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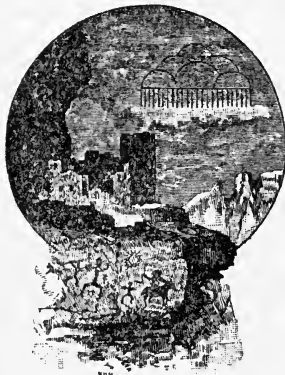
HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

BY
FRANZ BOAS

PART 2

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE SKETCHES

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



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1922

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

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

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

Yours, respectfully,

F. W. HODGE,
Ethnologist in Charge.

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

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THE TAKELMA LANGUAGE OF SOUTH-
WESTERN OREGON

BY

EDWARD SAPIR

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THE TAKELMA LANGUAGE OF SOUTHWESTERN OREGON

BY EDWARD SAPIR

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

PHONOLOGY (§§ 2-24)

§ 2. Introductory

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Vowels (§§ 3-11)

§ 3. *General Remarks*

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

bilwa'ʼs jumper; *bilaʼukʼ* he jumped
k!emna'ʼs maker; *k!emaʼnkʼ* he made it

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

§ 4. *System of Vowels*

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

| I. Short. | II. Long. | Short diphthong. | III. Long diphthong. |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|--|---|
| <i>a</i> | <i>āa</i> , (<i>ā</i>) | <i>ai</i> , <i>au</i> , <i>āl</i> , <i>am</i> , <i>an</i> | <i>āi</i> , <i>āu</i> , <i>āal</i> , <i>āam</i> , <i>āan</i> |
| <i>e</i> | <i>eē</i> , (<i>ē</i>) | <i>ei</i> , <i>eu</i> , <i>eī</i> , <i>em</i> , <i>en</i> | <i>ēi</i> , <i>ēu</i> , <i>eēī</i> , <i>eēm</i> , <i>eēn</i> |
| <i>i</i> | <i>īi</i> , (<i>ī</i>) | <i>iu</i> , <i>il</i> , <i>im</i> , <i>in</i> | <i>īu</i> , <i>īīl</i> , <i>īim</i> , <i>īin</i> |
| <i>o</i> , (<i>u</i>) | <i>ōu</i> , (<i>ō</i>) | <i>oi</i> , <i>ou</i> , <i>ol</i> , <i>om</i> , <i>on</i> (<i>ōu</i>) (<i>ul</i>) (<i>um</i>) (<i>un</i>) | <i>ōi</i> , <i>ōu(w)</i> , <i>ōul</i> , <i>ōum</i> , <i>ōun</i> |
| <i>ū</i> | <i>ūu</i> , (<i>ū</i>) | <i>ui</i> , <i>ūw</i> , <i>ūl</i> , <i>ūm</i> , <i>ūn</i> (<i>ūu</i>) | <i>ūi</i> , <i>ūu(w)</i> , <i>ūul</i> , <i>ūum</i> , <i>ūun</i> |
| <i>ü</i> | <i>üü</i> , (<i>ü</i>) | <i>üi</i> , <i>üw</i> , <i>ül</i> , <i>üm</i> , <i>ün</i> (<i>üü</i>) | <i>üi</i> , <i>üü(w)</i> , <i>üül</i> , <i>üüm</i> , <i>üün</i> |

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

biliut^e I jump: *biliwa^t* you jump = *he^eiū* he went away from him: *he^ei^wi^εn* I went away from him

gai^k he ate it: *gayawa^εn* I ate it = *gāi^k* he grew: *gā^aya^εt^t* he will grow

gayau he ate it: *gayawa^εn* I ate it = *han^tgāu* over land: *Latg^εā^awa^ε* one from Lat^εgāu [uplands]

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

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

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

gai- eat, but *gāi-* grow
 verb-prefix *dāa-* ear, but *da-* mouth
wāaxa his younger brother, but *wa'xa* at them

It may happen that two distinct forms of the same word differ only in vocalic quantity; $y\bar{a}^a da'^{et}$ HE WILL SWIM, $yada'^{et}$ HE SWIMS.

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

naga'^{ie} he said; but *naga'ida^e* when he said
sgele'^{ue} he shouted; but *sgele'uda^e* when he shouted

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

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

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

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

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

But there were also heard:

sēk^wak^w shot
malāk^wwa he told him

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

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

¹The word *yewe'is* HE RETURNED, e. g., was long heard as *yawe'is*, but such forms as *yēu* RETURN! show this to have been an auditory error.

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

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

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

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

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

he^{εε}īle'me^{εε}xām he killed us off (for *-am*)
xām in water (for *xam*)

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

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

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

§ 5. *Stress and Pitch-Accent*

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

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

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

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

naga'-ida^ε when he said, but

naga-ida'^ε when you said

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

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

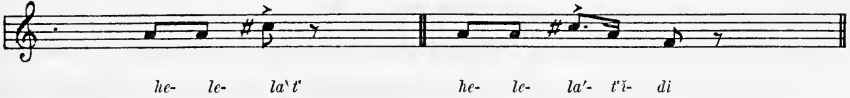
(1) A simple pitch distinctly higher than the normal pitch of unstressed speech (\simeq).

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

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

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

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



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

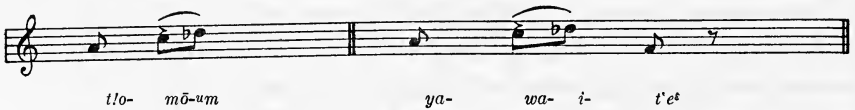
nañk' he will say, do
gwałt' wind
dasmayañ he smiled
wułx enemy, Shasta

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

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

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

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



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

k'wede'i his name
yewe'ida^e when he returned
yewe'te^e he returned

will serve to illustrate the character of the falling pitch.



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

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

bila'uk' (= **bilw'k'*,¹ not **bilaũk'*) he jumped; cf. *bilwa'^{es}* JUMPER with the organic *au* of

gayaũ he ate it; cf. *gayawa'^{en}* I ate it

Contrast similarly the inorganic *an* of

k!ema'nk' (= **k!emn'k'*, not **k!emañk'*) he made it; cf. *k!emna'^{es}* maker

with the organic *am* of

dasmayaũ he smiled; cf. *dasmayama'^{en}* I smiled

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

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

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

se'el black paint, writing; *sēl* kingfisher

lā'ap leaves; (1) *lāp* he carried it on his back, (2) *lāp* become (so and so)!

sā'at his discharge of wind; *sāt* mash it!

wil'i his house; *wil̄* house, for instance, in *dak'wil̄* on top of the house

he'el song; *hēl* sing it!

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

waya` knife

wayā'a his knife

waya'ε he sleeps

wayān he put him to sleep

k!wāεya` (= *k!wāi'a`*) just grass

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

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

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

t!omoma'εn I kill him

t!omoma'ndaε as I killed him

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

ya'ε he went

yā'adaε when he went

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

t!i'ieεt' your husband

ela'εt' your tongue

Contrast:

t!it'k' my husband

ela't'k' my tongue

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

k!emε̄n I make it

dīt!ügū̄n I wear it

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

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

dō^uma'n I shall kill him

t!omoma'n he was killed

Contrast:

xō^uma'n he dried it

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

k!emēn it was made

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

k'wedεt'k' my name

p!ānt'k' my liver

t!ibagwa'nt'k' my pancreas

Contrast:

k'wede'i his name

p!a'ant' his liver

t!ibagwa'n his pancreas

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

sgelewa'lda^εn I shouted to him

sgelewa'lt' he shouted to him

Contrast:

gwalt' wind

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

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

Vocalic Processes (§§ 6-11)

§ 6. VOWEL HIATUS

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

de- in front

xā^a- between, in two

+ *ĩ-* with hand

generally appear as:

de^εĩ-

xā^{aε}ĩ-

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

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

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

ma'εa` but you, you truly
bō^{us}a` nowadays indeed

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

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

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

ge'ε wōk' (= *ge' + wōk'*) there he arrived
be^{εε} wā^adī'i (= *be^ε + wā^adī'i*) day its-body = all day long
ge^ε yā'a^{hi} (= *ge + yā'a^{hi}*) just there indeed

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

me^εwōk' HE ARRIVED HERE, and
me^εyēū COME HERE!

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

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

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

ha^εwi^{n̄}'da inside of him; but *habe^εbini`* at noon
de^εwi^{li}wia'^{us} they shouted; but *dexebe'^εn* he said so
abai^εwa^εyewēⁿhi he returned inside with him; but *abaigini'εk'* he went inside
wī^εwā my younger brother; but *wiha`m* my father

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

al^εwā^adidē to my body; but *als^εō^uma`l* to the mountain
al^εyow^o'ε he looked; but *alxī'^εk'* he saw him
bā^εage'l^εyo he lay belly up; but *gelk'iyi'εk'* he turned to face him
gwen^εwat'geits'!ik'wa his (head) lay next to it; but *gwenliwila'^{us}*
 he looked back
yiwin^ε wō'k'i^ε (= *yiwin* speech + *wō'k'i^ε* without) without speech

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

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

§ 7. DISSIMILATION OF *u*

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

wahawaxi'gwa^εn I rot with it, for **xiugwa^εn*

Compare:

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

Similarly:

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 8. I- UMLAUT

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

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

wak!ayayini'εn I caused him to grow with it (but *k!ayayana'εn*

I caused him to grow, with preserved *-a-*, because of following *-a'εn*, not *-i'εn*)

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

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

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

iyulu'yalhi he rubs it

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

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

I brought it to you)

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

wagawi'n I shall bring it to him

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

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

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

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

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

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

bū^ubinī't'k' my arm (cf. *bū^uba'n* arm)

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

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

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

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

al̄it̄' бага' t' bigi^εn I beat him (cf. -t' бага' t' bak' he beat him)

ts̄!ele'ts̄!ili^εn I rattle it (cf. *ts̄!ele'ts̄!alhi* he rattles it)

īsmili' smili^εn I swing it (cf. *īsmi' lsmal* swing it!)

(b) The causative element -an-:

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

See above:

wak!ayayini'^εn I cause him to grow

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

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

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

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

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

gīdīⁱ on top of it, over (so and so)

Compare the similarly formed:

gada'k' above

gada'ł among

and others.

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

t!omōxinik' we kill each other (cf. *t!omōxa^εn* they kill each other)

dāxinigam we shall find each other (cf. *dāxan^εt'* they will find each other)

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

lohō^uninini'^εn I caused him to die (i. e., killed him) for him (cf.

lohō^unana'nhī he killed him for him)

īk!ūmininini'nk' he will fix it for him (compare *īk!ū^uma'ñ* he fixed it)

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

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

§ 9. K-SOUNDS PRECEDED BY U-VOWELS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 10. INORGANIC *a*

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

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

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

- wisma't'e^ε* I shall move (stem *wism-*); aorist, *wits'i^{mi}t'e^ε* I moved¹

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

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

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

§ 11. SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLE DIPHTHONGS

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

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

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

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

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

gār eat it! (= **gārw*); *gārk'* he ate it (= **gārwk'*); compare *ga-iwa'n* I shall eat it

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

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

Examples of simplified over-long diphthongs are:

dā^aldi'n (= **dāild'i'n*) I shall go to him for food; compare *dāit'e^e* I shall go for food
eī t'gēlxī (= **t'gēilxī*) wagon (literally, rolling canoe); compare *t'ge^eya'lx* it rolls
dat!agā^{εn} (= **t!agāi^{εn}*) I build a fire; compare *dat!agāi* he builds a fire
k!emē^{εn} (= **k!emēi^{εn}*) I make it; compare *k!emēi* he makes it
oyō^{εn} (= **oyōn^{εn}*) I give it; compare third person *oyōn* he gives it

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

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

oĩnk' he gave it; compare *oina'n* I shall give it

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

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

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

ts'!aĩmhak'^w hidden

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

Consonants (§§ 12-24)

§ 12. System of Consonants

The Takelma consonant system is represented in the following table:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The fortes (*p!*, *t!*, *k!*, *ts!* [= *ts·!*], and ϵ , which has been put in the same series because of its intimate phonetic and morphologic relation to the other consonants) are pronounced with the characteristic snatched or crackly effect (more or less decided stress of articulation of voiceless stop followed by explosion and momentary hiatus) prevalent on the Pacific coast. From the point of view of Takelma, *p!*, *t!*, and *k!* are in a way equivalent to p^ϵ , t^ϵ , and k^ϵ , respectively, or rather to b^ϵ , d^ϵ , and g^ϵ , for the fortes can never be aspirated. In some cases it was found difficult to tell whether a fortis, or a voiceless stop followed by a glottal stricture, was really heard:

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

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

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

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

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

dülū'ēt!ilī^εn = dülū't!ilī^εn I stuff it

dū'lēt!ilīn = dū't!ilīn I shall stuff it

leme'k!ia-uda^ε = leme'k!ia-uda^ε as they go off

Many facts of a phonetic and morphological character will meet us later on that serve to confirm the correctness of the phonetic analysis given (see §13, end; also §§ 30,4; 40,6; 40,13a, p. 113; 40,13b). Here it is enough to point out that *p!*, *t!*, *k!*, *ts!* are etymologically related to *b*, *d*, *g*, *s* as are *i^ε*, *u^ε*, *εl*, *εm*, *εn* to *i*, *u*, *l*, *m*, *n*.

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

Aorist stems:

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

Future stems:

dō^wm-, *bū^ug-*, *gō^wl-*,—as are the

Aorist stems:

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

Future stems:

s'ā^ad-, *s'e^ll-*

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

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

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

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

s'a's'ant'e^ε I shall stand

ogu's'i he gave it to me, but *ogu'sbi* he gave it to you

lō^us'ī'i his plaything 110.6

īlasqi'n I shall touch it

le^εpsi' feathers

yōls steel-head salmon

ha-uhana'^εs it stopped (raining)

§ 13. Final Consonants

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

la'h excrement

lohlahan'k' he always caused them to die

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

gayaū he ate it (cf. *gayawa'^εn* I ate it)

gāī grow! (cf. *gā^aya'^εt'* he will grow)

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

se^εba'^εn I roasted it; *sēp'* he roasted it

xebe'^εn he did it; *xēp'ga^ε* I did it

xuduma'ldaⁿ I whistle to him; *xuduma'lt'*, *xuduma'lt'gwa* he whistles to him

t!ayaga'^εn I found it; *t!aya'k'* he found it, *dāk'na^ε* since he found it

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

wasgā'p!in I shall make it tight; *wasgā'ʼpʼ* make it tight
k'ap!a'k'ap'naʼn I throw them under (fire, earth); future, *k'ʼaʼpʼ-*
k'ʼa'p'nan
bāʼxō't!an I shall win over him; *bāʼxō'ʼtʼ* win over him! *bāʼxō'ʼtʼgaʼ*
 I won over him
alxī'k!in I shall see him; *alxī'ʼkʼ* see him! (contrast *alxī'ʼgīʼn* I
 saw him; *alxī'ʼkʼ* he saw him)
haʼwīha'nts!in I shall cause it to stop (raining); *haʼwīha'nʼs*
 make it stop raining!
nō'ts!at'gwan next door to each other; *nō'ʼuʼs* next door
haʼīmī'ts!adan t!īmī'ʼs six times 100; *haʼīmī'ʼs* six

Consonant Combinations (§§ 14-17)

§ 14. GENERAL REMARKS

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

§ 15. INITIAL COMBINATIONS

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

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

| | <i>p'</i> | <i>t'</i> | <i>k'</i> | <i>s</i> | <i>x</i> |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>b</i> | — | <i>t'baag-</i> hit | — | <i>sb̄in</i> beaver | ? |
| <i>d</i> | — | — | — | <i>s̄dō'is̄dagwa-</i> put on style | <i>x̄d̄ēl'</i> flute |
| <i>g</i> | — | <i>t'geib-</i> roll | — | <i>sḡi'si</i> coyote | — |
| <i>gw</i> | — | <i>t'gwa'</i> thunder | — | <i>sḡwini'</i> raccoon | — |
| <i>s</i> <i>x</i> | } — | — | — | — | — |
| <i>l</i> | — | — | — | ? | <i>x̄liwi</i> war feathers |
| <i>m</i> | — | <i>t'mila'px</i> smooth | — | <i>sma-im-</i> smile | ? |
| <i>n</i> | — | — | — | <i>s'nā</i> mamma! | <i>x̄ni'k'</i> acorn mush |
| <i>y</i> | — | — | — | — | — |
| <i>w</i> | — | <i>t'wap!at'wap'-</i> blink | [<i>k'w̄ ā a g w-</i> awaken] | <i>swat'g-</i> pursue | ? |

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

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

t!wep!e't!wapx they fly about without lighting; future *dwep'-*
dwa'pxdā^a

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

§ 16. FINAL COMBINATIONS

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

| | <i>p'</i> | <i>t'</i> | <i>k'</i> | <i>l</i> | <i>m</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>s</i> | <i>x</i> |
|-------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>p'</i> | — | <i>ei't'p'</i> ye are | — | <i>bēlp'</i> swan | — | <i>s'a's'anp'</i> stand!(pl.) | — | — |
| <i>t'</i> | — | — | — | <i>sgelewa'tt'</i> he shouted to him | <i>ts'elela'mt'</i> he paints it | <i>p'ā'ant'</i> his liver | — | — |
| <i>k'</i> | <i>xēp'k'</i> he did it | <i>p'ima't'k'</i> my salmon | — | <i>a'lk'</i> silver-side salmon | <i>xa'mk'</i> grizzly bear | <i>dōwma'nk'</i> he will kill him | <i>mīla'sk'</i> he loved her | <i>k'wā'a'xk'</i> he's awake |
| <i>k'w</i> | — | — | — | <i>t'gwe'lk'w</i> rat | ? | <i>yānk'w</i> he took it along | — | — |
| <i>p'k'</i> | — | — | — | <i>s'u'ēalp'k'</i> he sat | — | <i>se'nsanp'k'</i> he whooped | — | — |
| <i>t'k'</i> | — | — | — | <i>dōwma'tt'k'</i> my testicles | <i>xāla'mt'k'</i> my urine | <i>bilga'nt'k'</i> my breast | — | — |
| <i>s</i> | <i>la'ps</i> blanket | — | — | <i>bīls</i> moss | <i>gūms</i> blind | <i>p'te'ns</i> squirrel | — | — |
| | <i>t'geya'px</i> round | — | — | <i>t'geeya'lx</i> it rolls | <i>ya'mx</i> grease | <i>bānx</i> hunger | — | — |
| <i>xk'</i> | <i>des'īpxk'</i> it closed | — | — | <i>gū'lk'alxk'</i> it was blazing | <i>dats'ā'mxk'</i> it hurt | <i>ūgwa'nxk'</i> he drank | — | — |
| <i>px</i> | — | — | — | <i>sgī'īlpx</i> warm your back! | — | ? | — | — |

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

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

$\bar{w}'i\epsilon s\cdot k'$ he laughed

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

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

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

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

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

§ 17. MEDIAL COMBINATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

xɛp'ga^ε I did it; *xɛp'k'* he did it

Contrast, with constant *-k'*:

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

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

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

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

Consonant Processes (§§ 18-24)

§ 18. DROPPING OF FINAL CONSONANTS

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

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

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

Compare:

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

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

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

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

- lāl* she twined basket (= **lāl*w); cf. *lā^alwa^εn* I twine it (that *-w* really belongs to the stem is shown by the forms *lā^awaⁿ* I shall twine it; *lèūxi* twine it for me!)
- k!eļ* basket bucket (= **k!eļ*w); cf. *k!eļwīⁱ* her bucket
- k'aļ* penis (= **k'aļ*w); cf. *k'alwīⁱ* his penis.
- sgelēļ^ε* (= **sgelēļ^εw*) he keeps shouting; cf. *sgelēwa^t* you shout, *sgelwa^lt'e^ε* I shall keep shouting
- alsgālk'a^ε* (= **sgālw^ka^ε*) I turned my head to one side to look at him; cf. *alsgā^alwiⁿ* I shall turn my head to look at him
- alsgelēļxi* (= **sgelēļwxⁱ*) he keeps turning his head to one side to look at me; cf. *alsgalā^aliwi^εn* I keep turning my head to look at him, future *alsgalwalwiⁿ*

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

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

ginī^εk he went somewheres (= ?**gin-i^εkⁿ*)

gelgulu^kw he desired it (= ?**gul-u^kwl*)

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

§ 19. SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLE CONSONANTS

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

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

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

mo't'ek' my son-in-law (= *mo't'* + *-dek'*)

lāk'wōk' he gave him to eat (= *lāg-* + *-k'wōk'*)

dek'iya'k'is if it goes on (= *dek'iya'g-* + *-k'is*)

lī'gwa'n I shall fetch them home (= *lī'g-* + *-gwan*); cf. aorist
līgigwa'n

dī'hīla'k!wemēn I make him glad (= *hīla'k'w* glad + *k'emēn* I make him)

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

gināk'wis if he comes (= *gināg-k'w-k'is*)

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

xemela't'idi do you wish to eat? (= *xemela't' + dī*)

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

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

The corresponding forms of the stem *yana-* GO WILL BRING HOME THE FACT THAT WE ARE HERE REALLY DEALING WITH MORPHOLOGICALLY DISTINCT FORMATIONS:

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

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

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

$t'gunūk'i^ε$ (= $t'gunūk'$ + quotative $-hi^ε$) it became warm, it is said
 $naganā'a k'i^ε$ (= $naganā'a^ε k'$ + quotative $-hi^ε$; see § 22) he always said, it is said

$gwen-he'k'wā^a gw-$ (= reduplicated $he'gw-hā^a gw-$) relate; with accent thrown forward $gwen-hegwā^a gw-an-i-$ (= $hegw-hā^a gw-$); compare, with preserved h , $gwen-hegwe'hagw-an-i$ tell to
 $s'o'wo^ε k'ōp'$ (= $s'o'wo^ε k'-hap'$ = $*s'o'wok!-hap'$) he jumps ($ō = wa$; see § 9) he jumps; compare $s'owo'k'ana^ε n$ I cause him to jump

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

$gana't'i$ (= $gana't'$ + emphatic $-hi$) of just that sort
 $yo't'i$ (= $yo't'$ being + emphatic $-hi$) alive; compare plural $yot'i'hi$
 $he^ε sgū'^uε t'ōk'w$ (= $sgū'^ut!-hak'w$) cut away; compare $he^ε sgō'^u t'an$
 I shall cut it away

s' and x also generally contract with h to s' and x , e. g.:
 $nō^u s'i^ε$ (= $nō^uε s' + -hi^ε$) next door, it is said.

§ 20. CONSONANTS BEFORE x

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

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

$alxī'ixi$ he saw me (= $al-xī'ig-xi$); cf. $alxī'igi^ε n$ I saw him
 $k'wā'^a xde^ε$ I awoke (= $k'wā'^a gw-x-de^ε$); cf. $īk'wā'^a gwi^ε n$ I woke him up
 $gelgulu'xbi^ε n$ I like you (= $-gulu'gw-x-bi^ε n$); cf. $-gulugwa'^ε n$ I like him
 $bā^a dīni'^ε x$ (clouds) spread out on high (= $-dīni'k!-x$); cf. $dī'nīk!a^ε n$ I stretch it out
 $lū^ε xwa'$ to trap (= $lūk!^w-xa'$); cf. $lo'k!wan$ I shall trap (deer)
 $yēxwīnk'$ (= $yēgw-xīnk'$) he will bite me; but $yēxda^ε$ (= $yēgw-x-da^ε$) you will bite me

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

xā^εla'mt'k' my urine; *xala'xamt'^ε* I urinate (cf. *xāⁿ* urine)

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

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

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

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

s'imil'*l* dew (cf. such nouns as *p'i'iyi*'*n* deer)
dak'-*s*'*ō*'*ma*'*l* on the mountain (*s*'*ō*'*m* mountain)
dō'*ma*'*l*'*t*'*k*' my testicles (*dō*'*m* testicles)

With these compare:

dā'-*ts*'*ā*'*wa*'*n* by the ocean (*ts*'*ā*'*ū* deep water)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 22. CATCH DISSIMILATION

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

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

yā'ada^ε when he went (cf. *ya'^ε* he went)
gīnī'ik'da^ε when he went to (cf. *gīnī'^εk'* he went to)
yawa'ida^ε when he spoke (cf. *yawa'^{ie}* he spoke)
loho'ida^ε when he died (cf. *loho'^{ie}* he died)

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

naga'ihī^ε he said, it is said (cf. *naga'^{ie}* he said)
nō^us'i'^ε but, so (he went) next door (cf. *nō^us' next door*).
a'nīs'i'^ε but not (cf. *a'nī^ε* not)
ē'īs'is'i'^ε but no matter how (often) (cf. *ē'īs'i'^ε* even if)
dal^εwī'is'i'^ε but some (cf. *dal^εwī'^ε* sometimes; *-wī'is'i'^ε* is related to *-wī'^ε* as is *yā'ada^ε* to *ya'^ε*)

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

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

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

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

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

but:

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

Other examples of interchange are:

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

ts'!ümūmt'a^{εn} I boil it, *s'ūmt'an* I shall boil it (stem *s'ü^um-t'a-*);
s'omoda'^{εn} I boil it, *s'omda'n* I shall boil it (evidently related stem *s'om-d-*)

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

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

-*t'a*, third person possessive

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

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

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

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

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

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

-*da^ε*, subordinating element

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

dak'wil'i'da on his house

hat'gā'^ada in his country

xā'^asa'lda between his toes

xā'^aha'mda on his back

hawa'nda under him
sgelewa'ldaⁿ I shout to him
ts!elela'mdaⁿ I paint it

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

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

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

lā^alēt'a^s as it became
s'as'inīt'a^s when he stood

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

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

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

ts'ümü'ts'amt'a^εn I always boil it (cf. *s'omoda'^εn* I boil it)
s'a's.ant'e^ε I shall stand; *s'a's.anp'igam* we shall stand; *s'a's.an-*
k'wa to stand

sene'sant'e^ε I whoop; *se'nsant'e^ε* I shall whoop

dē^εwiwi'igank'wide^ε I spread (it) out for myself

dasga'lit'ā^a (grain) will lie scattered about

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

t'ge'its'idā^a (round object) will lie (there)

s'u'k'didā^a (string) will lie curled up

dak't'ek!e'xade^ε I smoke (but future *-xa't'e^ε* because of immediately preceding accent)

§ 24. INORGANIC *h*

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

īt!ana'hi^εn I hold it (aorist stem *t!ana-* + instrumental *-i-*), but future *īt!ani'n* (stem *t!an-*)

dak'-da-hala'hin I shall answer him (future stem *hala-* + instrumental *-i-*), but aorist *dak'-da-hā^ali'^εn* (stem *hā^al-*)

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

wayānha^εn I put him to sleep (cf. same form with change of accent *wa-yā^ana'^εn*)

dā^aagānhī^εn I used to hear about it (cf. *-agani'^εn* I hear it)

liwīlhaut'e^ε I kept looking (cf. *liwila'ut'e^ε* I looked)

xa-it'gī'lt'ga'lhī he broke it in two (cf. with identical *-i-* suffix

xā^asalt'gwi'lt'gwili he broke [somebody's arm] by stepping)

v'mhamk'am he was sent off (also in aorist stem *vimiham-*)

wadōmhik' he killed him with it (stem *dō^um-* + *-i-*)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Grammatical Processes (§§ 26–32)

§ 26. *General Remarks*

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

§ 27. *Prefixation*

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

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

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

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

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

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

wiha`m my father

hami`et` your father

§ 28. Suffixation

Suffixation is the normal method employed in building up actual forms of nouns and verbs from stems. The suffixes in themselves have for the most part very little individuality, some of them being hardly evident at all except to the minute linguistic analyst. The notions they convey are partly derivational of one kind or other. In the verb they express such ideas as those of position, reciprocal action, causation, frequentative action, reflexive action, spontaneous activity, action directed to some one, action done in behalf of some one. From the verb-stem such adjectival and nominal derivations as participles, infinitives, or abstract nouns of action, and nouns of agent are formed by suffixation. In the noun itself various suffixed elements appear whose concrete meaning is practically nil. Other suffixes are formal in the narrower sense of the word. They express pronominal elements for subject and object in the verb, for the possessor in the noun, modal elements in the verb. Thus a word like *t!omõxinik`* WE KILL ONE ANOTHER contains, besides the aorist stem *t!omõ-* (formed from *dõ^um-*), the suffixed elements *-x-* (expressing general idea of relation between subject and object), *-in-* unlauded from *-an-* (element denoting reciprocal action [*-x-in-* = EACH OTHER, ONE ANOTHER]), and *-ik`* (first personal plural subject intransitive aorist). As an example of suffixation in the noun may be given *t!ibagwa`n-t`k`* MY PANCREAS. This form contains, besides the stem *t!iba-*, the suffixed elements *-gw-* (of no ascertainable concrete significance, but employed to form several body-part nouns; e. g., *t!iba`k`^w* PANCREAS 47.17), *-an-* (apparently meaningless in itself and appearing suffixed to many nouns when they are provided with possessive endings), and *-t`k`* (first personal singular possessive).

§ 29. Infixation

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

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

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

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

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

| Verb stem | Aorist stem | Frequentative |
|-----------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| <i>hemg-</i> take out | <i>hemeg-</i> | <i>heme^εmg-</i> |
| <i>ts!a-im-</i> hide | <i>ts!ayam-</i> | <i>ts!aya-im-</i> |
| <i>masg-</i> put | <i>mats!ag-</i> | <i>mats!ā^εsg-</i> |
| <i>yawī-</i> talk | <i>yawa-i-</i> | <i>yāwa-iy-</i> |
| <i>baxm-</i> come | <i>baxam-</i> | <i>baxā^εxm-</i> |

§ 30. Reduplication

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

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

aorist *helel-* (from *he^εl-* sing)

aorist *t!omom-* (from *dō^um-* kill)

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

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

aurist *ts!ümü^umt'a-* (from *s'ü^umt'a-* boil)

usitative aurist *t!ülü^ulg-* (from verb stem *t!ü^ulg-*, aurist *t!ülüg-* follow trail)

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

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

aurist *t!èut!au-* (from *t!èu-* play shinny)

aurist *bot'bad-* (from *bō^ud-* pull out one's hair)

aurist *bā^a- sal-xo(x)xag* come to a stand (pl.); aurist *sāl-xog-ĩ-* stand (pl.)

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

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

aurist frequentative *hogohag-* keep running (from *hō^ug-* run)

aurist frequentative *s'wilis'wal-* tear to pieces; verb stem *s'wil-s'wal-* (from aurist *s'wĩ^ls'wal-* tear; verb stem *s'wĩ^l-*)

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

sgot!osgad- cut to pieces (from verb stem *sgō^ut!-*, aurist *sgō^ud-* cut)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ 31. Vowel-Ablaut

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

dal^ε-wa-p'ū'tlik'^w mixed with (from *p'ōt!*- mix) 178.5

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

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

le'ba'n^x he carries 178.6 (stem *lā^wb-*)

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

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

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

xā^ale'^εsap' belt (cf. *xā^alā^ada^εn* I put it about my waist)

halū^uεxōp' (= *-x^wap'*) shirt (cf. *halō^uεk'* she put on[her dress])

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

lū^εxwagwadinin (= *lūk!^ε-xa-*) I'll trap for him (stem *lōk!^{w-}*)

lū^u'pxagwank' she shall pound with (stone pestle) (cf. *lōbo^o'p'* she pounds them)

k!edeixade^ε I was out picking (cf. *k!adā^εn* I pick them, *k!adāi* he picks them)

ts!eye'mxade^ε I hide things (cf. *ts!ayama^a'εn* I hide it)

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

k!ēt'gwīⁱ'p' pick them for yourself! (stem *k!ā^ad-*)

alts!eyēk'wit' he washed himself with it (cf. *alts!ayāp'* he washed his own face)

llets!ēk'wide^ε I touch myself (cf. *lats!agi^a'εn* I touch him)

k!edēik'wa^εn I pick them for myself (aorist stem *k!adāi-*)

alnū^u'k'wa he painted his own face (stem *nō^ugw-*)

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

p!agānk'wit' he bathed himself

t'gwā^axa'nt'gwide^ε I shall tattoo myself (but *lū^u'gwant'gwide^ε* I trap deer for myself)

xā^a-sgō^u't'gwide^ε I cut myself

īgaxaga'xgwa^εn I scratch myself

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

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

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

gwel-leɪsde^e I shall be lame (cf. *gwel-la'is k!emna'n* I shall make him lame)

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

tlameya'nwɪa^{wɛ} people go along to see her married 178.1 (cf.

tlamayana'^ɛn I take her somewheres to get her married [148.5])

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

gala-b-a'εn I twist it; *p!i'wa-gele-g-i'εn* I drill for fire with it (88.12), *dī'εal-gelegal-a'mdaεn* I tie his hair up into top-knot (172.2)

dā^a-dala-g-a'mdaεn I pierce his ear (22.1); *dā^a-dele-b-i'εn* I stick it through his ear

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

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

s'omoda'εn I boil it (58.10); *ts'ümümt'aεn* I boil it (170.17)

xuma' food 54.4; *xümü'k'deε* I am sated (130.18)

An *a—ü* variation is seen in:

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

Variations between *a* and *i* are:

yawai't'eε I talk (132.3); *yiwiy'a'ut'eε* I keep talking, I converse (194.5); *yiwīn* talking, (power of) speech 138.4

laba'n I shall carry it (124.5); *libin* news (what is carried about from mouth to mouth[?]) 194.9

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

lohoūt'eε I die 184.18; *leheūt'eε* I drift dead ashore (75.5)

xā^a-huk!u'hak'naεn I breathe; *xā^a-hege'hak'naεn* I breathe (79.2)

t!os'ō'u little 180.20; *al-t!eεs'i't'* little-eyed 94.3

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

p!eyēnt'eε I lie 71.5 (future *p!è't'eε* [146.9]); *gwen-p!iyi'nk'waεn* I lie on pillow (future *gwen-p!ik'wan*)

t'geya'lx it rolls; *a'l-t'gī'ya'lx* tears rolled from (his) eyes 138.25

§ 32. Consonant-Ablaut

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I. The Verb (§§ 33–83)

§ 33. *Introductory*

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

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

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

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

1. *Verbal Prefixes* (§ § 34-38)

§ 34. GENERAL REMARKS

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

ī-p!ī'-nō'uk'wa^εn I warm my hands

WITH THE HAND:

ī-^εō^udini'^εn I hunt for it with the hand (= I am feeling around for it)

IN THE HAND:

p'im-ī-hō^ugwagwa'^εn I run with salmon in my hand

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

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

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

I-hand-hunt-for-it

I-salmon-hand-run-with

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

| Object. | Locative adverb. | Instrument. | Modal. | Verb proper. |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|---|
| <i>bēm</i> - sticks | <i>wa</i> - together | <i>ēi</i> - hand | | <i>t'oxo'riēn</i> I gather (them) (= I gather sticks together) |
| | <i>heē</i> - away | <i>wa</i> - with it | | <i>wāagwi'n</i> she is bought (= she is brought with it) 176.17 |
| <i>gwān</i> - road | <i>ha</i> - in | | <i>yaxa</i> - continuously | <i>t'iūūūlga'ēn</i> I follow (it) (= I keep following the trail) |
| <i>dan</i> - rocks | <i>bāa</i> - up | <i>ēi</i> - hand | | <i>sget!e'sgidi'ēn</i> I lifted (them) (= I lifted up the rocks) |
| | <i>han</i> - across | <i>waya</i> - knife | | <i>swilswa'lhī</i> he tore him (= he tore him open with a knife) 73.3 |
| | <i>dak'</i> - above | <i>da</i> - mouth | <i>wala'ēsina</i> - truly | <i>hāali'ndaē</i> I answering him (= I did answer him) |
| | <i>xa</i> - between, in two | <i>i</i> - hand | <i>mī'īēwa</i> - probably | <i>sgī'ībi'ēn</i> I cut him (= I'll probably cut him through) 31.13 |

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

ba-īde'ēdidi'nīk!at' did you stretch it out? (= *ba-i*-out + *de*-lip, in front + *di* interrogative particle + *dī'nīk!at'* you stretched it)

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

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

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

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

§ 35. INCORPORATED NOUNS

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

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

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

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

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

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

- xā^a-be^e-nō^uk'wa^εn* I warm my back in (really = with) the sun (be^e sun); cf. 188.20
he^ε-xi-le'me^εk'i he destroyed them with water (*xi* water)
he^ε-p'īⁱ-leme^εk'i he destroyed them with fire (*p'īⁱ* fire) 98.12
xa-dan-t'gīⁱlt'ga'lhī he broke it with a rock (*dan* rock) 24.4
gwen-wayā-sgō^ut'i he cut their necks off with his knife (*wayā^a wa'* with his knife, apart from verb-structure) 144.5, 22
xā^a-be^εm-k'lwō^ut'k'lwidi^εn I broke it with a stick (be^εm stick)
dā^a-he^εl-yebebi^εn I sing for him, literally, I engage (?) his ears with song (*he^εl* song; *al-yebeb-ī-* show to)
dā^a-t'mū^ugal-lewe^εliwi^εn I shake my ears with twisted shells (attached to them) (*t'mū^ugal* twisted shell) 122.1
dīⁱ-k'al-p'ili'p'ili^εn I squash them with my penis (*k'al* penis) 73.14
de-ye't'-baxamaḡwana'k' we came crying, literally, we came having (our) mouths with tears (*yet'* tears)
yap!a-dawjā^a-ts!aya'k'i he shot people with his shaman's spirit (*dawjā^a'ak'vda* his shaman-spirit, apart from verb-structure); cf. 164.14

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

he^εl-gel-gulugwa'^εn I desire to sing (literally, I-song-breast-desire;
he^εl song)

he^εl-yununa'^εn I sing a song (106.7)

wili-wa-i-t!a'nida^ε you shall keep house (literally, you-house-
 together-hand-will-hold; *wili* house) 28.13

ābai^ε xuma-k!emna'^εs cook (literally, in-the-house food-maker;
xuma food) 54.3

wai-s'ügü's'üxgwa'^εn I am sleepy (literally, I-sleep-am-confused ?-
 having; *wai* sleep)

p!iⁱ-da-t!agāi he built a fire (*p!iⁱ* fire) 96.17

p!iⁱ-bā^a-yānk'^w he picked up the fire (literally, he-fire-up-went-
 having) 96.25

xi-^εūgwa'nk' he will drink water (*xi* water) 162.17

s'ix-ligi'k'^w he brought home venison (*s'ix* venison) 134.4

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

wai¹ sleep, to sleep

he^l- song, to sing

se^l- black paint, to paint

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

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

bā^a-be^ε-k!iyī'ik'da^ε forenoon (literally, up-sun-going, or when-it-goes) (*bā^a*- is never used as independent adverb, so that *be^ε*-sun must here be considered part of the verb-complex)

nō^u-be^ε-k!iyī'ik'da^ε afternoon (literally, down-river [i. e., west]-sun-going)

mot'-wō'k' as son-in-law he visits wife's parents (= *mot'*- son-in-law + *wō'k'*, probably identical with *wōk'* he arrived) 17.13, in which *mot'*- must be considered an integral part of the verb, because unprovided with pronominal affix (cf. *mo't'ā^a* his son-in-law), and, further, because the whole form may be accompanied by a non-incorporated subject (e. g., *bo'mxi mot'wō'k'* Otter visited his wife's parents, literally, something like: Otter son-in-law-arrived)

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

dā^a-ts'!lei-sgalawi^εn I looked at them out of the corners of my eyes (literally, I-alongside-eye-looked-at-them)²; cf. *dā^a-ts'!e-leidē* alongside my eyes

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

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

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

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

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

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

ha-p!v̄ⁱ-ts!ü'lük!iⁿ I set it on fire (*p!v̄ⁱ* with fire) 73.9

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

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

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

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

§ 36. BODY-PART PREFIXES

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

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

| Prefix. | Body. | Local. | Noun. | Phrase. |
|--|--|---|--|---|
| <i>da</i> k'- { <i>da</i> -, <i>de</i> - <i>de</i> - | head mouth, lips | over, above | <i>da'g-ar-dek'</i> my head <i>dēx-dek'</i> | <i>da</i> k'- <i>wil</i> over the house |
| <i>dā</i> a- <i>s-in</i> - <i>gwen</i> - | ear nose neck, nape | in front alongside | <i>dāa-n-x-de'k'</i> <i>s-in-ī-t-x-de'k'</i> | <i>dē</i> t' <i>gwa</i> in front of himself <i>dāa-gēla'm</i> along the river |
| <i>ī</i> - <i>xā</i> a- <i>dī</i> i- <i>gē</i> l- <i>dī</i> ʔ- | hand back, waist back breast anus | in back, behind | <i>ī-ū-x-de'k'</i> <i>xāa-ha'm-t'k'</i> | <i>gwen-t'gāū</i> on east side of the land |
| <i>ha</i> - <i>gwē</i> l- <i>la</i> - <i>sal</i> - <i>al</i> - | woman's private parts leg belly foot eye, face | between, in two on top of facing in rear | <i>haū-x-dēk'</i> <i>gwēl-x-dēk'</i> <i>?lāa-excrement</i> <i>sal-x-dēk'</i> <i>[ts' l' elēi-t'k' my eye]</i> <i>[li'ugw-ax-dēk' my face]</i> | <i>ha</i> ziya' in the water <i>gwēl-ziya'</i> under water <i>La-t'gāū</i> Uplands (= ? front of the country) <i>al-s' ōu ma'l</i> to the mountain |
| <i>dī</i> ʔ <i>al</i> - <i>gwenha-u</i> - | forehead (= above eye) nape (=neck under) | to. at | <i>dīʔa'l-l'k'</i> <i>gwenha-u-x-de'k'</i> | <i>dī</i> ʔ <i>a'l</i> da at his forehead <i>gwenha-udē</i> at my nape |

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

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

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

al-^εyowo' he-eye-is, i. e., he looks 62.6

dā^{a-ε}yowo' he-ear-is, i. e., he listens, pays attention 96.9

bā^{a-ε}gel-^εyowo' he-up-breast-is, i. e., he lies belly up 140.5

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

aldēmxiḡam we shall assemble (186.7)

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

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

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

1. *ḍak'*-

(a) HEAD, WITH HEAD, IN HEAD:

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

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

dak'īlats!agi'^{εn} I touched top of his head

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

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

dak'k'īwi'k'auk'wa^{εn} I brandish it over my head

(b) ON TOP OF, ABOVE:

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

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

dak'īmīmɔgwa't' it (i. e., tree) falls on you (108.12)

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

wilī dak'yā'ngwa'^{εn} I pass house (?literally, I go with house above me) (150.8)

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

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

dak'hene'da'^{εn} I wait for him

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

2. *da-*, *de-*

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

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

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

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

(a²):

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

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

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

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

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

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

de^εik'ala'k'ilin (house) was scratched on door 154.1, 2, 3
de^εise'^εk' he opened door of house (cf. *alse'^εk'* he bowed to
him) 63.12

de^εip'owo'^εk' he bent it

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

dewiliwa'lsi she is fighting me 27.3

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

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

gasa'hi de'hitsiā^aga'^εs fast stepper (literally, quickly ahead-
stepper)

ba-ide^εdinixia^{uε} they marched by in regular order (literally,
they out-ahead-stretched) 144.14

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

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

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

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

dat!agā^εn I build a fire (96.17)

ǰaldatc!u'tū^{uε}k' he caught fire 98.3

ǰaldetc!ū'tū^{uε}xi I caught fire

degūlū'k'ala it glows (142.1); 188.15

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

de^εit'a'mak!^{iε}n I put out the fire

dat'ama'^εx the fire goes out

dat!abaga'^εn I finish it (176.6)

dasgayana'^εn I lie down

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

3. *dā^a-*

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

dā^ats!ayāp' he washed his ear

dā^εits'ama'k' he squeezed his ears

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

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

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

- dā^ale^lagwa^εn* I listen to him (55.1; 96.2; 146.5)
dā^ats^llēm^xde^ε I hear big noise 90.21
anī^ε ge dā^εyowo^ε he did not listen to it (literally, he not there ear-was) 96.9
dā^asgek^leī^ha^εn I kept listening (102.3)
dā^ayehè^r he went where he heard (noise of people singing or gambling) 106.10.
dā^adele^lpⁱ he stuck it across his ear
dā^adalaga^lmtⁱ he made holes in his ears
dīⁱdā^at^lbe^lesk^tbagams they had their hair tied on sides of head
 (*dīⁱdā^a-* probably as incorporated phrase, over ears) 142.17
dā^εībo^ltⁱbidi^εn I pull out his hair (from side of head) (194.7)

(b) ALONG, ON SIDE:

wī^llaū dā^awat^lbā^agamdīna^ε arrows shall be tied along (their length) with it (i. e., sinew) 28.1

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

- s'in^εigile^εsgwa* he scratched his own nose 14.11; 15.7
s'int^layagi^εn I smell it (literally, I nose-find it) (160.20)
s'indalaga^lmtⁱ he made holes in septum (cf. under *dā^a-*) 22.1
s'inlō^lukⁱ he stuck it into nose
s'inde^lle^lp^gwa he stuck it up into his own nose
s'ingeyaⁿ he turned away his nose
s'inyuwo^εs he dodged with his nose (as when fly lights; cf. under *da-*)
s'int^lūwūk^lde^ε I feel warm in my nose
s'inxi^lnī^lxanp^lde^ε I sniff
s'inwī^lī^lk^lap^lde^ε I blow my nose
als'inlō^luxa^εn they meet each other (24.12)

5. *gwen-*

(a) NECK:

- gwensgō^lu^lda^εn* I cut his neck (144.2, 3, 5, 22)
gwents^layaga^εn I washed his neck
ha-ugwenyūnu^lεyini^εn I swallow it greedily (cf. 126.10)
gwenlō^lukⁱ he stuck it in his throat (cf. under *s'in-*) 25.4
gwen^εīlats^lagi^εn I touched back of his neck
gwenwayanagānhi he swung his knife over their necks 144.2

(b) BACK, BEHIND:

- gweⁿεalyowo^ε* he looked back
gwenyewēt^le^ε I went back (152.13; 188.19)
gweⁿlīwila^uε he looks back (on his tracks) 59.14; 94.9
gwenhegwā^lagwanhi he related it to him 17.11

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

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

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

- īts!ayāp'* he washed his hand
īp!īⁿō^{wk}'wa^{εn} I warm my hands
wīla'u *īhoyodagwa'^{εn}* I dance with arrow in hand
nāx *īhele^εlagwa'^{εn}* I sing with pipe in hand
īgīⁱna he took it 15.1; 31.8; 44.8; 47.9
īk'wā^agwi^{εn} I woke him up 16.4
īgaxagixi'^{εn} I scratch him
īgis·igis·i'^{εn} I tickle him
īhegwe'hak'^wna^{εn} I am working
xa^εīts·!iwi^t' he split it open 26.6
īheme^m he wrestled with him 26.11; 27.10,11
īyonō^{wεk}' he pulled it
īguyū'^{εk}' she pushed her 55.14
s·ēlēk'^w *ilū'pxagwank'* she shall pound with acorn pestle 55.9
he^εīleme'^{εk}' he killed them off 55.1; 144.6.
it!^aut!ⁱwi^{εn} I caught hold of her (29.12; 140.15)
it'^{wi}yili'^{εn} I make it whirl up
al^εyulw'yili^{εn} I rub it
it'^gwanye'^{εgit}' you enslaved her 16.14

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

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

7. $xā^a$ -, (xa -)

(a) BACK, WAIST:

- xā^ats!ayāp'* he washed his back
p!ⁱxā^adat'guyū'^{iεsgwa} his back got blistered 25.11
xā^εīlats!agi'^{εn} I touched his back
xā^ap!ⁱnō^{wk}'wa he warmed his back 188.20
xā^alā^adaⁿ I put (belt) about my waist

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

- xā^ap!^aits·!iudiⁿ* I shall split it by throwing (stone) down on it (140.7)
xā^awīsā^a go-between (in settling feuds) 178.11, 13, 18
xā^asgo'^wda^{εn} I cut, saw it (21.2, 4)
xa^εīsgī'ⁱp'sgibik'^w (bodies) cut through 21.2

xā^adant'gī'lt'ga'łhi he broke it with rock 24.4

xā^at'be'εk't'bagams it is all tied together 27.13

xā^asalt'gwe'lt'gwili he broke it by stepping on it 31.4, 5

xā^abe^εmk!ō^ut'k!idi^εn I broke it with stick

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

8. *dīⁱ-*

(a) BACK:

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

dīⁱts!ayāp' he washed himself in back of body

dīⁱhāx his back is burning

dīⁱt'bō^uk!a'łxde^ε I have warts on my back 102.20

dīⁱdū^ugwaⁿk' she will wear it (i. e., skirt) 55.9

(b) ABOVE, ON TOP:

dīⁱhe'liya sleeping on board platform 13.2

dīⁱdā^at'bā^agamt'gwide^ε I tie my hair on sides of my head (see under *dā^a-*) (140.11; 142.17)

dīⁱεalgelegala'mda^εn I tie his hair up into top-knot (172.2)

dīⁱεuyu'ts!amda^εn I fool him (aorist *uyuts!-* laugh)

dīⁱhinxō^ugi^εn I scare him

dīⁱmās (earth) is lit up (78.1)

dīⁱhiliⁱgwa^εn I am glad 22.2

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

dīⁱp'ili'p'ili^εn I squash (yellow-jackets) (74.3); contrast *gel-bēm-p'ili'p'ili^εn* I whip him on his breast (literally, I-breast-stick-whip-him) (cf. 76.1, 2, 3)

dīⁱt!iyiⁱsi^εn I mash them

ba-idīgwiⁱbⁱ'k'wap' it popped all around 27.14

dīⁱt'gumu't'gimi^εn I squeezed and cracked many insects (such as fleas)

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

9. *gel-*

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

gelts!ayāp' he washed his breast

gel^εilats!agi^εn I touched his breast

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

gelguluḡwa^εn I desire, want it 32.5, 6, 7

gelhewe'hau he thought 44.11; 124.3; 142.20

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

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

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

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

geldulu'k'de^ε I am getting lazy

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

(b) FACING:

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

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

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

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

10. *dī^ε-*

(a) ANUS:

dī^εts!ayāp' he washed his anus

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

dī^εhāx his anus is burning 94.13

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

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

(b) IN REAR, BEHIND:

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

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

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

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

abaidī^εyowō'^εda^ε coming into house to fight (*abai-* into house; *yowō'^εda^ε* being) 24.14

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

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

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

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

dī^εk!ololaⁿ (tree) was dug under 48.5

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

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

p!a-idi^εsgimiⁱsgam they set (house posts) down into ground

11. *ha-*

(a) WOMAN'S PRIVATE PARTS:

hats!ayāpⁱ she washed her private parts

ha^εilats!agi^εn he touched her private parts

ha^εīwesgaⁱhak^w she spread apart her legs 26.4

(b) IN:

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

(dēxda) *halō^ukⁱ* he stuck it into (his mouth)

(sⁱnīxda) *hadeleⁱpⁱ* he stuck it up into (his nose)

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

(gwān) *hat!ūlūgwa^εn* I follow in (trail) (96.8,9)

halō^ukⁱ she put on (her dress), they put on (their skins, garments) 160.6

ha^εihūⁱlū^whal they skinned them 160.5

haya-utⁱgeⁱnets!^aεn I put on (my vest)

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

12. *gwel-*

(a) LEG, IN LEG, WITH LEG:

gwelts!ayāpⁱ he washed his legs

gwelleⁱye^εsde^ε I am lame

gwellō^uεk^w put on (your leggings)!

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

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

(b) UNDER, AWAY FROM VIEW:

gwelmats!^akⁱ they put (food) away (sc., under platforms) 124.22; (132.8)

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

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

13. *la-*

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

lats!ayãp' he washed himself in front of body

- (b) BURST, RIP OPEN:

lat'bã'ax it burst 24.17

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

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

la^εwayat'bã'agi^εn I rip it open with knife (*waya* knife, as incorporated instrument)

14. *sal-*

- (a) FOOT, WITH FOOT:

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

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

salts!ayãp' he washed his feet

salxugī they are standing 63.2

he^εsalt'gūn kick him off! (24.17)

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

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

salyuwo'^εs he suddenly lifted up his foot (as when frightened) (cf. under *da-* and *s'in-*)

salp!ī^εnō'uk'wa^εn I warmed my feet

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

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

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

where *his* TRYING can not occupy an initial position

al-dī-yok!oya't' did you know him?

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

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

wāda lō^ugwa'ēn to-him I-thrust-it, where *wāda* definitely expresses a local pronominal idea TO, AT HIM.

Compare:

alō^ugwi'ēn I stretched it out to him

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

(a) FACE, EYE:

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

alxīⁱgi'ēn I see, look at him (*-xīⁱg-* never occurs alone) 186.7;
188.11.

algayaⁿ he turned his face

alyebēbi'ēn I showed it to him (77.8)

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

alts!ayaga'ēn I washed his face (64.5)

mānx alnū^uk'wa he painted his (own) face

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

(b) TO, AT:

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

- alp'oāp'auhi he blew on it 15.1
alhūyūx^εde^ε I go hunting (42.1; 58.14; 70.2; 126.21)
algesegasa't'e^ε I was washing
alheme'k' they met him 24.11
al^εxlep!e'xlap' he mashed it up into dough-like mass 94.11
al^εits!ō^udi^εn I touch, reach it
alse'^εgi^εn I bowed to him (172.10)

16. *dī^εal-* FOREHEAD:

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

17. *gwenha-u-* NAPE:

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

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

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

la- burst, rip open

al- look, see

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

§ 37. LOCAL PREFIXES

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

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

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

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

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

hanyada't'e^ε I swim across

hangwidi'k'^w he threw it across 120.22

han^εwa^εalx'i'k' he looked through it

hanyewe'^{iε} he went back across 178.16

gwān-hansgō'^usde^ε I lie stretched across the trail (literally, I-road-across-cut) (148.8)

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

ha-ugwenyut!u'yidi^{εn} I swallow it down greedily, making grunting noise (126.10)

ha-usāk'^w he paddled him down river (*bā^{a-}* up river)

ha-uyowo't'e^ε I sweat (literally, I-under-am)

ei p!a-ihā'-ut'gū^upx canoe upset 60.8

ha-uhana'^{εs} it stopped (raining) 196.8

3. **he^{εε-}** OFF, AWAY:

he^εileme'^{εk'} he killed them off 14.13; 110.21; 144.6

he^{εs}gō'^uda^{εn} I cut it off (44.4); 72.10; (92.14,16)

he^{εs}gwidi'k'^w he threw it away

he^{εs}iūk'wa he went away from him (23.12; 146.18)

he^{εs}salt'gūnt'gini^{εn} I kick him off (24.17)

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

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

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

5. **hā^εya-** ON BOTH SIDES:

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

6. **hā^ε** FAR OFF:

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

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

7. **me^ε-** HITHER:

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

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

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

8. **wī-** AROUND:

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

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

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

10. **wa-** TOGETHER:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

p!ai^εit!ana^εhi^εn I held him down
p!a-igwidi^εk^εw he threw it down
p!a-iwaya^ε he went to lie down, to sleep (lit., he down-slept) 25.9
p!a-ilohot^εe^ε I fell down (literally, I down-died)
p!a-iyewe^εi^ε (arrow) fell down back 22.5; 48.14
p!a-i^εa^εlyowo^ε he looked down 26.14
p!aiyowo^ε they sat down (literally, they down-were) 56.2
p!a-isgaya^εpxde^ε I lay down

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

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

abaigini^εk^ε he went inside 25.8; 27.7,13; 64.3
abaihiwili^εu^ε he ran inside 16.12
aba-iwōk^ε they went into house 29.6; (44.7); 160.19
aba-iyowōt^εe^ε I stay at home
abaits!^εa^εk^εts!^εa^εk^ε he stepped into house 31.3

15. *bam-* UP INTO AIR

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

bamgwidi^εk^εw he threw it up
gelbamgwidi^εk^εw he threw it up
dīibamgwidi^εk^εw he threw it up
gelbamsāk^εw he shot it up 22.5
gelbam^εa^εlyowo^ε he looked up
gelba^εms^εi^εulī he was sitting up (in tree) 48.7

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

xamalts!ayāp^ε he washed himself in river
xamgwidi^εk^εw he threw it into river (33.6); 108.5
xamhiwili^εu^ε he ran to river 29.13; 94.16
xa^εmhilāp^εiauk^ε they became in river (=were drowned) 166.16
xam^εa^εlyowo^ε he looked down from top of mountain 124.4 (contrast *p!ai^εa^εlyowo^ε* he looked down from ground 26.14)

§ 38. INSTRUMENTAL *wa-*

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

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

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

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

but:

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

Examples of instrumental *wa-* are:

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

(*xī'*) *wa^εū^ugwa'nhī* I drink (water) with it

(*yap!a*) *wat!omomi'^εn* I kill (people) with it (but *yap!a t!omoma'^εn* I kill people)

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

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

se^l-wats!elelamda^εn I write with it

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

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

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

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

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

§ 39. GENERAL REMARKS

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

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

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

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

| Verb base | Meaning | Aorist stem |
|--------------|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>hem-</i> | 1. mock 2. wrestle | <i>hemeham-</i> <i>hemem-</i> |
| <i>hegw-</i> | 1. work 2. relate | <i>hegwehagw-</i> <i>hegw(h)āagw-</i> , <i>hegwe-</i> <i>hagw-</i> |
| <i>heen-</i> | 1. be finished 2. wait for | <i>henen-</i> <i>henee-</i> |
| <i>dāng-</i> | 1. find 2. build fire | <i>t!ayag-</i> <i>t!agāi-</i> |

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

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

t!omōm he killed him
naga` he said to him
-hāl he answered him
ō`ut` he hunted for him

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

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

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

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

| Sing. verb-stem | Pl. verb-stem | Sing. form | Pl. form |
|-------------------------------|------------------|---|--|
| <i>s'as'-</i> stand | <i>sal-zogw-</i> | <i>s'as'inī</i> he stands <i>bāa-sāasa'sde</i> (= <i>sāas-sas-</i>) I come to a stand | <i>sal-zogwī</i> they stand <i>bāasal-ro'ziginak'</i> (= <i>zog-zag-</i>) we come to a stand |
| <i>s'u^sal-</i> sit | <i>al-zalīi</i> | <i>s'u^swilū'e</i> (= <i>s'u^salī-</i>) I am seated | <i>al-zalīyana'k'</i> we are seated |

It is interesting to observe that, while *STAND* and *SIT* are intransitive in the singular, the plural stems *sal-xog^w-* and *al-xalīⁱ-* make transitive forms with a third personal object (*-ana^k'* first person plural aorist transitive, *-i^k'* intransitive; cf. *t!omomana^k'* we kill him, but *s^asⁱnīpⁱk[']* we stand and *s^uwīlīpⁱk[']* we are seated, dwell, stay).

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

moyūgw-a[']n-t[']e^ε I am spoiled, and *moyūgw-an-a[']εn* I spoil him
līgī-n-t[']e^ε I rest, and *līgīⁱ-n-a[']εn* I rest him
k![!]ūwū[']ε they ran away in flight, and *k![!]ūwū* he sowed, threw them about

Certain forms are alike for both transitive and intransitive; e. g., second person plural subject: *k![!]ūwūwa[']t[']p[']*.

§ 40. TYPES OF STEM-FORMATION

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

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

Table of Types of Stem-Formation

| Type No. | Formula verb-stem | Formula aorist stem | Example verb-stem | Example aorist stem |
|----------|---|---|--|---|
| 1 | <i>v+c</i> | <i>vv+c</i> | <i>ob-</i> dig up | <i>ōub-</i> |
| 2 | <i>v+(c)</i> | <i>v+c+v</i> | <i>yo-</i> be | <i>yowo-</i> |
| 3 | <i>v+c+c₁</i> | <i>v+c!+v+c₁</i> | { <i>ūits!</i> - laugh <i>masg-</i> put | <i>ūyūits!</i> - <i>matslag-</i> |
| 4a | <i>vv+c</i> | <i>v+c+v+i</i> | <i>t'āag-</i> cry | <i>t'āgai-</i> |
| 4b | <i>v+c+v</i> | <i>v+c+v+i</i> | <i>loho-</i> die | <i>lohoi-</i> |
| 5 | <i>v+c+v</i> | <i>vv+c</i> | <i>yana-</i> go | <i>yāan-</i> |
| 6 | <i>vv+c!</i> | <i>vv+c</i> | <i>p'ōt!</i> - mix | <i>p'ōud-</i> |
| 7a | <i>c+vv+c₁</i> | <i>c!+v+c₁+v</i> | <i>deeb-</i> arise | <i>t!ebe-</i> |
| 7b | <i>c+vv+c₁</i> | <i>c!+v+c₁+v+i</i> | <i>dāugv-</i> wear | <i>t!ūgūi-</i> |
| 8 | <i>c+vv+c₁</i> | <i>c!+v+c₁+v+c₁</i> | <i>gōul-</i> dig | <i>k!olol-</i> |
| 9 | <i>c+vv+c₁</i> | <i>c!+v+y+v+c₁</i> | <i>dāag-</i> find | <i>t!ayag-</i> |
| 10a | <i>c+v(+c₁)</i> | <i>c+v+c(+c₁)</i> | <i>lōu-</i> play | <i>lōul-</i> |
| 10b | <i>c+v+c₁</i> | <i>c+v+c₁+c(+v)</i> | <i>sana-</i> fight | <i>saans-</i> |
| 11 | <i>c+v+c₁+c</i> | <i>c+v+c₁+v+c</i> | <i>yawv-</i> talk | <i>yawai-</i> |
| 12 | <i>c+vv+c₁</i> | <i>c+vv+c₁+c+a+c₁</i> | <i>t!ēu-</i> play shinny | <i>t!ēut!au-</i> |
| 13a | <i>c+v+c₁+c+a+c₁</i> | <i>c+v+c₁+v+c+a+c₁</i> | <i>sensan-</i> whoop | <i>senesan-</i> |
| 13b | <i>c+v+c₁+c!+a+c₁</i> | <i>c+v+c₁+v+c!+a+c₁</i> | <i>dūll!al-</i> stuff with | <i>dūllū!al-</i> |
| 13c | | <i>c+v+c₁+v+c+c₁</i> | | <i>lobolb-</i> be accustomed to pound (also <i>lobolab-</i>) |
| 14 | <i>v+c</i> | <i>v+c+v+n</i> | <i>zeeb-</i> do | <i>zeben-</i> |
| (15a) | — | <i>-ī</i> | <i>sas'an-</i> stand | <i>sas'inī-</i>) |
| (15b) | <i>-as</i> | <i>-ī</i> | <i>dink!as-</i> lie spread out | <i>dink!ī-</i>) |
| (16) | <i>v+c+c₁+i</i> | <i>v+c+v+c₁</i> | <i>k!alsi-</i> be lean | <i>k!alās-</i>) |

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Brackets indicate an inorganic element.

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

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

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

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

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

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

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|--|---|
| <i>ī-t!ani'n</i> I shall hold him (28.11) | <i>ī-t!ana'hi^{en}</i> I held him 73.16 |
| <i>wa-k!ō^uya'n</i> I shall go with him | <i>wa-k!oyō^{en}</i> I went with him (33.15) |
| <i>o'sbin</i> (= ? ok-s-) I shall give it to you (178.15) | <i>ogu'sbi^{en}</i> I gave it to you 23.3 |
| <i>oina'n</i> I shall give it | <i>oyona'^{en}</i> I gave it (180.20) |
| <i>yāl^xaldan</i> I shall lose it (188.18) | <i>yāl^xalda^{en}</i> I lost it (77.10) |
| <i>yo't'e^e</i> I shall be (33.10) | <i>yowōt'e^e</i> I was (42.1) |
| <i>nāk'ink'</i> he will say to him (94.16) | <i>naga'</i> he said to him 180.7 |
| <i>da-sgāip^{xde}</i> I shall lie down | <i>da-sgaya'p^{xde}</i> I am lying down |
| <i>t'ū^uga'st</i> it will get hot | <i>t'ūwū'^k</i> it got hot 94.15 |
| <i>s'omda'n</i> I shall cook it | <i>s'omoda'^{en}</i> I cooked it (58.10) |

Examples illustrating the intrusive *-a-* are:

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|---|---|
| <i>bila'ut'e^e</i> I shall jump (160.17) | <i>biliūt'e^e</i> I jumped ¹ (45.14) |
| <i>mīlada'n</i> I shall love her | <i>mīlīda'^{en}</i> I love her |
| <i>kliya'k'de^e</i> I shall come 196.1 | <i>-k!iyi'k'de^e</i> I came (156.24) |
| <i>gina'k'de^e</i> I shall go somewhere 14.3 | <i>gini'k'de^e</i> I went somewhere 21.10 |
| <i>dūwa'k'de^e</i> I shall be good | <i>dūwūk'de^e</i> I was good (146.7) |

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

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

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

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

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

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

Such forms as *wa-k!oyō^εn* are only apparently opposed to the rule (see § 65).

TYPE 3. Verb-stem *v + c + c₁*; aorist *v + c! + v + c₁*. The most satisfactory test of a verb of this type is the intervocalic fortis consonant of the aorist stem as contrasted with the corresponding non-fortis consonant of the verb-stem. As only the minority of base-final consonant-clusters begin with a consonant that is capable of being changed to a fortis, there are in the material available only a few verbs to which the test can be applied. Those showing an intervocalic fortis (changed from non-fortis) in the aorist stem are:

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|---|--|
| <i>ī-lasgi'n</i> I shall touch it | <i>ī-lats!agi'^εn</i> I touched it |
| <i>masga'n</i> I shall put it (102.15) | <i>mats!aga'^εn</i> I put it 74.13 |
| <i>wismada'^ε</i> you will move | <i>wits'lima't'</i> you moved 148.16 |
| <i>yo'k'yan</i> I shall know it (162.6) | <i>yok!oya'^εn</i> I knew it 50.5 |
| <i>lop'dia'^{uε}t'</i> it will rain | <i>lop!odia'^{uε}</i> it rained 152.11 |

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

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|--|--|
| <i>t!amyana'n</i> I shall go to get her married (150.5,19) | <i>t!amayana'^εn</i> I went to get her married (148.5) |
| <i>ts!a-uya'^εs</i> fast runner 138.2 | <i>ts!awaīt'^ε</i> I ran fast |
| <i>dī^ε-ū'its'!amt'</i> fool him! | <i>dī^εüy'uts'!amda^εn</i> I fooled him |
| <i>baxma't'e^ε1</i> (= <i>baxm-</i>) I shall come | <i>baxamīt'^ε</i> I came (114.16) |
| <i>ga-iwa'n</i> I shall eat it 128.18 | <i>gayawa'^εn</i> I ate it 30.11 |
| <i>moigwana'n</i> I shall spoil it | <i>moyūgwana'^εn</i> I spoiled it (31.12) |
| <i>yo'^{uε}snan</i> I shall scare him (186.10) | <i>yowo'^εsna^εn</i> I scared him (186.10) |
| <i>malgini'n</i> I shall tell him | <i>malagini'^εn</i> I told him (30.15) |
| <i>ba-i-xilgwi'n</i> I shall snatch it out | <i>ba-i-xilgwi'^εn</i> I snatched it out (33.4) |

¹ This verb clearly belongs to Type 3 because of constant *-a-* following *-zm-*. Had it belonged to Type 2 it would have assumed the form **baxa'mt'e^ε*.

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|---|--|
| <i>gwel-leisde^e</i> I shall be lame | <i>gwel-le'ye^ssde^e</i> I am lame |
| { <i>dawit'e^e</i> I shall fly (166.18) | <i>dawait'e^e</i> I flew (166.18) |
| { <i>da-uya'^es</i> flyer | |
| <i>ba-i-hemga'n</i> I shall take (food) out (16.10) | <i>ba-i-hemega'^en</i> I took (food) out (58.9; 118.12) |
| <i>han-gi'lba'n</i> I shall put (beam) across | <i>han-giliba'^en</i> I put (beam) across (176.3) |
| <i>ba-i-k!ā'si'n</i> I shall take it out | <i>ba-i-k!ala'si'^en</i> I took it out (25.4) |
| <i>p'elga'n</i> I shall go to war against them (124.19) | <i>p'elega'^en</i> I went to war against them (110.4) |
| <i>yamda'n</i> I shall ask him (70.6) | <i>yamada'^en</i> I asked him (56.3) |
| <i>yim'saldan</i> I shall dream about him | <i>yimi'salda'^en</i> I dreamed about him 186.3 |
| <i>ha-u-ha'n^esda^a</i> it will stop (rain- ing) (198.9) | <i>ha-u-hana'^es</i> it stopped (rain- ing) 196.8 |
| <i>yō'ga'n</i> I shall marry her (192.16) | <i>yowoga'^en</i> I married her (43.3) |

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

From the point of view of vocalic quantity the verbs of Type 3 fall into the same two classes as those of Type 2—such as have a short vowel in the stem (*tlamy-*, *tslawy-*, *malg-*, *p'elg-*, *hants!-*) and such as have a long vowel (*ūits!-*, *gīlb-*, *k!ā'als*), these latter being apparently much less numerous than in Type 2. The quantity of both the stem vowels of the aorist is regularly short, even when the verb-stem vowel is long (*gilib-*, *k!alas-*); only rarely is the second vowel of the aorist stem long (*leye^es-*, *ūyū^ūts!-*). The accent of stressed stem vowels follows the same rules as in the case of verbs of Type 3 (*dawait'e^e*, *han-gili'p'* with rising or raised pitch; but *hana'^es*, *he'ⁱe-x-dā^a* HE WILL BE LEFT OVER, *ūyū'^ūe^s-de^e* I LAUGH, with falling accent because of the glottal catch).

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

t'agā^ana'^εn I make him cry

while in certain other transitive derivatives it is preserved:

t'agayagwa'^εn I cry having it

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

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|--|---|
| yè'ūt' ^e I shall return (92.24) | yeweit' ^e I returned (58.9,13) |
| p'lāk' ^{de} I shall bathe (58.5; 118.7) | p'lagaīt' ^e I bathed 58.2 |
| t'āk' ^{de} I shall cry (29.11) | t'agaīt' ^e I cried (29.13; 62.2) |
| na't' ^e (irregular) I shall say, do 196.5 | nagaīt' ^e I said, did 126.3; 180.1 |

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

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

The aorist of verbs of Type 4 regularly have the rising accent on the $i-$ diphthong formed by the repeated stem vowel and the $i-$ suffix. The stressed stem-vowel of forms built on the verb-stem regularly has the rising (4a) or raised accent (second vowel of 4b). $na-$, which is irregular also in other respects, has a short vowel in the verb-stem and takes the raised accent in non-aorist forms under appropriate conditions ($na't'$ saying; na' say it!).

TYPE 5. Verb-stem $v + c + v$; aorist $v + c$. This type of verb is morphologically very difficult to understand, as it is in effect the very opposite of Type 2. Morphologically $yana-$ GO : $t!an-$ HOLD = $yā^n-$:

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

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|--|--|
| wagawi'n I shall bring it to him (45.6) | wā ^a giwi'εn I brought it to him (176.17) |
| wege'sink' he will bring it to me | we ^a ga'si he brought it to me (194.11) |
| yana't'e° I shall go 14.3 | yānt'e° I went 14.7 |
| haxa't'e° I shall burn (92.29) | hāxde° I burnt (98.1,4) |
| dak'-da-hala'hin I shall answer him | dak'-da-hā ^a li'εn I answered him (122.4; 146.14; 180.18) |
| laba' carry it! (70.5); 192.8 | lāp' he carried it 160.9 |
| sagwa' paddle it! 112.3,9 | sā ^a gwa'εn I paddled it (14.6) |
| wede'k'ink' he will take it from him (16.10,11; 17.10,11) | wēt'gi he took it from him 16.13; (76.1) |
| lebe'n I shall pick it up and eat it | le ^a ba'εn I picked and ate it 94.5,12 |
| sebe'n I shall roast it (44.6) | se ^a ba'εn I roasted it (118.10) |
| he ^ε -īwi'xink' he will go away from me | he ^ε -ūs ^a i he went away from me (184.14,15) |
| hawax-xiwi't'e° I shall rot (194.8) | hawax-xiūt'e° I am rotting (100.1) |
| odo'n I shall hunt for it (116.7,11) | ō ^a da'εn I hunted for it (13.9) |
| woo'nk' he will go to get it (162.8) | wō ^a li' he went to get it 160.4 |
| p'uyumda'n I shall smoke them out | p'ōyamda ^a εn I smoked them out (76.11) |
| yomo'n I shall catch up with him (46.7; 136.12,13) | yō ^a miya'εn I caught up with him (final -i- of aorist stem unex- plained) (140.14) |

The two stem vowels of the verb-stem are always short in quantity, the second regularly having the raised accent (imperatives *yana'*, *lebe'*, *odo'*, *woo'*).¹ The long stem vowel of the aorist, when stressed, takes the rising accent. To this latter rule there is one curious exception. The verb *odo*- HUNT FOR always has the falling accent on the *ō*^u of the aorist (*ō'ut'* HE HUNTED FOR IT 13.9; 88.8, never **ōut'*), but the non-aorist forms follow in everything the analogy of other verbs of this type. This anomaly is quite unexplained. Can it be that a leveling out of two originally distinct paradigms has taken place (**ōud*-, *odo*'- of Type 5 and *ō'ud*-, **ō'ut*'- of Type 6)?

TYPE 6. Verb-stem *v*^(v) + *c*!; aorist *v*^v + *c*. Most of the verbs that follow this type have as second consonant in the aorist one capable of

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

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

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|--|--|
| { <i>ī-k'wā'ak!win</i> I shall wake him up | <i>ī-k'wā'agwi^{εn}</i> I woke him up 16.4; (75.6) |
| { <i>k'wā'^{as}xde^e</i> I shall wake up (190.5) | <i>k'wā'^{as}xde^ε</i> I woke up (16.3, 5) |
| <i>xā^a-lā't!lan</i> I shall put it about my waist | <i>xā^a-lā'^ada^{εn}</i> I put it about my waist |
| <i>la-^εī-t'bā'k!in</i> I shall burst it (118.5) | <i>la-^εī-t'bā'^agi^{εn}</i> I burst it (24.17) |
| <i>wa-sgā'p!in</i> I shall make it tight | <i>wa-sgā'^abi^{εn}</i> I made it tight (140.6) |
| <i>al-xī'k!in</i> I shall see him (146.21) | <i>al-xī'ⁱgi^{εn}</i> I saw him 188.9 |
| <i>de-^ε-ī-wī'k!in</i> I shall spread it out (120.1) | <i>de-^ε-ī-wī'ⁱgi^{εn}</i> I spread it out |
| <i>dak'-t'e'ek!in</i> I shall give him to smoke (170.13) | <i>dak'-t'e'^εgi^{εn}</i> I gave him to smoke |
| <i>bā^a-xō't!an</i> I shall win over him (170.9) | <i>bā^a-xō'^uda^{εn}</i> I won over him (168.5) |
| <i>al-lō'k!wan</i> I shall thrust it | <i>al-lō'^ugwa^{εn}</i> I thrust it (152.19) |
| <i>dal-p'ō't!in</i> I shall mix it (178.5) | <i>dal-p'ō'^udi^{εn}</i> I mixed it |
| <i>de-^ε-ī-nū't!in</i> I shall drown him | <i>de-^ε-ī-nū'^udi^{εn}</i> I drowned him (118.9) |
| <i>de-bū'k!in</i> I shall fill it | <i>de-bū'^ūgi^{εn}</i> I filled it (140.3) |
| <i>ī-gī^εna</i> take it! (102.14) | <i>ī-gī'ⁱna</i> he took it 15.1; 45.13 |

Despite the change of the second consonant from fortis to non-fortis, it is not certain that it is always an integral part of the stem; in *de-bū'^ūgi^{εn}* the *g* (*k*!) seems to be a verbifying suffix (cf. *de-bū'^ε* FULL as adjective). The accent of the base of verbs of Type 6 differs materially from that of verbs of types heretofore discussed. The normal pitch-accent of most verb-bases is the rising tone for long, the raised for final short, vowels, unless a catch immediately follows. Thus in Type 5 *dak'-da-hāl* HE ANSWERED HIM; Type 2 *naga'* HE SAID TO HIM; but with catch Type 4 *naga'^{iε}* HE SAID. The verbs, however, of Type 6, as will have been noticed, all have the falling accent in both aorist and non-aorist forms. This variation from the accentual norm becomes intelligible if we remember that a fortis is the equivalent of a catch + a media; e. g., *alxī'k!in* I SHALL SEE HIM; *alxī'^εk'* SEE HIM! As the catch tends to bring about a falling accent before it, the falling accent peculiar to verbs of Type 6 may plausibly be ascribed to the fortis (i. e., glottal catch) quality of the final consonant of the stem. Compare also, in Type 3, *he'ik!in*

I SHALL LEAVE IT OVER. The retention of the falling accent in the aorist, although the presumable cause of it has been removed, is an example of form-parallelism, and argues, at least in verbs of this type, for the secondary origin of the aorist stem. The relation between $x\bar{o}'t!an$ and $x\bar{o}'u'da^{\varepsilon}n$ is, then, the same as that which obtains between $yowo'^{\varepsilon}$ HE WAS and $yow\bar{o}'u'da^{\varepsilon}$ WHEN HE WAS 79.7.

The organic character of the fortis consonant of verbs of this type is still further evidenced by many derivative forms (iteratives, continuatives, *-xa-* forms used to imply lack of object) which are regularly derived from the verb-stem, not the aorist stem, even in their aorist forms. Thus from $sg\bar{o}'u't!-$ 45.10 (aorist $sg\bar{o}'u'd-$ 72.10) CUT are derived the derivative aorists $sgot!o'sgade^{\varepsilon}$ I CUT FREQUENTATIVELY (62.1), $sgot!o\bar{l}-ha^{\varepsilon}n$ I KEEP CUTTING IT (108.8), $sg\ddot{u}t!u'xade^{\varepsilon}$ I CUT (without object) (92.2). Parallel forms are derived from most other verbs of this type, such as $x\bar{i}'i'k!-$, $l\bar{o}'u'k!-$, $sg\bar{z}'i'p!-$ CUT, $sg'e'et!-$ LIFT UP. A few verbs of Type 6, however, form the aorists of these derivatives from the aorist stems of the simple verbs. Such forms are the frequentatives $t'bagat'bag-$ 14.12 (from $t'ba'a'k!-$ 136.20) and $sege'sag-$ 172.10 (from $se'e'k!-$ NOD TO, OPEN DOOR 138.18).

TYPE 7. Verb-stem $c + v^v + c_1$; aorist $c! + v + c_1 + v(+i)$. The second sub-group (7*b*) of this sparsely represented type of verbs is apparently related to the first (7*a*) as are verbs of Type 4*a* to those of Type 2. It is very improbable, however, that the characteristic *-i-* element of the aorist is morphologically the same in both Type 4 and Type 7*b*, as verbs of the latter type are clearly transitive, while in Type 4 the *-i-* was found to be a clearly intransitivizing element. A further difference between the two types lies in the marked length of the repeated vowel in verbs of Type 7*b*. This vocalic length is perhaps responsible for the loss of the *-i-* in certain forms; e. g., $d\bar{i}-t!u'g\bar{u}z$ HE WORE IT, but $d\bar{i}-t!u'g\bar{u}^{\varepsilon}n$ I WORE IT. (See § 65.)

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

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|--|---|
| $b\bar{a}^a-d\bar{e}p'de^{\varepsilon}$ I shall arise 196.3 | $b\bar{a}^a-t!ebe't'e^{\varepsilon}$ I arose 186.14 |
| $wa-d\bar{i}lnhin$ I shall distribute them | $wa-t!il\bar{i}k'ni^{\varepsilon}n$ I have distributed them (130.4) |
| $dwe^{\varepsilon}p'dwa'p\bar{x}d\bar{a}^a$ they will fly without lighting | $t!wep!e'$ $t!wapx$ they flew with out lighting |

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

To Type 7*b* belong:

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|---|---|
| <i>da-dāk'</i> build a fire! | <i>da-t!agāi</i> he built a fire 96.17 |
| <i>dī-dū^ūg^wa'nk'</i> she will wear it 55.9 | <i>dī-t!ügūi</i> she wore it 96.16 |
| <i>t'gwā^axa'nt'gwide^e</i> I shall tattoo myself | <i>t'gwaxāik'wide^e</i> I tattooed myself |
| <i>k!ā^ada'nk'</i> he will pick them (116.17) | <i>k!adāi</i> he picked them <i>swadāi</i> he beat him in gambling |

The last three verbs happen to have stems beginning with a consonant or consonant-combination that does not allow of development into a fortis, so that there is no initial modification in the aorist. A few other transitive verbs have aorist stems like those of type 7*b*, but form their non-aorist forms according to other models, as the aorists *k!emèi-* MAKE (only with third personal object; otherwise *k!eme^(e)-n-*, corresponding verb-stem *k!em-n-* of Type 2) and *yehèi-* HEAR SINGING FAR AWAY (verb-stem *yehī-*). In both aorist and non-aorist forms the stem vowel or long *i*-diphthong, when stressed, bears the rising or raised accent (*k!āt'* PICK THEM! *bā^a-t!ebe^t'* HE AROSE).

TYPE 8. Verb-stem $c + v^o + c_1$; aorist $c! + v + c_1 + v + c_1$. The aorist stem of this type is characterized by reduplication of Type 1 (see § 30) combined, wherever possible, with change to fortis of the initial consonant. Examples are:

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|--|--|
| <i>gāit'e^e</i> I shall grow (77.9) | <i>k!ayaⁱt'e^e</i> I grew (77.9) |
| <i>gō^ūda'n</i> I shall bury him (118.3) | <i>k!ododa'^en</i> I buried him (96.16) |
| <i>gō^ūla'n</i> I shall dig it | <i>k!olola'^en</i> I dug it 73.10,14 |
| <i>gū^ūwa'n</i> I shall plant it (94.10) | <i>k!ūwūwa'^en</i> I planted it (132.10) |
| <i>dō^ūma'n</i> I shall kill him (178.14) | <i>t!omoma'^en</i> I killed him 71.7 |
| <i>wa^e-i-dōxin</i> I shall gather them | <i>wa^e-i-t!oxo'xi'^en</i> I gathered them (112.6,11; 192.4) |
| <i>ba-i-dīxin</i> I shall pull (guts) out | <i>ba-i-t!ixi'xi'^en</i> I pulled (guts) out (92.17) |
| <i>dā^ala'n</i> I shall crack it | <i>t!alala'^en</i> I cracked it |
| <i>de^egwa'ldan</i> I shall watch for him (116.20; 126.20) | <i>t!egwegwa'lda^en</i> I watched for him (118.2; 158.12) |
| <i>wa^e-i-de^emi'n</i> I shall gather them (for war) | <i>wa^e-i-t!eme^m</i> he gathered them (for war) 110.3 |
| <i>bā^aba'n</i> I shall chop it (90.16) | <i>p!ababa'^en</i> I chopped it (90.11) |
| <i>dī-bū^ūgwa'n</i> I shall start (war, basket) (110.21; 170.10) | <i>dī-p!ügügwa'^en</i> I started it |
| <i>s^ada'n</i> I shall mash it | <i>ts!^aadada'^en</i> I mashed it (130.23) |

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|--|--|
| <i>s·ũmt'an</i> I shall boil it (170.16) | <i>ts·!ũmũt'a^{en}</i> I boiled it (170.17) |
| <i>dē^ε-ĩ-s·ĩbĩn</i> I shall close door (90.4) | <i>dē^ε-ĩ-tš·!ĩbĩbĩ'^{en}</i> I closed door (90.5) |
| <i>ye^εgwa'n</i> I shall bite him (88.2) | <i>yegwegwa'^{en}</i> I bit him (88.3) |
| <i>lō^uba'n</i> I shall pound them (16.6) | <i>loboba'^{en}</i> I pounded them (16.9) |
| <i>li'ma'^εt'</i> tree will fall (108.12) | <i>limi'^{em}</i> tree fell (108.11) |
| <i>hēlt'e^e</i> I shall sing (106.15) | <i>helelt'e^e</i> I sang (104.2, 5, 6) |

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

t!omom̃ he killed him 16.15; but *t!omōx̃bi^{en}* he killed you (cf. 178.12)

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

p!aba`p' he chopped it 90.11; but *p!ebe'xa^ε* he chopped 55.6
wa^ε-ĩ-t!emeñ he gathered them together; but *dak'-t!emēx* they are gathered together 43.9; 136.11

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

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

Of Type 9, examples are:

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|---|---|
| <i>dā^aga'n</i> I shall find it (110.15) | <i>t!ayaga'^{en}</i> I found it (27.12) |
| <i>sā^aga'n</i> I shall shoot him | <i>ts!ayaga'^{en}</i> I shot him (45.13) |
| <i>da-dāit'e^e</i> (<i>-dā^ay-</i>) I shall go to get something to eat (33.9) | <i>da-t!ayait'e^e</i> I went to get something to eat ¹ (75.9) |
| <i>da-dā^aldi'n</i> (= <i>dāild-</i> , see § 11) I shall go to get it to eat (33.9) | <i>da-t!ayaldi'^{en}</i> (= <i>t!ayaild-</i> , see § 11) I went to get it to eat (76.9) |

¹This verb might be considered as entirely parallel to *gāay-* (aorist *k!ayai-*) of Type 8. The derivative in *-ld-*, however, seems to prove it to be of Type 9; the *-ld-* forms, if belonging to Type 8, would probably appear as **da-dā^aya'ldin*, **da-t!ayaya'ld^{en}*.

TYPE 10. Verb-stem $c+v(+c)$ ($+c_1$); aorist $c+v+\left\{\begin{matrix} c(+c_1) \\ c_1+c \end{matrix}\right\} (+v)$.

This type embraces the few verbs that form their aorist stem by merely repeating the initial consonant of the verb-stem. Of 10*a*, that is, those that introduce the initial consonant immediately after the stem-vowel, there have been found:

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|--|--|
| lō ^u x to play 31.7; (31.6, 8, 9) | lō ^u lt'e ^ε I played |
| lāp'de ^ε I shall become (25.2) | lā ^a lūt'e ^ε I became (also of Type 15 <i>a</i>) 186.19 |
| lā ^a wa'n I shall twine basket | lā ^a lwa' ^ε n I twined basket (61.7) |
| he ^ε -ī-le' (l)k'in I shall let him go (182.20) | he ^ε -ī-le'lek'i ^ε n I let him go (50.4) |

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

The only certain example of 10*b* is:

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| sana' spear it! (33.9) | sāns he speared it (110.20) |

The verb-stem here is of Type 5. The simple base (*san-*) is best seen in the fully reduplicated *sā^ansa'n-sinia^{uε}* THEY ARE FIGHTING EACH OTHER 23.14. An aorist of Type 10*b* is probably also:

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

See also aorist *yō^umī'* under Type 5. Stems of this type are more frequent among nouns than verbs, e. g., *bel'p'* SWAN (see § 86, 5).

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

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|---|--|
| loma'lt'e ^ε (<i>a</i> is inorganic) I shall choke | lomōlt'e ^ε I choked |
| xalxa'mt'e ^ε I shall urinate (cf. xā ^a l-am- urine) | xala'xamt'e ^ε I urinated ³ |

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

² This verb is better considered as belonging to Type 13*a*, *xalxam-* and *xalazam-* being respectively dissimilated from **xanzan-* and **xanzan-* (see §21).

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|--|--|
| yawī't'e ^ε I shall talk (cf. base <i>yiw-</i> talk) (126.2) | yawai't'e ^ε I talked (30.4; 126.2) |
| <i>bā^ε-al-mo'l^εman</i> I shall turn things over (base <i>mol^ε-</i>) | <i>da-bo'k!op'na^{εn}</i> I made bub- bles (base <i>bōk!-</i>) 102.22 |
| <i>dā^a-ye'hīⁿ</i> I shall go to where singing is heard | <i>bā^ε-al-mo'lo^εma^{εn}</i> I turned things over |
| | <i>dā^a-yehēi</i> he went where there was singing (see Type 7b) 106.10 |
| | legwela' <i>mda^{εn}</i> I suck it out of it (186.18) |
| | <i>lā^amala'^{εn}</i> I quarrel with him (27.2) |

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

ging- go somewhere (aorist *ginig-*)
k'iŷ[a]g- go, come (aorist *k'iŷig-*)
gel-gul[a]g- desire (aorist- *guluŷ-*)

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

da-bok!oba'k'na^{εn} I make bubbles *yiwīya'ut'e^ε* I talk (148.9)
mo'lo^εmala^{εn} I turn things over
(170.16)

A form like *mo'lo^εmat'* YOU TURNED THINGS OVER may go back to a **mo'lo^εmlat'* (Type 13*b*), itself a reduced form of the fully reduplicating *mo'lo^εmalat'*; but see § 65.

TYPE 12. Verb-stem $c + v^v + c_1$; aorist $c + v^v + c_1 + c + a + c_1$. Verbs of this type form their aorist by reduplicating the verb-stem according to Type 2 (see § 30); the *a* of the second syllable of the aorist stem is regularly unlauded to *i* by an *i* of the following syllable (see § 8, 3a). Morphologically such aorist stems are practically identical with the verb-stems of Type 13*a*, though no further deductions can be drawn from this fact. Contrary to what one might expect, most verbs of the type show no marked iterative or frequentative signifi-

cation. Examples of this rather frequently recurring type are:

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|--|--|
| sana'n ¹ I shall fight him (28.15) | sā ^a nsa'nt'e ^ε I was fighting 184.13 |
| he ^{εε} -sal-t'gū ^u ni'n I shall kick it off | he ^{εε} -sal-t'gūnt'gini ^ε n I kicked it off (24.17) |
| t!ēūt'e ^ε I shall play shinny | t!ēūt!a'u ^t e ^ε I played shinny (47.7) |
| ī-t!ā ^{wi} 'n I shall catch him (33.8) | ī-t!āūt!iwi ^ε n I caught him 33.4 |
| bā ^a -dī ⁱ ga'n I shall make it stand up | bā ^a -dik'daga ^ε n I made it stand up (59.10) |
| he ^{εε} -s-wilak' it is torn | ī-s-wils-wili ^ε n I tore it (73.3) |
| ts!ā ^a ga'εt' he will step | ts!ā ^a k'ts!a'εk' he stepped 32.9 |
| dā ^ε -ī-bō ^u dī'n I shall pull out his hair | dā ^ε -ī-bōt'bidī ^ε n I pulled out his hair (194.7) |
| bā-ī-sgā ^a gi'n I shall pick it up | bā-ī-sgāk'sgigi ^ε n I picked him up (32.12) |
| lā ^{wi} 'n I shall call him by name | lā ^{aliwi} 'εn I called him by name (for lā ^a - = lāu- see § 7) (116.3) |

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

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|---|---|
| lēū ^x ink' he will call me by name | le ^ε wila'usi ² he calls me by name 59.7 |
| liūt'e ^ε I shall look (142.18) | liwila'ut'e ^ε ³ I look (59.14) |

The stem vowel of verbs of Type 12 is regularly long, and, when stressed, as it generally is in aorist forms, receives the rising accent. The *a* of the second syllable of the aorist stem is stressed only when forming a secondary diphthong with a following repeated radical element, in which case it receives a falling (*lā^ala'uhi* HE CALLED HIM) or raised accent (*he^{εε}-sal-t'gū^unt'ga'n*).

¹ The various forms of this verb seem to be made up of three distinct stems. The non-aorist forms of both transitive and intransitive (*sana'p'de* I SHALL FIGHT) employ a stem (*sana-*) of Type 5. Most aorist forms, including the reciprocal aorist, use the stem *sāansan-* of Type 12 (*seensa'nsi* HE FIGHTS ME; *sāansa'nsinik'* WE FIGHT EACH OTHER). The stem *sāans-* of Type 10b is probably limited to such transitive forms of the aorist as have a third person object (*sāansa'εn* I FIGHT HIM; *sāns* HE FOUGHT HIM).

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

³ This verb has a short *i* in the first syllable of the aorist, so that, as far as the aorist stem is concerned, it seems to belong to Type 13a. Perhaps it is best considered a verb of mixed type (13a in aorist, 12 in non-aorist).

TYPE 13. Verb-stem $c+v+c_1+c+a+c_1$; aorist $c+v+c_1+v+c+a+c_1$. For i -umlaut of the a see § 8, 3a. This type embraces a very large number of verbs, chiefly of iterative, usitative, or intensive signification. Of these, some are the iterative or usitative derivatives of simpler verbs; others, again, are hardly found in simpler form, the action they express being of a necessarily repetitive character (e. g., RUB, RATTLE, CHEW); in still others the repetitive idea is not strongly marked or is even absent. Of Type 13a, which covers practically the whole number of type-cases, examples will be given under the characteristic stem-vowels.

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|--|---|
| (1) <i>a</i> : | |
| <i>ī-gaxgixi'n</i> I shall scratch him | <i>ī-gaxagixi'ēn</i> I scratched him |
| <i>da-tsl'a'ltslilin</i> I shall chew it | <i>da-tsl'ala'tslilīēn</i> I chewed it |
| <i>he^{ēē}-ī-k'a'p'k'ibin</i> I shall chip them off | <i>he^{ēē}-ī-k'ap!a'k'ibīēn</i> I chipped them off (118.11; 120.16) |
| (2) <i>e</i> : | |
| <i>ī-ts'le'lts'lilin</i> I shall rattle it | <i>ī-ts'lele'ts'lilīēn</i> I rattled it |
| <i>ī-he^{ēē}gwa'k'wⁿnan</i> (see § 19) I shall work | <i>ī-hegwe'hak'wⁿna^{ēn}</i> I worked |
| <i>al-gesgasa'lt'e^e</i> I shall be washing | <i>al-gesegasa'lt'e^e</i> I was washing |
| <i>se'sant'e^e</i> I shall whoop | <i>sene'sant'e^e</i> I whooped (180.15) |
| <i>hemhama'nk'</i> he will imitate him | <i>heme'ham</i> he imitated him 24.4, 8 |
| (3) <i>o (u)</i> : | |
| <i>dīⁱ-t'gumt'ga'm</i> squeeze and crack (insects)! | <i>dīⁱ-t'gumu'tg'imīēn</i> I squeezed and cracked (insects) |
| <i>ī-yulya'l</i> rub it! | <i>ī-yulu'yilīēn</i> I rubbed it |
| <i>al-p!īⁱ-ts'!u'lts'!alhip'</i> do ye put it on fire! | <i>al-p!īⁱ-ts'!ulu'ts'!lilīēn</i> I put it on fire (152.20) |
| (4) <i>i</i> : | |
| <i>ī-smilsmilin</i> I shall swing it | <i>ī-smilī'smilīēn</i> I swung it (72.10) |
| <i>ī-s-wi'ls-wilīn</i> I shall tear it to pieces | <i>ī-s-wilī's-wilīēn</i> I tore it to pieces |
| <i>ts'!i'nts'!anx^{dē}e</i> I shall be angry | <i>ts'!inī'ⁱts'!anx^{dē}e</i> I was angry (24.16; 148.15) |
| <i>ī-s-i'ls'alhi</i> distribute it! | <i>ī-s-ilī's'alhi</i> he distributed it 31.1 |
| <i>de-k'īūk'aūk'wan</i> I shall brandish it before my face (172.11) | <i>de-k'īwī'k'aūk'wa^{ēn}</i> I brandished it before my face (172.12) |
| <i>yiwiyawā^{ēs}</i> one who talks 148.18 | <i>yiwiya'^{uē}</i> he talks, makes a sound 148.9 |

The verb-stem of the last example seems at first sight identical with the aorist stem, but the second *i* is to be explained as a connective element similar to the *i* of *le^ewilau-* above (see under Type 12); *yiwiyawa^es* is thus developed from a theoretical **yiwiyawa^es*.

The verb *k^aep^hk^ab-* above illustrates a slightly divergent subtype of Type 13a. If the final consonant of the stem is a fortis, it appears as a non-fortis (voiceless media or aspirated surd according to the phonetic circumstances) when repeated. This phenomenon is best explained as an example of catch dissimilation; **k^aap^hak^aap^h-*, i. e., *k^aeb^eak^aeb^e-* is dissimilated to *k^aeb^eak^ab-*, *k^aap^hak^ab-* (see § 22). In non-aorist forms, where the fortis becomes a syllabic final, it naturally gives way to the equivalent catch aspirated surd. Further examples of this subtype are:

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|---|--|
| <i>ī-sgō^et^hsgidīn</i> I shall cut them one after another (21.2,4) | <i>ī-sgot!^osgidī^{en}</i> I cut them one after another (144.2,3) |
| <i>ha-u-gwen-yu^et^hyidīn</i> I shall gobble them all down | <i>ha-u-gwen-yut!^uyidī^{en}</i> I gob- bled them all down (126.10) |
| <i>xa-ē-ī-sgī^ep^hsgibīn</i> I shall cut them through (21.2) | <i>xa-ē-ī-sgip!ⁱsgibi^{en}</i> I cut them through (22.9; 138.7) |
| <i>bā^a-t^ek^t^axdā^a</i> (= <i>-ta^hg-x-</i>) they will all bob up | <i>bā^a-t^ekle^t^ax</i> they all bobbed up |
| <i>ba-i-dī^e-t^hga^est^hgā^as</i> stick out your anus! 164.19; 166.1,6 | <i>ba-i-dī^e-t^hgats!^at^hgisi^{en}</i> I stuck out my anus (166.8) |

In regard to vocalic quantity it will be noticed that both the stem vowel and the repeated vowel are generally short. Comparatively few cases are found with long stem-vowel in non-aorist forms (*he-gwagw-*, *swī^hlswal-*, *sgō^et^hsgad-*). Indeed the shortness of the vowel of the verb-stem is about the only mark of difference between verb-stems of Type 13 and aorist stems of Type 12. Thus:

ī-s^hwī^hlswal (non-aorist of Type 13) tear it to pieces!; but *ī-s^hwī^hlswal* (aorist of Type 12) he tore it (with one tear)

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

gwen-hegwe^ehagwanhi he related it to him 57.9; cf. 59.6
p!ⁱlū^hū^hp!^alhi they marched in single file 192.3

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

falling accent (*sgō^{uεt}'sgad-*, *sgī^{iε}'p'sgab-*). In the aorist the stress generally falls on the repeated vowel.

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

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|---|--|
| <i>de^ε-ī-ge'ukliwin</i> I shall tie (a salmon) bowstring-fashion | <i>de^ε-ī-gewe'kliwi^{εn}</i> I tied it bowstring-fashion (cf. 88.5) |
| <i>dū^l!t!lilīn</i> I shall stuff them into it | <i>dū^lū^l!t!lilī^{εn}</i> I stuffed them into it (122.19; 138.17) |

This curious type of verb is easily explained if we assume that the bases are not *gew-* and *dūl-*, respectively, but *geu^ε-* and *dūl^ε-*. They are, then, strictly comparable to verbs like *sgot!osgād-* discussed above; instead of having a fortis consonant, i. e., a stop with glottal closure, as the final consonant of the base, they have a semi-vowel or diphthong-forming consonant (*w, y, l, m, n*) as the base final. The verb and aorist stems of *geu^ε-* and *dūl^ε-*, formed according to Type 13 *a*, are theoretically **geu^εgau^ε-*, **gewe^εgau^ε-* and **dūl^εdal^ε-*, **dūlū^εdal^ε-*, respectively. Allowing, as in the case of the forms like *k'ap!ak'ab-* discussed above, for catch dissimilation, these forms are seen to be phonetically equivalent to *geuk!au-*, *gewek!au-* and *dūlt!al-*, *dūlūt!al-*, respectively (see § 12). If the initial consonant of the verb happens not to be a media, then there is no opportunity for the development of a fortis in the second syllable of the verb-stem. It is clear, then, that the following verbs are further examples of Type 13 *b*:

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|---|--|
| <i>bā^a-^εal-mo'l^εmalan</i> I shall turn things over | <i>bā^a-^εal-mo'lo^εmala^{εn}</i> I turn things over |
| <i>dā^a-t'mū^ugal-le'u^εliwin</i> I shall shake shells in my ears | <i>dā^a-t'mū^ugal-lewe'^εliwi^{εn}</i> I shook shells in my ears 122.2 |
| <i>ha-u-gwen-yu'n^εyinin</i> I shall gobble them down | <i>ha-u-gwen-yunu'^εyini^{εn}</i> I gobbled them down (cf. <i>yut!uyad-</i> above) |

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

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

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|---|--|
| <i>gwida'k'^wdan</i> I shall throw it (a inorganic) | <i>gwidi'k'^wda^{εn}</i> I threw it (122.13); cf. <i>ī-gwidigwidi'^{εn}</i> (108.21) |
| | <i>lobo'lp'na^{εn}</i> I used to pound them; cf. <i>lobo'lap'na^{εn}</i> (57.14) |

It is very probable that the *-a-* in the second member of reduplicated stems (Types 12 and 13) is the inorganic *-a-* we have already met with. Its persistence, even in cases where the otherwise resulting phonetic combination is a possible one, may be ascribed to the analogic influence of the probably larger number of cases where its presence is phonetically necessary.

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

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|--|---|
| <i>xēp'de^e</i> I shall do so (110.22) | <i>xebeñt'e^e</i> I did so (14.10; 168.10) |
| <i>wai't'e^e</i> I shall sleep (71.15; 142.14) | <i>wayānt'e^e</i> I slept (188.22) |
| <i>gwen-p!ik'wan</i> (= <i>-p!iy-</i>) I shall lie on pillow | <i>gwen-p!iyi'nk'wa^en</i> I lay on pillow |
| <i>p!è't'e^t</i> he will be lying down | <i>p!eyēnt'e^e</i> I was lying down 71.5 146.9 |

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

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

waya'e^e he slept 152.22; 154.6
p!eye'e^e he was lying down 49.5

but:

xebe'e^en he did it 78.9; 118.14

The loss of the *-n* takes place also in the third person aorist of *yā^an-go* (Type 5). Thus:

ya'e^e he went 15.3,11; 59.1; 92.26

subordinate form *yā'^ada^e* 58.8 and (rarely) *yā'^anda^e* WHEN HE WENT.

TYPE 15. Verb-stem $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ \text{---as} \end{array} \right\}$; aorist stem *-ī^t*. The ending *-ī^t*, found in a considerable number of verbs of position, is not, properly speaking, a stem-forming element at all, as shown by the fact that

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

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|---|---|
| <i>s'a's'ant'e^e</i> I shall stand (cf. 23.6) | <i>s'as'inīt'e^e</i> I stand (34.1; 77.9) |
| <i>s'u^ealt'e^e</i> I shall sit (55.11; 186.21) | <i>s'u^ewilit'e^e</i> I sat (21.1; 178.21) |
| <i>k'e'p'alt'e^e</i> I shall be long absent | <i>k'ebilīt'e^e</i> I was long absent (124.20) |
| <i>lāp'de^e</i> I shall become (92.11; 166.14) | <i>lā^ālīt'e^e</i> I became (see also Type 10 <i>a</i>) 186.19 |

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

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| <i>dink!a'sdā^a</i> it will lie stretched out | <i>dink!ī</i> it lies stretched out |
| <i>t!obaga'sdā^a</i> he will lie like one dead (148.8) | <i>t!obigī</i> he lay like one dead |

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

da-sma-ima'sde^e I shall smile *da-smayaṁ* he smiled

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

TYPE 16. Verb-stem *v+c+c₁+i*; aorist *v+c+v+c₁*. This type embraces only an inconsiderable number of verbs. They are:

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|--|--|
| <i>dī-k!a'lside^e</i> I shall be lean in my rump | <i>dī-k!ala'sna^{ēn}</i> I am lean in my rump 102.22 |
| <i>gwel-sal-t!e'iside^e</i> I shall be lean in legs and feet | <i>gwel-sal-t!eyēsna^{ēn}</i> I have no flesh on my legs and feet 102.22 |

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

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|--|--|
| <i>da-sga'lit'ā^a</i> it will lie scattered about | <i>da-sgalī</i> it lies scattered about |
| <i>p'ildī't'ā^a</i> flat thing will lie | <i>p'ildī</i> flat thing lies |
| <i>t'ge'its'lidā^a</i> round thing will lie | <i>t'geits'!i</i> round thing lies (138.24) |
| <i>s'eini't'ā^a</i> it will lie with opening on top (like box) | <i>s'eini</i> it lies with opening on top |
| <i>s'u'k'didā^a</i> it will lie curled up | <i>s'u'gwidī</i> it lies curled up |
| <i>wi'εk'didā^a</i> it will lie heaped about | <i>wik'lidī</i> it lies heaped about |

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

| Verb-stem | Aorist stem |
|---|---|
| <i>dā^a-sge'k!it'e^e</i> I shall listen | <i>dā^a-sgekliya'εn</i> I listened (third person <i>dā^a-sgek lī</i> 102.8) |

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

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

- gwen-xoxog[w]a'εn* I string (salmon) together (=fully reduplicated *xogxog-*; otherwise to be analyzed as *xoxo-g-* of Type 10 a) 74.14
- sal-s'ā^axs'ix* he slid

This latter verb with its mysterious *īⁱ* in the repeated syllable is absolutely without known parallel. Irregular is also the defective verb *ei-* BE (see §60, fourth footnote).

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

§ 41. GENERAL REMARKS

Although the absolute number of non-pronominal suffixes in the verb is considerable (almost or quite thirty), the number of those that have a well-defined, more or less transparent signification is not large (hardly more than a dozen or so) when compared with what

one is accustomed to in certain other American languages. Of these, barely one or two (a frequentative and a comitative) can be said to convey anything like a material notion, the rest being of the more or less formal or relational character met with in suffixes of inflective languages—intransitivizing elements, causative, reflexive, passive, reciprocal, and others of less easily described signification. Those suffixes that have no clearly defined value may be put in a class by themselves as “petrified” suffixes, the justification for such a classification being purely descriptive; genetically they probably form a heterogeneous group.

§ 42. PETRIFIED SUFFIXES

In speaking of verbs of Types 2 and 3, it was pointed out that in a large number of cases certain consonants that one would naturally be inclined to consider part of the verb-stem could be shown by more careful analysis to be really of a suffixal character. The criteria for such a suffix are partly, as was there indicated, the existence of evidently related forms in which the consonant is lacking, partly certain phonetic features. In a considerable number of cases different suffixes are found joined to the same verbal base, yet hardly ever determining so specific a meaning that their primary signification can be detected. The following examples,

t'geits'ri something round lies (138.24)

t'geyeba'εn I roll it

t'ge^εya'lxde^ε I run around

al-t'geye't'giya^εn I tie it around (my head) 188.5

wi^ε-ri-t'geye'k'in he is surrounded on all sides 48.13

evidently all contain the same radical element or base (*t'gey-*), which has reference to circular action or position. The suffixes *-ts'!*-, *-b-*, and *-k!-*, however, can not be shown to be directly responsible for the specific meanings of the different forms, these being determined chiefly, it would seem, by the succeeding suffixes, the prefixes, and the general form (transitive or intransitive) of the verb. Similarly, the forms *he^{εε}-sgaya'pxde^ε* I LIE DOWN, *da-sgayana'εn* I LIE DOWN, and possibly also *da-sgalri* IT LIES SCATTERED ABOUT (LIKE GRAIN), contain the same radical element (*sga[y]*-); but, as in the examples first cited, the abstracted suffixes *-p-*, *-n-*, and *-l-*, refuse to yield anything tangible. The stems *galb-* TWIST and *gelg-* TWIRL FIRE-DRILL are very probably related, though neither

the difference in vowel nor the use of different consonants can be explained. The same difficulty is met with in *dī'nik! a^{εn} I STRETCHED IT OUT* (62.1) and *bā^a-dīnī'it! a^{εn} I HUNG THEM ON LINE* (59.9). In some cases a difference of suffix is associated with a difference of direction of verbal action, transitive and intransitive. Thus we have:

al-ts!ayaga'^{εn} I wash him (64.5): *al-ts!ayāp'de^ε I wash myself*
(not reflexive in form)

p!alaga'^{εn} I relate a myth to him: *p!ala'p'de^ε I relate a myth*

ts!ayama'^{εn} I hide it (124.23): *ts!ayāp'de^ε I hide*

The various petrified suffixes found will be listed with examples under each.

1. **-b-**. There seem to be two quite distinct *-b-* suffixes, one characteristic of transitives, the other of a certain group of intransitives. Examples of transitive *-b-* are:

t'geyeba'^{εn} I roll it (base *t'gey-*), with secondarily intransitive derivative:

al-t'geya'px it is round (literally, it rolls)

he^{εε}-sgaya'pxde^ε I lie down (derived, like *al-t'geya'px*, from some such transitive as **he^{εε}-sgayaba'^{εn} I lay it down flat*, that, however, does not happen to occur in the material at hand)

de^ε-̄-gene'p'gwa he lay curled up like dog (also *-geneūk'wa*)

galaba'^{εn} I twist it by rolling (cf. *gelg-* twirl fire-drill)

sgīlpx warm your back! (seems to imply **sgī'lba'n* I shall warm his back) (25.8, 9)

All intransitives in *-b-* (*-p'*), whether or not secondarily derived from transitives, belong to that class of verbs to be later discussed as Intransitive Verbs, Class II. Among those with primarily intransitive *-p'* are:

al-ts!ayāp'de^ε I washed my face

ts!ayāp'de^ε I hid

p!ala'p'de^ε I tell a myth

s'in-xīnīxanp'de^ε I sniff (cf. *xīn* mucus)

s'as'a'nhap'de^ε I stand around (not trying to help anyone) (cf. *s'a's'ant'e^ε I shall stand*)

s'in-wi'lī'k'ap'de^ε I blow my nose

bā^a-s'o'wō^{uε}k'ap'de^ε I jump up (48.15; 49.1)

A number of Class II intransitive verbs show a suffixed *-p'* in all forms but the aorist. It is not possible to say whether this *-p'* is morphologically identical with the *-p'* of verbs like

ts!ayāp'de^ε or not, but such seems likely. Intransitives with non-aoristic *-p'*- are:

lāp'de^ε I shall become (92.11) (aorist *lā^alīt'e^ε*) 186.19

sana'p'de^ε I shall fight (aorist *sā^ansa'nt'e^ε* [184.13])

tgānp'de^ε I shall be cold (aorist *t'gunāk'de^ε* [90.3])

Finally, all Class II intransitives have a *-p'*- before the formal elements in the first person plural and impersonal of the aorist and future and in the imperative and inferential modes:

s'as'inīp'ik' we stand

s'a's'anp'ia^{uεt} they (indef.) will stand

s'a's'anp' stand!

s'a's'anp'anp' do ye stand!

s'a's'anp'ga^{εm} stand! (future)

s'a's'anp'k' he stood, it seems

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

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

ha^ε-ī-hū'lūp'li^{εn} I skinned them (cf. *ha^ε-i-hū'lū^ūhal* they skinned them all 160.5)

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

ts!ayama'^{εn} I hide it (124.23) (cf. *ts!ayāp'de^ε* I hide [24.2])

As intransitive suffix it appears in:

t'gisi'^{εm} it gets green

xudumt'^{εε} I whistle (base *xud-*; related to *xdet'* flute [?]) (33.16)

ts!us'umt'^{εε} I make noise by drawing in breath between teeth and lower lip (78.9,10,12; 79.1,3,5; 96.9,10,12)

It may not be altogether accidental that the latter two verbs both express the making of a noise. This idea is found expressed also in:

ts!elemt'^{εε} I rattle (102.13) (cf. *ī-ts!ele'ts'lili^{εn}* I rattle it)

but the *-m-* of this verb may be really an older *-n-* dissimilated to *-m-* because of the preceding *-l-*. The *-m-* corresponds to an evidently identical suffixed *-am-* of the related noun *ts!ela'm*

HAIL 152.12,16.

4. *-d-*, *-t'*- seems to be found only with transitive verbs:

wā^ahimida'^εn I speak to him (but with unexpressed object

wā^ahimi'xade^ε I was talking [to somebody] (59.16; 63.10)

dak'^h-hene^εda'^εn I wait for him (cf. *hene'xade^ε* I wait)

k!ūyūmida'^εn I call his name from distance, greet him (198.11)

(probably derivative of *k!ū'yam* friend! 31.6, 8)

s'omoda'^εn I cook it (58.10) (cf. *s'ūmū'xade^ε* I cook)

ts'!ūmūmt'a^εn I cook it (170.17,19); future *s'ūmt'an¹* (170.16)

(cf. *s'ūmxi'* stirring paddle 170.14)

dā^a-minzlk'da^εn I taught him; future *dā^a-miñt'an*

lawadana'^εn I hurt him (186.12)

yamada'^εn I ask him (70.6; 74.10; 120.16)

wiyimada'^εn I "wish" to him, work supernatural power on him

(57.1)

mīlī'da'^εn I love her

xā^ε-ī-ts'!iwi't' he split it (26.6) (cf. *ī-ts'!iwi'it's'!au* he split it up)

It will be noticed that most of the verbs listed imply, not direct physical action, but rather the direction of one's thought or words toward another person. It is therefore highly probable that the *-d-* (except possibly in *s'omd-* cook) is identical with the *-d-* implied in the *-s-* (= *-tx-*) of the indirect object (§ 47). Unlike the *-d-* here discussed, however, the *-s-* of the indirect object can be used only if the indirect object is not of the third person. It is clear that *-d-* is not really quite in line with the other suffixes that we have termed "petrified," this being shown, among other things, by the fact that it may be preceded by other suffixes, as in *dā^a-minzlk'-da^εn*.

Evidently quite distinct from this indirective *-d-* suffix is the *-(a)d-* suffix of a few intransitive class II verbs in which the *-d-* is followed by *-ī-* in aorist, *-i-* in non-aorist forms (see § 40, 16). This aoristic *-ad-* appears always unlauded to *-id-*.

cugwidī-, non-aorist *cuk'di-* lie curled up

wīk'!idī-, non-aorist *wī^εk'di-* lie heaped about

t'gup'idī (box, canoe) lies bottom side up

5. *-t'!*-. This consonant has been found as an evident suffix in:

bā^a-dī'nīt!ana^εn I strung (dentalia) on line (59.9) (cf. *dīnk!*-stretch out)

t'gemzēt!ia^{uε} it gets dark 188.14 (cf. *t'ge^εmt'ga'mx* it is quite dark [cf. 196.7]; *alt'ge'm* black 162.4; [196.6])

¹ *s'om-d-* and *s'ūm-t'a-* are parallel forms of one verb that seem to be used with no difference in meaning, though their aorist stems are formed according to different types.

6. **-g-, -k'-**. As in the case of *-b-*, it seems advisable to recognize two distinct *-g-* suffixes, the one appearing as a transitivizing element, the other as a verb-making element added on to nouns or adjectives. Examples of its transitive use are:

p!alaga'εn I tell him a myth

al-ts!ayaga'εn I wash him (64.5)

p!i-wa-gelegi'εn I drill for fire with it (88.12)

i-k!us-gi'xink' he will pinch me (116.8,12) (cf. *i-k!us-ū'k!was'i* he always pinches me)

da-t!abaga'εn I finish it (61.8; 176.6)

dā^a-dalaga'mda^{εn} I put holes in his ear (22.1) (cf. *dū^a-dele'p'i* he stuck it across his ear)

swadāt'ga^{εn} I run after him (59.13; 75.3; 120.19, 20)

Examples of its use in adjectival intransitives are:

t'ūwū'εk' he feels hot, it is hot 94.15 (cf. *t'ū* hot 57.15)

dūwū'εk' it is good, he does right 180.11 (cf. *dū* good, beautiful 58.7,8)

t'gunūk'de^ε I feel cold (90.3) (cf. *t'gūnp'ia^{usεt}* it will be cold)

xuma'k'de^ε I shall be full, satiated (128.11) (cf. *xu'ma* food 54.4 and *s'ix-xu'm* dried venison 43.12,13)

gel-dulu'k'de^ε I am lazy

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

de-lümü'sgade^ε I tell the truth (184.3)

s'in-wilik'ap'dam you blow your nose

yala'k'de^ε I dive (connected with *yal-* lose [?]) (60.10,11; 61.11)

In *wa-t!ilik'ni^{εn}* I GAVE EACH ONE (130.4) (future *wa-dilnhin*) and in the morphologically analogous *dā^a-minik'da^{εn}* I TAUGHT HIM (future *dā^amiñt'an*), the *-k'-* is confined to the aorist. In *wēt'gi* HE TOOK IT FROM HIM 16.13, the *-g-* is found only in the third personal object of the various tense-modes (*wēt'gin* IT WAS TAKEN FROM HIM 13.11; *wede'k'ink'* HE WILL TAKE IT FROM HIM (17.10,11). All other forms of the aorist stem *wed-* (verb-stem *wede-*) lack it:

wēsi (from **wēt'si*) he took it from me (17.3)

wede'sbink' he will take it from you (16.10,11)

7. **-k!-, -k!w-**. These elements seem to be characteristic of transitives. Examples are:

wi^ε-i-t'ge'ye^εk!in he is surrounded on all sides (transitives and passives are closely related) 48.5,13; (176.14)

al-p!iⁱ-ts!u'luk!i^{εn} I burn it (73.9,12; 96.26) (cf. *al-p!iⁱ-ts!u'l-ts!alh!p'* do ye burn it! 198.10)

dī^ε-ī-sgü'yük!^{iεn} I make it fall (48.7,8,12)

he^ε-de-le'lek!^{iεn} I finish talking 50.4

dī'nik!^{aεn} I stretch it out (see under suffix *-t!-*) (59.9; 62.1)

he'yek!^{iεn} I left it over (61.7; 196.8)

p!ūwū'uk!^{aεn} I name him (158.5) (cf. *p!ū'wūp!ausi* he keeps calling me)

ts!ⁱni'εk' he pinched it 31.1; (32.7)

ba-i-yunu'k!^{iεn} I pull it out forcibly

he^ε-ī-le'mek!^{iεn} I killed them off (14.13; 43.1; 108.20)

ī-go'yok!^{iεn} I pushed him (49.2) (cf. *ī-goyogiyi'^{iεn}* I kept pushing him)

ba-i-s'in-xi'lik!^{wiεn} I blow my nose (cf. *xin* mucus)

p!a-i-t'gwili'k!^{wanaεn} I spill (water, blood) (58.1; 72.8) (cf. *t'gwili't'gwal^ε* it keeps dropping)

-k!- seems to occur also in the perhaps only secondarily intransitive:

bā^a-s'owō'us^εk'ap'de^ε (= *-s'owō'uk!-hap'-*) I jump up (48.15; 49.1)
(cf. *s'o'wō'us^εa^{us}* he keeps jumping [112.5,10])

8. **-ts!-**. Only in a very few cases is this suffixed consonant met with:

t'geits!ⁱ round thing lies (138.24)

dīⁱ-t'gumu'tc!^{iεn} I squeeze and crack it (cf. *dīⁱ-t'gumu't'gimi^{iεn}* I squeeze and crack many insects)

yowō'us he starts 186.10; *yowō'uts!^aana^{εn}* I cause him to start

ha-yau-t'ge'nets!^{iεn} I put it about my waist

ha^εw-ī-ha'nats!^{iεn} I made it stop (raining) (152.16)

Judging from these few examples, *-ts!-* is characteristic, like *-b-*,

-g-, *-p!-*, *-k!-*, and *-t!-*, of transitive verbs; *t'geits!ⁱ* is probably related to a transitive **t'ge'yets!^aana^{εn}*, as is *dink!ⁱ* IT LIES STRETCHED OUT to *dī'nik!^aana^{εn}*.

-s- occurs as an evident suffix in:

dīⁱ-t!ī'si'^{iεn} I mashed them (cf. *dīⁱ-t!iyī't!īya^{εn}* I mashed them one after another)

9. **-(a)l-**. This suffix includes both intransitives and transitives:

al-gesegasa!^lt'e^ε I was washing

k'ebilīt'e^ε I was long absent (124.20)

s'uwilūt'e^ε I sit (21.1); 72.9; (178.21)

yamlūt'e^ε I look pretty ([?]=fat, sleek; cf. *ya'mx* fat, grease 54.5)

al-we'k!^{al}a^{εn} I shine (126.3; 128.14)

ī-t'wī'yili'^{iεn} I make it whirl up

ī-k!^ewili'^{iεn} I whirl it around

ī-t'ge'yili'^{iεn} I roll it around

al-t'gī'ya'lx (tears) roll down his face 138.25

bā^ε-ī-t'gwā^εla'lx (children) run about

k'ewe'k'awa^εl he barks

de-gūlū'k!^{al}x it was blazing 188.15

The idea of unbroken continuity is fairly evidently shown by these examples to be connected with the suffix *-(a)l-*.

10. *-(a)n-*. Quite a number of intransitives are found that have this element, to which no particular meaning can be assigned. Such are:

s'as'inūt'e I stand (34.1; 77.9; 144.14,17)

moyūgwa'nt'e I'm spoiled

hūū'li'nt'e I am tired (102.1) (cf. *hūū'hilint'e* I used to be tired [48.11])

liqint'e I am resting (100.14) (cf. *liqilaga'nt'* he kept resting 102.1)

In a large number of transitives a suffixed *-n-* is also found, without its being clearly possible to identify it either with the causative *-n-* or the indirect objective *-n(an)-* FOR:

lawadana'εn I hurt him (186.12)

ts'!ībina'εn I make a speech to him (146.11; 178.11)

wa-t!īlīk'ni'εn I gave each one (130.4)

k!emna'n I shall make it (28.2,13,14) (aorist without object *k!eme'nxa* he makes)

wa'ε-ū'gwini'εn I drink it with it (*ū'gwawa'nxde* I drink)

he'ε-wa'ε-wā'agini'n she is bought with it

The last two examples are rather different in character from the others. See § 64.

11. *-w-*. Two apparently quite distinct *-w-* suffixes must be taken account of.

- (1) A suffixed *-w-* is found to characterize in all forms a group of intransitives belonging to Type 2; it is only in certain derivative forms that the *-w-* is lacking, and thereby possibly shown to be a non-radical element:

hiwiliūt'e I ran to (24.1), but *hiwiliūt'e* I used to run to

sgeleūt'e I shouted (196.1), but *sgeleūt'e*¹ I kept shouting (59.3)

Examples of this group of verbs are:

Aorist
sgele'ue he shouted 59.4; 90.8

hiwili'ue he ran to 47.1; 70.7

bili'ue he jumped 48.9; 58.3

de-wiliwa'lda'εn I fight him (derivative of intransitive)(27.3)

hili'ue he climbed (77.8)

Future (non-aorist)

sgelewa'εt' he will shout

hiwiliwa'εt' he will run to (136.21)

bilwa'εt' he will jump (160.16)

de-wilwa'ldan I shall fight him (33.2,3)

hilwa'εt' he will climb

¹ Still, in these frequentative (usitative) forms the absence of the *-w-* may be accounted for by supposing that it dropped off as a syllabic final after a consonant (see § 18). Then *sgeleūt'e* is for an older **sgeleūt'ue*. This supposition is greatly strengthened by the future *sgelewa'εt'e* I'LL KEEP SHOUTING (cf. *sgelewada'ε* YOU WILL SHOUT).

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

ge wila'u run there! (29.10)

sgela'ut'e^e I shall shout

bila'ut'e^e I shall jump (160.17)

In these cases the evidence for the suffixal character of the *-w-* is rather slim. In one verb, however, it has a clearly intransitivizing influence:

tlemeyana'u^{ue} (second *a* inorganic) he goes with woman to see her married 148.6 : *tlamayana'eⁿ* I take her to her husband (148.5)

tlemeya'nwia'u^{ue} they (indef.) go with her to see her married 178.1

(2) *-w-* (*-aw-* after a consonant in the aorist) is characteristic of all tense-modes but, in some cases, the present imperative and inferential (probably for phonetic reasons, see §§ 11 and 18) of a number of transitive verbs, provided the object is of the third person. Such verbs are:

gayawa'eⁿ I eat it 30.11 (*gayaū* he ate it 54.5); future *ga-iwa'n* 128.18; noun of agent *ga-iwa'e^s* eater (of it) 94.3; but imperative *gaṛ* eat it! 32.4; *gaṛk'* he ate it (inferential) 142.19

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

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

ba-i-de-ye^egiwida'e^e you will drive (sickness) out of (body) 198.4,5; imperative *-ye^ega'u*

wā^agiwi'eⁿ I brought it to him (176.17); future *wagawi'n*; but *wā^aga'sbi'eⁿ* I brought it to you (194.11)

lā^ala'uhi he caused them to become (*lā^al-* become) 43.1

It is very likely that the absence of the *-w-* is conditioned, at least in certain forms, rather by phonetic than by morphologic motives (*gaṛ* from **gaṛw*; *sgālk'a^e* from **sgālwk'a^e*). This is rendered plausible by a form like *ga-iwawa'lsbink'* THEY WILL ALWAYS EAT YOU 26.8 (repetition of *-w-* in frequentative as in *al-sgalwalwi'n*), in which the object is not of the third person. The *-w-* seems to have been retained here because of the following vowel. The form *wā^aga'eⁿ* I BROUGHT IT (110.17) as com-

pared with *wā^agiwi'^εn* I BROUGHT IT TO HIM (future *waga'n*: *wagawi'n*) suggests that the signification of the *-w-* in transitive verbs is to indicate the indirect object, at least for the third person. It is, however, almost certainly accidental that *wā^agiwi'^εn* stands by the side of *wā^aga'sbi^εn* with *-s-* to indicate the indirect object. That *-w-* is not the morphologic equivalent of *-s-* is evidenced by the fact that it stands also by the side of the transitive connective consonant *-x-* (cf. *al-sgalawi'^εn*: *al-sgala'xbi^εn* I TURN MY HEAD TO LOOK AT YOU). It must be confessed that after all no very distinct signification can be attached to either the intransitive or transitive *-w-*.

12. **Constant -a.** A number of verbs whose stem (including petrified suffix) ends in two consonants add to this stem an *-a* that appears in all their forms, even though the consonant combination is one that may stand in a final position (cf. footnote, § 10). No reason can be assigned for the retention of the *-a* in all forms, except the ruling analogy of the aorist; in this tense-mode the *-a* is in all probability directly due to the consonant-cluster, as the aorist verb-forms to be presently given differ in this very respect from the aorist forms of other stems ending in two consonants (e. g., non-aorist *s'ü^ümt'a-* BOIL with constant *-a-*, though ending in a finally permissible consonant-cluster, because of aorist *ts'!üm^ümt'a-*; contrast non-aorist *s'omod-* BOIL without *-a-* because of aorist *s'omod-*). The following are examples of verbs of the character described:

| Aorist | Non-aorist |
|--|--|
| <i>swadāt'ga</i> he followed him 75.3 | <i>swa't'ga</i> follow him! |
| <i>mats!āsga</i> he always put it 132.9 | <i>masga'</i> put it! 104.5 |
| <i>ts'!üm^ümt'a</i> he boils it 30.2 | <i>s'ü^ümt'a</i> boil it! |
| <i>dā^a-minik'da</i> he taught him | <i>dā^a-miñt'a</i> teach him! (contrast <i>wā^ahīmt'</i> talk to him! with aorist <i>-himid-</i>) |

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

ī-klos'ōs'gi he keeps pinching him

That this constant *-a* is felt to be somewhat different in character from ordinary inorganic or connective *-a-* (as in *ts'!ela'mt'e^ε* or *wā^aga'sbi^εn*) is shown by the fact that it is changed to *-i-* when-

ever the object is not of the third person, in reciprocals, in reflexives, and in verbs with non-agentive *-x-*:

swedēt' gixi he followed me

dā^a-minīk'dixbi he taught you

yowō^{uε}snixbi^{εn} I cause you to start (but parallel *yowō^{uts}!anxbi^{εn}* with connecting *a*)

wayānhixbi^{εn} I put you to sleep; *waīnhixigam* I was put to sleep

ī-k!ūs'ūs'gixi he keeps pinching me; *ī-k!ūs'gixink'* he will pinch me

ī-t!ene'hisdam you hold me 86.13,14.

ī-lasgi'xant'p' touch one another!

ī-lesgi'k'wit' touching himself

bā^a-t'ek!ēlhixde^ε I keep bobbing up (60.11,13,14)

§ 43. FREQUENTATIVES AND USITATIVES

Frequentatives, continuatives, and usitatives are formed from simpler verb forms in great part by various methods of repetition of all or part of the phonetic material of the stem, to a somewhat less extent by means of suffixation. In many repetitive forms a distinct tendency to use a long vowel provided with a rising pitch-accent is observable. As it has not been found feasible to draw anything like sharp lines between the exact significations of the various repetitive forms, it seems best to dispose of the material from a purely formal point of view rather than to attempt to classify it rigidly into frequentatives, iteratives, usitatives, and continuatives. The methods of forming repetitives will be taken up in order.

1. *Type 13 of Stem-Formation.* It was remarked before that most verbs of this type normally employed in that form are such as to imply a repetition of the action they express. The type may, moreover, be freely formed from bases implying non-repetitive action whenever it is desired to convey a general frequentative or usitative meaning. The frequentative idea may have reference to the repetition of the act itself (iterative or usitative) or to the plurality of the transitive object or intransitive subject affected (distributive); any sharp characterization of the manner of the frequentative action in each case is, however, doubtless artificial apart from the context. The following examples of repetitive with corresponding non-repetitive forms will illustrate the general frequentative force:

| Non-repetitive verb-stem | Repetitive |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <i>lebe-</i> pick up and eat (seeds) | <i>le'ep'lap'</i> (non-aorist) pick and eat many (seeds)! 34.2 |
| <i>loho-n-</i> cause to die | <i>loho'lahana^{en}</i> I used to kill them |
| <i>wog-</i> arrive | <i>wogowa'ek'</i> many arrived 112.2 |
| <i>t!oxox-</i> (aorist) gather | <i>wa^ε-i-t!oxo't!ixi^{en}</i> I used to gather them |
| <i>dō^ux-</i> (non-aorist) | <i>wa^ε-i-dōxda'xk'</i> they have been gathering them (inferential) |
| <i>hen-d-</i> wait for | <i>hene'handa^{en}</i> I always used to wait for him |
| <i>odo-</i> hunt for | <i>odo'at'</i> she always hunted for them 116.6 |
| <i>og-</i> give to | <i>ogo'ak'i</i> he always gave them 112.17 |
| <i>dō^um-</i> kill | <i>dō^umda'mk'</i> he used to kill them (inferential) 25.1; 27.15 |
| <i>wīⁱ-</i> go, travel | <i>wiyiwīt'e^ε</i> I used to go (there) (96.1) |
| <i>p!ā^ag-</i> swim | <i>p!aga'p!a^εk'</i> he used to swim |
| <i>ts'liu-d-</i> split | <i>xa^ε-i-ts'!wī'its'!au</i> he split it to pieces |
| <i>sgīp!-</i> cut | <i>sgī^εp'sga'p'gam</i> they had been all cut up (21.2; 138.7) |
| <i>hūl-p!-</i> skin, peel off bark | <i>he^{εε}-i-hū'lūhal</i> he kept peeling off bark (160.5) |
| <i>hog-</i> run | <i>hogo'hak'de^ε</i> I am always running |
| <i>he^εl-</i> sing | <i>hele'hal^ε</i> he used to sing |
| <i>al-hūi-x-</i> hunt | <i>al-hūyū'hūi'x</i> he always hunted (-hūi- = -hay-, §8) 86.1 |

It will be observed that the repetitive form is, on the whole, built up on the verbal base, not the verb or aorist stem. Thus, e. g., the verb-stems *lebe-* and *loho-* do not enter into the formation of the frequentatives at all, which are formed, according to Type 13a, directly from the simple bases *leb-* (verb-stem *le^εp'lab-*, aorist *lebelab-*) and *loh-* (verb-stem *lohlah-*, aorist *loholah-*). Similarly, a form like *p!aga'p!a^εk'* shows no trace of the aorist stem *p!agai-* of the simplex; verbs of Type 6 generally show the fortis consonant of the base in all forms of the frequentative (see §40, 6): *sgot!o'sgidi^{en}* I CUT IT TO PIECES (144.2) (cf. *sgō'uda^{en}* I CUT IT 72.10, base *sgōt!-*

45.10). Suffixes with no distinct derivative signification drop off in the frequentative (cf. *ts'iu-d-* and *hül-p!*- above, also §42 passim), but, if they are functional elements, are put after the reduplicated complex (cf. *loho-n-* and *hen-d-* above); frequentatives thus become, as was indicated in the treatment of petrified suffixes, criteria for the determination of the simple base. Some verbs, however, retain a petrified suffix in the frequentative without apparent reason: *ts'ümümt'a* HE BOILS IT; *ts'ümü'ts'amt'a* HE ALWAYS BOILS IT.

The only use made of the aorist stem in the formation of frequentatives is in the case of such forms as have an initial fortis in the aorist as against a media in the verb-stem, mainly verbs of Type 8. The aorist of the corresponding frequentative also shows the initial fortis, but is not otherwise influenced by the form of the aorist stem of its simplex; e. g., aorist of simplex, *t!oxox-*, but of frequentative, *t!ox-o-t!ax-* with retained *t!*-. Such verbs as aorist *t!oxot!ax*, non-aorist *dō^ux^dax-*, are to be considered as of mixed type (in this case partly 8, partly 13*a*).

Verbs like *odo^εad-* and *ogo^εag-* with a secondarily developed glottal catch in the aorist (see §6) seem to retain this catch in non-aorist forms, a stop + the catch resulting in a fortis:

aorist *ogo^εag-* always give to; non-aorist *o'k'[w]ag-*

A small sub-class is formed by those frequentatives that omit the *-a-* of the repeated base (Type 13*c*). Such are:

| Verb-stem | Repetitive |
|---|---|
| <i>wa-yanagwa'n</i> I shall run after him | <i>wa-yana-inagwa^εn</i> I used to run after him |
| <i>waīt'e^e</i> I shall sleep (71.15; 142.14) | <i>wayaūhide^ε</i> I used to sleep (- <i>h-</i> conditioned by accent) |
| <i>he^εl-yo^una'n</i> I shall sing a song (106.7) | <i>yoinoina^εn</i> I always sing it |
| <i>waga'n</i> I shall bring it | <i>wagao'k'na^εn</i> I used to bring it (? = * <i>wagawg-</i> , but see 4, footnote) (45.6) |

A very peculiar type of frequentative formation is illustrated by:

loha'lhik' (*a'* is inorganic) they used to die (inferential)(168.9);
aorist stem doubtless *loholhi-*

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

2. *Type 4 of Reduplication.* This method of forming the frequentative seems to be but a variant of the first (the repeated initial consonant coming last instead of immediately after the connecting vowel, or the initial consonant not being repeated at all if there is a petrified suffix), and is found in only a few verbs, where it takes the place of the first method. A glottal catch generally separates the repeated vowel of the stem from the immediately following *a*. Examples are:

| Aorist stem | Repetitive |
|--|--|
| $k!eme \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [-n-] \\ [-i-] \end{array} \right\} \text{make}$ | $k!eme^{\epsilon}amga^{\epsilon}n$ I always make it (instead of $*k!eme^{\epsilon}k!ama^{\epsilon}n$) (77.5); $k!em^{\epsilon}a^{\epsilon}mk^{\epsilon}$ (= $^{\epsilon}amg-k^{\epsilon}$ he used to make it (inferential) 122.18 |
| $t!omom-$ kill | $t!omo^{\epsilon}amda^{\epsilon}n$ I used to kill them (instead of $*t!omo^{\epsilon}t!ama^{\epsilon}n$) (13.10; 54.3) |
| $k!\bar{u}w\bar{u}w-$ throw away (pl. obj.) | $k!\bar{u}w\bar{u}^{\epsilon}auga^{\epsilon}n$ I used to throw them away (instead of $*k!\bar{u}w\bar{u}^{\epsilon}k!awa^{\epsilon}n$) (134.6) |
| $p!\bar{u}w\bar{u}-k!$ call, name | $p!\bar{u}w\bar{u}^{\epsilon}a-uga^{\epsilon}n$ I keep calling his name (100.21) (instead of $*p!\bar{u}w\bar{u}^{\epsilon}p!auk!a^{\epsilon}n$; cf. $p!\bar{u}w\bar{u}^{\epsilon}p!aus^{\epsilon}i$ he keeps calling me by name) |
| $de-ts^{\epsilon}!ini^{\epsilon}-x-$ (= $ts^{\epsilon}!ini-k!-x-$) die | $de-ts^{\epsilon}!in^{\epsilon}anx$ he always died (instead of $*ts^{\epsilon}!in^{\epsilon}ts^{\epsilon}!anx$) 74.7 |
| $leme-k!$ take along (cf. 108.10) | $leme^{\epsilon}amk^{\epsilon}$ he used to take (everything) (instead of $*leme^{\epsilon}lamk^{\epsilon}$) |

If the initial consonant is a fortis, it becomes a media when repeated, as illustrated in the first three examples. This may be explained by catch dissimilation (see §22)—e. g., a theoretical $*k!\bar{u}w\bar{u}^{\epsilon}au^{\epsilon}k^{\epsilon}$ (from $*k!\bar{u}w\bar{u}^{\epsilon}k!au$) is dissimilated to $k!\bar{u}w\bar{u}^{\epsilon}auk^{\epsilon}$. Similarly a theoretical $*p!\bar{u}w\bar{u}^{\epsilon}au^{\epsilon}k^{\epsilon}$ (from $*p!\bar{u}w\bar{u}^{\epsilon}p!au^{\epsilon}k^{\epsilon}$) is dissimilated to $p!\bar{u}w\bar{u}^{\epsilon}auk^{\epsilon}$. The non-aorist frequentative forms of these verbs sometimes follow the first method of formation (cf. $d\bar{o}^{\epsilon}mda^{\epsilon}mk^{\epsilon}$ under method 1), sometimes the second (as $k!em^{\epsilon}amg-$).

3. $c + v + c_1 + v + c$. The few verbs that belong here differ from the preceding in that they repeat only the initial consonant after the repeated stem-vowel (Type 11). An example is:

Aorist stem

dī-t!ūgūi- wear

Repetitive

dī-t!ūgū'ēt' he keeps wearing it, used to wear it

As in the first method, so also in the second and third, non-radical functionless elements of the simplex disappear in the frequentative. Thus the suffixed *-i-* of *k!emēi* HE MADE IT and *-n-* of *k!eme'nxa^ε* HE MAKES, also the aorist characteristic of *dī-t!ūgūi* HE WORE IT, are not found in their corresponding frequentative forms.

4. *v + c + v' + c*. The large number of verbs whose frequentatives follow this formula (1*a* of types of reduplication) always have another consonant, whether part of the stem or a petrified suffix, after the non-fortis repeated consonant characterizing the frequentative, so that the appearance at least of infixation is often produced. Externally, frequentatives of this type resemble aorists of verbs of Type 8, but differ from them in the consistent length of the repeated vowel. In signification these verbs are generally continuative or usitative rather than properly frequentative or iterative. As examples may be given:

Aorist stem

Repetitive

k!os'o-g- pinch*ī-k!os'ōs'g i* he is always pinching him*himi-d-* talk to*wā^α-himi'īmda'^εn* I used to talk to him*baxam-* come*baxāxmia^{uε}* they keep coming (194.13)*t!ūlü-g-* follow*ha-t!ūlü'ūlga'^εn* I keep following in (trail)*al-sgal-aw-* turn head to look at*al-sgalā'āliwi'^εm* I keep turning my head to look at them*gaya-w-* eat*gayāiwa'^εn* I used to eat it*hene-d-* wait for*hene'nda'^εn* I keep waiting for him*p!alag-* tell a myth*p!alā'algā'n* the myth is always told*hem-g-* take out*ba-i-heme'mga'^εn* I always took them out*ūyū^εs'-* laugh*ūyū'^εī's'de^ε* (dissimilated from *ūyū'^εī's'- [ʔ]) I keep laughing*ts!ayaq-* shoot*ts!ayaik'* he used to shoot them 154.14*yilim-* ask for*yilī'nma'^εn* I keep asking for it (see § 21)

| Aorist stem | Repetitive |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>ts!aya-m-</i> hide | <i>ts!aya-ima'εn</i> I always hide it (134.8) |
| <i>gini-g</i> go to | <i>ginɪnk'</i> they went there one after another 46.11 |
| <i>mats!ag-</i> put | <i>mats!āsga</i> they always put it away 132.9 |
| <i>wits!im-</i> move | <i>wits!ɪsmade^ε</i> I keep moving |
| <i>sgelw-</i> shout | <i>sgelɛlt'e^ε</i> (see § 18) I keep shouting (59.3) |
| <i>hiwiliw-</i> run to | <i>hiwilit'e^ε</i> (see § 18) I keep running |

The verb *yewei-* RETURN seems to form its frequentative according to method 4, but with added *-g-*:

yewè'ok' he used to come back 47.4; 116.2; *yewèoga't'* you used to come back; *yewèo'k'de^ε*, *yewèuk'de^{ε1}* I used to come back

There is not enough material available to determine in every case the non-aoristic forms of the frequentatives of this group. As a general rule, however, it seems that the non-aoristic stem of the frequentative is formed by repeating a consonant or semi-vowel, but in such a manner as to indicate the non-aoristic simplex back of it. Thus the frequentative of the inferential *ts!aimk'* HE HID IT is *ts!a-aimk'* HE WAS ALWAYS HIDING IT; of *bil[à]juk'* HE JUMPED 160.17 it is *bilwàlk'* (? = **bilwàlwk'*) THEY ALWAYS JUMPED 160.16. From *gark'* (inferential) HE ATE IT 142.19 is formed *gayark'* (if really inferential in form; perhaps third person subject aorist *gayai-g-* in contrast to *-gayāiw* of other persons, see above) HE USED TO EAT IT 54.6, which, though resembling the aorist in the repetition of the stem-vowel, differs from it, probably for phonetic reasons, in the absence of the *-w-*. The form *wits!è'smade^ε* HE WILL KEEP MOVING, given as the future of *wits!ɪsmade^ε*, can not, for want of parallel forms, be accounted for. From *sgālw-*, non-aorist of *sgalw-*, is formed the frequentative *sgalw-alw-* (perhaps according to Type 8, *lw-* being a consonatic unit).

5. *Vowel lengthening.* Many verbs, particularly such as belong to Type 2, obtain a usitative signification by merely lengthening the short repeated vowel of the stem, this vowel, when stressed, assuming the falling accent. Examples of this simple process are:

¹It is not at all certain that the *-o-* (*-u-*) of these forms really represents the *-w-* of the stem. It is quite probable that there is a distinct type of frequentative in *repeated vowel+og-*, in which case *wagao'k'nān* I USED TO BRING IT (see above under 1) would be another example.

| Simplex | Repetitive |
|---|--|
| <i>yimi's'a^ε</i> he dreams | <i>yimī'is'a^ε</i> he is always dreaming |
| <i>lūk!ū'xa^ε</i> he sets traps | <i>lūk!ū'u^uxa^ε</i> he used to set traps |
| <i>geyewa'lxde^εda^ε</i> <i>ba-ik!iyi'εk'</i> when I ate he came | <i>geyewa'lxde^εda^ε</i> <i>ba-i-k!iyi'is^εk'</i> whenever I used to eat he came |
| <i>k'ewe'k'awa^εl</i> he barks | <i>k'ewe'εk'awa^εl</i> he is always bark- ing |

As the last example shows, by this method verbs which are already frequentative in form can be made to take on a usitative meaning.

6. *ǔ* + (*e* +) *ha*. The accented vowel (*ǔ*) of frequentatives conforming to this formula is either the second vowel of the stem of the simplex or the repeated vowel of the stem not found in the simplex, and is followed by the last consonant (semi-vowel) of such verb-stems as end in two consonants. The forms that belong to this group seem in some cases to have rather a continuative than iterative force. Examples are:

| Simplex | Repetitive |
|---|---|
| <i>lohōn</i> he caused them to die (100.8) | <i>lohōnha</i> he keeps killing them |
| <i>liwila'ut'e^ε</i> I looked (59.14) | <i>liwilhaut'e^ε</i> I kept looking (144.19) |
| <i>wō'ult'</i> she went for (wood) (non- aorist <i>woo-</i>) (162.8); 186.6 | <i>wo^εō'uha</i> she used to go for wood 43.15; 158.18 |
| <i>dā^a-sgek!i</i> he listened 102.8 | <i>dā^a-sgek!eīha</i> he listened around 102.3 |
| <i>dā^a-agani'εn</i> I heard it (55.3) | <i>dā^a-agānhi'εn</i> I used to hear about it |
| <i>s'u^εwilī</i> he sits, stays 21.1 | <i>s'ū'εalha^ε</i> they always stayed (to- gether) 112.2 |
| | <i>s'ū'εalhibik'</i> we always stay to- gether |
| <i>s'as'inūt'e^ε</i> I stand (34.1) | <i>s'as'a'nhap'de^ε</i> I stand around |

The last two examples do not show a rising pitch-accent, because the vowel (*-a-*) preceding the *-l-* and *-n-* respectively is inorganic and therefore incapable of carrying a rising or raised accent (cf. as parallel *bila'ut'e^ε* I SHALL JUMP, not **bilaūt'e^ε*, because of inorganic *-a-*). They also illustrate the loss in the frequentative of a non-radical element (*-ī-*) of the simplex; in *s'ū'εalha^ε* the loss of the *-ī-* involves also the transfer of the verb to the first class of intransitives (second person singular, Class I, *s'ū'εalhat'* YOU STAY AROUND; Class II, *s'u^εwilī'am* YOU SIT).

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

| Aorist (or verb) stem | Repetitive |
|--|---|
| <i>t!oxox-</i> gather | <i>wa-^εi-t!oxōlhi^εn</i> I always gather them |
| <i>(bā^a-t'ek!-x</i> emerge) | <i>bā^a-t'ek!ēlhixia^{ue}</i> they all emerged 60.11 |
| <i>(sgīp!-</i> cut) | <i>bā^a-t'ek!ēlhixde^ε</i> I keep emerging (60.14) |
| <i>k!ot'k!ad-</i> break | <i>xa-^εi-sgīp!lhi</i> he cut them all through 26.11 |
| <i>(al-xīk!-</i> see) | <i>xa-^εi-γā^a-k!odōlhi</i> he always just broke them in two 29.1 |
| <i>gwidi</i> (<i>k'w'd</i>)- throw | <i>al-xīk!lhi^εn</i> I used to see him |
| <i>(lok!-</i> trap) | <i>gwidi^{lha}</i> he kept throwing it (164.11) |
| | <i>lok!ōlha</i> he was always trapping them 78.4; 100.4 |

The non-aoristic forms of these frequentatives dispense with the repeated vowel (*ǔ*) characteristic of the aorist, so that the introduction of an inorganic *-a'*- is necessitated:

gwida'lan I shall keep throwing it
al-xīk!a'lhik' I used to see him (inferential)

The remarks made under method 1 in regard to the formation of frequentatives directly from the verb-stem rather than the aorist stem apply also here (*sgot!ōlha* 108.8 from verb-stem *sgōt!-* CUT, aorist *sgō^ud-*, like *sgot!o'sgat'*).

8. *v + w + v + tha*. Only two verbs have been found that follow this very irregular formula for the frequentative:

| Simplex | Repetitive |
|--|---|
| <i>lāp'</i> become! 25.2 | <i>{ lawa'lhīp'</i> always become! (78.5) <i>dahōxa lawa'lhida^ε</i> whenever it became evening 44.1; 78.6 |
| <i>lā^alēⁿ</i> it became 22.7 | |
| <i>liⁱgwa'^εn</i> I fetch (game) home (70.3,5; 164.4) | <i>liⁱwi'lhagwa'^εn</i> I always come home with (game) (136.2) |

The latter of these shows at the same time an unaccountable loss of the *-g-* of the stem; the future of the simplex, *liⁱgwa'ⁿ*, probably does not exhibit an absolute loss of the *-g-*, but rather a contraction of *liⁱg-gw-* to *liⁱgw-*.

TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 44-51)

§ 44. General Remarks

Under this head may be conveniently listed a number of suffixes that either transitivize intransitives (causative, comitative, indirective *-amd-*, *-ald-*) or are characteristic of transitive verbs (indirective *-s-* = *-tx-* TO, indirective *-an(an)-* FOR, indirect reflexive). It must be confessed, however, that the various suffixes may be so thoroughly interwoven among themselves and with the purely formal elements that follow, that a certain amount of arbitrariness can hardly be avoided in treating of them. The suffixes will now be taken up in order.

§ 45. Causative *-(a)n-*

Causatives are formed from intransitives by the addition of *-n-* to the intransitive form, minus, of course, its formal pronominal elements. If the final sound preceding the *-n-* is a vowel, the suffix can be directly appended, the vowel being generally lengthened; a final consonant (or semivowel), however, generally, though not always, requires a connective *-a-* (*-i-* when unlauded) between it and the suffix; doublets (with and without connective *-a-*) sometimes occur, the combination of consonant + *-n-* then taking a constant *-a* (*-i*) after it. If the accented vowel (*ṽ*) of the aorist immediately precedes the *-n-* in all forms, an inorganic *-h-* must be introduced, the combination *-nh-* then necessitating a following constant *-a*; doublets, conditioned by the position of the accent, here also occur. Certain suffixed elements (*-i-*, *-īi-*) characteristic of intransitives drop off before the causative *-n-*, yet in some forms they are retained; intransitivizing elements naturally remain, for without them the verb would itself be transitive and incapable of becoming a causative. The aorist and non-aorist forms of the causative, with the qualification just made, are built up on the corresponding tense-mode forms of the primitive verb. Examples of causative *-(a)n-* are:

| Intransitive | Causative |
|---|--|
| <i>yelnada'</i> ^ε you will be lost (<i>a</i> palatalized by preceding <i>y</i> to <i>-e-</i>) 14.3 | <i>yalnanada'</i> ^ε you will lose it |
| <i>yowo'</i> ^ε he is 21.1 | <i>bā^ε-ī-yowoni'</i> ^ε <i>n</i> I woke him up (literally, I caused him to be up with my hand) 16.4 |

Intransitive

Causative

t'ūwū'εk' he is hot 94.15
ba-i-biliwa't you ran out 24.15

hāx it burns 94.18

t'aga'ie he cries 62.2

{ *hoyo't* he dances 46.12
hoida'εt' he will dance

yā^an- go (aorist)

yana- go (non-aorist)

hene'εn they were used up 184.6

yowo'εs he started, was startled
 186.10

yō'ue^ssdā^a he will start 186.10

{ *t!obigī* he lies like dead
t!obaga'sdā^a he will lie like
 dead (148.8)

s'as'inī he stands 144.14

s'a's'ant'ā^a he will stand

de-gülü'k!alx it blazes 188.15

p'ele'xa^ε he goes to war 126.13

dak'-limimxgwa^ε (tree) falls on
 him (108.12)

{ *ba-i-yowona'εn* I miss him in
 shooting (? = I cause him to
 be out) (138.5)

ba-i-yowōnha^{εn}
t'ūwūgana'εn I make him hot
ba-i-biliwana't' he ran him out

{ *hāxna* he burned it 98.8
hāxank'wa he burned him up
 27.16

{ *t'agā^ana'εn* I make him cry
t'egēnxi he makes me cry
hoyodana'εn I make him dance
hoidana'n I shall make him
 dance

{ *yā^ana'n* he made him go; *yā^a-
 nana'εn* I made him go
yānha (= **yān-nha*) he made
 him go; *yānha^{εn}* I made
 him go.

yana^ana'n¹ I shall cause him
 to go

ī-henenini'εn I used them up
 { *yōwō'uts!anxibi^{εn}* I startled you
yowō'ue^ssnixbi^{εn} (for change of a
 to *i* see § 42, 12)

{ *yō'uts!anan* I shall startle him
yō'ue^ssnan

t!obigīnha^{εn} I make him lie
 like dead

t!obaga'snan I shall make him
 lie like dead

{ *s'as'inīnha^{εn}* I make him
 stand

s'as'ānha^{εn}
s'a's'anhan I shall make him
 stand

de-gülü'k!alxna^{εn} I make fire
 blaze

p'ele'xana^{εn} I make him go to
 war

dak'-limimxgwadini^{εn} I chop
 (tree) on to him

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

Intransitive

Causative

yewé'is he returned 49.10;
88.5

bā^s-ī-yewēn he cured him (lit-
erally, he caused him with
his hand to return up) 15.2

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

lohōnha he used to kill them; *lohōn* he killed them 142.9

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

da-lōnha^{en} I lied to him; *de-lūnhixi* he lied to me (intransitive
da-lōt'e^e I shall lie [110.23])

gel-wayā'na'^{en} I slept with her (26.4); *gel-wa-ina'n* I shall sleep
with her (108.3) (intransitive *wayānt'e^e* I sleep [188.22]; *wait'e^e*
I shall sleep [188.20]); but *wayānha^{en}* I cause him to sleep
(162.1); *waīnhan* I shall cause him to sleep, *waīnha* put him
to sleep! 106.4,8

The connective *a* of the causative suffix *-an-* in the aorist is treated differently from the *a* of the non-aorist forms in so far as in the former case the *-an-* diphthong, when stressed, receives a raised accent, while in the latter the *a*, as a strictly inorganic element, takes the falling accent. Thus:

Aorist

Non-aorist

hō^ugwa'n he made him run
(*yewēn* he caused him to return)
(*p!agān* he bathed him [186.25])

hogwa'n make him run!
ye^ewa'n make him return!
p!ā^aga'n bathe him! 186.24

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

Aorist

Non-aorist

v̄-k!ū^uma'n he fixed it 150.13
(*k!emēnabi^{en}* I make you 27.9)

v̄-k!ūma'n fix it!
k!ema'n make it! 186.24

§ 46. Comitative *-(a) gw-*

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

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

| Intransitive | Comitative |
|---|---|
| <i>yā^an-</i> go (aorist) | <i>yānk^w</i> he takes it along (lit., he goes having it) 17.13 |
| <i>yana-</i> (non-aorist) | <i>yanagwa^wnk^w</i> he will take it along |
| <i>ligi-</i> come home from hunt (aorist) | <i>ligik^w</i> he fetched game home 70.3 |
| <i>līg-</i> (non-aorist) | <i>līgwa^wnk^w</i> (= <i>līg-gwa^wnk^w</i>) he will fetch game home (130.6) |
| <i>gini(g)-</i> go to | <i>ginīgwa^wen</i> I take it to (31.11); also <i>giniyagwa^wen</i> (13.12); future <i>ginagwa^wn</i> (= <i>ginag-gwa^wn</i> with inorganic <i>a</i> because of preceding <i>n</i>) (146.6) |
| <i>dal-yewey-</i> run away | <i>dal-yeweya^wk^w</i> he ran away with it |
| <i>wī-</i> travel | <i>wīk^wwa</i> he travels around with it 14.2 |
| <i>lō^wl-</i> play | <i>lō^wlagwa^wen</i> I play with him (124.14) |
| <i>daway-</i> fly | <i>bā^a-wa-dawayak^w</i> he flies with it |
| <i>henen-</i> use up, be satiated | <i>henenagwa^wen</i> I eat it all (43.12) |
| <i>yewey-</i> return | <i>yeweyagwa^wen</i> I fetch them back (30.1; 47.13) |
| <i>yaway-</i> talk | <i>yawayagwa^wen</i> I talk about it (lit., I talk having it) 108.12 |
| <i>he^{el}-</i> sing (non-aorist) | <i>nāx-ī-he^{el}lagwa^wn</i> I shall sing with pipe in hand |
| <i>helel-</i> (aorist) | <i>ī-helel^{el}agwa^wen</i> I sing with it in hand |

| Intransitive | Comitative |
|---|--|
| <i>t!obagas-</i> lie like dead (non-aorist) | <i>nāx-da-t!obaga'sgwank'</i> he lies like dead with pipe in mouth |
| <i>ūyū^εs-</i> laugh | <i>ūyū'^εs'gwa^εn</i> I laugh at him |
| <i>baxam-</i> come | <i>da-yawwix baxama'k'^w</i> they came talking (literally, mouth-talking they-came-with) 126.2 |
| <i>biliw-</i> fight, jump | <i>lō^wx biliwagwana'k'</i> we play at fighting (literally, play we-fight-having) <i>wa-biliⁱgwa'^εn</i> I jump having it (= * <i>biliugwa'^εn</i> , see §7) |

If the object of the comitative verb is other than a third person, the suffix *-gw-* is followed by the indirective *-d-*, which does not ordinarily appear as such, but unites with the immediately following transitive connective *-x-* to form *-s-*; a connective *-a-* is inserted between the *-gw-* and the *-s-*, so that the whole comitative suffix for a first or second personal object is *-(a)gwas-*. Examples are:

ūyū^εs'gwasi he laughs at me

henenagwa'sam he ate us up (192.15)

bā^a-wa-dawiyagwa'sbink' he will fly up with you

The form *-gwad-* of the comitative suffix appears as such preceding *-in-* (umlauted from *-an-*) in the third personal object of indirect FOR-forms built up on intransitive verbs derived from transitives:

lūk!ū'xagwadini^εn I trap for him (probably = I cause [*-in*] him to be having [*-gwad-*][some one] to trap [*lūk!ū-xa-*][for him]); but *lūk!ū'xagwasi* he traps for me

p'ele'xagwadini^εn I go to war for him; but *p'ele'xagwasi* he goes to war for me

It is highly probable, however, that in such cases the *-gwad-* is to be definitely analyzed into a comitative element *-gwa-* + an indirective element *-d-* (*-t'*) TO, FOR; this seems to be pointed out by the fact that when the FOR-object becomes identical with the subject, i. e., when the verb becomes an indirect reflexive (FOR ONE'S SELF), the *-d-* immediately precedes the regular reflexive suffix *-gwi-*, leaving the causative suffix *-(a)n-* between it and the comitative suffix *-gw-*:

lūk!ū'xagwant'gwide^ε I trap for myself (probably = I cause [*-an-*] myself [*-gwi-*] to be having [*-gw-*][some one] to trap [*lūk!ū-xa-*] for [*-t'*][me])

Comitatives in *-gw-* are formed not only from intransitivized transitives in *-xa-* (e. g., *ī-lūbü'xak'w* SHE POUNDS WITH IT IN HAND [55.10]; 56.1), but also from non-agentive intransitives in *-x-* (see below, § 56). Examples are:

| Non-agentive | Comitative |
|---|---|
| <i>sgō'usde^ε</i> (= <i>sgō'ud-x-de^ε</i>) I cut (without implied object), am across (148.8) | <i>sgō'usgwa^{εn}</i> I got tired ¹ of it (21.6) |
| <i>he^ε-me^ε-t'bö'uk't'ba^x</i> he lay down with his arms folded, lay rolled up and put away (cf. <i>he^ε-me^ε-t'bö'uk't'ba^{ga^{εn}}</i> I roll it up and put it away) | <i>he^ε-wa-t'bö'uk't'ba'xgwa</i> he lay down with it clasped in his arms 154.6 |
| <i>t'ge^εya'lx</i> it runs around, rolls | <i>wa-t'ge^εya'lxgwa^{εn}</i> I roll with it <i>wa-i-s'ügü's'üxgwa^{εn}</i> I am sleepy (literally, something like: I am confused having sleep) |
| <i>ba-i-s'ili'x</i> he landed | <i>ba-i-s'ili'xgwa</i> he landed with (his canoe) 13.5 |

The obverse, as it were, of these transitive forms in *-x-gwa-*, is given by certain rather curious Class I intransitive forms in *-x-gwa-* built up on intransitive, not, like normal *-x-* derivatives, on transitive stems; they may be literally translated as TO BE WITH (OR HAVING) (SOMETHING) DOING OR BEING. Thus from the intransitive aorist *dak'-limim-* (TREE) FALLS ON TOP OF is formed the intransitive *dak'-limimxgwade^ε* IT FALLS ON TOP OF ME (108.12), in which the logical subject (TREE) becomes an implied object, while the real object or goal of motion (ME) is treated as the grammatical subject. The form quoted would have to be literally translated as I AM WITH (OR HAVING) (IT) FALLING ON TOP OF (ME). I (AS TREE) FALL HAVING IT, TOGETHER WITH IT would probably be something like **dak'-limi'mgwa'εn*. Morphologically similar to *dak'-limimxgwade^ε* are doubtless:

hewe'hōxgwade^ε I yawn (literally, I am having — [?])
yele'εsgwade^ε (= *yelet!-x-gwa-*) I am sweating (literally, I am
—having it, i. e., perspiration [?])

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

¹ *sgō'usde^ε* and *sgō'usgwa^{εn}* are morphologically quite clearly related, though in signification the latter form has widely departed from what must have been its primary meaning.

up on an intransitive in *-xgwa-*; literally translated it would read I CAUSE (*-in*) HIM TO BE WITH (*-gwad-*) (IT) FALLING (*lim̄i'm-x-*) ON TOP OF (*dak'-*) (HIM). This chimes in well with the interpretation given above of the really very perplexing "for" forms in *-gwadin-* and *-gwant'gwi*.

As will have been noticed from some of the examples already given (*yawayagw-* TALK ABOUT, *ūyū^{is}gwa-* LAUGH AT, *sgō^usgwa-* BE TIRED OF, *henenagw-* CONSUME), the primarily comitative meaning of the *-gw-* suffix is sometimes greatly obscured, at times practically lost. Other examples illustrating this weakening of the fundamental signification are:

| Intransitive | Comitative |
|--|---|
| <i>hoyod-</i> dance | <i>hoyod-agw-</i> dance (a particular kind of) dance 100.15; 102.9 |
| <i>bā^a-yā^an-</i> go up | <i>bā^a-yā^an-gw-</i> pick up 24.3; 59.15 |
| <i>ba-i-ginig-</i> go out to, come | <i>ba-i-ginīⁱ-gw-</i> take out (no leg motion necessarily implied) |
| <i>xeben-</i> do (so) | <i>xebey-agw⁻¹</i> hurt, destroy 136.23 |

§ 47. Indirective *-d-(-s-)*

The *-d-* of the indirect object never appears in its naked form (except, as we have seen, in certain forms in *-gwad-*; see also under *-d-* in petrified suffixes), but always combined into *-s-* with the following element *-x-* that serves to bind pronominal objects of the first and second persons to the verb-stem with its derivative suffixes (see §64). The indirect object of the third person is not normally expressed by this *-d-*, but, like an ordinary direct third personal object, is left unexpressed, the general character of the verb being impliedly indirective. As a matter of fact, an incorporated pronominal indirect object is used only when the direct object is of the third person, never of the first or second; and, since the pronominal object of the third person is never expressed in the verb, this means that what is translated as the indirect object is in reality morphologically the direct object of the verb. The indirective idea is merely a derivative development; or, more correctly, certain transitive verbs with indirective "face" require an *-s-* (= *-d- + -x-*) instead of *-x-* with an incorporated object of the first or second person. I GIVE IT TO HIM is, then, really rendered in Takelma by I-HIM-GIVE; I GIVE IT TO YOU, by I-

¹ For the change of non-causative *-n-* to *-y-* (*-i-*) cf. *k'emèi-* and *k'emeen-* MAKE.

YOU-GIVE; I GIVE HIM FOOD, by I-HIM-FOOD-GIVE, in which the logically indirect object HIM must be looked upon as the direct object of the verbal complex FOOD-GIVE (FOOD, not being a pronominal object, is loosely incorporated as a prefix in the verb); I GIVE YOU FOOD, by I-YOU-FOOD-GIVE, the pronominal combination I YOU being expressed at the end of the verb-complex in the same form as in a simple transitive like I-YOU-SEE, except that it is preceded by *-s-* instead of *-x-*; such combinations as I GIVE YOU TO HIM, ME and HE GIVES ME TO YOU, HIM can not be expressed by one verb-form. In these latter cases the grammatical object of the verb is no longer indirectly affected by the action; hence another, though probably etymologically related, verb-stem is employed, while the indirect object is expressed by a local phrase outside the verb: I GIVE YOU TO HIM (=I-YOU-GIVE [not indirective "face"] HIM-TO), *-x-*, not *-s-*, preceding the combination I YOU. The idea of TO in intransitives like GO, RUN, and so on, is regularly expressed by such an extra-verbal local phrase. Many verbs that, from our point of view, seem ordinary transitives, are in Takelma provided with the indirective *-s-*. Examples illustrating the use of this *-s-* are:

| Aorist | Future |
|---|--|
| <i>ogoyi'^{εn}</i> I give it to him 180.11 | <i>o'k'in</i> (170.13; 180.9,16) |
| <i>ogu'sbi'^{εn}</i> I give it to you 23.3 | <i>o'sbin</i> (178.15) |
| (<i>oyōnxbi'^{εn}</i> I give you) | (<i>oīnxbin</i> I shall give you) |
| <i>wēt'gi'^{εn}</i> (for <i>-g-</i> see §42, 5) I took it from him 76.1 | <i>wede'k'in</i> (17.10,11) |
| <i>wēsbi'^{εn}</i> I took it from you (17.3) | <i>wede'sbin</i> (16.10,11) |
| <i>al-da-p'ōup'iwī'^{εn}</i> I blew at it (15.1) | |
| <i>al-da-p'āp'ausbi'^{εn}</i> I blew at you | |
| <i>wā^agiwi'^{εn}</i> I brought it to him (for <i>-w-</i> see §42, 11) (176.17) | <i>wagawi'n</i> I shall bring it to him |
| <i>wa^aga'sam²</i> he brought it to us (194.11) | <i>wege'sink'</i> he will bring it to me |
| <i>eiyi'^{εn}</i> I hurt him | |
| <i>eīsbī'^{εn}</i> I hurt you | |
| <i>gayaū</i> he ate him 54.5 | <i>ga-iwa'nk'</i> 130.5 |
| <i>gayaūsbi'^{εn}</i> I ate you | <i>gaīsbink'</i> he will eat you 26.8 |
| <i>al-yebebi'^{εn}</i> I showed it to him (77.8) | <i>al-ye'bi'n</i> I shall show it to him |
| <i>al-yebe'psbi'^{εn}</i> I showed it to you | <i>al-yēpsi</i> show it to me! |

¹ The *-y-* is peculiar to aorist forms of this verb with a third personal object (*ogoyi't'* YOU TO HIM; *ogoihi* HE TO HIM 122.11) and to the third personal passive aorist (*ogoyi'n* HE WAS GIVEN IT 15.2)

² With connecting *a* before *s*. In *o'sbin* above *-g-* + *-s-* gives *-s-*, but **wēsdam* (= *wēeg-sdam*) would become confused with *wēsdam* (= *wēed-sdam*) YOU TOOK IT FROM ME.

Some verbs that belong here show the *-s-* only in the aorist, other forms having only *-x-*. Examples are:

| Aorist | Future |
|--|---|
| <i>he^{εε}-ī^{wi}'^{εn}</i> I went away from him 23.12 | <i>he^{εε}-ī^{wi}'ⁿ</i> |
| <i>he^{εε}-ī^{ūsbi}'^{εn}</i> I went away from you (184.14,15) | <i>he^{εε}-ī^{wi}'^xbink'</i> |
| <i>yī^msbi^{εn}</i> I lent it to you 98.15 | <i>yimi'xi</i> lend it to me! 98.14, 21 |
| <i>ī-t!aūt!i^{wi}'^{εn}</i> I catch him 33.4 | <i>ī-t!ā^{wi}'ⁿ</i> (33.8) |
| <i>ī-t!aūt!a'usbi</i> he caught you | <i>ī-t!ā^wxbink'</i> (140.15) |
| <i>naga'^{εn}</i> I said to him 72.9 | <i>nā^agi'ⁿ</i> (15.15; 196.20) |
| <i>naga'sbi^{εn}</i> I said to you 108.4 | <i>nā^xbin</i> (60.3) |
| <i>dak'-da-hā^{li}'^{εn}</i> I answered him (61.6) | <i>dak'-da-hala'^{hin}</i> |
| <i>dak'-da-hā^{lsbi}'^{εn}</i> I answered you (134.20) | <i>dak'-da-hala'^xbin</i> |
| <i>sā^ansa'^{εn}</i> I fight him (110.20) | <i>sana'ⁿ</i> (28.15; 33.9) |
| <i>sā^ansa'^{nsbi}'^{εn}</i> I fight you | <i>sana'^xbin</i> |

§ 48. Indirective *-(a')d-*

This suffix is probably composed of the continuative *-l-* (see § 42, 9) and the indirective *-d-*, though, unlike the latter suffix, it is always employed to transitivize intransitives, a characteristic intransitive element of the aorist (e. g., *-i-*) regularly remaining. After vowels, the suffix appears simply as *-ld-*; after consonants and semivowels, a connective *-a-* is generally introduced, which, when accented, receives a falling pitch. The general idea conveyed by the suffix is that of purposive action toward some person or object, so that it may be conveniently translated by MOVING AT OR TOWARD, IN ORDER TO REACH, GOING TO GET. Examples of its use are:

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>hiliūt'e^ε</i> I climb | <i>hiliwa'lda^{εn}</i> I climb for it (77.8) |
| <i>yada't'e^ε</i> I swim (<i>yadad-</i>) | <i>yadada'lda^{εn}</i> I swim for him (to save him from drowning) |
| <i>bili'u^ε</i> he jumped 32.13; 78.11 | <i>yededa'lsi</i> he swims for me |
| | <i>biliwa'lsa^{εn}</i> they fought (literally, they jumped at, for each other) 27.4 |
| <i>da-t!aya'^{iε}</i> they went to get (something) to eat 75.9 | <i>da-t!ayaldi'^{εn}</i> I went to get it to eat; <i>da-t!ayālt'</i> he went to get it to eat (<i>ā</i> shows by its accent that it is part of stem) 76.9 |
| <i>da-dā^aya'^{εt'}</i> (future) (33.9) | <i>da-dā^aldi'ⁿ</i> (future) (33.9) |
| <i>sgele'u^ε</i> he shouted 59.4; 90.8 | <i>sgelewa'lt'</i> he shouted to, for him 59.4; (94.1) |

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>wiliw-</i> go, run | { <i>wiliwa'</i> lda ^{en} I go and show it to him <i>de-wiliwa'</i> lda ^{en} I fight him (27.3) |
| <i>xudu'</i> ^{em} he whistled | <i>xuduma'</i> lda ^{en} I whistled to him (33.16) |
| <i>ligi'</i> ^{k'u} he fetched home (game) 70.3; 128.12; <i>ligi'</i> ^e he came home (with game) 124.22 | <i>de-ligia'</i> lt' he fetched it for him to eat 126.9; 130.9 |
| | <i>yonoba'</i> lt' they held nets waiting for fish 32.1 |

In *wō'ult'* HE WENT AFTER IT 29.12 the *-ld-* is confined to the aorist; non-aorist forms have the stem *woo-* without suffix: *woo'n* I SHALL GO AFTER IT (162.8,10).

§ 49. Indirective *-(a')md-*

There hardly seems to be any significant difference between this and the preceding suffix, except that the indirective force of *-(a')md-* seems in many cases to be much less clear and that it may be appended to transitive as well as to intransitive stems. It is quite probable that in some of the examples the *-m-* of the suffix is really the dissimilated product of an original *-l-* because of an *-l-* of the stem (see § 21); yet this explanation could not be made to apply to all the cases. Those forms that contain a radical *-l-* are given first:

| Simple form | <i>-(a')md-</i> |
|--|---|
| | <i>t!i'la'</i> mda ^{en} I fish for (salmon) |
| | <i>ts'!elela'</i> mda ^{en} I paint him (= I put paint— <i>s'e'el</i> —on to him) |
| | <i>s'in-delega'</i> msdam you put holes in my nose 22.2 |
| <i>malagia'</i> ^{ue} they are jealous (cf. <i>malag-</i> , <i>malagan-</i> tell) | <i>malaga'</i> msbi ^{en} I am jealous of you |
| <i>yala'</i> ^{k'de} I dive (61.8) | <i>yalaga'</i> mda ^{en} I dive for it (60.10) |
| (<i>lagag-</i> feed) | <i>lagaga'</i> mda ^{en} I paid him (184.17) |
| <i>legwe'</i> l he sucked it (186.18) | <i>legwela'</i> mda ^{en} I sucked it out of him |
| (<i>geleg-</i> twirl) | <i>dī'i^e-al-gelegala'</i> mda ^{en} I tie his hair up into top-knot (172.3) |
| <i>ūyūts!</i> - laugh | <i>dī^e-ūyū'ts!</i> amda ^{en} I fool him |
| <i>ya'mt'</i> ask him! 70.6 | <i>yamda'</i> mt' (go and) ask of him !74.10 |
| | <i>p'ōyamda^{en}</i> I smoke them out (76.11) |
| <i>k!emen-</i> make | <i>bā^a-k!emena'</i> mda ^{en} I make him ready to go (76.13) |
| <i>dak'</i> - <i>t'gū'uba^{en}</i> I put (hat-like object) over as covering | <i>dak'</i> - <i>t'gū'ubamt'</i> she covered it (basket) over 61.9 |

§ 50. Indirective $-(a)n(an)-$ "for"

From transitives, never from intransitives, are formed verbs in $-(a)n$ or $-(a)nan-$ (the first $-a-$ is the connective vowel already spoken of) signifying TO DO (the act expressed by the verb-stem) FOR, IN BEHALF OF (the object of the verb). No rule can be given as to when $-(a)n-$ or $-(a)nan-$ is to be used, the two suffixes being frequently found to interchange in the same form. It is not likely that $-(a)nan-$ is a mere duplication of the simpler $-(a)n-$, as no other case of suffix-reduplication could be shown to exist in Takelma, but rather a compound suffix consisting of two distinct elements that happen to be homonymous. Neither of the $-(a)n-$ elements in $-(a)nan-$, however, can be identified with either the causative $-(a)n-$ or the petrified $-(a)n-$ of certain transitive verbs (see § 42,10), for the full $-(a)nan-$ suffix is found suffixed to them (e. g., *lohō^uninini'^εn* I KILLED HIM FOR HIM [= I CAUSED HIM TO DIE FOR HIM]). As in the case of the ordinary indirect object-suffix $-s-$, only the third person (and that, as far as the pronoun is concerned, by implication) is tolerated as the logical object, the grammatical object being always the person in whose behalf the action is done. If the formal (i. e., indirect) object of the verb is of the third person, the $-(a)n-$ or $-(a)nan-$ is nearly always followed by the "instrumental" i (see § 64), an umlaut of the suffix to $-(i)n-$ or $-(i)nin-$ necessarily resulting (see § 8, 3c). The longer form of the suffix $-(a)nan$ is apt to be limited to the aorist forms with third personal object; non-aorist forms and aorist forms with first or second personal object generally have the shorter form of the suffix, $-(a)n-$. What was said above of a phonetic character in regard to the causative $-(a)n-$ applies also here. Examples are:

| Transitive | Indirective |
|---|---|
| <p><i>wa^ε-ī-t!oxōxi^εn</i> I gather them (192.4)</p> <p><i>ī-k!ū^uma'n</i> he fixed it (150.13; 186.16,18)</p> | <p><i>wa^ε-ī-t!oxōxi^εn</i> I gather them for him</p> <p><i>wa^ε-ī-t!ūxūxanxi</i> he gathers them for me</p> <p><i>ī-k!ū^umininini'^εn</i> I fixed it for him</p> <p><i>ī-k!ū^umininini'nk'</i> he will fix it for him</p> <p><i>ī-k!ū^umanan'xi</i> he fixed it for me</p> <p><i>ī-k!ū^umana'nhi</i> fix it for him!</p> |

| Transitive | Indirective |
|---|--|
| <i>lā^aba'εn</i> I carry it (178.4,5,6) | { <i>lā^abinini'εn</i> I carry it for him <i>lā^aba'nhaεn</i> <i>le^eba'nxi</i> he carries it for me |
| <i>ō'u^gaεn</i> I trap them (78.5) | { <i>lō^uginini'εn</i> I trap them for him <i>lō^uginiεn</i> { (<i>p'i^yin</i>) <i>lū^uganxi</i> he traps (deer) for me <i>lō^uk'inin</i> I shall trap them for him |
| { <i>k!adāi-</i> pick (aorist) | { <i>k!adayini'εn</i> I pick them for him <i>k!adāihiniεn</i> <i>k!edeya'nxi</i> he picks them for him |
| { <i>k!ā^ad-</i> pick (non-aorist) | <i>k!ā^adinini'n</i> I shall pick them for him |
| <i>de^e-ī-wī'i^giεn</i> I spread it out (120.1) | <i>de^e-ī-wī'i^ganxi</i> he spreads it out for me |
| <i>k!emen-</i> make | { <i>k!emenini'εn</i> I make it for him <i>k!emnini'n</i> I shall make it for him |
| <i>limimana'εn</i> I fell tree (cause it to fall) (108.11) | <i>limiminini'εn</i> I fell it for him |
| <i>lohō^una'εn</i> I cause him to die (142.9) | { <i>lohō^uninini'εn</i> I killed him for him <i>lohō^unana'nhi</i> he killed him for him <i>lūhū^una'nxi</i> he killed him for me |
| <i>dō^umk'wank'</i> he will kill him (116.18) | <i>dō^umana'nk'wank'</i> he will kill him for him |
| <i>sā^gwa'εn</i> I paddle it (60.1; 112.9) | <i>han-se^gwa'nsin</i> I am paddled across (literally, it, i. e., canoe, is paddled across for me) |
| <i>p!ahanana'εn</i> I cause it to be cooked, done | <i>p!ahayinini'εn</i> ¹ I make it done for him |

A number of transitive verbs in *-(a)n(an)-* in which the FOR (in behalf of) idea is not clearly apparent nevertheless doubtless belong here. Such are:

¹ For the change of suffixed *n* to *y* see § 46, second footnote.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| <i>ał^ε-ō^udiniⁱεⁿ</i> I look around for him | } | {(<i>ō^udaⁱεⁿ</i> I hunt for him [116.8]) |
| (92.27) | | |
| <i>ī^ε-odoniⁿ</i> I shall feel around for it | | |
| <i>malaganaⁿhi</i> he told him 30.15 (<i>mala^xbi</i> he told you [162.6]) | | |

It not infrequently happens in verbs where the logical relation existing between the subject and a first or second personal object can hardly be other than an indirect one, that the FOR idea is expressed by means of the simple transitive form with *-x-* or *-s-* instead of the more explicit indirective *-(a)n(an)-*, as shown in the following examples:

- k!edēisi* he picks them for me (literally, he picks to me, alongside of *k!edeyaⁿxri* he picks them for me)¹
me^εbēpⁱxipⁱ come and chop out (a hole) for me (to enable me to get out) (literally, come and chop me!) 90.16
gel-ts!eyeⁱmxi he hid it from me (158.7); but *gel-ts!ayaminiⁱεⁿ* I hid it from him

The idea of DOING SOMETHING FOR SOME ONE when the action is an intransitive one can not be expressed in the verb itself, so that periphrases of one kind or another are resorted to; e. g., I GO FOR HIM is expressed by I GO, HE HAVING SENT ME. In verbs that are intransitive in form, but logically still transitive, that is, in transitive verbs with unexpressed object, the FOR idea is expressed by the complex suffix *-gwaⁱdan-* (with first or second personal object *-gwas-*), the analysis of which has been attempted above (see § 46). Thus we have (*p!iyin*) *lō^ugin(in)i^εn* I TRAP (DEER) FOR HIM built up on a transitive in both form and meaning (i. e., *lō^uga^εn*), but *liik!ⁱūⁱxagwadini^εn* I TRAP FOR HIM built up on a formal intransitive (*liik!ⁱūⁱxa^ε*). The idea of FOR, IN BEHALF OF ONE'S SELF is rendered in transitive verbs by adding to the indirective suffix *-(a)n(an)-* the regular reflexive suffix *-kⁱwi-* (*-gwi-*):

- dō^umanaⁿnkⁱwidā^a* he will kill them for himself
t!ūmⁿkⁱwankⁱwide^ε I kill them for myself
de^ε-ī-wiⁱgankⁱwide^ε I spread it out for myself
han-se^εgwaⁿnkⁱwide^ε I paddle myself across, really, I paddle (canoe) across for myself

¹ There must be a difference in signification, however, between *k!edēisi* and *k!edeyaⁿxri*. The former probably means "he picks them for me, i. e., in order to give them to me;" the latter "he picks them in my behalf (perhaps because I am sick and can not do so myself)." Compare also *de^εiseⁱeri* HE OPENED THE DOOR FOR ME (i. e., in order to let me in) (63.12) with *de^εiseⁱeganzi* HE OPENED THE DOOR ON MY BEHALF (perhaps because I was unable to do so myself).

In intransitive verbs with implied transitive force a *-t'*- is inserted between the indirective *-(a)n(an)-* and the reflexive *-gwi-*:

lūk!i'xagwant'gwi't he traps for himself

Also this form in *-gwant'gwi-* was explained above.

§ 51. Indirect Reflexive *-gwa-*

By indirect reflexive is here meant action in reference to something belonging to one's self, not action in behalf of one's self. From the latter idea (expressed, as we have seen, by *-[a]n[an]k'wi-* and *-[a]n[an]-t'gwi-*) the indirect reflexive in *-gwa-* differs in being always found in a transitive setting; from the comitative *-(a)gw(a)-* it differs phonetically in being formed only from transitive verbs with expressed object and in the constancy of the final *-a-* (third person aorist *-k'wa*, not *-k'w*). Examples of its use are:

*s'in-ε̄t'gil'i'εsgwa*¹ he scratched his own nose 14.11; 15.7

mānx al-nū'uk'wa (= *gw-k'wa*) he painted his own face (cf. *nō'gw-wi^εn* I paint it)

ī-gaxaga'xgwa^εn I scratch myself, i. e., my own (cf. *ī-gaxagixi'εn* I scratch him)

ī-p!i'ī-nō'uk'wa warm your hands! (188.20) (cf. *ī-p!i'ī-nō'uk'wi^εn* I warm his hands)

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

bīls^εal-*giliga'lk'wa^εn* I covered myself with moss (48.14) (cf. *bīls*
ī-giligil'i'εn I covered him with moss)

bīls^εī-*giliga'lk'wa^εn* I covered my hands with moss
gwen-p!i'yi'nk'wa he lies on pillow (probably = he causes his neck to lie)²

k!edēk'wa^εn I pick them for myself (literally, I pick my own)

de-k'ūk'auk'wak' he brandished it before his face 172.11

ī-k!ū^uma'nk'wa he prepared himself, got ready 172.2 (cf. *ī-k!ū^uma'n* he fixed it, got it ready 114.7)

It will be noticed that whenever what in English we are accustomed to consider a direct reflexive is really such only in form, not in fact, the Takelma idiom requires the indirect *-k'wa-* form, not the direct reflexive in *-gwi-*. Thus, I SEE OR SCRATCH MYSELF is not logically a reflexive in the same sense as I KILL, DROWN, OR HANG MYSELF, the former involving strictly action on what belongs to the subject, not on the subject itself: I SEE OR SCRATCH MY OWN (FLESH). Still such distinctions can

¹The object, generally a body-part, to which the action refers is printed in Roman characters.

²*p!iyin-* connected with *-p!eyen-* LIE?

hardly be insisted upon; much depends on idiomatic usage. The indirect reflexive suffix, it would seem, is employed only when the direct object is incorporated in the verb; if the direct object is taken out of the verb-complex and provided with a possessive pronoun, all ambiguity as to the relation between subject and object is removed and the *-gwa-* falls out. Thus we have *dā^a-de^ele'p'gwa* HE PIERCED HIS OWN EAR with indirect reflexive *-gwa-* to show the possession of the object (*dā^a-* EAR) by the subject; *dā^adele'p'i* would mean HE PIERCED ANOTHER'S EAR. The former sentence can also be expressed more analytically by *dānxdagwa hadele'p'i* HIS-OWN (*-dagwa*) -EAR HE-IN-PIERCED-IT; *dānxda hadele'p'i* would then have reference to the piercing of another's ear. In other words, the reflexive idea is expressed in the verb or in the noun according to whether the latter is incorporated or independent.

INTRANSITIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 52-57)

§ 52. General Remarks

Under this head are included such suffixes as intransitivize a transitive verb by removing the object (*-xa-*), transferring the object from without to within the sphere of the subject (reflexive, reciprocal), or changing the character of the action altogether (non-agentive, positional). The passive intransitivizes by removing, not the object, but the subject, the former remaining in exactly the same form in which we find it in the corresponding transitive; the voice is characterized by peculiar suffixes that differ for the various tense-modes, and which, following as they do the pronominal elements of the verb, will receive appropriate treatment in discussing the purely formal verbal elements. The normal transitive, its ancillary passive, the active intransitive (*-xa-*), the reflexive, the reciprocal, the non-agentive, and the positional may be looked upon as the seven voices of a transitive verb, of which only the first five (possibly also the sixth), however, can be freely formed from any transitive stem. Of the seven voices, the first two are provided with a distinct set of pronominal object (and transitive subject) suffixes; the third and the fifth, with Class I intransitive subjects; the remaining, with Class II intransitive subjects.

Before giving examples of the intransitive suffixes, it may be useful to rapidly follow out a particular transitive stem (*dink!-* STRETCH OUT [= base *din-* + transitive petrified suffix *-k!-*]) in its various voices. First

of all, we may form an ordinary active transitive verb with expressed object by attaching to the verb or aorist stem the appropriate pronominal suffixes: *ba-i-de-di'nik!a^{en}* I STRETCH IT OUT (LIKE A RUBBER BAND or the like) (62.1). Secondly, from this may be formed a passive by the addition to the stem (*dinik!-*) of the pronominal object and characteristic passive suffix: *ba-i-de-di'nik!an* IT IS OR WAS (ACTIVELY) STRETCHED OUT. Thirdly, the transitive stem may be made intransitive by a failure to specify the object: *ba-i-de-di'ni^εxade^ε* I STRETCH (SOMETHING) OUT. Fourthly, a direct reflexive is formed by the suffix *-gwi-*: *ba-i-de-di'ni^εk'wide^ε* I (actually, if such were possible) STRETCH MYSELF OUT, in as literal a sense as in, e. g., I KILL MYSELF. Fifthly, the transitive form may be made reciprocal by the compound suffix *-x-(or -s-)an-*: *ba-i-de-di'ni^εxa^{en}* THEY (actively and literally) STRETCH ONE ANOTHER OUT. Sixthly, the non-agentive voice is formed by a suffixed *-x-*: *ba-i-de-dini^εx* IT STRETCHES OUT (144.14), in the sense in which a sore might be supposed to spread, without volition and without apparent agency; this particular form is idiomatically employed to refer to the stretching out, advancing, marching, of a single column, the figure here being evidently that of a long string-like line moving out without distinctly sensed agency. Similarly, *bā^a-dini^εx* (CLOUDS) SPREAD UP IN LONG STRIPS 13.3 are not actively spread out by some one, do not spread out some unexpressed object, are not conceived of as actually spreading themselves out, and are not conceived of as being in the static, purely positional condition of lying extended. Seventhly, the last, positional voice is expressed by an aoristic *-ī^t-*, non-aoristic *-as-*: *dink!ī* IT LIES SPREAD OUT, referring to a long string or other elongated body extended on the ground; future *dink!a'sdā^a*. A synopsis for the second person singular (and reciprocal plural) of *dink!-(dinik!-)* SPREAD of the seven voices in the six tense-modes is given in Appendix A. The intransitive suffixes will now be taken up in order.

§ 53. Active Intransitive *-xa-*

The *-a-* of this suffix is a constant element except before a personal ending beginning with a vowel: *p'ele'rik'* WE GO TO FIGHT. Like other non-radical *-a-* vowels it may be umlauted to *i*: *s'om-lū-hūxiya^{ue}* THEY (indef.) OPERATE AS *s'omloho'lxa^εs* (class of medicine men) 172.14. The final consonant of the aorist stem of verbs of Type

8 falls out before the *-xa-*, also an indirective *d* (including the *-d-* of *-[a]md-*, *[a]ld-*; a final radical *-d-*, however, unites with *-xa-* to form *-sa-*). Verbs of Type 5 employ not the aorist, but the verb-stem, in the aorist of the *-xa-* derivative (cf. the parallel phenomenon in the formation of the frequentative, § 43, 1 and 6; for exceptions see § 40, 5), inserting the repeated stem-vowel between the fortis consonant of the stem and the suffix; *-xa-* derivatives of Type 5 verbs thus belong to Type 2. For the vocalism of the stem of *-xa-* forms, see § 31, 5. Verbs in *-xa-* of Types 2 and 3 regularly have a short second stem vowel, even if the quantity in the primitive verb is long; this short vowel may, however, be secondarily lengthened, with falling accent, to express a frequentative idea. In non-aorist forms the stress tends to fall on the *-xa-*. Verbs in *-xa-* can be formed, of course, only from transitives, and, although in form they are strictly intransitive, they always logically imply an object. Examples of *-xa-* are:

- lūbū'xa^ε* she pounded 16.9; *ī-lū'pxagwank'* she will pound having it (pestle) 55.10 (aorist transitive *lobop'* she pounded them 16.9)
- t'ī'īle'mxade^ε* I went fishing (*t'ī'īla'mda^{εn}* I fished for them)
- k!ā'awu'nxa^ε* she sifts 57.15 (*k!ā'awa'nda^{εn}* I sift acorn meal [16.10])
- dak'-t'ēk!e'xa^ε* he smokes 96.23 (Type 5 *dak'-t'e'gi^{εn}* I give him to smoke [170.13])
- p!ēbe'xa^ε* he beat off (bark) 55.6 (*p!abab-* chop [90.11])
- lebe'sade^ε* I sew (*lebeda^{εn}* I sew it)
- sgūt!ū'xa^ε* he is cutting 92.2 (Type 5 aorist *sgōw'd-* 72.10)
- al-xīk!i'xa^ε* he looked around 102.12 (Type 5 aorist *al-xī'g-* 124.8)
- lūk!ū'xa^ε* he traps (Type 5 aorist *lō'g^{w-}* 78.5); future *liū'^εx^wagwadinin* I shall trap for him
- wā^a-himi'xade^ε* I was talking to somebody (*wā^a-himida^{εn}* I talked to him [59.16])
- dak'-da-hele'halxade^ε* I always answer (*dak'-da-hā'li'^{εn}* I answer him [146.14])
- dak'-hene'xa^ε* he waits; future *dak'-henxa't'e^ε* I shall wait (*dak'-heneda^{εn}* I wait for him)
- yīmi's'a^ε* (= *-s'-xa^ε*) he dreams; future *yīms'a't'e^ε*; imperative *yīms'a'*

In *k!eme'nxade^ε* I WAS MAKING, WORKING (future *k!emxa't'e^ε*) the loss of the *-n-* in the non-aorist forms (cf. *k!emna'n* I SHALL MAKE IT [28.14]) may be due to a purely phonetic cause (see § 11)

§ 54. Reflexive *-gwi-*

The final consonant of the aorist stem of some verbs of Type 8 is eclipsed, with lengthening of preceding vowel, also before the reflexive *-gwi-* (see § 40, 8), in the case of others it is preserved. Where the *-gwi-* reflexive is derived from indirect transitives in *-d-* (*-amd-*, *-gwadan-*), there is often practically no difference in signification between it and the indirect reflexive *-gwa-*. Examples of *-gwi-* are:

- t!omōk'wide^e* I kill myself (from *t!omom-*)
al-yebe'p'gwi't he showed himself (*yebeb-*)
al-xī'tk'wit' he looked at himself
p!agānk'wide^e I bathed (literally, I caused myself to bathe;
 cf. *p!agā^ana'^{en}* I bathe him)
se^ela'mt'gwide^e I shall paint myself (*se^ela'mdan* I shall paint him)
t'gwaxārk'wide^e I tattooed myself (*t'gwaxā* he tattooed him)
t'gwā^axa'nt'gwide^e I shall tattoo myself (= for myself)
ī-gis'iga's'gwide^e I tickle myself
al-wa-ts!eyēk'wide^e I washed myself with it
dā^a-delega'mt'gwide^e (= *dā^a-dele'p'gwa^{en}*) I pierce my ears
(yūk') *k'emēnk'wit'* they made themselves (strong) 27.12
xuma ogoik'wide^e I give food to myself (= I food-give myself)
ī-lesgi'k'wide^e I shall touch myself

Before the imperative endings *-p'*, *-p'anp'* the reflexive suffix becomes lengthened to *-gwi't-*:

- k!ēt'gwi'tp'¹* pick them for yourself!
dēgwa'lt'gwi'tp'anp' take care of yourselves! 126.20; (128.24)

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

§ 55. Reciprocal $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -x \\ -s \end{array} \right\} -an-$

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

¹ Indirect reflexive (for oneself) in signification, though without indirective suffix of any kind. The form is thus analogous to such as *k!edēisi* mentioned above (see § 59). That the reflexive action is thought of as indirective in character seems to be indicated by the ablaut of the stem (*k!āad-*); see § 31, 6.

personal object. The phonetic form of what precedes the *-x-* (*-s-*) is the same as in the transitive from which the reciprocal is derived. The reciprocal element *-an-* is the only one of the verbal suffixes that is placed between the connecting *-x-* and the personal endings, so that it may rightly be looked upon as in a way equivalent to the incorporated objective pronouns. Examples of *-x-an-* are:

k!oyōxinik' we go together, accompany one another (33.15)

t!èāxiniba^εni let us play shinny!

ī-lats!a'xinik' we touch one another

al-s'in-lō^uxa^εn they meet each other (literally, they thrust noses to one another)

t!omōxa^εn they kill one another (33.10)

gel-wayānxa^εn they were sleeping together (literally, they caused each other to sleep facing each other) 190.2

al-xī'ixa^εn they looked at each other

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

naga'sa^εn they said to each other 31.9 (cf. *naga'sbi^εn* I said to you [100.1]); future *nāxan^t'* (cf. *nāxbin* [60.3])

sā^ansa'nsa^εn they fight one another (23.14; 184.13) (cf. *sā^ansa'ns-bi^εn*); future *sana'xan^t'* (23.15) (cf. *sana'xbin*)

he^ε-īūs'a^εn they went away from one another (cf. *he^ε-īūsbi^εn* [184.14]); future *he^ε-īwi'xan^t'* (cf. *he^ε-īwi'xbin*)

lā^ama'lsa^εn they quarreled with each other 27.2; 86.10

wā^a-himi'sa^εn they talked to one another 124.14 (cf. *wā^a-himi'sbi^εn*)

lō^ugwa's-iniba^ε let us play 32.5 (cf. *lō^ugwa'sbin* future)

t!ū'lt!als-iniba^ε let us play at gambling-sticks (*t!ū'V*) 31.9

al-sege'sak'sinik' we keep nodding to one another; *se'k'sa'k'-sank'* they nodded to one another (inferential) 172.10 (but unre-duplicated *al-se'εxinik'* we nodded to each other)

§ 56. Non-agentive *-x-*

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

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

| Transitive | Non-agentive |
|--|--|
| $\bar{i}\text{-}k'w\bar{a}'agwi^\epsilon n$ I awakened him 16.4 (future $\bar{i}\text{-}k'w\bar{a}'k'win$) | $k'w\bar{a}'axde^\epsilon$ I awoke (16.3) (future $k'w\bar{a}'axde^\epsilon$ [190.5]) |
| $leme'^\epsilon k'$ they took them along 144.17 | $leme'^\epsilon x$ they all went 136.7 |
| $\bar{i}\text{-}t'ge^\epsilon yili'^\epsilon n$ I roll it | $t'ge^\epsilon ya'lx$ it rolls |
| $de\text{-}ts'libi'p'$ he closed door | $de\text{-}ts'libi'x$ (door) shut |
| $p'la\text{-}i\text{-}ha\text{-}u\text{-}t'g\bar{u}'up'$ he upset it | $p'la\text{-}i\text{-}ha\text{-}u\text{-}t'g\bar{u}'upx$ it upset 60.8 |
| $wa^\epsilon\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}t'leme'm$ he assembled them 110.3 | $wa\text{-}t'em\bar{x}ia^{u\epsilon}$ people assembled 144.23 |
| $ha^\epsilon w\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}ha'nats'li^\epsilon n$ I made it stop | $ha\text{-}u\text{-}han\bar{a}'^\epsilon s$ (= $\text{-}a'ts'x$) it stopped (152.15; 198.9) |
| $d\bar{i}\text{-}sg\bar{u}'y\bar{u}k'li^\epsilon n$ I knock it down (48.7, 8) | $d\bar{i}\text{-}sg\bar{u}'i^\epsilon xk'$ it fell (nobody pushing) (59.11; 62.1) |
| $\bar{i}\text{-}gwidigwa't'i$ he threw them (108.21; 138.3) | $h\bar{u}^\epsilon li'nk'wa$ (tiredness) $gwidig\text{-}wa's'$ (= $\text{-}a'tx$) he was plumb tired out (probably = he tottered with tiredness) 120.12 |
| $\bar{i}\text{-}smili'smili^\epsilon n$ I swing it | $smili'smalxde^\epsilon$ I swing ¹ (73.2) |
| $b\bar{a}^a\text{-}t'e'^\epsilon gi^\epsilon n$ I lift it up (Type 5) | $b\bar{a}^a\text{-}t'ek!e't'ax$ it bobs up and down (60.11, 13, 14) |

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

$geyewa'lxde^\epsilon$ I am eating (31.3) (but, hortatory, $geixaba^\epsilon$ let us eat)
 $le^\epsilon ba'nxde^\epsilon$ I carry (178.6) ($l\bar{a}^a ba'^\epsilon n$ I carry it [178.3, 4])
 $\bar{u}^u gwa'nxde^\epsilon$ I drink (see § 21).

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

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

the subject is not thought of as being the direct cause of the state or activity predicated, but is rather considered as indirectly responsible for it. Thus, from the aorist stem *t'gwilik!w-* (*t'gwili'ε-x* WATER, BLOOD DROPS, DRIPS 58.1) are formed:

p!a-i-t'gwili'k!wana^εn I (voluntarily) drop, spill it

p!a-i-t'gwili'εzna^εn I have it drop (unavoidably), spill it (72.8,16)

§ 57. Positional-*-i-*

As we have already seen (§ 40, 15), this suffix, though of clearly derivational character, is generally, probably always, confined to the aorist. A positional verb in *-i-* may be defined as expressing the state or condition resulting from the completed action of a transitive or non-agentive; e. g., *p!a-i-ha-u-t'gup!idī* IT (BOX-LIKE OBJECT) LIES UPSIDE DOWN is a verb expressing the result of the action defined in *p!a-i-ha-u-t'gū^uba^εn* I UPSET IT and *p!a-i-ha-u-t'gū^upx* IT UPSET 60.8. From one point of view the suffix *-i-* serves to mark off a class of purely positional verbs, a different verb-stem being used for each general form-category of the object described. Such verbs of position are:

dink!ī long, stretched out object lies (transitive aorist *dinik!-*)

t'geits!ī round object lies (138.24) (*t'geyets!-*)

p'ildī flat object lies

t!obigī corpse, dead-looking body lies

s'einī box-like object with opening on top lies

p!a-i-ha-u-t'gup!idī box-like object with opening below lies
(*t'gū^ub-*)

s'ugwidī curled-up object (like bundle of rope) lies

da-sgalī scattered objects (like grain on floor) lie

wīk!idī several objects heaped together lie (*wīⁱg-*)

s'as'inī erect object is, he stands 34.1; 45.12; 77.9

s'u^εwilī sitting object (person) is, he sits, dwells 21.1; 57.2

k'ebilī absent object is, he is long absent 124.20

Not so clearly positional are:

lā^alī (generally heard as *lā^alē^h*) it becomes 33.17; 45.3

yamī he looks pretty

Of these verbs those that are directly derived from transitives, it will be observed, use in the aorist the verb-stem, not the aorist stem, of their simplex (thus *dink!-*, not *dinik!-*). The derivational *-(a)d-* (see § 42, 4) that seems to characterize a number of positional verbs can not be explained.

Certain Takelma place-names in $-i$ (or $-i-k'$, $-i-k'$ with suffix $-k'$ characteristic of geographical names) can hardly be otherwise explained than as positional verbs in $-i^i$, derived from nouns and provided with local prefixes defining the position of the noun. Such are:

- Diⁱ-dani*¹ Table Rock (probably = rock [*da'n*] is [$-i$] west [*diⁱ-*]); west of the rock would be *diⁱ-dana*' (cf. *dana't'k'* my rock)
Dak'-t'gamī-k' (cf. *Dak'-t'gamiya'*^ε person from D.) (= place where [$-k'$] elks [*t'ga'm*] are [$-i$] above, on top [*dak'-*])
Dal-dani'k' (cf. *Dal-daniya'*^ε one from D.) (= place where [$-k'$] in brush, away from creek [*dal-*] is [$-i$] rock [*da'n*])
han-xilmī ghost land (= across river [*han-*] are [$-i$] ghosts [*xila'm*])
de-diⁱwī near the falls of Rogue River (= in front [*de-*] are [$-i$] falls [*dīū*])

§ 58. IMPERSONAL *-iau-*

Verging toward the purely formal (pronominal) elements of the verb is the suffix *-iau-*. Forms in *-iau-* are intransitive, and may be formed from all intransitives and all transitives with incorporated pronominal *object*, the function of the suffix being to give an indefinite, generalized collective, or impersonal, signification (cf. German MAN, French ON) to the always third personal pronominal (Class I intransitive) subject. Examples are:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>yā^ania'</i> ^{us} people go 58.14; 152.5 | future <i>yanaya'</i> ^{us^t} |
| <i>wa^ε-i-t'emxīa'</i> ^{us} people assemble 144.23 | future <i>wa^ε-i-dēmxia'</i> ^{us^t} |
| <i>e^εbia'</i> ^{us} people are 192.7 (cf. <i>e^εbi'k'</i> we are 180.13) | |
| <i>ts!āū yō^uya'uk'</i> there was (inferential) deep water (cf. 188.14) | |
| <i>sā^ansa'nsīnia'</i> ^{us} fighting is going on 23.14 | future <i>sana'xīnia'</i> ^{us^t} |
| <i>dōmxbiya'</i> ^{us^t} people will kill you (intransitive; but transitive with definite third personal subject <i>dōmxbink'</i> they will kill you) (33.10) | |

In particular, states of the weather or season, necessarily involving indefiniteness of subject, are referred to by forms provided with the indefinite suffix *-iau-*. Examples are:

¹This example is due to Mr. H. H. St. Clair 2d, from whose Manuscript Notes on Takelma it was taken. It is there written *Di'tani'*.

lop!odia'^{us} it is raining, hailing, or snowing 90.1; 152.11 (but definitely *nōx lop!o't'* it rains 90.1; (198.9); *ts'elam lop!o't'* it hails; *p!ā'as lop!o't'* it snows 90.2; 196.7)

lep'niya'uk' it has gotten to be winter

samgia'^{us}*t'* it will be summer (92.9)

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

t'ūwūgia'^{us} it is hot (i. e., it is hot weather; but *t'ūwū'ek'* it, some object, is hot [25.10]; 94.15)

we'egia-uda^e when it is daybreak 73.6; 126.13

4. Temporal-Modal and Pronominal Elements (§§ 59-67)

§ 59. INTRODUCTORY

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

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

imperative is not to be carried out until some stated or implied point of time definitely removed from the immediate present, as in COME TO-MORROW!, GIVE HER TO EAT (when she recovers). The uses of the potential and inferential will be best illustrated by examples given after the forms themselves have been tabulated. In a general way the potential implies the ability to do a thing, or the possibility of the occurrence of a certain action or condition (I CAN, COULD GO if I care, cared to), and thus is appropriately used in the apodosis of an unfulfilled or contrary-to-fact condition; it is also regularly employed in the expression of the negative imperative (prohibitive). The peculiar form of the potential (verb-stem with aorist pronoun endings) seems in a measure to reflect its modal signification, the identity of its stem with that of the future indicating apparently the lack of fulfillment of the action, while the aoristic pronominal elements may be interpreted as expressing the certainty of such fulfillment under the expressed or implied circumstances by the person referred to.

The inferential implies that the action expressed by the verb is not directly known or stated on the authority of the speaker, but is only inferred from the circumstances of the case or rests on the authority of one other than the speaker. Thus, if I say THE BEAR KILLED THE MAN, and wish to state the event as a mere matter of fact, the truth of which is directly known from my own or another's experience, the aorist form would normally be employed:

mena' (bear) *yap!a* (man) *t!omōk'wa* (it killed him)

If I wish, however, to imply that it is not definitely known from unmistakable evidence that the event really took place, or that it is inferred from certain facts (such as the finding of the man's corpse or the presence of a bear's footprints in the neighborhood of the house), or that the statement is not made on my own authority, the inferential would be employed:

mena' yap!a dōmk'wak' it seems that the bear killed the man;
the bear must have, evidently has, killed the man

Inasmuch as mythical narration is necessarily told on hearsay, one would expect the regular use of the inferential in the myths; yet, in the great majority of cases, the aorist was employed, either because the constant use of the relatively uncommon inferential forms would have been felt as intrusive and laborious, or because the events related in the myths are to be looked upon as objectively certain.

The inferential is also regularly employed in expressing the negative future.

Not only do the pronominal elements vary for the different tense-modes, but they change also for the two main classes of intransitive verbs and for the transitive (subject and object), except that in the present imperative and inferential no such class-differences are discernible, though even in these the characteristic *-p'* of Class II intransitives brings about a striking formal, if not strictly personal, difference. We thus have the following eleven pronominal schemes to deal with:

Aorist subject intransitive I.

Aorist subject intransitive II.

Aorist subject transitive.

Future subject intransitive I.

Future subject intransitive II.

Future subject transitive.

Inferential subject.

Present imperative subject.

Future imperative subject intransitive I and transitive.

Future imperative subject intransitive II.

Object transitive (and subject passive).

The transitive objects are alike for all tense-modes, except that the combination of the first person singular object and second person singular or plural subject (i. e., THOU or YE ME) always agrees with the corresponding subject form of intransitive II. Not all the personal forms in these schemes stand alone, there being a number of intercrossings between the schemes of the three classes of verbs. The total number of personal endings is furthermore greatly lessened by the absence of a dual and the lack of a distinct plural form for the third person. The third person subject is positively characterized by a distinct personal ending only in the aorist subject intransitive I, the future subject intransitive I, the future subject intransitive II, and the future subject transitive; as object, it is never characterized at all, except in so far as the third person object, when referring to human beings, is optionally indicated by a special suffix *-k'wa-* (*-gwa-*). In all other cases the third person is negatively characterized by the absence of a personal ending. The second singular subject of the present imperative is similarly negatively characterized by the absence of a personal ending, though the *-p'* of the present imperative intransitive II superficially contradicts this statement (see § 61).

The pronominal schemes, with illustrative paradigms, will now be taken up according to the verb-classes.

§ 60. INTRANSITIVES, CLASS I

This class embraces most of the intransitives of the language, particularly those of active significance (e. g., COME, GO, RUN, DANCE, PLAY, SING, DIE, SHOUT, JUMP, yet also such as BE, SLEEP), verbs in *-xa-*, indefinites in *-iau-*, and reciprocals. The tense-modes of such verbs have the following characteristic subjective personal endings:

| | Aorist | Future | Inferential | Present Imperative | Future Imperative |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Singular: | | | | | |
| First person . . . | -t'εε, -dεε | -t'εε, -dεε | -k'-aε1 | — | -(a')k' |
| Second person . . | -(a)t' | -(a)da'ε | -k' εεit' | | |
| Third person . . . | -ε | -(a')εt' | -k' | | |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| First person . . . | -t'k' | -(i)ga'm | -k'-ana'k' | -(a)ba'ε | |
| Second person . . | -(a)t'p' | -(a')t'baε | -k' εεit'p' | {-(a')m'p' -p' | ? |

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

The imperative is necessarily lacking in the first person singular and third person. The first person plural in *-(a)ba'ε* of the present imperative is used as a hortatory: *yanaba'ε* LET US GO! 158.11; (cf. 168.11). This *-(a)ba'ε* is not infrequently followed by emphasizing particles: *-ni'* (e. g., *yubā'aεni'* LET US BE! [cf. 158.8]); *-hi* (e. g., *ye'ba'εhi* LET US RETURN! 63.1; see § 114, 2), or *-ha'n* (e. g., *ya'naba'εha'n* LET US GO 64.1), the last of these being clearly identical with the nominal plural element *-han* (see § 99); *-nihan* is also found (*ya'nabā'aεniha'n* LET US ALL GO, PRAY! [cf. 150.24; 152.6]). No true future hortatory and second person plural imperative seem to exist; for the latter, the ordinary indicative form in *-t'baε* (*-dabaε* in the other classes) was always given. The connective *-a-* is used with most of the consonantal endings, as indicated in the table, when the preceding part of the word ends in a consonant, otherwise the ending is directly attached; in the reciprocal *-t'p'*, *-εt'*, and *-t'baε* are directly added to the suffix *-an-*. Before the only vocalic ending, *-i'k'*, a glide *-y-* is introduced if the preceding sound is a vowel (e. g., *al-yowoyi'k'* WE LOOK). In the first person plural of the future *-iga'm* (*-aorist -ig- + -a'm*; cf. *-da'm* in possessive

pronouns, §§ 91-3) is used after consonants, *-ga'm* after vowels. The first form of the second person plural imperative (*-a'np'*) is used to follow most consonants (*-'np'* to follow a "constant" *-a-* of the stem), *-p'* being found only after vowels and probably *m* and *n* (e. g., *yu'p'* BE YE!; *yana'p'* GO YE!).

In regard to the etymology of the endings, it is clear that the second person plural aorist is derived from the corresponding singular form by the addition of a characteristic *-p'* (cf. the imperative), that the second persons of the future are differentiated from the aorist forms by an added *-a^ε*, and that the first person singular future is identical with the corresponding form in the aorist, except for the lack of a catch. The second persons of the inferential are periphrastic forms, consisting of the third personal form in *-k'* (mode-sign, not personal ending) plus *εit'* THOU ART, *εit'p'* YE ARE.

As paradigmatic examples are chosen a stem ending in a vowel (aorist *yowo-* BE), one ending in a consonant (aorist *baxam-* COME), a reciprocal (aorist *sā^ansan-san-* FIGHT WITH ONE ANOTHER), and an indefinite in *-iau-* (aorist *t'ūwū-g-iau-* BE HOT).

AORIST

| | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--|---|
| Singular: | | | | |
| First person . . | <i>yowo't'e^ε</i> | <i>baxam't'e^ε</i> | I | |
| Second person . . | <i>yowo't'</i> | <i>baxama't'</i> | | |
| Third person . . | <i>yowo'e</i> | <i>baxa'εm</i> | <i>sā^ansa'nsaⁿ</i> | they fight <i>t'ūwūgia'us^ε</i> it is hot |
| Plural: | | | | |
| First person . . | <i>yowoyi'k'</i> | <i>baxami'k'</i> | <i>sā^ansa'nsinik'</i> | |
| Second person . . | <i>yowo't'p'</i> | <i>baxama't'p'</i> | <i>sā^ansa'nsant'p'</i> | |

FUTURE

| | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | |
| First person . . | <i>yu't'e^o</i> | <i>baxma't'e^o</i> | | |
| Second person . . | <i>yuda'ε</i> | <i>baxmada'ε</i> | | |
| Third person . . | <i>yu't'</i> | <i>baxma'εt'</i> | <i>sana'zan^{t'}</i> | <i>t'ūugia'us^{t'}</i> |
| Plural: | | | | |
| First person . . | <i>yuga'm</i> | <i>baxmaga'm</i> | <i>sana'zinigam</i> | |
| Second person . . | <i>yu't'ba^ε</i> | <i>baxma't'ba^ε</i> | <i>sana'zant'ba^ε</i> | |

POTENTIAL

| | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | |
| First person . . | <i>yu't'e^ε</i> | <i>baxma't'e^ε</i> | | |
| Second person . . | <i>yu't'</i> | <i>baxma't'</i> | | |
| Third person . . | <i>yu't'</i> | <i>baxma'ε</i> | <i>sana'zan</i> | <i>t'ūugia'us^ε</i> |
| Plural: | | | | |
| First person . . | <i>yuwi'k'</i> | <i>baxmi'k'</i> | <i>sana'zinik'</i> | |
| Second person . . | <i>yu't'p'</i> | <i>baxma't'p'</i> | <i>sana'zant'p'</i> | |

INFERENTIAL

| | | | | |
|---------------|-----|------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | |
| First person | . . | <i>yu'k'a^ε</i> | <i>barma'k'a^ε</i> | |
| Second person | . . | <i>yu'kleit'¹</i> | <i>barma'kleit'</i> | |
| Third person | . . | <i>yu'k'</i> | <i>barma'k'</i> | <i>sana'rank'</i> <i>t'ūgiau'k'</i> |
| Plural: | | | | |
| First person | . . | <i>yu'k'ana'k'</i> | <i>barma'k'ana'k'</i> | <i>sana'rank'ana'k'</i> |
| Second person | . . | <i>yu'kleit'p'</i> | <i>barma'kleit'p'</i> | <i>sana'rankleit'p'</i> |

¹ -k' + ε = k! See § 12.

PRESENT IMPERATIVE

| | | | | |
|---------------|-----|---------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | |
| Second person | . . | <i>yu'</i> | <i>barma'</i> | |
| Plural: | | | | |
| First person | . . | <i>yuba'ε</i> | <i>barmaba'ε</i> | <i>sana'zimba'ε¹</i> |
| Second person | . . | <i>yu'p'</i> | <i>barma'np'</i> | (?) <i>sana'zananp'</i> |

¹ The *-i-* of *-iba^ε* evidently corresponds to the *-i-* in the first person plural aorist *-ik'*, future *-igam*, but appears, so far as known, only in the reciprocal, and, of course, in such cases as require connective *-i-* instead of *-a-* (see below, § 64): *ha^εw-i-k'emniba'ε* LET US SWEAT, with *-i-* because of instrumental *ī-*.

FUTURE IMPERATIVE

| | | | | |
|---------------|-----|---------------|------------------|--|
| Singular: | | | | |
| Second person | . . | <i>yu'εk'</i> | <i>barma'εk'</i> | |

A few intransitives of this class add the consonantal pronominal endings directly to the final semi-vowel (*-y-*) of the stem, instead of employing the connective vowel *-a-*. Such are:

εit'¹ thou art 108.2, *εit'p'* ye are 14.10 (contrast *yeweya't'* thou returnest [58.13], but *yewεit'ε^ε* I return [188.4] like *εit'ε^ε* I am 198.2)

nagaīt' thou sayest 56.5, *nagaīt'p'* ye say 170.4 (contrast *t'agaya't'* thou criest, but *t'agaīt'ε^ε* I cry [180.5] like *nagaīt'ε^ε* I say 180.1)

To this somewhat irregular group of verbs belongs probably also *lōw-*PLAY, though, not ending in a semi-vowel in either the verb or aorist stem, it shows no forms directly comparable to those just given; its third person aorist, however, shows a rising-accent before the catch: *lōw'ε^ε* ² 70.4 (not **lō'w'ε^ε*), a phenomenon that seems connected (see below, § 65) with the lack of a connecting vowel before the personal endings.

A few stray verbs, otherwise following the normal scheme of intransitive Class I endings, seem to lack a catch in the third person aorist:

¹ This verb is defective, having only the three forms given above, the first person plural *εebi'k'* 180.13, and the (cf. class II) indefinite *εebia'w^ε* 192.7, the latter two with loss of *i* and intrusive *-b-*. The third person and the non-aorist forms are supplied by *yo-* BE.

² *εw'ε* appears also in certain usitives: *hiwili'ε* HE USED TO RUN, *sgelel'ε* HE KEPT SHOUTING, in which the rising accent is probably radical (see § 43, 4); these forms, furthermore, have lost a *w*, § 18 (cf. *hiwiliūt'ε* I RUN, *sgeleūt'ε* I SHOUT).

*lop!o't'*¹ it rains 90.1, 2 (yet *lop!oda't'* you are raining 198.9;

lop'da'et' it will rain; *lop'da'x* to rain, § 74, 1)

hãx it burns 98.1 (yet *haxa'et'* it will burn)

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

ginĩnk' he always went to 46.11 (from *gini'ek'* he went to)

witc!isma he keeps moving (from *witc!i'εm* he moves 148.12)

yewèo'k' he is wont to return 47.4; 116.2 (yet *yewèoga't'* you are wont to return)

No explanation can be given of this irregularity.

The inferential endings, as has been already remarked, are identical for all classes of verbs, so that the following applies to Class II intransitives and to transitives as well as to Class I intransitives. The mode-sign *-k'* is added directly to the final vowel or consonant of the verb-stem (or stem with its added derivative and pronominal object suffixes) without connecting *a*. All combinations of consonants are here allowed that are at all possible as syllabically final clusters (see § 16); indeed some of the final consonant clusters, as *-sk'*, *-p'k'*, *-np'k'*, *-lp'k'*, hardly occur, if at all, outside the inferential. If the resulting consonant combination would be phonetically impossible an inorganic *a* is introduced between the two consonants that precede the inferential *-k'*; secondary diphthongs with raised accent may thus arise:

k!ema'nk' he made it (verb-stem *k!emn-*)

bila'uk' he jumped 160.17 (verb-stem *bilw-*)

Double diphthongs are often allowed to stand unaltered before *-k'* (e. g., *oĩnk'* HE GAVE THEM; also imperative *oĩn* GIVE THEM!); sometimes doublets, with double diphthong or with inorganic *a*, are found (e. g., *ts!aĩmk'* or *ts!aya'mk'* HE HID IT; also passive participle *ts!aĩmhak'^w* HIDDEN, but *ts!aya'm* HIDE IT! *ts!eya'mxi* HIDE ME! *ts!aya'mxamk'^w* HE HID US [158.7]). With a final *-g-* or *-gw-* the inferential *-k'* unites to form *-k'* or *-k'^w*, but with lengthening of the preceding vowel; *-k!-+ -k'* becomes *-^εk'*. Examples are:

he^εnãk'^w (= *-a'gw-k'*) he consumed them (cf. 48.10); but *he^εna'k'^w* consume them!

wa-yanãk'^w (= *yana'gw-k'*) he ran after them 98.10; but *wa-yana'k'^w* run after them!

¹ This form can not possibly have been misheard for **lop!o'et'*, the form to be expected, as the subordinate is *lop!õ't'as*, not **lop!õ'uda^s*, which would be required by a **lop!o'et'* (see § 70).

yō^uk^w (= *yogw-k'*) she married him 192.16

hē^ε-ī-le'm^εk' (= *lemk!-k'*) he destroyed them (146.20); 154.11;
also imperative (= **lemk!*)

§ 61. INTRANSITIVES, CLASS II

Most verbs of Class II intransitives, unlike those that are most typical of Class I, are derived from transitives, the majority of examples falling under the heads of non-agentives in *-x-*, reflexives in *-gwi-*, positionals in *-ī^t-*, and verbs with intransitivizing *-p'* either in all their tense-modes or in all but the aorist (see § 42, 1). Besides these main groups there are a straggling number of not easily classified verbs that also show the peculiarities of the class; such are:

senē'sant'e^ε I whoop (110.20; 180.15)

wīt'e^ε I go about (90.1; 92.29; 122.23)

līgīnt'e^ε I rest (48.11; 79.2, 4; 102.1)

hūū^ūlī^{nt}'e^ε I am tired (48.4, 11; 102.1, 8; 120.11)

In a rough way the main characteristic of Class II intransitives, as far as signification is concerned, is that they denote conditions and processes, while Class I intransitives are in great part verbs of action. Following is the scheme of subjective pronominal endings characteristic of Class II:

| | Aorist | Future | Inferential | Present imperative | Future imperative |
|---------------------|---|---|----------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | | |
| First person . . . | <i>-t' e^ε, -dē^ε</i> | <i>t' e^ε, -dē^ε</i> | <i>(-p')-ga^ε</i> | | |
| Second person . . . | <i>-t' am, -dam</i> | <i>-t' a^ε, -da^ε</i> | <i>(-p')-k' εēt'</i> | (-p') | <i>(-p')-ga^εm</i> |
| Third person . . . | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ -t' \end{array} \right\}$ | <i>-t' ā^a, -dā^a</i> | <i>(-p')-k'</i> | | |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| First person . . . | <i>(-p')-ik'</i> | <i>(-p')-igam</i> | <i>(-p')-g-ana^ak'</i> | <i>(-p')-aba^ε</i> | |
| Second person . . . | <i>-t' ap', -dap'</i> | <i>-t' aba^ε, -daba^ε</i> | <i>(-p')-k' εēt' p'</i> | <i>(-p')-anp'</i> | |

In comparing these endings with those of Class I intransitives, it is seen that the characteristic peculiarities of Class II intransitives are: the *-am* of the second person singular aorist and future imperative (*-t' am* [= *-t' + -am*], *-ga^εm* [? = *-εk' + -am*]); the *-a-* between the *-t'-* and the *-p'-* (*-b-*) in the second person plural aorist and future; the lack of a catch in the third person aorist; the ending *-t' ā^a* of the third person future; and the presence of a *-p'-* (*-b-*) in the first person plural aorist and future and in the inferential, present imperative, and future imperative forms. The last feature is, however, absent in the non-agentive *-x-* verbs and in the future of reflexives. The labial in

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

sene'sanp'ia^{ue} there is whooping, *se'nsanp'ia^{uet}* there will be whooping

In the third person of the aorist, positionals in *-i^t-*, non-agentives, and verbs in *-p'*- and other consonants (except *n* and probably *l*, *m*) lack a positive ending, while reflexives and most of the miscellaneous verbs (ending in a vowel or *n*, *l*, and *m*) show a final *-t'*. There is every reason to believe that the absence of a *-t'* in the former group of forms is due to phonetic conditions that brought about its loss (see § 18).

As examples of verbs of this class will serve a non-agentive (aorist *ha-u-hana^ss-* STOP), a reflexive (aorist *i-lets!ek'wi-* TOUCH ONE'S SELF), a positional (aorist *s'as'in*i*^t-* STAND), and one of the miscellaneous verbs (*wi^t-* GO ABOUT).

AORIST.

| | | | | |
|----------------|---|--|---|--|
| Singular: | | | | |
| First person . | <i>hana'^sde^s</i> I stop | <i>lets!^tek'wide^s</i> I touch myself | <i>s'as'ini^t'e^s</i> I stand | <i>wi^t'e^s</i> I go about |
| Second person | <i>hana'^ssdam</i> | <i>lets!^tek'widam</i> | <i>s'as'ini^t'am</i> | <i>wi^t'am</i> |
| Third person | <i>hana'^ss</i> | <i>lets!^tek'wit'</i> | <i>s'as'ini^t</i> | <i>wi^t'</i> |
| Plural: | | | | |
| First person . | <i>hana'^ssik'</i> | <i>lets!^tek'wibik'</i> | <i>s'as'ini^p'ik'</i> | <i>wi^p'ik'</i> |
| Second person | <i>hana'^ssdap'</i> | <i>lets!^tek'widap'</i> | <i>s'as'ini^t'ap'</i> | <i>wi^t'ap'</i> |

FUTURE

| | | | | |
|----------------|--|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | |
| First person . | <i>ha'n^sde^e</i> | <i>lesgi'^kwide^e</i> | <i>s'a'sant'^e</i> | <i>wi^t'e^e</i> |
| Second person | <i>ha'n^sda^s</i> | <i>lesgi'^kwida^s</i> | <i>s'a'sant'^as</i> | <i>wi^t'a^s</i> |
| Third person . | <i>ha'n^ssdā^s</i> | <i>lesgi'^kwidā^s</i> | <i>s'a'sant'^ās</i> | <i>wi^t'ā^s</i> |
| Plural: | | | | |
| First person . | <i>ha'n^ssigam</i> | <i>lesgi'^kwigam</i> | <i>s'a'sanp'ⁱgam</i> | <i>wi^p'igam</i> |
| Second person | <i>ha'n^ssdaba^s</i> | <i>lesgi'^kwidaba^s</i> | <i>s'a'sant'^aba^s</i> | <i>wi^t'aba^s</i> |

POTENTIAL.

| | | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | |
| First person . | <i>ha'n^sde^s</i> | <i>lesgi'^kwide^s</i> | <i>s'a'sant'^es</i> | <i>wi^t'e^s</i> |
| Second person | <i>ha'n^ssdam</i> | <i>lesgi'^kwidam</i> | <i>s'a'sant'^am</i> | <i>wi^t'am</i> |
| Third person . | <i>ha'n^ss</i> | <i>lesgi'^kwit'</i> | <i>s'a'sant' (?)</i> | <i>wi^t'</i> |
| Plural: | | | | |
| First person . | <i>ha'n^ssik'</i> | <i>lesgi'^kwibik'</i> | <i>s'a'sanp'ⁱik'</i> | <i>wi^p'ik'</i> |
| Second person | <i>ha'n^ssdap'</i> | <i>lesgi'^kwidap'</i> | <i>s'a'sant'^aap'</i> | <i>wi^t'ap'</i> |

INFERENCEAL

| | | | | |
|----------------|--|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | |
| First person . | <i>ha'n^ssga^s</i> | <i>lesgi'k'wip'ga^s</i> | <i>s'a's' anp'ga^s</i> | <i>wip'ga^s</i> |
| Second person | <i>ha'n^sskleit'</i> | <i>lesgi'k'wip'kleit'</i> | <i>s'a's' anp'kleit'</i> | <i>wip'kleit'</i> |
| Third person . | <i>ha'n^ssk'</i> | <i>lesgi'k'wip'k'</i> | <i>s'a's' anp'k'</i> | <i>wip'k'</i> |
| Plural: | | | | |
| First person . | <i>ha'n^ssgana'k'</i> | <i>lesgi'k'wip'gana'k'</i> | <i>s'a's' anp'gana'k'</i> | <i>wip'gana'k'</i> |
| Second person | <i>ha'n^sskleit'p'</i> | <i>lesgi'k'wip'kleit'p'</i> | <i>s'a's' anp'kleit'p'</i> | <i>wip'kleit'p'</i> |

PRESENT IMPERATIVE

| | | | | |
|----------------|---|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | |
| Second person | <i>ha'n^s</i> | <i>lesgi'k'wīp'</i> | <i>s'a's' anp'</i> | <i>wīp'</i> |
| Plural: | | | | |
| First person . | <i>ha'n^ssaba^s</i> | <i>lesgi'k'wīp'aba^s</i> | <i>s'a's' anp'aba^s</i> | <i>wīp'aba^s</i> |
| Second person | <i>ha'n^ssamp'</i> | <i>lesgi'k'wīp'anp'</i> | <i>s'a's' anp'anp'</i> | <i>wīp'anp'</i> |

FUTURE IMPERATIVE

| | | | | |
|---------------|--|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | |
| Second person | <i>ha'n^ssga^m</i> | <i>lesgi'k'wīp'ga^m</i> | <i>s'a's' anp'ga^m</i> | <i>wīp'ga^m</i> |

Those verbs of this class that are characterized, either throughout their forms or in all non-aorist forms, by a suffixed *p'* have this element coalesce with the *-p'* of the first person plural, inferential, and imperative, but with lengthening of an immediately preceding vowel. In the imperative this lengthened vowel seems to take on a falling accent:

p!alā^ap' tell a myth! (cf. *p!ala'p'de^e* I shall tell a myth, with inorganic second *a*)

sanā^ap' fight! (cf. *sana'p'de^e* I shall fight, with radical second *a*)

The verb *wog-* ARRIVE is peculiar in that the aorist is formed after the manner of Class II verbs (*wōk'* HE ARRIVES 47.15; *wōk'dam* YOU ARRIVE), while the non-aorist forms belong to Class I (e. g., *woga'^εt'* HE WILL ARRIVE). It is further noteworthy that many, perhaps most, Class II intransitives form their usitative and frequentative forms according to Class I. Examples, showing the third person aorist catch, are:

s'ū^εalha^s they always dwell 112.2 (from *s'u^swilī* 21.1; but first person plural *s'ū^εalhibik'*); contrast Class II *s'as'a'nhap'* he keeps standing (from *s'as'inī* 34.1)

wogowa'^εk' they keep arriving 112.2 (from *wōk'*)

s'o'wō^us'a^{uε} they keep jumping (112.5,10) (from *s'owō^{uε}k'ap'* 48.15)

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

p!a-i-t'gwilī'it'gwal^ε (water) keeps dripping down (cf. *p!a-i-t'gwilī'ie^x* it drips down 58.1)

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{xā^a-sgot!o'sga^εt} it breaks to pieces 62.1 (cf. *xā^a-sgō'us = -sgō^ud-x* it breaks [61.13]) \\ \textit{xā^a-sgō'us^tsgada^εt} it will break to pieces (cf. *xā^a-sgō'us^εsda* it will break [148.8]) \end{array} \right.$

TRANSITIVES, CLASS III (§§ 62-66)

§ 62. General Remarks

The subject pronominal elements of the transitive verb combine with the objective elements to form rather closely welded compound endings, yet hardly ever so that the two can not separately be recognized as such; the order of composition is in every case pronominal object + subject. It is only in the combinations THOU or YE — ME that such composition does not take place; in these the first person singular object is, properly speaking, not expressed at all, except in so far as the stem undergoes palatalization if possible (see § 31, 1), while the second person subject assumes the form in which it is found in Class II of intransitive verbs. The pronominal objects are decidedly a more integral part of the verb-form than the subjects, for not only do they precede these, but in passives, periphrastic futures, nouns of agency, and infinitives they are found unaccompanied by them. For example:

dōmxbina^ε you will be killed (178.15)

dōmxbigulu^{k'w} he will kill you

dōmxbi^εs one who kills you

dōmxbiya to kill you

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

dōmxbink' he will kill you; *t!omdōxbi^εn* I kill you

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

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

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

*t!omōk'wa*¹ it killed him 15.16; 28.11

he^ε-īāk'wa he went away from him

hāxank'wa he burnt him 27.16

sā^ansa'nk'wa he fought with him 28.10

nagaṛk'wa he said to him 152.3 (with very puzzling intransitive *-i-*; contrast *naga*¹ he said to him)

wēt'gigwa she took (it) away from him (49.6)

lāk'wak' (inferential) he gave him to eat

In several respects this *-k'wa* differs fundamentally from the other object suffixes. It allows no connective *-x-* to stand before it (see § 64); the indirective *-d-* of *-a'ld-* (see § 48) drops out before it:

gayawa'lk'wa he ate him; cf. *gayawa'lsbi* he ate you (26.8)

and, differing in this respect from the suffixless third person object, it allows no instrumental *i* to stand before it (see § 64):

ī-t!ana'hagwa he held him (25.10); cf. *ī-t!ana'hi* he held it 27.4

dak'-da-hālk'wa he answered him 180.18; cf. *dak'-da-hā^ali'^εn* I answered him (146.14)

It is thus evident that forms with suffixed *-k'wa* approximate intransitives in form (cf. *nagaṛk'wa* above). With a stem-final *g, gw* the suffix unites to form *-k'wa*, the preceding vowel being lengthened and receiving a rising accent; with a stem-final *k!* it unites to form *-^εk'wa*, the preceding vowel being lengthened with falling accent. Examples are:

t!ayāk'wa he found him 71.14; cf. *t!aya'k'* he found it 43.4; 134.17

malāk'wa he told him 22.8; (72.14); cf. *malagana'nhi* he told it to him (see § 50) 30.15

¹ The final consonant of the aoristic stem of Type 8 verbs is regularly lost before *-k'wa*.

da-k!os'ō^uk'wa they bit him 74.5 (aorist stem *-k!os'og-*)

he^ε-īleme'^εk'wa he destroyed them (50.2); cf. *he^ε-īleme'^εk!i^εn* I destroyed them (110.2)

mül'ü^εk'wa he swallowed him 72.16; cf. *mülü'^εk!a^εn* I swallowed him (73.1)

Verbs that have a suffixed comitative *-(a)gwa-* show, in combination with the objective *-k'wa-*, a probably dissimilated suffix *-gik'wa* (*-gigwa*), the connecting *a* preceding this compound suffix being of course unlauded to *i*:

xebeyigi'k'wa he hurt him (cf. *xebeyagwa'^εn* I hurt him [136.23])

ūyū'^εsgigwa he laughed at him 27.5 (cf. *ūyū'^εsgwa^εn* I laugh at him [71.7])

It is rather interesting to observe how the objective *-k'wa-* may serve to remove some of the ambiguities that are apt to arise in Takelma in the use of the third person. HE GAVE IT TO HIM is expressed in the inferential by the forms *o'k'ik'* and *o'k'igwak'*, the latter of which necessarily refers to a human indirect object. If a noun or independent pronoun be put before these apparently synonymous forms, sentences are framed of quite divergent signification. In the first sentence (noun + *o'k'ik'*) the prefixed noun would naturally be taken as the object (direct or indirect) of the verb (e. g., *ne'k'di o'k'ik'*, HE WHO-GAVE IT? [= TO WHOM DID HE GIVE IT?]); in the second (noun + *o'k'igwak'*), as subject, a doubly expressed object being inadmissible (e. g., *ne'k'di o'k'igwak'* WHO GAVE IT TO HIM?). TO WHOM DID HE BRING IT? with incorporated object *ne'k'di* reads *ne'k'di me^ε-wāk'* literally, HE-WHO-HITHER-BROUGHT-IT? WHO BROUGHT IT TO HIM? with subject *ne'k'di* reads (as inferential form) *ne'k'di wagawo'k'wak'* (-o- unexplained). HE FOUND THE ANTS is expressed by *t!ibis'v̄i t!aya'k'*, but THE ANTS FOUND HIM by *t!ibis'v̄i t!ayāk'wa*. The usage illustrated may be stated thus: whenever the third personal object refers to a human being and the subject is expressed as a noun, suffixed *-k'wa* must be used to indicate the object; if it is not used, the expressed noun will most naturally be construed as the object of the verb. An effective means is thus present in Takelma for the distinction of a personal subject and object.

§ 63. Transitive Subject Pronouns

The various tense-modal schemes of subject pronouns in the transitive verb are as follows:

| | Aorist | Future | Inferential | Present imperative | Future imperative |
|--------------------|---|---|-----------------------|----------------------|--|
| Singular: | | | | | |
| First person . . . | $-(a')^{\epsilon}n$ | $-(a')n$ | $-k'-a^{\epsilon}$ | | |
| Second person . . | $-(a')t'$ $-dam$ (1st sing. obj.) | $-(a)da^{\epsilon}$ $-da^{\epsilon}$ (1st sing. obj.) | $-k' \epsilon eit'$ | | $-(a')^{\epsilon}k'$ $-ga^{\epsilon}m$ (1st sing. obj.) |
| Third person . . . | | $-(a')nk'$ | $-k'$ | | |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| First person . . . | $-(a)nak'$ | $-(a)naga'm$ | $k'-anak'$ | $-(a)ba'^{\epsilon}$ | |
| Second person . . | $-(a')t'p'$ $-dap'$ (1st sing. obj.) | $-(a')t'ba^{\epsilon}$ $-daba^{\epsilon}$ (1st sing. obj.) | $-k' \epsilon eit'p'$ | $[-p'$ $-(a)np'$ | |

Setting aside the peculiar second personal subject first personal singular object terminations, it will be observed that the subjective forms of the transitive are identical with those of the intransitive (Class I) except in the first person singular and plural aorist and future, and in the third person aorist and future. The loss in the future of the catch of the first person singular aorist ($-t'e^{\epsilon}$: $t'e^{\epsilon} = -\epsilon n$: $-n$) and the addition in the future of $-am$ to the first person plural aorist ($-ik'$: $-igam = -nak'$: $-nagam$) are quite parallel phenomena. It will be observed also that the first person plural, probably also singular, aorist of the transitive, is in form identical, except for the mode-sign $-k'$, with the corresponding form of the inferential, so that one is justified in suspecting this tense-mode to consist, morphologically speaking, of transitive forms with third personal object (see § 60, first footnote).

The forms of $d\bar{o}um-$ (aorist $t!omom-$) KILL will show the method of combining subjective and objective pronominal elements.

AORIST

| Subjective | Objective | | | | |
|------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| | First person singular | Second person singular | Third person | First person plural | Second person plural |
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | $t!om\bar{o}xbi^{\epsilon}n$ | $t!omoma'^{\epsilon}n$ | | $t!om\bar{o}zanba^{\epsilon}n$ |
| 2d per. | $t!üm\bar{ü}zdam$ | | $t!omoma'^t$ | $t!om\bar{o}zimit'$ | |
| 3d per. | $t!üm\bar{ü}xi$ | $t!om\bar{o}xbi$ | $t!om\bar{o}m$ | $t!om\bar{o}zam$ | $t!om\bar{o}zanp'$ ¹ |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | $t!om\bar{o}xbinak'$ | $t!omomana'^k'$ | | $t!om\bar{o}zanbana'^k'$ |
| 2d per. | $t!üm\bar{ü}zdap'$ | | $t!omoma'^t'p'$ | $t!om\bar{o}zimit'p'$ | |

¹ Not to be confused with $t!om\bar{o}zant'p'$ YE ARE KILLING EACH OTHER!

FUTURE

| Subjective | Objective | | | | |
|------------|------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| | First person singular | Second person singular | Third person | First person plural | Second person plural |
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>dōmxbīn</i> | <i>dōuma'n</i> | | <i>dōmzanban</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>dūmxida^ε</i> | | <i>dōumada^ε</i> | <i>dōmzimida^ε</i> | |
| 3d per. | <i>dūmxink'</i> | <i>dōmxbīnk'</i> | <i>dōuma'nk'</i> | <i>dōmzamank'</i> | <i>dōmzanbank'</i> |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>dōmxbīnagam</i> | <i>dōumanaga'm</i> | | <i>dōmzambanagam</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>dūmxidaba^ε</i> | | <i>dōuma't'ba^ε</i> | <i>dōmzimī't'ba^ε 1</i> | |

PRESENT IMPERATIVE

| | | | | | |
|-----------|----------------|--|---|-------------------|--|
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 2d per. | <i>dūmxi</i> | | <i>dōum</i> | <i>dōmzam</i> | |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | | <i>dōumaba^ε</i> | | |
| 2d per. | <i>dūmxip'</i> | | <i>dōump' (al-xī'- k'anp' see him!)</i> | <i>dōmzamp' 1</i> | |

FUTURE IMPERATIVE

| | | | | | |
|-----------|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|-----|--|
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 2d per. | <i>dūmxga^εm</i> | | <i>dōuma^εk'</i> | ? 2 | |

¹ These forms were not actually obtained, but can hardly be considered as doubtful.

² Probably expressed by simple future *dōmzimida^ε*.

It is not necessary to give the transitive potential and inferential forms, as the former can be easily constructed by substituting in the future forms the aorist endings for those of the future:

dūmxi he would kill me

dōuma^εn I should, could kill him

dōum he would, could kill him

The inferential forms can be built up from the corresponding future forms by substituting for the subject endings of the latter those given in the table for the inferential mode:

dūmxik' he killed me

dōmxamk'ēt' you killed us

dōmk'a^ε I killed him

dōmzanp'gana'k' we killed you

The only point to which attention need be called in the aorist and future forms is the use of a connecting vowel *-i-* instead of *-a-* when the first personal plural object (*-am-*) is combined with a second singular or plural subject (*-it'*, *-it'p'*, *-ida^ε*, *-it'ba^ε*); this *-i-* naturally

carries the umlaut of *-am-* to *-im-* with it, but *-am-* reappears when *-i-* drops out, cf. inferential *dōmxamk!eit'*. With the *-i-* of these forms compare the *-i-* of the first person plural intransitives *-ik'*, *-iga'm*, *-iba^ε* (§ 60 and § 60, second footnote).

§ 64. Connecting *-x-* and *-i-*

It will have been observed that in all forms but those provided with a third personal object the endings are not directly added to the stem, but are joined to it by a connecting consonant *-x-* (amalgamating with preceding *-t-* to *-s-*). This element we have seen to be identical with the *-x-* (*-s-*) of reciprocal forms; and there is a possibility of its being related to the *-xa-* of active intransitive verbs, hardly, however, to the non-agentive *-x-*. Though it appears as a purely formal, apparently meaningless element, its original function must have been to indicate the objective relation in which the immediately following pronominal suffix stands to the verb. From this point of view it is absent in a third personal object form simply because there is no expressed pronominal element for it to objectivize, as it were. The final aoristic consonant of Type 8 verbs regularly disappears before the connecting *-x-*, so that its retention becomes a probably secondary mark of a third personal pronominal object. The fact that the third personal objective element *-k'wa-* (*-gwa-*) does not tolerate a preceding connective *-x-* puts it in a class by itself, affiliating it to some extent with the derivational suffixes of the verb.

There are, comparatively speaking, few transitive stems ending in a vowel, so that it does not often happen that the subjective personal endings, the third personal object being unexpressed, are directly attached to the verb or aorist stem, as in:

naga'εn I say to him 72.9, cf. *naga'* he said to him 92.24

sebe'n I shall roast it (44.6); future imperative *odo'εk'* hunt for him! (116.7)

Ordinarily forms involving the third personal object require a connecting vowel between the stem and the pronominal suffix. Not all verbs, however, show the purely non-significant *-a-* of, e. g., *t!omoma'εn*, but have a to a large extent probably functional *-i-*. This *-i-* occurs first of all in all third personal object forms of verbs that have an instrumental prefix:

ts!ayaga'εn I shoot him (192.10), but *wa-ts!ayagi'εn* I shoot (him) with it

ī-lats!agi't' you touched it

The greater number of cases will probably be found to come under this head, so that the *-i-* may be conveniently termed INSTRUMENTAL *-i-*. Not all forms with *-i-*, by any means, can be explained, however, as instrumental in force. A great many verbs, many of them characterized by the directive prefix *al-* (see § 36, 15), require an *-i-* as their regular connecting vowel:

lagagi'^εn I gave him to eat (30.12)

lā^aliwi'^εn I call him by name (116.17)

lō^uqinini'^εn I trap them for him (and most other FOR-indirectives in *-anan-*)

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

ogoyi'^εn I give it to him 180.11 (contrast *oyona'^εn* I gave it [180.20])

wā^aqiwī'^εn I brought it to him (176.17) (contrast *wā^aga'^εn* I brought it [162.13])

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

yīⁱmiya'^εn I lend it to him, but *yimi'/hin* I shall lend it to him

naga'^εn I said to him (second *-a-* part of stem) 72.9, but *nā^agi'ⁱn* I shall say to him; *nā^agi'^εk' say to him! (future) 196.20; *nā^k'ik' he said to him (inferential) 94.16; 170.9; 172.12**

The general significance of *-i-* seems not unlike that of the prefixed directive *al-*, though the application of the former element is very much wider; i. e., it refers to action directed toward some person or object distinctly outside the sphere of the subject. Hence the *-i-* is never found used together with the indirect reflexive *-k'wa-*, even though this suffix is accompanied by an instrumental prefix:

xā^a-p!ⁱ-nō^vk'^εwa'^εn I warm my own back (188.20)

In a few cases the applicability of the action of the verb can be shifted from the sphere of the subject to that of another person or thing by a mere change of the connective *-a-* to *-i-*, without the added use of prefix or suffix:

xā^a-lā'^{at}!an I shall put it about my waist, but *xā^a-lā'^{at}!in* I shall put it about his waist

In the form of the third personal subject with third personal object of the aorist, the imperative with third personal object, and the inferential with third personal object, the *-i-* generally appears as a suffixed *-hi-* (*-i-*), incapable of causing umlaut:

malagana'^{nhi} he told him 30.15, but *malagini'^εn* I told him (172.1)

wa-t!^{om}ōmhi he killed him with it

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \bar{i}\text{-}k!\bar{u}^u\text{manana}'nhi \text{ he fixed it for him} \\ \bar{i}\text{-}k!\bar{u}\text{mana}'nhi \text{ fix it for him!} \\ \bar{i}\text{-}k!\bar{u}\text{mana}'nhik' \text{ he fixed it for him (infer.)}, \text{ but } \bar{i}\text{-}k!\bar{u}\text{mininini}'nk' \\ \text{he will fix it for him} \end{array} \right.$

It should be noted, however, that many verbs with characteristic *-i-* either may or regularly do leave out the final *-i*:

$al\bar{x}\bar{i}'ik'$ he saw him 124.6, 8 (cf. $al\bar{x}\bar{i}'i\bar{g}\bar{i}^{\epsilon n}$ I saw him, 188.11)¹
 $\bar{i}\text{-}lats!a'k'$ he touched him (cf. $\bar{i}\text{-}lats!ag\bar{i}'^{\epsilon n}$ I touched him)
 $ba^{\epsilon}\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}ye^{\epsilon}wa'n$ revive him! (15.2) (cf. $ba^{\epsilon}\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}yewe^{\epsilon}ni'^{\epsilon n}$ I revived him)
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} he^{\epsilon}\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}lele'^{\epsilon}k' \text{ he let him go (13.6)} \text{ (cf. } he^{\epsilon}\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}le'lek!i'^{\epsilon n} \text{ I let him go} \\ \text{[50.4])} \\ he^{\epsilon}\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}le'l'^{\epsilon}k' \text{ let him go! 182.15 (cf. } he^{\epsilon}\text{-}\bar{i}\text{-}le'lk'in \text{ I shall let him go)} \\ ba\text{-}i\text{-}di\text{-}t'ga'^{\epsilon}st'g\bar{a}^u\text{s} \text{ stick out your anus! 164.19; 166.6 (cf.} \\ ba\text{-}i\text{-}di\text{-}t'gats!a't'gisi^{\epsilon n} \text{ I stuck out my anus [166.8])} \\ \bar{i}\text{-}k!\bar{u}^u\text{ma}'n \text{ he prepared it 190.22 (cf. } \bar{i}\text{-}k!\bar{u}^u\text{mini}'^{\epsilon n} \text{ I prepared it)} \end{array} \right.$

It must be confessed that it has not been found possible to find a simple rule that would enable one to tell whether an *i*-verb does or does not keep a final *-hi* (*-i*). Certain verbs, even though without instrumental signification, show an *-i-* (or *-hi-*) in all forms with third personal object. Such are:

aorist *ogoy-* give to (*ogoihi* he gave it to him 156.20)
 aorist *wet'-g-* take away from (*wet'gi* he took it from him, 16.13)
 aorist *lagag-* feed (*laga'k'i* he gave him to eat 30.12; *lak'i* give him to eat! *lak'igana'k* we seem to have given him to eat)

and indirective verbs in *-anan-*. Irregularities of an unaccountable character occur. Thus we have:

$he^{\epsilon}\text{-}\bar{i}\bar{u}$ he left him (cf. $he^{\epsilon}\text{-}\bar{i}'wi'^{\epsilon n}$ I left him); but imperative $he^{\epsilon}\text{-}\bar{i}wi'hi$ leave him! (not $*\bar{i}wi'$, as we might expect)

In many cases the loss or retention of the final *-hi* seems directly connected with syntactic considerations. A large class of verbs with instrumental prefix (generally *-i-*) drop the final *-hi*, presumably because the instrumentality is only indefinitely referred to (cf. § 35, 1). Examples of such have been given above. As soon, however, as the instrument is explicitly referred to, as when an instrumental noun is incorporated in or precedes the verb, the *-hi* is restored. Thus:

¹The *-i-* of these verbs regularly disappears, not only here but in every form in which the normal connecting vowel *-a-* fails to appear in other verbs: $al\bar{x}\bar{i}'^{\epsilon}k'$ (inferential) HE SAW HIM ($*al\bar{x}\bar{i}k!k'$ like $d\bar{a}mk'$ HE KILLED HIM), homonymous with $al\bar{x}\bar{i}'^{\epsilon}k'$ (imperative) SEE HIM! ($=*al\bar{x}\bar{i}'k'$). As soon, however, as the verb becomes distinctly instrumental in force, the *-i-* is a constant element: $al\text{-}wa\text{-}\bar{x}\bar{i}'k'ik'$ (inferential) HE SAW IT WITH IT.

la-^εī-t' bā'ak' he burst it (cf. *-t' bā'agi^εn* I burst it)

{ *ī-s'wili's'wal* he tore it to pieces (cf. *-s'wili's'wili^εn* I tore it to pieces)

ī-s'wi'ls'wal tear it to pieces!

{ *ī-s'wi'ls'wa'l* he tore it (once)

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

despite the prefixed *-ī-*; but:

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

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

Similarly:

bā-^εī-sgā'ak' sga'k' he picked him up 31.11 (cf. *-sgā'k' sgigi^εn* I picked him up)

but:

k!a'mā^a dan bā^a-sgā'ak' sga'k' i tongs rocks he-picked-them-up-with
(=he picked up rocks with tongs) 170.17

despite the lack of an instrumental prefix in the verb. Explicit instrumentality, however, can hardly be the most fundamental function of the *-hi*. It seems that whenever a transitive verb that primarily takes but one object is made to take a second (generally instrumental or indirective in character) the instrumental *-i-* (with retained *-hi*) is employed. Thus:

ma'xla k!ūwū he threw dust

but:

ma'xla ^εalk!ūwūhi dust he-threw-it-at-him (perhaps best translated as he-bethrew-him-with-dust) cf. 184.5

where the logically direct object is *ma'xla*, while the logically indirect, perhaps grammatically direct, object is implied by the final *-hi* and the prefix *al-*. Similarly, in:

k'o^εpx bababa't' i wā^adi'xda ashes he-clapped-them-over his-body
(perhaps best rendered by: he-beclapped-his-body-with-ashes)
182.9

the logically direct object is *k'o^εpx*, the logically indirect object, his-body, seems to be implied by the *-i*. This interpretation of the *-hi* as being dependent upon the presence of two explicit objects is confirmed by the fact that most, if not all, simple verbs that regularly retain it (such as GIVE TO, SAY TO in non-aorist forms, BRING TO, verbs in *-anan-*) logically demand two objects.

As soon as the verb ceases to be transitive (or passive) in form or when the third personal object is the personal *-k'wa*, the instrumental *-i-* disappears:

gel-yalā'a xalt'gwit' he forgot himself 77.10 (cf. *gel-yalā'a xaldī'n* I forgot him)

ogoik'wa he gave it to him 96.18 (cf. *ogoihi* he gave it to him 188.12)

It is possible that in *wēt'gigwa* HE TOOK IT FROM HIM the *-gi-* is a peculiar suffix not compounded of petrified *-g-* (see § 42, 6) and instrumental *-i-*; contrast *ī-t!ana'hi* HE HELD IT with *ī-t!ana'hagwa* HE HELD HIM. Any ordinary transitive verb may lose its object and take a new instrumental object, whereupon the instrumental *-i-* becomes necessary. Examples of such instrumentalized transitives are:

ga'l^ε wa-ts!ayagi'^{εn} bow I-with-shoot-it (cf. *ts!ayaga'^{εn}* I shoot him)

wa-^εū^ugwi'^{εn} I drink with it (cf. *ū^ugwa'^{εn}* I drink it)

If, however, it is desired to keep the old object as well as the new instrumental object, a suffix *-an-* seems necessary. Thus:

yap!a wa-sā^aginīna'^ε people they-will-be-shot-with-it

xī'ⁱ wa-^εū^ugwini'^{εn} water I-drink-it-with-it

It is not clear whether or not this *-an-* is related to either of the *-an-* elements of *-anan-* (§ 50).

A final *-i* is kept phonetically distinct in that it does not unite with a preceding fortis, but allows the fortis to be treated as a syllabic final, i. e., to become ^ε + aspirated surd:

he^ε-ī-le'me^εk'ⁱ he killed them off, but *-le'mek'ī^{εn}* I killed them off

Forms without connective vowel whose stem ends in a vowel, and yet (as instrumentals or otherwise) require an *-i-*, simply insert this element (under proper phonetic conditions as *-hi-*) before the modal and personal suffixes:

wa-woo'hin I shall go to get it with it (contrast *woo'n* I shall go to get it)

ī-t!ana'hiⁿ I hold it; *ī-t!ana'hi* he holds it 27.4

dī-s'al-yomo'hin I shall run behind and catch up with him;
dī-s'al-yomo'hi catch up with him! (contrast *yomo'n* I shall catch up with him)

wa-sana'hink' they will spear them with them 28.15 (verb-stem *sana-*)

A constant *-a-* used to support a preceding consonant combination is, in *-i-* verbs, colored to *-i-*:

ī-lasqi' touch him! (cf. *masga'* put it! [104.8])

It is remarkable that several verbs with instrumental vocalism lose the *-i-* and substitute the ordinary connective *-a-* in the frequentative. Such are:

ī-go'yokli^{εn} I nudge him; *ī-goyogiyā'^{εn}* I keep pushing him
dīⁱ-t!ī'si'^{εn} I crush it; *dīⁱ-t!iyī't!iya^{εn}* I keep crushing them

It can hardly be accidental that in both these cases the loss of the *-i-* is accompanied by the loss of a petrified consonant (*-k!-*, *-s-*).

The following scheme of the instrumental forms of *dō^um-* KILL (third personal object) will best illustrate the phonetic behavior of *-i-*:

| | Aorist | Future | Potential | Inferential | Present imperative | Future imperative |
|-------------------|------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | | | |
| First person . . | <i>t!omoml'^{εn}</i> | <i>dō^uml'n</i> | <i>dō^uml'^{εn}</i> | <i>dōmhiga^ε</i> | | |
| Second person . . | <i>t!omomi't</i> | <i>dō^umida^ε</i> | <i>dō^umi't</i> | <i>dōmhik!ei't</i> | <i>dōmhi</i> | <i>dōmhi^εk'</i> |
| Third person . . | <i>t!omōmhi</i> | <i>dō^umi'nk'</i> | <i>dōmhi</i> | <i>dōmhik'</i> | | |
| Plural: | | | | | | |
| First person . . | <i>t!omomina'k'</i> | <i>dō^uminaga'm</i> | <i>dō^umina'k'</i> | <i>dōmhigana'k'</i> | <i>dōmhiba^ε</i> | |
| Second person . . | <i>t!omomi't'p'</i> | <i>dō^umi't'ba^ε</i> | <i>dō^umi't'p'</i> | <i>dōmhik!ei't'p'</i> | <i>dōmhip'</i> | |

§ 65. Forms Without Connecting Vowel

A considerable number of transitive verbs whose aorist stem ends in a long diphthong with rising pitch (long vowel + semivowel, nasal, or liquid) treat this diphthong as a vocalic unit, i. e., do not allow the second element of the diphthong to become semivocalic and thus capable of being followed by a connective *-a-* before the personal endings (cf. intransitive forms like *eī-t'*, § 60). If such a long diphthong is final, or precedes a consonant (like *-t'*) that is itself incapable of entering into diphthongal combination with a preceding vowel, no difficulty arises. If, however, the long diphthong precedes an *-n-* (in such endings as *-^{εn}*, *-n*, *-nak'*), which, as has been seen, is phonetically on a line with the semivowels *y* (*i*) and *w* (*u*), a long double diphthong (long vowel + semivowel, nasal, or liquid + *n* of time-value 4) results. Such a diphthong can not be tolerated, but must be reduced to an ordinary long diphthong of time-value 3 by the loss of the second element (semivowel, nasal, or liquid) of the diphthong of the stem (see § 11). Thus the coexistence of such apparently contradictory forms as *dā^a-yehèrt'* YOU GO WHERE THERE IS SINGING and *dā^a-yehèn* (with passive *-n*) IT WAS GONE WHERE THERE WAS SINGING (from **yehèvn*) can be explained by a simple consideration of syllabic

weight. The rising pitch-accent, it should be noted, is always preserved as an integral element of the diphthong, even though a $-^{\epsilon}n$ follow, so that the first personal singular subject third personal object of such verbs ($-\tilde{v}^{\epsilon}n$) stands in sharp contrast to the corresponding form of the great mass of transitive verbs ($-v'^{\epsilon}n$).¹ The first person plural subject third person object and the third personal passive are always parallel in form to the first person singular subject third person object in $-^{\epsilon}n$ (*k!adā^ana'k'* and *k!adān* like *k!adā^an*). Examples of transitives with aorist stems ending in long diphthongs not followed by connective $-a-$ are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| <i>t'gwaxā^an</i> I tattoo him | : | <i>t'gwaxāit'</i> you tattoo him |
| <i>dī-t!ügū^an</i> I wear it | : | <i>dī-t!ügūi</i> he wears it 96.16 |
| <i>dā^a-yehē^an</i> I go where there is singing | : | <i>dā^a-yehēit'</i> you go where there is singing (106.10) |
| | <i>dā^a-yehēn</i> (third person pas- sive) | |
| <i>dā^a-yehē^ana'k'</i> (first person plural) | | |
| <i>k!adā^an</i> I picked them up | : | <i>k!adāi</i> he picked them up |
| <i>da-t!agā^an</i> I built a fire | : | <i>da-t!agāi</i> he built a fire 88.12; 96.17 |
| <i>swadān</i> (passive) they got beaten in gambling | : | <i>swadāisa^an</i> they are gambling with one another |
| <i>oyō^an</i> I give it (= * <i>oyōn^an</i>) but also <i>oyona'^an</i> with con- necting $-a-$ | | |
| <i>k!emē^an</i> I did it 74.13 | : | <i>k!emēi</i> he did it 92.22; 144.6; 176.1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 14 |

In aorist *k!emēi*- MAKE the $-i-$, actually or impliedly, appears only when the object is of the third person (singular first, *k!emē^an*; second, *k!emēt'*; third, *k!emēi*; plural first, *k!eme^ana'k'*; second, *k!emēt'p'*); all other aoristic and all non-aoristic forms replace the $-i-$ by a $-n-$:

k!emēnaxbi^an I make you 27.9

k!emēnaxa^an they make one another; future *k!emna'nk'* he will make it 28.14

A few reduplicated transitives ending, in both aorist and verb-stems, in a short diphthong ($-ā-$, $-am-$, $-an-$, $-aw-$), lack a connective $-a-$

¹It may be noted in passing that the Takelma reduction of an over-long diphthong (*ēin* to *eēn*) offers in some respects a remarkable parallel to the reduction of an Indo-Germanic long diphthong to a simple long vowel before certain consonants, chiefly $-m$ (e. g., Indo-Germanic **djēys* = Skr. *dyāw's*, Gk. *Zēús*, with preserved $-y-$ because followed by $-s$, a consonant not capable of entering into diphthongal combination; but Indo-Germanic acc. **djēm* = Ved. Skr. *dyām*, Hom. Gk. *Zēu* with lost $-y-$ because followed by $-m$, a consonant capable of entering into diphthongal combination). I do not wish to imply, however, that the accent of forms like *yehē^an* is, as in *djēm*, the compensating result of contraction.

before the personal endings, so that a loss of the final consonant (-*l*-, -*m*-, -*n*-, -*w*-) takes place in third personal objective forms before a consonantal personal ending. Such verbs are:

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>heme'ha^εn</i> I mocked him (= | : <i>heme'ham</i> he mocked him |
| - <i>ham^εn</i>) | 24.4, 5, 8; 182.6, 7 |
| <i>imi'ha^εn</i> I sent him (= - <i>am^εn</i>) | : <i>imi'hamsin</i> I was sent (43.2) |
| { <i>gel-hewe'ha^εn</i> ¹ I think (= - <i>au^εn</i>) | : <i>gel-hewe'hau</i> he thought 44.11; |
| { <i>gel-hewe'hat'</i> you think | 142.20 |
| <i>p!a-i-di^ε-sgimi'sga^εn</i> ² I set them | : <i>p!a-i-di^ε-sgimi'sgam</i> he set |
| in ground (= - <i>am^εn</i>) | them in ground |
| { <i>bā-^εal-mo'lo^εma^εn</i> I turned them | : <i>bā-^εal-mo'lo^εmal</i> he turned |
| over (= - <i>al^εn</i>) | them over (170.16) |
| { <i>bā-^εal-mo'l^εman</i> I shall turn | |
| them over (= - <i>aln</i>) | |
| <i>sā^ansa'^εn</i> I fight him (= - <i>an^εn</i>) | : <i>sā^ansa'n</i> he fights him (28.10) |
| | (but also <i>sāns</i> , see § 40, 10b) |
| <i>mā^anama'^εn</i> I count them | : <i>da-mā^anmini'^εn</i> I count them |
| (= - <i>an^εn</i>) | up (156.14) (but also <i>mān</i> = |
| | * <i>mānm</i> he counted them |
| | 78.8; 100.8) |

How explain the genesis of these two sets of contract verb forms, and how explain the existence of doublets like *mo'lo^εma^εn* and *mo'lo^εmala^εn*, *mo'lo^εmat'* and *mo'lo^εmalat'*, *oyō^εn* and *oyona'^εn*, *sā^ansa'n* and *sāns*? The most plausible explanation that can be offered is that originally the personal endings were added directly to the stem and that later a connecting -*a*- developed whenever the preceding consonant or the personal ending was not of a character to form a diphthong. Hence the original paradigms may have been:

| | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| First person | <i>oyō^εn</i> | <i>mo'lo^εma^εn</i> |
| Second person | <i>oyona't'</i> | <i>mo'lo^εmala't'</i> |
| Third person | <i>oyōn</i> | <i>mo'lo^εmal</i> |

which were then leveled out to:

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| <i>oyona'^εn</i> | <i>mo'lo^εmala^εn</i> |
| <i>oyona't'</i> | <i>mo'lo^εmala't'</i> |
| <i>oyōn</i> | <i>mo'lo^εmal</i> |

because of the analogy of a vast number of verbs with connecting -*a*- in both first and second persons, e. g., *ts!ayaga'^εn*, *ts!ayaga't'*. Forms like *mo'lo^εmat'*, *sā^ansa't'*, would arise from leveling to the first

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

² The form *sgimi'sga^εn* is interesting as a test case of these contract verb forms. The stem must be *sgimisgam-*; it can not be *sgimisg-*, as *sg-* could hardly be treated as a repeated initial consonant. No cases are known of initial consonant clusters treated as phonetic units.

person by the analogy of such forms as *!omoma'εn*, *!omoma't*. The third person generally brings out the original diphthong, yet sometimes the analogy set by the first person seems to be carried over to the third person (e. g., *sāns* beside *sā'nsa'n*), as well as to the third person passive and first person plural subject transitive. Such forms as *oyōεn* are best considered as survivals of an older "athematic" type of forms, later put on the wane by the spread of the "thematic" type with connecting *-a-* (e. g., *gayawa'εn*, not **gayāεn* from **gayaūεn*). Owing to the fact that the operation of phonetic laws gave rise to various paradigmatic irregularities in the "athematic" forms, these sank into the background. They are now represented by aorists of Type 2 verbs like *naga'-εn* I SAY TO HIM and *wa-k!oyō-εn* I GO WITH HIM,¹ non-aorist forms of Type 5 verbs (e. g., *odo'-n*), and such isolated irregularities as intransitive *eī-t'* and *nagaī-t'* (contrast *yewey-a't'* and *t'agaya't'*) and transitive contract verbs like *k!adāεn* and *sā'nsa'εn*.

§ 66. Passives

Passives, which occur in Takelma texts with great frequency, must be looked upon as amplifications of transitive forms with third personal subject. Every such transitive form may be converted into a passive by the omission of the transitive subject and the addition of elements characteristic of that voice; the pronominal object of the transitive becomes the logical, not formal, subject of the passive (passives, properly speaking, have no subject). The passive suffixes referred to are *-(a)n* for the aorist, *-(a)naε* for the future, and *-am* for the inferential. Imperatives were not obtained, nor is it certain that they exist. Following are the passive forms of *dōum-*, instrumental forms being put in parentheses:

| | Aorist | Future | Potential | Inferential |
|-------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | |
| First person | <i>!ümūxin</i> | <i>dūmzinaε</i> | <i>dūmzin</i> | <i>dūmzigam</i> |
| Second person | <i>!omōzbin</i> | <i>dōmzbinaε</i> | <i>dōmzbin</i> | <i>dōmzbigam</i> |
| Third person | <i>!omoma'n</i> (<i>!omomi'n</i>) | <i>dōmanaε</i> (<i>dōminaε</i>) | <i>dōuma'n</i> (<i>dōumi'n</i>) | <i>dōmk'am</i> (<i>dōmhigam</i>) |
| Plural: | | | | |
| First person | <i>!omōzimin</i> | <i>dōmziminaε</i> | <i>dōmzimin</i> | <i>dōmzank'am</i> |
| Second person | <i>!omōzban</i> | <i>dōmzbannaε</i> | <i>dōmzban</i> | <i>dōmzbanp'gam</i> |

¹ Some verbs whose aorist stem ends in a vowel take a constant *-a-* with preceding inorganic *h* instead of adding the personal endings directly. Such a verb is *ī-t'ana-* HOLD; the constant *-a-* or *-i-* of forms like *ī-t'ana'hagwa*, *ī-t'ene'hi-s'dam* is perhaps due to the analogy of the instrumental *-i-* of forms like *ī-t'ana'hiεn*.

The connective *-a-*, it will be observed, is replaced by *-i-* when the formal object is the first person plural (*-am-*); compare the entirely analogous phenomenon in the second personal subjective first personal plural objective forms of the transitive (§ 63). It is curious that the third person aorist of the passive can in every single case be mechanically formed with perfect safety by simply removing the catch from the first personal singular subjective third personal objective of the transitive; the falling accent (rising accent for verbs like *k!emē^εn*) remains unchanged:

ī-t!a'ut!iwi^εn I caught him : *ī-t!a'ut!iwin* he was caught 29.12
naga^εn I said to him 72.7, 9 : *naga'n* he was spoken to 102.16
k!emē^εn I made it 74.13 : *k!emēn* it was made 13.12 178.12

It is hardly possible that a genetic relation exists between the two forms, though a mechanical association is not psychologically incredible.

Not only morphologically, but also syntactically, are passives closely related to transitive forms. It is the logical unexpressed subject of a passive sentence, not the grammatical subject (logical and formal object), that is referred to by the reflexive possessive in *-gwa* (see §§ 91, 92). Thus:

dīk!olola'n t'gā^ap'dagwanwa' he-was-dug-up their-own-horns (not his-own-horns) with (in other words, they dug him up with their own horns) 48.5

There is no real way of expressing the agent of a passive construction. The commonest method is to use a periphrasis with *xēbe^εn* HE DID SO. Thus:

ēi salk!omo'k!imin p!iyin xēbe^εn canoe it-was-kicked-to-pieces deer they-did-so (in other words, the canoe was kicked to pieces by the deer) 114.5

§ 67. VERBS OF MIXED CLASS, CLASS IV

A fairly considerable number of verbs are made up of forms that belong partly to Class I or Class II intransitives, partly to the transitives. These may be conveniently grouped together as Class IV, but are again to be subdivided into three groups. A few intransitive verbs showing forms of both Class I and II have been already spoken of (pp. 162-3, 166).

1. Probably the larger number is taken up by Type 13 verbs in *-n-*, all the forms of which are transitives except those with second person singular or plural subject. These latter are forms of Class II (i. e., aorist singular *-dam*, plural *-dap'*; future singular *-da^ε*, plural

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

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

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

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

The following forms of *ī-hegwehagw-* (verb-stem *ī-he^εgwagw-* [= *-he^εgwahagw-*]) WORK will serve to illustrate the *-n-* formation:

| | Aorist | Future | Inferential | Present imperative |
|-----------|--|---|---|---------------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | |
| 1st per. | <i>hegwe'hak'^wna^εn</i> | <i>hegwa'k'^wnan</i> | <i>hegwa'k'wa^ε</i> (= <i>k^w-k'a^ε</i>) | |
| 2d per. | <i>hegwe'hak'^wdam</i> | <i>hegwa'k'^wda^ε</i> | <i>hegwa'k!we't'</i> | <i>he'k'wāak'^w</i> |
| 3d per. | <i>hegwe'hak'^w</i> | [?] | <i>hegwa'k'^w</i> | |
| Plural: | | | | |
| 1st per. | <i>hegwe'hak'^wnana'k'</i> | <i>hegwa'k'^wnanagam</i> | <i>hegwa'k'wana'k'</i> | <i>hegwa'k'waba^ε</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>hegwe'hak'^wdap'</i> | <i>hegwa'k'^wdaba^ε</i> | <i>hegwa'k!we't'p'</i> | <i>he'k'wāagwa'np'</i> |

2. Practically a sub-group of the preceding set of verbs is formed by a very few verbs that have their aorist like *ī-hegwe'hak'^wna^εn*,

but their non-aorist forms like Class II intransitives. They evidently waver between Class II, to which they seem properly to belong, and the semi-transitive *-n-* forms. Such are:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| { | <i>dī-k!ala'sna^{εn}</i> (but also | : | future <i>dī-k!a'lside^e</i> |
| | <i>dī-k!ala'sde^ε</i> I am lean in my rump | | |
| { | <i>dī-k!ala'sdam</i> (second per- | : | future <i>dī-k!a'lsida^ε</i> |
| | son) | | |
| | <i>gwel-sal-t!eyžsna^{εn}</i> I have | : | future- <i>t!eṛside^e</i> |
| | no flesh on my legs and feet | | |

It may be observed that the existence of a form like **gwel-sal-t!eṛsinan* was denied, so that we are not here dealing with a mere mistaken mixture of distinct, though in meaning identical, verbs.

3. The most curious set of verbs belonging to Class IV is formed by a small number of intransitives, as far as signification is concerned, with a thoroughly transitive aorist, but with non-aorist forms belonging entirely to Class II. This is the only group of verbs in which a difference in tense is associated with a radical difference in class. Examples are:

| | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| { | <i>dā^a-sgēk!īya^{εn}</i> I listened | : | future <i>dā^a-sgēk!it'e^e</i> |
| | <i>dā^a-sgēk!īya't</i> you listened | | |
| | <i>dā^a-sgēk!ṛ</i> he listened 102.8 | | |
| { | <i>al-we'k!ala^{εn}</i> I shine | : | future <i>al-we'k!alt'e^e</i> |
| | <i>al-we'k!alat</i> you shine | | |
| | <i>al-we'k!alana'k</i> we shine | : | future <i>al-we'k!alp'igam</i> (third person inferential <i>al-we'- k!alp'k'</i>) |
| | <i>al-geyana^{εn}</i> I turn away | : | future <i>al-ge'yande^e</i> |
| | my face | | |
| { | <i>da-smayama^{εn}</i> } I smile | : | future <i>da-sma-ima'sde^e</i> |
| | <i>da-smayañha^{εn}</i> } | | |
| | <i>da-smayañ</i> he smiles | | |
| | <i>da-smayamana'k</i> we smile | | |

To these should probably be added also *da-sgayana^{εn}* I lie down (3d *da-sgayañ*), though no future was obtained. Here again it may be noted that the existence of **da-sma-ima'n* as a possible (and indeed to be expected) future of *da-smayama^{εn}* was denied.¹

¹ There are in Takelma also a number of logically intransitive verbs with transitive forms throughout all the tense-modes: *al-zaliyana'k* WE ARE SEATED (56.2; 150.20); passive *al-zaliya'n* PEOPLE ARE SEATED 152.18. Similar is *sal-xogwi* THEY STAND; cf. also *gel-hew' hau* HE THINKS, p. 179, note 1. As these, however, have nothing to mark them off morphologically from ordinary transitives, they give no occasion for special treatment. It is probable that in them the action is conceived of as directed toward some implied third personal object.

5. Auxiliary and Subordinating Forms (§§ 68-72)

§ 68. PERIPHRASTIC FUTURES

Periphrastic future forms are brought about by prefixing to the third personal (unexpressed) objective forms of the *aorist* stem *-gulug^w-* DESIRE, INTEND the verb-stem (if transitive, with its appended pronominal object) of the verb whose future tense is desired. The pronominal subject of such a form is given by the transitive subject pronoun of the second element (*-gulug^w-*) of the compound; while the object of the whole form, if the verb is transitive, is coincident with the incorporated pronominal object of the first element. The form of the verb-stem preceding the *-gulug^w-* suffix is identical with the form it takes in the inferential. Thus:

ba-i-hema'k'ulu'k'^w he will take it out (cf. inferential *ba-i-hema'k' = -hemg-k'*), but imperative *ba-i-he'mk'* 16.10

but, without inorganic *a*:

ī-hēmguļu'k'^w he will wrestle with him (cf. inferential *hēm'k'*)

Indeed, it is quite likely that the main verb is used in the inferential form, the *-k'* of the inferential amalgamating with the *g-* of *-gulug^w-* to form *g* or *k'*. This seems to be proved by the form:

loh'o'k'-di-gulugwa't' do you intend to die? (*di* = interrogative particle)

Morphologically the verb-stem with its incorporated object must itself be considered as a verb-noun incorporated as a prefix in the verb *-gulug^w-* and replacing the prefix *gel-* BREAST of *gel-gulugwa't^{en}* I DESIRE IT 32.5, 6, 7. Alongside, e. g., of the ordinary future form *dō^uma'n* I SHALL KILL HIM may be used the periphrastic *dō^um-gulugwa't^{en}* literally, I KILL (HIM)-DESIRE, INTEND. This latter form is not by any means a mere desiderative (I DESIRE TO KILL HIM would be expressed by *dō^umia' gel-gulugwa't^{en}* [= TO-KILL-HIM I-IT-DESIRE]), but a purely formal future. Similarly, *dūmxi-gulu'k'^w* is used alongside of the simpler *dūmxi'nk'* HE WILL KILL ME. As a matter of fact the third personal subjective future in *-gulu'k'^w* is used about as frequently as the regular paradigmatic forms heretofore given:

yana'-k'ulu'k'^w he will go (128.9)

sana'p'-gulu'k'^w he will fight (cf. 48.10)

ayomo'k'wagulu'k'^w she was about to catch up with him 140.18

alxī'x̄bi-gulu'k'^w he will see you

The reason is obvious. The normal futures (*yana'εt* HE WILL GO; *sana'p'dā^a*; *alxī'εxbīnk'*) imply a bald certainty, as it were, of the future action of a third person, a certainty that is not in ordinary life generally justifiable. The periphrastic forms, on the other hand, have a less rigid tone about them, and seem often to have a slight intentive force: HE INTENDS, IS ABOUT TO GO. The difference between the two futures may perhaps be brought out by a comparison with the English I SHALL KILL HIM (= *dō^uma'n*) and I'M GOING TO KILL HIM (*dō^um-gulugwa'εn*).

Though a form like *dūmxi-gulu'k'^u* HE WILL KILL ME is in a way analogous to *s'in-ī-lets!e'xi* HE TOUCHES MY NOSE, the incorporated object *dūmxi-* KILL-ME of the former being parallel to *s'in-* NOSE of the latter, there is an important difference between the two in that the object of the periphrastic future is always associated with the logically (*dō^um-*), not formally (*-gulug^u-*), main verb. This difference may be graphically expressed as follows: HE-[KILL-ME]-INTENDS-IT, but HE-[NOSE-HAND]-TOUCHES-ME; strict analogy with the latter form would require **dō^um-gülü'xi* HE-[KILL]-INTENDS-ME, a type of form that is not found. It is not necessary to give a paradigm of periphrastic future forms, as any desired form can be readily constructed from what has already been said. The incorporated pronominal object is always independent of the subject-suffix, so that YOU WILL KILL ME, for example, is rendered by *dūmxi-gulugwa't'*, the ordinary YOU—ME forms (singular *-dam*, plural *-dap'*) finding no place here.

Inasmuch as all active periphrastic futures are transitive in form, passive futures of the same type (all ending in *-gulugwa'n*) can be formed from all verbs, whether transitive or intransitive. When formed from transitive stems, these forms are equivalent to the normal future passives in *-(a)na^ε*:

dō^um-gulugwa'n he will, is about to, is going to be killed
dūmxi-gulugwa'n I am to be killed, it is intended to kill me

As the intransitive stem in the periphrastic future is never accompanied by pronominal affixes, there is only one passive future form that can be constructed from an intransitive verb. This form always refers to the third person, generally to the intended or imminent action of a group of people:

hoida-gulugwa'n (verb-stem *hoid-* + inorganic *-a-*) there will be dancing

lō^u-gulugwa'n people are going to play (literally, it is play-intended)

The passive future in *-gulugwa'n* can also be used with the indefinite form in *-iau-*:

sana'xiniau-gulugwa'n it is intended, about to be that people fight one another; there will be fighting

The extreme of abstract expression seems to be reached in such not uncommon forms as:

wē'egiau-gulugwa'n it was going to be daylight (literally, it was being-daylight intended) 48.13

As the suffixed pronominal objects of reciprocal forms are intransitive in character, the first element of a periphrastic future of the reciprocal must show an incorporated intransitive pronoun, but of aorist, not future form:

ī-di-lasgi'xant'p'-gulugwa't'p' are you going to touch one another?
(aorist *ī-lats!a'xant'p'*; future *ī-lasgi'xant'ba^ε*)

§ 69. PERIPHRASTIC PHRASES IN *na(g)-* DO, ACT

The verbal base *na(g)*¹ (intransitive *na-*; transitive *nā^ag-*) has hitherto been translated as SAY (intransitive), SAY TO (transitive). This, however, is only a specialized meaning of the constantly recurring base, its more general signification being DO, ACT, BE IN MOTION indefinitely. It is really never used alone, but is regularly accompanied by some preceding word or phrase with which it is connected in a periphrastic construction; the *na(g)-* form playing the part of an auxiliary. As a verb of saying, *na(g)-* is regularly preceded by a quotation, or else some word or phrase, generally a demonstrative pronoun, grammatically summarizing the quotation. Properly speaking, then, a sentence like I SHALL GO, HE SAID (TO ME) (= *yana't'e^e [ga] naga't^{is} [or nege's'i]*) is rendered in Takelma by I SHALL GO (THAT) HE DID (or HE DID TO ME), in which the quotation *yana't'e^e I SHALL GO*, or else its representative *ga THAT*, is incorporated as prefix in the general verb of action.

The most interesting point in connection with periphrastic phrases in *na(g)-* is the use of a number of invariable, generally monosyllabic, verbal bases as incorporated prefixes. The main idea, logically speaking, of the phrase is expressed in the prefix, the *na(g)-*

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

element serving merely to give it grammatical form. This usage is identical with that so frequently employed in Chinookan dialects, where significant uninflected particles are joined into periphrastic constructions with some form of the verb-stem *-x-* DO, MAKE, BECOME (e. g., Wasco *lq!u'b itciux* HE CUT IT [literally, CUT HE-IT-MADE]), except that in Takelma the particles are identical with the bases of normally formed verbs. It is not known how many such verb-particles there are, or even whether they are at all numerous. The few examples obtained are:

na^ε do (cf. *na't'e^ε* I shall say, do)

s'as come to a stand (cf. *s'as'in̄* he stands 144.14)

s'il paddle canoe (cf. *ei-ba-i-s'ili'xgwa* he landed with his canoe 13.5)

t'gel^ε fall, drop

ts'!el rattle (cf. *ts'ele'εm* it rattles 102.13)

t'bō'u^x make a racket (cf. *t'bō'uxde^ε* I make a noise)

liwā'a look (cf. *liwila'ut'e^ε* I looked [60.7])

le'yas lame (cf. *gwel-le'ye'sde^ε* I am lame)

p'i'was jumping lightly (cf. *p'iwits!ana'εn* I make it bounce)

we'k!alk' shining (cf. *al-we'k!ala'εn* I shine)

sgala'uk' look moving one's head to side (cf. *al-sgalawi'n* I shall look at him moving my head to side)

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

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

Most frequently employed of those listed is *na^ε*, which is in all probability nothing but the base *na-* DO, to forms of which it is itself prefixed; its function is to make of the base *na(g)-* a pure verb of action or motion in contradistinction to the use of the latter as a verb of saying:

ga-nāk'i say that to him! 55.8, but *ga-na^εnāk'i* do that to him! 182.4; 184.4

ga-naga'ie^ε he said that 72.12, but *ga-na^εnaga'ie^ε* he did that 58.3
gwałt' a-na^εna'εt' the wind will blow as it is blowing now (literally, wind [*gwałt'*] this [*a-*]-do [*na^ε*]-act-will [*na'εt'*]) (152.8)

ga-na^εne'x thus, in that way (literally, that do-acting, doing) 71.6; 110.21; but *ga-ne'x* that saying, to say that 184.10

Examples of the other elements are:

ei-s'il-naga'^{ie} ¹ he paddled his canoe (literally, he canoe-paddle-did) 13.5

s'as'-naga'^{ie} he came to a stand 22.6; 31.14, 15; 55.12; 96.23

s'as'-nā^agi'n I shall bring him to a halt (literally, I shall *s'as'*-do to him)

liwā'^a-nagaṛt'e^s I looked (55.6; 78.10, 13; 79.5)

t'ge'l^s-nagaṛt'e^s I fell, dropped down

t'gel^s naga^snā'^{ae}k' he always fell down 62.8

ts!e'l naga'^{ie} (bones) rattled (literally, they did *ts!el*) 79.8

t'bō'^{ux} naga' they made a racket so as to be heard by them 192.9

we'k!alk'-naga'^{ie} he shines

sgala'uk'-naganā'^{ae}k' he looked continually moving his head from side to side 144.14, 17

gwēlx^{dā} le'yas-na'k' his leg was laming 160.17

p'i'was-naga'^{ie} he jumped up lightly 48.8

Syntactically analogous to these are the frequent examples of postpositions (see § 96), adverbs, and local phrases prefixed to forms of the undefined verb of action *na(g)-*, the exact sense in which the latter is to be taken being determined by the particular circumstances of the locution. Examples are:

gada'k'-naga'^{ie} they passed over it (literally, thereon they did) 190.21

ganau-nagana'^εk' he went from one (trap) to another (literally, therein he kept doing) 78.5

hawī-nāk'i tell him to wait! (literally, still do to him!)

hagwā^ala'm (in the road) *-naga'*^{ie} (he did) (= he traveled in the road)

haxiya' (in the water) *-naga'*^{ie} (= he went by water)

dak'-s'inī'ⁱda (over his nose) *-nabā'^{ae}ha'n* (let us do) (= let us [flock of crows] pass over him!) 144.11

da'k'dā^ada (over him) *-na''* (do!) (= pass over him!)

dak'-yawadē (over my ribs) *-naga'*^{ie} (= he passed by me)

ge (there) *-naga'*^{ie} (= they passed there) 144.18

he^{εε}-wila'mxa-hi (beyond Mount Wila'mxa) *-nāk'^w* (do having it!) (= proceed with it to beyond Mount Wila'mxa!) 196.14

These examples serve to indicate, at the same time, that the particles above mentioned stand in an adverbial relation to the *na(g)-* form:

s'as'-naga'^{ie} he come-to-a-stand-did, like *ge naga'*^{ie} he there-did

Compare the similar parallelism in Wasco of:

¹*s'il* has been found as a prefix also in the comitative *ei-s'il-yāngwa'en* I COME IN A CANOE (literally, I-CANOE-PADDLING-GO-HAVING).

k!wa'c gali'xux afraid he-made-himself (= he became afraid) (see "Wishram Texts," 152.9)

kwó'ba gali'xux there he-made-himself (= he got to be there, came there)

Here may also be mentioned the use of verb-stems prefixed to the forms of *k!emn-* MAKE and *nā^g-* SAY TO. Such locutions are causative in signification, but probably differ from formal causatives in that the activity of the subject is more clearly defined. Examples are:

wede wo'k' k!emna't' do not let him arrive! (literally, not arrive make-him!)

wo'k' k!emana'nxi let me come! (literally, arrive make-me!)

gwel-lets k!emna'n I shall make him lame (literally, be-lame I-shall-make-him)

yana nāk'i let him go (literally, go say-to-him)

The forms involving *k!emen-* are quite similar morphologically to periphrastic futures in *-gulug^w-*, the main point of difference being that, while *k!emen-* occurs as independent verb, *-gulug^w-* is never found without a prefix. The forms involving *nā^g-* are probably best considered as consisting of an imperative followed by a quotative verb form. Thus *yana nāk'i* is perhaps best rendered as "GO!" SAY IT TO HIM! The form *hoida-yo'k'ya^s* (*hoid-* DANCE + connective *-a-*) ONE WHO KNOWS HOW TO DANCE suggests that similar compound verbs can be formed from *yok'y-* KNOW.

§ 70. SUBORDINATING FORMS

A number of syntactic suffixes are found in Takelma, which, when appended to a verbal form, serve to give it a subordinate or dependent value. Such subordinate forms bear a temporal, causal, conditional, or relative relation to the main verb of the sentence, but are often best translated simply as participles. Four such subordinating suffixes have been found:

-da^ε(-t' a^ε), serving to subordinate the active forms of the aorist.

-ma^ε, subordinating those of the passive aorist.

-na^ε, subordinating all inferential forms in *-k'*. Periphrastic inferential forms in *eit'* and *eit'p'* are treated like aorists, the form-giving elements of such periphrases being indeed nothing but the second person singular and plural aorist of *ei-* BE.

-k'i^ε (-gi^ε), appended directly to the non-aorist stem, forming dependent clauses of unfulfilled action, its most frequent use being

the formation of conditions. Before examples are given of subordinate constructions, a few remarks on the subordinate forms themselves will be in place.

The aoristic *-da^ε*- forms of an intransitive verb like *hōg^w*- RUN are:

Singular:

| | Independent | Subordinate |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| First person . . . | <i>hō'k'de^ε</i> I run | <i>hō'k'de^εda^ε</i> when I ran, I running |
| Second person . . . | <i>hōgwa't'</i> | <i>hōgwada't'^ε</i> |
| Third person . . . | <i>hō'k'</i> | <i>hō'k'da^ε</i> |

Plural:

| | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| First person . . . | <i>hōgwi'k'</i> | <i>hōgwiga'm</i> |
| Second person . . . | <i>hōgwa't'p'</i> | <i>hōgwa't'ba^ε</i> |
| Impersonal | <i>hōgwia'^{us}</i> | <i>hōgwia'-uda^ε</i> |

Of these forms, that of the first person plural in *-a'm* is identical, as far as the suffix is concerned, with the future form of the corresponding person and number. The example given above (*hōgwiga'm*) was found used quite analogously to the more transparently subordinate forms of the other persons (*alxī'ixam hōgwiga'm* HE SAW US RUN, like *alxī'ixi hō'k'de^εda^ε* HE SAW ME RUN); the form of the stem is all that keeps apart the future and the subordinate aorist of the first person plural (thus *hōgwiga'm* WE SHALL RUN with short *o*). No form in *-i'k'da^ε*, such as might perhaps be expected, was found. The catch of the first and third person singular of class I verbs disappears before the *-da^ε* (see § 22). The falling accent of the stem, however, remains, and the quantity of the stressed vowel is lengthened unless followed by a diphthong-forming element. Thus:

yā^ada^ε when he went 58.8 (*ya'^ε* he went 96.8); cf. 188.17
ba-i-k!iyi'k'da^ε when he came (*ba-i-k!iyi'^εk'* he came 156.24)
yawa'ida^ε as they were talking 130.13 (*yawa'^{is}* they talked)
xebe'nda^ε when he did so 142.10 (*xebe'^εn* he did so 118.14)

The subordinate form of the third person aorist of class II intransitives ends in *-t'a^ε* if the immediately preceding vowel has a rising accent. Thus:

s'as'inī't'a^ε when he stood (*s'as'inī* he stood 120.12)
lop!ō't'a^ε when it rained (*lop!o't'* it rained 90.1)

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

between the singular and plural of the second person consisting simply of the added *-b-* (*-p'*) of the latter; similarly, *e-ida'*^ε WHEN THOU ART and *ēt'ba'*^ε WHEN YE ARE. Judging by the analogy of the subordinates of transitive forms in *-dam* and *-dap'* the subordinate forms of the second persons of class II intransitives end in *-t'a'*^ε (*-da'*^ε) and *-t'aba'*^ε (*-daba'*^ε):

s'as'inīt'a'^ε when you stood (*s'as'inīt'am* you stood)

s'as'inīt'ba'^ε when ye stood (*s'as'inīt'ap'* ye stood)

Note the ambiguity of the form *s'as'inīt'a'*^ε WHEN HE OR YOU STOOD; compare the similar ambiguity in *naga'-ida'*^ε WHEN HE SAID and *naga-ida'*^ε WHEN YOU SAID 130.14; 132.23.

The transitive subordinates of the aorist are also characterized by a suffixed *-da'*^ε, except that forms with a third personal subject invariably substitute *-(a)na'*^ε (*-ina'*^ε with first person plural object), and that the personal endings *-dam* (THOU—ME) and *-dap'* (YE—ME) become simply *-da'*^ε and *-daba'*^ε respectively. The latter forms are thus distinguished from non-subordinate futures merely by the aoristic stem (*al-xī'ixda'*^ε WHEN YOU SAW ME, but *al-xī'ixda'*^ε YOU WILL SEE ME). Analogously to what we have seen to take place in the intransitive, *-t'p'* becomes *-t'ba'*^ε. The subordinate aorists of *t!omom-* KILL are: ¹

| Subjective | Objective | | | | |
|------------|--|---|--|--|--|
| | First person singular | Second person singular | Third person | First person plural | Second person plural |
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>t!omōxbinda'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōxbi'n</i>) | <i>t!omoma'nda'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omoma'εn</i>) | | <i>t!omōzbanda'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōzbanba'n</i>) |
| 2d per. | <i>t!ümūxda'</i> ^ε (<i>t!ümūxdam</i>) | | <i>t!omomada'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omoma't'</i>) | <i>t!omōzimida'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōzimit'</i>) | |
| 3d per. | <i>t!ümūxina'</i> ^ε (<i>t!ümūxi</i>) | <i>t!omōxrina'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōxri</i>) | <i>t!omomana'a'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōm</i>) | <i>t!omōximina'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōxam</i>) | <i>t!omōzbanana'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōzbanp'</i>) |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>t!omōxbinagam</i> (<i>t!omōxbinak'</i>) | <i>t!omomanaga'm</i> (<i>t!omomana'k'</i>) | | <i>t!omōzbanbanagam</i> (<i>t!omōzbanbanak'</i>) |
| 2d per. | <i>t!ümūzdaba'</i> ^ε (<i>t!ümūzdap'</i>) | | <i>t!omoma't'ba'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omoma't'p'</i>) | <i>t!omōzimit'ba'</i> ^ε (<i>t!omōzimit'p'</i>) | |

The forms with first personal plural subject (*-na'k'*) and second personal object were not obtained, but the corresponding forms in *-iga'm* (first person plural intransitive) and *-anaga'm* (first person plural subject third person object) leave no doubt as to their correctness. These forms differ from ordinary futures of the same

¹ The corresponding non-subordinate forms are given in parentheses.

number and person only in the use of the aorist stem. Only very few examples of subordinate *-anaga'm* have been found:

aga'hi ligigwanaga'm just-these which-we-brought-home 134.18;
contrast *li'igwanaga'm* we shall bring them home
yewēxeb^eyagwanaga'm if we should slay him (literally, perhaps that-
we-slay-him) 136.23; contrast *xē'bagwanaga'm* we shall slay him

The use of the aorist stem in the subordinate, it will be observed, is also the only characteristic that serves to keep distinct the third personal subjective subordinates and the future forms of the passive:

āl-xī'ixbina^ε when he saw you, but *āl-xī'^εxbina^ε* you will be seen

It may be noted that the third personal subjective aorist forms of the transitive may be mechanically formed, like the passives of the same tense, from the first person singular subject third person object aorist by merely dropping the glottal catch of the latter form and adding *-a^ε*. Thus:

gel-hewe'hana^ε when he thought 45.2; 142.10, 13, 16 (cf. *gel-hewe'ha^εn* I thought); but *gel-hewe'haru* he thought 44.11

The subordinate of the form with personal object *-k'va* is formed by adding *-na^ε*:

malāk'wana^ε when he told him 72.14 (*malāk'wa* he told him 142.4)

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

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

t!omōxanbanma^ε when you (plural) were killed

The complete subordinate inferential paradigm is rather motley in appearance; *-na^ε* is suffixed to the third personal subject in *-k'*:

p!āk'na^ε when he bathed

laba'k'na^ε when he carried it 126.5

gark'na^ε when he ate it

dūmxik'na^ε when he killed me

The first person singular in *-k'a^ε(n)* becomes *-k'anda^ε*; the first person plural subordinate was not obtained, but doubtless has *-k'anaga'm* as ending. The subordinate of the passive in *-k'am* is regularly formed by the addition of *-na^ε*:

gark'amna^ε when it was eaten

dōmxamk'amna^ε when we were killed

The periphrastic forms in *ēt'* and *ēt'p'* become *-k' + eida'ε* and *ēt'ba'ε* in the subordinate; e. g., *wā^hhī^tmt'k!eida'ε* WHEN YOU ANSWERED HIM. The active inferential subordinates of *dō^um-* with third personal object thus are:

Singular:

First person, *dōmk'anda'ε*Second person, *dō^umk!eida'ε*

Plural:

First person, *dōmk'anaga'm*Second person, *dō^umk!ēt'ba'ε*Third person, *dōmk'na'ε*; personal, *dōmk'wak'na'ε*Impersonal *dō^umiaūk'na'ε*

The subordinating element *-na'ε* also makes a subordinate clause out of a *-t'* participle (see §76):

gwi na't'na'ε ga'ε a'ldi naga'n how-he-looked (*gwi na't'* how-looking) that all he-was-called 60.5; (cf. 78.3)

yap!a ga na't'na'ε that number of people 110.15

Also adjectives and local phrases may be turned into subordinate clauses by the suffixing of *-na'ε*:

xilam-na'ε when she was sick 188.10

aga dō^uk' gwelda-na'ε this log under-it when (= while he was under this log) 190.20

Examples will now be given of constructions illustrating the use of subordinate forms. It is artificial, from a rigidly native point of view, to speak of causal, temporal, relative, and other uses of the subordinate; yet an arrangement of Takelma examples from the view-point of English syntax has the advantage of bringing out more clearly the range of possibility in the use of subordinates. The subordinate clause may be directly attached to the rest of the sentence, or, if its temporal, causal, or other significance needs to be clearly brought out, it may be introduced by a relative adverb or pronoun (WHERE, WHEN, HOW, WHO). Both constructions are sometimes possible; e. g., a sentence like I DO NOT KNOW WHO KILLED HIM may be rendered either by NOT I-IT-KNOW WHO HE-HIM-KILLING or NOT I-WHOM-KNOW HE-HIM-KILLING. Subordinate constructions with causal signification are:

ts'!olx (1) *ü's'i* (2) *t!ümūxda'ε* (3) give me (2) dentalia (1), for you have struck me (3) (cf. 15.8)

a'nī'ε (1) *gel-gülü'xi* (2) *gayawa'nda'ε* (3) he does not (1) like me (2), because I ate it (3)

gūxde^ε (1) *gayawana*^ε (2) *goyo*^ε (3) *yap'a* (4) *aldī* (5) *he^ε-ī-leme'k'it'* (6) you killed off (6) all (5) the people (4), because shamans (3) ate (2) your wife (1) 146.11

a'nī^ε (1) *ya*^ε (2) *gī*^ε (3) *me^ε-wō'uk'de^εda^ε* (4) *ga^εa'l* (5) he did not (1) go (2), because I (3) came (4); *ga^εa'l* (on account of, for) is employed to render preceding subordinate unambiguously causal

a'nī^ε (1) *s'in-ho'k'wal* (2) *yu'k'na*^ε (3) *ga* (4) *ga^εal* (5) *sbīn^εa* (6) *xa'm-hi* (7) *lāp'k'* (8) not (1) being (3) nose-holed (2), for (5) that (4) (reason) Beaver (6) got to be (8) under water (7) 166.18

A temporal signification is found in:

hā^{ae}-yewe'^{ie} (1) *aldīl* (2) *t!omoma'nma*^ε (3) they all (2) returned far off (1), after (many of them) had been slain (3) 146.22

goyo (1) *gel-lohoi'gwa'nma*^ε (2) when shamans (1) are avenged (2) 148.2

ba-i-k'iyi'^εk' (1) *p'im* (2) *gayawa'nda*^ε (3) he came (1) when I was eating (3) salmon (2)

al-xī'i'gī^εn (1) *gwi^εne* (2) *yā'^ada^ε* (3) I saw him (1) when (2) he went (3)

Relative clauses of one kind and another, including indirect questions, are illustrated in:

a'nī^ε (1) *nēk'* (2) *yok!oya'^εn* (3) *lege'xina*^ε (4) I do not (1) know (3) who (2) gave me to eat (4) (literally, not I-whom-know he-giving-me-to-eat)

yok!oya'^εn (1) *nek'* (2) *laga'ximina*^ε (3) I know (1) who (2) gave us to eat (3)

mān (1) *mi'xal* (2) *ha-lohō'unana*^ε (3) he counted (1) how many (2) he had trapped (3) 100.8

a'nī^ε (1) *yok!ōī* (2) *gwi* (3) *ginīyagwa'nma*^ε (4) he did not (1) know (2) where (3) she had been taken to (4) 13.12

ga'hi (1) *dūk'* (2) *dī-t!ūgūī* (3) *wa-k!ododi'nma*^ε (4) they wore (3) the same (1) garments (2) with which they had been buried (4) 96.16

gī^ε (1) *na^εnagart'^εda^ε* (2) *na^εna'^εk'* (3) do (future imperative) (3) what I (1) am doing (2)

ī-k'we'^εxi (1) *ulum* (2) *waik'anda*^ε (3) they awoke me (1) who (or while, when I) before (2) was sleeping (3) 74.5; 75.6

Purpose may be implied by the subordinate in:

p'im (1) *gayawana*^ε (2) *laga'k'i* (3) he gave them (3) salmon (1) to eat (2) 30.11

The subordinate serves very frequently as a clause of indirect discourse after such verbs as KNOW, SEE, DISCOVER. With a regular

verb of saying, such as *na(g)-*, it is nearly always necessary to report the exact words of the speaker.

- al-xī'igiⁿ* (1) *xebeyigi'k'wana^ε* (2) I saw him (1) hurt him (2)
yok!oya'^εn (1) *p'im* (2) *gaik'na^ε* (3) I know (1) that he has
 been eating (3) salmon (2) (literally, I-know-him salmon he-
 having-eaten)
al-xī'ixi (1) *t!omōxanbanda^ε* (2) he saw me (1) strike you (pl.) (2)
al-xī'igiⁿ (1) *dal-yewe'ida^ε* (2) I saw him (1) run away (2)

Not infrequently an adverb is to be considered the main predicate, particularly when supported by the unanalyzable but probably verbal form *wala'^εsi(na^ε)*, while the main verb follows as a subordinate clause. Compare such English turns as **IT IS HERE THAT I SAW HIM**, instead of **HERE I SAW HIM**:

- eme^ε* (1) *wala'^εsi* (2) *eūt'e^εda^ε* (3) I am (3) right (2) here (1)
 (literally, here it-is really [?] that-I-am)
eme^ε (1) *wala'^εsi* (2) *eida'^ε* (3) you are (3) right (2) here (1)
mīⁱ (1) *wala'^εsi* (2) *ī-k!ūmanana'n^{hik'}na^ε* (3) he had already
 fixed it for him (literally, already (1) it-was-really (2) that-
 he-had-fixed-it-for-him (3))

Examples of subordinates depending on predicatively used adverbs without *wala'^εsi* are:

- a'nī^ε* (1) *wanā* (2) *eme^ε* (3) *nē'ida^ε* (4) [it is] not (1) even (2) here
 (3) that they did (4) (probably=even they did not get here)
 61.3
hop!ē'^εn (1) *p!ā'as* (2) *hī's* (3) *lop!ōt'a^ε* (4) it used to snow long
 ago (long ago [1] that snow [2] almost [3] stormed [4])
ālī (1) *he^ε-ī-leme'k!inda^ε* (2) [it is] right here (1) that I destroy
 them (2) 108.20

An example of a subordinate depending on a demonstrative pronoun is:

- ī'daga* (1) *yap!a* (2) *s'as'inūt'a^ε* (3) that man is standing (literally,
 [it is] that [1] man [2] that is standing [3])

The form *wala'^εsina^ε* is in all probability a third personal aorist transitive subordinate form in *-na^ε*, as is shown by its use as a substantive verb for the third person when following an adverb, apparently to supply the lack of a third person in the regular substantive verb *ei-*:

- eme^ε* (1) *wala^εsina^ε* (2) *ā'k!a* (3) he (3) is right (2) here (1)
 (literally, something like: [it is] here that-it-really-is he)
ge (1) *wala'^εs'ina^ε* (2) he is over there (literally, [it is] there [1]
 that-he-really-is [2])

Most astonishing is the use of *wala's'ina^ε* as a modal prefix of a subordinate verb (of the movable class treated above, see § 34) to assert the truth of an action in the manner of our English DID in sentences like HE DID GO. Thus, from *dak'-da-hālsbi* HE ANSWERED YOU, is formed the emphatic *dak'-da-wala's'ina^ε-hālsbina^ε* HE DID ANSWER YOU. The only analysis of this form that seems possible is to consider the verbal prefixes *dak'-da-* as a predicative adverb upon which *wala's'ina^ε* is syntactically dependent, the main verb *-hālsbina^ε* itself depending as a subordinate clause on its modal prefix. The fact that *dak'-da-* has as good as no concrete independent existence as adverb, but is idiomatically used with the verbal base *hal-* to make up the idea of ANSWER, is really no reason for rejecting this analysis, strange as it may appear, for the mere grammatical form of a sentence need have no immediate connection with its logical dismemberment. The above form might be literally translated as (IT IS) ABOVE (*dak'-*) WITH-HIS-MOUTH (*da-*) THAT-IT-REALLY-IS THAT-HE-ANSWERED-YOU.

§ 71. CONDITIONALS

Conditionals differ from other subordinate forms in that they are derived, not from the full verb-form with its subject-affix, but, if intransitive, directly from the verb-stem; if transitive, from the verb-stem with incorporated pronominal object. In other words, the conditional suffix *-k'i^ε* (*-gi^ε*) is added to the same phonetic verbal units as appear in the inferential before the characteristic *-k'*, and in the periphrastic future before the second element *-gulug^w*. The phonetic and to some extent psychologic similarity between the inferential (e. g., *dūmxik'* HE EVIDENTLY STRUCK ME) and the conditional (e. g., *dūmxigi^ε* IF HE STRIKES, HAD STRUCK ME) makes it not improbable that the latter is a derivative in *-i^ε* of the third personal subjective form in *-k'* of the latter. The conditional, differing again from other subordinates in this respect, shows no variation for pronominal subjects, the first and second personal subjective forms being periphrastically expressed by the addition to the conditional of the third personal subjective of the appropriate forms of *ei-* BE. From verb-stem *yana-* GO, for example, are derived:

Singular:

First person, *yana'k'i^ε eit'e^ε*

Second person, *yana'k'i^ε eit'*

Third person, *yana'k'i^ε*

Plural:

First person, *yana'k'is e'bi'k'*

Second person, *yana'k'is eit'p'*

Impersonal: *yanayaūk'is*

The conditional is used not merely, as its name implies, to express the protasis of a condition, but as the general subordinate form of unrealized activity; as such it may often be translated as a temporal or relative clause, an introductory adverb or relative pronoun serving to give it the desired shade of meaning. Examples of its use other than as a conditional, in the strict sense of the word, are:

yok'loya'en (1) *nek'* (2) *lāxbigi^s* (3) I know (1) who (2) will give you to eat (3)

dewe'nxa (1) *al-xī'k'in* (2) *gwi^sne* (3) *yana'k'is* (4) I shall see him (2) to-morrow (1), when (3) he goes (4)

al-xī^sxink' (1) *gwi^sne* (2) *yana'k'is eit'e^s* (3) he will see me (1) when (2) I go (3)

gwen-t'gā^a-bo'k'danda (1) *ts!¹ō'ut!¹igi^s* (2) *yā^a* (3) *he^sne* (4) *yā^a* (5) *xe^sbagwa'n* (6) just (3) ¹when they touch (2) the eastern extremity of the earth (1), just (5) then (4) I shall destroy them (6) 144.15

It has a comparative signification (AS THOUGH) in:

p!¹i (1) *de-gū'k!¹alxgi^s* (2) *na^snaga'^{is}* (3) it was (3) as though fire (1) were glowing (2) 142.1

Conditional sentences are of two types:

(1) Simple, referring to action of which, though unfulfilled, there yet remains the possibility of fulfillment.

(2) Contrary to fact, the hypothetical activity being beyond the possibility of fulfillment.

Both types of condition require the conditional form in the protasis, but differ in the apodosis. The apodosis of a simple conditional sentence contains always a future form (or inferential, if the apodosis is negative), that of a contrary-to-fact condition, a potential. Examples of simple conditions are:

ga (1) *na^snāk'^{is} eit'* (2) *haxada'^s* (3) if you do (2) that (1), you'll get burnt (3)

āk' (1) *yana'k'^{is}* (2) *gīⁱ* (3) *hono^s* (4) *yana't'e^e* (5) if he (1) goes (2), I (3) go (5) too (4)

wede (1) *yana'k'^{is}* (2) *gīⁱ* (3) *hono^s* (4) *wede* (5) *yana'k'a^s* (6) if he does not (1) go (2), I (3) won't (5) go (6) either (4)

gwaīt' (1) *mahai* (2) *wo'k'^{is}* (3) *ga* (4) *nā^agi'^{is}k'* (5) if a great (2) wind (1) arrives (3), say (5) that! (4) 196.19

¹Just when = AS SOON AS.

The apodosis of such conditions is sometimes introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *ga* THAT, which may be rendered in such cases by THEN, IN THAT CASE:

aga (1) *xā^a-sgō^usgi^ε* (2) *ga* (3) *loho't'e^ε* (4) if this (1) string parts (2), in that case (3) I shall be dead (4) 59.10, (11)

Of this type are also all general conditions referring to customary action that is to take place in time to come, such as are often introduced in English by words like WHENEVER, WHEREVER, and so on.¹ Examples of such general conditions are:

wi'lau (1) *k!emniyaūk'i^ε* (2) *wa-t'bā^agamdina^ε* (3) whenever people will make (2) arrows (1), they (arrows) will be backed (literally, tied) with it (3) (with sinew) 28.2

wāādī'i (1) *dū* (2) *ba-i-gināk'wi^ε*² (3) *goyo'* (4) *he^εne* (5) *dōu-mana'^ε* (6) whenever a shaman (4) goes out with³ (3) one whose body (1) is good (2), then (5) he shall be slain (6) 146.6
goyo (1) *gel-lohogwiaūk'i^ε* (2) *he^εne* (3) *yā^as'i^ε* (4) *yap!a* (5) *gama'xdi* (6) *plè't^t* (7) whenever one takes vengeance for (2) a shaman (1), just (4) then (3) ordinary (6) people (5) will lie (7) (i. e., be slain) 146.8

wede (1) *hono^ε* (2) *ne'k'* (3) *al-xī^εk'wak'* (4) *yap!a* (5) *loho'k'i^ε* (6) no (1) one (3) will see him (4) again (2), when a person (5) dies (6) 98.10

gana^εne'x (1) *yo't^t* (2) *yap!a* (3) *gāik'i^ε* (4) thus (1) it shall be (2) as people (3) grow, multiply (4) 146.15

Examples of contrary-to-fact conditions are:

aldī (1) *yuk'ya'k'i^ε* *ēt'e^ε* (2) *mala'xbi^εn* (3) if I knew (2) all (1), I should tell it to you (3) 162.5

nek' (1) *yo'k'i^ε* (2) *dak'-līm^xgwa^ε* (3) if it were (2) anyone else (1), it (tree) would have fallen on him (3) 108.11, 13

ī'daga (1) *ge* (2) *yu'k'i^ε* (3) *wede* (4) *dōu'ma'^εn* (5) if that one (1) had been (3) there (2), I should not (4) have killed him (5)

gīⁱ (1) *ge* (2) *yu'k'i^ε* *ēt'e^ε* (3) *bō^u* (4) *yana'^ε* (5) *haga'* (6) if I (1) were (3) there (2), he would have gone (5) in that event (4)

In the last example, *haga'* is a demonstrative adverb serving to summarize the protasis, being about equivalent to our IN THAT EVENT, UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES. This word may be the adverbialized

¹ General conditions, however, that apply to past time, or that have application without reference to time-limit, are constructed by the use of the subordinate for the protasis, and aorist for the apodosis, both verbs being, if possible, frequentative or continuative in form: *ts'ixi* (1) *k'ewe'ek'awalda^ε* (2) *he^εne* (3) *yap!a* (4) *al-t!ayāik'* (5) WHENEVER THE DOG (1) BARKED (2), THEN (3) HE FOUND (5) A PERSON (4).

² = *-gināk'w + -k'i^ε*.

³ Causes the death of.

form of the demonstrative pronoun *hā^εga* THAT ONE; it is used also with persons other than the third:

yana't^ε haga I should have gone in that event

§ 72. USES OF POTENTIAL AND INFERENTIAL

The potential and inferential modes differ from the aorist in the negative particle with which they may be combined. An indicative non-future statement, such as is expressed by the aorist, is negated, without change of the verb-form, by means of the negative adverb *a'nī^ε*:

yānt^εe I went; *a'nī^ε yānt^εe* I did not go

An imperative or future form, however, can not be directly negated, but must be expressed by the potential and inferential respectively, the non-aoristic negative adverb *wede* being prefixed. Thus we have:

Negative future:

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| <i>yana't^ε</i> he will go | : | <i>wede yana'k'</i> he will not go |
| <i>yanada^ε</i> you will go | : | <i>wede yana'k!ert'</i> you will not go |
| <i>yana't^εe</i> I shall go | : | <i>wede yana'k'a^ε</i> I shall not go |
| <i>dōmxbin</i> I shall kill you | : | <i>wede dōmxbiga^ε</i> I shall not kill |
| 178.15 | | you (cf. 178.15) |
| <i>dō^uma'nk'</i> he will kill him | : | <i>wede</i> (1) <i>ne'k'</i> (2) <i>yap!a</i> (3) |
| | | <i>gama'rdi</i> (4) <i>dō^umk'</i> (5) no |
| | | (1) one (2) will slay (5) a |
| | | person (3) who is no shaman |
| | | (4) 146.16 |

Negative imperative:

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| <i>yana</i> go! (sing.) | : | <i>wede yana't'</i> do not go! |
| <i>yana'np'</i> go! (pl.) | : | <i>wede yana't'p'</i> do not go! (156.9) |
| <i>dō^um</i> kill him! | : | <i>wede dō^uma't'</i> do not kill him! |
| <i>ga na^εna'</i> do that! | : | <i>wede ga na^εna't'</i> do not do that! |

The particle *wede* is used with the inferential and potential, not only to form the negative future and imperative, but in all cases in which these modes are negated, e. g., *wede dō^uma'^εn* I SHOULD NOT HAVE KILLED HIM, I WOULD NOT KILL HIM. There is thus no morphological distinction between a prohibitive DO NOT GO! and a second person subject negative apodosis of a contrary-to-fact condition, YOU WOULD NOT HAVE GONE. It is probably not a mere accident that the negative particle *wede* is phonetically identical with the verb-stem *wede*-TAKE AWAY. This plausible etymology of *wede* suggests that the origin of

the negative future and imperative constructions lies in such periphrastic sentences as:

Remove (all thought from your mind) that I (inferentially) go
(i. e., I shall not go)

Remove (all thought from your mind) that you might, would
go (i. e., do not go!)

The inferential, as we have seen above (see § 59), is used primarily to indicate that the action is not directly known through personal experience. An excellent example of how such a shade of meaning can be imparted even to a form of the first person singular was given in § 70; *s^εi¹-k¹-we¹exi ulum waik¹anda^ε* THEY WOKE ME UP WHILE I WAS SLEEPING! 74.5 In the myth from which this sentence is taken, Coyote is represented as suffering death in the attempt to carry out one of his foolish pranks. Ants, however, sting him back into life; whereupon Coyote, instead of being duly grateful, angrily exclaims as above, assuming, to save his self-esteem, that he has really only been taking an intentional nap. The inferential form *waik¹anda^ε* is used in preference to the matter-of-fact aorist *wayānt¹e^εda^ε* I SLEEPING, because of the implied inference, I WASN'T DEAD, AFTER ALL, ELSE HOW COULD THEY WAKE ME? I WAS REALLY SLEEPING, MUST HAVE BEEN SLEEPING. Closely akin to this primary use of the inferential is its frequent use in rhetorical questions of anger, surprise, wonder, and discovery of fact after ignorance of it for some time. Examples from the myths, where the context gives them the necessary psychological setting, are:

gemε^εdi (1) *gīⁱ* (2) *wayaūzagwatⁱ* (3) *yu¹k¹a^ε* (4) how (1) should I (2) be (4) daughter-in-lawed (3) (i. e., how do I come to have any daughter-in-law?) 56.10 I didn't know that you, my son, were married!

gīⁱ (1) *dīⁱ* (2) *ha¹mi¹t¹ban* (3) *dō^umk¹a^ε* (4) did I (1) kill (4) your father (3) ? (2) 158.2

s¹-gwi dīⁱ (1) *le¹mk¹iauk¹* (2) where (1) have they all gone (2), any way? 90.25, 27 says Coyote, looking in vain for help

ō + (1) *mīⁱ* (2) *dīⁱ* (3) *s¹amgia¹uk¹* (4) Oh! (1) has it gotten to be summer (4) already (2)? (3) says Coyote, after a winter's sleep in a tree-trunk 92.9

ga (1) *dīⁱ* (2) *xēp¹k¹* (3) *ga* (4) *dīⁱ* (5) *gū^uxde¹k¹* (6) *gaik¹* (7) so it is those (1) that did it (3) ? (2) those (4) that ate (7) my wife (6) ? (5) 142.18

¹s^ε- merely marks the Coyote (see footnote, § 2).

e'me^ε (1) *daba'εx* (2) *di* (3) *εεi^εa* (4) *yu'k'* (5) are (5) canoes (4) (to be found) only (2) here (1) ? (3) 114.7 (i. e., why do you bother me about ferrying you across, when there are plenty of canoes elsewhere?)

ga (1) *di'* (2) *p!ā'ant'* (3) *gark'a^ε* (4) so that (1) was their livers (3) that I ate (4) ? (2) 120.14 says Grizzly Bear, who imagined she had eaten not her children's, but Black Bear's children's, livers, on discovering her mistake

A peculiar Takelma idiom is the interrogative use of *gwi^εne* WHEN, HOW LONG followed by *wede* and the inferential, to denote a series of repetitions or an unbroken continuity of action. Examples are:

gwi^εne (1) *di'* (2) *wede* (3) *wāik'* (4) he kept on sleeping (literally, when [1] did he not [3] sleep [4] ? [2]) 142.11; 152.24

gwi^εne' (1) *di* (2) *wede* (3) *ho'k'* (4) he ran and ran (literally, how long [1] did he not [3] run [4] ? [2]) 78.14.

gwi^εne (1) *di'* (2) *wede* (3) *dāk'am* (4) he kept on being found, they always stumbled upon him again (literally, when [1] was he not [3] found [4] ? [2]) 110.15

Similar psychologically is the non-negative future in:

ge'me^εdi (1) *hono^ε* (2) *al-dā^agi'nk'* (3) they never found him again (lit., when [1] will they find him [3] again? [2]) 190.25

6. Nominal and Adjectival Derivatives (§§ 73-83)

§ 73. INTRODUCTORY

Although such derivatives from the verb-stem as infinitives and nouns of agency should logically be treated under the denominating rather than the predicative forms of speech, they are in Takelma, as in most other languages, so closely connected as regards morphology with the latter, that it is much more convenient to treat them immediately after the predicative verb-forms. The number of nominal and adjectival forms derived from the Takelma verb-stem is not very large, comprising infinitives or verbal nouns of action, active and passive participles, nouns of agency, and a few other forms whose function is somewhat less transparent. The use made of them, however, is rather considerable, and they not infrequently play an important part in the expression of subordinate verbal ideas.

§ 74. INFINITIVES

Infinitives, or, as they are perhaps better termed, verbal nouns, may be formed from all verbs by the addition of certain suffixes to the stem or stem + pronominal object, if the verb form is transitive.

Inasmuch as infinitives, being nothing but nouns in form, may take possessive affixes, forms may easily result that combine a transitive object and a possessive pronoun; e. g., *dõmxbiyat'k'* MY (-t'k' scheme III § 92) KILLING YOU (-bi-), FOR ME TO KILL YOU (cf. *yëxbiyaxdek'* MY BITING YOU 116.9; -x-dek' scheme II § 92). The classification of verbs into classes is reflected also in the infinitive forms, each of the three main classes being distinguished by a special infinitive suffix. The suffixes are:

Intransitive I -(a')x.

Intransitive II -k'wa (-gwa).

Transitive -ia (-ya).

The peculiar sub-classes that were grouped together as Class IV all form their infinitives in -k'wa (-gwa). Besides these three main suffixes, -(d)epx- (-apx-) with possessive suffixes is employed to form infinitives from reflexives in -gwi-, while active intransitives in -xa- form their infinitives by employing the bare stem-form with verbal derivative -xa. Infinitives in -xa'k'wa also occur. The infinitive often shows the stem in a purer form than the non-aorist finite forms; in particular the non-aoristic -p'- of Class II intransitive verbs regularly disappears before the -gwa of the infinitive.

Examples of infinitives are:

1. From Class I intransitives:

waixde^ε your sleeping
bā^a-dawi`x to fly up
hogwa`x to run
t!ewa`x to play shinny
ne`x saying 108.16; 184.10

yana`x to go
hoida`x to dance
lõ^ux to play 31.7
na^εne`x doing 94.10; 72.4;
 148.13
gina`x to go (176.8) (from simple base *gin-*; contrast third person future *ging-a'εt'*)

Stems ending in long diphthongs either take -x or -ax. Thus we have either *ha-yëū-x-dā^ada* or *ha-yε^w-a'x-dā^ada* IN THEIR RETURNING 124.15.

2. From Class II intransitives:

k'wā^{aε}xgwa to wake up (intransitive)
geiwa'lxgwa to eat
lāk'wa to become
p!ala'k'wa to tell a myth

t'gëlxgwa to run around, roll
ba-i-di'n^εxgwa to march
s'a's'ank'wa to stand
sana'k'wa to fight

3. From Class IV verbs:

ī-he^εgwa'k'wa (= *-he^εg^whag^w-k'wa*) to work

al-we'k!alk'wa to shine
da-bo^εk'ba'xgwa to bubble under water (observe verb-suffix *-x-* of infinitive; but *da-bok!oba'k'na^εn* I make bubbles)

4. From *-xa-* verbs:

lū'εxwa' (= *lūk!-xa'*) to trap

p'ε'lxa to go to war (but also *p'εlxa'k'wa¹*)

5. From reflexives:

t'gwā^axa'nt'gwidepxdagwa to tattoo himself

se'la'mt'gwidepxdek' to paint myself

lū'εxagwant'gwiapxdek' to trap for myself

han-se'gwa'nt'gwiapxdek' to paddle myself across

From non-reflexive verbs are derived:

ga-iwiapxdek' my eating

wūxiapxḍā^a his coming to get me

6. From transitives:

p!alaxbiya to tell you a myth

ī-gaxga'xgwia to scratch one's self

{ *ī-k'wā'^ak'wia* to wake him

ī-gi's'gis'ia² to tickle him

{ *ī-k'we'^εxiya* to wake me (164.20)

wayanagwia' to run after him

dā^a-aganā' to hear about it

lō^ugwia' to play with it

wa^ε-ī-dōxia to gather them

dōmk'wia³ to kill him

The syntactical usage of verbal nouns of action is illustrated in the following examples:

hūli'nk'wat'k' k!emna'nk' he will make me tired (literally, my-tiredness he-will-make-it)

t!omōxā^ada wiyina'^εn I help him kill (literally, his-killing [no object] I-aid-it)

ho'gwax gel-gulu^ugwa'^εn I like to run (lit., running I-like-it) (196.8)

a'nī^ε yok!ōi nexde'k' he does not know what I said (literally, not he-knows-it my-saying)

xi-^εūgwia ga^εa'l in order to drink water (literally, water-drinking for)

ba-i-k!iyi'^εk' al-xī'^εxbiya ga^εa'l he came to see you (literally, he-came seeing-you for)

¹ Infinitives in *-k'wa* seem sometimes to be formed from other Class I intransitives, e. g., *wisma'k'wa* TO MOVE; *haza'k'wā^a* TO BURN (also *haza'xgwā^a*).

² Umlauted from **ī-gi's'gas'ia*.

³ *-k'wi-* here represents objective *-k'wa-* umlauted by infinitive ending *-(y)a* (see § 8). Similarly *s'ūmt'ia* TO BOIL IT 170.16 from *-l'aya*.

The normal method of expressing purpose, as the last two examples show, is by the use of an infinitive followed by the general locative postposition *ga^εaʌ* TO, AT, FOR. The infinitive, as its inclusion of the object shows, preserves its verbal character almost completely, and may itself govern another infinitive:

k!emnia' al-we'k!alk'wā^ε to make it shine (literally, to-make-it its-shining)

Not a few infinitives have become more or less specialized as regular nouns, though it is extremely doubtful if the transparently verbal origin of such nouns is ever lost sight of. Such nouns are:

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>p!ala'k'wa</i> myth 50.4; 172.17 | <i>ts'!ip'na'x</i> speech, oration (cf. <i>ts'!i'p'nan</i> I shall make a speech to them [146.11]) |
| <i>t'ge^εmt'ga'mxgwa</i> darkness | <i>sana'k'wa</i> fight, battle |
| <i>gina'x</i> passage-way 176.9 | <i>ts'!e'ma'x</i> noise (cf. <i>dā^ε-ts!ēm-xde^ε</i> I hear a big noise 90.21) |
| <i>ye'l'sgwix</i> sweat (cf. <i>ye'l'sgwade^ε</i> I shall sweat [140.1]) | |

PARTICIPLES (§§ 75-78)

§ 75. General Remarks

Participles are either active or passive, and may be formed with considerable freedom from all verbs. They have not been found with incorporated pronominal objects, the active participles being more adjectival than verbal in character, while the passives naturally hardly allow of their incorporation. The passive participle is often provided with possessive affixes that correspond to the transitive subjects of the finite verb; the active participle, on the other hand, undergoes no modification for person, but, like any adjective, is brought in connection with a particular person by the forms of the copula *ei-* BE.

§ 76. Active Participle in -t'

This participle is formed by simply appending a -t', one of the characteristic adjectival suffixes, to the verb-stem. Inferential and imperative -p'- of Class II intransitives disappears before this element (e. g., *se'nsant'* WHOOPING), but not the non-aoristic -p'-, which is characteristic (see § 42, 1) of some of the verbs of the same class; e. g., *sana'p'* FIGHTING (from **sana'p't'*). Participles in -t' never denote particular action, but regularly indicate that the action predi-

cated of a person is one that in a way marks him off from others, and that may serve as a characteristic attribute. Not infrequently, therefore, a *-t'*- participle has the value of a noun of agency; the fact, however, that it never appears with pronominal elements, but is always treated as an adjective, demonstrates its attributive, non-substantival character. It is possible to use it with a preceding nominal object, so that sentences may result that seem to predicate a single act definitely placed in time; yet an attributive shade of meaning always remains. For example, *wihin dōmt' eit'e^ε* (literally, MY-MOTHER HAVING-KILLED I-AM) and *wihin t!omoma'εn* both mean I KILLED MY MOTHER, but with a difference. The latter sentence simply states the fact, the emphasis being on the act itself; the former sentence, on the other hand, centers in the description of the subject as a matricide, I AM ONE WHO HAS KILLED HIS MOTHER. The latter sentence might be a reply to a query like WHAT DID YOU DO? the former, to WHO ARE YOU?

Examples of *-t'* participles are:

- gwi-na't'* how constituted, of what kind? (*gwi-* [how, where] + *na't'* [from *na-* do, act]) 14.4, 9, 10; 15.6
ga-na't' of that kind, so in appearance 63.12; 192.7
wānt' k!emē^{εn} I make him old (cf. *wunūnt'e^ε* I grow old)
t'gā^a haxa't' burnt field (not passive, but really = field that has at one time burned) 92.29
hēlt' eit'e^ε I know how to sing (literally, singing I am)
yap!a lohōnt' eit'e^ε I have killed (many) people (literally, people causing [or having caused]-to-die I am)
lohō't' having died, dead 148.13
hawa'x-xiwi't' (it is) rotting
xuda'mt' eit'e^ε I am whistler
nī'xa yi'lt' having copulated with his mother (insulting epithet applied to Coyote) 86.5, 6, 16

Examples of participles with lost *-t'* have been given above (see § 18).

§ 77. **Passive Participle in *-(a)k'w*, *-i'k'w***

Nominal participial forms in *-k'w* of passive signification can be freely formed from all transitive verb-stems, the stem invariably undergoing palatalization (see § 31). The suffix *-k'w* ordinarily requires a preceding connective *-a-* replaced, as usual, by an instrumental *-i-* in such passive participles as are derived from verb-forms themselves provided with *-i-*. Participles in *-ak'w* tend to be accented on the

syllable immediately preceding the suffix, in which case an inorganic *-h-* generally appears before the *-a-*; *-hak'w* is also regularly used with preceding fortis (see § 19). It is not unlikely that the suffix is organically *-hak'w*, the *-ha-* implying continuity (see § 43, 5). Instrumental passives in *-ik'w*, on the other hand, are generally accented, with raised pitch, on the *-i-* of the suffix. For example, *dūmhak'w* (ALWAYS) KILLED OR STRUCK PERSON, but *wa-dū^umi'k'w* THING WITH WHICH ONE KILLS (literally, KILLED-WITH thing). Inasmuch as *-k'w-* participles, differing in this respect from active participles in *-t'*, are distinctly nominal in character, they may be provided with possessive suffixes; e. g., *dūmhak'w-dek'* MY STRUCK ONE. Forms thus arise which, like *-t'*-participles supplemented by forms of *ei-* BE, have independent predicative force. What we have seen to apply to *-t'*-participles, however, in regard to particularity of action, applies with equal if not greater force to predicatively used passives in *-k'w*. While a sentence like *ī'daga t!omoma'n* (*dōmk'am*) THAT ONE WAS SLAIN, with finite passive, implies the fulfillment of a single act, a sentence whose predicate is supplied by a passive participle (like *ī'daga dūmhak'w* THAT ONE IS [REGULARLY] SLAIN, STRUCK) necessarily refers to habitual or regularly continued activity: *ī'daga dūmhak'w-de'k'* THAT ONE IS MY (REGULARLY) STRUCK ONE thus approaches in signification the finite frequentative *ī'daga t!omo'ama^εn* THAT ONE I (ALWAYS) STRIKE, but differs radically in signification from both *ī'daga t!omoma'^εn* I KILLED THAT ONE and *ī'daga dōmt' eīt'e^ε* I AM ONE THAT HAS KILLED THAT ONE.

Examples of *-k'w-* participles are:

gwen-sgū^uεt'ōk'w (those) with their necks cut off (21.2, 4, 5)

xa-ī-sgī^{iε}p'sgībik'w (bodies) cut in two 21.2; 22.3

(*mīⁱ*) *gela'p'ak'w*¹ something which is (already) twisted

gāhak'w na^εne'x like something planted, sown

wa^ε-ī-dūxik'w-dek' I have been gathering them (literally, my gathered ones)

dal^ε-wa-p'ū't!ik'w (manzanita) mixed with (sugar-pine nuts) 178.5
t'ān t'gwīl gūt'ōk'w-dā^a squirrel has been burying (*gō^ud-*) hazel-nuts (literally, squirrel hazel-nuts [are] his-buried-ones)²

sēk'ak'w-de'k' I (always) shoot (*sā^ag-*) him (literally, my shot one)

mīla'shak'w-dek' I love her (literally, my loved one)

¹ Cf. *galaba^εn* I TWIST IT; *-a'*- above is inorganic, hence unpalatalized to *-ε-*.

² *t'gwīl* (HAZEL-NUTS) is the grammatical subject; *gūt'ōk'w-dā^a* predicates the subject; *t'ān* (SQUIRREL) is outside the main core of the sentence, being merely in apposition with the incorporated *-dā^a* (HIS) of the nominal predicate.

As the last example shows, the indirective *-s-* of verbs with indirect object is preserved in *-hak'w* participles (contrast *m̄la't'-k'* HE LOVED HER [inferential]).

Participles of instrumental signification in *-i'k'w* are freely employed to make up instrumental nouns, such as names of implements. Examples are:

- dō^uk'-sgū^ut!ik'w* log-cut-with (= saw)
se^l-wa-se^la'mdik'w black paint (writing)-therewith-painted
 (written) (= pencil)
ī-smi'lsmīlik'w (thing) swung (= swing)
dūk'w-wa-sgū^ut!ik'w dress-therewith-cut (= scissors)
k!wāī-bā^a-sgēk'sgīgik'w grass-up-pitched-with (= pitchfork)
yap!a-wa-dō^umi'k'w people-therewith-killed, e. g., arrow, gun
da^sma'xau al^s-wa-xīⁱk!ik'w far therewith-seen, e. g., telescope
mūlmīli'k'w something to stir (mush) up with

It is interesting to note that forms in *-k'w* may be formed from the third person possessive of nouns, chiefly terms of relationship. These are shown by the palatalized form of the stem to be morphologically identical with passive participles in *-k'w*. Examples are:

| Noun | Participle |
|---|---|
| <i>ts!ele'i</i> his eye 86.7, 9 | <i>ts!ele'ik'w</i> eye-having 27.9 |
| <i>nī'xa</i> his mother 17.11; 126.7 | <i>nī'xak'w</i> he has a mother |
| <i>ma'xa</i> his father 17.12; 126.6 | <i>me'xak'w</i> he has a father |
| <i>k'aⁱlā'p'ik!īⁱ</i> his woman (178.8) | <i>k'eⁱlē'p'ik!ik'w</i> he has a wife 142.6 |
| <i>t!īⁱlā'p'ik!īⁱ</i> her husband 46.1 | <i>t!īⁱlē'p'ik!ik'w</i> she has a husband |

Such forms in *-k'w* may well be compared to English adjectives of participial form in *-ed*; e. g., LEFT-HANDED, FOUR-CORNERED. They may be further adjectivalized by the addition of *-at'* (see below, § 108); e. g., *me'xaqwat'* FATHER-HAVING.

§ 78. Passive Participles in *-xap'* (*-sap'*)

Less common than passive participles in *-(a)k'w* are certain forms in *-xap'* (*-sap'*), which, like the former, show a palatalized form of the stem, and seem to be identical in function with them. Like *-k'w*- participles, again, they may be provided with possessive pronominal suffixes, though these belong to another scheme of endings:

- gel-gūla'k'ak'w-de'k'* my liked one, I like him (= *gel-gūla'xab-at'k'*)
gel-gūla'k'ak'w-da they like him (= *gel-gūla'xap'*)

Forms in *-xap'* are in particular use as names of articles of clothing. Examples are:

- gwen-wi'^{iε}xap'* handkerchief, neckerchief 188.5 (cf. *gwen-wi'ⁱk!an*
I shall wind it about my neck)
dak'-wi'^{iε}xap' something wound about one's head
xā^a-le'^{εε}sap' (= *-t!-xap'*) belt (cf. *xā^a-lā'^{at}!an* I shall put it about
my waist)
gwen-p!ⁱxap' pillow (cf. *gwen-p!ⁱk'wan* I shall lie on pillow)
ha-lū'^{us}xap' shirt (cf. *ha-lō'^{uk}!^win* I shall put on shirt)
ha-ya-u-t'^{ge'n}sap' (= *-ts!-xap'*) vest (cf. *ha-ya-u-t'^{ge'nts}!an* I shall
put it about my middle, ribs)
sqe'^{εε}xap' man's hat

NOUNS OF AGENCY (§§ 79-82)

§ 79. Introductory

Four suffixes have been found that are employed to form nouns of agency from verb-stems, *-εs*, *-sā^a*, *-sīⁱ*, and *-xi*. The first of these is more strictly verbal in character than the other three, being capable, unlike these, of incorporating the pronominal object. *-sā^a* and *-sīⁱ*, probably genetically related suffixes, are used apparently only with intransitive stems (including, however, such as are partly transitive in form, i. e., that belong to Class IV). *-εs* and *-xi* are used with both transitive and intransitive stems.

§ 80. Nouns of Agency in *-(a')εs*

This suffix is used to form agentives with more freedom than the others seem to be. The ending *-εs* is added directly to the verb-stem, with connective *-a'-* (instrumental *-i-*) if phonetically necessary. No examples have been found of agentives in *-εs* from intransitives of Class II. Examples are (49.4; 60.10):

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>hoida'^{εs}</i> dancer | <i>hāpxi-t'ā^aga'^{εs}</i> child-crier (= cry-baby) |
| <i>he^εla'^{εs}</i> singer | <i>xut'ma'^{εs}</i> whistler |
| <i>p!ⁱā^aga'^{εs}</i> bather | <i>k'aiwi'^ε wa^ε-ī-dōxi^{εs}</i> one who gathers everything |
| <i>yā^ada'^{εs}</i> swimmer | <i>xuma-k'emna'^{εs}</i> food-maker (= cook) 54.4 |
| <i>ts!^auya'^{εs}</i> fast runner 138.2 | <i>dōmxbi^{εs}</i> one who kills you |
| <i>ei-sā^agwa'^{εs}</i> canoe paddler | <i>mala'ximi^{εs}</i> one who tells us |

The last two examples show incorporated pronominal objects; the first personal plural object *-am-* is, as usual, followed by the connective

tive *-i-*. The strongly verbal coloring of the agentive in *-εs* is perhaps best indicated by its employment as a final clause. Examples of this use are:

ba-i-k'tiyi'k'deε al-xi'ie'xbiεs I came to see you (literally, as one-seeing-you)

meε-gini'εk' al-xi'ie'xiεs he came to see me

hoida'εs di meε-giniga't did you come to dance? (i. e., as dancer)

a'nvε meε-gini'k'deε lōus's I did not come to play, as player 31.6
(cf. § 74 for another method of expressing this idea)

§ 81. Nouns of Agency in *-sīi*, *-sāa*

These, as already observed, are less distinctly verbal in force than the preceding. Some verbs have agentives in both *-εs* and *-sāa*; e. g., *heεla'εs* and *hēlsāa* SINGER. Not infrequently there is a distinct feeling of disparagement in a *-sāa*-agentive as compared with one in *-εs*; e. g., *hogwa'εs* GOOD RUNNER, but *ho'k'sāa* ONE WHO ALWAYS RUNS (BECAUSE OF FEAR). Both of these suffixes are added directly to the stem without connecting vowel. If stressed, they have the falling accent. *-sāa* is the regular agentive ending of Class II intransitives; *-p'* is or is not retained before it under the same conditions as in the case of the participial *-t'* (see § 76).

Further examples of agentives in *-sīi* and *-sāa* are:

ī-heεgwa'k'sīi worker

da-lōsi liar (but non-disparaging *lōusεs* player)

ū'ie's'ī (= *ū'ie's-s'īi*) *k'emēn* I make him laugh (literally, laughter)

{ *al-t'wāap't'wa'p'sīi* blinker

{ *al-t'wāap't'wa'p'sāa*

xāa-wīsāa go-between (settler of feud) 178.11

dāa-p!iya wīsāa one going, dancing by side of fire (= medicine-man)

yims'āa (= *yims-s'āa*) dreamer (= medicine-man)

waīsāa big sleeper

eseūsāa big sneezer

se'nsansāa one knowing how to whoop

sana'p'sāa one knowing how to fight

s'a'sansāa one always standing

s'ū'εalsāa one always sitting

nōts!adam yu'sāa e'ebik' we are neighbors (literally, neighboring-to-us being [stem *yu-*] we-are)

t!obaga'sāa (= *-a's-sāa*) *eit'* you are always lying like dead

A few nouns in *-sīi*, in which an agentive meaning can not well be detected, nevertheless doubtless belong here: *lō'usi* PLAYTHING

(110.6,11) (cf. verb-stem *lō^u-* PLAY); less evidently, *le^epsi^h* FEATHER 28.2; *ala^hksīⁱ* HIS TAIL (86.21, 23)

§ 82. Nouns of Agency in *-xi*

Only a few verbal derivatives in *-xi* have been obtained. They are:

al-hūyūxi (= *-x-xi*) hunter

ye^exi^h needle, awl (literally [?], biter [cf. verb-stem *ye^eg^w-* bite])
122.8

gel-dula^hxīⁱ eīt^e e^e I am lazy, one who is lazy

gel-he^{iē}xi stingy (cf. verb-stem *he^{iē}x-* be left over)

s-ūmxi^h paddle stirrer (cf. *s-ū^ūm-t^a-* boil) (170.16)

eīt^e gēlxīⁱ wagon (literally, canoe one-that-rolls)

§ 83. FORMS IN *-i'ya*

Two or three isolated verb-forms in *-i'ya*¹ have been found that appear to be of a passive participial character. There are not enough such forms available, however, to enable one to form an idea of their function. The few examples are:

t'gā^a (1) *haxani'ya* (2) *mīⁱ* (3) *al-t!aya^hk^e* (4) then (3) he discovered (4) a burnt-down (2) field (1) 92.26

yap!a (1) *dō^wmi'ya* (2) *εal-t!aya^hk^e* (3) he discovered (3) killed (2) people (1)

Both of these forms in *-i'ya*, it will be observed, are derived from transitive stems (*haxani'ya* from causative *haxa-n-* CAUSE TO BURN, BURN), and would seem to be best interpreted as attributive passives corresponding to the attributive actives in *-t'*. To these forms belongs probably also:

dīⁱ-he'liya (1) *wa-īwīⁱ* (2) girl (2) who sleeps on a raised board platform (1) (literally, perhaps, up-boarded girl [cf. *he^ela^m* board]) 13.2

II. The Noun (§§ 84-102)

§ 84. Introductory

Despite the double-faced character of some of the nominal derivatives of the verb-stem (e. g., the passive participles), there is formally in Takelma a sharp line of demarcation between denominating and predicative elements of speech. This is evidenced partly by the distinct sets of pronominal suffixes peculiar to noun and verb, partly by certain nominal elements appearing before the possessive affixes and serving, perhaps, to distinctly substantivize the stem. Only a

¹ Not to be confused with transitive infinitives in *-ia^h*.

small number of stems have been found that can, without the aid of nominal (or verbal) derivative elements, be used as both nouns and verbs. Such are:

| Noun | Verb |
|--|--|
| <i>se'el</i> black paint, writing | <i>se^el-a'md-a^en</i> I paint it |
| <i>he'el</i> song 106.7; (164.16) | <i>hēl</i> sing! (170.12) |
| <i>liw-ā'a naga'^{iε}</i> he looked (perhaps = his-look he-did) 55.6 | <i>liwila'u-t'^{eε}</i> I looked (152.17) (imperative <i>liū</i> 14.11; [60.2]) |
| <i>dūk'^w</i> shirt 96.16 | <i>dī-dūk'^w</i> wear it! (55.9; 96.16) |
| <i>t!ūl</i> gambling-sticks in grass-game | <i>t!ū'lt!al-siniba^e</i> let us gamble at grass-game 31.9 |
| <i>xle'^{eε}p'</i> dough-like mass of camass or fat | <i>ī-xlep!^exlib-ī^en</i> I mash it into dough (94.11) |
| <i>xān</i> urine | <i>xala'xam-t'^{eε}</i> I urinate |

A number of cases have been found of stem + suffix serving as noun and verb (e. g., *wū^ūlha'm* MENSTRUAL "ROUND" DANCE 100.10, 16: *wū^ūlha'mt'^{eε}* I SHALL HAVE FIRST COURSES 162.7, 8); but in these it is probable that the verb is a secondary derivative of the noun. Even in the first two examples given above, a difference in pitch-accent serves to distinguish the noun from the verb-stem: *hēl-gulu'k'^w* HE WILL SING, but *he'el gel-gulu'k'^w* HE LIKES, DESIRES, A SONG. The use of a stem as both noun and verb in the same sentence may lead to such cognate accusative constructions as the English TO LIVE A LIFE, DREAM A DREAM:

se'el-se^ela'msi write to me!

dū^ugwi'ⁱ dī-dū^ugwa'nk'ⁱ she shall wear her skirt 55.9

If we analyze noun forms like *t!ibagwa'nt'k'* MY PANCREAS and *dā^anxde'k'* MY EAR, we find it necessary to consider five more or less distinct elements that go to make up a noun with possessive suffix, though all of these but the radical portion of the word may be absent.

First of all we have the stem (*t!iba-*; *dā^a-*) which may or may not be similar in form to a verbal base, and which occurs either as an absolute noun unprovided with a pronominal suffix (body-part nouns and terms of relationship, however, do not ordinarily appear in their naked stem-form), or as an incorporated noun; e. g., *t!iba-wēsīn* I AM PANCREAS-DEPRIVED, MY PANCREAS HAS BEEN TAKEN FROM ME.

Appended to the stem are the purely derivational or formative elements of the noun. Takelma is characterized rather by a paucity than an abundance of such elements, a very large proportion of its nouns being primitive, i. e., non-derivative, in character. Of the

two nouns that we have chosen as types *dā^anxdē'k'* shows no formative element in the proper sense of the word, while the *-gw-* of *t!ibagwa'nt'k'* is such an element (cf. from stem *līu-* LOOK *līu-gw-ax-dē'k'* MY FACE).

More characteristic of the Takelma noun than derivational suffixes is a group of elements that are never found in the absolute form of the noun, but attach themselves to it on the addition of a pronominal suffix or local pre-positive. The *-n-* and *-(a)n-* of *dā^anxdē'k'* and *t!ibagwa'nt'k'*, respectively, are elements of this kind (cf. *ha-da-n-dē* IN MY EAR; *ha-t!ibagw-an-dē* IN MY PANCREAS), also the *-a-* of *dana't'k'* MY ROCK (cf. *ha-dan-a'* IN THE ROCK [from *da'n* rock]), and the *-u* of *ha-t'gāū* IN THE EARTH 33.7 (from *t'gā* EARTH). The function of these elements, if they have any and are not merely older formative suffixes that have become crystallized in definite forms of the noun, is not at all clear. They are certainly not mere connective elements serving as supports for the grammatical suffixes following, as in that event it would be difficult to understand their occurrence as absolute finals in nouns provided with pre-positives; nor can they be plausibly explained as old case-endings whose former existence as such was conditioned by the preceding pre-positive, but which now have entirely lost their original significance, for they are never dependent on the pre-positive itself, but vary solely with the noun-stem:

ha-dan-a' in the rock; *dā^a-dan-a'* beside the rock; *dal-dan-a'* among the rocks; *dan-a'-t'k'* my rock; *dak'-dan-a-dē* over my rock (with constant *-a-* from *da'n* rock 16.12)
ha-gwā^{al}-a'm in the road 62.6; *dā^a-gwā^{al}-a'm* along the road; *gwā^{al}-a'm-t'k'* my road (96.8); *dak'-gwā^{al}-am-dē* over my road (48.6, 8) (with constant *-am-* from *gwān* road 148.7)

For want of a better term to describe them, these apparently non-significant elements will be referred to as noun-characteristics. Not all nouns have such characteristics:

ha-gela'm in the river (from *gela'm* river 21.14) as opposed to *xā^a-gūlm-a'n* among oaks (from *gulu'm* oak 22.10, 11)

Whether such nouns were always without them, or really preserve them, but in a phonetically amalgamated form, it is, of course, impossible to decide without other than internal evidence.

A fourth nominal element, the pre-pronominal *-x-*, is found in a large number of nouns, including such as possess also a characteristic

(e. g., *dā^a-n-x-de'k'*) and such as are not provided with that element (e. g., *sal-x-de'k'* MY FOOT); a large number, on the other hand, both of those that have a characteristic (e. g., *t!ibagw-a'n-t'k'*) and of those that lack it (e. g., *bēm-t'ā^a* HIS STICK) do without the *-x*. A considerable number of nouns may either have it between the characteristic and the pronominal ending or append the personal endings directly to the characteristic, no difference in signification resulting. In such doublets, however, the pronominal suffixes belong to different schemes:

bilg-an-x-de'k' and *bilg-a'n-t'k'* my breast
se^{ens}-i-x-da^ε and *se^{ens}-i'-εt'* your hair
wā^ad-i'-x-da (92.24) and *wā^ad-īⁱ* his body 146.6

The characteristic *-a-* never tolerates a following *-x*. Where doublets occur, these two elements seem to be mutually equivalent: *ey-a'-t'k'* (112.6) and *ei-x-de'k'* MY CANOE (from *eī* CANOE 114.3). Such doublets, together with the fact that nothing ever intervenes between it and the personal suffix, make it possible that this *-x-* is a connective element somewhat similar in function to, and perhaps ultimately identical with, the connective *-x-* of transitive verbs. This, however, is confessedly mere speculation. What chiefly militates against its interpretation as a merely connective element is the fact of its occurrence as a word-final in phrases in which no possessive element is found:

dagax wō'k'i^ε head without
ha-dā^a-n-x molhī't' in-ear red (i. e., red-eared) 14.4; 15.13

If the local phrase involves a personal pronominal element, the *-x-* disappears:

dā^a-n-x-de'k' my ear, but *ha-da-n-dē* in my ear

This treatment marks it off sharply from the noun-characteristics.

Fifthly and lastly, in the integral structure of the noun, comes the possessive pronominal suffix (the first person singular of terms of relationship, however, is a prefixed *wi-*). The following tabulated summary shows the range of occurrence of the various elements of the noun:

1. *Stem*. Occurs as absolute noun (*gwān*), or incorporated in verb (*dā^a-*).
2. *Derivative element*. Occurs as ending of absolute form of noun whose stem appears only in incorporation: *t!iba'-k'^v* pancreas.

3. *Noun characteristic.* Occurs with all increments of absolute form of noun; i. e., with pronominal suffix (*gwā^{al}-a'm-t'k'*), with pre-positive (*ha-gwā^{al}-a'm*), and with pre-positive and pronominal element (*ha-gwā^{al}-am-dē*).
4. *Pre-pronominal -x-.* Occurs with pronominal suffix (*dā^a-n-x-de'k'*) and pre-positive (*ha-dā^a-n-x*), but never with pre-positive and pronominal element.
5. *Pronominal suffix.* Occurs in two distinct forms: one for nouns without pre-positives (*dā^a-n-x-de'k'*), and one for nouns accompanied by pre-positive (*ha-da-n-dē*).

A tabulated analysis of a few typical words follows:

| Stem | Derivative | Character- istic | Pre-pro- nominal | Pronominal | Meaning |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| (<i>ha-</i>) <i>wax.</i> ¹ | | <i>g-a'n</i> | | | in the creek |
| <i>le'-</i> | <i>k'w-</i> | <i>an-</i> | | <i>t'k'</i> | my anus |
| <i>dā-u-yā'a-</i> | <i>k'w-</i> | | | <i>dē'k'</i> | my medicine-spirit |
| <i>dāa-</i> | | <i>n-</i> | <i>x-</i> | <i>dē'k'</i> | my ear |
| <i>bo'k'd-</i> | <i>an-</i> | | <i>x-</i> | <i>dē'k'</i> | my neck |
| <i>k'a'ε-</i> | <i>lā'p'a.-k'l-</i> | <i>i-</i> | | <i>t'k'</i> | my woman |
| <i>lōu-</i> | <i>s-i'.</i> | | | <i>t'k'</i> | my plaything |
| <i>sge'ε-</i> | <i>zab-</i> | <i>a-</i> | | <i>t'k'</i> | my hat |
| <i>li'u-</i> | <i>gw-</i> | | <i>ax-</i> | <i>dē'k'</i> | my face |
| <i>xāu-</i> | | <i>ha'm-</i> | | <i>da</i> | on his back |
| <i>ts'le'k'ts'tig-</i> | | <i>i-</i> | <i>x-</i> | <i>dē'k'</i> | my backbone |
| (<i>ha-</i>) <i>yaw-</i> | | <i>a-</i> | | <i>dē</i> | in my ribs |
| <i>dōum-</i> | | <i>a'l-</i> | | <i>t'k'</i> | my testicles |
| <i>xāal(xān.)</i> | | <i>a'm-</i> | | <i>t'k'</i> | my urine |
| <i>ī-</i> | | <i>ū-</i> | <i>x-</i> | <i>dē'k'</i> | my hand |
| (<i>haε-</i>) <i>ī-</i> | | <i>ū-</i> | | <i>dē</i> | in my hand |

¹ A point (.) shows the absolute form of the word.

1. Nominal Stems (§§ 85, 86)

§ 85. GENERAL REMARKS

The stem is in a very large number of cases parallel in form to that of a verbal base (e. g., with *da'n* ROCK, *s'om̃* MOUNTAIN, *mēx* CRANE, cf. *t!an-* HOLD, *s'om-* BOIL, *he^em-* WRESTLE). An extensive number of noun-stems, however, are apparently amplifications of a simpler monosyllabic base, and have all the outward appearance of an aorist stem in the verb. It becomes, then, not only possible, but fundamentally important, to classify noun-stems into types that seem, and ultimately doubtless are, entirely analogous in form to corresponding verbal types. The noun-stem *wili-* HOUSE, for example, can be conceived of as formed from a base *wil-* in the same manner

as the aorist *naga-* is formed from the verb-stem *nā^ag-* SAY TO SOME ONE. Similarly, the noun *yelē`x* BURDEN-BASKET is phonetically related to a hypothetical base **yelx-*, as is the aorist *leme-k!*- to the non-aorist *lem-k!*-. A small number of nouns appear in two forms, one corresponding to the aorist stem, the other to the verb-stem of a verb: *gulu`m* OAK, but with characteristic *-(a)n-*: *gulm-an-* (the non-aorist *gula`m* with inorganic *-a-* also occurs). Similarly, *yulu`m* and *yula`m* EAGLE. In such variable nouns we have a complete morphologic analogy to Type 2 (or 3)) verbs like aorist *xudum-* WHISTLE, verb-stem *xut`m-* (with inorganic *-a-*: *xudam-*). In both *gulu`m* and *xudum-* the *-m-* is almost certainly a suffixed element. It must be carefully noted, however, that, while in the verb we very often have both the aorist stem and the base (as verb-stem) in actual existence, in the case of nouns we rarely can go beyond the stem as revealed in an absolute or incorporated form. It is true that sometimes a hypothetical noun-base phonetically coincides with a verbal base, but only in the minority of cases can the two be satisfactorily connected. Thus, *yut!*-, abstracted from *yūt!u`n* DUCK, is very probably identical with the *yut!*- of aorist *yut!uyad-* SWALLOW GREEDILY LIKE HOG OR DUCK. On the other hand, little is gained by comparing the *yul-* of *yulu`m* EAGLE with the *yul-* of aorist *yuluyal-* RUB; the *p!i`y-* of *p!i`yin* DEER and *p!i`yax* FAWN with the aorist *-p!i`yin-* (*k`wa-*) LIE ON PILLOW (cf. *gwen-p!ixap`* PILLOW), unless the deer was so called, for reasons of name-taboo, because its skin was used for the making of pillows (or, more naturally, the reverse);¹ the *way-* of *waya`* KNIFE with *way-* SLEEP; or the noun-stem *yaw-* RIB (occurring as *ya-u-* when incorporated) with the verb-stem *yaw-* (*yiw-*) TALK. It is not justifiable to say that noun-stems of apparently non-primitive form are necessarily amplified from the bases that seem to lie back of them (e. g., *wili-* from *wil-*; *yulu-m* from *yul-*), but merely that there is a strong tendency in Takelma for the formation in the noun of certain typical sound-groups analogous to those found in the verb.

§ 86. TYPES OF STEM FORMATION

Though it is probably impossible to duplicate all the various types of aorist and verb stem found in the verb, most of those that are at all frequent occur also in the noun.

¹Improbable, however, if aorist *p!eyen-* LIE and *p!i`yin-k`wa-* LIE ON PILLOW are radically connected (see § 31).

1. The most characteristic type of noun-stem in Takelma is the monosyllabic group of consonant (less frequently consonant-cluster) + vowel (or diphthong) + consonant (less frequently cluster). This type may be considered as corresponding to the normal monosyllabic verb-stem. Out of a very large number of such primitive, underived noun-stems are taken a selection of examples.

Occurring as naked stems only when incorporated:

| | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>s'in-</i> nose | <i>gwel-</i> leg |
| <i>dā^a-</i> ear | <i>yaw-</i> rib |
| <i>gēl-</i> breast | <i>ī-</i> hand |
| <i>gwen-</i> neck | <i>xā^a-</i> back |
| <i>dag-</i> head | <i>dē^e-</i> lips, mouth |
| <i>s'al-</i> foot | <i>ha-</i> woman's private parts |

Occurring as absolute nouns:

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>nōx</i> rain 90.1 | <i>mo^x</i> grouse |
| <i>p!^ī</i> fire 62.10; 78.13 | <i>t'gwe^lk^w</i> rat (sp.?) |
| <i>bē</i> sun 54.3; 122.15; 160.20 | <i>t'^ī'is</i> gopher 78.4, 7 |
| <i>bēm</i> tree, stick 25.5; 48.7 | <i>sbīn</i> beaver 112.1; 166.12 |
| <i>xī</i> water 15.1; 57.14 | <i>s'ūx</i> bird 22.4; 166.10 |
| <i>t'gā</i> land 49.12; 73.9 | <i>dāⁿ</i> rock 13.6; 16.12 |
| <i>t'gwa^a</i> thunder 55.8 | <i>lā^ap[']</i> leaves |
| <i>p!^ā'as</i> snow 90.2, 3; 152.16 | <i>s'ix</i> venison 16.6; 55.1 |
| <i>p!ⁱ'm</i> salmon 17.12; 30.10 | <i>xīn</i> mucus |
| <i>lān</i> salmon-net 31.2; 33.4 | <i>la^v</i> excrement 122.2 |
| <i>māl</i> salmon-spear shaft 28.7 | <i>t'ga^m</i> elk 158.4; 196.6 |
| <i>t'gwaⁿ</i> slave 13.12 | <i>t!^āk[']</i> mussel 26.7 |
| <i>gwān</i> trail 148.7 | <i>bō^un</i> acorn-hopper |
| <i>būs</i> fly | <i>xo[']</i> fir 24.10; 54.6 |
| <i>dēl</i> yellow-jacket 73.7, 10 | <i>hāl^k'</i> panther 42.1 |
| <i>mēx</i> crane 13.1 | <i>bī^k'^w</i> skunk 164.2 |
| <i>xē^m</i> raven 162.8, 12 | <i>t'ān</i> squirrel 94.2, 4 |
| <i>s'ēm</i> duck 55.2; 166.10 | <i>s'oñ</i> mountain 43.6 |
| <i>sēl</i> kingfisher | <i>xān</i> urine |
| <i>mēl</i> crow 144.9; 162.7 | <i>dō^um</i> testicles 130.20 |
| <i>yā^k'^w</i> wildcat 42.1; 46.9 | <i>dō^um</i> spider |
| <i>xa^mk[']</i> grizzly bear 106.14 | <i>hōū</i> jack-rabbit 108.8 |
| <i>dīp[']</i> camass 108.18; 124.12 | <i>ga[']l^ε</i> bow |
| <i>k!^wāī</i> grass 31.8 | <i>hāī</i> cloud 13.3 |
| <i>hīx</i> roasted camass 178.4 | <i>bīū</i> grasshopper 92.28, 29 |
| <i>ō^{'u}p[']</i> tobacco 194.1 | <i>xnī[']k[']</i> acorn dough 16.12 |
| <i>k!^wāl</i> pitch 88.13; 158.9 | <i>gūī</i> thick brush 71.1 |
| <i>yūp[']</i> woman's basket-cap 178.3 | <i>t'gwīl</i> hazelnut 116.5, 11, 14 |

Occurring generally with possessive suffix:

| | | | |
|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>ma</i> ⁻¹ | } father 17.12; 70.7; 158.3 | <i>wā^ad-</i> | body 92.24; 130.24; |
| <i>ham-</i> | | 146.6 | |
| <i>ni-</i> | } mother 17.9; 76.10, 13; 172.17 | <i>xū^ul-</i> | brains |
| <i>hin-</i> | | <i>se^en-</i> | skin |
| <i>gū^ux-</i> | wife 13.2; 45.3; 64.5; 142.12 | <i>delg-</i> | buttocks 45.9; 72.10; 94.15 |
| <i>t'īⁱ-</i> | male, husband 45.14; 126.14 | <i>bīlg-</i> | breast |
| <i>nīⁱ-</i> | teats 30.14 (<i>nī'</i> found as absolute form 130.9) | <i>k'ū^ub-</i> | hair 24.8; 162.4 |
| <i>p!ā^an-</i> | liver 120.15 (<i>p!ān</i> found as absolute form 57.9, 13) | <i>a-is'-</i> | property 23.2; 154.13 |

These lists might be very greatly increased if desired. It will be noticed that a considerable number of the nouns given are such as are generally apt to be derivative or non-primitive in morphology.

In regard to accent monosyllabic nouns naturally divide themselves into two classes:—those with rising or raised accent, embracing the great majority of examples, and those with falling accent. Of the latter type a certain number owe their accent to a glottal catch of the stem. Besides *ga'ł̥s*, already given above, may be cited:

| | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| <i>t'go'is</i> | leggings |
| <i>k!a'ł̥s</i> | sinew 27.13; (28.1) |
| <i>p!e'e'ł̥s</i> | basket-plate 168.15 |
| <i>k'o'εx</i> | tar-weed seeds 26.15 |

These offer no special difficulty. There is a fairly considerable number of monosyllabic nouns, however, in which the falling accent can not be so explained, but appears to be inherently characteristic of the nouns. Besides *ō'up'*, *p!ā'as*, *t'ī'is*, and *lā'ap'*, may be mentioned:

| | | | |
|---------------|----------------------|------------------|--|
| <i>ne'el</i> | song 106.7 | <i>t!e'ek'w</i> | yellowhammer 90.18; 194.15 |
| <i>se'el</i> | black paint, writing | <i>t'be'ek'w</i> | shinny-ball |
| <i>ge'et'</i> | xerophyllum tenax | <i>a'lk'</i> | silver-side salmon |
| <i>ye'et'</i> | tears | <i>p!e'εs</i> | (with derivative <i>-s?</i> see § 87, 8) flat rock on which acorns are pounded 74.13; 75.2; 118.17 |
| <i>wā'as</i> | bush (sp.?) 25.12 | | |

For two of these nouns (*he'el* and *se'el*) the etymology is obvious. They are derived from the verb-stems *he^el-* SING and *se^el-*(*amd-*) PAINT; it may well be that the falling accent here characterizes substantives of passive force (THAT WHICH IS SUNG, PAINTED). Possibly *lā'ap'* and *ō'up'* are to be similarly explained as meaning THOSE THAT

¹ Most nouns of relationship show monosyllabic stems; none can be shown to be derivative in character.

ARE CARRIED (BY BRANCHES) and THAT WHICH IS DUG UP¹ (cf. aorist stems *lā^ab-* CARRY and *ō^ub-* DIG UP).

2. A very considerable number of noun-stems repeat the vowel of the base, corresponding to aorist stems of Type 2 verbs. Such are:

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>wi'li</i> house 13.1; 14.8; 192.6 | <i>gwit'i-(n)-</i> wrist |
| <i>ts'li'xi</i> dog | <i>k'aba-</i> son 23.2; 128.5; 138.14 |
| <i>moxo'</i> buzzard 105.23 | <i>xaga-</i> maternal aunt |
| <i>sgi'si</i> coyote 13.1; 70.1; 108.1 | <i>xli'wi</i> war-feathers 110.18 |
| <i>sgwini'</i> raccoon | <i>waya'</i> knife 73.3; 144.20; 172.12 |
| <i>k!a'ma</i> spit for roasting 170.17 | <i>goyo'</i> shaman 47.11; 142.7; 188.7 |
| <i>yap!a'</i> person 14.12; 96.2; 128.2 | <i>wō^up!u-(n)-</i> eyebrows |
| <i>yana'</i> acorn 15.16; 16.9; 58.9 | |

With probably derivative final consonant are:

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>lege'm-</i> kidney | <i>daga'n</i> turtle |
| <i>lap'ām</i> frog 102.10; 196.3 | <i>ts!axā'an</i> blue-striped lizard |
| <i>yu'lu'm</i> eagle 77.2; 122.15; 164.8 | <i>wigin</i> red lizard |
| <i>gulu'm</i> oak 22.10 | <i>li'bin</i> news 108.20; 194.9 |
| <i>k'ūlūm</i> fish (sp.?) | <i>yi'win</i> speech 126.10; 136.12 |
| <i>loxo'm</i> manzanita 126.17; 178.5 | <i>ts!amāl</i> mouse 102.10; 104.9; 142.4 |
| <i>yūt!u'n</i> white duck 55.5 | <i>s'imil</i> dew |
| <i>p!i'yin</i> deer 17.1; 42.2; 54.2 | <i>(k!el)mehel-ī'i</i> basket for cook- ing 178.4 |
| <i>ga'k!an</i> ladder 176.8 | |

Here again it will be observed that the rising or raised accent is the normal one for the second syllable of the stem. But here also a well-defined, if less numerous, group of noun-stems is found in which the repeated long vowel bears a falling accent. Examples are:

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>t'gwalā'a</i> hooting owl 194.9 | <i>t!ibis-ī'i</i> ant 74.4; 75.5 |
| <i>hū^us-ū'u</i> chicken-hawk 142.6 | <i>da-uyā'a</i> shaman's spirit (? from <i>dawy-</i> fly) 164.14 |
| <i>s-ūhū'u</i> quail 70.2, 5; 71.4 | <i>mayā'a-k'w-</i> orphan 154.5 |

Compare also *t!onō'us* below (Type 3); *ts!ilī'ik!*- and *t'bele's* (Type 3) owe their falling accent to the presence of a glottal catch.

Very remarkable is the stem formation of the noun *t!ūxū'i* DRIFTWOOD 75.5. It is evidently formed from the verb-stem *dōux-* (aorist stem *t!oxox-*) GATHER (WOOD) according to aorists of Type 7b, at the same time with vowel ablaut (cf. theoretic *t!ūxū-xi* HE GATHERS ME) and falling accent, perhaps to give passive signification (see § 86, 1); its etymologic meaning would then be THAT WHICH IS GATHERED. No other noun of similar stem formation has been found.

¹ If this etymology of *ō^up'* is correct, Pit River *ōp'* TOBACCO must be borrowed from Takelma.

3. It is not strictly possible to separate noun-stems corresponding to aorists of verbal Type 2 from those that are to be compared with aorists of Type 3. The doubt that we found to exist in the verb as to the radical or suffixal character of certain consonants is present also in regard to the final consonant of many dissyllabic nouns. The following nouns with repeated vowel show final consonants that are not thought to be elements of derivation. If this view is correct, they are to be compared with Type 3 aorist stems.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>libis</i> crawfish 30.2 | <i>ü'lük!</i> - hair 27.1; 140.6; 158.1 |
| <i>nihwi'k'w</i> black bear 116.1; 118.1 | <i>deges!</i> - sifting basket-pan 196.13 |
| <i>ts'!il'i'k!</i> - elbow | <i>k!aba's</i> porcupine-quills |
| <i>s'idib-i-</i> (house) wall 176.4, 9 | <i>t'gwaya'm</i> lark 22.1; 160.3 |
| <i>lep!ēs</i> cat-tail rushes | <i>h'ülün</i> ocean 60.8; 154.14 |
| <i>t'bele'ēs</i> pine-nuts | <i>oho'p'</i> black shells (sp.?) 55.9 |
| <i>t!ewēx</i> flea | <i>mot!o'p'</i> seed-beater |
| <i>s'elēk'w</i> pestle 56.1 | <i>yuk!um-</i> salmon-tail 198.9 |
| <i>s'ülūk'</i> cricket | <i>dugu'm</i> baby 126.9 |
| <i>t!onō'us</i> humming-bird (per- haps with derivative -s) | |

4. Analogous to aorist stems of Type 4 verbs (e. g., *yewei-*) are a few nouns with repeated vowel and following *-i-* to form a diphthong. Of such nouns have been found:

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>ts'!elei-</i> eye 27.8; 86.7; 92.20 | <i>da-k!olo'i-da-x-</i> cheek |
| <i>k'wedei-</i> name 100.21 | <i>maha'i</i> (adjective) large 196.10 (cf. plural <i>mahmā</i> 130.4 for base) |
| <i>k!elei-</i> bark 54.6 | |
| <i>k!oloī</i> storage basket 61.5; 138.17 | |

That the final *-i-* of these nouns is not an added characteristic, but an integral part of the noun-stem, is proven by the facts that no examples have been found of vowels followed by noun-characteristic *-i-* (ordinarily *-n-* or *-m-* is employed), and that *ts'!elei-* has been found incorporated in that form.

5. A few nouns are found that show a repeated initial consonant; they may be compared to Type 10 aorist stems. Examples are:

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>se^{en}s-</i> hair 136.28 (cf. <i>se^{en}n-</i> skin) | <i>bo'p'</i> alder (94.17) |
| <i>lūū!</i> - throat 25.2 (? cf. aorist <i>lomol</i> choke) | <i>ts'!u'n^{ēs}</i> (<i>ts'!unts'!</i> -) deer- skin cap embroidered with woodpecker-scalps |

¹ Absolute form *dega's* 178.4; cf. *yula'm* 164.3 alongside of *yulu'm* 77.8?

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>suñs</i> thick, deep (of snow) 90.3 | <i>ts'!e'n^εs</i> (<i>ts'!ents'!</i> -) wild-rose berry 92.23 |
| <i>bebe`-n</i> rushes | <i>bāp'</i> seeds (sp.?) (34.1; 79.9; 94.19) |
| <i>bū^ub-a`n</i> arm 23.2, 4; (172.4) | <i>ts'!a'is^s.¹</i> bluejay (onomatopoeitic) 22.14; 102.10; 166.11 |
| <i>sēns</i> bug (sp.?) | <i>belp'²</i> swan 102.10; 104.14 |

Here may also be mentioned *k!a'mak!ā^a* HIS TONGS (also *k!a'mā^a*).

6. Reduplicated nouns are not frequent in Takelma, particularly when one considers the great importance of reduplication as a grammatical device in the verb. Examples corresponding in form to Type 12 aorists (i. e., with *-a-* [umlauted to *-i-*] in second member) are:

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>t'gwi'nt'gwin-i-</i> shoulder (also <i>t'gwi'nt'gw-i-</i>) | <i>ts'!e'k'ts'!ig-i-</i> backbone 112.4; 198.6 |
| <i>gełga'l</i> fabulous serpent (cf. aorist <i>gełgal-amd-</i> tie hair into top-knot 172.3) | <i>gi'xgap'</i> medicine, poison (irreg.) 188.12 |
| <i>sīⁱnsa`n</i> decrepit old woman | <i>gwi'sgwas</i> chipmunk |
| <i>yūk'ya'k'w-a</i> (place name) 188.13 | <i>p'ā^tp'id-i-</i> salmon-liver (with dissimilated catch) 120.19, 20 |
| <i>t'ga'lt'gil-i-</i> belly | <i>bō^ut'bid-i-</i> orphans (also <i>bōt'ba</i>) |

Also *wa-iwīⁱ* GIRL 55.7; 96.23 doubtless belongs here; the *-wīⁱ* of the second syllable represents a theoretic *-wī'y*, umlauted from *-wa'y*, the falling accent being due to the inorganic character of the repeated *a*. A very few nouns repeat only the first consonant and add *a*, leaving the final consonant unreduplicated. Such are:

| |
|--|
| <i>ba'k'bā^a</i> red-headed woodpecker (onomatopoeitic) 92.2, 6 |
| <i>ha'^εk'ā^a</i> (= * <i>hak!-hā^a</i>) goose 102.10; 106.2, 5 |
| <i>bōt'bā^a</i> orphan 122.1, 5 |

A few nouns, chiefly names of animals, show complete duplication of the radical element without change of the stem-vowel to *-a-* in the second member. This type of reduplication is practically entirely absent in the verb. Examples are:

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>ts'!e'εts'!e^ε</i> small bird (sp.?) | <i>al-k!ok!o`k'</i> (adj.) ugly-faced 60.5 |
| <i>dalda'l</i> dragon-fly 21.1; 28.6 | <i>bobo`p'</i> screech-owl 194.1 |
| <i>p'abā^ap'</i> manzanita-flour | <i>t'ga'nt'gan</i> fly (upper dialect) |

Even all of these are not certain. Those with radical *-a-* might just as well have been classified with the preceding group (thus

¹That *-ε* is felt to be equivalent to *-ts'!* is shown by Bluejay's song: *ts'!a'its'ī-ā gwa'tca gwa'tca* 104.7.

²*bel-* is felt as the base of this word, cf. Swan's song *bełełō+ wa'inha* 104.15, which shows reduplication of *bel-* like aorist *helel-* of *hel-* SING.

*dalda*ʹl may be very plausibly connected with aorist *t!alat!al-* from *t!alal-*, non-aorist *dā^aldal* from *dā^al-* CRACK); while *p'abā^ap'* and *bobo^ap'* may, though improbably, show Type 1 reduplication (*p'ab-ā^ab-* like *p!ab-ab-* CHOP). This latter type of reduplication seems, however, to be as good as absent in the noun (but cf. *sgwôgwô^k'w* ROBIN; *mele^lx* BURNT-DOWN FIELD 92.27 may be morphologically verbal, as shown by its probably non-agentive *-x*). The fullest type of reduplication, that found exemplified in the aorists of Type 13 verbs, has not been met with in a single noun.

2. Noun Derivation (§§ 87, 88)

§ 87. DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES

The number of derivative suffixes found in the noun, excluding those more or less freely employed to form nominal derivatives from the verb-stem, are remarkably few in number, and, for the most part, limited in their range of application. This paucity of live word-forming suffixes is, of course, due to a great extent, to the large number of nominal stems in the language. The necessity of using such suffixes is thus greatly reduced. The various derivational affixes found in the Takelma noun will be listed below with illustrative examples.

1. *t'(a)-*. This is the only derivational prefix, excluding of course such considerably individualized elements as the body-part prefixes of the verb, found in Takelma. It is employed to form the words for the female relationships corresponding to ELDER BROTHER and YOUNGER BROTHER.

wāxa his younger brother 54.1, 5 *t'avāxa* his younger sister 55.2
wi-^εobī my elder brother 46.10 *wi-t'obī* my elder sister (55.14)

2. *-lā'p'a(k!-)*. This suffix is found only in a number of nouns denoting ranks or conditions of persons; hence it is not improbable that it was originally a separate word meaning something like PERSON, PEOPLE. That it is itself a stem, not a mere suffix, is shown by its ability to undergo ablaut (for-*lè'p'i-* see § 77). *-k!-* is added to it in forms with possessive or plural affix. For example, from *t!v^{iε}lā'p'a* 178.7 MALE, HUSBAND are formed *t!v^{iε}lā'p'ik!t'k'* MY HUSBAND (142.7) and *t!v^{iε}lā'p'ak!an* HUSBANDS, MEN (130.1, 7). The fact that the stem preceding *-lā'p'a* appears also as a separate word or with other elements indicates that words containing *-lā'p'a* may be best considered as compounds.

Examples are:

- t!ī^εlā'p'a* male, husband 178.7 (cf. *t!ī*- husband, male)
k'a^εlā'p'a woman 25.9, 12; 108.4, 5 (cf. *k'a^εs'o'k'da* girl who has
 already had courses)
mologolā'p'a old woman 26.14, 16; 56.3 (cf. *mologo'l* old woman
 168.12; 170.10)
bōut'bā^alā'p'ak!an orphans (cf. *bōt'ba* orphan and *bōut'bid-i-t'k'*
 my orphaned children)
lomt!īⁱlā'p'ak!an old men 128.11; 130.1 (cf. *lomt!īⁱ* old man 24.11;
 126.19)
os·ō^ulā'p'a poor people

3. *-k'*. A number of place-names with suffixed *-k'* have been found:

- La'mhik'* Klamath river
Sbink' Applegate creek (cf. *sbīn* beaver)
Gwen-p'uñk' village name 114.14 (cf. *p'u'n* rotten 140.21)
Ha-t!ōnk' village name
Dak'-t'gamik' village name (cf. *t'ga'm* elk)
Gel-yālk' village name 112.13; 114.8 (cf. *yāl* pine)
Somolu'k'¹ village name
Dal-dani'k' village name (cf. *da'n* rock)

4. *-a^ε(n)*. Nouns denoting PERSON COMING FROM are formed by adding this suffix to the place-name, with loss of derivative *-k'*.

Examples are:

- Ha-gwā^ala'^ε* person from Ha-gwāl, Cow creek
Lamhīⁱya'^ε person from La'mhik', Klamath river
Sbīⁱna'^ε person from Sbink', Applegate creek
Dal-sa'lsana^ε person from Dal-salsañ, Illinois river
Dī^ε-lōmīya'^ε person from Dī^ε-lōmī
Gwen-p'u'na^ε person from Gwen-p'uñk'
Dal-daniya'^ε person from Dal-dani'k'
S'omola'^ε person from S'omolu'k' (see footnote)
Ha-t!ō^una'^ε person from Ha-t!ōnk'
La-t'gā^awa'^ε person from La-t'gāū, uplands 192.14
Dak'-t'gamīya'^ε person from Dak'-t'gamik'
Ha-t'īⁱla'^ε person from Ha-t'īl
Gel-yā^ala'^ε person from Gel-yālk'

- { *Dak'-ts!ā^awana'^ε* person from *dak'-ts!ā^awa'n*, i. e., above the
 lakes (= Klamath Indian)
Dak'-ts!ā^amala'^ε

¹The *-u'* of this word is doubtless merely the pitch-accentual peak of the *-l*, the *-u*-resonance of the liquid being due to the preceding *-o*-. The word is thus to be more correctly written as *Somōlk'* (similarly, *wūlx* ENEMY was often heard as *wulu'x*), as implied by *S'omola'^ε* ONE FROM SOMŌLK'. In that event *somol-* is very probably a frequentative in *v+l* (see § 43, 6) from *sōmī* MOUNTAIN, and the place-name means VERY MOUNTAINOUS REGION.

Dā^a-gelma^εn person from *Dā^a-gela^m*, Rogue river (= Takelma Indian)

Dī-dalama^εn person from *Dīdala^m*, Grant's Pass

Judging from the material at hand, it seems that *-a^εn* is used only when the place-name ends in *-m*, though the ease with which *-a^εn* may be heard as *-a^ε* (see first footnote § 60) detracts from the certainty of this generalization.

5. *-gw-*. This element occurs as a suffix in a number of terms relating to parts of the body. Examples are:

t!iba^k'w pancreas 47.17; *t!ibagw-aⁿ-t^k'* my pancreas (47.5, 6, 7, 13) (incorporated *t!iba-* 46.1, 9)

l'ugw-ax-dekⁱ my face (cf. verb-stem *lū-* look)

da^εmadagw-aⁿ-t^k' my shoulder

da-uyā^ak^w-dekⁱ my medicine-spirit (incorporated *da-uyā^a-* 164.14)

le^k'w-an-t^k' my rectum (cf. *la^v* excrement 122.2)

ma^p!agw-a-t^k' my shoulder-blade

6. *-(a)n-* (or *-m-*, *-l-*). There are so many nouns which in their absolute form end in *-(a)n* or its phonetic derivatives *-(a)m-* and *-(a)l-* (see § 21) that there is absolutely no doubt of its suffixal character, despite the impossibility of ascribing to it any definite functional value and the small number of cases in which the stem occurs without it. The examples that most clearly indicate its non-radical character will be conveniently listed here:

he^ela^m board 176.5 (cf. *dīⁱ-he^eliya* sleeping on board platform 13.2)

ts!^ela^m hail 152.12, 16 (cf. verb-stem *ts!^el-* rattle)

p!ⁱ'yīn deer 13.10; 42.2 (cf. *p!ⁱ'yax* fawn 13.11; 49.11)

yī^win speech 126.10; 138.4 (cf. verb-stem *yīw-* talk)

lī^bin news 194.9 (? cf. verb-stem *laba-* carry)

yūt!^un white duck 55.5 (cf. verb-stem *yūt!^l-* eat greedily)

do^l'lkⁱam-a- anus (also *do^l'lkⁱ-i-* as myth form 106.4, 8)

do^l'lkⁱim-i-

do^l'lkⁱin-i- 106.6, 9

xdān eel (cf. reduplicated *hā^ε-xdā^axdagwa^εn* I throw away something slippery, nastily wet [49.7])

s^ugwaⁿ root basket 124.5 (cf. *s^ugwidī* it lies curled up like bundled roots or strings)

dan ye^ewald-in-īⁱ rocks returning-to- them, myth name of Otter 160.10, 13 (cf. verb-stem *ye^ewald-* return to)

Other examples, etymologically untransparent, will be found listed in § 21. The difference between this derivational *-n* (*-m*) and

noun-characteristic *-n-* (*-m*) lies in the fact that the former is a necessary part of the absolute form of the word, while the latter appears only with grammatical increments. Thus the *-am* of *he^lla^m* BOARD can not be identified with the *-am* of *ha-gwā^ala^m* IN THE ROAD, as *gwā^ala^m* has no independent existence. The exact morphologic correspondent of *gwā^al-am-* is *he^llam-a-* (e. g., *he^llam-a^l-t^k'* MY BOARD). A doubt as to the character of the *-n-* can be had only in words that never, or at least not normally, occur without possessive suffix:

lege^m-t^k' my kidneys

wō^up!^un-t^k' my eyebrows¹

7. *-a*. There are a rather large number of dissyllabic nouns or noun-stems with final *-a*, in which this element is to outward appearance an integral part of the radical portion of the word. The number of instances in which it occurs, however, is considerable enough to lead one to suspect its derivational character, though it can be analyzed out in an even smaller number of cases than the suffix *-n* above discussed. The most convincing proof of the existence of a suffix *-a* is given by the word *xu^mma* FOOD, DRY FOOD, 54.4; 188.1, a derivative of the adjective *xu^m* DRY 168.15 (e. g., *p'im xu^m* DRIED SALMON; cf. also *xūmū^k'de^s* I AM SATED [132.1]). Other possible examples of its occurrence are:

yola^l fox (? cf. verb-stem *yul-* rub) 70.1, 4, 5; 78.2, 3, 9

mena^l bear 72.3; 73.2, 3, 4, 5; 106.7, 10

p!elda^l slug 105.25

noxwa^l small pestle

t^l'elma small pestle 62.1; 116.18, 19; 118.2

ma^lxla dust 172.3; 184.5, 9

kl^leda^l grass for string (sp.?)

t^lela^l shinny-stick (? cf. verb-stem *t!èu-* play shinny)

t^lela^l louse (? cf. verb base *t!èl-* lick) 116.3, 6, 7, 8, 11

t!iba- pancreas 46.1, 9; 49.7

èla- tongue (characteristic *-a-*?)

dola^l old tree 24.1

yana^l oak 22.11; 168.1, 2, 3, 6, 7 (cf. *yangwa^l*'s oak sp.; with *-gwas* cf. perhaps *al-gwa^l's-i-* yellow)

It is of course possible that some of the dissyllabic nouns in *-a* listed above (§ 86, 2) as showing a repeated vowel (e. g., *ya^lp!^a*) really belong here.

¹ These seem to be parallel to *gwū^lti^l'n-t^k'* MY WRIST, in which *-n-*, inasmuch as it acts as the equivalent of the characteristic *-ū-* (cf. *gwū^lti^lū^lzde^k'* MY WRIST with *ū^lzde^k'* MY HAND), is itself best considered characteristic element.

8. **-s**. This element is in all probability a derivational suffix in a fairly considerable number of words, as indicated particularly by the fact of its frequent occurrence after a consonant. Examples are:

p!e'es mortar-stone fastened in ground (cf. verb-stem *p!è-* lie)

74.13; 120.17

la'ps blanket (? cf. base *lab-* carry on shoulder) 98.14, 15, 19, 21

p!e'ns squirrel

gūms (adj.) blind 26.14 (? cf. *gomha'k'w* rabbit)

bēls moccasin

k!u'ls worm (? cf. verb-stem *gō^ul-*, aorist *k!olol-* dig)

yōls steel-head salmon (? cf. *yola'* fox)

bīls moss 43.16; 44.1; 47.15

bami's sky 79.7 (cf. verb-prefix *bam-* up)

bāls (adj.) long 14.5; 15.12, 15 (? cf. *da-balni'-xa* [adv.] long time)

Also some of the dissyllabic nouns in **-s** with repeated vowel listed above (§ 86, 3) may belong to this set.

A few other stray elements of a derivational aspect have been found. Such are:

-ax in *p!i'yax* fawn 13.11; 16.8; 17.1, 2 (cf. *p!i'yin* deer)

-xi¹ in *bomxi'* otter 13.5; 17.13; 154.13; 156.14; *ū'^εxi* seed-pouch;

hā^apxi' child 13.8, 13 (cf. *hāp'da* his child 98.13 and *hā^ap'-* incorporated in *hā^ap'-k!emna'^εs* Children-maker 172.15)

pluralic *-x* in *hāpxda* his children 16.3; 113.1, 14

-x varies with *-s* in adjective *hāpsdi* small; *hā^apxi'* *hāpsdi* little children 30.12

A large number of dissyllabic and polysyllabic nouns still remain that are not capable of being grouped under any of the preceding heads, and whose analysis is altogether obscure:

bāxdis wolf 13.1; 16.10; 17.10

domxa'u Chinook salmon

yīk'a't' red deer

yība'xam small skunk

bixa'l moon 196.1

k!a'nak!as basket cup (probably reduplicated and with derivative *-s*)

§ 88. COMPOUNDS

Of compounds in the narrower sense of the word there are very few in Takelma. Outside of personal words in *-lā'p'a*, which we have suspected of being such, there have been found:

lomt!i'ⁱ old man 24.11, 12; 126.19 (cf. *t!i'ⁱ-* male)

k'a^{iε}s-o'k'da girl who has had courses (cf. *k'a^{iε}lā'p'a* woman)

¹ Cf. *-xi* above, § 82.

Independent nouns may, however, be juxtaposed without change of form to make up a descriptive term, the qualifying noun preceding:

hapxi-t'i'i't'ā^a child male-person (= boy) 14.1, 6; 17.3, 6; 156.10

hapxi-wa-iwī'i child female-person (= girl) 29.7; 30.1; 71.3

hapxi-t'ā^aga'^{es} child crier (= cry-baby)

da'n mologo^l rock old-woman 170.10, 15, 20; 172.1

dan hapxi-t'i'i't'ā^a rock boy 17.8

dan wī'i'lī'i his rock knife 142.20

gwa's wili brush house (for summer use) 176.14

yāx wili graveyard house 14.8, 9; 15.5, 6

wilī'i he^ela'm house boards 176.5

xamk' wa-iwī'i grizzly-bear girl 124.10; 130.6, 7, 26

mena dap!ā^lla-ut'an bear youths 130.11

yap!a goyo^l Indian doctor 188.12

Examples of compounds in which the first element is modified by a numeral or adjective are:

wili ha^{es}igo' yap!a^l house nine people (= people of nine houses)
150.16

yap!a ^{es}alt'gu'^{es} goyo^l person white doctor (= white doctor) 188.11

A certain number of objects are described, not by a single word, but by a descriptive phrase consisting of a noun followed by an adjective, participle, or another noun provided with a third personal possessive suffix. In the latter case the suffix does not properly indicate a possessive relation, but generally a part of the whole or the fabric made of the material referred to by the first noun. Such are:

lasgu'm-īūxgwa't snake handed (= lizard) 196.4

t'gwil ts'!i'ⁱk'da hazel its-meat (= hazel-nut)

t'gwa he^elamā^a thunder its-board (= lumber) 55.8, 10

p!iyjin sge'^{es}xabā^a deer its-hat (not deer's hat, but hat of deerskin)

p!iyjin ts'!u'nts'!iⁱ deer its-cap-embroidered-with woodpecker-scalps

k'ai mologolā' p'axdā^a what its-woman (= what kind of woman?)
122.3

wi'li gwala^l houses many (= village)

ts'!i'xi maha'i dog big (= horse)

p'im s'inīxɛ salmon its-nose (= swallow) (perhaps so called because the spring run of salmon is heralded by the coming of swallows)

mena' ^{es}alt'guna'px bear + ? (= dormouse [?])

xi'lam sebe't dead-people roasting (= bug [sp. ?])¹ 98.13, 15

p'un-yi'lt' rotten copulating-with (= Oregon pheasant)

¹ See Appendix B, note 2 of first text.

§ 89. 3. Noun-Characteristics and Pre-Pronominal -x-

As noun-characteristics are used four elements: *-(a)n* (including *-am* and *-al*), *-a-*, *-i-*, and *-u-*. Although each noun, in so far as it has any noun-characteristic, is found, as a rule, to use only one of these elements, no rule can be given as to which of them is to be appended to any given noun. Nouns in suffixed *-(a)n*, or *-(a)m*, for example, are found with characteristic *-i-* (*bū^ubin-i-* [from *bū^u-ba'n* ARM]), *-a-* (*he^elam-a-* [from *he^ela'm* BOARD]), *-(a)n* (*gūlm-an-* [from *gūla'm* OAK]), and without characteristic (*bo'k'dan-x-dek'* MY NECK [from *bo'k'dan* 15.12, 15]).

1. *-(a)n*. Examples of this characteristic element are:

gwit!i-n- wrist (cf. variant *gwit!i-ū-*)

t!ibagw-an- pancreas 45.15; 46.5 (absolute *t!iba'k'w* 47.17)

da^smadagw-an- shoulder

lek'w-an- rectum

dā^a-n-x- ear 14.4; 15.13 (incorporated *dā^a-*)

ts!ā^aw-an- lake, deep water 59.16 (absolute *ts!ā^a* 162.9; 166.15)

gūlm-an- oak (absolute *gūla'm*)

bob-in-¹ alder 94.17 (absolute *bo'p'*)

Its phonetic reflexes *-al* and *-am* occur in:

s·ō^um-al- mountain 124.2; 152.2 (absolute *s·ōm* 43.6; 122.16)

dō^um-al- testicles 130.8 (absolute *dō^um* 130.20)

ts!ā^am-al- (in *Dak'-ts!ā^amala'^ε* Klamath Indian, parallel to *Dak'-ts!ā^awana'^ε*)

gwā^al-am- trail 48.6, 8; 96.8, 9 (absolute *gwān* 148.7)

xā^al-am- urine (absolute *xān*)

-am- is also found, though without apparent phonetic reason, in *xā^a-ham-* BACK (incorporated *xā^a-*). Certain nouns add *-g-* before taking *-an-* as their characteristic:

wax-gan- creek (absolute *wa'x*)

dēl-gan-(x-) anus 45.9; 72.10; 94.15

bil-gan-(x-) breast

gel-gan- breast (cf. variant *gel-x-*)

2. *-a-*. More frequently occurring than *-(a)n-* is *-a-*, examples of which are:

dana- rock (absolute *da'n* 17.8; *dal-am-* as possible variant in place-name *Dī-dala'm* over the rocks [?])

ey-a- canoe 112.6; 114.5, 13; 156.2 (cf. variant *ei-x-*)

t'gwan-a- slave (absolute *t'gwa'n* 13.12)

he^elam-a- board 55.8, 10 (absolute *he^ela'm* 176.5)

yō^uk!w-a- bone 186.1; 196.17 (absolute *yō^uk'w*)

¹ This word happened to occur with following emphatic *yā^a*, so that it is probably unlauded from *bob-an-*.

p'im-a- salmon 31.1; 32.4 (absolute *p'i'm* 30.10, 11; 31.3.)

do'lk'am-a- rectum (cf. variant *do'lk'im-i-*)

ma'p'tagw-a- shoulder blade (absolute *ma'p'tak'w*)

yaw-a- rib 194.10 (incorporated *ya-u-*)

xiy-a- water 58.6; 156.19; 162.13 (absolute *xi'* 162.7, 8, 14)

p'iy-a- fire 118.4; 168.19 (absolute *p'i* 88.12, 13; 96.17)

All nouns in *-xab-* take *-a-* as their characteristic, e. g., *sg'e'xab-a-t'k'*

MY HAT (from *sg'e'xab* HAT)

3. *-i-*. Examples of nouns with *-i-* as their characteristic are:

dū^ugw-i- shirt 13.4; 96.26; 192.4 (absolute *dūk'w* 96.16)

bū^ubin-i- arm 31.4; 172.4, 5, 6 (absolute *bū^uba'n* 23.2, 4, 9)

t'gwi'nt'gwin-i- shoulder

ts'ugul-i- rope (cf. absolute *ts'ūk'*)

k'ū^ub-i- hair, skin 24.8; 160.6

ūlūk!-i- hair 27.1, 4; 126.11; 136.20; 158.1; 188.4, 5; 194.7.

k!alts!-i- sinew 28.1 (absolute *k!a'ls* 27.13)

bā^ab-i- seeds (sp.?) 34.1; 79.9; 94.19 (absolute *bāp'*)

k!elw-i- basket bucket 170.14, 16, 18, 19 (absolute *k!e'l* 186.17)

mā^al-i- spear-shaft 156.1 (absolute *māl* 28.7, 9, 10)

dū^ul-i- spear-point (absolute *dāl* 28.8, 9; 156.19, 20)

lū^ul-i-(x-) throat 25.2

mū^ul-i- lungs

t!egilix-i- skull 174.3

t'galt'gūl-i-(x-) belly

ts!ek'ts'ig-i-(x-) backbone 112.4

ham-i- father 158.3 (e. g., *ham-i'-et'* your father, but *wi-ha'm* my father 138.19)

A number of terms of relationship show an *-i-* not only in the second person singular and plural and first person plural but also, unlike *ham-i-* FATHER, in the first person singular, while the third person in *-xa(-a)* and the vocative (nearly always in *-ā*) lack it. They are:

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| <i>wi-k'abaī</i> my son (23.2, 3) | : | <i>k'aba'-xa</i> his son 138.16 |
| <i>wi^ε-obī</i> my elder brother (46.10) | : | <i>o'p-xa</i> his elder brother 48.3; 62.2 |
| | : | <i>t'o'p-xa</i> his elder sister 55.14; 56.6 |
| <i>wi-k!a'si</i> my maternal grandparent 14.2; (15.12) | : | <i>k!a's-a</i> his maternal grandparent 16.1, 2; (154.18) |
| <i>wi-xdāī</i> my paternal uncle | : | <i>xdā-xa</i> his paternal uncle |
| <i>wi-hasi'</i> my maternal uncle | : | <i>ha's-a</i> his maternal uncle |
| <i>wi-t'adi'</i> my paternal aunt 22.14 | : | <i>t'a'd-a</i> his paternal aunt (63.9; 77.14) |
| | : | <i>xaga'-xa</i> his maternal aunt |
| <i>wi-ts!aī</i> my (woman's) brother's child 22.1; 23.8, 10; my (man's) sister's child 148.19; 150.4 | : | <i>ts!a'-xa</i> her brother's child; his sister's child |

Still other terms of relationship have an *-i-* in all forms but the vocative. It is probable, though not quite so certain for these nouns, that the *-i-* is not a part of the stem, but, as in the preceding group, an added characteristic element. Such nouns are:

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| <i>gamdi'-xa</i> his paternal grandparent (170.21; 188.13) | Vocative <i>gamdã</i> |
| <i>siwi'-xa</i> her sister's child; his brother's child | <i>siwã</i> |
| <i>wak'di'-xa</i> his mother's brother's son 77.6; 88.14; (188.9) | <i>wak'dã</i> 77.4 |
| <i>t!omxi'-xa</i> ¹ his wife's parent | <i>t!omxã</i> |
| <i>lamtsi'-xa</i> her brother's wife | <i>lamtsi'ã</i> |
| <i>yidi'-xa</i> her husband's sister | <i>yidã</i> |
| <i>nanbi'-xa</i> his brother's wife; his wife's sister | <i>nanbã</i> |
| <i>ximni'-xa</i> his relative by marriage after linking member has died | <i>ximnã</i> |

The *-i-* has been found in the vocative before the *-ã* (but only as a myth-form) in *obiya* O ELDER BROTHER! 59.3; 62.4 (alongside of *obã*), so that it is probable that the vocative *-ã* is not a mere transformation of a characteristic vowel, but a distinct element that is normally directly appended to the stem. Other examples of myth vocatives in *-ã* appended to characteristic *-i-* are *ts!ayã* O NEPHEW! 23.1 (beside *ts!ã*) and *wó'k'dia'* O COUSIN! 88.14, 15 (beside *wak'dã*). The stem *ham-* with its characteristic *-i-* is used as the vocative: *hami* O FATHER! 70.5; 71.7; also O SON! Quite unexplained is the not otherwise occurring *-i-* in the vocative of *mot'* SON-IN-LAW: *mot'ia'* 166.6, 7. As already noted (see § 88, 2), nouns in *-lã'p'a* regularly take an *-i-* after the added *-k!-* of possessive forms: *-lã'p'ik!-i-*.

4. *-u-*. Only a few nouns have been found to contain this element as their characteristic. They are:

| |
|--|
| <i>ĩ-ũ-x-</i> hand 58.2; 86.13 (incorporated <i>ĩ-</i>) |
| <i>gwiit!ĩ-ũ-x-</i> wrist ² (cf. variant <i>gwiit!ĩ-n-</i>) |
| <i>ha-u-x-</i> woman's private parts 108.4; 130.8 (incorporated <i>ha-</i>) |
| <i>t'gã-u-</i> earth, land 55.3, 4; 56.4 (absolute <i>t'gã</i> 73.9, 11, 13) |
| <i>-t!omxa'u</i> wife's parent (cf. <i>t!omxi'xa</i> his wife's parent 154.16; 164.19; see footnote, sub 3). |

¹ The first person singular shows *-u* as characteristic: *wi-t!omxa'u*.

² It is highly probable that this word has been influenced in its form by *ĩũx-* HAND, which it resembles in meaning, if it is not indeed a compound of it.

The pre-pronominal element *-x-* is in some words appended directly to the stem or stem + derivational suffix; in others, to one of the noun-characteristics *-(a)n-*, *-i-*, and *-u* (never *-a*). A considerable number of words may or may not have the *-x-* after their characteristic; a few show variation between *-a-* and *-x-*; and but a very small number have *-x-* with or without preceding characteristic (e. g., *gel-x-*, *gel-gan-*, and *gel-gan-x-* BREAST). Examples of *-x-* without preceding characteristic are:

- dag-ax-* head¹ 90.12, 13; 116.8; 188.4, 5 (incorporated *dak'*-)
sal-x- foot 120.18 (incorporated *sal-*)
gwel-x- leg 15.15; 86.18; 122.10; 160.17 (incorporated form *gwel-*)
de^e-x- lips (incorporated *de^e-*) 186.18
gwen-ha-u-x- nape (incorporated *gwen-ha-u-*)
ei-x- canoe (absolute *ei*)
dī^εmo-x- hips (incorporated *dī^εmo-*)
liugw-ax- face
bok'dan-x- neck (absolute *bo'k'dan*)
hā^an-x⁻² brothers 136.7

Rather more common than nouns of this type seem to be examples of *-x-* with preceding characteristic, such as have been already given in treating of the noun-characteristics. A few body-part nouns in *-x-* seem to be formed from local third personal possessive forms (*-da*); e. g., *dī^εalda-x-dek'* MY FOREHEAD from *dī^εalda* AT HIS FOREHEAD (but also *dī^εa'l-t'k'* with first personal singular possessive ending directly added to stem or incorporated form *dī^εal-*); *da-k!olo'ida-x-dek'* MY CHEEK is evidently quite parallel in formation. Body-part nouns with pre-pronominal *-x-* end in this element when, as sometimes happens, they occur absolutely (neither incorporated nor provided with personal endings). Examples of such forms follow:

- haūx* woman's private parts 130.19
da'gax head
yū'k!alx teeth 57.4
dayawa'nt!ixi^εvū'x other hand 86.13
gwelx dayawa'nt!ixi other leg 86.18

¹*-ax-* contains inorganic *-a-*, and is not to be analyzed as characteristic *-a-* + *-x-* (parallel to *-i-* + *-x-*). This is shown by forms in which *-x-* regularly disappears; e. g., *dak'-dē* OVER ME (not **dag-a-dē* as parallel to *-s-in-i-dē*).

²Perhaps with pluralic *-x-* as in *hāap-x-* CHILDREN, p. 225.

4. Possessive Suffixes (§§ 90-93)

§ 90. GENERAL REMARKS

The possessive suffixes appended to the noun embrace elements for the first and second persons singular and plural and for the third person; the form expressing the latter is capable of further amplification by the addition of an element indicating the identity of the possessor with the subject of the clause (corresponding to Latin *suus* as contrasted with *ēius*). This element may be further extended to express plurality. Altogether four distinct though genetically related series of possessive pronominal affixes are found, of which three are used to express simple ownership of the noun modified; the fourth is used only with nouns preceded by pre-positives and with local adverbial stems. The former set includes a special scheme for most terms of relationship, and two other schemes for the great mass of nouns, that seem to be fundamentally identical and to have become differentiated for phonetic reasons. None of these four pronominal schemes is identical with either the objective or any of the subjective series found in the verb, though the pronominal forms used with pre-positives are very nearly coincident with the subjective forms found in the future of Class II intransitives:

ha-wilidē in my house, like *s'a's'ant'e^e* I shall stand

ha-wil'i'da in his house, like *s'a's'ant'ā^a* he will stand

The following table gives the four possessive schemes, together with the suffixes of Class II future intransitives, for comparison:¹

| | Terms of relationship | Scheme II | Scheme III | With pre-positives | Future intransitives II |
|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|--|---------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | | |
| First person . . . | <i>wi-</i> | <i>-d'k'</i> | <i>-t'k'</i> | <i>-dē</i> | <i>-de^e</i> |
| Second person . . . | <i>-'e't'</i> | <i>-de^e</i> | <i>-t'e't'</i> | <i>-da^e</i> | <i>-da^e</i> |
| Third person . . . | <i>-xa, -a</i> | <i>-da</i> | <i>-', -t'</i> | <i>-da</i> | <i>-da</i> |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| First person . . . | <i>-da'm</i> | <i>-da'm</i> | <i>-da'm</i> | <i>-da'm</i> | <i>-(p')igam</i> |
| Second person . . . | <i>-t'ban</i> | <i>-daba^en</i> | <i>-t'e't'ban</i> | <i>{-daba^en -'e't'ban</i> | <i>{-daba^e</i> |
| Singular reflexive: | | | | | |
| Third person . . . | <i>-xagwa, -agwa</i> | <i>-dagwa</i> | <i>-t'gwa</i> | <i>{-'dagwa -'t'gwa</i> | |
| Plural reflexive: | | | | | |
| Third person . . . | <i>-xagwan, -agwan</i> | <i>-dagwan</i> | <i>-t'gwan</i> | <i>{-'dagwan -'t'gwan</i> | |

¹ A complete comparative table of all pronominal forms is given in Appendix A.

It will be observed that the main difference between the last two schemes lies in the first person plural; the first scheme is entirely peculiar in the first person singular and third person. The first person plural possessive suffix, (-*da'm*) resembles the endings of the subjective future of the same person (-*iga'm*, -*anaga'm*) in the falling accent; evidently there is a primary element -*a'm* back of these various endings which has amalgamated with other suffixes. As seen from the table, reflexive suffixes exist only for the third person. The plural reflexive in -*gwan* has often reciprocal significance:

wu'lxdagwan their own enemies (=they are enemies)

The suffixes of the first and second person plural may also have reciprocal significance:

wulxda'm e'bi'k' we are enemies (lit., our enemies we are) cf. 180.13

§ 91. TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

ham- (*ma-*) FATHER, *hin-* (*ni-*) MOTHER, *k!as-* MATERNAL GRANDPARENT, and *beyan-* DAUGHTER may be taken as types of the nouns that form this group.¹

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Singular: | | | | |
| First person | <i>wiha'm</i> | <i>wih'i'n</i> | <i>wik!asi'</i> | <i>wibeya'n</i> |
| Second person | <i>hami'et'</i> | <i>hi'net'</i> | <i>k!asi'et'</i> | <i>beya'net'</i> |
| Third person | <i>ma'za</i> | <i>ni'za</i> | <i>k!a'sa</i> | <i>beya'n</i> |
| Plural: | | | | |
| First person | <i>hamida'm</i> | <i>hinda'm</i> | <i>k!asida'm</i> | <i>beyanda'm</i> |
| Second person | <i>hami'et'ban</i> | <i>hi'net'ban</i> | <i>k!asi'et'ban</i> | <i>beya'net'ban</i> |
| Singular reflexive: | | | | |
| Third person | <i>ma'zagwa</i> | <i>ni'zagwa</i> | <i>k!a'sagwa</i> | <i>beya'nt'gwa</i> |
| Plural reflexive: | | | | |
| Third person | <i>ma'zagwan</i> | <i>ni'zagwan</i> | <i>k!a'sagwan</i> | <i>beya'nt'gwan</i> |
| Vocative | <i>hamī</i> | { <i>hindē</i> } | <i>k!asā</i> | { <i>hindē</i> } |
| | | [<i>s'nā</i>] | | [<i>s'nā</i>] |

The first two of these are peculiar in that they each show a double stem; the first form (*ham-*, *hin-*) is used in the first and second persons, the second (*ma-*, *ni-*) in the third person. Despite the phonetically symmetrical proportion *ham-* : *ma-* = *hin-* : *ni-*, the two words are not quite parallel in form throughout, in that *hin-* does not show the characteristic -*i-* found in certain of the forms of *ham-*.

¹ Out of thirty-two terms of relationship (tabulated with first person singular, third person, and vocative in *American Anthropologist*, n. s., vol. 9, pp. 268, 269) that were obtained, twenty-eight belong here.

Of the other words belonging to this group, only that for FRIEND shows, or seems to show, a double stem: *wik!ū^uya'm* MY FRIEND and *k!ū'yam* O FRIEND! 31.6, 8; 32.4, 6 but *k!ū^uya'pxa* HIS FRIEND 190.2, 4 and *k!ūyaba'et'* (with inorganic rather than characteristic *a*) YOUR FRIEND 198.2. Irregular is also *wi-k!ō^uxa'* MY SON'S WIFE'S PARENTS: *k!ō^uxa'm-xa* HIS SON'S WIFE'S PARENTS 178.9, in which we have either to reckon with a double stem, or else to consider the *-m-* of the latter form a noun-characteristic. Other terms of relationship which, like *hin-*, append all the personal endings without at the same time employing a characteristic are:

wā^a- younger brother 42.1; 64.4 (also *t'awā^a-* younger sister 58.1, 5; 188.10)

k!e^b- husband's parent

wayau- daughter-in-law ([?] formed according to verb-type 11 from *way-* sleep) 56.8, 9

s'iyā^sp'- woman's sister's husband *or* husband's brother

hasd-¹ man's sister's husband *or* wife's brother 152.22

k!ūya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m- \\ b- \end{array} \right\}$ friend 180.13; 196.19; 198.2

beyan- DAUGHTER 13.2; 70.1, 4; 118.1, 4 belongs, morphologically speaking, to the terms of relationship only because of its first personal singular form; all its other forms (the vocatives really belong to *hin-*) are built up according to Scheme III.

As far as known, only terms of relationship possess vocative forms, though their absence can not be positively asserted for other types of nouns. The great majority of these vocatives end in *-ā*, which, as in *wā* O YOUNGER BROTHER! may be the lengthened form with rising accent of the final vowel of the stem, or, as in *k!asā* O GRANDMOTHER! 16.3, 5, 6; 17.2; 154.18 added to the stem, generally with loss of the characteristic *-i-*, wherever found. *wayau-* and *s'iyā^sp'-*, both of which lack a characteristic element, employ as vocative the stem with rising accent on the *a-* vowel: *wayaū* O DAUGHTER-IN-LAW! and *s'iyā^sp'* O BROTHER-IN-LAW! (said by woman). This method of forming the vocative is in form practically equivalent to the addition of *-ā*. *s'nā²* MAMMA! and *haik!ā* O WIFE! HUSBAND! are vocatives without corresponding noun-stems provided with pronominal suffixes. *beyan-* DAUGHTER and *k'aba-* SON, on the other hand, have no vocative

¹ *wiha'st'* MY WIFE'S BROTHER is the only Takelma word known that terminates in *-st'*.

² Inasmuch as there is hardly another occurrence of *s'n-* in Takelma, it is perhaps not too far-fetched to analyze *s'nā* into *s-* (cf. second footnote, p. 8) + *nā* (vocative of *ni-* in *ni'za* HIS MOTHER).

derived from the same stem, but employ the vocative form of MOTHER and FATHER respectively. Of other vocatives, *k!ū'yam*¹ O FRIEND! 31.6, 8; 32.4, 6 is the bare stem; *ham̄* 70.5; 71.7, the stem with added characteristic *-i-*; *hindē* O MOTHER! DAUGHTER! 56.7; 76.10, 13; 186.14 is quite peculiar in that it makes use of the first personal singular ending (*-dē*) peculiar to nouns with possessive suffix and preceding pre-positive. Only two other instances of a nominal use of *-dē* without pre-positive or local adverb have been found: *mo't'e* MY SON-IN-LAW! (as vocative) 164.19; and *k'wi'naxdē* MY FOLKS, RELATIONS, which otherwise follows Scheme II (e. g., third person *k'wi'naxdā*^a).

The normal pronominal suffix of the third person is *-xa*; *-a* is found in only four cases, *k!a'sa* HIS MATERNAL GRANDPARENT, *ha'sa* HIS MATERNAL UNCLE, *t'a'da* HIS PATERNAL AUNT, and *ha'sda* HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. The first two of these can be readily explained as assimilated from **k!a'sxa* and **ha'sxa* (see § 20, 3); **t'adx* and **hasdx*, however, should have become **t'a'sa* and **ha'sa* respectively. The analogy of the first two, which were felt to be equivalent to stem + *-a*, on the one side, and that of the related forms in *-d* (e. g., *t'adā* and *hasdā*) on the other, made it possible for *t'a'da* and *ha'sda* to replace **t'a'sa* and **ha'sa*, the more so that a necessary distinction in form was thus preserved between *ha'sa* HIS MATERNAL UNCLE and *ha'sda* (instead of **ha'sa*) HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW.

The difference in signification between the third personal forms in *-xa* and *-xagwa* (similarly for the other pronominal schemes) will be readily understood from what has already been said, and need not be enlarged upon:

ma'xa wā^a-himi't' he spoke to his (some one else's) father
ma'xagwa wā^a-himi't' he spoke to his own father

There is small doubt that this *-gwa* is identical with the indirect reflexive *-gwa* of transitive verbs with incorporated object. Forms in *-gwan* seem to refer to the plurality of either possessor or object possessed:

k'aba'xagwan their own son or his (her) own sons
eixdagwan their own canoe or his own canoes

The final *-n* of these forms is the indefinite plural *-an* discussed below (§ 99). Plural (?) *-gwan* is found also in verb forms (144.12; 150.24).

¹*k!ūyam* is perhaps derived, by derivational suffix *-(a)m*, from verb-stem *k!ūy-* GO TOGETHER WITH ONE.

§ 92. SCHEMES II AND III

As examples may be taken *dagax-* HEAD, which follows Scheme II, and *wili-* HOUSE, *dana-* ROCK, *t!ibagwan-* LIVER, and *xā^aham-* BACK, which follow Scheme III.

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 1st person | <i>da'gaxdek'</i> | <i>wili't'k'</i> | <i>dana't'k'</i> | <i>t!ibagwa'nt'k'</i> | <i>xāsha'mt'k'</i> |
| 2d person | <i>da'garde^s</i> | <i>wili'et'</i> | <i>dana'et'</i> | <i>t!ibagwa'nt'et'</i> | <i>xāsha'met'</i> |
| 3d person | <i>da'gaxda</i> | <i>wili'i</i> | <i>dana'a</i> | <i>t!ibagwa'n</i> | <i>xāsha'm</i> |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st person | <i>da'gaxdam</i> | <i>wilida'm</i> | <i>danada'm</i> | <i>t!ibagwa'ndam</i> | <i>xāsha'mdam</i> |
| 2d person | <i>daga'xdabaⁿ</i> | <i>wili'et'ban</i> | <i>dana'et'ban</i> | <i>t!ibagwa'nt'et'ban</i> | <i>xāsha'met'ban</i> |
| Singular reflexive: | | | | | |
| 3d person | <i>daga'xdagwa</i> | <i>wili't'gwa</i> | <i>dana't'gwa</i> | <i>t!ibagwa'nt'gwa</i> | <i>xāsha'mt'gwa</i> |
| Plural reflexive: | | | | | |
| 3d person | <i>daga'xdagwan</i> | <i>wili't'gwan</i> | <i>dana't'gwan</i> | <i>t!ibagwa'nt'gwan</i> | <i>xāsha'mt'gwan</i> |

A third person plural *-dan* also occurs, as in *dūmhak'^wdan* HIS SLAIN ONES OR THEIR SLAIN ONE 180.2.

Scheme II is followed by the large class of nouns that have a pronominal *-x-*, besides a considerable number of nouns that add the endings directly to the stem. Noun-characteristics may not take the endings of Scheme II unless followed by a *-x-* (thus *-a'nt'k'* and *-anxde'k'*; *-i't'k'* and *-ixde'k'*). Examples of Scheme II nouns without preceding *-x-* are:

- a-is·de'k'* my property (though *-s-* may be secondarily derived from *-s·x-* or *-tx-*) 23.2, 3; 154.18, 19, 20; 158.4
- mo't'ek'* my son-in-law (152.9) (incorporated *mot'*-)
- se'el'ek'* my writing, paint (absolute *se'el*)
- he'el'ek'* my song (164.16; 182.6) (absolute *he'el* 106.7)
- ts·!i'k'dek'* my meat (44.3, 6; 170.6)
- wila'ut'ek'* my arrow (45.13; 154.18) (absolute *wila'u* 22.5; 28.1, 2; 77.5)
- ga'lt'ek'* my bow (154.19; 190.22) (absolute *ga'l^s*)
- la'psdek'* my blanket (absolute *la'ps* 98.14, 15, 19, 21)
- ts·!ixi-maha'it'ek'* my horse (absolute *ts·!ixi-maha'i*)

Scheme III is followed by all nouns that have a characteristic immediately preceding the personal suffix or, in nearly all cases, whose stem, or stem + derivative suffix, ends in *-a-* (e. g., *t!ela't'k'* MY SHINNY-STICK [from *t!ela'*]), *-i-*, *-ei-* (e. g., *ts·!eleit'k'* MY EYE [from *ts·!elei-*]), *-n* (e. g., *sēnt'k'* MY SKIN), *-m*, or *-l¹* (e. g., *dī^{iε}a'lt'k'*

¹ In most, if not all, cases the *-n*, *-m*, or *-l* is a non-radical element. It is not quite clear in how far stems ending in these vowels and consonants follow Scheme II or Scheme III.

MY FOREHEAD [from *dī^ēal*]). The third person is, at least superficially, without ending in all nouns of this group whose pre-nominal form is not monosyllabic. The third personal form is characterized by a falling accent on the final syllable, *-a-* and *-i-* being lengthened to *-ā^a* and *-īⁱ* respectively. Other forms are:

ts!ele'i his eye 27.8; 86.7, 9; (cf. 54.6)

dō^uma'l his testicles 130.8; 136.5

xā^ala'm his urine

gwit!i'n his wrist

There is no doubt, however, that these forms without ending originally had a final *-t'*, as indicated by the analogy of third personal forms in *-da* in Scheme II, and as proved by the preservation of the *-t'* before the reflexive suffix *-gwa* and in monosyllabic forms:

p!ā^ant' his liver 120.2, 15

nīⁱt' her teats 30.14; 32.7

t!īⁱt' her husband (17.13)

sā^at' his discharge of wind 166.8

Though the conditions for the loss of a final *-t'* are not fully understood, purely phonetic processes having been evidently largely intercrossed by analogic leveling, it is evident that the proportion *wit'īⁱ* HIS HOUSE: *nīⁱt'* HER TEATS = *s'as'inī* HE STANDS: *wit'* HE TRAVELS ABOUT represents a by no means accidental phonetic and morphologic correspondence between noun and verb (Class II intransitives). The falling pitch is peculiar to the noun as contrasted with the verb-form (cf. *he'el* SONG, but *hēl* SING!). Monosyllabic stems of Scheme III seem to have a rising accent before *-t'gwa* as well as in the first person. Thus:

lāt'gwa his own excrement 77.1

t!īt'gwa her own husband (despite *t!īⁱt'*) 45.14; (59.16; 60.2); 128.22

Nouns with characteristic *-i-* prefer the parallel form in *-i'-x-dagwa* to that in *-i'-t'gwa*. Thus:

bū^ubini'xdagwa his own arm, rather than *bū^ubini't'gwa*, despite *bū^ubini't'k'* MY ARM

The limitation of each of the two schemes to certain definite phonetically determined groups of nouns (though some probably merely apparent contradictions, such as *ga'l-t'ek'* MY BOW and *dī^ēa'l-t'k'*

¹ *-t'k'* always requires preceding rising or raised accent. As *gal-* bow seems to be inseparably connected with a falling accent (very likely because of the catch in its absolute form), it is, after all, probably a phonetic reason that causes it to follow Scheme II rather than III.

MY FOREHEAD, occur), together with the evident if not entirely symmetrical parallelism between the suffixes of both, make it practically certain that they are differentiated, owing to phonetic causes, from a single scheme. The *-a-* of *-da* (*-dagwa*) and *-daba^{en}* (as contrasted with *-t'* and *-t'^{ban}*) may be inorganic in origin, and intended to support phonetically difficult consonant combinations:

gūxda his wife (from **gūx-t'*) 13.2; 43.15; 49.6, like *ī-lasga'* touch it (from stem *lasg-*)

The *-e-*, however, of *-dek'* 32.6 and *-de^e* 31.1; 59.3 can not be thus explained. It is not improbable that part of the endings of Scheme III are due to a loss of an originally present vowel, so that the primary scheme of pronominal suffixes may have been something like:

Singular: First person, *-d-ek'*; second person, *-d-e^e*; third person, *-t'*. Reflexive: Third person, *-t'-gwa*. Plural: First person, *-d-a'm*; second person, *-t'-ba^{en}*.

It can hardly be entirely accidental that all the suffixes are characterized by a dental stop; perhaps an amalgamation has taken place between the original pronominal elements and an old, formerly significant nominal element *-d-*.

§ 93. POSSESSIVES WITH PRE-POSITIVES

As examples of possessive affixes attached to nouns with pre-positives and to local elements may be taken *dak'*- OVER, *wa-¹* TO, *haw-an-* UNDER, and *ha-^eīū-* IN HAND.

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | |
| First person | <i>dak' dē</i> over me | <i>wadē</i> to me | <i>hawandē</i> under me | <i>has'ūdē</i> in my hand |
| Second person | <i>dāk' da^e</i> | <i>wada^e</i> | <i>hawanda^e</i> | <i>has'ī'ūda^e</i> |
| Third person | <i>dā'k' dā^ada</i> | <i>wā'ada</i> | <i>hawa'nda</i> | <i>has'ī'ūda</i> |
| Plural: | | | | |
| First person | <i>dāk' da'm</i> | <i>wada'm</i> | <i>hawanda'm</i> | <i>has'ī'ūda'm</i> |
| Second person | <i>dā'k' daba^{en}</i> | <i>wā'ast'ban</i> | <i>hawa'n^et'ban</i> | <i>has'ī'ū^et'ban</i> |
| Singular reflexive: | | | | |
| Third person | <i>dā'k' dagwa</i> | <i>wa't'gwa</i> | <i>hawa'nt'gwa</i> | <i>has'ī'ūt'gwa</i> |
| Plural reflexive: | | | | |
| Third person | <i>dā'k' dagwan</i> | <i>wa't'gwan</i> | <i>hawa'nt'gwan</i> | <i>has'ī'ūt'gwan</i> |

The apparently double ending *-dā^ada* of the third person of *dak'*- is not entirely isolated (cf. *ha-ye^ewa'x-dā^ada* IN THEIR TIME OF RETURNING; *he'^e-dā^ada* BEYOND HIM), but can not be explained. The use of

¹ It is possible that this *wa-* is etymologically identical with the verbal prefix *wa-* TOGETHER. The forms of *wa-* given above are regularly used when reference is had to persons, the postposition *ga^al* being employed in connection with things: *wā'ada gini'^ek'* HE WENT TO HIM (56.11); 148.6; *s'om ga^al gini'^ek'* HE WENT TO THE MOUNTAIN (43.6).

-*dagwa* and -*daba^{sn}* on the one hand, and of -*t'gwa* and -*εt'ban* on the other, is determined by the same phonetic conditions as differentiate Schemes II and III. A third personal plural in -*t'an* (apparently = -*d-* + -*han*) is also found: *de'εt'an* IN FRONT OF THEM 190.13 (but *de'εda* BEFORE HIM 59.14); *xā^a-s'ogwī'it'an* BETWEEN THEM (see below, p. 240); *wā'at'an* TO THEM 160.15. A form in -*xa* seems also to occur with third personal plural signification: *wa'xa ts'!inī'ts'anx* HE GOT ANGRY AT THEM; *dihāūxa* AFTER THEM, BEHIND THEIR BACKS 132.13.

The number of local elements that directly take on possessive suffixes seems fairly considerable, and includes both such as are body-part and local prefixes in the verb (e. g., *dak'-*) and such as are used in the verb only as local prefixes (e. g., *wa-*, *dal-*); a few seem not to be found as verbal prefixes. Not all adverbially used verbal prefixes, however, can be inflected in the manner of *dak'dē* and *wadē* (e. g., no **hadē* can be formed from *ha-*). A number of body-part and local stems take on a noun-characteristic:

haw-an- under (from *ha-u-*)

xā^a-ham-dē¹ about my waist (from *xā^a-*)

The local elements that have been found capable of being followed by pronominal affixes are:

dak'dē over me (56.9; 110.18); 186.4, 5

wadē to me (56.15; 60.1; 63.14; 88.13; 150.18; 194.1)

xā^ahamdē about my waist

gwelda' under it 190.17

gwe'nda (in *Gwenda yu'sā^a* = being at its nape, i. e., east of it)

dī'ida close in back of him, at his anus 138.2

dīndē behind me (? = verb-prefix *dī^ε-* anus, behind + noun-characteristic -*n-*) (86.9; 138.3; 170.1)

hawandē under me (71.1, 5, 12)

geldē in front of me, for (in behalf of) me

dedē in front of me (59.14; 124.20)

hā^εyadē around me

he'εsdā^ada beyond him 148.9

ha'nda across, through it

da'lt'gwan among themselves 98.2

gwen-ha-udē at my nape; *gwen-haūt'gwa* in back of his own neck 75.2

dī-ha-udē after I went away, behind my back (132.10; 186.8; 192.4)

¹It is only the different schemes of personal endings that, at least in part, keep distinct the noun *xāham-* BACK and the local element *xāham-* ON BACK, ABOUT WAIST: *xāha'm* HIS BACK, but *xāha'mda* ON HIS BACK, AT HIS WAIST; *xāha'mdam* OUR BACKS AND ON OUR BACKS.

dīⁱ-a'lda over his eyes, on his forehead (172.3)

nō'ts!adam neighboring us (= stem *nō'ts!*- next door + noun-characteristic *-a-*) (98.13)

When used as local pre-positives with nouns, these local stems drop their characteristic affixes, and thus appear in the same form in which they are found in the verb (e. g., *xā^a-gweldē* BETWEEN MY LEGS), except that *ha-u-* UNDER as pre-positive adds an *-a:* *hawa-* (e. g., *hawa-saldē* UNDER MY FEET). The various pre-positives found prefixed to nouns with possessive suffixes are:

ha- in

hawa- under

dak'- over

dīⁱ- above

dā^a- alongside

al- to, at

de-, *da-* in front of

xā^a- between, in middle of

gwen- at nape, east of

dī^ε- at rear end, west of

dal- away from

han- across (?)

gel- facing

gwel- under, down from

The noun itself, as has already been seen, appears with its characteristic. *t'gā* EARTH, however, perhaps for some unknown phonetic reason, does not retain its characteristic *-u-* before the possessive suffixes (*ha-t'gāū* IN THE COUNTRY 33.7, but *ha-t'gā^adē* IN MY COUNTRY 194.4) Examples of forms of the type *ha^εvūdē* IN MY HAND are:

ha-dī^t't'gwa in back of him, in his anus (incorporated *dī^ε-*) 94.11

*dā^a-yawadē*¹ aside from me (literally, alongside my ribs)

dak'-s'aldē on top of my feet 198.6; (cf. 44.8)

hawa-lū^ulidē under my throat

dak'-s'inīⁱ'da over his nose 144.11

al-guxwida'm wōk' we have enough of it (literally, to-our-hearts it-has-arrived) 128.1

ha-wilidē in my house (64.2; 88.18; 120.14)

ha-ye^εwaxdē in my returning (= when I return) (124.15)

dī-delga'nt'gwa behind himself, at his own anus (72.10)

al-wā^adi't'gwan at one another (literally, to each other's bodies; *wā^ad-i-* body) (96.22; 146.2; 190.19)

¹ Also *dal-yawadē* ASIDE FROM ME (with verb of throwing) (=literally, AWAY FROM MY RIBS).

ha-sa'lda (thinking) of her (literally, in her footsteps) 142.13
dīⁱ-dandē over my ear
dīⁱ-ts!ⁱleidē over my eyes
ha-dedē in my mouth (170.2; 182.17)
gwen-bok'dandē at my nape
xā^a-s'inidē resting on my nose (like spectacles)
gwel-^εwā^adīdē down from my body 198.4

Several such forms with apparently simple local signification contain after the pre-positive a noun stem not otherwise found:

xā^a-s'ogwida'm between us
ha-^εwinidē inside of me (73.1; 92.17)
dī-bō^uwidē at my side
da^εoldidē close to me (124.9) (cf. adverb *da^εo'l* near by 102.6)

Such a non-independent noun is probably also *ha-u-* in *gwen-ha-u-* and *dī-ha-u-*, both of which were listed above as simple local elements.

Instances also occur, though far less frequently, of pre-positives with two nouns or noun and adjective; the first noun generally stands in a genitive relation to the second (cf., § 88, the order in juxtaposed nouns), while the second noun is followed by the third personal possessive *-da*. Such are:

gwen-t'gā^a-bo'k'dan-da at nape of earth's neck (= east) 79.6;
 102.4
dī-t'gā^a-yu'k'umā^a-da at rear of earth's tail (= west) 146.1; 198.9
ha-t'gā^a-yawā^a-da in earth's rib (= north) (cf. 194.9)
dā^a-xi-ts!ⁱek'ts!ⁱigīⁱ-da alongside water's backbone (= not far from shore)
xā^a-xi-ts!ⁱek'ts!ⁱigīⁱ-da in middle of water's backbone (= equally distant from either shore) 112.4
Ha-yā^l-bā^ls-da¹ in its long (i. e., tall) (*bā^ls*) pines (*yā^l*) (= place-name) 114.9
Dī-p!ol-ts!ⁱl-da over (*dīⁱ*) its red (*ts!ⁱl*) bed (*p!ol* ditch) (= Jump-off Joe creek)
Al-dan-k!oloiⁱ-da¹ to its rock (*da'n*) basket (*k!oloi*) (= name of mountain)

Rather difficult of explanation is *de-de-wilⁱ-da* DOOR, AT DOOR OF HOUSE 63.11; 77.15; 176.6, which is perhaps to be literally rendered IN FRONT OF (first *de-*) HOUSE (*wilⁱ*) ITS (*-da*) MOUTH (second *de-*) (i. e., IN FRONT OF DOORWAY). The difficulty with this explanation is that it necessitates the interpretation of the second noun as a genitive in relation to the first.

¹ Observe falling accent despite rising accent (*bā^ls*, *k!oloi*) of independent noun. *-da* with pre-positives, whether with intervening noun or noun and adjective, consistently demands a falling accent before it.

5. Local Phrases (§§ 94-96)

§ 94. GENERAL REMARKS

Local phrases without possessive pronouns (i. e., of the type IN THE HOUSE, ACROSS THE RIVER) may be constructed in three ways.

A local element with third personal possessive suffix may be used to define the position, the noun itself appearing in its absolute form as an appositive of the incorporated pronominal suffix:

da'n gwelda` rock under-it (i. e., under the rock)

da'n handa` through the rock

dan hā'as̄yā`da` around the rock

dan da`oldi`i`da` near the rock

dan ge`lda` in front of the rock

dan di`nda` behind the rock

There is observable here, as also in the method nearly always employed to express the objective and genitive relations, the strong tendency characteristic of Takelma and other American languages to make the personal pronominal affixes serve a purely formal purpose as substitutes for syntactic and local cases.

The second and perhaps somewhat more common method used to build up a local phrase is to prefix to the noun a pre-positive, the noun itself appearing in the form it assumes before the addition of the normal pronominal suffixes (Schemes II and III). Thus some of the preceding local phrases might have been expressed as:

gwel-dana` under the rock

han-dana` through the rock

hā'as̄ya-dana` around the rock

gel-dana` in front of the rock

dī`-dana` behind the rock

These forms have at first blush the appearance of prepositions followed by a local case of the noun, but we have already seen this explanation to be inadmissible.

A third and very frequent form of local phrase is the absolute noun followed by a postposition. The chief difference between this and the preceding method is the very considerable amount of individual freedom that the postposition possesses as contrasted with the rigidly incorporated pre-positive. The majority of the postpositions consist of a pre-positive preceded by the general demonstrative *ga-* THAT. *da'n gada`k`* OVER THE ROCK is thus really to be analyzed as ROCK THAT-OVER, an appositional type of local

phrase closely akin in spirit to that first mentioned: *dan da'k'dā^ada* ROCK OVER-IT. *dak'-dana'*, according to the second method, is also possible.

§ 95. PRE-POSITIVES

The pre-positives employed before nouns without possessive suffixes are identical with those already enumerated (§ 94) as occurring with nouns with possessives, except that *hawa-* UNDER seems to be replaced by *gwel-*. It is doubtful also if *he^{ee}-* BEYOND (also *han-* ACROSS ?) can occur with nouns followed by possessive affixes. Examples of pre-positives in local phrases are:

- han-gela'm* across the river
han-waxga'n across the creek
han-p'iya' across the fire 168.19
ha'-waxga'n in the creek
ha-xiya' in the water 58.6; 60.3; 61.11; 63.16
ha-bini' in the middle 176.15 (cf. *de-bi'n* first, last 150.15)
ha-p'ola' in the ditch
ha-gwā^ala'm in the road 62.6; 158.19
ha-s'ugwañ in the basket (cf. 124.18)
xa'-s-ō^uma'l halfway up the mountain
xā^a-gulma'n among oaks
xā^a-xo (yā^a) (right) among firs (cf. 94.17)
gwel-xi'ya under water 156.19
gwel-t'gāū down to the ground 176.8
dā^a-ts!ā^awa'n by the ocean 59.16
dā^a-t'gāū alongside the field
gwen-t'gāū east of the field 55.4; 56.4
gwen-waxga'n east along the creek
Gwen-p'uñk' place-name (= east of rotten [*p'u'n*]) 114.14
de-wilī in front of the house (= out of doors) 70.4
dak'-s-ō^uma'l on top of the mountain 188.15
dak'-wilī over the house 59.2; 140.5
dak'-p'iya' over the fire 24.6, 7
he^{ee}-s-ō^uma'l beyond the mountain 124.2; 196.13
al-s-ō^uma'l at, to the mountain 136.22; 152.8; 192.5, 7, 8
hā^εya-p'iya' on both sides of the fire 176.12
hā^εya-s-ō^uma'l on both sides of the mountain 152.2
di-t'gāū west of the field 55.3
dī-waxga'n some distance west along the creek
dī-s-ō^uma'l at foot ([?] = in rear) of the mountain
Dīⁱ¹-dala'm place-name (= over the rock [?])
Gel-yālk' place-name (= abreast of pines) 112.13

¹ Perhaps really *Dīⁱ¹-dala'm* WEST OF THE ROCK (?).

A few cases of compound pre-positives occur:

ha-gwel-p!iya' under the ashes (literally, in-under-the-fire)
118.4

ha-gwel-xiya' at bottom of the water 60.12, 14

ha-gwel-t'ge'emt'gam down in dark places 196.7

An example of a pre-positive with a noun ending in pre-pronominal *-x* is afforded by *ha-dā^anx molhi't'* IN-EAR RED 14.4; 15.13; 88.2 (alongside of *dā^amolhi't'* RED-EARED 15.12; 86.6). It is somewhat doubtful, because of a paucity of illustrative material, whether local phrases with final pre-pronominal *-x* can be freely used.

§ 96. POSTPOSITIONS

Not all pre-positives can be suffixed to the demonstrative *ga-* to form postpositions; e. g., no **gaha'*, **gaha'n*, **gagwe'l* are found in Takelma. Very few other words (adverbs) are found in which what are normally pre-positives occupy the second place: *me'εal* TOWARD THIS DIRECTION 58.9; *ye'k'dal* IN THE BRUSH 71.3. Instead of *-ha* IN, *-na'u* is used, an element that seems restricted to the postposition *gana'u* IN. The *ga*-postpositions that have been found are:

gada'k' on 48.15; 49.1

gidīⁱ (= *ga-dīⁱ*) on, over 49.12

gidī^ε (= *ga-dī^ε*) in back

gana'u in 47.2; 61.13; 64.4; 110.9

gada'l among 94.12

ga^εa'l to, for, at, from 43.6; 44.4; 55.6; 58.11

gadā^a by, along 60.1

gaxā^a between

gede in front (?) 28.8, 9

and possibly:

gasal in adverb *gasa'lhi* quickly 28.10; 29.14; 160.1

Examples of their use are:

wi'li gada'k' on top of the house 14.9; 15.5

da'n gada'k' on the rock

t'gā^a gidī upon the land 49.12

p!i^t gada'l in between the fire 94.12

da'n gada'l among rocks

da'n gadā alongside the rocks (cf. 60.1)

wü^ülham-hoidigwia gadā^a gini'εk' he went right by where there was round-dancing (literally, menstruation-dancing-with by he-went) 106.13

eī gana'u in the canoe 96.24; 112.3

- dola' gana'u* in the old tree 24.1
wa-iwī't'a' ga'a'l to the female 15.14
ga' ga'a'l for that reason 50.2; 124.6; 146.20, 21; 188.6; 194.11
bixal wi'in-wi'ε ga'al ya'ε he goes every month (literally, month
 different-every at he-goes)
da'n gaxā between the rocks
dīū gede right at the falls 33.13
*Yūk'ya'k'wa gede*¹ right by Yūk'ya'k'wa 188.17

Postpositions may be freely used with nouns provided with a possessive suffix; e. g., *ela't'k' gada'k'* ON MY TONGUE; *wilī't' gana'u* IN HIS HOUSE, cf. 194.7. There is no ascertainable difference in signification between such phrases and the corresponding pre-positive forms, *dak'-eladē* and *ha-wilī't'da*. Sometimes a postposition takes in a group of words, in which case it may be enclitically appended to the first:

- k!iyī'x gan'au ba-igina'xdā*^a smoke in its-going-out (= [hole] in which smoke is to go out) 176.7

Although local phrases involving a postposition are always pronounced as one phonetic unit, and the postpositions have become, psychologically speaking, so obscured in etymology as to allow of their being preceded by the demonstrative with which they are themselves compounded (cf. *ga ga'a'l* above), they have enough individuality to render them capable of being used quasi-adverbially without a preceding noun:

- gada'k' s'u'wilī't'ε* I sat on him
gadak' ts!ā'a'k'ts!a'k'deε I step on top of it (148.17)
gidī' gaixgwa thereon eating (= table)
gidī'ε-hi closer and closer (literally, right in back)
gadā yeweya'k'w he got even with him (literally, alongside he-returned-having-him) 17.5
māl yaxa aba'ī dūl gede salmon-spear-shaft only in-house, spear-point thereby 28.7, 9
gī' gana'u I am inside
ga'nav naga'ie wili't'k' he went through my house (literally, in he-did my-house [for *naga'ie* see § 69]) cf. 78.5

Other postpositions than those compounded with *ga-* are:

- daεol* near (cf. *daεol-* as pre-positive in *daεoldidē* near me):
wilī't'k' daεol near my house
wa with (also as incorporated instrumental *wa-*, § 38) 25.5; 47.5

¹ *Yūk'ya'k'wa gada* was said to be preferable, whence it seems possible that *gede* is not really equivalent to *ga* THAT + *de*-IN FRONT, but is palatalized as adverb (see below, § 104) from *gadā*.

ha-bini' in the middle: *wili ha'-bini'*¹ in the middle of the house;
ha-be^e-bini' noon (literally, in-sun [=day]-middle) 126.21;
 186.8
-di's away: *eme'^edis* away from here; *dedewili'ⁱdadi's* (? outside of)
 the door 176.6

It is peculiar that mountain-names generally have a prefix *al-* and a suffix *-dis*:

al-dawya'^{ak}wa-dis (cf. *dawya'^{ak}w* supernatural helper) 172.1
al-wila'mxa-dis
al-sawēnt'a-dis

That both *al-* and *-dis* are felt not to be integral parts of these mountain-names is shown by such forms as *he^e-wila'mxa* BEYOND Alwila'mxadis 196.14 and *al-dawya'^{ak}w*. In all probability they are to be explained as local phrases, AT, TO (*al-*) . . . DISTANT (*-dis*), descriptive of some natural peculiarity or resident supernatural being.

Differing apparently from other postpositions in that it requires the preceding noun to appear in its pre-pronominal form (i. e., with final *-x* if it is provided with it in Scheme II forms) is *wa'k'i^e* WITHOUT, which would thus seem to occupy a position intermediate between the other postpositions and the pre-positives. Examples are:

ts'lelei wa'k'i^e without eyes 26.14; 27.6
dagax wa'k'i^e without head
yūk!alx wa'k'i^e without teeth 57.4
nixa wa'k'i^e motherless

As shown by the last example, terms of relationship whose third personal possessive suffix is *-xa* (*-a*) use the third personal form as the equivalent of the pre-pronominal form of other nouns (cf. also § 108, 6), a fact that casts a doubt on the strictly personal character of the *-xa* suffix. No third personal idea is possible, e. g., in *maxa wa'k'i^e et'e^e* I AM FATHERLESS. *wak'i^e* is undoubtedly related to *wa* WITH; the *-k'i^e* may be identical with the conditional particle (see § 71).

On the border-line between loosely used preposition and independent adverb are *nogwa'* BELOW, DOWN RIVER FROM (? = *nōw* DOWN RIVER + demonstrative *ga* THAT) : *nogwa wili* BELOW THE HOUSE 76.7; and *hinwa'* ABOVE, UP RIVER FROM (cf. *hina'u* UP RIVER) : *hi'nwa wili* ABOVE THE HOUSE 77.1.

¹ Properly speaking, *ha-bini'* is a pre-positive phrase from noun-stem *bin-* (cf. *de-bin* FIRST, LAST, and [?] *bilgan-x*- BREAST [? = middle part of body-front]) with characteristic *-i-*. *be-e-bin-* SUN'S MIDDLE is compounded like, e. g., *t'gāa-bok'dan-* EARTH'S NECK above (§ 93).

6. *Post-nominal Elements* (§§ 97-102)

§ 97. GENERAL REMARKS

Under the head of post-nominal elements are included a small group of suffixes which, though altogether without the distinct individuality characteristic of local postpositions, are appended to the fully formed noun, pronoun, or adjective, in some cases also adverb, serving in one way or another to limit or extend the range of application of one of these denominating or qualifying terms. The line of demarcation between these post-nominal elements and the more freely movable modal particles discussed below (§ 114) is not very easy to draw; the most convenient criterion of classification is the inability of what we have termed POST-NOMINAL elements to attach themselves to verb-forms.

§ 98. EXCLUSIVE *-t'a*

The suffix *-t'a* is freely appended to nouns and adjectives, less frequently to pronouns, in order to specify which one out of a number is meant; the implication is always that the particular person, object, or quality mentioned is selected out of a number of alternative and mutually exclusive possibilities. When used with adjectives *-t'a* has sometimes the appearance of forming the comparative or superlative; e. g., *aga* (1) *t!os·ō'ut'a* (2) THIS (1) IS SMALLER (2), but such an interpretation hardly hits the truth of the matter. The sentence just quoted really signifies THIS IS SMALL (NOT LARGE LIKE THAT). As a matter of fact, *-t'a* is rather idiomatic in its use, and not susceptible of adequate translation into English, the closest rendering being generally a dwelling of the voice on the corresponding English word. The following examples illustrate its range of usage:

hapxit!i't'a child male (not female) (i. e., boy) 14.1; 156.8

wa-iwi't'a ga'al yewe'ie the-woman to he-turned (i. e., he now proceeded to look at the woman, after having examined her husband) 15.14

maha'it'a a'nī^ε gwī na'enaga'ie the-big (brother) not in-any-way he-did (i. e., the older brother did nothing at all, while his younger brother got into trouble) 23.6; (58.3)

aga wāxat'a xebe'^{εn} this his-younger-brother did-it (not he himself)

ktwa'lt'a younger one 24.1; 58.6

- ā'k'da dūt'a gīⁱ-sⁱē v'ltslak^w eīt'e^ε* he (*āk'*) (is) handsome (*dū*)
 I-but ugly I-am
ū'sⁱ nāxdek' al-ts'i'lt'ā^a give-me my-pipe red-one (implying
 others of different color)
waga't'ā^a di which one?
aga t!os-ō^ut'a v'daga yaza maha'it'a this (is) small, that but
 large (cf 128.7)
v'daga s-ō^uε maha'it'a that-one (is) altogether-big (=that one
 is biggest)

It seems that, wherever possible, *-t'a* keeps its *t'* intact. To prevent its becoming *-da* (as in *ā'k'da* above) an inorganic *a* seems to be added in:

k!ulsa't'ā^a soft 57.9 (cf. *k!u'ls* worm; more probably directly from
k!ulsa't' 130.22)

§ 99. PLURAL (*-t'an*, *-han*, *-k'an*)

As a rule, it is not considered necessary in Takelma to specify the singularity or plurality of an object, the context generally serving to remove the resulting ambiguity. In this respect Takelma resembles many other American languages. The element *-(a)n*, however, is not infrequently employed to form a plural, but this plural is of rather indefinite application when the noun is supplied with a third personal possessive suffix (compare what was said above, § 91, in regard to *-gwan*). The fact that the plurality implied by the suffix may have reference to either the object possessed or to the possessor or to both (e. g., *beya'nhan* HIS DAUGHTERS OR THEIR DAUGHTER, THEIR DAUGHTERS) makes it very probable that we are here dealing, not with the simple idea of plurality, but rather with that of reciprocity. It is probably not accidental that the plural *-(a)n* agrees phonetically with the reciprocal element *-an-* found in the verb. In no case is the plural suffix necessary in order to give a word its full syntactic form; it is always appended to the absolute noun or to the noun with its full complement of characteristic and pronominal affix.

The simple form *-(a)n* of the suffix appears only in the third personal reflexive possessive *-gwa-n* (see § 91) and, apparently, the third personal possessive *-t'an* of pre-positive local phrases (see p. 238). Many absolute nouns ending in a vowel, or in *l*, *m*, or *n*, also nouns with personal affixes (including pre-positives with possessive suffixes) other than that of the third person, take the form *-han* of the plural

suffix; the *-h-* may be a phonetically conditioned rather than morphologically significant element. Examples are:

| Noun | Plural |
|---|--|
| <i>sīnsan</i> decrepit old woman | <i>sīnsanhan</i> |
| <i>ts'!i'xi</i> dog | <i>ts'!ixi'han</i> |
| <i>ya'p!a</i> person 176.1, 12 | <i>yap!a'han</i> 32.4 |
| <i>eī</i> canoe 13.5; 112.3, 5 | <i>eīhan</i> |
| <i>wik!ū^uya'm</i> my friend | <i>wik!ū^uyā'mhan</i> |
| <i>wits!ai</i> my nephew 22.1 | <i>wits!aihan</i> 23.8, 10; 150.4 |
| <i>bō^ut'bidit'k'</i> my orphan child | <i>bō^ut'bidit'k'han</i> |
| <i>nō^ots!adē</i> neighboring to me | <i>nō^ots!ade^hhan</i> |
| <i>hindē</i> O mother! 186.14 | <i>hindēhan</i> O mothers! 76.10, 13 |

A large number of chiefly personal words and all nouns provided with a possessive suffix of the third person take *-t'an* as the plural suffix; the *-t'an* of local adverbs or nouns with pre-positives has been explained as composed of the third personal suffix *-t'* and the pluralizing element *-han*: *nō^ots!ā^{at}t'an* HIS NEIGHBORS. In some cases, as in *wa-wīⁱt'an* GIRLS 55.16; 106.17, *-t'an* may be explained as composed of the exclusive *-t'a* discussed above and the plural *-n*. The fact, however, that *-t'an* may itself be appended both to this exclusive *-t'a* and to the full third personal form of nouns not provided with a pre-positive makes it evident that the *-t'a-* of the plural suffix *-t'an* is an element distinct from either the exclusive *-t'a* or third personal *-t'*. *-t'ā^{at}t'a-n* is perhaps etymologically as well as phonetically parallel to the unexplained *-dā^ada* of *da'k'dā^ada* OVER HIM (see §93). Examples of *-t'an* are:

| Noun | Plural |
|---|--|
| <i>lomt!i'ī</i> old man 112.3, 9; 114.10; 126.19 | <i>lomt!i'it'an</i> |
| <i>mologo'l</i> old woman 168.11; 170.10 | <i>mologo'lt'an</i> |
| <i>wa-īwīⁱ</i> girl 124.5, 10 | <i>wa-īwīⁱt'an</i> 55.16; 60.2; 106.17 |
| <i>ā'i-hī</i> just they (cf. 49.11; 138.11) | <i>ā'it'an</i> they |
| <i>ts'!ixi-maha'ī</i> horse | <i>ts'!ixi-maha'it'an</i> |
| <i>lō^usīⁱ</i> his plaything 110.6, 11 | <i>lō^usīⁱt'an</i> |
| <i>mō^ut'ā^a</i> his son-in-law | <i>mō^ut'ā^{at}t'an</i> their sister's husband ¹ 150.22; 152.4, 9 |
| <i>t!ela</i> louse (116.3, 6) | <i>t!ela^{at}t'an</i> |
| <i>hapxi-t!i'it'ā^a</i> boy 14.6; 156.8, 10 | <i>hapxi-t!i'it'ā^{at}t'an</i> 160.14 |
| <i>ɟdap!ā'la-u</i> youth 132.13; 190.2 | <i>ɟdap!ā'la-ut'an</i> 132.12 |
| <i>ɟbala'u</i> young | <i>ɟbala'ut'an</i> |
| <i>wō^unā'k^w</i> old 57.1; 168.2 | <i>wō^unā'k^wdan</i> |

¹ *mō^ut'* seems to indicate not only the daughter's husband, but also, in perhaps a looser sense, the relatives gained by marriage of the sister.

The plural form *-k!an* is appended to nouns in *-lā'p'a* and to the third personal *-xa(-a)* of terms of relationship. As *-k!-¹* is appended to nouns in *-lā'p'a* also before the characteristic *-i-* followed by a possessive suffix, it is clear that *-k!an* is a compound suffix consisting of an unexplained *-k!-* and the plural element *-(a)n*. Examples of *-k!an* are:

t!i'lā'p'ak!an men 128.11; 130.1, 7, 25; 132.17

k'a^{is}lā'p'ak!an women 184.13

mologolā'p'ak!an old women 57.14; 128.3, 10 (also *mologo'lt'an*)

o'pxak!an her elder brothers 124.16, 20; 134.8; 138.7

k'aba'xak!an his, their sons 132.10; 156.14

ma'xak!an their father 130.19, 21; 132.12

t'awāxak!an their younger sister 148.5

k!a'sak!an their maternal grandmother 154.13; 156.8, 15, 18, 21

§ 100. DUAL *-dīl*

The suffix *-dīl(-dī'l)* is appended to a noun or pronoun to indicate the duality of its occurrence, or to restrict its naturally indefinite or plural application to two. It is not a true dual in the ordinary sense of the word, but indicates rather that the person or object indicated by the noun to which it is suffixed is accompanied by another person or object of the same kind, or by a person or object mentioned before or after; in the latter case it is equivalent to AND connecting two denominating terms. Examples illustrating its use are:

gō^umdī'l we two (restricted from *gō^um* we)

gadīl gō^um ihēmxinigam we two, that one and I, will wrestle (literally, that-one-and-another [namely, I] we we-shall-wrestle) 30.5

sgi'sidī'l two coyotes (literally, coyote-and-another [coyote])

wāxadī'l two brothers (lit., [he] and his younger brother) 26.12

sgisi ni'xadī'l Coyote and his mother 54.2

The element *-dīl* doubtless occurs as an adjective stem meaning ALL, EVERY, in *aldīl* ALL 134.4 (often heard also as *aldī* 47.9; 110.16; 188.1); *hadedīlt'a* EVERYWHERE 43.6; 92.29; and *hat'gā^adīlt'a* IN EVERY LAND 122.20.

§ 101. *-wi^ε* every

This element is freely appended to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, but has no independent existence of its own. Examples are:

be^εwi^ε every day (literally, every sun) 42.1; 158.17

xū^εnwi^ε every night (*xū^εn*, *xū^εne* night, at night)

¹ It was found extremely difficult, despite repeated trials, for some reason or other, to decide as to whether *-k!-* or *-g-* was pronounced. *-k!i-* and *-k!an* may thus be really *-gi-* and *-gan*.

bixal wi^εinwi^ε ba-i-wili^{uε} month comes after month (literally, moon different-each out-goes)
gwel-^εwāk'wiwi^ε every morning (*gwel-^εwāk'wi^ε* morning 44.1)
da-hō^uxawi^ε every evening
ha-be^ε-biniwi^ε every noon
k'aiwi^ε everything, something (*k'a-*, *k'ai-* what, thing) 180.5, 6
ada't'wi^ε everywhere, to each 30.12; 74.2; 120.13

As illustrated by *k'aiwi^ε*, the primary meaning of *-wi^ε* is not so much EVERY as that it refers the preceding noun or adverb to a series. It thus conveys the idea of SOME in:

dal^εwi^ε sometimes, in regard to some 57.12
xā^εnewi^ε sometimes 132.25

With pronouns it means TOO, AS WELL AS OTHERS:

gīⁱwi^ε I too
mā^awi^ε you too 58.5

Like *-dīl*, *-wi^ε* may be explained as a stereotyped adjectival stem that has developed into a quasi-formal element. This seems to be indicated by the derivative *wi^εi'n* EVERY, DIFFERENT 49.1; 160.20; 188.12.

§ 102. DEICTIC *-εa'*

It is quite likely that the deictic *-εa'* is etymologically identical with the demonstrative stem *a-* THIS, though no other case has been found in which this stem follows the main noun or other word it qualifies. It differs from the exclusive *-t'a* in being less distinctly a part of the whole word and in having a considerably stronger contrastive force. Unlike *-t'a*, it may be suffixed to adverbs as well as to words of a more strictly denominative character. Examples of its occurrence are extremely numerous, but only a very few of these need be given to illustrate its deictic character:

ma^εa' you ([I am —,] but you —) 26.3; 56.5; (cf. 49.8, 13)
maha'i^εa' big indeed
ga^εa' *ge wiliⁱ* that one's house is there (literally, that-one there his-house [that house yonder belongs to that fellow Coyote, not to Panther, whom we are seeking]) 55.4; cf. 196.19
bō^{uε}a' but nowadays (so it was in former days, but now things have changed) 50.1; 194.5
ge'-hi gī^{iε}a' *yok'loya'^εn* that-far I-for-my-part know-it (others may know more) 49.13; 154.7
p'i'm^εa' *gayaū* he ate salmon (nothing else).

III. The Pronoun (§§ 103–105)

§ 103. *Independent Personal Pronouns*

The independent personal pronouns of Takelma, differing in this respect from what is found to be true of most American languages, show not the slightest etymological relationship to any of the various pronominal series found incorporated in noun and verb, except in so far as the second person plural is formed from the second person singular by the addition of the element *-p'* that we have found to be characteristic of every second person plural in the language. The forms, which may be used both as subjects and objects, are as follows:

Singular: First person, *gī* 56.10; 122.8; second person, *ma'* (*mā^a*) 26.7; 98.8; third person, *āk'* 27.5; 156.12. Plural: First person, *gō^um* 30.5; 150.16; second person, *māp'*; third person *āi* 49.11; *xilamana'* 27.10; 56.1

Of the two third personal plural pronouns, *āi* is found most frequently used with post-positive elements; e. g., *āyā^a* JUST THEY (= *āi yā^a*) 160.6; *ā^εya'* THEY (= *āi-^εa'*) 49.11. When unaccompanied by one of these, it is generally pluralized: *ā'it'an* (see § 99). The second, *xilamana'*, despite its four syllables, has not in the slightest yielded to analysis. It seems to be but little used in normal speech or narrative.

All the pronouns may be emphasized by the addition of *-wi^ε* (see § 101), the deictic *-^εa'* (see § 102), or the post-positive particles *yā^a* and enclitic *-hi* and *-s'ⁱε* (see § 114, 1, 2, 4):

mayā^a just you 196.2
ma'hi you yourself
āihi' they themselves 104.13 (cf. 152.20)
gī's'ⁱε I in my turn 47.14; 188.8; (cf. 61.9)

A series of pronouns denoting the isolation of the person is formed by the addition of *-da^εx* or *-da'^εxi* (= *-da^εx + -hi*) to the forms given above:

gī'da'^εx(i) only I
mā^ada'^εx(i) you alone
āk'da'^εx(i) all by himself 61.7; 90.1; 142.20; 144.6
gō^umda'^εx(i) we alone
māp'da'^εx(i) you people alone
āida'^εx(i) they alone 138.11

The third personal pronouns are not infrequently used with preceding demonstratives:

hā^εga (or *īdaga*) *āk'da^εx* that one by himself (*āk'* used here apparently as a peg for the suffixed element *-da^εx* by one's self)
hā^εā'it'an and *īda^εā'it'an* those people

hā^ε- and *īda-*, it should be noted, are demonstrative stems that occur only when compounded with other elements.

The independent possessive pronouns (IT IS) MINE, THINE, HIS, OURS, YOURS, are expressed by the possessive forms of the substantival stem *ais-* HAVING, BELONGING, PROPERTY: *a-is'de'k'* IT IS MINE 23.2; 154.18, 19, 20; *a-is'de'^ε* YOURS; *a'-is'da* HIS 23.2, 3; (156.7) and so on. These forms, though strictly nominal in morphology, have really no greater concreteness of force than the English translations MINE, THINE, and so on.

§ 104. *Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs*

Four demonstrative stems, used both attributively and substantively, are found: *a-*, *ga*, *īda-*, and *hā^{ae}-*. Of these only *ga* THAT occurs commonly as an independent word; the rest, as the first elements of composite forms. The demonstratives as actually found are:

Indefinite. *ga* that 60.5; 61.2; 110.4; 194.4, 5
Near first. *a'ga* this 44.9; 186.4; *ālī* this here 110.2; 188.20
Near second. *īdaga* that 116.22; *īdalī* that there 55.16
Near third. *hā^{ae}ga* that yonder 186.5; *hā^εlī* that over there

a- has been found also as correlative to *ga-* with the forms of *na(g)-DO, SAY*:

ana^εne'x like this 176.13 (*ga-na^εne'x* that way, thus 114.17; 122.20)
ana^εna'^εt' it will be as it is now cf. 152.8 (*ga-na^εna'^εt'* it will be that way)

perhaps also in:

ada't'wi^ε everywhere (= *ada't'* this way, hither [see § 112, 1] + *-wi^ε* every) 30.12; 74.2; 120.13

īda- (independently 46.5; 47.5; 192.6) seems to be itself a compound element, its first syllable being perhaps identifiable with *ī-* HAND. *īda^εā'it'an* and *hā^{ae}ā'it'an*, referred to above, are in effect the substantive plurals of *īdaga* and *hā^{ae}ga*. *hā^{ae}-* as demonstrative pronoun is doubtless identical with the local *hā^{ae}-* YONDER, BEYOND, found as a prefix in the verb.

By far the most commonly used of the demonstratives is that of indefinite reference, *ga*. It is used as an anaphoric pronoun to refer to both things and persons of either number, also to summarize a preceding phrase or statement. Not infrequently the translation THAT or THOSE is too definite; a word of weaker force, like IT, better serves the purpose. The association of *ĩ'daga* and *hã'^aga* with special positions corresponding to the second and third persons respectively does not seem to be at all strong, and it is perhaps more accurate to render them as THAT RIGHT AROUND THERE and THAT YONDER. Differing fundamentally in this respect from adjectives, demonstrative pronouns regularly precede the noun or other substantive element they modify:

- a'ga sgi'si* this coyote 108.1
ĩ'daga yap!a' that person
ga^εaldĩl all that, all of those 47.12

A demonstrative pronoun may modify a noun that is part of a local phrase:

- ĩ'daga he^{εε}s'õ^uma'ł* beyond that mountain 122.22; 124.1

Corresponding to the four demonstrative pronoun-stems are four demonstrative adverb-stems, derived from the former by a change of the vowel *-a-* to *-e-*: *e-*, *ge*, *ĩde-*, and *he^{εε}-*. Just as *ga* THAT was found to be the only demonstrative freely used as an independent pronoun, so *ge* THERE, alone of the four adverbial stems, occurs outside of compounds. *e-*, *ĩde-*, and *he^{εε}-*, however, are never compounded with *ge*, as are *a-*, *ĩda-*, and *hã'^ae-* with its pronominal correspondent *ga*; a fifth adverbial stem of demonstrative force, *me^ε* (HITHER as verbal prefix), takes its place. The actual demonstrative adverbs thus are:

- Indefinite. *ge* there 64.6; 77.9; 194.11
 Near first. *eme^ε* here 112.12, 13; 194.4; *me^ε-* hither
 Near second. *ĩ'deme^ε* right around there 46.15
 Near third. *he'^{εε}me^ε* yonder 31.13

Of these, *me^ε-*, the correlative of *he^{εε}-*, can be used independently when followed by the local *-al*: *me'^εal* ON THIS SIDE, HITHERWARDS 58.9; 160.4. *he^{εε}-* AWAY, besides frequently occurring as a verbal prefix, is found as a component of various adverbs:

- he^εdada'^ε*, *he^εda'^ε* over there, away from here, off 46.8; 194.10
he'^εne' then, at that time 120.2; 146.6; 162.3
he'^εda't' on that side, toward yonder

me^ε- can be used also with the adverb *ge* of indefinite reference preceding; the compound, followed by *di*, is employed in an interrogative sense: *geme^εdi* WHERE? WHEN? 56.10; 100.16; 190.25. The idea of direction in the demonstrative adverbs seems less strong than that of position: *he^εme^ε baxa^εm* HE COMES FROM OVER THERE, as well as *he^εme^ε gini^εk^ε* HE GOES OVERTHERE. *me^ε*- and *he^ε*-(*hā^{ae}*-), however, often necessarily convey the notions of TOWARD and AWAY FROM the speaker: *me^ε-yewe^{ie} hā^{ae}-yewe^{ie}* HE CAME AND WENT BACK AND FORTH.

Demonstrative adverbs may take the restrictive suffix *-da^εx* or *-daba^εx* (cf. *-da^εx* with personal pronouns, §103):

eme^εda^εx 114.4, 5 }
eme^εdaba^εx 114.14 } here alone

§ 105. Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns

As independent words, the interrogative and indefinite stems occur with adverbs or adverbial particles, being found in their bare form only when incorporated. The same stems are used for both interrogative and indefinite purposes, a distinction being made between persons and things:

nek^ε who? some one 86.2, 23; 108.11
k'ai what? something 86.5; 122.3; 128.8

As independent adverb also PERHAPS:

k'ai t!ümūxi perhaps he'll strike me 23.3

As interrogatives, these stems are always followed by the interrogative enclitic particle *di*, *k'ai* always appearing as *k'a-* when *di* immediately follows:

ne'k'-di who? 46.15; 86.4; 142.9
k'a'-di what? 47.9; 60.11; 86.8

k'ai . . . *di* occurs with post-positive *ga^εa'l*:

k'ai ga^εal di what for? why? 71.15; 86.14; 98.8

As indefinites, they are often followed by the composite particle *-s'i^εwa'k'di*:

nek'-s'i^εwa'k'di I don't know who, somebody 22.8
k'ai-s'i^εwa'k'di I don't know what, something 96.10

As negative indefinites, *nek^ε* and *k'ai* are preceded by the negative adverb *a'nī^ε* or *wede*, according to the tense-mode of the verb (see § 72):

a'nī^ε ne'k' nobody 63.4; 90.8, 25

a'nī^ε k'a'i nothing 58.14; 61.6; 128.23

we'de nek' ü's'ik' nobody will give it to me (cf. 98.10)

we'de k'ai ü's'dam do not give me anything

With the post-nominal *-wi^ε* EVERY, *k'ai* forms *k'aiwi^ε* EVERYTHING, SOMETHING. No such form as **nek'wi^ε*, however, occurs, its place being taken by *aldil, aldī* ALL, EVERYBODY. In general, it may be said that *k'ai* has more of an independent substantival character than *nek'*; it corresponds to the English THING in its more indefinite sense, e. g., *k'a'i gwala* MANY THINGS, EVERYTHING 96.15; 102.11; 108.8

The adverbial correspondent of *k'ai* is *gwi* HOW? WHERE? 46.2; 78.5. In itself *gwi* is quite indefinite in signification and is as such often used with the forms of *na(g)-* DO, ACT 47.11; 55.7:

gwi'di nagat' how are you doing? (e. g., where are you going?)
86.17; (138.25)

As interrogative, it is followed by *di*:

gwi'di how? where? 44.5; 70.6; 73.9; 190.10

as indefinite, by *-s'i^εwa'k'di* (cf. 190.4):

gwis'i^εwa'k'di in some way, somewhere 54.7; 96.8; 120.21 (also
gwi'hap' somewhere)

as negative indefinite, it is preceded by *a'nī^ε* or *wede*:

a'nī^ε gwi'i in no way, nowhere 23.6; 62.11; 192.14

we'de gwi na't' do not go anywhere!

As indefinite relative is used *gwi'ha* WHERESOEVER 140.9, 13, 15, 19.

IV. The Adjective (§§ 106–109)

§ 106. General Remarks

Adjectives can not in Takelma without further ado be classed as nouns or verbs, as they have certain characteristics that mark them off more or less clearly from both; such are their distinctly adjectival suffixes and their peculiar method of forming the plural. In some respects they closely approach the verb, as in the fact that they are frequently preceded by body-part prefixes, also in the amplification of the stem in the plural in ways analogous to what we have found in the verb. They differ, however, from verbal forms in that they can not be predicatively used (except that the simple form of the adjective may be predicatively understood for an implied third person), nor provided with the pronominal suffixes peculiar to the verb;

a first or second personal relation is brought about by the use of appropriate forms of the copula *ei-* BE. They agree with the noun and pronoun in being frequently followed by the distinctly denominative exclusive suffix *-t'a* (see § 98) and in the fact that, when forming part of a descriptive noun, they may take the personal endings peculiar to the noun:

ts'lixi-maha'it'ek' dog-big-my (= my horse)

As adjectives pure and simple, however, they are never found with the possessive suffixes peculiar to the noun; e. g., no such form as **maha'it'ek'* alone ever occurs. It thus appears that the adjective occupies a position midway between the noun and the verb, yet with characteristics peculiar to itself. The most marked syntactic feature of the adjective is that, unlike a qualifying noun, it always follows the modified noun, even when incorporated with it (see § 93). Examples are:

wa-iwi'ⁱ dā girl pretty 55.7; 124.5

yap'la daldi' person wild 22.14

sgi'si da-sga'xit' Coyote sharp-snouted 86.3, 20; 88.1, 11

p'im xu'm yele'x debū'^s salmon dry burden-basket full (= burden-basket full of dry salmon) 75.10

Rarely does it happen that the adjective precedes, in which case it is to be predicatively understood:

gwa'la yap'a' many (were) the people 180.16 (but *ya'p'la gwala'* people many 194.10)

Even when predicatively used, however, the adjective regularly follows the noun it qualifies. Other denominating words or phrases than adjectives are now and then used to predicate a statement or command:

yū'k'alx (1) *wa'k'i^s* (2), *ga* (3) *ga^sal* (4) *deligia'lt'i* (5) *gwās* (6) [as they were] without (2) teeth (1), for (4) that (3) [reason] they brought them as food (5) intestines (6) 130.22

masi'^s (1) *al-nā'na'^sn* (2) *naga-ida'^s* (3) [do] you in your turn (1) [dive], since you said (3) "I can get close to him" (2) 61.9

§ 107. Adjectival Prefixes

Probably all the body-part prefixes and also a number of the purely local elements are found as prefixes in the adjective. The material at hand is not large enough to enable one to follow out the prefixes of the adjective as satisfactorily as those of the verb; but

there is no reason to believe that there is any tangible difference of usage between the two sets. Examples of prefixes in the adjective are:

1. *dak'-*.

dak'-maha'i big on top

dak'-d'i'l's big-headed

2. *dā^a-*.

dā^a-molhi't' red-eared 14.4; 15.12; 96.13

dā^a-ho'k'wal with holes in ear 166.13, 19

dā^a-maha'i big-cheeked

3. *s'in-*.

s'in-ho'k'wal with holes in nose 166.13, 18

s'in-hū's'gal big-nosed 25.1; 27.5, 13; 28.6

s'in-p'i'l's flat-nosed

4. *de-*.

de-ts'üqū't', *de-ts'üqū'u* sharp-pointed 74.13; 126.18

de-t'ülü'^εp' dull

de-^εwini't' proceeding, reaching to 50.4

5. *da-*.

da-sga'xi(t') long-mouthed 15.13; 86.3; 88.1, 11

da-sguli' short 33.17

da-ho'k'wal holed 176.7

da-maha'i big-holed 92.4

da-t!os'ō'u small-holed

6. *gwen-*.

gwen-xdi'l's slim-necked

gwen-t'ge'm black-necked 196.6

7. *ī-*.

ī-ts'o'p'al sharp-clawed 14.4; 15.13; 86.3

ī-ge'wa^εx crooked-handed

ī-k!ok!o'k' ugly-handed

8. *xā^a-*.

xā^a-maha'i big-waisted, wide

xā^a-xdi'l's slim-waisted, notched 71.15; 75.6

9. *dīⁱ-*.

dīⁱ-k!ēlix conceited

10. *dī^ε-*.

dī^ε-maha'i big below, big behind

di^ε-k!a'ls lean in rump

11. **gwel-**.

ha-gwel-bila'm empty underneath, like table (cf. *ha-bila'm* empty)

gwel-ho'k'wal holed underneath 43, 9.

12. **ha-**.

ha-bila'm empty (literally, having nothing inside, cf. *bila'm* having nothing 43.6, 8, 14)

13. **sal-**.

sal-t!a'i narrow

sal-ts'!una'px straight

14. **al-**. (Referring to colors and appearances)

al-t'ge'm black 13.3; 162. 4

al-ts'!il red

al-t'gu'^εs' white 55.2; 188.11

al-sgenhi't' black 92.19

al-gwa'si yellow

al-t'gisa'mt' green (participle of *t'gisi'^εm* it gets green)

al-k!iyi'x-nat' blue (literally, smoke-doing or being)

al-k!ok!o'k' ugly-faced 47.2; 60.5

al-t!e^εs'i't' little-eyed 94.3; (94.6, 14)

al-t'geya'px round

al-t'mila'px smooth

15. **han-**.

han-hogwa'l with hole running through 56.9, 10

A few cases have been found of adjectives with preceding nouns in such form as they assume with pre-positive and possessive suffix:

da'k!oloi-ts'!il red-cheeked

gwit!iū-t!a'i slim-wristed

An example of an adjective preceded by two body-part prefixes has already been given (*ha-gwel-bila'm*). Here both prefixes are coordinate in function (cf. *ha-gwel-p!iya'*, § 95). In:

xā^a-sal-gwa'si between-claws-yellow (myth name of Sparrow-Hawk) 166.2

the two body-part prefixes are equivalent to an incorporated local phrase (cf. § 35, 4)

§ 108. *Adjectival Derivative Suffixes*

A considerable number of adjectives are primitive in form, i. e., not capable of being derived from simpler nominal or verbal stems. Such are:

ho's'au getting older

maha'i big 23.1; 74.15; 146.3

bus' wiped out, destroyed, used up 42.2; 140.19

dū good, beautiful 55.7; 58.7; 124.4; 146.6

t'ū hot 57.15; 186.25

p'u'n rotten 140.21

yo't'i alive ([?] *yo't'* being + enclitic *-hi*) (128.16)

and many others. A very large number, however, are provided with derivative suffixes, some of which are characteristic of adjectives per se,¹ while others serve to convert nouns and pre-positive phrases into adjectives. Some adjectival stems seem capable of being used either with or without a suffix (cf. *da-sga'xi* and *de-ts'!ügü't'* above, § 107):

maha'i and *maha'it'* big

al-gwa'si and *al-gwa'sit'* yellow

1. **-(i)t'**. Probably the most characteristic of all adjectival suffixes is **-(i)t'**, all **-t'** participles (see § 76) properly belonging here. Non-participial examples are:

al-gwa'sit' yellow

al-sgenhi't' black 92.19

al-t!e's'i't' little-eyed 94.3

(?) *ha'nt'* half ([?] cf. *han-* through) 146.22; 154.9; 192.7

t!oüt' one-horned 46.7; 47.7; 49.3.

dū^a-molhi't' red-eared 14.4; 15.12; 88.2; 96.13

de-ts'!ügü't' sharp-pointed 126.18

k!ulsa't' soft (food) (cf. *k!u'ls* worm) 130.22

p!ala'k'wa-goyō'ut' *eüt'e^s* I am story-doctor (cf. *goyo'* shaman)

2. **-al**. Examples of adjectives with this suffix are:

ī-ts'!o'p'al sharp-clawed 14.4; 86.3 (cf. *de-ts'!ügü't'* sharp-pointed; for **-p'**: **-g-** cf. § 42, 1, 6)

t!ī't'al thin

(?) *dēhal* five ([?] = being in front ²) 150.19, 20; 182.21

s'in-ho'k'wal with holes in nose 166.13, 18; (56.9; 166.19; 176.7)

s'in-hü's'gal big-nosed 25.1; 27.5, 13; 28.6

hī'p'al flat

{ *mī'xal* how much, how many (used interrogatively and relatively)
100.8; 182.13

{ *mīxa'lha* numerous, in great numbers 92.28; 94.1

¹ A few adjectives in *-am* (= *-an*) are distinctly nominal in appearance; *bīla'm* HAVING NOTHING; *zīla'm* SICK (but also as noun, DEAD PERSON, GHOST). It hardly seems possible to separate these from nouns like *heela'm* BOARD; *ts'lela'm* HAIL.

² Cf. American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 9, p. 266.

3. **-di.** A few adjectives have been found with this suffixed element:
hapsdi little 192.6; *hā'p'di* 24.12; 60.15; 61.5 (cf. *hā'pxi* child 128.16)
yap'a daldi wild man (cf. *dal-* in the brush) 22.14
gama'xdi raw 94.3, 6; 144.5; 182.4
gweldi finished (cf. *gwel-* leg) 34.1; 79.8; 94.18

4. **-ts!- (-^εs).** In a small number of adjectives this element is doubtless to be considered a suffix:

ī'ltak'w bad, ugly 182.1; 186.22; 198.4 (cf. pl. *ī'la'sak'w*)
s'in-p'ī'ls flat-nosed
xā-xdi'ls slim-waisted 71.15; 75.6 (cf. inferential passive *xā-ī-xdi'lxalk'am* they have been notched in several places)

A few adjectives in *-s*, evidently morphologically connected with the scattering nouns in *-s*, also occur:

gūms blind 26.14
bāls long 14.5; 33.16; 158.1
s'uñs thick 90.3

5. **-(a)x.** This suffix disappears in the plural (see below, § 109), so that no room is left for doubt as to its non-radical character. Whether it is to be identified with the non-agentive *-x* of the verb is somewhat uncertain, but that such is the case is by no means improbable; in some cases, indeed, the adjective in *-x* is connected with a verb in *-x*. The *-a'px* of some of the examples is without doubt composed of the petrified *-b-* found in a number of verbs (see § 42, 1) and the adjectival (or non-agentive) *-x*.

al-t'geya'px round (cf. *al-t'geye'px* it rolls)
sal-ts'!una'px straight
dā-ts'!ām^x sick 90.12, 13, 21; 92.5; 150.16
al-t'mīla'px smooth
dā-p'o'a^εx crooked (cf. *p'owo'εx* it bends)
ī-ge'wa^εx crooked-handed

More transparently derivational in character than any of those listed above are the following adjectival suffixes:

6. **-gwat'** HAVING. Adjectival forms in *-gwat'* are derived partly by the addition of the adjectival suffix *-(a)t'* to third personal reflexive possessive forms in *-t'gwa* (*-xagwa*), or to palatalized passive participial forms in *-k'w*, themselves derived from nouns (see § 77), partly by the addition of *-gwat'* to nouns in

their pre-pronominal form (-*x*). The fact that these various -*gwa't* forms, despite their at least apparent diversity of origin, clearly form a unit as regards signification, suggests an ultimate identity of the noun reflexive -*gwa* (and therefore verbal indirect reflexive -*gwa-*) with the passive participial -*k'w*. The -*gwa-* of forms in -*x-gwat* is not quite clear, but is perhaps to be identified with the comitative -*gwa-* of the verb. An adjective like *yū'k'al-x-gwat* TEETH-HAVING presents a parallelism to a verbal participle like *dak'-līm-x-gwat* WITH (TREE) FALLING OVER ONE (from aorist *dak'-līmīm-x-gwa-de^ε* I AM WITH IT FALLING OVER ME, see § 46) that is suggestive of morphologic identity. Examples of -*gwa't* adjectives are:

waya'uxagwat having daughter-in-law 56.10 (cf. *waya'uxagwa* her own daughter-in-law)

t'gwana't'gwat slave-having (cf. *t'gwana't'gwa* his own slave)

*Da-t'ān-elā'at'gwat*¹ Squirrel-Tongued (literally, in-mouth squirrel his-tongue having [name of Coyote's daughter]) 70.6; 72.4; 75.11

nī'xagwat mother-having (cf. *nī'xak'w* mothered)

mē'xagwat father-having (cf. *mē'xak'w* fathered)

k'ē^εlē'p'igigwat wife-having (cf. *k'ē^εlē'p'igik'w* wived 142.6)

gū^uxgwa't wife-having 128.4 (cf. *gū^u-x-de'k'* my wife 142.9)

dagaxgwa't head-having (cf. *da'g-ax-dek'* my head 90.13)

ts'!u'lxgwat having Indian money (cf. *ts'!u'lx* Indian money 14.13)

A form with -*gwat* and the copula *ei-* (for persons other than the third) takes the place in Takelma of the verb HAVE:

ts'!u'lxgwat' eīt'e^ε I have money (literally money-having or moneyed I-am)

ts'!ulx-gwa't he has money

Aside from the fact that it has greater individuality as a distinct phonetic unit, the post-positive *wa'k'izē* WITHOUT is the morphologic correlative of -*gwat* HAVING:

dagax wa'k'izē eīt' head without you-are

da'gaxgwat' eīt' head-having you-are

Similarly:

nīxa wa'k'izē eīt'e^ε mother without I-am

nī'xagwat' eīt'e^ε mother-having I-am

¹ The fact that this form has a body-part prefix (*da-* MOUTH) seems to imply its verbal (participial) character. -*t'gwat* in it, and forms like it, may have to be analyzed, not as -*t'gwa* HIS OWN+*t'*, but rather as -*t'* HIS+*gwa-* HAVING+*t'*. In other words, from a noun-phrase *t'ān elā'a* (older *elā'at'*) SQUIRREL HIS. TONGUE may be theoretically formed a comitative intransitive with prefix: **da-t'ān-elā'at'-gwade^ε* I AM HAVING SQUIRREL'S TONGUE IN MY MOUTH, of which the text-form is the participle. This explanation has the advantage over the one given above of putting forms in -*t'gwat* and -*xgwat* on one line; cf. also 73.15.

7. *-imik!i*. A few adjectives have been found ending in this suffix formed from temporal adverbs:

hop!ēⁿnimik!i (men) of long ago 168.1 (*hop!ēⁿ* long ago 58.4, 7, 11)
bō^ui'mik!i (people) of nowadays (*bō^u* now 188.8; 194.5)

8. *-(i)k!i*. This suffix, evidently closely related to the preceding one, forms adjectives (with the signification of BELONGING TO, ALWAYS BEING) from local phrases. Examples are:

ha-wil'i'yik!i belonging to good folks, not "common" (from *ha-wil'i* in the house)

xā^a-bēmik!i^ε being between sticks

ha-bam'i'sik!i^ε dwelling in air

xā^a-da'nik!i belonging between rocks (e. g., crawfish)

dak'-p!i'yak!i^ε staying always over the fire

ha-p!i'yak!i^ε belonging to fire

9. *-^εxi*. A few adjectival forms in *-^εxi*, formed from local phrases, seem to have a force entirely coincident with adjectives in *-(i)k!i*:

ha-p!i'ya^εxi belonging to fire

ha-xi'ya^εxi mink (literally, always staying in the water [from *ha-xiya`* in the water 33.4])

10. *-^εi'xi*. This suffix seems to be used interchangeably with *-(i)k!i* and *-^εxi*. Examples are:

ha-bam'i'sa^εi'xi^ε belonging to the air, sky

xā^a-da'ni^εi'xi^ε belonging between rocks

ha-wil'i^εi'xi belonging to the house

ha-xi'ya^εi'xi belonging to the water

ha-p!iya^εi'xi belonging to fire

The following forms in *-^εi'xi*, not derived from local phrases, doubtless belong with these:

ge^εi'xi belonging there 160.24

goyo^εi'xi belonging to shamans (used to mean: capable of wishing ill, supernaturally doing harm, to shamans) 170.11

§ 109. Plural Formations

A few adjectives form their plural or frequentative by reduplication:

Singular
de-bü'ü^ε full 49.14; 116.5

Plural
de-bü^εba`x (dissimilated from *-bü^εba^εx*) 122.17

ī'lts!ak'w bad 182.1; 198.4

īl^εa'lsak'w (dissimilated from *īl^εalts!-*)

maha`i large 23.1; 74.15

mahmī 32.15; 49.10; 130.4

Of these, the first two are clearly verbal in type. The probably non-agentive *-x* of *de-bü^sba^x* (also singular *de-bü^üü^sx* from **de-bü^ük!^{-x}* [cf. *de-bü^ük!ⁱⁿ* I SHALL FILL IT]) and the apparently passive participial *-ak^w* of *ī^wlts!ak^w* strongly suggest that the first two of these adjectives are really adjectivally specialized verb-forms. *mahmī* is altogether irregular in type of reduplication. *t!os^wō^w* LITTLE 56.15; 74.16 forms its plural by the repetition of the second consonant after the repeated vowel of the singular: *dak!oloi-t!os^wū^sgwat^w* HE HAS SMALL CHEEKS. In regard to *t'at^w* 179.18, the plural of *t'ā* HOT 57.15, it is not certain whether the *-t^w* is the repeated initial consonant, or the *-t^w* characteristic of other adjective plurals.

Most adjectives form their plural by repeating after the medial consonant the vowel of the stem, where possible, and adding to the amplified stem the element *-it^w* (probably from *-hit^w*, as shown by its treatment with preceding fortis), or, after vowels, *-i^wit^w*; a final non-radical *-(a)x* disappears in the plural. *ho^sāu* GETTING BIGGER (with inorganic *-a-*) forms its plural by the repetition of the stem-vowel alone, *hos^wō^w* 156.11; 158.11; similar is *du^sū^w* 58.10 which seems to be the plural of *dū* PRETTY 58.8. *yo^wt'i* ([?] *yo^wt^w-hi*) ALIVE forms the plural *yo^wt'i^whi* ([?] *yo^wt'i^whi*) 128.16. Examples of the peculiarly adjectival plural in *-(t^w)it^w* are:

| Singular | Plural |
|---|---|
| <i>al-t'geya^wpx</i> round | <i>al-t'geye^wp^wit^w</i> |
| <i>al-t'mīla^wpx</i> smooth | <i>al-t'mīli^wp^wit^w</i> |
| <i>sal-ts!^wuna^wpx</i> straight | <i>sal-ts!^wu^wnup^wit^w</i> |
| <i>sal-t!a^wi</i> narrow | <i>sal-t!a^wyat^wit^w</i> |
| <i>da-p^wo^wa^sx</i> crooked (= <i>-ak!^w-x</i>) | <i>gwit^w-p^wo^wo^sk^wit^w</i> c r o o k e d - armed |
| <i>ī-ge^wwa^sx</i> crooked-handed (= <i>-ak!^w-x</i> ; cf. aorist <i>gewe- k!aw-</i> carry [salmon] bow- fashion) | <i>ī-ge^wwe^sk^wit^w</i> |
| <i>de-ts!^wü^wgü^wt^w</i> sharp-pointed 126.18 | <i>de-ts!^wü^wgü^whit^w</i> |
| <i>de-t'ülü^wē^wp^w</i> dull | <i>de-t'ülü^wē^wp^wit^w</i> |
| <i>al-ts!^wi^wl</i> red | <i>da^wk!oloi-ts!^wi^wlit^wit^w</i> he has red cheeks |
| <i>al-t'gu^wi^s</i> white 55.2; 188.11 | <i>da^wk!oloi-t'gu^wyu^sit^w</i> he has white cheeks |
| <i>al-t'ge^wm</i> black 13.3; 162.4 | <i>da^wk!oloi-t'ge^wmet^wit^w</i> he has black cheeks |
| <i>bāls</i> long 14.5; 15.12, 15 | <i>s^win^wā^wdā^wt^wan</i> <i>bā^wla^wsit^w</i> their noses are long |

That these plurals are really frequentative or distributive in force is illustrated by such forms as *da'k!oloi-ts'li'li't'it'* RED-CHEEKED, which has reference not necessarily to a plurality of persons affected, but to the frequency of occurrence of the quality predicated, i. e., to the redness of both cheeks.

V. Numerals (§§ 110, 111)

§ 110. Cardinals

| Cardinals | Adverbs |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>mī'iesga^ε</i> 13.2; 192.8; <i>mī'ēs</i> 188.9 | <i>mīū^εxda'n</i> once 182.20; 188.13 |
| 2. { <i>gā'^εm</i> 22.7; 110.11 <i>gā'p'ini'ⁱ</i> 55.7,12; 116.1 } | <i>gā'^εmân</i> twice |
| 3. <i>xī'binī'</i> 150.8 | <i>xī'nt'</i> |
| 4. <i>gamga'm</i> 148.5; 184.17 | <i>gamga'man</i> |
| 5. <i>dēhal</i> 150.19, 20; 182.21 | <i>dēhaldan</i> |
| 6. <i>ha^εimī'ēs</i> 150.12 | <i>ha^εimī'ts!ada'n</i> |
| 7. <i>ha^εigā'^εm</i> | <i>ha^εigā'^εmada'n</i> |
| 8. <i>ha^εixī'n</i> | <i>ha^εixinda'n</i> |
| 9. <i>ha^εigo'</i> 150.14 | <i>ha^εigō'uga'da'n</i> |
| 10. <i>i'xdīl</i> 13.1; 150.5; 182.22 | <i>ixdīlda'n</i> |
| 11. <i>i'xdīl mī'iesga^ε gada'k'</i> ten one on-top-of | |
| 12. <i>i'xdīl gā'^εm gada'k'</i> | |
| 20. <i>yap!amī'ēs</i> 182.23 | |
| 30. <i>xī'n ixdīl</i> | |
| 40. <i>gamga'mân ixdīl</i> | |
| 50. <i>dēhaldan ixdīl</i> | |
| 60. <i>ha^εimī'ts!adan ixdīl</i> | |
| 70. <i>ha^εigā'^εmadan ixdīl</i> | |
| 80. <i>ha^εixī'ndan ixdīl</i> | |
| 90. <i>ha^εigogada'n ixdīl</i> | |
| 100. <i>t!eimī'ēs</i> 23.2, 4, 9, 12, 13 | |
| 200. <i>gā'^εmân t!eimī'ēs</i> | |
| 300. <i>xīn t!eimī'ēs</i> | |
| 400. <i>gamga'mân t!eimī'ēs</i> | |
| 1,000. <i>i'xdīldan t!eimī'ēs</i> | |
| 2,000. <i>yap!amī'ts!adan t!eimī'ēs</i> | |

mī'iesga^ε is the usual uncompounded form of ONE. In compounds the simpler form *mī'ēs* (stem *mīts!-*) occurs as the second element:

ha^εimī'ēs six (= one [finger] in the hand)

yap!amī'ēs twenty (= one man)

¹ Often heard as *gā'p'ini'* 55.2, 5.

t!eimí's one hundred (probably = one male [*t!íi-*])

me^l t'gā^a-mí's crows earth-one (=land packed full of crows)

144.9, 11, 12, 13

de^emí's in-front-one (=marching in single file)

almí's all together 92.23, 24; 190.17

Of the two forms for TWO, *gā'p!ini'* seems to be the more frequently used, though no difference of signification or usage can be traced. *gā'p!ini'* TWO and *xí'biní'* THREE are evident compounds of the simpler *gā^em* and *xí'n* (seen in *ha^exí'n* EIGHT) and an element *-biní'* that is perhaps identical with *-biní'* of *ha'-biní'* IN THE MIDDLE. *gamga'm* FOUR is evidently reduplicated from *gā^em* TWO, the falling accent of the second syllable being probably due to the former presence of the catch of the simplex. An attempt has been made¹ to explain *dēhal* FIVE as an adjectival form in *-al* derived from *de^e-* IN FRONT. The numerals SIX, SEVEN, EIGHT, and NINE are best considered as morphologically verbs provided with the compound prefix *ha^eí-* IN THE HAND (see § 35, 4), and thus strictly signifying ONE (FINGER) IS IN THE HAND; TWO, THREE, FOUR (FINGERS) ARE IN THE HAND. No explanation can be given of *-go'* in *ha^eígo'* NINE, except that it may be an older stem for FOUR, later replaced, for one reason or another, by the composite *gamga'm* TWO+TWO. *i'xdíl* TEN is best explained as compounded of *í-x-* HAND (but why not *vūx-* as in *vūx-de'k'* MY HAND?) and the dual *-díl'*, and as being thus equivalent to TWO HANDS.

It thus seems probable that there are only three simple numeral stems in Takelma, *mí'í's* ONE, *gā^em* TWO, and *xí'n* THREE. All the rest are either evident derivations from these, or else (*dēhal* probably and *i'xdíl* certainly) descriptive of certain finger-positions. While the origin of the Takelma system may be tertiary or quinary (if *-go'* is the original stem for FOUR and *dēhal* is a primary element), the decimal feeling that runs through it is evidenced both by the break at ten and by the arrangement of the numerals beyond ten.

The teens are expressed by TEN ONE ABOVE (i. e., ten over one), TEN TWO ABOVE; and so on. *ga^ea'v* THERETO may be used instead of *gada'k'* OVER. Twenty is ONE MAN, i. e., BOTH HANDS AND FEET. One hundred can be plausibly explained as equivalent to ONE MALE PERSON.² The other tens, i. e., thirty to ninety inclusive, are expressed by

¹ American Anthropologist, loc. cit., where FIVE is explained as BEING IN FRONT, on the basis of the method of fingering used by the Takelma in counting.

² Loc. cit.

multiplication, the appropriate numeral adverb preceding the word for ten. *xì'n ixdìl* THIRTY, however, uses the original cardinal *xìn*, instead of the numeral adverb *xint'*. The hundreds (including two hundred and one thousand) are similarly expressed as multiplications of one hundred (*t!eimi's*), the numeral adverbs (*xìn* instead of *xì'nt'* in three hundred) preceding *t!eimi's*. Numerals above one thousand ($=10 \times 100$) can hardly have been in much use among the Takelma, but can be expressed, if desired, by prefixing the numeral adverbs derived from the tens to *t!eimi's*; e. g., *džhaldan ixdìldan t!eimi's* $5 \times 10 \times 100 = 5,000$.

As far as the syntactic treatment of cardinal numerals is concerned, it should be noted that the plural of the noun modified is never employed with any of them:

- wa-iwì'ti gāp!ini* girl two (i. e., two girls) 55.2, 5, 7, 12 (*wa-iwì'ti-t'an* girls 56.11)
mologolā'p'a gā'p!ini old-woman two 26.14 (*mologolā'p'ak!an* old women 138.10)
hā'p'da gā'p!ini his child two 154.17 (*hā'p'xda* his children)

Like adjectives, attributive numerals regularly follow the noun.

§ 111. Numeral Adverbs

The numeral adverbs denoting SO AND SO MANY TIMES are derived from the corresponding cardinals by suffixing *-an* (often weakened to *-ân*) to *gā'εm* TWO and its derivative *gamgā'm* FOUR; *-t'*, to *xìn* THREE; *-da'n*, to other numerals (*-ada'n*, to those ending in *-εm* and *-ts!- = -εs*). *ha'εīgā'εm* SEVEN and *ha'εixì'n* EIGHT, it will be observed, do not follow *gā'εm* and *xìn* in the formation of their numeral adverbs, but add *-(a)da'n*.

It is not impossible that *mü^üεx-* in *mü^üεxda'n* ONCE is genetically related and perhaps dialectically equivalent to *mì'εs-*, but no known grammatic or phonetic process of Takelma enables one to connect them. *ha'εīgō'gada'n* NINE TIMES seems to insert a *-ga-* between the cardinal and the adverbial suffix *-dan*. The most plausible explanation of the form is its interpretation as NINE (*ha'εīgo'*) THAT (*ga*) NUMBER-OF-TIMES (*-da'n*), the demonstrative serving as a peg to hang the suffix on.

From the numeral adverbs are derived, by prefixing *ha-* IN, a further series with the signification of IN SO AND SO MANY PLACES:

- ha-gā'εmân* in two places
ha-gamgama'n 176.2, 3 in four places
ha-ha'εīgō'gada'n in nine places

Cardinals with prefixed *ha-* are also found, apparently with an approximative force, e. g., *ha-dēhal* ABOUT FIVE 194.2.

No series of ordinal numerals could be obtained, and the probability is strong that such a series does not exist. *debi`n* occurs as FIRST (e. g., *wili debi`n-hi* FIRST HOUSE), but may also mean LAST 49.2; 150.15, a contradiction that, in view of the probable etymology of the word, is only apparent. *debi`n* is evidently related to *ha-bini`* IN THE MIDDLE, and therefore signifies something like IN FRONT OF THE MIDDLE; i. e., AT EITHER END of a series, a meaning that comports very well with the renderings of both FIRST and LAST. It is thus evident that no true ordinal exists for even the first numeral.

VI. Adverbs and Particles (§§ 112–114)

A very large number of adverbs and particles (some of them simple stems, others transparent derivatives, while a great many others still are quite impervious to analysis) are found in Takelma, and, particularly the particles, seem to be of considerable importance in an idiomatically constructed sentence. A few specifically adverbial suffixes are discernible, but a large number of unanalyzable though clearly non-primitive adverbs remain; it is probable that many of these are crystallized noun or verb forms now used in a specialized adverbial sense.

§ 112. Adverbial Suffixes

Perhaps the most transparent of all is:

1. *-da`t`*. This element is freely added to personal and demonstrative pronouns, adverbs or verbal prefixes, and local phrases, to impart the idea of direction from or to, more frequently the former. Examples of its occurrence are:

- gī`da`t`* in my direction (*gī* I)
- wadēdat`* from my side (*wadē* to me)
- ada`t`* on, to this side 112.17; 144.2
- ī`dada`t`* in that direction, from that side (*īda-* that)
- hā`aεda`t`* from yonder (*hā`aε-* that yonder)
- gwi`dat`* in which direction? 190.18 (*gwi* how? where?)
- geda`t`* from there 144.8
- eme`εdat`* from here
- me`εda`t`* hitherwards 32.10, 11; 55.3 (*me`ε-* hither)
- he`εdat`* thitherwards (*he`ε-* away)
- nō`da`t`* from down river 23.9 (*nō`u* down river)

- handa't* (going) across (*han-* across) 30.4; 31.16
hā'ndada't from across (the river) (*ha'nda* across it) 112.17; 114.17
habamda't from above (*ha-* in + *bam-* up)
hariya'dat from water on to land (*ha-xiya'* in the water).
dak'-wil'i'dat from on top of the house (*dak'-wil'i* over the house)
 27.5; 62.5
gwen-t'gā^a-bo'k'dandada't from the east (*gwen-t'gā^a-bo'k'danda*
 east) 144.23; (cf. 146.1)

More special in use of *-dat'* are:

- honōxdat'* last year (*honōx* some time ago)
dewe'nxada't day after to-morrow (*dewe'nxa* to-morrow)
de'da't first, before others 110.5

2. *-xa*. A fairly considerable number of adverbs, chiefly temporal in signification, are found to end in this element. Such are:

- hō^uxa'* yesterday 76.9; 98.21
da-hō^uxa' this evening 13.3; 16.15; 63.8; 78.4
dabalni'xa for a long time (cf. *bāl-s* long and *lep'ni'xa* in winter)
 54.4; 108.16
ya'xa continually, only, indeed (cf. post-positive *yā^a* just) 54.5;
 63.3; 78.10
dewe'nxa to-morrow 77.14; 112.15; 130.17; 194.1
dap!a'xa toward daylight, dawn 45.4
de^exa henceforth (cf. *de-* in front of) 196.5
sama'xa in summer (cf. *sa'ma* summer 188.13; verb-stem *sam-g-*
 be summer 92.9) 162.16; 176.13, 15
lep'ni'xa in winter 162.20; 176.15
de-bixi'msa ([?]=*-t-xa*) in spring ([?]) cf. *bi'xal* moon)
da-yō^uga'mxa in autumn 186.3
ts'i's'a ([?]=*-t-xa*) at night 182.20
xamīⁱxa by the ocean (cf. *xam-* into water) 21.1; 55.1
 (?) *bō^u-nēxa-da^e* soon, immediately (cf. *bō^u* now and *ne^e* well! or
na⁻¹ do) 90.10; 108.2
 (?) *da^ema'xaufar* away (for *da^e*- cf. *da^e-o'l* near) 14.3; 188.21; 190.6

In *lep'ni'x* 90.6, a doublet of *lep'ni'xa*, *-xa* appears shortened to *-x*; this *-x* may be found also in *honōx* SOME TIME AGO (cf. *hono^e* AGAIN). Here perhaps belongs also *da-yawa'nt'i-xi* (adjectival?) IN HALF, ON ONE SIDE (OF TWO) 94.3.

It will be noticed that a number of these adverbs are provided with the prefix *da-* (*de-* before palatal vowels, cf. § 36, 2), the application of which, however, in their case, can not be explained.

3. *-ne'*. A number of adverbs, chiefly those of demonstrative signification, assume a temporal meaning on the addition of *-ne'*, a

¹ See Appendix A, p. 290.

catch intervening between the suffix and the stem. Etymologically *-ne* may be identical with the hortatory particle *ne*^e WELL, LET (US) —.

| Adverb | Temporal |
|---|--|
| <i>he</i> ^{es} - there yonder | <i>he</i> ^ε <i>ne</i> ^ʼ then, at that time 45.6; 49.14 |
| <i>ge</i> there 14.3; 15.5, 12 | <i>ge</i> ^ε <i>ne</i> ^ʼ so long 92.10; 198.9 |
| <i>me</i> ^ε - hither | <i>me</i> ^ε <i>ne</i> ^ε at this time 24.14 (cf. also <i>ma</i> ^ε <i>nai</i> around this time 178.4) |
| <i>e</i> ^ʼ <i>me</i> ^ε here 31.3; 192.9 | <i>eme</i> ^ε <i>ne</i> (<i>yā</i> ^{ʼa} - <i>hi</i>) (right) here ([?] = now) 190.23 |
| <i>gwi</i> how? 46.2; 78.5 | <i>gwi</i> ^ʼ <i>ne</i> some time (elapsed), how long? 44.2; 48.9; 148.7 |

To this set probably belong also:

- xū*^ε*n*, *xū*^ʼ*ne*^ʼ at night, night 45.3; 46.12; 48.10; 160.22
bē^ε*n* by day 166.2 (cf. *bē* sun, day)
hop!^ε*n* long ago 58.4; 86.7, 9; 192.15; 194.4
xā^ε*newi*^ʼ*ε* sometimes 132.25
bō^u*nē* now, yet 130.23 (cf. *bō*^u now)

ī^ʼ*de*^ε*ne*^ʼ, which the parallelism of the other forms in *-ne*^ʼ with *de*, monstrative stems leads one to expect, does not happen to occur but probably exists. Curiously enough, *he*^ʼ*ε**ne* not infrequently may be translated as LIKE, particularly with preceding *k*^ʼ*ai* (§ 105):

- k*^ʼ*a*^ʼ *he*^ε*ne* *bēm* something like wood 186.11
k^ʼ*ai* *gvala* *he*^ʼ*ε**ne* like various things 196.3

A number of other adverbial suffixes probably occur, but the examples are not numerous enough for their certain determination. Among them is *-ada*^ʼ:

- nō*^u*gwada*^ʼ some distance down river 54.2 (cf. *nō*^u down river and *nō*^u*gwa*^ʼ down river from 75.14)
hinwada^ʼ some distance up river 56.4; 100.18; 102.4 (cf. *hina*^ʼ*u* up river and *hinwa*^ʼ up river from 77.1)
ha^ʼ*nt*^ʼ*ada* across the river 98.5; 192.3; (cf. *ha*^ʼ*nt*^ʼ across, in half)

Several adverbs are found to end in *-(da)da*^ε, perhaps to be identified with the *-da*^ε of subordinate verb-forms:

- bō*^u-*nē**xada*^ε immediately 90.10, 12; 108.2
he^ε(*da*)*da*^ʼ*ε* away from here 92.5; 172.5; 194.10; 196.11
gwel^ε-*wāk*^ʼ*wi*^ε EARLY IN THE MORNING 44.1; 63.9; 77.14; 190.1 seems to be a specialized verb-form in *-k*^ʼ*i*^ε IF, WHENEVER. It is possible that there is an adverbial *-t*^ʼ suffix:

- gwe*^ʼ*nt*^ʼ in back, behind 94.15
ha^ʼ*nt*^ʼ across, in half 146.22; 154.9; 192.7

It may be that this *-t'* has regularly dropped off when final in polysyllables:

da^εo'l near 100.15; but *da^εo'lt'i* (= *da^εo'l[t']* + *-hi*) 136.7

§ 113. Simple Adverbs

The simple adverbs that are closely associated with demonstrative stems have been already discussed (§ 104). A number of others, partly simple stems and partly unanalyzable derivatives, are listed here, such as have been already listed under adverbial suffixes not being repeated.

1. Local adverbs:

nō^u down river 17.9; 63.1; 124.15

nō'^{us}s next door ([?] related to *nō^u*) 17.4; 188.2

hina'u up river ([?] compounded with *nō^u*) 22.7; 23.1; 61.13; 192.14

da^ε-o'l near (cf. *-t'*, § 112, and see § 93) 100.15; 102.6; 126.2

dihau(yā'^a) last of all (see § 93) 120.18

gī'^{iε}wa far off 48.8; 192.1

aba'i in the house (cf. § 37, 14) 28.8; 43.13; 140.5

hā'^{aε}ya on both sides, mutually (cf. § 37, 5) 172.10; 176.6

2. Temporal adverbs:

bō^u now, to-day 49.13; 50.1; 56.11; 61.11

ha'wi still, yet (cf. § 37, 9) 78.1; 126.21; 192.8; 198.11

bō^unē hawi } soon 128.18

ha'wi bō^une' }

olo'm (ulu'm) formerly, up to now 43.11; 63.1; 71.15; 166.2

hemdi' when? 132.24; *a'nī^ε hem* never

mī'i now, already (often proclitic to following word) 22.4; 63.1; 190.9

ganē then, and then (often used merely to introduce new statement) 47.14; 63.1, 2, 16

A noteworthy idiomatic construction of adverbs or phrases of temporal signification is their use as quasi-substantives with forms of *lā^alī-* BECOME. Compare such English substantivized temporal phrases as AFTERNOON. Examples are:

sama'xa lāp'k' in-summer it-has-become 92.11

hayε'wa'xdā^ada lā^alē' in-their-returning it-became (=it became time for them to return) 124.15

habēbini diha'-uda lā^alīt'^{aε} noon after-it when-it-became (=when it was afternoon) 186.8

3. Negative and affirmative adverbs:

hit' no 134.19, 21*ha'-u* yes 24.13; 64.1; 170.12*a'nī^ε* not (with aorist) 23.3, 6; 64.3; 78.1*a'ndi* not? 56.10; 90.26 (e. g., *a'ndi k'ai* are there not any?) 56.8*nī^ε* not? (with following subordinate): *s'-nīⁱ naga'sbinda^ε* didn't I tell you? 136.10*naga-di^ε* do (you) not? 116.12*wede* not (with inferential and potential) 25.13; 122.22, 23

4. Modal adverbs:

hono^ε (rarely heard as *honō^εn* 74.8; this is very likely its original form, cf. *-εn* for *-εne*, § 112, 3) again, too, also 22.4; 58.5; 134.1*ganga* only 54.4; 94.5; *ganga'-hi* anyhow 94.8; 142.13; *ganga-s'i^ε* just so, for fun*wana^ε* even 47.10; 61.3; 71.8; 76.4; 186.2*yaxā^awa* however (cf. *yaxa*, § 114, 9; for *-wa* cf. *gī^{iε}wa*, § 113, 1) 72.11; 74.15*ha'ga* explanatory particle used with inferential 28.10; 45.11 (e. g., *ga haga wa'la^ε yu'k'* so that one was really he 170.8)*nak!a^ε* in every way, of all sorts (e. g., *k'adi' nak!a^εa'nī^ε ḡgīⁱnan* what kind was not taken?, i. e., every kind was taken 60.11)*yewē* perhaps 136.23; 180.8; 196.18*s'o^ε*, *s'ō^{uε}* perfectly, well 136.20; 166.1 (e. g., *s'o^ε de^εgwa'tt'gwīⁱp'* take good care of yourself! 128.24)*amadi'(s'i^ε)* would that! 142.10 (e. g., *amadi's'i^ε t!omoma^εn* I wish I could kill him; *amadi loho^{iε}* would that he died! 196.2)*wi'sa^εm* (cf. *wis*, § 114, 8) I wonder if 150.2, 3 (e. g., *mīⁱ wi'sa^εm ya^ε* I wonder if he went already)

It is a characteristic trait of Takelma, as of many other American languages, that such purely modal ideas as the optative (WOULD THAT!) and dubitative (I WONDER IF) are expressed by independent adverbs without modification of the indicative verb-form (cf. further *wi^εobiha'n ye^εwa^εt' wi'sa^εm* MY-ELDER-BROTHERS THEY-WILL-RETURN I-WONDER-IF 150.2, 3).

Several of the adverbs listed above can be used relatively with subordinates, in which use they may be looked upon as conjunctive adverbs:

bō^u-gwan¹ (1) *yā^ania'-uda^ε* (2) *bai-yeweya'k'^w* (3) as soon as (1) they went (2), she took him out again (3) 128.20*yewē* (1) *xebe^εyagwanaga'm* (2) *yewē* (3) *wā^ada* (4) *hiwili^{uε}* (5) perhaps (1) that we destroy him (2), perhaps (3) he runs (5)¹ Probably compounded of *bō^u* NOW and *gan(i)* NOW, THEN, AND THEN.

to her (4) (=should we destroy him, perhaps he would run to her)

waya' (1) *he^εne'* (2) *de-k'iwi'k'auk'wanma^ε* (3) *ga* (4) *na^εnāk'ik'* (5) just as (2) a knife (1) is brandished (3), that (4) he did with it (5) 172.12 (cf. *he^εne'* in its meaning of LIKE, §112, 3)

§ 114. Particles

By particles are here meant certain uninflected elements that have little or no meaning of their own, but that serve either to connect clauses or to color by some modal modification the word to which they are attached. They are never met with at the beginning of a clause or sentence, but occur only postpositively, generally as enclitics. Some of the elements listed above as modal adverbs (§ 113, 4) might also be considered as syntactic particles (e. g., *wana*, *ha'ga*, *nak'la'*, which never stand at the beginning of a clause); these, however, show no tendency to be drawn into the verb-complex. Whenever particles qualify the clause as a whole, rather than any particular word in the clause, they tend to occupy the second place in the sentence, a tendency that, as we have seen (p. 65), causes them often to be inserted, but not organically incorporated, into the verb-complex. The most frequently occurring particles are those listed below:

1. *yā'^a* JUST. This element is not dissimilar in meaning to the post-nominal emphasizing *-^εa'* (§ 102), but differs from it in that it may be embedded in the verb-form:

ī-yā'^a-sge^εt'sga't^t he just twisted it to one side 31.5

It only rarely follows a verb-form, however, showing a strong tendency to attach itself to denominating terms. Though serving generally to emphasize the preceding word, it does not seem to involve, like *-^εa'*, the idea of a contrast:

xā^a-xo yā'^a right among firs (cf. 94.17)

he^εne yā'^a just then, then indeed 63.13; 128.22; 188.1, 18

dō^umxbīn yā'^a I shall just kill you 178.15

It has at times a comparative force:

gī yā'^a na^εnada'^ε you will be, act, just like me (cf. 196.2)

2. *hi*. This constantly occurring enclitic is somewhat difficult to define. With personal pronouns it is used as an emphatic particle:

ma' hi you yourself (cf. 104.13; 152.20)

Similarly with demonstratives:

ga' hi just that, the same 64.6; 96.16; 144.3; 190.21

In such cases it is rather difficult to draw the line between it and *yā'a*,¹ to which it may be appended:

ga yā'a hi gwelda' just under that 190.17

han-yā'a-hi bā'a-t'e'ex just across the river she emerged 58.3

As emphasizing particle it may even be appended to subordinate verb forms and to local phrases:

yānt'eda^s hi' just as I went (cf. 138.23; 152.5, 7)

dīha-udē hi' right behind me, as soon as I had gone

It may be enclitically attached to other particles, *yā'a-hi* 192.1 being a particularly frequent combination:

gīⁱ yaxa'-hi I, however, indeed 71.8

Its signification is not always, however, so specific nor its force so strong. All that can be said of it in many cases is that it mildly calls attention to the preceding word without, however, specially emphasizing it; often its force is practically nil. This lack of definite signification is well illustrated in the following lullaby, in the second line of which it serves merely to preserve the rhythm -'~:

mo'xo wa'inhā buzzard, put him to sleep!

s'i'mhi wa'inhā (?) put him to sleep!

p'e'lda wa'inhā slug, put him to sleep!

The most important syntactic function of *hi* is to make a verbal prefix an independent word, and thus take it out of its proper place in the verb:

de'-hi ahead (from *de-* in front) 33.15; 64.3; 196.1; 198.12

ha'n-hi ei-sāk'^w across he-canoe-paddled

but:

ei-han-sāk'^w he-canoe-across-paddled 112.9, 18; 114.11

where *han-*, as an incorporated local prefix, takes its place after the object *ei*. A number of adverbs always appear with suffixed *hi*; e. g., *gasa'łhi* QUICKLY 16.10. Like *-a'*, from which it differs, however, in its far greater mobility, *hi* is never found appended to non-subordinate predicative forms. With *hi* must not be confused:

¹ The various shades of emphasis contributed by *-a'*, *yā'a*, *hi*, and *s-i'*, respectively, are well illustrated in *ma'a'* YOU, BUT YOU (as contrasted with others); *ma yā'a* JUST YOU, YOU INDEED (simple emphasis without necessary contrast); *ma' hi* YOU YOURSELF; *mas'i'z* AND YOU, YOU IN YOUR TURN (108.13)

3. **-hi^s**. This particle is found appended most frequently to introductory words in the sentence, such as *mīⁱ*, *ganē*, and other adverbs, and to verb-forms:

mīⁱ-hi^s t'aga'ⁱs then he returned 62.2; (cf. 188.15)

ganē-hi^s aba-i-gini'^sk' and then he went into the house 55.16

naga'-i-hi^s = naga'ⁱs he said + *-hi^s* (see § 22) 22.6; 57.1; 128.15; 192.9

As no definite meaning can be assigned to it, and as it is found only in myth narration, it is highly probable that it is to be interpreted as a quotative:

ga naga'saⁿ-hi^s that they said to each other, it is said 27.1, 3; 31.9

-hi^s is also found attached to a verbal prefix (22.1; 140.8, 22, 23).

4. **-s'ⁱs** AND, BUT. This is one of the most frequently occurring particles in Takelma narration, its main function being to bind together two clauses or sentences, particularly when a contrast is involved. It is found appended to nouns or pronouns as deictic or connective suffix:

āks'ⁱs he in his turn 61.11; (cf. 47.14; 104.8, 13)

hūlk' sgi'sidi'l mās'ⁱs Panther and Coyote, also Crane

An example of its use as sentence connector is:

ga nagañhan ha-t'gā^adē hop!ēⁿ, bō^u-s'ⁱs' eme'^s a'nī^s ga naga'n that used-to-be-said in-my-country long-ago, now-but here not that is-said 194.4; (cf. 60.9; 118.3; 122.17)

-s'ⁱs is particularly frequently suffixed to the demonstratives *ga* THAT and *aga* THIS, *gas'ⁱs* and *agas'ⁱs* serving to connect two sentences, the second of which is the temporal or logical resultant or antithesis of the second. Both of the connected or contrasted sentences may be introduced by *gas'ⁱs*, *agas'ⁱs*, or by a word with enclitically attached *-s'ⁱs*. In an antithesis *agas'ⁱs* seems to introduce the nearer, while *gas'ⁱs* is used to refer to the remoter act. Examples showing the usage of *gas'ⁱs* and *agas'ⁱs* are:

gas'ⁱs de^l ha-de-dīl't'a dī-būmā'^ak' (I smoked them out), and then (or so-that) yellow-jackets everywhere swarmed 73.10

k'aiwi'^s t!omoma'nda^s gas'ⁱs gayawa't'p' something I-having-killed-it, thereupon you-ate-it 90.8

gas'ⁱs gūxda hūlū^ūn wa-iwī'ⁱ t!omxi'xas'ⁱ aba'i on-one-hand his-wife (was a) sea woman, her-mother-in-law-but (lived) in-the-house 154.15

*agas*ⁱ *yōw*^k*!wat*^k *yā*^a *xu*^{ma}-*s*ⁱ *a*^{nī} *de*^{ügü}*'s*ⁱ now my-bones just (I was) (i. e., I was reduced to a skeleton), food-and not she-gave-me-to-eat 186.1

*agas*ⁱ *a*^{nī} *mī*^{wa} *al*-*t!eye*^{'xi} *naga*^{'i} *yulum*^{εa} *aga*^{'s}*i *xamk*['] *wāw*^{'i} *mī*['] *al*-*t!ayāk*^{'wa} on-one-hand "Not probably she-has-discovered-me," he-said Eagle-for-his-part, but Grizzly-Bear girl now she-had-discovered him 124.9*

*gas*ⁱ and *agas*ⁱ as syntactic elements are not to be confused with the demonstratives *ga* and *aga* to which a connective *-s*ⁱ happens to be attached. This is shown by:

*ga-s*ⁱ *ga*^{al} that-so for (= so for that reason)

where *ga*^{al} is a postposition to *ga*. There is nothing to prevent post-nominal *-s*ⁱ from appearing in the same clause:

aga^{'s}*i *mēls*^{'i} but Crow-in-her-turn 162.14*

When suffixed to the otherwise non-occurring demonstrative ^{εi} (perhaps contained in *īda*- THAT) it has a concessive force, DESPITE, ALTHOUGH, EVEN IF 60.1:

^{εi}*s*^{'i}-*hī* *s*^{'om} *ga*^{al} *ha*-*de*-*dilt*^{'a} *wit*['] *a*^{nī} *al*-*t!aya*^{'k} *p!iyi*^{'n} although-indeed mountain to everywhere he-went, not he-found deer 43.6

i^{'s}*i *ts!aya*^{'k} *a*^{nī} *t!omōm* *gūxdagwa* although he-shot-at-her, not he-killed-her his-own-wife 140.17*

-hī^ε (see no. 3) or connective *-s*ⁱ may be added to ^{εi}*s*^{'i}, the resulting forms, with catch dissimilation (see § 22), being ^{εi}*s*^{'i}*ihī*^ε and ^{εi}*s*^{'i}*s*^{'i} 47.11; 148.12. When combined with the idea of unfulfilled action, the concessive ^{εi}*s*^{'i} is supplemented by the conditional form in *-k*^{'i} of the verb:

^{εi}*s*^{'i} *k*^{'a} *i* *gwala* *nāxbiyaruk*^{'i}, *wede* *ge* *lī*^{'wa}*t* even-though things many they-should-say-to-you (i. e., even though they call you names), not there look! 60.3

Compounded with *-s*ⁱ is the indefinite particle:

5. *-s*^{'i}*wa*^{'k}*dī* 64.5. When appended to interrogatives, this particle brings about the corresponding indefinite meaning (see § 105), but it has also a more general syntactic usage, in which capacity it may be translated as PERCHANCE, IT SEEMS, PROBABLY:

ma^{'s}*i*wak*^{'dī} *henenagwa*^{'t} perhaps (or probably) you ate it all up 26.17*

The uncompounded *wak'di* also occurs:

ulu'm wó'k'di k'ai nāk'am formerly I-guess something it-was said to him 166.1

ga wa'k'di hogwa'εsdā^a that-one, it-seems, (was) their-runner 49.3

Similar in signification is:

6. *mī^{is}wa* PROBABLY, PERHAPS 45.8; 63.15. This enclitic has a considerable tendency to apparently be incorporated in the verb:

ī-mī^{is}wa-t!āūt!iwin maybe he was caught (*ī-t!āūt!iwin* he was caught)

xa^ε-ī-mī^{is}wa-sgīⁱbi^εn mīū^εxda'n hi I'll-probably-cut-him-in-two once just 31.13

7. *his, hī's* NEARLY, ALMOST, TRYING 44.7; 56.14. This element implies that the action which was done or attempted failed of success:

mīⁱ hono^ε t!omōk'wa-his māl then also he-killed-him nearly spear-shaft (personified), i. e., spear-shaft almost managed to kill him, as he had killed others 28.11; (cf. 188.20)

A frequent Takelma idiom is the use of *hi's* with a form of the verb of SAYING *na(g)-* to imply a thought or intention on the part of the subject of the *na(g)-* form that fails to be realized:

“*ha-xi'ya' mī^εwa sgā'^{at}ap'^{de^ε}” naga'^{is}-hī's* “in-the-water probably I-shall-jump,” he thought (but he really fell among alder-bushes and was killed) 94.17

Sometimes *his* seems to have a usitative signification; probably the main point implied is that an act once habitual has ceased to be so:

dak-his-t'ek!e'εxade^ε I used to smoke (but no longer do)

8. *wis, wī's* IT SEEMS, DOUBTLESS. This particle is used to indicate a likely inference. Examples are:

mīⁱ-wis dap^εā'la-u moyūgwana'n now-it-seems youth he's-to-be-spoiled (seeing that he's to wrestle with a hitherto invincible one) 31.12

mīⁱ wī'^{is} āk!a t!omoma'n now apparently he-for-his-part he-has-been-killed (seeing that he does not return) 88.9,(6)

9. *yaxa* CONTINUALLY, ONLY. The translation given for *yaxa* is really somewhat too strong and definite, its force being often so weak as hardly to allow of an adequate rendering into English. It

often does not seem to imply more than simple existence or action unaccompanied and undisturbed. It is found often with the scarcely translatable adverb *ganga* ONLY, in which case the idea of unvaried continuance comes out rather strongly, e. g.:

ga'-hi yaxa ganga naga'^{ie} that-indeed continually only he-said
(i. e., he always kept saying that) 24.15

From *ganga* it differs in the fact that it is often attracted into the verb-complex:

ganga ge'l-yaxa-hewe'hau only he-is-continually-thinking (i. e., he is always thinking) (cf. 128.18; 146.15)

10. *wala'^e(sina^e)* REALLY, COME TO FIND OUT 45.11; 170.8. As indicated in the translation, *wala'^e* indicates the more or less unexpected resolution of a doubt or state of ignorance:

ga haga wala'^e wili wa^e-ī-t!a'nik' that-one so really house he-kept-it (i. e., it was Spear-shaft himself who kept house, no one else) 28.10

Certain usages of *wala'^esi(na^e)*, evidently an amplification of *wala'^e*, have been already discussed (§ 70).

11. *dī* INTERROGATIVE. The interrogative enclitic is consistently used in all cases where an interrogative shade of meaning is present, whether as applying to a particular word, such as an interrogative pronoun or adverb, or to the whole sentence. Its use in indirect questions is frequent:

mān t'ī'is mīxal dī' t!omomana'^e he-counted gophers how-many had-been-killed

The use of the interrogative is often merely rhetorical, implying an emphatic negative:

k'a-dī' ma wili wa^e-ī-t!a'nida^e literally, what you house you-will-keep? (=you shall not keep house) 27.16; (cf. 33.1; 47.9)

Ordinarily *dī* occupies the second place in the sentence, less frequently the third:

yū'k!alaxde^e mī' dī' ^ea'nī^e k'a'i your-teeth now (inter.) not any (i. e., have you no teeth?) 128.23

Besides these syntactically and modally important enclitic particles, there are a few proclitics of lesser significance. Among these are to be included *mī'* NOW and *ganē* THEN, AND THEN, which, though they have been included among the temporal adverbs and may

indeed, at times, convey a definite temporal idea, are generally weak unaccented introducers of a clause, and have little determinable force:

ganē ya'ε then he went 92.26; 118.19; 152.7

mī' loho'ie then he died 71.13; 98.19; 122.13

The proclitic *neε* WELL! is used chiefly as introductory to a hortatory statement:

neε gō^um-s'ie'ε dak'-s'inī'ida nabā'as^εha'n let us-in-our-turn over-his-nose let-us-do (i. e., let us pass over him!) 144.11

neε t!omoma'εn let me kill him. (cf. 96.4)

§ 115. VII. Interjections

Of interjections and other words of an emotional character there are quite a number in Takelma. Some of them, while in no sense of definite grammatical form, are based on noun or verb stems. Not a few involve sounds otherwise foreign to the language (e. g., nasalized vowels [expressed by ⁿ], *ä* as in ENGLISH BAT, *â* as in SAW, *dj* as in JUDGE, voiceless palatal *l* [written *l̥*], final fortis consonant); prolongation of vowels and consonants (expressed by +) and repetition of elements are frequently used.

The material obtained may be classified as follows:

1. PARTICLES OF ADDRESS:

ama' come on! 96.24

hene' away from here! get away! 148.8, 10, 11, 13, 14

dit'gwālam O yes! (with idea of pity) 29.13; *dit'gwā'as^εlam wi^εwā* my poor younger brother! 64.4

ha-i' used by men in talking to each other

ha'ik!^ā used by women in talking to each other (cf. *ha-ik!^ā* wife! husband!)

2. SIMPLE INTERJECTIONS (expressing fundamental emotions):

ā+ surprise, generally joyful; weeping 28.5; 58.2; 150.2

ä; ä'; εä; εä' sudden surprise at new turn; sudden resolve 28.6; 29.7; 55.7; 78.9

a'ε sudden halt at perceiving something not noticed before 26.12

o' doubt, caution 136.23

ō+ sudden recollection; admiration, wonderment; call 92.9; 138.19; 188.17, 19

â+ fear, wonder 17.3

εee; εe' displeasure 27.16; 32.9; 33.6; 122.12

εê; hê+ (both hoarsely whispered) used by mythological characters (crane, snake) on being roused to attention 122.10; 148.17, 18

hē+; *ē+* call 59.2; 73.7; 75.10; 76.8

$\epsilon_{\ell}n^{\epsilon}$; $\epsilon_{\ell}n$ disapproval, "what's up?"; sarcasm 28.11; 32.10

$\epsilon_{E}n$ $\epsilon_{E}n$ protest 112.6, 11; 114.3, 6, 13; $\epsilon_{E'}n$, $\epsilon_{E'}n$ decided displeasure 198.2

heⁿ scorn, threat 140.9; 152.14

eⁿ sniffing suspiciously 160.20

Eⁿ *Eⁿ* *Eⁿ* *Eⁿ* smelling suspiciously 124.23

dja' disapproval, warning 156.18

m+ *m+* gentle warning, pity 29.8; 31.11, 14

hm+ *hm+* reviving hope (?) 32.3

wä+ *wä+* (loudly whispered) cry for help 29.12

ha-i alas! 62.4, 7

Aⁿ + groan 182.11

ho'^{\epsilon} (hoarsely whispered) on being wounded 190.24

hâ' *hâ* *hâ* groans on being wounded 192.10

he' *he* *he* *he* laughter 118.22; 120.6

Those that follow have a prefixed *s'*- frequently used by Coyote.

They are probably characteristic of this character (see also 71.14; 90.12).

s'^{\epsilon}e'hehehe derisive laughter 71.7; 72.11; 73.15; 74.15

s'be'p' sharp anger 86.6, 22, 24

s'bè'+^u call for some one to come 92.1

ε'a'i say there, you! 92.18, 21

s'gā+ sorrow 100.3

3. SET CALLS (including cries in formulas and myths):

p'ä+ (loudly whispered) war-whoop 190.15

bä+ *bä+* (loudly whispered and held out long) war-whoop

136.26 *bä wä' äu wä' äu* (loudly whispered) war-whoop

110.19 *gwä' lä lä lä lä* (loudly whispered) war-whoop on slaying one of enemy

wâ wâ wâ cry to urge on deer to corral

bō+ yelling at appearance of new moon 196.5

hä+; *bä+* (both loudly whispered) urging on to run 46.5, 7; 47.6; 48.1, 3, 9; 49.3

h^w + blowing before exercising supernatural power 96.19, 20, 22; 198.7

p' + blowing in exercising supernatural power 77.9

p'^w + blowing water on person to resuscitate him 170.3

hě blowing preparatory to medicine-formula addressed to wind 198.4

do' do do do do do cry (of ghosts) on catching fire 98.4 (cf. *Yana du' du du du' du du*)

ximī' + ximi cry of rolling skull 174.5, 6

- ō'* + *da da da da da* cry of people running away from rolling skull 174.9, 10
- do'łhi dolhi'* taunt (of Pitch to Coyote) 86.2, 8, 10, 17, 21, 23; 88. 1, 2
- da'ldalwaya da ldalwaya da'ldalwaya* formula for catching crawfish (explained in myth as derived from *dalda'l* dragon-fly) 29.14, 16
- wi'lik!isi* "cut off!" (cf. *wi'li'i* his stone knife 142.21) Chicken-Hawk's cry for revenge 144.1
- sgilbibī' + i* "come warm yourself!" 25.7 (cf. *sgili'pxde* I warm myself 25.8)
- gewe'k!ewe* (cf. *gewe'k!iwi^{en}* I hold [salmon] bow-fashion) said by Pitch when Coyote is stuck to him 88.5, 9, 11, 12
- p'idi-t-p'ā'εt'p'idi't'k'* "O my liver!" (cf. *p'ā'εt'p'id-i-* salmon liver) cry of Grizzly Bear on finding she has eaten her children's livers 120.19, 20

The last three show very irregular types of reduplication, not otherwise found.

4. ANIMAL CRIES AND IMITATIVE SOUNDS:

- wa'yanī* cry of Jack-Rabbit 108.9, 14, 17
- (*s*)*ha'u, ha'u* cry of Grizzly Bear 106.12, 19; 140.12
- wā' + u* (hoarse) death-cry of Grizzly Bear woman 142.3
- hā^u* Bear's cry 72.15
- p'āk' p'āk'* "bathe! bathe!" supposed cry of crow
- bak' bak' bak' bak' bak' bak'* sound made by Woodpecker 90.11; 92.2 (cf. *ba'k'bā^a* red-headed woodpecker 92.2)
- p'au p'au p'au p'au p'au p'au* sound made by Yellowhammer 90.19
- bum + bum +* noise made by rolling skull 174.4
- tc!e'lelelele* (whispered) sound of rattling dentalia 156.24 (cf. aorist stem *tc!elem-* rattle)
- t'ul t'ul t'ul* noise made by Rock Boy in walking over graveyard house 14.8
- dεm + dεm + dεm +* noise of men fighting 24.1
- xa'-u* (whispered) noise of crackling hair as it burns 24.8
- t'g'il* imitating sound of something breaking 24.4 (cf. *xa-dā^{an}-t'gil-t'ga'łhi* he broke it in two with rock 24.4)
- t'ut' t'ut' t'ut'* noise of pounding acorns 26.12
- bak!* "pop!" stick stuck into eye 27.8
- huⁿ +* confused noise of people talking far off 190.7
- k'i'didididi* sound of men wrestling 32.14

5. SONG BURDENS:

- wa'yawene tō^wwana* medicine-man's dance 46.14
- wainhā* round dance; lullaby (cf. *wainha* put him to sleep!) 104.15; 106.4, 8; 105 note

kl'i'xinhī round dance (said by Frog) 102.18

°o'cu °o'cu round dance (said by Frog) 102.23

gwa'tea gwatca round dance (said by Bluejay) 104.7

tc!a'itc!īā round dance (play on *tc!a'°e* bluejay) 104.7

be'bebinibī'a round dance (said by Mouse; play on *bebe'n* rushes)
104.10

beleldō round dance (play on *beļp'* swan) 104.15

bi'gi bi'gi bi'gī + Skunk's medicine-man's dance ([?] play on
bīk'w skunk) 164.18, 22; 166.5

hā'°gwatci hā'°gwatci said by *s'omloho'lxā's* in doctoring

§ 116. CONCLUSION

The salient morphologic characteristics of Takelma may be summed up in the words INFLECTIVE and INCORPORATING, the chief stress being laid on either epithet according as one attaches greater importance to the general method employed in the formation of words and forms and their resulting inner coherence and unity, or to the particular grammatical treatment of a special, though for many American languages important, syntactic relation, the object. Outside of most prefixed elements and a small number of the post-nominal suffixes, neither of which enter organically into the inner structure of the word-form, the Takelma word is a firmly knit morphologic unit built up of a radical base or stem and one or more affixed (generally suffixed) elements of almost entirely formal, not material, signification.

It would be interesting to compare the structure of Takelma with that of the neighboring languages; but a lack, at the time of writing, of published material on the Kalapuya, Coos, Shasta, Achomawi, and Karok makes it necessary to dispense with such comparison. With the Athapascan dialects of southwest Oregon, the speakers of which were in close cultural contact with the Takelmas, practically no agreements of detail are traceable. Both Takelma and Athapascan make a very extended idiomatic use of a rather large number of verbal prefixes, but the resemblance is probably not a far-reaching one. While the Athapascan prefixes are etymologically distinct from the main body of lexical material and have reference chiefly to position and modes of motion, a very considerable number of the Takelma prefixes are intimately associated, etymologically and functionally, with parts of the body. In the verb the two languages agree in the incorporation of the pronominal subject and

object, but here again the resemblance is only superficial. In Athapascan the pronominal elements are phonetically closely combined with the verbal prefixes and stand apart from the following verb-stem, which never, or very rarely, loses its monosyllabic individuality. In Takelma the pronominal elements, together with the derivative affixes, enter into very close combination with the preceding verb-stem, but stand severely aloof from the verbal prefixes. The radical phonetic changes which the verb-stem undergoes for tense in both languages is perhaps the most striking resemblance between the two; but even in this regard they differ widely as to the methods employed. Neither the very extended use of reduplication in Takelma, nor the frequent use in Athapascan of distinct verb-stems for the singular and plural, is shared by the other. Add to this the fact that the phonetic systems of Athapascan and Takelma are more greatly divergent than would naturally be expected of neighboring languages, and it becomes clear that the opinion that has generally been held, though based on practically no evidence, in regard to the entirely distinct characteristics of the two linguistic stocks, is thoroughly justified.

The entire lack of nominal cases in Takelma and the lack of pronominal incorporation in Klamath indicate at the outset the fundamental morphologic difference between these stocks. In so far as nominal cases and lack of pronominal incorporation are made the chief morphologic criteria of the central Californian group of linguistic families, as represented, say, by Maidu and Yokuts, absolutely no resemblance is discernible between those languages and Takelma. As far, then, as available linguistic material gives opportunity for judgment, Takelma stands entirely isolated among its neighbors.

In some respects Takelma is typically American, in so far as it is possible at all to speak of typical American linguistic characteristics. Some of the more important of these typical or at any rate widespread American traits, that are found in Takelma, are: the incorporation of the pronominal (and nominal) object in the verb; the incorporation of the possessive pronouns in the noun; the closer association with the verb-form of the object than the subject; the inclusion of a considerable number of instrumental and local modifications in the verb-complex; the weak development of differences of tense in the verb and of number in the verb and noun; and the impossibility of drawing a sharp line between mode and tense.

Of the more special grammatical characteristics, some of which are nearly unparalleled in those languages of North America that have been adequately studied, are: a system of pitch-accent of fairly considerable, though probably etymologically secondary, formal significance; a strong tendency in the verb, noun, adjective, and adverb toward the formation of dissyllabic stems with repeated vowel (e. g., aorist stem *yowo-* BE; verb-stem *loho-* DIE; noun *moxo'* BUZZARD; adjective *hos·ōʷ* [plural] GETTING BIG; adverb *olo'm* FORMERLY); a very considerable use of end reduplication, initial reduplication being entirely absent; the employment of consonant and vowel changes as a grammatical process; the use in verbs, nouns, and adjectives of prefixed elements, identical with body-part noun stems, that have reference now to parts of the body, now to purely local relations; the complicated and often irregular modifications of a verbal base for the formation of the most generalized tense, the aorist; the great differentiation of pronominal schemes according to syntactic relation, class of verb or noun, and tense-mode, despite the comparatively small number of persons (only five—two singular, two plural, and one indifferent); the entire lack in the noun and pronoun of cases (the subjective and objective are made unnecessary by the pronominal and nominal incorporation characteristic of the verb; the possessive, by the formal use of possessive pronoun affixes; and the local cases, by the extended use of pre-positives and postpositions); the existence in the noun of characteristic suffixes that appear only with pre-positives and possessive affixes; the fair amount of distinctness that the adjective possesses as contrasted with both verb and noun; the use of a decimal system of numeration, tertiary or quinary in origin; and a rather efficient though simple syntactic apparatus of subordinating elements and well-modulated enclitic particles. Altogether Takelma has a great deal that is distinct and apparently even isolated about it. Though typical in its most fundamental features, it may, when more is known of American languages as a whole, have to be considered a very specialized type.

APPENDIX A
1. Comparative Table of Pronominal Forms

| | Singular | | | Plural | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|--|
| | First person | Second person | Third person | First person | Second person | |
| Aor. subj. intr. I | -t' eε | -(a')t' | ε | -t'k' | -(a')t'p' | |
| Aor. subj. intr. II | -t' eε | -t' am | -t' | -(p-)ik' | -t' ap' | |
| Fut. subj. intr. I | -t' eε | -(a)da'e | -(a')εt' | -(i)ga'm | -(a)k'baε | |
| Fut. subj. intr. II | -t' eε | -t' aε | -t' da | -(p-)igam | -t' abae | |
| Pr. imper. | | — | | -(a)baε | -(a')np', -p' | |
| Fut. imper. intr. I and trans. | | -(a')εk' | | | | |
| Fut. imper. intr. II | | -(p-)gaεm | | | | |
| Aor. subj. trans. | -(a')n | -(a')t' | — | -(a)nak' | -(a)k'p' | |
| Fut. subj. trans. | -(a')n | -(a)da'e | -(a')nk' | -(a)naqam | -(a)k'baε | |
| Infer. subj. | k'-aε | k' εit' | -k' | k'-ana-k' | k' εit'p' | |
| Obj. trans. | -ti | -ti | — | -am | -amp' | |
| Poss. with pre-positives | -dε | -daε | -da | -da'm | -dabaen, -εt'ban | |
| Poss. relationship | wi- | -εt' | -ti, -a | -da'm | -εt'ban | |
| Poss. II | -dε | -dε | -dān | -dā'm | -dabaen | |
| Poss. III | -y'k' | -εt' | -t', -t' | -dā'm | -εt'ban | |
| Independent pronouns | gi' | ma | āak' (pl. āi) | gō'm | māap' | |

2. Scheme of 7 Voices in 6 Tense-Modes (2d per. sing. of *dink!*-SPREAD)

| | Aorist | Future | Inferential | Potential | Present imperative | Future imperative |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| Trans. (2d per. subj.) | <i>dɪ'nik'tat'</i> | <i>dɪnk'tada'ε</i> | <i>dɪ'nek'εɛl'</i> | <i>dɪ'nik'tat'</i> | <i>dɪ'nek'</i> | <i>dɪ'nik'task'</i> |
| Passive | <i>dɪ'niszbin</i> | <i>dɪnεzbinna'ε</i> | <i>dɪ'nεzbiqam</i> | <i>dɪ'nεzbin</i> | | |
| Act. intr. | <i>dɪ'niszat'</i> | <i>dɪnεrada'ε</i> | <i>dɪ'nεzak'εɛl'</i> | <i>dɪ'nεzat'</i> | <i>dɪ'nεza</i> | <i>dɪ'nεzak'</i> |
| Reflexive | <i>dɪ'nisεk'widam</i> | <i>dɪ'nek'widas</i> | <i>dɪ'nek'wɪp'k'εɛl'</i> | <i>dɪ'nek'widam</i> | <i>dɪ'nek'wɪp'</i> | <i>dɪ'nek'wɪp'gaεm</i> |
| Recipr. (pl.) | <i>dɪ'niszant'p'</i> | <i>dɪ'nεzant'bas</i> | <i>dɪ'nek'ank'εɛl'p'</i> | <i>dɪ'nεzant'p'</i> | | |
| Non-agentive | <i>dɪ'niszdam</i> | <i>dɪ'nεzdas</i> | <i>dɪ'nεzɪk'εɛl'</i> | <i>dɪ'nεzdam</i> | <i>dɪ'nεzɪ</i> | <i>dɪ'nεzgaεm</i> |
| Positional | <i>dɪnk'fɪ'am</i> | <i>dɪnk'ta'sdas</i> | <i>dɪ'nik'task'εɛl'</i> | <i>dɪnk'ta'sdam</i> | | |

3. Forms of *na(g)*- SAY, DO

A. Intransitive

| | Aorist | Future | Potential | Inferential | Present imperative | Future imperative |
|-----------|---|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| Singular: | | | | | | |
| 1st per. | <i>nagait'ee</i> | <i>na't'ee</i> | <i>na't'ee</i> | <i>na'k'as</i> | | |
| 2d per. | <i>nagait'</i> | <i>nada'as</i> | <i>na't'</i> | <i>na'k!eit</i> | <i>na'</i> | <i>na'ek'</i> |
| 3d per. | <i>naga'is</i> | <i>na'et'</i> | <i>na'ε</i> | <i>na'k'</i> | | |
| Plural: | | | | | | |
| 1st per. | <i>nagayi'k'</i> | <i>naga'm</i> | (?) <i>nayi'k'</i> | <i>na'k'ana'k'</i> | <i>nabā'as(ha'n)</i> | |
| 2d per. | <i>nagait'p'</i> | <i>na't'bas</i> | <i>na't'p'</i> | <i>na'k!eit'p'</i> | <i>na'np'</i> | |
| Imper. | <i>neeye'ε</i> (subordinate) <i>neye'eda'ε</i> or <i>nē'ida'ε</i> | (conditional) | | | | |

FREQUENTATIVE

| | Aorist | Future | Inferential | Present imperative | Future imperative |
|------------------|--|--------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | <i>naga²na'k'de^ε</i> | <i>nañit'ee</i> | <i>nañk'as</i> | | |
| 2d per. | <i>naga²nigi't'</i> | <i>nanada'ε</i> ¹ | <i>nañk!eit'</i> | <i>nañha</i> | <i>nañha'k'</i> |
| 3d per. | <i>naga²nā'as'k'</i> | <i>nana'et'</i> ¹ | <i>nañk'</i> ² | | |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | <i>naga²nigi'k'</i> | <i>nanaga'm</i> ¹ | <i>nañk'ana'k'</i> | <i>nanaba'ε</i> | |
| 2d per. | <i>naga²nigi't'p'</i> | <i>nana't'bas</i> ¹ | <i>nañk!eit'p'</i> | <i>nañhanp'</i> | |
| Imper. | <i>neenia'us</i> | | | | |

¹ These forms are to be carefully distinguished from *na^ε-nada'ε*, *na^ε-na'et'*, and so forth (see §69). It is of course possible to have also *na^ε-nañit'ee*, *na^ε-nanada'ε*, and so forth.

² Also *nañkak'* is found, so that it is probable that doublets exist for other non-aorist forms, e. g., *nañhada^ε*, *nañhaba^ε*.

B. Transitive

Aorist

| Subject | Object | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| | First person singular | Second person singular | Third person | First person plural | Second person plural |
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>naga'sbi^{en}</i> | <i>naga'tⁿ</i> | | <i>naga'sambaⁿ</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>nege's'dam</i> | | <i>naga't'</i> | <i>naga'simit'</i> | |
| 3d per. | <i>nege's'i</i> | <i>naga'sbi</i> | <i>naga'</i> | <i>naga'sam</i> | <i>naga'sanp'</i> |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>nagasbina'k'</i> | <i>nagana'k'</i> | | <i>naga'sanbana'k'</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>nege's'dap'</i> | | <i>naga't'p'</i> | <i>naga'simit'p'</i> | |

3. Forms of *na(g)*- SAY, DO

B. Transitive—Continued

Future

| Subject | Object | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| | First person singular | Second person singular | Third person | First person plural | Second person plural |
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>nāxbin</i> | <i>nāagi'n</i> | | <i>nāzanban</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>nēxda^s</i> | | <i>nāk'ida^s</i> | <i>nāximida^s</i> | |
| 3d per. | <i>nēzink'</i> | <i>nāxbink'</i> | <i>nāk'ink'</i> | <i>nāzamank'</i> | <i>nāzanbank'</i> |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>nāxbinagam</i> | <i>nāaginaga'm</i> | | <i>nāzanbanagam</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>nēzdaba^s</i> | | <i>nāagi't'ba^s</i> | <i>nāximit'ba^s</i> | |
| Imper. condit. | <i>nēziauk'is</i> | <i>nāzbiauk'is</i> | | | |

Inferential

| | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>nāxbiga^s</i> | <i>nāk'iga^s</i> | | <i>nāzanp'ga^s</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>nēzik!ēt'</i> | | <i>nāk'ik!ēt'</i> | <i>nāzamk!ēt'</i> | |
| 3d per. | <i>nēzik'</i> | <i>nāxbik'</i> | <i>nāk'ik'</i> | <i>nāzamk'</i> | <i>nāzanp'k'</i> |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>nāxbigana'k'</i> | <i>nāk'igana'k'</i> | | <i>nāzanp'gana'k'</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>nēzik!ēt'p'</i> | | <i>nāk'ik!ēt'p'</i> | <i>nāzamk!ēt'p'</i> | |

Potential

| | | | | | |
|-----------|----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>nāxbiⁿ</i> | <i>nāagiⁿ</i> | | <i>nāzabanⁿ</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>nēxdam</i> | | <i>nāk'it'</i> | <i>nāximit'</i> | |
| 3d per. | <i>nēxi</i> | <i>nāxbi</i> | <i>nāk'i</i> | <i>nāzam</i> | <i>nāzanp'</i> |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>nāxbinak'</i> | <i>nāk'inak'</i> | | <i>nāzabanana'k'</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>nēzdap'</i> | | <i>nāk'it'p'</i> | <i>nāximit'p'</i> | |

Present Imperative

| | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|--|----------------------------|----------------|--|
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 2d per. | <i>nēxi</i> | | <i>nāk'i</i> | <i>nāzam</i> | |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | | <i>nāk'iba^s</i> | | |
| 2d per. | <i>nēzip'</i> | | <i>nāk'ip'</i> | <i>nāzamp'</i> | |

Future Imperative

| | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------|--|------------------|--|--|
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 2d per. | <i>nēxgc^m</i> | | <i>nāagi'sk'</i> | | |

3. Forms of *na(g)*- SAY, DO

B. Transitive—Continued

Passive

| | Aorist | Future | Potential | Inferential |
|------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Singular: | | | | |
| 1st per. | <i>nege's'in</i> | <i>nēzina^ε</i> | <i>nēzin</i> | <i>nēzigm</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>naga'sbin</i> | <i>nāzibina^ε</i> | <i>nāzibin</i> | <i>nāzbigam</i> |
| 3d per. | <i>naga'n</i> | <i>nāzina^ε</i> | <i>nāk'in</i> | <i>nāk'am</i> |
| Plural: | | | | |
| 1st per. | <i>naga'simin</i> | <i>nāximina^ε</i> | <i>nāximin</i> | <i>nāzank'am</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>naga'sanban</i> | <i>nāzanbana^ε</i> | <i>nāzanban</i> | <i>nāzānp'gam</i> |

FREQUENTATIVE

Aorist

| Subject | Object | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| | First person singular | Second person singular | Third person | First person plural | Second person plural |
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>nagañsbi^εn</i> | <i>nagañha^εn</i> | | <i>nagañsanba^εn</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>negeñs'dam</i> | | <i>nagañhat'</i> | <i>nagañsimit'</i> | |
| 3d per. | <i>negeñs'i</i> | <i>nagañsbi</i> | <i>nagañha</i> | <i>nagañsam</i> | <i>nagañsanp'</i> |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>nagañsbinak'</i> | <i>nagañhanak'</i> | | <i>nagañsanbana'k'</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>negeñs'dap'</i> | | <i>nagañhat'p'</i> | <i>nagañsimit'p'</i> | |

Future

| | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>nānsbin</i> | <i>nānhan</i> | | <i>nānsanban</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>nēns'da^ε</i> | | <i>nānhada^ε</i> | <i>nānsimida^ε</i> | |
| 3d per. | <i>nēns'ink'</i> | <i>nānsbink'</i> | <i>nānhank'</i> | <i>nānsamank'</i> | <i>nānsanbank'</i> |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>nānsbinagam</i> | <i>nānhanagam</i> | | <i>nānsanbanagam</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>nēnsdaba^ε</i> | | <i>nānhat'ba^ε</i> | <i>nānsimit'ba^ε</i> | |

Passive

| | Aorist | Future |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| Singular: | | |
| 1st per. | <i>negeñs'in</i> | <i>nēns'ina^ε</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>nagañsbin</i> | <i>nānsbina^ε</i> |
| 3d per. | <i>nagañhan</i> | <i>nānhana^ε</i> |
| Plural: | | |
| 1st per. | <i>nagañsimin</i> | <i>nānsimina^ε</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>nagañsanban</i> | <i>nānsanbana^ε</i> |

3. Forms of *na(g)*- SAY, DOC. Causative in *-n-*¹*Aorist*

| Subject | Object | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|---|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| | First person singular | Second person singular | Third person | First person plural | Second person plural |
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>nagānxbi²n</i> | <i>nagāna'ən</i> (<i>nagāni'ən</i>) ² | | <i>nagānxanba²n</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>negēnzdam</i> | | <i>nagāna'ʔ</i> (<i>nagāni'ʔ</i>) | <i>nagānximit'</i> | |
| 3d per. | <i>negēnxi</i> | <i>nagānxbi</i> | <i>nagān</i> (<i>nagānhi</i>) | <i>nagānxam</i> | <i>nagānxanp'</i> |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>nagānxbinak'</i> | <i>nagānana'k'</i> (<i>nagānina'k'</i>) | | <i>nagānxanbana'k'</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>negēnzdap'</i> | | <i>nagāna'ʔ'p'</i> (<i>nagāni'ʔ'p'</i>) | <i>nagānximit'p'</i> | |

Future

| | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| Singular: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>nānxbin</i> | <i>nāna'n</i> (<i>nāni'n</i>) | | <i>nānxanban</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>nēnzda²</i> | | <i>nānada'ə²</i> (<i>nānida'ə²</i>) | <i>nānximida²</i> | |
| 3d per. | <i>nēnxink'</i> | <i>nānxbin²k'</i> | <i>nāna'nk'</i> (<i>nāni'nk'</i>) | <i>nānxamank'</i> | <i>nānxanbank'</i> |
| Plural: | | | | | |
| 1st per. | | <i>nānxbinagam</i> | <i>nānanaga'm</i> (<i>nāninaga'm</i>) | | <i>nānxanbanagam</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>nēnzdaba²</i> | | <i>nāna't'ba²</i> (<i>nāni't'ba²</i>) | <i>nānximit'ba²</i> | |

Passive

| | Aorist | Future |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Singular: | | |
| 1st per. | <i>negēnxin</i> | <i>nēnxina²</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>nagānxbin</i> | <i>nānxbina²</i> |
| 3d per. | <i>nagāna'n</i> (<i>nagāni'n</i>) | <i>nānana'ə²</i> (<i>nānina'ə²</i>) |
| Plural: | | |
| 1st per. | <i>nagānximīn</i> | <i>nānximina²</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>nagānxanban</i> | <i>nānxanbana²</i> |

¹ Though these forms are simply derivatives of intransitive aorist *naga(i)-*, verb-stem *na-*, they have been listed here because of their great similarity to transitive frequentatives, with which they might be easily confused. In the aorist, the two sets of forms differ in the length of the second (repeated) vowel, in the connecting consonant, and to some extent in the place of the accent, though this is probably a minor consideration. In the future, they differ in the connecting consonant and partly again in the place of the accent.

² Forms in parentheses are instrumental.

³ Imperative (sing. subj. and third person object): *nānha*.

3. Forms of *na(g)*- SAY, DO

D. Reciprocal Forms

| | Aorist | Future |
|------------------|--|------------------------------|
| Plural: | | |
| 1st per. | <i>naga'sinik'</i> | <i>nāzinigam</i> |
| 2d per. | <i>naga'sant'p'</i> | <i>nāxant'ba^s</i> |
| 3d per. | <i>naga'sa^sn</i> (frequentative <i>nagañ-sa^sn</i>) | <i>nāxant'^t</i> |

E. Nominal Derivatives

INFINITIVES

Intransitive: *ne'x*

| | Object | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| | First person singular | Second person singular | Third person | First person plural | Second person plural |
| Transitive | <i>nēxiya</i> | <i>nāzbiya</i> | <i>nāgia'^s</i> | <i>nāximia</i> | <i>nāxanbia</i> |

PARTICIPLE

Active: *na't'*

Other forms derived from verb-stem *na(g)*- than those given above are of course found, but are easily formed on evident analogies. Observe, however, intransitive aorist stem *nagai-* in transitive derivatives *nagaik'wa* HE SAID TO HIM (personal) and *nagaik'wit'* HE SAID TO HIMSELF. Comitatives in *-(a)gw-* are not listed because their formation offers no difficulty; e. g., second person singular present imperative *nāk'^w* DO SO AND SO HAVING IT! It is possible that *bō^u-nēxada^s* IMMEDIATELY is nothing but adverb *bō^u* NOW + subordinating form **nēxada^s* of *-xa-* derivative from *nā^ug-* with regular palatal ablaut (see §31,5); literally it would then mean something like WHEN IT IS BECOMING (DOING) NOW.

APPENDIX B

THE ORIGIN OF DEATH

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| xi'lam ¹ | sebe't ² | hāp'da ³ | loho'k'. ⁴ | sgi'sidī'l ⁵ | nō'ts!at'gwan ⁶ | |
| Roasting-Dead-People | his child | it died. | He and Coyote | neighboring each other | | |
| yu'k'. ⁷ | ga-s'i ⁸ | nāk'ik'. ⁹ | “laps ¹⁰ | yimi'xi ¹¹ | hāp'dek' ¹² | loho'ida ¹³ |
| they were. | And that | he said to him: | “Blanket | lend it to me | my child | since it died, |
| laps ¹⁰ | yimi'xi, ¹¹ | naga'-ihī ¹⁴ | xilam ¹ | sebe't'. ² | “ani ¹⁵ | laps ¹⁰ |
| blanket | lend it to me,” | he said, it is said, | Roasting-Dead-People. | | “Not | blanket |

¹ *xi'lam*. Used indifferently for SICK, DEAD (as noun), and GHOST. *-am* (= *-an*) is probably noun-forming suffix with inorganic *-a-* (cf. *han-xilmī* ABODE OF GHOSTS, literally, ACROSS-RIVER ARE GHOSTS as verb with positional *-i*). As base is left *xil-* or *xin-* (*-n-* of radical syllable dissimilates to *-l-* before nasal suffix); *xi'lam* from **xin-an* or **xil-an*. This *xin-* is perhaps etymologically identical with *xin* mucus (verb-base *xin-SNIFF*).

² *sebe't'*. Participle in *-t'* of verb *sebeba'n* Type 5 I ROAST IT; aorist stem *sebe-*, verb-stem *sebe-*. ROASTING-DEAD-PEOPLE is Takelma name for species of black long-legged bug. He is supposed to be so called because responsible for death, as told in this myth.

³ *hāp'da*. Base *hāp'*- SMALL, CHILD (cf. *hāp-s-āi'* SMALL). This is one of those comparatively few nouns that add possessive pronominal suffixes of Scheme II directly to stem. With suffixed ([?] pre-pronominal) *-x-* it becomes plural in signification: *hāp'xa* HIS CHILDREN. This sort of plural formation stands, as far as known, entirely isolated in Takelma. In its absolute form *hāp'*- takes on derivative suffix *-xi*, *hāpxi'* CHILD.

⁴ *loho'k'*. Third personal inferential of verb *lohōit'e* Type 4b I DIE; aorist stem *lohōi-*, verb-stem *lohō-*. *-k'* inferential element. Inferential mode used because statement is here not made on personal authority, but only as tradition or hearsay. According to this, all myth narrative should employ inferential forms instead of aorist. This myth employs partly inferentials and partly aorists; but in most other myths aorists are regularly employed, probably because they are more familiar forms, and perhaps, also, because myths may be looked upon as well-authenticated fact.

⁵ *sgi'sidī'l*. *sgi'si* COYOTE, formed by repetition of base-vowel according to Type 2. *-dī'l* is dual suffix *sgi'sidī'l* by itself might mean TWO COYOTES, but *-dī'l* is never properly dual in signification, meaning rather HE (indicated by preceding noun) AND SOME ONE ELSE (indicated by context).

⁶ *nō'ts!at'gwan*. From local adverbial stem *nōts!*- NEXT DOOR, NEIGHBORING; it is formed by addition of characteristic *-a-* and third personal plural reflexive pronominal suffix *-t'gwan* (= *-t'*-[third person]+*-gwan*-[reflexive] + *-n* [plural]). First person singular *nōts!adē*; second person singular *nōts!ada'e*.

⁷ *yu'k'*. Third personal inferential of verb *yowo't'e* Type 2 I AM; aorist stem *yowo-*, verb-stem *yo(yu-)*. *-k'* inferential element as in *loho'k'*. Corresponding aorist, *yowo't'e*.

⁸ *gas'ie*. *ga* is general demonstrative THAT, here serving to anticipate quotation: “laps (2) . . . yimi'xi (3).” *-s'ie* as general connective indicates sequence of *nāk'ik'* upon *loho'k'* (1).

⁹ *nāk'ik'*. Third personal inferential of verb *naga'te*n Type 2 I SAY TO HIM; aorist stem *naga-*, verb-stem *nāg-*. Corresponding aorist, *naga'*. Non-aoristic forms of this transitive verb show instrumental *-i-* (see § 64).

¹⁰ *laps*. Noun of uncertain etymology, perhaps from base *lab-* CARRY ON ONE'S BACK. *-s* nominal derivative suffix of no known definite signification.

¹¹ *yimi'xi*. Present imperative second person singular subject, first person singular object (*-xi*) of verb *yimiyi'te*n Type 1 I LEND IT TO HIM; aorist stem *yimiyi-*, verb-stem *yimi-*. Non-aoristic forms show instrumental *-i-* as in *nāk'ik'*; e. g., *yimi'hin* I SHALL LEND IT TO HIM.

¹² *hāp'dek'*. See *hāp'da* (1). *-de'k'* first person singular possessive pronominal suffix according to Scheme II. ¹³ *loho'ida'e*. Subordinate form, with causal signification, of *lohōit'e* HE DIED. Aorist stem *lohōi-* = verb-stem *lohō-* + intransitive element *-i-* characteristic of aorist of Type 4; *-e*, third personal aorist subject intransitive Class I, dissimilated because of catch in subordinating suffix *-da'e*. Syntactically *loho'ida'e* is subordinated to *yimi'xi*.

¹⁴ *naga'-ihī'e*. = *naga'ie* HE SAID + quotative enclitic *-hī'e*. *naga'ie* third person aorist of irregular verb *nagait'e* Type 4a I SAY; aorist stem *nagai-*, verb-stem *na-*. Both transitive and intransitive forms of *na(g)*- incorporate object of thing said; *ga* in *gas'ie* (2) is incorporated as direct object in *nāk'ik'* (it would be theoretically more correct to write *ga* [-*s'ie*]- *nāk'ik'*); while quotation “laps . . . yimi'xi” is syntactically direct object of *naga'-ihī'e* which, as such, it precedes. *ga-nāk'ik'* anticipates “laps . . . yimi'xi” *naga'-ihī'e*. Observe use of aorist instead of inferential from *naga'-ihī'e* on.

¹⁵ *a'ni'e*. Negative particle with following aorist. True negative future would be *wede yimi'hixbiga'e*.

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---|--|
| yim'isbi'n ¹⁶ | gwid'i'-s'i' ¹⁷ | yo'et' ¹⁸ | xila'm ¹ | yëük'i' ¹⁹ | naga'-ihi' ¹⁴ |
| I lend it to you | for where | they will be | dead people | if they return?" | he said, it is said, |
| sg'i'si. ⁵ | nõ'u's'i' ²⁰ | yewe' ^{1e} | xilam ¹ | sebe't. ² | k'lodo't' ²² |
| Coyote. And next door | he returned | Roasting-Dead-People. | He buried it | his own child | hãp'dagwa ²³ |
| loho'ida. ²⁴ | ganëhi' ²⁵ | dabalni'xa ²⁶ | lã'lë' ²⁷ | mi'hi' ²⁸ | sg'i'si' ⁵ |
| who had died. | And then, it is said, | long time | it became. | Now, it is said, | sg'i'si' ⁵ hãp'da ²³ |
| | | | | | Coyote his child |
| xi'lam ¹ | lã'lë' ²⁷ | mi' ²⁸ | loho' ^{1e} | mi' ²⁸ nõ'u's. ²⁰ | gini'ek' ³⁰ |
| sick | it became. Now | it died. | Now next door | he went | xilam ¹ sebet' ² |
| 5 wã'ada. ³¹ | "laps ¹⁰ | yimi'xi ¹¹ | hãp'de'k' ¹² | loho'ida. ²⁴ | "k'adi' ³² |
| to him. | "Blanket | lend it to me | my child | since it died." | "What |
| naga'it', ³³ | xilam ¹ | sebe't. ² | ga ⁸ | naga' ^{1e} | "hõuxa ³⁴ |
| you said?" | Roasting-Dead-People | that | he said. | "Last time | ma ³⁵ |
| | | | | | you |

¹⁶ *yim'isbi'n*. First person singular subject (-*n*) second personal singular object (-*bi*-) of verb *yim'iyã'n* (see *yimi'zi* above). -*s*- indirect object used only in aorist of this verb, elsewhere -*x*-; e. g., future *yimi'zbin* I SHALL LEND IT TO YOU. Aorist is used because idea of futurity is here immediate; i. e., time of action is not put definitely forward.

¹⁷ *gwid'i'-s-i'*. *gwi*- general interrogative and indefinite adverb WHERE? SOMEWHERE. *di* interrogative enclitic serving to give *gwi*- distinct interrogative signification. -*s-i'* has here slight causal tinge: FOR WHERE WOULD THEY ALL BE, IF THEY RETURNED?

¹⁸ *yo'et'*. Third personal future of verb *yowo't'e* I AM (see *yu'k'* above). -*t'* third personal subject future intransitive Class I.

¹⁹ *yëük'i'*. Third personal conditional (-*k'i'*) of verb *yewei't'e* Type 4a I RETURN; aorist stem *yewei-*, verb-stem *yëu-* (*yeeu-*).

²⁰ *nõ'u's-i'*. = *nõ'u's* (stem *nõts-* NEXT DOOR) + connective -*s-i'*. *nõ'u's* may best be considered as local adverbial prefix to *yewei't'*.

²¹ *yewe'i'*. Third person aorist of verb *yewei't'e* (see *yëük'i'* above (-*t'* and -*s* as in *loho'is* and *naga'is* above)

²² *k'lodo't'*. Third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *k'lododa'n* Type 8 I BURY HIM aorist stem *k'lodod-*, verb-stem *gõud-*.

²³ *hãp'dagwa*. See *hãp'da* (1). -*gwa* reflexive suffix. *k'lodo't' hãp'da* would have meant HE (Roasting-Dead-People) BURIED HIS (Coyote's) CHILD.

²⁴ *loho'ida'*. In this case subordinate form serves merely to explain *hãp'dagwa*, and may thus be rendered as relative, WHO HAD DIED.

²⁵ *ganëhi'*. = *ganë* AND THEN (compound of demonstrative *ga*), used to introduce new turn in narrative, + quotative -*hi'*.

²⁶ *dabalni'xa*. Temporal adverb LONG TIME. Like many other adverbs, it is difficult of satisfactory analysis. *da-* is local body-part prefix, as in several other temporal adverbs; but its application here is quite obscure. *bal-* radical element, cf. adjective *bãl-s* LONG. -*xa* adverbial (chiefly temporal) suffix -*ni-* = ? (cf. *lep'ni'xa* WINTER).

²⁷ *lã'lë'*. Third person aorist intransitive Class II of verb *lãalë'e* Types 10a and 15a I BECOME; aorist stem *lãalë-*, verb-stem *lãa-p'*. -*ë-* = *it-* of positional verbs. Corresponding inferential *lãp'k'*.

²⁸ *mi'hi'*. = *mi'* weak temporal adverb NOW, THEN, serving generally to introduce new statement, + quotative -*hi'*.

²⁹ *loho'is*. See *loho'ida'* (2).

³⁰ *gini'ek'*. Third person aorist of verb *gini'k'de'* Type 2 I GO (somewhere); aorist stem *gini-*, verb-stem *ging-, ginag-* (present imperative *gink'*; future *gina'k'de'*). -*k'* third person aorist intransitive Class I. Inasmuch as forms occur derived from base *gin-* (e. g., reduplicated *giniginia'w*), -*g-* must be considered as either petrified suffix, or as trace of older reduplication with vanished vowel in second member: *gin-i-g-* from (?) *gin-i-gn-*. *gini-g* can be used only with expressed goal of motion (in this case *nõ'u's* and *wã'ada*). HE WENT WITHOUT EXPRESSED GOAL would have been *ya'e*. Similarly: *bazam-* COME, *me'-ginig-* COME HERE; *hõgw-* RUN, *hiwiliw-* RUN (somewhere); *s'owõ'w'k'ap'* JUMP, *bilw-* JUMP AT.

³¹ *wã'ada*. Formed, like *nõ'ts'at'gwan* (1), by addition of third personal pronominal suffix -*da* to local stem *wa*; first person *wadë*. These forms are regularly used when motion to some person or persons is meant: If goal of motion is non-personal, postposition *ga'a'* TO, AT is employed.

³² *k'adi'*. *k'a* (before *di*, otherwise *k'ai*) is substantival indefinite and interrogative stem (THING), WHAT, corresponding to adverbial *gwi-* (4). *di* serves also here to give *k'a* distinct interrogative force.

³³ *naga'it'*. Second personal aorist of verb *naga'it'e* (see *naga'-ihi'* above). This is one of those few intransitives that take personal endings directly after stem ending in semi-vowel (*nagay-*), without connective -*a-* (see § 65 end).

³⁴ *hõuxa'a'*. = *hõuxa'* YESTERDAY, (here more indefinitely as) LAST TIME, FORMERLY + delictive -*a'*. -*xa* is adverbial (temporal) suffix (cf. *dabalni'xa* above). -*a'* serves to contrast LAST TIME with NOW.

³⁵ *ma'a*. = *ma* second person singular independent personal pronoun + delictive -*a'*, which here contrasts YOU (as former object of supplication) with I (as present object of supplication).

| | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|---|---|
| ga ³⁶ that | nege's·dam ³⁷ you said to me | 'laps ¹⁰ 'Blanket | yimi'xi' ¹¹ lend it to me' | naga'sbinda ³⁸ when I said to you: | 'yapla ³⁹ 'People | |
| gwid ¹¹⁷ where | yo'εt' ¹⁸ they will be | yèuk'ie' ¹⁹ if they return?' | mi ¹²⁸ Now | hawa'xi ^{ue} ⁴⁰ it is rotting | hā'p'de'k' ¹² my child," | naga'-ihi ¹⁴ he said, it is said, |
| xilam ¹ Roasting-Dead-People. | sebe't'. ² And next door | nō'us'ie ²⁰ Coyote | sgisi ⁵ he returned. | yewe' ^{ie} ²¹ "Sgā ⁴¹ +" | t'aga' ^{ie} ⁴² "Sgā +" | ga ⁸ he cried. That |
| ga'al ⁴³ because of | bōu ⁴⁴ nowadays | εa'ni ^{ε15} not | yapla ³⁹ people | yewe' ^{ie} ²¹ they return | loho'ida ¹³ when they die. | |

³⁶ *ga*. Anticipates quotation "*yapla* (10) . . . *yèuk'ie* (11)."

³⁷ *nege's·dam*. Second personal singular subject, first personal singular object (*-dam*) of verb *naga'tn* (see *nūk ik'* above). *nege-* shows palatal ablaut characteristic of forms with first person singular object. *-s-* indirect object in aorist only, elsewhere *-z-*; e. g., *nēzdaε* YOU WILL SAY TO ME. Direct object is *ga*.

³⁸ *naga'sbindaε*. Subordinate form, with temporal force, of *naga'sbiεn* I SAY TO YOU. *naga'sbiεn* = aorist stem *naga-* + indirect object *-s-* + second personal singular object *-bi-* + first personal singular subject *-n*. *naga'sbindaε* is subordinated to main verb *nege's·dam*; its direct object is quotation "*laps yimi'zi*" (10).

³⁹ *yapla*. Noun formed apparently by repetition of base vowel according to Type 2. It is employed for PEOPLE in general without regard to sex.

⁴⁰ *hawa'ziue*. Third person aorist intransitive Class I of verb *hawaziū'ε* Type 5 I AM ROTTING; aorist stem *ziu-*, verb-stem *ziwi-*. This verb is evidently compounded of *hawa'z* MATTER, PUS and verbal base *ziu-*, whose exact meaning can not be determined, as it has not been found alone.

⁴¹ *sgā+*. Words spoken by Coyote often begin with *s-*, which has in itself no grammatical significance.

⁴² *t'aga'ie*. Third person aorist intransitive Class I of verb *t'aga'ie* Type 4a I CRY; aorist stem *t'aga-*, verb-stem *t'āga-*. *-ie* as in *yewe'ie*, *loho'ie*, and *naga'ie* above.

⁴³ *ga'a'l*. Postposition TO, AT, ON ACCOUNT OF, used with preceding demonstrative *ga*; *ga ga'a'l* = therefore. *ga'a'l* is itself compounded of demonstrative *ga* and local element *al* AT, TO.

⁴⁴ *bōu*. Temporal adverb NOW, TO-DAY. First *ε* of *εa'niε* NOT intended merely to keep up distinct hiatus between final *-ōu* and initial *a-*.

[Translation]

The child of Roasting-dead-people died. He and Coyote were neighbors to each other. Thereupon he said to him, "Lend me a blanket, for my child has died. Lend me a blanket," said Roasting-dead-people. "I'll not lend you a blanket, for where are they going to be, if dead people come back?" said Coyote. And next door returned Roasting-dead-people, and buried his child that had died.

Then, 'tis said, a long time elapsed. Now Coyote's child became sick and died. Now next door he went to Roasting-dead-people. "Lend me a blanket, for my child has died."—"What did you say?" Roasting-dead-people said that. "Yesterday indeed when I did say to you, 'Lend me a blanket,' you, for your part, did say that to me, 'Where will the people be, if they return?' Now my child is rotting," said Roasting-dead-people. So next door Coyote returned. "Sgā +!" he cried. For that reason people do not nowadays return when they die.

HOW A TAKELMA HOUSE WAS BUILT

yapla¹ wi'li² k'lemèi.³ bēm⁴ pla-idī'lo'uk',⁵ eme'si⁶ hono⁷
 People house they make it. Post they set it down, and here again
 pla-idī'lo'uk', he'me⁸ hono⁹ pla-idī'lo'uk', haḡamgama'n⁹ pla-idī'lo'uk'.
 they set it down, yonder again they set it down, in four places they set them down.
 he'ne¹⁰ hono⁶ hangili'p'¹¹ gada'k'¹² haḡamgama'n, gada'k'si¹³
 Then also they place (beams) on top thereof in four places, and on top thereof
 across
 mū'xda'nhi¹⁴ hangili'p'. he'ne yā'si¹⁵ wi'li s'idibi'¹⁶ k'lemèi;
 just once they place (beam) across. Then and just house its wall they make it;
 5 he'ne gada'k'si¹⁷ matsla'k'¹⁷ wi'li he'la'm,¹⁸ t'ga'l¹⁹ ga²⁰ he'la'm
 then and on top thereof they put them house boards. sugar-pine those boards
 k'lemèi. ganē²¹ dak'da't'²² datlaba'k'²³ hā'ya²⁴ datlaba'k'. ganē
 they make them. And then from on top they finish it, on both sides they finish it. And then
 dedewili'dadi's²⁵ k'lemèi dak'dat'si²⁶ daho'k'wal²⁷ k'lemèi kliyī'x²⁸
 door they make it, and from on top holed they make it smoke
 gana'u²⁹ ba-i-gina'xdā³⁰ ganēs'i³¹ ga'klan³² k'lemèi, xā'isgipli'
 therein its going out. And then ladder they make it, they notch it in
 several

¹ See note 39 of first text; § 86, 2. *yapla* is to be understood as subject of all following finite verb forms.

² § 86, 2; quantity of final vowel varies between *-i* and *-i'*. Directly precedes verb as object.

³ Third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *k'lemèi* Type 3 I MAKE IT; §§ 63; 65.

⁴ § 86, 1; object of following verb.

⁵ *pla-* DOWN § 37, 13; *ā'*- § 36, 10. *lō'uk'* third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *lō'ugwa'n* Type 6 I SET IT; §§ 63; 40, 6.

⁶ *eme'* HERE § 104; *-si'* enclitic particle § 114, 4.

⁷ Modal adverb § 113, 4.

⁸ § 104.

⁹ Numeral adverb from *gamga'm* FOUR § 111.

¹⁰ Temporal adverb § 113, 3.

¹¹ *han-* ACROSS § 37, 1. *-gili'p'* third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *-giliba'n* Type 3; §§ 63; 40, 3.

¹² Postposition with force of independent local adverb § 96.

¹³ See note 12; *-si'* § 114, 4.

¹⁴ *mū'xda'n* numeral adverb ONCE § 111; *-hi* enclitic particle § 114, 2.

¹⁵ *yā'* post-positive particle JUST § 114, 1; *-si'* § 114, 4.

¹⁶ *s'idib-* (HOUSE) WALL § 86, 3; *-i'* third personal possessive form of noun-characteristic *-i-* §§ 89, 3; 92 III. HOUSE ITS-WALL is regular periphrasis for HOUSE'S WALL.

¹⁷ Third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *matslaga'n* Type 3 I PUT IT; §§ 63; 40, 3.

¹⁸ Noun stem *he'l-* with nominal suffix *-am* dissimilated from *-an* § 87, 6; 21. *wi'li he'la'm* is compound noun § 88.

¹⁹ § 86, 1. Predicate appostive to *he'la'm*: THEY MAKE THOSE BOARDS OUT OF SUGAR-PINE.

²⁰ Demonstrative pronoun of indifferent number modifying *he'la'm* § 104.

²¹ Temporal or connective adverb compounded of demonstrative *ga* and element *-ni* (?=*nee*) of unknown meaning §§ 113, 2; 114 end.

²² Adverb in *-da'* from local element *dak'*- ABOVE § 112, 1.

²³ *da-* § 36, 2 end; *-laba'k'* third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *-labaḡa'n* Type 3 I FINISH IT; §§ 63; 40, 3.

²⁴ Local adverb § 113, 1.

²⁵ *dedewili'da* DOOR, local phrase with pre-positive *de-* IN FRONT OF and third personal possessive suffix *-da* § 93 end. *-di's* postposition § 96 of unclear meaning here.

²⁶ See note 22; *-si'* § 114, 4.

²⁷ *da-* § 107, 5; *-ho'k'wal* adjective with suffix *-al* § 108, 2.

²⁸ § 86, 3.

²⁹ Postposition with *kliyī'x* *ba-igina'zdāa* § 96.

³⁰ Third personal possessive form in *-dāa* of infinitive *ba-igina'x*. *ba-i-* OUT § 37, 12; *gin-* verb stem Type 2 or 11 GO TO § 40, 2, 11; *-ax* infinitive suffix of intransitive verbs of class I § 74, 1.

³¹ See note 21; *-si'* § 114, 4.

³² § 86, 2; suffix *-n*, §§ 21; 87, 6.

sgap',³³ gwelt'gāū³⁴ gina'x³⁵ klemèi; wili s'idibī's'ie³⁶ klemèi. ganē
 places, down to the earth going they make house its wall and they make And
 it; it. it. then
 dat'laba'k ha'it'bu'xt'bixik'^{w.37} ganē leplēs³⁸ hahūwū'uek'i,³⁹ gana't'⁴⁰
 they finish it all cleaned inside. And rush they spread them of that kind
 then mats out inside,
 gidī⁴¹ alxali⁴² yap!a'; plī⁴³ yogā'^{a44} has's'ōu⁴⁵ gas'ie⁴⁶ alxaliyana'^{ε47}
 thereon they sit people; fire its place in the center, so that they being seated
 hā'εya-pliya'.⁴⁸ gana'ne'x⁴⁹ hop!è'n⁵⁰ yap!a'εa⁵¹ wī'li,⁵² lep'ni'xa⁵³
 on both sides of the In that way long ago people, for their house; in winter
 fire.
 wili'ⁱ⁵² gana't'⁵³. sama'xas'ie⁵⁴ ana'ne'x⁵⁵ alxali, a'ni^{ε56} wī'li gana'u.⁵⁷ 5
 their of that But in summer in this way they sit, not house therein
 house kind.
 gwa's'⁵⁸ wili yaxa⁵⁹ wit'ge'ye'ek'i,⁶⁰ gas'ie plī yogā'^a klemèi
 Brush house just they set it around, so that fire its place they make it
 habini'.⁶¹ gana'ne'x sama'xa alxali, an'ε lep'ni'xa nat'⁶² wī'li gana'u.
 in the middle. In that way in summer they dwell, not in winter like house therein.

³³ *xā-* § 36, 7b; *-i-* instrumental § 36, 6; *xā'i-* with *ε* to mark hiatus § 6. *-sgip/!isgip'* third personal subject, third personal object aorist of verb *-sgip/!isgibi'n* Type 13a I CUT IT UP TO PIECES iterative of verb *-sgi'ibi'n* Type 6; §§ 63; 40, 13; 43, 1.

³⁴ Local phrase with pre-positive *gwel* DOWN TO § 95 and noun-characteristic *-u* § 89, 4; *t'gā* § 86, 1.

³⁵ See note 30; infinitive used as noun § 74 end.

³⁶ See note 16; *-s'ie* § 114, 4. *s'ie* is appended to *s'idibī'* rather than *wili*, as *wili s'idibī'* is taken as unit.

³⁷ *ha-* IN § 36, 11 b; *-i-* instrumental § 36, 6; *ha'i-* § 6. *-t'bu'xt'bix-ik'*^w passive participle with instrumental *-i-* IN *-ik'*^w § 77 from verb *-t'boxol'baz-* Type 13a, verb stem *-t'box't'baz-*; *-t'box-* ablauted to *-t'būx-* § 31, 2; *-t'baz-* unlauded to *-t'bix-* § 8, 3a.

³⁸ § 86, 3.

³⁹ *ha-* IN § 36, 11b. *-hūwū'uek'i* = *-hūwū'uk'i-hi* § 19 end; third personal subject, third personal object aorist of instrumental verb *-hūwū'uk/i'n* Type 3 I SPREAD (MAT) OUT § 64.

⁴⁰ Compounded of demonstrative *ga* THAT and *na't'* participle in *-l'* § 76 of verb *nagai-* Type 4 a DO, BE, verb stem *na-*; see Appendix A.

⁴¹ Postposition § 96; *gi-* unlauded from *ga-* § 8, 4.

⁴² *al-* § 36, 15b, here with uncertain force; *-xali* third personal subject, third personal object aorist Type 1 in form, though intransitive in meaning § 67 footnote.

⁴³ § 86, 1.

⁴⁴ Third personal possessive of noun *yog-* (?) § 86, 1 with noun-characteristic *-a* § 92 III. FIRE ITS-PLACE is regular paraphrase for FIRE'S PLACE.

⁴⁵ Local phrase with pre-positive *ha-* IN; *-s'ōu* § 86, 1 does not seem otherwise to occur.

⁴⁶ Connective compounded of demonstrative *ga* THAT and enclitic particle *-s'ie* § 114, 4.

⁴⁷ Subordinate form of *alxali*, note 42; § 70 (see transitive paradigm).

⁴⁸ Local phrase with pre-positive *hā'εya-* ON BOTH SIDES OF and noun-characteristic *-a* § 95; *-p/iy-a'* from *p/ī* FIRE.

⁴⁹ Modal adverb compounded of demonstrative *ga* THAT and *na'ne'x* infinitive of verb *na'εnagai-*, verb stem *na'na-* §§ 69; 74, 1; Appendix A.

⁵⁰ Temporal adverb in *-n* § 112, 3.

⁵¹ *yap'a* see note 1; *εa* deictic post-nominal element § 102 (people of long ago contrasted with those of to-day).

⁵² *wī'li* or *wilī'* third personal pronominal form § 92 III of noun *wi'li* HOUSE see note 2. PEOPLE THEIR-HOUSE regular paraphrase for PEOPLE'S HOUSE. Observe that predicate verb (third personal aorist of TO BE) is not expressed in this sentence.

⁵³ Temporal adverb in *-za* § 112, 2.

⁵⁴ *sama'xa* cf. note 53; *-s'ie* § 114, 4.

⁵⁵ Modal adverb compounded of demonstrative stem *a-* THIS § 104 and *na'ne'x* see note 49.

⁵⁶ Negative adverb of aorist § 113, 3.

⁵⁷ Postposition with *wi'li* § 96.

⁵⁸ § 86, 1. *gwa's wili* BRUSH HOUSE form compound noun § 88.

⁵⁹ Participle in *-za* §§ 112, 2; 114, 9.

⁶⁰ *wi-* § 37, 8. *-t'ge'ye'ek'i* = *-t'geye'ek-i-hi* § 19 end; third personal subject, third personal object aorist of instrumental verb *-t'ge'ye'ek/i'n* Type 2 I PUT IT AROUND § 64; *-k-* petrified suffix § 42, 7.

⁶¹ Local adverb with pre-positive *ha-* IN § 95, noun stem *-bin-* not freely occurring § 86, 1, and noun-characteristic *-i* § 89, 3.

⁶² Participle in *-l'* § 76; see note 40.

[Translation]

The people are making a house. A post they set in the ground, and here again they set one in the ground, yonder again they set one in the ground, in four places they set them in the ground. Then also they place beams across on top in four places, and above (these) they put one across just once. And just then they make the house wall; and then on top they place the house boards, those they make out of sugar-pine lumber. Then they finish it on top, on either side they finish it. Then they make the door, and on top they make a hole for the going out of the smoke. And then they make a ladder, they notch out (a pole), for going down to the floor they make it; and the house wall they make.

Then they finish it, all cleaned inside. Now rush mats they spread out inside, on such the people sit. The fireplace is in the center, so that they are seated on either side of the fire. In that way, indeed, was the house of the people long ago; in winter their house was such. But in summer they were sitting like now,¹ not in the house. Just a brush shelter they placed around, so that the fireplace they made in the middle. Thus they dwelt in summer, not as in winter in a house.

¹ We were sitting out in the open when this text was dictated.

COOS

BY

LEO J. FRACHTENBERG



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INTRODUCTION

The material on which this account of the Coos language is based was collected at the Siletz reservation, Oregon, during the summer of 1909. I obtained nineteen complete myths and other texts with inter-linear translations, and linguistic material consisting chiefly of forms, phrases, and sentences. I have also had at my disposal a number of texts and grammatical notes collected by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, during the summer of 1903, which were of great assistance on many points.

This material was obtained chiefly from James Buchanan and Frank Drew, both of whom proved to be intelligent and reliable informants. To the former especially I am indebted for the complete and rich collection of myths and texts, while the latter was my chief source of information on points of grammar and lexicography. Frank Drew's untiring efforts and almost perfect command of English made him a very valuable interpreter, in spite of the fact that this advantage was offset in a great many cases by his knowledge of the Hanis and Miluk dialects of the Coos, and by his inability to draw a dividing-line between the two dialects. Hence his information was very often contradictory, and showed many discrepancies; but, on the whole, he was found trustworthy and reliable.

In conclusion I wish to express my deep gratitude to my teacher, Professor Franz Boas, for the many valuable suggestions made in connection with this work, and for the keen and unceasing interest which he has taken in me during the many years of our acquaintance. It was at his suggestion that this work was undertaken; and its completion is due mainly to the efforts and encouragement received from him. He it was who first imbued me with an enthusiasm for the primitive languages of the North American continent, and the debt which I owe him in this and in a great many other respects will be of everlasting duration.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,

April, 1910.

COOS

By LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

The Kusan stock embraces a number of closely related dialects that were spoken by the people inhabiting (until 1857) Coos bay and the region along the Coos river. Their neighbors were Siuslauan,¹ Kalapuyan, and Athapascan tribes. On the north they came in contact with the Umpqua¹ Indians, on the east they bordered on the Kalapuya, while on the south they were contiguous to the Rogue river tribes, especially the Coquelle.² In 1857, when the Rogue river war broke out, the United States Government, acting in self-defence, removed the Coos Indians to Port Umpqua. Four years later they were again transferred to the Yahate reservation, where they remained until 1876. On the 26th day of April, 1876, Yahate was thrown open to white settlers, and the Indians of that reservation were asked to move to Siletz; but the Coos Indians, tired of the tutelage of the United States Indian agents, refused to conform with the order, and emigrated in a body to the mouth of the Siuslaw river, where the majority of them are still living.

Of the two principal dialects, Hanis and Miluk,³ the latter is now practically extinct; while the former is still spoken by about thirty individuals, whose number is steadily decreasing. As far as can be judged from the scanty notes on Miluk collected by Mr. St. Clair in 1903, this dialect exhibits only in a most general way the characteristic traits of the Kusan stock. Otherwise it is vastly different from Hanis in etymological and even lexicographical respects.

The name "Coos" is of native origin. It is derived from the reduplicated stem *ku'kwòs* SOUTH, which appears very often in phrases like *akukwò sume* FROM WHERE SOUTH IS, *kùsemà'téte* SOUTHWARDS, etc.

¹ Erroneously classified by Powell as part of the Yakonan family. My recent investigations show Siuslaw to form an independent linguistic group consisting of two distinct dialects,—Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw. A grammatical sketch of the former dialect will be found in this volume.

² An Athapascan tribe living on the upper course of the Coquelle river.

³ Spoken on the lower part of the Coquelle river, and commonly called Lower Coquelle.

The Coos call their own language *hā'nîs l'ê'yîs* THE HANIS TONGUE. The present work deals with this dialect only, as sufficient material could not be obtained for the purpose of writing a grammar of the Miluk dialect.

Texts of myths and tales were collected by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, and by the author of the present sketch, and were published by Columbia University.¹ All references accompanying examples refer to page and line of that publication.

PHONOLOGY (§§ 2-14)

§ 2. Vowels

The phonetic system of Coos is rich and fully developed. Clusters of consonants occur very frequently, but are void of difficult complications. The vowels show a high degree of variability, and occur in short and long quantities. The obscure vowel *E* is very frequent, and seems to be related to short *e* and *a*. Resonance vowels occur very often, and are indicated in this work by superior vowels. The diphthongs are quite variable. Long *ē* is not a pure vowel, but glides from *ē* to *î*; it can hardly be distinguished from long *î*, to which it seems to be closely related. In the same manner long *ō* glides from *ō* to *û*, and was heard often as a long *û*-vowel.

The following may be said to be the Coos system of vowels and diphthongs:

| Vowels | | | | | | Semi-vowels | Diphthongs | |
|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-------------|-------------|--|
| <i>E</i> | | | | | | | | |
| <i>a</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>î</i> | <i>î</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>û</i> | <i>w, y</i> | <i>ai, a^u, e^u</i> |
| <i>ā</i> | <i>ä</i> | <i>ē</i> | <i>î</i> | <i>ō</i> | <i>û</i> | | | <i>ē^u</i> <i>ō^u</i> |

Short *e* is pronounced like *e* in the English word HELMET, while the unlauded *ä* corresponds to the open *e*-vowel in German WÄHLEN. It very often occurs as the unlauded form of long *ā*. *î* represents the short *y*-vowel so commonly found in the Slavic languages; while *û* indicates exceedingly short, almost obscure *u*. *ō* can not occur after the palatal surd *k* and fortis *k'*.

§ 3. Consonants

The consonantic system of Coos is characterized by the prevalence of the sounds of the *k* and *l* series, by the frequent occurrence of

¹ Coos Texts, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 1.

aspiration, by the abundance of long (double) consonants \bar{l} , \bar{m} , \bar{n} , and \bar{y} , and by the semi-vocalic treatment of the nasals m , n , and of the lateral sounds (indicated in this sketch by a circle under the consonant). Surds and sonants were not always pronounced distinctly, especially in the alveolar series. No aspirated consonants were found besides the aspirated t' and k' . The fortis is pronounced with moderate air-pressure and glottal and nasal closure.

The system of consonants may be represented as follows:

| | Sonant | Surd | Fortis | Spirant | Nasal |
|------------------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Velar | (g ?) | q | q' | γ , x | — |
| Palatal | g , $g(w)$ | k , $k(w)$ | k' , $k'(w)$ | — | — |
| Anterior palatal | g' | k' | $k'!$ | x' | — |
| Alveolar | d | t , t' | t' | s , c | n , \bar{n} |
| Affricative | (dz ?), dj | ts , tc | ts' , tc' | — | — |
| Labial | b | p | p' | — | m , \bar{m} |
| Lateral | \bar{l} | L | L' | \bar{l} , \bar{l}' | — |
| Glottal stop | ϵ | — | — | — | — |
| Aspiration | — | — | — | xx | — |
| | y , \bar{y} | h | w | | |

The glottal stop, when not inherent in the stem, may occur independently only before \bar{l} , m , n , and w . It always disappears before velar and palatal sounds. The aspiration is always accompanied by a stricture corresponding to the quality of the vowel preceding it. After a , o , and u (and u diphthongs) it is of a guttural character; while when following e , i -vowels, or the i -diphthongs, it becomes palatal. It disappears before a following w or y .

$\eta ha^{u'x} ts$ I make it 10.4

$\eta ha^{u'w} \bar{e}' wat$ I have it 18.4

$\hat{i} s \bar{s} \bar{o}^{x} t \hat{i} t \hat{a}' n \bar{i}$ we two trade mutually 15.6

$\eta \bar{l} \bar{o}^{ux} t \hat{a}' ya$ I am watching it 26.11

$\bar{l} \bar{o} w \hat{i} t \bar{i}' ye q \bar{e} m$ he took care 66.3

$p \bar{i}' x' p \bar{i}$ he went home 28.2

$x p \bar{i} ye' etc$ backwards, homewards 42.7

$q ai' x' qa' y \bar{o} n \bar{a}' ya$ he became afraid of it 42.3

§ 4. Sound Groupings

As has been stated before, clusters of consonants are extensive, but present few complications. Whenever difficulties arise in pronouncing them, there is a strong tendency, inherent in the language, to

simplify them. Thus, combinations of more than two consonants are rare, except in cases where one of the component elements (frequently the middle consonant) is *m*, *n*, or one of the lateral series. Such combinations are made possible through the semi-vocalic character of these consonants. I have also found *xpq*, *xcx*.

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| <i>helq-</i> to arrive | <i>halqtsō'wat</i> she would bring it to him 72.8 |
| <i>a'lqas</i> fear 66.4 | <i>agalqsâtō'wat</i> he scared him 92.20 |
| <i>dE'msât</i> prairie 22.12 | <i>dEmst'etc</i> through a prairie 22.11 |

In the same manner initial clusters, of which *m*, *n*, or *l* is the first element, are syllabified by vocalization of the first consonant either initially or terminally. A similar process takes place in clusters consisting of two consonants that belong to the same group.

The only consonantic combinations that are inadmissible are those of a *t*, *ts* or *s+m* or *n*.

Terminal clusters of three consonants are admissible only in cases where one of the component elements is a consonant easily subject to vocalization (a lateral, *m* or *n*).

| | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>l'nq</i> 7.5 | <i>qa'mlt</i> 102.16 |
| <i>yâxa'ntcpts</i> 60.3 | <i>tqa'nLts</i> 28.1 |

Terminal clusters of two consonants are confined to the combinations of *m+t*, *m+s*, *m+x*; *n+alveolar* or affricative, *n+k'*, *n+L*; *l+alveolar* or affricative (excepting *l+n*), *l+m*; *l+t* and *l+tc*. All other combinations are inadmissible (see §11).

The following examples of terminal sound groupings may be given:

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>L!ē'x·sîmt</i> 74.19 | <i>vlt</i> 7.8 |
| <i>hatā'yîms</i> 20.14 | <i>mîlt!</i> 76.12 |
| <i>yî'xumx</i> 122.22 | <i>tcîls</i> |
| <i>k'!înt</i> 5.2 | <i>be'îdj</i> |
| <i>xwändj</i> 6.8 | <i>he'wîlts</i> 140.14 |
| <i>k'wînts</i> 96.11 | <i>tc!îlts!</i> 26.26 |
| <i>Lōw'entc</i> 6.1 | <i>tk'elm</i> 136.7 (St. Clair) |
| <i>denk</i> 82.9 | <i>xalt</i> 10.9 |
| <i>hanL</i> 7.1 | <i>qe'lts</i> 6.4 |

An exceptional instance of a usually inadmissible sound grouping was found in *xyî'helq* 20.21.

All inadmissible terminal clusters are avoided through the insertion of a (weak) vowel between the two final consonants.

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>dɛmst-</i> | <i>dɛ' msɪt</i> prairie 22.12 |
| <i>helq-</i> | <i>he' laq</i> he arrived 20.18 |
| <i>ɬhɪnp-</i> | <i>ɬhɪ' nɪp</i> he went through 22.11 |
| <i>mɪlx-</i> | <i>mɪ' lɪx</i> lunch 28.15 |
| <i>alq- + -s</i> (§ 25) | <i>a' lqas</i> fear 66.4 |
| <i>wɪnq- + -s</i> (§ 25) | <i>wɪ' nqas</i> mat, spider 58.5 |

Inadmissible medial clusters are avoided through the insertion of a weak vowel or vowels:

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>wɪnq- + -xɛm</i> | <i>wɪnɔ' qaxɛm</i> it is spread out 32.14 |
| <i>helq- + -xɛm</i> | <i>he' la' qaxɛm</i> it is the end 44.14 |
| <i>ɪnq- + -a</i> | <i>ɪ' nɔ' la' qa</i> they two went down 8.4 |

§ 5. Accent

With the exception of the monosyllabic particles, that are either enclitic or proclitic, each word in Coos has its stress accent, designated by the acute mark (') or by the rising tone rendered here by ~. The former accent is not inseparably associated with any particular syllable of a word. It may, especially in cases of polysyllabic stems, be shifted freely from one syllable to another, although it is very possible that this apparent shifting of accent may be largely due to the rapidity with which the words in question were pronounced by the natives. The circumflex accent appears mostly on the last syllable, and may best be compared with the intonation given to the word so in the English interrogative sentence IS THAT SO ?

The accent very often modifies the syllable on which it falls by lending a specific coloring to the vowel, or by making it appear with a long quantity. This is especially the case in syllables with the obscure vowel, which, under the influence of accent, may be changed to an *a* or an *e*.

A very peculiar use of the accent is found in connection with the verbal stem *helɔq*. This stem expresses two different ideas, that are distinguished by means of the two kinds of accent. When occurring with the stress accent ('), *he' laq* denotes TO GET, TO ARRIVE; while *helɔ̃q* with the rising tone of *ā* expresses the idea TO CLIMB UP.

Phonetic Laws (§§ 6-14)

§ 6. *Introductory*

The phonetic laws are quite complex, and in a number of instances show such appalling irregularities that they defy all attempts at systematization. This is especially true of the contraction of two or more vowels into one, and of the law of hiatus. Broadly speaking, the phonetic processes may be said to be due to contact phenomena and, in rare instances, to the effects of accent.

Vocalic Processes (§§ 7-11)

The processes treated in this division may be classified as follows:

- (1) Vocalic Harmony.
- (2) Consonantization of *i*- and *u*- diphthongs.
- (3) Contraction.
- (4) Hiatus.
- (5) Processes due to change from terminal to medial position.

§ 7. VOCALIC HARMONY

The most important phonetic law in the Coos language is the law of vocalic harmony. This tendency towards euphony is so strongly developed in the language, that it may safely be said to be one of its chief characteristics. Its purpose is to bridge over as much as possible the difficulties that would arise in trying to pronounce in quick succession syllables with vowels of widely different qualities. The process may be of a retrogressive or progressive character; that is to say, the suffix may change the quality of the stem-vowel, or *vice versa*. Only the vowels of the *a*- and *e*- series are affected by this phenomenon, which is not always purely phonetic.

The following suffixes cause a change from *a* to *ä*, a process called the *i*-umlaut:

-*i* neutral § 31 -*ül* pronominal § 46 -*äye* transitional § 35

ŋhā'wits I make it grow

hā'wī he grew up 64.24

ŋtsaaū'wat I kill him 26.22

ŋtsæwe'ül she kills me 24.14

ŋhā'k!utits I draw it up

ül hāk!utī'ye they were drawn
up 30.1

A change of *a*-vowels into *e*-vowels due to other causes is effected by the pronominal suffixes *-ū* (§ 46), *-ēm* (§ 30), and by the imperative *-E* (§ 43).

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| <i>ŋhā'k'ʷt̄ts</i> I draw it up | <i>ŋhā'k'ʷt̄tsū</i> he draws me up |
| <i>k'a'wat</i> he pecks at it 20.14 | <i>ŋk'e'w̄t̄tū</i> he pecks at me |
| <i>kwaā'n̄ya</i> he knows it 26.18 | <i>kwee'n̄yēm</i> they know it 24.22 |
| <i>pa'yat</i> he shouted 32.1 | L <i>pe'ē'te</i> you must shout 32.2 |
| <i>tsxaʷ-</i> to kill | <i>tsxe'we</i> kill him! 68.3 |

The following suffixes change the *e*-vowels of the stem into *a*-vowels:

-ām̄i, *-ā'is* pronominal § 46

-ā'yam distributive § 37

-anāya § 50

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>tc̄nē'hen̄i</i> he is thinking 24.13, 14 | <i>ē'tc̄nahanā'm̄i</i> I am thinking of you |
| <i>he'wes</i> a lie | <i>ē'hawasanā'is</i> you are lying to me |
| <i>x'né'et</i> it is on top 10.1 | <i>ŋx'naatā'ya</i> I am riding (a horse) |
| <i>k!le'es</i> black | <i>k!laā'yam</i> blackish (black here and there) |
| <i>xä'n̄s</i> sick 42.18 | <i>xā'nanā'ya</i> he made him feel sorry 42.18 |
| <i>pLPü'w̄is</i> hat 136.14 | <i>pLPä'w̄isanāya</i> he made a hat out of it |

[NOTE.—The suffix *-anāya* is composed of *-en̄i* + *-āya*. The long *ā* of *-āya* affects the *e* of *-en̄i*, and the compound suffix changes the quality of the stem-vowel.]

Here may also belong the qualitative change of *ȳixē'* ONE and *ȳā'xwä* TWO into *ȳixah̄l'na* ONE EACH and *ȳāxwah̄l'na* TWO EACH (see p. 374), and changes like —

is we'län̄i hanL we two fight will 116.11 (*w̄il-* to fight)

qamelän̄i'we he commenced to swim around (*m̄il-* to swim)

[Compare also the change of the possessive pronoun *lä*, *l̄ye*, into *la*, *l̄ya*, when preceding stems with *a*-vowels (see § 98).]

Progressive assimilation occurs very frequently, and affects almost all suffixes that have *e*-vowels. The following suffixes change their *e*-vowels under the influence of an *a*-vowel of the stem:

-e auxiliary §44

-en̄i verbal §45

-iye transitional §35

-etc adverbial §68

-iyawa nominal §62

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>nwí'tíne</i> with blood it is (<i>wí-tín</i> blood) 20.6 | <i>la^u nk!á'ha</i> they with ropes are (<i>k!á</i> rope) 46.9 |
| <i>íl ntc!wá'le</i> they with fire are (<i>tc!wá'l</i> fire) 42.12 | <i>nmí'laqa</i> with an arrow he is (<i>mí'-laq</i> arrow) 20.18 |
| <i>hátct!ení'yegem</i> the story is being told (<i>há'tcít!</i> story) 44.14, 15 | <i>íl qanatcaní'waq</i> they began to make fun (<i>qa'nate</i> joke) 50.12 |
| <i>íc hewesé'ní</i> you two are lying 28.13, 14 (<i>he'wes</i> lie) | <i>íl kwá'xalaní</i> they are making bows (<i>kwá'xal</i> a bow) |
| <i>qalímí'ye</i> morning it got 20.4 (<i>qalím-</i> morning) | <i>ñhainahá'ya</i> I active became (<i>hai'-na</i> active) |
| <i>á'yu íx'í'ye</i> surely a canoe it was (<i>ix'</i> canoe) 126.10 | <i>ñdōwāyahā'ya</i> I happened to want it (<i>dōwa-</i> to desire) |
| <i>dēmsté'tc Lhí'nap</i> through a prairie he went 22.11 (<i>dē'm-sít</i> prairie) | <i>t^Ék!wí'l xā'apate</i> he dove into the water (<i>xā'ap</i> water) 26.27 |
| <i>yíxā'wexetc la</i> into the house he went (<i>yíxā'wex</i> house) 28.10, 11 | <i>L!tā'atc tšaxwí'yat</i> on the ground he put it down (<i>L!tā</i> earth, ground) 36.20, 21 |

The same progressive assimilation may have taken place in the change of the transitive suffix *-é'wat* into *-ō'wat* (see p. 337) whenever suffixed to stems ending in *u*-diphthongs.

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>t^ÉkwēLé'wat</i> he is following him 22.2 | <i>ñtšaxwí'wat</i> I kill him (<i>tšaxa^u-</i> to kill) 26.22 |
| <i>ñtcéintéinē'wat</i> I am thinking (of him) | <i>é'wí'ō'wat</i> you are looking for it (<i>wí'ō-</i> to look for something) 54.3 |

Another assimilatory process of this type is the change of the particle *íl* into *el* (*hel*) after a preceding *n* or *L* (see p. 388).

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>lE'γí íl</i> good, indeed 5.3 | <i>ín hel</i> not so! 42.23 |
| | <i>lE'γí yū'Lel</i> good it would be indeed 70.5 |

In spite of this great tendency towards euphony, numerous instances will be found showing an absolute lack of vocalic harmony. Whether these cases are the result of imperfect perception, due to the rapid flow of speech or to other causes, cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty.

§ 8. CONSONANTIZATION OF I- AND U- DIPHTHONGS

The *i* and *u* of diphthongs are always changed into the semi-vocalic consonants *y* and *w* when they are followed by another vowel.

The only exception to this rule occurs in cases where the diphthong is contracted with the following vowel (see § 9).

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>penlō'wai</i> whale 30.10 | <i>penlō'wayetc</i> a whale with 88.30 |
| <i>ûx tîl'qai</i> they two are living 24.1 | <i>hél'laq lE mä tîl'qayetc</i> he came to the people (who) lived (there) 36.12, 13 |
| <i>t!^Ecî'ta^u</i> flint point | <i>nt!^Ecî'ta^uwe lE mî'l'laq</i> flint points have the arrows 62.27 |
| <i>lō^u-</i> to eat | <i>lōwā'was</i> food 22.14 |
| <i>xwî'lûax^u</i> head 30.14 | <i>xL!ts xwî'lûaxwîtc</i> she hit him over the head 66.5, 6 |
| <i>k^u</i> perhaps + <i>îs</i> we two | <i>kwi^s</i> let us two 26.15 |

§ 9. CONTRACTION

In Coos the contraction of two vowels immediately following each other is so uncertain that it is difficult to formulate any rule that would cover all irregularities. The main difficulty lies in the fact that contraction of vowels, and hiatus, seem constantly to interfere with each other. The following rules may be said to apply in all cases:

- (1) Two vowels belonging to the *u*-series are contracted into a long *ū*.

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| <i>xtcî'tcū + ūL</i> | <i>xtcî'tcūL</i> how would (it be) 5.2 |
| <i>yîku + ūL</i> | <i>yîkūL</i> perhaps it would (be) 17.7 |

- (2) Two long *î*-vowels are contracted into a long *î*.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| <i>hâ'k!^utî + -îye</i> | <i>îl hâ'k!^utî'ye</i> they were drawn up 30.1 |
| <i>henî + -îye</i> | <i>he'nîye</i> a while 42.17 (<i>he'nîhen</i> many times 88.1) |

- (3) Long *ē* or *î* are contracted with a following *ā* into long *ā* or *ē*.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>-enî + -āya</i> | <i>-anāya</i> (see § 50) |
| <i>plpā'wîsenî</i> he is making a hat | <i>plpā'wîsa'nāya</i> he is making a hat out of it |
| <i>-nēⁱ + -āwas</i> | <i>-nēⁱwas</i> (see § 59) |

(4) Vowels of very short quantities are usually contracted with the following vowels of longer quantities, regardless of quality. The quality of the longer vowel predominates in such amalgamations. In the process of contraction, an *h* preceding the second vowel disappears.

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>c^E + hanL</i> | <i>canL</i> a particle denoting certain expectation (see § 90) |
| <i>tsî + hanL</i> | <i>tsanL</i> only then shall . . . 78.15 |

An exception to this rule is found in the case of the *u*-vowels, which change a following *h* into a *w*.

yū + *he*
tsō then

yuwe' whenever 16.6
tsowe' as soon as 52.14

An interesting case of contraction is presented by the amalgamation of the personal pronouns and the negative particle *in*.

ŋ I + *in* NOT is contracted into *nī*.

e' THOU + *in* NOT is contracted into *ēn*.

xwīn WE TWO + *in* NOT is contracted into *xwī'n*.

līn WE + *in* NOT is contracted into *lī'n*.

cīn YOU + *in* NOT is contracted into *cī'n*.

nī *tcītc* *la^u* *tsxaū'wat* not I how that one (to) kill it 62.21

ēn *hanL* *dā'l* you not will (be) something 10.5

xwī'n *kwaā'nīya* we two not know it 120.23

lī'n *canL* *xtcītc* *sqats* we (can) not seize her 56.18

cī'n *k'ellē^u* *wat* you not forget it 40.18

Following are examples of uncontracted negative forms:

ūx in kwaā'nīya they two (did) not know it 22.9, 10

īl in k'īlō'wīt they (did) not see it 32.3

§ 10. HIATUS

The same uncertainty that exists in the case of contraction of vowels is found in the law of hiatus. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the coming-together of two vowels of like quantities and qualities is avoided by means of infixing a weak *h* between them. Two vowels of dissimilar quantities and qualities are kept apart by means of the accent.

Examples of insertion of *h*:

kwaā'nīya + *-āya*

kwaā'nīyahā'ya (they) came to know it 102.29

ŋ'ne + *-īye*

ŋnehī'ye I came to be (the one)

sīL'nē' + *-īye*

sīL'nēhī'ye joined together it became 13.4

ts!xa + *-a*

nts!xa'ha *LE* *kwā'xaL* (covered) with skin is the bow 62.27, 28

hū^umā'k'e + *-e*

ūx nhū^umā'k'ehē they two with wives are 42.15

helmā + *-īs*

helmā' hīs next day 6.7

Examples of division by means of accent:

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| <i>lE + -îtc</i> | <i>xle'îtc L'äts</i> with it he spoke 16.2 |
| <i>L'tā + -atc</i> | <i>L'tā'atc lemā'yat</i> into the ground he stuck it 64.1 |

§ 11. PROCESSES DUE TO CHANGE FROM TERMINAL TO MEDIAL POSITION

Terminal consonantic clusters are avoided by inserting a weak vowel between two consonants standing in final position (see § 4). But as soon as a suffix is added to a stem thus expanded, changing the cluster from a terminal to medial position, the inserted vowel is dropped, and the consonants are combined into a cluster.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>mî'laæ</i> lunch 28.15 | <i>mîlxa'nEM</i> lunch make me 114.5 |
| <i>dE'msît</i> prairie 22.12 | <i>dEMsté'tc Lhî'nap</i> to the prairie he came 22.11 |
| <i>Lhî'nap</i> he went through 22.11 | <i>ûx Lhînpî'ye</i> they two came through 112.1 |
| <i>a'lqas</i> fear 66.4 | <i>ûx alqasā'ya</i> they two are afraid of it 7.5 |
| <i>hä'tcît!</i> story 20.2 | <i>hätet'enî'yeqEM</i> a story is being told 44.14, 15 |
| <i>tcî'lats</i> he was astonished 22.28 | <i>tcî'lts^ExEM</i> he was astonished 128. 15 |
| <i>kwā'xal</i> bow 60.14 | <i>ûx nkwā'xla</i> they two have bows 12.9 |
| <i>mî'lat</i> he swam 30.7 | <i>mî'lt^EqEM</i> he swam (out) 100.16 |

On the whole, Coos shows a marked tendency toward clustering of consonants in medial position. Thus, when a suffix beginning with a long vowel is added to a stem that has already been amplified by means of a suffix whose initial vowel is weak, the vowel of the first suffix is dropped, and its consonants are combined with the final consonants of the stem into a cluster.

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>hä'Läte</i> elder brother 72.27 | <i>hätLtcî'yas</i> elder brothers |
| <i>e'k^uLäte</i> father 20.25 | <i>ek^uLtcî'yas</i> fathers |
| <i>la'xLîs</i> mud 52.10 | <i>xîLsa'etc</i> with mud 52.13 |
| <i>ñhū'^wmîsîts</i> I marry her | <i>hū'^wmîstsō'wat</i> he married 26.14 |

This change from a terminal to a medial position effects sometimes the dropping of a whole syllable.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>mîLkwî'yäte</i> younger brother 72.1 | <i>îl mîLkwî'tcînî</i> they are younger brothers (mutually) 84.20 |
|--|--|

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>iluwe'x'tcís</i> heart 5.3 | <i>ílú'tcísitc lō'q'utats</i> in his heart she was boiling 108.27 |
| <i>p̄ī'yat</i> he took him home 30.13 | <i>xwīn ε'p̄ītā'mî hanL</i> we two thee take home will 126.19, 20 |

Another effect due to this law is the weakening of the vowel of the syllable immediately preceding the suffix. This change takes place regularly when two or more suffixes have been added to one and the same stem.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>Lh̄nptsō'wat</i> he takes him through | <i>uLh̄nptsō'wītū</i> he takes me through |
| <i>hū'm̄stō'wat</i> he is marrying them 26.14 | <i>ε'hū'm̄stōwītā'mî hanL</i> I marry thee will 184.6 |

Consonantic Processes (§§ 12-14)

§ 12. TYPES OF CONSONANTIC PROCESSES

Consonantic changes are few in number, and due to contact phenomena. The following are the processes affecting consonants :

- (1) Consonantic euphony.
- (2) Simplification of doubled consonants.

§ 13. CONSONANTIC EUPHONY

This law affects the palatal sounds only, and results from a strong tendency, inherent in the language, to assimilate, whenever possible, the consonants of the *k*-series to the character of the preceding or following vowels. As a consequence of this tendency, *i*-vowels are invariably followed or preceded by the anterior palatals, while *u*-vowels change a following palatal into a *k*-sound with a *u*-tinge (a labialized *k*).

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| <i>lā'nîk</i> river 14.6 | <i>tsä'yux^u</i> small 20.5 |
| <i>wîx'îlîs</i> food 14.7 | <i>mā'luk^u</i> paint 10.2 |
| <i>tahā'lîk</i> quiver 66.26 | <i>xwî'lux^u</i> head 30.14 |
| <i>x'nek</i> hair 50.3 | <i>mēlū'kuk^u</i> salmon heart 34.25 |
| <i>g'îmg'î'mîs</i> rain | <i>gō^us</i> all 9.3 |

Instances are not lacking where actual palatalization has taken place, or where an anterior *k* has been changed into a palatal *k* so as to conform to the character of the vowel following it.

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>k!a'lat</i> he shouted 36.7 | <i>gak'eleni'we ū mēn</i> they began to shout 24.22 |
| <i>k!a'wat</i> he pecks at it 20.9 | <i>k!e'wītēm</i> some one is pecking |

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>ha'kat</i> he crawled 32.12 | <i>aha'k'îtc</i> crawlingly 32.10 |
| <i>tka'lmîts</i> he sinks it | <i>t^hk'el'mâxem</i> (a) deep place 84.24 |
| <i>k!xa'yé'es</i> he is talking to him 30.23 | <i>k!xé'Em yé'es</i> talk to me |
| <i>pkāk</i> grandfather 28.19 | <i>pkā'kate</i> grandfather 30.6 |
| <i>tahā'lîk</i> quiver 66.26 | <i>tahā'lîkate</i> into the quiver 116.19 |
| <i>ax'v'axatc</i> uncle | <i>axā'x</i> uncle 34.9 |
| <i>k^umā'x</i> horn 86.25 | <i>nk^umā'xa</i> it has a horn 88.7 |

The only cases of consonantic assimilation that occur in Coos are the changes of sonants into surds, under the influence of a following surd.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>ya'bas</i> maggots 40.12 | <i>xya'bas yaptî'tsa lä</i> . . . maggots ate up his . . . (literally, mag- goted his . . .) 40.6 |
| <i>bîsk'e'tc yî'xumx</i> he had it (the water) in a cup 128.25 | <i>p^Esî'k'ā'tsem</i> a cup give me 68.17 |

§ 14. SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLED CONSONANTS

Doubled consonants are simplified in consequence of the tendency to avoid the clustering of too many consonants. The process consists in the simplification of a long (doubled) consonant, when followed by another consonant. Owing to the fact that only *l*, *m*, *n*, and *y* appear in doubled (long) quantities, they are the only consonants that are affected by this law.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>mîlat</i> he swam 30.7 | <i>mî'lt^Eqem</i> he swam (out) 100.16 |
| <i>tcî'lats</i> he was astonished 22.28 | <i>tcî'lts^Exem</i> he was astonished 128. 15 |
| <i>lhî'nap</i> he went through 22.11 | <i>lhî'nptsō^uwat</i> he took him through |
| <i>nmä'heñet</i> it is (crowded) with people 20.1 | <i>xmä'hentîtc</i> like a person 30.22, 23 |

§ 15. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

All grammatical categories and syntactic relations in Coos are expressed by means of one of the five following processes:

- (1) Prefixation.
- (2) Suffixation.
- (3) Reduplication.
- (4) Syntactic particles.
- (5) Phonetic changes.

The number of prefixes is very small, and by far the majority of grammatical ideas are expressed by means of suffixes and syntactic particles. Reduplication, although frequently resorted to, is used to express only a limited number of categories; while the phonetic changes are very rare, and exhibit a decidedly petrified character.

§ 16. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

All stems seem to be neutral, and their nominal or verbal character depends chiefly upon the suffixes with which they are used. Consequently two different suffixes — one of a verbal and the other of a nominal character — may be added to the same stem, nominalizing or verbalizing it, according to the requirements of the occasion. In the following pages a distinction is made between verbal and nominal stems, which is based solely upon the sense in which the stem is used.

All prefixes express ideas of an adverbial character.

By far the majority of verbal suffixes indicate ideas of action and such concepts as involve a change of the subject or object of the verb. Hence ideas indicating causation, reciprocity, reflexive action, the passive voice, the imperative, etc., are expressed by means of suffixes. The pronouns denoting both subject and object of an action are indicated by suffixes. Only semi-temporal ideas, such as the inchoative, frequentative, and transitional stages, are expressed by means of suffixes; while the true temporal concepts are indicated by syntactic particles. Instrumentality and agency are also indicated by suffixes.

All local relations are expressed by nominal suffixes. Abstract concepts are formed by means of suffixes.

Ideas of plurality are very little developed, and, with the exception of a few suffixes, are expressed by different verbal and nominal stems. Distributive plurality occurs very often, especially in the verb, and is indicated by suffixes or by reduplication. Reduplication expresses, furthermore, continuation, duration, and repetition of action.

A great variety of concepts are expressed by syntactic particles, especially ideas relating to emotional states and to degrees of certainty.

In the pronoun, three persons, and a singular, dual, and plural, are distinguished. Grammatical gender does not exist. The first person dual has two distinct forms, — one indicating the inclusive (I AND THOU) and the other the exclusive (I AND HE).

The demonstrative pronoun shows a variety of forms, but does not distinguish sharply between nearness or remoteness in relation to the three pronominal persons.

The numeral is very well developed, exhibiting special forms for the ordinal, multiplicative, and the distributive, which are indicated by means of suffixes.

The syntactic structure of the Coos sentence is very simple, and is characterized by the facility with which the different parts of speech may shift their position without changing in the least the meaning of the sentence. Incorporation and compound words are entirely absent, and the various parts of speech are easily recognizable through their suffixes.

MORPHOLOGY (§§ 17-95)

Prefixes (§§ 17-24)

The number of prefixes is small. Three of the six prefixes found in this language — namely, the local, discriminative, and modal *w* — must have originally expressed one general idea incorporating these three concepts, because the phonetic resemblance between these suffixes is too perfect to be a mere coincidence. In addition to these prefixes, the article and the personal pronouns may be treated in this chapter, as they are loosely prefixed to the nominal (or verbal) stems, and in a great many cases form a phonetic unit with the words that follow them.

§ 17. *The Articles* **lE** and **hE**

The article *lE*, or *hE*, is used in the singular and plural alike, and may denote a definite or indefinite object. The definite article indicates an object that actually exists or that is intimately known to the speaker. No fixed rules can be given for the occurrence of the two different forms *lE* and *hE*, but the following general principle may be said to hold good: *hE* tends to occur at the beginning of a sentence and after words ending in vowels, dentals, and sibilants; while *lE* occurs in all other cases.

hE hatā'yîms (1) *mîw'sō'wē'* (2) *k!a'wat* (3) *hE to'qmas* (4) the wood-pecker (4) is pecking at (3) the lucky (2) money (1) 20.15

hî'nî stō'q lE dî'lōl there stood the young man 22.27

wāndj tcîné'henî hE dî'lōl thus was thinking the young man 24.13, 14

ē'nek lE L!tā sticking out was the earth 6.7

The article very often performs the function of the personal pronoun of the third person singular, and in such cases is to be rendered by HE, SHE, or IT.

h'e't lE h'e'laq lE w'i'ngas u tem'i'snäte (in order) to gamble he arrived, the spider's grandson 66.20, 21
hE tsu'tsu he was killed 96.14

The article has a general nominalizing function, and when prefixed to adverbs, adjectives, etc., gives them the force of nouns.

hE gō's d'i't k'yēai's tsaww'i'yat everything separately he put down 48.18, 19
gō's d'i't lai'x'tset hEx kw'i'na'utC (of) everything was started the appearance (i. e., everything began to have its present appearance) 12.7
hE qa'ltes the length
mā il lE eh'e'ntC mā yā'lanī surely, (whatever) the far-off people were talking 66.13
la^u h'e'it kw'i'leL lE e'k'i'lō'uts that (was) their sweat-house, which you found 62.25
ŋ'ne itE lE e'dōwāyextā'is qa^uwa I am the one whom you wanted last night 50.25, 26

In some instances the article is prefixed to the personal pronoun of the third person singular for the sake of emphasis.

ta lE'wä la^u qats i'nāEx and he, he was just alone 68.2
ta lE i'txä la^u penlō'wai it lōwō'wat and they, they whale are eating 130.13

It is also prefixed for the same purpose to the demonstrative pronoun *la^u*.

lEla^u qal'āwex'i'we these began to flop around 17.6
qantC lEla^u laā'yam wherever these went 22.17, 18

In certain local phrases the article prefixed to the whole and followed by the local term very often expresses local relation.

hE dE'msīt ntce'ne'nīs ha^u tī^Eqtsū at the edge (of) the prairie they sat down 22.15
hE tskwa'x'lis nhal' stō'waq at the lower part (of) the fir-tree he stood up 26.17

(For the article as a possessive prefix, see § 98.)

§ 18. The Personal Pronouns

The following are the personal pronouns in Coos:

| | | | |
|--------------------|---|----------------------|-------|
| Singular | } | 1st person | ʔ- |
| | | 2d person | eʔ- |
| | | 3d person | — |
| Dual | } | Inclusive | iʔ- |
| | | Exclusive | zwɪn- |
| | | 2d person | ic- |
| | | 3d person | ux- |
| Plural | } | 1st person | lin- |
| | | 2d person | cɪn- |
| | | 3d person | il- |

There is no special form for the third person singular, which is expressed by the mere stem or by the article.

- hɛ'mɪs dɪ'l ɲk'ɪlō'wɪt* big something I saw 62.21
tsɪ e'qa'qaɪ merely you are sleeping 68.19
ā'yū tō'hɪts indeed! he hit it 13.3
ɪs al'i'cani hanL we (two) will play 38.11
mü zwɪn wutxai'yat a man we (two) brought home 128.8
tsō ic lɛ'ɣi now you two (are) well 120.20
ā'yū ux L^ɛān surely they two went down into the water 54.16
lɪn pɪ'x.pɪ hanL we will go home 120.21
cɪn sqats hanL tɛ tc!wəl you will seize that fire 40.18, 19
asō' tɔi il wu'twe again here they returned 30.5

The second persons dual and plural for the imperative form of intransitive verbs are *iceʔ* and *cɪneʔ* respectively, instead of *ic* and *cɪn*.

- iceʔ stō^uq* you two stand up! 120.15
tsɪ'x'ti iceʔ dʒi here you two come! 82.13
cɪneʔ Lō^uq you get up! 30.19

But compare—

- ic hemɪ'yɛ* you two lay him bare! 24.10
tɛi ic q!mɪ'tsɛ this you two eat! 120.16
tɔi cɪn L!ɛi'yɛ tɛɲ k'e'la there you put this my hand! 80.19

The pronoun of the third person plural (*il*) very often precedes the article or the possessive pronoun of the third person singular in order to emphasize the idea of plurality.

- gō^{us} dɪ'l lə^w tc!lɛ'wat, il lɛ mɛlä'kuk^u, il lɛ ptsä, il lɛ mɪ'l^uxas*
 everything he is drying,—the salmon hearts, the gills, the tails
 34.25, 26

axé'itc lépté'yap lü ä, il lü k'é'la, il la kála with it she painted their faces, their hands, their feet 122.7

The numerical particle *í'k'í* BOTH very often precedes the dual pronouns in order to emphasize the idea of duality.

tsō í'k'í qaxa'ntc úx x'í'ntset now both (of them) got on top 14.1

In the same way the particle *gō's* ALL is placed before the plural forms in order to bring out the idea of plurality.

la^u gō's wändj il L!ä'xem these all that way are talking 50.9, 10

As has been remarked before, the pronouns are loosely prefixed enclitics. They form no integral part of the word, although with a few exceptions they precede immediately the noun or verb to which they belong. They are always placed before the prefixes enumerated in §§ 19-24.

í'k'í úx nkwā'xla both of these have bows (literally, both they two [are] with bows) 12.9

tsō ŋqalōwí'we now I commence to eat

íc xqantcū'wis you two from what place (are)? 126.14

il k'!äxā'p they have no water (literally, they [are] without water) 38.2

The personal pronouns are contracted with the negative particle *in* into *nī* I NOT, *ēn* THOU NOT, etc. (see § 9). The prefixed personal pronouns are also used in the formation of transitive subject and object pronouns (see § 46).

§ 19. *Inchoative qa-*

This prefix denotes the commencement of an action. The verb to which it is prefixed takes, with a few exceptions, the suffixes *-íwe* or *-íye* (see §§ 32, 35).

ā'yū qalōwí'we indeed (she) commenced to eat 24.11

qatcínchení'we (he) began to think 20.7

úx qawelānī'we they two commenced to fight

tsō úx qayuwatí'ye now they two commenced to travel 12.6

qamáí'í'ye (he) commenced to swim 30.3

When prefixed to an impersonal verb or to a noun with a verbal force, the suffix is omitted.

lū L!ahā'was la^u qa'xtō^u her garments (these) commenced to get stiff 110.3

qayíxumatā'ís (he) commenced to travel around (literally, [he] commenced the traveling) 32.10

§ 20. *Privative* k'lä-

It has the same function as the English suffix *-LESS*. With the possessive pronoun, it expresses *ABSENCE* (p. 399).

il k'!ätc!wä't they (have) no fire 38.1

k'!ä'tetc mät'lat (she) swam around naked (lit., without clothes) 86.1

k'!ähuwä'was mät'sv'tt'ye suddenly she became pregnant (literally, without delay she became pregnant) 10.7

§ 21. *Adverbial* n-

This prefix may be rendered by *IN, AT, TO, ON, WITH*. When preceded by the article or those pronouns that end in a vowel, it is suffixed to them, and the unit thus obtained is loosely prefixed to the noun. The same rule applies to the discriminative and modal *w-*.

ä'wät lE mä nL!tä'yas he killed (all) the people in the village 112.9, 10

ä'yü yu'kwe län yä'xä'wex surely he came ashore at his house (and not *lä nyä'xä'wex*) 36.6

Low'tat hE d'lot lät nmä'k'e ran the young man to that basket 28.27

nwala'wäs la^w he'laq with heat she arrived 24.9

n- in the sense of *WITH* very often exercises the function of our auxiliary verb *TO HAVE, TO BE*. In such cases the noun to which it is prefixed takes the verbal suffix *-e* or *-a* (see § 44).

nw'ttine lä k^whü'yeq his excrements are bloody (literally, with blood [are] his excrements) 20.6, 7

is nhümä'k'ehe we two have wives (literally, we two with wives are) 10.9

nä^wnt mä la^w tc!pä'yä^w nk!ä'ha many people have braided ropes (literally, many people those braided with ropes are) 46.8, 9

ntc!ä'ha d'v'ä animals (lit., with "walkers" something [that is]) 46.1

§ 22. *Locative* x-

The prefix *x-* signifies *FROM*.

xqante la^w s'v'x·t^Ftsa from where that one scented it 22.24

xqat tqanLts from below he strikes it 28.1

When prefixed to nouns, the nouns usually take the adverbial suffix *-ä'tc* *IN* (see § 67).

äkwile' L'ä'tc qädjä I came from the sweat-house (literally, from in the sweat-house I came)

In some cases the nouns take, instead of the suffix *-ētc*, the adverbial prefix *n-* (see § 21).

ha'lkwīt hE k!ā hāx nk!w'nts he took the rope off his neck 98.23
(literally, he took off the rope his from on neck)

§ 23. Discriminative *x-*

The prefix *x-* occurs very often with the subject of transitive verbs, and denotes the performer of the action. (For *x-* preceded by the article or pronoun, see § 21.)

kā^s tō' hīts hEx dī'lōl almost hit it the young man 20.20, 21
kwī'la^u ha^w'xts lEx mātēL'tsīnātc ice made the father-in-law 26.27, 28
xyī'xē' dā'māt la^u ha'lqait one man to him came 15.5
īn kwaā'nīya lEx wī'ngas hū^w'māk not knew it the Spider-Old-Woman 58.9, 10

x- is always prefixed to the subject of the sentence when the sentence contains both subject and object, or when the person spoken to may be in doubt as to which noun is the subject of the sentence.

hū^m'mīstsō^w'wat lEx dī'lōl lE yū'xwā hū^w'mā'k'e married the young man the two women 26.14
k'īlō'wīt hE wīx'v'lis lEx hū^w'mīs saw the food the woman 64.16, 17
k'īlō'wīt lEx dā'māt lE xū'nīs saw the husband the sick (man) 128.11, 12
sqā'ts hāl hū^w'māk lEx swāl seized that old woman grizzly bear 102.21, 22

x- is never omitted as a prefix when the subject of the sentence is an animal, an inanimate object, or any part of speech other than a noun.

axx'īmī ŋk'īlō'wītū the bear saw me (but *cx'īmī ŋk'īlō'wīt* I saw the bear)
xyā'bas yaptī'tsa lā pī'līk'īs maggots ate up his anus 40.6, 7
ak'd'nak he'īlta hEx x'ōwā'yas sticking out is (the) tongue the snake 42.1, 2
xgain'eEs kā^s tsxāw'wat cold (weather) nearly killed him 32.7
xwīt ŋtō'hītsū some one hit me
nī kwaā'nīya xwīt I don't know who (it is)
xī'nīEx x'L!ō'wīt Lōp'ītētc alone (they) got into (the) basket 34.19, 20
xlalā^u lō^w'tā'ya that is the one (who) watched it 94.6

in le'γī akwī'na^{tc} it does not look good (literally, not good [the manner of] looking 34.18

xnā^{nt} la^u Lō^{ux}Lō^wwax many (persons) her were clubbing 80.4, 5

x- is always prefixed to the vocative cases of nouns when they are used with the possessive pronouns. This is due to the desire on the part of the speaker to avoid ambiguity or obscurity of meaning.

tā'ī nex hū^wmīs halloo, my wife! 54.2

ēdjī nex dā'mīl you come, my husband! 70.16

ēlō^{ux}tīyextā'īs hanL nex cī't!ā you shall take care of me, oh, my pet! 86.20.21

ēdjī nex temā'mīs you come, my grandsons 82.12, 13

ēLō^{uk} nex k!ō'la sit down, my father

While the vocative cases (especially for nouns expressing terms of relationship) have special forms, the omission of the discriminative prefix could nevertheless obscure the meaning of the sentence, as the possessive pronoun coincides with the form for the personal pronoun.

Thus, if in the sentence *ēLō^{uk} nex k!ō'la*, the *nex k!ō'la* were deprived of its discriminative prefix, it might mean YOU SIT DOWN. I (AM THE) FATHER. Since, however, the action is to be performed by the person addressed (in this particular instance, "the father"), it is discriminated by the prefix *x-*. Such an ambiguity can not occur in sentences where the vocative is used without the possessive pronoun, where the prefix is consequently omitted.

ēLō^{uk} phā'k you sit down, grandfather! 108.14

mīlxā'nēm l w'mā make me (necessarily) lunch, grandmother!
114.5

§ 24. *Modal and Instrumental x-*

This prefix may be best translated by IN THE MANNER OF. Its function is the same as that of our English suffix -LY. There is an etymological relation between this suffix and the discriminative and locative *x-*, although I was unable to ascertain its exact nature. The suffix *-tc* is frequently added to stems preceded by the modal prefix *-x* (see § 36).

xlōwe'entc k!wī'nts entirely *lōwe'entc lowī'tat* all (seals) ran
he swallowed her 102.23 (into the water) 56.9, 10

atcī'tcū ēxā'tal how are you? *tcī'tcū ye^ē iluwe'^{xtcīs}* what do you
(literally, in what way you think? (literally, what your
do?) 36.13 heart?) 6.9; 7.1

xqa'lyeq^{ētc} it kwīna'ē'wat as salmon they look upon it (literally,
in the manner of salmon they see it [*qa'lyeq* salmon]) 130.14

xp̄iyé'etc qat̄n̄w̄än̄w̄e backwards she commenced to pull them (literally, in the manner of going home [*p̄v̄^wp̄v̄* he goes home]) 80.8, 9

in x̄w̄'yuw̄ite ā'tsa a small amount she gave her (literally, not in the manner of enough [*ā'yu* sure enough]) 64.21

ḡā'w̄its h̄ex t!ē'c̄'ite I finished shoving (literally, I finished in the manner of . . .)

This prefix is used frequently to express the idea of instrumentality. The noun is then usually followed by the adverbial suffix *-etc* (see § 70). The idea of instrumentality is here so closely interwoven with that of modality, that the instrumental use of a modal prefix is very natural.

k!w̄int am̄'laq̄etc he shot at him with an arrow (literally, he shot at him in the manner of an arrow) 22.16

paā' h̄t h̄e l̄ō'p̄t̄ x̄q̄ā'lyeq̄etc full (was) the basket with salmon 36.1

l̄ex tsyn̄ā' h̄etc L!ā'ts with the thunder language he spoke 18.9

am̄k'ē'etc t̄ōw̄it̄in̄'ye by means of a basket he was dropped down 28.9, 10

Suffixes (§§ 25-80)

§ 25. General Remarks

The number of suffixes in Coos is quite small when contrasted with the numerous suffixes found in some of the neighboring languages. This number appears even smaller when we take into consideration the compound suffixes that consist of two, and in some cases of three, independent suffixes. A still more sweeping reduction may be obtained through an etymological comparison between the different suffixes. There can be little doubt that if the language, in its present status, would lend itself to an etymological analysis, many suffixes, apparently different in character and even in form, could be shown to be derived from one common base. Thus it is safe to say that the suffix *-t* primarily had a general verbal character, and that all the other suffixes ending in *-t* are derived from this original form. This assertion is substantiated by the fact that the present transitive suffix *-ts* is added to a number of stems that have already been verbalized by the general verbal *-t* suffix, and that the causative passive suffix *-et* is always preceded by the transitive *-t* or *-ts* (see § 26).

In the same manner it may be said that *-s* was the general suffix indicating nouns, and that all nominal suffixes ending in *-s* eventually go back to this nominal suffix.

This theory of a close etymological connection between the different suffixes is practically proven by a comparison of the various adverbial suffixes ending in *-tc*. Such a comparison will show that all these suffixes must have been derived from one universal form, which may be reconstructed as **tc*. Furthermore, all the suffixes expressing distribution have the element *n-* in common, which consequently may be regarded as the original suffix conveying the idea of distributive plurality; the more so, as in the following instances *n-* actually denotes distribution.

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>k'e'la</i> hand 48.17 | <i>k'e'lnatc ttō'w'x'îts</i> he rubbed her in his hands (literally, with each of his hands he rubbed her) 108.20, 21 |
| <i>djî</i> it came 52.8 | <i>lE djî' nît</i> they came (singly) 52.17 |
| <i>k'tsas</i> ashes | <i>k'îtsî'snEtc tēpî'tît tet</i> with ashes he marked himself [all over] 28.16 |
| <i>çîne^ç tî'k'E</i> you stand! 122.10 | <i>tSEL'nēⁱ ûx î'kîne</i> side by side they two were standing 62.22 |

There also seems to be an etymological connection between the suffix denoting neutral verbs and the suffixes expressing the passive voice, although in this case the relation is not as transparent as in the instances mentioned above; and there may have also existed an original relation between the verbal suffixes that end in *-û*.

The following list will serve to illustrate better the theory set forth in the preceding pages. The forms marked with an asterisk (*) represent the reconstructed original suffixes, while the other forms indicate the suffixes as they appear to-day.

VERBAL SUFFIXES

| | |
|---|---|
| *- <i>t</i> general verbal | - <i>nēⁱ</i> , - <i>nî</i> distributive |
| *- <i>t</i> transitive | - <i>înî</i> distributive |
| - <i>ts</i> transitive | - <i>înî</i> distributive |
| - <i>eet</i> causative passive | - <i>hîna</i> distributive |
| - <i>et</i> causative passive | *- <i>u</i> modal (?) |
| - <i>î</i> , <i>ēⁱ</i> neutral | - <i>u</i> transitional |
| - <i>ây^u</i> , - <i>ēⁱyu</i> , - <i>îyu</i> passive | - <i>û</i> present passive |
| - <i>ây^{a^u}</i> passive participle | - <i>û</i> transitive subject and object pronoun |
| - <i>iyawa</i> (?) agency | |
| *- <i>n</i> general distributive | - <i>û</i> reflexive plural |

NOMINAL SUFFIXES

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| *-s general nominal | *-tc general adverbial |
| -îs nominal | -tc modal verbal |
| -es, -tes abstract | -âte (?) suffix of relationship |
| -enîs abstract | -etc local |
| -āwas abstract | -ē ⁱ tc, -îtc local and modal nominal |
| -nē ⁱ was abstract | -ewîtc local |
| -ō ^u nîs verbal noun | -etc instrumental |
| -sî verbal noun | |
| -îs local | |
| -îs ordinal | |

All suffixes may be classified into two large groups as verbal and nominal suffixes; that is to say, as suffixes that either verbalize or nominalize a given neutral stem. I have included adverbial suffixes in the latter group, on account of the intimate relation between nominal and adverbial forms.

Verbal Suffixes (§§ 26-55)

TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 26-27)

§ 26. Transitive -t, -ts

-t. This suffix may have been originally the verbal suffix *par excellence*. It points out not only the active, transitive idea, but also presence of the object of a transitive action. It has frequently a causative meaning. It transforms impersonal or passive verbs into transitives, and verbalizes any other part of speech. It is usually suffixed to the bare verbal stems whenever these end in a vowel, nasal (*m, n*), or lateral; in all other cases it is preceded by *a* or *î*, making the suffix -at or -ît. No phonetic rule has been discovered that will show when -at or -ît ought to be used. It may, however, be suggested that -at denotes transitive actions not yet completed, while -ît designates a finished, transitive action. These connectives disappear when other suffixes are added to the transitive -t.

ŋp^ēcî't I blow it away

p^ēcî hē dî'lôl blew away the young man 26.21

ŋk!^uxwî't I lose it

k!^uxwî' le'ûx dâ'mîl got lost their (dual) husband 22.9

ŋx[·]pî't I burned it

x[·]pî it burned down 58.12

ŋqal'tcî't I slacken it

xq^ēl'tc slowly 17.7

tē L!^kwî't lâl hū^umî'k'ca there covered (them) that old woman (with blankets) 82.14

L!^kwî blanket 84.8

- xā^apatc* *lōwa'hait* into the *lōwa'hai* *lE* *đi'lōl* ran the young
water she runs 56.8 man 78.27
- é^lō'kwīt* *hanLawe* you will *lō'wak^u* lightning 18.5
make lightning 18.7
- la^u* *qanō'tca* *l'nwūt* *lE* *ā'la* *l'nwō* very much 98.28
that one outside (it) pulled,
the child 11.1, 2
- ū* *ŋy'a'alt* I am talking about *wāndj* *ŋā'lanē* thus they are talk-
them ing 56.18
- qamlt* he bit her 100.16
- ŋi'xen* *L!x'v'nt* once she examined it 86.18
- k!wā^unt* he heard it 24.8
- ŋ_L!nō^ut* *hE* *tc!i'le* I opened the door 74.9
- qai'cītc* *ha^u* *ū* *ŋū'wilt* into small pieces that thing they divided it
130.26
- ŋha'mlt* I float it
- mu'xwīt* *la* *kāla* she felt for *ŋmu'xwat* I am feeling it
her foot 80.21
- ŋtc!pīt* I braided a rope *ŋtc!pat* I am braiding a rope
- wi'lwīt* *hE* *tsetse'kwōn* he *ŋw'lat* I am looking (around)
looked for the cane 28.18
- a^uqat* *hE* *k!wā'was* he took off the shirt 78.11, 12

There are a few stems denoting intransitive ideas that occur with this suffix.

- ŋi'nat* *lE* *wē'hel* shaking was the stomach 58.24
- kwīlāt* (the bow) was bent 64.3

-ts. This suffix has the same function as the previously discussed *-t*. Not the slightest difference could be detected in the use of these two phonetically different suffixes.

-ts is either suffixed directly to stems ending in a vowel, nasal (*m*, *n*), or a lateral, or it is connected with the stem by means of *a* or *i*. The only phonetic law that I was able to observe in reference to the two connecting vowels, is that *i* can never serve as a connective between the suffix *-ts* and a verbal stem ending in the velar surd *q*.

- ŋtsō^wxLts* I greased it *tsōwē^xL* grease 122.6
- ŋqai'nts* I cool it *ŋqai'na* I am cold
- ŋxai'nts* I made him warm *xai'la* she became heated 108.26
- ŋhā'wits* *lE* *tcīcī'mīl* I grew *hā'wī* *hE* *tcīcī'mīl* (it) grew up, the
the spruce-tree spruce-tree
- L!k'īts* she poured it 102.12 *L!k'ī* it spilled 172.14
- ŋpō^wkwīts* I made him a slave *pō^wkwīs* slave

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>ŋhū^wmîsîts</i> I marry (her) | <i>hū^wmîs</i> woman 70.3 |
| <i>tc!wä'letc tsî'x'îts</i> in the fire | <i>tsîx'</i> here 106.8 |
| he held him down 106.5 | |
| <i>în î'lxats</i> not he looked at it | <i>tsō é'îlx</i> now you look 17.3 |
| 40.17 | |
| <i>ûx la'ats</i> <i>LE</i> <i>hū^wmä'k'e</i> they | <i>la</i> he went (intransitive) 22.18 |
| two went over (the water) | |
| the women 128.4 | |
| <i>ŋp!î'xats</i> I scatter it | <i>gō^{us} qantc la^w p!î'yex</i> everywhere |
| | it is scattered 46.16 |
| <i>pōkwî'lnēî tî'lqats</i> opposite | <i>î tîla'qai</i> they were living (liter- |
| one another he set them | ally, sitting) 84.20 |
| down 112.12 | |
| <i>ŋtta'ts</i> I am painting it | <i>ŋttî'ts</i> I painted it |

There are a few stems that, in spite of this transitive suffix, are sometimes translated as intransitive verbs.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>în lōwa'kats</i> she was not home (literally, not she was sitting) | |
| (<i>Lō^wk^w-</i> to sit [down]) 58.7 | |
| <i>kat' ē'mîs qa'lyeq la'ats län lō'pît</i> five salmon got into his basket | |
| 34.23 (but <i>k!ā han_L ye^{en} k!wî'nts ŋla'ats</i> a rope I'll put around | |
| thy neck 94.12) | |
| <i>pā^{ats} tE q^Ema'tîs</i> full (is) that fish-basket 36.7 (but <i>pā^{ats} LE yîxü'wex</i> | |
| <i>lex tc!lā'yā^w qa'lyeqetc</i> he filled the house with dried salmon | |
| 36.3, 4) | |
| <i>gō^{us} mî'lütc he qa'yā^{ts}</i> he always becomes afraid (of it) 126.1 | |

That the transitive *-t* was originally a general verbal suffix, may best be demonstrated by the circumstance that in a number of instances neutral stems are verbalized by means of the suffix *-ts*, after they had previously been changed into verbs by means of the *-t* suffix. This double verbalization may be explained as due to the fact that the verbal function of the *-t* suffix was so conventionalized that it had become entirely forgotten.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <i>ma'xwît</i> she felt for it 80.21 | <i>émuaxîtsā'mî han</i> I want to feel of |
| | you 108.18 |
| <i>ŋyū'xwît</i> I rub it | <i>îl yū'xîts he'ittet</i> they rub them- |
| | selves 52.13 |
| <i>ûx în nî'x'itēm</i> those two no | <i>nî'x'tîts</i> he touched him 106.20 |
| one touched 122.25 | |
| <i>ŋha'k!wat</i> I draw it up | <i>ŋha'k!wîts</i> I draw it up |
| <i>lî'cat hE L/tā</i> shaking is the | <i>ŋlî'ctîts</i> I shake it |
| earth 16.2 | |

§ 27. Causative *-iyat*

This suffix is always added to the bare stem of intransitive or neutral verbs. Stems ending in the palatal surd *k* or palatal spirant *x* palatalize these final consonants (see § 13).

ā'yū p̄w̄'yat hāl tō'm̄l indeed, *p̄w̄^x·p̄* he went home 56.11
 he took home that old man
 30.13

L'tā'atc tsaww̄'yat on the *tsw̄* he lies 20.12
 ground he laid (them) down
 36.20, 21

ŋkw̄l̄'yat tE k'w̄w̄'s̄s I roll *kw̄l̄^El̄ä'n̄* *lE balt̄'m̄s* continually
 that ball rolling is the ocean 6.2

ā'yū L'tc̄'yat hE ā'la surely *L'ē'tc* he went out 20.4
 he took out the child 12.1

d̄w̄l̄ ŋl̄w̄'yat something I start *l̄a* he went 22.18
l̄in hel̄aq̄w̄'yat we took him up *hel̄āq̄* he climbed up 13.10

There is practically no difference between this causative suffix and the transitive *-ts*, except for the fact that *-ts* seems to be regularly suffixed to stems ending in velar or palatal consonants. There is only one verbal stem ending in a velar surd (*q*) that takes the causative suffix *-iyat*; namely, the stem *hel̄āq-* TO CLIMB. This stem infixes an *a* between its final consonant and the causative suffix, as shown by the last example above.

The reason why the causative *-iyat* is suffixed to this stem, and not the transitive *-ts*, may lie in the fact that there are two stems *hel̄aq-* differentiated by accent only (see § 5); namely, *he'laq* TO ARRIVE, and *hel̄āq* TO CLIMB UP.

Since the transitive *-ts* has been suffixed to *he'laq* TO ARRIVE (compare *hatāȳims halq̄tsō'wat* SHE BROUGHT THE MONEY 78.13, 14), the causative *-iyat* may have been suffixed to *hel̄āq* TO CLIMB because confusion is thus avoided.

When followed by the pronominal suffixes, *-iyat* is contracted with them into *-itā'm̄*, *-itā'is*, *-i'tū*, and *i'ta* (see §§ 9, 11).

xw̄in ēp̄iitā'm̄ *hanl* we two will take you home 126.19, 20
ētsaww̄itā'is you laid me down
ŋhel̄aq̄'i'tū he took me up

INTRANSITIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 28-31)

§ 28. Intransitive *-aui*

This suffix signifies that a verb usually transitive is without an object. It is consequently employed in the formation of intransitive verbs. With the exception of one or two sporadic instances, it is always suffixed to the reduplicated form of the verbal stem, thus denoting a repetitive action.

lqa'ai läl tō'mäl he believes that, old man 28.16

ī'nta dī't heawinne'ētē yōyō'waaui bad something with us is stopping 24.3

ywwe' yī'mat ha^u gō^us mī'lātē lōk^ulō'kwaai whenever he twinkles (his eyes), there always is lightning 16.6, 7 (*lō'wak^u* lightning)

gō^us mī'lātē tsESL'aqai le'īl slaqa'ēwat she bathed him 60.6
kwē'neL always bathing
was their sister 84.21, 22

ak!a'laai lE hū^umī's shouting is the woman 56.5
k!a'lat he shouted 36.7

sītsa'ataai he läl hū^umī'k'ca murder-dance
she was usually dancing the
murder-dance, that old
woman 116.26, 27

īnī'naai (it is) nothing 122.27 *īn* not 10.8

kwōtkwa'taai he was dreaming 98.6
kw'a'tīs dream 98.7

§ 29. Reciprocal *me^u*

-me^u is usually preceded by the transitive suffix *-t* or *-ts*. Owing to the fact that the consonantic combination of *t* or *ts* + *m* is not permissible, this suffix appears as *-eme^u* (see § 4).

īl sqa'tseme^u they seize one another

ā'yu āw hāī'ī'teme^u surely they two gambled together 38.23

īl tsī'xtseme^u lE no^usk'īlī hatā'yīms they divided among themselves the Giant-Woman's money 80.29; 82.1

īl ī'nīye kweenī'yexteme^u they no longer know one another 46.9

āw wī'lēme^u they two fight (together) 48.16

§ 30. Suffixes Defining the Subject: *qEm*, *-xEm*; *ū*; *-ēm*

-qEm (*-xEm*). This suffix serves a double purpose. The stem to which this suffix is added must have a singular subject. There is another suffix, *-ū*, which expresses the same idea for plural subjects. This suffix will be treated in § 52 (p. 357).

(1) When preceded by the transitive suffix *-t* or *-ts*, it assumes a reflexive character, indicating that the subject of the action is at the same time its object.

hän k'éla la'atsxEM *LE* *x'ōwā'yas* into her hand came the snake (literally, put herself in) 86.4

Compare *mīk'é etc ŋla'ats* *LE* *x'ōwā'yas* into the basket I put the snake

yuwe hū'me alicanī'waq la^u tcī he ē'k't^ExEM whenever children played, she there would go among them (literally, put herself among them) 70.19, 20

tqā'lišetc panā'qtsxEM in the sun he is warming himself 32.8

tsxā'yat Lō^uqtsxEM in the morning he got up (literally, got himself up) 34.22

ŋtc!ō^utsxEM hanL I will go to bed (literally, I lay myself down will)

Compare *tcī ūl tc!ō^u* there they went to bed 50.12

dī'lōŋtsqEM hāl tō'mīL is making himself young that old man 22.7

yīqantcē'wītc tctcī'tsqEM back she drew (herself) 64.29, 30

tsō thē'tqEM now it rested 88.16

tsō L!hā'tsqEM LE hū^umīs then dressed (herself) the woman 86.6

Compare *ŋL!hā'ts LE ā'la* I dress the child

hī'nī t^Ek'é'lmātsqEM there it let itself down 90.6

(2) When suffixed to the bare verbal stem, especially to intransitive stems or to stems expressing motion, it conveys the idea TO BE IN A POSITION, TO BE IN A CONDITION, TO BE IN THE ACT OF. For this last-named purpose the suffix *-xEM* is mostly used.

wā'ndj L!ā'xEM that way he *ā'yu L!ūts* indeed he spoke 16.2 is talking 15.8, 9

ā'wa ūn kwī'l^ExEM still not *kwī'lt* he bends it 62.29 bent (it is) 62.29

tsemā'x^ExEM klwī'nts LE klā'- *tcī he tsīmāx'tō^uwat LE īx* there
hat the neck is fastened with (they) fastened the canoes 46.6, 7
a rope (literally, fastened
condition, neck, with a rope)
92.4

hī'nī k^u ē'k^ExEM there he may be among them 94.28

hats kwa ū'yu la^u wīnā'q^axEM just like a rainbow (it is) spread out 32.14

tsō bē'ltc^ExEM now he is warming his back 32.18

ūn tc!lē'xEM tE lā'nīk^u not in a dry condition is that river 14.6
(*tc!līs* dry 166.2)

tsō lé'tiá' hé'lkvææm now from there she came out 108.28 (*há'l-kvít* she took it out 60.1)

hats hé'nîhen tí'wîææm î la^u tsawū just many times it coiled up as it lay 88.1

In some instances the suffix *-ææm* is used to express the place of a certain action. This use of the suffix is in perfect accordance with its general function of indicating the condition, or position of an occurrence.

qantc læ tc!wé'ææm where the bed was (literally, sleeping-place or place of lying down) 86.7

îl tc!ô^u they went to bed 50.12

hî'nî t^Ek'el'mîææm there was a deep place (literally, the place of sinking something into the water) 84.24

în t^Ek'el^m it did not sink 136.7

c'ⁱγ^ttcææm a circle (literally, it is clear around [it])

γc'ⁱγ^tctô^u'wat I surround it

(See also § 40.)

-ēm. This suffix indicates that an indefinite person, unknown to the speaker, is the subject of an action. It is always added to stems expressing transitive ideas, or to stems that have already been verbalized by means of the transitive suffixes *-t* or *-ts* (see § 26). The pronominal objects of actions performed by an indefinite subject are expressed by prefixing the personal pronouns (see § 18) to the verb.

kwaā'nîya he knows it 26.19

ûx kwe'nyēm those two somebody knows 19.10

nîxt- touch

ûx în nî'x'îtēm those two not somebody touched 122.25

latsā'ya he goes after it 94.7

latsôtēm somebody went after it 92.13

hā'k!^ut- to draw up

hū'k!^uwtēm somebody draws him up 92.9

§ 31. Neutral-î, -ē'ff

-î (-ē') is employed in the formation of neutral verbs. It changes the *a*-vowels of the stem to *e* (see § 7).

yō'qē læ kā'wîl it split, the basket 8.1

ûx yō'qat they two split it 7.9

kā^s kwa tc!hēⁱ almost as if it went out (the light) 128.19

tc!hats he put it out 128.26

Lōwé entc x'tî the whole thing (wholly) slid down 26.19

γx'tît I slide it down

- kwa kwá'nís p^Ecī lE dī'lōl* like *ŋp^Ecí't* I blow it away
 (a) feather blew away the
 young man 26.21
- gō^us dīl há'wī* everything *ŋhā'wīts* I grow it
 grew up 9.3, 4
- x'pī lE yáxá'wex* it burned *x'pí'tsī* débris 58.19
 down, the house 58.12, 13
- wítwehe'xtcī la á'la* it took *waha'xtcas* sickness
 sick, his child 42.17
- é'pí'ctcī hanL* you will get *pí'ctcīts tet* he warmed himself 32.8
 warm 100.27

In a few instances verbs having this suffix were rendered by the passive voice, which may have been due to the fact that my informant could not express in English the intransitive neutral idea implied in the suffix.

- á'yu há'k!^utī xqá'wax* indeed, *ŋhā'k!^utīts* I draw it up
 he was drawn up from
 above 98.2
- ma^wá'hī á xwá'luá^u* was *mau'wat* he chewed him up 68.10
 chewed up his head 124.3
- k!^uxwī lE hū'^umís* was lost *k!^uxwít* he lost it
 the woman 54.19

SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES (§§ 32-35)

§ 32. Inchoative *-iwe*

-iwe indicates the commencement of an action, and is suffixed to verbal stems expressing active or transitive ideas. If the stem to which it is to be suffixed does not express such an idea, it is preceded by the verbal *-enī* (§ 45), but never by *-t* or *-ts*. It may also be preceded by the distributive *-änī* (see § 37). The verbal stem must always be preceded by the prefix *qa* (see § 19).

- á'yu qalōwī'we* indeed (she) begins to eat 24.11
- tsō hanL qac^Eáctī'we* now (he) will begin to work 26.18
- qalnī'we* (he) commenced to hunt 106.16
- íl qaskweyänī'we* they begin to talk (among themselves) 66.21
- qatcānehenī'we* (he) began to think 20.7
- qax'íntetänī'we* (he) began to jump about 102.15
- qak'elänī'we á mēn* began to shout at each other, the people
 (literally, mutually) 24.22
- qamelänī'we* (he) began to swim around 176.16

§ 33. Frequentatives *-ē'wa(t)*, *-ō'wa(t)*

-ē'wa(t) indicates repetition, frequency or duration of action. The verbal stem to which it is suffixed is very often reduplicated, thus bringing out more clearly the frequentative idea. It is added to stems regardless of whether they express real transitive actions or not.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>tkwīlē'wat</i> <i>tE to'qmas</i> he is following that woodpecker 22.2 | <i>ŋt^Ekwīlts</i> I followed him |
| <i>asō' ūnē'wat</i> again he is setting the basket 34.23 | <i>ŋūlnts</i> I set the basket |
| <i>wqā'wax la^u kwīna'ē'wat</i> from above these are looking at it 6.4 | <i>qe'ttc ūx kwī'nait</i> down they two looked 6.4 |
| <i>gō^{us} dī'l aivē'wat</i> everything he is killing 68.23 | <i>ai'wīt</i> he killed (them all) 112.9 |
| <i>ā'yū xwāndj ha^uwē'wat</i> surely that way he has been doing it 92.8 | <i>ŋā'wē'wex ha^uts</i> a house he built 32.18 |
| <i>tcī' ūl k'ix'L'ōwē'wat</i> <i>lE hī' me</i> there they are putting in the children 52.9 | <i>ŋx'L'ō^ut</i> I put it in |
| <i>lehe^u nē' la^u hīthītōwē'wat</i> side by side she put them down 60.4 | <i>la^u hī'tō^uts</i> she put them down 60.4 |
| <i>k'!ānk'!ānē'wat</i> <i>hE pāl!ū'ye</i> he was trying the weight 78.18 | <i>ūx k'!ānt</i> they two try it 7.4 |

This suffix appears sometimes as *-īwat*. For an explanation of this seeming irregularity, see § 2.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>ūx kwīskwī'wat</i> they two are informing him 20.25 | <i>ŋskwī'wat hanL</i> I will inform him 74.4 |
| <i>ŋxL'ī'wat</i> I am hitting him with a club | <i>xL'ts</i> he hit her with a club 64.28 |

Instead of an initial reduplication, the verbal stem very often appears with a reduplication of the final consonant, denoting continuity and distribution of action (see § 83).

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>ŋt!^Ecīcī'wat</i> I am shoving it (back and forth) | <i>t!cīts</i> he shoved it 32.24 |
| <i>ūl pīctcācī'wat</i> they are warming (themselves singly) | <i>pī'ctcīts tet</i> he warmed himself 32.8 |

tē tsā'ix'ī'wat there he was holding him (for a long time)
104.15, 16 (*tsā'* here 24.4)

-ō^uwa(t) exercises the same function as *-ēⁱwat*. The only difference between the two suffixes is, that *-ō^uwat* is added to the verbs already amplified by the transitive suffixes *-t* or *-ts*, while *-ēⁱwat* can be suffixed only to the stem.

tsō ūx tkwīLtsō^wwat now they two *tkwīLē^wwat* he follows him 22.2
follow him 9.9

tc!é'etc hīt!^Etsō^wwat hE pen- hī'yēt! he came ashore 32.5
Lō'wai ashore it brought a whale
88.22, 23

tē halqtsō^wwat there she is bringing it to him 72.8
he'laq he arrived 22.22

aqalqstō^wwat he is frightening him frequently 100.24
a'lqas fear 66.4

In a few cases *-ō^uwat* is suffixed to the verbal stem.

ītīslō^wwat lE tēⁱ L!tā he recognizes this (here) land 30.28

k!wenī'ya^u qwālo^wwat food I am looking for 54.4

qtsxawī'wat hanL I will kill him 26.22

The suffixation of *-ō^uwat* instead of *-ēⁱwat* in these instances may have been caused by the law of euphony, as these stems end in a *u*-diphthong. Thus, the stem of *tsxawī'wat* is *tsxa^u-*, as shown by the form *tsxawī'yat* (36.21) HE LAID HIM DOWN, consisting of the stem *tsxa^u-* and the causative suffix *-yat*.

Whenever the pronouns expressing both subject and object are suffixed to verbs ending in *-ō^uwat*, this suffix changes to *-ō^uwīt* (see § 11).

ēhū^umīstōwītā' mī hanL I will marry you 184.6

qhalqtsō^wwītū he brought me frequently

§ 34. Frequentative Causative *-āēⁱwat*

There can be little doubt that the *-ēⁱwat* in *-āēⁱwat* is identical with the frequentative suffix *-ēⁱwat*, discussed on p. 336. Owing to the fact that a number of verbal stems ending in *a* take the suffix *-ēⁱwat*, there is a good deal of confusion between these two suffixes.

wā^ap la^w la'ēⁱwat water carried them away 46.16, 17
la he went 22.18

íc sLna'ē'wat you two are hid- *úw sLn'yat* they two hide him
ing him 24.11 24.9
la^u tc'ícíla'ē'wat he (on) that *tc'í'cíl* mat 7.3
(they) are sitting usually
(literally, they caused it to
be a mat) 38.3

Compare, on the other hand,

xqa'wax úw kwína'ē'wat from *kwína-* to look
above they two are looking
at it 6.9

§ 35. Transitionals *-īye*, *-ŋts*, *-u*

-īye indicates a transitional stage,—a change from one state into another, that has already taken place. It is suffixed mostly to nouns and particles, although frequently it is found added to verbs. It may best be rendered by IT BECAME, IT GOT, IT TURNED OUT TO BE, or by the passive voice. Stems ending in a vowel other than *i* insert an *h* between the final vowel and the suffix (see § 10), while stems ending in *-i* contract this vowel with the following *-i* of the suffix into a long *ī* (see § 9). When suffixed to a stem that has an *a*-vowel, it changes into *-aya* (see § 7).

DEMstē'tc úw Lhīnpī'ye they two came through a prairie (literally, through a prairie they two went through, it got) 112.1
(*Lhī'nap* he went through 22.11)
kwína'ē'watī'ye he began to look at him
līn kwīné'weLī'ye we became poor 28.21
tskīmī'ye c^h it got summer, indeed (*tskīm* summer 162.20) 30.20
ā'yu í'w'īye surely it was a canoe (*íw'* canoe 44.20) 126.10
yíxe'n qatīmī'ye one morning (literally, once morning it got) 20.4
íl hé'tīye they became rich 84.17
ŋhāv'nahā'ya I became active (*ŋhāv'na* I am active)
qa^wwahā'ya in the evening (literally, whenever evening it got)
(*qa^wwa* evening 50.26) 82.7
sīLnē'íh'ye le'úw m'í'laq joined *le'úw m'í'laq sīL'nē'í* their (dual)
together became their two ar- arrows joined together are
rows 13.4 13.7
íl há'k'í'utī'ye they were drawn *íl há'k'í'utī* they are (being) drawn
up 30.1 up
tsō cíl xwāndjī'ye now surely it was that way (literally, that way
it turned out to be) 8.2
ŋnehī'ye la^u tō I became the owner of that thing (literally, me it
became [to whom] that belongs)

go'si'ye la^u tsaxa'wat all (of them) he killed 68.9
a'yu cil in di'ti'ye surely, indeed, nothing it turned out to be
tsō la^u il kwaā'nīyahā'ya now they came to know it 92.14

When suffixed to the negative particle *in*, or to the contracted forms of *in* + the personal pronouns (see § 9), it forms new particles, *i'nīye*, *nī'ye*, *ēnīye*, etc., which were always rendered by NO LONGER, I NO LONGER, THOU NO LONGER, etc.

il i'nīye kwaā'nīya they no longer know it 50.18, 19
nī'ye ŋaxā'nīs I am no longer sick
ēnīye hanL di't you will no longer (be) something 104.1

It appears as a suffix to the stem *he'nī-*, forming a compound *he'nīye* A WHILE, LONG TIME.

he'nīhen tī'wīxem many times it coiled 88.1 (*-en* multiplicative suffix [see § 75]).
he'nīye ūx vē'lānī a long time they two fought (together) 132.8
in he'nīye xā'nīs la ā'la not very long sick (was) his child 42.17, 18

It takes the place of the inchoative suffix *-īwe* (see § 32) in verbs not expressing a transitive, active idea, or not transitivized by the transitive suffix *-e'nī*. (See also § 19.)

gamā'ti'ye (he) commenced to swim 30.3
ūx qayuwatī'ye they two commenced to travel 12.6

-nts conveys an active transitional idea. The difference between this suffix and *-īye* lies in the fact that the change indicated by the latter came about without any apparent active cause; while *-nts* expresses a change from one state into another, that presupposes a subject of the action. It is hence best rendered by TO CHANGE ONE INTO.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>ŋtō'māLnts ŋte't</i> I into an old man change myself | <i>tō'māL</i> old man 22.7 |
| <i>di'lōLntsŋem lāl tō'māL</i> he is making himself young that old man 22.7 | <i>di'lōl</i> a young man 22.11 |
| <i>le hā'me ū lā'mak tsī la^u yāad-ntnts</i> (of) the children the bones only she gathered up (literally, she changed into one) 60.3 | <i>yāe'ntce</i> together, one by one 64.8, 9 |

-u indicates a change from one state into another, that has not yet been completed. It is often preceded by the transitive *-t*.

| | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| <i>he'māstu</i> <i>LE yāw'wex</i> getting bigger is the house 34.14 | <i>hem'is</i> big 14.5 |
| <i>nā^antu</i> <i>LE mā</i> multiplying are the people 12.4 | <i>nā^ant</i> many 44.18 |
| <i>īc teltā'miltu</i> <i>hanL</i> you two will get strong 120.17, 18 | <i>dā'mil</i> (strong) man 14.7 |
| <i>qai'cu</i> it is getting small | <i>qaic</i> small, a chunk 128.29 |

MODAL SUFFIXES (§§ 36-43)

§ 36. Modal *-tc*

This suffix appears in four different forms, as *-ītc*, *-uttc*, *-tc*, and *-eetc*.¹

-ītc is added to verbal stems ending in a consonant, except *m*, *n*, and any of the laterals; *-uttc* is suffixed to stems ending in vowels; *-tc* is suffixed to stems ending in laterals; and *-eetc*, to stems ending in *m* or *n*. This suffix is always added to the bare stem. There can be little doubt that this suffix is identical with the adverbial suffix *-tc* (see § 25); the more so, as it implies, to a great extent, an adverbially modal idea. The Coos expresses by its means our participial ideas. The verb taking this suffix is usually preceded by the discriminative and modal prefix *w-* (see §§ 23, 24).

qawīlāi'we xha'k'ītc (he) commences to look around crawling (literally, in the manner of crawling; *hak-* to crawl) 32.10

ṅlāi'yat hēx nī'w'ītc I commenced to touch it (literally, I commenced in the manner of touching)

ts^aax^wtc ūl dōwā'ya to kill they want him 66.22

īn lē'yī akwī'na^wtc it does not look good (literally, not good as to the manner of looking) 34.18

ṅā'wīts hēx tēi'cltc I finished splitting (*ṅtēicle'wat* I am splitting it)

ṅā'wīts hēx heme'etc I stopped bringing it out (*ṅhamī'yat* I brought it out)

qai'nīs wīne'etc L^ēān into the water wading out she goes (literally, she goes down into the water in the manner of wading; *ṅwī'nat* I am wading out) 58.2

§ 36

¹[This is obviously the adverbial *-tc*, and might have been discussed with §§ 67-70.—ED.]

This suffix is often used in certain phrases to express abstract ideas. Thus, for instance, the Coos will express our sentence I AM GETTING HUNGRY by I AM GOING INTO HUNGER. (See § 118.)

lqatc ŋla I am getting hungry (*ŋlqa* I am hungry)

pL'ŋtc ŋla I am getting heavy

§ 37. Distributives *-nēi*, *-nī*; *-ānī*; *-āyām*; *-waq*

-nēi, *-nī*, indicate distribution of an intransitive action. They are suffixed to intransitive verbs. Related to this suffix is the distributive *-ānī* (§ 72).

| | |
|---|------------------------------|
| <i>kat'ē'māis tkwōL'nēi lE dj'ŋ'ŋit</i> | <i>tkwōL</i> -to follow |
| five (winds) following each other (they) keep on coming (singly) 52.17 | |
| <i>tSEL'nēi ūx tī'k'ine</i> | <i>tSEL-</i> (?) |
| side by side they two were standing 62. 22 | |
| <i>lē'ūx mī'laq sōL'nēi</i> | <i>sōL-</i> to join together |
| their (dual) arrows are joined together (literally, one after the other) 13.7 | |
| <i>k!ā'yenī he'ūx xw'ŋ'lux^u ūx</i> | <i>k!āy-</i> (?) |
| <i>L'ē'x s'ŋmt</i> against each other with their two heads resting they two go to bed 72.14 | |
| <i>pōkw'ŋnēi Lōwaka'ē'wat</i> | <i>pukul-</i> across |
| opposite one another (they) were sitting 120.4, 5 | |
| <i>hātē'nāh'ye ū mēn</i> | <i>hātē-</i> (?) |
| were assembled people, came together people 46.1 | |

-ānī is suffixed to stems expressing transitive ideas. It is often accompanied by duplication of the final stem-consonant (see § 83).

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>ŋl tsa'k'ānā'nī</i> | <i>tsak'ān-</i> to help |
| they help one another (mutually) | |
| <i>ŋl L!x'ānā'nī</i> | <i>L!x'ān-</i> to examine |
| they examine one another | |
| <i>ŋl tsak^ukwā'nī</i> | <i>ŋtskwāts</i> I speared him |
| they continually spear one another | |
| <i>ŋl tqanLLā'nī</i> | <i>tqa'nLts</i> he struck it 28.1 |
| they mutually strike one another | |

ɨl k!wanæ^wä'wä'nē they mutually cut one another's hair *k!wa'næat* he cut his hair

This suffix often changes the quality of the vowel of the stem to which it is suffixed (see § 7).

ä'yu ɨl qaheyänv'we surely they began to gamble 66.25 *ha'yat* he gambled 66.15
ɨl tsæwü'nē they kill one another *tsæw'wat* he killed (them) 68.9
üw we^llä'nē they two fight 106.13 *wɨl-* to fight

When suffixed to intransitive verbs or to verbs expressing motion, it denotes an idea that may best be rendered by BACK AND FORTH, TO AND FRO, UP AND DOWN, etc. It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the close relationship that exists between the idea of mutuality and the idea expressed by these phrases.

tsō'nō kwɨl^Elä'nē *lE* *baltī'mīs* both ways is rolling the ocean 6.2 *kwɨl-* to roll
qai'nīs la^w yaq^Eqä'nē away from the shore they run continually 36.18, 19 *yeq* he runs away 182.27
hē'nē sqai^Llä'nē *l^E* *wä'wa* there is going back and forth (through his fingers) the little girl 108.21 *sqai^Llē'was* the space between two fingers
ɨl!ē'tcä'nē I keep on going out and coming in *l!ē'tc* he went out 20.4
ɨstōwaq^Eqä'nē I keep on rising and sitting down *stō'waq* he stood up 20.7
tvyetä'nē *lE* *wī'nqas* *hū'wālk* continually looking for some supply was the Spider-Old-Woman 60.12

-āyam is suffixed to intransitive verbs and to adjectives only. Its exact function is obscure. With verbs, it invariably denotes an action performed by more than one subject; while when suffixed to adjectives, it seems to convey the idea of the English suffix **-ISH**. Most likely it has a distributive character, which the informant, not well versed in the English language, could not bring out.

yō'wä hū^wmä'k'e djānā'yam *k'ülō'wāt* two women coming (towards him) he saw 126.13, 14

ä'yu kwō'yat ɨl laä'yam surely now they were walking (singly) 32.7

tsō^{ut} x'ł̄mā'yam xā^a'petc he washed it with luke-warm water
120.9, 10

xqaā'yam whitish, gray (literally, white here and there; *xqa*'s white)

-waq. I am not quite sure whether this suffix really expresses distribution. All attempts to explain it have proved unsuccessful. It is suffixed to verbal stems, and may be preceded by the suffix *-enī* (see § 45). The best explanation that may be offered is that it implies a continual action performed by more than one subject, although instances have been found where the action was performed by a single subject.

tsō ɪ̄l qanatcanī'waq now they make fun (of one another) (*qa'nate* joke) 50.12

yuwē' hī^u'me al̄icanī'waq whenever children played (together?)
70.19

č̄ma'ēwaq ɛ c̄t'!ū dragging (them singly?) was the pet 88.7

Compare also the nouns

słtsā'waq a whale (?) 28.7

qalētā'waq ferry-men 140.15

The Passive Voice (§§ 38–42)

§ 38. Present Passive -ū

This suffix expresses the present tense of the passive voice. It is suffixed directly to the verbal stem with initial reduplication (see § 82).

asō' tē tē'k!ū ɛ tc!ŋ' ɛ again *tī'k!wīts* he shut (the door) 74.6
there is shut the door 74.27

gō^us qante la^u qeqai'cū lū wī'- *qaic* a piece 128.29
tīn in all directions that is
being clubbed his blood
10.5, 6

x'x'īntū ɛ tc!wāl is being *x'īntī'yat* he runs with it 42.5
taken away quickly the fire
42.5

cecū' lū lē'ɪ̄l yāw'wex fire is *cūL-* to burn
being set to their house
58.11, 12

By adding to this suffix the transitional *-īye* (see § 35), the past passive is obtained. The initial *ī* of *-īye* is contracted with the *-ū* into a long *ū* (see § 9).

qeqaicū'ye lū ɪ̄lwe'x'cīs it was beaten to pieces, her heart 76.8

mā pēpīlsū'ye the person was torn to pieces 48.16 (*pīls-* to crush)

§ 39. *Past Passive* -āyu, -ē¹yu, -īyu

These suffixes are added directly to the verbal stem, which is invariably reduplicated. Stems ending in *w*, *l*, *m*, and *n*, immediately preceding these suffixes, appear with a glottal stop, no matter whether the stop is inherent in the stem or not (see §§ 81-82).

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>mā qEsqā'yu</i> the person was seized 10.4 | <i>sqā'ts</i> he seized it 68.8 |
| <i>īl aiāi¹'wāyu</i> they were killed 58.8 | <i>aiwīt</i> he killed them all 68.11 |
| <i>qaxl'ī'yu</i> he was struck 96.14 | <i>xl'ts</i> he hit her 64.29 |
| <i>tsōk'āw'tī'yu</i> <i>lEmāw'sō'wē'ā'lec</i> now was slid down the lucky stake 94.3 | <i>ṽx'tī'ts</i> I slide it down |
| <i>kwīlkwē¹lēyu</i> <i>lE hatā'yīms</i> <i>ā'lec</i> was rolled down the money stake 92.11 | <i>ṽkwīl'yat</i> I roll it down |
| <i>ā'yu kwīlkwā'yu</i> surely it was cut off 76.15 | <i>ṽlkwā'at</i> I cut it off |
| <i>yEax'āentc¹nē'yu</i> it was gathered up 84.16 | <i>yīxā'ntcpts</i> she gathered up 60.3 |
| <i>hemhē¹mē'yu</i> it was brought out | <i>hemī'yaṽ</i> she took it out 62.23 |

§ 40. *Passive* -īyeqem

This suffix is composed of the transitional -īye (see § 35) and the generic -qem (see § 30). It serves a triple purpose, according to the manner in which it is suffixed to the verbal stem.

(1) When suffixed to the bare stem, it expresses a verbal conception of a continued character, which may best be rendered by the passive voice. This rendering is due largely to the fact that the -īye-element of the suffix predominates in these cases.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| <i>lō^{ux}t-</i> to watch | <i>lōwīt'ī'yeqem</i> he is watched 40.26 |
| <i>kwīna-</i> to see | <i>īn kwīnā'yeqem hanl</i> we shall be seen 30.23, 24 |
| <i>wīl-</i> to look for | <i>gō^us qantc wīl'ī'yeqem</i> everywhere she is looked for 56.1, 2 |
| <i>tqanlts</i> he strikes it 28.1 | <i>t¹qanl'ī'yeqem xwa'lwalyletc</i> she is continually struck with a knife 80.5 |

The verbal stem is often reduplicated in order to bring out more clearly the passive idea and the idea of continuation (see § 82).

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>Lō^u</i> - to buy | <i>î la^u Lō^uLō^uwî'yeqEM lē'ûl wîx·î'lîs</i> when that was being bought their food 88.13, 14 |
| <i>mîntc-</i> to ask | <i>mîtc^umîntcî'yeqEM xtcî'tcū ye^s îlu-</i> <i>wē'xtcîs</i> he is being asked con- tinually, "What do you think about it?" 70.9 |
| <i>Lō^ux-</i> to club | <i>nî'k·înetc Lō^uxLō^uxwî'yeqEM</i> with sticks she is being struck con- tinually 80.6 |

(2) When preceded by the transitive suffix *-t* (see § 26), it denotes an intransitive action, of which the person spoken of is the object. Hence it was sometimes rendered by the reflexive.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>î ûx lîdjîti'yeqEM</i> | when they two are fighting 122.25 |
| <i>tsō sōwîti'yeqEM hE qā'yîs</i> | now it is changing, the weather |
| <i>tsō lōwîti'yeqEM</i> | now he took care of himself 66.3 |

(3) When preceded by the verbal suffix *-enî* (see § 45), it denotes a continued action, the subject of which is not intimately known to the speaker.

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>hâ'tcî!</i> story 20.1 | <i>wândj hâct!enî'yeqEM</i> that way they are telling the story 44.14, 15 |
| <i>skw-</i> to inform, to tell | <i>la^u skweyenî'yeqEM lE tc!wâl</i> they are talking about the fire 38.5, 6 |

§ 41. Causative Passive -eet, -et; -iyEM

-eet expresses the passive voice of causative concepts. It is suffixed to the verbal stem. The object that is caused to perform the action is always in the singular. The suffix *-iyEM* is used for plural objects (see § 53). This suffix may best be rendered by TO BE CAUSED TO. When suffixed to stems with *a*-vowels, it changes to *-aat* (see § 7).

qa'wax L!e'et lē'ûx e'k^uLâtc high up was their (dual) father (literally, was caused to be high up; *L!a-* to be in an upright position) 22.1

k·êlê lîsîtc sLne'et hE dî'lōl in a corner hidden was the young man (literally, was caused to be hidden; *sLn-* to hide) 24.12

qā'yîsetc ts^{En}e'et lE k!ā to the sky was stretched out the rope (*tsn-* to stretch) 28.20

- xaya'nē la k'itō'wīt tana'at* old dog-salmon only he saw washed ashore (*pēnlō'wai ta'ntan* whale came ashore) 130.3
ā'yu tc!īlē'et tē tc!wāl surely it was burning, that fire (literally, was caused to burn; *ṽtc!īlī'yat* I kindle the fire) 38.8
L!nōwa'at ṽk'ī' Lō'uts lē tc!ī'lē open I found the door (literally, caused to be open I found the door; *L!nōw-* to open)
x'ne'et he is on top (*ṽx'īnī'yat* I put it on top) 10.1
ṽla'at I was carried away (literally, caused to go; *ṽla* I go)

In certain instances this passive causative idea is not so apparent, owing, perhaps, to the fact that the verbal stem can not be analyzed.

- ā'yu L!lē'et* surely he kept his eyes shut 17.3
wāndj lōwē'et tēlnne'ītc that way it is eaten among us 130.11
ī'nēx hewē'et lōwa'kats alone it was supposed she lived 60.10,11

-et. This suffix is always preceded by the transitive *-t* or *-ts*. Under the influence of the *a*-vowels of the stem, it changes to *-at* (see § 7).

- gō's dī't lai'x·tset* everything was started (literally, caused to go [start]; *ṽla* I go) 12.7
ā'ap hē'mtset water was laid bare 42.8
ṽwē' q^Etō'w' tset hē'lakwetc whenever it got caught on a limb (literally, was caused to hang on a limb) 46.24
tsū'yūwōtc pī'lstat to pieces (the tree) was smashed (literally, was caused to smash to pieces) 124.14
hē'hats L!nō'wat lē tc!ī'lē suddenly came open a door (literally, was caused to open [itself]) 62.5
tc!ē'etc stō'wtset hāl tō'mīl ashore was put that old man (literally, caused to stand [up] on the shore) 32.4, 5

In certain cases the passive idea is hardly recognizable.

- g'ī'mtset* it commenced to rain 42.9
ē'ha'k'utat you were left 62.20
qa'lyeq ha'ltsat salmon came into the river 34.13
layēta't he became hungry 32.9

- lowī'tat* she ran (literally, was caused to run [?]) 56.9
la^w hanL ūx c^Ea'letet these two shall work 68.26

- lōwa'hai lē dī'lōl* was running the young man 78.27
xwāndj c^Ea'lēt lēx iloxqai'n that way doctors him the medicine-man (literally, works on him) 128.16, 17

§ 42. *The Past Participle -āyā^u*

The past participle is formed by means of the suffix *-āyā^u* added directly to the transitive or intransitive stems.

| | |
|---|---------------------------|
| <i>tc!pā'yā^u</i> <i>k!ā</i> braided ropes 44.22 | <i>ɲtc!pat</i> I braid it |
| <i>ltā'yā^u</i> <i>ä</i> a painted face 10.3 | <i>ɲlt!ts</i> I paint it' |
| <i>q!e'lē tc!clā'yā^u</i> <i>k!^uh!lt</i> (with) split pitch-wood she lighted them 84.1 | <i>ɲtc!clt</i> I split it |
| <i>xā'^apētē</i> <i>L^Eān</i> <i>lētc!lā'yā^u</i> into the water go down the dried (salmon) 36.18 | <i>tc!lās</i> dry 166.2 |
| <i>hēmāsā'yā^u</i> enlarged | <i>hē'mās</i> big 50.17 |

§ 43. *The Imperative*

The imperative of transitive verbs is expressed by means of suffixes added directly to the verbal stem, or, more frequently, following the transitive suffixes. Intransitive verbs, with the exception of a few stems indicating motion or ideas like TO HEAR, TO LISTEN, have no special suffixes. The imperative of such verbs is brought out by the (prefixed) pronouns of the second persons singular, dual or plural.

| |
|--|
| <i>xlē'itē</i> <i>ē^L!āts</i> with it speak! 16.5 |
| <i>ē^tEqa</i> wake up! 68.18 |
| <i>cānē^ē</i> <i>Lō^uq</i> you (pl.) get up! 30.19 |
| <i>ē^al!canī</i> you play! 60.21 |

The following are the imperative suffixes in Coos:

- E. It follows the transitive suffixes *-t*, *-ts*, and expresses, beside the imperative idea, the presence of the object of the verb. The causative verbs in *-iyat*, and frequentatives in *-ē^uwat* and *-ō^uwat*, lose their final (transitive) *-t* when followed by the imperative suffix. It very often changes the broad *a*-vowels of the stem into *e*-vowels (see § 7).

| |
|--|
| <i>k!w!ntē</i> shoot it 13.3 |
| <i>cān s!ts!v'ntē</i> <i>lē w!nqas</i> <i>hū^wmāk</i> you go and see the Old-Spider-Woman! 64.12, 13 |
| <i>tēⁱ</i> <i>īc</i> <i>q!m!t^{SE}</i> this you two eat! 120.16 |
| <i>īc</i> <i>hēmī'yē</i> you two bring him out! (literally, cause him to come out!) 24.10 |

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>c̄ne^ε tgalī'yE</i> you wake up! 122.4 | <i>tqā'łis</i> sun 24.4 |
| <i>t̄cī c̄n L!ē'yE t̄eŋ k'e'la</i> there you put this my hand! 80.19 | <i>L!aī'yat</i> she put it 72.11 |
| <i>kw̄n LE tsx̄e'wE</i> let us quickly kill him! 68.3 | <i>ŋtsx̄aī'wat</i> I kill him 26.22 |
| <i>sqaiLlō'wE</i> stick it in a crack! | <i>ŋsqaiLlō'wat</i> I stick it into a crack |
| <i>t̄ēⁱ L Lō'wE</i> this you must eat! | <i>Lōwēⁱ'wat</i> she is eating it 24.5, 6 |
| <i>Lō nī'c̄t̄c̄ w̄ā^ap ha'wE</i> in it a little water have! 68.17, 18 | <i>īc̄ ha'wēⁱ'wat</i> you two have him 128.9 |

-ēn expresses, besides the imperative, the absence of the object of the action.

| |
|--|
| <i>tōh̄tsēn</i> you must hit! |
| <i>Lōwēn</i> eat! 28.26 |
| <i>g'v̄kwa qai'nas īc̄ t'a'łtsān</i> a little closer to the fire you two dance! 82.19 |

-Eε, -Eq, suffixed to a few stems, expressing MOTION, or ideas like TO HEAR, TO CLOSE ONE'S EYES, etc.

| |
|--|
| <i>ε^εk!ā'yEε tem̄' sī</i> listen, O grandson! 114.7 |
| <i>ts̄x̄ L tc!ō'wEεx</i> here you must lie down! 126.20, 21 |
| <i>L!lE'x L</i> shut your eyes! 16.9 |
| <i>c̄n la'Eε</i> you (pl.) go! 30.23 |
| <i>ham̄L l̄hē'tEε</i> (you) may take a rest! |

-īt suffixed to verbs that are transitivized by means of the transitive suffix *-āya* (see § 47).

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>lā'tsīt ε^εpkāk</i> go and get your grandfather! 28.19 | <i>ūx tatsā'ya</i> they two went to get him 20.14, 15 |
| <i>lō^wx̄tīt ye^εtet</i> watch yourself! 74.3 | <i>lō^wx̄tā'ya</i> he watches it 92.3 |
| <i>īn dōwā'īt</i> don't desire it! | <i>dōwā'ya</i> he wants it 92.12 |

-Em expresses, besides the direct object, the indirect object of the first person. It is hence suffixed to verbal stems expressing ideas like TO GIVE, TO MAKE. It is highly probable that this suffix may be an abbreviated form of the pronominal *-āmī* (see § 46).

p^Esá'k· ā'tsem a cup give me! 68.17

tsä'yux^u kwā'axL é'ha^w'x^{tsem} a small bow make me! 60.14, 15

mī'xa'nem L ū'mā lunch make me, you must, O grandmother!
(*mī'tax* lunch) 114.5

-Eĭs. This suffix expresses a command involving the second person as the actor, and the first person as the object of the action. From a purely morphological standpoint, it is a modified form of the pronominal suffix *-āis* (see § 46).

teŋ nqatqa' L yīxuxwv'e'is by this my belt you hold me! 54.12

tcī lae'is teka'x^tsī there take me, O granddaughter! 80.14

Compare *é'tsak'āntā'is hanL* you shall help me 80.16

In addition to these suffixes, the Coos language very often emphasizes the imperative idea by means of the particle *L* (see § 92).

VERBALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 44-45)

§ 44. Auxiliary *-e (-a)*

This suffix exercises the function of our auxiliary verb TO BE. The noun to which it is suffixed invariably takes the adverbial prefix *n-* WITH (see § 21). The phrase thus obtained expresses the idea TO HAVE. This suffix is always changed to *-a* whenever added to a stem having an *a*-vowel (see § 7).

nt!^Ečá'ta^wwe l_E mī'laq flint points have the arrows (literally, with flint points [are] the arrows; *t!^Ečá'ta^w* flint point) 62.27

nwí'tíne lü k^uhá'yeg bloody are his excrements (*wí'tín* blood) 20.6, 7

nk^umā'xa l_E čí't!ā horns had the pet (literally, with horns was the pet; *k^umā'x'* horn) 88.7, 8

nā^ant mā tclpā'yā^w nk!ā'ha many people have braided ropes (literally, braided with ropes [are]; *k!ā* rope) 46.8, 9

It very often transforms nouns into intransitive verbs without the aid of the prefix *n-*. In such cases the *-a* form of this suffix is mostly used.

xba'ltídj la^w k!wís!sa from the west it blew (*k!wá'sis* wind) 52.4. 5

ŋkwaatí'sa I dream (*kwaat'ís* a dream)

xé'γ^tčátc la^w xlí'sa clear around him (he put) slime (*xlí's* slime) 128.18

§ 45. Verbal *-enī*

This suffix expresses the idea TO DO, TO MAKE SOMETHING. It is usually suffixed to nouns and to verbal stems that do not imply an

active, transitive action. This suffix is changed to *-anī* whenever added to stems having an *a*-vowel (see § 7).

ŋpɫpāwīse'nī I am making a hat (*pɫpā'wīs* hat)

ŋyāxā'wexenī I am making a house (*yāxā'wex* house)

ŋkwā'xalanī I am making a bow (*kwā'xal* bow)

ē'leqa^uwīya'tanī you tell a story (*leqa^uwīya'tas* story) 38.13, 14

ŋhātāt!ē'nī I tell a story (*hā'tāt!* story)

wāndj tēnehē'nī that way he is thinking (*tēn[e]*- to think) 40.14, 15

tšī k^uīc hewese'nī merely perhaps you two are lying (*he'wes* a lie)
28.13, 14

īl alī'canī they play (*a'lec* toy) 30.25

qawenīse'nī l'nuwī he got mad very much 98.28

īl yā'lanī they were saying 76.17; *te hā'nīs yā'la mā* those
(who) talk Coos (literally, those *hā'nīs* [Coos] talker-people)
50.3

xwāndjē'nī that way she was doing it (*xwāndj* that way [modal])
164.6

PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (§§ 46-50)

§ 46. Transitive Subject and Object Pronouns

The Coos pronouns expressing both subject and object of a transitive verb are, morphologically speaking, suffixes added to verbal stems, or to stems that have been verbalized by means of some transitive suffix. The transitive suffixes may, however, be omitted, as the mere addition of these pronominal suffixes is sufficient to transform an intransitive stem into a transitive verb. These suffixes occur in four different forms, expressing the first, second, and third person as subject, and the first and second persons as object, of the action, regardless of number.

First person subject—second person object (sing., dual, plural) *-āmī*

Second person subject—first person object (sing., dual, plural) *-āīs*

Third person subject *-ū*, *-īl*

Third person object—first, second, third person subject, no suffix.

Since these suffixes are frequently preceded by the emphatic or abbreviated forms of the personal pronouns (see §§ 18, 96), the phonetic unit expressing the combined pronouns may be said to consist of the following elements:

- (1) Personal pronoun for the subject.
- (2) Personal pronoun for the object.

(3) Verbal stem.

(4) Suffixed form of the combined pronoun.

The following peculiarities in the manner of expressing the transitive subject and object pronouns are noteworthy:

(1) The forms having the third persons as object indicate the subject by the pronouns *ŋ* for the first persons, *e'* for the second (see § 18), regardless of number.

(2) The form expressing the second singular subject and the first singular object uses for its pronominal prefix the second singular *e'*.

(3) All other forms indicate the object by prefixing the personal pronouns according to number.

(4) The pronominal prefixes expressing the subject occur in singular form regardless of the actual number that is to be indicated (see § 96).

The following is a complete table showing the formation of the combined pronouns for the different persons:

| | I, We Two, We | Thou, Ye Two, Ye | He, They Two, They | |
|------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Me | — | <i>e' -āis</i> | <i>ŋ - ū</i> | <i>ŋ - ūl</i> |
| Thee | <i>e' - āmi</i> | — | <i>e' - ū</i> | <i>e' - ūl</i> |
| Him | <i>ŋ - - - -</i> | <i>e' - - -</i> | - - - - - | - - - - - |
| Us (Incl) (Dual) | — | — | <i>is - ū</i> | <i>is - ūl</i> |
| Us (Excl) (Dual) | — | <i>xwɪn - āis</i> | <i>xwɪn - ū</i> | <i>xwɪn - ūl</i> |
| You (Dual) | <i>ic - āmi</i> | — | <i>ic - ū</i> | <i>ic - ūl</i> |
| Them (Dual) | <i>ux ŋ - - -</i> | <i>ux e' - - -</i> | <i>ux -</i> | <i>ux -</i> |
| Us | — | <i>ɪn - āis</i> | <i>ɪn - ū</i> | <i>ɪn - ūl</i> |
| You | <i>cɪn - āmi</i> | — | <i>cɪn - ū</i> | <i>cɪn - ūl</i> |
| Them | <i>ɪl ŋ - - -</i> | <i>ɪl e' - -</i> | <i>ɪl - - - -</i> | <i>ɪl -</i> |

The personal pronouns are usually omitted for singular subjects. They always occur, however, when the subject is dual or plural.

ne' xkan wāndj e'v'ltā' mî I that way told you 17.2

e' muxtātsā' mî I (want to) feel of you 72.10

e' laā' mî I take you along

ŋtō' hāts I hit it 64.5

e'tō' hāts you hit it 20.19

tō' hāts he hit him (or it) 20.19

ŋtō' hātsū me he hit

e'tō' hātsū thee he hit

cɪn kwina' ūl you he sees

xwɪn e'pūttā' mî hanz we two thee will take home 126.19, 20

ɪn e'sitsv'ntā' mî we thee (came to) see 130.19, 20

The personal pronouns for the objective third persons dual and plural always precede the subjective pronouns.

úx ȳtō' hīts them two I hit

íl é'tō' hīts them you hit

The suffixes for the combined pronouns are added either directly to the bare verbal stem or to the verb amplified by the transitive *-t* and *-ts*. This double system of adding the suffixes for the combined pronouns to the verb serves as a means of differentiating the duration of the action indicated by the verb. The bare verbal stem amplified by the pronominal suffixes denotes an action that has been performed more than once, or that has not yet been completed; while the verbs to which the pronominal suffixes are added *after* the transitive suffixes indicate actions that have been performed only once, or that are completed. The same purpose is served by the double forms of the combined pronoun having the third person as its subject. The suffix *-íl* is always added to the verbal stem; while *-ú* is suffixed to the stem, in addition to the transitive suffixes. It must be understood, however, that this interpretation of the double system of adding the combined pronominal suffixes does not apply to each individual case. Verbs with the pronominal suffixes added to the bare stem are frequently employed to denote past, completed actions, and *vice versa*.

nÉ'ákan é'wílā'mî I am looking for you

é'wíwínā'mî I am cheating you

é'k!wínā'ís you were shooting at me

é'sqā'ís you were seizing me

ȳk!wí'níl he was shooting at me

é'wíluwítā'mî I have looked for you

é'wíntsā'mî I have cheated you

é'k!wíntā'ís you took a shot at me

é'sqatsā'ís you seized me

ȳk!wí'ntū he shot at me

The imperative transitive pronouns have been described in § 43. They are *-EM TO ME*, *-É'ís ME*.

§ 47. Transitive Verbs in *-āya*

Language in general has a number of verbal ideas, which, strictly speaking, do not imply any actions on the part of the subject; or denote actions, that, while intransitive, may be performed for the benefit of or in connection with a certain given object. Verbs like TO KNOW, TO UNDERSTAND, TO DESIRE, TO BELIEVE, TO WATCH, TO BE AFRAID, etc.,

express ideas that are not real actions, but which may be used as such in connection with some object. Thus, I may KNOW HIM, UNDERSTAND THEM, DESIRE IT, BELIEVE HER, WATCH MYSELF, etc. On the other hand, verbs like TO GO, TO RUN AWAY, etc., express intransitive actions that may be performed in connection with a given object. Thus it is possible TO GO TO HIM, TO RUN AWAY FROM ME, etc.

Coos treats the stems expressing such ideas as intransitive verbs, which do not take any of the transitive suffixes; but since these intransitive verbs may, without the aid of any additional grammatical device, become transitive, and imply the existence of an object (which is usually that of the third person), there is a special suffix *-āya* which indicates the (mental) process described above. This suffix, always added to the bare verbal stem, denotes an intransitive action that has become transitive by being used in connection with the third person object. It may therefore be called the "pronominal suffix," expressing, besides the subject, the third person object of an intransitive verb.

ūwalqsā'ya they two are afraid
of it 7.5

ŋdōwā'ya I want her 70.6

neqā'ya he ran away from it
42.4

ŋx'na^atā'ya I am riding (a
horse)

lqā'ya lex swāl believed it the
grizzly bear 94.25

mītsīsī'ya she knows it 60.1

īn kwaā'nīya (they) did not
know it 86.12

latsā'ya he went after it 94.7

lō^{ux}tā'ya he watched it 94.6

ūl Lō^ukwā'ya hE L'tā they
occupy the country 44.21

a'lqas fear 66.4

tsīw'tī' dō'wa wūt'xe tī'ye
pū'yate here wants to come
back thy uncle 122.15

neq he ran away 100.16

x'ne'et he is on top 10.1

lq- to believe

mī'tsīs wise 132.6

kwaān- to know

la he went 22.18

lō^{ux}t- to watch

ēLō^uk^u you sit down! 38.22

The plurality of the object is expressed by the affixed numerical particle *hēmā* ALL (§ 109), or by the separate suffix *-ītEx* (§ 54).

ŋlō^{ux}tā'ya hE'mā I watch them all

The imperative of this form has the suffix *-īt* (see § 43).

§ 48. Subject and Object Pronouns of Verbs in *-āya*

The corresponding suffixes for the above discussed verbs, expressing, besides the object, also the subject of the first, second, or third person, are etymologically related to the suffixes treated on p. 351. They appear, however, in such changed form, that they require separate discussion. These forms are—

| | I, We Two, We | Thou, Ye Two, Ye | He, They Two, They |
|------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Me | - | <i>ē-yExtāis</i> | <i>ŋ-yExtū</i> |
| Thee | <i>ē-yExtāmi</i> | - | <i>ē-yExtū</i> |
| Him | - | - | - |
| etc. | | | |

They are suffixed directly to the verbal stem.

- ēdōwā'yExtā'mî* thee I want
ēlō^xtīyExtā'mî of thee I take care
ēlō^xtīyExtā'is you take care of me 86.20
ŋkwee'nīyExtū me he knows
ēdōwā'yExtū thee he wants

The etymology of the first element in these suffixes (*-yExt-*) is quite obscure. It may be suggested that *-yEx-* is the adjectival suffix (see § 66), and *-t* the transitive (see § 26), although we are no longer able to understand the psychological principles underlying this peculiar formation.

§ 49. Transitive Verbs in *-a*

This suffix is preceded by the transitive suffixes. Its function is varied. It may have expressed originally the indirect object; but verbal ideas requiring both a direct and an indirect object are very few in number in the Coos language, and the functional scope of this suffix is much wider now, permitting its use for other purposes. Thus it is very frequently suffixed to transitive verbs where the object of the action is actually expressed, and not merely understood; and it is often, but not as a rule, used as a suffix denoting plurality of the object. The most plausible suggestion that can be offered in explanation of this suffix is that it may denote an action performed upon an object that possesses another object. At any rate, there can be no doubt that the predominating function of this suffix is that of a special characterization of the pronominal object.

ŋm'łxa'na I made lunch for
him

m'łax lunch 28.15

ā'tsa he gave it to him 28.7

āts- to give

tetc c^Ealctat'EXa clothes he made for (his child) 108.5

kwi'nā'was sī'x·t^Etsa smoke he scented 22.23

kwā'xal ha^wxtsa LE tem' snātc a bow she made for her grandson
112.25, 26

ā'yu L!ha'tsa lā tetc surely (he) put on his clothes 28.23

kā^as yí xē' pE' nLta LE tsí' yEN nearly he tore off one handle 30.4

pī'ta LE mü ai'wīt he took to his house the people (pl.) whom he
killed 112.11

*e'wutxai'ta lī'ye ū'māc ūx
pkāk* you (should) take
home, thy grandmother
them two (and) grandfather
68.26

wutxai'yat lā pkā'kate he
brought home his grand-
father 70.2

il ŋí' l^Extsa at them I looked
ŋsqat'tsa LE quwai's I seized
the boards

ŋí'lwats I looked at him

ŋsqats LE quwai's I seized the
board

lk'wa yáxi'axwa fern roots she
had 64.14, 15

hí'nī yáxuwē'wat there he
was holding it 64.3, 4

Compare, on the other hand,

tc!wā'tetc t!c'í'tsa into the fire
he shoved it (no object is
actually expressed here)
32.26

tc!wā'tetc t!c'īts into the fire
he shoved it 32.24

or

yá'xwā wutxai'yat hE tō'wtcōx two he brought home the rabbits
pōkwí'lnē' tī'lqats opposite each other he set (them) down 112.12

§ 50. Verbs in *-anāya* with Direct and Indirect Object Pronoun

This suffix is composed of two suffixes, *-enī* (see § 45) and *-āya* (see § 47). The broad *a*-vowel of the second suffix effects the retrogressive assimilation of the *-enī* into *-anī*, and the final vowel of *-enī* coalesces with the initial of *-āya* into a long *ā* (see § 7). It may best be rendered by TO DO, TO MAKE SOMETHING OUT OF SOMETHING.

ŋkwāxalanā'ya I am making a bow out of it (*kwā'xal* bow)

ŋyáxāwexanā'ya I build houses out of it (*yá'wā'wex* house)

lā^u k!wenīyawanā'ya LE qá'lyeq he is making a supply out of the
salmon (*k!wē'nīya^u* supply) 34.24

yanLawe dīʔl eʔqa^uwenīsa'nāya whenever something you will get mad at (*qa^uwenīse'nī* he got mad) 16.4

la^u hanL eʔl'nuwanā'ya at that thing you shall pull (*l'nuwī* very) 72.2

ʔl wa'lwalanā'ya they (would) make knives out of it (*wa'lwāl* knife) 136.14, 15

The *a*-vowels of this suffix very often change the *e*-vowels of the stem to which they are suffixed into an *a* (see § 7).

xā'nana'ya he made him feel sorry for it (*xā'nīs* sick) 42.18

ʔpLpā'wīsanā'ya I made a hat out of it (*pLpā'wīs* hat)

Whenever suffixed to reduplicated stems, this suffix is changed to *-ōnāya*.

aqa'lqōnā'ya la ā'la he became afraid of his child (*a'lqas* fear) 28.24, 25

mātsma'tōnā'ya lex dī'lōl he became acquainted with him, the young man (*mī'tsīs* wise) 116.1

qai^xqa'yōnā'ya he became afraid of it (*ʔqa'ya^uts* I am frightened [I fear]) 42.3

PLURAL FORMATIONS (§§ 51-54)

§ 51. General Remarks

The question of plurality, as exhibited in the verbs, is, comparatively speaking, a complicated matter. The chief difficulty arises from the fact that Coos accords a different treatment to transitive and intransitive verbs, and that the phenomena connected with plural formation are by no means of a uniform character. As in most other American languages, the Coos intransitive verbs express plurality of subject, while stems expressing transitive concepts distinguish between actions relating to a singular object and those relating to plural objects.

As a rule, plurality of the subject of verbal ideas is not indicated. One and the same stem is used in the singular and plural alike. There are, however, a few verbal concepts that express such a plurality by means of different stems. While this question ought to be more properly treated under the heading "Vocabulary," it may nevertheless be found useful to give here a few examples of such different stems.

| Singular | Plural | |
|---------------------------------|---|-----------------|
| <i>ĩtsēm</i> 26.20 | <i>n'etsī</i> 74.1 | to do |
| <i>yāw'āme</i> 10.3 | <i>yuw'ītīt, yuwat-</i> 12.6 | to travel |
| <i>tswū</i> 28.12 | <i>ha'yatī</i> 58.19, 20 | to lie |
| <i>qa'qal</i> 40.2 | <i>tsī'msīmt</i> 74.1 | to sleep |
| <i>xne^x-t-</i> 74.30 | <i>xwāit-</i> 22.17 | to fly, to jump |
| <i>leqa^wwe</i> 42.18 | <i>e'qe</i> 84.14 | to die |
| <i>L'ā-</i> , 14.6 | <i>yā'la-</i> 50.3 | to speak |
| <i>Lōw'kats</i> , 38.10 | <i>tīlā'qai</i> 36.11, <i>kwe'e'tī</i> 50.7 | to sit, to live |

On the other hand, there are a few stems that seem to express singularity or plurality of subject by means of a grammatical process the history of which is not clear. This process may be said to consist in the change of the vowel connecting the suffix with the stem.

| Singular | Plural |
|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>ētc'a'at</i> you walk 120.18 | <i>īl tc'a'īt</i> they walk |
| <i>ṅax'yat</i> I am whittling | <i>īl xā'yīt</i> they are whittling |
| <i>ṅt'a'lats</i> I dance | <i>īcē^e t'a'līt</i> you two dance 82.18 |
| <i>ṅwī'nat</i> I waded out | <i>īl wī'nīt</i> they waded out |

This process is the more puzzling, as it also seems to be used for the purpose of distinguishing between duration of action (see § 26). It is quite conceivable that there may be an etymological relation between these two phenomena, and that the phonetic similarity exhibited by them is more than accidental.

§ 52. Reflexive Plural -ū

In a number of cases intransitive verbs indicate plurality of subject by means of a suffix which is phonetically different from the suffix expressing the corresponding singular idea. This is especially true in the case of the suffix *-qem*, *-xem* (see § 30). This suffix is applied to singular subjects only, while the same idea for plural subjects is expressed by means of the suffix *-ū*, which is always preceded by the transitive *-t* or *-ts*.

| Singular | Plural |
|---|--|
| <i>lhetqem</i> it is resting 88.16 | <i>īl lhetū</i> they are resting |
| <i>ṅwē'lextxem</i> I went to bed | <i>īcē^e wē'lextū</i> you two go to bed 82.13 |
| <i>ṅLō^wk^utsxem</i> I sat down | <i>tī'l^eqtsū</i> (they) sat down 22.15 |
| <i>ṅkwe'et^Etsxem</i> I settled down | <i>īl kwe'et^Etsū</i> they settled down 48.5 |
| <i>ṅsln'txem</i> I hide myself | <i>īl sln'tū</i> they hide themselves |

§ 53. Causative Passive Plural *-iyEm*

The same principle is applied to intransitive verbs expressing passive causative ideas. Singular subjects are expressed by means of the suffix *-eet* (see p. 345), while plurality of the subject is indicated by the suffix *-iyEm*. The most perplexing problem connected with this suffix is the fact that its initial *i* disappears before *u*-diphthongs without changing the *u* of the diphthong into a consonantic *w* (see § 8).

| <i>sLn-</i> | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|--|
| <i>ûx sLnî'yat</i> they two hide him (caus.) 24.9 | <i>sLne'et</i> 24.12 | <i>sLnî'yEm</i> |
| <i>x'En-</i> | | |
| <i>ŋx'ânî'yat</i> I put it on top | <i>x'ne'et</i> 10.1 | <i>x'nî'yEm</i> |
| <i>lEm-</i> | | |
| <i>ûx lemî'yat</i> they two set it up 8.10 | <i>lEme'et</i> 90.18 | <i>lemî'yEm</i> |
| <i>q^{Eto}u-</i> | | |
| <i>ŋq^{Eto}wî'yat</i> I hang it up (x)nō'we, right 44.9 | <i>q^{Eto}wē'et</i> 46.27 <i>nōwē'et</i> | <i>q^{Eto}wî'yEm</i> 84.15 <i>nōw'yEm</i> 44.22 |
| <i>L/a-</i> to be on something | | |
| <i>ûl L'aîyat</i> they put it on 80.20 | <i>L'e'et</i> 22.1 | <i>L'eî'yEm</i> 144.4 |

§ 54. Direct Plural Object *-itEx*

The idea of plurality of objects in transitive verbs is not clearly developed. The treatment accorded to the different stems is so irregular that no definite rules can be formulated. The majority of stems make no distinction between singular and plural objects, and occur in one form only. Other stems have different forms for the singular and plural; e. g., *tsxa^u-* TO KILL ONE, *aiw-* TO KILL MANY, *la-* TO PUT IN ONE, *x'L/ō^u-* TO PUT IN MANY, etc.; while a number of stems seem to express plurality of object by means of the affixed numeral particle *hēmā* (see § 109), or by means of the suffix *-itEx*.

This suffix expresses the plural third person object, and may be added directly to the verbal stem, or after the transitive suffixes *-t*, *-ts*.

xwî'tsxūt cîma'itEx (many) deer he pulled 88.12

ā'yu ûl Lana'itEx surely they headed them off 56.16

hats Lōwē'entc la^u laa'itEx just all (wholly) she dragged them 80.9

§ 55. MISCELLANEOUS SUFFIXES

While the functions of the verbal suffixes discussed in the preceding pages are clear, and could be described fairly accurately, there are a few others that appear only now and then, and express ideas of a varying character. It is possible that these suffixes may represent the petrified remnants of grammatical formations that have become obliterated in the course of time. The following is a list of these suffixes:

-a. This suffix seems to express in a number of instances our infinitive idea.

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>lnē'wat xwí'tsxūt</i> he is habitually hunting deer | <i>ln'ta e'he lE dā'mâl</i> hunting (had) gone the man 108.9 |
| | <i>helmî' hîs asō' la ln'ta</i> next day again he went hunting 110.10 |
| <i>sraqa'ē'wat</i> she is bathing him (caus.) 60.6 | <i>yîxē'n sîa'qa la</i> once bathing she went (literally, to bathe) 84.24 |

In a few cases it has been found suffixed to neutral stems, and seems to denote impersonal actions.

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>lōq^u</i> - to boil | <i>lōqu'qwa lE s^al!</i> was boiling the pitch 102.11 |
| <i>kwiñā'was</i> smoke 22.23 | <i>în kwî'ñā</i> not it smokes 110.14 |

It is possible that this suffix may have the identical function with the *-a* (or *-e*) suffixed to the modal adverbs (see § 106), and it may consequently be related to the auxiliary *-e* (see § 44).

-e. I am at a loss to detect the exact nature of this suffix and its etymological connection with any of the other suffixes. In the few instances in which it occurs, it was rendered by the passive, or else as an abstract verbal noun.

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>k'îlō'wît</i> she saw him 54.2 | <i>ā'yu k'îlō'we î la^u djî</i> surely it was seen as it was coming 52.7, 8 |
| <i>k'î' Lō^uts</i> he found it 32.10 | <i>lā îx' k'î'le</i> her canoe was found 54.19 |
| <i>hā'wî</i> he grew up 64.12 | <i>la û ha^u'we</i> it grew up (literally, goes its growth) 20.16 |
| <i>k!a'lat</i> he shouted (at it) 36.7 | <i>ä'wî pîk'e'le</i> I quit shouting (literally, the shouts) |
| <i>mî'lat</i> he swam 30.7 | <i>ä'wî e'mî'le</i> stop swimming (literally, finish your swimming) |

-anu. This suffix occurs in two instances only, and expresses in both of them the infinitive. It seems to be related to the verbal suffix *-enī* (see § 45).

yu'wel a pack 70.22

la^u yu^{wi}le'nu he (went out in order) to pack (*enu* > *anu* [see § 7]) 162.25

a'lec toy 92.10

mā he'laq teī alī'canu people came there (in order) to play 90.26

-am occurs very rarely, and seems to denote the absence of the object of an action.

q!māts he eats it 32.9

hats hanL e^q!a'mtsam just will you eat 42.23, 24

Lō^u- to eat 17.2

la^u tsāx he Lō^{wiyam} she usually here eats 24.4, 5

Nominal Suffixes (§§ 56-80)

GENERAL NOMINALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 56-65)

§ 56. Nominal *-is*

This suffix may be said to have a general nominalizing function. It is found suffixed to a great number of stems, and expresses general nominal ideas, including many of our adjectival terms. For a discussion of its etymological nature, see General Remarks, § 25.

hä'wī he grew up 64.12

hä'wīs ready 5.4

stō^uq he stood 20.4

stōwa'qwīs wall 90.18.

L!äts he spoke 16.2

L!ē'yīs language 16.1

iluwē'^xtcīs heart 5.3

k'elē'Līs corner 58.13

wāx'v'lis food 14.7

k'īnā'wīs laziness 34.17

helē'yīs salmon-roe 34.27

(*k'v'nwīs* lazy)

hū^wmīs woman 24.6

kwäyē'īs ridge, mountain 22.13

baltī'mīs ocean 6.2

kwä'sīs ball 38.19

pī'lik'īs anus 40.7

kwī'nīs feather 26.21

pō^wkwīs slave

k!wä'sīs wind 22.11

pLpā'wīs hat 136.14

qā'yīs day, sky, world 6.1

tama'līs custom, fashion 19.8

qai'nīs mouth of river 58.1

tgā'līs sun 24.2

q^Ema'tīs fish-basket 36.7

sīk'e^xkīs shield 28.7

xala'wīs heat 24.9

tskwa'^xLīs fir-tree 9.2

la'^xLīs mud 52.10

tcēné'nīs edge 22.15

ltcē'īs ocean beach 7.11

g'ilō'mīs breakers 8.1

Lva'līs sand beach 58.1

he'mîs large 14.5
hū'wîs poor 42.5
pL'îs heavy
mî'tsîs wise 132.6
t^Eqa'ⁱLîs solid 7.6
tc'îc'îlîs sweet 32.27
tc'lîs dry 166.2

k'î'nvîs lazy
kat'E'mîs five 5.4
x'î'lvîs deep
xal'lvîs hot 24.6
xä'nîs sick 42.18
L'e'mîs raw 32.23

§ 57. Nouns of Quality in *-ES*, *-tES*; *-enîs*

-ES, -tES. This suffix changes adjectives (or adverbs) into abstract nouns. No explanation can be given for the phonetic difference between the two suffixes.

he'mîs big 14.5

hats kwa x'nek' he'mî'stES hE
x'ōwā'yas the snake was just as
 big as a hair (literally, just like
 a hair [is] the size [of] the snake)
 86.2

nā^ant much, many 50.13

in kwel' nīyēm itse'ts he'îl nā^antES
 no one knew how many they
 were (literally, not knew they
 how [was] their quantity) 78.2

ŋqai'na I am cold

xqainé'ES kās tsaxū'wat cold
 nearly killed him 32.7

he'nīye a while 38.15

ta^a henī'yees ŋyāxū'me (for) such
 length of time I travel 26.9

hethé'te rich 26.2

hethé'tees wealth

paa- to fill 15.7

la ū paa'wes hE xā^ap the water
 reached its full mark (literally,
 goes its fullness [of] the water)
 44.19

e'hento far 26.23

ehentees distance 52.16

qal long

qal'tes length

k'lé'es black 162.13

k'lé'estes black color

qat below 36.11

qat'es, the lower part, half 16.10

-enîs transforms adjectives expressing sensations and emotions into abstract nouns.

cîn lqa you are hungry 70.12

tē' xwîn ā'ya laqe'nîs these we two
 died from hunger (literally,
 these we two [are] hunger-dead)
 36.13, 14

qa^wnet he got angry 32.25

qawel'nîs anger, wrath 16.4

§ 58. Nouns of Location in *-Em*

This suffix expresses the abstract conception of a local idea. It is suffixed to adverbs only, and is (with one exception) preceded by the adverbial suffix *-tc*. It may best be rendered by THE PART OF, THE SIDE OF.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>lexa'tea kwō'nait</i> inside he looked 62.6 | <i>lexa'tcem hanL ŋqa'qał</i> in the inside (part of my eye) will I sleep 40.2 |
| | <i>hE yīxā'wEX lexa'tcem</i> of the house the inside (part) |
| <i>yīqantce'wītc</i> backwards 32.13 | <i>penLō'wai yīqa'ntcem djī</i> a whale behind it was coming 88.22 |
| <i>ī'la</i> before, first 56.9 | <i>īl k'īlō'wīt īla'hatcem djī</i> they saw it in front coming 88.5 |
| | <i>le'wī ū īla'hatcem dōwā'ya lū e-nātc</i> he liked his mother best (literally, it is [as] his first[-ness] he likes his mother) 120.19, 20 |
| <i>gat</i> below 36.11 | <i>xwāndj yā'lanī lE mā qa'tem tīla'qai</i> that way are talking the people (who on the) lower part (of the river) live 66.12 |

§ 59. Verbal Abstract *-āwas, -nēiwas*

-āwas changes the verb into a noun. It expresses the abstract concept of a verbal idea. If the verb expresses an active, transitive idea, it is suffixed to the bare stem, while in intransitive verbs it is preceded by the intransitive suffix *-enī* (see p. 349). In such cases the final vowel of the transitive suffix disappears, and the *a*-vowel of *-āwas* effects the retrogressive assimilation of the stem-vowels and suffix-vowels (see § 7).

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>e^Ea'lctet</i> he is working 22.26 | <i>ī la^u ū'wī e^Ealctā'was</i> when he quit (the) work 34.6, 7 |
| <i>Lōwē'wat</i> she is eating 24.5, 6 | <i>ā'wī ū Lōwā'was</i> she finished (her) food 24.13 |
| <i>ŋL/hats</i> I put it on | <i>lū L/ahā'was</i> her clothes 110.3 |
| <i>īs alī'canī</i> we two play 38.11 | <i>alīcanā'was līn ha^{ux}ts</i> a game we (should) arrange 90.14 |
| <i>e'qe</i> dead 42.19 | <i>aganā'was</i> funeral |
| <i>ha'yat</i> he gambled 66.15 | <i>hayānā'was</i> Indian game |

In one instance this suffix has been changed to *-āwal*.

qa'ya^{ts} he is scared 126.1

in yū dī^l qayawā'wal hardly anything can scare him (literally, not very something scaring [to him] 40.24; *qayawā'wal* a thing that scares)

-*nē'was*. Composed of the distributive *-nēⁱ* (see § 37) and the nominal *-āwas*. Hence it expresses an abstract concept that has a distributive character.

hū qtsä' n^{laxanē'}was lōwa'kats she was sitting between his teeth (literally, his teeth in the [mutual] between[-ness]) 102.18

sōwe^l laxanē' was between the fingers 108.21

sqai^lnē' was the space between the fingers, a crack (*sqai^lL^ExEM* it was sticking in a crack 62.8)

§ 60. Verbal Nouns in *-ōnīs*, *-sī*

-*ōnīs*. This suffix indicates that something has become the object of a certain action. It may best be rendered by WHAT BECAME THE OBJECT OF. Either it is suffixed to the verbal stem directly, or it is preceded by the transitive suffixes *-t*, *-ts* (see § 26).

ū^l yā^llanī they are talking 90.16

la^u ū^l yaaltō'nīs they begin to talk about it (literally, this they [have as their] object of speech) 76.22

qk'ī^tts I cut it

k'ī^ttsō'nīs la kala she commenced to cut her foot (literally, object of cutting her foot [became] 80.21)

lō^u- to eat 17.2

la^u lō^u'nīs ī ha^lk'ī^tc la^u yā^umē this became his food while he walked crawling (literally, that object of eating [it became] while crawling that one traveled) 32.11

ā'tsa he gave it to him 34.10

atsō'nīs gift 188.26

-*sī* is used in the formation of nouns from verbal stems. The best rendering that can be given for this suffix is THE RUINS, THE REMNANTS OF.

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>ai'wít</i> he killed them 68.11 | <i>ís ai'wítsí íte</i> we two (are the) remnants of the slaughter 62.18 |
| <i>x'pí</i> it burned down 58.12 | <i>qawílaí'we íe yíxá'wex ná'pí'tsí</i> she commenced to look around (of) the house the débris 58.18, 19 |

It is very likely that the following example may belong here:

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>k'ítsí'mís, k'ítsímá'mís</i> half 32.11 | <i>hE k'ítsí'mísí ai'wít</i> half of them he killed (literally, the remaining half he killed) 112.10 |
|--|--|

§ 61. Nouns of Quantity in *-ín*

This suffix occurs in a few instances only. It is added to stems expressing adjectival ideas, and may be translated by PIECE, PORTION.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>tcä'yux^u</i> small 42.6 | <i>í'k'í tcä'yuxwín á'tsa</i> (to) both a small portion he gave 120.17 |
| <i>qaic</i> small 128.29 | <i>qaiçí'nís úx yú'wíyú</i> in a small place they two are stopping 6.3 |
| <i>e'hente</i> far 26.23 | <i>ná'yím ehentçsí'nětc djí'nít</i> because quite far apart it keeps coming (literally, because distance-portion-modality, [they] are coming [singly]) 52.18 |

§ 62. Nouns of Agency in *-ayawa, -eyäwe, -iyawa*

These suffixes indicate the performer of an action. The *-eyäwe* form is added to stems with *e*-vowels (see § 7). Since the informant was frequently at a loss how to express in English the idea conveyed by this suffix, he invariably translated it by TO GO AND (perform the action in question).

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>t'a'lats</i> he dances | <i>t'alíya'wa</i> a dancer |
| <i>L'x'í'nt</i> he examined it 32.23 | <i>L'x'iníya'wa</i> examiner |
| <i>ní'k'ín</i> wood 102.2 | <i>mí'lan qnák'íneyä'we</i> permit me to get some wood (literally, let me wood-getter be) 102. 1 |
| <i>mí'laq</i> arrow 12.10 | <i>ís mílaqayä'we</i> we two go and get arrows (literally, [we two are] arrow-makers) 160.6, 7 |
| <i>Lō^u</i> to eat 17.2 | <i>qLōwíya'wa</i> I am an eater |
| | <i>qté'x'íts Lōwíya'wa</i> I go in and eat 168.2, 3 |

§ 63. Nominalizing Suffix Indicating Place, *-is*

It is never suffixed to verbal stems.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>qa'ntcū</i> where? 94.25 | <i>ic xqantcū'wís</i> from where are you two? (literally, your two selves' whence place) 126.14 |
| <i>le'lex</i> medicine | <i>xwîn l^Elexyāwé'wís</i> we two have been after medicine (literally, our two selves' medicine-makers place) 126.15 |
| <i>tsä'yux^u</i> small 20.5 | <i>tsäyuxwí'nís eñí'h'exem l_E l'tā</i> on a small place is sticking out the land 44.26 |
| <i>qaic</i> small 128.29 | <i>qaicí'nís ūxyū'wí'yū</i> on (some) small place they two are stopping 6.3 |

§ 64. Nominalizing Suffix Indicating Locality, *-ume*

It signifies WHERE THE . . . IS. It is added to nominal (or adverbial) stems only.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>kū^s</i> south | <i>akukwí'sume hí'yét!</i> he came ashore on the south side (literally, from where south is, he came ashore) |
| <i>tse'tiaw</i> over here | <i>tsetí'x'ume lō hé^w hé^u há^ww_E</i> here on this side make a knot! (literally, where this is, on it, a knot make) 92.7, 8 |
| <i>xwí'lux^u</i> head 30.14 | <i>xwí'luxū'me</i> where the head is 146.26 |

§ 65. Terms of Relationship in *-ätc* (*-atc*)

Terms of relationship appear with the suffix *-ätc* or *-atc* (see § 7), except in the vocative case, where the stem alone is used. A few nouns exhibit in the vocative case an entirely different stem, while others occur in the vocative form only.

The phenomenon so characteristic of many American and other languages, whereby the different sexes use separate terms for the purpose of denoting corresponding degrees of relationship, is not found in Coos. This may in part be due to the fact that the language does not differentiate in any respect whatsoever between the two sexes, and that grammatical gender is a concept entirely unknown to the Coos mind. On the other hand, Coos has one trait in common

with some of the languages of the neighboring tribes, namely, in so far as two different stems are used to denote the same degree of relationship by marriage. One is employed as long as the intermediary person is living, while the second is used after the death of that person.

The following table shows the nouns expressing the different degrees of relationship:

| English | Coos | Vocative case |
|---|---------------------------------|---|
| Father | <i>e'kwLātc</i> | <i>k!ō'ta!</i> |
| Mother | <i>e'nātc</i> | <i>nī'k'a!</i> |
| Son | (?) | <i>Lowa!</i> |
| Daughter | <i>kwayā'cttc</i> | <i>kwā'ya!</i> |
| Older brother | <i>hā'Lātc</i> | <i>hāL!l</i> |
| Younger brother | <i>mīLkwī'yatc</i> | <i>mā'lāk!</i> |
| Older sister | <i>henī'kwātc</i> | <i>he'nākwī!</i> |
| Younger sister | <i>kwīya'zLtc</i> | <i>kwē'ēL!</i> |
| Grandfather | <i>pkā'kāt</i> | <i>pkā'k'!</i> |
| Grandmother | <i>āmā'catc, ū'māc</i> | <i>ū'mā!</i> |
| Grandson | <i>temī'snātc, temī'sīn</i> | <i>temī'sī!</i> (sing.) <i>temā'mīs!</i> (pl.) |
| Granddaughter | <i>tek' ūsī'nātc</i> | <i>tckā'ztīs!</i> |
| Paternal uncle | <i>pū'yatc, pīs</i> | <i>pī'sī!</i> |
| Maternal uncle | <i>ax'ī'axatc</i> | <i>axa'x'!</i> |
| Paternal aunt | <i>ā'tatc</i> | <i>ā'at!</i> |
| Maternal aunt | <i>zkwī'nātc</i> | <i>kwā'kwī!</i> |
| Father-in-law | <i>mātc/tsīnātc</i> | <i>ya'k'!</i> (?) |
| Mother-in-law | <i>qāh'ksāt</i> | <i>kwa'lik!</i> |
| Son-in-law | <i>mī'nkāt</i> | (?) |
| Daughter-in-law | <i>mētū'e'nātc</i> ¹ | (?) |
| Brother-in-law | <i>hā'lik!</i> | <i>hal!</i> |
| Sister-in-law | <i>kwī'hatc</i> | <i>kwī'hai!</i> |
| Relative, by marriage, after death of person whose marriage established the relationship. | <i>xa'yusLātc</i> | (?) |
| Nephew (son of sister) | <i>twī'tātc</i> | <i>teu!</i> |
| Nephew (son of brother) | (?) | <i>kwīnc'wīL!</i> (?) <i>ncxleu!</i> (?) |
| Niece (daughter of sister) | <i>upranā'catc</i> | (?) |
| Niece (daughter of brother) | (?) | <i>pekwi'nLī!</i> |

¹ Aalsea *mas'tūn*.

Besides the above-enumerated terms of kinship, there are two stems that are used as such, although they do not, strictly speaking, denote any degree of relationship. One of these is the term *slā'atc* (vocative *slā*), employed by the Coos in addressing a male member of the tribe, and even a stranger; and the other is *xwīl*, used in the same way in addressing females.

In one instance the term *kwe'nēL* is employed to denote SISTER, without mentioning the rank of her birth. All attempts to obtain the corresponding term for BROTHER have proved unsuccessful.

§ 66. SUFFIXES *-ēx, -īyēx, -īyētēx*

These three suffixes, occurring in a few instances only, seem to express the idea PERTAINING TO. They are suffixed to nominal and to adverbial stems.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>bē'ldj</i> north | <i>lE lā'mak' lala^u tE bīldjī'yēx</i> the bones those (are) the Umpqua Indians (literally, the Northern Indians) 50.5, 6 |
| <i>yī'qantc</i> behind | <i>yīqa'ntcīmēx mā</i> the last generation 9.6 |
| <i>L'an-</i> | <i>L!a'nēx qa'lyeq</i> new salmon 36.25 |
| <i>qa'lu</i> winter (?) 162.20 | <i>qa'lēx</i> old 38.18 |
| <i>qa'xan-</i> up 14.1 | <i>qaxanī'yētēx mā</i> from above the people 150.5 |
| <i>qā'yīs</i> sky 6.1 | <i>qāyīsa'yēx mā</i> the sky-people |

ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES (§§ 67-70)

§ 67. Local and Modal *-ē'itc, -ītē*

This suffix indicates rest, and was rendered by IN, AT, ON, UNDER. It is added to nouns and (very rarely) to verbs. For the parallel occurrence of *-ē'itc* and *-ītē*, see § 2. (See note to § 36.)

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>yīxū'wēx</i> house 22.25 | <i>yīxū'wēxē'itc lōwa'kats</i> in the house he is sitting |
| <i>L!tā</i> country 30.28 | <i>yEai' L!tā'ītē ŋītsē'ts</i> in another country I stay 26.8, 9 |
| <i>hē'wīlts</i> road 138.17 | <i>hewī'ltsē'itc stō^uq</i> on the road he stood 36.16 |
| <i>q^uwai's</i> board 52.14 | <i>ī la^u quwai'sē'itc tē!cīlē'et</i> while she under the board was 58.25 |
| <i>xā^ap</i> water 6.9 | <i>xā^apītē djī ū mī'le</i> in the water it was swimming 88.21 |
| <i>īx</i> canoe 44.20 | <i>asīL īx'ītē ūx tē!ōwī'yat</i> in the middle (of the) canoe they two laid him down 126.23 |
| <i>kwī'lēL</i> sweat-house 62.25 | <i>kwī'lēLē'itc tsxū lāl tō'mīL</i> in the sweat-house lay that old man 28.11, 12 |

t̄ila'gai (many) live 36.11 *h̄i'n̄i Lōwa'kats* *lE t̄il lE mā xqat*
t̄ila'gaȳitc there lived the kins-
 men (among) the people (who)
 below lived 60.11

By prefixing to the noun the local prefix *w-* (see § 22), and by suffixing to it the suffix *-ē'tc*, *-ī'tc*, the idea FROM is expressed.

qā'ȳis sky 6.1 *xqa'ȳis̄itc* *he'laq* from the sky he
 came
L!tā country 30.28 *xyea' L!tā'itc* from another coun-
 try 26.6
pqai' back 82.13 *xyd'xwā mā L!ō'k'īnē'wat xpqai'-*
h̄itc two men were supporting
 him from the back 40.9

When preceded by the discriminative *w-* (see § 23), this suffix assumes a modal significance, exercising the same function as the English adverbial suffix *-LY* or the word *LIKE*.

nmā'hēnet it is populated 12.4 *hats kwa w̄māhe'nt̄itc stō'waq* just
 like a person he stood up 114.23,
 24
w̄māhe'nt̄itc k'īlō'w̄it lE mā like
 persons she saw the beings (look)
 54.18
ā'yu sure enough 7.4 *gō's d̄i'l̄ īn xā'yuw̄itc t̄sxaū'wat* he
 killed a little of everything
 (literally, [of] everything not
 enough-ly he killed) 64.19, 20
qa'lyeq salmon 34.14 *xqa'lyeq̄ē'tc īl kw̄ina'ē'wat* as
 salmon they look upon it 130.14
ȳixē' one 5.5 *x̄ta'nux̄w̄itc Lōwa'kats* sideways he
 was sitting 38.10
 xyī'xē'tc d̄ū'm̄it xyī'xē'tc he'īl
 h̄ū'mā'k'e each man has one
 wife (literally, one [modal] man,
 one [modal] their wives) 48.5

The prefix may sometimes be omitted, as shown by the following examples:

qantc where 8.8 *yī'kwanL qantc̄i'tc t̄eṅ la* perhaps
 shall which way this I go 100.18
qaic small 128.29 *qai'c̄itc ha'ū īl yū'w̄ilt* into small
 pieces they divided it 130.26
tsā'yux̄ small 20.5 *tsā'yux̄w̄itc p̄ī'lstat* to pieces it was
 smashed 124.14

Owing to its modal significance, this suffix expresses the idea of our collective numerals IN TWOS, IN THREES, when added to the cardinal numerals.

gō^us qa'ntcītc xyūxwä' hē'itc il la everywhere in pairs they went 48.8
xyūpse'nē'itc in threes (*yī'psen* three)

§ 68. Local Suffix, Indicating Motion, -etc

The suffix -etc indicates motion, action, and may be rendered by AT, IN, THROUGH, ON, INTO.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| <i>tcīcī'mīl</i> spruce-tree 20.5 | <i>L!ā'yat lE tsū'yux^u tcīcī'mīletc</i> he put it on the small spruce-tree 20.8 |
| <i>dE'msīt</i> prairie 22.12 | <i>lE'yī dEmstē'tc Lhī'nap</i> a good prairie through he goes 22.11 |
| <i>yūwä'wEx</i> house 22.25 | <i>yūwä'wExetc la</i> into the house he went 28.10, 11 <i>yūwä'wExetc djī</i> to the house he came |
| <i>tc!wāl</i> fire 38.8 | <i>tc!wä'letc t!cīts</i> into the fire he shoved it 32.24 |
| <i>ä</i> face 10.3 | <i>kwīna'ē'wat ä'hetc</i> he is looking at (his) face |

When suffixed to a stem with an *a*-vowel, the suffix is changed to -etc (see § 7).

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>wā^ap</i> water 6.9 | <i>t^Ek!wīl wā^apatc</i> into the water he dove 26.27 |
| <i>L!tā'</i> ground 6.7 | <i>L!tā'atc lemī'yat</i> on the ground he put it 64.1 |

In some cases it may be suffixed to verbs.

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>tīla'qai</i> (many) live 36.11 | <i>tcī hē'laq lE mā tīla'qayetc</i> there he arrived, where the people were living 36.12, 13 |
| <i>stō^uq</i> he stands 20.4 | <i>tsō lE mā qal stō^wqetc hē'laq</i> now to the person (that) below stood he came 92, 4, 5 |
| <i>alī'canī</i> (they) play 94.8 | <i>hē'laq lE mā alīcanī'waqetc</i> he came to the people (that) were playing 98, 14, 15 |

§ 69. Local *-ewitc*

The local suffix *-ewitc* is rendered by TOWARDS.

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>bē'ldj</i> north | <i>bīldje'wītē qai'cīt</i> to the north he scattered 48.24 |
| <i>ē'qatce</i> aside 26.20 | <i>ēqatce'wītē kwīllkwē'lē'yu</i> to one side he was rolled 94.19,20 |
| <i>y'qantc</i> behind | <i>y'qantce'wītē ilx</i> backwards he looked 32.13 |
| <i>qaits</i> inside 140.24 | <i>qai'tsōwītē il tē'x'tits</i> (inside) they entered 22.29 |
| <i>yāwā'wēx</i> house 22.25 | <i>yāwāwēx'wītē ŋla</i> towards the house I am going |

§ 70. Instrumental *-Etc*

It expresses our ideas WITH, AGAINST. When suffixed to a stem with an *a*-vowel, it is pronounced more like *-atc*; while, if suffixed to a stem with an *e*-vowel, it invariably sounded like *-etc*. When the instrumental idea WITH is to be expressed, the stem to which this suffix is added is very often preceded by the prefix *w-* (see § 24).

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>mā'luk^u</i> paint | <i>mā'lukwētē itā'ya^u lä ü</i> red paint with was painted his face 10.2, 3 |
| <i>ix</i> canoe 44.20 | <i>mā wix'ē'tē yixu'mē</i> people in canoes travel (literally, with canoes) 90.3 |
| <i>tc'iltc!</i> hammer 26.26 | <i>tqanlts tc!'iltc!etc lē kwī'la^u</i> he struck with a hammer the ice 28.1,2 |
| <i>māx'sō'wēi</i> lucky 20.14 | <i>hatā'yims māx'sō'wētē alī'canī ü mēn</i> lucky money with they are playing 94.27 |
| <i>q'e'lē</i> pitch 82.23 | <i>q'elē'yētē la^u pā'ts</i> with pitch it was full 74.25 |
| <i>mā'k'e</i> basket 28.27 | <i>wmāk'e'etc tōwī'tīnīye</i> in a basket he was dropped down (literally, with a basket) 28.9,10 |
| <i>qā'yīs</i> sky 6.1 | <i>qā'yīsetē tskwī</i> against the sky it struck 22.4 |
| <i>tqā'līs</i> sun 24.2 | <i>tqā'līsetē panā'qtsxēm</i> in the sun he is warming himself 32.8 |
| <i>tc!'ilē</i> door 62.5 | <i>wne'x'tits tc!'ilē'hetē</i> she jumped against the door 76.2 |

In the following instance the suffix is changed, without any apparent cause, to *-yetc*.

wa'wal knife 78.11 *t^EqanLī'yeqEM xwa'walyetc* they
hit her with a knife 80.5

In another instance it occurs as *-a^utc*.

gō^us dī^l tsüyü'neha^utc nL!pē'ne dī^l with all kinds of small birds 46.2

When suffixed to the article or to the personal pronouns, this suffix is changed to *-ītc*.

lē it 5.1 *xle'ītc ūx k'īnt* with it they two
try it 7.4

ŋ'ne I 50.25 *ŋne'ītc he'laq* with (or to) me he
came

ē'ne thou 15.7 *ye'ne'ītc* with, to thee 18.11

wä he 15.10 *hexä'ītc* with, to her 86.3

xwīn we two *hexwīnne'ītc* with, to us two 24.3

§ 71. SUPERLATIVE *-eytm*

This suffix indicates great quantity or quality. It corresponds to our superlative.

tsä'yua^u small 20.5 *hE tsüyua^{wē}'yīm ā'la* the smallest
child

he'mā^s big 14.5 *hE hemā^{se}'yīm yā^{wä}'wex* the big-
gest house

It is added mostly to terms of relationship that denote either a younger or an elder member of the family. In such cases it implies that the member spoken of is the younger (or elder) in a family consisting of more than two members of the same degree of kinship.

henī'k^unātc elder sister *wändj L!āts hE henīkuntce'yīm*
(out of two) 50.8 that way spoke the eldest sister
126.16

§ 72. DISTRIBUTIVE *-ānī*

-ānī is suffixed to nouns of relationship only, and expresses a degree of mutual kinship. It is etymologically related to the verbal distributives *-nēⁱ*, *-ānī* (see §§ 25, 37).

slā'atc cousin 42.21 *ūx slā'tcānī* they two were mutual
cousins 42.15

hā'lātc elder brother 72.27 *līn hāltcā'nī* we are brothers mu-
tually

māLkwī'yātc younger brother *kat'E'mā^s ūl māLkwī'tcānī* five they
72.1 (are) brothers (mutually) 90.8

§ 73. INTERROGATIVE -*ū*

It is added only to the particles *tcītc*, *qantc*, *mī'lātc*, *dī'ī*, *wīt*, *ītc*, to the adverb *nī'cītc*, and to the stem *ītsē'ts* (see pp. 406, 407, 408, 411).

- tcī'tcū xa'tal ū mēn* what are they doing? 92.18
xtcī'tcū tēŋ xū'nīs how is it that I am sick?
la^u qa'ntcū la that one where did he go? 94.25
mī'lātcū hanL ē'wūtē when will you return? 28.3,4
dī'ītū he tē ē'wīlō'wat what usually are you looking for? 54.3
dī'ītcē'tcū hanL tēīs k'īnt with what shall we two try it? 7.1, 2
 (*dī'ītcē'tcū* = *dī'ī* + *-tc* + *-ētc* + *-ū* (see §§ 108, 25, 70, 11)
xwī'tū tsē'x'tī'yat who did it?
ī'tcū ē'dōwā'ya ē'akan which one do you want? 50.17
īt nī'ctcū how many are they? (literally, [are] they a few?)
ītsē'tsū hēmī'stēs tī'ye yīxū'wēx how big is your house? (literally, how [the] largeness [size] of your house?)

NUMERAL SUFFIXES (§§ 74-77)

§ 74. Ordinal -*īs*

The ordinal numerals are formed by adding to the cardinals (see § 101) the suffix -*īs*. The first two numerals are irregular, especially the ordinal for ONE. The adverbial stem *īla* AHEAD, the temporal adverb *yuwīnt* BEFORE, or the same adverb with the adjectival ending -*īyēx*, are used in lieu of the missing regular ordinal numeral for ONE. The ordinal for TWO is formed by adding the suffix -*īs* to the adverb *asō* AGAIN.

- ī'la, yuwī'nt, yuwī'ntīyēx* first
asō'wīs second
yīpsē'nīs third
hecl'līs fourth
kat'ē'mīsīs fifth

- hē' xā ī'la Lowī'tat* she first ran (literally, ahead) 56.9
lēŋ yuwī'nt hū'wīs my first wife (literally, my wife [whom I had] before)
lēŋ asō'wīs hū'wīs my second wife
 Compare also *hēmī'hīs* next day (*hē'lmī* to-morrow 162.9) 6.7

Of an obscure composition is the indefinite ordinal *tsē'wīs* THE LAST. Its first component can not be explained, while the ending is plainly the ordinal suffix -*īs*.

- tsō oku tsē'wīs* now (this) must (have been) the last one 120.1

§ 75. Multiplicative *-en*

The multiplicative numerals are formed by adding to the cardinals the suffix *-en* TIMES.

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>yîæ'n</i> | 6. <i>yîæ'wîeqen</i> |
| 2. <i>tsō^uæ'n</i> | 7. <i>yîæwä'wîeqen</i> |
| 3. <i>yîpsE'nen</i> | 8. <i>yîæ'ahäten</i> |
| 4. <i>hecl'Len</i> | 9. <i>yîæwä'ahäten</i> |
| 5. <i>kat'E'mîsen</i> | 10. <i>Lep!qa'nîen</i> |

The numeral for TWICE is irregular. It seems to be composed of the conjunction *tsō* NOW, of the inclusive personal pronoun *ûw*, and of the multiplicative suffix *-en*.

yîæ'n sla'qa la once bathing she went 84.24

tsō^uæ'n hanL ŋwou'tæ in two days will I return (literally, twice)
28.4

kat'E mîsen qa'xantc w'ne'^xtits five times upwards (they) jumped
76.4

tsō k^u kwa nîctcæn qakîmî'ye then, perhaps, in a few days . . .
(literally, now, perhaps, it seems, a few times, morning it got)
56.21

To this group belongs also the indefinite *westæn* SO MANY TIMES, formed from the stem *wes* SO MANY.

hîs westæn tsîw ta hîs westæn yeai' L!tâ'îtc ŋîtsé'ts I stay here
just as long as in the other country (literally, also so many
times here, and also so many times in another country, I stay)
26.8, 9

§ 76. Ordinal-Multiplicative *-entcîs*

The ordinal-multiplicative numerals, expressed in English by AT THE FIRST TIME, AT THE SECOND TIME, are formed by means of the compound suffix *-entcîs*. This suffix consists of the multiplicative *-en* (see above), of the modal *-tc* (see § 36), and of the ordinal suffix *-îs* (see § 74).

wyîæ'wîeqentcîs L!îtc lü îluwé'xtcîs at the sixth time went out
her heart 76.6, 7

wkat'E'mîsēntcîs at the fifth time

The ordinal suffix *-îs* may be omitted, as shown in the following example:

hecl'Lentc qakîmî'ye la^u laatü'ya lü sla'atc on the fourth day he
went to his cousin (literally, four times [at] morning it got . . .)
42.20, 21

§ 77. Distributive -*hîna*

Distributive numerals in the sense of ONE EACH, ONE APIECE, are formed by adding to the cardinal numerals the suffix -*hîna* (see General Remarks, pp. 326, 327). The first two numerals, *yîaxê* and *yîaxwä*, change their final vowels into *a* before adding the suffix. This change may be due to purely phonetic causes (see § 7). The numeral for THREE, *yî'psen*, drops its final *n* before taking the suffix.

yîaxahî'na one each

yîaxwahî'na two each

yî'psehî'na three each

hecl'lhî'na four each

kat'emîshî'na five each

gõ^{us} yîaxahî'na îl nhü^umä'k'e le wî'ngas ú hî'me all of the Spider's children have wives each (literally, all, one apiece, they with wives [are], the Spider's children) 58.9

yîaxahî'na he'îs mî'laq we two have one arrow apiece

PLURAL FORMATIONS (§§ 78-79)

§ 78. Irregular Plurals

The majority of nominal stems have the same forms in singular and plural. There are, however, a number of nouns and adjectives that show in the plural a formation which is distinct from the singular form. This formation is based upon two grammatical processes, suffixation and phonetic change, and may be said to be of a petrified character. It is impossible to describe, or even suggest, the processes that may have taken place in this formation; hence no attempt will be made to discuss them in detail.

The following is a list of nominal stems that occur in two distinct forms, — one for the singular, and the other for the plural:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>ã'la</i> 10.8 | <i>hî'me</i> 20.3 | child |
| <i>hü^umîs</i> 24.6 | <i>hü^umä'k'e</i> 20.3 | woman |
| <i>tõ'mîL</i> 20.2 | <i>tE^mä'le</i> 24.1 | old man |
| <i>dü'mîl</i> 14.7 | <i>tî'mîlî</i> 56.18 | man |
| <i>mä</i> 10.1 | <i>mën</i> 24.22 | human being |
| <i>k'nes</i> | <i>k'enë'yese</i> 30.16 | hunchback |
| <i>tsä'yua^u</i> 20.5 | <i>tsäyü'ne</i> 48.7 | small |
| <i>tcé'æet</i> | <i>tcé'nîæet</i> 46.19 | short |
| <i>qal</i> | <i>kale'mka</i> 134.25 | tall |
| <i>alî'maq</i> 112.27 | <i>alî'maqa</i> 44.20 | big |
| <i>tcîte</i> 10.9 | <i>tîtcä'ne</i> 46.3 | kind, manner |

This distinction is not consistently carried out. Cases where the singular form is applied to denote plural concepts are quite numerous. This phenomenon is very natural, since in place of the idea of plurality we find rather the idea of distribution developed in Coos.

§ 79. Plural of Terms of Relationship, *-iyas*

The only substantives that form a plural by means of a specific plural suffix are the terms of relationship. The suffix employed for this purpose (*-iyas*) may be added directly to the stem, or may be preceded by the suffix of relationship, *-ätc* (*-ate*) (see pp. 365, 366).

| | |
|---|---|
| | <i>meanī'yas</i> parents 86.12 |
| <i>kwīya'xLtc</i> younger sister 50.14 | <i>kwīLtcī'yas</i> younger sisters 82.14 |
| <i>hū'lätc</i> older brother 72.27 | <i>hāLtcī'yas, hālī'yas</i> older brothers 130.23 |
| <i>ē'k^uLätc</i> father 20.13 | <i>ek^uLtcī'yas, ek^uLī'yas</i> fathers |
| <i>ē'nätc</i> mother 68.16 | <i>ē'ntcī'yas</i> mothers |

This suffix may be present in the stem *L!tā'yas* VILLAGE, derived from *L!tā* EARTH, GROUND, COUNTRY. The initial *ī* of the suffix would amalgamate with the final *ā* of the stem into *ā* (see § 9), and the noun would express a collective plural.

§ 80. MINOR SUFFIXES

Besides the suffixes discussed in the preceding pages, Coos has a few suffixes of obscure function, that occur sporadically only, and that are confined to certain given stems. These suffixes are as follows:

-i occurs in one or two instances, and is rendered by AND ALL.

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>mī'laq</i> arrow 12.10; <i>nmī'laqa</i> with arrow he is 20.18 | <i>hemī'yat lE mū ū kwā'xal nmī'laqai</i> she took out a person's bow and arrow and all 62.23 |
| <i>lā'mak</i> bones 40.12 | <i>ntē^t ta nā'mak'i</i> with flesh and bones and all |

-ca is suffixed to the noun *hū^wmīk* OLD WOMAN. It was explained to me as having an endearing character, but instances are not lacking where the suffix is used in a derogatory sense.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>wändj L!ū'xEm lE hū^wmīk'ca</i> thus talking is the (dear) old woman 82.19, 20 | |
| <i>lxant tc!wālé' tc lE hū^wmīk'ca</i> (she) threw it into the fire, the (bad) old woman (the Giant-Woman) | |

-āyîms occurs in three instances, and seems to have a nominalizing character.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>tc!hats</i> he put it out (the light) 128.16 | <i>k!âtc!hā'yîms la^u tc!île'et</i> it (the fire) is burning continually (literally, without [being] put out it is caused to burn) 40.25, 26 |
| <i>îce^e tîtc!</i> you two come in! 82.14 | <i>tîtcā'yîms ñdōwā'ya</i> to come in I (should) like |
| <i>heth'ete</i> rich 26.2 | <i>hatā'yîms</i> money 20.15 |

-īyaL, -āyaL, are suffixed to a few verbal stems, and seem to denote the performer of an action.

| | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>îñ-</i> to hunt 24.26 | <i>îñ'yaL mā</i> a hunter |
| <i>al'icanî</i> he plays | <i>al'icanî'yaL</i> a player |
| <i>Lō^u-</i> to eat | <i>Lōwî'yaL</i> a person that eats |
| | <i>qacqayā'yaL</i> a shadow (?) 104.9 |

-īye, -āye. This suffix is added to a number of stems expressing adjectival ideas. It is idiomatically employed in the formation of comparison (see p. 417), and in some instances it is used to indicate plurality of adjectival concepts. When used for the purpose of expressing comparison, it seems to have a nominalizing function.

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| <i>pL'îs</i> heavy | <i>yū kwū pāl!ū'ye akwî'na^utc</i> they (pl.) look very heavy (literally, much as if weight [according to] appearance) 64.8 |
| <i>x'î'lwîs</i> deep | <i>as'îL la ū x'îlwî'ye lex ya'bas</i> the maggots go halfway deep (literally, middle, goes its depth [of] the maggots) 40.12 |
| <i>wî'us</i> light | <i>hîs wî ta he'ūx wîwî'wîye lE ēne</i> they two are as light as you (literally, also he and their two light weight [as] yours) |

| | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-------|
| Singular | Plural | |
| <i>pL'îs</i> | <i>pāl!ū'ye</i> | heavy |
| <i>mî'tsîs</i> 128.20 | <i>mâtsā'ye</i> | wise |
| <i>wî'us</i> | <i>wîwî'ye</i> | light |

-yîya is suffixed in one or two instances to local adverbs, giving them an adjectival coloring, as it were.

hí' n̄ there 5.2

hín̄' yáya mä d̄i' l̄a^u m̄i' ts̄is from
there the people something
know 128.19, 20

ts̄i he'ít tama' l̄is hín̄' yáya mä just
their fashion (of the) people from
there 130.8, 9

The function of this suffix may best be compared to that of the German suffix *-ige* in phrases like—

der heutige Tag this day

die dortigen Einwohner the inhabitants from there

-i has been found suffixed to the article only. It seems to express the idea of instrumentality, although this idea may be due to the prefixed instrumental *n-*.

hE it, he, the 5.1

n̄l' h̄i l̄a with it he went 42:8

n̄l' h̄i wu' t̄ae with it she returned
70.23

The infix *h* is due to hiatus (§ 10).

Reduplication (§§ 81-83)

§ 81. *Introductory*

Reduplication as a means of forming grammatical processes is resorted to frequently in Coos. The reduplication may be either initial or final. Initial reduplication affects the consonant, vowel, or whole syllable. It consists in the repetition of the weakened vowel or consonant of the stem, or in the duplication of the first stem-syllable. The connecting vowel between two reduplicated consonants is the obscure *E*-vowel; but, owing to the great tendency of Coos towards euphony, this obscure vowel is frequently affected by the stem-vowel (see § 7). Final duplication is always consonantic, and consists in the repetition of the final consonant by means of a connecting obscure vowel, which very often changes its quality in accordance with the stem-vowel preceding it, or with the vowel of the suffix that follows it (see § 7).

The grammatical use of reduplication is confined chiefly to the verb.

§ 82. *Initial Reduplication*

Initial reduplication expresses, in connection with the proper verbal suffixes, intensity of action, repetition, duration, and customary action. It is employed, furthermore, in the formation of the passive

voice. Syllabic reduplication is used very often in addition to a phonetic device (see § 84) for the purpose of forming a number of verbs expressing transitive ideas of continuous duration. These verbs do not then require any of the transitive suffixes. This latter application may be of a later, secondary origin.

Examples of reduplication of initial sound, or of initial consonant and following vowel:

wīn- to cheat
gaic small 128.29

ai'wīt (he) killed them 124.4

pīls- to tear up

tīw- to coil

Lōw- to buy

ēwīwīnā'mī I am cheating you
yeqai'cū lū wī'tīn clubbed (into pieces) is his blood 10.6

īl ai'ai'wā'yu they were killed 58.8

pepīlsū'ye he was torn up 48.16

ḡtītīwē'wat I am coiling it

LōwLōw'wī'yeqem it is being bought 88.13, 14

Examples of syllabic duplication:

tēné'henī he is thinking 24.13,
14

āim- to attract

ītīslō'wat he recognized it
30.28

ūw hī'tō'uts they two put it
down 7.4

tē'p- to paint

Lōw^a- to hit

pōw'kwīs slave

wēL- to twist

sī'x'īts he shook it off 42.3

ēn hanL tēntēnā'īs you sha'n't
think of me 88.29

āimāim'ē'waq it was attracting by
means of its breath 88.25

ītī'tīs'lū (she) is being recognized
56.5

la^w hīthītōwē'wat these he is put-
ting down 34.8

xē'īte kīptī'yaq lū ā with it she
painted their faces 122.6

xnā'nt la^w Lōw^aLōw^w many that
one were hitting 80.4, 5

mā pōw'kpōw'wak^w people she was
enslaving 70.15

xq'īl^tc wīLwē'yaL slowly she is
twisting him 60.7

ḡsīx'sī'ya^w I am shaking it off

Owing to the fact that reduplication and duplication are based upon the principle of consonantic or stem weakening, the repeated element occurs very often in a changed form. The following rules have been observed in this respect:

(1) The semi-vocalic *y* reduplicates into a long *ī*.

yāx'ntce together 64.8

yatē'wat he is coaxing him

īyāxantcū'ye it was gathered up

wāndj īl ī'yatū thus they were
coaxed 98.4, 5

(2) The spirant *x* in consonantic combinations, when reduplicated, becomes *k*. In the same manner alveolar *s* becomes the affricative *ts*.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>is x^L!ō^ut</i> we two put it in 26.25 | <i>il kⁱx^L!ōwē^v'wat</i> they are putting them in frequently 52.9 |
| <i>x^{tī}</i> it slid down 26.19 | <i>kⁱx^{tī}'yu</i> it was slid down 94.5 |
| <i>yⁱwē'n sL^a'qa la</i> once to bathe she went 84.24 | <i>tsⁱsL^a'qaaⁱ</i> she was bathing 84.21 |
| <i>stō^uq</i> he stood 20.4 | <i>ts^estōgē^v'yu</i> he was made to stand on his feet |

(3) The reduplication of the fortis palatal *k!* consists in the mere amplification of the consonant by means of a prefixed *a*-vowel.

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>k!^alat</i> he shouted 36.7 | <i>ak!^alaai lE hū^w'mⁱs</i> shouting is the woman 56.5 |
|--|---|

(4) Combinations of two or more consonants, of which a velar, a palatal, a nasal (*m*, *n*), an *h* or *l*, form the second element, reduplicate the second consonant. The lateral (*l*) is in such cases preceded by a vowel, since initial combinations of *l*+velar are impossible.

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>skw^v'wat</i> he informed him 164.22 | <i>wändj kwⁱskw^v'wat</i> that way he is informing her 60.19 |
| <i>tsxaw^v'yat</i> he put it down 36.21 | <i>x^etsxawē^v'wat</i> he is putting it down |
| <i>Lkwa^at</i> he cut it off | <i>kwⁱlLkwa^a'yu</i> it was cut off 76.14 |
| <i>sqats</i> he seized it 36.20 | <i>mä q^esqā^v'yu</i> the person was seized 10.4 |
| <i>Lⁱxant</i> he threw it 42.10 | <i>xalⁱxanē^v'wat</i> he is throwing it frequently |
| <i>a'lqas</i> fear 66.4 | <i>aq^a'lq^sōnā^v'ya</i> he became afraid of him 28.24, 25 |
| <i>Llha^a'tsa</i> he put on 28.23 | <i>halⁱhā^v'yu</i> it was put on |
| <i>xmen^v'yat</i> he tipped it over 46.26 | <i>m^exmenē^v'wat</i> he is tipping it over |
| <i>q!^mits</i> she ate it 24.16 | <i>m^eq!^m'mⁱ'yu</i> it is eaten 142.6 |
| <i>x^Ealⁱ'yat</i> he hugged him 116.4 | <i>elx^elē^v'yu</i> he was hugged |

Compare also—

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>laⁱ'xwⁱt</i> she jabbed him 112.17 | <i>il^exwⁱ'ye</i> he was jabbed |
| <i>L!ⁿō^ut</i> he opens (the door) | <i>nōL!ⁿōwē^v'wat</i> he is constantly opening (the door) |

(5) Syllables ending in an *m*, *n*, *l* + consonant omit the *m*, *n*, and *l* in the repeated syllable.

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>kwⁱlt-</i> to roar | <i>kwⁱtkwⁱ'ltaaⁱ</i> it is roaring 114.6 |
| <i>qals-</i> to cut | <i>qasq^a'lsa^aⁱ</i> he is cutting |

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>x'ne'x'tits</i> he jumped 32.4 | <i>x'ita'ntaai</i> he is jumping |
| <i>mî'ntcîts</i> she asked him 62.15 | <i>mîtcî'ntcî'yeqem</i> he is asked 70.9 |
| <i>ha^uma-</i> to dress hides | <i>ûa ha^uxha^uma^ux</i> they two are dressing hides 68.27, 28 |
| <i>dü'mîl</i> man 14.7 | <i>îc teltî'âmîtu</i> you two (will) get strong 120.17, 18 |
| <i>k!wanax^u-</i> to cut (the hair) | <i>k!wa'xk!wanax</i> he is cutting his hair |
| <i>tsîlk</i> to tie a knot | <i>tsî'k'tsîlak</i> he is tying a knot |
| <i>sîlp-</i> to comb (hair) | <i>sî'psîlap</i> he is combing (his hair) |

A number of stems occur in parallel forms showing both consonantic reduplication and syllabic duplication.

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>yîxe'ntce</i> together 64.8 | <i>îyîxantce^snē'yu</i> it was gathered up |
| | <i>yexyîxentce^s'nē'yu</i> it was gathered up 84.16 |
| <i>x'ne'et</i> he is on top 10.1 | <i>x'înx'înē'wat</i> he is putting it on top |
| | <i>x'î'x'întû</i> it is being put on top |
| <i>mîntc-</i> to ask | <i>mîtcî'natc</i> she is asking 80.12 |
| | <i>mEMîntcū'ye</i> he was asked |
| <i>cûlts</i> he set afire | <i>cîLcū'laai</i> it is burning |
| | <i>cecū'lû</i> fire was set to 58.11 |

§ 83. Final Reduplication

Final reduplication is used for the purpose of expressing distribution, mutuality, and, in intransitive verbs, an action that is performed now and then (see § 37). It is also employed as a means of forming neutral verbs that indicate actions of long incessant duration.

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>yEq</i> he went away | <i>qai'nîs la^u yaq^Eqū'nî</i> from the shore they are running away (one after the other, singly) 36.18, 19 |
| <i>sō^{ux}t-</i> to trade | <i>îs sō^{ux}tîttū'nî hanL</i> we two will trade (mutually) 16.7, 8 |
| <i>hū^umîs</i> woman 26.7 | <i>înîEax'a'nā la^u hū^umîsîsū'nî</i> them- selves they marry 12.5 |
| <i>stō^wwaq</i> he stood 20.7 | <i>stōwd'qeqānî</i> he is continually standing up and sitting down |
| <i>kwal'lat</i> he rolls it | <i>kwal^Elā'nî lE baltî'mîs</i> rolling is the ocean 6.2 |
| <i>kw^aa'tîs</i> dream 98.7 | <i>la^u kwā^at^Esîsū'nî</i> he is constantly dreaming (literally, now and then) 72.1 |

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>lk!wī tE xā^ap</i> runs down the water 16.9 | <i>lk!wā'k^u tE xā^ap</i> is continually running down the water 17.4 |
| <i>x'pī lE yīxū'wEEx</i> it burned down, the house 58.12, 13 | <i>x'pa'ap lE yīxū'wEEx</i> burning (down) is the house |
| <i>wū'txē</i> he came back 28.9 | <i>wutxā'xa tē'īs hī' me</i> came back (one by one) our (dual) children 44.7 |
| <i>k!uxwī' lE hū'w' mīs</i> the woman was lost 54.19 | <i>hep pLpā'wīs k!u' wāx^u</i> my hat got lost (impersonal) |
| <i>nEg</i> he ran away 100.16 | <i>īl nEgā'qa</i> they ran away (severally) |

There are a number of stems expressing verbal, nominal, and adjectival ideas, that appear invariably in reduplicated or doubled form. Some of these expressions are onomatopoeic in character; others may have been borrowed from the neighboring languages; while still others may be new formations, necessitated by the introduction of new ideas and concepts through the contact of the Coos with the white people. (See also § 116.)

The following is a partial list of such stems:

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>e'geq</i> killing spot 80.14 (compare <i>e'ge-</i> to die) | <i>lī'plīp</i> white man's paint (compare <i>lē'p-</i> to paint) |
| <i>yī'myīm</i> eyelash (compare <i>yīm-</i> to twinkle) | <i>tcō'xtcōx</i> rabbit 60.23 |
| <i>wā'lwal</i> knife 78.11 | <i>g'img'ī' mīs</i> rain (compare <i>g'ī' mīt</i> it rains) |
| <i>ha'x' hax'</i> wagon (compare <i>ha'x'-</i> to drag) | <i>k'ī'nk'īn</i> stick |
| <i>hethē'te</i> rich 26.2 | <i>k'īsk'a'sīL</i> fish-hawk |
| <i>he'w' he^u</i> knot 92.8 | <i>ku'kum</i> raven |
| <i>pū' spūs¹</i> cat | <i>qatqai' L</i> belt 28.7 (compare <i>tqā¹ L-</i> to put a belt on) |
| <i>pū^w xpux</i> a spout 30.25 | <i>qa'lqal</i> digging-stick 26.17 |
| <i>mūs' mūs¹</i> cow | <i>x'ī'nx'īn</i> saddle (compare <i>x'ne'et</i> it is on top) |
| <i>ta'w' ta^u</i> basket 112.4 | <i>xā' Lxat</i> ax (compare <i>Lxat-</i> to chop) |
| <i>tsētse'kwīn</i> cane 28.18 | <i>wā'lwal</i> eye 40.1 |
| <i>tsElī' mtsElīm</i> button | <i>xwī' tsxūt</i> deer 64.19 |
| <i>ta'ntan</i> to come ashore (whale) 128.28 | |
| <i>pī'x' pī</i> to go home 28.3 | |
| <i>yū'yū</i> to stop (while traveling) 5.2 | |

¹Chinook jargon.

Phonetic Changes (§§ 84-85)

Grammatical processes by means of phonetic changes are few in number, and not clearly developed. The phonetic change may be of a vocalic or consonantic character.

§ 84. *Vocalic Changes*

Vocalic change is confined to the verb, and consists in the amplification of the stem by means of a vowel (usually the *a*-vowel), or in the modification of the vowel connecting a suffix with a stem. Stem amplification is employed for the purpose of forming active or transitive verbs from verbal stems, and of denoting duration of action. The latter application occurs in verbs that have already been transitivized by means of some transitive suffix. The stem is frequently duplicated before amplification is applied to it (see §§ 82, 83). For another explanation of this phenomenon see §§ 4, 11.

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>tkwīL-</i> to follow | <i>īn tcītē tkwī'yal</i> (they) can not follow him |
| <i>tcīnL-</i> to reach | <i>yā'wēxetē tcī'nāl lā k^umā'a.</i> to (the roof of) the house reached its horn 86.25, 26 |
| <i>stō^ug</i> he stood 20.4 | <i>nhal' stō'waq</i> at the foot of the tree he stood 26.17 |
| <i>ūx yū'yū</i> they two stopped (for a moment) 5.2 | <i>ūx yū'^{wi}yū</i> they two stopped (for a long time) 5.5 |
| <i>k!^a-</i> to peck | <i>k'ūō'wīt k!^awat</i> he saw him (in the act of) pecking at it 20.9 |
| <i>sīlp-</i> to comb one's hair | <i>sī'psīlap</i> he is combing his hair |
| <i>mīntc-</i> to ask | <i>wāndj mītem'nate</i> that way she is asking 80.12 |
| <i>wīL-</i> to twist | <i>xq'ltē wīlwē'yal</i> slowly she is twisting him 60.7 |

Modification of a connecting vowel, whenever it occurs, is employed for the purpose of indicating duration of action. As this phenomenon has been discussed more fully in connection with the transitive suffixes *-t* and *-ts*, the reader is referred to the chapters dealing with those suffixes (see § 26 and also p. 357), in order to avoid repetition.

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>ūx w'cīt</i> they two shake it 13.8 | <i>w'cat hē L/tā</i> (he) is shaking the earth continually 16.2 |
| <i>ŋmu'awīt</i> I felt it | <i>ŋmu'awat</i> I am feeling it |
| <i>ŋtītts</i> I painted it | <i>ŋtītats</i> I am painting it |

§ 85. Consonantic Changes

The application of consonantic changes as a means of forming grammatical processes is a very peculiar phenomenon, characteristic of the Coos language. Its use is confined to a very few instances; and the process, while to all appearances consisting in the hardening of the final consonant, is of such a petrified nature that it is no longer possible to analyze it. It occurs only in a few nouns of relationship, and its significance may be said to be endearing and diminutive. The following examples of consonantic change have been found:

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>kwē'is</i> a young woman 86.1 | <i>kwē'ik</i> a young girl 12.2 |
| <i>hūw'mîs</i> woman 24.6 | <i>hūw'mîk</i> old woman (used in the same sense as we use our phrase MY DEAR OLD WIFE) 58.5 |
| <i>dä'mîl</i> man 14.7 | <i>tō'mîL</i> old man 20.2 |
| <i>dī'lōl</i> young man 22.6 | <i>dī'lōL</i> young boy 60.2 |

Syntactic Particles (§§ 86-95)

§ 86. Introductory

By syntactic particles is meant here the great number of enclitic and proclitic expletives that are employed in Coos as a means of expressing grammatical categories and syntactic relations. They cover a wide range of ideas, and refer more properly to the whole sentence than to any specific part of it. With the exception of two particles, none of them are capable of composition; that is to say, they can not be used with any suffix or prefix, although two or even three particles may be combined into one. Such combined particles usually retain the functions of each of the component elements. All syntactic particles are freely movable, and may be shifted from one position to another without affecting the sense of the sentence.

§ 87. Temporal Particles

1. *han* ABOUT TO. It denotes actions that will take place in the immediate future. Its position is freely movable, and it may be placed before or after the verb.

tsō han kwī'lt hE k'itsimä'mîs now he was about to bend the half
62.29

x^Fab'yat han hE dī'lōl he is about to hug the young man 114.26.

2. **hanL** SHALL, WILL. It is regularly used to denote a future action, and it is the sign of the future. It either precedes or follows the verb.

ney pkā'kate hanL ŋk'ā'ō'wīt I will see my grandfather

gō^{us} dī'ł hanL hū'wī everything will grow 9.3

cīn sqats hanL tē tē'wāl you shall seize that yonder fire 40.18, 19

īs alī'canī hanL we two will play 38.11

īn lē'γī hanL not good will (it be)

3. **Eīt** INTEND, ABOUT TO. It gives the sentence the force of a periphrastic future. It either precedes or follows the verb.

ī gante Eīt ē'la when anywhere you intend to go 15.3

ī dī'ł īl Lōwē'wat Eīt when something they intend to eat 38.2

qai'k^u āw wutā'wa Eīt tē'īs hī'me I thought that they two should come back, those our (dual) children 44.7

4. **nīk!wa** USED TO (BE). It denotes an action that took place long ago. It is often used as a sign of the past tense. In such cases it is always preceded by the particle *he* USUALLY (see below), and it follows the verb which is used in its repetitive form.

tē' nīk!wa ye^ene^u nā'hīn this used (to be) your shinny club 38.16

xā^ap ŋlū'qūt nīk!wa water I used to boil

ŋwīwī'naai he nīk!wa I used to cheat

ŋsī'psīlap he ŋw'ne'k^o nīk!wa I used to comb my hair

By suffixing to *nīk!wa* the obsolete suffix *-lī*, the temporal adverb *nīk!wa'lī* YESTERDAY is obtained.

nīk!wā'lī ŋqa'la yesterday I crossed (the river)

hū^wmīs he'laq lē nīk!wa'lī a woman arrived yesterday 142.10

5. **he** USUALLY, FREQUENTLY, HABITUALLY, denotes an action that is performed very frequently. The particle either precedes or follows the verb. The verb is very often used in the repetitive form, whenever possible.

gō^{us} mī'lāte he L'ā'xEM always usually he is talking 15.4

tē^mā'le mā la^u tē'īcīla'ē'wat he old people on that sit habitually 38.3

When following the future particle *hanL*, or its potential form *yanL* (see p. 391), *he* coalesces with them into *hanLawe* and *yanLawe* respectively.

yanLawe dī'ł ē'qa^wwenīsa'nāya, hanLawe xle'īte l'nuwī ē'L'ā'xEM
whenever you will get mad at something, you will talk with it

loud (literally, if shall usually something you get angry at it shall usually with it hard you be talking) 16.3, 4

yanLawe xqante mü hū'yam, lēla^u hanLawe ēkwā'nanū'ya whenever a person gets ready to come from somewhere, this you shall usually tell (literally, if shall usually from where a person get ready [to come] this shall usually you tell it) 19.3, 4

The particle *he* amalgamates with the adverb *yū* VERY into a temporal adverb, *yuwe* WHENEVER.

xā'lwīs he yuwe la^u yāxū'mē warm usually (it is) whenever that one travels 24.6

yuwe yī'mat ha^u gō^us mī'lātc lōk^ulō'kwāai whenever he twinkles (his eyes), it is always lightning 16.6, 7

The same process may have taken place in the rare adverb *towe* WHEN. The first component may be a stem, *to-*, while the second element is the particle *he*. The example given below will substantiate this assertion. We have here a complex of two sentences stating a fact of frequent occurrence. In the first sentence the repetitive particle occurs clearly, while it seems to be missing in the subordinate sentence. And since, according to the examples given above, all the components of a complex of sentences must show the particle *he*, it is safe to assume that the frequentative particle is one of the two elements in *towe*. The example follows:

xyeā' L!tā'itc he ūx yāxū'mē towe hū^umīs hīk!d'mtiye from another country usually they two travel when(ever) a woman gets her monthly courses 26.6, 7

§ 88. Particles Denoting Degrees of Certainty and Knowledge

6. *kwa* IT SEEMS, AS IF, LIKE, KIND OF, denotes an object or an action the quantity or quality of which is not intimately known to the speaker.

hats kwa tō'hīts just as if he hit it

kā^s kwa lī'cat hē L!tā almost as if he shook the earth 16.2

hats kwa ū'yu wīna'qaxem lāl lōwē'wat just like a rainbow is spread out that (which) he was eating 32.14

hats kwa q^tō'mīL just like an old man I (am)

7. *yīku, k^u* MAYBE, PERHAPS, I GUESS. Both forms appear without any apparent distinction. This particle may apply to any part of speech in a sentence, and its position is freely movable. It has a

dubitative character. It expresses the possibility of a certain action taking or having taken place, and at the same time doubts the certainty of its occurrence.

hî nî k^u ē'k·EXEM lî'ye hâ' Lâtç there perhaps amongst (them) is your elder brother 94.28

tsî k^u ic hewesé'nî merely perhaps you two are lying 28.13, 14

La'γETAT k^u (she) may get hungry 64.15

ē'xä'nîs k^u maybe (that) you are sick

This particle is very often followed by the negation *in* NOT.

yîku in xä'nîs he is probably sick (literally, maybe [or maybe] not he is sick)

When followed by the future particle *hanL*, it amalgamates with it into *yîkwanL* or *kwanL* (see §§ 8, 9), and it is translated by (I) WONDER WHETHER, (I) SUPPOSE IF.

nî kwanL ā'ya ŋqā'ya won't I lose my breath? (literally, not I perhaps will [be] gone my breath) 54.13, 14

la^u ŋAL!ts kwanL suppose I hit that one with a club (literally, that one I hit it with a club perhaps shall) 124.16

yîkwanL dî'ttē' ŋLōwē'wat I wonder what I shall eat (literally, maybe will that there I eat it) 32.19, 20

It is contracted with the following *ūL* into *yîkūL*, *kūL* (see § 9 and p. 391).

yîkūL in lE'γî perhaps that will be good (literally, perhaps would [be] that not good)

yîkūL xtcītc yūL lîm ŋha^{uz}ts I wonder how it would be if I should make a dam (literally, perhaps would [be] how, if should a dam I make) 34.16

in kūL qaic ha^upît teŋ amî'nkate could not my son-in-law cut off a chunk? (literally, not perhaps would a chunk cut off this my son-in-law) 128.29

When followed by the particle *il* SURELY (see p. 388), it is contracted with it into *yîkwil* or *kwil* (see § 8), and lends to a statement a high degree of probability.

qa'wax kwil lî'ye hâ' Lâtç above may (be) surely your elder brother 96.4, 5

The particle *yîku*, *k^u*, appears sometimes as *yîkwa*, *yîkwe*, or *kwe*. The reason for this phonetic change could not be found.

yîkwa qantç la where may it have gone? (literally, perhaps somewhere it went?) 88.3

yákwé dīʔ tE ŋk'ílō'wít what may it be that I see? (literally, perhaps something this I see it) 108.11

kwa kwe yū in ā'yū L slá? (I) wonder if it is not so, cousin? (literally, as if perhaps very not surely [it] must be, O cousin!) 38.21

8. ***hakwał, kwał.*** A compound particle having the same significance as *kwa*. It consists of the unexplained prefix *ha-* (which seems to occur also in *hamāL*, see p. 392), the particle *kwa*, and the abbreviated form of *dīʔ* (see p. 407).

hakwał w'ā'yam LE lí'kwít kind of reddish (were) the feathers 20.10
k'iwā'nt hakwał qa'l'xat he heard some kind of a noise (literally, he heard as if a noise were made) 60.29

9. ***qēn*** denotes suspicion. It is very difficult to render it in English otherwise than by a whole sentence.

kwa qēn dīʔ L'í'mEQ she suspected some scent (literally, as if, suspicion, something [a] smell) 24.10

kwa qēn mā ic slna'ēwat it seems as if you two are hiding a person (literally, as if, suspicion, a person you two are hiding) 24.11

10. ***qaiku*** expresses a supposition on the part of the speaker. It was invariably rendered by I THOUGHT. Its first component can not be analyzed, while the second is clearly the particle *k^u*.

qaiku ūx wutxa'xa éit tē'is hī'me I thought they two were going to come back, these our two children 44.7

qaiku in il ye'ne^w lō I thought not surely (this was) your property 112.7

11. ***qainī.*** Neither of the two elements of this particle can be analyzed. It indicates that a certain fact came suddenly into one's recollection, and may best be translated by OH, I RECOLLECT, I REMEMBER. It is usually amplified by the particle *L* (see p. 392), which either follows it immediately or else is placed at the very end of the sentence.

qainī L nwa'wala ū qāyís he recollected that this was a spider (literally, recollection, must be, with [its] spider, world) 30.3

qainī k^u nō'we ū qā'yís L he came to remember that there was such a thing (literally, recollection, perhaps, with such a thing, the world, must [be]) 32.9

12. ***natsī.*** It is used by the speaker for the purpose of expressing doubt. It was rendered by I DOUBT.

natsi xdi'it la^u lōwē'wat I doubt (whether) some one (will) eat it
36.9

natsi xtcitc līn sqats (we) doubt (whether) we (shall) catch it
56.19, 20

13. **hēn** HEARSAY. It denotes that a certain occurrence or fact is known to the speaker from hearsay only. It may best be translated by I WAS TOLD, IT IS SAID.

hā'wī hēn lE w'ngas ū tem' snātc grew up the Spider's grandson,
it is said 66.11, 12

pENLō'wai hēn ta'ntan whales are reported to (have) come ashore
128.28

ye^ene^u l'le hēn la^u ŋai'wīt your enemies (as I heard you say) those I
killed 110.16, 17

14. **īl** SURELY, CERTAINLY, confirms a statement, and gives it the appearance of certainty. It is often used in apposition to *hēn*, whenever the speaker wishes to imply that he himself was a witness of a certain occurrence. It denotes knowledge by experience, and may be translated by I SAW IT. It either follows or precedes that part of a sentence which it is to specify more clearly.

mā īl ŋLōwē'wat persons I do eat, indeed 24.18

ŋīloxqai'nīs mā īl I am a doctor, surely 10.2

tcī īl e^eLō^uk^u there, indeed, sit down 38.22

ŋk'īlō'wīt īl I saw him, for sure

xā'nīs īl he is sick (I saw it)

lE'γī hanLeL it will be good certainly 15.9 (*hanLeL* = *hanL* + *īl*
see § 7)

īn hel sla not so, cousin 42.23 (see § 7)

15. **cku** indicates knowledge by evidence. It is used whenever the speaker wishes to state a fact that occurred beyond doubt, but whose causes are not known to him. It is composed of *e^E* (see p. 389) and *k^u*. It may be rendered by IT MUST HAVE BEEN THAT.

yū'xwā cku hū^umā'k'e yu'kwe two women must have gone ashore
126.11, 12 (the speaker knows this fact to be true by examining
the tracks on the sand beach)

hats cku kwa xmä la^u tcī hīthītōwē'wat just it must be as if a per-
son that thing there put it 112.2 (the evidence of this fact was
the finding of the object in question)

§ 89. *Particles Denoting Connection with Previously Expressed Ideas*

16. *yîqax, yîqa*. The exact significance of this particle is not clear.

It was rendered by STILL, ANYWAY, AT ANY RATE, NEVERTHELESS, RIGHT AWAY, JUST. In some cases it denotes a continual action.

yîqa in tō'hîts hE to'qmas still not he hit the woodpecker 22.5
yîqa hanL tsîx. êhak^wtō'wat tî'ye îx. at any rate, you will here
 leave your canoe 54.10, 11

yîqax hanL yla right away I am going

mā yî'xwä mä la, yîqa îl tsxaw'wat even if two persons go, nevertheless they kill them 90.10

hats yîqa xq'a wax ûx kwîna'ê'wat just continually from above they two look at it 6.9

17. *qats* HOWEVER, NEVERTHELESS, NOTWITHSTANDING.

xq'a wax hä'k!wîtem, la^w qats kwa ā'yu Lōwa'hai qa'xante from above, some one pulled him, however, it seemed as if he surely ran upwards (by himself) 92.9, 10

qats kwîLkwä'yu, hats lEqa^wwe lE ā'la nevertheless it was cut off (and) it just died, the child 76.15, 16

18. *mā* BUT, EVEN IF, REALLY.

mā yî'xwä mä la, yîqa îl tsxaw'wat even if two persons go, nevertheless they kill them 90.10

ma yanLawe tî'mîli dî'îl ê'tō'hîts, yîqa hanLawe la^w ê'tsxaw'wat even if strong something you will strike, still you will kill it 124.11, 12

mā with the negative particle *in* is rendered by NOT AT ALL.

mā in mä kwaā'nîya, mā wändj L!ä'xEM not at all people he saw, nevertheless that way he was talking (making believe that he saw them) 30.27

19. *nā, nāyim* BECAUSE.

ê'alqsîtä'mî, nāyim wändj êL!ä'xEM you scare me, because that way you are talking 110.15, 16

nā ā'yu qa'l'yeq ha'ltsat because surely salmon (will) come into the river 36.26

§ 90. *Particles Denoting Emotional States*

20. *c^E* expresses slight surprise at a state of affairs that has come into existence contrary to one's expectations.

hū^wmîs c^E la ā'la a female (was) his child (a boy was expected in this case) 108.6

- dä'mäl c^E ä'yu* a man (it was) surely
tsäm'ye c^E summer it got 30.20
tsō c^E lq! now it was cooked 34.2
yū c^E le ek! a'lat too loud you shout (literally, very contrary to my expectations you shout [the speaker ordered the whale to shout loud, but he did not expect such a noise; hence the use of *c^E* in this sentence]) 36.15
hä'wī c^E le wī'ngas ū tem'šnātc grown up (has) the Spider's grandson (this statement was made by a person who believed the boy to have been dead) 64.24, 25

c^E is combined with the future particle *han_L* into *can_L*, and with the potential *ū_L* into *cū_L* (see § 9). These new particles express expectation that will certainly be fulfilled, and may be translated by I HOPE, IT OUGHT.

- ē_L'γī can_L* you will be all right (I hope) 124.14
nī can_L tētc xā'ttū (I hope) he won't do anything to me (literally, not to me, it ought, what he does) 116.2
yū cū_L ŋk! āk'īnā'wīs yū_L ŋ_L'mlet I ought to get very tired, if I keep on spearing (literally, very much, it ought to be, I without laziness, if should I spear it) 34.17
le'γī cū_L ī la^u īn kwī_Lkwā'yu good it might have been if that one not had been cut off 76.16
la^u cū_L nī'ētc īs pī'yat (of) that a little we two ought to take home 112.3

c^E is frequently prefixed to the demonstrative pronoun *t_E*, forming a new particle *ct_E* or *cta*. This particle often follows the interrogative forms of *tētc*, *dī'ī*, and *wīt* (see pp. 407, 411), giving the interrogation a tinge of surprise, as it were.

- ē'wī'tū cta* who are you? (literally, you, who is it?)
dī'ī'ū cta t_E ŋk'īlō'wīt what do I see? (literally, what is it that I see?) 106.16, 17
xtē'tcū cta t_E la^u īn L!nō^u'tat why does it not come open? (literally, why is it that that one not comes open?) 76.4

21. *cīl* INDEED. Composed of *c^E* and *īl*. It has retained the significance of both of its component elements. It consequently denotes a fact known by actual experience, at the occurrence of which the speaker is surprised, as it came into existence contrary to his expectations.

- hīs cīl ē^ene ye^e mē'lā'kuk^u la ū x'na'at* also indeed, thou, O heart of salmon! runnest? 36.19, 20
tsō cīl xwāndjī'ye now, indeed, that way it is 8.2
ē^ene cīl you it is, indeed 10.3

This particle occurs frequently with the transitional suffix *-iye* (see § 35).

h'i'nī cīl'i'ye māndj k'wā^ant there, indeed, already he felt it
32.16, 17

22. *hītc* indicates surprise. The native Coos is unable to render it. Its meaning was deduced from the sense of the sentences in which it occurred.

hē'hats dā'māl k'īlō'wīt tsxū hītc len hen'k^unātc suddenly a man she saw lying with her elder sister 50.22, 23

mā hem'tset hītc a person was laid bare 58.22

§ 91. Particles Denoting the Conditional

23. *ūL* WOULD, SHOULD. It puts the sentence in which it occurs in a potential mode. It may either precede or follow the verb to which it belongs.

kat'E'mīsen qalīmā'ye ūL wu'tæ teŋ ā'la in five days, if should return my child 42.22, 23

la^u ūL ŋk'īlō'wīt alī'canī ū mēn (I) should be the one to see them play, if— 92.16

ŋk'ī'lō^uts ūL I should find it if—

xtcī'tcūL how would it be if— 5.2 (contracted from *xtcī'tcū + ūL*; see § 9).

24. *yūL* IF—SHOULD, IF—WOULD. It gives the sentence a conditional tinge. It occurs usually in the subordinate sentence whenever *ūL* has been used in the co-ordinate sentence, although it is frequently used independently of *ūL*. It always precedes the verb.

xtcī'tcūL yūL īs sō^xtītā'nī how would it be if we two should trade?
15.6

yūL kwīnd'ē'wat la^u īn ūL aiaī^swā'yu le hī'me if she had seen it, they not would have been killed, the children 58.10, 11

le'γī yūL ŋnē'ime good (would it be) if I should have a fish-trap
34.19

25. *yanL* IF expresses the conditional in the present or future tense. It usually precedes the verb, and it is used in subordinate sentences in apposition to *hanL*. It also occurs independently of *hanL*. Since the native Coos does not distinguish between the conditional present and future tenses, *yanL* is used to express also the present conditional.

īl nī hanL kwīnd'ūl, yanL ŋc^Ea'letet they will not see me, if I [will] work 128.23, 24

yanL en dōwā'ya xwāndj, yāxē' dīl hanL ēmītsmītstā'mī if you don't want it that way, one thing I will teach you 124.7, 8

. . . *yanL yeaī' L!tā'atc īs hē'laq* when in another country we two shall arrive 28.23

pk'!int yanLeL I guess, I will try, surely (literally, if I shall try, surely; *yanLeL*=*yanL*+*īl*; see § 7)

§ 92. *Exhortative Particles*

26. *L* MUST, NECESSARILY. It signifies that a certain state of affairs or an action must take place. It has therefore the force of an emphatic imperative. It is placed either before or after the verb (or noun), no matter whether the verb is used in its imperative form or not.

itcīla'aīs L cīn la'ēx close to the shore you (must) go 30.23

qa'xante L pēī'tē loud you (must) shout (literally, shout upwards) 30.26

īn L tētc xā'tte tēy dā'mīl don't you do anything to my husband (literally, not [must], manner, do it, [to] that my husband) 26.15

cīnē tīla'qai L you must stay (here)

ēlēqa'wīya'tanī L you (must) tell a story 38.13, 14

tō L ūL lē'γī this must be good (literally, that thing, necessarily, should be good) 40.25

27. *hamīL, mīL, īL*. The exact function of this particle defies all attempts at an explanation. It was usually translated by LET ME, I SHOULD LIKE TO, BETTER (IT WILL BE, IF), whenever it referred to the speaker. When referring to the person spoken to or spoken of, it was rendered by BETTER, YOU MAY, PLEASE, A WHILE.

hamīL ykwīna'ēwat I should like to look at him

mīL dīttē' tō'hīts better hit this one 124.15

hamīL ēne xlē'ītc ēk'!īntqem you may with it try 92.1

hamīL ēL!āts please, speak 16.2

mīL halt! ēne xlē'ītc ēL!āts now you with it speak (a while) 16.5

īL hanL xtcītc xā'laī? what (would be) better to do? 86.10

In examining these sentences one must arrive at the conclusion that *hamīL* (or *mīL*) is of an exhortative character. By its means the speaker either asks permission of the imaginary person spoken to, to perform a certain action, or he conveys a polite command to the person spoken to. In both cases the granting of the desire is a foregone conclusion.

ham̄L and *m̄L* are contracted with the periphrastic *han* into *ham̄LAN* and *m̄LAN*, adding to the particle a future significance.

ham̄LAN ɣL!ē^{tc} let me go out 28.26

ham̄LAN n̄!k'în ɣw̄lō'wat let me look for wood 102.3

m̄LAN ēmuxt̄tsā'm̄i permit me to feel of you 72.17

28. *kw̄s* LET US TWO. This particle is composed of the particle *k^u* PERHAPS and of the inclusive form of the personal pronoun *is* WE TWO. Its function is that of an imperative for the inclusive. The verb, which it always precedes, takes the imperative suffixes.

kw̄s Lxa'tE let us two chop wood 26.15, 16

kw̄s tse'mt̄tse TE tahā'lk̄ let us two loosen that quiver 122.27

29. *kw̄in* LET US (ALL) exercises the function of the imperative for the first person plural. The first component is, beyond doubt, the particle *k^u* PERHAPS. The second element can be no other than the personal pronoun for the first person plural *in*. The contraction of *k^u* + *in* into *kw̄in* may have been effected by the analogy of *k^u* + *is* into *kw̄s*.

kw̄in LE tsæ'we let us kill him quickly 68.3

kw̄in sqa'tE let us seize it

§ 93. Particles Denoting Emphasis

30. *hēⁱ*. By its means the Coos emphasizes any part of speech. It usually precedes the word to be emphasized.

hēⁱ yū xtcä'yw^u mä a very insignificant man (literally, emphasis, very small man) 42.6

hēⁱ xä i'la Lowi'tat xā'apatc she first ran into the water 56.9

hēⁱ c̄l kwē'k'ī'ye surely, indeed, it was a girl 12.1, 2

Whenever *hēⁱ* precedes the conjunction *hats*, it forms a new particle, which is rendered by SUDDENLY.

hē'hats mä k'īlō'wīt suddenly a person she saw 54.2

hē'hats L!nō'wat LE tc!i'LE suddenly came open the door 62.5

31. *hēⁱkwāin* EXCEEDINGLY (like the English colloquial AWFULLY). This particle consists of the following three independent and separable components: *hēⁱ*, *kwa*, and *in*. Literally translated, the particle means VERILY, IT SEEMS NOT. Since the phrase is used as a sort of an exclamation with an interrogative character, it may best be compared to our English exclamation ISN'T THIS A FINE DAY! which really means THIS IS A FINE DAY.

hē'kwaīn le'γī ū ūlwe'x̄t̄c̄is she was awfully glad (literally, what, as if not her heart good?) 64.9, 10

hē'kwaīn xhū'w̄is mā a very poor man (literally, what, as if not a poor man?) 42.5

hē'kwa ūl īn dōwā'ya they liked him very much (literally, what, as if they not liked him?) 24.29

32. *īte* is used in direct discourse only. It always follows the word that is to be emphasized.

ŋ'ne īte le e'dōwāyextā'is qa'wa I am (emphatic) the one you wanted (last) night 50.25, 26

e'hū' m̄is īte! you will (be) a woman (emphatic) 24.20

tē' īte kwā'xal l'ye e'h̄lāt̄c̄ this (emphatic) (is) the bow (of) thy father 62.24

qa'lyeq īte īn īte penlō'wai it is salmon, not whale (literally, salmon [emphasis], not [emphasis] whale) 130.12, 13

§ 94. Restrictive Particles

33. *La* ONLY. It limits the action to a certain object. It always follows the word so limited.

la' īn t̄t̄c̄ walt (to) that only not anything he did 68.13

wa'lwal La ā'tsem a knife only give me 80.14, 15

wändj La ūx kwee'n̄yēm that way only people know them two 19.10

34. *ts̄i* SIMPLY, MERELY, JUST. It has a slight restrictive character.

ts̄i e'qa'qal you were merely sleeping 68.19

ŷā'e'n qalīm̄'ye ts̄i īn d̄l̄ one morning, it was simply gone (literally, once, morning it got, simply, not something) 88.3

ts̄i contracts with the following *hanL* into *tsanL* (see § 9).

tsanL e'tā'tc̄ints only then shall you have it 78.15

§ 95. The Interrogative Particle *ī*

35. *ī*. This particle, exercising the function of our sign of interrogation, is used only in sentences that have no other interrogation. It is usually placed at the end of the sentence.

ā'yu e'āloxqa'ā'n̄is ī surely (art) thou a doctor? 10.4

ts̄i'x̄ ūx la ī did they two go (by) here? 96.18, 19

e'kw̄inda' ē'wat ī neŋ h̄ā'lāt̄c̄ have you seen my elder brothers? 96.18

When preceded by the particle *han*, *ī* is rendered by MAY I?

ŋq!m̄its han ī may I eat it?

THE PRONOUN (§§ 96-100)

§ 96. The Independent Personal Pronouns

Coos has two sets of independent personal pronouns, formed from two different stems.

The first of these two sets is formed from the stem *-xkan* for the first and second persons, and *-aka* for the third person, to which are prefixed the personal pronouns (see § 18), giving the following series:

| | | |
|--------------------|--|---|
| Singular | { 1st person 2d person 3d person | <i>nE'xkan</i> <i>e'xkan</i> <i>xä'kä</i> |
| Dual | { Inclusive Exclusive 2d person 3d person | <i>isnE'xkan</i> <i>xwinnE'xkan</i> <i>ice'xkan</i> <i>äxxä'kä</i> |
| Plural | { 1st person 2d person 3d person | <i>innE'xkan</i> <i>eine'xkan</i> <i>ilxä'kä</i> |

The obscure vowel in *nE'xkan* is due to the law of consonantic clusters (see § 4).

For the dropping of the glottal stop, inherent in the second person singular, see § 3.

The peculiar vowels in the third person singular may be the combined effect of accent and of the dropping of the final *n*.

It will be seen from this table that the singular forms are the basis for the corresponding dual and plural forms. Thus, the inclusive is formed by combining the inclusive pronoun *is* with the singular for the first person *nE'xkan*; the second person dual is composed of the personal pronoun for the second person dual *ic*, and the singular for the second person *e'xkan*; etc.

These pronouns have the force of a whole sentence, and may be translated by I (THOU, HE . . .) AM THE ONE, WHO —

nE'xkan hanL la^u ŋx'inti'yat tE xä^ap I will be the one to run away with that water 40.20, 21

häs hanL e'xkan yäwē' e'k!wint also thou shalt be the one to shoot one (arrow) 13.1 .

That the dual and plural forms of this set are not felt to be integral units, and may easily be separated according to their component elements, is best shown by the following example:

tsō hanL nE'xkan xwîn e^ēltā'mî now will we two tell thee
126.21, 22 (*nE'xkan xwîn* instead of *xwînnE'xkan*)

This use of the singular pronouns in place of the plural has been referred to in § 46.

The second set of independent personal pronouns may be called the "verbal set." These pronouns are formed by prefixing the personal pronouns *ŋ*, *e^ē*, etc., to the stem *-ne*, which seems to have a verbal significance. The pronouns thus obtained may be translated by IT IS I, IT IS THOU, etc.

The third persons singular, dual, and plural have no special forms in this set; but they are replaced by *xä*, *üxxä*, *ülxä*, forms related to *xä'kä*, *üxxä'kä*, and *ülxä'kä*.

The series follows.

| | | |
|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Singular | {1st person | <i>ŋ'ne</i> |
| | {2d person | <i>e^ēne</i> |
| | {3d person | <i>xä</i> |
| Dual | {Inclusive | <i>i'sne</i> |
| | {Exclusive | <i>xwîn'ne</i> |
| | {2d person | <i>i'cne</i> |
| | {3d person | <i>i'xxä</i> |
| Plural | {1st person | <i>lin'ne</i> |
| | {2d person | <i>cin'ne</i> |
| | {3d person | <i>ü'xä</i> |

hîs hanL ŋ'ne tōi ŋlä I too will go there 94.22

halt! e^ēne tsîw' e^ēstō^uq now it is thy turn to stand here 64.32

hîs xä c^ēa'letet she too is working 22.26, 27

The Possessive Pronouns (§§ 97-98)

§ 97. *The Sign of Possession, ü*

The idea of possession is expressed in Coos by means of the possessive particle *ü*, which follows the term expressing the possessor, and precedes that indicating the possessed object. The possessor is not infrequently preceded by the article.

- k!wé he ú t'wēk· k·iLō'witsa* leaves of a willow he found 30.17, 18
hE hä'tcät! ú ä'la x'í'ntset Hetcit's child got on top 24.23
úx lem'í yat lE mexä'ye ú kwä'x^u they two set up the eagle's feathers
 8.10
xwändj ú tḡ'nas hE tsä'yux^u lä'nák· such (was) the name of the small
 river 46.10, 11

The possessive sign very frequently takes the place of the possessive pronoun for the third persons singular and plural.

- lE'γī ú iluwé'xtcäs* he was glad (literally, good his heart) 32.5
ä'ya cku ú qā'ya she must have lost her breath (literally, gone must
 be her breath) 58.24, 25
la ú ha'we lE tēcī'mīl the spruce-tree is growing (literally, goes
 its growth, the spruce-tree) 20.16
la ú paawes lE xā^ap the water is filling up (literally, goes its
 fullness, the water) 44.17
ä'wī ú lōwā'was she finished eating (literally, it ended, her food)
 24.13
hE e'stīs mā alī'maqa ú iw· some people had large canoes (literally,
 some people, large their canoes) 44.20
yūxwä' ú hū'mä'k'e he has two wives (literally, two [are] his
 wives) 20.3
djī ú x'nd'at lE nō'sk·i'ti the Big Woman came quickly (literally,
 comes her quickness, the Big Woman) 78.26

The possessive sign is employed in impersonal sentences, where the subject of the sentence is *qā'yīs* WORLD or *mēn* PEOPLE. In these cases the subject is placed at the end of the sentence, and the possessive sign is affixed to the possessed object, immediately preceding the subject. The sentences are rendered by THERE WAS, THEY ARE.

- k!äl'tā' ú qā'yīs* there was no land (literally, without [its] land
 the world) 5.5; 6.1
ēn tē'lē'xēm ú qā'yīs there was no low tide (literally, not [has] its
 dry condition [the] world) 15.8
nwa'wala ú qā'yīs there was a spider (literally, with its spider
 [is] the world) 30.3
gaicī'nīs kwē'ti ú mēn people were living in a small place (literally,
 in a small place their living [place have] people) 50.7
tē tī'k·īne ú mēn there they were standing (literally, there their
 standing [place, severally have] people) 74.28

§ 98. *The Possessive Pronouns Proper*

The possessive pronouns proper are formed by prefixing to the personal pronouns *ŋ*, *eʰ*, etc., the article *l_E* or *h_E*, or the demonstrative pronoun *t_E*. These forms may be regarded as loose prefixes.

| | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Singular . . . | { 1st person | <i>heŋ</i> | <i>leŋ</i> | <i>teŋ</i> |
| | { 2d person | <i>h'ye</i> | <i>h'ya</i> | <i>t'ye</i> |
| | { 3d person | <i>hā</i> | <i>lā, la</i> | <i>tā (?)</i> |
| Dual | { Inclusive | <i>he'is</i> | <i>le'is</i> | <i>te'is</i> |
| | { Exclusive | <i>he'xwin</i> | <i>le'xwin</i> | <i>te'xwin</i> |
| | { 2d person | <i>he'ic</i> | <i>le'ic</i> | <i>te'ic</i> |
| | { 3d person | <i>he'ux</i> | <i>le'ux</i> | <i>te'ux</i> |
| Plural | { 1st person | <i>he'in</i> | <i>le'in</i> | <i>te'in</i> |
| | { 2d person | <i>he'cin</i> | <i>le'cin</i> | <i>te'cin</i> |
| | { 3d person | <i>he'ii</i> | <i>le'ii</i> | <i>te'ii</i> |

The second person singular *h'ye* has resulted from the combination *l_E* + *eʰ*. This phonetic irregularity remains unexplained. The forms *h'ya* and *la* occur before nouns having *a*-vowels (see § 7).

ā'yu cāh'ye heŋ kw'a'tis surely, true came my dream 100.14
la^u kwānā'ē'wat h'ye iluwē'xtōis that one is looking into thy heart
 14.8

pī'nts h'ya kāla bend thy foot 120.13
hān ye'es la^u L'k'its into his mouth she poured it 102.12
la^u hanL he'is kāla'lis these shall be our two subjects 124.6
halt!yū nā'nt he'in c^Ealotā'was too great (is) our work 68.27
Lōwā'kats he'ū ē'nātc living is their mother 84.21
lā L'ahā'was her clothes 110.3

Lōwā'kats la ā'la his child remained 110.10
xā'nīs le'xwin e'k^uLātc sick is our (dual) father 126.18, 19
ic la'tsīt le'ic e'k^uLātc you two go and get your (dual) father 20.13
ūx kwiskwī'wat le'ūx e'k^uLātc they two were informing their (dual)
 father 20.25

l^Eywō'lte le'cān sō'wel! wiggle your fingers! 122.8
ŋtsxāū'wat hanL teŋ m'nkate I will kill that my son-in-law 26.22
tī'yex e'k^uLātc hanL la^u k'ī' Lō^uts tī'ye īx thy father will find thy
 canoe 54.11

A peculiar form of the possessive pronoun for the first person singular is the frequently occurring *neŋ*. This form may be explained as a reduplicated stem, in which the first *n* is, so to speak, the article for the first person singular, formed in analogy to *l_E* or *h_E*.

neŋ pkā'kate hanL ŋk'ūō'wīt my grandfather I shall see
aiāi'wā'yu neŋ hī' me killed were (all) my children 62.18

The personal pronouns without prefixes are often employed as possessive pronouns. In such cases the second person singular e^e occurs as ye^e .

ī'tcū ṛdā'mīl? which one (is) my husband? 80.3

ā'ya ṛqā'ya I am out of breath (literally, dead my breath) 66.27

nā^ant hanL ye^e Lōwā'was you will have much to eat (literally, much will [be] your food) 54.6

k!ā hanL ye^en k!wīnts ṛla'ats a rope around thy neck I'll put 94.12

In two instances the possessive pronoun of the third person singular is amplified by the addition of the possessive sign.

lE'γī hā ū ūlwe'^xtcīs he is good-natured (literally, good [is] his heart)

dzū'lī lā ū kwī'yōs a fur-seal (as) his dog 132.2

A possessive pronoun expressing absence is formed by prefixing to the personal pronouns the prefix $k!ā-$. The form for the first person singular only could be obtained in this series.

nī kwīskwī'ū tE^x k!āṅ ū'mā not me informed that my (absent) grandmother 62.12

Besides these pronouns, there is another series of independent possessive pronouns. They are formed by prefixing to the verbal form of the personal pronouns $ṛ'ne$, $e^e'ne$, etc., the article hE or lE , or the demonstrative tE , and by suffixing the possessive sign $ū$.

| | | |
|------------------|--|--|
| Singular . . . | { 1st person { 2d person { 3d person | <i>heṛ'neu</i> <i>ye^e'neu'</i> <i>hexū'</i> |
| Dual | { Inclusive { Exclusive { 2d person { 3d person | <i>heisneu'</i> <i>hexwīn'neu'</i> <i>heicneu'</i> <i>heūzzū'</i> |
| Plural | { 1st person { 2d person { 3d person | <i>helīn'neu'</i> <i>hecīn'neu'</i> <i>helīzū'</i> |

The second person singular shows a phonetic irregularity which I am at a loss to explain.

These pronouns are independent, and have a verbal significance. They may be rendered by IT IS MINE, IT IS THINE, etc.

heŋ'ne^u tō te qE'mä my property is that camas 112.6,7

e^eheŋ'ne^u i'le you (are) my enemy 118.3

ye^ene^u pīt L!a'nēx thy cradle is new 38.17

hexū' tō hēn it is his property (it is said) 116.21, 22

§ 99. The Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive pronouns are formed by prefixing the possessive pronouns to the stem *tet* BODY. The possessive pronominal prefixes for the first and second persons singular are *ŋ-* and *ye^e-* respectively. The third person singular has no pronominal prefix. The rest is regular.

| | | |
|----------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| Singular . . . | 1st person | <i>ŋtet</i> |
| | 2d person | <i>ye^etet</i> |
| | 3d person | <i>tet</i> |
| Dual | Inclusive | <i>he'tstet</i> |
| | Exclusive | <i>he'xwintet</i> |
| | 2d person | <i>he'tctet</i> |
| | 3d person | <i>he'xtet</i> |
| Plural | 1st person | <i>he'lttet</i> |
| | 2d person | <i>he'cttet</i> |
| | 3d person | <i>he'ittet</i> |

ŋtō' hīts ŋtet I hit myself

tō'^xtīt ye^etet watch thyself 74.3

wändj pī'ctcīts tet thus he warmed himself 32.8

ūx L!x'ī' nā'īt he'ūxtet they two examine themselves 84.3

ūl yu'wītts he'ittet they rubbed themselves 52.13

The particle *ī'nēx* ALONE is not infrequently placed before the verb (see § 108), and emphasizes the subject.

āī'nēx ŋtō' hīts ŋtet alone I hit myself

§ 100. The Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns exhibit a variety of forms. Attempts have been made to discover whether the different forms may not indicate position from the standpoint of the speaker; but they have proved unsuccessful, owing to the fact that this idea does not seem to be clearly developed in Coos. Only the first two pronouns seem to accentuate this distinction. The following demonstrative stems have been found.

tēi denotes an object that is near to the speaker, and may be translated by THIS HERE. It always precedes the object to which it refers.

tēi hanL tō' hāts this here he shall hit 20.14

tēi ēpā^{us}ts this here you fill up 78.12

It is frequently employed as an adverb in the sense of HERE.

tēi ŋyāu'me here I travel 26.9

ŋtēi hālⁱ I (am) here, O elder brother! 72.26.

tE indicates an object that is away from the speaker, and may be rendered by THAT THERE. It usually precedes the object.

tkwōlē'wat tE tō'qmas he is following that (there) woodpecker 22.2

ūx k'ūlō'wāt tE L/tā they two saw that (there) land 6.5

dīⁱtcēⁱtc tE ŋL/aqā'ē'wat with what (shall) I point my finger (at) this one (there?) 40.24

tE often exercises the function assigned in English to the conjunction THAT.

atcī'tcū tE gō^{us} mī'lātc ēyāu'me why (is it) that always you travel? 48.14

atcī'tcū tE wāndj ēⁱlⁱtā'is why (is it) that thus you tell it to me?

(For *tE* as a prefix in possessive pronouns, see § 98. See also under *la^u* below, and *lewī*, p. 402.)

dīltēⁱ. A compound pronoun composed of the indefinite particle *dīⁱ* SOMETHING (see p. 407) and the demonstrative *tēi* THIS HERE. It may be translated by THIS HERE.

dīltēⁱ k^ulⁱyex this stone here 124.16, 17

dīlteⁱ. A compound of *dīⁱ* SOMETHING (see p. 407) and *tE* THAT THERE. It is usually translated by THAT THERE.

dīlteⁱ tE k^ulⁱyex that stone yonder

dīlte mā the person yonder

la^u, ha^u. This pronoun has the force of a whole sentence. It applies to both subject and object, and it is used in singular and in plural alike. It invariably precedes the subject or object to which it refers. It may be translated by HE, THAT IS THE ONE; HE IT IS.

yāxē'n qalīmī'ye la^u L!ēⁱtc hāl tō'māL one morning that one went out, (namely) that old man 20.4.

xqantc la^u sīⁱxⁱtⁱtsa la^u tēi la from where he (was the one to) scent it, there he (was the one to) go 22.24

la^u lā xwī'lux^u ba'nax^utat that (was the one) his head became bald 30.14

la^u tēmā'Le mā la^u tc!ā'la'ē'wat he it is the old people (it is they who) sit (on) that, usually 38.3

la^u in la^u i'lwats he did not look at it (literally, he was the one, not, it was the thing, he looked at it) 40.8

la^u hanL ūx c^Ea'letet it is they two (who) shall work 68.26

k'ida'minatc ha^u x'L!īt into the bowl she put it 102.6, 7

la^u and *ha^u* are frequently emphasized by the prefixed article or by the demonstrative pronoun *tE*.

tE lā'mak', lala^u tE bīldj'ye the bones, those are the Umpqua Indians 50.5, 6

lala^u he lōwē'wat that's what she usually eats 24.5, 6

tela^u ŋha^uts tE L!tā I am the one who made that land 10.3, 4

In composite sentences having one and the same subject, *la^u* and *ha^u* are used in the subordinate sentence to avoid the repetition of the subject.

kwiā'a'was sī'x·t^Etsa (tE dī'lōl) i la^u hī'nī stō^uq smoke scented (the young man) as he stood there 22.23, 24

xā'nā'ya la ā'la i la^u leqa^wwe his child made him feel sorry, when it died 42.18, 19

lewī, a demonstrative pronoun with verbal force. It is invariably followed by the article or by the demonstrative pronoun *tE*; and it is sometimes, for the sake of emphasis, preceded by *la^u*. It may be translated by IT IS, THAT IS.

lewī tE eñi'k'exem that is it, sticking out 46.11

hē' cīl lewī'ye tE tc!ā'le surely, indeed, it was a door 72.25

lāl, hāl, a demonstrative pronoun used for subject and object, singular and plural. It precedes the subject or object. It denotes objects that have been previously mentioned. It is composed of the article *tE*, *hE*, and of the abbreviated form of the particle *dī'ī* SOMETHING (see p. 407).

qa'nōtc stō^uq lāl tō'māL outside stood that old man 20.4, 5

wāndj L!āts lāl hū^wmāk' thus spoke that old woman 102.10

asō' sqats hāl hū^wmāk' *LEx swal* again seized that old woman the grizzly bear 102.21, 22

ūx neqa'qa hāl tēmā'Le they two ran away, those old people 24.12, 13

hāl and *lāl* have a nominalizing function, and often take the place of our relative pronouns.

hats kwa la^u ū'yu wīna'qaxem lāl lōwē'wat just like a rainbow was spread out (that thing) which he was eating 32.14

tō'tcū tE la^u xtō^{us} hāl e^L!aha'eⁱwat why (is it) that that thing stiff (is) which you have on 110.4, 5

tō has a nominal force, and denotes THAT KIND, SUCH A THING. It always precedes the object.

ā'yu tō k'ŋ' lō^{uts} hE pā'xwŋya surely, that kind he found, the manzanita berries 32.10, 11

tsō ā'yu tō ha^{uts} now surely, that thing she made 60.16

When preceded by a possessive pronoun, **tō** expresses the idea of property.

heŋ'ne^u tō tE qE'mä that camas belongs to me 112.6, 7

Lō has a local meaning, and may be translated by IN IT, ON IT. It always follows the object to which it refers.

p^E sŋk' ā'tsem lō nŋ'cŋtc xā^ap ha^wwE a cup give me, in it a little water have 68.17, 18

tsetŋ'x'ume lō he^w'he^u ha^wwE! on this side make a knot (literally, where this side is, on it a knot make) 92.7, 8

k'!ānō MY ABSENT. The prefix of this possessive pronoun may be regarded as a demonstrative pronoun (see pp. 323, 399).

THE NUMERAL (§§ 101-102)

§ 101. The Cardinals

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>yŋxē'</i> | 20. <i>yŋxwä'ka</i> |
| 2. <i>yŋxwä'</i> | 30. <i>yŋpse'nka</i> |
| 3. <i>yŋ'pseN</i> | 40. <i>hecl^L'lka</i> |
| 4. <i>he'cl^L</i> | 50. <i>kat'E'mŋska</i> |
| 5. <i>kat'E'mŋs</i> | 60. <i>yŋxē'wŋeqka</i> |
| 6. <i>yŋxē'wŋeq</i> | 70. <i>yŋxwä'wŋeqka</i> |
| 7. <i>yŋxwä'wŋeq</i> | 80. <i>yŋxē'ahälka</i> |
| 8. <i>yŋxē'ahäl</i> | 90. <i>yŋxwä'ahälka</i> |
| 9. <i>yŋxwä'ahäl</i> | 100. <i>yŋxē' nŋ'k'ŋn</i> |
| 10. <i>Lep!qa'nŋ</i> | 111. <i>yŋxē' nŋ'k'ŋn Lep!qa'nŋ</i> |
| 11. <i>Lep!qa'nŋ yŋxē'ŋ'qtsŋ</i> | <i>yŋxē'ŋ'qtsŋ</i> |
| 12. <i>Lep!qa'nŋ yŋxwä'ŋ'qtsŋ</i> | |

The Coos numeral system is of a quinary origin, and, strictly speaking, there are only five simple numeral stems; namely, those for the first five numerals. The numerals for SIX, SEVEN, EIGHT, and NINE are compounds, the second elements of which can not be explained. In the same manner the numeral for TEN defies all attempts at analysis.

Besides the cardinals, Coos exhibits special forms for the ordinal, multiplicative, and distributive numerals, formed by means of adding certain numeral suffixes to the cardinal numerals (see §§ 74-77).

The collective numerals expressed in English by the phrases IN TWOS, IN THREES, etc., are formed in Coos by means of suffixing to the numerals for TWO, THREE, etc., the adverbial suffix *-ē'tc* (see § 67).

yáxwá'hē'tc la^u h̄h̄h̄tōwē'wat in pairs he is putting them down

34.7, 8

xȳpse'nē'tc in threes

The collective numeral for ONE, *yáxē'ntce*, shows a peculiar formation. It consists of the cardinal *yáwē'*, the distributive suffix *-n* (see pp. 327, 341), the modal suffix *-tc* (see pp. 327, 340, 369), and the suffix *-e* (see p. 359).

yáxē'ntce sqats together he seized them 64.8, 9

yáxē'ntce ̄l nL!tā'yas together they (live) in (one) village 122.18.

§ 102. The Decimal System

The units exceeding multiples of ten have forms exemplified by TEN (TWENTY) ONE OVER. Thus *Lep!qa'nī yáwē'ú'qtsī* ELEVEN literally means TEN ONE OVER, etc. The "tens" are formed by means of suffixing to the numerals from ONE to TEN (exclusive) the suffix *-ka*. The numeral for ONE HUNDRED, translated literally, means ONE STICK, which indicates that the Coos may have used counting-sticks for the purpose of counting up to one hundred. TWO HUNDRED would mean TWO STICKS, etc. The numeral ONE THOUSAND does not seem to have been used at all. There is no special stem for it. The natives to-day form this numeral by adding the noun *n̄'k'ín* STICK to the numeral stem for TEN, expressing ONE THOUSAND by the phrase TEN STICKS.

THE ADVERB (§§ 103-106)

§ 103. Introductory

The dividing-line between adverbs and particles can not always be drawn very definitely. This is especially true in the case of the three particles expressing locality, time, and modality (see § 112). Adverbs express local, temporal, and modal ideas. A few of them may be said to express local phrases. In a number of cases two adverbs have been combined for the purpose of indicating a new adverbial concept, which is nothing more than an amplification of the ideas conduced by each of the two separate component elements. Some of the local adverbs seem to distinguish slightly between the idea of locality that is near the first, second, or third person; although

I am somewhat doubtful on that point, owing to the fact that this idea is hardly recognizable in the demonstrative pronouns.

The great majority of modal adverbs occur with the adverbial suffix of modality *-tc* (see §§ 25, 36), and are often preceded by the modal prefix *x-* (see § 24). It is conceivable that this suffix may have been originally adverbial *par excellence*, and that it gradually became confined to adverbs expressing mode and manner. This opinion may be substantiated by the fact that the adverbial suffix *-tc*, when added to nouns, expresses other adverbial ideas besides those of modality. It is also suffixed to a number of stems expressing local phrases.

The following is a complete list of adverbs that have been found in Coos:

§ 104. Local Adverbs and Phrases

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>as'i</i> between, halfway 5.1 | <i>qa'wax</i> high up 8.11 |
| <i>ē'qatce</i> to one side 42.3 | <i>qai'nas</i> close to the fire 82.19 |
| <i>v'la</i> before, ahead, in front 56.9 | <i>qai'nis</i> away from the shore 36.18 |
| <i>y'i'helq</i> close by 60.21 | <i>qaitis</i> inside the house 140.24 |
| <i>y'iqatē'</i> close there (?) 90.23 | <i>qat</i> below 36.11 |
| <i>y'iqat'six</i> close here 104.12 | <i>qapu'kul</i> the other side, across 140.18 |
| <i>y'iqai'nī</i> so far, right here 14.4 | <i>qa'xan</i> up 34.4 |
| <i>h'i'nī</i> there 5.2 | <i>qat</i> down, below, under 116.9 |
| <i>tī^u</i> over there 90.21 | <i>xtse'tix</i> from here 136.3 |
| <i>tsix</i> here 24.4 | <i>xqa'wax</i> from above 6.4 |
| <i>tsi'x'ti</i> over here 13.5 | <i>xqa'lin</i> from under 90.4 |
| <i>tse'tix</i> over here | <i>xle'tix</i> , <i>le'tix</i> from there 12.2; 78.28 |
| <i>tcī</i> there 7.4 | |
| <i>tc!ē'etc</i> back in the woods 88.11 | <i>ttōla'ais</i> close to the shore 30.23 |
| <i>qaya'atc</i> , <i>qa'titc</i> down the stream 24.24; 54.1 | <i>l!ha'waīs</i> near, close to 50.20 |

§ 105. Temporal Adverbs

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>asō'</i> again 6.1 | <i>tE'ma</i> at the same time 17.3 |
| <i>ai'wa</i> still, yet 7.6 | <i>tī'x'tse</i> to-day 19.9 |
| <i>yuwe</i> whenever (<i>yū</i> + <i>he</i> [see § 9]) 24.4 | <i>kwī'yat</i> now 9.1 |
| <i>yuwū'nt</i> before 178.25 | <i>lE'ai'wa</i> while (<i>lE</i> + <i>ai'wa</i> ; the arti- cle is prefixed here for the sake of emphasis) |
| <i>hats^Eyū</i> always (<i>hats</i> + <i>yū</i> [see § 110]) | |
| <i>halt!</i> now 15.6 | |
| <i>māndj</i> already (used for the purpose of expressing the past tense) 20.1 | |

§ 106. Modal Adverbs

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>ā'yu</i> sure, enough 16.2 | <i>xwə'liætc</i> in a stooping position 118.15 |
| <i>yū</i> very, very much 11.5 | <i>xpiyētc</i> homewards 42.7 |
| <i>halt!yū</i> (<i>halt!</i> + <i>yū</i>) too 44.18. | <i>txā'nuxwītc</i> sideways 38.10 |
| <i>wändj</i> , <i>xwändj</i> thus, that way 68.16; 6.8 | <i>xtemā'atc</i> crossways 64.28 |
| <i>pē'lukwītc</i> entirely 130.7 | <i>xnō'we</i> right 44.9 |
| <i>ta^u</i> , <i>ta</i> so, such 52.16 | <i>xci'γ'itcītc</i> clear around it 128.18 |
| <i>nā^{ant}</i> much, many 44.18 | <i>xqē'ltc</i> slowly 60.7 |
| <i>nī'cītc</i> a few, a little 68.17 | <i>xlā'qatc</i> belly up and mouth open 102.11 |
| <i>tsō'nō</i> both ways 6.2 | <i>xleyē'entc</i> truly 148.1 |
| <i>tsqē'yīætc</i> edgeways | <i>xlōwē'entc</i> wholly 44.17 |
| <i>g'ī</i> , <i>g'ī'kwa</i> a little 36.6; 28.10 | <i>lai'sama</i> quickly, hurriedly 30.1 |
| <i>kā^s</i> almost 20.19 | <i>t'nuwī</i> very, very much 15.6 |
| <i>x^u</i> , <i>yūx</i> , <i>yūxī'k'ī</i> hardly 28.17 | <i>l^Epē'ætc</i> belly side down 58.14 |
| | <i>lōwē'entc</i> entirely 30.11. |

A number of purely local adverbs occur with the modal suffix, implying the modal character of a local idea.

| |
|--|
| <i>qā'xantc</i> upwards (literally, in the manner of up) 14.1 |
| <i>qā'nōtc</i> outside 20.4 |
| <i>qētc</i> downwards 6.4 |
| <i>yī'qantc</i> backwards |
| <i>lē'xatc</i> inside 62.8 |
| <i>e'hentc</i> far off (compare <i>e'he</i> he was gone 108.9) 26.23 |
| <i>qā'tītc</i> down stream 54.1 |
| <i>teqā'itc</i> up stream 160.15 |

The temporal phrase *xtemī'towetc* FROM THAT TIME ON 42.12 may also belong here, although the original stem is no longer recognizable.

Whenever these modalized local adverbs are used in connection with verbs expressing motion or active ideas, they take the verbal suffix *-e* (see § 55).

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>e'hentc stō^uq</i> far off he stood 26.23 | <i>īn e' ehe'ntce yīxū'mē</i> not you far away go 112.24 |
| <i>qā'nōtc līn tsxū</i> outside we lay 50.10 | <i>qanō'tca īl līē'itc</i> outside they went 50.11 |
| <i>qētc ūx īlx</i> down they two looked 14.2 | <i>qē'tce tsī'x'tī he'laq</i> down right here it came 13.5 |

PARTICLES (§§ 107-112)

§ 107. Introductory

No formal distinction can be made between the stems that were termed "syntactic particles" (see §§ 86-95), and the words treated in the following chapters. Both exhibit practically the same phonetic structure. There is, however, a vast difference between these two sets of words, which asserts itself in the grammatical use to which they are applied, and in the morphological treatment that is accorded to them. None of the syntactic particles can be clearly and definitely rendered when used independently; or, in other words, the syntactic particles are capable of expressing concepts only in a complex of words. On the other hand, all particles proper express definite ideas, regardless of whether they are used independently or not. However, the most important point of distinction between syntactic particles and particles proper lies in the fact that the latter are capable of word composition. Hence all grammatical processes may be applied to them; and, as a matter of fact, the majority of them occur with a number of nominal and verbal suffixes.

§ 108. Pronominal Particles.

By means of these particles Coos expresses the ideas conveyed by our indefinite, interrogative, and relative pronouns. The following particles are employed for this purpose:

wît SOMEBODY is applied to persons only. It often exercises the function of a relative pronoun, and is then translated by WHO.

īn xwît la^u k'īī'wīta nobody that one can overtake 92.21, 22

kwaā'nīya wît lāl hū' māk she knew who it was that old woman
102.20

dīī SOMETHING is applied to objects other than persons. It always follows the object to which it belongs.

hē'mās dīīl ŋk'īlō'wīt big something I saw 62.21

gō^{us} dīīl hanL hū'wī everything will grow (literally, all something will grow) 9.3

γū'awā dīīl ŋk'īlō'wīt two things I saw 112.26, 27

ntc!a' ha dīīl tēi hē'laq animals arrived there (literally, something [that is] with legs [walkers] arrived there) 46.1, 2

nL!pe'ne dīīl tēi hē'laq birds arrived there (literally, something [that is] with wings arrived there) 46.2, 3

ḍi' is very often abbreviated to *ḷ*.

k!weni' ya'wḷ ḡwḷḷō'wat for some food I am looking

(See also under *lāl*, *hāl*, p. 402.)

By suffixing the interrogative suffix *-ū* (see § 73) to *ḍi'* and *wit*, two interrogative pronouns are obtained that may be rendered by **WHAT** and **WHO** respectively (see also p. 390).

ḍi'tū he te e'wḷḷō'wat what are you continually looking for? 54.3
xwḷ'tū tsī'x'ti'yat who did it?

wictce' takes the place of our interrogative pronoun. It always stands at the beginning of the sentence, and may be rendered by **WHICH ONE**.

wictce' e'dōwā'ya which one do you want? 50.16

ṽtc **WHICH** occurs very rarely. It may be said to exercise the function of our relative pronoun.

ṽtc yū he'mā's whichever is the biggest (literally, which [is] very big) 30.21

ṽtc he nq!e'ltse whichever had a handkerchief 70.19

i'nāEX **ALONE**. This particle exercises the function of the reflexive pronoun in intransitive sentences. It is usually placed at the beginning of the sentence, and precedes the verb. It is then rendered by **MYSELF**, **THYSELF**, etc. (see also p. 400).

xī'nāEX la^u L^Eān alone they went down into the water 36.18

i'nāEX ḡc^Ea'ltet alone I work, I myself work

i'nāEX Lōwa'kats alone he lived 106.24

This particle occurs sometimes as *i'nāEXa'mā* or *i'nāEXa'nā*. These forms frequently precede verbs having reciprocal suffixes.

i'nāEXa'nā la^u hū^umā'sisä'nā they marry one another 12.5

i'nāEXa'mā ūx yā'lanī they two speak to each other

i'nāEXa'nā līn tō^usīsä'nā we are hitting one another

When used in connection with possessive pronouns, *i'nāEX* assumes the function of a reflexive possessive pronoun, and may be rendered by **MY (THY) OWN**.

xī'nāEX ḡha^{ux}ts ḡyā'wEX I build my own house

xī'nāEXa'mā ḡha^{ux}ts ḡyā'wEX I build my own house

§ 109. Numeral Particles

v'k·i BOTH, *gō's* ALL, *hE'ma* ALL, *denk·* EACH, EVERY, and *yEai'* ANOTHER, may be called numeral particles. *hE'ma* is used to indicate plurality of the object, and immediately follows the verb, while *gō's* precedes the verb and usually denotes plurality of the subject (see § 18).

gō's wändj ił Llä'xEM they all that way talk 50.9, 10

xgō's mä la^u kwaä'nnyahā'ya all people came to know it 102.29

ŋk'it'wita hE'ma I overtook them all

alqsā'ya hE'ma he is afraid of them all

denk· k!wī'lis every night 82.9

halt! yEai' x·ne'x·tits qa'xante now another one jumped upwards
76.3, 4

halt! yEai' mä Low'itat now another man runs 78.28

v'k·i expresses the idea of duality in both subject and object of the sentence.

v'k·i tō'hāts he hit both of them 114.4

éqe v'k·i dead (are) both 120.5

v'k·i úx tc!a'at both walked 120.19

§ 110. Conjunctions

Coos has a number of stems that must be classed as conjunctions. The following may be regarded as such:

hīs also

hats just

ta and

tsō now, then

i when, as, since, while

hīs and *ta* serve as copulas between nouns and sentences.

hīs xā c^Ea'letet also she is working 22.26, 27

kwaä'nnyahā'ya läx hü'lātc hīs läx é'nātc hīs läx é'k^ulātc (they) came to know it, her elder brother, also her mother, also her father 86.22, 23

sqats ta tc!wäle'tc L!xant he caught and into the fire he threw him
104.15

i connects subordinate clauses with the principal clause.

ā'ya ū iluwé'xtōis i la^u ik!wa'k^u lE xā^ap he was tired (waiting), while it was running down, the water 17.3, 4

laqtsō'wat i djī he waited, as he came 118.9, 10

i la^u sqats la^u xūhī'ye la^u iō when one seizes it, it belongs to him (literally, when that one seizes it, that one becomes he [to whom] that thing belongs) 92.22

hats serves to introduce a new idea. It was conventionally rendered by JUST, although it hardly conveys the idea expressed by our English word.

Lqa'at î tc!wä'tete kwî'naît. Hats kwa mî'la lE wä'wa î la^u xai'la
he opened his mouth, as into the fire he looked. Just like a
liver the little girl as she became warm 108.24, 25

ä'yu l'nuwî tc!îlî'yat hE tc!wäl. Hats yî'qax qa'qal lE swal surely,
she built a big fire. Just right away fell asleep the bear
100.27, 28

hats . . . *hats* is usually rendered by AS SOON AS. *Hats* prefixed to the adverb *yü* VERY forms a new adverb, *hats^Eyü*, which was invariably rendered by ALWAYS (see § 105).

tsō indicates a syntactic division with a continuation of the same thought. It was translated by NOW.

“*hamî Lan nî'k'in ŋwîlō'wat*” *wändj L!ä'xEM lE hū'w mîk*. *Tsō*
ä'yu tsä'yua^w mî'k'e sqats “(please) for wood I will look,” thus
said the old woman. Now, surely, a small basket she took 102.3,
4, 8

mîtsisî'ya läl hū'w mîk lEX swal, tsō asō' sqats häî hū'w mîk lEX swal
knew that old woman the bear, now again he seized that old
woman, the bear 102.21, 22

tsō é'vîltä'mî tsō hanL é'ilx when I tell you, then you shall look
(literally, now I tell it to you, now shall you look) 17.2, 3

§ 111. Interjections

ä'nta LOOK, BEHOLD! It is always placed at the beginning of the sentence.

ä'nta tē' tî'ye mî'laq look! here (are) your arrows! 22.28

ä'nta k'îlō'wîte behold, see it! 94.25

tā'î the greeting formula of the Coos. It was rendered by HALLOO.

tā'î sla' halloo, cousin! 44.3

tā'î nEX ä'la halloo, my child! 28.21

§ 112. Miscellaneous Particles

in NOT, a particle of negation. The particle of affirmation is *En*. This is, however, rarely used, being supplanted by the syntactic particle *îl* SURELY (see p. 388).

in k'î'lō'uts he did not find it 22.18, 19

äx in kwaä'nîya they two did not know it 22.9, 10

(See also § 9.)

qante PLACE, WHERE.

qante lēla^u laā' yam, la^u hīs wā tē la wherever they went, he also there went 22.17, 18

qkwaā' nīya qante I know where (it is) 80.14

gō^{us} qante everywhere 46.22

in qante k'ī' lō^{us}ts nowhere he found it

mī'lātc TIME. It is used mostly in connection with the numerical particle *gō^{us}*, and is then rendered by ALWAYS.

gō^{us} mī'lātc L!ā' xem always he is talking 14.5, 6

mī'lātcū hanL ēw'wtæ when will you return? (literally, time, question, shall, you come back) 28.3, 4

tcītc MANNER, KIND, WAY, MODE (see also p. 390).

gō^{us} tcītc ūl alī' canī all kinds of (games) they are playing 30.25

tcītc he lōwē'wat whatever he is eating (habitually)

ūl in tcītc tsxā'wat they can not kill her (literally, they [have] no way [to] kill her) 80.24

ā'watu WHETHER OR NOT. This particle is very rarely used.

ā'watu qdji I may or may not come

ā'watu in ts'ī'x-tī he'laq (they) may or may not come here 90.15

§ 113. The Stem *ītsē'ts*

Morphologically speaking, it is a verbal stem *īts-*, transitivized by means of the suffix *-ts*, but its application covers such a wide range of different ideas that each of them will have to be enumerated separately.

(1) It is used as an expletive particle with a significance that adapts itself to the sense of the sentence.

in kwē' nīyēm itse'ts he'ūl nā'ntēs no one knew how many they were (literally, they [indefinite] not know it, *what* [was] their number) 78.2

yēā' L!tā'itc qītsē'ts in another country I stay 26.8, 9

xtcī'tcū itse'ts hē nō^{us}sk'ī'lī what is the matter with the Big Woman 72.28

ītsē'ts yī'k^u ūl la^u henī'yēēs hīnī' lōwā'kats he may have been sitting there for a long time 40.14

kwaā' nīya xtcītc hanL lē itsem he knew what was going to happen (the *-ēm* in *itsēm* is the indefinite subject suffix [§ 30]) 26.19, 20

ūx in kwaā' nīya qante ha^u itsem they two did not know where he was 22.9, 10

ēn hanL tcītc itsem to you nothing will happen 66.5

(2) When the transitive suffixes, other than *-ts*, are added to it, its significance is clearly verbal.

y'kwanL atc'itc n'its'itsi'wat I wonder what I shall *do with it* 86.8
y'kwanL atc'itc aw'in e'its'itsa'mi I wonder what we two shall *do*
with you, how we two shall *keep you* 24.3, 4
atc'i'tou e'its'itow'wat ti'ye w'ix'i'lis how did you *get* that your
 food? 64.17, 18
in kwee'nivyem atc'itc il' i'tsetu no one knew what *became of* them
 52.1, 2

§ 114. Verbs as Adjectives

The use of verbs as adjectives is confined to a few sporadic instances. These verbs are, as a rule, intransitive, although they occur with the transitive suffix *-t*. (See also § 117.)

lkwi'lit ha'u y'aw'me she travels blazing (red-hot) (*lkwiL-* to burn)
 24.18, 19
lkwi'lit tsaxa'lisetc la'u lo'qu'tits by means of red-hot pebbles she
 boiled it 102.6

Whether the phrases *paal'hit LE y'aw'weax* THE HOUSE IS FULL, *g'img'i'mat* IT IS RAINING, belong here, is a problem which is hard to decide, although the psychological relation between these examples and those quoted above is not inconceivable.

§ 115. Nouns as Qualifiers

Substantives are often used to qualify other nouns. In such cases the qualifying noun always precedes the qualified substantive, and both nouns retain their nominal character.

dx'lol a'la a young boy (literally, a young male child) 60.2
hu'wak ma lo'wa'kats there lived an old woman (literally, an old
 female being) 100.20, 21
to'mil da'mil tsaxu an old man lay (literally, an old male man)
 50.21
tsayü'ne ti'mil le'ux hi'me their (dual) little children were boys
 (literally, little male children) 42.16

§ 116. Vocabulary

All Coos stems are either monosyllabic or polysyllabic (mostly bisyllabic). Monosyllabic stems consist of a vowel followed by one or two consonants, of one or two consonants followed by a vowel, or of consonants, vowel, and consonants. Some of the bisyllabic stems that are found in the language have been expanded by means of grammatical processes (see §§ 4, 84).

Examples of monosyllabic stems:

ai^w- to kill (many) 58.8
a^w- to quit 14.4
ēⁱk⁻- to be among 46.13
il^a- to look 14.2
ī^l- to tell 7.8
īⁿ- to set up 34.23
ha^t- to gamble 38.23
hū- to be ready 19.3
pā^a- to fill 15.7
sqa- to seize 10.4
lqa- to believe 28.13
tsax^u- to kill (one) 14.7
yeg- to run away 36.19
yōq- to split in two 7.3
wīⁿ- to wade 58.2

hak- to crawl 32.10
ha^up- to tear off 58.14
pīⁿ- to shake 58.24
mī^l- to swim 24.27
te^t- to enter 22.29
tē^l- to be ashamed
k!al- to shout 24.22
wī^{ng}- to weave, to pile 18.1
mī^{ntc}- to ask 62.15
tsīm^x- to fasten 46.7
kⁱmst- to pick 17.1
tkwī^L- to follow 9.9
tqan^L- to strike 28.1
tqai^L- to put a belt on 28.22

Examples of polysyllabic stems:

e^he to be gone 38.15
yⁱxu^w- to have, to carry 54.12
wu^tax to come back 28.4
ha^tk^{ut}- to leave 30.8
sī^tsīⁿ- to go and see 9.7
kⁱlō^u- to see 6.5

kwīⁿa- to look 6.4
akⁱaⁿakⁱ to stick out 42.1
ī^tī^sī^l- to recognize 30.28
yī^xū^me to travel 10.3
tī^kīⁿe to stand 62.22

With the exception of the terms of relationship, the nouns indicating parts of the body, and all other words of a denominative character, the Coos stems are neutral and receive their nominal or verbal character through the suffixes.

stō^wq- to stand 20.4
L!^ā- to speak 9.3
L!^ha- to put on 28.22
lō^wak^u lightning 18.5

stō^wa^qwī^s wall 90.18
L!^ēyī^s language 14.5
L!^ahā^was clothes 110.3
lō^kwīt it lightens 18.8

In a few instances nouns have been formed by reduplication or duplication of a neutral stem.

tqai^L- to put around 28.22
tcō^u- to jump
l^xat- to chop wood 26.16
pū^xu- to spout
lēⁱp- to paint
xⁱīⁿ- to be on top
yī^m- to twinkle

q^atqai^L belt 28.22
tcō^wxtcō^x rabbit 60.23
x^al^xat ax
pū^wxpū^xu a spout 30.25
lī^plī^p paint
xⁱīⁿxⁱīⁿ saddle
yī^myī^m eyelash

§ 117. Structure of Sentences

The structure of the Coos sentence is very simple, owing chiefly to the fact that in the absence of incorporation, subjects, objects, and predicates are expressed by means of independent words. No strict rules can be laid down for the consecutive order in which the different parts of a sentence occur. It may, however, be said in a most general way, that all adverbial ideas precede the verb, and that the subject of the sentence tends to appear at the very end, especially in subordinate clauses. The object may either precede the verb or follow it.

kwôlé' lē'tc tsxū läl tō'mîL in the sweat-house was resting that old man 28.11, 12

yîxä' wexetc lä LE hū'w' mîs into the house went the woman
LEX tsynä' hetc L!äts LE mā'qal with the thunder-language spoke the crow

xwändj ä tÿ'nas hE tsä'yux^u lä'nîk this is the name (of) the small river 46.10, 11

sqats LE hū'w' mîs LEX swäl seized the woman the grizzly bear 102.21, 22

mä wân wutxäi'yat a person we two brought home 128.8, 9
qtō' hîts LE dî'lōt I hit the young man

Nominal attribute complements precede the noun. When following the noun, they assume a predicative function.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>tsä'yux^u lä'nîk</i> a small river | <i>lä'nîk tsä'yux^u</i> the river is small |
| <i>he'mîs yîxä'wex</i> the big house | <i>yîxä'wex he'mîs</i> the house is big |
| <i>xä'nîs mä</i> a sick person | <i>mä xä'nîs</i> the person is sick |

No formal distinction is made between coordinate and subordinate clauses, nor is the succession of the parts of speech changed in different types of sentences. Subordinate clauses may precede the principal clauses whenever the occasion requires it. Subordinate clauses are distinguished by means of conjunctions that are placed at the beginning.

k'î' lō'wts LE qE'mä LEX dî'lōt î la^u hî'nî he'laq the young man found the kamass when he arrived there

î la^u tsxū LE hū'w' mîs k'î'tō'wît LE yū'mî as the woman lay (there) she saw the stars

§ 118. Idiomatic Expressions

An exhaustive discussion of the Coos idiomatic expressions is limited *a priori* by the scope of the present work. Consequently only the most salient features of this phase of the language will be pointed out in this chapter.

Perhaps the most striking examples of idiomatic phraseology are found in the manner of expressing verbal concepts, like IT GROWS, IT FILLS UP, IT RUNS, etc. These ideas are expressed in Coos by means of a phrase which consists of the verbal stem TO GO or TO RUN and of the abstract derivative of the particular verbal concept preceded by the sign of possession *û* (see § 97).

hâ'wî he grew up 64.12

la û ha'we he tci'cî' mîl the spruce-tree grew up (literally, goes its growth [of] the spruce-tree) 20.16

x'î'lwîs deep

la û ha'we le'ûx hâ'wîs L!tâ their (dual) ready land began to grow (literally, goes its growth [of] their [dual] ready land) 8.10, 11

paa- to fill

as'î' L la û x'î'luwî'ye lex ya'bas the maggots went halfway deep (literally, halfway went its depth [of] the maggots) 40.12

x'î'n- to run

la û paa'wes le xâ'p the water is filling up (literally, goes its full [mark of] the water) 44.17

mîl- to swim

nle'hî la û x'na'at with it he ran (literally, with it went his swift-ness) 42.8

hamL- to float

la û x'na'at he cæ'îmî the bear ran (literally, went his quick-ness [of] the bear)

djî û mî'le [it] swam [towards her] (literally, came its swimming [motion of]) 86.3

la û hamLalâ'was lâl tsü'yâx^w L!tâ that small piece of land kept floating (literally, went its [con-ception of] floating [of] that small place) 46.10

Another idiomatic expression worth while mentioning is the manner in which our terms THERE IS, THEY ARE, are expressed. The Coos subject of such a sentence is either the noun *qā'yîs* WORLD or *mên* PEOPLE, which are invariably preceded by the sign of possession (see § 97).

tc!l- to be dry

tc!lî û qā'yîs there was low tide (literally, dry its [condition of the] world) 18.6

în tc!l'xem û qā'yîs there is no low tide (literally, not dry its [condition of the] world) 15.8

nî'k'în wood, tree 26.25

k'!ânî'k'în û qā'yîs there were no trees (literally, without trees its [appearance of the] world) 8.7, 8

wa'wal spider

nwa'wala û qā'yîs there was a spider (literally, with spider its [condition of the] world) 30.3

lō that thing 32.10

nlō'we û qā'yîs there was such a thing (literally, with that thing [was as] its [asset the] world) 32.9

kwe'tî many live

qaiç'î'nîs kwe'tî û mên they were living in a small place (literally, a small place [had as] their living [place the] people) 50.7

k!al- to shout

qak'elen'we û mên they began to shout (literally, began their shouting [act, of the] people) 24.22

tî'k'îne many stand

tcî tî'k'îne û mên they were standing there (literally, there [the] standing [place was of] people) 74.28

To the same group of idiomatic expressions belong phrases like I (THOU, HE . . .) AM GETTING HUNGRY, I (THOU, HE . . .) AM GETTING HEAVY, etc. The verb of such phrases in Coos is always the stem *la* TO GO, which is preceded by the attributive complement amplified by means of the modal suffix *-tc* (see § 36). Consequently such a phrase, literally translated, means INTO A STATE OF . . . I (THOU, HE . . .) GO.

lqa- to be hungry

lqatc nîa I am getting hungry

pL!- to be heavy

pL!îtc la he is getting heavy

A very peculiar expression, though by no means confined to Coos alone, is the manner of forming sentences that have dual subjects. Such sentences present two possibilities. Either both subjects are actually expressed, or only one is indicated while the other is understood.

1. In sentences where one subject is understood, duality of subject is indicated in Coos by using the verb in its dual form, followed immediately by the (expressed) subject.

yáä'waxetc úx wu'txe hül tō'mîL into the house they two returned
(the whale and) that old man 30.15, 16
tsō ā'yu tēi úx la, le ūmā'cate now, surely, there they two went
(he and) the grandmother 66.19
yá'xen qalim'ye tsí l'nta úx la lä hu'w'mís one morning just hunt-
ing they two went (he and) his wife 110.26
ā'yu tēi úx la le tek'ítsí'nāte surely, there they two went (she and)
the granddaughter 80.15, 16

2. If both subjects are expressed, it will be found that, in addition to the dual form of the verb, the dual pronoun is placed before either one or both subjects.

hí'nā hanL úx tīla'qai le ūmāc úx pkāk there shall they two live
(namely) the grandmother (and the) grandfather 68.28
wändj la úx kwee'nūyēm te úx tsq'na úx mā'qal thus only they
two are known, that Thunder (and) Crow 19.10, 11

In a few instances a similar treatment has been found in sentences with plural subjects.

yáä'waxetc úl la le dā'mîl into the house they went (the two
women and) the man 128.7
tsí úl huw'e'itsēm le hu'w'mís just they got ready (he and) the (two)
women 130.17, 18

The last idiomatic formation worth mentioning here is the manner of expressing comparison of adjectives in accordance with the three degrees,—the positive, the comparative, and the superlative.

A comparative statement in the positive degree is expressed by means of a whole sentence in which the adjective is treated as a noun appearing with the nominal suffixes *-es*, *-tes* (see § 57), or *-īye*, *-āye* (see p. 376), and is placed between the subject and object with which it is compared. The sentence is invariably introduced by means of the conjunction *hís* ALSO (see § 110); and its comparative character is

further indicated by the use of the modal adverb *ta*, *ta^u*, SO, SUCH (see § 106), which immediately follows the subject of the sentence.

h̄is ŋ'ne ta ŋhethé'tees tE é'ne I am as rich as you are (literally, also I such I [have] wealth [as] this you)

h̄is ŋ'ne ta ŋxä'n̄ises lE é'ne I am as sick as you are

h̄is ŋ'ne ta^u ŋlE'γ̄ites tE é'ne I am as good as you are

h̄is ŋ'ne ta^u ŋhe'm̄istes lE é'ne I am as tall as you are

h̄is x̄ä ta xwä'w̄iye lE é'ne he is as light as you are

h̄is x̄ä ta^u p̄äl.'ä'ye lE é'ne he is as heavy as you are

h̄is tE lä'n̄ik' ta^u x'ülw̄i'ye tE balt̄i'm̄is that river is as deep as that ocean

In many instances the abstract noun expressing the adjective concept is repeated after the object, in which case the object (and also the subject) assumes the function of a possessive pronoun (for pronominal subjects and objects) or of a genitive case (for nominal objects and subjects).

h̄is ŋ'ne ta ŋqainé'ES l̄i'ye qainé'ES I am as cold as you are (literally, also [of] m̄e such [is] my cold [condition as is] your cold [condition])

h̄is é'ne ta ye'ne^w qlānd'tES tE heŋ'ne^u qlānd'tES you are as young as I am (literally, also [of] thee such [is] thy youth [as is] that my youth)

The comparative degree is expressed by means of a sentence in which the adjective is used in its simple form, while the object is indicated by the use of the instrumental suffix *-etc* (see § 70). There is a marked tendency to place the object at the beginning of the sentence.

ye'ne'itc ŋlE'γ̄i I am better than you are (literally [as compared], with you I [am] good)

hexä'itc ŋlE'γ̄i I am better than he is

ŋne'itc é'qal you are taller than I am

x̄ä ŋne'itc tsä'yux^u he is smaller than I am

xw̄in t̄i'm̄i t̄i'ye'itc we two are stronger than you are

The superlative degree may be expressed in two ways. Either the numeral particle *gō^us* ALL (see § 109), amplified by means of the adverbial suffix *-etc* (see § 70), is placed before the simple form of the adjective; or else the nominalized adverb *īla'hatcem* (see §§ 58, 104) is used for that purpose.

xgō^w s̄itc ŋlE'γ̄i I am the best of all (for the use of the prefix *x-* see § 24)

tEŋ tē ka'pō xgō^w s̄itc pL'is this here is my heaviest coat

x̄ä īla'hatcem he'm̄is hethé'te he is the biggest chief

x̄ä īla'hatcem tō'm̄il mā L'ta'yas̄itc he is the oldest man in the village

TEXTS

ORIGIN OF DEATH

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| Ūx ¹ | sla'tcīnī. ² | La ^{u3} | ī ⁴ | kwee'tī. ⁵ | La ^{u3} | ī'k'ī ⁶ | ūx ¹ | nhū ^u mā'k'e- | |
| They | cousins(were) | These | they | lived | These | both | they two | with wives | |
| two | mutually. | | | together. | | | | | |
| he. ⁷ | ī'k'ī ⁶ | tsāyā'ne ⁸ | le'ūx ⁹ | tī'mīlī ¹⁰ | hī'ī ¹¹ me. ¹¹ | Yī'xen ¹² | qaḥīmī'ye ¹³ | | |
| are. | Both | small | their(dual) | male beings | children. | Once | morning it got | | |
| tsī ¹⁴ | wītwehe' ^x tcī ¹⁵ | la ¹⁶ | ā'la. | In ¹⁷ | he'nīye ¹⁸ | xā'nīs ¹⁹ | la ¹⁶ | ā'la. | |
| just | sick it is | his | child. | Not | a long time | sick | his | child. | |
| Tsī ¹⁴ | hats ²⁰ | leqa ^u 'we ²¹ | la ¹⁶ | ā'la. | Xānanā'ya ²² | la ¹⁶ | ā'la, | ī ²³ | la ^{u3} |
| Merely | just | died | his | child. | Sorry (it) makes | his | child, | when | that |
| | | | | | him (feel) | | | | one |
| leqa ^u 'we. ²¹ | Tsō ²⁴ | ī ⁴ | aqanā'ya. ²⁵ | Helmī'hīs ²⁶ | In ¹⁷ | Lō'wīyam. ²⁷ | | | |
| died. | Now | they | buried it. | Next day | not | (he) eats. | | | |
| La ^{u3} | maha'ē'wat ²⁸ | lē ²⁹ | ā'la. | Heclī' ^l entc ³⁰ | qaḥīmī'ye ¹³ | la ^{u3} | | | |
| That | is looking after it | the | child. | Four times at | morning it got | that | | | |
| one | frequently | | | | | one | | | |
| laatā'ya ³¹ | lā ¹⁶ | sla'atc. ² | “E ³² | tcīne'henī. ³³ | Tā'ī ³⁴ | sla! ³⁵ | Xtcī'tcū ³⁶ | | |
| went to him | his | cousin. | “Thou | thinking art. | Halloo, | cousin! | How | | |

¹ Personal pronoun 3d person dual (§ 18).

² *sla-* COUSIN; *-atc* suffix of relationship (§ 65); *-tīnī* distributive (§§ 72, 11, 7).

³ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).

⁴ Personal pronoun 3d person plural (§ 18).

⁵ Plural stem (§ 51).

⁶ Numeral particle (§ 109).

⁷ *n-* WITH (§ 21); *hūmāk'e* WIVES (§ 78); *-e* auxiliary (§§ 44, 10, 7).

⁸ Plural formation (§ 78).

⁹ Possessive pronoun 3d person dual (§ 98).

¹⁰ Plural formation (§§ 78, 115).

¹¹ Plural formation (§ 78).

¹² *ytē* ONE (§ 101); *-en* multiplicative (§ 75).

¹³ *qaḥīm-* MORNING; *-īye* transitional (§ 35).

¹⁴ Restrictive particle (§ 94).

¹⁵ *wītwehaztc-* SICK; *-ī* neutral intransitive suffix (§§ 81, 7).

¹⁶ Possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§§ 98, 7).

¹⁷ Particle of negation (§ 112).

¹⁸ *henī-* A WHILE; *-īye* transitional (§§ 35, 9).

¹⁹ *xān-* SICK; *-īs* nominal (§ 56).

²⁰ Conjunction (§ 110).

²¹ Singular stem (§ 51).

²² *xān-* SICK; *-anāya* direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 50, 7).

²³ Conjunction WHEN, AS, SINCE, WHILE (§ 110).

²⁴ Conjunction (§ 110).

²⁵ *ege* DEAD; *-anāya* direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 50, 7).

²⁶ *helmī-* TO-MORROW; *-īs* ordinal (§§ 74, 10).

²⁷ *Lōw-* TO EAT; *-am* (§ 55).

²⁸ *maha-* TO WATCH; *-ē'wat* frequentative (§ 33).

²⁹ Definite article (§ 17).

³⁰ *he'clīl,* FOUR; *-entcīs* ordinal multiplicative (§ 76).

³¹ *la-* TO GO; *-l* transitive (§ 26); *-āya* non-active object pronoun (§ 47).

³² Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 18).

³³ *tcīne-* TO THINK; *-enī* verbal (§§ 45, 10).

³⁴ Interjection (§ 111).

³⁵ Vocative (§ 65).

³⁶ *x-* modal (§ 24); *tcīte* particle (§ 112); *-ū* interrogative (§ 73).

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|--|--|---|--|
| ye ^{ε 37} thy | fluwe ^x tcîs, ³⁸ heart, | kat'É'mîsen ³⁹ five times | qalîmî'ye ¹³ morning it gets | ûL ⁴⁰ should | wu'txe tep ⁴¹ return that | ā'la." ⁴² my child." | |
| Wândj ⁴² Thus | Llā'xEM. ⁴³ talking condition. | "In ¹⁷ "Not | hel ⁴⁴ surely | sla. ³⁵ cousin. | Hats ²⁰ e ^{ε 32} Just thou | q!a'mtsam! ⁴⁵ eat! | |
| La ^{u 3} That one | nî'wets happy | hanL ⁴⁶ will (be) | ye ^{ε 37} thy | fluwe ^x tcîs." ³⁸ heart." | Wândj ⁴² Thus | îlt. ⁴⁷ (he) told it to him. | |
| Tsō ²⁴ Now | qats ⁴⁸ still | ī'nīye ⁴⁹ no more | tcîtc ⁴² manner | û ⁵⁰ his | fluwe ^x tcîs. ³⁸ heart. | Hats ²⁰ Just | wândj ⁴² thus |
| tcîne'henî. ³³ thinking (he) is. | "E ^{ε 32} I—thee | Lalabā'mî ⁵¹ "Thee get even with, | hanLel." ⁵² shall surely." | Ā'yu ⁵³ Surely | īn ¹⁷ not | yū ⁵⁴ very | |
| he'nīye ¹⁸ long time | ā'yu ⁵³ surely | wîtcwehe ^x tcî ¹⁵ sick it is | la ¹⁶ his | ā'la. child. | īn ¹⁷ Not | he'nīye ¹⁸ long time | |
| xā'nîs. ¹⁹ sick. | Māndj ⁵⁵ Already | leqa'u'we. ²¹ (it) died. | Hē'kwaînta ⁵⁶ Very bad | û ⁵⁰ his | fluwe ^x tcîs, ³⁸ heart | | |
| î ²³ la ^{u 3} when that one | leqa'u'we ²¹ died | la ¹⁶ ā'la. his child. | Ā'yu ⁵³ Surely | cîl'ye ⁵⁷ indeed it was | *E ²⁹ he | wândj ⁴² thus | |
| Llā'xEM, ⁴³ talking condition | î ²³ la ^{u 3} when that one | dōwā'ya ⁵⁸ wants it | wu'txe (to) return | la ¹⁶ his | ā'la. child. | Tsō ²⁴ Now | ā'yu ⁵³ surely |
| tcî ⁵⁹ there | la. (he) went. | "Tā'î ³⁴ "Halloo, | sla! ³⁵ cousin! | Ā'yu ⁵³ Surely | cūL ⁶⁰ ought | wutxa'xa ⁶¹ (to) return singly | EîT ⁶² about to |
| te'îs ⁶³ this our (dual) | ā'la. child. | Kat'É'mîsen ³⁹ Five times | qalîmî'ye ¹³ morning it gets | ûx ¹ they two | wu'txe return | hanL ⁴⁶ shall | te'îs ⁶³ these our (dual) |
| ā'la." children." | Wândj ⁴² Thus | îlt. ⁴⁷ (he) told it to him. | "In ¹⁷ "Not | hel ⁴⁴ surely | sla! ³⁵ cousin! | Hats ²⁰ Just | hanL ⁴⁶ shalt |
| e ^{ε 32} q!a'mtsam! ⁴⁵ thou eat! | La ^{u 3} That one | nî'wets happy | hanL ⁴⁶ will (be) | ye ^{ε 37} thy | fluwe ^x tcîs." ³⁸ heart." | Wândj ⁴² Thus | |
| Llā'xEM. ⁴³ talking condition. | "Qaiku ⁶⁴ "(I) thought | ûx ¹ they two | wutxa'xa ⁶¹ return singly | EîT ⁶² about to | te'îs ⁶³ these our (dual) | hî'me, ¹¹ children, | ta ⁶⁵ and |

³⁷ Possessive pronoun 2d person singular (§ 98).³⁸ *fluwe^xtcî*- HEART (?); -*is* nominal (§ 56).³⁹ *kat'É'mîs* FOUR; -*en* multiplicative (§ 75).⁴⁰ Syntactic particle denoting the optative (§ 91).⁴¹ Possessive pronoun 1st person singular (§ 98).⁴² Modal adverb (§ 106).⁴³ *Llā'*- TO SPEAK; -*xEM* generic (§ 30).⁴⁴ Syntactic particle denoting degree of certainty (§§ 88, 7).⁴⁵ *q!m-* TO EAT; -*ts* transitive (§ 26); -*am* (§§ 55, 11).⁴⁶ Syntactic particle (§ 87).⁴⁷ *îlt-* TO TELL TO; -*t* transitive (§ 26).⁴⁸ Syntactic particle (§ 89).⁴⁹ *īn* NOT; -*īye* transitional (§ 35).⁵⁰ Sign of possession (§ 97).⁵¹ *Lala-* TO GET EVEN WITH; -*āmi* transitive subject and object pronoun I—THEE (§§ 46, 10).⁵² *hanL* SHALL; *il* SURELY (§§ 87, 88, 7).⁵³ Modal adverb (§ 106).⁵⁴ Modal adverb (§ 106).⁵⁵ Temporal adverb (§ 106).⁵⁶ Syntactic particle (§ 93); *ta* so [literally, VERILY, NOT SO] (§ 106).⁵⁷ *cîl* syntactic particle (§ 90); -*īye* transitional (§ 35).⁵⁸ *dōw-* TO WISH, TO DESIRE; -*āya* non-active object pronoun (§ 47).⁵⁹ Local adverb (§ 104).⁶⁰ Syntactic particle (§§ 90, 91).⁶¹ Reduplicated stem *wutx* TO COME BACK (§ 83).⁶² Syntactic particle (§ 87).⁶³ Possessive pronoun inclusive, dual (§ 98).⁶⁴ Syntactic particle denoting degree of knowledge (§ 88).⁶⁵ Conjunction (§ 110).

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| qats ⁴⁸ | la ^{u3} | ēn ⁶⁶ | dōwā'ya ⁵⁸ | xwändj. ⁶⁷ | Hēi ⁶⁸ | hanL ⁴⁶ | yîqa ⁶⁹ | in ¹⁷ |
| however | that thing | thou not | didst want it | thus. | (Emphatic) | shall | still | not |
| wûtxa'xa ⁶¹ | EîT ⁶² | yanLawe ⁷⁰ | mā | leqa ^{u'} we, ²¹ | nāyîm ⁷¹ | ēn ⁶⁶ | dōwā'ya ⁵⁸ | |
| return singly | going to | whenever | beings | die, | because | thou not | didst want it | |
| xwändj. ⁶⁷ | Xnōwe ⁷² | î ²³ | cîl ⁵⁷ | te ⁷³ | xwändj ⁶⁷ | e ^{ε32} | îltā'îs. ⁷⁴ | Wändj ⁴² |
| thus. | Right | when | indeed | that there | thus | thou didst tell it to, thou-me." | Thus | |
| tcîne'henî. ³³ | Mā ⁷⁵ | xnōwe ⁷² | lela ^{u3} | wändj ⁴² | îlt. ⁴⁷ | Kat'E'mîsen ³⁹ | | |
| thinking (he) is. | However | right | that's (the thing) | thus | (he) told it to him. | Five times | | |
| qalîmî'ye ¹³ | ûL ⁴⁰ | wutxa'xa ⁶¹ | EîT, ⁶² | yûL ⁷⁶ | xwändj ⁶⁷ | Llâts. ⁷⁷ | LE'γî | ûL, ⁴⁰ |
| morning it gets | should | return singly | going to | if should | thus | speak. | Good | would be |
| yûl. ⁷⁶ | kat E'mîsen ³⁹ | qalîmî'ye ¹³ | wutxa'xa ⁶¹ | EîT ⁶² | he ²⁹ | mā | leqa ^{u'} we. ²¹ | |
| if should | five times | morning it gets | return singly | inten- tion | the people (who) | | die. | |
| Tsō ²⁴ | yîqai'nî ⁷⁸ | hela'qaxem. ⁷⁹ | Wändj ⁴² | hâtet!enî'yeqem. ⁸⁰ | | | | |
| Now | so far | it got (the story). | Thus | the story is being told. | | | | |

[Translation]

Once upon a time there were two cousins. They lived together. They were both married, and each had a little boy. One morning one of the boys became sick. He was not sick long before he died. The father felt sorry when the child died. Then they buried it.

The next day he (the father of the dead boy) could not eat. He was merely looking at the dead child. On the fourth day he went to his cousin. "Halloo, cousin! What do you think? Should my child return after five days?"—"Oh, no, cousin!" answered the other one. "You simply eat, and you will feel happy." He did not know what to answer. He was merely thinking to himself, "I will certainly get even with you."

After a short time the other man's child became sick. It was not ill very long before it died. The father was very much grieved when his child died. He therefore went to his neighbor and said to him, "Halloo, cousin! I think our two children ought to return. They ought to come back after five days." But the other man answered,

⁶⁶ *ε* THOU (§ 18); *in* NOT (§ 112, 9).

⁶⁷ *x-* modal (§ 24); *wändj* THUS (§ 106).

⁶⁸ Syntactic particle (§ 93).

⁶⁹ Syntactic particle (§ 89).

⁷⁰ *yanL* IF (future)(§ 91); *he* CUSTOMARILY (§ 87).

⁷¹ Syntactic particle (§ 89).

⁷² *x-* modal (§ 24); *nōwe* ALL RIGHT.

⁷³ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).

⁷⁴ *îl-* TO TELL, *-t* transitive (§ 26); *-âis* transitive subject and object pronoun (§ 46).

⁷⁵ Syntactic particle (§ 89).

⁷⁶ Particle denoting the optative (§ 91).

⁷⁷ *L'û-* TO SPEAK; *-ts* transitive (§ 26).

⁷⁸ Adverb (§ 104).

⁷⁹ *helaq* TO ARRIVE; *-xem* generic (§§ 30 4, 11).

⁸⁰ *hâtcit!* STORY; *-enî* verbal (§§ 45, 11); *-îyeqem* passive (§ 40).

"Oh, no, cousin! You just eat and you will feel happy again. I had intended that our dead children should come back, but you did not wish it that way. And now, whenever people die, they will not come back, because you objected to it. You were right when you spoke against it."

He was justified in thus addressing him. People would have come back after five days if he had originally consented to it. It would have been good if the dead people could come back. Here the story ends. In this manner people relate this story.

THE THEFT OF FIRE AND WATER

| | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Nmä'heñet ¹ With people it (mutually) was | tē ² that there | Lltā. land. | Gō ^u s ³ All | tēite ⁴ kinds | ñ'mx'nē ⁱ ⁵ mixed up (they were) mutually | mā. (the) beings. |
| ñ ⁶ k'läte!wāl. ⁷ They without fire. | ñ ⁶ k'lāxā ^a p. ⁷ They without water. | ñ ⁸ dī ⁹ When something they eat frequently | ñ ⁶ Lōwē ⁱ 'wat ¹⁰ they eat frequently | ñ ⁶ Lōwē ⁱ 'wat ¹⁰ they eat frequently | ñ ⁶ Lōwē ⁱ 'wat ¹⁰ they eat frequently | ñ ⁶ Lōwē ⁱ 'wat ¹⁰ they eat frequently |
| ēit, ¹¹ la ^u ² intend, that thing | ñ ⁶ L!pēqaqa'ē'wat. ¹² in the arm-pits to be, cause it frequently. | Xle'ite ¹³ With it with | t'a'lats. ¹⁴ (they) dance. | La ^u ² Those | | |
| temā'Le ¹⁵ old | mā people | la ^u ² that cause it to be under- neath, frequently | teñcila'ē'wat ¹⁶ he. ¹¹ custom- arily. | he. ¹¹ custom- arily. | Tsō ⁸ he ¹¹ Now custom- arily | pī'ctēi, ¹⁷ warm it gets, |
| tsō ⁸ he ¹¹ la ^u ² now custom- arily thing | q!mīts. ¹⁸ (they) eat. | Yuwe ¹⁹ Whenever | qa'lyeq L'le, salmon comes out, | L'le, they are the ones | la ^u ² he ¹¹ ñ ⁶ usually they | ñ ⁶ usually they |
| Ltlē'yat. ²⁰ scoop it out. | Wändj ²¹ That way | yuxtik. ²¹ barely | he'ñ ²² their | Lōwā'was. ²³ food. | La ^u ² That thing | La ^u ² That thing |
| skweyenī'yeqem ²⁴ it is talked about | le ²⁵ the | te!wāl. fire. | "Xte'icū ²⁶ "How | ūL, ²⁷ would it be, | yūL ²⁷ if should | la ^u ² ñ ⁶ that we thing |

¹n- adverbial (§ 21); mā PEOPLE; -e auxiliary (§§ 44,10); -n distributive (§§ 37,25); -i transitive (§§ 26, 4).

²Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).

³Numeral particle (§ 109).

⁴Particle (§ 112).

⁵ñmx- TO MIX; -ñēⁱ distributive (§ 37).

⁶Personal pronoun 3d person plural (§ 18)

⁷k'ā- privative (§ 20).

⁸Conjunction (§ 110).

⁹Pronominal particle (§ 108).

¹⁰Lōu- TO EAT; -ē'wat frequentative (§§ 33, 8).

¹¹Syntactic particle (§ 87).

¹²L!pēq- TO BE IN ARM-PITS; -aē'wat frequentative causative (§ 34); see also reduplication (§ 83).

¹³x- instrumental (§ 24); lE article (§ 17); -ite instrumental (§ 70).

¹⁴t'al- TO DANCE; -ts transitive (§ 26).

¹⁵Plural formation (§ 78).

¹⁶teñcill MAT; -aē'wat frequentative causative (§ 34).

¹⁷pīctē- TO BE WARM; -ī neutral intransitive (§ 31).

¹⁸q!m- TO EAT; -ts transitive (§ 26).

¹⁹yū VERY (§ 106); he CUSTOMARILY (§ 87); see also § 9.

²⁰Ltlē- TO SCOOP OUT; -yat causative (§§ 27, 2).

²¹Modal adverb (§ 106).

²²Possessive pronoun 3d person plural (§ 98).

²³Lōu- TO EAT; -āwas verbal abstract (§§ 59, 8).

²⁴skw- TO TALK ABOUT; -enī verbal (§ 45); -īyeqem passive (§§ 40, 9).

²⁵Article (§ 17).

²⁶x- modal (§ 24); tēite MANNER (§ 112); -ū interrogative (§ 73).

²⁷Syntactic particle (§ 91).

²⁸Personal pronoun 1st person plural (§ 15).

| | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| háatá'ya? ²⁹ | — | “Tcī ³⁰ hanL ³¹ ín ²⁸ ía.” | Tsō ⁸ ā'yu ²¹ tcī ³⁰ íí ⁶ ía. |
| go to it?” | — | “There shall we go.” | Now surely there they went. |
| Ā'yu ²¹ tcī ³⁰ íí ⁶ he'laq. | Ā'yu ²¹ tclíla'at ³² tē ² tcl'wāl, | íí ⁶ íí ⁶ | Surely there they arrived. Surely to burn it is caused there |
| te'xítts. ³³ | Hats ⁸ yíqax ³⁴ k'ílo'wít ³⁵ íe ²⁵ xā ^a p. | Lōwa'kats ³⁶ | entered. Just right away (he) saw it the water. Sat |
| tcī ³⁰ íe ²⁵ mā ha'lqait. ³⁷ | Xta'nuxwítē ³⁸ Lōwa'kats. ³⁶ | “Tā'í ³⁹ | there the person (he) came to. Sideways (he) was sitting. “Halloo, |
| sla! ís ⁴⁰ al'canī ⁴¹ hanL. ³¹ ” | Hats ⁸ kwa ⁴² ín ⁴ k'layaha'e'íwat. ⁴³ | íí ⁶ | cousin! We two play shall.” Just as if not (he) hears it. |
| Xpekwi'ltcume ⁴⁴ | Lōwa'kats. ³⁶ | Tsō ⁸ he'niye, ⁴⁵ tsō ⁸ í'lxats. ⁴⁶ | From the opposite side (he) sat. Now (after) a while now (he) ooked at him. |
| “Qaniya'ta ⁴⁷ e ⁴⁸ heg'ne ⁴⁹ sla hîtc ⁵⁰ cante? ⁵¹ ” | Wändj ²¹ L'láts. ⁵² | | Stranger thou my cousin (surprise) (?) ” Thus (he) spoke. |
| “E ⁴⁸ íeqa'wíya'tanī ⁵³ L. ⁵⁴ ” | “Mā ³⁴ cku ⁴² e ⁴⁸ heg' ⁴⁹ nīla'hatcem ⁵⁵ ” | | “Thou story tell must.” “But it must thou my at priority be |
| ía ye ⁵⁶ ha'u'we.” ⁵⁷ | Tsō ⁸ qats ³⁴ L'íē'tc. | He'niye ⁴⁵ e'he qanō'tca. ⁵⁸ | goes thy growth.” Now, however, (he) went out. A while (he) was gone outside. |
| Tsō ⁸ asō ⁵⁹ te'xítts. ³³ | “Tā'í ³⁹ sla! Ānta ³⁹ tē ⁱ² nī'k'íwa ³¹ ye ^{ne} u ⁵⁶ | | Now again (he) entered. “Halloo, cousin!” Look this used (to be) thy here |
| pī'í. Tē ² ye ^{ne} u ⁵⁶ pī'í la ^{u2} L'la'nēx. ⁶⁰ Tē ² hen'ne ^{u49} pī'í la ^{u2} | | | Indian That thy Indian that (is) new. That my Indian that cradle there cradle one |
| qa'lēx ⁶¹ ; ta ⁸ tē ⁱ² nī'k'íwa ³¹ ye ^{ne} u ⁵⁶ na'u'hín, ta ⁸ tē ⁱ² nī'k'íwa ³¹ | | | (is) old; and this used (to be) thy shinny-club, and this used (to be) here |

²⁹la- TO GO; -t transitive (§ 26); -āya non-active object pronoun (§ 47).³⁰Local adverb (§ 104).³¹Syntactic particle (§ 87).³²tc'íl- TO BURN; -eet causative passive (§§ 41, 7).³³te't- TO ENTER; -ts transitive (§ 26).³⁴Syntactic particle (§ 89).³⁵k'ílo- TO SEE; -t transitive (§§ 26, 8).³⁶Lōwku- TO SIT; -ts transitive (§§ 26, 11).³⁷hēlq- TO ARRIVE; -t transitive (§§ 26, 7, 11).³⁸x- modal (§ 24); tanuxu- SIDE; -ítc modal (§§ 67, 8).³⁹Interjection (§ 111).⁴⁰Personal pronoun inclusive, dual (§ 18).⁴¹alēc TOY; -enī verbal (§§ 45, 7).⁴²Syntactic particle (§ 88).⁴³k'ayaha- TO HEAR; -ē'íwat frequentative (§ 33).⁴⁴x- locative (§ 22); pekwi- OPPOSITE; -tc adverbial (§§ 25, 104); -ume nominalizing (§ 64).⁴⁵henī- A WHILE; -íye transitional (§§ 35, 9).⁴⁶ílx- TO LOOK; -ts transitive (§ 26).⁴⁷qaniya'ta BELONGING TO A DIFFERENT TRIBE, A STRANGER.⁴⁸Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 18).⁴⁹Possessive pronoun 1st person singular (§ 98).⁵⁰Syntactic particle (§ 90).⁵¹CAN NOT BE ANALYZED.⁵²L'í- TO SPEAK; -ts transitive (§ 26).⁵³íeqa'wíyatats STORY (compare íeqa'wē TO DIE); -enī verbal (§§ 45, 7).⁵⁴Syntactic particle (§ 92).⁵⁵n- adverbial (§ 21); íla BEFORE (§ 104); -tc adverbial (§§ 25, 103, 10, 7); -em adverbial abstract (§ 58).⁵⁶Possessive pronoun 2d person singular (§§ 18, 98).⁵⁷hau- TO GROW; -e (§ 80); see also §§ 8, 118.⁵⁸qanō- OUTSIDE; -tc adverbial (§§ 25, 104); -a directive (§ 55).⁵⁹Temporal adverb (§ 105).⁶⁰L'an- NEW; -ēx adjectival (§ 66).⁶¹qa- OLD (compare qalu WINTER); -ēx adjectival (§ 66).

| | | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|---|--|---|
| heŋ'ne ^{u49} my | na ^u /hîn, shinny-club, | ta ⁸ tē ¹² and this here | nī'k'wa ³¹ used (to be) | ye ^e ne ^{u56} thy | kwā'sîs, ⁶² ball, | ta ⁸ tē ¹² and this here |
| nī'k'wa ³¹ used (to be) | heŋ'ne ^{u49} my | kwā'sîs. ⁶² ball. | L!a'nēx ⁶⁰ New (is) | ye ^e ne ^{u56} thy | kwā'sîs. ⁶² ball. | Qa'lēx ⁶¹ Old (is) |
| tē ¹² this here | heŋ'ne ^{u49} my | kwā'sîs. ⁶² ball. | Kwa ⁴² As if | kwe ⁴² perhaps | yū ²¹ in ⁴ very not | ā'yu ²¹ L ⁵⁴ sla. ⁷⁹ surely (be) must cousin." |
| Tcī ³⁰ There | hītō'tsa'texa. ⁶³ (he) put them down for him. | Ā'yu ²¹ Surely | k'îlō'wît. ³⁵ (he) saw it. | “Ā'yu ²¹ “Surely | cīh'ye ⁶⁴ indeed it is | sla. cousin |
| Tcī ³⁰ There | îl ⁶⁵ surely | e ^e 48 Lō'uk ^u . thou sit down. | Îs ⁴⁰ We two | alī'canī ⁴¹ play | hanL. ⁷⁹ 31 shall." | Tsō ⁸ ā'yu ²¹ ūx ⁶⁶ Now surely they two |
| hañtī'teme ^u . ⁶⁷ gamble together. | “Yī'kwanL ⁶⁸ “Perhaps shall | dī'htc'e'tc ⁶⁹ something with | teŋ ⁷⁰ that I | L!aqa'ē'wat, ⁷¹ point my finger at him frequently, | | |
| î ⁸ when | la ^u 2 that one | L'teta ⁷² puts (his) hands behind (his) back (one of) | le ²⁵ the | na'm ^e xqa? ⁷³ players?" | Tcīne'henī. ⁷³ (He) is thinking. | “Yī'kūL ⁷⁴ “Perhaps would be |
| xtcītc ⁷⁵ in the manner | yūL ²⁷ if would | wī'yetc a piece of abalone shell | nxwa'lxwal ⁷⁶ in eye | n ⁷⁷ I | x'Lōwa'ē'wat? ⁷⁸ cause it to be inside? | |
| Lexa'tcem ⁷⁹ Inside, the part | hanL ³¹ shall | n ⁷⁷ qa'qał. I sleep. | Cīn ⁸⁰ You | L!ō'k'îñā'îs ⁸¹ support you-me | hanL, ³¹ shall, | yanL ²⁷ if shall. |
| n ⁷⁷ I | L'teta. ⁷² 72 put (my hands) behind (my) back." | Wāndj ²¹ Thus | L!ā'xem. ⁸² talking, condition. | Wāndj ²¹ îl ⁸³ Thus (he) told the it to | le ²⁵ the | ma'nat. crowd. |
| Ā'yu ²¹ Surely | yīqa'x ³⁴ just | wāndj. ²¹ that way. | Tsō ⁸ Now | ā'yu ²¹ surely | L!aqa'ē'wat, ⁷¹ (he) points (the) finger at him, frequently | î ⁸ la ^u 2 when that one |
| L'te'ta. ⁷² hands (his) hands behind (his) back. | Ā'yu ²¹ Surely | yūxwā' ¹⁰⁹ two | mā L!ō'k'îñē'wat, ⁸⁴ persons support him steadily. | Tcī'tcū ⁸⁵ How | c ^e 86 dī'î ⁹ sur- prise | |
| îtsēm. ⁸⁷ happened. | Xya'bas ⁸⁸ Maggots | yaptī'tsa ⁸⁹ ate up | lā ⁹⁰ his | pī'lik'îs, ⁹¹ anus, | lā ⁹⁰ his | ye'es, lā ⁹⁰ tcūl, lā ⁹⁰ face, his nosc, his |

⁶²kwā'sîs-?; -îs nominal (§ 56).

⁶³hītōw- TO PUT DOWN; -ts transitive (§ 26); -tex direct object pronoun plural (§ 54); -a indirect object pronoun (§ 49; see also § 7).

⁶⁴cīl syntactic particle (§ 90); -îye transitional (§ 35).

⁶⁵Syntactic particle (§ 88).

⁶⁶Personal pronoun 3d person dual (§ 18).

⁶⁷ha-t TO GAMBLE; -t transitive (§ 26); -t transitive (§ 26); -meu reciprocal (§ 29; see also § 4).

⁶⁸yīku syntactic particle (§ 88); hanL SHALL (§§ 87, 8, 9).

⁶⁹dī'î SOMETHING (§ 108); -tc adverbial (§ 25); -etc instrumental (§ 70).

⁷⁰Personal pronoun 1st person singular (§§ 18, 98).

⁷¹L!aqa- TO POINT AT; -ē'wat frequentative (§ 33).

⁷²L!teta TO PUT ONE'S HAND BEHIND THE BACK (during a game).

⁷³tcīn- TO THINK; -enī verbal (§§ 45, 10).

⁷⁴yīku PERHAPS (§ 88); ūL WOULD BE (§§ 91, 9).

⁷⁵x- modal (§ 24); tcītc particle (§ 112).

⁷⁶n- adverbial (§ 21); xwalxwal EYE (§§ 83, 116).

⁷⁷Personal pronoun 1st person singular (§ 18).

⁷⁸x'Lōw- TO BE INSIDE (§ 54); -ā'ē'wat frequentative causative (§§ 34, 8).

⁷⁹lexatc INSIDE (§ 104); -em adverbial abstract (§ 58).

⁸⁰Personal pronoun 2d person plural (§ 18).

⁸¹L!ō'k'îñ- TO STEADY, TO SUPPORT; -ā'îs transitive, subject and object pronoun THOU-ME (§ 46).

⁸²L!ā- TO TALK; -xem generic suffix (§ 30).

⁸³îl- TO SAY TO; -t transitive (§ 26).

⁸⁴L!ō'k'îñ- TO SUPPORT; -ē'wat frequentative (§ 33).

⁸⁵tcītc particle (§ 112); -ū interrogative (§ 73).

⁸⁶Syntactic particle denoting surprise (§ 90).

⁸⁷îts- TO DO, TO BE (§ 113); -em suffix defining the subject (§ 30).

⁸⁸x- discriminative (§ 23); yabas MAGGOT.

⁸⁹yab- MAGGOT; -t transitive (§ 26); -ts transitive (§§ 26, 25); -a indirect object pronoun (§ 49).

⁹⁰Possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§ 98).

⁹¹pī'lik- ANUS; -îs nominal (§ 56).

| | | | | | | |
|--|---|--|--|---|---|---|
| <i>k^uha'nās.</i> ears. | <i>Hīs</i> ⁸ Also | <i>inheni'yees</i> ⁹² (in) no time | <i>xya'bas</i> ⁸⁸ maggots | <i>q!mīts.</i> ¹⁸ ate him. | <i>La^u 2 in 4</i> That not | <i>la^u 2</i> that thing |
| <i>f'lxats.</i> ⁴⁶ (at) looked. | <i>Hats</i> ⁸ Just | <i>y'qa</i> ³⁴ continually | <i>tcī</i> ³⁰ there | <i>Lōwa'kats.</i> ³⁶ (he) sat. | <i>Xyūxwā'</i> ⁹³ Two | <i>mā</i> persons |
| <i>Lō^xk'īnē'wat</i> ⁸⁴ support him steadily | | <i>xpqai'hite.</i> ⁹⁴ from (the) back. | <i>Wī'yax</i> Abalone shell | <i>x'Lōwa'ē'wat</i> ⁷⁸ (he) caused to be inside | | <i>lān</i> ⁹⁵ his in |
| <i>xwa'lxwal.</i> eye. | <i>Lexa'tcem</i> ⁷⁹ Inside, the part | <i>qa'qal.</i> (he) slept. | <i>La^u 2 qats</i> ³⁴ That one just | <i>kwa</i> ⁴² as if | <i>ā'yu</i> ²¹ surely | |
| <i>kw'īnait.</i> ⁹⁶ looked at it. | <i>Hītc</i> ⁵⁰ Surprise | <i>wī'yax</i> abalone shell | <i>lē</i> ²⁵ it | <i>x'Lī'yē</i> ⁹⁷ inside it is | <i>lān</i> ⁹⁵ his in | <i>xwa'lxwal.</i> eye. |
| <i>lā'mak.</i> bones | <i>Lōwa'kats.</i> ³⁶ sitting. | <i>Asī'L</i> ³⁰ Halfway | <i>lā ū</i> ⁹⁸ goes its | <i>x'īlūwī'yē</i> ⁹⁹ growth (of) | <i>lēx</i> ¹⁰⁰ the | <i>ya'bas, ī</i> ⁸ maggots, when |
| <i>la^u 2</i> that one | <i>xya'bas</i> ⁸⁸ the maggots | <i>Lōwē'wat.</i> ¹⁰ eat him continually. | <i>ītse'ts</i> ¹⁰¹ | <i>yīku</i> ⁶⁵ <i>īl</i> ⁶⁵ May be surely | <i>la^u 2</i> he | <i>heni'yees</i> ⁹² for some time |
| <i>hī'nī</i> ³⁰ there | <i>Lōwa'kats.</i> ³⁶ (he) sat. | <i>Tsō^swāndj</i> ²¹ Now thus | <i>tcīnē'henī.</i> ⁷³ thinking. | <i>“YīkwanL</i> ⁶⁸ “Perhaps shall | <i>dī'ītce'te</i> ⁶⁹ something with | |
| <i>tēn</i> ⁷⁰ that I | <i>Llaqa'ē'wat?</i> ⁷¹ point my finger at him frequently? | <i>Hats</i> ⁸ Just | <i>kwanL</i> ¹⁰² as if shall | <i>in 4 yū</i> ²¹ not very | <i>dīl</i> ⁹ something | <i>qaya^uwīye,</i> ¹⁰³ scared, he becomes |
| <i>yūL</i> ²⁷ if would | <i>xlē'ītc</i> ¹³ with it | <i>n</i> ⁷⁷ I | <i>Llaqa'ē'wat.</i> ⁷¹ point my fingers at him frequently. | <i>Wāndj</i> ²¹ Thus | <i>tcīnē'henī.</i> ⁷³ thinking. | <i>Yī'qa</i> ³⁴ <i>in 4</i> Still not |
| <i>f'lxats</i> ⁴⁶ (he) looked at | <i>lē</i> ²⁵ the | <i>ya'bas; mā</i> ³⁴ maggots; how- ever | <i>īl</i> ⁶⁵ surely | <i>hats</i> ⁸ just | <i>lā'mak. sīl'nēī.</i> ¹⁰⁴ bones joined together. | <i>Yī'qa</i> ³⁴ <i>in 4</i> Still not |
| <i>f'lxats.</i> ⁴⁶ (he) looked at it. | <i>“Cīn</i> ¹⁰⁵ “You not | <i>k'ellē'wat.</i> ¹⁰⁶ forget it. | <i>Cīn</i> ⁸⁰ You | <i>sqats hanL</i> ⁸¹ grab shall | <i>te² te'wāl, yanL</i> ²⁷ that fire, if shall there | |
| <i>līn</i> ²⁸ we | <i>tqats.</i> ¹⁰⁷ win (game). | <i>La^u 2 hīs</i> ⁸ That one also | <i>te²</i> that there | <i>xāp cīn</i> ⁸⁰ water you | <i>x'īntī'ta</i> ¹⁰⁸ cause it to run | <i>hanL.</i> ³¹ shall.” |
| <i>Wāndj</i> ²¹ That way | <i>L!ā'xēm.</i> ⁸² talking, condition. | <i>Yīxē'ī'109</i> One | <i>mā wāndj</i> ²¹ person that way | <i>L!ā'xēm.</i> ⁸² talking, condition. | <i>“Nē'xkan</i> ¹¹⁰ “I | |
| <i>hanL</i> ³¹ shall (be) the one | <i>la^u 2 n</i> ⁷⁷ I | <i>x'īntī'yat</i> ¹¹¹ run, cause it that there | <i>te² xāp.</i> that water— | <i>—Tēi² la^u 2 e⁴⁸</i> Here the you | <i>x'īntī'yat</i> ¹¹¹ to run, cause it shall | <i>hanL</i> ³¹ |

⁹² *īn* negation (§ 112); *l* abbreviated form of *dīl* (§ 108); *henīye* A WHILE; *-ēs* noun of quality (§ 57).

⁹³ *x-* discriminative (§ 23); *yū'xwā* TWO (§ 101).

⁹⁴ *x-* FROM (§ 22); *pqai* BACK; *-ītc* local suffix (§§ 67, 10).

⁹⁵ *lā* possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§ 98); *n-* adverbial (§ 21).

⁹⁶ *kwīna-* TO LOOK; *-l* transitive (§ 26).

⁹⁷ *xL-* TO BE INSIDE (§ 54); *-īye* transitional (§ 35).

⁹⁸ Sign of possession (§ 97).

⁹⁹ *x'īlū-* DEEP; *-īye* nominal suffix (§§ 80, 8).

¹⁰⁰ *lē* article (§ 17); *x-* discriminative (§ 23).

¹⁰¹ See § 113.

¹⁰² *kwa* AS IF (§ 88); *hanL* SHALL (§§ 87, 9).

¹⁰³ *qaya^u-* TO BE AFRAID; *-īye* transitional (§§ 35, 8).

¹⁰⁴ *sīL-* TO JOIN; *-nēī* distributive (§ 37).

¹⁰⁵ *cīn* personal pronoun, 2d person plural (§ 96); *īn* NOT (see § 94).

¹⁰⁶ *k'el-* TO FORGET; *-ēwat* frequentative (§ 33); see § 83.

¹⁰⁷ *tq-* TO WIN; *-ts* transitive (§ 26).

¹⁰⁸ *x-ent-* TO RUN; *-īyat* causative (§ 27); *-a* indirect object pronoun (§§ 49, 11).

¹⁰⁹ Cardinal numeral (§ 101).

¹¹⁰ Personal pronoun 1st person singular (§ 96).

¹¹¹ *x-ent-* TO RUN; *-īyat* causative (§ 27).

te² tc!wāl.⁷⁷ Tsō⁸ xwändj²¹ ilt.⁸³ "Kwī'yal¹¹² halt!¹¹³ e^εne¹¹⁴ he¹¹
that fire." Now thus (he) told "Now now thou custom-
there if to him. arily

L!te'ta.⁷² Wändj²¹ ilt.⁸³ "Yī'kwānl⁶⁸ dī'itce'tc⁶⁹ tep⁷⁰ L!aqa'ē'wat?"⁷¹
put (thy) Thus (he) told "Perhaps shall something this point the finger at
hands behind (thy) back." it to him. with here I him continually?"

"Hats⁸ in⁴ yū²¹ dī¹⁹ yū²¹ qayawā'wāl.¹¹⁵ Ło¹¹⁶ L¹¹⁷ ūl²⁷ le'yī,
"Just not very some- very scaring. That neces- would good,
thing sarily be

yūl²⁷ x'ōwā'yasetc¹¹⁸ n⁷⁷ L!aqa'ē'wat.⁷¹ K!ātch!hā'yīms¹¹⁹ la^{u2}
if snake with I point (my) finger at Without dying down that one
should (the fire)

tc!lā'at.¹²⁰ Tsō⁸ ā'yu²¹ x'ōwā'yasetc¹¹⁸ L!a'qat.¹²¹ Łōwīti'yeqem.¹²²
to burn, it is Now surely snake with (he) pointed (the) finger (He) is watching
caused. himself.

X'ōwā'yas hān¹²³ dji'letc xa'l'mats.¹²⁴ Hats¹²⁵ kwa⁴² xtcītc⁷
Snake his at thighs wraps around. Just looks like something

itsēm.⁸⁷ Mā³⁴ ai'wa¹²⁶ in⁴ k'īlō'wīt.³⁵ Hān¹²³ we'hel la^{u2}
happened How- still not (he) sees it. His to waist that
ever one

he'laq le²⁵ x'ōwā'yas. Hān¹²³ ye'es la^{u2} kwa⁴² ūnuwīt.¹²⁷
arrived the snake. His to mouth that one as if threatens
(to go).

Ak'a'nak¹²⁸ he'ltā hēx¹²⁹ x'ōwā'yas. Hats⁸ han¹³⁰ kwa⁴²
Sticks out (the) tongue the snake. Just will as if

hān¹²³ tcūl la^{u2} te'xtīts³³ le²⁵ x'ōwā'yas. Qai'qa'yōnā'ya,¹³¹ i⁸
his in nose that one enter the snake. Afraid, (it) made him, when

la^{u2} k'īlō'wīt.³⁵ Sī'x'īts¹³² ēi'qatce.¹³³ Neqā'ya.¹³⁴ L!xanā'yēm¹³⁵
that (he) saw it. (He) shook it off one side to. (He) ran away Throw (indefinite)
one (Peopleshout at him)

ye'es. X'ī'x'īntū¹³⁶ le²⁵ tc!wāl. Hē'kwān¹³⁷ xhū'wis¹³⁸ mā
mouth. (It) is being taken the fire. Very poor person
away quickly (is)

la^{u2} x'īntī'yat¹¹¹ le²⁵ tc!wāl. Hē'yū¹³⁹ xtcā'yux^{u138} mā la^{u2}
the (to) run, causes the fire. Very small person the
one (he is) one

¹¹² Temporal adverb (§ 105).

¹¹³ Temporal adverb (§ 105).

¹¹⁴ Personal pronoun 2d person singular (§ 96).

¹¹⁵ qayaw- TO FEAR; -āwal nominal suffix (§ 59).

¹¹⁶ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 100).

¹¹⁷ Syntactic particle (§ 92).

¹¹⁸ x'ōwāyas SNAKE; -etc instrumental (§ 70).

¹¹⁹ k'īlō- privative (§ 20); tc!hā- TO EXTINGUISH; -āyīms nominal (§ 80).

¹²⁰ tc!l- TO BURN; -aat passive causative (§§ 41, 7).

¹²¹ L!aqa- TO POINT AT WITH ONE'S FINGER; -t transitive (§ 26).

¹²² Łōuzt- TO WATCH; -īyeqem passive (§§ 40, 3, 11).

¹²³ hā possessive pronoun 3d person singular (§ 98); n- adverbial (§ 21).

¹²⁴ xālm- TO WRAP AROUND; -ts transitive (§ 26).

¹²⁵ Conjunction (§ 110).

¹²⁶ Temporal adverb (§ 105).

¹²⁷ ūnuwī VERY, modal adverb (§ 106); -t transitive (§ 26).

¹²⁸ ak'a'nak- TO STICK OUT (§ 4).

¹²⁹ hē article (§ 17); x- discriminative (§ 23).

¹³⁰ Syntactic particle (§ 87).

¹³¹ qayaw- TO SCARE; -anāya direct and indirect object pronoun (§§ 50, 3, 82).

¹³² sīx- TO SHAKE OFF; -ts transitive (§ 26).

¹³³ Local adverb (§§ 104, 103, 55).

¹³⁴ nēq TO RUN AWAY; -āya non-active object pronoun (§ 47).

¹³⁵ L!xan- TO THROW; -āya (§ 47); -ēm suffix defining the subject (§§ 30, 9).

¹³⁶ x'ent- TO RUN; -ū present passive (§§ 38, 82).

¹³⁷ Syntactic particle (§ 93).

¹³⁸ x- discriminative (§ 23).

¹³⁹ hē syntactic particle (§ 93); yū VERY, modal adverb (§ 106).

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|--|--|---|
| tłkwí'tsa ¹⁴⁰ kicks it | le ²⁵ the | xā ^a p. water. | Xpiye'etc ¹⁴¹ In the manner of going home | L ^o wa'hait ¹⁴² run | he ²⁵ the | mēn. ¹⁴³ people. |
| K ^u ha'nasate ¹⁴⁴ Ear in | ha ^{u 2} that one | lexalxā'yu ¹⁴⁵ was put in | he ²⁵ the | tc!wāl. fire. | Nle'hī ¹⁴⁶ With it | la ū ⁹⁸ goes his |
| x'na'at. ¹⁴⁷ quickness (he runs). | le ²⁵ The | xā ^a p water | ha'kwal ¹⁴⁸ as if | he'mtset, ¹⁴⁹ (to) lay bare, when caused, it was, | ī ⁸ that | la ^{u 2} t!kwí'tsa. ¹⁴⁰ kicked it. |
| Māndj ¹⁵⁰ Already | hats ⁸ Just | g'í'mtset ¹⁵¹ (to) rain caused it was | le'tsīx'. ¹⁵² right here. | K ^u mene'iletc ¹⁵³ Brush into | L'xa'na ¹⁵⁴ (he) threw it, | |
| le ²⁵ the | tc!wāl. fire. | K!we'hetc ¹⁵⁵ Willow into | la ^{u 2} that one | L'ixant. ¹⁵⁶ threw it. | Hats ⁸ Just | L'ixant. ¹⁵⁶ (he) threw it, |
| māndj ¹⁵⁰ already | tkwí'litu. ¹⁵⁷ to blaze, it begins. | Tsō ⁸ Now | asō' ¹⁵⁰ again | ī ⁶ they | wu'txe returned | tsí'x'ti. ¹⁵⁸ here. |
| Xtemí'towetc ¹⁵⁹ From that time on | leī ¹⁶⁰ they | nte!wā'le. ¹⁶¹ with fire are. | Xtemí'towetc ¹⁵⁹ From that time on | towe ¹⁶² usually | g'í'mit. ¹⁶³ (it) rains. | Xwāndj ²¹ That way |
| La ^{u 2} That | xwāndj ²¹ (is) thus (the manner how) | towe ¹⁶² usually | g'í'mit. ¹⁶³ (it) rains. | Xwāndj ²¹ That way | La ¹⁶⁴ only | |
| kwee'niyēm. ¹⁶⁵ know it (indefinite). | Tsō ⁸ Now | tcī ³⁰ there | ā'wīxēm. ¹⁶⁶ end, condition. | | | |

[Translation]

The earth was full of people. All kinds of people lived in a mixed-up fashion. They had no fire or water. Whenever they wanted to eat, they would put the food under their arms (in order to heat it). They would dance with it, or the old people would sit on it. And when the food became warm, then they would eat it. Whenever salmon came ashore, they used to scoop it out.

¹⁴⁰ *t!kw-* TO KICK; -*ts* transitive (§ 26); -*a* indirect object pronoun (§ 49).

¹⁴¹ *x-* modal (§ 24); *pīx-* TO GO HOME; -*etc* modal (§ 36; also § 3).

¹⁴² *L^owa-hait-* TO RUN; -*t* transitive (§ 26).

¹⁴³ Plural formation (§ 78).

¹⁴⁴ *k^uha'nas* EAR; -*etc* local (§§ 68, 7).

¹⁴⁵ *lax-* TO BE INSIDE (singular object); -*āyu* past passive (§§ 39, 83, 54).

¹⁴⁶ *n-* adverbial (§ 21); -*le* article (§ 17); -*ī* instrumental (§§ 80, 10).

¹⁴⁷ See § 118.

¹⁴⁸ Syntactic particle (§ 88).

¹⁴⁹ *hēm-* TO LAY OPEN; -*ts* transitive (§ 26); -*et* causative passive (§ 41).

¹⁵⁰ Temporal adverb (§ 105).

¹⁵¹ *g'im-* TO RAIN; -*ts* transitive (§ 26); -*et* causative passive (§ 41).

¹⁵² *le* article (§ 17); *tsīx'* HERE, local adverb (§ 104).

¹⁵³ *kumene'īl* BRUSH; -*etc* local (§ 68).

¹⁵⁴ *L'xan-* TO THROW; -*a* indirect object pronoun (§ 49).

¹⁵⁵ *k!wehe-* WILLOW; -*etc* local (§§ 68, 9).

¹⁵⁶ *L'xan-* TO THROW; -*t* transitive (§ 26).

¹⁵⁷ *tkwīl-* TO BLAZE; -*t* transitive; -*u* transitional (§§ 35, 114).

¹⁵⁸ Local adverb (§ 104).

¹⁵⁹ *x-* FROM, locative (§ 22); *temitowetc* (see § 106).

¹⁶⁰ *le* article (§ 17); *īl* personal pronoun 3d person plural (§ 96).

¹⁶¹ *n-* WITH, instrumental (§ 21); *tc!wāl* FIRE; -*e* auxiliary (§ 44).

¹⁶² See § 87.

¹⁶³ *g'im-* TO RAIN; -*t* transitional (§§ 26, 114).

¹⁶⁴ Syntactic particle (§ 94).

¹⁶⁵ *kwaan-* TO KNOW; -*āya* non-active object pronoun (§ 47); -*ēm* suffix defining the subject (§§ 30, 7).

¹⁶⁶ *āw-* TO FINISH, TO END; -*xēm* generic (§ 30).

In this manner they had hardly any food. They were all the time talking about fire. "How would it be if we should go after fire?"—"Let us go." They went. When they arrived, they found the fire burning; and one of them saw the water. The chief of the people (to whom they came) was sitting indoors. He was sitting sideways. "Halloo, cousin!" said the earth-chief. "Let us gamble (for the fire and water)!" The sky-chief acted as if he did not hear. The earth-chief sat down opposite him. After a short time the sky-chief looked up and said, "You belong to a different tribe, so in what way are you my cousin? You must tell a story." But the earth-chief answered, "You are older than I," and he went out. After a while he came back and said, "Halloo, cousin! Look! this here is your Indian cradle.¹ Your Indian cradle¹ is new, while mine is old. And this here is your shinny-club,² while that there is my shinny-club.² This is your ball,² and that one is my ball.² Your ball² is new, but mine is old. Is it not so?" Then he put all these things before him. The sky-chief looked at them, and said, "Indeed, it is so, O cousin! Sit down here, we will gamble."

They began to play. The earth-chief thought to himself, "With what shall I point my finger at the player who puts his hand behind his back? Suppose I put a piece of abalone shell into my eye? I will sleep in the inside part of my eye." Then he said to his followers, "You shall support me when I put my hands behind my back;" and what he demanded was done.

Then he pointed his finger at him (the sky-chief) when he put his hand behind his back. Two men were supporting him. Thus things happened. Maggots began to eat up his (the sky-chief's) anus, his face, his nose, his ears. Soon the maggots ate him up; but he did not notice it. He kept on sitting there. Two men were still supporting him from the back. He had an abalone shell in his eye, and was sleeping in that inside part. Now it seemed as if the sky-chief were looking at it. To his surprise, he saw an abalone shell in the other man's eye. By this time only bones had remained of him, for

¹ "Cradle" or "bed" is a piece of canvas (in former days tanned hide) spread on the ground and stretched by means of pegs or nails, before which the player participating in the so-called "game of guessing" was squatting, while mixing the sticks in his hands, which were held behind his back. Upon receiving the guessing-signal from a player of the opposite side, the sticks were thrown on the "cradle," usually one by one, while the marked stick was laid bare.

² The informant was mistaken in the use of these terms. "Club" and "ball" are used in a game of shinny, while the game played by the two chiefs was the favorite game of "guessing."

the maggots had eaten up almost half of his body. The earth-chief was sitting there for a while, and began to think, "With what shall I point my finger at him? It seems that I ought to point at him with some very terrible thing." The sky-chief still did not look at the maggots. Only his bones, joined together, were sitting there. Still he did not look.

Now the earth-chief said to his people, "Don't forget to seize the fire as soon as we win the game.—And you take hold of the water." One of his men said, "I will run away with the water, and you ought to run with the fire." The earth-chief said to the head man of the sky-people, "Now it is your turn to put your hands behind your back." All the time he was thinking to himself, "With what shall I point my finger at him? It seems that nothing terrifies him. It will be very good if I point at him with a snake."

In the mean time the fire kept on burning. He then pointed at him with a snake. But he (the sky-chief) was on the lookout. The snake coiled around his thigh. Still he did not mind it. It crawled up to his waist and threatened to go into his mouth, all the while sticking out its tongue. Soon it seemed as if it were about to enter his nose. The sky-chief became afraid when he saw this. He shook off the snake and ran away. People were shouting at him.

The earth people quickly seized the fire. A very poor man ran away with the fire, while a little man kicked the water. They were running homewards. The man put the fire into his ear while running. As soon as the water was spilled, it began to rain. The fire was thrown into some willow-brush, and soon began to blaze. Thus they returned. From that time on, people have had fire; and from that time on, it has rained. Thus only the story is known. This is the end of it.

SIUSLAWAN (LOWER UMPQUA)

BY

LEO J. FRACHTENBERG



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INTRODUCTION

In 1884 J. Owen Dorsey spent a month at the Siletz reservation, Oregon, collecting short vocabularies of the Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua, as well as of other languages. Prior to Dorsey's investigations the linguistic position of Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua was a debated question. Some investigators believed that these two dialects belonged to the Yakonan family; while others, notably Latham and Gatschet, held them to form a distinct stock, although they observed marked agreement with some features of the Yakonan. After a superficial investigation, lasting less than a month, Dorsey came to the conclusion that Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua were dialects belonging to the Yakonan stock. This assertion was repeated by J. W. Powell in his "Indian Linguistic Families" (*Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 134), and was held to be correct by all subsequent students of American Indian languages. This view, however, is not in harmony with my own investigations. A closer study of Alsea (one of the Yakonan dialects) on the one hand, and of Lower Umpqua on the other, proves conclusively that Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua form a distinct family, which I propose to call the Siuslawan linguistic stock.¹ The term "Siuslaw" was given preference over "Umpqua" or "Lower Umpqua," in order to avoid the ambiguity of meaning which might arise from the fact that we have become accustomed to call the Athapascan dialect, spoken on the upper course of the Umpqua river, the "Upper Umpqua."

The material on which the following sketch is based was collected, under the joint auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology and of Columbia University, on the Siletz reservation, Oregon, during the months of March, April, and May, 1911.

My principal informant was Louisa Smith, a Lower Umpqua Indian over 70 years of age. Her advanced years, her absolute lack of knowledge of the English language, her ill health, and, above all, the fact that prior to my arrival on the reservation she had

¹It is not at all impossible that this stock, the Yakonan, Kusan, and perhaps the Kalapuyan, may eventually prove to be genetically related. Their affinities are so remote, however, that I prefer to take a conservative position, and to treat them for the time being as independent stocks.

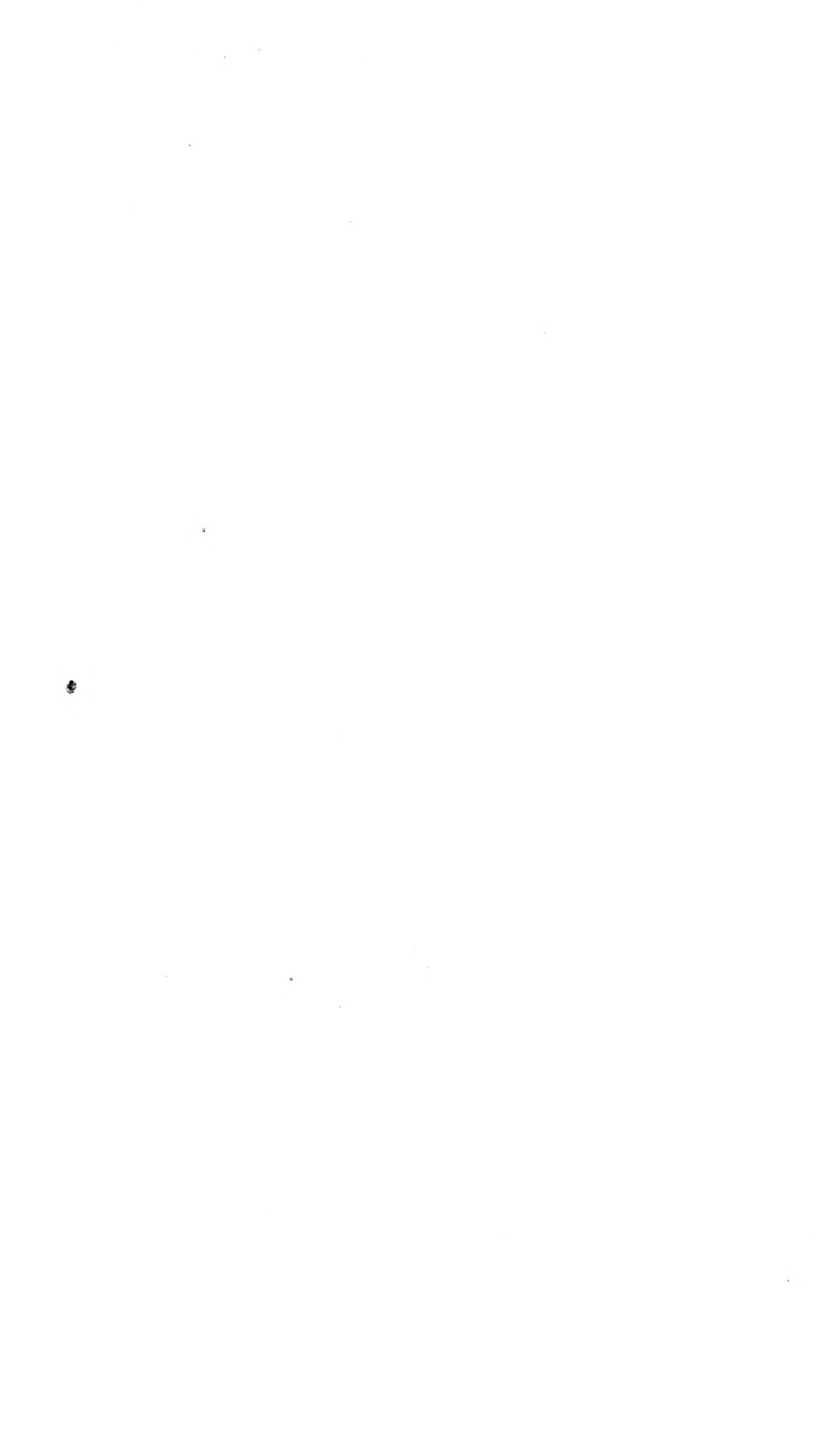
not used her native tongue for a considerable period, rendered her a poor, though willing informant. In the course of this investigation it was therefore necessary to employ such additional informants and interpreters as were available. By far the most important of these was William Smith, an Alsea Indian and the husband of Louisa, who had spent his childhood among the Siuslaw Indians, from whom he had gained a fairly good knowledge of their language. But he, too, was far from being an ideal informant. His command of English was imperfect, his degree of intelligence rather limited, his pronunciation of Lower Umpqua was affected by Alsea phonetics, and he was only too often unable to keep apart the Siuslaw, Lower Umpqua, and Alsea forms of a given word. However, in spite of these deficiencies, his services proved highly valuable, because, having previously assisted me in my work on the Alsea language, he knew more or less what was wanted of him. My other informants were Spencer Scott, a son of Louisa; Louis Smith, a full-blooded Lower Umpqua Indian; and Hank Johnson, the son of a Lower Umpqua father and of an Alsea mother. The three last mentioned were, comparatively speaking, young men, whose knowledge of Lower Umpqua was imperfect and rather vague. They were employed solely for the purpose of settling questions that pertained to phonetics, and of disentangling the frequent difficulties that were involved in the collection and translation of texts; and if I add that throughout the progress of this work, Louisa Smith was suffering from a severe ear-ache (which at times rendered her absolutely deaf), that William Smith had to undergo frequent surgical operations because of a poisoned finger, and that my other informants could give me only part of their time, I shall have mentioned all the difficulties under which the following material was collected. Should this sketch, therefore, be found deficient in completeness of treatment and clearness of interpretation, it will have to be accounted for by the extraordinary circumstances under which the work was conducted.

But if the actual work involved in this investigation was rather trying and tiresome, there were other features connected with it that rendered it pleasant and enjoyable. These features consist of the many courtesies and helpful assistance received from the inhabitants of Siletz; and it is a great source of pleasure to me to record my deep gratitude to these kind friends. My greatest obligations are due to

Superintendent and Mrs. Knott C. Egbert, to the former for his untiring efforts to assist me, both officially and personally, in whatever way he could, and to the latter for the motherly care with which she attended to my personal wants throughout my stay at the reservation. My sincere thanks are also due to Dr. Maximilian F. Clausius, the physician of the Siletz agency, for the numerous tokens of friendship received at his hand.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,

September, 1911.



SIUSLAWAN (LOWER UMPQUA)

By LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

The Siuslawan stock embraces two closely related dialects—Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw—that were spoken by the people living on the lower courses of the Umpqua and Siuslaw rivers, in the southern part of Oregon. Their northern neighbors were the Alsea Indians¹ (whom they called *Hanī's hītc*²), on the east they came in contact with the Kalapuya (chiefly the Yonkalla tribe, known to them as the *Qa'axqax*), and on the south they were contiguous to the Coos (*Qū'yax*). The territory of the Lower Umpqua was bounded on the north by Five Mile lake, on the south by Ten Mile lake, while on the east they claimed the whole region adjoining the Umpqua river as far as Scottsburg. The possessions of the Siuslaw Indians extended as far south as Five Mile lake, on the north they bordered on the Yahach river, and eastwards they extended as far as Mapleton. Thus it may safely be assumed that these two dialects were spoken in the western parts of what are known today as Lane and Douglas counties. No information pertaining to the previous strength of these two tribes could be obtained. Their numbers have been so greatly reduced, that, besides the four individuals who served as my informants, and the two or three Siuslaw Indians said to be living near Florence, Lane county, there are no other members living; and since these people no longer converse in their native tongue, the Siuslaw family may be looked upon as an extinct linguistic stock.

¹ One of the two members of the Yakonan family.

² For explanation of alphabet see pp. 443, 444.

The Lower Umpqua call themselves *Qū'itc*, and refer to their language as *Qū'itcax wa'as*. These terms are of native origin, and are formed from the stem *qū'ī* or *qō'ī* SOUTH. The Alsea called them *Tkul-mā'k'*, and they were known to the Coos as *Bıldjī'yex*, i. e. NORTHERN Indians. The Siuslaw refer to themselves as *Cā'yuc̄la*, and were called *Cā'yūcle* by the Coos and *Qwas* or *Kwas* by the Alsea Indians. The etymology of these names could not be ascertained.

Judging from the scanty notes on Siuslaw obtained by Dorsey and myself, the differences between this dialect and Lower Umpqua were very slight and of a purely phonetic and lexicographic character. No distinct morphological formations were found. The chief phonetic feature that seems to separate these two dialects is the change of a Lower Umpqua *n* into *l* in Siuslaw.

| Lower Umpqua | Siuslaw |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>pā'nū</i> | <i>pā'l'ū</i> well, spring 76.12 |
| <i>qanī'nal</i> 19.6 | <i>qalī'nal</i> knife 50.19 |
| <i>qa'nnî</i> | <i>qa'lnî</i> (D.) ¹ face |
| <i>tsnā'wî</i> | <i>tsla'we</i> (D.) bone |
| <i>lkwa'nug^u</i> | <i>lkwa'luk^u</i> (D.) hat |

The lexicographical differences cover a limited number of stems and words, of which only a few examples may be quoted here.

| Lower Umpqua | Siuslaw |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>lā'n-</i> 23.7 | <i>lēcīn-</i> to call by name |
| <i>xîp-</i> | <i>yîq'a^u-</i> to split (pitch wood) |
| <i>lī'ū-</i> 8.3 | <i>xumc-</i> to come, to approach 23.2 |
| <i>t!āmc</i> 40.19 | <i>t!ī'lmîs</i> (D.) child |
| <i>xwā'ka</i> 29.5 | <i>gamî'lîs</i> (D.) head |
| <i>lī't!aⁱ</i> 34.23 | <i>wîts!ū'we</i> (D.) food |
| <i>k!wî'yōs²</i> | <i>cqa'xtc³</i> dog |
| <i>kō'tan⁴</i> 34.10 | <i>ta^wwe^x</i> (D.) ⁵ horse |

Texts of myths and tales in the Lower Umpqua dialect were collected by the author, and were published by Columbia University.⁶ All references accompanying examples refer to page and line of that publication.

¹ Words marked (D.) are quoted from Dorsey's manuscripts in possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

² Coos *kwi'yos*.

³ Apparently related to Alsea *tcqēnx*.

⁴ Chinook jargon.

⁵ Related to Alsea *l!awā'yū*.

⁶ Lower Umpqua Texts, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 4.

PHONOLOGY (§§ 2-17)

§ 2. Vowels

The vowels have short and long quantities. Resonance vowels, marked here by superior vowels, are employed often, as is also the obscure vowel *e*, which seems to be related to short *a*. In some instances, due to contact phenomena, the obscure vowel partakes of the quality of a short *o*, and is represented here by *o*. The open *e* vowel appears to be lacking, while the long \bar{e} frequently glides from \bar{e} to \bar{i} and resembles a long \bar{i} . Significant pitch appears in a few cases (see p. 447).

The a^i - and a^u diphthongs occur in two distinct forms, one with the initial element short or long (a^i , a^u , \bar{a}^i , \bar{a}^u), and the other with the first element short and the second long ($a^{\bar{i}}$ and $a^{\bar{u}}$). The latter two forms are closely related to the long \bar{i} and \bar{u} with which they constantly interchange. This interchange usually takes place after *a*, *h*, *m*, *n*, *q*, *x*, and *l*, although numerous instances will be found where the substitution of $a^{\bar{i}}$ and $a^{\bar{u}}$ for \bar{i} and \bar{u} respectively has taken place after vowels and consonants other than those enumerated, or where the interchange does not occur at all.

Examples of interchange between \bar{i} and $a^{\bar{i}}$:

inq!a'ī 30.23

māla'ītīn

sī'naxīt 46.18

tī'k^enax here thou 56.19

hate'v'xam he was asked 66.16

tsū'k!yan hī'sītī ha³ I am very glad 25.8

inq!a'a^ī river 30.20

qamāla'a^ītīn my mother 100.12

cū'naxīt he thinks 90.15

ta^v'k^ens here we two (incl.) 56.6

skwaha^v'xam it is placed (in)

ta^v'k^ens aya'qā^ītī sī'xa^ī here we two (incl.) shall leave our canoe 56.5

Examples of interchange between \bar{u} and $a^{\bar{u}}$:

wad'ūn 7.4

waxa'yūtsm_E he gave him

his . . . 76.9

k!īmūL' Lūn

hī'yatsī'tsūn he put it on 11.8

pīlq^utsū'nī made of raccoon (hides) 70.23, 24

kā'tūtūn I tire him out

yāk!āsk'īnū' L!aya' on a small place 38.19

wad'a^{ūn} he says to him 20.7

tkwīha'ha^utsm_E he buried his . . . 40.22

k!īmā^ūL' Lūn I am hitting him

āqa'qa^{ūn} he took it off 13.1

hamxa^ū'nī made of tied (grass) 8.6

kā'la^ūtīn I am tired

māk!a^ū' L!aya' in a bad place 12.10; 13.1

The Siuslaw¹ system of vowels and diphthongs may be represented as follows:

| Vowels | | | | | | Semi-vowels | | Diphthongs | | | | | |
|----------|------------|-------------|----------|----------|----------|-------------|----------|------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | | <i>B, o</i> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>a</i> | <i>(e)</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>î</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>û</i> | <i>w</i> | <i>y</i> | <i>aⁱ</i> | <i>a^u</i> | <i>aⁱ</i> | <i>a^û</i> | <i>wⁱ</i> |
| <i>ā</i> | <i>ä</i> | <i>ē</i> | <i>î</i> | <i>ō</i> | <i>ū</i> | | | | <i>āⁱ</i> | <i>ā^u</i> | | | <i>ūⁱ</i> |

The unlauded *ā* occurs rarely, and is pronounced like *ä* in German *wählen*; *î* is pronounced like the Slavic short *y*-vowel; and *û* indicates very short quantity.

§ 3. Consonants

The consonantic system deviates in a great many respects from those of the neighboring tribes. Its chief characteristics are the total absence of the anterior palatal series (*g*, *k*, *k'*, *w*); the absence of all sonants excepting *d*; the presence of a palatal lateral (*l*); and, above all, the occurrence of a double series of glottalized explosives differing in the quality and amount of stress employed in their production. The real explosives are followed in this sketch by the sign of exclamation (!), while the glottalized stops of ordinary strength will be found accompanied by the apostrophe ('). The latter seem to be confined to the consonants of the dental series and to *k*. The surds *t* and *k* occur also as aspirated consonants.

The following table illustrates the Siuslaw consonantic system:

| | Sonant | Surd | Fortis | Aspirated | Spirant | Nasal |
|-------------------|----------|---------------|------------------|-----------|----------------------|----------|
| Velar..... | — | <i>q</i> | <i>q'</i> | — | <i>w</i> | — |
| Palatal..... | — | <i>k(w)</i> | <i>k'!(w)</i> | <i>k'</i> | — | — |
| Alveolar..... | <i>d</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>t'!, t'</i> | <i>t'</i> | <i>s, c</i> | <i>n</i> |
| Affricative..... | — | <i>ts, tc</i> | <i>ts'!, tc'</i> | — | — | — |
| | | | <i>ts', tc'</i> | | | |
| Labial..... | — | <i>p</i> | <i>p'!(?)</i> | — | — | <i>m</i> |
| Lateral..... | — | <i>L</i> | <i>L'!</i> | | <i>l, l', l̄</i> | — |
| Glottal stop..... | <i>ε</i> | | | | | |
| Aspiration..... | ' | | | | | |
| | | <i>y</i> | <i>h</i> | <i>w</i> | <i>h^u</i> | |

The palatal *l* is pronounced like *l* in the English word *lure*. The glottal stop occurs seldom, and seems to be associated with the explosive character of the consonants following it, although I did not succeed in verifying this connection definitely. The aspiration corre-

¹ Whenever the term "Siuslaw" is used, it is to be understood as referring to the whole group, and not to the dialect only.

sponds to the character of the vowels and consonants that precede or follow it: that is to say, after palatal vowels it is of a palatal character; while before the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u*, and before velar consonants, it becomes guttural. When followed by a vowel, it is changed into an *h*.

tū'tc- to spear 62.2

qaqū'n- to hear 30.18

sī' to grow (intr.) 98.10

qnū' to find

wā'tūx again shall . . . 11.2

tuhatca'yūn he spears it

qa'q^uhantūn he heard it 36.23

sīhī'tcīn xīntyax I began to grow
up 100.17

qnū'hūn (they two) found it 56.9

waha'hūn h'yatsī'tsūn again he put
it on 12.1

In some instances the aspiration results from the dropping of a *t* before a following *n* (see §§ 16, 58, 59).

§ 4. Sound Groupings

Clusters of two consonants are admissible, except *w* + any consonant other than *n*. Whenever a *w* is followed by a consonant other than *n*, it changes into a voiceless *w*, represented here by *hw*. Clusters of three or more consonants may occur medially or finally, provided a nasal or lateral forms the initial sound of such groupings.

When, owing to grammatical processes, three consonants that can not form a cluster come into contact, an obscure or weak vowel (mostly *ε*, *a*, or *i*) is inserted between two of the three consonants, thus facilitating the pronunciation of the cluster.

A similar insertion takes place in initial clusters beginning with *m* or *n*, and between two consonants belonging to the same series. The latter rule applies to clusters in initial, medial, and final position.

Examples of clusters consisting of *w* + consonant:

a'tcnaw- to trade mutually +

-tūx + *-ts*

Lōlnaw- to hit mutually + *-em*

+ *-tcī*

a'tcna^{hw}tūxts you two will

trade mutually

Lōlna^{hw}matcī you hit one an-

other!

xnī^wna he does 11.11

Examples of avoidance of clusters in initial position:

m- (prefix of relationship)

+ *ta* father

m- (prefix of relationship)

+ *la* mother

mītà father 54.22

mīlà mother 54.23

Examples of avoidance of clusters in medial position:

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>wînax-</i> (to be afraid) + <i>-nawax</i> | <i>wîn^xaxna'wa^x</i> they two were afraid of each other 86.1,2 |
| <i>qât^x-</i> (to cry) + <i>-tūx</i> | <i>qā't^xtūx</i> he will cry |

Examples of avoidance of clusters in final position:

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>qatcîni'tx</i> (to keep on going) + <i>-n</i> | <i>qatcîni'txan</i> I keep on going |
| <i>qaⁱx</i> (night) + <i>-nax</i> | <i>qa^xnax</i> (at) night thou . . . 70.18 |
| <i>taⁱk</i> (here) + <i>-ns</i> | <i>taⁱk^{ns}</i> here we two (incl.) 56.6 |
| <i>haⁱq</i> (ashore) + <i>-n^xan</i> | <i>haⁱq^{n^xan}</i> ashore we (excl.) 88.13 |
| <i>hatc'a'yūn</i> (he asked him) + <i>-tⁱcî</i> | <i>hatc'a'yūnatcî</i> ye ask her 74.10 |
| <i>tⁱcîn-</i> (to come back) + <i>-nax</i> | <i>tⁱcî'n^x</i> they came back 72.23 |

Examples of avoidance of clusters of consonants belonging to the same series:

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>kumⁱ'ntc</i> (not) + <i>-tc</i> | <i>kumⁱ'ntc^{tc}</i> not his 92.15 |
| <i>ants</i> (that one) + <i>cā'ya</i> | <i>ants^c cā'ya</i> that penis |
| <i>pīūla'wax</i> (he intends to hunt) + <i>-xūn</i> | <i>pīūla'wax^{xūn}</i> we two (excl.) intend to go hunting 54.22 |
| <i>tīt!</i> (to eat) + <i>-tūx</i> | <i>tīt!^{tūx}</i> (you) will eat 50.2 |
| <i>tⁱcînt</i> (how much) + <i>t^ex</i> | <i>tⁱcînt^{t^ex}</i> suppose 38.20,21 |
| <i>s^eaⁱt</i> (such) + <i>L!^aaⁱ</i> | <i>s^eaⁱt^{L!^aaⁱ}</i> such a place 15.1 |

Examples of clusters permissible in medial or final position:

| Final | Medial |
|--|--|
| <i>tsîng!^t</i> poor 16.10 | <i>tsⁱ'ng!^{tana^x}</i> you are poor |
| <i>lakwa'ūltx</i> (their) . . . was taken away 50.22 | <i>lakwa'ūltxan</i> my . . . was taken |
| <i>lokwi'xamltx</i> his . . . was taken away from him 54.14 | <i>lakwi'xamltx^x</i> their two . . . were taken away from them |

The only consonantic cluster that does not seem to be permissible is the grouping of *nax + k*. Whenever these three consonants would appear together in the above-named order, the *x* is always changed into *a*.

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>tsⁱya'^{L!ⁱn^x}</i> (you will be shot) + <i>k^unà</i> | <i>tsⁱya'^{L!ⁱna k^unà}</i> you might get shot |
| <i>k^uwā'^{nīn^x}</i> (they will be beaten) + <i>k^unà</i> | <i>k^uwā'^{nīna k^unà}</i> they may be beaten |

An exception to this rule is found in the following sentence:

ʔkwa'yūnanx k^u tʔ'āⁱ you may get (some) salmon 48.18

In like manner the combination *nx + ū* is changed into *a^u* (see § 132).

ya'qu'yūnanx (thou art seen)
+ *-ū* (*-a^u*)

yaqu'yū'nana^u thou art seen
here

§ 5. Accent

Siuslaw exhibits a stress accent, represented here by the acute mark (´); and a pitch accent, designated by the mark (˘). Only a limited number of enclitic and proclitic particles show no accent whatsoever. The pitch accent occurs mostly in monosyllabic words that have a short vowel, and lends to the syllable a sharp, abrupt intonation. Both accents are freely shifted from one syllable to another. It seems, however, to be a fixed rule that in the past tense the accent is placed on the first syllable, and that the locative case-endings and the adverbial suffixes must be accented.

ha'qa'q he goes ashore 58.17

qa'xá'x it gets dark 64.19

t^owatcá'tcūna^ux they two are
spearing it 56.15, 16

ts!atn pitch 26.6

tí't!aⁱ food 34.23

lqa^u'tū log 32.21

pk'í'tí lake 62.18

sí'xaⁱ canoe 56.5

qa'xún above, up 34.21

s^ɛa'tsa thus 8.7

ya^ɛk!í'sk'in very small 36.23

ha^u'qáqyax (having) come a-
shore 56.13

qa'xáxyax it became dark 34.4

t^owa'tcátcyaxa^un I have been
spearing it 66.17

ts!ít^una' (locative case) 94.18

tí't!aya' (locative case) 13.7

lqatūwíyū's (locative case)
88.16

pk'ítíyū's (locative case) 34.11

sɛxa^u'tc into the canoe 34.5

qaxúntcí'tc upwards

s^ɛatsí'tc in that manner 8.1

yāk!ísk'inū' in a very small
. . . 38.19

§ 6. Phonetic Laws

In both dialects a number of phonetic laws are found which affect both vowels and consonants. All phonetic processes are due either to contact phenomena or to the effects of accent. They may be summarized as follows:

VOCALIC PROCESSES:

(1) Diphthongization of *ī* and *ū*.

(2) Consonantization of *i-* and *u-*.

- (3) Contraction.
- (4) Vocalic hiatus.
- (5) Vocalic harmony.
- (6) Effects of accent.

CONSONANTIC PROCESSES:

- (1) Consonantic metathesis.
- (2) Consonantic euphony.
- (3) Simplification of double consonants.
- (4) Modifications of *t* and *k*.
- (5) Minor consonantic changes.

§§ 7-12. Vocalic Processes

§ 7. *Diphthongization of ī and ū*

This is by far the most important phonetic change, owing to the fact that it gives rise to a double form of stems that contain these vowels, and because it is employed in certain grammatical processes (see §§ 111, 112). The principle may be described as follows: For the purpose of expressing (in nouns) the discriminative case and (in verbs) intensity or duration of action, long *ī* and *ū* are changed into *ya* and *wa* respectively.

Examples of diphthongization of *ī*:

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>hīna'yūn</i> he brings him 23.2 | <i>h'yānyūtsanx</i> I'll take thee along 58.6 |
| <i>hītsī'xam</i> it is put on 11.8 | <i>h'yatsī'tsūn</i> he is putting it on 11.8 |
| <i>ūlqa'</i> he digs 84.2 | <i>a'ntsux ya'lqa'n</i> those two (who) are digging (a hole) 84.5 |
| <i>cītx-</i> to flop | <i>c'yatx</i> it flops around 36.23 |
| <i>ya'q^uhītūnax</i> thou shalt see 36.25 | <i>yog^uya'wax</i> he intended to see 70.8 |
| <i>u^lenx k!'īnk'īt</i> they went to look for 60.5 | <i>k!'īnk'ya'wax</i> (I) intend to go and look for 60.5 |
| <i>Qa'a'tcīx</i> along the North Fork 32.19 | <i>qa^wxūnyax</i> along the sky 32.19 |

Examples of diphthongization of *ū*:

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>qū'nī'xamīmE</i> it was poured into his . . . 29.2 | <i>qwa'nyūx</i> pour it into his . . . 29.2 |
| <i>L!xū'xū^un</i> he knows it 40.16 | <i>kum'ntc^wax tE'q L!x^wwax^w</i> not they two anything knew it 54.16 |

lakū'kūn he takes it
tū'tca'yūn he spears it 64.12

^u*ta^x* *tkūma'yūn* they two
 made a dam 48.8

ū'ttī snow 76.10

pEkū'ya xāL/a' L/a'ai people
 make shinny-sticks 78.5

lakwa'kū^un he took it 64.10

t^owatci'tcūna^ux they two are
 spearing it 56.15, 16

^u*ns tkwa'mīsūn* we two (incl.)
 will keep on making dams
 48.14

watt it snows

a'ntsux pākwa'wax those two
 (who) are about to play . . .
 shinny 78.10, 11

Owing to the interchange between *i* and *aⁱ* and *ū* and *a^ū* (see § 2), these diphthongs are subject to the same amplification.

hā'q/aⁱt he started 22.6
mEq/aⁱtx they dance 72.13

qā'tkīn t_E *a'qa'qa^ūts* (from)
 here he left me 60.4

ka^ūsū's he keeps on following
 92.7

hāq'ya/a^u it will be started 32.1
mEq'ya'wax (I) intend to dance
 72.12

ta^vk^xns aya'qyūn here we two
 (incl.) will leave it 56.16, 17

kⁱwasⁱyū'tsana^ū you will follow
 me 92.3

The change of *i* into *ya* often takes place in the third person singular, which ends in *-i* (see p. 468).

Lī'wat!īn I come frequently

cī'nxyat!īn I am thinking

ha'kwat!īn I fall frequently

xī'l'xciīn I work

pElī'tcīn I (am) ahead

ya'q^uhīn I look

sī'nxīn I want

Lī'wat!ī 68.5, (*Lī'wat!ya*) he
 came frequently

(*cī'nⁱxyat!ī*), *cī'nⁱxyat!ya* 17.6
 he is thinking

(*ha'kwat!ī*), *ha'kwat!ya* 90.12 it
 falls continually

xī'l'xci 50.9, (*xī'l'xciya*) he was
 working

pElī'tcya he was first 48.11

ya'q^uya he looked 70.16

sī'nⁱxya he desires

§ 8. Consonantization of *i*- and *u*-

The *i*- and *u*- elements of the diphthongs are changed into the semi-vocalic consonants *y* and *w* whenever they are followed by vowels of different qualities. This law affects also the simple short or long *i*- and *u*- vowels.

Consonantization of *i*-:

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>p̄itcaⁱ</i> (he goes over) + <i>-a^{ux}</i> | <i>p̄itcaⁱya^{ux}</i> they two go over 88.15 |
| <i>t̄iⁱt̄!aⁱ</i> (food) + <i>-a</i> | <i>yāⁱwatc̄ⁱist̄^{en}n̄</i> <i>t̄iⁱ!ayaⁱ</i> for food you will always try to look 13.7 |
| <i>kūⁱ</i> (not) + <i>-a^{ux}</i> | <i>kūⁱya^{ux}</i> not they two . . . 98.11 |
| <i>qnūhūⁱ</i> - (he finds) + <i>-aⁱ</i> | <i>qnūhūⁱyūn</i> (they) found it 60.7 |
| <i>t̄xmūⁱn̄i</i> (male) + <i>-a</i> | <i>t̄aⁱkukya^x t̄xmūⁱnya</i> she took a mortal man 60.23 |
| <i>x̄lⁱ.xc̄i-</i> (to work) + <i>-aⁱ</i> | <i>x̄lⁱ.xcyaⁱ</i> (they two) worked 48.10 |
| <i>t̄!i</i> (bear) + <i>-ūn̄i</i> | <i>t̄!iyūⁱn̄i</i> made of bear (hides) 70.24 |
| <i>s̄iⁱn̄x̄i-</i> (to desire) + <i>-ūn</i> | <i>s̄iⁱn̄iⁱxyūn</i> I want it 15.8 |

Consonantization of *u*-:

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>L̄iya^a</i> (fire) + <i>-a</i> + <i>-tc</i> | <i>hāⁱqmas L̄iya^awatc</i> alongside of the fire 25.4, 5 |
| <i>w̄ilū-</i> (to affirm) + <i>-axam</i> | <i>w̄ilwa^axam</i> he was assured 30.11 |
| <i>xa^aū</i> (he died) + <i>-ūl̄</i> | <i>kum̄ⁱntc xa^aw̄il</i> not he dies 15.8 |
| <i>xā^ats!^u</i> (two) + <i>-a^{ux}</i> | <i>xā^ats!^uwa^{ux}</i> two of them 40.18 |

A peculiar case of consonantization seems to have taken place in the objective case *t̄c̄iⁱwa* 32.20, formed from the noun *t̄c̄i* WATER 36.20.

§ 9. *Contraction*

Contraction of two or three vowels following in immediate succession does not seem to be of regular occurrence, and there are no fixed rules governing this process. The following usages may, however, be stated to prevail:

(1) Short or long *i* or *u* following a vowel of different quality form diphthongs.

$$\begin{array}{l} a^i < a + i & u^i < u + i \\ a^u < a + u \end{array}$$

The combination *i* + *u*, however, does not form a diphthong (see § 10).

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>t̄emūⁱ</i> - (to assemble) + <i>-itc</i> | <i>t̄emūⁱitc x̄int</i> (they) assembled 30.15, 16 |
| <i>qa^antcya</i> (from where) + <i>-itc</i> | <i>qantcyaⁱitc</i> from where |
| <i>qatcū-</i> (to drink) + <i>-itxa^{ūn}</i> | <i>qatcūⁱitxa^{ūn}</i> (they) drink (from) it 76.12 |

(2) A short vowel preceding another short vowel or a diphthong is contracted with the following vowel into a short or long vowel or into a diphthong.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>a'tsa</i> (thus) + $-a^ux$ | <i>a'tsa^ux</i> thus they two . . . |
| <i>waana'wa</i> (to talk to each other) + $-a^ux$ | <i>waana'wa^ux</i> they two talk to each other 10.4 |
| <i>s^ɛà</i> (this) + $-a^i xa^ux$ | <i>s^ɛa^i xa^ux</i> on this they two . . . 88.18 |
| <i>xā'ts!ū</i> (two) + $-a^ux$ | <i>xā'ts!ūx</i> they two . . . |
| <i>yałqa'a^u</i> (a hole) + $-ūn$ | <i>yałqa^{ūn}</i> (they) dig holes 84.5 |
| <i>a^wtcīsī</i> (camas) + $-a^ux$ | <i>a^wtcīs^{a^ux}</i> <i>yūwaⁱ</i> camas they two dig 96.18 |

(3) The obscure vowel *E* is contracted with all vowels preceding it into a vowel of a clear quality.

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>haū-</i> (to quit) + $-EM$ | <i>ha'ūm</i> quit! |
| <i>nà</i> (I) + $-EMł$ | <i>nam^{ɛł}</i> of me 20.6 |
| <i>s^ɛaⁱna</i> (him) + $-EMł$ | <i>s^ɛaⁱna^{mł}</i> of him |

An exception is

| | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>wa-</i> (to speak) + $-EM$ | <i>wa'am</i> speak! |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|

(4) Two long vowels of similar qualities immediately following each other are contracted into one long vowel.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>pekū-</i> (to play shinny) + $-ūs$ | <i>pekū^{ūs}</i> (locative case) 78.18 |
|---------------------------------------|--|

A peculiar case of contraction has apparently taken place in the genitive case *łq!ānūⁱmł* OF HIDES 102.1, composed of *łq!ā^{nū}* HIDE, and $-EMł$, the genitive case-ending (see § 87).

Another process of contraction takes place whenever a personal pronoun (see § 24) is added to the suffix $-yaxs$, which expresses the past durative tense (see p. 526). In such cases the suffix $-yaxs$ is invariably contracted into $-īxs$. Attention may be called to the fact that in this case we are dealing with a process that is of a character opposite to the diphthongization of $-ī$, which has been discussed in § 7.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>a^{us}-</i> to sleep 24.1 | <i>a^wsīxsīn</i> I have been sleeping, instead of <i>a^wsyaxsīn</i> |
| <i>qatcū-</i> to drink 76.13 | <i>qa'tcwaⁱxsīn</i> I have been drinking, instead of <i>qa'tcūyaxsīn</i> |
| <i>pekūⁱ-</i> to play shinny 9.4 | <i>pa'kuⁱxsanx</i> you have been playing shinny, instead of <i>pa'kuyaxsanx</i> |
| <i>łit!-</i> to eat 13.10 | <i>łi't!īxs</i> he has been eating, instead of <i>łi't!ⁱyaxs</i> |

§ 10. *Vocalic Hiatus*

In cases where contraction has not taken place, two vowels occurring in immediate succession are separated by means of an inserted *h* or by means of the accent. No definite rules could be found that would show under what circumstances either of these processes may be employed. Separation of two vowels by means of an inserted *h* occurs more regularly than separation by means of accent.

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>hī'q/a</i> (dentalia shells) + <i>-ā^ūnî</i> | <i>hīq'aha^wnî</i> consisting of dentalia shells 70.6 |
| <i>lxaū</i> (pole) + <i>-īnE</i> | <i>lxa^whīnE</i> with a spear (in his hand) 64.11 |
| <i>mEkktī</i> (mother-in-law) + <i>-ītīn</i> | <i>mEkktī' hītīn</i> my mother-in-law |
| <i>tī'ī'aⁱ</i> (salmon) + <i>-anx</i> | <i>tī'īaⁱ anx xayāⁱ</i> salmon they catch 82.13, 14 |
| <i>lī'ū</i> (he came) + <i>-ūn</i> | <i>līū'ūn</i> he arrived 16.3 |

§ 11. *Vocalic Harmony*

The tendency towards vocalic euphony is so inconsistent in Siuslaw, that one is almost tempted to deny the presence of such a process. The two examples I have been able to find are extremely unsatisfactory and do not permit the formulation of any clearly defined rules.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>haⁱmūt</i> (all) + <i>-eml</i> | <i>haⁱmūtū^wml</i> of all |
| <i>qaⁱxūn</i> high up, above 34.21 | <i>qa^wxūn</i> on top 32.19 |

§ 12. *Effects of Accent*

Besides the frequent tendency to lengthen the vowel of the syllable on which it falls, or to lend to it a clear quality, the loss of accent shortens or obscures the quantity of the stem-vowel as soon as it is shifted to one of the suffixed syllables. This law appears with such regular frequency as to make it a characteristic trait of Siuslaw phonology.

While examples covering the whole vocalic system could not be obtained, the following rules seem to prevail:

(1) The *a*-, *i*-, and *u*- vowels of the stem, when they lose their accent, are changed into open *i* (written here *î*) or obscure vowels whenever they precede or follow non-labialized consonants.

(2) These vowels are changed—for the sake of harmonization—into short *u* whenever they appear before or after labialized consonants or *w*.

(3) The unaccented diphthongs lose the second element, especially in cases where the stem-vowel is followed by the accented verbalizing suffixes *-a'* and *-ū'* (see § 75).

Examples showing the change of *a-*, *i-*, and *u-* vowels before or after non-labialized consonants:

mā'tī dam 48.10

ts!aln pitch 26.6

ma^atc it lay 32.22

yax- to see 34.4

tcīn (they) came back 7.7

tsīL!ī' arrow 50.11

sī'xāⁱ boat 56.5

smū^t'- to end 20.5

hū^un- to be dark 34.8, 9

sūn- to dive 64.21

mī^ttī'yū^u the art of making dams
48.11

mētī'txā^ux they two always made
dams 50.12, 13

ts!ūna'tc with pitch 24.1

mī^ttcū^ui many were lying 36.27

mētca'wanx they intended to lie
down 38.23

yī^axā'yūn he saw it 58.13

tcēnī'tc xīnt he went back 58.15, 16

tsīL!a' he shot 50.20

tsīL!ī'tc by means of an arrow 15.8

sēxā^u'tc into (a) boat 34.5

smī^t'ū' it ends 14.6

hwīnūⁱ' it is dark

sīnūⁱ' he dives

Change of *a-*, *i-* (and *u-*) vowels before or after labialized consonants or *w*:

mā'q^uL crow 34.23

ya'wīsūn (you) will pick 36.18

īlqwa'^atem trunk of a tree
92.5, 6

mī'k^utūx he will cut

m^uqwa'LEM of crow 34.21

yūwaⁱ' he digs 96.18

īlqūt^mi'^aux qaaⁱ' into the stem
they two went 92.6

m^ukwaⁱ' he cuts

Treatment of diphthongs:

xāⁱtc- to roast (meat) 90.8

p^aaⁱLn- to hunt 15.3

a^us- to sleep 23.9

tc!ha^uc- to be glad 23.3

qūⁱtⁱ' to dream 68.21

xatcaⁱ' he roasts (meat)

ūⁱēnx palnī'tx they are hunting
82.16, 17

asūⁱ' he sleeps 70.2

tc!hacūⁱ' he is glad

qūtⁱ'aⁱ' he dreams

Shortening of the stem-vowel frequently takes place after the suffixation of an additional syllable, regardless of whether the accent had been shifted or not.

yā'axa' much, many 8.5

t!āmc infant 40.19

tčimtca'mî ax 27.10

ya'atūx (ye two) will multiply 32.6
yEax'itc^wax aî'ntis they (dual) continually multiply 98.12

t!î'mct!ⁱtūx (they) will raise children 32.3

tčimtcî'mya (locative case) 29.1

In a few instances accent and suffixation have caused the loss or addition of a vowel, and hence that of an extra syllable.

qūutcū'nî woman 30.21

mîtt!a'sk'in step-father

waa'mux^u (they two) talk to each other 10.7

gayū'wints stone

qūutcna' (when) he marries 76.8

mîtt!a'sk'nî'tin my step-father 100.5

waa'yEmaust (they two) begin to talk to each other 56.4

waa'maxusta (they) began to talk to each other 64.20, 21

gay'na'tsⁱtc upon the rock 62.11

§§ 13-17. Consonantic Processes

§ 13. Consonantic Metathesis

This change affects mostly the subjective suffix for the third person dual *-a^ux* (see § 24), and (very seldom) the consonantic combination *n + s* or *n + ts*.

In the first instance *-a^ux* is transposed into *-^wax* (contracted sometimes into *-ux*) or whenever it is added to stems or words that precede the verbal expression (see § 26). This transposition never takes place when the pronoun is suffixed to the verb.

tsîm (always) + *-a^ux*

penî's (skunk) + *-a^ux*

ants (that one) + *-a^ux*

s^zatsî'tc (thus) + *-a^ux*

ul (and, then) + *-a^ux*

an'tsîtc (this his) + *-a^ux*

tsî'm^wax always they two . . . 50.10

ants penî's^wax those two skunks 88.6, 7

a'ntsux those two 52.3, 5

s^zatsî'tc^wax thus they two 50.15, 16

u't^wax and they two

a'ntsîtc^u these their two 50.4

This transposition is seldom absent; and parallel forms, like *a'ntsax^u* and *a'ntsux* 50.12, *stî'ma^ux* 50.21, and *stî'm^wax* 52.20, are extremely rare. As a matter of fact, the tendency towards the metathesis of *-a^ux* is so great that it takes place even in cases where *-a^ux* is suffixed to stems ending in a vowel.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>qwoa'txa</i> ¹ (beaver) + <i>-a^{ux}</i> | <i>qwoa'txaⁱwa^x</i> they two (he and) beaver 52.4 |
| <i>tsâmî'l'ü</i> (muskrat) + <i>-a^{ux}</i> | <i>tsâmîl'a'wa^x</i> they two (he and) muskrat 54.19 |

The transposition of *n* + *s* and *ts* actually occurs in a few instances only, although I have no doubt that under more favorable conditions a greater number of cases could have been collected (see also p. 599).

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>ants</i> . . . <i>haⁱqaⁱ</i> . . . when he comes ashore 82.5 | <i>tsa'na^ü</i> <i>lî'ütü^x</i> when it will come (this way) 62.21, 22 |
| . . . <i>ants tkwa'mya^x</i> when it closed up 78.3 | <i>tsa'ntcî</i> if you . . . 74.8 |
| | <i>küⁱ nâts</i> if not . . . 29.7 |

§ 14. Consonantic Euphony

This law requires that the consonants of the *k*-series should correspond to the quality of the vowel preceding or following it. Hence all velar and palatal *k*-sounds following a *u*-vowel become labialized. Owing to the fact that Siuslaw does not possess anterior palatal sounds, harmonization of consonants does not take place after or before *i*-vowels.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>lk!anü'k^u</i> screech owl 86.1 | <i>lkwa'nug^u</i> hat |
| <i>tcu'x^{us}</i> vulva 90.16 | <i>t'a'ntüq!wî</i> moccasins |
| <i>qõ'x^um</i> off shore 34.6 | <i>ts!ü'xwî</i> spoon |
| <i>cugwa'an</i> roast 90.12 | <i>k!u^xwînaⁱ</i> ice appears 76.13 |
| <i>qõ'q^u</i> knee | <i>cü'kwa</i> sugar ¹ |

§ 15. Simplification of Double Consonants

Double consonants, when not kept apart by means of an inserted weak vowel (see § 4), are usually simplified. This process especially takes place between two *t* and *n* sounds, in which case the repeated consonant is dropped. This phonetic law is of great importance; and it should always be borne in mind, because it affects the subjective suffix for the first person singular *-n*, when following the transitive form in *-ün*. In such cases the subjective pronoun is invariably dropped; and since the third person singular has no distinct suffix, it becomes at times rather difficult to comprehend by which of these two persons a given action is performed (§§ 24, 28).

¹ English loan-word.

hatca't (tall, long) + *-t'ū*
y'ikt (big) + *-t'ū^{wi}*
wàn (now) + *-n^{xan}*
s'ī'n'xyūn (he wants it) + *-n*
an^{xā}'wāⁿ (he gives it up) + *-n*
m'ī'tt^cīst (he begins to burn) +
t^x
yāk'ī'tc (in pieces) + *-yax* +
-xam

ha'tet'ū^u a long (time) 48.2
y'ikt'ū^{wi} large size
wā'n^{xan} now we (excl.) 30.13
s'ī'n'xyūn I want it 30.4
an^{xā}'wāⁿ I give him up 60.11
m'ī'tt^cīst^x *Lad'* his mouth be-
 gins to burn 29.3
yāk'ī'teyā'xam into pieces it
 was cut 29.4

Compare, on the other hand,—

t'ikwa'yūn (he takes it) + *-n^x*
L'wā'nīsūn (he keeps on tell-
 ing him) + *-n^x*

t'ikwa'yūnan^x you get it 48.18
L'wā'nīsūnan^x you keep on
 telling him 17.2

§ 16. Modifications of *t* and *k*

Siuslaw seems to have a tendency to avoid as much as possible the clusters *tn* and *kn*. Since the phonetic character of certain suffixes causes *t* and *n* to come into contact frequently, there are many cases of sound shiftings due to the influence of *n* upon the preceding *t*. Combinations of this kind are the passive suffixes *-ūt_{NE}* and *-īsūt_{NE}* (see §§ 58, 59). In these cases the *t* closure is not formed, but replaced by a free emission of breath, thereby changing these suffixes into *-ū'n_{NE}* and *-īsū'n_{NE}* respectively. It is not inconceivable that this process may have a dialectic significance, differentiating the Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw dialects, because it was noticed that William Smith (who spoke the latter dialect) never used the forms *-ūt_{NE}* and *-īsūt_{NE}*; while his wife¹ (a Lower Umpqua Indian) invariably hesitated to acknowledge the correctness of the use of *-ū'n_{NE}* and *-īsū'n_{NE}*. But as I had no other means of verifying this possibility, I thought it advisable to discuss this change as a *consonantic process*. The dialectic function of the process under discussion may be borne out further by the fact that in a good many instances these two suffixes occur in parallel forms.

| | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|---|
| <i>waa'</i> he says 8.9 | <i>waa'yūt_{NE}</i> 20.6 | <i>waa'yū'n_{NE}</i> he is told 72.3 |
| <i>s'ī'n^{xā}-</i> to desire 18.5 | <i>s'ī'n'xyūt_{NE}</i> 13.4 | <i>s'ī'n'xyū'n_{NE}</i> it is de- sired 20.4 |

¹ See Introduction.

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>hac'</i> - to ask 66.16 | <i>hac'a'yūtNE</i> 68.3 | <i>hac'ayū'NE</i> he is asked 66.23 |
| <i>xnī^wn-</i> to do 10.5 | <i>xnī^wnūtNE</i> 62.9 | <i>xnī^wnū'NE</i> it is done |
| <i>waa'</i> he says 8.9 | <i>waa'^ssūtNE</i> 24.3 | <i>waa'^ssū'NE</i> he is continually told 23.10 |
| <i>lī'ū-</i> to come 8.3 | <i>l'īL!wī'sūtNE</i> 26.2 | <i>lī'wīsū'NE</i> he is continually approached 26.6 |
| <i>qaLx-</i> to count 8.5 | <i>qa'LxūtNE</i> 62.8 | <i>qa'Lxīsū'NE</i> (they) are continually counted 62.11 |
| <i>k!aha'</i> he invites | <i>tanx k!aha'yūtNE</i> this one you are invited 24.3 | |
| <i>tū'tca'</i> he spears 62.2 | <i>tū'tca'yūtNE</i> it is speared 8.7 | |
| <i>hakwa'</i> he drops | <i>hakwa'yū'NE</i> it is thrown 8.7 | |
| <i>tqūtū'</i> he shouts 92.6 | <i>tqūtū'yū'NE</i> he is shouted at 78.3 | |
| <i>hak'itx</i> they shout 13.11 | <i>lhatī'sū'NE</i> he is continually shouted at 14.2 | |
| <i>čl'x-</i> to move 27.3 | <i>čl'lxīsūtNE</i> he is continually shaken 27.2 | |
| <i>h'yats-</i> to put on 11.8 | <i>h'yatsīsūtNE</i> it is continually put on 11.7 | |

The verbal suffix *-t* expressing periphrastically the idea TO HAVE, TO BE WITH SOMETHING (see § 76), is very often dropped when followed by the subjective pronouns that begin with *n* (see § 24; see also § 88).

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>atsī'tcītīn ha³</i> thus I think | <i>s^Eatsī'tcīn ha³</i> thus I think 21.7 |
| <i>na'm^Elītīn wa'as</i> my language | <i>na'm^Elīn wa'as</i> my language |
| 36.13 | |
| <i>L'a'ītānān</i> our residence | <i>na'm^Elīnān</i> our . . . 102.5 |
| 100.3 | |
| | <i>hī'^ssīnān hītsī'ⁱ</i> good (was) our house 100.13 |

The same tendency of dropping a consonant prevails in clusters consisting of *k+n*.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>ta^ak</i> (this here) + <i>-nā</i> | <i>tanā</i> this one thou 20.6 |
| <i>ta^ak</i> (this here) + <i>-nān</i> | <i>ta'nān</i> these ones we . . . 25.3 |

The dropping of *k* in these instances may also be explained as having resulted from the abbreviation of *ta^ak* into *t_E* (see § 115); the more so, as an analogous case is furnished by the local adverb

stĩmk THERE, which usually loses its *k* before all following subjective suffixes (see § 119).

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>stĩmk</i> (there) 30.18 + <i>-næ</i> | <i>stĩ'm^{næ}</i> there they . . . 32.3 |
| <i>stĩmkts</i> (there you two) 32.12 | <i>stĩmts</i> there you two . . . 32.6 |
| | <i>stĩ'mtcⁱ</i> there you (pl.) 32.8 |

§ 17. *Minor Consonantic Changes*

In this section those changes affecting the consonants will be discussed, for which not enough examples could be found to permit the formulation of clearly defined rules.

Here belongs in first place the apparent change of a sonant into a fortis in initial reduplication, a process exemplified by only three cases.

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>lĩ'ũ-</i> to come 9.2 | <i>l'ĩL!wĩ'sūtne</i> he is continually approached 26.2 |
| | <i>l'ĩL!wa'xam</i> he is approached 16.3 |
| <i>temũ'-</i> to assemble 7.3 | <i>t!Emt!ma'xam</i> people assemble about him (passive) 23.3 |

Another sporadic change is that of *q* and *q'* into *k* before the suffix of place *-a^εmũ* (see § 103).

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>yaq^{u'}-</i> to look 9.1 | <i>y^ĩky^{a^ε}mũ</i> a place from where one can see, a vantage point |
| <i>ma'q!ĩ-</i> to dance 28.7 | <i>mEkya^{a^ε}mũ</i> a dance hall |

Compare, however, on the other hand,

| |
|---|
| <i>yaq^{u'}ya'waxan</i> I intend to look 25.8,9 |
| <i>m^ĩ'nq!yEm</i> buy a woman! |

A third doubtful process consists in the change which the modal adverb *kũⁱ xyal'x* ALMOST, NEARLY (see § 121), undergoes whenever used with the subjective pronouns for the second person singular or third person plural (see § 24). In such cases the form obtained is always *kwĩ'n^{næ} yal'x* THOU ALMOST, THEY ALMOST, which may be explained as a result of a simplification from *kũⁱ + -næ + xyal'x* (see § 15).

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>kũⁱ xyal'x smũ't'a</i> it almost is the end 10.9, 11.1 | <i>kwĩ'n^{næ} yal'x kũ'na'wũn</i> you almost beat him |
| | <i>kwĩnæ yal'x lĩ'wĩl</i> they had almost arrived 66.25 |

§ 18. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

All grammatical categories and syntactic relations are expressed in Siuslaw by one of the following four processes:

- (1) Prefixation.
- (2) Suffixation.
- (3) Reduplication.
- (4) Phonetic changes.

Prefixation as a means of expressing grammatical categories is resorted to in only two instances. Almost all grammatical ideas are expressed by means of suffixes. A singular trait of the suffixes in Siuslaw is presented by the fact that the adverbial suffixes are added to the locative form of the noun and must precede the pronominal suffixes. Reduplication is practically confined to the formation of intensive and durative actions; while phonetic changes are employed for the purpose of forming the discriminative case and of expressing duration and intensity of action.

§ 19. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

By far the majority of stems that constitute the Siuslaw vocabulary are neutral, receiving their respective nominal or verbal significance from the functional character of the suffix that is added to them. All stems expressing our adjectival ideas are in reality intransitive verbs.

Of the two prefixes employed as a means of expressing grammatical categories, one indicates relationship, while the other points out the performer of an action.

The suffixes are overwhelmingly verbal in character; that is to say, they indicate ideas of action and kindred conceptions. Hence they are employed for the purpose of expressing activity, causation, reciprocity, the passive voice, the imperative and exhortative modes, etc. The pronouns denoting both subject and object of an action are indicated by suffixes, as are also the possessive relations that may exist between the object of a sentence and its subject. All temporal ideas are conveyed by means of suffixes, and Siuslaw shows a remarkable development of this category, having distinct suffixes that express inception, termination, frequency, duration, intention of performing an action, as well as the present, future, and past tenses. Other ideas that are expressed by means of verbal suffixes are mainly

modal in character, indicating distribution, negation, location of action, and the attempt to perform a given act.

Nominal suffixes are, comparatively speaking, few in number, and express chiefly adverbial ideas, such as local relationships and instrumentality. They are used, furthermore, for the purpose of forming abstract concepts, diminutive and augmentative nouns, and also express cases of nouns.

Ideas of plurality are hardly developed; for, with the exception of two suffixes that express plurality of the subject of the sentence, Siuslaw has no other grammatical means of indicating plurality of action or of nominal concepts. Distinct verbal and nominal stems for singular and plural subjects or objects, such as are employed in other languages, do not exist. Plurality of subject and object is sometimes indicated by particles.

Reduplication expresses primarily repetition and duration of action; while phonetic changes serve the purpose of denoting the performer and intensity of action.

The grammatical function of particles covers a wide range of ideas, pertaining chiefly to the verb. Some express finality of action, sources of knowledge, emotional states, connection with previously expressed ideas, others have an exhortative and restrictive significance.

In the pronoun, three persons, and a singular, dual, and plural, are distinguished. Grammatical gender does not exist. The first person dual has two distinct forms,—one indicating the inclusive (I AND THOU), and the other the exclusive (I AND HE). In like manner the first person plural shows two separate forms,—one expressing the inclusive (I AND YE), and the other the exclusive (I AND THEY).

The demonstrative pronoun, while showing a variety of forms, does not accentuate visibility or invisibility, presence or absence, and nearness or remoteness, in relation to the three pronominal persons.

The numeral is poorly developed, exhibiting forms for the cardinals only. Means of forming the other numerals do not exist. They are expressed mostly by the cardinals. The ordinals are sometimes indicated by means of an adverbial suffix.

The syntactic structure of the sentence presents no complications. The different parts of speech may shift their position freely without affecting the meaning of the sentence. Nominal incorporation and

words that are compounds of independent stems do not exist, and words denoting nominal or verbal ideas can be easily recognized through the character of their suffixes.

MORPHOLOGY (§§ 20-136)

Prefixes (§§ 20-21)

Siuslaw has only two prefixes,—a fact that stands out most conspicuously when we consider the large number of prefixes that are found in some of the languages spoken by the neighboring tribes. Of these two prefixes, one is employed for the purpose of denoting nouns of relationship, while the other forms the discriminative case of nouns and pronouns.

§ 20. Prefix of Relationship *m-*

This prefix is found in a limited number of terms of relationship. All these terms occur also in Alesa,¹ and it is quite conceivable that they represent loan-words assimilated by means of this prefix. By far the majority of nouns expressing degrees of relationship occur without the prefix *m-*. Owing to the fact that Siuslaw does not permit an *m* to appear in initial consonantic clusters, the prefix is often changed into *m̂-* (see § 4).

The following is a complete list of all terms employed in Siuslaw for the purpose of denoting the different degrees of relationship.

| English | Siuslaw |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Father | <i>m̂t̂t̂</i> ² |
| Mother | <i>m̂t̂t̂</i> ³ |
| Elder brother | <i>m̂t̂t̂'v̂</i> ⁴ |
| Younger brother | <i>m̂u'šk̂</i> ⁵ |
| Elder sister | <i>m̂ŝv̂'â</i> ⁶ |
| Younger sister | <i>m̂ct̂v̂'</i> |
| Grandfather | <i>L̂p̂L, L̂p̂L'm̂</i> (see § 84) |
| Grandmother | <i>kam̂L, kam̂L'm̂</i> (see § 84) |
| Grandson | <i>t̂m̂v̂'sk̂'v̂n</i> (see § 83) |
| Granddaughter | <i>t̂t̂k̂ō'n</i> |
| Paternal uncle, stepfather | <i>m̂t̂t̂'a'sk̂'v̂n</i> (see § 83) |
| Maternal uncle | <i>t̂'ā'a'ŝt̂ŝ'v̂</i> ⁷ |
| Paternal and maternal aunt | <i>k̂v̂'la</i> |

¹ See p. 437, note 1.

² Alesa *t̂v̂'a*.

³ Alesa *t̂v̂'v̂*.

⁴ Alesa *ĥv̂'t̂*.

⁵ Alesa *m̂u't̂sk̂*.

⁶ Alesa *sa'a*.

⁷ Alesa *t̂'ā'atŝa*.

| | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| Parent-in-law | <i>mɛkʰi'</i> ¹ |
| Son-in-law | <i>mū'n(i)</i> ² |
| Daughter-in-law | <i>tɛ'mɛan</i> (?) |
| Brother-in-law, sister-in-law | <i>tā'maxt</i> ³ |
| Stepmother | <i>mīlask'i'l·mä</i> (see §§ 83, 84) |
| Stepbrother | <i>mū'sku'l·mä</i> (see § 84) |
| Stepsister | (?) |
| Nephew (son of brother) | <i>k̄ip</i> |
| Nephew (son of sister); stepson | <i>t!ā't</i> ⁴ |
| Niece (daughter of brother) | <i>k̄'pɛan</i> (?) ⁵ |
| Niece (daughter of sister); stepdaughter (?) | <i>t̄inl</i> ⁶ |
| Term of relationship, by marriage, after the death of the person that caused this kinship | <i>xayū'sL</i> ⁷ |

In addition to these terms of kinship, I have obtained a few other stems, whose exact rendering did not seem to be very clear in the minds of my informants. Thus, William Smith maintained that *q!a'si'nti*⁸ denoted ELDER SISTER; while Louisa Smith thought she remembered that *taq!i'wi* signified BROTHER-IN-LAW. Other terms that may belong here are the nouns *temā'nī* (rendered by my interpreter by COUSIN), that seemed to be used in addressing a non-related member of the tribe; *ts'īl·mū't* FRIEND, referring to a person outside the consanguinity and affinity group; *ts'i'mqma* PEOPLE, FOLKS; and *tɛ'q* RELATIVE (see § 123).

§ 21. Discriminative q- (qa-)

This prefix is added to all terms of relationship and to all independent pronouns for the first and second persons, whenever they are the subject of a transitive action or whenever the presence of both a nominal subject and object in one and the same sentence necessitates the discrimination of the subject. The discriminative case of nouns

¹ Aalsea *mak'i*.

² Aalsea *mūn*.

³ Aalsea *temxt* SISTER-IN-LAW.

⁴ Likewise so by Dorsey for "nephew." The use of this term for "stepson" contradicts the term for "stepfather."

⁵ Frequently rendered COUSIN.

⁶ The same contradiction as mentioned in note 4.

⁷ Coos *xayūslāt*.

⁸ Aalsea *qa'sint*.

other than terms of relationship is formed by means of an internal phonetic change (see § 111). The same case for the independent personal pronouns for the third person will be found discussed in § 113 (pp. 575 *et seq.*). The rules of consonantic clusters change this prefix frequently into *qa-* (see § 4).

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>mîtà</i> father 54.22 | <i>gamîta'te wî'tcîstûn</i> her father sent her 92.20 |
| <i>m^u'sk^u</i> younger brother 56.6 | <i>ʷl wàn waha' haⁿ qa'msk^utc</i> now again (said to him) his younger brother 56.20, 21 |
| <i>mîlà</i> mother 54.23 | <i>a'l^oq qîūtç'î'l.mâ ta'yûn gamîla'-a^îîn</i> one old woman kept (in her house) my mother 100.12 |
| <i>nà</i> I 21.8 | <i>tsî'k!yanx qnà sî'nⁱxyûts</i> very much thee I like 22.7 |
| <i>na'han</i> I 40.14 | <i>L!xû'yûn qna'han</i> I know it 19.9 |
| <i>nîx^ats</i> thou 50.16 | <i>hî'i'sanx mâ'nîsûts qnî'x^ats</i> well thou shalt always take care of me 22.2, 3 |
| | <i>ʷlnx qnî'x^ats xñî'w nîsûn</i> and you will continually do it 98.10 |
| <i>na^u'xûn</i> we two (excl.) 36.15 | <i>qna'xûn LElû'yûts</i> we two (excl.) hit thee |
| <i>na'nxan</i> we (excl.) | <i>qna'nxan ya'q^uhîsûts</i> we (excl.) will watch thee 72.6 |
| <i>watc</i> who, somebody 10.1 | <i>qwate L!xû'yûn</i> he who knows it 44.8 |
| | <i>kumî'ntçⁿl qwàtc kû' nîsûts</i> not us (excl.) anybody will ever beat 72.17 |

Suffixes (§§ 22–105)

§ 22. General Remarks

Besides the few ideas that are conveyed by means of other grammatical processes (such as prefixation, reduplication, etc.), Siuslaw employs suffixation as a means of forming practically all of its morphological and syntactic categories. These suffixes are either simple or they are compounded of two or more distinct formative elements. The compound suffixes usually have the cumulative significance of their separate component parts. In many cases, owing to far-reaching

phonetic changes, the derivation of the compound suffixes can not be given with certainty.

From a functional point of view all suffixes may be divided into a verbal and a non-verbal group; the former used in the formation of verbal ideas, the latter employed for the purpose of conveying grammatical concepts of a nominal, adjectival, or adverbial character. In one or two instances we do find a suffix denoting both verbal and nominal ideas. This is especially true of the suffix $-ū^u$, $-ū^{wi}$, which may indicate an act performed by several subjects, or else the abstract concept of that action (see §§ 79, 97); and of the auxiliary $-t$, which is also employed in the formation of a number of words denoting adjectival ideas. (See §§ 76, 104.) While it might have been more proper to discuss such suffixes in a separate chapter as "Neutral Suffixes," practical considerations have induced me to treat them in accordance with their functional values, notwithstanding the fact that this treatment entails some repetition.

The majority of Siuslaw stems are neutral, and receive their respective nominal or verbal meaning from the nature of the suffix that is added to them. There are, however, a few stems denoting adverbial ideas that can under no circumstances be amplified by nominal suffixes. Furthermore, it seems to be a general rule that nominalizing suffixes can not be added to a stem that has already been verbalized by some verbal suffix; while numerous instances will be found where a stem originally developed as a verbal idea, and nominalized by means of suffixes, can again be verbalized by adding to the derivative noun an additional verbal suffix.

The following examples will serve to illustrate the three possibilities that prevail in the derivation of verbs and nouns.

(1) NEUTRAL STEMS:

| Stem. | Verb | Noun |
|--|--|---|
| <i>ts̄lL!</i> - to shoot 8.6 | <i>ts̄lL!a'</i> he shoots 10.3 | <i>ts̄l'L!ī</i> arrow 50.7 |
| <i>l̄t!</i> - to eat 13.10 | <i>l̄t!a'</i> he eats 44.19 | <i>l̄t!a'</i> food 34.23 |
| <i>h̄ts-</i> to live | <i>h̄ⁱyatsū^{wi}</i> they live | <i>h̄ts^v!</i> house 25.2 |
| <i>ūlt-</i> to snow | <i>walt</i> it snows | <i>ū^lt^ī</i> snow 76.10 |
| <i>ts̄xaⁱ-</i> to shine (?) | <i>ts̄xaya'</i> <i>L!a'aⁱ</i> day breaks 50.3 | <i>ts̄xayū^{wi}</i> day, sun 7.3 |
| <i>l̄lq-</i> to dig 80.6 | <i>a'ntsux ya'lqa^{ūn}</i> they twodig (the ground) 84.5 | <i>yatqa'a^ū</i> hole (in the ground) 84.6 |

(2) ADVERBIAL PARTICLES:

s^Ea'tsa thus 8.7*yā'tsa s^Ea'ts^Eyax* for a long time
he did it thus 11.3, 4*s^Eatsi'xamyax* thus it was done
32.16*waha'* again 19.5*waha'haⁿn qa'msk^utc* again (said
to him) his younger brother
56.21*wa'tūnax m^uqwa'LEMtc wa'as*
you will again (talk) Crow's
language 38.8, 9¹

(3) NOUNS:

| | Noun | Verb |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>qī'ūtc</i> female 52.17 | <i>qī'ūt^unî</i> woman 30.21 | <i>qī'ūt^una^u</i> (when) he marries 76.8 |
| <i>pīctc-?</i> | <i>pīctcem</i> summer 46.11 | <i>pīctcīma^u</i> (when) it gets summer 54.2 |
| <i>waa-</i> to speak 7.1 | <i>wa'as</i> language 34.21 | <i>s^Ea'na'mltc wa'as</i> <i>wa^u'syaxaⁿn</i> his language he spoke 36.14 |

Verbal Suffixes (§§ 23-81)

§ 23. INTRODUCTORY

The study of the verbal suffixes of Siuslaw brings out a strong tendency to phonetic amalgamation between different groups of suffixes, by which the component elements are often obscured. For this reason the question of an ultimate relationship between many of the suffixes that occur in Siuslaw can not be ascertained as easily as might seem at first sight, owing chiefly to the fact that in most of the compound suffixes the originally separate elements have undergone considerable phonetic changes and have become to a large extent petrified. However, a careful examination of the phonetic composition of those suffixes that convey kindred psychological and grammatical concepts will show that certain phonetic elements of a given suffix may have served originally to conduce one leading idea, and have amalgamated, in the course of time, with other suffixes, thereby showing a genetic relationship between many of the verbal suffixes.

¹ See also § 135.

Thus, \bar{u} may have had primarily a transitive indicative function occurring in the suffixes $\bar{u}n$ (see § 28), $\bar{u}ts$ (see § 29), $\bar{u}x$ (see § 30), etc. In like manner, $-ts-$ may have been the proto-suffix that indicated pronominal relations between subject and object, being present in suffixes like $\bar{u}ts$ (see § 29), $\bar{e}mts$ (see § 31), $\bar{u}tsm-$ (see § 34), $\bar{u}lts$ (see § 36), $\bar{i}ts$ (see § 42), etc.; and \bar{l} seems to have been originally a modal suffix, denoting chiefly the possession of the object of the verb by another person or thing, because it is found in suffixes like $\bar{u}l$ (see § 35), $\bar{u}lts$ (see § 36), $\bar{i}l$ (see § 45), $\bar{i}lts$ (see § 46), etc. To all appearances \bar{i} must have been an independent suffix implying a command, for it enters into composition with imperative and exhortative suffixes like $\bar{i}s$ (see § 62), $\bar{i}ts$ (see § 42), $\bar{i}mts$ (see § 44), $\bar{i}l$ (see § 45), $\bar{i}lts$ (see § 46), $\bar{i}xm\bar{i}$ (see § 63), $\bar{i}n\bar{i}$ (see § 41), etc.; and $-tc$ was undoubtedly the general adverbial suffix.

The following table will best illustrate the plausibility of relationships between some of the suffixes that occur in Siuslaw. The forms marked with an asterisk (*) represent the probable original suffix, while the other forms indicate the suffixes as they appear today.

| | |
|---|--|
| * \bar{u} indicative | $\bar{u}ts$ direct object of first and second persons (see § 29) |
| $\bar{u}n$ direct object of third person (see § 28) | $\bar{e}mts$ indirect object of first and second persons (see § 31) |
| $\bar{u}ts$ direct object of first and second persons (see § 29) | $\bar{u}tsm$ object possessed by subject, but separable from it (see § 34) |
| $\bar{u}x$ indirect object of third person (see § 30) | $\bar{u}lts$ object possessed by a first or second person object (see § 36) |
| $\bar{u}tsm$ object possessed by subject, but separable from it (see § 34) | $\bar{i}ts$ imperative with direct object of the first person (see § 42) |
| $\bar{u}l$ object possessed by a third person object (see § 35) | $\bar{i}mts$ imperative with indirect object of the first person (see § 44) |
| $\bar{u}lts$ object possessed by a first or second person object (see § 36) | $\bar{i}lts$ imperative with object possessed by a first person (see § 46) |
| $\bar{y}\bar{u}n$, $\bar{i}^w\bar{y}\bar{u}n$ exhortative (see § 41) | $\bar{t}sx$ imperative expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject (see § 47) |
| $\bar{a}^w\bar{u}n$ intentional (see § 70) | $\bar{i}tsmE$ exhortative expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject (see § 48) |
| * $-ts$ pronominal relations between subject and object | * \bar{i} imperative |

- i^wyūn*, *-inī* exhortative with direct object of the third person (see § 41)
- īts* imperative with the direct object of the first person (see § 42)
- īmts* imperative with indirect object of the first person (see § 44)
- īl* imperative denoting that object is possessed by a third person (see § 45)
- īlts* imperative denoting that object is possessed by a first person (see § 46)
- ītsmē* exhortative with possessive interrelations between object and subject (see § 48)
- īs* imperative for transitive verbs (see § 62)
- īxmī* intransitive exhortative (see § 63)
- *-*l* possessive interrelations between object and subject
- ūl* object possessed by a third person object (see § 35)
- ūlts* object possessed by a first or second person object (see § 36)
- ūltx*, *-xamltx* passive with possessive relations of subject (see § 39)
- īl* imperative denoting that object is possessed by a third person (see § 45)
- īlts* imperative denoting that object is possessed by a first person (see § 46)
- l* (?) exhortative (see § 64)
- *-*tc* adverbial
- tc'* tentative (see § 52)
- tc* local (see § 90)
- ītc* modal (see § 94)

In discussing these suffixes it seems convenient to begin with the group that appears in the sentence in terminal position and proceed backwards with our analysis. According to this treatment, we may distinguish—

- (1) Pronominal suffixes.
- (2) Objective forms.
- (3) Modal suffixes.
- (4) Temporal suffixes.
- (5) Verbalizing suffixes.
- (6) Plural formations.
- (7) Irregular suffixes.

PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (§§ 24-26)

§ 24. The Subjective Pronouns

The pronouns denoting the subjects of an action, transitive and intransitive, as well as pronominal objects, are expressed by means of suffixes that invariably stand in terminal position. The third person singular has no distinct form. The first persons dual and plural have

distinct forms for the inclusive and exclusive. The same pronouns are used for all modes and voices. In the imperative the second person singular is omitted.

The following table will serve to illustrate what may be called the fundamental type of the subjective pronouns:

| | Singular | Dual | Plural |
|-------------------------------|------------------|---|---------------|
| 1st person sing. | } . . - <i>n</i> | - <i>ns</i> | - <i>nĭ</i> |
| Inclusive du. and pl. } | | | |
| 2d person | <i>nx</i> | - <i>ts</i> | - <i>tcĭ</i> |
| 3d person | - | - <i>a^ux</i> | - <i>nx</i> |
| Exclusive du. and pl. | - | - <i>a^uxĭn</i> , - <i>axĭn</i> | - <i>nxan</i> |

It would seem that the exclusive forms are derived from the third persons dual and plural and the first person.

These suffixes appear also in the independent personal pronouns (see § 113). The suffix for the first person singular, *-n*, disappears regularly after the transitive *-ĭn* (see § 15), and the confusion that might arise from the fact that the transitive form for the third person singular ends in *-ĭn* also, is avoided by accentuation of the first person singular as the subject of an action by the additional use of the independent pronoun that either precedes or follows the verb.

The second person singular and the third person plural happen to consist of the same phonetic elements, *-nx*. Ambiguity of meaning in both forms is avoided by addition of the independent personal pronouns. The suffix for the third person dual undergoes frequent changes, which have been fully discussed in § 13.

The rules regulating consonantic clusters require the insertion of an obscure (or weak) vowel between stems ending in a consonant and any of the subjective suffixes that begin with a consonant (see § 4).

According to the manner in which the subjective pronouns are added to a given verbal stem, the verbs may be divided into the five following distinct groups:

(1) Verbs that add the pronominal suffixes directly to the stem or that take them after the verbalizing suffixes *-a^t* and *-ĭ^t*.

(2) Verbs that end in *-ĭ*.

(3) Certain verbs that end in *x*.

(4) Verbs that express the third person singular by means of stem amplification (see § 112).

(5) Verbs that end in *-a*.

The first group presents no difficulties whatsoever. The subjective pronouns are added directly to the stem or else follow the verbalizing suffixes *-aⁱ* and *-ūⁱ* (see § 75).

A number of verbs seem to end in *-ī*, which undergoes a phonetic change whenever the pronominal suffixes are added to it. Thus, it is shortened when followed by the pronoun for the first person singular, and it undergoes the process of diphthongization (see § 7) whenever a pronoun for any of the other persons is added to it. Whenever the third person singular is to be expressed, the verb appears with *-ī*, which is often diphthongized into *-ya*. Verbs that take the tentative suffix *-tē'* (see § 52) and the frequentative *-at!ī* (see § 68) are treated similarly.

A peculiar treatment is accorded to certain verbs that end in *x*. Here belong only such verbs as have been amplified by means of the modal suffix *-īt'ax* (see § 51) and of the temporal suffixes *-awax*, *-tūx*, and *-yax* (see §§ 70, 73, 74). These suffixes do not change their phonetic composition when followed by the pronouns for the first person singular and second persons dual and plural. However, as soon as the subjective pronouns for any of the other persons are added to them, the final *x* disappears. An exception to this rule is offered by the future *-tūx* (see § 73) when followed by the pronoun for the third person dual. In this case the final *x* is always retained. Whether the disappearance of the *x* is due to contraction or to other causes, can not be said with any degree of certainty.

The last two groups comprise verbs the stems of which undergo a process of amplification whenever the third person singular is to be expressed. Verbs belonging to the fourth group show an internal change of the stem, while those of the fifth group add an *a* to the bare stem. A full discussion of the phonetic character of these two processes will be found in § 112, p. 574.

In accordance with these five types of verbs, the following tabular arrangement of the pronominal suffixes may be presented:

| | 1st type | 2d type | 3d type | 4th type | 5th type | |
|------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------|--------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1st person | {Singular | -n | -in | -zan | -n | -n |
| | {Dual (incl.) | -ns | -yans | -ns | -ns | -ns |
| | {Plural (incl.) | -nl | -yanl | -nl | -nl | -nl |
| 2d person | {Singular | -nz | -yanz | -nz | -nz | -nz |
| | {Dual | -ts | -yats | -xts | -ts | -ts |
| | {Plural | -tci | -yatci | -xtci | -tci | -tci |
| 3d person | {Singular | -, -a ⁱ , -ū ⁱ | -i, -ya | -x | {Amplified stem} | -a |
| | {Dual | -aux | -yaux | -xau ^x , -a ^{ux} | -a ^{ux} | -a ^{ux} |
| | {Plural | -nz | -yanz | -nz | -nz | -nz |
| Exclusive | {Dual | {-auxún | -yauún | -auxún | -auxún | -auxún |
| | { | {-axún | -yaxún | -axún | -axún | -axún |
| | {Plural | {-nzan | -yanzan | -nzan | -nzan | -nzan |

(1) Pronominal suffixes added directly to the stem or following the verbalizing -aⁱ and -ūⁱ:

wínx- to be afraid 17.6
waa- to speak 7. 1
wínx- to be afraid 17.6
lna^ww- to be rich 76.3
lqag- to pass wind 86.7
tsínq!- to be poor 16.10
l^t!aⁱ he eats 46.5
tsínq!- to be poor 16.10

tcín- to come back
skwaⁱ- to stand 10.9
tqūl- to shout 52.8
smūtⁱ- to end 8.8
qaⁱtcⁱnt he goes 12.
xínt- to start 23.1
tsínq!- to be poor 16.10

yuwaⁱ he gets pitch 96.18

neqūⁱtw- to be cold

wíⁿxín I was afraid 58.22
waaⁿ I say
wíⁿxíns we two (incl.) are afraid
lna^wwanl we (incl.) are rich
lqaⁱqanx thou passest wind 86.14
tsíⁿq!ⁱats you two are poor
l^t!aⁱyats you two eat
tsíⁿq!ⁱatcⁱ you are poor
tsínq! he is poor
tcín he returned 7.7
skwahaⁱ he stands 14.4
tqūlūⁱ he shouted 92.6
smūtⁱūⁱ it ends 14.6
qaⁱtcⁱnta^{ux} they two go 23.1
xíⁿntanx they started 88.20
tsíⁿq!ⁱa^{ux}xún we two (excl.) are
 poor
yuwaⁱya^{ux}xún we two (excl.) will
 get pitch 94.17, 18
neqūⁱtwanxan we (excl.) are cold
 76.20

(2) Pronouns added to verbs that end in *ī*:*xī'l'xci-* to work 50.3*sī'naxī-* to desire 18.5*wī'nkī-* to work 50.6*xī'l'xci-* to work 50.3*xī'l'xci'n* I work*xī'l'xciyan* we two (incl.) work*xī'l'xciyanl* we (incl.) work*sī'nīxyanx* (if) you desire 44.6*sī'nīxyats* you two desire*wī'nkīyatcī* you are working*wī'nkī* he is working*xī'l'xci* (*xī'l'xciya*) he is working
50.9*xī'l'xciya^{ux}* they two work*xī'l'xciyanx* they work*xī'l'xciya^{ux}ūn* we two (excl.) are
working*xī'l'xciyanxan* we (excl.) are work-
ing.(3) Pronouns added to certain verbs that end in *x*:*qac^{en}-* to go, to start 8.2*āq-* to run away 52.10*lī'ū-* to come 8.3*āq-* to run away 52.10*xwīL/-* to return 12.6*hūt-* to play 8.8*lī'ū-* to come 8.3*taⁱ* it lives 32.21*mīkū'-* to cut 82.14*temū'-* to assemble 7.3*lī'ū-* to approach 8.3*āq-* to run away 88.3*taⁱ* it lives 32.21*lī'ū-* to approach 8.3*āq-* to run away 88.3*qa'tcⁱntūxan* I shall go 22.2*āqa'waxan* I intend to run away
90.21*lī'ūyaxan* I came*āqtūns* we two (incl.) shall run
away 92.2*āqa'wans* we two (incl.) intend to
run away 90.23*xwī'L/tūnl* we (incl.) shall return
60.9*xwī'L/yant* we (incl.) have returned*hū'tctūnl* we (incl.) shall play 7.2*lī'wā'wanx* you intend to come 25.8*ta'yⁱyanx* thou didst live*mī'k^utūxts* you two will cut 90.5*temū'tūxtcī* you shall assemble 30.7*lī'ūtūx* he will come 8.9*āqa'wax* he intends to run away
86.15*ta'yⁱyanx* (if) he lives 44.12*lī'ūtūxa^{ux}* they two will come*lī'ūya^{ux}* they two came*āqa'wa^{ux}* they two intend to run
away 86.18

āq- to run away 88.3

lī'ū- to approach 8.3

āqa'wa^uwān we two (excl.) intend
to run away

lī'ūtūnwan we (excl.) will come
30.11

lī'ūyanwan we (excl.) have come

(4) Amplification of stem:

īlq- to dig 80.6

cīta- to flop

ha^w- to be ready 8.10

l!ōn- to tell 16.9

yalq (they two) dig 84.7

c'yata (they) flop (around) 36.23

ha'wa it is ready 23.10

l!waⁿ he relates 16.6

(5) Verbs that end in *-a*:

haū- to quit 11.4

wa- to speak 7.1

qa'tcⁱn- to go 12.1

wītw- to affirm 17.7

ha'wa it is ready 23.10

waa' he said 12.10

qa'tcⁿa he goes 36.1

wītwa' he affirms 58.9

§ 25. The Objective Pronouns

The same forms as those discussed in § 24 are used to express the pronominal objects. In these terms the verbal stem is followed by an objective element, which in most cases is followed first by the pronominal object, then by the pronominal subject. In all cases where this composition would bring two consonants into contact they are separated by a weak vowel (*a* or *i*).

The objective elements here referred to are *-ūn*, which expresses the relation to the third person object, and *-ūts*, which indicates the relation to the first and second persons. These will be treated more fully in §§ 27-29.

In all forms that express a relation of a second person subject or of an exclusive subject to a singular pronominal object, the latter is omitted, and the pronominal subject follows directly the objective element before referred to. Perfect clearness is attained here, since the objective element defines the person of the object. Thus the forms THOU, YE TWO, YE, acting upon either first or second person, can refer only to the first person; I AND HE, and I AND THEY, only to the second, for otherwise they would be reflexives. In the combination I-THEE the subject is omitted. In the combinations I-HIM, I-THEM TWO, I-THEM, the subject pronoun *-n* seems to have been contracted with the *n* of the objective element (see § 15); while in THEY-ME the order of subject and object is reversed.

These phenomena may be indicated in the following tabular form:

I. OBJECTIVE FORMS FOLLOWED BY SUBJECT

| Third person object | | | | First and second persons objects | | | |
|---------------------|--------|----------|----------|----------------------------------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| Subjects | | | | Subjects | | | |
| Singular | | Dual | Plural | Singular | | Dual | Plural |
| Inclusive . | - | -ūnans | -ūnanl | Inclusive . | - | - | - |
| Exclusive . | - | -ūnaʷxān | -ūnanxan | Exclusive . | - | -ūtsaʷxān | -ūtsanxan |
| 2d person . | -ūnanx | -ūnats | -ūnatci | 2d person . | -ūtsanx | -ūtsats | -ūtsatci |
| 3d person . | -ūn | -ūnaʷx | -ūnanx | 3d person . | - | - | - |

II. SUBJECT OMITTED

I-~~THEE~~- -ūtsanx.

III. INVERSION OF SUBJECT AND OBJECT

THEY-ME— -ūtsanzin.

IV. SEQUENCE: OBJECT-SUBJECT

All dual and plural objects; all third person subjects (except ~~THEY-ME~~).

The following table may serve to illustrate more fully the forms that are used in Siuslaw to express relations between subject and object. Suffixes marked with an asterisk (*) are forms reconstructed by analogy.

| | | SINGULAR | | |
|----------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| | | I | Thou | He |
| Singular | Me | - | -ūtsanx | -ūtsin |
| | Thee | -ūtsanx | - | -ūtsanx |
| | Him | -ūn | -ūnanx | -ūn |
| Dual | Inclusive | - | - | -ūtsans |
| | Exclusive | - | *-ūtsaʷxānanx | -ūtsaʷxān |
| | You | -ūtsatsin | - | -ūtsats |
| | Them | { -ūnaʷxān -ūn | -ūnaʷxanx -ūnanx | -ūnaʷx -ūn |
| Plural | Inclusive | - | - | -ūtsanl |
| | Exclusive | - | *-ūtsanxanx | -ūtsanxan |
| | You | -ūtsatcin | - | -ūtsatci |
| | Them | { -ūnanxān -ūn | -ūnanxanx -ūnanx | -ūnanx -ūn |

| | | DUAL | | | |
|---------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | | Inclusive | Exclusive | Ye | They |
| Sin- gular | Me | - | - | - <i>ütsats</i> | - <i>ütsinávx</i> |
| | Thee | - | - <i>ütsavxún</i> | - | * <i>ütsanzavx</i> |
| | Him | - <i>ünans</i> | - <i>ünavxún</i> | - <i>ünats</i> | - <i>ünavx</i> |
| Dual | Inclusive . . | - | - | - | - <i>ütsansavx</i> |
| | Exclusive . . | - | - | - <i>ütsavxúnats</i> | * <i>ütsavxúnavx</i> |
| | You | - | - <i>ütsatsavxún</i> | - | * <i>ütsatsavx</i> |
| | Them | { - <i>ünavxans</i> - <i>ünans</i> | - <i>ünavxavxún</i> - <i>ünavxún</i> | - <i>ünavxats</i> - <i>ünats</i> | - - |
| Plural | Inclusive . . | - | - | - | * <i>ütsanávx</i> |
| | Exclusive . . | - | - | - <i>ütsanzanats</i> | - <i>ütsanzanavx</i> |
| | You | - | - <i>ütsatcyavxún</i> | - | - <i>ütsatcyavx</i> |
| | Them | { - <i>ünanzans</i> - <i>ünans</i> | - <i>ünanzavxún</i> - <i>ünavxún</i> | - <i>ünanzats</i> - <i>ünats</i> | - <i>ünanzavx</i> - <i>ünavx</i> |

| | | PLURAL | | | |
|---------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| | | Inclusive | Exclusive | You | They |
| Sin- gular | Me | - | - | { - <i>ütsatci</i> - <i>ütsínatci</i> } | - <i>ütsanzín</i> |
| | Thee | - | - <i>ütsanzan</i> | - | * <i>ütsanzanz</i> |
| | Him | - <i>ünanl</i> | - <i>ünanzan</i> | - <i>ünatci</i> | - <i>ünanz</i> |
| Dual | Inclusive . . | - | - | - | * <i>ütsanzanz</i> |
| | Exclusive . . | - | - | * <i>ütsavxúnatci</i> | * <i>ütsavxúnanz</i> |
| | You | - | - <i>ütsatsanzan</i> | - | * <i>ütsatsanz</i> |
| | Them | { - <i>ünavxanl</i> - <i>ünanl</i> | - <i>ünavxanzan</i> - <i>ünanzan</i> | - <i>ünavxatci</i> - <i>ünatci</i> | - <i>ünavxanz</i> - <i>ünanz</i> |
| Plural | Inclusive . . | - | - | - | - <i>ütsánanz</i> |
| | Exclusive . . | - | - | - <i>ütsanzanatci</i> | * <i>ütsanzanzanz</i> |
| | You | - | - <i>ütsatcyanzan</i> | - | - <i>ütsatcyanz</i> |
| | Them | { - <i>ünanzanl</i> - <i>ünanl</i> | - <i>ünanzanzan</i> - <i>ünanzan</i> | - <i>ünanzatci</i> - <i>ünatci</i> | - <i>ünanzanz</i> - <i>ünanz</i> |

While all these forms may actually appear suffixed to the verb, there prevails a tendency (discussed on p. 479) to suffix the subjective pronouns to adverbial terms preceding the verb rather than to the verb itself. This transposition of the suffixes for the subject of the action considerably lessens the syllabic quantity of the whole verbal expression.

The pronoun I-THEE coincides phonetically with the form for THOU-ME; and in order to avoid ambiguity of meaning, the subjects

of these combinations may be indicated by means of the discriminative forms of the independent personal pronouns (see §§ 21, 113).

All forms having a third person as the object do not, as a rule, indicate the number of the subject. This is rather done by means of the numeral *xā'ts/ū* TWO for the dual, and the numeral particle *hā'mūt* ALL for the plural.

The difficulty arising from the fact that the suffix *-ūnanx* may express THOU-HIM, etc., and THEY-HIM, etc., is bridged over by the additional use of the independent pronouns for THOU and THEY (see § 113). This rule applies to all cases, so that it may be stated that, whenever, by some process of contraction, simplification, or abbreviation, two or more suffixes expressing identical relations between subject and object are phonetically alike, their subjects are indicated by the use of the independent pronominal forms. Thus, for instance, the form *-ūtsanx* may express I-THEE, THOU-ME, and HE-THEE. These are usually distinguished by means of the pronouns *qnà* I, *qnāx^ats* THOU, and *s^aās* HE (see § 113), that are placed before or after the verb, denoting that the first, second, or third person respectively is the subject of the action.

The third person singular has no subjective element, owing to the fact that Siuslaw has no distinct form for that pronoun (see § 24).

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>sⁱ'nāi-</i> to desire 18.5 | <i>sⁱ'nⁱxyūtsanx qnà hūtc'a'wax</i> I want thee to have fun 21.6 |
| <i>waa'</i> he says 19.3 | <i>s^aatsⁱ'tc^an^x waa'yūts</i> (when) thus thee I tell 36.19 |
| <i>lⁱ'kwa'</i> he gets, he takes 82.6 | <i>s^a'tsanx tanx lⁱ'kwa'yūts qnà</i> that's why I (came to) get thee 21.3 |
| <i>hīn-</i> to take along 9.5 | <i>hⁱ'ya'nyūtsanx hītsⁱ'stein</i> I'll take thee into my house 58.6 |
| <i>tcaq-</i> to spear 68.18 | <i>ya^a'k^usⁱn tcāga'qa^ūn</i> a seal I was spearing 68.8 |
| <i>yaq^u'-</i> to look, to watch 9.1 | <i>ya'qu'yūtsats qnà</i> I will look at you two |
| <i>ya^x-</i> to see 34.4 | <i>yⁱād'yūna^uxīn qnà</i> I see them two |
| <i>xn^wn-</i> to do 9.7 | <i>s^a'tsa^uxīn xnīyun^wyūn</i> thus to them two I will do it 88.17 |
| <i>temū'-</i> to assemble 7.3 | <i>kumⁱ'ntc^atcⁱ nāctcⁱ'tc ta'tcⁱ temū'-</i> <i>ūts</i> not you in vain these you I assembled 30.18, 19 |

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>s^ʔa'tsa</i> thus 8.7 | <i>s^ʔatsa'ūtsatc̄i</i> thus I (do it) for you 32.14 |
| <i>waa'i'</i> he says 8.9 | <i>ha' mūt^h naxan waa'yūn</i> (to) all them I tell it |
| <i>temū'</i> - to assemble 7.3 | <i>temū'ūnanax̄n</i> I assemble them |
| <i>tqūl'</i> - to shout 52.8 | <i>tqūlū'yūtsanx qn̄'x^ats</i> thou art shouting at me |
| <i>mān-</i> to take care of 38.13 | <i>h̄i' sanx mā'nīsūts qn̄'x^ats</i> well thou shalt always take care of me 22.2, 3 |
| <i>L!wa^an-</i> to tell 16.5 | <i>L!wā'nīsūnanax s^ʔatsi'tc</i> thou wilt keep on telling him thus 17.2 |
| <i>LElū'i'</i> he is hitting | <i>lna'tīnax LElū'yūtsa^uxūn</i> always thou art hitting us two (excl.) |
| <i>yaq^u'</i> - to look 9.1 | <i>LElū'yūnanax tū'a^ux xā'ts./ū</i> thou art hitting those two |
| | <i>ya'q^uhīsūtsanxan h̄i'sa</i> thou shalt always watch us (excl.) well 70.14, 15 |
| | <i>ya'qu'yūnanax qn̄'x^ats</i> thou wilt look at them |
| <i>waa'-</i> to speak 7.1 | <i>waa'a^ūtsīn</i> he told me 58.18 |
| | <i>atsi'tc̄in waa'a^ūts</i> thus me he told 58.20 |
| <i>h̄in-</i> to take along 9.5 | <i>uⁱin s^ʔās h̄i'nīxa^ūts qaⁱha'ntc</i> and me he took way off 66.18 |
| <i>L!xū-</i> to know 19.9 | <i>L!xū'yūtsanx s^ʔās</i> thee he knows |
| <i>yax-</i> to see 20.10 | <i>tc̄i'k^ɛnax yīxa'yūts mā'q^uL uⁱɛnax</i> <i>wa'aⁱsūts tsīm</i> wherever thee sees Crow, to thee he will keep on talking always 38.16, 17 |
| <i>skwa'-</i> to stand 10.9 | <i>skwahā'ha^ūn s^ʔās</i> he set it up |
| <i>yax-</i> to see 20.10 | <i>yīxa'yūn</i> he sees it 70.2 |
| <i>LElūⁱ</i> he hits | <i>LElū'yūtsans s^ʔās</i> he is hitting us two (incl.) |
| <i>yax-</i> to see 20.10 | <i>yīxa'yūtsa^uxūn</i> he is looking at us two (excl.) |
| <i>x̄intm-</i> to travel 13.3 | <i>uⁱl^au^x x̄i'ntmīsūn</i> he takes them two along 92.16 |
| <i>kū'n-</i> to beat 78.18 | <i>kumū'ntc^ɛnī qwāt̄c kū'nīsūts</i> not us (incl.) any one will ever beat 72.17 |

yaq^u- to look 9.1

lī'ū- to come 9.2

LElū' he hits

xnī^wn- to do 9.7

LElū' he hits

xaū' he died 40.21

LElū' he hits

ya'qu'yūtsanxan s^əàs he looks at us (excl.)

hⁱya'tcⁿxan L!ⁱL!^ūts people us (excl.) came (to see) 100.8

LElū'yūtsatcⁱ he is hitting you
s^əa'sūtsatcⁱ LElū'yūts he is hitting you

LElū'yūnanx s^əàs he is hitting them
s^əàs ha'^vmūt LElū'yūn he hits all

xnī^wnī^wyūns 10.5 (abbreviated from *xnī^wnī^wyūnans*) we two (incl.) will do it

LElū'yūtsa^wxūn we two (excl.) are hitting thee

qna'xūn LElū'yūts we two (excl.) are hitting thee

xaū'na^wxūn ants mī'k!^a hūtc we two (excl.) killed that bad man 96.8.9

qna^wxūn LElū'yūtsats we two (excl.) are hitting you two

qna'xūn LElū'yūn we two (excl.) are hitting him

LElū'yūna^wxūn tū'a^wx xā'ts!^ū we two (excl.) are hitting those two

qna'xūn LElū'yūtsatcⁱ we two (excl.) are hitting you two

qna'xūn ^wlxūn LElū'yūn tū'a L!^aaⁱ we two (excl.) are hitting those (many)

LElū'yūtsats qnī'x^ats you two are hitting me

LElū'yūnats you two are hitting him

qnī'x^ats LElū'yūtsa^wxūn you two are hitting us two (excl.)

LElū'yūnats tū'a^wx xā'ts!^ū you two are hitting those two

qnī'x^ats^əts ha'^vmūtⁿxan LElū'yūts you two are hitting us (excl.) all

LElū'yūnats ha'^vmūt you two are hitting (them) all

s^əa's^wax LElū'yūtsⁱn they two are hitting me

ya'a- to see 20.10

qnū'- to find

LEtū' he hits

L!xmīya' he kills

k!a'- to invite 16.3

hatc'- to ask 66.16

yaq^u'- to look 9.1

sī'naxī- to desire 18.5

Lxū'- to dr^v 60.19

LEtū' he hits

anx- to give up 54.12

yaq^u'- to look 9.1

hatc'- to ask 66.16

yaq^u'- to look 9.1

waa' he says 19.3

yīxa'yūna^ux they two saw him
62.20, 21

ūta^ux qnū' hūn they two find it 56.9
s^za's^wax LEtū'yūtsans they two are
hitting us two (incl.)

s^za's^wax LEtū'yūtsanxan they two
are hitting us two (excl.)

tūa's^wax LEtū'yūtsatcī those two
are hitting you two

tūa's^wax LEtū'yūn ha'mūt those
two are hitting (them) all

L!xmīya'yūnanl we (incl.) will kill
him 28.3

qnānl L!xmīya'yūn tū'anx we (incl.)
will kill those (all)

s^za'tsanxan k!aha'yūts that's why
we (excl.) invite thee 24.10

a'tsanxan tE hatc'a'yūts qnā that's
why we (excl.) ask thee 74.15

qna'nxan ya'q^uhīsūts we (excl.)
will continually watch thee 72.6

sī'nīxyūnanxan Lī'ūtūx we (excl.)
want him to come 17.2, 3

yā^wxā'naxan l't'ā' Lxuyū'yūn lots
we (excl.) salmon dry it

qna'nxan LEtū'yūtsats we (excl.)
are hitting you two

qna'nxan LEtū'yūn tū'a^ux xā'ts!ū
we (excl.) are hitting those two

qna'nxan LEtū'yūtsatcī we (excl.)
are hitting you (pl.)

ha'mūt'naxan LEtū'yūn qnā we
(excl.) are hitting (them) all

a'nxa'ūtsatcī you (shall) let me
alone 27.5

yaq^u'yī^wyūtsatcī haya'mūt you all
shall look at me 72.11, 12

hatc'a'yūnatcī you (shall) ask her
74.10

ya'q^u'yūtsa^uxūn qnī'ats^ztcī you are
looking at us (excl.)

atsī'tc^znaxan waa'yūts thus they
told me 46.20, 21

sî'naî- to desire 18.5

ts'î'ha'yūn he kills it 46.5, 6

L'wa^an- to tell 16.5

L'xma'yanaîn sî'n'xyūts (to) kill me they want 21.9

ts'î'ha'yūnanax ants Lî'mna'q they kill that elk 82.17, 18

tūa's^enax L'ōnda'yūtsanl these told us (incl.)

§ 26. Position of Pronouns in Verbs Accompanied by Adverbial Forms

As has been stated before (see p. 474), the pronominal suffixes stand in terminal position, and theoretically are added to the verb; but whenever an adjective, an adverb, or a particle precedes the verb, the pronouns are preferably suffixed to these and precede the verbal expression. The verb appears in all such cases in what may be called the fundamental type (see pp. 470, 474).

nî'ctcîm because 18.8

kumî'ntc not 12.2

taⁱk here

sqāⁱk there 14.6

s^eatsî'tc thus 8.1

haⁱ'na different 58.9

yā^a'xaⁱ much 8.5

tcîk where 34.2

uⁱ and, then 7.4

nî'ctcîmîn meq!ya'wax because I intend to dance 72.12

kumî'ntc^enax plnaⁱ not you are sick 86.14

taⁱ'k^ens aya'qaⁱtî tE sî'xaⁱ here we two (incl.) will leave this (our) canoe 56.5

sqāⁱkts qa'tc^entūx, sqāⁱkts t'îm-ct!ⁱtūx there you two shall go, there you two shall raise children 32.5

s^eatsî'tc^wax waana'wa thus they two speak to each other 10.1, 2

haⁱ'nanl hū'tctūx differently we (incl.) will play 11.2

yā^a'xaⁱnaxan hūtcūⁱ lots (of games) we (excl.) play 70.19

tcî'ktcî hūtcūⁱ, s^eatsa'tcî xni^wnîs where (ever) you play, thus you will keep on doing it 72.20, 21

uⁱnx wān tcîⁱn then they finally returned 60.10, 11

The same tendency to suffix the subjective pronouns to adverbial expressions that precede the verb is shown even in cases where a verbal expression is preceded by a nominal subject or object.

hⁱya'tc people 60.25

L'ōwa'x messenger 7.7

hⁱya'tc^enax tî't!ⁱsūts taw people thee will eat just 13.10

L'ōwa'x^enaxan tE Lîū' (as) messengers we (excl.) these come 30.6, 7

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>ŭqwa^at_{EM}</i> root, alder tree | <i>ŭqūt_mā' a^ux qaa'</i> an alder tree they |
| 92.5, 6 | two entered 92.6 |
| <i>yā^hk^us</i> seal 62.4 | <i>yEkū's^{en}x tū'tca'</i> sea-lions they |
| | spear 62.2 |
| <i>qa^tx</i> night 40.14 | <i>qa'^xenx a'l·dū ya'q^uhītūx</i> (at)night |
| | likewise you will watch 70.18, 19 |

OBJECTIVE FORMS (§§ 27-48)

§ 27. Introductory

In sentences containing subject and object the interrelation between them is expressed with great definiteness by means of suffixes that precede the subjective and objective pronouns. My original intention was to treat these suffixes as pronominal elements; but the chief objection to such a treatment lies in the fact that the pronouns, subjective and objective, are repeated after them. Hence it was found advisable to treat them as objective elements. In the expression of the relations a distinction is made between third person objects on the one hand, and first and second persons on the other. Furthermore, the indirect object is distinguished from the direct object, and the same classification of persons is found. The possessive relations between the subject and the two objects are also expressed with great clearness; and, finally, a sharp line of demarcation is drawn between the indicative, imperative, and passive modes.

It would seem that the following table represents all the suffixes belonging to this group:

| INDICATIVE | | IMPERATIVE | | PASSIVE |
|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| Personal Interrelations | | | | |
| Object | 1st & 2d per. | 3d per. | 1st per. | 3d per. |
| Direct . . | - <i>ŭts</i> | - <i>ŭn</i> | - <i>ŭts</i> | - <i>yŭn, -inī</i> |
| Indirect . . | - <i>Emts</i> | - <i>ŭx</i> | - <i>imts</i> | - <i>yŭx</i> |
| | | | | - <i>imE,</i> - <i>ŭmE</i> |
| Possessive Interrelations | | | | |
| Forms of possession | | | | |
| Not own . . | - <i>ŭts</i> | - <i>ŭl</i> | - <i>ŭts</i> | - <i>ŭl</i> |
| Own inseparably . . | - <i>ŭlx, -lx</i> | | - <i>ŭtsx</i> | |
| Own separately . . | - <i>ŭtsm</i> | | - <i>ŭtsm</i> | - <i>xamltx</i> |

Some of these forms are applicable to the present tense only, showing different suffixes in other tenses. Thus, an entirely divergent treatment is accorded to the suffixes denoting possessive interrelations for the durative, intentional, and past tenses (see § 37).

For the purpose of greater clearness, these forms have been subdivided into the following four groups:

- (1) Indicative forms denoting personal interrelations.
- (2) Indicative forms expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject.
- (3) Passive suffixes indicating pronominal and possessive interrelations.
- (4) Imperative forms denoting pronominal and possessive interrelations.

Indicative Suffixes Denoting Personal Interrelations (§§ 28-31)

§ 28. Direct Object of Third Person -*ūn* (-a^{ūn})

This suffix transforms nouns into verbs, transitivizes all verbs expressing intransitive actions, and changes a transitive idea into a causative concept. In all these cases the object must be a third person. All stems ending in *i*-diphthongs change the *i* of the diphthong into *y* before adding the transitive suffix (see § 8). This suffix immediately precedes the subjective pronouns, and hence invariably follows the tense signs. For the interchange between -*ūn* and -*a^{ūn}* see § 2.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>k!w^xwīnā^v</i> ice appears 76.13 | <i>k!w^xwī'nūn L!a^{ai}</i> ice he made all over 94.2, 3 |
| <i>tEk!ā'kL!</i> trap 100.4 | <i>tEk!ā'kL!ūn</i> he sets traps |
| <i>yałqa'a^ū</i> hole 84.6 | <i>a'ntsux ya'łqa^{ūn}</i> those two (who) dig holes 84.5 |
| <i>s^aa'tsa</i> thus 8.7 | <i>s^aatsa'ūn</i> thus (he does it) |
| <i>hī'sa</i> well 12.2 | <i>hīsa'ūn</i> he cures him |
| <i>wīn^x</i> he is afraid 17.6 | <i>wī'nxa^{ūn}</i> she was afraid of him 86.1 |
| <i>čīl^x</i> it shook 36.10 | <i>čī'l^xūn</i> she shook him 58.4 |
| <i>mal^{tc}-</i> to burn 25.2 | <i>ma'ttcūⁿ Līya'wa</i> he made a fire 94.23 |
| <i>xaū'</i> he died 40.21 | <i>xaū'ūn</i> he killed him 96.13 |
| <i>ma^atc</i> it lay 32.20 | <i>qa^x ma'tcūn</i> on top (they) put it 80.9 |

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>xnī'wⁿE</i> (they two) do 48.12 | <i>xnī'wⁿnūn</i> he did it 94.14 |
| <i>L!wa^an</i> he tells 16.5 | <i>ʷla^ux L!wa^anūn</i> they two told her 96.10 |
| <i>waa'</i> he says 12.10 | <i>waa'aⁿ</i> he said to him 20.7 |
| <i>waaⁱ</i> he said 8.9 | <i>waa'yūn</i> he told him 36.26 |
| <i>ʷt!aⁱ</i> he eats 44.19 | <i>ʷt!a'yūn</i> he devoured him 15.2 |
| <i>yāxaⁱ</i> (they) look 66.6 | <i>ʷt yāxa'yūn</i> and he saw it 58.13 |
| <i>tū'tcaⁱ</i> (they) spear 62.2 | <i>ʷtⁿx tū'tca'yūn</i> they spear (them) 62.5 |
| <i>taⁱ</i> it sits 32.21 | <i>ta'yūn qamāla'aⁱtīn</i> my mother kept her 100.12 |
| <i>qnūhūⁱ</i> he finds | <i>tE'q qnūhū'yūn</i> something he finds |
| <i>tqūūⁱ</i> he shouted 92.6 | <i>tqūū'yūn</i> he shouts at him |
| <i>ya'q^uhaⁱt</i> he looked 25.3 | <i>ya'q^uhaⁱtūn</i> (I) look at them 25.5, 6 |
| <i>ʷla^ux wī'tūt</i> they two affirmed 90.6 | <i>ʷt mā'q^uL wī'tūtūn</i> Crow answered him 36.6, 7 |
| <i>wa'ayax</i> he spoke | <i>wa'yaxaⁿ</i> he spoke to him 36.11 |
| <i>xā'ntmⁱyax</i> he traveled | <i>ʷt xā'ntmⁱyaxaⁿ</i> he took (them) along 92.13 |
| <i>xā'ntmās</i> (you) will continu- ally travel 13.3 | <i>qnā'atsⁿx xā'ntmāsūn</i> you will always carry it 14.3 |
| <i>wa'aⁱs</i> he says continually 26.8 | <i>wa'aⁱsūn</i> (you) keep on telling him 19.5 |
| <i>Lī'ū</i> (they) came 9.3 | <i>līū'ūn</i> he got (there) 16.3 |
| <i>xaū'</i> he died 40.21 | <i>xaū'na^uxūn</i> we two (excl.) killed him 96.8, 9 |
| <i>yāxaⁱ</i> he sees | <i>yāxa'yūna^ux</i> they two see it 62.20, 21 |
| <i>hacⁱ</i> - to ask 66.16 | <i>hacⁱa'yūnataⁱ</i> you ask her 74.10 |

§ 29. *Direct Object of First and Second Persons* -ūts (-a^uts)

This suffix indicates that an action has been performed upon a first or second person as object. The person of the actor is expressed by suffixing to -ūts the corresponding subjective pronouns (see § 24). Its use corresponds to that of -ūn for the third person object.

An explanation for the interchange between -ūts and -a^uts will be found in § 2. This suffix follows all other verbal suffixes excepting, of course, the subjective pronouns. The ū unquestionably denotes the indicative mode, and is identical with the ū in -ūn, -ūx, -ūlts, -ūl, etc. (see §§ 23, 28, 30, 35, 36).

This suffix has been referred to in § 25, where a tabular presentation of the different combined subject and object pronouns will be found.

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>sí'naxi-</i> to desire 18.5 | <i>sí'níxyútsanx qnà hūtda'wax</i> I want you to have fun 21.6 |
| <i>yaqu'</i> - to look 9.1 | <i>ya'qu'yútsats qnà</i> I will look at you two |
| <i>mān-</i> to take care 38.13 | <i>hī'sanx mā'nīsūts</i> well thou shalt always take care of me 22.2 |
| <i>yaqu'</i> - to look 9.1 | <i>ya'q^uhīsūtsanxan hī'sa</i> thou shalt always watch us (excl.) well 70.14, 15 |
| <i>waa'</i> - to speak 7.1 | <i>waa'a^utsín</i> he told me 58.18 |
| <i>yāx-</i> to see 13.7 | <i>tē'kⁿx yāad'yúts mā'g^uL</i> where-ever Crow sees thee 38.16, 17 |

For further examples see § 25.

§ 30. Indirect Object of Third Person -ūx (-a^ux)

Each language has a number of verbal expressions that require the presence of a direct and indirect object. Such verbs are, as a rule, distinguished from other stems by means of some grammatical contrivance. Siuslaw uses for that purpose the suffix *-ūx* added to the bare stem. This suffix, however, is used only when the third person (singular, dual or plural) is the indirect object of the sentence. As soon as the first or second person becomes the indirect object, another suffix, *-emts*, is used (see § 31).

The pronoun expressing the subject of the action always follows the suffix *-ūx*.

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>waxax-</i> reduplicated stem of <i>wax-</i> to give 18.5 | <i>u^l waxa'xa^ux ants m'í'níxwī</i> then he gave him that lightning 38.2 (for <i>ūx</i> = <i>a^ux</i> see § 2) |
| <i>hamts-</i> to dip out | <i>s^eàs ha'mtsūx</i> he dipped it out for him 46.6 |
| <i>hⁱyatsí'ts-</i> reduplicated form of <i>hīts-</i> , <i>hⁱyats-</i> to put on, to wear 11.8 | <i>hⁱyatsí'tsūxan</i> I put it on him |
| <i>lak^u-</i> to take, to fetch 7.5 | <i>lakwa'kūxan</i> I took it away from him |
| <i>hamx-</i> to tie 8.6. | <i>hamxí'xūx</i> he tied it on him |

§ 31. Indirect Object of First and Second Persons -emts

This suffix is used only with verbal stems that require a direct and indirect object. The direct object expressed by this suffix is always the third person, while the indirect object must be either a first or

a second person, regardless of number. The suffix expressing the same idea with the third person as the indirect object has been discussed in § 30. The pronominal suffixes denoting the subject of the action and its relation to the direct object are the same as those used in connection with the suffix *-ūts* (see § 29). The verbal stem to which this suffix is added has frequently terminal reduplication.

hamx- to tie 8.6
wax- to give 18.2

h̄tsaⁱ' he put it on

aⁱq- to leave 56.5
wax- to give 18.2

hamxⁱ'xemtsanx I tie it on thee
qnaⁱ'hamts^{enx} wāⁱxāⁱsemts to thee
I will keep on giving it 44.15
wāxāⁱ'xemtsanxāⁱn they gave it to
me
h̄tsaⁱ'yemtsanx qnā^ots you put it
on me
s^eaⁱ'sīn hⁱyatsⁱ'tsemts he put it on
me
s^eaⁱ's^{enx} h̄tsaⁱ'yemts he put it on
thee
aⁱqāⁱ'qemtsīn he left it to me
wāxāⁱ'xemtsanx tāⁱ'la he gives thee
money

Indicative Suffixes Expressing Possessive Interrelations Between Object and Subject (§§ 32-37)

§ 32. *Introductory*

The phenomenon of expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject of a sentence through the medium of distinct suffixes is by no means of uncommon occurrence in the American Indian languages.¹ From a logical point of view such a formation is perfectly justifiable, and may be said to have its origin in the actual difference that exists between the concept of an act performed upon a given object and the conveying of the same act performed upon an object that stands in some relation to the subject of the sentence. Thus the English sentence I WHIP MY HORSE states a fact that is fundamentally different from the sentence I WHIP THE HORSE, in so far as it expresses, besides the act performed by the subject upon the object, also the possessive relation that exists between object and subject. In the Indo-European languages, in which each idea maintains an independent position in a complex of grammatical concepts, such

¹ See, for example, Sioux, Chinook, Kutenai.

relations are indicated by means of independent words, as a rule possessive pronouns; but in Siuslaw these relations are relegated to the verb, and consequently we find them conveyed by means of certain suffixes that are added to stems denoting verbal ideas.

The possessive relations that may exist between object and subject of a sentence are of a threefold nature. The object may form an inseparable part of the subject (I WASH MY FACE); the object may be separably connected with the subject (I LOSE MY KNIFE); or the object may stand in a possessive relation to another object (I LOSE HIS KNIFE). Siuslaw distinguishes clearly between these three types of relationship, and expresses each of them by means of a distinct suffix.

§ 33. *Suffix Indicating that the Object Forms an Inseparable Part of the Subject* -itx (-a'itx), -tx

This suffix indicates that the object of the sentence is inseparably connected with the subject. Hence all stems expressing an action performed by the speaker upon any part of his own body (and even upon his name) occur with these suffixes. Now and then they will be found added to stems denoting actions that do not necessarily involve an integral part of the subject as its recipient. All such formations must be looked upon as ungrammatical; that is to say, as due either to analogy or to an unintentional mistake on the part of the informant.¹

The verbal ideas which are expressed in this manner need not always be transitive in our sense of the word. They may, and as a matter of fact they do, denote conditions and states in which an integral part of the subject may find itself. Such expressions are possible, because to the mind of the Siuslaw they convey transitive ideas. Thus the sentence I AM SORRY expresses, according to our interpretation, an intransitive idea. The Siuslaw treats it as a transitive sentence, and expresses it by saying I MAKE MY MIND SICK. In the same manner Siuslaw conceives of our expressions MY HAIR BURNED, HIS CHILD DIED, IT IS COLD, etc., as transitive sentences, and renders them by (I) BURNED MY HAIR, (HE) CAUSED HIS CHILD TO DIE, THE EARTH MAKES ITS BODY COLD, etc.

No specific reason can be given for the occurrence of the parallel forms -itx and -tx, nor has any distinction been detected in the use of

¹ My informant made such mistakes rather frequently, but corrected them promptly whenever her attention was called to them.

the two forms. It seems, however, that *-tx* tends to appear after other suffixes, while *-ĩtx* is added to bare stems.

This suffix must not be confounded with the frequentative *-ĩtx* (see § 68). *-ĩtx* interchanges frequently with *-a³tx*. For an explanation of this interchange see § 2.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>kuts-</i> to paint | <i>kutsa³'twan qa'nnĩ</i> I paint my face |
| <i>lk!-</i> to open (mouth) 28.2 | <i>lk!³a³tx laa'</i> he opened his mouth 96.1 |
| <i>skwa³-</i> to stand 14.4 | <i>ha³'mũt³nw la³'gat skwaha³'tx xwãkĩ'</i> they all had feathers on their heads (literally, all they, feathers to stand caused on their heads) 10.9 |
| <i>k!³u³wĩn-</i> ice 76.11 | <i>k!³u³wĩna³'tx L!³a³ai</i> ice appeared (literally, ice made on its body, the earth) 76.10 |
| <i>płn-</i> to be sick 40.21 | <i>płna³'tx ha³</i> they were sorry (literally, sick they made their minds) 15.4 |
| <i>yã³'xã³</i> much 8.5 | <i>yã³'xã³'twan ha³</i> I am crafty (literally, much I have in my mind) 20.7 |
| <i>tcanhatĩ-</i> to club | <i>tcanhatĩ'³mãxutxã³x q³ũ'm t ants pẽnĩ³'s</i> they two were clubbing each other's anus, those skunks 86.9 |
| <i>tĩn-</i> to boil, to be ripe 98.7 | <i>tĩntx ha³</i> his heart cooked 96.9, 10 |
| <i>hamx-</i> to tie 8.6 | <i>ha³'m³x³twan hĩ'qũ³</i> I tie my hair |
| <i>mĩ'łtĩst</i> he commenced to burn 29.3 | <i>mĩ'łtĩstx ha³'mũt hĩ'qũ³</i> his hair began to burn (literally, it began to burn on him his all, hair) 29.4 |
| <i>haw-</i> to end, to make 14.6 | <i>ha³'na haũ³'tx ha³</i> his mind had become different (literally, different on him it had made itself, his mind) 60.21 |

In the following examples, terms of relationship are treated as inseparable parts of the subject:

płn- to be sick 40.21

płãntx ants t!³ãmc (he) got sick his boy 40.20

sí'naxi- to desire 18.5

sí'naxitax ants t!āmc xwí' L!tūaxtc he wanted that his child should come back (literally, he wanted his, that child, return shall his) 42.5, 6

waa' - to say 7.1

s^xatsí'tc^wax waa'^vtx ants mīlā thus their (dual) mother told them (literally, thus their two, told, that mother) 54.23

hant' - to call

ha'nt'itax māt!'i' he called his elder brother 58.16

xawū' he died 40.21

tE'q^xnax xawā'^vtx (when) their relatives died (literally, relatives they, die theirs) 68.13

waa' - to say 7.1

s^xatsí'tc wa'ā'^vtx ants Lxā^w'yax thus he said to that his friend 42.7, 8

§ 34. *Suffix Denoting that the Object is Possessed by the Subject, but Separable from it* -ūtsm- (-a^{tsm}-)

This suffix seems to be a compound consisting of two separate suffixes, -ūts- and -m-. While the original function of the second element is unknown, the first component is undoubtedly the suffix expressing the direct object of the first and second persons (see § 29 and also § 23).

It expresses a transitive action whose recipient is possessed by the subject without forming an integral part of it. Terms of relationship, and all concrete nouns, excepting those nominal stems that denote parts of the body, are thus considered; but, owing to frequent errors on the part of the informant, this suffix will be found used also in connection with objects expressing parts of the body.¹ All subjective pronouns are added to this suffix by means of a connecting weak vowel, as a result of the law regulating the use of consonantic clusters (see § 4); and, as the third person singular has no distinct form, this suffix appears in final position as -ūtsmE. The *ū* of this suffix often interchanges with the diphthong *aū* (see § 2). The suffix follows the tense signs, and is frequently added to reduplicated stems.

la'k^u- to take, to get 7.5

lākwa'kūtsmîn k^xā'nī I take my bucket

qnū' - to find 56.9

qnū'hūtsmîn qal'tc I found my knife

L!xma'^v- to kill 15.3

L!xma'^vyūtsmanx m^uū'sk^u you killed your younger brother

¹ See § 33, p. 485.

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>lak^u</i> - to take 7.5 | <i>lākwa'kūtsmE k^əā'nī</i> she took her bucket 90.21 |
| <i>L!ōx-</i> to send 16.10 | <i>L!ōxa'xa^utsmE hītc</i> he sent his people 30.1, 2 |
| <i>waa'ⁱ</i> he says 8.9 | <i>atsē'tc waa'yūtsmE qī'ūtc</i> thus he said to his wife 48.17 |
| <i>Lī'ū</i> (they) come 9.3 | <i>yā'^axaⁱ tE lī't!^a Līwī'wūtsmE</i> lots (of) this (their) food (they) are bringing 100.9, 10 |
| | <i>Līū'ūtsmE hīts'ⁱstc</i> she came to her (own) house 58.7, 8 |
| <i>waa-</i> to speak 8.1 | <i>waa'a^utsmE ants L!^aaⁱ hītc</i> he said to his many people 7.1 |
| <i>mī'ttēst</i> he begins to burn 29.3 | <i>u^l q!^aīl mī'ttēstūtsmE</i> then her pitch began to burn 90.22 |
| <i>xī'l'xē-</i> to work 50.9 | <i>xīl'xē'yūtsma^ux a'nts^ətc^wax mā'tī</i> they two worked at their (dual) dams 48.10 |

In the following instances this suffix has been used in connection with nouns that form an integral part of the subject:

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>t!Emx^u</i> - to cut | <i>u^lēnx t!Emxū'yūtsmE hī'qūⁱ</i> then they cut their hair 68.14 |
| <i>pāx-</i> to close (eyes) 36.16 | <i>paxa'xūtsmE kōpax</i> he shut his eyes 36.20 |
| <i>ya'q^uhaⁱt</i> he looked 58.1 | <i>yō'quhaⁱtū'^utsmE kōpax</i> he opened his eyes (literally, he looked with his eyes) 36.20 |
| <i>wī'ttēst</i> he begins to send | <i>wī'ttēstū'^utsmE wa'as</i> he began sending his message (word) 92.19 |
| <i>płn-</i> to be sick 40.21 | <i>planya'ⁱtistūtsmE haⁱtc</i> he was sorry (literally, he begins to make sick, his mind) 40.21 |
| <i>mīnx^u</i> - to lighten 38.5 | <i>u^l wān mī'nxa^utū'^utsmE L!^aaⁱ</i> now he made lightning (literally, then finally caused to lighten her body, the world) 38.6 |
| <i>tcī't'ī</i> wind | <i>tcī't'aⁱt'ūtsmE L!^aaⁱ ants tsxū'n-plī</i> Tsxunplī made a wind (literally, caused to blow his world, that Tsxunplī) 94.6, 7 |

§ 35. *Suffix Indicating that the Object is Possessed by a Third Person Object -ūl (-a^{ul})*

This suffix expresses an act performed upon an object that forms an integral part of or that is separably connected with another object. Hence it indicates the possessive relation that exists between two objects as seen by the subject of the sentence. The possessor of the object of the action must be the third person, regardless of number. If, however, it is absolutely necessary to indicate the number of the possessor, this is accomplished by means of suffixing to the possessed object the possessive suffixes for the third person singular, dual or plural (see § 88). It is noteworthy that the possessed object appears in the absolutive form, and not with the locative case endings, as might be expected. The pronominal suffixes expressing the subject of the action follow the suffix *-ūl*; and as this suffix ends in a consonant, and some of the subjective pronouns begin with a consonant, the pronouns are frequently preceded by a connecting, weak vowel (see § 4). There exists undoubtedly an etymological connection between the *ū* of this suffix and the *ū* of the direct object of the third person *-ūn* (see §§ 23, 28). For the *ū* of *-ūl* the diphthong *a^ū* is quite frequently substituted. This interchange has been discussed in § 2.

s'na^xi- to desire 18.5

ham^x- to tie 8.6

yax- to see 34.4

hīn- to take along 23.2

ya'q^u- to see 23.9

yax- to see 34.4

ya^ak!- small 36.23

haw- to end, to make 14.6

lak^u- to take 7.5

s'n^xxyūln hītsiⁱ I like his house

ha'm^xa^ūtn tēl I tie his hands

yāx^ayūlan^x mītā you see his father

hīna'yūlan^x L'amī'tī you took his bow along

ūl ya'q^uyūl mī'ok'laⁱ and he saw her vulva (bad thing) 90.10

yāxⁱxūla^ux tēu'x^us he saw their (dual) vulvas 90.15

yāk!ⁱt^atūl xwā'ka she cut his head into pieces 96.11

haⁱ'na haū'ūl haⁱ different she made his mind 58.9

t!ⁱyaⁱ lakw^akūl ants māt!ⁱ bear had seized that his older brother 58.16

*qva'*n- to pour 29.2

^ul wàn *qva'*nūl *Laaya'to'tc* (they two) now pour it into his mouth 96.7

hac'- to ask 66.16

^ul tō *hac'*a'yūl *ha'* you ask her (literally, and you ask about her mind [opinion]) 74.8

§ 36. *Suffix Expressing an Object Possessed by a First or Second Person Object -ūts (-a^uts)*

This suffix has the same function as *-ūl*, but differs from it in so far as the possessor of the object must be either a first or a second person. The number of the possessor, when required, is indicated by the possessive suffixes added to the possessed object (see § 88). Owing to the variability of the person of the possessor, this suffix conveys, besides the idea of a possessive relation between two objects, also the connection that exists between subject and object. Hence it assumes a function, limited in scope, but similar in character to the suffix for the combined subject and object pronouns. This functional similarity is indicated even in the phonetic composition of the suffix. *-ūts* is undoubtedly a compound suffix consisting of the previously discussed *-ūl* and of the suffix for the subject and object pronoun *-uts* (see § 29). It is not inconceivable that the original form may have been *-ūūts*, contracted later on into *-ūts*. A comparison of the Siuslaw transitive indicative suffixes shows that the majority of them have the *ū* in common. Hence it may be claimed that the *ū* originally conveyed the idea of a transitive indicative action (see § 23); and as the *ū* was already present in the first element of this suffix (*-ūl*), it may have been omitted as superfluous in the second part.

Owing to this additional function of this suffix as a medium of expressing subject and object pronouns, the subjective pronouns are added to it in a method similar to the one employed in the suffixation of the subjective pronouns to the suffix *-uts* (see § 25). After certain consonants this suffix is changed into *-a^uts* (see § 2).

hīn- to take along 23.2

hīna'yūltsana *L!amī'tī* I take along thy bow

yax- to see 34.4

yāa'yūltsana *qa'nnī* I look at thy face

L!x(ū)- to know 40.16

L!xū'yūtsana *mītà qnà* I know thy father

wax- to give 18.2

waxa'yūłtsanx tā'kín mî'n'awī I
will give thee my lightning
38.1, 2

L!xmaī- to kill 15.3

L!xmaī'yūłtsanx m^uū'sk^u qnīx^ats
you killed my younger brother
tsxana'yūłtsanx hī'qūⁱ you combed
my hair

lak^u- to take 7.5

ł'kwā'yūłtsīn ants qal'tc he took
that my knife

L!x(ū)- to know 40.16

L!xū'yūłtsīn mîtà he knows my
father

yax- to see 34.4

s^əàs L!xū'yūłtsanx mîtà he knows
thy father

əàs yīxā'yūłtsanx qa'nnî he looks
at thy face

§ 37. *Suffixes Denoting Possessive Interrelations for Tenses other than the Present* -isitî, -a^witî, -yaxa^tî

When possessive interrelations that occur in tenses other than the present are to be expressed, the Siuslaw language resorts to an interesting form of composition of suffixes. Thus the durative suffix *-is* (see § 69), the intentional (see § 70), and the past *-yax* (see § 74), are combined with the possessive suffix *-itî* (see § 88), forming new compound suffixes *-isitî*, *-a^witî*, and *-yaxa^titî*, that indicate semi-reflexive actions performed constantly, or about to be performed, or performed long ago. In these new suffixes no sharp line of demarcation is drawn between objects that are inseparably connected with the subject, and objects that are possessed by the subject.

ya^a'k!- small 36.23

yāk!is he is constantly (get-
ting) small

kwī'tcā yā'k!isitî ha³ don't ye be
downhearted! (literally, not you
small always make your mind)
66.5

haw- to finish 14.6

ha^wwīs he makes continually

ł^əenx kumî'ntc atsī'tc ha^wwīsitî
ha³ and you don't believe it thus
(literally, and you, not thus,
make continually your mind)
46.24

qa'xantc ha^wwīsitî ha³ downward
make continually your hearts
8.10

h̄n- to take along 23.2

h̄'nīs he always takes along

n̄x^{ats} u^ɛn̄x qan̄'nal h̄'nīsītī you
will take along your knife (liter-
ally, you, and you, knife, take
along will always yours) 50.16,
17

wn̄^wn- to do 10.5

wn̄'^wnīs (we) always do it
72.15

u^ɛn̄l wn̄'^wnīsītī still we will keep
on doing our . . . 72.17

ham̄x- to tie 8.6

ham̄xaw- to intend to tie

ham̄xawītīn h̄'qūⁱ I intend tying
my hair

p̄āx- to shut (eye) 36.16

p̄axaw- to be about to close

p̄axawītīn kōp̄x I intend to close
my eyes

yā'xatc'- to try to look 13.7

yāxatc'a^w- to intend to try to
look

yāxatc'a^wwītīn t!āmc k!^ɛlū I in-
tend to try to look for my boy
tomorrow 60.1, 2

tquya^w- to intend to boil

u^ɛns tquya^wītī we will cook (our
camas) 98.3

ham̄x- to tie 8.6

ha'mxyax he tied

ha'mxyaxⁱtī h̄'qūⁱ he tied his hair

p̄āx- to close 36.16

p̄ā'xyax he closed

p̄ā'xyaxⁱtīn kōp̄x I closed my eyes

A similar process is resorted to whenever the prohibitive mode (see § 40) of an action denoting that the object is possessed by the subject is to be expressed. In such cases the durative *-īs* (see § 69) is combined with the possessive *-ītī-* (see § 88), and the whole verb is preceded by the negative particle *kūⁱ*, *kum̄'ntc* NOT (see § 131).

tsxanu- to comb

kw̄n̄x tsxan̄'wīsītī h̄'qūⁱ don't
comb thy hair!

lk!^a- to open 28.2

kūⁱts lk!^aaⁱsītī laa' don't you
(pl.) open your mouths!

h̄n- to take along 23.2

kw̄n̄x h̄'nīsītī sī'xaⁱ don't take
thy canoe along!

haw- to finish, to work 14.6

kum̄'ntc^ɛt̄c̄i qa'xantc ha^wwīsītī
ha' don't ye be continually
downhearted (literally, not ye,
downwards, make continually
your, hearts) 8.10

Passive Suffixes Indicating Pronominal and Possessive Interrelations
(§§ 38-39)

§ 38. *Passive Suffixes for Verbs Requiring in the Active a Double Object* -ime, -ūme (-a^ume)

-ime. This suffix invariably follows the verbalizing -ī or -aⁱ (see § 75), and seems to express the passive voice of verbs that require in the active the presence of a double (direct and indirect) object, although it will be found suffixed to verbal stems that do not necessarily require such a double object. Whenever the subjective pronouns are added to it, the obscure *E* of this suffix is changed into a weak *a* or *î*. The form -ime occurs in terminal position only. This suffix follows all temporal suffixes.

wax- to give 18.2

waxa'yīmanx qanī'nal it (will) be given to you, (a) big knife 19.6
hī'q!a waxa'yūsime a'nts^{etc} mîtà dentalia shells are usually given to him, to that her father 74.19

hīts- to put on 11.10

hītsa'yīmîn it is put on me

haw- to end, to make, 14.6

txūnx hī'sa hawa'yīme ha^b they are just good-minded toward thee (literally, just thee well it is made towards, mind) 21.1

In two instances this suffix has been added to a stem without the aid of the verbalizing -ī (-aⁱ).

ha'ūs easy

atsī'tc ha'ūsime thus it was agreed upon (literally, thus it was [made] easy) 24.1

haw- to finish, to end 14.6

ha'ūsime ants ts!aln ready (made for him is) that pitch 26.5, 6

This suffix may be preceded—for the sake of emphasizing its passive function—by the present passive -xam (see § 55). In such cases the verbalizing suffix is omitted.

hīts- to put on 11.8

waa' ants hītsī'xamime said that one on whom it was put on 11.10

qū'n- to pour

ʷl wàn qū'nī'xamime and now it was poured down into his . . . 29.2

āq- to take off 13.1

aqā'xamime it was taken off him

-ūmE has the same function as *-īmE*, and is used in connection with similar verbal stems. It differs from it only in so far as it is added directly to the stem. An explanation of the parallel occurrence of *-ūme* and *-a^ūmE* has been given in § 2.

wax- to give 18.2

tE' qin waxa^ūmE what do you give me (literally, something to me, it is given?) 18.2

qanī'nal waxa^ūmanx a big knife is given to you 21.4

pī'ū- to be noisy 36.24

wa^l yā^axaⁱ tE'q u^l pī'ūmE they made noise with everything (literally, although many things [they have], still it is made noise with) 29.1

§ 39. *Passive Suffixes Denoting Possessive Relations of the Subject -ūtx, -xamtx*

These suffixes express, besides the passive voice, also the fact that the recipient of the action is either possessed or forms an integral part of a given object.

-ūtx seems to be composed of the suffix *-ūl*, which indicates that the object forms an integral part of or is possessed by another object (see § 35), and of the suffix *-tx*, denoting that the object is an integral part of the subject (see § 33). If this is the origin of the compound suffix, the amalgamation of these two independent suffixes into one new formative element that expresses the passive voice, and at the same time contains the idea of a possessive relation between object (grammatical subject) and object, presents a problem that must remain unexplained. The person of the possessed subject is indicated by the suffixed subjective pronouns (see § 24). The stem to which this suffix is added occurs frequently in an amplified form (see § 112). Stems ending in *i* (short or long) change it into *y* before adding the passive suffix (see § 8).

lak^u- to take, to get 7.5

kumī'ntc^wax lakwa'ūtx ants qī'ūtc not their (dual) were taken, those wives 50.22

lakwa'ūtxa^ux ta'tc^wax qī'ūtc taken away were these their (dual) wives 52.3, 4

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>tū'</i> - (also <i>t/ū'</i>) to buy 74.8 | <i>kumî'ntcⁿx t^wū t/ūha'ūltxanx t/āmc</i> not for nothing will they buy your child (literally, not [of] thee just bought [will be] thy child) 74.5 |
| <i>xāL'</i> - to make 50.8 | <i>sî'nⁱxyū'^u xāL/a'ūltx</i> they try to find some remedy (literally, they desire [that] made [cured] be his mind) 15.5 <i>hūya'ūltx ha^h</i> his mind will be made different 19.2 |
| <i>sî'navī</i> - to desire 18.5 | <i>sî'nⁱxyūltxanx t/āmc</i> thy child is desired (asked for) 74.4 |
| <i>tsî'navī</i> - to scorch | <i>u^lta^ux tsîna'aⁱyūltxq^uLī'mt</i> and their (dual) anus [will] be scorched 88.7 |
| <i>hac^h</i> - to ask 66.16 | <i>ha'tc'yaxa^ultx ha^h ants qūtcū'nî</i> (when) asked was her opinion, that woman 74.16 (-a ^u ltx = -ūltx see § 2) |

In many instances this suffix is preceded by the verbalizing -aⁱ (see §§ 75, 8).

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>skwaha'</i> he stands 14.4 | <i>u^l skwaha'yūltx teqyū'^u</i> then is stood up its (of the house) frame 80.7 |
| <i>tkwī'</i> - to bury 80.10 | <i>tkwīha'yūltx qaw^untī'yūwītc ants hītsī'ⁱ</i> dirt is put on both sides (of) that house 80.10, 11 |
| <i>hac^h</i> - to ask 66.16 | . . . <i>ants hac'a'yūltx ha^h</i> (when of) that one is asked his opinion 74.4, 5 |
| <i>waa'</i> he says 8.9 | <i>waa'yūltxan mītà</i> my father is spoken to |

-xamltx is undoubtedly composed of the suffix for the present passive *-xam* (see § 55), of the abbreviated *-ūl* (see § 35), and of the suffix *-tx* (see § 33). When it is remembered that this suffix can be added only to verbs that require a double object, the amalgamation of these three independent formative elements into one suffix for the purpose of expressing the passive voice of an act whose recipient (grammatical subject) stands in some possessive relation to one of

the three persons (speaker, person spoken to, or person spoken of), becomes at once apparent.

The use of this suffix may be illustrated by an example. The verb TO PUT ON requires a double object, because it implies the idea TO PUT SOMETHING ON SOMEBODY, or *vice versa*. Hence Siuslaw renders the English sentence HIS HAT WAS PUT ON (really, HIS HAT WAS PUT ON HIM) by a complex consisting of the verbal stem and the compound suffix *-xamltx*. In this suffix the first element, *-xam*, indicates that the action is passive (performed by somebody upon the recipient); the second element, *-l-*, denotes that the direct object (in this case the noun HAT) is possessed by the recipient of the action; while the last element, *-tx* (which when used alone indicates that the object forms an integral part of the subject), serves to bring out the idea that the action is performed upon the indirect object (ON HIM) which (in this case) can not be separated from the (logical) subject (HIS HAT).

The persons that are implied in the possessive relations as indicated by this suffix are expressed by means of the subjective pronouns added to it (see § 24). Since the first element of this compound suffix is the present passive *-xam*, the manner in which it is added to the verbal stem is similar to that employed in the suffixation of *-xam* (see § 55).

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>āq-</i> to take off 13.1 | <i>ayā'xamltxan lkwa'nug^u</i> taken off (me) is my hat |
| <i>hīts-</i> to put on 11.8 | <i>hīts'xamltxan lkwa'nug^u</i> put on (me) is my hat |
| <i>t!Emx^u-</i> to cut off | <i>t!Emxwa'xamltxanx tēL</i> cut off (thee) was thy hand |
| <i>lak^u-</i> to take (away) 7.5 | <i>s²atsi'to^wax waa'xam a'ntsux lo- kw'xamltx qī'ūtc</i> thus were told those two from whom the wives were taken away (literally, thus they two were told, those two [of] whom taken away were [those their dual] wives) 54.14 |

Imperative Forms Denoting Pronominal and Possessive Interrelations (§§ 40-48)

§ 40. Introductory

In the following sections there will be discussed suffixes that express not only the imperative mode, but also the exhortative.

Besides separate suffixes indicating the imperative of intransitive and transitive verbs (see §§ 61, 62), Siuslaw shows distinct suffixes that express the pronominal and possessive interrelations between subject and object.

Another interesting feature that may be noted in connection with the formation of the imperative mode is the presence of a distinct negative form of the imperative or prohibitive mode, and the manner in which it is expressed. Generally speaking, the durative suffix *-̄s* (see § 69), used in connection with the subjective pronouns for the second persons (see § 24), and in addition to the particle of negation (see § 131), expresses the prohibitive mode. This idiomatic expression may be justified by the fact that a prohibitive command addressed to the second person has much in common with the negative form of a durative action performed by the same person.

Owing to the fact that the imperative suffixes express other categories than a command, the prohibitive form of the imperative referring to such categories is expressed by adding to the durative *-̄s* the respective suffixes that denote the non-imperative idea (see §§ 29, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37). Examples of the prohibitive mode and a detailed description of its formation will be found in §§ 60-62, 42-46.

§ 41. *Exhortative Suffixes Expressing the Direct Object of the Third Person* -yūn, -i^wyūn, -ini

These three suffixes express an admonition to perform an action having a third (not mentioned) person as its object. The difference between *-yūn* and *-i^wyūn* could not be traced to any particular cause, owing chiefly to the fact that the latter form occurs very seldom. The informant always rendered the first two suffixes by a transitive future, and they seem to have been employed quite extensively in this secondary function.

-yūn is suffixed to verbs expressing transitive ideas only, and the stem to which it is added always occurs in an amplified form (see §§ 7, 112).

aⁱq- to leave 56.6

taⁱk^{ns} aya'qyūn tE l^t'i' aⁱ here we two (incl.) will leave this salmon (literally, let us two leave)

L!^ōx- to send 16.10

L!^owa'xyūn hītc I will send these people (literally, let me send) 30.19

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| <i>anə-</i> to give up 60.11 | <i>kumī'ntcīnl and'xyūn</i> not we (incl.) will give it up (literally, don't let us two) 16.8 |
| <i>L!xmaī'-</i> to kill 15.3 | <i>L!xmaīya'yūnanl</i> we (incl.) will kill him (literally, let us kill him) 28.3 |
| <i>ī't!-</i> to eat 15.2 | <i>kumī'ntc ī't!īyūn</i> not he will eat it (literally, don't let him eat it) 34.22 |
| <i>hamə-</i> to tie 8.6 | <i>hamə'xyūn</i> he will tie it (literally, let him tie it) |

-ī'wyūn exercises apparently the same function as the first suffix, but does not necessarily require amplification of the stem to which it is added.

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>xnī^wn-</i> to do 11.11 | <i>xnī^wnī^wyūns</i> we two (incl.) will do it (literally, let us two do it) 10.5 |
| <i>qatcⁱn-</i> to go 12.1 | <i>xnīyūnī^wyūn</i> I will do it (literally, let me do it) |
| <i>kwa^{hu}n-</i> to bend down 13.5 | <i>qatcīnī^wyūn</i> I will make him go (literally, let me make him go) |
| | <i>kū' nī^wyūn</i> I will bend it down |

In an analogous manner Siuslaw seems to have formed an exhortative suffix expressing the direct object of the first person. This is done by substituting *-ts* (see § 23) for the *-n*. As but few examples of this formation were obtained, a full discussion is impossible. The examples follow.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>yaq^w-</i> to look, to see 25.3 | <i>yaq^wīyī^wyutsatcī</i> ye look at me 72.11, 12 |
| <i>L!xū-</i> to know 40.7 | <i>L!x^wwa'x^wyūtsa'tcī</i> ye shall know me 30.17 |
| <i>ka^ās-</i> to follow 92.7 | <i>kīwasīyū'tsana^ā</i> you shall follow me 92.3 |
| <i>hīn-</i> to take along 9.5 | <i>hīya'nyūtsanə</i> I will take you along 58.6 |

-īnī is suffixed to transitive verbs, and is always used in connection with the exhortative particle *qaīl* (see § 129). The subjective pronouns for the first and third persons as the performers of the action are always added to the particle (see § 26). This suffix appears frequently as *-aīnī* (see § 2).

lak^u- to take, to seize 7.5*qaⁱla^{ux} lakwī'nī* let them two take (them)! 52.12, 13*waa'*- to speak 7.1*qaⁱl waa^vnī* let him speak to him!*taqūl*- to shout 52.8*qaⁱl^{ens} taqūl'nī* let us two (incl.) shout at him!*hīts*- to put on 11.8*qaⁱl^{enax} hⁱyatsī'nī* let them put it on!*tū'n*- to invite 16.2*qaⁱl^{enl} tū'nī'nī* let us (incl.) invite

§ 42. *Imperative Suffix Expressing the Direct Object of the First Person -īts (-a'ts)*

This suffix is added directly to the stem, and commands the person addressed (subject) to perform an act upon an object which must be one of the first persons. The *-ts* of this suffix is undoubtedly identical with the *-ts* found in all suffixes that express first and second persons objects (see §§ 23, 29, 34, 36). The combined pronominal forms that are added to this suffix can be only those indicating the second persons as the subject and the first persons as the object of the action (see table, pp. 473, 474). In this connection the following peculiarities may be noted:

(1) The singular subject is not expressed, being understood in the command.

(2) Dual and plural objects are not expressed in the suffixes, but are indicated by means of the independent personal pronouns for the first persons.

(3) For a singular object the subjective pronoun for the first singular (*-n*) is added to the imperative suffix.

(4) For dual and plural subjects the subjective pronouns for these persons are added to the imperative *-īts*.

The following table will best serve to illustrate these four rules:

| | Thou | Ye | You |
|------------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Me | <i>-ītsn</i> | <i>-ītsats</i> | <i>-ītsatcī</i> |
| Us two (exclusive) . . | <i>-ītsawān</i> | <i>-ītsats</i> | <i>-ītsatcī</i> |
| Us (exclusive) | <i>-ītsanzan</i> | <i>-ītsats</i> | <i>-ītsatcī</i> |

The subjective pronouns beginning with a consonant are added by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see §§ 4, 24).

This imperative suffix occurs often as *-a'īts* (see § 2).

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>waa'</i> - to speak 7.1 | <i>wa'a^{ts}in tā'kīn wa'as</i> speak to me (with) this my language! 36.10 |
| <i>hīn</i> - to take along 23.2 | <i>hī'nītsin</i> take me along! |
| <i>L!wan</i> - to tell 7.3 | <i>L!wā'nītsin</i> tell me! |
| <i>yaq^w</i> - to look 23.9 | <i>L!wā'nītsanxan</i> tell us (excl.)! |
| <i>a^g</i> - to leave 56.5 | <i>yd'quhītsats tē nà</i> look ye at me! <i>a'^gqā^{ts}atcī</i> you leave me! |

The prohibitive form is expressed by combining the durative *-īs* with the objective form *-ūts* and by placing the particle of negation *kūⁱ*, *kumūⁱntc*, before the verbal expression (see §§ 69, 29, 60). The pronominal suffixes are those used to express the second person as the subject, and the first person as the object, of an action (see § 24 and table, pp. 473, 474).

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>hīn</i> - to take along 23.2 | <i>kwīnax hī'nīsūts</i> don't take me along! |
| | <i>kwī'naxan hī'nīsūts</i> don't take us (excl.) along! |
| <i>qn^w</i> - to find 34.12 | <i>kwīnax qnū^wwīsūts</i> don't find me! |

§ 43. Imperative Suffix Indicating the Indirect Object of the Third Person *-yūx*

This suffix is etymologically related to the suffix *-ūx* discussed in § 30. It is added to verbs requiring the presence of a direct and indirect object, and it expresses a command that involves the third person (singular, dual and plural) as the recipient of the action.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>wax</i> - to give 18.2 | <i>wa'xyūx</i> give it to him! |
| | <i>wa'xyūxanx</i> give it to them! |
| <i>qūⁱn</i> - to pour 29.2 | <i>qwa'ⁱnyūx Laaya'tc</i> pour it down into his mouth! 29.2 |
| <i>hīts</i> - to put on 11.8 | <i>hⁱya'tsyūx</i> put it on him! |
| <i>hamx</i> - to tie 8.6 | <i>ha'mxyūx</i> tie it on him! |

The prohibitive mode is obtained by combining the durative *-īs* (see § 69) with the suffix *-ūx* (see § 30) and by placing the particle *kūⁱ* or *kumūⁱntc* (see § 131), before the verbal expression.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>wax</i> - to give 18.2 | <i>kwīnax wa'xaⁱsūx</i> don't give it to him! |
| <i>hīts</i> - to put on 11.8 | <i>kwīnax hⁱya'tsīsūx</i> don't put it on him! |
| <i>qūⁱn</i> - to pour 29.2 | <i>kumūⁱntcⁿax qwa'ⁱnīsūx</i> don't pour it (into his mouth)! |

§ 44. *Imperative Suffix Denoting the Indirect Object of the First Person -imts*

This suffix expresses a command to perform an act the indirect recipient of which is the first person. It is etymologically related to the imperative suffix *-ĩts* (see § 42) and to the objective form *-emts* (see § 31), being composed of the initial element of the former suffix and of the whole of the latter formation (see § 23). The method of adding the pronominal forms to this suffix is identical with the method discussed on pp. 472-475.

wax- to give 18.2

wā'xĩmĩtsĩn give it to me!

hĩts- to put on 11.8

wā'xĩmĩtsanān give it to us!

hamx- to tie 8.6

hⁱya'tsĩmĩtsĩn put it on me!

hā'māĩmĩtsatē you (pl.) tie it on me!

The suffixed particle *-ū* (see § 132) is frequently added to this combined suffix. In such cases it denotes an act performed near the speaker.

xwĩL!- to return 12.6

xwĩL!ĩ'ĩmĩtsĩnū give it back to me!

hamx- to tie 8.6

hamāĩ'mĩtsĩnū tie it on me!

The prohibitive mode is expressed by combining the durative *-ĩs* (see § 69) with the suffix *-emts* (see § 31 and also § 40).

wax- to give 18.2

kwĩnā wa'xāⁱsēmĩts don't give it to me!

hĩts- to put on 11.8

kwĩnā hⁱya'tsĩsēmĩts nātc don't put it on me!

§ 45. *Imperative Suffix Denoting that the Object is Possessed by a Third Person -ĩ.*

This suffix indicates that the possessor of the recipient of the action is the third person singular. Duality and plurality of the possessor is expressed by suffixing the subjective pronouns for the third persons dual and plural (see § 24) to the possessed object (see § 35). This suffix is added directly to the stem, and is related (phonetically and etymologically) to the suffix *-ūĩ*, indicating that the object is possessed by a third person object (see §§ 23, 35). Duality and plurality of the subject of the action are expressed by adding the subjective pronouns *-ts* and *-tcĩ* (see § 24) to the suffix *-ūĩ*; and as these pronouns begin with

a consonant, they are merged with the imperative suffix by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see § 4).

yū^{wi}L!- to break 94.4
tsxanu- to comb
hīn- to take along 23.2
lān- to call 23.7

hamx- to tie 8.6

t!E'maxū- to cut 48.12

yū'L!īl qal'te break his knife!
tsxa'nwīl hī'qūⁱ comb his hair!
hī'nīl L!am'tī take along his bow!
lā'nīl l'ntc^{wax} call their (dual)
 names!
ha'maxīl tē'l'tc^{ina} tie their hands!
hamaxīlats tēL you two tie his
 hands!
t!Emaxū'lataē axwā'ka you cut (off)
 his head!

The prohibitive mode is expressed by combining the durative *-īs* (see § 69) with the suffix *-ūl* (see § 35) and by placing the negation *kūⁱ*, *kumū'ntc* NOT before the verb (see § 40).

yū^{wi}L!- to break 94.4

hamx- to tie 8.6

tsxanu- to comb

kwīnax yū'L!īsūl qal'te don't break
 his knife!
kumū'ntc^{ina} ha'maxīsūl tēL don't
 tie his hands!
kwīnax tsxa'nwīsūl hī'qūⁱ don't
 comb his hair!

§ 46. *Imperative Suffix Indicating that the Object is Possessed by a First Person -īts*

It expresses a command to perform an action, whose recipient is either possessed or forms an integral part of the first person. It is related to the imperative *-īts* (see § 42) and to the suffix *-ūlts* discussed in § 36. The combined pronominal forms that are added to this suffix for the purpose of indicating the number of subject and possessor are identical with those discussed on pp. 472-475.

xāL!- to make 50.8
xamL- to wash
hīn- to take along 23.2

hamx- to tie 8.6

xā'L!ūltsīn qal'te fix my knife!
xā'mLūltsīn qa'nnī wash my face!
hī'nūltsatē sī'xāⁱ you take my canoe
 along!
ha'maxūltsanxan tēL tie our (excl.)
 hands!

The prohibitive form is obtained by combining the durative *-īs* (see § 69) with the suffix *-ūlts* (see § 36). The negative particle *kūⁱ*, *kumū'ntc* NOT must precede the verb, while the pronouns expressing

the person spoken to may be suffixed either to the negation or to the combined suffix (see §§ 40, 26).

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>tsxanu-</i> to comb | <i>kwīnə tsxə'nwīsūlts hī'qūi</i> don't comb my hair! |
| <i>hamə-</i> to tie 8.6 | <i>kumī'ntc^{ts}ts ha'məīsūlts tcīL</i> don't you two tie my hands! |
| <i>hīn-</i> to take along 23.2 | <i>kwī'tcī hī'nīsūlts L!xmī'tī</i> don't you take along my bow! |

§ 47. *Imperative Suffix Expressing Possessive Interrelations between Object and Subject -tsx*

In the imperative the suffix *-tsx* is used for expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject in both cases, when the object forms an integral part of the subject and when it is only separably connected with it. Considering that actions involved in such a command presuppose the presence of a pronominal subject and object, it is not improbable that the suffix *-tsx* may be related to the suffixes *-ūts* and *-ītx* (see §§ 23, 29, 33). For subjects other than the second person singular, the different subjective pronouns are added to *-tsx* (see §§ 24, 4).

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>hī'n^{sk}!y</i> to rain 78.1 | <i>hī'n^{sk}!ītsxL!a^{ai}</i> cause (thy) rain to come down! 76.18 |
| <i>tsxanu-</i> to comb | <i>tsxə'nutsx hī'qūi</i> comb thy hair! |
| <i>īk!a'a-</i> to open 28.2 | <i>īk!a'atsx Laa'</i> open thy mouth! |
| <i>īak^u-</i> to take 7.5 | <i>īa'kutsx k^əā'nī</i> get thy basket! |
| <i>L!ōx-</i> to send 16.10 | <i>L!ōx^{tsx} hītc</i> send thy man! |
| <i>pāx-</i> to close 36.16 | <i>pāx^{tsx} kōpə</i> shut thy eyes! |
| <i>mīn^{xu}-</i> to lighten 38.5 | <i>mī'n^{xu}tsx L!a^{ai}</i> make lightning! 38.5 |
| <i>a'ītc-</i> to trade 36.4 | <i>a'ītcna^{hu}tsxans</i> let us two (incl). trade! |
| <i>īak^u-</i> to get 7.5 | <i>īa'kutsxats qv'ūtc</i> you two take your wives! 52.17 |
| <i>hī'n^{sk}!y-</i> to rain 78.1 | <i>hī'n^{sk}!ītsxats L!a^{ai}</i> you two cause your rain to descend 76.19 |
| | <i>hīn^{sk}!ī'ītsxatcī L!a^{ai}</i> you fellows make rain! |

For the formation of the prohibitive mode see § 37.

§ 48. *Exhortative Suffix Expressing Possessive Interrelations Between Object and Subject* -*itsmE* (-*aⁱtsmE*)

This suffix may be called the imperativized form of the suffix *-ūtsm* denoting that the object is separably connected with the subject (see §§ 23, 34). It expresses, however, possessive relations between subject and object regardless of the kind of possession, and is used only in connection with the particle *qaⁱl* (see § 129). By its means Siuslaw expresses a desire addressed to the first and third persons that a certain act be performed upon an object that either forms an integral part of or else is separably connected with the third person. All subjective pronouns are added to the particle *qaⁱl* (see §§ 24, 26). Siuslaw has no distinct suffixes for the purpose of expressing possessive relations with the first or second persons as the possessor, or relations between subject and object. For the interchange between *-ītsmE* and *-aⁱtsmE* see § 2.

pāx- to close 36.16

qaⁱl paxaⁱtsmE kōpax let him shut his eyes!

xāL/- to build 50.8

qaⁱl^{ns} xāL!ⁱtsmE hītsⁱ let us two (incl.) fix his house!

xamL- to wash

qaⁱlnx xamLⁱtsmE qaⁱnnⁱ let them wash their faces!

hīts- to put on 11.8

qaⁱla^{ux} hīyatsⁱtsmE hkwannⁱq^u let them two put on their (dual) hats!

MODAL SUFFIXES (§§ 49-64)

§ 49. **Introductory**

In the succeeding chapters will be discussed, besides the suffixes that indicate the passive voice and the imperative and exhortative modes, also the formative elements expressing such concepts as reciprocity, distribution, and tentative and negative actions. A separate section might have been devoted here to a discussion of the formative elements *-ū* and *-ī*, the former expressing the indicative and the latter indicating the imperative mode. Since, however, these two elements never occur alone, and since they have been fully discussed in connection with other suffixes (see §§ 23, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 36, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48), it has been thought advisable to call attention here to their modal functions, but not to treat them separately.

§§ 48-49

§ 50. Reciprocal *-naw(a)*, *-mux^u-*

-naw(a) precedes all other suffixes, and is followed by the subjective pronouns. Owing to the fact that Siuslaw does not permit clusters of *w* + any consonant (excepting *n*), the *w* of this suffix changes into a voiceless *w* (written here ^{hu}) before all consonants except *n* (see § 4). For that reason the reciprocal *-naw(a)*, when followed by the present *-t* (see § 72), the future *-tūx* (see § 73), or by the imperative *-Em* (see § 61), is heard as *-na^{hut}t*, *-na^{hut}tūx*, and *-na^{hum}m* respectively.

The stem to which this suffix is added is not infrequently followed by the reflexive particle *ts'ims* (see § 123). The full form *-nawa* is added when the suffix stands in final position; that is to say, when it expresses the subjective pronoun for the third person singular (see § 24).

ɬōl- to hit

lōlna'wans we two (incl.) hit each other

lōlna'wa^{ux}ūn ts'ims we two (excl.) hit each other

lōlna'wats ts'ims you two hit each other

wīnax- to be afraid 17.6

wīn^{Exna}wa'wa^{ux} they two were afraid of each other 86.1, 2

waa'- to speak 7.1

waana'wa^{ux} they two talk to each other 10.4

s^{Exatsi}tc^{wax} waana'wa thus they two speak to each other 10.1, 2

waana'wisa^{ux} ants m^aā'ti they two keep on talking to each other, those chiefs 78.8, 9

sⁱna^{wi}- to desire 18.5

a'tsanl kumⁱntc n^{wi}k!^a'na sⁱnⁱx-na'wis thus we (incl.) won't try to abuse one another (literally, thus we not badly will desire [to abuse] one another continually) 78.12, 13

wīnax- to fear 17.6

wīn^{Exna}wan^{wan} ts'ims we (excl.) are afraid of one another.

tqūl- to shout 52.8

tqūlna'wanx they shout at one another.

aⁱtc- to trade 36.4

aⁱtcna^{hut}tūx^{Ens} we two (incl.) will trade 36.7

^ula^{ux} aⁱtcna'ha^{ut} then they two traded 36.7

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <i>lōl-</i> to hit | <i>lōlna'hu^ttūaxts</i> you two will hit each other |
| <i>tqūl-</i> to shout 52.8 | <i>lōlna'humats</i> you two hit each other! <i>tqūlna'hu^ttūn^{xan}</i> we (excl.) will shout at one another |
| <i>yaq^u-</i> to look 23.9 | <i>yaq^uhīna'hu^tmatcā</i> look you at one another! |
| <i>waa'-</i> to speak 7.1 | <i>waana'hu^ttxan^x</i> <i>wa'as</i> they speak one another's language |

In two instances this suffix is followed by the verbalizing *-aⁱ* implying the commencement of a reciprocal action. For an explanation of this inchoative idea see § 75.

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| <i>waa'-</i> to speak 7.1 | <i>atsī'tc^wax waanawaⁱ</i> thus they two (begin to) talk to each other 78.13 |
| <i>kū'n-</i> to beat 72.17 | <i>u^tEn^x wān kū'nawaⁱ</i> now they (begin to) beat one another 80.1. |

In a few instances this suffix is used to express distribution of action.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>t!ⁱE'maxū^u-</i> to cut 48.12 | <i>u^t t!ⁱEmax^una'^wū^un</i> he cut it into pieces (literally, he cut it here and there) 52.23, 24 |
| <i>lqu'nwī</i> knot | <i>lqunwīna'hu^ttūn yā'^axaⁱ</i> he made lots of knots (literally, he made many knots here and there) |
| <i>sū'qu-</i> to join 80.9 | <i>sūq^una'hu^ttūn</i> he joined it together |
| <i>lāpq-</i> (?) 80.15 | <i>lāpqana'hu^ttūn</i> he put them side by side |
| <i>āq-</i> to take off 13.1 | <i>āqna'hu^ttūn</i> he took it apart. |

-mux^u- has the same function as the preceding *-naw(a)*, but is employed less often, and seems to be confined to a limited number of stems. This suffix is frequently affected by the shifting of the accent (see § 12).

waaⁱ' he says 8.9

waaⁱ'muxwa^ux they two talk to each other 10.6
s^xatsī'tca^ux waaⁱ'mux^u thus they two talk to each other 10.6, 7
atsī'tc^wax waa'yEmaxust thus they began to talk to each other 56.4
waa'yEmax^usta^ux they two began to talk to each other 48.13

tcanhatī- to club*tcanhatī'mautax^ux q^ulī'mt ants
penī's* they two were clubbing
each other's anus, those skunks
86.9*kīma^āL!*- to hit*kīma^āL!muaxwanx* they hit one
another

§ 51. Distributive -ī'tax

This suffix expresses the distributive of intransitive verbs. Owing to the fact that most nouns, even without the aid of any specific device, may have the function of intransitive verbs, this suffix will be found added to nouns, especially to terms of relationship. The initial *ī* is frequently changed into *a^ī* (see § 2).

The form -ī'tax followed by certain subjective pronouns is subject to a peculiar law of contraction (see § 24).

k!īn- to hear 70.5*k!īnā^īt'axtc wa'as xā'ts!ū īnq!a'
a^ī* two rivers will have one
language (literally, hear mutu-
ally their language [the people
of] two rivers) 32.6, 7*sūqu-* to join*sū'qū^t'ax ants hītsīⁱ xāL!ī'yūsne*
adjoining these houses are built
80.9, 10.*Lāpq-* (?)*ālqa'tc L!ayā' ut cīn^ax hītsīⁱ xā-
L!a'yū^{nE} Lā'pqa^t'ax* on one
place three houses are built side
by side 80.14, 15*nāctc-* to fight*nī'ctcat^aax sī^{nī}xyūn* (to) fight
mutually they two want (with
them) 52.2*mā^ū'sk^ū* younger brother 56.6*mā'skwīt^aax xā'ts!^ūwa^ux* younger
brothers mutually they two
(were) 40.18*nī'ctcat^aax, mā'skwīt^aax = nī'ct-
cat^aax^ux, mā'skwīt^aax^ux* (see
§ 24)*māctcī^t* younger sister 40.2*mā'ctcī^tanxan* (= mā'ctcī^taxan-
xan) sisters mutually we (excl.)
are

§ 52. Tentative *-tc'*

This suffix indicates an attempt on the part of the subject to perform a certain action, and may best be rendered by TO ATTEMPT, TO TRY . . . The native Siuslaw, unable to express its exact meaning, rendered it by various phrases, chiefly by sentences like TO DO SOMETHING SLOWLY, TO "KIND OF" . . ., etc. Verbal stems ending in a consonant insert a weak vowel between its final sound and the suffix (see § 4). In terminal position this suffix appears as *-tc'ya* (see § 24).

yaw- to see 34.4

st'i^mnəw yāwāt'c'a'waw there they intend to try to look 60.7

yāwāt'c'ist^mnəw līt'aya' you (will) try to begin to look for food 13.7

yāwāt'c'a^wwīt'īn t'āmc I intend trying to look for my boy 60.1, 2

lwat- to run 12.3

lxa'tat'c'ist k'ēxū'tc l'aya'tc he begins to attempt to run everywhere 13.8, 9

kū'n- to beat 72.17

u^l s^a ts'ik'ya kū'nū'tswa that one very (hard) tries to beat (them) 78.18

t'ūha'- to sell, to buy 74.5

t'ūhat'c'īntxa^ux (they two) try to sell their (dual) many (hides)

līt'- to eat 13.10

līt'at'c'īn I eat slowly

māx- to swim

māxāt'c'ya he is "kind of" swimming

§ 53. Negative *-īl* (*-a'īl*)

This suffix expresses negation of action, and is used with intransitive verbs only. Negation of transitive verbs by means of a special suffix is not exhibited. The verbal stem to which this suffix is added must be preceded by the negative particles *kū^t*, *kumū'ntc* NOT (see § 131). An explanation of the parallel occurrence of *-īl* and *-a'īl* is given in § 2.

a^us- to sleep 23.9

kumū'ntcⁿəwan a^wsīl not we (excl.) sleep 70.19

xāntm- to travel 12.10

kumū'ntc nī'k!a xāntmīl not alone he traveled 94.11

cī'nax̄- to think

kumū'ntc nīctc'ī'tc cī'nax̄īl not (of) anything he was thinking 60.20, 21

cī'l'x- to move, to shake 27.2

kū^t cī'l'xīl not he moved 27.2, 3

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>wīlw-</i> to affirm, to answer 17.7 | <i>kūⁱ yā'tsa wī'lwīl</i> not (for) a long time he answered 74.4 |
| <i>taⁱ-</i> to live 32.21 | <i>sqū'ma^ul kum'ntc ta'īl īnq!^aītc</i> pelican did not live in the bay 44.1 |
| <i>sīnq!^a-</i> to be hungry 44.11 | <i>u^{īn} kum'ntc sī'nq!^aīl</i> I (am) not hungry 44.15, 16 |
| <i>xaū-</i> to die 40.21 | <i>kum'ntc xa'wīl</i> he does not die 15.8 |

Modal Elements of the Passive Voice (§§ 54-59)

§ 54. *Introductory*

Siuslaw employs a great number of suffixes for the purpose of expressing the passive voice. Many of these suffixes express, besides the passive idea, some other grammatical category, and according to this secondary function they may be divided into the following classes:

- (1) Pure passive suffixes.
- (2) Suffixes conveying the passive voice and temporal categories.
- (3) Passive suffixes indicating pronominal and possessive interrelations.

The suffixes of the last category have been fully discussed in §§ 38 and 39.

§ 55. *Present Passive -xam*

It expresses the present tense of the passive voice, and may be added directly to the stem or may be preceded by the verbalizing suffix *-aⁱ* (*-ī*) (see §§ 75, 2). In the latter case it conveys an inchoative passive idea. In narratives this suffix assumes the function of an historic present. Stems ending in a consonant insert a weak vowel between their final sound and the suffix (see § 4).

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>L!^owa'x-</i> to send 7.7 | <i>u^ī wān L!^oxa'xam</i> then finally he was sent 16.10 |
| <i>qaa-</i> to enter 44.4 | <i>sēxa'^ūtc qaa'xam</i> into a canoe it was put in 34.5 |
| <i>waa'-</i> to speak 7.1 | <i>waa'xam s^ēats'ītc</i> he was told thus 8.1 |
| <i>wīlw-</i> to affirm 17.7 | <i>wīlwa'xam</i> he was answered "yes" 30.11 |
| <i>skwa'-</i> to stand 10.9 | <i>skwaha'xam ants xa'itca'a^ū</i> placed was that roast (in the fire) 90.9 |
| <i>hac^o-</i> to ask 66.16 | <i>u^ī hac^oī'xam</i> he was asked 66.16 |
| <i>lak^u-</i> to get, to take 7.5 | <i>tāmtca'mī lokwī'xam</i> an ax was seized 27.10 |

In two instances the verbal stem, to which this suffix is added, has been reduplicated (see § 107).

lī'ū he comes 9.3

ʷl wàn l!īl!wa'xam finally he was approached 16.3

temū- to assemble 7.3

t!Emt!mā'xam wàn they come to see him now (literally, he is assembled about, now) 23.3, 4

For forms in *-xamlta*, expressing passives with indirect object, the grammatical subject being the property of the indirect object, see § 39.

§ 56. *Future Passives in -atam, -ī (-aʷ), -aa^u*

These suffixes indicate the future tense of the passive voice. No explanation for the occurrence of the variety of forms can be given. Similarly, all attempts to correlate these different suffixes with certain stems have been without results.

-atam is added directly to stems. Stems ending in *a*-vowels contract this vowel with the initial *a* of the suffix (see § 9). Final *ī* and *ū* of the stem are diphthongized into *ya* and *wa* respectively before the addition of the suffix (see § 7).

temū- to assemble 7.3

nīctēl'tc^utēl' tē tem^uwa'tam . . .
why these you, will be assembled 30.17

gn^u- to find 34.12

gn^uwa'tamīn I will be found

s^ua'tsa thus 8.7

s^uatsa'tamīn thus it will (be done) to me

k!a'- to invite 16.3

k!aha'tamanx you will be invited

waa'- to speak 7.1

waa'tam he will be told

hīn- to take along 23.2

hīna'tam it will be taken along

By adding to *-atam* the objective form *-ūn* (see § 28) a compound suffix *-atamūn* is obtained which exercises the function of a causative passive for the future tense. No examples of this formation have been found in the texts.

hīn- to take along 23.2

hīna'tamūn he will cause him to be taken along

skwa'- to stand 10.9

skwaha'tamūn I will cause him to be placed

skwaha'tamūn = skwaha'tamūnīn
(see § 15)

tū'n- to invite 16.2

tū'na'tamūn I will cause him to be invited

-ī (-aⁱ). This suffix must not be confounded with the nominalizing suffix of identical phonetic value. The stem to which it is added invariably undergoes a phonetic change, which may be called stem-amplification (see § 112). An explanation for the parallel occurrence of *-ī* and *-aⁱ* is found in § 2.

hūn- to take along 23.2

hⁱya'nūn I shall be taken along

kū'n- to beat 72.17

k^uwa'nūn I shall be beaten

lōl- to hit

l^owa'lūn you will get hit

hakw- to fall 8.7

u^la^ux tō'wate hakwa'aⁱ they two into the water will be thrown 88.7, 8

ana'x- to give up 16.8

nēct^x k^u a'naxaⁱ suppose he be given up 64.26

L!xūx^u- reduplicated form of

L!x^uwa'xwūn I shall be known

L!xū- to know 40.16

-aa^u occurs more frequently than the two previously discussed suffixes, and is added to the bare stem. Stems ending in *a* contract their final vowel with the initial *a* of the suffix (see § 9). Sometimes, but not as a rule, the stem is amplified before adding the future passive *-aa^u*. This suffix usually requires the accent.

xnū^wn- to do 10.5

yā'aⁱ xūⁱ hūtc^u xnū^wna'a^u much playing will be done 9.6, 7

L!xmaⁱ'- to kill 15.3

u^lūn kumⁱ'ntc sⁱ'nⁱx^{yū}n L!xma^ya'a^u I not want it (that) he shall be killed 15.8, 16.2

tū'n- to invite

s^aa'tsa tū'na'a^u thus he will be invited 16.2

ma'q!ⁱ- to dance 28.7

atsⁱ'tc wa^axam mēq!ⁱē'na'a^u thus it was said, "A dance will be arranged for him" 19.1, 2

L!ōx- to send 16.10

ēⁱ'nⁱx^yat!^ya ants hūtc L!ōxa'a^u was thinking that man (who) was going to be sent 19.8, 9

xawū- to die 40.21

sⁱ'nⁱx^{yū}'nē xaw^a'a^u it was desired (that) he be killed 24.1

hūn- to take along 9.5

wān hūna'a^u now he will be taken along 25.1

tū'tc- to spear 62.2
lak^u- to get 7.5

t^watca'a^u it will be speared 62.3
kum^u'ntc^{en}xə təw lakwa'a^u, tūha'-
a^unə yā'a'xa not for nothing they
 will get you, they will buy you
 big (literally, not you just taken
 will be, bought you will be
 much) 74.16, 17

§ 57. *Past Passive -xamyax*

This suffix is (loosely) composed of the present passive *-xam* (see § 55) and of the suffix for the past tense *-yax* (see § 74).

qnū' to find 56.9

L^hmnā'q qn^u'wa'xamyax elk was
 found 34.12, 13

lak^u- to seize 7.5

ants hītc lōkwī'xamyax that man
 (who) was seized 60.12

s^əa'tsa thus 11.10

s^əatsī'xamyax thus it was (done)
 32.16

hīq!- to start 15.1

s^əa'tsa hīq!a'xamyax thus it was
 started 32.16

xaū' he died 40.21

xa^uwī'xamyax he was killed 29.6

That the composition of this suffix is felt to be rather loose may be best inferred from the fact that the sign of the past (*-yax*) may precede the passive suffix *-xam*, as is shown in the following instances:

c^h'nāi- to think 60.21

c^h'n^h'yaxam s^əatsī'tc it was thought
 thus 27.6

hū'(-?) to lose

hū'yaxan (I) got lost 68.2

yāk!^h'tētc- in pieces 96.11

yāk!^h'tēya'xam xwā'kate into pieces
 was (cut) his head 29.4, 5

tc!^ha^uc- to be glad 27.1

tc!^ha^ucya'xam wān gladness was
 felt now 23.3

In all these instances the suffix *-yaxam* has resulted from an original *-yaxxam* (see § 15).

§ 58. *Passive Verbs in -ūtn- (-a^utn-), -ū'nE (-a^unE)*

These suffixes are extensively employed in the formation of the passive voice; alone they do not express any particular tense. They may be added either directly to the stem, or to the stem verbalized by means of the suffix *-a'* (see § 75). The subjective suffixes are added to these suffixes by means of a weak vowel (see § 4); but since the third person singular has no distinct form, and as clusters of §§ 57-58

consonants in final position are inadmissible, the form of this suffix in terminal position is always $-ūtne$ ($-a^ūtnE$).

The form $-ū'ne$ has resulted from the change of the t of $-ūtn-$ to a weak aspiration (see § 16). The interchange between $ū$ and $a^ū$ has been discussed in § 2.

qalx- to count 8.5

xn̄w̄n- to do 10.5

waa- to speak 7.1

gacū'ix he drinks

lhab̄'ix- to shout continually
11.10

waa' he says 8.9

tū'tca' he spears 62.2

xāl'a' he makes 50.8

xn̄w̄n- to do 10.5

m̄ltc- to burn 26.9

waa' he says 8.9

xāl'a' he makes 50.8

k'a' to invite 16.3

s̄i'nax̄- to desire 18.5

L'ōn̄itx- to tell continually

ūl qa'lxūtne then it was counted
s̄'a'tsa xn̄w̄nūtne thus it was done
62.9

kum̄'ntc n̄ctc̄'itc wa'a'atne noth-
ing was said 18.3

pāl'ū gacū'ixatne (from the)
well it is drunk 76.12

lhab̄'ixatne he is continually
shouted at

ats̄'it̄'n waa'yūtne thus I am told
20.6

tū'tca'yūtne it is speared 8.7

ts̄'̄L'̄l̄ L'a'ai ūl xāl'a'yūtne
many arrows are made 78.6

s̄'a'tsa xn̄w̄nūtne thus it is done
74.2

ma'ttcū'ne ants h̄its̄'i a fire was
built (in) that house 25.2

s̄'ats̄'itc waa'yū'ne ants h̄itc thus
was told that man 30.2, 3

k'ix tē'q xāl'a'yū'ne everything
is made 78.5, 6

k'aha'yū'n̄n I am invited 17.9

k'aha'yū'n̄nax̄ thou art invited
16.3

k'aha'yū'n̄atc̄i you are invited
30.10

s̄i'n̄ixyū'n̄nax̄ L̄'ūtūx̄ you are
wanted (to) come 19.7, 8

ats̄'itc L'ōn̄'itxatne thus it is fre-
quently said 16.9

When preceded by the sign of the past tense, $-yax$ (see § 74), these suffixes denote the passive voice of the past tense.

hac' to ask 66.16

ats̄'itc waa' ants hac'yaxatne
thus said that one (who) was
asked 66.24, 25

haw- to finish 14.6

. . . *ants hītsī'ī ha^uwaⁱstyawa^ūtn_E*
(when) that house began to be
finished

§ 59. *Durative Passives in -īsūtn- (-īsū'n_E), -ūs-*

-īsūtn- (-īsū'n_E). This suffix is composed of the durative *-īs* (see § 69) and of the passive *-ūtn-* (see § 58). It denotes a passive action of long duration. Owing to its durative character, the verbal stem to which this suffix is added is frequently amplified (see § 112) or duplicated (see § 107). *-īsūtn-* interchanges constantly with *-aⁱsūtn-* (see §§ 2, 69). The subjective pronouns are added by means of a weak vowel. In final position it occurs as *-īsūtn_E*, because a final cluster of *t+n* is inadmissible (see § 4). The change of the *t* to a weak aspiration in *-īsū'n_E* has been fully discussed in § 16 (see also § 58).

lān- to call by name

lā'nīsūtn_E ants hītc he is constantly
called, that man 23.7

cīl'x- to shake 27.3

cī'l'xīsūtn_E he is constantly shaken
27.2

waa'- to speak 7.1

atsī'tc wa'aⁱsū'n_E thus he is always
told 24.2

hīts- to put on 11.8

hⁱya'tsīsūtn_E it is frequently put
on 11.7

Lī'ū (they) come 9.3

L!lL!wī'sūtn_E he is being ap-
proached 26.2

yaq^u'- to look 23.9

ya'q^uhīsū'n_E he is continually
watched 26.1

qalx- to count 8.5

qa'laxīsū'n_E it is being counted
62.11

waa'- to speak 7.1

atsī'tc waaⁱ'sū'n_E thus he is being
told 23.10

hał- to shout 13.11

łhali'sū'n_E he is continually
shouted at 14.2

L!xū- to know 40.16

kūⁱ L!xū'xūⁱsū'n_E tcaītcī'tc ants
xīnt not it was known where
that one went 64.15, 16

-ūs- is a combined suffix. Its first element is undoubtedly the durative *-ūs* (see § 69); while the second component seems to represent an abbreviated form of the passive suffix *-ūtn-*, discussed in § 58. It indicates a passive action of long duration or frequent occurrence, and may best be rendered by IT WOULD . . .

This suffix is always added to the verbal stem by means of the verbalizing *-aⁱ* (changed into *-ī*; see § 75). Both *-ī* and *-aⁱ* are subject to consonantization before the initial vowel of the passive suffix, so that this suffix invariably occurs as *-īyūsⁿ-* or *-ayūsⁿ-* (see § 8). In a few instances it appears as *-ēⁱyūsⁿ-* (see § 2). The subjective pronouns beginning with a consonant are added to this suffix by means of a weak vowel; and as a third person singular has no special form, and since a terminal cluster of *s+n* is inadmissible, these suffixes in terminal position always appear as *-ūsⁿE*, *-īyūsⁿE* or *-ayūsⁿE* (see § 4).

tqūl- to shout 52.8

tqūlī'yūsⁿE ants tčānī'NE he is always shouted at, that raccoon 76.16, 17

hat- to shout 13.11

hātī'yūsⁿE he would be shouted at 70.22

waa'- to speak 7.1

atsī'tc waa'yūsⁿE thus he would be told 24.7

lān- to call 23.7

lānat!ī'yūsⁿE he is continually called 76.17, 18

tū'- to buy 74.17

tūha'yūsⁿE she would be bought 74.18, 19

xnā^wn- to do 10.15

s^pa'tsa xnā^wnī'yūsⁿE thus it would be done 76.5

īlq- to dig 84.2

īlqēⁱyūsⁿE ants L!a^{aⁱ} dug would be the ground 80.6

xāL!- to make 50.8

xāL!ī'yūsⁿE ants hītsīⁱ made is that house 80.13

In one instance this suffix has been added to a verbal stem by means of the verbalizing *-ūⁱ* (see § 75).

tčān^u- to pack

tčān^wū'yūsⁿE ʷ qatc^pnī'yūsⁿE they pack it and go (literally, it is packed and carried off) 100.20

In another instance the suffix appears as *-wūsⁿE*.

Lī'ū (they) come 9.3

L!māⁱkcū Līwī'wūsⁿE flounder is brought continually 100.10

This occurrence of the *w* before *-ūsⁿE* may be explained as due to retrogressive assimilation; that is to say, the original *y* has been changed into *w* to agree in character with the *w* of the stem *Līwaⁱ* HE COMES.

Modal Elements of the Imperative and Exhortative Modes (§§ 60-64)

§ 60. *Introductory*

Attention has been called in § 40 to the variety of suffixes that are employed in Siuslaw for the purpose of expressing the imperative mode. By far the majority of these suffixes indicate, besides the imperative idea, also pronominal and possessive interrelations between subject and object. These have been treated as primarily objective forms, and have been fully discussed in §§ 40-48. In the following sections only such suffixes will be discussed the primary functions of which are those of an imperative mode.

Siuslaw makes a clear distinction between a true imperative, a prohibitive, and an exhortative mode, and expresses these three varieties by means of distinct formative elements.

The difference between the ideas expressed by the imperative and exhortative is one of degree rather than of contents. The imperative expresses a command more or less peremptory; while the exhortative conveys an admonition, a wish. Furthermore, the exhortative rarely applies to the second person as the subject of the action. All exhortative expressions are preceded by the particle *qa't* (see § 129) and are rendered by LET ME, HIM . . . , PERMIT ME TO . . . , MAY I . . . , etc

§ 61. *Imperative Suffix for Intransitive Verbs -em*

This suffix is added to intransitive verbs only, regardless of whether they express a real active idea or a mere condition. It is suffixed directly to the verbal stem; and when added to stems that end in a vowel, the obscure *E* of the suffix is contracted with the vowel of the stem. In such contractions the quality and quantity of the stem-vowel usually predominate (see § 9). The second person singular is not expressed. The imperative for the second persons dual and plural is obtained by suffixing to *-em* the subjective pronouns *-ts* and *-tc'i* respectively (see § 24). These pronouns are added by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see § 4).

t̄it!- to eat 13.10

kw̄is- to wake up 40.9

waa'- to speak 7.1

qatcⁿ- to go 8.2

ma'q'ī- to dance 28.7

t̄it!em eat! 40.26

kw̄is'em wake up! 58.5

wa'am speak!

qa'tcnem go!

maq'yem dance!

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>haw-</i> to quit, to end 14.6 | <i>ha'ūm</i> quit! |
| <i>qatc^{en}-</i> to go 8.2 | <i>qa'tc^{en}emats</i> you two go! |
| <i>tgūl-</i> to shout 52.8 | <i>tgū'lemats</i> you two shout! |
| <i>qātā-</i> to cry 58.15 | <i>qā'tāematcê</i> you cry! |
| <i>xatⁱn-</i> to climb up 12.4 | <i>xatⁱnematcê</i> you climb up! |

In negative sentences the imperative suffix *-em* is replaced by the durative *-īs* (see § 69). The whole phrase is preceded by the particle of negation *kūⁱ*, *kumⁱ'ntc* NOT (see § 131), to which are added the subjective pronouns for the second persons (see §§ 24, 26).

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>xāntm-</i> to travel 12.10 | <i>kwī'nā xā'ntmīs</i> don't travel! |
| <i>a^us-</i> to sleep 24.1 | <i>kwī'nā a^usīs</i> don't sleep! 23.9 |
| <i>qaⁱha'ntc</i> far 10.3 | <i>kwī'nā qaⁱha'ntcīs</i> don't (go) far away! 56.21 |
| <i>waa'-</i> to speak 7.1 | <i>kwī'nā s^ēatsī'tc wa'aⁱs</i> don't thus say! 50.1 |
| <i>qatc^{en}-</i> to go 8.2 | <i>kūⁱts qa'tc^{en}nīs</i> don't you two go! 54.23, 56.1 |
| <i>ma'qⁱ-</i> to dance 28.7 | <i>kumⁱ'ntc^ētcê ma'qⁱīs</i> don't ye dance! |

By suffixing to the imperative the subjective pronouns for the first persons dual and plural (see § 24), an exhortative mode for these persons is obtained.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| <i>tca'xum</i> go! | <i>tca'xumans</i> let us two (incl.) go! 58.5 |
| <i>tīt!^{EM}</i> eat! 40.26 | <i>tīt!^{EM}ans</i> let us two (incl.) eat! |
| <i>na'^{LEM}</i> start! | <i>tīt!^{EM}anl</i> let us (incl.) eat! |
| | <i>na'^{LEM}anl</i> let us (incl.) start! |

§ 62. Imperative Suffix for Transitive Verbs *-is* (*-aⁱs*)

This suffix expresses an imperative transitive idea. It must not be confused with the durative suffix *-īs* (see § 69), the phonetic resemblance between these two suffixes being purely accidental. It must be borne in mind that the durative *-īs* indicates an intransitive action, and is made transitive by the addition of the transitive *-ūn* (see § 28).

The student is easily apt to confuse these two suffixes, because in the prohibitive mode the transitivized durative *-īsūn* (see p. 518) is used; but this use is perfectly logical, since a transitive prohibitive is intimately connected with the idea of a (negated) action of long duration performed by a second person as subject.

The following table may best serve to distinguish at a glance between the different suffixes in *-īs* that occur in Siuslaw:

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Not related | <i>-īs</i> transitive imperative | <i>-īs</i> intransitive durative |
| Related | <i>-īsūn</i> transitive prohibitive | <i>-īsūn</i> transitive durative |

The imperative for the second persons dual und plural is not often expressed by suffixing to *-īs* the subjective pronouns *-ts* and *-tc̄i* respectively (see § 24), because the subjective pronouns are usually suffixed to attributes and particles that precede the verbal term (see § 26). The interchange between *-ī* and *-aⁱ* has been discussed in § 2.

waa'- to talk 7.1
L!wan- to tell 7.3

wa'aⁱs talk to him! 76.18
L!wā'nīs tell him! 30.13
hī'satc̄i L!wā'nīs well you tell
(them)! 30.3

tū'tc- to spear 62.2
hīn- to take along 9.5
skwa'- to stand 10.9
hamx- to tie 8.6
qatcⁿ- to go 8.2
hīt!- to eat 13.10

t^owa'tcīs spear it! 64.2
hī'nīs take it along!
skwa'haⁱs set it up!
ha'māīs tie it!
qa'tcⁿīsats you two make him go!
hīt!ⁱīsatc̄i you eat it!

In negative sentences the imperative suffix is replaced by the transitive form of the durative *-īsūn* (see § 69). The verb is preceded by the negative particle *kūⁱ*, *kumⁱ'ntc*, used in connection with the subjective pronouns for the second persons (see §§ 131, 40).

L!wan- to tell 7.3

kwī'nax L!wā'nīsūn don't you tell
him! 17.1, 2

qatcⁿ- to go 8.2

kwī'nax qa'tcⁿīsūn don't you make
him go!

hīn- to take along 9.5

kumⁱ'ntcⁱnax hī'nīsūn don't you
take it along!

The exhortative for the first persons is formed by adding to *-īs* the subjective pronouns for these persons (see § 24).

lak^u- to take 7.5

la'kwīsans let us two (incl.) take it!

haw- to quit, to stop 14.6

ha'wīsant let us (incl.) stop it!

§ 63. Intransitive Exhortative *-ixmī* (*-aⁱxmī*)

This suffix expresses an admonition, addressed to a first or third person, to perform an action that has no object. The verb must be preceded by the exhortative particle *qaⁱt* (see § 129), and the subjective

pronouns indicating the subject of the action are added to this particle and never to the exhortative suffix (see § 26).

The reasons for the interchange between $\bar{i}xm\hat{i}$ and $-a^i xm\hat{i}$ are discussed in § 2.

qatc^{en}- to go 8.2

a^{us}- to sleep 23.9

waa'- to speak 7.1

ma'q!ⁱ to dance 28.7

hal- to shout 13.11

qatc^u- to drink 76.12

tīt!- to eat 13.10

qaⁱl qatc^{en}nⁱ'xmⁱ let him go!

qaⁱlⁿ a^{us}tⁱ'xmⁱ let me sleep!

qaⁱl^{ens} waaⁱ'xmⁱ let us two (incl.)
speak!

qaⁱl^{en}xan maq!ⁱ'xmⁱ let us (excl.)
dance!

qaⁱl^{en}l halⁱ'xmⁱ let us (incl.)
shout!

qaⁱl^{en} qatc^uⁱ'xmⁱ let them drink!

qaⁱl tīt!ⁱ'xmⁱ let him eat!

In one single instance the exhortative for a second person (singular) occurs. The suffix is followed by the future passive \bar{i} (see § 56), and the exhortative particle is missing.

matc- to burn 25.2

mâtⁱcⁱ'xmⁱn^x you may get burned
(literally, to burn [exhortative,
future passive] thou) 26.9

§ 64. Exhortative \bar{i}

This suffix admonishes the speaker to perform an act, the object of which must be one of the second persons, and may best be rendered into English by LET ME, THEE The object of the action is expressed by adding the subjective pronouns to this suffix (see § 24) by means of a weak a -vowel (see § 4). Singular subjects are not expressed phonetically; duality or plurality of subject is indicated by means of the independent personal pronouns (see § 113). The particle k^u (see § 127) frequently follows these exhortative forms, and, when preceding a form with the second person singular as the object ($-lanx$), it changes the final x into a (see § 4).

L!wān- to tell 17.1

Lōl- to hit

hatc'- to ask 66.16

L!wān- to tell 17.1

L!wā'nlanx let me tell thee!

Lōl^e'tats let me hit you two!

ha't^e'latcⁱ let me ask you!

L!wā'nlanak^u let me tell thee!

< *L!wā'nlanx k^u*

For other devices employed in Siuslaw for the purpose of expressing the exhortative mode, see § 129.

TEMPORAL SUFFIXES (§§ 65-74)

§ 65. Introductory

Siuslaw shows a rich development of the category of time, and employs a variety of suffixes for the purpose of denoting the different tenses of actions and conditions. The simple form of the verb has an indefinite character and is used to denote past and present occurrences, but otherwise the temporal classification is strictly adhered to.

All temporal suffixes may be divided into semi-temporal and true temporal suffixes. Primarily, each of these suffixes expresses the tense of an intransitive action only; but by suffixing to the tense sign transitive suffixes, such as *-ūn*, *-ūts*, etc., the same idea of time for transitive occurrences is obtained. The only exceptions are found in the intentional and future tenses, which show two separate forms—one for intransitive verbs and the other for transitive actions (see §§ 41, 70, 73).

Semi-temporal Suffixes (§§ 66-70)

§ 66. Inchoative *-st*

This suffix denotes the commencement of an action, and assumes in some instances a transitional significance. Stems ending in a consonant insert a weak vowel between the final consonant and the initial element of the suffix (see § 4). When it is desired to express the inchoative tense of a transitive action, the transitive *-ūn* or any of the other transitive forms is added to the suffix (see §§ 27 *et seq.*).

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>qwa^utc-</i> to go towards 62.8. | <i>u^l qwa'xtc'ist tci'wate</i> and she began to go towards the water 90.22 |
| <i>mattē-</i> to burn 25.2 | <i>mī'ttē'ist</i> he began to burn 29.3 |
| <i>l!watatc'</i> - to attempt to run | <i>lxa'tatc'ist k'ēxū'te l!aya'te</i> he begins to attempt to run in all directions 13.8, 9 |
| <i>qaⁱn^u-</i> to be tired | <i>qaⁱnūst a'nts^{tc} m^uū'sk^u</i> he began to get tired, his younger brother 58.11 |
| <i>qāt^x-</i> to cry 58.15 | <i>u^la^ux stīm qa'txast</i> and they two there began to cry 58.17 |
| <i>wīltc-</i> to send | <i>gamūta'te wī'ttē'istūn</i> her father (discriminative) began to send her 92.20 |
| <i>matc-</i> to lie 38.21 | <i>s^zatsī'te mī'tcē'istūn . . .</i> thus he began to fall . . . 94.7, 8 |

ha'nânīt!- to believe 78.1, 2 *u' wàn ha'nⁿnī't!istūn* and finally she began to believe him 46.3

In a few instances this suffix will be found added to a stem after the same has been verbalized by means of the suffix *-aⁱ* (see § 75).

xāntm- to travel about 12.10 *k!ēxū'tc L!aya'tc u'ēnæ xā'ntmaⁱst* everywhere they began to travel about 72.20

sh^ai'tū'nî pēlī'tc xā'ntmaⁱstūn the big one first he began to take along 92.18

wusī- to be sleepy

wusya'aⁱst ants mī'k!a hītc began to feel sleepy that bad man 26.1, 2

wusya'aⁱstīn I begin to feel sleepy 26.8

hīt!- to eat 13.10

wā'nwīts hīt!ī'stūn already he (had) commenced to devour him 94.19 (*ī = aⁱ* see § 2)

It sometimes follows the other true temporal suffixes, lending to the inchoative action a definite tense.

planyaⁱt- to be sorry (present tense) *planyaⁱ'tistūtsmē ha'tc* he began to feel sorry for his (boy) 40.21

maltc- to burn 25.2

u' maltcī'ūst he will begin to build a fire 90.6

In a number of cases this suffix expresses an adjectival idea.

pln- to be sick 40.21

ants plnast he (who) begins to get sick, he (who) is sick: hence the sick (man) 86.15

yⁱ'q!^au- to split

yⁱ'q!^aust q!^aīl pitch (that) begins to split, split pitch

haw- to finish 14.6

h^au'waⁱ'st finished

tsīmaⁱst any kind of a place (*sic*) 66.6

§ 67. Terminative *-ixaⁱ* (*-aⁱxaⁱ*)

This suffix expresses termination of an action. The stem to which it is suffixed must be preceded by some form of the verb *haw-* TO END, TO FINISH. For the interchange between *-īxaⁱ* and *-aⁱxaⁱ* see § 2.

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>p̄t̄c-</i> to go over 88.15 | <i>haū'ūn p̄t̄ca'xaⁱ</i> I quit going over (logs) |
| <i>q̄ātw-</i> to cry 58.15 | <i>haū'ūn qatxa'xaⁱ</i> I quit crying |
| <i>wātt-</i> to snow | <i>haū'tx wātt'xaⁱ</i> it stopped snowing |
| <i>hal-</i> to shout 13.11 | <i>haū'txan hāla'xaⁱ</i> I stopped shouting |
| <i>hamā-</i> to tie 8.6 | <i>haū'ln hamā'xaⁱ</i> I quit tying his . . . |
| <i>ln-</i> to call | <i>haū'ln lna'xaⁱ l̄ntc</i> I quit calling his name |
| <i>wāa'-</i> to talk 7.1 | <i>haū'ln wāa'xaⁱ</i> I quit talking to him |

It seems that the terminative suffix is frequently subject to the law of vocalic harmony, in spite of the fact that Siuslaw makes but little attempt at the harmonization of its vowels (see § 11). I have found a few examples showing that the initial vowel of the suffix has been assimilated to the quality of the vowel of the stem. Whether this rule applies to all cases could not be determined with any degree of certainty.

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| <i>xūn-</i> to snore 27.9 | <i>haū'txan xūnū'xaⁱ</i> (and not <i>xūna'xaⁱ</i>) I quit snoring |
| <i>hūn-</i> it gets dark 34.8 | <i>haū'tx hūnū'xaⁱ L!a'^{ai}</i> (and not <i>hūna'xaⁱ</i>) it stopped getting dark |
| <i>temū'-</i> to assemble 7.3 | <i>haū'tx temā^uya'xaⁱ l̄tū'tc</i> (and not <i>temā^aya'xaⁱ</i>) he quit assembling (the) people |

§ 68. *Frequentatives* -at!i, -itx (-a!tx)

-at!i denotes frequency of action, and may best be rendered by FREQUENTLY, ALWAYS. In the first person singular the final long vowel of this suffix is shortened (see § 24). In terminal position the suffix *-at!i* is often changed into *-at!ya* (see §§ 7, 24).

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <i>č'naī-</i> to think 60.21 | <i>č'n'xyat!ya</i> he is always thinking 12.4 |
| <i>hakw-</i> to fall 8.7 | <i>ha'kwat!ya</i> it always falls down 90.12 |
| <i>qatc^{en}-</i> to go 8.2 | <i>qa'tcⁱnat!ya</i> he frequently goes 14.5 |
| <i>nakwaⁱ-</i> to be poor | <i>nākwa'yatyanxan</i> we (excl.) are always poor 76.19 |

lī'ū- to come 9.2

taⁱ- to live 16.2

qaa'- to enter 34.5

nī'ctcām sqāⁱk lī'wat!ⁱ because
there he came frequently 68.4, 5

pī'tsīs ta'yat!ⁱ in the ocean he
always lived 44.18

*nīctcī'tcanx tanx kūⁱ qaa't!ⁱ īn-
q!ⁱaⁱtc* why do you, this one,
not frequently come into the
river? 44.3, 4

In one instance this suffix occurs as *-t!ⁱ*.

k!ap- low tide 36.18

tE k!apa'ⁱt!ⁱ īnq!ⁱaⁱ (so that) al-
ways dry (may be) this river 38.2

When frequency of action in transitive verbs is to be expressed, the transitive suffixes are added to the frequentative *-at!ⁱ*. This suffix amalgamates with the transitive *-ūn* into *-at!ⁱyūn* (see § 8).

čī'nacī- to think 60.21

čīnⁱxyat!ⁱyūn mīta'ⁱn I am always
thinking of my father

čīl'x- to shake 27.2

planya'ⁱ he is sorry

čīl'xyat!ⁱyūn qnà I always shake it
tsī'k!ⁱya planya'ⁱt!ⁱyūn haⁱtc (ev-
erybody) is very sorry for him,
(everybody) hates him 19.2, 3
(*< planya'ⁱya'ⁱt!ⁱyūn*).

taⁱ- to sit to live 16.2

ants t!ⁱt!ⁱyūn (*< taya'ⁱt!ⁱyūn*) that
(on which) he was sitting 94.6

-ītx has the same function as *-at!ⁱ*, and was invariably rendered by CONSTANTLY, ALWAYS. It is usually preceded or followed by the temporal adverb *lnàt* ALWAYS (see § 120). The phonetic resemblance between this suffix and the objective *-ītx* (see § 33) I believe to be purely accidental. This suffix occurs often as *-aⁱtx* (see § 2).

qato^{en}- to go 8.2

yā^a'xa^{ux} L!ōna'ⁱ a'ntsux qato^{en}nī'tx
much they two talk, those two
(who) keep on going 56.7

p^aa'ⁱLn- to hunt 15.3

tsī'mqmatc^uēn^a paLnī'tx some of
them are constantly hunting
82.16, 17

ma'q!ⁱ- to dance 28.7

meq!^a'tx he always dances 86.2

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>x'ł'xcī-</i> to work 48.10 | <i>x'ł'xcītax^u a'nstctx^u mā'tī</i> they two were constantly fixing those their (dual) dams 50.3, 4 |
| <i>s'ł'nāxī-</i> to desire 18.5 | <i>s'ł'nāxtx tetc mīctc'ī'</i> he always wants that her younger sister 92.13, 14 |
| <i>tāqn-</i> to be full 60.19 | <i>taqanī'tx hītū'sto</i> it is always full of people 70.3, 4 |
| <i>y'ācum-</i> to watch | <i>y'ācum'ī'txana^ux</i> they two were constantly watching him 94.1 |
| <i>qatc^ēn-</i> to go 8.2 | <i>qatcīnī'txā^ūn bnāt</i> I always make him go |

In a few instances, especially when following other suffixes, the frequentative *-ītx* seems to lose its initial *ī*.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>hawa'ī</i> it ends 14.6 | <i>hawa'ī'stx ants Līya'wa</i> he begins to finish (kindling) that fire (<i>hawa'ī'stx</i> < <i>hawa'ī'st</i> + <i>-tx</i> , see § 15) 90.7, 8 |
| <i>t!ūhate'īn-</i> to try to sell severally (?) | <i>yaxa'ī'txa^ux ta'tc^wax lq!ā'nū ūta^ux t!ūhate'ī'ntxa^ux</i> (when) they begin to multiply (have much) these their (dual) hides, then they two constantly tried to sell them 100.19 |
| <i>yūL!-</i> to break | <i>yū^{wi}L!a'tx qa^uxūnū'</i> it constantly broke on the top 94.4 |

These three examples may also be explained as demonstrating the application of the pronominal suffix *-ītx* (see § 33).

§ 69. *Duratives* -īs (-a'īs), -ūs

Duration of action is expressed in Siuslaw by means of the suffix *-s*, which, however, never occurs alone. It invariably enters into composition with other suffixes, such as the suffix for the past tense, for the passive voice, etc., or it is preceded by either *ī* or *ū*. It is not inconceivable that this durative *-s* may be related to the auxiliary *-s* (see § 76). The difference between *-īs* and *-ūs* seems to be of a true temporal nature.

-īs (-a'īs) denotes duration, continuation of action of a clearly marked future significance, and, owing to this future character, it is employed extensively in the formation of the imperative mode (see

§§ 60, 62). Transitive verbs add *-ūn* or its equivalents (see § 28) to the durative *-īs*. For the interchange between *-īs* and *-aⁱs* see § 2.

xīnt- to travel 23.1

taⁱ- to live, to stay 16.2

maⁱqⁱ/ī- to dance 28.7

xnī^wn- to do 10.5

waaⁱ- to speak 7. 1

skwaⁱ- to stand 10.9

xnī^wn- to do 10.5

waaⁱ- to speak 7. 1

tkūm- to make a dam 48.8

qalx- to count 62.8

tcīⁱwans xīⁱnīs to the water we two (incl.) will keep on traveling 92.9
stīm taⁱīs there he kept on staying 70.12

waⁱ yāⁱtsa^wln māⁱqⁱīs even for a long time I still keep on dancing 72.10

s^aaⁱtsanī xnī^wnīs thus we (incl.) will do every time 72.14, 15

atsīⁱtc waⁱaⁱs ants hītc thus kept on saying the man 25.9

skwaⁱhaⁱs ants hītc continually standing is that man 64.11

qnīⁱxts^anx xnī^wnīsūn you will continually do it 70.11, 12

atsīⁱtc waⁱaⁱsūn thus he kept on saying to him 64.14

ūⁱns tkwaⁱmīsūn and we two (incl.) still will keep on making dams 48.14

qaⁱLxēsūn ants tsxayū^{wi} (they) keep on counting those days 8.5

-ūs is suffixed mostly to stems that have been verbalized by means of the suffix *-aⁱ* (see § 75), and expresses a continuative action performed in the present tense. It applies to transitive verbs having a third person object. Examples for similar forms with a second person object were not obtained.

ūⁱqaⁱ he digs 84. 2

{*L!xmay-* to kill 16.1

{*hīt!* to eat 13.10

tkūm- to make a dam 48.8

Līⁱū (they) come 9.3

ha^wwaⁱnaⁱ- to finish

aⁱntsux ūⁱqaⁱyūs ants L!^{aⁱ} those two (who) continually dig that ground

ūⁱ s^aàs L!xmaⁱyūs ūⁱ hīt!ⁱyūs and he would kill and devour him 15.3, 4

tcīⁱk^wax tkwamīⁱyūs L!^{aⁱ} wherever they two were making dams 52.24

ūⁱta^wx hītⁱaⁱ L!ⁱL!^wyūs to them two salmon continually came 98.16

ha^waⁱnīⁱyūsax wàn they two finish it finally 84.6, 7

yax- to see 20.10

yāxī'ūs^sn tE s'xaⁱ (whenever) I saw that canoe (coming) 100.8, 9
u^lɛnx qnū'wī'wūs yā'xaⁱ hītē'wⁱ
 they would find lots of people
(qnū'wī'wūs < qnūwī'yūs) 66.22

qn^uw to find 34.12

By suffixing the durative *-s* to the sign for the past tense, *-yax* (see § 74) a compound suffix *-yaxs* is obtained which denotes an action of long duration performed in the past. This suffix is often contracted into *-īxs* (see § 9).

a^us- to sleep 24.1

a^usyaxsīn, a^usīxsīn I had been sleeping

qatc^{uw}- to drink 76.11

qa'tcwa³xs, qa'tcwayaxs he had been drinking

līt'- to eat 13.10

līt':yaxsīn I have been eating

pēkū'^u- to play shinny 9.4

pā'kū'xsīn, pā'kū'yaxsīn I have been playing shinny

§ 70. *Intentionals* -awax, -a^wūn

-awax. This suffix indicates intention to perform a certain action. Hence it was usually rendered by I (THOU). . . AM ABOUT TO, I (THOU) . . . AM GOING TO, I (THOU) . . . WILL, I (THOU) . . . WANT TO. It is used with intransitive verbs only; and it is contracted with the subjective pronouns, for persons other than the first person singular and the second dual and plural, into *-awanx*, *-awans*, *-awa^ux*, *-awanl*, *-awanxan*, and *-awanx* (see § 24).

āq- to run away 52.10

āqa'waxan I intend to run away 90.21

ants plna'st^ul cī'nⁱxyat!ya āqa'wax
 that sick (man) always thought
 of running away 86.15

lī'ū (they) come 9.3

līwa'wanx you intend to come 25.8

yaq^u'- to look 23.9

yog^u'ya'wax he intended to see 70.8

yaq^u'ya'wanxan we (excl.) are going to see

qaqū'n- to listen

qaqū'na'wax L!^aai they were going to listen 30.18

hūt- to play, to have fun 7.2

hūt'cawans we two (incl.) are going to play 10.5

pīūl- to hunt

pīūla'wax^uxūn we two (excl.) intend to go hunting 54.22

mīk^u'- to cut 90.5

mīkwa'waxts you two will cut

xaⁱtc- to roast 90.9

^u*la^ux xaⁱtca'wa^ux* and they two finally intend roasting 90.8

Lī'ū (they) come 9.3

Līwd'wanl wān we (incl.) are about to arrive now 66.1

temū'- to assemble 7.3

temūa'waxtcⁱ you will assemble

ma^atc it lay 32.22

metca'wanx they intended to lie down 38.23

-a^wūn. This suffix expresses the same idea as *-awax*, from which it differs in so far only as it implies a transitive action that has a third person as its object. It is probable that by some process of contraction this suffix represents an abbreviation from an original *-awaxa^ūn* or *-awaxūn*.

hīn- to take along 9.5

hīna'^wūn ants pīna'st she intends, taking along that sick (man) 88.1, 2

waa'- to speak 7.1

^u*waa'^wūn ants hītc L!a^{ai}* and he was about to talk to these people
yā^a'xaⁱ t!āmc lakwa'^wūn many children he wants to have (to get)

temū'- to assemble 7.3

temūa'^wūn ants L!a^{ai} hītc many people are about to assemble 30.8

yaq^u'- to look 23.9

sqā'tma^ux yoq^u'ya'^wūn from there they two intended to watch 62.18, 19

True Temporal Suffixes (§§ 71-74)

§ 71. *Introductory*

Siuslaw distinguishes between three true temporal categories, namely, present, future, and past. Excepting for the first of these, which is used to denote present and past, this differentiation is clearly marked and strictly adhered to.

§ 72. *Present -t*

It denotes an action performed at the present time. Stems ending in a vowel lengthen the vowel before adding the suffix *-t*; stems ending in a *t* insert an obscure (or weak) vowel between their final consonant and the suffix (see § 4). Transitive present actions are expressed by adding to the *-t* the transitive suffixes *-ūn* and *-ūts* (see §§ 28, 29).

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>wītw-</i> to affirm 30.11 | <i>^ula^ux wàn wī'tūt</i> they two finally affirmed 90.6 |
| <i>hīq!-</i> to start 15.1 | <i>s^ʔatsī'te wad' wī hī'q!a^t</i> thus he talks and starts (off) 22.5, 6 |
| <i>sī'nxī-</i> to desire 11.7 | <i>sī'nxīt tāqa'na</i> he wants something 18.5 |
| <i>wa'sLsī-</i> to be angry | <i>wa'sLsīt ants tsīmī'l'ä</i> was angry that muskrat 52.17 |
| <i>tca'xu-</i> to turn back 58.5 | <i>wī tca'xa^ut</i> he turns back 16.5 |
| <i>qatc^ʔn-</i> to go 8.2 | <i>qa'tcⁱnt</i> he goes 12.9 |
| <i>xatn-</i> to climb up 62.7 | <i>qa'tcⁱnta^ux</i> they two are going 23.1 |
| <i>qaⁱha'nte</i> way off 10.3 | <i>txū xa'tⁱnt</i> he just climbs up 12.4 |
| <i>matc-</i> to burn 25.2 | <i>qaⁱha'ntctantl wàn</i> we (incl.) have come far now 66.3, 4 |
| <i>qaqū'n-</i> to listen 30.18 | <i>haⁱmūt ma'ttcⁱt</i> everything burned (down) 34.18 |
| <i>tīt!-</i> to eat 13.10 | <i>qa'q^uhantūn pī'ū hītc</i> he heard (make) noise (the) people 36.23, 24 |
| <i>yaq^u-</i> to see 23.9 | <i>tī't!^ʔtūn</i> he ate him (up) 94.19 |
| <i>wītw-</i> to affirm, to agree 30.11 | <i>yo'q^uhaⁱtūn ants inq!ⁱaⁱ</i> he looked at that river 36.21, 22 |
| | <i>wī mā'q^uL wī'tūtūn</i> then Crow agreed to it 36.6, 7 |

§ 73. Future -tūx

This suffix is added to intransitive stems only, and it denotes an action that is to take place in the future. Stems ending in a vowel lengthen the same before adding this suffix. When added to stems that end in a *t*, an obscure (or weak) vowel is inserted between the final *t* of the stem and the initial consonant of the ending (see § 4).

Whenever -*tūx* is to be followed by the subjective pronouns for the second person singular, inclusive and exclusive dual and plural, and the third person plural, it is contracted with them into -*tūnx*, -*tūns*, -*ta^uxūn* (?), -*tūnl*, -*tūnxan*, and -*tūnx* respectively (see § 24). The transitive future is rendered by means of the suffixes -*yūn*, -*ī^wyūn* (see § 41).

qatc^ʔn- to go 8.2

qa'tc ntūxan I will go 22.2

qa'tcⁱntūnx thou shalt go 22.2

L!wān- to tell, to relate 17.1

L!wā'ntūnx thou shalt tell 30.12

L!wa'ntūxtcī you will tell 7.3

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>smūt'</i> - to end 9.1 | <i>smūt't'ētūx</i> it will end 20.5 |
| <i>lī'ū-</i> to come 9.2, 3 | <i>lī'ūtūx</i> he will come 9.2 |
| | <i>lī'ūtūn^{xan}</i> we (excl.) will come 30.11 |
| <i>qiwāxtc-</i> to go down to the river 48.18 | <i>nī'k'anl qwa'xtc'tūx</i> alone we (incl.) will go down 62.14 |
| <i>hūt-</i> to play 7.2 | <i>hū'tctūns</i> we shall play 10.6 |
| | <i>hū'tctūnl</i> we (incl.) shall play 7.2 |
| <i>āq-</i> to run away 52.10 | <i>ā'qtūns</i> we two (incl.) will run away 92.2 |
| <i>sīnq!-</i> to be hungry 44.11 | <i>sī'nq!ta^{xūn}</i> we two (excl.) will be hungry |
| <i>māk^u-</i> to cut | <i>mā'k^utūx^{ts} l't'aya'</i> you two will cut salmon 90.5 |
| <i>xaū'</i> he died 40.21 | <i>xa'ūtūxa^{ux}</i> they two will die 88.7 |
| <i>xwīL!-</i> to turn back 12.6 | <i>xwī'L!tūnl</i> we (incl.) will turn back 60.9 |
| <i>k!ānk'y-</i> to look for 16.1 | <i>tqa^{wi}'tc'ns k!ā'nk'ītūx</i> upstream we two will look for . . . 56.17 |

§ 74. Past -yax

This suffix expresses an act performed long ago. The idea of a past transitive action is conveyed by suffixing to *-yax* the transitive *-ūn* and *-ūts* (see §§ 28, 29, 2). It is subject to contraction whenever followed by the subjective pronouns for the second person singular, inclusive and exclusive dual, third dual, inclusive and exclusive plural, and third plural (see § 24). The contracted forms for these persons are *-yanx*, *-yans*, *-ya^{ux}xūn*, *-ya^{ux}*, *-yanl*, *-yanxan*, and *-yanx*. This suffix always requires that the accent be placed on the first syllable of the word.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>qūⁱt'-</i> to dream | <i>hītc qūⁱt'yax</i> a person dreamt 68.21 |
| <i>tkūm-</i> to close 48.8 | <i>ants tkwa'myax</i> (when) it closed 78.3 |
| <i>līha-</i> to pass by 80.12 | <i>Qa'aⁱ cīx lī'hayax</i> along North Fork it passed by 32.19 |
| <i>taⁱ-</i> to live 16.2 | <i>m^{xyō^s}k^{us} ta^vyax L'aya'</i> in the beginning (they) lived in a place 82.11, 12 |
| <i>xīnt-</i> to start 20.3 | <i>ūln sīhī'tc xī'ntyax</i> (when) I began to grow up (literally, then I [into] growing started) 100.18 |
| <i>lī'ū</i> (they) come 9.3 | <i>lī'ūyans</i> we two (incl.) came |

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| <i>hūtc-</i> to play 7.2 | <i>hū'tcyans</i> (when) we two (incl.) play 78.9 |
| | <i>hū'tcyan̄t</i> (when) we (incl.) play 78.13 |
| <i>lī'ū</i> (they) came 9.3 | <i>lī'ūyanxan</i> we (excl.) came |
| <i>x̄ntm-</i> to travel 12.10 | <i>ūt̄ x̄l̄'ntm̄^yaxa^ūn</i> and he took (them) along 92.13 |
| <i>sī'nxī-</i> to desire 18.5 | <i>tc̄ina'ta^u sī'n̄^yaxa^ūn</i> whoever desired it 11.6, 7 |
| <i>h̄n-</i> to take along 9.5 | <i>qa'ha'ntc h̄l̄'nyaxa^ūn ya^εk^{us}</i> way off took him seal 68.17, 18 |
| <i>waa'-</i> to speak 7.1 | <i>s^εats̄itc wa^wyaxa^ūn</i> thus he told him 36.11 |
| <i>L!wān-</i> to relate 17.1 | <i>s^εats̄ū'tc L!wa^wnyaxa^ūn</i> thus he related to him 38.8 |

The past suffix is frequently added to a duplicated stem, denoting a past action of long-continued duration (see § 108).

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>lak^u-</i> to get, to have 7.5 | <i>lā'k^ukyax h̄tū'tc tEXmū'nya</i> she was taking a male person |
| <i>h̄q!-</i> to start 22.6 | <i>s^εa'tsa h̄l̄'q!aq!yax</i> thus it started 15.1 |
| <i>ha'q-</i> shore 44.7 | <i>tc̄i'wanE ha'^wq̄qyax</i> from the water ashore it had come 56.13 |
| <i>qa'ix</i> darkness, night 38.21 | <i>qa'^wx̄xyax tE L!a'^{ai}</i> it was getting dark 34.4 |
| <i>tū'tc-</i> to spear 62.2 | <i>t^wwa'tc̄itcyaxa^ūn tE ya^εk^{us}</i> I have been spearing this seal 66.17 |

In a few instances it has been found following the present *-t*, although for what purpose could not be ascertained.

| | | |
|--|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>h̄q!-</i> to start 22.6 | <i>h̄l̄'q!a'^{it}</i> 22.6 | <i>a'ntsux h̄l̄'q!a'^{ityax} p^ukwa'^{it}</i> those two who had started to play shinny 78.15 |
| <i>t!̄imct!ⁱ-</i> to raise children 30.23 | <i>t!̄i'mct!^{it}</i> | <i>ūl̄ax̄ wān t!̄i'mct!^{ityax}</i> then they two finally raised children |
| <i>w̄l̄w-</i> to affirm 30.11 | <i>w̄l̄lūt</i> 90.6 | <i>w̄l̄lūtyaxan</i> I agreed |
| <i>qatc^εn-</i> to go 8.2 | <i>qa'tc̄ⁱnt</i> 12.1 | <i>qa'tc̄ⁱntyaxan</i> I went away |
| <i>ma^atc-</i> to lie 32.22 | <i>mE'tc̄it</i> | <i>m̄l̄'tc̄ⁱtyaxa^ūn L!ayū'stc</i> I laid it down on the ground |
| <i>xaⁱtc-</i> to roast 90.8 | <i>xa'^wtc̄it</i> | <i>xa'^wtc̄ityaxa^ūn</i> he roasted it |

(For the idiomatic use of the past suffix in conditional clauses see § 136.)

VERBALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 75-77)

§ 75. Verbalizing *-aⁱ*, *-ūⁱ*

While the majority of Siuslaw stems do not require the addition of a specific verbal suffix in order to convey a general verbal idea, these two suffixes have been found added to a large number of neutral stems, especially in the present tense. They may therefore be explained as verbalizing a neutral stem and as expressing an intransitive action of present occurrence. They are frequently used to denote an action performed by the third person singular, for which person Siuslaw has no distinct suffix (see § 24). There can be no doubt, however, that these suffixes are identical with the Alsea inchoative *-aī*, *-ūī*,¹ and that *-aⁱ* bears some relation to the Coos intransitive *-aai*.¹ While no difference in the use of these two suffixes could be detected, it was observed that *-ūⁱ* is never added to stems that end in a *q*, *p*, or in a.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>płn-</i> to be sick 15.4 | <i>płnaⁱ</i> he was sick 40.21 |
| <i>hūt-</i> to play 7.2 | <i>hūtcaⁱ</i> 72.6, <i>hūtcaūⁱ</i> 23.8 he plays |
| <i>waa'-</i> to speak, to say 7.1 | <i>waaⁱ</i> he says 8.9 |
| <i>tīt!-</i> to eat 13.10 | <i>tīt!ⁱaⁱ</i> he eats 46.12 |
| <i>haⁱq-</i> shore 44.7 | <i>haⁱqaⁱ</i> he comes ashore 82.5 |
| <i>yax-</i> to see, to look 20.10 | <i>yīxaⁱ</i> he looks 66.6 |
| <i>skwa'-</i> to stand 10.9 | <i>skwahaⁱ</i> he stands 14.4 |
| <i>smūt'-</i> to finish, to end 11.1 | <i>smūtūⁱ</i> it ends 14.6 |
| <i>a^us-</i> to dream, to sleep, 23.9 | <i>asūⁱ</i> he dreams 68.22 |
| <i>lxas-</i> to fly, to jump | <i>lxasūⁱ</i> he jumps |
| <i>tqūł-</i> to shout 52.8 | <i>tqūłūⁱ</i> he shouted 92.6 |
| <i>sūn-</i> to dive 64.21 | <i>sīnūⁱ</i> he dives |

That these suffixes are not essentially necessary for the purpose of expressing a verbal idea, but that, like their Alsea equivalents, they may have originally conveyed inchoative ideas, is best shown by the fact that all such verbalized forms are parallel to bare stem-forms. In all such cases the amplified form seems to denote inception and (at times) finality of action.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>wàn wīłwa'</i> now he affirms 58.9 | <i>wàn wīłwaⁱ</i> he begins to affirm 17.7 |
| <i>wł tēn</i> and he came back 7.7 | <i>tēnaⁱ</i> he came back 68.16 |

¹ See Coos, p. 332.

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>lī'ū</i> (they) arrive 9.3 | <i>tcī'nta^u hītc līwa^{i'}</i> whatever person came 24.7 |
| <i>xāū'</i> he died 40.21 | <i>xawa^{i'} hītc</i> (when a) person dies 42.11 |
| <i>atsī'tc</i> <i>L!wa^an</i> thus he tells 58.22 | <i>yā^{a'}xā^ux L!ōna^{i'}</i> much they two begin to talk 56.7 |
| <i>a'nts^{en}x xnī'^wn_E</i> those (who) do it 78.20 | <i>s^{a'}tsanx xnī'^wna^{i'}</i> thus they begin to do (it) 78.19 |
| <i>ta^{i'}</i> he is sitting, he lives 16.2 | <i>tqa^wwītc taya^{i'}</i> upstream (they) commence to live 82.12, 13 |
| <i>kum^{i'}ntc yax</i> not (he) sees 34.4 | <i>yīxa^{i'} wān</i> (they) commence to look 66.9 |
| <i>ū^{tn}x haū'</i> they quit 11.4 | <i>sqā^{i'}k wān hawa^{i'}</i> here finally it ends 14.6 |
| <i>ū^l wān skwaha'</i> now he stands (up) 28.8 | <i>skwaha^{i'}</i> he stands 14.4 |
| <i>ū^l waa'</i> then he says 11.2 | <i>waa^{i'}</i> he says 8.9 |
| <i>smū^{i'}t'a</i> it ends 11.1 | <i>smī^{i'}t'ū^{i'}</i> it ends 14.6 |

§ 76. Auxiliary -s, -t

These suffixes express our ideas TO HAVE, TO BE WITH. A peculiarity that remains unexplained is the fact that they are always added to the locative noun-forms that end in *-a* or *-ūs* (see § 86).

-s is always added to the locative form ending in *-a*, and never to the *-ūs* form, which may be due to phonetic causes. The use of this suffix is rather restricted. It is not inconceivable that it may be related to the durative *-īs* (see § 69).

| Absolutive | Locative | Auxiliary |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| <i>tsī'L!ī</i> arrow 50.14 | <i>tsīL!ya'</i> 50.9 | <i>na'han ū^{tn} tsīL!īya'^s</i> I will have an arrow 50.16 |
| <i>qa^l'tc</i> knife | <i>qa^l'tcya'</i> | <i>qa^l'tcyas</i> he has a knife |
| <i>īkwa'nī</i> pipe | <i>īkwa'nya</i> | <i>īkwa'nyasīn</i> I am with a pipe |
| <i>īqa^{i'}'tū</i> log 32.21 | <i>īqa^{i'}t^uwa</i> | <i>īqa^{i'}t^uwas</i> he has a stick |

-t occurs very often, and is added to all forms of the locative case. It can never be confused with the sign of the present tense *-t*, because it is invariably preceded by the locative forms in *-a* or *-ūs*, while the suffix for the present tense follows vowels and consonants other than *a* or *s* (see § 72).

| Absolutive | Locative | Auxiliary |
|--|------------------------------|---|
| <i>q̄ūtē' n̄i</i> woman 30.21 | <i>q̄ūtē' n̄ya</i> 76.7 | <i>q̄ūtē' n̄ya' t</i> he has a wife 48.8 |
| <i>kō'tan</i> horse 34.9 | <i>kō'tana'</i> | <i>kum̄' n̄te kō'tana' t</i> not they had horses 100.20, 102.1 |
| <i>t'ix</i> tooth | <i>t'ixa'</i> | <i>t'ixa' t cā'ya</i> teeth has (his) penis 90.19 |
| <i>ȳikt̄' l̄' ma</i> big 40.6 | <i>ȳikt̄' l̄' ma</i> | <i>ȳikt̄' l̄' mat cā'ya</i> he has a big penis 92.1 |
| <i>t̄i' t' ā³</i> food 34.23 | <i>t̄i' t' aya'</i> 13.7 | <i>kum̄' n̄te t̄i' t' aya' t</i> (they) had no food 34.10 |
| <i>kl̄i' n̄ū</i> ladder | <i>kl̄i' n̄wa</i> | <i>kl̄i' n̄wat ants h̄its̄' i</i> a ladder has that house 80.12 |
| <i>tē' q</i> something 13.2. | <i>tāqa' na</i> 18.5 | <i>ha' m̄ūt kum̄' n̄te tāqa' - na' t̄c h̄i' q̄ūⁱ</i> they all had no hair (literally, all not with something is their hair) 68.12 |
| <i>s̄ixa³</i> canoe 56.5 | <i>s̄exa' u'</i> 48.18 | <i>s̄exa' u' t̄in</i> I have a canoe |
| <i>tē' t' i</i> wind | <i>tē' t' yū' s</i> | <i>kum̄' i' n̄te tē' t' yū' s t</i> (there) was no wind |
| <i>m̄t̄a</i> father 54.22 | <i>m̄t̄a' yūs</i> | <i>m̄t̄a' yūst</i> he has a father |
| <i>m̄l̄a</i> mother 54.23 | <i>m̄l̄a' yūs</i> | <i>m̄l̄a' yūst</i> he has a mother |
| <i>l̄qa' v' tū</i> log, stick 32.21 | <i>l̄qatūw̄i yū' s</i> 88.16 | <i>l̄qatūw̄i' yūst</i> he has a stick |
| <i>h̄its̄' i</i> house 25.2 | <i>h̄its̄' i' s</i> 48.7 | <i>h̄its̄' i' st</i> he has a house |
| <i>L̄i' m̄st̄i</i> raw | <i>L̄i' m̄st̄i' s</i> | <i>tē' k ants L̄i' m̄i' st̄i st</i> <i>L̄i' a' ai</i> where (there was) that green place 34.2, 3 |

§ 77. Suffix Transitive Verbs that Express Natural Phenomena -L'

A suffix with a similar function is, as far as my knowledge goes, to be found in but one other American Indian language; namely, in Alsea. This suffix is added exclusively to stems expressing meteorological phenomena, such as IT SNOWS, IT RAINS, THE WIND BLOWS, NIGHT APPROACHES, etc.; and it signifies that such an occurrence, otherwise impersonal, has become transitivized by receiving the third person singular as the object of the action. Its function may best be compared with our English idiomatic expression RAIN, SNOW OVERTAKES

HIM, NIGHT COMES UPON HIM, etc. By adding to *-L!* the subjective pronouns for the first and second persons (see § 24), the same expressions with these persons as objects are obtained. This suffix always follows the tense signs, and immediately precedes the pronominal suffixes.

qaⁱx night, darkness 38.21

tčⁱtⁱĩ wind

tsxayaⁱ day breaks 50.3

k!ap- low tide 36.18

ũⁱltĩ snow 76.10

hⁱn^εkĩt it rains

ũⁱxũn stĩmk qaⁱxtũxL! us two
(excl.) there night will overtake
94.18

tčⁱtⁱĩL! a storm overtook him
tsxayaⁱL!^ax (when) day came
upon them two 48.9

k!^aptũxL! low tide will overtake
(them) 36.18

waⁱlt^εtũxL!ĩn snow will overtake
me

hⁱn^εk!ⁱtⁱL!^an^x rain pours down
upon them

It is not inconceivable that this suffix may represent an abbreviation of the stem *L!^aai* PLACE, WORLD, UNIVERSE (see § 133), which the Siuslaw always employs whenever he wants to express a natural phenomenon.

tsxayaⁱ L!^aai day breaks 50.3

hⁱn^εk!ⁱya L!^aai it rains 78.1

k!^wvĩnaⁱ L!^aai (there was) ice all over 76.11

qaⁱxĩxyax tE L!^aai it got dark 34.4

PLURAL FORMATIONS (§§ 78-80)

§ 78. Introductory

The idea of plurality in verbal expressions may refer either to the subject or object of the action. In most American Indian languages that have developed such a category, and that indicate it by means of some grammatical device, plurality of subject is exhibited in intransitive verbs, while plurality of object is found in transitive verbs. Such plurality does not necessarily coincide with our definition of this term. It may, and as a matter of fact it does, in the majority of cases, denote what we commonly call distribution or collectivity. Thus the Siuslaw idea of plurality is of a purely collective character, and seems to have been confined to the subject of intransitive verbs only. Even the contrivance so frequently employed by other American Indian languages, of differentiating singularity and plurality of objects by

means of two separate verbal stems—one for singular and the other for plural objects—is not found in Siuslaw.¹ One and the same verbal stem is used in all cases; and when it becomes necessary to indicate that there are more than one recipient of a transitive action, this is accomplished by the use of the numeral particle *yā^a'xaⁱ* (see § 139) or of the stem *L!a^{'ai}* (see § 133), as may be seen from the following examples:

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>ywwa'yūn ants q!a'īl</i> he gathered pitch | <i>ywwa'yūn yā^a'xaⁱ ants q!a'īl</i> (they) gathered lots (of) that pitch 88.5, 6 |
| <i>yīxa'yūn hītc</i> I saw a person | <i>yīxa'yūn yā^a'xaⁱ hītc</i> I saw many people |
| <i>wa'a^ūtsmE ants hītc</i> he said to his man | <i>waa'a^ūtsmE ants L!a^{'ai} hītc</i> he said to all (of) his people 7.1 |
| <i>L!ōxa'xa^ūtsmE hītc</i> he sent his man | <i>L!ōxa'xa^ūtsmE hītc L!a^{'ai}</i> he sent many people 30.1, 2 |

But if Siuslaw does not employ a distinct grammatical process for the purpose of pointing out plurality of objects of transitive actions, it has developed devices to indicate collectivity of subjects of intransitive verbs. For that purpose it uses, besides the numeral particle *yā^a'xaⁱ* (see § 139) and the stem *L!a^{'ai}* (see § 133), two suffixes (*-ū^u* and *-tx*) that are added directly to the verbal stem. These suffixes are always added to verbal stems that denote an intransitive act, and their functions may best be compared to the functions exercised by the French *on* or German *man* in sentences like *on dit* and *man sagt*.

§ 79. Plural *-ū^u*, *-ū^{wi}*

This suffix expresses an action that is performed collectively by more than one subject. Etymologically it is the same suffix as the verbal abstract of identical phonetic composition (see § 97), and the use of one and the same suffix in two functions apparently so different may be explained as due to the fact that there exists an intimate psychological connection between an abstract verbal idea and the concept of the same act performed in general.² The following example, taken

¹ I have found only one case of such a differentiation. I was told that the stem *qaa-* TO ENTER, TO PUT IN, refers to singular objects, while the stem *lxaa-* can be used with plural objects only. But as this information was conveyed to me after much deliberation and upon my own suggestion, I am inclined to doubt the correctness of this interpretation. It is rather probable that these two stems are synonymses.

² The same phenomenon occurs in Dakota.

at random, will serve to illustrate the comparison more clearly. The Siuslaw word *x̄l·xcū^{wi}* (stem *x̄l·xc̄-* TO WORK) may have two distinct meanings. When used nominally (as a verbal abstract), it may best be rendered by THE CONCEPT OF WORKING, WORK; when used verbally, it is to be translated by TO WORK IN GENERAL, ALL (MANY) WORK. This psychological connection between such terms as WORK and TO WORK GENERALLY, COLLECTIVELY, may have led to the use of one and the same suffix in a nominal and verbal capacity (see § 22). This suffix is added directly to the verbal stem, and its double form may be due to rapidity of speech rather than to any phonetic causes. It is frequently preceded by the temporal suffixes, especially the present *-t* (see § 72), and it was always rendered by THEY . . . The subject of the action is usually emphasized by the use of the numeral particles *haⁱmūt* ALL, *yā^axaⁱ* MANY (see § 124), and of the stem *L!^aai* (see § 133). The particle either precedes or follows the verb. This suffix requires the accent.

temū⁻ to assemble 7.3
hūtc- to play 7.2
pekū⁻ to play shinny 9.4

hⁱyats- to live

hał- to shout 13.11

maq!ⁱ to dance 28.7

xn̄^wn- to do 10.5

mīk^u- to cut 90.5

qatcⁿ- to go 8.2

ts̄l!⁻ to shoot 10.3

ma^atc- to lay 32.22

temū^u they came together 30.16

hūtcū^u L!^aai they play 8.8

pekū^{wi} L!^aai they play shinny
70.10

yā^axaⁱ hⁱyatsū^{wi} lots (of people)
live

halū^u ants h̄tc L!^aai shout collec-
tively, those people 70.9

maq!ⁱyū^u L!^aai they dance 28.8

s^atsa xn̄^wnū^u ants L!^aai thus
do it collectively, those people
70.22, 23

q̄ūt̄cū^{n̄} L!^aai ũ^l mīkū^u t̄ⁱa^a
many women cut salmon 82.14

qatcⁿatū^u they walk about 34.19

ts̄l!⁻atū^u yā^axaⁱ L!^aai they are
shooting 8.6

ya^aq^uyūⁿ ants t̄ⁱt!^a m̄tcū^{wi}
L!^aai he saw that food lying
(around in great quantities)
36.26, 27

Owing to the frequent interchange between the *ū*-vowel and the diphthong *a^ū* (see § 2), this suffix occurs often as *-aa^ū*, *-aa^{ūwi}*.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <i>skwa'</i> - to stand 10.9 | <i>stīm skwaha^{ūwi} L!a'ai</i> there they are standing (collectively) 28.9 |
| <i>hīq!</i> - to start 15.1 | <i>s^ʔa'tsa hīq!ya^{ūwi} ants L!a'ai</i> thus they (will) start |
| <i>s^ʔa'tsa</i> thus 11.10 | <i>s^ʔatsa^{ūwi} tE hītc L!a'ai</i> thus (they do it) these people |
| <i>k!h̄nk'</i> - to go and see 16.1 | <i>k!h̄nk'ya'a^ū n'ictca tE taⁱ</i> many (were) going to see how this (one was) living |

§ 80. Plural *-tx*

This suffix exercises the same function as the preceding *-ū^u*, differing from it in so far only as its subjects must be human beings. It is added either to the bare stem or to the stem verbalized by means of the suffixes *-aⁱ*, *-ūⁱ* (see § 75), or it follows any of the temporal suffixes. The function of this suffix as a personal plural is substantiated by the fact that the verb to which it is added must be followed by the collective forms of *hītc* PERSON, *hītcū^w*, *hītcū^{wi}* (see § 97). Whenever this suffix is added to a stem that has been verbalized by means of the suffixes *-aⁱ*, *-ūⁱ*, it coincides in phonetic structure with the temporal and objective form *-ītx* (see §§ 33, 68). But the following collective *hītcū^u* differentiates these two forms. Stems ending in an alveolar or affricative add this suffix by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see § 4). This suffix is always rendered by THEY, PEOPLE.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>temū'</i> - to assemble 7.3 | <i>u^l wàn temū'tx hītcū^u</i> finally the people assembled 7.6 |
| <i>s^ʔa'tsa</i> thus 11.10 | <i>tem^uwaⁱ'tx hītcū^{wi} sqa^ʔk</i> people assembled there 66.15 |
| <i>hūtc-</i> to play 7.2 | <i>u^l wàn s^ʔatsa'tx hītcū^{wi}</i> now they (began to do it) thus 7.5, 6 |
| <i>waa'</i> - to talk 7.1 | <i>u^l wàn hūtcā'tx hītcū^u</i> now they (commence to) play 9.3 |
| <i>qatc^{ʔn}-</i> to go 8.2 | <i>u^l wàn waa'tx hītcū^u</i> then finally people said 16.1 |
| <i>taⁱ-</i> to live 16.2 | <i>atsū'tc waaⁱ'maxustx hītcū^u</i> thus they began to talk to each other 64, 20, 21 |
| | <i>u^l wàn qatcⁱntx</i> finally they went 16.2 |
| | <i>haⁱmūt tqa^wwītc tayaⁱ'tx hītcū^{wi}</i> all up-stream they lived 82.13 |

pekū'u- to play shinny 9.4

pākwā'tx hītcū'u tE L!a'ai these
people play shinny 78.7

hāl- to shout

hāl'i'tx hītcū'u people shout 13.11

§ 81. IRREGULAR SUFFIXES *-n* (*-īn*), *-myax* (*-m*)

Here belong two suffixes whose exact function and etymology can no longer be analyzed. It is even impossible to tell whether they represent petrified formative elements, or elements of an exceedingly restricted scope, which may be responsible for their sporadic appearance.

The first of these suffixes to be discussed here is the suffix *-n*- or *-īn*-. It never occurs independently, being always followed by another verbal suffix, such as the transitive *-ūn* (see § 28), the temporal (see §§ 65-74) and the passive suffixes (see §§ 38, 39, 54-59). It seems to be related to the reciprocal *-naw* (*a*), and its function may be characterized as expressing a transitive action involving reciprocity or mutuality.

t!ū'hate'- to try to sell

t!ūhate'v'nūn¹ I try to sell it

ma'q!v- to dance 28.7

ūla^{ux} t!ūhat'v'ntxa^{ux} they two
try to sell their (hides) 100.19

maq!ēna'^wūn I will cure him (lit-
erally, dance for him)

meq!ē'na'a^u a dance will be ar-
ranged for him 19.2

mīnq!- to buy (in exchange
for a slave) (?)

s^xà ata's ants ma'q!v'nūtne (for)
him only this dance is arranged
28.7

ūl mīnq!v'nū'ne tsax^u she is
bought in exchange for a slave
76.3

Lī'ū- to come 9.3

Līūna^wya^{ux}2 (when) they two
come together 46.7

The other irregular suffix is *-m*, which, however, occurs by itself in only one instance. It is usually followed by the suffix for the past tense *-yax* (see § 74), and expresses in such cases an action that almost took place. It was invariably rendered by ALMOST, VERY NEAR.

¹ The use of this suffix may be justified here by the fact that the idea TO SELL requires a seller and a buyer.

² The *-n* is used here because the action involves two persons—one that comes, and another that is approached.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>x'nt</i> he goes, he travels 20.3 | <i>pī'ts'is x'ntma</i> in the ocean he travels (around?) 44.1, 2 |
| <i>hakw-</i> to fall 8.7 | <i>h'akumyaxan</i> I almost fell down |
| <i>a^us-</i> to sleep 24.1 | <i>a^wsm'yaxan</i> I very nearly fell asleep |
| <i>qatcⁿ-</i> to go 8.2 | <i>qā'tenⁱmyaxan</i> I very nearly went |
| <i>kū'n-</i> to beat 72.17 | <i>kū'ⁿnamyaxaⁿ</i> I almost beat him |
| <i>qātx-</i> to cry 58.15 | <i>qā'txⁿmyax</i> he very nearly cried |

Nominal Suffixes (§§ 82-105)

§ 82. INTRODUCTORY

The number of nominal suffixes found in Siuslaw is, comparatively speaking, rather small, and the ideas they express do not differ materially from the ideas conveyed by the nominal suffixes of the neighboring languages. There is, however, one striking exception, for among the neighboring languages (Coos and Alsea) Siuslaw alone possesses nominal cases. Another interesting feature of the Siuslaw nominal suffixes is the large number of suffixed formative elements that require the accent, and their phonetic strength (see § 12).

§ 83. DIMINUTIVE *-isk'in*

This suffix conveys our diminutive idea, and may be added to stems that express nominal and adjectival concepts. Under the influence of the consonant preceding it, it may be changed into *-ask'in*.¹ When added to stems that end in a vowel, the vowel of the suffix is contracted with the final vowel of the stem (see § 9). When followed by the augmentative *-il'mä*, the *-in-* element of this suffix disappears (see § 84). This suffix requires the accent.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>t'āmc</i> infant 40.19 | <i>t'āmc'isk'in</i> a little boy 94.16 |
| <i>l'v'aⁱ</i> fish 56.1 | <i>l'v'isk'in</i> <i>l'a^{ai}</i> many small fish 46.6, 7 |
| <i>qvūtⁿcū'nⁱ</i> woman 30.21 | <i>qvūtⁿcū'nⁱisk'in</i> a little woman, a girl |
| <i>mātà</i> father 54.22 | <i>māt'aⁱsk'nⁿvⁱtⁿ</i> my step-father (literally, my little father) 100.3, 4 |
| <i>l'p^{xan}</i> niece (?) 92.17 | <i>l'p^{xan}isk'into^wax</i> they two (were) his little nieces 92.15, 16 |
| <i>kō'tan</i> horse 34.9 | <i>kōtan'isk'in</i> a small horse, a pony |

¹Owing to the fact that most of the texts and examples were obtained from William Smith, an Alsea Indian (see p. 438), whose native tongue has no true alveolar spirants (*s*, *c*), this suffix appears frequently in the texts as *-ick'in*.

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>l'māk'</i> - short | <i>l'māk'í'sk'ín</i> very short 50.18 |
| <i>yāk</i> - small 29.4 | <i>ya^a'k'í'sk'ín</i> very small 36.23 |
| <i>xyal'x</i> almost, very nearly 11.1 | <i>xyal'xí'sk'ín qa'tc'nt qa'ha'ntc</i> he went a little ways (literally, almost, a little, he goes, far) 12.1 |
| <i>hī'catca</i> a while | <i>hīcatca'sk'ín</i> a little while 64.8 |

§ 84. AUGMENTATIVE -*ū'mä*

-*ū'mä* expresses the idea of LARGENESS, and, in terms of relationship, that of AGE; and it may be suffixed to stems expressing, besides nominal, also adjectival ideas. When added to stems that end in a lateral, the lateral of the suffix disappears in accordance with the law of simplification of consonants (see § 15). This suffix requires the accent.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>qī'ūtc</i> woman 48.17 | <i>qīūtc'ū'l'mä</i> old woman 94.22 |
| <i>līpL</i> - grandfather | <i>līpL'mä</i> grandfather |
| <i>kamL</i> grandmother 96.22 | <i>waa^vtx ants kamL'matc</i> she said to that her grandmother 96.21 |
| <i>t!āmc</i> infant 40.19 | <i>t!āmc'ū'l'mä</i> old infant, hence young (man) 54.22 |
| <i>tex^am</i> strong 10.1 | <i>texm'ū'l'mä</i> very strong (man), hence old (man) 40.10 |
| <i>pēnī's</i> skunk 86.1 | <i>pēnī's'ū'l'mä</i> a large skunk |
| <i>yīkt</i> big 48.8 | <i>yīkt'ū'l'ma</i> very big 40.6 |

The diminutive suffix is not infrequently added to the augmentative for the purpose of mitigating the impression made by the augmentative, and *vice versâ*.

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| <i>t!āmc</i> infant 40.19 | <i>t!āmc'ū'l'ma'sk'ín</i> little big infant, hence little boy 94.20 |
| <i>mīlā</i> mother 54.23 | <i>mīlask'ū'l'mä</i> ¹ step-mother (literally, little old mother) |

CASE-ENDINGS (§§ 85-87)

§ 85. Introductory

Unlike the languages spoken by the neighboring tribes, Siuslaw shows a rich development of nominal cases. Two of these, the genitive or relative case and the locative, are formed by means of separate suffixes, while the discriminative case is formed by means of a vocalic change (see § 111). In addition to these distinct case-endings,

¹ The contraction of *mīlask'ū'l'mä* from *mīlask'ūn'ū'l'mä* may be explained as due to the assimilation of *n* to *l* following the contraction of the vowels.

there exists a great number of nominalizing suffixes indicating nominal ideas of an absolutive (nominative) form; so that the Siuslaw noun may be said to show four possible cases,—the nominative or absolutive case, the discriminative, the genitive or relative case, and the locative, which has an extended meaning. In discussing these case-endings it will be found preferable to begin with the locative case, because of the important position it occupies in the language.

§ 86. The Locative Case *-a*, *-ūs*

These two suffixes indicated originally local ideas of rest, and, as such, are best rendered by our local adverbs ON, IN, AT, TO, etc. It would seem, however, that this primary function was extended so that these suffixes may also mark the noun as the object of an action, thereby exercising the function of an accusative case-ending. The use of these suffixes for the purpose of expressing objects of action and the adverbial idea of rest may be explained by the intimate psychological connection that exists between these two apparently distinct concepts. The following example will serve to illustrate this connection. The sentence I CUT SALMON may, and as a matter of fact does, denote the idea I CUT ON THE SALMON.

The correctness of this interpretation is furthermore brought out by the fact that the verb, upon which these suffixes are dependent, can under no circumstance appear in transitive form. Should, however, such a verb appear with a transitive suffix, the noun will then occur in the absolutive form; and, since confusion might arise as to the identity of the subject and object of the action, the subject of the action is always discriminated (see §§ 21, 111).

The importance of these two suffixes as formative elements may be deduced from the fact that they enter into the formation of the forms expressing our periphrastic conjugation TO HAVE, TO BE WITH (see § 76) and that the adverbial suffixes (see §§ 90, 91, 93) can be added only to nouns that occur with these locative endings.

-a expresses, besides the nominal object of an action, also the local idea of rest. There is a tendency to have the accent fall upon this suffix.

ł'v'aⁱ fish 56.1

ł̄ya'a^u fire 25.5

ts!aln pitch 26.6

m̄'k^utūxts ł'ıaya' you two shall
cut salmon 90.5

h̄a'qmas ł̄ya'wa near the fire 26.1
ȳwa'ya^ux̄n ȳā'xaⁱ ts!̄ina' we
two (will) get much pitch
94.17, 18

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <i>qīūtē' nī</i> woman 30.21 | <i>hītc s' n' xya qīūtē' nya</i> (a) person wants a woman 76.7 |
| <i>pekū' u-</i> to play shinny 9.4 | <i>pekū' ya xāL! a' L! a' ai</i> many shinny sticks (they) make 78.5 |
| <i>tcī</i> water 36.20 | <i>tcī' wa ma' atc ants</i> . . . in the water lay that . . . 32.22 |
| | <i>tcī' wa u' k! u' wīna' v</i> on the water ice appeared 76.13 |
| <i>L! a' ai</i> ground, place 7.1 | <i>mīk! a' u' L! aya'</i> in a bad place 12.10; 13.1 |
| <i>kō' tan</i> horse 34.9 | <i>kumī' ntc kōtana' t</i> not they had horses 100.20; 102.1 |
| <i>t' ix</i> tooth | <i>t' ixa' t</i> (it) has teeth 90.19 |
| <i>tcī</i> water 36.20 | <i>u' a' x tcī' watc hakwa' a' i</i> they two into the water thrown will be 88.7, 8 |
| | <i>tcī' wane ha' q' i qyax</i> from the water (it) came ashore 56.13 |
| <i>tcīmtca' mī</i> ax 27.10 | <i>tcīmtca' myatc xawa' a' u</i> with an ax (he) killed will be 28.1 |

-ūs. Like the preceding *-a*, it is employed for the purpose of forming the locative case of nouns and of expressing the local idea of rest. It is suffixed to nouns in *-ū* (see § 97) and in *-ī* (see § 98). When added to nouns in *-ī*, the *-ī* of the noun is consonantized, so that the suffix appears to be *-īyūs* (see § 8); while, when suffixed to nouns in *-ū*, the *-ū* of the suffix is contracted with the *ū* of the noun (see § 9).

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>k! u' wī' nī</i> ice | <i>qa' xa' i' x k! u' wīnīyū' s</i> on top of the ice 76.14, 15 |
| <i>pk' i' tī</i> lake 62.18 | <i>tsī' sqan pk' i' tīyū' s temū' yax</i> deer at (the) lake assembled 34.11. |
| <i>tsō' tī</i> sand beach | <i>ta' i' s tsī' tīyū' s</i> (you) will keep on living on the sand beach 46.15 |
| <i>pekū' u</i> shinny game | <i>s^ea ku' nū' tswa pekū' u' s L! aya'</i> he always beats (people) at shinny 78.18, 19 |
| <i>hūtē' wī</i> fun 8.5 | <i>a' l' tūtūnx hūtē' wī' stc</i> thou also shalt come to the fun 22.8 |
| <i>u' mlī</i> thunder | <i>umlīyū' stc Līū'</i> to thunder (it) came 36.8, 9 |

A number of nouns undergo unexplained phonetic changes whenever the locative suffix is added, while others employ an abbreviated form of this case-ending. Since no fixed rules can be given that will cover each of these cases, it will be best to tabulate all such nouns, giving their absolutive and locative forms. These nouns are as follows:

| Absolutive case | Locative case |
|--|---|
| <i>mîsî'aⁱ</i> elder sister 90.23 | <i>mîsa'yūs</i> 40.12, 13 |
| <i>mîctcî'i</i> younger sister 40.2 | <i>mîctca'yūs</i> |
| <i>mîtà</i> father 54.22 | <i>mîta'yūs</i> |
| <i>mîlà</i> mother 54.23 | <i>mîla'yūs</i> |
| <i>L!a^{ai}</i> earth, many 7.1 | <i>L!ayū's</i> 76.10 |
| <i>lqa^u'tū</i> log 32.21 | <i>lqatūwīyū's</i> 88.16 |
| <i>a^u'tcîsî</i> camas 96.20 | <i>a^u'tcīyū's</i> 98.11, 12 |
| <i>hîtc</i> person 15.2 | <i>hîtū's</i> 66.14 |
| <i>sî'max^u</i> landing-place | <i>sîma'x^us</i> 48.21 |
| <i>tsEha^u'ya</i> grass 8.6 | <i>tsEha^u'ya^s</i> |
| <i>ya^u'xa</i> fern-root 80.18 | <i>ya^u'xa^us</i> |
| <i>hîtsî'i</i> house 25.2 | <i>hîtsî's</i> 58.8 |

In many cases one and the same noun shows in its locative forms both case-endings, as may be seen from the following examples:

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>L!a^{ai}</i> ground, many 7.1 | <i>L!aya'</i> 13.1 and <i>L!ayū's</i> 76.10 |
| <i>a^u'tcîsî</i> camas 96.20 | <i>a^u'tcîsya</i> and <i>a^u'tcīyū's</i> 98.11, 12 |
| <i>hîtc</i> person 7.1 | <i>hîtū's</i> 66.14 and <i>hîtū'tc</i> 7.5 |

A few nouns appear with locative case-endings that seem to bear no relation to the suffixes *-a*, *-ūs*. The following have been found:

| Absolutive | Locative |
|--|---|
| <i>sî'xa^î</i> boat 56.5 | <i>sExa^{ū1}</i> 48.18 |
| | <i>sExa^u'tc</i> <i>qaa'xam</i> into a canoe it was put 34.5 |
| <i>hamî'tcî</i> whale 82.5 | <i>hamîtcū'</i> |
| | <i>ha^u'mūt</i> <i>hamîtcū'</i> <i>l'kwa^u'</i> all (some) whale got 82.6 |
| <i>lqwa^u'tEm</i> alder tree 92.5, 6 | <i>lqutmî'</i> |
| | <i>lqūt^{mî}'a^ux</i> <i>qaa^u'</i> an alder tree they two entered 92.6 |
| <i>xwā'ka</i> head 29.5 | <i>xwākî'</i> |
| | <i>laⁱ'gat</i> <i>skwaha^v'tx</i> <i>xwākî'</i> feathers (they) placed on their heads 10.9 |
| <i>Lxaū'</i> spear 64.7 | <i>Lxa^u'hî</i> 64.11 |

¹ The locative form *sExa^ū'* may be explained as a noun with the local suffix of rest used as the object of an action (see § 91).

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>h̄ite</i> person 7.1 | <i>h̄itū'tc</i> |
| <i>mā'q^uL</i> crow 34.23 | <i>la'k^{ut}!wī h̄itū'tc</i> a sberiff 7.5 |
| <i>qayū'wⁱnts</i> stone | <i>m^uqwa'L</i> 34.21 |
| <i>q^uLī'mt</i> anus 86.9 | <i>qayuna'ts</i> 62.7 |
| <i>ya^sk^us</i> seal 62.4 | <i>q^uLīmī't</i> |
| <i>Laa'</i> mouth 28.2 | <i>ye'kū's</i> 62.2 |
| | <i>Laaya'</i> 29.2, 96.7 |

Nouns that end in the augmentative suffix *-ūl'mā* (see § 84) change the final *ā* into a clear *a*-vowel whenever the locative is to be expressed.

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <i>yīktī'l'ma</i> very big 40.6 | <i>yīktī'l'mat cā'ya</i> he has a big penis 92.1 |
| <i>qūūtci'l'mā</i> old woman 96.15 | <i>qūūtci'l'matc</i> to the old woman 94.16 |

In a few instances the locative suffix *-a* has the function of an adverbial suffix of instrumentality.

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| <i>tcīmtca'mī</i> ax 27.10 | <i>u^ax wān tcīmtcī'mya qa'tcīnt</i> and they two now an ax take along (literally, with an ax go) 96.10, 11 |
| | <i>skwaha^ūwi L!a^{ai} ha'ⁱmūt ants tcī-</i> <i>mtcī'mya</i> they are standing, all those who have axes 28.9; 29.1 |

§ 87. The Relative or Genitive Case *-Emt*, *-Em*

These suffixes have the function of the Indo-European genitive case-endings.

-Emt is suffixed to the absolute form of the noun; and when added to nouns that end in a long vowel, its obscure *E* is contracted with the long vowel of the noun and disappears (see § 9). The noun to which this suffix is added is always the object of the action.

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>lt'ī'a^s</i> salmon 56.1 | <i>lt'īayE'mt txa'n^s</i> salmon's tracks |
| <i>lq!ā'nū</i> hide 100.15 | <i>lq!ānū'ml^s yūxī'ⁱ</i> many hides (lit- erally, of hides a multitude) 102. 1, 2 |
| <i>t!ī, t!ī'ya^s</i> bear 56.11; 58.14 | <i>t!īyayE'mt txa'n^s</i> bear tracks 56.10 |
| <i>pī'lq^uts</i> raccoon | <i>pī'lq^utsE'ml^s lq!ā'nū</i> raccoon-hide |
| <i>texmū'nī</i> man 30.21 | <i>texmū'nyEml L!xmī'tī</i> a man's bow |

¹ See § 9.

This suffix may be added to pronouns and particles, as may be seen from the following examples:

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <i>nà</i> I 21.8 | <i>ní'ctám^{nx}</i> <i>na'm^l</i> <i>té'q</i> because thou (art) of me (a) relative 21.5 |
| <i>ha'^vmūt</i> all 10.9 | <i>ha'mūtū'^lm^l</i> <i>mā'd'ti</i> of all (the) chief |

This suffix is also employed in the formation of the independent possessive pronouns (see § 114).

-*Em* differs from the preceding -*eml* in so far as it can be added only to the locative form of the noun, and that in the few examples that were obtained it denotes the subject of an action.

| Absolutive | Objective | Relative |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| <i>mā'q^uL</i> crow 34.23 | <i>m^uqwa'L</i> | <i>m^uqwa'LEM</i> <i>wa'as</i> Crow's language 34.21. |
| <i>u'mli</i> thunder | <i>umli'yūs</i> | <i>umli'yūSEM</i> <i>wa'as</i> Thun- der's language 36.8 |
| <i>hītc</i> a person 7.1 | <i>hītū'tc</i> 7.5 | <i>hītū'tcEM</i> <i>L!xm^ltī</i> (an) In- dian's bow |
| <i>hītsī'ⁱ</i> house 25.2 | <i>hītsī's</i> 58.8 | <i>hītsī'SEM</i> <i>teqyū'^{wi}</i> of house (the) frame |

When followed by other suffixes, the obscure *E* of -*em* drops out, and the consonants are combined into a cluster.

| Absolutive | Objective | Relative |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|---|
| <i>mīlā</i> mother 54.23 | <i>mīlā'yūs</i> | <i>mīlā'yūsmītn</i> <i>mītā</i> of my mother (her) father; my grandfather |
| <i>māt!'i</i> elder brother 58.11 | <i>māt!'i'yūs</i> | <i>māt!'i'yūsmītn</i> <i>t!āmc</i> my elder brother's boy |

§ 88. THE POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Possessive relations of the noun are expressed in Siuslaw by means of the suffix -*i* that is followed by the subjective pronouns (see § 24). Possession for the third person singular is expressed by the suffix -*tc* added to the noun without the aid of the sign of possession, -*i*. Possession for the third persons dual and plural is indicated by adding the subjective pronouns -*a^ux* and -*nx* to the suffix -*tc*. Thus it would seem that Siuslaw employs two distinct suffixes for the purpose of expressing possession: -*i* used for the first and second persons, and -*tc* for the third persons.

¹ See § 11.

The possessive suffixes are verbalized by adding the auxiliary suffix *-t* (see § 76) to the sign of possession; so that Siuslaw may be said to possess two sets of possessive suffixes,—one purely nominal set and one with a verbal significance. In the latter set the suffixes for the third persons are missing.

All possessive suffixes stand in terminal position following even the case-endings and the adverbial suffixes.

The following table will serve to illustrate the formation of the possessive suffixes:

| | | Nominal | Verbal |
|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| Singular | {1st person | - <i>in</i> | - <i>itn</i> |
| | {2d person | - <i>inx</i> | - <i>itnx</i> |
| | {3d person | - <i>tc</i> | - |
| Dual | {Inclusive | - <i>ins</i> | - <i>itns</i> |
| | {Exclusive | - <i>xân</i> | - <i>itaxân</i> |
| | {2d person | - <i>its</i> | - <i>itts</i> |
| | {3d person | - <i>tcwax</i> | - |
| Plural | {Inclusive | - <i>inl</i> | - <i>itnl</i> |
| | {Exclusive | - <i>inxan</i> | - <i>itnxan</i> |
| | {2d person | - <i>itci</i> | - <i>ittci</i> |
| | {3d person | - <i>tc^Enx</i> | - |

The pronominal suffix for the exclusive dual *-a^uxân*, *-axân*, has been abbreviated here to *-xân*. This abbreviation may be the result of contraction. The *i* of the possessive suffixes appears frequently as a diphthong *aⁱ* (see § 2). The possessive suffixes follow all other nominal suffixes.

ts'íl'mū't friend 23.4

mîtà father 54.22

hîtsî'i house 25.2

îin name 13.10

txaⁱn^e track, path 56.10

mîsî'aⁱ elder sister 90.23

wa'as language 34.21

ts'íl'mū'tin my friend 36.15

mîta'aⁱin . . . *mîta'aⁱin* my father . . . my mother (literally, I have a father . . . a mother) 100.1

tca'xumans hîtsî'stcin let us two go back to my house! 58.5

î'tc^Et î'nînx cougar (will be) thy name 13.5, 6

ma^atc txa'nū'tcînx it lies in thy path 48.22

mîsî'aⁱtc her elder sister 40.11

s^Eatsî'tc wa'astc thus he said (literally, thus his language) 40.26

t!āmc child 40.19

kōpx eye 36.16

tcīL hand 50.18

mîtd father 54.22

xwā'ka head 29.5

m^aā'tī chief 11.2

xu'nhaⁱ a bet 78.15

t!āmēins tcī'ntūx our (dual incl.)
boys will return 42.7

kōpxaⁱxān our (dual excl.) eyes

tcī'līts your (dual) hands

mîtda'tc^wax their (dual) father 52.8

xwā'kaⁱnł our (incl.) heads

m^aā'tī'nxan our (excl.) chief

m^aā'tī'tcī your chief

xu'nhaⁱtc^{en}x their bets 70.7

The possessive suffixes may be added to particles and attributive elements that precede the noun. This is due to a tendency inherent in the language to keep the principal parts of speech free from all pronominal elements, and which finds its counterpart in the tendency to add all subjective suffixes to the adverbs that precede the verb instead of to the verbal stem (see § 26).

In many instances the independent possessive pronouns (see § 114) are used in addition to the possessive suffixes. This is done for the sake of emphasis; and in all such cases the suffixes are added to the independent pronouns, and not to the nominal stem.

s^eatsī'tc thus 8.1

nā I 21.8

nīctcī'tc how, manner 36.4

hīs good 38.21

s^ea'tsa thus 11.10

s^eaⁱ'na he, that one 15.4

nā I 21.8

kīx^s ten 8.1

hīs good 38.21

s^eatsī'tcīn ha^h thus I think (literally, thus my mind) 21.7

wa'aⁱs^eenx na'm^elītīn wa'as you will continually speak my language 36.13

nīctcī'tcīnx ha^h how (is) thy mind 40.3

hī'sīnx ha^h haū'tūx you will feel better (literally, good thy heart will become)

s^ea'tsac nīctcīma^emū thus (is) his custom 38.16

s^eaⁱ'na'młtc wa'as wa^a'syaxa^ūn his language he spoke 36.14

na'm^elīns kō'tan our (incl. dual) horses

kī'x^estc^wax haū'yax t!āmc they two had ten children (literally, ten their two, had become, children) 60.16, 17

hī'ⁱsīnł ha^h we are glad (literally, good our [incl.] heart) 72.18

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| <i>hīs</i> good 38.21 | <i>hī' sīnxaŋ hītsī' tī</i> good (was) our (excl.) house 100.13 |
| <i>nà</i> I 21.8 | <i>na' m^ēlīnxaŋ tē' q</i> our (excl.) relative 102.5 |
| <i>ants</i> that there 7.1 | <i>t!ī' ya' lakwa' kū^un a' ntsīn māt!ī'</i> (a) bear caught that there my elder brother 58.18 |

Nominal possessive suffixes are added to verbal stems in many cases when the object stands in some possessive relation to the subject of the sentence (see § 33). Siuslaw uses for that purpose the verbal set of possessive suffixes (see table on p. 546); and, since the pronouns indicating the subject of the action are added to particles and attributive elements preceding the verb (see § 26), these suffixes occur mostly in terminal position.

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>a'q-</i> to leave | <i>ta' k^ēns aya' qa' tī tē sī' xa' t</i> here we two (incl.) shall leave our canoe 56.5 |
| <i>haū-</i> to become | <i>ha' nanx ha' ū' tūxa' tī ha' t</i> different will become thy mind 60.14 |
| <i>yā' a' xa' t</i> much 8.5 | <i>s^ē a' tsan ū' tī n yā' xa' tī ha' t</i> that's why I (know) much (in) my mind 20.9 |
| <i>hīs</i> well 38.21 | <i>tsī' k! yanxaŋ hī' sītī ha' t</i> we (excl.) are very glad 24.5, 6 |
| <i>waā'-</i> to speak 7.1 | <i>atsī' tē^ē nx wa' a' sītī tsī' mqma</i> thus you shall tell your people 78.10 |
| <i>yā' a' xa' t</i> much, many 8.5 | <i>ū' ē^ē nx yā' a' tē' tē lī' t! a' t</i> they have much food (literally, and they much their food) 80.17 |
| <i>lxū' īs</i> dry 60.19 | <i>lxū' īstē^ē nx ants lī' ī' a' t</i> dry (is) that their salmon 80.17, 18 |

The possessive suffixes are sometimes added to the verbal stem, especially the suffix for the third person singular.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>xwī' L! tūx</i> he will return | <i>sī' nxīt x ants t! āmc xwī' L! tūxtē</i> he wanted his boy to come back (literally, he desired his, that boy, shall come back, his) 42.5, 6 |
| <i>waā' t</i> he says 8.9 | <i>kumī' nte wa' a' tē' tē ants qaslī' ū</i> not she said (to) that her husband |
| <i>L! xūx^u-</i> reduplicated form of | <i>kū' L! xū' x^u tē ha' t</i> not he knew his |
| <i>L! xū-</i> to know 40.16 | mind 58.4 |

The subjective pronouns may at times perform the function of the possessive suffixes. This is especially true in the case of the pronoun for the first person singular when used in connection with a demonstrative pronoun.

tā^ak this here 32.13

t!ī'yaⁱ lakwa'kū^un tā'kīn t!āmc (a)
bear caught this my boy 60.9, 10
wa'aⁱtsīn tā'kīn wa'as speak to me
(with) this my language 36.10

ants that there 7.1

t!ī'yaⁱ lakwa'kū^un a'ntsīn māt!ī'
(a) bear caught that there my
elder brother 58.18

ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES (§§ 89-96)

§ 89. Introductory

Siuslaw expresses all adverbial relations derived from nouns by means of suffixes, that precede even the pronominal suffixes. Of these, the local suffixes indicating motion and rest, and the local suffix expressing the ablative idea FROM, can be added only to the locative forms of the noun (see § 86). It is rather interesting to note that there is no special suffix denoting instrumentality. This idea is either expressed by means of the locative *-a* (see § 86), or it is conveyed through the medium of the local suffix of motion *-tc* (see § 90) and of the local *-ya* (see § 93), or it may be contained in the suffix of modality *-ītc* (see § 94). All these ideas are so closely interwoven with that of instrumentality, that the instrumental use of elements denoting primarily objects, motion, and modality, presents no difficulty whatsoever.

§ 90. Local Suffix Indicating Motion *-tc*

It is added to the locative forms of the noun (see § 86), and may be best rendered by TO, INTO, AT, ON, UPON, TOWARDS.

tē water 64.24

ū^la^x tē'wate hakwa'aⁱ and they
two into the water will be
thrown 88.7, 8

hītsī'ⁱ house 25.2

ū^ln^x wān tē'īn hītsī'stc they now
returned into the house 60.10,
11

mītsī'aⁱ elder sister 90.23

wī'ltcīstūn mīsa'yūste he sent her
to her elder sister 92.20

L!a^{ai} ground 76.10

sī'xāⁱ canoe 56.5

pk'v'tī lake 62.18

qūūtē'l'mā old woman 94.22

gayū^{wi}nts rock

mā'q^uL crow 34.23

k!ix L!a^{ai} everywhere

L!ayū'stc to the ground 94.8

sexā^w'tc qaa'xam into a canoe were put 34.5

pk'v'tīyū'stc temū'yax at the lake (they) came together 34.13, 14

Līū'wax qūūtē'l'ma'tc they two came to an old woman 94.16

xalnaⁱ gayuna'tsⁱtc (one) climbs up the rock 62.7

Līū' m^uqwa'Lⁱtc he came to Crow 36.3

k!ēxū'tc L!aya'tc waa'ūn everywhere he said . . . 7.2

Local adverbs and stems denoting local phrases are not considered as nouns. Hence they can have no locative forms, and the adverbial suffixes are added directly to such words.

haⁱq shore 44.7

lnū outside 38.23

qō'x^um away from shore 34.6

qa'xūn up, above 34.21

qaⁱhā'n far 56.8

yīxaⁱ haⁱqtc (they) looked ashore 66.6

l^unx lnū'tc Līha' and they outside went 38.23

qō'x^umtc haⁱmūt qwa'xtēⁱst out into the water all went 34.15

qa'xūntc hakwa'yū'n^e upwards it is thrown 8.7

qaⁱha'ntc tsūL!aⁱ he shot far 10.3

In like manner the local suffix is added to the independent pronouns; and all such pronouns, when followed by this suffix, have the function of objective pronouns (see § 113).

nā I 21.8

nāx^ats thou

temū'tūxtē nātc you shall come to me 72.11

kumⁱ'ntc hī' sa nū'x^atc not good (it is) on you 12.5

In a few instances the local suffix *-tc* has been found added to the absolutive form of nouns. This ungrammatical suffixation may be due either to imperfect perception on my part, or to errors on the part of the informant. The instances referred to are as follows:

paā^wwī sand beach

lk!v'aⁱ mouth of the river

paā^wwītēx qatē^xnatū^u along the sand beach they walked 34.14

Līū'wanx lk!v'aⁱtc they came to the mouth of the river 66.11

îng!a'î river, creek 30.23

u!a^ux lîû' îng!a'îtc and they two
came to a creek 56.4

In many instances the locative form of a noun or pronoun followed by the local suffix of motion *-tc* indicates the idea of instrumentality.

tcî water 64.24

hîtsî'î tã'qnîs tcîwa'tc the house (is)
full of water

hîtc person 7.1

taganî'tx hîtvî'stc it was always full
of people 70.3, 4

tcîmtca'mî ax 27.10

tcîmtca'myate xawa'a^u with an ax
he will be killed 28.1

lî't!a'î food 34.6

tã'qnîs lî't!aya'tc ants hîtsî'î full
with food (was) that house 54.5

ts!aln pitch 26.6

sî'nîxyû' nE ts!îlna'tc xawa'a^u it
was desired (that) with pitch
he should be killed 24.1

s^Eà that one 10.1

s^Ea'na'tc xawa'a^u with that (thing)
he will be killed 26.6

§ 91. Local Suffix Indicating Rest *-û* (*-aû*)

This suffix is added to such stems as are not considered nominal, and hence can not express the local idea of rest by means of the locative *-a* or *-ûs* (see § 86). It is consequently suffixed to adjectives—which are really intransitive verbs—and it performs for such terms the additional function of a locative case-ending. The only noun to which this suffix has been found added in its local and objective meaning is the stem *sî'xa'î* CANOE (see § 86). This apparently exceptional use of the local suffix *-û* in connection with a noun may be due to the fact that the informant, unable to recall a single instance of the noun *sî'xa'î* in its proper objective form (*sîxaya'?*), and not conscious of the grammatical processes of her language, has endeavored to form the objective case according to her own idea. The idea implied by this suffix may be rendered by IN, AT, ON. The interchange between *-û* and *-aû* has been discussed in § 2.

mî'k!a bad 14.7

nî'ctcî tex xî'ntmîs hîtc mîk!a^û
L!aya' how (can) always travel
a person in a bad place? 12.10;
13.1

k!îx each, every 24.4

txû'nx k!îxû' L!aya' xî'ntmîs just
you everywhere will continually
travel 13.6, 7

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>k!ix</i> each, every 24.4 | <i>k!ēxū' L!aya' w! s^{ex}a^{it}e</i> on each place such (was the world) 14.6; 15.1 |
| <i>s^{ex}a^{it}e</i> such, in that manner 15.1 | <i>w!ēnx sqaⁱk l'it!a' s^{ex}a^{it}ū'</i> and they eat on such (a place) 62.5, 6 |
| <i>ya^a'k!i'sk'in</i> very small 36.23 | <i>yāk!i'sk'inū' L!aya' w! tīyū'wi</i> on a very small place they lived 38.19 |
| <i>sī'xaⁱ</i> boat 56.5 | <i>lqaⁱ' tū txū ma^{ate} ants s^{exa}ū'</i> sticks merely were lying in that boat 48.20, 21 |

Instances where this suffix has the function of a locative case-ending may be given as follows:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| <i>k!ix</i> each, every 24.4 . | <i>k!ē'xū'tc L!aya'tc L!ōxa'xa^utsme</i> to each place he sent his . . .30.1 |
| <i>mī'k!a</i> bad 14.6 | <i>lī'ū mī'k!a^utc L!aya'tc</i> he came to a bad place |
| <i>sī'xaⁱ</i> canoe 56.5 | <i>s^{exa}ū'n sī'nⁱxya</i> a canoe I want <i>s^{exa}ū'tc qad'xam</i> into a canoe were put 34.5 |

§ 92. Local Suffix *-ix* (*-aⁱx*, *-yax*)

This suffix is used chiefly in connection with verbs of motion, and is added to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. Its function may best be compared to the function performed by our adverbs ON, OVER, ALONG, when used in connection with verbs of motion. The long *i* of the suffix is often changed into *aⁱ* (see § 2) or diphthongized into *ya* (see § 7).

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>Qa'aⁱtc</i> a tributary of the Siuslaw river called at present North Fork | <i>Qa'aⁱtcix pēl'itc līha'yax</i> along North Fork at first it passed 32.19 |
| <i>paa^u'wī</i> sand beach | <i>paa^u'wītēix qatē^{en}natū^u</i> along (its) sand beach they walked 34.14 |
| <i>haⁱq</i> shore 44.7 | <i>haⁱ'qaⁱxanl tēd'xwītūx</i> along the shore we will go back 66.12, 13 |
| <i>qa^ux</i> high, up 80.9 | <i>qa^uxāⁱ'x k!u^xwānīyū's</i> on top of the ice 76.14, 15 |
| <i>hīs</i> well, straight 38.21 | <i>tē'wātē hī'sāⁱx līū'</i> to the water on (a) straight (line) it was coming 32.20 |
| <i>qa^u'xān</i> sky | <i>qa^u'xānyax xīnt</i> along the sky it traveled 32.19 |
| <i>tēik</i> where 34.2 | <i>tēikyax līhaⁱ' tē hītē</i> whereon climb up people 80.13 |

In one instance this suffix is added to a demonstrative pronoun.

s^ɛà that one 10.1

s^ɛaⁱ'xa^ux pⁱtcaⁱ' over that one they
two stepped 88.18

§ 93. Local Suffixes *-ya*, *-ne*

-ya is added to those locative forms of the personal pronouns and nouns that end in an alveolar or affricative consonant (*t*, *s*, *tc*) and to adverbs the final consonant of which belongs to the same series.

q^ulⁱmⁱ'mt anus 86.9

q^uLⁱmⁱ'tyat^c lⁱhaⁱ' from his anus
he came out 94.20

pⁱ'tsⁱs ocean (locative form)
44.1

pⁱ'tsⁱsya haⁱ'qaⁱ' from the ocean he
came ashore 82.4

q^u'i^tc Umpqua river

q^u'i^tcyaa^u from the Umpqua river
(they came) 100.15

hⁱtsⁱ'i house 25.2

hⁱtsⁱ'sya from the house

nà I 21.8

naⁱ't^cya from me

haⁱq shore 44.7

haⁱ'qaⁱ't^cya go away from the fire!
(literally, what is shore like from
it you go away) 26.7

qantc where

qaⁱ'ntcyanx lⁱuⁱ' from where (dost)
thou come 66.16

-ne is suffixed to nouns and to personal pronouns whose locative forms end in a vowel (see § 86), and to such stems as form the locative cases by means of the local suffix of rest *-ū* (see § 91).

kⁱ'i^x lⁱ'aⁱ every place

kⁱ'ēxūⁱ'ne lⁱ'ayaⁱ'ne from each place,
from everywhere 8.2

tcⁱ water 64.24

tcⁱ'wanē haⁱ'qⁱqyax from the water
he came ashore 56.13

xwāⁱ'ka head 29.5

xwāⁱ'kⁱ'ne from the head

sⁱ'xaⁱ canoe 56.5

sⁱxa^u'ne from the canoe

These local suffixes are frequently used as implying the idea of instrumentality.

qalⁱ'tc knife

lⁱ'xmaⁱ'yūn qaⁱ'lⁱ't^cya he killed him
with a knife (literally, from a
knife)

tcⁱl hand 50.18

tcⁱ'lⁱne lōlēⁱ'lūn with the hand he
struck him

lxa^u' spear 64.7

lxa^u'hⁱne ants hⁱtc skwahaⁱ' with
a spear (in his hand) that person
stood up 64.11, 12

§ 94. Adverbial Suffixes Indicating Modality *-ītc* (*-aītc*), *-'na*

-ītc. This suffix has both a nominal and a verbal function. As a nominal suffix it signifies LIKE. It is found suffixed to a number of modal adverbs (see § 121), and it invariably requires the accent. The interchange between the long *ī* and the diphthong *aī* has been discussed in § 2.

ckō'te hill 46.10

qa'xūntc qa'tc'nt ckō'tcī'te he went up a hill (literally, upwards he goes, hill-like) 12.9

txa'n^ε tracks, road 56.10

tcīk ants lqa''tū L'wa' txa'nī'tc wherever that tree falls across the road (literally, road-like) 84.2, 3

ā'q one 18.7

a'lqa'ītcīn L!xū'yūn qnà half I know it (literally, one [half] like I know it) 92.12

s^εa'tsa thus 11.10

wad'xam s^εatsī'tc he was told thus 8.1

nī'tcā something, how 16.2

kwī'nx nīctcī'tc L!wā'nīsūn don't you tell him anything 17.1, 2

My informant frequently rendered this suffix by the phrase WHAT YOU WOULD CALL A . . . , SOME KIND OF . . . , especially in cases where the noun employed did not convey the exact idea that was wanted.

mā'ā'tī chief 10.2

mā'ā'tītc tE qwo'txaī beaver (was) (what you would call a) chief 50.6, 7

mātī'yū^{wi} chief, general

s^εatsī'tc wad' ants mātī'wītc ants sī'xaī thus said that (what you would call) captain (of) that boat 64.26; 66.1

lna^{wi} rich man 86.4

lna^{wi}wītc ants hītc (what you would call a) chief (was) that man 76.3

tEgyū^u frame 80.7

tEgyū^{wi}wītc (what you would call a) frame

lk!ī'aī mouth (of river)

lk!ī'aīwītc ants pk'ī'tī (something like the) mouth (of) that lake

When added to adverbs that convey local ideas, it must be preceded by the local suffix of motion *-tc* (see § 90).

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>sqa¹k</i> there 14.6 | <i>sqa¹ktcī'tc qa'tcⁿtūx</i> there (they) will go 30.22 |
| <i>qanâs-</i> down | <i>qanâstcī'tc txū slōxu'x^u</i> down sim- ply he went (slid) 12.6 |
| <i>tqa^uwī'-</i> up-stream 56.8 | <i>qa'tc^{en}t tqa^uwītcī'tc</i> he went up- stream 58.12 |

This modal suffix may also express the idea of instrumentality, as will be seen from the following examples:

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <i>tsī'L/ī</i> arrow 50.7 | <i>kumâ'ntc xa'wīl tsīL/ī'tc</i> not he can die through (literally, with) an arrow 15.8 |
| <i>tsax^u</i> slave 76.3 | <i>tūha'ha^un tsexwī'tc</i> he bought her in exchange for a slave |

When added to verbal stems, *-ītc* is almost invariably followed or preceded by the verbs *xīnt-* TO GO, TO START, and *hīq!-* TO START, TO BEGIN; and the idea conveyed by such a phrase may best be compared with our English sentences I GO INTO A STATE OF . . ., I START . . . -LY. The Siuslaw informant, unable to express this native phrase in English, usually rendered it by I, THOU, HE ALMOST. . . .

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>tcī'n-</i> to go home, to return 12.10 | <i>qātx tcenī'tc xīnt</i> he cried as he went home (literally, he cries when homewards he starts) 58.15, 16 |
| <i>temū'-</i> to assemble 7.3 | <i>temū'ī'tc xīnt L!a^{ai}</i> people came together (literally, into a state of coming together go many) 30.15, 16 |
| <i>lī'ū-</i> to arrive 9.2 | <i>līwī'tc^wax wān xīnt</i> they two are almost home (literally, in the manner of arriving they two finally go) 23.1 |
| <i>tcax^u-</i> to go back, to return 30.14 | <i>kī'x^{es} tsaxayū'^{wi} a'ntsīn tcexwī'tc</i> <i>xīnt</i> for ten days I was going back (literally, ten days this I returningly went) 66.20, 21 |
| <i>xawū'</i> he died 40.21 | <i>xewī'tc^{en}x hī'q!ya</i> (when) you are near death (literally, [when] in the manner of dying you start) 34.25 |

k!ap- low tide 36.18

^u *k!apī'tc xīntī't ants tcī* and the water began to get low (literally, into a state of low tide went that water) 36.20

sī'- to grow 98.10

sīhī'tcīn xī'ntyax (when) I began to grow up (literally, [when] into a state of growing I went) 100.17

In one instance this suffix occurs as *-a^ūtc*, and is preceded by the stem *qatcn-* TO GO.

yax- to see 20.10

^u *qa'tc^{ent} yexa^ūtc a'ntsⁱtc tcmā'nī*
he went to see his cousin 40.24

The verbs *xīnt-* and *hīq!-* may be omitted, as is shown in the following example:

tcāq- to spear 68.8

qaⁱha'ntc hī'nyaxa^ūn ya^εk^us tca-qaⁱ'tc the seal took him way off as he speared him (literally, way off took him, seal, spearingly) 68.17, 18

-'na is added to adjectives only, and expresses an idea similar to that of the English suffix *-LY*.

mī'k!a bad 14.7

kwī'nx l!wā'nīsūn mī'k!a'na don't tell it to him badly 17.1, 2

kumī'ntc mī'k!a'na sīnⁱxna'wīs not badly (we shall) keep on thinking of each other 78.12, 13

t!ī'sa grease

nī'ctcīm t!ī'sa'nana līt!a'wax because greasy (things) they are going to eat 82.8

§ 95. Adverbial Suffixes Indicating Time *-tīta*, *-īta*

These suffixes are added to nouns that indicate division of time, and to verbs expressing celestial phenomena, and they may best be rendered by TOWARDS, WHEN THE TIME OF . . . COMES. Both suffixes require the accent.

pīctcem summer 46.11

pīctcemtīta' u^εnx sqaⁱk tayaⁱ' towards summer (hence, in the spring-time) they there live 62.2, 3

q!Exa^uyū'wî salmon season

q!Exa^uyū'witāta' ^ul tqa^u'wītc tayaⁱ'
when salmon-time comes (they)
up-stream live 82.12, 13

qūū'NEM winter 80.18, 19

qūū'NEMtāta' towards winter

hî'n^εk!i- to rain 76.18

hî'n^εk!īta' in the rainy season

qaⁱx night 38.21

qaⁱxīta' towards night-time

nāctcīnwaⁱ' spring comes

nāctcīnawīta' ^ula^ux s^εa'tsa xnī'^wNE
towards spring-time they two
thus do it 98.5

§ 96. Modal Adverbs in -a

This suffix may be called the suffix of modality *par excellence*. By its means all stems expressing adjectival ideas, and all particles, are transformed into adverbs. Many of these stems (amplified by means of the modal suffix -a) do not occur in their original form, being used adverbially only. All such stems are denoted here by an asterisk (*). Whether this suffix may not be ultimately related to the locative -a (see § 86) is a debatable question.

hīs good 38.21

kumī'ntc hīⁱ'sa nātc not well (it is)
on me 12.2

Lī'ū near 40.12

Līū'wa k^unā īnq!^aītc tE taⁱ near,
perhaps, the creek, these live
66.7, 8

yā^a'xaⁱ much, many 8.5

hū'tctūns yā^a'xa we shall play a
great deal 10.6

yīkt big, large 48.8

ganīstcī'tc īlqa'yūsNE yī'kta very
deep it would be dug (liter-
ally, down-like it is dug largely)
84.3, 4

**Līmqa-* quick

Lī'mqan tci'ntūx right away I shall
return 56.22

**haⁱn-* different

haⁱ'na differently 58.9

**nīk!-* alone

nī'k!^a alone 94.11

**s^εats-* thus

s^εa'tsa thus, in that manner 18.4

**tsīk!-* much, very

tsī'k!^aya very, very much 13.9

GENERAL NOMINALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 97-105)

§ 97. Nominal -ūu (-aū), -ūwi

This suffix conveys a general nominal idea, changing any neutral stem into a noun, and is employed extensively in the formation of verbal abstract nouns. It is also used to express collectivity of action,

an application that is in perfect harmony with its nominal character, as has been explained in § 78. The forms $-ū^u$ and $-ū^{wi}$ may be explained as due to imperfect perception on my part, while the double occurrence of $-ū^u$ and $-a^ū$ is caused by the phonetic relation that exists between the $ū$ and the diphthong $a^ū$ (see § 2).

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>hūt-</i> to play 7.2 | <i>hūtēū'wi</i> , <i>hūtēū'u</i> fun, 8.5; 16.6 |
| <i>tēmū'</i> - to gather 7.3 | <i>tēk ants L!a'ai tēmū'ū'u</i> where (there is) that big assembly 88.3 |
| <i>paln-</i> to hunt 82.17 | <i>qwà'tc L!xū'yūn palnū'wi</i> (he) who knows (the art of) hunting 82.18 |
| <i>xīl'xcē-</i> to work 48.10 | <i>tsī'k!ya L!xū'yūn xīl'xcyū'u</i> very (well) he knows (the art of) working 52.22, 23 |
| <i>sī-</i> to grow 98.10 | <i>s²a'tsate sī'ya'a^ū</i> such (was) her growth 98.6 |
| <i>lxat-</i> to run 12.3 | <i>lxatū'wi</i> a race 78.18 |
| <i>xīntm-</i> to travel 12.10 | <i>wī'nxanx tēi'wa xīntmū'wi</i> thou art afraid to go to the ocean (literally, thou fearest to water the journey) |
| <i>yalq-</i> to dig 84.5 | <i>yalqa'a^ū</i> a hole 84.6 |
| <i>xaⁱtc-</i> to roast 90.8 | <i>xaⁱtca'a^ū</i> roast 90.9 |
| <i>anxī-</i> to sing | <i>anxyū'wi</i> a song |

This suffix is found in a great number of nouns whose original stems can no longer be analyzed. The following list may be given:

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>ha^uwī'yū</i> shaft | <i>tcmūlqū'wi</i> ring (<i>tcmūlq</i> finger) |
| <i>paā^ūwī</i> sand beach 34.14 | <i>k^utsū'wi</i> saliva |
| <i>pahū'wi</i> codfish | <i>kū'cū</i> hog (from French through medium of the Chinook jargon) |
| <i>pā'l'ū</i> spring, well 76.12 | <i>kū'tcīyū</i> sea-otter |
| <i>ma'tcū</i> bed (place of lying ?) | <i>kmū'kū</i> pipe-stem |
| <i>ma'ttcū</i> chimney, stove (place of burning ?) | <i>kcīkyū'wi</i> wall |
| <i>teqyū'u</i> frame (of a house) 80.7 | <i>kī'ī'nū</i> ladder, stairway |
| <i>tūqya'a^ū</i> up the river 32.22 | <i>kwīnī'ntxū</i> throat |
| <i>t'ū'nīxyū</i> pocket | <i>k!a'l'apū</i> navel |
| <i>nīctcīma^emū</i> custom, fashion 36.28 | <i>gaslī'ū</i> husband 48.20 |
| <i>cīmī' Ltxū</i> upper lip | <i>qaⁱwa'a^ū</i> bay, down-stream 80.6 |
| <i>tsayū'wi</i> day, sun, weather 8.1 | <i>qa^utī'ū</i> bark 90.8 |
| | <i>q!exa^uyu'wī</i> salmon-time 82.12 |
| | <i>īna^uwi</i> rich man, chief 86.4 |

Ik^wuna'atsū live-coals*lqa'ⁱtū* tree, log 32.21*lq!ⁱā'nū* hide, skin 100.15*līya'a^ū* fire 25.5*lxaū'* pole, spear 64.7*L!ⁱm!ⁱkcū* flounder 100.10

When added to the numeral particle *yā'aⁱxaⁱ* MUCH, MANY, it denotes the idea expressed by a noun of quality. This particle is to all appearances a stem amplified by means of the nominal suffix *-aⁱ* (see § 98); and since two nominal suffixes of a similar function can not be added to one and the same stem, the *-aⁱ* disappears, and the suffix *-a^ū* is added to the bare stem *yāx-*.

yā'aⁱxaⁱ much, many 8.5*tc'ⁱnt^{etc} ya'xa^ū xalna'ⁱ* how many had climbed up (literally, what their number climbed up) 62.11*tc'ⁱnt^{etc} ya'xa^ū tē'qtc ants qūūtcū'nī* as many relatives as that woman had (literally, how much their number [of] her relatives [of] that woman) 76.1*lxa'ⁱpⁱstc ya'xa^ū* five their number 100.15§ 98. Nominal *-ī* (*-aⁱ*)

This suffix is found in a large number of nouns expressing a variety of concepts. It occurs with nouns indicating instrumentality, with verbal abstract nouns, with nouns of relationship, with terms designating animals, with stems expressing natural objects, etc. It is not altogether inconceivable that this nominal formative element may be identical with the verbalizing suffix *-aⁱ* (see § 75), even though its nominalizing function can no longer be explained in a majority of cases. In many instances the original stem to which this suffix has been added does not occur in its independent form. The substitution of the diphthong *-aⁱ* for the long *ī* has been discussed in § 2.

pēkū' to play shinny 9.4*tsīL!-* to shoot 8.6*mīnx^u-* to lighten 38.5*wī'nkī-* to work 50.6*taⁱ* he sits 16.2*pā'kwī* shinny stick*tsī'L!ⁱ* arrow 50.7*mī'nⁱxwī* lightning 38.2*wī'nakī* work*tī'taⁱ* chair

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>t̄v't̄/-</i> to eat 13.10 | <i>t̄v't̄!āⁱ</i> food 34.23 |
| <i>hū'tc-</i> to play 7.2 | <i>hūtca^v</i> fun 10.5 |
| <i>aswít'v̄</i> blanket | <i>sī'xaⁱ</i> canoe 56.5 |
| <i>ínq!a'aⁱ</i> , <i>ínq!a'v̄</i> , river 30.20, 23 | <i>tsalí'swalí</i> beads (?) |
| <i>umt̄v̄</i> thunder 36.8 | <i>tsít̄v̄ⁱ</i> sand beach |
| <i>ū'tt̄i</i> snow 76.10 | <i>tsō't̄i</i> waves, breakers |
| <i>ham̄v̄'c̄t̄v̄</i> whale 82.4 | <i>tsxv'np̄l̄i</i> coyote 88.9 |
| <i>ha'kw̄i</i> mussels 82.2 | <i>t̄c̄i</i> water 36.20 |
| <i>h̄v̄'aⁱ</i> clouds | <i>t̄c̄!t̄!v̄</i> wind |
| <i>h̄ts̄v̄ⁱ</i> house 25.2 | <i>ts!ū'xw̄i</i> spoon |
| <i>ha^v</i> heart, mind 8.9 | <i>k^εā'n̄i</i> basket 90.21 |
| <i>pk'v̄'t̄i</i> lake 62.18 | <i>q̄a'x̄i</i> chicken-hawk |
| <i>m̄k̄l̄v̄</i> father-in-law | <i>q̄ā'w̄i</i> blood |
| <i>ma'v̄</i> kidney | <i>q^un̄t̄v̄ⁱ</i> perforation in the ear |
| <i>m^aā't̄i</i> chief 10.2 | <i>q^wunax̄v̄ⁱ</i> cheek |
| <i>mā't̄i</i> dam 48.10 | <i>qwo'txaⁱ</i> beaver 48.6 |
| <i>māt!v̄</i> elder brother 58.11 | <i>q!a't̄c̄i</i> cedar |
| <i>m̄s̄v̄'aⁱ</i> elder sister 90.23 | <i>t̄t'v̄'aⁱ</i> salmon 56.1 |
| <i>m̄t̄c̄t̄v̄ⁱ</i> younger sister 40.2 | <i>t̄q!ā's̄i</i> eel |
| <i>m̄!ck'la^v</i> something bad, vulva 26.5 | <i>L!a'aⁱ</i> ground, world, earth, place, many 7.2 |
| <i>tqā't̄i</i> hook | <i>L!v̄'n̄i</i> floor |
| <i>tqv'n̄i</i> smoke | <i>L!xm̄v̄'t̄i</i> bow |

When added to stems that express adjectival ideas, this suffix forms nouns of quality.

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>h̄is</i> good 38.21 | <i>h̄isv̄ⁱ</i> goodness |
| <i>ȳikt</i> big 48.8 | <i>h̄ts̄v̄'sem ȳikt̄v̄ⁱ</i> of the house the large (size) |
| <i>ȳāx-</i> much, many 8.5 | <i>t̄q!ānūⁱm̄l̄ ȳāx̄v̄ⁱ</i> of hides a great number 102.1, 2 |

§ 99. Nouns of Quality in *-t'ūu* (*-t'ūwi*)

There can be little doubt that the vocalic elements of this suffix are identical with the nominalizing suffix discussed in § 97. The etymology of the initial consonantic element is obscure. This suffix is added to adjectives and adverbs only. Owing to the fact that a number of adjectives end in *-t* (see § 104) and that double consonants are invariably simplified, these adjectives drop their final consonant before adding the suffix (see § 15).

haca't long 76.1

lna^{wi} rich 86.4

yikt large 48.8

qa'xân high 8.7

qaⁱn- deep

hîs good 38.21

qaⁱha'n- far 10.3

tcî'nt^{etc} ha'tct'û^u for a long time
(literally, how much its long
period) 48.2

lna^{wi}t'û^{wi} wealth

yikt'û^{wi} large size

qaxânt'û^{wi} height

qaⁱnt'û^{wi} depth

hîst'û^{wi} kindness

qaⁱhan't'û^u distance

§ 100. Nouns of Agency in *-ya^{ux}*, *-îl* (*-aⁱl*), *-t!*, *-t!^{wi}*

Nomina actoris are formed by means of the following suffixes:

-ya^{ux} This suffix seems to have been used frequently.

lak^u- to fetch, to catch 7.5

xûⁿ- to snore 27.9

la'wat!- to gamble

ln- to call (?)

temû'- to gather 7.3

la'k^uky^{ux} sheriff (literally, a
catcher [of people])

xûⁿya^{ux} a snorer

la'wat!^{wi}ya^{ux} a gambler

lnaⁱly^{ux} an interpreter

tema^{wi}ya^{ux} a person who assem-
bles (people) 30.2

-îl (*-aⁱl*). This suffix is easily confounded with the verbal negative suffix of similar phonetic structure (see § 53); but this similarity is purely accidental.

wî'nkî- to work

xîl'xcî'- to work 48.10

xîntm- to travel 12.10

waa'- to speak 7.1

pekû'- to play shinny 9.4

s^èà tsî'k!^{wi}ya wî'nkîl he (is a) very
(good) worker 50.5, 6

xîl'xcîl a workingman

xî'ntmîl a traveler

wa'aⁱl a speaker

pa'kwîl a shinny player

-t! It is quite possible that this suffix may have some connection with the initial element of the suffix for nouns of quality, *-t'û^{wi}* (see § 99).

L!^{wi}n to tell 8.2

tsîL!- to shoot 8.6

yuw- to pick, to dig 96.18

paln- to hunt 82.17

t!^{wi}âmc child, infant 40.20

L!^{wi}n^{t!} an informant

tsîL!^{wi}t! a marksman

yû^{wi}ya^ut! a person who picks (ber-
ries [reduplicated stem])

pal!^{wi}n^{t!} a hunter

t!^{wi}âmct! one who raises children
30.23

§ 100

-t!wî seems to be another form of the preceding suffix.

lak^u- to fetch

. . . *t_E la'k^ut!wî hîtū'tc* this
gatherer of the people 7.5
la'k^ut!wî a fetcher 22.9

§ 101. Nouns in *-ax*

This suffix is used for the purpose of forming nouns from verbal stems, adverbs, and stems denoting geographical terms. When added to verbs or to adverbs, it is best rendered by PERSON, PEOPLE; while when used in connection with geographical terms, it denotes a tribal name and may be translated by INHABITING, BELONGING TO.

xaū' he died 40.21

kūⁱ nâts xā'wa^axa^ūt_E if he had not
been killed (literally, not had he
been a person [who was] killed)
29.7

L!ōx- to send 16.10

tēn ants hîtc L!ōwa'x returned
this human messenger (literally,
returned that person [who was]
sent) 7.7

(*L!ōwa'x* instead of *L!ōwa'xax*, see
§ 24)

a^wstūx he will sleep 27.7

*sⁱn'xyūⁿ_E ts!ūna'tc xawa'a^w a^w-
stūxax* it was desired (that) with
pitch killed shall be the person
(who) will sleep 24.1

wā'nwîts long ago 14.7

nⁱ'tēim s^a'tsa wā'nwîtsax be-
cause thus (did it) the old-timers
(literally, [people belonging to]
long ago) 68.13

nîctēma^amū custom, fashion
36.28

s^atsē'tc wā'nwîtsax nîctēma^amwa^x
thus (was) the custom of the old-
timers (literally, thus [of people
of] long ago the [things pertain-
ing to their] customs) 76.6, 7

pēlⁱ'tc first 32.19

pēlⁱ'tcax a first settler

Lxa^wi-?

Lxa^wyax the other one, friend 42.8

qūⁱ-, *qūⁱ'tc* south

qūⁱyax, *qūⁱ'tcax* an Umpqua Indian
(literally, a person inhabiting
the south)

qpaⁱ- north

qpa'yax an Alsea man

qaⁱxq- east

qaⁱxqax a Kalapuya Indian

pīⁱ'tsîs ocean 44.1

pīⁱ'tsîsax inhabitants of the ocean

ckōⁱ'tc mountain 46.10

ckōⁱ'tcîtcax a mountaineer

§ 102. Nouns in *-ūnî* (*-aūnî*)

This suffix is added to adjectives, a few adverbs used in an adjectival sense, and to nouns. It has a double function. When added to adjectives or to adverbs, it transforms them into nouns, just as any adjective is transformed into a noun by adding ONE to it (compare our phrases THE BIG ONE, THE GOOD ONE, etc.). When used with other nouns, this suffix has an adjectival character, which may be best rendered by MADE OF, COMPOSED OF.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>tex^am</i> strong 10.1 | <i>texmū'nî</i> the strong one, a man 30.21 |
| <i>lxa^u'yax</i> other 42.8 | <i>lxa^uyaxa^u'nî</i> the other one 86.18 |
| <i>yîkt</i> big 48.8 | <i>yîktū'nî</i> the big one |
| <i>sh^at</i> large | <i>sh^atū'nî</i> the larger one 92.18 |
| <i>yāk!-</i> small 38.19 | <i>tū yāk!^a'nî</i> that small one 88.12 |
| <i>îmnî'tc</i> behind 86.11 | <i>îmnîtcū'nî mîctcī'ⁱ</i> the youngest sister 40.2 |
| <i>hî'q!^a</i> beads, Indian dentialia shells 74.19 | <i>hîq!^aaha^u'nî</i> consisting of dentialia shells 78.14 |
| <i>pî'tq^uts</i> coon | <i>pî'tq^utsū'nî tahā'nîk</i> made of raccoon (-hide) quivers 70.23, 24 |
| <i>t!î</i> bear 12.4 | <i>t!îyū'nî tahā'nîk</i> made of bear (-skin) quivers 70.24 |
| <i>k!îx tE'q</i> everything 24.4 | <i>k!îxū'nî tE'q^a'nî hū'tca³'</i> composed of every sort (of) fun 10.5 |
| <i>la'q^laq</i> boards | <i>laq^laq^a'nîtc hîtsī'ⁱ</i> made of some kinds of boards the house 80.7 |

This suffix may be added to verbal stems provided the verb has been changed into an attribute of a following noun.

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| <i>hamx-</i> to tie | <i>u^l hamx^a'nî ants tEha^u'ya</i> and that made of tied grass . . . 8.6 |
|---------------------|---|

§ 103. Nominalizing Suffix Indicating Place *-a^εmū*

This suffix indicates the place where a certain action is performed. When added to stems ending in a velar or palatal consonant, it appears as *-ya^εmū*, and changes the final velar of the stem (*q, q!*) into a palatal *k* (see § 17). After all other consonants it occurs as *-a^εmū*. The short *u*-vowels following velar and palatal consonants disappear before this suffix. It is possible that the final *ū* of the suffix may be related to the general nominalizing suffix *-ū* discussed in § 94 (see § 23).

ma'q'ī- to dance 28.7
ya'q^u'- to see 23.9
pekū' to play shinny 9.4
nīctcat!- to fight
tūhac' to try to buy
lxat- to run 12.3

mekya^emū a dance-hall
yekya^emū a vantage point
pekya^emū a place where shinny is
 played, ball-grounds
nīctcat!a^emū battlefield
tūhac'a^emū a store
lxata^emū track (literally, a place
 where people run)
nīctcīma^emū custom, fashion 29.9

§ 104. Adjectives in -t

Siuslaw has no true adjectives. All stems denoting adjectival ideas are intransitive verbs, and may be used as such, as may be seen from the following examples:

mī'k!a hītc that bad man 23.2,3 *tsī'k!ya mī'k!a* very bad it was
 14.7
hatca't hī'q!a long (strings of) *hatca't ants lqa^u'tū* there was a
 dentalia shells 76.1 tall tree 92.21

Owing to this verbal significance, the Siuslaw adjective shows no special suffixes. A few stems denoting adjectival concepts appear in duplicated form, mostly those expressing color (see § 109). There will be found, however, a number of words expressing attributive ideas that end in -t.¹ Whether this consonant is related to the auxiliary -t (see § 76) or whether it may be looked upon as a true adjectival suffix, is a question open to discussion. The following is a list of such adjectives:

| | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <i>yīkt</i> big, large 48.8 | <i>t'xūlī't</i> straight |
| <i>hawā'tsīt</i> new | <i>sh^at</i> big, old 92.18 |
| <i>hatca't</i> long, tall 76.1 | <i>tsīng!t</i> poor 16.10 |
| <i>hīxt</i> wild | <i>tsīlt</i> thick |
| <i>pā^ala'st²</i> spotted | <i>kī'k'īt</i> heavy 11.9 |
| <i>pīnī't</i> sharp | <i>k!wī'act</i> proud |
| <i>mekt</i> fat 90.16 | <i>q^ucī'ct</i> thin |
| <i>tīmsqayā't</i> bitter, sour | <i>lqut</i> red |
| <i>tīnt</i> ripe | <i>l!āqt</i> wet 56.13 |
| <i>lqatīya't</i> dear, expensive | <i>l!nūwā'tīt</i> deep |

§ 105. Irregular Suffixes -Em, -īsi, -wi, -yūwī, -īwī

These suffixes occur very seldom, and, while their function is to all appearances nominal, it can not be explained accurately.

¹ See also § 124.

² Dorsey: *p'āl-tāst* gray.

-Em occurs with a few nouns.

| | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| <i>ŭlqwa^a'tem</i> root, alder tree | <i>tsamŭ'tsem</i> chin |
| 92.5, 6 | <i>qŭ'ŭ'nem</i> winter 80.19 |
| <i>pŭ'ctcem</i> summer 98.8 | <i>xa''tsem</i> woman's basket |

-ŭsŭ seems to denote an abstract idea.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>pŭn-</i> to be sick 40.21 | <i>pŭnŭ'sŭ</i> sickness, cough |
| <i>qaⁱx</i> dark, night 38.21 | <i>qaⁱxŭ'sŭ</i> darkness, night |
| <i>hwu'nhwun</i> black | <i>hŭ'nŭsŭ</i> dusk |
| <i>nŭ'ctca</i> (?) how 16.2 | <i>nŭ'ctcŭsŭ</i> arrival (?) 40.16 |
| <i>nŭctcŭnwaⁱ</i> spring comes | <i>nŭctcŭnŭ'wŭsŭ</i> year 92.12 |

The following nouns have analogous form:

| | |
|--|------------------------------|
| <i>a^u'tcŭsŭ</i> camas 96.20 | <i>ɿ!nŭ'ŭ'tcŭsŭ</i> crawfish |
| <i>hŭ'xtsnŭsŭ</i> small-pox | |

The nouns *tswa^s'sŭ* FROST and *L^uwa^s'sŭ* NOSE may also belong here.

-wŭ is found in a small number of nouns.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>sŭ'na^uwŭ</i> grouse | <i>k!ŭŭ'xwŭ</i> gnat |
| <i>tsna^awŭ</i> bone | <i>q^uhŭ'qwŭ</i> broom |

In a few instances this suffix seems to form nouns of agency, and may be related to the suffixes discussed in §§ 97 and 99.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>tsxan-</i> to comb one's hair | <i>tsxa'nwŭ</i> a comb |
| <i>qatcŭⁱ</i> to drink 76.12 | <i>qatcwŭ'wŭ</i> a person who waters animals (?) |
| <i>c^uxŭ-</i> to drive away, to scare | <i>cŭxwa'wŭ</i> a driver (?) |
| 56.11 | |
| <i>ŭlq-</i> to dig 80.6 | <i>ŭlqa'wŭ</i> one who digs holes |

-yŭwŭ, -ŭwŭ. These two suffixes have a peculiar function. They seem to denote the nominal object of an action performed by a noun of agency (see § 100). The most puzzling phenomenon connected with their function is the fact that they can be added only to the discriminative form of a noun (see § 111), which seems to stand in direct contradiction to its objective significance, because the discriminative case points to the noun as the subject of the action.

| | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--|
| Absolutive | Discriminative | Objective |
| <i>penŭ's</i> skunk 86.1 | <i>pena's</i> 86.7 | <i>tsŭL!t!</i> <i>penasyŭ'wŭ</i> a skunk-shooter |

| Absolutive | Discriminative | Objective |
|--|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>h̄itc</i> person 7.1 | <i>h̄ya'tc</i> 13.10; 15.2 | <i>ts̄iL!t!</i> <i>h̄yatcū'wî</i> a man-killer <i>tEmā'ya^x h̄yatc̄'wî</i> a gatherer of people |
| <i>swaḷ</i> grizzly bear | <i>swāḷ</i> 15.2 | <i>ts̄iL!t!</i> <i>swāḷyū'wî</i> a grizzly-shooter |
| (?) huckleberries | <i>tE'xya</i> | <i>ḷa'k^ut!wî</i> <i>taxyū'wî</i> a picker of huckleberries |
| <i>qwo'txaⁱ</i> beaver 48.6 | <i>qwoa'txaⁱ</i> 52.4 | <i>ts̄iL!t!</i> <i>qwoatx̄'wî</i> a beaver-killer |

Another nominalizing suffix that seems to be confined to one stem only is *-as* in the noun *wa'as* LANGUAGE, WORD, MESSAGE 34.21, formed from the verbal stem *waa-* TO SPEAK, TO TALK.

Reduplication (§§ 106–109)

§ 106. *Introductory*

Reduplication as a factor in the formation of grammatical categories and processes does not play as important a rôle in Siuslaw as in many other American Indian languages.

Considered from a purely phonetic point of view, the process of reduplication may affect a single sound, a syllable, or the whole word, while from the standpoint of position of the reduplicated elements it may be either initial or final. In accordance with these processes, a given language may show the following possible forms of reduplication: Vocalic or consonantic initial reduplication; consonantic final reduplication, commonly called final reduplication; syllabic reduplication, usually referred to as doubling or reduplication of the syllable; and word-reduplication, better known as repetition of the stem.

Of the forms of reduplication known actually to occur in the American Indian languages, Siuslaw shows only duplication of the (first) syllable, duplication of the final consonant, and repetition of the stem. Syllabic duplication occurs rather seldom, final duplication is resorted to frequently, while repetition of the stem plays a not unimportant part in the formation of words.

Reduplication is confined chiefly to the verb; its use for expressing distribution—a phenomenon commonly found in American Indian languages—is entirely unknown to Siuslaw, which employs this process solely for the purpose of denoting repetition or duration of action.

§ 107. Duplication of the Initial Syllable

This process occurs in a few sporadic instances only. The repeated syllable occurs in its full form, the original syllable losing its vocalic elements. Initial stops of both the original and repeated syllables are usually changed into fortis (see § 17).

tēmū'- to assemble 7.3

t!Emt!ma'xam wàn they come to see him (literally, he is assembled about) 23.3

lī'ū (they) come 9.3

L!īL!wa'xam he is approached 16.3

L!īL!wī'sūtne he is continually approached 26.2

s^aa'tsanx tE L!īL!ūtūts that's why I came (to see) you 21.6, 7

hⁱya'ten^exan L!ī'L!ūts people us came (to see) repeatedly 100.8

taⁱ- to sit, to live 16.2

ants Tsxund'plī t!ī't!yūn (that) on which Coyote was sitting 94.6

hal- to shout 13.11

lhalī'yūsne he would be shouted at 70.22 (this form may be explained as derived from an original *halhalī'yūsne*)

lhalī'txā^ane he is continually shouted at 11.10

yuw- to pick 96.18

yū'ya^{uw}t! one who picks

§ 108. Duplication of Final Consonants

This process is employed extensively, and consists in the repetition of the final consonant with insertion of a weak *a-* or *i-* vowel. In many instances the quality of the connecting vowel is affected by the vowel of the stem. This is especially true in cases where the stem ends in a *u*-vowel, after which the connective vowel is assimilated and becomes a weak *u*. The short vowel of the stem is not infrequently changed into a long vowel. This duplication plays an important part in the formation of the past tense (see § 74), and, in addition to denoting frequency and duration of action, it seems to be capable of expressing commencement, especially of intransitive actions.

a^us- to sleep 23.9

a^usⁱs he began to sleep 26.9

qax dark 38.21

qāⁱxⁱx wā'nwīts it got dark long ago 64.19

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>xînt-</i> to go 20.3 | ^u l wàn <i>xîntî't</i> he kept on going now 56.23 |
| <i>sLōx^u-</i> to go down | ^u l <i>sLōxu'a^u wîL!a'xL!</i> he came down again 12.6 |
| <i>ha'q</i> shore 44.7 | <i>ha'qa'q wan</i> he then went ashore 58.17 |
| <i>loqw-</i> to boil 96.1 | ^u l <i>txū lōqwa'q^u</i> and just he was boiling 96.7, 8 |
| <i>mî'k!a</i> bad 14.7 | <i>mîk!a'k!</i> <i>ants tsaxayū'wi</i> began to get rough that weather 64.15 |
| <i>smūt^t-</i> to end 11.1 | <i>wàn smūt'a't</i> it ends finally 9.1 |
| <i>tēit^t-</i> to blow 94.5 | <i>tēit'a't</i> the wind blew 94.5 |
| <i>hūt^c-</i> to play 7.2 | ^u t ^{nx} <i>āL hūtca'tc</i> and they now began to play 72.23, 24 |
| <i>k!ap-</i> low water 36.18 | <i>k!āpî'p</i> low water (comes) |
| <i>xwîL!-</i> to go back 42.6 | <i>xwîL!a'L! wàn</i> he finally came back 12.7 |
| <i>nał-</i> to start | <i>sqā'tem nālî'l</i> he started from there 68.10 |
| <i>hî'q!-</i> to start 22.6 | <i>s'a'tsa hî'q!aq!yax</i> thus it began 15.1 |
| <i>łak^u-</i> to take 7.5 | ^u ł ^{ux} <i>łakwa'kū^un</i> they two took (them) away 52.16 |
| <i>xumc-</i> to come, to approach | <i>łakwa'kū^un</i> they two took (them) away 52.16 |
| <i>hîts-</i> to put on 11.8 | <i>ła'kukyax</i> she took 60.23 |
| <i>tū'tc-</i> to spear 62.2 | <i>xumca'ca^{ux} wàn</i> they two are approaching now 23.2 |
| <i>tcaq-</i> to spear 68.18 | <i>h'yatsî'tsūn ants ła'iqat</i> he is putting that feather on 11.8 |
| <i>yax-</i> to see 20.10 | <i>t^owatcî'tcūna^{ux}</i> they two began to spear it 56.15, 16 |
| <i>qnūⁱ-</i> to find 56.9 | <i>t^owa'tcîtcyaxa^{un}</i> I have been spearing it 66.17 |
| | ^u ł ^{ux} <i>tcaqa'qa^{un}</i> and they two began to spear it 56.19 |
| | ^u ł ^{ux} <i>yaxî'xūn</i> they two saw it 56.15 |
| | ^u ł ⁿ <i>qnūhū'hū^{un}</i> I am finding it |

A very interesting case of duplication applied to formative elements is presented by the nominal suffix *-ax*. This suffix signifies PEOPLE, BELONGING TO, and, when added to the adverb *wā'nwîts* LONG AGO, it was invariably rendered by OLD-TIMERS (see § 101). Whenever the speaker wants to imply the intensive idea PEOPLE OF VERY LONG AGO, he usually repeats this suffix.

wā'nwîtsax old-timer 68.13 *wā'nwîtsaxax* people of long, long ago 29.9
s²a'tsa xnîw'nūtnE *wā'nwîtsaxax*
 thus it was done (by) people of long, long ago 62.9
wā'nwîtsaxax nîctîma^smū (of) old, old-timers their custom 68.19

Similarly the modal *-îtc* (see § 94) is found repeated in a few instances.

tcā where 34.4 *tcāîtcî'tc nî'ctūx* where he will go 64.20

§ 109. Duplication of Stems

While this process is, strictly speaking, of a lexicographical character, and as such ought to be treated more properly under the heading "Vocabulary" (see § 137), it will nevertheless be found useful to give here a list of doubled stems. Barring a few nouns, most of these terms are adjectives denoting color and quality.

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>hwu'nhwun</i> black | <i>qa'sqas</i> stiff, hard |
| <i>pxū'pxū</i> sorrel, yellow | <i>qu' LquL</i> white 40.10, 11 |
| <i>tu'ktuk</i> deaf | <i>qtsî'nqtsîn</i> blue, green |
| <i>'n'k!'nk'</i> soft | <i>xu'sxus</i> naked |
| <i>kî'k'ît</i> heavy 11.9 | <i>îma'tîm</i> blind |
| <i>pūna'pūna'</i> gopher, mole 96.19 | <i>tsîni' Ltsîni' L²</i> little beaver (?) 50.15 |
| <i>mū'smūs</i> cow ¹ | <i>tcîmtca'mî</i> ax 27.10 |
| <i>t!'a'l't!'al'</i> tongue | <i>qu'la'L'qu'la'L</i> otter from ocean (?) |
| <i>tsîyî'ktsîyî'k</i> wagon ¹ | <i>laqlaq</i> board 80.7 |

Vocalic Changes (§§ 110–112)

§ 110. Introductory

Siuslaw expresses two distinct grammatical categories by means of vocalic change. Of these two categories, one is nominal, while the other has a strictly verbal character pertaining to intensity and frequency of action. When applied to nouns, vocalic change expresses the discriminative case.

¹Chinook jargon.

²Chinook.

§ 111. *The Discriminative Case*

The discriminative case is that form of the noun which singles it out as the performer of an action directed upon an object; i. e., it designates the nominal subject in sentences containing pronominal or nominal object.

The discriminative form of pronouns and of nouns of relationship is expressed by means of the prefix *q-* (see § 21). All other nouns express the discriminative form by means of a vocalic change that varies according to the quantity of the stem-vowel, and in polysyllabic stems according to the quantity of the vowel of the accented syllable. The following rules may be said to apply in all cases:

1. The discriminative form of nouns the stem-vowel of which is a long *ī* or *ū* is obtained through the diphthongization of these vowels into *ya* and *wa* respectively (see § 7). For purely physiological reasons a weak vowel corresponding to the quality of the diphthongized vowel is inserted between the diphthong and its preceding consonant.

hītc person, people 7.1

^u*ī ya'q^uyūn hīya'tc* and people looked on 70.4

ī'tcst cougar 13.3

ī'ya'tcst hīyatsī'tsūn Cougar put it on 13.4

mī'k'a bad 14.7

mī'ya'k'a hīya'tc ī'tī'a'yūn a bad person devoured him 15.2

hīq^u wild-cat 34.17

hīyatsī'tsūn hīya'q^u Wild-Cat put it on 11.11

lk!anū'k^u screech-owl 86.1

tsī'k!ya wī'nxa^{ūn} ants penī's lk!an^uwa'k^u Screech-Owl feared that Skunk very much 86.3

hīna^{wūn} ants pīna'st lk!an^uwa'k^u Screech-Owl intended to take along that sick man 88.1, 2

qīūtē'wī woman 30.21

ē'l'xūn qīūtē'wī (a) woman shook him 58.4

texmū'wī man 30.21

wī'lūn texmū'wī (the) man agreed with her 58.7

tsaxayū'wī sun, day 8.1

mītkwī'tūtsīn tsaxayū'wī (the) Sun had pity on me 72.14

Somewhat irregular discriminative forms are shown by the nouns *tīlī* GRIZZLY BEAR and *qī'ūtē* WIFE, which occur as *tī'īya'* and *qa'yūtē* respectively.

t!i grizzly bear 12.4

q̄v'ūtc wife 48.17

t!i'ya' *h'yatsi'tsūn* Grizzly Bear
put it on 12.3

ma^{atc} *q̄d'yūtc^{atc}* (he and) his wife
had lain 60.13

2. Nouns with short stem-vowels, or with short vowels in the accented syllable, change these vowels into an *a* in their discriminative forms. Short *a*-vowels of the stem are lengthened into *ā*.

pEni's skunk 86.1

tsi'sqan deer 13.9

qwo'txaⁱ beaver 48.6

p̄l̄q^{uts} raccoon 70.23, 24

q!a'xa^{xt} wolf 13.2

swāl grizzly bear

sqūma' pelican 44.1

!na^{wi} *hītc* *ul* *lqaqa^v* *txa^{ūn}* *pEna's*
(at) a rich man he always broke
his wind, (namely) Skunk 86.6, 7
h'yatsi'tsūn *tsa'sq̄n* Deer put it on
13.8

a'tsa *ul* *kumī'ntc* *s̄i'n'xyūn* *qwoa't-*
xaⁱ¹ *ants* *q^uL'i'tc* that's why not
liked Beaver that Otter 54.8, 9
p̄d'l̄q^{uts} *h'yatsi'tsūn* Raccoon put
it on

q!ā'xa^{xt} *h'yatsi'tsūn* Wolf put it
on 12.8

swāl *l̄i't!* *a'yūn* Grizzly Bear de-
voured them 15.2

waa'a^{ūn} *sqūmā'* *ants* *l̄q!al'v'mā*
said Pelican to Sea-Gull 44.17

3. Stems containing diphthongs, or stems whose accented syllables end in the diphthong *aⁱ*, add a short *a* to the diphthong for the purpose of forming the discriminative case.

ha^vmūt all 9.5

ha^vna different 58.9

haya^vmūt *h'ya'tc* *L!xū'yūn* all peo-
ple know it 60.24, 25

yaq^u'yī^wyūtsatcē *haya^vmūt* you all
shall look at me 72.11, 12

haya^vna *h'yatsi'tsūn* another (one)
put it on 12.8

4. Polysyllabic stems whose accented syllable ends in a consonant and is followed by a syllable beginning with a consonant form the discriminative case by inserting a short *a* between these two consonants.

tsxu'nplī coyote 88.9

texm̄l'l'mä old people 58.25

ants *Tsxuna'plī* *t!i't!* *yūn* that (on
which) he was sitting, (namely)
Coyote 94.6

texm̄l'l'mä *L!xū'yūn* an old man
knew it 76.15, 16

¹ Probably misheard for *qwa'txaⁱ*.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>um'li</i> thunder | <i>s^xatsi'tc wad'a^un uma'li</i> thus said to him Thunder 36.9 |
| <i>qūtcē'l·mä</i> old woman 96.15 | <i>qūtcēl'a'mi ta'yūn ants tsī'l'i</i> the old woman kept that arrow 96.2 |
| <i>tcē'nta^u</i> which one 90.1 | <i>tcēna'ta^u sī'n'xyaxa^un ants . . .</i> whoever wanted that . . . 11.6, 7 |

§ 112. *Intensity and Duration of Action*

Vocalic change as a means of expressing intensive and durative actions is of a twofold character. The change consists either in the diphthongization of the long *i*- and *u*- vowels of the stem (see § 7), or in stem-amplification. In both cases the underlying principle may be described as the change of a monosyllabic root into a stem having two syllables.

Diphthongization is applied to those stems only whose vowels are either long *i* or *u*. A verbal stem with a diphthongized vowel expresses durative actions only in connection with other proper devices, such as the temporal suffixes or duplication of final consonants (see §§ 41, 56, 69, 108). Owing to the fact that certain temporal suffixes—namely the inchoative, the frequentative, the durative, the present, the future, and the imperative—imply to a certain extent intensive actions, or actions that are being performed continually, the suffixes for these tenses are frequently found added to the verbal stem whose vowel has been diphthongized, while all other tenses are formed from the simple root.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| <i>L'ōn-</i> to tell 16.9 | <i>s^xatsi'tc L'wa^an</i> thus he was speaking 16.6 |
| <i>kū'n-</i> to bend down | <i>u^l txū kwa^{hu}nt</i> and (they) would just bend down 11.9 |
| <i>tkūm-</i> to close, to shut 48.8 | <i>u^l kwa^{hu}na't'ist</i> and he would continually lower his head 13.5 |
| <i>tū'tc-</i> to spear 62.2 | <i>u^lns tkwa'misūn</i> and we two shall keep on making dams (literally, closing [the river]) 48.14 |
| <i>qū'n-</i> to pour 29.2 | <i>t^owa'tcīs wān</i> spear it now! 64.2 |
| <i>L'ōx-</i> to send 16.10 | <i>t^owatcē'tcūna^ux</i> they two are spearing it 56.15, 16 |
| | <i>qwa'nyūx</i> pour it into his . . . ! 29.2 |
| | <i>L'ōwa'xyūn</i> (I) shall keep on sending (them) 30.19 |

L!xū- to know 19.9

lak^u- to take, to get 7.5

hīts- to put on 11.8

cīt^x- to flop

īlqaⁱ' he digs 84.2

tsīL!- to shoot 8.6

L!x^uwa'x^uyūtsa'tcī you shall know me 30.17

wàn lakwa'kūⁿ now (they two) were taking them 52.16

hⁱyatsī'tsūn he is putting it on 11.8

cⁱyats it is flopping 36.23

ya'lqaⁿ (they two) are digging (holes) 84.5

tsⁱyaL!- to shoot

Intensity and duration of action of verbal stems whose root-vowels are vowels of quantities and qualities other than *ī* and *ū* are expressed by means of amplification of the root by the insertion of a weak vowel between its two final consonants. This process occurs in a few rare instances.

anx- to give up 60.11

hamx- to tie 8.6

xnī^wn- to do 10.5

kumⁱ'ntcīnl ana'xyūn not we shall give it up 16.8

k!^εLūn hama'xyūn tomorrow I will tie it up

s^εa'tsa^wxūn xnīyūnī^w'yūn thus to them two I will do it 88.14, 15

s^εa'tsa^wxūn xnīyuna^wūn thus to them two I intend doing it

Another example of stem-amplification for the purpose of expressing duration of action is furnished by the stem *aⁱq-* TO LEAVE, which is changed into *ayaq-*.

ta^vk^εns aya'qyūn here we two (incl.) will leave it 56.16, 17

Stem-amplification may have also caused the change of the root *L!xmaⁱ-* TO KILL into *L!xmīyaⁱ-*.

yā^a'xaⁱ hītc L!xmīya'yūn ants Swāł many people he is killing, that Grizzly Bear 94.9

L!xmīya'yūnanł we (incl.) are going to kill him 28.3

Siuslaw possesses a number of stems that occur in such double forms, and I give here a few of the most important.

L!ōn- 16.9

kūⁿ-

tkūm- 48.8

tūⁱtc- 62.2

qūⁿ- 29.2

L!waⁿ- to tell 16.6

kwa^hn- to lower one's head 11.9

tkwam- to close, to shut 48.14

t^owatc- to spear 56.15

qwaⁿ- to pour 29.2

L!ōw- 16.10*k^uts-**Lōl-**ka^us-* 92.7*ūt-* 76.10*lak^u-* 7.5*xaū'-* 40.21*haū'-* 11.4*t!^u'-* 74.5*t!^E'mxaū^u-* 48.12*wī'tū-* 58.7*yax-* 40.11*hīts* 11.8*hīn-* 9.5*īlq-* 80.6*tsīL!-* 8.6*q!^u'p-**cīt^x-* 36.23*īt!-* 13.10*tcīⁱn-* 12.10*aⁱq-**hamax-* 8.6*anax-* 60.11*xnī^wn-* 10.5*L!xū-* 19.9*L!xmaⁱ-**L!^owax-* to send 7.7*kwats-* to paint one's face*L^owal-* to strike*kⁱwas-* to follow 92.3*walt-* to snow*lakwa'-* to take, to get, to fetch
52.16*xawa'-* to die 15.5*ha'wa-* to be ready 23.10*t!^uha'-* to buy 74.5*t!^Emxa-* to cut into pieces*wīlwa'-* to agree 30.11*ya'xa-* to see 20.10*hⁱyats-* to put on 11.7*hⁱyan-* to take along*yalq-* to dig 84.5*tsⁱyaL!-* to shoot*q!^uyap-* to twinkle 36.14*cⁱyat^x-* to flop 36.23*īⁱyat!-* to eat*tcⁱyan-* to come back*aya'q-* to leave 56.5*hamax-* to tie*ana'x-* to give up 16.8*xnī^yn-* to do 88.14, 15*L!x^wwa-* to know 30.17*L!x^mīyaⁱ-* to kill 28.3

Amplification of the stem seems to have been used in a few instances for the purpose of expressing intransitive actions performed by the third person singular. It will be remembered that this person has no special suffix, the same being understood in the stem or in the verbal suffixes. In some cases, however, Siuslaw adds a weak *a* to the stem, provided the same is not followed by any of the subjective suffixes (see § 24).

haū' to quit, to be ready 28.2 *wā'nwīts ha'wa* long ago it (was)
ready 23.10*xaū'-* to die 22.5 *txūn xa'wa sⁱnⁱxyūt^{nE}* just I to
die am wanted 20.8, 9*yax-* to see 40.11 *txūn^x ya'xa sⁱnⁱxyūt^{nE}* merely
thou to (be) see(n) art wanted
20.10

t!ū'- to buy

tsa'ntcî tū'ha s'n'xyūn if you to
buy want her 74.8

waa'- to speak 7.1

ʷ waa' and he said 12.10

In one instance the quality of this weak vowel has been assimilated to that of the stem-vowel.

tqūl- to shout 92.6

mîta'to^wax ants tqūlū' waa' their
(dual) father, that one shouted
(and) said (*tqū'lu* instead of
tqū'la) 52.8

The Pronoun (§§ 113–115)

§ 113. *The Independent Personal Pronouns*

The independent personal pronouns occur primarily in two forms, according to whether they are used as subjects or objects of an action; but, owing to the fact that from the subjective pronouns there is obtained by means of the prefix *q-* (see § 21) a discriminative form, the independent personal pronouns may be said to have three distinct forms—the discriminative, subjective, and objective or locative sets. Both the discriminative and subjective pronouns refer to the subject of the sentence, differing, however, in so far as the former applies to subjects of transitive actions, while the latter is used mostly in connection with intransitive verbs. The discriminative form, moreover, is employed whenever the sentence absolutely requires that subjectivity of action be indicated (see §§ 21, 111). To be sure, cases where the subjective pronouns are used with transitive verbs are by no means rare.

Siuslaw, like so many other Indian languages, has no distinct pronoun for the third person singular, this person being supplied by the demonstrative pronouns *s^ɛà*, *s^ɛa'na*, *s^ɛàs* (see § 115). The first person dual has two separate forms, one for the inclusive (I AND THOU), and the other for the exclusive (I AND HE). Similarly, in the first person plural are distinguished the inclusive (I AND YE) and exclusive (I AND THEY).

These pronouns perform the function of a whole sentence, and may be rendered by I, THOU, HE, etc., AM THE ONE WHO. . . .

The tabular presentation of the independent personal pronouns is as follows:

| | | Subjective | Objective | Discriminative |
|---------------|-------------------|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| Singular. . . | {1st person . . . | <i>na'han, nà</i> | <i>nàtc</i> | <i>qna'han, qnà</i> |
| | {2d person . . . | <i>nīxats</i> | <i>nīx^atc</i> | <i>qnīxats</i> |
| | {3d person. . . | <i>s^Eà</i> | <i>s^Ea'ina, s^Ea'inatc</i> | <i>s^Eàs</i> |
| Dual. . . . | {Inclusive . . . | <i>nans</i> | <i>na'tc^Ens</i> | <i>qnans</i> |
| | {Exclusive . . . | <i>na'xân</i> | <i>na'tca'xân</i> | <i>qna'xân</i> |
| | {2d person . . . | <i>nīxats</i> | <i>nī'xtc^Ets</i> | <i>qnīxats</i> |
| | {3d person . . . | <i>s^Ea'wax, s^Eaux</i> | <i>s^Ea'ina'tcaux</i> | <i>s^Ea'saux</i> |
| Plural. . . . | {Inclusive . . . | <i>nanl</i> | <i>na'tcⁱnl</i> | <i>qnanl</i> |
| | {Exclusive . . . | <i>na'nzan</i> | <i>na'tcⁱnzan</i> | <i>qna'nzan</i> |
| | {2d person . . . | <i>nī'xats^Etci</i> | <i>nī'xtc^Etci</i> | <i>qnī'xats^Etci</i> |
| | {3d person . . . | <i>s^Eânz</i> | <i>s^Ea'ina'tcⁱnz</i> | <i>s^Eas^Enz</i> |

This table shows that the independent pronouns are derived from two stems—*nà* for the first persons, and *nīx* or *nīxats* for the second persons; the first singular and all dual and plural persons being obtained by suffixing the subjective pronouns for these persons (see § 24) to the singular forms. Thus the inclusive and exclusive dual *nans* and *naxân* are composed of the first person singular *nà* and of the subjective suffixes *-ns* and *-xân*. In like manner the inclusive and exclusive plural *nanl* and *na'nzan* consist of *nà* + *-nl* and *nà* + *-nzan* respectively.

The second person dual *nīxats* is abbreviated from an original *nī'xats^Ets*. This abbreviation is due to simplification of double consonants (see § 15), causing a phonetic similarity between the pronouns for the second person singular and dual. In order to avoid possible confusion, duality of subject is indicated by suffixing to the verb the subjective pronouns for the second person dual. The second person plural is regular, consisting of the singular form for the second person plus the subjective suffix plural for that person.

The third persons dual and plural are obtained by adding the subjective pronouns for these persons to the subjective form of the demonstrative pronoun *s^Eà*.

The objective forms of the personal pronouns—that is to say, those forms that are used as objects of a sentence—are formed by adding to the subjective pronouns the local suffix indicating motion *-tc* (see § 90). The form for the second person singular is the result of an abbreviation from an original *nī'xats^Etc* caused perhaps by a reduction of the cluster of final consonants.

It will be noticed that the subjective suffixes employed in the formation of the corresponding dual and plural persons are added after the adverbial *-tc*, a trait which Siuslaw has in common with the Alsea language. The objective pronouns for the third persons have as their basis the corresponding forms of the demonstrative pronoun.

For the sake of emphasis the subjective suffixed pronouns are sometimes used in addition to the independent forms.

Examples of subjective pronouns:

na'han *ʷn ts̄l!*⁴*ya's* I have an arrow (literally, I am the one who

[I] is arrow-having) 50.16

a'tsan *tE nà* *L!*¹*ōxa'xam* that's why this I was sent 21.8

na'han *a'nts^{Enx} s!*¹*n'xyūts* I am that one whom you wanted 40.14

*kum!*¹*ntc̄n* *nà n̄ctc̄!*¹*tc wa'a!*¹ not I anything will say (literally, not I, I am the one who anything will say) 74.9

*k!*¹*ixa'* *nà* alone (was) I 100.3

*n̄x^{ats} ʷ^{Enx} qan!*¹*nal h̄!*¹*n̄s̄it̄* you'll take along your knife (literally, you are the one, you, knife take along will, yours) 50.16,

17

*n̄x^{ats} ʷ!*¹*t!*¹*a'* you are eating

*ʷ!*¹*s^à p̄t̄!*¹*tc̄!*¹*tūx* and he will be first 10.1

nans *h̄!*¹*sa* we two (incl.) are well

*na'*¹*x̄an x̄!*¹*ts!*¹*ū* we two (excl.) are two 36.15

s^aux *ata's* *L!*¹*x̄!*¹*yūn* they two only knew it 98.9

s^anx *ts̄!*¹*k!*¹*ya L!*¹*x̄!*¹*yūn* they very (well) know it 72.1, 2

Examples of objective pronouns:

*kum!*¹*ntc̄ h̄!*¹*sa n̄tc̄* it is not good for me 12.2

*ʷn*¹*x n̄tc̄ L!*¹*wis* then you shall come to me 44.6

*kum!*¹*ntc̄ h̄!*¹*sa n̄!*¹*x^{tc̄}* it (does) not (look) good on you 12.5

*kum!*¹*ntc̄ na!*¹*tc^{Ens} s!*¹*n'xya tE q̄!*¹*ūtc̄!*¹*n̄!* not us two (incl.) like these women 52.13

Examples of objective and discriminative pronouns for the third persons will be found under "Demonstrative Pronouns" (see § 115), while the discriminative pronouns for the first and second persons have been illustrated in § 21.

§ 114. The Possessive Pronouns

The independent possessive pronouns are compound forms consisting of the following three separate elements: the independent personal pronoun (see § 113), the relative case-ending *-Eml* (see § 87),

and the sign of possession $-i$ (see § 88). The sign of possession is not present in forms that express the third persons as the possessor. To these compound forms are added the suffixed subjective pronouns (see § 24) for the purpose of indicating the person of the possessor. The suffixed pronouns, to be sure, agree always with the independent pronouns that form the initial elements of the compound. The following peculiarities will be observed in connection with the pronominal forms that enter into the composition of the independent possessive pronouns:

1. For the first and second persons (singular, dual and plural) the subjective forms of the independent pronoun are used. The stems na and nix are employed for that purpose.

2. For the third person (singular, dual and plural) the objective form of the independent pronoun ($s^E a' na$) is used.

3. Singularity, duality, or plurality of the person is expressed, not in the initial pronominal element, but in the suffixed subjective pronoun. Consequently the initial element remains unchanged for all numbers.

Owing to the fact that Siuslaw has no distinct subjective suffix for the third person singular, the suffix $-tc$ is added without the aid of the sign of possession $-i$. Duality and plurality of the third person are indicated by adding to $-tc$ the subjective suffixes $-a'x$ and $-nx$ respectively.

In § 88 the fact has been mentioned that possessive phrases are verbalized by adding the auxiliary suffix $-t$ (see § 76) to the sign of possession. This $-t$ often figures in the composition of the independent possessive pronouns, especially those for the first and second persons.

The following table shows the independent possessive pronouns:

| | | |
|------------------|--|---|
| Singular | { 1st person { 2d person { 3d person | $na'm^E \tilde{t}in, na'm^E \tilde{t}it\tilde{t}in$ $n\tilde{i}'zaml\tilde{t}inx, n\tilde{i}'zaml\tilde{t}it\tilde{t}inx$ $s^E a'ina'm\tilde{t}ic, s^E a'ina'm\tilde{t}$ |
| Dual | { Inclusive { Exclusive { 2d person { 3d person | $na'm^E \tilde{t}ins, na'm^E \tilde{t}it\tilde{t}ins$ $na'm^E \tilde{t}ix\tilde{a}n, na'm^E \tilde{t}itax\tilde{a}n$ $n\tilde{i}'zaml\tilde{t}its, n\tilde{i}'zaml\tilde{t}it\tilde{t}its$ $s^E a'ina'm\tilde{t}icwax$ |
| Plural | { Inclusive { Exclusive { 2d person { 3d person | $na'm^E \tilde{t}in\tilde{t}, na'm^E \tilde{t}it\tilde{t}in\tilde{t}$ $na'm^E \tilde{t}inxan, na'm^E \tilde{t}itinxan$ $n\tilde{i}'zaml\tilde{t}itct, n\tilde{i}'zaml\tilde{t}it\tilde{t}ct$ $s^E a'ina'm\tilde{t}icn^E x$ |

It will be noticed that the obscure *E* of the relative suffix *-eml* has been contracted with the preceding vowels of *nà* and *s^Ea'ⁱna* into a clear *a*-vowel (see § 9). The weak vowel in *na'm^Elìn*, *na'm^Elìns*, etc., is due to the law of sound-groupings (see § 4).

The third person singular often loses its distinct suffix for that person (*-te*). This loss is due to the fact that the form *s^Ea'ⁱna'ml* is in itself capable of expressing a possessive idea that has the third person as its possessor.

These possessive pronouns have the force of a whole sentence, and may be properly translated by IT IS MINE, IT IS THINE, etc. They are frequently used for the sake of emphasis in addition to the possessive suffixes that are added to nouns, and in such cases invariably precede the nominal concept.

wa'aⁱs^Enx na'm^Elìtìn wa'as you shall continually speak (with) my language 36.13

na'm^Elìn q!ⁱà'ùl my pitch, this is my pitch

na'm^Elìtìn lkwa'nuq^u this is my hat

na'm^Elìn mîtà (he) is my father

nî'xamlìnx kō'tan your horse

nî'xamlìnx mîlà (she is) your mother

s^Ea'ⁱna'ml^{te} wa'as wa'^asyaxa^un his language he had spoken 36.14

s^Ea'ⁱna'ml^{te} Lad' his mouth

s^Ea'ⁱna'ml kō'tan his horse

na'm^Elìns kō'tan our (dual, incl.) horses

na'm^Elìxân tēL our (dual, excl.) hands

nî'xamlìts kwîyō's your (dual) dog

s^Ea'ⁱna'ml^{te}^wax kō'tan their (dual) horse

na'm^Elìnl kō'tan our (plural, incl.) horses

na'm^Elìnxan tē'q our (plural, excl.) relative 102.5

nî'xamlìtē' tē'q your (plural) relatives

s^Ea'ⁱna'ml^{te}ⁱnx qal'te their (plural) knives

§ 115. *The Demonstrative Pronouns*

Although Siuslaw has a number of stems that are used as demonstrative pronouns, there could not be detected in them such categories as visibility or invisibility, presence or absence, nearness to or remoteness from the speaker. It is true that in some instances the informant would render a certain demonstrative pronoun as indicating nearness or remoteness; but this rendering was invariably caused by

the leading character of my questions, and never appeared spontaneously.

The demonstrative pronouns, however, present another striking feature that is not commonly found in the American Indian languages. This feature consists in the fact that some of them occur in two distinct forms, one being used with subjects of the sentence, while the other is applied to objects only. This fact serves as another instance illustrating the extent to which the category of subjectivity and objectivity permeates this language.

The following demonstrative pronouns have been found in Siuslaw:

tā^ak has been invariably rendered by THIS, and in some instances by HERE. It may be used in connection with subjects and objects alike. Duality and plurality of subjects and objects are indicated by the suffixation of the subjective pronouns *-a^{ux}* and *-nx* respectively (see § 24).

tā^ak peni's this skunk

tā^ak tēxmū'nî this man

tš'k!ya hīs tē'q tā'kîn lakwa'kūn (a) very good thing this here I
have obtained 72.15, 16

L!owa'xan tā'kîn lîū' as a messenger here I come 17.6, 7

tā^a'kwax qa'tē'ntūx these two will go 32.10, 11

tā^a'k'nx tēxmū'nî these men

tE applies to subjects and objects. There can be no doubt that it is an abbreviated form of the demonstrative pronoun *tā^ak* (see above). It was usually rendered by THIS or THE. When followed by the subjective pronouns (see § 24), the obscure vowel assumes a clear tinge and appears as a distinct *a*-vowel.

u' meqla'v'tx ha'qmas lîya'wa tE lk!anū'ku and she danced near
the fire, this Screech-Owl 86.11, 12

lîha'yax tE lîya'a^v it passed (by), this fire 32.19

tš'k'n tE ta' this here is my house (literally, here I, this one, live)
58.8

s^a'tsa hī'tē'tc nîctēma^emu tE tî that's why bear acts like a per-
son (literally, thus [of a] person his fashion [has] the bear) 60.26

wî'nxa^un tE peni's she was afraid of this skunk 86.1

hîna'yūn tE mî'kla hîtc he took along this bad man 23.2, 3

nî'tcax tanx yā'a'xa' qāttx why do you cry much (literally, how [is
it that] you this, much cry) 94.16, 17

s^ʔa'tsa tanx sⁱ'nⁱxyūtne that's why this you are wanted 18.4
lakwa'ūltax^{ux} ta'tc^{wax} qv'ūtc ta^{ux} tsīm'l'ū qvoa'txa^{wax} taken
 away (were) these their (dual) wives, (namely of) them two,
 Beaver and Muskrat 52.3, 4
 *ta'n^{xan} hūtcū'* (as) these we (here) play 70.12

In some instances this pronoun may have a verbal force, and is then best rendered by THIS WHO. . . .

s^ʔa'tsa l'tla'^v tE ta'^vyax thus ate those who lived (there) 82.12

s^ʔàs is used with subjects of transitive verbs only, and seems to have a distinct discriminative character. In this capacity it exercises the function of the missing independent pronoun for the third person (see § 113). It may either precede or follow the verb, although there is a prevailing tendency to place it at the end of the sentence. It may be translated by THIS OR HE.

u^l l'tla'yūn s^ʔàs and he devours him 94.10

mⁱ'k!a tE'q xaū'ūn s^ʔàs bad something this (one) had killed 96.12,
 13

s^ʔàs k^unà c^uxū'yūn ants l'^vaⁱ he, perhaps, has scared away that
 salmon 56.11

s^ʔàs qata'yūn ants lxaū' he hooks that spear 64.7

s^ʔa's^ʔnt k!ⁱxa'yūts he killed us 28.3

s^ʔà refers to subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs. The difference between this pronoun and the above discussed *s^ʔàs* lies in the strictly discriminative character of the latter. It may best be rendered by THIS, HE, and is mostly employed as a personal pronoun for the third person singular (see § 113). Duality and plurality of the subject are indicated by suffixing to *s^ʔà* the subjective pronouns *-a^{ux}* and *-nx* respectively (see § 24).

s^ʔà tExmū'nî this man

u^l tsīm s^ʔà ya'q^uyūn always he sees it 68.22

u^l s^ʔà pEl'ⁱtc'^{tūx} and that one will be first 10.1

s^ʔa^{ux} ata's l!xū'yūn l'ⁱ!aⁱ these two only know (where) food (is)
 98.9

s^ʔànx ts'^v!k!ya l!xū'yūn hūtcū'^u these very (well) know (how to)
 play 72.1, 2

In four instances this pronoun has been used as referring to objects. I believe this use to be the result of erroneous application on the part of the informant. The examples follow.

s^ɛà *l!xū'yūn lk'an^uwa'k^u* him she knows, Screech-Owl 86.7
s^ɛà *^uln qī'ūtē hawa'yūn* that one I (will my) wife make 90.1, 2
s^ɛà *ata's ants ma'q!īnūtne* (for) him only the dance was arranged
 28.7
towa'tēis wān s^ɛà yīkī'l'mā spear now that big (one)! 64.2

s^ɛa'na refers to objects only, and serves as the objective form of the missing personal pronoun for the third person (see § 113). Hence it may be rendered by THIS, THAT, HIM. By adding the subjective suffixes to it (see § 24), the dual and plural persons for this pronoun are obtained.

yā'xaⁱ hīte plnāⁱtx haⁱ s^ɛa'na many people were sorry for that
 15.4
kum'ntcīn nā nīctcī'tē wa'aⁱl pēlī'tē s^ɛa'na not I anything will
 say first (without) her 74.9
s^ɛa'tsa^{ux} ūⁱ kum'ntē tē'q s^ɛa'na^{ux} that's why they two (cared)
 nothing about them two 54.11, 12

tū, tū'a, a demonstrative pronoun that may best be rendered by THAT ONE. It denotes subjects and objects alike. A comparison between this pronoun and the previously discussed *s^ɛà* suggests that the initial elements *t* and *s* may be petrified prefixes having the function of demonstrative pronouns. This assertion receives further substantiation from the fact that Siuslaw forms, in analogy to *s^ɛàs*, a discriminative pronoun *tū'as*, and that it has two other demonstrative stems whose initial elements are *t*- and *s*- respectively. These pronouns are *tū'a^t* THAT KIND and *s^ɛa^t* THIS KIND, and they may be explained as being composed of *t*- (*tū*-) + *a^t* and *s*- + *a^t*. The function of the second element can not be explained. The *t*- occurs, furthermore, independently as *tē* (see p. 580).¹

The pronoun *tū, tū'a*, occurs also in dual and plural forms, obtained by adding the subjective suffixes *-a^{ux}* and *-n^x* (see § 24) to it.

tū yāk!a^ūnī qīūtē'ū'nī that small(est) woman 88.12
kum'ntē hīs tū tēxmū'nī not good (is) that man 90.23; 92.1
tū'a tēxmū'nī that man
qna'n^{xan} lēlū'yūn tū'a^{ux} xā'ts!ū we (incl.) are hitting those two
tū'an^x tēxmū'nī those men
lēlū'yūtsīn tū'as that one is hitting me
tū'a^t that (is the) kind 102.2
kum'ntē hīs nātē tē s^ɛa^t l!a^{ai} not good (is for) me this kind (of
 a) place 44.4, 5

¹ The *s* as a demonstrative element has been also found in Alsea.

$s^{\text{a}}a^{\text{t}}t^{\text{e}}$ $L!a^{\text{a}i}$ such (a) world 15.1

wa^{a} $y\bar{a}^{\text{a}}xa^{\text{t}}$ t_{E} $h\bar{i}tc$, $s^{\text{a}}a^{\text{t}}t\bar{u}'$ $s\bar{i}'n^{\text{a}}xya$ although many (are) these people, that kind (of a thing every one) likes 102.2, 3

ants is the only pronoun that may be said to contain a locative force. It is invariably used in connection with objects that are away from the speaker, and may be rendered by THAT ONE. It may refer to subject and object, and is used in the singular, dual, and plural, although in most cases duality and plurality are accentuated by suffixing the respective subjective pronouns $-a^{\text{u}}x$ and $-nx$ (see § 24). This pronoun may also have a verbal force, and is then best rendered by THAT ONE WHO . . . , THOSE WHO It always precedes the noun.

$hamxa^{\text{a}}\bar{n}\bar{i}$ *ants* $t_{\text{E}}ha^{\text{u}}ya$ that tied (up) grass 8.6

$s^{\text{a}}kw\bar{i}'tc$ $ts\hat{i}nq!t$ *ants* $h\bar{i}tc$ very poor (was) that person 16.10; 17.1

ants $qa^{\text{a}}x$ last night (literally, that night) 40.14

$Ik!an^{\text{u}}wa'k^{\text{u}}$ $w\bar{i}'nxa^{\text{a}}n$ *ants* $pen\bar{i}'s$ Screech-Owl was afraid of that Skunk 86.5

ants $lqa^{\text{a}}\bar{t}\bar{u}$ *ants* $Tsxuna'pL\bar{i}$ $t\bar{i}'t!y\bar{u}n$ that tree on which TsxunpLī (Coyote) was sitting 94.6

$xa\bar{u}'na^{\text{u}}x\bar{u}n$ *ants* $m\bar{w}'k!a$ $h\bar{i}tc$ we two killed that bad person 96.8, 9

$lakwa'k\bar{u}^{\text{u}}n$ *ants* $q\bar{u}t\bar{c}\bar{u}'n\bar{i}$ *ants*^{ux} $ts\hat{i}n\bar{i}'Lts\hat{i}n\bar{i}'L$ those two otters took away those women 52.16

ants $L!a^{\text{a}i}$ $h\bar{i}tc$ those many people 7.1

ants $pek\bar{u}'w\bar{i}$ those who play 70.6, 7

$ats\bar{i}'tc$ $waa'xam$ *ants* $h\bar{i}tc$ $tca'xa^{\text{a}}t$ thus was told that man who was going back 30.13, 14

$Ik!an\bar{u}'k^{\text{u}}$ $ya'q^{\text{u}}y\bar{u}n$ $a'ntsux$ $meq!a^{\text{a}}\bar{i}'tx$ Screech-Owl watched those two who kept on dancing 86.8

$s^{\text{a}}a'tsa$ $xn\bar{i}'w\bar{n}\bar{i}s$ $a'nts^{\text{en}}x$ $pukwa^{\text{a}}$ thus keep on doing those who play shinny 78.17

In a number of instances two demonstrative pronouns are used, following each other in immediate succession. This is done primarily for the sake of emphasis. In such sentences the second demonstrative stem may be rendered by a relative pronoun.

$ha^{\text{a}}nate$ $a^{\text{a}}sxa$ $l\bar{i}'t!a^{\text{a}}$ t_{E} $s^{\text{a}}\bar{a}$ $q^{\text{u}}L!\bar{i}tc$ that otter is eating a different food (literally, different her, also, food, [of] this here sea-otter) 54.7, 8

$u\bar{i}$ $s^{\text{a}}\bar{a}$ t_{E} $t!\bar{a}m\bar{c}\bar{i}'sk'\bar{i}n$ and this here (is) the little boy 94.16

$u\bar{i}$ $waa'xam$ *ants* $s^{\text{a}}a$ $qa'tc^{\text{a}}nt\bar{u}x$ and was told that man who will go 16.7

kum'ntc^wax s'n'xyūn lī'ū ta'is ants s^zà they two don't want to stay near here (literally, not they two, want it, near [to] keep on staying, that one here)

Parallel to these forms are the indefinite, interrogative, and reflexive pronouns. The following have been observed:

wātc. It has the function of an interrogative, relative, and indefinite pronoun, and applies to animate beings only. When used in an interrogative sense, it is best rendered by WHO, while as an indefinite pronoun, it is to be translated by SOMEBODY. The interrogative character of this particle can be recognized only by the interrogative tone of the sentence in which it occurs.

wātc^ttc kō'tan whose horse (is it)?

wātc xa'ltntūx somebody will climb up

wātc tE'x^amtc ha¹ (he) who strong (is) his heart 10.1

wātc L!xū'yūn Lxatū'^{wi} (he) who knows (the art of) running 78.18

tE'q is used as an interrogative and indefinite pronoun, and applies to animals and inanimate objects only. It may best be rendered by WHAT OR SOMETHING.

tE'q what (is it)?

ha'ⁱmūt tE'q everything 9.5

tsē'k!ya hīs tE'q (a) very good thing 72.15, 16

kum'ntcⁱnx tE'q you (will be) nothing 13.2

ats tE'q waxa'yexayim when something will be given to him 18.5

ul s^zd'tsa tE'q qnūhū'yūn that's why something he finds

In a few instances *tE'q* has been rendered by RELATIVE. This free rendering is perfectly justifiable, because in the instances quoted *tE'q* implies the idea of BEING SOMETHING TO the person spoken to or spoken of.

na'm^zlīnx tE'q you (are) my relative (literally, my something you [are]) 20.6

ts'imstc tE'q ants lq!al'ō'mä her own relative (was) that pelican (literally, her own something) 46.1

An objective form of this particle has been found in one instance.

tE'qa^una'nī la'kwīsūn something we (incl.) will always get 72.17, 18

tāqa^una is the regular objective form of *tE'q*, and occurs frequently.

kum'ntexûn tâqa'na wî'nx not we two (excl.) anything fear 94.17
sî'nxît tâqa'na he wants something 18.5
wa'sî'syanx tâqa'na (when) you get mad at anything 36.11, 12
wa'aî's²nx tâqa'na (when) you will say something 38.4

Another objective form of this particle may be the form *tā'qan*, occurring in one single instance.

tā'qan tex tcaūtō'tc xî'ntmîs why do you want to go anywhere (literally, for something, perhaps, somewhere [you] keep on going) 48.1, 2

tcînt, *tcî'nta^u*, serves primarily as an interrogative pronoun, in which case it is rendered by WHICH ONE? Its scope, however, has been widened, permitting its use as a relative pronoun and in some instances as a numeral adverb. In the latter sense the form *tcînt* is invariably used. It is then translated by WHOEVER, WHATEVER, or by HOW MUCH, HOW MANY?

tcî'nta^{un} tex î'kwā'yûn which one I (wonder) shall I take? 88.20; 90.1

tcî'nta^{unx} sî'nîxyûn which one do you want? 40.4, 5

tcî'nta^u nîctca' ants hîtc whatever does that man 70.22

tcî'nta^u hîtc lîwa' whatever person came (here) 24.7

tcî'nta^u yî'ktîtc . . . whosoever . . . is big 90.1

tcînt hîtc qa'ntcya lîwa'wax whatever person from somewhere is going to come 38.10, 11

tcî'nîinx hî'q'a how many shells have you? (literally, how many thy dentalia shells?)

tcînt kō'tan how many horses?

. . . *tcînt tsxayū^{wi}* . . . on such a day (literally, [on] whatever [a] day) 7.3

ts'îms has the function of a reflexive pronoun, and is best rendered by (I) MYSELF, (THOU) THYSELF, etc., or, when used with nouns, by (MY) OWN, (THY) OWN, etc.

ts'îms s²atsî'tc cî'nîxyat'ya to himself thus he always thinks 88.11

LEbū'yûn ts'îms I hit myself

ts'îmstc tE'q ants îq'al'ō'mä ants sqūmā' her own relative that Pelican (is of) that Sea-Gull 46.1, 2

L'xmaî'yūtsmîn ts'îms m^uū'sk^u I killed my own brother

qa'w^untî, *qa'w^untîtc*, imparts the idea of reciprocity, and is best rendered by EACH OTHER, MUTUALLY. The difference between the two parallel forms lies in the fact that the latter has been amplified by means of the modal suffix *-îtc* (see § 94).

ʷl k'ix tE'q skwaha'yūsne qa'wintī everything was placed on both sides 80.8

qaw^untī'tc^wax wīn^xna'wa each other they two feared 86.2
qa'w^untī on both sides

The Numeral (§§ 116–117)

§ 116. The Cardinals

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>al^aq</i> 18.7 | 16. <i>kī'x^s ʷl qa'timx</i> |
| 2. <i>xā'ts!ū</i> 30.23 | 17. <i>kī'x^s ʷl xā'ts!ū qtā'max</i> |
| 3. <i>cī'n^ax</i> 62.12 | 18. <i>kī'x^s ʷl cī'n^ax qtā'max</i> |
| 4. <i>xā'ts!ūn</i> 40.23 | 19. <i>kī'x^s ʷl kumī'ntc al^aq qa'ⁱnat</i> |
| 5. <i>Lxa'ⁱpⁱs</i> 72.8 | 20. <i>xā'ts!ū kīxé'stīm</i> |
| 6. <i>qa'timx</i> | 21. <i>xā'ts!ū kīxé'stīm ʷl al^aq</i> |
| 7. <i>xā'ts!ū qtā'max</i> | 30. <i>cī'n^ax kīxé'stīm</i> |
| 8. <i>cī'n^ax qtā'max</i> | 40. <i>xā'ts!ūn kīxé'stīm</i> |
| 9. <i>a'l^aqxa^ut</i> | 50. <i>Lxa'ⁱpⁱs kīxé'stīm</i> |
| 10. <i>kīx^s</i> 8.1 | 60. <i>qa'timx kīxé'stīm</i> |
| 11. <i>kī'x^s ʷl a'l^aq</i> | 70. <i>xā'ts!ū qtā'max kīxé'stīm</i> |
| 12. <i>kī'x^s ʷl xā'ts!ū</i> | 80. <i>cī'n^ax qtā'max kīxé'stīm</i> |
| 13. <i>kī'x^s ʷl cī'n^ax</i> | 90. <i>a'l^aqxa^ut qtā'max kīxé'stīm</i> |
| 14. <i>kī'x^s ʷl xā'ts!ūntc a'xwī'yu</i> | 100. <i>kī'x^s kīxé'stīm</i> |
| 15. <i>kī'x^s ʷl Lxa'ⁱpⁱstc a'xwī'yu</i> | 101. <i>kī'x^s kīxé'stīm ʷl al^aq</i> |

By origin the Siuslaw numeral system is probably quinary, although there seem to be only four simple numeral stems; namely, those for ONE, TWO, THREE, and FIVE. The numeral *xā'ts!ūn* FOUR is to all appearances a plural form of *xā'ts!ū* TWO. The numeral *qa'timx* SIX could not be analyzed. It is not improbable, however, that it may signify ONE (FINGER) UP, in which event SEVEN could be explained as denoting TWO (FINGERS) UP, while EIGHT could be rendered by THREE (FINGERS) UP. In spite of incessant attempts, the numeral for NINE could not be analyzed. Its probable rendering may be suggested as ONE (LACKING TO) TEN. The numerals for FOURTEEN and FIFTEEN may be translated as by TEN AND FOUR ITS ADDITION and TEN AND FIVE ITS ADDITION respectively. The exact rendering of NINETEEN is obscure, while TWENTY evidently denotes TWO TIMES TEN, etc.

Siuslaw does not possess the series of ordinal numerals. These and the numeral adverbs, such as the multiplicative numerals, are expressed idiomatically by means of adverbs or adverbial suffixes. The adverbs *peḷī'tc* AHEAD and *ḷimnī'tc* BEHIND (see § 119) are very often used as ordinal numerals for the first two numbers.

peni's pēv'tc ^u *lk'anū'ku* *limnī'tc* Skunk (doctored) first, and Screech-Owl second 86.11

s^haⁱtū'nī *pēv'tc* *xī'ntmaⁱstūn* the biggest one first he took along 92.18

Qa'aⁱtēx *pēv'tc* *līha'yax* *te* *līya'aⁱ* along North Fork at first it came, this fire 32.19

Multiplicative numerals are sometimes formed by adding to the cardinals the modal suffix *-v'tc* (see § 94).

xāts!ūwī'tcīn *yīxa'yūn* twice I saw him

aⁱlqaⁱtēn *L!xū'yūn* *qnā* once I knew it 92.12

Ordinal numerals in the sense of AT THE FIRST, SECOND, etc., are sometimes formed by suffixing to the cardinals the suffix *-aⁱtū*.

ālqaⁱtū *tsxayū^{wi}* on the first day, in one day

xāts!ūwāⁱtū *tsxayū^{wi}* on the second day, in two days

xāts!ūnaⁱtū *tsxayū^{wi}* on the fourth day, in four days

The suffix for the numeral FIVE appears in a somewhat changed form. Instead of the expected *-aⁱtū*, this numeral takes the suffixes *-taⁱtū*, *-tyaⁱtū*. The suggestion may be offered that the initial *t-* of these suffixes is the adjectival suffix *-t* (see § 104), and the *-aⁱtū* the regular modal suffix. Of course, this does not explain the occurrence of the semi-vowel *y* in *-tyaⁱtū*.

t!āmēns *tēⁱntūx* *Lxaⁱpīstāⁱtū* *tsxayū^{wi}* our (dual, incl.) boys will return in five days 42.7

Lxaⁱpīstyaⁱtū ^u *l wān* *tēⁱn* *hītsⁱstc* on the fifth day he finally came home 72.9

tēⁱntūx *Lxaⁱpīstyaⁱtu* *tsxayū^{wi}* he will come back in five days 40.25, 26

Two stems, *kⁱx* and *hai'mūt*, are used as definite numerals. The former is best rendered by EACH, EVERY; while the latter, to all appearances an adjective in *-t* (see § 104), is best translated by ALL.

kⁱx *teⁱq* everything 24.4

texmūⁱnītc^wax *ants* *t!āmc* *kⁱx* they two had each a boy (literally, males their two, those boys, each) 40.19

haⁱmūt *maⁱttē^t* *ants* *līmnaⁱq* all elks got burned 34.18, 19

haⁱmūt *qaⁱtcⁱnt* *sqāⁱktēⁱtc* all go there 23.6

§ 117. The Decimal System

The units exceeding multiples of ten are expressed by forms whose exact rendering would be TEN (TWENTY) AND ONE (TWO) as, for instance, *kⁱx^{es}* ^u *aⁱl^aq* TEN AND ONE, etc. The "tens" are formed by means of

the suffix *-tīm*, that is added to the cardinal numerals for TEN. The numeral thus amplified is preceded by the cardinals from TWO to TEN (inclusive). Thus TWENTY, literally translated, means TWO TIMES TEN, THIRTY signifies THREE TIMES TEN, and ONE HUNDRED denotes TEN TIMES TEN. The numeral for THOUSAND was, naturally enough, never used. The informant invariably gave the English equivalent for it.

The Adverb (§§ 118-121)

§ 118. *Introductory*

Siuslaw has, comparatively speaking, a small number of adverbial stems. These express ideas of a local, temporal, and modal character. A few of them are compounds,—that is to say, they consist of two or more adverbs that occur independently also,—while others occur with the adverbial suffixes whose function is always in harmony with the ideas expressed by the bare stem. Thus a few adverbs indicating local ideas appear with the local suffix *-te* (see § 90), while most of the modal adverbs take the suffixes of modality *-ītc* or *-a* (see §§ 94 and 96).

It is quite conceivable that the final *k* in the local adverbs *tīk*, *stīm̄k*, and *sqāⁱk*, may imply some local idea, especially in view of the fact that both *stīm* and *stīm̄k* occur.

A very important law applying to local adverbs (and phrases) is the fact that, whenever they are used in connection with nouns, the nouns invariably take the locative case-endings (see § 86).

§ 119. *Local Adverbs and Phrases*

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>a'mhaⁱtx</i> in the middle | <i>tūtī'm</i> there 72.3 |
| <i>haⁱq</i> ashore 44.7 | <i>tūqa'tmE</i> over there, across |
| <i>haⁱqmas</i> alongside, near 25.4 | <i>tūqya'a^ā2</i> up-stream 32.22 |
| <i>ha^wvī's</i> beyond | <i>qa'tītc³</i> across the river, opposite |
| <i>pētī'tc</i> ahead, first 32.19 | 80.16 |
| <i>m^{xy}ō⁸k^{us}</i> in the beginning | <i>qā'tkⁱ</i> from here 60.4 |
| 82.11 | <i>qa'xante⁴</i> under, down, below 8.10 |
| <i>tūū'ts¹</i> here 17.3 | <i>qa'xūn</i> , <i>qa^wxūn⁵</i> high up, above, |
| <i>tīk</i> , <i>taⁱk</i> here 56.5, 19 | on 8.7; 34.21 |

¹ Probably related to the Coos *tī^w* OVER THERE.

² Also *to'qwī*.

³ Coos *qa'tite* DOWN THE STREAM.

⁴ Related to Alsea *qē'xan* UNDER, BELOW.

⁵ Coos *qazan*- UP.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>qa^ux</i> ¹ on top 76.14 | <i>qaⁱhā'n</i> 56.8, <i>qaⁱha'ntc</i> far 10.3; 56.5 |
| <i>qaⁱu'tc</i> ² below, down the stream 62.17, 18 | <i>qan</i> , <i>qan̄stc̄i'tc</i> down, below 12.6 |
| <i>qaⁱwa'a^ū</i> below, down stream 80.6 | <i>qoⁱx^ūm</i> off shore, out in the water 34.6 |
| <i>tqa^uwi'</i> , <i>tqa^uwītc</i> up-stream 56.8, 12 | <i>qtsī</i> inside |
| <i>stīm</i> , <i>stīm̄k</i> there 30.23; 32.12 | <i>līm̄nī'tc</i> behind, after, second 86.11 |
| <i>sqā'tem</i> from there 34.3 | <i>lnū</i> outside 38.23 |
| <i>sqāⁱk</i> , <i>sqēk</i> there 14.6 | <i>lī'ū</i> near (used also as a verb in the sense TO COME, TO APPROACH) 40.12 |

§ 120. Temporal Adverbs

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>ats</i> ³ at that time, when 16.8 | <i>tsā'nxaⁱts</i> yesterday |
| <i>aⁱlal</i> then, afterwards 34.3 | <i>tsīm</i> always 15.5 |
| <i>hī'nakⁱ</i> right away 20.1 | <i>ts'ū'xtīts</i> early in the morning 40.9 |
| <i>wā'nwīts</i> long ago, already 14.7 | <i>tcī'kyac L!^aai</i> sometimes 100.7 |
| <i>wī'yū</i> still, yet | <i>kūⁱyā'tsac L!^aai⁴</i> after a while, soon 7.7 |
| <i>yā'tsa</i> a long time 11.3 | <i>k!ⁱsā't</i> today 38.16 |
| <i>ta'līts</i> after a while 50.2 | <i>k!ⁱE'Lū⁵</i> tomorrow 60.2 |
| <i>tīL</i> awhile | <i>lnāt</i> always 13.3 |
| <i>lī'mqa</i> quick, right away 19.6 | |

§ 121. Modal Adverbs

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>a'tsa</i> , <i>atsī'tc</i> thus 15.5; 11.2 | <i>s^Ea'tsa</i> , ⁶ <i>s^Eatsī'tc</i> thus 8.2, 7 |
| <i>hī'cata</i> a little | <i>s^ukwī'tc</i> very, very much 16.10 |
| <i>yā'aⁱxaⁱ</i> much, many 8.5 | <i>cī'ntcata</i> in a circle |
| <i>yux^u</i> too much 12.2 | <i>tsī'k!ya</i> very, very much 13.9 |
| <i>tī'mwa</i> together 40.18 | <i>xyal'x</i> , <i>kūⁱ xyal'x</i> almost, very nearly 11.1; 10.9, 11.1 |
| <i>nīctcamaⁱ'nat'E</i> differently 9.3, 4 | |

Particles (§§ 122–133)

§ 122. Introductory

Siuslaw has a great number of particles which serve to define more clearly a certain part of speech or even a whole sentence. Their

¹ Also *qax* HIGH.

² Possibly related to Coos *qaya'atc* DOWN THE STREAM.

³ See § 136.

⁴ A compound adverb consisting of the negation *kūⁱ* NOT, the adverb *yā'tsa* A LONG TIME, amplified by the obscure suffix *-c*, and of the stem *L!^aai* (see § 133).

⁵ By prefixing to this adverb the demonstrative pronoun *ants*, Siuslaw forms a compound adverb *ants k!ⁱE'Lū*, which is best rendered by YESTERDAY.

⁶ See § 125.

meaning was deduced mostly from the sense of the sentence in which they occurred. These stems are either monosyllabic (in which case they may be enclitic or proclitic) or they consist of two or more syllables. A limited number seems to be composed of two or more originally independent particles. As a rule, particles are not capable of word-formation—that is to say, they can not be amplified by means of any of the grammatical processes, such as prefixation, suffixation, etc. But owing to the fact that Siuslaw shows a tendency to keep the verbal stem free from all subjective suffixes, these suffixes are preferably added to the particles that precede the verb (see § 26). Some of these particles seem to be in reality verbal stems, but do not convey a clear verbal idea unless used in conjunction with a proper verbal suffix (see § 135).

In accordance with their syntactic function, the particles may be conveniently subdivided into the following categories:

- (1) Pronominal particles.
- (2) Numeral particles.
- (3) Conjunctions.
- (4) Temporal particles.
- (5) Particles denoting degrees of certainty.
- (6) Particles indicating connection with previously expressed ideas.
- (7) Exhortative particles.
- (8) Restrictive particles.
- (9) Miscellaneous particles.
- (10) Suffixed particle $-ū$ ($-a^ū$).
- (11) The stem $l!a'ai$.

§ 123. *Pronominal Particles*

The pronominal forms treated in § 115 are used sometimes without formative prefixes, and appear then like true particles. The following are particularly used in this manner:

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| $tā^ak$ this, here | $tE'q$ what, something |
| tE this | $tcînt$, $tcî'nta^u$ which one, who- |
| $tū$ that | ever, whatever, how much, |
| $ants$ that one | how many |
| $wàtc$ who, some one | $ts'ims$ (reflexive) self |
| | $qa'w^untî$ mutually |

Related to *tcînt* are the particles *tcîk* WHERE, and *tcā*, *tcāitcī'tc* WHERE TO.

tcîk, a local particle denoting REST. It may be used indicatively and in an interrogatory sense. It is best rendered by WHERE.

tcîk s^ana'ml kō'tan where is his horse ?

tcîk qnūhū'yūn hītc where (ever) he finds a person 94.9, 10

kūⁱ tcîk nowhere 56.11

tcîk ants k'ālatū^u where that fun (is) 88.2

tcîk ants yīktī'l-mā lqa^{i'}tū where that big log (is) 88.17, 18

tcā, *tcāitcī'tc*, a local particle indicating MOTION. It is used in an interrogative and indicative significance, and is best rendered by WHERE (TO). The form *tcāitcī'tc* may be explained as caused by the double suffixation of the adverbial suffix *-ītc* (see §§ 90, 94). Such double adding of a suffix occurs in only one other instance; namely, in the case of the nominal suffix *-ax* (see § 101).

kumī'ntc tcā yax nowhere (anything to) see 34.4

kumī'ntcxūn qa'ha'ntc tcā nī'ctcīs not we two (excl.) far somewhere will go 56.2

. . . *tcān tE līū'* . . . where this I arrived 66.19

tcāitcī'tc lō^L nī'ctūx (I) wonder where he will go 64.20

tcāitcī'tc qa'tcīntyax he went somewhere

§ 124. Numeral Particles

Here belong the following stems: *yā^axaⁱ* MANY (see also § 12), *tE'mxut*, *tsī'neXma*, *tsī'nīxt* HALF, and *k^aaⁱt* HOW MANY. The particles serving as fractional numerals invariably follow the noun they define, while the two other numeral particles may either precede or follow it.

yīxa'yūn yā^axaⁱ hītc I saw many people

tE'mxut tā'la half a dollar

hī'tc^{tc} tsī'neXma ants t'ī that bear is half a person (literally [a] person [is] his [one] half, that bear) 60.16

hītc tsī'nīxt ants t'ī half human (is) that bear 60.22

These forms might also be considered as adjectives. It will be noted that most of them end in the adjectival suffix *-t* (see § 104).

§ 125. Conjunctions

Only three particles were found that may be properly said to have the function of our conjunctions. These particles are *a'l·dū*, *aⁱsxa*, and *u^l*.

a'l·dū refers to nouns only, and its function is of an inclusive character, indicating that the defined noun is included in the action. It always follows the noun and is best rendered by LIKEWISE. It is frequently used as a verb (see § 135).

u̅l t!i̅ a'l·dū ma'ttōt Bear likewise got burned 34.16
h̅l'q^u a'l·dū m̅l'tōst Wild-Cat likewise burned 34.17
ya^u xa^ux a'l·dū t̅t!a'yūn fern-roots they two likewise eat 98.15
qaⁱxⁿx a'l·dū ya^uh̅tūx at night you likewise shall watch 70.18,
 19

a'isxa serves the same purpose as the preceding *a'l·dū*, but may either precede or follow the noun to which it refers. It is best rendered by ALSO, TOO.

a^tq tEXmū'n̅i u̅l a^tq q̅ūtcū'n̅i u̅l a^usxa sqaⁱktō'tē qa^ttc̅ntūx one man and one woman too will go there 30.21, 22
haⁱnate a^usxa t̅t!aⁱ her food belonged to some one else (literally, different her, also, food) 54.7

u̅l has various functions. Its chief function is that of a copula between nouns and sentences, and in that case is best rendered by AND. Its position is free, although it tends to follow the noun and to precede the verb.

a^tq tEXmū'n̅i u̅l a^tq q̅ūtcū'n̅i one man and one woman 30.21, 22
m̅ta'a^ttin u̅l m̅ta'a^ttin my father and my mother
pen̅i's p̅el'tc u̅l lk!anū'k^u k̅mn̅i'tc Skunk (doctored) first, and Screech-Owl second 86.11
s^eats̅i'tc wad', u̅l h̅l'q!a^t thus he said and started 22.5, 6
taⁱ u̅l t̅t!a^u he sits and eats

It serves, furthermore, to introduce a new idea, in which case its functional character may best be compared to that of our syntactic period. Its exact rendering is a rather difficult matter, unless the arbitrary THEN be excepted.

L!xū'yūn m̅k!a ts̅k!ya. L!xū'yūn h̅sa lk!an^uwa'k^u ants pen̅i's.
Ena^uwi h̅tc u̅l l̅qaqā^utxaⁿ pen̅a's she knew him (to be) very bad.
 Screech-Owl knew that Skunk very well. At a rich man Skunk was breaking his wind 86.5, 6, 7
s^eats̅i'tc waaⁱ ants lk!anū'k^u. Ants p̅tna'st u̅l c̅iⁿxyat!ya āqa'wax.
u̅l s^eats̅i'tc wad' ants lk!anū'k^u. Thus said that Screech-Owl.
 Then that sick man thought of running away. Then thus said that Screech-Owl 86.14, 15, 16

Finally, it may denote a connection with a previously expressed idea, especially when used in conjunction with the particle *wa'* (see § 128).

wa' yíkt ants hĩtsĩ'i, *u' tã'qnãs hĩtũ'stc* although big (is) that house, still (it is) full (of) people 25.2, 3

wa' tẽ'wa maj'atc ants tqa'ũ' tũ, *u' mĩltca' 'al* although in the water lay those logs, nevertheless (they) began to burn 32.22

wa' yã'a'xã' hĩtc, *u' ha'ũ'mũt s'ãs l'it!a'yũn* although many (were) the people, still he devoured (them) all 94.10, 11

This subordinate function, as it were, is particularly brought out when *u'* is followed or preceded by the modal adverb *a'tsa*, *s'a'tsa* THUS (see § 121). This phrase is invariably rendered by THAT IS WHY.

a'tsa u' wãn temũ'tx hĩtcũ'u that is why now people assemble 15.5, 6

a'tsan u'ln kumũ'ntc s'ũ'n'xyũn that is why I don't want it 15.8

s'a'tsa u' kumũ'ntc n'ũ'k!a x'ũ'ntmũ hĩtc that was why not alone traveled a person 94.11

u' s'a'tsa u' haya'mũt h'yãtc L!xũ'yũn and this is why all people know it

§ 126. Temporal Particles

While Siuslaw employs distinct suffixes for the purpose of expressing the different tenses in the verb, it has a few particles that are used to define more clearly the time, duration, or occurrence of a certain action. These are used mostly in conjunction with the proper temporal suffixes. The following particles serve this purpose:

ãL denotes commencement of an action, and has been rendered rather freely by NOW.

ã' Lan l'it!a'wax now I commence to eat

ãL s'ĩLa'wax now he commences to swim

u'ẽnx ãL hũtca'tc now they began to play 72.23, 24

wãn indicates finality, completion of action. It either precedes or follows the verb. The informant invariably rendered it by NOW, THEN, but the most proper rendering would be FINALLY.

u' wãn tẽ'ũn he finally returned 68.12

ãqa'qa'x wãn they two finally ran away 92.5

wãn smũt'a't' finally it ends 9.1

sqã'k wãn hawa'ũ' there finally it ends 14.6

wa', *waha'*, expresses repetition of action, and is best rendered by AGAIN. It rarely occurs as an independent particle, being mostly used as a verb (see § 135). The explanation for the occurrence of the double form has been given in § 3.

qa'tcⁱnt ants hītc waha' that man went again 19.5
k!ⁱnkⁱ'ya'waxan waha'wax I will look again 56.20
uⁱ wàn waha'haⁿ qa'msk^utc finally again (said) to him his younger
 brother 56.20, 21
uⁱn kumⁱ'ntc xwⁱL!ⁱtūx wa'ⁱtūx I will not go back again 46.8
waha'ⁱ xalna'ⁱ ants ya^k's again climb up those seals 62.10

īyax- indicates short duration of action. It always occurs in verbal form (see § 135), and is best rendered by A WHILE.

ī'yaxEM qa'q^unEM! listen a while!
ī'yax^axyaxan a^wsīsyax I slept a while
īyaxa'waxan a^usa'wax I intend to sleep a while 27.5, 6

§ 127. *Particles Denoting Degrees of Certainty and Emotional States*

a'ck!^alī indicates a supposition on the part of the speaker, and is best rendered by PERHAPS, (I) THOUGHT. It consists of two etymologically obscure stems, *a'ck!^a* and *lī*. The subjective pronouns, when added to this particle, are always suffixed to the initial element, and never to *lī*. It is invariably placed at the beginning of the sentence.

a'ck!^anl lī xau' (I) thought you (had) died 68.14, 15
a'ck!^alī atsⁱ'tc xwⁱL!^awax ants t!^a'mōins (I) thought thus were
 going to return our (dual, incl.) boys 42.9, 10
a'ck!^alī qa'tcⁱnt he went (away) perhaps

ha'nhan emphasizes a statement as having actually occurred. Hence it is rendered by INDEED, TO BE SURE. It precedes the verb.

uⁱ wàn ha'nhan s^eats'^tx hītcū'^u now, indeed, thus people play 7.4
uⁱ wàn ha'nhan līū'wanx hītsⁱ'stc finally, sure enough, they were
 coming to different houses 30.6

hank! "KIND OF," LIKE, has a double function. When used with verbs, it implies that the action is not intimately known to the speaker. When referring to nouns (objects), it expresses a comparison between the defined noun and one already known to the speaker. It always precedes the noun or verb.

hank! tēkte haⁱ he is in a way glad (literally, "kind of" some-
 where his mind?) 70.15
hank! wⁱ'nxⁱtx haⁱ he is rather afraid

hank! hī' tē² tē nīctcāma² nū tē qwō' txa¹ the beaver acts like a person
(literally, like a person his actions [of] this beaver) 54.11
hank! hītc (he is) like (an) Indian 102.5

tEX (I) WONDER, SUPPOSE (IF), (I) DON'T KNOW. This particle has a dubitative character, expressing doubt on the part of the speaker as to the possibility or advisability of a certain action. It may refer to any part of the sentence, but must always precede the verb.

tā'nta²n tEX t'kwa'yūn I wonder which one (shall) I take 88.20;
90.1
nī'ctcī tEX xī'ntmīs hītc (I) wonder how (a) person (can) keep on
traveling
nī'ctcan tEX nīctca'wax (I doubt whether we) shall accomplish (any-
thing) 60.9
nī'ctcanl tEX xawa'ūn (I) wonder how we (incl.) can kill him 15.7

kīl. This particle occurs in the texts only once; but, judging from the examples obtained in conversation, it seems to express agreeable surprise.

hī'san kīl wān waa'yūts well he told me (I was agreeably surprised)
46.18
tā' kīl wān he is here (literally, he stays, surprise)

k (I) MAY, PERHAPS. This is a dubitative particle, occurring also in Coos,¹ and denoting possibility of action. Owing to its dubitative character, it has often an interrogative significance.

nī'ctca k^u what is the matter? (literally, how, perhaps . . .) 90.12
k'īnk'yā'waxan tqa^uwī' tē k^u waha'wax I may look again up-stream
56.20
nī'ctcan k^u a'ntsīn māt'ī' tē kū' tē' nīl what may (be the cause that)
that my elder brother, this here, not comes back? 58.11, 12
t'kwa'yūnanx k^u t'ī'a¹ you may get salmon 48.18

k^unā, a compound particle, consisting of the preceding one and of the particle of interrogation *nā* (see § 131). Its significance is dubitative, and it may be rendered by IT SEEMS, PERHAPS, MAYBE, (I) GUESS. Its position is freely movable.

wān k^unā tā'kīn s²atsī' tē a^usī's now it seems, this I thus dream 70.1
yā'xa¹ t'ī'a¹ tqa^uwī' k^unā much salmon may be up-stream 56.8

¹ See Coos, p. 385.

s^ʔàs k^unà c^uxū'yūn he, I guess, drove it away 56.11
lakwa'kū^un k^unà he took him (away), perhaps 58.14
kum[?]ntc k^unà s^ʔatsī'tc not thus (it is), I guess 21.10

xī has the same function as the previously discussed *hank!* (see p. 594). It may best be rendered by (IT) LOOKS LIKE, AS IF.

xā'ts!ū xī hītc tE kī'nna (it) looks as if two people here were talking
plna^ʔtx xī (it) looks as if he were sick
tqala^ʔtxan xī I feel rather warm

Lō^εL (I) WONDER, (I) DON'T KNOW. It either precedes or else follows the verb.

tcārtcī'tc Lō^εL nī'ctūx (I) wonder where (he will) go 64.20
tcā Lō^εL lī'ūtūx (I) wonder where he will stop (arrive) 64.24
plna^ʔ Lō^εL (I) wonder whether he is sick

§ 128. Particles Denoting Connection with Previously Expressed Ideas

Siuslaw has only two particles that serve this purpose. These are *nī'ctcīm* and *wa^ʔ*.

nī'ctcīm indicates causality, and is best rendered by BECAUSE.

. . . *nī'ctcīm sqa^ʔk lī'wat!ī* . . . because there he frequently came 68.4, 5
 . . . *nī'ctcīm s^ʔàs k^ʔxa'yūn tE hītc* . . . because he made disappear these people 18.8
 . . . *nī'ctcīmīn meq!ya'wax* . . . because I intend to dance 72.12
 . . . *nī'ctcīm^εnx nam^ʔl tE^ʔq* . . . because you are my relative 21.5

wa^ʔ is best rendered by ALTHOUGH, EVEN, IN SPITE OF. It may refer to the sentence as a whole or to any of its parts. The complex of ideas dependent upon *wa^ʔ* is invariably introduced by the conjunction *u^ʔ* (see § 125).

cugwa'an harwa'yūn, wa^ʔ cā'yate he passes it as roast, although his penis [it was] (literally, roast he makes it) 90.13
nī'ctcīm sqa^ʔk lī'wat!ī, wa^ʔ yā'tsa, because there he frequently came every time (literally, because there he came frequently, even for a long time) 68.4, 5
wa^ʔ mī'k!a^ū l!aya' u^ʔ lxata^ʔ even on a bad place he runs 14.1
wa^ʔ yīkt ants hīts^ʔī u^ʔ tā'qnīs hītū'stc although big (was) that house, nevertheless full (it was of) people 25.2, 3

wàl qa'x, *u' x'nt* in spite of (the fact that it was) night, (they) kept on going 64.24

wà' tE'q mī'k!a u' t'!a'yūn s'əs even (if it is) something bad still she eats it 44.20

§ 129. *Exhortative Particles*

qa't expresses a polite command addressed to the first and third persons. It is hence employed in the formation of the exhortative mode. The verb usually occurs with exhortative suffixes (see §§ 41, 48, 63, 64), although instances of idiomatic expressions are not lacking where these suffixes have been omitted (see § 139). This particle is best rendered by LET (ME, HIM, US, etc.).

qa't qatc'ni'xmî let him go!

qa't la'ux lakw'īnī let them two seize (them)! 52.12, 13

qa'tn xāl!i'tsmE hāts'i' let me fix his house!

qa't wàn a'w'stūx let him sleep now! 27.8

tcū serves to emphasize the imperative and exhortative modes. It invariably follows the verb, which must occur in either of these two forms. It can not be translated easily. In some instances the informant rendered it by TRY TO.

qaqū' nEm tcū listen now!

t'i't!Emans tcū let us (incl. dual) eat!

qa'txEm tcū cry!

a'w'sEM tcū try to sleep!

tEmà' indicates a polite command addressed to any person. The informant rendered it by IT IS BETTER TO. . . . Although it usually followed verbs having imperative suffixes, I was able to obtain examples showing the use of this particle in conjunction with verbal expressions of a non-imperative character.

qwa' nyūx tEmà' Laaya'te better pour it into his mouth! 29.2

a'w'sEM tEmà' (you had) better sleep!

tEmà' wa'tūx it is better (that) he should talk

ak'ha'n is apparently a compound particle, whose component elements can no longer be analyzed. It has an emphatic character, implying that a certain command addressed to the second person must be obeyed. It is best rendered by MUST, NECESSARILY.

t'i't!Em ak'ha'n you must eat!

L!wā'nīs ak'ha'n you must tell him!

L!i'lis ak'ha'n you must hit him!

§ 130. *Restrictive Particles*

ata's limits the action to only one object, and is to be rendered by ONLY, MERELY. It usually follows the restricted object.

lqa'qa'inx ata's your wind only (is sick) 86.16, 17

pā'l'ū ata's qatcū'txa'tne from (one) well only it is being drunk (plural) 76.12

sqā'k wān ata's harwa' only there now it ends 29.7

s²ūs ata's l!xū'yūn he only knows it 44.8

ha'tsī has a restrictive function, and is best rendered by NOTHING BUT.

hīq!aha'ūnī ants xu'nha' ha'tsī nothing but dentalia shells these (people) bet 78.14

ha'tsīn kō'tan yīxa'yūn nothing but horses I saw

txū MERELY, ONLY, JUST. It refers mostly to the verb, and may either precede or follow it.

txū xyal'xī'sk'īn qa'tc'nt just a little ways he went 12.1

txū lī'tc²t lī'nīnx just Cougar (will be) thy name 13.5, 6

xa^uwⁱya' txū hīcatca'sk'īn he merely came out for a little while 64.8

lī't!Em txū just eat! 40.26; 42.1

cī'nīxyat!ya txū he was only continually thinking 42.2

kum'ntc txū qīūtēnyat' hītc not for nothing a person gets a wife (literally, not just a woman has [gets a] person) 74.1

§ 131. *Miscellaneous Particles*

kū'i, *kum'ntc*, NO, NOT. These are two etymologically related stems that are used as particles of negation. The final *tc* in *kum'ntc* is the adverbial suffix (see §§ 23, 94)

kū'i cī'l'xīl he did not move 27.2, 3

kū'i nī'ctca nī'ctcūtnE nothing could be done to him 94.12, 13

kū'iyā'tsacL!a'ai not long then . . . 7.7

kum'ntc hī'sa not good (it is) 12.2

kum'ntc līt!ayāt ants kō'tan not food had the horses 34.10

When followed by the subjective pronouns (see § 24), *kū'i* is contracted into *kwī*. This contraction is not based on any distinct phonetic law, but is the result of rapidity of speech.

kwī'ya^ux ya'xa^ūl mī'ck'laⁱ not he saw their (dual) vulvas 90.3

kwīnx yā'tsa s^a'ts²yax not they long (did) thus 11.3, 4

In certain cases the negated verb takes, beside the negative particle, the distinct suffix of negation *-ūl* (see § 53).

ha^ū, *hā'nîk*, YES, ALL RIGHT, are used as particles of affirmation.

ha^ū yes, all right 21.8

hā'nîk yes

ha^ū L'ṃqan tē'ntūx all right, I'll come back right away 56.21, 22

ha^ū wa'naxan hatc'a'wūn yes, now we (excl.) shall ask her 74.12

nā serves as a particle of interrogation, and refers to the sentence as a whole. Its phonetic similarity to the independent personal pronoun for the first person singular (see § 24) is merely accidental.

nîctcī'tcīn tēx nā wa'a'is I wonder what shall I say? 74.7

pṛna' nā is he sick?

pākwa'wanx nā are you going to play shinny?

ā^ū, *hē*, have an exclamatory character, and may be called interjections.

a^ū, nîctcī'tcīn pṛaⁿ nā waha' what! is he sick again?

hē, kum'ntc hī'isa nī'x^atc Hey! it (does) not (look) well on you
13.5

ka'tī, *katī'xtī*, an emphatic particle. It never occurs alone, being always preceded by the negation *kūⁱ*, *kum'ntc* (see p. 598), and is then best rendered by NOT AT ALL.

kum'ntc katī' xa^wwīl not at all he came out (from water) 64.7, 8

kūⁱ katī'xtī L!xmaⁱ ants ya^εk^{us} he did not entirely kill that seal
64.12, 13

kūⁱ katī'xtī xa^wwīl not again he floated up 64.16, 17

mîntc, a temporal particle indicating time in general. It is rendered by WHEN, SOMETIMES. The final *tc* is the adverbial suffix *par excellence* (see § 23).

mîntc L!aya' some time

mîntc Lō^εL Lī'ūtūx (I) wonder when he will arrive

mī'ntc'nx tca'xaūtyax when did you go home?

tsan, *ants*, *kūⁱ nàts*. These three particles are etymologically related. The last one is composed of the particle of negation *kūⁱ* NOT and of *nàts*. The forms *ants* and *nàts* resulted from the law of consonantic metathesis (see § 13); *ants* is easily confused with the demonstrative pronoun of similar phonetic structure (see § 115).

These particles serve to introduce conditional clauses, and are best rendered by IF, SINCE. *kū' nàts* is rendered by IF NOT (see also § 136).

tsa'ntcē tū'ha sī'n'xyūn . . . if you want to buy her . . . 74.8
tsa'ntcē sī'n'xyaxa^{ūn}, ^ūtcē hatc'a'yūn since you want her, (go and) ask her 74.10, 11

yā'xaⁱ hūc tem^{ūwa}'i sqa^k, ants ha'qaⁱ ants ham^ū'tcē many people assembled there, when (if) those whales come ashore 82.21, 22
 . . . *ants ikwa'myax ants inq!^a'aⁱ* when (ice) closed up that river 78.3

Whenever the subordinate clause is introduced by the negative *kū' nàts*, the co-ordinate sentence that follows must be preceded by the particle *nàts*.

kū' nàts xā'wa^axa^ūtnE, ^ūl nàts tsī'k!ya mī'k!a L!^a'aⁱ if he had not been killed, it would have been a very bad country 29.7, 8
kū' nàts l^ū'ūyax, ^ūln nàts nakwa'yatitī haⁱ if he had not come, I should have been sorry

nū'ctca, nū'ctca, nūctx. These three forms are undoubtedly etymologically related. Their primary function can not be easily defined, owing to the fact that they are used for the purpose of expressing grammatical concepts of a varying character. The most frequent uses made of these particles are those of an interrogative and indefinite pronoun. The function of an interrogative pronoun is chiefly confined to the form *nū'ctca* when followed by the demonstrative pronoun *te* (see § 115), while it serves as an indefinite pronoun whenever it is preceded by the negative particle *kū'*, *kumū'ntc* NOT. *nū'ctca* is frequently amplified by means of the modal suffix *-ītc* (see § 94).

nū'ctca k^ū te cuqwa'an te ha'kwat!ya what may (be the reason that) this roast here continually falls down? 90.12

nū'ctcanx tanx yā'xaⁱ qātx why do you (this one) cry (so) much? 94.16, 17

nū'ctcan tex nūctca'wax I doubt whether (we) shall accomplish anything 60.9

nū'ctcan^t tex xawa'ūn how can we kill him? 15.7

. . . *nū'ctca te taⁱ* . . . how this one was living 16.2

kū' nū'ctca nū'ctcūtnE nothing could be done (to stop) him 94.12, 13

kū' nū'ctca qa'tc^ūl not able to get a drink 76.11

kū' nū'ctca la'kwīl līt!aya' she could not get food 96.16, 17

nūctcī'tc^ūtcē te tem^ūwa'tam . . . why you have been gathered 30.17

kum'ntc n'ctcē'tc cū'nxīl he thinks of nothing (else) 60.20, 21

kum'ntc^{xt}tē n'ctcē'tc ta'tcē tēmū'ūts not for nothing did I assemble you (here) 30.18, 19

n'ctx occurs in two instances only, and to all appearances has an interrogative significance.

nē'ctxan k^u a'ntsīn māt!ī' tE kū' tē'nīl what may (be the reason that) my elder brother here does not come back? 58.11, 12

n'ctx k^u a'naxa^ī how (would it be if) he were given up? 64.26

In a great many cases *n'ctca* and *nē'ctca* are used as verbs with a significance that adapts itself to the sense of the sentence (see § 135). The particles are then verbalized by means of some of the verbal suffixes.

kū' nē'ctca nē'ctcūt_{NE} nothing could be done (to stop) him 94.12, 13

kū' nē'ctca tcaītē'te nē'ctcēl not can anywhere (they) go 76.14

kum'ntcxān nē'ctcēs not we two (excl.) will keep on going 56.2

nē'ctcan tEx n'ctca'wax I doubt whether (we) are going to do (anything) 60.9

nē'ctca'ax sē'nīxyūn to fight mutually they two want (it) 52.2

In one instance the addition of a nominal suffix has transformed *nē'ctca* into a noun.

kum'ntc qwatc L!xū'x^un nē'ctcatc ants nē'ctcēsī no one knows what happened to them (literally, how their arrival) 40.15, 16

§ 132. The Suffixed Particle -ū (-a^ū)

It indicates an action, transitive or intransitive, that is performed near the speaker, and may be added to stems other than verbal. It always stands in final position as a loose suffix. Since similar formative elements expressing other locative categories were not found in Siuslaw, and in view of the fact that Alsea employs, besides this suffix, many other suffixes denoting location of action, I am inclined to believe that this element represents a formative element borrowed from Alsea. The Siuslaw render it by **HERE, THIS WAY**. A peculiar phonetic law seems to be intimately connected with this particle. When following the consonantic cluster *nx*, it causes the dropping of the *x* (see § 4). The interchange between *ū* and *a^ū* has been discussed in § 2.

ka^ūs = to follow 92.7

kⁱwasⁱyū'tsanā^ū you will overtake me 92.3

qa^uxān above 80.12

yū^{wi}L!a'tx qa^uxānū' it broke on top 94.4

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| <i>qa'tcîntûx</i> he will come | <i>qa'tc'ntûxa^u</i> <i>nàtche</i> he will come to me |
| <i>xwî' L!Em</i> come back! | <i>xwî' L!Ema^u</i> come back this way! |
| <i>lîû'ûnanx</i> they come (trans.) | <i>lîû'ûnana^u</i> <i>tci'wa'nE</i> they come out from the water |
| <i>xî'ntanx</i> they travel 88.20 | <i>xî'ntana^u</i> <i>tî'mwa</i> they travel this way together |
| <i>ya'qu'yû'nanz</i> thou art seen | <i>ya'qu'yû'nana^u</i> thou art seen here |
| <i>qa'hâ'n</i> from afar 56.8 | <i>qa'hâ'hana^u</i> <i>Lîû'</i> he came from afar |
| <i>sqâ'tEM</i> from there 34.3 | <i>sqâ'tmanû</i> <i>tšîL!a' L!â^{un}</i> I shoot at him from there |

§ 133. *The Stem L!a'ai*

The original function of this stem is that of a noun denoting PLACE, COUNTRY, GROUND, WORLD, and it occurs in this function in a great many instances. Its locative form is *L!aya'* or *L!ayû's* (see § 86).

mâ'k!a L!a'ai a bad world 29.8

yâk!âsk'inû' L!aya' wî tîyû'wi on a small place they were living
38.19

mâ'tcîstûn L!ayû'stc he made (them) fall to the ground 94.7, 8

In most cases, however, it is used with a significance which, while intimately connected with its original meaning, seems to lend to it a peculiar function. Thus it is employed in the formation of verbs expressing meteorological phenomena, and serves as the (impersonal) subject of such verbs.

hî'nêk!ya L!a'ai it rained 78.1

k!uxwîna' L!a'ai ice (appeared) all over 76.11

qa'xîxyax tE L!a'ai it got dark 34.4

nâ'qutyax L!a'ai it got cold 76.10, 11

hû'nyax L!a'ai it was dark (foggy) 34.8, 9

kumâ'ntc wî Lîl ants L!a'ai there was no low tide 34.22

qîûnEma' L!a'ai (when) winter begins 78.5

From the Siuslaw point of view this application of *L!a'ai* is perfectly justifiable, because to his mind verbs expressing natural phenomena represent real actions performed by the UNIVERSE as a personified subject. Consequently he renders our neutral phrases IT RAINS, etc., by THE WORLD RAINS, etc., using the noun *L!a'ai* as the general subject of the action.

As a further consequence of this general significance, *L!a'ai* is used to denote plurality of subjects and objects, especially in cases where the verb is used in its singular form (see §§ 78, 79, 139).

t!āmc̄l'mä L!a^{ai} all the children 34.6, 7

q̄vūt̄cū'nî L!a^{ai} many women 82.14

SEXa^wtc qad'xam ants L!a^{ai} tE'q into the canoe were put many things 34.5

metcī'te^{tc} xwā'ka ants L!a^{ai} one-sided their heads (of) those (people) 70.5, 6

yā^axāⁱ xu'nhaⁱ L!a^{ai} they bet a great deal 70.6

h̄q!aha^wnî L!a^{ai} many dentalia shells 70.6

tš'k'ya mī'k!a wā'nwîts L!a^{ai} very bad (things existed) long ago 14.7

st̄m L!a^{ai} ma'q!īs there they keep on dancing 29.3

waa'a^{tsmE} ants L!a^{ai} h̄tc he said to all his people 7.1

pEKū'u L!a^{ai} they play shinny 9.4

L!ōxa'xa^{tsmE} h̄tc L!a^{ai} he sent all his people 30.1, 2

k!u^wl'nūn L!a^{ai} he made ice all over 94.2, 3

tēl'a't'ūn L!a^{ai} he caused the wind to blow all over 94.5

This stem occurs also as a suffix. In such cases it is abbreviated into *-L!* (see § 77).

§ 134. Nouns and Verbs as Qualifiers

Siuslaw has no means of indicating by a grammatical device the sex of a given noun; that is to say, it does not exhibit grammatical gender. Hence, whenever it is desired to distinguish between the male and the female of a species, the nouns *texmū'nî* MAN and *q̄vūt̄cū'nî* WOMAN are used as qualifying a given appellative term. The qualifying noun either precedes or follows the qualified term.

q̄vūt̄cū'nî kwī'yōs a female dog

texmū'nî kō'tan a male horse, stallion

tš'iqan q̄vūt̄cū'nî a female deer, doe

la'kukyax h̄tū'tc texmū'nya she took a male person 60.23

texmū'nîtc^wax ants t!āmc k!īx they two had boys each (literally, male their [dual] those infants each [are]) 40.19

Not infrequently verbs are used to qualify the actions implied by another verbal stem. The qualifier has then the function of a modal adverb, and its significance may best be compared to that of our adverbs ending in *-LY*. The position of the qualifier is freely movable.

u^slōxu'x^u xwīL!a'L! so down(-wardly) he came back (literally, he slid down and came back) 12.6

xawa^u h̄t̄c ʷl̄ kum̄n̄t̄c t̄c̄i'n̄l̄ xw̄l̄L̄i'ū (when) a person dies, (he will) not come back (by way of) return(-ing) (literally, not he comes back [and] returns) 42.11

m̄t̄a't̄c^wax ants tq̄ūb̄ū' wad' their (dual) father, that one, shouted, saying (literally, shouted [and] said) 52.8

§ 135. Particles as Verbs

The frequent use of particles as verbs constitutes a characteristic feature of Siuslaw that is chiefly due to the fact that the majority of stems are neutral, deriving their nominal or verbal significance from the nature of the suffix that is added to them (see § 22). Consequently any particle (or adverb) may serve as a verb when occurring with the proper verbalizing suffixes, mostly the pronominal and temporal elements.

haⁱq shore (§ 119)

s^ɛa'tsa thus (§ 121)

yā^a'xaⁱ many (§ 124)

a'l̄·dū likewise (§ 125)

wa[·], waha' again (§ 126)

l̄i'yax- a while (§ 126)

n̄i'ctca (§ 131)

ha^uq̄iqyax it was (coming) ashore 56.13

yā'tsa s^ɛa'ts^ɛyax for a long time thus they (did) 11.3, 4

st̄imts ya'xtūx there you two will multiply 32.6

a'l̄·twa'wanx also you (come) 16.4

a'l̄·tūtūnx h̄t̄cū^w'stc also you will (have) fun 22.8

ʷla^wx al̄·twaⁱ' h̄t̄ū'stc they two again were among people 98.17, 18

ʷl̄w̄n waha' ha^{n̄} qa'msk^utc finally again (said to him) his younger brother 56.20, 21

wa'tūnx m^uqwa'LEMtc wa'as you will again (talk with) Crow's language 38.8, 9

l̄iyaxa'waxan a^wsa'wax a little while I intend (doing it), (namely to) sleep 27.5, 6

t̄c̄i'nta^w n̄t̄caⁱ' ants h̄t̄c whatever does a man 70.22

kum̄n̄t̄cx̄ân n̄i'ctc̄is not we two (excl.) will keep on (going) 56.2

§ 136. The Conditional Clause

The rendering of the conditional clause in Siuslaw is accomplished in so many different ways, that it was thought best, for the sake of §§ 135-136

conciseness, to devote a separate section to this subject. The usual procedure is to introduce a conditional clause by means of the temporal adverb *ats* AT THAT TIME, WHEN (see § 120), or by means of either of these three related particles: *tsan*, *kūⁱ nàts*, *ants* (see § 131).

ats tE'q waxa'yexayim if something (will) be given to him 18.5

tsa'ntcē tū'ha sī'n'xyūn if you (to) buy want her 74.8

yā'xa' hītc tEm'wa' sqā'k, *ants ha'qa'' ants hamī''tōi* many people assemble there, when those whales come ashore 82.21, 22

kūⁱ nàts xā'wa'xa'tnE if he had not been killed 29.7

There are, however, other ways of expressing a conditional clause that are resorted to more frequently than the process just mentioned. Of these, the use of the past tense as conveying conditionality is of an exceedingly frequent occurrence, and is due to the participial function that is assigned by the Siuslaw to that tense (see § 74). In such cases the conditional clause tends to precede the sentence expressing the co-ordinate thought, although instances of a reversed order are by no means rare. The verb of the co-ordinate clause takes usually (but not as a rule) the durative suffix (see § 69).

tē'k^{Enx} ya'xyaxā'n hītc, *u^{iEnx} L!wa'nīsūn* if somewhere you see a person, you will tell of it (literally, having seen . . .) 38.12, 13
wa'sL'syanx tāqa'na, *u^{iEnx} tsī'k!ya qa'wūn wa'a's* if you get mad at anything, you very loud will always talk (literally, having become mad . . .) 36.11, 12

Lī'wayanx īnq!a'ītc, *u^{iEnx} qnū'wī'wūs* whenever they came into a river, they would find (literally, having come . . .) 66.21, 22
Lī'ūna'w'ya'x, *uⁱ s^{atsī'tc} waa'yūn* when they two came together, then thus she said 46.7

īnq!a'ītc hītc tā'yax, *uⁱ yā'xa' sīnq!* if in the ocean a man lives, (very) much he is hungry 44.12, 13

tsī'k!ya hīs atsī'tc wa'a'yax very good (it would have been) if thus he had said 42.13

The conditional clause is also expressed by the use of the future tense.

sī'n'xyū'ne ts!ūna'tc xawa'a^u, *a^u stūxax* it was desired (that) with an arrow he (should) be killed, if he should (be a) sleep(er) 24.1
tsī'k!ya hīs t!ā'mēns tē'ntūx very good (would it be) if our children (dual incl.) should come back 42.6, 7

hawa'itūx tE tsī'L!i, *u^{iEnx} tsīL!a't^{Etūx}* when finished will (be) these arrows, then we two (incl.) will shoot 50.14

sī'tūnx, *u^{iEnx} qnī'xats xnī'w'nīsūn* when (if) you will grow up, then you will do it 98.10

The conditional clause may also be expressed by the verb in its present tense.

sí'níxyanx kít'aya', *úlnx nàtc lí'wís* if you want food, then you will always come to me 44.6

tE'q xawa' pī'tsís, *úł s^əàs í't!a'yūn ha'qyax* if something dies in the ocean, he eats it (it) having come ashore 44.19, 20

wīLa' L!a'^{ai} úł ha'qmas tcī'wa xī'ntmE when the water is low, alongside of the beach he travels 46.16

tcīn hīsí'stc ants qwo'tca', *atsī'tc waa'yūtsmE qí'útc* when he gets home, that Beaver, thus he says to his wife 48.17

§ 137. VOCABULARY

All Siuslaw words may be divided into two distinct classes, those of a denominating character and neutral stems. To the former belong all nouns of relationship, terms denoting parts of the body, animal names, words expressing natural objects, etc. These nouns never consist of more than three syllables. By far the greater part of the vocabulary consists of neutral stems, whose nominal or verbal function depends solely upon the sense in which they are used in a sentence and upon the functional value of the suffix with which they occur (see § 22). These stems are mostly monosyllabic, and consist of a vowel and consonant, of a consonant or consonantic cluster followed by a vowel, or (in most cases) of a consonant vowel and consonant.

a^us- to sleep 24.1

anax- to give up 16.8

āq- to go away 52.10

īL!- to break 94.4

wa- to speak 7.1

ta'ⁱ- to sit, to live 16.2

sī'ⁱ- to grow 98.10

mEQ!- to dance 19.2

xāL!- to do, to make 50.8

yax- to see 20.10

wīnx- to be afraid 17.6

āq- to take off 13.1

a'ⁱq- to leave

a'ⁱtc- to trade 36.4

qaa- to enter 34.5

xāū- to die 16.8

tk!^a- to open (one's mouth) 28.2

xīntm- to travel 12.10

tqūl- to shout 52.8

cīl·x- to shake 27.2

L!wān- to tell 17.1

qatcⁿ- to go 8.2

As examples of bisyllabic stems, the following may be given:

wasLⁱs- to be angry 36.11, 12

qaqū'n- to listen

sīnxi- to desire 11.7

tēmū- to assemble 7.3

k!^a'lā^u- to be tired 36.21

xīl·xci- to work 48.10

ha'nⁿīt!- to believe 46.3

Onomatopoeic expressions are exceedingly rare, being confined to three animal names and one verbal stem.

mî'tcmîtc grouse (probably called so from its cry *mî't-mî't*)

pūpuhū'nîk! owl

qō'qōq swan (white)

xūn- to snore

u' wàn xū^un now he snores 27.9

A few terms appear in a reduplicated form (see § 109).

§ 138. STRUCTURE OF SENTENCES

The absence of nominal incorporation and polysynthesis as grammatical devices renders the Siuslaw sentence subject to easy analysis, and prevents the many complications that are met with in many other American languages. Each part of the sentence—such as subject, nominal object, predicate, and attribute—is expressed by means of a phonetically independent word. The successive order in which these parts of a sentence are arranged is arbitrary and exempt from any well-defined rules. The subject may be placed at the beginning or at the end of the sentence, usage favoring its occurrence at the very end, especially in cases where the sentence contains a nominal subject and object.

lk!anū'k^u u' mEq!a'^vtx ha'^qmas līya'wa Screech-Owl was continually dancing alongside of the fire 86.2, 3

lk!an^uwa'k^u wī'nxa^ūn ants penī's Screech-Owl fears that Skunk 86.5

tsī'k!ya wī'nxa^ūn ants penī's lk!an^uwa'k^u very much is afraid of that Skunk, Screech-Owl 86.3

pītcē'ya^ux lqatūwīyū's ants qūtcē'ū'nī they two go over logs, these women 88.15, 16

Nominal objects may either precede or follow the subject of the sentence.

hīna'^wūn ants pīna'st lk!an^uwa'k^u she intends to take along that sick man, Screech-Owl 88.1, 2

waa'a^ūn sqūmā' ants lq!al'ō'mā said Pelican to that Sea-Gull 44.17

Of a similar free position are those parts of the sentence that express adverbial ideas. They may precede or follow the verb.

u'la^ux tē'watē hakwa'aⁱ they two into the water will be thrown 88.7, 8

xa'līnt qa'xūntē lqatūwīyū'stc he climbs up on a tree 12.4

yāk!isk'īnū' l!aya' u' tīyū'^{wi} on a small place they live 38.19

tīkwa'yūnanax k^u l'v'āⁱ sēxa^ū you may get salmon in the boat 48.18

Nominal and adverbial attributive complements may precede or follow the noun or verb, excepting the demonstrative pronouns *ants*, *tē* (see § 115), which are usually placed immediately before the noun. Owing to the fact that all adjectives are intransitive verbs, they seldom refer to the noun, and are freely movable.

- yā^a'xaⁱ hītc pīnaⁱtx haⁱ* many people were sorry 15.4
yīxa'yūn hītc yā^a'xaⁱ he saw many people
wī'nxā^{ūn} tsī'k!ya tē penī's she was very much afraid of Skunk 86.1
tsī'k!ya^{ūx} xaū' sī'nīxyūn very much they two wanted him to die
 86.19
ywwa'yūn yā^a'xaⁱ ants q!a'ū they collected lots of that pitch 88.5, 6
lxā'yaxa^ū nī ants penī's that other skunk 86.18, 19
yīkt ants hītsī'ⁱ big (is) that house 25.2
hī'tc^{tc} nīctcīma^{mu} tē t!ī a person's fashion (has) this Bear 60.26

The same freedom of order as is exhibited by the different parts of the sentence is found in the relative position of coordinate and subordinate sentences. Subordinate clauses are usually introduced by particles, and they may precede or follow the principal clause.

- waⁱ tē'wa ma^{tc} ants lqa'^{tū}, ũ mīltca'* although in the water lay
 those logs, still (they) burned 32.22
nī'ctcīm sqā'k lī'wat!ī, waⁱ yā'tsa because there he came fre-
 quently, even for a long time 68.4, 5
yā^a'xaⁱ hītc, ũ tem^ūwaⁱ sqā'k, ants ha'qa' ants hamī'tē many
 people assemble there, when those whales come ashore 82.21, 22
tē'q xawa' pī'tsīs, ũ s^{ās} līt!a'yūn ha'gyax when something
 dies in the ocean, he eats it after it has come ashore 44.19, 20

§ 139. IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

Here belongs in first place the manner of expressing comparison of adjectives. The comparative degree is expressed by using the objective form of the pronoun (or noun) for the compared object, which is invariably placed at the end of the sentence. In some cases the idea of comparison is brought out more forcibly by the adverb *peḷi'tc* AHEAD, FIRST, following or preceding the object.

- s^à hīs nātē* he is better than I (am)
na'han hī'sa nī'x^{tc} I am better than you (are)
yīktī'l'mān s^à'na peḷi'tc I am taller than he (is)
yīkt s^à peḷi'tc na'tc^{nl} he is taller than we (are)

The superlative is expressed in the same manner, although the augmentative or diminutive suffixes (see §§ 83, 84) or the suffix *-ūnî* (see § 102) are preferably used to indicate the superlative degree.

l'na^{uw}i s^əà nà'to^{en}xan he is (the) richest of us all
s^əà yāk!l'sk'în tɛxmū'nî he is the smallest man
nà'han yîktî'l'mä I am the tallest
s^əà yîktū'nî that biggest one
tū yāk!a^wnî that smallest one 88.12

A very important example of idiomatic phraseology is the (colloquial) use of the singular number for the plural. It will be remembered that Siuslaw has only two suffixes expressing plurality, neither of which is used consistently (see §§ 79, 80). In many cases the adverb *yā^{a'}xaⁱ* MUCH, MANY (see § 121), the numeral particle *ha^{i'}mūt* ALL (see § 124) or the stem *L!a^{ai}* PLACE, WORLD (see § 133), is employed for the purpose of denoting plural subjects and objects, and, while these stems are at times used in conjunction with one of the plural suffixes, they more frequently express plurality without the aid of these suffixes; that is to say, the verb is more often used in the singular form.

yā^{a'}xaⁱ L!a^{ai} hītc yîxa'yūn he saw many people 70.2
yā^{a'}xaⁱ hītc ptnaⁱtx haⁱ many people were sorry 15.4
ha^{i'}mūt . . . l'kwa^v all get it 82.6
la^vqat skwaha^vtx xwākī' ants L!a^{ai} feathers have on their heads
 those people 10.9

Very often, however, the singular number has a plural function, even without the aid of any of these particles, as may be seen from the following examples:

s^əa'tsa l'it!aⁱ tɛ ta^{i'}yax thus eat those who lived here 82.12
u^l tqa^wwītc taya^v they lived up stream 82.12, 13
u^l tɛm^wwa^v sqaⁱk they assemble there 82.21, 22
cī'n^axtɛ ya'xa^w ants ya^εk^{us} three were the seals (literally, three his
 number, that seal) 62.16, 17
xā'ts!ū hītc ūlqa^v two people dig 84.2
sī'nⁱxyūn lq!ā'nū they wanted (to buy) hides 100.15
hīq!aha^wnî ants xū'nhaⁱ ha^{i'}tsī nothing but dentalia shells these
 (people) bet 78.14

Another peculiar idiomatic expression is found in the manner of expressing an act performed by two subjects, both of whom are mentioned. This is usually done by adding the subjective pronoun for

the third person dual $-a^u x$ (see § 24) to one of the subjects, using the other in its absolutive form. The noun taking the pronominal suffix occurs invariably in its discriminative form (see § 111). It is not absolutely necessary that these two subjects should follow each other in immediate succession.

s^ea'tsate nîctcîmâ^emû tE sqûma' wâ'nwîts lq'al·ôa'ma^ux thus was long ago the custom of pelican and sea-gull (literally, thus his custom, [of] this pelican long ago, [of] sea-gull, [of] them two) 48.4, 5

qwo'txaⁱ tsîmîl'a'wa^ux taⁱ beaver and muskrat lived 48.6
s^eatsv'tc^wax halk! mâ'q^uL tE uma'tv^wax thus is told the story of Crow and Thunder (literally, thus their two, story, Crow [of] this [and] this Thunder [of them two]) 38.18

qîûtç'l'mâ ltekwâ'ntc^wax taⁱ tî'mwa an old woman and her grandchild lived together (literally, old woman, her grandchild, they two, lived together) 96.15

^ula^ux stîm qa'txast ants tExmû'nî qayû'tc^etc^wax they two there commenced to cry that man and his wife (literally, they two, there, commenced to cry, that man, his wife, they two) 58.17, 18
Lx^uyaxa^wnî ants penî's tsî'k!ya^ux xaû' sî'nîxyûn ants plnast (he and) that other skunk very much they two wanted (that) that sick man (should) die 86.18, 19

An idiomatic expression of irregular occurrence is the formation of the imperative mode of a verb that is preceded by the stem *haû-* TO STOP. Such a phrase consists of the imperative form of the verb TO STOP followed by the demonstrative pronoun *s^eà*, and of the past tense of the verbal stem that expresses the prohibited action.

ha'ûm s^eanx qâ'txyax quit crying! (literally, stop, this one you [who] has been crying)

ha'ûm s^eanx tsî'LYax stop shooting!

ha'ûm s^eanx qâ'LYax stop counting!

The verb expressing the prohibited action may sometimes occur without the suffix for the past tense.

ha'ûmatçî s^ea'tçî waana'wa stop talking to one another!

ha'ûm s^eanx ç^uxû'yûn tE kô'tan stop scaring these horses!

As the last instance of idiomatic phraseology may be mentioned the use of the durative as a negative imperative, a use that has been fully discussed in §§ 40, 60, and 61.

TEXTS

THE DEATH OF GRIZZLY BEAR¹

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| Wā'nwīts. ² | Tsī'k!ya ³ | mī'k!a | wā'nwīts ² | L!a' ^{ai} . ⁴ | K!ēxū ⁵ | L!aya' ⁶ | |
| Long ago. | Very | bad | long ago | world. | Each on | place on | |
| u!7 s ^{ai} t ⁸ | L!a' ^{ai} . ⁴ | S ^{ai} 'tsa ³ | hī'q!aq!yax ⁹ | wā'nwīts. ² | M!iya'k!a ¹⁰ | h!iya'te ¹¹ | |
| then such | world. | Thus | it had started | long ago. | Bad | person | |
| !t!a'yūn. ¹² | Swā!i ¹³ | !t!a'yūn ¹² | h!īc | L!a' ^{ai} . ⁴ | wā'nwīts. ² | H!īc | |
| devoured him. | Grizzly | devoured | people | many | long ago. | Person | |
| p ^{ai} 'Ln ¹⁴ | qatc'na! ¹⁵ | u!7 | s ^{ai} ās ¹⁶ | L!xma!yūs ¹⁷ | u!7 | h!īl!yūs. ¹⁸ | |
| to hunt | goes, | then | he | would kill him | and | would devour him. | |
| Yā'a'xa ¹⁹ | h!īc | p!na! ¹ tx ²⁰ | ha ¹ | s ^{ai} 'na. ²¹ | u!7 | tēmū'tx ²² | h!īcū'u. ²³ |
| Many | persons | sorry their | hearts | for that. | Then | assemble (pl.) | people. |
| S!n ^{ai} xyū'u ²⁴ | xāl!a'ū!tx. ²⁵ | Ts!m ²⁶ | xawa'a ^u . ²⁷ | A'tsa ²⁸ | u!7 | wān ²⁹ | |
| Desire (pl.) | be fixed his | Always | killed | That's | why | now | |
| | (disposition). | | shall be. | | | | |
| tēmū'tx ²² | h!īcū' ^{wi} . ³⁰ | u!7 | waa! ¹ tx ³¹ | mā!iyū'u ³² | tē ³³ | L!a' ^{ai} . ⁴ | |
| assemble (pl.) | people. | Then | say continually | chiefs (of) | this | region. | |
| "P!a'ntxan ³⁴ | ha ¹ | tsī'k!ya. ³ | N!t'ctcan! ³⁵ | tēx ³⁶ | xawa'ūn? ³⁷ | u!7 | |
| "Sorry our | hearts | very. | How we | doubt | kill him? | For | |

¹ See Leo J. Frachtenberg, Lower Umpqua Texts, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. IV, pp. 15 *et seq.*

² Temporal adverb (§ 120).

³ Modal adverb (§ 121).

⁴ See § 133.

⁵ *k!ēx* EACH, EVERY (§§ 124, 2); -*ū* local suffix of rest (§ 91).

⁶ *L!a'^{ai}* particle (§ 133); -*a* locative case (§§ 86, 8).

⁷ Conjunction (§ 125).

⁸ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

⁹ *h!īq!* TO START, TO COMMENCE (§ 108); -*yax* past tense (§ 74).

¹⁰ Discriminative form of *mī'k!a* (§ 111).

¹¹ Discriminative form of *h!īc* PERSON (§ 111).

¹² *h!ī!* TO EAT (§ 12); -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75); -*ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

¹³ Discriminative form of *swā!* GRIZZLY BEAR (§ 111).

¹⁴ Transposed from *p!na!¹* (§ 14); *p!n!* TO HUNT; -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75).

¹⁵ *qatc!* TO GO, TO START; -*ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 136).

¹⁶ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

¹⁷ *L!xma!* TO KILL; -*ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9, 2); -*ūs* durative (§§ 69, 8).

¹⁸ *h!ī!* TO EAT; -*ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -*ūs* durative (§§ 69, 8).

¹⁹ Modal adverb (§ 121).

²⁰ *p!n!* TO BE SICK; -*ai*tx suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33).

²¹ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

²² *tēmū!* TO ASSEMBLE; -*tx* plural (§ 80).

²³ *h!īc* PERSON; -*ūu* plural (§ 79).

²⁴ *s!nxi!* TO WANT, TO DESIRE; -*ūu* plural (§§ 79, 8)

²⁵ *xāl!* TO MAKE, TO FIX; -*ū!tx* passive (§ 83).

²⁶ Temporal adverb (§ 120).

²⁷ *xaw!* TO DIE; -*aw* future passive (§§ 56, 8).

²⁸ Modal adverb (§ 121); *a'tsa u!* FOR THAT REASON (§ 125).

²⁹ Temporal particle (§ 126).

³⁰ *h!īc* PERSON; -*ūwi* plural (§ 79).

³¹ *waa!* TO SPEAK; -*ai*tx frequentative (§§ 68, 9).

³² *mā!tī* CHIEF (§ 98); -*ūu* plural (§§ 79, 8).

³³ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

³⁴ Abbreviated; for *p!a'ntxanxan*; *p!n!* TO BE SICK (§ 112); -*tx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33); -*nzan* exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

³⁵ *n!t'ctca* particle (§ 131); -*n!* inclusive plural (§ 24).

³⁶ Particle (§ 127).

³⁷ *zaw!* TO DIE (§ 112); -*ūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

| | | | | | |
|---|--|--|---|---|---|
| kumí'ntc ³⁸ not | xa'wíl ³⁹ he die not | tsílí'tc. ⁴⁰ arrow through. | A'tsan ⁴¹ Thus I | u'ín ⁴² so I | kumí'ntc ³⁸ not |
| sí'n'xyūn ⁴³ want it | tsílí'tc. ⁴⁰ arrow with | L'xmaya'a'u. ⁴⁴ killed he shall be." | u'í wàn ²⁹ Then finally | waa'tx ⁴⁵ say (pl.) | hítcū'u. ²³ people, |
| k'ínk'ya'a'u ⁴⁶ it will be gone and seen | ní'etca ⁴⁷ how | tē ³³ ta. ⁴⁸ this lives. | S ^E a'tsa ³ Thus | tū'na'a'u. ⁴⁹ he will be invited. | u'í wàn ²⁹ Then now |
| qa'tc'intx ⁵⁰ go (pl.) | k'ínk't'ū' ^{wi} . ⁵¹ searchers. | u'í wàn ²⁹ Then now | L'íl'wa'xam. ⁵² he is approached. | Līū'ūn. ⁵³ He got there. | |
| "K'íaha'yū'nax ⁵⁴ "Invited art thou, | al'twa'wanx ⁵⁵ also about thou | hítcū'u'stc ⁵⁶ fun to | L'aya'tc." ⁵⁷ place to." | Kumí'ntc ³⁸ Not | |
| a'mhate ⁵⁸ willing his | ha'. mind. | u'í tca'xa'ūt ⁵⁹ So goes back | u'í tci'n and goes home | ants ⁶⁰ hítc. that man. | u'í s ^E atsi'tc ⁶¹ And thus |
| L'wa ^{an} . ⁶² relates. | "Kumí'ntc ³⁸ "Not | a'mhate ⁵⁸ willing his | ha'. mind." | S ^E atsi'tc ⁶¹ Thus | L'wa ^{an} . ⁶² ants ⁶⁰ relates that |
| hítc. man. | Yā'a'xa ⁱ¹⁹ Much | hítcū'u ⁶³ fun | L'a'ai ⁴ they (of) | ants ⁶⁰ tēmū' ^{uwi} . ⁶⁴ that assembly. | u'í waa'xam ⁶⁵ Then is told |
| ants ⁶⁰ that | s ^E a ⁶⁶ who | qa'tc'intūx. ⁶⁷ go will. | "Kumí'ntc'ín ⁶⁸ "Not we | ana'xyūn. ⁶⁹ give it up will. | Ats ⁷⁰ When |
| xa'ūtūx, ⁷¹ he die will, | u'ín ⁷² then we | ana'xyūn." ⁶⁹ give it up will." | Atsī'tc ⁷³ Thus | L'ōnī'txa'ū'nē. ⁷⁴ it is repeatedly said. | |

³⁸ Particle of negation (§ 131).³⁹ xaū- TO DIE; -ī negative (§§ 53, 8).⁴⁰ tsí/L'ī ARROW (§ 98); -ítc adverbial (§§ 94, 9, 12).⁴¹ a'tsa THUS (§ 121); -n 1st person singular (§ 24).⁴² u'í THEN (§ 125); -n 1st person singular (§ 24). a'tsan u'in FOR THAT REASON I (§ 125). Singular instead of plural (§ 139). Should have been a'tsanxan u'ínxan.⁴³ sínc- TO DESIRE (§ 4); -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 24, 28, 8).⁴⁴ L'xma- TO KILL; -aa' future passive (§§ 56, 8).⁴⁵ waa- TO SAY; -tx plural (§ 80).⁴⁶ k'ínk'ī- TO GO AND LOOK; -aa' future passive (§§ 56, 8).⁴⁷ Particle (§ 131).⁴⁸ t- (?) TO LIVE, TO RESIDE; -ai verbalizing (§ 75).⁴⁹ tū'n- TO INVITE; -aa' future passive (§ 56).⁵⁰ qatcn- TO START, TO GO (§ 4); -tc plural (§ 80).⁵¹ k'ínk'ī- TO GO AND LOOK; -f'ūwi nominal (§ 99).⁵² Līū- TO COME, TO APPROACH (§§ 107, 112); -xam present passive (§§ 55).⁵³ Līū- TO ARRIVE, TO COME; -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 23, 10).⁵⁴ k'a'- TO INVITE; -ai verbalizing (§§ 75, 3); -ū'nē passive (§§ 58, 8); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).⁵⁵ Contracted; for al'twa'wanx (§ 9); a'l'dā LIKEWISE (§§ 125, 135); -awax intentional (§§ 70, 8); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).⁵⁶ hítcū'u FUN (§ 97); -ūs locative case (§§ 86, 9); -tc local (§ 90).⁵⁷ L'a'ai GROUND (§ 133); -a locative case (§§ 86, 8); -tc local (§ 90).⁵⁸ a'mha WILLING; -tc possessive 3d person singular (§ 88).⁵⁹ tca'ū- TO TURN BACK; -t present (§§ 72, 2).⁶⁰ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).⁶¹ s^Ea'tsa THUS (§ 121); -ítc modal (§§ 94, 9).⁶² L'ōn- TO RELATE (§ 112).⁶³ hítc- TO PLAY; -ūw nominal (§ 97).⁶⁴ tēmū- TO ASSEMBLE; -ūwi nominal (§§ 97, 9).⁶⁵ waa- TO SPEAK, TO SAY; -xam present passive (§ 55).⁶⁶ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).⁶⁷ qatcn- TO GO (§ 4); -tūx future (§ 73).⁶⁸ kumí'ntc NOT (§ 131); -nī inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).⁶⁹ anx- TO GIVE UP; -yūn exhortative with direct object of third person (§§ 41, 112).⁷⁰ Temporal adverb (§ 120).⁷¹ xaū- TO DIE; -tūx future (§ 73).⁷² u'í THEN (§ 125); -nī inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).⁷³ a'tsa THUS (§ 121); -ítc modal (§§ 94, 9).⁷⁴ L'ōn- TO TELL, TO SAY; -ítx frequentative (§ 68); -a'wē passive (§ 58).

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|
| u ¹ | wàn ²⁹ | L!ōxa'xam ⁷⁵ | waa'xam ⁶⁵ | ants ⁶⁰ | hītc. | S ^u kwi'tc ⁷⁶ | tsinq! ⁷⁷ |
| Then | finally | is sent | is told | that | man. | Very | poor |
| ants ⁶⁰ | hītc | L!ōxa'xam. ⁷⁵ | "Hi'sanx ⁷⁸ | L!wa'nīsūn. ⁷⁹ | Kwīnx ⁸⁰ | nīctc'ītc ⁸¹ | |
| that | man | who is sent. | "Well thou | shalt tell him. | Not thou | what-like | |
| L!wa'nīsūn ⁷⁹ | mī'k!a'na. ⁸² | L!wa'nīsūnanx ⁸³ | s ^E atsī'tc, ⁶¹ | 'Sī'n ^E xyūt- | | | |
| shalt tell him | bad-ly. | Shalt tell him thou | thus, | 'Desire | | | |
| sanax ⁸⁴ | Lī'ūtūx ⁸⁵ | tīū'ts. ⁸⁶ | Tsī'k!yanxan ⁸⁷ | sī'n ⁱ xyūn ⁴³ | hūtea'u. ⁸⁸ | | |
| we-thee | come shall | here. | Very we | want it | fun shall be | | |
| | | | | | (had).' | | |
| Atsī'tc ^E nx ⁸⁹ | L!wā'nīsūn. ⁷⁹ | Kwīnx ⁸⁰ | L!wā'nīsūn ⁷⁹ | mī'k!a'na. ⁸² | | | |
| Thus thou | shalt tell him. | Not thou | shalt tell him | bad-ly. | | | |
| Yā'a'xa'tc ⁹⁰ | ha ¹ , | tsī'k!ya ³ | mī'k!a.' ⁹¹ | u ¹ | wàn ²⁹ | qa'tc ⁱ nt ⁶¹ | ants ⁶⁰ |
| Much his | mind, | very | bad." | So | finally | starts | that |
| hītc. | Wīnx | tsī'k!ya. ³ | "L!wa'xan ⁸² | tā'kīn ⁸³ | Līū'. ⁹² | u ¹ | wàn ²⁹ |
| man. | He fears | very. | "Messenger I | this I | come." | Then | now |
| wīwa' ⁹⁴ | "Nīctc'ītc ⁸¹ | canx ⁹⁵ | wa'a'yaxa ^ū ts ⁸⁶ | ants ⁶⁰ | Lī'ūyax? ⁹⁷ | | |
| he assents. | "What-like thee | told he-thee | that (who) | came?" | | | |
| "Kumī'ntc ³⁸ | nīctc'ītc ⁸¹ | wa'a'ī. ⁹⁶ | Txūn ⁹⁹ | L!ōna'yūtn ^E ¹⁰⁰ | s ^E atsī'tc. ⁶¹ | | |
| "Not | what-like | he said. | Just I | am told | thus: | | |
| 'k!aha'yū'nīn. ¹⁰¹ | Atsī'tcīn ¹⁰² | L!ōna'yūts. ¹⁰³ | 'Tsī'k!yanx ¹⁰⁴ | sī'n ⁱ xyūn ⁴³ | | | |
| 'invited am I.' | Thus me | he tells he-me. | 'Very they | want it | | | |

⁷⁵ L!ōx- TO SEND; -xam present passive (§§ 55, 4).

⁷⁶ Modal adverb (§§ 121, 94).

⁷⁷ tsinq!- TO BE POOR; -i nominal (§ 104).

⁷⁸ hīs GOOD; -a modal (§ 96); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).

⁷⁹ L!ōn- TO TELL (§ 112); -is durative (§ 69); -ūn direct object of third person (§ 28).

⁸⁰ kūi NOT (§ 131); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).

⁸¹ nī'tca WHAT (§ 131); -ītc modal (§§ 94, 9).

⁸² mī'k!a BAD (§ 96); -na modal (§ 94).

⁸³ L!ōn- TO TELL (§ 112); -is durative (§ 69); -ūn direct object of third person (§ 28); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

⁸⁴ sīnxi- TO DESIRE; -ūtsanax direct object of first and second persons WE-THEE (§§ 29, 8, and Table, p. 473).

⁸⁵ Līū- TO COME; -tūx future (§ 73).

⁸⁶ Local adverb (§ 119).

⁸⁷ tsī'k!ya VERY (§ 121); -nzan exclusive plural (§ 24).

⁸⁸ hūtc- TO PLAY, TO HAVE FUN; -aaw future passive (§ 56).

⁸⁹ atsī'tc THUS (§§ 121, 94); -nx 2nd person singular (§§ 24, 4).

⁹⁰ yā'a'xai MUCH (§ 121); -tc possessive 3rd person singular (§ 88).

⁹¹ qatcn- TO START (§ 4); -t present (§ 72).

⁹² Contracted; for L!o'waxaxan (§ 24); L!ōx- TO SEND (§ 112); -ax nominal (§ 101); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

⁹³ āak THIS (§ 115); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

⁹⁴ wīū- TO AFFIRM, TO AGREE, TO ASSENT; -aī verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).

⁹⁵ nī'tca WHAT (§ 131); -ītc modal (§§ 94, 9); -nx 2nd person singular (§§ 24, 4).

⁹⁶ waa- TO SAY; -yax past (§ 74); -aūts direct object of first and second persons (§ 29).

⁹⁷ Līū- TO COME; -yax past (§ 74).

⁹⁸ waa- TO SAY; -aī negative (§§ 53, 9).

⁹⁹ txū JUST (§ 130); -n 1st person singular (§ 24).

¹⁰⁰ L!ōn- TO TELL; -aī verbalizing (§ 75); -ūtn^E passive (§§ 58, 8).

¹⁰¹ k!a' TO INVITE; -aī verbalizing (§§ 75, 3); -ū'n^E passive (§§ 58, 8); -n 1st person singular (§ 24).

¹⁰² atsī'tc THUS (§§ 121, 94); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹⁰³ L!ōn- TO TELL; -aī verbalizing (§ 75); -ūts direct object of first person and second persons (§§ 29, 8, and Table, p. 480).

¹⁰⁴ tsī'k!ya VERY (§ 121); -nx 3d person plural (§ 24).

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|--|---|---|---|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Līwa'wax. ¹⁰⁵ intend to come (thou). | S ^E atsī'tcīn ¹⁰⁶ Thus I | L ^o wa'x ¹⁰⁷ messenger | tā'kīn ⁹³ this I | Lūū'. ¹¹¹ come." | S ^E atsī'tc ⁶¹ Thus | | |
| waa' ¹⁰⁸ he says. | "Te'qīn ¹⁰⁹ "Something I | waxa ^ū me ¹¹⁰ be given | tā'kīn ⁹³ this I (who) | klaha'yū'ne? ¹¹¹ am invited?"— | | | |
| "Kumīn'ntc ³⁸ "Not | nīctcī'tc ⁸¹ anything | wa'a ^ū tnē. ¹¹² is said. | Txū ¹¹³ Just | wān ⁷ now | hūtcū' ^{u 114} have fun | | |
| L ^l 'ai. ⁴ many. | S ^E a'tsa ³ Thus | tanx ¹¹⁵ this thou | sī'n ^E xyūtne ¹¹⁶ art wanted | Lī'ūtūx. ⁸⁵ come shall." | "S ^E atsī'tc ^{Enx} ¹¹⁷ "Thus thou | | |
| L ^l 'wa'nīs, ¹¹⁸ shalt tell, | 'Sī'nxīt ¹¹⁹ 'He wants | tāqa'na. ¹²⁰ something. | Ats ⁷⁰ When | te'q ¹²⁰ something | waxa'yexayīm, ¹²¹ be given to him, | uī then | |
| wān ²⁹ finally | Lī'ūtūx. ⁸⁵ he come will.' | S ^E atsī'tc ^{Enx} ¹¹⁷ Thus thee | waa'yūts. ¹²² tells he-thee." | | | | |
| uī Then | s ^E atsī'tc ⁶¹ thus | waa' says | ants ⁶⁰ that | a'īq ¹²³ one | hītc. man. | "Txū ¹¹³ "Just | yā'a'xa'tc ⁹⁰ much his |
| ha ¹ . mind. | S ^E atsī'tc ⁶¹ Thus | sī'n ⁱ xya, ¹²⁴ he desires, | nī'ctcīm ¹²⁵ because | s ^E ās ¹⁶ he | klī'xa'yūn ¹²⁶ kills | te ³³ these | |
| hītc. people. | A'tsa ^{uī} ²³ That's why | yā'a'xa'tc ⁹⁰ much his | ha ¹ . mind." | Atsī'tc ⁷³ Thus | waa' says | ants ⁶⁰ that | hītc. man. |
| "Atsī'tc ⁷³ "Thus | waa'xam, ⁶⁵ he is told, | 'Meq ^l ē'na'a ^u . ¹²⁷ 'It will be danced for him. | Hūya'ūltx ¹²⁸ Changed his (will be) | ha ¹ . mind. | Tsī'k'ya ³ Very | | |
| planya' ⁱ t'yūn ¹²⁹ sorry continually for him | ha ⁱ tc. ¹³⁰ mind his.' | S ^E atsī'tc ⁶¹ Thus | waa' ¹⁰⁸ he says. | 'Ats ⁷⁰ 'When | te'q ¹²⁰ something | | |
| wā'xyaxa ^ū me, ¹³¹ be given to him, | uī then | Lī'ūtūx. ⁸⁵ he come will.' | S ^E atsī'tcīn ¹⁰⁶ Thus me | wa'a ^ū ts. ¹³² tells he-me." | | | |

¹⁰⁵ Līū- TO COME; -awax intentional (§§ 70, 8).

¹⁰⁶ S^Eatsī'tc THUS (§§ 121, 94); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹⁰⁷ Contracted; for L^owa'a'xax (§ 24); L^oō- TO SEND (§ 112); -ax nominal (§ 101).

¹⁰⁸ waa- TO SAY; -aⁱ verbalizing (§§ 75, 9).

¹⁰⁹ te'q pronominal particle (§ 123); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹¹⁰ wax- TO GIVE; -a^ūme passive (§ 38).

¹¹¹ kl'a'- TO INVITE (§ 3); -aⁱ verbalizing (§ 75); -ū'ne passive (§§ 58, 8).

¹¹² waa- TO SAY; -a^ūtnē passive (§ 58).

¹¹³ Restrictive particle (§ 130).

¹¹⁴ hūtc- TO HAVE FUN; -ū plural (§ 79).

¹¹⁵ tāq THIS (§ 115); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 16).

¹¹⁶ sī'nxī- TO DESIRE; -ūtne passive (§§ 58, 8).

¹¹⁷ S^Eatsī'tc THUS (§§ 121, 94); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹¹⁸ L^lōn- TO RELATE (§ 112); -īs durative (§ 69).

¹¹⁹ sī'nxī- TO DESIRE; -aⁱ verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -t present (§ 72).

¹²⁰ Pronominal particle (§ 123).

¹²¹ Mis-heard for wā'zyaxāime; wāx- TO GIVE; -yax past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136); -a^ūme passive (§ 38).

¹²² waa- TO SAY; -aⁱ verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); -ūts direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 466, § 8).

¹²³ Numeral (§ 116).

¹²⁴ sī'nxī- TO DESIRE (§§ 112, 8).

¹²⁵ Particle (§ 128).

¹²⁶ klīx- TO DISAPPEAR; -aⁱ verbalizing (§ 75); -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

¹²⁷ maq^l- TO DANCE; -īn verbal (§§ 81, 2); -aa^u passive (§ 56).

¹²⁸ hūya- TO CHANGE; -ūltx passive (§ 39).

¹²⁹ Contracted; for planya'ya't'yūn; pln- TO BE SORRY (§ 112); -aⁱ verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); -at'ī frequentative (§ 63); -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

¹³⁰ ha¹- MIND, HEART (§ 98); -tc possessive 3d person singular (§§ 88, 139).

¹³¹ waa- TO GIVE; -yax past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 135); -a^ūme passive (§ 38).

¹³² waa- TO SAY; -a^ūts direct object of first and second persons (§ 29 and Table, p. 480).

| | | | | | | |
|---|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| u ¹ | wàn ²⁹ | qa'tc'nt ⁹¹ | ants ⁶⁰ | hītc | waha'. ¹³³ | "S ^E atsi'tc ^E nx ¹¹⁷ |
| Then | now | starts | that | man | again. | "Thus thou |
| wa'a'sūn. ¹³⁴ | 'Waxa'yīmanx ¹³⁵ | qani'nal.' | A tsi'tc ^E nx ⁶⁹ | L'ōna'yūn. ¹³⁶ | | |
| shalt tell him. | 'Is given to thee | knife.' | Thus thou | tell him. | | |
| 'Lī'mqanx ¹³⁷ | qa'tc'ntūx, ⁶⁷ | k'laha'yū'nanx. ⁵⁴ | Hūtcū' ^{wi} 114 | L'la' ^{ai} 4 | | |
| 'Quick thou | start shalt, | invited art thou. | Play | many | | |
| yā'a'xa ¹ . ¹⁹ | Sī'n'xyū'nanx ¹³⁸ | Lī'ūtūx. ⁸⁵ | Atsi'tc ^E nx ⁶⁹ | L'ōna'yūn. ¹³⁶ | | |
| much. | Wanted art thou | come shall.' | Thus thou | tell him." | | |
| Cī'n'xyat!ya ¹³⁹ | ants ⁶⁰ | hītc | L'ōxa'a ^u . ¹⁴⁰ | "Qna'han ¹⁴¹ | waa'yūn. ¹⁴² | |
| Thinks continually | that | man (who) | sent will be. | "I | say to him. | |
| L'xū'yūn ¹⁴³ | qna'han ¹⁴¹ | nīctcī'tc ⁸¹ | waa'yūn, ¹⁴² | u ¹ | hī'nak! ⁱ 144 | |
| Know it | I | what-like | say to him, | and | right away | |
| qa'tc ^E ntūx." ⁶⁷ | u ¹ | wàn ²⁹ | qa'tc ^E nt ⁹¹ | ants ⁶⁰ | hītc. | "Qna'han ¹⁴¹ |
| he start will." | Then | now | goes | that | man. | "I |
| waa'yūn, ¹⁴² | u ¹ | hī'nak! ⁱ 144 | qa'tc ^E ntūx." ⁶⁷ | | | |
| say to him, | and | right away | he start will." | | | |
| Atsi'tc ⁷³ | cī'n'xyat!ya ¹³⁹ | ants ⁶⁰ | hītc. | u ¹ | xīnt | u ¹ |
| Thus | thinks continually | that | man. | So | he goes | and |
| | | | | | arrives. | He |
| | | | | | comes | to |
| | | | | | him. | |
| "L'wa'xan ⁹² | tā'kīn ⁹³ | Līū'. | Tsi'k'yanx ¹⁴⁵ | sī'n'xyū'ne ¹⁴⁶ | Līwa'wax. ¹⁰⁵ | |
| "Messenger I | this I | come. | Very thou | art wanted | intend to come. | |
| Kū'yā'tsac | L'la' ^{ai} 147 | u ¹ | smū't' ^E tūx ¹⁴⁸ | ants ⁶⁰ | L'la' ^{ai} 4 | hūtcū' ^u . ⁶³ |
| Pretty soon | then | end will | that | big | fun. | |
| Atsi'tcīn ¹⁰² | waa'yūtne. ¹⁴⁹ | Na'm ^E īnx ¹⁵⁰ | te'q. ¹²⁰ | Nīctcī'tcanx ⁹⁵ | | |
| Thus I | am told. | Mine thou | relative. | What manner thou | | |
| tanx ¹¹⁵ | kū ⁱ 151 | a'mha'tī ¹⁵² | ha ¹ ?" | Atsi'tc ⁷³ | waa'a ^{ūn} . ¹⁵³ | "Yā'a'- |
| this thou | not | willing (thy) | mind?" | Thus he | says to him. | "Much |
| xa'txan ¹⁵⁴ | ha ¹ . | S ^E a'tsan ¹⁵⁵ | te ⁸³ | kumī'ntc ³⁸ | a'mha'tī ¹⁵² | ha ¹ . |
| (think in my) | mind. | Thus I | this | not | willing (my) | mind. |
| | | | | | | Just I |

¹³³ Temporal particle (§ 126).

¹³⁴ *waa-* TO SAY; -*ats* durative (§§ 69, 9); -*ūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

¹³⁵ *wax-* TO GIVE; -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75); -*ime* passive (§§ 38, 8); -*nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

¹³⁶ *L'ōn-* TO RELATE; -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75); -*ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

¹³⁷ *Lī'mqa* RIGHT AWAY (§§ 120, 96); -*nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

¹³⁸ *sīnxi-* TO DESIRE; -*ū'ne* passive (§§ 58, 8); -*nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

¹³⁹ *cīnxi-* TO THINK (§ 4); -*at'i* frequentative (§§ 68, 8, 7).

¹⁴⁰ *L'ōx-* TO SEND; -*aa^u* future passive (§ 56).

¹⁴¹ *q-* discriminative (§ 21); *na'han* personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113).

¹⁴² *waa-* TO SAY; -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75); -*ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

¹⁴³ *L'xu-* TO KNOW; -*ū'i* verbalizing (§§ 76, 9); -*ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

¹⁴⁴ Temporal adverb (§ 120).

¹⁴⁵ *tsi'k'ya* VERY (§§ 121, 96); -*nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

¹⁴⁶ *sīnxi-* TO DESIRE (§ 4); -*ū'ne* passive (§§ 58, 8).

¹⁴⁷ Temporal adverb (§ 120).

¹⁴⁸ *smū't'* TO END, TO FINISH; -*tūx* future (§§ 73, 4).

¹⁴⁹ *waa-* TO SAY; -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75); -*ūtnē* passive (§§ 58, 8).

¹⁵⁰ Contracted; for *na'm^Eīn^Enx* (§ 15); *nā I* (§ 113); -*emī* relative (§§ 87, 9); -*īn* possessive 1st singular (§ 88); -*nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹⁵¹ Particle of negation (§ 131).

¹⁵² *a'mha* WILLING; -*ai* possessive (§§ 88, 9).

¹⁵³ *waa-* TO SAY; -*a^{ūn}* direct object of third person (§ 28).

¹⁵⁴ *yā'a'xa¹* MUCH (§ 121); -*tx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33); -*n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹⁵⁵ *s^Ea'tsa* THUS (§ 121); -*n* 1st person singular (§ 24).

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| $k^u n\grave{a}$ ¹⁵⁶ | $xa'wa$ ¹⁵⁷ | $s\acute{i}'n'xy\ddot{u}tne$ ¹¹⁶ | $S^e a'tsan$ ¹⁵⁵ | $u\grave{h}n$ ¹⁵⁸ | $y\grave{a}'xa'i\ddot{t}i$ ¹⁵⁹ | ha^1 . | — |
| perhaps | to die | am wanted. | Thus I | and I | much (think in my) | mind." | — |
| "Kumí'ntc ³⁸ s ^e atsi'tc, ⁶¹ txūnx ¹⁶⁰ ya'xa ¹⁶¹ sí'n'xyūtnE. ¹¹⁶ S ^e a'tsanx ¹⁶² | | | | | | | |
| "Not | thus, | just thou | to see | art wanted. | Thus thou | | |
| $t\ddot{e}$ ³³ | $k'lah'a'y\ddot{u}'ne$ ¹¹¹ | $Tx\ddot{u}nx$ ¹⁶⁰ | $w\grave{a}n$ ²⁹ | $h\acute{i}'sa$ ¹⁶³ | $hawa'y\ddot{i}me$ ¹⁶⁴ | ha^1 . | |
| this | art invited. | Just thee | now | well (towards) | it is made | mind. | |
| $Te'q^enx$ ¹⁶⁵ | $waxa\bar{u}'me$ ¹¹⁰ | $S^e a'tsanx$ ¹⁶² | $t\ddot{e}$ ³³ | $k'lah'a'y\ddot{u}'ne$ ¹¹¹ | $Na'm^e$ | | |
| Something thee | it is given. | Thus thou | this | art invited. | Mine | | |
| $\acute{h}inx$ ¹⁵⁰ | $t\ddot{e}'q$ ¹²⁰ | $s^e a'tsanx$ ¹⁶² | $tanx$ ¹¹⁵ | $\acute{h}'kwa'y\ddot{u}ts$ ¹⁶⁶ | $qn\grave{a}$ ¹⁶⁷ | $S^e ats\acute{i}'-$ | |
| thou | relative, | thus thee | this thee | fetch I-thee | I. | Thus | |
| $tc\acute{i}n$ ¹⁶⁶ | $t\bar{a}'k\acute{i}n$ ⁹³ | $L\acute{i}'mqa$ ¹⁶⁸ | $L\acute{i}\bar{u}'$. | $Qan\acute{i}'na\acute{l}$ | $waxa\bar{u}'manx$ ¹⁶⁹ | $S^e a'-$ | |
| I | this I | quickly | come. | Knife is | given to thee. | Thus | |
| $tsanx$ ¹⁶² | $tanx$ ¹¹⁵ | $k'lah'a'y\ddot{u}'ne$ ¹¹¹ | $s^e a'tsa$ ³ | $t\bar{a}'k\acute{i}n$ ⁹³ | $L\acute{i}\bar{u}'$, | $n\acute{i}'ct\acute{c}\acute{i}-$ | |
| thou | this thou | art invited, | thus | this I | come, | because | |
| m^enx ¹⁷⁰ | $na'm^e\acute{h}$ ¹⁷¹ | $t\ddot{e}'q$ ¹²⁰ | $S^e a'tsanx$ ¹⁶² | $t\ddot{e}$ ³³ | $L\acute{i}\bar{u}'\ddot{u}ts$ ¹⁷² | $qn\grave{a}$ ¹⁶⁶ | |
| thou | me of | relative. | Thus thee | this | come I-thee | I. | |
| $S\acute{i}'n'xy\ddot{u}tsanx$ ¹⁷³ | $qn\grave{a}$ ¹⁶⁶ | $h\ddot{u}tca'wax$ ¹⁷⁴ | $S^e a'tsanx$ ¹⁶² | $t\ddot{e}$ ³³ | $L\acute{i}'L\acute{i}\bar{u}'\ddot{u}ts$ ¹⁷⁵ | | |
| Want I-thee | I | intend to play. | Thus thou | this | approach I-thee. | | |
| $S^e ats\acute{i}'tc\acute{i}n$ ¹⁷⁶ | ha^1 : | $kum\acute{i}'ntc$ ³⁸ | $k^u n\grave{a}$ ¹⁵⁶ | $t\ddot{e}'q$ ¹²⁰ | $m\acute{i}'k'la'na$ ⁸² | | |
| Thus my | mind, | not | perhaps | something | badly | | |
| $n\acute{i}x^{atc}$ ¹⁷⁷ | $A'tsan$ ⁴¹ | $t\ddot{e}$ ³³ | $n\grave{a}$ ¹⁷⁸ | $L\acute{o}xa'xam$ ⁷⁵ | — | $"Ha^1$ ¹⁷⁹ | $Ts\acute{i}'k'yanx$ ¹⁴⁶ |
| thee to. | Thus I | this | I | am sent." | — | "Yes! | Very thou |
| $m\acute{i}'k'la$. | $L!xma'yanx\acute{i}n$ ¹⁸⁰ | $s\acute{i}'n'xy\ddot{u}ts$ ¹⁸¹ | $S^e a'tsan$ ¹⁵⁵ | $k\bar{u}$ ¹⁵¹ | $a'mha'i\ddot{t}i$ ¹⁵² | | |
| bad. | Kill they me | want he-me. | Thus I | not | willing (my) | | |
| ha^1 . | — | "Kumí'ntc ³⁸ | $k^u n\grave{a}$ ¹⁵⁶ | $s^e ats\acute{i}'tc$ ⁶¹ | $S^e a'tsan$ ¹⁵⁵ | $t\bar{a}'k\acute{i}n$ ⁹³ | $n\grave{a}$ ¹⁷⁸ |
| mind." | — | "Not | perhaps | thus. | Thus I | this I | I |

¹⁵⁶ Dubitative particle (§ 127).

¹⁵⁷ $xa\bar{u}$ - TO DIE (§ 112).

¹⁵⁸ $u\grave{h}$ THEN (§ 125); - n 1st person singular (§ 24); $s^e a'tsa u\grave{h}$ THAT'S WHY.

¹⁵⁹ $y\grave{a}'xa'i$ MUCH (§ 121); - $ai\ddot{t}i$ possessive (§§ 88, 9).

¹⁶⁰ $tx\ddot{u}$ JUST (§ 130); - nx 2d person singular (§ 24).

¹⁶¹ yax - TO SEE (§ 112).

¹⁶² $s^e a'tsa$ THUS (§ 121); - nx 2d person singular (§ 24).

¹⁶³ $h\acute{i}'s$ GOOD; - a modal (§ 96).

¹⁶⁴ $ha\bar{u}$ - TO MAKE, TO FINISH; - $a\acute{t}$ verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); - $im\ddot{e}$ passive (§§ 38, 8).

¹⁶⁵ $t\ddot{e}'q$ SOMETHING (§ 123); - nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹⁶⁶ $lak\bar{u}$ - TO TAKE, TO FETCH (§ 12); - $a\acute{t}$ verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); - $\ddot{u}ts$ direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480 and § 8).

¹⁶⁷ q - discriminative (§ 21); $n\grave{a}$ personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113).

¹⁶⁸ Modal adverb (§§ 121, 96).

¹⁶⁹ wax - TO GIVE; - $a\bar{u}m\ddot{e}$ passive (§ 38); - nx 2d person singular (§ 24).

¹⁷⁰ $n\acute{i}'ct\acute{c}\acute{i}m$ BECAUSE (§ 128); - nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹⁷¹ $n\grave{a}$ personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113); - $xm\acute{i}$ relative (§§ 87, 9).

¹⁷² $L\acute{i}\bar{u}$ - TO COME; - $\ddot{u}ts$ direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480, § 10).

¹⁷³ $s\acute{i}n\acute{x}$ - TO DESIRE; - $\ddot{u}tsanx$ direct object of first and second persons I-thee (§ 29, Table, p. 473, § 8).

¹⁷⁴ $h\ddot{u}tc$ - TO PLAY; - $awax$ intentional (§ 70).

¹⁷⁵ $L\acute{i}\bar{u}$ - TO APPROACH (§ 107); - t present (§ 72); - $\ddot{u}ts$ direct object of first and second persons (§ 29 and Table, p. 480).

¹⁷⁶ $s^e ats\acute{i}'tc$ THUS (§§ 121, 94); - in possessive 1st singular (§ 88).

¹⁷⁷ Objective form of personal pronoun 2d singular (§ 113).

¹⁷⁸ Personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113).

¹⁷⁹ Particle of affirmation (§ 131).

¹⁸⁰ $L\acute{x}m\acute{i}$ - TO KILL; - $a\acute{t}$ verbalizing (§ 75); - nx 3d person plural (§ 24); - n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹⁸¹ $s\acute{i}n\acute{x}$ - TO DESIRE; - $\ddot{u}ts$ direct object of first and second persons (§§ 29, 8, Table, p. 480).

L'ōxa'xam.⁷⁵ S^Eatsi'tc⁶¹ nàts,¹⁸² kū¹⁵¹ nàts¹⁸² nà¹⁷⁸ L'ō'xyaxa^ū'nE.¹⁸³
 am sent. Thus if not, not conditional I had been sent.

Qa'tc'ntūnx¹⁸⁴ wàn'q?"²⁹— "Qa'tc'ntūnx.¹⁸⁵ Hī'sanx⁷⁸ mā'nīsūts¹⁸⁶
 Start wilt thou now?" — "Go will I. Well thou shalt watch thou-me

qni'x^{ats}."¹⁸⁷ S^Eatsi'tc⁶¹ waa'a^ūn.¹⁵³ "Ha^ū!¹⁷⁹ Atsi'tcⁱⁿ¹⁸⁸ ha¹.
 thou." Thus he tells him. "All right! Thus my mind.

Kum'ntc³⁸ k^unà¹⁵⁶ tē'q¹²⁰ mī'k'la'na⁸² tē³³ hūtcū'^u63 L!a'^{ai}."⁴—
 Not perhaps something bad-ly this fun big." —

"Ha^ū,¹⁷⁹ qa'tc'ntūnx¹⁸⁵ wàn.²⁹ Kum'ntc³⁸ wàn²⁹ tē'q,¹²⁰ xaū'-
 "Yes, start will I now. Not now something, die

tūnx."¹⁸⁹ S^Eatsi'tc⁶¹ waa'¹⁷108 u¹ hī'q'la't.¹⁹⁰ "Kum'ntc³⁸ k^unà¹⁵⁶
 if will I." Thus he says and starts. "Not perhaps

wàn²⁹ s^Eatsi'tc.⁶¹ Qa'tc'ntūnx?"¹⁸⁴ Atsi'tc⁷³ waa'a^ūn.¹⁵³ "Tsi'k!-
 now thus. Go wilt thou?" Thus he tells him. "Very

yanx¹⁴⁵ qnà¹⁶⁶ sī'n'xyūts.¹⁸¹ A'l'tūtūnx¹⁹¹ hūtcū'^ustc."⁵⁶ Atsi'tc⁷³
 thee I like I-thee. Also shalt thou fun to." Thus

waa'ūn.¹⁹² "Qa'tc'ntūnx¹⁸⁵ wàn."²⁹ u¹ wàn²⁹ qa'tc'nt.⁹¹ Cī'n'x-
 he tells him. "Go will I now." Then finally he starts. Keeps

yat'lis¹⁹³ ants⁶⁰ hītc la'k'ut!wī.¹⁹⁴ S^Eatsi'tc⁶¹ cī'n'xyat'lis.¹⁹³
 on thinking that man fetcher. Thus he thinks continually.

Qa'tc'nta^{ux}¹⁹⁵ wàn.²⁹ Līwī'tc^{wax}¹⁹⁶ wàn²⁹ xīnt. u¹la^{ux}¹⁹⁷ s^Eatsi'tc⁶¹
 Go they two now. "Approach, man-ner of, they two now go. So they two thus

waa'xam.⁶⁵ "Xumca'ca^{ux}¹⁹⁸ wàn.²⁹ Hīna'yūn¹⁹⁰ wàn²⁹ tē³³ mī'k'la
 are told. "Come they two now. He brings him now this bad

hītc." Tc!ha^ucya'xam²⁰⁰ wàn.²⁹ Wàn²⁹ tē'n. T!emt!ma'xam²⁰¹ wàn.²⁹
 man." Gladness was felt now. Finally he He is assembled about now.
 returns.

"Tsi'k!yanx¹⁴⁵ hīs tanx¹¹⁵ līū', ts'īl'mū't. Hū'tctūnl²⁰² yā'a'xa."²⁰³
 "Very thou good this thou comest, friend. Play will we much."

¹⁸² Particle (§ 131).

¹⁸³ L'ōx- TO SEND; -yax past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136); -a^u'nE passive (§ 58).

¹⁸⁴ Contracted; for qa'tc'ntūnxax (§ 24); qatcn- TO GO (§ 4); -tūx future (§ 73); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹⁸⁵ qatcn- TO GO (§ 4); -tūx future (§ 73); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹⁸⁶ mān- TO WATCH; -is durative (§ 69); -ūts direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480).

¹⁸⁷ q- discriminative (§ 21); nīxats personal pronoun 2d singular (§ 113).

¹⁸⁸ atsi'tc THUS (§§ 121, 94); -in possessive 1st singular (§ 88).

¹⁸⁹ xāū- TO DIE; -tūx future denoting conditionality (§§ 73, 136); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹⁹⁰ hīq'- TO START, TO COMMENCE; -aⁱ verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); -t present (§ 72).

¹⁹¹ Contracted; for a'l'tūtūnxax (§ 24); a'l'dū LIKEWISE (§§ 125, 135); -tūx future (§ 73); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

¹⁹² waa- TO SAY; -ūn direct object of third person (§ 28).

¹⁹³ cīnī- TO THINK (§ 4); -at'ī frequentative (§§ 63, 8); -is durative (§§ 69, 9).

¹⁹⁴ lakū- TO TAKE, TO FETCH; -t'wī nominal (§ 100).

¹⁹⁵ qatcn- TO GO (§ 4); -t present (§ 72); -aux 3d person dual (§ 24).

¹⁹⁶ Līū- TO APPROACH; -ūc modal (§§ 94, 8); -wax transposed for -aux 3d dual (§§ 24, 13).

¹⁹⁷ u¹ THEN (§ 125); -aux 3d dual (§ 24).

¹⁹⁸ xumc- TO APPROACH, TO COME (§ 108); -aux 3d dual (§ 24).

¹⁹⁹ hīn- TO TAKE ALONG; -aⁱ verbalizing (§ 75); -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

²⁰⁰ Abbreviated; for tc!hawcyaxam (§ 15); tc!hacū- TO FEEL GLAD (§ 12); -yax past (§ 74); -xam present passive (§§ 55, 15).

²⁰¹ Lemū- TO ASSEMBLE (§ 107); -xam present passive (§ 55).

²⁰² Contracted from hū'tctūxanl (§ 24); hūtc- TO PLAY; -tūx future (§ 73); -nī inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

²⁰³ yāax- MUCH; -a modal (§ 96).

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|--|---------------------|
| Atsī'tc ⁷³ | waa' | ants ⁶⁰ | hītc. | TEMŭ'tx ²² | hītcŭ'u ²³ | ants ⁶⁰ | L!a' ^{ai 4} | Wa ^{l 204} |
| Thus | says | that | man. | Assemble (pl.) | people | those | many. | Although |
| yā'a' ^{xa^{i 19}} | ants ⁶⁰ | hītc, | u ¹ ha' ^{müt²⁰⁵} | qa'tc'nt ⁰¹ | sqa'ktei'tc, ²⁰⁶ | ants ⁶⁰ | L!a' ^{ai 4} | |
| many | those | people, still | all | go now | there to, manner, | that | crowd. | |
| Lā'nīsūtne ²⁰⁷ | ants ⁶⁰ | hītc. | “Tsī'k!ya ³ hīs tanx ¹¹⁵ LĪŪ'. | | | Yā'a'xanxan ²⁰⁸ | | |
| Is called con- tinually | that | man. | “Very good this thou comest. | | | Much we | | |
| hūtcŭ'. ²⁰⁹ | Hū'tctŭns. | ” ²¹⁰ —“Ha ^{ū!} ” ¹⁷⁹ | | S ^E atsī'tc ⁶¹ | waa' | ants ⁶⁰ | hītc. | |
| have fun. | Play will we two.” | — “All right!” | | Thus | says | that | man. | |
| “Ya'q ^u hītŭnx, ²¹¹ | kwīnx ⁸⁰ | a ^u 'sīs. ²¹² | Yā'a'xanxan ²⁰⁸ | hūtcŭi'. | ” ²⁰⁹ | | Atsī'tc ⁷³ | |
| “Look shalt thou, | not thou | shalt sleep. | Much we | play.” | Thus is | | | |
| waa' ⁱ sū'nE ²¹³ | ants ⁶⁰ | hītc. | Wā'nwīts ² | ha'wa. ²¹⁴ | Sī'n'xyū'nE ¹⁴⁶ | | | |
| repeatedly told | that | man. | Long ago | it is ready. | It is desired | | | |
| tsī'lna'tc ²¹⁵ | xawa'a ^u , ²⁷ | a ^u 'stŭxax. ²¹⁶ | Atsī'tc ⁷³ | ha'ūsime. ²¹⁷ | “Tsī'l'mŭ't, | | | |
| pitch with | killed he shall | when sleeper he | Thus | it is agreed. | “Friend, | | | |
| | be, | will be. | | | | | | |
| kwīnx ⁸⁰ | a ^u 'sīs. ²¹² | Hū'tctŭns. | ” ²¹⁰ | | Atsī'tc ⁷³ | wa'a ⁱ sū'nE. ²¹³ | “S ^E a'tsanx ¹⁶² | |
| not thou | sleep con- tinually. | Play will we two.” | Thus | | he is repeatedly told. | “Thus thou | | |
| tanx ¹¹⁵ | k!aha'yūtne.” ²¹⁸ | S ^E atsī'tc ⁶¹ | waa' ⁱ sūtne. ²¹⁹ | “Yā'a'xa ^{i 19} | | L!a' ^{ai 4} | | |
| this thou | art invited.” | Thus | he is told contin- ually. | “Many | | they | | |
| nīctcama' ⁱ na't ^ū 'wi ²²⁰ | ants ⁶⁰ | tiyū' ^{wi 221} | hūtcŭ' ^{wi 222} | K!ix ²²³ | tē'q ¹²⁰ | hūtcā' ^{i 224} | | |
| different | (of) | inhabitants | games. | Each | some- thing | fun | | |
| u ¹ E ^{nx} ²²⁵ | yīxa'yūn. ²²⁶ | S ^E a'tsanx ¹⁶² | tanx ¹¹⁵ | k!aha'yū'nE. ¹¹¹ | Tsī'k!y- | | | |
| and thou | seest it. | Thus thou | this thou | art invited. | Very | | | |
| anxan ⁸⁷ | hī'sīti ²²⁷ | ha ¹ . | Kum'ntc ³⁸ | tē'q ¹²⁰ | mī'k!a'na.” ⁸² | Atsī'tc ⁷³ | | |
| we | good is (our) | heart. | Not | something | badly.” | Thus | | |
| wa'a ⁱ sū'nE. ²¹³ | Tcī'nta ^u ²²⁸ | hītc | LĪwa' ⁱ , ²²⁹ | u ¹ | atsī'tc ⁷³ | waa'yūsne. ²³⁰ | | |
| he is repeatedly told. | Whatever | person | comes, | so | thus | he frequently was told (by him). | | |

²⁰⁴ Particle (§ 128).²⁰⁵ Numeral particle (§ 124).²⁰⁶ *sqaik* THERE (§ 119); *-tc* local of motion (§ 90); *-ītc* modal (§ 94).²⁰⁷ *tn-* TO CALL BY NAME; *-īsūtne* durative passive (§ 59).²⁰⁸ *yāax-* MUCH; *-a* modal (§ 96); *-xan* exclusive plural (§ 24).²⁰⁹ *hūtc-* TO PLAY, TO HAVE FUN; *-ū i* verbalizing (§ 75).²¹⁰ Contracted; for *hū'tctŭxans* (§ 24); *hūtc-* TO PLAY; *-tūx* future (§ 73); *-ns* inclusive dual (§§ 24, 4).²¹¹ Contracted; for *ya'q^uhītŭxanx* (§ 24); *yaq^u-* TO LOOK (§ 3); *-a i* verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); *-tūx* future (§ 73); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).²¹² *aus-* TO SLEEP (§ 12); *-īs* durative (§ 69).²¹³ *waa-* TO SAY; *-aīsū'nE* durative passive (§§ 69, 9).²¹⁴ *haū-* TO MAKE, TO HAVE READY (§ 112).²¹⁵ *tsī'ln* PITCH; *-a* locative case (§§ 86, 12); *-tc* adverbial (§ 90).²¹⁶ *aus-* TO SLEEP (§ 12); *-tūx* future denoting conditionality (§§ 73, 136); *-ax* nominal (§ 101).²¹⁷ *haū* YES (§ 131); *-ūs* durative (§§ 69, 9); *-īmE* passive (§ 38).²¹⁸ *k!a'*- TO INVITE (§ 3); *-a i* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ātne* passive (§§ 58, 8).²¹⁹ *waa-* TO SPEAK; *-aīsūtne* durative passive (§§ 69, 9).²²⁰ *nīctcama'ⁱna't-* DIFFERENT; *-ūwi* plural (§ 79).²²¹ *ta i-* TO LIVE (§ 2); *-ūwi* nominal (§§ 97, 8).²²² *hūtc-* TO PLAY, TO HAVE FUN; *-ūwi* nominal (§ 97).²²³ Numeral particle (§ 124).²²⁴ *hūtc-* TO HAVE FUN; *-a i* nominal (§ 98).²²⁵ *u¹* THEN (§ 125); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).²²⁶ *yax-* TO SEE (§ 12); *-a i* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).²²⁷ *hīs* GOOD; *-īl* possessive (§ 88).²²⁸ pronominal particle (§ 123).²²⁹ *Līū-* TO COME; *-a i* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).²³⁰ *waa-* TO SAY; *-a i* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūsne* durative passive (§§ 69, 8).

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| “Tsī'k!ya ³ | hīs tanx ¹¹⁵ | līū', ts'īl·mū't. | Wa ¹²⁰⁴ | yā'tsa ²³¹ | ants ⁶⁰ |
| “Very | good this thou | come, friend. | Although | long time | that |
| L!a' ^{ai} , ⁴ uŋ | xnī'w'nīs. ²³² | Ya'q'uhītūnx.” ²¹¹ | uŋ s'atsī'tc ⁶¹ | wa'a'isū'nē. ²¹³ | |
| crowd, | still does continually. | Look shalt thou.” | Then thus | he is told repeatedly. | |
| “S'ēa'tsanxan ²³³ | k!aha'yūts. ²³⁴ | Yā'a'xa ¹¹⁹ | hūtcū'wī” ⁶³ | Wān ²⁹ | hīna'a'u ²³⁵ |
| “Thus we | invite we-thee. | Much | fun.” | Finally | he taken |
| | | | | | will be |
| tcīk ²³⁶ | ants ⁶⁰ | hūtcū'u ⁶³ | L!a' ^{ai} , ⁴ | Sqa'k ²³⁷ | hīna'a'u. ²³⁵ |
| where | that | fun | great. | There | he taken |
| | | | | | Fire is made (in) |
| | | | | | will be. |
| ants ⁶⁰ | hītsī' ^{1,239} | Wa ¹²⁰⁴ | yīkt ²⁴⁰ | ants ⁶⁰ | hītsī' ^{1,239} |
| that | house. | Although | big | that | house, |
| | | | | | still full |
| hītū'stc. ²⁴¹ | Sīm ²⁴² | ya'q'uhā't ²⁴³ | ants ⁶⁰ | hītc. | “Tī'k'nxan ²⁴⁴ |
| people with. | There | looks | that | man. | “Here we |
| ta'nxan ²⁴⁵ | hūtcū', ²⁰⁹ | ta'nxan ²⁴⁵ | k!aha'yūts ²³⁴ | qnā.” ¹⁶⁷ | Ha'iqmas ²⁴⁶ |
| these we | play, | these we | invite we-thee | I.” | Alongside |
| tī'xam ²⁴⁷ | Līya'wāt. ²⁴⁸ | Q!a'īl | ants ⁶⁰ | Līya'a'ū. ²⁴⁹ | “Yaxa'ū'wītē ²⁵⁰ |
| he is seated | fire at. | Pitēh | that | fire. | “Multitude kind of |
| L!a' ^{ai} ⁴ | hītc | ya'q'uhā'tūn.” ²⁵¹ | Atsī'tc ⁷³ | cī'n'xyatlīs ¹⁰³ | ants ⁶⁰ |
| many | people | look at now I.” | Thus | keeps on thinking | that man. |
| Ma'itcū'nē ²³⁸ | ants ⁶⁰ | hītsī' ^{1,239} | “Kwīnx ⁸⁰ | a'u'sīs ²¹² | ts'īl·mū't. |
| Fire is built (in) | that | house. | “Not thou | always sleep, | friend. |
| | | | | | Thus |
| ta'nxan ²⁴⁵ | waa'yūts ¹²² | qnā ¹⁶⁷ | Līwa'wanx.” ²⁵² | “Ha'ū ¹⁷⁰ | tsī'k!yan ²⁵³ |
| these we | tell we-thee | I | intend to come thou.”— | “All right! | very I |
| hī'sitī ²²⁷ | ha'ī. | Yaq'u'ya'waxan ²⁵⁴ | hūtcū'u'stc ⁵⁶ | L!aya'.” ²⁵⁵ | Atsī'tc ⁷³ |
| good (my) | mind. | Intend to look I | fun at | great at.” | Thus says continually |
| ants ⁶⁰ | hītc. | Ha'iqmas ²⁴⁶ | tī'xam ²⁴⁷ | Līya'wa. ²⁵⁷ | Ya'q'uhīsū'nē. ²⁵⁸ |
| that | man. | Close by | he is seated | fire. | He is continually watched. |

²³¹ Temporal adverb (§ 120).²³² xnī'w'n- TO DO; -īs durative (§ 69).²³³ s'ēa'tsa- THUS (§§ 121, 96); -n-xan exclusive plural (§ 24).²³⁴ k!a'- TO INVITE (§ 3); -ai verbalizing (§ 75); -ūts direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480, § 8).²³⁵ hīn- TO TAKE ALONG; -aa'u future passive (§ 56).²³⁶ Particle (§ 131).²³⁷ Local adverb (§ 119).²³⁸ maltc- TO BURN; -ū'nē passive (§ 58).²³⁹ See § 98.²⁴⁰ See § 104.²⁴¹ hītū's locative form of hītc (§ 86); -tc adverbial (§ 90).²⁴² Local adverb (§ 119).²⁴³ yaqu'- TO LOOK (§ 3); -ai verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); -t present (§ 72).²⁴⁴ tīk HERE (§ 119); -n-xan exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).²⁴⁵ tūak THIS (§ 115); -n-xan exclusive plural (§§ 24, 16).²⁴⁶ Local adverb (§ 119).²⁴⁷ tai TO SIT (§ 2); -xam present passive (§ 55).²⁴⁸ Līya'a'ū FIRE (§ 97); -a locative case (§§ 86, 8); -tc local (§ 90).²⁴⁹ See § 97.²⁵⁰ yāx- MANY; -a'ū'i nominal (§ 97); -hītc modal (§§ 94, 9).²⁵¹ yaqu'- TO LOOK (§ 3); -ai verbalizing (§ 75); -t present (§ 72); -ūn direct object of third person (§ 28).²⁵² Contracted from Līwa'waxanx (§ 24); Līū- TO COME; -awax intentional (§§ 70, 8); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).²⁵³ tsī'k!ya VERY (§ 121); -n 1st person singular (§ 24).²⁵⁴ yaqu'- TO LOOK (§ 3); -awax intentional (§§ 70, 8); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).²⁵⁵ L!a'ai particle (§ 133); -a locative case (§§ 86, 8).²⁵⁶ waa- TO SAY; -ai's durative (§§ 69, 9).²⁵⁷ Līya'a'ū FIRE (§ 97); -a locative case (§§ 86, 8).²⁵⁸ yaqu'- TO LOOK (§ 3); -isū'nē durative passive (§§ 69, 9).

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|--|----------------------|
| Wusya'a'st ²⁵⁹ | ants ⁶⁰ | mī'k'la | hītc. | L!l!wī'sūtne ²⁶⁰ | wàn. ²⁹ | "Kwīnx ⁸⁰ |
| Begins to feel sleepy | that | bad | man. | He is continually approached | now. | "Not thou |
| a ^u sīs, ²¹² | ya'q ^u hīs ^{Enx} . ²⁶¹ | A'tsanxan ²⁶² | ta'nxan ²⁴⁵ | waa'yūts ¹²² | | |
| always sleep, | always look thou. | Thus we | these we | tell we-thee | | |
| Līwa'wanx. ²⁵² | Kwīnx ⁸⁰ | a ^u sīs, ²¹² | ya'q ^u hīs ^{Enx} . ²⁶¹ | Atsī'tc ⁷³ | | |
| intend to come thou. | Not thou | sleep always, | watch always thou. | Thus | | |
| tanx ¹¹⁵ | k!aha'yū'ne. ¹¹¹ | Hī's ^{Enx} anx ²⁶³ | hawa'ī'tx ²⁶⁴ ha'ī." | Wusya'a'st ²⁵⁹ | | |
| this thou | art invited. | Good we | make our heart." | Begins to feel sleepy | | |
| ants ⁶⁰ | mī'ek'la'ī. ²⁶⁵ | Ya'q ^u hīsū'ne. ²⁵⁸ | Ha'ūsīme ²⁶⁶ | ants ⁶⁰ | ts!aln. | |
| that | bad man. | He is constantly watched. | Is made ready for him | that | pitch. | |
| S ^E a'na'tc ²⁶⁷ | xawa'a ^u . ²⁷ | Līwīs ^u 'ne ²⁶⁸ | ants ⁶⁰ | meq!yū' ^u ²⁶⁹ | L!a'ai. ⁴ | |
| That with | killed he will be. | He is constantly approached by | those | dancers | many. | |
| "Ha'ī'qa'tcya, ²⁷⁰ | ts'īl'mū't, | mīl'tcī'xmīnx." ²⁷¹ | Atsī'tc ⁷³ | wa'a'sū'ne. ²¹³ | | |
| "Shore-like from, | friend, | thou mayest get burned." | Thus | he is constantly told. | | |
| "Kwīnx ⁸⁰ | a ^u sīs ²¹² | ts'īl'mū't." ²⁷¹ | "Wusya'a'stīn." ²⁷² | Meq!yū' ^u ²⁶⁹ | | |
| "Not thou | always sleep | friend." | "Begin to feel sleepy I." | Dance (pl.) | | |
| L!a'ai. ⁴ | A ^u sīs. ²⁷³ | "Ha'ī'qa'tcya, ²⁷⁰ | mīl'tcī'xmīnx." ²⁷¹ | Tc!ha ^u 'cīsūtne. ²⁷⁴ | | |
| many. | He sleeps. | "Shore-like from, | mayest get burned thou." | Gladness is constantly felt. | | |
| S ^E a'tsa ³ | xawa'a ^u . ²⁷ | Wusya'a'st ²⁵⁹ | wàn. ²⁹ | Atsī'tc ⁷³ | wa'a'sūtne, ²¹⁹ | |
| Thus | killed he will be. | He begins to sleep | finally, | Thus | he is constantly told, | |
| cī'l'xīsūtne. ²⁷⁵ | "Ha'ī'qa'tcya, ²⁷⁰ | mīl'tcī'xmīnx." ²⁷¹ | Kū ⁱ ¹⁵¹ | cī'l'xīl. ²⁷⁶ | | |
| he is shaken con- stantly. | "Shore-like from, | mayest get burned thou." | Not he | moves not. | | |
| uī wàn ²⁹ | qaa'xam ²⁷⁷ | ants ⁶⁰ | L!yaxa ^ū 'wi ²⁷⁸ | ts!aln. | Meq!yū' ^u ²⁶⁹ | |
| So finally | is brought in | that | boiled | pitch. | Dance (pl.) | |
| L!a'ai. ⁴ | "Ha'ī'qa'tcya ²⁷⁰ | ts'īl'mū't." ²⁷¹ | Kū ⁱ ¹⁵¹ | kwī'sīl, ²⁷⁹ | tsī'k'lya ³ | |
| many. | "Shore-like from | friend." | Not | wakes up not, | very | |
| a ^u sīs. ²⁷³ | Atsī'tc ⁷³ | waa'. | "A'nxa ^ū tsatcī. ²⁸⁰ | Līyaxa'waxan ²⁸¹ | a ^u sa'wax." ²⁸² | |
| he sleeps. | Thus | he says. | "Leave alone you-me. | A while intend I | sleep intend." | |

²⁵⁹ wusī- TO FEEL SLEEPY; -a' verbalizing (§ 75); -st inchoative (§ 66).

²⁶⁰ Līū- TO APPROACH (§ 107); -īsūtne durative passive (§§ 59, 8).

²⁶¹ yaq^u- TO LOOK (§ 3); -īs durative (§ 69); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

²⁶² a'tsa THUS (§ 121); -nxa exclusive plural (§ 24).

²⁶³ hī is GOOD; -nxa exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

²⁶⁴ haū- TO MAKE; -aūt suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§§ 33, 8).

²⁶⁵ See § 98.

²⁶⁶ ha'ūs READY, DONE; -īme passive (§ 38).

²⁶⁷ s^Ea'ī'na HE, THAT ONE (§ 115); -tc adverbial (§ 90).

²⁶⁸ Līū- TO APPROACH; -īsūtne durative passive (§§ 59, 8).

²⁶⁹ meq!ī- TO DANCE; -ū nominal (§§ 97, 8).

²⁷⁰ ha'īq SHORE (§ 119); -aūt modal (§ 94); -ya local (§ 93).

²⁷¹ mīl'tc- TO BURN (§ 12); -īxmī intransitive exhortative (§ 63); -ī future passive (§§ 56, 9); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).

²⁷² wusī- TO FEEL SLEEPY; -a' verbalizing (§ 75); -st inchoative (§ 66); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

²⁷³ asū- TO SLEEP (§§ 12, 108).

²⁷⁴ tc!hacu- TO BE GLAD (§ 12); -īsūtne durative passive (§ 59).

²⁷⁵ cī'l'x- TO SHAKE, TO MOVE; -īsūtne durative passive (§ 59).

²⁷⁶ cī'l'x- TO MOVE, TO SHAKE; -īl negative (§ 53).

²⁷⁷ qaa- TO ENTER; -xam present passive (§ 55).

²⁷⁸ L!īxu- TO BOIL (§§ 112, 7); -āwī nominal (§§ 97, 9).

²⁷⁹ kwīs- TO WAKE UP; -īl negative (§ 53).

²⁸⁰ anx- TO LET ALONE; -aūtscī direct object of first and second persons YOU-ME (§ 29, Table, p. 473, and §§ 24, 4).

²⁸¹ līyax- A WHILE (§§ 126, 135); -awax intentional (§ 70); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

²⁸² asū- TO SLEEP (§ 12); -awax intentional (§ 70).

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|--|-------------------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| uʃ | wàn ²⁹ | cî'n'xyaxam ²⁸³ | s ^F atsî'tc: ⁶¹ | “Qaʃ ²⁸⁴ | wàn ²⁹ | a'u'stūx.” ²⁸⁵ |
| Then | now | it was thought | thus: | “Let | now | he sleep shall.” |
| Ła'qwis ²⁸⁶ | ants ⁶⁰ | ts'laɪn | L ^l yaxa ^{ū'wi} ²⁷⁸ | Atsî'tc ⁷³ | waa'xam, ⁶⁵ | “Qaʃ ²⁸⁴ |
| Boils con- tinually | that | pitch | boiled. | Thus | it is said, | “Let |
| wàn ²⁹ | a'u'stūx. ²⁸⁵ | Ha'qa'tcya, ²⁷⁰ | ts'ŋl'mū't.” | Kū ⁱ ¹⁵¹ | c'ŋl'xīl. ²⁷⁶ | uʃ |
| now | he sleep shall. | Shore, manner, from, | friend.” | Not | he moves not. | Then |
| wàn ²⁹ | xū'n. | | | | | |
| now | he snores. | | | | | |
| Ha'īmūt ²⁰⁵ | L ^l a'ʔal ⁴ | te'q ¹²⁰ | lokwi'xam. ²⁸⁷ | Tcīmtea'mi ²⁸⁸ | lokwi'xam. ²⁸⁷ | |
| All | many | something | is seized. | Axes | are seized. | |
| Kā'stūx, ²⁸⁹ | uʃ | txū ¹¹³ | tcīmtea'myate ²⁹⁰ | xawa'a ^u . ²⁷ | uʃ | wàn ²⁹ |
| Get up will he, | then | just | ax with | killed he will be. | And | now |
| Łk'la'ate ²⁹¹ | Laa' | xū'n. | uʃ | wàn ²⁹ | haū'tx ²⁹² | hītcū'u. ²³ |
| Open his | mouth | he snores. | Then finally | quit (pl.) | people. | Very |
| tcīmā'nīsū'nE. ²⁹³ | “L ^l xmīya'yūnanl. ²⁹⁴ | S ^F a's ^F ni ²⁹⁵ | k'!xa'yūts, ²⁹⁶ | uʃ | | |
| he is watched constantly. | “Kill him will we. | He | us kills he-us, | so | | |
| s ^E a'tsani ²⁹⁷ | L ^l xmīya'yūn.” ²⁹⁸ | Łokwi'xam ²⁸⁷ | wàn ²⁹ | ants ⁶⁰ | L ^l yaxa ^{ū'wi} ²⁷⁸ | |
| thus we | kill will him.” | Is seized | now | that | boiled (pitch). | |
| “Ha'qa'tcya ²⁷⁰ | ts'ŋl'mū't, | mīltei'xmīnx.” ²⁷¹ | Kum'ntc ³⁸ | c'ŋl'xīl. ²⁷⁶ | | |
| “Shore-like, from | friend, | mayest get burned thou.” | Not | he moves not. | | |
| uʃ | wàn ²⁹ | xwākī'tc ²⁹⁹ | tī'xam ²⁴⁷ | ants ⁶⁰ | L ^l yaxa ^{ū'wi} ²⁷⁸ | Tc!ha'cū'wi ³⁰⁰ |
| So | now | head on | is placed | that | boiled (pitch). | Glad are (pl.) |
| ants ⁶⁰ | L ^l a'ʔal ⁴ | S ^E ā ⁶⁶ | ata's ³⁰¹ | ants ⁶⁰ | maq!i'nūtne. ³⁰² | Hūya'ūltx ¹²⁸ |
| those | many. | He | only | that (one) | it is danced for. | Is changed on him his |

²⁸³ *cînx-* TO THINK (§ 4); -*yax* past (§§ 74, 8); -*xam* present passive (§§ 55, 15).

²⁸⁴ Exhortative particle (§ 129).

²⁸⁵ *asu-* TO SLEEP (§ 12); -*tūx* future (§ 73).

²⁸⁶ *laqu-* TO BOIL; -*is* durative (§§ 69, 8).

²⁸⁷ Instead of *lakwi'xam* (§§ 11, 14); *laku-* TO TAKE; -*a'* verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -*xam* present passive (§ 55).

²⁸⁸ See § 109.

²⁸⁹ *kast-* TO GET UP; -*tūx* future denoting conditionality (§§ 73, 136, 4).

²⁹⁰ *tcīmtea'mi* ΔX (§ 109); -*a* locative case (§§ 86, 8); -*tc* adverbial (§ 90).

²⁹¹ *lk'aa-* TO OPEN ONE'S MOUTH; -*tc* possessive 3d singular (§ 88).

²⁹² *haū-* TO QUIT; -*tx* plural (§ 80).

²⁹³ *tcīmān-* TO WATCH; -*isū'nE* durative passive (§ 59).

²⁹⁴ *L^lxmī-* TO KILL; -*a'* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); -*yūn* exhortative with direct object of third person (§§ 41, 8); -*nī* inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

²⁹⁵ *s^Ea's* HE (§ 115); -*nī* inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

²⁹⁶ *k'ix-* TO DISAPPEAR; -*a'* verbalizing (§ 75); -*ūts* direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480, and § 8).

²⁹⁷ *s^Ea'tsa* THUS (§§ 121, 96); -*nī* inclusive plural (§ 24).

²⁹⁸ *L^lxmī-* TO KILL; -*a'* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); -*yūn* exhortative with direct object of third person (§§ 41, 9).

²⁹⁹ *xwākī'* locative form of *xwā'ka* HEAD (§ 86); -*tc* local (§ 90).

³⁰⁰ *tc!hacu-* TO FEEL GLAD (§ 12); -*ūwi* plural (§ 79).

³⁰¹ Restrictive particle (§ 130).

³⁰² *maq!i-* TO DANCE; -*in* verbal (§§ 81, 9); -*ūtne* passive (§ 58).

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| ha ¹ | s ^E a'tsa. ³ | S ^E a'tsa ⁸ | ants ⁶⁰ | meq!yū'u ²⁶⁹ | L!a'ai. ⁴ | u! wàn ²⁹ | skwaha'. ³⁰³ |
| mind | thus. | Thus | those | dance (pl.) | many. | Then | finally he stands up. |
| Łokwīxam ²⁸⁷ | ants ⁶⁰ | L!yaxa ^{ū'wi²⁷⁸} | u! | stīm ²⁴² | skwaha ^{ū'wi³⁰⁴} | L!a'ai ⁴ | many |
| Is seized | that | boiled (pitch). | And | there | stand (pl.) | | many |
| ha' mūt ²⁰⁵ | ants ⁶⁰ | tcimtca'mya. ³⁰⁵ | Wa ¹ ²⁰⁴ | yā'a'xa ¹¹⁹ | te'q, ¹²⁰ | u! | |
| all | those | axes with (are). | Although | much | something, | still | |
| pi'ūmE. ³⁰⁶ | u! | kumī'ntc ³⁸ | kwi'siĭ. ²⁷⁹ | "Qwa'nyūx ³⁰⁷ | temà' ³⁰⁸ | | |
| noise is made with it. | Still | not | he wakes up not. | "Pour it | it is better | | |
| Laaya'tc! ³⁰⁹ | u! | wàn ²⁹ | qū'nī'xamīmE. ³¹⁰ | Txū ¹¹³ | mī'tcīstx ³¹¹ | Laa'. | |
| mouth into!" | So | now | it is poured into (his mouth). | Just | begins to burn his | mouth. | |
| Stīm ²⁴² | L!a'ai ⁴ | ma'q!is. ³¹² | Mī'tcīst ³¹³ | ants ⁶⁰ | hītc. | Mī'tcīstx ³¹¹ | |
| There | many | keep on dancing. | Begins to burn | that | man. | Begins to burn his | |
| ha' mūt ²⁰⁵ | hī'qū'. | Stīm ²⁴² | wàn ²⁹ | yāk lī'tcyaxam ³¹⁴ | xwā'katc ³¹⁵ | | |
| all | hair. | There | finally | was cut into pieces | head his | | |
| tcimtca'myate. ²⁰⁰ | Stīm ²⁴² | tqū'nīs ³¹⁶ | ants ⁶⁰ | mī'k!a | hītc. | Xa'wī'- | |
| ax with. | There | diffuses smoke constantly | that | bad | man. | Killed | |
| xamyax ³¹⁷ | te ³³ | mī'k!a | hītc. | | | | |
| was | this | bad | person. | | | | |
| Sqa'k ²³⁷ | wàn ²⁹ | ata's ³⁰¹ | hawa'! ³¹⁸ | Kū ¹⁵¹ | nàts ¹⁸² | s ^E a'tsa ³ | |
| There | now | only | it ends. | Not | if | thus | |
| xa'wa'axa'ū'tne, ³¹⁹ | u! | nàts ¹⁸² | tsī'k!ya ³ | mī'k!a | L!a'ai. ⁴ | S ^E a'tsa ³ | |
| he had been killed, | then | conditional | very | bad | world. | Thus | |
| xa'wī'xamyax ³¹⁷ | | mī'k!a | hītc. | S ^E atsī'tc ⁶¹ | wàn ²⁹ | ata's ³⁰¹ | |
| was killed | | bad | man. | Thus | finally | only | |
| wā'nwītsaxax ³²⁰ | nīctcīma'mū. ³²¹ | Sqa'k ²³⁷ | wàn ²⁹ | smīt'ū'! ³²² | | | |
| old-timers (of) | custom. | There | finally | it ends. | | | |

³⁰³ *skwa'*- TO STAND (§§ 3, 112).

³⁰⁴ *skwa'*- TO STAND (§ 3); -*ūwi* plural (§ 79).

³⁰⁵ *tcimtca'mī* AX (§ 109); -*a* locative case (§§ 86, 12, 8).

³⁰⁶ *piū*- TO MAKE NOISE; -*ūmE* passive (§§ 38, 9).

³⁰⁷ *qū'n-* TO POUR (§§ 7, 112); -*yūx* imperative with indirect object of third person (§ 43).

³⁰⁸ Exhortative particle (§ 129).

³⁰⁹ *Laaya'* locative form of *Laa'* MOUTH (§ 86); -*tc* local (§ 90).

³¹⁰ *qū'n-* TO POUR; -*ī* (-*aī*) verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -*xam* present passive (§ 55); -*īmE* passive (§ 38).

³¹¹ Contracted from *mī'tcīst^Etx* (§ 15); *maltc-* TO BURN (§ 3); -*st* inchoative (§§ 66, 4); -*tx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33).

³¹² *maq'ī-* TO DANCE; -*īs* durative (§§ 69, 9).

³¹³ *maltc-* TO BURN (§ 3); -*st* inchoative (§§ 66, 4).

³¹⁴ Contracted from *yāk'ī'tcyaxam* (§ 15); *yāk'!* SMALL; -*ītc* modal (§ 94); -*yax* past (§ 74); -*xam* present passive (§§ 55, 57).

³¹⁵ *xwā'ka* HEAD; -*tc* possessive 3d singular (§ 88).

³¹⁶ *tqū'nī'!* SMOKE (§ 98); -*īs* durative (§§ 69, 9).

³¹⁷ *xāū-* TO DIE; -*aī* verbalizing (§§ 75, 2, 8, 11); -*xamyax* past passive (§ 57).

³¹⁸ *hāū-* TO END, TO FINISH; -*aī* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).

³¹⁹ Evidently for *xa'ūyaxa'ū'tne*; *xāū-* TO DIE; -*yax* past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136); -*aūtnE* passive (§ 58).

³²⁰ *wā'nwīts* LONG AGO (§ 120); -*ax* nominal (§§ 101, 108).

³²¹ See § 103.

³²² *smūt'!* TO END, TO FINISH (§ 12); -*ūī* verbalizing (§ 75).

[Translation]

(It happened) long ago. The world was very bad long ago. Everywhere it was so, and this was the cause of it: A bad person was devouring (the people). Grizzly Bear was devouring them long ago. Whenever a man went out hunting, he would kill and devour him. Many people felt sorry because of that. So one day the people came together and tried to devise some remedy. (They all agreed that Grizzly) must be killed. For that reason they came together. Then the chiefs of that region said, "We feel very sorry, but how are we going to kill him? He can not be killed by means of arrows: hence we don't want to kill him with an arrow." Then finally someone suggested to go and see how Grizzly lived, and to invite him (to come to the meeting-place). So one man went in search of him. And (when the messenger) came to Grizzly's residence, (he said,) "You, too, are invited to come to the play-grounds." But Grizzly Bear was not willing to go: hence the messenger went back, and, upon returning, related thus: "He does not want (to come)." (In the mean while) the people who had assembled had lots of fun. (Then after a while another messenger was sent), and the man who was about to go was told thus: "We won't give up. When he is dead, then we will give up." Thus it was repeatedly asserted.

Then finally the man was ordered to go. He was a very poor man. "Speak to him carefully, don't tell him anything bad. Tell him thus: 'We want you to come here. We are going to have lots of fun.' Thus you shall tell him. Don't tell him anything bad. He is shrewd and very bad." Then that man started out, thinking (a great deal) to himself, for he was very much afraid (of Grizzly). (And when he came to Grizzly, he said,) "I come here as a messenger." (He then told him his mission and departed. Not long afterwards Grizzly's friends came to visit him and inquired about the messenger's mission). One of them said, "What did the man tell you who came (here)?"—"He said nothing (of importance). I was simply informed that I am invited (to some games). Thus he told me: 'People want you to come very much. For that purpose I came here as a messenger.'" (After a while another messenger was sent to Grizzly, requesting him to come at once.) Then (Grizzly) said thus (to the messenger): "Will anything be given to me, if I come?"—"Nothing was said (about that). People

are just playing, and that's why you are invited to come." (Then Grizzly said), "You tell them thus: 'He wants something. If something be given to him, then he will come.' Thus he says to you."

(The messenger went back to his people and told them what Grizzly said). And he (furthermore) said, "He is shrewd. He thinks (of not coming), because he has killed (so many) people. That's why he is shrewd." Thus the messenger said. "He was (evidently) told (by some friend) that a dance had been arranged for the purpose of changing his (mean) disposition, and that everybody dislikes him. That's why he replied, 'If something be given to him, then he will come.' That's why he told me (so)."

Then another messenger went to Grizzly. "You tell him thus: 'A knife will be given to you.' Thus tell him. 'You shall start right away, you are invited to come. Many people are playing (there), and it is desirable that you should come.' Thus you tell him." And that messenger kept on thinking, "I will speak to him. I know what to tell him, so that he will start right away." Then the messenger started. "I will speak to him, and he will start right away." Thus he was thinking as he kept on going. Finally he came to (Grizzly, and said), "A messenger I come. You are wanted very much. Pretty soon the games will come to an end, and for that reason I was told (to come here). You are my relative. Why don't you want to go?" And (Grizzly) answered him thus: "I am wise, that's why I don't want to go. It seems to me that I am simply wanted (there) to be killed. That's why I am wise."—"Not so, they want you to see (the fun). For that purpose (only) you are wanted. Their intentions toward you are good. A present will be given to you. For that reason you are invited. You are my relative, hence I (came to) fetch you. That's why I came quickly. A knife will be given to you, because you are invited. I came right away, since you are my relative. The reason why I came to you is because I want you to have some fun. That's why I came to you. I don't think that anything bad will happen to you. That's why I was sent." (And Grizzly answered,) "Yes, you are a bad man. They want to kill me, that's why I don't want (to go)."—"I don't think (it will be) thus. (Not) for that purpose I was sent. If it were as you say, I should not have been sent. Will you go now?"—"I shall go. You will have to take

good care of me.” And (the messenger) said thus to (Grizzly): “All right, I don’t think that anything bad will happen (to you) on the part of those who play (there).”—“All right, I will go. I don’t care, even if I die.” Thus said (Grizzly) as he started. “I don’t think (it will be) as (bad as you imagine). Are you coming?” Thus said (the messenger) to him. “I should very much like to have you, too, at these games.” Finally (Grizzly) said, “I will go.” So he started. And the man who came to fetch him was thinking continually. He was thinking thus.

Now they two kept on going; and when they were almost there, the two (chiefs) were told, “They two are coming. He is bringing that bad man.” So everybody was glad; and when he arrived, people assembled about him. “It’s very good that you came, O friend! We shall have a great deal of fun.” Thus everybody said (to him). Many people assembled (around him). Although there were many of them, still they all went there (to Grizzly), shouting, “It’s very good that you came. We will play a great deal. We two will play.” (Then Grizzly would say,) “All right.”—“You shall watch (us). You sha’n’t sleep. We will play a great deal.” Thus he was constantly told. (Everything) had been made ready long ago. It had been decided to kill him with pitch during his sleep. Thus it had been agreed upon. “Friend, don’t sleep! we two will play.” Thus people kept on telling him. “For that reason you were invited.” Thus he was told. “People who live here know different kinds of games, and you will witness all kinds of fun. For that purpose you have been invited. We are well disposed (towards you). No mishap will befall you.” Thus he was constantly told. Whoever came in would tell him thus. “It’s very good that you came, O friend! You will see, they will play for a long time.” And he would (also) be told, “That’s why we invited you. There is going to be a great deal of fun.”

At last he was taken to the play-grounds. A fire was started in the house, which, although very large, was nevertheless full of people. Grizzly Bear was looking there. “Here we play, those who have invited you.” He was seated near the fire, which consisted of pitch. “It seems to me I see (too) many people.” Thus Grizzly was thinking. And the fire in the house kept burning. “Don’t sleep, O friend! (Not) for that purpose we asked you to come (here).”—“All

right! I am glad. I intend to watch the fun." Thus Grizzly was saying, seated close to the fire. He was constantly watched.

(After a while) he began to feel sleepy. Then people kept on approaching him, (saying,) "Don't sleep, look on! For that purpose we invited you. We have abandoned all our hatred." (Again) he began to feel sleepy, (and again) he was constantly watched. The pitch with which he was going to be killed was made ready; while many dancers went to him, (saying,) "Move away from the fire, you may get burned, friend!" Thus they were telling him. "Don't sleep, friend!"—"I feel sleepy." People kept on dancing, while he began to fall asleep. "Move away from the fire, you may get burned!" Everybody was glad, because he was going to be killed. At last he began to sleep. Then people kept on shaking him, saying to him thus: "Move away from the fire, you may get burned!" But he did not move. So the boiling pitch was brought in, while the people kept on dancing (and saying), "Move away from the fire, friend!" But he did not get up. He was very sleepy, and (merely) said, "Leave me alone! I intend to sleep a while." So the people thought thus: "Let him sleep." And while the pitch kept on boiling, they said, "Let him sleep. Move away from the fire, O friend!" But he did not move, and (soon) commenced to snore.

Then people took hold of all kinds of things. They seized axes, (because it had been decided that as soon as) he should wake up, they would kill him with an ax. He was snoring, keeping his mouth wide open. Then the people got ready. They watched him closely. "We will kill him, because he has killed (so many of) us." Then the boiling pitch was seized, (and one man shouted,) "Move away from the fire, friend, you may get burned!" But he did not move. Then they held the boiling pitch over his head, and everybody was glad, for the dance had been arranged with the purpose in view of getting rid of (the consequences of) his mean disposition. For that purpose so many people had been dancing. Finally (one man) stood up and took hold of the boiling pitch. And around Grizzly there were standing many armed with axes. They made noise with all kinds of implements, but he did not wake up. (Then one man said,) "Better pour it into his mouth!" So it was poured into his mouth, which began to burn (right away). And the people kept on dancing,

(as Grizzly Bear) was consumed (gradually) by the fire. His hair got burned, and then his head was cut into pieces with an ax. And while suffering death, he was constantly diffusing smoke.

Here (the story) ends. If (Grizzly Bear) had not been killed, this would have been a very bad place. Thus that man was killed. Such was the custom of people living long ago. Here at last it ends.

INVOCATION OF RAIN¹

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|--|---|----------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| K!u ^x wīna' ² tx ² | L!a' ^{ai} . ³ | Yā ^{a'} xa ⁱ | ū'fti ⁴ | L!ayū's. ⁵ | Nā'qutyax ⁶ | | |
| Ice (has on) its (body) | world. | Much | snow | ground on. | Cold became | | |
| L!a' ^{ai} . ³ | k!u ^x wīna' ⁷ | L!a' ^{ai} . ³ | Kū ⁱ ⁸ | nī'ctca ⁹ | qa'tcwi ¹⁰ | ants ¹¹ | L!a' ^{ai} . ³ |
| universe, | ice has | world. | Not | how | drink not | that | crowd. |
| Pā'l'ū ¹² | ata's ¹³ | u ¹⁴ | qatcū' ⁱ txa ^ū tnē. ¹⁵ | Haya'mūt ¹⁶ | h'yàtc ¹⁷ | qatcū' ⁱ - | |
| Well | only | then | it is drunk from. | All | people | drink | |
| txa ^ū n. ¹⁸ | Wa ⁱ ¹⁹ | yā ^{a'} xa ⁱ | hītc, u ¹⁴ | sqa ¹ k ²⁰ | qatcū' ⁱ tx. ²¹ | Tcī'wa ²² | u ¹⁴ |
| (from) it. Although | many | people, | still | there | drink (pl.). | Water on | then |
| k!u ^x wīna' ⁷ . | Kū ¹⁸ | nī'ctca ⁹ | tcāitcī'tc ²³ | nī'ctcī ²⁴ | ants ¹¹ | tīyū' ^{wi} ²⁵ | |
| ice appears. | Not | manner | where manner | go not | those | inhabitants. | |
| Qa ^{a'} xa' ⁱ x ²⁶ | k!u ^x wīnīyū's ²⁷ | qatc ^e natū' ^u ²⁸ | ants ¹¹ | hītc | L!a' ^{ai} . ³ | u ¹⁴ | |
| Top along | ice on | go (pl.) | those | people | many. | Then | |
| wān ²⁹ | texmīl'a'mī ³⁰ | l!xū'yūn ³¹ | ants ¹¹ | wā'nwītsaxax ³² | nīctcīma ^e mū. ³³ | | |
| now | people old | know it | that | long ago people | custom. | | |

¹ See Leo J. Frachtenberg, Lower Umpqua Texts (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. iv, pp. 76 *et seq.*)

² *k!u^xwīn-* ICE (§ 12); *-ātz* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33).

³ Particle (§ 133).

⁴ See § 98.

⁵ *L!a'^{ai}* GROUND (§ 133); *-ūs* locative case (§§ 86, 9, 8).

⁶ *naqt-* TO BE COLD; *-yax* past (§ 74).

⁷ *k!u^xwīn-* ICE (§ 12); *-at* verbalizing (§ 75).

⁸ Particle of negation (§ 131).

⁹ Particle (§ 131).

¹⁰ *qatcū-* TO DRINK; *-ū* negative (§§ 53, 8).

¹¹ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

¹² See § 97.

¹³ Restrictive particle (§ 130).

¹⁴ Conjunction (§ 125).

¹⁵ *qatcū-* TO DRINK; *-ū* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); *-tx* plural (§ 80); *-aūtne* passive (§ 58).

¹⁶ Discriminative form of *ha'ⁱmūt* ALL (§§ 111, 124).

¹⁷ Discriminative form of *hītc* PERSON (§§ 111, 7).

¹⁸ *qatcū-* TO DRINK; *-ū* verbalizing (§ 75); *-tx* plural (§ 80); *-aūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

¹⁹ Particle (§ 128).

²⁰ Local adverb (§ 119).

²¹ *qatcū-* TO DRINK; *-ū* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); *-tx* plural (§ 80).

²² *tē* WATER (§ 88); *-a* locative case (§§ 86, 8).

²³ Particle (§§ 131, 94, 108).

²⁴ *nī'ctca* MANNER (§§ 131, 135); *-ū* negative (§§ 53, 9).

²⁵ *taⁱ, tī-* TO LIVE (§ 2); *-ūwⁱ* nominal (§§ 97, 8).

²⁶ *qax* HIGH, TOP (§ 119); *-āx* local (§ 92).

²⁷ *k!u^xwīnī* ICE (§§ 98, 12); *-ūs* locative case (§§ 86, 8).

²⁸ *qatc-* TO GO (§ 4); *-t* present (§§ 72, 4); *-ūu* plural (§ 79).

²⁹ Temporal particle (§ 126).

³⁰ Discriminative form of *texmīl'mū* (§ 111); *texm* STRONG; *-ūl'mū* augmentative (§ 84).

³¹ *L!xū-* TO KNOW; *-ū* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); *-ān* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

³² *wā'nwīts* LONG AGO (§ 119); *-ax* nominal (§§ 101, 108).

³³ See § 103.

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---|--|--|----------------------|--------------------|
| u ¹⁴ | tqūli'yūsne ³⁴ | ants ¹¹ | tcīxni'ne, | u ¹⁴ | tqūli'yūsne ³⁴ | a'l'dū ³⁵ | ants ¹¹ |
| Then | is shouted at constantly | that | Raccoon, | and | is shouted at constantly | also | that |
| tsxu'npli. ³⁶ | Īānatli'yūsne, ³⁷ | "Tcīxni'ne, | tcīxni'ne, | hī'n ^ε k lītsx ³⁸ | | | |
| Coyote. | He is called constantly, | "Raccoon, | Raccoon, | to rain cause thy | | | |
| L!a'ai! ³ | Wa'a's ³⁹ | te ⁴⁰ | mō'luptsīni'sla! ⁴¹ | Hī'n ^ε k lītsxats ⁴² | L!a'ai! ³ | | |
| world! | Tell to | this | Coyote! | To rain cause ye two your | world! | | |
| Nākwa'yatyanxan, ⁴³ | nēqūi'txanxan ⁴⁴ | yā ^a 'xa." ⁴⁵ | u ¹⁴ | wàn ²⁹ | | | |
| Poor we | cold our (bodies have) we | muchly." | Then | now | | | |
| Īānatli'yūsne: ³⁷ | "Tcīxni'ne, | tcīxni'ne, | hī'n ^ε k lītsx ³⁸ | L!a'ai! ³ | | | |
| he is called continually: | "Raccoon, | Raccoon, | to rain cause thy | world! | | | |
| Mō'luptsīni'sla, ⁴¹ | hī'n ^ε k lītsxats ⁴² | L!a'ai! ³ " ³ | u ¹⁴ | wàn ²⁹ | hī'n ^ε k lya ⁱ ⁴⁶ | | |
| Coyote, | to rain cause ye two your | world!" | Then | finally | begins to rain | | |
| L!a'ai. ³ | Haya'mūt ¹⁶ | hī'yāte ⁴⁷ | ha'nīnit'lūn. ⁴⁷ | S ^a 'tsa ⁴⁸ | u ^{1a} u ^x ⁴⁹ | | |
| universe. | All | people | believe it. | Thus | and they two | | |
| tqūli'yūsne, ³⁴ | u ¹⁴ | wàn ²⁹ | hīn ^ε k lya' ⁱ tx ⁵⁰ | L!a'ai. | S ^a 'tsa ⁴⁸ | u ¹⁴ | |
| are shouted at continually, | then | finally | causes to rain its (body) | world. | Thus | then | |
| tqūlū'ne, ⁵¹ | ants ⁵² | tkwa'myax ⁵³ | ants ¹¹ | īnq!a'a ⁱ . ⁵⁴ | | | |
| it is shouted, | when | closes up | that | river. | | | |
| Sqa'k ²⁰ | wàn ²⁹ | hawa' ⁵⁵ | Smūt'ū ⁱ ⁵⁶ | wàn ²⁹ | sqa ⁱ k. ²⁰ | Tā'kīn ⁵⁷ | |
| There | now | it ends. | It ends | finally | there. | This I | |
| L!xū'yūn. ³¹ | | | | | | | |
| know it. | | | | | | | |

³⁴ *tqūl-* TO SHOUT; -*aⁱ* (-*i*) verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -*ūsne* durative passive (§§ 59, 8).

³⁵ Conjunction (§ 125).

³⁶ See § 98.

³⁷ *ln-* TO CALL; -*atⁱ* frequentative (§ 68); -*ūsne* durative passive (§§ 59, 8).

³⁸ *hīn^εkⁱ-* TO RAIN; -*aⁱ* (-*i*) verbalizing (§§ 75, 2, 9); -*lītsx* imperative (§ 47).

³⁹ *waa-* TO SPEAK; -*aⁱs* transitive imperative (§§ 62, 9).

⁴⁰ Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

⁴¹ Alean term for COYOTE.

⁴² *hīn^εkⁱ-* TO RAIN; -*aⁱ* (-*i*) verbalizing (§§ 75, 9, 2); -*lītsx* imperative (§ 47); -*ts* 2d person dual (§§ 24, 4)

⁴³ *nākwa'yat-* TO BE POOR; -*nzan* exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4, 8).

⁴⁴ Contracted from *nēqutū'txanxan* (§ 15); *naqut-* TO BE COLD (§ 12); -*ūⁱ* verbalizing (§ 75); -*tx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of subject (§ 33); -*nzan* exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

⁴⁵ *yāax-* MUCH; -*a* modal (§ 96).

⁴⁶ *hīn^εkⁱ-* TO RAIN; -*aⁱ* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).

⁴⁷ *hanīnūt-* TO BELIEVE; -*ūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

⁴⁸ Modal adverb (§§ 121, 96).

⁴⁹ *u¹* THEN (§ 125); -*ax* 3d person dual (§ 24).

⁵⁰ *hīn^εkⁱ-* TO RAIN; -*aⁱ* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); -*tx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of subject (§ 33).

⁵¹ *tqūl-* TO SHOUT; -*ūne* passive (§ 58).

⁵² Particle (§ 131).

⁵³ *tūm-* TO SHUT, TO CLOSE (§§ 7, 112); -*yax* past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136).

⁵⁴ See § 98.

⁵⁵ *haū-* TO END; -*aⁱ* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).

⁵⁶ *smūt-* TO END (§ 12); -*ūⁱ* verbalizing (§ 75).

⁵⁷ *tāok* THIS (§§ 115, 12); -*n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[Translation]

(When in former days the) ground was covered with ice, much snow (lay) on the ground, and it became very cold, then the people had no way of drinking (water freely). From one well only could they drink, and all people drank from it. Although many were the people, still they all drank there. (And when) ice began to appear on the water (of the rivers), then all inhabitants could not go anywhere. They were forced to go along the surface of the ice. Then (at such times there would always be some) old man who knew that (ancient) custom of the people of long ago. (He would then tell it to his people.) And Raccoon would be invoked, and Coyote likewise would be invoked. He would be called by name, "Raccoon, Raccoon, cause thy rain (to flow)! Speak to Coyote! Cause ye two your rain (to flow)! We are in straits, we are very cold." Then (once more Raccoon) would be invoked, "Raccoon, Raccoon, cause thy rain (to flow)! (You and) Coyote cause ye your (dual) rain (to flow)!" Then at last it would rain. All people believed in (the efficacy of this formula). For that reason they two would be invoked, (until) it would commence to rain. Thus people were shouting whenever (ice) closed up the rivers. Now there it ends. It is the finish. (Thus) I know it.

CHUKCHEE

BY

WALDEMAR BOGORAS

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

The following grammatical sketch of the Chukchee group of languages is based on a manuscript by Mr. Bogoras, in which all the main facts presented here are contained. Since the principal object of the series of sketches presented in this Handbook is an elucidation of the grammatical categories found in the present condition of each language treated, I thought it best to re-arrange the material on the basis of an analytical study. I am therefore responsible for the essential form of arrangement and presentation here given. The re-arrangement was, however, made in consultation with Mr. Bogoras, the final form being given to the description of the grammar in accordance with his criticisms and suggestions. The references to the Chukchee and Koryak Texts have also been added by me in order to prove the statements contained in the grammar. These also were revised, supplemented, and corrected by Mr. Bogoras. Finally I have added sample texts with explanatory notes. These have also been revised by Mr. Bogoras.

It seemed important to add the Chukchee to the sketches contained in the Handbook, because it proves conclusively that those features which are most characteristic of many American languages are found also on the Asiatic continent. It seemed essential, furthermore, to present material for determining the position of the Eskimo language in relation to all its neighbors.

The war has delayed the publication of this work beyond expectation, and the final revision had to be made by the editor.

FRANZ BOAS.

NEW YORK, *December, 1921.*

CHUKCHEE

By WALDEMAR BOGORAS

INTRODUCTION

The material for the following study was collected by me in 1895-97, when I was a member of the Sibirjakov Expedition of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society; and in 1900-01, when I was engaged in anthropological researches for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History.

The group of languages treated in this sketch includes the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal. Of these, the first two are closely related, while the Kamchadal shows markedly divergent forms. Its phonetics are more complicated than those of the other two languages, and it seems to have preserved some ancient traits. Its morphology, however, is obscured by the recent process of Russianization, which has had a marked influence upon the language of the people.

Since I spent several years among the Chukchee on the Kolyma and Anadyr, and attained full command of the language in a practical manner, my Chukchee material is much fuller and also more accurate than that collected in the other languages. The work on the Chukchee is also facilitated by the fact that the language has no dialects, the dialect of the maritime Chukchee of the Pacific coast being almost identical with that of the reindeer-breeders of the Kolyma river.

Besides grammatical and lexicographic data, I have collected a large number of texts. I have also collected texts from the Asiatic Eskimo,¹ with literal translation into Chukchee, made by natives and carefully revised with their aid, as a means of avoiding inexactness in the translation of the Eskimo material.

¹ Some of these have been published in my paper, "The Eskimo of Siberia" (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. VIII, part III). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1913.

My work on the Koryak was done during the months from December, 1900, to March, 1901. While Mr. Waldemar Jochelson studied the ethnology of the Koryak on behalf of the Jesup Expedition, the morphological study of the language was assigned to me on account of my familiarity with the Chukchee. I left the Anadyr in November, 1900, joined Mr. Jochelson at Kamenskoye, and spent about a month with him. From there I proceeded to Kamchatka and studied the Kamchatka Koryak and the Kamchadal. On account of the necessity of devoting some time to the Eskimo of Indian Point, I could not devote more time to the study of these dialects.

The Koryak is spoken in a number of dialects, which may be classed in two groups, the western and the eastern. The western group includes the maritime villages on Penshina Bay of the Sea of Okhotsk,¹ some of which are the largest of the Koryak settlements, and the reindeer breeders on the rivers flowing into the Pacific Ocean. Here belong, for instance, the villages of Qa'yılın, Čimi'tqa, and Po'qač.² The eastern group includes all the maritime Koryak of Kamchatka and the villages of the Pacific shore, mainly around Alutor Bay. The Kerek may form a third group, which, although situated farthest to the east, is more closely related to the western branch.

I shall call the western group "Koryak I;" the eastern group "Koryak II." Since the majority of the former group are reindeer breeders who live north from the maritime villages, and, along the northern border of the country, come into contact with the Chukchee, I have elsewhere called the Koryak I the northern group; the Koryak II, the southern group.

The bulk of my Koryak material and all the texts are principally from the village Kamenskoye on Penshina bay, and also from Paren, 50 miles farther to the west. I have marked this material, respectively, "Kor. Kam." and "Kor. Par." All words and forms marked simply "Kor." are common to the various dialects. The chief difference between the dialects of Kamenskoye and Paren—both members of the eastern branch—lies in the rules governing the harmony of vowels. My material on the Koryak of Kamchatka is not extensive.

¹ See W. Jochelson, *The Koryak* (*Ibid.*, vol. vi), pp. 437 et seq. Leyden, E. J. Brill.

² *Ibid.*, p. 440. See also map at end of volumes VI and VII of the Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.

The Kamchadal material that I have been able to collect is not very full. The study of this dialect is at present very difficult on account of its corruption by the introduction of Russian elements.

In Krashenninoff's time there were three dialects of the Kamchadal—a southern, an eastern (spoken on the Kamchatka river), and a western. The first two are extinct, the language of the natives having been replaced by Russian. The eastern dialect is spoken in 13 villages on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. The largest of these is Kharghiusova (Kamchadal, Plǒ'xǒn), where I stayed 20 days. Another dialect is spoken in the village Sedanka, on the upper course of the Tighil river. Apart from phonetic differences, the chief features of this dialect are due to a strong Koryak influence. This, however, is also quite strong in the dialect of the Sea of Okhotsk. During the last 50 years, Koryak reindeer breeders have been living on the tundras of the eastern part of Kamchatka. The Kamchadal visit them, and purchase from them reindeer meat and skins for clothing. These Koryak are not Christianized, and speak only their own language. Thus it happens that the Kamchadal of the eastern shore, as far south as the village Kol, speak more or less the western Koryak dialect (I); and that among the half-Russianized Kamchadal, remnants of Koryak have almost completely replaced the old, native Kamchadal. In a few folk stories, fragments of which I was able to collect, the Kamchadal names have been forgotten, and Koryak names have taken their places. Sometimes it is not easy to determine whether we are dealing with Kamchadal or with Koryak terms. In the Sedanka dialect the influence of Koryak is felt even more markedly. The people are in the habit of using whole Koryak sentences, or begin a sentence in Kamchadal and end in Koryak. The dialect that has influenced the Sedanka people is the Kamchatka Koryak II.¹ Besides, there is a strong intrusion of Russian into both dialects. The Kamchadal has lost many of its numerals, several pronouns, and a considerable number of nouns and adjectives, all of which have been replaced by Russian terms. These have not been assimilated so as to conform with the morphology of Kamchadal, but remain unaltered. A Russianization may also be observed in the grammatical structure.

Nevertheless the Russian spoken by the Russianized natives of Kamchatka also bears evidence of the influence of the Kamchadal.

¹ Sedanka Kamchadal *g'ava'tel'kal* THEY PERISHED (-*k* inchoative in Koryak II, -*ñivo* in Koryak I) *sq'qtiti* HE WILL FREEZE TO DEATH (*sq-* future prefix Koryak II, *yg-* in Koryak I).

The Russian suffixes for case and gender do not occur, and all nouns and adjectives are used in the nominative singular masculine. All vowels are strongly marked as long, short, or obscure.

In the following study I have confined myself to the main points of the morphology. The description is based mainly on Chukchee and on a comparison of Chukchee and the western Koryak of Kamenskoye. Kamchadal has been utilized only so far as to indicate the peculiar characteristics of this dialect.

Notes on the Koryak are indicated by a single, those on the Kamchadal by a double marginal vertical rule. Examples without reference are taken from field notes.

All references for the Chukchee indicated by page and line (for instance, 21.3) are to my Chukchee texts contained in the Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition; those marked R, followed by page and line (for instance, R 23.5) are to my collection of texts published by the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences. All references to Koryak (marked, for instance, Kor. 27.6) are to my Koryak Texts published by the American Ethnological Society. The following previous publications on this family of languages may be mentioned:

L. RADLOFF, Ueber die Sprache der Tschuktschen (Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg, 1861, Series VII, vol. III, No. 10).

В. Г. Богоразъ, Образцы матеріаловъ поизченію чукотскаго дзыка и фольклора, собраніихъ въ Колымскомъ округѣ. Оттискъ изъ Извѣстій Императорской Академіи Наукъ Т. X. No. 3 (Мартъ 1899).

[WALDEMAR BOGORAS, Sample Text for the Study of the Chukchee Language and Folk-Lore, collected in the Kolyma District. Reprint from the Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, vol. x, no. 3 (March, 1899).]

Матеріалы по изученію чукотскаго языка и фольклора, собраніе въ Колымскомъ округѣ. Изданіе Императорской Академіи Наукъ. В. 1. С.-Петербургъ 1900.

[Materials for the Study of the Chukchee Language and Folk-Lore, collected in the Kolyma District, Part I. Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1900.

Chukchee Mythology (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. VIII, Part I). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1910.

Koryak Texts (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, vol. v). Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1914.

IGNACY RADLINSKY, Ze zbiorow Prof. B. Dybowskiiego. Słowniki Nazzeczy Ludów Kamczackich, 5 parts, Krákov, 1891-94.

С. Крашенинниковъ Описание земли Камчатки. С.-Петербургъ 1819. Т. 1. II. [S. KRASHENINNIKOFF, Description of the Land Kamchatka, vols. I and II. St. Petersburg, 1819.]

В. Н. Туюшовъ, По западному берегу Камчатки, С. П. Б., 1906.

[W. N. TUSHOFF, Along the Western Shore of Kamchatka. St. Petersburg, 1906.]

PHONETICS (§§ 1-24)

Chukchee (§§ 1-13)

§ 1. *Vowels*

The vowels of the Chukchee language may be divided into three classes:

(1) Weak vowels: *e i e ä u*

(2) Strong vowels: *ê a œ o*

(3) Neutral vowels: *ɪ ɛ ʌ ʏ*

The vowels of the first and second classes are always long.

i, e, u, have their continental values.

ä is a long obscure vowel, in rest position of all the muscles of the oral cavity, posterior nares closed, teeth and lips slightly opened.

e i is a glide from *e* to *i*, with long, accented *i*. It is always combined with a glottal stop.

ê is the open *e* of *hell*, but long.

a has its continental value.

o like *o* in *nor*.

œ a u with very slight rounding of lips, with the acoustic effect of a sound between *o* and *u*.

ɪ, ɛ, ʌ, obscure, short vowels corresponding to the respective long vowels.

ʏ an *i* with rounded lips, short; somewhat like the Russian *ы*.

Unusual length or shortness of vowels is indicated by the macron and breve respectively (*ā, ă*).

Diphthongs are formed by the combination of any of the vowels with following *i* and *u*:

ai like *i* in *hide*.

au like *ow* in *how*.

ei like *ei* in *vein*.

eu like *eu* in Italian *leucojo*.

oi like *oi* in *choice*.

The *i* and *u* of diphthongs belong to the neutral vowels. Combinations of the vowels with the weak vowels *i* and *u* do not form diphthongs.

The *i* and *u* of true diphthongs must be considered as voiced consonants, because, in all intervocalic positions where they are not lost, and in proper position before certain consonants, they have consonantic character; and because they often modify following consonants in the manner of the preceding consonants *y* and *w* (see §§ 5, 9).

Generally the accent of diphthongs is on the first vowel, although it is often placed on the second vowel.

gailo'qim indeed *ÿpau'ma* while drinking

When the diphthong is followed by a consonantic cluster, the terminal vocalic sound of the diphthong is lengthened. This gives the effect of an accent on the first vowel.

ÿpa'urkin thou drinkest

Before vowels, the *u* of the diphthong becomes *w*.

nɾpa'w-ê-ÿm I am drinking (stem *ÿparu*)

NOTE.—In many cases *i* neutral, which does not form diphthongs, originates from contraction of *yɪ* (see § 10).

Doubled vowels are also of frequent occurrence, particularly

ii in *tɪ'rkɪir* (male pronunciation ¹) sun

ee in *e'ek* lamp

wu in *mtu'ulpir* son-in-law

ÿÿ in *ÿÿ'thÿpÿ* from the skin intended for clothing

aa in *pa'arkin* thou ceasest

oo in *ro'olgal* food

ɪɪ in *taiñ'irgin* sinful action

After the loss of *ÿ*, *y*, or *g*, between two vowels (see § 10), clusters of three repetitions of the same vowel may appear.

mɾya'aa²k < *mɾya'aga²k* I will use

A comparison with Koryak suggests that whenever two vowels appear in contact, an elision of a consonant has occurred. Examples of this are given in § 16, no. 18, p. 670. It would seem that in all these cases the Chukchee has the tendency to assimilate the vowels (see § 13, p. 665).

§ 2. Consonants

| | Stop | | Affricative | | Nasal | | Continued. | Lateral | | | Trill |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-------------|--------|-----------|----------|------------|-------------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| | Surd | Sonant | Surd | Sonant | Sonant | Surd | | Affricative | | Continued | |
| | | | | | | | | Surd | Sonant | | |
| Labial . . | <i>p</i> | — | — | — | <i>m</i> | — | <i>v</i> | — | — | — | — |
| Alveolar . | <i>t</i> | — [d] | (š), č | ʃ | <i>n</i> | <i>ɳ</i> | — | <i>ɬ</i> | <i>ɮ</i> | <i>l</i> | <i>r, ʀ</i> |
| Palatalized alveolar | <i>t'</i> | — [d'] | č' | ʃ' | <i>n'</i> | — | <i>s'</i> | — | — | — | — |
| Palatal . . | <i>k, kw²</i> | — | — | — | <i>ŋ</i> | <i>ɲ</i> | — | — | — | — | — |
| Velar . . . | <i>q</i> | ɣ <i>ɣ(u,o)</i> | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Glottal . . | — | <i>ʔ</i> | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

h, w, y

¹ See § 13.

² Written *kw* before and after *u*.

p, m, as in English.

v bilabial.

t as in English.

š like *z* in German *Zeit*, used only in female pronunciation.

č like English *ch* in *choice*.

ǰ like English *j* in *joy*.

n as in English.

z stop produced by the tip of the tongue touching the upper alveoli, back of the tongue pressed against the hard palate, and sudden lateral release with slightly continued stricture.

ɹ like *z*, but sonant.

ł as in German.

r as in French (hard trill, *roue*).

ř dental *r* with weak trill.

t·, *d*·, *s*·, *ǰ*·, *n*·, the corresponding consonants strongly palatalized, similar to *ty*, *d̄y*, *sy*, *ǰy*, *ny*.

č· strongly palatalized, intermediate between *t*· and č, but weaker than either.

k as in English.

wkw labialized *k*.

ñ like *n* in *singing*. Voiceless ñ is always terminal, and appears after terminal *ɹ, ɛ*.

g, ǰ } velars corresponding to *k* and *g*; *ǰ* in this combination
g (*u, o*) } is often labialized.

h, w, y, consonantic, as in English. Initial *w* is sometimes pronounced nasally, as in *wo'tqan* THIS ONE. In my Russian publications I have indicated this nasalization; but it has not been indicated here, since it is not morphologically significant, and seems to be a characteristic feature of the sound, which appears, however, of varying strength.

d and *d*·, which are bracketed in the table of consonants, appear only as the development of a strong palatalization of *n*·, as in

ta'nd'an < *ta'n-yan* a good one

In only one case is initial *d* found,—*d'i'ndin* FIRE (from stem *ym*; compare *gay'nla'n* THE ONE THAT HAS FIRE). The reduplicated form *ymym* changes to *ymd'm*, from which develops—by assimilation, *d'ind'm*; and by intensification of the obscure vowel, *d'i'ndin*.

NOTE.—Examples of the importance of the glottal stops are—

i'rirkin he comes across
re'tirkin he rejoices
yo'rkim thou overtakest
ye'tirkin the sky becomes
overcast

i'rirkin he hits
re'tirkin he brings
yo'rkim thou putttest in
ye'tirkin thou comest

če'čē cold
e'čē'pürkin it shows itself

čē'čē lengthwise
ečē'pürkin it grows damp

The consonants *l* and *č* are intimately related, and frequently replace each other, sometimes with a slight change of meaning (see § 122).

vêčá'rkim and *vêLá'rkim* (from *vêt-la'rkim*, see § 7, no. 17, p. 654),
he stands

vilu'itim and *vičú'itim* (from stem *vilu-* ear) ear-bone

čei'wurkin he walks; *lei'wurkin* he wanders about

lä'leñ winter; *čä'čeñ* cold

Initial *ti* is sometimes replaced by *či*.

tILI-tto'oča > *čičičo'oča* in front of the entrance

NOTE.—In words borrowed from the Russian, the following substitutions occur:

For Russian *б* (*b*), Chukchee *v* is substituted.

For Russian *ф* (*f*), Chukchee *p* or *q* is substituted.

For Russian *х*, Chukchee *k* or *g* is substituted.

For Russian *с*, *ш* (*s*, *sh*), Chukchee *č* is substituted.

For Russian *с* (*s*), Chukchee *t* is substituted.

Examples:

| Chukchee | Russian |
|------------------|----------------------|
| <i>čai'ran</i> | сaiба (storehouse) |
| <i>Apo'n</i> | АФонька (Athanasius) |
| <i>Gž'čhan</i> | Федька (Teddy) |
| <i>ča'qar</i> | сахаръ (sugar) |
| <i>čol</i> | соль (salt) |
| <i>trž'n'non</i> | средне (middle) |

§ 3. *Vocalic Ablaut*

The vowels have been classified in three groups,—weak, strong, and neutral. The weak ones are indicated by \wedge , the strong ones by \circ . A word, simple or compound, must contain only strong vowels and neutrals, or only weak vowels and neutrals, or only vowels of one of the three classes. When, in composition, weak vowels and strong vowels come together in the same word, the former are changed by the ablaut into strong vowels.

e_i and i_i into e
 e and \ddot{a} into a
 u into o or q

The sound q differs in origin, therefore, from a , the latter being the ablaut of e or \ddot{a} . This process is not confined to preceding or following vowels, but pervades the whole word. Elements containing only weak vowels are combined without ablaut. The same is true of elements containing either neutral vowels alone or neutral and weak

vowels. A polysyllabic stem which contains a single strong vowel must have all its vowels strong.

Examples of such compositions are—

Weak vowels or weak vowel and neutral vowel:

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>p̣i'ri-rkm</i> he takes | <i>äqäin̄i-tv̄i'rk̄m</i> the weather grows |
| <i>tēn-teki'čhm</i> good meat | warm |
| <i>mei'ni-ti'mkitm</i> great | <i>p̣iñe'pi</i> snowstorm |
| hummock 145.1 | <i>nu'nun</i> blade of knife |
| <i>iul-u'ttuut</i> long wood | |

Ablaut of weak vowel and strong vowel:

| |
|--|
| <i>p̣êrē'yō</i> (from <i>p̣iri-yō</i>) taken |
| <i>p̣ēñā'ip̣ü</i> (from <i>p̣iñe-ḡp̣ü</i>) from a snowstorm |
| <i>n̄onō'ip̣ü</i> (from <i>nu'nu-ḡp̣ü</i>) from the blade of knife |
| <i>äqäinē'nma</i> (from <i>äqäin̄it-ma</i>) while the weather is growing warm |
| <i>äwkwā'tiñgk</i> (from <i>äwkwet-n̄ō</i>) at the beginning of leaving |
| <i>eu'lu-wā'lat</i> (from <i>iul-wāla</i>) long knives 15.2 |
| <i>tañ-māiñi-mē'mil</i> good, big seal |
| <i>ḡilē'-äqā'ñ-ggr</i> greedy ¹ right-hand driving-reindeer |

There are a number of words with neutral, probably auxiliary vowels (see § 8), which produce the ablaut, as *tim* TO KILL; and quite a number of suffixes of the same phonetic character that have the same effect. In these cases it is therefore conceivable either that a strong vowel has been lost or that the phonetic effect is primarily due to other reasons. I give here a list of strong stems of this character:²

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>im</i> rising of water | <i>wurg</i> dwarf birch |
| <i>iñ</i> glue | <i>wukw</i> stone 68.36 |
| <i>ipriñ</i> first dawn | <i>pitv</i> doubled |
| <i>yip</i> to put on 37.8 | <i>priñl</i> (-mñil) news 78.4 |
| <i>yit</i> (-giti) to get | <i>pilil</i> ripples, to bubble 41.1 |
| <i>yim</i> fire | <i>pivrint</i> iron, metal |
| <i>yimř</i> steep bank | <i>pilm</i> darkness produced by a storm |
| <i>yikirg</i> mouth 18.12 | <i>pilhirr</i> flat, flattened 84.25 |
| <i>yiggr</i> bountiful | <i>püg</i> float of sealskin |
| <i>wüt</i> leaf | <i>pügl</i> large, round, wooden bowl |
| <i>wülh</i> thin, with short hair 102.12 | |
| <i>wulhip</i> to fling | <i>ming</i> hand |
| <i>wur</i> branching | <i>mil</i> nimble |

¹ Greedy for urine given in a small vessel. See W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee* (The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, VII, 85).

² Forms preceded by a hyphen are those in which stems appear when in medial position (see § 12)

miliŋ five 107.23
tim (-*nm*) to kill 23.5
timq (-*mq*) to choke
timli to get near to 44.1
tinp to stab
til door
tirk testicle
tuw (-*tvu*) word, promise 49.6
-tkim to crouch
čimy bitter
čuw bruise
lip neck (bone)
lim something kept in re-
 serve, spare material
ligüp deadfall (trap)
lu^w to vanquish
-lpinŋ (*pinŋ*) to give
-lpil (*pil*) to drink
rithil bridge of nose.
rinn tusk, antler R 3.31
rinnim gums
ring shy
rin'ŋ to whittle (moving knife
 toward body)

ril (-*l*) to enter the sleeping-
 room
rilh finger 22.7, 47.2
rir to hunt down; (*rir* [-*rrr*] TO
 UNTIE has a weak stem)
rirrit sinew-thread
rig hair
riggit to be too narrow, to
 have no room.
ruw (-*nv*) to scrape; (*ruv*
 [-*nv*] TO PUSH OFF is a weak
 stem)
-rkipl (*kipl*) to strike 45.12
kit hard
kitër to hatch (eggs)
kilt middle part of sternum
kirg dry
kirgil fibrous
git thin, sparse
git lake
gilh skin
qiml (*kiml* 33.12) marrow
ŋin'ŋ stanchion of sledge
ŋil smoke R 32.38
ŋirkil shame.

Prefixes of the same character are—

im- all
kigt- (-*gti*-) much, strongly

There are also a number of suffixes with neutral vowel, that are strong:

-gti, *-ġti*, *-wti*, allative (§ 41)
-ipŷ, *-ġpŷ*, *-gŷpŷ*, ablative (§ 42)
-ih(in), *-iŋin(in)*, substantival suffix (§ 52)
-ġh(in), *-ġiŋin(in)*, substantival suffix (§ 53)
-iŋ-, *-iŋin*, augmentative (§ 98, 1)
-giŋg(in) verbal noun (§ 106, 44)
-tkin surface (§ 101, 19)
-s'q, *-s'qän* over, top of (§ 101, 20)
-nv, *-n*, place of (§ 109, No. 50)

Still other suffixes are strong because they have strong vowels:

-(i)ng allative of personal nouns (§ 41)
-ngq ablative, adverbial (§ 43)
-gg augmentative, (§ 98, 3)
-lqänin, *-lqänin*, space of, (see § 101, 20.)

- lĩng* diminutive (§ 98, 7)
- gã*—*mã* comitative (§ 100, 15)
- mãčĩ* comitative (§ 100, 17)
- qãč*, -*qãł*, by the side of (§ 101, 26)
- yãnv*, -*yãn*, provided with (§ 104, 38)
- yõčh*, -*õõčh*, receptacle (§ 105, 40)
- yõ* passive participle (§ 107, 47)
- ññõ*, -*ñõ*. inchoative (§ 110, 63)
- čhat*, verbal suffix expressing contempt (§ 110, 66)

In the following sketch the symbols \wedge and \circ have been used wherever clearness seemed to require the exact statement of the character of the vowels. Wherever the character of the vowel is irrelevant or the changes due to harmony of vowels are obvious, the symbols have been omitted.

In a few words, *i* is apparently a neutral vowel; as in

- yã'tirgĩn* (stem *yẽ't*) the act of coming
- kañka'čĩrgĩn* (stem *kenkel-*) the act of descending

In these cases the *i* has originated through palatalization of the preceding consonant and the elision of *g*, which, after *t* and \wedge , has hanged to *h* (see §§ 7 and 10).

- yã'tirgĩn* < *yã't-hĩrgĩn* < *yã't-gĩrgĩn*
- kañka'čĩrgĩn* < *kañka'č-hĩrgĩn* < *kañka'č-gĩrgĩn*

In pronunciation, ϵ , and $\hat{\epsilon}$, $\hat{\epsilon}$, differ very little. The pronunciation of the last two is, of course, identical. The manner in which the ablaut occurs with ϵ , while it is absent in $\hat{\epsilon}$, demonstrates, however, their etymological difference.

- elere'rkĩn* he feels dull
 - alara'mã* while feeling dull
 - mêrêmêr* tear
 - mêrê'gtĩ* to a tear
 - piñe'pĩł* snowstorm
 - pẽna-čpũ* from a snowstorm
 - kêtg'rkĩn* (stem *kêtg*) he remembers
- } (stem *elere*)
- } (stem *mêrê*)
- } (stem *piñe*)

In most cases \ddot{a} precedes or follows *q*, or is followed by the glottal stop ϵ , which has probably originated through a loss of *qe*. With few exceptions, \ddot{a} is a weak vowel.

- $\ddot{a}^{\epsilon}q\ddot{a}'-m\ddot{i}'mĩł$ bad water, brandy
- $\ddot{a}^{\epsilon}'q\ddot{a}łp\epsilon$ quick! hurry!
- $q\ddot{a}i\ddot{a}'$ fawn
- $\ddot{a}^{\epsilon}łq\epsilon'p$ nail
- $\ddot{a}^{\epsilon}m\ddot{u}'lĩn$ workingman

This *ä* is probably developed from *ɛ* under the influence of the following glottal stop.

In several suffixes *ä* appears without connection with *q* or *ɛ*.

vɨlu'tä by means of an ear

vɨlq'tä by means of a knife

In a few cases *ä* belongs to the group of strong vowels, and is probably derived from *ɛ̃* under the influence of the glottal stop.

ǣ'ɨlq' day

ǣ'ttwɨi'-ñan interjection, WHAT DO YOU CALL IT!

In several compounds *ä* appears as connecting vowel instead of *r*. This happens also generally before or after *q*. The sound of *ä* in these cases is short, and it belongs to the neutral vowels.

In the words *a'ttin* DOG, *a'ttim* BONE, the *a* replaces the weak *ǣ*, and is therefore also weak.

u of diphthongs is generally a nequivalent of *w*, vocalized when preceding a consonant. Therefore it is neutral, even if the accent is on the first part of the diphthong, which increases the vocalic character of the *u*.

teikɛ'urkin he wrestles

taikaulɛ'pɨ from the wrestler

ǣpɨ'urkin he drinks

In other cases *u* is by origin vocalic, and therefore changes to *o* or *ə*.

ǣu'rkim it thaws

ǣo'mq while thawing

but consonantic

ǣ'urkin he speaks

ǣu'mq while speaking

This *ǣu* may be explained as originating from *r'yu*, where, according to the rule, the intervocalic *y* dropped out, strengthening at the same time *r* to *i*.

Consonantic *w*, especially when initial, requires a *u* preceding it. This *u*, which is simply a strong glottal intonation, is neutral, and drops out after prefixes.

wuɨ'rkim he cooks

ɛwuɨ'rkim he cuts it off

luwq'urkin he can not

wuɨ'mq while cooking

ɛwuɨ'mq while cutting

gɛ'ɛvilitin he cut it

galvaulɛn being unable to do something

Russian loan-words also conform to the rules of vocalic harmony.

vi'lkən fork (Kor. Kam. *vi'łka*); stem *vi'lkε*; Russian *вилка*

č'u'mən bag (Kor. Kam. *č'u'ma*); stem *č'umε*; Russian *сума*

kəmḡk paper; stem *kəmḡk*; Russian *бумага*

mu'lemul soap (Kor. Kam. *mu'la*); stem *mulε*; local Russian *мыло*, instead of *мыло*

yεku'tilm Yakut; stem *yεkut*; Russian *Якут*

prεkḡ'čik commercial agent (Kor. *prek'a'ssek*); Russian *прикащик*

(Kor. Kam. *čai'n'ek*) teakettle;¹ Russian *чайник*

Compositions conform to the rules of harmony, with very few exceptions. The particles *elo'n* and *nan* enter into close combination with other particles without affecting their vowels: *emilo'n* < *emḡ elo'n* where is he? *euḡa'n* < *εun nan* so then R41.96. The former compound may even form an augmentative *emḡlonḡiḡin* ?where is he then? 43.6.

In *pičē'g-tuwa'rkin* THOU TAKEST OFF THE BOOTS, the second part alone has the ablaut.

In *čēq-a'mniḡen* IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS, both parts have the ablaut, while the weak forms *čiq* and *emnin* would be expected.

The separate words of the sentence are not affected by these rules.

§ 4. Initial and Terminal Consonants

All sounds occur in initial position, except the consonants *ɮ*, *ɮ̣*, *č̣*, *č̣̣*, which are not found in uncompounded stems, but seem to be due throughout to assimilation (see § 7).

ɮ < *t+l*

č̣̣ < *t+y*

ɮ̣ < *l+l* or *r+l*

č̣ < *d+y*

All sounds occur as terminals except

ɮ, *ɮ̣*, *ṭ*, [*ḍ*], [*ḍ̣*], *č̣*, *č̣̣*, *č̣̣̣*, *wkw*, *ř*

v, *h*

I presume the absence of the former group is due to the fact that they are by origin double consonants (see § 5).

Voiceless *n* and *ḡ* appear only as terminal sounds after *l* and *ε*.

No clusters of more than two consonants occur. Terminal consonantic clusters are not admissible, and are broken either by the introduction of an obscure vowel or by being placed in medial position by the addition of a terminal obscure vowel. It is important to note that the glottal stop does not count as a consonant in these clusters. It always follows a long vowel.

¹ Chukchee *pi'łhukuk* throat-kettle.

Terminal \tilde{n} , particularly after r , becomes voiceless, and hence very weak.

keñu'neñ STAFF ends in voiceless \tilde{n} , but in the plural *keñu'neñit* the \tilde{n} is voiced

This may account for the slight nasal character of unaccented terminal r .

§ 5. Medial Consonantic Clusters

The following consonants never appear in clusters:

$\underset{\cdot}{l}$, $\underset{\cdot}{L}$, $\underset{\cdot}{t}$,¹ $[\underset{\cdot}{d}]$, $[\underset{\cdot}{d'}$],² $\underset{\cdot}{c}$, $\underset{\cdot}{j}$, $\underset{\cdot}{j'}$, wkw

This proves again that all of these must be considered as double consonants (see § 4).

Besides this, the following do not occur as the first member of a medial cluster:

k ,³ q ,⁴ $\underset{\cdot}{r}$, $\underset{\cdot}{h}$.

The medial cluster *tr* occurs in some derivations of the loan-word *tré'n·non* (Russian *среде*).

gatré'n·nonta'len they went to Sredne Kolymsk

The following do not occur as second member of a cluster:

s' , n' ,⁵

The consonantic medial clusters that have been found are contained in the following table, in which dashes indicate inadmissible clusters.

| | <i>p</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>k</i> | <i>q</i> | | $\underset{\cdot}{c}$ | <i>m</i> | <i>n</i> | \tilde{n} | <i>v</i> | <i>l</i> | <i>r, r̄</i> | <i>y</i> | <i>w</i> | <i>h</i> |
|-----------------------|------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| <i>p</i> | <i>pp</i> | <i>pt</i> | <i>pk</i> | <i>pq</i> | <i>pq</i> | <i>pċ</i> | — | — | — | | <i>pl</i> | <i>pr</i> | <i>py</i> | | |
| <i>t</i> | | <i>tt</i> | <i>tk</i> | <i>tq</i> | | <i>tċ</i> | — | — | — | <i>tv</i> | — | (<i>tr</i>)— | <i>ty</i> | <i>tw</i> | <i>th</i> |
| <i>q</i> | — | <i>qt</i> | | <i>qq</i> | <i>qq</i> | <i>qċ</i> | — | <i>qn</i> | — | — | <i>ql</i> | <i>qr</i> | <i>qy</i> | — | |
| $\underset{\cdot}{c}$ | | $\underset{\cdot}{c}t$ | $\underset{\cdot}{c}k$ | $\underset{\cdot}{c}q$ | $\underset{\cdot}{c}q$ | $\underset{\cdot}{c}\underset{\cdot}{c}$ | $\underset{\cdot}{c}m$ | $\underset{\cdot}{c}n$ | $\underset{\cdot}{c}\tilde{n}$ | | $\underset{\cdot}{c}l$ | $\underset{\cdot}{c}r$ | | | |
| $\underset{\cdot}{c}$ | — | — | — | — | — | $\underset{\cdot}{c}\underset{\cdot}{c}$ | — | — | — | $\underset{\cdot}{c}v$ | — | — | — | | $\underset{\cdot}{c}h$ |
| <i>s</i> | <i>s·p</i> | | <i>s·k</i> | <i>s·q</i> | | | | <i>s·n</i> | | | | | | | |
| <i>m</i> | <i>mp</i> | <i>mt</i> | <i>mk</i> | <i>mq</i> | <i>mq</i> | <i>mċ</i> | <i>mm</i> | <i>mn</i> | <i>mñ</i> | | <i>ml</i> | <i>mr</i> | <i>my</i> | <i>mw</i> | |
| <i>n</i> | <i>np</i> | <i>nt</i> | <i>nk</i> | <i>nq</i> | — | <i>nċ</i> | <i>nm</i> | <i>nn</i> | — | <i>nv</i> | <i>nl</i> | (<i>nr</i>) <i>nř</i> | <i>ny</i> | | |
| <i>n'</i> | <i>n'p</i> | | <i>n'k</i> | <i>n'q</i> | <i>n'q</i> | | <i>n'm</i> | | <i>n'ñ</i> | <i>n'v</i> | | — | — | | |
| <i>ñ</i> | — | — | <i>ñk</i> | <i>ñq</i> | <i>ñq</i> | — | — | — | <i>ññ</i> | — | — | — | — | — | |
| | <i>lp</i> | <i>lt</i> | <i>lk</i> | <i>lq</i> | — | | <i>lm</i> | — | | <i>lv</i> | — | — | <i>ly</i> | <i>lw</i> | <i>lh</i> |
| <i>r</i> | — | — | <i>rk</i> | | | — | — | — | | <i>rv</i> | — | <i>rr</i> | — | <i>rw</i> | |
| <i>y</i> | <i>yp</i> | — | | <i>yq</i> | | | <i>ym</i> | — | <i>yñ</i> | — | — | — | — | | |
| <i>w</i> | | <i>wt</i> | (<i>wk</i>) | <i>wq</i> | <i>wq</i> | | <i>wm</i> | <i>wn</i> | | — | | <i>wr</i> | — | <i>ww</i> | |

¹ Except *t·h*.

² Except *nd'*.

³ Except *kk*, and in one case *kr*, which is probably an affricative *q*.

⁴ Except *qq*.

§ 6. Vocalic Contraction

When sounds that form inadmissible combinations come into contact through composition, phonetic changes occur.

(1) Of two weak or strong vowels in contact, the first one is elided.

qaL-ad'čëk < *qaLê'-ad'čëk* lazy boy
ä^εq-u'ttuut < *ä^εqü-u'ttuut* bad wood

(2) Obscure *I, E, ü, A, ä, a^ε*, following another vowel are elided. The glottal stop is always retained.

añqa-nna'n < *añqa'-enna'n* sea-fish
gapa'u'lên < *ga-üpa'ulên* he drank
čë'ri^εl < *čë'ri-ä^εl* Lel muddy snow
ñeu^εttim < *ñe'u-a^εttim* female dog

§ 7. Medial Consonantic Processes

When two consonants come into contact, certain changes occur. The consonants given on the left-hand side form, when followed by the consonants at the head of the columns, the following combinations:

| | <i>p m v w</i> | <i>t n č y r l</i> | <i>k ñ q g</i> |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>p forms with</i> | | <i>mn</i> | <i>mñ</i> |
| <i>v forms with</i> | | | <i>wkw</i> |
| <i>w forms with</i> | <i>wkw wkw</i> | <i>wg</i> | <i>{wkw wg}</i> |
| <i>t forms with</i> | <i>nm</i> | <i>nn č rr L</i> | <i>n·ñ {tñ tʃ}</i> |
| <i>n forms with</i> | | <i>nä·^{nr} nʃ</i> | <i>n·ñ n·g</i> |
| <i>č forms with</i> | <i>s·p {s^m nm}</i> | <i>{t {sⁿ nn} rr L</i> | <i>s·k čh s·q čh</i> |
| <i>y forms with</i> | | <i>gl gn gč gr gl</i> | |
| <i>r forms with</i> | | <i>tt nn tč č {L L}</i> | |
| <i>l forms with</i> | | <i>{š } rr {L L}</i> | <i>lh {lq s·q} lh ly</i> |
| <i>k } form with</i> | <i>wp wm wkw wkw</i> | <i>gt gn gq gr gl</i> | <i>gk {gñ ññ} gq wkw qq gq</i> |
| <i>ñ forms with</i> | <i>mp wm mv mw</i> | <i>nł gn nč {nđ· nr ny nʃ} nł</i> | |
| <i>q forms with</i> | <i>*p *m *v *w</i> | <i>*t *n *č *y *r *l</i> | <i>*k *ñ (*q) *g</i> |

These changes may be summarized in part as follows:

(1) Voiceless labial and dental stops before nasals become nasals.

(2) *k* and *g* before labials become *w*; with *v* and *w*, they form a labialized *k*.

(3) *k, g,* and *y* before dentals become *g*.

- (4) *q* before consonants becomes *ε*; only *qq* occurs.
 (5) *ñ* before labials becomes *m*; before dentals, *n*.
 (6) *č* before labials, palatals, and *n*, becomes *s*. When *l* replaces *č*, it is treated in the same manner.
 (7) Dentals before palatals are palatalized.
 (8) *w* with following *v*, *w*, and sometimes also with *g*, forms labialized *k*.
 (9) *y* following *v*, *w*, and *g*, becomes *g*.
 (10) *t* (*č*), and *r* with following *y*, form *č*.
 (11) *l* with following *y* forms *č*, or *ly*.
 (12) *t*, *č*, and (*r*) with following *r* form *rr*.
 (13) (*t*), *č*, and *r* with following *t* form *tt*.
 (14) *ñ* with following *n* and *ñ* forms *gn* and *gñ*.
 (15) *n* and *ñ* with following *y* form *nd*.
 (16) *n* and *ñ* with following *r* form often *nč*.
 (17) *t*, *č*, *r*, and *l* with following *l* form *l*. The last two with following *l* also form *l*.
 (18) *l* with following *r* forms *rr*.
 (19) *l* with following *ñ* forms *lh*.
 (20) *r* with following *n* forms *nn*.
 (21) *r* with following *č* forms *tč*.
 (22) *k* with following *k* and *g* form *gk* and *gq*.
 (23) *k* and *g* with following *ñ* form *ññ*.
 (24) *k* with following *g* forms *gg*; with following *gu*, *wkw* (*u*).
 (25) *g* with following *q* forms *qq*.
 (26) *l* and *t* with following *g* form *lh*, *ly*, and *th*, *ty*.

Examples:

- pn* > *mn* (1) *gεmnε'lin* whetted < *gε-pnε'-lin*
vəla₀mna'lin < *vəla₀pna'lin* the knife-whetter
 44.4
rimnč'pū from the inner skin (*ri'pim* inner skin)
- pn* > *mñ* (1) *gittε'mñεw* < *gittε'p-ñεw* clever woman
namñilg'a₀n < *na-pñilg'-a₀n* they asked him
 66.24
- tm* > *nm* (1) *min₀'nmik* < *min-₀i't-mik* let us be! 57.1
ni₀'lqän-mur₀i < *ni-yi'lqät-mur₀i* we slept
na'nm₀ua₀n < *na-t₀mu-ä₀n* they killed it 8.2
mne'wkwεnmik < *mn-ε'wkwεt-mik* let us go
 away! 17.8
- tn* > *nn* (1) *εi'minn₀n* < *εi'mit-n₀n* he took it 117.9
- tñ* > *nñ* (1, 7) *re₀'lqän-ñit* < *re-yi'lqät-ñit* they will sleep
gεn-ñi'ul₀n < *gε-tñ₀u-l₀n* he sent it 104.10 (cf.
 19.1; 104.3)
- kp* > *wp* (2) *mūwpe'wvel* < *mūkpe'wvel* many two-year-old
 reindeer-bucks

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>km</i> > <i>wm</i> (2) | <i>müwmog'ogor</i> < <i>mük-mog'ogor</i> many pack-rein-deer |
| <i>kv</i> > <i>wkw</i> (2) | <i>pičawkva'glrñm</i> < <i>pič'a'k-va'glrñm</i> boot-grass (i. e., grass insole) |
| <i>kw</i> > <i>wkw</i> (2) | <i>müwkwê't'haq</i> < <i>mük-wê't'haq</i> (too) many words |
| <i>gp</i> > <i>wp</i> (2) | <i>êw-pêrə'rkim</i> < <i>êg-pêrə'rkim</i> he looks wolf-like |
| <i>gm</i> > <i>wm</i> (2) | <i>ēLE'w-mi'tqämīt</i> < <i>ēLE'g-mi'tqämīt</i> sweet blubber (honey) |
| <i>gv</i> > <i>wkw</i> (2) | <i>čē'wmak</i> < <i>čēg-mak</i> egg-shell |
| <i>gw</i> > <i>wkw</i> (2) | <i>āLA'wkwə'nəu</i> < <i>āLA'g-wə'nəu</i> chewing-gum (lit. sweet gum) |
| <i>kt</i> > <i>gt</i> (3) | <i>ālawkwê't'haq</i> < <i>ālag-wê't'haq</i> sweet talk |
| <i>kn</i> > <i>gn</i> (3) | <i>ūwī'g trmñē'n</i> < <i>ūwī'k trmñē'n</i> she killed herself |
| <i>kr</i> > <i>gr</i> (3) | 72.27 |
| <i>kl</i> > <i>gl</i> (3) | <i>müg-ne'nnet</i> < <i>mük-ne'nnet</i> many otter (skins) |
| <i>yt</i> > <i>gt</i> (3) | <i>müg-re'w</i> < <i>mük-re'w</i> many whales |
| <i>yn</i> > <i>gn</i> (3) | <i>müg li'glig</i> < <i>mük-li'glig</i> many eggs |
| | <i>čəg-tai'əčhyn</i> < <i>čaj-tai'əč-hyn</i> tea-bag |
| | <i>mə'gni</i> < <i>mai'-ni</i> property piled up outside of house. |
| | <i>ñē'gni</i> < <i>ñēi'-ni</i> mountain |
| <i>yč</i> > <i>gč</i> (3) | <i>ve^εg-čū'rmim</i> < <i>ve^εi-čū'rmim</i> grass border |
| <i>yr</i> > <i>gr</i> (3) | <i>va^εgrān</i> < <i>va^εi-rān</i> grass house |
| <i>yl</i> > <i>gl</i> (3) | <i>va^εglrñm</i> < <i>va^εi-lrñm</i> grass |
| <i>q</i> before consonants > ^ε (4) | <i>nərko^εg'gūpū</i> < <i>nərkuq-gūpū</i> from the swan |
| | <i>g^εnē'pū</i> < <i>g'qn-ēpū</i> from the fish-hook |
| | <i>mā^εmē'ūpū</i> < <i>māqmē-ūpū</i> from the arrow |
| | <i>gē'li'kēlin</i> < <i>gē-qlī'kēt-lin</i> he has married |

A few stems, when preceding consonants, change *q* to ^ε, and their vowels become subject to ablaut.

tē^ε < *tiq* to cast metal

yē^ε < *yiq* quick

mē^ε < *miq* small

For instance:

ti'qirkin he casts metal

tē^εnin he has cast it

ñp > *mp* (5)

tampēra'ē < *tañ-pēra'ē* he appeared well

ñv > *mv* (5)

gēmpē'lin < *gē-ñpē'lin* they landed 12.9

tām-va'irgin < *tañ-va'irgin* good being, good state of things

ñw > *mw* (5)

tām-wañē'irgin < *tañ-wañē'irgin* good work

ñt > *nt*

rāntō'ā^εt < *ra-ñtō'-ā^εt* they went out 56.S

ñč > *nč*

tān-čai < *tañ-čai* good tea

- ñy* > *ny* *tɛlɛ' n-yɛ' p* < *tɛlɛ' ñ-yɛ' p* long time ago
- ñr* > *nř* *tɛlɛ' n-řemkin* < *tɛlɛ' ñ-řɛ' mkin* ancient people
- tan-řa' n* < *tañ-ra' n* a good house; but *tan-rołqal* < *tañ-ro' olqal* good food
- ñl* > *nl* *ten-le' ut* < *teñ-le' ut* good, clever head
- ɛp* > *s'p* (6) *mas'-pa' aɛɛ'* < *mač-pa' aɛɛ'* he seemed to cease
- ɛm* > *s'm* (6) *mɛs'-kirpi' s'-mič* < *mɛs'-kirpi' č-mič* of about the size of a cake of brick tea; but also *mɛs'-kirpi' n-mič*
- ɛn* > *s'n* (6) *mɛs'ni' mpäqin* < *meč-ni' mpäqin* somewhat slow; but also *mennu' mpäqin*
- ɛk* > *s'k* (6) *kirpi' s'kin* < *kirpi' čkin* belonging to a cake of brick-tea; but from *va' eñqač* THERE is derived the adjective *va'eñqačtkên*
- ɛq* > *s'q* (6) *kirpi' s'qäi* < *kirpi' č-qäi* small piece of brick-tea (see 29.8)
- nñ* > *n'ñ* (7) *qun' ñe' ekik* < *qun-ñe' ekik* single daughter (see, however, *qun-ñe' ekik* 29.8)
- ng* > *n'g* (7) *qon-ğitka' ta* < *qon-ğitka' ta* one-legged
- lq* > *s'q*, when *l* replaces a *č* *wu' s' quus'* < *wu' lquul* darkness
- wv* > *wkw* (8) *raanawkwä' ɣɣin* < *raa' naw-wä' ɣɣin* straight acting
- law' lawkwä' ɣɣa* < *law' law'-wä' ɣɣa* by mischievous being 117.21
- wv* > *wkw* (8) *ñawkwäñɛ' ɣɣin* < *ñaw-wäñɛ' ɣɣin* female work
- wg* > *wkw* (8) *timarä' wkwä' k* < *timaräw'-gä' k* I quarreled
- ɛime' wkwä' ɣɣi* < *ɛime' u-ɣi* it approached 9.12
- vy* > *vg* (9) *nuvgɛ' ntogqênat* < *n-vy' ñtq-qinɛt* their breath went out 34.6
- wy* > *wg* (9) *awgö' lika* < *ä-wyöl-kä* without assistant 124.5
- ñä' wgɛl* < *ñaw-yɛl* female cousin
- gy* > *gg* (9) *ɛgga' ilhin* < *ɛ' g-ya' ilhin* wolf's paw
- älä' ggän* < *älä' gyan* the sweet one
- ty* > *č* (10) *yi' lqač' an* < *yi' lqat-yan* the sleeper
- ry* > *č* (10) *ko' č' o* < *ko' r-yo* the one bought
- ly* > *ř* or remains *a' lkiř' o* < *a' lkiřyo* the one recognized. The unaltered (11) tered form occurs also.
- tr* > *rr* (12) *gir-ra' ttam* < *git-ra' ttam* thin curried reindeer-skin
- čr* > *rr* (12) *marrä' eñki* < *mač-ra' eñki* somewhat back of you
- čt* > *tt* (13) *mat-torɛ' tu-wä' lin* < *mač-torɛ' tu-wä' lin* somewhat crazy
- ma' ñênqat-täɛ'* < *ma' ñênqäč-täɛ'* in what direction he moved on

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>rt</i> > <i>tt</i> (13) | <i>tut-tei'kik</i> < <i>tur-tei'kik</i> newly made |
| <i>ñn</i> > <i>gn</i> (14) | <i>teg-ne'lhın</i> < <i>teñ-ne'lhın</i> good skin |
| <i>ññ</i> > <i>gñ</i> (14) | <i>teg-ñe'us'qät</i> < <i>teñ-ñe'us'qät</i> good woman 62.13 |
| <i>ny</i> > <i>nd</i> (15) | <i>mındı'lqänmık</i> < <i>mınyı'lqänmık</i> let us go to sleep! |
| <i>ñy</i> > <i>ñd</i> (15) | <i>ä's'ndılhäs'n</i> < <i>ä'nyılhäs'n</i> let us give it to him! |
| <i>nr</i> > <i>nř</i> (16) | <i>tand'a'n</i> < <i>tañ-ya'n</i> a good one |
| | <i>ñu'nřı</i> < <i>ñu'nřı</i> there (to the right or to the left side from the speaker) |
| <i>tl</i> > L (17) | <i>ge'lqälın</i> < <i>ge'-lqät-lın</i> he departed |
| <i>čl</i> > L (17) | <i>maLü'mñuñ-va'lin</i> < <i>mač-lü'mñuñ-va'lin</i> somewhat lazy |
| <i>rl</i> > L (17) | <i>tuLü's'k</i> < <i>tur-lü's'k</i> just on seeing it |
| <i>ll</i> > L (17) | <i>a'tto'ol'a'ut</i> < <i>a'tto'ol-la'ut</i> front head (the star Arcturus) |
| | <i>gene'Lın</i> < <i>ge-ne'l-lın</i> he has become 116.21 |
| <i>lr</i> > <i>rr</i> (18) | <i>gırgo'r-ra'mkın</i> < <i>gırgo'l-ra'mkın</i> "upper people" (i. e., the beings supposed to live in the world above) |
| <i>lñ</i> > <i>lh</i> (19) | <i>ge'lhılın</i> > <i>ge'lñılın</i> (auxiliary verb, active) |
| <i>rn</i> > <i>nn</i> (20) | <i>tun-ne'lhın</i> < <i>tur-ne'lhın</i> new skin |
| <i>rč</i> > <i>tč</i> (20) | <i>tət-čqai</i> < <i>tqr-čqai</i> new tea |
| | <i>walka'tčiñın</i> < <i>walka'r-čiñın</i> the jaw-bone house 59.8 |
| <i>kk</i> > <i>gk</i> (22) | <i>müg-kuke'ni</i> < <i>mük-kuke'ni</i> numerous kettles, a number of kettles |
| <i>kq</i> > <i>gq</i> (22) | <i>müg-gora'ni</i> < <i>mük-gora'ni</i> a number of reindeer |
| <i>kñ</i> > <i>ññ</i> (23) | <i>pe'ččvañ-ña'lvul</i> < <i>pe'ččvak-ña'lvul</i> one-year reindeer-herd |
| <i>gñ</i> > <i>ññ</i> (23) | <i>čēñ-ñito'rkın</i> < <i>čēg-ñito'rkın</i> egg goes out; i. e., young bird hatches |
| <i>kq</i> > <i>wkw</i> (24) | <i>mükwu'gun</i> < <i>mük-gui'gun</i> many block-houses |
| <i>kq</i> > <i>gq</i> (24) | <i>müg-qa'LE</i> < <i>mük-qa'LE</i> many birds |
| <i>gq</i> > <i>qq</i> (only in suffixes) (25) | <i>ei'qqai</i> < <i>ei'g-qai</i> little wolf; but <i>ei'g-quli'qul</i> wolf's voice |
| <i>lg</i> > <i>ly</i> (26) | <i>ne'lyi</i> it became 9.11 |
| <i>tq</i> > <i>ty</i> (26) | <i>ri'tyü</i> thou shalt be |

§ 8. Auxiliary Vowels

(1) When clusters of more than two consonants are formed by composition, the clusters are broken up by an auxiliary vowel, ordinarily *i*.

Before *w*, *v*, the auxiliary vowel is *u*.

Before or after a *p* which forms part of a consonantic cluster, the auxiliary vowel is *ü*.

Before or after *q*, the auxiliary vowel is *ä*.

- ti'mk-i-le'ut* (*ti'mkrlgi-le'ut* R 278) hummock-head
i'të-i-pilvi'ntin precious metal (i. e., gold)
gël-i-tkin-i-k on the top of the sea-ice 9.1
ñä'lvül-i-čhn the herd 79.6, see also *ñä'lvüličhn* 32.11
q̄l̄w't-i-kä without head 47.8 (< *q̄-l̄wt-kä*)
i'të-u-wil precious ware
êul-u-wq'lat long knives 15.2 (< *iwl+vaq'lat*)
n-i-np-ü-qin old one
n-ü-plu'qin small one 10.2
lëlänpinq'čhäqai eyes (had) the small old man
n-i'të-ä-qin heavy, dear

(2) Consonants that can not form clusters—like *L*, *l*, *wkw*, *d*, *d'*, *t'*, *č'*, *ǰ*, *ǰ'*—take also auxiliary vowels when in contact with other consonants.

- mu'LImul* blood 117.12
ti'L-i-til the entrance 105.15
minqi'Linin hand 57.10
qa'Lilên he entered into the sleeping-room 109.22
q̄'wkuɹin they have tied him up 20.10 (< *q̄-wkut-lin*)

(3) When two consonants forming a cluster come to stand in final position, an auxiliary vowel is introduced.

- pi'nil* news
pü'kil big bowl
evi'rit dresses 7.8

In some cases, however, there is a terminal obscure vowel, which is derived from an older, stronger vowel.

- qa'LE* bird (stem *qalhq*)
ri'rki walrus (stem *rirkq*)
ve'LE raven (stem *vqlvq*)
ki'rñi buck, male (stem *kirñq*)

§ 9. *u*, *w*

Short, obscure *u* may change to *w* or *v*.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>ty'urkin</i> thou sayest | <i>ty'wtuw</i> word | <i>qa'tvilên</i> he has said |
| <i>ɣu'urkin</i> thou splittest | <i>ɣu'wq̄q̄</i> the split one | <i>qa'rivilên</i> he has split |
| <i>ɣy'urkin</i> thou scrapest | <i>ɣu'wq̄q̄</i> the scraped one | <i>qa'nyvlên</i> he has scraped |
| <i>ɣy'urkin</i> thou displacest | <i>ɣu'wq̄q̄</i> displaced | <i>q̄'nyvlin</i> he has dis- placed |
| <i>ɣg'orkin</i> thou pluckest | <i>ɣg'wq̄q̄</i> plucked | <i>q̄igo'lên</i> he has plucked |

§ 10. Intervocalic Elision

(1) Intervocalic *w*, *y*, (*ɨ*), and *g* are either much weakened or drop out altogether. This happens particularly when the vowels preceding and following these sounds are alike. After an elision, the two vowels are often assimilated.

ñe'ekik < *ñew-ekik* daughter
gəlgə'lên < *gəgəlgə'lên* he has passed by
gəal'hlîên < *gəyəl'hlîên* he has moved away
mūwa'qəək < *mūwa'qəgəək* let me sit down!
yə'ilhin and *yə'g'ilhin* foot
mit'nmūt < *mit-ɪ-tmū-git* we killed thee 10.12
pə'gtu-u'rgirgin < *pə'gti-wu'rgirgin* runner-noise 32.10
ɛim'erkin < *ɛim'irkin* thou creakest

(2) *ɪ*+*y* followed by a vowel, and *y*+*ɪ* preceded by *e* and *ɪ*, form neutral *i* (see § 2, p. 644). The preceding *ɪ* is assimilated by this neutral *i*.

gɛ'ɪlɪn < *gɛ'yɪlɪn* given
tiɔ'lhɪn < *tiyɔ'lhɪn* vein
qiɔ'lhɪn and *qiyɔ'lhɪn* heel
gɛ'ɪlqälɪn < *gɛ-yɪ'lqälɪn* he slept
mɪ'ɪlhit < *mɪ'yilhit* I will give thee

§ 11. Phonetic Influences between Words

The changes described in §§ 6–10 occur not only in word composition, but also between the end and beginning of words that form parts of a syntactic unit.

gümni'n ewkweckwala'ɛ̃ < *gümni'n ɛ'wkwew gəlgə'ɛ̃* my left-hand driving-reindeer passed by
yə'sran mu'ri nan'ñênai'pü-mə'rê < *yə'srat mu'ri* we grew too angry (*yə'srat* too much; *mu'ri* we; *an'ñênai'pü* to become angry)
enne'n' üm ä'lqə'm ñitɔ'ɛ̃ < *ä'lqə'p ñitɔ'ɛ̃* a nail went out (*enne'n'* one; *ä'lqə'p* nail; *ntɔ*, *-ñitɔ* to go out; *-ɛ̃* 3d per. sing.)
ni'mnimɪj'-a'lhityə't < *ni'mnimɪt yə'lhityä't* the neighboring camp moved away

Sometimes *ñ* or *t* is inserted between two vowels—one terminal, the next initial—that come together in a sentence.

tele'g-vi'ä-ñ-i'irkin gradually dying he is

Such insertions, as well as the assimilation of sounds belonging to different words, are used with a great deal of freedom.

§ 12. *Initial Consonantic Clusters*

I have found the following initial consonantic clusters:

| Initial sound | Second sound | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | é | m | n | ñ | r | l |
| p | <i>pé</i> | | <i>pn</i> | <i>pñ</i> | pr | pl |
| t | | | <i>tn</i> | <i>tñ</i> | tr | |
| k | | <i>km</i> | | | <i>kr</i> | <i>kl</i> |
| q | | | | <i>qñ</i> | <i>qr</i> | <i>ql</i> |
| g | | | | | <i>gr</i> | |
| m | | | <i>mn</i> | <i>mñ</i> | <i>mr</i> | <i>ml</i> |
| n | | | | | <i>nr</i> | |
| ñ | | | | | | <i>ñl</i> |

It appears from this table that the stops and nasals, with following nasal *r* and *l*, are the only admissible classes of initial clusters, and not all the combinations of these are found. The combination *pé* seems exceptional in this series. Combinations which occur in initial but not in medial position are printed in italics.

Examples:

- pr* interjection 88.17
pre'rem meat pudding
pläq'i' that is all 107.21
plä'kilh'n boot
pčëq'twä'r'kin thou takest off the boots
pnë'r'kin thou whettest it
pñö'r'kin thou imbibest
tni'r'kin thou sewest
tñarrq'ë'ti to the dawn 135.16
trayä'aa'ën shall I use it? 93.19
trennikë'wkwä'ën I shall do to it 99.10
kmi'ñäqäi small son 126.11
kri't'kin upper course of a river
kloka'l'h'n a kind of berry
gra'qu to the disowning 94.30
qres'qi'wkwie' git enter! 102.35
qlä'ulqai little man 9.6
grö'ë' she brought forth 104.8
mlë'r'kin thou breakest
mñe-eñë'ñil'n sacrificing-shaman 42.5
mne'wkwënmik let us go away! 17.8
mra'qtia'ëk I shall go home 99.2
mra'yo'ëñ'n shall we visit him? 108.10

nre'q-i-git what dost thou want? 125.6

nle'n'ñlet flame

qñaurra'qtatyē take wife home 115.8

Since many stems consist of consonantic clusters that are not admissible either medially or initially, a great number of very curious phonetic changes of stems occur, either by consonantic assimilation or dissimilation, or by the insertion of auxiliary vowels. Since these changes are not so frequent in Koryak, the latter dialect often shows the original form of the stem, which can not be recognized from the Chukchee forms alone. I will give here examples of a series of phonetic changes of this type.

(1) Medial modifications.

| Initial cluster of stems | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| Initial form | Probable stem | Medial form |
| <i>pn</i> | * <i>pn</i> | <i>mn</i> |
| <i>tn</i> | * <i>tn</i> | <i>nn</i> |
| <i>tñ</i> | * <i>tñ</i> | <i>n'ñ</i> |
| <i>km</i> | * <i>km</i> | <i>wm</i> |
| <i>ql</i> | * <i>ql</i> | <i>cl</i> |

(2) In the second group the stem, when in initial position, loses the first sound of the consonantic cluster.

| Initial form | Probable stem | Medial form |
|------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>k</i> | * <i>rk</i> | <i>rk</i> |
| <i>p</i> | * <i>lp</i> | <i>lp</i> |
| <i>k</i> | * <i>lk</i> | <i>lk</i> |
| <i>q</i> | * <i>lq</i> | <i>lq</i> |
| <i>l</i> | * <i>tl</i> | <i>tl</i> |
| <i>k</i> and <i>tk</i> | * <i>tk</i> | <i>tk</i> |
| <i>w</i> | * <i>wkw</i> | (<i>wkw</i>) |
| <i>v</i> | * <i>tv</i> | (<i>tv</i>) |

(3) In a few cases a substitution of sounds occurs, partly due to the phonetic laws described before.

| Initial | Probable stem | Medial |
|----------|---------------|----------------------|
| <i>r</i> | * <i>r</i> | <i>n¹</i> |
| <i>ɣ</i> | * <i>ɣ</i> | <i>h, y</i> |

¹ Not in all cases.

(4) In a great many cases an auxiliary vowel is introduced between the members of the cluster.

| Initial | Probable stem | Medial |
|--------------------------|---------------|-----------|
| <i>pr</i> and <i>pir</i> | * <i>pr</i> | <i>pr</i> |
| <i>pūk</i> | * <i>pk</i> | <i>pk</i> |
| <i>piñ</i> | * <i>pñ</i> | <i>mñ</i> |
| <i>v</i> and <i>tuw</i> | * <i>tv</i> | <i>tv</i> |
| <i>titt</i> | * <i>ti</i> | <i>ti</i> |
| <i>k</i> and <i>tik</i> | * <i>tk</i> | <i>tk</i> |
| <i>til</i> | * <i>tl</i> | <i>l</i> |
| <i>kIt</i> | * <i>kt</i> | <i>gt</i> |
| <i>yIt</i> | * <i>yt</i> | <i>gt</i> |
| <i>kIy</i> | * <i>ky</i> | <i>gg</i> |
| <i>tIm</i> | * <i>tm</i> | <i>nm</i> |
| <i>gIt</i> | * <i>gt</i> | <i>gt</i> |
| <i>mñk</i> | * <i>mk</i> | <i>mk</i> |
| <i>ñIp</i> | * <i>ñp</i> | <i>mp</i> |
| <i>ñIt</i> | * <i>ñt</i> | <i>nt</i> |
| <i>ño</i> | * <i>ñv</i> | <i>ng</i> |
| <i>rIq</i> | * <i>rq</i> | <i>rg</i> |
| <i>gIt</i> | * <i>gl</i> | <i>gl</i> |
| <i>tr</i> or <i>rIr</i> | * <i>rr</i> | <i>rr</i> |
| <i>qIy</i> | * <i>qy</i> | <i>gy</i> |
| <i>vü(i)</i> | * <i>vy</i> | <i>vg</i> |
| <i>wIy</i> | * <i>wy</i> | <i>wg</i> |
| <i>lil</i> | * <i>ll</i> | <i>L</i> |
| <i>yu</i> | * <i>yg</i> | <i>ig</i> |
| <i>čuw</i> | * <i>čv</i> | <i>čv</i> |
| <i>liñ</i> | * <i>lñ</i> | <i>lh</i> |

Stem

- **pne* *pnẽ'rkın* t h o u *ninemne'qin* she whetted it 44.4
whettest it
- **tni* *tni'rkın* thou sew- *ge'nnilin* he sewed
est it
- **tñi* *tñi'wrkın* t h o u *gen'ñiu'lin* he sent it
sendest it
- **kmñet* *kmñe'tirkın* she *gewm'i'ñelin* she brought forth
brings forth
- qli'kkin* twenty (lit., that *elikkeu'kēlin* nineteen (lit., one
of a man) lacking to a man)
- **rkile* or } *kile'nnin* he fol- *gerkele'lin* she followed him 37.1
**rkele* } lowed them 50.8
- **rkur* *ku'rirkın* t h o u *gerkuLin* he bought
buyest it
- **rkipl* *kI'plInēn* she *ga'rkiplilēn* he had struck 86.7
struck her 86.5
- **lpinř* *pi'nřrkın* t h o u *galpi'nřilēn* he gave
givest to him *nilpi'nřiqēnat* they gave them 14.3

| Stem | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|--|
| * <i>lpinit</i> or | <i>pini'irkin</i> | thou bindest him | <i>nelpini'tyä^εn</i> they bound him 8.1 |
| * <i>lpinit</i> | | | |
| * <i>lqät</i> | <i>qä'ty i^ε</i> | he left | <i>ge'lqäzin</i> he left 59.1 100.16 |
| * <i>lqäin</i> | <i>qäineu'nin</i> | he shot at it 78.13 | <i>nılqäineu'nin</i> they shot 78.10 |
| * <i>tku</i> | <i>ku'rkin</i> | thou consumest it | <i>ge'tkulin</i> he consumed it 7.2 |
| * <i>wkut</i> | <i>wuti'lhın</i> | tying stick 104.24 | <i>ge'wkułin</i> they had tied him 20.10 |
| * <i>tva</i> | <i>vgr'rkın</i> | he is 125.2 | <i>qatva'rkin</i> stay! 57.3 |
| * <i>tvêtä</i> | <i>vê t'č a' r k ı n</i> | he stands | <i>qatvê'téalên</i> he stood |
| | <i>wêtä'lım</i> | standing 48.3 | <i>nıtvê'tëaqên</i> he stood 48.1 |
| * <i>pr</i> | <i>pr'rgü^εn</i> | thou hast plucked it | <i>ge'prilin</i> plucked out |
| | <i>pri'rkin</i> | he tears out | <i>ne'priä^εn</i> they tore off 30.7 |
| * <i>pkir</i> | <i>püki'rgü^εt</i> | they came 64.2 | <i>ge'pkı_ılın</i> he came 8.6 |
| * <i>pñlo</i> | <i>pınlo'nên</i> | he asked him 80.3 | <i>namñılo'a^εn</i> they asked him 66.24 |
| * <i>tvu</i> | <i>ty'wnên</i> | she promised it 49.6 | <i>qä'tvulên</i> he promised 101.21 |
| * <i>ttu</i> | <i>tıttu'rkin</i> | he blows | <i>gettu'lin</i> he blowed |
| * <i>tıe</i> | <i>tıle'ä^εt</i> | they moved 64.9 | <i>mınlé'gıt</i> let me move thee! 89.7 |
| * <i>tkê</i> | <i>tıkê'rkin</i> | thou smellest of | <i>ga'tkêlên</i> he smelled |
| * <i>yto</i> | <i>yıtö'nên</i> | he pulls it out 45.2 | <i>gagto'lên</i> he had been pulled out 42.8 |
| * <i>kyeu</i> | <i>krye'wkwı^ε</i> | he awoke 55.8 | <i>ge'ggeu'lin</i> he awoke 55.3 |
| * <i>tmo</i> | <i>tımne'n</i> | he killed him 43.11 | <i>na'nmua^εn</i> they killed him 8.2 |
| * <i>gtiñ</i> | <i>gı t i ' n - l u ' l q ä l</i> | pretty face | <i>nı'gtiñqın</i> he is pretty |
| * <i>mk</i> | <i>mü'krım</i> | more numerous 12.3 | <i>nü'mkäqın</i> numerous 12.7 |
| * <i>ñpe</i> | <i>ñipe'ä^εt</i> | they came ashore 7.8 | <i>ge'mpe'lın</i> they landed 12.9 |
| * <i>ñto</i> | <i>ñıto'e^ε</i> | he went out 56.4 | <i>ganto'lên</i> he has gone out 8.4 |

| | | | |
|---------------|-----------------------------|---|----------------|
| | Stem | | |
| * <i>ñt</i> | <i>ñiri'rkın</i> it de- | <i>ge'ntılın</i> it has detached itself | taches itself |
| * <i>ñvo</i> | <i>ño'orkın</i> he begins | <i>gamge'lên</i> he has begun | |
| * <i>rg</i> | <i>ri'gırkın</i> he digs | <i>ge'rgılın</i> he has dug out | out |
| * <i>g'lo</i> | <i>gılo'lên</i> the onesor- | <i>nıglo'qên</i> she sorrowed | 27.10 |
| | rowing 27.12 | | |
| * <i>rr</i> | <i>ri'rig</i> u n t y i n g | <i>nerrı'net</i> they were untied | 63.11 |
| | 63.12 | | |
| * <i>rrl</i> | <i>rırrı'lrkın</i> he puts | <i>gerri'lin</i> he has put down | down |
| | <i>rırrı'lnın</i> he let | <i>nerrı'lhä'n</i> they set him free | 8.2 |
| | him go 121.33 | | |
| * <i>vya</i> | <i>vüia'arkın</i> he lets | <i>gavga'lên</i> he has let go | go (an animal) |
| * <i>wyo</i> | <i>wı'yowı</i> sling | <i>gawgo'ta</i> with a sling | |
| * <i>lep</i> | <i>lıle'pğı*</i> he looked | <i>gäle'pğı*</i> look! 79.11 (stem <i>lıle</i> eye; | 7.6 |
| | | -p to put on) | |
| * <i>ygu</i> | <i>yu'urkın</i> thou | <i>ge'ıgılın</i> he has bitten it | bitest it |
| * <i>evi</i> | <i>euvi'pıt</i> piece cut | <i>nıne'evıqın</i> they cut it | 72.18 |
| | off 72.19 | | |
| * <i>lñ</i> | <i>lıñrkın</i> he has | <i>tı'lhıgıt</i> I have you as | 15.8 |
| | him as | | |

The change from initial *r* to medial *n* occurs only in transitive verbs:

re'urkın thou piercest it *geneu'lin* he pierced

ru'rkın thou eatest it *genu'lin* he ate

but *riñe'rkın* he flies *gerı'ñelın* he flew

Initial *tr* is sometimes replaced by *ır* (see § 2, p. 646).

ır'ır-ıo'oča before the entrance (lit., entrance before), instead of *tr'lı-tto'oča*.

In a number of cases stems seem to be reduplicated when initial, and lose this reduplication in medial position.

mę'rıñę slow

yařa'ñı house

yorę'ñı sleeping-room

nı'nřeqın the slow one (stem *nřę*)

yařa'lên having a house (stem *yařa*)

yařa'lên having a sleeping-room
(stem *yařa*)

Perhaps the initial *y* of the last two examples is derived from *r*, as in Koryak it replaces *r*.

Irregular is—

i^εrerkm he arranges a reindeer driving-match. *geri^ε'lelin* he has arranged a reindeer driving-match

When a stem consisting of a consonantic cluster stands alone, auxiliary vowels are introduced after the initial and before the terminal consonant.

pɪ'ñil news (stem *pñl*)

ku'kil one-eyed man (stem *kkl*)

§ 13. Pronunciation of Men and Women

The pronunciation of the women¹ differs from that of the men. Women generally substitute *š* for *č* and *r*, particularly after weak vowels. They also substitute *šš* for *rk* and *čh*. The sounds *č* and *r* are quite frequent; so that the speech of women, with its ever-recurring *š*, sounds quite peculiar, and is not easily understood by an inexperienced ear. Women are quite able to pronounce *č* and *r*, and when quoting the words of a man,—as, for instance, in tales,—use these sounds. In ordinary conversation, however, the pronunciation of men is considered as unbecoming a woman.

Examples are—

Men's pronunciation

ra'mkičhn

Pa'rkala

čūmñ'a'ta

Čaivv'urqm

Women's pronunciation

ša'mkiššm

Pa'ššala

šūmñ'a'ta

Šaivv'uššm

people

by Parkal

by a buck

(a name)

The men, particularly in the Kolyma district, drop intervocalic consonants, principally *n* and *t*. In this case the two adjoining vowels are assimilated.

nitva'qaat < *nitva'qênat*

gei'mileet < *gei'milinet*

tì'rkiir < *tì'rkitir*

¹An example of woman's pronunciation is given in my Chukchee Mythology (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, viii, pp. 144, 145); and more fully in my Chukchee Materials pp. 121-126, Nos. 26, 27, 28.

It would seem that this process of elimination of intervocalic consonants has been very important in the development of the present form of the Chukchee (see § 10).

Among the maritime Chukchee, the men use both the fuller and shorter forms. Among all the branches of the tribe, women use only the fuller forms.

Koryak (§§ 14-18)

§ 14. Vowels

The system of vowels of the Koryak is considerably reduced. Corresponding to the Chukchee, we may distinguish three classes of vowels:

| | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|----------|-------------|
| (1) Weak vowels | <i>i</i> | <i>ä</i> | <i>u</i> |
| (2) Strong vowels | <i>e</i> | | <i>o, ø</i> |
| (3) Neutral vowels | { <i>ɪ</i> <i>ɛ</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>ǔ</i> |

In this series, *ø* and *ǔ* are rare

ø is generally replaced by *o*

ǔ is generally replaced by *ɪ* or *a*

A comparison of the table of Koryak vowels with that of the Chukchee vowels shows that the glide *ɛi* is missing, *e* has taken the place of *ê*, and *a* neutral that of *e* weak and *a* strong (see § 3).

Diphthongs formed with terminal *i* and *u* occur, but the *u* of the Chukchee is often replaced by *w* or *v*.

Kor. Kam. *apə'vekin* Chukchee *ǔpə'urkin*

In the dialect of the Kerek, *i* often replaces strong *e*, and is a strong vowel.

| Kor. Kam. | Kerek | Chukchee |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>mê' mɪl̩</i> thong-seal | <i>mî' mɪl̩</i> thong-seal | <i>mê' mɪl̩</i> spotted seal |
| <i>taññə' tɪ</i> | <i>taññî' tɪ</i> | <i>taññə' tɪ</i> to a <i>taññɪn</i> |

I have observed that the Asiatic Eskimo, when speaking Chukchee, also have a tendency to replace *ê* by *i*. They say—

mî' mɪl̩ instead of Chukchee *mê' mɪl̩* spotted seal

tîrgə' arkin instead of Chukchee *têrgə' arkin* he cries

I do not know whether this peculiarity of the Eskimo is related to that of the Kerek.

§ 15. Consonants

| | Stop | | Affricative | | Nasal | | Continued | Lateral | Trill |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|--------|-------|-----------|--------------|----------------------------|-------|
| | Surd | Sonant | Surd | Sonant | Surd | Sonant | | | |
| Labial | <i>p</i> | — | — | — | — | <i>m</i> | <i>v</i> | — | — |
| Alveolar | <i>t</i> | — | — | — | — | <i>n</i> | <i>s, c</i> | (<i>L l</i>) <i>l̥ l</i> | — |
| Palatalized alveolar | <i>t'</i> | <i>d'</i> | — | — | — | <i>n'</i> | <i>s', č</i> | — | — |
| Palatal | <i>k</i> | — | — | — | — | <i>ñ</i> | — | — | — |
| Velar | <i>q</i> | <i>g</i> | — | — | — | — | <i>x</i> | — | — |
| Glottal | — | <i>ε</i> | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

h, w, y,

§ 16. Comparison with Chukchee

The principal differences between this system and that of the Chukchee are found in the series of affricatives, laterals, and trills. The laterals and trills are absent in the Koryak of Kamenskoye.

(1) *č* is often replaced by *c* (in Kor. II, pronounced like English *sh*).

Koryak II *oid'kocik* Kor. 96.22 (Chukchee *wwa^εqočé'gti* Kor. 95.6)

ora'cek Kor. 102.17 (Koryak I *oya'ček* Kor. 101.1)

(2) *č'* and *č''* are replaced by a strong and long *yy*.

ko'yyon the one bought (Chukchee *ko'č'o*)

(3) As in Chukchee, *l̥* is closely related to *č*, *s'*, *s*, (see § 2).

la'xlañ winter *čE'xčex* cold

gayr'sqata sleep! Kor. 31.8 *tryoyr'lqatñ* I will sleep Kor. 31.8

pipi'kalñin mouse Kor. 58.7 *pipi'kča-ñaw* Mouse-Woman Kor. 23.3

valvi'mtila^εnañ to Raven-Man Kor. 12.4 *va'čvi-ñaw'ut* Raven-Woman Kor. 18.4

Correspondences of Koryak *l̥* and Chukchee *č*, *s'*, *s*, and *vice versa*, are also not rare.

Koryak *yalqri'wikin* he entered Kor. 13.9 (Chukchee *resqi'wkw^ε* 11.2)

vos'qel'ti to darkness Kor. 57.6 (Chukchee *wu'lqik* 126.1)

(4) Koryak *l̥* is pronounced almost like Polish *ł* (Russian *л*), the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth, the posterior part of the back of the tongue being depressed at the same time. The tip of the tongue is a little farther back than in the corresponding Polish sound. This sound may be recognized even preceding an *i*.

gavi'syalin he has died (Chukchee *gevi's'lin*)

The ordinary post-alveolar *l* is also found.

ñaw'ānpil little woman.

milya'qpil small shell Kor. 23.8

(5) The Chukchee *l* and *ɮ* are replaced by a sonant sound produced by contact between the tip of the tongue and the upper teeth and between the back of the tongue and the palate. The sound is continued, and accompanied by a slight trill of the back of the tongue. Although this sound replaces both *l* and *ɮ* of Chukchee, I have retained for it the second Chukchee symbol, *ɮ*.

(6) The Chukchee *r* is replaced in Koryak I by *y*, which, with preceding vowels, forms diphthongs.¹

The *y* of the Koryak is always pronounced with a raising of the tip of the tongue, which gives it a somewhat sibilant, strongly aspirated effect. In Paren it sounds sometimes almost like *ɕ*.

| Kor. Kam. | Chukchee |
|---|---|
| <i>koi'ñin</i> | <i>koi'ñin</i> cup |
| <i>va'ykin</i> Kor. 13.10 | <i>va'rkın</i> there is |
| <i>nito'ykin</i> Kor. 12.5 | <i>ñito'rkın</i> he goes out |
| <i>yalqr'wikın</i> Kor. 13.9 | <i>resqi'wkwi</i> ^ε 11.2, 19.3 he entered |
| <i>ya'qykin</i> Kor. 66.14 | <i>re'qärkin</i> 18.6 what has happened to you? |
| <i>tryayai'trın</i> I'll go home Kor. 30.5 | <i>ra'gtiê</i> ^ε he goes home 122.7 |
| Paren | |
| <i>ye'lr</i> Kor. 60.1., 64.14 | <i>ɕe'lr</i> there |
| <i>ya'lvıñnen</i> | <i>ɕe'lvıñnin</i> he will vanquish him; but <i>ya'lvıñnen</i> Kor. 92.20 |

In a number of cases *r* is replaced by *s*, *t*, or *ɕ*.

| Koryak | Chukchee |
|---|---|
| <i>gayr'ɕəlin</i> Kor. 17.3 | <i>geyrre'ɮin</i> 96.21 it was full |
| <i>ga'ɕəlin</i> Kor. 15.10 | <i>ge'lhılin</i> 64.4 he had him for |
| <i>gıçgolaı'tı</i> to a high place Kor. 20.1 | <i>gırqo'lıqên</i> 124.1 from above |
| <i>ñačnın</i> Kor. 60.9 | <i>ña'rgın</i> 49.7 outside |
| <i>gapr's'qalın</i> Kor. 84.11 | <i>gepr'rqılın</i> she fell down |
| <i>yı'ssık</i> Kor. 39.2 | <i>rı'rik</i> to untie something |
| <i>qr'ssa</i> Kor. 18.7 | <i>gır</i> thou |
| <i>ina'ssınañ</i> Kor. 24.10 | <i>ine'rrıne</i> marline spike,awl (instrument to untie with) |
| <i>wu'ssın</i> Kor. 30.3 | <i>wü'rrı</i> on the back |
| <i>-gıtñ(in)</i> | <i>-gırq(in)</i> abstract noun |
| <i>palqa'tıtñın</i> | <i>palqa'tırqın</i> old age |

¹ I have written the *t* corresponding to Chukchee diphthongs with *t*, while for the sound corresponding to *r* I have retained *y*.

The sound *r* appears in Koryak I folk-lore as characteristic of several monsters and evil spirits. It is also used in Russian loan-words.

ka'rman pocket (from карманъ)

preka'ssek commercial agent (from прикащикъ)

ča'qar sugar (from сахаръ)

In the last of these the *r* is palatalized.

(7) In Koryak II, *r* is used in the same way as in Chukchee, and also sometimes replaces the *ʃ* of Koryak I.

ka'mak-ru (village Reki'nnok) } small image of a guardian
ka'mak-ʃu (Kamenskoye) }

In other cases *r* is replaced by *t*, *s*, *č*, as in Koryak I.

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Voyampolka, Kamchatka |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>t'i'rkitiŕ</i> sun | <i>t'i'ykitiy</i> Kor. 19.3 | <i>t'i'tkitit</i> |
| <i>e'ner</i> star | <i>a'ñay</i> | <i>e'ner</i> |
| <i>mu'ri</i> we | <i>mu'yi</i> (dual) | <i>mu'ri</i> (dual) |

(8) The Chukchee *ř* is replaced by *y* or by palatalization of the preceding consonant in Koryak I, by *t* in Koryak II.

Koryak I, *gape'nyřlen* he attacked him. Kor. 96.8 (Chukchee *pé'nřrnên* Kor. 95.10, Koryak II, *gape'ntiřlen*, Kor. 96.26)

(9) In the dental series, *s* appears chiefly in place of Chukchee *r*; *č* sometimes replaces *y*; *tč* often replaces *tk*.

missaa'łomi we shall hear (Chukchee *mirraa'łomi*)

či'liił tongue Kor. 56.4 (Chukchee *yi'liil* 7.10)

gičča't legs Kor. 57.2 (Chukchee *gička't* 51.4)

qi'łu'tču drum! Kor. 59.4 (Chukchee *qilu'tku'ič*)

(10) *y* often replaces Chukchee *g*.

yikča'vekri he makes haste (Chukchee *gaidča'vrkri*)

tayyeñivo'ykri he began to cough Kor. 84.20 (Chukchee *tčgqč* 102.35)

(11) *v* often replaces Chukchee *w*. Initial *v* is much more frequent than initial *w*.

valo'm Kor. 55.7 (Chukchee *walo'm* 32.7) to hear.

(12) *d'* of the Kamenskoye dialect is analogous to the same sound in Chukchee, and appears after palatalized *n*.

Kor. Kam. *ñaw-i'nd'ułačn* < *ñaw-i-nyu-łačn* the one serving for a wife (stems *ñaw* woman; *nyu* to watch the herd)

Chukchee *ñeund'u'łm* < *ñeu-nyu-łm* (stems *ñčw*, *-nyu* [*riju*])

The Paren *n* in this position is simply palatalized, and we have the corresponding word *ñewi'nn'ulã^εn*.

In the same way, —

Kamenskoye *ñã'nd'en*, or even *ñã'n.žen* (from *ñã'nyen*)

Paren *ñã'n'en* that one

(13) *h* is almost a velar continuant, and after consonants sounds similar to *g*.

palqa'theñin and *palqa'tgeñin*

qıya'thi Kor. 21.10 come! (Chukchee *qäye'tyi^ε* 15.11)

(14) *wg* or *g^u* (labialized *g*) replaces Chukchee labialized *k*, (*wkw*).

Koryak

yiwgıç'ı'ta Kor. 32.1

gawqu'Lin Kor. 23.4

qakya'wgi Kor. 28.9

Chukchee

ıwkuç'ı'tä 37.3 drinking

ga'wkuLin 20.10 they tied him

qägg'e'wkwı^ε 75.31 wake up!

(15) *x* often replaces Chukchee *q*.

(16) In place of the glottal stop of Chukchee, when due to the elision of *q*, the older *q* is often retained or replaced by *x*.

čE'xčex cold (Chukchee *čä^ε'čeñ*)

ma'qmıt arrows (dual) (Chukchee *mä^ε'mıt*, plural)

The glottal stop of Koryak is always stronger than the corresponding sound of Chukchee, and has a tendency to lengthen the preceding vowel.

yō^ε'ekın he overtakes (Chukchee *yō^ε'rkın*)

(17) ' indicates a pause (glottal stop), which does not occur in Chukchee. *upın'al'i'nın* he kicked him

(18) The marked tendency of Chukchee to lose intervocalic consonants like *y*, *g*, and *w* — a tendency which in the men's speech affects also *n* and *t* — is absent in Koryak; and consequently many fuller forms occur which presumably explain the frequent vocalic clusters of Chukchee. In all those cases in which the Chukchee loses intervocalic consonants, these are found in Koryak.

Kor. Kam. *tyō^ε'ga^εan* I overtook him (Chukchee *tryō^ε'a^εn*)

Other words that retain no trace of the intervocalic consonant in Chukchee have it in Koryak.

vai'am river (Chukchee *vē'em*)

yawa'ykın he uses it (Chukchee *ya'arkın*)

a^ε'la^ε' axe (Chukchee *a^ε'al*, but also *a^ε'lha'ttı*, *a^ε'l-ga'ttı*, *ga'ttı* hatchet)

uyıçvat to play Kor. 32 7 kchee *uučvet* 43.3)

These older forms are even more pronounced in Paren.

Kor. Paren *e'ek lamp* *intu'welpry* son-in-law

Kor. Kam. *a'ak* *intu'ulpry*

Chukchee *e'ek* *intu'ulpir*

The Chukchee cluster *lh* is replaced by *lñ* in Kamenskoye.

Kor. Kam. *ke'nmiñin* root (Chukchee *ké'nmiłhin*)

§ 17. *Vocalic Ablaut*

The range of the ablaut is more restricted in the Koryak of Kamenskoye than in Chukchee.

i changes into *ɛ*,

u changes into *o*;

g'i'wlinat they said Kor. 21.2 *gɛwñirv'o'len* he said Kor. 14.4

nu'tanut country, land *ya'nja-nota'lo* foreigners

but *a* as ablaut of *e* does not occur, both sounds being represented by a neutral *a*. The Chukchee *ê* is replaced by *ɛ*, the same sound that represents the ablaut of *i*.

The neutral *a* is exemplified in the following words of the Kamenskoye dialect:

| Kor. Kam. | Chukchee |
|---|--|
| <i>kal'i'ykin</i> (stem <i>kal'i</i>) | <i>kɛli'rkın</i> (stem <i>kɛli</i>) |
| <i>nu'tanut</i> land (stem <i>nutu</i>) | <i>nu'tɛnut</i> (stem <i>nutɛ</i>) |
| <i>a'kkat</i> sons (stem <i>a'kka</i>) | <i>ɛ'kkɛt</i> (stem <i>ɛkkɛ</i>) |
| <i>aima'wikin</i> thou approachest (stem <i>aimaw</i>) | <i>ɛime'urkin</i> (stem <i>ɛimeu</i>) |
| <i>kama'ña</i> dish (stem <i>kama</i>) | <i>kɛmɛ'ni</i> (stem <i>kɛmɛ</i>) |

Since *a* is neutral, these stems are also combined with weak vowels. For instance,

i'tɛr-kama'ña heavy dish (from *i'tɛr* heavy, dear)

There are, however, cases in which the *a* represents the type *a*, which requires the ablaut,

ɛ'vil-ta'mtam goitre, long tumor (stems *i'vil* long, *ta'mtam* tumor); Chukchee *ta'mtam*

qatqap-ɛ'mat load of food for winter use Kor. 86.17 (stems *qatqap* fish for winter use; *imt* load); Chukchee *qata'p-ɛ'mit*

An example of the occurrence of *ɛ*, corresponding to Chukchee *ê*, is—

mɛ'yemɛy tear (stem *mɛyɛ*); Chukchee *mɛ'rɛmɛr* (stem *mɛrɛ*)
gapɛ'nyilɛn she attacked her, Kor. 96.8 (stem *peny*); Chukchee
pɛ'nñinɛn Kor. 95.10 (stem *pɛñn*)

Since the vowel-pair $e-a$, and the vowels \hat{e} and \hat{a} of Chukchee, are much more common than the i and u groups, the ablaut is not as striking a feature of Koryak as it is of Chukchee.

In the Kamenskoye dialect the ablaut of i and u is not as rigidly required as in Chukchee. Particularly in word composition the weak vowels often remain uninfluenced by the strong vowels with which they come into contact. We find, for instance,—

nap̄l̄q̄'-m̄u'ȳu instead of *nap̄l̄q̄'-m̄o'ȳo* we are left.

The weak i of Chukchee, which is due to the contraction of *thi* and *ēhi* into *ti* and *ēi*, does not occur, since the consonantic cluster remains unchanged.

palqa'thrt̄n̄in or *palqathē'n̄in* old age (compare Chukchee *palqa'tirgin* < *palqa'thirgin*)

Initial u inserted before w , labialized k (*wkw*), and y , occurs here as in Chukchee, and is neutral.

| | |
|---|---|
| Koryak | Chukchee |
| <i>wwa'tikm</i> he kisses (stem <i>wat</i>) | <i>ukwē'ērkin</i> (stem <i>ukwēt</i>) |
| <i>uyā's'quē</i> husband (stem <i>uyā's'quē</i>) | <i>wwā's'quē</i> (stem <i>wwā's'quē</i>) |

Several dialects of both groups of the Koryak have retained the vowels e and \hat{e} . These have the ablaut analogous to that of the Chukchee.

| | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| Kor. Kamenskoye <i>gatai'kilin</i> | (stem <i>taiki</i>) | } he has made |
| Kor. Paren <i>getē'kilin</i> | (stem <i>teiki</i>) | |
| Chukchee <i>gētē'kilin</i> | (stem <i>teiki</i>) | |

§ 18. Other Phonetic Processes

Lack of Vocalic Contraction.—When two vowels come together, contraction rarely occurs.

| | |
|--|------------------------------|
| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. |
| <i>añqa'-nna'n</i> < <i>añqa'-Enna'n</i> | <i>añqa'-Enna'n</i> sea-fish |
| <i>ñeu's'ttin</i> < <i>ñeu-a's'ttin</i> | <i>ñaw-a's'ttin</i> she-dog |

Medial Consonantic Processes.—The alveolars t and \hat{c} are not palatalized by following g or h (see § 7, 26).

| | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| Chukchee | Koryak |
| <i>palqa'ti-rgin</i> < <i>palqat-girgin</i> | <i>palqath-e'-ñin</i> old age |
| \tilde{n} generally remains unchanged before other consonants. | |

| | |
|--|--|
| Chukchee | Koryak |
| <i>tam-pera'rkin</i> < <i>tañ-pera'rkin</i> | <i>tañ-peye'ykin</i> he looks well |
| <i>qinere'mpei</i> ^s take meat out of kettle for me (stem <i>mpe</i>) | <i>kokañpalai'ke</i> they take meat out of kettle Kor. 27.5 |

k before other consonants occurs.

Chukchee
nigtäqên < *ni* < *kt-qên*

Koryak
niktä'gen hard

The medial clusters *km*, *pñ*, *pn*, which are absent in Chukchee, occur in Koryak.

Chukchee
gewmiñē'lin < *ge-kmiñel-lin*

Koryak
gakmi'nalin she brought forth
 a child

amñilka < *a-pñl-ka*
namñila'tmat 78.4 < *na-pñl-*
atmat

apñi!ka no news
gapñilañvo'lenau they told
 about Kor. 26.1

Auxiliary Vowels.—The most frequent auxiliary vowel is *i*; but *a*, which replaces Chukchee *ä*, also occurs.

Chukchee
yara'ñi
nitäüqin

Koryak
yaya'ña house
ni'täqin heavy

The terminal vowel *i* in Koryak often assumes a more perceptible nasalisation than the corresponding Chukchee sound (see § 2, p. 645).

ee'ti and *ee'tiñ* to the sky Kor. 14.9, 10.

(Compare Chukchee *añqa-ëormē'ti* to the seashore 67.17)

Initial Consonantic Clusters.—I have found the following initial clusters in the Koryak of Kamenskoye:

| Initial sound | Second sound | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | <i>č</i> | <i>m</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>ñ</i> | <i>y</i> | <i>!</i> | <i>v</i> |
| <i>p</i> | <i>pč</i> | | <i>pn</i> | <i>pñ</i> | <i>py</i> | <i>p!</i> | |
| <i>t</i> | | | <i>tn</i> | <i>tñ</i> | <i>ty</i> | | <i>tv</i> |
| <i>k</i> | | <i>km</i> | | | <i>ky</i> | <i>k!</i> | |
| <i>q</i> | | | | | <i>qy</i> | <i>q!</i> | |
| <i>ř</i> | | | | | | | |
| <i>m</i> | | | | | | <i>m!</i> | |
| <i>n</i> | | | | | | <i>n!</i> | |
| <i>ñ</i> | | | | | | | |

It will be seen that this table agrees well with the corresponding table in Chukchee (*r* being throughout replaced by *y*), except that *tv* occurs, which is impossible in Chukchee.

Kor. Kam.
tvi'tikm he stands
čottai'nik-tvč'tekm he stands
 on the outer part of the
 house Kor. 43.5

Chukchee
vêtč'a'rkim (stem *-tvêtča*)
gatvê'tčälên

gatvi'lin he stood

However, *va'ykin* Kor. 13.10 < *tva-ykin* loses its initial *t*.

The changes that occur in consonantic stems in medial and initial position are quite analogous to those of the Chukchee, except that *k* appears with following consonant in initial position. Other differences are shown in the following table:

| Chukchee | | | Koryak | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------|-------------------------|--------------|------------|
| Initial | Stem | Medial | Initial | Stem | Medial |
| <i>pn</i> | * <i>pn</i> | <i>mn</i> | <i>pn</i> | * <i>pn</i> | <i>pn</i> |
| <i>km</i> | * <i>km</i> | <i>wm</i> | <i>km</i> | * <i>km</i> | <i>km</i> |
| <i>k</i> or <i>tk</i> | * <i>tk</i> | <i>tk</i> | <i>k</i> or <i>tk</i> | * <i>tk</i> | <i>tĕ</i> |
| <i>k</i> | * <i>rk</i> | <i>rk</i> | <i>k</i> | * <i>yk</i> | <i>yk</i> |
| <i>q</i> | * <i>lq</i> | <i>lq</i> | <i>q</i> | * <i>lq</i> | <i>lq</i> |
| <i>v</i> or <i>tuw</i> | * <i>tv</i> | <i>tv</i> | <i>v</i> or <i>tv</i> | * <i>tv</i> | <i>tv</i> |
| <i>piñ</i> | * <i>pñ</i> | <i>mñ</i> | <i>piñ</i> | * <i>pñ</i> | <i>pñ</i> |
| <i>ño</i> | * <i>ñv</i> | <i>mq</i> | <i>ñiv</i> | * <i>ñv</i> | <i>nv</i> |
| <i>riq</i> | * <i>rq</i> | <i>rq</i> | <i>sh</i> or <i>yiq</i> | * <i>sh</i> | <i>sh</i> |
| <i>tr</i> or <i>rIr</i> | * <i>rr</i> | <i>rr</i> | { <i>yIy</i> | * <i>yIy</i> | <i>yIy</i> |
| <i>vü</i> (<i>i</i>) | * <i>vy</i> | <i>vg</i> | { <i>yIss</i> | * <i>es</i> | <i>es</i> |
| <i>yu</i> | * <i>yq</i> | <i>iq</i> | <i>vIy</i> | * <i>vy</i> | <i>vIy</i> |
| | | | <i>yIq</i> | * <i>iq</i> | <i>iq</i> |

Examples:

pna'ikin he whets
tni'ikin thou sewest it
tñi'vikin thou sendest it
kmñna'tikin she brings forth

ku'yikin thou buyest it
pinye'ikin thou givest to him
qat'i' you left Kor. 18.5
ku'ikin thou consumest it
ki'plik striking Kor. 62.4

va'ikin he is
vañvo'ykin he begins to stay
 Kor. 13.6

tv'i'tikin he stands
tv'e'tik to stretch Kor. 38.8

pyi'ikin thou tearest it out
piñlo'ikin thou askest him
tittu'ikin he blows
tī'a'ikin he moves

tike'ikin thou smellest of

gapna'lin he has whetted
gann'i'lin he has sewed it
ganñiu'lin he has sent it
gakmi'ñalin she has brought
 forth

gaiku'ylin he has bought it
galpri'nyelen he has given
ga'lqaxin he has left Kor. 17.3
ga'tēulin he has consumed it
qaykīpl'a'qitēa strike him! Kor.
 23.8

ga'tvalen he has been
gatvañvo'lenau they began to
 stay Kor. 23.1

ga'tvilin he stood
ga'tvelen they stretched it Kor.
 38.8

gapyi'lin he has torn it out
gañilo'len he has asked
gettū'lin he has blown
ga'a'lin he has moved Kor.
 14.9

ga'tēlen he smelled of

yito'ikin he pulls out
tīme'kin thou killest it

ñito'ykin he goes out
ñivo'ikin he begins

yigv'ikin or *shv'kin* he digs out
yi'y'ikin thou untiest it
yi'ssik to untie Kor. 39.2

yissr'likin thou puttest down
vīya'tekin he lets go (an animal)

vuyalanñivo'ykin a snow-storm set in Kor. 13.10

yigv'ikin thou bitest it
ya'wīkin thou piercest it
yu'kka to eat Kor. 57.1

yu'ikin he eats
yiña'ikin he flees

l̄elapit̄čoñvo'ykin he looks up Kor. 42.8

Irregular is—

iyā'ikin he arranges a reindeer driving-match

gaito'len he has pulled out
ga'nmi'len he has killed it
Kor. 43.6

ganto'len he went out Kor. 48.6
ganvo'l̄en he has begun Kor. 48.3

ga'shilin he has dug out
gayy'l̄in he has untied it
nassi'ñvoq̄im they are untying me Kor. 39.3

gass'l̄in he has put down
gavya'len he has let go

gawya'lyolen there was a snow-storm Kor. 13.1

gaigu'lin he has bitten
gana'wlin he has pierced it
gamu'linat they have eaten (transitive) Kor. 57.2

gayi'ñalin he has fled (intransitive)

aqaḷapñivo'ykin he looks bad Kor. 13.8

gali'ya'lin he has arranged a reindeer driving-match

Dropping of Suffixes.—It may be mentioned here that all dialects of the Koryak tend to drop the last syllables or sounds—mostly suffixes—when these are not accented

Kor. Kam. *mini'lqanmik* or *mini'lqat* (Chukchee *mini'lqänmik*)
let us go!

Kor. Kam. *gaa'lin*, Kor. II (village Qare'nin) *geye'lin* or *geye'li* (Chukchee *ge'eLin*), he has come

Kor. Kam. *vi'tvitpili*, Kor. II (village Voyampolka) *vi'tvitpi*,
small seal

Kamchadal (§§ 19–23)

§ 19. Vowels

- (1) Weak vowels *ī i e u ū ē*
(2) Strong vowels *ē ē a o ö ō u*
(3) Neutral vowels *ī ē i ū A ũ*
a o u

The symbols designate the same sounds as those in Chukchee.

i almost like a diphthong *ie*, long; a glide from long *i* to long *o*.
ë like English *a* in *make*, long, lips wide apart, corners of mouth much retracted.

È French *eu* in *beurre*.

ö German *ö* in *öffnen*.

ü French *u* in *lune*, but harder; more like the Yakut *ÿ*.

ø English short *o* in *not*.

υ English *u* in *hut*.

ÿ as in Chukchee.

^a, ^o, ^u indicate the resonance of the respective vowels; for instance, in *k!t^al k^oju' i^un*.

Unusual length and shortness are expressed by the macron and breve respectively.

§ 20. Consonants

| | Stop | | | Affricative | | Nasal | Continued | | Lateral | Trill |
|---------------------|----------|-----------|-----------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|---------|----------|
| | Surd | Fortis | Sonant | Surd | Fortis | | Surd | Sonant | | |
| Labial..... | <i>p</i> | <i>p'</i> | — | — | — | <i>m</i> | <i>f</i> | <i>v</i> | — | |
| Alveolar..... | <i>t</i> | — | — | — | — | <i>n</i> | <i>s</i> | <i>z</i> | ʔ ʔ | <i>r</i> |
| | | | | <i>č</i> | <i>č'</i> | | <i>c</i> | <i>j</i> | | |
| Palatized alveolar. | — | — | — | — | — | <i>n'</i> | <i>s'</i> | | | |
| Anterior palatal... | — | — | — | — | — | — | <i>x'</i> | | | |
| Palatal..... | <i>k</i> | <i>k'</i> | — | — | — | <i>ñ</i> | — | | | |
| Velar..... | <i>q</i> | <i>q'</i> | — | — | — | — | <i>x</i> | | | |
| Glottal..... | | | <i>ʔ</i> <i>ʔ'</i> | | | | | | | |

w, y, h

f is rather rare; for instance, in *fič* a fish of the genus *Coregonus*.

x German *ch* in *Bach*.

x' German *ch* in *ich*.

j French *j* in *jour*, but with a weak preceding trill, somewhat like Polish *rz* in *rzeka*.

z sonant *s*, as in French *rose*.

ʔ as in Koryak.

w, y, always consonantic.

^ε, ['], glottal stops, the former only after short vowels, the latter after consonants, as in *vi'ʔviʔ*.

ʔ', č', n', are pronounced with strong initial aspiration.

j, *c*, *č*, are often pronounced with the tip of the tongue in dental position, so that they attain a lisping character,—

j between *z* and *z*

c between *s* and *s*

č between *š* and *š*

I am inclined to attribute this mannerism, which is affected by many individuals, to the influence of the speech of the Russian creoles and half-bloods, who have this peculiarity in the whole area between the Kolyma and the Sea of Okhotsk. In Krasheninnikoff's records there are only slight indications of this tendency.

It may be, however, that some of the older dialects had this tendency. Thus Krasheninnikoff writes (in my transcription)—

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>cemt</i> (Western dialect) | } earth, ground |
| <i>semt</i> (Southern dialect) | |

At present in the western dialect, the only one surviving, the word is pronounced both *cimt* and *simt*.

§ 21. Comparison with Chukchee and Koryak

(1) Chukchee *r*, Koryak *ṛ*, *č*, *s*, or *t*, is replaced in most cases by *j*,

| Chukchee | Kamchadal | |
|------------------------|--------------|------|
| <i>grt</i> , <i>gr</i> | <i>kr'ja</i> | thou |
| <i>mu'ri</i> | <i>mu'ja</i> | we |

(2) Chukchee and Koryak *g* is replaced by *k* or *x*.

| Chukchee | Koryak | Kamchadal | |
|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------|
| <i>güm</i> | <i>güm</i> | <i>kr'mma</i> | I |
| <i>g'ñing'i</i> | <i>yig'ningin</i> | <i>x'i'ligriñ</i> | fish-net |

(3) Initial *g* of the comitative and verbal prefix (see §§ 48, 64, 66) is replaced by *k!*.

| Chukchee | Koryak | Kamchadal | |
|------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| <i>geñe'wänä</i> | <i>gaña'wana</i> | <i>k!ñe'čum</i> | with a wife |
| <i>genu'lin</i> | <i>ganu'lin</i> | <i>k!nu'k'iñin</i> | he has eaten |

(4) Chukchee *gw* (Koryak *gv*) is replaced by *xv*.

xo'xval thence

(5) Chukchee and Koryak *w* and *v* are replaced by *hv*.

| Chukchee | Koryak | Kamchadal | |
|----------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>watta'p</i> | <i>vata'p</i> | <i>hvata'pč</i> | reindeer-moss |
| <i>va'lε</i> | <i>va'la</i> | <i>hvalč</i> | knife |
| <i>wi'ut</i> | <i>viut</i> | <i>hivt</i> | whalebone |
| <i>vi'n'vi</i> | <i>vi'nva</i> | <i>hvi'nve</i> | secretly |

(6) The glottal stop following the initial vowel of Chukchee and Koryak is often replaced by *x* or *k* preceding the vowel.

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Kamchadal | |
|----------------|----------------------------|------------------|-----------|
| <i>eʲi'tin</i> | <i>iʲ'nnin</i> | <i>xei'ten</i> | neck |
| <i>eʲi'nI</i> | <i>iʲ'gir, eʲ'gɪ'l̄n̄n</i> | <i>xei'hini</i> | wolf |
| <i>äʲ'Lel</i> | <i>aʲ'l̄aʲl̄</i> | <i>ko'l̄ol̄</i> | snow |
| <i>eʲleʲl̄</i> | <i>al̄aʲl̄</i> | <i>keʲ'l̄al̄</i> | excrement |

(7) Chukchee *ɫ* and *L* are replaced by *tl* and *tĕ*.

| Chukchee | Kamchadal | |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------|
| <i>tɪLē'äʲk</i> | <i>tĕek</i> | I entered |
| — | <i>tĕe</i> | there! |

(8) In Kamchadal, *l*, *ĕ*, *c*, and *j* often replace one another (see § 2, p. 646).

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>ĕhijĕ</i> thou art | <i>l'ič</i> thou wert |
| <i>tæcjm</i> I strike him | <i>twĭn</i> I struck him |

(9) In the Sedanka dialect, *c* changes to *j*; *s* changes to *z*; and sometimes *k*, *k'* change to *q*, *q'*.

Examples:

| Okhotsk dialect | Sedanka dialect | |
|---------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| <i>cuncjĕr̄n</i> | <i>juncjĕr̄n</i> | they live |
| <i>sönk</i> | <i>zönk</i> | into the wood |
| <i>ci'l̄a-tum̄x</i> | <i>zĭa-tom̄x</i> | brother |
| <i>köni'ñ</i> | <i>qũni'ñ</i> | one |
| <i>k!ö'lkriñin</i> | <i>q!ö'lkriñin</i> | he has come |

(10) In the Sedanka dialect there is also a tendency to drop the last syllables of suffixes. Not as many auxiliary vowels occur as in other dialects, and of double consonants one is always omitted.

| Okhotsk dialect | Sedanka dialect | |
|------------------|-----------------|----------|
| <i>a'tinũm</i> | <i>a'tnom</i> | village |
| <i>tēvsæicjk</i> | <i>tēvsæis</i> | I ascend |
| <i>ki'mma</i> | <i>ki'ma'</i> | I |

(11) Instead of the pure *n*, we find an *n* with somewhat lateral pronunciation.

| Okhotsk dialect | Sedanka dialect | |
|-----------------|-----------------|------|
| <i>E'nu</i> | <i>E'l̄nu</i> | then |

§ 22. *Vocalic Ablaut*

In Kamchadal the ablaut affects almost all the vowels, which are much more numerous than those of either Chukchee or Koryak.

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>ī̄</i> changes to <i>ē̄</i> . | <i>u</i> changes to <i>o</i> . |
| <i>ĭ̄</i> changes to <i>ĕ̄</i> or <i>ā</i> . | <i>ǖ</i> changes to <i>ȫ</i> . |
| <i>ē̄</i> changes to <i>ā</i> . | <i>ʷ̄</i> changes to <i>ȫ</i> or <i>ʷ̄</i> . |

Examples:

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>k'istɛnk</i> at the house | <i>k'istɛnk</i> to the house (stem <i>k'ist</i> house) |
| <i>s'ünk</i> in the wood | <i>s'ünk</i> to the wood (stem <i>s'ün</i>) |
| <i>tɛx'ink</i> by them | <i>tɛx'ankɛ</i> to them (stem <i>ɪtɛ</i>) |
| <i>k'ɛ'pɛ'ɛnk</i> in the trough | <i>k'ɛ'pɛ'ɛnk</i> to the trough (stem <i>k'ɛ'pɛ'</i>) |
| <i>k'ɛ'w'ɛnk</i> in the river | <i>k'ɛ'w'ɛnk</i> to the river (stem <i>k'ɛ'w'</i>) |
| <i>kukɛ'-hümnin</i> he cooked it | <i>kɔka'jɔ-hümnɛn</i> he began to cook it |

The obscure vowels *ɪ*, *ɛ*, *ɔ*, *ʉ*, are neutral, as are also *e*, *a*, *ɔ*. In this respect Kamchadal differs from Chukchee, in which dialect vowels that are hard or weak never appear as neutral.

In Kamchadal the initial vowels of suffixes, and auxiliary vowels, are also subject to the ablaut, their form being determined by the vocalic character of the stem, which is generally monosyllabic. Thus a system develops which is somewhat similar to the vocalic harmony of the Ural Altaic languages.

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>k'istɛnk</i> at the house | <i>k'istɛnk</i> to the house (stem <i>k'ist</i>) |
| <i>k'ɔ'ɪ'xɔnk</i> at the lake (stem <i>k'ɔ'ɪ'x</i>) | <i>k'ɛ'pɛ'ɛnk</i> at the trough <i>k'ɛ'pɛ'ɛnk</i> to the trough (stem <i>k'ɛ'pɛ'</i>) |
| <i>tɪs'ün'ülo'tɪjk</i> I always live in the woods (<i>tɪ</i> I; <i>s'ün</i> wood; <i>ü</i> auxiliary vowel; <i>lo</i> to live; <i>t</i> always; <i>-jk</i> I) | |

§ 23. Other Phonetic Processes

Consonantic Clusters.—In Kamchadal consonantic clusters are of frequent occurrence. I have found, for instance, *ktɔt*, *tɛxj*, *tɛxjh*, *tɛxtɔ*, *ntɛxjh*, *k!lkñ*.

Sometimes auxiliary vowels are inserted, or some of the consonants have a decided vocalic resonance, but more often the clusters are free from vocalic elements. The peculiar consonantic character of pronunciation may be observed also among the Russianized Kamchadal; and the natives are taunted by the Russian creoles, and even in the intercourse of various villages, on account of this peculiarity of their speech. Nevertheless not all consonantic clusters are admissible.

l changes to *nl*.

ko'lol (absolute form), *ko'l'ol'nl* < *ko'lol'-l* (instrumental), snow
e'herñ (absolute form), *inl* < *il-l* (instrumental), ear (pl. *i'el*)

Note, however,

lül (absolute form), *lüle'l' < lül-l'* (instrumental), eye

Auxiliary Vowels.—Auxiliary vowels are introduced to avoid consonantic clusters originating by composition, although the corresponding clusters may be admissible in the stem itself. All neutral vowels perform this function. Although *i* is more frequent than all the others, *ü, e, e, (a)*, are also found rather often.

lüle'l' < lül-l' eye

tveta't'ijk < tveta't-jk I work

Initial Clusters.—The prefix *k!* is omitted before *k* and *k!*

k!ö'krñin he has come

The prefix *k* before initial *k* and *k!* changes to *x*.

xke'jæik accept him

The prefix *t* of the first person singular is dropped before verbal stems with initial *t*.

təlin < ttəlin I struck him

The prefix *t* of the first person singular changes to *č* before verbal stems with initial *čr* or *čr*.

kr'mma čič'niñijk < t-činiñ-jk I sew

Compare also

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Kamchadal | |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>e'tqiñ</i> | <i>a'ččrñ</i> | <i>e'čkeläx</i> | the bad one |
| <i>wuwččlka'lhın</i> | <i>četčč'lñin</i> | <i>čič'xčax</i> | shrew |

Stems with the initial clusters *lk* and *rk*, when appearing at the beginning of a word, add a preceding vowel.

č'lkaruč < lk-r-č (Chukchee *gät'r'rkın < lqät-rkın*) he leaves

In other cases the Chukchee *l* or *r* of these clusters is replaced by *č* and *c* respectively.

čkl'a'ujk < čkl'au-jk (Chukchee *krla'urkın < rkl'au-rkın*) he runs

§ 24. Accent

† In all three languages the accent usually recedes to the beginning of the word, even as far as the fourth or fifth syllable from the end.

Chukchee *pa'rılıñın* shoulder-blade

Kor. Kam. *niqe'shiqenat* those two that have been bought

Kamchadal *k!ta'tilkajukñan* they began to perform the ceremonial

To give emphasis to the word, the accent may be thrown upon the last syllable, the vowel of which then changes to *o*.

| | | | | |
|-----------|---------------------|---|---------------------|----------------|
| Chukchee | <i>tipênŋirko'n</i> | < | <i>tipê'nŋirkin</i> | } I attack him |
| Kor. Kam. | <i>tipenn'eko'n</i> | < | <i>tipé'nn'ekm</i> | |
| Kamchadal | <i>tipencijo'n</i> | < | <i>tipé'ncijn</i> | |

MORPHOLOGY (§§ 25-129.)

§25. Morphological Processes

The Chukchee group of languages uses a great variety of morphological processes for expressing grammatical relations. The unity of the syntactic group which forms a close unit is maintained by a law of vocalic harmony which requires that if one vowel of the unit is strong, all the others, that may be either weak or strong, must also take the strong form. This law does not act in any particular direction; but whenever a strong vowel appears in any part of the word, it strengthens all the other preceding and following vowels. In the present condition of the language, this law is not quite strictly confined to certain vowels; but a few stems and endings that have no vocalic element except auxiliary vowels are always strong. It may be, of course, that here strong vocalic elements have been lost.

Stems appear almost always with morphological affixes. Only particles and a number of nouns occur as independent members of the sentence in the form of the simple stem, their independence being indicated by their failure to modify their weak vowels in conformity with the strong vowels of those words with which they are most closely associated. The general occurrence of nominal affixes, and the restriction of stem forms occurring independently to certain phonetic types of nouns, make it plausible that we are dealing here also with a loss of older affixes. If this view should be correct, there would be no forms of nouns or verbs and related classes of words without affixes. Either the stems consist of consonantic clusters or they are monosyllabic or polysyllabic. Only predicative stems consist of consonantic clusters. Denominative stems have fuller phonetic values. In all polysyllabic stems a certain symmetry of form is required by the laws of vocalic harmony; so that in the same stem we find, besides neutral vowels, only strong vowels or only weak vowels.

Owing to the inadmissibility of extended consonantic clusters, and to the avoidance of initial consonantic clusters, stems undergo important changes due to the insertion of auxiliary vowels, to elision of consonants, or modification of consonants, according to the position and connections of the stems in the word.

Composition of stems is of extended use; and we find many types of composition of denominative, predicative, and of denominative with predicative stems, which form firm units. Owing to the significance of some of these stems, they never appear outside of such compounds, and therefore take on the aspects of elements that are no longer free, although their phonetic character and general appearance are such that they might appear as independent elements. Certain particles are also incorporated in the word complex. The stems which are united in such synthetic groups influence one another according to the laws of vocalic harmony and by contact phenomena, which often modify the terminal sound of the first member of a compound, and the initial sound of the following member, or cause the introduction of auxiliary vowels. Although ordinarily these compounds originate by a simple juxtaposition of stems, there are cases in which certain formative elements may be recognized.

The function of a simple or compound nominal or verbal unit in the sentence is further determined by reduplication, prefixes, and suffixes.

Reduplication is confined to denominating concepts, and is of peculiar character, the first part of the stem being repeated at the close of the stem as far as the first consonant following the first vowel. This gives the impression of a partially suppressed repetition of the stem: for instance, stem *orgo* SLEDGE, reduplicated *orgo-or*.

Both prefixes and suffixes are numerous. The same phonetic laws that cause a differentiation of the forms of the stem cause differentiation in the manner of joining affixes to the stems or to the compounds. In some cases a distinction between compounds and words with affixes is difficult to draw, neither is it possible to carry through a rigid distinction between nominal and verbal affixes. There is great freedom in the use of stems for either predicative or denominative purposes.

In the Chukchee language nominal concepts are classified as common nouns and proper names. A nominal singular and plural occur, but in Koryak we find besides these a dual. As in many

American languages, the relation between subject and predicate is conceived differently in the case of the transitive and of the intransitive verb.

The relation between noun and verb is expressed by inflection of the noun. A subjective form of the noun expresses the subject of the transitive verb and an absolute form designates the subject of the intransitive and the object of the transitive verb. The subjective form is primarily instrumental. It expresses also the object which is used in the performance of an action as: COOKING (WITH) MEAT. It would seem that the transitive verb has primarily a passive significance, but this view does not satisfactorily explain many of the forms.

Locative ideas—in, at, towards, from—are expressed by means of nominal postpositions. These are given extended meanings and are applied to express a variety of relations between verb and indirect object. The genitive relation is not ordinarily expressed by postpositions and is not analogous to a case form, but is rather expressed by derivatives which signify, PERTAINING TO, BELONGING TO. These elements are even added to the personal pronoun to express possessive relations. The characteristic American incorporated possessive pronoun is not found. Demonstrative ideas are expressed with great nicety particularly in the Chukchee dialect. The syntactic forms of the personal demonstrative and indefinite pronouns are analogous to the corresponding forms of proper names.

In the predicate are expressed singular and plural, (in Koryak also dual), tense and modality. There is no distinction made between inclusive and exclusive first person plural. Declarative and interrogative have the same forms. Among the tenses only the future is derived from the verb theme in a manner analogous to the formation of modes. A continuative is expressed by a derived form, the verbal theme being expanded by the suffix-*irkin*. Other temporal concepts are expressed by nominal derivatives, and temporal subordination is often expressed by syntactic forms of the verbal noun. Other modes are a subjunctive, expressing conditional and other subordinate clauses—which, however, is very rarely used,—an exhortative and an imperative.

The verb complex consists of pronominal prefixes which enter into combination with temporal and modal prefixes. These are followed

by the verbal theme which takes additional temporal and modal suffixes. The end of the verbal complex is a pronominal suffix. In the transitive verb, the pronominal prefix designates the subject, the pronominal suffix the object. There is a strong tendency to express the predicate in the form of a predicating noun analogous to a relative clause. For instance, instead of I KILL THE REINDEER, the Chukchee will say, THE REINDEER ARE THE ONES WHOM I KILLED. These forms receive a treatment different from that of the true verb.

Stems may be developed by affixing subordinate elements. There are a number of attributive elements of this class such as LARGE, SMALL, NUMEROUS. Furthermore, we find locative terms such as, WHAT IS ON, WITH, ON TOP OF, NEAR, INSIDE OF SOMETHING ELSE and also, WHAT IS SIMILAR TO, WHAT IS USED FOR, WHAT IS PROVIDED WITH SOMETHING, A RECEPTACLE FOR SOMETHING. Nominal forms derived from verbs are abstract nouns, results of actions, instruments. The verb is developed by adverbial suffixes expressing for instance, reciprocity, a desiderative, single action, intensity, beginning, duration, causation, negation and also ideas like, TO FEEL LIKE SOMETHING or the bad temper of the speaker. Verbs derived from nouns are TO BRING, TAKE OFF, LOOK FOR, CONSUME SOMETHING. Prefixes are quite numerous and are largely of an attributive or adverbial character as, A LITTLE, QUITE, ALL, ENTIRELY, MERELY, SOMEWHAT, TRULY, NOT.

Furthermore, words may be compounded quite freely, adverbs with verbs, verbal stems among themselves, nouns among themselves. Nouns are also incorporated in the verbal complex, both as the subject of the intransitive verb and the object of the transitive verb. Such incorporated themes are used both for habitual and single actions.

§ 26. Comparison of Dialects

The chief differences between Chukchee and Koryak lie in the lesser amount of consonantic decay of stems in Koryak, the modification of stems due to phonetic processes being considerably less extended in the latter dialect; in the lesser extent of the occurrence of the ablaut in the Koryak; and in the substitution of other consonants for the Chukchee *r*, which process is more pronounced in Koryak I than in Koryak II. Besides this, Koryak I is characterized by the restriction of the forms of the Chukchee plural to the dual, while a distinct form

is used by all the Koryak dialects, even those that have no dual for expressing the plural.

Chukchee and Koryak are so much alike, that the languages, are mutually intelligible at least in part. On the northern border of the Koryak territory a considerable amount of lexicographic borrowing may be noticed, which extends even as far as the Anadyr country. Thus we find—

| | | |
|--------------------|--|------------|
| Kolyma Chukchee | <i>tegge'ñirkin</i> | he desires |
| Anadyr Chukchee | <i>tegge'ñirkin</i> or <i>gaima'tirkin</i> | |
| Koryak, Kamenskoye | <i>tajja'ñikin</i> or <i>gaima'tekin</i> | |

Of these words, the first one is common to Chukchee and Koryak, while the second is Koryak and is borrowed from them by the Anadyr Chukchee.

| | | |
|--------------------|---|-----------|
| Kolyma Chukchee | <i>wêtha'urkin</i> | he speaks |
| Anadyr Chukchee | <i>wêtha'urkin</i> and <i>vanava'tirkin</i> | |
| Koryak, Kamenskoye | <i>vetha'vekin</i> and <i>vanava'tekin</i> | |

The lexical differences between Koryak and Chukchee are considerable. Still certain Chukchee words that do not occur in the Kamenskoye dialect re-appear in other dialects, some even in remote villages in the valleys of Kamchatka.

| | AGAIN | NEGATION (refusal) | WHALE |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| Chukchee | <i>lî'mña</i> | <i>garê'm</i> | <i>re^{ew}</i> |
| Koryak, Kamenskoye | <i>gî'mla</i> | <i>gaye'm</i> | <i>yu'ñi</i> (stem <i>yuñyu</i>) |
| Koryak II Qare'ñim . | <i>i'nnik</i> | <i>i'hut</i> | <i>yu'ñi</i> (stem <i>yuñyu</i>) |
| Koryak II, Lesna (Kamchatka). . . | <i>ligr'mmen</i> | <i>gate'mmî</i> | — |
| Kerek | — | — | <i>ya^{ew}</i> |
| Kamchadal | — | — | <i>yu'ñyu</i> (stem <i>yuñyu</i>) |

On the whole, however, all branches of the Koryak, even in their most distinct dialects,—like those of the Kerek near Cape Anannon on Bering Sea, and of Voyampolka on the Sea of Okhotsk,—are much more closely related among themselves than to the Chukchee.

In the pronunciation of men of the Kolyma district many intervocalic consonants are dropped (see § 13). This is not so common among the men of the Anadyr Chukchee, who use both the fuller forms and those with dropped consonants. Among the Kolyma people the difference between the pronunciation of men and that of women is so regular that the use of the fuller forms by the eastern people lays them open to ridicule as using the speech of women.

Nouns (§§ 27-55).

§ 27. *General Remarks*

The noun appears in a number of forms and with a number of suffixes, the interpretation of which is not easy. A few of these have clearly purely syntactic meaning, while others appear rather as postpositions which are somewhat loosely connected with the noun. Some elements of this group seem to form compound nouns, while I suspect that others may have a verbal character.

The forms which are clearly syntactic are—

(1) The absolute form, which expresses the subject of the intransitive verb, and the object of the transitive verb.

(2) The absolute form, plural.

(3) The subjective form, which expresses the subject of the transitive verb, and the instrument with which an action is performed. In several cases our indirect object appears as direct object, while our direct object appears as instrument, somewhat as in the two expressions I GIVE IT TO HIM and I BESTOW HIM WITH IT. In Kamchadal this form is not used for the subject of the transitive verb, but the locative-possessive. In Koryak sometimes the one form is used, sometimes the other.

(4) The locative possessive expresses the place where an event happens or where an action is performed. With terms designating living beings it expresses possession.

Suffixes which express the allative and ablative form a second group. These are not so distinctively syntactic forms, but give the impression of post-positions, particularly since they appear sometimes in composition with syntactic forms of the first group.

A third class, quite distinct from the first two in form as well as in function, comprises derivations of nouns and verbs which express WHAT BELONGS TO, WHAT PERTAINS TO, THAT WHICH HAS THE QUALITY OF SOMETHING, THE POSSESSOR OF, THE MEASURE OF BEING IN A CERTAIN CONDITION. These are frequently used to express the relations between two nouns or between an adjective and a noun.

The fourth class expresses mainly various types of emphatic forms of the noun.

We shall first take up the syntactic forms.

The Absolute Form (§§ 28-32).

§ 28. ABSOLUTE FORM EXPRESSED BY STEM

The absolute form of the noun serves to express the subject of the intransitive verb and the object of the transitive verb. It shows a great variety of formations.

The absolute form is expressed by the nominal stem. This form can occur only in those cases in which the terminal sound is a vowel or a single consonant. Since no ending occurs, the stem has no ablaut. Examples are—

(1) Stems with terminal vowels:

kitvé'yu old walrus 8.12, 14*ELa'* mother 30.6*qe'li* cap*lg'lg* penis 45.1*rĭ'Lu* carcass 65.14*ä's'qe'ku* a barren doe 97.17*veñke'nřu* a mother doe

(2) Stems or compounds with single terminal consonant (including diphthongs in *i* and *u*). To this class belong words ending in *y*, *w*, *p*, *m*, *t*, *n*, *k*, *č*, *r*, *q*, *l*.

ELg'qai little mother 35.5*ñi'nqai* little child 37.14*mi'rgew* a suit of armor 116.24*re's'w* whale 73.4*mpĩñe'w* old woman 19.5*tinu'p* blue fox 96.17*re'lup* quid*ve'em* river 37.3 (Koryak *ve'-yem*, *va'yam* Kor. 17.6, according to dialect)*rēt* trail 37.1*le'ut* head 44.11 (Koryak *la'-wut* Kor. 82.11)*ñe'wān* wife 36.3 (Koryak *ñā'-wan*)*Ai'wan* the Ai'wan 7.1*na'nqan* belly 43.9*uwä's'quč* husband 105.12*ke'per* wolverene 78.2, *qe'per* 92.21 (*ke'perä* 78.11) (Koryak *qapay*)*kri'mqor* three-year-old doe 117.9*wañqa's'qor* two-year-old doe 117.10*el'har* polar fox 92.19*intu'ulpir* son-in-law 80.6*u'nel* thong-seal 70.7*pe'nvel* two-year-old buck 117.12*mē'mil* seal 96.4 (Koryak *mē'-mil* Kor. 90.6)*lū'mñil* story 61.5*pe'kul* butcher-knife 85.23 (Kor. *pa'quł* Kor. 78.23)*ñe'lvul* herd 49.3*qe'ptiril* backbone 51.3*qla'ul* man 43.1 (Kor. *qla'wul* Kor. 17.4)*wwi'k* body 35.11 (Kor. 32.5)*ka'mak* evil spirit 61.6 (Kor. 35.5)*ai'mak* carcass 81.17*ginni'k* game 84.28 (Koryak *gi'ynik* Kor. 61.8)*e'ek* lamp 68.12, 106.18*pu'req* white whale 96.9*o'Laq* sea-lion 65.16

(3) Stems ending in two consonants generally insert a vowel in the terminal consonantic cluster.

- qe'pɪl* football (stem *qepl*); (Kor. Kam. *qa'pɪl*; Kor. Par. *qepɪl*)
mä^ɛ'qɪm arrow 75.23
lo'ñɪl walrus-blubber 47.4
pɪ'ñɪl tidings 61.5
ɛ'ñɪl trunk 96.3

§ 29. REDUPLICATED FORMS

Some stems are reduplicated.

(1) Monosyllabic stems are doubled. When the contact between the last consonant of the repeated word and of the stem form an inadmissible cluster, the usual changes occur.

| Stem | Reduplicated absolute form |
|----------------------|---|
| <i>nɪm</i> | <i>nɪ'mnɪm</i> settlement 7.7 |
| <i>kêr</i> | <i>kê'rkêr</i> combination-suit 37.8 |
| <i>yɪm</i> | <i>dɪ'ndɪn</i> ¹ fire 39.11 |
| <i>ɛ^l</i> | <i>ɛ'^lle^l</i> excrement 80.11; (<i>ɛ'^llu</i> 81.12) |
| <i>lɪq</i> | <i>lɪ'qlɪq</i> (Kor. <i>lɪqlɪq</i>) egg |
| <i>rɪq</i> | <i>rɪ'qrɪq</i> hair |
| <i>om</i> | <i>o'mom</i> (Kor. <i>o'mom</i>) heat |
| <i>liñ</i> | <i>li'ñli</i> heart (see § 31, 3) |
| <i>poñ</i> | <i>po'mpo</i> fly agaric (see § 31, 3) |
| <i>tuw</i> | <i>tu'wtuw</i> word |
| <i>oɛ</i> | <i>o'ɛoɛ</i> chief |
| <i>ɛot</i> | <i>ɛo'tɛot</i> bag-pillow 29.5 |
| <i>wüt</i> | <i>wü'twüt</i> leaf |
| <i>qɪl</i> | <i>qɪlgɪl</i> sea ice 8.14 (<i>ɛi'ɛ'tit</i> Anser segetum) |

Koryak:

| | |
|------------|--|
| <i>kił</i> | <i>ki'łkił</i> navel string Kor. 63.10 |
| <i>pip</i> | <i>pi'pip</i> comb Kor. 78.9 |
| <i>vit</i> | <i>vi'tvit</i> ringed seal Kor. 17.12 |
| <i>ñai</i> | <i>ñai'ñai</i> mountain Kor. 42.2 |
| <i>wɪy</i> | <i>wɪ'yɪwɪ</i> breath Kor. 33.8 |

(2) Stems ending in a consonantic cluster always insert an auxiliary vowel (§ 8), and therefore appear in dissyllabic form. The reduplication consists in the repetition of the beginning of the word at the

end, including the initial consonant, vowel, and the first consonant following the first vowel.

| Stem | Reduplicated absolute form |
|--|--|
| <i>pilh</i> | <i>pi'lhripil</i> famine |
| <i>gêrg</i> | <i>qê'rgiqêr</i> light |
| <i>tirk</i> | <i>tî'rkîtir</i> sun |
| <i>têrg</i> | <i>tê'rgîtêr</i> crying 20.12 |
| <i>trrg</i> | <i>tr'rgîtr</i> meat 48.8 |
| <i>tumg</i> | <i>tu'mgîtum</i> companion 103.35 |
| <i>mitk</i> | <i>mi'tkämît</i> blubber 47.4 |
| (Kor.) <i>ye'l̥k</i> | <i>ye'l̥kryel̥</i> pudding Kor. 34.2 |
| <i>muL</i> 19.3 | <i>mu'lumul</i> 25.3 blood |
| * <i>wilq</i> | <i>wi'lquul</i> 22.7 coal (Kor. Kam. <i>wü'lkruul</i> , cf. Kor. 31.9) |
| * <i>qêrg</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>qesh</i>) | <i>qê'rgiqêr</i> light (Kor. Kam. <i>qê'shiques</i>) |
| <i>vryil</i> (Kor. <i>vyil̥</i>) | <i>vr'yilvryil</i> image (<i>vr'yil̥vryil̥</i> Kor. 32.3) |

A number of words of this group, particularly those beginning with a vowel, repeat the stem vowel before the repeated syllable.

| Stem | Reduplicated absolute form |
|--|--|
| <i>org</i> | <i>o'rgoor</i> sledge |
| <i>omk</i> | <i>o'mkoom</i> 79.5 willow |
| <i>wus'q</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>vus'q</i>) | <i>wu's'quus</i> (Kor. <i>vu's'quvus</i> cf. Kor. 57.6) darkness |
| <i>el</i> | <i>e'leel</i> summer (Kor. Kam. <i>a'laal̥</i>) |
| <i>il</i> | <i>i'liil</i> rain (Kor. Kam. <i>mu'qamuq</i>) |
| <i>yäq</i> | { <i>yäqä'q</i> } nose |
| (<i>yil̥</i>) <i>yi'liil</i> language 7.10 | { <i>yäqä'aq</i> } |
| <i>yir</i> | <i>yir'riir</i> a full one 86.29 |

Related to this group are—

| | |
|------------|--|
| <i>eiv</i> | <i>ei'veei</i> part of meat given to neighbors, alms (Kor. Kam. <i>ai'vaai</i> cf. Kor. 63.12) |
| <i>Enn</i> | <i>Ennē'n</i> fish (Kor. Kam. <i>Ennā'n</i>) |

(3) Some bases which end in inadmissible sound-clusters have initial or terminal reduplication, and insert auxiliary vowels.

| Stem | Reduplicated absolute form. |
|---|---|
| <i>iml</i> (Kor. <i>im̥l̥</i>) | <i>mi'mil</i> water (Kor. <i>mi'mil̥</i>) |
| <i>mlū</i> (Kor. <i>ml̥ū</i>) | <i>mū'mil</i> louse (Kor. <i>mū'mil̥</i> ; <i>mi'mil̥</i> Kor. 55.1) |
| <i>elv</i> , <i>ilv</i> (see <i>elvē'tulä</i> 89.32; <i>qel-vulin</i> 88.1) | <i>ilvilv</i> wild reindeer 88.4 (Kor. Kam. <i>il̥hu'l̥u</i> , <i>el̥hu'l̥u</i>) |

(4) Dissyllabic words repeat the first syllable at the end of the word:

| | |
|--|---|
| Stem | Reduplicated absolute form |
| <i>mêrê</i> | <i>mê'rêmêr</i> tears 116.8 |
| <i>qo^llê</i> 41.5 | <i>qo^llê'qo^ll</i> snuff 41.4 |
| <i>yile</i> (see 90.2) | <i>yil'leil</i> marmot 89.33 |
| <i>yili</i> (Kor. <i>êil</i>) | <i>yil'liil</i> tongue 48.8 (Kor. <i>êr'liil</i> Kor. 56.4) |
| <i>quli</i> | <i>qul'i'qul</i> voice 44.7 |
| <i>nute</i> | <i>nu'tenut</i> land |
| <i>yr'lqä(t)</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>yr'lqa[t]</i>) | <i>yr'lqäil</i> sleep (Kor. Kam. <i>yr'l-</i> <i>gayil</i>) |

Koryak:

| | |
|---------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>mī'tqa</i> | <i>mī'tqamīt</i> oil Kor. 90.17 |
| <i>qanga</i> | <i>qa'ngagan</i> fire Kor. 30.8 |
| <i>kī'lka</i> | <i>ki'lkakil</i> shell-fish Kor. 70.2 |

(5) Some polysyllabic words double the whole word.

eñe'neñen southeast wind

In Kamchadal analogous forms are derived principally from adjective stems:

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>o'mlax</i> warm | <i>o'mom</i> heat |
| <i>a'tax^llax</i> bright | <i>a'teatx</i> light |
| <i>tax'nläx</i> dark | <i>tax'ntaxn</i> darkness |
| <i>tpilhe'tijk</i> I suffer from hunger | <i>p'ilhipil</i> and <i>pê'lhêpêl</i> famine |

Other Kamchadal forms of duplication and reduplication for the absolute forms are:

| |
|---|
| <i>êu'xêux</i> rain (stem <i>êux</i>) |
| <i>pa'lupal</i> leaf (stem <i>pal</i>) |
| <i>kö'mloköm</i> marrow (Chukchee <i>kr'mil</i> ; Kor. Kam. <i>kr'mil</i>) |
| <i>lu'ñuluñulë</i> heart (Chukchee <i>li'ñli</i> ; Kor. <i>li'ñliñ</i>) |

NOTE 1.—A number of stems which in Koryak form their absolute form by duplication have different forms in Chukchee.

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. |
| <i>go'pki</i> elk | <i>ve'pkavep</i> |
| <i>ri'rkil</i> walrus | <i>yr'ykayik</i> |

Presumably the Koryak has retained here the older forms.

NOTE 2.—In a few cases the reduplicated or doubled form is used not only in the absolute form, but also with other suffixes and in composition.

kê'rkêr combination-suit (stem *kêr*); Kor. I *key'key* (stem *key*) ;
kêrkê'rgÿpÿ and *kê'rgÿpÿ* from the combination-suit; *kê'rkêrik*
 in the combination-suit

nâ'wkêr woman's suit

nimni'mgÿpÿ from the settlement 10.12

gêlgêli'tkinik on the ice fields 7.3; *gêli'tkinik* on the sea-ice 9.2

mêmlr'tkinik on top of the water 9.3

NOTE 3.—It is not impossible that the forms

| | |
|------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>yara'nî</i> house | } (see § 30) |
| <i>yoro'nî</i> sleeping-room | |
| <i>ya'rar</i> drum | |

contain reduplicated stems in which the initial *r* has changed to *y*.

§ 30. SUFFIXES *-n*, *-nî*

Stems ending in a vowel take the suffixes, in Chukchee *-n*, *-nî*, in Koryak *-ñe*, *-ña*, according to dialect.

Iu'metun name of a spirit 22.6

kuke'nî kettle (*ku'kek* 75.13); Kor. Kam. *kuka'ña*; Kor. Par.

kuke'ñe

yoro'nî sleeping-room 107.9

yara'nî house 7.8; 30.11 (Kor. *yaya'ña* Kor. 22.4)

keme'nî dish 86.23; 87.31, 33 (*kama'gtî* to a dish 88.24) (Kor.

kama'nî Kor. 64.3)

gora'nî reindeer 51.6

rip'e'nî stone hammer 77.13, 16 (Kor. *yipa'ña* Kor. 43.2)

ei'nî wolf 78.2, 96.28

ÿpa'nî broth (Kor. *ipa'ña* Kor. 28.6)

Stems ending in two consonants, or in consonants that can not form clusters with the terminal *n*, take the ending *-n* with a connective vowel, *i*, *e*; after *q* the connective vowel is *ä* (Kor. Kam. *a*).

poi'gin spear 97.27 (*poi'gø* 117.29) (Kor. *poi'gin*)

na'nqan belly 43.9 (Kor. Par. *na'nqän*)

riggo'lgin cellar 36.8 (*riggolgê'tî* to the cellar 36.10)

rê'mkin people 8.8, 10 (*rê'mku* 107.20) (Kor. *ya'mkin* Kor. 39.7)

tu'mgin companion 38.12 (*tu'mgä* 37.7)

gi'thin lake 37.4 (*gi'thik* in a lake 37.5)

ÿpa'lhin tallow 87.4 (*ÿpa'lha* 86.23)

gi'lhin skin 23.9

gêla'rgin gray fox 96.14

e'ÿin fat (Kor. *a'ÿin* Kor. 15.4)

ELI'gin father 73.10 (stem *l*)

- ké'ñiévri* boy 11.7
kopa'lhiri walrus-blubber 12.6 (*kopa'lya* 14.11)
yí'lgiri month 7.2
a'ʔttri dog 135.20 (*a'ʔttu* 135.20) (Kor. *a'ʔttaʔn* Kor. 48.8)
keiñiri brown bear 78.3 (*keiñu* 136.20) (Kor. Kam. *kai'ñiri*)
rêŁoi'ñiri big old carcass 136.19
kokaí'ñiri big kettle 33.10
i'riiri fur shirt 83.24 (*i'ru* 116.26)
wu'kwun stone (stem *wukw* R 3.19) (Kor. *vu'gviri*)
ñi'lhiri thong 41.10 (Kor. *ñi'łñiri* Kor. 40.5, 8)

To this group belong the endings *-lhiri*, *-yñiri*, *-éhiri*, *-giri*, *-yiri* *-liri* (see § § 52; 53; 98; 1,99,8; 106, 44)

§ 31. ABSOLUTE FORM WITH LOSS OF PHONETIC ELEMENTS

(1) Stems ending in a vowel weaken their terminal vowel or lose it entirely. Those ending in *ɛ* often change it to *i* slightly nasalized.

- va'le* knife 15.13; 16.4; 43.7 (stem *va'la*)
ri'riki walrus 8.5
ke'le an evil spirit 61.6
ču'mñiri buck (stem *čumña*)
krimí'nti three-year-old buck 117.11
u'mki bear 110.11
wi'ur scraping board (stem *wiuri*)
e'wič small bag (stem *ewiču*)

In case the loss of terminal vowel results in an inadmissible terminal cluster, auxiliary vowels are introduced:

- e'kik* son (stem *ekke*)
e'rim, *e'rem* chief (stem *erme*)
ku'kil one-eyed (stem *kuwle* < **kukle*)
lu'kil driving-reindeer, not properly broken in; (stem *luwle*
 < **lukle*?)

(2) Stems ending in *-nv* lose their terminal *v*.

- e'wgan* incantation 129.18 (stem *éwganv*)
e'tiri master 122.38 (stem *étiriv*)

(3) Stems ending in *ñ* with preceding vowel drop the terminal *ñ* or at least reduce its pronunciation to a voiceless *ñ*. This occurs particularly in Chukchee.

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. |
|--|---|
| <i>êna'nvina</i> scraper (stem <i>êna'n-vina'ñ</i>) | <i>ena'nvina</i> (stem <i>enanvinañ</i>) |
| <i>keñu'ne</i> staff (stem <i>keñu'neñ</i>) 101.9 | |
| <i>li'ñli</i> heart (stem <i>liñ</i>) | <i>li'ñliñ</i> |
| <i>po'mpo</i> mushroom (stem <i>poñ</i>) | <i>po'npo^εn</i> |
| <i>pi'mpi</i> powder (stem <i>piñ</i>) | |

(4) A number of stems with consonantic ending have a double form of the stem, one ending with the consonant, another one ending in *a*, *e*, or *i*, which are suffixed to the stem. The absolute form is the stem form without terminal vowel.

| |
|--|
| <i>Ai'wan</i> an Asiatic Eskimo (stems <i>ai'wan</i> and <i>aiwana</i>) |
| <i>intu'ulpir</i> son-in-law (stems <i>intuulpir</i> and <i>intuulpire</i>) |
| <i>uwä^ε'quë</i> husband (stems <i>uwä^ε'quë</i> and <i>uwä^ε'quëi</i>) |
| <i>ilir</i> island (stems <i>ilir</i> and <i>iliri</i>) |

(5) Irregular forms are—

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. |
|---|---|
| <i>ei^ε'ni</i> wolf (stem [<i>l</i>]. <i>ei^ε'g</i>) | <i>i^ε'yiy</i> (stem <i>i^ε'y</i>) |
| <i>ei^ε'tin</i> neck (stem <i>ei^ε'nn</i>) | <i>i^ε'nnin</i> (stem [<i>l</i>]. <i>i^ε'nn</i> , <i>i^ε'nn</i>) |
| <i>ELU'ê</i> nephew (stem <i>ELUwgo</i>) | <i>ILo'yo</i> (stem <i>ILoy</i>) |
| <i>int'ê</i> daughter-in-law (stem <i>intryo</i>) | |
| <i>a'kan</i> fishhook (stem <i>a^εn</i> < * <i>aqn</i> ?) | |
| <i>ga'LE</i> bird (stem <i>galha</i>) | |
| <i>ve'LE</i> raven (stem <i>velvë</i>) | |
| <i>ei^ε'tit</i> anser segetum (stem <i>ei^ε'tu</i>) | |
| <i>tu'mgin</i> stranger (stem <i>tumük</i>); | |
| compare, however, the reduplicated form <i>tu'mgitum</i> COMPANION formed from <i>tu'mgin</i> (in compounds <i>-tu'mgin</i> , as <i>yicë'mit-tu'mgin</i> BROTHER) <i>tu'mük</i> serves also as possessive form. | |

§ 32 SPECIAL FORMS

A number of pronouns form the absolute form in a special manner.

(1) Personal pronouns.

güm I (Kor. *gümma*; Kamch. *kr'mma*)

glt thou (Kor. *gr'ssa*; Kamch. *kr'ja*)

(2) The personal pronoun *ena'n* (Kor. *e'nnu*; Kamch. *ena'*) HE is formed from the stem *en-*.

(3) The personal pronouns of the plural are formed with the suffix *-i*. In Koryak the dual has the suffix *-i*; the plural, *-u*. In Kamchadal we find *-a* for the first and second persons.

mu'ri (Kor. dual *mu'yi*, pl. *mu'yu*; Kamch. *mu'ja*) we (stem *muṛg-* [Kor. *mučh-*, Kamch. *mijg-*])

tu'ri (Kor. dual *tu'yi*, pl. *tu'yu*; Kamch. *tu'ja*) ye (stem *turg-* [Kor. *tučh-*, Kamch. *tijg-*])

e'rr (Kor. dual *a'čči*, pl. *a'čču*; Kamch. *itx*) they (stem *erg-* [Kor. *ačh-*, Kamch. *tx-*])

(4) Interrogative personal pronoun.

me'nin who (stem *mik-*) (Kor. *ma'ki* [stem *mik*])

(5) Indefinite pronoun.

rä^enut what (stem *req*) (Kor. *yr'nna* [stem *yaq*])

ni'rkirnut a certain one (stem *nirkε*) (Kor. *ni'yka*, *ni'ykirvut* [stem *niyka*])

ni'kirnut a certain thing (stem *nirkε*)

Dual and Plural (§§ 33-35).

§ 33. GENERAL REMARKS

Chukchee, Koryak II, and Kamchadal have only two numbers; while Koryak I has also a dual, which corresponds in form to the plural of the Chukchee. The plural of the Koryak, both I and II, presents a set of distinct forms.

§ 34. PLURAL OF COMMON NOUNS

The plural of common nouns occurs only in the absolute form. In Chukchee it is formed by the suffix *-t*. Stems ending in *l*, *r*, *n*, *č*, *y*, *t*, take *-t̄* instead.

lil'et eyes

e'kkt sons

qu'tti the others 115.17

gl'a'ult̄ men 121.9

yič'emr'etti brothers 64.3

ñe'wänti women 50.4, 6

ñeus'qä'tti women 112.5

pe'kulti butcher-knives 84.21

ñi'ngäiti children 112.10, 15;

113.12

ñi'ngägti 51.10

a^e'ttiqägti pups 122.18

inpiñ'e'wägti little old women

45.1

le'utti heads 86.8

Words which have a double stem form (see § 31, 4), have also double forms in the plural.

Ai'wan an Asiatic Eskimo (stems *aiwan*, *aiwana*); plural *ai'want̄*, *ai'wanat*

uwä^s'quč husband (stems *uwä^s'quč*, *uwä^s'quči*); plural *uwä^s'qutti*, *uwä^s'qučit*

i'liir island (stems *ilir*, *iliri*); plural *ili'tti*, *i'liirit*

Koryak:

The dual of Koryak I has the same suffix.

l̥l̥a't two eyes

qo'yat two reindeer (Chukchee *qa'at* reindeer)

vai'amit two rivers (*vai'anti* Kor. 17.1, Chukchee *ve'emit* rivers)

The plural is formed in many Koryak dialects by *-u* after terminal consonants, *-wgi*, *-vvi* (according to dialect), after terminal vowel.

qla'wulu men Kor. 44.3

ñawitqatu women Kor. 44.2

qai-pipi'kalñu little mice Kor. 25.6

ñawa'kku daughters Kor. 27.1

a'gimu bags Kor. 28.5

km'iñu children Kor. 44.7

vai'amu rivers (stem *vaiam*)

l̥l̥a'wgi eyes

mimlu'wgi lice Kor. 25.4

imčanalā'wge ermines Kor. 66.18

qoyg'wge reindeer (stem *goya*; *goya'we* Kor. 22.4)

qapa'au wolverenes (< *qapay-u*) Kor. 12.7

u'kkamaru vessels Kor. 28.5

ki'plau mortars Kor. 51.5 (*kipla'wi* Kor. 53.8)

Kamchadal:

The plural suffix of Kamchadal is *-(r)^εn*.

u^εh tree

u^εhr^εn trees

kocx dog

kcxo^εn dogs

kist house

ki'str^εn houses

Stems ending in *n* or *l* take the glottal stop before the terminal consonant, and take no ending, but may modify the last vowel of the stem.

l̥l̥ eye

l̥l̥^ε eyes

kɛl̥i'lan spotted seal

kɛl̥i'li^εn spotted seals

mɛ'mil̥ ground-seal

mɛ'mi^εl̥ ground-seals

In the material collected by Dybowsky¹ in southern Kamchatka, *t* and *d* occur as plural endings.

iauin ear

ivut ears

kosch dog

kosgut dogs

uan stone

uad stones

¹ Słowniki Narzeczy Ludow Kameczackich Rozprawy Widzialu filologicznego Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie, 1892, vol. xvii, pp. 107, 113, 120.

The Kamchadal dialect of Sedanka also has the ending *-t*.

| | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>veta'tılan</i> workman | <i>veta'tilat</i> workmen |
| <i>sü'nkil</i> the one who flies | <i>sü'nkilat</i> those who fly |

This can not be due to the influence of the neighboring Koryak II, which has no dual, and uses only the *u* ending of the plural.

§ 35. PLURAL OF PERSONAL NOUNS.

-(I)nti (Kor. Kam. the same) [*-(r)n + ti*; for *-(r)n* see § 39], expresses a group of people belonging to and including a person of the name to which the suffix is added. In Koryak Kamenskoye the ending designates two persons only. This form is also used with the interrogative pronoun.

Ye'tılnti Yetılın and his family
 (Kor. *Ačče'pınnti*) Ačče'pın and his wife
ñe'wänti their wives
mi'kinti (Kor. Kam. *ma'kinti*) who? (see p. 726)

Koryak Kamenskoye:

Valvımtıla's'ninti Raven-Man and his wife Kor. 12.1
Yini'a-ña'wgutinti Yini'a-ñawgut and her husband Kor. 19.5

A group of more than two is expressed in Koryak Kamenskoye by the plural ending *-wgi*, but also by *-inu*.

Aččepına'wgę Ačče'pın and his family.
Quyqınn'aqu'wgi Big-Raven and his people Kor. 39.10
Amamqu'tinu Ememqut's people Kor. 43.7
pipi'kča-ña'wgutinu mouse-women Kor. 23.3

§ 36. Exclamatory Form of Nouns

Nouns may be given an exclamatory form by transferring the accent to the end of the stem, especially with the last word of the sentence.

kimilh'i'n worms 39.3

When the accentuation is stronger, the last vowel is changed to *o*. In this case, proper names lose their suffixes, and have the accent on the last vowel of the stem.

| | | |
|----------------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>Ye'to'l</i> | O Ye'tılın! | <i>remkılo'n</i> a guest! 111.19 |
| <i>Quto'w</i> | O Qutu'wgi! | |

Koryak:

miko'n vannılño'n! whose tooth Kor. 34.4
ñawako'k! daughter! Kor. 22.7
tılago'n! I found! Kor. 24.1

In some cases, when the noun ends in a vowel, an *-i* is added, and the accent thrown upon the end of the word.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>Araroi'</i> | O Ara'ro! |
| <i>Upenkei'</i> R 72.15 | O Upe'nke! |
| <i>Mitei'</i> 83.12 Kor. 37. 2 | O Miti! |
| Kor. <i>Quqe'</i> Kor. 74.29 | O Quyqinn'a'qu |
| Kor. <i>Yinei'</i> Kor. 88.1 | O Yini'aña'wgut |
| also <i>glei</i> | O man! (from <i>qlik</i> , which otherwise is used only in compounds) |

§ 37. Subjective Form

-e, *-tā*, *ā* (Chukchee). Instrumental; used in place of object when the verb is intransitive (e. g., she cooked with meat = she cooked meat); subject of transitive verb.¹

(a) After terminal vowel *-tā*:

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>ekke'tā</i> by the son 18.9 | <i>vala'ta</i> with knives 16.4 |
| <i>temu'netā</i> with shell-fish 9.8 | <i>ri'rkata</i> by walrus 9.9; 10.6 |
| <i>wwā's'qučitā</i> <i>v'unin</i> the husband told her | <i>tar-qa'ata</i> <i>qe'rkulūin</i> bought with how many reindeer |
| <i>lile'tā</i> with an eye | |

(b) After terminal consonant *-ā*:

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>eñe'nälā</i> by a shaman 7.5; 14.12; 15.9 | <i>evirā</i> clothing (obj.) 13.6 |
| <i>wi'lqā</i> by darkness 18.12 | <i>u'ttā</i> with wood |
| <i>ELI'gā</i> by the father 18.4 | <i>ELI'gā</i> <i>re'nnin</i> the father brought it |
| <i>rā'yipā</i> with a drill 8.1; 11.2 | <i>po'i'ga</i> with a spear 12.9 |
| <i>y'i'lqā</i> by sleep 10.6, 7 | <i>kopa'lha</i> with walrus-blubber 14.11 |
| <i>a'ttwilā</i> by the boat's crew 10.9; 12.4 | <i>Aiwhuyanpina'cha</i> by an old St. Lawrence man 13.9 |
| <i>re'rilā</i> by the bow-man 10.10 | <i>Eiwhuelā</i> by the St. Lawrence people 11.10; 12.3, 11; 17.1 |
| <i>eñe'nā</i> with the spirits 16.3 | |

(c) After terminal consonant *-e*. This *e* may be part of the stem that drops out on the absolute form.

e'če *wwi'ie* with fat she cooked (i. e., she cooked fat)

(d) After terminal *n* often, after *r* sometimes, *-etā*. Words of this group are those with double-stem forms § 31.4

gēlētkinā'ta along the ice-top 13.7
rimne'tā and *ri'mnā* with the inner skin

¹ For proper names, see § 39. Compare nominal forms of verbs, No. 3, § 64.

aiwana'ta the Aiwān 46.6; 49.2

intu'ulpirētā by the son-in-law 80.22 and *intu'ulpirā*

-ta, -a (Kor. Kam). Instrumental and subject of transitive verbs (as in Chukchee).

lila'ta with an eye

u'tta with the wood

ā^εlā'ta with excrement Kor. 12.5

ēakē'ta by the sister Kor. 18.10

ñi'lñā with a line Kor. 41.3

yīcā'myi-tu'mga by the brother Kor. 20.6

ñā'witqata by the woman Kor. 21.5

ya^εmka by the people Kor. 39.7

yī'pna with the inner skin Kor. 48.8

With these endings are also found, formed from locatives (see §§ 38, 58) —

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | |
|---|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>minka'tā</i> | <i>minka'ta</i> | by which place |
| <i>wutke'tā</i> | <i>wutēa'ta</i> | by this place |
| <i>en'ke'tā</i> | <i>enka'ta</i> | by that place |
| <i>vā'añkata</i> | <i>vaiēñā'ta</i> | by that place (midway) |
| <i>nik'i'tā</i> 12.9; 14.10 | <i>nik'i'ta</i> | at night |
| <i>grno't-ā^εlo'</i> | <i>grno't-ā^εlo'</i> | at mid-day |
| <i>ñunqe'tā</i> there, by itself | | |
| <i>ño'tinqata</i> there, behind the speaker | | |
| <i>ño'onkata</i> there, farther on | | |
| <i>ñenke'tā</i> there, far off | | |

Here belong also the Chukchee forms—

ñunqe'tā there, by itself

ño'tinqata there, behind speaker

ño'onqanata there, farther on

ñenke'tā there, far off

-l' Kamchadal. Instrumental.

u^εl' with wood (from *u^εh* wood)

lūlē'l' with the eye (stem *lūl*)

Locative Form (§§ 38-39)

§ 38. COMMON NOUNS

-(i)k, -kI, -qI (Koryak the same) expresses the locative.¹

vē'emik nrtvq'qēn he lives on the river

ELā'qI nrtvq'qēn he lives with the mother

nu't₂k (Kor. *nu'tak*) on the land

The forms *-kɨ* and *-qɨ*, also *-ekɨ* and *-eqɨ* are used after some stems, but no definite rule in regard to their use can be laid down.

qʷmūk and *qʷmuqɨ* in my possession

yo'oqɨ in the wind (from *yo'o* WIND)

ELa'qɨ at the mother's (from *ELa'* MOTHER)

ñelwüləkɨ at the herd (from *ñelwül* HERD)

vêlɨtkə-la'uləkɨ at the merchant's (from *vêlɨtkə-la'ul* MERCHANT)

Stems with the terminal clusters *lh*, *čh*, *th*, *rg*, *ng* may drop the terminal sound in the locative:

p'lhɨn throat

p'ɨɨk in the throat

q'thɨn lake

q'tɨk at the lake

m'ngɨɨɨn hand

m'nɨk at the hand

The forms *p'ɨɨk*, *q'tɨk*, *m'nɨk*, however, are also in use.

Verbal nouns with the suffix *-gɨrg(ɨn)* (§ 106.44) have in the locative *-ɨnkɨor-ɨk*:

kañka'čirgɨn descent

kañka'čirɨnkɨ and *kañka'čirɨk*

tɨttat'irgɨn climbing up

tɨttat'irɨnkɨ and *tɨttat'irɨk*

NOTE.—These two forms appear with distinctive meaning in the locative of *gɨto'lhɨn* SIDE:

gɨto'ɨɨnkɨ on the side of the mountain

gɨto'ɨɨk on the side of a person

This suffix is often weakened to *-g*, or even disappears entirely.

Thus we find *nu'tek*, *nu'teg*, and *nu'te* IN THE COUNTRY; *ya'arak* and *ya'ra* AT HOME; the *k* may also be replaced by *ɨ*. The *leu'tɨ* ON THE HEAD 44.5; *a'ñqa-čo'rmɨ* ON THE SEASHORE 12.4

walqa'ɨk in the jawbone house, 44.14

nu'te'sqak on the ground, 15.5

rag-čo'rmɨk on the house border, 12.12

a'ñqak on the sea, 13.3; Kor. 25.7

q'ɨlgɨɨk on the sea ice, 13.3

tu'wkɨk on the ice-floe, 13.3

tɨ'mkɨk on a hummock, 62.7

qä'čekičhɨk on a thong of young walrus-hide, 62.8

lɨlək (Kor. *lɨl'a'k*) in the eye

Koryak:

va'amɨk in the river Kor. 32. 1, 2

čɨ'čhɨɨk in the armpits Kor. 18.9

ya'yak in the house Kor. 19.9

ulqu'vɨk in the cache Kor. 80.10

yaqa'lɨk in the porch Kor. 80.13

ɨ'ya'g in the sky Kor. 19.3

qas'wuge'ñkɨ at the foot of the stone-pine bushes Kor. 21.7

With nouns designating animate beings, the suffix *-k* expresses the possessor.

e'kkek va'rkin (Kor. Kam., *a'kkak va'ykin*) it is the son's
maa'lik va'rkin in the neighbor's (house) he is 19.2
qe'mge-ni'kek whosoever 20.7

Kor. *a'al tu'yik va'ykin* have you an axe? Kor. 63.5

Kor. *Tike'nvryik va'ykin* With-Smell-Pusher-Away has it Kor. 63.4

Personal pronouns also have this ending, while proper names and personal demonstrative pronouns have the ending *-(r)nä* (see § 41).

The personal pronoun is used with the ending *-k*, particularly when the noun to which it is attached with possessive significance has a suffix (*-tä*, *-gti*, etc.), while in the absolute form the suffix *-in* BELONGING TO OR MADE OF IS used (see § 46 and also § 47). In similar cases nouns designating animate beings are often used with the ending *-k*.

gümü'k e'kkeg ñalvülé pü qäi'mithin take from my son's herd
gümü'k akka'ipü from my son (*güm* I; *-k* possessive; *ekke* son;
-ipü from [§ 42])

eni'g-nu'tek ne'rmeqin ke'læ in his own country the kele is strong
 123.25

mø'rêg-rak in our houses 84.16

Kor. *mama'nak tetei'tiñ* on mamma's needle Kor. 25.2

Kor. *Miti'nak ðai'uðhu* into Miti's work-bag Kor. 38.4.

Here belong—

wu'tku (Kor. *wu'tçuk*) here

ε'n'ki (Kor. *ä'nki*, Kamchadal *ε'nki*) there

va'äñki (Kor. *vai'eñ*) there (midway to)

ño'onki there (farther on)

ra'äñki there (behind the person addressed)

ño'triñki, *ño'triñqi*, there (behind the speaker)

ñu'nki (Kamchadal *ño'nke*) (aside by itself)

mi'ñki (Kor. *mi'nki*) where

ñe'n'ku there (far off)

All these form allative, ablative, and instrumental, see § 58.

-nk (Kamchadal); after terminal *n*, **-k**, also in some other cases.

Locative, and subject of transitive verbs.

lä'lenk on the eye

tau'ntarunk in the darkness
 (from *tau'ntarun*)

ci'mtenk on the land.

a'triñnk and *a'triñk* in the
 village (from *atriñm*)

With nouns designating animate objects, the suffix *-nk* designates the possessor.

p'i'č'ink čhi'zkinin it is the son's

The suffixes expressing DIRECTIONS TO AND FROM of the Kamchadal also contain the ending *-nk*, while in Chukchee and Koryak they are formed by the endings *-gt*, and *-gǫpǫ* (see §§ 40-43). The distinct origin of these elements may still be recognized in Kamchadal by the fact that the termination for TOWARD always, that for FROM generally, causes ablaut, while the *-nk* of the locative is neutral. For DIRECTION FROM we find, for instance—

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| <i>kist</i> house | <i>ki'stenk</i> in or from the house |
| | <i>kē'stank</i> to the house |
| <i>kix</i> river | <i>ki'x'enk</i> in or on the river |
| | <i>kē'x'ank</i> to or from the river |
| <i>txu'ntxun</i> darkness | <i>txu'ntxunk</i> in the darkness |
| | <i>txo'ntxonk</i> to the darkness |
| <i>a'tinäm</i> village | <i>a'tinünk</i> or <i>a'tinük</i> in, to, or from the village |

These forms may be related to the possessive form of the Koryak proper names (see § 39).

§ 39. PERSONAL NOUNS

-(I)*nä*. Subjective and possessive of proper names of persons and of a few appellative nouns.

Ye'tilinä Yetilin's

a'tēna father's (*a'tE* FATHER, in the language of children)

apa'i'nina grandfather's (*apa'i'nin* < *epē-yñin* GRANDFATHER, in the language of children)

epēqä'yinä grandmother's (*epē'qäi* < *epē-qäi* GRANDMOTHER, in the language of children)

tumg'i'inä friend's (*tumg'i'ninä*, in the pronunciation of women)

Telpüñe'nä lo'o things seen by Telpüñe R 379, no. 142 title

Tño'tirgina tr'lqätyü'k I go to Tño'tirgin 120.36

n'rkē- a certain one, *gut* another one (§ 60), all personal demonstratives and interrogatives (§ 58) have the same forms.

-(I)*nak* (Kor. Kam.). Probably formed from the suffix *-(r)na* and the possessive *-k*.

Mit'i'nak Miti's Kor. 15.11

Pič'qala'nak Bird-Man Kor. 16.4

Ačč'e'pinak Ačč'e'pin's

wu'tininak this one's

mi'kinak who Kor. 12.7

NOTE.—The subjective of the personal pronoun in *-nan* may be related to this form. The possessive form of these pronouns, however, is formed in *-n* (see § 56)

Allative and Ablative (§§ 40–43.)

§ 40. ALLATIVE OF COMMON NOUNS, CHUKCHEE AND KORYAK

-gtI, *-êti*, *-wtI* (Chukchee); *-ÿtI* (*ñ*), *-etI* (*ñ*) (Koryak), expresses THE DIRECTION TO, also THE INDIRECT OBJECT, ON ACCOUNT OF, FOR THE BENEFIT OF.

In Chukchee *-gtI* is used after vowels, except *o*;

-êti after consonants;

-wtI, after *o*.

Examples of *-gtI* after vowels:

qaa'gtI tI' lqätyä^εk I went to the reindeer

añqa'gtI eiñe'utkui^ε he called to the sea 8.5; also 49.5; 25.5

gñqgñgäcä'gtI to the seaside 49.6

nöta'gtI to the country 51.2

čaučuwä'gtI to the reindeer-breeder 48.9

yara'gtI to the house 105.27

lälä'gtI to the eye

ä^εlä-qöplä'gtI on an excrement-pile 45.5

kälä'gtI to a kele 97.12

gïrgola'gtI upward 16.5

gïrgogčä'gtI upward 47.4

anvê'nauka'gtI to an unbroken one 50.12 (*ä—kä* not)

ta'lva-pä'lko-vê^ε'gtI to one merely dying of old age 21.7

akka'gtI tre'tyä^εn I brought it for the son

qaa'gtI on account of the reindeer 48.12

uwäqočê'gtI on account of the husband 48.12

Examples of *-êti* after consonants:

kaltê'tI to the bottom 9.7

naranêntitko'ññöñin notas'qê'tI it shall be thrown on the ground
25.3; also 16.7

mêmlê'tI to the water 48.5

ra^εulê'tI to the whaler 46.5

a^εqa'kamaanvê'tI to the owners of bad dishes 96.7

rïmnê'tI to the inner skin

ñöčê'tI to the poor ones 96.26

ELIgê'tI qäti' he went to the father 109.3

yê'čamêt-to'mgêti qäti' he went to the brothers 110.1

tñarrgê'tI to the dawn 41.7

yê^εlhê'tI to the moon 41.11

- pênnyolhê'ti* on to the hearth 32.7
gino'nêti to the middle 10.7; 16.8
ergip-ya'lhêti on account of the bright moon 14.11

Examples of *-wti*, *-uti*, after *o*

- qaaračikou'ti* under the sledge-cover 110.8
yorou'ti to the sleeping-room 39.10
mêmličikou'ti into the water 17.4

-ïti, -eti (Koryak)

-ïti used after all vowels.

- yaya'ïti* to the house (*yaite'ti* verbal, from *yaite'kin* Kor. 17.3)
yoyo'ïti to the sleeping-room
lêlâ'ïti to the eye
gîçgôlai'ti to the upper part Kor. 20.1
yinoi'ti to the rear storeroom Kor. 35.6

-eti after consonants.

- yipnê'ti* to the inner skin
ôlhrwê'tiñ to the cache Kor. 36.3
yinootñê'ti into the vent-hole Kor. 43.3

Here belong the allatives of the locative demonstratives and interrogatives, which take *-ri* in Chukchee.

| | Chukchee | Koryak | Kamchadel |
|------------------|----------------|---|---------------|
| whither | <i>mî'ñkri</i> | <i>menkei'ti</i> | <i>ma'nke</i> |
| hither | — | <i>wočai'ti</i> | |
| thither | <i>eñkri</i> | { <i>änka'i'tiñ</i> <i>enka'i'ti</i> Kor. 17.2 | |
| thither (midway) | <i>va'änřê</i> | <i>vaieñai'ti</i> | |
| thither | <i>ñe'nři</i> | <i>ñanka'i'ti</i> | |

§ 41. ALLATIVE OF PERSONAL NOUNS

-(I)na TO, TOWARDS. Used only with proper names, personal demonstratives, and with a few appellative nouns.

- Ya'tilna* to Yetil in
a'têna to father (*a'tê* FATHER, in the language of children)
apaï'ñna to grandfather (*apaï'ñin* [*< epê-yñin*], GRANDFATHER in the language of children)
apaga'yina to grandmother (*epê'qäi* [*< epê-qäi*] GRANDMOTHER in the language of children)
tômge'êna to the friend (*tô'mginna*, in the pronunciation of women)
wo'tqanêna (Kor. Kam. *wo'tenena*) to this one
mê'kêna (Kor. Kam. *mê'kena*) to whom

-(I)na(ñ) (Kor. Kam.) TOWARDS, TO. Used only with proper names. Pronouns belonging to this group have *na* like the corresponding Chukchee form.

Aččepina(ñ) to Aččepina
Metena to Miti Kor. 43.2

The related suffix, *-(i)ñ* or *-na(ñ)*, may be used with a few appellative nouns; *-iti* (see § 40) occurs as well.

ta'tañ or *ta'tanañ* to father; *ta'tana* Kor. 74.15 (*ta'ta* FATHER, in the language of children); but *ila'iti* to the mother

§ 42. ABLATIVE IN *-gǔpǔ*

-ǧpǔ, *-êpǔ*, *-gǧpǔ* (Chukchee) FROM, OUT OF, ACROSS, ALONG.
-ǧpǔ with stems ending in a vowel.

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>lêla'ǧpǔ</i> from the eye | <i>pottinai'pǔ</i> by the holes 47.2 |
| <i>Roltannênai'pǔ</i> from Rulte'n- nin 124.8 (see § 31, 4) | <i>añqañqabai'pǔ</i> from the seaside 49.8 (see § 31, 4) |
| <i>qaai'pǔ lei'wulin</i> along the reindeer (herd) the walking one | <i>qaacikoi'pǔ</i> from the herd 51.2 <i>pagtalkoi'pǔ</i> along the crevices 22.6 |
| <i>ñarginoi'pǔ</i> from outside 12.10 (see § 31, 4; of <i>ñargi- no'lin</i> that staying in the outer tent) | <i>čottagničikoi'pǔ</i> from the outer tent 131.5 <i>êučai'pǔ</i> from below 131.5 <i>en'kêčikoi'pǔ</i> from there (inside) 131.12 |
| <i>golê-notai'pu</i> from another land 14.12; 113.11; 136.21 | |
| <i>notai'pǔ nilei'vuqinet</i> they walked along the (open) land 17.9 | |

-gǧpǔ mostly with stems ending in a single consonant.

va'amgǧpǔ from the river
nimni'mgǧpǔ ni'pkir-mu'ri we came from the settlement 10.12
pêpê'ggǧpǔ by the ankle 50.11

-êpǔ mostly with stems ending in two consonants.

orgê'pu from the sledge
lautê'pǔ ki'plmên he struck him across the head (see 8.1)
ronmê'pǔ from under the outer tent-cover 12.9
yikirgê'pu across its mouth 115.1
čot-tagnê'pǔ from the outer tent
gamga-va'irgê'pǔ among all beings 22.2
ranmê'pǔ from the border of the house 130.16
êpi'nmêpǔ from under the wall 130.16

-ê'pu (only in Koryak II, in a number of dialects; for instance, in the village of *Ki'čhin* in Kamchatka).

nute'pu gałai'vulin he walked along the open land

§ 43. POST-POSITIONS IN *-nk*, *-nq*, *-ñq*, *-(n)qo*, *-ñqorI*

-ñqo (Koryak I) FROM, OUT OF (not with the meaning ACROSS, ALONG).

lələ'ñqo from the eye

egə'ñko from heaven Kor. 33.4

kɪplə'gɪgɪñko out of the bottom of the mortar Kor. 53.3

mənka'ñqo (*mañe'ñko* Kor. 33.7) whence

wotčə'ñqo from here

ñanka'ñqo thence

ña'nakañqo Kor. 42.3

änka'nqo from there

va'i'eñqo from there (not very far)

-nqo, **-ñqorI** (Chukchee) FROM, not free; only in the following adverbs:

mé'nqo and *mêñqorI* whence (*mé'ñko* 113.19)

ño'onqo and *ño'oñqorI* from there (far off) (*ño'onko* 76.5; 131.8)

va'ENqo *va'äñqo* and *va'änqorI* from there (not very far)

ño'tENqo and *ño'triñqorI* from behind the speaker

ra'ENqo from behind the person addressed

ñu'nqu and *ñunqu'ri* from there

E'ñqo, 86.18 *en'qo'ro* 65.18 and *enqorI* from there 125.3;

wotqo, *wotqoro* 124.10 and *wotqorI* from here

(*ña'nqo* means, however, simply HERE)

ña'nko 12.7 From this is formed the ablative *ñan'ko'pü*.

ña'niko there Kor. 32.1

qoro' COME HERE! (Kor. *qoyo* is probably the exclamatory form for *ña'nqorI* HITHER. The latter form is rarely used. Kor.

Kam. *qo'yin* HITHER is perhaps the ablative of the same form.

qoro' ña'nko then come here! R 73.76 *qo'ro* 101.3

-nk (Kamchadal). Used in most oblique cases. Since all Kamchadal stems end in consonants, this suffix requires a connecting vowel which corresponds in character to the vowel of the stem.

ï, *ĩ*, *ę*, *u*, *ü*, *ɛ*, are found in this position.

The allative always has the strong form of the connecting vowel.

The suffix often takes the termination *-e*.

sün the wood

sünk from the wood

sö'nke to the wood

kix the sea

kixenk from the sea

kixanke to the sea

lül the eye

lül'lank from the eye

lül'lank to the eye

E'nki there

ño'nke there, thus

ma'nke whence, whither, how

§ 44. Post-positions of Plurals of Personal Nouns

The plurals of personal nouns form their locative, allative, ablative (§§ 39, 41), and possessives (p. 709) by adding the stem of the pronoun (*i*)*rg* THEY (Kor. Kam. [*i*]y) to the stem. The allative and ablative forms differ, however, somewhat, from the forms of the independent pronoun.

stem (*i*)*rg* THEY

| | Independent pronoun. | Suffix of plural of personal noun. |
|--------------------------|----------------------|--|
| absolute | <i>E' rri</i> | — |
| allative | <i>Erika' gi</i> | — <i>Erik</i> |
| ablative | <i>Erikai' pü</i> | — <i>i' rgü pü</i> |
| <i>qla' ul</i> man | | <i>qlauli' rgü pü</i> from the people |
| <i>ora' wêlan</i> person | | <i>orawêla' rgên</i> belonging to men |
| <i>Tiña' p</i> (a name) | | <i>Tiña' perik</i> with <i>Tiña' p</i> and his family (locative and allative) <i>Tiña' pirgên</i> belonging to <i>Tiña' p</i> 's family, belonging to <i>Tiña' p</i> ¹ |

Kor. Kam.:

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>Pipi' kč̄a-ña' wqut</i> Mouse-Woman | <i>Pipi' kč̄a-ña' wqutiyik</i> by Mouse-Women Kor. 31.1 |
| <i>Annimaya' t</i> Frost-Man | <i>Annimaya' tiyik</i> by those with the Frost-Man Kor. 38.9 |
| <i>Ai' ginvi</i> With-Odor - Pushing - Away | <i>Ai' ginvi' yikriñ</i> to the people of With - Odor - Pushing - Away Kor. 63.6 |
| <i>Quyqinn' aqu</i> Big-Raven | <i>Quyqinn' aqoyika' i' ti</i> to the Big-Raven's people Kor. 19.9; 35.6 |

The *k* in the suffixes of these forms is evidently related to the *k* which appears in the allative and ablative of the independent pronoun derived from the stem (*i*)*rg* (Chukchee), as given in § 56.

Miti' s' hin belonging to Miti Kor, 28.7

Quyqinn' aqu' êhin belonging to Big-Raven Kor. 28.7

Here Koryak *s' h* and *êh* are analogous to Chukchee *rg*.

¹ In cases of this kind the plural is often used to refer to the person himself.

§§ 45-50. Form in -in

§ 45. GENERAL REMARKS

A considerable number of forms ending in -in occur, which are seminominal in character. I have found—

| | | | |
|----------|--------------------|-----------|---------------|
| Chukchee | Koryak | Kamchadal | |
| -in | -in | -in | possessive |
| -kin | -kin | -in, -n | pertaining to |
| -lin | -la ^ε n | | measure of a |
| | | | quality |
| ni-qin | ni-'qin | | quality of |
| ge-lin | ga-lin | | possessor of |

All of these form their plural and post-positional forms by adding the vowel ε before the affix added to -in. For example:

| | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| | Chukchee | Koryak Kam. |
| Absolute | nime'lqin | nima'lqin |
| Subjective | nimelqine'tä | nimalqina'ta |
| Locative | nime'lqinek | nima'lqinak |
| Plural-Dual | nime'lqinet ¹ | nima'lqinat |
| Plural | | nima'lqinaw |

On the whole, forms of this type with post-positions are rare.

mi'ñkri-va'lit ple'kit tegge'ñu ninelqigit? Nime'yñqinet mei-mitinet. How do you want your boots? I want large ones (*mi'ñkri* how; *va'lit* being, pl. (§ 54); *ple'kit* boots pl.; *teggeñ* desire; -u serving for; *ni-* prefix of nominalized verb [§ 73]; -nelg to have; -git thou; *ni-qinet* nominalized form of verb, pl.; *mē'iñ* large, *m-* 1st per. exhortative; *eimit* to take; -net [I]—them, exhortative)

To the question *rä^ε-ne'lhä gerku^εlin?* With what kind of skins has it been bought? (*req* what; *ne'lhin* skin; -ä instrumental; *ge-lin* nominalized verb [§ 73]; -rkur to buy) one may answer—

niteñqine'tä with good ones (*ni-qin* nominalized verb; *ni-qine'tä* instrumental of this form; *teñ* good);

but it is better to avoid the nominalized form with suffix, and to say, *ten-ne'lhä* with a good skin

em-tē'n-ñila nike'i^ε the sportful people teased him (*em-* mere; *tē'n-ñila* subjective form of *tē'n-ñilin* sportful [the corresponding verb with the suffix -eu is *ten-ñe'urkin* TO LAUGH]; *nike'i^ε* indefinite pronominal verb, *nike'rk^εin* TO DO SOMETHING)

¹ Men's pronunciation *nime'lqεεt*.

These forms, however, have definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms.

| | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>tɛ̃n̄</i> good | <i>nɪt'ɛ̃n̄</i> | definite form <i>nɪtanq̃-na'ɛ̃n̄</i> (see § 53) |
| | <i>tɛ̃n̄iɛ̃n̄</i> (see § 55) | augmentative form <i>tañiɛ̃i'yñin</i> (see § 98, no. 1) |
| | <i>ta'ñum-valin</i> (see § 76) | augmentative form <i>ta'ñum-vali'yñin</i> |
| | <i>tand'ya'n</i> (see § 104.38) | diminutive form <i>tand'ya'novuai</i> |

In Koryak these forms are not found, as a rule.

§ 46. SUFFIX *-in*.

-in (Kor. *-in*; Kamchadal *-in*) expresses material of which an object is made, and possession.

(a) Material.

- u'ttin* wooden (Kor. *u'ttin*)
- q̃a'lg̃ɛ̃n̄ ñm ɛ̃vi'rɪt* bird dresses 7.8
- q̃a'lh̃ɛ̃n̄ i'rɪn̄* bird clothes 14.3
- q̃o'r̃ɛ̃n̄ n̄ɛ̃lh̃ɪn̄* reindeer-skins 14.4
- ɛ̃l̃ɛ̃'lin̄ ql̃a'ul* man of excrement 39.6
- yãq̃o'ñi w̃y'kw̃ɛ̃n̄* house of stone 92.5
- k̃o'n̄ɛ̃n̄* made of horse (hair) (stem *k̃o'n̄ɛ̃* from Russian конь)
- r̃ɪ'gr̃ɪ'g̃ɛ̃n̄* made of hair

Koryak:

- kuka'kin gatai'kilin* it is made of a kettle Kor. 78.1
- mi'm̄ɛ̃n̄* (made) of a louse Kor. 78.1

The same idea is also expressed by composition.

- q̃a'lg̃a-na'lh̃ɪn̄* bird-skin
- u'tti-yu'ñi* wooden whale Kor. 40.9

(b) Possessive. Used only in absolute form.

- ɛ̃'kk̃ɪn̄* the son's (Kor. Kam. *a'kk̃ɪn̄*)
(Kamchadal *i'c̃ɛ̃ɪn̄* the father's)
- q̃o'r̃ɛ̃n̄* the reindeer's (Kor. Kam. *q̃o'yen*; Kamchadal *k!o'jan*)
- ɛ̃q̃a'ɛ̃ũw̃ɛ̃n̄ ñɛ̃'w̃ɛ̃n̄* the reindeer-breeder's wife 48.6
- ɛ̃'kk̃ɪn̄ ỹõr̃o'ñi* the son's sleeping-room 53.8
- ɪ̃p̃ɪn̄q̃'ɛ̃h̃ɛ̃ɛ̃n̄ ELI'g̃ɪn̄ɛ̃n̄ ỹõr̃o'ñi* the old man's, the father's sleeping-room 53.9
- tu'm̄g̃ɪn̄* stranger's (see p. 689) 53.9
- q̃o'w̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃n̄ ãɪm̄ãk̃ɪ'yñin* a man's big body 90.14

- ñaws'qa'tērñinên* ELA' the woman's father 85.22
ñĕ'ĕkkĭn ya'nřa ygrō'ñi daughter's separate sleeping-room 28.3
ñĕ'ĕkkĭn čo'tčot the daughter's bag pillow 29.4
grō'wĕlĕn qa'mqa-tĕ'čirgin man's every source of illness 24.3
kĕ'le-ñĕ'us'qätin kĕ'rĕkĕr the combination-suit of the kele-woman
 85.33
qla'ulqaiĕn i'rin the man's suit 85.35
ñinqa'yin evi'rin the child's clothes 25.8
Ku'urkilin e'kik Ku'urkil's son 79.23
Tño'tirginĕn Tño'tirgin's 120.16
Umqäqäi'in U'mqäqäi's 63.12

Koryak:

- tami'nñi-qla'wulen ñawa'kak* an artisan's daughter Kor. 24.10
awa'ñi-ñä'win ñawa'kak the daughter of a seamstress Kor. 25.2
tu'mginau kawa'ssočhu other people's wallets Kor. 46.1
qo'yen gitča'lñin reindeer-leg Kor. 53.3

Proper names form their possessives of this type also with the suffix *-(r)n*, especially when the terminal sound of the stem is a vowel.

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| <i>A'nna</i> (a name) | <i>A'nnan</i> belonging to A'nna |
| <i>Qutu'wgi</i> (a name) | <i>Qutu'wgin</i> belonging to Qutu'wgi |
| <i>Aiñanwa't</i> (a name) | <i>Aiñanwa'tin</i> and <i>Aiñanwa'tĕn</i> belonging |
| <i>Upe'nken</i> belonging | to Aiña'nwat. |
| to Upenke R72.13 | |
| <i>Ñiro'nĕn</i> belonging | |
| to Ñiro'n R377, | |
| 141 title. | |

In Koryak the suffix *-in*, characteristic for the postpositional forms of proper names, is sometimes inserted before the possessive suffix *-in*.

- Amamqut'inin ña'witqat* Ememqut's woman Kor. 45.1.
Quyqinn'acqu'nin ñawa'kak Brig Raven's daughter Kor. 76.14

The plural takes the regular plural ending *-ĕt* (Kor. Kam. *-at* dual, *-au* plural, Kamchadal *-č'ĕn* instead of *-in*)

- ĕ'kkĭnĕt* those of the son (Kor. Kam. *a'kkĭnat* dual, *a'kkĭnau* pl.)
 (Kamchadal *i'čxĕĕn* those of the father)

Often, however, the singular is used instead of the plural.

The possessive forms of proper names have no plural.

The possessive pronoun is evidently based on this suffix. It has, however, somewhat irregular forms.

| | Chukchee | | Kor. Kam. | | Kamchadal | |
|----------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| | Per. Pron. | Poss. Pron. | Per. Pron. | Poss. Pron. | Per. Pron. | Poss. Pron. |
| 1st per. sing. | <i>güm</i> | <i>gümnî'n</i> | <i>güm̄ma</i> | <i>gümnî'n</i> | <i>ki'mma</i> | <i>ki'ma'n</i> |
| 2d per. sing. | <i>gīt</i> | <i>gini'n</i> | <i>gi'ssa</i> | <i>gini'n</i> | <i>ki'ja</i> | <i>ki'ni'n</i> |
| 3d per. sing. | <i>Ena'n</i> | <i>Eni'n</i> | <i>E'nnu</i> | <i>ani'n</i> | <i>Ena'</i> | <i>Ena'n</i> |
| 1st per. pl. | <i>mu'ri</i> | <i>mu'rgin</i> | <i>mu'yu</i> | <i>mu'čhin</i> | <i>mi'ja</i> | <i>mi'jgin</i> |
| 2d per. pl. | <i>tu'ri</i> | <i>tu'rgin</i> | <i>tu'yu</i> | <i>tu'čhin</i> | <i>tu'ja</i> | <i>ti'jkin</i> |
| 3d per. pl. | <i>E'rri</i> | <i>E'rgin</i> | <i>a'čču</i> | <i>a'čhin</i> | <i>itx</i> | <i>txi'in</i> |

The Koryak dual has no possessive forms.

Plural and dual are formed in the same way as in all attributive terms in *-in*:—

| | Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Kamchadal |
|------------|------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| my | <i>gümnî'net</i> (pl.) | <i>gumni'nat</i> (dual) <i>gumni'nau</i> (pl.) | <i>ki'ma^εn</i> (pl.) |

From these possessives, forms with suffixes originate.

gümnine'tä (Kor. Kam. *gümnina'ta*) with mine.

It is, however, more customary to use the personal pronoun with the suffix instead.

gõmõkaï'pü qäi'mityin TAKE IT FROM ME! (instead of TAKE IT FROM MINE) (*gõmõkaï'pü* see § 56; *q—gin* imperative; *eimit* to take)

Demonstrative pronouns form two possessive forms:

| | | |
|----------------|--|---------------------|
| <i>wo'tqan</i> | { <i>wo'tqanên</i> and <i>wo'tqanENên</i> | } belonging to this |
| this | { (men's pronunciation <i>wo'tqäên</i> and <i>wo'tqäENên</i>) | |
| <i>Enqa'n</i> | { <i>Enqä'nên</i> and <i>E'nqanENên</i> | } belonging to that |
| that | { (men's pronunciation <i>Enqä'ên</i> and <i>EnqaENên</i>) | |

The forms in —*enin* may be considered as compounded with the possessive of the third person singular personal pronoun *eni'n*, so that they would be parallel to the plural forms of the demonstrative possessives discussed in § 58, p.729: *wo'tqanERGên* (man's pronunciation *wo'tqäERGên*) and *E'nqanERGên* (man's pronunciation *E'nqäERGên*).

The possessives of proper names in Koryak are formed in the same manner; as

Quyqinnaqu'nin ñawa'kak Big-Raven's daughter Kor. 76.14.

Amamqu'tinin ña'witqat Ememqut's woman Kor. 45.1.

Kamchadal uses the suffixes with the possessive pronoun quite frequently.

ki'ma'n^lin^l with my ears (*ki'man* my; *-l* instrumental; *in* ear)

mi'nen^l x'va'n^l with which knife?

i'knin^l kcx'ol' with other dogs

§ 47. SUFFIX *-kin*

-kin (Kor. Kam. *-kin*; Kamchadal *-in*, *-n*) PERTAINING TO. This suffix is added to all kinds of stems,—nominal, pronominal, verbal, and adverbial.

- gñgg'kên* of the sea 69.9 (Kor. Kam. *gñgg'qen* Kor. 76.17)
tele'nkîn pertaining to the remote past (*tele'n-yep* long ago); Kor.
 Kam. *ankrye'pkin* (stem *ankr-ye'p*)
erga'tkin pertaining to to-morrow (Kor. Kam. *miti'wkin*)
pi'lhikin pertaining to the throat 9.3
a'ttwile'kin pertaining to the people of the boats 11.9; 12.1
a'ttwukin pertaining to the boat 14.6
qe'ptikin pertaining to the back 16.10
tile'kin pertaining to motion 16.10
mê'mlikên pertaining to water 25.6
kele'kin pertaining to spirits 104.26
g'rgukên pertaining to a sledge 62.11
qoi'ma-rg'kên pertaining to the rear sleeping-room 55.8
nute's'qâkin *ti'mkilhin* a ground hummock 62.5
telenye'pkin belonging to olden times 61.5
mênkô'kên whence belonging? 113.20
wañê'ken working, referring to work (from *wañê*)
yilqâ'tkin referring to sleep

Forms with post-positions are rare.

girgôlkênâ'ta by the one belonging above 126.6

The possessive of the personal and of some demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, with the suffix *-kin* (Kor. Kam. *-kin*) expresses THAT PERTAINING TO—

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Kamchadal | |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>murike'kin</i> | <i>muyka'kin</i> (dual) | — | { one being with us, one of ours one of our country |
| | <i>mučka'kin</i> (pl) | — | |
| <i>tite'kin</i> | <i>tita'kin</i> | <i>ite'an</i> , <i>ite'nan</i> | { from what time being |
| <i>miñke'kin</i> } <i>mênko'kên</i> } | <i>miñkakin</i> Kor. 66.11 | <i>mi'nein</i> | from where being, belonging to what country |
| <i>wutke'kin</i> | <i>wutča'kin</i> | <i>ta'nin</i> | belonging here |
| — | <i>minka'kinau</i> | — | whose? Kor. 60.4 |
| — | <i>ya'qkinau</i> | — | of what kind (pl.) Kor. 64.14 |
| — | <i>ñanka'kenat</i> | — | the two belonging there Kor. 70.22 |

Here belong also the following Chukchee forms:

en'ke'kin belonging there

nen'ku'kin belonging there (farther on)

raenqa'kên belonging there (not very far, midway to)

vaenqa'kên belonging there (behind the person addressed)

notinqa'kên belonging there (behind the speaker)

Such Koryak forms as *minka'kila^{en}* BELONGING TO WHAT COUNTRY (Kor. 40.7), *ganika'kila^{en}* BELONGING TO THAT COUNTRY (Kor. 40.7), combine two suffixes, *-kin* and *-la^{en}*, and refer to persons.

Temporal adverbs also take this suffix.

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | |
| <i>i'gitkin</i> | <i>a'ehikin</i> | what belongs to the present |
| <i>tite'kin</i> | <i>tita'kin</i> | belonging to which time |

Numeral predicates with the ending *-kin* express ordinal numbers.

MILinkau'kên or *MILinka'ulm* the fifth

§ 48. SUFFIX *-lin*

-lin (Kor. Kam. *-la^{en}*) (oblique cases formed from *-l*, Kor. *-l*) expresses the measure of a quality.

miñke'mil qe'tvulin what likeness strong? (i. e., how strong?);
Kor. Kam. *menke'mič qa'tvula^{en}*; Kor. Par. *menke'mis' qe'tvula^{en}*

en'ke'mil gitte'piliüm that likeness I am sensible (i. e., I am so sensible) (*en'ke* that; *-iüm* [§73])

With the prefix *qe-* it indicates the possessor of an object.

qe-lin (Chukchee), *qa-lin* (Kor. Kam). This is identical with the verbal forms given in § 73. It expresses possession.

qa-qa'g-len (Kor. Kam. *qa-qya'-len*) he who has reindeer

g-ekke'-lin (Kor. Kam. *g-akka'-lin*) he who has sons

garai'-git thou who hast a home 89.7 (see § 73).

qa-pêla'-i-güm I have left

qa-qa'-i-güm I who have reindeer.

Koryak:

| *gavaginña'len* with nails Kor. 24.2

| *gaŋa'lin* with eyes Kor. 24.2

§ 49. SUFFIX *-qin*

n(I)—*qin* and *-lin* (Chukchee), *n(I)*—*qin* (Kor. Kam.), are added to stems, most of which express a quality. Many of these are also bases of intransitive and transitive verbs which are formed with the suffixes *-eu* or *-et* (see p. 810). Some verbs, however, are formed without these suffixes.

The attributive terms in *n(I)*—*qin* are identical in form with the verbal mode in *n(I)*—*qin*, discussed in § 73. When the verb has no verbifying suffix *-eu* or *-et*, the verbal form and the attributive term are the same, and the verbal form seems to assume nominal functions. It may even take post-positions.

Examples of stems that are verbified by means of the suffixes *-eu* or *-et*:

| | | |
|---|-------------------------|--------------|
| Stems <i>têrg-</i> ; <i>têrgat</i> to weep | <i>ni-tê'r-ä-qên</i> or | } tearful |
| | <i>tê'rg-l-lin</i> | |
| Stem <i>kim-</i> ; <i>kime'u</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>kima'w-</i> [<i>ikim</i>]) | <i>ni-ké'm-ä-qin</i> | } slow-going |
| | <i>ni-ké'm-a-qin</i> | |
| Stem <i>ayilh-</i> ; <i>ayilhau</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>ayil'hav</i>) | <i>n-ayil'-ä-qên</i> | } fearful |
| | <i>n-ayil'-a-gen</i> | |

Examples of words that take no verbifying suffix:

Stem *no-*; *ni-no'-qên* poor, needy

Stem *tam-pêra-*; *ni-tam-pêra'qên* pretty

A number of words expressing qualities do not take the forms in *ni-qin*.

üpl'li (stem *üplil*); (Kor. Kam. *ipl'li* [stem *iplil*]), yellowish

é'tqin (stem *é'tqin* and *äqä*); (Kor. Kam. *a'é'tcin* [stem *a'é'tca*];

Kor. Par. *é'tqên* [stem *äqä*]); bad

gümnv'n qa'at é'tqin my reindeer are bad

also *uvv'li* (stem *uvvle*) and *nu'uqin* (stem *uu'*) Kor. Kam. *nu'qin* [stem *u*], black

When used in nominal form, such adjectives take the usual suffixes.

é'tqin a bad one

é'tqin'in or *äqä'ên* a worse one

a'é'tqên'in or *aqam'-va'lin* a bad or worse one

a'é'tqên'd'ya'n or *aqaya'n* one who is bad

Examples of forms in *-lin* are given in § 54.

For other adjective forms see § 76.

¹ This stem consists of two consonants *uu* < *uw* which form a vocalic unit.

§ 50. KAMCHADAL SUFFIXES

-lāx, -lāx, is added to stems expressing qualities:

ö'm-lax (from *öm*) deep (cf. Chukchee *num-qin* broad)

iulāx (from *iul*) long (cf. Chukchee *n-iu'l-ä-qin*)

o'lo-lax (from *olo*) small.

The plural of these is formed with the usual suffix $-(i)^{en}$

ololax-i^{en} ki' str^{en}ě small little houses.

In post-positional forms the attribute forms a compound with the noun:

o'lolax-kê' stčanke to the small houses.

Several adjectival forms borrowed from Russian and Koryak II are also used.

vo'stroi' xvalě, ni'ruqin xvalě a sharp knife.

nvê'thaqên u^h a straight tree.

Here *vo'stroi* is Russian, *ni'ruqin* and *nvê'thaqên* are Koryak II. The last forms the Kamchadal plural *nvê'tha^la^{en} u^h'hr^{en}*.

k!-in ($-ffan$) corresponds to the Chukchee and Koryak forms in *n(i)-qin* (§ 49), and is used with verbal themes expressing qualities as well as with intransitive verbs.

k!-ni'ta-in (Chukchee *ni-gite'p-qin*) clever

k!-nu'-in (from *nu* TO EAT) voracious

k!-vêta't- an (from *vêtat* TO WORK) laborious

k!-kĩñin seems to correspond to the Chukchee and Koryak forms in *gē-lin* (§ 48), and is used with intransitive verbs.

k!-nu'-kĩñin (from *nu* TO EAT) the one who ate

Both of these suffixes are also used with the transitive verb, *k!-in* with verbs of Type I (see § 70, p. 744), *k!-kĩñin* with verbs of Type II (see § 71, p. 746). These forms have a passive meaning.

-kĩl', pl. **-kĩl'a^{en}**, forms the personal noun of intransitive verbs.

nu'kil', pl. *nu'kil'a^{en}*, the one who is eating

vêta'tkal', pl. *vêtatkal'a^{en}*, the one who busies himself

colkêl', pl. *colkêl'a^{en}*, the one who lies down

With transitive verbs it expresses the same idea.

talkil' the one who beats

ke'jkil' the one who keeps

Suffixes in $-I(n)$ §§ 51-55

§ 51. GENERAL REMARKS

A considerable number of nominal suffixes have the termination $-n$ in the absolute form. Some of these occur only in the absolute form.

$-lhin$ (Kor. $-lñin$)

$-lñin$, $-lñin$ (Kor. $-lñin$)

$-ġhin$ (Kor. $-ġñin$)

- ĕġñin* (Kor. -*ĕñin*)
- ġñin* augmentative (§ 98, No. 1)
- ġġrġin* (§ 106, No. 44) (Kor. -*ġeñin*, -*ġitñin* -*ġicñin*) abstract noun
- ĕin*
- lin*
- tkin* (Kor. Kam. -*tĕĕin*) surface

§ 52. SUFFIXES -*lh-* and -*lġñ-*

-*lh*(*ġIn*) (Kor. -*lñġIn*), the absolute form of a suffix -*lh-*, which occurs with great frequency as the absolute form of certain words. In most cases it is not retained with other suffixes, although cases of its retention are also numerous.

- lĕlā'lhġin* eye (stem *lĕle*)
- tġmġkġlġhġin* (and *tġmġkitġin*) hummock 79.2 (stem *tġmġk* 62.7; but *tġmġkġlġhĕ'tġ* 62.5)
- mĕlġlġtā'lhġin* hare 78.24 (stem *mġlġutĕ* 78.15)
- rĕġġġġā'lhġin* fox 78.3 (stem *rġġġġĕ* 78.12)
- wġ'kwulġhġin* stone 35.11 (stem *wġkw* 35.11)
- kġ'mġlġhġin*¹ worm 37.3 (stem *kġm* 36.11)
- tamġnā'lhġin* a bivalve shell 9.7 (stem *temune* 9.8)

Koryak:

- | *lĕlā'lñin* eye Kor. 49.5
- | *ġitĕā'lñin* leg Kor. 53.3
- | *pġpġ'kalñin* mouse Kor. 58.7
- | *vā'nñilñin* tooth Kor. 34.3,4

-*lġñ*(*In*) (Kor. -*lñġIn* [*In*], sometimes -*llġñ*[*ġIn*]) is used in the same way as the preceding suffix.

- vā^ĕġlġñin* (stem *vĕġ*) (Kor. Kam. *vā^ĕy-lġñin* [stem *vĕ^ĕy*]) grass

It is not always easy to determine whether the -*lh* belongs to the stem or not.

- ġpā'lhġin* tallow 86.23 (*ġpā'lhā* 87.4)
- kopā'lhġin* walrus-blubber 12.6 (*kopā'lhā* 14.11)
- rĕpā'lhġin* walrus-hide 13.13
- pĕnyo'lhġin* hearth 31.13
- ñawgo'lhġin* old woman 39.5; 40.1
- vamġlqā'lhġin* lip 14.5
- pĕnaka'lhġin* tassel 16.10
- autā'lhġin* obsidian scraper 39.12
- pĕrka'lhġin* boulder 129.6
- rġ'lhġlġñin* and *rĕlġlġñin* wing (stem *rġlh*, *rġl*) 15.2

Of these, the first five stems retain the suffix *lhġ* with post-positions. The primary stem, however, is without this suffix: for instance,

¹ The text has *kġmġlġhġin* because emphasis is laid on the word which is the last in the sentence. If there had been more stress this form would have been *kġmġlġhō'n* (see § 36).

pên̄yo'lh̄in hearth (stem *pin*, absolute form *pi'mpi* powder, ashes)

The following have weak vowels, and it may be assumed that the *lh* belongs to the stem.

pi'lh̄in throat (stem *pi'lh*); (Kor. Kam. *pi'lh̄in* [stem *pi'lh*]). Locative: *pi'lhik'*, *pi'lik*; (Kor. Kam. *pi'lhik*)

ñi'lh̄in thong 48.4

ne'lh̄in skin 7.9

§ 53. SUFFIXES *-čh-* and *-čIñ-*

-čh̄(Iñ), *-čIñ̄(Iñ)* (Kor. *-čh̄[Iñ]*, *čIñ̄[Iñ]*; *-tñ̄[Iñ]*; *-s'ñ̄[Iñ]*,— according to dialect). This suffix seems to express an emphatic form. Sometimes it corresponds to the definite article or designates an object as referred to before. In other cases it might be translated as A PARTICULAR ONE, in contradistinction to other objects of the same or other classes. Some words seem to have the suffix throughout.

Etymologically it may be related to the suffix *-lh̄-*, since *č* and *l* (Kor. *č* and *l*) replace each other frequently (see § 122).

vālg'čh̄in knife (stem *vālg*, absolute *vā'le*); Kor. Kam. *vālg'-čh̄in* (stem *vālg*, absolute *vā'lg*)

rā'mkičh̄in people (stem *rāmk*, absolute *rā'mkin*); Kor. *yā'mkičh̄in* (stem *yāmk*, absolute *yā'mkin*)

ELI'gričh̄in the aforesaid father 19.11

ora'wēlāčh̄in the aforesaid man 18.11

pēnyo'lh̄ičh̄in the aforesaid hearth 32.9

yē'ličh̄in the aforesaid tongue 40.10, 12

lēlā'lh̄ičh̄in the aforesaid eye 106.19

qōlō-a'ē'ttičh̄in a particular kind of dog 121.11

kālā'čh̄in a particular kele 105.14

vā'āmičh̄in a particular river 40.12

lolō'čh̄in a particular penis 26.8

ñā'lvūličh̄in a particular kind of herd 79.6

Koryak:

| *qōlō'wičh̄in* hole Kor. 15.8

| *lawtikr'lēičh̄in* head-band Kor. 17.12

-čIñ̄(Iñ).

ñāwā'nēiñ̄in a particular wife 38.4

ñāus'qā'tēiñ̄in the aforesaid woman 39.7

pāko'lēiñ̄in a particular kind of woman's knife 44.3, 5

NOTE 1.—A number of stems end in *čh̄*, and are not related to this class.

tai'qēh̄ičh̄in the bag mentioned before (stem *teiučh̄*, absolute *te'i-učh̄in*); Kor. Kam. *čai'qēh̄ičh̄in* (stem *čaiučh̄*, absolute *čai'učh̄in*)

NOTE 2.—In words which have the absolute form in *-lh̄-*, *-lyñ-*, the suffix *-čh̄-*, *-čyñ-*, may be added to the stem or to the suffixes *-lh̄-*, *-lyñ-*.

l̄l̄a'lh̄ičh̄in 106.19, or *l̄l̄a'čh̄in* eye (stem *l̄l̄e*, absolute *l̄l̄a'lh̄in*);
Kor. Kam. *l̄l̄al̄h̄ičh̄in* or *l̄l̄a'čh̄in*, (stem *l̄l̄a*, absolute *l̄l̄a'lh̄in*)

§ 54. SUFFIXES *-li-* (*-lɛⁿ*, *-éɛⁿ*)

-li-, *-lɛⁿ*, (Kor. Kam. *-laⁿ*, *-[a][aⁿ*, *-[i][aⁿ* are similar to the participle of the intransitive verb. As suffixes of substantives, they indicate a person related in some more or less direct way to the object.

After stems with terminal vowel *-lin* is used; after the terminal consonant of a stem (except *l*, *r*, *n*, and *t*) the auxiliary vowel *i* is inserted before *-lin*. After terminal *l*, *r*, *n*, and *t*, the suffix *-lɛⁿ* is used, which forms with terminal *l* or *r* the ending *-lɛⁿ*, with terminal *t* the ending *-leⁿ*. With names this ending expresses A PERSON ACTING(?).

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | |
|---|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>r̄i'l̄ɛⁿ</i> (< <i>r̄il</i> + <i>-lɛⁿ</i> ; base <i>r̄il</i>) | <i>yi'l̄aⁿ</i> (base | winged |
| <i>r̄el̄i'liñin</i> | <i>yi'l̄) ye'l̄i'l̄ñin</i> | wing |
| <i>ñaw-k̄é'l̄aⁿ</i> (< <i>k̄ér-lɛⁿ</i>) | <i>ñaw-ke'íl̄aⁿ</i> | clad in woman's dress |
| <i>ya'a'l̄aⁿ</i> (< <i>ya'al-lɛⁿ</i>) | <i>ya'a'l̄aⁿ</i> | that in the rear |
| <i>v̄ɛ'ɛmilin</i> | <i>vaya'milaⁿ</i> | River man |
| <i>a'ñqalin</i> | <i>a'ñqalaⁿ</i> | Maritime man |
| <i>ñá'čhila genpelqu'wlin</i> | | by a left-handed man was he vanquished |

Numeral terms with the ending *-lin* express ordinal numbers.

m̄ilinka'ulin or *m̄ilinkau'k̄én* the fifth

With intransitive verbs this suffix forms the expression THE ONE WHO —.

ÿpa'ulin the one who drinks (stem *ÿpau* to drink) (Kor. *apa'ulaⁿ*
[stem *apau*])

Here belong also

e'čelin the one who is fat (Kor. Kam. *gačá'lin*)

gai'miřilin the rich one¹

Plural, dual, and oblique cases are formed like those of the adjective in *-lin* (§ 49).

Verbal stems terminating in *l* and *r* are contracted with this suffix, and form *-lɛⁿ*.

uñe'lɛⁿ < *uñel-lin* wood-carrier 27.5

te'lɛⁿ < *tel-lin* the suffering one 34.7

rilté'l̄aⁿ one who is lying there 28.6

¹ See §§48, 49. The two examples here given have no corresponding forms in *n(t) -gin*.

i^εl^εn < *i^εr-lin* the one who crosses over
a^εttool^εl^εti *qⁱwkwi^ε* say to the one in front!

In Koryak the corresponding forms are not contracted.

te^εla^εn the suffering one
e^εyla^εn the one crossing over

In Koryak the same suffix is used with transitive verbs to express the actor.

p^εla^εla^εn the one who leaves

In Chukchee the same form, when derived from transitive verbs, requires the prefix *i^εnε-* or the suffix *-tku^ε*.

ε^εnap^εla^εlin } the one who leaves
p^εla^εtk^εlin }

In some cases both forms in *-lin* and in *-kⁱn* (see § 47) are used indiscriminately.

na^εε^εhilin (Kor. Kam. *na^εε^εhal^εn*) or *na^εε^εn^εk^εn* that to the left
mra^εlin (Kor. Kam. *mya^εla^εn*) or *mra^εk^εn* that to the right

Similar forms in *-la^εn* occur in Kamchadal. These seem to be due however, to the influence of the Koryak.

ki^εstila^εn and *ki^εstⁱin* that of the house
atino^εla^εn and *atino^εan* that of the village

§ 55. SUFFIX *-εin-* (*-εε^εn*)

-εin- (*-εε^εn*) (Kor. Kam. *-εa^εn*, Kor. Par. *-sa^εn*) is used principally to express the comparative. The form *-εε^εn* is used after the single terminal consonants *n*, *r*, *l*. With this ending, the object of the comparison assumes the locative form.

m^εl^εε^εn the better one (Kor. Kam. *ma^εla^εn*)

mei^εni^εn the larger one (Kor. Kam. *mai^εni^εca^εn*; Kor. Par. *mei^εni^εsa^εn*)

ia^εm *mi^εki^εn* *ine^εil^εrki^εn* *ta^εaq*, *mei^εni^εn* *um* *qine^εil^εhi^ε* why do you give me the smaller bundle of tobacco? Give me the larger one (*ia^εm* why; *mk* large; *i^εnε-yil-i-rki^εn* you give me [§ 67]; *ta^εaq* tobacco; *m^εi^εni^ε* large; *um* particle expressing slight emphasis; *q-i^εnε-yil-gi^ε* give me! [§ 67]); (Kor. Kam. *me^εnqanqa^ε i^εplu^εca^εn* *ine^εyil^ε* *ta^εwaq*, *mai^εni^εca^εn* *qine^εyil^ε*; Kor. *a^εε^εni^εca^εn* the worst Kor. 30.7)

qa^εmga^ε-qla^εulik *qe^εtvu^εε^εum* I am stronger than all others (*q^εmge-* every; *qla^εul* man; *-k* locative; *qe^εtvu* strong; *-i^εum* [§ 73]); Kor. Kam. *qa^εmga^ε-qla^εwulak* *ina^εn* *qa^εtvu^εε^εum*)

It would seem as if the older meaning of this form were related to *-εhin* THE PARTICULAR ONE. We find, for instance,

ɛ'rmɛɛin the strong man (stem *ɛrmɛ*)

ñɔ'ɛin the poor man (stem *ñɔ*)

This ending has oblique cases:

ya^ɛɛ'pü qäɛvi'gin ɛimqük cut off some rawer part (*ya^ɛ* raw; *-ɛpu* from; *qä-ɛvi-gin* [stem *ɛvi*] to cut [§ 67]; *ɛ'imqük* some)

armačɛ'ti to the strong man

armačɛ'pü from the strong man

The ending appears also in composition without formative endings.

i'npič-akkaɣ'pü from the elder son (*np* old; *ekke* son)

The subjective form of the third person pronoun combined with the suffix *-ɛin* or *vɔ'lin* (Kor. Kam. *-ɛa^ɛn* or *i'tala^ɛn*) expresses our superlative.

ɛna'n mai'ñiɛin (Kor. Kam. *ina'n-mai'ñiɛa^ɛn*)

ɛna'n-ma'yinku-wa'lin (Kor. Kam. *ina'n-ma'yinñkiñ-i'tala^ɛn*) } the largest one

-čei (Kamchadal) expresses the emphatic comparative form of the adjective, and replaces the ending *-laɣ*. As in Chukchee and Koryak, the object of comparison is expressed in the locative form.

ki'mma kɪni'nk ɛiniñčei' I am prettier than you (*ki'mma' I*; *kɪni'nk* on thee; *ɛini'ñlɣ* pretty)

Pronouns (§§ 56-60).

§ 56. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns are —

| | Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Kamchadal |
|------------|--------------------------|--|---------------|
| I . . . | <i>güm</i> | <i>gümna, güm</i> | <i>ki'mma</i> |
| thou . . . | <i>git</i> | <i>gi'ssa,¹ gi</i> | <i>ki'ja</i> |
| he . . . | <i>ɛna'n²</i> | <i>a'nnu</i> | <i>enā'</i> |
| we . . . | <i>mu'ri</i> | { <i>mu'yi</i> (dual) <i>mu'yu</i> (plural) | <i>mu'ja</i> |
| ye . . . | <i>tur'i</i> | { <i>tu'yi</i> (dual) <i>tu'yu</i> (plural) | <i>tu'ja</i> |
| they . . . | <i>ɛ'rrɪ</i> | { <i>a'čči</i> (dual) <i>a'čču</i> (plural) | <i>itɣ</i> |

From these absolute forms, forms analogous to those of the noun are derived. The locative, subjective, and possessive are derived from the stems; while the forms in *-gti*, *-ipu*, of Chukchee, require the suffix *ka* after the pronominal stem. Thus we find the following forms:

¹The Koryak of Paren has *gitā*, although ordinarily *tē* is characteristic of Kamenskoye, *ss* of Paren.

²The particle *ɛlō'n* is also used in the absolute form of the pronoun. Otherwise its meaning is generally weakly concessive, like that of German *doch*.

CHUKCHEE

| | Singular | | | Plural | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| | 1st person | 2d person | 3d person | 1st person | 2d person | 3d person |
| Absolute | <i>güm</i> | <i>gi, gir</i> | <i>Ena'n</i> | <i>mu'ri</i> | <i>tu'ri</i> | <i>E'ri</i> |
| Locative | <i>{gümä'k, gümä'g}</i> | <i>gümä'k, gümä'g</i> | <i>Eni'k, Eni'g</i> | <i>mu'rik, mu'rig</i> | <i>tu'rik, tu'rig</i> | <i>E'rik, E'rig</i> |
| Subjective | <i>{gümä'ki}</i> | <i>gümä'ki</i> | <i>Eni'ki</i> | <i>mu'riki</i> | <i>tu'riki</i> | <i>E'riki</i> |
| Possessive | <i>gümna'n</i> | <i>güna'n</i> | <i>Ena'n</i> | <i>møgina'n</i> | <i>tøgina'n</i> | <i>E'gina'n</i> |
| Allative | <i>gümni'n</i> | <i>güni'n</i> | <i>Eni'n</i> | <i>mu'riin</i> | <i>tu'riin</i> | <i>E'riin</i> |
| | <i>gümäka'gi</i> | <i>gümäka'gi</i> | <i>Enika'gi</i> | <i>mørika'gi</i> | <i>tørika'gi</i> | <i>E'rika'gi</i> |
| | <i>gümäka'gi</i> | <i>gümäka'gi</i> | | | | |
| Ablative | <i>gümäka'pü</i> | <i>gümäka'pü</i> | <i>Enika'pü</i> | <i>mørika'pü</i> | <i>tørika'pü</i> | <i>E'rika'pü</i> |
| | <i>gümäka'pü</i> | | | | | |

KORYAK

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Absolute | <i>gümna</i> | <i>gi'ssa, gi</i> | <i>E'nau</i> | <i>mu'yi</i> | <i>mu'yu</i> | <i>a'ëi</i> | <i>a'ëtu</i> |
| Locative | <i>gü'mak</i> | <i>gi'mak</i> | <i>I'mk</i> | <i>mu'gik</i> | <i>tu'gik</i> | <i>a'ëik</i> | <i>a'ëik</i> |
| Subjective | <i>gümna'n</i> | <i>güna'n</i> | <i>I'na'n</i> | <i>møhina'n</i> | <i>to'hina'n</i> | <i>a'hina'n</i> | <i>a'hina'n</i> |
| Possessive | <i>gümni'n</i> | <i>güni'n</i> | <i>ani'n</i> | <i>mu'ëin</i> | <i>tu'ëin</i> | <i>a'ëin</i> | <i>a'ëin</i> |
| Allative | <i>{gümka'ü}</i> | <i>gümka'ü</i> | <i>I'ka'ü</i> | <i>møka'ü, møkai'ü</i> | <i>to'ka'ü, to'ka'ü</i> | <i>a'ëa'ü</i> | <i>a'ëa'ü</i> |
| | <i>{gü'mkä'n}</i> | <i>gü'mkä'n</i> | <i>I'kä'n</i> | <i>møkä'n, møkä'n</i> | <i>to'kä'n, to'kä'n</i> | <i>a'ëä'n</i> | <i>a'ëä'n</i> |
| Ablative | <i>gümka'nqo</i> | <i>gümka'nqo</i> | <i>tnka'nqo</i> | <i>møka'nqo, møkä'nqo</i> | <i>to'ka'nqo, to'ka'nqo</i> | <i>a'ëä'nqo</i> | <i>a'ëä'nqo</i> |

KAMCHADAL

| | Singular | | | Plural | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| | 1st person | 2d person | 3d person | 1st person | 2d person | 3d person |
| | Absolute | <i>kr'mma</i> | <i>kr'ja</i> | <i>Ena'</i> | <i>mu'ja</i> | <i>tu'ja</i> |
| Locative | <i>kr'ma'nk</i> | <i>kr'm'nk</i> | <i>Ena'nk</i> | <i>mi'gi'nk</i> | <i>tij'ni'nk</i> | <i>tzi'ink</i> |
| Subjective | <i>kr'mlu'n</i> | <i>kr'mu'n</i> | <i>xuud'a</i> | <i>mji'lu'n</i> | <i>tji'lu'n</i> | <i>tlum</i> |
| Possessive | <i>krma'n</i> | <i>kr'm'n</i> | <i>Ena'n</i> | <i>mi'jgin</i> | <i>ti'jin</i> | <i>tzi'bu</i> |
| Allative | <i>[kr'ma'нке</i> | <i>kr'ma'нке</i> | <i>Ena'нке</i> | <i>mi'jga'нке</i> | <i>tij'go'нке</i> | <i>tza'anke</i> |
| Abiative | <i>kr'ma'nk</i> | <i>kr'm'nk</i> | <i>Ena'nk</i> | <i>mi'gi'nk</i> | <i>tij'ni'nk</i> | <i>tzi'ink</i> |

In Chukchee and Koryak there is also a form expressing the aequalis i. e. similar to, of the same size as, according to the wants of.—They are generally used with this suffix—*mič*,—*mil* (§ 102, 30).

| | Chukchee | Koryak |
|-----------------|---------------|---------------|
| similar to me | <i>gü'muw</i> | <i>gü'muw</i> |
| similar to thee | <i>gɪ'nɪw</i> | <i>gɪ'nɪw</i> |
| similar to him | <i>ɛ'nɪw</i> | <i>a'nɪw</i> |
| similar to us | <i>mu'ruw</i> | } not known |
| similar to you | <i>tu'ruw</i> | |
| similar to them | <i>ɛ'riw</i> | |

In both Chukchee and Koryak the plural forms of the first and second persons are often used in place of the singular, without, however, conveying the idea of respect.

amto', *geyɪ'lqät-tu'ri* well, have you slept? (singular or plural)

In Koryak the dual and plural forms are not sharply distinguished.

In Chukchee the plural subjective forms are, in the pronunciation of men, as follows:

mərgäa'n, *tərgäa'n*, *ɛrgäa'n*

In several dialects of Korak II the following forms of the third person plural occur:

Absolute *ɛthu*

Locative *ɛthik*

Subjective *ɛthina'n*

The Kamchadal forms in *itx*, and the Chukchee forms derived from *erg.*, are evidently related to this series.

In both Chukchee and Koryak of Kamenskoye the subjective form is used in some compounds.

gümnä'n čini't myself (Ch. and Kor. Kam.)

In other cases the possessive forms are used:

gümnün čini'tkin (Kor. *gümnü'n čini'nkin*) my own.

The idea of SELF, however, is expressed differently in oblique cases.

kata'm-gomo ka'gtɪ (Chukchee) just to me (i. e., to myself)

čini't wwi'k ga'nmlên he killed himself, (lit. his own body; *wwi'k* body)

Kor. *u'wik qnu'nvon* he consumed himself (literally, his body)

Kor. 56.10.

Kor. *gɪčä't wwi'kinat ganu'linat* he consumed his own legs, lit. legs body belonging to he consumed them Kor. 57.2

The term *wwi'kin* BELONGING TO THE BODY is thus used to express OWN.

We find, however, in Koryak, the pronoun also used in oblique cases to express OWN:

gŭ'mkɪŋ ċinŭ'nkina with my own.

Personal pronouns have also definite, augmentative and diminutive forms, which take the suffix *-onaiolh* following the possessive form of the pronoun.

gŭmŭk-onaiolh-ɪĉh-ê-ŭm big I

These forms are used in jesting, in children's play, etc.

Demonstrative and Interrogative (Indefinite) Pronouns
 (§§ 57-58)

§ 57. PARTICLES AND ABSOLUTE FORMS

The idea of position is expressed with great nicety, and in Chukchee there are nine terms expressing the position of an object in relation to the speaker. In Koryak there are only five, and in Kamchadal I have found only two. The exact relation to the speaker is not quite clear in all of these. In Chukchee the independent form of all of these is formed by the suffix *-qan* (with *n* belonging to the suffix); only one has the ending *-qin*. In Koryak a few have the corresponding endings *-kin*, *-gen*, *-qala'ken*.

| | Particles | Chukchee | | Kor. Kam. | Kamchadal |
|--|------------------------------|--|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| | | Stem | Independent form | | |
| this | <i>vai</i> | <i>wy't-</i> | <i>wg'tqan</i> , 65.22; 137.1; 133.4 | { <i>wu'ssin</i> <i>wu'tein</i> (Paren) | } <i>nut, ti'n</i> <i>h'e'nŋin</i> |
| that | { <i>ñan</i> <i>Enqan</i> | } <i>En-ñ-</i> | <i>Enqg'n</i> 115.21; 71.13, 29; 63.7, 10 | <i>ñan'nyen</i> | |
| that yonder | <i>ñoon</i> | | <i>ñg'gn-</i> | <i>ñg'gnqan</i> 70.22; also as adverb | <i>Enka'kin</i> |
| that yonder | | <i>ñg'gn-</i> , less frequently <i>ñg'n-</i> | <i>ñan'ngan</i> | | |
| that there (not very far) | } <i>ñan</i> <i>gan</i> | | <i>ñan'ngan</i> 133.3 | | |
| there (quite far) | | | | <i>ga'ngan</i> 63.13 | |
| that there (midway to some other object) | } <i>vai</i> | { <i>vʒ'En-</i> <i>va'En</i> | <i>va'Enqan</i> 121.24 | <i>va'yenqen</i> | |
| that behind the person addressed | | | <i>rai</i> | | <i>ra'En-, ra'En</i> |
| that behind the person speaking | } <i>ño'ti</i> | <i>ño'tiñ</i> 70.21 | <i>ño'tinqan</i> | <i>ñotinqala'ken</i> | |
| that apart from the speaker | | | <i>ñun</i> | | <i>ñu'nqin</i> 137.3 |
| who, somebody | — | (<i>mik-</i>) | <i>me'ñin</i> 11.4 | | <i>min-</i> |

It may be noted that all demonstratives, except *wut-*, *en'ñ-*, and *ño'tiñ*, end in *-n* which remains in all forms.

The demonstrative stems have strong vowels, except *wut-*, *en'ñ-*, and *ñun*. The last of these is treated more frequently as an unchangeable stem; for instance,—

ñu'nin-notai'pŭ from that land,—

although the two vowels *u* and *i* belong to the weak, changeable group.

When the demonstratives enter into composition, they take the ending *-in*, except *ño'tiñ*. The same ending is found in the interrogative *me'ñin*, which, according to the forms with suffixes, must be derived from a stem *mik-* (see §58, p. 1726). These forms appear in adjectival form in oblique cases.

wo'tiñ-notanqa'tkên that one belonging to this country 7.1

wo'tin-irgiro'k that (morning) dawn 10.3

wu'tin-nu'tek (Kor. Kam. *wu'tin-nu'tak*) in that country

mañê'n-notai'pŭ (Kor. Kam. *ma'ñen-nota'ñqo*) from what country.

Kor. *ma'ñin-ni'klr-ye'ŭkryeŭ* which stone-pine nut pudding? Kor.

34.2

Kor. *ma'ñin-qai-ñd'wis'qatik* to which small woman? Kor. 34.5

For greater emphasis the independent, absolute forms of the demonstrative may be used with the corresponding particle, as given on p. 723, or with repetition of independent form, connected by the particle *ŭm* (see also p. 726).

ño'onqan ŭm ñoon

enqa'n ŭm enqa'n 130.9, etc.

The particles are, however, used also independently or combined with various other forms.

vai 61.8

vai 61.9; 62.7; 63.6; 66.30, 35;

71.15; 76.25, 30

ñan 71.3, 16; 62.4, 8; 65.1; 66.32

ña'an 63.13

ño'on 64.1

wot 81.12

wo'tên-vai 29.1

elo'n ŭm vai 66.29

elo'n vai 67.33

vai ŭm ña'n(i) 131.3, 10

e'nme ñan 66.32

enqa'n ŭm vai 130.7

wo'tqanm ŭm vai 45.12

vai ñan 62.9

wu'tku-m vai 120.11

NOTE.—The Koryak form in *-qala'ken* given in the preceding table of demonstratives is derived from the post-position *-qal*, *-qač* (Chukchee *-qal*, *-qač*) CLOSE TO, BY THE SIDE OF. The Koryak suffix *-qala'ken* cor-

responds to the Chukchee form *-qutkên*, which is used to form a great many derivatives. The following forms derived from demonstrative pronouns may serve as examples:—

Adverbial form *va'enqač* (Kor. Kam. *va'yenqal*) by the side, half-way

Independent form *vaenqa'tkên* (Kor. Kam. *vayenqala'ken*)

Adverbial form *wo'tênqač* (Kor. Kam. *vo'tenqal*) here

Independent form *wotnqa'tkên* 14.2 (Kor. Kam. *votenqala'ken*)

wotqani'rgŭpŭ (pronunciation of men *wotqae'rgŭpŭ*) from those

§ 58. PLURAL AND POST-POSITIONAL FORMS

Plural and suffix forms are derived from the forms in *-qan* adding the *-ę* (Kor. Kam. *-a*) to the terminal *n* that is found in all words with terminal *n* of the stem (§§ 31, 4; 34). For personal forms the connective vowel is *i*.

As examples may serve,—

| | Chukchee | Kor. Kam. |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Absolute | <i>wŭ'tqan</i> | <i>wy'ssin</i> Kor. 49.9 |
| Plural (Dual Kor.) | <i>wŭ'tqngat</i> ¹ | <i>wy'tissat</i> |
| Plural (Koryak) | — | <i>wy'tissau</i> Kor. 32.2 |
| Subjective, not personal | <i>wŭtqng'tŭ</i> | <i>wy'tissa'ta</i> |
| Subjective, personal | <i>wŭ'tqanëna</i> ² | <i>wy'tin'nak</i> |
| Locative, not personal | <i>wŭ'tqanak</i> | <i>wy'tissak</i> |
| Allative, not personal | <i>wŭtqng'gtŭ</i> | <i>wŭtssatŭ</i> |
| Allative, personal | <i>wŭ'tqngëng</i> ² | <i>wŭ'tngng</i> |
| Ablative, not personal | <i>wotqanaipŭ</i> | <i>wotessa'nqo</i> |
| Ablative, personal | <i>wotqanaipŭ</i> | <i>wotena'nqo</i> |

¹ Pronunciation of men *wŭtqaat*.

² Pronunciation of men *wŭtqana*.

Also *enqa'nat* 49.5; 53.10; 96.6; *enqaat* those 62.10; *enqa'nëna* by that one 44.8; *wŭtqana* this time 76.18

Koryak:

nã'nyen that one (absolute) Kor. 17.5, 9; 51.2, 5

nã'nyeu (pl.) Kor. 21.1; 44.6; 62.4; *nã'nyau* 25.6, 9; 42.4

nã'nyenata (subjective, not personal) Kor. 43.5

nã'nenenak (subjective, personal) Kor. 34.11; *nã'nyenena* Kor. 76.16

The plural of the demonstrative is used in nominal, adjectival, and predicative expressions.

enqa'nat qãni'ntiñinet throw away those! 49.5

wŭ'qaat qãnu'utki eat these! 33.12

enqa'at qa'at those reindeer

Kor. Kam. *nã'nyenau a'ttu* those dogs

In some cases the singular form is used when we should expect the plural:

enqa'n gittile'ti nine'l-i-üm there I give to those who are hungry
96.24 (cf. 96.9, 12, 17).

enqa'n orawêlat these men 63.5

enqa'n Umqäqäi'inti these people of Umqäqäi 63.10

erqa'n ñi'räq ora'wêlat these two men 7.10

The corresponding forms of the personal interrogative WHO, SOMEBODY, and of the Kamchadal impersonal interrogative, are—

| | Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Kamchadal | Kamchadal |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | | | WHO | WHAT |
| Absolute | <i>me'ñin</i> | <i>ma'ki</i> Kor.17.6 | <i>k'e</i> | (<i>min</i>) |
| Plural (Dual Koryak) | <i>mi'kinti</i> | <i>ma'kinti</i> | <i>k'leñ</i> | <i>mi'ñeñ</i> |
| Plural (Koryak) | — | <i>maku'wgi</i> | — | — |
| Subjective | <i>mi'kinä</i> | <i>mi'kinak</i> Kor. 76.16 | <i>k'ink</i> | <i>mi'neuf</i> |
| Allative. | <i>me'këna</i> | <i>me'kena</i> | <i>k'a'nke</i> | <i>me'nank</i> |
| Ablative | <i>mekënai'pü</i> | <i>mekena'ñqo</i> | <i>k'ink</i> | <i>mi'nenk</i> |

Examples:

me'ñin üm ELA' who is (your) mother? 113.14

mi'kin yaarkinë'tki kanç'i'irgin whose lullaby are you singing?
120.14

mi'kinä ganto'lën by whom born? 142.1

In Kamchadal the form corresponding to the stem *mi'k-* signifies the inanimate interrogative.

Nominal forms of the plural, when appearing with suffixes, have, instead of the regular plural, forms compounded with the third person plural personal pronoun (see p. 706).

In Chukchee we find also *ma'kirgin*, pl. *ma'kirgintê*, WHOSE HOUSE'S, WHOSE FAMILY'S; related to the Koryak stem *mak-*, and formed with the stem *-erg* of the personal pronoun third person plural (see § 44).

These particles doubled, and connected by *üm*, are also used as exclamations.

ñan üm ñan! you there! *ña'an üm ñan* 95. 35 yonder

vai üm vai! halfway there!

ñoon üm ñoon! far off there!

They occur in the same way with interrogative pronouns.

me'ñin ñan ye'tirkin? who comes there?

rä'nun ñot wurre'erkin? what is visible behind there?

mi'ñkri rai ne'lhi? how then became he? 29.7

mi'ñkri ñot a'qa-ras'qê'um-va'lit? why! those are bad ones to

§ 58 pass! 130.3

Demonstrative and interrogative adverbs are derived from the particle stems by means of the locative endings. From these are derived others by means of nominal suffixes (see examples below).

| | Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Kamchadal |
|---|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| here | <i>wu'tku</i> 7.5 | <i>wu'tčuk, ä'nki</i> | <i>nux, te'a</i> |
| there | <i>E'n'ki</i> 119.31 | <i>ña'nko, ña'nako, ñe'nko</i> | <i>E'nki, x'u, (xo'zval therefrom)</i> |
| there (midway to some object) . | <i>va'änki</i> | <i>va'eñ</i> | |
| there (behind the person addressed) | <i>ra'änki</i> | | |
| there (behind the speaker) . . . | <i>ño'üñki</i> | | |
| there (away from the speaker) . . | <i>ñu'nki</i> | | |
| where | <i>mi'ñki, me'ñki</i> 12.2 | <i>mi'ñki, Kor. 20.1</i> | <i>ma, mas</i> |

In Chukchee two forms in *-qan* are also used as adverbs.

there (some distance away) *ño'onqan*

there (far away) *gä'nqan*

Derived from demonstrative elements are also—

| | Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Kamchadal |
|----------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| thus | <i>En'ñi'n</i> 63.13; 65.22 | <i>Enñä'an</i> Kor.13.1, 10 | <i>ño'nke</i> |

Adverbs with suffixes derived from the locative forms are the following:

| | HERE | | THERE | | WHERE | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|------------------|---------------|
| | Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Kamchadal |
| Stem | <i>wu't</i> | <i>wu'tč</i> | <i>En</i> | <i>ñan, äñ</i> | <i>mik</i> | <i>mik</i> | <i>ma</i> |
| Instrumental | <i>wutke'tä</i> | <i>wutčä'ta</i> | <i>Enke'tä</i> | <i>ñanka'ta, äñka'ta</i> | <i>miñke'tä</i> | <i>minka'ta</i> | — |
| Allative | — | <i>wotčai'ti</i> | <i>Eñkri</i> | <i>ñankai'ti, äñkai'tiñ</i> | <i>miñkri</i> 60.6, 61.8 | <i>menke'ti</i> | <i>ma'nke</i> |
| Ablative | <i>wo'tqori</i> | <i>wotčä'ñqo</i> | <i>E'ñ q o , Eñqo'ri, Eñ qo'ro</i> 65.24 | <i>ñanka'ñqo, äñka'ñqo</i> | <i>mč'ñqo</i> 60.5, 11; 71.26; 72.12 <i>mč'ñqo'ri</i> | <i>menka'ñqo</i> | <i>ma'nke</i> |

Also in the same way Chukchee *va'änkata, va'änrê, va'änqo* or *va'änqori*; Koryak *vaiëñä'ta, vaiëñä'i'ti, vai'eñqo* from stem *vai*.

Examples:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <i>wo'tko</i> from here 43.1; | <i>wo'tqo</i> thence 49.2; 65.18, 24 |
| 121.20; 131.14; | <i>wu'tqu</i> here 71.23 |
| 73.14 | <i>En'ñata'l</i> from that time on, after |
| <i>En'ke'čiku</i> in there 73.20 | that 64.19; 65.31 |
| <i>En'no't</i> 64.7; 66.3; 72.6 | <i>ño'onrê</i> thither 76.20 |
| <i>En'qe'kin</i> one from there 67.3 | <i>ña'nko</i> hither 137.13 |

Koryak:

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>wū'tēu</i> this time Kor. 41.2 | <i>e'nke</i> here (vocative form) Kor. 13.7; 58.7 |
| <i>ñ'a'nko</i> there Kor. 41.6 | |
| <i>ñ'e'nako</i> there Kor. 19.11 | <i>enka'ta</i> at that place Kor. 21.8, 9 |
| <i>ñ'a'niko</i> there Kor. 32.1; see Kor. 62.7 | <i>enka'i'ti</i> to that place Kor. 17.2; 19.1 |
| <i>ñanikai'trñ</i> thither Kor. 36.5 | <i>meñkeito'</i> whither (vocative form § 36) Kor. 64.21 |
| <i>ñ'a'nakango</i> from that one Kor. 42.3 | <i>mañ'e'nqo</i> whence Kor. 60.10 |

The forms *mī'ñkri* (Chukchee), *me'ñkañ* (Kor. Kam.), *ma'nke* (Kamchadal), also signify HOW.

Derivatives with suffixes are—

mēñko'kēnat where are you from 65.10

mī'ñke'-mīl 66.34

menke'mič, *mañ'nn'ač* (Kor. 66.1) } to what degree, in what manner

men'ke'ml', also *lact* (Kamchadal)

Demonstrative elements with the verbal noun *va'lin* (Kor. Kam. *i'tala^εn*) THE ONE WHO IS—, are also used to express demonstrative terms.

en'ñi'n-va'lin 128.24 (Chukchee), *enna^ε'an i'tala^εn* (Kor. Kam.), one being thus; i. e., such a one

enñot-va'lin (Chukchee) being near here thus; i. e., such a one nearer to the speaker than the preceding

en'ñu-wa'lin such a one (expressing reproach)

en'ñu'-wa'lê-git such a one art thou 21.11

mī'ñkri-va'lin (Chukchee 14.4), *me'ñkañ i'tala^εn* (Kor. Kam.) what kind of (also in oblique cases)

In Kamchadal only a few forms of the demonstrative survive, and these take the nominal suffixes.

| | THIS | THIS HERE | WHICH, WHAT |
|------------------------|----------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| Absolute | <i>ny^ε</i> | <i>tš^εn<tš^εnu</i> | <i>min(<minu)</i> |
| Plural | | | <i>mī'nī^εn</i> |
| Possessive | <i>ny^εhe'nk</i> | <i>tš^ε'nuhenk</i> | <i>mī'nenk</i> |
| Subjective | <i>ny^εhe'nk</i> | <i>tš^ε'nuhenk</i> | <i>mī'nenk</i> |
| Instrumental | <i>ny^ε'hel'</i> | <i>tš^ε'nuhel'</i> | <i>mī'nenl'</i> |
| Allative | <i>ny^εha'nk</i> | <i>tš^ε'nohan^k</i> | <i>mī'nank</i> |
| Abative | <i>ny^εhe'nk</i> | <i>tš^ε'nuhenk</i> | <i>mī'nenk</i> |

Most of the other forms are replaced by the corresponding Russian forms, which are usually taken in the nominative singular masculine; such as *e'koī* (экой), *eda^kkoī* (эдакой).

As in Chukchee and Koryak, the interrogative appears in synthetic form *mǎ'nɛn*, which corresponds to Chukchee *mɛ'nɛn* (see p. 726.)

mɛ'nɛn-ktɔj-qol which road along?

but the oblique cases are also used in attributive form.

mǎ'nenl' hvanl' ckan with which knife have you made it?

From the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns verbal forms are derived in the same manner as from nouns. I give here a number of examples. The verbal forms will be found discussed in § 82.

ɛnqanaɪ'-gɪt this art thou 20.7.

wotqanaɪ'-gǔm this am I 43.5, 121.14

wotqana'-mɔ'rê here we are 69.5

mǎ'k-i-ǔm who am I

mǎ'k-i-gɪt who art thou; *mǎ'k-i-or* 127.11

mǎ'w-mu'ri who are we

mǎ'g-tu'ri who are ye 120.9

| Kor. Kam. *wutɪnnaɪ-ai-gǔm* this am I Kor. 22.1

Possessives:

ɛni'n his 17.13

ɛnqɑ'nen of this one 50.10

mǎ'kin whose (possessor sing., object possessed sing. and pl.);

Kor. Kam. *mǎ'kin*, dual *mǎ'kinat*, pl. *mikina'wqi* (possessor sing.; object possessed sing., dual, pl.), vocative *miko'n* (§ 36)

Kor. 34.4

mǎ'kirgin (possessor pl., object possessed sing.), *mǎ'kirginet* (object possessed pl.), whose; Kor. Kam. *mǎ'kičhin*, dual *mǎ'kičhinat*, pl. *mǎ'kičhinau* (§ 34); Kamchadal *k'en*, pl. *k'e'n*

§ 59. Indefinite Pronoun *rǎq*

The non-personal interrogative and indefinite pronoun is, Chukchee *rǎq*; Kor. Kam. *ya(q)*, *yaɔ*; Kor. II *ta(q)*; Kamchadal *seq*.

The following are the forms with post-positions:

| | Chukchee | Kor. Kam. |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Stem | <i>rǎq</i> | <i>yaq</i> |
| Absolute | <i>rǎ'nut</i> | <i>ɣɪ'nna</i> |
| Plural (dual Kor.) | <i>rǎ'nuti</i> | <i>ɣa'qat</i> |
| Plural Kor. | — | <i>ɣaqu'wqi</i> |
| Instrumental | <i>rɛ'qǎ</i> | <i>ɣa'qa</i> |
| Locative | <i>rɛ'qǎk</i> | <i>ɣa'qak</i> |
| Allative | <i>raqɛ'ti</i> | <i>ɣaqɛ'ti</i> |
| Ablative | { <i>ra'gǔpǔ</i> <i>raqɛ'pu</i> } | <i>ɣaqɪ'nqo</i> |
| Designative (see § 94) | <i>rɛ'qu</i> | <i>ɣa'qu</i> |
| Comitative (see § 100) | <i>garu'ma</i> | <i>ɣaya'qa</i> |

¹ Men's pronunciation *rǎ'ɛnect*.

² *rǎ'naa'gti*.

³ *rǎ'naai'pǔ*.

The set of forms derived from *rä^εnut*, except the plural, are not often used.

- i'me-rä^εnut* whatsoever; i. e., of every kind 13.13; 133.18
rä^εnut what? object 29.1, subject 111.4; something obj. 29.5
rä^εnut ūm what was it then? 34.1
rä^εnut ūm qine'ilhi^ε give me something
rä^εnutet whatever kind of things obj. 32.5; intr. subj. 58.2
reqä by what means? 22.1; 23.5; 14.2
re'qä what? 34.8, 9; whatever 32.5
ra'qa-ñot with what there 139.8
re'qäk at what? 26.1
re^εqäm why 88.7
re^εqu how 17.5, 7; why 23.1
 Kor. Kam. *ya'qa* with what Kor. 46.9
 Kor. Kam. *ya'qkin-ki* what for Kor. 26.10
 Kor. Kam. *ya'qin-yaq* what then? Kor. 45.9

These forms are also used in composition:

- ra^ε-qa'at* (Chukchee), *yax-qoya'wge* (Kor. Kam.), *seq-ko'jεⁿ*
 (Kamchadal), what kind of reindeer
räq-a'^εttä ge'eḫin (Chukchee) with what kind of dogs has he come?
ra^ε-ni'mnim what settlement, obj. 33.7
ra^ε-pi'ñil what tidings? 11.2
rä^εnota'ḫit what kind are 14.3

Koryak I:

- ya'qlau* what are they doing Kor. 24.5
yaqlaikine'tik what are you (pl.) doing? Kor. 24.8

Koryak II has the same forms as Koryak Kamenskoye, derived from the stem *taq*.

Verbs derived from these stems are used with great frequency (see § 82); for instance,—

- re'qarkin* (Chukchee), *ya'qrykin* Kor. 28.10 (Kor. Kam.), *ta'qatkin*
 (Kor. II) what do you want? what are you doing?
re^εi^ε what is the matter 19.11
re'qarkin what is the matter with thee 18.9
re'q-i-git what do you want? 18.12
rraqa'unvø what for? 19.1, 6
re'qälit which ones 139.9
re'qäl-i-git what do you want? 22.8
nre'q-i-git what are you doing? 33.1
 Kor. Kam. *nrya'qi-gi* what are you doing? Kor. 39.5

Kamchadal has another form for WHAT, SOMETHING, evidently corresponding to the demonstrative in *enk-*.

| | |
|------------------------|----------------|
| Absolute | <i>E'nka</i> |
| Instrumental | <i>E'nkał'</i> |
| Locative | <i>enka'nk</i> |
| Allative | <i>enka'nk</i> |
| Ablative | <i>enka'nk</i> |

Verbs derived from this stem are formed as in Chukchee and Koryak.

enka'nejč what are you doing?

Under Russian influence, these forms are going out of use, and are being replaced by post-positional forms and verbs.

enka'nke k!öjč why, or for what do you come?

§ 60. Other Indefinite Pronouns

1. The stem *nirk-* (Kor. Kam. *niyk-*) expresses a certain well-known person, THE ONE WE THINK OF, THE ONE REFERRED TO; *nčk-* A CERTAIN WELL-KNOWN THING OR ACT WE THINK OF, OR REFERRED TO.

These form post-positional forms analogous to demonstrative pronouns.

PERSONAL

| | Chukchee | Kor. Kam. |
|----------------------------------|------------------|--|
| Absolute | <i>nı'rkıñut</i> | <i>nı'yka, nı'ykiñvut</i> |
| Plural (dual Koryak) | <i>nı'rkenti</i> | <i>nı'ykanti</i> |
| Plural Koryak | — | <i>nıyka'wgi, nı'ykau</i> Kor. 50.4 |
| Subjective | <i>nı'rkenä</i> | <i>nı'ykanak</i> |
| Allative | <i>nč'rkana</i> | <i>ne'ykana</i> |
| Ablative | <i>nčrkai'pü</i> | <i>neyka'ñqo</i> |
| Designative (see § 94) | <i>nırke'nu</i> | <i>nıyka'nu</i> |

NON-PERSONAL

| | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| Absolute | <i>nı'křıñut</i> | |
| Plural | <i>nı'ket</i> | |
| Subjective | <i>nıke'tä</i> | |
| Locative | <i>nı'kek</i> | |
| Allative | <i>nčka'gtı</i> | |
| Ablative | <i>nčka'pü</i> | |
| Comitative (see § 100) | <i>gančka'ma</i> <i>genıke'tä</i> | |
| Designative (see § 94) | <i>nıke'nu</i> | |

Examples:

nî'rkeñut a certain one 90.20; 119.12

nî'kek somewhere 12.12

Also derived forms, as

nî'rken (Kor. Kam. *nîyka'nen*) belonging to the one referred to or thought of

nî'kin belonging to the thing referred to or thought of 20.8

a'vε nêrka'pū qora'ñi tei'mityä^εn yesterday I took reindeer from the man we are thinking of

Verbal forms are also derived from this pronoun; for instance,—

nîke'rkin (Kor. Kam. *nîka'ykin*) he does the thing referred to or thought of

rinîke'urkin whatsoever shall be 21.10

Kor. Kam. *mnîkak* I'll do something Kor. 42.1

Kor. Kam. *nekañvo'ykin* he did something Kor. 51.9

In Kamchadal, *sæu'zîjč* YOU DO A CERTAIN THING is used in the same way.

2. *qol* (Chukchee), *qoll'a'* (Kor. Kam.), *k'ola^ε'* (Kamchadal) OTHER.

In Chukchee the synthetic stem *qulî* is used throughout with non-personal nouns. It is also used in adverbial form in temporal adverbs.

qulî'-nîkek afterwards (=at another certain one)

qolê't-a^εlo' some future day (=in the other day)

qol yarä'ëhm a house 86.17

qol yî'lgîn another month 7.2

Post-positional forms occur only with personal nouns, while in Koryak these are used for all kinds of nouns.

| | Chukchee—Personal | Koryak | | Kamchadal |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| | | Personal | Non-personal | |
| Absolute | <i>qol</i> | | <i>qoll'a'</i> | <i>k'ola'</i> |
| Plural (dual Koryak) . | <i>qu'tti</i> | | <i>qu'tti</i> | |
| Plural Koryak | — | | <i>qu'tëau</i> | |
| Subjective | <i>qutî'(n)inã¹</i> | <i>qutî'ninak</i> | <i>qutinina'ta</i> | |
| Possessive (locative) . | <i>qutî'(n)inã¹</i> | <i>qutî'ninak</i> | <i>qutî'ninak</i> | <i>k'ola'nk</i> |
| Allative | <i>qolê'(n)ëna¹</i> | | <i>qolë'ninañ</i> | <i>k'ola'nk</i> |
| Ablative | <i>qolê'(n)ëna'pū¹</i> | | <i>qotenina'ñgo</i> | <i>k'ola'nk</i> |
| Designative | <i>qutî'(n)inu¹</i> | | <i>qutinina'nu</i> | |

¹ Without *n* in men's pronunciation.

qol eli'gîn another father, a certain father 107.22

qol üm na'nmirkrn they kill the other one 8.1 (see also 8.12; 15.6; 14.9; 17.1)

qu'tti others (subj. intr.) 12.5

qu'tti'inä by one of them 8.11 (see also 7.4; 15.3), on one of them 8.13

| Kor. Kam. *qo'ŋa* another one Kor. 24.9

Synthetic forms:

golê-notai'pu from another land 14.12

golê-ra'gti to another house 12.11

golê-ike'unvuk on another sleeping 13.5

3. *elvē* (Chukchee), *aŋva* (Kor. Kam.), *êknên* (Kamchadal), OTHER, occur in synthetic form as given here, and in the forms—

elvē'lin (Chukchee), 117.7, *elvē'linet* 113.3, *aŋva'ŋin* (Kor. Kam.) Kor. 76.19.

| *ček-a'lvam-va'ŋin* how differently it is Kor. 80.9 (Kor. Kam).

| *a'ŋva titva'ŋvok* I was in a different way Kor. 18.6

4. A number of prefixed particles express also ideas related to the indefinite pronoun (see § 113, nos. 6, 7, 14, 24):

im- all

gemge- every

em- mere

ter- how much

Most of the interrogative and indefinite pronouns take the definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms, the same as nouns, and some of these are used with great frequency.

mañëna'chIn that one, who is he (from *me'ñin* WHO)

rä's'nutqäi (from *rä's'nut* WHAT) or

rä'qqäi

ya'xpil (Kor. Kam.)

} some little thing

qoŋai'ñin another big one

qu'ŋeqäi another little one } are used quite often

The Predicate (§§ 61-82)

§ 61. Introductory Remarks

The predicate appears in two distinct forms, according to the character of the word forming the predicate. The first class is formed by verbs; the latter, by nominal terms which are used as predicate. While all verbs may appear in nominalized forms, and therefore may take the form of the noun as predicate, nouns can not readily be transformed into verbs—except by the use of verbalizing suffixes, which give the compound stem a verbal character. Thus we find that true verbal forms are confined to verbal stems, to the numerals (except ONE), and

to the indefinite (or interrogative) pronouns, which may be used as nouns as well as verbs.

The structure of the first class of predicative forms is quite complex. We have to distinguish between intransitive and transitive verbs. The following structural elements may be recognized. We have—

I. Intransitive verbs:

1. Pronominal prefix.
2. Temporal or modal prefix.
3. Verbal theme.
4. Temporal or modal suffix.
5. Pronominal suffix.

II. Transitive verbs:

1. Pronominal subjective prefix.
2. Temporal or modal prefix.
3. Verbal theme.
4. Temporal or modal suffix.
5. Pronominal objective suffix.

The following simple modes and tenses may be distinguished:

| | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Indicative | without prefix, | no suffix |
| Subjunctive: | | |
| (a) Exhortative . . . | with the prefix $n(i)$ | the suffix $g\dot{i}$ |
| (b) Subjunctive . . . | with the prefix ϵ | the suffix $g\dot{i}$ |
| Imperative | with the prefix q | the suffix $g\dot{i}$ |
| Future | with the prefix re | the suffix $\tilde{n}(i)$ |

Besides these, there is a peculiar series of derived modes in $-irkin$ (Koryak I $-iykin$, $-ik\dot{i}n$; Koryak II $-itkin$, Kamchadal $-jk$), the pronominal endings of which differ from the ordinary forms, many of them being dropped. In some cases the Koryak drops the terminal $-in$, as is done in all forms in Kamchadal.

The second class, predicative nominal terms, consists either of nouns or of verbal stems, which are nominalized by certain prefixes, and which take suffixes expressing the terminal relations. The simple nominalized forms are used as predicative terms of the third person. These have been discussed before. They are the nominalized forms in $-in$, $-kin$, $-lin$, $n(i)-qin$ (§§ 45-49). In the first and second persons singular these take a suffix $-i$, which may be derived from the verb $-it^1$ TO BE. In the first and second persons plural the nominalized form appears in composition with the personal pronouns $myr\dot{i}$ WE, and $tur\dot{i}$ YOU; so that the whole complex represents in the same way a nominal form with predicative function, as in the third persons. The nominalized form has no true tenses.

¹ I consider this unlikely, since in Koryak the t should be preserved, although in Chukchee it might disappear according to the phonetic laws governing the pronunciation of men. Mr. Bogoras points out that the \dot{i} can not be an auxiliary vowel, since this would have to be i . — F. BOAS.

§ 62. Structure of the Intransitive Verb

1. The pronominal prefixes of the intransitive verb are confined to the first person, singular and plural: *t-* for the singular, *mt-* for the plural. The *m* of the plural may perhaps be related to the same element in *mur̄i* WE, while the *t* of singular and plural may be the same. The element *mt-* conveys the idea of plurality of the first person with such energy, that, in Koryak at least, the suffix *-mik*, which repeats the same idea, may be omitted; the same omission occurs rarely in Chukchee.

2. The temporal and modal elements enter into close relation with the pronominal prefixes. Most of these follow the ordinary phonetic laws. Thus

t + r̄ε becomes *tr̄ε-*
mt + r̄ε becomes *mirr̄ε-*
mt + ε becomes *min(i)ε-*

The last of these is not quite regular, since *mit(i)ε* would also seem to be possible. The forms of the exhortative can not be explained by phonetic laws. Here we find that the expected

t + n becomes *m*
mt + n becomes *min*

In the subjunctive (*b*), when the verb begins with a vowel, the auxiliary vowel disappears, and the glottal stop follows the initial vowel of the stem. This occurs both in Chukchee and Koryak:

tu^εwi'ä^εk (stem *uw̄i*) I should cook

3. The verbal themes may be simple or compound. The former undergo peculiar phonetic changes according to their position, the forms in initial position differing from those found in medial position. This subject has been discussed in § 7 and § 12. A number of formations, however, are irregular, and not due to the action of phonetic laws.

q̄ami-pl̄itku eating finishing (stem *q̄ami*, from *qamitva*)
tara'ñga^εt they built a house (from *t̄iki* to make, *yara* house)
kinmi'rk̄in he kills children (*kmiñin timirk̄in*)
kuwi^ε'rk̄in he has dead children (*kmiñin, vi^εrk̄in*)

The vocalic elements of prefixes, personal and modal, are modified by the vowels of the stem (see § 3).

The terminal phonetic character of the stem also influences the temporal, modal, and the pronominal suffixes (see § 72).

4. The temporal and modal suffixes have been mentioned before. Through contraction between them and the pronominal suffixes originate forms the historical development of which is not by any means clear. It would seem that there is also a suffix $-g\dot{\iota}$ - which appears in many forms, and does not seem to form part of the pronominal element. This, however, has undergone so many changes that its character and function are not clear.

5. The pronominal suffixes do not show a very close relation to the personal pronoun, and, furthermore, are somewhat differentiated in different modes of the verb. A comparison of the various forms suggests the following as the essential elements of the suffixed pronominal verbal forms:

| INTRANSITIVE | | | | | |
|--------------|------|------|--|-------|--|
| I | $-k$ | we | | $-mk$ | |
| thou | ? | ye | | $-tk$ | |
| he | — | they | | $-t$ | |

It may be that the m and t of the first and second persons plural are related to $m\dot{u}r\dot{\iota}$ and $t\dot{u}r\dot{\iota}$, which may contain the same endings as $err\dot{\iota}$ (see pp. 706, 719, 726). The second person singular is quite doubtful; but it is conceivable that it may contain by origin a form in $-g\dot{\iota}$ related to the pronoun $g\dot{\iota}t$. In the intransitive verb the second and third persons singular are, in their present forms, identical. The third person plural has clearly the element t ,¹ which is not the same as the t of the second person plural.

§ 63. Structure of the Transitive Verb

The structure of the transitive verb is, on the whole, analogous to that of the intransitive.

1. For the first persons singular and plural, the same pronominal prefixes as in the intransitive appear, as subjects. The transitive forms of the third person, singular and plural, have the prefix $ne-$. The clearness of the picture is obscured by the fact that the transitive forms

THOU—US; YE—ME, US and

THOU, YE, HE—ME

do not exist, and generalized intransitive forms are used in their place. These are formed with the prefix $in-$ or with the suffix $-tku$ (see p. 819, no. 28; p. 808, no. 67). It is possible that the peculiar form YE—HIM, THEM has the same origin (see p. 809). I presume this

¹ See plural of nouns, p. 694.

form has originated from *-tku-tik* and is parallel to *-tku²i²* THOU—US. The *g* of the intransitive endings disappears in the series of forms THOU—US because its position is intervocalic; for instance—

-tku-gi² becomes *-tkui²*

2. The temporal and modal prefixes are the same as those of the intransitive.

3. The stems are treated like those of the intransitive verb.

4. The temporal and modal suffixes enter into compound forms with the pronominal suffixes. The intransitive *g* is apparently absent, owing to its frequent intervocalic position.

5. The analogy between the transitive pronominal suffixes and the intransitive suffixes is fairly clear, if we consider only those forms which have true pronominal suffixes. We find then the object

-git thee *-mik* us *-tik* you

which evidently correspond to the subjects of the intransitive verb. The correspondence is strict for the two plural pronouns: *-git* may be the older form of the second person intransitive pronoun *-gi²* (pp. 719 et seq.; p. 710).

The third person object shows forms in *-n* which recall the nominal forms in *-in* (§§ 45–49), and, like these forms, form their plurals in *-et*. In a way these forms seem related to the nominal predicate. To the same group belongs the form in *-im* THEY—ME, which contains the pronoun *gim*, like the nominal forms.

Attention may be called to the fact that the number of the pronominal suffix, which designates the object, is naturally determined by the number of the object.

qa'at tip²lanat (Kor. Kam. *qoya'wge tip²lanau*) I left the reindeer

For the first person object the intransitive form with *ing-* is used.

rä²'nutqäi gin²ilä give me something

The Koryak forms resemble the Chukchee forms. The Koryak dual corresponds to the Chukchee plural. The plural *-la-* of the Koryak is always placed immediately following the stem. It indicates plurality of subject or object, but occurs once only in each form, even if both subject and object are plural.

Certain verbal stems may be used both as transitive and as intransitive, generally with a slight change in meaning.

tuwalo'märkin I know, hear, obey (intransitive)

tuwalo'märkinegit I know thee (transitive)

tuwa'lomgä^εk I heard

tuwa'lomga^εn I knew him

The Forms of the Intransitive Verb (§§ 64-66)

§ 64. CHUKCHEE

PRINCIPAL MODES

| Person | Past I | Subjunctive | | | Imperative | Future |
|----------------|---|--------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|--|--|
| | | Prefixes | | Suffixes | | |
| | | (a) | (b) | | | |
| 2d pl. . . . | -tik | * | <i>n</i> (<i>ɪ^ε, u^ε, ü^ε</i>) | -tik | <i>q</i> (<i>ɪ, ä, a</i>)-g ^ɪ tik | <i>rɛ</i> -ñitik |
| 3d pl. . . . | -g ^ü εt | <i>n</i> (<i>ɪ, u, ü</i>) | <i>n</i> (<i>ɪ^ε, u^ε, ü^ε</i>) | -nɛt | | <i>rɛ</i> -ñit |
| 2d, 3d sing. . | { -g ^ɪ ε -ɪ } | { * <i>n</i> (<i>ɪ, u, ü</i>) } | <i>n</i> (<i>ɪ^ε, u^ε, ü^ε</i>) | { -g ^ü εn -ɪn } | <i>q</i> (<i>ɪ, ä, a</i> **)-g ^ɪ t | <i>rɛ</i> { -g ^ü ε -ɪ } |
| 1st sing. . . | <i>ɪɪ</i> { -g ^ü εk -ɪk } | <i>mɪ</i> | <i>t</i> (<i>ɪ^ε, u^ε, ü^ε</i>) | { -g ^ü εk -ɪk } | | <i>ɪrɛ</i> { -g ^ü ε -ɪ } |
| 1st pl. . . . | <i>mɪt</i> - <i>mɪk</i> | <i>mɪn</i> | <i>mɪn</i> (<i>ɪ^ε, u^ε, ü^ε</i>) | - <i>mɪk</i> | | <i>mɪrrɛ</i> -g ^ü ε |

*No 2d person.

**No 3d person.

DERIVED MODES IN -*ɪrkin* (PREFIXES AS IN PRINCIPAL MODES)

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|---|---|-------|-------|--------|
| 2d pl. . . . | -ɪtik | — | — | -ɪtik | -ɪtik | -ɪntik |
| 3d pl. . . . | -t* | — | — | -ɛt | — | -ɪñit |
| Other forms . | — | — | — | — | — | — |

**t* takes the place of final *n*: *ɪrkit*.

The prefix *t-* of the first person singular appears without auxiliary vowel when it forms an admissible cluster with the initial sound of the verbal theme.

The derived form *-rkin* is used after vowels. After terminal consonants an auxiliary *ɪ* is inserted between stem and suffix:

qami'tva-rkin he eats

walo'm-ɪ-rkin he knows

NOMINAL FORMS

| | I | II |
|---|--------|-----------|
| 1 | -ɛ'ɪ | |
| 2 | -ɪk,-ɪ | |
| 3 | -(t)q̄ | gɛ-(t) q̄ |
| 4 | -ma | |
| 5 | -ma'ɛi | |

§ 65. KORYAK

PRINCIPAL MODES

INTRANSITIVE VERB

| Person | Past I | Subjunctive | | | Imperative | Future | Present indefinite |
|------------------|--------------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------|------------|---------------|--------------------|
| | | Prefixes. | | Suffixes. | | | |
| | | (a) | (b) | | | | |
| 2d dual | -tik | * | na ^ε | -tik | q-(gɪ)ttk | ya-ñttk | ky-*** |
| 2d pl. | -la'ttik | * | na ^ε | -latik | q-latik | ya-lanttk | ky- |
| 3d dual | -gʔ | n(I) | na ^ε | -nat | | ya-ñʔ | ky- |
| 3d pl. | { -laʔ or -lage | { n(I) | na ^ε | -nau | | ya-lañe | ky- |
| 2d, 3d sing. . . | -i | *n | na ^ε | -In | q**-(gʔ) | ya-I | ky- |
| 1st sing. . . . | ti-ik | mi | ta ^ε | -ik | | tya-I | tky- |
| 1st dual | mit-mik | min | ma ^ε | -mik | | mIssa-mik | mitky- |
| 1st pl. | mit-la ^ε mitk | min | ma ^ε | -la(mik) | | mIssa-la(mik) | mitky- |

() May be omitted.

* No 2d person.

** No 3d person.

*** Also *qu*. This form does not exist in Koryak II.

DERIVED MODES IN -irktn (PREFIXES AS IN PRINCIPAL MODES)

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|
| 2d dual | -iknittk | -iknittk | -iknittk | -inttk |
| 2d pl. | -laikinetk | -laaine'ttk* | -laikmetk | -laiktmentk |
| 3d dual | -ikri | -iknat | | -ikniñi |
| 3d pl. | -latke | -ikni'nau** | | -laiktneñe |
| 1st, 2d, 3d sing.; 1std ual] | -iktn | -iktn | -iktn | -iktn |
| 1st pl. | -laiktn | -laiknemik* | | -laikni'mik |

* Subjunctive (b) has la-i instead of la.

** Subjunctive (b) has au instead of inau.

The prefix *ti-* of the first person singular appears without auxiliary vowel whenever it forms an admissible cluster with the first sound of the verb.

The ending *-iktn* (Koryak I) of the derived forms is used mostly after stems ending in a single consonant, as *vaʔo'm-ektn* HE KNOWS. After terminal vowel the *i* changes to a neutral *ɨ*, as *va-iktn* HE IS. In many cases, however, the *i* is also weakened to *ɨ* or *y* after a terminal consonant and an auxiliary *i* is inserted preceding it, as in *ya'grykin* WHAT ART THOU? Kor. 29.1; *ʔ'trykin* ART THOU? Kor. 29.2

NOMINAL FORMS

| | | |
|---|-------|------|
| | (a) | (b) |
| 1 | } -ik | ga-a |
| 2 | | |
| 3 | | |
| 4 | | |
| 5 | -mači | |

§ 66. KAMCHADAL

INTRANSITIVE VERB

| Person | Past I | Subjunctive | | Imperative |
|-------------------|--|--|---|------------|
| | | (a) Exhortative | (b) Conditional | |
| 2d sing. | -č | | k!- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{čnI}^{\text{en}} \text{ or} \\ \text{un} \end{array} \right.$ | k-xč |
| 2d pl. | -cx | | k!-cx | k-jcx |
| 3d pl. | - $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{čIn} \text{ or} \\ \text{u}^{\text{en}} \end{array} \right.$ | xan- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{čnI}^{\text{en}} \text{ or} \\ \text{un} \end{array} \right.$ | k!-un | |
| 3d sing. | -č | xan- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{čnI}^{\text{en}} \text{ or} \\ \text{un} \end{array} \right.$ | k!-un | |
| 1st sing. | t- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} k \text{ or} \\ kI\text{čn} \end{array} \right.$ | m- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} k \text{ or} \\ kI\text{čIn} \end{array} \right.$ | tk!-k | |
| 1st pl. | n- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} k \text{ or} \\ kI\text{čIn} \end{array} \right.$ | mIn- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} k \text{ or} \\ kI\text{čIn} \end{array} \right.$ | nk!-k | |

The subjunctive (b) of modern Kamchadal takes in all forms the terminal particle -bI, which is the Russian conjunction бы.

tk!nukbI if I eat.

The future is compounded with the terminal verb *öl*, (*ö*) TO DESIRE, which may form modes and tenses like the others; the present, with the terminal verb (or suffix) *j*. The third person plural of this form is -jčrn or jI^{en}.

The numerous Kamchadal verbs ending in -l change this to -c in the derived present. This occurs both in intransitive and transitive verbs (see § 122).

tilk I left
tñüklk I slept
colk I lay

trejk I leave
tñükcejk I sleep
teö'locjk I lie

VERBAL NOUN

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| 1 | } -køj ¹ |
| 2 | |
| 3 | |
| 4 | |

tujuk nu'køj I began eat-beginning; i. e., I began to eat (t- I; *uju* to begin; -k I; *nu* to eat)

¹This is the inchoative terminal verb (see p. 808, no. 63). The verbal noun never appears without it.

The Forms of the Transitive Verb (§§ 67-71)

§ 67. CHUKCHEE

Transitive Suffixes

TRANSITIVE FORMS

FIRST AND SECOND PERSON OBJECTS

| Object | Indicative I: Subjunctive Ia | Impera- tive II | Future III | Derived Modes in -irkin IV |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) thee | -git | — | -git | -igit |
| (2) you | -tik | — | -ntik | -itik |
| (3) us (except thou, ye—us) | -mik | — | -mik | -imik |

THIRD PERSON FORMS

| | | | | |
|---|--------------------|--------|----------|-------------|
| (4) him (except he, ye—him) | -gǔ ^ε n | -gin | -ñin | (no ending) |
| (5) them (except he, ye—them) | -nǔt | -ginǔt | -ñinǔt | -ǔt |
| (6) he—him | -nǐn | — | -ñinǐn | -ǐn |
| (6') he—them | -nǐnǔt | — | -ñinǐnǔt | -ǐnǔt |

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

| Object | Indica- tive I | Subjunctive Ia | Impera- tive II | Future III | Derived Modes in -irkin IV |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| (7) he—me | } -gǐ ^ε | -ǎ ^ε n | -gǐ ^ε | -gǎ ^ε | (no ending) |
| (8) thou—me, us | | -tik | -tik | -ntik | -itik |
| (9) ye—me, us ¹ | -tkI | -tkI | -gǐtkI | -ñitkI | -itkI |
| (10) ye—him, them | -tkI | -tkI | -gǐtkI | -ñitkI | -itkI |

¹ With -tku preceding pronominal suffix.

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|---|-----|------|
| (11) they—me ² | -ǔm | -ǔm | — | -ǔm | -ium |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|---|-----|------|

² See § 73. This form takes the prefix *ne-*.

Transitive Prefixes

TRANSITIVE FORMS

| Subject | Indicative I | Subjunctive Ia | | Imperative II | Future III |
|--------------|--------------|------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------|
| | | (a) | (b) | | |
| I | <i>l(I)-</i> | <i>mi-</i> | <i>ti^ε-</i> | — | <i>trg-</i> |
| we | <i>mit-</i> | <i>min-</i> | <i>min^ε-</i> | — | <i>mirrg-</i> |
| he | <i>nǔ-</i> | <i>ǎ^εn-</i> | <i>nǐn^ε-</i> | — | <i>nerǔ-</i> |

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| Object me | (<i>nǔ</i>)- | (<i>n^εnǔ</i>)- | (<i>nǐn^εnǔ</i>)- | <i>q-ine</i> | (<i>ring</i>)- |
| Other forms | — | <i>nI-</i> | <i>n^εI-</i> | <i>q-</i> | <i>rǔ</i> |

The form *-gi^ε* (I7; II7) is rarely abbreviated to *-ĭ*.

qēnapēlai^ε and *qēnapēlai'* leave me!

This shortening is quite frequent in Koryak I (see below).

NOMINAL FORMS

| | I | II |
|---|---------------|--------------|
| 1 | —* <i>gtĭ</i> | |
| 2 | — <i>k</i> | |
| 3 | — <i>tū</i> | <i>gε—tū</i> |
| 4 | — <i>mġ</i> | |
| 5 | — <i>mġĕt</i> | |

Besides this there are a number of impersonal forms.

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Future | <i>rε—ñ</i> |
| Exhortative, sing. | <i>ni—a^εn</i> |
| pl. | <i>ni—nat</i> |
| Exhortative, derived | |
| sing. | <i>ni—rkIn</i> |
| pl. | <i>ni—rkinat</i> |

§ 68. KORYAK, KAMENSKOYE

Transitive Suffixes

TRANSITIVE FORMS

FIRST AND SECOND PERSON OBJECTS

| Object | Indicative I; Subjunctive Ia | Imperative II | Future III | Derived Modes in <i>-ykin</i> IV |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| (1) thee | — <i>giⁱ</i> | — | — <i>giⁱ</i> | — <i>iġiⁱ</i> |
| (2) you | —(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>tĭk</i> | — | —(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>ntĭk</i> | —(<i>ĭa</i>)— <i>iⁱtĭk</i> |
| (3) us | —(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>mĭk</i> | —(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>tĭk</i> | —(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>mĭk</i> | —(<i>ĭa</i>)— <i>iⁱmĭk</i> |

THIRD PERSON FORMS.

| | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| (4) him (except he, ye—him) | — <i>ga^εn^s</i> | — <i>ġIn</i> | — <i>ñIn</i> | no ending |
| (5) them dual (except he, ye—them) | — <i>nat</i> | — <i>ġInat</i> | — <i>ñnat</i> | — <i>iⁱnat</i> |
| (5') them pl.(except he, ye—them) | — <i>nau</i> | — <i>ġInau</i> | — <i>ñnau</i> | — <i>iⁱnau</i> |
| (6) he, they—him, them | — <i>nĭn</i> | — | — <i>ñnĭn</i> | —(<i>iⁱn</i>) |

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

| Object | Indicative I; Subjunctive Ia | Imperative II | Future III | Derived Modes in <i>ykin</i> IV |
|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| (7) he—me | — <i>i</i> — <i>ga^εn</i> | — | no ending | no ending |
| (8) thou—me | — <i>giⁱ</i> — <i>ga^εn</i> | —(<i>giⁱ</i>) | no ending | no ending |
| (9) ye—me | —(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>tĭk</i> | —(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>tĭk</i> | —(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>ntĭk</i> | —(<i>ĭġ</i>)— <i>iⁱtĭk</i> |
| (9') ye—us | —(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>mĭk</i> | —(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>mĭk</i> | —(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>mĭk</i> | —(<i>ĭġ</i>)— <i>iⁱmĭk</i> |
| (10) ye—him, them | —(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>tĕa</i> | —(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>ġitĕa</i> | —(<i>ĭa</i>) <i>ñitĕa</i> | —(<i>ĭġ</i>)— <i>iⁱtĕa</i> |

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORM

| | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|---|------|------|
| (11) they—me | —gũm ¹ | — | —gũm | igũm |
|------------------------|-------------------|---|------|------|

¹ we—thou —age

² we—him —agaⁿ

In the derived modes, *la* occurs in the same places as in the simple modes, but preceding *-ikın*.

The suffixes *-gı̇* and *-gaⁿ* (I 8, 4; II 8) of this series are often contracted to *-ı̇* and *-n*. The former is similar to an intransitive form.

qenapela'e^s and *qenapelai'* leave me!

In Chukchee these forms are quite rare (see p. 741)

PREFIXES

| | Indicative I | Subjunctive | | Imperative II | Future III |
|------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|--|------------------|---------------------------|
| | | I (a) Exhort. | I (b) Subj. | | |
| I | <i>t</i> | <i>ni-</i> | <i>ta^s-</i> | | <i>tya-</i> |
| we | <i>mit-</i> | <i>niⁿ-</i> | <i>niⁿta^s-</i> | | <i>miⁿssa-</i> |
| thou, ye, he—me . . . | <i>ı̇na-</i> | <i>niⁿı̇na-</i> | <i>niⁿta^sı̇na-</i> | <i>qı̇na -</i> | <i>ı̇ı̇na-</i> |
| they, he—thou, you, us | } <i>na-</i> | } <i>aⁿ-</i> | } <i>nana^s-</i> | | } <i>naya-</i> |
| thou, ye—us | | | | | |
| he—him, them | } no prefix | } <i>ni-</i> | } <i>na^s-</i> | } <i>qa-</i> | } <i>ya-</i> |
| thou, ye—him, them | | | | | |

The second indefinite of Koryak has the prefix *qu-*, *ku-* (*k-* before vowels) and the future endings, except that

he, thou—me has the ending *-ñ*

I, he—you (dual, pl.) has the ending *-ñtik*

NOMINAL FORMS

| | I | II |
|---|-----------|--------------|
| 1 | —k | |
| 2 | —k | |
| 3 | } missing | <i>ga—ta</i> |
| 4 | | |
| 5 | —maçt | |

As in Chukchee there occur also a number of impersonal forms.

| | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Future | <i>ya-n̄</i> |
| Exhortation, sing | <i>ni-a^εn</i> |
| Dual | <i>ni-nat</i> |
| Exhortation, period, pl. | <i>ni-nou</i> |
| Sing. | <i>ni-ikIn</i> |
| Dual | <i>ni-ikInat</i> |
| | <i>ni-ikInau</i> |

KAMCHADAL (§§ 69-71)

§ 69. Types of Transitive Verb

The Kamchadal transitive verb shows peculiarities of structure similar to those of the Chukchee and Koryak. Only the forms with the objects **THEE, YOU, US**, are formed with the pronominal forms corresponding to the intransitive suffixes. The combination **YE—US** is here also excepted, although no indication of a change of the verb into an intransitive form by means of a special suffix is found. Instead of that, the forms **THOU, YE—ME** have the ending *-miñk*, which does not occur in the intransitive verb, but seems to correspond to *-mik* **WE** of Chukchee-Koryak. It may be mentioned here again that in Koryak this ending tends to be dropped. In the Kamchadal forms here discussed it may express the intransitive first person plural, as though we had, for instance, instead of **THOU LEAVEST ME, WE PART**. When used for the singular **THOU—ME**, the ending is often pronounced *-miñ*, which may be an older form. The form **YE—ME, US** takes, in addition to *-miñk*, the ending *-cx* **YE**, which corresponds to the intransitive subject. In agreement with the nominal forms, the third person plural object has *-^εn*. The nominal-predicative form is used here for both singular and plural of the third person with the object **ME**.

The forms of a second type of conjugation are not quite so clear.

§ 70. Type I

TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES

TRANSITIVE FORMS

| Object | Indicative | Subjunctive | Imperative | Present |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| thee | <i>-hin</i> <i>[he, -tn</i> | } <i>-hin</i> | — | <i>-hin</i> he, they, -n |
| you | <i>-cxIn</i> | | <i>-cxIn</i> | — |
| us (except ye—us) | <i>-miñk</i> | <i>-miñk</i> | <i>-miñk</i> | <i>-miñk</i> |

THIRD PERSON FORMS

| Object | Indicative | Subjunctive | Imperative | Present |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------|--------------------|
| him (except he, they, ye—him) . | -n | -n | -x | -n |
| them (except he, they, ye—them) | - ^ε n | - ^ε n | -xIn | - ^ε n |
| he, they—him | -nin | -nin | — | -nin |
| he, they—them | -ni ^ε n | -ni ^ε n | — | -ni ^ε n |

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|---|---------------------|---------------------|
| thou—me | -miñk | — | -miñk | -miñk |
| ye—me, us | -miñkcx | — | -miñkcx | -miñkcx |
| ye—him | -cxIn | — | -cx | -cxIn |
| ye—them | -cxI ^ε n | — | -cxI ^ε n | -cxI ^ε n |

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

| | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|---------|---|---------|
| he—me | -humni'n | humni'n | — | humni'n |
| they—me | -humni'n | humni'n | — | humni'n |

PREFIXES

| Subject | Indicative | Subjunctive | Imperative | Present |
|--------------------|------------|--------------|------------|---------|
| I | t- | n- | — | t- |
| we | n- | miñ or x'an- | — | n- |
| he | — | x'an | — | — |
| they | ǎn- | x'an | — | ǎn- |
| thou, ye | — | — | k- | — |

A comparison between this table and the one on p. 740 shows that all the prefixes, except *ǎn-* of the third person plural, are the same as those of the intransitive verbs.

An example of this type of verb is the stem *taxl-* (present *tax-*) TO BEAT. In verbs beginning with *t*, the prefix *t* of the first person singular is dropped.

Indicative forms have the theme *taxli-*.

Subjunctive forms have the theme *taxli-*.

Present forms have the theme *taxj(i)-* with auxiliary vowel *i* before terminal *n* and before glottal stop.

Indicative:

taxli'hIn I beat thee

taxli^εn he beat thee

taxlihǎmni'n he beat me

taxli'miñk you beat me, us; he beat us

ǎntaxli'cxIn they beat you

ntaxIn we beat him

ǎntaxli'nin they beat him

Subjunctive:

- mtæli'hin* let me beat thee
- x'antæli'nin* let him beat him
- x'antæli'miñk* let him, them, beat us
- x'antæli'hümmi'n* let him, them, beat me
- mintæli'cain* let us beat you

Imperative:

- ktæli'miñk* beat thou me, us
- ktælimi'ñkca* beat ye me, us
- ktæliæ* beat him
- ktæliæ* beat ye him

Present:

- tæjhin* I am beating thee
- ntæjhin* we are beating thee
- tæji^εn* thou art beating them
- tæjnin* he is beating him
- äntæjca'i'n* they are beating you
- ntæjin* we are beating him

§ 71. Type II

TRANSITIVE SUFFIXES

TRANSITIVE FORMS

| Object | Indicative | Subjunctive | Imperative | Present |
|-----------------------------|---|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| thee | { I - <i>xkin</i> he - <i>ëiñin</i> | - <i>xkin</i> | — | - <i>xkin</i> |
| you | { I - <i>xkiszin</i> he - <i>cañin</i> | - <i>xkiszin</i> | — | - <i>xkiszin</i> |
| us (except ye—us) | { they - <i>xkmiñk</i> he - <i>xkimiñk</i> | - <i>xkmiñk</i> | - <i>xkmiñk</i> | - <i>xkmiñk</i> |

THIRD-PERSON FORMS

| | | | | |
|---------------------|--|--|--|--|
| I—him | { - <i>ñin</i> - <i>kiëin</i> | - <i>ñin</i> - <i>kiëin</i> | — | - <i>ñin</i> - <i>kiëin</i> |
| thou—him | - <i>ëiñin</i> | — | - <i>xëik</i> | - <i>ñin</i> |
| we—him | - <i>ñin</i> | { - <i>ñin</i> - <i>kiëin</i> | — | - <i>ñin</i> |
| I—them | { - <i>ñi^εn</i> - <i>kiëi^εn</i> | - <i>ñi^εn</i> - <i>kiëi^εn</i> | — | - <i>ñi^εn</i> - <i>kiëi^εn</i> |
| thou—them | - <i>ëiñi^εn</i> | — | { - <i>xëkin</i> - <i>xëñi^εn</i> | - <i>ñi^εn</i> |
| we—them | - <i>ñi^εn</i> | { - <i>ñi^εn</i> - <i>kiëi^εn</i> | — | - <i>ñi^εn</i> |
| he—him | - <i>ëiñinin</i> | - <i>ëiñinin</i> | — | - <i>ñin</i> |
| they—him | - <i>iñin</i> | - <i>iñin</i> | — | - <i>iñin</i> |
| he—them | - <i>ëiñini^εn</i> | - <i>ëiñini^εn</i> | — | - <i>ni^εn</i> |
| they—them | - <i>iñini^εn</i> | - <i>iñini^εn</i> | — | - <i>iñini^εn</i> |

INTRANSITIVE FORMS

| Object | Indicative | Subjunctive | Imperative | Present |
|---------------------|------------------------------|-------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| thou—me | - <i>xkmIñk</i> | — | - <i>xkmIñk</i> | - <i>xkmIñk</i> |
| ye—me, us | - <i>xkImIñkcz</i> | — | - <i>xkImIñkcz</i> | - <i>xkImIñkcz</i> |
| ye—him | - <i>čcziñIn</i> | — | - <i>čcziñIn</i> | - <i>cziñIn</i> |
| ye—them | - <i>čcziñI^εn</i> | — | - <i>čcziñI^εn</i> | - <i>cziñI^εn</i> |

NOMINAL PREDICATIVE FORMS

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---|-------------------|
| he, they—me | - <i>xkumni'n</i> | - <i>xkumni'n</i> | — | - <i>xkumni'n</i> |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---|-------------------|

Evidently these forms are closely related to those of Type I, but the symmetry is disturbed by a number of peculiar contractions, some of which seem to be due to misunderstandings. The prefixes are the same as those of Type I.

As an example may be given forms of the stem *kej* TO ACCEPT.

Indicative and subjunctive have the theme *kej'*.

Present has the theme *kejij-*.

Indicative:

tke'jækIn I accepted thee
ke'jéIñIn he accepted thee
änke'jækImIñk they accepted us
nke'jñIn we accepted him
tke'jñI^εn or *tke'jkIčI^εn* I accepted them
ke'jčcziñI^εn ye accepted them

Subjunctive:

mke'jækIn let me accept thee
x'ankejækümni'n let him accept me
mInke'jñI^εn or *mInke'jkIčI^εn* let us accept them
x'anke'jækIn let him, them, accept thee

Imperative:

xkejæčI'k accept him
xkejæčki'n or *xkejæčñI'n* accept them (*k* before *k* changes to *x*)
xkejækMI'ñk accept me, us
xkejækMI'ñkcz accept ye me, us
xke'jčcziñIn accept ye him
xke'jčcziñI^εn accept ye them

Present:

tkejijækI'sæIn I am accepting you
nke'jijñIn we are accepting him
änke'j-Ij-Iñni'n they are accepting him
ke'jijni^εn he is accepting them
ke'jijñI^εn thou art accepting him, them

The nominal forms of these two types are—

| Type I | | Type II |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 } 2 } 3 } | . . . -ic, -il . . . -êka (rare) | -êxê -êxêka (rare) |

As in the intransitive verb, the future is expressed by the present of the desiderative.

talaxin I shall beat thee
talabin I shall beat him

tkeja'axkin I shall accept thee
tkejalñin or *tkejalkrëin* I shall accept him

The two types of conjugation depend upon suffixes which precede the pronominal elements. Some verbal stems are used with and without these suffixes, with a modification of meaning.

tëxl'jin (Type I) I take away my boots

tëxl'jñin (Type II) I take away something from the table

The loss of modes in Kamchadal may be due to Russian influence. There are a number of Kamchadal forms, evidently remains of older forms, which resemble the Chukchee even more closely than the forms just described. Thus we find—

| Kamchadal | Chukchee | |
|----------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| <i>jiljin</i> | <i>yl'lrkin</i> | thou givest him |
| <i>ji'lijhäm</i> | <i>ne'yilhä</i> | they gave me |
| <i>(ä)njil'jimäk</i> | <i>ne'yilmik</i> | they gave us |

§ 72. Examples of Verbal Suffixes

CHUKCHEE

The phonetic rules discussed in §§ 1-23 bring about frequent changes in the verbal suffixes. As a matter of convenience I will summarize here the most common modifications, a few of which can not be explained by the general phonetic laws.

1. Verbal stems terminating in a vowel add the verbal suffix without auxiliary vowel. Whenever the initial *g* of the suffix stands in intervocalic position, it is either dropped or pronounced very weakly.

telerë'ä^ëk < *t-elerë'-gä^ëk* I felt lonesome

na^{yo}ë'ññö^ë < *ne-yö^ëññö^ë-gä^ë* he began to be overtaken 10.7

In stems ending in a double vowel this may lead to trivocalic clusters, which are never contracted.

tipa'aa^ëk < *t₁-pa'ä-gä^ëk* I ceased 21.1

trya'aa^ëk < *t₁-ya'ä-gä^ëk* I used

2. When stems ending in consonants would form consonantic clusters of more than two consonants, when combined with suffixes, an auxiliary vowel is inserted before the suffix.

pê'nřinên < *pênr-nin* he attacks him
te'ikinin < *teik-nin* he made it
qêna'nmuê^ε < *qêna-tm-gi^ε* kill me!

3. In a few cases auxiliary vowels are also introduced when two consonants come into contact that would form inadmissible clusters.

pegtimé'tilin < *pegti-met-lin* hauling a sledge 15.3

Among the types of assimilation of sounds may be mentioned —

4. Stems with terminal *u* diphthong transform the combination *ug* into *wkw*. The following auxiliary vowel is *u*.

tima'rawkwa^εk < *ti-ma'rgu-gä^εk* I quarreled.
timara'wkut < *ti-ma'rgu-git* I blamed thee
i'wkwu^ε < *iu-gi^ε* he spoke 8.14
res'qi'wki^ε < *res'qiu-gi^ε* he entered 11.2

When the diphthong is accented, and followed by a consonant with which *w* would form an admissible cluster, the *u* has a vocalic character.

mará'urkin he quarrels

With those stems in which *u* is by origin a weak vowel or an unchangeable vowel, the *g* of the suffix, being an intervocalic sound, drops out.

i'urkin he rows (perhaps from *iyu*)
té'urkin he shakes
títé'ua^εn I shook

5. Stems ending in *t* change the initial *g* of suffixes into *y*.

ewkwe'tyi^ε < *ewkwet-gi^ε* he left 8.7
tıye'tyä^εk < *tı-yet-gä^εk* I came 124.11
tewkwe'tyä^εk < *t-ewkwe't-gä^εk* I left

6. Stems ending in *l* change the initial *g* of suffixes into *y* or *h*.

uñe'lyä^εt < *uñel-gä^εt* they gathered fuel 30.6
ne'lyä^εt < *nel-gä^εt* it became 12.2
quñe'lhı^ε < *q-uñel-gi^ε* gather fuel! 27.1
mı'ıllııt < *mı-yıl-gıt* let me give thee 121.24

7. Stems ending in *l*, *r*, *č*, *t*, with following *l*, form *L* or *Ḷ*.

gi^ε'Ḷın < *g-i^εr-lın* he has gone across
gene'Ḷın < *ge-nel-lın* he became 10.8

ge'lgälin < *ge-lgät-lin* he left 59.1

gak'i'timälên < *ga-ki'timat-lên* he had his hand extended 47.6

8. Terminal *ñ* of the stem before *l* changes to *n*.

gatqarqnlên < *ga-taarön-lên* he has brought sacrifice

9. In the pronunciation of men, among the Reindeer Chukchee, *t* and *n* between vowels are dropped, and the vowels are assimilated to *aa*, *ee*, *ii*, and after preceding *q* to *äe*.

ewkwé'erkín < *ewkwé't-r-kin* he leaves

gênatva'Laat < *ge-inë-tvat-lînet* they promised 71.4 (see § 73)

ninenlîpé'tqâet < *n-ine-r-lîp-et-qînet* he broke them 20.11

I give here a series of examples of the forms described before.

INTRANSITIVE VERB

Past I:

2d pl. *pi'ntiqättik* you appeared 74.21

3d pl. *pük'i'rgä^t* they came 64.2

tara'ngä^t they pitched a tent 56.9

ñipe'ä^t < *ñipe-gä^t* they came ashore 7.8

tîle'ä^t < *tîle-gä^t* they walked 64.9

qami'tvaa^t < *qami-tva-gä^t* they ate 87.32

yilqä'tyä^t < *yilqät-gä^t* they slept 8.4

2d sing. *ye'tyi^ë* < *yet-gi^ë* thou hast come 37.6

qäti' thou art going 82.23

gitté'wkw^{ië} < *gittéu-gi^ë* thou art hungry 9.13

3d sing. *e'gripgi^ë* she felt pain 63.8

i^ë'rqi^ë he crossed over 13.13

pük'i'ri he came 90.26

ñq'wtinqé^ë he married 58.8

pük'i'rgi^ë he arrived 57.8; 58.1

lile'pgi^ë he looked 7.6

kê'rgüpgé^ë she dressed up 52.9

einë'utkui^ë < *einë'u-tku-gi^ë* he called 8.5

wa'qgê^ë < *wäqg-gé^ë* he sat down 15.7

euñó'ê^ë < *iu-ññó-gi^ë* he began to say 117.25

ra'gtiê^ë < *rggti-gi^ë* he came home 122.7

ewkwé'tyi^ë < *ewkwet-gi^ë* he left 8.7

têrgä'tyé^ë < *têrg-ét-gi^ë* he cried 7.6

kiye'wkw^{ië} < *kiyeu-gi^ë* he awoke 9.4

ki'wkw^{ië} < *kiu-gi^ë* he passed a night 8.4

notas'qa'wkwé^ë < *nute-s'qeu-gi^ë* land approached 8.8

1st sing. *te'gripgä^ëk* I felt pain 101.17

tyé'tyä^ëk < *t-yet-gä^ëk* I came 124.11

teiv'ä^ëk < *t-eiv-gä^ëk* I revived 83.14

tîlva'wkwä^ëk < *t-lvqu-gä^ëk* I could not 16.9

1st pl. *mityi'greumik* we are thirsty 71.14
mitvi^εmik we died 64.15

Subjunctive (a):

3d pl. *niyilqä'tinet* < *n-yilqät-ı-net* let them sleep
 3d sing. *ni'lqätyä^εn* < *n-lqät-gä^εn* let him go! 13.12
ničä'atvaa^εn < *n-čaa-tvā-gä^εn* let her be a castaway 39.3
niyi'lqätyä^εn < *n-yilqät-gä^εn* let him sleep 9.1
 1st sing. *mılimala'ññoa^εk* < *mı-lımālg-ññō-gä^εk* let me obey 21.10
mı'lqätyä^εk < *mı-lqät-gä^εk* let me go 125.5
muanla'a^εk < *mı-ānlā-gä^εk* I may ask (for help) 135.19
mıne'etyä^εk < *mı-neet-gä^εk* let me turn black 23.6
 1st pl. *mne'wkwen ik* < *mı-ewkwet-mik* let us go away 17.8
mınuñ'lmik let us gather fuel 30.6
mınrā'gtımük let us go home 126.4
mra'gtia^εk let me go home 99.2
mıta'aqəa^εk let me smoke 99.26

Subjunctive (b):

ni^εtva'nat if they had stayed 68.27
ni^εwi'ä^εn < *ni^ε-vi^ε-gä^εn* she would die 37.12

Imperative:

quwi^εtik die ye! 64.16
qäle'tik walk ye! 65.29
qämñi'i^ε < *q-mñi-gi^ε* celebrate the thanksgiving ceremonial 60.5
qanto' < *q-ntō-gi^ε* come out! 26.3
qāqno'pğé^ε sit with head bent down! 32.4

Future:

2d pl. *revi^εntik* ye will die 64.20
 3d pl. *rē'pkirgä^ε* they will come 10.5 (sing. used as plural)
 2d sing. *rečipe'tyä^ε* < *re-čip-et-gä^ε* thou wilt die 114.22
revi^εi^ε < *rē-vi^ε-gi^ε* thou wilt die 65.6 (cf. 21.12 *revi^εä^ε* 37.8)
ra'tvaa^ε < *rē-tvā-gä^ε* thou wilt live 108.25
 3d sing. *remñi'ä^ε* < *re-mñi-gä^ε* he will celebrate a thanksgiving ceremonial 118.12
ratopa'wkwa^ε < *rē-topāu-gä^ε* she will be pregnant 104.5
rara'lēčētya^ε < *rē-ralē-čēt-gä^ε* he will slide down 114.15
reurre'tyi^ε < *re-urr-et-gi^ε* it will appear 119.10
 1st sing. *trara'gtia^ε* < *t-rē-raqti-gä^ε* I shall go home 99.14
trevi^εä^ε < *t-re-vi^ε-gä^ε* I shall die 108.1
trenē'lhä^ε < *t-re-nēl-gä^ε* I shall turn to 24.12
 1st pl. *mırreyi'lqätyä^ε* < *mırre-yilq-ät-gä^ε* we shall sleep 9.3

Derived Modes in *-irkin*.

Past I:

- inenreqeurkinî'tik* < *ine-r-reg-eu-rkin-itik* what are you doing with me 10.10
ewkwé'erkıt < *ewkwet-irkit* they leave 13.6
mñî'rkıt they celebrate the thanksgiving ceremonial 67.29
pılqä'erkın he dived 9.7
va'rkın he is 19.2
rıqamıtva'urkinên he was made to eat
kime'urkin thou causest delay 18.6
re'qärkin how art thou? 18.9
tıngäe'rkın I refuse 19.7
mitteğimî'n-ñîrkin we suffer 32.2
mitteñiçe'erkin we feel merry 69.8
mıngamı'tvarkın let us eat 65.4
qatva'rkın stay! 57.3; 67.23
remeiñe'erkin he will grow up 21.7

Koryak:

Past I:

- 3d pl. *ısr'hımlavai'ñalai* they shout aloud and dance Kor. 24.6
 2d sing. *i'yi* thou hittest Kor. 26.1
i'tı thou wert Kor. 16.3
ya'tı thou camest Kor. 68.12
qati' you went away Kor. 18.5
 3d sing. *vannınta'tı* she lost a tooth Kor. 34.1
a'wyeñvoi he begins to eat Kor. 20.7
vi'e'qi he is dead Kor. 22.1
 1st sing. *trvi'e'yak* I died Kor. 84.14
titva'ñvok I began to be Kor. 18.6
tuva'nnıntatik I lost a tooth Kor. 33.1
tapka'vık I could not Kor. 35.2
tı'yak I hit Kor. 26.2
trna'e'lık I remained Kor. 16.2
 1st dual. *mitquğıta't* we are hungry Kor. 74.17

Subjunctive (a):

- 2d sing. *nına'e'lın* may it become Kor. 20.2
 3d sing. *ne'wñıvon* he would begin to say Kor. 27.6
 1st sing. *mılqa'tık* let me go! Kor. 33.10
mas'hr'ntılık I'll walk along the shore Kor. 82.19
mınan'ačo'mık let us try the divining-stone! Kor. 80.20
 1st dual *mınr'lqat* let us go! Kor. 22.5 (see § 62,1)
mına'wıyi let us eat! Kor. 28.9

- 1st pl. *minilqala'mik* let us go! Kor. 28.5; 62.6
mīno'yīvala let us play! Kor. 32.7
minikya'wla let us get up! Kor. 39.4.
mina'wyela let us eat! Kor. 27.7
minno'tantala let us go for a walk! Kor. 86.8.

Subjunctive (b):

- ni'tva'an* it should be Kor. 34.12
nani's'win one could say Kor. 24.10
ti's'wik I should say 45.9

Imperative:

- sing. *quvi'yas'qi'wgi* die! Kor. 35.1
qa'lqathi go away! Kor. 35.3
qimla'we dance! Kor. 37.6
qamla'wge dance! Kor. 45.9
qita'pañ cook soup! Kor. 42.10
qawas'vu'gi look in! Kor. 27.3
- dual *qamalitva'thritik* make it better! Kor. 13.2
qanto'tik go out! Kor. 74.15
qiyai'titik go ye two home Kor. 21.1
qi'thritik be ye two! Kor. 21.2
- pl. *qawas'vila'tik* look ye in! Kor. 27.1
qikyawla'tik awake ye! Kor. 39.3
qai'vilala'tik carry ye meat as a present! Kor. 63.12
qalqala'tik go away! Kor. 14.7

Future:

- 3d pl. *yewñivol'añe* they shall tell Kor. 22.5
1st sing. *tyavi's'yañ* I shall die Kor. 33.1
tryaya'i'tñ I will go home Kor. 30.5
1st pl. *missavi's'yala* we shall die Kor. 16.9

Derived modes in *-ykin*:

- 2d pl. *yaqlaikne'tik* what are you doing? Kor. 24.8
3d dual *vai'ke* they two are Kor. 48.7
3d pl. *kriya'wlaike* they awoke Kor. 12.6
vañvolai'ke they lived Kor. 43.7; 45.5; 62.7; 12.6.
kokaivi'lai'ke they are cooking Kor. 27.4
enkayalai'ke they are snoring Kor. 28.4
- 3d sing. *lelapitēoñvo'ykin* he looks up Kor. 42.8
kañ'a'trykin he is fishing Kor. 45.1
va'ykin he lives Kor. 18.4
- 1st sing. *trigitta'trykin* I am hungry Kor. 35.5
tryañlanñvo'ykin I shall feel smoky Kor. 37.10
- 1st pl. *mititvañvolai'kin* we remain Kor. 17.11

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Subjunctive:

1st sing. *mañinmıla'trykin* I should feel elated Kor. 84.17

Imperative:

2d sing. *qiwrykin-i'-gi* say! Kor. 25.4

TRANSITIVE VERB

Transitive Forms

FIRST AND SECOND PERSON FORMS

Past I and subjunctive:

tr'lhı-gıt I have thee for something 15.8 (I 1*)

ne'ntı-gıt they bid thee 19.5 (I 1)

minleté'ttik let us carry you away! 74.15 (I 2)

ne'ntıtik he bid you 74.24 (I 2)

nayo^εmük they visit us 34.6 (I 3)

nantımla'nmik they press on us 63.9 (I 3)

Future:

nara'nmügıt they will kill thee 37.10 (III 1)

nara'nmüntik it will kill you 70.12 (III 2)

Derived modes:

nayo^εrkin-ê-gıt they visit thee 52.4 (IV 1)

nanmırkinê'mık let them kill us! 67.33 (IV 3)

THIRD-PERSON FORMS

Past I and subjunctive:

tre^εtyä^εn I brought it 20.1 (I 4)

tr^εlhı'ä^εn if I should do for it 38.12 (Ia 4)

mılu^εä^εn let me see it 19.5; 20.2 (Ia 4)

mıpê'nıra^εn let me catch him 66.16 (Ia 4)

mıtlı^εä^εn we saw it 33.7 (I 4)

napêla'a^εn they left it 30.12 (I 4)

mınpê'laa^εn let us leave him 29.11 (I 4)

gına'n lr'ngä^εn thou hast put it 38.11 (I 4)

tule'tinet thou hast stolen them 18.1 (I 5)

nenu'net they ate it 14.8 (I 5)

ä^εnlu^ε'net they might see it 62.1 (Ia 5)

yopa'nnên he visited him 7.4 (I 6)

lu^ε'nin he saw it 18.11 (I 6)

nı^εyo^ε'nên they would visit it 53.1 (Ia 6)

tımnê'nat he killed them 34.1 (I 6')

pınlô'nênat he asked them 13.9 (I 6')

iu'ninet he said to them 8.10 (I 6')

* Numbers in parentheses refer to the table of forms on pp. 741-743.

Imperative:

- qäqtı'gın* fetch it! 30.9 (II 4)
qärrı'lıın put it down 40.6 (II 4)
qai'pügun put it on! 16.6; 37.8 (II 4)
qäte'kigınet make them! 49.4 (II 5)
qrė'tinet fetch them 73.11 (II 5)

Future:

- trė'ntıñın* I will manage him 67.22 (III 4)
mirraio'ñın we shall see him 66.30 (III 4)
mirrı'wkut-ıt we shall bind thee 23.8 (III 1)
repli'tkuñınet thou wilt finish them 49.5 (III 5)
ra'nmugnėn he will kill him 37.14 (III 6)

Derived modes:

- goi'pıtkoi'vürkın* thrust it in all! 72.24 (IV 4)
tılıı'rkınet I do them 29.2; 30.5 (IV 5)
nata'rkınat they left them 68.17 (IV 5)
tımı'rkınėn he kills him 23.5 (IV 6)
tė'grırkının he threw him 10.10 (IV 6)
tımı'rkınėnat they kill them 44.8 (IV 6')
nelu'rkın they saw it 7.8 (IV 4)

Intransitive Forms.

Past I, and derived form:

- ine'lııı^ε* thou hast for me 25.1 (I 8)
gına'n inelıı'ı^ε thou hast seen me 22.10 (I 8)
ėnapėlarkınė'tık ye are leaving me 10.5 (IV 9)
ınenregeurkını'tık what are you doing to me? 10.10 (IV 9)
ınenı^ε'e'urkın thou causest me pain 31.11 (IV 8)
ıtııwku'tırkın-ı-gıt we bind thee (IV 1)

Imperative:

- qıne'ılııı^ε* give me! 15.12 (II 8)
qėnata'g^ε move to me! 37.10 (II 8)
qėnankėrgıpa'ty^ε dress me! 48.9 (II 8)
qıgıte'tkuı^ε look at us! 35.7 (II 8)
qeiñė'tkutık carry ye us away! 74.12 (II 9)
qınerrı'lııtık (*qınerrı'ltık* 23.7) let ye me go! 24.1 (II 9)
qėnagta'tyıtık haul ye me up! 67.8 (II 9)
qınelıı^ε'tık look ye at me! 70.31 (II 9)
qaiıalponaurkını'tkı hit ye them on the head! 69.32 (IV 10)
qānu'utkı eat ye it! 14.7; 33.12 (II 10)
qata'gıtıkı pass it! 70.10 (II 10)
qata'lııı_ı'tkı answer ye them! 11.11 (II 10)
qānımlė'wku'tkı light ye them 68.13 (II 10)

Future:

raala'ñitki ye will pass it 64.20 (III 10)

relu'ñitki ye will see it 64.21 (III 10)

Nominal Predicative Forms

napêla'-üm they left me 31.9 (I 11)

nančaatwa'wküm they cast me off 31.10 (I 11)

nanlimalawa't-ê-üm they make me obey 21.3 (I 11)

For examples of verbal nouns, see § 95.

KORYAK

1. Stems with terminal vowel form a diphthong with the ending *-ykin* of the derived forms.

tī-tva'ikīn < *tī-tva'-ykin* I am

tī-čvī'ikīn < *tī-čvī'-ykin* I cut

va'ykin he lives Kor. 18.4

2. The *g* of the suffix is never dropped.

tī-čvī'-gän I cut off

3. Stems with terminal consonant have for the derived forms in *-ykin* the form *-ikīn*, an auxiliary vowel being introduced on account of the formation of a triconsonantic cluster.

tivalg'mēkīn (Chukchee *tivalo'mirkīn*) < *tī-valom-ykin* I hear

tapatēkīn (Chukchee *tapatirkīn*) < *t-ūpat-ykin* I cook

tī'vīkīn (Chukchee *tīurkīn*) < *t-iv-ykin* I say

4. Terminal *v* of the stem (which corresponds to Chukchee *u*) is not regularly assimilated by the initial *g* of the suffix.

tī'vgä'k I said

In other cases *vg* is changed to *wg*, which corresponds to the Chukchee *wkw*.

tyi'wgi (Chukchee *tri'wkut*) < *t-y-iv-gi* (Chukchee < *t-r-iu-git*)

I shall say to you

quvī'yas'qi'wgi die! Kor. 35.1

5. Terminal *t* does not influence the *g* of the suffix.

pēlqa'tgi he grew old

6. Stems in terminal *ī* of Koryak I, which correspond to stems in *r* of the Chukchee, form the derived modes in *-īkīn* (Chukchee *-rirkīn*).

Kamenskoye
tī'īkīn

Chukchee
tī^εrirkīn I cross over

7. Terminal *t* before *ʔ* either forms the Koryak analogue of *ʔ* or drops out.

gapa'ʔen < *ga-pat-ʔen* he has cooked

gapE'lqal'in < *ga-pE'lqat-lin* he has grown old

Examples:

tıyanu'wgi I shall swallow thee Kor. 78.18; 84.24 (I 1)

miti'mtingi I shall carry thee Kor. 21.4 (Ia 1)

minınyai'tala-ge let us take thee home Kor. 33.3 (Ia 1)

a^εntai'ki-gi one should make thee Kor. 38.4 (Ia 1)

nal^εı̄lai^εkiné'tik they do to you Kor. 64.17 (IV 2)

minıyai'tatik I'll carry you two home Inc. 4 line 6, p. 63¹ (Ia 2)

nene^εı̄da'mik he appears to us Kor. 29.9 (I 3)

nana^εyı̄va'wmik he is reproaching us Kor. 74.19 (I 3)

nal^εı̄lai^εkiné'mik they do us Kor. 64.16, 62.5 (IV 3)

ı̄u^ε'wa^εn thou sawest it Kor. 23.8 (I 4)

miyo^ε'ogan let me visit him Kor. 20.7 (Ia 4)

mitla^ε'wı̄a^εn we found it Kor. 26.9 (I 4)

qı̄ya^ε'thin bring it here! Kor. 29.4 (II 4)

minu'mkawın I will lay it aside Kor. 49.10 (I 4)

tryai'lı̄nım I'll give him Kor. 12.3; 76.17 (III 4)

tryan^εı̄awtı̄nı̄a'n^εnım I'll give you your wife Kor. 13.3 (III 4)

ya'nmi^εnım you will kill it Kor. 76.7 (III 4)

natalai^εkiné'mik it has caught us Kor. 66.7 (IV 3)

ti'nmin I killed him Kor. 20.5 (I 4)

ı̄u^ε'nin she found it Kor. 24.3 (I 6)

tai'kinin he made them Kor. 20.9 (I 6)

nayo^ε'onau ye visit them Kor. 24.7 (I 10)

qutei'ki^εnı̄nau you are making them Kor. 50.7 (I 10)

qı̄pk^ε'w^εnı̄nenau it could not do them Kor. 40.2 (I 6')

nayo^εnı̄vo'ykinenau they visit them Kor. 61.8 (IV 5')

yile^εnı̄vo'ykinen she turns him Kor. 19.2 (IV 6)

yavd'ykinen she has him for Kor. 22.6 (IV 6)

ınd'nui he swallowed me Kor. 84.13 (I 7)

tenanıkyo'nı̄ıvoı he wants to awaken us Kor. 39.4 (I 7)

nı̄nanıvda^ε'an let him swallow me! Kor. 84.15 (Ia 7)

yend'nmı she will kill us Kor. 96.14 (III 8)

qı̄na'nu swallow me! Kor. 84.22 (II 8)

qı̄nanı'wgi swallow me! Kor. 84.24 (II 8)

qenanyai'kinı'gi cheer me up! Kor. 84.27 (II 8)

qı̄namlı̄ıa'tik ye louse me! Kor. 24.9 (II 9)

qı̄natı̄nı̄ıla'tik prepare ye provisions for me Kor. 13.4 (II 9)

qı̄wuı̄a'gıtča tie ye her! Kor. 23.4 (II 10)

¹ Waldemar Jochelson, The Koryak. Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VI.

qi'wqutča tell ye him! Kor. 74.20 (II 10)

qiyō^εo^la' qitča visit ye her! Kor. 23.7 (II 10)

nryanñepñiroi' güm they will keep me back Kor. 60.5 (I 11)

naya'nuw-güm they will eat me Kor. 78.21 (I 11)

For examples of verbal nouns, see § 95.

§§ 73-74. Predicative Form of Nominalized Verb

§ 73. FORMS DERIVED FROM INTRANSITIVE VERB

Nouns, adjectives, and pronouns are combined with the suffixed personal pronouns of the first and second persons, and thus express the idea TO BE ——. Verbal stems are nominalized in the same manner. In the third person such verbs take the affixes—

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. sing. <i>ni-qin</i> | } | one who is in a condition or performs an action |
| pl. <i>ni-qin^εet</i> | | |
| 2. sing. <i>ge-lin</i> | } | one who has attained a condition or who has performed an action |
| pl. <i>ge-lin^εet</i> | | |

The second form may also be used with nouns, and expresses ONE WHO HAS ——. In the singular a connective *i* occurs between the verbal stem and the suffixed pronoun. In the first person singular of verbs ending in a consonant the connective *i* forms a syllable and the initial *g* of the suffix *güm* drops out. In Koryak, on the other hand, it is retained. When the stem ends in a vowel, the *i* forms a diphthong with it and the *g* of *güm* is retained. The following table illustrates these forms.

| | Prefix | | Suffix | | | |
|-------------------|--------|-------------------|------------|-----------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Noun | Nominalized Verbs | | Noun | Nominalized Verbs | |
| | | (a) | (b) | | (a) | (b) |
| 3d sing. | — | <i>ni-</i> | <i>ge-</i> | — | <i>-qin</i> | <i>-lin</i> |
| 3d pl. | | | | <i>-et, -ti</i> | <i>-qin^εet</i> | <i>-lin^εet</i> |
| 1st sing. | | | | <i>-i-üm</i> | | |
| 2d sing. | | | | <i>-igt</i> | | |
| 1st pl. | | | | <i>-myri</i> | | |
| 2d pl. | | | | <i>-tyri</i> | | |

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| | Prefix | | | Suffix | | |
|--------------------|--------|------------------|-----|----------------------|-----------------------------|--------|
| | Noun | Nominalized Verb | | Noun | Nominalized Verbs | |
| | | (a) | (b) | | (a) | (b) |
| 3d sing. | | | | — | -q'in | -lin |
| 3d dual | | | | -at,-t,-t'i | -q'inat | -linat |
| 3d pl. | | | | -au, y, -wwi,-wgi | -q'inau | -linau |
| 1st sing. | | | | | -ig'um | |
| 2d sing. | | | | | -ig'i | |
| 1st dual | — | ni | ga | | -muyi | |
| 2d dual | | | | | -muyy, muy, mu ¹ | |
| 1st pl. | | | | | -tuyi | |
| 2d pl. | | | | | -tuyy, tuy, ty ¹ | |

¹ The contracted forms *mu* and *tu* do not change their vowels in harmony with hard vowels of the stem.

Examples:

Nouns:

1st sing. *o'rgukäl-ê-üm* I am one who has no sledge 78.6.

ke'lei-(g)üm < *kele-i-güm* I am a kele

qla'ul-ê-üm I am a man 116.32

2d sing. *ñe'us'qät-i-gir* thou art a woman 136.15.

ke'lei-git thou art a kele 15.11

1st pl. *ili'lä-mu'ri* we are islanders 11.11.

Nominalized verbs (a):

3d sing. *nignopitva'qên* he was one who remained crouching 7.4.

nine'lqin he is one who becomes a -- 8.7.

3d pl. *nimitva'qênat* they were those who lived in a camp 13.3.

1st sing. *ni'lqät-i-üm* I am one who was there 66.36.

na^glαιοi'güm < *n-^glαιο-i-(g)üm* I defecated 76.5

2d sing. *wu'tku nitvai'-gir* you are one who stays here 7.5.

nine'l-i-git you are one who becomes a — 10.11.

1st pl. *ni'pkir-muri* we are those who came 11.1.

2d pl. *me'ñki ni't-turi* where are you? 12.2.

Nominalized verbs (b):

3d sing. *ganto'lên* he was one who had gone out 8.4.

ge'tkulin he was one who had spent time 7.2.

3d pl. *gi'ulinet* they were those who had said 11.11.

gene'xinet they were those who had become — 9.4.

1st sing. *gene'l-i-üm* I am the one who has become a — 17.6.

gelere'i-güm < *g-elere-i-(g)üm* I was feeling dull

1st pl. *ge'łhi-muri* we were the ones to whom it happened 65.11.

Koryak:

Nouns:

1st sing. *qla'wul-e-güm* I am a man Kor. 22.1.1st pl. *kmi'ñi-mu'yi* we are children Kor. 70.20.

Nominalized verbs (a):

3d sing. *na^εčañvoqen* he was the one who was urinating
Kor. 14.2.*nıqahaiañvoqen* he was the one who began to
cry aloud Kor. 78.10.3d du. *nalñıqa'tvuqinet* they were the ones who were
quite successful Kor. 88.21.3d pl. *nanyamča'čaqenau* they are those that taste of
fat Kor. 25.5.1st sing. *nanñiėvına'w-güm* I am one who is getting
angry Kor. 31.2.2d sing. *nıta'wikñi-gi* you are one who is doing mis-
chief Kor. 82.9.

Nominalized verbs (b):

3d sing. *gaya'lqrwlin* he was the one who had entered
Kor. 14.1.3d du. *gata'wañlenat* they were the ones who had
moved on Kor. 19.9.3d pl. *gaqi'tilinau* they were the ones who were frozen
Kor. 14.2.1st sing. *gatuyıkmıña't-i-güm* I am the one who has
given birth to a child Kor. 64.12.1st pl. *gano^ε'l-mu'yu* we are the ones who have be-
come — Kor. 37.4.2d sing. *galu'tai-gi* you are the one who has urinated
Kor. 66.6.

§ 74. FORMS DERIVED FROM TRANSITIVE VERB

The nominalized form of the transitive verb has in the *n(i)*-form throughout the prefix *ınε-*, which makes the verbal theme passive.

| | Prefix | | (a) | (b) | |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------|------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| | (a) | (b) | | | |
| 3d sing. . . . | | | (<i>ınε</i>)— <i>qın</i> | (<i>ınε</i>)— <i>lın</i> | |
| 3d pl. | | | (<i>ınε</i>)— <i>qınεt</i> | (<i>ınε</i>)— <i>lınεt</i> | |
| 1st sing. . . . | | | (<i>ınε</i>)— <i>i-güm</i> | — <i>i(g)um</i> | |
| 2d sing. . . . | <i>n(i)</i> | <i>ğε</i> | (<i>ınε</i>)— <i>ıqt</i> | (<i>ınε</i>)— <i>ıqt</i> | — <i>tky-ıqt</i> |
| 1st pl. | | | (<i>ınε</i>)— <i>mıyrı</i> | — <i>mıyrı</i> | |
| 2d pl. | | | (<i>ınε</i>)— <i>tıyrı</i> | (<i>ınε</i>)— <i>tıyrı</i> | — <i>tky-tıyrı</i> |

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| | Prefix | | (a) | (b) |
|-------------------|-------------|-----------|------------------|----------------|
| | (a) | (b) | | |
| 3d sing. | | | <i>ina-qin</i> | <i>-l̥in</i> |
| 3d dual. | | | <i>ina-qinat</i> | <i>-l̥inat</i> |
| 3d pl. | | | <i>ina-qinau</i> | <i>-l̥inau</i> |
| 1st sing. | | | <i>ina-ig̃um</i> | <i>-ig̃um</i> |
| 2d sing. | <i>n(i)</i> | <i>ga</i> | <i>ina-igrt</i> | <i>-igrt</i> |
| 1st dual. | | | <i>ina-muyu</i> | <i>-muyu</i> |
| 1st pl. | | | <i>ina-tuyu</i> | <i>-tuyu</i> |
| 2d dual. | | | <i>ina-muyi</i> | <i>-muyi</i> |
| 2d pl. | | | <i>ina-tuyi</i> | <i>-tuyi</i> |

In meaning this form agrees with the intransitive nominalized verb. It may be translated THE ONE WHOM I —, etc.

elo'n nēnapēla'ig̃um he is the one whom I leave

g̃it nēnapēlai'g̃um you are the one whom I leave

qa'at n̥inei'mit̃ūm the reindeer are the ones whom I take

nēna'nmē-g̃it they are the ones whom you kill 23.4

Accordingly, when the object of the verb is in the plural, the nominal third person appears also in the plural.

The third person plural subject occurs also without *ine-* and has active sense.

qa'at n̥ip̃ēl̃g̃'q̃ēñat the reindeer are the ones whom they leave (or, perhaps, the reindeer are in the condition of being left).

qa'at n̥inei'mit̃q̃inet the reindeer are the ones whom he takes

n̥i'nm̃q̃ēñ ora'w̃ēlañ Eiṽhuel̃l̃ü the St. Lawrence people were the ones who killed the men 12.11

pip̃e'k̃ilk̃iñ nēna'nm̃q̃ēñ a mouse was killed by him 89.24

n̥i'ug̃inet̃ qu'tti several were the ones who said to them 59.2

n̥ini'ug̃inet̃ they were told by him 73.13

ti'lik̃ neime'ñq̃aet̃ they were those who were approaching (to) the entrance (intransitive) 103.1

n̥ineimeu'q̃iñ wa'l̃q̃ar he was one who approached the house 57.6

tayo'lh̃it̃ nēna'im̃ē'q̃ēñat̃ he was one who hung up the needlecases 82.10

The nominalized transitive verb in *ge-* has two forms—one the passive, meaning I, THE ONE WHO HAS BEEN—, etc.; the other active, derived from those forms of the transitive verb which are replaced by intransitive forms (see p. 741), except *-tk̃i*.

The third person, with or without *ine-* may be used in an active or passive sense.

gapê'lalên he was leaving him, or he was left
genlete'n-muri he was the one who took us away 74.23
geniggewgu'ulinet he was the one who awakened them 12.12

Examples, Koryak:

- (a) *nenaaiñawñivo'qen* she was the one who called him Kor. 74.29
nenanuñvo'qenau she was the one who ate them Kor. 59.9
ninataikiñvo'qenau she was the one who made them Kor. 59.5
nassi'ñvo-güm they are the ones who are untying me Kor. 39.3
nenemeye'ye-ge art thou the one who is seeking it? Kor. 49.9
nenavo^ε'ñvo-mu'yu we are those who find them Kor. 59.9
- (b) *gêwñivo'lenat* they were the two whom he told Kor. 13.2
ga'nmiñenau they were the ones whom they had killed Kor. 12.8
ganta'witkiñau-mu'yi we are the ones whom they have defiled
 Kor. 29.6
ganta'witkiñaw-i-g-i thou art the one whom they have defiled
 Kor. 31.1

§§ 75-81. Notes on Certain Verbs

§ 75. To be, —*it*

The Chukchee verbal stem *-it*, Kor. Kam. *-it*, expresses the idea TO BE. In the pronunciation of men the *t* is lost in Chukchee in intervocalic position. The women say instead of *i'irkin* of the men *i'tiššin*. In other words with terminal *t* of stem they may drop it, as in *ylqaeššin* he sleeps.

i'irkin, Kor. Kam. *it'ykin* he is
me'ñki nit-turi? where are you?
mi'ñkri ni'tqin? how was he? 17.12

It is used with the verbal noun in *-tä*, and with the noun in *-nu* (see § 95, p. 784, § 103, no. 34).

ëauëwa'-va'rat ëi'mqüg viri'tä-ñ i'irkin the Reindeer Chukchee people are partly self-destroying

Tä'n-ñiçht üm em-vi'tä ni'tqinet the Russians are just dying
leñ-qami'tvata i'ty^ε he could not eat 80.7

aqami'tvaka q'i'tyitik don't ye eat (of it) 64.19

e'rmu ti'tyä^εk I was a chief (literally, I was what serves as a chief)

gai'miçilø tr'i'tyä^ε I am going to be rich

qarêmënd'nø ri'tyä^ε thou shalt not be it 23.6

li'ë-ñaraw'tilø min'nmik (< *min-it-mik*) let us really try to get wives 57.1

ënd'nmiçu i'tkäl-i-üm I am not a murderer 24.8

It seems possible that the element \dot{i} in the nominalized verbs is derived from this stem (see note 1 p. 734).

nu-wa'lom-ê-um I am hearing

ni-yi'lqät-i-üm I am sleeping

§ 76. TO LIVE, TO BE *-tva*

This stem occurs both in Chukchee and Koryak. It expresses a longer duration than *it*.

ägäliñē'tä t'i'tyäk I was in fear

em-ägäliñē'tä t'itva'a^εk I was continually just in fear

va'rkin (Chukchee), *va'ykin* (Kor. Kam.) he lives

awgo'l'ika t'itva'rkin I remain without an assistant 124.5

ni'mnim vai č'i'mčeqäi va'rkin a settlement then quite near is 7.7

i'lukä qatva'rkin remain without motion! 57.3

ni'ñkri m'ititva'rkin how shall I be? 124.3

em-nu'ñičin mi'ñkri ni'tvaqên how are those from the mainland?

13.9

wu'tku nitvai'gir you stay here 7.5

It is used as a synthetic element in many verbs.

ratva'rkin (<*ra-tva*) he house-lives (i. e., he is at home)

oratva'rkin (<*ora-tva*) he stays long

waqotva'lik (*waqo-tva*) he (remained) seated 102.24

a'ñgak nimitva'qênat (<*nim-tva* settlement remains) they lived on the sea 13.3

nwwkotitva'qên (<*wkot-tva*) he was tied

gawkötitva'ta being tied 122.24

qamitva' to eat

ëulëtê'l-va'lin being of elongated form 91.15

In Koryak the stem *it* occurs much more frequently than *tva* in independent form.

en'ñi'n-va'lin (Chukchee), *enñā^εan i'tala^εn* (Kor. Kam.) one being thus

Still in compounds the stem *tva* occurs with great frequency.

vaha'le-tva'ykin (Kor. Kam.) he is seated

Some stems when combined with *vg'lin* do not take the *ablaut*:

m'ñkri-vg'lin of what kind

me'čen'ku-wg'lê-üm I am a fairly good one

A number of stems expressing qualities form adjectival forms by composition with *-tva-* (*it-* Koryak), in the form *va'lin* (*i'tala^εn* Koryak) (see p. 814).

koulo'qu-wa'lin (stem *koulo'qi*) round
wi'čhiñ-vx'lin (stem *wi'čhiñ*) flat

Koryak:

qo'loñ-i'talaⁿ (stem *qo'loñ*) round
vičhiyriñ-i'talaⁿ (stem *vičhiyriñ*) flat.

In all these cases the stem takes the suffix—(i)ñ, which in some positions undergoes phonetic modifications; as *ta'ñum-wa'lin* a good one, from *ta'ñiñ-wa'lin*.

The stem in composition with *va'lin* may also take postpositions.

ê'mpum-wa'lin or *êmpa'qu-wa'lin* (stem *imp*) the one who is downcast
vičha'qu-wa'lin flat

This form frequently expresses the comparative:

qa'tvum-wa'lin (stem *qetv*) the stronger one
 Kor. *qa'tviñ-i'talaⁿ* (stem *qatv*) the stronger one
qa'mja-qla'ulik qa'tvum-wa'l-ê-üm I am stronger than all (the other) men
güm gini'k mai'eñku-wa'l-ê-üm I am greater than you 92.11

The allative with *va'lin* signifies possession of a quality to a slight degree.

čëutë'tu-wa'lin (stem *čiut*) somewhat low
tañë'tu-wa'lin (stem *teñ*) somewhat good, moderately good

§ 77. TO BECOME *nel*

The stem Chukchee *nel*, Kor. Kam. *nal* is used much more frequently in Chukchee than in Koryak. It is combined with the noun in *-nu* (see § 103, no. 34).

gü'mük êmño'l-tø'mgo qine'lhi^ë become ye what serves as my spleen companions¹ (i. e., became ye my friends)
rirkã'nø nine'ligit you have become a walrus 10.11 (also 10.8)
ginni'ku ne'lyã't they became the quarry 12.2
ñë'us'qätu gene'Lin he became a woman 116.21
mü'mbu gene'Lin it became water 101.27
a^ëqa-rkila gene'üüm I became one to be pursued hard 17.6
em-ginu'n-nik'i'tä ne'lyi^ë it came to be just midnight 9.11
girgo'l gene'Linet they came to be high 9.4
a^ëtto'oča nine'lqin he came to be in front 8.7
ne'lirkin (Chukchee), *na'likin* (Kor. Kam.) he becomes, turns into

The corresponding Koryak stem is used but rarely.

¹ See The Chukchee, Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 563, Note 2.

§ 78. TO TAKE OR HAVE SOME ONE AS ——— *lñ*

The Chukchee stem *lñ* (medial *lh*), Kor. Kam. *lñ*, signifies TO TAKE OR HAVE SOME ONE AS SOMETHING. The direct object is in the absolute form; the indirect object, in *-nu* (see § 103, no. 34).

l'ññrkin (Chukchee), *l'ññykin* (Kor. Kam.) you take him for
gitta'p-gla'ulə m'l'hıgıt let me take you for a clever man
giu ni'lhüqinet ne'lhıt as unknown ones they had their skins (i. e.,
 they did not know them)

pu'relu nalhıñño'a^εn they began to have him for a slave 8.2

va'lat rı'lhə nin'lhüqin he has knives as wings 15.2

wı'yolu qinelhı'rkin have me as a servant 95.7

leuléwu in'e'lhıi^ε he has me as something to be wronged 25.1

With nouns expressing emotions this verb is used throughout as indirect object, to express emotional conditions.

yei'veču l'ññrkin (Chukchee), *yaira'ču l'ññykin* (Kor. Kam.) as one serving as (an object of) compassion you have him

té'ññu l'ññrkin (Chukchee), *ta'ññu l'ññykin* (Kor. Kam.) as one serving as laughing-stock you have him

re'qü leuléwu qe'lhıñm what made me a laughing-stock? 117.19

pegé'ñu tı'l'hıgıt I have thee as an object of interest 15.8

pegé'ñu in'e'lhıi^ε you have meddling interest in me 22.9; also 15.8

§ 79. TO MAKE SOME ONE SOMETHING *rté*

The stem, Chukchee *rté* (medial *té*), Kor. Kam. *yté* (medial *té*), Kor. Par. *yss* (medial *ss*), signifies TO MAKE SOMETHING INTO SOMETHING. The direct object is in the absolute form; the indirect object, in *-nu* (see § 103, no. 34).

rité'rkin (Chukchee), *yté'ykin* (Kor. Kam.), *yıssi'ykin* (Kor. Par.) you make him into

enqa'n vai rawku'téñın moo-qa'anə mité'rkin that here doe, one serving as sledge train reindeer I shall make her

elqu'tkä ritéñın he made him not standing 115.4

éñı'ngäikä neré'téımük they will make us childless 39.4

pai'wake rı'téñın he rejects it 136.28

§ 80. TO HAVE SOME ONE FOR SOMETHING *rt*

The stem, Chukchee *rt* (medial *nt*), Kor. Kam. *yt* (medial *nt*) takes the direct object in the absolute case, the indirect object with the ending *-nu*.

ékké'nu tı'ntıä^εn Rı'nto I have Rı'nto as what serves as a son

It is often combined with the verbal noun of transitive verbs in *-tū* to express the same idea, thus forming a periphrastic expression. The verb *rt* is referred directly to the object of the transitive verb, to the nominal form of which it is joined.

gūmna'n ċin'ēt lu'ētū trenti'nīnet qa'at myself as something to look on I shall have the reindeer (i. e. I myself shall look on the reindeer)

luñ-lu'ētū nī'ntūqinet not having seen they had them (i. e., they had not seen them) 11.9

riti'rkin (Chukchee), *yiti'ykin* (Kor. Kam.) you have him for *en'ñe' gīna'n enne'kü qānti'gīnet* do not you carry them out 88.3

imqēta'ta nīne'nri-ūm I have them to look after 92.36

tulē'tā nīne'nri-ūm ora'wēlat I also treat the people as something to steal (i. e., I can steal people) 93.14

gīna'n tulē'tā nīne'nri-gīt you steal them 93.15

em-gīnri'tā nīne'nri-gīt you lay in ambush for them 93.21

§ 81. NOTES ON CERTAIN KAMCHADAL VERBS

The special verbs discussed in the preceding pages are represented in Kamchadal by a number of very irregular forms of a number of evidently related stems: *ċh*, *ċk*, for the present or derived forms; *l'*, *lh*, *lk*, for the indicative and exhortative. The forms with *k* correspond, on the whole, to the transitive forms of the paradigm on pp. 744-745, although not all the forms can be interpreted in this manner. The derived form of the intransitive form is defective, only the second person singular and the third person plural being found. The verb, when relating to objects or animals (i. e., not to persons), has forms which recall the transitive forms. Their use corresponds to the use of the Chukchee stem *tva*.

| Kamchadal | Chukchee | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>kīma'nk ċhī'jin</i> | <i>gū'mik va'rkin</i> | it is (belongs) to me |
| <i>kīma'n l'in</i> | <i>gūmni'n va'ē'</i> | it was mine |

Both constructions, with the locative-possessor's and with the possessive cases, are found.

The personal form is transitive, but has peculiar endings.

tcki'nin p!ē'ki I am to him (as) a son

VERBAL STEM *čh, ck, l', lh, lk*

PRESENT

| | Intransitive TO BE | Non-personal | | Personal | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| | | TO ME MINE | IT IS, etc. | TO BE TO HIM (AS) A— | TO BE TO THEM (AS) A— |
| 1st sing. . . . | — | <i>kɪma'n(k) ɛh'i'jɪn</i> | | <i>teki'nin</i> | <i>teki'pnin</i> |
| 2d sing. . . . | <i>ɛhijč</i> | <i>kɪni'n(k) ɛh'i'jɪn</i> | | <i>cki'nin</i> | <i>cki'pnin</i> |
| 3d sing. . . . | — | <i>ɛna'n(k) ɛh'i'jkɪnɛn</i> | | <i>c'in</i> | <i>cki'pnin</i> |
| 1st pl. | — | <i>mɪ'jhin(k) ɛh'i'jɪn</i> | | <i>ncki'nin</i> | <i>ncki'pnin</i> |
| 2d pl. | — | <i>tɪ'jhin(k) ɛh'i'jkɪsɪn</i> | | <i>c'isɪ</i> | <i>c'isɪ</i> |
| 3d pl. | <i>ɛhijci'n</i> | <i>tsɪ'in(k) ɛh'i'jkɪpnɪn</i> | | <i>c'in</i> | <i>cki'pnin</i> |

PAST

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------------------|--|----------------|-----------------|
| 1st sing. . . . | <i>tɪ'ik</i> | <i>kɪma'n(k) tɪ'in</i> | | <i>lki'nin</i> | <i>lki'pnin</i> |
| 2d sing. . . . | <i>tɪ'ič</i> | <i>kɪni'n(k) lhɪn</i> | | <i>lki'nin</i> | <i>lki'pnin</i> |
| 3d sing. . . . | <i>tɪ'ič</i> | <i>ɛna'n(k) tɪ'inɪn</i> | | <i>lhɪn</i> | <i>lki'pnin</i> |
| 1st pl. | <i>nɪ'ik</i> | <i>mɪ'jhin(k) tɪ'in</i> | | <i>nki'nin</i> | <i>nki'pnin</i> |
| 2d pl. | <i>tɪ'icɪ</i> | <i>tɪ'jhin(k) lkɪ'sɪn</i> | | <i>tɪ'isɪ</i> | <i>tɪ'isɪ</i> |
| 3d pl. | <i>tɪ'ičɪn</i> | <i>tsɪ'in(k) tɪ'ki'pnɪn</i> | | <i>lhɪn</i> | <i>lki'pnin</i> |

EXHORTATIVE (ALSO FUTURE)

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|--|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1st sing. . . . | <i>mɪ'ik</i> | <i>kɪma'n(k) xanli'hɪn</i> | | <i>mki'nin</i> | <i>mki'pnin</i> |
| 2d sing. . . . | <i>kɪ'ixč</i> | | | <i>klki'nin</i> | <i>klki'pnin</i> |
| 3d sing. . . . | <i>xanli'i'hɪn</i> | <i>ɛna'n(k) x'anlki'nin</i> | | <i>x'anlhi'n</i> | <i>x'anlki'pnin</i> |
| 1st pl. | <i>mɪnɪ'k</i> | | | <i>mɪnłki'nin</i> | <i>mɪnłki'pnin</i> |
| 2d pl. | <i>kɪ'icɪ</i> | | | <i>kɪ'isɪ</i> | <i>kɪ'isɪ</i> |
| 3d pl. | <i>xanli'i'hɪn</i> | <i>tsɪ'in(k) x'anlki'pnɪn</i> | | <i>x'anlhi'n</i> | <i>x'anlki'pnin</i> |

VERBAL STEM *le*

The auxiliary verb *le* TO BECOME has also an intransitive and a personal transitive form, like the last stem.

tlejčk I become something

tle'jkɪpnɪn I become something for them

VERBAL STEM *sɪ*

The stem *sɪ* TO BE lacks the present, but has otherwise regular intransitive forms.

sɪč you were

VERBAL STEM *is, il*

The stem *is, il* corresponds to the Chukchee *lñ-*, and *rt-*. It is used often with the nominalized verb 2, 3 (see p. 748). With the intransitive verb it has intransitive forms, while the corresponding Chukchee verbs are always transitive.

æ k!õlki milk not coming I will be

älxtalka t̄s̄jhn I like thee (*älxtalka* modalis of LIKING; (*t-* I; *is* stem; *-j-* present; *-hn* thee); compare Chukchee *älhutiłhrkinõgr̄t* (*älhu* as object of LIKING; *t-* I; *lh-* to have for—; *-rkin* present; *-igr̄t* thee)

l' a' mal m̄l̄in I will kill him (*l' a' mal* to killing; *m-* let me; *il* stem; *-in* him); compare Chukchee *am-t̄ma' m̄l'ntiä^εn* (*am-* merely; *t̄m̄-* to kill; *-a* modalis; *m-* let me; *-nt* medial stem; *-ä^εn* him)

VERBAL STEM *issi*

This stem corresponds to Chukchee *t̄-*, Kor. Kam. *ssi-*, and expresses nearly the same idea as the last verb.

gam ke'jkek t̄i'ssihn I do not accept you (*gam* not; *kej* to accept; *-kek* negative ending; *t-* I; *issi* stem; *-hn* thee) compare Chukchee *ehn-ei'mitk̄ä tr̄t̄gr̄t* (*ehn-k̄ä* negation; *ei'mit* to take; *t-* I; *t̄-* stem; *-gr̄t* thee)

VERBAL STEM *tel̄*

The stem *tel̄* has a meaning similar to the last two, but expresses prolonged action. It follows Type II of the transitive verbs.

x̄tel t̄it̄el̄ij̄ñin I came to fear him (*x̄tel* fear; *t-* I; *tel̄* stem; *-j-* present; *-ñin* [I]—him)

THE PERSONAL TRANSITIVE FORMS.

A number of intransitive verbs have forms analogous to the personal transitive of the auxiliary verb (p. 767), which are used to express relations to a personal object.

tvetatk̄öju'jk̄ipn̄en I am busying myself on their behalf (*t-* I; *vetat* to be busy; *-k̄öju* inchoative; *-j-* present; *-k̄ipn̄en* see p. 767.

i^εsx̄ t̄x̄'in no'nul' int̄il̄it̄k̄öju'jk̄ipni'n they always bring food to their father (*i^εsx̄* father; *t̄x̄'in* their; *no'nul'* modalis, with food; *int̄il̄* to bring; *-t* durative; *-k̄öju* inchoative; *-j-* present; *k̄ipnin* as before)

The Chukchee sentence

tu'mgr̄itum e'če muwi'ä^εn I will cook fat for my companion (*tu'mgr̄itum* absolute form, COMPANION; *e'če* modalis; WITH FAT; *m-* LET ME; *wi* TO COOK; *-ä^εn* HIM) is quite comparable to this (see p. 741).

§ 82. *Predicative Forms of Pronouns and of Numerals*

Indefinite (interrogative) pronouns and numerals are frequently used in predicative form, and take all verbal forms. They may also take verbal affixes, but of these only a few are in frequent use.

| Chukchee | Koryak Kamenskoye | |
|--|--|--------------------|
| <i>rɛq</i> | <i>yaq</i> ¹ | WHAT |
| <i>rɛ'qärkin</i> (<i>req + rkin</i>) | <i>ya'qikin</i> ¹ (<i>yaq + ikin</i>) | what do you do, |
| | <i>ya'qirykin</i> Kor. 28.10 | want? |
| <i>rıreqe'urqın</i> (<i>rı - eu</i> | <i>yıyaqa'wıkin</i> | what do you make |
| to cause) | | him do? |
| <i>raqınŋ'rkın</i> (<i>-ññŋ</i> to | <i>yaqñıvo'ıkin</i> | what do you begin |
| begin) | | to want? (expres- |
| | | sive of annoyance) |
| <i>raqıñna'tırkin</i> (<i>-ñnat</i> | <i>yaqıñna'tekin</i> | what do you want? |
| annoyance) | | (expression of |
| | | strong annoy- |
| | | ance) |
| <i>nıke</i> | <i>nıka</i> Kor. 80.9 | SOMETHING |
| <i>nıke'rkın</i> | <i>nıka'ıkin</i> | you do a certain |
| | | thing |
| <i>rınıke'urkin</i> | <i>nıka'ıkin</i> | you make him do a |
| | | certain thing |
| <i>ñıreq</i> | <i>ñıyeq</i> | TWO |
| <i>ñıreqe'urkin</i> | <i>ñııyeqı'wıkin</i> | you are the second |
| <i>mı'LIññ</i> | <i>mı'LIñen</i> | FIVE |
| <i>mıLınkau'kın</i> | <i>mıLınka'wekin</i> | you are the fifth |
| Here belongs also | | |
| <i>terke'urkin</i> | <i>ta'ıka'wıkin</i> | what number in the |
| | | series are you? |

Koryak:

- ya'qlau* what are they doing? Kor. 24.5
- yaqlaikine'tik* what are you doing Kor. 24.8
- gayaqıinat* what happened to them Kor. 30.9
- nıya'qi-gı* what is the matter with thee Kor. 39.5

The predicative numerals are freely compounded with other verbs.

- gümnı'n e'kık kıtı'r mıngıtka'wkwê* (Chukchee) my son last year
- ten reached (*gümnı'n* my; *e'kık* son; *kıtı'r* last year; *mıngıt*
- ten -*kɛu* verbal suffix of numerals; *gıê* 3d sing.)
- kıu'kı tımıLınka'wkwak* I stayed there five nights (*kıu'kı* passing
- nights; *t- I*; *mıLın* five; -*kɛu* verbal suffix of numerals; -*gäk*
- 1st sing.)

¹ Koryak II *taq* WHAT; *ta'qatın* WHAT DO YOU DO, WANT?

KAMCHADAL

The indefinite (interrogative) pronouns of Kamchadal occur also in predicative form. At present only a few forms of the present tense are used.

enka'nejč what are you (sing.) doing?

enka'nejčə what are you (pl.) doing?

lajč how are you (sing.)?

la'jčr^εn how are they?

səuzi^č you (sing.) do a certain thing

ñu^εn səu'sijčrⁿ Čija'l-kut^εn there the people of Čija'l-kutx
live (*ñu^εn* there; *səu'sijčrⁿ* they do a certain thing; *-a^εn* plural)

The use of pronouns or pronominal adverbs is much more common, perhaps due to Russian influence.

enka'nkê k'öjč for what do you come?

lact cunljč how do you live?

Sentences which contain the verbalized and the nonverbal pronoun also occur, and are probably the result of a mixture of Kamchadal and Russian syntax.

enka'j kimma tE'ni^čn what now have I done to him?

E'nka^j E'nin what now has he done to him?

E'nka^j enk!'ö'lčrⁿn why did you (sing.) come to him?

We find even the following compound of the pronoun with allative post-position and verb:

enkank!'ö'lčrⁿn = enka'nke k!'ö'lčrⁿn (cf § 59, p. 731)

There are also two demonstrative verbs:

tea here

té'a-sijk here I am

hei look here!

hé'yisijk here I am (close to the
person addressed)

Both contain the auxiliary verb *si* (see p. 767).

§§ 83-90. Syntactic Use of Tenses and Modes

§ 83. Declarative Mode

Declarative forms of the simple, derived, and nominalized forms are used to express the predicate in declarative and interrogative sentences.

Simple forms:

ñawanê'ti i'wkw^ε he said to his wife 83.23

g^l'thrn lu^ε'nin he saw a lake 37.4

ñi'ngäi ra'nmügnên she will kill the child 37.14
ralaulawa'trñoa^ε thou wilt do wrong 21.5
kuwi'ên tre^εtyä^εn I brought children's death 20.1

Derived forms:

mié'Imqumge'erkm we are terrified 63.4
tmqäe'rkim I refuse 19.7
êr'mquk pêla'arkim some are leaving 8.9

Nominalized forms:

näg^εülilê'tqin ré'mkim the people were at war 97.23
nre's'qiuqin ñe'us'qät the woman entered 63.3
êëq-a'lvam-vd'li-tø'rê ye are quite strange 63.4
evi'rä getulê'Leet they have stolen clothing 13.6
elere'i^ε dost thou feel lonesome? 96.2

Examples of interrogative sentences are—

Simple forms:

eñeñitvi'i^ε hast thou become a shaman? 18.4
mê'nko pi'ntiqättik whence did ye appear? 74.21
mi'ñkri-m ra'tvaa^ε where wilt thou live? 108.25

Derived forms:

ré'qärkim what are you? 18.9
ré'qä timi'rkimên what has killed him? 23.5

Nominalized forms:

mi'ñkri gewkwé't-i-git where have you gone?
mi'ñkri ni'tvaqên how is he? 13.10
ré'q-i-git what do you want? 18.12
gei'çemit-tu'mgi-gir hast thou brothers? 99.18

Koryak:

Simple forms:

ñawa'kak naya'tm they brought the daughter Kor. 86.20
tapka'vik olñaqat'ik I could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2
ttyayr'lqatñ I shall sleep Kor. 31.8
tıq'a'payuk I killed a wolverene Kor. 59.1
Mit'i'nak end'nme, enap'te Miti has killed me and cooked me
 Kor. 96.7

Derived forms:

tıgıttat'trykim I am hungry Kor. 35.5
enñä^ε'an Amamqu'tinu vañvolai'ke thus Eine'mqu and his people were living Kor. 45.5
penye'kimen talai'vik he rushed at it to strike it Kor. 53.3
miku'ykminau she was looking for lice Kor. 59.4
pêhanñivolai'ke they began to have nothing to eat Kor. 95.17

Nominalized forms:

va^s'yuk gayo^s'olen vai'amn'agu then they found a large river
Kor. 21.3

gala^swkai'lin wū'łka they painted her face with coal Kor. 31.9
gaggaika'makata gana^s'l-mu'yu we came to be with (to have) a
small kamak Kor. 37.4

ñá'cñin nenanyopanñivo'genau outside they were hung up Kor.
60.9

atar' ñá'no enñá'an nitva'ñvoqen that one was living thus
Kor. 61.3

ñá'no nitinma'tqen that one is telling lies Kor. 62.3

In the indefinite nominalized predicate the subject pronoun may be repeated to emphasize the question.

geet-tu'ri tu'ri have you come?

Impersonal verbs do not differ from the ordinary intransitive verbs.

ile'erkin (Kor. Kam. *muqa'tikin*; Kamchadal *čxu'jin* or *čxujč*) it
is raining

ile'ty^s (Kor. Kam. *muqa'thi^s*; Kamchadal *čxun*) it has been
raining

lä^sleuru'i^s winter came 14.9

čəlhiro'č^s it becomes red 23.9

§ 84. Tenses

Tenses are not clearly distinguished. The declarative form of the verb, unless modified by the future prefix, is used to express a past action, although cases occur in which only a present can be meant.

tıqêwgañño'a^sk I begin to be called 94.31

In Koryak the declarative form is rarely used in narrative, while it is in common use in direct discourse.

mai, ya'ti halloo, have you come? Kor. 68.12

Valvi'mtılā^sn tr'nmin I killed Raven-Men Kor. 20.5

In Chukchee its use in narrative is very common.

e'nmen niki'ru^si^s then night came 36.12

lu'ur wêthau'ño^sč^s then he began to speak 31.11

The derivative is generally used to express a present continued action, but it occurs also frequently in narrative. This use is more frequent in Koryak than in Chukchee (see § 87).

The nominalized verb (*a*) expresses a continuative regardless of time. When coordinated with another verb it expresses contempo-

raneity (see § 88). The nominalized verb (*b*) is used commonly in narrative to express the progress of an action. When coordinated with another verb, it expresses an antecedent (see § 88).

The future is formed by the prefix *ne-* and the correlative pronominal forms. Quite commonly the future is given the form of an exhortative.

§ 85. *The Subjunctive*

The subjunctive (*a*) and (*b*) are, the former an exhortative form, the latter the form used in conditional and other subordinate clauses. The former is frequently used for expressing the future, particularly when it implies the idea of intention.

Subjunctive (*a*):

nurwa'lomga^{en} let him know

va'nivan nurwa'lomga^{en} he would not hear anything

meukwe'tyäk let me depart 17.10

mırlımalā'ñnoa^k let me begin to obey 21.4

mınranto'mık let us leave the town 56.8

nıyılqätyä^{en} let him sleep 9.1

nıca'atvaa^{en} let her be cast away 39.3

mı'ılhr let me give thee 15.13

mımata'gır let me marry thee 77.1

mınlete'ttik let us carry you away 74.15

ñıro'q ya'rat va'nēvan äⁿlv^enet three houses, not at all they could see them 61.10

ñewı'rit aⁿei'mityä^{en} she would take the soul of the woman 37.11

Koryak:

mınyaitıla'mık let us go home! Kor. 26.8

nayanva'nñının let them skin it! Kor. 26.10

mınlqala'mık let us go! Kor. 28.5

mıkrıplıs'qewıla'tık I will stun them with blows Kor. 29.7

ya'qu-yak quwai'matın aⁿtai'kr-gı into what desirest thou one should make thee? Kor. 38.4

Subjunctive (*b*) does not appear very often in the texts.

e'ur en'ñı'n nı^etyä^{en}, qora'ñr mırı^eyılhrı if you were like this, we should give you reindeer

enqa'n nı^egite'nın, nu^ewı'ä^{en} if she should look upon that one, she would die 37.12

ıa'm leulewu tı^elhr'ä^{en} why should I harm her? 38.12

va'nēvan nute's'qän nı^eyo^enēn he would not at all reach the ground

enqa'n ora'wêlat ê'čča nī'tva'nat, nī'čvitku'vunet vi'u'ta if the men had stayed on the surface, the whalebone would have cut them down 68.26 (*enqa'n* THAT; *ora'wêlan* MAN; *-tva* TO REMAIN; *nī'* -for full form *nani'*; *čvi-* TO CUT; *-tku* suffix ALL; *-iv* suffix GREAT QUANTITY; *vi'ut* WHALEBONE; *-a* subjective)

čitê'un im gūmna'n wu'tku ti'nri'qā'n if only I could keep it
R 45.21

čitê'un kīnta'irga memilqa'a ne'na'lpīnri' if only good luck would give me seals R 46.42

čitê'un vē'wgênto'ê' in order that he should give up his breath
R 49.15

ekeña'n gūmna'n tī'pī'reā'n I wish I would (rather) take it

Koryak:

me'ñqañ nī'tva'an how could she be? Kor. 34.12
nani'win one might say Kor. 25.2

§ 86. The Imperative

The imperative expresses command, but also the idea of obligatory future.

nota'sqêti qāčrpe'tyi' into the ground plunge! 17.2

qineti'ñwi' haul me up! 131.22

ñe'lvül qagti'gītki bring ye the herd! 129.19

qīnilhe'tyitki lower ye me! 131.15

Koryak:

appa', qakya'wgi grandfather, get up! Kor. 31.9

quwa'ñilāt open your mouth! Kor. 34.7

qa'lqathi go away! Kor. 35.3

ne'nako qīyo'oqe čača'me then you will find an old woman Kor
51.1

Quyqinn'aqu'nak qīyaipīla'tik live ye with Big-Raven! Kor. 62.2

qanto'tik go ye outside! Kor. 74.12

qī'wgutča tell ye him! 74.20

§ 87. Derived Forms

The derived forms express continued action. For this reason they are found most frequently in direct discourse when a continuous condition is described.

ia'm tērga'arkīn why art thou weeping? 48.12

gūm ñe'uk tīl'rkīn I am walking about to get a wife 57.2

mīthittē'urkīn we are hungry 70.24

kele'tā nayo'rūkīn-ê-gīt the kele are visiting thee 52.4

Koryak—

mitrpa^slai'kinen we are thirsty Kor. 16.9

yaqlaikne'tik what are you doing? Kor. 24.8

kokaivilai'ke they are cooking it Kor. 27.4

tita^s'liykin I am feeling unwell Kor. 84.26

In Chukchee the derived forms are not often used in narrative as an historical present, while in Koryak this use is quite common.

temyu'ñirkin ELA' she was deceiving her mother 29.2

pükirgi^s. Aiwana'čhin ūm ničvi'tkurkin re^sw. He arrived. The Aiwan was cutting up the whale 46.10

e'nmen yê'gičhin rinñi'rkinin he was carrying about a walrus penis 67.10

See also 8.1, 9; 9.7, 8; 16.3

golê-tkê'unvuk ewkwe'erkit, evi'rä getul'eLeet. E'nmen ewkwe'tyä^st during another night they were about to leave, having stolen clothing. Then they left (*gul* ANOTHER; *tkiu* TO PASS THE NIGHT; *-nv* PLACE OF [§ 109, 50], *-k* LOCATIVE; *ewkwet* TO LEAVE; *evirit* CLOTHES; *-ä* subjective [§ 37]; *tulet* TO STEAL; *getul'eLeet* < *ge-tulet-linet*) 13.5

Koryak—

gaimanñivo'ykin he had a desire Kor. 12.2

lūmñeua'ykin she was following Kor. 23.3

vañvolai'ke they were beginning (and continued) to live Kor. 43.7

nanoñvo'ykinenau they were beginning to consume them Kor. 42.7

This form is used even when it is difficult to conceive of the action as continued:

ñito'ykin he went out Kor. 12.5; 72.15

ñivo'ykin she began Kor. 72.16

yalqr'wikin he entered Kor. 13.9

newñivo'ykinenat they began to say to both of them Kor. 12.7

A habitual action is expressed in the following example:

ča'mañ enqa'nēna ginnig-gili'liqä'gti timi'rkinēnat also by this one are the little game-procurers killed (i. e. he is in the habit of killing the hunters) 44.8

With the imperative the derived forms express a continued condition, or a repeated action.

ilu'kä qatva'rkin stay without motion! 57.3

qaiwalponaurkinē'tki you will hit (the children) upon the head 69.32

quwalo'mrrkin listen! 32.1

Koryak—

aqalhai'aka qitr'ykm-i'-gi do not cry! (not be without crying)
Kor. 37.1

The derived forms in the future are sometimes used to express a remote future.

mıqamı'tvaa^εk I shall eat now

mıqamı'tvarkın I shall eat later on (perhaps to-morrow)

inenregeurkını'tık what are you going to do with me? 10.10

tr'gtırkın I am going to bring it 57.4

Koryak—

tryanto'ykm I shall go out Kor. 14.5

tryañlanñıvo'ykm I shall begin to feel smoky Kor. 37.10

In some cases it seems to express a repeated or customary action.

trêrevilitku'ñırkın I shall (occupy myself with) selling R. 46.43

The exhortative of the derived forms is used like the future.

mınqamı'tvarkın let us continue to eat! 65.4

mınıwkurkını'gıt let us tie thee! 20.9

§ 88 *Nominalized Verb* (a)

The nominalized form (a) of the verb, *ne—qın* expresses the condition of an object or a person, or the condition of performing an action. Its use is not confined to intransitive verbs which in this form often have the meaning of an attributive term (see p. 713), but it is also used with transitive verbs. When the noun to which the nominalized verb stands in an attributive relation is the subject of a clause, the nominalized verb often indicates that the two verbs express contemporaneous conditions or actions and may be translated by the conjunction WHILE. Examples of the attributive use of this form have been given on p. 713. Additional examples are the following:

u'nel va'rkın nıme'yεñqın (there) is a large thong-seal 70.7

nıeu'uqın kê'rqäqai a bright little hole 74.2,3

Koryak:

nepplu'qın a small one Kor. 15.2

gatai'kılın nıma'yırñqın he made it (one that is) large Kor. 15.4

nıma'yırñqın ñai'ñai the largest mountain Kor. 42.2

Examples in which the form (a) has a predicative meaning are more numerous.

qača'ken lə^ε'qač nu'uqın, qol'ım nıče'Loqên lə^ε'qač one-half was black, the other half was red 88.15,16

nīu'lāqin it was long 91.24

yara'nī nīte'nqin the house is good 92.9

mī'nkri nī'tvaqēn how (of what kind) are they 13.10

wu'tku nīvai'-gīr you are staying here 7.5

nīggi'nqin mōrēqa'gtī they are eager for us 8.9

nīpinačī'yñin nēiñe'tqin the old man was the one who called out
86.13

nīnei'mitqin u'nelti he was taking thong-seals 67.18

Koryak:

nīlhīkyu'qin it is watchful Kor. 39.9

nīma'lqin it is good Kor. 64.24

nānñīčvīna'w-gīm I am angry Kor. 31.2

nītrīpūvaqa'tqen she is one who is striding and pecking Kor.
47.11

Tāñō nīgala'qenau the Chukchee were the ones who passed
by Kor. 66,12.

Examples of relative clauses:

nīpñāwqa'gērnīn . . . pako'lēñīn nīne'nřaqin it was an old
woman . . . who was carrying a butcher knife 85.20,21

gīt kele'tā nayo'e'ikrīn-ē-gīt you are one who is being visited by the
kelet 52.4

yara'qai . . . kele'tā nēna'yo'e'qēn it was a small house . . . which
was visited by the kelet 51.9

Koryak:

vel'ī'lñu nenataikrīñvo'qenau (those are) thimbles that had been
made Kor. 60.8,9

Miti'nak nenacīñawñvo'qen; e'wañ it was Miti who called him
she said Kor. 74.29

nīgalthai'agen he was the one who was crying Kor. 37.1

nīnnīpñvo'qen they were the ones who began to keep it Kor.
41.9

Examples of temporal coordination:

tī'ttīl nēnarkīpčeu'qēn, e'nk'i ñe'wān ure'wkwi^ε (at the time)
when he pushed the entrance, then the wife appeared 53.5, 6

qān'vér ñi'nqāi nītē'rqīlatqēn, qān've'r i'wkwi^ε uwa^εquē when
the child cried, the husband said 38.3

qai'a'qañ e'ur neimeu'qin, ēwkurga nīgīnteu'qin whenever he
was coming near, again he fled (was in flight) 66.14

nītrīpčē'tqēnat . . . en'qa'm . . . qolē-ra'gtī qā'tyā^εt while
they were stabbing them . . . then . . . to another house
he went 12.9, 10

Koryak:

nenavo^snvo-mu'yu e^sen ganu'linau when we find them they have been eaten Kor. 59.9, 10

mi'mla nnu'qen, qalñe-key gate'włalen when a louse bit (ate) her, then they shook her combination suit Kor. 76.4,5

On the whole the forms in *ne—qin* are used much more frequently in Chukchee than in Koryak, in which dialect the progress of the narrative is more prominent.

§ 89. *Nominalized Verb (b)*

The nominalized verb (*b*) *ga—lin* expresses a completed transition and may often be translated by TO HAVE BECOME.

ya'rat qaño'twe^slen she was one who had (become poor), R 45.22
ño'č-e-um gene'l-i-um poor (I) I had become R 45.28

Koryak:

gama'łalin it had grown better, Kor. 14.11

gaqi'tilinau they had become frozen Kor. 14.3

In narrative it expresses the progress of action, but apparently not with the same intensity as the verbal forms.

gũmni'n pe'nin-ñe'w gėwi^s'lin my former wife died R. 45.29.

yičemre'tti gettwile'Linet a company of brothers went to sea in a boat 64.3

e'ur girgirona'lēn a^sttwilä then day broke while the boat's crew was approaching 10.9

Koryak:

va^s'yak gaya'łqrwlin afterwards he entered Kor. 14.1

ga'łqazın he went Kor. 16.3

In a number of cases it clearly expresses temporal sequence.

e'nmen gequ'pqänteLin i'wkwis after she was quite starved she said 39.1

Ai'wan-a'kkata ñi'łhin gečheivulu'ulin a'ñga-čo'rmı, enñaq'q ũm ñi'łhin getiñus'qiče'Lin e'ur ũm nēčhetau'gēn mēmlē'tr the Aiwan's son had hidden a thong on the sea-shore, then (when) he had tugged the thong, then he made him fall into the water 48.3-5

gitte'ulit ũm ñan, ki'pu-ri'lıu nelu^s'ä^sn after they had become hungry they saw a whale carcass 65.1

gaa'lomlē^sn, i'wkwis after he had heard it he said 56.12

qanto's'qēulēn e'ur enqa'n . . . ñinerkile'qin after he had rushed out he was being pursued 57.11

Koryak:

miti'w gečha'Len enka'ta tilai'vikin ñe'la next day, after it had dawned, at that place a herd was walking Kor. 21.8

With nouns the form *ga—lin* expresses possession (see p. 712.)

§ 0. *Negative Forms*

Negative forms are partly expressed by adverbs with the ordinary forms of the verb, partly by the derivative in *ε—kǎ*, which is either nominal or forms nominal predicative terms. The particles which may take the ordinary verbal forms are—

va'nêvan not at all (see p. 882)

ga'rêm always with the future or exhortative (see p. 882)

ča'mam always with the future (see p. 883)

See also *e'le*, *en'ñe*, *u'ñä* (p. 883).

The forms in *ε—kǎ* and in *εgn-* will be found discussed on pp. 818, 821 et seq.

In Kamchadal the negative is expressed by the derivative in *x'ë—ki* for intransitive verbs, *x'ë—kie* (see p. 826) for transitive verbs. These are nominal in character. Predicative terms are formed by means of auxiliary verbs.

x'ënu'ki ml'ik I will not eat

x'ënu'ki ksi'xč do not eat!

§§ 91–94. *Syntactic Use of Nominal Forms*§ 91. *The Absolute Form*

The absolute form of the noun and pronoun is used to express the subject of the intransitive verb, and the object of the transitive verb. Independent pronouns may be added to the verb in this form for the purpose of emphasis.

Subject of intransitive verb:

yaai'pü ye'tyi^ε ri'rki from afar a walrus came 8.5

kitv'e'yu i'wkw^ε the old walrus spoke 8.14

mu'ri . . . mirrey'lqätyä^ε we shall sleep 9.3

rirkanpina'čhin pilqäe'rkin the old walrus dived 9.6

re'mkin nr'lqätyä^{εn} the people shall go 13.12

i^εrgi^ε re'mkin the people crossed over 13.13

ri'rki ge'pkiLin a walrus arrived 8.6

ñite'rmečinqin ramki'yñin the great people are doing acts of violence 11.3

Koryak:

atta^εyol-ya^εmkiñ galai'viñvo'len people (from) down the coast walked about Kor. 41.1

Ama'mqut e'wañ Eme'mqut said Kor. 40.7

i'npi-qla'wul gewñivo'len the old man said Kor. 47.1

ñalvild'n'agu . . . galañvo'ykin a great herd began to pass Kor. 51.9

ñawis'gat va'ykin a woman was there Kor. 52.1

Object of transitive verb:

w'ttuut tičvi'ä^εn I cut wood

yo'nên laut'i'yñin she pushed the big head into it 28.6

wwi'lkan gätei'kigin make a woodpile! 31.12

wǎ'rgirgin walo'miñonên she heard a noise 32.10

koka'i'ñin yire'nnin she filled the kettle 33.10

ñeuwi'rit a'nei'mityä^εn she would take the woman's soul 37.11

mač-êwga'n titvu'rkin I tell it as an incantation 39.13

w'ttuut ne'npüä^εn they stuck a stick into the ground 40.9

Koryak:

tiyo^εan i'npi-qla'wul I found an old man Kor. 52.4

gaqa'yičulin lo^εlqa! he chopped up the face Kor. 53.6

gai-mi'mič gayo'olen she put into it a small louse Kor. 55.1

či'li! čvitču'ykinin he cut the tongue Kor. 56.4

eni'n kmi'ñipil gaqulumti'lin he carries his son Kor. 57.9

The absolute form is also used for the indirect object.

tu'mgitum muwi'än let me cook for (my) friend

gǔmni'n e'kik kelit'ulä mi'lpinriqa^εn I will give money to my son

§ 92. The Subjective

The subjective expresses the subject of transitive verbs.

wotqan ñan a'äčk eni'k-eli'gä ki'plinên the father struck this young man (*wotqan* this; *ñan* here; *a'äčk* youth; *eni'k* subjective third person singular pronoun; *eli'gin* father; *rkpl* to strike; *-nin* he—him)

imilo re'mkä nap'laa^εn ni'mnim the whole people left the camp

čou'rgin tilo'mnên kel'tä the kele opened the door-flap 106.16

kitve'yuta i'unin the old walrus said to him 8.7

Aiwhuyanpind'ča pinlo'nênat a St. Lawrence old man asked them 13.9

Ta'n'ña gais'laat the Ta'n-ñit attacked them 97.25

mergina'n mo'rêg-ra'k ñe'wänti gi'wä we in our houses to our wives say 84.16

Koryak:

atta^εyol-ya^εmka gava'lomlen the people down the coast heard it
Kor. 39.7

Amamqu'tinak u'tti-yu'ni gatai'kilin Eme'mqut made a wooden
whale Kor. 40.8

iḷa^εga in'iwi mother told me Kor. 46.1

an'a'nak in'iwi grandmother¹ told me Kor. 46.2

i'npri-ql'a'wula gai'liḷin ki'plau the old man gave him mortars
Kor. 51.5

km'i'na gamatalen the son married her Kor. 80.1

mi'mla ninugin the louse ate her Kor. 76.4.

gūmna'n nawa'kak triai'liḷin I will give (him) the daughter
Kor. 12.3

In passive constructions with *-ine*, the actor is expressed by the subjective form.

Ta'n'na nin'uqin she was told by the Ta'n'niḷt 98.8

The subjective is used with some transitive verbs to express the object with which something is done to some one. In these cases the person to which something is done is given the absolute form. Such verbs are *-(l)pinḷ* TO GIVE, *o'nti* TO REFUSE.

gūmni'n e'kik keli'tulā mi'lpinḷiga^εn I presented my son with
money

teki'čhā qēna'lpinḷig^ε I present thee with meat

This form is especially used when an intransitive verb is made transitive

tu'mqitum e'če muwi'ā^εn I shall cook for (my) companion (with)
fat

qla'ulqai riqamitva'urkinēn tenm'netā he made the little man eat
(with) a shellfish 9.8

In Kamchadal also the subjective form is used with transitive verbs to express the object that is used in the performance of the action expressed by the verb.

he'ulil' akoka-ju'jca (with) a fish-head cook! compare Chukchee
e'nni-leu'tā quwi'tik

The subjective is used to express instrumentality and modality.

aṅqa'ta leuléwu qé'lhī-mu'ri by the sea we were badly treated 65.27

genilule'nḷilin keṅuneñe'tā he moved it with the staff 101.8

č'tin yiki'rga pi'rinin it took its master with the mouth 104.33

qrihu'tkui vala'ta move about with the knives! 16.4

mu'lā gakaṅoi'pālén with blood he is besmeared 19.3

¹Treated here like a personal name.

Koryak:

va^ε'ga tyančima'wikiniñin I shall tear him with (my) nails
Kor. 84.16

tui-ñi'lña gata'kyilin they throw (it) with the harpoon line Kor.
41.3

ma'qmīta tuva'nrintatik I lost a tooth by means of an arrow
Kor. 33.1

a^εla'ta awyeñvo'ykin he eats (with) excrements Kor. 12.5

ai'kirpa gapr'wyalin she threw about (with) fly-eggs Kor. 45.2

vala'ta gaqa'yičulin he chopped it up with a knife Kor. 53.6

vai'čita qatha'ai they two went on foot Kor. 22.8

§ 93. *Locative, Allative, and Ablative.*

The locative expresses the place where something is or happens.

čotta'gnik in the outer tent 52.7

ro'čen'ki nitva'qên it stays on the other shore 52.11

ênno'tkīnik tara'nqa^εt they pitched their tent on the slope of a
hill 56.9

Telqä'pik . . . geké'ñilit in the Telqä'p country they were driv-
ing reindeer 61.8

em-ñi'lhīn nuwotitva'qên ti'mkik only the thong remained tied to
the hummock 62.7

ñe'wānik pēla'nēn he left him with the wife 105.7

re'mkik oratva'ē he stayed long with the people 54.2

gīn'k čauču qe'eḷin a reindeer-breeder came to thee 46.11

Koryak:

i'ya^εg ga'plin to the sky it was fastened Kor. 19.3

gūmn'ñn ya'yak valai'ke my things are in the house Kor. 19.9

gū'mma a'nqak ti'yak I hit (on) the sea Kor. 26.2

ña'niko va'amik yiwgīčē'ta there in the river have a drink! Kor.
32.1

gaḷa'lin va'amik he arrived at the river Kor. 32.2

gawga'len ena'tik he was caught in the snare Kor. 36.6

The allative expresses—

1. The direction toward.

a^εqa'-kamaavē'ti niné'il-i-ūm I give them to the possessors of bad
dishes 96.7

kala'gti qaiñe'utkurkin call to your kele 102.5

kala'gti nipēñričē'tqēn it rushed at the kele 104.25

čei'vulkui^ε nīmni^εmē'ti he went to a camp 105.5

notas'gačikou'ti ničipe'tqin he dives into the interior of the surface
of the ground 131.7

Tñairgē'ti, gīrgola'gti nuwēthau'qēn he talks to the Dawn, the One
on High 135.16

Koryak:

- ga'lqaɫin ɛ'e'ti* he went to the sky Kor. 14.9
ɛ'e'tiŋ gani'ŋlalin he threw it to the sky Kor. 14.10; 15.7
qaɫte'nŋin ganqu'lin yayačiko'i'tiŋ the stopper was thrust out
 into the house-interior Kor. 15.2
panenai'tiŋ gayi'nalin to the same place he flew Kor. 15.5
yait'e'ti ga'lqaɫin he went to the house Kor. 17.3
gata'waŋlenat Qoyqinn'agoyika'i'ti they moved to Big-Raven's
 Kor. 19.9

2. For, on account of.

- qaa'gti gilo'lên* sorrowful on account of the reindeer 48.12
uwaqočë'gti gilo'rkin do you sorrow on account of the husband
 48.12
niwan'qên ergip-ya'lhêti he was tired on account of the bright moon
 14.11

The allative is often used to express the indirect object, corresponding to our dative, even if in the incorporated pronoun the direct object is used.

gü'muk-akka'gti keli'tulti mi'ilinet I will give moneys to my son.

The ablative expresses the direction from; also along.

- qêti-notas'qê'pü nipi'u'riqin* from the frozen ground he emerged
 102.18
golë'-notai'pü nuw'lomqa'en I heard it far and wide 104.14
têrkira'irgêpü niye'tqin he came from sunset 105.14
yoročiko'i'pü nuw'lomqên he heard from the sleeping-room 106.13
êučai'pü miŋŋo'a'en let us begin from below 131.5
pêpêggü'pü nei'mityä'en they took him by the ankle 35.3
pottriŋai'pü eim'i'nnin he took it by the holes 47.2

Koryak:

- ega'ŋko nalqaine'w-güm* from the sky have I been shot Kor.
 33.4
kıpla'gıgıŋko qačë'pŋitoŋen out of the mortar it peeped Kor. 53.3
mañe'nqo yatha^ε'an? nuta'nqo. Whence did you bring her?
 from the country Kor. 60.10

§§ 94. Designative.

On account of its nominal character I have not included in the list of post-positional suffixes the element *-nu* (see § 103.34), which, however, is used syntactically very much like the suffixes treated in the last section.

Taarō'n̄-Va'irgu ūm qän've'r he became Sacrifice-Being thus 41.9
Va'irgu ne'ɿɿn̄ (destined) to (be) a "Being" he became 41.10
yard'nə ne'lyi^ε it became a house 43.5
rɿrɿr'd'nnēn . . . taikaus'qio'lvu he spread it for a place to wrestle
 47.4
wɿ'yolə mi'llhɿɿt let me have thee as assistant 124.2
qaqanqa'anə nɿya'anat let him use them for driving reindeer
 124.8

Koryak:

mal-i^ε'yu nɿna^ε'lɿn a good sky let it become! Kor. 20.2
ya'qu mɿntaikɿla'-gi into what shall we make thee? Kor. 37.9
kmēnā'tɿnvu no'taɿn̄ nɿlai'-gām for delivery in the country I
 went away Kor. 60.6
i'ssu gana^ε'lɿnau they became dresses Kor. 60.10
a'nku nal̄n̄l̄taikne'mik we are rejected (put to refusal) Kor. 62.5

§ 95. Verbal Nouns

As stated under the sections dealing with various post-positions nominalized verbs appear often with these endings. Following is the series of forms observed.

| | Chukchee | Koryak Kamenskoye |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| Allative | - <i>ɿtɿ</i> | -(<i>ɿ</i>) <i>k</i> , -(<i>ä</i>) <i>k</i> , - <i>ka</i> , <i>kka</i> |
| Locative | -(<i>ɿ</i>) <i>k</i> , - <i>k</i> (<i>ɿ</i>) | |
| Subjective | - <i>tɿ</i> , - <i>ä</i> | - <i>ta</i> , - <i>a</i> |
| Comitative I | - <i>ma</i> | |
| Comitative II | - <i>mačɿ</i> | - <i>mačɿ</i> |

Among these forms, the last one does not correspond to a nominal post-position; the Comitative I is analogous to the nominal suffix, which, however, has the prefix *ga-*, which is absent in the verbal noun.

ALLATIVE

In Chukchee the allative of the verbal noun is used with verbs expressing attempt, desire, preparation.

awkwatē'tɿ tɿgaiča'urkin I make haste to depart (*ewkwet* to leave;
t-ɿ; *gaičau* to hasten; -*rkin* present)

lō^εy'tɿ lile'pɿgi^ε he looked to see; (*lɿ^ε* to see; *lile* eyes; -*p* to put on;
 -*gi^ε* he)

nen'ni'uä^εn takēčhē'tɿ they sent him to get provisions 66.32

The Koryak uses the locative instead.

| *penye'kinen talai'vik* he rushes to strike it Kor. 53.3

It expresses temporal coordination:

kile'nin e'ur vai têrgatê'ti he pursued, however, while he (the pursuer) was crying 57.9

e'ur enqa'n têrgatê'ti ni'nerkile'qin while he was crying he pursued him 57.11

gevin'vuten'ne'ulin nitou'ti he laughed secretly as he went out 71.30

nitou'ti ki'tkit niten'new-i-üm as I was going out I laughed a little 72.13

a'un-tipainou'ti niçu'uqin kê'rgäqai wurre'tyi^s girqo'l while she was singing, a little hole appeared above 74.2

le'utti nitou'ti ri'nînninet he carried the heads going out 86.8

a'un-wêthawê'ti . . . while they were talking, he . . . 100.9

LOCATIVE

In Chukchee and Koryak the locative seems to signify AT THE PLACE, AT THE TIME.

qaiñê'i yi'lqaññok roar at the time of beginning to sleep 10.6

geri'nelin pukê'rñok he flew up when (the other one) arrived 15.4

pükê'rñok riçipeu'nin when he arrived, (the other one) made him dive 19.12

awkwa'tñok nimeineu ga'tvülên a'ttin when he left, he promised to sacrifice a dog 101.21

a'mkin-wolqatvê'ññok every time when it began to be evening 104.12

qaa'gti qa'tik qg'lakq i'tyi^s he had no knife while going to the reindeer (*qaa'* reindeer; *-gti* to; *qa* to go; *a-ka* without; *va'la* knife; *it-* to be; *-gi^s* he)

e'mkin -kiyeu'ki nênaio'gên whenever she awoke, she shoved it in 29.2

gemî'-plî'tkuk at the time of having finished eating 33.11

Koryak.

| *gas's'alvrye'lin vr^sya'tvik* she remained all day, being dead Kor.
64.9

The stems *lvan* NOT TO BE ABLE, *nkä* TO REFUSE, always govern the verbal locative:

lu^sk nilva'w-ê-üm I could not be seen 22.9

nênalvau'gên lu^sk he could not find her 38.7

üpa'u'ki tilva'urkin I can not drink (*üpa'u'* to drink; *t-* I; *lvan* to be unable; *-rkin* present)

qäi'rik tilva'urkin I can not seek for her 38.8

velê'rkilek lva'wkwê^s he could not pursue him 15.6

taq-aimé'tik pmlé'tkə mıtılva'urkin we can not divine how to get provisions 101.13

pıntıqá'tık nılvaı'qên he could not disengage himself 101.34

qlıke'tık nı'nküqın she refused to marry 26.1

nınkü'tqınet püki'rik they refused to come 106.3

qlıke'tık aa'lomkélên not (listening) consenting to marry 26.2

In Koryak the verbs *ñvo* TO BEGIN, *płı* TO FINISH, *nkau* TO CEASE, *pkau* NOT TO BE ABLE, always govern the verbal locative.

gañvo'len gıya'pčak she began to sing Kor. 16.10

gañvo'len éılala'tık it began to bubble Kor. 17.2

gañvo'len ñawa'kak kıtav'ñak they began to scold the daughter Kor. 17.8

gañvo'len tenma'wıtčuk she began to prepare Kor. 18.3

gana'nkaułen tınala'ıtık they ceased to carry it out Kor. 41.8

ganka'wlınu tula'tık they stopped to steal Kor. 41.9

quqka'wñunenau yanıkya'wñak it could not awaken them Kor. 40.2

tapka'vık olñaga'tık I could not strangle myself Kor. 35.2

napkawñıvo'ykın tula'tık they could not steal it Kor. 39.8

tawı'tkrıık gava'nnıntalen when pilfering she lost a tooth Kor. 34.3

gana'lınu pa'yıttok they came to be eating blackberries Kor. 41.6

gapłı'tčulın kukaı'vık she finished cooking Kor. 51.2

gañvo'lenau yu'kka he began to eat them Kor. 57.1

It serves also as iterative of numeral verbs.

Chukchee

ñıregeı'kı the second time

ñıroqau'kı the third time

In Koryak it is also used in those cases in which the Chukchee uses the allative.

valo'mık tıgaıma'tekın I want to know (*valo'm* to know; *t-* I; *gaımat* to want; *-ekın* present)

THE SUBJECTIVE

The subjective is used to express an adverbial idea.

wag'geta tuwañe'rkın I work sitting (*wa'gø* to sit; *t-* I; *wañe* to work; *-rkın* present)

am-ıpa'wa nıtvaı'güm I was just drinking (*am-* merely; *ıpau* to drink; *nı-* indefinite tense; *tva* to live, be; *-ıgüm* I)

luñ -ıwkuči'tä i'tyi^ε not drinking she was (i. e. she did not drink) 37.3

luñ-i'rä i'tyi^ε not crossing it was 41.5

luñ-lu'tä n'ntäqinet not seen they had them 11.9
wêtha'wa qäntr'gin speaking do to her (i. e. speak to her!) 29.12
li'en' äq-eiñe'wa quli'tä only badly crying (and) sounding 57.6

The analogy between this form and the nominal subjective appears very closely in those cases where the adverbial idea expresses instrumentality.

taçai'wêwa lautı'yñın ninenınnuteu'gin by means of striking he made the big head swollen 48.10
ottı-kıpçe'wa by striking with a stick 48.10

The verbal noun in *ge*—*tä* is often used both in Chukchee and in Koryak as an imperative.

ganto'ta, gi'wä go out and say!
gi'wä say! 21.11
gaa'neta he shall go first! 84.13

In other cases it has the meaning of a present.

mörgına'n gi'wä we are wont to say 84.16

Koryak:

gayı's'qata sleep! Kor. 31.8
gala'xtata wu'tçau, gā'a'nñrvota take these along, haul them away!
 Kor. 51.6

The corresponding forms of the transitive verb occur in the past, future, exhortative, and in the derived present and exhortative (see § 68, p. 741). They are also used impersonally.

amto', mi'ñkri re'ntın, ra'nmiñ well, how will it be done? will there be killing?
ga'nma killed
rä'nut gelu'tä whatever seen
tu'mgrıtum rä'nutqäiä ga'lpınra give something to (your) companion

COMITATIVE I AND II

These forms express an action done while the subject of the sentence performed another action. Comitative I is used when the subject of both actions is the same; Comitative II, when the two subjects are distinct.

Examples of comitative I:

têrga'nma nınegepçıygi'ugin weeping she kicked it 31.8
wê'ma takımla'gnênat when cooking she prepared marrow for them 33.11

gi'nmił yi'lkama garètélai'güm recently, while I was sleeping, I dreamed it (*gi'nmił* recently; *yilqa* to sleep; *ga—igüm* I; *rètèla* to dream)

krye'wkwie^ε zaamyama he awoke while they (he himself and his dog) were galloping about 104.36

Examples of Comitative II:

ipau'mači equ'likä while (the others) are drinking, be silent (*ipau* to drink; *e—kä* negative; *quli* noise)

Nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, when used in verbal forms, may have the Comitative II, which is used when the subject is the same as well as when two distinct subjects are concerned.

miñke'kin lu^ε'ä^εn ñaus'gatıma'čı when you have found this, bring a woman 99.23

equ'likä rolma'čı be silent, since you are weak (*e—kä* negation; *quli* noise; *rol* weak)

miñke'kin poi'gın lu^ε'ä^εn ñaus'gatıma'čı where did you find the spear being a woman 99.22.

KAMCHADAL

nikèmačı at night 56.8

Kamchadal has only two forms.

-*köj* (intransitive); -*e*, -*l* (transitive) and *k!—enk*

The former is simply the inchoative of the verb, which is used as a noun in absolute form.

qe'čel' nu'köj enough to eat

tu'tun tälil I could not beat him

In the negative form the ending -*köj* is not used.

xë nu'ki it is impossible to eat (*xë—ki* negative, p. 826)

xë tälé'kie it is impossible to beat him (*xë—kie* negative of transitive verb, see p. 826)

xë nu'ölki it is impossible to eat (-*öl* to desire, p. 808, no. 64.)

The second form expresses an action done at the same time with the one expressed by the predicate of the sentence. It is derived from the *k!-* prefix of the corresponding form of the noun, and the suffix of the possessive.

k!-nu'enk qam qe'lkek while eating I do not talk (*nu* to eat; *qam* not)

§§ 96-129. COMPOSITION

§ 96. Introductory Remarks

We have seen that in the formation of grammatical forms both prefixes and suffixes occur. Their use is much more extended, and they

serve to express a great many modifications or amplifications of the meaning of the stem. It is difficult to draw a sharp line between the grammatical endings and those that add new significance to the word. From a purely morphological point of view the two classes merge into each other; and neither can a sharp line be drawn between the nominal post-positions treated before, and others of similar meaning, like *-nu* (p. 798, no. 34), *-mil* (p. 798, no. 30), *-in* (see below); nor can the nominalizing endings in *-in* and *-n* be sharply separated from other, analogous forms. For this reason I repeat the nominal endings here in their proper places with reference to the sections in which they are more fully treated.

Neither is the line of demarcation clear between affixes and compounds of independent elements. This appears most clearly in those cases in which the same element may appear either as a prefix or as a suffix, like *qāi* and *mīl*; and also in those cases in which an element appears rarely alone. The line of demarcation between particle and incorporated adnominal or adverbial element is indicated through the occurrence or non-occurrence of vocalic harmony in the group.

The use of affixes is very extended, and a series of prefixes as well as of suffixes may appear combined.

qamitva-ĕhat-r-ŋo'-rkim he begins to gobble down

ru-wako-s-qê-ĕhat-a'u-rkim he makes him sit down once with great force.

§§ 97-112. Suffixes

§§ 97-109. Nominal Suffixes

§§ 97-105. DERIVED FROM NOUNS

§ 97. Nouns in *-in* and *-n*

These have been discussed in §§ 45-49, pp. 707-713, and in §§ 51-55, pp. 714-719. Here belong also the nominalized verbs (a) and (b), which have been discussed in §§ 73, 74, pp. 758-762.

§ 98. Augmentative and Diminutive

1. *-iñ-*, subjective *-iñin*, AUGMENTATIVE. The suffix forms plural and oblique cases regularly.¹

va'lE knife

a'ettin dog

re'mkin people 13.10

vala'iñin large knife

a'tti'yñin large dog

a'ttiyñe'pu from the large dog

vaṃki'yñin big people 11.3

Aiwhuyanpinaĕh'yñin old big

St. Lawrence man 13.11

¹ Mr. Bogoras thinks that this suffix may be related to *mēñ*. This does not seem quite probable, because the vowel *e* of this word is weak. —F.B.

Some words do not take the suffix *-ŷñ-*, but use the definite form in its place.

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| <i>ñe'wän</i> woman | <i>ñawä'nëŷñin</i> the woman, the large woman |
| Kor. Kam. <i>i'ñwi'ñin</i> | |
| big nose Kor. 72.12 | |

2. **-n'a'ku, -n'aku** AUGMENTATIVE (Kor. Kam.).

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>va'la</i> knife | <i>vala'n'aku</i> large knife |
| <i>a'tian</i> dog | <i>atta'n'aku</i> large dog |
| <i>qlawul</i> man | <i>qlawul'n'a'quñgo</i> from the big man |
| <i>vai'amn'agu</i> big river Kor. 21.3 | |
| <i>Quyqinn'a'qu</i> Big Raven Kor. 24.5 | |
| <i>kuka'-ŷiēm'a'qu</i> a big kettleful Kor. 43.1 | |

3. **-gō** AUGMENTATIVE.

| |
|--|
| <i>ñawgō'lhın</i> the big wife 39.5; 40.1 |
| <i>pētti-walkgē'qlhē'tı</i> to the big old jaw-bone house 59.8 |

4. **-qäi** DIMINUTIVE. Plural, oblique cases, and definite, are formed from this freely. This is evidently related to the stem *qäi* SMALL. It may also precede the noun, and be used in both positions at the same time. When preceding the noun it means THE YOUNG OF AN ANIMAL; compare also *gäin* FAWN; *ge'yigei* FLEDGELING.

| |
|---|
| <i>kuke'-qäi</i> a little kettle |
| <i>gr'lgı-qäi</i> a small skin 45.6 |
| <i>qla'ul-qäi</i> a small man |
| <i>wā'lqarā-qäi</i> small jaw-bone house 44.13 |
| <i>ınpı'ñe'w'qäyık</i> to the little old woman 45.2 |
| <i>ñi'nqäi</i> child 42.8 |
| <i>ñınqäetıle'kı</i> to those with children 20.7 |
| <i>ınpıñawqa'gēñın</i> the small woman |
| <i>qäi-u'nel</i> young thong-seal 70.26 |
| <i>gäi-a'ttigäi</i> pup |
| <i>gäi-ı-lı's'ggäi</i> cub of wolf |

qai (Koryak) is used only as incorporated adjective. Its use is very frequent.

| |
|--|
| <i>qai-qla'wul-pel</i> a very small man |
| <i>qai'-ñä'wis'qat</i> little woman Kor. 33.10 |
| <i>qai-ka'mak</i> little kamak Kor. 38.9 |
| <i>qai-pipi'kalñu</i> little mice Kor. 25.6 |
| <i>qai-ka'mak-pel</i> little kamak Kor. 37.2 |

|| -*ai* SMALL AND MISERABLE (Kamchadal).

ki'stai a miserable little house (*kist* house)

kcxai a miserable little dog (*kocx* dog)

5. -*pil* DEAR LITTLE.

ekke'pil sonny

tu'mgäpil dear little friend

Koryak:

-*pil* (Kor. Kam.) dual and pl. -*pilaq* (with the endings -*t* and *u*); -*pi* (Kor. II),—express the DIMINUTIVE.

ñawa'n-pil small woman (Kor. Kam.)

ñawan-pila'qit two small women (Kor. Kam.)

ñawan-pila'qu small women (Kor. Kam.)

qlq'wul-pel small man

milya'qpil a little shell Kor. 23.8

va'qilñipel a small nail Kor. 23.7

vï'tvitpil a little ringed seal Kor. 24.4

-*piliñ* (Kor. Kam.)—the last suffix -*pil* with the additional suffix -*in*—conveys the sense of ENDEARMENT.

atta'piliñ doggy

vaï'ampilrñ a little river Kor. 17.2

il'u^epilrñ little (shaman's) wand Kor. 27.7

ñi'lñipilrñ little thong Kor. 39.4

6. -*čax*, -*čx*, -*cx* DIMINUTIVE (Kamchadal). The diminutive of the plural is formed by the suffix -*č* added to the plural form.

| | Singular | Diminutive | Plural | Diminutive |
|---------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| dog | <i>kocx</i> | <i>ko'cxčax</i> | <i>kcxoⁿ</i> | <i>kcxoⁿč</i> |
| game | <i>hu'rnik</i> | <i>hu'rnikčax</i> | <i>hu'rnikrⁿ</i> | <i>hu'rnikrⁿč</i> |
| village | <i>a'tinäm</i> | <i>a'tinocx</i> | <i>a'tinoⁿ</i> | <i>a'tinoⁿč</i> |

To intensify the degree of diminution, this suffix may be used in a doubled form.

atino'cxčax a very small village

a'tinocxanč very small villages

7. -*liñö* TINY. It always precedes the diminutive -*qäi* (No. 4 of this section), and intensifies the idea of smallness.

qaa-liñö'-qäi tiny reindeer

ñawān-liñö'-qäi tiny woman

§ 99. Collectives

8. **-yir̄in** or **-yIrIn** a company; (Kor. Kam. **-yIssan**) the stem of the noun *yir̄ir* or *yir̄ir* FULLNESS, CONTENTS.

ñewä'nyir̄in a company of women

ra'yir̄in a houseful 45.13

Kor. Kam. *nmyr'ssa^εn* people of a village Kor. 70.9

Compare *walqa'čir̄ir* a jaw-bone-house-ful 54.13.

9. **-ḡin̄iw** GROUP OF (Kor. Kam. **-ḡin̄iu**).

rağē'nēu (Kor. Kam. *ra-ge'nēu*) group of houses (i. e., village)

yarağ-ğē'nēu a group of houses 111.15

u'mqä-ḡi'n̄iw a set of polar bears 113.29

yī'čemit-tu'mq̄i-ḡi'n̄iw a set of brother-companions 113.28

uwi'ritq̄ü-ḡi'n̄iw a lot of little souls 122.31

Kor. Kam. *qaña'tīla-ḡi'n̄iw* a lot fishing with drag-nets Kor. 70.10

10. **-r̄il** (Kor. Kam. **-yil**) set, collection (used only for inanimate objects).

o'rgurēl a caravan of sledges

a^ε'mril (Kor. *a^ε'm-yil*) a set of bones, i. e. a skeleton

Koryak *mu'u-yil* a line of sledges, a caravan Kor. 78.5

11. **-r̄et** SET, LITTER (Kor. Kam. **-yat**).

vā'rat (Kor. Kam. *va'yat*) a group of beings (i. e., family group)

yičemre'tti a set of brothers 64.3

plē'gret a pair of boots

li'liret a pair of mittens

12. **-tku** INDEFINITE COLLECTIVE.

ne'łhtkūn all kinds of skins

ḡi'nnikrtkūn various kinds of game

orawêLa'tkēn men living in various places, people

This suffix is also used with adjectives and pronouns:

mainrya'nrtkēn everything big

rä^ε'nutetkūn (*rä^ε'neetkūn*) all kinds of things

čičē'waq panša'tkəqaiia tei'mityä^εn somehow with all kinds of small leg-skins I bought it (i. e. I succeeded in buying it with a small number of leg-skins, i. e., cheaply).

13. **-mk** NUMEROUS (Kor. Kam. **-mk**) is used to express plurality.

yara'mkin (Kor. Kam. *yaya'mkin*) a cluster of houses (collective)

rirkā'mkričhin several walrus 102.17.

a^εttwili'mkričhin the great assembly of boatmen 11.5

Compare the stem *m̄k* in the independent forms

m̄k̄iɛr'yñin the more numerous ones 11.7

m̄'kiɛin more numerous 12.3

n̄'mk̄üqin numerous 12.7

and in the compound form

m̄g-gitka'k with many legs 119.9

14. **-ffrg**, the stem of the third person plural pronoun *E'rrI*, serves to form the plural of proper names and of some other words designating persons, when these appear with the suffixes *-ḡüpü* and *-k* and with the particle *re'en* TOGETHER (p. 794, no. 18). (See § 44, p. 706.)

qlaul'rḡüpü < *qlaul-irg-ḡüpü* from the men

qla'ulirik < *qla'ul-irg-k* by the men, with the men

qla'ulirik-re'en < *qla'ul-irg-k-re'en* with the men

The possessive form *E'rgin* is used in the same manner.

oraw̄ela'rḡên that belonging to the (human) people

§ 100. Comitatives

15. **ḡa—m̄g** COMITATIVE (Kor. Kam. *awun—m̄g*) not used with names of persons, for which *re'en* is used.

gal̄ēl̄a'm̄g (Kor. Kam. *a'wunl̄ēl̄a'm̄a*) with the eye

ḡg'rgum̄g with the sledge 15.4

gata'ttrwalm̄g with the splinters of thigh-bone 33.11

ḡam̄g'lim̄g with blood 43.8

ḡāñēnq̄a'i'm̄g with children 50.6

ḡap̄rg'rm̄g with the aorta R 2.2

ḡa'e'twuma with the boat 71.4

galari'tima with the head; i. e., the whole body 137.8

Kor. Kam. *awun-gama'ma* with the dish 6±.7

Kor. Kam. *a'wun-e'ñvelma* with the nostrils

Compare the nominal derivatives of verbs, in *-m̄g* (§6±, p. 738; § 95, p. 787).

|| **k!—m** (Kamchadal). Comitative.

k!l̄ü'l̄üm with the eye

16. **ḡe—(t)ā** COMITATIVE (Kor. Kam. *ḡa—[t]a*); not used with names of persons, for which *re'en* (p. 794, no. 18) is used. (Compare § 37, p. 697.)

gel̄il̄e'tā (Kor. Kam. *gal̄ila'ta*) with the eye

inpinā'čhin geñe'wänä an old man with his wife 28.1 (subject)

ELI'git geñe'wänä the fathers with the wife, i. e. the parents 28.4 (subject); 39.11; 33.9

Kor. Kam. *gaqqaika'makata* with a small spirit Kor. 37.3

Kor. Kam. *ga'ttata* with a hatchet Kor. 56.3

Kor. Kam. *gaqla'wula* with her husband Kor. 68.7

Verbal:

ñe'usqät genuteqçi'tä, notai'pü geleivä the woman while walking in the wilderness, while walking in the country, she — 28.5

notai'pü geleivä ñe'usqät, vai ELA'—while the woman was walking in the country, her mother—29.4

en'qam ELI'hin gette'tä gi'wä—then the father with sudden doing, with saying—29.11

17. **-mačI** verbal noun expressing MEANWHILE (Kor. Kam. **-ma'čI**) (see pp. 738, 788.)

18. **-re'en** added to the locative, TOGETHER. It is used principally with nouns designating persons, and replaces the comitative. Its vowel does not form an ablaut.

gümü'g re'en together with me

Omru'wgêna-re'en together with Omru'wgê

tu'muq-re'en with the strangers 59.1

ni'lhi-re'en together with the thong 44.12

§ 101. Locatives

19. **-tkIn** SURFACE (Kor. Kam. **-tkIn, -tčIn**); used chiefly in oblique cases.

grgu'tkɨnik on the sledge

grgu'tkɨna'ta along the surface of the sledge

wêkê'tkɨnik on the body 8.11

gêlɨ'tkɨnik on the sea-ice 9.1, 2

gêlgêlɨ'tkɨnik on the sea-ice 7.3, 5

kano'tkɨngüpu on the crown of the head 8.2

mêmɨ'tkɨnik on the water 9.3

čot'tkɨnik on the top of the pillow 44.2

In the absolute form the suffix designates THE POINT OF.

yäqa'tkɨn point of nose

rɨčhɨ'tkɨn finger-tip (stem *rɨlh*)

yêčɨ'tkɨčhɨn tip of tongue 40.4 ((stem *yil*))

Koryak:

va'gítěnu yu'kka eating points of nails Kor. 57.1

o'pítěnik on the point of a beam Kor. 72.13

20. **-s'q-** absolute form **-s'qän**; **-čäq** absolute form—**čäqan** TOP OF; OVER, ON TOP OF (Kor. Kam. **-lq**, absolute form **-lqan**)

ətti's'qān tree-top

ətti's'qā'k on the top of the tree

tɪlɪ's'qāk over the door

gɪ'this'qā-ŋətaɪ'ŋɪn lake-top-big-land, i. e., the land over (near) the lake 144.3

tñe's'qā-re'mkin people of top of dawn R 2.11

nute's'qāk on top of ground, i. e., on the ground 98.24

Koryak:

ñā'nkalqak the top of it Kor. 78.15

va'yamɪlqak on top of river Kor. 25.8

wu'gwulqak on top of pebbles Kor. 25.8

yas'qalkai'triñ (*ya-s'qa-lqa-ētɪ*) to the house top Kor. 36.1

ya's'qalqak on the house top Kor. 84.12

wapis'qalqak on top of slime Kor. 25.7

21. -*gɪ*, -*gɪñ* THE BASE OF; in oblique cases, UNDER

uttri'gɪñ base of the tree

ətɪgɪɛ'ngɪpɸ from under the tree

uttri'gɪñki under the tree

əɸthɛ'ñki under the pillow (< *əɸt-gɪñ-ki*)

nute's'qāgɪ'ñki underground

ŋətas'qāyɛ'ñgɪpɸ from underground 143.6

Koryak:

e'n'mɪgenka under a cliff Kor. 13.6

qas'wuge'ñki at the foot of the stone-pines Kor. 21.7

plakgeñe'triñ into the bottom of the boots Kor. 14.2, 6

gankageñe'tɪ into the bottom of that one Kor. 40.9

atvigeñe'tɪ into the bottom of the boat Kor. 41.5

22. -*ggɪt* TOWARD; not in oblique cases

gñqə'ggɛt toward the sea

uttri'ggɪt toward the wood

yakə'ggɛt noseward 45.2

tɪlɛ'ggɛ toward the entrance 62.9

e'ekɛggɪt toward the lamp R 2.6

23. -*yɪ'wkwɪ* (absolute form -*yɪ'wkwɪn*) THE SPACE ALONG —.

gñqəyɛ'wkwɛn the space along the sea

d'ñqa-čormɪyɛ'wkwɪ along the seashore 66.12

gñqəyɛwkwɛ'ta along the sea, on the sea

ŋətas'qāčɪyɛu'ki along underground 44.12

I have found also the form—

rečɛ'wkwä < *ret-yɛ'wkwɛ* along the tracks

(See *rêč'əu'ki* 106.24.)

24. **-ĖIKU** (Chukchee, Kor. Kam.) INSIDE OF; also with neutral *u*.

u'tĕiku in the wood

utti'ĕiku within the tree

yara'ĕiku or *ra'ĕiku* within the house

kegr'i'ĕiku inside of palm 20.3

kona'rgiĕiku inside of leg of breeches 28.6

wus'qũ'mĕiku in the dark 34.5

yilhi'ĕiku in the moon 41.8

ple'kiĕiku in a boot 43.4

This suffix appears often combined with locative elements.

o'nmiĕikou'ti (Kor. Kam. *aninkaĕiko'iti* from *aninka-ĕiku*)
inward, into the inside

o'nmiĕiko'ipũ from within

ĕriĕikou'ti into the clothes 32.4

dinĕikou'ti into the fire 31.13

yoroĕikou'ti into the sleeping-room 28.7; also 28.8, 35.3

yikiriĕikou'ti into the mouth 50.3

qaaĕiko'ipũ from the reindeer-herd 51.2

mĕmliĕikou'ti into the water 17.4

notas'qaĕikou'ti into the ground 18.7

notas'qaĕiko'ipũ from underground 44.12

Koryak:

wus'qũ'mĕiku in the dark Kor. 16.10, 17.5

yayaĕiko'itĩ into the house Kor. 15.2

qaya'ĕiku in a covered sledge Kor. 52.1

aia'ĕiku in the storehouse Kor. 55.5

The Kamchadal *ĕäck* INSIDE corresponds to Chukchee *ĕiku*. It is used as an independent adverb.

ci'mtenk ĕäck in the ground, inside.

Here may belong also Kamchadal *ĕacæ'* INWARD.

25. **-LIKU** AMONG THE MULTITUDE, one of the suffixes of plurality.

qaa'liku among the reindeer

utti'-liku among the trees

muri'g-liku among us

26. **-QAĖ, -QAL** BY THE SIDE OF (Kor. Kam. **-QAL**)

-QAĖI near, close to (Kor. Kam. **-QAĖA**)

qa'ptenqaĖ by the side of the back 11.8

ya'alĩnqaĖ by the rear side 12.3

i'LINqaĖ by the side of the entrance 53.3

gĩtka'ñqaĖ (Kor. Kam. *gĩtka'ñqal*) at the feet

mø'riqqaĖ (Kor. Kam. *mø'riqqal*) by our side

gĩnikqa'ĕ by thy side 9.3

gɪtkaqɑ'ɛi near the foot

mɛriqqa'ɛi near us

Nota'rmɛnqaɕa near Notarmen 121.10

ra-gr'o'lmɪnqal from the rear side of the house 51.10

A great number of adverbs are derived from this suffix.

w'o'tɪnqɑɕ (Kor. Kam. *w'o'tɛnqal*) on this side

va'ɛnqɑɕ (Kor. Kam. *vaieñqal*) halfway on this side

All forms with *-qaɕ* (Kor. Kam. *-qal*) may also form oblique cases.

mɛriqqaɕai'pü (Ch.) from our side

Kor. Kam. *woteñqal'ai'tɪ* to this side

añqañqaɕa'gɪ to the seaside 49.6

añqañqaɕai'pü from the seaside 49.8

ya'alɪnqɑɕai'pü from the rear side 12.4

yarau'-liha'nɪnqɑɕ-va'lin being from the other side of the houses 11.7

qaɕa'kɛn the other one of a pair

qaɕa'kɛnata with the other hand 20.5

With the adjective suffix *-kɪn* they form adjectives which are in frequent use.

mɛriqqa'tkɛn being at my side

w'o'tɪnqɑ'tkɛn being from this side 14.2

Kor. Kam. *w'o'tɛnqal'a'ken* being at this side

Kamchadal:

|| *qo'Uɪñ* NEAR TO, CLOSE BY, corresponds to Chukchee *qa'ɛi*, Kor.

Kam. *qa'ɛa*. It is also treated as an independent adverb.

|| *ki'mank qo'liñ* (Chukchee *gümuk-qa'ɛi*) near me

27. *-tul* PART OF, PIECE OF (Kor. Kam. *-tul*).

mɛnigɪ'tul (Kor. Kam. *manigɪ'tol*) a piece of calico

qɑ'atɔl (Kor. Kam. *qoyɑ'tol*) a piece of reindeer (meat)

mɪ'mɪɪtulqäi a little particle of water 134.17

teki'ɕhitulqäi a little piece of meat 134.31

Kor. Kam. *pɛlɪnolñi'tola* piece of reindeer mane Kor. 92.11

|| The Kamchadal uses a separate noun for expressing this idea.

a'nɕɛax txa'ltxaɪɪn a small piece of meat (*anc-* piece; *-ɛax* small;

txa'ltxaɪɪn [adjective] of meat)

28. *-kɪt* (Kamchadal) INSTEAD, IN PLACE OF.

|| *vɪ'le-kɪt* in place of payment

29. **-xǝl** (Kamchadal) ALONG.

- || *c̣əmt-xǝl* along the ground (stem *c̣imt* ground)
 || *ǝ̣-xǝl* along the water (stem *ǝ̣* water)
 || *ktǝǝj-xǝl* along the road

§ 102. Similarity

30. **-m̄il** IN THE SIZE OF, AT THE DISTANCE OF (Kor. Kam. **-mič** **-mis**). (Compare § 113.10,11); also § 105, 42 **-m̄ič** which is a variant of this stem.)

ñ̄əi'm̄il as far as the mountain

m̄iñ̄kə'm̄il (Kor. Kam. *menkə'mis*) of what size? how much?

94.32

eri'wmil like them 14.9

muru'wmil like us 10.6; 16.7

gumu'wmil like me 16.13

utte'mil size of a tree 20.2

rorg'mêl size of reindeer-fly 23.3

gogwǝlǝ'-mêl like men 64.11

rirkǝ'mêl like a walrus 10.8; 12.1

qɑɑ'mêl size of a reindeer 122.23

Possessive forms with the suffix—*k̄in* added to the suffix—*m̄il* are

ḡimuwmi'tkin according to my wants

muruwmi'tkin according to our wants

31. **-wurrin** SIMILAR TO, LIKE.

pin-wurrin flour (literally CINDER-LIKE)

See *Ena'n ěini't wu'rri nitqin* thus she was 26.9

32. **-wǝ̄t** SIMILAR TO.33. **-čh̄ič̄ä** SIMILAR TO (Kor. Kam. **-čh̄ina**).

qǝ̄č̄ki'čh̄ēč̄ä (Kor. Kam. *q̄lǝ'wułičh̄ē'na*) similar to a man (i. e., transformed shaman¹)

§ 103. Purpose

34. **-nu**, **-u** MATERIAL FOR; WHAT SERVES AS SOMETHING; SERVING A PURPOSE; SERVING AS SOMETHING.

p̄le'ku q̄ä'mit'kin take it for boots (i. e., to make boots of it)

This suffix is used with various verbs to express the idea TO MAKE SOMETHING OUT OF, TO CONSIDER AS SOMETHING, TO BECOME SOMETHING.

č̄kke'nu mi'lh̄iqit let me have thee as a son

¹ *q̄č̄ik* or *q̄ik* is an obsolete form for *q̄lǝ'ul* MAN.

-*nu* after stems ending in a vowel.

lilē'nu serving as an eye

rīrkq'nə as a walrus 10.8

qagāngq'anə for a driving reindeer 124.8

qqrēmēng'nə rī'tyā you will not be the one to serve this purpose 23.6

ko'ñkoñ-ra'nə serving as a ball-shaped house 130.22

ke'ñiivri that which serves as a bay 133.4, 9

a'qa'-gē'lērnə that which serves as a bad ice-floe 133.10

tər-irga't-palə'ta'nə what serves as a beaver that has just shed hair 137.2

-*u* after stems ending in a consonant.

ñē'wānu for a wife

taikaus'qīo'lvu for a place to wrestle 47.4

Iumetu'nu rī'tyā you will be for me like Iumetun 23.7

kei'ñu what represents a bear 136.20

qorarnrē'tilə to be used as herdsmen 50.9

lə'nvə for looking on 19.2; 23.1

rīraqa'unvə what for? 19.1

ēnagya'gtačhə vā'irgə what serves as life-giving being 21.6

wi'yolə for assistant 124.2, 4

Koryak Kamenskoye:

-ny, -y. The use of this suffix is the same as in Chukchee.

līlā'ny as an eye

akka'ny as a son

ñā'wāny as a wife

qoiā'nə as a reindeer

tomñena'ny as a cover for the roof-hole Kor. 37.9

kulipčindā'ny as a vent-hole plug Kor. 38.1

qangekīplendā'ny as a means of striking the fire Kor. 30.7

ya'qu into what Kor. 38.4

čai'učhu into a working bag Kor. 38.4

35. **-kī (ka)** (Kamchadal) corresponds to **-ny, -y** (No. 34) of Chukchee.

pī'kī as a son

ñī'kī as a wife

olē'naka as a reindeer (*olē'n* from Russian олень; the old Kamchadal word *koj* is also still in use)

līlē'kī as an eye

36. **-sə** (Kamchadal) is synonymous with the last, but is less frequent.

pī'sə as a son

ñesə as a wife

37. **-lqäl** DESTINED FOR —, MATERIAL FOR —, (Kor. Kam. **-lqał**).

This suffix implies the future.

pl'e'kılqäl (Kor. Kam. *pla'kılqal*) material for boots

uwä's'quılqäl bridegroom to be, destined to be a husband

ELa'lqäl stepmother, serving as a mother

Kor. Kam. *ñawa'nılqal* bride to be, destined to be a wife

lw'lqäl (Kor. Kam. *ło's'lqal* Kor. 53.5) a face (perhaps; something destined to be looked on) 88.14

rëpa'lırlqäl destined to be a dried walrus hide 46.11

With verbal stem, in most cases with the passive participle **-(y)o:**

ta'krıyolqäl material (for work)

rırrë'lyolqäl destined to be put down R 2.5

yımë'yolqäl destined to be hung R 2.6

ro'olqäl food R 44.11

malë'ëhırlqal means of getting well 135.10

trımyo'lqal (Kor. Kam. *trımyo'lqal*) destined to be killed (epithet used like SCOUNDREL)

§ 104. Possession

38. **-yanv-**, absolute form **yan** PROVIDED WITH (Kor. Kam. **yanv-**, absolute form **yana**)

(a) As a nominal suffix, *yanv* means PROVIDED WITH.

ëg'g-gan (Kor. Kam. *ëai-ya'na*) one who has tea, rich in tea

qa'a-yän (Kor. Kam. *qoya-ya'na*) one who has reindeer

tañ-kamaanvë'ti to those provided with good dishes (*tëñ* good; *keme* dish) 92.21

(b) With intransitive verbs it indicates the person who performs an act once or habitually.

ÿpa'w-gan (Kor. Kam. *apaw-ya'na*) the one who drinks

gamı'twa-yän (Kor. Kam. *awye-ya'na*) the one who eats

(c) With transitive verbs it indicates the object of the action, and has a passive meaning.

yıl'-yan (Kor. Kam. *yıl-ya'na*) what has been given

ro'mkaw-gan (Kor. Kam. *yomkaw-ya'na*) what has been hidden

(d) With adjectives it indicates a person having a certain quality.

qatvu-yä'n the one who has strength

maĩñı-yä'n that which is big

a'tqend'an (Kor. Kam. *a'ëëen-ya'na*) the one who is bad

Oblique cases are derived from this form. In Koryak these forms are not of frequent occurrence.

maĩñıya'nvuk at the big one (Koryak the same)

ınpıya'nvıt the older ones 108.12

39. **-lq(än)** ABOUNDING IN (Kor. Kam. **-lq[än]**)
mi'mlilqän (Kor. Kam. *mi'mlilqän*) place abounding in water
wata'pilqän (Kor. Kam. *wata'pilqän*) place abounding in
 reindeer-moss

§ 105. Miscellaneous

40. **-yogčh, -qogčh** RECEPTACLE (Kor. Kam. **-yogčh**); perhaps from
 the verbal stem *yo-* TO PUT INTO, *yo'rkın* (Kor. Kam. *yo'ykın*)
 HE PUTS INTO.
mitqo'očhın (Kor. Kam. *mitqr'yogčhın*) blubber-bag (stem *mitq*
 blubber)
tai'očhı-poka'tkırık in bottom of bag 29.3
 Kor. Kam. *kawa'ssočhu* for wallets Kor. 46.2

41. **-ñit** a space of time (Kor. Kam. **-ñit**).
a^εl_o'ñét the whole day 21.1 (stem *a^εlo* day)
 (Kor. Kam. *gi'wiñit*) the whole length of the year (from *giwik*
 [only in the locative] in the year)

42. **-mič** A CERTAIN AMOUNT, with nominal and pronominal stems
 indicating persons; also with verbal stems (compare § 102, 30
 to which the suffix is clearly related).

qäin^a'mič at the distance of a shot
güm'wmič as much as I need
gümüwmi'tkın it is as much as I need (i. e., I have nothing to
 spare)

43. **-kwu, -kw-** PROTECTOR, AVERTOR

muč'u'kwun shirt made of calico (lit. louse-avertor, because the
 Chukchee think that the shirt is worn to collect lice from
 the body).

taiñkwut charm-strings (lit. misfortune avertor)

§§ 106-109. DERIVED FROM VERBS

§ 106. Abstract Nouns

44. **-gırgın.** If the base contains an *l*, it is often changed to *č*.
 ABSTRACT NOUN; CAUSE, SOURCE, OBJECT OF AN ACTION (Kor.
 Kam. **-geñIn, -gitñIn**; Kor. Par. **-geñIn, -gičñIn**).

Note that the initial *g* follows the phonetic rules § 7.

t + gı > ti; *č + gı > či*; *u + gı > wkw*; *u, o + gı > ou*

qalhló'urgęgt you are source of sorrow 20.7

palqa'tirgın (from *pelqät*) old age (Kor. Kam. *palqathe'ñın* or
palqa'thıtñın [from *palqat*])

pêrê'irgin the place which he had taken 23.9

tê'lhrgin or *tê'êirgin* 24.3 (from *têl*) illness, pain, cause of pain
yaivâ'êirgin (from *yeivêê*) (Kor. Kam. *yaivâ'êhitnîn* [from
yai'vaê]) compassion, cause or object of compassion

limvittê'irgin object of pity 11.3

wû'rgirgin noise 32.10

vê'irgin death 22.1

vê'irgê-git thou art source of death 22.7

gintâ'wkyrgê'git (from *gintêu*) (Kor. Kam. *gintâ'whitnêge*) thou
 art the cause of my flight (i. e., you have frightened me)

tê'êirgi-tê're (from *têl*) ye are the source of my pain (i. e., you
 have hurt me) (Kor. Kam. *tê'êhitnê-to'o*)

yê'mgumgr'irgin object of fear 29.8

añâ'êirgê-git thou art source of trouble 21.2; 23.11

Koryak:

vantige'nîn dawn Kor. 18.1

vetke'gicnîn annoyance Kor. 20.9

This suffix may be added either to the simple verbal stem or to the verbal stem with added suffixes. The latter form expresses more particularly the process of an action. The former is sometimes used to express the object or the source of the action.

nîrkîlâ'tirgin the feeling of shame

nîrki'êirgin the object of shame

wû'rgirgicnîn noise 15.1

am-viyê'irgâ only by breathing 24.4

With the stem *tva* TO BE, this suffix expresses the idea of QUALITY.

Yai'vaê-va'irgin quality, substance of compassion; Merciful
 Being

(Kor. Kam. *vage'nîn* or *va'gicnîn*) being, mode of life, sub-
 stance, deity

With adjective bases this suffix also expresses qualities.

atqê'ngirgin (from *ê'tqîñ*) (Kor. Kam. *a^êtqê'ngitnîn* [from
a'êcîñ or *a^êtqîñ*]) badness, spite

êucy'rgin (from *îu'l*) length

inpû'yrgin (from *inp[û]*) old age

With substantives it expresses the condition or state of the object.

a^êmgrgin (from *a^êttrm* bone) condition of the bones (i. e.,
 of the body)

êtti'irgin (from *u'ttuut* wood) degree of woodiness

The range of abstract nouns compounded with these nominal suffixes is quite considerable, and these are in common use.

va'irgin (Kor. Kam. *vage'ñin*) being, substance, custom, benevolent being, deity

yai'vač-va'irgin (Kor. Kam. *yai'vač-vage'ñin*) compassion-being, merciful deity

a'ñañ-va'irgin (Kor. Kam. *a'ñañ-vage'ñin*) shaman's spirit deity

tam-va'irgin goodness, condition of goodness

taiñi'irgin (Kor. Kam. *taiñige'ñin*) sin

qas'mu'urgin (Kor. Kam.) misfortune

There are also a number of concrete nouns which are formed with this suffix:

yiki'rgin (Kor. Kam. *čiki'tñin* Kor. 56.8) mouth

Kor. Kam. *pča'gqitñin* (*plak* boot) boot-string Kor. 59.3

45. **-j, -l** (Kamchadal) form abstract nouns of simpler and more limited sense than those of Chukchee and Koryak. This suffix is probably identical with the *c, l*, of the transitive verbal noun I (p. 748) which has the sense of the infinitive.

co'nlej life

tcuncejk I live

ča'kalej song

tčakacjk I sing

o'jilaj blow

tujiljin I strike him

noj¹ food

tnujk I eat

pilhetej hunger

tpilhe'tijk I suffer from hunger

pč'lhétel and } famine
pi'lhripil }

46. **-nŭ**, absolute form **-nŭm** (Kamchadal). Abstract noun.

no'nŭm (stem *nu*) food

hč'lnŭm (stem *hč'l*) drink

co'lnnŭm (stem *cunc, cunl*) life

§ 107. Passive Participle

47. **-yŋ** (Kor. **-yŋ**, absolute form **-yŋn**) expresses the PASSIVE PARTICIPLE; (in Koryak with the meaning of the future). It forms plural, dual, and oblique cases like all substantives.

pč'la'yŋ the one who is left (Kor. Kam. *pč'layŋn* the one to be left)

In Chukchee the suffix is contracted with terminal consonants, and elided after vowels, according to the phonetic rules given in §§ 6-10.

Chukchee

Kor. Kam.

tač'kiŋ < tač'ki-yŋ the one made

tač'kiyŋn that to be made

yč'lŋ < yč'l-yŋ the one given

yč'lyŋn that to be given

¹ This word is applied almost exclusively to dried fish as the food *par excellence*.

Chukchee

Kor. Kam.

ipa'wgo < *ipa'w-yo* that which has been drunk *apə'vyon* that which is to be drunk.

ko'j'o < *kor-yo* that which has been bought *ko'ryon* that to be bought

yito'ot born ones 42.7

orai'o'ēinat born ones 21.2

a'n'ñêno li'nyo made to be the object of anger 42.3

timy'o' one killed 43.8

ripalqa'wgo one drowned 49.9

NOTE.—Several transitive verbs with the prefix *əm-* MERE, ENTIRE, and the suffix *-lin*, express the passive participle, the same as *-yo*.

əm-rē'tlin (stem *ret* to buy) what has been brought; or *ra'j'o* or *əm-ra'j'o* all that has been brought

(*-yanv*, see § 104, No. 38.)

§ 108. Instrumentality

48. *-ineñ*, suffixed to verbal stems, expresses INSTRUMENT (Kor. Kam. *-inañ*).

təwē'nañ (stem *təu*) (Kor. Kam. *təwē'nañ* [stem *təw*]) paddle, oar 73.11

qel'i'neñ (stem *qeli* to paint, engrave, write); (Kor. Kam. *qaliči'neñ* [stem *qaličit*]): pen

te'i'kineñ (*K. K. inataik'i'nañ*) instrument (for work)

wəñē'nañ instrument for work

l'ē-tēwēnañ'a'ta with a genuine paddle 31.4

(Kor. Kam. *tomñend'ñu* as cover for roof-hole Kor. 37.9)

me stems use with this suffix the prefix *in-* (Kor. Kam. *ina-*)

See pp. 736, 819, no. 28

ēnə'nvēnañ (stem *nv* [initial *ruu*]; *tinvi'rkin* I scrape); (Kor. Kam. *ēnə'nvēnañ* [stem *nv*; *tinve'kin* I scrape]) scraper

49. *-ičh* instrument (Kor. Kam. *-itñ*).

gittē'wichin (stem *gittəu* to wipe, *-in* absolute form); (Kor. Kam. *gitta'witñin* [stem *gittaw*]) wiping-cloth

unēč'i'čhin thong of thong-seal hide 102.13, 30 (from *unel* thong seal)

mēmīčē'čhin thong of seal-hide 134.31 (from *mēmīl* seal)

Kor. Kam. *yinootñe'ngo* from the vent-hole Kor. 54.7

§ 109. Place

50. **-nv** PLACE OF (absolute form **-n**) (Kor. Kam. **-nv** [absolute form **-nu**]).

van (stem *tva-*); (Kor. Kam. *va'na* [dual, plural, *va'nvit*]) place of being

wakətvā'n (stems *wakə* and *tva*); (Kor. Kam. *vagałitva'na* [stems *vaga'lı* and *tva*]) place of sitting

notagčēnvē'pu while walking in the wilderness 29.4

ralqā'ninvuk on the house-site 31.6

ralēya'n sliding-place 114.16

tilā'n (Kor. Kam. *tilā'n*) place of moving, trail

tilā'nvun place of trail 36.12

tilā'nvuk on place of traveling 43.1

taikaus'qio'lvu for a place to wrestle 47.4

oočv'nvipū (better *oočv'nvipū*) from the playground 74.17

oočv'nvik on the playground 74.18

oočvinvē'ti to the playground 74.20

It also expresses an action in progress. In this case it appears generally with the designative suffix—*u*.

ētrnvā'trvvə trye'tyä^εk I came to get the position of house-master R 287, footnote 1.

yaqqai' ūm yagta'linvə trye'tyä^εk did I come for the sake of living? R 239, footnote 2.

rrraqa'unvə for what purpose? 19.1

Koryak:

kmeña'tinvu nılai'-gūm I came away to bear children Kor. 60.6

kıpl'o'nvu for the purpose of striking them Kor. 31.3

§§ 110–111. Verbal Suffixes

§ 110. ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES

51. **-wulhI** expresses RECIPROCITY (Kor. Kam. **-vI{ñI}**).

pēñrū'łhırkit (stem *pēñrı* to attack wrestling) (Kor. Kam.

penn'ı'vılñııkit [stem *penn'ı*], dual) they close for wrestling

lu^εulhırkit (stem *lu^ε* to see) (Kor. Kam. *lu^ε'vılñııkit* [stem *lu^ε*]) they see each other, they meet

galə^εolhiočna'-mə'rê we have seen each other 121.15

52. **-s'qıu** expresses AN ACTION PERFORMED ONCE ONLY (Kor. Kam. **-s'qıw**).

yętis'qı'urkin (Kor. Kam. *yatis'qı'wikin*) he comes once

tymis'qē'urkin (Kor. Kam. *tymis'qē'wėkin*) he kills once

taikaus'qio'lvu for a place to wrestle once 47.4
qäniggeus'qivkutki make them wake up all at once 56.3
qanto's'qêulên rushed out 57.11

Koryak:

minîcâtis'qivnau I'll look at them once Kor. 33.10
quvr^εyas'qi'wgi go and die! Kor. 35.1
qawyis'qi'wa eat! Kor. 36.1
mintu'las'qewlan let us steal it! Kor. 39.1
myalitêus'qi'wak I will slide down-hill Kor. 42.1

Also in the form—*lqiu*

gatomñalqi'wlinat they stopped the smoke-hole Kor. 57.7

53. **-let** expresses a FREQUENTATIVE, DURATIVE, or more generally INTENSITY OF ACTION (Kor. Kam. **-lat**, less frequently **-çat**).

ñitq̄la'tirkın (Kor. Kam. *ñitq̄-la'têkın*) he goes out often
tymila'tirkın (Kor. Kam. *tymila'têkın*) he kills many
nınletele'tqin it flashed out always 32.8
qulile'tyi^ε gave voice repeatedly 33.1; 55.8
niqulile'tqin they are noisy 60.9
nitê'rqilatqên he cries aloud 38.3
nitepleññile'tqin she made many boots for him 112.24 (stem *plek-* boots; *te*—*ñ* to make [§ 113, 2, p. 821])

Koryak:

gañvo'len çilala'tik it began to bubble Kor. 17.2
yiykula'ti you were soft Kor. 26.7
qalalanñivo'ykın she passed by often Kor. 84.19
niqulila'tqin he sang vigorously Kor. 68.17

54. **-yw(u)**, **-yv(u)** expresses a FREQUENTATIVE (Kor. Kam. **-yvi**),

tala'iwurkın (Kor. Kam. *tała'ivekın*) he strikes many times
ninemilkr'ywunin let it bite him! 104.29
 Kor. Kam *gaitoi'vilenau* she brought forth many Kor. 44.7

55. **-t** (Kamchadal) expresses the durative.

|| *ti'ntil^εtijn* I bring it always (*t-* I; *intil^ε* to bring; *-t* always;
 || *-i* auxiliary vowel; *-jin* I it)

56. **-çet** weakens the intensity of the action, A LITTLE, RARELY.

ñitq̄ç'a'tirkın or *ñitoça'arkın* he goes out rarely
ten'ñeuç'g'tirkın or *ten'ñeuç'erkin* he laughs on the sly
marauça'arkın he fights rarely
pênřič'a'arkın he wrestles rarely
minpo'ntoçêta let us eat liver! 43.7
marauçêtimo'ê^ε he began to chide 56.1

57 -**čir** expresses a frequentative or intensive.

ten'neuč'i'rirkin he laughs all the time
walomčč'rirkin he gathers news continually
maraučč'érkin he fights always
pênřičč'érkin he rushes at him

| Kor. Kam. *qulumtičitalat* they carry something large on their shoulders (*qulu* large; *imti* to carry) Kor. 57.9

58. -**ntet** indicates INCREASED ACTION, often with somewhat altered meaning; and with intransitive meaning (Kor. Kam. -**ntat**).

čuw'i'rkın (Kor. Kam. *čvi'č-kin*) thou cuttest it
čuwintč'tırkin (Kor. Kam. *čvin-ta'tikin*) it is cut through in several places; it is divided into several parts
rg'grkin (Kor. Kam. *čhğ'č-kin*) he tears out hair
rgontč'arkın (Kor. Kam. *čhğ-nta'tekin*) he becomes bald
irgıro'k at dawn 10.4
gırgıronta'Lên dawn came 10.9
qu'pqälin lean 80.5
gequppqänte'Lin she has been quite starved

59. -**s'qi-čzet**—a compound suffix formed of -**s'qi** SINGLE ACTION, -**čet** homologous to -**let** INTENSIVE ACTION—expresses an action performed suddenly with great force and rapidity.

qu'tırkin he stands up
qutis'qičč'tırkin he jumps up
ñito'rkın he goes out
ñitqs'qčč'a'tırkin he rushes out
qantq's'qačqälên he rushed out 57.11¹
gapě'nřis'qiččälên he rushed on 44.4
getiñus'qičč'Lin he gave a sudden tug 48.4
gereli's'qiččelin she suddenly pushed it in 89.4

60. -**aļa** (Kamchadal) weakens the intensity of the action.

|| *tnu'alajk* I eat but little (*t* I; *nu* to eat; -*jk* I)
 || *thč'laļajk* I drink but little (*t* I; *hčl* to drink)

61. -**qäet**, with verbs, expresses ENDEARMENT and DIMINUTION; evidently related to -**qäi** (§ 98,4).

ma'ñên-netaj'pü yetqäeti from what country hast thou come, my dear?

62. -**keu**, with transitive verbs, gives them a PASSIVE meaning, and conveys the idea of DERISION of the subject.

kěma'wkurğêum r'etkewiim I am a source of delay, my humble self has been brought here
valq'mkautč'rč, equ'likä they will hear your despised self, do not make a noise

¹ Evidently better, *qantq's'qiččälên*.

63. **-ññg**, **-ño** expresses the INCHOATIVE (Kor. Kam. **-ñvo**; Kamchadal **-køjy**, **-køj**, **-kju**, **-ju**). Since these elements occur independently, the forms are in reality compound verbs. The independent stem in initial position is *ñoo*, in medial position *-mgo*, (Kor. Kam. *ñvo-*, Kamchadal *uju-*)

ño'orkin (Kor. Kam. *ñvo'ikin*, Kamchadal *ujujk*) he begins

In all three dialects the idea of the beginning of an action is expressed with precision, and the inchoative forms are therefore very common.

yilqaññg'orkin (Kor. Kam. *yilqannvo'ikin*, Kamchadal *ñükci-kju'jk*) he goes to sleep

tɪpañña'ññgê he begins to sing 59.9

nɪmñê'ññgê he begins to take part in the thanksgiving ceremonial 59.3

gaplɪtko'ññg'lênat they begin to finish 30.12

Koryak:

gewñvo'lénau they began to say Kor. 22.7

ga^εa'nñvota haul them away! Kor. 51.6

gepiñvo'ai'ke they began to go upstream Kor. 61.7

64. **-õl**, **-õ** (Kamchadal), with transitive verbs **-al**, **-a**, expresses the desiderative. The same form is used to express the future.

tñükciõlk } (stem *ñükc*) I wish to sleep, I am going to sleep

tñükciõjk }

tce'ajjk (stem *tce'j*; I leave *tce'jijk*) I wish to leave

65. **-vatg** (Kamchadal) expresses intention to act, and beginning of an action.

tülčkva'tojm (stem *ülčk*) I am going to have a look at him

tnõ'vatgõjk (stem *nõ* to eat) I am going to eat

66. **-čhat** expresses ANGER OF THE SPEAKER. (Kor. Kam. **-čñat**)

gamɪtváčha'tırkin or *gamɪtváčha'arkin* confound him! he eats

pɪnɪtɪqaáčha'tya^εn the bad one appeared 27.3

garaqêçha'Lên what has the bad one done 31.9

vê^εčha'tyê^ε the bad one perished 43.11; 44.5

tɪmɪ'čhannên he killed the bad one 44.5

am-ravê^εčha'n'ña naličha'tyê^ε you bad one want to die 65.23

Kor. Kam. *ñitočña'tekin* he lumbers forth

67. **-tky**. This suffix has been discussed on p. 736 (Kor. Kam. **-tčy**).

pêla'tkolɪt those who had left her 33.8

This suffix also transforms transitive verbs into intransitive verbs. The subject is then placed in the absolute form; the object, in the possessive form. These forms, however, are used only with personal pronouns.

gũmu'kɪ gɪt pêla'tkørkin you leave me

The suffix *-tku* (Kor. Kam. *-tĕu*) also indicates prolonged or increased action.

vil'urkin (Kor. Kam. *vil'vikin* he makes peace with) he buys

vil'turkin (Kor. Kam. *vil'tĕuĭkin*) he trades

geilitkoivulin u'kkäm they distributed vessels 14.1

timitkoivuk slaughtering 49.3

timi'tkonĕnat he killed all 61.4; 112.3

minranmütko'ñnat let us slay them all 101.19

ve'tkoč'a'at they all died 112.2

timitkorĕkin (Kor. Kam. *timit'ĕoĭkin*) he kills many

Koryak:

gačvi'tĕulinau they are all cut entirely Kor. 47.7

gaplitĕulinau they finished it Kor. 50.1

lelapitĕoñvo'ykin he looks up Kor. 42.8

gałapitĕoñvo'len she looked around Kor. 44.9

yenotĕoñvo'ykin he is eating Kor. 13.6

gaqanñitĕoñvo'len she was jealous Kor. 96.1

Paren *qigitetkin'gin* look at it! Kor. 101.11

tigilñu-ĕu'ĕu-ñaw-i-üm snow-shoe-strings-veryly-eating-woman
am I (*tigilñin* snowshoe-string; *-u* to consume *-ĕu'ĕu* [*< tku-*
tku] verily; *ñaw* women) Kor. 59.7

The suffix *-tku* is always used in the transitive verb to indicate the forms THOU—US; YE—ME, US (see § 63). It gives the verb a generalized form. For instance:

pĕla'tkĕĕ thou leavest a number (meaning US)

pĕla'tkĕtik ye leave a number (meaning ME or US)

The element *inĕ-* has the same sense, but the two are never used together (see § 113, 28).

68. *-tvi* TO ATTAIN A CERTAIN QUALITY, TO BECOME (Kor. Kam. *-tvi*).

uĕmitv'urkin (stem *uĕm*) (Kor. Kam. *umitv'ikin* [stem *um*]) he becomes broad.

qitvĕ'urkin (stem *qit*) (Kor. Kam. *qitvĕ'ikin*) he becomes thin

eñ'eñetvriĕ he acquired shamanistic power 19.12; 18.4

eñ'eñitvri-turi you acquired shamanistic power 18.3

nümqitv'qin it diminished 20.2, 4

nüpluĕtv'qin it becomes small 20.3

wulqätv'iĕ it grew dark 54.9

Kor. Kam. *qamałitva'thitik* cause it to become better Kor. 13.2

Kor. Kam. *viĕya'tvik* to fainting Kor. 64.9

69. *-ĕet* with adjectives: TO FEEL—(Kor. Kam. *-ĕat*).

mitteñiče'erkin we feel good 69.8

teñiče'trkin (*teñ* good) (Kor. Kam. *tañiča'tikĭn*) he feels good

tañiče'tingĕĕĕ he began to feel well 33.5

qmičē'trkin (Kor. Kam. *qmičā'tekin*) he feels warm

70. *-eu*, *-et*, are often added to the stem, but the meaning of these suffixes is not clear.

ei̇me'u to approach
ei̇ñeu to call
ureu to appear 53.6

ei̇met to take
ei̇ñet to roar
ureut

omȧu to get warm
ulvėu to remain motionless
 37.2

gi̇'tteu hungry
gi̇'ttekau guide
gi̇nteu to flee

yiġreu thirsty
wêtḣau to talk
puul̇q̇eu to float
pi̇k̇eu to hit
maṙau to quarrel
metėu to be unable
tėi̇keu to wrestle
teñ·ñeu to laugh
tuṁgeu to become friendly
numėkeu to gather
notas·q̇au land approaches
limala'u to obey
lvau unable
lq̇äineu to shoot
kryeu to be awake
kimeu to cause delay
korġau to be glad
yil̇ḣau fear
teṙkeu to be a certain number on a series

lpuuret to exchange
ewkwet to depart
eret to fall
ergewet to be submerged 17.4
yiret full
yopat to visit
ywulet alive
wêttat to tear with antlers
ventet to be open
viṅret to help
pelq̇äntet to return
pêkagtat to fall down
peñet tired
tautauat to bark
têrgat to cry
tulet to steal
ëipet to plunge

Possibly related to the preceding is *nI—eu* (Kor. Kam. *-au*) adverbial suffix. The Koryak form is not used very frequently (see p. 842).

nime'leu qatvq'ê̇ be kind (to us)! a common form of prayer
nite'leu tirkipli'ȧn I struck him painfully (*têl* to suffer, to have pain)
niglȧu qatva'rkin be sorrowful! (*qlo* SORROWFUL, here contracted with *au*; *tva* to be)
nime'leu well (*ṁl* good); (Kor. Kam. *nima'leu* [*mal̇* good])
ni'ṫeu heavily (*iṫ* heavy); (Kor. Kam. *ni'ṫeau*)

Some adverbs are formed in an irregular manner.

| | |
|---|---------|
| <i>a'tq̇êuma</i> (from <i>e'tqiñ</i> bad; stem <i>äq̇ä'</i> R) | } badly |
| 62.72) | |
| Kor. Kam. <i>a'tëṙnau</i> (from <i>a'tëṙn</i> bad; stem <i>aq̇a</i>) | |
| Kamchadal <i>hä'q̇ä̇</i> (from <i>e'ë'kelaw</i> bad) | |

me'čen'ki (Chukchee *meč* < *mel* good; *en'ki* thus) well
i'nač (Koryak *ni'naqin* quick) quickly

71. **-ru** forms the INCHOATIVE of impersonal verbs expressing phenomena of nature (Kor. Kam. **-yu**).

ile'erkın it is raining

iliru'rkın it is beginning to rain

yoga'arkın (Kor. Kam. *yoyoa'tekin*) the wind is blowing

yogoro'rkın (Kor. Kam. *yoyo-yo'ekin*) the wind begins to blow

lä'slenru'is winter came 14.9

aivê'čtrok in the evening 26.3

irgıro'ñnok (stem *irg* 27.13) at the beginning of dawn 26.9

la'sla'snroma at the beginning of cold 33.6

gıtharo'k in the beginning of the autumn 33.6

irgıro'ka not dawning 56.9

iliru'is it begins to rain 116.8

ga'slıgıtyıgıro'lên the snow began to drift 94.28

The same suffix is used with stems of different character.

čêlhiro'ê it becomes red 23.9

nitêrgıro'qên he began to cry 55.3

Koryak:

gawyalyo'len a snowstorm set in Kor. 15.1

laqlaño'yokin winter came Kor. 72.5

piña'tikin it is snowing

peñayo'ekin it is beginning to snow

72. **-ru** is used also to express GREAT NUMBER. This suffix is different from the preceding.

gärru'üst they came in great numbers 67.16

waqero'ašt they were sitting in great numbers 68.29

Kor. Kam. *gawya'lyolen* a strong snowstorm came Kor. 15.1

laqlaño'yokin winter came strongly Kor. 72.5 (see above).

§ 111. DERIVED FROM NOUNS

73. **-ñita** TO FETCH (Kor. Kam. the same).

rañ-ñita'rkın what are you going to fetch? why do you come?

añañalinta'lit shaman fetchers 45.7

Koryak:

yax-ñita'yokin what are you going to fetch?

74. **-tuwe, -tv** TO TAKE OFF (clothing) (Kor. Kam. **-tIva**).

kê'ttuwa'žē he took off his clothes 109.15

kê'ttuwa'nnên he undressed her 50.11

nîvîtuve'qîn he took off his outer coat 57.3

wutî'çhitvuê he took off his overcoat 35.5

mêrêgtuwa'ê he brushed away the tears 49.9

nîneçîngetuwe'qîn (*n-ine-çîñke-tuwe-qîn*, *çîñke* saliva) he removes saliva 134.27

Koryak:

nîmeyeyitva'qen he brushed off the tears Kor. 36.10

qatamtriva'len he spit out bones Kor. 56.8

pçai-trvai' he took off his boots

75. **-îp_o (-êp_o, -gǔp_o)** TO PUT ON CLOTHING; **-îp_o** after vowels; **êp_o** after consonants; **-gǔp_o** after diphthongs ending in **i** and in a few other cases (compare the ablative **-îp_ü** § 42, p. 704)

tîqalêi'püa^εk < t(r) -qelî -îp_o -(ü) -ä^εk I put on my cap

têrêpüa^εk < t -îr -êp_o -(ü) -ä^εk I put on my fur-shirt

tikonai'gǔpğa^εk < t(r) -kǝnai-gǔp_o-gǔ^εk I put on my breeches

kêrêgǔpğê^ε < kêr-gǔp_o-gî^ε she put on her dress 52.9

76. **-gîli-** TO SEARCH FOR (as in hunting) (Kor. Kam. the same).

kulte'-ilî'rkit they are looking for thong-seal sole-hide

qînnî'g-gîlî'lîqäqti little game-procurers 44.8

pîlîqîlî'lit food-procurers 44.9

qînnî'g-gîlî'lit game-procurers 44.9

77. **-u** TO CONSUME, TO EAT (Kor. Kam. **-u**) (perhaps related to the verb *nu* [initial *ru*], Kor. Kam. *yu* [initial *nu*]).¹

ennurkin (Kor. Kam. *ennu'ikîn*) he eats fish

pönto'rkîn (Kor. Kam. *pönto'ikîn*) he eats liver

kîmlu'ät they ate marrow 33.12

mînpō'ntoçêta let us eat a little liver 43.7

nîpō'ntoqên he ate liver 43.9

qaponto'tik eat liver! 64.21

also

gamêmezê'lên he caught a seal 43.2

Koryak:

mîta^εtayr'pnûla we eat inner skin of dog Kor. 48.9

tîya'yîlku I'll eat pudding Kor. 30.2

also

tîqa'payuk I got a wolverene Kor. 59.1

¹ *ru'rkîn* (Kor. Kam. *yu'ykîn*) he eats it.

§ 112. *Adjective and Adverb*

ADJECTIVE (Kamchadal)

Adjectives are formed with the suffix—

78. *-lāx* (sometimes *-lax*)

ō'mlāx deep (cf. Ch. *um* broad)

iū'lāx long (cf. Ch. *iul* long)

o'lolax small

The plural is formed with the usual suffix *-(l)^εn*.

o'lolaxl^εn ki'stl^εnč small houses (diminutive form)

This usage differs from that of Chukchee and Koryak, where the plural attribute is used in synthetic form.

qai-yaraqa'gtê (Chukchee) small houses

In forms with post-positions the adjective in *-lax* is placed before the noun.

o'lolax-kê'stēanke to the small house (diminutive allative)

It seems not unlikely that the synthetic use of attributive stems has disappeared under Russian influence. Russian and Koryak adjectives are often used by the Kamchadal, in their foreign form, almost without change.

niru'qin xvalč a sharp knife (*niru'qin* is Koryak)

n'mi'tqin k!ča'mjanl' a wary man (*n'mi'tqin* is Koryak)

nve'thagen w^εh a straight tree (*nve'thagen* is Koryak)

nve'thalā^εn w^εl hr^εn straight trees (*nve'thalā^εn* is a Koryak form)

vo'stroi xvalč a sharp knife (*vo'stroi* is Russian)

There is no phonetic assimilation of any of these adjectives.

A few predicative forms correspond to the Chukchee-Koryak forms in *ni—qin*.

k!ni'tajin the clever one (from *ni'ta* sense, wit); cf. *ni-gitte'p-qin* (Chukchee) the clever one.

79. *-q*, *-aq*, are sometimes found with attributive stems. These forms are generally compounded with verbs. This form is probably identical with the locative form of the stem.

wiħa'qu-wa'lin the flat one

koulo'qu-wa'lin the round one

ēmpa'qu-wa'lin the downcast one

koulo'qr qātei'kigrin (Kor. Kam. *qo'loñ qata'kigrin*) make it round

em elvula'q rēmkrn ralai'vūñnoē only in a different manner people shall begin to walk about 86.14

80. *-yut* DISTRIBUTIVE NUMBERS (K. K. *-yut* dual, *-yuwgi* pl.)

(See also § 123, p. 839)

| CHUKCHEE | KOR. KAM. | | |
|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|------------|
| | Dual | Plural | |
| <i>Enne'nyut</i> | <i>Ena'nyut</i> | <i>Ennanyu'wgi</i> | one each |
| <i>ñire'yut</i> | <i>ñiye'yut</i> | <i>ñiyeyu'wgi</i> | two each |
| <i>ñiro'yot</i> | <i>ñiyoyot</i> | <i>ñiyoyoy'wgi</i> | three each |
| <i>ñira'yot</i> | <i>ñaya'yot</i> | <i>ñayayoy'wgi</i> | four each |
| <i>mILI'nyot</i> | <i>mILI'nyot</i> | <i>mILIInyo'wgi</i> | five each |
| <i>mingi'tjot</i> | <i>mingi'yot</i> | <i>mingiyoy'wgi</i> | ten each |

The Chukchee distributives have also the prefix *em-* (see § 113, no. 7, p. 816; § 123, p. 839).

em-ñire'yuta qanpirtvaark'e'etki just two each make it double (the clothing)

These forms take post-positions, definite, augmentative, and diminutive forms.

ennanyou'ti to one each

ennanyoi'pü from one each

81. *-čē, -čĕ* NUMERAL ADVERBS (Kor. Kam. *-ča*).

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| <i>qun'e'čä</i> ¹ | <i>Enna'nča, qu'n'ač</i> ¹ | Kor. once |
| | 53.2 | |
| <i>ñire'čä</i> | <i>ñiye'ča</i> | twice |
| <i>ñiro'ča</i> | <i>ñiyoy'ča</i> | three times |
| <i>ñira'ča</i> 12.8 | <i>ñayay'ča</i> | four times |
| <i>mILI'nča</i> | <i>mILĕ'nča</i> | five times |
| <i>mingi'tča</i> | <i>mingi'tča</i> | ten times |

Kor. Kam. *exune'če* all the time Kor. 92.19

82. *-(I)ñ* (Chukchee and Koryak) is a suffix which is often added to the stems of adjectives when compounded, in Chukchee with the form *va'lin* (< *tva+lin*) THE ONE WHO IS, in Koryak with *ič'tala^εn* (*ič + la^εn*.²) (see p. 764)

In Chukchee the *ñ* before *v* generally changes to *m*. In other cases the suffix is dropped entirely. The connective vowel then changes to *u* before the *v*, which in turn changes to *w*.

qā'tvum-vā'lin (Kor. Kam. *qā'tvuñ-ič'tala^εn*) being strong
tā'ñum-vā'lin or *tā'ñu-wā'lin* (Kor. Kam. *ta'ñiñ-ič'tala^εn*) being good

¹ Derived from *qyn* single.

² The corresponding Chukchee form *i'tilin* THE ONE WHO IS is not used in compounds of this type.

A number of predicative stems do not form the nominal form in *-lın* (§ 54, p. 717), but always use the form in *-(i)n̄* compounded with *vǫlın*.

wi'čhrm-vǫ'lın (Kor. Kam. *vi'čhryr̄n-ı'tala^εn*) the flat one
č'mpum-vǫ'lın the one downcast

Kor. Kam. *qo'loñ-itala^εn* the round one

These Chukchee forms may also take the ending *-q* or *-aq* (see this section, No. 79). The compounds with *vǫ'lın*, when referred to a locative case, express the comparative. They are used frequently in this connection.

qǫ'mǫa-qlǫ'ulık qǫ'tvum-vǫ'lǫm I am stronger than everybody
(qǫmgǫ- every; *qlǫ'ul* man; *-k* possessive; *qǫtv* strong; *-ǫ-*
um I [§ 73, p. 758])

§ 113. Prefixes

1. *čto-* A LITTLE.

čto'-qaiǫ'qañ a little afterwards 45.11, 136.24 (*čto'* 51.4)
mač-čto'pǫl a little better 135.7

2. *č'mkIn-* EVERY.

č'mkIn-aiwččh'č'tı every evening 28.9
č'mkIn-kryeu'kı at every awaking 29.2

3. *tılv-* QUITE.

tılv-am-ǫina'n quite you only 30.4
tılv-a'mınan quite alone 31.6, 13; 58.9
tılv-ıi'ñä quite nothing 56.4; 60.1

4. *tıñkı-* JUST is used less frequently, generally with a deprecatory meaning.

tınk-am-ǫımnä'n just I only
tınk-ıi'ñä just nothing
tınk-ıi'ñä rānut he has nothing at all R 63.88
tınk-a'tǫema quite badly (see § 125, p. 842)

5. *pıč-* only, merely.

6. *ım-* (Kor. Kam. *ımıñ-*, Kamchadal *mıñi'l*) ALL.

ıme-rä'nut all kinds 111.28
ımu-ǫınni'kä all kinds of game 128.9

Koryak

ımı-pǫa'ku all boots
ı'mıñ noo'wǫe all the boiled meat Kor. 28.6
ı'mıñ qai-vai'amtı all little rivers Kor. 17.1

The form *ımılo'* 28.9 occurs as a particle, and independently with noun and without; *ımı'lın* takes the same kinds of forms as nouns in *-lın* (see p. 717).

The Kamchadal form *mīnī'l* forms—

|| Allative *mīnēla'nke*

|| Allative, possessive, instrumental *mīnī'link*, less often *mī'l*.

7. **em-** MERE (Kor. Kam. **am-**, Kamchadal **em-**). The prefix is always used with Chukchee distributive numbers.

em-ñe'us'qätti (Kor. Kam. *a^em-ñ'a'wis'qatu*, Kamchadal *em-ñi'm cax^en*) mere women

em-a^ettrm mere bones 35.5

em-mu'Litü all with blood 40.10

em-ñe'nñi all these 41.10

em-nu'ñiñit those from the mainland 64.12; 65.26

ëiq-em-nu'ñqi far inland 114.25

em qinu'n-niki'tü midnight 9.11

am-nōñg'ti just inland 67.19; 114.24

am-qina'n only thou 30.3

am-taar'o'ña with all kinds of sacrifices 41.9

am-ravē^eëha'n'ña merely to die 65.23

**am-ya'ata* only by using it 143.3

Koryak:

| *am-čerepro'nau* entirely silver Kor. 22.10

| *am-ma'kil-ñe'eta* only with two diaper-strings Kor. 23.5

| *am-ma'na* just in different directions Kor. 25.6

8. **plI-** (with nouns) EVERY.

qaplikoi'ñilën every one has a tea-cup

nīplitañte'nmügqën they were applying everything 41.3

9. **mē^e-**, **mIq-** SMALL.

10. **mēč-** SOMEWHAT.

met'-ki'it somehow 40.7

mēč-telenye'pkin somewhat of old 61.5

mač-ya'a far enough 62.12

mač-ëwga'n as an incantation 39.13

mēč-ä^e'qälpe somewhat quick 45.10

11. **mēl-** LIKE (Kor. Kam. **maļ-**).

mēl-wwä^e'quč it seems like a husband 49.9

12. **mīte-** ACTUALLY.

mīte'-vilin actually dead

mīte'-qinnik actually game 84.28

13. **tImñe'-** ANY (Kor. **paļa'**).

tImñe'-mēñin whosoever

tImñe'-rä^e'nut whatsoever

tümñ-alva'lag wheresoever 24.11

tü'mñê-mé'mlikên gınni'k any kind of water game 25.6

tımñ-añqa'gtı somewhere to seaward 13.1

14. **ter-** HOW MANY (Kor. Kam. *ta^εy-*).

tar-ga'ata ewkwé'tyi^ε with how many reindeer did he drive away?

15. **čiq-** EXCESSIVELY.

čêqı-yq'a too far

čêq-a'lvam-va'lag how very strange! 76.5; 63.4

čiq-em-nu'ñqi far inland 114.25

čêq-a'lvam va'lin being very strange 29.8; 38.8; 63.4, 6; 86.27

čiq-etuwä'k all at once 43.10

16. **čhı-** HARDLY, always used with the negative (probably from *gıčhı*, as in *nıgı'čhıqın* RARE).

ačhêqamıtvgka almost nothing eaten, hardly anything eaten

17. **lı-** (only with certain pronouns and pronominal adverbs) EVERY.

lı-mê'nkı everywhere

lı-mê'ñko from everywhere

18. **lıı-, lhı-, lıı-, lhı-** TRULY (Kor. Kam. *!ıgı-, !hı-*).

lı'ı-teñ-ev' rälın really well closed 33.3

lı'ê-tanıčê'tınô^ε she began to feel truly well 33.5

nılhınü'mkäqın really quite numerous 111.16

lê'ê-têwênaña'ta with a genuine paddle 31.4

lı'ê-ñarav'tilê really wife seeking 57.1

lı'i-i'ppe quite truly 57.2

Kor. Kam. *nılhênı'ktaqen* a very hard one

19. **pıl-** (Kamchadal) quickly.

|| *xpıl-nu'xč* you eat quickly

20. **x'ı-** (Kamchadal) quite, very.

|| *x'ê-plōx* very large

|| *x'ı-čını'ñläx* very pretty, very good

21. **lhı-, l'ıı** (Kamchadal) actually, truly.

|| *t-l'i-tpı'lıjk* I really shake myself (i. e., I can shake myself properly)

22. **kıt-** (after prefixes *-gtı-*) VERY (Kor. Kam. *kıt-* [after prefixes *-ktı-*]).

nıgtılau'au'qên he mocked much 143.1; 144.4

gagtán-ñınai'pülên she was very angry 89.3

gagtı-palka'ıa^εn very decrepit 111.26

gagtıqamı'tvatık eat ye enough! 65.16

When this prefix is used with the nominalized verb in *ni-qin*, *kit* either precedes the prefix *ni-*, or the *ni-* may be repeated initially

kim-nimai'Enqên or *niqti-nimai'Enqên* it is quite large

23. **qun-** SINGLE (Kor. Kam. **qun-**).

qon-mi'nga with a single hand 67.19

qon-qa'a with a single reindeer

qon-ra'ln with a single house 34.1

qona'ênkrna with nine (i. e. with a single [finger remaining] behind) 147.1

24. **gemge-** EVERY (Kor. Kam. **ga'mga-**).

ge'mge-qinni'k every kind of game 41.11

ge'mge-ni'kin everybody 66.28

ga'mga-ni'mgÿpÿ from every settlement 36.1

ge'mge-nute'qin from every land 11.5

Koryak:

ga'mga-qai-ña'wis'qat every little woman Kor. 34.9

ga'mga-olgrwé'tiñ to every cache Kor. 66.17

25. **paġa-** (Koryak) ANY (Chukchee **timñ'e-** (see No. 13, p. 816)).

paġa'-ma'ki whosoever

paġa'-yi'nna whatever

26. **luñ-** NEGATIVE PARTICLE, always used with nominal forms of the verb. There is no corresponding form in either Koryak or Kamchadal.

luñ-i'rü not crossing 41.5

luñ-iwkué'tä not drinking 37.3

luñ-res'qi'wä'tyät they did not want to enter 115.19

luñ-lu^s'tä not seen 11.9

tégge'ñu luñ-i'lhilm has no desire 93.32

luñ-çei'vü without walking

loñ-êna'tvata without promises 101.23

loñ-İpa'ulm not drinking

loñ-wa'loma not heeding 21.13

With the auxiliary verb *-nt-* (initial *rit-*), it is the usual form of expressing the negative of the transitive verb.

luñ-lu^s'tä tr'ntiqit I had thee an unseen one (i. e., I did not see thee)

27. **egn-** sometimes replaces the negative particles *wi'ñä*, *e'Le*, and *en'ñe'*.

agn-aqami'tvąka do not eat!

agn-a'nmüka without killing R 44.11

28. *ine-* transforms transitive verbs into intransitives, either without other change of meaning or with the significance TO DO ON BEHALF OF ONE'S SELF. The object, when retained, is expressed in the locative.

tinenlete'erkin ki'mitik I take the load away for myself (*t-* I; *nlete* to take away; *-rkin* present; *ki'mit-* load)

The use of *ine-* in the transitive verb has been discussed in § 63, p. 736.

Examples are:

enapêla'ê thou leavest some one (namely, me)

enapêla'tik ye leave some one (namely, me)

See, also, § 110, 67.

29. *inen-* TRANSITIVE (see *te*—*n(i)*, § 114, 2, p. 821).

30. *ialk-* (Kamchadal) HOW MANY, SOME; used independently in the plural.

|| *la'li^εn kcxo^εn* how many dogs?

|| *lal^εn klxöl olata'tockepñin* he passed there a few days

§ 114. Inclusive Affixes

1. To cause to.

(a) With intransitive verbs.

| | Chukchee. | Kor. Kam. |
|-------------|---|-----------------------------|
| <i>r(i)</i> | — <i>u</i> (after terminal vowel) | <i>y(i)</i> — <i>v</i> |
| <i>r(i)</i> | — <i>eu</i> (after terminal consonant) | <i>y(i)</i> — <i>aw, av</i> |
| <i>r(i)</i> | — <i>et</i> (after terminal <i>u</i> diphthong) | <i>y(i)</i> — <i>at</i> |
| | <i>iü, eu, au</i> | |

After verbal prefixes, the *r(i)*, *y(i)*, changes to *n(i)*.¹

ri-qamitva'-u-rkin-ən he was made to eat 9.8 (from *qamitva*)

ri-tel-é'u-rkin you cause to be unwell (from *tel*)

ri-nêlkiwé'-n-nin he was made to sit on it 8.11

ri-gg-eu'-nin he awakened him 7.5

ni-nto-w'-nên he made him go out 60.3

ri-pintik-eu'-nin he made it appear 9.8

ga-n-êchêt-au'-lên he made it jump off 47.7

riyirrau'nênat they caused them to be anointed 74.33

ineqäli'keukı (we) induced her to marry 26.5

gantø'mgarulên has been created 42.1

anintoñá'tkelên she does not make it go out 54.6

qanintoñá'tyê^ε cause him to go out! 54.7

¹See also p. 735.

Koryak:

y-awy-a't-ikn you cause to eat (from *awy*)
yi-tal'-a'w-ikn you cause to be unwell (from *tal*; *ta^εl'-i'-ikn*
 you are unwell)
yiyigrĭcha'wik tickling (him) Kor. 18.9
qinathileu' make it warm! Kor. 29.3
qanva'kyıntat tear him up Kor. 30.7
tenaniky'o'nĭivoi it begins to awaken us Kor. 39.4
ganipqa'wlenau he made them climb up Kor. 43.4
ganvaqyila'wlen she made him stand with legs apart Kor. 80.20

(b) With transitive verbs.

| Chukehee | Kor. Kam. |
|---|--|
| <i>r(i) — nĕt</i> | <i>y(i) — w, v</i> |
| <i>ri-kĕto-nĕa't-t-rĭkn</i> you re- mind him (from <i>kĕto</i> to remember) | <i>yi-keto-v-e'kĭn</i> you remind him (from <i>keto</i>) |

(c) A number of verbs have no suffixes, but only the prefix *r(i)*-Kor.Kam. *y* [r]-)

r-er'erĭkn you cause it to fall down (from *er'e*)
rd'tvunĕn she carried it in 28.7
reimeu'ninet it approached them 41.4
rintnininet she threw them out 87.30
 Kor. Kam. *yi-kima'w-ikn* you detain him (from *kimaw* to be

(d) A number of intransitive verbs belonging to group (a) become transitive.

ru-wĕthaw-a't-t-rĭkn you speak to him (from *wĕthau* to speak)
ru-wĕt-hawau'nĕn it talked to her 32.3

In Kamchadal two prefixes are found, *n-* and *lin-*. Of these, the former corresponds to the Chukehee-Koryak forms—
t-t-n-kĭ'le-j-in I surround him (from *kile*; *t-kĭ'le-jk* I turn around)
t-lĭ'-nu-j-in I feed him (from *nu* to eat; *t-nu-jk* I eat)
t-lin-hĭ'l-t-j-in I give him to drink (from *hil*; *t-hĭ'l-t-jk* I drink)
t-o-n-cl-t-j-in I cause him to lie down (from *cl*; *t-col-o-jk* I lie down)

NOTE.—Certain verbs may be used both intransitive and transitive:

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>tĭpa'urĭkn</i> I drink | <i>nĭ'rĕq ča'gtĕ napa'unea</i> they have drunk two pieces of bark tea |
| <i>nĕ'us'gĕt gi'ulin</i> the woman said 98.7 | <i>Ta'n-na gi'ulin</i> the <i>Tan-nit</i> told him 98.5 |

2. **te—ñ(I)** TO MAKE SOMETHING (Kor. Kam. **ta—ñ[I]**). This may be related to the verb *teiki* (Kor. Kam. *taiki*) TO MAKE.

tirvu'ñirkın he makes sharp things, i. e., arms (stem *ivv*);

Kor. Kam. *tisvi'ñikın*

nıtepleññile'tqın she made boots for him 112.24 (stem *plek*-boots; -*let* frequentative [§ 110.53])

When this prefix is used with verbs, the additional prefix *inən-* (Kor. Kam. *ınan-*) is generally inserted. It indicates the transitive. The meaning of the compound is causative.

tınenye'nñirkın (Kor. Kam. *tinanya'nñikın*) you make him come

tənantəmgi'ñirkın you cause it to create itself, and from this the noun *Tənanto'mgıñ*¹ (Kor. Kam. *Tənanto'mvıñ*) one who causes things to create themselves (i. e., Creator)

tənanyi'lñ-ora'wêlan a person who causes one to give (i. e. beggar)

3. **re—ñ(I)** expresses the desiderative (Kor. Kam. **ya—ñ[I]**). The prefix and suffix of these forms are identical with those of the future, but the suffix is placed immediately following the stem and is itself followed by the suffixes belonging to the tenses.

rapa'wñirkın (Kor. Kam. *yapa'wñekın*) he desires to drink (stem: Ch. *ıpau*, Kor. Kam. *apaw*)

rerku'rñirkın (stem *rku*) (Kor. Kam. *yaıku'yñikın* [stem *ıkuı*]) he desires to buy

rınto'ñıñgi he wanted to come out 83.10 (stem *nto* to come out; -*ñño* to begin)

ranê'êha'n'ñā do you want to die? 67.1 (stem *vi*^e to die; -*êht* [§ 110.66])

nıre'vi'ñqın he wants to die 99.27

nerelw'ñirkın-i-gıt they want to see thee 19.6

Koryak:

tıyayı'lqatıñ I want to sleep Kor. 30.3

tıyayı'tıñ I want to go home Kor. 30.5

ganka'wlinau ya's'qanñık they ceased to wish to go Kor. 58.2

4. **e—ki, e—kã** (Kor. Kam. **a—ki, a—ka**; Kor. Par., **e—ki, a—ke**; Kamchadal **—ki —k, —(ñ)kın, ñkan**) NEGATION, expressing WITHOUT —.

¹This form is different from the form for HE CREATES THEM. The "Creator" is therefore, even in grammatical form, only a "Weltgestalter."

The compounds formed with ϵ - $k\grave{i}$ are nominal. They are formed from both nominal and verbal basis.

anvênauka'gtr gewku'lin he tied her to an unbroken (reindeer)
50.12 (*nvineu* to break a reindeer; $-gtr$ allative [§ 40]; $ge-$
lin [§ 74]; *wkut* to tie)

elile'ki eyeless

aa'lakê a person without knife

enr'nniki nameless one (=fourth finger)

Koryak:

| *a'xgike kuma'tr* the hairless one grew angry Kor. 24.8

The compounds formed with ϵ - $k\grave{a}$ are used as complements of the verb.

eqv'likä qäne'lhutik make yourselves voiceless 60.10

i'mlikä tiva'a'k I was without water

akê'rika né'lyi it became lightless 94.11

ênî'ngäikü neré'tëimük we shall be made childless 39.4

res'qi'wkwî a'kêrka he entered without clothing 35.10

a'kêrka nan ra'gtrê he came home without clothing 35.10

giwq'nka mitiné'l we came to be without an Aiwan 47.12

aqami'tvaka tiva'ak not eating I was

awgêtkinka not saying anything 26.6

e'le e'lqätä not going 46.8

aurrikê'gtr not appearing 66.10

aa'lomka heedless 67.9

e'le eurrëtkä not appearing 62.1

akêrkitrî'at they took off clothes (they became without clothing) 47.5

e'gripqi awgêntoya'nvuka she felt pain the breathless one 63.8
(*e'grip* to feel pain; $-gi$ [§ 64]; *wqi-* breath; *nto* to go out;
 $-yanv$ verbal noun [§104.38])

eqänñé'tkü gené'lin he had become without moaning (i.e., he had ceased moaning) 34.7

etë'lkä niné'lqin he came to be without suffering 25.11

Koryak:

| *akmi'nika gi'linat* childless they were Kor. 43.8

| *aqalhai'aka qitr'ykin-i-gi* not crying be! Kor. 37.1

| *aklé'woka tina'lik* without bread I remained Kor. 16.2

| *ava'leika yana'la'ntik* you will be without blubber Kor. 80.13

| *gümna'n wi'na yr'na e'lika tr'ntigá'n* (Chukchee *gümna'n*
e'le rä'e'nut e'ilkü tr'ntiä'n) I not anything (not) given I had to
him

In some cases, particularly with *wi'nä* NOTHING, THERE IS NOTHING, the forms in $-ka$ appear apparently predicative, presumably with

omission of a predicate of existence. More frequently the forms in *-käl'in* are used as predicative forms (see p. 824)

u'ñä aa'raka nothing, houseless (i. e., there was nothing, not [even] a house) 31.7

u'ñä eleu'tikä nothing, headless (i. e., there was nothing, not [even] a head) 47.8

u'ñä epi'ñkä (Kor. Par. *e'le epi'ñke*) there is no powder

Koryak:

u'ña aña'wtrñka he had no wife Kor. 50.5

u'ña a'nvilka he did not stop Kor. 51.8

u'ña ava'leika? is there no blubber? Kor. 80.12

u'ña kama'kanu ana'ka (I) did not become a kamak Kor. 88.10

u'ña ane'lhyrpnuka (we) do not eat inner skin Kor. 49.1

Transitive verbs, when adding *g-kä* to the stem, have a passive meaning; with the prefix *ine-* placed immediately preceding the stem, they have active meaning.

Passive:

anintoña'tka ri'tirkin you make him one who is not caused to go out (i. e., you do not make him go out) 54.10

evegr'tkukä têu'lanên he shook what was not dug out with the nails 47.2

enñ'u'kä mi'ni'ntinet let us have them not sent over (i. e. I wish we had not sent them) 58.2

e'le enu'ka not being eaten 48.8

alo'ka'gti va'le-üm I am not seen 22.10

elu'kä not seen ones 62.1

e'le a'lomka it was not heard 60.10

Koryak:

| *u'ña i'wka ga'nti!en* he was not told so Kor. 62.3

Active:

ëna'nmüka riné'nti'ë thou wilt be one who does not kill 99.9

inenventé'tkäl-i-git thou art one who has not caused it to be open 88.27

inenu'käli-muri we are those who do not consume it 35.1

gümna'n ênalwar'kël-ê-üm I am not unable to do it 92.30

inču'kälinet he has not seen them 70.33

inegite'käl'in, e'le she does not look at me 88.31

The form *e-kä* is always used for the negative imperative, with the particle *en'ñe'*.

en'ñe' ere'pkä do not look 32.6

en'ñe' inegite'kä do not look at her 37.9

en'ñe' ai'püka do not put it on 37.8

en·ñe' ad'qeka do not sit down 37.13

en·ñe' d'tvirkoka do not tell 66.29

en·ñe' aqami'tvaka q'i'tyitik do not be without eating 64.19
(without verb 65.30)

en·ñe' rrowa'ta ata'ka qanti'girkir do not pass it at a distance 70.9

en·ñe' gi'inu e'lhikä do not attock it 70.14

en·ñe' êna'nmäka don't kill me! 103.30

en·ñe' ineqe'plukä do not kick me! 31.12 (31.11 is the same form without *en·ñe'*)

Koryak:

| *kitta' atawalñila'ka* do not look back! Kor. 51.6

| *kitt-a'wyika q'i'thi^s* do not eat!

Kamchadal:

|| *jak-nu'kek* (*ksixc*) do not eating (be)!

Without *en·ñe'*, we find—

atê'rgatka do not cry! 7.6

ineqe'plukä do not kick me! 31.11

Koryak:

| *annuwai'ka* do not leave anything! Kor. 46.2

Here also the auxiliary verb is usually omitted.

Apparently in the form of an adjective, we find—

na'gam ãm e'un aqora'nrêtkä Ai'wan then, however, the Aiwan, careless of the reindeer, . . . 48.6

gora'ñi envineukä yilhe'nnin he attached an unbroken reindeer 50.11

Derived from the negative suffix *-kä* are *-këlin*, *-kälän* (Kor. Kam. *-kälän*), formed with the suffix *-län* (see §§ 48, 73, 74). This form, in accordance with the character of *-län*, is more markedly predicative.

imlir'këlin he is waterless

Koryak Kamenskoye:

| *wotta'kin ake'yklän* that one had no cloths Kor. 78.14

Kamchadal:

|| *ilcilkin* without tongue

|| *qaqe'kan* without nose

|| *ki'mma gam ni'kin* I am not wifeless

The verbal character appears most clearly with pronouns of the first and second person.

antog'kël-ê-git you do not go out 54.10

aq'lomkël-ê-git you do not hear 54.11

- alimə'lkĕl-ê-grt* you do not obey 54.11
é'le éna'nmič'u i'tkäl-ĭ-üm I do not become a murderer 24.8
é'le enpilk'u'wkäl-i-üm I am not vanquished 15.9
inenvent'ekäl-i-grt thou art one who has not caused it to be open 88.27
gümna'n énalwau'kĕl-ê-üm I am not unable 92.30
eiwule'tkĕli-mu'ri we do not know it 34.8
inenu'kăli-muri we do not eat 35.1
é'le aqami'tvakäl-ê-üm I did not eat

Koryak Kamenskoye:

- ui'na awyikal'ai'güm* I did not eat, but *ui'na a'wyika t'i'tik* not eating I was
ui'na api'nikălaigüm I am without powder

Kamchadal:

- gam nu'kek tsik* not eating I was
gam nuke'nkin (kr'mma) I did not eat

Examples of verbal forms of the third person are—

- é'le aliməlau'kĕlĕn* he is one who does not heed 15.12
aqłə'ulĕlĕn she was without a man 28.2
amata'kĕlĕn she was unmarried 28.2
aa'lomkĕlĕn she did not listen 26.2; 54.7; 56.2
čit evi'kălin re'mkin formerly people were death-less 42.2
enša'q ūm éla' evi'kălin now the mother was immortal 41.12
é'le antə'kĕlĕn she did not go out 54.9 (without *é'le* 54.5)
va'nĕvan antə'kĕlĕn not at all she went out 54.8
emit't-üm atəə'nkĕlĕn t'rgilin since she did not touch the crying one 56.6
va'nĕvan e'rrekĕlin it does not appear at all 62.2
eres'qiu'kălin éna'n čin't he himself did not want to enter 103.17
emitkätvu'kĕlin the blubber was not scraped off 47.1
nene'neqăi anintoŋa'tkĕlĕn she did not cause the child to go out 54.6
aa'lomkĕlĕnat they did not listen 13.5
eyl'qakĕlinet they were not sleeping 34.3
inelu'kălinet he has not seen them 70.33
inegite'kălin she did not look at me 88.31

A few constructions of *-kălin* with *ui'nă* seem quite analogous to forms in *-kă* with this particle (see p. 823).

- ui'nă aa'lomkĕlĕn* they do not listen 56.2
ui'nă akĕ'rikălĕn there was nothing, without light 40.9

enqa'n u'i'nä čit eñe'ñkäl'in that one was nothing, before not with guardian spirits 60.1

Kor. *u'i'nä am'a'yīñkälē-i-gūm* I am not large

Decidedly nominal is—

elilē'kēlüqägti little eyeless ones 45.1

In Kamchadal the adjective suffix *-lax* (§112, 78) before the negative changes to *-līx*.

ki'mma'qam ulul'i'xkin I am not small

Kamchadal *x'ě—ki* with intransitive verbs, *x'ě—kie* with transitive verbs, form the negative. These are nominal forms, which are given predicative forms by means of auxiliary verbs (see p. 779).

x'ěnu'ki impossible to eat

x'ětālekic impossible to beat him

x'ě is presumably of the same origin as the particle *x'ěnc*.

§§ 115–121. Word-composition

§ 115. Introductory Remarks

Stems may be compounded in such a manner that one stem which qualifies another is placed before it. The two stems together form a unit which takes morphological affixes as a whole—prefixes preceding the first stem, suffixes following the second stem. The first stem, therefore, always terminates without morphological suffixes, the second one begins without morphological prefixes. If in the complex of stems a strong vowel or syllable occurs, the whole complex takes the ablaut.

maiñ-a'čr-kalē'lī-čŷ'mñī (Kor. Kam. *maiñ-a'čr-kalē'lī-čŷ'mñā*) a big fat speckled buck

Each stem may retain the word-forming suffixes or prefixes enumerated in §§ 97–114.

Composition is used particularly for the following purposes.

1. When the second stem is a noun, the first element is an attribute of the second.

2. When the second element is a verb, the first element is an adverbial qualifier of the second. Here belongs particularly the case that when the first stem is a noun, the second a verb, the former is the object of the latter.

§ 116. *Attributive Composition*

Attributive composition of two nouns is used when the first noun expresses the particular species of the class expressed by the second noun. These are used in the absolute form as well as with postpositions.

1. The first element expresses the particular species of the class expressed by the second term.

ga'lgā-na'lhīn bird-skin 7.9

ri'rka-ka'la walrus spirit 8.4

pa'nvar-ri'rkat two-year-old walrus 8.10

ri'rka-npīna'ēhīn walrus old man 9.6

aiwhua'-npīna'ēhāqai Eiw hue old man 11.10

ēiwhue'-ora'wēlan Eiw hue person 12.4

ēiwhue'-nē'ut Eiw hue woman 12.5

wō'lqi-vairgē'ti to the Darkness-Being 18.11

ora'wēr-ra'mka by human people 21.8

a'nqa-va'irgin sea-being 25.4

ke'le-nē'wān kele wife 38.11

a'l-qla'ul excrement man 39.9

poiq-ō'ttōt (Kor. Kam. *poiq-ō'ttōt*) spear wood

pilvi'nti-pna'wkun iron file

ra'ē'-pi'nīl (Kor. Kam. *yaq-pi'nīl* or *yaqa'-pñīl*) what news 11.2

lilē'-ēv'rmitā on the sight border (= just out of sight) 11.8

ra'g-ēō'rmik on the house border 12.12

Koryak:

nāwa'kak daughter Kor. 12.4

pilvi'nti-yi'nmalā'n with iron antlers Kor. 21.8

yi'lhīlu finger-gloves Kor. 22.2

lawti-ki'lēiēñin head-band Kor. 17.12

vai-ki'ltipilīñ little grass-bundle Kor. 27.8

The following special cases deserve mention:

The words *qla'wul* (Kor. Kam. *qla'wul*) MAN, *nēw* (Kor. Kam. *naw*) WOMAN, are used to express the idea of the *nomen actoris*, and are compounded with verbs as well as with nouns. Thus we find—

tu'li-nēw (Kor. Kam. *tu'li-naw*) stealing-woman (= female thief)

vi'n'vu-nāw (Kor. Kam. *vi'n'vu-naw*) secretly-acting woman
(= female lover)

Kor. Kam. *talā'-qla'wul* striking-man (= blacksmith)

Compounded with a noun is—

pilvi'nti-qla'ul iron-man (= blacksmith)

The stems *qlaul* and *qlik* (Koryak *qlik*) in first position express also MALE.

qla'ul-keiñrn (Kor. Kam. *qlik-kai'ñrn*) male bear

For most animals the word *čü'mña* (Kor. Kam. *čü'mña*) is used to express the male.

čumña-ri'rki male walrus

Kor. Kam. *čümña'-me'mil* male thong-seal

For females the stem *ñew* (Kor. Kam. *ñaw*) is used.

ñe-č'kik (Kor. Kam. *ñaw-a'kik*) daughter 28.2

ñew-ke'ñrn (Kor. Kam. *ñaw-kai'ñrn*) she-bear

ñeww'rit female soul 37.11

The Koryak word *mtala^{en}* (Kamchadal *mti^lx'*) is a contraction of *oya'mtavrla^{en}* PERSON (*qla'wul* in Koryak designates a male adult person), and means literally THE ONE WHO WALKS OPENLY, and is meant to designate man as walking visibly, while the spirits walk about invisibly.¹ The Chukchee has the corresponding word *ora'wêlan*, which has the same derivation. Compositions with *-mtala^{en}* are applied to a number of mythical personages.

ennü'-mtala^{en} Fish-Man, Fish-Woman

Valvü'-mtala^{en} Raven-Man

The Chukchee use in these compositions the element *qlayl*.

E'nnr-qlayl Fish-Man

E'nnr-ñew Fish-Woman

The Kamchadal forms in *-mti^lx'* are probably borrowed from the Koryak.

el'he-mti^lx' (Koryak *ilve'-mtala^{en}*) Wild-Reindeer-Man

têpa'-mti^lx' (Koryak *kitepa'-mtala^{en}*) Wild-Sheep-Man

2. In nouns with suffixes, composition is used to express a number of relations.

(a) The material of which an object is made.

rä^ε-kupre'tä tⁱ'mnên with what kind of a net did he kill it? (*räq* what; *kupre* net; *tⁱm* to kill)

kô'nê-kupre'tä tⁱ'mnên he killed it with a net of horse-hair (*kô'nê* horse [from Russian конь])

(b) The idea PERTAINING TO.

tala'n-ramkê'pü tuwô'lomga^{en} I heard it from people of past times (*telenyep* long ago; *ramk-* people; *wôlom* to hear)

¹ The Koryak have also the term *oya'mya* for PERSON, which is supposed to be used by the hostile spirits only, and designates man as the game pursued by the spirits. In Chukchee myths the term *ora'wêr-va'rat* BEINGS WALKING OPENLY (=MANKIND) is used

(c) Parts of a whole.

ya'al-gɪtka'ta gɛggil-g'eptɪlin he has kicked him with the heel of the hind-foot (*ya'al* hind; *ɪtka* foot; *-ggil* heel)

(d) Possession.

gūmū'k e'kke-ñalvūl'ē'pū qāim'i'tym take it from my son's herd (*gūmū'k* my [possessive]; *e'kke* son; *ñalvūl* herd; *-gūpū* from [§ 42, p. 704])

NOTE.—In Koryak the possessor may take the same suffixes as belong to the possessed object. This seems to be always the case in the locative.

gūmī'k kme'ñirŋo ñalvūl'a'nqo qakm'i'tin take it from my son's herd

3. An intransitive verb (adjective) may be combined with a nominal stem so that it qualifies the latter. These compositions are used particularly in oblique cases.

ɪul-u'ttū (Kor. Kam. *ɪwɫ-u'tta*) with a long stick

mɛiñi-lil'e't (Kor. Kam. *maiñi-lil'a't*) big eyes

Kamchadal *pɫɛx-k'i'-stenk* in the large house

tañ-qlaul, pl. *tañ-qla'ultē* (Kor. Kam. *maɫqla'wul*, dual *maɫ-qla'-wulte*) good man

ta'ñ-ūm-və'lin good one

maiñu-wa'l a large knife 16.1

pū'gli-lauti'yñin big bare head 27.13

ä'sqä'-ke'le-ñe'us'qät bad kele woman 37.11

ä'sqä'-gr'e'pqäi bad little song 59.5

teg-ñe'us'qät a nice woman 62.13

ñitō'-čū'mñi a shy buck 49.5

korga'-čə'ut a lively man 40.3

lii-teñ-evi'rälin really good cloths having 33.3

riq-a's'ttin a shaggy dog 72.28

ēlh-u'kwut a flat stone (= anvil) 77.12

ɪrko'mk-u'kwun divining-stone 101.3

Koryak:

ɛ'nnu maɫ-ñə'wɪtkata this is a good woman Kor. 19.1

maɫ-qla'wul a good man Kor. 19.10

tañ-i's'yu to (be) a good sky Kor. 20.2

ka'li-qa'nyan ornamented (spotted) palate Kor. 20.2

qai-ñə'wis'qat little woman Kor. 25.1

qai-ka'mak little kamak Kor. 35.5

maɫ-kal-yeko'i'gu-waɫ knife with well ornamented handle Kor. 46.8.

4. When the theme of a transitive verb appears as the first part of a compound, it has a passive meaning:

teik-evi'rin (ready) made clothing 86.22

a^s'tti-yño-kamaanvé'ti to (by) dog-sniffed-(at)-dishes 96.10

tot-twi'ka-kamaanvé'ti to newly made dishes 96.18

ter-igto'-qaiò'nè to a newly born fawn 129.13

§ 117. *Incorporation of Noun*

A nominal stem may be incorporated in the verbal complex, and then forms a unit with the verbal stem which it precedes. The incorporated noun may express the subject of intransitive verbs, the object or instrument with transitive verbs.

(a) Intransitive verbs which incorporate an inanimate noun as subject express a verbal concept relating to a person.

wwi'k plr' tkurkin the body becomes ready

but *twuwi'k-ü-për' tkurkin* I become body-ready (i. e., I am grown up)

va'li ñito'rkin (Kor. Kam. *va'la ñito'ykin*) the knife comes out
but *vala-nto'rkin* (Kor. Kam. *vala-nto'ykin*) he is knife-coming-out (i. e., he draws his knife)

nwugé'ntogên he is one whose breath goes out 126.9

awgëntoya'nvuka he is without breath going out 63.8

nigolënto'a^sn his voice goes out 127.8

(b) Verbs with incorporated nominal object. It is hardly feasible to draw a sharp line of demarcation between verbs with incorporated object and the verbal suffixes which form derivatives of nouns (§ 111, Nos. 73-77). These are *-ñita* TO FETCH, *-tuwe* TO TAKE OFF, *ÿp* TO PUT ON *-gîli* TO SEARCH FOR, *-u* TO CONSUME, TO EAT. Owing to their meaning, these would hardly be expected to occur without object, and they are always suffixed to it—or the object is always incorporated with them. In the texts the incorporated object is used most frequently in phrases in which the action is performed habitually on a certain object, although incorporated forms that express single actions that are not performed habitually are not absent. On the whole, this process does not appear very frequently in the texts.

tigaanma'tirkin (Kor. Kam. *tigoyanma'tekin*) or } I slaughter rein-
tinmi'rkin qa'at (Kor. Kam. *tinme'kin qoya'wge*) } deer

qêna-také'çhi-lpi'nriqé^s me meat give!

gümnî'n e'kik qü-kalé'tel-lpi'nri-grn my son money-give him!

u'tti-mlé'rkin (Kor. Kam. *u-m!a'ykin*) he breaks a stick

- ri'łhi-čvi'rkin* (Kor. Kam. *yil'łhi-čvi'ykin*) he cuts a finger
kale'čpürkin (Kor. Kam. *pañka-čpe'kin*) he puts on a cap
qaa-nma'arkin (Kor. Kam. *qoya-nma'tekin*) he slaughters reindeer
tikoñinto'rkin I take out glasses
tileu'tip'gtrkin I have a headache
geleu'tilvilin he cut off her head 86.7
nılautıpa'tqên she boiled heads 43.12
načıpa'tınat they boiled fat 14.7
nênavêrıpa'tqên he put cloths on him 127.1
minpêčarê'ra let us search for food 119.18
valamna'lın knife-whetter (*vala* knife) 44.4
nıqad'nmataqên he slaughtered reindeer 48.8, 11
nıquimevirıu'qin he turned the upper part of his trousers outside
 (*qu'yim* upper part of trousers; *virıu* to turn out) 46.7
geleutırqı'tkutä scratching the head 126.7
nênavêruwanla'qên he asks for clothing 126.10
kê'rgüpgê he put on the dress 52.9
qürê'thüpgê follow the trail! 52.8
tılı-lo'k looking for the entrance 131.1
nıtılarê'rqên searching for the entrance 131.1
qñavunra'gtatyê take your wife home! 115.8
va'la-ri'nña knife holding 106.13
qında'n inenmulıgrelê't-i-gıt thou art the cause of blood-vomiting
 93.11
omqa'-pênıra'tyê they attacked the bears 115.12

Koryak:

- gayuñyupe'nyılenu* they attacked the whale Kor. 41.3
qaqoleya'wage (*gole* voice; *ıya'wa* to use) use your voice! Kor. 48.7
qangekıplenda'ñu (to be used) to strike the fire with Kor. 30.7
qavannıntalen she lost a tooth (*va'nñılñın* tooth) Kor. 32.8

The attributes of the object may be included in the compound.

- tı-maiñi-lau'ti-pr'gtrkin* (Kor. Kam. *tı-mai'ñi-ıa'wı-pr'kt'kin*) I
 much head suffer

Verbs with incorporated object are intransitive. They may be made transitive, however, when they are referred to a new object.

- qaanma'arkin* he slaughters reindeer
qaanrı'rkin he slaughters reindeer for him
tırı'łhičvi'gıt (Kor. Kam. *tıyil'łhičvi'gı*) I finger-cut thee (i. e., I cut
 your finger)

In a number of Koryak examples verbs with incorporated object appear as elements of incorporated complexes. In these cases they are always treated as intransitive verbs.

| *qim-a'lu-ču'ču-ñaw-i-üm* hard-excrement-eating-woman am I Kor. 47.4
 | *tigil'ñu-ñaw-iy-üm* snowshoe-strings-eating-woman am I Kor. 47.4

(c) Verbs with incorporated noun expressing instrumentality.

otti-kpčč'wa by striking with a stick 48.10

ni-ke'g-tegil'ñitku'qinet groping about with the palms 73.26

gamolêtiño'laat they are covered with blood 91.27

Koryak:

| *čil'innil'ul'a'tikn* he licked with the tongue Kor. 56.3

§ 118. Composition of Verbal Stems

Compounds consisting of two verbal stems are quite common. In all of these the first stem appears as qualifier of the second stem.

tê'rgi-pli'tkø finished crying 27.11

a'un-rê'ña-til'a'gti with easy flying motion 16.8

nu-waqø-tva'qênat sitting they were 62.9

qämi-pli'tkuk (Kor. Kam. *a'wyi-plitëuk*) eating finishing (i. e. after the meal) 33.11 contains the stem of the compound verb *qami-tva* TO EAT.

vi'yi-tiu'wunin breathing he drew them in 61.4

Koryak:

| *ga-mława-nka'w-łen* she ceased to dance Kor. 48.6

| *g-awya'-nkaw-len* he refused to eat Kor. 51.3

| *gen'abixčat-paa-ñvo'-łenat* to send them away ceased began they Kor. 72.2

§ 119. Adverbial Composition

Intransitive verbs are combined with verbal stems in the same manner as they are with nouns, and then assume adverbial functions. Stems expressing modality, quality, quantity, appear frequently in this position. The forms are quite analogous to those treated in § 116.3.

ine-teñ-inpi'lkuum thou hast well vanquished me 17.7

qa-tan-yoro-tukwa't-yê arrange the sleeping-room well 58.6

tur-qi'tilin newly frozen 13.7

tur-ur'e'tilin newly born 21.6

tør-kalêñno'qênat newly adorned ones 29.1

liê-ñaraw'tilø truly wife-seeking 57.1

a^εqa'-rkila badly pursued 17.6

tur-ewkwé'tyi^ε he departed just now

ti-teñ-yilqä'tyä^εk (Kor. Kam. *ti-mal-yilqa'tik*) I slept well

Koryak:

- aqalapñivo'ykɪn* looks badly Kor. 13.8
qa-qaɪ'paʒen it fitted badly Kor. 34.9
qa-qayičhɪlanñivo'ʒen it began to be a little light Kor. 18.1
qa-qa'yɪ-čulin he chopped it small Kor. 53.6
tañ-a'wyeñvoi he began to eat well Kor. 20.7
qa-maʃ-ɪnai'vulen he bit well Kor. 41.4
qa-maʃ-hɪnta'wlen he fled well Kor. 41.7
qa-tuyɪ-kmiñā't-i-gǔm I have recently given birth Kor. 64.13

Verbal nouns are treated in the same way.

a'ričhɪ-tva'rɪkɪn (Kor. Kam. *a'yitñɪ-tva'ykɪn*) you are lying on the side

§ 120. Multiple Composition

Compound terms may include more than two elements of the classes described in the preceding sections.

ä^εqä^ε-lǔ'mñɪ-ñe'usqät (Kor. Kam. *aqā'-lǔ'mñā-ñā'wɪs'qat*) a bad, lazy woman

čaučuwā'-gai'mičɪ-lau'ličɪn reindeer-breeder-rich-man R59.4.

tañ-č'čɪ-tēñ-poi'gɪn a good, heavy ice-spear

tɪ-meɪ'ñɪ-leu'ti-piqtɪrkɪn (Kor. Kam. *tɪ-maiñɪ-lau'tɪ-pi'ktikɪn*) I greatly head am aching

gɪne-č'ɪn-m'mlɪ-i'łhi^ε give me warm water!

iču-wqi-né'lırkɪn heavily breathing he becomes (i. e. he sighs)

nél-čp-rilhi'lıñɪn thimble-put-on-finger, the second finger

t-wwä^ε'quči-lqār-ré'thit I husband-destined for brought to thee (i. e. I brought you a suitor)

Other examples have been given before.

§ 121. Composition in Kamchadal

The composition of words in Kamchadal is quite similar to that of Chukchee and Koryak.

ke'lı-yu'nyučw (Chukchee *ke'lı'lı-re^εw*) spotted whale

However, the collected texts show that the use of compounds is much more restricted. Besides, constructions are found that do not agree with the synthetic method of Chukchee and Koryak.

ñi'mcɛ'ɪn p'ıč! child being a woman (i. e., daughter)

(Chukchee *ñe'kık*, Kor. Kam. *ñaw-a'kak* woman-child)

In Kamchadal *ololaxɪ^εn k'ıstɪ^εnč* SMALL LITTLE HOUSES the adjective remains an independent word, as is indicated by its being in the plural form.

§ 122. Consonantic Shifts

It has been stated before that the consonants *l* and *č* are closely related. A comparison of the parallel forms in *l* and *č* show that the former sound applies often to generalized terms and continued actions, while the latter expresses the special term and single momentary action. This explanation applies well enough in some of the following examples, but not by any means in all of them.

It would seem as though this process were no longer free. Still, a few times I heard the change introduced as though it were still functional:

palomtɛ'lrkɪn and *pačomtɛ'lrkɪn* he listened

The following examples will illustrate the differences in meaning of the parallel forms:

leivu, *čeivu* TO WALK

l forms:

gɑ'mqɑ-nõtɑi'pũ nilei'vuqinet they traveled through every country 17.9

gamqɑ-vairgê'pũ nilei'vuqin he traveled to every being 18.5

nuté's'qāk pagtalkoi'pũ nilei'vuqin he traveled through the clefts of the ground 22.6

yei'velqäi ku'likä ralai'vrññoi an orphan child shall (from now on) travel alone 24.10

keimi'tilä lei'vuk rä^ε'nutqäiti gē'ilä to traveling shaman small things must be given 25.9

gũmna'n atčə'ta lei'wukin mi'ilhr ' give you the means of traveling secretly 93.4

atčə'ta qälei'wui^ε walk about in secret! 93.5

notai'pũ lei'wulit lu^ε'ninet he saw them walking about in the country 113.11

ia'm nilei'vutku-i-gir why don't thou wander about (all the time)? 87.18

č forms:

lautitkina'ta čei'wutku^ε he walked (for a little while) on the heads 8.6

kita'm mičei'vutkuä^εk let me go 79.27; 80.10

qla'ul pük'i'rg^ε *čeivutkuln* a man arrived walking 86.26

irgə'tik ečei'vutkukä mi'tyä^εk tomorrow not walking let me be!, i. e., tomorrow I shall not go 87.9

ne'me čei'vutku^ε again he went 87.25; 88.1

ne'me čvei'vutkurkɪn again he was going (for a short while and once only) 88.7

luwi (initial), *lvi* (medial); *čuwī* (initial), *čvi* (medial) TO CUT

l forms:

geleu'tilvilin the head was cut off 86.7

č forms:

nečvitkuī'vuūēn they cut it off 27.3

nine'čviqin, *nine'nuqin* he cut it and ate it 43.10 (see also 72.18)

ničvi'tkurkin rēw he was cutting the whale (when the other arrived 46.10)

lēla'lhīčhin gečvi'lin he cut the eye 106.19

gīnon'č'ti čuwī'nin he cut it in the middle 109.33

kīle (initial), *rkīle* (medial); *kīč* (initial), *rkīče* (medial) TO FOLLOW

a^εqa'-rkīla difficult to be pursued 17.6

kīleu' mīlva'wkwa^εn I should not be able to follow 17.5

kīla'wkē^ε she followed 31.2 (here a single act)

kīle'nin he gave pursuit to him 57.8

č form:

kīčauč'a'tyē^ε he ran off quickly 57.5

kīpl (initial), *rkīpl* (medial); *kīpč* (initial), *rkīpč* (medial) TO STRIKE

l forms:

kī'plīnēn ūm leu'tik he struck it on the head (as he was accustomed to do) 110.26

ga'rkīplīlēn he struck her (until she let go) 31.4

č forms:

ē'nīkīr kīpč'i'tkēnēn suddenly he struck it 35.11

nīnēnīnnuteu'qin ēttī-kīpčē'wa he makes it swollen by striking with sticks 48.10

nēnār kīpčēu'qin he gave it a push 53.5

līlep (initial), *lep* (medial); *čīčep* (initial), *čep* (medial)

l forms:

līle'pgi^ε she looked up 7.6; 79.11; see also 107.14

qāle'pgi^ε look up! 79.11; see also 107.14

līle'pūrkin he looks on

č form:

čīčē'pgi^ε they looked about 86.22

rīčīčē'urkin he inspects

talaiwu, *tačaiwu* to strike

nītalai'wuqēn they strike him 59.7

natačai'wuan they struck him once 59.5

plī, *pčī* to finish

wū'k plī'tkurkin his body becomes ready

tuw'k-r-pčī'tkurkin I become ready-bodies, i. e., grown up

-*lqiu* verbal suffix expressing requested action; -*s'qiu* verbal suffix expressing single action

l form:

nitule'lqiuqinet they would come to steal 13.4

ĕ (*s'*) forms:

gantó's'qêulên he rushed out 57.11

qânirgqeus'qi'wkutki go and wake them up at once 56.3

-*liku* AMONG A NUMBER; -*ĕiku* INSIDE

l form:

utti'liku among the trees

ĕ forms:

plé'kiĕiku in a boot 43.4

wus'qū'mĕiku in the darkness 34.5

-*qal*, -*qaĕ* by the side of

ragro'lminqal from the rear side of the house 51.10

qinikqa'ĕ by thy side 9.3

-*lqän*, -*s'qän* TOP¹

l form:

koiv'lqan top of glacier 91.16

ĕ form:

qī'this'qän surface of lake 144.3

nuté's'qän surface of ground 98.24

mel-, *mĕ* LIKE TO

l form:

mel-uwä's'quĕ it seems my husband 49.9

ĕ forms:

mĕĕ-ä's'qälpe somewhat quick 45.10

maĕ-ĕto'pĕl somewhat a little better 135.7

A number of nouns show generally the *l* forms, but have in cases when parts of the object or special forms of the object are named ĕ forms.

yĕ'liĕhin tongue 40.10

ri'lhın fingers

(*qlık*) man

u'nel thongseal

mēmıl seal

yĕĕi'tkiĕhin tip of tongue 40.4

riĕhi'tkin finger-tips

qäĕ'ki'ĕhĕĕa the man transformed (similar to a man)²

unĕĕi'ĕhin thong of thongseal skin 102.13, 30

mēmıĕĕ'ĕhin thong of seal skin 134.31

¹ See also *-lqän* ABOUNDING IN (§104.39).

² See Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 449.

mulI blood*gamočé'pılén* full of dried blood
68.2

Also:

tEl sick*tE'čirgin* disease 133.7*lä'LE* winter*čä'čE* cold

To this group may be added, as also differing in regard to the specific character of the term:

lu'rkın he sees*čú-tu'mgin* or *lu-tu'mgin* old acquaintance (= seeing companion)*lél'łhın* mitten*čé-mıngı'LIñın* glove (= mitten hand)*lı'gıg* egg*čıg-ı'-ttım* egg-shell (= egg-bone)*vélč'łhın* ear*vilu'-ttım* or *viču'-ttım* auricular bone*vilu'ptırkın* he marks the ear (of the reindeer)*eviču'ptiki* (reindeer) without ear-mark

Attention may also be called to the relation between the nominal endings *-čhın* and *-łhın*, which have been treated in §§52, 53, and which may also be considered from this point of view, *-łhın* being used in nouns with indefinite meaning, *-čhın* in those indicating particular representation of the class of object.

In other cases the forms in *l* and *č*, while related, do not differ in their more or less specific character, but in other ways:

gulile'erkın he cries*gučiče'erkın* he shouts, makes a noise*gemle'lin* it is broken*gemče'tkulın* broken to pieces*ămı'lin* *ä'lo'ñët* the whole day*ămı'čı-čö'ñët* or *ămı'č-ä'čö'ñët* a long time*añqa'lı-ra'mkın* maritime people*añqa'čı-ra'mkın* reindeer-breeders who come in summer to the seashore*lı'ñılın* the hearty one, avenger (from *lı'ñılın* heart, *lıñılé'erkın* he avenges)*čıñé'erkın* he yearns for something

§§ 123-124. Numerals

§ 123. Introductory Remarks

The system of numbers is derived from manual concepts. Even the expression TO COUNT really means TO FINGER (Chukchee *ri'łhırkın*, Kor. Kam. *yılñe'kın*, HE COUNTS [from stem *riłh-*, Kor. Kam. *yılñ*, FIN-

GER]). In a number of cases the relations between the numerals and manual concepts can easily be given.

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | | From stem |
|---|----------------------|---------|--|
| <i>mi'Liñên</i> | <i>mi'Liñên</i> | five | <i>ming</i> HAND (contracted from the absolute form <i>mingi'Liñin</i>) |
| <i>am-ñiro'otkên</i> | --- | eight | <i>am-ñiro'kên</i> JUST THE THIRD (i. e., of the second hand) |
| <i>qon'a'čirñkên</i> | <i>qony'a'čirñin</i> | nine | <i>qon-ya'ači</i> (Kor. Kam. <i>qon-ya'wači</i> probably ONE BEHIND i. e., one finger left over) |
| <i>mingi'tkên</i> | <i>mingi'tčên</i> | ten | BELONGING TO THE HANDS, refers evidently to the completion of the count on two hands |
| <i>kilhi'nkên</i> | --- | fifteen | may be derived from stem <i>gřtka'llh</i> FOOT, referring to the five toes of the first foot, added to the ten fingers |
| <i>qli'kkin</i> BELONG- ING TO A MAN | <i>qlik</i> | twenty | a man, refers to all the fingers and toes. The form <i>qlik</i> is obsolete in both languages. |

Larger numbers are composed with *qli'kkin* or with the ordinary modern word *qla'ul* (Kor. Kam. *qla'wul*) MAN.

The term *qliq-qli'kkit* or *qli'kkin qla'ul* FOUR HUNDRED is the highest term of the older Chukchee numeration. Every number higher than four hundred is called *gřyeu'-te'gin* LIMIT OF KNOWLEDGE. In modern times this term, under Russian influence, has been applied to express the idea of ONE THOUSAND. This recalls the old Russian term for TEN THOUSAND ТМА (Greek *μύριας*), which literally signifies DARKNESS.

In Chukchee, 11, 12, 13, etc., contain the particle *pa'rol* (also pronounced *pa'roč*) BESIDES. This element, however, may be omitted. It is not used in Koryak. The numbers 9, 14, 19, 99, are negative verbal forms containing the negative prefix and suffix ξ -*kĕlĭn* (see § 114, 4).

amingĭtkau'kĕlĕn not being the tenth

akĭlhĭnkau'kĕlĕn not being the fifteenth, etc.

When used as nouns, all numerals may take post-positions. When numerals stand with nouns with post-positions, they form compounds with the nouns for which the stems without affixes are used.

mingĭt-kal'ĕtola tačĭrĭn-plĭ'tkœ^εk I pay my debt with ten rubles paper money (*mingĭt* ten; *kal'ĕtol* scratched one; *-a* instrumental; *t-* I; *ačĭrĭn* debt; *plĭtko* to finish)

Numerals are also compounded with personal pronouns.

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | |
|--------------------|---------------------|----------|
| <i>ñire-mu'ri</i> | <i>ñi'ye-mu'yi</i> | we two |
| <i>ñĭro'-mqrĕ</i> | <i>ñĭyo'-mu'yu</i> | we three |
| <i>ñi're-tu'ri</i> | <i>ñi'ye-tu'yi</i> | ye two |
| <i>ñire'rgeri</i> | <i>ñiye'čheč'ti</i> | they two |

Numeral adverbs are formed with the suffix, *-čĕ*, *-čä* (Kor. Kam. *-ča*) (see § 112, 81), from the stems of the cardinal numbers, except *qunĕ'čä* ONCE (Kor. *qu'n^{ač}* Kor. 53.2), which is derived from *qun* SINGLE.

ñĭra'ĕa ġiwi'kinek on passing the year a fourth time 12.8

Distributives are formed with the suffix *-yut*; (Kor. Kam. *-yut* [dual], *-yut'wgrĭ* [pl.], see § 112, 80), from the stems of the cardinal numbers. In Chukchee they have also the prefix ξ *m-* JUST (§ 113, 7).

Ordinals are expressed by the verbalized numerals, except ONE.

ñireqĕ'urkĭn (Kor. Kam. *ñiyeqĭ'wikĭn*) he is double, he is the second

Collective forms are derived from the numerals with the suffix, *-nleñ* (Kor. Kam. *-lan*) (see § 124, p. 841).

The Kamchadal numerals have almost been lost, and their place has been taken by Russian numerals. Only the first four numerals are still in use, side by side with their Russian equivalents. The word *lĭne'jĭn* HE COUNTS is also derived from the stem *lĭx* FINGER (absolute form *lĭxlĭxĕ*).

| Numerals | Cardinal | Iterative | Ordinal |
|----------|---------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1 | <i>kčōni'ñ</i> | <i>gun</i> | _____ |
| 2 | <i>kasx, ka'cia</i> | <i>ntel</i> | <i>nté'lñin</i> |
| 3 | <i>čok</i> | <i>čol</i> | <i>čol'laña</i> |
| 4 | <i>čak</i> | <i>čal</i> | <i>čal'laña</i> |

ka'cia kčwo^ēn two dogs

ka'čwo^ēn li^ēl two mittens

čol'ka^ēn kčwo^ēn three dogs

Kamchadal *gun* may be compared with Kor. Kam. *gun* SINGLE.

Kamchadal *čok* may be compared with Kor. Kam. *ñiyox* THREE.

Kamchadal *čak* may be compared with Kor. Paren *ñiya'x* FOUR.

(perhaps from an older form *ñiča'x*)

§ 124. Cardinal Numbers and Other Derivatives

| Chukchee | Koryak Kamenskoye | Koryak Paren |
|---|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 <i>Enné'n', n'čē^ēn</i> | <i>Enné'- Enna'n</i> | <i>Enné'n'</i> |
| 2 <i>ñi'räq</i> | <i>ñi'yax</i> | <i>ñi'čax</i> |
| 3 <i>ñiro'q</i> | <i>ñiyox</i> | <i>ñiyox</i> |
| 4 <i>ñira'q</i> | <i>ña'yax</i> | <i>ñiya'x</i> |
| 5 <i>mi'Liñên</i> | <i>mi'Liñen</i> | <i>mi'Liñen</i> |
| 6 <i>Enna'n mi'Liñên</i> | <i>Enna'n-mi'Liñen</i> | |
| 7 <i>ñëra'-mi'Liñên</i> | <i>ña'a-mi'Liñen</i> | |
| 8 <i>am-ñiro'otkên</i> | <i>ñiyox'-mi'Liñen</i> | |
| 9 <i>{ qon'a'čirñkên amingitka u'k ě- lên</i> | <i>qonya'ačirñin</i> | |
| 10 <i>mingi'tkên</i> | <i>mingi'tčen</i> | <i>mingi'tken</i> |
| 11 <i>mingi'tik En- ne'n' pa'rol</i> | <i>mingi'tik Enna'n</i> | |
| 12 <i>mingi'tik pa'rol</i> | <i>ñi'rä mingi'tik ñi'yax</i> | |
| 13 <i>mingi'tik pa'rol</i> | <i>ñiro' mingi'tik ñiyox</i> | |
| 14 <i>{ mingi'tik pa'rol akihinkau'k ě- lên</i> | <i>mingi'tik ña'yax</i> | |
| 15 <i>kilhi'nkên</i> | <i>mingi'tik mi'Liñen</i> | |

| Chukchee. | Koryak Kamenskoye. |
|--|---|
| 16 <i>kilhi'nikenne'n</i> <i>pa'rol</i> | <i>mingi'tik enna'n mi'</i> <i>liñen</i> |
| 19 { <i>kilhi'nik ñira'</i> <i>pa'rol</i> <i>elikkeu'këlin</i> } | <i>mingi'tik qonya'aëiñin</i> |
| 20 <i>qli'kkin</i> | <i>qlik</i> |
| 21 <i>qli'kkik enne'n</i> <i>pa'rol</i> | |
| 30 <i>qli'kkig mingi'</i> <i>tkên pa'rol</i> | { <i>qli'kkik mingi'tëen</i> <i>ñiyox mi'ngitu</i> |
| 40 <i>ñi'räq-qli'kkin</i> | { <i>ñi'yax qli'kit</i> <i>ña'yax mi'ngitu</i> |
| 50 <i>ñi'räq-qli'kkig</i> <i>mingi'tkên</i> <i>pa'rol</i> | { <i>ñi'yax qli'kit e'n'ki</i> <i>mingi'tëen</i> <i>mi'liñen mi'ngitu</i> |
| 60 <i>ñiro'q-qlë'kkên</i> | { <i>ñiyox qli'ku</i> <i>enna'n mi'liñen mi'n-</i> <i>gitu</i> |
| 80 <i>ñira'q-qlë'kkên</i> | { <i>ñi'yax qli'ku</i> <i>ñiyox mi'liñen mi'n-</i> <i>gitu</i> |
| 99 <i>amiliñqlëkkau'</i> <i>këlën</i> | |
| 100 <i>miliñqlë'kkên</i> | { <i>miliñen qli'ku</i> <i>mingi'tëen mi'ngitu</i> |
| 200 <i>mingitqlë'kkên</i> | <i>mingi'tëen qli'ku</i> |
| 400 <i>qliq-qli'kkin</i> | <i>qlik-qli'ku</i> |

Numerals are verbalized by the suffix *-eu* (Kor. Kam. *-aw*, *-(i)w*).

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | |
|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>ñireq'urkin</i> | <i>ñiyeqi'wikin</i> | he is double, he is the second |
| <i>ñiroqa'urkin</i> | <i>ñiyoga'wekin</i> | he is threefold, he is the third |

-nleñ (Kor. Kam. *-lañ*) with numerals form collective terms.

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| <i>enne'nleñ</i> | <i>enna'nlañ</i> | a single one |
| <i>ñire'nleñ</i> | <i>ñiya'qlañ</i> | two together |
| <i>ñiro'qlañ</i> | <i>ñiyox'qlañ</i> | three together |
| <i>ñira'nlañ</i> | <i>ñaya'qlañ</i> | four together |

§ 125-131. Adverbs.

§ 125. MODAL ADVERBS.

Modal adverbs are formed by means of the inclusive affix *n(r)-eu*, (Kor. Kam. *n(r)-au*) (see p. 810.) These forms are parallel to the adjective form *n(r)-qin* (see § 49).

nime'leu well (Kor. Kam. *nima'lau*) stem Ch. *mel* (Kor. Kam. *mal*)

nime'leu gatva'é be kind (to us)! a common form of prayer.

nime'i'neu ga'tvülén a'ttrn he made a great promise, a dog 101.21

nü'mkeu ki'wkiw ni'nelqin the nights passed (there) became many 108.8 (*ki'wkiw* is sing.; *nü'mkeu* adverb).

These forms however are not used very frequently, especially in Koryak. In most cases they are replaced by adverbial composition (see § 119, p. 832).

Kamchadal *-q* designates adverbs.

ömq deeply (adjective *ö'mläx* deep)

me'ëaq far (adjective *me'ëalax* distant)

k!i'jhıq shallowly (adjective *k!r'jhıłax* shallow)

NOTE.—I have found a few forms in Kamchadal which correspond to Koryak forms:

n'mi'ta (Kor. Kam. *n'mi'tau*) warily (adjective *n'mi'tqin*)

nu'ra^s far.

Other adverbs of modality are derived from verbal stems in an irregular manner.

a'tqêuma (Kor. Kam. *atciñau* regular) badly R 62.72 (stem *ä^sqä*,

Kor. Kam. *a^sqa*; adjective form *e'tqin*, Kor. Kam. *a'tciñ*)

me'ëen'ki (*meë* < *mel* good; *en'ki* there) well 67.22

me'ëen'ku-wa'l-ê-üm I am a fairly good one 114.34. Here *meë* does not assume ablaut (see p. 763)

me'rinře slowly (stem-*nř*; adjective form *ni'nřäqin* slow)

A number of synthetical bases are used as adverbs, either without any change or mostly with added *-ı, -qı, -akı, -êtı* which are locative and allative suffixes (see § 95). The same bases are used also with *va'lın* (Kor. Kam. *i'tala^sn*), (see § 76).

As adverbs they always have the ablaut, those without suffix as well as those with the suffix *-ı, -qı*, although the locative generally is used without ablaut.

Adverbs without suffixes are —

o'ra openly 121.30; stem *urę* (Kor. Kam. *o'yañ*) (see p. 862.)

oma'ka (Kor. Kam. *oma'ka* Kor. 61.2) together; stem *umęke*

yê'ta in readiness 105.20, slowly 64.17 stem *yîṭṭ*
a'lva (Kor. Kam. *a'lvañ*) wrongly, go away! Kor. 37.5 stem *ḷvḷ*
 (Kor. Kam. *a'lva*)

With suffix *-kṭ*, *-gṭ*

tê'kṭ of cylindrical form; stem *tîk*.

koulo'gṭ (Kor. Kam. *ko'loñ*) round; stem *kuwl*.

a'rkiṭi (Kor. Kam. *aykiča*) aslant, stem *arkîṭ* (Kor. Kam. *aykiṭ*)

a'rkiṭi gata'ê (Kor. Kam. *ay'kiča gata'vañ*) more aslant!

vê'tṭ truly 120.24 (*vê'tê* 107.8); stem *vêth*

vê'tirê straight (irregular); stem *vêth* (adjective form *nuwê'thâgên*)

gê'mô without my knowledge; *gê'mu* 103.5 (Kor. Kam. *a'mu*

Kor. 55.3). This form is designative; stem *-(t)hêm* not to know.

rathêma'un without my knowledge 11.9. The affix *re*—*ḷu* is causative.

gêwê'tṭ without my knowledge 120.37; stem *-(t)hiu* not to know; allative.

pũhṭrra'kṭ flatly; stem *pũhṭrrr*

apaqa'li(ñ) (Kor. Kam. *apaqa'ṭi*) face downward; stem *apaqali*.

pi'tvi, *pitva'kṭ* double; stem *pitv*

ê'mpũ(ñ), *êmpa'kṭ* downcast; stem *împ*

ti'mla, *tĩmla'kṭ* close to; stem *tĩml*

yî'ḥi(ñ), *yîḥa'kṭ* uninterrupted, stem *yîḥh*

and several others.

Those with the suffix *-êṭṭ*, *-gṭṭ* express a diminished intensity of the adverbial term:

ḷeutê'tṭ somewhat low; stem *ḷiut*

qalê'gṭṭ somewhat lazy; stem *qālṭi*

yergê'tṭ somewhat foolish; stem *yurg¹*

gêwrêgṭṭ somewhat hasty; stem *qũwri*

tañê'tṭ somewhat better; stem *teñ*

All these forms combined with *-va'lin* (Kor. Kam *i'talan*) are commonly used to express the absolute form of the adjective.

In Chukchee some of these adverbs may form with the prefix *ti'ñkṭ* quite (§ 113, 4) a kind of superlative.

ti'ñkṭ-a'tqêuma quite badly

ti'ñkṭ-ä^s'qälpe with great hurry

ti'ñkṭ-me'rĩnṭe quite slowly

¹ See also *yorgêtu-wa'liḥin* a foolish one 65.3.

Some others may form diminutives, as—

- kitkinn'u'qäi* very little 118.6
qaiagan'ə'qai a trifle more 106.6.
čir'mčeqäi very near 100.15
vi'n'veqäi very cautiously 106.16.

§ 126. LOCATIVE ADVERBS.

For demonstrative adverbs see § 57.

| Chukchee. | Koryak Kam. |
|---|---|
| <i>čir'mčE</i> 103.9 near..... | <i>čei'mik</i> |
| <i>ya'a</i> 113.20 far..... | <i>ya'wak</i> |
| <i>ya'al</i> , <i>ya'ačE</i> 119.29 in the rear..... | <i>ya'wał</i> |
| <i>atto'ol</i> in the front, earlier; <i>atto'oča</i> 8.7 in the front, down the coast..... | <i>atta'yol</i> Kor. 39.7 |
| <i>girgo'l</i> 68.35; <i>girgo'gča</i> 123.7 above..... | <i>gičho'l</i> , <i>gičho'ča</i> |
| <i>iu'til</i> below..... | <i>i'wtił</i> |
| <i>č'uča-čučai'pü</i> from below 131.5..... | |
| <i>mra'</i> on the right hand..... | <i>mya'</i> |
| <i>ña'čE'n'ki</i> , <i>ñač(h)-e'n'ki</i> ; stem <i>ñačh</i> , on the left side..... | <i>ña'čh'ił-qač</i> , <i>ñačh'e'ti</i> ; stem <i>ñačh</i> |
| <i>ro'čE'n'ki</i> 52.11; stem <i>ročh'</i> , on the other shore..... | <i>yočh'e'ti</i> ; stem <i>yočh'</i> |
| <i>ña'rgin</i> ; stem <i>ña'rgin</i> outside..... | <i>ña's'hin</i> Kor. 64.8 |
| <i>o'nmi</i> inside..... | <i>aninka'čiku</i> Kor. 60.9 |
| <i>onmičEko'i'pü</i> from within 59.9..... | |
| <i>e'mi</i> where (is it) 81.16..... | |
| <i>č'čča</i> , <i>č'ččaq</i> near the surface..... | |
| <i>č'čča nitva'nat</i> if they had remained on the surface 68.27..... | |
| <i>ra'nau</i> straight ahead..... | (K. K. <i>ya'nau</i> , Kamchadal <i>čh'il</i>) |
| <i>r'mla</i> close by..... | (K. K. <i>ti'mļa</i> , Kamchadal <i>ti'mal</i>) |
| <i>ña'łhil</i> on both sides, on all sides 129.24..... | <i>ga'łh'il</i> Kor. 58.2 |
| <i>ri'ma'gti</i> farther on, beyond..... | <i>ytmai'ti</i> |
| <i>a'čh'ičä</i> side by side..... | <i>a'čh'ičä</i> |
| <i>em-nu'ňki</i> inland 112.6..... | <i>am-nu'ňik</i> |
| <i>wü'rr'i</i> on the back..... | <i>wü'ssiň</i> Kor. 30.3 |
| <i>ya'gna</i> in the presence..... | |
| <i>riag'nau'ki</i> (<i>ri-yagna-u-ki</i> ; <i>ri-u</i> causative) opposite to 100.28..... | |
| <i>kamle'li</i> around..... | |
| <i>am-liqa'nli</i> back to back..... | |
| <i>ye'tir</i> half-way 109.1..... | |
| <i>rinere'</i> askance..... | |
| <i>wołva'ki</i> across; stem <i>wulv</i> | <i>mał-vołve'ti</i> , <i>vołva'ki</i> |
| <i>čulčič'i</i> lengthwise..... | <i>eu'čič'i</i> |
| <i>č'e'če</i> along..... | |
| <i>qa'č'i</i> , <i>qa'čä</i> close to (see § 100.26)..... | |
| <i>ai'gčepü</i> windward 111.10 (<i>gig</i> odor coming with the wind; <i>-čepü</i> ablative)..... | |

Most of these may form compounds with nominal and verbal stems, or with the locative of the noun.

¹ The form *ročh'e'ti* to the other shore 30.11 suggests a nominal stem.

nwolvênaña'tvaqên across sitting was carried 145.3 (*n(u)*—*qin* nominalizing prefix; *wulv* across; *ineñe* to sit on a sledge; *tva* to be)

gãmüggä'gna in my presence

êulêtê'l-va'lin of elongated shape 91.15

ya'rau-liha'nlinqač-va'lin to the houses from the other side being 11.7

tê'rki-irgo'l at sunrise 104.16

va'am-girgogča'gti up river 119.14

kamlê'li -ya'rak around the tent 104.20

yoro'wti kamle'li sleeping room all around 12.10 (*yoro'wti* allative)

ve'emik va'êš qa'ča he lived close to the river 122.8

Nota'rmêñqaca close to *Nota'rmeñ* 121.10

§ 127. Temporal Adverbs.

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Kamchadal | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|--|
| <i>tî'te</i> | <i>tî'ta</i> Kor. 27.7 | <i>i'te</i> | when |
| <i>ê'n'ki</i> | <i>ê'nki</i> Kor. 39.2 | <i>kna'ñ, ñur</i> | then |
| <i>ên'ñite'q</i> | — | — | of late |
| <i>lû'mña</i> 19.1 | <i>gû'mlañ</i> Kor. 84.11 | <i>te'nax</i> | again |
| <i>pi'tkä-lumña</i> | — | — | double again, i. e. the third time |
| <i>ya'not</i> 43.9 | <i>ya'not</i> | — | at first |
| <i>yep</i> | <i>ye'ppe</i> | — | still |
| <i>te'le</i> 7.1 | — | — | in olden times |
| <i>telenye'p</i> 112.20 | <i>ankryep</i> | — | long ago |
| <i>tite'ep</i> | <i>titoo'n</i> | — | from what time on, after a long time Kor. 57.5 |
| <i>gr'nmił</i> 83.19 | — | <i>i'ne</i> | recently |
| <i>grnmrye'p</i> | — | — | from recent time on |
| <i>i'gri</i> 21.1; 36.9 | <i>a'čhi</i> Kor. 30.9 | <i>ne'ñ</i> | now, at present |
| <i>ai'vê</i> | <i>ai'grve</i> Kor. 78.26 | <i>a'činčk</i> | yesterday |
| <i>ai'vend'a'p</i> | — | — | from yesterday |
| (<i>ai'veñ-yêp</i>) | — | — | on |
| <i>ai'go'on</i> | — | <i>qlank</i> | lately |
| <i>ai'goond'a'p</i> | — | — | from late times |
| (<i>ai'goon-yêp</i>) | — | — | on |
| <i>irgä'tik</i> | <i>miti'w</i> Kor. 21.8 | <i>a'jujk</i> | to-morrow |
| <i>kitu'r</i> | <i>vo'tin-ai'ñun</i> | <i>i'xiltu</i> | last year |
| <i>kituje'p</i> | — | — | from last year on |
| (<i>kitur-yêp</i>) | | | |

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Kamchadal | |
|---|--|-------------------|--|
| <i>kitur-ño'on</i> | — | — | many a year ago |
| <i>yawri'nak</i> | <i>ya'wɣɪn</i> | <i>tal'a'nank</i> | next year |
| <i>pe'Le 20.2</i> | — | — | soon |
| <i>pi'tkä-yawnak</i> | — | — | the year after next |
| <i>ët 17.6</i> | — | — | before this |
| <i>pa'nêna 54.9</i> | <i>pa'nenä</i> Kor. 15.6 | — | another time |
| <i>ï'ne, ï'neñ 113.11</i> | — | — | early |
| <i>qulï'ninek</i> | <i>quli'nikak</i> | — | |
| <i>aiök 118.20</i> | <i>va^εyuk</i> Kor. 21.3 <i>va^εak</i> Kor. 56.5 | — | afterwards |
| <i>ñä'nenqač</i> | — | — | } day after to-mor- row |
| <i>qolê-t-a^εlo'</i> | <i>qolê-a^εlo'</i> | — | |
| <i>aivε ñä'nen- qač</i> | <i>aigrv-ai'gr- večña</i> | — | day before yes- terday |
| <i>imičičo ñêt</i> | <i>a'mñuč</i> , Kor. 53.1, <i>a'wun</i> <i>a'mñut</i> Kor. 54.5 | <i>könëpol</i> | always |
| <i>a'mkimičo 112.8</i> | — | — | all the time |
| (<i>e'mkin</i> every) | — | — | |
| <i>čo</i> probably analogous to <i>čę</i> nu- meral ad- verbial; a suffix) | | | |
| — | <i>ai'ñum</i> Kor. 61.1 | — | long ago |
| — | <i>a'mlirñ</i> | — | after that Kor. II |
| <i>quli'-thi'wik</i> | — | — | in future years |
| <i>čiq-etuwä'k 44.4</i> | — | — | all at once (<i>čiq</i> see § 113.13) |
| — | <i>yu'laq</i> Kor. 16.2; 64.10 | — | for a long time |
| <i>wü^ε'tku</i> | <i>wü^ε'tëu</i> Kor. 31.2; 41.2; 47.9; 80.2 | — | just then |
| — | <i>wo^ε'wañ</i> Kor. 96.8 | | |

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Kamchadal | |
|---------------------------|---|-----------|---|
| <i>un^s'tku</i> | <i>itu^s'pil</i> | — | after a while (see · <i>êto'pel</i> Ch.) |
| — | <i>akîla^s'č</i> Kor. 27.4; 28.3 | — | just now |
| — | <i>akîla^s't</i> Kor. 27.5 | — | |
| — | <i>vê'tha-qo'nom</i> Kor. 56.10 | — | just now |
| — | <i>pičē'</i> Kor. 14.11 | — | for a while |
| — | <i>qo'la</i> Kor. 70.14 | — | after a while |
| — | <i>qu'lin</i> Kor. 60.2 | — | afterwards |
| — | <i>ñinvo'q</i> Kor. 13.5 | — | many a time |

A number of these are adverbial phrases:

quli'ninek at something else (from *quli* some, *ni'kek* see p. 731).

qolê-t-a^slo' another day

imičičo'ñêt all days

irga'ik on to-morrow, etc.

Other adverbial terms are derived by means of post-positions from the forms here given.

irgatê'ti towards to-morrow

irga'thüpü from to-morrow

Others, like *lümña* AGAIN, *yanot* AT FIRST, do not take post-positions.

Seasons of the year, sections of the day and night are expressed by the locative—

wulgätvi'k in the evening time 120.3 (*wu'lq* darkness -*tvi* to attain a certain quality §110, 68)

lä^sle'ñki in the winter 51.1 (stem *lä^sleñ*)

irgiro'k at dawn (*irg* dawn; -*ru*: phenomena of nature (§110, 71))

Following are some examples of their use.

yep still

yep wu'kwu ya'rañi na'qam but the tent was still stone 107.11

yep irgiro'ka while (the day) was not yet dawning 56.8

mi'nkri re'lqu va'ma yep while he is still in the inner room 135.15

telen-ye'p in olden times 61.5

telen-ye'pkin belonging to olden times 61.5

yep e'čhi not yet

gI'nmIlkin lately

e'nmen lu'ur gI'nmilkin ro'o then there was the one who had lately been eaten 35.9

me'mElqai gI'nmilkin eni'n tmyo' yarro'nên the seal he had lately killed, he put in his bosom 43.8

gI'nmilkin lo'o the one recently seen 104.8-

pe'nin(e) as before

pe'nin nima'yenqanačIn of large size as before 20.5

pe'nin eni'n i'gItkin lu'lgäl it was his face as before 77.14

pe'nin tautawa'tIn as before he barked 104.13

peninei'-gIt lei'wul-i-gIt from olden times on thou art travelling 133.12

pa'nêna releulewe'wrkin will you as before do wrong? 20.12-21.1

pa'nêna nikItma'tgen he was as before extending his hands 47.8

qän've'r e'nmen irga'tik pa'nêna wulqätvi'is at this time then in the morning it became as before dark 54.9

go'onqan panêna'gIt genlete'tä that to the former (place) is carried 133.2

Koryak:

assa'kin pa'nin gayo'olen the one of the other day (who) before had found him Kor. 52.6

pa'nenä . . . ga'npilen another time he stuffed it in Kor. 15.6

ga'wun panit'a mi'kinak nayamata'ge though some time thou wilt marry some one Kor. 78.17

pa'ninäu vača'pqičnu . . . the scars of former times Kcr. 86.1

čit FORMERLY

a'men čit gümü'w-čimgutä a'qa'-rkila gene'l-i-üm before this, in my own mind, I have become one who can hardly be pursued 17.6

enqa'n wi'nä čit e'ne'nkälin that one formerly had no spirits 60.1

čit vai ke'le eččaka'ta nilei'wuqin formerly there ke'le wandered outside 61.6

qailo'qum čit kime'k me'čen'ku-wa'l-êum in truth formerly I was a fairly good one 114.34

čit üm wutkekinei'-güm formerly I belonged to this place 97.10

quivele'li'n čit one who had formerly had evil charms 50.11

čit mitu'ren'mik êli qe'nu ni'rä-mu'ri before we were born to father, we two R44.2-3

The following example seems to refer to the future:

čit Eliqai'güpü ta'a't e'un wi'nä after some time they passed by the father's place and (there was) nothing 109.34-35

tele in olden times

te'le e'nmen . . . näqäliči'tqinet in olden times, then they were at war 7.1

pe'Le soon

naqa'm pe'Le nãmqıtvı'qın but soon it decreased in size 20.2
pe'Le ñeu's'ttin topa'wkwê^s soon the bitch was 104.7

a'čhi va'n this time

ačhi va'n qo'npũ mała'tı this time it grew much better Kor.
 20.5-6

e'čhi-van tr'nmin this time I killed her (Lesna) Kor. 97.13

ačhi va'n qaye'm this time not Kor. 54.3 (see also Kor. 20.5;
 54.3)

a'čhi just now (i. e. before a little while)

a'čhi ni'w-i-gi qanga'tıykrın now you said, "it burns" Kor 30.9
ačhi'kin nenenaye'ye-ge? wert thou looking for it just now?

Kor. 49.8-9

ačhiki'čü-ai'ñaka now do not cry! Kor. 60.7

See also Kor. 68.13

§128. Miscellaneous Adverbs and Conjunctions, Chukchee.

On the following pages I give a list of adverbs and conjunctions without attempting to differentiate between the two groups. The meaning of many of the adverbial or connective particles is so uncertain that a division seems hardly possible. Many of them have such nice shades of meaning that they can not be rendered adequately in English.

The use of such particles is much more extended in Chukchee than in Koryak. In Kamchadal most of the particles, particularly most conjunctions have been lost and replaced by Russian loan-words.

The particles occur frequently in groups as will be seen for instance in the use of *ũm*, *elo'n*, *a'men*, etc. Some are always postpositional and tend to unite phonetically with the word they modify (see examples under *ũm*)

ũm, *Im*, *-m* an emphatic adverb. It is always postpositional and seems to emphasize the word to which it is attached

Following nouns:

enřa'q ñe'us'qät ũm . . . qanra'gtalên then the woman . . .
 took it home 28.5-6

pênyo'łhın ũm nlete'tyi^s the hearth blazed up 32.3

wü'rgırgın ũm vai ge'pkılın the noise reached there 32.13

ınpına'čhın ũm eli'gın geñe'wänä the old father and his wife 33.9

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§ 128

enqa'n *E'n'ki erre'ë ñe'us'qät*, . . . *qora'k ñm uwä's'quë* there was only she the woman, . . . with the reindeer (was) the husband 51.9-10

uwä's'quëitä ñm by the husband 39.6

yorou'ti ñm to the sleeping room 39.10

Following pronouns:

wo'tqan ñm vai this one here 45.12

enqa'n ñm vi'n'vi te'rgilin this one who was weeping secretly 49.1

gümnä'n ñm I 137.1

Following verbs:

teqe'lignin ñm a'mi she made a cap too 28.8

ye'tti-m vai she came there 29.13

qaplëta't ñm qora'ni the reindeer fell down 51.6

guq, gemi's'qälin ñm, a'ni it is deep! 53.1

minpëla'a^ε ñm let us leave it 53.1

The emphatic *ñm* appears frequently in combination with other particles. Examples of these will be found on the following pages.

I'mI also, furthermore,

i'mi am-vryë'irgä gi'lhin naranauño'ñin furthermore, by only breathing on the skin, he shall be cured 24.4-5

i'gıt i'mi yei'velqäi ku'likä ralai'vinñoi furthermore, from now on an orphan child may travel alone 24.10

imi ñouñou'lrñ in e'le wu'tku epi'rkälin g ä'nurk not even a hair here would reach me 93.6

i'gir i'mi Nota's'qa-Va'irgin narataaro'ñiñoñin from now on, furthermore, the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1-2

enqa'at gei'lqäleet i'miñ they also were sleeping 55.2

Ina'n exhortative particle

pu'ru ina'n wo'tqan va'le mi'ilhir in exchange let me give thee this knife 15.12 (see also 93.30; 103.31; 104.3)

ina'n am-taaro'ña qätë'i'gıtkı no'ta-mla'irgıtkon only with sacrifices provide the ground-crevices 24.1-2

le'uti-tele^εn ina'n nanwa'qoa^εn let the head-sufferer be seated! 45.11

In the following example *ina'n* appears with the future:

ina'n tre'etyä^ε meë-ä^εqälpe I shall come quickly 45.9-10

The following are probably derived from the demonstrative stem *en-*

E'nIkIt all at once

na'qam E'nıkt poi'ga nıri'npüqên ñm but all at once they struck him with a spear 36.2

In most cases *e'nikit* appears in coordinate clauses and may be translated AS SOON AS

e'nmen e'nikit rilu'tku then all at once he moved 16.5

e'nikit uwi'k kipčer'tkenên (as soon as) he struck the body (i. e. himself) 35.11

e'nikit ūm naramata'gıt (as soon as) they will take thee 36.9-10

e'nikit gai'mi'čın nıgıte'ä^εn (as soon as) they looked upon the wealth 107.16

e'nikit rečipe'tyü^ε (as soon as) you will be submerged 114.22

e'nikit ne'rgiä^εn ilule'tyi^ε as soon as he was loose he stirred 102.25

e'nikim gite'nin . . . as soon as he looked on it 23.9

Enna'nI in like manner

Enřa'q then (see under *e'nmen*)

Enqana'ta therefore (instrumental of *enqa'n*, BY THAT)

enqana'ta e'nqu tilgi'rkınêt therefore I gave them up R46.39

enqana'ta ño'č-e-üm gene'l-i-üm therefore I become poor R45.28

gaño'twey-gŭm enqana'ta qo'n'pu therefore I became quite poor R45.28

enqana'ta ilva'-neta'gıtı tıtgğê'ñırkın therefore I wish for the wild reindeer country R46.52

enqana'ta čaučwa'-ra'mkırčha a^εttrn nıggi'pğın therefore the reindeer breeding people keep dogs R53.31

En'ke'mır, En'qe'mır, En'ke'mır e'ur moreover (see also *ačhê'mıra*)

en'qe'mır e'ur a^εqa'-ra'mkırčın ya^ε'rat moreover, they are very bad people R 53.20-21

En'qam then (see under *e'nmen*)

En'ñata'l THIS TIME.

en'ñata'l ūm li'itri'łhi-gır from now on I shall know thee 93.21

en'ñata'l enqa'n ru'nın this time she ate 90.6

en'ñata'l añqañqačagtı . . . rı'ntrıninet this time she threw them seaward 49.6

en'ñata'l kırvete'ru qınetei'kıtık from now on jostle me! (literally with elbow jostling do me) 61.3

en'ñata'l ūm revı^ε'ntık this time (if you do so) you will die 64.19

en'ñata'l ūm qalhêqamı'tvatık of that you may eat your fill 65.31

en'ñata'l ūm qa's'qäče'wkwi^ε this time he did it in earnest 83.20

en'ñata'l ūm lu-ora'wêłan this time they were real people 84.29

en'ñata'l ūm i'ppe gına'n i'me rä^ε'nut em-gınrı'tä nıne'ntrı-gıt this time evidently you for everything lie in ambush 93.20

en'ñata'l ūm na'nmırkın-ê-gıt this time he will kill you 114.32

en'ñata'l enqa'n êrrêttêğın this time it is ended R4.50

'nkri gratis**EN·ñi'n** thus

nignopitva'qên EN·ñi'n iri'êiku he remained crouching thus in his coat 7.4

EN·ñi'n ùm ñan nipi'u'riqin thus that one plunged along 8.11-12
qagno'pgê . . . *EN·ñi'n* crouch down thus 32.4

e'LE EN·ñi'n va'la inenu'kâli-muri not of [thus being] such we eat 34.9-35.1

Also 9.4; 15.4; 90.1, 10; 94.1; 95.34; 105.17

EN·ñu thus

E'n·ñu-wa'l-ê-git such a one art thou 70.25

EN·ñu-wa'li-to'rê such are you 106.28

E'n·ñot thus

nî'wkwä^sn E'n·ñot they spoke thus 78.4

tî'wkwä^sk E'nñot I say thus 15.8

ELO'n emphatic particle

gik ELO'n oh! 10.1

ELO'n qinni'ku ne'lyä^st now they became (our) game 12.2

gik, e'nmen ñipe'ä^st. ELO'n re'mkin tumge'wkwä^s oh, they landed.

Now the people became friendly 14.1

ELO'n EN·ñu'-wa'lê-git such a one art thou 21.11

ELO'n mirri'wkut-hit let us bind thee 23.8

ia'm ELO'n ten·ñe'urkin why doest thou laugh? 30.3

ELO'n nara'nmügit they will kill thee 37.10

ELO'n vai tiyi'lrkin-i-git this one I give thee 104.1

ELO'n qina'n ELO'n Piti'yñ-i-git thou art Rheum 103.21

i'git ùm ELO'n but now! 123.18

Here belongs also—

e'miLON somewhere 97.23; 121.1 (< *emi-ELO'n*)

e'miLONai'ñin (augmentative of *e'miLON*) 43.6

awe'tuwaq suddenly, at once

awe'tuwaq êwkwê'tyi^s suddenly he left R 13.27

yilq-awe'tuwaq ñaus'qati'yñin orgü'tkin kenema'nmen at once he tied the girl to the sledges R 13.23

a'mEN ùm ELO'n expresses displeasure, somewhat like German "aber doch" without disjunctive meaning.

gik, a'mEN ùm ELO'n notas'qa'wkwê^s Oh, the land is near 8.8 ("aber das Land ist doch nahe")

guq, a'mEN ùm ELO'n êi'mquk pêla'arkin oh, some are leaving 8.9.

guq, a'mEN ùm ELO'n . . . re'mkin qäiñunre'lqiä oh, the people will come 10.3-4

guq, a'mEN ùm ELO'n minwkurkin-i'-git let us tie thee 20.9; see also 23.13

a'mEN ðm *elo'n* *e'tqì nintewimin·ge't-i-um* I was badly tortured by them 21.9

a'mEN ðm *elo'n* *Nota's·qa-Va'irga ini'wkwì* I am told by the Ground-Beings 23.11–12

guq, *elo'n* ðm *a'mEN* *ga'mga-varrgê'pü tmete'wkwä'sk* among all beings I could not do it 18.9

elo'n ðm *a'mEN*, *wotqanai'ñin* *elo'n* *garaqêcha'lên* that big one, what has the bad one done! 31.9

amen ðm *elo'n* *wot uwä's'quçitâ ai'mak em e'lu getei'kilin* this husband made the whole carcass into excrement 81.11

a'mEN ðm *elo'n* *ñe'us·gät-i-gir* so you are the woman 136.15

a'mEN seems to introduce an unexpected event—AND THEN UNEXPECTEDLY—OR to introduce an entirely new idea, to which emphasis is given 40.4; 41.12.

a'mEN ðm *e'nmen* *pênjo'lhin nuurgirge'tqin* and then unexpectedly the hearth made a noise 32.8

e'nmen ðm *wä'quç gla'ul a'mEN* ðm *nitrêtêa'qên wülh-ê'räqaiä a'mEN* ðm *vai li'i-teñ-ëvirälin* then the man, the husband, was standing there unexpectedly with a little thin fur shirt, unexpectedly really well clothed 33.2

also 24.1; 29.11; 33.11; 39.3, 4, 5; 38.9, 11; 81.1; 88.8

am, *a'mEN* oh! (another idea) 56.8

—, *a'mEN*-! 58.7

a'mEN-ðm 8.10; 9.5; 13.10; 9.13; 39.3; 58.5; 65.20; 77.29; 80.25; 89.9; 93.31; 99.1; 101.2

a'mINam (= *amen*-ðm 15.10)

a'mEN ðm *ñot!* such a one 98.33

a'mEN ðm *elo'n* 8.8, 9; 10.3; 39.1, 13; 41.6; 64.1; 81.11; *elo'n* ðm *a'mEN* 31.9 (see under *elo'n*) it should not be expected, but

a'mEN ðm *qarê'm* 16.9; *a'mEN qarê'm* but I will not! 16.1

a'mEN ðm *naqa'm* 39.4; *na'qam a'mEN* 63.11; however

venl'i ðm *a'mEN* 40.7

a'mI

tepe'lignin ðm *a'mI* she made a cap too 28.8

nanaanaga'gçirñin ðm *a'mI* *geggeu'lin* the little child awoke 55.3

telenye'p ðm *a'mI* long ago 61.5–6

krrga'm ðm *a'mI* . . . well (if you had found him) 121.4

a'nI an emphatic particle (?)

e'nmen a'ni qänu'r qun nute's·qän then certainly just like ground 8.6

e'nmen a'ni gilu'tkulin then she practised shamanism 39.7 (see also 39.8, 9; 40.4; 102.15; 104.35; 105.2, 15; 109.32)

geçenite'lin ðm *a'ni* she was startled 29.6–7

genpeu'lin ūm a'ni he became quite decrepit 107.26
a'ni,geilitkoi'vulin u'kkām so they distributed vessels 14.1.
a'ni,gilu'tkulin he beat the drum 107.9
a'ni,getpeiñe'lin he continued to sing 102.17
a'ni a'ttau for no particular object 30.4
a'ni qu'num,qanto'ê^s oh, look here! come out! 81.27

atau' without purpose; for no particular reason; it does not matter
atau',li'en re'qārkin (you went to no purpose) what is the matter
 with thee? 18.6

atau',le'nvø (to no purpose, only) in order to be looked at 19.2
 (also 19.6; 23.1; 30.4; 48.12; 125.1,6)

ata'um ni'rgipa'tqēn to no purpose was he discussed 15.7
g^si'ñkeli'y-grr, a'ttau it is your (own) tattooed face; (you act) to
 no purpose 77.8

attau' girgo'l-gla'ulø nine'lhäqin for no particular reason he
 takes it for the man above 124.6-7

guq, attau'-qun o'rgoor yē'taqätē'gin just get (your) sledge ready
 105.20 (see also 119.18)

e, gu'nä, a'ttau oh, well, it does not matter 78.7

guk, attau' gumī'k oh, it does not matter, with me (sit down) 78.24

ačhē'mIra, ačhē'mIra-ñ-e'ur moreover (see also *en'ke'mir*)

a'limI disjunctive

a'limI alo^ska'gti va'le-ūm although I am invisible 22.10

a'limI va'le ra'galqal however, there is no need of the knife 57.4

ka'ko, a'limI inelu^skālinet he has not seen them anyway 70.32

ya'am tile'lit a'limI lu'ur ñan titqä'nninet but it swallowed them
 71.3

a'limI quwalo'mürkin ūm vē'ti do obey! 88.10

a'limI eñe'ñilrn however, he was a shaman 105.1

a'limI kamagra'ñnoi he really gave a start 101.16-17

a-lü'mña expresses surprise (see *lü'mña*)

g.uq, a-lü'mña qai've git oh, is that so, is it thou? 97.13

a-lü'mña is that so? 121.1; 125.7

a-lü'mña ño'on me'ñin who was here? 109.21

a^sqälpe quickly 122.2

ei'uk, ai'øk

ma'n ai'øk ñew^stte'pik trenurete'ur let me in due time make it
 appear (be born) through a female dog 121.31

gik,gmī'k ei'uk ekālu'k oh, in due time (I see) thee at last 19.4

en'qa'm ma'n ai'øk . . . re'etyä^s then after a while . . . he shall
 come 83.5-7

Also 118.20

e'un seems to be a connective with weak temporal tone.

mi'ñkri, e'nmen, ge'mge-ni'kin ñi'ngäi nëna'gtoqên, e'un navi's'qin
how, then to whomsoever a child is born, and (then) it dies 20.8
ñi'lhä ge'wkuLin e'un ninenlpe'tqäet with thongs he is tied and
he breaks them 20.9

e'ur pükirgîs e'un nelki'nkäst then she came and they had gone
abroad 31.2

e'ur enqa'n äs'ttwet geti'neñelin, e'un gepli'tkuleet and that boat
was loaded and they had finished 31.1

qagno'pgê^s . . . e'un ele'pkä sit with head bent down . . . and
do not look 32.4-5

"en'ñe' ele'pkä," e'un walo'mgê^s "Do not look!" and she obeyed
e'un nine'ëvigin and they cut it 72.18

e'un gepelqäruçeu'linet ñe'wanti and their wives had become de-
crepit with age 72.29

ëq-älvam-va'lit, e'un r'pe kele'tä gayo'laat how very extraordi-
nary! and evidently they are visited by kelet 106.8

e'nmen e'un e'nki nitva'qên i'me-rä's'nut and then there was
everything 106.32

e'un yara'nö nine'lqin and it became a house 107.14

gik, ripe't üm e'un! (now they are coming!) 11.10

gik, neqe'm e'un qarê'm e'un, gik oh, but it was not there 27.11

gai'mičin nigite'ä^sn, e'un kukwa't-koko'ñalhn they looked at the
wealth and all was turned into dry leaves 107.16

NOTE: Not to be confounded with the prefix *e'un-* ACTUAL, PRIN-
CIPAL, as in *e'un-ñe'lväl* PRINCIPAL HERD; *a'un-gêta'gti* JUST IN THEIR
SIGHT 83.28

eur, eur-üm is connective AND with the added connotation AT
THAT TIME; it always refers to two events taking place at the
time.

ra'gtiä^st, en'qa'm e'ur lünnëna'ê^s they went home, and at the same
time he also followed 120.26

e'ur girgirona'lên, a'ttwilä niçamitaqên at that time the dawn
came, (and) a boat's crew crept up to him 10.9

e'ur rirka'ta i'unin, "E'ur y'lqä narayo'git, muru'wmil qaiñe'i"
at that time the walrus said to him, "At the time when sleep
overtakes you, roar like we (do)" 10.6

e'ur üm qo'laro'a^st, Aiwhuanpina'ëhüqai gi'ulin at the time when
they began to make a noise, the little old St. Lawrence Island
man said 11.10

a'ttwu-yê'ñki nigite'qin, e'ur üm geyr'reLin they looked into the
canoe and at that time it was full 67.6

e'ur is used also quite frequently as conditional.

e'ur Iumetu'nu ri'tyã^s, rine'newkwã^s at the time when you are Iumetun, you shall make me black 23.6 (= if you are the same); also 24.2

kita'm e'ur li'ê-va'irĩrki gañau'tĩñ-ê-gĩt, vai u'mkĩ qagtr'gĩn this time if you have indeed married among real gods, then bring a polar bear 110.5

i^s'tik e'ur tegge'ñĩrkin, gĩna'n ãi'mñutũ if actually you want it, do as you please

eulũ'mña < e'ur lũ'mña or, or again

eulũ'mña e'kĩk or again the son R 23.88

but *e'ur lũmña* 98.9

Before the initial *n* of the following word *e'ur* changes to *e'un* (see § 7.20; § 11). See 20.8; 72.18

Still *e'un* and *e'ur* are not identical, *e'ur* being used as connective AND between separate nominal (or verbal) forms while *e'un* is not so used.

gettu'tũ e'ur geleu'tĩrgĩtkutũ with blowing or with scratching the head 126.7

ilh-a^s'ttĩn e'un, e'ur ũm unẽĩ'ẽhĩn also the white dog and the thong-seal 102.29; also 97.18

also 8.7; 9.2; 21.6; 31.1, 2, 3; 98.9

NOTE: Between proper names, instead of the connective *e'ur*, the plurals of the personal pronouns may be used.

Gĩ'thĩlin e'rri Tña'irgĩn geñewtu'mgũ Sunset and Dawn are connected by group marriage R 228, footnote 1 (lit. Sunset they Dawn)

ma'ri Qla'ul I and *Qla'ul* (lit. we *Qla'ul*)

eple'un

ki'tam qun eple'un li'i eñeñtvi'e^s well, did he really obtain shamanistic power? 18.4

ẽwkurga, ẽwkurga-m however

ẽ'wkurga tu'mgĩtum ui'nã however, companion none (i. e. my companion is not with me) 11.1

ẽ'wkurga gĩnenẽñũtew-i-gĩt however, you have frightened me 15.10

ẽ'wkurga tĩv-a'mĩnan trene'lhã (if I do so) however, I shall be all alone 31.13-32.1

ẽ'wkurga Nota's-qa-Va'irga nẽnanwẽthawa'tgẽn however, the Ground-Beings spoke to me (against my will) 24.9

egei', ẽ'wkurga ẽa'mam all right, however, (it will be) in vain 108.30

ẽ'wkurga-m ẽtolẽu' o'ẽo nĩne'lh-i-ũm, however, that under my pillow I have for my leader 128.13

êwkurga-m *llo'n vai nitermeče'nqin* however, he does much violence 66.26

See also 45.7; 66.14; 79.20; 84.6; 85.8

e'pte likewise, in the same manner

qân've'r kîme'k êna'nmuê^s e'pte gûm at this time almost you killed me likewise 121.16, 17

attau' a^sttu milhr'aⁿ e'pte gûm simply as a dog I'll use it (I) likewise 135.20-21

e'pte qinnî'g-gîli'lit ne'mâqâi gîna'n nêna'nmê-gît likewise the game procurers also thou has killed 44.9-10

a'mEN ùm ELO'n e'pte gûm mîñau'tîngas'k let me likewise take a wife R12.8

emItc't at once, just now

emite't ùm muwê'nñîtaaq I shall go for (my) body 31.12 (see 32.2 *emite't ùm* in final position)

emite't ùm tê'rgîlin ra'qal ñan even thus crying for what? 27.12
gug, emite't ùm evî'rit gâteî'kîgînet oh, at once clothing make! 49.4

emite't-ùm tîpêla'nat nîme'lqînet I just left them in safety (=good ones) 53.4

emite't-ùm ataa'nkêlin tê'rgîlin they did not touch the one who cried, (so at once . . .)

emite't ùm qagti'gîr bring it at once 111.3

emite'tîm tîgîte'âⁿ I looked on her 88.30

e'tI evidently, probably.

e'tîm vai nîpa'tqênat vên'va'kî evidently they cooked them secretly 9.9

e'tîm nu'tenut mîrñnei'meukwâⁿ evidently we are approaching land 9.11

e'tîm am gemge-nute'qîn evidently from every country 11.4

e'tîm a'mEN kuwî'ên tre^styâⁿ evidently I brought Children's Death 20.1

e'tîm ke'lek qâli'ketyî^s evidently thou wilt marry a kele 26.2

ê'tîm wu'tku evidently he is here! 125.2

e'tîm ñîro'rgarî there many have been three 97.26

ELO'n ùm ê'tîm evidently that! (a term expressing annoyance) 31.10; 108.22

ê'tîlîn necessarily

êto—

êto'qai'a'qañ rîpkîre'nnîn after a while he brought her back 51.4

e'nmen êto'qai'a'qañ ùm gre'lgi^s after a while he vomits 136.24-25
qai'vE-mač-êto'pêl indeed I am a little better 135.7-8

erre'č gıt êto'pêl thou art most fit 135.19

êto'pêl en'ki iwkuč'i'is she better drank then (i. e. she could drink then) 37.4

ê'togon wo'tqan qäimi'tgin will you take this one?

ê'togon mirrenu'tergı-gıt shall we bury thee rather in the ground?
R 60.23

e'nmen, *en'qam*, *enřa'q* THEN, coordinating conjunctions. Of these *enme'n* seems to express the most definite temporal sequence, *en'qa'm* a closer temporal connection, while *enřa'q* should be translated *in turn* and indicates a still closer connection. It seems to depend upon the liveliness of the narrative which of these three is used. The first one is the most frequent connective conjunction, although a constant use of *en'qam* is not rare 62.6 et seq.

The difference between *e'nmen* and *en'qa'm* appears most clearly when their use alternates; as in the following examples.

en'qa'm enqa'n Umqäqäi'inä rılındıgıwe'nnin ne'us'qät. e'nmen lu'ur e'gripgi's At that time U'mqäqäi pointed with his finger at the woman. Then thereafter she felt pain 63.7-8

en'qa'm enqa'n Umqäqäi'inti gegınteu'lınet; e'nmen qu'ttirgin qa'at nerri'net at that time U'mqäqäi and his people fled; then the others untied the reindeer 63.10-11

en'qa'm nıte'gıñqın . . . e'nmen nıten'ne'w-i-üm . . . en'qa'm gi'ulin At that time she sniffed . . . then I laughed a little; . . . then she said 72.11-13

e'nmen ya'yak qamıtvača'qên mı'tqak, en'qa'm enqa'n rryırrai'nênat then the gulls ate all the blubber and at that time they anointed them

en'men uwi'łkan qätei'kıgın . . . en'qa'm dıncıkou'tı qıneni'ntri then make a woodpile and throw me into the fire! 31.12-13

In all these examples, the impression is conveyed that *en'qa'm* signifies a closer connection than *e'nmen*.

The form *enřa'q* is parallel to *mø'rgın-řaq* WE NEXT 69.22 and *güm-řaq* I NEXT 77.21 Its meaning IN TURN THIS TIME appears clearly 17, 23, 96.11.

enřa'q appears also together with *e'nmen*

e'nmen nute's'qän enřa'q nuwêthau'qên then this time he spoke to the ground 15.9-10

e'nmen enřa'q ya'yakit namıngukwa'arkınat then in turn he rewarded the gulls 74.28-29

In the beginning of a story *e'nmen* means ONCE UPON A TIME.

e'nmeč because

va'nêvan ni'tvinên, e'nmeč ūm nayilhau'nên she did not tell him anything because she feared his anger 88.22-23

e'nmeč ūm e'un pŭki'rgi^s ya'rak garančêmau'lên uwä's'quč when she came home, her husband had broken the tent 30.10-11

e'nmeč ūm nan e'čhi wulqätvi'i^s, keñkele'nnin because of this, before evening came, he made her descend 97.5-6

e'nmeč ä'qälpe because of this, hurry up!

e'nmeč gepłi'tkulin and already it is finished

e'nmeč qui'mik ta^sla'iorkin already I soil my trousers 94.19

e'nmeč wi'yolu qi'nelhi'rkın already you shall have me for a servant 95.7, also 95.15

eče'nur eču'ur

eče'nur vintuwi'lin it shall be (this way) a well trained one 24.6

eče'nur . . . veime'nu nere'łhrın it shall be (this way) one who is kindly treated 25.8-9

guq, eče'nur yê'ta qäle'tık it shall be this way! (you shall) move on slowly 65.28

eču'ur yep vai atêvga'tka vai yegte'Łe^st it shall be this way! as yet without crying (shall be) those living R 54.40

ečhi before

e'čhi ras'qêuño'a^st čit nepi'rirkın gla'ulqai before they could enter they attacked the man 85.15

e'čhi yilqä'tyät ganto'lên before they had gone to sleep he went out 8.4

e'čhi eime'wkwi^s irgiro'ñnoi before it approached the dawn came 9.12

See also 10.9, 12.10, 11; 13.3; 20.3; 31.3; 55.6, 8; 97.20

Followed by *-rkın* WHEN ABOUT TO—

e'čhi pelqänte'erkin . . . gapêkagta'Łên when about to come back, she fell down 97.20

e'čhi čit qami'tvarkın lu'ur pi'rinin when she was about to eat, after that he caught her 87.12

e'nmen e'čhi re^s'nilä te'grırkinin lu'ur i'wkwi^s then, when the bow-man was about to fling the harpoon, after that he said 10.10

elhİle'ñki in case, if

elhİle'ñki relu^s'ñın in case you should see him

erre'č only

erre'č qun ñe'ekik an only daughter R 12.10

erre'č enqa'n ñe'ekik (there was) only that daughter 28.2

erre'č ñıro'rgarı there were only three of them 34.3

na'qam erre'č yi'lııl ru'rkınin he eats only tongues 49.3

erre'ë üm am-gitka't gegnu'linet only just the legs were left 51.4
erre'ë ai'kolak molr'yñin üm on the bedskins was only blood 56.4-5
erre't-te'gin limit of end (i. e. it is the end); from *-tegn* limit (only in compounds) 64.2

erre'ë mi'mil, ya's'rat mi'mil nine'uqin a'mkırıčo only water, verily water they were consuming in quantities R 32.28

eke'In but (weaker than *naqa'm*)

eke'in git nıru'l-r-gıt; gi'newän üm gümna'n me'çen'kı tre'ntrñın
 but you are weak; I, on the contrary, shall do it very well

ekälu'k

gırı'k ei'uk ekälu'k at last for thee 19.4

ekeña'n, eçena'n I wish I could (with subjunctive *b*)

ekeña'n gümna'n tr'pi'reä'n I wish I could take it

eke'upçı and now, but now

eke'upçı trıplı'tkurkın and now I am finishing it

ia'm > İyam why 19.5

ia'm elo'n ten'ne'urkın why are you laughing 30.3

ia'm pegçi'ñu nine'lır-gır ora'wêlan why doest thou meddle with man? (lit. to meddling interest doest thou become) 23.11

ia'm gemçe'-gınnı'k qo'nmu'an why do you kill all the game? 92.32

iu'kä oh if! I wish—

guq, iu'kä qaiä'qañ mıngamı'tvarkın I wish we could eat more 65.4

guq, iu'kä mınpontorkın-ê-gıt I wish I could eat of your liver! 95.19

iu'kä ño'onqan mınrı'nmärkın I wish we might kill this one 70.22

i'ppe, yI'pe actually

en'qa'm i'ppe mükırı'yñın . . . gata'lên then actually very many . . . moved 11.7

en'ñata'l üm i'ppe gına'n this time it is really thou 93.20

e'un r'pe kele'tä gayo'laat now really kele visit them 106.8

i'pe-qun really 45.3

güm, qu'nä li'i-i'ppe ti'urkın I, indeed, quite truly say 57.2

i's'tik

i's'tik a'men ärunte'erkın in reality thou desirest 24.11

qarê'mên ora'wêlan, i's'tik üm ke'le (she is) not a human being, in reality she is a ke'le 29.9

qarê'mên i's'tik lü'mñıl this is not a real myth 61.5

gık, attau' i's'tik üm ti'lu'e'ä'n in vain, if in reality I had seen him 121.6

galø'oçırna'-mørê i's'tik üm in reality we have met 121.23

Nota's'qa-Va'irga leule'wu ine'lhri's li'en i's'tik the Ground-Beings induce me to do wrong, just really 25.1

li'en i's'tik amñi'čvñla gū'mik rñike'urkin qarê'm mĩlmala'n-ñoa'sk just really the angry ones order me to do something, let me not obey them 21.10

i's'tig lü'mña Tño'irgê-git in reality again, thou art Tño'irgin
i's'tig lü'mña qaiłhina'n'gê't eñe'ñetvii in reality again he has acquired real shamanistic power 19.11-12

i's'nqun lest

nēnaio'qēn i's'nqun nere'lu'sñrn she shoved it in, lest they should find it 29.3

· · · *i's'nqun vai kintaya'n ragno'urkin vê'ti gĩnni'k* lest even the lucky one should feel great scarcity of game 42.3

nini'uqinet, titi't remle'gĩtki, i'nqun nere'lu'sñrn he said to them, "You will break the needles!" lest they should look at them 82.12

i'git now

i'gir i'mi Nota's'qa-Va'irgin narataaro'nññrn now also the Ground-Beings shall be given sacrifices 25.1-2

qu'num i'git ùm minra'gtatya'sn let me now take it home 121.28

i'git-ùm-ILO'n o'ra troye'wkut now I have come to thee openly 123.18

ya'net first

go,gũm ùm ya'net oh, I first 43.9

ya'nña separately, alone

nĩkiu'qin ya'nña she passes the nights by herself 28.3

ya's'rat very (sometimes *ya's'cat*)

nĩthi'lqinet ya's'rat very hot ones 9.9

ya's'rat nite'nqinet very good ones 14.8

nite'nqin ya's'rat a very pretty one 36.3

eñeñitvi'i's ya's'rat he acquired great shamanistic power 35.10

ya's'ran niqlo'qēn she sorrowed very much 27.10

a'mēn ùm ya's'rat verily! 85.2

yaka'n-kIn probably 9.13

yäqqäi a particle giving a slightly emphatic shade to the phrase, like German "ja"

yäqqäi' en'qa'm pe'le tre'etyä's I'll soon be back (ich werde ja bald wiederkommen) 30.8

yäqqäi' ùm qu'num tu'ri qarê'mēna-torê ye are not (human beings) (ihr seid ja doch nicht Menschen) 85.4-5

mi'nkri-m-e'un yäqqäi' gũmna'n mĩlu's'a'sn tuwēlvaca'arkin how is it then? I shall find him. I am unable to do it (ich soll ihn ja finden) 124.3

yäqqäi'-nan gıt trataranā for thee I'll pitch the tent (für dich will ich ja das Zelt aufstellen) R 61.38

yäqqäi' ora'wêla-tainatichatıl-ê-gıt you are a murderer of men (du bist ja ein Mörder) 94.6

yäqqäi' um rä'snut what is it? (ja, was soll das denn?) 111.3

yäqqäi' um yaqtalê'n'vo trye'tyäk have I come for life? (bin ich etwa gekommen, um mein Leben zu erhalten) 113.26

ye^{li}'i (evidently containing the element *li'i* TRULY, REALLY, see also *ui'i*, *venli'i*, *miteli'i*, *qäli'i*, *quli'i*)

e'nmen ye^{li}'i Enqa'n is he the only one? 21.13

ye^{li}'i gümna'n rather (let) me (be the one)

Also R 12.7

yu'raq perhaps.

opo'pə exhortative

opo'pə garai'-gıt minle'gıt thou hast a home, let me take thee there 89.7

opo'pə minpa'awkut let us stop! 98.6

opo'pə mitalai'ruut let me give thee a beating R 61.50

o'ptI ma like (see Koryak Kamenskoye *opta*)

o'ra openly

gına'n qanra'gıatyas n o'ra if thou shouldst take it home openly 121.30

i'gıt-üm-ılo'n o'ra tryo'wku I have come to thee openly 123.18-19

uru'ur it seems that

u'rrı thus, so

u'rrı nüplu^{stvi}'qın it was so small 20.3

u'rrı l'ñkı nümqıtvı'qın thus becoming it decreased in size 20.4

qagno'pgê^s êričıkou'tı u'rrı eñ'ñi'n sit with head bent down in your clothes thus 32.4

u'rrı mingı'Linın ri'nnın thus he did (with) his hand 57.10

u'rrı nan gını'n . . . thus it is yours . . . 93.9-10

wu'rrı thus

na'qam um neyule'tqın wu'rrı still he was alive (although he was) in this condition 50.3

e'nmen vai wu'rrı Enqa'n gama'trñolên there thus that one dragged her 51.1

Enqa'n Ena'n ðini't wu'rrı ni'tqın that one there herself was thus 26.9

e'nmen wu'rrı puulqe'wkwı^s then he floated thus 77.23

e'nmen E'nikıt rıbu'tku wu'rrı gırgola'gıtı there at once he moved thus upward 16.5

u'nmük greatly, strongly

uLi'i in this case indeed (or besides indeed?) (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye^εli'i*, *venli'i*, *miteli'i*, *qāli'i*, *quli'i*)

uLi'i yara'ni qamata'gin wu'kvên then take also my stone-house 92.4 (in the same way 92.14, 24; 93.3, 8, 18, 26)

ve'tI really, truly, very, at once; an intensifying particle

ve'ti veime'nu nere'lhriñin truly friendly he will be treated 25.9

vêti ginni'k ùm a'men nenankêttuwa'tqên truly they made game scarce by means of magic 42.4

vê'ti nimei'enqin he was very large 73.9

vê'ti nige'tvūqin he was very strong 47.3

vê'ti nara'nmüntik it will kill you at once 70.12

vê'ti-m re'w nēna'nmūqên he killed really (many) whales 73.3

a'limi quwalo'mürkin ùm vê'ti but obey me strictly 88.10-11

trañauti'nürkin vê'te qun I shall marry at once 57.2

nire'vi'ñqin vê'ti he really wanted to die 99.27

vê'ti, qayya'arknat nan do sing it again! 120.24

vet'i'in ùm, vel'i'in for my part granted!

vê'nom

vê'nom ergina'n let them (be) 55.11

Also 56.1

vên'va'KI secretly (see *vi'n'vi*)

venli'i unexpectedly 60.7; 61.2; 69.33 (Bogoras: still, meanwhile, notwithstanding), (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye^εli'i*, *uLi'i*, *miteli'i*, *qāli'i*, *quli'i*)

qān've'r met-ki'it venli'i ùm a'men rima'gti nine'lqin at this time somehow unexpectedly to the other side it came (i. e. nevertheless it came across somehow) 40.7

venli'i leu'ti kr'plnên unexpectedly he hit him on the head 45.12

qai'VE teiñele'erkin, venli'i aa'lomka i'irkin indeed, I blame him; unexpectedly he does not obey

na'qam pa'nēna venli'i nuurgeimeu'qin but unexpectedly more thunder approached 69.30

ne'me čuwi'pit nimei'ñetqin venli'i unexpectedly the remaining piece also was growing in size 72.18

venli'i ntiu'qin unexpectedly he is persistent 137.15

Also 74.4; 137.13

vele'r, vele'r-ùm, vele'r ùm ñau AT LEAST (Kor. Kam. *va'lan*) limited qualification of action)

gailo'kim mi'ñkri, vele'r-ùm wo'tqan indeed, how then, at least this one?

vele'r-um mičaqaro'a^k at least I will eat some sugar R 65.124

vele'r-ım yara'ni ga'tvata although a house had been there (lit. at least with house's being) 31.6

vele'r êrmče'tä qênata'gê^ε at least move near! 37.10 (see also 37.9,13)

vele'rim mitwêt'ha'urkin at least I can talk with thee 32.1

vele'r-qun, vele's-qun at least (with a shade of anger) R 72.20

vien < **viyen** just, simply

tikimiče'erkin am, vi'en mewkwe'tyä^εk I am staying too long, just let me depart

vi'en pūki'rgi^ε êuño'a^εt he just arrived (and) they began to speak 110.3

go, vi'en gra'gtitik just go home! 45.9

vi'en aa'lomkēl-ê-grit thou just doest not listen 54.11

vi'n·vI, vên·va'kI secretly 108.14

pILa', pILa'q apparently, pretending

pILa' vi^εlin pretending death 82.4; 124.6

plāgi' that is all! 107.21 (from stem *pl*— to finish)

mēl, mēč, like, somewhat like (see § 113.10, 11).

mei

ka'ko mei oho, there! 14.5

met·ki'tkit, met·ki'it (?)

me'čiču besides

i'tkenin ūm me'čičū êrga'wkwē^ε he robbed him and ridiculed him besides

mač exhortative particle

mač gūmma'n let me be the one!

mač irgina'n let them be the ones! R 62.70

ma'čīnan < *mač-ēna'n* let it be (impersonal)

ma'čīnan čei'vā let it be (done) on foot R 60.21

mīte' of course 121.6

mītelī'i undoubtedly (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye^εli'i, uli'i, venli'i, qāli'i, quli'i*)

mītelī'i tīla'nvu va'rkin riḷu undoubtedly there is a stranded carcass 64.18

mītelī'i ranto'a^ε undoubtedly she will come out 82.21

mītelī'i kitkin'u'gai rakêrga'tya^ε undoubtedly a small bright spot will appear 118.6

mītiu' (perhaps *mīthiu'*) I thought—

mītiu' eñe'nīli-grit I thought thou wert a shaman 22.3

mītiu' ke'le-i-grit I thought thou wert a kele 15.11

mīti'ūm ELO'n qāigi'pe viri'irkin we thought he really wanted to die R 52.7

tam, tagam all right!

ge, tam! oh, all right! 121.28

gi, tam, a'men! oh, all right then! 84.14

i, tam! yes, all right 84.19

te'naq if perhaps (always with future)

te'naq nara'nmi-üm if perhaps they should kill me

te'če-ñ how many times

ne'me te'če-ñ giwi'is again how many times a year passed (i. e. after several years) 12.8

naqa'm however, but

utte'mil nımayenqana'čhın naqa'm pe'le nımqıtvı'qın like a tree was he large, but soon he decreased (in size) 20.2

nara'nımñqên na'qam . . . nênalwau'qên they wanted to kill him, but . . . they could not do it 36.1-2.

na'qam nın'ni'uqın ne'me but they ordered him again 59.6

u'ttäqai—na'qam enqa'n gelelu'qäglın it is little piece of wood!—

But it has whiskers 75.4-5

na'qam čemı'ngıt yıtó'nenat but (this time) she pulled out a pair of gloves 111.5-6; also 76.4, 6, 24

na'qam üm is more strongly adversative

guq, naqa'm üm re'qä but with what then? 34.9

naqa'm üm ño'onqan but this one 35.1

na'qam üm tew-mu'lılın but this one's blood was good 117.14

na'qam üm nıqe'tvuqın but this one was strong 66.20

With *a'men* it is strongly adversative

e'nmen qu'ttırgın qa'at pe'leqäi nerri'net, na'qam a'men

Umqäqäi'in . . . nênalwau'qên then the others' reindeer quickly were untied, but on the other hand *Umqäqäi''s*

. . . could not 63.11-12

a'men üm naqa'm inpılu'tkul-i-ğıt you on the other hand, are an old shamanistic practitioner 39.4

naqa'm lümña (literally *but again*). In this complex the adversative meaning is not always marked. It seems to mean AFTER ALL THAT HAS HAPPENED.

naqa'm lümña ña'wtıngê after all, he married 58.7-8

naqa'm lü'mña gaa'qolên after all he sat down 98.24

na'qam lü'mña inennıke'wkwi after all I am treated thus 98.28-29

na'qam lü'mña čeq-ê'ččağ after all, quite on the surface (?) 102.25-26

inenpelqu'utkälın üm wot, naqa'm lü'mña he can not be vanquished, after all 114.27

na'qam lü'mña i'lıl ui'ñä ne'lyi after all, the rain stopped 116.11-12

naga'm lü'mña gınni'k reurre'tyä^s after all that has been done game shall appear 25.6

Clearly adversative are:

naga'm lü'mña awgê'tkırka nevertheless they did not say anything 26.6

e'nmen im-nikê'rêt nikamagra'qên, naga'm lü'mña va^sglıñın no'mräqên then the whole night he struggled, however the grass (with which he was tied) was (too) tough (to be torn) 20.10-11.

It is also used before nominal forms, pronouns, and nominalized verbs

kııauca'tyê^s *na'qam wus'qü'mêrku, na'qam niki'tä* he galloped off notwithstanding the darkness, notwithstanding the nighttime 57.5

na'qam yo'yo qän've'r . . . naa'lomga^sn notwithstanding the wind, just at that time they heard it 34.4

eñe'ñılın naga'm go'rgulên but the shaman had a sledge 14.10

naga'm am-gına'n but only thou (i. e., but you are all alone) 30.3

Apparently following the verb to which it belongs:

gapê'nñılên na'qam, ganmıtkoi'vulên but they were attacked, they were slaughtered 12.4

nı'näqın ñm naga'm but this one was swift 40.4-5

ne'me again

ne'me gıtte'wkwi^s again thou art hungry 9.13

ne'me ÷ıpe'tyi^s again he dived 10.1

gu, ne'me oh, again 36.6!

ne'mäqäi also

e'nmen ñm Ai'wanat ñm ne'mäqä'i they are also Aiwan 7.9

e'nmen ne'mäqäi, geri'ñelin then he also had flown up 15.3

e'pte gınni'g-gılı'lıt ne'mäqäi gına'n nêna'nmê-gıt likewise the game procurers also thou hast killed 44.9-10

nemäqäi gımna'n I also 93.13

ne'mäqäi enqa'n eñe'ñılın nıpe'gtımet also that shaman is hauling a sledge 14.12-15.1

neqe'm but, nevertheless

gık, neqe'm e'un qarê'm e'un, gık oh, but it was not there 27.11

neqe'm ñm lı'ı-vêññolın nıgtaqın vê^s-re'mkä nevertheless having just died, he is taken away by the dead people R 52.12

ñı'mqüq partly, somewhat

ñı'mqüq nü'mkäqın re'mkın nımtva'lın somewhat many people were encamped 58.9

ɛi'mq̄q ɛnqa'n niqulile'tqin in part they were noisy 60.9
ɛi'mq̄k kuke'ɛiku e'ret nitva'qên partly in the kettle boiled meat
 was (left) 75.11
e'nmen vai yê'tvuê^s ɛi'mq̄k then it grew somewhat brighter
 94.22-23

ɛa'ma also

ɛa'ma ɛnqa'n mač-êwga'n titvu'rkin also this is an incantation I
 tell 39.13

ɛa'ma mu'ɬa e'ur also with blood (they sacrifice) 41.11

ɛa'ma li'en ai'makik na'lai'oqên he also defecated on the carcass
 81.6

ɛa'ma qu'tti qa'nmilaat also the others were killed 98.3

tinrn-la'li-mô'rê vai ɛa'ma we come here also carrying antlers
 121.20

ɛa'ma nuwêthau'qaat orawêɬa'-mêl they also talk like men 64.10
quq, a'men ım na'gam ım gai'miç-ai'wan ɛa'ma oh, he was how-
 ever a rich Aiwan 50.7

See also 42.3

ɛe'mit therefore

ɛe'mit qü'muk êna'tvat epki'rkü nitva'qen therefore to me prom-
 ised gifts do not come 93.16

go, e'ur qu'nun ɛe'met li'i iulule'tyi^s li'mna walqa'liñin oh, and
 therefore really has become long again the jaw 45.8

ɛê'nêt since, because

ɛê'nêt im vinrê'tilit nü'mq̄qäet since there are many helpers
 R 4.44

ɛê'nêt ım qaalvilu'ɛn-ni'n nu'rri nitva'qen since the buck is there
 on its back R 4.34

ɛê'nêt vê'liçhin, ia'm minyo^saⁿ since he is dead, why should
 we visit him? 108.13-14

ɛê'nêt ımennê'n-mi'mlä giwkuçi'tä since they drink one water
 R 45.13-14

ɛê'nêt gumni'n ɛ'nni-ku'prên u'iñä ɛnmêqa'eti tralva'wñin since
 I have no fish nets, I cannot trade in fish R 46.47-48

qu, ɛe'nêt ım ili'ɬä-muri oh, since we are on an island! (an
 exclamatory phrase) 11.11

ɛite'un

ɛit gümik ga'tvalen, ɛite'un ta'n-nik trtva'rkin ım i'git before it
 was with me, and later (now) with the Russians I am staying
 now R 45.19

*ɛit ai'vanana me'tal rinrirkinin . . . ɛite'un ım gümna'n wu'tku
 t^snri'qäⁿ* before the Aivan kept the medal, . . . and later
 (now) here I should (like to) keep it R 45.20-21

ëite'un akka'gti titëggë'nirkrn and later (now) with (my) son I should like (to be) R 46.38

ëite'un krnta'irga memilqa'a na^ena'lpnrë^e later on (now) good luck may give me seals R 46.42

ëite'un a^ettilu a'lvañqan nita'qënat and later on some dog-drivers were moving on in unwanted directions R 32.38

mprië-ekke'tä rrr'lprnnën ëite'un vë^e-wgënto'^e the eldest son was with him later on then he gave up his breath (i. e. that he might die an easier death) R 49.15

le'nItaq already (?)

le'nItaq ïm napëla'an ïm vai ñe'ekik already they had left this daughter 30.12

leñta'q ïm . . . ëïmña'ëhn na'nmuga^en already they had slaughtered the reindeer-buck R 52.7

li'en and simply, and only; restricted action

nineimeu'qinet, li'en a^ettü gape'nrëilën they approached, the dogs just jumped at them 111.21

li'en ëlhipëra'rkrn e'ë it is simply white with fat 81.27

ta'yolhn ïm lo'lo li'en the needle-case was simply his penis 82.13

See also 67.19; 81.6; 86.8, 12, 25; 87.1, 28.

li'en i^etIk (see *i^etk ïm*) I tell you what (implying contempt) R 61.1

li'en i^etk këma'wkurgë-grt and let me tell you that you are causing delay

li'en i^etk ra'nñitaê^e and may I ask you what do you want here?

li'en ïm i^etk e^etqi and really, as I tell you, it is bad 11.3

attaru' li'en utterly in vain (see *ataru'* p. 854)

luu, before vowels *lu'un* just, just like

loön-ai'vë just yesterday

li'i really

en'ñata'l ïm li'i tr'lhr-grr from now on I shall really know thee 93.21-22

li'i eñeñtvi'i^e he has really acquired shamanistic power 18.4

lu'ur AFTER THAT, THEREUPON always refers back to a preceding event.

e'nmen a' gëpü eiñé'utkui^e, goq, lu'ur qa'at ye'tyä^et and he called to the east; oh, thereupon reindeer came 108.32

atëaru' luwar'nen, lu'ur yopa'tyê^e she could not wait, thereupon she went to look 30.13

lu'ur wëthau'ñoê^e thereupon he began to speak 31.11

lu'ur pñtiqoro'a^et thereupon they began to emerge 102.23

kryë'wkwä^et. e'nmen lu'ur qla'ul ye'tyi^e they awake. Then, after that, a man came 66.11

rihĩndigiwé'nnin; e'nmen lu'ur e'gripigé he pointed at her with a finger; thereupon she felt pain 63.7

See also 8.5; 10.8, 10; 15.1; 29.6; 61.9; 68.11; 70.27

lu'un matali'yñrn éuñoi' thereupon the father-in-law said 114.9

lü'mña again

gu, mé'nko lü'mña pi'ntiqätyé oh, whence doest thou appear again? 10.12

ra'nota'çhit lü'mña what are these again? 14.3-4

naga'm lü'mña . . . ergewe'tyié but again he dived 17.4

See *a-lü'mña* p. 854.

ripe't even

ripe't tērga'tyéé he even began to cry

eyi'lqakēlinet ripe't ELI'git without sleep were even the parents 34.3-4

lile'-mi'mlä nipyuçitqin ripe't the eye fluid even spurted out 106.19

ripe't ge'mu li'ngäén you did not even mind it 109.25

e'nmen ripe't tēna'lai'okwut I even eased myself over you 109.23

rattan'ñauñIn enough 65.6

re'en I confess

-řam with personal pronouns MY, THY, HIS TURN (perhaps < *enřaq ũm, gũm-ra'q ũm* it is my turn)

e'ün nipampiçé'tegen enřa'm ç'i'çhinçiku aũnra'lin he puts on tufts of reindeer hair in their turn in the armpits of the owner (i. e. the owner puts on . . .) R 4.46

enřa'm rimne'tä gaikola'Leet this time they spread the skins the inside upward R 59.13

enřa'm nĩmtu'mqäqäi enĩngä'ikēlin on his part their camp companion has no child R 12.11-12

kime'l, qime'l at once (?)

kime'l e'ľhu ine'tçiié at once he has a liking for me 137.14 (see also 137.5, 11)

enqa'm ñaus'qatē'ti qime'l then at once (he said) to the woman 58.6

kime'k almost

kime'k mĩti'nmũut almost we killed thee 10.11

a'mEN-ũm-ilo'n ti'nma ine'ntrié kime'k but now you did almost kill one 123.17-18

qũn've'r kime'k enanmũé e'pte gũm this time you have almost killed me 121.16-17. See also 66.35; 71.6; 85.27; 128.12.

kIta', kIta'm, kitau

kitau'

kitau'qun, mi'ñkri ni'tqin now then! how was he? 17.12 (*kitá'm qun* 18.1)

kitau' qun a'tti'yña ninenyegtele'nmik well then! the big dog saved us 106.26

kitā'

kitā' ŋa'nko go ahead! (bring him) here! 20.1

kitā'm 46.4; 79.1; 80.10; 87.8; 94.9; 110.20; 113.21; 124.2; *kitā'm qun* 16.6; 18.4; *kitā'm qu'num* 21.5 well then!

kitā'm ŋu'nri now then (bring home) here! 23.2

guq, kitā'm lü'mña well! now then again! 68.17

It may be separated from the imperative or subjunctive by a clause

kitā'm e'ur li'ê-va'irriŋki gañau'triñ-ê-ḡit qaiłhina'n'ḡêt, vai u'mki qagti'ḡin now then, if among real being (gods) thou hast married really, here a polar bear bring! 110.5-6. Compare 110.9-10.

kitā'tkE unfortunately 25.12

ki'tvil-qun notwithstanding

ki'nmal together (?)

ki'nmal minuñe'lmik let us go for fuel! 30.6

ki'nmal . . . piłigili'lit . . . ḡina'n nēna'nmê-ḡit thou wert killing at once (?) the food procurers 44.9. See also 83.26

kiḡa'm ūm a'mEn, kiḡa'm ūm a'mi well now! 121.4

kite' seldom

ki'tkit a little

ki'tkit niten'ne'w-i-üm I laughed a little 72.13

ki'tkit qānve'ntetyi^s open it a little 94.21, 34

ki'tkit nuurre'tḡinet they were a little visible 95.30

ku'tikā alone 24.10.

qaiā'qañ a while

e'nmen qaiā'qañ tile'ä^st they walked a while 64.8. See also 66.8.
ḡuk,iu'kä qaiā'qañ minḡami'tvarkin I wish we could eat a while 65.4

qaiā'qan e'ur neimeu'ḡin for a while he approached 66.13

qaiā'qan e'üli-gêlêñño'ê^s ven-čümñ'a'čın for a while the trained reindeer-buck was looking for urine R 13.26

êto'-qaiā'qañ riḡkire'nnin after a while he brought her back 51.4

ḡāLI'i êto'-qaiā'qañ ḡewkwe'lin after a while he departed 45.11

qai've indeed, truly, really.

qai've ḡine'ilhi^s really, give (it) to me 16.1

enqa'n qai've Iu'metwi-ḡir thou art really Iu'metun

qai've-m i'mi yei'velḡäi nu'tek tūmñ-alva'lag rayi'lqañño indeed, also a little orphan in the country anywhere may (will) sleep 24.10-11

guq, qai've-m nan me'čen'ki tre'nti'nin oh, indeed, I shall be able to manage him 67.22

Also 23.6; 80.27; 85.3; 92.23; 97.14

qailo'kim

gik, qailo'kim re'qä qäta'Liñitki with what will you answer 14.2
qailo'kim mi'nkri miñi'ntin how shall we act 53.1

qailo'kim wu'tku mi'nti-gir how should I keep thee here 109.30

qailo'kim pe'nin wolvitva'lin before he was motionless 125.4

qailo'kim ele'nyutä riri'lpinnen the younger brother accompanied him R 50.22-23

qailhina'n'gêt, qaglëna'ngêt and actually

qailhina'n'gêt li'ê-taničë'triñoë and actually, he began to feel quite well 33.5

guq, qailhina'ngêt ñm ne'lu^{en} and indeed, they saw it 10.3

qailhina'ngêt ni'rgipatqên and actually, he was talked about 17.5, 7

Also, 15.7; 18.3; 67.22; 80.27; 104.9

qa'tin just so 127.10

qalêlE vertically

qäi-I'pe, qäigî'pe really, in truth

qäi-I'pe li'ê-va'irriñki gañau'tiñ-ê-git really among the gods (real beings) you married 110.30-31

miti'ñm ELO'n qäigî'pe viri'irkin we thought he really wanted to die R 52.7

qäi'ñun it seems (Kor. II, Pallen *qa'iñun* Kor. 90.2)

qäi'ñun tu'rgin re'mkin e^stqi it seems your people are bad 8.9-10

tu'rgin re'mkin qäi'ñun re'lqiä it seems your people will appear 10.4

qa'iñun meti'u rine'lhri^s certainly I shall not be believed by them 19.8

Also 21.2, 5, 12; 24.2.

qänu'r like, as

gene'Li'net qänu'r pe'welti they became like bladders 9.4

mi'nkri va'lit qänu'r a^s'ttwukin pu'ttrin^s how big! like holes of a boat (cover) 14.6

naqa'm li'mña qänu'r mëmlëikou'ti ergewe'tyi^s but again as into [the inside of] water he dived 17.4

qänu'r vë'lë'ti qilo'lën as for a dead one she mourned 27.12

e'nmen qänu'r a^s'ttin arê'ta ni'ntäqin then like a dog they held him back 66.17

kele'tä va'nëvan elu^s'kä qänu'r mörgina'n i'git ka'mak va'nëvan eu'rrekëlin to the spirits they are invisible, as to us now an evil spirit is invisible 62.1-2

- . . . *qānu'r vai mu'rgin re'mkin* like our people here 61.6
e'nmen a'nī qānu'r qun nute's'qān then it was just like earth 8.6
qānu'r qun wī'lquul just like coal 22.7
qānu'r qun nīthī'lqinet they were like hot ones 9.10
e'nmen qol qānu'r inpina'čhīn geñe'wānā then another one, like
 the last (namely in the preceding story) an old man with his
 wife 28.1
qānu'r li'en ne'ntiā^ēn just as though simply they did to him 35.4
e'nmen qānu'r qun nīēite'ruqin then it was as though they were
 heated 9.8

qān've'r the fundamental meaning seems to be AT THIS MOMENT,
 AT THIS TIME

- qān've'r galē^ēolhiočina'-mō'rē* just at this moment we have met
 121.15
qān've'r qinmi'lkinek til-eime'wani'tqinet at this time they drew
 nearer 103.8
qān've'r qitte'pīcin kele'kin i'wkwi^ē at that moment the leader of
 the kelet said 104.26
e'nmen qān've'r neime'wkwā^ēn qān've'r ūm a^ētī'yñin ūm
wēthau'noē at that moment they approached and at that
 moment the dog began to speak 103.19
Taaro'n-Va'irgu ūm qān've'r . . . Va'irgu ne'le^ēn a Sacrifice-
 (receiving-) Being at that time . . . a (spiritual) Being he
 became 41.9-10

Often it may be translated *therefore*.

- qān've'r ūm tērgila'trnoē^ē* therefore (at this moment) she began
 to cry 31.7
lu'ur wo'tqan qān've'r wū'rgirgin walo'mñonēn afterwards, there-
 fore, she began to hear this noise 32.9 (in the following lines,
 however, the translation AT THIS MOMENT is suitable)

qāčI'-qu'num as you like it(?) R 54.36

- qāLi'i*** (<*qā[ʃ]-li'i*) but in fact (containing the element *li'i* REALLY,
 TRULY; see also *ye^ēli'i*, *uli'i*, *venli'i*, *miteli'i*, *quli'i*)
nī'mnim vai ē'mēqāi va'rkin, *Eiwhue'n qāLi'i* a settlement is
 quite near there, but in fact St. Lawrence Islanders 7.7
qāLi'i qit but in fact, it is you 23.5
qāLi'i Re'kkeñit but in fact, they were Reken 34.5
qāLi'i ēto'-qai'aqañ gewkwe'lin in fact after a short time he de-
 parted 45.11
qāLi'i ri^ēlin in fact (it was) the dead one 52.2
qāLi'i enqa'n . . . ē'tin ye'tyi^ē in fact this was the master
 70.28-30
qāLi'i pinlo'nēnat in fact, he asked them 70.30

qäli'i notas'qa'urkit in fact they were digging the ground 71.9
qäli'i qun enqa'nat tei'n'niçit in reality they were murderous
 68.20

qäli'i ñm qun qäi-a'ttiqäi in fact it was (only) a pup 80.4

qäli'i enqa'n . . . ELA' in fact that was the mother 85.21-22

qäli'i pala'wkun yara'ñi in fact a funeral circle 108.17

qeteu' even now

garaqêçha'Lên qeteu' what has the bad one been doing, even
 now 31.9

qetë'm, qettë'm, kete'm just, just like

qette'm qü'mnin yara'ñi just like my house

kete'm plitku just as it is finished R 3.24

qo'niri, qo'niri-m, qo'niri e'ur (contracted also *qi'en-e'ur*)
 since

qol qoi'maron wü'thiçi, tu'mgin enqa'n qo'nirim qeñewtu'mgeleet
enqa'nat the other rear sleeping room was in the middle, a
 strange person's (not a member of the family) that, because
 they were wife-companions (lived in group-marriage), these
 53.9-10

qo'nirim çä'ma qo'çer-qla'ül-e-üm enqana'ta ño'o-e-üm gene'l-i-üm
 because also a gambling-man I was, therefore poor I became
 R 45.27-28

qo'nirim gumni'n i'gıt i'rälqäl u'iñä . . . trê'lqätya^εq Velew-
kwaygo'ütı because my now clothing material nothing . . .
 I'll go to Merchants Point (i. e. because I have no material)
 R 46.43-44

qo'niri tılv-e'tqin-i-gıt since you are utterly bad

qo'nirim e'un eli'gin i'mı viri'tägi'lin since (the) father has also
 died a voluntary death R 49.11. See also R 32.37

qo'nirim Eñe'neñe eiñe'wü çä'ma i'liil ñm, qa'ko because he calls
 the East wind, it rains 132.20-21. Also R 13.21

qo'n.pü quite

qo'n.pü vi^εi^ε he was quite dead 83.21

qo'n.pü nımi'tvañño'a^t they began to be quite a camp 107.19

gık, qoñpü ninenmelewe'tqin he is made quite well 127.3; 135.12-13

qun, qu'num, qun-ñm probably an emphatic particle, stronger
 than *ñm* (p. 849) and *elo'n* (p. 852). It stands in second posi-
 tion, generally following another particle

qänu'r qun wi'lquul just like coal 22.7

e'nmen qänu'r qun niçite'ruqin they were just as though they
 had been heated 9.8-9

qänu'r qun niñi'lqinet just as though they were hot 9.10

qä'nur qun mı'mlık just as though (they were) in water 101.32

e'nmen a'ni qānu'r qun nute's'qān they were just like land 8.6
a'ni qun qriū'tkwi valata thus it is! they move about with the
 knives 16.4

a'ni qun li'en' re'pkirgās ratopa'wkwa^s thus it is! simply you will
 come home, she will be pregnant 104.4

a'ni qu'num te'kiēhin qānu'utkri thus it is! then eat the meat!
 14.6

a'ni qu'num qanto'ē^s come out! 81.27

a'ni qun, i'ppe qun thus it is! really! 94.8; also 45.3

tērga'tyē^s qun ūm he cried 116.7

ki'tam qun eple'un li'i eñēñtvi'i^s did he this time attain shaman-
 istic power? 18.4

ki'ta'm qun mi'ñkri ni'tqin how is he this time? 18.1

ki'ta'm qun ē^s'nniēhin qai'pūgun this time put on the necklace
 16.6

ki'ta'm qu'num minirri'l-hit this time we will let thee go 21.5-6

ki'ta'm qu'num inele'tti qatvu'gīnat this time what shall there be
 for payment? 102.11

ki'tau'qun a'tti'yña ninenyegtele'nmik this time the big dog saved
 us 106.26-27.

ki'tau' qun mi'ñkri ni'tqin how is he this time 17.12

attau'-qun ñon ūm Tño'tirgina minpēčarē'ra we are just going to
 Tño'tirgin for food 119.18

attau'-qun o'rgoor yē'ta qätē'i'gīn just get the sledge ready 105.20

e'nmen -qun ra'gtie^s ELA' then the mother went home 30.10

qāI'i'i ūm qun qāi-a^s'ttiqāi in fact, it was only a small pup 80.4

In the following examples *qun* follows verbs, verbal nouns and
 pronominal forms.

ñipe'ä^st qu'num E'n'ki they went ashore there 71.12

panča'tik nimpē'qinet qu'num qī leaping it went ashore, indeed!
 122.16

a'un -gēta'gti pilhırra'tyā^s qu'num he makes himself flat before
 them 83.28-84.1

ti'ñunin qu'num he pulled it out 84.7

ei'miunin ūm qun he caught him 121.13

vü^s'lin ūm qu'num enqa'n nine'lqin dead that one had become
 (he had died) 125.10

yi^s'lhin ūm qu'num, rä^s'nut it was the moon, what was it? 86.26-27

rä^s'nut qu'num lo'ñil what was it? walrus-blubber 47.4

i'me-rä^s'nut qu'num everything 107.2

mi'ñkri qu'num mithitte'urkin it is because we are hungry 70.24

čei'vutkwi^snımnımeiti, qu'num a'tto'rguqaiia he went to the camp
 with a dog sledge 105.5

According to punctuation *qunum* is in initial position in the following example

ge, tam! qu'num i'gıtüm mrura'gtatya^{en} let us take it home now!
121.27

It seems, however, that instead of *ge, tam* we might read *kıta'm* as p. 21.5

quLi'i in this case indeed (containing the element *li'i* REALLY, TRULY; see also *ye^eli'i, uli'i, venli'i, miteli'i, qäli'i*)

quLi'i va'añqan a^ttin ni'ilhit in this case indeed I will give you that dog 121.24

geçeu'ki together.

githite' against one's will

gi'newän besides

ñe'wäq strong emphasis

ñe'wäq gi'wä you do say 21.11

ñe'wäq ninemırke'w-i-üm I have been working hard 81.9

qai'vE ñe'wäq ena'n çini't mini'uqin indeed, he himself did say it R 50.23

ñe'wäq qai'vE and indeed

§129. Miscellaneous Adverbs and Conjunctions; Koryak

ImI also

i'mi gaaqai'paLen also it fitted badly Kor. 34.9

i'miñ yuqya'nu gana^elinau they also become bumble bees Kor. 45.3

imiñ gayai'tilen nevertheless he came home Kor. 42.8

i'miñ . . . pl'a'ku wu'gwa gayi'lin also (her) boots they filled with stones Kor. 28.7

Also adj. Kor. 66.8, 72.14, 76.19

Ina'n-awi'wut quickly Kor. 70.12

Enna'n that one alone

enna'n koro'wapel gana^elin only the cow was left Kor. 78.12

Enna'niku from that time on Kor. 80.7

Enqa'ta

enka'ta tılai'vikin ñe'ła then a herd was walking about Kor. 21.8

enqa'ta gassa'len qata'p-vai'am then he dragged a net along the bottom of the river Kor. 70.11

E'nki then, at that very moment

e'nki yu'laⁿ gaplıtëu'linau then they finished what was to be eaten Kor. 50.1

e'nki tryanu'wgi then I shall eat you Kor. 78.18

e'ŋki enni'mti!aⁿ pipi'tčuykɪn e'ŋki qata'p-e'mat va'ykɪn then Fish-Man was combing his hair; then a load of winter-fish was (there) Kor. 86.16

enke' enni'mti!aⁿ then (there was) Fish-Man Kor. 88.15

Eñna^e'an thus

eñna^e'an thus it is! Kor. 78.2

galqaɪɪn qaičayiči'ña eñna^e'an wūs'qū'mčiku she went groping thus in the dark Kor. 16.9-10

eñna^e'an vañvolai'ke thus they lived Kor. 43.7

eñna'an gayi!te!ñivo'lenat thus they began to lie down Kor. 82.10

gina'n eñna^e'an ina'nti thou didst thus to me Kor. 88.2

qo'la eñna^e'nač Yayo'ča-ñawgut qai'liɪɪn after a while they gave Fox-Woman to him Kor. 70.14

eñna^e'nvot gani'kalimau all at once something happened Kor. 70.17-18

Dual forms:

eñna^e'anet gana'tvɪlen thus they brought him in Kor. 59.2

eñna^e'anet patta'la mani'ti gayi'ssalinat thus the two filled with dried meat two bags Kor. 70.21

ayi'kvan at least Kor. 18.1

Ina'n-awi'wut quickly Kor. 70.12

awi'ut Kor. 44.5

a'wun (Kor. II, Kor. Paren, Lesna *e'wun* Kor. 96.30; 97.17)

a'wun gaya'lqrwɪlinau and so they entered Kor. 80.18-19

a'wun im-la'wtalin and so his head became hairless Kor. 82.13

a'wun ui'ña and then there was no one Kor. 96.12 (= *e'wun i'tka* Kor. II, Kor. 96.30: *e'wune'le* Paren, Kor. 97.17)

awnu'p (?) Kor. 64.11

a'wqi falsely Kor. 88.14

am (Paren *ɪm*)

qun-am nu'tak ui'ña ane'lhryɪpnuka even in the open country we eat no inner skin Kor. 49.1

pe'nin qun-ɪm Uwe'ñpɪlɪñ the same (former) little U'weñ (Paren) Kor. 92.7

a'men

a'men gawgu'ɪin and they tied her Kor. 23.4

a'men e'wañ and they said Kor. 23.6; 28.1

a'men yɪ'na and now what! Kor. 28.2

a'ehi a'men gū'mkɪñ ni'wi-gi just now like me thou wert talking Kor. 29.2

a'mu I do not know Kor. 55.3

atau vainly Kor. 61.3

ata'mɪm in vain Kor. 30.8

as's'o' since

as's'o' qati' since you went away Kor. 18.5

a'ččIč, aččo'č (Ch. *erre'č*) that is all, only, no more Kor. 62.8;
70.8 *aččo'č* Kor. 66.19; 68.19

a'nam then, and so

me'ňqaň a'nam gi'łinau how then did they become? Kor.
61.9-10

a'nam . . . qała'lin then he came to him Kor. 63.6

Also Kor. 66.6; 78.1

a'nam-e's'en all right then! Kor. 30.5; 31.8

e's'en a'nau all right then! Kor. 32.1

a'naqun and so Kor. 36.10

anuva't just as, just when

anuva't nryatılqi'wqin, E'ňki mityr'lqała just when he was
about to come, we went to sleep

a'łImI I wish it were!

a'łımı vai'čita I wish (we would go) on foot Kor. 21.2-3

gina'n a'łımırň qeti'gin I wish thou wouldst take it Kor.
72.24-74.1

ałva' other

ałva'lin it is of different material Kor. 76.23

a'kyeł also

gayo'olenan, a'kyeł ipa'ňa they put it into it, also into the
soup, Kor. 28.6

e's'en (Ch. *e'ur*) then, and

gayo's'olen, e's'en gavr's'yalin he visited him and he was dead
Kor. 20.8

ya'nya e's'en ña'witqatu partly also women Kor. 44.2

e's'en . . . gamławanka'wlen and she ended her dance Kor. 48.6

gakya'wlinau e's'en yaq ñi'łın ni'tın they awoke and what
thong was there? (*i. e.* and there was no thong) Kor. 40.5

e'enač once upon a time Kor. 58.4

e'wun (see *a'wun*)

matula'tın e'wun mıssaitıła'ñın they stole it but we shall bring
it back Kor. 40.8

i'pa really; indeed Kor. 37.8

i'pa a'nam gi'ssa but really thou Kor. 66.6

Also as adjectives:

i'pa kmi'ñın the real child Kor. 68.11

gümni'n i'pa qła'wul vi's'gi my real husband died Kor. 21.10-22.1

i'pa lr'ge-ta'ta our real father Kor. 74.20

i'na^s quickly Kor. 39.2

gaye'm i'n'a nrya'tın he did not come back quickly Kor. 72.19

i'n-ač enough! Kor 30.4; 86.11, 18; 88.15

inya'wut (?) Kor 16.5

i'nmIq really, in truth

i'nmIq tapañañivo'ykrn in truth it began to be heavy Kor. 51.8

i'nmiqu'nim all right! Kor. 28.1-2.

Also Kor. 61.3; 62.3

iñi'nninIk in this manner Kor. 14.3 (from *ini'nñin* such)

o'ya openly

ui'ña o'ya a'tvaka she was not (there) openly Kor. 76.14

o'pta also (Lesna: THE WHOLE; Kamchadal *o'ptrma* THE WHOLE);

Chukchee *o'ptrma* LIKE)

a'črn o'pta gei'liłin he also gave him fat Kor 15.4-5

ql'a'wul o'pta enka'ta tıłai'vikrn a man also was walking there
Kor. 21.9

Quyqrnn'a'qu o'pta e'wañ Big-Raven also said Kor. 29.5

qo'ła ai'ak o'pta . . . gayo'olen an other one she also put into
the storeroom Kor. 55.1

See also Kor. 56.5

oma'ka together

Ama'mqut a'nke o'maka kaña'trykrn Ememqut was fishing
together (with them) Kor. 44.10

e'en ña'nyeu oma'ka r'ssa and then together they (were her
children) Kor. 61.2

o'nnen verily, indeed, Kor. 59.9

u'nmi (?) Kor. 74.10

ya'wač (?) Kor. 64.9

y'anya (Ch. *ya'nña*) partly, separately

yaq (indefinite pronoun, see § 59) and now

wu'tčrn yaq yr'нна and this now, what is it? Kor. 36.9

ame'yaq ña'wis'qat well, how is the wife Kor. 68.2

qrn-ya'q thy turn Kor. 46.7 (See *yaq*, § 59, p. 729)

ya'qam only

ya'qam ai'krpa qapri'wyalin only (with) fly-eggs she scattered
Kor. 45.2

ve'lo ya'qam ninataikrivo'qenau she was only making thimbles
Kor. 59.5

ya'qañ why

ya'qañ ya'ti why hast thou come Kor. 64.1

yaqqai'-qun (Paren *yäqqai'-qun* Kor 92.5) then

ye'lı

ye'lı gayi'nalin and so she flew away Kor. 46.5

e'en ye'ł gañekela'len and so she felt ashamed Kor. 60.1

vi'yañ, ve'eñ (?)

vi'yañ iskuła'ti (if that is so) then you were cold Kor. 26.2

vi'yañ ləlap'i'təoñvo'ykɪn nevertheless he looked up Kor. 42.8

ñá'no vi'yañ kɪsva'čik va'ykɪn of course, it is there on the cross-pole Kor. 68.5

vi'yañ gapanqai'pɪlɛn (without clothes) but with a cap Kor. 76.22

vi'n'va, vi'n'vi secretly Kor. 61.1; 76.14

va^s'yuk afterwards Kor. 14.7; 19.5

va^s'ak Kor. 56.5; 64.9

van (never in initial position; perhaps related to the Chukchee demonstrative particle *ñan* which is also used adverbially).

wi'ña-van minka'kɪlɛ not by anybody else Kor. 40.6-7

qaye'm ñá'no-van mɪnutñana'wge not those I shall be able to eat Kor. 55.8-9

a'mlɪñ-van kɪtve'-lɪ'ga penčɪ'ykɪn after that he rushed at her every time (Paren) Kor. 92.10

pa'ɬa perhaps Kor. 60.5

mačɪ maybe

ma'čɪ wu'təuk mayhap (it was) here? Kor. 49.7

ma'čɪ vi'ɬka va'ykɪn mayhap a fork is there Kor. 19.7

me'čɛ mɪma'tage mayhap I'll marry thee Kor. 32.6

mal well

mal-kit properly Kor. 15.6; 74.6; 88.9

mal-kɪ'til very well! Kor. 21.5

Also *met-kɪ'tkit*

male'ta quietly Kor. 54.7

ma'kiw somewhere Kor. 80.9

me'ñqañ how Kor. 82.4; 84.21; 88.1

me'ñqač mi'qun mai'mɪk how indeed shall I get water? 16.7-8

me'ñqan mi'qun how, indeed? Kor. 17.12

mi'qun (Paren *mu'qun* Kor. 92.23) indeed; an intensifying particle

mi'qun naña'nqɪn indeed he is a shaman Kor. 42.9

mi'qun Ama'mqut e'wañ Ememqut said even (this) Kor. 64.11

ya'qu mi'qun qatai'kɪɣɪn what indeed will you do? Kor. 76.7

Also 16.3, 8; 17.12; 39.10; 84.21; 86.12

(ti'wgak [literally: I SAY] it seems Kor. 57.9)

ti'ta when

ɪlu^s'pɪlɪñ ti'ta mɪnelo^s'čəɬa when we find a shaman's wand Kor.

27.7

ti'ta gũ'mma tra'tik when was I at home? Kor. 68.13

ti'ta o'pta ninanwva^s'an let him also swallow me Kor. 84.15

ti'taq mu'yu mɪta^stayɪ'pnaɬa when did we feed on inner skin of

dogs Kor. 48.9

- tito-o'n* after a long time Kor. 57.5
- nIme'* very; very much Kor. 16.1, 8
- ča'myeq* indeed Kor. 24.2
čemya'q really Kor. 56.1
- čemeče'n* it is so! Kor. 46.4
- čini't* since
čini't enña's'an qi'ti since thou art so Kor. 56.9-10
- lI'gIqai* much less Kor. 49.1
- lI'gan* simply
lI'gan mmtelhyalai'ke simply they were resplendent Kor. 44.3
- kI'ma'k* almost Kor. 21.7; 84.13
- kalê'LE, qalê'LE* vertically
- ke'nam* Kor. 39.3; *kena'm* Kor. 40.3 already
- ki'wan* truly Kor. 26.9
- kit, ki'til* see *mal-kit*
- ki, kIč* (never in initial position) and
ya'qkin-ki and what for? Kor. 26.10 (for *ya'qkin* see §§ 47, 59)
- ki'tañ; kitta'* then (?)
ki'tañ amyagałheñe'trñ taya'nikrñ then she wanted to go to the porch Kor. 33.8-9
gü'mma kitta' tu'kwak I am caught Kor. 36.10
kitta' atawalñi!a'ka do not look back by any means Kor. 51.6; 52.10
ki'tta negative particle; see § 131.3, p. 883 (Ch. *en-ñe*)
- ki'tkit* a little
- ki'kit; ki'kič* as soon as 84.3
ki'kit gayi'ltiñ as soon as he went to sleep Kor. 84.3
ki'kič gaya'lqrwñ as soon as they entered Kor. 72.21
- qai'gut* indeed Kor. 84.23
- qa'wun* though
qa'wun pani'ta mi'kinak nayamata'ge though later on thou wilt marry someone Kor. 78.17
- qačI'n*
qačI'n plakgeñe'trñ na's'čañvoğen for he had passed water into the boots Kor. 14.2
qačI'n qo'npü niki'ta gana's'zen therefore altogether it became night Kor. 16.6
qa'čm milya'qpil because it was a small shell Kor. 23.8
gayo's'olen, qačm vi'tvitpil they visited her, for there was a small ringed seal Kor. 24.4
qačI'n ena'n tawi'tkirñik for she (had been) pilfering Kor. 34.3

ña'nyeu qač'i'n Yaqyamtila's'nu for those were Bumble-Bee-Men
Kor. 44.6

qa'č'irn wi'ña ana'luka gatr'kalen for without chewing he swallowed her Kor. 84.1

qa'č'IK

gr'ssa qa'č'ik wi'ña a'lva a'tvaka for this reason will you be
(feel) wrong Kor. 18.7

gũ'mma qa'č'ik oyamya'-gum for am I human game Kor. 42.6

qun, qun-am

grna'n qun nita'witkiñi-gi' so thou art playing mischief Kor. 82.9
qu'nam nu'tak wi'ña ane'lh-yrpnuka even in the open country
we eat no inner skin Kor. 49.1

pe'nin qun-ım Uwe'ñpiliñ the same (former) little U'weñ
(Paren) Kor. 92.7

qu'nam mu'yi . . . oya'myañ mirt'nmin even we too (alone)
have killed a man Kor. 68.3

qu'nam qun Kor. 74.17

vč'tha-qa'nom just now Kor. 56.10

qa'npũ very, quite (*qon'pu* Chukchee; *xč* Kamchadal); Kor.
13.10; 15.8; 41.8, etc.

gũmłañ again Kor. 15.8; 18.8; 19.8 etc.

ña'nyen then 63.10; 72.8; 74.3 etc.

§130. KAMCHADAL CONJUNCTIONS

Most of the Kamchadal conjunctions have been replaced by the Russian (local) forms.

i, dai (и, даи) and

je (же) but

tolko (только) merely, only

dotopera (до топера) until now

potom (потомъ) after that

Other conjunctions of Kamchadal origin are still in use. Among these I mention

hălč, hălčëq it is time! then, now, altogether Kor. 99.5

This particle is used quite frequently with a great variety of meanings. Its use has even influenced the local Russian dialect inasmuch as the Russian adverb *пора* IT IS TIME is used also as a conjunction, although this does not agree with Russian usage.

-ılme, -me (never initial) AND, AND NOW, corresponds to the Chukchee *-ım K. K. -am*.

-ke (never initial) AND, AND NOW, but more emphatic than *-me*.

-*ven* (never initial) Kor. 98.9. This emphatic particle corresponds to K. K. *van*, and may have been borrowed from Koryak.

kat THEN in the beginning of tales corresponds to Chukchee *e'nmen*.

e'wun AND, AND SO corresponds to Ch. *e'un*, K. K.; *a'wun*, K.

Parent *e'wun*, but may also have been borrowed from Koryak.

lact HOW IS IT, WHEREFORE.

§131. NEGATIVE ADVERBS

1. *va'nêvan* negative particle, NOT AT ALL (stem probably *vanê*).

This occurs either alone or with other negative elements.

va'nêvan ninutewurre'erknen not at all land appears 7.3

va'nêvan nuwa'lomnên he would not hear anything

va'nêvan ġina'n li'i qälhi'ġin? have you no knowledge at all? 38.4

yil'ilil rurkinin te'kičhin va'nêvan tongues he eats, meat not at all 49.4

va'nêvan nute's'ġän ni'yo'e'nên they did not at all reach the ground 52.12

va'nêvan ne'nlu'e'rkinet kele'tä the kele could not see them at all 100.29

va'nêvan na'nayilhau'nên a'ttin they were not at all afraid of the dog 105.25

va'nêvan anto'kälên ne'us'ġät the woman did not go out at all 54.8

va'nêvan qarê'm nuwa'lomnên he would not hear anything

va'nêvan ä'nlu'e'net they could not see them at all 61.10

va'nêvan ele d'lomka they did not hear anything 60.10

va'nêvan elu'e'kä they are invisible 62.1

va'nêvan eu'rrekëlin it is not visible 62.2

2. *qarê'm*; Kor. Kam. *qaye'm*; Kor. Par., *qeye'm*; Kor. II

(village Qareñin and others in Kamchatka *i'ġut*); Kamchadal:

x'ënč, x'ë. Used always with the exhortative, or alone with exhortative meaning, and ignifying negative future.

qarê'm min'nmirik we shall not kill you 13.4

qarê'm mine'etyä'k I shall not become black 23.6

qarê'm milhrñño'a'n I shall not treat him 24.10

qarê'm minmu'ut I will not kill thee 98.25; 99.7

qarê'm mra'ġtia'k I will not return home 99.2, 24

qarê'm ELI'ġä rinenyegtele'tyä' father will not allow me to live 99.15

qarê'm mi'ilhä'n I will not do it 99.20

qarê'm mi'ilhit I will not give it to thee 15.13; 16.9

qarê'm miye'tyä'k I will not come

a'men qarê'm! but no! (i. e., I shall not do so) 16.1

qarê'm i'gít! not now! (i. e., I shall not do so from now on) 21.1

qarê'm! no! (i. e., I shall not do it) 99.13

Kor. Kam. *qarê'm mlá'k*, Kor. II. *i'hut mlé'k*, Kamchadal *x'ênê mnuk* I will not eat

Koryak.—

ačhiva'n qaye'm this time I shall not! Kor. 54.3

qaye'm ña'no-van mnutñana'wge I shall not be able to eat them Kor. 55.8

qaye'm enalħa'lmik he will not catch us Kor. 72.19

Even future imperatives take this particle.

qarê'm quwi'etik do not die! (i. e., you shall not die) 64.16, 17

Derived from *qarê'm* is the verbal form *qarê'mên* (Kor. Kam.

qıyme'en Kor. 38.5, Kor. Par. *qısmé'nen*) it is not so, not true.

qarê'mên i'etik lü'mñil it is not really a story 61.5

qarê'mênai'-güm I am not this one 23.5

qarê'mên ora'wêlan he is not a human being 29.9

qarê'mênai'igüm qlá'ulêüm I am not a man

qarê'mênai'igıt qlá'ülégit thou art not a man

qarê'mênai'igüm niru'lüüm I am not feeble

qarê'mênai'igıt niru'lügit thou art not feeble

qarê'mên niru'lqın he is not feeble

qaremênai'güm ñe'usqätüüm I am not a woman 116.31

Kor. Kam. *qıyme'w un* impossible! Kor. 14.3.

3. *en'ñe* Kor. Kam. *kI'tta*, Kamchadal *jak*, *x'ê* do not! (see § 114 p. 823)

4. *êlo'* NO *eļo'* (Reindeer Kor.) 30.9

eļe no 30.8

nä'st'uri'?-*êlo'* what is the matter with you?—nothing 53.6

4a. *ča'mam* NO! I DO NOT WANT TO (referring to future events) 78.6; used with future indicative. There is no corresponding form in either Koryak or Kamchadal.

ča'mam I do not want to 98.5, 8

ča'mam tre'ilħıt I shall not give thee

5. *e'Le* NOT, signifying simple denial Kor. Par. *e'Le*, Reindeer Kor. *e'Le*, Kor. II., village Qare'ñin and others in Kamchatka *eļa*, Kamchadal *qam* Kor. Kam. *ui'ñä* instead (see below). See 15, 12, 21.3, 24.8

6. *ui'ñä* NONE (with nouns; substantives and adjectives). (Kor. Kam., *ui'ña*, Kor. Par., *ui'ña e'Le*, Kor. II., village Qare'ñin and others in Kamchatka *em*, *e'mma* NOT. The Kamchadal uses *qam* (see above, under *e'Le*). Kor. Par. uses also *e'Le* alone

u'ñä ep'i'ñkã I have no powder

See also 18.5; 22.3; 27.9

Without the negative prefix-suffix we find—

čai u'i'ñä, ta'aq u'i'ñä, tam-vq'igrgin gūmn'i'n no tea, no tobacco,
mine is a good life!

(Kor. Par.) *e'le ep'i'ñke* I have no powder

Derived from this particle is *u'ñilm* HAVING NONE.

u'ñilium ep'i'ñkēliüm I have none, I am without powder 59.2

§ 132. Interjections

Chukchee and Koryak are rich in interjections. These may be divided into several groups; namely, *a*) ejaculations expressing a state of strong emotion, without definite tone; *b*) exclamations expressing assent, disapproval, surprise, fear, pain, question, call, and answer, etc.; *c*) onomatopoeic interjections, sound pictures, imitations of sounds, such as singing of birds, thumping of stones, swishing of rapidly moving slabs, etc.; *d*) words and phrases used as exclamations. Some of these are derived from pronominal or conjunctive stems, while others can not be reduced to such sources, at least not at present.

a. Ejaculations

a! 45.3 (Kor. *a!* *A!* Kor. 55.5) oh!

ga! R 104.48 oh!

o! 63.9 oh!

e! 85.12; 90.6; 91.7 ah!

e! 101.20 all right

go, go! R 65.119 (call)

ga, ga! 122.1 call

gi, gi! R 72.16 ah, ah!

gei! 69.4 oh!

ggg! (Kor. *ggg!*) yes!

guq! 10.3; 52.3; 53.1; (Kor. *gek!* Kor. 50.4) ugh! oh!

goq! 24.1 108.32; *gik!* 10.1; 11.2; *gi!* 68.30; R 69.35; Kor.
51.1, 5; 58.6

gu! 26.4; *go!* 69.7; 108.19

ogogogogoi! 70.2 oh, oh, oh!

ugugugugu! 29.7 uhuhuhuh!

Koryak

e! oh! Kor. 47.1

ye! ah! Kor. 49.2

eñi! oh! Kor. 64.19

añe! Kor. 49.3 *iñe!* Kor. 27.6

b. Exclamations

Their stems are independent and some of them form derivatives.

go! expresses ignorance: I DO NOT KNOW!

goña'arkin to speak always of one's ignorance; to answer: "I do not know."

Assent:

i! 9.6, 13; 66.25; 84.10 (Kor. *o!* Kor. 30.2; 38.6) yes.

i! 84.19 ah!

egei'! 133.24 R 71.5; R 73.34 (Kor. *uga'*) all right! assent and approval.

egei'! 75.30 oh!

taga'm! R 59.9, 16; R 66, 134 (Kor. *toq!* *to!* Kor. 35.3; Kor. 45.8) come! well!

taga'm is used also as the usual leave taking.

taga'm tewkwe'erkin! R 41.98 (in Koryak *toq* is used as leave taking) good-bye! I am going.

The usual greeting is *ye'ti?* or less frequently *ge'et-i-git;* R 62.62; R 76.25 (Kor. *yati?* HAVE YOU COME? as greeting)

The answer is *i!* yes! or *i, trye'tyäs'k!* yes, I have come!

Greeting borrowed from Russian, *toro'ma* (здорово) (Kor. *toro'va*) how do you do?

tam contracted from *taga'm*, mostly with an ejaculation preceding, COME! WELL!

ee, tam! 30.9; 89.23; *e tam!* 90.3.

i, tam! 84.19.

gi, tam! 84.14.

Assertion:

gu'nä! 82.16; 85.6; R 76.27 sure!

gu'nä, qai've 24.8 indeed, yes!

Calls:

mei! 76.22 R 73.32; R 59.11, from man to woman 53.6;

Kor. *mai!* Kor. 64.24 *amei!* Kor. 63.6; *mei!* Kor.

32.5; here addressed from a man to a woman; *me!* Kor.

100.5 K. Paren *ve!* Kor. 101.13; Koryak II Qareñin

mei Kor. 102.4 there, you! you! halloo!

ña'ul 45.3 (Kor. *nä'wal*) call among women

wüi'! 83.13; R 72.15; *goi* 60.2 (Kor. *goi'!*) answer to call

yago'! 67.8 (Kor *yawo'!* Kor. 33.9) halloo

wago'! R 125.22 halloo! there, take it!

Disapproval:

e'wi! 120.10 so!

ee'! 81.17; 83.14; is it? (doubt and disapproval)

eei'! 108.19 aha! (doubt and disapproval)

Surprise:

Used by men

ka'ko'! generally reduplicated *kako, kako!* 8.5; 12.6; 68.31
oho!; *qako!* 84.10; *qako, qako!* 77.26; 104.14; *ga'ko* 21.4
kako, mei'! 14.7; R 64.93. *ga'ko mei!*, *go'ëo mei!*

Used by women

ke'ke'! 52.2; 71.26.*ke'ke, ña'ul!**keke', keke', keke'!* 29.7 great surprise and fear

Koryak, for both sexes.

| *ëe* Kor. 47.6 (surprise and disapproval) ugh.| *qe'e* Kor. 82.14 surprise

Fear:

gokkoi'! 63.1 oh, oh!; *goqoi'!* 18.8*kokkoi'!* 22.5 surprise and fear*akakaka!* 87.14 sudden fright

Question:

wa? (Kor. *va?* Kor. 46.10) would you?

amto'? 13.9; 80.4; R 92.18 (Kor. *amto'?*) well? what news?
 also used as a conjunction: *amto' gıtka'lıın?* how is
 your leg?

Pain:

gı, gı, gı R 74.46 (Kor. *mıkrıkırık!* Kor. 29.1) sudden acute
 pain

ge, ge, ge! 63.8 (Kor. *ıgıgı!* Kor. 23.9) crying

Warning:

ga, ga, ga! 85.17, 28 (Kor. *got!*) off! look out!

Laughing:

ga, ga, ga! R 79.10*gıgı!* 30.2*gm!* 30.2 laughing of a skull.

Anger:

gm! R 72.20 (Kor. *gm!* Kor. 31.2)*güm!* (terminal) 61.2*taga'm, qapa'ae, güm!* 61.2 well, cease, will you!

Miscellaneous:

go! (Kor. *go!* Kor. 49.6) I do not know*yau yau!* 66.17; R 73.35 wait a while! (Kor. *ya'wo*)

c. Onomatopoeic Interjections

qa, qa, qa! R 140.10; R 277.8, yapping of fox*gm, gm!* 105.27 barking of dog

m-m! 106.15 mumbling of ke'le (hence derived a noun
mü'ümgm KELE'S MUMBLING)

kabeu', kabeu'! R 307.8 cackling of ptarmigan

aña', aña', aña'! 84.8 crying of small infant
ew, ew, ew! R 104.47 singing of thanksgiving ceremonial
čig, čig! 68.25 swishing of slabs of whalebone
piw, piw! 68.8 thumping of stone on the ground
piq, piq! 76.3 thudding of small objects on the ground
pr! 88.17 sound produced with lips
 (Koryak) *vakikiki'!* Kor. 46.1 jabbering of magpie

Shaman's calls

egegegegei'! 15.7; 68.28; (Kor. *ogogogogoi'!*); 66.35 (here merely fatigue, though borrowed also from shamanistic practice)

otototototoi'! 59.4

otatatatatatai'! 59.4

Answer to shaman's call

git, git, git, gige't! 39.9

ge'we, ge'we! R 306.1 raven's shamanistic song

go'oñ-kale', go'oñ-kale' R 314.23 (Kor. *go'oñ, go'oñ* Kor. 48.2; *ann, ann!* Kor. 47.2; Koryak, *umyu'm* Kor. 90.15;

Kor. II Pallan, raven's cawing) raven's shamanistic song
ge'we, egegegei'! R 122.2 mosquito's shamanistic song
 R 306.7

qai'a'qañ, qai'a'qañ! foxes shamanistic song (a little more! at the same time onomapoetic)

ge'wye, ge'wye ko'onm R 315.31 polar bear's shamanistic song

Calls of reindeer-herders

go, go, go, goq, goq, goq! 32.11 for driving the herd

ga, ga, ga, gaq, gaq, gaq!

eia', eia', eia'! R 307.13 for calling a broken reindeer (chiefly in offering it urine)

qrr! R. 4.38 the same; also reindeer's snorting, onomatopoeic

Interjections are often used in groups

guq, i! 9.13; *gik, i'!* 65.26 oh, yes!

ee, ta'm! (see before)

gei, gu'nä! 69.4 oh, indeed!

d. Words and phrases used as interjections

ma'nkên, ma'nkên ũm 9.5; 64.7, 14; 68.16 oh, my!

tite'net! 64.15; 68.16; 80.22 (great emphasis) used also in compounds with personal pronouns in verbalized form

tite'net-i-git it is wonderful with you

tite'net-tu'ri (plur.) it is wonderful with you

tite'net-ve'rin it is wonderful with him (stem *verin* unknown otherwise)

- i, tu'n-nikek!* oh, my! sudden surprise; (*tur* new; *nikek* verbal noun of indefinite verb *nike* (§82))
- ečhinre'wän!* 80.23 oh, goodness!
- am no't amēn!* R. 73.27 (surprise and anger; *em* mere §113.5) *not* demonstrative particle (§57) *amēn* adversative conjunction p. 853) how is it then!
- čêq-a'lvam va'lin!* 76.5 (§113.15) how very strange!
- vê'nom* wonder and blame; in compounds with subjective form of personal pronoun
- vênom gına'n* 55.11; 109.24 something like OUT WITH YOU!
- alü'mña!* 120.16,23 (*a* ah, *lümña* again) only think of it! sudden surprise (see also p. 854)
- nire'qin-üm!* I do agree! 84.19; R 62.58; R 65.112 regular nominalising form of indefinite verb *req* (§82)
- rere'q-üm* R 75.6 I do agree! (causative *re-reqüm*)
- re'qu lü'mña* the same! R 73.24 (*re'qu* designative of *req* what; *lümña* again)
- ra'qal* 80.25 what of that; (*req* what; *al* otherwise unknown)
- u'nmuñ a'ni, u'nmuñ a'ni-m e'un* 84.26; 87.7 Oh, how bad it is! (*u'nmuñ* very, *a'ni-m* even so; *e'un* and so)

KAMCHADAL

| | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>tea</i> there! | <i>qu</i> call; ha lloo! |
| <i>tle</i> there, take it! | <i>hě, hei</i> answer to call |
| <i>nux</i> here! | <i>qa</i> what do you want? |
| <i>ee</i> yes | <i>xi</i> surprise |

§ 133. Euphemism

For diseases, dangerous animals, and unfortunate events or conditions, euphemistic phrases are in use, some of which express the idea to be stated by the opposite idea.

nıgıtte'pqin (literally, clever) fool
čıkay'êtu-wa'lin (from *čıka'yofn-wa'lin* intelligent) silly
erme'urkin (literally, he acquires force) he becomes possessed by madness

also

emtine'urkin (literally, he reposes) he dies of hunger
wulvılu' (literally, black wild reindeer) brown bear
lei'wulin (literally, the one who walks about) wolf
re'qätkurkin (literally, something is happening) contagious disease is spreading
va'ırqıtkörkin (from *va'ırqın* being) disease

§ 134. New Words.

On the whole, Chukchee and Koryak have not borrowed many terms from the Russian, but have rather coined new words for new ideas. Following are a few examples of these.

| | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| Chukchee | Kor. Kamenskoye | |
| <i>érem</i> | <i>a'yim</i> | commander (literally, strong man) |
| <i>té'qenañ</i> | <i>ta'qana</i> | tribute (literally, thing for bowing down with) |
| <i>teq-érem</i> | <i>taqa'-a'yim</i> | chief officer of district (literally, tribute-strong-man) |
| <i>añañ-ra'n</i> | <i>añañ-ya'n</i> | church (literally, spirit-house) |
| <i>tin-koi'ñim</i> | <i>étti-koi'ñim</i> | glass (literally, ice-cup) |
| <i>wui'gun</i> | <i>gui'vin</i> | fortified log-house |
| <i>tin-u'kkäm</i> | <i>puti'lkan</i> | bottle (Russian бутылка; in Chukchee literally, ice-vessel) |
| <i>ä^εq-i'mil</i> | <i>a^εqa'-mi'mil</i> | brandy (literally, bad water) |
| <i>keli'kel</i> | <i>kali'ka!</i> | letter, book, writing (literally, carving) |
| <i>keli'tul</i> | <i>kal'i'tul</i> | ruble, paper ruble (literally, piece of carving) |
| <i>ta'aq-koi'ñim</i> | <i>ka'nëa</i> | tobacco-pipe (local Russian ганза, borrowed from Turkish, in Chukchee literally, tobacco-cup) |
| <i>ëmté'-qal</i> | — | (one side of) horse-pack (literally, carrying-side) |
| <i>yara'r-ë'kkam</i> | — | flat brandy-keg (literally, drum-vesse') |
| <i>aima'lqal</i> | — | long brandy-keg (literally, thigh-bone) |
| <i>ilh-u'kkäm</i> | — | plate (literally, white vessel) |

Russian loan-words are always modified to suit the phonetic character of the language. The Koryak, even those that have no *r*, retain, however, the Russian *r*.

| Chukchee | Kor. Kam. | Russian | |
|-----------------|---------------|----------------|---------|
| <i>ëa'gar</i> | <i>ëa'gar</i> | сахаръ | sugar |
| <i>ta'aq</i> | <i>ta'wax</i> | табакъ | tobacco |
| <i>ëai</i> | <i>ëai</i> | чай | tea |
| <i>ko'nekon</i> | <i>ko'n'e</i> | конь | horse |
| <i>ko'ërr</i> | <i>ko'ërr</i> | козырь (trump) | cards |

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------|------------------------|
| <i>čol</i> | <i>čol</i> | СОЛЬ | salt |
| <i>toro'ma</i> | <i>toro'wa</i> | здорово | how is your health? |
| <i>čé'čver</i> | <i>čé'čver</i> | четверть | quarter |
| <i>koro'walhin</i> | <i>koro'wa</i> | корова | cow |
| <i>ka'čak</i> | <i>ka'sak</i> | казакъ | cossack |
| <i>etto'l</i> | <i>stol</i> | столъ | table |
| <i>toré'lqan</i> | <i>tore'lka</i> | тарелка | plate |

CHUKCHEE TEXT

THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED THE MOON¹

E'nmen² qol³ yara'čhin,⁴ ñe'us'qät⁵ ūm⁶ qol³ ora'weLa-
 Once a certain house, woman certain human
 ña'us'qat⁷ uwä'qučitä⁸ E'nku⁹ ǵe'tčilin,¹⁰ e'nmen² ǵequ'pqälin,¹¹
 woman the husband to rejection used her, then she was starving,
 elvetiñe'tä¹² ǵene'lin¹³ em-qu'pqätä.¹⁴ E'nmen² ǵite'.¹⁵ Qän've'r
 crawling on she became just by starving. Then she was After that
 all-fours hungry.
 ūm⁶ yara'čhin⁴ lu'e'nin.¹⁶ res'qi'wkwi'e,¹⁷ čiče'pgi'e,¹⁸ e'ur¹⁹ teik-
 a certain house she saw it, she entered she looked at the made
 about same time
 evi'rin²⁰ ǵaimēi'vülēn,²¹ e'ur¹⁹ ūpa'lha²² keme'ñi²³ ǵeyr'relin,²⁴
 garments were hanging, at the with tallow a dish was full,
 same time
 nıqam'tvaqēn²⁵ ūm⁶ e'nmen,² li'en nıplı'tkuqin,²⁶ nıqınteu'qin²⁷
 she eats and then, just she finished, she fled
 nota'gti.²⁸
 to the country.

¹ From W. Bogoras, *Chukchee Texts; Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition Vol. VIII*, pp. 86-89.

² ONCE UPON A TIME, also connective AND THEN, THEN; always in narrative (p. 858).

³ Absolute form; with non-personal nouns the synthetic *quč* is also used (§ 60, p. 732).

⁴ Stem *ra* HOUSE; *yara* probably reduplication from *rara*; -*čhin* A PARTICULAR ONE (§ 53, p. 716), absolute form; here in predicative sense THERE WAS A PARTICULAR HOUSE.

⁵ Stem *ñeu* FEMALE; -*qät* a suffix, probably related to others in -*s-q*, but not free. Absolute form as before.

⁶ Particle, indicating that the whole story is well known to the narrator, and is supposed to be known to the hearer (§ 128, p. 849).

⁷ *ora'wer+la'n* WHAT BELONGS TO THE HUMAN RACE (§ 54, p. 717); *r+l* in contact form *l*, (§ 7, 17; p. 654) the strong vowels of the word produce ablaut in the second part of the compound (§ 3, p. 646) The first part of the compound has dropped the suffix -*n* of the absolute form (§ 115, p. 826).

⁸ Subjective form in -*ta* (§§ 37, p. 697); here as subject of transitive verb (§ 92, p. 780).

⁹ *E'nku*; verbal stem *enk* TO REJECT, TO REFUSE; -*u* suffix (§103.34) expressing purpose, depending upon the following verb.

¹⁰ *ričēi'rkın* or *ričēi'rkın* to make some one something (§ 79, p. 765); stem *rič*—initial; *tč* medial; *ǵe—lin* nominalized verb (*b*) (§ 73, p. 758).

¹¹ Stem *qupq(äl)* TO STARVE; *ǵe—lin* SHE WHO HAD ATTAINED A STARVING CONDITION (§ 73); *l<l+1* (§ 7).

¹² Stem *elvetiñ*, -*et* adverbial suffix (§ 110.70, p. 810); *ä* Nominal Form I, 3 (§§ 64; 95, p. 786).

¹³ Stem *nel* (§ 77); *ǵe—lin* (see note 10); *l<l+1* (§ 7).

¹⁴ *em—* MERE (§ 113, 7, p. 816); *qupqät* TO STARVE (see note 11); -*ä* Nominal Form I, 3 (§§ 64, 95).

¹⁵ *ǵıtteu* TO BE HUNGRY.

¹⁶ Stem *lu* TO SEE; -*nin* HE—HIM (§ 67, p. 741).

¹⁷ Stem *res'qiu* TO ENTER; -*ǵi* HE (§ 64, p. 733); *kw<u+y* (§§ 7.2; 72.4).

¹⁸ Stem *čičep* related to *lilep* TO LOOK (§§ 2; 122, p. 834), also *čiče* TO LOOK; -*ǵi* HE (§ 64).

¹⁹ § 128, p. 855.

²⁰ Stem *teik* TO MAKE; *evi'rin* GARMENT, absolute form (§ 30, p. 691), here subject of intransitive verb (§ 91, p. 779); composition see § 116, 4, p. 830.

²¹ Stem *yım* TO HANG; suffix -*yv(u)* frequentative or intensive (§110.54); *ǵǵ—lén* (§ 74, p. 760); with ablaut (§ 3).

²² *ǫpg'lırn* TALLOW; subjective form in -*ǵ* expressing modality (§§ 37, 92); with ablaut (§ 3).

²³ *keme'ñi* DISH, absolute form in -*ñi* (§ 30); absolute form as subject of intr. verb (§ 91).

²⁴ Stem *yır* FULL; with suffix -*et* (§ 110, 70); *ǵe—lin* (see note 10); *l<l+1*.

²⁵ Stem *qım*, compounded with *tvg* to be; *n—qin* ONE WHO IS PERFORMING AN ACTION (§ 73, p. 758); with ablaut (§ 3).

²⁶ Stem *pl* and suffix -*tku* (§ 110, 67), compare *plǵi* it is ended; *n—qin* see note 25.

²⁷ Stem *qınt*; with suffix -*eu* (§ 110, 70); *n—qin* see note 25.

²⁸ Stem *nıtg*; -*ptǵ* after vowel, allative (§ 40); ablaut (§ 3).

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Qla'ul ²⁹ | püki'rgi ³⁰ | čevutku'lm. ³¹ | Yi'lhin ³² | üm ⁶ | qu'num, | rä ³³ 'nut. ³³ |
| A man | came | walking. | The moon | really, | what. | |
| “Guq, | čêq-a'lvam-va'lin, ³⁴ | rä ³³ 'nut ³³ | lei'vurkin ³⁵ | qamitvala'arkin, ³⁶ | | |
| “Oh, | quite extraordinary being, | what | is walking | is eating much, | | |
| u'kkâm-yi'riir ³⁷ | te'lpirkin. ³⁸ ” | Ne'me | irga'tik ³⁹ | ewkwe'tyi ⁴⁰ . | | |
| vessel-full | is finished.” | Again | in the morning | he started. | | |
| Elve'lin ⁴¹ | li'en | ple'kit ⁴² | nênai'püqênat, ⁴³ | na'qam | eu'rrekêlin ⁴⁴ | |
| Other ones | just | boots | he put on, | however | not appeared | |
| ñe'wän. ⁴⁵ | Ne'me | qäti', ⁴⁶ | e'ur ¹⁹ | Enqa'n ⁴⁷ | ñe'us'qät ⁵ | püki'rgi ³⁰ |
| a wife. | Again | he went, | at the same time | then | the woman | came, |
| üpa'lhin ²² | ne'me | lu ¹⁸ 'nin. ¹⁸ | Qamitvala'tyê ⁴⁸ , | qän've'r | gim'kew'kwi ⁴⁹ . | |
| the tallow | again | she saw it. | She ate much, | after that | she grew fatter. | |
| Qla'ul ²⁹ | üm ⁶ | ne'me | ragtîê ⁵⁰ | “Guq, | u'nmu'u a'ni. ⁵¹ | Čêq-a'lvam- |
| The man | again | came home. | “Oh, | how bad! | Quite extraordinary | |
| va'lin. ³⁴ | Rä ³³ 'nut ³³ | llo'n ⁵² | qamitvala'arkin ³⁶ | Kita'm | e'ur ¹⁹ | irga'tik ³⁹ |
| being. | What | then | is eating much? | Well then | this time | in the morning |
| ečei'vutkukä ⁵³ | mi'tyäk' ⁵⁴ ” | Ne'me | am-gimotilo ⁵⁵ | ne'lyi ⁵⁶ . | Lu'ur ⁵⁷ | |
| not going | let me be!” | Again | merê mid-day | it became. | Thereupon | |
| ne'me | ño'tri ⁵⁸ | ye'tyi ⁵⁹ , | res'qi'wkwi ⁵¹⁷ | üm ⁶ | ne'me, | takêčhê'tri ⁶⁰ |
| again | behind there | she came, | she entered | again, | to the meat | she went. |

²⁹ Probably reduplicated absolute form from a stem *qla* (*qla'l*) (§ 29); *q* before consonant becomes *č* (§ 7); absolute form as subject of intransitive verb (§ 91).

³⁰ Stem *pükir* in initial position; *pkir* in medial position (§ 12, p. 662).

³¹ Stem *čevu*, related to *leivu* (§§ 2, 122); *-tku* (§ 110, 67); *-lin* ONE WHO (§ 54). See note 35.

³² Absolute form; predicative.

³³ See § 59 p. 729; absolute form.

³⁴ *čiq*- EXCESSIVELY (§ 113, 15); *čivg* DIFFERENT; *lvam-va'lin* EXTRAORDINARY (§ 112, 82, p. 814) stem *tva*-TO BE, initial *va*- (§ 12.2, p. 661); *-lin* (§ 54).

³⁵ Stem *leivu*, related to *čevu* (note 31); *-rkin* derived form (§§ 64, 87).

³⁶ See note 25; derived form (§§ 64, 87); *-let* FREQUENTATIVE, (§ 110.53 with *t* dropping out in intervocalic position (§ 10).

³⁷ *u'kkâm* DISH, stem *yir* FULL, here reduplicated absolute form (§ 29).

³⁸ Stem *teip*; derived form (see note 35).

³⁹ Stem *irg* dawn; a locative form (§ 38). Compare *irgïro'ññoi* IT BEGAN TO DAWN 9.13; *irgïro'k* at dawn 10.3.

⁴⁰ Stem *ewkw* with suffix *-et* (§ 110, 70); *ty < t + g* (§ 7. 26, p. 654).

⁴¹ *elve* DIFFERENT, OTHER; *-lin* absolute form (§ 60.3); singular and instead of plural (§ 46, p. 709). The strong form *alva* signifies AWAY!

⁴² Plural.

⁴³ Stem *ipü*; prefix *ine-* making transitive verb intransitive, here passive (§ 113, 28); *n-gin*, ONE WHO IS PERFORMING AN ACTION (§ 73), plural because referring to *ple'kit*: THOSE THAT ARE BEING PUT ON (§ 74); with ablaut (§ 3).

⁴⁴ Stem *urr(cu)* often medially *wurr*; *e-kêlin* negation (§ 114, 4; p. 824).

⁴⁵ Derived from *ñeu* FEMALE.

⁴⁶ Stem medially *qät*; 3^d person past, more frequently *qä'tyî*; *ty < t + g* (§ 7. 26, p. 654).

⁴⁷ Demonstrative (§ 57).

⁴⁸ See note 36, *ty < t + g* (§ 7. 26, p. 654).

⁴⁹ Stem *gin'k + eu* (§ 110, 70); *wkw < u + g* (§ 7.2).

⁵⁰ From *ra* house, probably the allative form *ragtî* which serves here as verbal stem: *tiê < t-gî* with ablaut (§§ 3, 7).

⁵¹ Particles (§ 128, p. 853).

⁵² § 128, p. 852.

⁵³ Stem *čevu*, see notes 31 and 35; *-tku* (§ 110, 67); *e-kü* negation (§ 114, 4), see also note 44.

⁵⁴ Stem *ü* to be, 1st person subj. (a); *ty < t + g* (§ 7. 26).

⁵⁵ *em*- MERE (§ 113, 7); *gino'n* middle; *llo'*, *a'to'* DAY.

⁵⁶ Stem *nel*- TO BECOME; *ty < l + g* (§ 7): see Note 13.

⁵⁷ § 126, p. 868.

⁵⁸ Demonstrative particle (§ 57).

⁵⁹ Stem *yet*- TO COME.

⁶⁰ *teki'čhin* MEAT; allative form in *-éti* (§§ 53, 40).

Ne'me echi čit⁶¹ qami'tvarkm,⁶² lu'ur⁵⁷ pi'riniu.⁶³

Again before as be- she ate, thereupon he took her.
fore

'Akakaka!' ilu'kā⁶⁴ a'lva!"⁴¹ niqama'graqên.⁶⁵ "Çu, e'uñan⁶⁶
"Ah, ah, ah! motionless away!" she struggled. "Oh, so

gīna'n."⁶⁷—"Çu'nā, a'lva,⁴¹ qine'rrihi!⁶⁸—"Çu'nā, ilu'kā.⁶⁴ Qarê'm⁶⁹
thou." — "Oh, away! let me go!" — "Oh motionless. Not

minre'qewkur,⁷⁰ mimñilo'ur.⁷¹ Çık, ia'm nilei'vutku-ï-gr⁷²
I shall do anything to thee, I will question thee. Oh, why art thou walking about?

Qai've gêt'nvê-gr⁷³—"Ui'nā."⁷⁴—"E'mim?"—"Uwā⁷⁵quçitā⁸ E'nku⁹
Indeed thou hast a master?" — "No." — "Where is he?" — "My husband to rejection

gine'tçilin,⁷⁵ gēnançaatvau'lên,⁷⁶ ginenqu'pçeuilin."⁷⁷—"en'qa'm"⁷⁸
used me, he cast me off, he let me starve." — "Then

va'nêvan⁷⁹ wu'tku⁸⁰ yara'çiku⁸¹ re'qän⁸² qinelu'rkim."⁸³—"Va'nê-
not at all here inside of the something thou hast seen." — "Nothing."

van."⁷⁹ "Çuq, a'mên⁸⁴ ùm, mimata'gıt."⁸⁵

"Oh, then let me marry thee."

Ma'tanên.⁸⁶ Ne'me çei'vutku!⁸⁷ Wulqätvi'k⁸⁸ ùm⁸ pükirri.⁸⁹

He married her. Again he walked. In the evening he came.

⁶¹ Before, formerly (§ 127, p. 848).

⁶² See notes 25, 36, 48; here *qamitva*, derived tense in *-rkm* (§§ 64, 87).

⁶³ Stem *piri* to take; *-nin* he—him (§ 67).

⁶⁴ *ilu* TO MOVE; *e-ka* negation (§ 114, 4). The initial *e* is contracted with the *i* of the stem.

⁶⁵ Stem *qama'gra*; *n-qên* (§ 73); with ablaut (§ 3).

⁶⁶ § 126, p. 855.

⁶⁷ Subjective form (§ 56); presumably as subject of an idea like YOU HAVE EATEN IT.

⁶⁸ Stem initial *rriiri*, medial *rrii*; *ine-* (§§ 67; 113. 28); *q-gi²* imperative 2d person sing.

⁶⁹ Negation with exhortative meaning (§ 131.2).

⁷⁰ Medial form of the causative prefix *-n-*; stem *raq* WHAT, SOMETHING; *-eu* (§ 110.70); predicative form of the indefinite pronoun; *m-git* LET ME—THEE, subjunctive (§ 67); *wku<u+g*; in place of *git* we have here and in the next word the alternating form *gir*.

⁷¹ Stem **pñilo*; initial form *pinlo-*; medial form *-mñilo-*; *m-git* LET ME—THEE, see note 70.

⁷² Stem *leivu*, see notes 31, 35, 53; *-tku* (§§ 110, 67); predicative form of nominalized verb (§ 73).

⁷³ Stem *çimv* MASTER (§§ 48, 73).

⁷⁴ NO (§ 131.6).

⁷⁵ See note 10; here with the prefix *-ine-* referring to the first person (§ 73).

⁷⁶ See note 75, the same form; stem *-çgçiv-*; *r-çu* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1).

⁷⁷ See note 75, the same form; stem *qupq* TO STARVE (see note 11); *r-çu* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1).

⁷⁸ Conjunction (§ 128, p. 858).

⁷⁹ § 131. 1.

⁸⁰ Demonstrative (§ 57); as particle *vai*; stem *wut-*; locative in *-k*.

⁸¹ See note 4; *-çtku* inside of, nominal (§ 101, 24).

⁸² *rçq* SOMETHING; here absolute form (irregular) used as object with the verbs *iu* TO SAY, *lu²* TO SEE

⁸³ Stem *lu²* TO SEE; derived tense in *-rkm* (§ 64); *ine-* (§ 113. 28); *q-* imperative (§ 64); here used as a past (§ 85).

⁸⁴ Conjunction (§ 128, p. 853).

⁸⁵ Stem *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY; subjunctive (*a*), *m-git* LET ME—THEE (§ 67).

⁸⁶ Stem *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY; *-nin* HE—HER (§ 67).

⁸⁷ Stem *çevu+tku*, see notes 31, 35, 53. The *g* of the ending *-gi²* has dropped out on account of its intervocalic position.

⁸⁸ Stem *wulq* EVENING, compare *wu'sq* DARKNESS; a locative form (§ 38); *-tvi* to become (§ 110, 68)

⁸⁹ Initial stem *pükir*, medial *pkir*; abbreviated termination for *-gi²*.

| | | | | | |
|--|--|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|--|
| I'wkwī ⁹⁰ | en·nō't ⁹¹ | nāwanê'ti, ⁹² | “En·ñē ⁹³ | a'ntoka ⁹⁴ | ralkoçikoi'pū. ⁹⁵ |
| He said | thus | to his wife, | “Don't | not going out | from the inside of the inner room. |
| Minre's'qumik, ⁹⁶ | li'en· | çot-tagnê'tr ⁹⁷ | ple'krt ⁴² | qāni'ntrñinet. ⁹⁸ | |
| Let us enter, | just | pillow edge to | boots | throw them.” | |
| E'nmen ² | ri'ntminet. ⁹⁹ | E'nmen ² | lu'ur ⁵⁷ | vai ¹⁰⁰ | keme'ñr ²³ , em-keme'ñi ⁵⁵ |
| Then | she threw them. | Then | there- upon | here | a dish, a mere dish |
| res'qi'wkwī ^ε , ¹⁷ | e'un ¹⁰¹ | ere'tā ¹⁰² | geyr'relin. ¹⁰³ | Qami'tvaa ^{εt} , ¹⁰⁴ | ne'me |
| came in, | then | with boiled meat | being full. | They ate, | again |
| li'en· | ne'nvuā ^{εn} ¹⁰⁵ | keme'ñr, ²³ | irga'trk ³⁹ | üm ⁶ | kiye'wkwā ^{εt} . ¹⁰⁶ E'un ¹⁰¹ |
| just | they put out | the dish, | in the morn- ing | they awoke. | At that time |
| keme'ñr ²³ | gite'nin ¹⁰⁷ | ñe'us'qātā, ¹⁰⁸ | genu'mkeulin ¹⁰⁹ . | | |
| the dish | she saw it | the woman, | it was put in its proper place. | | |
| Ne'me | çei'vutkui ^ε . ⁸⁷ | Ge'lvinin, ¹¹⁰ | —“Gik,irga'trk ³⁹ | üm ⁶ | minine'tçimik ¹¹¹ |
| Again | he went. | He obtained a wild reindeer,— | Oh, to-morrow | let us have a thanks- giving ceremonial. | |
| Tai'ñikwut ¹¹² | en·ñē ⁹³ | gñan ⁶⁷ | enne'kā ¹¹³ | qāntr'ginet. ^{99,114} | E'un ¹⁰¹ |
| The charm-strings | don't | thou | not carry out | have them for ones being thus.” | And so |
| nayopa'tya ^{εn} ¹¹⁵ | êna'tçyio ¹¹⁶ | ilvilu', ¹¹⁷ | e'un ¹⁰¹ | tai'ñikwut ¹¹² | gene'çinet. ¹¹⁸ |
| they went to it | made to be the thanksgiving ceremonial | wild rein- deer, | and so | the charm- strings | were on it. |
| Çuq, | yilqā'tyā ^{εt} . ¹¹⁹ | Irge'trk ³⁹ | üm ⁶ | kiye'wkwā ^{εt} , ¹⁰⁶ | ne'me |
| Oh, | they slept. | Next morning | | they awoke, | again |

⁹⁰ Stem *iu*; suffix *-gē*; *wkw* < *u+g* (§ 7).

⁹¹ See § 58, p. 727.

⁹² Stem *ñewān* wife; *-tçi* ALLATIVE (§ 40).

⁹³ § 131.3.

⁹⁴ Initial stem *ñito*, medial *nto* TO GO OUT; *ç-kā* not (§ 114.4).

⁹⁵ Stem *relku*; *-çiku* interior (§ 101.24); *-tpū* ablative (§ 42).

⁹⁶ Stem *res'qū* TO ENTER; subjunctive (*a*), *min-mik* LET US (§ 64); see Note 17.

⁹⁷ ÇOT PILLOW; *te'gin* edge; *-tçi* ALLATIVE (§ 40); PILLOW-EDGE I. E. THE OUTER TENT.

⁹⁸ Stem *int*; *r-* TO CAUSE TO (§ 114.1 c); *qā-ñinet* THOU—THEM, imperative (§ 67).

⁹⁹ Stem and prefix as in note 98; *-ninet* HE—THEM (§ 67).

¹⁰⁰ Demonstrative particle; stem *wut-* (§ 57, p. 723). See note 80.

¹⁰¹ § 128, p. 855.

¹⁰² *e'ret* boiled meat; *-ā* instrumental (§ 37).

¹⁰³ Stem *yir* FULL. See note 24.

¹⁰⁴ See notes 25, 36, 48, 62; here 3d per. plur. ending *-gā^{εt}*, with intervocalic *g* dropping out; ablaut (§ 3).

¹⁰⁵ Stem *nvu*.

¹⁰⁶ Initial stem *kry+eu*, medial *gg+eu*, suffix *-eu*; *wkw* < *u+g* (§ 7).

¹⁰⁷ Stem *gite* TO SEE, *-nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).

¹⁰⁸ See note 5, *-ā* SUBJECTIVE AS SUBJECT OF TRANSITIVE VERB.

¹⁰⁹ Transitive prefix *r-*, in medial position *-n-* (§ 114.1); Stem *umk+eu* (§ 110.70); *ge-lin* (§ 73).

¹¹⁰ Stem *ilv* WILD REINDEER, *-u* TO CONSUME (§ 111.71); *ge-lin* (§ 73).

¹¹¹ Stem *inetç* TO HAVE A THANKSGIVING CEREMONIAL (perhaps *ine+tç* but never used without *ine*; cf. Kor. Kam. *ina-çaxç-at*); subjunctive (*a*), *min-mik* LET US (§ 64).

¹¹² *tai'ñikulhan* pl. *tai'ñikut* MISFORTUNE-PROTECTOR; Stem *taiña* TO TRESPASS; *-kwk* protector (§ 105.43).

¹¹³ *ε-kā* negation (§ 114.4). If it were affirmative this would be a verbal noun in *-(t)ā* dependent upon following verb (§ 80, p. 766); stem, initial *rne*, medial *nne*.

¹¹⁴ Initial stem *rt*, medial *nt*; *qā-ginet* THOU—THEM, imperative (§ 67).

¹¹⁵ Stem *yopqt* to visit; *ne-gūⁿ* THEY—HIM (§ 67).

¹¹⁶ Stem *inetç*, see note 111; *-yo* past participle (§ 107, 47); ablaut (§ 3).

¹¹⁷ Stem *ilv*, absolute reduplicated form (§ 29).

¹¹⁸ Stem *nel*; *ge-linct*, 3d person plural (§ 73).

¹¹⁹ Stem *yilqāt* TO SLEEP; *ty* < *t+g* (§ 7).

| | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| čei'vutkurkin. ⁸⁷ | “Re ^ε qūm ⁸² | a'mên ⁸⁴ | i'unin, ¹²⁰ | ‘Nō'onqan ¹²¹ | če'ñil ¹²² | |
| he was going. | “What | then | he said to her, | “That | trunk | |
| en'ñe' ⁹³ | enve'ntetkâ ¹²³ | qāntr'rkin. ¹²⁴ | En'ñe' ⁹³ | pegõr'ñu ¹²⁵ | e'lhikâ. ¹²⁶ | |
| don't | not opened | have it for one that is thus. | Don't | for object of concern | not having it as one. | |
| A'Imr ¹²⁷ | quwalo'mürkin ¹²⁸ | üm ⁶ | vê'ti. ¹²⁹ ” | | | |
| However | obey | | truly. | | | |
| Ĝik, | e'nmen ² | čei'vutkui ^ε , ⁸⁷ | če'ñil ¹²² | ruwentečewiu'nin. ¹³⁰ | E'un ¹⁰¹ | |
| Oh, | then | he went, | the trunk | she opened it. | And so | |
| E'n'ki ¹³¹ | ñe'usqät ⁵ | nēnanva'tqēn, ¹³² | en'men ² | lu ^ε 'lqäl ¹³³ | čīna'ta ¹³⁴ | va'Im, ³⁴ |
| there | a woman | was placed | then | destined to be a face | split | being |
| qača'kēn ¹³⁵ | le ^ε 'qač ¹³⁶ | nu'uqin, ¹³⁷ | qol ¹³⁸ | üm ⁶ | ničē'Loqēn ¹³⁹ | le ^ε 'qač. ¹³⁶ |
| one side | side of face | black, | the other | | red | side of face. |
| E'nmen ² | ñe'us'qät ⁵ | yiki'rga ¹⁴⁰ | puke'nnin: ¹⁴¹ | “Pr.!” | | |
| Then | the woman | with mouth | made a noise at her: | “Pr!” | | |
| E'nmen ² | gite'nin, ¹⁰⁷ | e'ur ¹⁹ | ñan ¹⁴² | vai ¹⁰⁰ | vi ^ε 'i ^ε , ¹⁴³ | pêkagta'tyê ^ε . ¹⁴⁴ |
| Then | she saw her, | at that time | that one | here | died, | she fell down. |
| E'nmen ² | rnēnnoma'nnēn, ¹⁴⁵ | mñkri ¹⁴⁶ | nayilhau'qēn, ¹⁴⁷ | qailo'qim. ¹⁴ | | |
| Then | she closed it, | how | she was afraid | of course. | | |
| Pūki'rgi ^ε -m ¹⁴⁹ | uwā ^ε 'quč. ¹⁵⁰ | Res'qi'wkwā ^ε t. ¹⁵¹ | Va'nēvan ⁷⁹ | nrtvmēn, ¹⁵² | | |
| He came | the husband. | They entered. | Nothing | she told him, | | |

¹²⁰ Stem *iu* TO SAY; -*nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).¹²¹ THAT YONDER, independent form (§ 57, p. 723).¹²² Absolute form (§ 28).¹²³ Stem *vent* TO BE OPEN; *r-et* CAUSEATIVE (§ 114, 1); *e-kā* negation (§ 114, 4).¹²⁴ Stem *rt*, see note 114; derived form (§ 67).¹²⁵ *pegõrñ* CONCERN; -*nu* SERVING FOR (§ 103. 34).¹²⁶ Stem -*lñ* (§ 78); *e-kā* negation (§ 114, 4).¹²⁷ Disjunctive conjunction (§ 128, p. 854).¹²⁸ Stem *walom* TO HEAR; imperative of derived form (§ 64).¹²⁹ Particle (§ 128, p. 863).¹³⁰ Stem *vent* TO BE OPEN; *r-et* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1); -*čewiu* contracted from -*čet-yw(u)*, (§100.54,56); she opened with great care and after several attempts; -*nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).¹³¹ Locative.¹³² *n-ñnq-n-vg-t-qñn* (§ 74; also § 114.1).¹³³ § 103.37.¹³⁴ Stem *čīñ*; suffix -*at*; verbal noun in -(*t*)*ā* dependent on the following participle *va'Im*.¹³⁵ *qāčq'kñn* belonging to one side (§ 47).¹³⁶ *ly^ε* FACE; -*qač* SIDE OF (§ 101, 26).¹³⁷ See § 49.¹³⁸ See § 60, p. 732.¹³⁹ *n-qin* (§ 49).¹⁴⁰ *yiki'rgin* MOUTH; -*a* subjective (§ 37).¹⁴¹ -*nin* HE—HIM (§ 67).¹⁴² Demonstrative (§ 57).¹⁴³ Stem *vi^ε* TO DIE, *vi^ε'i^ε* < *vi^ε'gi^ε* with loss of intervocalic *g* (§ 10).¹⁴⁴ Stem *pêkagt*; suffix -*at*¹⁴⁵ Stem *om(r)*; *r-at* (§114.1); *n-ēn-n* prefixes, *n-n* transitive, *ēn-* intransitive (?).¹⁴⁶ Stem *mik* (§ 58, p. 727)¹⁴⁷ *ayilhau*; *n-qin* (§ 73).¹⁴⁸ Particle (§ 128, p. 871).¹⁴⁹ Contraction of *üm*.¹⁵⁰ Absolute form (§ 28).¹⁵¹ Ending *wkwā^εt* < *u-gū^εt*.¹⁵² Initial stem *tuv*, medial *tvu*; *ni-nēn* (§67, Ia 6).

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--|---|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| e'nmeč ¹⁵³ | üm ⁶ | nayil'hai'nên. ¹⁵⁴ | Ple'kit ⁴² | ri'ntminet ⁹⁹ | čot-taḡñê'ti, ⁹⁷ |
| because | | she feared him. | The boots | she threw them out | pillow-edge to, |
| e'nmen ² | a'tčak- ¹⁵⁵ | luwa'wkwa ^ε t ¹⁵⁶ | kama'gti. ¹⁵⁷ | | |
| then | to wait | they were unable | for the dish. | | |
| Guq, | uwä ^ε 'quč ¹⁵⁰ | ure'wkwie ^ε , ¹⁵⁸ | “Guq, | qa'ko. | Tite'ñet-ve'rin. ¹⁵⁹ |
| Oh, | the husband | appeared, | “Oh | | It is wonderful |
| Enra'q ¹⁶⁰ | e'mi? ¹⁶¹ | Qai've e'le ¹⁶² | čë'nîl ¹²² | i'nenvente'tkäl-i-git? ¹⁶³ | — |
| Now | where is it? | Indeed | not | the trunk | not you opened it?” |
| “E'le.” ¹⁶² | — | “Na'qam | üm | e'mi? | Gu'nä quwalo'mürkin, ¹⁶⁴ |
| “No.” | — | “However | where is it? | Do | listen, |
| qatvu'gun! ¹⁶⁵ | | Qän've'r | tu'wnên, ¹⁶⁶ | “Emite'tim ¹⁶⁷ | tigite'ä'n. ¹⁶⁴ |
| tell!” | | After that she told him, | | “Namely | “I saw her. |
| Inegite'kälî, ¹⁶⁹ | | e'le. ¹⁶² | Yiki'rga ¹⁴⁰ | tipuke'tyäk, ¹⁷⁰ | lu'ur ⁵⁷ |
| She did not see me, | | no. | With the mouth | I made a noise, | thereupon |
| kaplêta'tyê. ^{ε7171} | | | | | |
| | | she fell down.” | | | |
| Guq, | č'êq-a'lvam-va'l-ê-git. ¹⁷² | Ia'm | aḡêro'lkäl-ê-git? ¹⁷³ | Atta'um ¹⁷⁴ | |
| Oh, | quite extraordinary you are. | Why | dost thou not obey? | With reason | |
| e'un ¹⁰¹ | uwä ^ε 'qučitâ ⁸ | E'nku ⁹ | ge'têrgit. ¹⁷⁵ | Ya'rar ¹⁷⁶ | rai qine'ilhi. ¹⁷⁷ |
| and so | the husband | from there | deserted thee. | Drum | behind there give me.” |
| E'nmen ² | rîrîrgirgeu'nin. ¹⁷⁸ | E'nmen ² | ei'ui ^ε . ¹⁷⁹ | En'qa'm ⁷⁸ | lu'ur ⁵⁷ |
| Then | he drummed on it. | Then | she revived. | Then | there- upon |
| ḡaḡtan'ñinai'pülên, ¹⁸⁰ | keme'ñî ²³ | ḡereli's'qiçelin. ¹⁸¹ | | | |
| she was quite angry, | the dish | she pushed in strongly. | | | |

¹⁵³ See § 123, p. 859.

¹⁵⁴ See note 147, transitive form; *n-nên* (67, Ia 6).

¹⁵⁵ *a'tča* TO WAIT (§ 95, p. 786).

¹⁵⁶ Initial stem *luw+au*, medial *lv+au* TO BE UNABLE ; 3 p. pl.

¹⁵⁷ From *keme'ñî* dish; -*gtî* ALLATIVE; with ablaut (§ 3).

¹⁵⁸ Initial stem *ur+eu*.

¹⁵⁹ It is a wonder! (Interjection).

¹⁶⁰ From demonstrative stem *En*.

¹⁶¹ Interrogative adverb.

¹⁶² Negation (§ 131.5).

¹⁶³ Stem *vent*, see notes 123, 130; *r-et* CAUSATIVE (§ 114, 1); *i-kälî* NEGATION (§ 114, 4); 2d person verbalized noun (§ 73).

¹⁶⁴ Stem *walom* TO HEAR, LISTEN, OBEY, see note 123; derived tense, imperative.

¹⁶⁵ Stem *tuw*, see note 152; imperative.

¹⁶⁶ Stem *tuw*; -*nin* HE—HIM; with ablaut (§ 3).

¹⁶⁷ *em-tie't-um* (§ 128, p. 857).

¹⁶⁸ Stem *gite* TO SEE; *ti-gä'n* I—HIM.

¹⁶⁹ Stem *gite* TO SEE; *ine-* (§ 67); *i-kälî* negation (§ 114, 4).

¹⁷⁰ Stem *puket*; *ti-gä'k* I—, intransitive (§ 64).

¹⁷¹ 3d person sing.

¹⁷² See note 34; 2d person, nominatized verb (§ 73).

¹⁷³ Stem *gérql* TO OBEY; *e-kälî* negation (§ 114, 4); 2d person sing.

¹⁷⁴ *atau'-üm* BUT WITH SOME REASON (§ 123, p. 854).

¹⁷⁵ 2d person nominatized verb (§ 73).

¹⁷⁶ Absolute form, perhaps for *rar-rar* (§ 29).

¹⁷⁷ Stem *ylî*; *q-ine-gi'* THOU—ME, imperative; transitive form.

¹⁷⁸ *r-eu* TO CAUSE; -*nin* HE—HIM.

¹⁷⁹ Stem *ei'u*, with vocalic *u*; therefore with loss of intervocalic *g* of the suffix -*gi'*.

¹⁸⁰ -*gtî* very (§ 113, 22); stem *an'ñî* ANGER; *ipü* TO PUT ON; *ge-lîn* (§ 73).

¹⁸¹ Stem *relî*; -*s'qiçet* INTENSITY (§ 110, 59); *ge-lîn* (§ 73).

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|--|------------------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| Irga'tik ¹⁸⁹ | üm ⁸ | kiye'wkwä ^{8t} , ¹⁰⁸ | rile'rkimin. ¹⁸² | I'unin, ¹²⁰ | "Atta'um ¹⁷⁴ |
| In the morning | | they awoke, | he carried her (back). | He said to her, | "With reason |
| uwä' ⁸ quçitā ⁸ | E'nku ⁹ | ge'tçigit. ¹⁷⁵ | Opo'pø ¹⁸³ | ğarai'-ğit, ¹⁸⁴ | minle'ğit. ¹⁸⁵ |
| the husband | from there | he deserted thee. | Let! | thou hast a house, | let me carry thee (back)." |
| ELI'ğêtr ¹⁸⁶ | rile'nmin, ¹⁸⁷ | ripkire'nmin, ¹⁸⁸ | mata'lin ¹⁸⁹ | i'unin, ¹²⁰ | "Çuq, |
| To the father | he carried her (back), | he took her, | to the father-in-law | he said to him, | "Oh, |
| a'mên ⁸⁴ | üm | ğümna'n ¹⁹⁰ | i ⁸ 'tık ¹⁹¹ | ğınrı'tık ¹⁹² | tılva'wkwa ⁸ⁿ . ¹⁹³ |
| then | I | indeed | watching | I could not do her." | |

¹⁸²Stem *rile; initial rîle, medial nle; derived form; -nin HE—HIM (§ 67).

¹⁸³An exhortative particle (§ 128, p. 862).

¹⁸⁴Stem ra HOUSE; ğara'lin HE WHO HAS A HOUSE; 2d person sing. (§ 73).

¹⁸⁵Stem *rile, see note 182; min-ğit LET ME—THEE.

¹⁸⁶ELI'ğin FATHER; allative (§ 40).

¹⁸⁷Stem *rile, see note 182; -nin HE—HIM.

¹⁸⁸Stem pkir to come; ri-cu causative (§114, 1); -nin HE—HIM.

¹⁸⁹From mata TO TAKE, TO MARRY; absolute form.

¹⁹⁰Subjective form (§ 56).

¹⁹¹Adverbial.

¹⁹²ğınrı'tık TO WATCH verbal noun in -k depending on the verb lwau.

¹⁹³Initial stem luv+au, medial lv+au cannot; ti-ğa⁸ⁿ I—HIM.

KORYAK TEXT

LITTLE-BIRD-MAN AND RAVEN-MAN^a

Valvımtıla¹ ninti¹ E'čči² Pıči'qala³n³ ñawınoñvo'yke⁴ Quyqınn'a
 Raven-Man the two they Little-Bird-Man wanted for a wife at Great-
 qu'yık.⁵ Quyqınn'a'qu Pıče'qala⁶nañ⁶ ğaimanñıvo'ykın,⁷ e'wañ,⁸
 Raven's. Great-Raven to Little-Bird-Man had desired, he said,
 Ğımna'n⁹ ñawa'kak¹⁰ Pıče'qala⁶nañ⁶ tıyai'lıñın.¹¹ Miti' e'wañ,⁸
 "I daughter to Little-Bird-Man I shall give her." Miti said,
 "Ğımna'n⁹ ñawa'kak¹⁰ Valvı'mtıla¹nañ⁶ tıyai'lıñın.¹¹ Va¹²'yuk Val-
 "I daughter to Raven-Man I shall give her." Afterwards Raven-
 vı'mtıla¹n³ vı'n'va ñıtoi'kın,¹² a'la'ta¹³ aweñvo'ykın,¹⁴ atta¹⁵wawa¹⁵
 Man secretly went out, with excre- he ate, with dog carrion
 ment
 aweñvo'ykın.¹⁴ Kıyaw'laıke,¹⁶ E'nkrı¹⁷ vañvolai'ke¹⁸ qapa'au¹⁹ qu'tti²⁰
 he ate. They awoke, there are lying wolverine some
 (skins)
 i'u'wi.²¹ Newñıvo'ykınenat,²² "Mi'kinak²³ ğa'nmılenu?²⁴ Valvı'm-
 wolf (skins). They began to say to both, "Who killed them?" Raven-
 tıla¹n,³ "Ğımna'n."⁹
 Man, "I."

^a From W. Bogoras, Koryak Texts; Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. V, pp. 12—19.

¹ -ıaⁿ HAVING THE QUALITY OF (§ 48); -inti dual of personal nouns (§ 35).

² Personal pronoun, 3d person dual, absolute form.

³ -ıaⁿ as in note 1;

⁴ ñaw WOMAN; I auxiliary vowel; -nyu TO WORK AS A HERDSMAN; -ñvo TO BEGIN (§ 110, 63); -yke derived form, 3d person dual (§ 65). See Publications Jesup Expedition, Vol. VII, p. 579.

⁵ Quyqın RAVEN; used only in augmentative; -n'au AUGMENTATIVE (§ 98.2); y(i) personal plural suffix for -wgi (§ 35); -k LOCATIVE (§ 38).

⁶ -nañ ALLATIVE used with personal nouns (§ 41).

⁷ ğaimaı TO DESIRE; -ñvo TO BEGIN (§ 110.63); -ykın derived form (§ 65).

⁸ Stem *ıu* TO SAY. Irregular adverbial form, used as a quotative, SAYS HE.

⁹ Subjective form (§ 56).

¹⁰ ñaw FEMALE; akak SON.

¹¹ *ıı*- I; *ya*- FUTURE; *yıı*- stem TO GIVE; -ñın HIM, future (§ 68).

¹² ñıto TO GO OUT; -ıkn derived form, 3d person singular.

¹³ Subjective here as instrumental; stem a'ı EXCREMENT.

¹⁴ Stem *awıyı*; -ñvo TO BEGIN (§ 110.63); -ykın derived form, 3d person ing. (§ 68).

¹⁵ *atta* DOG; *awaw* CARRION; subjective here as instrumental.

¹⁶ Stem *kıyau* TO AWAKE; -ıaıke 3d. per. plural, derived form.

¹⁷ Locative adverb.

¹⁸ Stem *ıva* TO BE, in initial position *va* (§ 18, p. 674); -ñvo TO BEGIN; -ıaıke 3d per. pl., derived form.

¹⁹ *qapa'au*, plural in *u* (§ 34, p. 732).

²⁰ Non-personal form, dual (§ 60, p. 695).

²¹ For *i'u'wgi* plural (§ 34).

²² Stem *ıu* TO SAY; -ñvo TO BEGIN; *n-ykınenat* derived form, 3d per. dual (§ 68, p. 744).

²³ Subjective form (§ 39).

²⁴ Stem *ıtm*, in medial position *nıñ* TO KILL (§ 18); *ga-ıñınu* nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d per. pl. (§ 74).

- Va^εyuk gawya'lyolen,²⁵ qo'npū enña^ε'an²⁶ ama'latča.²⁷ Quyqinn'a-
 Afterwards a snowstorm came, altogether thus not getting better. Great-
- qu'nak²⁸ gewñivo'lenat,²⁹ "Toq, qamałitva'thitik!³⁰ Ma'ki³¹ yamałi-
 Raven told the two of them, "There, ye two make it better! Who makes it
 tva'tiñ,³² ña'nyen³³ tiyanñawtiña'nñin."³⁴ Valvi'mtiła^εn, "Ğū'mma³⁵
 better, to that one I shall give the wife." Raven-Men, "I
 mimalitva'tik."³⁶ E'wañ,⁸ "Qinatinuñla'tik!"³⁷ Ñinvo'q pla'kiñu³⁸
 shall make it better." He said, "Prepare the provisions for A number of boots
- gatai'kilinau.³⁹ Ğa'lqalin.⁴⁰ E'nki¹⁷ vañvo'ykin⁴¹ e'n'migenka,⁴²
 they made them. He went. There he stayed under a cliff,
 yenotčoñvo'ykin.⁴³ Piči'qala^εn³ ñitoñvo'ykin,⁴⁴ enke¹⁷ vañvo'ykin,⁴¹
 he wanted to eat. Little-Bird-Man went out, there he stayed,
 aweyeñvo'ykin.¹⁴ Čemya'q Pičeqałanai'tiñ⁴⁵ Valvi'mtiła^εn³ aqa-łapñi-
 he ate. Of course on Little-Bird-Man Raven-Man badly
 vo'ykin.⁴⁶ Piči'qala^εn yałqı'wikin,⁴⁷ ui'ña i'wka⁴⁸ enñivo'ykin.⁴⁰
 looked. Little-Bird-Man entered, not saying he was.
- Valvi'mtiła^εn E'nki¹⁷ va'ykin.⁴¹ Enña^ε'an²⁶ qo'npū vuyalanñivo'ykin,⁵⁰
 Raven-Man there stayed. Thus altogether there was a snowstorm,
 ui'ña ama'latča.²⁷ Ğo, va^εyuk ğaya'lqiwlin,⁵¹ i'mi-pla'ku⁵² ğaqi'tilinau,⁵³
 not not it became better. Oh, then he entered, all boots were frozen,
- qači'n plakgeñe'tiñ⁵⁴ na^ε'çañvoqen,⁵⁵ iñi'nñinik pla'ku⁵² ğaqi'tilinau.⁵³
 man-while into the boots he urinated, therefore, the boots were frozen.
- "Qıyime'wun, i'ya^εn⁷¹ ğači'malin." Va^εyuk Piči'kala^εn gewñivo'len,⁵⁶
 "Impossible, heaven is broken." Then Little-Bird-Man they said to him,

²⁵ Stem in initial position *vuyal* medial *wyql*; *vy* verbal suffix, phenomena of nature (§ 110.71, p. 811)
ga—lin nominalized form of intransitive verb (§ 73).

²⁶ Demonstrative adverb (§ 129, p. 876).

²⁷ Stem *mał* GOOD; *a—təa* negative (§ 114, 4).

²⁸ Subjective in *-nak* (§ 39).

²⁹ Stem *iu* TO TELL; *-ñivg* TO BEGIN; *ga—linat* nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d pers. dual (§ 74).

³⁰ Stem *mał* GOOD; *tva* TO BE; *q—gıttik* imperative, 2d pers. dual (§ 65).

³¹ Absolute form (§ 58, p. 726).

³² *ya-* future.

³³ Absolute form of demonstrative (§ 57).

³⁴ *tiya-* 1st pers. sing. future; *-ñin* 3d pers. sing. object.

³⁵ Absolute form (§ 56).

³⁶ 1st person sing. exhortative, intransitive.

³⁷ *qina—latik* imperative, YE—ME; *i(a)—ñ* TO MAKE (§114.2); *inu* PROVISIONS.

³⁸ Stem *plak* BOOT; *-ñin* (§ 52); *-u* PLURAL; more frequently *pla'ku*.

³⁹ Stem *taiki* TO MAKE; *ga—linau* nominalized form of transitive verb, 3d pers. pl. (§ 74).

⁴⁰ Stem *iqat* TO GO; nominalized form, 3d pers. sing. (§ 73).

⁴¹ Stem *tva*, in initial position *va* TO STAY; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN; *-ykin* derived form.

⁴² *-gıñ* BASE (§ 101.21), locative.

⁴³ *ye-* DESIDERATIVE; *nu* TO EAT; *-təu* intensive action § 110.67; *-ñivg* TO BEGIN; *-ykin* derived form.

⁴⁴ Stem *ñito* TO GO OUT; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN; *-ykin* derived form.

⁴⁵ *-iti* allative (§ 40); with nasalization added to terminal vowel (§§ 18, 41).

⁴⁶ Stems *aqa* BAD; *hıa* TO SEE; *yp* TO PUT ON; *ñivo-ykin* as in note 41.

⁴⁷ *ya'lqiu*, Ch. *re's'qiw* TO ENTER; derived form.

⁴⁸ Stem *iu* TO SAY; *a—ka* NEGATION (§ 114, 4); *a* contracted with *i* to *f*.

⁴⁹ Stem *it*; *-ñivo-ykin* as in note 41.

⁵⁰ Stem *wyql* in medial position *wyql*; *-at* (§ 110.70) (see note 25).

⁵¹ *yałqiw* TO ENTER (see note 47); *ga—lin* nominalized verb (§ 73).

⁵² *imi* ALL (§ 113.6); *-u* plural (§ 34).

⁵³ *qit* FROZEN; *ga—linau* nominalized verb, 3d pers. pl. (§ 73).

⁵⁴ *plak* BOOT; *gıñ* BOTTOM; *-iti* ALLATIVE (§ 40).

⁵⁵ *ačəa* URINE; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN; *n—qin* nominalized verb (§ 73).

⁵⁶ Compare note 29; here 3d pers. sing.

"Toq, gɪnya'q⁵⁷ qmalatva'ti"⁵⁸—"Qiyime⁵⁹en, gr'niw⁵⁹ gũ'mma³⁵
 "Oh, thou now make it well!" — "Impossible, like to thee I
 tiyanto'ykin,⁶⁰ plakgeñe'tiñ⁵⁴ tiyaa⁵čañvo'ykin?"⁶¹ Gewñivo'lenau⁶²
 shall go out, into the boots shall I urinate?" He said to them
 Quyqinn'aqu'nak,²⁸ "Qalqala'tik,⁶³ kitta'ñ aña'wtiñka!"⁶⁴ Va⁵yuk
 Big-Raven "Go away, there unmarried!" Then
 gewñivo'len,⁶² "Atau'-qun." Qo'la⁶⁵ ača'pil⁶⁶ ga'kmiñin,⁶⁷ qalte'nñin,⁶⁸
 he said, "Well now." Some small fat ga'kmiñin,⁶⁷ qalte'nñin,⁶⁸
 wũlpa'pel:⁶⁹ ga'lqaLin⁷⁰ e⁵e'ti,⁷¹ gayi'ñalin,⁷² gala'lin,⁷³ iya⁵'kin⁷⁴
 a little shovel; he went to the sky, he flew up, he came, the sky's
 čema'thiñin⁷⁵ qalte'nña⁷⁶ gai'pilen,⁷⁷ ača'pil⁶⁶ ee⁵'tiñ⁷¹ gani'ñalin;⁷⁸
 cleft with the stopper he closed, little fat to the sky he threw;
 pɪče' gama'lalin.⁷⁹
 for a it grew better.
 while
 Gũ'mlañ gayai'tilen,⁸⁰ gũ'mlañ gawyaljo'len.²⁵ Nãnyen³³
 Again he went home, again there was a snowstorm. That
 qalte'nñin⁶⁸ ganqu'lin⁸¹ yayačikoit'iñ,⁸² nepplu'qin⁸³ mi'qun. E'wañ,⁸
 stopper came out into the house, small one even. He said,
 "Qiyime'wun. I'ya⁵n⁷¹ gači'malin." Quyqinn'aqu'nak²⁸ qalte'nñin⁶⁸
 "Impossible. The sky is broken." Big-Raven the stopper
 va'sqin gatai'kilin³⁹ nima'yñqin⁸³ gei'liñin,⁸⁴ a'čim⁶⁶ o'pta nima'yñqin⁸³
 another one he made a large one he gave it, fat also large
 gei'liñin.⁸⁴ Ga'lqaLin⁷⁰ gũ'mlañ, panenai'tiñ⁸⁵ gayi'ñalin.⁷² Gala'lin,⁷³
 he gave. He went again to the former place he flew. He came,
 pa'nena⁸⁵ nãnyen³³ qalte'nñin⁶⁸ mal-kit⁸⁶ ga'npiñen,⁸⁷ tała'wga⁸⁸
 that time that stopper well he closed it, with a mallet

⁵⁷ *gin-* thou; *-yaq* indicates that another person is to perform an act which the subject has performed before.

⁵⁸ Stems *mal*, *tva* WELL, TO BE; imperative.

⁵⁹ Second person personal pronoun *gin-* (§ 56; 129, p. 878 under *yaq*).

⁶⁰ *tiya-* I, future; stem *ñito*, medial *nto*; derived form.

⁶¹ See note 55, 1st pers. sing. future, derived form.

⁶² See notes 29, 56; here 3d pers. pl. instead of dual.

⁶³ Stem *lqa* TO GO; *qa-**latik* imperative, dual.

⁶⁴ *a-**ka* NEGATION (§ 114, 4); *ñaw* WOMAN.

⁶⁵ Indefinite pronoun (§ 60, p. 732).

⁶⁶ *ača* FAT; *-pil* SMALL (§ 100.15).

⁶⁷ Stem *akmit*; *ga-**lin* nominalized verb (§ 74).

⁶⁸ Absolute form (§ 30).

⁶⁹ *-pil* small (§ 100.15); here with ablaut.

⁷⁰ Stem *lqa* TO GO (see note 63); *ga-**lin* nominalized verb (§ 73).

⁷¹ Absolute form *i'ya⁵n* SKY; *-titi* allative.

⁷² Stem *yñā* TO FLY UP; *ga-**lin* nominalized verb.

⁷³ Stem initial *tñā*, medial *lā* TO MOVE, TO GO; *ga-**lin* as before.

⁷⁴ Belonging to the sky (§ 47).

⁷⁵ Absolute form.

⁷⁶ Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92).

⁷⁷ Stem *aip* TO STOP UP, CLOSE; *ga-**lin* as before, here with ablaut.

⁷⁸ Stem *iñā* (Ch. *ñnt*) TO THROW; *ga-**lin* nominalized verb.

⁷⁹ Stem *mał* GOOD.

⁸⁰ Stem *yaiit* (allative of *ya* HOUSE) TO GO HOME.

⁸¹ Stem *yiqu*, medial *nqu* TO COME LOOSE, TO COME OUT (like a plug out of a hole).

⁸² Stems *yaya-* HOUSE; *-čiku* INSIDE; *-iti* ALLATIVE, with terminal nasalization.

⁸³ *plu* SMALL; *n-**qin* (§ 49) *ma'y(i)ñ* LARGE.

⁸⁴ Stem *yñ*, medial *yñi* TO GIVE; *gei'liñin* instead of *gai'liñin* irregular.

⁸⁵ *panina* before, former; absolute form *pa'nin*; adverb *pa'nena* AGAIN, ANOTHER TIME; *titi* ALLATIVE, with terminal nasalization.

⁸⁶ *ma'l-kit* WELL, ALL RIGHT (Ch. *met-ki'tkit*, *met-ki'it* SOMEHOW); *mal* (Ch. *meč*, *meł*) see § 113.10 and 11; (Ch. *ki'tkit*, adverb, A LITTLE).

⁸⁷ *yip*, medial-*np* TO STICK INTO, TO STUFF INTO; *ga-**lin* with ablaut.

⁸⁸ Subjective as instrumental (§§ 37, 92); stem *tała* TO STRIKE.

| | | | | | | |
|--|--|---|---|---|--|---|
| gata'lalen, ⁸⁸ he struck it, | ñā'nyen ⁸³ that | a'čim ⁶⁶ fat | e ^ε 'tiñ ⁷¹ to the sky | gani'ñlalin, ⁷⁸ he threw it, | gū'mlañ again | ä ^ε 'läla ⁸⁹ with snow |
| ga ^ε 'lmelin ⁹⁰ he shoveled | qoql'o'wičñin, ⁹¹ the hole; | qo'npū altogether | gama'lalen. ⁹² it became better. | | | |
| Ğala'lin; ⁷³ He came; | ñā'nyen ⁸³ that | Valvı'mti ^ε an Raven-Man | aqan'n ^u ⁹³ to hate | ga'ččilin. ⁹⁴ they had. | Miti'nak ⁹⁵ At Miti's | |
| eñyei'ña near | vaga'lekın, ⁹⁶ he was sitting, | newñivo'ykın ²² she said to | Valvı'mti ^ε an, Raven-Man, | "Meñqañqa'če ⁹⁷ "How | | |
| enñ'ivo'ykın, ⁴⁹ it happens to thee, | nime' quite | a'latčičñivo'ykın? ⁹⁸ thou smellst of excrement?"— | "Mi'qun, ⁹⁹ "Why, | | ui'ña not | yu'laq ¹⁰⁰ a long time |
| akle'woka ¹⁰¹ without bread | tina ^ε 'lık." ¹⁰² I have been." | Ğewñivo'len ⁵⁶ She said, | "I'n'ač, "Enough, | ga'lqata! ¹⁰³ go away! | Ui'ña Not | |
| mi'qun even | amalatva'tča ¹⁰⁴ not making better | i'tı! ¹⁰⁵ thou wert!" | Ğa'lqalın. ⁷⁰ He went. | Piči'qala ^ε nak ²⁸ Little-Bird-Man | ñā'nyen ⁸³ that | |
| Yini'a-ñawgıt gama'talen. ¹⁰⁶ Yini'a-ñawgıt married. | | | | | | |
| Toq, Oh, | ğalai'ulin, ¹⁰⁷ summer came, | inya'wut then | gamuqai'ulin. ¹⁰⁸ it was raining. | Valvı'mti ^ε an Raven-Man | | |
| ti'ykıtiy ¹⁰⁹ the sun | ğaya'luplin. ¹¹⁰ took in mouth. | Qači'n So | qo'npū altogether | niki'ta night | ğana ^ε 'len. ¹¹¹ it became. | |
| Va ^ε 'yuk Then | ğewñivo'len, ⁵⁶ they said, | "Čan'ai', "Čan'ai', | qaimū'ge! ¹¹² fetch water!" | — "Me'ñqač mi'qun even | | |
| mai'mık? ⁷ ¹¹³ let me draw water?" | Va ^ε 'yuk Then | ğewñivo'len, ⁵⁶ they said, | "Me'ñqan "Why | nime' quite | mitti- we | |
| pa ^ε 'lai'kinen. ¹¹⁴ are thirsty. | Va ^ε 'yuk Then | missavi ^ε 'yala." ¹¹⁵ we shall die." | Ğa'lqalın ⁷⁰ She went | qaičayiči'ña, ¹¹⁶ groping, | | |
| Enña ^ε 'an thus | wūs'qū'mčıku, ¹¹⁷ in the dark, | va ^ε 'yuk then | ğa'ñvilin, ¹¹⁸ she stopped, | ğañvo'len ¹¹⁹ she began | | |

⁸⁸ Subjective as instrumental; absolute form *ä'lälä*, *a'č'ač*!⁸⁹ Stem *ačme*.⁹¹ Absolute form as object.⁹² Stem *mač* GOOD.⁹³ *aqan'n* hate, stems probably *ač*q BAD, *a'n-ñin* ANGER; designative form in *-u* (§ 94).⁹⁴ See § 114.4.⁹⁵ Locative form (§ 42).⁹⁶ Stem *vagač*, medical *tvagač* TO SIT DOWN.⁹⁷ Stem *mik* WHERE; *-qada* NEAR (§ 101.26).⁹⁸ Stem *ač* EXCREMENT; *-it* TO SMELL OF.⁹⁹ Stem *mik* (§ 58, p. 726).¹⁰⁰ Stem *yuč* LONG; *-aq* adverbial suffix (§ 112, 79).¹⁰¹ *a-ka* negation (§ 114, 4).¹⁰² Stem *nač* TO BECOME (§ 77).¹⁰³ Verbal noun in *-a* used as imperative (§ 95, p. 787).¹⁰⁴ From *a-ka* negation (§ 114, 4); *mač* GOOD; *tva* TO BE.¹⁰⁵ Stem *it* TO BE (§ 75).¹⁰⁶ Stem *mata* TO TAKE, TO MARRY.¹⁰⁷ *ala* SUMMER; *-yu* suffix. phenomena of nature (§ 110.71).¹⁰⁸ *muqa* RAIN; *-yu* as in note 107.¹⁰⁹ Reduplicated absolute form (§ 29).¹¹⁰ *yač*u TO CHEW; *yop* TO PUT ON (see Note 46); *yačup* A QUID.¹¹¹ Stem *nač* TO BECOME (§ 77); *ga-lin* nominalized verb (§ 73); *č < l + l* (§ 18).¹¹² Stem *aim* TO DRAW WATER; *q-ge* imperative.¹¹³ Subjunctive (*a*), 1st pers. sing.¹¹⁴ Derived form, 1st person pl.¹¹⁵ Future, without ending *-mik* (§ 65).¹¹⁶ Verbal noun in *-a* expressing modality (§ 95).¹¹⁷ Stems *wūs* DARKNESS; *-čiku* INSIDE (§ 101.24); *ñm* is an unusual form of the connective vowel (see § 18, 1); the parallel form *wūs'qū'mčıku* is found in Chukchee.¹¹⁸ Stem *ñuv*, medial *ñv* TO STOP.¹¹⁹ Stem *ñvo* TO BEGIN.

| | |
|---|---|
| grya'pčak. ¹²⁰ singing. | E'wañ, ⁸ "i'min qai-vai'amti ¹²¹ aļña'we ^e ye." ¹²² Va ^e yuk She said, "All the little rivers are stingy." Then |
| gani'kalin ¹²³ it did so | Enkai'ti ¹²⁴ vai'ampilñ, ¹²⁵ gañvo'len ¹¹⁹ čilala'tik. ¹²⁶ to that place a small river began bubbling. |
| Gayr'ččalin ¹²⁷ She filled | milh-u'kkam, ¹²⁸ yaite'ti ¹²⁹ ga'lqaLin, ⁷⁰ milh-u'kkam ¹²⁸ a Russian vessel, to the house she went, a Russian vessel |
| gemtei'pilin; ¹³⁰ she carried on her back; | qla'wul gaļa'lin. ⁷³ Gapkau'len, ¹³¹ e'wañ, ⁸ "Gümna'n, ⁹ a man came. She could not he said, "I, (carry), |
| gümna'n mi'mtin." ¹³² I will carry it." | Gayai'tilen ⁸⁰ wüs'qū'mčiku. ¹¹⁷ Na'nyen ³³ She came home in the dark. That one |
| gaļmñena'len ¹³³ followed | vai'am. Ğewñivo'len, ⁵⁶ "eni'n ma'ki?" ¹³⁴ E'wañ, the river. She was told, "That one who?" He said, |
| "Gümna ³⁵ Vaiamenai'-güm. ¹³⁴ "I am the River. | Gümna'n ⁹ yai'vaču ¹³⁵ tr'tčün ¹³⁶ Ena'n I pity had that |
| grya'pčala ^e n." ¹³⁷ singer." | Gañvo'len ¹¹⁹ nawa'kak ¹⁰ kītai'ñak. ¹³⁸ Na'nyen ³³ They began daughter scolding. That one |
| Vaia'minak ²⁸ River | gama'talen. ¹⁰⁶ married her. |
| To, va ^e yuk qo'npū wüs'qū'mčiku ¹¹⁷ Oh, then altogether in the dark | vañvoļai'ke. ¹³⁹ Ğewñivo'len ⁵⁶ they remained. He was told |
| Vai'am, "Me'ñqañ ⁹⁷ niki'ta ¹⁴⁰ mititvañvoļai'kin?" ¹⁴¹ River, "Why in the night we remain?" | E'wañ, ⁸ "Men'qañ ⁹⁷ He said, "Why |
| mi'qun?" ¹⁴² Lawtki'lččñm ¹⁴² vi'tvitin ¹⁴³ gai'pilen, ¹⁴⁴ ganto'len, ¹⁴⁵ ayi'- indeed?" Head-band of ringed seal thong he put on, he went out at | |
| kvan gaqayičiļanñivo'len, ¹⁴⁶ vantige'ñin ¹⁴⁷ gato'mwaļen. ¹⁴⁸ Va ^e - least a small light began to be; dawn was created. Then | |
| yuk ğewñivo'len, ⁵⁶ "Me'ñqañ ⁹⁷ mi'ntn?" ¹⁴⁹ Yini'a-ña'wgut they talked, "How shall we do it?" Yini'a-ña'wgut | |

¹²⁰ Stem *gryapča*; verbal noun, locative form (§ 95, p. 785).

¹²¹ *qai*- SMALL, related to Chukchee suffix *-qai* (§ 98.4); *nti*, after terminal *m* of *vaiam*, *-ti* dual (§ 34).

¹²² 3d pers. dual (§ 65) instead of plural; stem *aļñ* STINGY.

¹²³ *nika* SOMETHING (§ 60); *ga-ñin* verbalized.

¹²⁴ *-it* allative (§ 58).

¹²⁵ Diminutive in *-pñ*, absolute form in *-ñ* (§ 30).

¹²⁶ Stem *čilal-at* TO BUBBLE; verbal noun, in *-k*, dependent on *ñvo* TO BEGIN (see notes 138, 150).

¹²⁷ Stem *yičč* TO BE FULL.

¹²⁸ *miļh* STRIKE-A-LIGHT, FIRE (see Publ. Jesup Exp. Vol. VII, p. 18); *u'kkam* VESSEL.

¹²⁹ *yaiñ* TO GO HOME (see § 95); verbal noun allative.

¹³⁰ Stem *imt*, *imti* TO CARRY; *-yop* TO PUT TO; *ga-ñin* with ablaut.

¹³¹ Stem *pkau* TO BE UNABLE.

¹³² Stem *imt* TO CARRY; subjunctive (*a*) 1st pers. sing. subject, 3d pers. sing. object.

¹³³ Stem *ļimñena* TO FOLLOW.

¹³⁴ Stem *vaiam* RIVER; *-ena* suffix for living being; nominalized verb, 1st pers. sing. (§ 73).

¹³⁵ *yai'vaču* TO HAVE PITY WITH; designative in *-u* (§ 94).

¹³⁶ *-in* I—HIM (§ 65); stem *-ičč* (§ 79).

¹³⁷ Compare note 120.

¹³⁸ Verbal noun in *-k* dependent on *ñvo* TO BEGIN (see notes 126, 150).

¹³⁹ Stem *tva*, in initial position *va* TO BE; *ñvo* TO BEGIN; *-laike* 3d pers. pl., derived form.

¹⁴⁰ Stem *niki* night; probably verbal noun in (*t*)*č*, although the verb has usually the suffix *yu* expressing phenomena of nature. (Ch. *niki-ru-řkin* NIGHT COMES).

¹⁴¹ Stem *tva* TO BE; 1st pers. pl., derived form.

¹⁴² Compound noun *lawt* HEAD, *ki'lččñm* BAND (from *kiļt* TO TIE (§§ 53; 106.44)).

¹⁴³ Reduplicated form retained in a derived form in *-in* (§ 29, p. 690, note).

¹⁴⁴ Stem *yop* TO PUT ON.

¹⁴⁵ Stem *nto*, in initial position *ñito* TO GO OUT.

¹⁴⁶ *qai*- SMALL; *ičč* TO DAWN, TO LIGHT *ñvo* TO BEGIN; *ga-ñin* nominalized verb.

¹⁴⁷ Stem *vant* TO DAWN; *ge'ñin* (§ 106.44).

¹⁴⁸ *tomwa* TO BE CREATED.

¹⁴⁹ Stem *yt*, in medial position *nt* TO DO, MAKE (§ 30).

| | | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|---|
| ḡaṅvo'len ¹¹⁹ | tenma'witčuk, ¹⁵⁰ | Valvımtıla ^ε yıkiñ ¹⁵¹ | ḡala'lin. ⁷³ | “Mai, began preparing, to Raven-Man she reached. “Halloo, |
| Valvı'mtıla ^ε n | va'ykin? ¹⁵² | Va'čvi-ñā'ut ¹⁵³ | e'wañ, ⁸ | “Va'ykin.” Raven-Man is staying?” Raven-Woman said, “He is.” |
| ḡewñıvo'len | Valvı'mtıla ^ε n, | “As's'o' qatı', ¹⁵⁴ | qo'npü a'ıva | tıtva'ñvok.” ¹⁵⁵ He was told Raven-Man, “Since you left, altogether wrong I was.” |
| ḡayo ^ε 'olen ¹⁵⁶ | Valvı'mtıla ^ε n, | ḡewñıvo'len, | “Ḡı'ssa ¹⁵⁷ | qa'čik ui'ña She found Raven-Man, he was told, “Thou really not |
| a'ıva a'tvaka? ¹⁴⁸ | Qe'nñıvo'?” ¹⁵⁸ | Qa'pten ¹⁵⁹ | ḡayı'tılen, ¹⁶⁰ | yai'na ¹⁶¹ wrong wert? Wilt thou stay so?” The back he turned, to the front |
| yılı'ykinm. ¹⁶² | Ḡü'młañ | qa'pten | lı'ykin. ¹⁶³ | Va ^ε 'yuk ḡaṅvo'len ¹¹⁹ she turned him. Again the back he turned. Then she began |
| čičhi'ñik ¹⁶⁴ | yıyıḡičha'wik, ¹⁶⁵ | ḡačēcheñqatvıñvo'len; ¹⁶⁶ | čake'ta ¹⁶⁷ | in the armpits tickling, putting her hands in his armpits; the sister |
| ḡewñıvo'len, ⁵⁶ | “Quya'qı? ¹⁶⁸ | I'nač! | E'nnu mał-ñā'witkata.” ¹⁶⁹ | Va ^ε 'yuk said, “What is the matter with thee? Enough! This one a good woman.” Then |
| Enkai'tı ¹²⁴ | ḡaṅvo'len, ¹¹⁹ | “Ḡm, ḡm, ḡm!” | Qo'yıñ ¹⁷⁰ | yıleñvo'ykinen. ¹⁷¹ there to he began, “Ḡm, ḡm, ḡm!” To the other side she turned him. |
| Va ^ε 'yuk ḡaktača'čha'len, ¹⁷² | “Ḡa, ḡa, ḡa!” | Tı'ykitıy ¹⁶⁹ | ḡačē'pñıtolen, ¹⁷³ | Then he laughed aloud, “Ḡa, ḡa, ḡa!” The sun peeped out, |
| i'ya ^ε ḡ ¹⁷⁴ | ḡa'plin, ¹⁷⁵ | qo'npü | ḡečha'len. ¹⁷⁶ | to the sky it fastened itself, altogether it became light. |

¹⁵⁰ Stem *tenm* TO PREPARE; verbal noun in *-k* dependent on *ñvo* TO BEGIN (see notes 126, 138); *-tšu* in-tensity of action.

¹⁵¹ *-yikiñ* a personal allative form (see §§ 41 and 44).

¹⁵² Derived form of stem *tva*, in initial position *va* TO BE.

¹⁵³ *Va'čvi* < *Valvi* (§§ 16.3; 122).

¹⁵⁴ Stem *ıqat* TO WALK, in initial position *qat*; 2d pers. sing.

¹⁵⁵ Stems *tva-ñvo* TO BE-TO BEGIN, *ti-k* 1st pers. sing.

¹⁵⁶ Stem *yoc* TO VISIT.

¹⁵⁷ Absolute form (§ 56).

¹⁵⁸ Stem *ıi* TO BE *ñvo* TO BEGIN; *q (u)*—(§ 68), no personal ending.

¹⁵⁹ Absolute form.

¹⁶⁰ *yı'tı* TO TURN; *ga-lin* nominalized verb.

¹⁶¹ *yaina* TO MEET; adverbial: face to face.

¹⁶² *yı*—causative; *lı* TO TURN; derived form, HE—HIM.

¹⁶³ Stem *lı* TO TURN; derived form.

¹⁶⁴ Locative.

¹⁶⁵ *yı*—*aw* causative; *yıḡičh* TO ITCH.

¹⁶⁶ Stems *čičhiñı* ARMPITS; *qatv* TO PUT IN; *-ñvo* TO BEGIN.

¹⁶⁷ Subjective as subject of transitive verb.

¹⁶⁸ *yag* WHAT; predicative form (§ 82); second person (§ 68).

¹⁶⁹ *mał* GOOD; *ñaw + ıtqat* WOMAN; here subjective.

¹⁷⁰ *qo'yıñ* allative of *qoyo'*. (See § 43, p. 705.)

¹⁷¹ See note 162; the same form with added *ñvo* TO BEGIN.

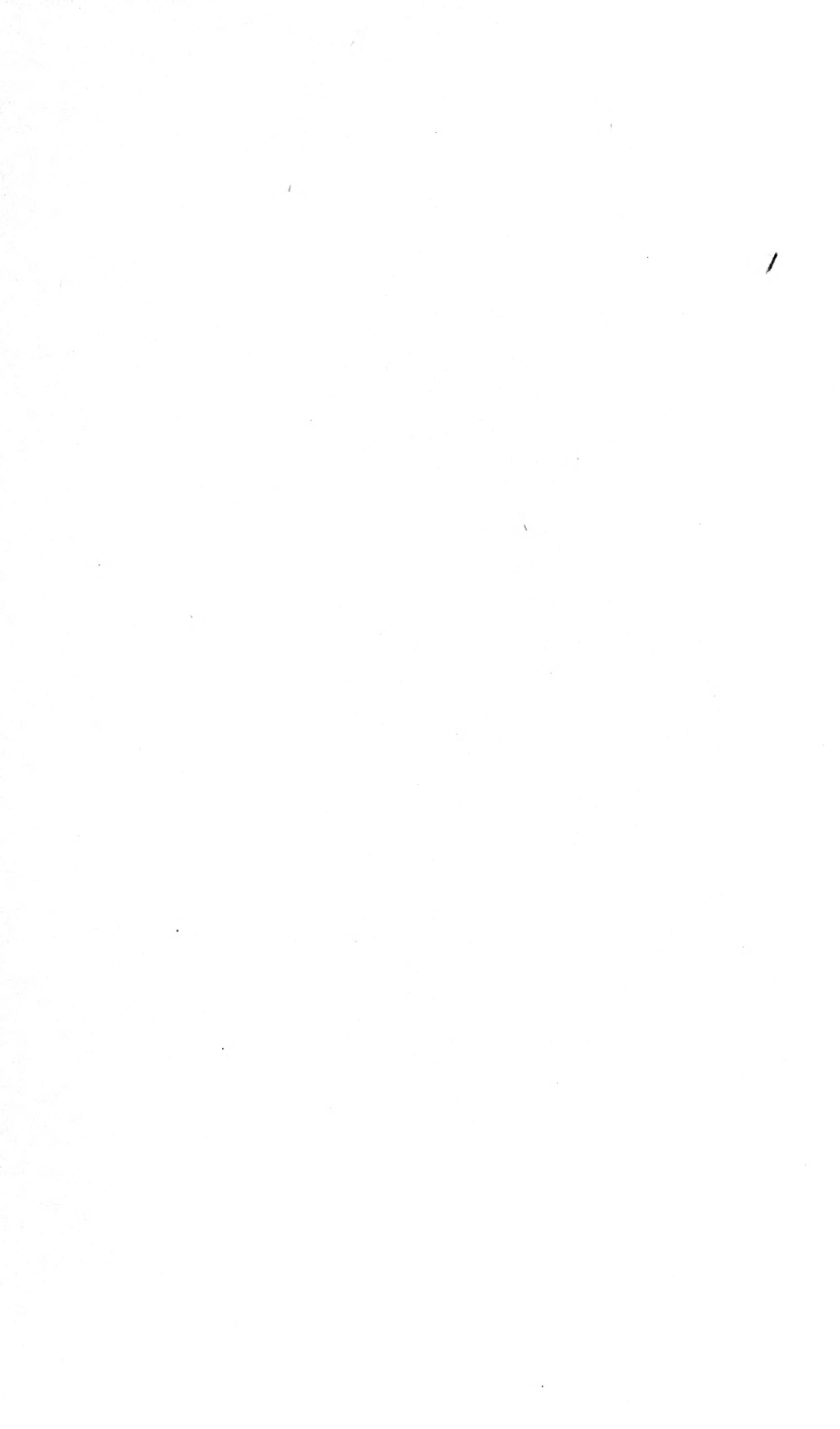
¹⁷² Prefix *kt*—VERY (§ 113.22); *ačačhat* TO LAUGH; *ga—lin* with ablaut.

¹⁷³ Stem *lılep*, medial *lep*; for *čep*, see § 16.3; 122. *ñıto* TO GO OUT.

¹⁷⁴ Locative (see note 71).

¹⁷⁵ Stem *ap* TO FASTEN ITSELF.

¹⁷⁶ Stem *ḡčh, ıčh* TO DAWN (see note 146).



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