
HAIDA

BY

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By JOHN R. SWANTON

§ 1. LOCATION

The Haida language, called Skittagetan by Powell, was anciently spoken only on the Queen Charlotte islands, off the coast of British Columbia. About a hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago, however, a large body of Haida moved from their old towns in the northwestern part of the islands, and settled around Cordova and Kasaan bays, Alaska. As originally situated the Haida consisted of six fairly well-marked geographical groups, each of which probably possessed certain dialectic peculiarities; but only two or three well-established dialects can now be said to exist. The two most important of these are that spoken at Skidegate, in the central portion of the Queen Charlotte islands, and that spoken at Masset (on the northern end of the islands) and in Howkan, Klinkwan, and Kasaan, Alaska. The first I shall call the Skidegate dialect, and the second the Masset dialect. The speech of the people around the southern extremity of the group differed so far from these that it may also have been entitled to dialectic rank, but so few of those who used to speak it now survive that we have no absolute knowledge on this point. From the name given by whites to their principal town, I shall call this hypothetical dialect the dialect of Ninstant.

The nearest neighbors of the Skidegate Haida were the Tsimshian of the mainland of British Columbia; and the nearest neighbors of the Masset Haida the Alaskan Tlingit. There is evidence, however, that at one time the Tlingit were neighbors of the southern Haida as well; and the speech of both shows morphological and even lexical similarities such as lead to a suspicion of genetic relationship. Although Tsimshian influence has been very strong among the Haida in recent years, the Tsimshian language is quite distinct, and the only other language in this region which shows any morphological similarity to Haida is the Athapascan spoken in the interior of the continent.

The examples given in the following sketch have been taken from my collection of Haida texts. Those in the Masset dialect will be found in the publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Volume X; those in the Skidegate dialect in Bulletin 29 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. References preceded by B refer to Bulletin 29.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-5)

§ 2. System of Sounds

Like most other languages of the north Pacific coast of America, Haida makes an extended use of sounds of the *k*, *l*, and *s* series. It is peculiarly remarkable, however, for the great extent to which it employs *n* and \tilde{n} (*ng*) and the frequent juxtaposition of two or even three vowel-sounds. Following is a list of all those sounds which the Haida themselves appear to recognize:

	Consonants						Semi-vowels and Breathing.	Vowels	
	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal				
Affricatives	<i>dj</i>	<i>tc</i>	<i>tc!</i>	—	—	—			
Dentals	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t!</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>n</i>	—			
Palatals	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k!</i>	ʧ	\tilde{n}	<i>y</i>	\bar{i} (or \bar{e})	\hat{i} (or \hat{e})	
Velars	<i>q</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>q!</i>	<i>x</i>	—	\bar{h}			
Labials	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	—	—	<i>m</i>	<i>w</i>	\bar{a} (or <i>a</i>)	<i>A</i>	
Laterals	ɫ	<i>L</i>	<i>L!</i>	ɭ , <i>l</i>	—		\bar{u} (or \bar{o})	<i>u</i> (or <i>o</i>)	

An anterior palatal series might be added to these, but the sounds to be so characterized seem only palatals followed by a close vowel. The fortis sounds are accompanied by a slight explosion, which results from urging more breath against the articulating organs than can at once pass through. Some speakers bring these out very forcibly, while others pass over them with considerable smoothness. In the latter case it is very easy to mistake them for corresponding sonants. It is doubtful whether *d* and *t* and *dj* and *tc* really exist as recognizedly separate sounds; *tc* is sometimes heard in the Masset dialect, and *dj* in Skidegate in corresponding situations. ʧ is pronounced intermediately between the *ch* in German "ach" and in German "ich," with which latter sound it agrees entirely when placed before a close vowel. In the *l*-series ɫ is much like *dl*, and *L* much like *tl*; but the tongue is extended farther forward along the palate, and there is a greater flow of breath around it. In *l* the outflow of breath becomes extreme. *m* and *p* are usually final sounds in certain

syllables where they appear to convey a kind of onomatopoeic sense. In both cases there is a little longer pause with lips closed after the enunciation than is usual in English. *b*, which occurs in barely half a dozen words, seems to be of the same nature. In the Masset dialect *g* and *x* are articulated so feebly that it is best to represent them by independent signs, *ʼ* and *ʳ*; but this alteration seems to be only an accompaniment of the shorter form of speech which Masset people affect. In the present sketch all of the examples not marked "Masset" are taken from the Skidegate dialect.

Among vowels we have to distinguish clearly between those proper to the language and those which seem to be purely accidental, a sort of by-product of speech. In the former class are *ū* (or *ō*), *u* (or *o*), *ī* (or *ē*), *i* (or *e*), *a*, and *ʌ*. The sounds in the pairs *ū* and *ō*, *u* and *o*, *ī* and *ē*, *i* and *e*, are not distinguished from each other, and in each case the two probably stand for a single sound. *i* and *e* pass very easily into *î* and *ê*; and the latter may be described as accidental sounds, although which pair is really accidental it would be hard to say. Under the accent, *a* is lengthened into *ā*. Sometimes *ä* is heard instead of *ā* (*kiä'lu*, *kiä'lu*); and sometimes the doubling of a sound gives the effect of *ä*, as in Masset *qäñ*, equivalent to *qa'ʌñ*, and *qäñan*, which is the same as *gea'ñan*. *a* following *wa*, as in *wa'ʳu*, resembles *â*; and *â* is heard in a few exclamations, but it is not proper to the language. The semi-vowels, *y* and *w*, are etymologically related to *ī* and *ū*, and must be considered modifications of these sounds.

A notable feature of Haida is the doubling and juxtaposition of vowels, accompanying the general vocalic character of the speech. Any two vowels may thus be used together, but, although generally treated as equivalent to a single vowel, they do not seem to be pronounced as closely together as the vowel-sounds which compose our diphthongs. Examples of this phenomenon are:

djā'ada woman
la l' kīññā'gañ wansū'ga he told her the news, they say
l' sū'us he said
qua towards
ta'olʌñ friends
gui toward
l' gea'lagʌn he became
lnaga'i the town

A weak *i* may be followed by two vowels, as in *gia'ogî* AT THE END.

§ 3. Grouping of Sounds

Syllables may consist of a single vowel; a consonant with following vowel, or with vowel-combination like the above; two consonants with following vowel; two consonants, a vowel, and a terminal consonant; or of two consonants by themselves.

While all classes of consonants may stand at the beginning of words, *k* sounds are not admitted as terminal sounds.

Two groups of consonantic clusters may be distinguished—those with initial *s* and *l*, and those with other initial consonants. *l*, *l̥*, *L*, and *L!* belong in part to the former group.

Only *s* and *l*, and to a certain extent *l̥*, *L*, and *L!* may form initial clusters, and the first two are found with considerable frequency in monosyllabic stem. In these clusters *s* and *l* are followed by other consonants; but *s* is not followed by another *s* or an affricative. Following are examples, taken from the Masset dialect:

<i>stAñ</i> two 280.10	<i>lta'nu</i> to eat (collective) 278.7
<i>st!ē</i> sick 300.28	<i>lgūl</i> to move about
<i>sgat</i> to chop 275.10	<i>lkwīd</i> disturbed, in haste 719.5
<i>skīt-</i> to club	<i>lk!A'mal</i> needle of coniferous tree
<i>sk!iän</i> but 296.32	303.11
<i>s'oan</i> (<i>s'wān</i>) one 275.7	<i>lñēid</i> to begin to split 711.23
<i>sq!ao</i> salmon-berry bush 319.23	<i>l'ēianq!Alē'</i> pit 703.25
<i>SLAQA'm</i> butterfly 296.26	<i>lqam</i> kelp
<i>SL!a</i> hand	

Initial clusters with initial *L*, *L!* or *l* are not rare, but are formed probably in all cases by composition.

<i>lnagai'</i> town 704.9 (from <i>na</i> to live)
<i>lñA'nda</i> a whole one 707.11; 419.15
<i>l'Lnēālanān</i> she cooked it 731.41 (<i>ēal</i> to cook 295.7)
<i>lnōt</i> 710.26
<i>L!lqadAñūdan</i> to split quickly 711.26
<i>L!d'jūgia'ga-i</i> standing 725.26
<i>lsku'nagañan</i> they dress up 717.34

All other consonantic clusters do not admit surd stops in second position, and no *k* sound occurs in first position. The only cluster beginning with an affricative that I have found is *djɣ*. Presumably all these clusters are due to composition of stems which terminate and begin with consonants respectively. This would account for the

absence of *k* sounds as first sounds of clusters, since these do not occur as terminal sounds.

§ 4. Dialectic Differences

Compared with the Skidegate dialect, Masset appears to have undergone a shortening process throughout. I have already mentioned the change of *g* and *x* to *ʼ* and *ʰ*; and this shortening is also conspicuously noticeable among vowel-sounds, *a* appearing as *ʌ*, *hao* as *ū*, *stʌ* or *sta* as *stʼ*, while the *u* and *a* sounds generally, especially when terminal, are reduced to very light breathings. The vowel-combination *ai* becomes almost *ē*. Sometimes, however, one vowel is changed into another, as in *stīñ* TWO (Masset *stʌñ*) or *u'ngu* ON TOP OF (Masset *ʼñgu*). In conformity with a euphonic tendency to be noted below, *ñ*, as in *ʼsīñ*, often changes to *n* in Masset. Occasionally, too, whole syllables are dropped, and so we have *qaod* for *qa'odī*; *ʼtal* and *dal* for *ʼtalʌ'ñ* and *dalʌ'ñ*; *ʼlʌdē* for *ʼlʌgʱidasgʱai*.

Another difference between these two dialects, related to the question of euphony, is the change of *g* into *ʰ* in certain situations in the Skidegate dialect, and its retention in Masset. Thus *ā'djgua* OVER THERE in Masset becomes *ā'djʰua* in Skidegate, and *ʼ qā'gals* HE WENT OUT becomes *ʌ qā'ʰuls*. This is interesting as seeming to show that the euphonic tendencies have acted differently in the two branches of the Haida tribe.

All that is known of the peculiarities of the Ninstints dialect is that it tended to substitute *k* for *g*, and that in the manner of its enunciation it was esteemed by the other Haida to resemble Athapascan.

§ 5. Laws of Euphony

The most important euphonic change in Haida is related to that spoken of above. Within the Skidegate dialect itself the *g* and *g* of the connective particle *ga-i* (see p. 262), the possessive suffix *-gʌñ* (see § 28.4), and the past-temporal suffixes before the quotative *wʌnsū'ga* (see § 23.1), are dropped in certain situations, generally having to do with the preceding sound. It is not possible to make rules that will cover all the cases which occur, but it generally happens that *g* is retained after *a* and dropped after *u*. After the consonants and the remaining vowels it is more often dropped than retained; but exceptions are numerous, especially after *ī*, *ñ*, the *l*-sounds, and *s*

§§ 4, 5

contracted from *dji*. In the cases of infinitives and participles, exceptions are more numerous than with nouns. Examples of the use and disuse of this *g* are the following:

<i>xā'gai</i> the dog B 37.4	<i>nā'nāñ</i> his grandmother B 59.14
<i>lua'i</i> the canoe B 29.21	<i>nā'ngai</i> the play
<i>djā'gañ</i> his wife B 29.30	<i>q!adi'gai</i> the slumber
<i>awu'ñ</i> his mother B 7.1	<i>ā'sgai</i> this thing B 33.28
<i>goda'i</i> the box B 71.32	<i>l' gea'lgai</i> when he came (to be)

In the Masset dialect the *g* of *-agan*, the Skidegate past-inexperienced temporal suffix (see § 23.2, p. 248), is dropped in most situations, but retained as *g* after *a*, conformably with the above rule

<i>la l! isdagī'gañan</i> they	<i>l! 'ā'sgadanī</i> they landed
always took him	<i>xed idja'nī</i> they were ashore

But—

<i>qāL yū'an q!ēdju'l!agan</i> a big	<i>l' tā'ganī</i> he ate
reef stood out of the water	<i>nāñ i'l!agidagan</i> one was chief

The final consonant of certain stems is sometimes *l*, sometimes *l*. Of these, *l* usually appears before a vowel, *l* before a consonant:

<i>la stA l! stils</i> they went back	<i>a'asīñ gut la qarītgiā'lasi</i> he
for him	ran over this way upon it

But accent seems to have something to do with the phenomenon; for, when two vowels precede this consonant and the accent falls upon the second, *l* is commonly employed; thus—

Gei lā'ga la tc!i'tlageā'lgai lu when he got through breaking his paddles

l is also sometimes introduced where it has no grammatical significance, and thus we find *yakulsī'a* IN THE MIDDLE instead of *yakusī'a*.

n and *ñ* seem to bear much the same relation to each other as do *l* and *l*, only in this case *ñ* is plainly the original sound. Thus the terminal phonetic combination *-ñas* often contracts to *ns*; for example, *nā'tga hao la'oatūgwañgañas* HIS NEPHEW SAT AROUND WHITTLING or *nā'tga hao la'oatūgwañgans*. This phenomenon may be due as much to rapid pronunciation as to any other cause.

Before *s* the terminal *ñ* of the imperative future suffix disappears, as also from *gañā'ñ* LIKE before *xan*, as in *gañā'xan*; while in *gī'ñgañ* TO HIMSELF it appears to be inserted.

s becomes *dj* before most vowels; for example, *tās* SAND, *tā'djai* THE SAND; *ā'dji* THIS, *ā'sgai* THIS THING; *hawa'n dañ xē'nāñāūdja* DO YOU STILL LIVE? and *gam gu 'anL da'ñ'a tlalā'ñ i'nalñāñus*

MAY WE NOT LEAVE WATER WITH YOU? (Masset)—have the same interrogative suffix *-ūdja*, *-us*.

Labials are of small consequence in Haida. Still it is worth noting that *sīp* SEA-ANEMONE changes the *p* to *b* when followed by the connective particle, namely, *sī'bai*.

§ 6. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

Grammatical categories and syntactical relations are expressed almost solely by composition, affixing, and position. There is a sporadic case of duplication presented by the continuative suffix *-gañ*; as, *la qí'ñgañ* HE IS LOOKING, *la qí'ñgañgañ* HE LOOKS MANY TIMES; but it is not extensively used. The perfect tense is expressed by a form which may possibly represent dieresis, but which is more plausibly explained as a suffix, *-y*; as, *la suda'yagañi v'la isda'si*, HE DID DIFFERENTLY FROM THE WAY HE HAD SAID HE WOULD DO.

Verbal and nominal stems may be combined into stem-complexes by juxtaposition. These complexes are treated syntactically like single stems, each element in the complex receiving its significance by its position. Besides compositions of such independent stems, a number of others occur in which the component elements do not seem to be independent, but occur as prefixes or suffixes. There is, however, no sharp dividing-line between composition and affixing; and some of the elements that appear at present as subordinate may prove to be independent stems. Notwithstanding the phonetic independence of the elements of the stem-complexes, their relation is so intimate that it seems best to consider them as single words because they enter as units into syntactic construction. A number of sound changes which have been referred to seem to be of a purely phonetic character, and not to have any morphological significance.

IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

(§§ 7-12)

§ 7. Noun and Verb

In general, the distinction between nominal and verbal stems is very sharp. It is true that certain stems are used in a manner that leaves a doubt as to which category they belong, but their use is quite limited. Such are *wā'lgał* POTLATCH and TO POTLATCH, *xial* DANCE and TO DANCE, *na* HOUSE and TO LIVE; while *gida* CHIEF'S

§§ 6, 7

SON, *yä'nañ* CLOUDS, *tā'ña* SEA-WATER, have or may present verbal forms. Generally, however, a noun which is used as a predicate is followed by a verbal stem, or appears incorporated, as, *l' gīdagā'gan* HE WAS A CHIEF'S SON, *l' tcā'aldas* HE HAD A SPEAR (from *tcā'al* SPEAR).

Verbs that change into nouns usually become abstract, their origin being thus easily recognized. The names for instruments, store-articles, and some other things, are generally descriptive terms and thus verbal, but they have dropped their verbal suffixes and taken on a noun-forming suffix. Rarely a verb is turned into a passive and then into a noun by prefixing *ta* and suffixing *gai* (see § 17.4, p. 236). These are the only cases in which we find verbal prefixes in nouns.

§ 8. Composition

Although there is much freedom in the composition of stem-complexes, a number of types may readily be distinguished. The more fully developed complexes of this kind generally express by an initial element an idea of modality, most commonly instrumentality; by a second element, the nominal object; by a third element, the peculiar kind of action; and by a fourth element, the local relations of the action. In those cases in which the various elements are best developed, the first element appears as an instrumental prefix; the second, as a term expressing a group of nouns characterized by a certain shape; the third is a verbal stem; and the fourth expresses direction and location.

These word-complexes are followed by suffixes expressing tense, mood, and related concepts.

§ 9. Classification of Nouns

The classification of nouns, referred to before, is one of the characteristic traits of the language. The groups characterize objects as "long," "slender," "round," "flat," "angular," "thread-like," "animate," etc. On account of the extended use of these classifiers, incorporation of the noun itself is comparatively speaking rare. It is here represented by the use of the classifiers which express the subject of the intransitive verb, or the object of the transitive verb as a member of a certain class of things, the principle of classification being form.

On the other hand, the same verbal stems—like "to carry," "push," "move," "be"—are used, on the whole, in relation to all §§ 8, 9

kinds of objects, regardless of their form; consequently there are also only a few cases in which the verbal stem differs in the singular and plural. This agrees also with the fact that in the noun the idea of plurality is only weakly developed. It occurs only in terms of relationship and a few other terms designating human beings.

§ 10. Personal Pronouns

Verbs are strictly distinguished as active and neutral. Neutral verbs are, on the whole, those designating states of the body and qualities, while all other verbs are considered as active. The subject of the latter is expressed by the subjective pronoun, while the pronominal relations of the neutral verb are expressed by the objective pronouns. In the pronoun the speaker, person spoken to, and person spoken of, are distinguished. The distinction between subjective and objective forms is confined to the first and second persons singular and to the first person plural. Besides these forms, an indefinite singular and plural occurs. The indefinite personal pronouns are also commonly used before nouns to perform the functions covered by our definite and indefinite articles. The personal pronoun of the third person plural is also frequently used as an equivalent to our passive. It is also employed as an equivalent to the form for the third person singular, when the person referred to is especially venerated or respected. The speaker may refer to himself in the same way.

§ 11. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstratives are limited in number, the most general spatial relations only being indicated. The demonstrative employed to mark nearness occurs very often, and corresponds to a similar demonstrative in the Tlingit language. There are certain other particles of a demonstrative character, but they more often indicate grammatical connection than spatial relations.

§ 12. Connectives

Special local relations are expressed by a long series of connectives which are in intimate relation with the verb, but also with the noun and pronoun. They characterize the special relation of the indirect object to the verb. They are placed preceding the direct object and following the indirect object, if there is one. They seem to be adverbial in character.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 13-34)

§ 13. Formation of Word-Complexes

As already stated, Haida words are very loosely put together and many of their elements may also be used independently. The type of the word-complex which may be isolated as the predicative term of the sentence embraces four groups of elements:

A FIRST GROUP, describing an incidental state or activity, particularly instrumentality.

A SECOND GROUP, indicating the nominal object of transitive, the subject of intransitive, verbs.

A THIRD GROUP, expressing the principal predicative term.

A FOURTH GROUP, expressing local relations and modalities.

Although there is hardly any phonetic influence between these groups of elements, their connection is so intimate that the combination is best considered as a single word, even though the component elements may occur in other combinations quite independently. An example of such a combination is the word *da ñgĩdālL!rasga* CANOE BEING HAULED SEAWARD, which is constituted as follows

First group: *da ñ* by pulling.

Second group: *gĩ* canoe-shaped object.

Third group: *dāl* to move.

Fourth group: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} L!xa \text{ toward something.} \\ sga \text{ seaward.} \end{array} \right.$

Several complexes of this kind may enter into combinations. It would seem that when this is the case each complex expresses modality or instrumentality in relation to the following ones in the same way as the first group expresses modality in the single term. An example of this kind is the word *gĩdĩgĩdalskit* TO PLACE AN ANIMATE OBJECT BY CAUSING IT TO BECOME (one that) HOLDS ON WITH THE HANDS:

First complex, third group: *gĩdĩ* to hold with hands.

Second complex, third group: *gĩl* to become.

Third complex, third group: *da* to cause.

Fourth complex, third group: *skit* to bring into contact.

These combinations may be illustrated by the following examples:

la la taqĩaga' ñgwañas he ate it as he stood around (*la la* objective and subjective pronouns; *ta* to eat; *-gĩa* to stand; *-ga ñ* continuative; *-gwa ñ* about; *-as* participle)

g'itgalan̄ stin̄ é'sin̄ la qēñq!a'oxan̄as he also saw his two children sitting there (*g'it* child; *-ga* possessive suffix; *-lan̄* plural suffix with terms of relationship; *stin̄* two; *é'sin̄* also; *la* subjective pronoun; *qēñ* stem TO SEE; *q!a* to sit; *-o* suffixed auxiliary; *xan̄* perhaps a form of *gan̄* continuative [§ 24.1, p. 250]; *-as* participle [§ 25.7, p. 254])

aga'n̄ la sgalaqa'idagan he went stealthily (*aga'n̄* reflexive; *la* subjective pronoun; *sgal* to hide; *qa* to go; *-id* inchoative; *-agan* past inexperienced)

la gu la qaqa'tañagan he went and looked at her (*la* objective pronoun; *gu* post-position AT; *la* subjective pronoun; *qa* to go; *qa* to look; *taña* to go by sea [?]; *-agan* past inexperienced)

l' qā'djî la qîñq!a'idjudalasi he saw his head go by (*l'* possessive prefix 3d person singular; *qā'djî* head; *la* subjective pronoun; *qîñ* [same as *qēñ*] TO SEE; *q!a-i-* classifier [§ 15.18, p. 232]; *dju* of that sort or kind; *dal* to go; *-asi* participle)

gam dala'n̄ l! qîñxîtxā'n̄ga'ngasga they will not see you flying about all the time (*gam* negative particle; *dalan̄* object 2d person plural; *l!* subject 3d person plural; *qîñ* to see; *xît* to fly; *xāñ* [?]; *-gan* continuative; *ga* [?]; *-sga* future)

While many verbs and nouns may enter into compositions like those described, others occur, at least at present, only in such compositions, and therefore appear as prefixes or suffixes, according to their position, preceding or following the third group, which contains the principal verbal stems. This is particularly true of the second group, which contains a large group of nominal terms of very general significance, each representing nouns conceived as possessing a certain form. Therefore the second group appears essentially as a group of nominal classifiers, although special nouns occur occasionally in the same position. The local relations which belong to the fourth group never occur independently.

§ 14. First Group: Instrumental Verbal Prefixes¹

1. *un-* BY MEANS OF THE BACK.

la ga u'ntcividanî he carried some on his back (*la* he; *ga* some; *tcî* stem [?]; *-id* inchoative [?]; *-an* past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; *-î* suffix [§ 25.6])

xan̄ñagi l!na dî la u'nxidās ìu I wish he would carry me on his back face up (*xan̄* face; *l!na* I wish; *dî* me; *la* he; *xît* to pick up; *-s* participle [§ 25.7, p. 254]; *ìu* when)

¹ See also § 17.1, p. 235. All references in §§ 14-27 refer to the Skidegate Texts, Bulletin 29, etc.

- la la u'nsLtc!aias* he came in with him and took him off from his back (*la* him; *la* he; *un-* with back; *sl* to place; *tc!a* into; *-y* perfect [§ 23.7, p. 249]; *-s* participle [§ 25.7, p. 254])
2. *tc!ít-* BY SHOOTING OR BY HAMMERING; also independent verb, TO SHOOT.
- l' gí'tgalAñ stí'ñxAN tc!ítgā'igadañagā'iagañ wansū'ga* her sons knew well how to shoot stones by means of a stick (*l'* her; *gít* child; *-ga* possessive [§ 28.1, p. 257]; *-lañ* pl.; *stí'ñxAN* both; *tc!ít-* by shooting; *gāia* to know how to)
- la tc!ítquegA'ndí qa'odíhao* after he had shot for a while (*la* he; *gue* stem; *-gan* continuative; *-dí* [§ 20.7, p. 241]; *qa'odí* connective AFTER A WHILE; *hao* general demonstrative)
- la la tc!í'gas* he shot it (*la* it; *la* he; *tc!í* to shoot; *-ga* auxiliary to be [§ 18.5, p. 237]; *-s* participle [§ 25.7])
3. *da-* BY PUSHING OR BY AN OUTWARD MOTION OF THE HANDS.
- la L! daL'sLgarvas* they pushed him down (*la* him; *L!* they; *L-* [§ 15.20, p. 232] shaped like a human being; *sl* to put or place; *garva* [?]; *-s* participle [§ 25.7])
- ga la gan la dá'gílsi* she put it in for him (*ga* in; *la* him; *gan* for; *la* she; *da-* prefix; *gíl* [?]; *-sí* participle [§ 25.7])
- l' qeū'ga la dasq!a'skítgoasi* they put it in front of it (*l'* it; *qeū'ga* in front of; *la* they [with *-go* § 20.1, p. 240]; *da-* prefix; *sq!a-* [§ 15.11]; *skít* stem; *-sí* participle)
- la gut gia'gai la daq!ā'inanañgoas* he rubbed tallow on them (*la* them [with *-go* § 20.1]; *gut* upon; *gia'gai* the tallow; *la* he; *da-* prefix; *q!āi* [§ 15.18]; *nan* to rub; *-āñ* continuative [§ 24.1]; *-s* participle)
- L! dadjít!aldai'yaganí* they pushed down 45.15 (*djít* stem; *-t!al* down; *da* to cause; *-y* perfect)
4. *dañ-* BY PULLING; also an independent verb(?). This is one of the most frequent instrumentals.
- la dañA'ndjíl!xas* he pulled [him] out head first 29.26 (*la* he; *dañ-* by pulling; *andjít* erect; *-L!xa* toward; *-s* participle)
- gu'tstA la da'ndaias* he pulled him apart (*gut* together; *stA* from; *la* he; *dañ-* by pulling; *da* to cause; *i = y* perfect; *-s* participle)
- s^{wan} l' da'ñantc!iLAS Lu* when he pulled one out of the sea (Masset) *s^{wan}* one; *l'* he; *dañ-* by pulling; *antc!i = andjít* erect; *la* perhaps *L!xa* toward; *-s* participle; *Lu* when)
- A'ña l' da'ñidaní* he pulled his property out (*A'ña* his own; *l'* he; *dañ-* by pulling; *-da* to cause; *-an* past inexperienced; *-í* [§ 25.6, p. 253])
- la dañq!ā'-ilas* he pulled out (head) 10.4 (*q!a-i-* § 15.18)
- la da'ñsq!astas* he pulled out a long one 57.9 (*sq!a-* § 15.11)

5. *dal-* BY MEANS OF A CURRENT OF WATER (*dal* RAIN).

l' dā'łlas he floated (living one) down 97.19

ñā'łga'nda yū'dala dā'łgaldal'xaiagan much seaweed came drifting 33.22 (*ñā'łga'nda* seaweed; *yū* = *yū'an* much; *-dala* pl. adj. [§ 39, p. 276]; *dāl-* by means of a current; *łgal* to turn; *da* to cause [§ 18.2]; *-l'xa* toward; *-i* perfect; *-agan* past inexperienced [§ 23.2])

6. *t!a-* BY STAMPING OR TREADING UPON. Perhaps related to *st!a*.

la l! t!asē'łgañāñ they tickled her by treading 31.26 (*la* her; *l!* they; *t!a-* by treading; *sēl* to tickle; *-gañāñ* continuative duplicated [§ 24.1; § 6])

qala'i inagwai'gei la t!ananā'ñasi he stamped half of the alder to pieces (*qal* alder; *-ai* the; *inagwai* the half; *gei* into; *la* he; *t!a-* by treading; *nan* to roll about; *-añ* continuative; *-asi* participle)

l' t!al'sadā'ngasgas she washed it by treading upon it in the sea (*l'* she; *l'sadāñ* [?]; *ga* to go [?]; *-sga* seaward; *-s* participle)
gei la t!anana'ngawasi they broke in pieces with their feet (*gei* into [pieces]; *la* they [with *-gaw*]; *t!a-* with feet; *nan* to grind; *-añ* continuative; *-asi* participle)

7. *st!a-* BY KICKING; identical with the word for FOOT.

la la st!a'sgidas he kicked it (*la* it; *la* he; *sgid* stem; *-as* participle)

la st!axa'ostagias he kicked it into the water (*la* he; *xao* quickly; *sta* stem; *-gia* suffix [?]; *-si* participle)

lā'ga la la st!aqadai'yagan he kicked his own 89.33

8. *nan-* BY GRINDING, being the stem of the verb TO GRIND.

aga'ñ la nanha'iluwus he destroyed himself by grinding (*aga'ñ* himself; *la* he; *hailū* to destroy; *-s* participle)

9. *skit-* BY CHOPPING OR BY CLUBBING.

la gei la skitnana'ñxidaias he began to chop them up (*la* it [pieces]; *gei* into; *la* he; *nanañ* stem; *-xid* inchoative; *-i* perfect; *-s* participle)

la la skida'ndi qa'odi after he had chopped it for a while (*la* it; *la* he; *skid* to chop; *-an* probably continuative; *dī* [§ 20.7] *qa'odi* after a while)

na'wai la skitnana'ngawasi they clubbed the devil-fish (*nawa'* the devil-fish; *la* he [with *-gaw* § 20.1]; *nanañ* stem; *-asi* participle)

gī la skidjū'usi he tried to club them (*gī* to [post-position with omitted object]; *la* he; *ski*[t] by clubbing; *dju* to try, to do that sort of thing; *-usi* participle)

aga'ñ la skitk!ō'tuldas he let himself be clubbed to death 12.13 (*aga'ñ* self; *k!ōtul* dead; *da* to cause)

l'skitqā'goñasi he went around while they were beating time 13.16

10. *skiū-* BY MEANS OF THE SHOULDER.

l' inagwa'i la skiū'guʒidas he carried half of it on his shoulder (*inagwa'i* the half; *gu* stem [?]; *-ʒid* inchoative [§ 18.6]; *-as* participle)

la skiū'sk!ag'ñwasi he sat with it on his shoulder (*sk!a-* [§ 15.8]; *gñ* thing [?]; *w = u* to continue to be [§ 18.1]; *-asi* participle)

LA skiū'djłsi being on shoulder 37.32

11. *sL!*- WITH THE FINGERS, this being the word for HAND.

l' xA'ñē ge'ista gā'ilgañ la sL!gīsta'ias he pulled out a blood-clot from his eye with his fingers (*xA'ñē* the eye; *gei* into; *stA* from; *gā'ilgañ* blood-clot; *gī-* shape [§ 15.13]; *sta* to move from; *-i* perfect; *-s* participle)

LA sL!sŁa'ya he moved the fire with his hands (*sŁ* stem; *ya* [?])

12. *gññ-* CAUSE in general, of which the special variety has just been given; possibly related to *gñ'na* THING.

ga'ihao l' gññdja'ñ wansū'ga that made him feel that way, they say (*ga'-i* that; *hao* way; *is* to be; *-añ* past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; *wA'nsū'ga* quotative)

kuna'i sqao l' gññL!xēdagea'lañ wansū'gañ what he got in exchange for the whales made him rich (*kuna'i* the whales; *sqao* in exchange for; *iL!xēda* rich or a chief; *geal* to become [§ 18.10]; *-añ* past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; *wansū'ga* quotative)

LA gññq!a'adias he (accomplished something) by pretending to be asleep (*q!a* to sleep; *-di* [§ 20.7]; *-as* participle)

la L! gññgū'sūgañan all that time they made him speak (*gusū* to speak [from stem *su*]; *-gañ* continuative; *-an* past inexperienced)

gññk!otul to cause to die 81.43

aga'ñ gññst!ē'gıldaiyañ . . . she made herself sick 73.34

13. *kīt-* BY MEANS OF A STICK (compare *kí'tao* SPEAR).

l' inagwa'i la kítđjřđdā'ñ wansū'ga he carried half of it off on a stick, they say (*inagwa'i* the half of it; *đjř* stem; *-řid* inchoative [§ 18.6]; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)

LA la kítgā'tatc'as he threw it in with a stick (*gāta* to throw; *-tc!a* inside; *-s* participle)

LA l' kídā'wan they struck at him with a stick (Masset) (*LA* him; *l'* they [with *ew* § 20.1]; *-an* past inexperienced)

la l' kítq!atŁđgan he took it into the canoe with a stick (*kít!* [with stick; *q!at* stem; *-Łđ* into canoe; *-gan* past inexperienced)

la lua'-i kitgídā'łasi he pushed the canoe with a pole 41.3 (*lu* canoe; *-a-i* the; *gñ-* flat object)

kítq!ā'idjřłgwagagan put out (a copper) with a stick 87.24 (*q!ā'i-* round thing [§ 15.18, p. 232])

14. *kîl-* or *kîl-* BY MEANS OF THE VOICE, for which word this is the stem.

gai la gi kîlgadā'ñ . . . those shouted out to him (*gai* those; *gi* to; *gad* stem [?]; *-añ* past inexperienced)

gia'gañai qā'djî kîlgā'txalasi the house-pole heads shouted (*gia'gañai* the house-pole ["standing thing"]; *qā'djî* heads; *gāt* stem [?]; *-xa* [?]; *la* [?]; *-si* participle)

l!ua'i lā'ga la kî'lgōlgaigan he told him to use his wedge 33.13 (*l!ua'i* the wedge; *lā'ga* his [§ 28.1]; *gōlga* to make; *-i* perfect; *-gan* past inexperienced)

la l! kîlq!ā'wan they told him to sit (*q!ā* to sit; *w = u* to continue in one place [§ 18.1]; *-an* past inexperienced)

15. *kwa-* BY A STREAM OF WATER POURING OUT; also an independent verb(?).

tc!aanua'i gei ga'nłai t!ala'ñ kwalgî'stagadaasañ we will let the water run into the fire (*tc!aanua'i* the fire; *gei* into; *ga'nłai* the water; *t!ala'ñ* we; *lgî-* [§ 15.25]; *sta* to move from; *-sga* into fire; *da* to cause; *-asañ* future)

tcî'wai kwagā'l!xalāgañagan the current flowed out quickly (*tcî'wai* the current; *gā* stem; *-l!xa* toward; *-lāgañ* first or at once [§ 21.3]; *-gan* past inexperienced)

tcî'wai kwag!ā'mal!xasi the current made cracks by the rapidity of its flowing (*tcî'wai* the current; *q!ā'mal* to crack; *-l!xa* toward; *-si* participle)

ganł kwa'tcîc!awas water flowed down (*ganł* fresh water; *-s* participle)

ganł koa't!a'mdagasi a stream flows narrow 8.10 (*!am-* narrow)

16. *k!ut-* WITH THE LIPS, a nominal stem.

l! k!utlū'stala he spits water upward (*l!stala* stem [?]; *-la* upward)

k!utlū'lda to make noise with lips 91.37

q!aal la k!utnā'ñasi he wet the arrow-point with his lips (*q!aal* arrow-point; *nañ* stem; *-asi* participle)

17. *ɣal-* BY MEANS OF FIRE ACTING FROM WITHOUT (compare *ɣai* SUNSHINE).

l! ɣaltā'igwēgasga it will fall away under the sunshine (*tāi-* prone object [§ 15.3]; *gwe* stem [?]; *ga* to be [?]; *-sga* future)

nañ ɣall!a's one of them was burned up (*nañ* some one; *ɣ-* [§ 15.20]; *la* stem [?]; *-s* participle)

l! k!wa'iagalāñ ɣal!l!gias his elder brothers were burned off (*k!wai* elder brother; *-ga* possessive suffix; *-lāñ* plural; *ɣ-* animate object [§ 15.20, p. 232]; *ga* to be [§ 18.5]; *-i* perfect; *-s* participle)

ʔaiya's lu l' ʔa'LL!aLL!a'diaot!AlgañAs when the sun shone, the heat made it lengthen out (*ʔai* to shine; *-as* participle; *lu* when; *-t!Al* downward [?]; *-gañ* continuative; *-As* participle)
ʔAlhā'iluAsi destroyed by fire 37.13
ʔAlga'mdaʔide's beginning to be shriveled up by fire 37.15 (*lgam-* [§ 15.24])

18. **gō-** (Masset ^o) BY MEANS OF FIRE ACTING WITHIN THE BODY ITSELF.

q!Al laal k!A'tdala q!ās gōxāgodiēs small persons with black skin held burning pitchwood (*q!Al* skin; *laal* black; *k!At* short or small; *-dala* plural suffix for adjectives [§ 39]; *q!ās* pitchwood; *-xa* inanimate plural [§ 15.26]; *go* to be somewhere; *-di* determinate; *-ēs* participle)
ge'istA gōL!ā'muldaañAs flames came out of it (*gei* into; *stA* from; *L!ām* stem [?]; *da* causative; *-añ* continuative)
l' qā'ti gut gōʔA'plagañasi it passed quickly down, burning through the inside of him (*qā'ti* inside; *gut* upon; *ʔAp* quickly; *la* stem [?]; *-gañ* continuative; *-asi* participle)
a'asiñ gōhā'iluēsi at once they were destroyed by burning (*a'asiñ* at once; *hā'ilu* to destroy; *-ēsi* participle); see also 37.8

19. **ʔūt-** or **ʔā-** BY THE WIND OR THE BREATH; also independent verb, TO BLOW.

l' ʔā'slsgasi it blew out strongly (*-sga* seaward; *-si* participle)
gam Lgu stA ʔūtskitgañgā'nsga no breeze will blow from anywhere 31.6 (*gam* negative; *Lgu* where; *stA* from; *skit* stem; *-gañ* negative suffix [§ 25.3]; *-gān* continuative; *-sga* future)
la ʔūtskitc!a'si he blew it in (*skit* stem; *tc!a* inward; *-si* participle)
Gā'sqo ya ō ʔū'εasεaian (they) were blown straight out to Gā'sqo (Masset) (*Gā'sqo* name of island; *ya* straight to [post-position]; *ō* [= *hao*] demonstrative; *ʔū* by wind; *εas* stem; *εa* to go; *-ia* perfect; *-an* past inexperienced)

20. **gAl-** (Masset ^{εAl}) BY LEADING, PULLING, OR TOWING.

gīwa'i ga la ga gAlgā'isLasi something pulled him to the fishing-ground 29.23 (*gīwa'i* the fishing-ground; *ga* to; *ga* something; *gāi-* floating [?]; *sL* stem; *-si* participle)
gwa'iai gadō' la la gAlgā'lgAldaasi he pulled him around the island 29.21 (*gwa'i* island; *ai* the; *gadō'* around; *gā-* [§ 15.17]; *lgAl* to move about [stem]; *da* to cause; *-asi* participle)
la ga gAl't!aLaiagan something drew it away (*ga* something; *t!a-* [§ 15.4]; *La* to separate part from whole; *-i* perfect; *-agan* past inexperienced)

la l' qalqat!as they led her in (*qa* to go [sing.]; *-tc!a* inside; *-s* participle) 49.18

21. **qea-** BY LOOKING. It is the stem of the verb TO LOOK.

gam iL' qeasé'lgañ don't tickle us by looking at us (*gam* not; *iL'* us; *sél* to tickle [stem]; *-gañ* negative suffix [§ 25.3])

tc!i' goya-i la qea'q!a'-idā'ldi qa'odi after he had looked at the rising sun B 29.9 (*q!a'-i-* rounded objects [§ 15.18]; *dāl* to move; *dī* [§ 20]; *qa'odi* after)

22. **q'eit-** WITH A KNIFE. It is the stem of the verb TO CUT.

l' xañ lā'ga q'eidā'gas its bow was carved (*xañ* bow or face; *lā'ga* its; *q'eida* to be carved [stem] [?]; *ga* to be [§ 18.5]; *-s* participle)

l' dāl lā'ga la q'eitqīngawas they cut his belly open (*dāl* belly; *lā'ga* his; *la* they [with *-gaw* § 20.1]; *qīn* stem [?]; *-as* participle)

l' qā'djî la q'e'iLlgawañ wansū'ga they cut his head off and put it into the canoe, they say (*qā'djî* head; *la* they [with *-gaw*]; *q!ei[t]* with a knife; *L* to remove part from whole; *-L* into canoe; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)

la la q'e'itxidañ . . . he started cutting it up, they say (*q!eit* to cut up [stem]; *-xid* inchoative; *-añ* past inexperienced)

l' a'oga la gi q'eitla'i'yagan his mother cut off for him 7.2

l' q'eitq!ā'-iLxidā'-i Lū when he began to cut off (the round thing) 12.14

23. **q!o-** BY MEANS OF THE TEETH.

la ga q!oL'dasīs something held him tight in its mouth (*ga* something; *L-* shape [§ 15.20]; *das* stem [?]; *-īs* participle)

xā'gai hao q!ē'nāñ q!ogana'ñganî the dog was playing with [a stick] (*xā'gai* the dog; *hao* that; *q!ē'nāñ* in company with; *ga* shape [§ 15.17]; *nāñ* to play [stem]; *-agan* [§ 23.2]; *-î* [§ 25.6])

xā'gu q!ok!ū'gatxiāsī they had halibut in their mouths (*xā'gu* halibut; *k!u* short obj. [§ 15.15]; *gat* stem; *xi* [?]; *-asi* participle)

ku'ngia q!og!ē'lai the piece of whale bitten off (Masset) (*kun* whale; *gia* piece of; *q!ē* shape [§ 15.18]; *L* to remove; *ai* the)

xā l' q!ok!otu'lgaga'wañ wansū'ga they say the dogs killed them with their teeth 81.42¹

24. **xa-** BY GRASPING WITH THE HANDS.

au'ñ gi la xagaL'xag!lgañasi he brought it to his mother (*au* mother; *-[u]ñ* his own [§ 28.3]; *gi* to; *ga* stem [?]; *-L!xa* toward; *-g!l* shoreward; *-gañ* continuative; *-asi* participle)

kiū'gaidjao xā'gīñas sledge-hammers held in their hands (*kiū'-gaidjao* sledge-hammers [*gaidjao* perhaps = *q!ai-dju* roundish]; *gīñ* stem [?]; *-as* participle)

¹[Compare § 15.26, p. 234. Perhaps all these forms belong to the classifier *za*.—Ed.]

- A zagudjä'ñasi* he threw them around (*gudjäñ* analysis uncertain; *-asi* participle)
- LA gi LA xā'sLtc!as* he handed in to him 55.7 (*sL* stem; *tc!* into)
25. *xAñ-* WITH THE FACE. This is the stem of the word for FACE, and it is rather doubtful whether it belongs properly in this class, although similar to the others in form.
- lkiā'gui l' djā'ga LA stA xAñlgū'ldas* his wife turned her face away from him toward the door (*lkiā* outside; *gui* toward; *djā* wife; *-ga* possessive; *stA* from; *lgūl* stem TO TURN ABOUT; *da* to cause; *-s* participle)
- LA stA LA xAñga'ogañas* she turned around from him (*stA* from; *gao* stem; *-gañ* continuative; *-as* participle)
- gAM lā'ga xA'ñgñgañas* she did not look in the face as though anything had happened (*gAM* not; *-ga* possessive; *gñ* stem [perhaps properly *qñ* TO LOOK]; *-gañ* negative; *-as* participle)
26. *L-* BY ANY KIND OF CONTACT, but more particularly CONTACT WITH THE HANDS. It is the stem of the verb TO TOUCH.
- L!a gu la lda'las* he laid his hands on them (*L!a* them; *gu* at or there; *dal* stem; *-as* participle)
- dī la LsL* let me go (*dī* me; *la* imperative particle; *sL* stem)
- guda'ñ la Lnanā'ñasi* he rubbed the medicine on himself (*gud* upon; *-añ* himself; *nan* stem TO RUB; *-āñ* continuative; *-asi* participle)
- LA Lxē'gīlai Łu* when she made a noise at the door (by touching it) (*xēgīl* [or *xēgīl*] stem TO MAKE A NOISE; *-ai* demonstrative or article turning clause into a noun; *Łu* when)
27. *Lu-* BY CANOE. It is also the word for CANOE.
- xaldā'ndjīdai Leil silgiā'ñ Luqā'idesi* the five slaves started back by canoe (*xaldā'n* [or *xA'ldāñ*] slave; *-djīd* plural of human beings [§29.2]; *-ai* demonstrative; *Leil* five; *silgiā'ñ* back [adverb]; *qā* to go; *-īd* inchoative; *-esi* participle)
- nAñ gA'nstA LA Luqā'L!xas* he came to one by canoe (*nAñ* one [indefinite person]; *gA'nstA* to [probably compound post-position of *gAN* FOR and *stA* FROM]; *qā* to go; *-L!xa* toward; *-s* participle)
- LA dA'ñat LA Luqā'itxītgiāñgai Łu* when he started to go home with him (*dA'ñat* in company with; *qā* to go; *-it* inchoative; *-xīt* seems to be inchoative used again, *-it* with *qā* having become so common as to have become stereotyped; *-giāñ* [?]; *gai* demonstrative; *Łu* when); see also 7.9
28. *xī-* WITH THE ARMS (from *xi* arm, wing).
- LA xīsLgīla'i Łu* when he waved his arms toward the town (*sL* stem; *gīl* shoreward; *-ai* demonstrative; *Łu* when)

29. *sqōt-* WITH THE ARMS. It is also the word for armpit.

la sqōtʰaxiā'ñagani he had under arms 69.13

la gi sqō'tgādāgan (he) took him by the arm 65.12

la spotskidā'ñañ wansū'ga it is said he clapped with the hands 29.22

l! sqotxē'gans they beat drums 89.41

30. *kiū-* BY TYING.

kiūq!ā-igadañasi fastened stones by tying (to it) 71.6 (*q!ā-i-* rounded object [§ 15.18])

kiūtc!isxiāwagani (it) was tied (to the doorway) 67.1 (*tc!is-* cubic object [§ 15.2])

§ 15. Second Group: Classifying Nominal Prefixes¹

Following is a list of the more important of these, with examples:

1. *tcī-* classifies such objects as full sacks and bags, pillows, etc.

la'gi la la tcī'slsqa'ias she brought the full sack out to him (*gi* to; *la* it [sack]; *la* she; *tcī-* classifier; *sl* stem; *-sga* seaward; *-i* perfect; *-s* participle)

ga k!ē'djī tcīq!ēda' some people with big bellies (*ga* some [people]; *k!ē'djī* bellies; *q!ēda'* big)

la gi ga'ndjūlgagīgai la kiūtcīsgide'sī he tied a dancing blanket to him (*gi* to; *ga'ndjūlgagī* dancing blanket; *gai* demonstrative; *kiū-* tying; *sgid* stem; *-esi* participle)

2. *tc!is-* cubic objects, such as boxes.

la'ia l! tc!isxiā's they picked up a whole box of cranberries (*la'ia* cranberries; *xiā* to pick up; *-as* participle)

qayū'da tc!isle'it five boxes of grease and grease (*qayū'da* boxes containing a mixture of grease and berries; *le'it* five)

nīdjā'ñu at sqā'na wa'ga sgā'gōdai tc!i'sgodīgañgī'nī masks and whistles were always in the secret-society box (*nīdjā'ñ* to imitate; *-u* noun-forming suffix [§26.1]; *at* with; *sqā'na* supernatural objects, and thus secret-society whistles; *wā* that; *ga* in; *sga-* sacred; *gōda* box; *ai* the; *gō* stem TO LIE; *-di* determinate suffix; *-gan* continuative [?]; *-gīn* usitative; *-i* perfect)

la tc!i'slsqas he brought out a box 55.23

3. *tai-* applied generally to objects lying on or close to the ground, but also to clubs, etc., grasped in the hand.

l! tai'sllgā'gas they all went to bed (*sl* stem; *-lga* all; *-ga* auxiliary TO BE; *-s* participle); see also 67.15

gū'gus t!agane' ta'igodies lo! a house (shape) lay there (*gū'gus* what! *t!agane'* behold! *gō* stem TO LIE; *-di* determinate suffix; *-es* participle); see also 65.28

¹ See also § 17.2.

gia'sgālan *taistā'nsîñxa* eight storehouses (*gia'sgālan* storehouses; *sta'nsîñxa* eight)

nāñ qataidā'las one (wave) came moving toward him (*nāñ* one, a; *qa* [?]; *dāl* to move; *-as* participle)

ūL'ūl slā'nagî la tā'igîñ he held a club on the left side (*ūL'ūl* club; *slā'na* left; *gî* at, in; *gîñ* stem [?])

4. *t!a-* flexible objects represented as crossing or coiled.

tcā'tga la la t!algū'ts he put a ground squirrel about her as a blanket (*tcā'tga* ground squirrel; *lgūl* to go around [stem]; *-s* participle)

gîtga'ñ la la Lt!algūldayañ wānsū'ga she had put it on her son as a blanket, they say (*gît* son; *-gañ* her own; *L-* with hands; *lgūl* to go around; *da* to cause; *-y* perfect; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wānsū'ga* quotative)

5. *t!ao-* objects shaped like spoons and feathers (*t!agu'n* feather)

aga'ñ la t!a'oaqēldas he puts himself (into the water) as an evergreen needle (shape indicated) (*aga'ñ* himself; *a* stem [?]; *-qēil* to become [§18.10]; *-da* to cause [§18.2]; *-s* participle)

la'ga la sqast!a'olasî he bit off his tongue (*-ga* possessive; *sqas* [?]; *la* stem; *-sî* participle)

gut la la dāt!a'onana'ñas he rubbed it (his tongue) on it (*gut* upon; *dā-* outward motion; *nanañ* stem; *-as* participle)

sla'gwal t!aoqō'na a big spoon (*sla'gwal* spoon; *qō'na* big)

ga-it!a'ogîñdā'las feathers floating about 41.4, 6 (*ga-i* floating)

la t!a'ostas he took out a feather 55.25

la dāñt!a'osdaiyasî— man he pulled out the feather 55.26, 31 (*dāñ-* by pulling)

t!a'odju it is a feather 55.26

Skiä'mskun-t!a'odjugîns hawk with feather sticking out of water 41.31 (*skiä'mskun* hawk; *dju* to be; *-gîñ* afloat)

6. *t!Am-* certain slender objects.

t!A'mdjîvasî it was slender (*djîw = dju* sort, kind [§39]; *-asî* participle)

wa'ga t!A'mgîtdiasî it became smaller there (*wa* demonstrative; *-ga* at; *gît* stem [?]; *-di* determinate suffix; *-sî* participle)

Lū t!A'mdju a narrow canoe 7.7

koa't!A'ndagasi flowing narrow 8.10 (*koa-* by a current)

t!Amxiê'nL!za'sî he came to a narrow one 73.38

7. *sta-* ring-shaped objects, like finger-rings, bracelets, barrel-hoops.

lnaga'i qu'tga stalē'ilasî a village of five curving rows (*lna = lana* town; *gai* demonstrative; *gut* together; *-ga* in, at; *leil* five; *-asî* participle)

V dastā'sgidasi he pushed a curved (bow) against it 79.7

staga'otc/ayasi they came in and sat down in circular lines (*gao* stem; *-tc!* motion into; *-y* perfect; *-si* participle)

qwē'stAl gatsta'sgīt!A'lgANs a rainbow moved up and down (*qwē* *stAl* rainbow; *gat-* with rapidity; *sgī = sgīt* stem; *-t!Al* motion down from above; *-gAN = -gAN* continuative; *-s* participle)

ga stagi'dAñAs something ring-shaped 9.1

8. **sk!a-** small cylindrical, and occasionally square objects.

gī'na sk!a'dala some cylindrical objects (stones) (*gī'na* thing; *dala* plural with adjectives [§ 39])

sqoda'ñ ge'ista qē'gu sk!asda'yas he had pulled a basket out from under his armpit (*sqoda* armpit; *-añ* his own [§ 28.3]; *gei* into; *sta* from; *qē'gu* basket; *sda = sta* stem; *-y* perfect; *-s* participle)

sī'wai wada'ñat gu'tgui la dask!axunā'ñasi he was rolling the lake together with it (*sīw = su* lake; *ai* demonstrative; *wa* it; *dA'ñat* together with; *gut* toward; *gui* toward [with motion]; *da-* motion outward; *run* stem [?]; *-añ* continuative; *-asi* participle)

nAñ sk!a'idjuwagas the one that had a knot-hole (shape) in it (*nAñ* the one; *dju* it is of that sort; *-ga* to be; *-s* participle)

lgudja'-i la ga sk!axuna'ñdalasi mats rolled toward him 89.11

9. **ska-** round objects, like marbles, berries, eggs, and potatoes.

asī djixī' skadAlda'nsi the waterdrops falling from this were round (*asī* this; *djixī* [?]; *dAl = dala* plural with adjectives; *dan* stem; *-si* participle)

la la gaska'xid as he picked it (cranberry) up with it (spoon) (*ga-* [?]; *xid* stem; *-as* participle)

10. **sqa-** (Masset **s'a-**) strings, ropes, hairs, etc.

dā'gīl sgatu'nal three strings (*dā'gīl* strings; *lu'nal* three)

wa'luxAN ga galsga'stala'yañ wansū'ga something pulled all of them up (*wa* it; *lu* when; *xAN* just so; *ga* something indefinite; *gal-* by pulling; *sta* stem; *-la* suffix meaning UP; *-y* perfect; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)

ēal s'a'sgu ALL NIGHT, night being spoken of metaphorically (Masset) (*ēal* night; *sgu* it is all [?])

11. **sq!a-** long objects, like sticks and paddles.

sq!agilā'ñas extending out in lines (from the island) (*gīl* seaward [?]; *-añ* continuative; *-as* participle)

ā'lai sq!ala'al ten paddles (*āl* paddle; *ai* demonstrative; *la'al* ten) *lqea'ma qā'djī sq!astī'ñ* two kelp-heads 53.24 (*lqea'ma* kelp; *qā'djī* heads; *stī'ñ* two)

sq!axiū'sgagai sq!astA'nsīñsga'si four lines of people danced toward the beach (*xīū* stem; *-sga* toward beach; *gai* the; *stA'nsīñ* four; *-sga* toward beach; *-si* participle)

la dañsq!asdağa-i lū'hao when he pulled (it) out 77.43 (*dañ-* by pulling)

dasq!ā'sgidāñ push on the long one 55.18 (*da-* by pushing)

sqā'baga-i sq!ala'al ten deadfalls 61.3

sgā'na lga'na sq!astī'ñ two dorsal fins 89.3

kī'tawe sq!astā'ñ two spears (Masset) (*kī'tao* spear; *e = ai* demonstrative; *stāñ* two [Masset dialect])

See also

sq!ā'ño pole 41.1

sqlagawa'-i stringers 89.12

12. **sL!**- indicates the shape assumed by objects lying in a heap, such as driftwood, pieces of dry halibut, a cord of wood.

tc!ā'anuai sL!qā'wasi the fire lay there (*tcāanu* fire; *ai* demonstrative; *qā'w = qao* or *go* to lie; *-si* participle)

13. **gñ-** materials such as blankets, shawls, tablecloths, mats, thin sails. It is sometimes used for canoes, instead of *ga-*.

mat qā'ti la gñgaL!xa'sgas he brought the insides of a mountain-goat (*mat* mountain-sheep; *qā'ti* insides; *ga* stem; *-L!xa* toward; *-sga* seaward; *-s* participle)

ga'ilgañ la sL!gīsta'yas he pulled out a blood-clot with his fingernails (*ga'ilgañ* blood-clot [from *gai* BLOOD]; *sL!* with fingers; *sta* stem; *-y* perfect; *-as* participle)

qwē'gal gi'a't gīstī'ñ two sky blankets (*qwē'gal* sky; *gi'a't* blankets; *stīñ* two)

lgūs gīLE'il five mats 55.12

la dañgi'stalia'-i lū when she pulled up (her dress) 31.19

la dañgi'djiL!xaga'ñasi he pulled out the canoe 29.28 (*dañ-* by pulling; *dji* stem; *-L!xa* towards)

la kītgi'sLgā'nsga he will push (the canoe) 41.30 (*kīt-* with pole; *-sL* stem; *-sga* future)

14. **gū-** flat but broad and thick objects.

Skī'na qāsqa la la q!ogusqidañ . . . he emptied all from his mouth at the head of Skeena, they say (making a lake) (*Skī'na* Skeena; *qās* contraction of *qā'dji* HEAD; *-ga* at; *q!o-* with teeth [§14.23]; *skid* stem; *-añ* past inexperienced)

Qī'ñgi lanā'ga xētgu anō' qāL gudja'ogīdas it must have been in front of Qī'ngi's town that a reef came up (*Qī'ngi* [name]; *lanā'* town; *-ga* possessive; *xēt* down in front of; *gu* there; *anō'* it must have been; *qāL* reef; *djao = dju* it was of that sort; *gīd* stem; *-as* participle)

l' gūlasga'ñ wansū'ga he went off in the shape of a flounder, they say (*la* stem; *-sga* toward the sea; *-añ* past inexperienced)

xā'gu la dāñgūga'l!xa'si he pulled the halibut out on the surface
(*xā'gu* halibut; *dāñ-* by pulling [§14.4]; *ga* stem; *-l!xa* to-
ward; *-si* participle)

lā dāñgulgaldā'si he pulled (a cloud) around it 41.40

lā dāñgū'slaleilas he pulled out five (boxes) in succession 55.24

15. **k!u-** short objects. Posts, nails, and some short loops are so denominated.

stā lā k!ū'gwētc!asī he (a short bird) came in from it (*stā* from;
gwē stem; *-tc!a* motion into; *-si* participle)

lā dāñk!ū'stāsgoā'nāñāyani he pulled (the spear) out for good
69.9 (*dāñ-* by pulling; *stā* stem; *-sgoāñ* for good)

lā l'golqak!uslāi'yañ wānsū'ga it is said he made (gambling sticks)
53.1

gī'nā k!ū'gīñasi something he held in hand 73.40

- 15a. **k!At-** small objects.

k!ū'da k!A'tdji!xaga'-i a small beak came out 53.28 (*-l!xa*
towards)

qe'igao k!A'tdju a small basket (*qe'igao* basket; *k!At-* classifier; *dju*
it was of that sort)

16. **ḡAt-** small objects. Used like the above.

ga ḡA'tdju some small (olachen) (*ga* some; *dju* they were of that
sort)

nāñ lqal ḡA'tdju a small dark person (*nāñ* a; *lqal* dark or black;
dju it was of that sort)

s'an ḡA'tdju a small killer-whale (Masset) (*s'an* killer-whale; *dju*
it was of that sort)

17. **ga-** (Masset 'a-) flat objects, such as boards, doors, pictures, looking-glasses, dishes, lakes, canoes.

lnaga'i galā'ildāya'ganī there were five towns (*lna* = *lana* town;
gai the; *lā'il* five; *-dā* causative; *-ya* perfect; *-gan* past inex-
perienced; *-ī* perfect)

q!adaḡui' aga'n la gaslsga'yas he turned himself in his canoe
(indicated by its shape) toward the mainland (*q!ada* toward sea
[mainland being considered outward]; *ḡui* toward; *aga'n* him-
self [§ 28.3]; *sl* stem; *-sga* seaward; *-ya* perfect; *-s* participle)

lā'ya la gagaL!xa'sgas he brought out a dish of cranberries (*lā'ya*
cranberries; *ga* stem; *-l!xa* toward; *-sga* toward open place)

gū'gus t!agane' ga'godies lo! a level (pond) lay there (*gū'gus* what!
t!agane' behold! *go* stem TO LIE; *-di* determinate suffix [§20.7])

lū gasgoā'nsīñ one canoe 10.9

sga'ola-i gale'il five clam-shells 55.11

lā'na 'as'oa'nsīñ one town (Masset) (*lā'na* town; *s'oansīñ* one)

18. **q'ai-** (Masset **q!e-**) roundish objects, such as rolls of dry-goods, lumps of bacon, and pieces of whale-meat.

qā' la q!ā'igodies a roundish reef (*qā' la* reef; *go* stem TO LIE; *-di* determinate suffix [§ 20.7]; *-es* participle); see also 77.45

gī'gawai la dañq!a'üstasî he pulled out the fish-trap (*gī'gaw* = *gī'gao* fish-trap; *ai* the; *dañ-* by pulling; *üsta* stem [?]; *-sî* participle)

sta sī'nañ la q!a'islasî he snuffed from the (round basket) (*sta* from; *sī'nañ* snuffing; *sl* stem; *-asi* participle)

ge'ista la gi la l! q!ā'istas they gave him a round thing out of it (*gei* into; *sta* from; *gi* to; *sta* stem; *-s* participle)

kítq!ā'idjilgwagan (they) put down (a copper plate) 87.24 (*kít-* with a point)

la qea'q!a'idā'ldi qa'odi after he had looked at (the sun) for a while 29.9 (*qea-* by looking; *dal* motion; *-di* [§ 20.7]; *qa'odi* after)

l! q!a'-islgiasi they put down (the drum) 14.3

l' qā'dji ga q!oq!ā'isgidagan by biting it jammed his head 91.11 (*qās* head; *q!o-* by biting; *sgid* contact)

We find also

l! q!ā'-isll!xatc!ai'yagani they brought (the canoe) in to him 101.4 (*sl-* stem; *-l!xa* towards; *-tc!* into)

la l! q!a-islsqai'yagan they took him (porcupine) out to sea 45.16 (*sl-* stem; *-sga* out to sea); the same for KNIFE 87.7

la l! q!a-isllai'yagan they took him (beaver) up 47.1 (*-l* up)

q!a'idjū!xadies (foam) coming piled up 95.10 (*-l!xa* towards)

qoñ q!ēstā'nsañan four moons (= four months) (Masset) (*qoñ* moon; *stā'nsañ* four; *-an* past inexperienced)

19. **q!ōl-** the shape assumed by long flexible objects, such as hairs or strings, when they are tangled together; also bushes with many stems.

a'lgan q!añ djūdja'i wa'gut q!ōlxā'was here was a hemlock with a clump of branches sticking out all over it (*a'lgan* here; *q!añ* hemlock; *djūdja'i* the branches; *wa* it; *gut* upon; *xāw* = *xao* stem; *-as* participle)

k!A'ldA q!ōlque'la clump of branches; fall down! (*k!A'ldA* clump of branches; *que* stem; *la* imperative)

kī'nzan ga la daq!ō'lskidesî he shoved in a bunch of moss to stop up the hole (*kī'nzan* moss; *ga* in; *da-* by pushing; *skid* stem)

sīn q!ōldjū'gan a bunch of gambling-stick wood 55.2

20. **l-** animate things, such as human beings, animals, fish, insects.

l' lxiendā'las he was running along (*xien* probably means quickly)

la *L!A* *sīla'iga* *lgodia'si* he, however, was lying down in the baby's place (indicated by shape) (*L!A* however; *sīla'i* the place; *ga* in; *go* to lie; *-di* determinate; *-asi* participle)

īā'xodača *īdjiL!xas* a grebe came out of the water (*īā'xodada* grebe; *dji* stem; *-L!xa* toward; *-s* participle)

la'gui *aga'n* *la* *lsgia'las* he (a fish) turned himself toward him (*gui* toward [with motion]; *aga'n* himself; *sl* stem; *-gial* toward shut-in place; *-as* participle)

la *q!a-iti'slas* he cut up (a whale) 51.7 (*q!a-iti-* by cutting)

la *dañlsta'iyagani* he pulled out (a bear) 95.14 (*dañ-* by pulling; *sta* to move away)

la *l'sltc!as* he brought in (a bird) 27.31 (*-tc!* into)

la *la* *l* *linā'gas* he put a living one down 13.1

l'xida to take (a child) 27.17

l'sgugēils found a whole one 49.11

21. *L-* or *Lu-* the shape assumed by a number of clams or fish with a stick run through them to hold them together, and also by a canoe with many persons standing up in it.

ya'gulsi *la* *gīxa'n* *ludjūdā'asi* he placed them standing in line in the middle of the canoe (*ya'gu* = *ya'ku* middle; *l* euphonic; *-si* participle; *gīxa'n* standing; *djū* it was of that sort; *-dā* causative [§18.2]; *-asi* participle)

ku'ngado *ldā'l!xas* (a canoe full of men) is coming around the point (*kun* point; *gado* around; *dāl* to go [pl.]; *-L!xa* toward; *-s* participle)

22. *L!*- thin objects, such as thin boards, berry-cakes, pies and pie-plates, flat cans of beef.

gu'tgi *la* *la* *dāL!skīda'si* he flattened it together (*gut* together; *gi* to; *dā-* by pushing; *skīd* stem.; *-asi* participle)

ga *tī'djai* *L!gōsgā'* certain flat rocks lying out from (the woods) (*ga* certain; *tīdj* = *tīs* rocks; *ai* the; *go* to lie; *-sgā* seaward)

L!Le'il five (plugs of tobacco) (*Le'il* five)

ya'mdjī *L!djīwogangā* go to the flint which sticks out thin! (*ya'mdjī* flint; *djīwo* = *dju* it is of that sort; *gan* = *gan* continuative; *-gā* to be [§18.5])

23. *tga-* branching objects, such as bushes with numerous branches from one stem, combs, several hooks on one line, clothing with a coarse weave, the vertebral column, and even a person who is very thin.

L! Lā'djī *la* *gīlga'las* he broke off the ends of some cedar-limbs (*L!* some; *lā'djī* limbs; *gī-* [?]; *L* stem TO TOUCH)

- lA lga'i'ngawus* he put up (a stone wall) (*i'ngaw* perhaps contains *go* TO LIE; *-us* participle)
- lA dAñlgā'stagwa'gasi* he pulled out (a hemlock branch) 10.6
- ia'olē lgalunul'ā'wan* there were three hooks (Masset) (*ta'ol* hooks; *ē* the; *lunul* three; *'aw = 'o* to lie; *-an* past inexperienced)
24. **lgAm-** large roundish or cubic objects.
- sī'sa lga'mqēda L!* *lga'mqatxi* they had large round rattles in their hands (*sī'sa* rattle; *qēda* large; *qatxi* stem [?])
- ɣallga'mdaxide's* (skin) shriveled up in fire 37.15 (*ɣal-* by fire)
25. **lgī-** large cylindrical objects, like logs, steam-boilers, smoke-stacks, rolls of bedding, many objects flowing in a stream, also driftwood sometimes, and large fence-rails.
- wage'ista kwalgī'statsga'si* (olachen) ran out of it in a stream toward the sea (*wa* it; *gei* into; *sta* from; *kwa-* in a stream; *sta* stem; *-sga* outward; *-si* participle)
- t!AN la lgi'gīñas* he was carrying a hard, dead limb (*t!AN* limb or knot rotted out of a tree; *gīñ* stem; *-as* participle)
- lāi ɣutlgīdjū' L!xaqias* there cranberries were blown out (in a cylindrical body) (*lāi* cranberries; *ɣut-* by the wind [§14.19]; *djū* stem; *-L!xa* toward; *-giā* outward; *-s* participle)
- ī' L!ga xō'dai dā lgi'atalgagasañ* you might eat our hair-seal (*ī' L!* our; *-ga* possessive; *xōd = xōt* hair-seal; *ai* the; *dā* you; *a* [?]; *ta* stem TO EAT; *-Lga* all [§20.2]; *-ga* to be; *-asañ* infallible future)
- L! lgi'stansīñdai'yagan* they make four (grave-posts) 91.29 (*stansīñ* eight; *-da* to make)
- lgīdjū'usgadīa's* (glow of fire) shines toward beach 39.6
- skī'lē l w'ē lā lgīdjū'diwan* put a tall dance-hat on his head! (Masset) (*skīl* dance-hat; *ē* the; *l* imperative particle; *w = wa* it [hat]; *'ē* into; *lā* probably = *la* with the possessive *-a* HIS; *djū* stem; *-di* determinate suffix; *-an* past inexperienced)
26. **xa-** many inanimate small objects.
- ... *xā'godiganī* they (gills) lie 97.26 (*go* to lie; *-di* determinate; *-gan* experienced; *-ī* [p.253])
- ta-ū xā'xiwas* halibut-hooks were hanging 67.19 (*ta-ū* hook; *xiu* to hang; *-as* participial)
27. **sLAp-**
- gī'na gō'lgat sLA'pdāla* some slim, blue things (*gī'na* some; *gō'lgat* blue; *dāla* plural with adjectives of shape)
28. **t!Ap-**
- gī'na sgēt t!A'pdjū' L!xa* something short and red protruded (*gī'na* something; *sgēt* red; *djū* stem; *-L!xa* toward)

29. **k!Am-** small (cf. no. 15a, p. 231).
Lū k!A'mdala small canoes (*Lū* canoe; *dala* plural with adjectives)
!a'gas k!A'mdala small flakes of snow 31.28
30. **gām-**
ga q!ā'laga gā'mgodies a large open space in the woods (*ga* some [indef. pl.]; *q!ā'laga* open place or swamp; *go* to lie; *-di* determinate; *-es* participle)
31. **L!Ap-**
la L!Apdji' laxadas he let a small part (of the surface of the moon) be seen (*djilaxa* [?]; *-da* causative; *-s* participle)
32. **sLām-**
q!ā'djai l' xē'la ge'ista sgēt sLā'mdjīgolā'ndālasī the gum hung out from his mouth red (*q!ādj* = *q!ās* gum; *ai* the; *xē'la* mouth; *gei* into; *sta* from; *sgēt* red; *djī* probably = *dju* it is of that sort; *golā'ndal* analysis uncertain; *-asi* participle)
33. **tcf̄-** the insides of such objects as sea-eggs.
34. **st!a-** dumb-bell shaped objects, such as the liver of a dog-fish.
35. **skAp-** applied to such an object as the curled tail of a dog.
skA'pdala crooked wedges 33.13
36. **skiēt-** small and very slender objects, such as certain small, slender teapots.

Third Group: Principal Predicative Terms (§§ 16-21)

§ 16. Characterization of Predicative Terms

Most elements of this group must be considered as independent verbs. It has been pointed out before that they may also enter into combinations. Among some of them this tendency is strongly developed. Here belong the verbs forming terms of the first group (see § 14). A number of others are so intimately related with other ideas in their significance that they occur only rarely alone, if at all, and appear, therefore, in part rather as auxiliary verbs, or even as affixes.

§ 17. Stems in Initial Position

Some of these stems take initial positions.

1. **gai-** (Masset **gī-**) refers to any object floating upon the water, *gai* being the stem of the verb TO FLOAT.

Na-giū' ga la gā'isLgeilgīgas he stopped at House-fishing-ground (floating there upon the water) 29.8 (*Na* house; *giū* fishing-ground; *ga* in; *sL* stem; *-gīl* to come to be [§ 18.10]; *gī* completion of action; *ga* to be; *-s* participle)

§§ 16, 17

gam l' lanā'ga da'osqual ga'is lga'oga n̄ga n̄ga driftwood never floated ashore in his town (*gam* not; *lanā* town; *-ga* possessive; *da'osqual* 'driftwood'; *sl* stem; *gao* [?]; *-ga n̄* negation; *-ga n̄* continuative; *-ga* to be)

l' xe'tgu l' gā'is lgi'ls it floated ashore in front of him (*xet* down in front of; *gu* there; *sl* stem; *-gi'ls* shoreward; *-s* participle)

l' gā'i n̄gwa n̄as it was floating about (*gā* = *gāi*- floating; *-i n̄* on sea; *-gwa n̄* about; *-as* participle)

[This stem might be considered as an instrumental, like those discussed in § 14. It takes the same position before classifiers as other instrumentals do: *gā'-i! aoga'ogadie's* a feather floated ashore 37.24 (*t!ao*- feather-shaped object).—ED.]

2. **gan-** applied when a number of people are doing a thing *en masse*.

la sta l! ga'nda x̄it d̄j̄lasi they all started away from her (*sta* from; *da* = *dal* to go [pl.]; *-x̄it* inchoative [§ 18.6]; *-d̄j̄l* truly)

la sta l! ga'n lgal n̄as they went home from him (*sta* from; *lgal* to go indirectly; *-a n̄* continuative; *-as* participle)

la ga'n sta gandā' l! xa gi'lsi they came to him together (*ga'n sta* to [= *gan* FOR and *sta* FROM = COMING FOR A PURPOSE]; *dāl* to go [pl.]; *-l! xa* toward; *-gi'ls* landward; *-si* participle)

lgū'nul gandax' i' dan three came along 107.20

l' ganā' lqō qa'odi hao after they had gone along 37.2

[It would seem that this element must be considered as a classifier, analogous to those discussed in § 15 and meaning GROUP OF PEOPLE. The following example illustrates its use following an instrumental: *la l! galga'nda x̄it gā'wa n̄ wansū'ga* it is said, they led him home 81.39 (*gal-* by leading).—ED.]

3. **xao-** (Masset *xō-*) TO DO A THING QUICKLY.

la at gut la da'oxaostas they seized each other quickly (*at* with; *gut* each other; *dao-* to go and get [prefixed]; *sta* stem)

la ga ga nā' n̄ xao lga n̄asi it quickly ground off his skin (*ga* to; *ga* something; *nā n̄* = *nan* to grind [§ 14.8]; *l* stem [?]; *-ga n̄* continuative; *-asi* participle)

l' dā' a la n̄ sta n̄ l' dō x̄ō' sta s' aian her two brothers ran down to take her (Masset) (*dā' a* younger brother; *-la n̄* plural; *sta n̄* two; *dō* to go and get; *sta* stem; *-s' a* seaward; *-i* perfect; *-an* past inexperienced)

4. **ta-** expresses the use of a transitive verb without object.

taga'oga n̄a n̄ wansū'ga they say few were left 11.8

taq'ā' dās she cut up 49.1

taqō' l̄ juulas he spread out in morning 53.4

taskidā' n̄ agani they plundered 105.4

§ 17

§ 18. Stems in Terminal Position, First Group

Most of these verbal stems take a terminal position:

1. *ū* TO SIT OR CONTINUE TO BE.
2. *da* TO CAUSE.
3. *dal* TO MOVE ALONG WHILE SOMETHING ELSE IS TAKING PLACE.
4. *sîñ* TO WISH.
5. *ga* TO BE.
6. *xit* (Masset *-id*) TO BEGIN
7. *xAt* or *xAl* (Masset *At* or *Al*) TO TELL.
8. *ga* (Masset *'a*) TO GO.
9. *gaya* (Masset *'aya*) TO KNOW HOW TO DO A THING.
10. *geil* or *geal* (Masset *'el* or *'el*) TO BECOME.
11. *xañ* TO THINK OR GUESS.

Examples of the use of auxiliaries with nouns:

ganl xē'lauas there lay a water-hole (*ganl* fresh water; *xēla* a water-hole; *u* to lie or sit [no. 1]; *-as* participle)

l! lqā'uas they put stones into the fire (*lqā* stones; *u* auxiliary [no. 1]; *-as* participle)

la qā'ldas he stayed all night (*la* he; *qāl* night; *da* [no. 2])

la la sū'udas he said to him 27.2 (*sū* to say, intransitive)

l' tcā'alDas he had a war-spear (*l'* he; *tcā'al* war-spear; *-da* auxiliary [no. 2]; *-s* participle)

dañ gu l madā'dasga I will put mountain-goats upon you (*dañ* you; *gu* there; *l* I; *mad* = *mat* mountain-goats; *ā* [?]; *-da* auxiliary [no. 2]; *-sga* future)

nañ t!ē'djî lqā'gas the one who was half rock 8.9 (*nañ* one; *t!ē'djî* half; *lqā* stone)

l' nā'tga qaxā'gas his nephew was a child¹ (*nā't* nephew; *-ga* possessive [§ 28]; *qaxā* child; *-ga* to be [no. 5]; *-s* participle)

lā'ga xalagā'gan his (implement) was copper (*-ga* possessive; *xala* copper; *-gā* to be [no. 5]; *-agan* past inexperienced)

la gi yā'nāñgeilgoas it became foggy upon them (*la* them [with suffix *-go*]; *gi* at or upon; *yā'nāñ* clouds or fog; *-geil* to become [no. 10]; *-as* participle)

Examples of the use of auxiliaries with other verb-stems:

l' q!ā'o-ū qa'odî after he had sat there for a while (*q!ā[o]* to sit; *u* auxiliary [no. 1]; *qa'odî* after a while)

la qoyā'das he caused it to be dear (= he valued it) (*qoyā* dear; *-da* auxiliary [no. 2]; *-s* participle)

¹ *qāza* appears to have been originally a verb meaning TO BE WEAK (see § 19.1), but here it is made a verb over again just as if it were a noun.

- l' dā'yîñdal qa'odî* after he had gone along hunting for a while (*dāyîñ* hunting; *dal* to go [no. 3]; *qaodî* after a while)
- dāñ gi L! gî'dayû'ansîñga* they wish to give you much food (*dāñ* you; *gi* to; *gîda* to give food to any one; *yu'an* much; *-sîñ* auxiliary [no. 4]; *-ga* perhaps this should be *-sga* future)
- l'a'oga l' tã'gas* his mother ate it 27.28 (*ao* mother; *-ga* possessive; *tã* to eat; *ga* to be [no. 5]; *-s* participle)
- la la qā'L!xaxalgoas* they told him to come out to them (*la* they [with suffix *-go*]; *qā* to go; *-L!xa* toward; *-xal* auxiliary [no. 7])
- nañ qea'ñgasi* one went to look (*nañ* one; *qea* stem to LOOK; *-añ* continuative; *-ga* auxiliary [no. 8]; *-si* participle)
- nañ gaxā's nã'ñagayageils* the child came to know how to play (*nañ* the [with suffix *-s*]; *gaxā* child; *-s* participle; *nãña* = *nan* stem; *-gaya* to know how to [no. 9]; *-geil* to come to [no. 10]; *-s* participle)
- qoñā'i lã'ña q!ēstã'nsañai^εels* their months became eight, or eight months passed over them (Masset) (*qoñ* moon; *ai* the; *lã'ña* their [singular form covering plural] = *la + aña* their own; *q!ē-* classifier [§ 15.18]; *stã'nsaña* = *stã'nsañxa* eight; *i* probably euphonic; *-^εel* auxiliary [no. 10]; *-s* participle)
- hayî'ñxan laga xia'lxã'ñgua* I think he has danced long enough (Masset) (*hayî'ñ* instead of [dancing longer]; *xan* so, thus; *laga* enough [?]; *xial* to dance; *-xãñ* auxiliary [no. 11]; *-gua* declarative suffix [25.5])

§ 19. Stems in Terminal Position, Second Group

A number of others are also apparently verbal stems, but appear in close connection with other verbs, so that they almost convey the impression of suffixes. In some of them, however, their independent character is quite apparent.

1. *-xa* usually occurs in such close conjunction with the verb stem that it is hard to determine whether it is a true suffix or not. It may indicate state.

- dî dala'ñ lqaxagî'lga* you tire me with your handling (*dî* me; *dala'ñ* you [pl.]; *L-* by handling [§ 14.26]; *qaxa* together means WEAK; *-gîl* to become [§ 18.10]; *-ga* auxiliary [§ 18.8])
- Sawañ'xa gia'xayas* Sawañ'xa stood up (*Sawañ'xa* man's name; *gia* to stand; *-y* perfect; *-s* participle)
- la gan l' st!ē xagîlãñ wansû'ga* he became angry with him, they say (*gan* with [?]; *st!ē* angry or sick; *gîl* to become [§ 18.10]; *-ãñ* past inexperienced; *wansû'ga* quotative)
- la'gi l' lgoa'xagîts* he became afraid of him (*gi* of; *lgoa* stem to FEAR; *-gîl* auxiliary; *-s* participle)

- la la kílge'idaxa-k'ótwā'lañ* . . . he made her so ashamed by his words that she died (*kíl-* by words [§ 14.14]; *geida* perhaps means IT IS THAT WAY, but with *-xa* it signifies TO BECOME ASHAMED; *k'ótul* to be destroyed; *-añ* past inexperienced)
- gam L! qē'xagañas* they did not find him (*gam* not; *qē* perhaps is *gea* TO SEE, but with *-xa* it means TO FIND; *-gañ* negation)
2. **-gîñ, -gîñ, or -îñ** MOTION BY SEA; also an independent stem.¹
- l' qa'idañgîñas* it went of itself by sea (*qa* to go; *-id* inchoative [§ 18.6]; *-añ* continuative [?]; *-as* participle)
- qā'gîñ qa'odî* after it had gone along on the ocean for a while (*qā* to go; *qa'odî* after a while)
- l' xa'óîns* he was fishing 29.7 (*xao* to fish; *-s* participle)
- l' sa'úîns* he went out hunting by sea (*saî* to hunt; *-s* participle)
3. **-gōñ** (Masset **-'ōñ**) conveys the idea of random progression on foot, and is used only after the verb stems *qā* and *îs*.
- l' djî'łgoqagō'ndî* after he had danced around for a while (*l'* they [with suffix *-gō*]; *djîł* stem TO DANCE; *qa* to go; *-gōñ* = *-gōñ* suffix; *-dî* determinate suffix)
- l' qā'gōñgañî* he wandered around (*qā* to go; *-gañ* past inexperienced; *-î* perfect)
- la qîñqā'gōñas* he saw walking about 12.2
- la qā'gōñ qa'odî* after he had walked about 67.33
4. **-gîa** is also used principally after *qā*, and seems to indicate that the motion is with a definite object in view, straight on to a certain place. Possibly it is the stem of the verb TO STAND, with which it is morphologically identical.
- gut la qagiaga'ñ qa'odî* after he had gone along upon the trail for a while (*gut* upon; *qa* stem TO GO; *-gañ* continuative; *qa'odî* after a while)
- ga la qā'giaga'nsî* he was going thither (*ga* to; *qā* stem TO GO; *-gañ* past experienced; *-î* perfect [§ 25.6])
- la'ga nañ qā'giagañas* one came to him upon the trail (*ga* to; *nañ* one; *qā* stem TO GO; *-gañ* continuative; *-as* participle)
5. **-q'ol** or **-q'ol** TO DO SECRETLY; also independent verb stem.
- Sawal'xa l' qîñq'ol'tadiês* Sawal'xa looked at him unobserved (*Sawal'xa* man's name; *qîñ* stem TO LOOK; *-ta* perhaps FOR; *-da* auxiliary; *-dî* determinate suffix; *-ês* participle)
- la l' sū'daq'oldaian* he whispered to her secretly (*sū* stem TO SAY; *-da* to cause; *-da* to cause [used twice]; *-i* perfect [§ 23.7]; *-an* past inexperienced)

¹[Nos. 2-4 might be classed with the locative suffixes described in § 22. - ED.]

dī lA q'olqí'nda don't let any one know of me (*dī* me; *lA* imperative particle; *qín* [?]; *-da* to cause)

§ 20. Stems in Terminal Position, Third Group

It is probably due to their significance that the following groups take ordinarily their position following the last series:

1. **-go** (Masset **-^o**) PLURALITY. Originally this probably marked distributive plurality. It always follows *la*, the personal pronoun of the third person singular.

gAN lA la djilā'daḡoas they had her as bait for it (*gAN* for; *la* they [with *-go*]; *djilā* bait; *-da* to cause; *-as* participle)

stA L'A Luqā'itḡoasī they went away (*stA* from; *L'A* they; *Lu-* canoe [§ 14.27]; *qā* to go; *-it* inchoative [§ 18.6]; *-asi* participle)

l' nā'xagAñḡoga'ñga they fly about (*l'* they [with *-go*]; *nā'xa* to fly [pl.]; *-gAñ* continuative; *-gAñ* probably continuative also, the suffix being doubled; *-ga* auxiliary)

lA q'a'osLogagawañ . . . they came and sat down by the fire (*lA* they [with *gaw = -go*]; *q'a* to sit; *-o* probably auxiliary; *sLo* stem [?]; *-ga* auxiliary [?]; *-añ* past inexperienced)

lA stA lA Luqā'itḡoas they left him by canoe 59.3

l' ḡé'tḡatḡawa'-i Lū when they had gone 59.4

lA lanadaḡeilḡā'waḡAN they had a town 103.11

2. **-lḡa** (Skidegate dialect) indicates that all of the objects or persons just mentioned are included in the action.

l' ḡa'olūLḡagawas they all got up (*l'* they [with *-gaw = -go*])

la'ḡiḡa ḡi'nagwi q'a'ilLḡagas all his property was lost (*ḡiḡa* property; *-ḡa* possessive; *ḡi'na* things; *ḡai* the; *q'a'il* stem; *-ga* auxiliary; *-s* participle)

3. **-^oodjū** Masset equivalent of the above.

°alA'nsL°odjawanī it was all cooked (*°alAN* to cook; *sL* appears to be the principal stem; *°odjaw = °odju* all; *-an* past inexperienced; *-i* perfect)

°a L' i'sdals°odjawan all went down to it (*°a* to; *i's* [?]; *dal* to go; *s* [?]; *°odjaw = °odju* all; *-an* past inexperienced)

L' i'L'ada°odjawan all went down to it (*i'L'ada* [?]; *°odjaw = °odju* all; *-an* past inexperienced)

Lū'ḡuē A'ñā l' i'sda°odjawan he took all into the canoe (*Lū* canoe; *ḡu* there; *ē = °ē* into; *A'ñā* his own; *i'sda* stem; *-°odjaw = -°odju* all; *-an* past inexperienced)

4. **-sk'i** applied to an action that fails of accomplishment, or perhaps to one that nearly succeeds.

k!iwa'i gei l' xA'ptagoaskiä'si he almost went flying through the doorway (*k!iw* = *k!iu* doorway; *ai* the; *gei* into; *xAp* probably means quickly; *tagoa* [?]; *-äsi* participle)

la dä'yîñskia'gadjîũgañ he hunted for it in vain (*dä'yîñ* to hunt; rest uncertain)

gei l' dayî'ñskiya'i lu when they found nothing there by hunting (*gei* into; *dayîñ* to hunt; *-y* perfect; *ai* the; *lu* when) *gadō' l ge'tskiañ* I could in no way get them (*gadō'* around [always used with this stem]; *l* I; *get* stem; *-añ* [?])

5. **-goañ.** A frequentative best translated by the English word ABOUT.

l' zetî't tc!i'nlgoañgas he went about hunting birds (*zetî't* birds; *tc!in* to shoot or hunt; *l* perhaps euphonic; *-ga* to go; *-s* participle). See also 27.27

l' gā'yîñgoañas it was floating about (*gāy-* = *gai-* floating; *-in* on water; *-as* participle)

gō'ñgañ dA'ñat lA na'ugoañ qa'odî after he had lived along with his father for a while (*gōñ* man's father; *-gañ* his own; *dA'ñat* in company with; *na* to live; *ū* auxiliary; *-goañ* along or about; *qa'odî* after a while)

lA la i'na-ũgoañ qa'odî after he had remained with his wife for a while (*i'na* to marry; *-ū* auxiliary; *qa'odî* after a while)

6. **-gî** the completion of action; also, sometimes, continuation, in which case it probably means continuation to the end.

la geîlgîdaga'i lu when she had finished (*geîl* to become; *-da* auxiliary; *gai* the; *lu* when)

la sugî'gai lu when he was through talking (*su* to talk; *gai* the)

la qî'ngî'gwasi they looked at it for some time (*la* they [with *-gw* = *-go*]; *qî'ñ* stem TO LOOK; *-asi* participle)

xao g^u tadjugi'gañan the raven always sat upon it (*xao* [?]; *g^u* at or upon; *ta* probably a classifier; *dju* stem [?]; *-gañ* continuative; *-an* past inexperienced)

7. **-di** a suffix that seems to define the action as having taken place at a certain particular place and moment. Its use is not so pronounced in the Masset dialect as in Skidegate.

q!al lgal k!A'tdala q!as gōxū'godîês some small black-skinned persons held burning pitchwood then (*q!al* skins; *lgal* black; *k!At-* short or small; *-dala* plural with adjectives [§39]; *q!as* pitchwood; *go-* burning; *xa* inanimate pl.; *-go* to be somewhere; *-ês* participle)

lA Liñā'ñdigandi xAn at the moment when she was striving to disentangle it (*Li-* with the hands [?]; *ñañ* probably stem; *-di* seems to be determinate suffix used twice; *-gan* continuative; *xAn* thus, at that moment)

gu la ta'idias he lay right there (*gu* there; *tai* to lie)
l' qaxā'di at the time when he was a boy (*qaxā* boy)

This suffix is used very often before *qa'odi*.

l'sūdi qa'odi after he had cried 7.7

8. **-ul** or **-ul** TO DO A THING EARLY IN THE MORNING.

Q!ana'ñ t!a'ga l q!a'o-ulas I sit early in the morning at the mouth of Q!ana'ñ river (*Q!ana'ñ* river name; *t!a* mouth of; *-ga* at; *l* I; *q!a* to sit; *-o* auxiliary; *-as* participle)

gaña'ñ ge'itulas (the weather) becomes like this early in the morning (*gaña'ñ* like; *geit* stem IT WAS SO; *-as* participle)

yā'naña ta'igññulia'i lu when it was cloudy (or foggy) early in the morning (*yā'naña* clouds or fog; *tai* to lie [close to water]; *gñ* on water; *ai* the; *lu* when)

l lā'uliga it is fine weather so early this morning (*lā* good, fine)
nañ k!wai'yagas k!oda l' go-ulaiyañ one brother lay dead in the morning 77.33 (*k!oda-* dead; *l-* classifier; *go* to lie)

9. **-lñā'** marks potentiality.

l'sñ Lqao L! xadalññā'ñgūda'nsi he thought he might restore them (*l'sñ* again; *Lqao* new; *L!* he [plural because a great hero is speaking]; *xada* human being; *-añ* continuative [?]; *-gūd* to think; *-an* continuative [contracted before *s*]; *-si* participle)

gī'na at l lālñā' wa'luxan la'gi la i'sdas he gave him all things which might make him happy (*gī'na* things; *at* with; *lā* good or happy; *wa'luxan* all [*wa + lu + xan*]; *gi* to; *i'sda* gave)

skāñ, sta'iga Lgua l sqasgā'itlñā' blockhead, I can knock out your labret (*skāñ* blockhead; *sta'i* labret; *-ga* possessive; *Lgua* a sort of adverbial interjection, whatever it is; *l* I; *sqasgā'it* to knock out)

gam gu 'anldañ ga t!alā'ñ i'nalññāñus may we not leave fresh water with you? (Masset) (*gam* not; *gu* interrogative particle; *'anl* fresh water; *dañ* you; *ga* to; *t!alā'ñ* we; *i'na* stem; *-añ* continuative [?]; *-us* interrogative suffix)

lñā' may also be employed as the stem of an independent verb and as an adjective.

L! dō'na k!adāñā'sis ū l lñā'yan she made it so that younger sisters are wise (Masset) (*L!* indefinite; *dō'na* younger sisters; *k!adāñā'* wise; *-s* participle; *-is* probably contracted form of verb TO BE; *ū* general demonstrative; *lñā* stem; *-y* perfect; *-an* past inexperienced)

NAñk'lsLas lñā'i he who was going to become NAñk'lsLas, or the potential NAñk'lsLas (*NAñ* one; *k'il-* voice; *sl* stem; *-as* participle [all meaning ONE-WHOSE-VOICE-IS-OBEYED]; *ai* the)

a'hao qait liña'i hao idja'ñ wansū'ga those were the future (or potential) trees, they say (*a* this; *hao* general demonstrative; *qait* trees; *liña'i* the potential; *hao* general demonstrative; *idja* to be; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)

It is also often used in the formation of names.

§ 21. Stems in Terminal Position, Fourth Group

All of these except two are nothing more than incorporated adjectives.

1. *yū'* BIG.

la gā'ña yū'andayagan he had it very thick 33.9 (*gā'na* thick; *-da* to cause [§18.2]; *-y* perfect [§23.2]; *-agan* past inexperienced [§23.2])

la'gan sk!ūlyū'anās it was very crowded for her (*gan* for; *sk!ūl* a crowd; *-as* participle [§25.7])

l' lāi l! daoyū'anās they came near him on the opposite shore in a very great crowd (*lāi* abreast of on shore; *dao* to go to get)

l' qoanyū'anān they were very many (*l'* they [sing. used for pl.]; *qoan* many; *-an* past inexperienced [§23.2])

2. *djiti'* REAL.

gā'lga-geildjiti'gai lu when it became quite dark (*gā'l* night, dark; *-ga* [?]; *geil* to become; *gai* the; *lu* when)

gi la gwao djiti'gasi he really did not care for (it) (*gi* for; *gwao* stem NOT TO CARE FOR; *-ga* auxiliary [§18.5])

dī sk!isLdjiti'ga I am truly full (*dī* I; *sk!isL* to be full [perhaps compounded of *sk!i* and *sL*]; *-ga* auxiliary TO BE)

la'gi la dayi'nskidjiti'gas he was absolutely unable to find him (*gi* to or for; *dayi'n* to find; *-ski* in vain [§20.4]; *-ga* auxiliary TO BE [§18.5]; *-s* participle)

3. *Lā'gañ* THE FIRST.

nāñ la geilgi'galā'gañās he finished a certain one first 33.2 (*nāñ* one; *geil* to become; *-gi* completed action [§20.6]; *-ga* auxiliary [§18.5]; *-as* participle)

gi la kia'gañlāgañagan he asked for him first 33.26 (*kia* stem; *-gañ* continuative [§24.1]; *-agan* past inexperienced [§23.2])

4. *gō'da* (Masset 'oda) THE LAST. Originally this appears to have been the word for BUTTOCKS. In the Masset dialect it is used as a connective meaning AFTER.

la ga tā'gagotslas the ones he ate last (*la* [?]; *ga* the ones; *tā* stem TO EAT; *-ga* auxiliary TO BE [?]; *-got* last; *sL* stem; *-as* participle)

5. *sgoan* FOREVER, OR FOR A LONG TIME. This is derived from the same stem as *sgoa'nsîñ* ONE, *sgu'nzan* ONLY.

ga'igu hao l' tcî'ageîlsgoānāñ wānsū'ga he came to have a place there forever, they say (*gai* the or that; *gu* there; *hao* general demonstrative; *tcîa* a place; *geîl* to come to; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wānsū'ga* quotative)

lā'ga lA dAñda'ostAsgoā'nāñasi he pulled his [spear] out for good (*-ga* possessive; *dAñ-* by pulling; *dao* to go and get; *stA* to move from a place; *-añ* continuative [§24.1]). See also 69.9

The numerals from two up are suffixed to take the place of ordinals, numerals, and numeral adverbs.

lA gōtṛia'tc!asta'nsañā'i ḷu after he had swallowed four times, or the fourth time (*gotṛia* stem [?]; *-tc!a* motion into [§22.1]; *-stA'nsañ* four; *-ai* the; *ḷu* when)

atha'o lA la tc!īga'stiañāñ . . . he shot him twice with it (*at* with; *hao* general demonstrative; *tc!ī-* by shooting [§14.2]; *ga* stem; *-stiañ = stîñ* two; *-añ* past inexperienced [§23.2])

gutge'istA lA la dAndjîstALE'îlas he pulled apart five times (*gut* together; *gei* into; *stA* from; *dAn-* by pulling [§14.4]; *djîsta* stem [?]; *-LEîl* five; *-as* participle)

§ 22. Fourth Group: Locative Suffixes ¹

1. *-tc!a* or *-.c!î* indicates motion or action into something, especially a house.

k'ia'lu au'ñ gi lA k!ū'sltc!is he brought a cormorant in to his mother 27.27 (*kiā'lu* cormorant; *au* mother; *-uñ* his own; *gi* to; *k!u-* classifier [§15.15]; *sl* stem; *-s* participle [§25.7])

da'tc!î lA ḷ'sltc!as he brought in a wren 27.31 (*da'tc!î* wren; *ḷ-* classifier [§15.20]; *sl* stem; *-s* participle)

l' qatc!a'yas he came in (*ga* stem; *-ya* perfect; *-s* participle)

ga'gei la qî'ntc!ayas he looked into some houses (*ga* some; *gei* into; *qîñ* stem; *-y* perfect [§23.7]; *-s* participle)

2. *-gua* direction of action out of something, especially a house.

lA la da'oṛaostAguā'gawañ wānsū'ga they ran out of the house to him quickly, they say (*la* they [with suffix *-gaw = -go*]; *dao* to go to get; *ṛao-* quickly [§17.3]; *stA* stem; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wānsū'ga* quotative)

lA gi lA qîñgua'gasî she looked out at him (*gi* at; *qîñ* stem; *-ga* auxiliary; *-sî* participle)

l' A'ndjîgoagai ḷu when he put his head out (*andjî* erect; *gai* the; *ḷu* when)

¹ See also § 19.2-4.

k'iwa'i ga la giā'zagoasí he stood at the door outside (*k'iw* = *k'iu* door; *ai* the; *ga* at; *giā* stem; *-za* suffix of unknown significance; *-goa* out; *-sí* participle)

3. **-xūl** or **xual** (Masset **-gul** or **-gual**) has a meaning similar to the above, but in this case actual motion out is always meant.

LA qaxuā'lañ wansū'ga he went out, they say 29.38 (*ga* stem; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)

sLudjā'gadāñai i'siñ dā'nat LA qā'xuls he also went out with the woodpecker 29.46 (*sLudjā'gadāñ* woodpecker; *-ai* the; *i'siñ* also; *dā'nat* with; *ga* stem; *-s* participle)

l' lā'lga qaxuā'lasí her husband went out (*Lāl* husband; *-ga* possessive [§28]; *ga* stem; *-así* participle)

l' qā'gualan he went out of doors (Masset) (*ga* stem; *-an* past inexperienced)

gam hawī'dan l' qagulā'añan he did not go out quickly (Masset) (*gam* not; *hawī'dan* quickly; *ā'* carries accent; *-añ* negative)

4. **-t!adj** ACROSS A BODY OF WATER, especially an arm of the sea.

Sī'k!a kun 'a o l' sa'int!adjan he went across to Sik!a point to hunt (Masset) (*Sī'k!a* name of a point; *kun* point; *'a* to; *o* general demonstrative; *sa'in* stem; *-an* past inexperienced)

L! lūdō't!adjan they went across the harbor (Masset) (*Lū* by canoe [§14.27]; *dō* to go to get; *-an* past inexperienced)

wa'a L! Lī't!adjaní they brought them across to it (Masset) (*wa* it; *'a* to; *Lī* stem; *-an* past inexperienced; *-í* perfect)

q!ā'dat!adjasi (he) threw across 73.42

5. **-sgtēn** ACROSS A STRIP OF LAND, such as a peninsula.

'a l' qā'sgtēnani he went across to it (Masset) (*'a* to; *qā* stem; *-an* past inexperienced; *-í* perfect)

wagui' l' qā'sgtēnan he went across to a distant point (Masset) (*wa* it; *gui* toward [with motion]; *qā* stem; *-an* past inexperienced [§ 23.2])

6. **-t!Al** or **t!Al** MOTION DOWNWARD.

tcī'wai u'ngēi kīt!Apha'ot!Alsí it stuck into the floor-planks from above (*tcīw* = *tcu* plank; *ai* the; *un* on top of; *gei* into; *kīt-* by a stick [§ 14.13]; *t!Apha'o* stem [?]; *-sí* participle)

lnaga'i dala'ñga la kītgū't!Aldaasañ I will tip over your town (*lna* = *lana* town; *gai* the; *dala'ñ* you [pl.]; *-ga* possessive; *la* I; *kīt-* with a stick; *gū* stem; *-da* to cause; *-asañ* future [§ 23.5])

sīlguī'gañ LA gaxia't!alagan he descended to his home (*sīl* back; *gui* toward [with motion]; *-gañ* his own [§ 28]; *gaxia'* stem [?]; *-agan* past inexperienced [§ 23.2])

lA l! qā't!A llagandasi they let him off first (*qā* stem; *lA* [?];
gañ = *gañ* continuative [§ 24.1]; *-da* to cause [§ 18.6])
l! dadjūt!Aldai'yagani they pushed (it) down 45.15

7. **-t** MOTION UPWARD.

l' qa'ıldi qa'odı after he had gone up for a while (*qa* stem; *-dı*
 determinate suffix [§ 20.7]; *qa'odı*. after a while)
l' k!utLū'stAla he spits water upward (*k!ut-* with the lips [§ 14.16];
lu- probably a classifier; *stA* stem; *-la* up)
naga'i ga lA qā'ılsı he went up to the house (*na* house; *gai* the; *ga*
 to; *qā* stem; *-sı* participle)
l' dA'ñandjılas he pulled it up out of the water (*dAñ-* by pull-
 ing; *andjı* erect; *-as* participle)
l! qı'ñgalasi they went up to see 12.4

8. **-sga** (Masset *s'a*) MOTION TOWARD AN OPEN PLACE, particularly toward the open sea, toward the fire.

q!adAꞑuā' la sa'ana q!a'usga come down toward the sea and sit
 idle 29.4 (*q!adA* seaward; *-ꞑua* toward [without motion]; *la*
 imperative particle; *sa'ana* idle; *q!a* to sit; *-u* auxiliary)
tā'djılgas the wind blew out of the inlet (*tādjı* wind; *l* [?])
l' xā'gatsgas she stretched her arm seaward to grasp (something)
 31.22 (*xā-* by grasping; *gat* stem; *-s* participle)
Lā'lAñ dA'ñat q!ā'wōsga sit down by the fire with your husband
 (*Lāl* husband; *-Añ* own; *dA'ñat* with; *q!ā* stem; *-o* auxiliary
 [§ 18.1])

9. **-gıl** or **-gial** MOTION TOWARD A SHUT-IN PLACE.

l' ga'isLgıls it came in and floated (*gai-* floating; *sL* stem; *-s* par-
 ticiple)
l' qaxıagıā'lañ wansū'ga she started into the woods (*qa* stem; *ꞑıa*
 perhaps = *ꞑıt* to start; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quo-
 tative)
l' gōdā'lgıalañ wansū'ga she moved farther inland, in a sitting
 posture (*gōdā* buttocks; *l* [?]; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wan-
 sū'ga* quotative)
gwa'iyē 'a l' Lū'qagA'tawan they went up to the island (Masset)
 (*gwaı* island; *yē* = *ai* the; *'a* to; *l'* they [with suffix *-'aw* = *-'o*];
lu- by canoe [§ 14.27]; *qa* stem; *-gAl* landward; *-an* past inex-
 perienced)
lA sqū'gagatgıls he swam ashore 12.11

10. **-Lıxa** (Masset **-L!a**) TOWARD ANYTHING.

l' stı'lL!xagai lu when he came back toward (it) (*stıł* stem; *gai* the;
lu when)
lA Lūqā'l!xagoas they approached by canoe 39.5

la gu la q!a'ol!xayañ wansū'ga it came and got on it, they say
(*gu* on; *q!a* stem TO SIT; *-o* auxiliary; *-i* perfect [§ 23.7]; *-añ*
past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)

la dāñā'ndjîl!xas he pulled it out head first 29.26 (*dāñ-*
pulling [§ 14.4]; *andjî* erect; *-s* participle)

au'ñ gi la xagal!agî'lgāñasi he brought it up to his mother (Mas-
set) (*au'ñ* = *ao* MOTHER + *-añ* HIS OWN; *gi* to; *xa-* inanimate
objects [§ 15.26]; *ga* stem; *-gîl* shoreward; *-gāñ* continuative
[§ 24.1])

(*l'*) *ga-isLL!xa's* he came floating 7.8

11. *-gia* or *gî* UNDER WATER.

l' ga'ogias it vanished under water (*gao* stem; *-s* participle)

lua'i dagu'l gî gatgia'sî (the arrow) fell into the water at the side
of the canoe (*lu* canoe; *ai* the; *dagu'l* side; *gî* at; *gat* stem;
-sî participle)

wa'gei la gî'hālgiasî they poured it into (the ocean) (*wa* it [ocean];
gei into; *la* they [singular used for plural]; *gî'hāl* [?]; *-sî* par-
ticiple)

la la xî'dagias he let him down into the sea (*xîda* stem; *-s* parti-
ciple)

12. *-l* INTO A CANOE.

gu'gei la qa'l'gasî he got into his canoe (*gu* there; *gei* into; *qa* stem;
-ga auxiliary; *-sî* participle)

la gū'gei la î'slgwas they got into the canoe with him (*gu* there;
gei into; *la* they [with *-gw* = *-go*]; *îs* stem; *-s* participle)

la la gē'tgaɫdayagan he got him into the canoe (*gēt* stem; *-ga* aux-
iliary [?]; *da* to cause; *-i* perfect [§ 23.7]; *-agan* past inde-
terminate)

la la qal'dagwas they took her aboard 41.8

Syntactic Treatment of the Verbal Theme (§§ 23-26)

§ 23. Temporal Suffixes

1. *-gan*, sometimes *-an*, indicates past events which the speaker has
himself experienced.

la l! tc!înlgoā'ñgan they began shooting at them (that is, us) (*la*
them [singular form used for plural]; *tc!în* stem; *l* probably
euphonic; *-goāñ* about)

la nāñ sî'ldagan I borrowed one (*la* I; *nāñ* one; *sîl* stem; *-da*
auxiliary)

l!A l! tc!î'nlgoāñxīdan they started shooting at them (*l!A* them;
tc!în stem; *l* euphonic; *-goāñ* about [§ 20.5]; *-xīd* inchoative
[§ 18.6])

dā'ñxua aga'ñ l skia'ga I jumped into the stern (*dā'ñxua* stern; *aga'ñ* reflexive; *l* I; *skia'ga* stem [?]; *-l* aboard [§ 22.12])

See the use of this suffix in the text on pp. 105–109, Bulletin 29.

2. **-agAn** (Masset **-an** or **-gan**) past events known to the speaker only by report.

l djā'ga *la gī'a-ñxayagan* his wife left something for him (*djā* wife; *-ga* possessive; *gī'a-ñxa* [?]; *-i* perfect [§ 23.7])

la l sā'wagan she spoke to him (*sāw* = *su* to speak)

la la i'nagealagan he married her (*ina* stem; *-geal* to come to [§ 18.10])

nañ i'liña hao sqā'badax'idagan a man began to set deadfalls 95.1 (*nañ* a; *i'liña* man; *sqā'ba* deadfall; *-da* to make; *-x'id* to begin)

luē tc!asta'nsañan the canoe had four men (Masset) (*lu* canoe; *ē* the; *tc!a-* people in canoe; *sta'nsañ* four)

See the use of this suffix in the text on pp. 33–35, Bulletin 29.

Before *wansū'ga*, the quotative in the Skidegate dialect, this suffix takes the form *-añ*.

a'ñga *la sqotskidā'ñañ wansū'ga* he struck his canoe with his hands, they say 29.22 (*a'ñga* his own; *sqot* with arms [§ 14.29]; *skid* contact; *-añ* continuative; *wansū'ga* quotative)

gītga'ñ gan *la gagoyā'ñañ wansū'ga* he was calling for his son, they say (*gūt* son; *-gan* his own [§ 28.3]; *gan* for; *gago* [?]; *-i* perfect; *-añ* continuative; *wansū'ga* quotative)

la é'siñ qa'idañ wansū'ga he also started off, they say (*é'siñ* also; *ga* stem; *-id* inchoative [§ 18.6]; *wansū'ga* quotative)

la la qā'gandagan wansū'ga she saved him, they say (*qā'gan* to save; *-da* to cause [§ 18.2]; *wansū'ga* quotative)

3. **-gīn** events that occur or occurred habitually, and usually those which the speaker himself has experienced or is experiencing.

ā'thao gam "Dā'gal" *han l!* *sū'gañganñgīn* therefore they were not in the habit of saying "to-morrow" 35.4 (*ā'thao* therefore; *gam* not; *dā'gal* to-morrow; *han* like it; *sū* stem; *-gan* negation [§ 25.3]; *-gan* continuative)

gaga'nhao *la wā'gañgīn!* that is the reason why I do so (*gaga'nhao* that is why [= *gaga'n* + *hao*]; *la* I; *wā* stem TO DO; *-gan* continuative; *-gīn* = *-gīn* usitative; *-i* perfect [§ 25.6])

ē'a'nlē wa^a i'si l nīlgī'n! I used to drink the water that was in it (Masset) (*ēanlē* water; *ē* the; *wa* it; *ē^a* in; *i'si* was; *l* I; *nīl* stem TO DRINK; *-i* perfect [§ 25.6])

ga dī *l^aoa'gāñ!* I used to be afraid of it (Masset) (*ga* something indefinite; *dī* I; *l^aoa* stem; *-ga* auxiliary [§ 18.5]; *-i* perfect)

4. **-sga** simple futurity.

sgā'na-qeda's dA'ñga qea'xolgilgā'nsqa the supernatural beings will not become tired of looking at you 31.4 (*sgā'na* supernatural; *qeda's* probably those that are so born [from *qe* TO BE BORN, *-da* auxiliary, *-s* participle]; *dAñ* you; *ga* at; *qea* by looking; *xol* stem; *-gil* probably *-gīl* TO BECOME; *-gān* = *-gañ* continuative)

dī gi sīñā'gasga no one is going to touch me 31.7 (*dī* me; *gi* to; *sīñā* stem; *-ga* auxiliary [§ 18.5])

dAñ l qīñgā'nsqa I shall see you sometimes 31.13 (*dAñ* you; *l* I; *qīñ* stem; *-gān* continuative)

5. **-(a)sañ** infallible future occurrence, similar to English YOU SHALL.

[In both these suffixes the future element is probably *-s*, while *-sga* contains also a declarative ending (*-ga*).—ED.]

lua'i dAñ lA sī'ldadaasañ I will let you have the canoe (*lu* canoe; *ai* the; *dAñ* you; *lA* I; *sīlda* stem [?]; *-da* auxiliary)

djā'gañ dā da'ogasañ you shall go and get your wife (*djā* wife; *-gañ* your own; *dā* you; *dao* stem; *-ga* auxiliary)

l' sga'lgatgaasañ he will conceal you (*sgal* 1st verbal stem TO CONCEAL; *gat* 2d verbal stem IT WAS LIKE THAT; *-ga* auxiliary)

gūsu l! i' L! agidas ta'asañ what will the chiefs eat (*gūsu* what? *l!* indefinite demonstrative; *i' L! agidas* chief; *ta* stem TO EAT)

6. **-qasañ, -qasas**, immediate or imminent future occurrence; evidently compounded from the above.

a'dal dī l! tā'nsanqasañ they will come to get me to-morrow (*a'dal* to-morrow; *dī* me; *tā'nsan* to come by sea)

gīt qā' L! a'añqasañ her child was about to come (Masset) (*gīt* child; *qā* stem; *-L!a* toward [§ 22.10]; *-añ* [?])

nAñ ya'e'ts ū dA'ñat i'nL! axañqasañgua the princess is going to bring plenty of food (Masset) (*nAñ* the [becomes definite with suffix *-s*]; *ya'e't* chief's child; *-s* participle; *ū* general demonstrative; *dA'ñat* with; *i'n* stem; *-L!a* toward; *-xañ* continuative; *-gua* declarative)

l! laganā'ñqasas they were about to make a feast (*lagan* to make a feast; *-añ* continuative; *-qasas* imminent future followed by participle)

7. **-i**, in intervocalic position *y*, perfect time.

lgītqu'n awāñ gi lA lSLtc! a'yañ wansū'ga he had brought in a goose to his mother, they say (*lgītqu'n* goose; *aw* = *ao?* mother; *-āñ* his own; *gi* to; *l-* classifier [§ 15.20]; *sl* stem; *-tc!a* motion into [§ 22.1]; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)

daḡalē'ga i'siñ l' zet'i't tc'i'nlgoañgayas next day he had again gone out shooting birds (*daḡal* the next day; *ē* the; *-ga* on; *i'siñ* again; *zet'i't* birds; *tc'i'n* to shoot; *l* euphonic [?]; *-goañ* about [§ 20.5]; *-ga* auxiliary; *-s* participle)

la sudā'yaganī ila' isda'si he did differently from the way he had said (he would do) (*su* stem TO SAY; *dā* to cause; *-agan* past inexperienced; *-i* perfect; *ila'* differently; *is* stem; *-da* auxiliary; *-si* participle)

gañā'xan la sū'dayaganī so he had said (*gañā'xan* so [from *gañā'ñ* LIKE; *xan* JUST]; *sū* to say; *-da* auxiliary; *-agan* past inexperienced; *-i* perfect)

§ 24. Semi-Temporal Suffixes

Suffixes related to temporal suffixes, but defining the nature or time of the action more minutely.

1. *-gañ*, *-añ*, or *-iñ*. The common continuative or perhaps rather habitual suffix, similar to the English form of the verb ending in -ING.

au'ñ gi la xaḡal!zagil'lgañasi he was bringing up things to his mother (*au'ñ* [= *ao* MOTHER + *-añ* HIS OWN]; *gi* to; *xa-* by grasping [§ 14.24]; *ga* stem; *-L!xa* toward [§ 22.10]; *-gil* shoreward [§ 22.9]; *-si* participle)

gi'na at la nā'ñgañas he was playing with something (*gi'na* something; *at* with; *nāñ* stem TO PLAY; *-as* participle)

gitga'ñ la gagoyā'ñañ wansū'ga he called for his son, they say (*git* son; *-gañ* his own; *gagoy* = *gagoe* stem [?]; *-añ* past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; *wansū'ga* quotative)

Sometimes this suffix takes the form *-xan* or *xan*.

ga q'a'oxañas the ones sitting there (*ga* the ones [indefinite]; *q/a* stem TO SIT; *-o* auxiliary [§ 18.1]; *-as* participle)

L! naxa'ndi qa'odi after they had lived there for a while (*na* stem TO LIVE; *-di* determinate suffix; *qa'odi* after a while)

L! taixā'ndi qa'odi after they had remained in bed for a while (*ta* stem TO LIE; *-di* determinate [§ 20.7]; *qa'odi* after a while)

The occasional reduplication of this process has been referred to in § 6.

§ 25. Modal Suffixes

The following have also a modal significance:

1. *l* or *la* indicating the imperative; placed before or after the verb.

dī la q!ōsL let go of me with your mouth (*dī* me; *la* imperative; *q!ō-* with mouth; *sL* stem)

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stí'lda la let us go back (*stíl* stem; *-da* auxiliary; *la* imperative)
hai lqā'nai dī qa'nsta la kī'nda now, cousin, be my herald (*hai*
 now; *lqān* male cousin on father's side; *ai* the; *dī* me; *qa'nsta*
 for; *la* imperative; *kī'n* stem; *-da* auxiliary [§ 18.2])
gīn t'ēl s'u'nān l tc'ā'anu 'An ista'ñ get only wet things for fire-
 wood (Masset) (*gīn* things; *t'ēl* wet; *s'un* only; *-an* just;
tc'ā'anu firewood; *'An* for; *ista* stem [?]; *-añ* continuative)

With the auxiliary *qa* TO GO, however, instead of *l*, *-la* is suffixed to the verb.

han A l' sū'dagala go and speak to it like this (*han* like; *A* this; *sū* stem; *-da* auxiliary; *-ga* auxiliary)
tc'ā'anu da'ogala go and get firewood (*tc'ā'anu* firewood; *dao* stem TO GO AND GET; *-ga* auxiliary)
lkiā'gua na'galdjū'gala go and sit toward the door (*lkiā* side toward door; *gua* toward; *na'gal* [?]; *-djū* it is of that sort; *-ga* auxiliary)
lqēt dala'ñ tciagā'nsa qa i'sqogala go to the place where you are going to settle (*lqēt* where; *dala'ñ* you [pl.]; *tciā* stem TO HAVE A PLACE; *-gān* continuative; *-sa = sañ* infallible future [§ 23.5]; *qa* to; *is* stem; *-go* plural [?]; *-ga* auxiliary)

2. *-djañ* (Masset *-tc'in*) is employed to indicate what is usually denominated the first person imperative, both singular and plural, LET ME, LET US.

ha'la t!ala'ñ tc'ā'anugadadjañ come and let us make a fire (*ha'la* come! *t!ala'ñ* we; *tc'ā'anu* fire; *-ga -da* auxiliaries [§ 18.5, 2])
hala' dāñ gī l gī'ngatdjañ come and let me adorn you 29.2 (*hala'* come! *dāñ* you; *gī* to or for; *l* I; *gīñ-* agent in general [§ 14.12]; *gat* stem)
ha'la t!ala'ñ ga lqā'ñi'ndjañ let us go over to look (*ha'la* come! *t!ala'ñ* we; *ga lqā'ñin* [?])
t!al qasā'tc'in let us go away (Masset) (*t!al* we; *qa* stem TO GO; *-sa* probably infallible future [§ 23.5])

3. *gañ* (Masset *'añ*) NEGATION, always preceded by the negative particle *gam*.

gam gī'na gut l qea'ga'ñgan I saw nothing upon it (*gam* not; *gī'na* thing; *gut* upon; *l* I; *qea* stem TO SEE; *l* euphonic or possibly UP; *-gan* past inexperienced)
sqā'na-qeda's gam la gut gagā'dagañgansga the supernatural beings will never know it (*sqā'na qeda's* supernatural beings [see § 23.4]; *gam* not; *gut* upon; *gagāda* [?]; *-gan = -gañ* continuative [§ 24.1]; *-sga* future [§ 23.4])

- ... *gam la sū'udagañasi* (he) had not told him 27.6 (*sū* to say; *-da* auxiliary; *-si* participle)
gam l' 'ā'ndañ'añanî he did not feel it (Masset) (*gam* not; *'āndañ* stem [?]; *-an* past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; *-î* perfect [§ 25.6])
gam la ga l! gī'da'añgañan they did not give him food (Masset) (*gam* not; *ga* indefinite things [food]; *gīda* stem TO GIVE FOOD; *-gañ* continuative; *-an* past inexperienced)

4. *-udja*, contracted sometimes to *-us*, marks interrogation, and, like the two suffixes last mentioned, is always preceded by a particle (*gua* or *gu*) or by an interrogative pronoun.

djā kī'lsLasi gasi'ñhao dāñ qea'ga isū'udjañ say, chief, what has happened to your brother-in-law? (*djā* say! *kī'lsLasi* chief [WHOSE VOICE IS OBEYED]; *gasi'n* what? *hao* general demonstrative; *dāñ* your; *qea* brother-in-law; *-ga* possessive; *is* stem; *ū'udja* = *udja* interrogative suffix; *-añ* continuative)

axada'i gua ga gal!alSgā'udja were the meshes of the net pulled off? (*axada'i* the net; *gua* interrogative particle; *ga* indefinite plural subject of verb, and agent of pulling; *gal-* by pulling [§ 14.20]; *t!a-* classifier [§ 15.4]; *L* stem; *-sgā* seaward [§ 22.8])

gasi'nL!ao la dāñ i'sta-udjañ why did you tease her? (*gasi'nL!ao* why? *dāñ* you; *ista* stem [?]; *-añ* continuative)

gasi'nL!ao l la dāñ qō'yadaLdjuudjîñ why do you love it so much? (*gasi'nL!ao* why? *l* [?]; *dāñ* you; *qō'ya* stem TO LOVE; *-da* auxiliary [§ 18.2]; *Ldju* [?]; *-udjî* interrogative; *-ñ* continuative)

Gua (Masset *gu*) or the pronoun *may*, however, be employed independently.

dā gua skiü'nadi are you awake? (*dā* you; *skiü'na* stem [?]; *-di* determinate suffix [§ 20.7])

gam gua q!eiga'ña gan dala'ñ u'nsaatgañ don't you know any stories? (*gam* not; *q!eiga'ña* stories; *gan* for [always precedes *u'nsaat*]; *dala'ñ* you (pl.); *u'nsaat* stem TO KNOW; *-gañ* continuative)

dāñ gu L! i'netūdja were you married? (Masset) (*dāñ* you; *L!* they [used in lieu of passive]; *in* to marry; *'et* principal stem)

dā gu sLa'gu tī'a-udja did you kill a land-otter? (Masset) (*dā* you; *sLa'gu* land-otter; *tīa* stem TO KILL)

gī'stō ē'djîñ who are you? (*gī'stō* who? *ē'djî* stem TO BE)

gasi'nL!ao dāñ i'djîñ what is the matter with you? (*gasi'nL!ao* what? *dāñ* you; *i'djî* stem TO BE; *-ñ* continuative)

gū'su L! i'L!zagidas tā'asañ what will the chiefs eat? (*gū'su* what? *L!* indefinite demonstrative; *i'L!zagidas* chiefs; *tā* stem TO EAT; *-asañ* future infallible occurrence and continuative)

5. **-gua** suffixed in the Masset dialect to declarative sentences in direct discourse.

gAM tao t!alA'ñ da'aA'ñgañgua we have no food (*gAM* not; *tao* food; *t!alA'ñ* we; *da'a* stem TO HAVE; *-A'ñ* negation; *-gañ* continuative)

dī q!o'lū 'ANL ī'djññgua I have fresh water (*dī* me; *q!o'lū* probably means NEAR BY; *'ANL* fresh water; *īdjñ* to be; *-ñ* continuative)

Lū dī 'AN qā'L!as'īgangua a canoe came out for me (Masset) (*Lū* canoe; *dī* me; *'AN* for; *qā* stem TO GO; *-L!a* toward [§ 22.10]; *-s'i = s'a* seaward [§ 22.8]; *-gan* continuative)

dī 'AN L! 'ā'yññgīnigua they used to call me (*dī* me; *'AN* for; *'ā'yññ* stem [?]; *-gīn* usitative [§ 23.3]; *-i* perfect)

nAñ ī'l!adas 'a-iyū tAñā'gañgua the chief's blood is salt 22.14 (*nAñ* with following *-s* definite article; *'a-i* blood; *tAñ* seawater)

6. **-ī** is a final vowel used very frequently after the past and usitative suffixes. In most cases it may be employed or omitted indifferently; but the cases in which there is a choice seem to show that it closes the sentence, and so probably indicates the completion of the idea.

l' gīdatc!ia'i Łu lA'gī lA īsdagā'waganī when she brought food, they gave them to her (*gīda* to bring food to give to people; *tc!i* into [§ 22.1]; *-ai* the; *Łu* when; *gī* to; *lA* they [with suffix *-gaw = -go*]; *-gan* past inexperienced)

k!iā'lhao lua'i A'ñga lA lgołga'yaganī all that time he worked upon his canoe (*k!iā'lhao* all that time [= *k!iāl* + the general demonstrative *hao*]; *Łu* canoe; *ai* the; *A'ñga* his own; *L-* with hands [§ 14.26]; *gołga* to make; *-ya* perfect [§ 23.7])

gaga'nhao lA wā'gañgīnī that is the reason why I do it (*gaga'nhao* that is the reason [= *gaga'n* + *hao*]; *lA* I; *wā* stem TO DO; *-gañ* continuative; *-gīn* usitative [§ 23.3])

gAM 'a l qa'ēAñgīnīgua I did not go thither (Masset) (*gAM* not; *'a* to; *l* I; *qa* stem TO GO; *'Añ* negation; *-gīn* usitative; *-gua* declarative)

Possibly the *ī* after *-s* is the same in meaning; but I doubt whether it had the same origin.

lnaga'i gu L! q!ō'dA!sī they were in a starving condition at the town (*lnaga'i* the town; *gu* at; *q!ō-* mouth [§ 14.23])

lA qa'ñgasī he dreamed (*gañ* stem TO DREAM; *-ga* auxiliary)

lā'ga hā'ilūrsī his (food) was gone (*lā* his; *-ga* possessive; *hā'ilū* gone or destroyed; *-asi* participle)

7. *-s* or *-sî* is properly used in forming infinitives and participles, but by some speakers it has come to be employed as the equivalent of the past-temporal suffix. It indicates that everything in the preceding clause or set of words is to be taken as a unit, and so occasionally appears to have a plural significance. It also has the force of *AFORESAID*, and, after a noun preceded by *nāñ*, gives the indefinite article the force of a definite.

la la tc'î'gas he shot it

la la q!ā'gadas he dried it

nāñ sgoa'na l' qē'îñas he saw one

Ēgā'zetgu lā'nas the Pebble-town people

nāñ Ēgā'zetgu lā'na a Pebble-town person

nāñ la'oatarwas one who was whittling, or the whittler

nāñ sqadjā'sas the future brave man

nāñ sqadjā'sa a future brave man

nāñ gazā'gas the child, or one who was a child

In the Masset dialect it generally concludes a subordinate clause.

l' î'L!agîd'ēls ū Nastō' gu 'aq!ē'dadjan when he became a chief, his mother was drowned at Nasto (*î'L!agîd* chief; *ēl* to become [§ 18.10]; *-s* participle; *ū* when; *Nastō'* name of an island; *gu* at; *'aq!ē'dadj* [?]; *-an* past inexperienced)

§ 26. *Unclassified Suffixes*

1. *-u* is suffixed to descriptive terms to form the names of instruments, manufactured and store articles.

nîdjā'ñu mask (for derivation compare *la at l' nî'djañāñ wansū'ga* he made an image of it, they say)

sl!anā'ñu that with which the hands are washed (=soap) (*sl!a-* with hands [§ 14.11]; *nāñ* to play with or wash)

q!ai'xîtagā'ñu round thing shaken (=rattle) (*q!ai* round-shaped object [§ 15.18]; *xît* to shake; *gāñ* continually)

2. *-At* a suffix used in speaking condescendingly, as to a slave, or sometimes in a kindly manner, to one's equal. It is also employed sarcastically, or in belittling one's self, out of courtesy.

gañā'ñ hao la sū'ualdā'lgāñ he spoke like that (as if speaking to a slave) (*gañā'ñ* like; *hao* that; *sū* stem TO SPEAK; *dāl* [?]; *-gāñ* continuative)

ha'osk!iēn dāñ giā'ga qa'gana'ldas and yet yours will be safe (*ha'osk!iēn* and yet [= *hao* + connective *sk!iēn*]; *dāñ* your; *giā* thing, or property; *-ga* possessive; *qa'gana* stem TO BE SAFE; *-da* auxiliary; *-s* participle)

dAñ qō' ñga A'ldjiwai your slave-father (*dAñ* your; *qōñ* man's father; *-ga* possessive; *djiw = dju* he is of that sort; *ai* the)

dAñ nā'tga A'ldjiwai your slave-nephew (*dAñ* your; *nāt* nephew; *-ga* possessive; *A'ldjiwai* [as above])

3. **-aanî** astonishment or wonder.

gAM gua la gei gī'na k!udjū's L! qīñgā'ñaanî I wonder that they do not see the object sticking into him (*gAM* not; *gua* interrogative; *gei* into; *gī'na* something; *k!u-* classifier [§ 15.15]; *dju* it was of that sort; *-s* participle; *qīñ* stem TO SEE; *-gāñ* continuative)

gīsī'sdo hao L! waga'anî I wonder whence the people came who did this (*gīsī'sdo* whence [contains *stA* FROM and *o* general demonstrative]; *hao* general demonstrative; *wa* stem TO DO; *-ga* auxiliary)

4. **-algîñ** appears to be identical in meaning with the above.

a'saga êsī'ñ L! q!a'gaalgîñ I wonder if I slept here (*a'sa* this place; *-ga* in; *êsī'ñ* also; *L!* I [literally THEY], often used for first person singular or plural; *q!a'ga* stem TO SLEEP)

wa lgu gī'na qe'ida l tagasā'algîñ what a small thing I am going to eat! (*wa* that [thing]; *lgu* how or what; *gī'na* thing; *qe'ida* it is so or it is like; *l* I; *ta* stem TO EAT; *-gasa* probably *-qasa* about to [§ 23.6])

st!ao hao gawaalgîñ I wonder if you have become witches (*st!ao* witches; *hao* those; *gawa* stem)

5. **da'ogō** this is rather a particle than a suffix, but is usually placed after the verb. It may be best defined as a sort of dubitative, though its use is very varied. Sometimes its meaning is conditional.

n-n-n hit!Aga'n lā'sta v'djins at lA'staia da'ogo isgwā'ñxAñ probably it is because she has been doing the same thing again (*n-n-n* exclamation; *hit!Aga'n* then; *lā'sta* [?]; *idjins* it is [including stem, continuative, and participle]; *at* with; *is* stem; *-gwañ* moving about [§ 20.5]; *-xAñ* continuative [§ 24.1])

hadjadī'a gasi'nL!ao dī taiqā'sa da'ogo alas! I wonder what is going to become of me (*hadjadī'a* alas! *gasi'nL!ao* what! *dī* me; *taiqā'sa* contains the infallible future [§ 23.5])

l v'ndaxuai gut gidjigī'da da'ogo la lD'A'ñlgal!xas lo! when he pulled him out of the water, he only held together by the joints (*v'ndaxuai* the joints; *gut* together; *gidjî* to hold; *gî* [?]; *-da* causative; *L-* by handling [§ 14.26]; *dAñ-* pulling [§ 14.4]; *L-* classifier [§ 15.20]; *ga* stem; *-L!xa* toward [§ 22.10]; *-s* participle)

- ĩ' lĩn l qei k'wa'igai gao da'ogo* the eldest son that I bore is as if he were non-existent (*ĩ' lĩn* male person; *l* I; *qei* to bear; *k'wai* elder son; *gai* the; *gao* to be wanting or gone)
- lqēt dā dā'ga da'ogo la i'sdañ* if you own a bow, take it along (*lqēt* bow; *dā* you; *dā'ga* to own; *la* imperative; *i'sdañ* stem and continuative suffix)
- k'i'lsLai ha'la dā is da'ogo qāL* chief, if it is you, get into the canoe (*k'i'lsLai* the chief; *ha'la* come! *dā* you; *is* it is; *qā* stem TO GO; -L aboard [§ 22.12])
- gasĩ'nL!ao ga gē'gasa da'ogo* I wonder how things are going to be (*gasĩ'nL!ao* how; *ga* things [indefinite]; *gē* probably for *qēt* stem TO BE LIKE; -*gasa* = *gasa* imminent future)
- t!ak'i'nga ha'la dā is da'ogo dī gu qā' L!xa* grandchild, if it is you, come to me (*t!ak'i'n* grandchild; -*ga* possessive; *ha'la* come! *dā* you; *is* it is; *dī* me; *gu* at or there; *qā* to go; -L!xa toward)
- l' Lga da'ogo gut agA'n la kutLda'idias* becoming a weasel, he climbed up (*Lga* weasel; *gut* upon; *agA'n* reflexive; *kut-* probably an instrumental prefix; *L-* classifier [§ 15.20]; *da* stem [?]; -*l* up [§ 22.7]; -*dī* determinate suffix [§ 20.7]; -*as* participle)
- dī djā'ga inagai gī gudā'na da'ogo l tia'gas l qĩ'ngo* look at the man I killed who wanted to marry my wife! (*dī* my; *djā* wife; -*ga* possessive; *ina* to marry; *gai* [?] the; *gī* to or for; *gudā'na* to think or want; *l* I; *tia* to kill; -*ga* auxiliary; -*s* participle; *l* imperative; *qĩn* stem TO LOOK; -*go* plural)

§ 27. Personal Pronoun

I	<i>l</i>	me	<i>dī</i>
thou (subj.)	<i>da</i>	thee	<i>dAñ</i>
he, she, it	<i>la</i>	him, her, it	<i>la</i>
he, she, it (indef.)	<i>nAñ</i>	him, her, it (indef.)	<i>nAñ</i>
we	<i>t!alA'n</i>	us	<i>iL!</i>
you (plural)	<i>dalA'n</i>	you (plural)	<i>dalA'n</i>
they	<i>L!</i>	them	<i>L!</i>
they (indef.)	<i>ga</i>	them (indef.)	<i>ga</i>

Another indefinite *L* might be added to these.

In the Masset dialect *dAñ* is used both for the subjective and objective forms of the second person singular, while *dā* serves as an emphatic form.

The subjective series is used as subject of the transitive verb and of active verbs, even when there is no object expressed. Objective pronouns are used to express the subject of verbs expressing states and qualities. Following is a short list of neutral verbs.

§ 27

<i>k!ōt!a</i> to die	<i>gao</i> to lie (plural)
<i>geal, gil</i> to become	<i>q!ai'xa</i> to be far away
<i>stAl</i> to want	<i>i'dji</i> to be
<i>lgoa</i> to fear	<i>gaga</i> (?) to be tired
<i>u'nsat</i> to know	<i>gata</i> (?) to fall into
<i>gao</i> to be absent, gone	<i>gut</i> to think

When pronominal subject and object accompany the verb, they are placed preceding the whole stem-complex, the object being placed before the subject. Only the third person plural *L!* always stands immediately before the stem-complex. The indirect object precedes the direct object and is characterized by connectives (see § 31).

§ 28. Possession

1. *-ga* (Masset *-ʼa*). Possession of an object by a person other than the subject of the sentence is expressed by the objective pronoun preceding the noun, and by the suffix *-ga* (Masset *-ʼa*). In the Masset dialect this suffix is used only rarely. We find the noun either without suffix or with the suffix *-gia*.

(a) The possessive forms of terms of relationship are formed by the objective pronoun and the suffix *-ga*, which is attached to the noun.

l' dja'ga q!ā'gada'si his wife dried it 288.12¹ (*dja* wife)

dī gō'nga dī gi gi'ngē'idAn my father put paint on me 290.8 (*dī* my; *gōñ* father of male; *dī* me; *gi* on; *giñ-* to cause [§ 14.12])

Wā'nagan gi'tga hao idjā'gan that one was the son of Wā'nagan B 87.17

Qā'l-qons gūdjä'ñʼa I'lgas gi'dʼa inaʼē'lan Qā'l-qons' daughter married I'lgas' son (Masset) 394.10 (*gūdjäñ* daughter; *g'it* son; *i'na* to marry; *-ʼēl* to become)

(b) In terms expressing transferable possession the noun takes neither the pronominal element nor the suffix, but both are combined and precede or follow the noun. At the same time the noun takes the suffix *-i*.

	Skidegate	Masset
my	<i>nā'ga</i>	<i>dī'na</i>
thy	<i>dA'ñga</i>	<i>dA'ñʼa</i>
his	<i>lā'ga</i>	<i>l'ā'ñā</i>
our	<i>i'lāga</i>	<i>i'l!a'ñā</i>
your	<i>daL'ñga</i>	
their		<i>L!ā'ñā</i>

¹ References in this section indicate page and line in John R. Swanton, *Haida Texts* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. x), except that references preceded by B indicate page and line in John R. Swanton, *Haida Texts and Myths* (Bulletin 29, Bureau of American Ethnology).

- dā gua gatagā'-i nā'ga isdai'yañ?* did you eat my food? B 45.4 (*dā* thou; *gua* question; *ga-* something; *ta* to eat; *-ga-i* it)
- luā'-i lā'ga sta''gasi* his canoe was full 288.10
- ga'odjūwa-i lā'ga L! skī'dāñasi* they beat his drum B 13.16
- la'gudjē l dīst' dī'na i'sdi* take my mat from me! (Masset) 753.29
(*lagus* mat; *l* imperative; *dī* me; *st'* from; *dī'na* my)
- l' kiē' 'adō', lā'ña L! gudagwā'ñan* they thought about its name (Masset) 741.19 (*kiē'* name; *'adō* about; *gut* mind)
- tc'īdalāñā'-i isin i'lāña l' gī'odjūwē . . .* that he also take all our arrows (Masset) 660.19 (*tc'ī'dalāñ* arrow; *-ōdja* all)
- lnagā'-i xa'da-i dā'ñ'a hī'lugañ* your town people are destroyed (Masset) 740.22 (*lāna* town; *xa'da* people; *hī'lu* to destroy)
- tc'ī'dalāñā-i L!ā'ña 'aga l' L'gal!atc'a'sañ* I shall swim for their arrows (Masset) 663.3 (*tc'ī'dalāñ* arrow)

In some cases the pronoun precedes the noun.

- L! st'ā'sil L!ā'ña L! qē'ñganān* they saw their footprints (Masset) 281.13 (*st'ā'sil* footprint)

- (c) Terms expressing parts of the body do not take the suffix *-ga*; but either take only the objective pronoun indicating the possessor and a vocalic ending, or they repeat the pronominal possessive-like terms expressing transferable possession.

- l' k'ū'da lā'ga la qalāi'yāgan* he sharpened its bill for it B 59.25
- l' L!xadjī lā'ga* the crown of his head B 13.4
- l' qā'djī q'ēitq!ā'-ilxidā'-i lū* when he cut its head off B 12.14
(*qās* head; *q'ēit-* with knife [§14.22]; *-xid* to begin)
- l' sL!a-i l' lāl qā'ñan* her husband saw her hands (Masset) 430.24
(*sL!a* hand; *lāl* husband; *qāñ* to see)

2. -E. A weak vocalic suffix is used with terms expressing parts of the body. Words ending in a vowel, *n*, *ñ*, *l*, do not take this suffix, while others seem to transform the surd terminal into a sonant; *s* becomes *dj* before it. The same forms are used in Masset with terms of relationship.

- (a) Words ending in vowels, *n*, *ñ*, or *l*.

- 'ō'dē xiē'* the eagle's wing (Masset) 771.2
- i'l!adas 'ai* the chief's blood (Masset) 779.14
- l' qo'lū* his legs (Masset) 332.38
- l' sL!ik!u'n* her finger nails (Masset) 507.8
- l' tc'īñ 'a'ada* between his teeth (Masset) 331.19
- l' x'ēl* its neck part B 79.37
- l' xañ* his face B 10.4
- tc'ī'na-i qal* the salmon skin B 13.5

dī gī'da l i'nan marry my daughter! (Masset) 514.8

l nān l sudai'an said his grandmother to him (Masset) 670.4

(b) Words ending in consonants other than *n*, *ñ*, *l*.

l k'ū'gi ya opposite its heart (Masset) 294.25

dī k'ōg' my heart (Masset) 298.24

dañ qā'djī thy head (Masset) 301.5

l k'ō'ta its beak (Masset) 498.4

l k'ū'da its beak B 59.25

l qā'djī his head 12.14

l skū'djī its bones B 8.13

3. *-gīa* means originally PROPERTY, but in Masset is now sometimes used as equivalent of *ga*.

l 'oñ gia gī'naga-i hī'lawan his father's property was destroyed 689.18

xansū'lōt gia luē' sea-anemone's canoe (*xansū'lot* sea-anemone; *lu* canoe)

da'ñgia lnaga'i xada'i your town-people (*lnaga'i* the town; *xada'i* people)

nañ i'liñas gia tā'wē the man's food (*nañ i'liñas* the man; *tao* food)

Sometimes it appears instead of *dī'na*, signifying MY, MINE; as—

dala'ñ ltanogī's lū l gia'gañ na-i 'ñ isdā'lgala'wan dala'ñ wa'-lwan a after you have eaten let all go up to my house

gia'gañ na-i l tclā'nu yū'an la'ola make a big fire in my house

giagañ 'adō' l'ao l' 'ē'sgaga'n but they were unsuccessful with mine

4. *-gañ* or *-añ* (Masset *-añ*) expresses possession of an object by the subject of the sentence.

(a) The possessive forms of terms expressing relationship and parts of the body are formed by suffixing *-gañ* or *-añ* (Masset *-añ*) to the noun possessed.

djā'gañ gi xagwa'-i la lguā'si he carried the halibut toward the woods to his wife 288.12 (*djā* wife; *gi* to; *xagu* halibut; *l-* with hands [§14.26])

gī'tgañ i'siñ l qīngā'nsqa I shall see my son also 291.1 (*git* child; *i'siñ* also; *l* I; *-sga* future)

a-u'ñ at la kiū'nañas he asked his mother 289.9 (*as* mother; *at* with; *kiū'n* to question)

k'ō'lañ lū la dañgī'statia'-i she had it even with her knees 291.7 (*lū* even; *dañ-* by pulling [§14.4]; *gī-* flat thing; *sta-* to move away from; *-l* up)

xAñá'ñ l lisku'nagul clean your eyes (Masset) 649.23 (*xAñ* face, eye; *l* imperative; *L-* by touching [§ 14.26])

- (b) Separable possession is expressed by the pronoun *A'ñga* (Masset *A'ñ^éa*).

lua'-i dji'na A'ñga la sqotskidā'ñāñ he struck the edges of his canoe with his hands 288.4

q!al dA'ñat A'ñga la qaxuā'lañ wansū'ga he went out with his skin 289.7

éA'nLē éai gī'wē Añ^éa l' isdai'yan he put his fish trap into the creek (Masset) 518.15 (*éA'nLē* creek; *éai* in; *gī'u* fish trap)

gī'wē A'ñ^éa l' qeā'nan he looked at his fish trap (Masset) 518.20

§ 29. Plurality and Distribution

Plural Suffixes with Nouns

1. **-LAñ** is used principally with terms of relationship. It is also contained in the pronouns *!alA'ñ* WE, *dalA'ñ* YE.

qā'galAñ uncles B 27.13 (*qā'[ga]* uncle)

nā'tgalAñ nephews B 63.24 (*nā't[ga]* nephew)

sqā'nqalAñ aunts (*sqā'n[ga]* aunt)

yā'galAñ parents B 45.31

a'ogalAñ parents B 59.1

k'wai'galAñ elder brothers B 37.10

2. **-djít** occurs with some words indicating human beings.

ī'kñā a male human being

īla'ndjídai male human beings

xA'ldañ slave

xaldā'ndjídai slaves

gít a servant or low caste person

gī'djídai low caste persons

The Distributive Suffix

3. **-xa** is used after numerals, connectives, and nouns.

stí'ñxa two apiece (*stí'ñ* two)

Le'ítxa five apiece (*Le'ít* five)

gadō'xa round about (*gadō'* around)

dji'nxa in the neighborhood of (*djin* near)

tcagA'nxa around under the ocean-water (*tcagA'n* the ocean-water)

lk'í'nxā about in the woods (*lk'í'ē'n* woods)

l' st!exgiā'laqan he became angry B 95.3

§ 30. Demonstrative and Interrogative Pronouns

The essential demonstrative elements are *a* and *wa*, which are often used alone; but there are also several demonstrative adverbs compounded from these, such as the following:

<i>ā'dj̄rua</i> over here (near by)	<i>wā'n.ā n̄</i> farther off!
<i>wā'dj̄rua</i> over there (at some distance)	<i>ā'n̄is</i> this region, etc.
<i>ā'gusa</i> here	<i>wā'n̄is</i> that region
<i>wā'gusa</i> there	<i>ā'lgui</i> this way
<i>ā's̄t̄, aldj̄i', als̄i'</i> this thing	<i>wa'gūi</i> that way
	<i>ā'lgan</i> right here.

Interrogative pronouns are all built upon three stems by means of suffixes. These stems are *gī* or *gīs* WHERE? *gūs* WHAT? and *gas̄i' n̄* WHY? or HOW IS IT? and the two former may be related to the connectives *gī* and *gū* (§ 31). WHO? appears to be formed by adding the connectives *st.ā* and *hao* to *gī*, making *gī'stō* (literally FROM WHERE ARE YOU?).

Other variant interrogative pronouns are built upon the stems in a similar manner: *gī'sq̄ēt*, *gīs̄i'stahao*, *gī'lgan*, WHERE; *gū'su*, *gū'sgiao*, WHAT?; *gas̄i' n̄ō*, *gas̄i' n̄hao*, *gas̄i' n̄l'ao*, WHY OR HOW? *Gūs* is often duplicated into *gū'gus*. The *s* which occurs throughout most of these forms very much suggests the interrogative particle (*sa*) in Tlingit, and is one of the features which suggest community of origin for the two languages. These interrogatives and the indefinite pronouns are also used in place of our relatives; the indefinite *L* in conjunction with *gu* (*Lgu*) being frequently so employed.

Modifying Stems (§§ 31-33)

As already stated, this group of stems includes post-positions, conjunctions, adverbs, and interjections. They may be most conveniently classed as—

- (1) Connectives
- (2) Adverbs
- (3) Interjections and expletives

§ 31. Connectives

These are a series of words used to bind together the various parts of a sentence and also to connect sentences, and they thus perform the functions of our prepositions and conjunctions. It is evident, from the manner in which they are employed, that they depend very closely upon the verb, and in some cases they are quite essential

portions of it. The following is a fairly complete list of the connectives:

at or *al* with, of
a'thao for that reason
atquɿū' as soon as
atxan'hao as soon as
ā'xana near
a'la because, for
alū therefore
aldjī'alū therefore
uiēd now
uiē'dhao now
u'ngu on top of
u'ngut on top of (motion thither)
ī'naat at the same time as
ī'sgiēn and (connects nouns)
ya straight opposite
hao that (very general meaning)
ha'ohao for that reason
djī'ngī alongside
djī'giguī behind
da to (Masset dialect)
dagu'lɿu alongside of
da'nat with (close company)
dī'tgi back toward the woods
t!a'gī opposite
t!a'ga on account of
t!ā'iga while
t!ē'sta towing or dragging
sa above, up
sū'uga among
sī'agei above
sīla'iga after
sta from, after
ək'liā'xan although
gā'wan without
gai the or that
ga'ista after that, from that place
gañā'ñ like
gañā'xan as soon as
gī (Masset *ga*) to or for
giā'ogī at the end or edge of
giēn and (usually WHEN)
gu at, there
gua toward

§ 31

gui toward (with motion)
gut with, together with
gutsta apart, from each other
gu'tgi together
gu'tga together
gwa'di seeking
ku'ngasta ahead of
kwa'gi above
kliā'oga for
kliāl every time
ga in or to
gā'atga between
gā'atgēi between (with motion)
gadō' around
gan for (purpose)
ga'nsta to
gaga'n on account of
go'da behind
gō'tgadō around behind
gō'ɿaga after (compare *ɿga* and *go'da*)
gei into
ge'ista out of
qa'odi after a while
qa'sdihao after that
qā'li inside of
qāligu't upon the inside of
qalī'gei into the inside of
q!ō'iga near by
q!ō'igasta' from near
q!eū'gi in front of
q!eū'xa around in front of
xē'daxua below (toward below)
xē'tgu down
xē'tgi down
xē'li in the mouth of
ɿū when
ɿga after
lā'gu on the shore opposite
lā'guda as soon as
lā'xa near
ɿgī'xan as soon as
ɿgēt against

A large number of these, it will be seen, are compounded from the simpler connectives, for example:

<i>a'thao</i> (<i>at</i> + <i>hao</i>)	<i>sīla'iga'</i> (<i>sīla'i</i> the place + <i>ga</i>)
<i>atguLū'</i> (<i>at</i> + <i>gu</i> + <i>Lū</i>)	<i>ga'ista</i> (<i>gai</i> + <i>stA</i>)
<i>atxA'nhao</i> (<i>at</i> + the adverb <i>xAN</i> + <i>hao</i>)	<i>gañā'xAN</i> (<i>gañā'ñ</i> + <i>xAN</i>)
<i>A'la</i> (<i>A</i> + <i>a</i> in place of a verb or clause)	<i>gu'tstA</i> (<i>gut</i> + <i>stA</i>)
<i>A'lū'</i> (<i>A</i> + <i>hao</i>)	<i>gu'tgi</i> (<i>gut</i> + <i>gi</i>)
<i>Aldji'Alū</i> (<i>Aldji'</i> this + <i>A</i> + <i>hao</i>)	<i>gu'tga</i> (<i>gut</i> + <i>ga</i>)
<i>uié'dhao</i> (<i>uié'd</i> + <i>hao</i>)	<i>gō'tgadō</i> (<i>go'da</i> + <i>gadō'</i>)
<i>ha'ohao</i> (<i>hao</i> + <i>hao</i>)	<i>ge'ista</i> (<i>gei</i> + <i>stA</i>)
<i>dī'tgi</i> (<i>dī'da</i> + <i>gi</i>)	<i>qa'odihao</i> (<i>qa'odi</i> + <i>hao</i>)
<i>sī'agei</i> (<i>sa</i> + <i>gei</i>)	<i>qālīgu't</i> (<i>qā'li</i> + <i>gut</i>)
	<i>qalige'i</i> (<i>qā'li</i> + <i>gei</i>)
	<i>q!ō'lgaStA</i> (<i>q!ō'lgā</i> + <i>stA</i>)

Still other connectives are evidently compound, although one of the elements may be rarely or not at all used alone. Thus:

ā'xana perhaps contains the demonstrative *a* and the adverb *xAN*
u'ngu is evidently compounded of a connective *un*, not used independently, and *gu*
u'ngut is compounded of *un* and *gut*
īnaat contains *at*
ī'sgiên contains *giên*
dji'ngi contains *gi*
dji'gigui contains *gui* and probably *gi*
dagu'lLū contains *Lū*
dA'ñat contains *at*
tla'gi contains *gi* and probably a non-independent connective *tla*
tla'ga contains *ga* and *tla*
tlā'lgā contains *ga*
tlē'stA contains *stA*
sū'uga contains *ga*
sk!iä'xAN contains *xAN*
gia'ogi contains *gi*
ku'ngastA contains *stA* and probably *ga* and *kun* POINT
kwa'gi contains *gi*
k!ia'oga contains *ga*
qā'atga contains *ga*
qā'atgei contains *gei*
qA'nstA contains *qAN* and *stA*
q!ō'lgā contains *ga*
q!eū'gi contains *gi*
q!eū'xa contains the distributive suffix *xa*
xē'daxua, *xē'tgu*, and *xē'tgi* contain *gua*, *gu*, and *gi*, respectively, with a connective *xēt*

- lā'gu* contains *gu* and a connective *lā*
lā'guda contains *lā* and *gut*
lā'xa contains *lā* and *xa*
lgī'xan contains *xan* and perhaps *lā* and *gi*

Still another non-independent connective seems to be used with the reflexive suffix in *q!ē'nāñ* FOR THEMSELVES. *Gā'wan* in the above list is simply the past tense of the verb *gao* TO BE WANTING, and *qo'da* is the word for BUTTOCKS. *Gua* and *gui* are probably compounded of *ga* and *gei* or *gi* respectively, with *gu*; and *gut* is perhaps from *gu* and *at*, or else the suffix indicating motion (see below). *Qā'ti* INSIDES, and *xē'ti* IN THE MOUTH OF, are also used as nouns, meaning the insides of a man or animal, or a sound (body of water), and the inside of the mouth, respectively. *Gañā'ñ* is perhaps simply the continuative verbal suffix duplicated.

Leaving out these affixes, therefore, along with a few others which occur rarely, it seems as if the following list represented the stems of the original connectives:

<i>at</i> or <i>al</i>	<i>sū</i>	<i>gan</i>
<i>uiēd</i>	<i>stā</i>	<i>gei</i>
<i>un</i>	<i>gai</i>	<i>qa'odi</i>
<i>ya</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>q!ōl</i>
<i>hao</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>q!eu</i>
<i>djīn</i> or <i>djī</i>	<i>giēn</i>	<i>xēt</i>
<i>da</i>	<i>gia</i>	<i>lu</i>
<i>dīt</i>	<i>k'ia</i>	<i>lga</i>
<i>t!a</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>lā</i>
<i>t!āl</i>	<i>gāat</i>	<i>lgēt</i>
<i>sa</i>	<i>gadō'</i>	

-t is suffixed to connectives to indicate motion of an object in the situation specified by the connective.

sī'geit lā xī'tlgaldas he flew about above (*sige* above; *-it* in that place; *xīt* to fly; *lgal* moving about; *-da* to cause)

gam l' nā'dalāñ da isī'n l! dō'ēāñganān l' k!otā'lan sīle't ā after he died, they did not call his nephews (Masset) (*gam* not; *nāda* nephew; *-lāñ* plural; *da* [?]; *isī'n* also; *dō* to go and get; *-ēāñ* negation; *-gan* continuative; *-an* past inexperienced; *k!otāl* stem TO DIE; *-an* past inexperienced; *sīle* after; *ā* stands for *dō'ēānganān*)

l! xetī't l! i'steidanī they put these before them (*xet* before; *iste* stem [?]; *-id* inchoative [?]; *-an* past inexperienced; *-ī* perfect)

ē'anlē djīnē't alongside of the stream (they went) (Masset) (*ēanlē* fresh water or stream; *ē* the; *djīn* along by)

§ 32. *Adverbs*

The position which adverbs take in the sentence, and their use in general, connect them closely with connectives. Both are subordinated to the verb in the same way, and the only difference lies in the fact that an adverb does not refer to a substantival modifier of the verb so directly as does a connective. The fact that adverbial modifiers sometimes do refer to such a substantive (*ila'*, *sa*, etc.) shows how close the relationship is. The simpler adverbs are the following:

<i>i'siñ</i> (Masset <i>i'sin</i>) again, also	<i>dī'da</i> landward
<i>ila'</i> differently	<i>q!ā'da</i> seaward
<i>yen</i> truly	<i>sa</i> up, above
<i>yē'nkliēn</i> very much	<i>sī'naiñ</i> snuffing
<i>hawī'dan</i> quickly	<i>gua</i> (interrogation)
<i>hayi'ñ</i> instead	<i>gam</i> not
<i>han</i> (Masset <i>hīn</i>) like, as follows	<i>xan</i> (Masset <i>han</i>) still, yet
<i>halgunaiñ</i> closer	<i>xaiñgiañ</i> answering, in reply
<i>hit!aga'n</i> (Masset <i>hit!a'n</i>)	<i>lan</i> complete, ended
then	<i>l!a</i> however
<i>hiñā'n</i> only	<i>la</i> (imperative adverb)
	<i>liñan</i> a little

A second set of adverbs is formed by means of *xan*, which has very much the force and function of the English adverbial ending *-LY*. Such are:

<i>wa'laiñxan</i> really
<i>ha'oxan</i> still
<i>de'ixan</i> carefully
<i>ku'nixan</i> still more
<i>kia'xan</i> outside
<i>lqua'nixan</i> aimlessly, traveling at random

Many ideas expressed in English by adverbs are rendered in Haida by a noun, or its equivalent, and connective:

<i>q!a'gui</i> northward or to the north
<i>djaɣui'</i> seaward, toward the mouth of the inlet
<i>qalgui'</i> up-inletward, or toward the head of the inlet
<i>tadjɣua'</i> toward the rear of the house
<i>ikia'gua</i> toward the door of the house
<i>sgō'lagi</i> to the right
<i>slā'angi</i> to the left or leftward

§ 33. Interjections

The following is a list of interjections, or words of interjectional nature:

a-i ah! or oh my!

āya no!

ā'digua just hear! (an angry exclamation used by old people)

aña yes!

î don't!

î (disgust) dirty! etc.

î!e'i indeed! or is that so? of why! don't you know?

wa or lengthened into *wā-ā-ā* pretty, nice!

yū'ya a feminine exclamation of terror

yūla'dal an exclamation used by the Ninstints people when they hear news, regardless of its quality

hai now!

haw't quick!

hā'maya horrors! (a very strong expression)

hadjad'a alas!

ha'ku now!

hala' come! The Ninstints sometimes use *îiñ* instead of this.

hūk or lengthened into *hū'kukukuk* look out! also the cry raised when rushing on an enemy. It always indicates danger.

djā say! well!

t!aganē' lo! surprising!

ga'o ano or *gō'ano* no!

gū'gus t!aganē' wonderful! or surprising!

k!wai pray! wait! hold on!

q!a pretty or nice (a Kaigani exclamation particularly)

q!ā'la ūdjā'xan an obsolete expression, used only by chiefs, and indicative of intense anger

ña here! say!

lan or *ha'oslan* enough! stop! (identical with the adverb *lan*)

L!na would that!

§ 34. Syntax

The verb almost always stands at the end of the sentence or clause; but where the speaker wishes to supplement some thought to what he has just said, he may do so by introducing the essential part of it, and adding *a*, which stands for the verb and modifiers just given.

wagañā'xan la îsda'yagan nañ djā'adas a she did it that way, the woman (did it that way) (*wagañā'xan* that way [= *wā + gañā'ñ + xan*]; *îsda* stem; *-ya* perfect; *-agan* past inexperienced; *nañ* the [with -s]; *djā'da* woman; *a* for *îsda'yagan*)

- l' qā'idagan tadā'oagai sī'lga a* she started off, while those who were after salmon were away (she started) (*qā* to go; *-id* inchoative; *-gan* past inexperienced; *tadā'oagai* they were after salmon; *sī'lga* while [literally, IN THE PLACE]; *a* for *qā'idagan*)
- l' qal!xa'yagan tā'nai djī'ngi a* she came out of the woods, near the sea-water (she came out) (*qa* stem; *-l!xa* toward; *-ya* perfect; *-agan* past inexperienced; *tā'nai* the sea; *djī'n* near; *gi* at; *a* for *qal!xa'yagan*)
- la gan l! ā'xanagiā'lagani la lga da'ogai a* they came near her, those that came after her (came near her) (*gan* for; *ā'xana* stem TO COME NEAR; *-giāl* to come to be; *-agan* past inexperienced; *-i* perfect; *lga* after; *dao* to come to get; *gai* the or those; *a* for *ā'xanagiā'lagani*)

Occasionally *a* is omitted.

- giên la qā'itq!ā'isgītłasi sīn lgu lā'na é'sīñ* and he threw it up hard into the air, the sun also (*giên* and; *gāit* hard or quickly; *q!āi-*classifier; *sgīt* stem; *-l* up; *-asi* participle; *sīn* sun; *lgu* indeed; *lā'na* that one; *é'sīñ* also)
- ga'īluhao l! laga'yañ wansū'ga qā'lai lā'alge'įlsi lu* at that time they went off in a crowd, at the end of ten days (literally, NIGHTS) (*ga'īluhao* at that time; *laga* stem [?]; *-ya* perfect; *-añ* continuative; *wansū'ga* quotative; *gāl* night; *ai* the; *lā'al* ten; *ge'įl* to become; *-si* participle; *lu* when)

When the subject and object of the verb are nouns, the former precedes; when they are pronouns, the order is reversed. A third pronominal object is followed by one of the connectives, and is placed before the other personal pronouns. When nouns and pronouns are both used as subjects or objects, the pronouns usually stand nearest to the verb, and exceptions to this are usually for emphasis:

- lan dañ l qī'ñga* I cease to see thee 31.5 (*lan* to stop; *dañ* thee; *l* I; *qī'ñ* to see; *-ga* declarative or auxiliary [?])
- la i'sin la'ga qā'gas* he, too, went to him (*i'sin* too; *ga* to; *qā* stem TO GO; *-ga* auxiliary; *-s* participle)
- dala'ñ l!a l! ta'łgi lā'gasga* you, however, will be better than the others (*dala'ñ* you [pl.]; *l!a* however; *ta'łgi* more than; *lā* good; *-ga* auxiliary; *-sga* future)

I have noted above, that a connective depending upon a verb may stand at the very beginning of the sentence, the noun to which it refers being either understood or expressed in the preceding clause.

Adjectives, connectives, and possessives used like connectives, always follow the nouns to which they refer. When several adjectives

tives depend upon one noun, they are apt to occur in an order exactly the reverse of that observed in English:

gō'djai tlēl xA'udju the wolf, wet, small (the small wet wolf)
gī'na gō'lqal sLA'pdjū a thing, blue, slim (a slim blue thing)

Subordinate clauses almost always precede those on which they depend, though occasionally they may be inserted into the major clause itself:

l' lta'xui xū'adji l' tia'gan la gan gūdā'ñagan his friends (that) a grizzly bear killed him thought about him (his friends thought a grizzly bear had killed him) (*lta'xui* friends or clansmen; *xū'adji* grizzly bear; *tia* stem TO KILL; *-agan* past inexperienced; *gan* for [here ABOUT]; *gūdā'na* stem TO THINK; *-gan* past inexperienced)

In the Masset dialect the subordinate clause usually ends in *-s* (§ 25.7) and is followed by *giēn*, *ɬu*, or some other connective. This is also found in the Skidegate dialect; but more often the subordinate clause ends in *gai*. Masset sentences are usually introduced by *wA'giēn*; and Skidegate sentences, by *giē'nhao*, *wA'giēnhao*, *ɬū'hao*, etc. It is often more convenient, however, to regard the sentence they introduce as a clause coordinate with that which precedes. This uncertainty always renders it difficult to divide Haida discourse into sentences.

VOCABULARY (§§ 35-39)

§ 35. General Remarks

Haida stems may be most conveniently divided into two classes—principal stems and modifying stems. The former class includes those which we should call in English, verbs, adjectives, nouns, and pronouns; the latter, post-positions, conjunctions, adverbs, and interjections.

§ 36. Verb-Stems

The greater number of these consist of one syllable, and, in many cases where more than one occur, it seems probable that they are really compound. The following list includes all of those most commonly employed, along with a few rarely found. They are arranged in the following order: (1) stems consisting of a single vowel; (2) those of a single consonant; (3) a consonant and following vowel or vowel-combination; (4) two consonants; (5) two consonants and

following vowel; (6) a consonant, vowel, and consonant; (7) two consonants, a vowel, and a consonant; (8) stems of two syllables.

1. *ū* to remain in one place or to sit
2. *ɫ* to touch
3. *wa* to do or make
dju to be of a certain sort or kind
dao to go and get
ta to eat
tai to lie
tia to kill (one person)
su to say
gao to be absent or wanting
gia to stand
guē to come
kwa to strike
kiu to tie
k!wi to mention
ɣia to follow
ɣiao to hang up
go to lie
go(xa) to burn
qa to go (one person)
qē to give birth
q!a to sit (usually followed by auxiliary *ū*)
q!a to sleep
q!a to laugh
q!ol to hide or secrete from the eyes
xao to fish
ɫ!ū to sit (plural)
4. *sɫ* a stem of very general application, meaning to place in a certain direction
5. *sta* to remove from a certain place
st!ē to be sick, angry, sad
ɫgī to swim
ɫɣu to creep
ɫ!da to kill (many people)
ɫta to spit
6. *nan* to grind or rub
nial or *nīl* to drink
gāñ to go by sea
kiän to ask
kīn to make a noise, as a bird
k!ēl to be extinguished
xāɫ to howl
ɣīt to fly
ɣīt to pick up
gāt to run, to act quickly
gēl to become
gēt to be like
ɣut to drink
xoal to steam
xon falling of a heavy object, like a tree
sīl to borrow
līñ to start anything
lil to surround
7. *stīl* to return
skīt to move so as to result in contact
skīt to club
skīn to wake up
sgaīl to weep
sgol to hide
lgal and *lgūl* to move around
8. *āba* to chew up food, for a child
īdji or *is* to be
hailu to destroy
djapāt to sink suddenly
daga to own
gīdji to seize
gīsu to wipe
k!ō'tal to be dead
gāra to be weak
golqa to make
quido to go to war
lā'nō to swear

Adjectives may always be used as verb-stems and so belong to this category. The following are the principal:

<i>āda</i> different	<i>gōt</i> last; also a noun meaning buttocks
<i>yaku</i> middle	<i>qoan</i> much
<i>yū'an</i> big (incorporated <i>yū</i>)	<i>qō'na</i> great, mighty
<i>taɪdjū'</i> half	<i>lā</i> good
<i>t!ēl</i> wet	<i>lqal</i> black
<i>sqēt</i> red	<i>gō'lqal</i> blue
<i>nao(da)</i> many	
<i>gā'da</i> white	

Nouns like the following may also be used as the stems of verbs:

<i>yā'nañ</i> clouds	<i>gīda</i> chief's son
<i>tc!ā'ano</i> fire or firewood	<i>tā'ña</i> sea-water
<i>na</i> house	

More often the noun is followed by an auxiliary, and these auxiliaries are used after verb-stems as well, though a few of them may occur as entirely independent stems (see § 18).

§ 37. Numerals

The numeral system has become decimal since the advent of the whites, and the word HUNDRED has replaced the original expression that covered that figure; but the old blanket-count ran as follows:

- 1 *sgoā'nsiñ*
 - 2 *stiñ*
 - 3 *lqu'nul*
 - 4 *sta'nsiñ*
 - 5 *lē'il*
 - 6 *lqa'nul*
 - 7 *djūgūgā'*
 - 8 *sta'nsañxa*
 - 9 *laalī'ngisgoansi'ngo*
 - 10 *lā'al*
 - 11 *lā'al wai'gī sgoa'nsiñ*
 - 12 *lā'al wai'gī stiñ*
 - 20 *la'guat sgoa'nsiñ*
 - 30 *la'guat sgoansi'ngo wai'gī lā'al*
 - 40 *la'guat stiñ*
 - 50 *la'guat stiñ wai'gī lā'al*
 - 60 *la'guat lqu'nul*
 - 100 *la'guat lē'il*
 - 200 *la'guat lā'al*
 - 300 *la'guat lā'al wai'gī la'guat lē'il*
 - 400 *la'guat lā'alē stiñ*
 - 1000 *la'guat lā'alē lē'il*
 - 2000 *la'guat lā'alē lā'al*
- etc.

It will be seen that the term for FOUR is derived from that for TWO; the term for SIX, from the term for THREE; the term for EIGHT, from the terms for FOUR and TWO; and the term for TEN, from that for FIVE; while NINE is simply TEN minus ONE.

§ 38. Nominal Stems

Following is a list of the simpler nominal stems, arranged in the same order as the verbal stems given above. Since stems of two syllables with a weak final vowel differ but slightly from those of one syllable, I have given them before other two-syllable stems:

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>ao</i> mother | <i>qait</i> tree |
| 2. <i>āl</i> paddle | <i>qoñ</i> moon |
| 3. <i>tcia</i> place | <i>q!ās</i> pitch |
| <i>tc!ū</i> cedar | <i>q!an</i> grass |
| <i>sū</i> lake | <i>q!ān</i> hemlock |
| <i>na</i> house | <i>q!al</i> clay |
| <i>gwai</i> island | <i>q!al</i> swamp |
| <i>k!iu</i> trail | <i>xāt</i> woman's father, also |
| <i>ʒai</i> sunshine | grave-post |
| <i>gai</i> blood | <i>xañ</i> face |
| <i>qa</i> uncle | <i>xēl</i> neck |
| <i>q!a</i> harpoon | <i>xēl</i> hole |
| <i>q!a</i> north | <i>lēn</i> certain Tsimshian songs |
| <i>k!āo</i> salmon eggs | <i>kñ</i> root |
| <i>xao</i> juice | 7. <i>sqot</i> armpit |
| <i>lū</i> canoe | <i>lqan</i> male cousin |
| <i>lai</i> cranberries | <i>qanl</i> fresh water |
| 5. <i>st!a</i> foot | 8. <i>tā'ña</i> sea-water |
| <i>st!ao</i> wizard | <i>sgā'na</i> supernatural being |
| <i>sku</i> back | <i>k!a'-ila</i> tray |
| <i>lga</i> land | <i>k!a'-ilda</i> star |
| <i>lga</i> rock | <i>gī'na</i> something |
| 6. <i>djat</i> woman | <i>kī'ga</i> meat, flesh |
| <i>tcin</i> grandfather | <i>k!ū'da</i> beak |
| <i>tc!ñ</i> teeth | <i>gō'da</i> buttocks |
| <i>tlēs</i> rock, ledge | <i>go'da</i> box |
| <i>djil</i> bait | <i>qā'dji</i> head |
| <i>sil</i> place | <i>qā'la</i> or <i>qāl</i> reef |
| <i>sīñ</i> day or sky | <i>qō'na</i> father-in-law and son- |
| <i>gīt</i> son | in-law |
| <i>kun</i> point | <i>xa'ida</i> human beings |
| <i>k!ial</i> leg | <i>lā'na</i> town |
| <i>gāl</i> night | <i>lxadji</i> middle of top of head |

<i>lgea'ma</i> kelp; also tall rough grass along shore	<i>gū'da ñ</i> mind and throat
<i>lta'nga</i> feathers	<i>k'i'lga</i> language
<i>i'nagwa</i> one side or half	<i>k!ā'ñal</i> color
<i>i'lgas</i> chief	<i>k!iā'lu</i> cormorant
<i>i'l!xagidas</i> chief	<i>k!ona'ñ</i> a crazy person
<i>i'liñ</i> male	<i>gā'yao</i> the sea
<i>tc!ā'ano</i> fire	<i>gā'yu</i> smoke
<i>dā'gal</i> to-morrow	<i>gō'da ñ</i> a white variety of rock
<i>dad'j'i ñ</i> hat	<i>qā'woda</i> bag
<i>tā'ñal</i> tongue	<i>qē'gu</i> water basket or bucket
<i>stagu'n</i> branch-tips	<i>q!ana's</i> comrade (in address)
<i>gia'at</i> blanket	<i>q!a'ndal</i> a mass of trees fallen in one place
<i>gīnī't</i> smoke-hole	<i>lā'laga</i> house-screens
<i>gī'gao</i> salmon-trap	

Some of these last are undoubtedly compound. Thus *gū'da ñ*, *k!ona'ñ*, and *gō'da ñ* seem to have the continuative ending (*a ñ*); *lā'na* is probably compounded from *na* HOUSE, and perhaps *la* HE or HIS; *dā'gal* probably contains *gal* NIGHT; *i'l!xagidas* is very likely from *i'lgas* and *gī'da* CHIEF'S SON (a *gī'da* being so high that he was practically certain to be a chief himself); while *k'i'lga* probably has the possessive suffix. Other nouns which are certainly compound are: *s'i'ñxi* evening (*sī ñ* day or daylight-sky); *ku'ngida* corner (perhaps from *kun* point); *q!a'ixida* woman's cloak; *ga'ndj'itga'gi* dancing-blanket; *xā'tji* dancing-leggings; *ga'ixāt* ashes; *gagwā'ñqē* cradle; *ta'ngoan* ocean. The two last probably contain the verbal suffix *goa ñ* ABOUT, AROUND, and the last seems to be compounded of this and *tā'ña* SEA-WATER. The word for SALT, *tā ñ q!ā'ga*, means simply DRIED SEA-WATER. The word for BEANS and PEAS is *xō'ya-lū'ga* RAVEN'S CANOE, and refers to one of Raven's adventures. RICE is called *i'nliñ-tc!iñ* ENGLISH TEETH. *Gāxa* CHILD seems to be derived from the stem of the verb meaning WEAK.

A study of animal names is usually interesting; but in Haida most of the names of land and sea animals, along with those of the most common birds and fishes, are simple, and yield nothing to investigation. Such are the following:

<i>tcīn</i> salmon (general term)	<i>tāɿ</i> loon
<i>tc!iñ</i> beaver	<i>t!in</i> robin
<i>tāi</i> silver-salmon	<i>s'i'ga</i> snake
<i>tan</i> black-bear	<i>st!ao</i> screech-owl

<i>sqao</i> grouse and big variety of clam	<i>qōt</i> eagle
<i>sqol</i> porpoise	<i>qai</i> sea-lion
<i>sq!ēn</i> gull	<i>qō</i> sea-otter
<i>sLgu</i> land-otter	<i>xa</i> dog
<i>nao</i> devil-fish	<i>xā'gu</i> halibut
<i>k'iu</i> clam	<i>xō'ya</i> raven
<i>k!āt</i> deer	<i>xot</i> hair-seal
<i>k!āl</i> sculpin	<i>Lga</i> weasel
<i>k!AGA'n</i> mouse	<i>tk!ia</i> saw-bill
<i>kun</i> whale	<i>lgo</i> heron

The word for **BEAVER** seems to be the same as that for **TEETH**, from which it may have been derived. Most of the other animal, bird, and insect names are evidently derived from descriptive terms. Such are the following:

<i>yA'nīdjañ</i> spider
<i>djAGA'ldaxuañ</i> fly; also snipe
<i>dji'gul-a'oga</i> shrew (probably literally, FERN-MOTHER)
<i>djidA'n</i> humpback-salmon
<i>dogā'tLxagaña</i> chicken-hawk
<i>tā'iña</i> steelhead-salmon
<i>tā'gun</i> spring-salmon
<i>taxe't</i> small salmon found on the Queen Charlotte islands
<i>tā'lat</i> trout
<i>tā'LAT-qā'dala</i> swallow
<i>tialgun</i> swan
<i>sīxASLdA'lqāña</i> small bird
<i>statsk!u'n</i> fish-hawk
<i>stāq!ā'djītga</i> brant
<i>skā'gī</i> dog-salmon
<i>skāxia'o</i> swamp-robin
<i>sqAA'm</i> star-fish
<i>sL!ū'djagadAñ</i> red-headed woodpecker
<i>kAlgai'AGAñ</i> butterfly, grasshopper
<i>ku'ndaguañ</i> (Masset <i>sLAQA'm</i>) sand-flea
<i>k!ā'ldjīda</i> crow
<i>qadjī'ñq!Algē'ksLē</i> green-headed duck
<i>qōtgadAGA'mlga</i> bat
<i>gotgalū'</i> sparrow
<i>q!a'isgut</i> butter-ball
<i>q!ōyāñ</i> mouse
<i>lgītgu'n</i> goose
<i>lk!iē'nq!ōstañ</i> frog (<i>lk!iē'n</i> forest; <i>q!ōsta'n</i> crab)
<i>tāLAT-qā'dala</i> fast trout

Another set of names appears to be onomatopoeitic either in fact or in idea:

<i>hī'xodada</i> or <i>īa'xodada</i> grebe	<i>dī'da ñ</i> blue-fly
<i>wīt</i> salmon-berry bird	<i>swī'lawīt</i> small bird
<i>mā'matc!ēgī</i> dragon-fly	<i>skā'skas</i> small owl
<i>djīdja't</i> small hawk	<i>gū'tgunīs</i> (Masset <i>gū'tgunist</i>)
<i>djīdjīgā'ga</i> small bird	horned owl
<i>tc!a'tc!a</i> song-sparrow	<i>L!ai' L!ai</i> bluejay
<i>da'tc!ī</i> wren	

I know of but two story-names of animals, *k!ū'xugīnagīs* MARTEN (instead of *k!ū'xu*) and *sqo'lgīnagīs* PORPOISE (instead of *sqol*); but it is possible that the same suffixes may have occurred after other animal-names as well. *gī'na* means SOMETHING, and *gīt* SON; but whether those are the words included in the suffix is uncertain.

Several animal-names are almost identical with those found in Tlingit:

<i>tc!ī'tga</i> skate	<i>gōdj</i> wolf
<i>tc!īsg^u</i> moose	<i>q!ā'xada</i> dog-fish
<i>tc'o'lgī</i> ground-squirrel	<i>q!ō'an</i> fur-seal
<i>nā'gadjē</i> fox	<i>xū'adjī</i> grizzly-bear
<i>nūsg</i> wolverene	<i>lāguā'djī</i> sea-bird
<i>k!ū'xu</i> marten	

lgo HERON, and *k!lga'n* (Keene's) MOUSE, also resemble the Tlingit terms; and the Tlingit word for RAVEN, *yēl*, is the same as that used by the Masset Haida. This similarity between the two vocabularies extends to a few words other than names of animals, of which the following are the principal:

<i>yage't</i> or <i>ya'ē't</i> chief's son	<i>gaodja'o</i> drum
<i>hīgayē'djī</i> iron	<i>gu'lga</i> abalone

Nā'gadjē FOX is also found in Tsimshian, and the following names are also from that language:

<i>a'od^a</i> porcupine	<i>skiā'msm</i> blue-hawk
<i>mat</i> mountain-goat	<i>gū'tgunīs</i> horned owl

Names of implements and various utensils are formed from verbs by means of a noun-forming suffix *o* (*u*):

<i>sgunxola'o</i> perfume (from <i>sgun</i> , <i>skūn</i> to smell)
<i>sl!anā'ñu</i> soap (from <i>sl!a</i> hand; <i>nañ</i> to play)
<i>nidjā'ñu</i> mask (from <i>nidjā'ñ</i> to imitate)
<i>kī'tao</i> spear handle (from <i>kīt</i> to spear)

Of a similar character are the following, although their derivation is not clear:

<i>daq'u'n-lao</i> matches	<i>q!ā'sgud'jao</i> lamp
<i>k'it'sgalā'ño</i> poker	<i>lqal'da'o</i> baking-powder
<i>ʔal'gad'ja'o</i> tin pan	<i>l!no</i> milk
<i>q!ai'ʔit'agā'ño</i> rattle	

Probably the Masset word for FOOD, *tao*, should be added to this list. The Skidegate word for FOOD is formed in a peculiar way—by prefixing the plural indefinite pronoun *ga* to the stem of the verb EAT (*ga ta* FOOD).

Proper names are often formed from nouns or descriptive terms by means of the suffix *s*, already referred to. The following are examples:

- Dj'i'łind'jaos* a man named Devil-club (*dj'i'łind'jao* devil-club)
Gao qons the name of an inlet (*gao qon* mighty inlet)
Q!ēt's name for the Kaigani country (*q!ēt* narrow strait)
Gu'l'gas a man named Abalone (*gu'l'ga* abalone)
NAñk'i'lsLAS the Person-who-accomplished-things-by-his-word; that is, the Creator, Raven (*nañ k'i'lsLA* a person who accomplishes things by his word)
Qai al lā'nas a family called the people of Qai (*Qai al lā'na* a man of the town of Qai)
NAñ-st'i'ns The-one-who-is-(equal-to)-two (*nañ* one person; *st'iñ* two)
Na q!ā'las a family called Clay-house People (*na q!ā'la* a clayey house)
Tcān lā'nas Mud-town

This, however, is not essential to the formation of proper names, as the following examples will show:

- Xō'ya qA'nLA* Raven creek
Qa'it'gaogao Inlet-from-which-the-trees-have-been-swept-away (a camp between Kaisun and Tc!a'at)
łdji'ñ xa'id'Agai Far People (the Kwakiutl)
Gidā'nstA From-his-daughter (name of a chief)
Tc!ānu al q!ola'i Master-of-the-Fire (name of a chief)
Šgā'na yū'an Great Supernatural Power (name of a chief)
Qena-ga'isL Floating-heavily-in-his-canoe (name of a chief)

The following nouns are nothing more than verb-stems:

<i>wā'lqal</i> potlatch	<i>k!ō'da</i> dead body
<i>st!ē</i> sickness	<i>ʔiāl</i> dance
<i>gū'sū</i> speech	<i>'e'da</i> shame (Masset)

As already noted, there are a few other stems difficult to classify as absolutely nominal or verbal; such as *na* HOUSE, *xa'ida* PERSON.

§ 39. Plural Stems

By substitution of one stem for another, plurality is sometimes indicated in the verb itself; but a close examination shows that this phenomenon is not as common as at first appears. A large number of plural stems of this kind prove to be nothing more than adjectives with the plural suffix *-dala* or *-da*, and still others really have the same stem in the singular and plural; but the Haida mind requires some additional affix in one number to satisfy its conception fully. In the other cases there seems to be an alteration in idea from the Haida point of view, such as would impel in all languages the choice of a different verb. The only verbs which show conspicuous changes in stem in the plural are the following four:

Singular	Plural	
<i>qa</i>	<i>is, dal, or isdal</i>	to go
<i>q'ao</i>	<i>L!ũ</i>	to sit
<i>řit</i>	<i>ña(lgal)</i>	to fly
<i>tia</i>	<i>L!da</i>	to kill

In the first three cases the plurality refers to the subject; in the last case, to the object.

The plural of adjectives expressing shape and size is expressed by the syllables *-dala* and *-da*. These may be plural equivalents of the stem *dju*.

t!a'gao k!A'mdala fine snow (*kA'mdju* a small or fine object)

qē'gu yũ'dala big buckets (*yũ'an* big)

**a řA'dala* small children (*řA'dju* small thing) (Masset)

-da is sometimes used instead of the preceding.

yuA'nda big things (*yu'an* big)

dji'nda long things (*djiñ* long)

xaldá'ngatdá'ganí.²² Ga'ista²³ L! Lú'sdaxítgoa'ganí.²⁴ Gièn L!
 enslaved. After that they started out. And them
 ku'ngasta²⁵ ga qaitlá'gañgan²⁶ ga xútguigi'ñgan²⁷ ga'iatgagan.²⁸
 before those started first some coming sailing went out to.
 Djigwa'i²⁹ sq!a'stññ³⁰ wa gu³¹ q!ada'ogaganí.³² Sta Lua'i q!ál
 Guns two it at was the noise of. After- the empty
 ward canoe
 xútgínda'lganí³³ gièn ga djá'ada stññ xaldá'ngadayagan.³⁴
 drifted along and some women two were enslaved.
 Gièn ga'nsta³⁵ L! Lúis!xá'ganí³⁶ gièn wa gu tagi'djigidaí³⁷
 And to they came and it at persons captured
 at Lga sgu'ngí³⁸ aga'n L! xa'nálgíngandí³⁹ xan³⁹ L! q!ó'lgá nañ
 with land close to them- they rejoiced that having while them near a
 selves
 kundjū'gan⁴⁰ gadó' ga xútgi'dji-L!xagai⁴¹ L!A gei qé'xagai⁴² Lu
 point was around some came sailing them (into) saw when
 q!al!t!a'lganí.⁴³ Giè'nhao gō'!aga⁴⁴ L! daot!a'lganí.⁴⁵ Giè'nhao
 jumped off. And then after [them] they landed. And then
 aga'n } L'gō'lgagññ⁴⁶ qa'odíhao⁴⁶ } qat!a'lgan.⁴⁷ Giè'nhao gá'yawai⁴⁸
 self I prepared after a while I got off. And then the sea
 LA'xa nañ Lxiéndá'lsí⁴⁹ } xa xítxí'daní.⁵⁰ Ek!í'nxet⁵¹ la } xítgí'ndal
 near one was running I started to pursue. About in the him I chased about
 woods

²² *ic/it-* Instrumental prefix meaning BY SHOOTING (§ 14.2); *L!da* stem of verb to KILL when used with plural objects, probably used here because two are spoken of in close connection (§ 39).

²³ *gai* THE + *sta* FROM, both being connectives.

²⁴ *Lú-BY CANOE*; *is* stem; *-da* contraction of *-dal* (§ 14.5); *ñt* TO BEGIN TO (§ 18.6); *-goa* MOTION OUT OF DOORS (§ 22.2).

²⁵ Probably means literally FROM IN A POINT (*kun* POINT; *ga* IN; *sta* FROM).

²⁶ *ga* TO GO; *-it* (probably originally contracted from *ñt*) TO START (§ 18.6); *-L!aga*ñ FIRST, FIRST TIME (§ 21.3).

²⁷ *ñt*- Instrumental prefix meaning WITH THE WIND (§ 14.19); *-gai* stem; *-ññ* ON THE SEA (§ 19.2).

²⁸ *gai* FLOATING; *-spa* MOTION SEAWARD (§ 22.8).

²⁹ *dji'gu* + *gai*, the *g* being dropped after *u*.

³⁰ *sq/a-* classifier indicating objects like sticks (§ 15.11).

³¹ *wa* demonstrative pronoun + *gu* AT.

³² *ga* probably auxiliary meaning TO BE.

³³ *ñt*- WITH THE WIND (§ 14.19); *-ññ* DRIFTING ON THE SEA; *-dal*, auxiliary indicating motion (§ 14.5).

³⁴ *xaldá'ngat* SLAVE; *-pa* perfect time (§ 23.7).

³⁵ Probably from *gan* FOR + *sta* FROM, the idea being motion FROM a certain place with a definite object in view, and thus to something else.

³⁶ *Lú-BY CANOE*; *is* stem; *-L!za* MOTION TOWARD; *-gan* temporal suffix.

³⁷ *ta-* a noun-forming prefix; *ñt* stem of verb TO SEIZE.

³⁸ *gi* the connective meaning TO or FOR.

³⁹ *aga'n* the reflexive pronoun; *L!* pronominal subject; *xa'nal* TO REJOICE; *-ññ* ON THE SEA; *-gan* = *-gáñ* the continuative; *-di* suffix indicating that the action is held suspended in a certain position pending some further developments; *xan* the adverb STILL or YET.

⁴⁰ *kun* POINT; *djū* sort of thing; *-gan* past-experienced-temporal suffix.

⁴¹ *ga* plural indefinite pronoun; *ñt*- MOTION BY MEANS OF THE WIND; *ñt* stem of verb TO SEIZE or CARRY ALONG, SEIZED; *-L!za-* MOTION TOWARD; *gai* THE OF THOSE.

⁴² *qé'za* TO SEE; *gai* connective turning the verb into an infinitive.

⁴³ *-L!al* MOTION DOWNWARD; *-gan* temporal suffix.

⁴⁴ *gō* is evidently from *gō'da* or *gōt* POSTERIORES, and secondarily AFTERWARDS; *-!aga* is the same as *-!pa*.

⁴⁵ *dao* is probably the stem to GO AND GET; *-!al* MOTION DOWNWARD, out of the canoe.

⁴⁶ *aga'n* the reflexive pronoun; *ñ* subjective pronoun of the first person singular; *L-* to accomplish by touching with the hands; *ñt* stem of verb meaning TO MAKE; *-ññ* UPON THE OCEAN; *qa'odíhao* the connective before which a verb loses its temporal suffix, and which is itself compounded of *qa'odí* + *hao*.

⁴⁷ *ga* singular stem meaning TO GO; *-!al* MOTION DOWNWARD.

⁴⁸ *gá'yao* SEA + (*g*)*ai* the connective.

⁴⁹ *l-* shape of a human being; *dal* auxiliary; *-si* the infinitive suffix.

⁵⁰ *ñt*. This stem is perhaps identical with the stem meaning TO FLY, and so indicates rapid motion; *-ñt* TO BEGIN TO DO a thing; *-an* the past-experienced-temporal suffix.

⁵¹ *ik/ñn* WOODS; *-za* distributive suffix; *-t* MOTION in that place.

qa'odihao⁵³ gā'yawai gei la gā'tgīganī.⁵³ Giēn l' qā'djī⁵⁴ da'ñat⁵⁵ l'
 after a while the sea into he jumped. And his hair with his
 ā'xinai⁵⁶ la' sta la gīlgī'lganī.⁵⁷ Giēn qlā'da l' l'tclī'lxaga'n⁵⁸
 yellow cedar him from I took. And toward he came up
 bark blanket the sea
 giēn dī xāñ'ga⁵⁹ la l'q'lagīldā'ngan.⁶⁰ Giē'nhao dī ga la
 and my face he held up his hands at. And then me to he
 Lgīgī'lgan.⁶¹ Dī gan l' ā'xanagea'lgai⁶² lu⁶³ ŷ'sīn l' ga'igīagan⁶³
 swam shoreward. Me for he came to be near when again he
 giēn qlā'da l' l'djīl'lxaga'n⁶⁴ giēn la gī⁶⁵ l' tclī'djūxī'dan.⁶⁶ Giēn l'
 and seaward he came to the surface and him at I began to shoot. And he
 Lgīgī'lgan giēn nañ stala' xā'ngī⁶⁷ aga'ñ la gīdīgī'ldal'skī'dan.⁶⁸
 swam landward and a cliff on the face himself he held tight against.
 Ga'igu ŷ'sīn la la tclī'gastiā'ngai⁶⁹ lu⁶⁹ lan la la gē'ldaganī.⁷⁰
 There too him I shot twice when ended him I caused to become.
 Giē'nhao sta'lai xā'ngī qaīt⁷¹ giagā'nganī⁷² gut la qa'ia'lganī.⁷³
 And then the cliff on the face tree was standing upon he climbed up.
 Giēn l' qā'djī stala'i sta dji'nganī.⁷⁴ Sklīā'xan⁷⁵ wa'gui⁷⁶ la
 And its top the cliff from was some distance. But still toward it he
 t'askī'tgaoga'ndī⁷⁷ qa'odī stala'i xā'ngī aga'ñ la gīdīgī'ldal'gaskī'danī.⁷⁸
 bent it after a while the cliff on the face himself he got hold of.
 Giēn gu ga xē'lganī⁷⁹ gei la qā'tclī'lgan.⁸⁰ Gam sta l'gut⁸¹ xē'tgī⁸²
 And therein was a hole into he went in. Not from either downward

⁵³ *ñt* = stem above referred to (50); *ñn* probably the continuative *-gan*; *-da* the auxiliary.

⁵⁴ *ñt* TO MOVE RAPIDLY; *ñi* MOTION DOWN INTO the water; *-gan* temporal suffix.

⁵⁵ *qā'djī* is used both for HAIR and for HEAD.

⁵⁶ *da'ñat* contains the connective *at*. It means very much the same thing as *at*, but is a stronger form.

⁵⁷ *ai* is the contracted form of *gai*.

⁵⁸ *ñ*-classifier indicating shape of blanket; *-ñi* MOTION LANDWARD.

⁵⁹ *ñ*-shape of human being; *-L/za* MOTION TOWARD.

⁶⁰ *dī* objective personal pronoun of the first person, used as the possessive; *zāñ* FACE; *-pa* possessive suffix.

⁶¹ *L*-action with HANDS; *-ñi* TOWARD THE LAND; *-da* auxiliary TO CAUSE; *-ñ* continuative suffix.

⁶² *ñ*-shape of MAN; *ñi* SWIMMING ON WATER; *-ñi* MOTION LANDWARD.

⁶³ *d'zana* NEAR, is also used independently as a connective; *-gai* the auxiliary meaning TO BECOME or TO COME TO BE; *gai* the infinitive-forming connective.

⁶⁴ *gai*-FLOATING ON the water; *-ñi* MOTION DOWN INTO the water.

⁶⁵ *ñ*-HUMAN SHAPE; *-L/za* MOTION TOWARD.

⁶⁶ *la* personal pronoun of the third person singular; *ñi* the connective TO.

⁶⁷ *tclī* TO SHOOT; *-ñi* TO BEGIN TO DO.

⁶⁸ *zāñ* FACE; *ñi* TO OR AT.

⁶⁹ *gīdī* TO GRASP, SEIZE; *-ñi* TO BECOME; *-da* the auxiliary TO CAUSE; *ñ*-HUMAN SHAPE; *skī* CONTACT, *-an* temporal suffix.

⁷⁰ *tclī* = *tclī* TO SHOOT; *-ga* the auxiliary TO BE; *-stid'ñ* = *stīñ* TWO; *gai* the connective.

⁷¹ *la* objective pronoun of the third person singular; *la* subjective pronoun of the first person singular *ñt* TO BECOME; *-da* TO CAUSE.

⁷² Also the word for SPRUCE.

⁷³ *ñi* TO STAND; *-ñi* the continuative suffix.

⁷⁴ *ga* TO GO (one person); *-ñi* QUICKLY; *-ñ* MOTION UPWARD.

⁷⁵ *djī'ña* also an adjective meaning a long distance, FAR.

⁷⁶ *zāñ* = the adverb STILL, YET.

⁷⁷ *wa* the demonstrative pronoun THAT; *ñi* TOWARD (with motion).

⁷⁸ *tclī*-shape of CURVING TREE; *skī* TO PUT; *-gan* = *-ñi* the continuative suffix.

⁷⁹ *ñt* TO SEIZE; *-ñi* TO BECOME; *-da* TO CAUSE; *ñi*-shape assumed by a branching object, referring here, either to the top of the tree or to the shape assumed by the man as he climbs off from it.

⁸⁰ *gu* connective THERE, referring to the cliff which is understood; *pa* connective IN; *zē* HOLE; *-gan* past-experienced-temporal suffix.

⁸¹ *ga* TO GO (singular); *-tclī* MOTION INSIDE of something.

⁸² *l* an indefinite pronoun or adverb; *ñi* the connective WITH or TOGETHER.

⁸³ *zē* DOWN; *ñi* TO.

at sī'gí⁸³ qa'la'hñai⁸⁴ gaoga'nğani.⁸⁵ Ga xa'nhao⁸⁶ l' k'lotul'hñ⁸⁷
 or upward (he) could go was wanting. In right he would die
 tlala'n xuntlā'gani.⁸⁸
 we said to each other.

Giē'nhao ga'ista L! lūsda'xidani. lū'hao L! tē'lā'anugadaga'n⁸⁹
 And then from that they started by canoe. When they had a fire
 place

giēn gut at L! dā'yñxidani.⁹⁰ Giēn ga'ista L! l!daxidai lū'hao⁹¹
 and each to they started to give to eat. And from that they started by when
 other canoe

tla'odji-gai i'siñ L! xitgida'nğani.⁹² lū'hao gu il! gētgadagē'dani.⁹³
 the fort too they started to fight. Then there we could not get away from.

Ga'iluhao il! gētgadā'gēdan giēn ga'ista il! l! gētga'l'dagan.⁹⁴
 At the time we could not get away when from that us they got back in.

Giēn nā'gai⁹⁵ u'ngu⁹⁶ nāñ L'xuqā'gōndigan,⁹⁷ la'hao L!
 And the house on top of one crept around, him they

telitqat'l'agan.⁹⁸ Giēn qā'da L! ga'ilgī'nññ⁹⁹ qa'odi nāñ i'hñā¹⁰⁰
 made fall by shooting. And seaward they lay after a while a man

gandjilgā'giada¹⁰¹ lta'nlgia-qa'ldada¹⁰² lū dañgida'l'l'xasgagan,¹⁰³
 dancing-blanket cedar-bark rings canoe dragged down,

nāñ djā'da i'siñ l' gō'laga qā'l'xasgagan¹⁰⁴ giēn i'l! ga¹⁰⁵
 a woman also him after came and to us

qaxia'sgaganī.¹⁰⁶ Giēn Ldō'gwañ gū'ga L!a ga k'i'lgūlgan.¹⁰⁷
 came out. And Ldōgwañ therein them to talked.

⁸³ sī (from sa) UP; gí TO.

⁸⁴ qa TO GO (singular); -la MOTION UPWARD; -hñ potential suffix; ai the connective gai, which turns this all into an infinitive.

⁸⁵ gao TO BE WANTING; -gan negative modal suffix after the adverb gam NOT which stands at the very beginning of the sentence.

⁸⁶ ga IN; zan the adverb meaning RIGHT THERE; hao, the connective.

⁸⁷ l' = la the personal pronoun of the third person singular, subject of the verb; k'lotul TO DIE; -hñ potential suffix.

⁸⁸ tlala'n subjective personal pronoun of the first person plural; -gan the temporal suffix.

⁸⁹ tē'lā'anu FIRE or FIREWOOD; -ga auxiliary TO BE; -da auxiliary TO CAUSE; -gan temporal suffix.

⁹⁰ dāi TO GIVE FOOD; -ñ the continuative suffix; -xid TO START TO GIVE.

⁹¹ l! used of TRAVEL BY CANOE, several going together; da = dal TO GO; -xid TO START TO GO; ai the connective gai.

⁹² -ñ the continuative suffix; -gan temporal suffix.

⁹³ il! personal pronoun of the first person plural; gētga TO BE UNABLE (perhaps compounded of gēt TO BE LIKE or in that condition + ga TO BE); -da probably the auxiliary TO CAUSE; gēd TO BE IN THAT CONDITION; -an past-inexperienced-temporal suffix.

⁹⁴ gēt'ga TO BE IN SUCH AND SUCH A CONDITION; -l motion of boarding a canoe; -da the auxiliary meaning TO CAUSE.

⁹⁵ na HOUSE; gai the connective.

⁹⁶ u'ngu contains gu AT, THERE.

⁹⁷ Lxu- BY CREEPING; ga TO GO (singular); -gōñ rather aimless motion on land; -di presents the action as just taking place; -gan temporal suffix.

⁹⁸ hao is a connective placed after la for emphasis; tē'l- BY SHOOTING; qa MOTION; -l! MOTION DOWNWARD.

⁹⁹ gai FLOATING; -gñ ON THE SEA; qa'odi the connective before which temporal suffixes are dropped.

¹⁰⁰ i'hñā A MALE BEING.

¹⁰¹ gandjilgā'gi DANCING-BLANKET; -da the auxiliary meaning TO CAUSE, and here to have been put on by somebody else.

¹⁰² lta'nlgia the RING itself; qal ALDER; -da the auxiliary TO CAUSE, the whole evidently meaning CEDAR-BARK RING DYED WITH ALDER or upon which alder has been placed. The last -da means that it had been put upon this man by somebody else.

¹⁰³ lū CANOE is object of following verb; dañ- to accomplish by PULLING; il- shape of canoe; dal MOTION; -l'za MOTION TOWARD; -sga MOTION TOWARD THE SEA; -gan temporal suffix.

¹⁰⁴ ga motion of one person; -l'za MOTION TOWARD; -sga MOTION TOWARD THE SEA; -gan temporal suffix.

¹⁰⁵ il! objective pronoun of first person plural; -ga connective to.

¹⁰⁶ ga MOTION (singular); -sga MOTION TOWARD THE SEA.

¹⁰⁷ k!l- action with the VOICE; lgu verb-stem indicating an action lasting some time, covering considerable ground, different phases of a question, etc.

Gié'nhaō ha'lgunañ¹⁰⁸ la l! gā'yīñxalgañ,¹⁰⁹ gié'nhaō nañ i'ññas¹¹⁰
 And then closer her they told to come, and then the man
 l! tō!tgi' tris'i'ngan.¹¹¹ Ldō'gwañ gī gwa'ogan¹¹² giēn l!a sta¹¹³
 they wished to make him fall into the water by shooting. Ldō'gwañ to refused and them from
 qa'idani.¹¹⁴ Lū'hao sta l! gaitgwa'giagan.¹¹⁵ l!a'hao ā'nigai¹¹⁶
 started. Then from they fled in terror. They ammunition
 wa'ga hailā'waganf.¹¹⁷ Gié'nhaō tlala'ñ f'sīñ sta lūīsdaxī'dani.
 in it was gone. And then we too from started by canoe.
 Gié'nhaō Dji'dao-kun sta l! lūīsdaxī'dan giēn gāl sta'nsīñ
 And then Dji'dao-Point from they started by canoe and nights four
 sī'gai¹¹⁸ gut l! Lgaga'i¹¹⁹ lū Ga'ñxet-kun' ga l! lūīsl!xag'i'lgan.¹²⁰
 the ocean upon they spent when Cape St. James to they came shoreward by canoe.
 Ga'ista gāl stīñ l! lūīsdala'i lū'hao Qa'isun gu l! lūīsl!xagan.
 From that nights two they traveled by when Kaisun at they came by canoe.
 Hay'ñ¹²¹ djīñ¹²² hao lga dji'ña¹²³ sta l! i'djīñ.¹²⁴ Hao lan ā'sgai at
 Instead really country far from they were. Here end this of
 gīalgalā'ndagai¹²⁵ gē'da.
 the story comes to an.

[Translation]

The Ninstints people came to Kaisun in four canoes to ask the people to go to war in company with them. Then they went along in four canoes. After they had crossed (to the mainland), they entered Bentinck arm. And they went in opposite the fort during the night. Then some people who had been camping in the inlet began firing from in front. There Amai'kuns was killed. They also wounded Floating. They also wounded Beloved. He was a brave man among them. There they also enslaved two persons. After that they started out. And those who started first went out to some people who were coming along under sail. The noise of two guns was heard there. Afterwards the canoe drifted away empty, and

¹⁰⁸ The stem of this is probably *hala'*, which is also used as an interjection.

¹⁰⁹ *gai* FLOATING; -ñ = -gīñ ON THE SEA; -l! the auxiliary TO TELL.

¹¹⁰ Compare with *nañ i'ññas* in the fourth line from the bottom on p. 280. The suffix -s makes the indefinite form definite.

¹¹¹ *te'it-* BY SHOOTING; *gāt* TO MOVE QUICKLY; *gi* MOTION UNDER WATER; -stñ the auxiliary TO WISH.

¹¹² *gwaō* verb-stem.

¹¹³ *l!a* the objective personal pronoun of the third person plural; *sta* the connective FROM.

¹¹⁴ *ga* TO GO (singular); -id is probably contracted from the auxiliary -gid TO BEGIN.

¹¹⁵ -gia probably the suffix indicating motion straight through to the object; -gan temporal suffix.

¹¹⁶ *gai* the connective THE.

¹¹⁷ *hailaw* = *hailū* TO DESTROY; perhaps related to the name for the being that brings pestilence, *Hailū'lās*.

¹¹⁸ *sta* means the open expanse of sea; in taking the connective *gai* the final *s* is dropped.

¹¹⁹ *gai* the connective THE.

¹²⁰ *Lū-* BY CANOE; *ls* stem; -*L'ia* MOTION TOWARD anything; -*gīl* MOTION LANDWARD.

¹²¹ *hay'ñ* an adverb always used when something falls out differently from what was expected. In this case the rest of the clause, which naturally belongs with it, is omitted and its sense left to the hearer.

¹²² *djīñ* REALLY, ACTUALLY; is strengthened and emphasis placed upon it by the connective *hao*.

¹²³ *dji'ña* FAR, an adjective depending upon the preceding noun *Lga* COUNTRY.

¹²⁴ -*ñ* the past-experienced-temporal suffix.

¹²⁵ *Hao* refers to all of the story preceding, which it connects with this sentence; *lan* an adverb depending upon *gē'da*; *ā'sgai* (= *ās* or *ā'djī* + *gai*) a demonstrative referring also to the preceding story; *at* connective WITH, OR, etc. *Gīalgalā'ndagai* probably has the same stem as the verb treated of under note 107; *gai* the connective.

they enslaved two women. (The others) came thither, and while they lay close to the land, rejoicing over the persons captured, some people came sailing around a point in a canoe, saw them and jumped off. Then (we) landed in pursuit of them. And after I had spent some little time preparing myself, I got off. And I started to pursue one person who was running about near the sea. After I had chased him about in the woods for a while, he jumped into the ocean. And I took his hair, along with his yellow-cedar bark blanket, away from him. And he came up out at sea and held up his hands in front of my face (in token of surrender). Then he swam shoreward toward me. When he got near me, he dove again and came to the surface out at sea, and I began to shoot at him. Then he swam landward and held himself tightly against the face of a certain cliff. After I had shot at him twice there, I stopped. Then he climbed up upon a tree standing upon the face of the cliff. And although its top was some distance from the cliff, he bent it toward it, and after a while got hold of the face of the cliff. And he went into a hole in it. He could not go from it either downward or upward. We said to one another that he would die right in it.

Then they started from that place in their canoes. Then they had a fire and began to give each other food. And after they again started off, they again began fighting with the fort. Then we got into a position from which we could not get away. Then, although we could not get away at first, they finally got us into (the canoes). And a certain person crept around on top of the house. They shot him so that he fell down. And after they had lain out to sea for some time, a man wearing a dancing-blanket and cedar-bark rings dragged down a canoe and came out to us, accompanied by a woman. And those in Ldō'gwañ's canoe talked to them. Then they told the woman to come closer, and said that they should shoot the man so that he would fall into the water. Ldō'gwañ refused and started away from them. Then they fled away in terror. Their ammunition was all gone. Then we also started off.

Then they started from Point-Dji'dao, and, after they had spent four nights upon the sea, they came to Cape St. James. After they had traveled two more nights, they came to Kaisun. Instead of accomplishing what they had hoped, they returned from a far country almost empty-handed. Here this story comes to an end.