i>p'otu'</i> , fill it!	<i>p'otuna'we'</i> , fill it!
<i>p'otunaknana'</i> , see that it is filled	

EXHORTATIVE

(hon) <i>p'otuce</i> , let's fill it (dual)	(hon) <i>p'otunapce</i> , let's fill it (plural)
--	---

OPTATIVE

<i>p'otuf'u</i> , may he fill it	<i>p'otunapt'u</i> , may they fill it
<i>p'otit'u</i> , may it be full	<i>a'p'otit'u</i> , may they be full

Partial list of neutral stems of Class I

<i>ulu</i> (<i>uliye</i> , <i>ule</i>), to put one thing in
<i>aklu</i> (<i>akliye</i>), to light a fire
<i>akcu</i> (<i>akciye</i>), to place among
<i>patcu</i> (<i>patciye</i>), to place against
<i>pactu</i> (<i>pactiye</i>), to place in the mouth
<i>p'otu</i> (<i>p'otiye</i>), to fill
<i>p'ewu</i> (<i>p'ewiye</i>), to spread (a blanket)
<i>he'u</i> (<i>he'iye</i>), to build a wall
<i>yanu</i> (<i>yaniye</i>), to cover with a blanket
<i>optsu</i> (<i>optsiye</i>), to tie into a bunch
<i>wotu</i> (<i>wotiye</i>), to put down many things
<i>wolu</i> (<i>woliye</i>), to put many things into a jar
<i>ehku</i> (<i>ehkuye</i>), to go ahead
<i>etcu</i> (<i>etcieye</i>), to leave behind
<i>ula'u</i> (<i>ulaye</i>), to stand outside, or against
<i>woslu</i> (<i>wosliye</i>), to place many things among
<i>p'a'u</i> (<i>p'a'iye</i>), to cover with a robe
<i>tecku</i> (<i>teckwiye</i>), to fast (rare in the active conjugation)

The verbs, *ihtoha*, to tie on to the end, follows this pattern, except for the present active tense, which ends in *-a* instead of *-u*.

81. Class II (Stem ending in *o*)

Example: *p'alo-*, to bury

The same as Class I except for the duratives, as follows:

	Singular	Plural
Present	<i>p'alo'ya</i>	<i>p'alo'na'we</i>
Past	<i>p'alo'kä</i>	<i>p'alo'napkä</i>
Present Subj.	<i>p'alo'n'a</i>	<i>p'alo'na'wa</i>

	<i>ikolo'u</i> , to hide something
	<i>p'alo'u</i> , to bury one object
	<i>wolo'u</i> , to bury many things
	<i>patto'u</i> , to end
	<i>hakto</i> , <i>hakto'u</i> to place on the head
	<i>seto</i> , <i>seto'u</i> to place on the back
also	<i>teku</i> , to stick in

82. Class III

A small group of stems ending in consonants form static in *-e*. These are conjugated as follows:

Present	Past	Subjunctive
<i>wəpe</i>	<i>wəpə'k̄ä</i>	<i>wəpək̄'än'a</i> to be inside a deep receptacle, pl.
<i>ime</i>	<i>imə'k̄ä</i>	<i>imək̄'än'a</i> to be sitting (sing.)
<i>utce</i>	<i>utcu'k̄ä</i>	<i>utcu'k̄'än'a</i> to be inside (sing.)
<i>upe</i>	<i>upo'k̄ä</i>	<i>upok̄'än'a</i> to be inside (pl.)
<i>ale</i>	<i>a'ak̄ä</i>	<i>a'ak̄'än'a</i> to be lying, a single, flat object
<i>ule, uliye</i> (rare)	<i>uli'k̄ä</i>	<i>ulik̄'än'a</i> to be inside a deep receptacle (sing.)

83. Class IV

The conjugation is the same as Class I except that *a* appears as a conjugating vowel in all forms except the durative. The present tense singular ends in *-a'u*. The *a* probably is not part of the stem.

Class IV (*a*- conjugation)

Example: *p'iya-*, to hang

INDICATIVE

Active

	Singular	Plural
<i>Completive</i>		
Present	<i>p'iya'u</i> , he hangs it (<i>wəhana'u</i> , he hangs them)	<i>p'iyana'we</i> , they hang it
Past	<i>p'iyak̄ä</i> , he hung it	<i>p'iyana'p̄k̄ä</i> , they hung it
<i>Durative</i>		
Present	<i>p'iyə'a</i> , he is hanging it	<i>p'iyə'na'we</i> , they are hanging it
Past	<i>p'iyə'k̄ä</i> , he was hanging it	<i>p'iyə'na'p̄k̄ä</i> , they were hanging it
<i>Imminent</i>		
Present	<i>p'iyān'ihā</i> , he is about to hang it	<i>p'iyānā'wetihā</i> , they are about to hang it
Past	<i>p'iyāniyahk̄ä</i> , he was about to hang it	<i>p'iyānā'wetiya'hk̄ä</i> , they were about to hang it

Static

Present	<i>p'iyaye</i> , it is hanging	(<i>w'hanaye</i> , they are hanging)
Past	<i>p'iyakä</i> , it was hanging	

Resultative

Present	<i>p'iyayanaye</i> , it has been hung	(<i>w'hananaye</i> , they have been hung)
Past	<i>p'iyana'kä</i> , it had been hung	

SUBJUNCTIVE

*Active**Completive*

Present	<i>p'iyana'a</i> , he should or might hang it	<i>p'iyana'wa</i> , they might or should hang it
Past	<i>p'iyana'kä</i> , they should or might have hung it	<i>p'iyana'wan'kä</i> , they should or might have hung it

Durative

Present	<i>p'iyen'a</i> , he might be hanging it	<i>p'iyen'wa</i> , they might be hanging it
Past	<i>p'iyen'kä</i> , he might have been hanging it	<i>p'iyen'wan'kä</i> , they might have been hanging it

Static

Present	<i>p'iyak'än'a</i> , it should or might be hanging	(<i>w'hanak'än'a</i>)
Past	<i>p'iyak'än'kä</i> , it should or might have been hanging	

Resultative

Present	<i>p'iyanak'än'a</i> it might be hung
Past	<i>p'iyanak'än'kä</i> it might have been hung

IMPERATIVE

<i>p'iyau'</i> , hang it!	<i>piyana'we'</i> , hang it!
<i>p'iyanaknana'</i> , see that it is hung!	

EXHORTATIVE

<i>hon p'iyace</i> , let's hang it (dual)	<i>hon p'iyana'pce</i> , let's hang it (plural)
---	---

OPTATIVE

<i>p'iyat'u</i> , may he hang it (may it hang)	<i>p'iyanapt'u</i> , may they hang it (<i>wchanat'u</i> , may they be hung)
---	--

Partial list of neutral verbs of Class IV

- awela'u* (*awelaye*), to step aside
anula'u (*anulaye*), to appoint to office
ela'u (*elaye*), to place upright (one object)
icoaya'u (*icoayaye*), to engage a group for work
waiya'u (*waiyaye*), to cover with something heavy
wch'aiya'u (*wch'aiyaye*), to scatter over a large area
p'iyau (*p'iyaye*), to hang up one thing (pl. *wchana'u*)
p'o'ya'u (*p'o'yaye*), to cover (a jar, etc.)
(i)p'oa'u (*p'oaye*), to bend over (pl. *te-*)
-pita'u (*-pitaye*), to set by the fire (in composition only)
t'ina'u (*t'inaye*), to put down many round things; to seat
 persons
telia'u (*teliyaye*), to add on
lena'u (*lenaye*), to raise crops
lea'u (*leaye*), to give into the hand
luwa'u (*luwaye*), to set upright (many things)
wɔpana'u (*wɔpanaye*), to place several things against a wall,
 etc. (pl. of *patcu*)

A few neutral verbs are conjugated irregularly. Among them are:

<i>aniktcia'u</i> (<i>aniktcia</i>), to bless with	
<i>te'u</i> , to do	<i>teaye</i> , to be
<i>atana</i> , he fears it	<i>atani</i> , it is dangerous
(<i>atankä</i> , <i>atanan'a</i>)	(<i>atani'kä</i> , <i>ataniän'a</i>)

84. *Conjugation of Active Stems*

Verbs based on active stems are less regular than neutral verbs, and fall into many more classes. There is, in the first place, the large number of active intransitive verbs, which form their plurals according to various patterns already considered. The grouping of these verbs according to tense and modal conjugation does not correspond to the number groupings. The tense forms are formed according to their phonetic character. Any grouping according to tense-mode-aspect inflection will include within the same group intransitives forming plurals by prefix, and transitives forming plurals by suffix.

85—94a. *Active Transitive Verbs*

85. Transitive Verbs, Class I

Example: *elate-*, to overtake

INDICATIVE

Active

Singular

Plural

Completive

Present	<i>elate</i> , he overtakes him	<i>elatenawe</i> , they overtake him
	<i>awelate</i> , he overtakes them	<i>awelatenawe</i> , they overtake them
Past	<i>elatekã</i> , he overtook him	<i>elatenapkã</i> , they overtook him

*Durative (none)**Imminent*

Present	<i>elaten'iha</i> , he is about to overtake him	<i>elatenawetiha</i> , they are about to overtake him
Past	<i>elateniyahkã</i> , he was about to overtake him	<i>elatenawetiyahkã</i> , they were about to overtake him

Resultative

Present	<i>elatenaye</i> , he has been overtaken	<i>awelatenaye</i> , they have been overtaken
Past	<i>elatenakã</i> , he had been overtaken	<i>awelatenakã</i> , they had been overtaken

SUBJUNCTIVE

Active

Present	<i>elaten'a</i> , he should or might overtake him	<i>elatenawa</i> , they should or might overtake him
Past	<i>elatenaykã</i> , he should or might have overtaken him	<i>elatenawaykã</i> , they should or might have overtaken him

Resultative

<i>elatenak'an'a</i> , he might be overtaken	<i>awelatenak'an'a</i> , they might be overtaken
--	--

IMPERATIVE

<i>elate'</i> , overtake him!	<i>elatenawe'</i> , overtake him!
-------------------------------	-----------------------------------

EXHORTATIVE

<i>hon elatece</i> , let's overtake him (dual)	<i>hon elatenapce</i> , let's overtake them
--	---

OPTATIVE

<i>elatet'u</i> , may he overtake him	<i>elatenapt'u</i> , may they over- take him
<i>elatenat'u</i> , may he be over- taken	<i>arvelatenat'u</i> , may they be overtaken

Partial list of transitive verbs of Class I

<i>elate</i> , to overtake him
<i>ilopi</i> , to borrow (-i dropped before -tco)
<i>ok'ä</i> , to lose it
<i>imuye</i> , to rub one's self (reflexive)
<i>lehati</i> , to think thus

86. Transitive Verbs, Class II

86. This conjugation differs only in having durative in 'ya.

Example: *ito-*, to eat (it)

INDICATIVE

Active

Singular

Plural

Completive

Present <i>ito</i> , he eats (it) (<i>arwito</i> , he eats them) ²	<i>itona'we</i> ¹ , they eat (it) (<i>arwitona'we</i> , they eat them)
Past <i>itokä</i> , he ate	<i>itonaḡkä</i> , they ate

Durative

Present <i>ito'ya</i> , he is eating	<i>itona'na'we</i> , they are eating
Past <i>itokä</i> , he was eating	<i>itonaḡnä</i> , they were eating

Resultative

Present <i>itonaye</i> , it has been eaten	<i>arwitonaye</i> , they has been eaten
Past <i>itonaḡkä</i> , it had been eaten	<i>arwitonaḡkä</i> , they have been eaten

SUBJUNCTIVE

Present <i>iton'a</i> , he might eat	<i>itona'wa</i> , they might eat
Past <i>itonaḡkä</i> , he might have eaten	<i>itona'waḡkä</i> , they might have eaten

Resultative

Present <i>itonaḡän'a</i> , it might be eaten	<i>arwitonaḡän'a</i> , they might be eaten
--	---

¹ Variant *itowena'we*.
possible but not idiomatic.

² The forms in parantheses are theoretically

The rest follow pattern of Class I.

ito, to eat
tecu, to seek
tutu, to drink

87. Transitive Verbs, Class III.

Derivatives in *-tco* (Duratives in 'ya).

iloptco, to go about borrowing (transitive)
antehtco, to gaze at fixedly (transitive)
we'atco, to call out to all directions (transitive)
ipaktco, to scatter (transitive, *i-* is probably plural object; stem
paku, to shoot, or hurl)

88. Transitive Verbs, Class IV.

Derivatives in *-ma*. (No duratives).

iltema, to believe
otcoma, to envy
antecema, to want
itcema, to love

89. Transitive Verbs, Class V: *a* Conjugation

The principal transitive conjugation is the conjugation in *-a*. The first group contains stems ending in consonants or glottal stops. In one group *a* is retained before all tense suffixes in the completive aspect; in another group it is dropped before *-kä*.

Example: *aina*, to kill

INDICATIVE

Active

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Completive</i>		
Present	<i>aina</i> , he kills him (<i>tata</i> , he kills them)	<i>ainana'we</i> , they kill him
Past	<i>ainakä</i> , he killed him	<i>ainanapkä</i> , they killed him
<i>Durative</i>		
Present	<i>aine'a</i> , he is killing him	<i>aine'na'we</i> , they are killing him
Past	<i>aine'kä</i> , he was killing him	<i>aine'napkä</i> , they were killing him

Resultative

ainanaye, etc.

SUBJUNCTIVE

ainan'a, etc.

90. Transitive Verbs, Class VI

There are also conjugated with *-a*. They differ in some forms, e. g. past tense completive.

Example: *aca-* to make

INDICATIVE

Active

Singular

Plural

Completive

Present *aca*, he makes it
(*a'waca*, he makes them)

acna'we, they make it
a'wacna'we, they make them

Past *ackä*, he made it

acnapkä, they made it

Durative

ace'a, he is making it, etc.

Resultative

acnaye, it has been made, etc.

SUBJUNCTIVE

acan'a, he might make it etc.

Verbs of Class VI

alica, to change places

ankohana, to pity

ank'ohana, to discover

aca, to make

tepica, to sweep

ikoca, to play

pokti'a, to smoke

acuwa, to talk with

cema, to call

le'kwa, to say it

itsuma, to plant

The following verbs, apparently irregular, follow the *a* conjugation, the seeming irregularities being due to phonetic assimilations (see ¶ 5).

ok'- to grind

Completive

Present *ok'ä*, she grinds

okna'we

Past *o'okä*

oknapkä

Durative *ok'e'a*, etc.

ok'ena'we

Imminent *ok'an'iha*

Exhortative (irregular) *o't'u*

Subjunctive *ok'an'a*, etc.

ok'anawe

*tok*²- to pound*Completive*Present *tok*²*ä*, he pounds it *tokna·we*Past *to'okä* *toknapkä**Durative tok*²*e'a*, etc.*Imminent tok*²*än'iha**Subjunctive tok*²*än'a*, etc.*Exhortative to't'u**iyok*²- to take away*Completive*Present *iyok*²*ä*, he takes it awayPast *iyo'okä**Durative none**Imminent iyok*²*än'iha**Subjunctive iyok*²*än'a**lat*- to kill many*Completive*Present *lata*, he kills them *lakna·we*Past *lakä* *lakuapkä**Durative late'a*, etc.*Imminent latan'iha*, etc.*Passive laknaye*, etc.*Subjunctive latan'a*, etc., pl. *lakna·wa*

91. Transitive Verbs, Class VII

Class VII contains all verbs ending in the derivative suffix *-h-*, which can be attached to any active transitive or neutral stem, with the meaning of reversal. These are all transitives. They show a curious phonetic shift in the durative, *h* + *e'a* becoming *ce'a*.

Class VII

Example: *aha*, to take one thing(from *a'u*, to put down)

INDICATIVE

Active

Singular

Plural

*Completive*Present *aha*, he takes it *ahnawe*, they take it
(*wɔ'tiha*, he takes them) (*wɔ'tihnawe*, they take them)Past *ahkä*, he took it *ahnapkä*, they took it

Durative

Present	<i>ace'³a</i> , he is taking it	<i>ace'na'we</i> , they are taking it
Past	<i>ace'k₂ä</i> , he was taking it	<i>ace'nap₂k₂ä</i> , they were taking it

Imminent

ahan'iha, he is about to take it, etc.

Resultative

ahnaye, it has been taken, etc.

SUBJUNCTIVE

ahan'a, he might take it etc.

cuvaha, *iteha* and *alaha*, follow this pattern.

92. Transitive Verbs, Class VIII

Derivatives in *k₂'-*. The *a* is retained before all suffixes in the completive aspect.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Completive</i>		
Present	<i>-k₂'ä</i>	<i>-k₂'änä'we</i>
Past	<i>-k₂'äk₂</i>	<i>-k₂'änäp₂k₂ä</i>
<i>Durative</i>	<i>-k₂'e'a</i> , etc.	
<i>Imminent</i>	<i>-k₂'än'iha</i>	
<i>Resultative</i>	<i>-k₂'änaye</i> , etc.	

SUBJUNCTIVE

<i>Completive</i>	<i>-k₂'än'a</i> , etc.
<i>Durative:</i>	<i>k₂'en'a</i> , etc.
<i>Resultative</i>	<i>k₂'än'a k₂'än'a</i> , etc.

93. Transitive Verbs, Class IX, *u* Conjugation

These differ from the preceding in being conjugated with *-u* instead of *-a*. in the present tense. The endings of the basic forms are as follows:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Completive</i>		
Present	<i>-³u</i>	<i>na'we</i>
Past	<i>-k₂ä</i>	<i>nap₂k₂ä</i>
<i>Durative</i>		
Present	<i>-³ya</i>	<i>-³yana'we</i>
Past	<i>-k₂ä</i>	<i>-nap₂k₂ä</i>

Subjunctive

-un'a, etc.

Resultative

-naye, etc.

Partial list of verbs of Class IX.

ak'o'u, to dig a hole

tolto'u, to put at the end of a pole or stick

kwiho'u, to throw away many things

lesnu, to do thus

anikcia'u, to bless him

94. Transitive Verbs, Class X

Present tense in a'u

	<i>Completive</i>		<i>Durative</i>	
Present	-a'u	-na'we	-e'a	-ena'we
Past	-akä	-anapkä	-ekä	-enapkä
<i>Subjunctive</i>				
	-an'a, etc.	-ana'wa	-en'a, etc.	-ena'wa, etc.

List of verbs of Class X

tena'u, to sing

94a. Transitive Verbs, Class XI, *i* ConjugationConjugated with -*i* (the -*i* is not part of the stem)

	<i>Completive</i>		<i>Durative</i>	
Present	-i	-na'we	-i'a	-ina'we
Past	-kä	-napkä	-ikä	-inapkä
<i>Subjunctive</i>				
	-in'a, etc.			

Resultative

-naye, etc.

List of verbs of Class XI

yälupi, to turn around

tapi, to take one large object

lipi, to spin

95—103. Active Intransitive Verbs

95. Intransitive Verbs, Class I. Without conjugating vowel

INDICATIVE

*Active**Singular**Plural**Completive*

Present te'tci, he arrives

a'te'tci, they arrive

Past te'tci^hkä, he arriveda'te'tci^hkä, they arrived*Durative* none (Repetitives in -el, -le, -tel, etc.)

Imminent

Present	<i>te'tcin'iha</i> , he is about to arrive	<i>a'te'tcintiha</i> , they are about to arrive
Past	<i>te'tciniyahkä</i> , he was about to arrive	<i>a'te'tcintiha</i> , they were about to arrive

Resultative

Present	<i>te'tcinaye</i> , he has arrived (Lit., he is arrived)	<i>a'te'tcinaye</i> , they have arrived
Past	<i>te'tcina'kä</i> , he had arrived	<i>a'te'tcina'kä</i> , they had arrived

SUBJUNCTIVE

Present	<i>te'tcin'a</i> , he may arrive	<i>a'te'tsin'a</i> , they may arrive
Past	<i>te'tcinan'kä</i> , he should have arrived	<i>a'te'tcinan'kä</i> , they might have arrived

Resultative

<i>te'tcina'än'a</i> , he may be arrived	<i>a'te'tcina'än'a</i> , they may have arrived
--	--

IMPERATIVE

<i>(te'tci'</i> , arrive!	<i>a'te'tci</i> , arrive!)
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EXHORTATIVE

<i>hon te'tcice</i> , let's arrive (dual)	<i>hon a'te'tcice</i> , let's arrive
---	--------------------------------------

OPTATIVE

<i>te'tcit'u</i> , may he arrive ("wait for him to come")	<i>a'te'tcit'u</i> , may he arrive
---	------------------------------------

*List of Intransitive Verbs of Class I**laku*, to shoot*okwi*, to wake up*pulahi*, to jump (pl. *a*-)*kwai'i*, to go out (pl. *u*-)*pikwai'i*, to pass through (pl. *a*-)*kwato*, to go in (pl. *u*-; *o* dropped before *-el*)*te'tci*, to arrive (pl. *a*-)*lahi*, to fly*hap'o*, to come together (pl. stem; *o* dropped before *-el*)*lani*, to fall (pl. *a*-)

96. Intransitive Verbs, Class II

Stems ending in *-o*, and derivatives in *-tco*. These are conjugated like foregoing, and have also duratives in *-ya*.

yäluco, to want to go along, is conjugated like a transitive verb of this class, with plural in *-naw-*.

itulaco, to walk about indoors, and *a·weletco*, to come and go, have plurals in *a·-*.

97. Intransitive Verbs, Class III. Derivatives in *-le*

(No duratives, the word itself is repetitive.)

kwaï'ile, to go out one by one (pl. *w-*)

Completive

Present *kwaï'ile* (dual)

Past *kwaï'ilekã* „

Durative: None

Imminent: *kwaï'ilen'iha*

Present subjunctive: *kwaï'ilen'a*

Resultative: None

pani'le, to go down one by one (pl. *a·-*).

lawap'sicle, to cut prayersticks, etc.

98. Intransitive Verbs, Class IV: Derivatives in *ma*.

Conjugated like the foregoing:

tse'ma, to think (pl. *i·-*)

ocema, to be starving (no pl.)

itsuma, to feel cold (pl. *i·-*)

99. Intransitive Verbs, Class V. Derivatives in *-ti*

ip'sumeti, to get strong (pl. *a·w-*)

icakãti, to get soft (pl. *a·w-*)

ilo'oti, to get hard (pl. *a·w-*)

yanikwati, to learn (pl. *a·wi-*), etc.

100. Intransitive Verbs, Class VI: Reflexives in *i—k'ä*

These are not to be confused with causatives, which are transitive. The tense suffixes are different, and the plurals.

Present *ip'otik'ä*, it is getting full *awik'otik'ä*, they are getting full

Past *ip'otik'ä*, it was getting full

Present subjunctive *ip'otik'än'a*, it may be getting full

Intransitive Verbs of Class VI

<i>ip'otik'ä</i> , to get full	<i>yelanaḵ'ä</i> , to become many
<i>ip'o'yak'ä</i> , to get covered	<i>yeleḵ'ä</i> , to get ready
<i>ikeatok'ä</i> , to rise	<i>iyok'ä</i> , to snatch away
<i>icilk'ä</i> , to come to have a bad name	<i>yantcianaḵ'ä</i> , it gets difficult
<i>ipaltok'ä</i> , to come to an end	<i>iyatok'ä</i> , to put a garment over one shoulder
<i>iyaiyu'yaḵ'ä</i> , to begin to have sense	<i>ik'ähaiyaḵ'ä</i> , water spreads out
<i>ihemotik'ä</i> , to get angry	<i>itcimaiyaḵ'ä</i> , it gets to be wheat (i. e., wheat ripens)

101. Intransitive Verbs, Class VII: *a* ConjugationExample: *la'a*, to get large

INDICATIVE

Active

Completive	Singular	Plural
Present	<i>la'a</i> , it gets large	Plurals regular in <i>a-</i>
Past	<i>laḵḵä</i> , it got large	
No Durative		
Imminent		
Present	<i>la'an'iha</i> , it is about to get large	
Past	<i>la'an'iyahḵä</i> , it was about to get large etc.	

Resultative¹

Present	<i>lanaye</i> , it is large
Past	<i>lanahḵä</i> , it was large

SUBJUNCTIVE

Present	<i>la'an'a</i> , it may get large
Past	<i>la'anḵä</i> , it might have gotten large

IMPERATIVE

la'a, get large!

No Exhortative

OPTATIVE

la't'u, may it get large*Intransitive Verbs of Class VII*

<i>ala</i> , to sleep (sing. only; pl. <i>yatela</i>)
<i>o'a</i> , to be made (singular and plural)
<i>we'a</i> , to be sick (pl. <i>a-</i>)
<i>hemo'a</i> , to boil over (pl. <i>a-</i>)
<i>tsitsi'a</i> , to suck (pl. <i>a-</i>)

¹ See ¶ 34.

- taca'a*, to get long (pl. *a-*)
tununu'a, to thunder (no plural)
lowowo'a, to roar (no plural)
lapa'a, to shake (plural not recorded)
lutsi'a, to get soft (pl. *a-*)
la'a, to get large (pl. *a-*)
ya'a, to get finished (pl. *a-*)
i'ya, to come (pl. *a-w-*)
akwa, it gets cooked, has an irregular past tense (*ak'ä*) due to phonetic assimilation

Another group, stems ending in *e*, drop the *a* before the subjunctive suffix:

- ace'a*, to die (pl. *y-*)
ikäne'a, to get angry (pl. *i'käne'a*)
oce'a, to be hungry (pl. *a-w-*)
yu'te'tci'a, to get tired (pl. *a-*)

102. Intransitive Verbs, Class VIII: Verbs in *el*, *tel*, *tcel*

Derivatives in *-el*, *-tel*, *-tcel*, also have *-a* in the present tense.

Completive

Present *-ela*

Past *-elkä*

No Durative

No Resultative

Also: *yatela*, to sleep (plural stem)

kwatela, to come in repeatedly or severally (pl. *u-*)

upinatela, (no plural) to snow intermittently

i'tela (pl. *a-w-*) to come one by one

te'tcila (pl. *a-*), to arrive one by one

cila, to call by name (the stem is *ci'*, name)

103. Intransitive Verbs, Class IX: *u* Conjugation

Conjugated with *-u*. *ye'maku*

Completive

Plural

Present *ye'maku*

a'yemaku

Past *ye'makä*

a'yemakä

No Durative. Repetitives in *-el*, *-tel*, *-le*, etc.

Subjunctive, *ye'makun'a* etc.

Resultative, *ye'maknaye*, "he stands at the top"

ye'maku, to ascend (pl. *a-*)

pani'u, to descend (pl. *a-*)

pilaku, to sit up, or get up (pl. *a-*)

104. *Irregular Verbs*

a'ne, to go; *p'ene*, to speak; *utsi*, to give, are irregular.

Conjugation of *a'ne*

INDICATIVE

Active

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i> ¹
<i>Completive</i>		
Present	<i>a'ne</i> , he goes	<i>a'wa'ne</i> , they go
Past	<i>a'k̄ä</i> , he went	<i>a'wa'k̄ä</i> , they went
<i>No Durative</i>		
<i>Imminent</i>		
	<i>a'niha</i>	
	<i>a'niyahk̄ä</i>	
<i>Static</i>		
Present	<i>a'naye</i> , it goes along	
Past	<i>a'na'k̄ä</i> , it went along	

SUBJUNCTIVE

Active

Present	<i>a'nuwa</i> , he might go
Past	<i>a'nuwan̄k̄ä</i> , he might have gone
	<i>a'nak̄'än'a</i> , it will go along

No Imperative

EXHORTATIVE

a'ce, let's go

OPTATIVE

a't'u, may he go

Conjugation of *p'ene*

ACTIVE

Completive

Present	<i>p'ene</i> , he speaks	(Plurals all regular in <i>a'-</i>)
Past	<i>p'e'k̄ä</i> , he spoke	

Durative

Present	<i>p'eye'a</i> , he is speaking
Past	<i>p'eye'k̄ä</i> , he was speaking

Imminent

Present	<i>p'eyen'iha</i>
Past	<i>p'eyeniyahk̄ä</i>

¹ Plurals all regular in *a'-*.

SUBJUNCTIVE

Present *p'enuwa*, he might speak¹Past *penuwan̄kä*, he might have spoken

IMPERATIVE

p'ene or *p'eye*, speak!

EXHORTATIVE

(p'eyece)

OPTATIVE

p'eyet'u, let him speak*No Static or Resultative**utsi*, "he gives it to him."

The irregularities are probably due to phonetic laws which, for lack of comparative material, must remain obscure. The stem obviously ends in *ts*, and is subject of shifts before *-n* and *-k*, but that would not explain the form *uktu*.

ACTIVE

Completive

Present *utsi*, he gives to him *ukna'we*Past *uk'ä* *uknapkä*

No Durative

Imminent

utsin'iha

RESULTATIVE

uknaye

SUBJUNCTIVE

Present *utsin'a* *ukna'wa*Past *utsinan̄kä* *ukna'wan̄kä*

IMPERATIVE

utsi, give it!

No Exhortative

OPTATIVE (also used as exhortative)

ukt'u *uknapt'u*

Plural indirect object:

Completive

Present *yakä*², he gives it to them *yakna'we*Past *ya'akä* *yaknapkä*Subjunctive: *yak'an'a* *yakna'wa*Resultative: *yaknaye*

¹ The irregular subjunctive is clearly related to the conditional gerundive (see below ¶ 105) and may be the survival of another mode.

² This is probably a case of stem alteration, but the process is too rare in the language to formulate rules.

105—115. VERBAL NOUNS

105. *Participial or Gerundive Constructions*

There is a very full system of participial or gerundive forms, which are freely used to express all forms of subordination: temporal, causal, conditional, purposive. Theoretically every tense form has its corresponding gerundive. Most of these forms are precious, and only a few are used in ordinary discourse, although others are readily formed in translating precise English statements. The whole system, moreover, is double, each gerundive having two forms terminating in *-an* and in *-p*. The *an* forms are used when the subject of the following clause is the same as the present subject of discourse, the *p* forms when a new subject follows.

The complete participial system of the active transitive verb *ito-* follows. The forms not commonly used are in parentheses.

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
<i>Indicative</i>			
Present	<i>itonan</i> <i>itop</i>	} eating (having eaten)	{ <i>itowena'wanan</i> <i>itowena'wap</i>
Past ¹	(<i>itokānan</i>) <i>itokāp</i>		
<i>Durative</i> (no <i>-p</i> forms)			
Present	<i>itowen</i> , right after eating ²		<i>itowenape'en</i>
Past	(<i>itoke'en</i>), having just eaten		(<i>itokānape'en</i>)
<i>Imminent</i>			
Present	<i>iton'iyahnan</i> <i>iton'ihap</i>	} being about to eat, or, wishing to eat	{ <i>itowena'weti'ahnan</i> <i>itowena'weti'hap</i>
Past	(<i>itokān'iyahnan</i>) (<i>itokān'ihap</i>)		
<i>Resultative</i> <i>itonaknan</i> , having been eaten			<i>a'witonaknan</i>
<i>Conditional</i>			
Present	(<i>itonuwan</i>) <i>itonuwap</i>	} if he should eat	{ (<i>itona'wanuwan</i>) <i>itona'wanuwap</i>
Past	(<i>itokānuwap</i>), if he should have eaten it		
<i>Optative</i> <i>ilot'un</i> , that he may eat			<i>itonaptun</i>
(always with post-position <i>ak'ā</i>)			

¹ For these the periphrastic *itokāt'ap* (he ate and..) and *itonap'kāt'ap* are usually used.

² The use of participial forms is highly idiomatic. This form is based on the durative, but is not used as a durative. The intensive form *itowen-te* (*itowapte*) is used for the durative — "even as he was eating." See ¶ 106.

It will be noted that most of the forms based on past tenses (except *itokäp*) are not commonly used. The present participle is used for an action synchronous with or immediately preceding the main subjects of discourse, irrespective of the tense of that statement.

When it is important to stress the time sequence another construction, similar to the participles, is used:

itokät'ap, after he had eaten (lit., he ate and . . .) This is used without regard to the tense of the principal verb.

itokät'ap a-nuwa, after he has eaten, he will go.

There is no *-p* form in the optative. A periphrastic agentive construction is substituted for this (see ¶ 115):

kwahol ho' yelekäptun'ona kwa yu'he'tame, what I have to get ready is not clear (to me). (*kwahol*, something; *ho'*, I; *yelekäptun'ona*, the one who may get them ready; *kwa*, not; *yu'he'tame*, it is not clear) Z 173:13

The participial system of the static conjugation is less fully developed. The present and the past participles (singular and plural) are the only ones used. Periphrastic constructions based on the active verb are substituted in the more subtle constructions. The readiness with which the subject can be changed by the use of *-n* or *-p* forms rids these constructions of any awkwardness or ambiguity.

106. Intensified Participial Forms

All gerundive forms may be intensified by the addition of *-te*:
itowen-te, *itowapte*, even as he was eating; even though he was eating (note quantity of *n*)
ace'ainapte, even though they hit him hard. . . 404:53
ho' iyapte, just as I come. . . 404:57
kwa antecemanapte, even when he did not want it

107—113. Use of Participial Forms

As has been said, gerundive constructions, with or without postpositions, are used to express all forms of subordination:

108. Simple Sequence

In narrative to indicate sequence of actions:

kwai'inans an wla'up tcucan'a, she will come out and put them down for her, and then she will remove the grains. 416:12
a-wan tcukoclenana i'cuwahnan kwihonan a-panilekä, they spit on them, cleansed themselves, threw them down, (and then) came down. 422:38

le'kwap i'tinaknan itonapkä, so she said, and they sat down and ate. Z 125:54

topakä miyap topakä mteala pik'aiap ateacan alap tahtcic Pautiwa i'kä, on one side was a corn field, on the other squash vines, and she walked about picking flowers, and meanwhile Pautiwa came. Z 145:50

109. Temporal Subordination

i'yaiyu'ya'k'äpa ci'ik'än'a, when she has begun to recognize something, she will have a name 396:1

itowenapkä'tap'a maki acekä, after they had eaten, the young woman died. 402:32

hon i'ton'ihap ho'n aiyoikä, as we were about to eat it, he took it from us 424:57

kwatok'änaknan tcims atci a'ikä, after they (dual) had been brought in, then they buried them 427:109

atc iton tcunenán atc i'k'ocokä, after they finished eating, they washed themselves. Z 165:59

i'tonap'e'ens pa otin-kwai'in'a, as soon as they have eaten, they will come out again to dance. Z 18:27

tcuk'ik'ä'en ok'äkä, after she had soaked the corn, she ground it. Z 98:16

110. Causal subordination

ace teckwapa kwa tcuhol ... tutucukwa, because they are strictly taboo no one ... must drink Z 20:66

uhson anteceman ... lawaptsiclenapkä, desiring this ... they cut prayersticks Z 22:6

hom pi'taciwan'i o'antihap ho' ikäne'a, when they wanted to make me a bow priest I was angry. Z 37:92

hic i'tsumanan kwa abna'ma, she became very cold and could not sleep. Z 146:79

an a'wokäna-we antse'man ... hantaktica, because he desires his sisters he is generous to him. Z 213:28

With postposition *ak'ä* (with, or because of see ¶ 157):

ulohnan tso'yap ak'ä hon i'kä, this country is beautiful, so we have come. Z 166:71

hom tsit i'k'änán ak'ä ho' i'ya, since my mother sent me, I have come. Z 105:51

sam'a te'tci cema itse'makunan ak'ä cemaikä, because she herself decided to call him, she called him. Z 217:15

telik'witip ak'ä, since it is getting dark. Z 223:40

111. Conditional

aminak'ānuwap ace sunhap a'nuwa, if she should be lazy, she would go late in the evening. 417:29

t'on a'wanap'a kwa elecukwa, if he should find you it would not be well. Z 166:81

hon a'halowil'apa litok'ān'a, if we are lucky it will rain. Z 7:27
t'om anyetsak'ākāp t'o' ainanan . . . son itsemak-t'elakwikān'a, if he appears to you and you kill him, then we shall be married. Z 178:30

hom t'o' atinekāt'ap . . . ho' il'i paniyuwanaykā, if you had told me . . . I would have taken you down. Z 234:64

acekāt'ap . . . hon a'wanawaykā, if she had died . . . we would have found her. Z 194:58

112. Purposive

tutunan kwai'ikā, she came out to drink. Z 99:34

t'on ceman haitocip, since he sent me to call you . . . Z 102:2

t'om at'suman atine'a, he tells you this to test you. Z 173:15

i'munan hakānans, asking her to sit down. 415:5

113. Use of *-te* Forms

lesnapte, even so 404:58

onan'te, right in the road Z 77:88

k'onete aklukā, even as he was crying, he built a fire. Z 91:85

elamekā yātokwai'inan'te ho' i'ya, even as the sun rises on evil days, I have come. Z 130:53

pa lakā'en'te oy il' alkā, although he had killed a Navajo, he slept with his wife. Z 134:32

le' luvalan tcawil'in'te, even though you have all the village for your children Z 160:51

ainana'wapte kwac t'o' acecukwa, even if they strike you, won't you die? Z 46:74

laknakāt'apte kwa ton a'p'eyena'ma, even though you have been beaten you do not talk. 407:163

ik'ean yacentiyahnan'te, just as they were about to die of thirst Z 260:3

Also *yaman'te*, on foot (*yam*, reflexive pronoun) Z 28:2; *topin'te*, only one (*topa*, one) Z 36:88; *ele'te*, yes indeed (*ele*, well).

114. Infinitive

The infinitive is formed by the suffix *-kā* affixed to the stem or stem plus conjugating vowel. The form is the same as that for past tense, active singular

itokä, to eat, eating (cf. *itokä*, he ate)

litokü, rain, from *lito*, to rain

yätokü, sun, from *yäto*, to cross over

aleakü, to sleep Z 57:97

a'walacnakü tek'an'a, (we) shall run after them (*a'walacnakü*, infinitive of *a'walacnaye*, they are pursued; *tek'an'a*, it will be) Z 104:28

a'nakü pwo, there was talk of going 420:4

Abstract nouns are formed in the same way from adjectives and static verbs.

laciakü, old age

lanakü, size (*la'na*, large, from *la'a*, to get large)

yulakü tek'an'a, there will be war Z 129:23

and *elamekü*, evil (from [*kwa*] *elam'e*, it is not good)

elamekü yäto kwai'inan'te ho' iya, even as an evil day dawns, I have come.

The infinitive is used with the nominalizing (or participial) suffix *-n* to express purpose:

tatakän a'kä, he went out to hunt

acurwakän kwatokü, she went in to talk to them

115. Relative clauses

The suffixes *'ona*, present, *-koa* or *-kona*, past, are attached to the various aspects of the verb to form relative clauses, either active or resultative. All of these words are fundamentally ambiguous, meaning either the one who acts, or the one who is acted upon.

ho' itceman'ona, I am the one who loves her, or the one I love
e'lactok o'ko', the girl who had been lost (Z 194:68) and on preceding line, "the one who had lost his daughter"

i'yan'aiyu'yanap'ona, those who are known to one another

ihap'okü'koa, what she had gathered together Z 173:31

aiyu'k'äl naw'ona, the one whom they hate Z 156:79

l'o'n ante'unapkoa, what they did to you

woleatun'ona, that which she is to take away 417:25

kwaton'ihan'ona, the one who is about to go in

woyaktina'kona, those which had been roasted by the fire
422:33

kolehol teatiko, whatever happened 411:150

wean'ona, the sick one 400:11

mosona, chief (the one who is a chief, from *mosiye*, he is a chief.)

ak'ä yanatun'ona, that with which it may be finished Z 2:24

i'towatun'ona, that which they are to eat Z 14:53

ho' acetunon' ak'ä, lukä hom yaknahkä, this one left me there that I might Z 110:52

hatiatunon'akä, in order that he may obey (*hatiatun*, optative; *ona*, the one who; *ak'ä*, in order that) See ¶ 107.

116—136. MORPHOLOGY OF THE NOUN

116. The noun is merely the name of an object; it does not predicate its existence. The noun has three grammatical categories: class, number, case.

117. *Classes of nouns*

The classification of denominating concepts is very much obscured by certain purely formal factors, phonetic or etymological. But in spite of numerous exceptions, there seems to be a broad classification of nouns into three classes, human, animate, and inanimate.

118. *Formation of nouns*

Nouns may be formed, usually by suffix, from strictly nominal stems; from stems that are either nominal or verbal, but more probably basically verbal, from verbs by suffixing; from adjectives, which also are basically verbal. There are a few nominal stems used without suffix, especially those denoting names of plants, but all verbal or neutral stems, and many nominal stems, require suffixes.

The classes of nouns according to form will be considered below.

119. *Nominal Suffixes*

Nouns denoting human beings are formed from nominal stems, sometimes with the suffix *-ki*, and have plurals in *a-*, except *tea'le*, child, plural *taawe*.

Nouns denoting plants or animals are based on independent nominal stems, sometimes with the suffixes *-ci* or *-k'o* (for animals), and are the same singular and plural (except *na'le*, deer, plural *nawe*).

Names of things are various in form and derivation, and all form plurals in *-we*.

Abstract nouns or verbal nouns form no plurals. Verbal nouns in *-ona* and *-koa*, agentive or relative, form plurals in *a-* whether or not they denote human beings.

120. *The Plurals of Nouns*

As already indicated, number is usually expressed explicitly in the noun. This does not apply to nouns of the animate class which

are the same singular and plural and may be used with singular or plural verb. Abstract nouns are always singular (they are used invariably with singular verb), and certain collectives (*k'äwe*, water; *owe*, meal, etc.) are used in plural only. Those classes of nouns which express plurality use different devices. The class of human beings forms plurals by prefixing; the inanimate class by suffixing.

There is some obscure relation between the pluralizing mechanisms of nouns and verbs. The prefix *a-* which indicates plurality in nouns denoting human beings also represents plural subject of intransitive and plural object of transitive verbs. *-we*, which denotes plurality of inanimate objects, is undoubtedly related to *-naw-* the pluralizing suffix of transitive verbs.

The dual is expressed by the use of the dual pronoun *a'tci*, and either singular or plural noun, more often plural, but the verb is always singular in form.

hom artsan a'tci, my two little ones Z 148:9

ciwan an e'lactok a'tci, the priest's two girls Z 165:54

but also *ewactok a'tci*, the two girls Z 165:80

ckcik' aiyutsana a'tci a'tci akcihnan, picking out two rabbits, the two smallest. Z 218:39

121—135. Classes of Nouns According to Grammatical Form

Nouns fall into fourteen types according to linguistic form. The first three types belong to the general class of animate beings; the next two are human, the next five types are inanimate. The rest are verbal nouns, locatives, etc. These are descriptive terms, not strictly denominating concepts.

122. Class I. No Suffix

Nouns without suffix; same singular and plural. To this class belong all names of plants (when not descriptive) and many animals.

k'äk'äli, eagle

käne'lu, sheep (Spanish *carnero*)

mansana, apple (Spanish *manzana*)

anat'e, native tobacco

acek'ä, pine

123. Class II. *-ci*

Nouns ending in *-ci*. Same singular and plural. To this class belong only names of animals.

wa'käci, cattle (Spanish *vaca*)

t'u'ci, horse (possibly from *t'u-*, penis)

to'naci, badger

124. Class III. -k'o

A few names of animals ending in -k'o; same singular and plural
tsoklik'o, mouse
okcik'o, cottontail rabbit

125. Class IV. No Suffix, Plural a-

Nouns without suffix; plurals in a-. To this class belong all terms of relationship (except *tca'le*, child) and titles.

ta'tcu, father, pl., *a'tatcu*

su'we, younger brother, pl., *a'suwe*

ci'wan'i, priest, pl., *a'ci'wan'i*

also *ho'i*, person, human being, pl., *a'ho'i*, people

126. Class V. -ki

Nouns ending in *ki*, plurals in a-. To this type belong terms for classes of human beings, especially age groups (except *e'lactoki*, girl, pl. *ewactoki*. The abbreviated form *e'le* is not used in the plural except in composition, as for example, *awemosona*, the chief of the girls).

tsawaki, youth, unmarried man (from *tsana*, small?)

kätsiki, little girl, daughter (affectionate)

laci'ki, old man (*laci*, old)

127. Class VI. No Suffix

Nouns without suffix; plural in -we. The final vowel of the singular is lengthened or changes before the plural suffix. To this type belong names of objects and *wiha*, baby. But this is used also for doll.

k'ume, log, pl. *k'uma-we*

wiha, baby, pl. *wihe-we*

pisa'li, (Navajo?) saddle blanket, pl. *pisali-we*

cotca, woman's bordered robe, pl. *cotce-we*

wem'e, wild beast, pl. *wema-we*

128. Class VII. -'le

Nouns in -'le, plurals in -we. All of these are monosyllabic stems. All are also inanimate, except *na'le*, deer, and *tca'le*, child. To this class belongs also the singular word *e'lactoki* (pl. *ewatoki*) girl.

k'u'le, seed of a tree, pl. *k'u-we*

sa'le, bowl, pl. *sa-we*

pi'le, thread, pl. *pi-we*

mu'le, loaf of bread, pl. *mu-we*

w'o'le, servant, bird, domesticated animal, pl. *w'o-we*

129. Class VIII. *me*

Monosyllabic stems with suffix *-me*. Plurals in *we*. All inanimate.

kem'e, buckskin (pl. *ke'we*)

ʔam'e, club (pl. *ʔa'we*)

tem'e, board (pl. *te'we*)

sam'e, bone (pl. *sa'we*; cf. *sa'le*, bowl, pl. also *sa'we*)

130. Class IX. *ne*

Nouns in *ne*, plurals in *-we*, with lengthening of preceding vowel. To this class belong all nouns based on verbal or neutral stems. The ending is undoubtedly made up of two elements, an *-n*, which is the same nominalizing and subordinating element found in participals, etc., and *-ne* nominal suffix indicating singular. In the plural, the *-n* disappears before *-w* (See ¶ 6.) The great majority of inanimate nouns are of this type.

p'a'in'e, robe (*pa-*, to wear or put over shoulder); pl. *pa'i'we*
yäton'e, day, from *yäto*, to cross over, hence "a passing over"
of the sun

yätonan'e, any garment worn over one shoulder (*yä'tonaye*,
resultative of *yäto*); pl. *ya'tona'we*

pi'k'aian'e, string, something to tie with; pl. *pi'k'aia'we* (*pi'k'aia*,
to tie or be tied)

asin'e, hand

telik'inan'e, prayerstick

ma'kinan'e, sewing machine (Spanish *máquina*)

131. Class X. Collectives

Collective nouns in *-we*; used in plural only.

k'äwe, water

hawe, alfalfa, hay

make'we, coals

ma'we, white crystalline substance (especially salt)

owe, meal

k'äwe, wheat

132. Class XI. Abstract Nouns in *-kä*. No plural. Many of these are the infinitives of active and static verbs.

otsiakä, virility (*otsi*, male)

lanakä, size (*lana*, large, from *la'a*, to become large)

otakä, dancing (*ota-*, to dance)

yäto'kä, sun

133. Class XII. 'ona, koa

Verbal nouns (agentive) in -'ona and koa. (See ¶ 115). Plurals in a-.
mosona, leader; pl. *a'mosona* (*məsiye*, he is a leader)
te'ona, creature; pl. *a'te'ona* (*teaye*, he lives)
teakoa, the one who was, i. e. the deceased; pl. *a'teakoa* (from
teaye)

134. Class XIII. -kwe, people

halo'kwe, Ant people (name of a curing society from *halo*,
red ant)
yätoḱä'kwe, sun people, name of a clan (*yätoḱä*, sun, from *yäto*,
to cross over)
yätona'kwe, neighbors in the same house group (*yätonaye*,
passive of *yäto*, to cross over)
tsihe'k'öcona'kwe, the people who wash the scalp (important
personages in the Scalp Dance)

135. Class XIV. Adjectives used as Nouns

Plurals in a-.

lo'o, hard (also it is hard.); pl. *a'lo'o*, hard things, beads, (not
any hard objects.)
ḱowa, ancient, native; pl. *a'ḱowa*, ancient or native ones, i. e.
corn plants (ritualistic name)
tsana, small, little one, i. e. child; pl. *a'tsana*

136. Case

The noun has three cases, subjective, objective, and oblique (including the genitive and dative). The explicit differentiation of subject and object is not a grammatical requirement except in cases of ambiguity. Usually it can be inferred from word order, from indications in the verb, or from the general context. The usual word order is subject, object, verb. Frequently the object is incorporated into the predicative complex. It is never necessary to express by explicit means the subject of an intransitive verb. A noun in juxtaposition is assumed to be the subject.

mi' lo'ok'än'a, the ears of corn will be hard 416:14

s'an tsita telitokwin kwatonan, so her mother will go into the
other room 415:8

Similarly a noun juxtaposed to a transitive verb, if no independent pronouns are used, is assumed to be the subject of the verb, the object being inferred to be an unexpressed third person:

Napatu cemaḱä, *Napatu* sent for him 400:11

halikwi ainaḱä, the witch killed her 402:37

The expression of case in the pronoun is obligatory, so that when an independent pronoun is used as subject or object, the pronoun

bears the burden of syntactic expression and the noun completes the sentence.

e. g., *ho' patcu ainakä*, I killed a Navajo (*ho'*, subjective pronoun see ¶ 137)

aktsik hom yaktokä, the boy struck me

P'o'n atine'na, he will tell you (*P'o'n* < *P'o'na*, objective pronoun)

maḱi hom anapekä, the young woman scolded me

However, where the subject is an unnamed third person, or where two nouns are used as subject and object, ambiguity may be avoided by the use of the demonstrative suffix *-ona*, the one, (cf. agentive and relative clauses, and verbal nouns in *-ona*), affixed to the object.

e'lactok'ona le'anikwa, he said this to the girl (to her)

(cf. *e'lactok le'anikwa*, the girl said this to him)

patcu ainakä, the Navajo killed him

patc'ona ainakä, he killed the Navajo

e'lactok'ona seto'una, she will place it on the girl's back 417:33

maḱ'ona ank'ep'sana, he delighted in a young matron 399:5

uwanam'i e'lactok'ona hanlinapkä, the Uwanami stole the girl.

Z 192:26

maḱ'ona ainakoa, the one who had killed the young woman

403:44

This is used alike to distinguish either direct or indirect object from subject. There is no way of expressing distinction between direct and indirect object in the noun.

Proper names, and terms of relationship used as proper names, sometimes take the objective ending *-ya* in the objective relationship.

tatcuya cemace, call Father Z 52:3

but *an tatc'ona cemace*, call his father

patcu an oye hom tatc'ona anap'ekä, the Navajo's wife scolded

my father Z 37:100

Relationship between nouns, whether possessive or partitive, is expressed by the use of possessive pronouns (see personal pronouns, ¶ 137).

tsi'ta an utcun, mother's dress

k'äkwen an he'in'e, the wall of the house

but also *e'lactok'ona a'lacina'* (*we*), the girl's parents Z 189:60

an tatcona k'äpin ho'i, her father's raw people... Z 187:20

maḱ'on an a'papa, the young woman's brothers 403:42

hom käwona tumokwawe, my sister's stockings 421:20

The true dative or genitive relation, where the object of possession is not named, is expressed, except in the case of proper names, and terms of relationship, by the suffix *'ona*, sometimes followed by the genitive case of the pronoun (see ¶ 137):

lukä lacik'on a'ni, this is the old man's or, this is for the old man
(literally, this the old man, the one, his)

kwa hom han'ona team'e, they are not my sister's Z 9:64

but also:

yatcun a'ni, the month's or for the month 421:13

ots an tsitanan, for the man's mother 419:48

tsit a'ni her mother's, or for her mother, 418:36

Proper names, and terms of relationship when used as proper names, have a special genitive case ending in *-aiya*:

luk Flolaiya, this is Flola's

luk tsitaiya, this is Mother's, or this is for Mother

137—143. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

137. Independent Personal Pronouns

Independent personal pronouns are used in the expression of common syntactic relations. They are inflected for person, number and case. There are three persons, first, second and third, and three numbers, singular, dual and plural. There are no distinctions in the plural, such as inclusive and exclusive. The dual subjective pronouns are the same as the plural subjective (except third person). Duality is indicated by the singular verb. In the third person subjective, only dual is expressed.

There are four cases, subjective, objective, genitive and dative.

There are no independent pronouns for the third person subjective or objective, singular and plural. The dual pronoun is fully inflected. However, pronominal prefixes related to the third person possessive pronouns are frequently incorporated into the verb, but these are fixed and remain the same regardless of person of reference. (See ¶¶ 37, 38)

leskwaḱä, so he said (*les*, thus; *ik^u-*, stem, say; *a*, conjugating vowel; *ḱä*, past tense singular)

lesanikwaḱä, so he said to her

hom lesanikwaḱä, so he said to me (*hom*, me; *les*, thus; *an*, singular pronominal object; *ikwaḱä*, he said)

The complete system of independent pronouns is as follows:

	First Person		
	Singular	Dual	Plural
Subjective	<i>ho'o (ho')</i>	<i>hon</i>	<i>hon</i>
Objective	<i>hom</i>	<i>ho'na (ho', ho'n)¹</i>	<i>ho'na (ho', ho'n)</i>
Genitive	<i>homa</i>	<i>ho'na</i>	<i>ho'na'wa</i>
Dative	<i>homan</i>	<i>ho'nan</i>	<i>ho'na'wan</i>

¹ Contracted forms, which occur more commonly than the full forms, given in parentheses.

Second Person

Subjective	<i>p'o'o (p'o')</i>	<i>p'on</i>	<i>p'on</i>
Objective	<i>p'om</i>	<i>p'o'na (p'o', p'o'n)</i>	<i>p'o'na (p'o', p'o'n)</i>
Genitive	<i>p'oma</i>	<i>p'o'na</i>	<i>p'o'na-wa</i>
Dative	<i>p'oman</i>	<i>p'o'nan</i>	<i>p'o'na-wan</i>

Third Person

Subjective	—	<i>a'tci (a'tc)</i>	—
Objective	—	<i>(a'tcia, a'tci)</i> <i>a'tcinaiya</i>	—
Genitive	<i>a'ni</i>	<i>a'tcinaiya</i>	<i>a'wa</i>
Dative	<i>an</i>	<i>a'tcinaiyan</i>	<i>a'wan</i>

Incorporated forms *an-*, *a'wan-*, are frequent, especially as direct object. The reflexive *i-* should be mentioned also. See ¶ 41.

The subjective pronoun is used as the subject of any verb, transitive or intransitive. The objective pronoun is frequently used for indirect as well as direct object. In the sentence *hom ukä*, he gave it to me, "me" is in the objective case, "he" and "it" being third person are not expressed. The genitive is employed for predicating possession, "it is mine." The dative has the significance "for me."

- p'o' lacit'u*, may you grow old (*p'o'*, subject) 397:5
a'tci a'nuwa, they (dual) will go (*a'tci*, dual subject) 419:47
p'o' mak'ona ainakä, you killed the woman (*p'o'*, subject) 405:70
hon latakan a'kä, we (two) went hunting (*hon*, dual, subject) (see ¶ 43) 423:51
hon latena-we, we killed them (*hon*, plural, with plural verb) 405:69
ho' tsanap'a, when I was small (*ho'* subject) Z 74:22
Poyakwin ho' imo'kä, I was staying at *Poyakwi* (*ho'* subject) Z 88:23
p'o'na lakna'käpapte, even though you have been beaten (*p'o'na*, objective; the verb is resultative, literally, "even though it has been beaten on you") 407:103
a'tcia aniktohna'än-a, they will be met (*a'tcia*, dual, 3rd pers. objective; see above) 418:31
ho'na a'wana'tsumena-we, he tries us (*ho'na*, object) 407:101
kwa p'om ho' alotena'ma, I never came near you 400:15
p'o'na hon a'wantehackäna-wa, we shall make you suffer 408:117
a'tcia kwanlea-ya'kä, they dressed them (dual) Z 164:38
an hepalo'kä, they made sweet corncakes for him (*an*, objective pronoun for indirect object. 425:81
an ak'onap'kä, they dug a grave for her 403:42

hom a wutsi, give them to me (*hom*, indirect object; *a*- plural object, (see ¶ 46)

ho'n aiyoḱä, they took it from us 424:53

ho' an acan'iha, I will make one for him Z 4:77

ʔom ho' an ico'aiya'u, I engage you to work for him.

In all the examples above, the objective case is used for indirect object, but usually this relationship is expressed by the dative:

homan ik'atikä, she is angry at me

homan aca, she made it for me Z 78:14

homan mi'le eto'u, put an ear of corn down for me 415:7

ho'na-wan hap'o, gather about us! 404:61

homan ʔo' ʔsit'u, you will be my partner (*homan*, for me, *ʔo'* you, subject; *ʔsit'u*, may you be a man) Z 71:80

homan ʔo' taku il'i, you have a necklace of mine (or for me) Z 38:9

artcian te'u, do it to them (dual, dative) Z 152:88

a'wa ona p'otca, their roads are bad (literally, the road is bad for them) Z 8:51

a'wa hom tcauwe woliḱä, my children will fill them for them Z 14:53

yam tsit a'ni, her (own) mother's (*a'ni*, genitive) 418:36

luḱ a'ni, this one is his

komackona hap'okä — *koyemci a'wa*, great quantities were gathered, the Koyemci's Z 12:23

kwa teuhoti hom'a, they are no one's but mine Z 9:64

luḱ hom'a, this is mine! Z 162:99

138. Possessive Pronouns

The possessive pronouns also are always independent, and are related to the independent personal pronouns. There is only one set of possessive pronouns:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First Person	<i>hom</i> (my)	<i>ho'na</i>	<i>ho'na-wan</i>
Second Person	<i>ʔom</i> (your)	<i>ʔo'na</i>	<i>ʔo'na-wan</i>
Third Person	<i>an</i> (his)	{ <i>artcia</i> <i>artcinaya</i>	<i>a'wan</i>

The reflexive *yam* (my, your, his, their, our, own) is used for all persons and numbers, where reference is to the subject of the clause wherein it is contained. This need not necessarily be the primary subject of discourse.

The pronoun *a'wa* is used as an impersonal possessive pronoun, "one's".

a-wa a-lacina, our parents, ("yours, mine, everyone's")

Z 81:80

a-wa tcaice, they are our children (literally one's children)

Z 8:44

a-wa wowe, our animals

a-wa ts'emakwi k'okcap'a, if your thoughts are good Z 56:78

a-wa tateu ai'yatsante, even if one's father is ugly Z 57:95

139. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are few. There are three sets, one based on *lukä*, this, on *uhsi*, that, and *le-*, this much.

lukä, this, this one, is often used as third person subject of a verb even where the demonstrative idea is not conspicuous. The plural is *lukno*, these. There are emphatic forms *luk'on* and *luknia*, and *luk'on'te*, this very one.

uhsi means both that and those. The emphatic form *uhsona*, that one, is more frequently used. There are other forms, *uhsite* and *uhsitapte*, that very one.

lesi and *le-wi* (also *lesite* and *le-wite*), "all," literally, "this much," are related to, and are used preceding and following an enumeration, actual or implied.

140. Indefinite Pronouns

The language is rich in indefinite pronouns. Almost all of these are based on the stems *tcuwa*, someone, who; *kwa*, something; and *ko-* (*ko'lea*, *kona*), something; especially things in a conceptual rather than an actual existence.

Among those derived from *tcuwa*:

tcuwaiya, someone's

tcuwaḥon, someone

tcuwahol, (*tcuhol*) anyone (also, no one; *hol* is an indefinite demonstrative adverb, "somewhere")

tcuwetcam'e, every single one (literally, not any left out)

tcuwatikoli, whichever one of them

and the interrogatives *tcuwapi*, who? (pl. *tcuwampi*); *tcuwatikoli*, which one?; *tcuwantikäp*, which ones?

kwa is used to introduce all negative statements, the actual negative suffix being incorporated in the verb. (For negative constructions see below, • 164).

Some of the words derived from *kwa*:

kwahol, something (*kwa kwahol*, nothing)

kwahol temla, everything, all kinds

kwakona, something, whatever

kwa tcuwa, no one

kwatik, some kind

kwatikoł, somewhat; also, some one of them, anyone, anyhow.

Based on *ko-*:

ko'wi, a little, a few

komackona, many, much

kokona, something or other

ko'na, each (*ko'na yäto'we*, every day; *yam ko'n antse'man'ona*, as much as he wanted)

ko'lea, something (unknown); *ko'lea tet'unak'än'a*, they will see what will happen,

kolehoł, whatever; *yam kolehołi*, whatever he has, i. e. power; *yam kolehol lesnukoa*, whatever he did (literally, his whatever that which he thus did)

There are a few more pronouns: *hilapacte*, a single one; *iteh'o*, both; *ham'e*, some, others; and the numeral pronouns (see ¶ 142).

141. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are *kwa'pi*, what? *tcuwapi*, who? (pl. *tcuwampi*); *kowip*, how much? how many?

142. Numeral Pronouns

There is one set, used for enumeration of all kinds of things, animate and inanimate. The system of enumeration is based on five.

1. *t'opa* (*t'opin'te*, just one)
2. *kwil'i*
3. *ha'i*
4. *a'witen* (in counting, *a'wite*)
5. *apte*
6. *t'opalekä* (obviously *t'opa*, one, and another element, but the derivation of the second element is unknown)
7. *kwililekä*
8. *ha'elekä*
9. *tenalekä*
10. *aste'mla* (*asin'e*, hand, fingers; *temla*, all)
11. *aste'mla t'opa yälto* (ten one on top)
12. *aste'mla kwili yälto*
20. *kwilikän aste'mla* (twice ten)
30. *ha'ikän aste'mla*
100. *asi aste'mla* (ten hands)
200. *kwilikän asi astem'ta*

143. *Numeral Adjectives and Adverbs*

first: *ʔopniḱän*

second: *kwiliḱän*, etc.

These forms are rarely used, the numeral adverbs are more idiomatic.

kwiliḱän aḱa, the second time (the second row?)

ha'ikän aḱa, the third time, etc.

also *tcimnaḱwe*, the first time; *tcimnaḱwe yätoḱye*, it is the first day (literally, for the first time it is day)

144—148. ADVERBS

144. *The demonstrative and locative adverbs*

liḱa (with its variants, *liḱno*, *liḱḱo*, *liḱḱonḱte*), here, right here
lot, around here

laḱwa (*lak^u*), over there where we face; *lak^uhol*, somewhere over there

lahnaḱo, different places over there where we face

lehok^u, yonder (out of sight)

lathok^u, thither (out of sight)

liḱan, *liḱanem*, *liḱani*, hither, (here behind me out of sight)

lalik, nearby (to that place); *laliḱäk'on*, just a little way off (from there)

ist, *isk'on*, *iskünk'on*, there, in that place

isk'onholi, about there

isk'onḱte, right there

lḱte, near

hol, *holno*, somewhere;

holnotikot, wherever

holomace, *holomackona*, far away (*holomackän*, obsolete)

145. *Adverbs of position and motion*

ḱ'ält, hither, in this (or that) direction

ik'ält, back

anikton, face to face

wəḱäp'a, side by side

kwilimakte, on both sides

weciḱä, on the left side

yälu, behind (verbal stem *yäluḱye* or *yälu*, he is behind)

yälukwinaḱa, towards the rear

ehkwi, ahead (verbal stem)

yälto, on top (verbal stem)

ule, within (verbal stem)

maniḱä, below

iyama, above
itiwa, in the middle
palto, at the end (verbal stem)
alakwi, against (verbal stem)
iwa'hina, across (from *iwahi*, to cross over)
masikwi, in back (of a person, tree, etc.)
hekāpanan, behind (wall, house, etc.)

146. Adverbs of time

tcim (tcimi), next, there
tcim p'ap, right away
si', so then (in connected narrative)
lal, then, also
ta'htcic, meanwhile, on the other hand
tenalana, *tenala'ap*, after a while, later, late (lit. time having past)
ista'na, next time
atnas, *atnate*, the last time
camli, early
p'ecukwa, yesterday
tem, *temi*, still
kwatem, not yet
p'ewani (p'ewap, p'ewapi), tomorrow
itcite, this morning
p'elapa, at night
yätokwi, in the day time
yäto'ma, *yätonil'i*, all day
le'tewa, last year (this much, or all the time having passed?)

147. Adverbs of Manner

le'na, *lesna*, thus (used in composition,
le'kwe'a, so he says; *lesnuḱä*, so he did)
hic, very
tomt, just
te'tci, only
elehol, nearly
ace, exceedingly
eletokna, carefully
ihote, easily, etc.

148. Formation of Adverbs from Adjectives

Adverbs may be formed from adjectival stems with the suffix *-ci*.
k'e'tsanici, happily (from *k'e'tsana*, happy)
teclanici, fearfully (*teclana*, afraid)

149—158. POSTPOSITIONS AND CONNECTIVES

Instrument, location, time, duration, purpose and mode of action are all expressed by the use of postpositions attached to nouns or verbal nouns, including all the participial and gerundive forms of the verb.

150. *-wa, at*

Locative; ending of place names

koliwa, Crow's Nest (stem *ko*) Z 32:99

p'i'nawan, at Wind Place (*p'i'na*, wind) Z 29:51

kołuwalawa, at Kacina Village (*ko*, kacina; also crow

łuwala[n'e], village, literally, standing things) Z 104:36

151. *-n or -an, at*

pi'tanan yaltonan, laying it across the bow (*pi'tan'e*, bow)
hom ike'nan uwetikä, my heart hurt; literally, it hurt in my
 heart (*ike'na*, heart) Z 20:60 (cf. 405:69)

ap'ewan ho' wotukä, I put them down on the floor Z 5:85

pak'usna-pattan, by Dry Wood Edge Z 98:20

yälawan, in the mountains Z 59:41

k'ätsowan, to the summit, 422:37

152. *-kona, koa, at (distributive), by, along.*

The two forms are used interchangeably.

teateina paltokoa, all around the edge of the field (cf. *teateina*
paltokwin, at the end of the field, Z 130:48)

oneala kwa'inakoa, wherever (their) roads come forth

telipaltokoa, at the edge of the wilderness

lemanakoa, all over the board (*tem'e*, board; *an*, on; *a* (?);
koa, along)

patekwikona, in all the corrals 425:87

arwan k'äkwe'kona, in all their houses 425:76

contelakoa, all over his face 403:51

miya'kona, among the corn plants Z 252:39

also *pewanakona*, every day Z 210:69

153. *ten'a, along*

onealaten'a, along the road of meal Z 188:41

panaya ten'a, where the woods are

k'ätut-ulapna teala ten'a, along the shore of the encircling ocean
 Z 190:75

also *pebinan ten'a*, all night long Z 239:74

154. *kwi*, *kwin*, *at*, *to*, *where*, *place*; also, rarely, *with*.

Attached to nouns, meaning "at."

iyamulohnakwin, in the upper world (*ulohnan'e*, world)

Z 225:76 (cf. *ulohnanankwin*, Z 225:84)

sakäp'oakwin te'tcinan, reaching (to) the pile of bones Z 226:5

letsilokwin-te, right on the ladder Z 110:42 (see ¶ 113 for *-te*)

yam hecotananakwin ho' i-kä, back to my own house I have come (*hecotan'e*, ceremonial for "house"; *an(a)*, at; *kwin*, to)

Z 110:48

awernakwin te'tcip, reaching the doorway Z 123:13

pe'li'tokwin kwatonan, entering the inner room 415:8

As a common termination of place names:

hecok'opikwi, (place name) Inside Corner Place; *hecokopi*, inner corner between two walls Z 101:65

kuyakwin, (place name) Clay place Z 99:25

pesak'aiyälakwin, (place name) Bald Mountain (*pe*, space; *sak'äia*, naked; *yäla*, mountain; *kwin*) Z 100:63

p'ocoakwin, (place name) Bending Grass Spring Z 107:87

a'k'äp-elakwin, Rock Slab Standing 422:28

Attached to verbal forms, participles, or verbal stems, meaning "where":

ele'lokwin, burial ground (*ele(we)*, corpses; (*wə*)*lo*, bury, plural stem; *kwi*) 403:44

pat'a elakwi, where the tree stands

inkwin, where he stays, i. e. his home (*im'e*, to stay)

a'teakwin, where they live (*a-*, plural; *teaye*, to live; *kwin*)

tcualkwin, where she is lying (*tcuale*, to be lying down) 400:11

k'ätunankwin, where she was irrigating

ye'makunankwi, where it comes up

also *p'ekwin* (or *pekwin'e*, pl. *pekwi'we*), speaker, a religious officer, from *p'e*, to speak

"Along", "with":

topaktsikwin, with another boy.... 424:56

This is an idiom common in daily speech, but rare in texts.

155. *-tea*, *where* (*when*)

This is possibly related to the stem *te-*, to exist.

hon i-kätea, where we have come

kwatokätea'koa, at the place where she had come in (*kwato*, come in; *kä*, past; *tea*, where; *koa*, along)

pat'a elakätea, where the tree had been standing (cf. *pat'a elakwi*, where the tree stands)

yam ainakätean, at the place where he had been killed

yatciḡātea, where the branch had been (*yatcin'e*, branch; *yatci'ka*, it was a branch) Z 200:83

tcimik'ānapḡātea, the Place of Emergence (*tcimi*, adverb, then, next; *-ḡā-*, causative; *-nap-*, plural; *ḡā*, past; *tea*, where); also, at the time of the First Beginning

yam itoḡātean, at the place where he had been eating Z 219:57

yam anhetocnapḡātea, at the place about which they had told him Z 241:19

As a temporal connective:

itonapḡātea, right after they had eaten

t'ewaḡātea, when the time had passed

156. *tekwin*, when, where, where it is

This is probably derived from *teaye*, it is, + *kwin*

ho'no a'ho'i a'wiyoḡā tekwi, ever since we have grown up
Z 54:45

oḡā tekwi, after it had been made

atela imiḡā tekwi, where the mountain had fallen Z 54:35

elet'un tekwin (or *elet'untea*), wherever it may be all right

tcimik'ānapḡā tekwin, same as *tcimik'ānapḡā tea* Z 29:51

kwin or *tekwin* are occasionally used to express purpose, where strength of desire is to be expressed:

ohaktokwi uhs ho' antecama, to carry the bowl of meal on my head, that is what I wish Z 126:78

p'eyenankwin ihatiarwa, listen to what he has to say Z 137:90
an inananakwin ho' ikwanik'ā, in order to pay my debt to him
I am working

litanakwi kwa itonapcukwa, so that it may rain they must not eat

i'leanaḡā tekwin atewukol'ā, they had nothing at all to wear (for something to wear they were poor)

cha uknaḡātekwin oknaḡ'ān'a, he will grind to pay for the dress that was given her (*cha*, woman's dress; *uknaḡā*, it was given; *tekwin*, for that; *oknaḡ'āna*, it will be ground) 418:38

157. *ak'ä*, with, by means of, because of, on account of, in order to.

Attached to nouns its meaning is usually instrumental.

to'nivak'ä te'we a'piḡ'aiap'an'a, with ropes the jars will be tied
Z 3:37

yam cotsito motsewak'ä i'cuwacnan, with their sweet corn rolls purifying themselves 423:40

ḡätsenak'ä wak'oconapḡā, with cold water . . . they washed them 425:79

yam t'am ak'ä, with his club 403:51

Following participial clauses with the meaning because of or therefore, in order to (see ¶ 112):

up'inan p'otan ak'ä, because the air was full of snow (snow, being full, because of) Z 214:49

k'ovi yätcunan ak'ä cet'an mola kwai'in'a, stepping on it a little so that the cornstalk may come out straight Z 1:6

P'o'narwan e'lonan'nan ho' tse'mak telakwikän'iyahnan ak'ä ho' iya, because I wish to marry your daughter I have come (*P'o'narwan*, your; *e'lonan'nan*, girl towards; *ho'*, I; *tse'mak*, thoughts; *telakwikän'iyahnan*, having been about to touch; *ak'ä*, therefore; *ho'*, I; *iya*, come) Z 124:21

P'on cyemc il'in ak'ä tcuwa aiyulacin'ak'än'a, whichever of you has a husband will be held in respect (*P'on*, you; *cyemc*, husband; *il'in*, having; *ak'ä*, therefore; *tcuwa*, anyone; *aiyulacin'ak'än'a*, will be respected) Z 124:23

Attached to verbal nouns (*koa*, 'ona, *t'un'ona*) with the meaning because of, in order to:

litot'un'ona, a'towa i'ho-iya-k'änaptun'ona ak'äs i'tina'kä, that it might rain, that the corn might reach maturity, for this now they sat down

lesna te'onak'ä, because of this (this, the one that is, because of) *ho' acet'un'on ak'ä*, in order that I might die (I, the one who might be about to die, because of)

As a connective, because, so that:

el to' itcianam't'u ak'ä P'o' halowil'i, do not be lazy so that you may be lucky Z 21:86

itop k'ökcik'än'a ak'ä yam atcian'e yaknahan'a, when he is eating it will be all right because he will let go of his knife Z 36:71

piyahnapkä ak'ä peyen'a, they took him down that he might speak 405:64

158. *ak'äp*, because.

It precedes the subordinate clause:

ho' antecema ak'äp, I want it because . . . Z 124:38

ak'äp lukä . . . mosiye, because this one is the chief . . . Z 197:22

158a. *-s*, then.

This is a contraction of the particle *si'*, then, used postpositively. It can be attached to any word in connected discourse. The frequency with which this particle is used varies with different individuals. Certain individuals use it three or four times in every sentence, others not at all.

Pewaps, then next day 415:4

s'ake picnans teuwe wɔlunans . . . so then brushing the grind stones and then putting the corn in . . .

158b. *-ci (-c)* interrogative.

The interrogative particle may be suffixed to any word in the sentence, usually to a pronoun. For examples see ¶ 166.

III. SYNTAX

159. *Predication*

The simplest complete discourse is the predication of an action or of a condition, state, or quality. In Zuni the two types of predication are clearly differentiated. Action or condition with reference to a given field of experience are expressed in verbal suffixes, which differ for active and static verbs based on the same stem. (See ¶ 30)

aklu, he makes a fire (burn, active, present, singular)

akliye, it is burning (burn, static, present, singular)

are examples of the simplest active and static predication concerning the concrete concept of burning.

Other examples:

akcu, he puts him among them (among, active, present, indicative, singular)

akciye, he is among them (among, static, present, indicative, singular)

p'iya'u, he hangs it (hang, active, momentaneous, present, indicative, singular)

p'iyaiye, it hangs (hang, static, present, indicative, singular)

If the stem is not neutral, but active, static predication is expressed by derivation from the participle. See ¶ 67.

Attribution is another form of predication; there is no copulative (*teaye*, it exists, static of *te'u*, he does it, is rarely used in statements of attribution), and the adjective in attributive relations is treated like a static verb:

lem cok'o'kü, the wood was hollow

le ho' tacana'kä, I was so tall (*taca'a*, it gets long)

kwa P'o'na'wan tse'makwi k'ɔkcam'e, your thoughts are bad.

(*kwa*, negative particle; *P'o'na'wan*, your; *tse'makwi*, thoughts, mind; *k'ɔkcom'e*, not good; *k'ɔkci*, good)

P'o P'ehyat'u, may you be valuable. 397: 6

160—162. FUNDAMENTAL SYNTACTIC RELATIONS

160. SUBJECT

Ordinarily subject and predicate are quite distinct and expressed by clearly separate words juxtaposed without connective. The subject may be a noun or a pronoun, and where no subject is expressed, third person pronoun, singular or plural according to number of predicate, is inferred.

A number of cases of subject incorporation, nominal and pronominal, occur, and are discussed in ¶¶ 35—42, and there are traces of an older, more complete system of pronominal incorporation.

a'tc i'yan'a, both would come *a'tci'* both (personal pronoun, third person, dual subject); *i'yan'a*, "come", active, present subjunctive, singular)

le'na a'teakä, thus they lived (*le'na*, adverb, thus; *a'teakä*, "live", static, indicative past, plural)

p'o' a'k'äkä, you sent him away (*p'o'*, second person singular pronoun; *a'k'äkä*, go, causative, active, past indicative, singular) Z. 125:44

hon i'tonapce, let's eat (*hon*, pronoun, first person singular, subjunctive; *i'tonapce*, eat, active, exhortative, plural) Z 125:58

a'tsawaki antecemanapkä, the young men desired her (*a'tsawaki*, youth plural; *antecemanapkä*, desire, active, indicative past, plural) Z. 123:8

p'ena'haiyakäp, the news having spread (*p'ena'*, words; *haiyakäp*, spread, active, past participle) Z. 129:27

kätsana. . . itowena'kä, they ate wild grain (*kätsana*, wheat little; *itowena'kä*, eat, passive, indicative, singular, past, it was eaten)

a'wan itonakä ema'kä, their food was plentiful (*a'wan*, possessive pronoun, third person, plural; *itonakä*, verbal noun, eating; *ema'kä*, much, static, indicative, past, singular)

161. DIRECT OBJECT

The direct object is ordinarily expressed by a separate noun or pronoun, but the nominal object may be incorporated into the verbal complex in first position. Or else it is juxtaposed. Object incorporation is more common than subject incorporation, but is largely a matter of rhetorical choice. The nominal object is usually juxtaposed without case ending or connective following subject and immediately preceding the verb. In cases where there is any ambiguity, the demonstrative or agentive suffix *-ona*, "the one", is affixed to the object.

- laiyohkã*, he got sticks (*la[we]*, sticks; *-yohkã*, take away, active, indicative, past, singular)
- p'sinawace'a*, she is at school (*p'sinawe*, "writing", literally, "marks"; *ace'a*, "make", active, durative, present indicative, singular) Z. 20: 71
- ulohnan ya-k'än'a*, he would finish the world (*ulohnan'e*, world; *ya-k'än'a*, from *ya-*, to get finished, causative, active, present subjunctive, singular)
- p'ehan a'up*, putting down the bundle (*p'ehan'e*, bundled; *a'up*, putting down one thing, active, momentaneous, present participle, singular) Z 123: 15
- ho' ciwan an e'lonä yi'luna*, I shall marry the priest's daughter (*ho'*, pronoun, first person, singular, subjective; *ciwan'i*, priest; *an*, possessive pronoun, third person singular; *e'lonä*, girl, with demonstrative suffix, indirect object; *yi'luna*, with, active, momentaneous, indicative, future, singular reflexive) Z 123: 10
- uhson antse'man*, desiring that one (*uhsonä*, demonstrative pronoun, that one; *antse'ma*, present participle; stem, *tse'ma*, think)
- anime'a*, he is setting it down (*an-*, object, singular; *ime'a*, active, durative, present, indicative, singular)
- soman ihiki lawaptsiclenapkä*, so they cut prayersticks for me also (*soman*, from *si*, now, plus *homan*, first person, singular dative or genitive; *ihiki*, along with; *lawaptsiclenapkä*, prayersticks cut, active, distributive, indicative, past, plural) Z 20: 77

Independent pronouns are used to express object in first and second person dual. The third person object, singular and plural, is not expressed. However, some verbs have incorporated objective third person pronouns which are not dropped after nominal or pronominal object of another person. (See ¶ 38.) These may be indirect objects.

- som yat'enapkä*, so they laid hold of me (*som*, from *si*, now, plus *hom*, pronoun, third person, singular, objective; *yat'enapkä*, take hold of, active, indicative, past plural) Z 21: 78
- el hom il'am'ekän'iha*, he did not want to have me (*el*, don't; *hom*, personal pronoun, first person singular, objective; *il'am'ekän'iha*, with, active, imminent, past, singular, negative) Z 125:44
- ho' lom tapkän paní-yu*, I have come down to get you (*ho'*, first person, singular, subjective pronoun; *lom*, second person, singular, objective pronoun; *tapkän*, get, infinitive plus *n* (?); *paní-yu*, descend, active, present, singular indicative) Z 226:95

lesanikwanan, thus saying to him (*les-*, thus; *an-*, to him; *ikwanan*, say, present participle, singular)

Syntactic relations are frequently implied by the number of the verb form, participial endings, etc.:

ciwan an e'le a'tsawaki antecemanapkü, the boys wanted the priest's daughter (*ciwan*, priest; *an*, his; *e'le*, girl; *a'tsawaki*, boys [*a-*, plural]; *antecemanapkü*, they wanted; *-nap-*, plural subject) Z 123:8

e'lactok yam a'tatcu yatinekä, the girls told her fathers (*yatinekä*, *y*, plural, indirect object) Z 239:66

yam oye lesanikwakä, he said to his wife (*yam*, reflexive pronoun) Z 238:54

e'lactok oyemci yi'lup . . . an oyemci ant'ewanan, when a girl takes a husband, her husband will stay overnight . . . (the *-p* ending in *yi'lup* indicates a new subject follows) See ¶ 105, 415:1
welihaktonan tucüna ol i'lea'up an hani k'äp i'haktonan sa'l ileaup s'atc a'kä, she set the bowl of stew on her head, took a basket of sweet corn meal; her younger sister set the bowl of water on her head and took a bowl in her hand. Thus the two went. Z 133:20

tsawak unap na'setoye, the boy looked at him and (saw) he was carrying a deer Z 229:56

kwä tsawak uhsonhol tse'manam'en an okcik' at'unan, the boy never thought of that, but scorched the rabbit for her Z 219:49

162. INDIRECT OBJECT

Indirect object, if a noun, is never incorporated. Frequently but not invariably it takes the ending *-ona* (see above, ¶ 136).

The pronouns have a dative which is used to express indirect object as well as other indirect relationships. However, verbs which have *an* incorporated to indicate indirect object take the personal pronoun (if first or second person) in the objective case. (See ¶ 137.)

163. SUBORDINATION

Subordination is expressed by participial constructions, with or without postpositions. See ¶ 105—115 for examples.

164. NEGATION

Negation is expressed in the verb by the suffix *-m-* (*'ma*, *m'e*), with the particle *kwa* introducing the negative clause. The negative suffix varies with tense and aspect.

'ma, active, present

kwa t'on a'p'eyena'ma, you do not speak (*t'on a'p'eye*, you speak)

kwa antecemana'ma, he does not want to (*antecema*, he wants to) 407:104

kwa tem ho' itona'ma, I have not eaten yet. Z 141:70

-*m'e*, static, present

i'natinam'e, without fail

kwa Pinawam'e, they are not staying there (*Pinaïye*, they are staying) 426:98

kwa ho' sama team'e, I am not alone 406:80

kwa an mi lo'am'e voluua, she will set down corn that is not hard (*to'o*, hard) 416:16

kwa k'okcam'e, it is not good Z 9:70

kwa hol on elam'epte, even where the road is not right Z 16:96

-*m'kä*, past tense, active

kwa hatianam'kä, she did not hear Z 130:45

kwa k'onam'kä, he did not cry out 404:52

kwa ho' lesnanam'kä, I did not do that 400:13

-*me'kä*, past, static

kwa i'uname'kä, they (dual) were not like this Z 164:43

kwa t'o' imame'kä, you were not at home

and *tem t'o' kwa ho'i teame'kä*, you were not yet alive Z 38:18

-*mekä*, past, durative and repetitive

kwa yemak'änawamekä, they would not let them come up Z 157:97

kwa onahk'änawamekä, they did not kill any game

kwa itowenawamekä, they did not eat (customary) Z 28:24

-*man'iha*, present, imminent

kwa t'om ho' uknaman'iha, I don't want to give it to you

kwa ho' yemaknaman'iha, I don't want to go up

el hom ilawameküntiha, they didn't want to stay with me Z 140:62

165. NEGATIVE SUBJUNCTIVE

This is expressed by the suffix *-cukwa*:

kwa elcukwa, it would not be right Z 167:2

kwa hou ipakwicukwa, we must not sleep under one blanket!

But also *kwa ipakwamek'än'a*, with same meaning

kwa ankohaticukwa, you would not feel sorry for them! 408:107

kwa alcukwa, she cannot sleep Z 57:97

kwa sa kwihocukwa, they would not throw out the bones Z 31:87

166. NEGATIVE COMMANDS

Prohibitions are expressed in three ways:

1. By present tense, active, with the negative particle *el*, and the negative suffix:

el koyena'ma, don't cry! Z 75:51

el hic ocokwihna'wam'e, don't really cut off his head! Z 86:78

2. The negative subjunctive:

kwa alcukwa, you must not sleep Z 40:46

kwa etcucukwa, you must not leave anything over Z 152:93

Also *el to' elate'una'man'a*, do not neglect to Z 240:90

3. The optative, with the negative particle *el* and the negative suffix:

el to' tse'manamtu, don't worry!

el ton tenik'anamtu, better not delay! Z 166:77

el lesna teametu, oh, don't do that! Z 75:54

el to' penamtu, don't you talk! Z 87:4

el to' itcianamtu, do not be lazy Z 21:86

166. INTERROGATION

Queries are expressed by interrogative pronouns or adverbs or by the suffix *ci'(c)* attached to any word in the sentence.

kop ikwe'a, what does he say? Z 98:13

tcuwap ho'na tatcu, who is our father? Z 147:90

Ponc a'wia, have you come? Z 139:29

kec to' yatinekä, have you told them already? Z 173:28

hom papa aiyu'ya'nici', does my elder brother know?

a'käci', has he gone?

hapic tene'aci', or is he singing? Z 203:48

kwac a'tci acuwatina'cukwa', don't you want to speak to them?
Z 157:100

mac ho' penap kwa kole'a'cukwa', well, if I speak nothing will
happen? Z 163:9

Rhetorical questions are expressed by the particle *holi*, "whether", following the subjunctive gerund.

topehol ainan'a itonuwanholi', can you eat the one you kill?
408:118

167. QUOTATIONS

Direct quotations are introduced by the appropriate form of the quotative *leskwa*, thus he said, and followed by *te'kwa*, so he said. Examples from the texts are too numerous to require quotation.

Indirect quotations are expressed by relative clauses in *-ona* or *-koa*.

komackona ton yam iyanaiyu'yanap'ona peyeyä, he says that
there are many of you who know one another 407:96

ko'tehol yam na'l aina'koa peyep, he told them all about
how he had killed the deer Z 184:52

ko'lea hom tsit ante'ukona ho yatinap, when I tell them all
that my mother did to me Z 107:93

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FOREWORD

The material presented in the Grammar of the Coeur d'Alene¹ Language, together with a body of texts, was obtained on two field trips in the summers of 1927 and 1929 in Northern Idaho. These trips were made possible by grants from the Committee for the Study of Indian Languages, Council of Learned Societies, and grateful acknowledgment is here made to that body for the author's opportunity to begin a study of Salishan languages. In 1935 and 1936 it was possible to have Lawrence Nicodemus, a young Coeur d'Alene man, at Columbia University where the study was continued. The Columbia University Council for Research in the Humanities through a grant, made it possible to continue the work beyond a point allowed by all other financial means and this aid is greatly appreciated.

The source of the texts was twofold. Stories were obtained from Dorothy Nicodemus, widow of Teit's chief informant (RBAE 45), and from Tom Miyal. Dorothy's daughter-in-law, Julia Antelope Nicodemus, cooperated in grammatical analysis in a most interested and stimulating way. Not only did she do all in her power to help, but she encouraged her son Lawrence to learn to write. It is to him I owe such careful phonetic differentiations as *k^{wi}'ts-* and *k^{wi}yts-* (§ 180) and other fine distinctions, which have since turned out to have grammatical and historical significance. Interest such as that displayed by Julia and Lawrence make this kind of work, not only a great satisfaction in itself, but add to it rare pleasure.

Besides the cooperation of the Coeur d'Alene, I have had during the long period of my study, the constant, encouraging, and never-failing stimulation of discussion and help from Professor Franz Boas. From the field where he was recording Chehalis, I had frequent letters with guiding notes during my first year with the Coeur d'Alene. Since then he has never been so deeply immersed in his own studies that he could not be induced to discuss patiently a moot point in Salish, or to serve as critical audience before whom to clarify a point. Furthermore, he has placed at my disposal his own massive material.

¹ The name of the tribe is a French one, Coeur d'Alène, which was derived from a tale which considered "Awl Heart" a designation of bravery. In this work the name will be written as it is for the city and the lake of the same name in Idaho. that is, without the accent.

Among this material is a comparative vocabulary collected in part by Teit, in part by himself, and a large, unfinished manuscript by Haeberlin which has served to show examples from various Salishan dialects not otherwise available. I have of course used the published material, particularly for understanding, for I do not present much comparison. The articles are few and I list them here:

Franz Boas. *12th and Final Report on the North-western Tribes of Canada*. Br. Ass. for Advancement of Sc. 1898.

A Chehalis Text. Int. Jour. Am. Ling. VIII: 103-110.

Franz Boas and Herman Haerberlin. *Sound Shifts in Salishan Dialects*. Int. Jour. Am. Ling. IV: 117-136.

Herman Haerberlin. *Types of Reduplication in the Salish Dialects*. Int. Jour. Am. Ling. I: 154-174.

Giorda (Jesuit Fathers). *A Dictionary of the Kalispel Language*.

Mengarini, Reverend Gregory. *A Selish or Flat-head Grammar*. 1861.

The editor and the writer regret that it is impossible to give text references in the grammar since so far we have not been able to publish the texts. For this reason and also with the general and comparative problems of Salish in mind, illustrative examples have been selected with great care, and in many cases a large number have been given. Furthermore, they have been selected to bring out various points such as vowel and accent changes and treatment of different kinds of stems. When the meanings of elements are unknown; when they are known, but examples are rare; when they have suggestive comparative value, all the known examples have been given.

The following abbreviations have been used:

caus.	causative	nom.	nominal, nominalizing
compl.	completive	pass.	passive
cont.	continuative	pl.	plural
cust.	customary	poss.	possessive
dim.	diminutive	prog.	progressive
dis.	distributive	rec.	reciprocal
fut.	future	redupl.	reduplication
glot.	glottalization	reflex.	reflexive
imp.	imperative	rep.	repetition or repetitive
inten.	intentional	s.	singular
intr.	intransitive	tr.	transitive
neg.	negative		

1—4. INTRODUCTION

The Salishan languages are divided into two classes, in one of which *tc* takes the place of *k* in the other.

1. Coeur d'Alene is one of the *tc*-languages of the Interior Salish. Phonetically, it shows many characteristics of other Northwest languages, Salishan, or others, its outstanding development being the *r*-series. The most specific morphological differentiation between this and other languages of the family is the development of prefixes which denote direction, to such an extent as to characterize the language and to set it somewhat apart from the other languages of the family, if we are to judge from such materials of those languages as are available.

2. Coeur d'Alene has many of the general features common to the known Salishan groups. Phonetically it is harsh-sounding due to the prevalence of palatal, faucal, and particularly, strongly glottalized sounds. The habit of slurring or weakening vowels so that complex consonant clusters result is marked, although it is not as exaggerated as among some of the tribes farther north and west, Bella Coola, for example.

3. Apparently the most stable feature of the Salishan family is the use of suffixes denoting body-parts and local ideas: this characteristic is distinctive for Coeur d'Alene as well. A second general morphological process distinctive of the family is the use of reduplication to express numerous ideas, the most widespread of which are diminution, plurality, and distribution. Coeur d'Alene uses reduplication to express other ideas as well, employing several types of initial, as well as medial and final, reduplication. I am mentioning only the most general contrasts and comparisons in this place, for I hope to make some comparative suggestions after the material has been presented (§§ 574–589, 859–876).

4. One more general observation is concerned with the place of Coeur d'Alene among the languages of the Northwest. The use of onomatopoeia is so marked in Coeur d'Alene that I know of no language with which it may be compared except Chinook, a language unrelated except as contiguity may tend to relate two linguistic families through historical causes.

5—7. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

5. The Coeur d'Alene language employs a large proportion of all possible grammatical processes. Of these affixing is the most obvious. Suffixes perform a variety of purposes; the number and kind of prefixes perhaps distinguish the language from other members of the Salishan family. Reduplication is a process used

in all its forms: duplication, initial, medial and final. Fine differentiation in meanings may be shown by stress accent. Tone variations, especially complicated glides, with lengthened vowels express emotional states and rhetorical patterns. Closely related to accent, in fact not to be separated from it, is vocalic dissimilation or contact influence, developed to an extraordinary degree, in which the consonants of different portions of the word affect the vowels, they in turn being affected by the accent.

6. Position is an important syntactic device. Not only is the position of words in the sentence significant, but there are fixed rules as to the position of affixes with respect to one another as well as of syntactic elements which seem at times to be independent, at others, to be prefixes. The position of words may indicate case which is not developed highly from a formal point of view. Still another grammatical device is the use of glottalization.

7. There has long been some evidence to suggest that the characteristic Salishan suffixes are derivatives of nominal forms, if they were not originally actual nouns. Coeur d'Alene adds to this evidence for it furnishes examples of noun incorporation in the verbal complex. Furthermore, verbs which may be used independently, may also be compounded. When this happens the second verb has a participial form and as such is incorporated in the verb complex. The relationship between nominal and verbal stems is so close that they are often not distinguishable. There is some evidence that certain verbal stems are derived from affixes or the reverse, or from a combination of affixes.

8-33. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

8. An understanding of the Coeur d'Alene verbal complex is almost an understanding of the language. It consists of the verb-stem to which are added innumerable affixes. The stem never assimilates with the affixes so as to obscure its phonetic quality.

9. As the discussion proceeds it will be seen that, with few exceptions, ideas are expressed, not by prefixes or suffixes alone, but rather by a combination of both, so that an idea expressed by one or the other alone may be greatly modified when the two are combined. The combinations are often idiomatic but, even then, each affix may retain its formal identity. The following is consequently a summary of the process of affixing rather than of its sub-processes, prefixing and suffixing.

10. Prefixes express ideas of place, aspect or condition, time and manner, and most characteristically, direction. Prefixes of one type denote locative ideas such as "in, within an enclosed space",

“on, in the sense of being attached and part of”, “on, in the sense of being attached and not a part of”, “in pursuit of, after”, etc.

11. Another group, partly in connection with specific pronominal suffixes, denotes aspect, of which there are three, completive, customary, and continuative. The first two series are treated in a similar way, but the continuative seems to be derived from some series entirely different from the other two.

12. The completive is indicated by a suffix to which are added pronominal object-subject suffixes which are, in certain cases, difficult to separate. For some combinations the completive suffix suffices. The system of slightly different object-subject pronominal suffixes is preceded by a customary suffix and the entire combination is used in connection with a customary prefix to express customary action.

13. The continuative seems to be a verbal noun and as such, may take on all the complexities of the verb while at the same time retaining the form and function of the noun. Since this is true, the nominalizing prefix, as well as the possessive affixes — prefix for first and second singular, suffixes for all other persons — should be included among the verbal affixes.

14. The Coeur d'Alene verb is interested to an exaggerated degree in *how* an action came about, whether a condition or quality is innate, brought about by natural means, acted upon by an agent or not, with or without the volition of the subject or agent. To this end several grammatical processes are employed; affixing, including suffixes denoting causation and use; reduplication and stress. In addition, vowel changes in the stem may indicate the same kind of specification.

15. Prefixes also denote verbal condition, e. g., whether a subject is so-and-so naturally or because it has been acted upon.

16. Mode or manner is expressed by particles which might be considered independent or as prefixes. I write some of them as prefixes because they assimilate with other parts of the verb complex as do the prefixes. They express future, negative answer to a question, the idea “just as”, plurality, and finality.

17. The above summary shows that prefixes perform somewhat miscellaneous functions. There is one category, however, which is consistent. Some simple prefixes give complicated meanings which have to do with direction. Besides defining the direction of the action itself each of these includes a meaning which places the subject and the object in a particular relationship with the *speaker* in regard to space and direction. These prefixes may be combined in various ways so that ideas which would require several sentences of explanation in English may be expressed by one or more of

these. Several of the simpler notions they denote are "hither", "thither," "back," and "round about".

18. When, however, the ideas become more involved they must be explained by giving them a setting. E. g. when Catbird killed Elk, he covered the body. The prefix denotes that the speaker was near Elk on "this" side, that Catbird was on the opposite side of Elk and covered him "this way".

19. It may readily be seen how involved such specification may become when several third persons are involved. The simple grammatical device of this kind of prefix may allow the implication of as many as three third persons and definitely fixes the point of view of the speaker as well as that of all the actors.

20. Suffixes express a large number of ideas. The common Salishan suffixes are numerous in Coeur d'Alene and may be said to express two main notions. The majority of them refer to body-parts which, when used with the intransitive, may be considered as nominative of reference, or as incorporated nouns according to the position of the accent although many of them do not occur independently.

21. A number of these suffixes, from our point of view locative in meaning, may be treated in exactly the same way grammatically. It is not too difficult to understand why one should say "she together-sews" if one realizes, as one must to comprehend Coeur d'Alene, that persons are not fundamentally set apart from things and places. The use or non-use of suffixes or prefix-suffix combinations depends upon the relationship of these affixes to one another as well as to the stem. According to the form of the suffix, strong with accent, weak without accent, or very weak, even with complete loss of vowel, it may be an incorporated verb form, a locative, or an instrumental. The locative affixes may be compounded, two are often used together, three are occasionally found.

22. The formation of aspects necessitated reference to pronominal affixes. In addition to objective and subjective pronominal suffixes several ideas of the dative are expressed: "for the benefit of", "in behalf of, or instead of", "for, in reference to", "as a favor to", "something, for someone". Each of these connotes its particular idea which applies to, and is expressed by, the usual objective suffix. Formal suffixes express reflexive and reciprocal actions.

23. A short series of suffixes which are only relatively free, being largely dependent upon the verb, expresses ideas such as "be in the act of" as against "be in the position of", "motion in a horseshoe curve" (as in dive, jump, dip up into), "grow . . .", "do habitually". Others in the same position give the verb an auxiliary meaning, e. g., "cause", "seem", "attempt", "arrange", "be possible", "to succeed after repeated attempts", and "to desire to".

24. Nouns in Coeur d'Alene are often related to verbs, there being little differentiation between nominal and verbal stems. For this reason the following affixes may be considered either nominal or verbal: a suffix meaning "the one who" or "that which", a prefix meaning the same thing, others meaning "it is used for", "self-doer personal", and "self-doer impersonal".

25. Stem duplication forms derivatives. Initial vowel or consonant reduplication, accompanied by glottalization which is definitely a grammatical process, expresses diminution. Repetition of the stem or parts of it denotes distributive action. Repetition of the stem with vowel change is a method of forming a plural used for some stems.

26. Progressive action, "to become . . . gradually", is shown by medial reduplication, and "to come to be . . . without an outside agent", is expressed by final reduplication. The difference between these two is probably a matter of verb classification rather than of meaning.

27. Both stress and pitch accent occur in Coeur d'Alene but pitch has grammatical importance in only a few instances and, for this reason, only stress will be indicated. The tendency to lengthen vowels gives ample opportunity for singing them. One of the most obvious functions performed by intonation is the exaggeration of ideas meaning "a long time" or a "long way". Usually the lengthening is accompanied by a rising tone and stress. Tone, however, is primarily stylistic. It gives color to the narrative and increases the effect of onomatopoeia.

28. Stress, on the other hand, has important morphological functions. It serves to distinguish ideas which are fundamental in the constitution of the verb, i. e., the accent specifies how the action came about, or the relationship of all parts of the verb-complex to one another.

29. Closely related to accent and dependent upon it is the elaborate system of vocalic dissimilation which seems to be mainly mechanical since the vowels in a complex change according to their position with respect to certain consonants. It has, however, an important derivative function.

30. Although verb complexes may be long and involved, sentences are usually simple and direct. Subordination is expressed by nominalizing the verb of the dependent clause, or by syntactic elements whose position is fixed. Position of nouns in relation to verbs and in relation to one another is an important morphological process, differentiating subject, object, agent and instrument and describing third persons.

31. Adverbs of time and place are numerous despite the fact that involved adverbial ideas are expressed by the ubiquitous directional prefixes. These are essentially verbal forms.

32. There are several ways of expressing prepositional ideas. The most obvious is the use of locative affixes, often the prepositional idea is inherent in the stem. There is a general prepositional nominal prefix which may denote a number of ideas which in Indo-European are prepositional: "by agent", "in, on, at, through", "accompaniment", "instrumental". A number of prepositional ideas such as "toward," "from", "as far as", are independent words, and still others, such as "opposite", are verb-stems or verb-complexes.

33. In short, Coeur d'Alene expresses a vast number of ideas, it employs a good variety of grammatical processes, but with few exceptions, the expression of related ideas is by no means confined to a single process. The greatest degree of specification is demanded for locative and prepositional ideas, and for explaining the origin of a condition, quality, or action. These ideas may be expressed by affixing, reduplication, or stress, but in addition, greater exactitude may be attained through the use of vocabulary. Adverbs, demonstratives, and interjections aid the grammatical processes in securing clarity.

34-250. PHONOLOGY

34-46. VOWELS

34. Vowels in Coeur d'Alene have certain peculiarities of modification, although essentially they belong to the better-known categories. Some of the modifications are apparently an expression of peculiar speech habits, others are due to dissimilation, and still others, to grammatical processes such as reduplication.

35. To illustrate and explain the modifications of the vowels which seem essential I am writing them in four columns:

I	II	III	IV
<i>a</i>	<i>a^a</i>	<i>a^{na}</i>	<i>a²a</i>
<i>ä</i>	<i>ä^ä</i>	<i>ä^{na}</i>	<i>ä²ä</i>
<i>E</i>	—	—	—
<i>i</i>	<i>iⁱ</i>	<i>i^{na}</i>	<i>i²i</i>
<i>u</i>	—	—	—
<i>u</i>	<i>u^u</i>	<i>u^{na}</i>	<i>u²u</i>
<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɔ^ɔ</i>	<i>ɔ^{na}</i>	<i>ɔ²ɔ</i>
<i>y</i>	—	—	—

36. The quality of *a* is as *a* in "father", but the tongue is often drawn farther back in anticipation of a faucal. The sound *ä* is closely related to *a* grammatically although it is not the closest phonetic relative. The nearest sound we have in English is *ä* in "at", but the Coeur d'Alene sound is formed by drawing the larynx down and back. If the tongue is placed in position for English *ä*, then pulled back keeping the tip down, the sound will be correct

for Coeur d'Alene. A sound ε which more nearly approaches e in "met" is a variant of \ddot{a} , not, I believe, a different phoneme.

37. The sound represented by i is midway between i in "pique" and e in French "été". It more nearly approaches the latter when accented and when found in combination with the palatals or faucals. Closely related to i but found usually in unaccented position is the vowel ι which is open as in "in". This sound is to i as E is to \ddot{a} , and as y is to u .

38. Although the scheme does not quite correspond to the conservative scheme of vowel order, I have arranged it this way because the vowels in the groups here set off are closely related in certain respects. An understanding of Coeur d'Alene grammar requires a comprehension of vowel changes and in this scheme \circ is more closely related to u than to a . The vowel u which may be heard as o , is midway between u and o , its timbre depending upon its setting. However, it is pronounced with the habitual Coeur d'Alene position of the lips which is a drawing-back rather than a rounding. It does not seem necessary to use the symbol o . When, as frequently happens under given phonetic and morphological conditions, u is weakened it becomes η . This weak form corresponds with E for which no timbre can be detected although it may be theoretically apparent.

39. The symbol \circ represents roughly the sound of *aw* in English "law", but the tongue is drawn farther back. It occurs most commonly in connection with the dorsal consonants.

40. Variations of vowel quality and quantity in Coeur d'Alene are shown in the second, third and fourth columns. Only when they are weakened for grammatical purposes and in a few other cases are the vowels short in the usual sense of the word. They are merely *relatively* short, but the tendency to lengthen manifests itself in ways other than by hanging on to the vowel for a longer time. Pure lengthening is utilized primarily for the expression of emotion, exaggeration which extends time and distance, and for other rhetorical effects. Other devices related to lengthening are resorted to for grammatical purposes.

41. In some cases vowels are doubled, that is rearticulated without a glottal stop. Verb stems sometimes have doubled vowels. More commonly, however, the second articulation is not complete, but is heard only as a whisper, in which case it is written as an echo-vowel as in column II. An even more common evidence of parasitism is what sounds like a whispered repetition of the vowel with an intervening glottal stop which is really the release of the glottal stop in the vowel position. This type of articulation is written as in column III. A further variant, one employed in medial reduplication, is that of column IV, the vowel being repeated after a

glottal stop. This may be used also if a suffix ending in a parasitic vowel is followed by another suffix.

42. Although there is considerable assimilation of consonants and although vowels may be weakened or changed through the influence of certain consonants, the assimilation of vowel with vowel is rare. In the cases where vowels may occur in juxtaposition because of synthesis they usually retain their identity. I cite only a few of the more exaggerated cases by way of illustration:

ni^h-k^wä^h-i^hqs-Ents, he bit his (somebody else's) nose
ι-t-k^wä^h-i^his-ymts, he is biting on it
qi^hi^hι-cEn, he has shoes on
qä^ha^h-u^hlumx^w, it (solid object) was stuck into ground
ni^hqä^hä^hi^hwäs, it was stuck in between

43. When a vowel occurs finally in a word (not always in a syllable) it is usually followed by a glottal stop with the characteristic echo vowel, for example:

si^hk^wä^h, water
qi^h, it (solid object) stuck on

44. If the stem or affix is followed by another affix or stem, the echo vowel may remain as a whisper or it may be rearticulated after the glottal stop:

äsä^hsi^hdust, two nights
qi^hmts, he stuck it on

45. Although the greater number of words ending in a vowel have the whispered vowel release of the glottal stop, a few end in the ordinary form of the vowel:

sut^hä^hsu^htä, rubber (*sut^h*, stretch)
pä^htstcElä, leaf
sdi^hlu^h, switch

I am not able to analyze any of them and I think it likely that they are abbreviations, for there is a strong tendency to abbreviate.

46. There are few diphthongs in Coeur d'Alene. Since the tendency is to keep vowels belonging to different parts of the word separate there is no need to discuss the few diphthongs at length: *ai*, *äi*, *ui*, *öi*.

47-67. CONSONANTS

47. The consonants are grouped as follows:

	stops			nasals		fricatives			affricatives		
	son.	surd	glot.	son.	glot.	son.	surd	glot.	son.	surd	glot.
Bilabial	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p̣</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ṃ</i>	<i>w</i>	—	<i>ẉ</i>	—	—	—
Dental	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	—	<i>s</i>	—	—	<i>ts</i>	<i>ṭṣ</i>
Sibilant	—	—	—	—	—	(<i>j</i>)	<i>c</i>	—	<i>dj</i>	<i>tc</i>	<i>ṭc̣</i>
Palatal	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>y</i>	<i>ỵ</i>	—	—	—
Palatal-lab-ialized	<i>gw</i>	<i>k^w</i>	<i>ḳ^w</i>	—	—	—	<i>x^w</i>	—	—	—	—
Velar	—	<i>q</i>	<i>q̣</i>	—	—	—	<i>ʃ</i>	—	—	—	—
Velar-lab-ialized	—	<i>q^w</i>	<i>q̣^w</i>	—	—	—	<i>ʃ^w</i>	—	—	—	—
Lateral	—	—	—	—	—	<i>l</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	<i>l̥</i>	—	—	—
Trills:											
Apical	—	—	—	—	—	<i>r</i>	—	<i>ṛ</i>	—	—	—
Faucal	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>R</i>	<i>Ṛ</i>	—	—	—
Faucal-lab-ialized	—	—	—	—	—	<i>r^w</i>	—	<i>ṛ^w</i>	—	—	—
Glottal	<i>ʔ</i>										
Aspirate	<i>h</i>										

48. The most noticeable feature of the general scheme of consonants is the small number of sonants.

49. The stops in Coeur d'Alene have some aspiration, *d* and *t* are slightly more forward than they are in English, otherwise they follow the usual definition for the categories in which they are placed. Glottalization, either as an independent sound, or used in articulating a consonant, is unusually strong

50. The unusual consonants *ṃ*, *ẉ*, *ṇ*, *ỵ*, *ḷ*, *ʔ_R*, *ṛ*, *ṛ^w*, belong to a series which take the glottalization for grammatical reasons; they are common indeed. With the exception of the *r*-group, these are characteristic of a number of languages of this region, particularly of Tlingit, Tsimshian, Kwakiutl and Nootka.

51. Stop *b* and sibilant *j* do not occur frequently. A few stems with *b* initial seem to be foreign. I have placed in parentheses the sonant sibilant *j* because it is found, pronounced properly as in French, in a few words taken from the French. Its use is not consistent however:

tä^äswiʔp, Jew, and *su^usäʔp*, Joseph, but *äijiʔp*, Egypt

52. Labialization in Coeur d'Alene is use of the lips, but not rounding. Wherever it occurs, even in pronouncing *w* which is sonant or glottalized, it is made by placing the lips so as to leave

only a narrow slit, then drawing them back; the upper lip hardly moves.

53. The sonant I have written *w* may be a consonant or, in certain positions may change to a vowel with *u* value. It is to be differentiated from *w* which signifies the labialization of a consonant, and which may also take on the vocalic quality of *u* in which case it is written *u*.

54. It is a noteworthy fact that the palatal and mid-palatal stops occur only in labialized form. The reason for this is historical, for *k* has become *tc*; *k'* has become *tč*, and *x* has become *c*.¹ I have found one word which has *k'*: *tšEK'č's*, a boy's name, which Lawrence said at once must be foreign, probably Nez Percé.

55. Where *g*, *k*, and *k'* have been written they are followed by *u* and must be understood to be labialized.

56. Because of the unusual freedom with which stems and affixes may combine in Coeur d'Alene it happens frequently that *t* and *s*, or *t* and *c* may meet, in which case each may retain its identity; the combination is not necessarily an affricative. The consonants are kept distinct by placing a period between them, e. g., *t.c*, *t.s*.

57. It should be carefully noted that I have differentiated between *tš*, the glottalized affricative; *ts'*, affricative followed by the glottal stop; and *t.s*, two distinct sounds. The same kind of differentiation is preserved by consistent symbols for the other sounds.

58. The most distinctive phonetic characteristic of Coeur d'Alene is the *r*-series. The sound written *r* is close to the apical slightly trilled initial *r* as it is spoken in most parts of the United States, although the tongue is pulled farther back and the *r* is anticipated by drawing the preceding vowels correspondingly farther back.

59. The faucal trill which may be surd (*R*) or labialized (*r^w*) is difficult to make and to describe. In order to achieve it, place the tongue in position for *ä*, draw the larynx down and back as I have described it for Coeur d'Alene *ä*, and trill the faucal region. For the labialized *r^w* place the lips in the position for labialization characteristic of Coeur d'Alene at the same time following directions for *R*.

60. There is a general tendency to draw back the throat in enunciating velars and faucals. In anticipating these sounds the vowels also become affected, so that for instance, *a* before *r* becomes *ɔ*. Further, although there is no velar *gw*, in one case *g* preceded by *ɔ* influenced by following *g* causes *gw* to become *g^w*. Similarly, although ordinarily *h* is nearly as in English with perhaps a little

¹ Boas and Haeblerlin. Sound Shifts in Salishan Dialects, Int. Jour. of Am. Ling. Vol. IV: 117—136.

more breath, when it precedes a velar or faucal the breath comes from very far back in the mouth. This setting, like that of *gw*, is rare.

61. As a sound in its own right, the glottal stop (ʔ) is important in Coeur d'Alene. Although initial vowels are not preceded by the glottal stop, certain phonetic changes due to grammatical processes suggest that they might once have been. In narrative, for instance:

<i>tə̃^ükʉ'EntEm</i>	<i>ä̃^ütmä'x^wulumx^w</i>	<i>a^atša'xEl</i>	<i>attčEmä'squt</i>
may it be done	on earth	just as	in heaven

62. But if a verb stem with vowel initial be preceded by a prefix, the final consonant of that prefix must be glottalized or the consonant (or vowel) separated from the initial vowel of the stem by the stop. Furthermore, if a stem beginning with a vowel is reduplicated, the final consonant of the reduplicated portion may be glottalized, or it may, like a vowel, be set off from the stem by the glottal stop.

63. There are so many cases in Coeur d'Alene where vowels seem to disappear and consonants to do duty for them, that I hesitate to speak of consonants being used vocally. Such a statement seems to me to hinge upon our own feeling that in English, and in other Indo-European languages, we are not accustomed to proceed very far with our speech without the use of a vowel. A feeling like this seems to me utterly lacking in Coeur d'Alene, or at any rate the Coeur d'Alene speaker will not anticipate a vowel nearly as readily as we should. The following are by no means rare examples:

itaqnü'smEritwäc, they are spying on each other
tčüptčüpx^wami'nü, scissors

64. Since this is the case it is open to question as to whether sounds like *m̃* and *ñ* above are used vocally, as is the entire problem of syllabification. There seems to be a weak vowel after initial consonant reduplication, and weak vowels are often of the greatest importance. The difference in juxtaposition of consonants seems to be one of degree, Coeur d'Alene tolerating large clusters as against English not allowing them.

65. The Coeur d'Alene has, however, a mechanical device which enables him to get from one consonant to another without a vowel glide. With sounds like *m*, *n*, *w*, *l*, *r*, there is a kind of anticipatory voicing which is characteristic and seems to be purely mechanical. It is as if the voicing comes on the closure, rather than on the release, of the nasal and fricative sonants.

66. When a complex consonant cluster is used, each sound is made distinctly, although no need is felt to insert a vowel. A

common cluster is *-ttc*; the *t* is carefully released before the closure is made for *tc* but the pronunciation is not *-tEtc*.

67. It is characteristic of the Coeur d'Alene that they speak with little movement of the lips and teeth; it often seems as if they speak with the teeth clenched. In addition to this habit Julia and Lawrence (mother and son) speak out of one side of the mouth, that is, they move the lips on one side only. I noticed that Ben, Julia's younger son, speaks this way too. This may be a family, rather than a tribal habit, but Lawrence tells me he knows others who have it.

68-69. ACCENT

68. Since it is one of the chief grammatical devices, stress accent is of the greatest importance in Coeur d'Alene. Every word of more than one syllable has a definite stress which remains stable, or changes for cause. Stress is primary, only in very long words is there evidence of secondary stress and that is weak. Accent, as will be shown when the question is discussed from a grammatical point of view (651-698), is closely related to vocalic dissimilation. Changes from *i* to *ä* or from *u* to *ɔ* depend upon accent as well as upon other factors. Accented vowels illustrate better than others the timbre of the vowels *i* and *u*, for when they are accented their position, i. e., *i* as between *i* and *e*, and *u* as near to *o*, is heard.

69. All vowels have tone, but it is used as a rhetorical and emotional device, only rarely is it grammatical and when so is definitely dependent upon length.

70. QUANTITY

70. The duration of vowels is important but I have not marked relative lengths, because if a vowel is accented it is long; unaccented vowels are relatively short, and the weakened vowels are very short indeed. Weakened vowels do not ordinarily take an accent, but there are a few sound words which seem to depend upon shortness for their differentiation in meaning from others which are otherwise identical. These I have marked with (*˘*) above the sound if it is not one of the obscure vowels. These words have the accent on the short (weak) vowel, but sometimes lengthen the following consonant:

- u^upE's* . . . , sound of Mosquito's grandmother bursting
u^uq^wu'n, it is green
u^upä'x, he seems wise
u^udⁱsⁱsⁱs . . . , they are swarming
u^utcä'y, it is solid (cp. *u^utca'i*, it is hard)
quq^wu'd, black horse

71-104. PHONETIC STRUCTURE

71-79. General Remarks

71. Often the stem alone is the complete word in Coeur d'Alene. Any of the strong vowels (*u, o, a, ä, i*) may be the initial of a stem (or word), although the number of stems having vowel initials is not large. In fact any of the vowels may occupy initial, medial, or final position. Only one of the consonants, *r*, with its glottalized derivative, *r'*, is never found as stem initial. The favorite initials are the labials, *p, p',* and *m*; the dentals, *d, t, t', n*; sibilants, *s, ts, tš, c, tc,* and *tč*; all the palatals and velars; the laterals, *l* and *l'*; and the trill, *R*. Any one of the series: *m', w', n', y', l', k', r'w'* which are really glottalized derivatives may be initials. This might happen in diminutives with initial reduplication and glottalization of the sounds of the series. *y'* may be a stem initial but it is not common. The affricative *dj* is used seldom in the language but it may appear as an initial, or as the final sound of a stem.

72. The only consonant clusters which appear at the beginning of a stem are: *tp, tw, tw', sw*, so that the remarkable clustering of consonants is not due to a great extent to the structure of the stem, at least as far as the initial is concerned.

73. The most common form of the stem consists of consonant-vowel-consonant, or consonant-vowel-consonant cluster. A few stems begin with a vowel. Of these there are three types: 1. those consisting of vowel and consonant; 2. those composed of vowel and consonant-cluster; and 3. those made up of two syllables, i. e., vowel-consonant-vowel, or vowel-consonant-vowel-consonant. The stem, *atsqä^ä* is the only one which has the vowels separated by a consonant-cluster, but I suspect that *-ä^ä* should be treated as a suffix in which case the stem, *atsq*, would conform to the second group of vowel-initial stems, the one consisting of vowel and consonant-cluster. Stems with vowel initials, although few in number, are an important group in the language, for from some of them the most frequent, varied and useful idioms are derived, and all require phonetic changes of the prefixes which are used with them.

74. Some stems, as well as compounds, end with vowels. The most usual vowel ending is of the type *-ä^ä*, that is, the final glottalization is released with the mouth in the preceding vowel position. Stems of this sort may consist of consonant and vowel only, or they may be bisyllabic, in which case, they affect prefixes and accent.

75. In the most typical group of stems, those consisting of CVC, any consonant, without exception, may occur as a final sound. There seems to be little favoritism, for only *dj, r', k', r'w,* and *h* are infrequent. Of these *dj* and *h* are not common anyway and the other

three are the result of glottalization for grammatical purposes (§§ 613-616).

76. A remarkable characteristic of stems is the fact that labialized sounds predominate, either as initial or final consonants, or represented by an *u* vowel. It will be remembered that *tw*, *tw'* and *sw* are some of the infrequent initial clusters. They could of course be interpreted as labialized sounds. In a count of over four hundred stems 72% were found to have some labialization in the stem, either as initial, vowel, or final consonant. Of those containing final consonant clusters more than 80% have a labialized consonant as part of the cluster. The percentages of labialized initials (20%) and labialized final consonants (32%) are lower, but because not many are overlapping — fewer than ten stems have labialized initial *and* final consonant — the percentage of this group of stems having some form of labialization is high.

77. The clustering of consonants through combination is nothing short of amazing. This is due to several facts: although the language feels strongly the impact of a consonant meeting a vowel, it hardly minds the juxtaposition of consonants at all. When consonants occur side by side each is felt as distinct and the feeling that some should be slighted or assimilated is restricted to a few sounds and settings (§§ 121-197). The fact that vowels are weakened so as often to seem lost altogether shows that consonant clusters are readily tolerated. Several grammatical processes make it necessary for consonants either to cluster or to combine, the language usually chooses to allow clusters. For example, many of the affixes are themselves single consonants or clusters, so that when they are combined with the stem, complicated clusters are inevitable. Still another reason for this phenomenon is the fact that the suffixes, also containing clusters, may lose their vowels entirely and thus two clusters may meet and all the consonants retain their identity.

78. By the same token there are occasions where sounds are doubled, initially, finally, or in the middle of a word. Each has its function and cannot be omitted. Indeed there are examples in which there are three *s*'s all functioning, none assimilated:

tcutu^us-s-si'gw-untsis, he was to go so far as to ask for it (*tcutu^us*, hither this far; *s*-, inten.: *sigw*-, ask)

Although clustering is tolerated, even favored, there are, as always, definite limitations to the consonants which combine.

79. Besides the extensive use of glottalization and the labialized character of the stems, there is a third major impression conveyed by the sounds of the language, namely, the predominance of sibilants. This is easily understood when we consider that the early progenitor of Coeur d'Alene must have had the usual quota of sibilants to which, in the course of development, all the *k* sounds which had

changed into affricative sibilants were added. This does not explain many other occurrences of *s*, *c*, *ts*, *tš*, *tc*, *tč*, but it naturally makes the frequency of such sounds greater than might otherwise be expected.

In the following discussion I am omitting doubling which may occur as the result of reduplication and clustering due to the reduction of the vowel when certain stems lose the accent so that initial and final consonants seem to stand together. I feel it is more accurate to write a weak vowel in such cases.

80-85. Clusters Resulting from Initial Combination

80. A table made to show which sounds combine initially, shows that the possibilities are confined to four types of sounds as the first in the cluster, *t*, *s*, *ts*, *tc*, in other words, *t* and the sibilants.

Since *s-* is the nominalizer and all stems beginning with a consonant, without exception, may be nominalized by merely prefixing it, we find *s* combined initially with any of the consonants.

81. The dental stop, *t*, may combine initially with the bilabials, with the sibilants, palatals, velars, with *R*, *r^w* and *h*, a rather large variety. It should be noted, however, that *t* does not form a cluster with any of the laterals (cp. § 131, b). The paired clusters are: *tp*, *tḡ*, *tm*, *tw*, *tts*, *ttš*, *t.c*, *tdj*, *ttc*, *ttč*, *tgw*, *tk^w*, *tk^w*, *tx^w*, *tq*, *tḡ*, *tḡ*, *tḡ^w*, *tḡ^w*, *tḡ^w*, *tR*, *t^w*, *th*.

82. The affricative *tc* is next to *t* in its frequency as the initial of a cluster. It combines with the dentals, sibilants, palatals, and velars, and, unlike *t*, with all the laterals, but not with the trills: *tcd*, *tct*, *tcl*, *tcn*, *tcñ*, *tcs*, *tctš*, *tcc*, *tctc*, *tcy*, *tcx^w*, *tcq*, *tcḡ*, *tcḡ^w*, *tcḡ^w*, *tcl*, *tcl*, *tcl*.

83. The rest of the initial paired sounds are few: *tss*, *tsc*, *tsx^w*, *tsḡ*, and of these *tss* is the same as *tcs*, which changes in certain settings. Note that *ts* does not act as the initial of a cluster with dentals (cp. §§ 86, 90).

84. The combinations of more than two sounds follow the same pattern as those of only two. The combination of *s* with the paired clusters mentioned above may be readily understood: *stp*, *stḡ*, *stts*, *sttš*, *st.c*, *sttc*, *sttč*, *stgw*, *stk^w*, *stk^w*, *stq^w*, *stḡ^w*, *stR*, *st^w*, *snḡ^w*, *snḡ*, *ssw*, *stssm*, *sctš*, *stct*, *stcs*, *stscx^w*, *stcl*.

85. The other initial clusters follow the same pattern of combining sibilants with bilabials, dentals, other sibilants, palatals, velars, and the lateral surd: *tssp*, *tstctš*, *tssx^w*, *tctm*, *tctḡ*, *tcsḡ*, *tcsw*, *tcsd*, *tctst*, *tctš*, *tcsts*, *tcstš*, *tcstc*, *tctč*, *tcsk^w*, *tcsx^w*, *tcsq*, *tcsq^w*, *tcsq^w*, *tcsḡ^w*, *tcsl*.

86-99. Clusters at End of Stem or Word

86. The following clusters of two sounds occur at the end of stems: *ps*, *pc*, *px^w*, *pq*, *pḡ*, *pq^w*, *pt*; — *p^w*, *pḡ*; — *mp*, *mts*, *mc*,

mx^w; — *n̄p*, *m̄s*, *n̄c*, *m̄t*; — *wt*, *uc*; — *ŭc*, *ŭq*, *ŭt*; — *dx^w*; — *tn̄*, *ttc*, *tk^w*, *tx^w*, *tq*, *tq̄*, *tḡ*, *tq^w*, *tḡ^w*; — *fp*, *ḡs*, *ttc̄*, *tk̄^w*; — *n̄p̄*, *ns*, *nc*, *ntc*; — *n̄p̄*, *n̄t*, *n̄x^w*, *n̄ḡ*; — *sp*, *sq^w*, *sq̄^w*, *sḡ*; — *tst*, *tstc*, *tsk^w*, *tsx^w*; — *t̄sp*, *t̄sḡ^w*, *t̄sḡ*; — *djp*; — *tct*, *tcs*; — *yx^w*; — *ḡs*, *ḡḡ*; — *gwt*, *gwt̄s*; — *k^ws*, *k^wl*; — *x^ws*, *x^wts*, *x^wq*; — *qt*, *qs*; — *q^wt*, *q^ws*; — *ḡ^wp*, *ḡ^wp̄*, *ḡ^wt*, *ḡ^wq̄*; — *ls*, *lc*, *ltc*, *ttc̄*, *lk^w*, *lx^w*, *lq*, *lq̄*, *lq̄^w*, *lx^w*; — *tn̄*, *tc*, *tx^w*, *tq*; — *tx^w*, *lq*; — *rp̄*, *rt*, *rs*, *rtc*, *rk^w*, *rk̄^w*, *rq*, *rḡ*; — *rk̄^w*; — *r^wl*, *r^wḡ*.

87. Clusters of more than two sounds which terminate stems are *pqs*, *p̄ls*, *tst*, *nttc*, *stq*, *tctsx^w*, *x^wtstc*, *ḡt.c*, *lttc*, *lstq*, *rk^ws*.

88. The number of clusters terminating suffixes is smaller than that in stems. Of them *ps*, *mt*, *mx^w*, *tn̄*, *ns*, *ntc*, *tct*, *tcs*, *gwt*, *qs*, *ls*, *lc*, *lx^w*, *tx^w*, are the same as those ending stems. Since the relationship between stem and suffix is so close, it is not remarkable to find stem and suffix made up in the same way, but suffixes do not have nearly the variety which stems have. Clusters of two consonants found at the end of suffixes, and not of stems are: *mt*, *ŭt*. *nt*. *nx^w*, *st*, *tcn̄*, *ḡt*, *lp*, *lt*, *lq^w*, *ḡt*, *lp*, *lq^w*.

89. Of the more complex clusters stem and suffix may end in *stq*, *x^wtstc*. Suffixes may terminate in: *tcst*, *lps*, *lpq^w*, *lqs*, whereas stems do not.

90. Final pairing of consonants is more varied than initial, as is also more complicated clustering. The most striking fact of final pairing is that practically the same sounds combine with *t* as the initial of a final cluster, as combine as the initial of an initial cluster: *tp*, *t̄p̄*, *tm*, *tw*, *tst*, *t.c*, *ttc*, *ttc̄*, *tgw*, *tk^w*, *tk̄^w*, *tx^w*, *tq*, *tq̄*, *tḡ*, *tq^w*, *tḡ^w*. *tx^w*, *tr*, *tr^w*, and one not found initially, *tn̄*. It will be noted that the dental in this setting is not followed by as full a set of sibilants as is the case in initial clusters. Its absence is due to assimilation (§ 131).

91. In reverse order, i. e., consonant followed by *t*, the series is nearly complete, all consonants, except *n̄*, *ḡ*, and *dj*, being capable of combining with *t* in a final combination. None of the stems ending in *t* which I have, have the *-t* form (§ 300); those ending in *dj* are so few as to be unrepresentative, but they also could not take this form.

92. Another series which is rather full but not as complete as the *t*-combinations is that including *p* and *p̄*. As the initial of a final cluster they enter combination as follows: *pt*, *ps*, *px^w*, *pq*, *pq̄*, *pḡ*, *p̄t*, *p̄x^w*, *p̄q̄*. As the final sound of a paired cluster they are found: *mp*, *wp*, *dp*, *tp*, *fp*, *np*, *n̄p*, *sp*, *tsp*, *t̄sp*, *t̄cp*, *k^wp*, *k̄^wp*, *x^wp*, *ḡ^wp*, *lp*, *ḡp*, *ḡp̄*, *rp*, *rp̄*, *r^wp*, *m̄p̄*, *t̄p̄*, *x^wp̄*, *ḡ^wp̄*, *rp̄*. The fact that *p̄* is not found in as many combinations as *p* is doubtless due to the fact that it has no grammatical value as has *p*, rather than to the fact that it is not phonetically capable of entering into those combinations.

93. The combinations of single sounds with final *s* are reasonably complete: *ps*, *ms*, *n̄s*, *ŭs*, *ns*, *n̄s*, *tss*, *tcs*, *k^ws*, *k̄^ws*, *x^ws*, *qs*, *q^ws*, *ḡ^ws*, *ts*.

94. The final clusters with *s* as initial are, however, less numerous: *sp, sw, st, sts, sq^w*.

95. The series with laterals as first element of paired clusters is well represented: *lp, lm, lt, lc, ltc, llc, lk^w, lk^w, lx^w, lq^w, lq^w, lx^w, lp, tm, tl, tn, ts, tts, tc, tx^w, tq, tq^w, lp, ll, lc, ltc, llc, lk^w, lk^w, lx^w, lq*.

96. The only combinations of a lateral as the final sound of a paired cluster which I have found are *pl, ml, wl*.

97. The trills appear as initials in final clusters: *rp, rp̃, rt, rtc, rk^w, rq, rk^w, Rp, Rt, r^wp, r^wt, r^wl*, but only with *t* as final elements of a cluster: *tR, tr^w*.

98. The rest of the final paired consonants, though numerous, are somewhat scattered: *px^w, pq, pq, px, px^w, p̃q, mts, mc, mx^w, wc, ws, wq, dx^w, llc, lk^w, nm, nts, nc, ntc, nts, nc, nx, tsc, tsx^w, tsx^w, tsx, cc, tcn, ym, yc, yx, gwn, gwts, x^wts, x^wq, x^wq, qc*.

99. Final clusters having more than two elements show tendencies similar to those with which we are already familiar but they are more elaborate. The sounds which combine are chiefly bilabials, sibilants, palatals, velars, laterals and trills, the following groupings being found. Those not found in § 103 are due to combinations of final stem consonant with suffix clusters.

pstq, ptct, pqs, pls, plx^w, p̃ct
mt.c, mstp, mstm, mcs, mlx^w, mcs, mtct, mtcs, mlt, mlts, mlx^w
dtct, tx^ws
nt.c, nttc, ntcs, nttc, ntcs, ntct, nlt
stp, st.s, st.c, stq, stx^w, stct, slts, slx^w
tstcs, tsx̃ts
ts̃xstx^w
cps, cpc, cplx^w, ctct, clx^w
tc̃p, tc̃nts, tc̃ntct, tc̃ntcs, tc̃stx^w, tc̃lx^w, tc̃lx^w
dj̃ts
ystx^w, yx^wt, yq^wt, ylt, ylx^w
gwts, k^wmp, k^wts
x^wtn, x^wtstc, x^wtct
qt̃p, q̃stx^w, q̃stp
xt.c, q^wsc
lpq^w, ltc, lstq, ltct, ltcs, lqs, lq^wt
llct, lx^ws, llx^w
lpl, ltsq, llct, lqs, lts, lxs, llx^w
rtct, rk^ws, rlx^w, r^wstx^w, r^wts

100-104. Clusters within a Word

100. Should the student, innocent of clustering as its possibilities develop among the Salishan and other peoples of the Northwest, think that the previous discussion of initial and final clusters is elaborate, he need now merely contemplate the possibilities for the appearance of clusters within the word, i. e., between vowels, to get a conception of the genius of the Salishan people for using con-

pair. In looking down the chart the most noticeable vacancies are the combinations of *dj* with other sounds, but this is in accord with the slight use of *dj* in general. The scant use of *q^w* as the first element of the pair is not so easily explained.

102. Although *l* is frequent as the first element of the pair, it is

y	y	gw	k ^w	k ^w	x ^w	q	q̇	ẋ	q ^w	q ^w	x ^w	l	l	l	R	r ^w	r ^w	h
py		pgw	pk ^w		p ^w x ^w	pq	pq̇	p ^w ẋ	pq ^w	pq ^w		pl	pl̇		pR			ph
ṗy	ṗy				ṗx ^w	ṗq	ṗẋ				ṗx ^w	ṗl	ṗl̇					
my		mgw	mk ^w		m ^w x ^w	mq		m ^w ẋ	mq ^w			ml	ml̇			mr ^w		
ṁy		ṁgw			ṁx ^w	ṁq												
								u ^w ẋ							wR			
						ẇq												
			dk ^w		d ^w x ^w	dq	dq̇			dq ^w	d ^w x ^w							
		tqw	tk ^w	tk̇ ^w	t ^w x ^w	tq	tq̇	t ^w ẋ		tq ^w	t ^w x ^w		tl		tlR			
				tk̇ ^w	ṫx ^w	ṫq										ṫr ^w		
ny	ṅy	ngw	nk ^w	nk̇ ^w	n ^w x ^w	nq	nq̇	n ^w ẋ	nq ^w	nq ^w	n ^w x ^w	nl	nl̇	nl̇	nR	n ^w r ^w		nh
	ṅy		nk̇ ^w	nk̇ ^w		ṅq		ṅẋ	ṅq ^w			nl̇	nl̇		ṅR	ṅr ^w		
sy	ṡy	sgw	sk ^w	sk̇ ^w	s ^w x ^w	sq	sq̇	s ^w ẋ	sq ^w	sq ^w		sl	sl̇					sh
tsy		tsqw	tsk ^w	tsk̇ ^w	ts ^w x ^w	tsq	tsq̇	ts ^w ẋ	tsq ^w	tsq ^w	ts ^w x ^w	tsl			tsR	ts ^w r ^w		tsh
ṫsy					ṫs ^w x ^w	ṫsq		ṫs ^w ẋ		ṫsq ^w					ṫsR	ṫs ^w r ^w		
			ck ^w			cq	cq̇											
						ḋjq							ḋjl					
tcy								tc ^w ẋ		tcq ^w			tċl	tċl̇				
						ṫċq							ṫċl̇					
						yq												
ẏy	ẏgw					ẏq	ẏq̇		ẏq ^w				ẏl					
						gwq												
				k ^w k̇ ^w		k ^w q			k ^w q ^w				k ^w l					
			k̇ ^w k̇ ^w		k̇ ^w x ^w	k̇ ^w q					k̇ ^w x ^w		k̇ ^w l̇					
		x ^w gw	x ^w k̇ ^w			x ^w q		x ^w q̇										
		qgw																
qy																		
ẋy				ẋk ^w		ẋq	ẋq̇						ẋl		ẋl̇			
						q ^w q												
													q ^w l̇					
													q ^w l̇					
x ^w ẏ													x ^w l̇			x ^w r ^w		
		lqw	lk ^w	lk̇ ^w	l ^w x ^w	lq		l ^w ẋ	lq ^w	lq ^w	l ^w x ^w		ll					
ly	l̇y	lgw	lk ^w	lk̇ ^w	l ^w x ^w	lq̇	lq̇	l ^w ẋ	lq̇ ^w	lq̇ ^w	l ^w x ^w				llR	l ^w r ^w		
l̇y		l̇gw	l̇k ^w		l̇x ^w	l̇q		l̇ẋ	l̇q ^w					ll̇				
		rgw	rk ^w	rk̇ ^w	r ^w x ^w	rq	rq̇											
	ṙy		ṙk ^w			ṙq												
Ry						Rq												
									r ^w q ^w									r ^w h
											r ^w x ^w							

rare as the second. The fact that the columns having *r*, *r̄* as the second element of the pair are blank is due to the fact that these trills do not occur initially and many of the paired clusters are formed by duplication, i. e., the final sound of the stem combines medially with its initial.

103. Since consonant clustering within the word renders me speechless, I shall let the combinations speak for themselves:

ptp, *ptq^w*, *psm*, *psn*, *pst*, *pst.c*, *pstq^w*, *psts*, *pstc*, *psgw*, *psqw*, *psx^w*,
psq̇, *pls*, *pld*, *płt*, *płtts*, *płn*, *płnt*, *płsnł*, *płts*, *płts̄*, *płk^w*, *płx^w*,
pły, *płtct*, *płts̄*
mpc, *mtm*, *mst*, *mcts*, *mtcst*, *młts*, *młts̄*, *nist*, *nists*, *nicq*, *nı̄tct*, *nı̄tes*,
nı̄lt, *nı̄lts*
wst, *wck^w*, *w̄nm*
łłts̄, *łpts*, *łpłts*, *łtct*
n̄p̄m, *n̄p̄ts*, *n̄tp*, *n̄tm*, *n̄tw*, *n̄ts̄*, *n̄ttc̄*, *n̄tx^w*, *n̄tk^w*, *n̄sp*, *n̄sr^w*, *n̄tct*, *n̄ctm*,
n̄ctmgw, *n̄ctq̄w*, *n̄cs*, *n̄csp*, *n̄cst*, *n̄ct̄s̄*, *n̄ctł*, *n̄ctł*, *n̄x^wts*, *n̄lts*,
n̄łts̄, *n̄k^w*
n̄p̄łł, *n̄p̄ły*, *n̄m̄ts̄*, *n̄m̄tct*, *n̄mk^w*, *n̄m̄isp*, *n̄ı̄w̄*, *n̄sm*, *n̄stm*, *n̄sl*, *n̄ı̄sp*,
n̄ı̄sk^w, *n̄ı̄sq̄*, *n̄ı̄sq̄^w*, *n̄łł*, *n̄łst*, *n̄łts*
spn, *sps*, *spts*, *stm*, *st.c*, *stts*, *stts̄*, *stc̄*, *stq*, *stq̄*, *stq^w*, *stq̄^w*, *snm*, *ssts*,
ssy, *ssk^w*, *stct*, *stcl*, *stcs*, *stcsx^w*, *stcsq̄*, *stcl*, *sytsp*, *słts̄*
tssd, *tss̄*, *tssx^w*, *tssq̄*, *tstcl*, *tstłts̄*
t̄sp̄n, *t̄sp̄p*, *t̄sp̄c*, *t̄sp̄łł*, *t̄stłts̄*
cpl, *cstm*, *cstc*, *cłt*, *cłts̄*, *cłq*
djłt
tctm, *tctł*, *tctts*, *tctłc̄*, *tctq^w*, *tc̄ı̄ts*, *tc̄ı̄tes*, *tcsp*, *tcsm*, *tcsd*, *test*, *testx̄*,
tcsts, *tcstc*, *tcx^w*, *tcsq^w*, *tcsl*, *tctsq̄*, *tctł*
t̄cp̄q, *t̄cp̄łł*, *t̄ctct*, *t̄cłł*, *t̄cłn*
yst, *ytsq^w*, *y^wt*, *yłt*
ȳpsn, *ȳpsts*, *ȳpsh*, *ȳpłts*, *ȳpłh*, *ȳtk^w*, *ȳny*, *ȳngw*, *ȳtsm*, *ȳtsc*, *ȳsr^w*,
ȳctm, *ȳtstc̄*
k^wsm, *k^wst*, *k^wst̄*, *k^włq̄*, *k^wpts*, *k^wsp*, *k^wsq*, *k^włm*
x^wpn, *x^wst*, *x^wtstc*, *x^wtct*, *x^włts̄*, *x^włtx^w*
qsm
x̄tm, *x̄st*, *x̄tk^w*, *x̄ı̄q̄c*
łpm, *łps*, *łpy*, *łpq^w*, *łttc*, *łtx^w*, *łsp̄*, *łst*, *łstı̄w̄*, *łstc*, *łsgw*, *łck^w*, *łtcp̄*, *łtcm*,
łtct, *łtctm*, *łtctq̄w*, *łtcs̄p*, *łtcsq̄*, *łtcm*, *łk^wm*, *łk^wc*, *łk^wq*, *łqs*, *łqsc*,
łq^(w)c, *łq^wq*, *łłt*
łtm, *łtR*, *łst*, *łstc*, *łstc̄*, *łcn*, *łctc*, *łtct*, *łtctm*, *łtct.c*, *łtcs*, *łtctsk^w*, *łtctst̄s̄*,
łtcsx̄, *łtct̄s̄*, *łqst*, *łłts*
łps, *łpd*, *łpłm*, *łstq*, *łstc*, *łtsm*, *łtsw*, *łtsx^w*, *łcst*, *łtcs̄p*, *łtcsd*, *łx^wst*, *łx^wq*,
łqq, *łx^wm*, *łłt*, *łłts*, *łłx^w*
r̄pm, *r̄p̄y*, *r̄sm*, *r̄tct*, *r̄łts*, *r̄łx^w*, *r̄k^wq*
Rtm, *ł̄pq*, *r̄^wst*, *r̄^włts*

104. The following vowel combinations occur; the glottal stop between the single vowels makes them retain their identity and they do not become diphthongized: *a'a*, *a'i*, *a'u*, *a'o*, *ä'ä*, *ä'i*, *ä'u*, *i'i*, *i'a*, *i'ä*, *u'u*, *w'ä*, *u'i*, *o'o*. When a vowel followed by a glottal stop with the whispered release is followed by another vowel the echo vowel may be lost:

nı̄'ä'mic, he sat amongst (for *nı̄'ä'ä'mic*).

But when the repetition of the vowel is grammatical, complicated forms like the following are possible:

tsɔʔɔʔtaʔlumxʷ, dwarf

tciʔutsmäʔäʔmiʔnEms, he is sending me away

105-250. PHONETIC PROCESSES

105-115. Regressive and Progressive Effects

105. With all its use of sibilants which is sometimes so pronounced as to seem unlimited, Coeur d'Alene nevertheless makes a few compromises to acoustic effect although they are not always consistent. The general rule is that there is an interchange between the dental and prepalatal spirants and the same affricatives. Similar may not succeed each other too often. When, for grammatical reasons they do, they are changed occasionally so as to give variety. Each of the following cases with few exceptions contains so many of the sibilants that it is difficult to determine in most cases whether the influence is progressive or regressive. The influence is not confined to consonants in contact. For the most part it seems to be regressive:

106-113. Regressive influences:

106. *s* or *c* changes preceding *tc* to *ts*:

tss-ʔuʔs-ɪc-Ents, he dived after it (for *tcs-ʔuʔsɪc-Ents*)

nukʷ-ts-wäc-iʔwäs, they were house-partners (for *nukʷ-tc-wäc-iʔwäs*)

tss-äʔm-ɪc, it sat on his tail (for *tcs-äʔm-ɪc*)

107. *stc* or *tc* changes preceding *tc* to *ts*, or *tč* to *tš*:

tss-n-ɪstciʔtcäʔ-ɪps, horse manure (for *tcs-hn-ɪstciʔtcäʔ-ɪps*)

s-tšiʔj-ätct, right hand (for *s-tčiʔj-ätct*)

108. *c* or *ts* changes preceding *c* to *s*:

s-tsan-tsiʔs-tsEs-tcEn-cEn, boots (for *s-tsan-tsiʔc-tsEc-tsEn-cEn*)

t-tsiʔs-tsEc-Enäʔä, it has long ears (for *t-tsiʔc-tcEc-Enäʔä*)

t-tsäʔs-tsEc-qEn, he has long hair (for *t-tsäʔc-tsEc-qEn*)

109. *c* changes preceding *s* to *c*:

m-gwiʔc-ɪc, he is ascending (for *m-gwiʔs-ɪc*)

110. *tc* changes preceding *ts* to *tc*:

hn-tciʔtc-ätcn-tEm, he was caught up with (for *hn-tciʔts-ätcn-tEm*)

111. *tč* changes preceding *s* to *c*:

həi tə teäc-niʔtč-Entxʷ, stop cutting it (for *tcäs-*)

112. *tš* changes preceding *tč* to *tč*:

s-tčäʔl-tšEl-t, it is stupidity (*tšäl*, stem)

113. *tc* may even cause metathesis:

m-tsi'tc-äteni-tmät, we are catching up with him (for *m-tci'ts-äteni-tmät*)
tc'i'clti-x^wtets, it has a long tongue (for *tsi'clti-x^wtstc*)

114–115. Progressive:

114. *ts* changes following *ts* to *tc*:

tc-²-ä^ätš-i'tš-ätctc-En, that we should be playing (for *tc-²-ä^ätš-i'tš-ätstc-En*). *ts* > *tš* before a vowel. The stem is *ätstc*.

115. *s* changes following *c* to *s*:

gwi-y-ä-sm-sä'ts-Em, he finished digging (for *gwi-y-a-sm-cä'ts-Em*)
s-l'i'tc-il-sils, their provisions (for *s-l'i'tc-il-silc*)

116–120. Relationship between Consonants and Vowels

116. The following are some changes which occur in Coeur d'Alene consonants:

In several cases there is a choice of related sounds in pronunciation and these choices are not between those sounds which we consider historically related:

qo'mqEn or *k'o'mqEn*, head. One is used as much as the other, and even the same speaker may use one form and in repeating, the other; the same is true of the following cases:

dalq^w, or *dalk^w*, cover entirely
tsalx^w, or *tsalx^w*, claw, scratch with nails

117. An initial labialized palatal or velar: *gw*, *k^w*, *k^w*, *x^w*, *q^w*, *q^w*, *x^w*, becomes consonant plus *u* when reduplicated:

gu-gwa-x-t-i't, baby (*gu*, dim.; *gwa-x*, be young; *-t*, subjective; *-it*, offspring)

ku-k^wu't, bay horse (*k^wul*, be red)

Ku-K^wn-i'yä^ä, very soon (*K^wnä^ä*, fut.)

xu-x^wi'st, little one went, traveled

qu-q^wa'^{na}-q^wä^äl, he conversed (*q^wa'^{na}q^wä^äl*, talk; stem always redupl.)

qu-q^wu'd, black horse

xu-x^wa'd-x^wad-t, little one is comical (*x^wad*, be comical)

118. It should be noted that this rule does not apply to the labials, *tw*, *tw'* and *r^w*, a fact which justifies the interpretation I have made that *tw* and *tw'* are clusters (cp. § 76):

tu-tw'i't, youth (*tw'it*, dim. of *tw'it*)

hm-r^w-r^wu-x^w-i'tcni, street car (*hm-*, on; *r^wa-x^w*, stretch stringlike object; *-itcni*, back)

119. The labialized palatals and velars: *k^w*, *k^w*, *x^w*, *q^w*, *q^w*, and *x^w*, when occurring in final position or in combination, may lose the labial in pronunciation, although it is always felt by the speaker as a part of the stem. This is especially true when the final consonant is reduplicated, in which case the labialization of the consonant

becomes the vowel *u*. This is one of the many illustrations which show the close relationship between the labialization of the consonant and the rounded vowel:

lä'kuk, it is far

tä'kuk (or *tä'kuk^w*), he fell, he came to lying position without his own volition (*täk^w*, one lies)

ta'xux, he died, he is dead (*tax^w*, one stops)

120. Coyote uses *c* for *s*, this being a stylistic device, just as Turtle uses Spokane instead of Coeur d'Alene:

hi-ctunic, for *hustunic*, my friend (stem used by Coyote only)

qäcp-c, for *qäsp-s*, it's a long time

121-161. Assimilation

121. The astonishing number and size of the consonant clusters in Coeur d'Alene might lead one to suppose that sounds are grouped in any fashion, but this is by no means the case. One of the important features of the language is the number and regularity of the assimilations and contractions, the principal ones involving sounds noticeably lacking in the consonant clusters which occupy the affected positions within the word. The unstable sounds, i. e., those which assimilate to various following sounds, are *m*, *t*, *n*, *s*, *ts*, *c*, *l*, and *l'*. They are prominent in the clusters in positions where such assimilations could not function.

122. The lack of stability of these sounds is marked only in the affixes, for so stable do the sounds of the stems remain that when sounds which seem to be part of the stem, bisyllabic ones especially, break down, it is to be strongly suspected that these unstable parts belong to suffixes rather than to the stem proper (§ 254a). For example, *l* before a vowel ordinarily becomes *l'*, but if it precedes a stem initial vowel it becomes rather *l'*. Again, *t* as the end sound of an affix becomes assimilated to a number of following sounds. If, however, it belongs to a stem, it retains its identity even if one of these sounds follows it:

hm-mo't-tšä^ä, smokehouse (*hm-*, in, on; *mo't*, smoke; *-tšä^ä*, inside)

but:

tk^wäl-ni^t-tšäl-u'·-lx^w, he was standing about in the streets (for *tk^wäl-t-ni^t-tšäl-ut-lx^w*)

123. The tendency to glottalize before a stem-vowel initial is strong, sometimes it takes the form of glottalizing the consonant which precedes, as *nä'muc*, he sat in (for *hm-äm-c*) and at others it is simply a pause: *tap^oq^os*, he drank on the way. The glottalizing tendency is so strong that it even affects the consonant of a stem as: *ɔq^oɔq^os-ɔc* (for *ɔq^wɔq^os-ɔc*), they drank. This is particularly remarkable when we consider that initial vowels are not ordinarily

articulated with a preceding glottal stop, but use one only in rare cases if the last sound of a preceding word happens to be unstable in the presence of a vowel.

124. The following are the rules for assimilation:

s before a vowel becomes *y*:

- y*-*a*'*tsqä*^ä, going (for *s*-*atsqä*^ä)
y-*äk*^u*n*, saying, telling (for *s*-*äk*^u*n*)
y-*itn*, eating (for *s*-*itn*)
y-*u*'*k*^w-*ymc*, carrying (for *s*-*u*'*k*^w-*ymc*)
y-*ɔq*^w*s*, drinking (for *s*-*ɔq*^w*s*)
lutä-*y**p*-*s*-*tsu*-*tsu*^u*tsu*^u-*ci*'*s*, he had no legs (for *luthä*-*s*-*äpl*-*s*-*tsu*-*tsu*^u-*tsu*^u-*ci*'*s*)
lutä-*y**ts*-*ä*'*k*^w*s*, he does not cust. say (for *lut*-*hä*-*s*-*äts*-*ä*'*k*^w*n*-*s*)
tu^u-*y*-*ɔ*'*q*^w*s*-*c*, go so far as to drink (for *tu*^u*s*-*ɔ*'*q*^w*sc*)
tu^u-*y*-*i*'*t*.*c*, he went so far as to sleep (for *tu*^u*s*-*i*'*t*.*c*)

s of *tc*s-, do for a purpose, after, does not follow this rule:

stim *x*^w*a* *tcas*-*tc*s-*ɔ*'*t**s**x*-*tut*-*tEm*, what is he to be looked to for?

125. *n* before a vowel becomes *ñ* and the vowel assimilates to it:

- tcu**i*-*ts*-*gw*'*t**c*, I cust. see (for *tc**m*-*äts*-*gw*'*t**c*)
*tcu**i*-*ts*-*ä*'*k*^w*n*, I cust. say (for *tc**m*-*äts*-*ä*'*k*^w*n*)
*tcu**i*-*ni*'*t**Emc*, I am cutting (for *tc**m*-*i*'*ni*'*t**Emc*)
*tc**m*-*pl*, I have (for *tc**m*-*äpl*)

but the vowel of a stem is retained:

ñ-*ä*'*m*-*ic*, he sat in (for *h**m*-*ä*'*m*-*ic*)

126. *l* before the vowel of a prefix becomes *l*:

- ul*-*ts*-*qaqami*-*i*'*yä*^ä, again he would fish (for *ul*-*ats*-*qaqami*-*i*'*yä*^ä)
ul-*ts*-*a*'*tsqä*^ä, they cust. go back (for *ul*-*a*^{ts}-*a*'*tsqä*^ä)
s-*tk*^w*äl*-*ts*-*xui*-*stci*'*nt*, he is visiting about (for *s*-*tk*^w*äl*-*ts*-*xui*-*stci*'*nt*)
s-*tk*^w*äl*-*ts*-*a*'*t**s**x*-*Emc*, he is going about looking (for *s*-*tk*^w*äl*-*ts*-*a*'*t**s**x*-*Emc*)
tk^w*äl*-*tcä*-*luk*^w-*i*'*tk*^w*ä*^ä, it was drifting (for *tk*^w*äl*-*its*-*tcä*-*luk*^w-*i*'*tk*^w*ä*^ä)
hä *gul*-*sux*^w-*i*'*lgräs*, those who were carrying load on back (for *gul*-*i*-*sux*^w-*i*'*lgräs*)
lä *gul*-*tä*'*x*^w*p*, those who die (for *lä* *gul*-*ä*-*tä*'*x*^w*p*) but *tk*^w*äl*-*ɔ*'*a**xu*'*s*-*Ents*, he searched for him. Here *l* remains set off from the vowel by ' because the vowel belongs to the stem.

127. *u* before a vowel becomes *uw* (exception § 128):

- tcäl*-*uw*-*is*-*tsan*-*x*'*t*-*Em*, thou art to destroy (*in*-*s* > *is*-; *in*-, 2 poss.; *s*-, inten.)
uw-*ä*-*t*-*t**Em*-*i*'*pl**x*^w just outside the door (*ä*-, general preposition with nouns)
uw-*ä*-*stclä*'*mt*, just in the fog (*ä*-, as preceding example)
uw-*ä*-*ntsi*'*t*, right then and there (*ä*-, as preceding)
a-*t*-*q*^w*us*-*w*-*i*'*p*-*äl**t*, hen has brood (*q*^w*äsu*^u, bunch. In this case *-u*^u, which is doubtless itself a contraction is lost in *w*)
nä^ä *tc**m*-*t**cu*'*w*-*äs*, while I was gone (*t**cu*^u, be absent)
uw-*ts*-*äku*'*n*-*Em*, he is just being told (and nothing else)

128. *u* assimilates to following *ü* of the customary and of the absolute prefixes *äts-*, to form *u^u-*:

u^uts-äku'stEm, just when he is told cust. (for *u-äts-äku'stEm*)
u^uts-Etci'stx^w, just what dost thou do with it (for *u-äts-Etci'stx^w*)
u^u-tä'n-Em, they (stood) in a line (for *u-äts-tä'n-Em*)
u^u-tc-lä'q^w-luq^w, they were stored hanging (strung on) (for *u-ats-tc-lä'q^w-luq^w*)

129. Following the general rule that assimilation does not occur with vowel initials of stems (§ 127) is the following example:

u'äku-stEm, just as he was told. . . .

130. The changes occurring when *s*, *n*, and *t* meet vowels of prefixes and in some cases, of stems, become much more complicated under certain grammatical circumstances, but, since in this section I am describing contact phenomena due to composition only, I will leave the discussion of these more elaborate changes until later (Contraction §§ 162-171).

131. Of prime importance to an understanding of the language are the rules having to do with *t* and *ts* when they occur finally in an affix.

a) If either of these stands before a bilabial, a palatal (except *y* and *yj*), a velar or a faucal, it retains its identity:

äts-pi't, they cust. sit
äts-gwi'tc, he cust. sees
its-wi'c-Emc, he is building
tcuts-kwi'nts, he fetched it
tcät-pu'ul-i'tk^wä^ä, it bubbles on the water

b) If, however, *t* or *ts* stands before a dental (*d*, *t*, *l*, *n*, *n̄*), a sibilant (*s*, *ts*, *tš*, *c*, *dj*, *tc*, *tč*), *y*, or a lateral (*l*, *l̄*, *l̄*), it becomes assimilated to that sound, and if the accent is on the syllable immediately following, the assimilation is evident in the echo vowel:

a^a-da'xt, they cust. go (for *ats-da'xt*)
ä^ä-ni'tc-Em, he cust. cuts (for *äts-ni'tc-Em*)
iⁱ-tcä'c-Em, he is accompanying (for *its-tcä'c-Em*)
iⁱ-lä'q-Emc, he is burying (for *its-lä'q-Emc*)
tca^a-ya'q-Ents, he filed surface (for *tcät-ya'q-Ents*)
tcⁱ-tsä'l-ic, he stood up facing audience (for *tcuts-tsä'l-ic*)

132. If, on the other hand, the accent is on a syllable farther removed, there is no vocalic indication of the assimilation:

a-tap-stcä'nt, he cust. shoots (for *ats-tap-stcä'nt*)
a-t-tčEnp-i'tsä^ä, it clasps all around on it (for *ats-t-tčEnp-i'tsä^ä*)
a-tca^a-ya'rp, loop exists laid on surface (for *ats-tcät-ya'rp*. This example illustrates both conditions)
tcⁱ-dEli'm, he galloped hither (for *tcuts-dEli'm*)

133. This process has advanced to a marked degree but has not become completely stabilized:

tcäy'-ts-teä'n-Ents, cust. he is to take hold of it (for *tcäl-s-äts-teä'n-Ents*)

In some cases the full form may be retained, in others it is incorrect:

ɔ^wä tcäl-tcin-ɔⁱ'ts-tei'ttEm, and *tcäl-tcm-ɔⁱ'-tei'ttEm*, that's what you will cust. give me. Both mean exactly the same and both forms are correct.

tcä^ä-tsi'ct, a long surface especially a table, but *tcät-tsi'ct* is incorrect. *tei'-djä'm-Ents*, she pinned it hither (for *tcäts-djä'm-Ents*)

In other cases again the two forms have slightly different meanings:

tcä^ä-tëu'u, it was gone from on broad surface (general sense) but

tcä^ät-tëu'u, it is gone from on the table

tcä-t-djä'm-Ents, she pinned it to it, and *tcä^ä-djä'm-Ents*, she pinned it to surface

tcä-t-tei'd-Ents, he put up a shade (as car top), *tcä^ä-tei'd-Ents*, he put shade on a broad surface

134. These examples show that *t* of *tcät-*, on broad surface, is usually assimilated to the following sound (if it be a dental, sibilant, *y*, or lateral), but that *t-*, on a point of, does not, but always retains its identity, so that the above examples with *t* really stand for *tcät-t-*, at a point on a surface.

135. The following examples show the assimilation of the same consonants in suffixes but it will be noticed that accented syllables have no device to indicate assimilation:

tuwc-i'tc-lx^w, 6 houses (for *tuwc-i'tct-lx^w*)

ɣaxEni-u'tlx^w, 9 houses (for *ɣaxEni-u'tct-lx^w*)

tuwc-i'tc-tsä^ä, 6 blankets (for *tuwc-i'tct-tsä^ä*)

gu-gwaɣ-t-i't-jä^ä, doll (for *gu-gwaɣ-t-i'tct-jä^ä*)

s-pu'lu-ltsä^ä, murder (for *s-pu'lu-ltct-tsä^ä*)

ɣaxEni-ɔ'sqit, 9 days (for *ɣaxEni-ɔ'tct-sqit*)

ɣil-ä^äl-Entsu't, he abandoned his own child (for *ɣil-ä^älct-Entsu't*)
but

tsɔ'n-tct-m-aq^w, 7 logs

tsi'l-tct-gul, 5 wagons

136. The following example shows what seems to be an assimilation of final *t* of a stem, but from its rarity, I surmise that *t* is a suffix of the verb:

ut-ci'^t-ci'n, he perseveres (*t-*, on point; *ci'^t* [?], be first; *-cin*, foot)

137. Although there is no consonant assimilation, when a prefix ending in *t* or *ts* stands before the initial vowel of a stem, its vowel takes the echo-form if the syllable immediately following has the accent:

a^äts-a'tsɣ, he cust. sees

a-teä^ät-ä'ten, it exists put on flat object (for *äts-teät-ä'ten*)

i'ts-i'bn, he is eating

a^äts-ɔ'q^ws, he drinks cust.

lä tei'ts-i'lEs-de, they were not given anything to eat

138. I do not know the reason for the echo-vowel of the following examples, but it doubtless indicates some elision and they may eventually throw light on the subject of undetermined suffixes, especially on the discussion of §§ 574-589.

tc-tcEts-tcEts-u^us-i'wäs, we came and met
xäts-u^ut-i'wäs-üc, they went together as companions (*xäts*, be companion, always with *-ut*, "able"; *-iwäs*, together)
x^wi'yä 'ä-sin-cEł-u^us-i'wäs-s, this on his hip
äts-Etcän-iⁱu'tEM, how in the world did it get that way (*ätcEn*, do with; *-i'utEM*, "auto-")
tcⁱ'-tčEts-i'n-i't, sound of approaching (*tcⁱts-s-üs-tč* > *tcⁱ'tč*; *tcⁱts-*, hither; *s-üs-*, cont.; *tčⁱts*, approach; *-i't*, "ward")

139. Final *n* assimilates to following *m*, *s*, *n* and *ł*:

n-m > *m*:

tcäl-ku-s-x^wün-ä-sin-gwä'y-qEM, so that thou mayest grow fast (for *tcäl-ku-s-x^wün-ä-s-hin-gwä'y-qEN-Em*)
tc-ti' tc-El-Emc, we take provisions for a journey (for *tc-ti' tc-ElEN-Emc*)
tcäy-i'l-mp, you are to eat it (for *tcäl-s-ün-mp*)

140. *n-s* > *s*; *n's* > *s*

h^us-k^wi'st, my name (for *hin-s-k^wist*)
tcäl-tc-sya-n-tsä'w-ümc, I am to be a dishwasher (for *tcäl-tcin-sya-n-tsä'w-ümc*)
ul-tšEsp-nu'stus, again he cust. ate it all (for *ul-äts-tšEsp-nu'n-stus*)
äts-mä^ä-tsis-tci'nt, he is cust. boring in talk (for *äts-mä^ä-tsEN-stci'nt*)
äts-mäⁱ-i'tct-mi-stus, he annoys him with his hands (for *äts-mäⁱ-i'tct-mEN-stus*)
snuk^wsmaxi'ⁱtci^s, the kind grizzly bear his, grizzly bear's kind (for *snuk^wsmaxi'ⁱtci^s*)

141. *n-n* > *n* Final *n* of a prefix may assimilate to following *n*, with the echo-vowel indicating the assimilation before an accented syllable:

tcⁱ-tsä^ä-nü'tx^w, he went in under hither (for *tcⁱts-tsäⁿ-nü'tx^w*)

142. *n-l* > *ł*

taq-aq-nu'tsä^ä, trick (for *taq-aq-nu'n-tsä^ä*)
tcⁱcmi'-ł-ts, he threw it for him (for *tcⁱcmi'n-ł-ts*)
tcät-tčEM-ts-i'tx^w, porch (for *tcät-tčEM-tsi'n-tx^w*)
in-tčä'm-qiłx^w, ridgepole (for *in-tčä'm-qEN-łx^w*)
nⁱ k^wi'^t.du^uk^w-mi't-łEM, am I stingy with thee? (for *ku-hin-s-üs-du^uk^w-min-ł-łEM*)

143. Final *s* of an element but not of a stem may assimilate to following *ł*:

hin-saq-i'wä-ł-łEM, it was made gaping in two for him (for *hin-saq-i'wäs-ł-łEM*)
i'p-u-ł-łEM, its face was wiped for it (for *i'p-üs-ł-łEM*)
a'p-aq-ł-łEM, his chest was wiped for him (for *a'p-aqs-ł-łEM*)

144. Final *l* of an element assimilates to following *s*:

än-łuk^w-gwi'stus, he cust. laid it in canoe (for *än-łuk^w-gwi'l-stus*)

145. Final *l* of an element assimilates to following *s*, *tc*, *y**l-s* > *s*-*tcāl-us-tcūs-gwun-i't-Ems*, he is going to call him back (for *tcāl-ut-s-tcūs-gwun-i't-Ems*)*tcā-s-lī's-mā'-āntsut*, he is going to measure himself in every way, he is going to test his strength (for *tcāl-s-lī's-mā'-āntsut*)*u-tcās-q^wa'd-qEn*, he is to have a blackened head (for *u-tcāl-s-q^wa'd-qEn*)*tcā-sin-ṛās-Es-i'lgwās*, to please him (for *tcāl-sin-ṛās-is-i'lgwās*)*tcās-gwi'w-w-s*, it is to wear out (for *tcāl-s-gwi'w-w-s*)*āpstci'nt*, there were people (for *āpt-stci'nt*)146. *-l-tc* > *tc**tca-tc-y-a'tsṛ*, we are going to look at (for *tcāl-tc-s-a'tsṛ*)*tca-tc-y-a'ts-atsqā^ā*, we are to go out one by one (for *tcāl-tc-s-a'ts-atsqā^ā*)147. *-l-y* > *y*- It will be remembered that *s*-vowel initial > *y*:*uy-ts-gwi'tc*, again he is seeing (for *ut-s-uts-gwi'tc*)*tcāl-tc-uy-Eni's*, let's go back (for *tcāl-tc-ut-s-Eni's*) cp. *l-tc* > *tc*-
tca-y-a'tsqā^ā, he was going to go out (for *tcāl-s-atsqā^ā*)148. Initial *h* is sometimes lost after *t*, *n*, *s*, and *l*:*tcn-m-ṛi't*, I was afraid (for *tcn-hm-ṛi't*)*ut-m-tsa'q-us*, again he set it in orifice (for *ut-hm-tsa'q-us*)

but:

tk^wāt-hm-tsuk^w-i'tcn-mEnts, he dragged it around behind him*tcāl-ṛā-s-hus-gwi'tctEm*, I am going to see it right

However, *h* in the intentional is retained after *l* which assimilates to it:

tcāl-u-his-tcūs-gwun-i't-Em, I am going to call back (for *tcāl-ut-hm-s*)*tcāl-u-his-tsan-ṛi't-Em*, I am going to destroy (for *tcāl-ut-hm-s*)

It is always retained in the rare cases where it is the initial of a stem:

tcās-hō'i-tsEn, it was going to stop crying (for *tcāl-s-hōi-tsEn*)*ut-hā'p-Em*, he gobbled again

149. Examples where more than one of the foregoing rules operate are:

ṛaxEni-ul-u'pEn, 90 (for *ṛaxan-ut-l*-vowel stem initial)*nuḵ^{kʷ}qi'n ul-Esā^āl-u'pEn-tsil*, 125 (for *nuḵ^{kʷ}qi'n ul-asEl-upEn-āt-sil*).

150-161. Irregular Verbs

150. There are a few verb stems, all bisyllabic or with fossilized suffix, which constitute the irregular verbs of the language. They all end in *t*, *n*, *ts*, or *l*, and since no other stems ending in the same sounds are irregular, it is to be suspected that these sounds are remnants of suffixes.

151. The stems ending in *-t* are: *pul-ut*, kill, injure; *ci'^t-t*, be first; *lut*, refuse, negate.

152. Those ending in *-n* are: *äk^wn*, say, tell; *ätcEn*, do with; *itn*, eat; *k^win*, take hold of (small object) with whole hand.

153. The only one ending in *-ts* which is irregular is *x^wi'^tts*, attack, "get after", verbally or physically.

154. Those ending in *-l* are *aḡil*, do thus, and *äsil*, two.

The feature these stems have in common is the instability of their final sounds which behave in part according to rules which have already been given.

155. *-n-s* > *s*; *-l-s* > *s*:

lutä-jtš-ä'^kus, he never says that (for *lutä-s-ä'^äts-ä'^kn-s*)
äts-k^wi'-stus, he cust. takes it (for *äts-k^wi'-n-stus*)
ä'^äts-i'^t-stus, he cust. eats it (for *ä'^äts-i'^tn-stus*)
lutä-x^wi'^t-jā'ḡEs, he did not do thus (for *lutä-x^wi'^t-s-aḡEls*)

156. *-t-l* > *l*; *-t-s* > *s*; *-t-c* > *c*; *-n-l* > *l*; *-n-s* > *s*; *-l-l* > *l*

tcäs-pu'l-utšä'^ä, he is to kill (for *tcäl-s-pu'l-ut-šä'^ä*)
pul-us-tsu'tEn, the one who was the means of killing himself (for
pul-ut-s-tsu't-En)
ut-ci'^t-ci'n, he perseveres (for *ut-ci'^t-ci'n*)
k^wi'-t-ts, he took it for him (for *k^win-t-ts*)
äci'^t-t-säx^w, (what) did you do with it for me? (for *äci'^t-n-l-tsäx^w*)
i'^t-t-säläm, it was eaten for me (for *itn-l-t-säläm*)
ku-n-El-stci'n-En, thou art to be man-eater (for *ku-n-Eln-stcint-En*)
äḡi'-t-ts, she did it thus for him (for *aḡil-t-ts*)

157. One of the chief marks of irregular verbs is the fact that some exist only with the customary pronominal endings for the completive, in which case the final consonant is lost before *-s* of the customary ending (§§ 195, 359):

äku'stus, he told him (for completive form *äkun-ts*)
äci'stus, he did it with it (for *äcin-ts*)
äḡi'stus, he did thus to her (for *äḡi'l-ts*)
pu'lu-stmäläm, I was mistreated (for *pu'tut-säläm*)
lu's-tmäs, he refused me (for *lut-tsäs*)
x^wi'^t-stus, she "got after" him (for *x^wi'^tts-ts*)
 cp. *ats-Eḡi'stx^w*, thou cust. dost thus

158. The *l* of the stem *äsil*, two, remains although it requires customary endings in the completive:

asi'l-stEm, it was "twoed", two were put down

159. These are not in consistent agreement, however, with those which show the above noted assimilations, for we have:

itnts, he ate it
k^wints, he took it

160. The stem *lut*, refuse, say no, has customary pronouns for the completive transitive in the indicative, but the regular forms for the intentional which are usually like the indicative completive:

lutä-tcäs-pu'l-utmäx^w, don't kill me

161. From the irregular forms of these verbs I conclude that *n* of *iln*, and *k^win*, is different from that of *äk^wn* and *ätcin*, and that *il* of *äsil* differs from that of *açil*. It may be that the sources were the same and that the time or conditions of development or of adoption differed.

162-171. Contraction

162. The final element *-En* of the weak forms of the suffixes *-açEn*, arm; *-cin*, foot; *-qin*, head; and *-tsin*, mouth, combines with *-En*, the one who, that which, to form *-Eni*:

q^wa's-qEni, bluejay (for *q^wa's-qEn-En*, the one whose head is blurred)
t-tçEts-a'pla^a-qEni, swingletree (for *t-tçEts-a'pla^a-qEn-En*, that where it lies long at the attachment tip)
tsan-tçEn-tçEnp-a'çEni, vest (for *tsan-tçEn-tçEnp-a'çEn-En*)

163. The prefix *hii-*, that which, has a tendency to break down into *y* when following *ä*-sounds:

x^wä y-ni'tç-s, that which he cut (for *x^wä hii-ni'tç-s*)
xux^wiçä yyäl^w, this which she spread (for *xux^wiçä hiiyäl^w*)
tä ytsä'tçäns, that which she put (for *tä hiiä'tçäns*)

164. When preceded by *l* the rule *l-y > y* may operate in addition to this rule so that:

tä tçay-ts-i'ts, something to be his food (for *tçäl-hii-ts-i'ts*)

165. The stems for numbers must be considered in different classes for they are treated in different ways. A glance at other numerical systems of Salishan suggests that the Coeur d'Alene stems are derived from various sources. There are several matters concerning the stems for numbers which seem to come under the subject of contraction which will be merely remarked here; the discussion will be reserved for the chapter on Number. Although the treatment of numerals seems quite complicated, it nevertheless parallels that of other verbs according to their particular forms. A common method of counting is to use the numeral stem with the nominal suffixes. Another is to treat the numeral stem exactly as an adjective in which case the relationship between it and the independent noun is indicated by the definite article *hä* (§ 720). This method does not concern us here. A third mode of treatment and one which does concern us, is the incorporation of an independent noun into the numeral complex with the suffix *-äl*, meaning perhaps "times", to show the relationship:

mus-äl-tu'ni, 4 families, groups

166. The stems *äsil* (*äsäl*), two; and *tçi't-äs*, three; *çaxaniut*, nine; being stems which are doubtless compounds, undergo some changes in combination. In general the contractions which appear may be understood on the basis of the rules already given in the

chapter on Assimilation (§§ 121—161). There are, however, cases in which whole syllables seem to disappear, and it may be wise to call attention to these at this point.

167. *-il-äl* > *-ul* (only with stem *äsil*, 2)
äsä'l, twice (for *äsäl-äl*)¹
äsätmi'mc, 2 boxes (for *äsäl-äl-mime*)
äsättu'ni, 2 groups (for *äsäl-äl-tu'ni*)
168. *-is-äl* > *-äl* (only with stem *icä'läs*, 3)
tcä'äl-äl, 3 times (for *tcä'äl-is-äl*)
tcä'äl-älmi'mc, 3 boxes (for *tcä'äl-is-äl-*)
tcä'äl-ältu'ni, 3 groups (for *tcä'älis-äl-*)
169. *-ut-äl* > *-ul* (only with stem *ḡaxanüt*, 9)
ḡaxanütmi'mc, 9 boxes (for *ḡaxan-ut-äl-*)
ḡaxanütu'ni, 9 groups (for *ḡaxanut-äl-*)

170. One method of counting nominal forms is by the incorporation of a suffix whose initial is *s-* (§§ 617—633), and in these forms *-äl* is apparently not used:

- asa'sqit*, 2 days (for *asil-s-*)
tcä'äl-a'sqit, 3 days (for *tcä'äl-is-s-*)
ḡaxan-ḡ'sqit, 9 days (for *ḡaxanüt-s-*)

171. Although syllables seem to be lost, the important facts to be noted are that *t-t* > *t*; *t-s* > *s*; *s-s* > *s*; *s-t* > *t*; and *l-s* > *s*; all of which is in direct line with the rules stated in the chapter on Assimilation (§§ 121—161).

172—197. Contraction Involving Grammatical Processes

172. So far we have been dealing with contraction of vowels and consonants which is formal or mechanical but which does not involve to any great extent strictly grammatical elements. In this section we shall consider those contractions which are made in using various parts of the verb complex, taking them up in the following order: contraction of pronominal prefixes which concern possessives and independent pronouns; contraction of suffixes which concern pronominal combinations as well as other suffix compounds; and contraction of parts of stem with suffixes.

173—188. Contraction of Independent Pronouns with Possessives

173. The noun in Coeur d'Alene has a very close relationship to the verb, in fact, I am inclined to interpret nearly every noun as a verb. For instance, *smi'yäm* is not only "woman", but also "she is a woman, or the womaning". The possessive forms of the noun are, therefore, verbal in connotation so that *hün-pi'pä'ä* is better

¹ In reconstructions of this kind it is impossible to be sure of the vowels since they are determined by the accent which is unknown.

translated "he is my father" than just "my father". Consequently other combinations of pronominal prefixes may be made, some of which contract.

174. In the first column following are the independent pronouns, in the next that part of the pronoun used in the verb:

Independent pronoun	Part used in verb
S.	
1 <i>tcnā'ä</i> , I	<i>tcn-</i>
2 <i>kuwä</i> , thou	<i>ku-</i> or <i>ku'</i>
3 <i>tsä'nul</i> , he, she it	—
Pl.	
1 <i>tcli'pust</i> , we	<i>tc-</i>
2 <i>kupl'pust</i> , you	<i>kup-</i>
3 <i>tsEni'l-uc</i> , they	<i>-uc</i>

175. The pronoun has a verbal significance just as the noun has, so that *kuwä* means properly "thou art", rather than simply "thou".

The possessive affixes are:

S.	Pl.
1 <i>hin-</i> (<i>hin-</i>)	<i>-ät</i>
2 <i>in-</i> (<i>in-</i>)	<i>-mp</i>
3 <i>-s</i>	<i>-s-uc</i>

176. If we wish to express an idea such as "thou art his father," we may do so by placing the independent pronoun of the subject of the English sentence first and by following it with the noun with its possessive. In the example we take here the form would be simply: *ku-pi'pä'äs*, thou art his father, i. e., thou (art)-father (is)-his. In some cases the independent pronominal forms contract with the possessives. We shall meet these contractions frequently throughout our consideration of the language. It will be remembered that *n* of *hin-*, *my*, and *in-*, *thy*, contract with *s* of the following noun to make *his-* (*his-*) or *is-* (*is-*) (§ 140). I will give the contractions for both forms:

177.	<i>n</i> -possessive	Possessive with <i>s-</i>
I am thy ...	<i>tcn-in > tcnin-</i>	<i>tcn-in-s > tcni-is-</i>
I am his ...	<i>tcn-...-s</i>	<i>tcn-s-...-s > tcis-...-s</i>
I am your ..	<i>tcn-...mp</i>	<i>tcn-s-...mp > tcis-...mp</i>
thou art my ..	<i>ku-hin- > k^win-</i>	<i>ku-hin-s- > k^wis-</i>
thou art his ..	<i>ku-...-s</i>	<i>ku-s-...-s</i>
thou art our ..	<i>ku-...-ät</i>	<i>ku-s-...-ät</i>
he is my ...	<i>hin-</i>	<i>hin-s- > his-</i>
he is thy ...	<i>in-</i>	<i>in-s- > is-</i>

178. Possessive of noun not having *s*-initial

tcn-in-pi'pä'ä, I am thy father
tcn-pi'pä'ä, I am his father
tcn-pi'pä'ä-mp, I am your father
k^win-pi'pä'ä, thou art my father

Possessive of noun with *s*-initial

tcn-ismi'yäm, I am thy wife
tcn-smi'yäm-s, I am his wife
tcn-smi'yä'ä-mp, I am your wife
k^wt-smi'yäm, thou art my wife

Since there are no contractions in the rest of the forms I am omitting them.

179. The next contractions occur in the transitive continuative prefixes, for the continuative of the verb is built up on the same principles as the forms just described. The continuative is a verbal noun with a suffix modification, i. e., it consists always of the form: *s*—continuative prefix—stem—suffix, and means “the being (or doing)...”. Consequently the transitive continuative must always be considered from the point of view of the possessive of the noun (participle) with *s*-initial. The presence of the continuative prefix complicates the phonetic structure, nevertheless it will be seen to be nearly consistent once it is understood.

180. In the form “thou art my father”, “thou” is the subject and “father” may be considered an intransitive verb. But in the continuative the *object* is expressed by the *independent pronoun* and the *subject* by the *possessive* so that “I am seeing thee” is literally “thou-my-seeing”. The continuative must be understood on this basis. It consists of: independent pronoun of object—possessive pronoun of subject—*s*-nominal—continuative prefix *uts*—stem—continuative suffix. In those forms which take possessive suffixes instead of prefixes, the possessive prefix of the subject will be instead a possessive suffix, so that the form will be: independent pronoun of object—*s*-nominal—continuative prefix—stem—continuative suffix—possessive suffix of subject. The following equations will make the forms clear. From now on when considering the transitive verb I shall indicate subject and object by figures so that, *e. g.*, 1-2 means “I am . . . ing thee”, 1-2p “I am . . . ing you”, etc. The dots . . . indicate a stem; the form given last is the one used:

- 1-2 $ku^u\text{-}hin\text{-}s\text{-}uts > ku^u\text{-}his\text{-}uts > ku^u\text{-}hi\text{-}y\text{-}ts > k^w i^t\text{-}ts$
 1-3 $hin\text{-}s\text{-}uts > his\text{-}uts > hi\text{-}y\text{-}ts > hi^t\text{-}ts$
 1-2p $kup\text{-}hin\text{-}s\text{-}uts > kup\text{-}his\text{-}uts > kup(h)i\text{-}y\text{-}ts > kup(h)i^t\text{-}ts$
 2-1 $tcin\text{-}in\text{-}s\text{-}uts > tcin\text{-}is\text{-}uts > tcin\text{-}i\text{-}y\text{-}ts > tcini^t\text{-}ts$
 2-3 $in\text{-}s\text{-}uts > is\text{-}uts > i\text{-}y\text{-}ts > i^t\text{-}ts$
 2-1p omitted (§ 326)
 3-1 $tcin\text{-}s\text{-}uts\text{-}...s > tcis\text{-}uts\text{-}...s > tci\text{-}y\text{-}ts\text{-}...s > tci^t\text{-}ts\text{-}...s$
 3-2 $ku^u\text{-}s\text{-}uts\text{-}...s > ku^u\text{-}y\text{-}ts\text{-}...s > kujts\text{-}...s$
 3-3 $s\text{-}uts\text{-}...s > (s)\text{-}uts\text{-}...s > uts\text{-}...s$
 3-1p $tc\text{-}s\text{-}uts\text{-}...s > tc(s)\text{-}uts\text{-}...s > tc^t\text{-}uts\text{-}...s$
 3-2p $kup\text{-}s\text{-}uts\text{-}...s > kup(s)\text{-}uts\text{-}...s > kup^t\text{-}uts\text{-}...s$
 1p-2 $ku^u\text{-}s\text{-}uts\text{-}...ät > ku^u\text{-}y\text{-}ts\text{-}...ät > kujts\text{-}...ät$
 1p-3 $s\text{-}uts\text{-}...ät > (s)\text{-}uts\text{-}...ät > uts\text{-}...ät$
 1p-2p $kup\text{-}s\text{-}uts\text{-}...ät > (s)\text{-}uts\text{-}...ät > kup^t\text{-}uts\text{-}...ät$
 2p-1 $tcin\text{-}s\text{-}uts\text{-}...mp > tcis\text{-}uts\text{-}...mp > tci\text{-}y\text{-}ts\text{-}...mp > tci^t\text{-}ts\text{-}...mp$
 2p-3 $s\text{-}uts\text{-}...mp > (s)\text{-}uts\text{-}...mp > uts\text{-}...mp$
 2p-1p omitted (§ 326)

I have omitted all third person plural forms whether of subject or object because these are formed by adding the third plural suffix *-ilc* to the singular.

181. These contractions show further examples of some previously set forth, e. g.: *n-s* > *s*; *s-vowel* > *y*; and add one very important one, *i-y* > *i'*. In order to discuss this change I shall give the equations when the continuative is used with the prefix "in". In this case *hm-*, in (to be carefully distinguished from *hin-*, my) takes the place of *ts-* and may be called the "*m*-continuative". As we have seen, it is a combination of *ts-hm-* > *m-* (see § 280). In this place I shall give only those equations which show changes different from those we have already encountered.

- 1-2 *ku^u-hin(my)-s-hm(in)-* > *ku^u-his-in-* > *ku-hiyn-* > *k^wiyn-*
 1-3 *hin(my)-s-hm(in)-* > *his-in-* > *hiyn-*
 1-2p *kup-hin-s-hm-* > *kup-his-m-* > *kuphiyn-*
 2-1 *tcn-in-s-hm-* > *tcn-is-m-* > *tcn-iyn-* > *tcniyn-*
 2-3 *in-s-hm-* > *is-m-* > *iyn-*
 3-1 *tcn-s-hm-* > *tcis-m-* > *tciiyn-*
 3-2 *ku^u-s-hm-* > *ku-yn-*
 3-3 *s-hm-* > *(s)-m-* > *m-*

182. In comparing the final contracted *its-* and *hm-* forms it will be seen that the first has *i'* where the second has *iy-*. The reason for this is that *i'* represents a contraction of *s* and *a* vowel, making *y* which does not contain an *h*; the *iy-* form represents a contraction of *s-h-vowel* which also results in *y* but this *y* having the *h*-content combines differently with the preceding *i*.

183. In both of these continuatives it should be noted that in the 3-3 forms the *s*, instead of contracting with *i* (*i*) to form *y*, disappears, leaving the vowel which is sometimes weak, and sometimes in the form *i'*, differences which I cannot explain. After so doing, it sets the pattern for all forms of the plural. It seems as if the disappearance of the *s*-prefix may be related to the suffixing of the subject, for it is when the subject pronoun is suffixed that it is lost.

184. In this connection we may now consider the intransitive continuative which we must conclude is also a substantive form since the phonetic changes of the first and second persons agree with those of the transitive. It will be noticed that the intransitive has prefixed pronominal forms identical with the transitive even through the plural, although the pronominal suffixes are necessarily missing since the independent pronouns are used here instead of the possessives. I give three examples here to show the difference in the three continuative prefixes: *ts-*; *i-*; *m-* (*ts-hm-*).

- S.am seeing
 1 *tei'ⁱ-ts-gwi'tc* (for *tcn-s-ts-* > *tcis-ts-* > *tc-i-y-ts-* > *tei'ⁱts-*)
 2 *ku'y-ts-gwi'tc* (for *ku^u-s-ts-* > *ku^uyts-*)
 3 *ts-gwi'tc* (for *[s]-ts* > *ts*)

Pl.

1 *tc³-its-gwi'tc*2 *kup³-its-gwi'tc*3 *its-gwi'tc-uc*

185. S. . . . am being afraid

1 *tcij-n-xi't* (for *tcin-s-hin* > *tcis-in* > *tcij(h)n* > *tcij-*)2 *kuj-n-xi't* (for *ku^u-s-hin* > *kuj-*)3 *in-xi't*

Pl.

1 *tc'in-xi't*2 *kup'in-xi't*3 *in-xi't-uc*

186. S. . . . am shooting

1 *tcit⁴-tap-stcä'nt* (for *tcin-s-i* > *tcis-i* > *tcit⁴-*)2 *kuj-tap-stcä'nt* (for *ku^u-s-i* > *kuj-*)3 *i-tap-stcä'nt* (for [s]-i-)

Pl.

1 *tc³-i-ta-tap-stcä'nt*2 *kup³-i-ta-tap-stcä'nt*3 *i-ta-tap-stcä'nt-(uc)*

187. The use of the prefix *ut-*, again, back, involves similar contractions when in the various settings. These may be readily understood from the phonetic laws already given. I will list the subject-object contractions, omitting those combinations in which there are none:

*Continuative with its-*1-2 *ku'uthi⁴ts-* I am . . . ing you again1-3 *ulhi⁴ts-*2-1 *tcui-ut-i⁴ts-*2-3 *ut-i⁴ts-*3-1 *tcui-uj-ts-*3-2 *ku'uj-ts-*3-3 *uj-ts-*188. *Continuative with hin-*1-2 *ku'ujn-* (*ku'ut-hin-s-hin* > *ku'utis-i* > *ku'uj-*)1-3 *ulhiyn-*2-1 *tcuiijn-*2-3 *ut'ijn-* (*ut-in-s-in* > *ut-ijn-*)3-1 *tcuiujn-*3-2 *ku'ujn-*3-3 *ujn-*

189-197. Contraction of Suffixed Elements

189. A study of assimilation and of the continuative has made us consider complicated assimilations of prefixes. The other two aspects of Coeur d'Alene derive their form primarily from a com-

combination of aspect with object-subject pronominal suffixes. The completive depends upon these entirely; the customary uses with them a prefix *ä-* or *äts-*. The completive is composed of the following elements in the order given: stem—aspect sign—pronominal object—pronominal subject.

190. The aspect sign of the completive is *-ts* and I include it in the following scheme because it sometimes assimilates to the pronominal suffixes or they to it. I use the same numerical device to indicate the persons of subject and object as for the continuative which gives the order of pronouns in English: 1-2 I thee, but it must be remembered that in Coeur d'Alene the object precedes the subject so that the order is thee-I. The first column gives the combination of suffixes as they stand, the second the theoretical reconstruction with remarks about the assimilation of sounds. The sounds in parentheses have dropped out. As with the possessive and continuative forms I omit the third plurals in all tenses since they are formed by adding *-lic* to the corresponding singular form whether object or subject is pluralized.

191.	1-2	<i>-ts-in</i>	<i>-ts-i-n</i>
	1-3	<i>-n</i>	<i>-(ts)-(t)-n</i>
	1-2p	<i>-tulm-En</i>	<i>-(ts)-tulm-En</i>
	2-1	<i>-ts-ä-x^w</i>	<i>-ts-ä(l)-x^w</i>
	2-3	<i>-t-x^w</i>	<i>-(ts)-t-x^w</i>
	2-1	omitted (§ 326)	—
	3-1	<i>-ts-ä-s</i>	<i>-ts-ä(l)-s</i>
	3-2	<i>-ts-t-s</i>	<i>-ts-t-s</i>
	3-3	<i>-ts</i>	<i>-(ts)-t-s</i>
	3-1p	<i>-täl-t-s</i>	<i>-(ts)-täl-s</i> (cp. § 95 where <i>ls</i> is lacking)
	3-2p	<i>-tulm-t-s</i>	<i>-(ts)-tulm-s</i>
	1p-2	<i>-ts-t-t</i>	<i>-ts-t-(mä)t</i>
	1p-3	<i>-t-m-ät</i>	<i>-(ts)-t-mät</i>
	1p-2p	<i>-tulm-t-t</i>	<i>-(ts)-tulm-(m)ät</i>
	2p-1	<i>-ts-äl-p</i>	<i>-ts-äl-p</i>
	2p-3	<i>-t-p</i>	<i>-(ts)-t-p</i>
	2p-1p	omitted (§ 326)	—

192. A comparison of the actual with the theoretical forms shows a rule of assimilation which we met before in considering prefixes, namely, that *ts-t* > *-t*. In some cases one gains the upper hand, in others, the other; while in the combination 1-3 both are lost. Another noteworthy fact is that *l* of the first person object is lost before *-x^w* (2-1) and *-s* of the combination 3-1, but stands before apparently the same *-s* of 3-1p, and before *-p* of combination 2p-1.

193. We shall now consider the customary in the same way. The customary suffix is *-stm-* and the pronominal suffixes are the same:

	1-2	<i>-stm-t-n</i>	<i>-stm-t-n</i>
	1-3	<i>-s-n</i>	<i>-s(tm)-(t)-n</i>
	1-2p	<i>-s-tulm-En</i>	<i>-s(tm)-tulm-En</i>

2-1	- <i>stm-ä-x^w</i>	- <i>stm-ä(l)-x^w</i>
2-3	- <i>s-t-x^w</i>	- <i>s(tm)-t-x^w</i>
2-1p	omitted (§ 326)	—
3-1	- <i>stm-ä-s</i>	- <i>stm-ä(l)-s</i>
3-2	- <i>stm-t-s</i>	- <i>stm-t-s</i>
3-3	- <i>s-tus</i>	- <i>s(tm)-t-s</i>
3-1p	- <i>s-täl-ıs</i>	- <i>s(tm)-täl-s</i>
3-2p	- <i>s-tulm-ıs</i>	- <i>s(tm)-tulm-s</i>
1p-2	- <i>stm-t-t</i>	- <i>stm-t-(mä)t</i>
1p-3	- <i>stm-ä-t</i>	- <i>s(tm)-t-mät</i>
1p-2p	- <i>s-tulm-ıt</i>	- <i>s(tm)-tulm-(mä)t</i>
2p-1	- <i>stm-äl-p</i>	- <i>stm-äl-p</i>
2p-3	- <i>s-t-p</i>	- <i>s(tm)-t-p</i>
2p-1p	omitted	

194. The contractions made in this series correspond exactly with those made in the completive, but in this case *tm* of the suffix *-stm* assimilates to *t*.

195. Whereas some stems ending in *n* (*k^win*, take one) take the normal of the completive and allow the final *n* to assimilate with the *s* of the customary suffix, *-stm*, others with final *n*, *t*, *y* and *l* cannot take the completive endings directly but demand the customary endings when transitive. The completive in these cases is different from the customary in not having the prefix *äts-*. There are not many of these stems and they may be merely irregular but I note them here because I think their irregularity may be due to phonetic causes (see §§ 157, 359):

<i>äku'-stus</i> , he told him (for the expected <i>äku'n-ts</i> , but <i>äts-äku'-stus</i> , he cust. says to him)
<i>pu'lu-stus</i> , he killed him (for the expected <i>pu'lut-ts</i>)
<i>axi'-stus</i> , he did thus to him (for the expected <i>axi'l-ts</i>)
<i>äci'-stus</i> , he did it with it (for the expected <i>äci'n-ts</i>)
<i>ta^a-q^wa'^aq^wä'^äl-stus</i> , he spoke to him (for the expected <i>ta^a-q^wa'^a-q^wä'^äl-ts</i>)
<i>gwä'y'-stus</i> , he finished (constructing) it (for the expected <i>gwä'y'-ts</i>)

196. A few (remarkably few) stems and suffixes seem to be irregular. They require, e. g., customary endings for the completive aspect, and one, quite irregular, requires completive endings for the customary aspect. I believe that these irregularities are due to phonetic reasons and for that reason I summarize here those which correspond to such assimilations as we have had before:

197. The final consonants *t*, *n* and *l* of some verbs are unstable and assimilate to following consonants according to regular rule, or they change conjugation so as to come within allowable assimilations. The same may be said of suffixes ending in *-t*, *-n*.

198-250. *Vocalic Dissimilation*

198. In their classification of Salishan languages¹ Boas and Haerberlin distinguish two groups of inland dialects based upon vowel shifts *i* to *a* and *a* to *i*. In the discussion they sense one of the fundamental problems of Salish, but the phonetic material they had to work on did not offer the possibility of solution. The difficulties which arise with regard to vowel shifts in a single language point out how great they must be in considering the whole family, and only an abundance of accurately recorded material can lead us to valid conclusions. The examples to be discussed show that an accented vowel in Coeur d'Alene may be *i*, *a*, or *ä*, depending upon its setting and other factors. But not only is this true; differences in vocabulary are indicated by change of vowel so that we have examples like *q^wäd*, be black; *q^wid*, make black; *fⁱc*, be sweet; *f^äc*, be inherently sweet. Teit's material and that of others who made the reconnaissance of the region would depend necessarily upon the casual form accidentally hit upon by the particular native interrogated.

199. Still another drawback of this material is the recording. *i* and *e* are the same sound, not exactly like European *i* or *e* but between the two and nearer one or the other depending upon accent and surrounding sounds. *ä* in Coeur d'Alene is very important, somewhere between *ä* in English "hat" and open *ε* but again it is neither and its value changes with setting. The material at hand indicates that there may be at least two *ä*'s historically but they cannot now be distinguished phonetically. Since most of the examples for the inland dialects are taken from Giorda² and Teit³ we may use them as examples. Neither came to a conclusion regarding *i* and what they heard as *e*; neither recorded *ä* or *ε*, one hearing *ä* at one time nearer *a* and recording it so, at another time hearing it as *ε* and recording it as *e*, while at the same time he recorded *i* as *e*.

200. Another aural thought habit which sets off Salishan (and other Northwest languages) from the Indo-European is the prevalence of consonants in clusters without separating vowels. All the old Salishan material has vowels inserted in the most inconsistent places and there is no telling whether they are significant or not, particularly as the recorders do not distinguish the strength and weakness of vowels which are very important as we have seen. Most tantalizing is the question why the vowels of the suffixes are

¹ Franz Boas and Herman Haerberlin, Sound Shifts in Salishan Dialects, Int. Jour. Am. Ling. IV: 117-136.

² A Dictionary of the Kalispel or Flat-head Indian Language.

³ Comparative Salishan Vocabularies, Unpublished material.

sometimes strong, sometimes weak and sometimes entirely lacking. There is no possibility of approaching the problem from the meager vocabularies available for the only possible help is a wealth of examples. There is no doubt, however, that the languages show certain processes of vowel change and the Coeur d'Alene material indicates that it may have considerable bearing upon the determination of those processes.

201. Fundamental to the understanding of the language is the relationship between vowels, accent and consonants, preceding or following. All stems may be classified into groups which we might call conjugations. There is some indication that suffixes have verbal significance and they may be included in the verb conjugations. Stems or suffixes may carry the accent, the prefix never does, and such changes as come about in the prefix are minor from this point of view.

202. In order to illustrate the changes I shall give examples of three forms of each verb which are to be understood as follows: The first vowel is the strong one. It is found in the independent form of the verb (*u^v*-; intr. compl.; tr. compl. without suffixes) which carries the accent.

203. The second vowel of the series is the form found when it precedes a velar or a faucal: *q, q^w, q̇, q̇^w, x, x^w, r, R, r^w* and when it follows certain other sounds (§§ 214—243). There is a tendency in Coeur d'Alene to draw back the entire faucal region when using one of the velars or faucals so that *a* approaches in such cases more nearly to *ɔ*, and this tendency is anticipatory, that is, it operates from the beginning of the word and continues until the faucal is pronounced and, in some cases, it seems even to carry over beyond to the end of the word. The sounds achieved by this habit are indicated by the second vowel of the conjugation series. Vowels preceding faucals and velars are affected in this way whether or not they carry the accent, but when not accented, they may be very short.

204. The third vowel is a much weakened one which appears when the stem or suffix loses the accent and does not occur in a position described in §§ 202, 203. Three weak vowels are heard, one *ɪ*, a weakened form of *i*; *ʉ*, heard where the setting is influenced by a labial, and *ɛ*, which is so weak as to lack timbre almost entirely. The articulation of these vowels is not always consistent; the important and unvarying fact about them is their weakness.

205. *ä(a)-a-E(u)*

1	2	3
<i>tä'k'w-unts</i> , he laid one down	<i>am-tä'k'w-qEn</i> , it lies on top	<i>tük'w-qi'nts</i> , she head- laid him ¹
<i>lä'dj-Ents</i> , he stabbed it	<i>ni'^t-lä'dj-i'^tqs-Ents</i> , he stabbed her nose	<i>ni'^t-LEDj-i'wäs</i> , he stabbed in among
<i>äk'w'n</i> , he said	<i>akw'stq</i> , he answered back (for <i>akw- stq</i>)	<i>äts-Eku'stus</i> , he cust. tells him (for <i>äts- Eku'n-ts</i>)
<i>sä'ttc-Ents</i> , he twisted it	<i>ni'^t-sä'ttc-i'^tqs-En</i> , crank, what twists nose	<i>sä't-sEttc-Ents</i> , he twisted them one by one

206. *i-a-ä*

<i>u^w-q^wi'ts</i> , it is warm	<i>q^wa'ts-qEn</i> , hat, warm- head	<i>s-q^wäts-u'lumx^w</i> , Cali- fornia, warm-land
<i>wi'c-Ents</i> , he built it	<i>a-t-ua'c-alq^w</i> , ware- house, built on long object (i. e. railroad track)	<i>äts-wi'c-uäc</i> , there were dwellings
<i>qi'^tnts</i> , he stuck it to it	<i>qa^a-qi'n</i> , cork	<i>qä^ä-ci'n-Em</i> , he put moccasins on
<i>i'p-Ents</i> , he wiped it	<i>ni'-a'p-i'^tqs-En</i> , hand- kerchief	<i>t-i'p-äp-änä'änts</i> , she wiped his ears

207. *i-ä-ä*

<i>tsic-t</i> , it is long	<i>tsä'c-alq^w</i> , he is tall	
<i>t-k'winc</i> , how many	<i>k'wä'nc-alq^w</i> , how many poles	
<i>ttc-i'h-EmEntsut</i> , he turned himself toward		<i>n-äh-i'teni</i> , his back was toward, he back-turned to- ward
<i>n-i'd-us-Ents</i> , he bought it, ex- changed for it	<i>tsa'ni-a'd-alqs</i> , he changed clothes	<i>n-äd-us-i'wäs-uc</i> , they traded

208. *u-ɔ-ɔ*

<i>pu'x^w-unts</i> , he blew on it	<i>t-pɔ'x^w-qEnts</i> , he blew on her head	<i>ni'^t-pu.x^w-i'wäs</i> , he blew among
<i>ä^ä-lu'p</i> , it is dried	<i>tc-lɔ'p-qEnts</i> , she dried his hair	<i>lu'p-lup-t</i> , it has qual- ity of effecting dryness
<i>äts-ku's</i> , it is curled	<i>a-t-kɔ's-qEn</i> , his hair is curled	<i>äts-ku's-ky's</i> , it is curled here and there
<i>upEn</i> , ten	<i>j'pan-tct-alq^w</i> , ten poles, trees	

¹ There is no gender in Coeur d'Alene but I use it in third persons to distinguish subject, object, and self.

209. I have cited only the simplest forms. As is to be expected, the verb-complex is subject to considerable modification and there are exceptions to the rules. Usually, as has been said and illustrated, the faucally weak form of a vowel is used *before* a velar or faucal whether it carries the accent or not:

- t-Ra-Rä^äd-i'lc-stus*, he caused rocks to grow redhot (*Ri'^d*, become redhot)
r^wä't.s-r^wät.s-Em, he smiled (cp. *r^wi'^tlus*, he broke into a smile)
a-ttċ-Emä'c-a'ast-qEn, cust. it perches on his head (*ämuc*, one sits; *-i'^tst*, surface of round object)
mä'n-kyp-alq^w, fire-drill (*miñ*, rub; *-kyp*, fire)
a^a-tċar-ä'p-qEn, band is around head, on jar (*tċar*, band lies without pulling; *-ip*, bottom)

210. However, the following are exceptions to the rule, the vowel retaining its strength even before a velar or faucal:

- t-Ri'^t.Ri'^td-ä^äst*, rocks became hot (*t...ä^äst*, spherical surface)
t-Ri'ts-Rüs-älgwäs, he is persistent (*Rits*, strive)
qi'^tx^w-qi'^tx^w, Sprague, it smells and smells (place name)
i-t-xä's-i'^tqs, he enjoys food immensely (*xäs*, be well; *t...i'^tqs*, on and part of nose)
Räts-i'tċn-alq^w, bowwood (*Räts*, tie; *-itċn*, back, ridge)

211. One example shows how strong the faucalizing tendency is for it seems to operate in both directions, progressively and regressively:

- hün-tä^a-qEn-ǰ'ps*, name of Grizzly, pounded on end of tail (*ti'^t*, pound)

212. Two others, very exceptional, are also interesting:

- a^a.xǰ's-qEn-Em*, he deloused (I think this is the stem *axus*, look for, which has taken on *x* before *q*)
in-sä^äg-ǰ's-älpq^w, he got food in the wrong throat (*g* is foreign to Coeur d'Alene but the influence of *q^w* seems to be so strong that *g* is drawn back with the vowels, becoming the velar sonant)

213. Whereas the velars and faucals have a regressive influence on vowels, some other consonants seem to affect the vowels progressively. I have not been able to find a general rule for these, and since there are not many, and since I believe they are of considerable theoretical importance, I list all I have found.

214. Certain stems containing bilabial consonants, but by no means all of them, have a progressive influence on the vowels. Even the same stem may sometimes cause the changes, and in other cases it does not. It is not possible to tell in every case which consonant of the stem has the influence, in most cases it seems as if both consonants function together in this respect:

215. *pas*, be astonishing:

s-pEs-a'ya, folly, error (-*iyä^ä*, playingly)
pEs-a'te-stmEn, I will play a trick on him (-*ite*, deceive)
pEs-pEs-ɔ'l, he is timid (-*ul*, habitually)

216. *pɔ'ɔs*, joke (cp. *pu'us*, foam):

tei'ts-pɔ'ɔs-tsä'n, I am joking hither (-*tsin*, mouth)

217. *pa^ay*, from Fr. *Espagne*:

s-pa^ay-ɔ'lumc, Spanish (-*ulumc*, person)

218. *paf*, be mushy, pour mushy stuff:

t-paf-a'^{aa}s-Ents, he poured cement on rock
tsän-paf-cä'n-En, cement, under foot-pour mushy (-*cin*, foot)
hün-paf-paf-tsä'n-tEmi, mush stuff was applied to his little mouth
 (-*tsin*, mouth; glot., dim.)
hün-paf-paf-ɔs-Entsɔ't, he dreamed, self-poured mushy stuff in eyes
 (-*tsut*, reflex.)

219. *pats*, squirt, hence, defecate, urinate:

s-pätS-Em-ä'..., just dung (-*i'...*, exaggeration)
tcät-hus-t-pätS-ɔ's-Em, I will squirt him in the eye (-*us*, eye)

220. *pEsaq^w*, long brittle object breaks. Both the regular and dissimilated forms are correct for this word, an onomatopoeic word used to indicate "breaking a leg", but in a more particular sense to "break Meadowlark's leg". It is interesting to note, and perhaps significant, that Meadowlark as a mythological character is considered to be Spokane:

pEsaq^w-i'uäs-cEn-tsäx^w, or *pEsaq^w-ä'uäs-cEn-tsäx^w*, thou brokest my leg (-*iwäs*, together, apart)

221. *pul*, apply poison ivy, be poison ivy:

pul-Em-ä'tsä^ä, he applied poison ivy (-*itsä^ä*, all over)

222. *tap*, shoot, pierce with pointed object. *tap* has affected following vowels in every example I have recorded:

tap-stcä'nt, he shot (*stcint*, people)
hün-tä'p-tsä^ä-äntsɔt-En, pineapple, what shoots self through inside
 (-*En*, tr.; -*tsut*, reflex.)
tc-tap-hnä'w-Entsäx^w, (if) you shoot alongside me (-*äniw*, alongside)

223. *tcapEna'l*, at least, no matter how little.

224. As in the above, so in the next three examples it is impossible to tell whether *p*, *t*, or *s* has the influence:

sipäy, be buckskin
tcni-sEp-sEp-a'y-cEn, I am wearing moccasins (-*iy*, billowy)

225. *täp*, mark, make welt:

tcn-tEp-tEp-äp-ä'tct, I hand-marked came to be, my hand became welted (-*itct*, hand. But compare *tEp-ä'tcti'tcä'änts*, he welted his horse (*ästci'tcä^ä*, horse); and *tc-tEp-i'ts-Ents*, he surface-marked it, made mark on rock (-*i'tst*, surface of round object)

226. *mał*, bubble:
tcni^t-mEl-p-a'was, it bubbles from in between (-*iwäs*, between)
227. *mał*, heat:
a-mEl-a'tct-mEn-tsälis, he is making us too warm (-*itct*, fingers[?])
228. *mul*, soil, earth:
a-mul-ɔ'lymx^w, soil, earth (-*ulymx^w*, ground)
229. *mas-mas*, vile-smelling vegetable much liked by the Coeur d'Alene:
an-mEs-mEs-a'tk^wä^ä, water is full of *masmas* (-*it*, use)
230. *tam*, make damp, dampen:
tä'm-tEm-yɔyä^ä, snail, it dampens here and there back and forth (-*yuyä^ä*, back and forth)
syä-tam-a'lymx^w, one who licks people (-*ilymx^w*, person)
tam-älgwäs-tsä'n-Em, he licked his lips (-*ilgwäs*, heart [internals?]; -*tsin*, mouth)
231. *tam*, scorch:
tam-Entsɔ't, he scorched himself (-*tsut*, reflex.)
atc-tEm-a'wäs, it exists scorched on the surface (-*iwäs*, together)
tc-tEm-tEm-a'tcni, Scorched Mountain. This name was used in this form but Susan Antelope always said *tctEmtEmä'tcni* and Lawrence thinks it sounds better this way. (-*itcni*, ridge)
ku'n-tEm-a'wäs-us, thou scorched eyebrow, name of ridicule for Coyote
- This verb is not consistent in its influence as the last example and those of § 243 show.
232. *tšom*, suck:
ni^t-tšomⁱ-a'wäs-Ents, he sucked amongst
233. *x^wäm*, ?:
x^wäm-ä'tct, woodpecker, perhaps yellow hammer (-*itct*, finger, wing)
234. *xäm*, go to live with in-laws:
xäm-än-tsɔ't-En, he went to live with his in-laws (-*tsut*, reflex.)
235. The rest of the stems seem to depend on some sound other than labial to influence the following vowels; it is difficult to determine what it may be.
236. *läl*, sprinkle:
hn-lEl-lEl-ä'nä^ä-äntEm, he was ear-sprinkled. But compare *tc-lEl-lEl-i'nä^ä-äntEm*, he was ear-sprinkled on; and *tca-lEl-lEl-i'nä^ä-äntEm*, each lying one is ear-sprinkled over (*tcat-l* > *tcat-*; *tcat*... *inä^ä*, on broad object ear)
237. *nas*, wet:
a-tc-nas-nas-u^s-tcä'nt, he wets people's eyes (-*us*, eye, unchanged; but *scint*, people)

238. *san'*, tame:

sE-sEñ-sEñ-t-ä'lc-stus, he broke it (horse) (-*ilc*, grow)

239. Stems with *ɔ*-vowel seem to have a faucal-weakening effect on following vowels but again some do not:

hm-mɔʔt-a'ttšä'ä, it (chimney) is smoking (-*iltšä'ä*, inside)

tsɔʔt-a'tʃumx^w, dwarf (*tsɔʔt*, sob; -*ilumx^w*, person)

tcɪʔts-pɔʔs-tsä'n, I am joking (or is this *p-s* influence?)

but

tcm-t-qɔ-qɔʔt-us, small particles flew into eye (*quʔut*, dust)

240. *yats'*, be tight, firm:

tc-yEtš-yEtš-am-a'tct-Em, hold on tight (-*itct*, finger)

u-yEtš-ɔ' . . . p, it held firm (-*u'p*, ?)

241. *tčux^w*, ? (weak form in only one example):

hm-tčux^w-tčux^w-a'p-än'Em, he retired (-*ip*, bottom?; -*in*,?)

242. *k^war*, be yellow:

hm-k^war-k^war-a'uäs-En, crossbills (-*iwäs*, together)

243. In the following examples one part of the complex is affected, but the other is not, or perhaps the stem does not influence the suffix:

pä'quʔs-qEn, nagger, loud talker (*pägw*, echo; -*uʔs*, "spang"; -*qEn*, voice)

pä'ɔʔs-uʔs-EntEm, he was face-mush-poured "spang", mush was poured spang into his face (-*us*, face)

kuʔm-tEm-a'uäs-us, thou burnt eyebrow

a^a-ta'm-us, his face is scorched

cil tcał-ta'm-ups, he all but scorched his tail (-*ups*, tail)

tšmł-tcs-En-tsu't, he sucked his own finger

a-tc-nas-nas-uʔs-tcä'nt, he wets people's eyes

244. I have worked upon the problem presented by these examples intensively from the beginning of my work with Coeur d'Alene and I have come to the conclusion that it can be finally solved if at all, only with comparative material. The related languages, Kalispelm and Thompson in particular, and others according to Haeberlin and Boas¹, show that the problem is as important in them as in Coeur d'Alene. From these examples several conclusions which must remain tentative are indicated.

245. The process is one in a state of growth, or one which has not reached stability although it has considerable strength. This is indicated by the difference of opinion about Scorched Mountain (see under *tam*, scorch) and by other examples. E. g., Dorothy said, *mɔʔti'* . . . it smokes, but this sounds incorrect to Lawrence who thinks *mɔʔtä'* . . . sounds better. The examples of §§ 236, 239, 243 indicate that the process has not reached its ultimate limit, but

¹ Unpublished material on the Chehalis indicates the same problem, but probably worked out in a different way.

some of them show the tendency as present affecting one suffix and not another.

246. Vocalic dissimilation is used primarily for derivation. It has not been possible to prove this in every case since the stems are not obtainable, but there is sufficient evidence to indicate that this process differentiates meanings. Since so many of the stems occur in several forms, any of which may, according to the phonetic laws, take on the same form as another, there must exist some means of differentiation and this is one of them. I will list a few of these which concern our examples of phonetic change:

<i>puʷus</i> , foam	<i>pɔʷəs</i> , joke
<i>quʷul</i> , be dust	<i>qɔʷəl</i> , dust flies about
<i>tām</i> , be damp	<i>tam</i> , make damp, dampen
<i>pāl</i> , be smooth	<i>pāl</i> , be mushy
<i>pīts</i> , squeeze, push	<i>pats</i> , squirt, exert pressure by squeezing
<i>pīj</i> , press	<i>pāj</i> , milk
<i>tām̄</i> , bone	<i>tšom̄</i> , suck (marrow was sucked)

247. In an analysis of the vocabulary I hope to show more examples and discuss the vowel changes, but these are enough to demonstrate the process of dissimilation. The examples are not entirely consistent but *pāl*, be mushy, and *pats*, squirt, e. g., take the vowel changes, whereas *pāl*, be smooth and *pīts*, press, do not. I suggest that the stem *tšom̄* may exact the vowel change to distinguish it from *tām̄*, bone, be bony.

248. Several examples of a single stem which demonstrate combination with two similar suffixes are enlightening:

hın-tel-tel-i'nā'ántEm is literally, he was ear-sprinkled in, i. e., someone sprinkled water in his ear (to waken him), but *hın-tel-tel-ä'nā'ántEm*, with the same literal meaning but actually meaning "he heard sprinkling of rain while he slept".

On the other hand compare *tc-ti'l-tel-änā'ántEm* and *tc-tel-tel-i'nā'ántEm*, he was sprinkled on the ears (both have nearly the same meaning) and *tca-tel-tel-i'nā'ántEm* (for *tcat-tel-*), each one (broad surface, person lying down) is sprinkled over.

Again, *tcsın-cel-i'p-Ents*, he set it upright in doorway, but *tcsın-cel-ä'p*, threshold or that which projects in the doorway. Unless there are two origins of *-ip* (*-ip* and *-äp*), and there is no evidence for this, it seems that the distinction is made for the purpose of derivation.

And again, *tūq^w-tūq^w-a'tcs-Entsut*, they clapped hands (*tāq^w*, slap, but *tūq^w*, explode, go off).

249. The process may be a result of borrowing. As I have said, there is no way of checking with satisfactory exactness the examples I have with any other vocabulary, but although Boas and Haerberlin¹ class Kalispelm with Coeur d'Alene, many examples in Giorda suggest that Kalispelm has *a* where Coeur d'Alene has *i* although

¹ Sound-Shifts in Salishan Dialects.

the reasons may of course be very different: e. g. Kal. (Giorda, I, 463) *i-ch-pi'k-aze*, white all around. Cp. CdA. *t-pä'q-tšä^ä*, white person, white on and part of surface. CdA. has *päq*, be white (*u^w*-form) and *paq*, be made white, and from Giorda it appears that Kal. has *piq* (*pik*), be white, and *paq* (*pak*) be made white. Here is a case, and there are many, where it is hardly likely that Giorda would write *i* for *ä*, and it is to be noted that *pik* is followed by *-aze* rather than *-itšä^ä* although this *a* may well be short, obscure, or non-existent.

250. During the growth of the language, notions were taken, it seems, from various sources and it is more than likely that vowels secured their share of inconsistency in the process. The CdA. word for trout, *pał-a'swäl* shows the regular CdA. form *a* for *i* after *pał*, be mushy, but it shows also *w* for *gw* which CdA. tolerates, but only lightly, especially for diminutives. Note under *-isgwäl*, fish, that this is the only case in which *gw* > *w*.

251—708. MORPHOLOGY: THE VERB

251—256. CHARACTER OF THE STEM

251. By far the greatest number of Coeur d'Alene stems is monosyllabic, consisting of *cvc*, or *cvcc*. The same stem may be used for nouns and verbs. The infinitive or participle—they are the same—is used frequently. It is formed regularly by prefixing *s-* to the stem and the majority of nouns begin with *s*.

252. Not only is the relationship between noun and verb close, but there is some indication of a strong tendency to verbalize affixes or particles. I will discuss some evidence for this later (§ 711), but here give several examples to show the tendency. A prefix *tcits-* means "hither, toward the speaker"; a stem *tcits* means "arrive, end of motion in this direction", and is used in all the usual forms of the transitive and intransitive verb. The word *tš'inä^ä*, outer ear, is certainly composed as follows: *t-*, on and a part of; *-inä^ä*, usually a suffix meaning "ear". The compound is treated exactly as a verb would be, even to the glottalization of the *t* before a stem-vowel. Still another example is *lut*, which sometimes seems to be a particle, (although it may have verbal significance), and sometimes is used exactly as a verb which might be translated "he no-ed" meaning "he refused".

253. Still better examples of the close relationship between verb and other parts of speech are the demonstratives, which exist as articles, adverbs, and verbs all closely related (§§ 699—708; 722—748).

254. In a special category of verbs are the bisyllabic stems. Some of these seem to be ordinary stems to which suffixes have become so closely related as now to be a part of the stem which cannot be used without them. Examples of this type are *tec-ip*, chase, which suggests the analysis "back-accompany"; *taqip*, dam (bottom-cover); *luk^wip*, start out (one bottom-lies), *tsuk^win*, one runs (attempt to drag[?]). A common one, *tcitcmin*, throw one object, cannot be broken up, as is true indeed for most of these "stems".

254a. Some of the bisyllabic stems have a vowel as an initial and for this reason present certain complications, some of which concern the consonants preceding the stem initial as well as the accent. When a stem of the most common type is compounded with a suffix, the two being used as one, the accent is commonly and permanently on the suffix, but with the bisyllabic vowel-initial stems, the accent may change (§§ 653). There is some reason to believe that these "stems" are also a combination of a stem and suffix but the meanings of both are generally so vague as to make this merely a theoretical suggestion. And, although the phonetic changes make for certain difficulties in handling the complex practically, they nevertheless furnish clues as to the possible origin of the compound which is treated like a stem.

255. In common with many of the languages of western North America in general, and with the Salishan languages in particular, Coeur d'Alene distinguishes between certain actions performed by singular or plural subjects or upon one or more objects. The stems are then entirely different. For instance, *x^wist*, means "he travelled", but *däxt* means "they traveled". *k^win*, take hold of one, *tcami*, grasp more than one.

256. Many of the stems are onomatopoeic. Not nearly all are sound-words, but so many of them are that relationships *post facto* and analogies between the sounds of the stems and the sounds of the acts are made. In other words, speakers frequently go back to sounds for explanations, "That's the way it sounds when it breaks. I guess that is why that is the word."

257—274. COMPOSITION OF THE VERB COMPLEX

257. The language is unusually free and the forms are regular. The number of irregularities is small indeed, being confined to a few stems which have taken on generalized meanings.

258. There is a verb in Coeur d'Alene which slightly resembles a copula, although it might be as well to call it an impersonal verb. It is *äpł* and means "he has, there is". It is treated much like a verb in some respects, e. g., it has some aspective forms, it takes prefixes,

tcni-pt, I have; *tcät-hi'ipt*, I shall have. In other respects it is irregular as a verb. In the third person singular and in the plurals the possessive suffixes are added to the noun which follows as if it were incorporated. I believe this is the origin of the form *-iptlix^wtstc* which now seems to be a suffix, and I do not think it even far-fetched to derive the important and tantalizing *-i-* of so many of the suffixes from it (§ 581).

hni-äpt-tsä'tx^w, I have a house
ni-äpt-tsä'tx^w, thou hast a house
äpt-tsä'tx^w-s, he has a house
äpt-tsE-tsä'tx^w-ät, we have houses
äpt-tsE-tsä'tx^w-mp, you have houses
äpt-tsE-tsä'tx^w-silc, they have houses

Some other forms are:

tcä^änu'c xal 'ul-pt, I wish also it would be again
tcätä'äpt tcs-niEmu't, from there there was (someone) sitting in watching (*tcätä-*, from there hither; *tcs-*, with purpose; *hni-*, in; *äm*, one sits; *-ut*, be in position)
tä tsi'ipt its-k^wi'n, they are the ones who took it first (*tä* with verb makes relative clause; *tsi'*, first)
huw' äpt-tsä'tx^w, that one who owned the house (*huwä*, that, with verb makes relative clause; *tsä'tx^w*, house)
nä^ä sä'guät ku^u-p-sq^wa's-q^wasä^ä, whosever child it is (*nä^ä*, doubt; *säguät*, who; *ku^u* -vowel- > *ku^u*; *i-s-* > *s-*; *ku^u*, thou). The only trace of *äpt* left here is *-p-*, nevertheless it is understood to be present. This example illustrates well how easily *äpt* could be lost entirely.

259. From the example *ku^u-pt*, thou art (cont. and cust.) it seems as if *ä* were a prefix rather than part of the stem for the stem vowel initial is not usually affected by assimilation of the prefix to it.

260. A number of the usual grammatical processes are used, but almost every psychological idea is expressed by more than one. Possession, e. g., is expressed by prefixes in the first and second singular, by suffixes in the third singular and in all the plurals; diminutive is shown by reduplication and the glottalization of a series of sounds, or by these means together with consonant change and change of accent; prefixes together with suffixes are necessary to express continued or customary action.

261. Within its limitations, however, the language is flexible, allowing an unusual opportunity for the expression of fine shades of meaning. Words which could not possibly be transitive in English may be treated transitively in Coeur d'Alene. With the exception of the neutral verbs, practically every stem has the potentiality of appearing as either intransitive or transitive. Furthermore, combinations of stem and affixes which might seem to us psychologically intolerable are possible. For instance, a stem which means "move quickly" could be used in a construction which

would have to be translated "he moved quickly *very* slowly". Such a construction is regarded as amusing and it is not only tolerated, it is enjoyed. The flexibility of the language affords innumerable facilities for word coining of great appropriateness, versatility of individual style, and play of imagination. The opportunities it offers for punning are legion and this is a favorite diversion of all my informants. To the freedom of composition there is added the use of a large vocabulary and the effect of one on the other combined with lively imagination makes for the continuous growth of an extensive and subtle vocabulary.

262. The primary interest of the language centers on the way in which a state or an action came about. This is not the kind of distinction which we should call mode. It is much more subtle, and besides, the differentiations made would not fit into the classification of "aspects". Verbs may be intransitive in meaning and form in which case they express condition (state) or action. The difference between state and action may be expressed by grammatical form. One form will show that the subject has been acted upon and now exists in that "acted-upon" state so that the condition might be removed again; another, that the subject was acted upon so that the condition is within and has become a part of it; and a third, that the condition is within and part of the subject. There is also a differentiation as to how it became acted upon: it acted with or without its own volition; or it came to be acted upon by, or without, a natural or human agent; or the action was performed with, or without, control. Still another form indicates that a person or object affects in a particular way, or "has the quality of affecting. . . ."

263. Words denoting action may be modified to show whether the subject is "in the act of. . .", or "in the position of", "moving in a horseshoe curve", "arranging for. . .", "doing . . . artificially", "attempting to . . .", "acting playfully", "acting seemingly", "acting willingly".

264. Verbs of action, even such as "go", may be treated as intransitive or transitive, but the two ideas run so closely parallel that I shall have to discuss them together. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that in Coeur d'Alene the line between transitivity and intransitivity is drawn differently from the languages with which we are most familiar. Some verbs demand a psychological object even though their form may be intransitive. There is a general suffix for these and I refer to this form as a "transitive with an indefinite object" although the form seems more intransitive than transitive.

265. The many suffixes referring to body-parts and to place are exploited by Coeur d'Alene to a great extent, and accent is used

to change meanings. To explain a number of ideas I shall take the example, "wear moccasins" which is composed of the stem "stick to" and the suffix "foot".

266. If the stem has the accent, the combination means simply "he is stuck to as to foot" or "he has a moccasin on".

267. If the accent is on the suffix the combination means "he has moccasin-put on"; this form is understood to refer always to the subject. It is essentially an intransitive form and thus differs from the reflexive which is transitive. This is exceedingly difficult to render in English, for we feel we ought to use the transitive. Since there is some reason to believe that the suffixes are either incorporated nouns or derived from them, I shall translate this form as if the body-part were a part of the verb, thus "he is foot-stuck". It should be noted that this differs from the first example in that here the actual subject is "foot" which is really a nominative of reference. It might be compared to English "he wood-chopped" although this does not express all that is contained in the Coeur d'Alene verb.

268. These forms, i. e., stem with accent-suffix, and stem-suffix with accent, can be used transitively in both active and passive. Transitive derivatives of § 266 would be: active, [she stuck him as to the foot]¹; passive, [he is stuck as to the foot].

269. Transitive derivatives of § 267 are used: active, she foot-stuck him (put moccasin on him); passive, he is foot-stuck (he has had moccasins put on).

270. There are, in addition to these transitive forms, two suffixes, one causative; one, usitative. It can readily be seen that, if there is a stem and two or more suffixes and a possibility of the accent falling on either stem or suffix with difference in meaning, the number of distinctions may become large, as indeed it does. I shall discuss the effects of accent and suffix combinations under Accent (§§ 651-698) but mention these matters here to point out that the English causative or passive may not be used accurately to translate the Coeur d'Alene intransitive with accented suffix because Coeur d'Alene has all the forms used in English and others as well. The forms would be translated: she caused him to be foot-stuck, she used him to foot-stick, she used him to cause foot-sticking, and their corresponding passives: he was caused to be foot-stuck, he was used to foot-stick, he was used to cause foot-sticking.

271. There is perhaps no verb for which *all* these shades of meaning occur, nevertheless all verbs have the potentiality for them, and many of them do appear.

272. As if these means, all grammatical, were not sufficient to draw finely enough the wire of meaning, there is a vocabulary device

¹Theoretical forms which do not exist or are not used are enclosed in brackets.

which seems strictly formal, and which gives another shade of meaning. This is a vowel change in a stem. For instance, *tĕäd* means "be shady, shade" and *tĕid* means "make shaded, shady"; *k^wul*, be red; *k^wil*, dye (make) red; *gwaq*, be roomy, have space, *gwoq*, make way, as through a crowd (see § 246). Other fine distinctions are indicated by stem-changes, largely phonetic, but these must be left for the discussion of vocabulary.

273. Enough has been said to indicate the grooves in which Coeur d'Alene thought runs and I shall now outline the ways in which the distinctive forms are built up. The forms themselves are simple enough, but it is easy to understand the difficulties interpreters have in making the proper translations. It will be necessary to discuss the pronouns and the aspect requirements before the forms are taken up because these are general and, once known, apply to them all.

274. Although the phonetic changes involved in composition are numerous and sometimes obscure the stem slightly, never does the stem lose its identity. The form which corresponds to the Indo-European infinitive as identifying the verb in its class is the intransitive completive, the simplest form of the verb possible, one which often occurs without affixes. In many cases, this form of the stem may be used for the transitive completive merely by adding the object-subject pronominal suffixes.

275—276. SUBJECT PRONOUNS

275. The various persons, of which there are three in the singular and plural as in English, are expressed, except for the third, in the simplest verbs, by the use of short forms which are related to the independent pronouns:

Independent pronoun	Pronominal subject
S.	
1 <i>tcinā^ä</i> , I	<i>tcin-</i>
2 <i>kuwä</i> , thou	<i>ku-</i> or <i>ku^w-</i>
3 <i>tsä'nul</i> , he, she, it	—
Pl.	
1 <i>te<i>li'</i>pust</i> , we	<i>te-</i>
2 <i>kup<i>li'</i>pust</i> , you	<i>kup-</i>
3 <i>tsEni'<i>l-ilc</i></i> , they	<i>-ilc</i>

276. I am writing all subject and object pronouns as affixes because even those definitely related to the independent pronouns are shortened forms and assimilate phonetically so thoroughly with the verbal prefixes that I do not feel that they exist independently. The suffix of the third person plural is really only a plural; absence of pronoun indicates third person.

277. ASPECT

277. The language has three "aspects", distinguished in various ways but particularly by affixes and the use of the pronouns. The first of these is the completive, used to indicate an action complete in the past. The second is the customary, which may be translated "customarily he . . .". If an action or series of acts is repeated more than twice, as for instance, when Catbird fished everything he wanted out of the water, the best translation is "he would. . . ." which is really a customary past. A further use of the customary suffixes without the prefix should be rendered "according to custom", a construction used for generalizing. The third aspect is the continuative. It expresses continued action or being in the present or the past and from its makeup, entirely different from the other two which are similarly formed, seems to be a verbal noun.

278—318. INTRANSITIVE

278—291. *General Remarks*

278. Having discussed the stem, the independent pronouns and their shortened forms used as prefixes, and the aspects, we may now illustrate the way in which the various aspects are expressed.

279. The completive is formed by prefixing the personal pronouns to the verb-stem.

280. The customary intransitive is formed by prefixing the same pronouns, and the customary prefix *äts-* (*ats-*) to the stem. Since some of the pronominal prefixes end in unstable sounds and since the customary prefix has a vowel-initial, certain assimilations occur which make the paradigm appear irregular. Furthermore, *ts* of the customary is also unstable since it assimilates to a following dental, sibilant, *y*, or lateral which may appear as the initial of another prefix or of the stem, most frequently the latter. For these reasons it seems advisable to list not only the regular, but also the two most common combinations of personal pronoun and customary prefix. In the first column is the regular form; in the second, the reduced form resulting from the assimilation of *ts* to a following consonant; and in the third, the form resulting from the contraction of: pronominal prefix-customary prefix-*hm-* meaning "in, into, or on" (§ 181). This prefix is only one of many, but it is given here because it is used more commonly than any other, and is more obscured. In many cases it is so much a part of the verb, that the stem has no meaning without it, or means something entirely different from what it means with it.

281. Pronoun with <i>äts-</i>	Pronoun with <i>ts</i> assimilated to following consonant ¹	Pronoun with <i>eust.</i> and <i>hın-</i>
S.		
1 <i>tcüts-</i>	<i>tcü-</i>	<i>tcüın-</i>
2 <i>ku^uts-</i>	<i>ku^u-</i>	<i>ku^uın-</i>
3 <i>äts-</i>	<i>ä-</i>	<i>än-</i>
Pl.		
1 <i>tc'äts-</i>	<i>tc'-ä-</i>	<i>tc'-än-</i>
2 <i>kup'äts-</i>	<i>kup'-ä-</i>	<i>kup'-än-</i>
3 <i>äts- . . . -ılc</i>	<i>ä- . . . -ılc</i>	<i>än- . . . -ılc</i>

282. The completive and customary are, for the most part, aspects which are regular, consistent and easily understood in both intransitive and transitive. The continuative, however, presents certain complications for various reasons, the most important of which is that it is a participial form and, in the transitive, takes pronominal affixes which operate in a way entirely different from those of the completive and customary. The nominalizing prefix is *s-*, an unstable sound, which combines with the other prefixes in such a way as to make the combination seem more difficult than it really is, once the phonetic assimilations are understood.

283. The continuative intransitive is made up of the pronominal prefix, *s-* nominalizer, and the continuative prefix *its-*. The result of the assimilation and contraction of these is as follows:

Regular continuative

S.
1 <i>tcı^tts-</i> (<i>tcın-s-its-</i> > <i>tcıs-its-</i> > <i>tcıy-its</i> > <i>tcı^tts-</i>)
2 <i>kujts-</i> (<i>ku^u-s-its-</i> > <i>kujts-</i>)
3 <i>its-</i> , <i>ıts-</i> (<i>s-its-</i>) (cp. § 863)
Pl.
1 <i>tc'its-</i>
2 <i>kup'its-</i>
3 <i>its- . . . -ılc</i>

284. Continuative with prefix *hın-*:

S.
1 <i>tcıjn-</i> (<i>tcın-s-its-hın-</i> > <i>tcıs-ın</i> > <i>tcıjn-</i>)
2 <i>kujjn-</i> (<i>ku^u-s-its-hın-</i> > <i>ku^u-s-ın</i> > <i>kujjn-</i>)
3 <i>ın-</i> (<i>s-its-hın-</i>) ?
Pl.
1 <i>tc'ın-</i> (<i>tc-s-its-hın-</i> > <i>tc-s-ın</i> > <i>tc'ın-</i>)
2 <i>kup'ın-</i> (<i>kup-s-its-hın-</i> > <i>kup-s-ın</i> > <i>kup'ın-</i>)
3 <i>ın-</i> . . . -ılc (<i>s-its-hın-</i>) ?

285. The continuative expresses continuous action or being in the present or past. There may be a differentiation between con-

¹ See §§ 131—133 for rules showing occurrence of echo-vowel in particular constructions.

tinuous and continual action, not very commonly used, which is made by using additional prefixes (§§ 387-388).

286. Some stems allow true intransitives and these are formed for each tense by prefixing the element given above for aspect, number, and person.

287. Other stems seem to require a psychological object. The most general of these is the suffix *-Em* for completive and customary, *-Emc* for continuative, and theoretically, they may be used with all stems requiring such an object. Many stems, however, have taken on some particular suffix which has become formalized in the intransitive. For instance,

tap-stcā'nt, he shot (literally, he people-shot)

288. A few stems require the suffix *-En*. The use of all these vague suffixes seems to be strictly formal although it has been suggested that *-En* is used when the action can be controlled, that it is omitted when the action is not controlled. An attempt to classify stems in this way has yielded no satisfactory results.

289. Certain it is that some stems are of themselves complete, others need "completing" or take an indefinite object (or an incorporated noun).

290. In addition to the use of affixes with their necessary contractions, the continuative may require a change of accent. Bisyllabic stems which have the accent on the first syllable in completive and customary, accent the second in the continuative, or if the stem requires a body-part suffix for completion, the accent which falls on the stem in the completive and customary may be shifted to the suffix in the continuative.

291. Since few notions in Coeur d'Alene are expressed by the use of a particular grammatical process, but must rather employ several, as e.g., prefixing with suffixing, or reduplication with glottalization, I shall note here the affixes which modify the verbs and designate the fine shades of meaning instead of leaving them until I treat affixes in general.

292—299. Verbal Prefixes

292. The occurrence of the various forms of prefixes ending in *ts* are explained in § 131. The prefix *äts-* may appear as *ats-*, *a^a-*, *ä^ä-*:

äts-, customary

äts-gwi'tc, cust. he sees

a^ats^s-a'ts^s, cust. he looks

ä^ä-ni'tc-Em, cust. he cuts

än-ni'tc-stus, cust. she cuts it into (dish)

its-, continuative. Other forms are *us-*, *i'*-

us-gwi'tc, he is seeing

its-Eku'n, he is saying, telling

i'-tap-stcā'nt, he is shooting

293. *äts-*, found with the same variations as the customary prefix but to be distinguished from it, prefixed to a verbal stem, indicates that something has been acted upon and now exists in an absolute way. Really a resultative, this prefix is often impersonal:

äts-pä'n, it exists having been bent
ä^ä-lu'p, it exists having been dried

294. *u^u-*, a prefix used with a stem to indicate that a quality is within the subject and has become a part of it. This is an absolute form but is used for persons as well as objects. This prefix precedes the subject pronoun:

u^u-lu'p, it is dry
u^u-tš'c, it is sweetened
u^u-su'l, it is cold
u^u-tc^m-xä's, I am well
u^u-kup-tčä's, you are on bad terms (with each other)

295. The stems used with this prefix often have a different vowel from those used with the other forms. Quite often the vowel, though of the same timbre as that used with other forms, is very short although it is accented. In other cases the timbre changes as, e. g., *u^u-tš'c*, it is sweetened and *tšc-t*, it is sweet (§ 300), or *u^u-su'l*, it (stove) is cold; and *sul-t*, he is cold. Furthermore, whereas reduplicated plurals ordinarily take the accent on the first syllable of the stem, stems with this prefix, with few exceptions, require that it fall on the second (§ 597).

296. Like some other Coeur d'Alene affixes (cp. §§ 869-874) the prefix *s-* performs several functions, all of which are modifications of the verb complex, and because several of these may operate within the same complex it is sometimes difficult to separate them exactly.

297. *s-*, nominalizing. This prefix forms the infinitive or participle which are the same; both are verbal nouns:

s-qä'y-Em, writing
s-tk^wäl-xu'i, traveling (*tk^wäl-*, about to definite places; *xui*, go)
y-ɔq^ws, drinking (for *s-ɔq^ws*, see § 124)

298. *s-*, continuative. Although I believe that the *s-* of the continuative makes of it a verbal noun, I include it here in case there may be doubt. The *s-* prefix causes in this aspect complicated phonetic contractions, some of which have already been indicated (§ 180), others of which will appear as the analysis proceeds. It seems as if some words include the same *s-* twice, once in the *its-* (*ts-*) of the continuative and again as an initial and necessary part of the continuative form (§ 357). It seems to me likely that *s-*, lost as it is in the vowel of the continuative may, in these cases, be felt to be missing, in which cases it is supplied and actually appears twice, once as a fossil, and once functioning:

s-tk^wäl-ts-xu'i, he is travelling about (for *tk^wäl-ts-xu'i*)

299. *s-*, intentional. Most commonly this prefix is used to express intention in the immediate future in which case it is preceded by *tcät*, which seems to be a free particle but which, because of *t*, its unstable ending, assimilates to the following sounds so intimately as to make it seem a prefix and so I have written it in many cases. However, the intentional may appear without *tcät*, e.g., with *hwi* in which case it means "now I have decided to", "now after consideration I intend. . .".

300-308. Verbal Suffixes

300. It would be appropriate to record the suffix *-t* immediately after prefix *u^{u-}* because only by contrasting the two forms can their use be understood and it is sometimes so formalized that it is often difficult to predict which form should be used. The suffix *-t* indicates that a person or object has a characteristic innately, rather than within but not inherent, as when expressed by the prefix *u^{u-}*:

djä'y-dji'y-t, it (he) is ugly
täc-t, it is sweet
tax-t, it is bitter
sul-t, he is cold

301. A suffix *-t* which may not be the same is also used with some verbs of action:

uk^w-t, he crawled
tcu-twi'p-t, he came hither over an obstruction
tcin-tsän-tci'ts-t, I arrived at destination

302. A derivative form which means to "have the quality of affecting. . . ." is formed by duplicating the stem and adding *-t*:

pa's-pas-t, it (he) causes amazement, has an astonishing effect
 (*pas*, astonish)
lu'p-lup-t, it (shed) keeps dry (*lup*, dry)
xa'ts-xäts-t, it is strange, makes people feel strange (*xäts*, arouse curiosity)
qa'm-qam-t, he is inattentive (*qäm*, pay no attention)
ca'r-car-t, it is steep, too difficult to attempt, affects with inanition
 (*car*, be lazy)
pa'x-pax-t, his wisdom is effective, i. e., he influences by wisdom
 (*pax*, be wise)

303. By taking examples from the same stem (actually with different vowels in this case) the difference may be best illustrated:

ä^ä-ti'c x^{wä} päle'ms, the prune is sugared (covered with sugar)
u^u-ti'c x^{wä} päle'ms, the prune is sweetened (has had sugar added to liquid in which it is stewed)
täct x^{wä} päle'ms, the prune is sweet because it ripened thus

304. A partial test for the difference between *u^{u-}*. . . and . . . *t* forms is that of objectivity and subjectivity and hereafter I shall refer to the *u^{u-}* as the objective, and the . . . *t* as the subjective forms.

305. The modifications given to the verb above denote condition, quality, or state. They may be called modifications of the neutral verb. The active verb is treated differently but there is a close relationship between the types of specification used in both sets, and one of the greatest difficulties I found in analyzing the verb was due to overlapping of the two classes.

306. Some active verbs may be used independently, that is, without suffixes, to qualify or define the source of the act. Others must have the specification expressed. There are several methods of doing this.

The suffix *-p* indicates that the action was not voluntary on the part of the subject:

qāw-p, long object broke

Raw-p, liquid dropped

an-sa'rw-p-tsen, he drools (*an-*, cust.; *sar^w*, flow; *-tsin*, mouth)

s-tcād-p, beginning of winter (*s-*, nom.; *tcād*, shade)

307. Another means of expressing almost the same idea is by reduplicating the final consonant of the stem in which case the proper translation is "it came to . . .", that is, without effort on its own part (§§ 607-610). Although processes in this language are rarely completely exclusive, it seems that those verbs which take the suffix *-p* do not take final reduplication. The reverse is also true that those which reduplicate do not take *-p*:

pān-En, it has come to be bent

yaR-aR, they assembled (*yaR*, be all together)

tāk-uk^w, he fell (*tāk^w*, one lies)

ām-Em, it lighted (*ām*, one sits)

308. In order to complete the emphasis on the specific treatment of verbs, I mention here the use of the reduplicated form with suffix *-Em*. This form is exactly like the one immediately preceding, but adds the suffix *-Em*, to indicate that "it came to be . . . of its own accord" (§ 609):

pā'n-En-Em, it bent of its own accord

ul-lul-ul-stci'nt-Em, he rose again (*ul-*, again; *tul*, be like a person; *stcint*, person)

309-312. Imperative

309. The imperative intransitive is formed by suffixing the following:

-c, second person singular:

xui-c, go!

x^wist-c, depart!

hō'i-tsen-c, be quiet! (*hōi*, cease; *-tsin*, mouth)

-ul, second person plural:

xuy-ul, go you!

hō'i-tsen-ul, be quiet you!

310. If the verb has an indefinite object, or needs a suffix to "complete" it, *-Em*, is commonly used:

pu'lut-Em-yl, kill an indefinite one you!

311. But if the object is definitely known, the suffix *-itc* (*-ätc*) is used:

pu'lut-ätc-yl, kill the definite one you!

tcutsä'-i'tc-yl, leave the definite one alone

ul-xu'y-ätc-c, take back the definite one

312. There are no verbal pronouns for the exhortative which is expressed by the particle *nä^ä* which has a weak imperative, as well as a future dubitative significance (§ 777):

nä^ä tcin-xu'i, I will go, let me go

313-318. Negative

313. The negative, *lut*, behaves sometimes as a stem, but more frequently as a particle. Its use to negate other verbs suggests that it may be a verb compounded with another verb incorporated as a noun in the verbal complex (§§ 750-756). The form *lutä-*, equivalent to *lut-hä-*, *hä* being the definite article, points to this interpretation, as does the fact that commonly the negative has an *s*-form which may be nominal. When used, *s-* is simply prefixed to the completive and customary forms, but the fact that the negative continuative is formed by simply affixing *lutä-* is rather strong evidence that this *s-* is the nominalizing prefix. Further evidence is the fact that the negative intransitives are formed with the possessive affixes.

314. There seems to be a dialectic difference in the use of *s-* with the negative completive and customary transitives (i. e., finite forms):

lutä^ä-gwi'tc-ts, and *lutä-s-gwi'tc-ts*, she did not see him,

are both correct; the former is slightly preferable, but there is hardly enough difference to indicate a preference.

315. The same is true of the following:

lutä-tä^ä-ku'tEnts and *lutä-s-tä^ä-ku'tEnts*, he did not fix it before they arrived, (the *s*-form is preferable here)

lutän-tei'tc-ätcitEm or *lutä-s-n-tei'tc-ätcitEm*, he was not overtaken.

In this case there is no preference as is the case also with *luta-xi'tctmEnts* and *luta-s-xi'tctmEnts*, he did not let go of it.

On the other hand, only the forms

lutä^ä-pu'lustp, do not kill him; and *lutä-s-t-tcä'n-Em*s, he did not hold on to it, are allowable.

316. Completive

S.

- 1 *lutä-hi-s-täp-stcä'nt*, I did not shoot
 2 *lutä'-i-s-täp-stcä'nt*, thou didst not shoot
 3 *lutä-s-täp-stcä'nt.s*, he did not shoot

Pl.

- 1 *lutä-s-täp-stcä'nt-ät*, we did not shoot
 2 *lutä-s-täp-stcä'nt-mp*, you did not shoot
 3 *lutä-s-täp-stcä'nt.s-ile*, they did not shoot

317. Customary

S.

- 1 *lutä-hi'^t-täp-stcä'nt*, I do not shoot (*hin-s-äts-t' > hi'^t-t.*)
 2 *lutä'-i'^t-täp-stcä'nt*, thou dost not shoot (*in-s-ats-t' > i'^t-t.*)
 3 *lutä-y-täp-stcä'nt.s*, he does not shoot (*s-ats-t' > yt.*)

Pl.

- 1 *lutä-y-täp-stcä'nt-ät*, we do not shoot (*s-äts-t' > yt.*)
 3 *lutä-y-täp-stcä'nt-mp*, you do not shoot
 3 *lutä-y-täp-stcä'nt.s-ile*, they do not shoot

318. Continuative

S.

- 1 *lutä-tci'^t-täp-stcä'nt*, I am not shooting
 2 *lutä-kuy-täp-stcä'nt*, thou art not shooting
 3 *lutä'-i-täp-stcä'nt*, he is not shooting

Pl.

- 1 *lutä-tc-²i-täp-stcä'nt*, we are not shooting
 2 *lutä-kup-²i-täp-stcä'nt*, you are not shooting
 3 *lutä-²i-tä-täp-stcä'nt*, they are not shooting

319-345. TRANSITIVE

319-322. Active Voice: Completive

319. The three aspects of the transitive verb are expressed by affixes. The prefixes correspond to those used for the intransitive. The suffix *-ts* denotes the completive; *-stm*, the customary; and *-em*, the continuative.

320. In Coeur d'Alene it is always necessary to express the object and subject pronouns in the verb even if the nominal object and subject are given. The order for the formation of the completive is: stem—aspect sign (*-ts*)—object—subject.

321. Since the aspect suffix and the objective-subjective pronouns are so closely assimilated in many cases, I will first give the combination with the aspect sign:

322. Completive

	me	thee	him	us	you	them
I	—	<i>-ts-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	—	<i>-tulm-n</i>	<i>-n-ile</i>
thou	<i>-ts-ä-x^w</i>	—	<i>-t-x^w</i>	(<i>ku^u...cäc</i>)	—	<i>-t-x^w-ile</i>
he	<i>-ts-ä-s</i>	<i>-ts-t-s</i>	<i>-ts</i>	<i>-täl-ts</i>	<i>-tulm-ts</i>	<i>-ts-ile</i>
we	—	<i>-ts-t</i>	<i>-t-mät</i>	—	<i>-tulm-t</i>	<i>-t-mät-ile</i>
you	<i>-ts-älp</i>	—	<i>-t-p</i>	(<i>kup...cäc</i>)	—	<i>-t-p-ile</i>
they	(add <i>-ile</i> to third singular forms)					

323-331. Active Voice: Customary

323. The customary transitive is formed as follows: customary prefix (*äts-*)—stem—customary suffix (*-stm*)—object pronoun—subject pronoun.

324. The object-subject combinations are really the same as for the completive, but there are certain contractions which operate for the aspect suffixed (§ 193):

Customary

	me	thee	him	us	you
I	—	<i>-stm-n</i>	<i>-s-n</i>	—	<i>-s-tulm-n</i>
thou	<i>-stm-ä-x^w</i>	—	<i>-st-x^w</i>	(<i>ku^u...-cäc</i>)	—
he	<i>-stm-ä-s</i>	<i>-stm-t-s</i>	<i>-s-t-us</i>	<i>-s-täl-is</i>	<i>-s-tulm-is</i>
we	—	<i>-stm-t</i>	<i>-stm-ä-t</i>	(<i>kup...-cäc</i>)	<i>-s-tulm-t</i>
you	<i>-stm-äl-p</i>	—	<i>-s-t-p</i>	—	—

325. An analysis of the schemes shows the following pronouns which are the same for completive and customary:

	Objective		Subjective
me	<i>-ä(l)</i>	I	<i>-n</i>
thee	<i>-t</i>	thou	<i>-x^w</i>
him	<i>-t</i>	he	<i>-s</i>
us	<i>-täl (-cäc)</i>	we	<i>-mät</i>
you	<i>-tulm</i>	you	<i>-p</i>

326. The combinations of second person subject with first plural object do not fit into the system in any way. That part of the independent subject pronoun which is used as the subject of the intransitive verb (*ku^u*, thou; *kup*, you) is used before the stem and it is followed by the suffix *-cäc* which evidently means "us", but which may be related to the suffix *-cic*, "someone" (§ 565).

327. Verbs like *gwite*, see, may be conjugated by building the forms according to the scheme; it does not seem necessary to give more than a form or two by way of illustration since they are all perfectly regular:

gwi'tc-tulm-n, I saw you
gwi'tc-ts, he saw him
äts-gwi'tc-stm-ä-s, he cust. sees me
äts-gwi'tc-stm-t-t, we cust. see thee

328. Most verbs add the suffix *-En* just before the aspect sign in the completive. It is not necessary to give the entire set of combinations, the following are a few:

tä'p-En-ts-ä-x^w, thou shottest me
tä'tä'p-En-ts-äl-p, each of you took a shot at me

329. It is never found in the second subject-first plural object combination:

ku^u-ta'p-cac, thou shottest us
kyp-ta'p-cac, you shot us

or in the customary:

a^a-ta'p-sEn, I cust. shoot it
a^a-ta'-tap-stni-ät, we cust. shoot at him

330. The suffix *-En* is a transitivizing element found in the active and passive completive, and also with the reflexive and reciprocal. Like other elements of the language (*s*-prefix, e. g., and *-Em*) it may be confused with *-En* which is used to "complete" some intransitive forms or with *-in* (*-än*, *-En*), a suffix modifying the stem and seeming to mean "attempt" (§ 438).

331. The following stems do not have *-En*, but take the pronominal suffixes immediately after the stem: *gwitc*, see; *äm*, share; *säx^w*, carry on back; *sux^w*, know; *kwin*, take hold of; *tcit*, give; *q^wil*, starve; *gwunit*, call.

332-336. Active Voice: Continuative

332. The continuative transitive is built up on principles entirely different from the other two aspects, the sole likeness being that the object precedes the subject. In discussing the intransitive I pointed out the fact that the continuative must be considered a verbal noun. The same is true of the transitive but now there is a combination of two pronominal series, the independent and the possessive, which combine to form a prefix denoting object-subject, which in its turn combines with the nominalizing *s*- and the *its*-continuative prefix. These elements all contract to form the series which I have given in §§ 180-181.

333. For convenience I repeat the subjective and the possessive pronominal series here, as well as the combined forms, which, now that the formulas have been derived, may be used quite mechanically.

Subjective (for continuative denoting object)	Possessive (for continuative denoting subject)
<i>tcn</i> , I	<i>hin</i> ., my (<i>hin-s</i> > <i>his</i> -)
<i>ku^u</i> , thou	<i>in</i> ., thy (<i>in-s</i> > <i>is</i> -)
—, he	<i>-s</i> , his
<i>tc</i> , we	<i>-ät</i> , our
<i>kyp</i> , you	<i>-mp</i> , your
(<i>-ulc</i> , they)	<i>-s-ulc</i> , their

334. Regular continuative

	prefix <i>its-</i>
1-2	<i>k^wi'ts-</i>
1-3	<i>h'i'ts-</i>
1-2p	<i>kup(h)i'ts-</i>
2-1	<i>tcin'i'ts-</i>
2-3	<i>i'ts-</i>
2-1p	<i>(ku'-its-....-cäc)</i>
3-1	<i>tc'i'ts-....-s</i>
3-2	<i>kujts-....-s</i>
3-3	<i>ts-....-s</i>
3-1p	<i>tc'its-....-s</i>
3-2p	<i>kup'its-....-s</i>
1p-2	<i>kujts-....-ät</i>
1p-3	<i>ts-....-ät</i>
1p-2p	<i>kup'its-....-ät</i>
2p-1	<i>tc'i'ts-....-mp</i>
2p-3	<i>ts-....-mp</i>
2p-1p	<i>(kup'its-....-cäc)</i>

Continuative with

	prefix <i>hin-</i>
	<i>k^wijn-</i>
	<i>hijn-</i>
	<i>kuphijn-</i>
	<i>tcinijn-</i>
	<i>ijn-</i>
	<i>(kujn-....-cäc)</i>
	<i>tcijn-....-s</i>
	<i>kujn-....-s</i>
	<i>m-....-s</i>
	<i>tc'in-....-s</i>
	<i>kup'm-....-s</i>
	<i>kujn-....-ät</i>
	<i>m-....-ät</i>
	<i>kup'm-....-ät</i>
	<i>tcijn-....-mp</i>
	<i>m-....-mp</i>
	<i>(kup'm-....-cäc)</i>

335. The combinations of second person subject with first plural object have again been enclosed in parentheses to show that they do not really belong to this system although they are regular in most cases just as they are in the completive and customary aspects.

336. The transitive continuative requires, besides the prefix combination of object expressed by independent pronoun—subject expressed by possessive and continuative prefix, the suffix *-Em*. If the dative suffix *-l* (§ 562), or any other suffix ending in *l* precedes the continuative ending, the ending is *-tEm*. This form suggests comparison with the third passive of other tenses. It appears with the nominal forms demanded by the negative and by the element showing immediate future intention.

k^wi't-ts-gwi'tc-Em. I am seeing thee

ij-n-xi't-mEn-Em. thou art fearing him

i'-ni'tc-Em. he is cutting it (*its-n* before accented syllable > *i'n-*)

*tc'i'ts-k^wi'-l-tEm*s. he is taking it from me (*tcin-s-ts* > *tc'i'ts-*;

n-l > *l*; *k^win*. take one; *-s*. 3 cont.)

337-338. Active Voice: Imperative

337. The following are the suffixes for the imperative active transitive completive.

Completive with definite personal object

2-1	<i>-ts</i>
2-3	<i>-t</i>
2-1p	<i>-cäc.c</i>
2p-1	<i>-ts-äl</i>
2p-3	<i>-t-ül</i>
2p-1p	<i>-cäc-$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} c \\ ul \end{array} \right.$</i>

338. The customary and continuative exhortatives are formed by using the element $n\ddot{a}^a$ with the ordinary tense forms; the pronominal suffixes are exactly the same:

$n\ddot{a}^a$ $a^a-t\ddot{a}'p-stm\ddot{a}x^w$, may thou cust. shoot at me

339-341. Passive Voice: Completive and Customary

339. Coeur d'Alene has a true passive voice; it denotes that the subject has been acted upon by an agent. The makeup of the aspects is the same as for the active. The passive endings are:

Completive	Customary
S.	
1 $-ts-\ddot{a}l-\ddot{a}m$	$-stm-\ddot{a}l-\ddot{a}m$
2 $-ts-t$	$-stm-t$
3 $-t-Em$ ($[ts]-t-Em$)	$-s-tEm$ ($s[tm]-tEm$)
Pl.	
1 $-t\ddot{a}l-t$ ($[ts]-t\ddot{a}l-t$)	$-s-t\ddot{a}l-t$ ($s[tm]-t\ddot{a}l-t$)
2 $-tulm-t$ ($[ts]-tulm-t$)	$-s-tulm-t$ ($s[tm]-tulm-t$)
3 $-t-Em-ic$	$-s-tEm-ic$

340. A comparison of these endings with the active shows that $-t$ seems to be a sign of the passive for these two aspects, and that the *passive subjective* pronouns are closely related to the *active objective* pronouns, an occurrence common to many North American languages. It is interesting to note the presence of $-\ddot{a}l$, I (me), regularly in the passive and only in the combination with the second person plural subject of the active. The loss of the aspect-suffixes $ts-$ and $stm-$ corresponds exactly to the cases of their loss in the active, that is $ts-$ and $tm-$ of $stm-$ are lost before $-t$.

341. It is to be understood of course that the passive customary, besides being denoted by the suffix $stm-$ which combines properly with the pronominal suffixes, has the usual customary prefix $\ddot{a}ts-$, or one of its variants:

$\ddot{a}ts-gwi'tc-stm-\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}m$, I am seen cust.
 $a^a-t\ddot{a}'p-stEm$, it is cust. shot

342-343. Passive Voice: Continuative

342. The only difference between the intransitive and the passive continuative is in the addition of the continuative suffix $-Em$:

$tc\ddot{i}'ts-gwi'tc$, I am seeing
 $tc\ddot{i}'ts-gwi'tc-Em$, I am being seen

343. Verbs requiring $-Em$ in the intransitive differ only in having the suffix $-Emc$ in the intransitive continuative (§ 287) and $-Em$ in the passive; the pronominal prefixes are the same:

Continuative intransitive

tcì^ʰ-ní'tè-Emc, I am cutting (sawing)

tcì^ʰ-táp-stcä'nt, I am shooting

Passive

tcì^ʰ-ní'tè-Em, I am being cut

tcì^ʰ-tä'p-Em, I am being shot

344-345. Negative: Active and Passive

344. The negative completive and customary transitive are formed exactly as the intransitive by prefixing *lut(h)ä-s-* to the regular transitive completive forms of the verb. Since the same phonetic changes occur as for the noun, *s-* seems to be the nominalizer.

345. Since the continuative is already a nominal form it is necessary, as usual, to prefix only *lut-*, not, to the regular continuative forms:

lut(h)ä-s-tä'p-En-tsEn, I did not shoot thee

lutä-y-tä'p-sEn, I do not cust. shoot thee (*s-ats-ł* > *yl-*)

lut-hi^ʰ-tä'p-Em, I am not shooting him

The passives are formed in the same way:

lut(h)ä-s-tä'p-En-tsäläm, I have not been shot

lut(h)ä-y-tä'p-stmit, thou art not cust. shot

lut-i^ʰ-tä'p-Em, he is not being shot at

346-355. INTENTIONAL

346. Now that the composition of verbs has been discussed according to intransitive and transitive ideas, aspect and voice, imperative and negative, we may consider a common differentiation which includes several forms of expression which I shall call the intentional. It is formed from parts already familiar to us, and because of *s-* tends to become confused with the nominal form. It has nevertheless a distinct meaning. As we have found before too, the complications are largely phonetic, but no longer new, for the sounds we have already encountered break down and combine anew.

347. The intentional may be used without a modifying element but it is not common:

s-tciv^us-tcä' nì-ł-tmät, let's go fetch it from him

s-tsu'n-tct-Em-ł-tEm, it was to be shown for him

ku-s-tu^uy-a'łšy-ł-tEm, it is to be looked at for thee

348. Most frequently it is intention in the immediate future, and the element *tcäl* which indicates future, precedes all other elements.

349. Intransitive completive is formed by *tcäl-*, fut. — pronominal subject — *s-* inten. — stem:

tcäl-tcu-s-tcä'c-En, I am to go along (for *tcäl-tcu-s-*)

tcäl-ku-s-gwi'tc, thou art to see

tcä-s-ni'tc-Emc, he is to cut (for *tcäl-s-ni'tc-Emc*)

tcäl-tc-y-i'tn, we are to eat (for *tcäl-tc-s-i'tn*)

tcäl-kup-ya'ts-atsqä'ä, you are to go out (for *tcäl-kup-s-ats-atsqä'ä*,
ts before stem initial vowel > *ts*)

tcä-s-lap-stcä'nt-ile, they are to shoot (for *tcäl-s-lap-stcä'nt-ile*)

350. If an indefinite object is implied the form is exactly the same except that verbs which take *-En* in the preceding case take *-Emc*; those which in that case take no suffix also take none in this:

tcäl-tcu-s-tcä'c-Emc, I am to accompany something indefinite

tcäl-ku-s-gwi'tc, thou art to see something indefinite

tcä-s-ni'tc-Emc, he is to cut something indefinite

tcäl-tc-y-i't-Emc, we are to (let us) eat something indefinite

tcas-lap-stcä'nt-ile (*tcas-la-lap-stcä'nt*), they are to shoot something indefinite

351. Intransitive continuative or customary are the same. These aspects are formed exactly as the completive except that the continuative prefix *its-*, or the customary, *äts-*, follows the *s-*, i. e., the form is made up: *tcäl-*, fut. — pronominal subject — *s-* inten. — *its-* cont. (or *äts-*, cust.) — stem — suffix *-En*:

tcäl-tci't-tcä'c-En, cust. I am to accompany, or I am to be accompanying

tcäl-ku-yj-ts-gwi'tc, cust. thou art to see, or thou art to be seeing

352. There is an intransitive form which implies an indefinite object composed in similar fashion:

tcäl-tci't-tcä'c-Emc, I am to be going with some one

tcäy-ni'tc-Emc, he is to be cutting something

353. The intentional transitive completive represents a simple form of the verb with *s-* prefix. The setup is exactly the same as for the continuative but lacks the prefix *its-* which complicates the continuative contractions, i. e., there is the independent pronoun of the object and the possessive of the subject. The results for the pronominal combinations with *s-* intentional are as follows:

1-2 *k^wis-....-Em*, I intend to thee

1-3 *his-....-Em*, I intend to him

1-2p *kupis-....-Em*, I intend to you

2-1 *tcms-....-Em*, thou intendest to me

2-3 *is-....-Em*, thou intendest to him

2-1p (*ku-s-....-cäc*, thou intendest to us)

3-1 *tcis-....-Em-s*, he intends to me

3-2 *ku-s-....-Em-s*, he intends to thee

3-3 *s-....-Em-s*, he intends to him

3-1p *tc-s-....-Em-s*, he intends to us

3-2p *kup-s-....-Em-s*, he intends to you

- 1p-2 *ku-s-....-Em-ät* (-ät is often omitted making the form the same as the passive), we intend to thee
 1p-3 *s-....-m-ät*, we intend to him
 1p-2p *kup-s-....-Em-ät* (see remark under 1p-2), we intend to.... you
 2p-1 *tcis-....-mp*, you intend to me
 2p-3 *s-....-mp*, you intend to him
 2p-1p (*kup-s-....-cäc*, you intend to us)

354. It should be noted that the ending after *t* is, as in the completive, *-tEm*, instead of *-Em*.

355. The continuative and customary intentionals have exactly the same form as the continuative indicative, the difference in meaning being indicated solely by syntactic particles. There is a tendency for *ts* of the prefix to be retained in the cases in which it would ordinarily be assimilated to a following sound (§§ 131) in the indicative, but often both forms are allowable.

356-357. S-FORMS

356. We have already discussed four *s*-forms which seem clear, the nominal or participial, the continuative, the negative, and the intentional. Coeur d'Alene, like other languages, once it developed or adapted a device seems to have worked it overtime, and so it is with the prefix *s-*. Besides its uses already discussed there is another whose meaning I cannot analyze. It seems as if certain verbs, not very many, demand the form in what seems to be an absolute, or perhaps a continuative form. The examples follow:

- tcis-tsi'gw-t-unic*, I am the youngest adult (*tcin-s- > tcis-*)
ku-s-tsi-tsi'wi-t-unic, thou art the youngest child
s-tcä'ts-ält, he is stupid, submissive, has no initiative
s-du'u-du'u^uk^w-mi'n-ä^äs, he is stingy about lending it
s-tciⁱ-tcä'mi-Emc, he is taking them hither
s-tciⁱ-suy-Em-s-tsu't, he was exerting himself (*tcits-its-s- > tciⁱs-; uts-*, cont.)
s-tciⁱn-k^wi'n-Emc, he came singing (*tcits-hin-its- > tciⁱn-*)
s-th^wäl-la-la'p-Emc, he is hunting small game

357. If the analysis of the last three examples is correct there seems to be *s-* in addition to *s* hidden in *its-* which I have ascribed to the continuative (*t* of *th^wäl-t-ü > t*). This seems to be correct for, although the negative usually takes an *s*-form, it should not be necessary for the continuative, for it is there already.

358-369. IRREGULAR VERBS

358. When one considers the phonetic complexities of Coeur d'Alene it is remarkable to note how few the irregularities are. Such irregularities as appear seem to be due to phonetic causes.

359. Generally speaking stems ending in *t*, *n*, and *l* which are susceptible to transitivization seem to be irregular. These verbs depart from the regular paradigms in that they take customary endings for the completive form (see §§ 157, 195):

<i>äku'stus</i> , he told him (stem <i>äk^wn</i>)	<i>äts-Eku'-stus</i> , he cust. says to him
<i>äxi'stus</i> , he did thus to him (stem <i>a^wil</i>)	<i>äts-Exi'-stus</i> , he cust. does thus to him
<i>ätci'stus</i> , what did he do with it ? literally, he did it with it (stem <i>ätcin-</i>)	<i>äts-Etci'-stus</i> , he cust. does it with it

360. However, it cannot be said that *all* stems with these consonants as finals are treated in this manner:

k^win-ts, he took hold of it (stem *k^win*)
itn-ts, he ate it (stem *itn*)

361. There are not many stems with these final consonants and most of them do not occur in the same settings so it is difficult to test them. The most common are:

ätcin, do with
äk^wn, tell
q^wa^aq^wä^wäl, speak
gwäy, finish

362. The stems *äk^wn*, *ätcin*, *a^wil*, as well as those which do not take customary pronominal forms in the completive, assimilate their final consonants to *-t*, one of the dative suffixes (§ 562):

k^wil-ts, he took (held) it for her (for *k^win-t-ts*)
ätci'ts, he did with it for her (for *ätci'n-t-ts*)
a^wil'ts, he did thus with it for her (for *a^wil-t-ts*)
itlts, he ate it for her (for *itn-t-ts*)

363. Although the dative, *-t*, renders the stem which may become irregular in cases, regular, the other dative suffix, *-cit*, as a favor to (§ 564), which is regular in the completive, requires that the customary be expressed by the completive pronominal endings:

äts-Etci'n-citsEn, I cust. scold him as a favor to thee (instead of *äts-Etci'n-cits-stmn*). The stem *ätcin* has taken on the meaning of "scold" in the customary.

364. The suffixes *-im*, causative (§ 439), and *-ilc*, grow . . . (§ 442), always take the customary pronominal suffixes even in the completive. This is regular, and once more the explanation seems to be phonetic:

qä's-Em-stmn, I cured thee; lit., I caused thee well
qäs-t-i'lc-stmn, I changed thee for the better (amended, improved);
lit., I grew thee good. Note that the causative above is used with the objective form of the verb *qäs*, whereas *-ilc* is used with the subjective form, *qäs-t*.

365. Now if these suffixes took the ordinary completive pronominal suffixes we should have:

ḡä's-EmtsEn (instead of *ḡäs-Em-stm*) and *ḡäst-ilc-tsEn* (instead of *ḡäst-ilc-stmEn*).

If we consult the list of consonant clusters (§§ 99, 103) we see that the clusters *mtsn* and *lctsn* do not occur, either as finals or as intermediates. It is likely that the impossibility of admitting such clusters is the reason these suffixes take the customary forms in the completive.

366. With a meaning as general as it has, it is not surprising that the stem, *ätcin*, do with, should have taken on a number of idiomatic meanings. It may mean "put aside, near or in" according to the prefixes used with it. Transitive completive forms with *-cit*, as a favor to, may mean "gave some to . . . took it out as a favor to . . ., or put it down for . . .". The customary and continuative transitives may mean "put it down for . . .", but more generally mean "scold". The full continuative form, *its-Etci'n-Emc*, may mean "what is he doing?", but if abbreviated to *ts-Etci'n-Emc*, means "what is the matter?" and the customary intransitive means "how is he? how does he act?" Similarly *äts-Etcän-i'utEM*, has an interrogative meaning "how did it happen? how in the world did it get that way?" (*-i'utEM*, automatically). There is no parallel for this interrogative construction anywhere else in the language. Still another abbreviation, *tc'i'n-Emc*, means "what of it? what the deuce? what's the idea?" or with a different tone and lengthening the same form designates sympathy.

367. A stem used only of inanimate objects is *ätcEn*, e. g.,

ä^än-ä'tcEn, (sack) is tied up

ätcän-m-i'tct-mEn-tx^w, what didst thou do with it?

368. There are three possible etymologies for this usage and they are doubtless confused: *tcän*, round object lies, could have a "made so" form (*ä^ätcän*); *ätcin* may somehow have taken on a glottalized *n*; and *ätcän-i'lc*, at what time, may be related. None offers a satisfactory explanation in all details and it is more than likely that the stems were confused and became fossilized in their irregular forms.

369. With these irregularities, so few as to be remarkable, the material rests. It is likely there are a few more, but the material at hand presents such uniformity as to lead us to suppose that it will yield to analysis, once the meaning of the elements is known.

370-431. PREFIXES

370. Characteristic of Coeur d'Alene among the known Salishan languages are the many prefixes. They seem to me to be of several

kinds: A few, like some of the suffixes, seem to be nominal (§§ 371-380), but since verbs so frequently appear in participial forms, it seems proper to place these prefixes with those of the verbcomplex. Prefixes which denote aspect, state and plural (§§ 381-391). Locative prefixes which have prepositional as contrasted with adverbial force (§§ 392-408). Directionals, prefixes which fix the exact setting not only of subject, object and indirect object, but also of the speaker who reasonably or arbitrarily places himself at a given point in the scene (§§ 409-431).

371-380. Nominal prefixes

371. *ä-* (*a-*), a general preposition used with nominal forms. It means many things a preposition may mean in English; locative ideas, on, in, into, at, to; instrumental, with, by means of; agent, by:

nälx^w-untš uw-a-q^wu'n, he painted it (with) blue (*u^u-q^wu'n*, be blue)
la (article) *'aslaḡ-la'ḡt.s*, by his friends (*slaḡt*, friend)
a-ḡEnḡi'l-sdc, with their fear
a-teat-ḡal-i'lupEn, on the floor
uw-ä-stclä'mt, just in the fog (*u-vowel > uw-*; *stclämt*, fog)
ä-sttci'hatct.s, at the right hand

372. *äl* (*at-*) ?:

äl-qi'tš-äntc, snake (*qits*, vegetation grows; *-äntc*, cavity)
äl-r^wäts, magpie
äl-ḡa'ḡax, crow
äl-dä'r-äntc, sun, clock
äl-q^wä'tut, Plummer (place-name)

373. *s-* nominalizer (§§ 124, 297)

374. *syä-* (*sya-*), the one whose business is. . . :

sya-n-tšä'w-um, dishwasher (*sya-ats-n > syan-*; *äts-*, cust.; *n*, in; *tšäw*, wash; *-um* for *-Em*, intr. with implied object)
syä-wi'c-lx^w, mason, builder (*wic*, build; *-lx^w*, house)
tcis-syä-cEl-i't-kup, I am a wood chopper (for *tcin-s-syä-cEl-i't-kup*; *tcin-*, I; *cäl*, chop; *-it*, for use; *-kup*, fire)
sya-q^ot-stq, farmer (*quł*, produce; *-stq*, vegetation)

375. *hii-*, that which, the one who. Coeur d'Alene nominalizing affixes do not differentiate between the "object which" and the "person who". I will give examples of this prefix, which is a nominalizer, in the third person because the first person form would have *h-* initial because of the possessive *hin-*:

hii-ts-cä'n-us, his earnings (*hii-its- > hiiits-*; *-En-s- > -us*; *its-*, cont.; *cän*, labor; *-s*, 3 poss.)¹
hii-t-tšä'ḡ^w-s, his fault
hii-tä'p-us, his kill (*täp*, shoot; *-us*, as in preceding)
hii-li'm-s, something he likes, pet (*lim*, be glad)

¹ In all explanatory analyses of examples, phonetic reconstructions of assimilated and contracted forms are given first.

376. This prefix breaks down into *y* when preceded by a vowel (§ 163):

- ul-tupni hä yts-q^wä's.s.* spiderweb (*ul-*, belonging to; *tupni*, spider; *hä*, definite article and used to show relationship between two nouns; *q^wäs*, blur; *-s*, 3 poss.)
tä ytsu'yum-s. his crying (for *hiitsu'yum-s*)
x^wi'yä yli'm.s. this his pet

377. *ul-*, belonging to:

- ul-yaR-i'lumx^w ha tsä'tr^ws.* International House (*yaR*, assemble; *-ilumx^w*, person; *ha*, def. article; *tsä'tr^w*, house; *-s*, 3 poss.)
tcäl-ul-tsä'nul. it would belong to her (*tcäl-*, fut.; *tsä'nul*, independent third person pronoun)
tcäl-ul-i-s-ni'k^w-älumx^w. it will be for thy tribe (*m-s* > *is-*; *m-*, 2 poss.; *s-*, nom.; *nik^w*, tribe; *-älumx^w*, people)

377a. *tëit-*, offspring, child of:

- tëit-mu's.* 4 offspring
tëi-smiyi'w. child of Coyote (*tëit-s* > *tëi's-*)
tä-gul-tëi-stki'n. Antelope's children
tëi-yu'k^wä^ä. younger brother, woman-speaking (*tëit-y-* > *tëiy-*)

378. *nuk^w-*, companion, fellow, one of same kind:

- nuk^w-ts-wäc-i'wäs.* they were house-partners (*ts* for *tc*, on[?]; *wic*, dwell; *-iwäs*, together)
hi-s-nuk^w-anla'mqä^ä. my black bear kind (*hm-s-* > *hus-*; *hm-*, my; *s-*, nom.; *anla'mqä^ä*, black bear)
hi-nuk^w-stEmo'lç. my big hail kind (*stEmo'lç*, large hail)

379. *pän-*, spouse:

- tcäl-pän-i'tn-En.* that which spouses were to eat (*tcäl-*, fut.; *itn*, eat; *-En*, that which)
is-pän-pa'tcalqEn. thy eagle husband (*m-s* > *is-*, 2 poss.; *pa'tcalqEn*, bald-headed eagle)
a-s-pän-qä'lp^{yä}. (he is longing) for his wife, Black Swan

380. *yä-*, horse, colt:

- yä-²upEntc-spi'n^{ttc}.* 10-year old horse (for *yä-²upEntct-spi'n^{ttc}*;
upEntct, ten [fingers]; *spⁱn^{ttc}* year
yä²äs-äspⁱn^{ttc}. two-year-old colt (*yä²-äs-äl-spiⁿttc*; *äsäl*, two)

381-391. Prefixes denoting aspect, state and plural

381. *is-*, a prefix used in connection with suffix, *-ic*, for all aspects of verbs of sound:

- is-hä'r^w-hä'r^w-ic.* he is growling
is-pä^ä-püg^w-uc. he is giving forth echoes (*-ic* > *-uc* after labial)
is-tä'p-tçupx^w-uc. it is being cut with scissors, it is clicking
is-tä't-tçat-ic. it is ticking
is-ti't-ti'l-ic. it is being ripped, noise of tearing

382. *äts-* (*ats-*), customary (see § 131 for changes in form):

- äts-gwi'tc-stus*, he sees her cust. (*gwitc*, see; *-stus*, 3-3 cust.)
a^äts-a'tsqä^ä, he cust. goes out (*äts-* stem vowel > *a^äts-*; *atsqä^ä*, go out)
a^a-täp-stcä'nt, he cust. shoots (*i* > *ä* after *täp*, shoot; *stcänt*, people)

383. *its-* (*its-*), continuative (see §§ 131-133 for phonetic changes):

- its-gwi'tc-Ems*, he is seeing him (*-Em*, cont. suffix; *-s*, 3 subject cont.)
iⁱts-a'tsqä^ä, he is going out (*its-* stem vowel > *iⁱts-*)
iⁱ-täp-stcä'nt, he is shooting (*its-t* > *iⁱt*)

384. *äts-* (*ats-*), it is . . . ed, or it is . . . ed because it has been made so. Although corresponding in form to the customary prefix this prefix is not the same. When combined with other prefixes this precedes all others, whereas others may take precedence over the customary prefix:

- ä^ä-tⁱc*, it is sweetened
ats-a^a-tsaR-i'p-Em, he would be made to scream

385. *u^u-*, definitive of a class of verbs which I have termed objective (§§ 294, 304). It creates an absolute form which may, in cases, be used for the three persons. This prefix, like *äts-*, precedes the personal pronoun. It means "it is of, a part of, or within, but not innate":

- u-ten-qä'm*, I paid no attention
u^u-lu'k^w, she was bloody
u-ku-na's, thou art wet
u^u-ci'l, it fits, it is exact, just

386. *u-*, just. A prefix of emphasis. It may also mean "just . . . and nothing more". Like the preceding prefix, it comes before the subject pronoun:

- u-lu'x-t*, just swiftly he proceeded
uc'l, exactly, just fitted
u^u-si'gw-untEm, just as he was being asked
u-spu'ms, just fur
u-tcäs-nu'tx^ws, just as he entered
u-ta'r-Ents, she just untied it and did nothing else

387. This prefix with *äts-*, customary (> *u^uäts*) modifies the time of the action and makes it an action of continuous duration:

- uw-n-mä'lk^w-m-äntc*, covering every portion of the wall (*u-äts-n* > *u^un*; *mälk^w*, all over; *-m*, caus.; *-äntc* with *n*, wall)

388. With the continuative *its-* the significance is an interrupted continuative, or continual as against continuous action:

- u^uäts-mä'lk^w*, continually (*u-äts-* > *u^uäts-*)
u^uäts-a^xi'l, it is continually thus
u^uäts-ku-k^wi'j-tseni, continually sobbing (*k^wi'j*, go easy, gently; *-tsin*, mouth; dim.)
u^un-Ek^wn-qEn, he speaks indistinctly, continually he speaks in throat (voice)
u^uäts-k^wi'n-Em, she just kept hold of one

389. *gul*. This is an element which I have called a prefix although it, like so many other elements, sometimes seems to be independent. It is a verbalizing or demonstrative pluralizing element:

- gul nu'nū'ās*, there are his mothers (cp. *nu'nunū'ūs*, his mothers)
gul-ti'x^wul-ti'x^wul-Em, they were abnormal (*gul-its-l* > *gul-t*;
ti'x^wul, be different)
gul s-mi'y-mā'am, they are women (cp. *smi'y-mā'am*, women,
 wives; and note that *t* is not assimilated to *s*)
gul-n-āh-i'teni, their backs were turned toward (*gul-āts-n-stem*
 vowel initial > *gul-n*; *n*-, in; *ih*, turn toward; *-iteni*, back)
gul-ḡā'-u'lumx^w, they were rattlesnakes
ā-gul-n-īt-stci'n-En, by man-eaters (*n* before vowel stem initial >
n: *n-s* > *s*; *-t-En* > *-En*; *ā*-, preposition: *n*-, in; *itn*, eat; *stcint*,
 people; *-En*, one who)
gul smiyi'w, the coyotes, coyote company

390. *pat-*, a prefix meaning plural, I have found only with words meaning "boys". It seems to be borrowed from Kal. *pat*, folk, where it is common (Giorda):

- gul-pāt-tEtwi't*, they are boys
pa-squq'ā'sā'ā, the boys (*pat-s* > *pas-*)

391. *gults*, each. Perhaps a compound with *gul*:

- gults-xu-x^wi'* . . . , each a little
gults-mu's, four each
gul-tci'^ttās, three each (*ts-te* > *tc*)
gults-āj-Esā'l, two each dim.
tcāl-gul-ttē-ā'sā(t), it was to be one for each of two (*ts-t* > *t*)

392-408. Locative Prefixes

392. The prefixes of this group, although closely related to those of the next in that they are locative, belong to a slightly different category, an interpretation justified by their position in combinations of prefixes. They take the place of prepositions and are closely interrelated with the suffixes.

393. *t-*, on and a part of:

- t-ḡat-a'p-qEn-tEm*, he was clubbed on the head (*ḡāt*, club; *-ip*,
 back; *-qin*, head; *-tEm*, 3 pass. compl.)
t-ḡwā'x^w-ynts, he hung them up on it (*ḡwā'x^w*, pl. objects hang)
t-k^war-k^war-ā'q-ā'āst, orange (*k^war*, be yellow; *-āq*, ?; *-ā'āst*, surface
 of sphere)
t-mux^w-mux^w-unī-mi'n-ts, he made fun of her, used her for laughing
 on (*māx^w*, laugh; *-unī*, ?; *-min*, use; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.; glot.,
 limited rep.)

394. These prefixes often mean the opposite of the literal idea they indicate. Instead of meaning "it is on", the combination of prefix, stem and suffix may mean, e. g., "off of" or "off from":

tcutu^s-t-k^wi'n-Ewäs-Ents, he went and took it off of it (*tcutu^s-*, so far hither; *k^win*, take hold of one; *-iwäs*, together, where it made contact; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)
t-tcäni, she plucked them (*tcäni*, take hold of many)

It seems as if the prefix may be reduplicated:

t-t'ä'm-ic, he perched (*t*-vowel > *t'*; *äm*, sit; *-ic*, act of)

395. *tc-*, on, attached to but not part of, at a point:

ä-tc-cä't-tsEn, it projects out from mouth (like a tooth) (*äts-tc* > *ätc-*; *äts-*, made so; *cäl*, one projects; *-tsin*, mouth)
tc-ta'tq-alq^w, he kicked on a tree (*talq*, step on, kick; *-alq^w*, long stiff object)
tc-t'EL-t'EL-i'wäs, he burst (*täl*, tear; *-iwäs*, together)
tc-dila'm-alq^w, train (*dilim*, run fast, gallop; *-alq^w*, long stiff object)

396. *ttc-*. This prefix is used with numerals in counting persons; it means "astraddle" or "straddling object"; or that the object on top is larger than the one it is on:

ttc-Em-ä'c-alq^w, he sat down astride a log (*ttc-* vowel stem initial > *ttc-*; *-Em*, weak form of *äm*, sit; *-äc*, weak form of *-ic*, be in act of; *-alq^w*, long object)
ttc-ü'pEn-tct-ä'üst, 10 round objects which have covering (orange, berry) (*upEn*, 10; *-tct*, finger; *-i'üst*, surface of sphere)
t-tcä'äli's-älps, 3 necks, used in counting pigs, wolves (*ttc-* assimilates to *tc* of *tcä'älis*, 3; *-ilps*, neck, mane)
ttc-ä'säl, 2 persons (*äsil*, 2)
ä-ttc-Emu't-Ewäs, he sat on something smaller than he

397. *tct-* ?:

tct-mäl^{xw}-yn-tsu't, he undressed
a-tct-talq-talq-i'tcni, he is on bicycle
ä-tct-mi'l^{xw}, he was naked
tct-tci't, (if) I came close

398. *tcät-*, on a surface or object broader than subject, above, over:

tcäl-äm-i'c-En-ts, he sat on it (*äm*, one sits; *-ic*, be in act of; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)
tcät-pu'ul-i'tk^wä'ä, bubbling on surface of water (*pu'l*, foam, bubble; *-itk^wä'ä*, water)
tcät-x^wä'r-ic-En-ts, he stepped over him (*x^wär*, step over; *-ic*, be in act of)
tcät-k^wi'n-ts, he took it off of it (*k^win*, take hold of one; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

399. *tcS-* (*tss-*), after, behind, in pursuit of, for a purpose:

tcS-x^wä'tp-En-ts, he pursued him for a purpose (*x^wätp*, flee; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)
tcS-xu'y-En-ts, he fetched it (*xui*, go)
nä'ä ku-tcS-qäm-i'l-En, whenever thou art hungry (*nä'ä*, doubt; *ku-*, thou; *qäm*, long for; *-ilEn*, food)
tcS-qwäl-t, he burned with a purpose, sweated

400. Although this prefix is used frequently in this sense it is almost certainly derived from the meaning of "tail":

- s-tcs-u'ps-En*, tail (*s*- nom.; *-ups*, anus; *-En*, that which)
tss'-ä'm-ic, it sat on (his tail) (*tcs*- > *tss*- because of following *c*;
äm, sit; *-ic*, be in act of)
tcs-tsi'c-t, long tail (*tsic*, long; *-t*, subjective)

401. *tsän-*, under, off of:

- t-tsan-γ'ä'l-En-tEm*, it was closed off
tcī-tsä^ä-n'-u'l^{xw}, he went in under hither (*tcits-tsä-n'* > *tcitsä^än'*;
tcits-, hither; *nūt^{xw}*, one enters)
tsän-lätc-p, it (line) broke off (*lätc*, string breaks; *-p*, without volition)

Used idiomatically with *tcits*, arrive:

- tcn-tsä-n-tci'ts-t*, I arrived (*tcn*-, I; *tcits*, arrive; *-t*, subjective)

402. *hm-*, in. This is one of the most commonly used prefixes. Literally it means, "in, on, into, onto"; like *t-*, *tc-*, *tcät-* and *tsän-*, it may take on the opposite meaning and indicate "off of on, or out of":

- hm-pu'x^w-ttsä'-än*, wind instrument (*pu^{xw}*, blow with mouth;
-ttsä^ä, inside; *-En*, that which)
hm-car-tsi'l^{xw}-s, her door curtain (*-tsin-l^{xw}* > *tsil^{xw}*; *car*, one hangs;
-tsin, edge; *-l^{xw}*, house)
hm-nä'pt, they came in (*näpt*, pl. enter)

403. It is used as a part of many words indicating feelings or emotions:

- hm-tä's-En*, evil, sin (*täs*, bad; *-En*, that which)
hm-γäs-i'lqwäs, he is kind-hearted (*γäs*, be well; *-i'lqwäs*, heart, mind)
hm-γi'l, he is afraid (*γi'l*, fear)

With the suffix *-En*, *hm-* often has the meaning of "place where":

- n'-istci'tcä^än*, barn (*hm*-vowel > *n*; *-ästci'tcä^ä*, stock; *-En*, that which)

404. In some cases, it has become a part of the stem, which is never used without it:

- nūt^{xw}*, one went in. (This stem is felt as an entity but it may be analyzed: *hm-* becomes *n* before vowel; *-ut*, be in position, *t* assimilated to following *-l* of *-l^{xw}*, house)
tcät-m-gwi'c-ic, I jumped over (fence) (*tcät-*, over; *m-* has become attached as a theme to *gwis-*, be high; *s* > *c* before following *c*; *-ic*, redupl. come to be)

405. *ni^{γt}-*, a prefix almost as common as *hm-*, and like it used in connection with particular suffixes to give formalized meanings:

- s-ni^{γt}-tca'm-i^{γt}qs*, (*s*- nom.; *täm-*, extend, be surface). The combination *ni^{γt}-...i^{γt}qs* refers to the hair of the nostril, but is generalized for nose.
kup-s-ni^{γt}-la'q-taq-wäs-cat-Ems, she is to look amongst for something as a favor to you

406. This prefix is used to indicate the superlative degree (§ 822):

- s-ni^{γt}-s-tsEtsi'w-t-unic*, the youngest of the small ones
s-ni^{γt}-tsä'c-alq^w, the tallest (*tsic*, be long, tall; *-alq^w*, long stiff object)

407. *gul*, under ledge or inclined plane, "almost touching":

äts-gul-tšEl-š't-alq^w, he cust. stood under tree, i. e., hidden with branches nearly touching him (*äts-*, cust.; *tšäl*, one person stands; *-ut*, be in position; *-alq^w*, long object, in this instance, tree)

gul-q^wünp-mEn-tšö't-alq^w, he hid behind base of tree (*q^wänp*, go out of sight; *-mEn*, use; *-tsut*, reflex.)

gul-maq^w-a'lq^w-ün-ts, he laid them under ledge (*maq^w*, pl. objects lie)

408. *mäl*, on to, close by, besides:

mal-t-pä'r-pärk^w-alq^w-üntEm, he was crucified (*t-*, on and part of; *pärk^w*, nail; redupl. dis.; *-alq^w*, long stiff object; *-EntEm*, 3 pass. compl.)

ä-mäl-cä'tut, close to a rock (*ä-*, preposition)

mäl-tš'i'^t, near there

mäl-i'tcä'^ä, close to where?

409-431. *Directional Prefixes*

409. The prefixes of this group are directionals. They have an important function in that they indicate the exact position of each person and object concerned in relationship to all the others. They do what the prefixes or particles *hin* and *her* do in German. In English we express some of the ideas by vocabulary, words like "come, go; bring, take, fetch", convey some of the ideas but, of course, idiomatic usage of this kind in one language can never express in the same form all that is meant by another. In defining the meaning of each, it must be remembered that not only must the relative position of subject and object be known, but the speaker himself also adopts a point of view for himself and relates it to the situation.

410. *tk^wäl-*, about to definite places:

s-tk^wäl-xui-stci'nt, he visited about (*s-*, § 356; *xui*, go; *stci'nt*, people)

tk^wäl-la'q-Ents, he went about searching for him (*laq*, search)

tk^wäl-ni'^t-tšäl-u'· · · i'x^w, he was standing about among the houses (*tk^wäl-its-n* > *tk^wäl-n-*; *its-*, cont.; *-ut-i'x^w* > *-utx^w*; *-ut*, be in position; *-i'x^w*, house)

tk^wäl-ts-x^wist-älwi's, thou art going about at random (*x^wist*, one walks; *-älwi's*, at random)

411. *ut*-(*ul*-), again, back:

ut-ts-qa-qam-i'yä'^ä, again he'd fish (*ut-äts* > *ults-*; *äts-*, cust.; *qam*, swallow; *-iyä'^ä*, playingly; dim. or iter.)

ut(h)-in-tsa'q-us, again he set it in opening (*hin-*, in; *tsaq*, hollow object stands; *-us*, hole, opening)

utcäl tcäl-uy-a'tsqä'^ä, again just as he was going back (*cäl*, just; *tcäl-* fut.; *ut-s*-vowel initial > *uy-*; *s-*, inten. In this case *ut-* is used twice, illustrating both meanings.

ut-gwi'tc-ts, he found it (*gwitc*, see; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

412. *tcuts-*, hither, i. e., toward speaker. This is one of the most commonly used prefixes. It should be remembered that final *ts* of this prefix assimilates to dental, sibilant, *y*, or lateral immediately following (§ 131):

- tcuts-k^wi'nts*, he fetched it (*k^win*, take hold of one object; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)
tcuts-xu'i, he came (*xui*, go)
ul-tci'^tts-a'tsqä^ä, he was coming out again (*tcuts-s-uts-* stem vowel initial > *tci'^tts-*; *ul-*, again; *us-* cont.; *atsqä^ä*, go out)
tcuts-ä'k^wn, he said hither (*äk^wn*, say)
tci'^ttsäl-tc, he stood up facing audience (*tcuts-ts-* > *tci'^tts-*; *tsäl*, one person stands; *-tc*, be in act of)
tci-t-tcu'ⁱci'·n-tEm, he was foot-held hither (*tcits-t-* > *tci-t-*; *t-*, on and part of; *tcän*, hold one object; *-cin*, foot; *-En*, tr.; with *-tEm*, 3 compl. pass.)
tci-t-tük^w·mEi'-tsu't, he took his time (*tcuts-l* > *tci-l*; *fäk^w*, one lies; *-mEn*, use; *-tsul*, reflex.)

413. Shortened forms of this prefix are *ts-*, *tc-*:

- ts-xu'i*, or *tc-xu'i*, he came (exactly the same as *tcuts-xu'i*)
ts-tq^wi'l-kup, into the fire, the fire being near speaker, the other person being on the other side of the fire (for *tcuts-t-q^wi'l-kup*, which would become *tcuq^wi'lkup*)

414. This prefix contracts with *hm-*, in, to form *tcin-*, which means "in this way" or "in in this direction":

- tcin-tsä'l-tc*, he stood in (it) this way (for *tcuts-hm-tsä-l-tc*)
la na^a ku-tcin-ta'lq-m-äs, when you step in hither (for *ku-tcuts-hm-talq-m-äs*)
tcin-tä'dj-tEm, it was poured in hither for him (for *tcuts-hm-tädj-tEm*)

415. The prefix contracts with *its-*, cont. (composed of *s-its-*) so that *tcuts-s-its-* > *tci'^tts-*:

- ul-tci'^tts-a'tsqä^ä*, he was coming out again (for *ul-tcuts-s-its-atsqä^ä*)
s-tci'^t-tu^us-qä'y-Emc, he is coming intending to write (for *s-tcuts-s-its-tu^us-*)
u-s-tci'^tts-Eku'n, just his saying hither (*u-*, just; *s-* nominal; *äk^wn*, say)
tci'^tn-tä'k^w, he was lying in hither (for *tcuts-its-m-*)

416. *tä-* (*ta-*), thither, the opposite of *tcuts-*:

- tä'äku'stus*, he answered him (*äk^wn*, say, takes eust. pronouns; *-stus*, 3-3 eust.)
ul-tä-wi'^t-ants, he shouted back at him (*ul-*, back; *wi'^t*, shout, cry; *-m*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)
ta²-äxu's-En-tul, go ye look for him (*äxus*, look at; *-En*, tr.; *-tul*, pl. imp.)
tä-k^wi'nts, he received it

417. This prefix, especially in commands, may mean "before such a thing happens, or before arrival":

na^a ku-ta-ḡä'ts-mEn-tsut, thou shalt get ready before we come (*na^a*, fut. command; *ku-*, thou; *ḡäts*, get ready; *-mEn*, use; *-tsut*, reflex.)

lutä-tä-Ku'l-En-ts, he did not fix it before they got there (*lutä-*, neg.; *Ku'l*, make, do)

418. *täp-*, on the way. This prefix refers only to the subject of the verb, not to the speaker:

tem-täp-ḡi'tn, that's where I'll eat on my way (*tem-*, I; *-ḡ*, before stem-vowel; *in*, eat)

tap-ni-a'tsḡ-p-Ents-ic, he on his way watched them from behind (*hn-*stem vowel > *ni-*; *hn-*, in; *atsḡ*, look at; *-p*, back; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.; *-ic*, 3 pl.)

ut-täp-tä-k^w-un-ts, he laid it down again on his way (*ut-*, again; *täk^w*, lay one)

419. *tu^s-*, as far as. This prefix may take on the meaning of purpose, "he went so far as to . . . , with the purpose of . . .". The echo-vowel suggests that it is a contracted form, but since it is doubtless combined with one of the *s*-forms, there are too many possibilities as to which consonant is lost in the *s* to make any guess reasonable. This and the next prefix are put with the directionals more because of their form than because of their meaning:

tu^s-gvcun-ästci'nt, he went to summon (*gvcun-it*, call, this is one of the few examples not showing *-it*, which is usually a part of the stem; *stcint*, people)

tcäl-his-tu^s-ḡ-a'tsḡ-n, I'll go see (*hn-s* > *his-*; *tu^s-* stem vowel > *tu^s-ḡ-*; *tcäl-s* . . . *-n*, fut. inten.; *atsḡ*, look at)

tu^s-in-tcucmi'n-k^wä'an-tul, throw him into the water (*in-*, in; *tcucmin*, throw one; *-k^wä^ä*, water; *-En*, tr.; *-tul*, pl. imp.)

420. *tsiⁱ-*, first, before . . . with the idea of being followed by "and then . . .". This also suggests a contracted form:

ul-tsiⁱ-xu'i-stus-ic, they first went back for her (*ul-*, back; *xui*, one goes; *-stus*, 3-3 cust.; *-ic*, 3 pl.)

tcäl-ku-s-tsiⁱ-ä'muc, thou wilt first sit down (*tcäl-*, fut.; *ku-*, thou; *s-*, inten.; *äm*, one sits; *-ic*, be in act of)

nä^wul-tsiⁱ-aḡi'stp, first do thus with it again (*nä^w*, imp.; *ul-*, again; *aḡil*, do thus; *-stp*, 2p-3 cust.)

ul-tsiⁱ-q^wä'l-stus, first he lighted it again as he had before (for *ul-äts-tsiⁱ-q^wäl-stus*)

421. The directionals may be combined. *tcitä-*, hither from there, is a combination of *tcits-tä-*, and is used when a speaker refers to two third persons, one, the subject of the verb; the other, the object:

tcita-q^wa'^aq^wä^äl-stus, he spoke to her, meaning that he, the subject, was speaking with his face turned away from the speaker, to her who was facing the speaker

tcitä-tu^s-gwi'tc-tsäs, he came to meet me, meaning he came from there to a point and I went from here to that point, not that he came to where I started from (*gwi'tc* see; *-tsäs*, 3-1 compl.)

422. The use of the three related directionals, *tcits-*, *tä*, and *tcitä-*, may be summarized as follows. But it must always be remembered that the orientation is always from the point of view of the speaker. Consequently when the verb is transitive and the object is not stationary, three persons must be considered: the speaker, the subject of the verb, and the object of the verb.

423. *tcits-*, hither, is used when the subject of the verb acts in the direction of the speaker. If the verb has an object it is to be understood that the object is between the subject of the verb and the speaker.

424. *tä-*, thither, is used when the subject of the verb acts in a direction away from the speaker. If the verb has an object it is understood that the object is at some point beyond the subject of the verb in relation to the speaker.

425. *tcitä-*, "hither-thither" is used when the subject of the verb acts away from the speaker on an object which is between the subject of the verb and an arbitrary point, but beyond the subject of the verb in relation to the speaker.

426. The directionals from here on are really combinations of those already given and mean what one would expect from the literal translations:

tcitu^us-s-si'gw-yn-ts^{ts}, he came so far as to intend to ask you (*s-*, inten.; *sigw*, ask; *-yn* for *-En*, tr.; *-ts^{ts}*, 3-2 compl.)

tcitu^us-ni'^t-k^wi'n-Ewäs-En-ts, he came to get it from amongst (*ni'^t* . . . *-Ewäs*, amongst; *k^win*, take hold of)

tcitä-tu^us-gwi'tc-tsäs, he came to meet me, meaning he came from there to a point and I went from here to that point, not that he came to where I started from (*gwitc*, see; *-tsäs*, 3-1 compl.)

tä-tu^us-xu'i, he went so far as to meet him

427. The combination of *ul-tcits-*, *ul-tci-tä*, or of *ul-tci-tä-* may have the meaning "in turn":

ul-tcits-tcs-xu'y-En-t, thou in turn fetch it (*tcs-*, for purpose; *xui*, one goes; *-En*, tr.; *-t*, 2-3 imp.)

u-s-tä-mi'y-äm-s, he in turn was to have her for his woman (*ul-s-* > *us-*; *s-. . . -s*, 3-3 inten.; *mi'yäm*, woman)

nä^uul-tä-mi'y-mi'y-ci't-Em, (I am the one) who is in turn to tell stories

428. Naturally when a language has a series of prefixes as elaborate as this there will be a fixed order in which the various elements appear in combination. Each has its particular position with respect to all the others. Furthermore, each has its place in relation to the syntactic particles, which may or may not be interpreted as an integral part of the verbal complex (§ 749), and both prefixes and syntactic elements have their position in relation to the even more elaborate series of suffixes. The table of § 573 will illustrate the various elements and their places within the complex.

429. Several rules for the order of prefixes are general and obvious; the sequence of elements preceding the stem being as follows:

Syntactic elements — pronoun (subject or object-subject in continuative) — nominalizing (or intentional) prefix — aspect — directional — prepositional — stem.

430. The prefixes *tk^wäl-*, *tcits-*, and *ul-*, which have been treated as directionals, precede the aspect prefix. Their position may indicate that they belong in a category different from that of the other directionals.

431. The prefixes *äts-*, *it is . . .* because it has been acted upon (§ 384), *u-*, just (§ 386), and *u^u-* objective if they occur in a complex involving several or many of these elements, precede even the syntactic particles.

432-589. SUFFIXES

432. Index to Suffixes

433. General.

434-455. Verbal suffixes:

434-436. *-ic* (*-ic*), be in act of (*is-. . . .-ic*, sound of . . .)

437. *-s*, artificially, affectedly, in an unnatural way

438. *-in*, attempt

439-440. *-im* (*-äm*, *-Em*), causative

441. *-numt*, desire

442. *-ilc*, grow, become through growth

443. *-ul* (*-ul'*), habitually

444. *-ilc*, motion in horseshoe curve

445. *-igu*, neglected, far

446. *-iyä^ä*, playingly

447. *-ut*, be in position, state of

448. *-ut*, possibility

449. *-itc* (*-atc*, *-uc*), seem, feint at, deceive

450. *-nun*, succeed after effort

451. *-it*, for use

452. *-min*, used for

453-454. *-il*, angle where two planes meet, place where two elements meet

455. *-ix^w*, willingly, of own accord

456-531. Nominal suffixes:

456. *-ups*, anus, anal region

457. *-axEn*, arm

458. *-iplä^ä* (*-aplä^ä*, *-äplä^ä*), attachment, handle, connection

459. *-itcñ* (*-ätcñ*, *-Etcñ*), back

460. *-iy'*, billowy

461. *-num*, body

462. *-ämuc* (*-Emäc*, *-muc*), born (?)

463-466. *-ip* (*-ap*, *-äp*, *-p*), bottom, behind, after (*tcsm-. . . .-äp*, door)

467. *-ags*, breast

468. *-alqix^w*, breath
 469. *-älp* (*-alp*, *--Etp*), bush, plant
 470. *-tx^wä^ä*, camas
 471. *-alqs*, clothes
 472. *-asqit* (*-sqit*), day, sky, atmosphere
 473. *-inä^ä* (*-änä^ä*), ear
 474. (*-itsä^ä*), *-ätsä^ä*, ".er"
 475. *-tsin* (*-tsän*, *-tsEn*), edge, mouth, shore
 476. *-idEn*, effort
 477. *-alqs*, end
 478. *-us*, eye, face, orifice through which light shines, fire
 479. *-alp*, feeling
 480. *-kup*, fire, fuel
 481. *-isgwäl* (*-aswäl*, *-sgwäl*), fish
 482. *-cin* (*-cän*, *-cEn*), foot, leg
 483. *-ilEn*, food
 484. *-il-k^wä^ä*, forehead
 485. *-ilup* (*-älp*), foundation
 486. *-ulumx^w* (*-älumx^w*), ground
 487. *-itct*, hand, finger
 488. *-itcs*, hand entire
 489. *-qin* (*-qEn*), head, tip, top
 490. *-ilgwäs* (*-älgwäs*), heart, stomach
 491. *-ilx^w* (*-älx^w*, *-lx^w*), hide, skin, mat, covering (*tcät*....
-ilx^w, bundle)
 492. *-gwil*, hollow object, abdomen, wagon, canoe
 493. *-intc* (*-äntc*), hollow, belly (*hün*....*-intc*, room)
 494. *-istcEn* (*-stcEn*, *-il-stcEn*, *-äl-stcEn*), horn, hairline
 495. *-ästeicä^ä*, horse, stock
 496. *-ilx^w* (*-lx^w*), house
 497. *-il* (*-äl*, *-l*), inside from within, flesh, meat
 498. *-alq^w* (*-alq*), long object
 499. *-alpq^w*, mouth inside, oral cavity
 500. (*-ips*), *-äps*, neck (cp. § 580)
 501. *-i^äqs* (*-a^äqs*), nose, beak; oral and nasal cavity, seat of
 taste
 502. *-ilt* (*-ält*, *-ält*), offspring, child
 503. *-u^u*, pendent (?)
 504. *-ilumx^w* (*-alumx^w*, *-älumx^w*), person, man
 505. *-stcint*, people
 506. *-umc* (*-Emc*), people
 507. *-istcäy^t*, pharynx
 508. *-ilgwäs* (*-älgwäs*), property
 509. *-alqs*, road
 510. *-i^äutEm*, self-doer, auto-
 511. *-alqiw^t*, shoulder
 512. *-ingwilEn* (*-EngwilEn*), something
 513. *-i^äst* (*-a^äst*, *-ä^äst*), surface of round object, rock
 514. *-ilps* (*-älps*), throat of person, back of animal's neck
 515. *-ipltix^wtstc* (*-äplti^wtstc*), tongue, tongue-shaped
 516. *-ins* (*-äns*), tooth
 517. *-stq*, vegetation, crops
 518. *-qin* (*-qEn*), voice (cp. § 489)
 519. *-k^wä^ä*, water, liquid
 520. *-inx^w* (*-änx^w*), weather

521. *-ät*, (a) for use of
 (b) connective in compounding
 (c) with numerals, "times, measures"
 (d) belonging to the house
522. *-äls*, round object (?)
523. *-i't* (*-ä'ät*), source (?)
524. *-ät*, open to question (?)
525. *-läyt*, ?
526. *- ?* (*-Elté*), check (?)
527. *-tcä'ä*, ?
- 528-531. *-i't* (*-ä'ä*), "someone who . . . for" (?)
- 532-542. Locative suffixes:
532. *-älwis* (*-älwis*, *-äwis*), about to indefinite places
533. *-itsä'ä* (*-tsä'ä*), all around, all over
534. *-ust*, movement along
535. *-änwäw* (*-änwäw*, *-niw*), alongside at rest, position along-side
536. *-yuyä'ä*, back and forth
537. *-iwäs* (*-awäs*, *-äwäs*), between, together, be in contact
538. *-u'us*, directly, "spang"
539. *-il*, direction, "-ward"
540. *-mä'ä*, in every way
541. *-inä'ä* (*-änä'ä*), over, on top of
542. *-astq* (*-stq*), in opposition to
- 543-560. Compounded suffixes
- 561-569. Syntactic suffixes:
562. *-t*, in behalf of, instead of
563. *-tut*, for, in reference to
564. *-cit*, as a favor to
- 565-566. *-cic* (*-cäc*, *-cEc*), something, for someone
567. *-tsut*, reflexive
568. *-twic* (*-twäc*), reciprocal
569. *-i' . . .* (*-a' . . .*, *-ä' . . .*), exaggeration
- 570-572. Nominalizing suffixes:
571. *-En*, nominalizer, the one who, that which (*him- . . . -En*, place where)
572. *-ni*, that which

433. General Remarks

433. I have made certain classifications of the long list of Coeur d'Alene suffixes which seem justified on the basis of position and meaning:

Verbal suffixes (§§ 434-455): These are short elements which modify the stem, in cases appearing strictly fossilized; in others, more free, but never absolutely free. Suffixes in the other classes (e. g., *-ip*, [§ 463] after, back, bottom) may take on this kind of function.

Nominal suffixes (§§ 456-531): These are the standard Salishan suffixes often indicating body-parts, but including also incorporated nouns.

Locative suffixes (§§ 532-542): These are not very different from the nominal suffixes and are treated in practically the same way, the main distinction being in the locative, rather than the nominal meaning.

Syntactic suffixes (§§ 561-569): These take the place of some of our pronominal ideas and add others.

Nominalizing suffixes (§§ 570-572): A small category but one whose elements are much used.

The fact that the suffixes change their form with the setting and sense in which they are used makes it difficult to list them. They may occur with a strong vowel if it carries the accent, or with the vowel unaccented and weak, or without a vowel at all (§ 204). They will be easier to find if classified alphabetically according to their meaning in English. The first form given is the strongest, that is, the one with accent and not influenced by the faucals, those in parentheses are the other forms which may occur.

434-455. Verbal Suffixes

434. A series of suffixes modify the meaning of a stem. These are not all free, but some are used with a variety of verbs. I shall call these verbal suffixes:

-ic, (-w), be in act of

tšä'l-ic, he stood up

a'm-ic, sit down

a-n-car-ic-i'l, upstream (*ats-n- > an-; n-*, in; *car*, be difficult[?];

-il, direction)

435. This suffix is used with the prefix *is-* and repeated onomatopoeic stems to denote that a noise is going on:

is-tčä't-tčat-ic, clock is ticking, tick-tock

is-ti't-tel-ic, it is ripping (*til*, rip)

is-qä'qäqäq-ic, chicken is cackling

is-ha'haha'-ic, he is haw-hawing

436. When the verb takes final reduplication the suffix must also be duplicated:

tEp-Ep-l-i'c-ic, they came to a stand (*täp*, pl. stop)

äm-Em-i'c-ic, it alighted (*äm*, one sits)

437. *-s*, in an unnatural way, artificially, affectedly:

syä-mä'äm-s-tsu't, cardplayer (*syä-*, one whose occupation is; *mä'm*, bore; *-tsut*, reflex.)

x^wül-x^wül-s-tsu't-En, Redeemer (*x^wäl*, live; *-En*, one who)

s-q^wa^aq^wä'äl-s-twä'c, quarreling (*s-*, nom.; *q^wa^aq^wä'äl*, speak, *-twic*, rec.; glot., limited rep.)

a^atš-atš-atš-Eni-s-tsu't, he is ostentatious (*a^atš-*, cust.; *atšx*, look at; redupl. again and again; *-Em*, caus.)

tci-siy-Em-s-tsu't, he exerted himself hither (padding canoe) (*tci-s- > tci-s-*; *tci-s*, hither; *siy*, be industrious; *-Em*, caus.; *-tsut*, reflex.)

438. *-in* (*-än*, *-En*), attempt:

hən-ʔa't-ʔa't-En-tsen, I attempted to frighten thee (*hən-*, in, with; *ʔa't*, fear; *-tsen*, 1-2 compl.; glot., rep.)

hən-tu-tugw-i'n-tcn-tsen, I failed to keep up with thee from the start (*hən-*, at; *tugw*, reach; redupl., dim.; *-itcn*, back; *-tsen*, 1-2 compl.)

t-mux^w-mux^w-ʔn-ni'n-ts, he made fun of him (*t-*, on attached; *māx^w*, laugh; *-min*, use; glot., rep. for interval; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

cel-el-äⁿ-u'n-ts, he beat him in contest (*-än-nun* > *äⁿnun*; *cäl*, win; *-nun*, succeed)

teü-n-lax^w-lax^w-i'n-k^wäⁿtp, if you try to shoot it with speed into the water (*lax^w*, shoot with speed)

439. *-im* (*-äm*, *-Em*), causative used with objective stems; takes customary endings in the completive, unless some other suffix like *-min* follows, in which case the pronominal endings are those demanded by the suffix in final position:

nä^ä tsi^tl-i'm-stx^w, pass it through that (dentalium), an act which was to be ritualistic (*nä^ä*, imp.; *tsi^tl*, move hither)

ttc-ih-i'm-stus, he placed it next to her (*ttc-*, on, or person; *-ih*, turn toward)

hən-tsa'x-äm-En, frying-pan, what causes frying in

ta'p-äm-En, arrow, what causes shooting

ʔä's-Em-stus, he corrected it (*ʔäs*, be well)

cän-En-Em-stus, he employed him (*cän*, labor)

440. Since it combines with elements such as *-En*, which may in themselves be of two kinds, it is often difficult, or even impossible, to distinguish this suffix from *-min*, the instrumental or usitative. Its position immediately following the stem, however, seems to distinguish it in some cases. These suffixes remain, one of the unsolved problems of the language (§ 872):

uts-ʔä's-Em-Entsut, he is reforming (*uts-*, cont.; *ʔäs*, good; *-Em*, caus.; *-Entsut*, reflex.; or, *-mEn*, usitative; *-tsut*, reflex.; either, he is causing well as to self, or, he is using himself well)

uts-ʔäs-Em-Entsu't, he is dressing well (i. e., he is self-using-well, or he is self-causing-good)

441. *-numt*, desire:

lut-ü-hi^tn-il-nu'mt, I have no appetite (*lutä-*, neg.; *hən-s-hən*-vowel initial > *hi^tn-*; *hən*, my; *s-*, nom.; *hən-*, in; *itn*, eat)

täⁿ its-ʔi^w-t-ʔm-numt, be lustful, that which should be shameful (*its-*, cont.; *ʔiw*, be shameful; *-t*, subjective; *-ʔm*, caus.)

tcn-in-tcEc-nu'mt, I wish to accompany (*tcn-*, I; *hən-*, in; *tcäc*, accompany)

swi^t-nu'mt-ʔmc, handsome person (?) (*swi^t*, be handsome; *-ʔmc*, be person)

442. *-ilc* (*-älc*), grow, become through growth. This is evidently the causative element for subjective stems (§ 304) which corresponds

to *-Em*, the causative for objective forms, and like it, demands customary pronominal suffixes in the transitive completive (see § 364):

- xäs-t-i'lc*, it grew better (*xäs*, good; *-t*, subjective)
djiydjiy-t-i'lc, it has become useless (*djiydjiy*, be ugly)
sE-sEnšEni-t-ä'lc-stus, he broke it (horse) (*sän*, tame; *sEnšEni-t*, affect by taming; *-stus*, 3-3 cust.; dim.)
tä's-t-ülc, it is spoiling (*täs*, be bad)

443. *-ul* (*-ul'*), habitually. The forms with *-ul* frequently have the glottalized series of consonants because the action often involves repetition during an interval:

- miy-mi' um-u'l*, he habitually betrays secrets (*mi'im*, be nuisance)
IEl-IElq-altšä'u'l, horse which habitually kicks (*talq*, kick; *-iltšä'ä*, all through, in this case meaning flesh)
gwün-gwün-ät-ni-u'l, beggar (*gwün-üt*, ask; *-Em*, cause)
k^wän-k^wän-u'l-stmäät, we habitually took it (the bad)

444. *-ülc*, motion in horseshoe curve:

- Ri'p-ülc*, he hid
u's-ülc, person dived
su'x^w-ülc, fish dived
tu'x^w-ülc, he took a jump off of . . . into . . .
r^wi'ü-ülc, he vomited
dä'x^w-ülc-mEn-tsut, he dismounted (*däx^w*, lower; *-min*, use; *-tsut*, reflex.)
tsä'q^w-ülc, tamarack (the suffix refers to the shape of the branches)
(tsäq^w, light red, pinkish)

445. *-igw* (*-ägw*, *-igw*), neglected, far. This suffix is used in two ways, one in the sense of neglect, the other in the sense of an object being far away. It is conceivable that it may mean neglected because far away and that the two meanings involve the same suffix:

- ku-k^wul-i' . . . gw-t-us*, his little face in the distance was red (redupl., dim.; *k^wul*, red; *-t*, subjective; *-us*, face)
u^u-xär-i'gwt, it (sieve, screen, cloth) is full of holes (*u^u*, part of; *xär*, wind blows through)
un-yarp-y-i'gw-t-äntc, lassos were looped neglected all over wall (*u*, just; *n* . . . *-äntc*, wall of room; *yarp*, loop lies; *-iy*, billowy; *-t*, subjective)
q^wiy-p-iy-i'gwt, property of dead or neglected lay in pitiable condition (*q^wäy*, pity; *-p*, without volition)
q^wä'm-ägw-t, it is very far away
dis-i'gw-t, object is just discernible in distance

446. *-iyä^ä* (*-äyä^ä*, *-yä^ä*), playingly:

- käp-käp-ülc-i'yä^ä*, hide and seek (*käp*, always with *-ülc*, hide)
s-tiy-tiyäq^w-t-i'yä^ä, wrestling (*s*, nom.; *tiyäq^w*, fight; *-t*, subjective)
k^wär-ar-p-El-i'yä^ä, coasting (*k^wär*, slide, skid; *-p*, without volition; *-il*, where two planes meet)

447. *-ut* (*-ot*), position, state of:

- tsän-tsä'l-ut*, he stood under (*tsän-*, under; *tsäl*, one stands)
s-tcä-tuk-u't-En, bed (*s-*, nom.; *tcät-*, on surface; *täk^w*, one lies; *-En*, that which)
tcät-tcis-lyk-uk-u't-us-mEn-Em, I will use face to be far off, go way off to shine (*tcin-s* > *tcis-*; *tcäl-*, fut.; *tcin-*, I; *s-*, inten.; *läkuk*, far; *-us*, face; *-min*, use; *-Em*, intr.)
h-in-lak-ot-alqs, long road

448. *-ut*, possibility, "able", used with final reduplication:

- kul-l-u't-Em*, it is possible to do (*kul*, do; *-Em*, indefinite object)
qäy-Ey-u't-Em, it is possible to write (*qäy*, design)
pits-ts-u't-Em, it is possible to push (car) (*pits*, push)
nüt-tc-u't-Em, it is "cut-able"
lutä-s-luq-uj-u't-Ems, it is impossible (*lutä-*, neg.; *s-...-Ems*, participial form with *lutä-*; *luq*, be able)

449. *-itc* (*-atc*, *-itc*), a vague suffix which may perhaps be best translated as "seen". It may mean also "feint at", "deceive" (in a weak sense), "try to":

- pEs-a'tc-stmEn*, I will play a trick on him (*pas*, astonish; *-stmEn*, 1-3 cust.)
ku-tsan-mäl-mEl-ätct, thou art trying to make it too hot (*mäl*, hot)
us-tc-yaR-aR-i'tc-ätct, thy luck will change
tsan-dol-dolq^w-ätc, he seemed strong
tsuw-i'tc-stEm, he feinted at punching

This suffix occurs in a number of nouns which I cannot analyze:

- s-pux^w-än-i'tc-ält*, Chief Child-of-the-Root (*päx^w-äntc*, a particular kind of root, *-itt*, offspring)
s-xu^w-xu^wn-i'tc-älp, thorn (*-älp*, plant)
s-tuy-i'tc-cEn, killdeer
s-lä^w-i'n-ätc, cricket

450. *-nun*, succeed after considerable effort:

- ceE-El-nu'n-En*, I succeeded in beating him (*cäl*, win; *-En*, 1-3 compl.)
xäs-äs-t-nu'n-En, I succeeded in making it well
mip-nu'n-En, I learned it (*mip*, be plain, clear)
lutä-tcät-u-s-k^wän-änu'n-tx^w, thou wilt not get him back (*ut-s* > *us-*; *lutä-*, neg.; *tcät-*, fut.; *ul-*, again; *s-*, nom.; *k^win*, take one; *-tx^w*, 1-3 compl.)

451. *-it* (*-ät*), for use. The meaning of this element is also vague, but seems to mean "for use" as against "just existing". It has been thoroughly attached to the suffix *-k^wä^ä*, water (§ 519) and *-itk^wä^ä* is very frequent indeed. When the combination is thus used it means "water in a container or for use" although its meaning has become much generalized:

- cäl-i't-kup*, he split wood for immediate use (*cäl*, cut with blade; *-kup*, fire)
l-Etcin-i't-kup-En, poker (*t-*, on and part of; *atcin*, do with; *-En*, that which)
sm-puq^w-i't-k^wä^ä, mush (*päq^w*, powder)

452. *-mīn* (*-mān*, *-mEn*) used for (§ 872):

- tux^w-mī'n-En*, sewing machine (*tāx^w*, sew; *-En*, that which)
tc-tElq-mī'n-En, stirrup (*tc-*, on and not part of; *tāq*, step on)
gwuc-mī'n-En, something used for combing (not a comb) (*gwāc*, comb)
qāj-mī'n-En, book, paper, writing (*qāj*, make design)

453. *-il* (*-äl*, *-l*), angle where two planes meet, or place where two elements meet (cp. §§ 454, 484):

- tE-tāx-i'ṭ-k^wä^ä*, small rapid (*tāx*, swift; *-k^wä^ä*, water)
k^waR-aR-p-Eṭ-i'jā^wä, coasting (*k^waR*, skid, slide; *-p*, without volition; *-i'jā^wä*, playingly)
tcāt-tcād-t-ä^ä-l-u's-En, he shaded his eye (*tcāt-*, on surface; *tēid*, shade, make shade; *-t*, subjective; *-ä^ä*, ?; *-us*, eye; *-Em*, ?)
qāp-qāp-l-jū'jā^wä, butterfly (*qāp*, flap; glot. limited rep.: *-yuyā^wä*, back and forth)
laq-aq-äl-i'c-ic, she (toad) landed between his eyes (*laq*, lie on belly; *-ic*, be in act of)
s-cEṭ-i'l-tct, shield (*s-*, nom.: *cāl*, one stands upright; *-tct*, hand)

454. This is almost certainly the first element of the following combination of suffixes:

- tsi'c-tsic-äl-stcEn*, long horns (*tsic*, be long; *-ilstcEn*, means the place where the forehead and top of head meet; in a person, the hairline)
a-tcāt-pū'y-iṭk^wä^ä-us, forehead is wrinkled (*ats-tc* > *atc*; *ats-*, made so; *tcāt-*, on surface; *pūy*, wrinkled; *-iṭk^wä*, broad part of forehead; *-us*, face). I have never found *-k^wä* by itself with any meaning approaching this.

455. *-ix^w* (*-äx^w*, *-x^w*), willingly, of own accord (?):

- tcis-m-ṣäl-ṣäl-tcs-En-i'x^w-s*, he is naturally afraid of me (*tcis-s* > *tcis-*; *s-hm-* > *sm-*; *tcis-* . . . -s, 3-1 cont.[?]; *ṣäl*, fear; *-tcs*, hand; *-in*, attempt)
ä-n-gwEn-En-i'x^w-än-ä^ä-mī-sEn, I believe it (*äts-n-* > *än-*; *-mEn-s* > *-mīs*; *äts-*, cust.; *n*, in; *gwun-i'x^w*, be true; *-inä^ä*, ear; *mī[n]*-, use for; *-sEn*, 1-3 cust.)
tcn-tsän-k^wi'n-x^w-tsEn, I replied, agreed, accepted (*tcn-*, I; *tsän-*, under, off; *k^win*, take one; *-tsEn*, mouth)

456-531. Nominal Suffixes

456. The wellknown Sahishan elements include body-parts and incorporated nouns:

-ups anus, anal region

- s-tcs-su-su'ps-En*, small tail, tail feathers (*tcs-*, after, behind)
s-q^wä'd-ups, grouse (*s-*, nom.; *q^wä'd*, black)
tcs-i-Estci'tcä'-ups, horse manure (*tcs-s-hm-* vowel initial > *tcsn-*; *hm-*, in; *-ästci'tcä^ä*, horse)

457. -a \dot{x} EN, arm, wing:

a-tsan-tuk^w-a' \dot{x} En-mEstus, he had her under his arm (ats-ts. > ats-; -mEn-s. > -mEs; ats-, made so; tsan-, under; tük^w, lay one; mEn, use; -stus, 3-3 cust.)

tsan-tšul-tšul \dot{x} ^w-a' \dot{x} En-ts, he clawed it under the arms (tsan-, under; tšal \dot{x} ^w, or tšal \dot{x} ^w, claw; -ts, 3-3 compl.)

s-tcu \dot{g} w-a' \dot{x} En, arm (s-, nom.; tcu \dot{g} w, extend)

tcu \dot{g} w-tcu \dot{g} w-a' \dot{x} Es, his wing feathers (-a \dot{x} En-s > -a \dot{x} Es; -s, 3 poss.)

458. -i \dot{p} lä^ä (-a \dot{p} lä^ä, -ä \dot{p} lä^ä), perhaps -i \dot{p} -lä^ä, attachment, handle, connection:

t-q^wa^a-q^wä^äl-i \dot{p} lä^ä-än-ts, he judges it, it hangs on his talk (t-, on attached to, with -i \dot{p} lä^ä; q^wa^{al}, talk, speak, always redupl.; -En, tr.; -ts, 3-3 compl.)

tsan-Räts-i' \dot{p} lä^ä-än, fishline (-ä^ä-En > -ä^ään; tsän-, under; RätS, tie; -En, that which)

t-tčEts-a' \dot{p} lä^a-qEn, swingletree (-qEn-En > -qEn; t...-aplä^a, as above; tčäts, long object lies; -qEn, tip, head; -En, that which)

ttčä^r^w-plä^ä-cäc, bless us (ttčär^w, pray; -cäc, 2-1 pl. compl.)

s-t-miy-i' \dot{p} lä^äs, descriptive (s-, nom.; miy, make clear; -s, 3 poss.)

s-t-pistä-i' \dot{p} lä^ä, relatives in one line, on one side (pistä^ä, half)

459. -i \dot{t} cn̄ (-ä \dot{t} cn̄, -E \dot{t} cn̄), back, ridge:

a-sm-tčam-i' \dot{t} cn̄-s, behind her (s-hm- > sm-; a-, preposition; s-, nom.; hm-, place; tčäm, extend; -s, 3 poss.)

a-n- \dot{x} al- \dot{x} al-i' \dot{t} cn̄-cEn; he has boards for sandals (ats-hm- > an-; ats-, cust.; n-, on; \dot{x} äl, lie in orderly position, as boards on floor; -cEn, foot; back of foot is "sole")

sE-sar-i' \dot{t} cn̄, one of the squirrels or chipmunks

s-x^wi' \dot{t} -ä \dot{t} cn̄, dentalium

460. -i \dot{y} (-ä \dot{y}), billowy

säp-i' \dot{y} -alqs, leather coat (sip-ä \dot{y} , leather; -alqs, clothes)

s-gwaq-i' \dot{y} , moonlight (gwaq, divide, part)

tčä'l-ä \dot{y} , bark

lu^wk^w-i \dot{y} -i'gw-t, covering (on which game lay) was stained here and there (luk^w, be bloody; -igw, neglected)

tsa'q-ä \dot{y} -Ents, he roasted meat (tsaq, set one hollow object upright)

p-pa'q-ni-aj-qEn, cow with white on face and top of head

un-yarp- \dot{y} -i'gwi-äntc, lassos were looped all neglected covering the wall (uts-n- > un-; u-, just; n- with -äntc, hollow object, i. e., wall of room; yarp, loops hang; -igwi, neglected, without owner)

461. -num̄, body. This suffix seems to be an old Salishan leftover, and is rare in Coeur d'Alene:

äts- \dot{x} äts-nu' \dot{n} i, he is clothed (äts-, condition of being made so; \dot{x} äts, get ready)

462. -äm̄ic (-Emäc, -mic), born, may be related to suffix § 506. It is one of a number of cases in which related suffixes seem to have become a common form with a few left-over or borrowed forms. This is not at all common, but could, I think, be interpreted "born":

s-ci' \dot{t} -Emi' \dot{c} -äll, firstborn child

s-ci' \dot{t} -Emäc-qEn-tct, middle finger (ci' \dot{t} , be first, oldest)

463. *-ip* (*-ap*, *-äp*, *-p*) bottom, after, behind. This suffix combines with many others (§§ 546-549) and with verb stems, in some cases so intimately as to lose its identity:

- tcEc-i'p-Ents*, he chased her (*tcäc*, accompany)
at-q'w'uswi-i'p-äll, hen has a brood of chickens (*ats-t* > *at*; *u-i* > *w*;
t-, attached to; *q'w'äsu^w*, bunch; *-ill*, offspring; dim.)
s-yälx^w-a'p-qEn, cape, that which covers the back of the head
hin-ni'tc-p-Ents, he drove it in (*hin-*, in; *nitc*, drive one animal with
 goad; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

464. One of the meanings this suffix has taken on is that of door, doorway, door opening. It has this meaning in combination with the prefix *tsin-*, a combination of *ts-hin-*:

- tssin-tcä'm-äp*, door
ts-sin-täk^w-i'p-En-tEm, he was laid near (in) doorway (*täk^w*, lay
 one; *-En*, tr.; *-tEm*, 3 pass. compl.)
tsin-car-i'p-Ents, he hung it near (in) doorway (*car*, one hangs;
-ts, 3-3 compl.)
tsin-cEt-ä'p, threshold (*cäl*, one stiff object projects)

465. With the prefix *tsän-*, under:

- tsän-tcam-i'p-Ents*, latch

466. When used with the prefix *hin-*, in, it refers to the interior (bottom) of a hollow object, usually a bucket. Especially is this true in counting:

- hin-k^wi'nc-äp*, how many buckets? eggs? (*k^winc*, how many)
hin-nu's-p, four buckets

467. *-ags*, breast:

- s-tcä'm-ags*, breast (*s-*, nom.; *tcam*, extend)
pEn-pEn-a'qs, parfleche (*pän*, bend)
s-yar-a'qs-Es, his breastplate (*-En-s* > *-Es*; *yar*, dislike)

468. *-atqix^w* (*-lqix^w*), breath:

- xas-a'tqix^w*, it smells nice (*xas*, be well)
u-q^wa'ts-lqix^w, wind is warm (*u-*, within; *q^wits*, be warm)
u^w-lE'c-lqix^w, it smells sweet (*lic*, be sweet)
tax-a'tqix^w, it smells pungent (*tax*, be swift)

469. *-älp*, (*-atp*, *-Elp*), part of a bush, plant, root, tree:

- s-taq-a'tp-atq^w*, serviceberry bush (*taq*, serviceberry; *-atq^w*, long
 object)
s-tEc-a'tp-atq^w, huckleberry bush (*lic*, sweet)
tša'q-älp, fir tree (*tšaq*, clump)
däl-l-Elp, willow tree (*däl*, one inanimate object stands)
s-xu-x^wän-i'tc-älp, thornberry bush

470. *-tx^wää*, camas, (?). This stem must be from the independent word *ätx^wää*, camas:

- s-xä'w-ulu-tx^wää*, raw camas (*xiw*, raw)
iⁱ-tä'qiy-tx^wää, the leaves are falling (*its-l* > *iⁱl*; *its-*, cont.; *taqi^t*,
 pl. objects fall)

471. *-alqs*, clothes:

ma^a-ma'a'm-alqs, Sisters (*mijäm*, woman; redupl., pl.)

säp-i'y-alqs, buckskin shirt, leather jacket (*sip*, buckskin; *-ij*, billowy)

tcat-qa'lttc-alqs, overcoat (*tcat-*, on surface of; *qilttc*, body)

s-l-tä'x^w-alqs, little suit, i. e., little holes in small shirt (*läx^w*, perforate)

472. *-asqit* (*-sqit*), day, sky, atmosphere:

t-tcEm-a'sqit, sky, heaven (*t-*, on and part of)

tci-yar-p-a'sqit, Rolling-in-the-Sky (*tcits-y* > *tciy-*; *tcits-*, hither; *yar*, roll like hoop, disc like; *-p*, without volition)

k^wä'nc-qit, how many days (*c-s* > *-c*, *k^winc*, how many)

473. *-inä^ä* (*-änä^ä*), ear. The prefix *t-*, on attached to, is used to denote "outer ear"; *hm-*, inner ear:

li'nä^ä, outer ear (*t-*, before vowel > *t-*, *t-*, attached to)

t-par^kw-änä'-äntsut, he pierced his own ear (*t-*, attached to; *par^kw*, pierce; *-Entsut*, reflex.)

t-tsaq-i'nä^ä, he heard, obeyed (*t-...inä^ä*, ear; *tsaq*, hollow object stands)

t-Räts-Räts-i'nä'-än, ear ornaments (*Räts*, tie; *-En*, that which)

tci'n-tsa'ar-i'nä^ä, I ear-ache (*tcin-s-uts-hin* > *tci'n-*; *tcin-*, I; *uts-*, cont.; *tsa'ar*, be sick, ache)

474. (*-itlä^ä*), *-ätsä^ä*, "-er", used in "story words", probably *-it-lsä^ä*, or *-it-tsä^ä* (see § 576):

ku^{un}-k^wi'tän-ätsä^ä, thou art a mouse-eater (*ku^u-äts-n* > *ku^{un}-*; *ku^u*, thou; *äts-*, eust.; *hin-*, in; *k^wi'tän*, mouse)

ku^{un}-tsäl-a'lq^w-ätsä^ä, thou art a stickgame player *tsäl-alq^w*, play stickgame; *tsäl*, pl. long objects stand upright)

ku-mä^äm-s-tsu't-m-ätsä^ä, thou art a card-player (*mä^äm*, bore; *-s*, artificially; *-tsut*, reflex.; *-Em*, caus.). This may be a newly coined word, or an old one previously used to designate some other game.

475. *-tsin* (*-tsän*, *-tsen*), edge, mouth, shore. This is a common suffix which enters into numerous combinations, taking on very generalized meanings:

gwij-tsi'n-lic, they finished eating, they mouth-finished (*gwäy*, finish; *-lic*, 3 pl.)

tcits-pänä^ä-yar-tsi'-stus-lic, this way they brought it to shore (*-tsin-s* > *-tsis-*; *tcits-*, hither; *pänä^ä*, as far as; *yar*, be at edge; *-stus*, 3-3 cust.; *-lic*, 3 pl.)

s-tsän-tcäm-tsi'n-tct, wrist (*tsän-*, under; *tcäm*, extend; *-tct*, hand)

tci'ts-p^oos-tsä'n, I am joking (*tcin-s-uts* > *tci'ts-*; *p^oos*, joke)

476. *-iden*, effort:

ku-k^wä'-i'den, thou gottest a nibble (*ku-*, thou; *k^wi'*, bite)

477. *-alqs*, end:

s-tcä'm-tcäm-alqs, end (*s-*, nom.; *tcäm*, extend, be surface)

hin-x^wa'tp-alqs, that's the end of the story

hin-xä'yxiy-alqs, high-priced object (*hin-*, at; *xäyxiy*, one is large)

gul-cam-cam-a'was-alqs, (they had heads) on both ends (*gul*, each; *cam*, be between; *-iwäs*, between, in contact)

478. *-us* (-*ʊs*, -*s*), eye, face, fire. This suffix has often a general meaning; "orifice" would probably define it, although it means "opening" in the sense of "a place through which light shines":

- s-tc-lu's-mEn*, eye (*tc-*, on not part of; *lus*, eye; -*mEn*, instrument)
tcī-ni't-dä'x-us, she fell into the fire (*tcits-n-* > *tcin-*; *tcuts-*, toward;
ni't . . . -*us*, in fire; *däx^w*, lower one)
hın-pat-pat-ʊs-Entsɔ't, he dreamed, i. e., he poured mush in his eyes
(*pat*, pour mushy stuff; -*Entsut*, reflex.)
tsä'w-s-En, soap, that which washes face (*tsäw*, wash; -*En*, that
which)
i'p-us-En, towel (*ip*, wipe; -*En*, that which; *glot.*, rep.)

479. *-alp*, feeling:

- hın-ta'ax-a'lp*, I felt pungency (*hın-*, in; *tax*, bitter, pungent; medial
redupl., gradually)
hın-tä'ac-a'lp, I felt sweetness (*täc*, sweet)

480. *-kyp*, fire, fuel:

- i-ni'tc-kyp*, he is cutting firewood (*its-n* > *iⁿn-*; *its-*, cont.; *nitc*,
cut with blade)
s-t-q^wi'l-kyp, fire (*s-*, nom.; *t-*, on and part of; *q^wi'l*, light)
s-q^wi'l-kyp, match
s-q^wın-i'l-kyp, ashes (*q^wın*, be blue; -*il*, inside)
cEl-i't-kyp, he split wood for immediate use (*cäl*, split, chop; -*ü*,
for use)
mä'n-kyp-alq^w, fire-drill (*min*, rub; -*alq^w*, long stiff object)

481. *-isgwäl* (-*sgwäl*, -*aswäl*), fish:

- lEdj-i'sgwäl-En*, fish-spear (*lädj*, spear; -*En*, instrument)
xäs-i'sgwäl, edible fish (*xäs*, good)
pä'q-sgwäl, halibut (*sic!*) (*päq*, white)
pat-a'swäl, trout (*pat*, be mushy)

482. *-cın* (-*cän*, -*cEn*), foot, leg, the leg from hip to toe:

- qä^w-ci'n-Em*, he put his shoe on (*qi't*, stick onto; -*Em*, intr.)
tsän-pat-cä'n-En, cement (*tsän-*, under; *pat*, pour mushy stuff; -*En*,
that which)
s-t-tcä'm-alq-cEs, it is on his leg (-*cEn-s* > -*cEs*; *t-*, attached to;
tcäm, extend; -*alq^w*, long stiff object; -*s*, 3 poss.)
pi'gw-pägw-cEn, he has swollen feet (*pi'gw*, swell; redupl., pl.)
s-tsän-tsi's-tsis-tcEn-cEn, boots (*tsän-*, under; *tsic*, be long; *c* > *s*
in this position; -*tsin*, edge)

483. *-ilEn*, food, pertaining to food:

- qul-i'lEn*, she produced food (*qul*, produce)
xay-i'lEn, leftovers
s-qäm-i'lEn, throat (*qäm*, long for)
tš^w tsä-s-gwulq-i'lEn, camas baking is ready to be uncovered (*tsäs*, ?;
gwulq, uncover bakepit)
s-ti'tc-ül-suls, their provisions for travelling (-*ilEn-s* > -*ils*)
ar^w-i'lEn, he acquired (*ar^w*, be much). Evidently from a time when
food meant wealth

484. *-iłk^wä[?]*, forehead, brow. This suffix describes the broad part of the forehead; I have found it only in compounds with *-us*, face (§ 478):

- ä-tcät-pu'y-iłk^wä[?]-us*, his forehead is wrinkled (*äts-tc* > *ätc-*; *äts-*, made so; *tcät-*, on surface; *pu'y*, wrinkle)
tcin-tca-tšar-i'łk^wä[?]-us, my forehead hurts (*tcät-tš-* > *tcäts-*; *tcin-*, I; *tcät-*, on broad surface; *tšar*, be hurt)

485. *-ilup* (*-älup*), foundation, something on which to rest:

- tcät-ɣäl-i'lup-En*, floor (*tcät-*, on broad surface; *ɣäl*, lay evenly edge to edge; *-En*, that which)
s-luk^w-luk^w-i'lup, mats (*täk^w*, one lies)
n-äm-ic-älu'p-n, I took his place (*n*-vowel > *n-*; *n-*, in; *äm*, one sits; *-ic*, be in act of; *-n*, 1-3 compl.)

486. *-ulüm^x*, (*-ölüm^x*), ground:

- tcät-tc-gwi'tc-ulüm^x*, we'll see the world (*tcät-*, fut.; *tc-*, we; *gwitc*, see)
ut-tEL-tELq-u'lüm^x, he stepped on the ground again, reached the earth (*ut-*, again; *talq*, step on)
hn-gwün-ün-i'c-ulüm^x, he sank gradually into the earth (*gwän*, be low)
hn-päl-ɔ'lüm^x, he poured it on the ground (*hn-*, on; *päl*, pour mushy stuff)

487. *-itct* (*-ätct*, *-tct*), hand including fingers. This suffix is found in many combinations and idiomatic phrases, but often, though the literal meaning is obscured, the feeling remains that it refers to the fingers:

- hn-lar^w-i'tct-ät-k^wä^ä*, he plunged his hand into the water (*hn-*, in; *lar^w*, plunge headfirst; *-äk^wä^ä*, water)
s-tš'i'y-ätct, right hand
ku-t-tšä't-tšEL-ätct, thou actest terribly (*ku-*, thou; *t-*, on and part of; *tšäl-tšEL*, affect by fierceness)
ɣE-ɣi'tct-m-En-ts, let me go (*ɣil*, leave; *-m*, caus.; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 2-1 imp.)

488. *-itcs* (*-ätcs*, *-tcs*), hand. This suffix refers to either side of the hand but does not include the fingers, that is, it is the palm or back of the hand:

- tšuk^w-i'tcs-En*, cane (*tšäk^w*, poke; *-En*, that which)
tcäl-hn-t-p-pa'ɣ-paɣ-älq^w-atcs-En, (what) will be my little knife-sharpener (*tcäl-*, fut.; *hn-*, my; *t-*, on and part of; *paɣ*, scratch on rough surface, dim.; *-älq^w*, long stiff object; *-En*, that which)
t-ɣölq^w-ätcs-En-tsu't, I wound string around my hand (*t-*, on and part of; *ɣölq^w*, wind string; *-tsut*, reflex.)

There are several remarks to be made about these two suffixes: *-itcs* may well be a combination of *-itct-us*, or *-itct-s* and mean "face of the hand"; in such cases *t-s* > *s*. A second possibility and the more likely one is that two Salishan suffixes, *-itct*, and *-itcst* have made themselves at home in Coeur d'Alene, both having become formalized. The one, *-itct*, is used more generally.

489. *-qin* (*-qEn*), head, tip, top:

kɔ'm-qEn, or *qɔ'm-qEn*, head

tɛa^a.qiⁱntx^w, open it (box) (*tɛiⁱ*, open; *-tx^w*, 2-3 compl.)

sm-tɛa^am-qEs, its tip (*s-hm* > *sm-*; *-qEn-s* > *-qEs*; *s*-, nom.; *hm*-, on; *tɛam*, extend; *-s*, 3 poss.)

qu-q^wa'ts-qEn, little hat (redupl., dim.; *q^wits*, warm)

a-tɛl-ɔ't-qEn-ä^äst, he stood at the edge of cliff (*ats-tɛ* > *ats*-, be left . . . ; *tɛäl*, one stands; *-ut*, be in position; *-iⁱst*, surface of round thing)

t-ɣat-ɣat-a^{na}st-qEn-ts-ɔc, they clubbed him on head (*t*-, on and part of; *ɣät*, club; *-iⁱst*, surface of round object)

a-n-tɛEm-a^uwas-qEn, it is in the corner (*ats-n* > *an*-, *ats*-, be left . . . ; *n*-, in; *tɛäm*, be surface; *-i^uäs*, in, between)

When this refers to "tip of a digit, or body-part", *n* is glottalized although no other part of the word need be diminutive. Lawrence, however, feels that this means "small" and certainly the "tip" of anything is comparatively small:

tɛEnpⁱ.qiⁱn-tct, finger ring (*tɛänpⁱ*, clasp; *-tct*, finger)

Rats-Rats-qiⁱn-cEn, garters (*Rats*, tie; *-cEn*, foot, leg)

s-ciⁱt-Emac-qEn-tct, middle finger (*s*-, nom.; *ciⁱt*, be first; *-ämic*, born)

490. *-ilgwäs* (*-älguas*), heart, stomach. Although literally this suffix refers to the stomach, it is used to form a great many of the most figurative words, and the organ it describes is considered the seat of the mind or intelligence:

tcɛⁱin-tɛu^u.p-i'lgwäs, I am lonesome (*tcem-s-hm* > *tcɛⁱn*-, *tɛu^u*, be gone; *-p*, without volition)

m-Räj-Ej-i'lgwäs, he is angry (*m*-, in; *Räj*, be angry; final redupl. prog.)

t-tɛEs-Es-m-i'lgwäs, he got indigestion (*t*-, attached to; *tɛäs*, be bad, with final redupl. "it came to be"; *-m*, of own accord)

ɣas-ɣas-i'lgwäs, he is a virtuoso (*ɣäs*, good)

491. *-ilx^w* (*-älx^w*, *-lx^w*), hide, skin, mat, covering:

t-gwuc-i'lx-ɣn-ts, he curried horse (*t*-, on and part of; *gwäc*, comb; *-ɣn*, for *-En* after labial, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

tcät-tɛä^äliⁱs-älx^w, three bundles (*tcät*-, on surface; *tcɛⁱiläs*, three)

tcä-tar-i'lx^w.ɣnts, she untied string from bundle (*tar*, untie)

492. *-gwil* (*-gwul*), hollow object, wagon, canoe, abdomen:

hm-tuk^w.gwiⁱl-En-ts, he laid it in his canoe (*hm*-, in; *täk^w*, lay one; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

t-ɣäⁱy-ɣiⁱy-gwul, big waist, belly (*t*-, on and part of; *ɣäyxiⁱy*, one is big, always redupl.)

s-r^wäl-gwul, fishnet (*r^wäl*, dip)

s-t-tɛäm-i'gwul-s, his belly (*s*-, nom.; *t*-, on and part of; *tɛäm*, surface extends; *-s*, 3 poss.)

493. *-intc* (*-äntc*), hollow, whence: belly; with *hin-*, room:

äl-da-dar-i'ntc, watch, little sun

a-n-qä'lx^w-äntc, she was hooked to the wall (*äts-n- > an-*; *ats-*, made so; *qälx^w*, hook)

pä'n-äntc, liver (*pän*, bend)

s-ta'x-äntc, intestine (*tax*, bitter)

494. *-istcEN* (*-stcEN*), *-il-stcEN*, *-äl-stcEN*, horn, forehead at the edge of the hair. Only one example shows the simple form of this suffix, but it seems justified to treat *-äl-stcEN* as a compound, *-il* (*-äl*) meaning where two planes meet:

s-x^wäl-i'stcEN, buck (*x^wäl*, ?)

ä-ni'^t-ku's-älstcEN, hair curls back from forehead (*kus*, be curly)

ä-ni'^t-tcEN-äl-stcEN-tsu't, he cust. holds his forelock (*äts-n- > än-*; *äts-*, cust.; *ni'^t-*, among, often meaning hair; *tcän*, hold one object; *-tsut*, reflex.)

x^wi'st-äl-stcEN, Walking-Antler

ä-s-tsul-um-i'p-äl-stcEN, buffalo horn

r^wä'x^w-alstcEN, Taut-String-on-Temple, name of former chief (*r^wäx^w*, string is stretched)

a-ni'^t-tcEN-i'l-stcEN, he (sun) held something on head

495. *-ästicä^ä*, horse, stock. There can be no doubt that this suffix is the independent noun, *ästic'^ttcä^ä*, horse (§ 521). The use of the suffixes following it shows its complete incorporation into the verb complex:

t-gwuc-älx^w-äl-stci'tcä^ä-än, curry comb (*-äl-vowel > -äl*; *t-*, on and part of; *gwac*, comb; *-älx^w*, hide; *-at*, for use of; *-En*, instrument)

Räts-äl-stci'tcä^ä-än, rope (*Räts*, tie)

hm-tEp-Ep-äl-stci'tcä^ä-än, pasture, place where stock come to a stop (*täp*, pl. animate objects stand, stop)

496. *-ilx^w* (*-lx^w*), house:

m-tcam-q-i'lx^w, on the roof (*-qin-lx^w > -qilx^w*; *m-*, on; *tcam*, extend; *-qin*, tip, top)

sEp-ij-i'lx^w, skin tent (*sip*, always with *-ij* (§ 460), buckskin)

syä-wi'c-lx^w, mason, carpenter (*syä-*, one whose occupation is; *wic*, build)

tc-tä'p-Ep-lx^w, they arrived at the door (*tc-*, on not attached; *täp*, pl. stop; final redupl. "come to")

497. *-il* (*-äl*, *-l*), inside from within. I have never found this suffix except with some other. With *-tsä^ä* it has come to mean most often "meat", or "body", but it really means "all through from the inside":

xäs-i't-tsä^ä, delicious meat, nice inside, all through (*xäs*, good)

s-q^wun-i't-ku^p, ashes (*s-*, nom.; *q^wun*, be blue; *-ku^p*, fire)

s-tsä^äw-i't-cEN, Splinter-Leg (*s-*, nom.; *tsä^äw*, ?; *-cEN*, leg)

nä^ä n-lux^w-p-i't-k^wä^ä, maybe they drowned (*nä^ä*, doubt; *n-*, in; *täx^w*, pl. die; *-p*, without volition; *-k^wä^ä*, water)

tEl-tElq-at-tsä-u'l, kicker (*talq*, step on, kick; redupl., again and again; *-ul*, habitually)

mot-t-tsä^ä-än-ts, he smoked meat (*mot*, smoke)

498. *-alq^w*, (*-alq*), log, sticklike object, tree. This suffix is used for trees and bushes, often in combination with *-älp* (§ 469). The labialization of *q* is lost before *-cEn*, leg:

- t-paʔ-paʔk^w-aʔlq-ʔn-tEm*, he was crucified (*t-*, on and part of; *paʔk^w*, nail; *-ʔn-tEm*, 3 pass. compl.)
aʔlte-atp-alq^w, kinnikinnick bush (*ilte*, kinnikinnick berry)
tc-ʔäl-ʔäl^w-aʔlq-cEn, leggings (*tc-*, on not part of; *ʔäl^w*, cover with fabric; *-cEn*, foot, leg)
tc-lʔi^w-lʔi^w-p-aʔlq^w, pocket-knife (*tc-*, on, not part of; *lʔi^w*, plunge headfirst; *-p*, bottom)

499. *-alpq^w*, mouth inside, oral cavity:

- teal-kʔp-s-tʔux^w-alpq-ʔntsuʔt*, henceforth you will provide for yourselves (*teäl-*, fut.; *kʔp-*, you; *s-*, inten.; *tʔux^w*, provide; *-ʔntsuʔt*, reflex.)
sm-tcam-ʔʔs-alpq^w, inside of mouth and throat (*s-hm-* > *sm-*; *s-*, nom.; *hm-*, in: *tcam*, extend; *-us*, orifice)
hm-Rats-aʔlpq^w-En, bit and bridle (*hm-* . . . *-En*, where; *Rats*, tie)

500. (*-ips*), *-äps*, neck all around, as compared with *-ilps*, which means back of neck. This is a rare suffix which, like several others, seems to be a survival or a borrowing from other Salishan languages (cp. § 580):

- s-qa-qaʔl-äʔps*, small necklace
s-qaʔl-äʔps, horse collar, necklace (*qaʔl*, hook [?])
kun-tsiʔts-äps-Em, thou art to close thy eyes (*tšits*, pinch shut)
tsic-ps, fisher (*tsic*, long)

501. *-iʔqs* (*-aʔqs*), nose, beak, oral and nasal cavity, seat of taste. This suffix is used often with the prefix *nʔ-*, among, amongst, and when so used indicates the nose in general, but means literally "among the hair of the nose", that is, "nostril":

- s-nʔ-tcaʔm-tcam-iʔqs*, nostrils (*tcam*, be surface)
tʔpq-iʔqs, snipe (*tʔpq*, be needlelike)
iʔ-t-ʔäʔs-iʔqs, he enjoys food immensely (*its-t-* > *iʔ-*; *its-*, cont.; *t-*, attached to; *ʔäs*, good)
teäl-m-ciʔt-Em-aʔqs-En, it will be thy first course (*teäl-*, fut.; *m-*, in; *ciʔt*, be first; *-Em*, cause [?]; *-En*, instrumental)

502. *-ill* (*-äll*, *-äll*), offspring, child:

- ʔu-gwaʔ-t-iʔll*, baby (*gwaʔ*, be young; *t-*, subjective; dim.)
s-kʔ-kʔut-iʔll, fawn
s-tsi-tsim-iʔll-äll, children in relation to parents (*tst-tsim*, be small pl.)
ʔil-äl-n-tsuʔt, he deserted his own child (*-äll-En* > *-ällEn-*; *ʔil*, leave; *-Entsut*, reflex.)

503. *-uʔ*, seems to mean "pendent" although examples are few:

- s-qʔaʔy-uʔ*, grape (*qʔäy*, purple)
qʔaʔl-uʔ, gall (*qʔäl*, moss)
a-t-qʔaʔs-uʔ, bunch. It is doubtful if this is the same, more probably it is not.

504. *-ilymx^w*, (*-alymx^w*, *-älymx^w*), person, man:

päg^w-i'lymx^w, echo (*päg^w*, echo)

häp-i'lymx^w, Gobbler (*häp*, gobble)

s-ni'k^w-älymx^w, tribesman

tcä-lul-umx^w-i'te, person easy to get along with (*tcät-t.* > *tcät.*;
tul, be decent; *-ite*, grow, become)

505. *-stcint* (*-stcänt*), people, persons. This form is exactly the same as the independent noun:

ä-gul-ni-il-s-ci'n-En, by man-eaters (*hin*-vowel > *n*-.; *n-s* > *s*-.;
t-n > *n*-.; *ä*-, preposition; *gul*-, pl.; *hin*-, in; *iln*, eat; *-En*, the one who)

gwun-ästci'nt.c, call (summon) the people (*t-s* > *s*-.; *gwun*, call
-äl-s > *äs* [?]; *-c*, s. imp.)

tsugw-ästci'nt, guardian spirit (*tsäg^w*, disposition)

täp-stcä'nt, he shot (*täp*, shoot). An example of a suffix giving the intr. verb a general meaning.

506. *-umc* (*-Emc*), people. This suffix, related to the common Salishan one which corresponds closely, refers to "people as a kind or group":

s-tci'tsä'äm^c, Coeur d'Alene

s-q^wat-q^wat-u't-umc, people living at *sq^wat^w* (*q^wat^w*, place name;
redupl. pl.; *-ut*, be in position of)

sp^oqi'n-Emc, Spokane

sin-mu'lcäntc-umc, Beaver People (*s-hin* > *sin*-.; *s*-, nom.; *hin-mu'lc-*
äntc, beaver)

s-pa^ayo'l-umc, Spaniard (from French espagnol)

t-qⁱlttc-umc, Flathead (*t*-, attached to; *qⁱlttc*, inland)

sin-si'k^wä'äm^c, Water People (*s-hin* > *sin*-.; *s*-, nom.; *hin*-, in;
sik^wä'ä, water)

507. *-istcäyjt*, pharynx. A suffix which seems to be derived from an independent nominal form which, however, I have not found:

täx-i'stcäyjt, he is long-winded, enduring (*täx*, be swift)

s-tux^w-m-i'stcäyjt-Em, glottal stop (*-mEn-is* > *-mis*-.; *s*-, nom.;
täx, one stops; *-mEn*, use; *-Em*, intr.)

hin-tcäw-i'stcäyjt, he has a deep voice¹

tük^w-i'stcäyjt, he held his breath (*täk^w*, be stuffy, choke)

508. *-ilgwäs* (*-älqwas*), property. It is impossible to detect any difference of form or function between this suffix and § 490; the only difference is one of meaning:

s-tEq-i'lgwäs, drygoods (*s*-, nom.; *taq*, clothes lie)

ä-sux^w-i'lgwäs, cust. she carried property on her back (*äts-s* >
äs-.; *äts*-, cust.; *säx^w*, carry on back)

pädq-i'lgwäs, he stored property (*pädq*, store)

tux^w-älgwäs-Entsu't-En, that he gathered it for his own use (*tix^w*,
get, collect; *-Entsu't*, reflex.; *-En*, that which)

¹ Pascal George, one of the famous interpreters, always says this and his son and Lawrence thought it was wrong, but Lawrence heard his grandmother use it. The young people use *hin-tcäw-w-qEn*, whence it appears that *-qEn*, meaning "voice", may have supplanted this suffix to some extent (§ 518).

509. *-alqs*, road:

hın-gwa'r-alqs-Em, road was scraped (*hın-*, on, in; *gwar*, scrape; *-Em*, pass. cont.)

hın-lak-ɔ't-alqs, long road (*hın-*, in; *lāk^w*, be far; *-ut*, be in position)

510. *-i'utEM*, self-doer, auto-, that which performs of itself, a neuter reflexive, not applied to persons:

taq-taq-aq-i'utEM, telegraph, typewriter, self-toucher (*taq*, touch; redupl., again and again; final redupl., "come to")

tüä-tüä-l-i'utEM, aeroplane, self-flyer (*tü^t*, one flies; redupl., here and there)

äts-Etcän-i'u'tEM, how in the world did it get that way (*äts-*, cust. before vowel; *ätcän*, do with)

tc'²-its-Ku-K^wä-K^wä²-m-i'u't-Emic, we are just taking a light lunch; (*K^wi^t*, bite; *-m*, caus.; *glot.*, dim.)

511. *-al-qiu't*, shoulder, part from neck to edge of shoulder:

hın-tuq^w-tuq^w-alqi'üt-En, suspenders (*hın-*, on; *tuq^w*, band; *-En*, that which)

tsän-tcEm-alqi'üt, point at side of back just below shoulder (*tsän-*, under; *täm*, surface)

gıun-alqi'üt, low shoulder (of mountain ridge at Tekoa)

512. *-ingwilEN* (*-EngwilEN*), something:

xił tcEn-ts-mus-Es-Engwi'lEN, I might come to feel something (*tcın-ıts- > tcınts-*; *tcın-*, I; *ıts-*, cont.; *mus*, feel, fumble about; final redupl., come to)

ti^tx^w-ıngwi'lEN, he procured some (*ti^tx^w*, procure)

513. *-i²s-t* (*-a²st*, *-ä²st*), surface of round object, rock:

tc-lıdj-i²s-En-ts, he stabbed spherical object (*-i²st-En > -i²s-En*; *tc-*, on, not part of; *lıdj*, stab; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

t-pat-a²st-qEn-ts, she poured mush on his head (*t-*, attached to; *pat.* pour mushy stuff; *-qEn*, head)

a-tsal-ɔ't-qEn-ä²st, he is standing at edge of cliff (*ats-tš > ats-*; *ats-*, made to . . . ; *tsal*, stand; *-ut*, be in position of; *-qEn*, top, head). Note the difference in meaning indicated by the order of the two suffixes *-i²st-qEn*, surface of head; and *-qEn-ä²st*, top of surface.

t-k^war-k^warä²q-ä²st, orange (*t-*, on and part of; *k^warä²q*, yellow)

sn-wıł-wıł-i²m-us-ä²st, arrow point (*s-hın > sn-*; *wıł-wıł-i²m*, metal; *-us*, face, orifice)

514. *-ilps* (*-älps*), throat of person, back of animal's neck:

ıts-qä²-i'ıps-ılc, (maybe) it is stuck in his throat (*qi²*, stick in)

tuw-i'ıps, throat is stuffed (*tuw*, stuff)

t-pä²q-älps, white-maned horse (*t-*, attached to; *pä²q*, white)

s-t-tcä²m-älps, mane (*s-*, nom.; *t-*, on and part of; *täm*, surface)

Used in counting certain animals, and not free:

t-mu's-älps, four pigs, wolves (*t[tc]-*, prefix used in counting animate objects)

515. *-iptlix^wtstc* (*-äptlix^wtstc*), tongue, tongue-shaped. The independent word for "tongue" is *tix^wtstc*, and the last of the following examples by the terminal pronouns shows it is fully incorporated:

m-q^wäl-iptli^tx^wtstc, he burned his tongue (*m-*, in; *q^wäl*, burn)
sm-män-äptli^tx^wtstc, small dagger (*s-hän* > *sm-*; *män*, turn [?])
hm-k^wä-äptli^tx^wtstc, he bit his tongue (*hm-*, in; *k^wi^t*, bite)
tsi^tc-tlix^wtstc, it has a long tongue
hm-nüč-pt-ti^tx^wtstc-En-ts, he cut tongue off it (*hm-*, out of; *nüč*, cut; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

516. *-ins* (*-äns*), tooth:

m-xük-ük^w-i^tns-Emc, he is cleaning teeth, teeth are coming to be clean (*xük^w*, clean; *-Emc*, cont. intr.)
u-n-q^wüd-q^wä^td-äns, his teeth are black (*u-*, objective; *n-* for *hm-*, on; *q^wäd*, be black)
hm-gwi^ts-äns-En, toothpick (*hm-*, in; *gwi^ts*, pick with small stick; *-En*, instrument)

This suffix may mean "something separable, something which falls off":

y-äl-äns, pitch chips for kindling fire
ku^w-pi^ts-äns, you big raindrops (*kup-*, you; *pis*, pl. objects are large)

517. *-stq*, seems to refer to vegetation, crops. This may or may not be the same as *-astq*, in opposition to (§ 542); I do not have many examples of either:

s-tca-stq, camas digging (*tcastq*, dig roots)
syä^a-q^al-stq, farmer (*syä-*, one whose occupation is; *qul*, produce)
y-äl-stq, summer (*s-* before vowel initial > *y*; *s-*, nom.; *äl*, move from position of rest)

518. *-qin* (*-qEn*), voice, throat. This suffix has the same form and apparently is treated exactly the same as the one meaning "head" (§ 489), but always with the prefix *hm-*. The examples above show that *hm-* may be used with *-qin* when it means "head" also. They seem, however, to be distinct:

hm-tca^w-qEn, deep voice (*hm-*, in; *tca^w*, widening from certain point)
hm-tcE-Rtca-qi^tn, high-pitched voice (*tcE-tca^R*, narrowing dim.)
un-x^wa^tl-qEn, distinct speech (*u-*, just; *x^wäl*, be living)

519. *-k^wä^w*, water, liquid:

ä-tcä-tük^w-i^t-k^wä^w, it floats (*äts-tc* > *ätc-*; *äts-*, made so; *tcät-*, on surface; *tük^w*, one lies; *-it*, for use)
ä-dar-tsi^tn-k^wä^w, canoes are standing on shore (*dar*, pl. hollow objects stand; *-tsin*, edge)
hm-q^wä^td-k^wä^w, ink (*hm-*, in; *q^wäd*, black)
sa^tx^w-l-k^wä^w, vein, blood vessel (*sa^tx^w*, ?; *-l*, within)

520. *-in^w* (*-änx^w*), weather:

tc-q^wi'^sts-änx^w, (now) we are getting warm weather (*tc-*, we; *q^wits*, be warm; medial redupl., come to be)
tc-k^wä't-El-änx^w, we had pleasant weather (*k^wäl*, bright and hot; redupl., come to be)
i'^s-yaR-m-i'^snx^w, he is waiting for the weather to change for the better (*yaR-min*, be unfavorable)
tä's-änx^w, bad weather

521. *-äl* (*-l*). Like some other elements of Coeur d'Alene the suffix *-äl* seems to have several functions none of which is so definite that it may not be mistaken for another. (See also §§ 587, 617–633.)

a) One meaning seems to be "for, for the use of":

stcint-äl-yulmi' (*xum*), superintendent (*stcint*, people; *yulmi'* *xum*, chief)
s-tsi'^st-äl, substitute
s-kum-äl-ti'ts, pitch gum (*tits*, pitch)
s-dar-äl-du'tdu'tp, aspen
Räts-al-stci'tcä'-än, rope (*-al*-vowel > *-äl*; *Räts*, tie; *-ästci'tcä'^ä*, horse; *-En*, that which)

b) A second kind of example may be really the same as the first. It is the use of *-äl* in compounding:

tcin-tci-ti'^sx^w-äl-qäyimi'nEn, I received a letter (*tcits-t* > *tcit-*; *tcin-*, I; *tcits-*, hither; *ti'^sx^w*, secure for use, procure; *qäyimi'nEn*, letter)
ti'^sx^w-äl-ttsugw-i'^ss-En, he had secured feathers (*ttsugwi'^ssEn*, feather)
ḡäs-äl-tsä'gwät, he has nice disposition
ti'^sx^w-äb'its-i'bn-ülc, they secured something to eat
nä'^ä ku-ti'^sx^w-äl-gugwaḡi'tt, thou wilt have a baby
ti'^sx^w-ä-smi'yäm, he secured a wife (*-äl-s* > *-äs-*; *mi'yäm*, woman, wife)
nä'^ä tc-kul-t-tsä'tx^w, let's make a house (*nä'^ä*, imp.; *kul*, make; *tsätx^w*, house)

c) *-äl* is used with numerals perhaps meaning "times or measures", but the construction seems to be much the same as that for cases a) and b), complicated however, by phonetic contraction or assimilation:

mus-äl-xu'i, 4 times he went (generally, however, the simple cardinal numbers are used for multiples)
äs-äl-tu'm, 2 families, groups (*äsäl-äl* > *äsät-*)
mus-äl-tu'm, 4 families
upEntc-t-tu'm, 10 families (*upEntct-t* > *upEntct-*)
nuk^w-t-mi'mc, one box (*näk^w-ä'^ä*, one)

The whole question of number is phonetically, and doubtless historically, complicated and I shall have more to say about it (§§ 634–650). Here it may be noted that the suffix *-äl* is used only if a noun is incorporated, never if the counting is considered in classes expressed by affixes. In this respect the numerals which

allow of incorporation behave much as other stems which incorporate (§§ 617-633).

d) An idiomatic use of *-äl* is in the set of phrases meaning "belonging to the house":

- ut-tcʉs-kʷän-(t)-tEtcʉ'p*, he fetched (came back and got) a bucket belonging to the house (*ut-*, back, again; *tcʉs-*, hither; *kʷin*, take hold of one; *tEtcʉ'p*, bucket)
kʷän-t-xʉkʷi'lup-En, she took the broom (*xʉkʷi'lupEn*, broom, what cleans floor)
kʷän-cä'l-mEn, he took the ax (evidently *t* is assimilated to *-c* in this word)
kʷän-spa'nɔ, she took the house-bag along (*t-s > s*)

The following suffixes evidently belong in this class but the examples are too few to allow of any exactness as to their meaning.

522. *-äls*, round object (?). I suggest that this is the Salishan *-äls*, which has not been changed to *-äʷäst* (§ 586):

Kʷiʷt-Kʷäʷals, he chewed lice (*Kʷiʷt*, bite)

523. *-iʷt*, *-äʷt*, source (?):

gwiʷtc-gwitic-äʷt, source of bad luck (*gwiʷtc*, harm)
kʷaʷr-äʷt, copper (*kʷar*, yellow)
ku-kʷaʷr-äʷt, gold (little yellow)
ä-qu-quʷ-iʷt, balsam fir
päʷxʷ-iʷt, he coughed
ɔʷh-iʷt, he had a cold

524. *-ät*, open to question, doubtful (?):

kuʷls-ät-En, I hired him
tsäʷn-iʷm-ät-Ent, wait for him (*tsän-n-vowel > tsäʷn*; *tsän-*, under; *-im*, cause; *-Ent*, 2-3 imp.)
säʷgwät, who is it?
tcät-m-tsäʷgw-ät, thou wilt behave (*tcät*, fut.; *tsägw*, behave)

525. *-läyʷt*, ?:

tʷiʷ pʷs-läyʷt, already they (eaglets) were big (*tʷiʷ*, already; *pʷs*, pl. be large)

526. *[-iltc]*, *-Eltc*, check (?):

s-pʷigw-Eltc, man's belt (*pigw*, swell, breathe)

527. *-tcäʷä*, ?:

s-kʷs-Es-tcäʷä, ghost (*skʷst*, cedar [?])
ästciʷ-tcäʷä, horse, stock
s-lʷm-tcäʷä, daughter
qʷaʷm-qʷam-tcäʷä, he enjoyed it
tut piʷn-tcäʷä, never

528. *-iʷ*, *-äʷä*. This suffix, unlike the others whose meaning cannot be determined, is used so frequently that it is difficult to classify. It is used especially with kin-terms and names for persons, but in only rare cases can I determine the meaning of the stem. A suggestion is "someone who . . . for" (§ 585):

tcEtcä' y'-ä'ä, maternal grandmother
a-s-qu-q'wä's-ä'ä, little boy (*q'wäs*, be foolish, unwise)
s-q'wä's-q'wEs-ä'ä, son
si'nts-ä'ä, man's younger brother
ä'-i'x'w-ä'ä, mother's sister (*ix'w*, ?, redupl. dim.)
si'l-ä'ä, mother's father
ti'k'w-ä'ä, father's sister (*tik'w*, suspect[?])
sEsi'w, mother's brother (redupl. dim.)
y'-uk'w-ä'ä, woman's older sister (*s-vowel* > *y*; *uk'w*, carry ?)
tü'd-ä'ä, canoe

529. Nouns to which the suggested meaning can hardly apply:

ä-s-tsi'q'w-ä'ä, prepared inner bark (bundle of ?)
s-c-tšEs-l-u's-ä'ä, hail
päst-ä'ä, half dollar (*päst*, half)
s-t-tšik'w-ä'ä, left side
s-k'wä'r-är-ä'ä, rust (*k'war*, yellow; final redupl., come to be without agent)
l-lä'x'w-ä'ä, shirt (*tüx'w*, sew)

530. The suffix may enter into combination in a reduplicated form, in which case, the form remains for the first part of the reduplication but is shortened at the end, an unusual ending of a Coeur d'Alene word:

sE'l-ä'ä-säl'l-ä, great-grandfather five or more generations removed
 (*säl*, be obscure [?])
sul-ä'ä-sul-ä, rubber (*sulä'ä*, stretch)

531. It is a part of certain verbs also:

tčE-tčä'n-ä'ä, one (animate or inanimate object) is small
tsE-tsü'n-ä'ä, pl. are small
pu't-ä'ä-nts, he honored (worshipped him)
*s-du'w-du'uk'w-ni'n-ä'ä*s, he is stingy about lending something
xu-x'w-i'ts-ä'ä, it is short

532-542. Locative Suffixes

These suffixes differ from those of §§ 456-531 only in their meaning which is more locative than nominal. They often denote a meaning in combination with a prefix, even as the nominal suffixes do.

532. *-älwis* (*-älwis*, *-älwis*), about, go about to indefinite places:

tcEc-älwi's-Ems, he is accompanying him about to indefinite places
 (*tc-* > *tc-*; *its-* *-Ems*, 3-3 cont.; *tcäc*, accompany)
lut ar'w x'wäy xuy-älwi's, not many were traveling (*lut-*, not; *ar'w*, many; *x'wäy*, these; *xui*, one goes)
syä-daxt-älwi's, scouts (*syä-*, one whose occupation is; *daxt*, pl. go)

533. *-itsä'ä* (*-tsä'ä*), all around, all over, used especially of wrapping or covering (cp. § 497):

ä-tc-yilx'w-i'tsä'ä, it is covered all over (*äts-tc-* > *ätc-*; *äts-*, made so; *tc-*, on and not part of; *yilx'w*, cover with flimsy object)
mu's-tsä'ä, four blankets not folded
a-t-djäx-tsä'ä, it is scratched all over (*äts-t-* > *at-*; *t-*, part of, in this case, ridges on surface; *djäx*, scratch, make groove)

534. *-ust*, along, meaning movement along:

- ut-x^wi'^tn-ust*, again he went along here (*ut-*, again; *x^wi'^tn*, demonstrative verb, be here)
u-n-gwi's-t-ust, she moved along up high (*u*, just; *n-*, on; *gwi's*, be high; *-t*, subjective)
u-si'k^wä^d-ust, he went by water (*u-*, just; *sik^wä^d*, water in a body)

535. *-älniw³* (*-älnäw³*, *-lniw³*), alongside at rest, or in position alongside:

- hm-r^wux^w.r^wux^w.älni'w-En*, harness (*hm-*, on, in-; *r^wax^w*, line lies; *-En*, that which)
ä-tsän-cultc-älni'w, they were surrounded (*äts-ts-* > *äts-*; *ä-*, made so; *tsän-*, under; *cultc*, be, go in a circle)
hm-lap-lnä'w-ün-tEm, it was shot alongside (*hm-*, on; *-ün*, for *-En*, tr.; *-tEm*, 3 compl. pass.)

536. *-yuyä^d* (*-yoyä^d*), back and forth:

- qäp-qäp-l-yu'yä^d*, butterfly (*qäp*, flap; redupl., again and again; *-il*, angle where two planes meet; glot., rep.)
hm-qälä^d-yu'yä^d, he swung (*hm-*, on; *qälä^d*, swing)
tä'm-tEm-yoyä^d, snail (*täm*, dampen)

537. *-iwäs* (*-awäs*, *-äwäs*), between, together, have contact with, be in contact. This suffix is used commonly with the prefix *hm-(n-)*, in, or *ni'^t-*, among, amongst:

- n-saq-saq-i'wäs*, it split in two (*n-*, in, on; *saq*, gape)
hm-qa'i'wäs-En, wedge, i. e., stuck in between (*hm-*, in; *qi'^t*, stick; *-En*, instrument)
lax-t-i'wäs, they were friends (*lax*, be friend; *-t*, subjective)
x^wiyä tsutsiyä'i'wäs, these sisters (together)

538. *-u'us* (*-o'us*), directly. The best word to express this suffix is the unorthodox "spang":

- pał-o'us-u's-En-tEm*, he was mush-poured spang in the face (*pał*, pour mush; *-us*, face; *-En*, tr.; *-tEm*, 3 compl. pass.)
xät-u'us-u's-En-ts, he clubbed him spang on the face (*xät*, club)
pá'gw-o'us-qEn, nagger, loud talker (*pagw*, echo; *-qEn*, voice)

539. *-il*, direction, -ward:

- nax^wt-i'l*, downstream
a-n-car-ic-i'l, upstream (*ats-hm-* > *an-*; *ats-*, made so; *n-*, in; *car*, be difficult [?]; *-ic*, be in act of)
s-yux^wmus-ulumx^w-i'l, north (*yux^wmus*, cold; *-ulumx^w*, ground, land)
s-q^wEts-ulumx^w-i'l, south (*q^wits*, be warm)
nyk^w-t-i'l, once (*nyk^w*, once; *-t*, times)

540. *-mä^d*, in every way:

- s-tsun-mä^d-ntsu't*, education (*s-*, nom.; *tsun*, show, point; *-Entsut*, reflex.)
tcäs-ä's-mä^d-ntsut, he would try his strength (*tcäl-s-* > *tcäs-*, *tcäl-*, fut.; *s-*, inten.; *ä's*, measure)
su'x^w-mä^d-nts, he felt it (*sux^w*, know)

541. *-inä^d* (*-änä^d*), over, on top of but not entirely covered. Frequently used with prefix *tc-*, on, not part of, or *tcät-*, on surface:

tca-talq-i'nä^äntEm, he was stamped on (*tcät-t- > tcät-*; *tcät-*, on broad object; *talq*, step on; *-än-tEm*, 3 compl. pass.)

tcät-gwäl-p-i'nä^ä, he burned all over (*tcät-*, as above; *gwäl*, burn; *-p*, without volition)

tcä-lu'x^w-lc-änä'-än-ts, he jumped on him (*tcät-*, on; *lux^wlc-*, jump, motion in horseshoe shape; *-än*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

542. *-astq (-stq)*, in opposition to:

cEl-Ef-a'stq, he won in sport (*cäf*, level)

tsaq-a'p-stq, he pursued, went behind in opposition to (*tsaq*, ?; *-ip*, at back)

akö'-stq, he answered back (*-n-s > -s*; *äk^wn*, say)

ku-tcac-a'p-stq, thou followedst against orders (*ku-*, thou; *tcäc*, accompany)

543-560. *Compounded Suffixes*

543. There are certain marked tendencies in the use of suffixes, some of which can hardly be separated from the use of prefixes with which they may have an intimate relationship (cp. § 573). One tendency is to use the suffixes in a much generalized sense: *-tsin*, e. g., which means "mouth", means more exactly "edge of, around the edge"; *-ip*, bottom, may take on a great many generalized meanings which range through the more literal notions of "seat, posterior" to the idea of "after, behind", or "foundation". Another tendency is to combine suffixes. Combination is not entirely free, but it is used very commonly and certain groupings of suffixes have taken on particular meanings. I will give a few of these as well as idiomatic combinations of prefix suffix. Meanings depend upon relative position of the suffixes, on accent, and on prefixes:

544. *-qin-ups*, seat:

hm-qap-qi'n-ups-En, pad for a chair, lit. where end of anus pads.

545. *-as-açEn*, top of arm, perhaps ball and socket joint:

s-t-tçEm-ç's-açEn, top of arm

546. *-l-tšä'-i'p*, hip:

s-tçEm-l-tšä'-i'p, hip

t-qa^a-qa^a-l-tšä'-i'p-mEnts, he put one on each side of his belt, i. e., used it to hip-stick on

547. *-ap-alqs*, bottom clothes:

Rats-a'p-alqs-En, woman's belt (*Räts*, tie)

548. *-ip-äns*, chin, i. e., bottom of teeth:

s-tçEm-i'p-äns, chin

çä's-p-äns, good beard

549. *-ip-äl-stcEn*, stubby horn, stump of horn (?):

ü-s-tsul-Em-i'p-äl-stcEn, buffalo horn

550. *-awäs-qEN*, corner, angle:

an-tcEM-a'wäs-qEN, floor or wall at corner, perhaps angle,

but *ni'^t . . . awäs-qEN*, space in corner

ni'^t:tsaq-a'wäs-qEN-EN, I set hollow object in corner

The same combination may also mean "in hair" or "on top of head":

ni'^t-xap-p-xap-awäs-qEN-EN, I (bird) fluttered over his head (*xap*, pile flat things)

s-ni'^t-tcEM-a'wäs-qEN, on his head, in top hair

551. However, when the skull is referred to, the top and back are differentiated:

t-xat-xat-a'^{wa}st-qEN-ts-ic, they clubbed him on top of the head, i. e., blow came from above

xat-xat-a'p-qEN-ts-ic, they clubbed him on occiput (back of head), i. e., blow from below or back

s-yälx^w-a'p-qEN, cape, i. e., flimsy object lies at back of head

552. *-alq-cEN* (for *-alq^w-cEN*) is used for the long bones of the leg:

s-tcä'm-alq-cEN, leg

hn-q^wa'^t-alq-cEN, corner of house (*q^wi'^t*, be hollow)

553. *-us-cEN*, toe (face of foot):

lupx-u'^s-cEN, he has a hole in the toe of his moccasin

554. *-i'plä^{wä}-cEN*, heel (handle of foot):

s-tšEL-tšEL-i'plä^{wä}-cEN, spurs (*tšäl*, pl. objects stand upright)

555. The combination *-ip-wäs-cEN* is the generalized word for privates:

ni'^t-luq^w-i'p-wäs-cEN, breechelout (*ni'^t*, refers to hair; *laq^w*, band)

k^wäl-k^wäl-c-i'p-Ewäs-cEN, he startles (by flying) between the legs

556. *-itcn-tct*, back of hand:

hn-mo^{wa}t-ä'tcn-tct, he smoked back of his hand

557. *-tsin-tct*, wrist, edge of hand:

s-tsän-tcEM-tsi'n-tct, wrist (*tsän*-, under; *tcäm*, be surface) (cp.

s-tsän-icEM-tsi'n-cEN, ankle)

558. *-il-tšä^w-us*, inside of face (eye):

s-t-gwup-gwup-i'l-tšä^w-us, eyelashes (*gwäp*, be hairy)

559. *-tsin-k^{wä}-cEN*, shore (edge of water):

tsaq-aq-tsi'n-k^{wä}-cEN, canoe came ashore (*tsaq*, one hollow object stands)

560. *hn- . . . itct-ätk^{wä}-cEN*, hand in water:

hn-lar^w-i'tct-ätk^{wä}-cEN, he plunged his hand into water

561-569. *Syntactic Suffixes*

561. Syntactic suffixes serve the purpose of showing relationships between different parts of the sentence. There are several datives, all used with the usual transitive combinations of object-subject in all of the tenses. In all cases the dative refers to the

object. Simply placing the suffix before the pronominal suffixes, of course with the proper phonetic changes, gives the dative meaning.

562. *-l*, in behalf of, instead of:

- k^wi'^t-ts-ku'l-l-tEm*, I am making it for thee (*ku-hn-s-uts* > *k^wi'^tts-*;
ku'l, make; *-tEm*, cont. ending instead of *-Em*, § 354)
gwi'to-l-ts-äx^w, thou foundest it (something I had hidden) for me
(*gwitc*, see; *-ts-äx^w*, 2-1 compl.)
äts-Exi'l-l-sEn, I cust. move it for him (*äts-*, initial vowel > *äts-*;
axEl, do thus; *-sEn*, 1-3 cust.)

563. *-tul*, for, in reference to:

- a'ts̄x-tul-ts*, she looked at him for it (expecting him to have it)
(*ats̄x*, look at; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)
x^wä tcä-s-tcs-xu'i-tul-tEm, what is to be fetched for? (*tcäl-s* >
tcäs-; *x^wä*, article; *tcäl-*, fut.; *s-*, inten.; *tcs-*, for a purpose;
xui, go; *-tEm*, 3 pass. compl.)
tc-cEt-Em-tu'l-t-ts, he aimed gun at him (*tc-*, on not part of; *cät*, one
long object projects; *-Em*, cause; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)
x^wä tcäs-tcs'-a'ts̄x-tul-tEm, (what is he) that he should be looked to
for (anything)? (*tcäs-*, as above; *tcs-*, for purpose; *ats̄x*, look
at; *-tEm*, 3 pass.)

564. *-cit* (*-cut*), as a favor to:

- nä^{na} t-tcä'r^w-ci-tsäx^w*, when (and if) thou prayest for me (*cut-ts* >
cüs-; *nä^{na}*, doubt; *t-*, on part of; *tcä'r^w*, pray; *-tsäx^w*,
2-1 compl.)
tcil-t-cits, she gave him (something) (*tcil*, give)
äts-gun-i't-ci-tsEn, I cust. ask thee as a favor (*äts-*, cust.; *gunit*, ask;
-tsEn, 1-2 compl.) This suffix, for phonetic reasons, demands
the completive pronominals with the customary, § 359.
k^wi'^tts-axi'l-cut-Em, I am doing thus as a favor to thee (*k^wi'^tts-*,
see § 334; *-Em*, cont.)

565. *-cic* (*-cäc*, *-cec*), something, for someone. When used with an intransitive verb, this suffix is used to complete (§ 287) the meaning and may be translated as an indefinite pronoun. If used with the transitive it means "for someone":

- tcät-wül-wültc-En-ci'c-En*, pool table, that on which something
is rolled again and again for someone (*tcät-*, on surface;
wältc, roll; *-Em*, caus.; *-En*, that which; glot., rep.)
uts-xä's-Em-cäc-s, he is using something carefully (*uts-...-s*,
3-3 cont.; *xäs*, good)
mä'r^w-cäc-mEn-ts, he broke it (someone else's property) (*mär^w*,
break, destroy; *-mEn*, use for; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)
tcil-cäc-mi'n-En, I gave it to somebody, used something for giving

566. I believe that, for some undiscernible reason, this suffix was taken over for the pronominal completives 2-1p and 2p-1p where the forms for completive and customary which have no correspondence to any Coeur d'Alene system are, e. g., *ku'-ätci'n-cäc*, thou gavest it to us, or thou gavest it (did with) as a favor to us. In other words, it does for the ordinary pronouns but also contains the idea expressed by *-cut*, "as a favor to", here omitted:

ku'u-tš-Etc'i'n-cäc, thou cust. scoldest us (*ku-äts*-vowel > *ku''u-tš-*;
äts-, cust.; *ätcin* has the meaning of "scold" in the customary)
kup'-utš-Eku'n-cäc, you are telling us (*uts-* vowel > *utš-*; *kup-*, you;
utš-, cont.)

A few words have the accent on *-cic* when it is used with *ku-* or *kup-*:

ku-lädj-ci'c, thou stabbedst us (*ku-*, thou; *lädj*, stab. The form
ku-lä'dj-cäc is also correct, perhaps even preferable)
tcät-ku-s-tcEn-ci'c, thou art to help us (*tcän*, take hold of, with
-cic always means "help")

567. *-tsut* (*-tsöt*), reflexive. According to my observation *-tsut* is treated, as far as accent is concerned, like any of the nominal or locative suffixes (§§ 456-542), except that if it occurs in combination with one or more of them which would ordinarily take the accent, the tendency is to throw the accent to the reflexive. That *-tsut* is a true transitive form is shown by the fact that, except with rare exceptions, it is preceded by the transitivizer *-En*:

hm-tčEs-tčEs-t-m-En-tsu't, he regretted (*hm-*, in; *tčäs*, bad; *-t*,
 subjective; *-m*, use)
kul-En-tsu't-En, God (*kul*, create; *-En*, the one who)
kul-tsEn-tsu't, cook (*kul*, make; *-tsin*, mouth)
tcä'ä-yi'lx^w-änä'-än-tsut, he covered himself with his blanket (*tcät-y-*
 > *tcäy-*; *tcät-*, on surface; *yi'lx^w*, cover with blanket; *-inä'ä*, on)
lutä-tcam-ä'y-ä'l-m-En-tsut, he could not even move (*s-* stem vowel >
y-; *lutä-*, neg.; *tcam*, result; *s-*, nom.; *äl*, move; *-m*, use)
hm-tä'p-l-tšä'-än-tšot-En, pineapple (*hm-*, in; *lap*, shoot; *-tšä'ä*, all
 through the inside)
hm-pulu-s-tsu't-En, my means of killing myself (*t-s-En-* > *s*;
hm-, my; *pulut*, kill one; *-s*, artificially; *-En*, that which)

568. *-twic* (*-twäc*), reciprocal. This suffix, like the reflexive, usually takes the transitivizer *-En*:

tcs-x^wi's-En-twäc, they went toward each other (*tcs-*, for a purpose;
x^wis, one goes, walks; glot., limited rep.)
tä'p-En-twäc, there was war (*lap*, shoot)
t'i'm-tcs-En-twäc, they shook hands (*t'im*, shake hands; *-tcs*, hand;
 glot., as above)
s-q^wa^qqwä'äl-s-twi'c, quarreling (*s-*, nom.; *q^wa^qqwä'äl*, speak; *-s*,
 artificially)
s-qä'y-ci't-wäc, correspondence (*cit-t-* > *cit-*; *s-*, nom.; *qä'y*, write,
 mark; *cit-*, as a favor)

569. *-i'..* (*-ä'..*, *-ä'..*), exaggeration or emphasis, particularly on the duration or force of an action. Wherever the accent may ordinarily be, if the verb takes on this emphatic form, the accent is shifted to this suffix which at the same time is articulated with a "song" proper to the meaning, a long glide of the voice with many tunes:

maq^w-yntEm-i' . . . , many heaps (of meat) were made (*maq^w*, pl. objects lie; *-EntEm*, 3 pass. compl.), emphasizing the large amount of meat.

än-tčutčni-i' . . . , small thing was in it (*äts-n- > än-*; *än-*, made so in; *tčutčänä^ä*, one is small), emphasizing surprise and chagrin at finding this small object.

cEl-Em-i' . . . , he chopped hard and long (*cäl*, chop; *-Em*, intr.)
pEs-pEs-t-ä', it was an astonishing incident (*pas*, astonish; redupl. form with *-t*, have effect of . . . (§ 302). The stem *pas* modifies the vowels prog., hence *-ä'*)

570-572. Nominalizing Suffixes

570. Just as there are a few nominalizing prefixes so there are several suffixes which transform a verb into a noun.

571. *-En*, nominalizing suffix, when personal "the one who", when non-personal "that which". When used with the prefix *hın-*, the combination may indicate "place where":

kül-En-tsu't-En, God, the one who created himself
s-tčäf-Em-u't-En, chair (*s-*, nom.; *tčät-*, on; *äm*, one sits; *-ut*, be in position of)

atsx-us-En-tsu't-Eni, mirror (*atsx*, look at; *-us*, face; *-Entsut*, reflex.; glot., rep.)

hın-lä'q-Entsut-En, sweat-house (*hın- . . . -En*, place where; *läq*, bury)

sm-pi'gw-ni, balloon (*s-hın- > sm-*; nominal form of *hın- . . . -En*, "what is in", or "place of being"; *pi'gw*, swell)

hın-pulu-s-tsu't-En, my means of killing myself (*t-s > s*; *pulut*, kill one; *-s*, artificially; *-tsut*, reflex.)

572. *-ni*, that which. A rare suffix which seems to be an intrusion of the common Salishan instrumental *-tEn*, or *-ni*. Since *t-n- > -n* in Coeur d'Alene I believe *-En* is a direct relative of this suffix. However, a few words seem to retain *t-* and in so doing have compromised by glottalizing *n*, a common Coeur d'Alene device for keeping derivations distinct (see e. g. "balloon", § 571):

wi'c-ni, tipi pole (*wic*, build, erect)

pä'x^w-ni, snowdrift (*pä'x^w*, wind blown). In this word *-ni* seems to have become a part of the stem, cp. *tä pä'x^wni-mäs*, when the snow drifts.

swa'i'-ni, spring of water

573. Combination of Prefixes and Suffixes

573. The large number of prefixes and suffixes and the attendant differentiation in meaning due to position and accent (§§ 651-698) make a stereotyped charting of the parts of the Coeur d'Alene word impossible. However, the following outline will give an idea of the setup showing how relatively simple words include many ideas. The table of prefixes carries the elements up to the stem; and another table of suffixes includes the stem and suffixes. The sentences are given with letters and translation.

sentence	syntactic	inten.	prefixes							dir.	prepositional
			verbal	ul-	tk ^w äl- tcuts- ut-	pro-nominal	nom.	aspect			
a.						tcin-	s-syä-				
b.	tcäl-			ul-		t-	s-				
c.			ats-					ä(ts)-			
d.			u-			ku-					
e.			u-		tcuts-						
f.	nä ^w ä					ku-				t-	
g.									tä-	(h)u-	
h.					tk ^w äl-			uts-		nä ^t -	
i.	tcäl-	s-			tk ^w äl-			(ä)ts-			
j.					ul-tcuts-			ts-			
k.									tu ^s	(h)u-	

	stem	verbal	nominal	tr.	use	pronominal and aspective					nominal locative
						dat.	asp.	obj.	subj.	reflex. recip.	
a.	cäl	-it	-kup								
b.	ni ^k w		-ilumx ^w								
c.	tsaR	-ip					-Em				
d.	nas										
e.	di ^l k ^w		-cEn				-Em				
f.	dja ^r				-min				tsut	-äwäs	
g.	tcute	-min	-alpq ^w	-En			-ts				
h.	tsäl,	-ut	-it ^x w								
i.	xui										
j.	atsqä ^w ä										
k.	sigw		-tsin		-min				tsut		
l.	gwi ^t c					-t	-ts	-ä	-x ^w		

- a. tcis-syä-cEl-i't-kup, I am a wood-chopper
- b. tcäl-ul-t-s-ni^kw-älumx^w, it is to be for thy tribe
- c. ats-a^a-tsaR-i'p-Em, he would be made to scream
- d. u-ku-nä's, thou art wet
- e. u-tciⁱ-di^lk^w-cEn-Em, he just covered his leg entirely
- f. nä^wä ku-t-dja^r-mEn-tsu't-äwäs, brace thyself firmly
- g. tä-n-tcute-mi'n-alpq^w-un-ts, he threw it into her mouth
- h. tk^wäl-nä^t-tsäl-u't^xw, he was standing about in the streets (among houses)
- i. tcäs-tk^wäl-ts-xu'i, he is to be cust. going about
- j. ul-tci^tts-a'tsqä^wä, he was coming out again
- k. tu^s-in-sägw-tsEn-mi'n-tsut, he went so far as to ask (for a wife)
- l. gwi^ttc-t-t-s-ä-x^w, thou foundest it for me

574-589. Comparative Notes on Suffixes

574. So far the division of Salishan languages into their several groupings has rested on a comparison of small vocabularies, and especially of suffixes which have remained remarkably stable, particularly within each of the groups. Boas and Haerberlin have determined *i-* as against *a-* languages¹ which may exist, but it seems likely to me that a great deal of theory may hinge upon a careful study of the vowel changes as they exist within each language even as they are present in Coeur d'Alene. It would be impossible to consider it either an *i-* or an *a-* language in the face of the fact that the vowels change regularly according to usage, position, accent, and the like. It is likely that these changes in themselves are due to historical causes. If so, we must know more about them in other languages, for it is apparent that they exist even from the examples given by Haerberlin². One of the most outstanding characteristics of these examples is the change of vowel and its loss. He had not enough examples from any one language to determine the exact meaning of the change and altogether the material is very uneven. This remains one of the main problems in the attack on the languages as a whole.

575. No one, to my knowledge, has done much with the prefixes — this again doubtless because of phonetically inaccurate material and even more particularly because of lack of analysis. There is every reason to believe that the prepositional prefixes are present with nearly the same meanings in the inland dialects. I have not seen anything which corresponds to the directionals, but that may be due to the fact that simple examples are more commonly recorded than those idiomatically used, for most of the material is from vocabularies; little, if any, from texts.

576. A few suggestions as to relationships may be ventured on the basis of the detailed study of the Coeur d'Alene suffixes and a more casual one of Haerberlin's Salishan suffixes. Besides, it is possible to summarize the character of Coeur d'Alene suffixes. The large majority are of two kinds; those beginning with *a*, whether accented or not, are probably to be considered the same since they all precede *q*, *x*, or *q^w* which stabilizes *i* as *a*; and those beginning with *-il* (*-al* before *q*, *x*, or *q^w*). I list them here since we have not looked at them from the point of view of their relationship to one another:

-axEn, *-asqit*, *-aqs*, *-inü^ä*, ear; *-inü^ä*, on top of; *-ins*, *-inx^w*, *-ingwil*, *-intc*, *-itct*, *-itcs*, *-(ips)*, *-äps* (§ 580); *-i^utem*, *-ipltix^wtstc*, *-itšä^ä*, *-iwäs*; *-itcn*, *-isgwäl*, *-istcäyt*.

¹ Franz Boas and Herman Haerberlin. Sound Shifts in Salishan Dialects. Int. Jour. Am. Ling. IV: 117-136.

² Distribution of Salishan Suffixes, unpublished material.

-alq^w, *-alpq^w*, *-atqs*, *-alqs*, end; *-alqs*, road; *-ilt*, *-ilup*, *-ilgwäs*, *-ilumx^w*, *-ilx^w*, *-ilps*; *-älwis*, *-älstcEN* (the last two never have the accent on *-äl* in any of my examples but they almost surely belong here).

There is still another group, not so large as the other two, beginning with *-il*:

(*-ilp*) *-älp* unaccented; *-ilx^w*, *-älniw*, *-älqiwät*, *-atqix^w*

Although these do not exhaust the list of suffixes, they nevertheless determine our problems. If we start from the *-il* set it does not seem to me difficult to see that they are composed of a suffix *-il* which, from other settings, we have shown to mean "inside of". This meaning would not conflict with that of any of the suffixes beginning with *-il*, even though we should not expect all parts to retain literal meanings. If this is true, we then reduce our suffixes to *-p*, *-x^w*, *-niw*, *-qiwät*, *-qix^w*.

577. If we view the set in *-al* or *-il* in the same way we get what is to be expected, i. e., a less uniform means of translation. This is even more apparent since *-il* is difficult to translate. I have shown that it may mean "where two planes or elements come together" which fits in some cases, and in others does not. If we accept the division of the suffixes leaving the meaning as indefinite we then have for determination *-q^w*, *-pq^w*, *-qs*, *-t*, *-up*, *-gwäs*, *-umx^w*, *-x^w*, *-ps*, *-wis*, *-stcEN* (*-istcEN*).

578. Certain of these lend themselves to discussion and comparison. There is every reason to believe that *gw* (Coeur d'Alene) > *w* in other languages (Kalispelem, for example), and we know that *l* > *i* or *'* in other languages, Thompson for example, whence I believe that *-ilgwäs* > *-iwäs*, even though the suffixes have taken on different and distinct meanings and uses. Since the tendency to change *gw* to *w* is only slight in Coeur d'Alene, since *l* is usually retained, and since other examples seem to point in the same direction, I should say that *-ilgwäs* and *-iwäs* came into Coeur d'Alene from two sources.

579. If we separate *-il* from *-il-umx^w*, once more we have left *-umx^w* which means "person", a common Salishan element. *-x^w* allows of comparison between *-il-x^w*, house and *-il-x^w*, mat or hide. If we remember that the old houses were made of mats, we should have *-il-x^w* defined as "that space in (within) mats", and *-il-x^w*, perhaps "one flimsy surface meets another".

580. My suggestion about *-ilgwäs* and *-iwäs* gains weight upon viewing *-ilps* and *-äps*. A glance at § 500 shows that the number of examples of Coeur d'Alene *-äps* is small, and at the same time an effort seems to be made to keep *-ilps* in a class somewhat distinct from "neck" or "back of neck" when, for example, only pigs, wolves, and a few other animals are counted with it as classifier,

and it applies to "throat" as well as to neck. The distinction seems to be between the kind of neck or throat rather than between inside and outside. The Coeur d'Alene meaning seems to me to be that a neck or throat hardly different from the rest of the body, i. e., not cylindrical (outside), would be referred to as *-ilps*, whereas a person's neck or throat would be *-al-pq^w*, and I believe *-q^w* has to do with length even as it does in *-al-q^w*. (All this in spite of the fact that Lawrence says *-ilps* of an animal is equivalent to *-apqen*, occiput, back of head, of a person).

581. I confess I have few suggestions to make about the series in *i*, except to call attention to the fact that many of these suffixes, when separated from the introductory vowel, have as initial a sound which in Coeur d'Alene is unstable: *s*, *n*, *tc*, *w* (> *u*-vowel). Since we also have verbal suffixes such as *-it*, *-in*, *-igw*, *-itc*, (*äpl*), whose final consonant may assimilate to any of them and at the same time tend to take the accent, it does not seem fantastic to look for the presence of the accent and the strong vowel in some such influence. These verbal suffixes are difficult to translate and the possibilities of assimilation are also rather too great to allow of very definite conclusions on this point. It might, however, be settled if we could find the parts in some language in which contraction and assimilation are not so strong, although it is likely that the amalgamation of two suffixes, if such it be, is an old one, to judge by the apparent distribution.

582. A few examples illustrate the force of this suggestion:

The stem for "one" is almost certainly *näk^w*, although in a great many cases it appears as *näk^w-ä^ä*, as it does in counting in the abstract, for persons (classified by prefix *ttc*-). When, however, the echo-vowel assimilates to a following *i* of a suffix, that contraction is represented by the accent on the *i*:

nyk^w-i'tsä^ä, one blanket
nyk^w-i'lx^w, one house, tent
hm-nyk^w-i't-k^w-ä^ä, one lake

583. When the stem is followed by *a*, it seems not to be felt as contracted:

na'k^w-a'alq^w, one tree, pole, string
na'k^w-ä^äst, one stone (for slingshot)

584. The stem for "two" is *äs-äl*, presumably normal with accent on *äs*:

tté-ä'säl, two persons

585. With such facilities for comparison as I have, I make the following suggestions:

-ä^ä (§ 528) is a suffix used sometimes by itself, but often in connection with other elements, stems, for example, and suffixes

such as *-in-ä^ä*, *-i-ts-ä^ä*, *-tc-ä^ä*. I have mentioned the fact that the words including it have so many meanings as to make it almost impossible of classification. It is likely that here as elsewhere. Coeur d'Alene accepted (or developed) forms in several ways. It is likely, I think, that *-ä^ä* of persons and kin-terms is from (or related to) *-ela*, person, which Haeberlin cites for only the western dialects (Lkuñ, Kwantlen [Fra], Sesh). It is well established that *l > '* in a number of dialects and it seems likely to me that *-ela* (vowel may be *ä*) *> i'* (*ä^ä* without accent). In the same region (Puget Sound) which has *-ela* for "person", there is a suffix *-ala*, *-ale*, *-al*, "place of". There is a strong possibility that this might have become *-ä^ä* and that some of my meanings should be "place where . . .". It is difficult to ascertain which of these is meant because I cannot analyze many of the words containing *-ä^ä*. It seems as if it would apply to "half dollar", "left side", "rust", "shirt" (§ 529), and to some of the verb stems which seem to demand it.

586. Still another suffix, *-i'^tst* (*-ä^äst*) suggests derivation from more than one source. The suffix *-als*, stone, of the Coast becomes *-e'^tist* and it is likely this is the same in Coeur d'Alene, although it has become much generalized so as to mean "rounded surface". In the West (Halkomelen [L. Fra], Lkuñ) it appears as *-a'^tlst*, *-a'^tEst*, and is interpreted "round things". In the same class formally in Coeur d'Alene is the ending meaning "weapon" which Haeberlin classifies separately as *-elst* (*-En*), and I think it likely that this even should be in the same class as *-als*. A knife and an arrow were in the old days made of stone and were therefore "round things". Following up my suggestion of § 577 we should then have to compare *-st*, and *i'^t-* (*ä^ä*) would come in the class with *-il*. In Coeur d'Alene, for instance, it is not used for "bow", "gun", or "club" but the few examples of its use can all be related to "round object".

587. The suffixes in *-äl* (*al-*) as well as those in *s-* show definite relationships to incorporated nouns and several of them furnish hints as to their derivation: *-al-qix^w*, breath, smell, is definitely from the stem *qix^w* which is used in the same way as other verb-stems. I think that *-äl-niw^w*, *-äl-qiw^t* may turn out to have the same kind of derivation. As for those in *s-*, they should be susceptible to the rule *l-s > s* and there may be accentual (*i'*) or phonetic (*ä^ä* before accented syllable) remnants of this elision here and there. A possible derivation is suggested by *-iptix^wtstc*, tongue-shaped. (*ipl*, have?). This may be the derivation of the *i's-* suffixes, for Kalispelm has, e. g., *-epl'schin*, and *-els'chin* (Giorda II, 191), and other examples which suggest that Kalispelm *-epl-s > Coeur d'Alene -i's*. Thompson perhaps has lost *pl* before *s* also, for we

have *-e-sul*, fish, as compared with Coeur d'Alene *-i'-sgwāl* (Coeur d'Alene *gw* > Thompson *w*, and evidently *l* > *l*). Again Coeur d'Alene *-i-st'cayt* is to be compared with *-el-kolt* of the other inland dialects, *k* > *tč*?), and here *l* is retained, although we cannot be very sure of the phonetic structure.

588. I have already suggested the relationship of Coeur d'Alene instrumental *-en* to Salishan *-ten*, for *t-n* > *-n*. Consequently, when the instrumental *-ten* occurs in Coeur d'Alene (survival or borrowing?), it is *-tñ* so as to keep both sounds. Perhaps when we have better recordings of the other languages we may find this is the suffix, or at least some reason for the glottalization of the *n*.

589. This discussion makes no pretensions as to exhaustiveness, but attempts to point the directions in which the various problems lie. There is a vast amount of comparative work necessary before the question can be answered conclusively, and before that is done most of the material is still to be gathered. Haeberlin's paper which evidences great industry and intuition, suffers from the lack of phonetic exactness of his material. It seems to me that the facts of Coeur d'Alene, especially those having to do with phonetics, contraction and assimilation, should furnish numerous clues which point in various directions and will, I believe, if followed carefully, bring out closer relationships between the Coast and Inland dialects.

590-612. REDUPLICATION

590-591. *Introductory*

590. Coeur d'Alene uses many types of reduplication although each is not entirely free. Generally speaking, verbs belong in classes, not absolutely rigid, which may take one or more types of reduplication. Many stems, however, may be reduplicated in different ways for indicating as many different ideas. All reduplication must be considered in connection with other processes such as affixing and stress, since practically no Coeur d'Alene process is entirely exclusive. Because of the different nature of the stems, certain variations in reduplication may occur in expressing the same idea.

591. Since the relationship between noun and verb is so close that which is said for the verb applies to nouns also.

592-602. *Reduplication of Types CVC-CVC, CVC-CVCC, VC'-VCC, VC'-VCVC, CV-CV*

592. When the stem consists of *cvc*, by far the largest group of stems, it may be duplicated: to form derivatives (§ 302), and to indicate plurality and distribution.

593. The duplicated derivative which expresses the idea "it has the effect of . . ." has already been discussed (§ 302). Several additional examples are given:

<i>u^u</i> - form expressing objectivity	duplicated form with <i>-t</i>
<i>u^u-tsä'l</i> , he is fierce	<i>tsä'l-tšEł-t</i> , he is terrible in effect
<i>u^u-q^wa'r^w</i> , he is foolish	<i>q^wä'r^w-q^wä'r^w-t</i> , he is reckless
<i>u^u-ca'r</i> , he is lazy, does not exert himself	<i>ca'r-car-t</i> , it is too difficult to attempt

594. Stem duplication is used frequently to express plurality, especially with the body-part, or nominal suffixes. The stem-vowel is weakened when it does not carry the accent:

<i>t-tcä'n-tcEn-Em</i> , he held on with both hands
<i>s-lu'x^w-lu.x^w-tct</i> , gloves (<i>lux^w</i> , draw on)
<i>gwä'p-gwüp-cEn</i> , his feet are long-haired (<i>gwäp</i> , be long-haired)
<i>hın-sä'l-sEł-p-us</i> , he was dizzy, his eyes turned without volition (<i>hın-</i> , in; <i>säl</i> , turn about; <i>-p</i> , without volition; <i>-us</i> , eye)
<i>hın-pat-pat-əs-En-tso't</i> , he dreamed (<i>pat</i> , pour mushy stuff; <i>-En-tsut</i> , reflex.)

595. The plural of most verbs is indicated by subject or object-subject pronouns, and in such cases the form indicates that "we", "you", or "they" act as a body. However, if the idea to be conveyed is distributive, i. e., if each acts individually, the stem is duplicated:

<i>qä't-qEł-p</i> , they each climbed (<i>qät</i> , go up incline)
<i>säl-sEł-p</i> , they each spun about (<i>säl</i> , turn rapidly)
<i>ʒa's-ʒas-t</i> , each of them is good (<i>ʒäs</i> , be good)

596. Another form of the distributive, hardly differing from plurality, gives the idea that an action takes place repeatedly or "here and there". The difference is more closely related to the class of the verb (verbs which take *-p* § 306), than to the difference in meaning or morphology. However, slight changes indicate differences if the meaning becomes subjective (§ 304):

<i>Ra'w-Raw-p</i> , it dropped here and there (<i>Räw</i> , drop)
<i>gwäl-gwEł-p</i> , it blazed here and there (<i>gwäl</i> , blaze, be afire)
<i>ää-djä'm-djEm</i> , it is pinned here and there (<i>djä'm</i> , pin)
<i>ää-tsä'l-tšEł</i> , fenceposts are set (<i>tsäl</i> , pl. objects stand)
<i>x^wä'p-xüp-Em-stEm</i> , blankets are spread here and there (<i>x^wäp</i> , spread blanket-like object)

597. The above examples illustrate a type of duplication in which the accent falls on the stem which appears with its full vowel first. The distributive of verbs with *u^u*-form is expressed by duplication with accent on the second instead of the first use of the stem, with consequent weakening of the vowel where it first appears. The meanings are the same as in §§ 595-596:

- u-q^wats-q^wi'ts*, each is warm, it is warm here and there (*q^wits*, be warm)
u-cEt'-cā't, they are each level, it is level here and there (*cā't*, be level)
u-tcāp-tci'p, each is soft, it is soft here and there
u-t-qal-qā'l-ā^wst, camas is not thoroughly cooked (*qāl*, be raw)
t-ṣay-xi'ṣ-gul, big belly (*t-*, on; *ṣayxiṣ*, be large, *-gul*, be cavity)

598. If the stem consists of CVCC, the final consonant is not repeated when the derivatives or distributives are formed. Since the final consonant of a cluster does not function in terminal reduplication either, it seems as if these final consonants are suffixes or remnants of suffixes:

- tšā'l-tšēlx-untš*, he clawed it here and there (*tšālx^w*, claw)
ā^ā-tčā'n-tčēnṣ, it is clamped here and there (*tčānṣ*, clamp)
tc-sā'x^w-sEx^wq, each of them splashed (*sāx^wq*, splash)
a'tš-Etsqā^ā, they went out one by one (*atsqā^ā*, go out; *-ā^ā*, or *-qā^ā* is almost certainly a suffix)

599. The process of reduplication holds for stems having a vowel initial also, the only difference being that the initial consonant is missing so that the reduplication is VC'VCC:

- kup³-it-Et.c-u'l*, you sleepyheads (*it.c*, sleep)
i't-Et.c, each one slept, they slept repeatedly

600. When the stem is bisyllabic, only the first vowel and consonant are repeated, a process which suggests my belief that the second syllable is a verbal suffix which has become thematic or fossilized:

- aṣ-ʔaxi'l-ṭc*, they each did thus, or they did thus and so (*aṣil*, do thus)

601. Stems consisting of CV are reduplicated CVCV for the same reasons as those of the form CVC:

- hūs-qā-qā^a-qā^ā-ci'n*, my little moccasins (*qā^t*, stick to; *-cin*, foot)

602. Duplication is used for baby talk: but the syllables repeated have no stem value:

- du du*, animal or bug
bi bi^t, milk
mā^ā mā^ā, mother
bā bā^ā, papa
dā dā^ā, food, something to eat

603-605. Reduplication of Types CV-CVC and V'-VC

603. Initial reduplication, that is, repetition of the first consonant, or vowel, or of the first consonant and vowel of a stem, denotes diminutive. It must always be accompanied by glottalization of the following sounds in the complex into which it enters: *m*, *n*, *w*, *y*, *l*, *r*, *R*, *r^w*, with the sole exception of *n* in *hn-*, in.

604. The diminutive reduplication may refer, as do the other reduplicated forms, to either a small subject or a small object:

- ce-ceł-u'łumix^w-n*, hoe, something which gives the ground little chops (*cāl*, chop; *-u'łumix^w*, ground; *-En*, that which)
t-tšE-tšEł-tšEł-i'tct, twigs (*t-*, on attached to; *tšäl*, pl. objects stand or project; *-itct*, fingers)
hm-pE-pEł-pEł-āñi'w, shafts, little long objects lie in alongside (*pān*, long objects lie; *-āñi'w*, alongside)
ā-i't.c., little one slept (*it.c.*, sleep)

605. The diminutive is often used by adults to express modesty:

- tc-nE-nā'^{sa}-nā'^{as}*, we each became wet (*tc-*, we; *nas*, wet)
xu-xwist, he went

606. Medial Reduplication Type CV'-VC

606. The idea of "gradually becoming", a kind of progression, is expressed by medial reduplication of some verbs, that is, a repetition of the stem vowel. Those stems which require the suffix *-p*, "without volition" (§ 306) form a class (although not the only class) which allows medial reduplication, and does not, with certain exceptions, permit that type of final reduplication which means "come to be . . . without agent" (§ 262):

- lu'up*, it became dry (*lup*, be dry)
na'as, it became wet (*nas*, be wet)
hm-q^wā'āts-i'lgwās, he became warm inside (*q^wits*, be made warm)
hm-xā'as-a'lpq^w, he relished it (it became good in oral cavity)
hm-tā'ax-i'lgwās, he was worried (it became bitter in heart)

607-612. Final Reduplication Types, CVC-VC, CVC₁-VC₁-C₂

607. Another kind of progression, difficult to differentiate from the above in English, is expressed by reduplication of the final consonant of the stem, or of the vowel and consonant. When the consonant is labialized the vowel is *u*. When the stem ends in a consonant cluster, the vowel and first element of the cluster are repeated. Final reduplication expresses the idea "it came to be" and includes the notion that no agent or power from the outside had to do with it. Since this idea is also implicit in medial reduplication, it seems that the difference is not primarily one of meaning, but rather one of process involving a different classification of verbs.

608. The significance of this usage, as of so many in Coeur d'Alene, may be brought out best by a contrast. For example, let us say, there is a rod outside. If I come and find it has been bent I may say: "ātspā'n, it is bent", but I mean that it exists in a bent condition because someone has acted upon it, as by throwing a rock at it, or "it has been acted upon by an agent and is, therefore, bent".

If I say, "pá'ńEN, it is bent", I mean it has come to be bent through some unknown or natural agency as by frost.

609. Because the difference in meaning is so subtle, I include one other example at this point. If I say of this same rod "pá'ńENEM", I mean "it has come to be bent through some natural force, such as contraction due to change in temperature":

- yaR-aR*, they assembled (*yaR*, assemble)
pá't-El', mushy stuff spilled (*pát*, pour mushy stuff)
hən-la'ɾ^w-ur^w, he was indicted (*lar^w*, plunge headfirst)
ul-lul-ul-stci'nt-Em, he rose again (*tuł*, be real person; *-stcint*, be person)
tčäl-El-x^w, hollow object came to upside-down position (*tčälx^w*, be convex)
t-paɾ-är-k^w-us-En-tsu't, he self-pierced eye (*t-*, on attached to; *paɾk^w*, pierce; *-us*, eye; *-En-tsut*, reflex.)

610. It is interesting to note that some suffixes if used with a verb which has been subjected to final reduplication must themselves be duplicated:

- us-xum-um-i'lt-ält*, she has come to miss her child (*-ilt*, offspring)
tšäl-El-i'c-ic, he came to a standing position (*-ic*, act of)
äm-Em-i'c-ic, he came into a sitting position
tsaq-tsaq-aq-El-i'p-äp, he fell on his back (*tsaq*, hollow object stands; *-El*, planes meet; *-ip*, back, bottom)

611. A case of final reduplication expresses diminutive:

- stäädä-dä*, a little grass, grass was young and green. (This example is from a text which does not suggest baby talk)

612. The following are a few examples which have been treated by more than one of the reduplicating processes:

- na'a-na'as*, they each became wet
qó'qó'ats-üc, they each became fat
gwa'r-gwar-ur, they got scraped
gwi'w-gwäw-w, they got shredded with wear
än-gu-gux^w-gux^w-i'ntc, little ones hung here and there on the wall
ku-k^wäl't-ül, it became clear, pleasant warm weather came on
ä'än-än'i's, little ones went off one by one
ax^w-ax^wi't-üc, little ones did thus

613-616. GLOTTALIZATION

613. In Coeur d'Alene glottalization not only causes mechanical changes for phonetic reasons, but has also particular grammatical functions, some of them used in connection with reduplication. The prefix *hin-*, *in*, is the only element immune to glottalization under the conditions given; even the susceptible sounds of the verb-stem are affected. The series of consonants *m*, *n*, *w*, *y*, *l*, *r*, *R*, *ɾ^w* become glottalized under the following circumstances:

614. When the noun or verb is diminutive:

Regular form	Diminutive
<i>mar-mar'i'm-EnEm-ic</i> , they were treated one by one	<i>m̄-niār-niār'i'm-En̄tEm̄-ic</i> , they little ones were treated one by one
<i>yā'r-yār-p</i> , wagon, they roll	<i>ȳ-yā'r̄-jār̄p</i> , cart

615. When the action is considered as being performed not just several times, but repeatedly within an interval of time:

Regular form	Limited repetition
<i>yä'p-yEp-ic</i> , rocker	<i>yä'p-yEp-mEn̄-tsut</i> , he rocked, used himself to sway re- peatedly
<i>ta'x^w-tu^w-mEn-tsut</i> , he stopped again and again	<i>ta'x^w-tu^w-mEn̄-tsut</i> , he hes- itated
<i>tsu'n-mä'ānts</i> , he showed him, pointed out every way to him	<i>hm-tsu'ni-tsun̄-mä'āni</i> , school- house, place where it is shown repeatedly
<i>tā'tap-Em</i> , he shot several	<i>tā'tap-En̄i</i> , he hunted
<i>tūq^w-tūq^w-atcs-En-tsu't</i> , he slapped his own hand re- peatedly	<i>tūq^w-tūq^w-atcs-En̄tsu't</i> , they clapped
<i>tsāni-uk-uku'n-ām-En</i> , I sug- gested it to him several times	<i>tsāni-uk-uku'n-āni-En̄i</i> , tempta- tion
<i>hm-tsu^w-tsu^w-i'tcs-Ents</i> , he emulated him	<i>hm-tsu^w-tsu^w-i'tcs-En̄ts</i> , he mocked him

616. Since the repetitive is usually closely related to the distributive, it is to be expected that it will be found most frequently with the reduplicated form. This, however, is not absolutely necessary and the proper sounds of the ordinary verb may be glottalized to indicate repeated action:

<i>t'm-En̄ts</i> , she scolded him
<i>s-yj'q-ūñtsut</i> , telling lies (<i>yj'q^w</i> , tell lies; <i>yūq^w</i> , pretend; <i>yj'q^w</i> , pretend with)

617-633. NOMINAL INCORPORATION AND VERBAL COMPOUNDING

617. Up to the present time work on the Salishan languages has suggested the probability that nominal incorporation is one of the grammatical processes. It has been found in Chehalis¹ and now it appears in Coeur d'Alene as a well-developed process. We must leave aside the question as to whether or not the suffixes may be stems and take only examples which are unquestionable.

618. Verbal stems may be made nominal simply by prefixing *s-*, the nominalizer, or participial prefix. The tendency to use a nominal form is so pronounced in Coeur d'Alene that it may even

¹ Franz Boas. A Chehalis Text. Int. Jour. Am. Ling. VIII: 107.

be used twice in the same word, once to nominalize the entire complex, and again, either apparent or phonetically disguised, in the continuative which is itself a participial form. In this discussion of incorporation we may omit the similarity between nominal and verbal stems and take for our criterion of incorporation first those words which retain the nominalizer *s-* and those nouns which have some other initial.

619. *üstci'tcä^{wä}*, horse, stock:

t-gwuc-älx^w-äl-stci'tcä^{wä}-än, curry comb (*-ät*-vowel > *-äl*; *t-*, on; *gwäc*, comb; *-äl*, for [?]; *-En*, that which)
Räts-äl-stci'tcä^{wä}-än, lariat, lasso (*Räts*, tie)
tss-n'-Estci'tcä^{wä}-ups, horse manure (*tcs-* > *tss-* before following *tc*: *n*-vowel > *n*; *tcs-*, after; *hm-*, in; *-ups*, anus)

620. *tsägw*, behavior, character:

řäs-ät-tsä'gw-ät, he has nice disposition (*řäs*, good; *-ät*, ?)
sEl-sEl-äl-tsä'gw-ät, he is vacillating (*säl*, be obscure)

These examples are excellent to show, the way in which a stem behaves, now as a verb and again as a noun.¹

621. *ätx^{wä}*, camas:

sřa'u'ut-üt-x^{wä}, raw camas
iⁱ-ta'qi'j-tx^{wä}, leaves are falling (*taqi^w*, pl. fall) (the meaning is not clear in this case)

622. *ti'x^wtstc*, tongue. I have given *-iplti'x^wtstc* as a suffix also (§ 515). This example certainly points to relationship with Kalispelm *-ipl-* with suffixes (§ 587), and supports the argument that the vowel is to be considered as an element in itself rather than an integral part of the suffix although now it may seem to be the latter:

m-q'äl-ipl-ti'x^wtstc, he burned his tongue (*m-*, in, on; *q'äl*, burn)
sm-män-äpl-ti'x^wtstc, small dagger
hm-nutë-pl-ti'x^wtstc-Ents, he cut off its tongue (*hm-*, in; *nutë*, cut)

623. *tsätx^w*, house:

ül-kül-tsä'tx^w, again she made a house
nä^{wä}tc-kü'l-t-tsätx^w, let's make a house (*nä^{wä}*, exhortative; *kül*, make; *-t*, connective?)

624. *stci'nt*, person, people:

täp-stcä'nt, he shot
tcäl-ku-s-tsän-tšäl-u^w-stci'nt, if thou intendest to stand in people's way (*-ut-s* > *-u^ws*; *tcäl-*, fut.; *ku-*, thou; *s-*, inten.; *tsän-*, under; *tšäl*, one person stands; *-ut*, be in position)
ku-n-üt-stci'n-En, thou art a man-eater (*n-s* > *s*; *n-t* > *n*; *ku-*, thou; *üt*, eat; *-En*, one who)
hm-tsu'gw-tsu'gw-u^ws-tci'nt, he set bad example, people behave in eye (?) (Lawrence's etymology) (*tsägw*, behave)

625. *si'dist*, night:

mus-ä-ä-si'dist, 4 nights (*sidist*, night passes)

tsuntctEm-ä-ä-si'dist, 7 nights

626. *spinttc*, year:

nuk^w-spi'nttc, one year

hä'änim-ä-spi'nttc, 8 years

627. The number of incorporated nouns with participial prefix *s-* and the number of verbs which have been found with incorporated nouns is small, but the process is typical incorporation. (*ästci'tcä^ä*, horse, does not really belong with them because even the initial vowel is incorporated and is to be seen in the *l* preceding, which is a combination of *l* and a vowel).

The following verbs have occurred in compounded forms, but it is likely that many others have the potentiality of being used in the same way:

xäs, well, good

täs, bad

miy, make clear, definite

gwäy, finish

yuy^wä^ä, pretend

x^wän, hurry

yä^ä, secure game

ci't, be first

k^win, take

äpt, have

kul, make, create

qäy, design, mark

lut, negative

628. The compounding is done by using the weak form of the stem, because it lacks the accent: a possible connective *-äl* (§ 521b) and a noun which takes the accent. Most often the noun is a participial form beginning with *s-* and for this reason the *l* would be lost (§ 145). On the other hand, the *-ä* (*a-*) which occurs may be related rather to the *ä-* prefix which is an indefinite article, e.g., *qäiⁱ-a-t^ri'^ä*, he hot coal-stuck in (between toes). As far as I know *l* does not assimilate to *t* although the echo vowel indicates that some assimilation has taken place, as it does in a number of other compounds, as e.g., *mus-ä-ä-si'dist*, four nights. The function of this *ä-* will have to be left an open question until we get some comparative material to help us with it. Kalispelm, according to Giorda, has *l* in places and *s* in others and omits the vowel. Since however, the consonant is more important in Coeur d'Alene, I incline to the belief that the suffix-connective is *-äl*.

629. A few examples of the regular verb, *gwäy*, finish, show how the forms are compounded:

gwiy-ä-y-ç'q^ws, he finished drinking (*s-* vowel > *y-*; *çq^ws*, drink)

gwiy-ä-s-kul't, he finished doing (*kul*, do)

gwiy-ä-s-ya'R-aR, they finished assembling, i. e., the feast is over (*yaR*, assemble)

nä^ä gwiy-ä-s-tcät-u'sä^ä, when they had finished (getting) the fut. eggs (*nä^ä*, doubt; *tcät-*, fut.; *usä^ä*, egg)

630. This construction is almost entirely free, and since *gwäy* is a stem in its own right and subject to all the modifications of a

regular verb, it may be said that this is merely the usual verb with object-noun construction which could as well be written *gwi'y äskul*. The pushing of the accent back to the participle and the consequent weakening of the stem-vowel rules out this interpretation, if nothing else did. The final test of incorporation comes, however, when transitive or more complex forms are demanded. Although *gwä'y* may take the transitive pronominal suffixes when used independently — e.g., *gwä'y-stus*, he finished it — nevertheless when the construction here under consideration is used, the syntactic elements are a part of the participle which takes the accent:

gwi'y-ä-s-t-q^wa^a-q^wä^l-mí'ñ-temí, he is finished being spoken of, his trial is over (*t-*, on attached; *q^wa^aq^wä^l*, speak; *min-*, use; *-tem*, 3 pass. compl.)

gwi'y-ä-s-tsä'k^w-En-ts, he finished skinning it (*tsä^w*, pull off; *-En*, tr.; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.)

gwi'y-ä-y-Eku'-stEm-üc, they had been fully instructed (*s-vowel* > *y-*; *äk^wn*, tell; *n-s* > *s-*; *-stEm*, 3 pass. cust.; *-üc*, 3 pl.)

x^wä gwi'y-ä-s-pu'lu-stus-üc, when they finished killing

631. And, if these examples are not convincing, there are the following in which the affixes bind the stem which cannot be an auxiliary, and the incorporated participle so thoroughly as to leave no question that the process must be interpreted as incorporation:

äts-gwi'y-ä-y-Eku'-stm-ä-s, he cust. finishes telling me (*äts-*, cust.; stem as above; *-stmäs*, 3-1 cust.)

uts-gwi'y-ä-s-ni'tc-Em-s, he is finishing cutting it (*uts-...*-*Ems*, 3-3 cont.; *nitc*, cut)

632. I will append a few examples of the usage with other stems, any of which may be treated in the same way within the limitations of their meanings:

The stem *yä^ä*, procure by hunting, earn, incorporates any of the animal names and seems quite free:

yä^ä-tsi'^t, he secured a deer

yä^w-äskuk^wut-i'll, he secured a fawn

i'^tya^w-antä'mqä^ä, they were impounding animals (*nla'mqä^ä*, black bear)

yä^ä-ä'sEl, he got two

633. The stem *xa* or *xäs*, good, is used as the independent element of a compound verb to denote "under favorable circumstances", or "without interruption". This use is very common indeed:

k^wi'^tts-xas-a-s-q^wa'^al-Em, I am talking to you without interference, everyone agrees with me

na^a xa-icas-tcE-ttci'gwul, so he will climb easily

634-650. NUMBER

634. By this time it should be more than apparent that there is no adjective in Coeur d'Alene, but that two forms of the verb *u^u*-

and *-t* take care of what in Indo-European we designate as adjective. The numeral is likewise in the verbal category. A consideration of the numerals from one to ten gives a kind of cross-section of the Coeur d'Alene verbs: All the stem-types are represented except that ending in a consonant cluster. The suffix *-tct*, finger, has become so closely knit up with the stems for 5, 6, 7, and 10 that it is treated as a part of them and may be considered a cluster; the combination is in its turn treated as a stem. Many of the laws of harmony, accent, of assimilation and contraction are represented in the numerals. The stem "nine" is a diminutive and regularly treated as such, as are some of the multiple units. Many objects are counted by affixing the designations of their class so that affixing is representative.

635. In agreement with the forms we have already met in the construction of the verb complex, the numerals represent three types of verbal structure: the class of an object may be designated by a suffix which is sufficiently specific to show the relationship and needs no syntactic element; the form may be that of an incorporated compound with the connective-suffix *-äl*, which in this case seems to mean "times or measures" (§ 521, c); or, the numeral may be independent in which case it is treated exactly as an adjective (i.e., a verb) with the definite article, *hä*, showing its relationship to the noun which follows.

636. The numerals from one to ten illustrate all these processes and give us a clue as to what is happening in other cases.

The independent forms of numerals are as follows:

<i>nä'k'wä'ä</i>	1
<i>ä'sel</i>	2
<i>tci'äläs</i>	3
<i>mus</i>	4
<i>tsil(tct)</i>	5
<i>täwä(tct)</i>	6
<i>tsu'n-tct-Em</i>	7
<i>hä'i'n-Em</i>	8
<i>ḡaḡaḡu't</i>	9
<i>upEn(tct)</i>	10

637. From 11 to 19 inclusive the numbers are compounded on the basis 10 again 1; 10 again 2. Each stem, i.e., the stem, ten, and the one following retains its accent showing that they are thought of as two separate words:

<i>u'pEn ul'tci'äläs</i>	13
<i>u'pEn ulḡaḡaḡu't</i>	19

638. The tens are formed by multiplication, for, although in practise the Coeur d'Alene usually use the ordinals for the numeral adverbs, special forms exist to express them, and the more common form (used for 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7) is the one used for counting tens:

nu^kw^tru'i, once he goes
äsäl^äru'i, twice he goes (for *äsäl-äl-*)
tcä^ätäl^äru'i, thrice he goes (for *tcä^ätäs-äl-*)
mus-äl^äru'i, 4 times he goes
tuwc-äl^äru'i, 6 times he goes
tsuntctEm-äl^äru'i, 7 times he goes

äsä^äl^ä-u'pEn, 20, twice 10 (for *äsäl-äl-vowel*)
tcä^ätä^äl^ä-u'pEn, 30, 3 times 10 (for *tcä^ätis-äl-vowel*)
mus-ä^äl^ä-u'pEn, 40, 4 times 10
tsiltc-l^ä-u'pEn, 50, 5 times 10 (for *tsiltct-l-*)
tuwcätc-l^ä-u'pEn, 60, 6 times 10 (for *tuwcäct-l-upEn*)
tsuntcm-ä^äl^ä-u'pEn, 70, 7 times 10 (for *tsun-tct-m-äl-vowel*)
hä^äänim-ä^äl^ä-u'pEn, 80, 8 times 10
ṣaxñ-ul^ä-u'pEn, 90, 9 times 10 (for *ṣaxñut-l-vowel*)

639. Tens with digits are simply built up regularly from these forms:

äsä^äl^ä-u'pEn *uñä^äk^wä^ä*, 21
tcä^ätä^äl^ä-u'pEn *uñä^äsEt*, 32
mus-ä^äl^ä-u'pEn *utmu's*, 44

640. Hundred is formed by adding the suffix *-qin*, with the attendant effects of *q* on the preceding vowels. This may be the suffix meaning "head or tip" (cp. § 489):

nu^kṣ^ṣ-qi'n, 100 (since *ä^ä* never changes to *ṣ^ṣ*, *nu^ku^u* (?) may be a derivative stem)
nu^kṣ^ṣ-qi'n *uñä^äk^wä^ä*, 101
nu^kṣ^ṣ-qi'n *ul-Esä^äl^ä-u'pEn-tsil*, 125
nu^kṣ^ṣqi'n *uttsuntcmäl^ä-u'pEn* *utha'i'nEm*, 178

It is characteristic of Coeur d'Alene to leave off a part of a word and heavily accent the last syllable which is pronounced as here *-lū'*.

641. Multiples of 100 are diminutives formed by initial reduplication and the accompanying glottalization (§§ 613-616):

a'asa'l-qEn, 200 (two little 100's)
tcE-tca^äla's-qEn, 300
ni-ni^ä's-qEn, 400
tsE-tsäl^ä-tct-qEn, 500
tE-tuwc-a'tct-qEn, 600
tsy-tsä^ä'nitctmi-qEn, 700
hä^ä'i'nEm *hä snuk^ṣ-qi's*, 800 (8 the its hundred. Note that this and the next are not dim.)
ṣaxñu't (*h*) *jasnuk^ṣ-qi's*, 900
u'^äpañ-tct-qEn, 1000

642. For multiple thousands the adjectival form is used with *ha*, the definite article:

ä'sät ha *ṣa^ä'ṣpanitctqEn*, 2000, 2 the being 10 small heads
tcä^ä'täs ha *ṣa^ä'ṣpanitctqEn*, 3000
u'pän ha *ṣa^ä'ṣpanitctqEn*, 10,000

643. In counting particular objects specification may be denoted by affixing. Since I derived many of the laws of assimilation, contraction, and sound change from examples involving number, I shall not record here every number with every classifier, but I will summarize them:

ttc-, perhaps meaning astraddle, used to count persons

The same prefix is used with the following affixes:

ttc-. . . .-*ält*, children, offspring

ttc-. . . .-*ä^äst*, used to count objects more or less round which have a covering, e. g., orange, apple, ball, berry, but not rock. Solid round objects are counted with this suffix without the prefix.

ttc-. . . .-*älps*, used to count animals counted by "necks"; pigs, wolves

644. The following affixes are used to count classes as indicated:

-*älx^w*, hide, hidelike object

tcät-. . . .-*älx^w*, bundle (*tcät-*, on surface)

-*alq^w*, long objects like logs, poles, strings

-*gul*, spacious objects like wagon, canoe, auto

-*ul^wumx^w*, parcels of land

-*tct*, finger, hand, glove, is used always in its contracted form for counting with the exception of: *t^wwc-i'tct*, 6 gloves. This is perhaps equivalent to *t^wwc-i'tct-tct*, or *t^wwc-tct-i'tct*, since the stem for six practically demands -*tct*.

-*itsä^{wä}*, blanket not folded

-*ilx^w*, house, tent

-*asq^{it}*, day

hn-. . . .-*itk^{wä}*, bodies of water

hn-. . . .-*äp*, smallish objects like containers; the affixes refer to the bottom inside

645. The summary must include phonetic changes as well as form. In the following classes of counting the accent is on the suffix for "one", on the numeral stem for all the rest of the numbers (2-10): -*itsä^{wä}*, blanket not folded; -*ilx^w*, tent, house; *hn*-. . . .-*itk^{wä}*, lake, body of water; -*ul^wumx^w*, parcels of land; -*usem*, kind.

646. In all the rest of the classes the accent is on the stem. Several remarks may be made on the stems for theoretical reasons.

The stem for "one" is *näk^w*, which at times seems to demand a suffix -*ä^{wä}*, and in other cases, it does not. The suffix -*ä^{wä}* is present in those cases where the specifying suffix takes the accent and when the following suffixes are used without the accent: -*ätct*, glove; -*ält*, child; -*älps*, neck; -*älx^w*, hide; -*alq^w*, long object; -*gul*, object with capacity; -*äp*, bucket.

647. Bisyllabic stems:

a) *äsil*, two, and *tcⁱ'läs*, three, being bisyllabic, take the accent on the first syllable only when they carry no suffixes. Whenever there is an unaccented suffix the accent falls on the second syllable of the stem. The stem for six, *t^wwcitct*, definitely a compound with

suffix *-itct*, finger, is treated in exactly the same way, as is *ha'i'nEM*, the stem for eight, which is doubtless a compound also.

b) Although *tsuntctEM*, seven, seems to be a combination with the suffixes of six and eight, it never loses the accent to a suffix nor is the accent on *-itct*, although it may lose it to an incorporated noun. *upän*, ten, likewise, never has the accent on the second syllable, but may lose it to an incorporated noun.

c) *ɣaxaniut*, nine, always has the accent on *-ut*, last syllable, remaining entirely consistent with the rule that certain stems, of which it is one, shift the accent to the last syllable in the diminutive.

648. One example will demonstrate each of these principles:

Kinds	Days
1 <i>nyk'wä'u'sEM</i>	<i>nä'k'w-sqit</i>
2 <i>äsi'l-usEM</i>	<i>asa's-qit</i>
3 <i>tcä'ä'i's-usEM</i>	<i>tca'ä'ta's-qit</i>
4 <i>mu's-usEM</i>	<i>mɔ'sqit</i>
5 <i>tci'ltct-usEM</i>	<i>tsä'ltc-sqit</i>
6 <i>tuwci'tct-usEM</i>	<i>tuwca'tc-sqit</i>
7 <i>tsu'ntctEM-usEM</i>	<i>tsɔ'ntctm-asqit</i>
8 <i>hä'i'rim-usEM</i>	<i>ha'a'rim-asqit</i>
9 <i>ɣaxaniut-usEM</i>	<i>ɣaxani'ɔ's-qit</i>
10 <i>u'pEntct-usEM</i>	<i>ɔ'pantc-sqit</i>

649. The form of counting in which the connective *-äl* is used between the numeral stem and the incorporated noun has been illustrated in the discussion of *-äl* (§ 521, b).

650. A third means of counting is the one in which the numeral is a verb-stem with accent and the noun follows with the definite article *hä*. Since *h* is often lost, it is sometimes difficult to tell which nouns are related to the stem by *-äl* and which by *hä*:

mus-ä'ä'si'dist, 4 nights (*si'dist*, night passes)
hä'änim-äspi'nttc, 8 years

651-698. ACCENT

651. Among the many complications of Coeur d'Alene, not the least are the rules of accent. Accent plays a major grammatical role, modifying the meaning of the complex, and in cases of the simpler compounds this function is relatively clear. The use of accent strengthens my opinion, formed on other bases, that Coeur d'Alene is a repository of numerous influences which have become astonishingly well unified and coordinated. I shall first give the rules which have grammatical significance.

652. The accent shifts from the stem syllable to the final syllable of some diminutives:

Regular form	Diminutive
<i>āi-q^wā't-ut</i> , Plummer (place-name)	<i>āi-qū-qūt-u't</i> , Little Plummer
<i>hən-cā'gwāl</i> , road	<i>hən-cE-cEgw-i'l</i> , trail
<i>āi-dā'r-āntc</i> , sun, clock	<i>āi-dE-dā'i'nitc</i> , watch
<i>sī'sā'ā</i> , mother's brothers	<i>sīsī'^s</i> , little mother's brother
<i>smī'yām</i> , woman, wife	<i>s-mE-mā'i'ni</i> , little woman
<i>ḡal-āx^w</i> , tooth	<i>ḡE-ḡal-i'x^w</i> , small tooth
<i>tcā'l-āx^w</i> , muskrat	<i>tcE-tcE-i'x^w</i> , little muskrat
<i>t-tšā'l-tšEL-tct</i> , branches	<i>t-tšE-tšEL-tšEL-i'tct</i> , twigs

653. Compare with the above the following shifts of accent which I cannot explain :

ḡal-i'x^w-un, dentistry, that which tooths
ma^a-ma'-a'm-ālqs, Sisters (*mi^am*, be woman; *-ālqs*, clothes)

654. Other diminutives which seem to have the same structure retain the accent in the usual position :

hən-mu'lc-āntc, beaver *hən-mi-mu'lc-āntc*, little beaver

655. The suffix *-ilc*, third person pl., may cause the accent to move forward. This is especially noticeable in bisyllabic stems, but is found also with suffixes :

3 S.	3 Pl.
<i>āk^wn</i> , he said	<i>ākū'n-ilc</i> , they said
<i>ā^ātš-ā'k^wn</i> , he cust. says	<i>ā^ātš-Eku'n-ilc</i> , they cust. say
<i>a^atš-a'ḡEL</i> , he does thus cust.	<i>a^atš-aḡi'l-ilc</i> , they do thus cust.
<i>hən-gwā'y-qEn</i> , he grew up (finish on-head)	<i>hən-gwāy-gwi-y-qī'n-ilc</i> , they grew up
<i>q^wā'y-m-Entsut</i> , he danced (used self for bouncing)	<i>q^wi-y-m-Entsu't-ilc</i> , they danced
<i>tsā'nāl</i> , it was he	<i>tsEn-i'l-ilc</i> , they are the ones
<i>ttē-ā'sāl</i> , there are 2 persons	<i>ttē-āsi'l-ilc</i> , they are two
<i>x^wi'^an-ust</i> , he passed along here	<i>x^wā'^an-u'st-ilc</i> , they passed along here
<i>s-mi'y-ām</i> , woman	<i>sni'^t-s-mā'^a-i'm-silc</i> , their (men's) only sister

656. The continuative also has a tendency to throw the accent forward, although the rule does not apply regularly to the suffixes, but rather to the bisyllabic or compounded stems :

Completive	Continuative
<i>a'ḡEL</i> , he did thus	<i>ts-aḡi'l</i> , he is doing thus
<i>hən-gwā'y-qEn</i> , he grew up	<i>in-gwi-y-qī'n</i> , he is growing up
<i>ku^uā'k^wn</i> , thou saidst	<i>kujts-ākū'n</i> , thou wert saying

But note

itsq^wā'y-mEntsut, he was dancing *its-q^wi-y-mEntsu't*, people as a
body were dancing

657. There is a tendency for the accent to move forward with numerous suffixes but it is by no means general. I will give only a few examples :

tcāj-Eku'n-Em, he was going to say (for *tcāl-s-āk^wn-*; *s-...Em* inten.)

ātcī'n-cis, she did with it as a favor to him, gave to, took out
ul'āku'n-ul, say it again (*ul-*, again; *-ul*, 2 pl. imp.)

658. A number of suffixes tend to take the accent, but there are exceptions to this as to many of the rules of accent. They are: the suffixes §§ 434—455 and *-il*, direction, except *-ilc*, in horseshoe curve; all of which may be called auxiliaries. The same tendency is shown in the following formal combinations of stem with suffix:

teEc-āluwī's, go about with (lit., about-accompany)

tsaq-i'p, chase (lit., bottom-set hollow object)

659. Certain rules of accent accompany reduplication (§§ 593—597): *u^w*- forms of the verb for distributive are accented on the second instead of the first appearance of the stem (§ 597).

660. When the suffix is reduplicated to denote progressive action, the accent usually falls on the first use of the suffix:

ām-Em-i'c-ic, it alighted (*ām*, one sits; *-ic*, act of)

tsi-tsim-i'tl-ālt, child in relation to parent (*tsutsāmiā^ā*, pl. are small; *-ilt*, young)

661. In rare cases the accent falls on the pronominal suffixes and causes a slight change of meaning, really making a statement which is contradictory to the facts or to the situation:

tux-yn-ti'lus, he was beating us (cp. *tā'x-untālus*, he killed us)

tux-yn-tu'lmūt, you were beaten

ā-tux^w-sti'lut, we are cust. beaten (but *a^atā'x^w-stālut*, we are cust. killed)

662. One can understand the change in meaning achieved by the accent here, for the stem *tāx^w*, really means "plural die" and one cannot tell about his own death, nor can "they" be customarily killed. It is another example of a fact I mentioned before (§ 261) that Coeur d'Alene shows great willingness to express what might seem to be psychological impossibility. The same seems to hold for the next examples:

ul-tEc-En-tu'lmēn, I (will) accompany thee again repeatedly.

There is nothing in this form to show its impossibility, but the grandfather has just told Catbird that he is going to die and then goes on to say that he will go with him repeatedly

tsān-cEl-En-ti'lut, we are surrounded (it is not likely one would talk thus when surrounded by the enemy)

tui^t sti'm lā tcāj-ām-tu'lmūt, why poor food is it that you should be fed with it? (it is really too poor to share at all)

663. Other shifts of accent which I cannot explain seem to be for purposes of derivation:

uk^wā'r-āq-us, he is pale; but *uk^wārā'q-us*, his face looks yellow

u^w-ca't-aqs, he is flat-chested; but *u-pāt-a'qs*, he is smooth-chested

tesm-tcām-āp, doorway; but *tesm-cEl-ā'p*, threshold, it bottom-stands up singly

664. The accent usually falls on the incorporated noun rather than on the verb-stem (§§ 495, 505, 515) and this is true also of compounded verbs, i. e., the finite verb loses its accent in favor of the incorporated participle (§§ 627—633).

665. The relationship between stem and suffix, between several suffixes, and between prefix, stem and suffix is indicated by accent. For the sake of convenience in introducing the question of accent accompanying suffixes I am regarding the verbal suffixes of §§ 434—455 as if they were a part of the stem and, in most cases, they may be so regarded. Consequently when I say the accent is on the stem I mean on the stem or its verbal suffix which may be regarded as auxiliary in meaning.

666. We may look at the suffixes from the point of view of their composition in connection with our study of accent. The monosyllabic suffixes consist of *cvc* and their vowels appear as *i-ä-e*. They are *-cin*, foot (§ 482); *-qin*, head (§ 489); *-gwil*, hollow object (§ 492); *-stcin*, horn (§ 494); *-tsin*, mouth, edge (§ 475). Such abbreviations as these suffixes have are related to contraction and assimilation (§§ 121—171).

667. I have no examples in which the following suffixes lose the vowel: *-aqs* (§ 467), *-axEn* (§ 457), *-alp* (§ 479), *-alpq^w* (§ 499), *-alqs*, end (§ 477), *-alqs*, road (§ 509), *-alq^w* (§ 498), *-alqs* (§ 471), *-i'qs* (§ 501). The weakest form in which they are found is with the vowel preserving its timbre but very briefly articulated. It should be noted that all except *-alp*, feeling; and *-alp*, part of plant, contain a velar which evidently stabilizes the vowel. In the few examples I have for *-alp*, it carries the accent. *-älp* usually precedes the suffix *-alq^w* whose *q^w* supports the preceding vowel in its *ä*-form. I have never found it with the accent but its theoretical strong form is *-ilp*.

668. *-alqiüt*, which is rare and takes the accent on *i* whenever it occurs, doubtless belongs with this group.

669. The largest group and one susceptible to the greatest variety of changes includes the following monosyllabic suffixes: *-i'st* (§ 513), *-ip* (§ 463), *-ips* (§ 500), *-ins* (§ 516), *-intc* (§ 493), *-inx^w* (§ 520), *-itct* (§ 487), *-itcñ* (§ 459), *-itcs* (§ 488), *-iyj* (§ 460), *-ilps* (§ 514), *-ilEn* (§ 483), *-ilt* (§ 502), *-ilx^w* (§ 491), *-il* (§ 497), *-itx^w* (§ 496), *-ups* (§ 456), *-umc* (§ 506), *-us* (§ 478), *-u'us* (§ 538), *-ust* (§ 534).

670. The bisyllabic suffixes of this group may take the usual vowel changes in either syllable but more frequently than not the changes involve the initial vowel: *-i'ut* (§ 510), *-iplä^ä* (§ 458), *-iwäs* (§ 537), *-idEn* (§ 476), *-inä^ä*, ear (§ 473); *-inä^ä*, on top of (§ 541); *-istcäyt* (§ 507), *-itsä^ä* (§ 533), *-ilup* (§ 485), *-ilumx^w* (§ 504), *-ilgwäs* (§ 490), *-ulumx^w* (§ 486), *-yuyä^ä* (§ 536).

671. The suffix *-ātniw*, which probably consists of *-āt-niw-* is in a class by itself and not common; the accent is usually on the second syllable and *i* may change to *ā*.

672. The changes which occur in this group of suffixes are as follows: they may lose the initial vowel altogether; the vowels may be retained in their weak form and are therefore unaccented; almost any of the vowels, but most often the first of the bisyllabic suffixes, may be strong with the accent, or weak and unaccented, but affected by the consonants involved in vocalic dissimilation (§§ 198-250).

673. Since the composition of the suffixes is so different, the following differentiations of meaning are often far from obvious, yet there is considerable proof that they are made. The accented suffix with its strong vowel is definite and regular in form and meaning. A problem arises in the use of the suffix with weakened vowel and without any vowel, for although the vowel is weak, there is no doubt that at times it is significant. The distinction, when present, is that if the suffix is used with no vowel it has an agentive or locative meaning, but if the weak vowel is used the meaning is a nominative of reference:

[*iḥ-s-Em*, he wiped *with* his face] but *i'ḥ-us-Em*, he wiped his face
 (as to his face)
ḡās-tet, good (with) hand, but *ḡā's-ātet*, good as to the hand,
 i. e., well-shaped hand

674. In many cases there is no psychological difference in meaning and there is a choice of forms:

Preferred form	Also possible
<i>āts-pā'n-ātet</i> , finger is bent not at joint	<i>āts-pā'n-tet</i>
<i>ats-pa'q-atet</i> , (paw) is grayish	<i>ats-pa'q-tet</i>
<i>u^u-pā'q-tet</i> , his hand is white	<i>u^u-pā'q-atet</i>

675. There is too much order in the abbreviation of suffixes for us to dismiss it as a hit or miss result, and in some cases, as in those above, and in others to be cited, we can tell why one is used in preference to the other, which might even be entirely incorrect.

676. The syntactic suffixes: *-cīt* (§ 564), *-cic* (§ 565) and *-tsut* (§ 567) conform to the same rules as the nominal and locative suffixes.

677. It will be necessary to consider the accent in detail, but before doing so certain generalizations may be made. The most important is that the element of the complex which carries the accent is the one which is most emphatic and sets the note for interpretation, in fact, it might be said that one should begin with the accented element in translating. *When two suffixes of the kind under consideration are used, and neither is accented, or if the first is accented,*

the second is often the genitive of the first, henceforth the two may be considered as one. In fact, so frequently has this been done in Coeur d'Alene that certain suffix combinations, still analyzable, have meanings as stereotyped as any single suffix:

- it-tšä^ä*, inside-all over, body, meat
- tsin-k^wä^ä*, edge-of water, shore
- ip-äns*, bottom-of teeth, chin
- a^ast-qEn*, top-of person's head
- alq-cEn*, longpart- of foot, leg

678. If there are two suffixes and the accent is on the second, the second is the subject acted upon with reference to the first. Prefixes modify the meaning of stem, and of suffixes whether subject, object or referential, according to the conditions of their particular setting. Sometimes, however, prefixes have a meaning in connection with a suffix; if the suffix is accented in such cases, the affixes may be translated as a unit (§§ 543—560).

679. The remarks about vowel changes (§§ 202—208) show them to be closely related to accent and I will not repeat the reason for each vowel in its particular position. I will first give examples to show the contrasting effect of accent if it falls on stem or on suffix.

680. *Stem accented with suffix*: In this combination the suffix is a nominative of reference:

- qä'^ä-cEn*, he has shoe on, is stuck to as to foot (*qä'^ä*, stick to, wedge in; *-cin*, foot)
- a^a-ca'ⁿ-qEn*, it has lid on, is laid on as to top (*cän*, flat object lies; *-qin*, head, top)
- mö't-tšä^ä*, he smoked as to meat (*-itšä^ä*, meat)
- dä'^k-s-Em*, he turned back, crossed as to face (*dä'^k*, cross; *-us*, face)

681. *Stem with suffix accented*: It will be remembered that the accented suffix is thought of as the receiver of the action. This is true whether the verb is intransitive or transitive, active or passive. If it becomes transitive, it is because a personal element is added to the complex and that personal element is the agent, or it may be the receiver, of the action, or both may be indicated. Consequently I shall treat such a suffix as if it were a part of the verb, an incorporated noun, as it were:

- qä^ä-ci'ⁿ-Em*, he put his shoe on, is foot-stuck to (intr.)
- cEn-qä'ⁿ-ts*, he put lid on it (tr.), he head-laid flat object

682. These two rules are of fundamental importance in the understanding of the verb and I will give several examples to show the difference in meaning in the two uses of accent:

Stem accented

[*xä'p-tx^w*, houses pile up]

pä'rk^w-äl^w-un, nail, that which
nails house

xä's-tšä^ä, good meat, but not
as good a form as

ta'm-Entsut, itself licked

ta'k^w-alqs-Ents, he laid it on the
end of it

s-tca'm-aqs, chest, extending as
to chest

a^a-la'q^w-qEn, he is banded as to
head

ats-qa'^a-qEn, it is corked

Suffix accented

tcät-xap-i'tx^w-un, something
house-piled on surface,
shingle

pärk^w-i'tx^w, it is house-nailed,
the house is nailed

xäs-i'tšä^ä, inside-good, meat
is good all the way through
t'am-Entsot, he self-scorched,
scorched himself

tcus-tuk^w-a'lq^w-unts, he shipped
it hither, long object (rail-
road)-laid it on

tčEm-i'ten, mountain ridge, it
ridge-extends

luq^w-qi'n-En, I put hand on his
head, I head-banded him

qa^a-qi'n-En, cork, what head-
sticks (in)

683. If there are *two full suffixes and the accent is on the stem or on the first suffix*, the second is to be treated as the genitive of the first:

a) accent on stem:

äts-pi't-tsEn-k^wä^ä, they existed scattered on the shore, they sat
as to edge of water

a-tsäl-ot-t-qEn-ä^äst, he stood at edge of cliff, top of rock made stood
(on)

tcⁱ-da'lk^w-qEn-tsut, she covered her own head, hither she covered
as to head of self

b) When the *accent is on the first of two suffixes*, the combined suffixes are treated exactly as the single suffix of Rule 681:

tsaq-aq-tsi'n-k^wä^ä, canoe came ashore, edge of water comes to be
one hollow object-set up on

m^oot-a'p-gul, car smoked, back of hollow object-smoked

s-tšil-tšil-i'plä^ä-cEn, spurs, what is attachment of foot (heel)-
projected pl.

c) If the *first suffix of the two lacks the vowel*, the genitive idea is still present and the translation is "it is¹ . . . with suffix 1 of suffix 2":

xä's-p-äns, good beard, it is good with bottom of teeth

s-ču's-p-gul, skirt, it is gathered (with) bottom of belly

684. However, if the *second suffix has no vowel* the relationship between the suffixes changes and we have ". . . as to suffix 1 with suffix 2":

¹ Dots are used to indicate the verb stem.

s-tsu'n-us-tct, index finger, show as to eye with finger

s-tsäh-i'p-tct, thumb, bottom-nearing with finger

qäl.x^w-i'wäs-tct, two fingers (of same person) were interlocked, he contact-hooked with finger

k^w-i'n-ätci-tcs-Ents, he took hold of the back of her hand, he took hold of back with hand

685. If there are *two suffixes and the accent is on the second suffix*, the suffix with the accent is to be regarded as the "limit of action . . . with reference to the first suffix":

tüq^w-tüq^w-atcs-Entsu't, they clapped, self-slapped as to hands repeatedly for an interval

tcät-kup-s-tux^w-alpq^w-untsu't, you are to provide food for yourselves, self-provide as to the throat

qäl.x^w-cEn-i'wäs, chain, it contact-hooked as to toe (cp. *qäl.x^w-i'wäs-tct*, above)

686. If there are *three suffixes and the accent is on the third*, the interpretation will begin with the third, which "nominally or locatively limits the stem with reference to suffix 1 of suffix 2":

uts-q^wäj-q^wäj-qEn-tct-Entsu't, he was wringing the ends of his fingers, he was self-wringing the ends of his fingers

ut-Räts-p-u^{us}-i'wästus, he tied deer heads together, he contact-tied it with bottom of face

687. Rules §§ 680–686 involve only stem and suffixes, the next include the prefix and show how the accent on stem or suffix denotes the relationship of the prefix to the element carrying the accent, and vice versa. The rules already established operate here with the prepositional prefix as an additional idea. It is often possible to tell which suffixes belong to the prepositional prefix because they retain the vowel, whereas those which may be called instrumental lose it. These rules consider only the prepositional prefixes (§§ 392–408), for the directional prefixes (§§ 409–431) belong to the verb and have only verbal or adverbial force.

688. *If the complex consists of prefix, stem with accent, and suffix*, the suffix may be said to be the object of the prepositional prefix:

[*hın-mə'ət-ätci*, it smoked on his back]

nı'^t-xä't-i'^tqs-Ents, she clubbed him on the nose (*nı'^t . . . i'^tqs*, nose)

ä-n-lä'k^w-äp, it exists having been laid in bucket (*n . . . -äp*, bucket)

hın-gwi'gw-äp-Em, he stepped back, moved at back

tc-dEla'm-alq^w, train, it gallops on long stiff object

hın-pi'gw-pägw-Entsut-En, breath, where it swells again and again in self

at-djä'x-tsä'^ä, it is scratched all over, it is scratched on all around

689. *If the complex consists of prefix, stem with accent, and two suffixes*, the interpretation should be made in accordance with Rules § 680 and 683 a. The second suffix is the genitive of the first and the prefix makes a prepositional phrase with the combination:

tsan-gwa'n-t-älqs-cEn, underwear, low under clothes of leg
a-t-pä'ax^w-a^ast-qEn, it shines on surface of head (i. e., on top of)
t-marä'm-alq-cEn, he treated leg, treated on long part of foot
tc-ca'ä-qEn-tsut, he is fastidious about his own hair, is fastidious
 about on head of self (*tc-. . . -qEn*, hair)

690. The first suffix with lost vowel is likewise to be taken as the object of the prepositional prefix:

a-n-tä'k^w-q-älx^w, it is laid on roof, it lies because placed there on
 top of house (*-qEn-älx^w > -qälx^w*)
sm-tcä'c-ätsä'-älqs, overcoat, what is long with inside on clothes
t-mus-p-lx^w, she felt about door, felt with bottom on house

691. The combination of prefix, stem, suffix with accent corresponds with Rule § 681 regarding the suffix, and the prefix is adverbial, i.e. prefix-stem-suffix with accent means "verb nominally or locatively limited-prefix":

ä-t-tsäw-tsäw-i'nä'-äm, it cust. washes its ears, ear-washes (on)
 (*t-. . . -inä'^ä*, outer ear)
s-tsan-tcan-tcanp-a'xEni, vest, being arms-clasped under
t-x^war-p-i'lgwäs, he trembled inside, he heart-trembled without
 volition (*t-. . . ilgwäs*, normal combination used to describe
 disease)
hn-taq-taq-u's-Em, he covered his eyes, he eyes-touched on
s-tsan-qüj-Entsu't, picture, self-designing under

692. When the complex: prefix, stem, suffix with accent, suffix, is found, the translation is: accented suffix 1 verb-limits modified by prefix suffix 2:

ts-tcEtš-a'pla^a-qEn, whiffletree, it is attachment-long thing laid at
 (not part of) end
a-n-xal-xal-i'tci-cEn, he had boards for sandals, he is back-boarded
 on feet
tcäyElx-u's-kyp, he is covering fire with blanket, he is fire-covering
 on fire
hn-qü-qus-ni-i'tcni-cEni, dog, back arranged in gathers on foot
s-t-gwup-gwup-i'tsä'-us, eyelashes, being inside-hairy on attached
 to eyes
a-t-q^wusw-i'p-ält, (hen) has flock of chicks, is back-bunched on
 young
hn-lar^w-i'tct-ätk^wä'^ä, he plunged his hand into water, he hand-
 thrust tipfirst into water.

In this and the word for "eyelashes" the suffixes *-itk^wä'^ä* and *-itätsä'^ä* are each compounds (§§ 451, 497, 519, 677) but in these combinations, as frequently, each is treated as a unit as far as accent is concerned.

With reduced vowels:

sm-tcEm-tsi'tx^w, tent flap, being edge-extended on house (*tsin-tx^w > -tsi'tx^w*)
s-tän-tcEm-tsi'n-tct, wrist, being edge-extended under hand

693. If the combination is composed of the same elements as in Rule 692, but with accent on the second suffix instead of on the first,

i.e.: prefix, stem, suffix 1, suffix 2 with accent, Rule 691 applies with the prefix taken with suffix 1, i.e., suffix 2 verb-limits modified by prefix suffix 1:

t-xas-cEn-i'wäs, it is easy to climb, it contact-goods on foot

hn-tEm-algwäs-tsi'n-Em, he licked the inside of his mouth, he mouth-dampened on the inside

ä-sin-cEt-u^s-i'wäs, (Cricket grasped) on the armpits (region of Coyote under the front leg), it being between-long object stood up in orifice

t-xolq^w-ätcs-Entsu't, she string-wrapped her own hand, she self-string-wrapped attached to hand

hn-tEc-cEn-tsu't, he back-tracked, self-accompanied in tracks

tc-lu^r^w-lu^r^w-p-a'lq^w, pocket knife, long thing-thrust pointfirst on bottom repeatedly

hn-pEn-pEn-wäs-tsu't, he bucked, self-bent repeatedly in middle

694. The use of three suffixes is not very common but it is by no means impossible. *If the complex consists of prefix, stem suffix 1 with accent, suffix 2, suffix 3*, the meaning is: suffix 1 of suffix 2 verb-limits modified by prefix, suffix 3:

ni^t-luq^w-i'p-äwäs-cEn, breechcloth, bottom of between-bands (hides) among (hair of) leg

hn-qü-quis-m-i'tci-c-uk^wä^rä, seal, back of foot-arranged in gathers in water (*-cEn-uk^wä^rä* > *-cuk^wä^rä*)

695. *If the complex consists of the same elements but with accent on the third suffix*, i.e., prefix-stem-suffix 1-suffix 2-suffix 3 with accent, the construction "suffix 3 verb-limits modified by prefix suffix 1 of suffix 2" will render the translation:

t-tšom-alg-cEn-tsu't, he sucked his own leg, self-sucked attached to long part of foot

tc-niad-əs-als-i'wäs, let's exchange suits, together-exchange clothes (this cannot be interpreted literally since *n-id-us-* has come to be a stem meaning "exchange, barter", hence *-əs* cannot be taken with *-als* but belongs rather with the stem *nid*),

tea-luq^w-luq^w-ätci-tcs-Entsu't, he slapped on surface of back of own hand, self slapped on back with (or of) hand

696. A number of facts throughout the discussion suggest that some accents may be the result of contraction. Instead of repeating the cases here I shall refer back to the chapter on Contraction (§§ 162-197) especially to the contractions of such stems as *äsäl*, two; *tc'i'wäs*, three; *xaxanu't*, nine. These stems involve numerous contractions depending on what follows and often the accent falls on the syllable which is the result of the contraction. But, as happens with so many rules, there are contractions in which the accent does not so fall. The possibilities are so varied that there is little chance of more than a guess as to their derivation.

697. Numerous examples show that *-nun*, succeed in (§ 450), often takes the accent. This may be due to the fact that it assimilates to *-En* of the transitive:

k^wän-änu'n-tx^w, thou receivedst it (for *k^wän-än-nun-Entx^w*)

698. It is likely that *-min* is accented often for the same reason. But even if this is true, it does not give an absolute clue as to its meaning:

yaR-t-mi'nts, he was in need of it (for *yaR-t-mEn-Ents*)
tčEs-t-mi'n-tEm, he was angered (for *tčEs-t-mEn-EntEm*)
mā^üm-mi'nts, he sent her away (for *mā^üm-mEn-Ents*)

699-708. DEMONSTRATIVES

699. There is a close relationship between demonstrative adjective, pronoun, adverb, and verb. They are as follows:

700. Demonstrative adjective

x^wiyä, this
tsiyä, that near thee
łuwä, that

702. Demonstrative adverb

x^wi'^t, here
tsi'^t, there near thee
łuw^u, there far from speaker
 and second person, or
 not near anyone

701. Intensive demonstrative pronoun diminutive form

xux^wiyä, this very one
tsutsiyä, that very one near thee
łuluwä, that very one

703. Demonstrative adverb with connective

x^wi'^tł, here is where
tsi'^tł, there near thee is where
łuw^uł, that is where

704. The demonstratives with *-ł* are almost certainly compounds of the adverb with the conjunction *ł* (§ 800) and are used when an explanation or subordinating meaning is desired.

705. Demonstrative pronoun and adverb

xux^wi'^t, this here
tsutsi'^t, that there near thee
łełuw^u, that there

706. Demonstrative verb static

ā-n-t-x^wi'^t, it is here
ā-n-tsi'^t, it is there near thee
ā-n-łuw^u, it is there

707. Demonstrative verb active

x^wi'^tn, motion hither
tsi'^tł, motion to thee
łi'n, motion thither

708. From a comparison of these forms, many of which are used generally or idiomatically, it is not difficult to see whence the relationship to the definite articles. They are:

x^wä, the here
tsä, the near thee
lä, the there

Of these *tsä* is not used often and is consistent in meaning when used. The other two, *x^wä* and *lä*, are used constantly, and the rules which I have been able to determine for their use will be treated in the chapter on Syntax (§§ 722-748).

709-858. SYNTAX

709-721. THE NOUN

709. The proper discussion of the Coeur d'Alene noun is, in my opinion, a discussion of other parts of speech, particularly of the verb, and I refer to these phases of the grammar rather than repeat them here. Nevertheless, it will doubtless prove convenient to summarize the use of the noun in the language.

710. A large number of nouns begin with *s*, without doubt the nominalizing prefix, making the participial form. However, there is a group of nouns which do not begin with *s* and these may perhaps be called true nouns.

711. The tendency to verbalize or to modify a verbal idea to make it a different part of speech is shown elsewhere also. Demonstratives easily become verbs, or perhaps we should say, are derived from verbs. Even prefixes and suffixes show such close relationship to verbs that they have in cases taken on all forms and functions of the finite verb (§ 252).

712. This tendency should be borne constantly in mind in interpreting Coeur d'Alene thought. Within the limitations of such a process, we may, nevertheless, have nominal forms which are as follows:

Those which seem to be true nouns.

Participial forms, i.e., the verbal structure to which *s-* is prefixed after which the complex may be treated exactly as a noun (§§ 124, 297).

Nouns formed by prefixing *hii-* that which, to a verb-stem (§ 375).

Nouns formed by suffixing *-en* to a stem or complex, indicate the one who, or that which (§ 571).

Nouns formed by affixing *hın-* *en* to a verbal stem or complex mean "that in which, or place where" (§ 571).

Nouns formed by suffixing *-im*, the causative, or *-min*, the usitative, usually with additional *-en*, that which, make up a large series of instrumentals (§§ 439, 452).

713. All these forms are treated in the same way as regards the following relationships. There is no such thing as case in Coeur d'Alene, except the possessive which includes all relationships between two nouns. The possessive is expressed by affixes used for nouns and verbs:

Possessive affixes

S.	Pl.
1 <i>hın-</i> , my	<i>-ät</i> , our
2 <i>m-</i> , thy	<i>-mp</i> , your
3 <i>-s</i> , his, her, its	<i>-s-uc</i> , their

714. It should be remembered that *n* of *hn-* and *in-* assimilates to the *s*-initial of the following noun.

715. There is a nominal prefix *ä-*, which takes the place of many cases which we should express by prepositional phrases. It means many of the prepositions of place; in, at, into, on, and their opposites, as well as the agentive, by, and the instrumental, with, by means of. There are some other prepositions which usually indicate motion (§§ 788-796):

x^wä 'ä^äsä'ttc, (it was poured for him) into a paunch
tä 'a-gu^l-qaqi'tstcs, (he was said to) by those who are his little older brothers
x^wä 'ä^ä-mi'tcädä^ä, (it was stained) with blood

716. This is certainly related to the Chehalis¹ general preposition *al-* and the echo-vowel may well indicate the loss of *l*.

717. Vocative is expressed merely by repeating the name or kin-term of the person addressed, or it may be used with the article and the independent pronoun in which case it forms an independent clause:

yo ku^wtsx^wulx^wulti' . . . sdu'mtsEn sq^wi'ts^wmc, My! thou art still alive, relative-friend Rabbit
tsx^wuc smi'i'tc, come salmon!
ta k^wisla'xt, thou my friend!

A consideration of the noun is largely a question of syntax, of the relationship of one noun to another, and of the noun to other classes of words in the sentence. I have discussed nominal incorporation; I have discussed the demonstrative and the position of words in the sentence (§§ 699-708; 825-858); and shall consider the relationship of articles, demonstrative and position of words in the sentence (§§ 825-858); but here I wish to point out the relationship of nouns to one another.

718. Apposition is indicated simply by placing one noun in juxtaposition to another often without the article:

sq^wa'sq^wasä'äs, *si'mtcä'äs*, her child, her daughter
hä städä^ä lä lu'k^wän, a grass which was jointgrass
tcät husk^wi'st tciäqsi'nä^ä, it will be my name, *tciäqsi'nä^ä*

719. A clause may be used in apposition to a noun:

äk^wn | ta qi'x^wilc | ta xa'yxiyt | hä | yulmi'x^wum, said | the Fish / the one who was the big | — | the chief
tä smik^wt | tä pä'x^wtrimäs | tä tsängwä'nt, the snow | when it drifts / which is deep
tcaytsi'tus | äspi'täm | ä^äpä'x^wpu^{x^w} | axali'q^wä^ä, something to be for his food / some bitterroot / with prairie camas / some dry salmon roe
x^wä 'atsmä'rk^wä^ä | ha^a | 'ä'tx^wä^ä, that which is seasoned with blood | — | (mixed) with camas

¹ Boas, Franz. A Chehalis Text. IJAL VIII: 104.

720. One noun which is the genitive of another shows the relationship by the use of the definite article *hä* and the possessive:

tcñaqsi'nä'ä / *ha* / *stsantčEma'pqis*, *tcñaqsi'nä'ä* / — / the back of his head

hüstcsu'psEn / *hä* / *smttčá'mqis*, my tail / — / its tip

hñmu'lcäntc / *hä'ä* / *ju'k^wä'äs*, beaver / — / with her younger sister

ulyari'lumx^w / *ha* / *tsätx^ws*, International House, belonging to all people / — / their house

721. A special use of the noun, consonant with its verbal connotation, is the case in which the noun, used often with the element *tcäl*, and taking the accent, means "go for", "go to get":

ut-tcäs-qi'gwts, again she was going for "water-potatoes" (for *ut-tcäl-s-*; cp. § 767)

tcäl-tc-s-tcäl-qäli'tsä'ä, in order that we may go for what is to be (our) fresh meat (cp. § 767).

722-748. ARTICLE AND DEMONSTRATIVE

722. There are several articles in Coeur d'Alene and some of their uses are as elusive and unresponsive to rule as the use of the articles in English. Certain rules have been determined, but the idiom requires usage for which I at least, am unable to find rules. Anyone who has tried to teach English to foreigners will realize the problem. It is not always so difficult to say why I use this article here, but it is almost impossible to explain why I do *not* use it there. The most exasperating answer to such a question is, of course, that there is no difference, either will do, and so it will often, but there are times when one, and only one may be used, or when neither is proper.

723. *hä*, the definite article, is used quite consistently. It is used to show the relation of one noun, a genitive, to another (§ 720).

724. Still another function, in Coeur d'Alene not very different from it, is to show the relation between a verb of state (objective, subjective or acted upon) and the noun. This corresponds to the use of the adjective in English, but the noun may be construed as the subject of the verb:

w^utca'i ha sqiltc, tough meat, the meat is tough

xäst hä 'ästci'tcä'ä, a good horse, the horse is good

x^wä tätc at. car ha mi'tčädä'ä, to that which had been hung the blood (in paunch) (the directional particle, *tätc*, follows the article)

tä xäst hä stci'nt, the good people, the people who are good

tä 'äjtšä'tšEł hä ätsmi'k^w, where there are trees it is snowy

tä sni'štsEtsi'wtunic ha stštsa'salqs, the one who is the youngest mosquito

mus hä tuci'p, four buckets full

725. *ä-* is an indefinite article meaning "some". It is used regularly with the indefinite nominal object of a verb, but may also be used in the sense of "some" in English, either with subject or object noun. This article may be related to *ä-*, which makes clear the nominal subject of a sentence as differentiated from the object if there should otherwise be ambiguity (§ 834):

qä'ümül äsxu^wxu^wni'tcäp, break some thornbush
tc'ä'ä.xu'sEm ä^äcä'tut, we'll look about for a rock

726. The next two articles, best considered as demonstratives, are the ones which, of great importance, are nevertheless, not wholly susceptible to rule. They are *x^wä* and *lä* and their formal relationship to demonstrative adverbs and verbs is clear (§§ 699-708). One generalization may be made about them, although there will be exceptions to it: If the object or person to which it attaches itself is near to the speaker in place or relationship, *x^wä* is more likely to be used. If the noun is generalized in space, or distant in place or relationship from the speaker, *lä* is used.

727. It is quite true that in many cases either *x^wä* or *lä* may be used but again one or the other is incorrect. The situation is analogous, I feel, to one in which, let us say, a chair is midway between you and me. I might say to you, "Put it on *that* chair", and the next minute I might say, "I just had *this* chair fixed". Now the chair was in the same place and so were you and I with respect to the chair and each other, when I said "this chair" as when I said "that chair". The difference in idiom is strictly psychological, I changed my point of view between my two statements. This kind of thing must happen quite frequently in Coeur d'Alene if one is to judge by the use of articles and demonstratives.

728. In order to understand the articles it will be necessary to consider them in their relationship to demonstrative pronouns, adverbs and verbs, all of which, based on the same three stems: *x^wi²*, near me, here; *tsi²*, near you, there near thee; *lu^w*, near third person, or remote, there; are listed in §§ 699-708.

729. Such rules as I have been able to determine for the use of the articles *x^wä*, the here; *tsä*, the near thee; and *lä*, the there, follow.

730. The most general view to remember is that articles and demonstratives, except *hä*, tend to make a descriptive relative clause of the materials they introduce:

x^wä tätc tⁱ'ku, (her parents) who were at Tikoia (but *tätc tⁱ'ku*, to Tikoia)
tcvüä x^wa 'a^açäst hiütsi'ln, I am the one who has good food (lit., it is I who it is good my food)
lä kusari'tcñ, thou the Squirrel, thou who art Squirrel (cp. *kusari'tcñ*, thou art a squirrel)

731. However, their use has become so highly formalized that they may be regarded as articles even though the meaning behind a simple word, as e.g., *x^{wä} bän* is literally "he who is Ben".

732. Any one of the three articles, *hä*, *x^{wä}*, or *lä*, may be used with the nominal subject of the verb:

äk^{wn} hä tcnäk^{wä}, he said one of them (a certain one)

tesqami'En la smaxi'^tcn, Grizzly became hungry

äk^{wn} x^{wä} bän, he said the Ben, Ben said

äk^{wn} / ha xä'yxiyt / hä yulmi'xum / hä qi'x^wlc, said / the he was
big / the chief / the fish, said a certain fish who was a big chief

733. Any of the three articles may be used with the nominal object of a verb specifying a definite object:

k^{wints} lä yä'läns, he took pitch chips

nä^ä k^{wi'}ntx^w x^{wä} stcint, thou art to bite people

gwi'tcs hä tsi'^t, he saw a certain deer

734. *x^{wä}* when used in a general sense remains nevertheless more specific than *lä*:

xäst x^{wä} stcint, people are good (cp. *xäst lä stcint*, mankind is good)

a^rw x^{wä} stci'tsä'ämc, there are many Coeur d'Alene (in their group)

735. *x^{wä}* may be used with proper names as well as with common nouns:

tcwa'pstq x^{wä} bän, he followed the Ben

736. *lä* is used to denote those of a class, "all the . . . in the world":

xäst lä stcint, it is good mankind

a^rlä'qstus la stšani, it cust. buries bones (all the bones there are)
(this is incorrect because impossible)

lä skultsEntsu't, cooking in general (not "what we expect to eat"
which would be *x^{wä} skultsEntsu'tät*, what we have ready to eat)

a^rw lä stcint, there are many Indians

utmic mi'ttädä^ä lä 'ätsi'tstus, it is just blood which he eats (of all
the things there are to eat)

737. *lä* may indicate the proper name of a person or animal (or object) remote in space or relationship:

gwi'tcEn lä tsi'^t, I saw it, Deer (but *pu'lutsEn x^{wä} tsi'^t*, I killed the
deer, the one we know at our place)

äk^{wn} / la qi'x^wlc / la xä'yxiyt / hä / yulmi'xum, said / Fish / who
was the big / — / chief

738. The article is omitted:

a) If there is only one of a class of persons or objects, or if one out of all the class is referred to:

tcEc-a'pstq bän, Ben cannot catch up (in narrative if Ben ran after
runaway horse)

utx^{wä}'tšp špä'rk^walqs, Turtle (of all) fled again (the others gave up
the chase)

This of course includes names of the Deity in church translations:

isq^wa'sq^wä^{wä} dji'su, thy Son Jesus (was blessed)

sq^wa'sq^wäsä^{wä} sk^wist.s dji'sokri', (I believe in just one) his son
his name is Jesus Christ (in this case the expressed selection
of "only one" would show the article not needed)

kulul tä^wl st^wiitčEmi'c ma^wri', born of the Virgin Mary

b) Place names generally lack the article:

tätc si'k^wä^{wä}, (it was looked at), at the water (near which the man-eating birds lived)

tätc atququl'u't, (go) toward Little Plummer

tätc wahi'mä, to Nez Percé country

739. However, if any noun is used in a relative sense it will have the article:

x^wu 'a-sk^wafu', at that which is Cataldo (in introducing the setting of the story)

740. There are numerous other cases where the article is omitted and I can find no rules for its absence. In the story of Rabbit and Jack Rabbit, for instance, the same names are used with and without articles in what appears to be exactly the same setting. In the story of Catbird the same is true. He has persuaded the largest and oldest of the Elks to carry him and complains that his moccasins are getting wet. Elk tells him to go successively into the following places: my heel, my middle of foot, my tip of tail, my top of head, then finally in a sentence of exactly the same construction he says, "Go into *x^wä hisni'tčä'mi'qs*, that is, go into the my nose". A perusal of the texts shows the same variation of usage again and again.

741. Such rules as have been stated illustrate the close relationship of *x^wä* and *lä* to the demonstratives, "near me", and "remote". They show more specifically too, the first general rule I gave, namely, that the speaker identifies himself intimately with the actors in which case he uses *x^wä*, or he does not, and the article *lä* predominates. The following examples and comparisons bring out the contrast:

u^wtca'i / ha / sqilttc / x^wä ni'tčEnts / x^wä djon, it was tough / — /
meat / which he cut it / John

742. In this case *lä* could not be used because the action is accomplished. That could not be the case unless John knew the meat. The speaker knew the meat and he knows John, therefore the use of a remote or generalized article would make the sentence grammatically incorrect. The same explanation holds for the continuative:

u^wtca'i / ha / sqilttc / x^wä ytsi'tEms, it is tough / — / meat / he is
eating it

But, if the customary aspect is used, the meat may become general and the article of the subject must agree with the article of the object:

w^wtca'i / *ha* / *sqilttc* / *lä* / *'äni'tcstus* / *lä djɔn*, it is tough / — / meat
which he cust. cuts it / John

Compare the following:

mi'ttcädä^ä / *x^wä* *'ätsi'tstus*, blood / is what he cust. eats. In this
case the blood is definitely near and specific.

The following example is also instructive:

gwitctc / *tcani* / *ustsa'ni* / *la* *qaqi'tstcs*, he saw them / as a result /
just bones / his little older brothers

“It would be better to use *x^wä* here because his brothers were close in relationship and the bones were right near him.” It is likely, however, that the story-teller felt the brothers were not near because they had become only bones.

743. If there are a nominal subject and object the same article is generally used for both, i.e., once the point of view is taken, it must be maintained. A kind of adverbial force of the articles is shown, however, by the following examples in which two places, both objects of an indefinite verb, are designated, or where contrast is expressed:

tsi'^t / *lä^äpt* / *hiitskul* / *la* *'attcama'sqit* / *kuni* / *x^wä* *'ätmi'x^wulɔm^{x^w}*
there / is the one who made / Heaven (far off) / and / earth
(right here)

sEsa^ri'teni / *x^wä* *s-ci'^tEmc* / *hił* / *ququtsüi'yä^ä* / *lä* *stsutsi'wtEmc*,
Squirrel / who was the older / and / Chipmunk / who was the
younger

744. It seems possible to use both the definite and indefinite articles, but *ä-*, the indefinite, may be the prepositional prefix (§ 371):

x^wä *'ä^ämi'ttcädä^ä*, some of the blood; perhaps, some from the blood
tsämu'lem lä *'ä^äsi'k^wä^ä*, he dipped up some of the water

745. The article may be used with the possessive:

x^wä *'mä'dä^ä*, the thy canoe
x^wä *h^sni'^tca'mi'qs*, (go to) the my nose
x^wä *sEsu'sis*, the his little spoon

746. The demonstrative adjectives are used consistently and literally and it is not necessary to give more than a few examples. They are used often, so often that they have the effect of our recent slang use of the word “this” in English when a student bursting with enthusiasm blurts out, “Now this man I met”, when this is the first inkling we have had that there is a man or that she met him. Coeur d'Alene may use any one of the demonstrative adjectives correctly without an immediate or obvious antecedent:

x^wiyä *'ätswi'c*, there was this house
tsiyä *stsutsini'lt*, those children near you
hwü^ä *tsätx^wlc*, that their house

747. The intensive demonstrative pronouns are used as the demonstratives:

xux^wijä sci'ci'tume, those oldest ones
lutuwä mi'ttädä^ä, that very blood

748. The demonstrative adverbs have subtle and special meanings, depending upon the point of view of the speaker and the use he makes of gesture. Direction, among the Coeur d'Alene, as among many Indians, is indicated more definitely by gesture than by word. In the story, *Muskrat Trespasses*, the grandmother said one day, "What is in this direction don't eat about but in this direction". But the next day she said, "Toward this way do not graze, (but) toward that direction, not toward here"; yet the words of the tale are the same in both cases. In the tale *Coyote Marries Pinesquirrel*, the brothers always say, "Sit over here (toward here)" when they mean "there", the exactness of the position being indicated by gesture of the hands.

749-796. SYNTACTIC ELEMENTS

749. *Introductory*

749. The analysis of the language up to this point demonstrates the fact that affixes and accent take care of many syntactic matters. Besides these there are many particles difficult to classify. They often stand alone seeming to be independent and again they influence the form of the verb, assimilate to its parts, and in so doing, lose their unsupported identity. Some of these I have written as affixes (prefixes chiefly). Others which stand midway between independence and affixes I discuss here once more, since they at times seem to hold the verb-complex together; still others are independent.

750-756. *The Negative*

750. The negative is almost certainly a verb, for it has many verbal characteristics. The independent forms are *lu*, "no", used in answer to a question, and probably the stem; and *lut*, "no", used to refuse a request. When used as an independent stem it means "refuse":

ni tq^w ut-lu'tEm, did he also refuse again? (others had refused)
miyäl ku^wlu't, thou art unbearable, "too not"
lut-u't-Em, he is inferior (-*ut*, be possible)
lu'tsEn, thy speech is not (what it ought to be), "thou no-st it"
 (*t-ts* > *ts*)

751. There is a relation, perhaps the mere fact of subordination, between *lutä-*, negative, and *tcäl*, future, for both take certain constructions. Many of the examples suggest that *lutä-* (which is

really *lut-hä-*) is a compound with *lut*, negative, and the participial form of another verb, for in the intransitive *lutä-* takes the possessive affixes with an *s-* prefix which may be nominal:

lutä-hijä'k^wn, I did not say

lutä^w-us-na's-s, it is not just wet

lutä-s-x^wä'fuc, he did not get up

lutä-s-lul-stci'nt, he is not reasonable (he is inhuman, insane)

752. The transitives are formed simply by prefixing *lutä-s-* to the regular indicative forms:

lutä^ä-y-ä'm-ts, he did not share it (*ämts*, he shared it)

lutä-y-ts-gwi'tc-sEn, I do not see him cust. (*äts-gwi'tc-sEn*, I see him cust.)

lutä-hi^w'n-ül-nu'mt, I have no appetite (I do not desire to eat it)

753. There are, however, a number of cases in which *lutä-* is used with the usual forms without prefixing *s-*, or using the possessives:

lutä-tä^ä-ku'l-Ents, he did not fix it

lutä^ä-pu'lustp, you did not kill him

lutä-tsän-tci'tc-ätci-tEm, he was not overtaken

lutä-xi't-tct-mEnts, he did not let go of it

tgwäl stim x^wä luta-ku^w-n-gäm-i'lgwäs, why are you not in good humor?

lutä-tcäl^w-äts-gwite-stus, so he would not cust. see him

754. Although there are certain similarities between the forms demanded by *lutä-*, and those required by *tcäl*, *lutä-* seems to dominate in a future negative in that the indicative pronouns are used, although it is not entirely clear what the *s-* prefix is in every case:

lutä-tcä-s-hin-tuxu^w-ün-mi'nts, that will not cause him to die

lutä-tcä-s-t-ä^w'i'lgwäs-mEn-tst, no one will care for thee, lit., he is not to cause thee to stick in heart

lut-tcäl-us-k^wi'n-Em, I am not to take it again (*ul-his > us-*)

lutä-tcäy-i'd-tEn-tsäx^w, don't answer back, lit., don't exchange it the mouth

755. These constructions are to be distinguished from that in which two verbs (or a particle, if *lut* be so considered, and a verb) are used, in which case each is independent:

lut stcint, he is not a person, i. e., he has no training, is wild or unhuman, lit., he is not, he is a person

lu, or *lut u^wna's*, no, it is wet

756. The compounds of *lut* are interesting and show again how capable Coeur d'Alene is of overworking an idea:

lutä-tcä-s-lut.s tcäy-Eni's.s, she must go, lit. she is not to "no" (refuse) to leave (the positive purposive form would be *tcäy-Eni's*; this form with the possessive *-s* shows how *lutä-* dominates the whole sentence)

x^wä lutä-s-tcäs-lut.s, necessity, lit. that which is not to negate it

757-768. *tcäl*

757. The particle *tcäl* is of great syntactic importance. It signifies primarily "immediate or continuing future".

It may be used of nouns or pronouns which are spoken of as existing in the future, or when implying a future relationship to the subject:

tcäl-ul-is-ni'k^w-älüm^{xw}, they are to belong to thy tribe (*m-s- > is-*; *ul-*, belong; *m-*, thy; *s-*, nom.; *ni'k^w*, be made one; *-itüm^{xw}*, person)

tcäl-hii-tš-i'tn, my food to be (*hii-*, that which; *its-*, cont.; *itn*, eat)

a-tcäl-i-sm-Rats-Rats-i'nä^ä, made to be thy ear ornaments (*ats-tc- > tc-*; *in-s-hm- > ism-*; *ats-*, made so; *in-*, thy; *s-*, nom.; *hm-*, on; *Räts*, tie; *-inä^ä*, ear)

nä^ä gwij-ä-s-tcäl-²u'sä^ä, when they finished (getting) what were to be eggs (*nä^ä*, fut. doubt; *gwij*, finish; *ä-*, connective with incorporated noun; *s-*, nom.; *usä^ä*, egg)

tcäl-tc-s-tcäl-qäl-i'tšä^ä, in order for us to get what is to be fresh meat (*tcäl*, fut. inten.; *tc-*, we; *s-*, inten. with *tcäl*; *tcäl*, fut. referring to meat; *qäl*, fresh; *-iltšä^ä*, inside, meat)

tcäl-ku-²ul-ä'ngwät, (they) are to belong to thee

758. *tcäl* modifies the meaning of verb-complexes and clauses in many ways and often requires the *s*-form of the verb. Its most obvious use is as a future intentional, or it may be used to give permission, or to urge a mild request:

tsi'^t tcäl-ku-s-tk^wäl-tš-i'tn, thou mayst eat about, graze

tcäl-ku-s-tsi'^ti'tn, thou art to eat first

u-tcäs-m-mä'lp. s, it was just about to boil

tcäl-his-tu^wy-a'tšxn, I'll go so far as to look at

tcäl-kup-s-tä'x^wp, you may die (go ahead and die then if you like)

tcäl-²äs-his-gwi'tct-Em, I am going to see right

tcäl-tc-s-tšEl-a'lq^w, let's play stickgame

tcäl-k^wi'^t-s-gwi'tc-t-Em, let me look at it for thee

*tcä-s-k^wä'lp-Em*s, he was going to pull it off (his shirt)

tcäl-tc-is-lükük-u't-us-mEn-Em, I intend to use my face to remain in position far off

759. It is used with the intentional to express purpose, "to, in order to":

tcäl-tc-is-gwi'tc-ülüm^{xw}, (give me a ride) so I may see the world

tcäl-u-s-xu'y-ülc, so they go back (for *tcäl-ul-s-xu'y-ülc*)

tcäl-kup-s-tap-q^wa'ts-q^wats-t-Emc, so you may warm up on the way

*tcäl-tc-s-k^wi't-t-Em*s, to snatch it from me

*tcäs-gwi'tct-Em*s, (he was looking at him) to see it

äjnü't tcäl-his-xu-x^wlq-En, because I intend to get a spearhead

lut tsi'^t tcäs-tä'k^wüntsut, not there to lie down

na^a lut la'q^wün tcäustci'tEn, perhaps not I am able to give her up, how can I give (her) back

760. With *nä^ä*, imperative, and the intentional construction, *tcäl* is used to chide or to threaten, or to express a doubtful future intention:

nä^{wä} tcäl-kup-s-tä' x^wp, you are to die, you must want to die
nä^{wä} tcäl-ku-s-ik^wäl-tš-i'tn, thou must want to eat about (graze)

761. *tcäl* may be used with the intentional prefix and the finite indicative pronouns:

ḡälä^{wä} tcaj-Exi's-tmäx^w, thou mightest do thus to me (and I don't want you to)

kum lutḡä'st tcäs-gwi'tc-tsälp, then not well you should see me

762. With *hwi*, *tcäl* with the intentional prefix and indicative pronouns, has simply a future participial or substantive significance:

hwi x^{wä} tcäs-tc-cä't-Entx^w, stop watching her in the future

hwi lustus x^{wä} tcäs-tc-cä't-Ents, now she refused to take care of her

hwi tä tcäc-ni'tc-Entx^w, stop cutting it (*s* > *c* under influence of following *té*)

763. *tcäl* with the indicative may be literally translated "future without intention" (i.e., by decree or without premeditation):

tcäl-kup-gvac-qi'n-Emc, you will head-comb

hwi tcäl-gwul-i'nä'änts, then he was going to burn it over (down)

tsmi'^t tcäp'ä'm-tsEn, I was going to share it with you but now I won't

tsi'^t x^wa tcäl-ḡä'q-En-tsälp, that's what you should pay (owe) me

tcäl-ku^w-q^{wä}'j-q^wiḡt, thou wilt be pitiable

764. *nä^{wä} tcäl*, with the indicative, expresses a future command:

nä^{wä} tcäl-ku-ik^wäl-tš-i'tn, thou art to graze about

765. *tcälcl*, past future:

tcäl-cl'uj-a'tsqä^{wä}, just as he would have gone out again

tcäl-cl-ku-täpi'tn, thou wouldst just have eaten on thy way....

766. When used with one of the articles or demonstratives, the intentional prefix and the finite forms of the indicative pronouns, it forms a rhetorical subordinate clause meaning "why should since; how should":

x^{wä} tcäy-ts-gwi'tc-stx^w, why should thou cust. see it since....

x^{wä} tcäl'i'^tts-ä'm-Em, why shouldst thou be sharing with him (since thou cannot afford it) ?

x^{wä} tcäs-ḡä'y-Entx^w, (thou hast learned) how thou shouldst write it

x^{wä} tcas-tcis-ta'ḡux, (I) who should be the one to die

x^{wä} tcäl-tcni-u-s-ta-ta'ḡux, (since) I should die in your stead (why ?)

twi'^t stim lä tcäy-Em-tu'lmüt, what poor stuff shouldst thou be fed with, i. e., what is good enough for thee ?

767. In the following, *tcäl* functions as a verbal element as well as a nominal one:

tcäl-tc-s-tcał-qäl-i'tšä^{wä}, in order that we may get what will be fresh meat

lutä-tcä-s-lu't.s tcä-s-tcäy-Eni's-s, she must go, not the her would refusing to the future her going

768. *u-tcäl*, forms a subordinate clause "just as preparatory to":

u-tcas-ta'r-Ents, just as he untied it preparatory to (cp. *u-ta'r-Ents*, she just untied it and did nothing else)

769-796. Other Elements

769. *cił*. It is somewhat difficult to tell the exact difference between *cił* and *ucił*, although usage is very exacting regarding them. They are derived from the stem *cił*, be fitting, exacting, sharp (as prompt), and the stem form is *u^u-cił*. It seems that the action which follows *ucił* is more imminent than that which follows *cił*.

cił, just:

tā cił ni^t-mi^t't-āvās, in the very middle amongst
cił ubiūt^{xw}, just as he went in (he looked)
ācił tcājitsi^t'm, just to be food (just enough for a meal)
cił kucitsān-ti^t'tct, just as thou approachedst paddling in canoe
cił tcay-a'tsqā^ā, he was just about to go out
hōi cił tcāji^t t. c, he was just on the point of going to sleep

770. *ucił*, just at the moment, he was just to . . . , but he did not:
ucił tcā-s-m-pō'tEm-qEn, he was just about to arrive at the fork of
the river
ucił āhā'i^t'niEm untulu^t'nius, at 8 o'clock sharp, just at eight, on the
very sharp point
ucił i^t'ts-a'tsḡ-Ems, just as he was looking at it

771. The following elements have syntactic functions but do not change the form of the verb:

ni, interrogative. It is often used rhetorically:

ni q^wa'mq^wamt, is this pleasant?
ni 'āku^t'stulmus, did he tell you?
ni ti^t' kup'aya'R, are you all assembled? is everyone here?

772. *ni kuni*, interrogative expecting the answer "no", also used frequently as a rhetorical device:

ni kuni nā^ā tcis-tci-tsān-tci^t'ts-Ems, he cannot reach me anyway,
can he?
ni kuni tcāl-kup-sin-gwun-in-i^{xw}-Enā^ā, you would not have believed,
would you?
ni kuni nā 'u^t'āci^t-s-māt, we shall not take it back, shall we?

773. *ni lut*, interrogative expecting the answer "yes", meaning as in English, "is it not?":

ni lut ti^t' tci^t't-tsās, did he not actually give it to me?
ni lut tcās-djiḡ-p-mi^t'n-tsā.x^w, will you not despise me in the future?
ni lut pEpu^t'lustp, did you not abuse the little one?

774. *ni* is often used with other short syntactic words but it is usually satisfactory to render them literally, so I need not list them here.

775. It is necessary to introduce the answer to a question, if it be not merely "yes" or "no" with the element *tu^u*, which really needs no translation:

tu^u la'aḡ^w, in answer to question "when?" "in the morning"
tu^u niūs, in answer to question "what for?" "perhaps for nothing"
tu^u kujtsāku'n, but you were just saying

776. *tcim*, interrogative, "after all did?" This interrogative is used to ask a question when the speaker does not believe the answer can be positive, or does not want it to be:

tcim lut qwi'tctsen, after all did I see you? really, "did I not not see you?"

tcim tcuts-xu'i, did he come after all? (I did not want him to) (cp. *ni tcuts-xu'i*, did he come? as I wished he would)

tcim ätsqwi'test.x^w, dost thou see him cust.? I'm surprised that you do.

tcim tci'tsä'tel, did he arrive after all?

777. *nä^ä* is a word (element, particle) which performs a great many functions which lend subtlety to a language. Primarily it expresses doubt. With this general meaning, it is used to denote uncertainty, prediction and imperative, all of which of course imply doubt. The position of this word is such that it often makes me think it is the beginning of a verbal-complex, although that is not at all necessary, for it may well enough set off a thought without being a part of the word itself. Although the two examples under *ni kum* which have the word *nä^ä* presuppose and expect the answer "no", the occurrence of *nä^ä* shows there is a doubt in the speaker's mind:

na^a la'q-stx^w, make it wide

nä^ä tcäyi'imp, perhaps you are going to eat it!

778. It is used for generalizing:

nä^ä sä'gwät ku^up-sq^wa'sq^wäsä^ä, whichever one of you owns the child (is the parent of)

nä^ä tu^usti'm, whatever it was for the purpose

nä^ä mä^äti'tcä^ä, I wonder where

nä^ä xit'gwäl'stin, he must have a reason (lit. perhaps might because)

779. *nä^änä^ä*. A repetition of *nä^ä* each time introducing a new clause has the idea also of prediction which involves doubt and it may be translated "if . . . then . . .":

nä^ä tsi^t x^wä 'istci'nu'tx^w nä^ä ku'i'in, if thou comest in, thou mayst eat

nä^ä utsu' . . . p tsi^t nä^ä tcä'a-qi'n-tx^w, when there is a noise of grass, right then open it

nä^ä x^wi't ku'a'xEl kum nä^ä ku-dä'x^wt, if here you do, thus, then you will fall

780. *tcä^a*, ought, sense of obligation:

tcä 'ut-tu^s-tc'i'l-tem, it should have been given back

tcä 'äpl, if there ought to be (someone)

tcä^a tc-f'i'tc-El-Emc, we ought to take provisions for a journey

tⁱ'tcä 'ut-tci'ts-u'k^w-tsäläm, surely I ought to be brought back

781. *tcä^a tcä^a* means "would that so that"

tcä^ä cül ku-tap-³äpl-i³ts-i³in tcä^ä cül tsi³t gwí³tcsäx^w, thou wouldst just have had something to eat on thy way but that just there thou must have seen me
tcä^ä tcüpl³ji³in tcä^ä ku³i³in, would that I had something to eat so that thou mightest eat
la tcä^a pa³pa³täs tsi³t tcä^ä sutsnü³lx^w, if he were wise (he is not) then he ought eventually to go in

782. *ti³*, already, surely, 'absolutely, quite. An emphatic particle used frequently:

tä ti³ atxapi³tsä^ä, that which was already wrapped

This is a good example of the close relationship of the adverb to the verb for it is taken into the verbal complex and set off from the rest of the sentence by the article *tä* which makes a substantive clause (§ 730):

ti³ miyät ar^w, it is certainly too much

ti³ ulqwiyaspa³lq-En, I have already finished packing it again

783. *suts, cuts*, then finally. When this word is used it signifies that "an effort has been exerted . . . and at last . . ."

cüts äku³stus, at last (after long silence) he said to him

suts x^wa³rp, finally it (dam after Coyote had worked long time to break it) shook

cütcünnä³pt, at last they came in hither (for *cuts-tcuts-hün-näpt*).

This example shows that in a setting of this kind the "word" loses its identity.

784. *xäli³* (*xälä^ä*), might, in sense of threatening, "it might but you don't want it to", or evidential "there is evidence that . . .":

xälä³ 'axi³stmäx^w, thou mightest do thus to me (and I don't want you to)

xäli³ 'ntmi³x^wulüm^w, it might be thy land (and I don't want it to be)

xäli³ tcüpl³ tmusänu³nä^ä, I might have four mothers (but I don't want them)

nü küni xElä^ä utcm³ä³ l lut tcät h³utsbita³im, might I be the only one not to beat time (I want to)¹

xäla³ 'äqu³pt, (don't!) it might rain (as if one could make it rain)

785. *xil*, might, ordinary possibility:

xil la³ax^w, it might be tomorrow

na^a xil ats-mä³r^wt-tsäx^w, he might make it broken for me

xil na³atsqu³pt, it might rain (looks like it)

786. *tsut*, although:

na^a xil tsut sisiyu³s, although he might have been clever (*na^a*, doubt; *xil*, might)

787. *tsmi³*, used to . . . , but is not now; had the intention but did not carry it out:

tsmi³ tsEmu³t, he used to stay (but he is not there now)

tsmi³ ts-xi³t-Em³s, she was going to leave him (but she did not)

¹ Dorothy's grandchildren spoke English to her and she often incorporated English words or stems into her speech.

788. Besides the verbal prefixes (§§ 392-408) and the general preposition *ä-* which is prefixed to nouns (§ 715), Coeur d'Alene has several words which have prepositional value. They might perhaps be regarded as adverbs, but they, like most of the other particles here listed, sometimes seem more closely related to the noun or the nominal complex.

789. *täl*, literally "from", but taking on idiomatic connotations:

täl tä'dä'äs, (he was taken) from his canoe
x^wä nä'k^wä'ä täl isi'tšEm, one of your blankets

It is the device used to express the comparative degree:

tcu-tsä'c-alq^w täl kuwä', I am taller than you
täl armu's t tcä'c-alq^w x^wä bän, Ben is taller than Elmer
tä täl yi'tn, (thou comest) after the food, thou art worth less than food

790. With *tsi'^t*, there, *täl* forms the word *tältsi'^t*, meaning literally "from there", and more figuratively "farther", "from there on":

tältsi'^t, from there

791. It sometimes has the meaning of "about, on account of":

hxi limt tä nu'nä'^äsuc täl x^wijä gü'teucä'jä'äsuc, then she was glad their mother on account of these who were her grandchildren

792. *tätc*, to, toward, the opposite of *täl*:

nä'^ä tätc hnlä'qEntsutEn, maybe to the sweat-house (he went)
x^wä tätc hntäwi', to the shore
tätc x^wi'^t, toward here, in this direction
x^wä tätc at.car, to where it was hung

793. *pänä'^ä*, as far as. This word, like the two which precede, includes the idea of motion, and in this fact resides the difference between *pänä'^ä* and *twä* which follows:

xut pänä'^ä si'k^wä'ä, he went as far as the water
tcus-pEna-yaR-tsi'stusuc, they brought it ashore. In this case, as in so many, *pänä'^ä* has no independent existence.
pänä'^ä xäsul'üm^w, as far as the prairie

794. *twä*, be with, at, alongside in the sense of accompaniment. This particle indicates "place where" rather than "end of place to which":

x^wijä twa sk^wa'rcEn hä teucä'jä'äs, this with Crane his grandmother (dwelt)
tcäp'us-tcütä-twa^a-yaR-tsi'n-Emsuc, they are to have it ashore again before I get there.

This construction is exactly parallel to the one given above and the two examples show nicely the difference between the two particles:

i'^t hxi tcälisx^wi'st lä twä sink^wi'^tts, thou must surely stop thy traveling with the night

795. These prepositions are used to indicate subtle meanings according to the elements and parts of speech with which they are combined and according to the position they occupy. If used without an article or other syntactic element and followed by a noun, they may designate location:

tātc ä^āli'c, toward in the mountains
tātc sq^wuts-ul^um^{x^w}-i't, to the south
twa tcutcä'jyä'äs, with his grandmother
kuni täl smiyi'w tātc pä^ātcni, then from Coyote to Lynx

796. More often these elements give the idea of motion, of "getting to . . .":

x^{wā} ucū tcin-pānū^ā stci'nt, at the moment when I arrived at the Indians
tcāt 'uspānū^ātsä'tx^w, (he thought) to go home, fut. inten. again motion to house (a noun with preposition used as a verb to form purposive clause)
nā^ā tcui-ul-pana^a-qä'lp^{yā}, (he thought, I wonder what I should do) to get back to Black Swan
hōi ul-tcuts-lä-nu'nä'äs, then he came back to his mother
tcuts pEnā^ā smiyi'w, it reached Coyote
x^{wā} tci-twä- tcutcä'jyä'äs, it went to her who was his grandmother
tcui-ul-twä-n-tägw-mi'ntsutEn, I am going again (as usual) to the store

797-810. CLAUSES

797. The common sentence construction in Coeur d'Alene is a succession of short finite verb complexes, often without connectives, each really a little sentence in itself. But, as in most languages, short words and particles give special meanings which are determined by construction and context.

798-801. Connectives

798. The connectives have a purely syntactic effect, all being used with finite and dependent clauses. These forms themselves are determined by formal factors, as e.g., the continuative (§§ 283, 332), negative (§§ 750-756), or future-intentional (§ 759).

799. There are several connectives, *hi* and *l*, which are at times interchangeable, but at others only one will do. Both have the function of emphasizing what follows because the verbs themselves may be used without them. So emphatic is the sense, that a verb which retains its independent form may take on a subordinate meaning. It has already been noted several times that no differentiation is made between "the thing which" and "the one who". Similarly Coeur d'Alene is not particular, with a few exceptions,

to distinguish between "place where" and "the one who" or the "time when", and the connectives *l* and *hul* may take any of these meanings:

ucil tcasta'rEm s l aku'stEm, just when she was going to untie it that is when she was told

lutäslä'kut s l ädEdä'x^wt, it was not far that's where it fell small
lutätčutčä'nä^ä l tcäl-ıstcatElqu'lym^{xw}, not a little (the least bit) is it that you are to step on the ground

asa'sqit l ulctit'p, two days it was that he hunted again

kuni tsi'^t ulnta'x^wpEm, just then it was that he rushed back in (where he had been before. Cp. *kuni tsi'^t ulnta'x^wpEm*, once more [in addition to other times] he rushed back in)

800. *l*, like *hul*, sometimes means "and", "yet", or "but":

lutäyit'ln l l tcniit.c, I did not eat / but / I slept

tä^ätc-u'sEn l x^wa stšEtsa'salqs l l gwitctš, he stuck his face out / Little Mosquito / and (that's when) / he saw it

tsut tsi'^t l kuŷ-gwün-i'x^w-tsEn l hul l luthä'v'ncä'algwäs-tci'nt, even though / thou art telling the truth / yet / thou dost not respect people

hul l kuni l nä'utcnitš'i'ngwät, well / then / how shall I speak ?

801. *hul* shows the same usage but may connect "nouns" or "verb" and "noun" as well as coordinate verbs, or verb and participle:

x^wi'^t l ätswi'cwäc l hä stcint/hul/luku...t l ätswi'culc, here / dwelt / people / and / at a distance / they lived

tä 'ästcint l hul l tsi'^t l pu'lustEmilc, the Indians are the ones / — / by whom / they were killed

ttčEmi'płx^w l hul l tcmtčEtemi'nts, it was from the outside / that / he threw it in hither

nä^ä l tcin^{xw}ıst l kuni l tš'^t l tcmta'xux l hul l nä^ä l tcniEnt.x^wi'^t l tcmta'xux, if / I go / then / surely / I am dead (will die) / but / if / I stay / I am dead (will die)

sEsari'tcni l x^wä sci'^tEmc l hul l qūq^wutsvö'yä^ä l tä stštsi'ütEmc, Squirrel / who was the older / and / Chipmunk / who was the younger

mi'riEntš l tä štu'smıs l hul l tä stčä'mätsıs, he rubbed / his face / and / his back

802-803. Causal Clauses

802. Cause is expressed in two ways:

By *tgwäl*, that is the reason, with a purposive construction (one of the *s*- constructions) to express the dependent clause, then *l* with the independent clause:

tgwäl l tcäl-u-hıš-tcıtšgwünitEm/l l tsaqi'p-En, because / I am to call him back / that is why / I followed him

tgwäl l tcäs-ti's-mä'äntsut l l hn-gwi'c-ıc-stus, because / he was to test his own strength / that is why / he lifted it

tgwäl l i'tšit.c s l l sulł, for the reason that / he was sleeping / that's why he was cold (*i'tšit.c s* cont., a nominal form)

803. By *äjni't*, because, a conjunction which connects clauses of equal or unequal rank. *äjni't* has a meaning of inevitability as compared with *tgwäl* which is explanatory:

nä^ä tcinta'xuḫ / *äjni't* / *téu^w* / *la 'aya'R*, I may die / because / are gone / all (both verbs are finite)

u^wsä't / *äjni't* / *sä'tsElt*, he was bewildered / because / it was obscure (not clear)

äjni't / *äku'stEmulc* / *kunì* / *a^aya'R* / *tmic yä^ä'säl*, because / they were told / then / all / just / two secured

hwi kunì / *tcäy-i't.c* / *äjni't* / *sult*, and so / he was going to go to sleep / because / he was cold

tⁱ' / *nlükuku'tmEntEm* / *äjni't* / *gull'a'xt*, already / they were left far behind / because / the others were swift

804-805. Relative Clauses

804. Any verbal construction may be transformed into a relative clause by prefixing one of the articles or demonstratives.

805. The meaning is substantive in such cases as the following:

tä tⁱ' atxapi'tsä^ä, that which was already wrapped
x^wija 'atqä^ätsäⁱ'pmistus / *ha* / *sqiltc*, this which he had stuck (it) in his belt / — / meat

tsä'tsElt / *x^wä 'äcätEmu'tk^wä^ä*, it was fierce / that which sat upon the water

x^wijä tEcäp-Entsu't-is-uc, those who were their means of killing themselves

806-807. Temporal Clauses

806. A temporal clause which has a durative meaning is formed by prefixing one of the definite articles, *x^wä*, or *lä*, or one of the demonstrative adjectives to the verb in any of the aspects, and suffixing *-äs*:

tä 'ätsük^{wi}'n-äs / *tcitä'ätsEku'stEm*, while he was running / he was spoken to this way

nä^ä / *xul kunì* / *lä sux^wsux^wstci'nt-äs*, perhaps / — / when she might have got acquainted

x^wä tcin^{wi}'l-tsän-äs, when I hurried eating

x^wä nä^ä pintc ku^wts-axi'l-äs, if thou art always like that

807. The construction occurs without the article and with the same meaning. It is of theoretical interest to note that this is not a nominalizing (subordinating) element:

sus / *utcäsinnmä'lpäs*, finally / just when it was about to boil

nä^ä tcuⁱ-(ts)téu^wäs, when I am absent

utäl-'ust-tsaq-i'nä^ääs, just when he could hear again

808-810. Conditional Clauses

808. A condition of doubt may be expressed by the use of *nä^ä* *tⁱ'* with substantive clause:

nä^ä tsí^t / x^{wä} hí^t pyí^t / n^{wä} kü^{wi} / n^{wä}, if / I have (any) food / thou art to eat (I don't know whether I have or not)
nä^ä tsí^t / x^{wä} 'í^t tsá^t / mut / n^{wä} / kü^{wi} / n^{wä}, when thou art at home (but thou art not) / perhaps / thou eatest
nä^ä tsí^t / x^{wä} spa' xpaxt.s, if he were wise (I don't know if he is or not)

809. A condition contrary to fact is expressed by the durative construction with *lä* and with the element *tcä^ä*, ought, before the verb:

ta tcä^ä pa' xpaxt-äs, if he were wise (but he is not), lit., when he ought to be wise

810. An interrogative conditional clause has been discussed under *tcäl* (§ 766). The construction: article *tcäl-* intentional prefix indicative pronouns, is used to indicate "why (or how) should . . . ?" "why art thou the one to . . . ?" and implies "since something else is the case".

811-816. INTERROGATIVES

811. I have noted two syntactic combinations for asking questions, *ni kumí*, implying the answer "no", and *ni lut*, implying the answer "yes". Besides these, *ni* may indicate a question when used with other elements, and *tciní* asks a question which implies an answer against expectation (§§ 771-776). There is also a series of direct interrogatives:

timí, what (nominal)

stimí, what is it?

x^{wä} stimí, whatnot, various and sundry (that which is what)

lä minus t-timí, something on which (what I don't know on what)

tgwäl stimí, why (because what)?

ä-hus-tí' mí, with what (am I to do it)? (with my what?)

k^wisti' mí, what am I to thee? (thou art my what)

812. The second example above is a means of generalizing, the third leaves the speaker free of all responsibility by its use of "I don't know" and "what", both means being combined in this case.

813. Besides the interrogative noun there is an interrogative verb *ingwät*, what was it?:

Question: *i'ngwät*, what did he say?

Answer: *lutä^ä y-i'ngwät.s*, he said nothing (did not say what)

kuj-ts-Engwä-tsEn-mí'n-tsut, what art thou fussing about (using self to what with mouth)?

814. Although Coeur d'Alene often fails to differentiate between the "one who", the "thing which", and even in some cases the "place where" and "time when", there is nevertheless an interrogative pronoun "who", *sä'gwät*, which may be related to the stem *sigw*, ask.

815. *hi'tcā'ā*, where (at), is treated as a verb, with the common loss of *h* after syntactic elements:

hi'tcā'ā hmpī'pā'ā, where is my father?

hā'ā'tci'n-ust, where did he go along? (cp. *x^wi'^{'t}n-ust*, he went along here)

ā-mā'ā'l-i'tcā'ā / *t* / *ku'uts-wi'c*, at where is it / that / thou dwellest? (cp. *x^wā sm-māl-tsi'^{'s}*, where he makes his home, where it is at on there) (*māl*-, in addition to, besides)

tāt c i'tcā'āl, toward where? (cp. *tsi'^{'t}l-ust*, he went along there)

816. I have referred to the interrogative use of the stem, *ātcin* (§ 366).

817-824. SYNTACTIC RELATIONS MISSING AND SUPERFLUOUS

817. Perhaps there are no two languages which have chosen identical ideas for expression and identical ways of expressing them. English has almost no interest in gender except, and the exception is vastly important, as it concerns pronouns. French retains gender of nouns but somewhat carelessly, and is again most particular about its pronouns. The two languages are about equally concerned with case, but each uses it differently. One cannot proceed to the formation of a single sentence of the simplest nature without gender and case in German, and even illiterate speakers have a strong feeling for it. Every language stresses certain ideas to the neglect of others and this neglect is often interesting. The German has a hard time getting rid of "already" (*schon*) in English and very few dispense with "together" (*zusammen*) in such expressions as "we met" or "I was with him". We who are used to Indo-European, feel a little uncomfortable, if not even intolerant, of the absence of number and tense in American languages, each of which has numerous other ideas which we consider dispensable or have never even heard of.

818. Coeur d'Alene has some indication of number although, in cases where we should demand it, it often omits the plural. "Their" is more frequently than not expressed by the singular possessive. Instead of tense it has seemed more accurate to designate aspects which are concerned as much with other ideas as with time, or more so. Completive is the only real past. Customary embraces past, present and future with equal emphasis, and continuative is not much concerned with the question as to whether an act or a state occurs in the past or present. The modification for future is formal for customary and continuative and does not involve an actual conjugation.

819. It may be noticed that I have no paragraph heading for that very important subject "pronoun". This is not due to inadvertency, but rather to the fact that the pronoun, which has numerous

variations, is an intimate part of the verb. There is a set of independent pronouns, but even their relationship to the verb is so close that they were given twice, once as illustrating assimilation of sounds, and once as explaining the continuative. The same thing holds true for the possessives. Demonstratives however, have been shown to have forms related to many different parts of speech (§§ 699-708) and similarly, the dative which we do not feel at all in English, has several kinds of expression (§§ 562-566).

820. Just as preoccupation with Indo-European makes us uncomfortable without tense, so do we, without linguistic training, worry about the absence of the copula. Coeur d'Alene has a form which serves, to some extent, the purpose of the copula and at the same time that of the demonstrative indefinite expression "there is". This is by no means a substitute for our verb "to be" for it is used comparatively seldom. Consequently adjectives are treated in an entirely different fashion from English. As in many American languages, the adjective in Coeur d'Alene is a verb. It has various forms which express reason of condition (§ 262) but they are foreign to English thought. Hence, to say "it is tough" must be thought of as "it toughs because it is naturally so", or "it toughs for some other reason", but never "it is tough" as two separate words or ideas.

821. Comparison likewise is absent as a grammatical modification. Comparative degree is expressed by the preposition (or adverb) *täl*, from, which is placed before the noun to be compared; the verb (adjective) is the same as usual:

täl djon i tsä'calq^w x^{wä} bän, Ben is taller than John

822. Superlative is expressed by suffixing *s-ni'*- to the noun designated, *s-* nom.; *ni'*-, among:

s-ni'-*i'k^wi'k^wi*, the oldest, amongst the old ones

s-ni'-*s-tse-tsi'w-tumic*, the youngest, amongst the young ones

s-ni'-*smä'i'm-sulc*, their only sister, their womanest, woman among them

It will be noticed that *s-* which seems to be nominal is used twice with nouns whose initial is *s*.

823. Still another set of ideas which is noticeably lacking in this as in other Indian languages, is the whole series which has to do with certain of our subjunctive expressions, the emphatic and obligatory forms such as may, must, can, etc. We cannot say exactly that mode is lacking for, as we have seen, *nä^ä* (§§ 777-779) and *teäl* (§§ 757-768) take care of a great many modal ideas. It is rather that Coeur d'Alene does not feel a need for an idea like *must*, although the linguistic machinery will allow of it, once its need is apparent. "She *must* go", an idea which would not occur naturally

to a Coeur d'Alene will, have the awkward form "not-the-her-future-not. Future-her going". The language has a natural means of expressing "can", but it must be done impersonally. "I can do it", has no reference to me but rather to the act "it is do-able". These are only a few examples of many which show different categories of ideas and of ways of expressing them.

824. Just as certain categories of thought are absent, so too there are others which are expressed, but cannot be translated in English. Such words are, *hä*, the definite article when it shows the relation between an adjective and a noun (§ 724), or between two nouns (§ 720). Still another is *tu'^w* (§ 775) which should always precede the answer to a question. The word *dä'äl*, and other adverbial-interjectional words, are difficult to render. *dä'äl*, which might perhaps be left untranslated, means "I see that is the case although it seems impossible or improbable, or even, see now I told you so, or evidence has it, or he alone of all did the unexpected". As a final suggestion to emphasize the importance of ideas foreign to us in achieving really idiomatic speech, there is the custom of articulating *ä . . .* at intervals during a narrative to show that one is paying attention and understands. This is used in conversation. When myths are narrated, the polite audience repeats the last syllable or word or two of the sentence as the narrator proceeds.

825-858. POSITION

825. Position is an important syntactic device in Coeur d'Alene. Although there seems to be considerable freedom about the place of certain words in the sentence, nevertheless ambiguity may be avoided by their position.

826. Adverbs, especially adverbs of time and demonstrative adverbs, generally precede the verb:

pin̄tc / *a'axa'lsq̄it* / *it̄cEli'p̄lc*, always / every day / they went hunting
kuni / *täl̄tsi'^t* / *tc̄ts̄x̄wä't̄p*, then / farther / he fled

827. Descriptive adverbs or adverbial phrases generally follow the verb:

pin̄tc / *it̄s̄Emu't* / *x̄wä 'ä'ätsat̄x̄ws*, always / he stayed / at home
kuni / *x̄w̄ist* / *tuwä tätc n̄lä'q̄Ent̄sut̄En*, there / he went / to that
 sweathouse

828. The position of adverbs seems to be quite free, however, for they may also follow the verb:

kuni *tn̄ic i't̄su'umc* / *a'at̄malk̄w̄ma'sq̄it*, he did nothing but cry / all
 day long

829. It has been noted (§ 730) that articles and demonstratives theoretically make a relative clause of the stems which they

precede. When they do this with a noun preceded by a preposition, the preposition always stands between the article and the noun, never before the article:

x^wä tätc tsä'tx^ws, to his house

lut x^wä tätc lu^w, not what is in that direction, toward there

qäsp / lä smk^wi'ts / kum / tsaqi'nä'amEnts, long / into the night
/ — / he heard it

830. The usual order of the sentence is: verb subject:

ätswi'c / x^wä smyi'w, he dwelt / Coyote

831. If there is a nominal object, the usual position is: verb object:

tcì'tsgwi'tc / ä^ätšì't, I am seeing / a deer

832. If there is only one noun with a transitive verb, the verb generally determines whether it is subject or object because pronominal subject and object must always be expressed in the verb whether or not a noun is used:

tcì'tsgwi'tc-Em / ä^ätšì't, I am being seen / by a deer (although the noun is the same as that of § 831, the passive of the verb makes the meaning clear)

833. The nominal subject precedes the verb, if it designates a new third person:

x^wiya / stsutsa'salqs / pinttc / itšEmu't, this / little mosquito / always / stayed home (his brothers have been (the subject of the preceding sentence)

834. If nominal subject and object are expressed, the most usual order is: verb object subject:

ts-gwi'tc-Ems / x^wä^ä tšì't / x^wä^äbän, he is seeing it / the deer / the Ben, Ben is seeing the deer

In a case like this *x^wä^ä* distinguishes the subject as against *x^wä^ä* the object (§ 725).

835. Although this is the preferred order, the following may be used and the same meaning is clear:

ts-gwi'tc-Ems / x^wä^äbän / x^wä^ä tšì't

836. With more nominal forms the general rule is that the noun-order parallels the order in the verb: indirect object object subject:

tcilts / x^wä^ä bän / x^wa mimc / x^wa 'a^adjan, he gave it to him / the Ben / the box / the John, John gave the box to Ben

837. However, the structure will depend upon the number and kind of third persons:

k^wilts / x^wa sqiltts / x^wä^ä bän / x^wa 'a^adjan, he took it from him / the his meat / the Ben / the John, John took Ben's meat from him (the order here shows it was Ben's meat; if the order had been Ben-meat-John, it would have been impossible to tell whether it was Ben's meat or John's)

838. If there is no danger of ambiguity the regular order is followed:

teĩts / x^wä bän / hunmi'mc / x^wa 'a^adjɔn, he gave it to him / the Ben / my box / the John, John gave Ben my box

839. If the possessive noun is used to show the owner of a nominal object, the order is as usual, the portion descriptive of the object taking its place and order between indirect object and subject:

teĩts / x^wa ma^ari' / x^wä 'ulbän / hä / mimc / x^wa 'a^adjɔn, he gave it to her / the Mary / the belonging to Ben / — / box / the John, John gave Mary Ben's box (*ul*, belonging to)

840. If the verb is passive the order is: verb object subject agent:

i'tci'itEm / x^wa^a mimc / x^wä^a bän / x^wa 'a^adjɔn, he is being given / the box / the Ben / by John, Ben is being given the box by John

841. If the impersonal object becomes the subject, the verb is changed, as is the nominal construction:

i'tci'leäcmEnEm / x^wä^a mimc / tätc bän / x^wa 'a^adjɔn, it is being given (used for giving) / the box / to Ben / by John, a box is being given Ben by John

842. With a locative noun the order is: verb object place subject:

nEtc'i'stus / x^wä päk^wlä^wä / x^wä 'ä^amimc / x^wa djɔn, he put it in / the ball / into the box / John

843. A descriptive modifier usually precedes the noun it modifies, being consistent with its character as a verb:

ta xä'yxi'jt / hä / yilimi'xum, the one who is big / — / chief
x^wä jaRpqi'ni hä stci'nt, the many people
x^wä ulbän / hä / mimc, the belonging to Ben / — / box

844. The order of clauses is reasonably consistent with other phases of the order of the sentence, although it seems to be freer.

845. Temporal clauses, like temporal adverbs, usually precede the main clause:

hoi / lä xä'lpäs / hoi / a'tsqä^wä, then / when it was light / now / he went out
x^wä gwi'jtsi'näs / tsä'lic, when he had finished eating / he stood up

846. But, like adverbs, they seem relatively free:

utsäxi't / ttsaqi'nä'amEntsilc / xux^wi'^t / gwi'jästsu'umäs, suddenly / they heard / the very (moment) / when he stopped crying

847. Relative clauses have the position of the noun for which they may stand, or follow the noun they limit:

mi'tcädä^wä / x^wa xami'ntcs, it is blood that he likes
lutä'jtsi'lsEn / x^wa 'atma'rk^wä^wä, I do not eat what is seasoned
djä'ydjijyt / ha / sk^wa'rcEn / tsi'^t / x^wa xahäsyätcili'p, there was an ugly / — / crane / that one / was the one who was a good hunter, or
djä'ydjijyt / ha / sk^wa'rcEn / tsi'^t / ta xäst / hä / syätcili'p, there was an ugly / — / crane / that was one / who was the good / — / hunter

848. Purposive clauses generally follow the main verb:

i'Inc / *x^wä* 'ä^ämi'ttädä^wä / *tcätkusxunä-singwä'ijqEn*, eat / some of the blood / so thou wilt grow up fast

849. The examples under relative clauses illustrate the order of what we may call demonstrative clauses. The clause which points out precedes the connective *l* which is followed by the main clause:

lä 'äsi'*k^wä^wä* / *l* / *hnlE^wi'tctätk^wä^wä*, it was into the water / that / he thrust his hand

hwi / *a^atša'xEl* / *ä^ätä'dä^wä*. / *l* / *nä'mic*, then / it was like / a canoe / that which / he sat in

lä 'ästics-*xu'yis* / *l* / *tcutsi'^wlust*, it was in his tracks / that / it came along

850. But, like a number of other modifiers, the order may be reversed:

hundi'^wR^w / *l* / *la* 'ästäq'*i'tk^wä^wä*, he turned / so that / he water-lay on belly; he turned bellywise in the water

851. The causal clause with *tgwäl* *l* usually precedes the main clause, but in this respect behaves as clauses connected by *l* usually behave:

tgwäl stimi l ämt^w, why is it that thou feedest him?

tgwäl / tcasq^wa'^aq^wä^wäl / *l* / *tšälic*, because / he was going to speak / it was that / he stood up

852. The causal introduced by *äyjni'l* may precede or follow the main clause:

kumi / äyjni'l / *x^wä* 'äsi'*k^wä^wä* / *kumi sult*, then / because / of (being) in the water / he was inevitably cold

but:

kumi / x^wi'^t / *ia'qis* / *äyjni'l* / *sult*, then / here it was that / he lay on his belly / because / he was cold

tiv' / *nlukuku't-nEn-tEm* / *äyjni'l* / *gul täxt*, already he was out-distanced / because / they were swift

853. The order of particles is difficult to summarize because of the many possible combinations. I can best show their significance in their special positions by giving examples.

854. *nä^wä*, the element which shows doubt, usually precedes all other elements:

nä^wä xil / cü / x^wi'^t / *tcntsä'xEl* / *aya'RaR ästä'ni*, I might have been / just / this / I was like / He-Gathers-Bones, i. e., I may have been the age (size) of He-Gathers-Bones (boy's nickname)

nä^wä t^oq^w t^oEtš'^wsEntsEn, I'll eye-squirt thee too

nä^wä xil tsu't / *sisiyu's*, although / he may have been clever

855. *nä^wä*, may, however, be incorporated in the relative clause:

x^wä nä^wä si'gwuntEm / *nä^wä ku-cEtč-qi'nEm*, (to) what he may be asked / listen (to it)

856. Interrogatives stand first in a sentence, even precede *nä^ä*:

nī tōq^w ul-lu'tEm, did he also refuse again?

nī kumī nā 'u'ātcī'stmāt, are we to take it back?

malī[?] / na^a tē'a'xal / x^wä nā^ä lut kuna'asās, where / are we to do
thus / that thou dost not get it wet?

857. It will be remembered that prepositions come within the complex of the relative formed by the article (demonstrative)-preposition-noun. An interesting example of the position of a preposition is:

kunī tcā-s-tā^ätc-i'tcā^ä, but where (else) would he be?

(*tcāl-s- > tcās-*; *tcāl*, fut.; *s-?*; *tātē*, at; *hitcā^ä*, where)

858. The position of what I have called adverbs is interesting in the following examples:

lā tsi'^t ātsEmu'tās, there where she had been sitting

lutā-x^wi'^t-ja'xās, it was not doing thus (*x^wi'^t a'xal* is an idiomatic phrase which has here been treated exactly like a single verb)

859-876. PROBLEMS POSED BY COEUR D'ALENE

859. The grammar has been presented as the usual analysis of a Salishan language and as such is largely descriptive. The entire approach has, however, been made with the problems having to do with the languages of the Salishan family in mind, rather than as a mere linguistic record. Within the body of the text a few references have been made to questions which must be affected by comparison, but an effort was made to keep these matters apart so as to avoid the confusion which they elicit before one language at least is understood.

860. Consequently, it seems fitting to summarize here those problems which are apparent. I cannot undertake to discuss the general questions which must include practically every phase of the language, and constitute a work in comparison which I hope will sometime be done. A perusal of the short summary of Chehalis¹ suggests many points, as do the few published discussions already referred to. The Chehalis Text is the only comprehensive systematic treatment we have of a Salishan language. Even the bits we have of other languages suggest the most apparent problems of comparison, i. e., phonetic changes. A comparison of Chehalis and Coeur d'Alene makes necessary a treatment of the relative functions of glottalization as a grammatical device. Chehalis inserts a glottal stop, for instance, to express diminutive, and this comes usually before a consonant, any consonant it seems. There must be some

¹ Boas, Franz. A Chehalis Text IJAL VIII: 103-110

relationship between this device and the Coeur d'Alene glottalization of a whole series of sounds to express diminutive (§§ 613-616).

861. It is hardly necessary to mention again the importance of vowel change within Coeur d'Alene itself and the relationship of such changes to the same or different ones in other languages. The suffixes which constitute the most stable parts of all the languages will ultimately furnish the major clue in answering this question. The suffixes too will show the development of elements and of compounding and nominal incorporation.

862. The preceding paragraph shows the futility of separating phonetic from grammatical problems, and the same is true of vocabulary, for in Coeur d'Alene vocalic changes within the stem modify its meaning. This is a subject of the greatest interest for the illumination of which the material so far available though inadequate is highly suggestive.

863. Chehalis has only two aspects, completive and continuative, but within these there are three classes of pronouns, their usage seemingly formal. Coeur d'Alene has these two aspects with pronouns which correspond only slightly, but the treatment of the Coeur d'Alene continuative seems to show a combination of the Chehalis (perhaps of a much closer relative) prefixes which are *it* for completive and *s-* nominal for continuative. It will be remembered that the Coeur d'Alene continuative prefix is *its-*, or *its-*, that it is a nominal form in which *s-* has been disguised, and that it assumes different phonetic forms, some of which suggest known consonantal assimilations which sometimes leave their mark in an echo-vowel (*i'*- before a syllable with accent) (§§ 131-133). Analysis of material in the region between the Coast and the Interior will almost certainly solve this problem and will help us too, with one I have not been able to solve, namely, why we sometimes have *its-* and at others *its-*.

864. Further, a comparison of pronominal forms will show that Coeur d'Alene seems to have remnants from all classes and aspects of Chehalis (or the other way round) which fact suggests the question of influences in the development away from classes within aspects and choice of forms, as well as the purpose for which they have been employed.

865. Another pronominal classification of Chehalis concerns gender, feminine or non-feminine; and within these divisions, specification as to definiteness or indefiniteness, presence or absence. Coeur d'Alene is not particularly interested in these ideas, yet shows some emphasis on definite or indefinite in certain cases, never in presence or absence. For instance, there are verb forms which seem to be intransitive but which must have a sort of indefinite completing element. Again, there is a form of the imperative

which indicates definiteness of an object, or its absence. Suffixes such as those of §§ 512, 528, 565 also indicate some feeling for these categories.

866. Related to the same question, but in a different form is the matter of *ā-* which may be a general preposition (§ 715) or what seems to be an indefinite article (§ 725). It seems to me quite possible that these two could be the same, especially since in the passive the agent of the verb is indicated by exactly the same form as the subject of the transitive verb if nouns are used for subject and object. The fact that *al* is a general preposition and a subordinating element as well in Chehalis lends credence to this suggestion, as does the fact that *ā-* is followed by an echo-vowel in both cases in Coeur d'Alene, almost a sure sign that a consonant has been lost.

867. Still another problem concerning the pronouns is that concerning position. The independent pronouns, formally very similar, stand *before* the verb in Coeur d'Alene and *after* it in Chehalis. The material available gives a clue as to the way in which this may have come about. In the Coast dialects the relationship between stem, object and subject pronouns is very close, as indeed it is in Coeur d'Alene. But in the Coast dialects adverbial modifications of the stem tend to take on auxiliary forms, a process foreign to the Interior language. When a stem of a Coast dialect is preceded by an adverb, it loses the subject which is then attached to the auxiliary (adverb in Coeur d'Alene). For instance, "I see you" in both regions would be expressed "see-you-I"; but "I see you clearly" would be on the Coast "clearly-I see you". In Coeur d'Alene the modifier is adverbial and independent so that the position of the parts would be "clearly I-see you". Such examples suggest the reason for the position of the subject pronouns of intransitive verbs in Coeur d'Alene for if the pronoun is not a part of the adverb and not independent it would become prefixed to the stem. On the other hand, this does not explain the peculiarity of the transitive continuative pronominal prefixes which are equivalent to "you-my seeing".

868. The numerals in Coeur d'Alene, because of the variety of the ways in which they are treated (§§ 634-650) seem to be the repository of a complex history. A thorough and satisfactory study of these stems and their compounds would include most of the problems of the language.

869. Included in that study would be the investigation of certain elements which are formally similar but are probably different in origin. The suffix *-āl* may mean "for, for use of", "times or measures", or "belonging to the house", and is further an element used in compounding. Because of its phonetic relation to Chehalis *al*, and its ability to assimilate to sounds which follow, it can easily be

seen that the exact origin of it (or them, if there are more than one) is not now determinable. Realizing the shifts in position as evidenced by Chehalis and Coeur d'Alene, it is even possible that this may be related to *ä-*, preposition, or *ä-*, indefinite article.

870. The problems posed by *ä-* and *-äi* are typical of others of the language, for there are numerous elements which have duplicate uses. There seem to be five uses of *s-*, some of which — nominalizing, continuative, negative and intentional — are the same, in that they are nominalized for the sake of subordination. There is, in addition to this (or these), another *s-* form which I cannot analyze. Can it be a leftover of some other continuative comparable to Chehalis in which *s-* retained its identity without becoming susceptible to the assimilatory processes?

871. The suffixes in *-im* (*-äm*, *-em*), or *-min* (*-män*, *-men*) present difficulties due to their frequency and variation in meaning. Furthermore, they appear in such settings that it is frequently impossible to differentiate the weak forms since the causative *-em* may occupy the same position as the usitative (instrumental) *-men*, and it may be followed by *-en*. *-im* (*-äm*, *-em*) seems to be causative, but the weak form *-em* may complete an intransitive verb in which case it seems not to be (§ 287). It may also be used with the opposite meaning "become of own accord", in reduplicated forms (§ 308). Furthermore, it seems to be compounded, sometimes with other stems so as to form a bisyllabic stem, in which case it carries the accent (*dilim*, gallop, run on all fours; *trahi'm*, give warwhoop).

872. *-min* is a suffix which seems to yield to the translation "use for" quite consistently, but it furnishes difficulties because of its setting which prevents one from determining whether it is causative or usitative. Combined with the reflexive it is frequently used with verbs signifying vigorous action, e.g. *du't-men-tsut*, pl. fled; or *q'wa'ij-men-tsut*, he danced, used himself for bouncing.

873. Of the same type is the problem having to do with the element *-en*. Certain verbs require it in the intransitive. In these few cases it does not seem to mean "attempt", as it does in cases where it appears in its strong or weak forms (§ 438). Most verbs demand it apparently as a formal element in the transitive. It will be interesting to try to determine the function or functions of this suffix by comparison.

874. Again, there has been discussion of the suffix *-t* which is called a suffix with subjective verbs (§§ 300—304), but the same suffix appears with verbs of action and probably is not the same. The suffix *-t* is also the third personal objective pronoun and seems not to be related to the others.

875. In addition to the general comparison which must of course be based upon an analysis of details, and extreme specification,

there is the major subject of accent, a grammatical device which in Coeur d'Alene has been exploited to incredible lengths. I have done what I can with the subject, which from the general Salishan point of view is practically a virgin field. It must be studied in detail for there is no part of the language which it does not touch, and which it may not be expected to illuminate.

876. It seems to me that the very fact of the several appearances and diversified functions, as well as the exaggerated use, even to repeating the same idea more than once in a single form (e.g., use of *s-* prefix twice, for nominalizing) must show Coeur d'Alene to be a fascinating clue to the determination of historical processes and lines of development. At the same time the type of emphasis and subtlety of specification and the versatile use of grammatical processes doubtless point to growth within the language and contributions made by it reciprocally in various directions. It is hoped that the presentation of this grammar will not only pose the problems, but that it will also point the way to their solution.

877-890. PARADIGMS

877. To illustrate the composition of the verbs with aspect affixes and phonetic changes the following verbs which illustrate a number of types are written out in full form for the convenience of the student. When a prefix (for instance, *ul-*, again) is used with no phonetic modifications the paradigm for that particular form is omitted.

878. Intransitive Complete

ʔās-t, be good innately

x^wäl-p, one flees
duł, plural flee

S.

- 1 *tcin-ʔä's-t*, I was good
- 2 *ku^u-ʔä's-t*, thou wert good
- 3 *ʔās-t*, he was good

Pl.

- 1 *tc-ʔās-t*, we were good
- 2 *kup-ʔä's-t*, you were good
- 3 *ʔä's-t-uc*, they were good

S.

- 1 *tcin-x^wäl-t-p*, I fled
- 2 *ku^u-x^wäl-p*, thou fleddest
- 3 *x^wäl-p*, he fled

Pl.

- 1 *tc-duł-t-mEntsut*, we fled
- 2 *kup-duł-t-mEntsut*, you fled
- 3 *duł-t-mEntsut*, they fled

ʔās, be well

S.

- 1 *u-tcin-ʔä's*, I am well
- 2 *u-ku-ʔä's*, thou art well
- 3 *u-ʔä's*, he is well

Pl.

- 1 *u-tc-ʔä's*, we are well
- 2 *u-kup-ʔä's*, you are well
- 3 *u-ʔä's-uc*, they are well

Note: This verb illustrates several common occurrences: the change in stem from singular to plural; absence of the pluralizing suffix *-uc*, for third person, since the plural stem without a pronoun could mean nothing else; and the suffixes *-mEntsut*, "use self for", a combination common in verbs of action.

täkuk^w, one falls, comes to lie

S.

1 *tcin-tä'kuk^w*, I fell, came to
a lying position

2 *ku-tä'kuk^w*, thou fellst

3 *tä'kuk^w*, he fell

stem changes in plural

nitc, cut with blade

S.

1 *tcin-ni'tc-Em*, I cut (some-
thing)

2 *ku-ni'tc-Em*, thou didst cut

3 *ni'tc-Em*, he cut

Pl.

1 *tc-ni'tc-Em*, we cut

2 *kup-ni'tc-Em*, you cut

3 *ni'tc-Em-ic*, they cut

lap-stcänt, shoot (people). A suffix is necessary to complete this verb (§ 287)

S.

1 *tcin-lap-stcä'nt*, I shot

2 *ku-lap-stcä'nt*, thou didst shoot

3 *lap-stcä'nt*, he shot

Pl.

1 *tc-la-lap-stcä'nt*, we shot

2 *kup-la-lap-stcä'nt*, you shot

3 *la-lap-stcä'nt-(ic)*, they shot

Note: Many Coeur d'Alene stems may take either of two forms in the plural, the regular form which means that the action is performed by more than one, all acting together; the reduplicated form meaning that each subject acts individually. Many verbs have such a meaning as to rule out the first form. They are acts which are momentary and Coeur d'Alene feels it "better" to use the reduplicated form in the plural. The stem *lap* is one of these.

gwitc, see

S.

1 *tcin-gwi'tc*, I saw

2 *ku-gwi'tc*, thou didst see

3 *gwitc*, he saw

Pl.

1 *tc-gwitc*, we saw

2 *kup-gwi'tc*, you saw

3 *gwi'tc-ic*, they saw

ul-gwitc, see again

S.

1 *tcin-ul-gwi'tc*, I saw again

2 *ku-'ul-gwi'tc*, thou sawest again

3 *ul-gwi'tc*, he saw again

Pl.

1 *tc-'ul-gwi'tc*, we saw again

2 *kup-'ul-gwi'tc*, you saw again

3 *ul-gwi'tc-ic*, they saw again

äk^wn, say, tell

S.

1 *tcin-ä'k^wn*, I said

2 *ku-'ä'k^wn*, thou saidst

3 *äk^wn*, he said

Pl.

1 *tc'-äk^wn*, we said

2 *kup-'ä'k^wn*, you said

3 *äku'n-ic*, they said

hin-xi't, fear

S.

1 *tcin-in-xi't*, I was afraid

2 *ku-n-xi't*, thou was afraid

3 *(hi)n-xi't*, he was afraid

Pl.

1 *tc'-in-xi't*, we were afraid

2 *kup'-in-xi't*, you were afraid

3 *hin-xi't-ic*, they were afraid

879. Customary

zás-t, be good innately

S.

1 *tcnits-xä'st*, I am cust. good

2 *ku^uts-xä'st*, thou art cust. good

3 *äts-xä'st*, he is cust. good

Pl.

1 *tc'äts-xä'st*, we are cust. good

2 *kup'äts-xä'st*, you are cust.
good

3 *äts-xä'st-ic*, they are cust. good

x^wät-p, one flees

duł, plural flee

S.

1 *tcnits-x^wätp*, I cust. flee

2 *ku^uts-x^wätp*, thou cust. fleest

3 *äts-x^wätp*, he cust. flees

Pl.

1 *tc'ä^ä-duł-mEntsut*, we cust. flee

2 *kup'ä^ä-duł-mEntsut*, you cust.
flee

3 *ä^ä-duł-mEntsut*, they cust. flee

<i>täkuk^w</i> , one falls	<i>nité</i> , cut with blade
S.	S.
1 <i>tcni-lä'kuk^w</i> , I cust. fall	1 <i>tcni-ni'té-Em</i> , I cust. cut (something)
2 <i>ku^u-tä'kuk^w</i> , thou cust. fallest	2 <i>ku^u-ni'té-Em</i> , thou cust. cuttest
3 <i>ä^ä-tä'kuk^w</i> , he cust. falls	3 <i>ä^ä-ni'té-Em</i> , he cust. cuts Pl.
	1 <i>tc^ä-ni'té-Em</i> , we cust. cut
	2 <i>kup^ä-ni'té-Em</i> , you cust. cut.
	3 <i>ä^ä-ni'té-Em-ic</i> , they cust. cut

tap-stcänt, shoot-people

S.	Pl.
1 <i>tcni-tap-stcä'nt</i> , cust. I shoot	1 <i>tc^ä-a-lä-tap-stcä'nt</i> , cust. we shoot
2 <i>ku^u-tap-stcä'nt</i> , cust. thou shootest	2 <i>kup^ä-a-lä-tap-stcä'nt</i> , cust. you shoot
3 <i>a^a-tap-stcä'nt</i> , cust. he shoots	3 <i>a-lä-tap-stcä'nt-ic</i> , cust. they shoot

gwi'te, see

S.	S.
1 <i>tcni'ts-gwi'te</i> , cust. I see	1 <i>tcni'ts-ä'k^wn</i> , I say cust.
2 <i>ku^uts-gwi'te</i> , cust. thou seest	2 <i>ku^uts-ä'k^wn</i> , thou sayest cust.
3 <i>äts-gwi'te</i> , cust. he sees	3 <i>ä^äts-ä'k^wn</i> , he says cust.
Pl.	Pl.
1 <i>tc^ä-äts-gwi'te</i> , cust. we see	1 <i>tc^ä-ä^äts-ä'k^wn</i> , we say cust.
2 <i>kup^ä-äts-gwi'te</i> , cust. you see	2 <i>kup^ä-ä^äts-ä'k^wn</i> , you say cust.
3 <i>äts-gwi'te-ic</i> , cust. they see	3 <i>ä^äts-äku'n-ic</i> , they say cust.

ul-gwi'te, see again

S.	S.
1 <i>tcni-ul-ts-gwi'te</i> , I cust. see again	1 <i>tcni-m-xi't</i> , I am cust. afraid
2 <i>ku^u-ul-ts-gwi'te</i> , thou dost cust. see again	2 <i>ku^u-n-xi't</i> , thou art cust. afraid
3 <i>ul-ts-gwi'te</i> , he cust. sees again	3 <i>an-xi't</i> , he is cust. afraid
Pl.	Pl.
1 <i>tc^ä-ul-ts-gwi'te</i> , we cust. see again	1 <i>tc^ä-an-xi't</i> , we are cust. afraid
2 <i>kup^ä-ul-ts-gwi'te</i> , you cust. see again	2 <i>kup^ä-an-xi't</i> , you are cust. afraid
3 <i>ul-ts-gwi'te</i> , they cust. see again	3 <i>an-xi't-ic</i> , they are cust. afraid

880. Continuative

xäst, be good innately

S.	S.
1 <i>tcⁱts-xä'st</i> , I am being good	1 <i>tcⁱts-x^wä'tp</i> , I am fleeing
2 <i>kujts-xä'st</i> , thou art being good	2 <i>kujts-x^wä'tp</i> , thou art fleeing
3 <i>ts-xä'st</i> , he is being good	3 <i>ts-x^wä'tp</i> , he is fleeing

x^wä'tp, one flees
duł, plural flee

Pl.

- 1 *tc'us-xā'st*, we are being good
 2 *kup'us-xā'st*, you are being good
 3 *us-xā'st-ɪc*, they are being good

tākuk^w, one falls

S.

- 1 *tc'i^t-lā'kuk^w*, I am falling
 2 *kuj-lā'kuk^w*, thou art falling
 3 *iⁱ-tā'kuk^w*, he is falling

Pl.

- 1 *tc'iⁱ-du'lmEntsut*, we are fleeing
 2 *kup'iⁱ-du'lmEntsut*, they are fleeing
 3 *iⁱ-du'lmEntsut*, you are fleeing

nitē, cut with blade

S.

- 1 *tc'i^t-ni'tē-Emc*, I am cutting
 2 *kuj-ni'tē-Emc*, thou art cutting
 3 *iⁱ-ni'tē-Emc*, he is cutting
 Pl.
 1 *tc'iⁱ-ni'tē-Emc*, we are cutting
 2 *kup'iⁱ-ni'tē-Emc*, you are cutting
 3 *iⁱ-ni'tē-Em-ɪc*, they are cutting

tap, shoot (people)

S.

- 1 *tc'i^t-tap-stcā'nt*, I am shooting
 2 *kuj-tap-stcā'nt*, thou art shooting
 3 *i-tap-stcā'nt*, he is shooting

Pl.

- 1 *tc'i-ta-tap-stcā'nt*, we are shooting
 2 *kup'i-ta-tap-stcā'nt*, you are shooting
 3 *i-ta-tap-stcā'nt*, they are shooting

gwi^c, see

S.

- 1 *tc'i^t-ts-gwi'tc*, I am seeing
 2 *kujts-gwi'tc*, thou art seeing
 3 *us-gwi'tc*, he is seeing

Pl.

- 1 *tc'us-gwi'tc*, we are seeing
 2 *kup'us-gwi'tc*, you are seeing
 3 *us-gwi'tc-ɪc*, they are seeing

utgwi^c, see again

S.

- 1 *tcin-uyts-gwi'tc*, I am seeing again
 2 *ku'uyts-gwi'tc*, thou art seeing again
 3 *uyts-gwi'tc*, he is seeing again

Pl.

- 1 *tc'uyts-gwi'tc*, we are seeing again
 2 *kup'uyts-gwi'tc*, you are seeing again
 3 *uyts-gwi'tc-ɪc*, they are seeing again

āk^wn, say, tell

S.

- 1 *tc'i^t-ts'-Eku'n*, I am saying
 2 *kujts'-Eku'n*, thou art saying
 3 *ts'-Eku'n*, he is saying

Pl.

- 1 *tc'us'-Eku'n*, we are saying
 2 *kup'us'-Eku'n*, you are saying
 3 *ts'-Eku'n-ɪc*, they are saying

hmxi^t, fear, be afraid

S.

- 1 *tcij-n-xi't*, I am fearing
 2 *kuj-n-xi't*, thou art fearing
 3 *in-xi't*, he is fearing

Pl.

- 1 *tc'in-xi't*, we are fearing
 2 *kup'in-xi't*, you are fearing
 3 *in-xi't-ɪc*, they are fearing

881—884. Negative imperative

The negative imperative is expressed by a combination of the prefixes *lut-*, negative, and *tcäl-*, near future. The verb is then treated as it would be with the future, *tcäl-*.

882. Negative imperative completive

- 2 S. *lut-tcäl-'is-xu'i*, don't go
2 Pl. *lut-tcäs-xu'i-mp*, don't go you pl.

883. Negative imperative customary

- 2 S. *lut-tcäl-i'ts-xu'i*, don't make a habit of going
2 Pl. *lut-tcäj-ts-xu'y-mp*, don't cust. go you pl.

884. Negative imperative continuative

- 2 S. *lut-tcäl-kuy-ts-xu'i*, don't be going (not common)
2 Pl. *lut-tcäl-kup-'ts-xu'i*, don't you be going (not common)

885. Transitive active completive

<i>gu'ite</i> , see	<i>nitč</i> cut
1-2 <i>gu'i'tc-tsen</i>	<i>ni'tč-Entsen</i>
1-3 <i>gu'i'tc-En</i>	<i>ni'tč-En</i>
1-2p <i>gu'i'tc-tulmEn</i>	<i>ni'tč-En-tulmEn</i>
2-1 <i>gu'i'tc-tsäx^w</i>	<i>ni'tč-En-tsäx^w</i>
2-3 <i>gu'i'tc-tx^w</i>	<i>ni'tč-En-tx^w</i>
2-1p <i>ku^u-gu'i'tc-cäc</i>	<i>ku^u-ni'tč-cäc</i>
3-1 <i>gu'i'tc-tsäs</i>	<i>ni'tč-En-tsäs</i>
3-2 <i>gu'i'tc-tsıs</i>	<i>ni'tč-En-tsıs</i>
3-3 <i>gu'ite-ts</i>	<i>ni'tč-En-ts</i>
3-1p <i>gu'i'tc-tälıs</i>	<i>ni'tč-En-tälıs</i>
3-2p <i>gu'i'tc-tulmıs</i>	<i>ni'tč-En-tulmıs</i>
1p-2 <i>gu'i'tc-tsıt</i>	<i>ni'tč-En-tsıt</i>
1p-3 <i>gu'i'tc-tmät</i>	<i>ni'tč-En-tmät</i>
1p-2p <i>gu'i'tc-tulmut</i>	<i>ni'tč-En-tulmut</i>
2p-1 <i>gu'i'tc-tsälp</i>	<i>ni'tč-En-tsälp</i>
2p-3 <i>gu'ite-tp</i>	<i>ni'tč-En-tp</i>
2p-1p <i>kup-gu'i'tc-cäc</i>	<i>kup-ni'tč-cäc</i>
<i>äk^wn</i> , say, tell	<i>hun'xil</i> , fear
1-2 <i>äku'n-stmEn</i>	<i>hun-xi't-En-tsen</i>
1-3 <i>äku'n-sEn</i>	<i>hun-xi't-En</i>
1-2p <i>äku'-stumEn</i>	<i>hun-xi't-En-tulmEn</i>
2-1 <i>äku'-stmäx^w</i>	<i>hun-xi't-En-tsäx^w</i>
2-3 <i>äku'-str^w</i>	<i>hun-xi't-En-tx^w</i>
2-1p <i>ku^uäku'n-cäc</i>	<i>ku-n-xi't-cäc</i>
3-1 <i>äku'n-stmäš</i>	<i>hun-xi't-En-tsäs</i>
3-2 <i>äku'n-stmıs</i>	<i>hun-xi't-En-tsıs</i>
3-3 <i>äku'-stus</i>	<i>hun-xi't-En-ts</i>
3-1p <i>äku'-stälıs</i>	<i>hun-xi't-En-tälıs</i>
3-2p <i>äku'-stumıs</i>	<i>hun-xi't-En-tulmıs</i>
1p-2 <i>äku'-stmıt</i>	<i>hun-xi't-En-tsıt</i>
1p-3 <i>äku'-stmät</i>	<i>hun-xi't-En-tmät</i>
1p-2p <i>äku'-stumıt</i>	<i>hun-xi't-En-tulmut</i>
2p-1 <i>äku'-stmälöp</i>	<i>hun-xi't-En-tsälöp</i>
2p-3 <i>äku'-stöp</i>	<i>hun-xi't-En-tp</i>
2p-1p <i>kup-äku'n-cäc</i>	<i>kup-un-xi't-cäc</i>

886. Transitive active customary

1-2	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stmEn</i>	<i>ä^ä-ni'tc-stmEn</i>
1-3	<i>äts-gwi'tc-sEn</i>	<i>ä^ä-ni'tc-sEn</i>
1-2p	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stulmEn</i>	<i>ä^ä-ni'tc-stulmEn</i>
2-1	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stmäx^w</i>	<i>ä^ä-ni'tc-stmäx^w</i>
2-3	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stx^w</i>	<i>ä^ä-ni'tc-stx^w</i>
2-1p	<i>ku^wts-gwi'tc-cäc</i>	<i>ku^wts-ni'tc-cäc</i>
3-1	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stmäS</i>	<i>ä^ä-ni'tc-stmäS</i>
3-2	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stmüs</i>	<i>ä^ä-ni'tc-stmüs</i>
3-3	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stus</i>	<i>ä^ä-ni'tc-stus</i>
3-1p	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stälüs</i>	<i>ä^ä-ni'tc-stälüs</i>
3-2p	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stulmüs</i>	<i>ä^ä-ni'tc-stulmüs</i>
1p-2	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stmut</i>	<i>ä^ä-ni'tc-stmut</i>
1p-3	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stmät</i>	<i>ä^ä-ni'tc-stmät</i>
1p-2p	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stulmut</i>	<i>ä^ä-ni'tc-stulmut</i>
2p-1	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stmälp</i>	<i>ä^ä-ni'tc-stmälp</i>
2p-3	<i>äts-gwi'tc-stp</i>	<i>ä^ä-ni'tc-stp</i>
2p-1p	<i>kup^ääts-gwi'tc-cäc</i>	<i>kup^ä-ni'tc-cäc</i>

The customary with *ul-*, again, is formed by prefixing *ul-* to the forms given above, when *ul-ä* > *ul'*. Since this is perfectly regular it is unnecessary to write all the forms again.

1-2	<i>ä^äts-äku'-stmEn</i>	<i>an-xi't-stmEn</i>
1-3	<i>ä^äts-äku'-sEn</i>	<i>an-xi't-sEn</i>
1-2p	<i>ä^äts-äku'-stulmEn</i>	<i>an-xi't-stulmEn</i>
2-1	<i>ä^äts-äku'-stmäx^w</i>	<i>an-xi't-stmäx^w</i>
2-3	<i>ä^äts-äku'-stx^w</i>	<i>an-xi't-stx^w</i>
2-1p	<i>ku^wts-äku'n-cäc</i>	<i>kun-xi't-cäc</i>
3-1	<i>ä^äts-äku'-stmäs</i>	<i>an-xi't-stmäS</i>
3-2	<i>ä^äts-äku'-stmüs</i>	<i>an-xi't-stmüs</i>
3-3	<i>ä^äts-äku'-stus</i>	<i>an-xi't-stus</i>
3-1p	<i>ä^äts-äku'-stälüs</i>	<i>an-xi't-stälüs</i>
3-2p	<i>ä^äts-äku'-stulmüs</i>	<i>an-xi't-stulmüs</i>
1p-2	<i>ä^äts-äku'-stmut</i>	<i>an-xi't-stmut</i>
1p-3	<i>ä^äts-äku'-stmät</i>	<i>an-xi't-stmät</i>
1p-2p	<i>ä^äts-äku'-stulmut</i>	<i>an-xi't-stulmut</i>
2p-1	<i>ä^äts-äku'-stmälp</i>	<i>an-xi't-stmälp</i>
2p-3	<i>ä^äts-äku'-stp</i>	<i>an-xi't-stp</i>
2p-1p	<i>kup^ääts-äku'n-cäc</i>	<i>kup^ä-an-xi't-cäc</i>

887. Transitive active continuative

	<i>gwitc,</i>	<i>ul-gwitic</i>
	... is seeing....	... is seeing ... again
1-2	<i>k^wi^äts-gwi'tc-Em</i>	<i>k^win-uyts-gwi'tc-Em</i>
1-3	<i>hi^äts-gwi'tc-Em</i>	<i>hin-uyts-gwi'tc-Em</i>
1-2p	<i>kup(h)i^äts-gwi'tc-Em</i>	<i>kupin-uyts-gwi'tc-Em</i>
2-1	<i>tcin^äi^äts-gwi'tc-Em</i>	<i>tcin-in-uyts-gwi'tc-Em</i>
2-3	<i>i^äts-gwi'tc-Em</i>	<i>in-uyts-gwi'tc-Em</i>
2-1p	<i>ku^wts-gwi'tc-cäc</i>	<i>ku^wuyts-gwi'tc-cäc</i>
3-1	<i>tcin^äts-gwi'tc-Ems</i>	<i>tcin-uyts-gwi'tc-Ems</i>
3-2	<i>ku^yts-gwi'tc-Ems</i>	<i>in-uyts-gwi'tc-Ems</i>
3-3	<i>its-gwi'tc-Ems</i>	<i>uyts-gwi'tc-Ems</i>

3-1p	<i>tc' ds-gwi' tc-Ems</i>	<i>tc' uýts-gwi' tc-Ems</i>
3-2p	<i>kup' ds-gwi' tc-Ems</i>	<i>kup' uýts-gwi' tc-Ems</i>
1p-2	<i>kuyts-gwi' tc-Em-ät</i>	<i>ku' uýts-gwi' tc-Emät</i>
1p-3	<i>ds-gwi' tc-Em-ät</i>	<i>uýts-gwi' tc-Emät</i>
1p-2p	<i>kup' ds-gwi' tc-Em-ät</i>	<i>kup' uýts-gwi' tc-Emät</i>
2p-1	<i>tc'i ds-gwi' tc-mp</i>	<i>tc inuýts-gwi' tc-mp</i>
2p-3	<i>ds-gwi' tc-mp</i>	<i>uýts-gwi' tc-mp</i>
2p-1p	<i>kup' ds-gwi' tc-cäc</i>	<i>kup' uýts-gwi' tc-cäc</i>

nitë,

... is cutting ...

1-2	<i>k^wi' ni' tc-Em</i>
1-3	<i>hi' ni' tc-Em</i>
1-2p	<i>kup' i' ni' tc-Em</i>
2-1	<i>tc in' i' ni' tc-Em</i>
2-3	<i>i' ni' tc-Em</i>
2-1p	<i>ku' i' ni' tc-cäc</i>
3-1	<i>tc i' ni' tc-Ems</i>
3-2	<i>kuy' ni' tc-Ems</i>
3-3	<i>i' ni' tc-Ems</i>
3-1p	<i>tc' i' ni' tc-Ems</i>
3-2p	<i>kup' i' ni' tc-Ems</i>
1p-2	<i>kuy' ni' tc-Emät</i>
1p-3	<i>i' ni' tc-Emät</i>
1p-2p	<i>kup' i' ni' tc-Emät</i>
2p-1	<i>tc i' ni' tc-Emp</i>
2p-3	<i>i' ni' tc-Emp</i>
2p-1p	<i>kup' i' ni' tc-cäc</i>

äk^wn,

... is telling ...

<i>k^wi' ts' äku' n-Em</i>
<i>hi' ts' äku' n-Em</i>
<i>kup' i' ts' äku' n-Em</i>
<i>tc in' i' ts' äku' n-Em</i>
<i>i' ts' äku' n-Em</i>
<i>ku' ts' äku' n-cäc</i>
<i>tc i' ts' äku' n-Ems</i>
<i>kuy' ts' äku' n-Ems</i>
<i>ts' äku' n-Ems</i>
<i>tc' ts' äku' n-Ems</i>
<i>kup' ts' äku' n-Ems</i>
<i>kuy' ts' äku' n-Emät</i>
<i>ts' äku' n-Emät</i>
<i>kup' ts' äku' n-Emät</i>
<i>tc i' ts' äk' ün-Emp</i>
<i>ts' äku' n-Emp</i>
<i>kup' ts' äku' n-cäc</i>

hin-xi't, fear

... is being afraid of ...

1-2	<i>k^wijn-xi't-Em</i>	3-1p	<i>tc' in-xi't-Ems</i>
1-3	<i>hi' yn-xi't-Em</i>	3-2p	<i>kup' in-xi't-Ems</i>
1-2p	<i>kup-hi' yn-xi't-Em</i>	1p-2	<i>kuy' yn-xi't-Emät</i>
2-1	<i>tc inijn-xi't-Em</i>	1p-3	<i>in-xi't-Emät</i>
2-3	<i>ijn-xi't-Em</i>	1p-2p	<i>kup' in-xi't-Emät</i>
2-1p	<i>kuy' yn-xi't-cäc</i>	2p-1	<i>tc i' yn-xi't-Emp</i>
3-1	<i>tc i' yn-xi't-Ems</i>	2p-3	<i>in-xi't-Emp</i>
3-2	<i>kuy' yn-xi't-Ems</i>	2p-1p	<i>kup' in-xi't-cäc</i>
3-3	<i>in-xi't-Ems</i>		

888. Transitive passive complete

gwitc

... have been seen

S.	
1	<i>gwi' tc-tsäläm</i>
2	<i>gwi' tc-tsut</i>
3	<i>gwi' tc-tEm</i>
Pl.	
1	<i>gwi' tc-tälüt</i>
2	<i>gwi' tc-tulmut</i>
3	<i>gwi' tc-tEm-dc</i>

nitë

... have been cut

S.	
1	<i>ni' tc-En-tsäläm</i>
2	<i>ni' tc-En-tsut</i>
3	<i>ni' tc-En-tEm</i>
Pl.	
1	<i>ni' tc-En-tälüt</i>
2	<i>ni' tc-En-tulmut</i>
3	<i>ni' tc-En-tEm-dc</i>

äk^wn

... have been told

S.

1 *äku'-stmäläm*2 *äku'-stmut*3 *äku'-stEm*

Pl.

1 *äku'stälut*2 *äku'-stulmut*3 *äku'-stEm-*dc***hunxiil*

... have been feared

S.

1 *hun-xi'it-En-tsäläm*2 *hun-xi'it-En-tsit*3 *hun-xi'it-En-tEm*

Pl.

1 *hun-xi'it-En-tälut*2 *hun-xi'it-En-tulmut*3 *hun-xi'it-En-tEm-*dc**

889. Transitive passive customary

gwite

... is seen cust.

S.

1 *äts-gwi'tc-stmäläm*2 *äts-gwi'tc-stmut*3 *äts-gwi'tc-stEm*

Pl.

1 *äts-gwi'tc-stälut*2 *äts-gwi'tc-stulmut*3 *äts-gwi'tc-stEm-*dc***nitë*

... is cut cust.

S.

1 *ääni'tc-stmäläm*2 *ääni'tc-stmut*3 *ääni'tc-stEm*

Pl.

1 *ääni'tc-stälut*2 *ääni'tc-stulmut*3 *ääni'tc-stEm-*dc***äk^wn*

... have been told cust.

S.

1 *äts-äku'-stmäläm*2 *äts-äku'-stmut*3 *äts-äku'-stEm*

Pl.

1 *äts-äku'-stälut*2 *äts-äku'-stulmut*3 *äts-äku'-stEm-*dc***hunxiil*

... have been feared cust.

S.

1 *an-xi'it-stmäläm*2 *an-xi'it-stmut*3 *an-xi'it-stEm*

Pl.

1 *an-xi'it-stälut*2 *an-xi'it-stulmut*3 *an-xi'it-stEm-*dc**

890. Transitive passive continuative

gwite

... is being seen

S.

1 *te'i'ts-gwi'tc-Em*2 *ku'yts-gwi'tc-Em*3 *uts-gwi'tc-Em*

Pl.

1 *te'uts-gwi'tc-Em*2 *kup'uts-gwi'tc-Em*3 *uts-gwi'tc-Em-*dc***utgwite*

... is being seen again

S.

1 *tcin-uyts-gwi'tc-Em*2 *ku'-uyts-gwi'tc-Em*3 *uyts-gwi'tc-Em*

Pl.

1 *te'uyts-gwi'tc-Em*2 *kup'uyts-gwi'tc-Em*3 *uyts-gwi'tc-Em-*dc***lap*

... is being shot

S.

1 *te'i'-lä'p-Em*2 *ku'y'-lä'p-Em*3 *i'ⁱ-lä'p-Em*

Pl.

1 *te'i'-lä'-lä'p-Em*2 *kup'i'-lä'-lä'p-Em*3 *i'-lä'-lä'p-Em**nitë*

... is being cut

S.

1 *te'i'-ni'tc-Em*2 *ku'y'-ni'tc-Em*3 *i'ⁱ-ni'tc-Em*

Pl.

1 *te'i'-ni'tc-Em*2 *kup'i'-ni'tc-Em*3 *i'ⁱ-ni'tc-Em-*dc**

	<i>äk^wn</i>		<i>hünxüt</i>
	... is being told		... is being feared
S.		S.	
1	<i>tcí'⁴ts'-Eku'n-Em</i>	1	<i>tcíjn-xí't-Em</i>
2	<i>kujts'-Eku'n-Em</i>	2	<i>kujn-xí't-Em</i>
3	<i>ts'-Eku'n-Em</i>	3	<i>in-xí't-Em</i>
Pl.		Pl.	
1	<i>tc' ts'-Eku'n-Em</i>	1	<i>tc' in-xí't-Em</i>
2	<i>kup' ts'-Eku'n-Em</i>	2	<i>kup' in-xí't-Em</i>
3	<i>ts'-Eku'n-Em</i>	3	<i>in-xí't-Em</i>

ANALYZED TEXT

Muskrat Trespasses

<i>twä</i>	<i>tcutcü' x^w(1)</i>	<i>twä</i>	<i>tcutcü' yä'äs(2)</i>	<i>ätswi' culc(3).</i>
with	muskrat little	with	his grandmother	they had a house
<i>äku'stus(4)</i>	<i>lä(5)</i>	<i>tcutcü' x^w(1)</i>	<i>luwä(6)</i>	<i>'äl'i k^wik^wwt(7).</i>
she said to him	the	little muskrat	that	old woman
<i>la(5)</i>	<i>la'ax^w(8)</i>	<i>kum</i>	<i>ultcäsqi'gwts(9).</i>	<i>kum tcutcü' x^w(1)</i>
when	in the morning	then	again she went to dig roots	then little muskrat
<i>ätcutcü' yä'äs(10)</i>	<i>äku'stEm(11)</i>	<i>x^wä(12)</i>	<i>täte</i>	<i>x^wi'⁴(13)</i>
by his grandmother	was said to	this	toward	here
<i>nä'^ä(14)</i>	<i>kutk^wältsi'ln(15)</i>	<i>üstä' dä'^ä(16).</i>	<i>lut</i>	<i>x^wä(12)</i>
	eat about	some grass	not	this

(1) Dim. of *téä'lāx^w*, muskrat, accent is thrown to last syllable in dim. and *m, n, w, y, l, r, R, r^w* are glottalized. See §§ 613–616 for consonant changes.

(2) Maternal grandmother, always dim. in form; *-s*, 3 poss., see note 1.

(3) *äts-*, cust.; *wic*, dwell, erect; *-ulc*, 3 pl.

(4) *äk^wn*, say, tell, takes cust. pronouns in compl.; *-stus*, 3–3 cust.

(5) *lä*, article, less intimate, far away.

(6) *luwä*, demon. "that", corresponds to article *lä*.

(7) *'ä-*, article which differentiates subj. from obj. when both are nominal; *ik^w*, old.

(8) *la'ax^w*, it becomes day.

(9) *tcäl-s-* > *tcäs-*; *ul-*, again; *tcät*, fut; *s-*, inten.; *qigwts*, "potatoes" which grow in the water. A noun with this construction may mean "go to get...."

(10) See note 2. *ä-*, general preposition, here agentive "by".

(11) *-tEm*, 3 pass. compl. See note 4.

(12) *x^wä*, article, near speaker, makes relative clause of the next two words "what is toward here".

(13) *x^wi'⁴*, demon. adverb, "here near speaker", corresponds to article *x^wä*. The only way the difference in place here and two lines below can be understood is by gesture.

(14) *nä'^ä*, doubt, imperative.

(15) *tk^wäl-ut-* stem vowel > *tk^wält-*; *ku*, thou; *tk^wäl*, about; *ut-*, cont.; *ln*, eat.

(16) *ä-*, article of indef. obj.; *städä'^ä*, grass.

<i>tätc</i>	<i>x^wi^ʔ</i> (13)	<i>x^wä</i> (12)	<i>tätc</i>	<i>x^wi^ʔ</i> (13).	<i>hɔi</i>	<i>kum</i>
toward	here	this	toward	here	and	then
<i>mk^wi^ʔts</i> (17)	<i>kum</i>	<i>ultciⁱtsäⁱlEl</i> (18).	<i>hɔi</i>	<i>kum</i>	<i>lä</i>	
at night	then	she came back	and	then	the	
<i>tcutciⁱx^w</i> (1)	<i>ultciⁱtsäⁱlEl</i> (18).	<i>hɔi</i>	<i>ulla^ʔa^x</i> ^w (19)	<i>hɔi</i>		
little muskrat	came back	then	again it was morning	then		
<i>ults^wi^ʔst</i> (20)	<i>lä</i> (5)	<i>tcutcä^ʔyä^ʔäs</i> (2)	<i>kum</i>	<i>u^ʔäku^ʔstEm</i> (21)		
again she would go	the	his grandmother	then	again he was said to		
<i>tätc</i>	<i>x^wi^ʔ</i> (13)	<i>nä^ʔä</i> (14)	<i>kutk^wältsiⁱtn</i> (15)	<i>lut</i>	<i>x^wä</i> (12)	
toward	here		eat about	not	the	
<i>tätc</i>	<i>lu^w</i> (22)	<i>lut</i>	<i>x^wä</i> (12)	<i>tätc</i>	<i>x^wi^ʔ</i> (13).	<i>hɔi</i>
toward	there	not	the	toward	here	then
<i>x^wä</i> (24)	<i>tcutcä^ʔyä^ʔäs</i> (2).					<i>ultx^wi^ʔst</i> (23)
the	his grandmother					again she went
<i>hɔi</i>	<i>nä^ʔäku^ʔ</i> (25)	<i>lä</i>	<i>tcutciⁱx^w</i> (1)	<i>tgwäl</i>	<i>stim</i>	
then	he thought	the	little muskrat	because (why)	what	
<i>hul</i> (26)	<i>atqi^ʔx^wstmäs</i> (27).	<i>nä^ʔäku^ʔ</i> (25)	<i>hɔi</i>	<i>tätc</i>	<i>x^wi^ʔ</i> (13)	
is it	that she forbids me?	he thought	then	toward	there	
<i>tcinxu^ʔi</i> (28).	<i>hɔi</i>	<i>tätc</i>	<i>x^wi^ʔ</i> (13)	<i>xui</i> (29)	<i>lä</i> (5)	
I am going	then	toward	there	he went	the	
<i>tcutciⁱx^w</i> (1).	<i>hɔi</i>	<i>ja^ʔkpqi^ʔn</i>	<i>hä</i> (30)	<i>stä^ʔdä^ʔ</i> (16).		
little muskrat	then	lots		there was grass		

(17) *m-*, in; *k^wi^ʔts*, dusk, getting dark. (*h*)*m-*, is used with alms denoting time or weather.

(18) *tcits-ts-* before accented syllable > *ciⁱts*; *ut-*, see note 9; *tcits-*, hither; *tsäl*, one person stands; final redupl. "come to"; *l* always glot. in this form.

(19) See notes 9 and 8.

(20) *ul-äts-* > *ults-*; see notes 9 and 3; *x^wist*, one travels, goes. The customary is used in the sense of "she would".

(21) See notes 9, 4, 11. Notice that *l* of *ul* does not become *l* before stem vowel, but is followed by a stop.

(22) *lu^w*, demon. adverb "there" corresponding to article *lä* (note 5) and demon. adjective *luwä* (note 6).

(23) See notes 9, 20.

(24) The speaker has changed her point of view, with *x^wä* she is near the grandmother, or identifies herself with Little Muskrat.

(25) Abbreviation of *nä^ʔäku^ʔnEm*; *nä^ʔäku*, think; *-Em*, intr.

(26) *hul*, syntactic element making next clause emphatic "is it that"? It has many meanings, see note 111.

(27) *ts-t-* > *t-*, *ats-*, see note 3; *t-*, on attached; *qix^w*, forbid; *-stmäs*, 3-1 cust.

(28) *tcin*, subject pronoun with intr.; *xui*, go.

(29) Third person intr. lacks pronoun.

(30) *hä*, def. article, connects adjective and noun which it modifies and which follows, or a noun with a genitive.

<i>nä^äku'</i> (25) he thought oh!	<i>kuñ</i> (31) now I know!	<i>tgwāl</i> why	<i>x^{wi}'t</i> (32) here	<i>atqi' x^w-</i> she warns me
<i>stmäs</i> (27) (away from)	<i>x^{wä}</i> (12) the	<i>hüntcutcä'yä^ä</i> (33). my grandmother	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tätc</i> toward
<i>xui</i> (29). he went	<i>itn</i> (15) he ate	<i>lä</i> (5) the	<i>stä'dä^ä</i> (16) grass	<i>hul</i> (26) it was
<i>lä</i> him	<i>lutku'</i> . the otter	<i>äku'stEM</i> (11) he was said to	<i>atsqä^ämästci'nt</i> (36). I drive people away	<i>gwitcts</i> (35) that he saw
<i>lä</i> (5) the	<i>tcutci'i' x^w</i> (1) little muskrat	<i>ḡäli'</i> (37) it is perhaps	<i>'ntmi' x^wulumx^w</i> (38). your land?	
<i>äku'stEM</i> (11) he was said to	<i>lä</i> by the	<i>'älutku'</i> (10) otter	<i>hul</i> (26) is it	<i>ni</i> that
<i>ntmi' x^wulumx^w</i> (38). your land (either)		<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tältsi'</i> (40) more	<i>quq^wa'^aq^wä^äl</i> (41) he started to say
<i>tcutci'i' x^w</i> (1) little muskrat	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tcutsk^{wi}'ntEM</i> (42) he was taken	<i>tts^w'qi'ntEM</i> (43) he was head-punched on	
<i>ätsmä'lk^w</i> (44). all over	<i>la</i> the	<i>ḡuḡ^w'mqEs</i> (45) his head little	<i>tts^w'qi'ntEM</i> (43). was head-punched on	
<i>hwi</i> then	<i>k^{wi}'ntEM</i> (42) he was taken	<i>täl</i> (40) from	<i>tä'dä^ääs</i> (46) his canoe	<i>hwi</i> then
<i>ulüntcutmi'ntEM</i> (47). he was thrown in again	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>ulx^wist</i> (23) again he went	<i>lä</i> the	<i>lutku'</i> . otter

(31) Interjection indicating "now it is clear" after one has been troubled, or doubtful, and including element of surprise.

(32) *x^{wi}'t*, demon. adverb corresponding to article *x^{wä}* and demon. adj. *x^{wi}'t* (notes 12, 13).

(33) *hwi*, 1st poss. Note that *x^{wä}* is often used with the poss. and precedes it.

(34) *tsi'*, there near 2nd person.

(35) *gwitc*, see; *-ts*, 3-3 compl.

(36) *atsqä^ä*, go out; *-m*, cause; *ä-*, form taken before incorporated noun (perhaps *äl-s-*); *stciñt*, people.

(37) *ḡäli'*, might, form of threat "perhaps but I hope not".

(38) *'in-*, glottal stop separates *i* and *t*; *in-* 2nd poss; *t-*, on, attached to; *mix^w*, hang in brushy bunches (as trees); *-ulumx^w*, ground.

(39) *ni kum*, is it? expects answer "no".

(40) *täl*, from. See note 34.

(41) *q^wa^aq^wä^äl*, talk, dim., see note 1.

(42) See notes 18 and 11; *k^win*, take hold of one obj.; *k^win-En* > *k^win*; *-En*, tr.

(43) See notes 38, 11, 42; *tsu^w*, punch; *-qin-En* > *-qi'n*; *-qin*, head.

(44) *äts-*, made so; *mälk^w*, be complete in time or space.

(45) *-En-s* > *-Es*; *ḡ^w'mqEn* or *k^w'mqEn*, head; dim. see note 1.

(46) *tä'dä^ä*, canoe. See note 2.

(47) See notes 9, 17, 11, 42; *-min-En* > *-mi'n*; *tcut-min*, throw one, a compound stem, probably "used for throwing", always found in this form.

<i>hwi</i> then	<i>lä(5)</i> the	<i>tcitcä'jyä's(2)</i> his grandmother	<i>ultci'tsä'lel(18)</i> arrived back	<i>lä(5)</i> the	<i>tcitcäli'x^w(1).</i> little muskrat	<i>lä(5)</i> where
<i>'ätsätx^wsdc(48).</i> they lived		<i>tčuw(29)</i> he was gone	<i>lä(5)</i> the	<i>tcitcäli'x^w(1).</i> little muskrat	<i>hwi</i> then	
<i>nä^äku'(25)</i> she thought	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tätc</i> toward	<i>x^{wi'}(13)</i> here	<i>xui(29).</i> he went	<i>hwi</i> then	
<i>cl</i> just	<i>q'wänp(49)</i> at dark	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tcitsaqi'nä^ä(50)</i> she listened	<i>tätsäncetcämi'n-</i> she heard him		
<i>cents(51)</i> coming	<i>ustci'tsäku'n(52)</i> saying just		<i>ultcits(53)</i> again hither	<i>änä</i> änä	<i>'änä.</i> änä	
<i>hwi</i> then	<i>ta'a'tsæn(54)</i> she looked	<i>ta'a'tsæntem(55)</i> he was seen	<i>ultci'ti'tct(56)</i> again paddling	<i>lä</i> the		
<i>'älä'dä's(46)</i> in his canoe	<i>tcit'nlä'k^w(57).</i> hither in he lay	<i>kum</i> then	<i>tcit'li'tct(56)</i> thither he paddled	<i>änä</i> änä		
<i>'änä.</i> änä	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>ultci'tsä'lel(18)</i> again he arrived	<i>tcit'sa'qag(58)</i> hither he came ashore	<i>tägwi'tctem(59)</i> he was seen		
<i>lä(5)</i> the	<i>'ätctcä'jyä's(10)</i> by his grandmother	<i>pi' · · gwt(60)</i> swo · · llen	<i>la</i> the	<i>q'mqes(45)</i> his head		
<i>lä</i> the	<i>stcslu'tusmes(61)</i> his eyes	<i>tčäm</i> just	<i>tsutsä'mä^ä(62)</i> they were small	<i>kum</i> then	<i>lq^w</i> also	
<i>la</i> the	<i>let'i'nänä's(63)</i> his little ears	<i>tsutsä'mä^ä(62).</i> were small	<i>kum</i> then	<i>x^{wi}yä(64)</i> this		

(48) See note 10; *tsätx^w*, house; *-s-dc*, 3d poss.; *-dc* is pl. for all pronouns of the 3d person, poss., subj. and obj.

(49) *q'wänp*, go out of sight, hence sun sets.

(50) *ts-ts* > *tcits-*; *tsaq*, one hollow obj. stands; *-inä^ä*, ear.

(51) *tä-*, thither, opposite of *tcits-*; *tsän-*, under; *cäté*, wait; *-äm?* *-min*, use; *-cEn*, foot; *-ts*, see note 35.

(52) *tcits-its-* stem vowel initial > *tcit'sä-*; *u-*, just; see notes 18, 4; *ts-*, cont.; accent shifts from first to last syllable of bisyllabic stem in cont., for although *äk^wn* may look like a monosyllabic stem the labialization of *k* gives it the potentiality of becoming a vowel with the accent.

(53) See notes 9, 18. Here is an example where the prefixes simply attach themselves to a sound combination or are perhaps separate words.

(54) See note 51; *atsæ*, look at; takes *-En* in intr.

(55) See notes 51, 54, 42.

(56) *tcits-l-* before accented syllable > *tcit'li-*; see notes 9, 18; *tütct*, tongue-otrudes, hence "paddle canoe".

(57) *tcits-hun-* > *tcit'n-*. See notes 18, 17; *täk^w*, one lies.

(58) *tcits-ts-* before accented syllable > *tcit'its-*; *tsaq*, hollow obj. stands; final redupl. "come to".

(59) See notes 51, 35, 11.

(60) *piqw*, swell; *-t*, subjective.

(61) *-men-s* > *-mes*; *s-* nom.; *tc-*, for purpose; *tus*, eye; redupl., pl.; *-mEn*, used for (?)

(62) *tsutsämä^ä*, pl. are small.

(63) *tinä^ä*, ear (see 38 and 50); redupl. pl. dim. See notes 1, 2.

(64) *x^{wi}yä*, demon. adj. "this, these".

<i>mälx^{wi'}'is</i> (65)	<i>pi'släȳt</i> (66)	<i>x^{wa}</i>	<i>'amäl'mälx^{wi'}'is</i> (67).		
beside his here (cheeks)	were big	the	his cheeks		
<i>äku'stEm</i> (11)	<i>lä</i>	<i>'ätcücä'yä'äs</i> (10)	<i>äku'stmüt</i> (68)	<i>lutä</i> (69)	
he was said to	the	by his grandmother	I told you	don't	
<i>tätc</i>	<i>x^{wi'}'</i> (13)	<i>lä</i>	<i>'itsxu'i</i> (70)	<i>kum</i>	<i>iittsä'x^w</i> (71)
toward	here		you should go	then	it's your fault
<i>kuxu'i</i> (72)	<i>tätc</i>	<i>x^{wi'}'</i> (13).			
you went	toward	here.			
<i>höi</i>	<i>k^wints</i> (73)	<i>lä</i>	<i>'ätsätx^wsüc</i> (48)	<i>hul</i> (26)	<i>fä'k^w-</i>
	then she took him	the	into their house	it was that	she
<i>unts</i> (74).	<i>höi</i>	<i>ätsmä'lē^w</i> (44)	<i>änä</i>	<i>lēl'ä'lts</i> (75)	
laid him	then	all over	änä	sprinkle it little for me	
<i>hinqūq' nīqEn</i> (76)		<i>tcücä'yä'^ä</i> (2)	<i>höi</i>	<i>na</i> (77)	<i>'asa'sqit</i> (78)
my little head		grandmother	then	in	two (a few) days
<i>äl^wn</i> (4)	<i>lä</i>	<i>tcücl'ē'x^w</i> (1)	<i>xuuc</i> (79)	<i>kul'lts</i> (80)	<i>x^{wä}</i>
he said	the	little muskrat	go	fix it for me	the
<i>hinfä'dä'^ä</i> (81)		<i>tcälhustu^wspu'lutEm</i> (82)	<i>lä</i>	<i>lutuku'</i> (83).	
my canoe		I am going to kill them	the	otters	
<i>äku'stEm</i> (11)	<i>lut</i>	<i>k^wnä'^ä</i>	<i>pupu'tustmīs</i> (84)	<i>k^winxux^{wi'}'</i> . . .	
he was said to	no	soon	he will kill you little	you are my little	

(65) *mäl*, next to; *x^{wi'}'*, here, hence "his next to right here", whence "his cheeks".

(66) *pis*, pl. are big; *-täȳt*. ?

(67) See note 65. This is the redupl. pl.

(68) See note 4; *-stmut*, 1-2 cust.

(69) *lutä* for *luthä*, neg.

(70) See note 12, literally the "where your going"; *its-*, 2nd poss. cont.

(71) *ii-*, 2nd poss. of *hii-*, that which; *t-*, see note 38; *tšax^w*, promise.

(72) See notes 15, 29.

(73) See notes 42, 35.

(74) See notes 57, 35; *-En* > *-yn* after a labialized consonant.

(75) *täl*, sprinkle, dim.; *-l*, dat. "for, instead of"; *-ts*, 2-1 imp.; see note 1.

(76) See notes 33, 45.

(77) *nä'^ä* > *na'^a* before *q*, doubt, used also to denote generalization.

(78) *äsEl-äsqit* > *asa'sqit*; *äsEl*, two; *-äsqit*, day (see §§ 198-250 for vowel change).

(79) See note 29. *-c*, intr. imp. This word is used in conversation to precede a great many verbs, especially in address.

(80) *Kul*, fix, make, do; *-l*, indirect obj. "instead of . . ."; see note 75.

(81) See notes 33, 46.

(82) See note 9; *hūs- . . . -Em*; 1-3 inten.; *tu^w-s-*, go so far as, propose to; *pulut*, kill, injure one.

(83) *lutku'*, otter; redupl. pl.

(84) See note 82. *pulut-s-* > *pulus-*: dim. see note 1; *-stmīs*, 3-2 cust.; *pulut* takes cust. endings in compl.

<i>tšän</i> (85). companion	<i>hçi</i> then	<i>q' x^wuntEm</i> (86). he was forbidden	<i>Ku'ltEm</i> (87) it was fixed for him	<i>x^wä</i> the
<i>lä' dā'äs</i> (46). his canoe	<i>hçi</i> then	<i>t'itct</i> (56) he paddled	<i>lä</i> the	<i>tcutci' x^w</i> (1). little muskrat
<i>ätsgwi' testus</i> (88) she watched him	<i>täti' tct.</i> (89) paddle off	<i>hçi</i> then	<i>tsanq^wä' n'p</i> (90). he went out of sight	<i>hçi</i> then
<i>xui</i> (29) he went	<i>lä</i> the	<i>tcutci' x^w</i> (1). little muskrat	<i>hçi</i> then	<i>gwi'tcts</i> (35) he saw it
<i>hçi</i> then	<i>t'itct</i> (56) he paddled	<i>ätskuk^w Eyi'</i> . . . (91). qui . ' etly	<i>gwi'tcts</i> (35) he saw her	<i>ätswi' c</i> (3). a dwelling
<i>smä^ämu' lum x^w silc</i> (92) their only sister		<i>tcä^ä yu' tsk^w mc</i> (93). about to bathe	<i>utskü' lEmc</i> (94) she was fixing	
<i>ä^älä' . . . x^w</i> (95). a hole	<i>kum</i> then	<i>lä</i> the	<i>cä' tut</i> (96) rocks	<i>tk^w ulk^w ulti' tctus</i> (97) she caused to be hot on
<i>kum</i> then	<i>npuk^w i' tk^w ä' änts</i> (98) she put them into the water	<i>lä</i> the	<i>'äsi' k^w ä^ä</i> (99). into the water	<i>hçi</i> then
<i>kum</i> it was hot	<i>ink^w ä' lt</i> (100) it was hot	<i>lä</i> the	<i>si' k^w ä^ä</i> (99). water	<i>kum</i> now
				<i>apl</i> she had

(85) *ku-hm-* > *k^w m-*, *ku-*, thou; *hm-*, my; *x^witsEn*, a helper, companion, always dim. (see note 1), doubtless a pet name.

(86) See notes 27, 74, 11.

(87) See notes 80, 11.

(88) See notes 3, 35, 4.

(89) See notes 51, 56.

(90) See notes 51, 49.

(91) See note 3. *kuk^w iy*, gently, carefully, slowly, always dim.; *-i' . . .*, exaggeration.

(92) This word is used of the only sister in a large family of brothers. *s-*, nom., *miyäm*, woman; *-ilumx^w*, person; (if this is the correct suffix, I know of no reason why the accented vowel should be *u*.) See note 48.

(93) *tcät-s-* vowel stem initial before accented syllable > *tcä^äy-*; see note 9; *utsk^w*, bathe; *-Emc*, inten. with indef. obj.

(94) *ts- . . . -Emc*, cont. intr. See note 80.

(95) *ä-äts-l-* > *ä^äl-*, *ä-*, article of indef. obj.; *äts-*, see note 44; *läx^w*, be hole, lengthened for rhetorical effect.

(96) *cätut* may possibly be analyzed: *cät*, one stands upright, projects; *-ut*, be in position.

(97) See notes 38, 4. *k^wäl*, be comfortably warm, redupl. pl.; *-t*, subjective form of verb; *-ilc*, grow, used as caus. of subjective stems and requires cust. pronouns in compl.

(98) *(h)m- . . . -ilk^w ä^ä*, in, into water; *päk^w*, put, pour round objects. See notes 42, 35.

(99) *sik^w ä^ä*, water, cp. this independent form with the suffix of note 98.

(100) *(h)m-*, see notes 17, 97. Characteristic is the fact that the stones are heated "on", but the water is hot "in".

<i>gugwaḫti'tt</i> (101). a baby	<i>lu^uul</i> (102) there	<i>äl'Elä'k^w</i> (57) it lay little	<i>lä</i> the	<i>gugwaḫti'tt</i> (101). baby
<i>hwi</i> then	<i>xui</i> (29) he went	<i>li . . . tct</i> (56) he paddled	<i>tsi</i> (103) there	<i>ʷultskuk^wäji' . . .</i> (104). again qui·etly
<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tu^ustctsa'qaqents</i> (105). he came ashore for a purpose.			
<i>hwi</i> then	<i>lä'pents</i> (106) he shot her	<i>uwentsi^ʷl</i> (107) right then and there	<i>hinduxwi'tk^wä^ä</i> (108) she fell into the water	
<i>lä</i> the	<i>q^omqs</i> (45) her head (headfirst)	<i>hinduxwi'tk^wä^ä</i> (108). fell into the water	<i>uwentsi^ʷl</i> (107) at once	
<i>lä</i> the	<i>tcucl'i'x^w</i> (1) little muskrat	<i>ultci^ʷli'tct</i> (56) again paddled hither	<i>tcisiyemtsu't</i> (109) he exerted himself	<i>tcii-</i> he
<i>li'tct</i> (56). paddled hither		<i>hwi</i> then	<i>lutäwi'tctem</i> (110) he was not seen	<i>l</i> (111) until
<i>q^wä'n^p</i> (112). sight hither		<i>kunⁱ</i> then	<i>lä</i> the	<i>tcuclä'yä^äs</i> (2) his grandmother
<i>i'tsä'tsxems</i> (114). she was watching for him		<i>luwä</i> (6) there	<i>tsanq^wä'n^päs</i> (115) when he came in sight	<i>kunⁱ</i> then
<i>tsä'tsxems</i> (114) she was watching for him		<i>tsexil</i> suddenly	<i>tägiw'i'tets</i> (116) she saw him from there	<i>tu</i> (22) there
<i>ʷultcüsüni's</i> (117). again coming hither		<i>hay^o</i> my!	<i>stci^ʷsiyemtsu't</i> (118) he was exerting himself	<i>lä</i> the

(101) *gwaḫ*, be young, dim.; *-ilt*, young; see note 1.

(102) *lu^uul*, demon. adverb corresponding to forms in note 22.

(103) *tsi^ʷ* before *ul* > *tsi^ʷ*, see note 34.

(104) See notes 20, 91.

(105) See notes 58, 42, 35. *tc-*, on not a part of.

(106) *fap*, shoot. See notes 42, 35.

(107) *u-ä* > *uw-*; *u-*, just; *äntsi^ʷl*, in there; *tsi^ʷl*, demon.

(108) See note 98. *däx^w*, lower, fall.

(109) *ts-s* > *s-*; *siy*, be ambitious; *-Em*, cause; *-s*, artificially; *-tsut*, reflex.; lit., hither cause self-ambitious beyond normal.

(110) See notes 69, 35, 11; *lutä* often has the *s-* form of the verb; in some cases only that form is allowable, in others either is correct (as here), and in still others only the form without *s-* is permissible. Note that *gwitc* does not take the transitivizer in the compl. tr.

(111) *l*, connective of coordination and subordination (see note 26).

(112) See notes 9, 18, 51, 49. *tcuts-tsän-* > *tcüsü-*.

(113) *ts-* before stem vowel initial > *tš-*; *äm*, one sits, stays; *-ut*, be in position.

(114) See notes 113, 54; *ts-* . . . *-Ems*, 3-3 cont.

(115) See notes 51, 49. *-äs*, syntactic suffix making durative clause.

(116) See notes 51, 35.

(117) See notes 9, 18. *tcuts-* before vowel stem initial > *tcüsü-*; *änis*, leave, depart.

(118) *tcuts-ts-s-* > *tcüsü^ʷs-*; see note 109. *s-*, ?

<i>tcutci' x^w(1)</i> .	<i>hayo</i>	<i>li'mlEmc(119)</i>	<i>ultcitsx^{wä} lx^wult(120)</i>
little muskrat	my!	she was glad (that)	he is alive again hither
<i>lä hüntcutcä'yä^ä(33)</i> .	<i>xul</i>	<i>ultciⁱtšä' tEl(18)</i> .	<i>äku' stem(11)</i>
the my grandchild	he proceeded	to arrive back	she was said to
<i>pupu'lusEn'(121)</i>	<i>lä</i>	<i>snä^ämu'lumx^wsilc(92)</i> .	<i>äku' stem(11)</i>
I little killed her	the	their sister	he was said to
<i>tčäm'</i>	<i>ku'ultci'nEm(122)?</i>		
as a result what will	happen now?		
<i>hwi</i>	<i>ulni'lx^w(123)</i>	<i>ultä'k^wmEntsut(124)</i>	<i>lä</i>
then	he went into the house again	again he lay down	the
<i>tcutci' x^w(1)</i>	<i>i'yämu'tEn(125)</i>	<i>äku'stus(4)</i>	<i>tcutcä'yä^ääs(2)</i>
little muskrat	where he sat	he said to her	his grandmother
<i>ätsämu't(113)</i>	<i>nä^ä</i>	<i>lä'x^wuntx^w(126)</i> .	<i>kum' nä 'ändi'^wk^w-</i>
(where)you are sitting	make	a hole	then cross it
<i>stx^w(127)</i>	<i>kum'</i>	<i>lä 'ätčesu'lumx^w(128)</i>	<i>tsi^ä(34) nä^ä(14)</i>
(the water)	then as far	as the woods	there
<i>tsi^äli'mstx^w(129)</i>	<i>kum'</i>	<i>lä dä'äl</i>	<i>tätc nda'räp nä(14)</i>
make it go	then there	surprisingly toward	a lake
<i>'ul'a'tsqä'amstx^w(130)</i> .	<i>kum'</i>	<i>äntsi^ä(131)</i>	<i>nä^ä(14)</i>
come out there again	then	right there	

(119) *lim*, be glad, redupl. again and again. See note 79.

(120) See notes 9, 18. *x^wäl*, live, be alive; redupl. form means "alive although all hope been had abandoned".

(121) See note 84; *-sEn*, 1-3 cust.

(122) This phrase is used to announce an irrevocable happening. *ul-* stem vowel initial (exceptional) \rightarrow *ul-* with loss of stem vowel; *ätčEn*, do with; see notes 15, 9.

(123) See note 9. *niulx^w*, one enters. This stem is used as a unit but is doubtless composed of *n-*, in; *-ut*, be in position; *-lx^w*, house; the fact that *ni'ulx^w*, is "among the houses", helps to substantiate the analysis.

(124) See notes 9, 57; *-mEn-tsut*, use self for; common combination of suffixes for verbs of action.

(125) See notes 71, 113. *ii-s-* stem vowel initial \rightarrow *i'y-*; *-En*, what, where, here used with *ii-* to denote place.

(126) See notes 95, 74; *-tx^w*, 2-3, compl. Any of the finite verbal forms may be used after the imp. with *nä^ä*.

(127) *äts-in-* \rightarrow *än-*; see notes 44, 17, 126; *dik^ws*, cross, has idea of "face" in it, and used thus only when *dik^w* refers to a person (cp. note 213); medial redupl. indicates prog.

(128) See note 10, 38; *tčäs*, bad.

(129) *tsi^äl*, demon. verb corresponding to *tsi^ä*, *tsi^ät* (notes 34, 107); *-im*, may be a contraction of *-im*, cause, requires the cust. pronouns; *-stx^w*, 2-3 cust. form in compl.

(130) See notes 9, 36, 129.

(131) *äts-hn-* \rightarrow *än-*; *äntsi^ä*, is used also for "be at home" (see note 34).

<i>x^wi'^t(32)</i> there	<i>ku'ultcutša'a' xal(132)</i> do like this	<i>kumⁱ</i> then	<i>nä^ä(14)</i> make	<i>tsängwänt'</i> it deep		
<i>ust(133)</i> along	<i>lä</i> the	<i>dEdä'ldul.</i> bushes	<i>höi</i> then	<i>tš'i'^t(107)</i> there	<i>aXi' stus(134)</i> she did it thus	
<i>äli' k^welik^wt(7).</i> the old woman	<i>lä' x^wunts(135)</i> she made a hole	<i>kumⁱ</i> then	<i>tk^wälxu'i(136)</i> she went around	<i>lä</i> the		
<i>'ätsä'tx^wsulc(48).</i> their house	<i>äku'stem(11)</i> she was said to	<i>ätcutcili' x^w(137)</i> by little muskrat	<i>nä^ä(14)</i> tie it			
<i>lä'tčtsäx^w(138)</i> up for me	<i>x^wa</i> the	<i>hinqo'mqEn(45).</i> my head	<i>höi</i> and	<i>kumⁱ</i> then	<i>lä'tčl-</i> it was tied	
<i>tEm(139)</i> for him	<i>x^wa</i> the	<i>qo'mqus(45).</i> his head	<i>höi</i> and	<i>kumⁱ</i> then	<i>äk^wn(4)</i> he said	<i>änä</i> änä
<i>ldä'ltts(75)</i> sprinkle it for me	<i>quqo'niqEn(45)</i> my little head	<i>tcitcä'yä^ä(2).</i> grandmother	<i>höi</i> and	<i>kumⁱ</i> then		
<i>pinttc</i> a long	<i>ta'a'tšatsx(140)</i> time she watched	<i>lä</i> the	<i>li'k^welik^wt(7).</i> old woman			
<i>höi</i> then	<i>lä</i> the	<i>gul(141)</i> those	<i>lutluku'(83)</i> who were otters	<i>höi</i> then	<i>tš'u'um(142)</i> it cried	
<i>lä</i> the	<i>gugwaxti'lt(101)</i> baby	<i>hä(30)</i>	<i>smä^ämu'lumx^wsulc(92).</i> their sister(s)			
<i>höi</i> then	<i>tš'u'um(142)</i> it cried	<i>wä'ä</i> wä'ä	<i>wä'ä.</i> wä'ä	<i>höi</i> then	<i>tcitci'nEmc(143)</i> what's the matter	
<i>butäqä'i'lgwäsmustus(144)</i> she don't take care of it		<i>la</i> the	<i>gugwaxti'lt.s(101)?</i> her baby	<i>höi</i> then		
<i>äk^wn(4)</i> he said	<i>xuuc(79)</i> go	<i>tu'yäku'nätcul(145)</i> so far as to say to her	<i>tcäsk^wi'n^wEmS(146).</i> take it up			

(132) See notes 1, 15, 9, 18. *aXEl*, do thus, dim.(133) See note 51; *gwan*, be low, deep; -*t*, subjective; -*ust*, motion along.(134) *aXEl*, do thus always takes cust. pronouns in compl. -*l-s* > -*s*.

(135) See notes 95, 74, 35.

(136) See notes 15, 29.

(137) See notes 1, 10.

(138) *lätc*, bind. See note 75; -*tsäx^w*, 2-1 compl.

(139) See notes 138, 75, 11.

(140) See notes 51, 54, 119; redupl. again and again.

(141) *gul*, verbalizing pl., with article "those who were....".(142) *tš'u'um*, cry. See note 29.(143) Idiomatic phrase abbreviation of *tsüci'nEmc*; *ts-...-Emc*, cont. intr.; *ätcEn*, do with.(144) See notes 69, 129. *qiv^t*, stick to; -*ilgwäs*, heart.(145) *s* before stem vowel initial > *y*. See note 52. -*ätc*, def. obj. with imp.; -*ul*, 2 pl. imp.(146) See notes 9, 42. *s...-EmS*, 3-3 inten.

<i>hwi</i> then	<i>a'tsqä^ä</i> (36) he went out	<i>ttcnä'k^wä^ä</i> (147). one of them	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>xwi</i> (29) he went
<i>tsuti' nEmc</i> ?(143) what is the matter	<i>ta'xux</i> (148) she was dead	<i>x^wä</i> the	<i>smä^ämu'lumx^wsdc</i> (92) their sister	
<i>a'tä'p</i> (149) she was shot	<i>ät'ela'pämEn</i> (150) with an arrow	<i>ätclä'k^w</i> (151). sticking in her	<i>äk^wn</i> (4) he said	
<i>ta'xux</i> (148) she is dead	<i>x^wa</i> the	<i>smä^ämu'lumx^wät</i> (152) our sister	<i>hiitspu'lut</i> (153). is the one who was killed	
<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tci'tsä'tsqä^ä</i> (154) they went out hither	<i>tägwi'tetEm</i> (155). she was seen	<i>äk^wn</i> (4) he said	
<i>umäi</i> (156) evidently	<i>tcitcili'x^w</i> (1) little muskrat	<i>açi'stus</i> (134) he did it	<i>litu^u</i> (157). that very one	<i>x^wä</i> the
<i>sci'^utEmc</i> (158) eldest	<i>äk^wn</i> (4) said	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tu^uspu'lusEn</i> (159) I am going so far as to kill him	<i>lä</i> the
<i>tcitcili'x^w</i> (1) little muskrat	<i>äjni'l</i> because	<i>u^wmäi</i> (160) it is plain	<i>ä^ätsä'näl</i> (161) he is the one	<i>hit</i> (26) who
<i>pu'lustus</i> (162). killed her	<i>hwi</i> then	<i>tci'ti'tct</i> (56). he set off paddling		
<i>x^wijä</i> (64) this	<i>fik^wt</i> (7) old woman	<i>ulpinttc</i> (163) again long	<i>ta'atsä'tsx.</i> (140) was watching	<i>hwi</i> then
<i>äku'stus</i> (4) she said to him	<i>lä</i> the	<i>tcitcili'x^w</i> (1) little muskrat	<i>lä</i> the	<i>'ätcicä'yä'äs</i> (10) his grandmother
<i>hwi</i> now	<i>tuwä</i> (6) there	<i>tcitsäni's</i> (117). they come	<i>äk^wn</i> she said	<i>utcta'··x^w</i> (164) we are silent
				<i>hwi</i> then

(147) *ttc-*, prefix denoting persons in counting; *näk^wä^ä*, one.

(148) *tax^w*, one stops; final redupl., come to.

(149) *ats-t-* followed by accented syllable > *a^at-*. See notes 44, 106.

(150) See notes 1, 106. *-im*, cause; *-En*, that which.

(151) *äts-tc-* > *ätc-*. See note 44. *tc-*, on at point; *täk^w*, pierce with small sharp object.

(152) See note 92. *-ät*, 1st pl. poss.

(153) See notes 71, 15, 82.

(154) *tcits-* stem vowel initial followed by accented syllable > *tci'ts-*; see note 36.

(155) See notes 51, 35, 11.

(156) *u-*, objective form of verb.

(157) *litu^u*, dim. emphatic demon. cp. forms of note 22.

(158) *s-*, nom.; *ci^ut*, be first; *-Emc*, born (?).

(159) See notes 82, 121.

(160) Cp. note 156.

(161) *tsä'näl*, indep. pronoun 3d person. *äts-ts-* before accented syllable > *ä^äts-*, see note 44.

(162) See notes 4, 82; *pulut* takes cust. pronouns in compl.

(163) See note 9; *pinttc*, always.

(164) See notes 148, 156. *tc-*, 1st pl. subj.

<i>tcütäx'u'i</i> (165)	<i>kum'</i>	<i>ä'muc</i> (166)	<i>lä</i>	<i>tcütcä'jä'äs</i> (2)	
before they got there she went	then	she sat down	the	his grandmother	
<i>lä</i>	<i>tes'ämi'cents</i> (167)	<i>lä</i>	<i>tcütcä'jä'äs</i> (2)	<i>höi</i>	
she	sat caring for him	the	his grandmother	then	
<i>tc'i'tsa'qag</i> (58).	<i>höi</i>	<i>kum'</i>	<i>tcütsx^wi'st</i> (168).	<i>höi</i>	<i>tc'i'n'u'l^w</i> (169)
they came ashore	and	then	he came	then	he came in
<i>kum'</i>	<i>itsk^wi'nem</i> (170)	<i>kuwä</i> (6)		<i>siyö'lalq^w</i> (171).	
then	he took it	that		stick	
<i>äku'stus</i> (4)	<i>nä^ä</i>	<i>kuwä</i> (172)	<i>l</i> (111)	<i>pu'lustx^w</i> (173)	
he said to him		you must be	the one who	killed her	
<i>x^wä</i>	<i>smä^ämu'lumx^wät</i> (152).				
the	our sister.				
<i>äk^wn</i> (4)	<i>tcütcä'jä'äs</i> (2)	<i>lut</i>	<i>lut</i>	<i>atsküü'ju'ytsen-</i>	
she said	his grandmother	no	no	he is small and	
<i>müstp</i> (174)	<i>hä!</i> (175)	<i>ni</i>	<i>lut</i> (176)	<i>pu'pu'lustp</i> (177).	
helpless	why	did	you not	beat him up	
<i>hul</i> (26)	<i>x^wi'l</i> (32)	<i>itsäxi'l</i> (178)	<i>ifelä'k^w</i> (179)	<i>lutäyts-</i>	
that is	the way	it is like	that he lies little	he never	
<i>x^wä'lic</i> (180).	<i>äk^wn</i> (4)	<i>hul</i> (26)	<i>kum'</i>	<i>ä^äsä'gwät</i> (181)	
gets up	he said	who could		it have been	
<i>hul</i> (26)	<i>tcäyaxi'lem</i> (182).	<i>kum'</i>	<i>lä</i>	<i>tcütcl'i'x^w</i> (1)	<i>änä</i>
that	would do it ?	then	the	little muskrat	änä
<i>lulä'lit</i> (75)	<i>quqö'mqen</i> (183)	<i>tcütcä'jä'ä</i> (2).	<i>höi</i>	<i>kum'</i>	
sprinkle it for me	my little head	grandmother	and	then	

(165) *tcütä-*, from there hither; see note 29.(166) See note 113. *-ic*, be in act of.(167) See notes 113, 166; 42, 35. *tes-*, for a purpose.

(168) See notes 18, 20.

(169) *tcüts-n-* before accented syllable > *tc'i'n-*. See notes 18, 123.(170) *ts-...-em*, 3 cont. intr.; see note 42.(171) *siyöl-alq^w*, general word for "stick, piece of wood"; *-alq^w*, long object.(172) *kuwä*, indep. pronoun, 2 sing.

(173) See notes 82, 129, 162.

(174) See notes 1, 3; *Ruy*, waste; *-tsin*, mouth, edge; *-m*, cause (?); *-stp*, 2 pl.-3 cust.

(175) Exclamation.

(176) *ni lut*, interrogative expects answer "yes".

(177) See notes, 1, 82, 174.

(178) See notes 15, 132. Accent of bisyllabic stem is on second syllable in cont.

(179) *ts-l-* > *l-*; see note 57.(180) See notes 69, 15, 166. *s-ü-* > *y*; *x^wät*, move hurriedly.(181) *äts-s-* before accented syllable > *ä^äs-*. See note 44. *sägwät*, who is it ?(182) See notes 93, 132; *s-...-em*, inten.(183) See notes 33, 45. Baby talk without poss. *hun-*.

<i>nä^ä</i>	<i>tü^w</i> (184)	<i>gwüní'x^w</i> (185) it must be true	<i>kum'</i>	<i>tcä^ä</i> (186) ought	<i>lutäⁱ</i> - he
<i>tsä' lmentsut. s</i> (187). never to get up	<i>hwi</i>	<i>u^la'tsqä^ä</i> (188) then he went out off	<i>hwi</i>	<i>ull'i' tct</i> (189). then again he paddled	
<i>äku' stus</i> (4) he said to her	<i>tä</i>	<i>tc tca' yä^ääs</i> (2) the his grandmother	<i>tä</i>	<i>'ätc tclü' x^w</i> (1) the little muskrat	
<i>äk^wn</i> (4) he said	<i>na</i>	<i>'atsä' tsxstx^w</i> (190) keep watching him	<i>nä^ä</i>	<i>cl</i>	<i>sunq^wä' n'p</i> (191) just as he goes out of sight
<i>nä^ä</i>	<i>kuträhi' m</i> (192). give a warwhoop	<i>kum'</i>	<i>nä^ä</i>	<i>kunk^wi' nEm</i> (193)	<i>kum'</i> sing out then
<i>nä^ä</i>	<i>kuq^wä' ymentsut</i> (194). dance	<i>hwi</i>	<i>a^ttsä' tsatsxstus</i> (195)	<i>cl</i>	just he
<i>tcäl</i>	<i>ucil</i>	<i>tsanq^wä' n'p</i> (196) of going out of sight	<i>hwi</i>	<i>trähi' m</i> (192)	
was just	on the point		then	she let out a warwhoop	
<i>äk^wn</i> (4) she said	<i>uhu. . .</i> uhu. . .	<i>pupu' lultEmilc</i> (197) she was killed for them		<i>tä</i>	the only
<i>sni^tsmäⁱ msilc</i> (198)	<i>tä</i>	<i>gul</i> (141)	<i>lultku'</i> (83).	<i>äncel-</i>	
their woman among them	those	who	are otters	stuck in the	
<i>i' . tcñ</i> (199)	<i>älEla-pämEn</i> (150) with a little arrow	<i>kum'</i>	<i>hundyx^wi' tk^wä^ä</i> (108)		
back		then	into the water she fell		
<i>la</i> her	<i>q^jmqES</i> (45). head (first)				
<i>hwi</i>	<i>nä^äku'</i> (25)	<i>gul</i> (141)	<i>litku'</i> (83)	<i>kum'</i>	
then	they thought	the	otters	then	

(184) Element used in answering question, needs no translation.

(185) *gwün-ix^w*, be true, perhaps analyzed *gwän*, deep, low; *-ix^w*, willingly (?)

(186) *tcä^ä*, element meaning "ought".

(187) See notes 69, 15, 124, 2; *its-* vowel stem initial > *iⁱts-*; *äl*, person moves. The negative often takes a nom. form, the cont. seems to be nom.

(188) See notes 9, 36.

(189) See notes 9, 56.

(190) See notes 54, 119, 129.

(191) *s-hün-* > *sun-*; *s-* nom. See notes 17, 49.

(192) See note 15; *trähim*, give war cry.

(193) See notes 15, 17. *k^win*, sing (always with prefix *hün-*).

(194) See notes 15, 124. *q^waj*, bounce.

(195) See notes 3, 54, 119, 4; *ats-* vowel stem initial > *a^tts-*.

(196) See notes 49, 51. The construction with this order of syntactic elements preceding indicates a past fut.

(197) See notes 1, 82, 75, 11, 3.

(198) See notes 92, 48. *nⁱt*, among, used for superlative, in this case, "their onliest". Accent moves forward one syllable with *-ilc*.

(199) See notes 44, 96. *-itcñ*, back.

<i>tcälsä'gwät</i> (200)?	<i>fi'</i>	<i>ä^ätsä'näl</i> (161)	<i>pu'lustus</i> (162).	<i>hwi</i>
who would it be?	surely	he is the one	he killed her	then
<i>ultci'i' tct</i> (56)		<i>ultci'i'tict</i> (56).	<i>ultci'isa'gaq</i> (58).	
back hither they paddled		back hither they paddled	again they came ashore	
<i>kum' x^{wi}'l</i> (32)	<i>itsq'wä'ymentsut</i> (201).	<i>hwi</i>	<i>ulnla' x'pEm</i> (202)	
then here	she was mocking	then	again into the hole (she went)	
<i>x^{wä} tätc</i>	<i>syElx^{wi}'lups.</i> (203)	<i>x^{wi}'l</i> (32)	<i>tcutsaxi'stus</i> (204)	
the toward	hide spread under his bed	there	hither she did thus	
<i>älux^{wi}' ···</i> (205)	<i>hwi</i>	<i>nulx^w</i> (123)	<i>lä</i>	<i>tcitci'i' x^w</i> (1).
into the hole	then	he went in	the	little muskrat
<i>hwi</i>	<i>kum'</i>	<i>lä</i>	<i>tcitcä'yä'äs</i> (2)	<i>yElx^{wu}'lumx^wunts</i> (206).
and then	the	his grandmother		pulled blanket over it
<i>x^{wi}'l</i> (32)	<i>uPa'xi'stus</i> (207).	<i>hwi</i>	<i>kum'</i>	<i>nulx^w</i> (123)
thus	she did it again	and	then	he went in
<i>lä</i>	<i>lutku'</i> (83)	<i>tçu' ···</i> (29).	<i>im</i>	<i>yä^äxu'sEm's</i> (208)
the	otter	no one	in vain	he searched it
<i>tçu^w.</i>	<i>u'a'tsqä^ä</i> (188)	<i>tcicä'ltc</i> (209)	<i>tçu' ···</i>	<i>hwi</i>
no one	again he came out	hither he went around	no one	then
<i>ultci'nulx^w</i> (169)	<i>hwi</i>	<i>x^{wi}'l</i> (32)	<i>tcutsaxi'stus</i> (204)	<i>tcicä'</i>
again hither he went in	then	thus	he did hither	there
<i>älux^whux^{wi}' ···</i> (210).	<i>hwi</i>	<i>x^{wi}'l</i> (32)	<i>a'xal</i> (211)	<i>fi'</i>
were just holes	then	thus he	did	surely
<i>hvnElx^{wi}'tctments</i> (212).		<i>x^{wi}'l</i> (32)	<i>a'xi'stus</i> (207).	<i>hwi</i>
he reached down in it		thus	he did it	then
<i>tätc</i>	<i>si'k^{wä}'ä</i> (99)	<i>hvndi'k^w</i> (213)	<i>tätc</i>	<i>luwä</i> (6)
toward	the water	he crossed	to	the

(200) See notes 9, 181.

(201) See notes 15, 124, 194.

(202) See notes 9, 17; *taxp*, rush; *-Em*, cont. intr.(203) *s-*, nom.; *yälx^w*, cover with blanket; *-ilup*, floor, foundation. See note 2.

(204) See notes 117, 134, 4.

(205) See notes 44, 95, 91.

(206) See notes 203, 38, 74, 35.

(207) See notes 9, 134, 4.

(208) *s-* vowel > *y*; *axus*, look for; redupl. again and again.(209) *tcits-c-* before accented syllable > *tcic-*; *cältc*, go in circle.

(210) See notes 44, 95, 91; redupl. pl.

(211) *x^{wi}'l a'xal*, idiom, "it was thus". These words (see notes 32 and 132) are so closely related in this sense that in one case they are even incorporated together as one word between the syntactic elements of a verb complex.(212) See notes 98, 42, 35. *lar^w*, plunge headfirst; *-ict*, hand, fingers; *-Em*, caus.(213) See notes 17, 127. In this case *di'k^w* lacks *-s* which it has when a "person crosses".

<i>nlä^äni' tk^{wä}ä</i> (214)	<i>u^wlux^w· · ·</i> (215)	<i>stum</i>	<i>ya'qut</i> (216)	<i>hwi</i>	
other side of the water	just holes	?	?	then	
<i>x^wi'ul</i> (32)	<i>a'xal</i> (211)	<i>ultanler^wi'tctments</i> (217).	<i>hwi</i>	<i>im</i>	
thus he	did	again he reached into it	then	in vain	
<i>hwi</i>	<i>fEdmi'nts</i> (218)	<i>hwi</i>	<i>l</i> (111)	<i>idEdä'ldul</i>	<i>tsi''</i> (34)
then	he failed at it	then	where	there were bushes	there
<i>tsä^än'u' tx^w</i> (219).	<i>hwi</i>	<i>hinxux^wa'tpalqs</i> (220).			
they went in under	then	the end of the road.			

(214) See note 98; *tä^än*, demon. verb related to forms of notes 22, 102, 157 (see §§ 699–708).

(215) See notes 95, 91. *u-äts-l* > *u^wl*·; *u*·, just; *äts*·, made so.

(216) Untranslatable.

(217) See notes 9, 51, 212.

(218) *tEdmin*, fail at, probably a compound; see note 35.

(219) *tsän-ni* before accented syllable > *tsä^äni*·. See notes 51, 123.

(220) Formal ending of story. See note 17. *x^wat*, come to end; *-alqs*, road. This analysis is only a guess for this is an old phrase used only in this sense.

