TLINGIT

BY

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159

CONTENTS

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§1. DISTRIBUTION

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

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

163

language.   Phonetically, at least, the divergence between the Skide-
gate and Masset dialects of Haida is much greater than that of the
various Tlingit dialects.

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

PHONETICS (§§ 2, 3)

§ 2. Sounds

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

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal	Semi-vowel
Labials	—	—	—	—	—	w
Dentals	d	t	$t!$	(s)	n	—
Sibilants	—	$s\ c$	$s!$	—	—	—
Affricatives, s series . . .	dz	ts	$ts!$	—	—	—
Affricatives, c series . . .	dj	tc	$tc!$	—	—	—
Anterior palatals	—	$\dot{-}$	$k\cdot!$	—	—	—
Palatals	gg	k	$k!$	$x\,y$	—	y
Velars.	—	q	$q!$	x	—	—
Laterals	$\underset{\cdot}{L}$	L	$L!$	l	—	—
Breathing						h

Vowels: $\bar{u}$ (or $\bar{o}$), u (or o), A, a ($\bar{a}$ under the accent), $\bar{i}$ (or $\bar{e}$), i (or e).

Many of these also occur in Haida, to the account of which lan-
guage the student is referred; but the l and $\tilde{n}$ of the latter language,
along with the entire labial series, except w, are wanting, although m
appears in a few words imitating natural sounds and in words intro-

§2

duced from other stocks, such as the Tsimshian; *l*, however, is usually transliterated as *n*. To make up for this loss of phonetic elements, the number of sibilants and related sounds is greatly increased. Where Haida has only *s*, *dj*, *tc*, and *tc!*, we find here *s*, *s!*, *c* (pronounced like English *sh*), *dj*, *tc*, *tc!*, *dz*, *ts*, and *ts!*. The *g* is not pronounced so far back as Haida *g*, but, on the other hand, there is a sonant (*y*),[1] which is pronounced by the younger people exactly like English *y*. As indicated, three palatal fortes seem to be used; but it is so difficult to distinguish *k·!* from *k!* that I have not been able to carry out the distinction in my texts. After many palatals a slightly sounded *u* (or *o*) occurs, represented by ᵘ or ᵒ, which develops in certain situations into a full *u* (or *o*) sound.

§ 3. Phonetic Processes

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

qawā'q eye	*duqawā'ge* his eye
yugo'qtc the trap	*yugo'qdjayu* the trap it was
yēk̂ spiritual helper	*duyē'gî* his spiritual helper
ʟēlₐ'tc *gadu'ʟidjā'ge* nothing to kill with (instead of ʟē'lₐtc *gadu'ʟîdjā'qe*)	

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

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

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[1] See Phonetics of Tsimshian.

used after *a*, especially when *a* is accented: as, *anqā'wu* CHIEF, *qǫkᵘgwanā'wu* IF THERE WERE GOING TO BE DEATH, *ducaxā'wu* HIS HAIR. A similar phenomenon exists in Kwakiutl, Chinook, and Dakota.

The strengthening of *ᵘ*, as in *duyā'gu* HIS CANOE (from *yākᵘ* canoe) and *daq ā'lunago'qoawe* WHEN SALMON WERE RUNNING UP (from *ā'lunagoqᵒ*), must not be confused with this.

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

§ 4. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

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

§ 5. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

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

§§ 4, 5

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

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 6-24)

The Noun (§§ 6-10)

§ 6. Structure

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

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

gₐgā'n-q.'ōs sun-feet (=sun-beams)
xā!-s.'āx" root-hat
lēq.'-k.'udₐ's red-snapper coat
qo'sa-xa-qoan man-eater-people

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

qadjî'n a human hand
qawā'q a human eye
qagū'k a human ear
qaq.'ō's a human foot
tanca' a sea-lion's head
qowakā'nq.'a a deer's mouth

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

cī-t.'-ka' (cī- behind-on) Sitka. (See § 23, nos. 24, 29.)

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

gîts.'⁰ qoa'nî sky people
xāt qoa'nî salmon people
yao teyî' herring rock
s.'ₐtc ā'nî Moss Town
tān q.'ₐdadjā'yî sea-lion bristles

Here may belong—

Kîks-ʌ'di people of the island Kiks (a Tlingit clan)

an-qā'-wo town's man (=chief)

Other compounds are:

Ḡo'na-na foreign tribe (the inland Athapascan)

ts!u-tā't another night (=morning)

Dekī'-na far-out tribe (the Haida)

Nouns formed from clauses also occur:

wu-c-ta-cā'-yî a married couple. (See wu- [§ 15.4]; c- reflexive [§ 11]; ta probably = du [§ 14.4]; ca to marry; yî [§ 20.2]

yu-t!aq!ā'-ye-t mortar (yu- that [§ 12]; t!aq!ā to pound; -ye [§ 20.2]; -t purposive suffix [§ 20.1])

tō-ux-si-yēt whistle (tō into; ux to blow; si [?]; ye [§ 20.2]; -t [§ 20.1])

Yāk^u-kalasegʌ'k^u canoe-resting-place (a place name) (yāk^u canoe; ka-, la-, se- verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 18.4, 1]; gʌ stem [?])

Kʌt-nʌq-tῑn, white-rock-on-top-of-another (Ring island) (?)

Yū'q!a-kʌ'nʌx-ʌt-yadugu'q point he threw something across (yū-demonstrative; q!a a point; kʌ'nʌx post-position probably compounded of kʌ ON, and nʌx NEAR; ʌt thing; ya-, du- [§ 15.3; § 17.3] verbal prefixes; guq to throw)

yu-ʌc-iga'-wusuwu'-ʌt the thing that helped him (yu- demonstrative; ʌc personal pronoun of third person; ga for; wu- verbal prefix; su stem; -wu infinitive or possessive suffix)

Cê'nyak!^u-Lᾱx moldy-corner (of salmon), (a personal name) (cê'nya corner; k!^u probably diminutive suffix; Lᾱx moldy)

Adjectives, except numerals, follow the noun qualified.

§ 7. Intensive Suffix

When special attention is to be paid to anything, an intensive suffix, -tc, is employed. Thus Lῑngî'ttc is the intensive form of Lῑngî't PEOPLE; Kîksʌdῑ'tc, the emphatic form of the name of the clan Kîksʌ'dî; qawagê'tc, the emphatic form of qawā'q EYES; ūhā'ntc, the emphatic form of ūhā'n (WE); and Lēlʌ'tc NEVER, the emphatic form of the negative particle Lēl NOT.

§ 8. Diminutive Suffix

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

xîxtc!î'k!^o little frog (from xîxtc! frog)

ʌtk!ʌ'tsk!^o a small boy (this always takes the diminutive)

āk!^u little lake (from ā lake)

duyʌ'tk!^u her little child

§§ 7, 8

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

cxʌnk!ᵘ grandchild   *ɛīk!ᵘ* daughter
ɫīlk!ᵘ grandparent   *kə̀lk!ᵘ* nephew or niece
ʟak!ᵘ little mother, mother's sister

§ 9. Collective

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

Ɫīngî't man or men	*Ɫīngî'tq!* many men together
ta stone .	*teq!* stones lying in a heap
q!āt! island	*q!ā't!q!î* islands
hît house	*hî'tq!î* houses
gux slave	*guxq!* slaves

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

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

dukā'k his uncle, *dukā'k hʌs*   *duā't* his aunt, *duā't hʌs* his
his uncles   aunts

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

Instead of *hʌs*, some terms of relationship take *yə̂n*, often in conjunction with the collective suffix *q!;* as,

dukā'ni his brother-in-law   *dukā'niyə̂n* his brothers-in-law
kīk! younger brother   *wuckik!iyê'n* brothers to each
                                  other (*wu-* § 15.4; *c-* § 11)
ducʌ't his wife   *ducʌ'tq!iyə̂n* his wives

§ 10. Possession

Possession is expressed by the possessive pronoun, which precedes the noun, and by a suffix which is attached to the term for the thing possessed, except when it is a term of relationship or part of the body,

§§ 9, 10

or one of a few other terms.   This suffix is -*yi* after the vowels *ʌ*, *i̯*, *e*, *ī*, *ē*, and sometimes after *a;* -*i* after consonants; and -*wu* and -*wo* after *u* or *o* and occasionally after *a*.   Examples are—

yao te′yî herring's rock   *xāt qoa′nî* salmon people
x̣îx̣tc!ḳ!ᵘ cīyî′ little frog's   *x̣uts! nuwu′* grizzly-bear's fort
    song

The possessive pronouns are—

ʌx my	*ha* our
i thy	*yī* your
du his	*hʌsdu* their
ʌc his own	

Examples—

ʌxī′c my father	*icʌ′t* thy wife
duʟa′ his mother	*dutē′q!* his heart
duaxā′yî his paddle	*dutcū′nî* his dream
duwuts!ā′gayî her cane	*duhî′tî* his house
hʌsducayî′nayî their anchor	*duā′nî* his town

The demonstrative *a* may sometimes replace the forms of the third person; as, *acā′yî* HIS HEAD.

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

§ 11. The Personal Pronoun

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

	Subjective	Objective	Possessive	Independent
1st per. sing. . .	*x*, *xa*	*xʌt*	*ʌc*	*xa*
2d per. sing. . .	*i*	*i*	*i*	*wae′*
3d per. sing. . .	–	{ *a* / *du* / *ʌc* }	*du*	*hu*
3d per. sing. reflexive	–	*c*	*ʌc*	–
1st per. pl. . . .	*tu*	*ha*	*ha*	*uhā′n*
2d per. pl. . . .	*yī*	*yī*	*yī*	*yiwā′n*
3d per. pl. . .	–	{ *a* / (*hʌs*) / *hʌsdu* }	*hʌsdu*	*hʌs*

In composition the objective pronoun always precedes the subjective, and both may be separated by verbal prefixes. The use of the independent pronoun in a sentence does not affect the verbal compound, and the pronominal prefixes must be repeated.

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

> *At xa xa* I eat something
> *At xa cōq* I laugh

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

Examples of the use of the pronoun are the following:

> *xAtc q!Axâwū's!în* I questioned him (*xa* I, independent; *-tc* intensive suffix [§ 7]; *q!A* mouth [§ 14.1]; *xa* I, subjective, *wu-* verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; *-s!în* stem)
> *hu xAtc q!awū's!în* he questioned me (*hu* independent pronoun; *xAtc* emphatic form of objective)
> *iq!Axawou's!în* I questioned thee (*i* thee; *q!A* mouth; *xA* I)
> *wae'tc xAt q!ewū's!în* thou questionedst me (*wae'tc* emphatic form of independent pronoun; *xAt* me; *q!a-i* contracted to *q!e* mouth thou)
> *uhā'ntc q!Atuwū's!în* we questioned him (*uhā'ntc* emphatic form of independent pronoun; *tu* we, subjective)
> *wae'tc haq!ewū's!în* thou questionedst us (*ha* us)
> *uhā'ntc yiq!Atuwū's!in* we questioned you (*yi* you; *q!A* mouth; *tu* we, subjective)
> *xagāx* I am crying
> *uhā'n gAx tū'satî'* we are crying (*tu* we; *sa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; *ti* to be)
> *ye yawaqā'* she said thus (*ye* adverbial, thus; *ya-* verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; *qū* to say)
> *ye yā'xoaqa* I said thus (*x* I; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2])
> *ixasitī'n* I saw thee (*i* thee; *xa* I; *si-* prefix [§ 18.1]; *tīn* to see)
> *yixasitī'n* I saw you (*yi* you)
> *xoasitī'n* I saw him (*x-* I; the use of *oa* here is not explained)
> *xAtyisitī'n* ye saw me (*xAt* me; *yi* ye)
> *hayisitī'n* ye saw us (*ha* us)
> *hAsyisitī'n* ye saw them (*hAs* them)
> *Gaya' kadé' hAs awaū'x* they heard it on Gaya' (*kadé'* on; *hAs* they; *a-* indefinite pronoun referring to *cī* song; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; *ax* to hear)

§ 11

akʌ't hʌs qox ayu' hʌs aositī'n when they paddled toward it they
saw it (a- indefinite pronoun; kʌt toward; hʌs they; qox to go
by canoe; a-yu indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; a- indefi-
nite pronoun; o- [§ 17.2]; si- [§ 18.1]; tīn to see; here a is used
three times; first, replacing x̣îx̣tc! FROG as object of the post-
position kʌt; second, in combination with yu, performing the
function of a conjunction, WHEN; and, third, in the principal
verb, again taking the place of x̣îx̣tc!)

The pronoun is contracted with a few verbal prefixes. The i com-
bines with the terminal vowel of preceding elements, as in x̣ʌt
q!ewū's!în THOU QUESTIONEST ME (q!ʌ-i = q!e mouth thou; x̣a and
the prefix wa- form x̣oa, although x̣oa may perhaps originate in other
ways also. Contractions are particularly characteristic of the future,
which has a prefix gu-. This combines with the first person to gwa (for
guxa); with the second person to ge (for gu-i). These forms will be
discussed later on (§ 15.5).

§ 12. The Demonstrative Pronoun

The demonstrative pronouns are used with nouns, with verbs when
changed into nouns, in the formation of connectives, and with certain
elements which transform them into independent demonstratives.

1. he indicates an object very near and always present.
2. ya indicates an object very near and present, but a little farther
   away than the preceding.
3. yu indicates an object more remote, but it has now come to per-
   form almost the function of an article.
4. we indicates an object far remote and usually entirely invisible.
   It has come to be used almost with the freedom of yu.

Following are examples of their use:

he'lîngît ⎱ this person	he'do this place here
ya'lîngît ⎰	yā't!a this place, this person
yu'lîngît the person	yū'do iī'c ā'nî there is thy father's town
we'lîngît that person	ayu', awe', when, that being done

Some of them are also employed with post-positions; as, hāt HITHER.
Sometimes, particularly in songs, another demonstrative, yadi, is heard,
which is evidently compounded from ya. It differs from ya in being
used to refer to a person who has just been spoken of, but is not
actually present.

§ 12

The Verb (§§ 13-21)

§ 13. Structure

Verbal stems are, on the whole, monosyllablic. They take a considerable number of prefixes and a few suffixes. Most of the prefixes have a very weak meaning, and appear in many cases as purely formal elements, while in other cases the underlying meaning may be detected. It seems easiest to classify these prefixes according to their position. In the transitive verb the object precedes the whole verbal complex. Then follow prefixes, stem, and suffixes in the following order:

Prefixes (§§ 14-18)

(1) Nominal prefixes
(2) First modal prefixes.
(3) Pronominal subject.
(4) Second modal prefixes.
(5) Third modal prefixes.
(6) Stem.
(7) Suffixes.

§ 14. NOMINAL PREFIXES

A few monosyllabic nouns are prefixed to the verb. I have found the following:

1. *q!a* MOUTH OR LIPS.

   qeq!ē'dî ayu' ye'q!ayaqa toward morning she spoke thus (*ayu'* indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; *ye* thus; *q!a* mouth; *ya-* verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; *qa* to say)

   yuxā'nʌs! adʌ'x q!aodîsa' he blew upon the raft (*yu* demonstrative; *xā'nʌs!* raft; *a* indefinite pronoun; *dʌx* on; *q.'a* mouth; *o-* verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; *dî-* verbal prefix [§ 18.3]; *sa* to blow)

2. *tu* MIND.

   ʌtcawē' tuwulîtsī'n therefore (the Kîksʌ'dî) are brave (*tu* mind; *wu-* verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; *lî-* verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; *tsîn* strong)

   ʟax wa'sa tuwunū'k he felt very sad (*ʟax* very; *wa'sa* how; *tu* mind; *wu-* verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; *nuk* sad)

3. *ʟu* POINT.

   dāq ā'ʟunago'qoawe when they were running ashore in a crowd (*dāq* ashore; *a* demonstrative; *ʟu* point, i. e. crowd; *na-* at the same time when [§ 17.5]; *go'qoawe* they run)

4. *da-* is employed sometimes with words meaning TO SAY or TELL, when it seems to indicate an indirect object.

> *dukū'niyên ye daya'duqa*, his brothers-in-law spoke to him thus (*du-* his; *kā'niyên* brothers-in-law; *ye* thus; *da-* indirect object; *ya-* [§ 15.3]; *du-* [§ 17.3]; *qa* to say)

§ 15. FIRST MODAL PREFIXES

1. *cu-* usually stands before all other prefixes, and indicates that the action of the verb is total, applying to all of the people or objects involved.

> *qot cū'waxĭx* they had been all killed off
> *yadē'x-tāk^u cunaxī'xawe* when these two years were over (*ya-* these; *dēx* two; *tāk^u* year; *cu-* totally; *na-* at the same time when [§ 17.5]; *xĭx* to finish; *awe* when)
> *axodē' yaqā' cunagū't* he was leading all these men among them (*a* indefinite pronoun; *xodē* among; *ya* demonstrative; *qa* man; *cu-* totally; *na-* at the same time when [§ 17.5]; *gu-* to go; *-t* purpose [§ 20.1])
> *ye yên hʌ'sdu cuq! ā'wadja* thus there them all he told (*ye* thus; *yên* there; *hʌsdu* them; *cu-* totally; *q!a* with mouth [§ 14.1]; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; *dja* to tell)
> *Kîksʌ'dî qot cū'waxĭx* the Kîksʌ'dî were all lost (*qot* wholly; *cu-* totally; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; *xĭx* to finish)

This prefix appears to be used also as a post position.

> *ʌxcū'dî yaqo'x* come over to me (*ax* me; *cū* entirely; *-dî* to; *ya-* verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; *qox* to go by water)

2. *ka-* indicates causation, and performs the functions of a causative auxiliary.

> *ax dāq qoka'odzîha'* she caused a hole to be in it by digging (*ax* literally, from it; *dāq* shoreward, or into the earth; *qo-* indefinite verbal prefix [§ 15.6]; *ka-* causative; *o-* verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; *dzî-* verbal prefix [§ 18.6]; *ha* stem)
> *hʌsdudaka'q! kaodu'Lîya nu Lēn* a large fort was caused to be lowered down on them (*hʌsdu* them; *daka'q!* out on; *ka-* to cause; *o-* verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; *du-* verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; *Lî-* verbal prefix [§ 18.5]; *nu* fort; *Lēn* large)
> *yidʌ'tsqoe'tc yîwʌckaq!o'kotc ka'osînēx* when did your cheek-flesh cause a man to be saved? (*yidʌ'tsqoetc* when; *yi* your; *wʌc* cheek; *kaq!okotc* flesh, with intensive suffix; *ka-* to cause; *o-* verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; *sî-* verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; *nēx* to save)

§ 15

ʌt ka'otiga they caused (the canoe) to be loaded up (ʌt indefinite
   object [things]; ka- to cause; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; tĭ- verbal
   prefix [§ 18.4]; ga to load)

adê' akā'wana doxʌnqā'wu then he caused his clothes-man to go
   out (a demonstrative; dê to; a indefinite pronoun; ka- to cause;
   wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; na to send; do his; xʌn clothes; qa
   man; -wu possessive [see § 10])

3. **ya-** seems to indicate the continuation of an action or state.

yīya'ʌtc are you hearing it? (yī ye; ya- verbal prefix; ax to hear;
   -tc emphatic suffix)

Kîksʌdî'tc ʌ'tcayu x̂îxtc! hʌs ayahē'n therefore the Kîksʌ'dî claim
   the frog (a indefinite pronoun; tca adverb; a indefinite pronoun;
   yu demonstrative; x̂îxtc! frog; hʌs they; a indefinite pronoun;
   ya- verbal prefix; hēn stem)

hî'tq!î tūx qa'owagut yucawʌ't the woman was going through the
   houses (hît house; -q!î collective suffix; tūx through; ya- o- wa-
   verbal prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.2]; gu to go; -t purpose [§ 20.1])

ya hʌ'sduqā'nʌx yagatsā'q when he was chasing them (ya demon-
   strative; hʌ'sdu them; qā'nʌx after; ga- verbal prefix [§17.4];
   tsāq to run)

yuyanagu'tî when (he was) traveling (yu demonstrative; ga-, na-
   [§ 17.4, 5], verbal prefixes; gu to go; -t -î suffixes [§ 20.1, 2])

This prefix ya- seems to be identical with the suffix referred to in
   § 20.4.

4. **wu-** often indicates the passive, but seems to have a very much
   wider function.

Cît!ka'dê ān hʌs wuqo'x they went with him to Baranoff island
   (Cî Baranoff island; t! behind; ka on; dê to; ā demonstrative;
   -n with; hʌs they; wu- prefix; qox to go by canoe)

yê'ayu x̂îxtc! q!acī'yi wudu'dzîku that is how the frog's song
   came to be known (ye- adverb; a- indefinite pronoun; yu demon-
   strative; x̂îxtc! frog; q!a mouth; cī song; -yi possessive [§ 10];
   wu- du- dzi- verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.6]; ku to know)

wuctî'n ʌt wuduꞁîk!ê' peace was made between them (wu- verbal
   prefix; c- reflexive [§ 11]; tîn with; [wuctî'n together]; ʌt
   indefinite object; wu- du- ꞁî- verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.5];
   k!ê to be good)

The last of these examples shows a curious use of wu- before the
   reflexive prefix c-, the latter standing independent of the verb,
   and being followed by a post-position. This employment of
   wu- with the reflexive is very common.

5. *gu-* or *gA-*.   Future time is denoted by a prefix *gu-* or *gA-*, which
is sometimes used much as if it were an independent particle.
Besides its strictly future function, it is employed in speak-
ing of any event about to take place as well in the past as the
future.   In the following simple examples it is often accom-
panied by the affix *x-* TO BECOME, which will be treated in § 15.7.

wasa' At gugoneyî' whatever is going to happen (*wasa'* whatever;
At indefinite object; *gu-* future; *gona* stem; *-yî* suffix [§ 20.2])

ān guyagu't when he was going to go with them (*a* indefinite
pronoun; *-n* with; *gu-* future; *ga-* verbal prefix [§ 17.4]; *gu* to
go; *-t* purpose [§ 20.1])

de dA'qdê ye guxdusni' yuhî't daidedî' they were going to take up
the house-timbers (*de* now; *dA'qdê* up to; *ye* thus; *gu-* future;
x- to become; *du- s-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.1]; *ni* to take;
yu demonstrative; *hît* house; *daidedî'* timbers)

hît a guxlayē'x gone't gAnayî' the opposite side (clan) was going
to build a house (*hît* house; *a* indefinite pronoun; *gu-* future;
x- to become; *ta-* verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; *yēx* to build [*x* possibly
a suffix])

yā'doq!oa gAxdutā'ge they were going to make a hole in this one's
mouth (*ya* demonstrative; *do-* his; *q!a* mouth [see § 3]; *gA-* future;
x- to become; *du-* verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; *tak* to bore [?]; *-e*
suffix)

More often the future occurs in conjunction with an indefinite pre-
fix *qo* or *kʷ.*   The following examples illustrate this use, and also
show the peculiar manner in which it combines with the personal
pronominal prefixes.   It will be seen that, instead of *guxa* in the
first person, we find *qwa;* instead of *gu-i,* in the second person,
ge.   It would also seem that contractions of *q* and *g* to *q,* and *q*
and *g* to *g,* take place in the first and second persons plural.

Future tense of the verb gīt TO DO

Singular	Plural
1st per. *yeqqwasgī't*	*ye'qAxtusgīt*
2d per. *yeqge'sgīt*	*ye'gaxyīsgī't*
3d per. *yeqgwa'sgīt*	*hAs qo' a ye'sgugasgī't*

Future tense of the verb gēq! TO THROW DOWN

Singular	Plural
1st per. *xā'tc yê'nde qqwagē'q!*	*uhā'ntc yê'nde qAxtugē'q!*
2d per. *wae'tc yê'nde qgegē'q!*	*yīhā'ntc yê'nde gAxyîgē'q!*
3d per. *hutc yê'nde A'qgwagē'q!*	*hAstc yê'nde sAqgwagē'q!*

§ 15

The *s* which appears in the third person plural is probably a contraction of *has*, although the full word *has* may not have been heard when recording.

To CRY takes the prefix or modifier *ke*, and its plural is formed by the use of the verb *ti* TO BE.

Future tense of the verb *gᴬx* TO CRY

Singular	Plural
1st per. *ke kᵘqwagā'x*	(*uhā'n*) *ke gax qᴬxtū'sati*
2d per. (*waeʹ*) *ke kᵘgegā'x*	(*yīhā'n*) *ke gax gaxyīsati'*
3d per. (*hu*) *ke kᵘgwagā'x*	˗ *ke hᴀs gax gᴬ'xsati*

6. **qo-, kᵘ-**, is used when the event recorded happened at a time or place that is ill defined.

ᴌĕl ᴌēt! *qa ᴀ'tî qosti'* there were no white men's things in those days (ᴌēl not; ᴌēt! white; *qa* man; *ᴀ'tî* their things; *qo- s-* verbal prefixes [§ 18.1]; *ti* to be)

yuqo'ᴌiʟ!ī'tkᵘ those who used to leave the others behind (*yu* demonstrative; *qo- ti-* verbal prefixes [§ 18.4]; *ʟ!it* stem; *-kᵘ* suffix [§ 20.3])

kᵘducū'qtc they always laughed at him (*kᵘ- du-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.3]; *cuq* to laugh; *-tc* always [§ 19.1])

gusu' yên yuqᵒxê'tcgî where is it that they never broke it off (*gusu'* where; *yên* there; *yu-* demonstrative; *qᵒ-* verbal prefix; *xêtc* stem; *gî* probably should be *kᵘ* [§ 20.3])

ᴀt *kᵘqēdī'x* a sign or parable (ᴀt something; *kᵘ-* prefix; *qe* probably stem; *-x* suffix [§ 19.4])

ᴌĕl *su qosti'* there was no rain (ᴌēl not; *su* rain; *qo- s-* verbal prefixes [§ 18.1]; *ti* to be)

Since future events are by their nature indeterminate, this prefix is constantly used with the future prefix *gu-*; as,

a'qᵒgwatīq when will he break it off? (*a* indefinite pronoun; *qᵒ-* indefinite prefix; *g(u)-* future prefix; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; *liq!* to break off)

7. **-x** expresses the alteration of a person or thing from one condition to another. It is suffixed to the name of the thing altered, the adjective indicating the altered state, or to the future particle, but is placed among verbal prefixes because its connection with the following verb is extremely close, as is shown by its insertion after the future particle.

tsê'sk!ux î'nasti you can become an owl (*tsesk!ᵘ* owl; *-x* verbal affix; *î* thou; *na- s-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.5; § 18.1]; *ti* stem)

q!anackitē'x siti he had become poor (*q!anackiti* poor; *-x* transitive affix; *si-* verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; *ti* to be)

duxonq!ē'x siti it had come to belong to his friends (*du* his; *xon* friend; *-q!e* collective suffix [§ 9]; *-x* transitive affix; *si-* verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; *ti* to be)

tc!a ān qo'a qa'yaqā'q!uwʌnx siti but yet they became men such as one can trade with (*tc!a* yet; *ān* with them; *qo'a* however; *qa* men; *ya-* verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; *qāq!uwʌn* such as one can trade with [?]; *-x* [as before]; *si-* verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; *ti* to be)

gux tusî't we will make it become cooked (*gu-* future sign; *-x* transitive affix; *tu* we; *sit* to cook)

ayī' de yeq'gʌx duī'q! T!ʌ'q!dentān they were going to invite the T!ʌ'q!dentān (*a* indefinite pronoun; *yi-de* post-position [*dê* to]; *ye* adverbial prefix; *q'-* indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; *gʌ-* future prefix [§ 15.5]; *-x* transitive affix; *du-* verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; *îq* to invite)

§ 16. PRONOMINAL SUBJECT

The subjective pronoun follows the first modal elements. Examples illustrating the position of the subjective pronoun have been given before (§ 11). The following example contains also first modals:

Lēt wuxasʌgō'k yāndat!ʌ'tc I can not swim (*Lēt* not; *wu-* verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; *xa* I; *sʌ-* verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; *gōk* can; *yān-dat!ʌtc* to swim)

§ 17. SECOND MODAL PREFIXES

1. *djî-* QUICKLY.

hʌ'sdu dāt xā djîū'dîgut enemies came upon them quickly; (*hʌ'sdu* them; *dāt* upon; *xā* enemies; *djî-* quickly; *u-* verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; *dî-* inchoative [§ 18.3]; *gu* to go; *-t* suffix [§ 20.1])

adê' dāk wudjîxī'x he ran down to it (*a-* indefinite pronoun; *dê* to; *dāk* down or out; *wu-* verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; *djî-* quickly; *xîx* to get)

yux hʌs djîudeā't they started to rush out (*yux* out; *hʌs* they; *djî-* quickly; *u-de-* [§ 17.2; § 18.3]; *āt* to go)

Lēq! ts!utā't ayu' ʌt nate' hʌs dji'usîha one morning they started out quickly to hunt along shore (*Lēq! ts!utā't* [see p. 200, note 11]; *a-yu* indefinite demonstrative pronoun; *ʌt* indefinite object; *nate'* to hunt [?]; *hʌs* they; *dji- u-si* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; *ha* to start)

hʌsduʟā'k!ᵘ adjî't hʌs adji'watʌn they gave their sister to him quickly; (*hʌsdu* their; *ʟāk!ᵘ* sister; *adj(î)-* indefinite pronoun with intensive suffix; *-t* to; *hʌs* they; *a-* demonstrative; *djî-wa-* [§ 18.2]; *tʌn* to give)

2. *u-* (*o-*) often accompanies simple statements of past actions. This prefix is never used with the future *gu-*, or with *wu-*, nor apparently with the first and second persons singular and plural, and occurs only in the principal verb. It may be an element expressing the active, but may equally well be regarded as a past-temporal prefix.

> *yên uqo'xtc* he always came there (*yên* there; *u-* prefix; *qox* to go by canoe; *-tc* always [§ 19.1])
>
> *ʟēq! ts!utā't ān ke udzigī't dutcū'nî* one morning he awoke with his dream (*ʟēq!* one; *ts!utā't* morning [see p. 200, note 11]; *ān* with it; *ke* up; *u-* prefix; *dzi-* prefix [§ 18.6]; *gīt* to awake; *du* his; *tcūn* dream; *-i* possessive suffix)
>
> *ʟax q!ūn hʌs uxe'* many nights they stayed out (*ʟax* very; *q!ūn* many (nights); *hʌs* they; *u-* prefix; *xe* to camp)
>
> *ayu' hʌs aositī'n* there they saw it (*a-* indefinite pronoun; *o-* verbal prefix; *si-* indicative prefix [§ 18.1]; *tīn* to see)
>
> *ʟe dutū'tx qot kaoduk!ī't* it all got out of his head (*ʟe* out; *du* his; *tū* into; *-t* at; *-x* from; *qot* all; *ka-* causative [§ 15.2]; *o-* verbal prefix; *du-* verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; *k!īt* to get)

3. *du-* is very nearly identical in meaning with the English perfect tense, conveying the idea of something already accomplished. It resembles *wa-* [§ 18.2] in some respects, and is often used conjointly with it; but while *wa-* seems to express finality, *du-* expresses previous accomplishment.

> *ʟe dutu'tx qot kaoduk!ī't* it got all out of his head (see above no. 2, ex. 5)
>
> *ck!e ā'gitahān yū'yaodudzîqa* "get up!" they said to him (*ck!e* up; *ā'gitahān* get [?]; *yū-* demonstrative; *ya-* verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; *o-du-dzi-* [§ 17.2; § 18.6]; *qa* to say)
>
> *agē'dî hʌs gā'dustīn* when they saw them already inside (*a-* indefinite pronoun; *gē* inside; *dî* to; *hʌs* they; *ga-* when [§ 17.4]; *du-s-* [§ 18.1]; *tīn* to see)
>
> *koducī' duīgā'* they hunted for him (*ko-* [§ 15.6]; *du-*; *cī* to hunt; *du* he; *ī* euphonic [?]; *ga* for)
>
> *ʟēl wudusku'* they knew not (*ʟēl* not; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *du-*; *s-* [§ 18.1]; *ku* to know)
>
> *ts!utā't hīn wʌ'tdî akayē'k wudū'waax ʌtxē'tc* the next morning (it) was to be heard at the mouth of the creek (*ts!utā't* [see p. 200, note 11]; *hīn* water; *wʌt* mouth; *dî* to; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *kayē'k* at; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *du-*; *wa-* [§ 18.2]; *ax* to hear; *ʌt* indefinite object; *xē* to go on; *-tc* always [§ 19.1])

§ 17

dʌnē't ayidê' ye wududzi'ni a box of grease was put inside of the
canoe (*dʌnē't* box of grease; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *-yidê*
inside; *ye* thus [?]; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *du-*; *dzî-* [§ 18.6]; *ni* to put
aboard)

ʟēl hʌs dutī'n they could not see him (*ʟēl* not; *hʌs* they; *du-*
perfect suffix; *tīn* to see)

4. *ga-* is a prefix which indicates usually that the action was per-
formed just before some other action, and may be translated
by our conjunction WHEN. This may be identical with the
ga in *aga* or *agaawe'tsa* AS SOON AS, IMMEDIATELY UPON.

ʟax ā'tʌtc gadjʌ'qînawe dāq ugu'ttc when he became very cold,
he always came out (*ʟax* very; *āt* cold; *-tc* intensive suffix;
ga-; *djaq* to die of [hyperbolically]; *-în* suffix [§ 19.3]; *awe*
when; *dāq* out; *u-* [§ 17.2]; *gu* to go; *-t* suffix [§ 20.1]; *-tc*
always [§ 19.1])

agē'dî hʌs gā'dustīn hʌ'sdudāt xā djîudigu't when they saw them
inside, the enemy started to come upon them (see p. 179,
no. 3, third example)

duī'c ā'nî akînā' wugaṛî'ṛin yū'gʌgan ye yê'ndusqetc when the
sun got straight up over her father's town, they always said to
her as follows (*du-* her; *īc* father; *ān* town; *-î* possessive
suffix; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *kînā'* above; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *ga-*;
ṛîṛ to reach; *-în* suffix [§ 19.3]; *yū-* demonstrative; *gʌgan*
sun; *ye* thus; *yên* possibly there; *du-* [§ 17.3]; *s-* [§ 18.1]; *qa*
to say; *-tc* intensive suffix)

5. *na-* is employed when the action with which it is associated is
represented as accompanied by or accompanying some other
action. Just as *ga-* may often be translated WHEN, this prefix
may be translated WHILE, yet the two may be used together.
It is so similar to the suffix *-n* [§ 19.3] that it is not unlikely
that the two are identical.

ayʌ'xde yanagu'dîayu aosotī'n cāwʌ't yū'adīgīga' cwu'ʟiṛac while
he was going around the lake, he saw a woman floating there
(*a-* indefinite pronoun; *yʌx* around; *de* at; *ya-* [§ 15.3]; *na-*;
gu to go; *-t* purpose [§ 20.1]; *ayu* indefinite pronoun and
demonstrative; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *o-* [§ 17.2]; *si-* [§ 18.1];
tīn to see; *cā'wʌt* woman; *yū* demonstrative; *adīgīga* in it
[exact meaning uncertain]; *c-* reflexive; *wu-* *ʟi-* verbal prefixes
[§ 15.4; § 18.5])

dāq hʌs naqo'ṛ a'ayu yuhʌnxo'a ye'q!ayaqa while they were going
shoreward, the eldest brother said as follows (*dāq* shoreward;

§ 17

*h*ʌ*s* they; *na-*; *qox* to go by canoe; *a'a-yu* indefinite pronoun
and demonstrative; *yu-* demonstrative; *hunxo'* elder brother;
a indefinite pronoun; *q!a-* mouth [§ 14.1]; *ya-* [§ 15.3]; *qa* to
say)

*lēq! k!ud*ʌ*'s! ʌtū'x nagu'ttc ya h*ʌ*'sdu yɒgatsā'q yū'awe ke îck!ē'ntc*
having gotten inside of his red-snapper coat, when he was
pursuing them, that is the way he jumped (*lēq!* red snapper;
*k!ud*ʌ*'s!* coat; *a-* indefinite pronominal prefix; *tūx* inside; *na-*;
gu to go; *-t* purpose [§ 20.1]; *-tc* always [§ 19.1]; *ya* [?]; *h*ʌ*'sdu*
them; *ya-* [§ 15.3]; *ga-* [§ 17.4]; *tsāq* to pursue; *yū-* demon-
strative; *awe* indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; *ke* up;
î[?]; *c-* reflexive; *k!en* to jump; *-tc* always [§ 19.1])

*naxā'c g*ʌ*'xtusīt* having cut it, we will cook it (*na-*; *xāc* to cut;
*g*ʌ*-* future prefix [§ 15.5]; *-x* transitional affix [§ 15.7]; *tu* we;
sīt to cook)

*xāt gā'naadî na*ʌ*'ttc yuxū'ts! qoa'nî* the bear people, when they go
hunting, always go after salmon (*xāt* salmon; *ga-* [§ 17.4];
na-; *at* to go; *-î* part. suffix [§ 20.2]; *na-*; ʌ*t* to go; *-tc* intensive
suffix; *yu-* demonstrative; *xūts!* bear; *qoan* people; *-î* possessive)

*tc!āk*ᵘ *yānagu'tîawe qox akū'dadjîtc* after it had walked a long
time, it would stop suddenly (*tc!āk*ᵘ a long time; *ya-* [§ 15.3];
na-; *gu* to go; *-t* purpose; *-î* suffix [§ 20.2]; *awe* when; *qox*
completely; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *ku-* future prefix [§ 15.5];
da- [?]; *djī* stem; *-tc* always [§ 19.1])

§ 18. THIRD MODAL PREFIXES

1. *s-* or *sî-* is used in a simple statement of an action or condition,
whether past, present, or future, but not usually of one
which is incomplete.

*tc!āk*ᵘ *altī'nî a'ya aositī'n* looking for a while, he saw her (*tc!āk*ᵘ
a long time; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *l-* [§ 18.4]; *tīn* to see; *-î*
[§ 20.2]; *a'ya* indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; *a-* indefi-
nite pronoun; *o-* [§ 17.2]; *si-*; *tīn* to see)

dutuwu'sigu she felt happy (*du* her; *tu-* mind; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *si-*;
gu to go [?])

daqanē'x wusite! quarrelsome he was (*daqane* quarrelsome; *-x*
[§ 15.7]; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *te*, stem)

*Lel ye awusku' duyî't s*ʌ*tī'yî* he did not know it was his son (*Lel*
not; *ye* thus; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *s- ku* to
know; *du* his; *yît* son; *s*ʌ*-*; *tī* to be; *yî* participial suffix
[§ 20.2])

ʌ*'tcqet dusgo'qtc* what they throw it with (*du-* [§ 17.3]; *s-*; *goq* to
throw; *-tc* always [§ 19.1])

§ 18

For examples of the use of this prefix with the future, see in § 15.6.

It is important to note the evident identity of this prefix with the particle *ʌs* or *ʌsi*.

dîs kawukī's!î ʌsiyu′ Lēq! tāt yū′awasa it was a whole month which he thought a night (*dîs* month; *kawukī's!î* whole; *ʌsi* particle; *yu* demonstrative; *Lēq!* one; *tāt* night; *yū* demonstrative; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; *sa* to say [=think])

xʌtc yetsī′net La ʌsiyu′ it was the mother of the bears (*xʌtc* this; *La* mother)

xʌtc te ʌsiyu′ it was a stone

2. *wa-* indicating completed action.

ts!utā′t ayu′ dāk hʌs uwaqo′x in the morning, at that time out they got (*u-* [§ 17.2]; *wʌ-*; *qox* stem)

ʌt!ā′x hʌs uwaxe′ behind them they camped

hʌs Cq!ʌt qoan ca′oduwaxêtc they conquered the Stikine Indians (*Cq!ʌt* Stikine; *qoan* people; *ca-* [?]; *ō-* [§ 17.2]; *du-* [§ 17.3])

gul Lax Lēq! dîs hʌsduka′ cuwaxī′x probably entirely one month on them passed (*cu-* [§ 15.1])

aLe′, xāt ū′waha mother, I am hungry (*ū- wa-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; *ha* stem)

3. *dî-* denotes the beginning of an action.

adʌ′xawe xā djiudigu′t after that to war they started (*xā* war; *dji-u-* [§ 17.1, 2])

qeqē′de qonaha′ Le cū′yaq!a′odîtʌn toward morning the woman began to change her manner of talking (*cu-* completely [§ 15.1]; *ya* [?]; *q!a-* mouth; *o-* [§ 17.2]; *tʌn* stem)

acê′nya wudîLā′x it had begun to mold at the corner (*a-* indefinite pronoun; *cê′nya* corner of; *wu-* [§ 15.4])

wuckʌ′t caodîte′ they started to rush around (*wu-* [§ 15.4]; *c-* reflexive prefix; *kʌt* post-position; *ca-* reflexive [?]; *o- dî-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; *te* stem)

yuxā′nʌs! ʌdʌ′x q!aodisa′ he began blowing on the raft (*yu-* demonstrative; *xā′nas!* raft; *q!a-* mouth [§ 14.1]; *o-* [§ 17.2])

kaodît!ʌ′q! it began to be hot weather (*ka- o- dî-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 17.2]; *t!ʌq!* stem)

TO START TO GO TO A CERTAIN PLACE is expressed by means of an adverb.

go′na yēqꞬwagagu′t when he was going to start (*gona* starting; *ye* thus; *qo-* indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; *gu-* future prefix [§ 15.5]; *ga-* verbal prefix [§ 17.4]; *gut* to go)

§ 18

4. *ł-* or *łî-* indicates repetition of an action or a plurality of objects acted upon.

yʌx hʌs aya'olidjʌq yutā'n thus they killed off the sea-lions (*a-* indefinite pronoun; *ya-* [§ 15.3]; *o-* [§ 17.2]; *djʌq* to kill; *yu-* demonstrative; *tān* sea-lion)

ayu' aoliẓa'c then he let it float along (*ayu'* there; *a-* indefinite prefix; *o- łi-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; *ẓac* stem)

xatc qawage' ʌsiyu' aca'olihîk it was full of eyes (*xatc* this; *qa-* man; *wage'* eye; *ʌsiyu'* [§ 18.1]; *a-* demonstrative; *ca- = cu-* [§ 15.1]; *o-* [§ 17.2]; *hîk* stem)

*ān qadjî'n aoliᴌē'k*ᵘ he shook hands with those things in his hands (*ān* with it; *qadjîn* man's hand; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *o-* verbal prefix [§ 17.2])

*xā'yî yākq!*ᵘ *ayʌ'x aoliq!ʌ'nq!* he made the enemy's canoes upset by quarreling (*xā* enemy; *-yî* possessive suffix; *yāk*ᵘ canoe; *-q!*ᵘ collective; *ā'yʌx* like that; *a* indefinite pronoun; *o- łi-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; *q!ʌn* stem; *-q!* suffix [§ 19.5])

5. *ᴌ-* or *ᴌî-* is used in contradistinction to the above when the action takes place once, or is thought of at one particular moment.

aositī'n cāwʌ't yuadīgī'ga cwu'ᴌiẓac (when he was going around the lake), he saw one woman floating there (*a-* indefinite pronoun; *o-si-* [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; *tīn* to see; *cāwʌ't* woman; *yuadīgī'ga* there; *c-* reflexive; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *ẓac* to float)

dekī'na hî'nî qo'a wuᴌîū'k far out its water, however, boiled (*dekī'na* far out; *hîn* water; *-î* possessive suffix; *qo'a* however; *wu- ᴌi-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.4]; *ūk* stem)

yên caoᴌîtsî's there he stopped

6. *dzî-* conveys the idea of the attainment of a state not hitherto enjoyed, and is best translated by the words TO COME TO BE.

ayʌ'ẓawe duyʌ'tq!î qodzîti' this is why his children came to be born (*a-* that; *yʌx* like; *awe* it is; *du-* his; *yʌt* child; *-q!î* collective; *qo-* indefinite [§ 15.6]; *ti* to be)

ckʌ a'odzîku' yuxā't qoa'nitc wusnē'ẓe afterward he came to know that the salmon people had saved him; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *o-* verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; *ku* to know; *yu-* demonstrative; *xāt* salmon; *qoan* people; *-tc* intensive; *wu-s-* [§ 15.4; § 18.1])

*tc!u tc!āk*ᵘ *lîngî't tîn ka'odjîte yuē'q* a long time ago there came to be copper among the Indians (*lîngî't* Indians; *tîn* with; *ka-o-* [§ 15.2; § 17.2]; *yu-* demonstrative; *ēq* copper)

wā'sa iya'odudzîqa', ʌxyī't? what did they come to say to you, my son? (*wā'sa* what; *i* you; *ya-* verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; *o-du-* [§ 17.2,3]; *qa* to say; *ʌx* my; *yît* son)

7. *cî-* expresses desire or wish, and may be used equally well as a
stem.

> *dusī' qok!ī't! ak^{u}cîtʌ'n* his daughter liked to pick berries (*du-* his;
> *qokī't!* berries; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *k^u-* [§15.6]; *tʌn* stem)

<center>*Suffixes* (§§ *19, 20*)</center>

<center>§ 19. SUFFIXES OF TEMPORAL CHARACTER</center>

These suffixes, which are not to be confounded with true temporal
suffixes, are *-tc, -nutc, -n, -x,* and perhaps *-q!* and *s!.*

1. *-tc* indicates invariability in the action, and may best be trans-
lated by ALWAYS. It is perhaps identical with the intensive
suffix (§ 7).

> *duwā'qde yagacī'tc* her eyes to he always pointed
> *ts!u yên uqo'xtc* again there he always went by canoe
> *Ɡʌgā'n Kanē'sdîca cakī'nʌx ke x̣îx̣tc* the sun always rises over the
> brow of Cross Mountain (*Ɡʌgā'n* sun; *cakī'nʌx* over the head
> of; *ke* up)
> *Ɡʌndawe' utā'itc dudʌ'q!anʌx* towards the fire he always sleeps
> with his back (*Ɡʌn* what burns; *tā* to sleep; *du-* his)

2. *-nutc* marks what is habitual or customary.

> *hu qo'a ts!ʌs x̣ūk ʌlī'q!anutc* she, however, only dry wood would
> get (*ts!ʌs* only; *x̣ūk* dry wood; *ʟīq!* to fetch)
> *duqê'tcnutc* they would throw off their coats
> *ʌcu'tcnutc duyē'tk!^{u}* she was in the habit of bathing her child
> (*ʌ = a* indefinite pronoun; *cutc* stem; *du-* possessive; *yet* child;
> *-k^u* diminutive)
> *ux udulcu'qnutc* they would laugh at him (*u- du- l-* verbal prefixes
> [§ 17.2, 3; § 18.4]; *cuq* to laugh)
> *ldakʌ't ʌ'dawe at!o'qt!înutc* all kinds of things he would shoot
> (*ldakʌt* all; *ʌd* thing; *a-we* indefinite pronoun and demon-
> strative; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *t!oqt!* stem)
> *ā't!ʌq!anutc* he would pound

3. *-n* (after consonants *-īn* or *-ōn*). This suffix marks a sta-
tionary condition of the action, and is usually employed in
conjunction with another verb, when it indicates the state of
things when the action contained in the principal verb took
place. The action it accompanies may be conceived of as past,
present, or future, and from its character it approaches at
different times in meaning a perfect, continuative, and usi-
tative. This suffix is perhaps related to the prefix *na-* treated
in § 17.5.

§ 19

ʟā'gu yên yʌx dulnîgî'n ye qoyanaqe'tc when a person is through
with a story, he always says this (ʟā'gu story; yên there; yʌx
thus; du- l- verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.4]; nî[k] to say); ye
thus; qo-ya-na- [§ 15.6, 3; § 17.5]; qa to say; -tc [§ 19.1])

wʌ'nîn cwuʟîxa'c edge turned up, he floated (wʌn edge; in [?];
c- reflexive prefix; wu- ʟî- verbal prefixes [§ 15.4; § 18.5]; xac
stem)

duq!ē'nʌx cî tc!a yūt q!anʌcxê'ntc duî'yeq gagaʌ'tîn when his spirits
came to him, blood would flow out of his mouth (du- his; q!a
mouth; -nʌx from; cî blood; tc!a that; yūt out of it; q!a
mouth; nʌ- [§ 17.5]; c- [?]; xên stem; -tc always [§ 19.1]; du-
his; yeq spirit; ga [?]; ga- [§ 17.4]; at to go [pl.]; -în suffix)

ituwu' q!wʌn cʌt!î'q Nîxâ' nēl gu'tnî be courageous when Nîxâ'
comes in (i- thy; tu mind; -wu possessive suffix; q!wʌn exhor-
tative [§ 22.3]; cʌ- reflexive; t!îq! stem [?]; nēl into house; gut
to go; -n -î suffixes [§ 20.2])

tc!aye' dāq gacî'tc ʌcgadjʌ'qên when it almost killed him, he would
run up (tc!aye' almost; dāq up; ga- verbal prefix; cîtc to run;
ʌc fcr c- reflexive [that is, he allowed himself to be killed, though
by something else]; ga- verbal prefix [§ 17.4]; djʌq to kill; -ên
verbal suffix)

tān a aka'wati anʌx gaduskū't hu anʌ'x yên wuqoxō'n he pounded
out a figure of a sea-lion, so that people would know he had
come ashore there (tān sea-lion; a indefinite pronoun; ka- wa-
[§ 15.2; § 18.2]; a indefinite pronoun; nʌx around; ga- du- s-
[§ 17.4, 3; § 18.1]; ku to know; -t purpose [§ 20.1]; hu he; yên
there; wu- [§ 15.4]; qox to go by canoe)

hʌs agacā'n when they marry (a- ga- verbal prefixes)

4. -x may perhaps be regarded as a distributive; at any rate, it indi-
   cates that the action takes place many times, or continues for
   some period.

ʟēl ʌt udjʌ'qx ts!u yên uqo'xtc he kept coming in without having
killed anything (ʟēl not; ʌt indefinite objective; djʌq to kill;
ts!u there)

hu qo'a awe'ʟēl utē'x he, however, did not sleep (u- [§ 17.2]; -x)

ʟēl gʌ'gî ugu'tx he never showed himself (ʟēl not; gʌ'gî was [?];
u- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; gu stem; -t purpose [§ 20.1]; -x)

tcul ʌc utē'nx ʌc wudjîyî'ayu ʌcî't q!ē'watʌn before he thought of
it, his nephew saw him and spoke to him (tcul before; ʌc him;
tēn to see; ʌc his own; -yî possessive; ayu demonstrative; ʌcî't
to him; q!a- mouth [§ 14.1]; wa- verbal suffix [§18.2]; tʌn stem)

aga' tsa axē'x then only he ate (a- indefinite pronoun; xa to eat; -x)

ʟēl ulgē'x kē'ʟadî not ever got big the sea-gull (u- l- verbal pre-
fixes [§ 17.2; § 18.4]; gē stem; -x)

5. **-q!** Although the meaning of this suffix has not been satisfac-
torily determined, it may be included in this list, because it
seems to be used in describing events that have taken place
at some particular time, and to present a marked contrast to
the suffix last considered.

> *ldak_A't yētx ducā'q!* people from all places tried to marry her
> (*ldak_A't* all, everywhere; *yētx* from into; *du-* verbal prefix
> [§ 17.3]; *ca* stem)
>
> *ck_A_x ke djîtī'nîyeq!* you can not see anything (*tīn* to see; *îye* par-
> ticipial suffix lengthened [§ 20.2]; rest uncertain)
>
> *c_Akustī'q!tc* those are (my people) there (*s-* verbal prefix [§ 18.1];
> *tī* stem, to be; *-tc* always [§ 19.1]; rest uncertain)
>
> *ay_A'xawē aosî'ne _Acî'n g_An_Altā'dîcîx lît! tū'dî _Ac wugē'q!* as he had
> told him to do when he ran into the fire with him he threw ·
> him into the basket (*ay_A'xawe* as; *a* indefinite pronoun; *o-sî*
> [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; *_Ac* him, reflexive; *-n* with; *g_An* fire; *_Altā*
> into [?]; *dî* to start to; *cîx* to run; *lît!* basket; *tū'dî* into; *_Ac*
> he; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *gē* to throw)
>
> *xā'yî yākq!ᵘ ay_A'x a'olîq!_A'nq!* he made the enemy's canoes upset
> by quarreling (see p. 183, no. 4)

6. **-s!** occurs after a few verbs, but its significance is obscure.

> *_Atxawe' qol_A'xs!* from there he listened (*qo-* indefinite prefix
> [§ 15.6]; *l-* verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; *_Ax* stem)
>
> *aga' keqgetī's! wek!w_A'lx* you will look out for the green fern-
> roots (*aga'* for that; *ke* particle; *q-* indefinite prefix [§ 15.6];
> *ge = gu-ī* future prefix and personal pronoun [§ 15.5]; *tī* to be;
> *we-* demonstrative; *k!w_Alx* fern-roots)
>
> *h_As qotī's!* they were looking for him (*qo-* indefinite prefix; *tī* to be)

§ 20. SYNTACTIC SUFFIXES

1. **-t** is suffixed to a verb to indicate that it contains a statement of
the purpose for which some other action was performed.

> *dukā'ktc ade' qoka'waqa duīga' q_Agē'x dusgā'ndayu* his uncle sent
> some one after him to burn [his body] (*du* his; *kāk* uncle; *-tc*
> intensive [§ 7]; *ade'* to it; *qo-* indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; *ka- wa-*
> verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 18.2]; *qa* to say; *du* he; *īga'* for; *du- s-*
> [§ 17.3; § 18.1]; *g_An* fire, to burn; *-d* for *-t* before vowel; *-ayu*
> demonstrative)
>
> *qā na_A'dî k!îdē'n yên wudu'dzînî _Atū't qong_A'nadayu* and they
> put on good clothing because they wanted to die wearing it
> (*qā* man; *na-* verbal prefix [§ 17.5]; *_At* to go [pl.]; *-î* verbal

suffix; [§ 20.2]; *k!ídē'n* good; *yên* there; *wu- du- dẑî-* [§ 15.4;
§ 17.3; § 18.6]; *ʌtū't* into it; *qongʌ* [uncertain]; *na* to die; *-t*
purpose; *ayu* demonstrative)

duīga' ʌt nʌgasū't something to help him (*duīga'* for him; *ʌt*
indefinite; *nʌ-*[?] *ga-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.4]; *su* to help; *-t*
purpose)

adʌ'x awaxō'x ʌcī'n ckangaɫnī'gīt then he invited him to tell him
(something he did not know) (*adʌ'x* after it; *ʌc-* he; *-n* with;
c- reflexive; *kʌnga* [? compare *qongʌ* second example; *ɫ-* ver-
bal prefix [§ 18.4]; *nīk* stem; *-t* purpose)

ʌk!ᵘq!ayu yē'yati qā akade' wugu't gʌ'nga a man stopping at Auk
went to (the lake) to get wood (*ʌk!ᵘ*, Auk; *-q!* at; *ayu* demon-
stratives; *yē-* adverb, thus; *ya-* [§ 15.3]; *ti* to be; *qā* man;
-kade' on; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *gu-* to go; *-t* purpose; *gʌn* wood, fire;
ga for).

The use of *-t* with *gu* TO GO, as in the last example, has become very
common, and in that connection it appears to have lost some-
thing of its original function.

2. **-i, -o** after consonants; **yî-, -wu** after vowels. The subordina-
tion of one clause to another is effected more often than in
any other manner by suffixing *-i* or *-o* after consonants, or
-yi or *-wu* after vowels (see §§ 3 and 10). This seems to
have the effect of transforming the entire clause into a par-
ticiple or infinitive.

yuqā' qo'a kā'deq!akā'x daqt wudjîxî'xî the man who jumped out
from (the raft was very much ashamed) (*yu* demonstrative;
qa man; *qo'a* however; *hā'deq!akā'x* from on it; *daqt* out; *wu-
djî-* [§ 15.4; § 17.1]; *xîx* to jump or move quickly)

dudjî'q! ye yutī'yî s!āq gatā' ake' asē'wati he set up a bone trap
he had (*du* he; *djîq!* to; *ye* thus; *yu-* demonstrative; *tī* to be;
s!āq bone; *gatā'* trap; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *ke* up; *a* indefi-
nite pronoun; *se-* verbal prefix; *wat*[*i*] to set up)

hade' wʌt at cī'yî this way! those who can sing (*ci* to sing)

ʟēl ye wuʌ'xtc yucā'wʌt ʌtxayî' ʌxa' yudjê'nwu she never got full
eating sheep-fat (*ʟēl* not; *ye* thus; *ʌx* to eat; *yu-* indefinite
pronoun; *cā'wʌt* woman; *a* indefinite pronoun; *ʌt* things; *xa*
to eat; *-yî* suffix; *ʌxa'* fat; *yu-* demonstrative; *djê'nwu* moun-
tain sheep)

wuctacā'yî married to each other (that is, married couple)

ayʌ'xde yanagu'dîayu aosîtī'n while he was going around it, he
saw (*a-* it; *yʌ'xde* around; *ya-na-* [§ 15.3; § 17.5]; *-ayu* demon-
strative)

tc!āk^u altī'nî aya' aosîtī'n looking for a while, he saw her (*a*-
demonstrative; *l*- [§ 18.4]; *aya'* it is this)

qodzîtī'yî ʌt big animals or things; apparently signifies THINGS
BEING OR EXISTING (*qo*- indefinite [§ 15.6]; *dzî*- verbal prefix
[§ 18.6]; *tī* to be; *-yî* suffix; *ʌt* things)

3. **-k^u.** A verb is frequently changed into a noun by taking a
suffix *-k^u*, and this is also usually indicated by the demonstra-
tive prefix; but it would seem, from the manner in which it is
used with certain verbs, especially with the verb TO CALL or
NAME (*sa*), that it should be regarded as a perfect participial
suffix as much as a noun-forming suffix.

yīyuq!atʌ'ngîtc your well speaking of them (*yī* you [pl.]; *yu*- de-
monstrative; *q!a* mouth; *tʌn* stem; *-tc* intensive; *-gî-* stands
here for *k^u*)

yē'duwasak^u their names being these (*ye* thus; *du*- *wa*- verbal pre-
fixes; *sa* stem)

tīl yudjisîtʌ'nk^u waves rise up on it; or waves, the rising up of
them upon it (*tīl* wave; *yu*- demonstrative; *djî*- *sî*- prefixes;
tʌn stem)

yē'yuwagutk^u that was why he had traveled that way; or, more
strictly, thus the traveling of him (*yē* thus; *yu*- demonstra-
tive; *wa*- verbal prefix; *gut* stem)

yīkʌ'-at-xʌck^u the ones having split tongues for you (*yī*- you; *kʌ*
post-position; *at* thing; *xʌc* stem)

yuq!ayatʌ'nk^u the one that could talk (*yu*- demonstrative; *q!a*
mouth; *ya*- verbal prefix; *tʌn˙* stem)

yuqoyalis!ê'ʟk^u when he was playing with the children, he would
hurt them; or, the hurt he would do to them (*yu*- demonstra-
tive; *qo*- *ya*- *li*- verbal prefixes; *s!êʟ* stem)

yū'ayalîq!k^u he would break the knife he got hold of (*yū*- demon-
strative; *a*- indefinite; *ya*- verbal prefix; *lîq!* stem)

ʟax yaʟa'qk^u he was a very great eater; or, the great eater that
he was (*ʟax* very; *ya*- verbal prefix; *ʟaq* stem)

dunā' ʌt lī'tc!ê'q^uk^u he was a dirty little fellow; or, the dirty
little fellow that he was (*dunā* [?] *ʌt* thing; *li*- verbal prefix;
tc!êq^u stem)

ada' yuq!ʌ'duʟiʌ'tk^u about it they were all talking; or, the talk-
ing that went on about it (*a*- indefinite; *da* post-position; *yu*-
demonstrative; *q!ʌ* mouth; *du*- *ʟi*- verbal prefixes; *ʌt* stem)

tc!a ʌkʌnī'k tc!uʟe' ayê'x yū'yatîk^u whatever he told them took
place (*tc!a* whatever; *tc!ule'* then; *ayê'x* like it; *yu*- demon-
strative; *ya*- prefix [§ 15.3])

qaye' qok^ugwanē'xe tc!uʟe' yuʌhanîkk^u ayê'x yū'yatîk^u when a

person was going to get well, he told them, and so it was (*qa* person; *qo-* [§ 15.6]; *nēx* to be well; for the rest see last example). The end of this sentence might be rendered AS WAS THE TELLING OF THIS BY HIM, SO WAS THE FACT

*dā′sa gʌ′xdudjā′q qōn yuʌka′yanĭkk*ᵘ what they were going to kill was what they got (*dā′sa* what; *gʌ-* future [§ 15.5]; *-x* transitional [§ 15.7]; *du-* verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; *djāq* to kill; *qōn* [?]; *yu-* demonstrative; *ʌ-* indefinite pronoun; *ka- ya-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.2, 3]; *nĭk* stem)

4. **-ya.** Another suffix similar to this is *-ya*, which is perhaps identical with the continuative *ya-* treated of in § 15.3. This is mainly used in clauses which in English would be subordinated by means of a relative pronoun or adverb, and often the participial suffix *-i* [§ 20.2] is employed in conjunction with it. It would seem that the entire clause is turned into a noun in this manner, and becomes the object of the principal verb. Examples are as follows:

yʌx galē′ yuq!ās adē′ uduwaq!ā′siya far is the distance which the cascade comes down (*yʌx* like; *galē′* far; *yu-* demonstrative; *q!ās* cascade; *ade′* to it; *u- du- wa-* [§ 17.2, 3; § 18.2])

tc!u ade′ xaq!ū′ya awe′ ayʌ′x qot cū′waxix just the way they were sleeping they were destroyed (*tc!u* just; *ade′* at it; *xaqᵘ* to sleep; *ayʌ′x* like it; *qot* completely; *cu-* [§ 15.1])

dudjī′txawe yĭdadunā′ya from him they knew how to fix [a trap] (*du* him; *-dj* intensive [§ 7]; *t* to; *x* from; *awe* demonstrative; *yĭdadunā′ya* they learned to fix)

ade′ hʌs kʌq!adi′nutcya ade′ akaolĭxē′s! he put them in the place where they were in the habit of hooking fish (*ade′* at it; *hʌs* they; *kʌ* to cause [?]; *q!ʌt* to catch [?]; *-nutc* habitually [§ 19.2]; *a-* indefinite prefix; *ka- o- lĭ-* [§ 15.2; § 17.2; § 18.4])

atē′xya aosĭku′ when she slept, he knew (*a-* indefinite prefix; *te* to sleep; *-x -ya* suffixes [§ 19.4]; *a-* indefinite prefix; *o- sĭ-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; *ku* to know)

kaodĭt!ʌ′q! ā′xo gudiya′ it was hot weather from where he started (*ka- o- dĭ-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 17.2; § 18.3]; *t!aq!* stem; *a-* indefinite prefix; *xo* among; *gu* to go; *-t* purpose [§ 20.1])

ʟēl hʌs ā′wusku ade′ yuyanē′giya they did not know what to make of it (*ʟēl* not; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *wu- s-* [§ 15.4; § 18.1]; *ade′* at it; *yu-* demonstrative; *ya-* verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; *nek* to say)

hʌs ā′wawus! "gudʌ′x sa yē′dadunʌ′taya" they inquired, "From where do they get this?" (*gu* where; *dʌx* from; *sa* interrogative particle; *ye* adverb; *da- du- na-* verbal prefixes [§ 14.4; § 17.3,5]; *ʌt* to go [pl.])

§ 20

ANALYSIS OF VERBAL FORMS.

Pronominal object	Nominal prefix	First modal prefix	Pronominal subject	Second modal prefix	Third modal prefix	Stem	Suffix	
		wu			dᵢ	Lax		It had begun to be moldy.
a		ya		u	sᴧ	ga		He said to her.
		wu		dji		riᵢ		He got down to it quickly.
		wu		du	s	tin		He was seen.
a		wu		u	dzi	kᵘ		He came to know it.
		wu			s	nẑz	e	Being saved.
i	q!a	ya		u-du	dzi	ga		They came to say to you (came to = dzi).
					wa	tan		He went out and spoke.
(gᴏt)		ka		u-du		k!u		It got completely out of his head.
(Aᵗ)		wu		du	wa	run		They had started.
		ka		u	si	nẑz		It caused to be saved.
a				du	wa	sa	kᵘ	Having been named.
c		wu			ti	hac	tc	He was always floating himself about.
					sᴧ	ti	yᴧ	Being (his son).
		gu-x	tu		sᴧ	si		We will cook it.
		gu-x				rac	!	When it is going to be cut.
(Aᵗ)	q!a	ka		du	wa	djᵢt		They moved things out.
		ka			wa	na		He sent some one (out) to speak.
		x		u	si	te		It came to be.
c		ka			l	nik .		He was telling (them).
(gᴏt)		cu			wa	riᵢ		They were all lost.

§ 20

	a	tu	wu		ga	s	tsin	i	Meaning
		tu	wu			s	tsin	i	He is very strong in mind (i. e., brave).
	a	g!a					tox		He spit on it.
			go-gu			wa	xāc		He was going to cut off.
	a	g!a	wu			wa	xe	i	He fasted on it (an island).
						dzi	xāc		When he cut it.
			go		ga		ti	yi-ya	He having lived for (more than a hundred years).
			ya				na		When he was dying.
	a		ya			di	at		They started to go down.
			go-ya		u-du	wa	ci		They hunted for her for an indefinite time.
					ga-na		at	1	When they go after salmon.
	a				ga		At	in	When they would come in.
	a		qo				gan	tc	It would always burn.
				i	u	si	nēx		They saved you.
			wu		ga		xix	in	When it got.
			qo			wa	Ax	tc	It always heard.
				ra	na		At	dé	Go with me (dé imperative particle).
		lu				wa	guq		They rushed (to the door) in a body (tu).
			cu-ka		u	li	tsax		They kicked into it.
	(At)				na-ga		su		(Something) to help him.
	ha				u	si	nēx		They have cured us.
			ya	i			djaq		You are dying (of cold).
			i	yi	na	si	ni		You put (or laid) down.
	ha		yi				t!a		We will be warm.
			kᵘ-gu	i		wa	ni	yi	You are having.
	xAt	da	ya	i			qa		You are saying to me.

§ 20

§ 21. Composition of Verb-Stems

A real composition of two verb-stems in one word seems to be entirely wanting. It sometimes happens, however, that the stem which contains the principal idea is placed before another verb-stem of very general meaning, such as *ti* TO BE, * x̣ị̂x* TO GET, or *nuk^u* TO BECOME, and is there treated as if it were a prefix or an adverbial modifier, all of the other verbal prefixes being attached to the general auxiliary stem. Thus we have—

> *yīhā'n ke gax gʌxyīsati'* YOU (pl.) WILL CRY, where *gax* is the regular stem of the verb meaning TO CRY, and *ti*, the stem of the verb TO BE, taking the future, pronominal, and all other prefixes. Similar to this is *k!ānt hʌs uwanu'k^u* THEY BECAME ANGRY, where *k!ān* signifies ANGER, and *nuk^u* TO BECOME. Of this same type is *qot cū'wax̣ix̣* THEY WERE ALL DESTROYED, although it is uncertain whether *qot* is ever employed as a regular stem in the place of *x̣ị̂x.*

The list on pages 190 and 191 contains the analysis of a number of verbal forms in accordance with the groups of prefixes and suffixes described in §§ 14–20.

Adverbs (§§ 22, 23)

§ 22. Modal Adverbs

1. **agî** is an interrogative adverb which is used in interrogative sentences in which no interrogative pronoun occurs. It is placed after the verb, or near the beginning of the clause.

> *iyaʌ'xtc agî'?* do you hear it?
> *ūhā'n agî' yekā' ʌt tux̣ʌ'ck^u tca kū'cta qoan q!ecā'nî?* are we the ones splitting land-otter (tongues) to see people? (*ūhā'n* we; *yekā'* the ones; *ʌt* indefinite object, namely, tongues; *tu* we; *x̣ʌc* split; *-k^u* suffix [§ 20.3]; *tca* thus; *kū'cta* land-otter; *qoan* people; *q!eca'nî* to see [uncertain analysis])
> *xat yī sitī'n agî?* do you see me? (*xat* me; *yi* you; *si-* prefix [§ 18.1]; *tīn* to see)

2. **dê** following the verb indicates the imperative.

> *ʌdjī't gut dê!* come up to me! (*ʌx* me; *-dj* intensive [§ 7]; *-t* to; *gu* to come; *-t* purpose [§ 20.1])
> *ā'nʌx asaqo'x dê!* go with it around it! (*a* indefinite pronoun; *nʌx* around; *a* indefinite pronoun; *sa-* prefix; *qox* to go by canoe)
> *gʌ'nga naa't dê!* for firewood go! (*gʌn* firewood; *ga* for; *na-* prefix [§ 17.5]; *at* to go)

3. *q!wʌn* expresses a mild imperative and resembles our own PRAY, or SUPPOSE.

> *dēkī' q!wʌn daqīcī'q* out, pray, run to him! (*dēkī'* out; *da-* to [§ 14.4]; *qī-* [?]; *cīq* to run)
>
> *hīnq! q!wʌn yên xʌt cʌt* into the water, pray, then put me! (*hīn* water; *q!* at; *yên* then; *xʌt* me; *cʌt* put)
>
> *ituwu' q!wʌn cʌt!î'q! Nixâ' nēl gu'tnî* be courageous when Nixâ' comes in (see § 19.3; *i* you; *tu* mind; *-wu* possessive; *cʌ-* reflexive; *t!îq!*, stem [?]; *nēl* into the house; *gu* to go; *-t -n -i* suffixes [§ 20.1; § 19.3; § 20.2])

4. *ł* expresses the negation. Generally this element appears combined with the connective *łe* THEN. The emphatic negative is *łił*, apparently a doubled negation.

> *łił kīnīgi'q ya ʌxhî'tî* never tell about my house (*łił* never; *ki = ka* [?]; *nîk* to tell; *-iq* suffix; *ya* about; *ʌx* my; *hît* house; *-î* possessive)
>
> *łił lʌx ye xʌt kugʌ'ndjîq* never let me burn up! (*lʌx* very; *ye* thus; *xʌt* I; *ku* future; *gʌn* to burn; *-tc* always; *-iq* a suffix)

In negative questions the negation is contracted with the interrogative particle.

> *łē'gił xʌt wunēku?* am I not sick? (*łē* adverb; *gi* interrogative particle; *ł* not (with *łē*); *xʌt* I; *wu-* verbal prefix; *nēkᵘ* sick)

5. *guł* expresses probability, and is generally initial.

> *guł lʌx łēq! dîs hʌsduka' cuwaxī'x* very probably they passed all of one month (*lʌx* very; *łēq!* one; *dîs* moon; *hʌsduka'* on them; *cu-* entirely [§ 15.1]; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; *xīx* stem)
>
> *guł de djînkā't ayu' q!a'owaxe* for probably ten days he went [without food] (*de* already; *djînkat* ten; *ayu'* demonstrative; *q!a* mouth [§ 14.1]; *o- wa-* prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.2]; *xe* stem)

§ 23. Locative Adverbs

Locative adverbs are difficult to distinguish from post-positions, but the following may be mentioned as of constant occurrence:

1. *dāk* outward, out to sea
2. *dāq* shoreward
3. *ke* upward
4. *de* now, right away, already
5. *ye* thus or as follows
6. *yêx* or *yʌx* like
7. *nēl* into the house
8. *yu* or *yux* out of doors
9. *yên* there
10. *dekī'* far outward
11. *ixkī'* down below, specifically southward
12. *yîk* inside

Bearing a closer resemblance to post-positions are:

13. *t* or *dê* to
14. *n* with
15. *x* from
16. *q!* at
17. *yī* down in
18. *yī'nadê* down toward
19. *yes* for
20. *qox* back to, backward
21. *xʌn* to a person
22. *tu* into
23. *tā'yi* under
24. *t!a* behind
25. *dʌx* from
26. *da* around
27. *xō* among
28. *kī* toward

29. *ka* on
30. *ga* for
31. *qʌq!* for
32. *gē* inside of
33. *tin* with
34. *hā'yi* down underneath
35. *q!ēs* for
36. *gayi* down in front of
37. *wʌt* at the mouth of
38. *tāk* in the middle of
39. *nʌx* through, on account of, in association with
40. *gān* outside of
41. *datcū'n* straight for
42. *ya* in the neighborhood of
43. *sakᵘ* for

The last of these is always used after the verb.

Even nouns and verbs are used exactly as if they were conceived of as post-positions: as,

> *hî'tq!î tūx ya'waqut yucā'wʌt adjʌ'q dʌx* the woman went through the houses after she had killed it (*hît* house; *-q!î* collective; *tūx* through; *ya- wa-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.3; §18.2]; *qu* to go; *-t* [§ 20.1]; *yu-* demonstrative; *cā'wʌt* woman; *a* it; *djʌq* to kill; *dʌx* from)

> *aq!î'ts cʌntū'dê kʌx a'odîgeq!* he put (his coat) on to go down into the midst of its tentacles (*a-* it; *q!îts* tentacles; *cʌn-tū'dê* into the midst of; *kʌx* adverbial; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *o- dî-* prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.3]; *geq!* to do quickly)

> *ayʌlanē's!awe awʌ'n* when he had sharpened the edges of it (*a-* indefinite pronoun; *yʌ- lʌ-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.3; § 18.4]; *nēs!* to sharpen; *awe* when; *a* it; *wʌn* edges)

As, on account of their phonetic weakness, the post-positions *t*, *n*, *x*, and *q!* must always be agglutinated to some other word, they sometimes have the appearance of cases, but the first of these is simply a contraction of *dê;* and the distinction in use between all of them and the syllabic post-positions is not marked enough to justify a separate classification.

The adverbs *de*, *ke*, and *ye* are essential to certain verbs, and the same may be said of *ʌt* SOMETHING with the verbs *xa* TO EAT and *xun* TO START.

§ 23

§ 24. Conjunctions

The conjunction used between nouns and coordinate clauses is *qa* AND; while antithesis is expressed by *qo'a*, which more closely approaches English HOWEVER in its use than BUT. Conjunctions employed to introduce sentences are, for the most part, compounded of post-positions and demonstratives:

> *adʌ'xayu* or *adʌ'xawe* and then (compounded of *a; dʌx* from; *a*, and *yu* or *we*)
> *ʌtxawe'* afterwards (from *a; t* to; *x* from; *a;* and *we*)
> *ayʌ'xawe* on account of which (from *a; yʌx* like; *a;* and *we*)
> *tc!uʟe'*, evidently THEN, consists of two adverbial particles, *tc!u* and *ʟe!*
> *wananī'sawe* by and by (probably compounded from some verb)
> *ʌtcawe'* contains the intensive suffix *tc*.

Subordinate clauses, when not turned into participles or infinitives, are connected to the principal verb by *awe'* or *ayu'*, which also occur in conjunction with the participial suffix *-i*, and often with *ga-*, *na-*, or *-n*.

VOCABULARY (§§ 25-28)

Stems are almost invariably monosyllabic, and consist usually of a consonant followed by a vowel; or a consonant, vowel, and consonant. Occasionally, however, we find single vowels; a vowel followed by a consonant; or a vowel, consonant, and vowel. Two consonants never occur together in the same syllable unless one is an agglutinated affix.

§ 25. Nominal Stems

Following is a list of several simple nominal stems:

a lake		*ta* stone	
an town		*tan* sea-lion	
as! tree		*tāt* night	
axa' paddle		*nu* fort	
īc father		*naʌ't* clothing	
yākᵘ canoe		*nūk!ᵘ* shells	
yāk mussel		*tcunē't* bow	
yao herring		*tsa* seal	
yʌxᵘtc sea-otter		*tsēsk!ᵘ* owl	
yēk supernatural helper		*s!āx̣ᵘ* hat	
yīt son		*sīt* spruce	
dā's!a snare		*cʌt* wife	
dîs moon		*can* old person	

cayī'na anchor
cî blood
cī song
gʌgā'n sun
gotc wolf
qa man
qahā'kᵘ salmon-eggs
qou people
q!a point
q!ān fire
q!ūn fur-seal
q!āt! island
xa enemy

xao log or dead tree
xāt root
xōn friend
xōx husband
kāt fish-basket
kā'nî brother-in-law
kē'ʟadî sea-gull
x̣ā'na evening
x̣ūts! grizzly-bear
x̣ix̣tc! frog
hīn fresh water
hît house
hu'nx elder brother

Onomatopoëtic words are surprisingly rare.

The following are the terms of blood-relationship:

līlk! grandparent
īc father
ʟa mother
ʟak! mother's sister (literally, little mother)
kāk mother's brother
āt father's sister, and father's sister's daughter
sʌ'nî father's brother and father's sister's son
hunx man's elder brother
cʌtx woman's elder sister
kīk! man's younger brother, and woman's younger sister
ʟāk! man's sister
īk! woman's brother
kālk! mother's brother's children
cxʌnk! grandchild
yīt son, and son of mother's sister
sī daughter, and daughter of mother's sister
kêlk! sister's child, and child of woman's brother

Terms of relationship through marriage are the following:

xox husband
cʌt wife
wu father-in-law
tcān mother-in-law
kā'nî brother-in-law of man, and sister-in-law of woman

The other relationships are indicated by terms purely descriptive. Most of the above are also used in a broad sense to cover those persons of the same sex, clan, and generation, as the one to whom it more particularly belongs. A sister's husband was called husband; and a wife's sister, wife, because, in case of the wife's death, the widower had a right to marry her sister.

§ 25

§ 26. Verbal Stems

One or two nominal stems, such as *sa* NAME, *tcūn* DREAM, and *x̣ᵢʟ!* HERRING-RAKE, are also found as the stems of verbs, but usually the two sets of stems are quite distinct. The following is a partial list of verb-stems:

u to use
ha to dig
s!u to cut off
na to do
ni to put
xe to stay, remain
gu to go (one person)
at to go (pl.)
dja to tell, explain
ti to be
ku to know
tʌ to sleep
qa to say
su to help (a supernatural being acting)
ca to marry
xa to eat
ya to carry, bear
k!ê to be good
djī to have
qe to sit
nēx to save
nîk to tell
yex to make
xōx to invite
tʌn to put
nukᵘ to become
djʌq to kill
tīn to see
gʌs! to strike
gên to look at, examine
x̣îx̣ to get
gʌn to burn

gīt to do
na to die
ka to be lazy
t!a to slap
t!a to be hot
cī to hunt for
hîk to be full of
djêl to set, place
tsīn to be strong
g̣îq! to throw
qoẉ to go by canoe
ʟ!ēx to dance
cat to take, seize
x̣ac to drift
xōt! to sharpen
āx to hear
hēn to stand
xēq! to sleep or to go to sleep
s!ît to cover
tît to drift
g̣āx to cry
k!ān to hate
ts!ʌq to smoke
ūk to boil
t!uk to shoot
t!ʌq! to pound
wūs! to ask
xîn to fly into
k!ʌk! to cut
q!akᵘ to forget
q!āk to swim
ʌk to weave
tsîs to swim

It is possible that the final consonant of one or another of these stems is really a suffix, and such may have been the origin of some terminal consonants which are now inseparable.

§ 26

§ 27. Numerals

Numerals precede the nouns with which they occur. The cardinal numbers are:

ʟēq! one	na'ts!kuducu' eight
dēx two	gucū'k nine
nats!k three	djî'nkāt ten
daq!ū'n four	djî'nkāt qa ʟēq! eleven
kē'djîn five	ʟē'qa twenty
ʟē'ducu six	nats!ga djî'nkat thirty
daxa'ducu seven	kē'djîn qa one hundred

Kē'djîn is formed from *ke* UP and *djîn* HAND; *djî'nkāt* contains the suffix *kat* ACROSS or UPON and *djîn* HAND; *ʟē'qa* is from *ʟēq!* ONE and *qa* MAN.

When human beings are referred to, slaves usually excepted, the numeral takes the post-position *nʌx*.

nʌ's!ginʌx qa three men
ʟeducū'nʌx dukē'lk!î hʌs his six nephews
dēx gux two slaves

The numeral ONE, however, is sometimes unchanged.

yuʟē'q! yʌtī'yiga wuckik!iyê'n bring one of the brothers
ʟēq! atī'yia bring one man

nʌx is also used to form distributive numerals.

Ordinals are formed from cardinals by means of a final *-a*.

dʌxa' the second
nats!gîa' the third

THE FIRST is expressed by *cuq!wā'nʌx*.

Numeral adverbs are formed by suffixing *-dahēn*.

dʌxdahē'n yē'yanaqa when he said thus twice
dʌxdahē'na gu'dawe after she had been twice

§ 28. Interrogative Pronouns

The chief interrogative pronouns, also used as relatives, are *adū'sa* WHO, *dā'sa* WHAT, and *wā'sa* WHAT or HOW. The final syllable *sa* is separable, however, although never omitted, and ought rather to be regarded as an interrogative particle, though it is perhaps identical with the particle *sî* or *ʌsî* referred to in § 18.1. Examples of the use of these pronouns are:

§§ 27, 28

adū'sa wuʟ!ī'q! who broke it off?

adū'sgî qasī' gaca' I wonder who will marry my daughter

dā'saya ye djī'wani what has done this?

dasayū', aʟe' what is that, mother?

hʌ dā'tĭn sa what with? (that is, what can you do?)

wasa'yu hadē' ye'doqa what to us do they say thus?

tc!uʟe' ʟēl wudusku' wā'sa waniye' then they did not know what had been done

wā'sa iya'odudzîqa' ʌxyī't what did they say to you, my son?

With these should be connected *gu'sū* WHERE.

gusū' yên yuqoxe'tcgî where is, then, the breaking off of it?

gusū' tūwunu'guyîyî where is it that he had felt bad?

gudʌ'xqā'x sʌyu' ū'wadjî ʟēl ye'awusku' from whence he came, she did not know

The last of these examples shows the locative character of *gusu'* (in this case contracted to *gu*); and the first two, the curious manner of its employment.

§ 28

TEXT

QĀQ!ATCGŪ′K

(Told by interpreter, Don Cameron, at Sitka, January, 1904)

Cīt!kā′q!ayu[1] yē′yati[2] wu′ckîk!îyê′n[3] yē′duwasak[u][4] hunxō′[5] a[6]
At Sitka it was that there were brothers named thus the eldest that is

Qāq!atcgū′k.[7] AL!ū′nayu[8] hʌs ak[u]cîtʌ′n.[9] Lēq![10] ts!utā′tayu[11]
Qāq!atcgū′k. Hunting it was they liked. One morning it was on that

q!ā′t!q!î xodê′[12] dāk[13] has uwaqo′x.[14] Lèɫ ʌt udjʌ′qx.[15] Ts!u
islands to among out they went by canoe. Not things he ever killed. Again

yēn uqo′xtc.[16] Ts!u dāk uwaqo′x.[14] AdA′xayu[17] yuq!ū′n[18] xō′dê
there he always came Again out he went by canoe. And then the fur seals to among
in by canoe.

wuduwasa′.[19] "Hu ʌt naqo′xtcîya[20] aya′.[21] Cîɫk!ʌ′L![22] î′sa[23]
his name was called. "He things always going in canoe is here. Keep quiet your voices
                                         after

gaā′x."[24] Dāq hʌs naqo′x[20] a′ayu[25] yuhunxō′a[26] yē′q!ayaqa:[27]
lest he Shoreward they were going by at that time the eldest brother it said thus:
hear."   canoe   was

---

[1] Cŭ′kā′ (Sitka) compounded of Cî the native name of Baranoff Island, the post-position t!a BEHIND or BACK OF, and the post-position ka ON; q! locative post-position AT; ayu compounded of yu the demonstrative and probably a- indefinite pronoun, used to call particular attention to the place.

[2] ye an adverbial particle referring to BROTHERS, which may here be translated AS FOLLOWS, although it sometimes refers to what precedes; ya- continuative prefix § 15.3; ti stem of the verb TO BE.

[3] wu- § 15.4; c- the reflexive prefix § 11; kîk! YOUNGER BROTHER; -yĕn suffix which seems to take the place of hʌs to indicate plurality.

[4] ye AS FOLLOWS; du- § 17.3; wa- § 18.2; sa TO NAME or CALL; -k[u] noun-forming or perfect participial suffix § 20.3.

[5] hunx ELDER BROTHER; ŏ probably possessive; kîk! YOUNGER BROTHER.

[6] a stands for yē′duwasak[u].

[7] Object of yē′duwasak[u].

[8] a- indefinite pronoun indicating the things hunted for; L!ūn HUNTING FOR, employed as a post-position; -ayū (see note 1).

[9] hʌs personal pronoun subject third person plural; a- object referring to aL!ū′n; k[u]- indefinite prefix; ci- desire § 18.7; tʌn TO PUT, verb-stem of many uses.

[10] Lĕq! ONE, numeral modifying ts!utā′t. Very often the noun modified is omitted in connections like this.

[11] ts!u AGAIN; tāt NIGHT; ayu demonstrative. The meaning seems to be, ANOTHER NIGHT BEING PAST.

[12] q!āt! ISLAND; -q!î plural; xo AMONG; dĕ motion to.

[13] Adverb; SEAWARD or TO AN OPEN PLACE.

[14] u- § 17.2; wa- § 18.2; qox TO GO BY CANOE.

[15] u- § 17.2; djʌq TO KILL; -x distributive suffix § 19.4.

[16] u- § 17.2; qox TO GO BY CANOE; -tc intensive suffix § 7.

[17] a- indefinite pronoun; -dʌx FROM; ayu demonstrative.

[18] yu- demonstrative; q!ūn FUR-SEAL.

[19] wu- § 15.4; du- § 17.3; wa- § 18.2; sa TO NAME, TO CALL, also VOICE.

[20] na- action accompanied by another action § 17.5; qox TO GO BY CANOE; -tc intensive suffix § 7; -î participial suffix; -ya noun-forming suffix § 20.2, 4.

[21] a indefinite pronoun, and ya demonstrative.

[22] c- reflexive § 11; l- frequentative § 18.4; k!ʌL! TO BE QUIET.

[23] î- THY; sa VOICE (see note 19).

[24] ga- subordinating prefix § 17.4; āx TO HEAR.

[25] a and ayu.

[26] yu- demonstrative; hunxō′ ELDER BROTHER; a indefinite pronoun.

[27] yĕ- AS FOLLOWS; q!a MOUTH; ya- § 15.3; qa stem.

200

"Lāk^u axā', yāndunu'k^u." [28]   Lē k!ānt [29] hʌs uwanu'k^u. [30]   Caqahā'dî [31]
"Quick paddles it has become windy."   Then angry   they   became.   The bowman

yāk^ut [32] awago'q^u [33] duaxa'yî. [34]   Łdakʌ't yē's [35] wudzîgī't. [36]   Adʌ'xayu [17]
into the   pushed   his paddle.   All   did the same.   And then
canoe

cana' [37] hʌs wu'dîs!ît. [38]   Yū'yāk^u [18] qo'a   Lē   wu'łixac. [39]   Dekī'dê [40]
heads   they   covered.   The canoe,   however, then   drifted.   Outward

Leducū' [41] yʌ'kaye   qa   tāt [11] hʌs   wu'łixac. [39]   Yadjî'nkāt-qa-dēx [42]
six   days   and nights   they   drifted.   The twelfth day

akʌ'tayu [43]   ke   a'odzîgīt [44]   yên   yu'łitîtk^u [45]   yuyā'k^u. [18]   Aosîtī'n [46]
on that   up   he woke   there the drifting against   the canoe.   He saw
the shore

q!āt!kʌ'q! [47]   Asîyu' [48]   tān,   tsa,   q!ūn,   yʌx^utc!   qa   tān-q!ʌdadzā'yî. [49]
on the island   it was   sea-lions,   hair-   fur-   sea-otters, and sea-   bristles.
seals,   seals,   lion-

Łdakʌ't   ada' [50]   aołitʌ'q! [51]   yuq!ā't!dāq!. [52]   Hʌs   ʌt   kā'wadjêł. [53]
All   around it   drifted   the island around on.   They   things   got up.

Lēq!   tāk^u [54]   ayē's [55]   wuti'. [56]   Kʌ'ndak!ē'tî [57]   yuLē'q!   tāk^u   qa   acuwu'.
One   year   they were there.   It was completed   the one   year   and   a half.

Wutē'x [58]   yuqā'   tcucstā't. [59]   Lēq!   tsłutā't   ān [60]   ke   udzîgī't [61]
Slept regularly   the man to sleep about himself. One   morning   with it   up   he woke

dutcū'nî. [62]   Yē'atcun [63]   qox [64]   agā'qtc. [65]   Adʌ'xayu [17]   Lēq!   tsłutā't [11]
his dream.   He dreamed thus   back   he always got.   And then   one   morning

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²⁸ ya- § 15.3; n- action accompanied by another action § 17.5; du- § 17.3; nuk^u to blow.

²⁹ k!ān anger; -t attainment of a state § 20.1.

³⁰ u- § 17.2; wa- § 18.2; nuk^u to become.

³¹ Perhaps containing ca head, qa man.

³² yāk^u canoe; -t motion into.

³³ a indefinite pronoun; wa- § 18.2; qoq^u to push.

³⁴ du- his; axa' paddle; -yi' possessive suffix § 10.

³⁵ yē refers to action preceding; -s probably stands for hʌs they.

³⁶ wu- § 15.4; dzî- to come to § 18.6; gît to do.

³⁷ ca head; -na probably around, near.

³⁸ wu- § 15.4; di- inchoative § 18.3; s!ît to cover.

³⁹ wu- § 15.4; l- frequentative § 18.4; xac to drift.

⁴⁰ dckī' far off; -dê motion thither.

⁴¹ Lēq! one; six = one counted upon five.

⁴² ya- demonstrative; djîn hand; -kāt upon or across, probably the two hands lying upon each other; qa and; dêx two.

⁴³ Probably a indefinite pronoun; kʌ on; t motion to; ayu demonstrative compound.

⁴⁴ a indefinite pronoun; o- § 17.2; dzî- to come to be § 18.6; gît.

⁴⁵ yū demonstrative; l- frequentative § 18.4; tît to drift ashore; -k^u verbal noun § 20.3.

⁴⁶ a- indefinite pronoun; o- § 17.2; -sî simple statement of an action § 18.1; tîn to see.

⁴⁷ q!āt! island; kʌ on; q! at.

⁴⁸ Probably a indefinite pronoun; sî simple statement of fact (see note 46); yu demonstrative.

⁴⁹ q!a probably mouth; -yi possessive suffix § 10.

⁵⁰ a indefinite pronoun; da around.

⁵¹ a indefinite pronoun; o- § 17.2; l- frequentative § 18.4; tʌq! to drift.

⁵² yu demonstrative; q!at! island; da around; q! at.

⁵³ ka- to cause to do § 15.2; wa- § 18.2; djêt to arise.

⁵⁴ Strictly winter.

⁵⁵ a indefinite pronoun; yês on account of, or yê plus s for hʌs they.

⁵⁶ wu- § 15.4; tî to be.

⁵⁷ I am unable to analyze this word. kʌ may be the prefixed auxiliary.

⁵⁸ wu- § 15.4; ta to sleep; -x distributive § 19.4.

⁵⁹ tcuc- perhaps reflexive § 11; s- single statement of action § 18.1; ta to sleep; -t suffix indicating purpose § 20.1.

⁶⁰ a indefinite pronoun; -n with.

⁶¹ u- active prefix § 17.2; dzî- to come to be § 18.6; gît to do.

⁶² du- his; tcûn dream; -î possessive suffix after a consonant §§ 3, 10.

⁶³ ye- demonstrative; a indefinite pronoun; tcûn to dream.

⁶⁴ qox occurs both as adverb and as post-position.

⁶⁵ a indefinite pronoun; gāq to reach; -tc intensive suffix § 7.

dukī′k!-hʌs [66] ye′ayaosîqa,[67]   "Cā′yidaqê′dê.[68] Yāk^uyî[69] ʌt kayîlaga′.[70]
his younger brothers he said to as follows,   "Sit up.   Into the things   you load.
                                                              canoe

Tcākuge′yî   yê′nde [71]   hayāk^ugwatā′n.[72]   Ǥʌgā′n   Kanē′sdî-ca [73]
Anywhere   thither   we will go.   Sun   Cross-mountain
                                                              (Verstovaia)

cakī′nʌx[74] ke xîxtc."[75]   Adā′xayu yên hʌs yā′watʌn.[76]   Qo′ka
near the   up always gets."   And then there they were heading. .   It was
top of   dark

wucgē′dî [77] hʌsducayī′nayî [78] hīnq![79] hʌs anatī′tc [80] gʌgū′n anʌ′x [81]
into itself   their anchor   in the   they lowered   sun   from
                                     water   near it

ke   xî′xtciya.[82] Lʌx q!ūn [83] hʌs uxe′ [84] sayu′[48] hʌs aosîtī′n kē′ʟadî
up   where it gets. Very many   they camped   when   they saw   a sea-gull
                                                      it was

yadjî′ndahēn.[85] Xʌtc[86] ʟ!ūx Asiyu′ hʌs aosîtī′n.   Axʌ′nga[87]
standing suddenly It was   Mount it was they saw.   Near it
(on the water).   Edgecumbe that

yasgaqoxayu′[88] hʌs aosîtī′n ʟ!ūx k!idē′n.   "Yū′ca[89] adatcū′n,"[90]
when they were   they saw   Mount plainly.   "The   straight towards
coming   Edgecumbe   mountain   it,"

yū′yawaqa[91] Qūq!ʌtcgū′k, "adatcū′n[90] yên yayī′satʌn."[92]   Adā′xayu
was what said Qūq!ʌtcgū′k,   "straight towards there you be steering."   And then
                                    it

xū′nadê[93] ʌnʌ′x yên hʌs uwaqo′x.   Ye hʌs ā′wasa Yāk^ukʌlsigʌ′k^u.[94]
towards   near   there they came by   Thus they named it Canoe-resting-place.
evening   canoe.

Tān   a   akawati′[95] anʌ′x gaduskū′t [96] hu   anʌ′x yên wuqōxō′n.[97]
Sea   it   he caused   ashore so they might   he   near it there had come by
lion   was to be   at it   know   canoe.

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[66] du- HIS; kîk! YOUNGER BROTHER; -hʌs plural for terms of relationship.

[67] ye demonstrative; a indefinite pronoun; ya- § 15.3; o- § 17.2; si- simple statement § 18.1; qa TO SAY.

[68] Probably c- reflexive; i- YOU; da- inchoative § 18.3; qê TO SIT; -dê imperative suffix or particle § 22.2.

[69] yāk^u CANOE; yî probably DOWN INTO.

[70] ka- TO CAUSE § 15.2; yî- YE; l- frequentative § 18.4; ga TO LOAD.

[71] yên THERE; dê motion toward.

[72] ha US; ya- § 15.3; k^u- indefinite § 15.6; gwa- (for gu-) future § 15.5; tan TO GO.

[73] Kanê′st is the modern Tlingit word for CROSS (Lieut. G. T. Emmons believes it to be a corruption of CHRIST. The consonant cluster st does not sound like Tlingit); ca MOUNTAIN.

[74] ca HEAD; kî TOWARDS; nʌx NEAR, or FROM NEAR BY.

[75] xîx TO GET; -tc intensive suffix § 7.

[76] ya- § 15.3; wa- § 18.2; tʌn TO HEAD.

[77] wu- § 15.4; c- reflexive; gê INTO; dî motion to.

[78] hʌsdu- THEIR; cayî′na ANCHOR; -yî possessive suffix.

[79] hîn WATER; -q! INTO.

[80] a indefinite pronoun; na- action accompanied by another § 17.5; ti stem; -tc intensive suffix.

[81] a indefinite pronoun; nʌx NEAR, or FROM NEAR BY.

[82] xîx TO GET; -tc intensive suffix § 7; -i participle; -ya verbal noun § 20.2, 4.

[83] After Lʌx q!ūn, the word tāt WINTER should be understood.

[84] u- § 17.2; xe TO CAMP.

[85] ya- § 15.3; dji- RAPIDLY § 17.1; na- AT THE SAME TIME AS §17.5; da- inchoative § 18.3; hên TO STAND.

[86] -tc emphatic suffix (?).

[87] a indefinite pronoun; xʌn post-position indicating motion to the neighborhood of some person; -ga PURPOSE.

[88] ya- § 15.3; s- probably stands for hʌs; ga- WHEN § 17.4; qox TO GO BY CANOE; -ayu demonstrative.

[89] yu demonstrative; ca MOUNTAIN.

[90] a indefinite pronoun; datcūn post-position, perhaps containing da AROUND.

[91] yu demonstrative; ya- § 15.3; wa- § 18.2; qa TO SAY.

[92] ya § 15.3; yi- second person plural; sa- indicative §.18.1; tʌn TO STEER.

[93] dê motion toward.

[94] yāk^u CANOE; kʌl (?); si- indicative §18.1; ga or gʌku (?).

[95] a indefinite pronoun; ka- TO CAUSE § 15.2; wa- § 18.2; ti TO BE.

[96] ga subordinating prefix § 17.4; du- § 17.3; s- indicative § 18.1; ku TO KNOW; -t purpose § 20.1.

[97] wu- § 15.4; qox TO GO BY CANOE; -n conjunctival suffix preceded by ō in harmony with the o before x § 3; § 19.3.

AdA'xawe yaCī't!kadê [98] hʌs wuqo'x. Yā'ānî [99] gayā'qdê [100]
And then   here to Sitka   they   came by   This town   ashore in front of
canoe.

yā'sgaqo'xayu' [101] tc!ū'guayî' [102] ducʌ't [103] gānt agā'x. Tc!aye' su
when they were coming   the old one   his wife   outside   wept.   At that very
in by canoe   time

gaxē'ayu'[104] aosîtī'n yū'yākᵘ ān egaya'dê [105] yānaqo'x.[106] Aosîtī'n
when she was   she saw   the canoe   town   to in front of   was coming.   She saw
crying

awu'Agê' [107] xāt-s!āx̣ᵘ.[108] Wudîhā'n [109] nēłde' [110] wugu't.[111] Hāt [112]
she had   the root-hat.   She started up   into the   to go   Here
woven   house   (she went).

hʌs uwaqo'x. Dutuwu'[113] sigu' yucā'wʌt-cān.[114] Duxō'x duxʌ'nq! [115]
they   came.   Her mind was happy   the old woman's.   Her husband   to her

dāq gu'dayu łdakʌ't ʌt qadjidē'[116] ye aosi'ni[117] tān-q!ʌdadzā'yî,
up   came when   all   things   to the men   these   he gave   sea-lion bristles,

yʌ'xᵘtc dūgu', q!ūn dūgu'. Ān qādjî'n [118] aołiɪ̯ē'kᵘ.[119] Dukā'ni-
sea-otter   skins,   fur-seal   skins.   With   hands   he shook.   His brothers-
these

yên [120] yē'dayaduqa, [121] "Detc!ā'kᵘ [122] iitī'q! [123] yên yu-ʌt-kā'wati.[124]
in-law   they said thus to him,   "Long since   in your   there   the feast has been
place   given.

Yuyī's-qa [125] de [126] udū'waca." [127] ʌɪ̯ē'n [128] tuwunu'kᵘ [129] awat!ē'.[130]
The young   is already married."   It was   trouble   she felt.
woman   much

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[98] *ya* THIS, employed because no story was told in Sitka; *dě* TOWARD.

[99] *ya* THIS; *ān* TOWN; *-î* possessive suffix. The reason for the use of this suffix is not clear.

[100] *gā'ya* post-position, IN FRONT OF; *-q* probably indicates motion SHOREWARD; *-dě* TOWARD.

[101] *ya-* § 15.3; *s-* for *hʌs* THEY (?); *qa-* subordinating prefix § 17.4; *qox* TO GO BY CANOE; *-ayu* demonstrative.

[102] *tc!ākᵘ* OLD, OLD TIMES, OLD THINGS; *-(a)yî* possessive suffix referring to *ducʌ't*.

[103] *du-* HIS.

[104] *gax* TO CRY; *-ě* participle § 20.2; *-ayu* demonstrative.

[105] *e-* occurs a few times before post-positions beginning with *g*, such as *ga* and *gě*; *gā'ya* IN FRONT OF; *dě* TOWARD.

[106] *ya-* § 15.3; *na-* action done at the same time as another § 17.5.

[107] *a* indefinite pronoun; *wu-* § 15.4; *ʌk* TO WEAVE, with terminal sound voiced before vowel; *-ě* participle § 20.2.

[108] *xāt* ROOT; *s!āx̣ᵘ* HAT.

[109] *wu-* § 15.4; *dî-* inchoative § 18.3; *hān* TO MOVE. (?)

[110] *nēł* INTO THE HOUSE; *dě* TOWARD.

[111] *wu-* § 15.4; *gu* TO GO; *-î* purposive suffix § 20.1.

[112] *he* demonstrative; *-t* post-position.

[113] *du* HER; *tu* MIND; *wu* possessive suffix after *u* § 10.

[114] *yu* demonstrative; *cā'wʌt* WOMAN; *cān* OLD.

[115] *du* HE; *-xʌn* TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF a person; *-q!* AT.

[116] *qa* MAN; *-tc* voiced before vowel; emphatic suffix § 7; *dě* TOWARD.

[117] See note 46; *ni* TO GIVE.

[118] *qa* MAN; *djîn* HAND.

[119] *ɪ̯ēkᵘ* TO SHAKE.

[120] *du* HIS; *yén* plural for terms of relationship (see note 3).

[121] *yē* demonstrative; *da* sign of indirect object § 14.4; *ya-* § 15.3; *du-* § 17.3; *qa* TO SAY.

[122] *de* NOW; *tc!ākᵘ* A LONG TIME AGO.

[123] *i-* THY; *-q!* post-position.

[124] *yu* demonstrative; *ʌt* SOMETHING; *ka-* causative § 15.2; *wa-* § 18.2; *ti* TO BE.

[125] *yu* demonstrative; *yîs* YOUNG PERSON; *qa* HUMAN BEING.

[126] *de* NOW.

[127] *u-* § 17.2; *du-* § 17.3; *wa-* § 18.2; *ca* TO MARRY (=WOMAN).

[128] *a* indefinite pronoun; *ɪ̯ěn* BIG.

[129] *tu* MIND; *wu-* § 15.4; *nukᵘ* TO BECOME.

[130] *a* indefinite pronoun; *wa-* § 18.2; *t!ě* TO FEEL.

[Translation]

Brothers lived at Sitka of whom the eldest was named Qāq!Atcgū′k. They were fond of hunting. One morning they went out among the islands. He (that is Qāq!Atcgū′k) kept coming back without having killed anything. He went out again. Then his name was mentioned among the fur-seals. "The one who always hunts is here. Keep quiet, lest he hear your voices." When they were going towards the shore, the eldest brother said, "Use your paddles quickly, for it has´ become windy." Now they became angry. The bow-man pushed his paddle down into the canoe. All did the same thing. Then they covered their heads. The canoe, however, drifted on. They drifted out for six days and nights. The twelfth day he (Qāq!Atcgū′k) awoke and found the canoe drifting against the shore. He saw sea-lions, hair-seals, fur-seals, sea-otters, and sea-lion bristles on the island. All had drifted ashore around the island. They took their things up. They were there for one year. A year and a half was completed. The man kept sleeping, thinking about his condition. One morning he woke up with his dream. He kept dreaming that he had gotten home. And one morning he said to his younger brothers, "Sit up. Put the things into the canoe. The sun always rises from the neighborhood of Mount Verstovaia." Then they headed in that direction. When it became dark, they lowered their anchor into the water in the direction from which the sun comes up. After they had spent very many nights, they saw a sea-gull upon the water. What they saw was Mount Edgecumbe. When they got nearer it, they saw plainly that it was Mount Edgecumbe. "Straight for the mountain," said Qāq!Atcgū′k, "steer straight towards it." So towards evening they came near it. They named that place Canoe-resting-place. He pounded out the figure of a sea-lion there so that they might know he had come ashore at that place. When they came ashore in front of the town, his old wife was outside weeping. While she was crying, she saw the canoe coming in front of the town. She saw the root-hat she had woven. She got up to go into the house. They came thither. The old woman's mind was glad. When her husband came up to her, he gave all these things to the people—sea-lion bristles, sea-otter skins, fur-seal skins. He shook hands with these in his hands. His brother-in-law said to him, "The feast was given for you some time ago (that is, the mortuary feast). The young woman is already married." She (the younger woman) was very much troubled on account of it (because her former husband was now a man of wealth).