# QUILEUTE

## BY

## MANUEL J. ANDRADE

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# PREFACE.

Quileute is spoken at present by 180 individuals at the mouth of the Quileute river, on the northwestern coast of the state of Washington. About 15 miles further south, at the mouth of the Hoh river, there survive a few members of the Hoh tribe, whose speech, according to several Quileute informants, differs only slightly from theirs.

Quileute has always been affiliated with Chemakum, the language once spoken in the same state near Port Townsend. The writer had the opportunity of working for a few hours with the last survivor of the Chemakum tribe, Luise Webster. A study of the material collected previously by Professor Boas[1], together with the scanty data recorded on this occasion, confirms the close relationship which has been claimed for these two languages. It must be remarked, however, that even in the limited information available there is a considerable proportion of unrelated words as well as some important grammatical differences. From the phonetic notes published by Professor Boas, and so far as we may judge from our brief contact with Chemakum, we may infer that the sounds of the two languages are very similar. Among the most outstanding differences, we may mention first, that the Chemakum *m* and *n* are replaced by the Quileute *b* and *d*, respectively. The latter sounds do not occur in Chemakum, and *m*, *n* are found in Quileute only when quoting the speech of the mythologic giantess Da's·k'iya''. Secondly, the Chemakum vowels seem to be less variable than the Quileute, and the tonal characteristics of the Quileute accent do not seem to exist in Chemakum. At least, they were not found in a number of Chemakum words decidedly cognate with those which present such tonal characteristics in Quileute. Nor were such tonal features found by Professor Boas in 1890, when Luise Webster must have had a more vivid recollection of the language, as she still spoke it occasionally with her brother. At the time of our acquaintance, this informant had forgotten most of her language.

A cursory comparison with other languages of the north Pacific coast discloses a number of significant points of contact between Quileute and the Wakashan stock.

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[1] I refer to his field notes, which he kindly placed at my disposal, as well as to his "Notes on the Chemakum Language," in the American Anthropologist for January, 1892. I have also examined a Chemakum vocabulary collected by Dr. Livingston Farrand.

The linguistic material on which the present account is based consists of 52 myths, vocabularies and grammatical notes recorded by Dr. Leo J. Frachtenberg in the summer of 1915 and in the summer and fall of 1916; and of 26 myths and other texts collected by the author in the summer of 1928 under the auspices of the Committee on Research in Native American Languages. The texts will be found in Volume XII of the Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology.

About two years before going to the field, the author was given an opportunity to study Dr. Frachtenberg's texts and notes, from which the structure of the language was inferred to the extent that the material permitted. The six weeks spent in the field in 1928 were devoted mainly to the solution of certain problems which required additional information. The presence of four types of accentual phenomena distinguished by the characteristic pitch and duration of the accented vowel retarded the work considerably, for this feature, which had not been observed before, entailed a revision of all the material previously collected, as well as a close examination of the grammatical principles which had been derived therefrom. For the study of these accentual types additional material was recorded besides the 26 myths above mentioned. This amount of material proved to be insufficient for reasons which will be pointed out at the proper place. Hence the writer feels that the present account of the language is incomplete in regard to the principles which govern the changes in the position and type of accent, as well as to other facts, which a sufficient amount of text material might reveal. These limitations have been kept in mind, and conclusions which have been reached on an insufficient number of facts will be presented with the proper caution. On the whole, however, one may be confident that further study would not alter the presentation of the essential structural features. This statement applies in particular to our characterization of the formatives treated under the heading of *Objective Relations*. The complex problem presented by these formatives was duly taken into account before going to the field, and it was kept in mind throughout the time spent there. The amount of data available on this point seems quite adequate to support our conclusions.

Dr. Frachtenberg's informant was Hallie George, a half-blood Quileute who spoke English fluently. All the myths collected by the writer were dictated by Sei'x̣tis, one of the oldest members of the tribe who spoke no other language than Quileute. For the translation of the myths given by Sei'x̣tis, as well as for additional text and grammatical material, I am indebted to Mr. Jack Ward, a full-blood Quileute, 45 years of age. Mr. Ward, whose Indian name, ídax̣e'b, may be taken as evidence of the kinship which he claims

to have with the last of the Chemakum "chiefs", ə'nax̱em, has an excellent command of the English language. His brother, Eli Ward, furnished some of the material collected for phonetic and grammatical purposes. He also had a good knowledge of English. The pronunciation of many other members of the tribe was carefully observed, and several of them were questioned to determine the prevalent articulation of sounds in which individual differences had been detected.

The following abbreviations have been used; QT. refers to Quileute Texts by Manuel J. Andrade, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Volume XII, 1931. The figures 12:2 refer to the number of the text and line, respectively. References· to the first six texts with interlinear translation indicate the page and line of the Quileute text, thus, Q T. p. 2:1.

I acknowledge my obligations to the Committee on Reasearch in Native American Languages, and particularly to Professor Franz Boas for invaluable help received in various ways. Should there be any qualities worthy of note in the present study, they are to be attributed to the influence of the critical rigor which characterizes his work.


New York, May 10, 1929.                    Manuel J. Andrade.

# QUILEUTE

## BY MANUEL J. ANDRADE

### PHONOLOGY.

In the following description of Quileute sounds the speech of the older members of the tribe has been taken as the standard. Individual differences exist, as in all languages. Moreover, some of the divergences from the standard adopted here seem to be rather prevalent and uniform among the younger generation. If this observation is accurate, the fact may be attributed either to the prevalence of bilingual individuals among the younger Quileute, or to a natural drift of the language within one generation[1]. For one of the most obvious differences one might be tempted to postulate a social cause. The harsh, cracking sounds of *q'* and *t'l* are much softer among the young folk, who because of their fluent command of English are in more intimate contact with the white people. These sounds frequently provoke ridicule from some of the Whites upon hearing them for the first time, and even those to whom these sounds are more or less familiar frequently mimic them in a grotesque manner when jesting with the Indians. This may exert a restraining influence upon the younger Quileute who as a rule seem to be very sensitive to ridicule and aspire to social equality with the Whites. Of the several phonetic variations which seem to exist between the pronunciations of these two age groups, only the most noticeable will be mentioned, for, as many phoneticians may concede, acoustic impressions are not very reliable for an accurate determination of such distinctions, particularly if they are to be observed in an unfamiliar language.

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[1] Instances of phonetic changes that have taken place within one generation are not rare among illiterate peoples. The writer has conclusive evidence that a change from a clear *l*-sound to a distinct *d* has taken place within 60 or 70 years in Mopan, a Mayan dialect spoken in Guatemala and in British Honduras. A similar situation was found in the village of Lunkini, state of Campeche, Mexico, where Yucatecan Maya is spoken.

## CONSONANTS.

The Quileute consonants may be tabulated as follows:[1]

|  | Plosive | | | Fricative | | Affricative | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | voiced | voiceless | glottalized | voiced | voiceless | voiceless | glottal. |
| labial | $b$ | $p$ | $p'$ | $w$ |  |  |  |
| dental | $d$ | $t$ | $t'$ |  | $s$ | $ts$ | $t's$ |
| Palato-alveolar |  |  |  |  | $c$ | $tc$ | $t'c$ |
| dental lateral |  |  |  | $l$ | $\iota$ | $tl$ | $t'l$ |
| palatal |  | $k$ | $k'$ | $y$ | $x$ |  |  |
| palatal labialized |  | $k^u$ | $k'^u$ |  | $x^u$ |  |  |
| velar |  | $q$ | $q'$ |  | $\dot{x}$ |  |  |
| velar labialized |  | $q^u$ | $q'^u$ |  | $\dot{x}^u$ |  |  |
| depending on the following vowel |  |  |  |  | $h$ |  |  |
| vocal cords |  |  | ' (glottal stop) |  |  |  |  |

1. The plosive consonants are generally followed by a strong aspiration. When the palatal and velar plosives are articulated emphatically, we observe that the tongue, upon releasing the air pressure, passes to the position of the corresponding fricative or glides through it while the air pressure continues, producing thus affricative combinations which in careful pronunciation we might represent by the symbols $kx$, $q\dot{x}$; however, the duration of the fricative elements in these articulations is shorter than when $x$ and $\dot{x}$ occur as independent consonants. In the normal pronunciation of $k$ and $q$ the aspiration is most noticeable in a medial position, but in the sound of the $t$ the opposite tendency is observed. Before a vowel the pronunciation of the $t$ is closer to the unaspirated articulation of the Romance languages than to the English $t$, but it is identical with the latter at the end of a word or before another plosive. No acoustic difference has been noted between Quileute and English in the articulation of the $p$.

2. With the aid of the proper instruments it might have been found that the duration of the glottalized velar and palatal plosives is longer than in other Indian languages in which these sounds occur. If this observation is correct, we may infer that a comparatively long period of compression takes place between the release and the beginning of the following vowel. When these sounds occur at the end of a syllable their duration may be the same, but the fact is not so perceptible. So far as one may judge by the acoustic impression, the process of the so-called glottalization, whatever the nature of this process may be, seems to be present throughout the duration of these sounds. Therefore, if, as stated above, a careful articulation of the $q$ may be represented by the symbols $q\dot{x}$, in analogous conditions the sound of the $q'$ could be rendered by

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[1] The phonetic notation has been explained in No. 6, Vol. 66, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, (Publication 2415) Washington, 1916.

$q'x'$. The continuation of the process of glottalization throughout the period of such articulations is particularly noticeable in the affricatives $t'l$, $t's$. Here we get the acoustic impression of a sudden release of air pressure into a constricted aperture. Hence, these sounds might be rendered in all cases by $t'l'$ and $t's'$. This orthography has been avoided for the sake of simplicity. The articulation of the whole glottalized series is much more energetic among the old generation.

3. In regard to the point of contact, the palatals seem to have a greater range of variation than the other consonants. Before $e$, $i$ the point of contact of the $k$, for example, is mid-palatal, while before $o$, $u$ it is post-palatal.

4. The articulation of the $d$ is initiated with a nasal resonance that is more noticeable than in the unavoidable resonance of the nasal cavity for this sound in English and in other languages. This phenomenon does not seem to be present in the $b$.

5. In the pronunciation of the $w$ the lips do not restrict the passage of the voice as much as in English.

6. The voiceless $l$ followed by a vocalic element has often a decided vibratory quality resembling a voiceless $r$, but this varies considerably with the individual and with the emphasis with which the word is pronounced. The voiced lateral has practically the same sound as in English, though its articulation is linguo-dental, so far as the tip of the tongue is concerned. At the end of a word its duration is much shorter than that of a final English "dark" $l$.

7. The $s$ has a sharp hissing sound. It is normally pronounced with the upper and lower teeth in contact, and the tip of the tongue touching the lower incisors.

8. The $h$, as in most languages, has no fixed point of articulation. The tongue, which is the main organ that restricts the passage of the air during the period of its articulation, is in motion toward and finally adopts the position required for the following vowel.

9. The glottal catch or glottal stop is not as audible in the pronunciation of most individuals as in other languages, so far as the writer may rely upon the recollection of such acoustic impressions. Judging by what has been observed through the laryngoscope in other languages[1], one may infer either that the vocal cords do not

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[1] The explanation offered here was derived from the study of my own imitation of the Quileute glottal stop with the aid of a laryngoscope designed for self-observation. Such observations are, of course, open to question, since we have no proof that the native Quileute may not produce the same acoustic effect by a different process. However, this possibility seems rather remote, considering the nature of this sound. At any rate, my experiments agree with the findings of several phoneticians in regard to the production of the glottal stop. It is produced by the vocal cords, and not by the epiglottis, as some students of language think.

pass from a position of complete contact to that required for the production of the following voiced sound, and likewise a voiced sound is not terminated by a complete closure, or else these movements are not as rapid or energetic as in other languages. But individual differences are considerable in this respect, and, as in the instances mentioned above (sect. 2), the intensity of this sound is greater among the older Quileute. In the speech of the informant who has been taken as the standard, there was a tendency to echo the preceeding vowel after a glottal closure. In most instances the echoed vowel was voiceless or weakly voiced, but in emphatic articulation or in the case of an accented syllable, a fully voiced vowel of shorter duration than the preceeding one was heard. The glottal stop described here functions as a consonant. When it is omitted, the native feels that the word has been deprived of one of its phonetic elements. On the other hand, when we omit the less audible variety of this articulation mentioned in Section 11, the effect upon the native, if he can be made aware of it at all, seems to be analogous to that of a failure to reproduce exactly the quality of the vowel concerned. For this reason and for others mentioned below (Secs. 11, 37, 42), it seems justifiable to consider this glottal stop as a manner of articulating all initial vowels, and hence its transcription would be irrelevant in a structural presentation of the language.

## *VOWELS.*

10. The quality of the Quileute vowel depends to a large extent upon its position in the phonetic structure of the word. To a greater or lesser extent, this may be said to be true of most languages, if subtile qualitative differences are taken in consideration, but in Quileute such differences are patent even to the untrained ear. We find, for example, that there is a vowel whose quality is very similar, or perhaps identical, to that of the *u* in the American pronunciation of "but". This sound occurs only in a final unaccented syllable in which the vowel is followed by *k*, and is not preceded by a velar consonant. Should a suffix be added to the word, with a consequent shift of the accent, this vowel may change to the quality of *a* in "hat" or to that of the Franch *â* in "pâte", depending on the following consonant. Since our interest centers in the structure of the language, rather than in a detailed rendition of its sounds, we have disregarded in our transcription most of the qualitative distinctions which are due to the position of the vowel in the word. Thus, each of the symbols *u*, *o*, *a*, *ä*, *e*, *i*[1] represents two or more

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[1] For the use of the symbol *ü* see Section 43.

vocalic qualities which replace one another according to the conditions defined below[1]. Therefore, our notation for the vowels in particular, but to some extent also for the consonants, is not phonetic in the strict sense of the term. It is rather a convenient means of writing the language, comparable with the conventional orthography of any literary language, but free from the irregularities of the latter.

11. All initial vowels begin with a slightly audible acoustic effect suggestive of the glottal stop. No such effect has been observed in unaccented final vowels. The presence of this manner of articulation in accented finals and between two vowels will be discussed elsewhere (Secs. 37, 42).

12. The symbol *u* stands for a vocalic quality very similar to that of the *u* in the English word "full", when the Quileute sound occurs in a final syllable followed by a dental plosive. It is like the vowel in "fool", when preceded or followed by a fricative, but with less labial protrusion. Before or after a palatal or a velar plosive, as well as between consonants with opposite influence, it is an intermediate sound between the latter and the *o* of "obey".

13. In some situations it is difficult to distinguish the sound represented here by an *o* from that of the *u* in the third instance above mentioned. The positions described for the *u* affect the *o* in a similar manner. Its range of variation is from a quality which is perhaps identical to that of the French vowel in "faute", to that of the American pronunciation in "low", without the dipthongal modification prevalent in the latter.

14. In most situations, the quality of *a* is that of the French vowel in "part", or even nearer perhaps to Spanish *a* in "paz". After a velar, and when accented with a low pitch (Sec. 28), it varies toward French *â* in "pâte". After *y*, *s*, *c*, and the affricatives it is similar to the English *a* in "at". When it occurs in a final unaccented syllable followed by a dental or a palatal consonant, its quality is similar to that of the English vowel in "but", and is perhaps identical to it if the final consonant is *k*, as in *yi'sdak*, dress.

15. The *ä*-sound is not affected as much as the other vowels by phonetic contact. Its quality may be characterized as an "open" variety of the American English sound of *a* in "mat". It occurs in comparatively few words, some of which are presumably of foreign origin; as, *q'wäeti'*, the name of the culture hero; *läa'u*, two (when counting without mentioning the things counted); *yä'iwa*, snake; *pä*, day.

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[1] For certain accidental changes in vocalic quality see Sections 28, 29. Cf. also Sec. 38.

16. When in contact with a velar or a *k*, the symbol *e* stands for a quality almost identical with that of the vowel in "met". After *s*, *ts*, *t's*, *l*, *t*, it approximates French *é* in "été". In other contacts intermediate qualities are heard. When its pitch is raised by an accent or by the intonation, and when preceeded by *y* or *w*, if the following contact favors it, an etymologic *e* acquires a sound rather similar to the Middle-West American pronunciation of *i* in "milk". In such cases, its quality is hardly distinguishable from that of the Quileute *i* in certain positions. The change of an etymologic *e* to *i* will be discussed in section 29.

17. The *i* represents more than one nuance, but the distinctions are no more marked than those of the so-called short English *i* as in "divorce, him", etc. in various contacts and positions in the word.

18. There are no clear diphthongs in Quileute. The combination of *a* and *o* at the end of a word approximates to the acoustic effect of a diphthong, but in deliberate pronunciation we hear two distinct syllables. A similar effect is obtained when the objective pronouns ending in *lawo* are accented on the first syllable, which becomes *la'u*[1]. In these cases the second element of this combination sounds like a very slightly labialized *u*-sound as in "full". The sound of *a* in its various nuances is occasionally followed by *i*, but these two vowels do not blend into a diphthong.

## THE SYLLABLE.

19. Experiments performed with three informants to determine to what extent they would be consistent in dividing a word into syllables, gave the following results:

a. When the syllable constitutes a morphologic element, it is isolated rather consistently, depending on its meaning or grammatical function. As one would expect, more inconsistence and hesitation was shown with morphologic elements which perform an abstract function than with those which refer to concrete objects and actions. Thus, two informants agreed in the division of these two words among others: *kits-i·-li'-xa'-a*, did he kick him? and the noun *hé-t'e-tsi'l-lit*, material designed for some purpose. We notice that *ts* was grouped with the preceding syllable in the first word, and with the following syllable in the second. This division conforms with the morphologic analysis of the word, as *kits-* is the stem for the verb "to kick", but the *ts* of the second word is a causative suffix. On the other hand, the syllable *-tsi·l-* is composed of three different elements, *tsi-i-l* (causative, connecting vowel, and a suffix indicating purpose) but it felt to both informants as an indissoluble

[1] In the Quileute Texts this pseudo-diphthong is transcribed thus *la'v*.

unit. The division of *kitsí·li'xa'a* was in strict accordance with its morphologic composition, excepting, perhaps for the treatment of the glottal stop. The separation of this sound, which is quite audible between two vowels, may be accounted for by the observations made in Sections 9 and 11 regarding its articulation before a vowel.

b. In the division of words that cannot be analyzed into significant or functional elements, it was observed that the three informants had the tendency to avoid initial and final combinations of consonants which do not occur in analogous positions in Quileute words (Secs. 32, 33).

c. When a given consonant in an unalyzable word could be either initial or final, according to the principles just mentioned, there seemed to be no definite choice as to what syllable it should be assigned.

d. The idea that each vowel should be considered as the nucleus of a syllable was readily grasped and applied, though totally ignorant of the distinction between consonants and vowels, and without receiving any instruction to that effect. The problem was presented to them in these terms: "If you had to break up these words into small pieces, how would you do it?" Then a few English words were used to illustrate the process. It occurred occasionally that when a morphologic element in the word was composed of two syllables the two vowels were kept together in the syllabic division. It must be admitted that these experiments are not conclusive, since they were performed with only three informants.

## DURATION.

20. The determinants of quantitative phenomena may be etymological, functional, or phonetic. As examples of the first class we have the following distinctions: *ót'a'yat*, hand; *ót'a·'yat*, arm; *xa·'ba*, to be dressed; *xaba·'*, all; *xa'ba'*, not to know how to do something. Here we may also mention numerous nominal stems which are invariably found with the same quantitative pattern. We may consider in the second class the lengthening of a monosyllabic stem to express durative action, as *tcatci''*, it flew; *tca·'tca*, it is flying.

21. Quantity is phonetically determined in the use of two of the pitch accents (Secs. 27, 28), and in the tendency to avoid long, initial vowels in composite words of more than four syllables. There are also some quantitative variations due to rhetorical effect, and still others of a very arbitrary character, which may respond to a rhythmic feeling for the phonetic structure of the word. Thus, the word for adultery may be pronounced indifferently, *taqo·'sibet's* or *tá·qosibe't's*.

22. The duration of a long vowel is normally about the double of a short one, but Quileute speakers attribute a certain aesthetic value to the prolongation of long vowels under the proper conditions; so, we often hear long vowels, and occasionally normally short ones, pronounced with triple or longer duration, depending on the emotional character of the utterance.

23. We may also speak of reduced short quantity in a final accented vowel. In such cases the rapid glottal closure with which the vowel seems to end appears to facilitate its short duration, e. g.: *hitci''*, was frightened; *base''*, bad; *tcatci''*, it flew.

24. It may not be altogether arbitrary to consider as a part of the quantitative system a certain phenomenon which we may call *dieresis*. In deliberate speech we notice an absolute silence of about half the normal duration of a vowel between certain elements of a composite word. In rapid pronounciation the effect is that of an increment in the quantity of the preceding short syllable. This interruption never occurs after a long vowel. Its presence is constant after the formal base *hé*, especially in long composite words. In other cases it seems to respond to a rhythmic principle, and in part also to a feeling of recognition of the various individual elements which integrate the word, e. g.: *ta'tcasé.li''ilitc*, you will be paid for it; *tsoxó·li.xalu'b·a'a*, did we shoot at him? In these two cases the dieresis, indicated by the period, may be a part of the rhythmic pattern of the word, for several other words with the same accentual and quantitative structure present the dieresis in the same position, but since it occurs only between separable morphologic elements, phonetic factors[1] may not be the only determinants.

25. Consonantal lengthening performs no grammatical function. Lengthening of a consonant occurs chiefly when a single consonant closes an accented syllable followed by an affixed element. This quantitative distinction often throws light on the structure of words which might be regarded as unanalyzable elements. For example, in *t'ca''·a*, ripe, and *qa't·a*, perhaps, the duration of the interval between the glottal closure and the *a*, which is about twice that of an intervocalic glottal stop, as well as the duration of the aspiration following the *t* in the second word, makes it more probable that the final *a* in both words is an applicative classifier (Sec. 85). In *kwa'c·kwac*, blue jay, we may suspect duplication of elements which may still be felt as independent or which were formerly treated as such. On the other hand, the disjunctive pronoun *lu'b·a*, we, cannot be dissolved into simpler elements, and likewise we have no evidence of suffixation or compounding in words like *sáb·as*,

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[1] For the presence of this phenomenon with a high tone accent see Sec. 30.

shark; ҳa'ҳ·e, now, and several others. In most of these cases we notice that the long consonant follows the accented vowel, but since the consonant is not long after every accented vowel, and it may occasionally be long after an unaccented syllable, we may conclude that at least some of these long consonants are due to etymological causes.

## ACCENT.

26. Students of the classical languages, as well as those acquainted with Lithuanian and Swedish, are well aware of the fact that accent is not always as simple a phenomenon as it appears in the modern languages most commonly studied. But even in these the phonetician finds that, although stress (that is, a greater intensity in the sound of the accented vowel) is present in all accentual phenomena, this factor is generally accompanied by a difference in pitch, and frequently by an element of duration, besides minor distinctions of vocalic quality and precision of articulation. As is well known, some of these factors are more prominent in some languages than in others. Quileute presents a rather unusual[1] diversity of accentual phenomena. In most languages the accented vowel has a higher pitch than the unaccented ones. In Quileute it may be higher or lower, and it may begin with a higher pitch and end with a lower pitch than that of the prothetic vowel. Duration is an integral factor in some types of Quileute accent, but it is an independent element in others, although, as we shall see below, duration always affects the tonal aspect of the accent. Moreover, in order to gain a complete view of all the tonal phenomena observed in these various types of accent, other factors must be considered, for the tone of the accent changes with its position in the word, and with the presence of another type of accent in the same word. Thus, owing to such modifications, the melodic pattern of the Quileute word strikes us as a more obvious fact than the accentual types. In some cases, the latter can be abstracted from the recurrent melodic units only by taking into account various structural and functional factors. The recognition of the melodic pattern requires no such deductions. This does not imply that accent is not as definite a phonetic element as in any other language, but rather that in an objective view of the phonetic aspect of the word, the melodic pattern is as definite a feature of this language as accent. Whether or not the native is more conscious of melodic patterns than of

[1] Among the American Indian languages Sapir reports a similar accentual system for Takelma. Handbook of American Indian Languages, Part 2. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 40.

accentual types, it is difficult to determine. One informant, upon hearing a list of words which had the same melodic pattern, could decide without much hesitation whether any additional word belonged to that pattern, but he could not identify the same type of accent in two different patterns. This may be due to the difficulty of conveying the concept of accent to an untutored individual. Obviously, such psychological observations, however reliable they may be, are of doubtful application to the solution of linguistic problems. Since the native speaker is generally unaware of a great many fundamental facts which can be definitely established by linguistic analysis, his awareness of a given phenomenon is not a reliable criterion to rate its linguistic importance. The objective facts presented by this language are sufficient justification to regard the melodic aspect of the word as a significant feature, particularly for words of no more than three syllables. We shall see that the melodic patterns of dissyllables and trisyllables are definable and fairly constant facts. The accents are identifiable elements, subject to variations which can be defined with respect to their positions in the melodic patterns. Hence, we cannot attribute any more significance to one aspect than to the other.

The following diagrams represent all the melodic patterns that have been found in dissyllables. The list of trisyllables is less complete, but the ones which have been omitted are of rare occurrence. Observations on other polysyllables will be included in the discussion of the accentual types. The material for the study of these patterns was gathered in the field. Words with the same patterns were grouped together. Different informants were asked to pronounce the words of each group in succession and alternatively with other groups in order to determine the stability of the melodic units. One of the informants, Mr. Jack Ward, was brought to the State University of Washington at Seattle, where Dr. Melville Jacobs recorded on a dictaphone the selected groups of words spoken by Mr. Ward. I am indebted to Dr. George Herzog, of the University of Chicago, for the transcription of the dictaphone records. The pitch, duration, and stress factors were recorded originally in musical notation, indicating tonal differences of less than a semitone. With Dr. Herzog's approval, the musical notation was transposed to the graphic forms given here. The tones indicated represent only approximately absolute pitch. In determining the intervals within each pattern, differences of less than a semitone have been taken into account. This is indicated by the position of the tone marks on the upper or lower part of the space representing the approximate semitone. The length of the tone-marks indicates approximate duration. Primary stress (intensity) is represented by an accent sign, and secondary stress by the same sign in parenthesis.

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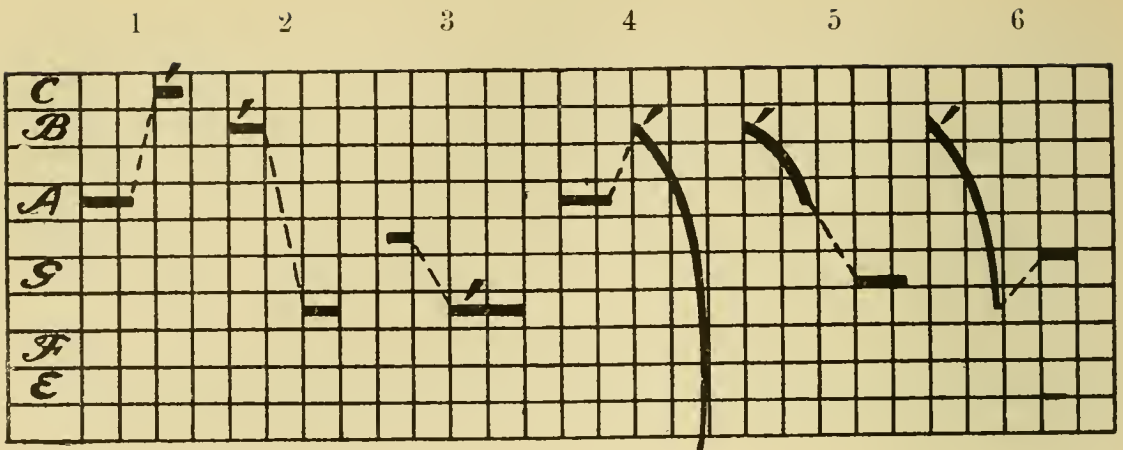
### 1.
base", bad
hitci", scared away
tcatci", it flew
tciko'c, became big
xaya'sx, again

### 2.
hé.ol, to accompany
hé.łk'wal, to be pregnant
qáł·al, to emerge
t'cá'·a, ripe
k'ił·ats, to wedge

### 3.
lüwò·, to bring
ko'ò·d, sallal berry
yaxò·l, high sea
lobò·q, rain
t'axà·ts, summer

### 4.
tcaxó·, empty
qałé·, ocean
t'a'ó·l, anemone
koxó·l, to roll down
tsexá·', to throw

### 5.
tsé·łil, to push
p'á·xa', braid
ó·lit, mouth
ó·q'os, neck
t'á·kuł, to mend clothes

### 6.
dâ·kił, then, so
bâ·yaq, raven
k'wâ·ya', water
qô·tuł, nose pendant
qwâ·t'ła', whale
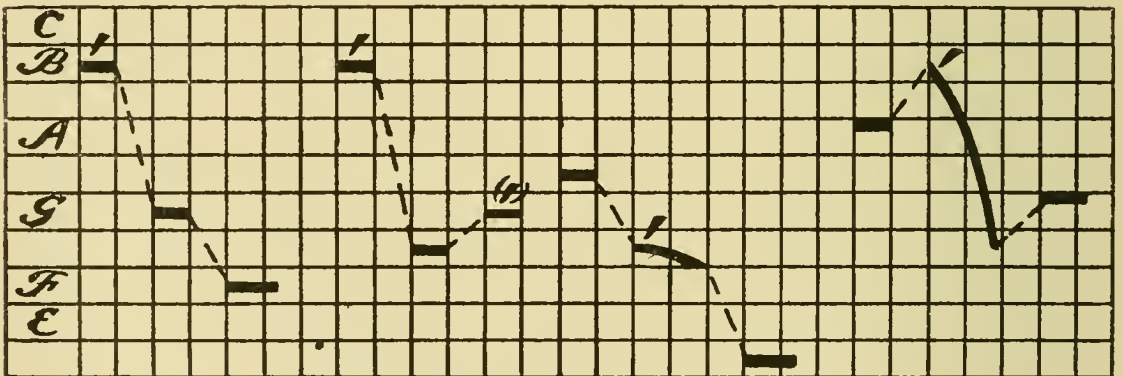


### 7.
hók^u t'sat, blanket
qwá'ayat, early summer
tótisil, drill
táx^u lo', bow (for arrows)
k'i'it'sol, to anchor

### 8.
łá'awi't, to bark
qá'awa'ts, cedar basket
xós·ida't, to bathe
hé.tqoa't, matress
wá.x^u oli't, moustache

### 9.
t'uwà·dak, blue huckle berry
t'aqà·tcił, thimble berry
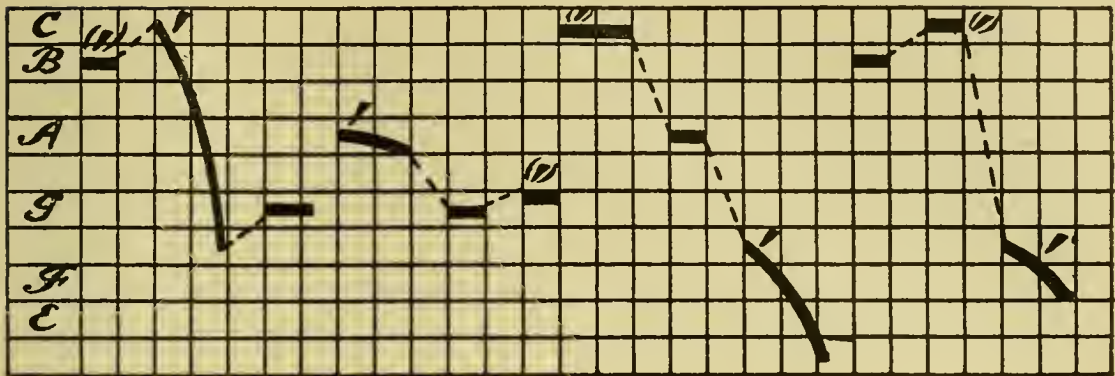k'e'è·lit, a bridle
likà·t'so', married woman
pe't'lè·so', yellow

### 10.
yalô·lat, wife
si'k'ô·ya', cedar bark
tukó·yo', snow
a'ê·wa, platform
ha'ê·tat, arrow

11      12      13      14



### 11.
hé't'cô·dat, arrow-point
ótcqê·dit, belly
t'só'bâ·yo', barnacle
t'si·kâ·bai, water tight basket
ó't'cô·sit, bill of a bird

### 12.
á·xuyo", box, pot
á·'axi't, mountain
á·lita", fish, salmon
tá·yidi'l, fish club
ó·q'wayi't, the back

### 13.
tci.ca'à·, it blows (the wind)
béb·a'à·, blind
ké.da'à·, to bother
sip'a'à·, to brush
há't'ca'à·, slowly

### 14.[1]
sisa"wà·, before
tciya"wà·, beneath
t'łayo"wà·, after
atco"wà·, to be in bed with
liko"wà·, to wait

All the dissyllabic patterns, excepting No. 1 are quite constant in all the words recorded. Among the trisyllabic, Nos. 10, 11, and 12 are equally stable. In the other patterns some words show deviations from the norm given in the above graphs. No. 7 is the most variable. All these variations affect the pitch, not the stress or duration, and they do not alter the pattern to the extent of confusing it with another pattern. Further details about the characteristics of various patterns will be found in the following discussion of the accentual types.

27. Two types of accent can be readily abstracted from the above patterns on the basis of the tone and duration of the accented vowels. Their characteristics are easily recognized in spite of the alterations imposed by their position in the pattern, and the presence of other accents. We notice that in patterns 6, 10, and 11 the pitch of the stressed vowel glides through an interval of two and one half tones. This accentual type, which we shall call the *high-falling accent*, appears on a penultima followed by a short unstressed ultima. When it is preceded by an unstressed syllable, as in No. 10, it invariably begins with a pitch slightly higher than one whole tone

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[1] In the material collected this pattern occurs only when the suffix -*wa* (Sec. 66) is added to a morpheme ending in a vowel with the middle-tone accent. In such cases -*wa* takes the low-tone accent.

above the preceding vowel. In pattern No. 11 this interval is reduced to a semitone, presumably because of the presence of another accent in the initial. The double duration of the vowel is a constant characteristic of the high-falling accent. When its typical tonal inflection disappears from the word, the originally accented vowel becomes normally short. Whether this accent should be called middle-falling or high-falling is a matter of choice. Its rise from the level of the initial unaccented syllable in pattern No. 10 would suggest the term middle-falling, but in No. 11 it starts with a slightly higher pitch than the high-tone accent of the initial. However, the modifications due to the presence of another accent are generally so diverse that no conclusion can be drawn with any degree of certainty. The interval between the peak of the high-falling tone and the level of the final syllable cannot be taken into account, for it is observed that the pitch of the ultima, whether stressed or unstressed varies with the pattern. The high-falling accent has been indicated by a circumflex mark. Although length is a fixed factor, it has been marked in every instance, thus $\hat{a}\cdot$, $\hat{e}\cdot$, $\hat{i}\cdot$. Illustrations of words containing this accent will be found in the examples given above for patterns Nos. 6, 10, and 11.

28. Another accentual type easily indentified is the *low-tone accent* ($\grave{a}\cdot$, $\grave{e}\cdot$, $\grave{i}\cdot$, etc.), found in patterns Nos. 3, 9, 13, and 14. Its constant characteristics are its pitch and its duration. The stressed vowel appears with a lower pitch than that of the preceding un-stressed vowel. Its occurrence is limited to the ultima and penultima. When it is found on a penultima, the ultima is short and unstressed. Unlike the high-falling accent, the low-tone type never appears in the initial syllable. When it disappears from the word, the originally stressed vowel becomes short. Its tone and duration are less constant than in the high-falling accent. It will be noticed that in pattern No. 3 the stressed vowel is slightly more than one whole tone lower than that of the preceding unstressed syllable. In No. 13, although it occurs also in the ultima, its pitch is fully three semitones at the onset of the vowel, and glides to a pitch three whole tones lower than that of the preceding vowel, while its duration is greater than in No. 3. Are the differences observed between these two cases due to the presence of another accent in the initial syllable in No. 13 or to the fact that this pattern consists of three syllables ? All that we can be certain of is that the words of these two groups have different melodic patterns. The intervals between the unstressed initials and the syllable with the low-tone accent are approximately the same in Nos. 3 and 9. In No. 14 we have an interval of three and one half tones followed by a glide of more than one tone. We might regard this greater interval as a mechanical result due to the presence of a middle-tone accent in the preceding syllable. The

latter is only one tone above the level. If we should raise the pitch of the penultima one tone in No. 13, the drop to the low-tone would be two and one half tones. In 14 it is half a tone still lower. This difference is not significant, but we cannot account for the fact that the intonation and duration of the vowel is constantly different in the two patterns. Examples of the low-tone accent will be found in the above groups.

29. Contrasted with the high-falling and the low-tone accents, we find two others which have been designated by the terms *middle-tone accent* and *high-tone accent*. They are indicated by acute accent marks placed after and above the vowel, respectively, thus: $a'$, $e'$; $á$, $é$. The distinction between these two types is open to question, and still, if we consider their differences as modifications of one accent, it is difficult to account for a number of facts. Contrary to the fixed duration and position of the two previous types, we find that the high-tone and the middle-tone accents occur in practically all positions, and they may be heard on a long or on a short vowel, although it seems that the high-tone accent generally prolongs a short vowel or compensates for a lack of increment by the dieresis (Sec. 24). The middle tone accent is by far the most common. In its most frequent use, as a secondary accent in words of more than three syllables, it rises about one semitone above the pitch of the preceding unstressed vowel as in No. 14. Dissyllables with a long initial and an accented ultima fit in pattern No. 1, except for the duration of the initial syllable, as

| | |
|---|---|
| *tsa·li''*, got up | *a·qa''*, was on top of |
| *a·ti'y*, next year | *q'e·t'sa''*, berry, fruit |
| *pa·qe't*, work | *wa·a'l*, disappeared |

No constant distinction can be found between the middle-tone and the high-tone accents on the basis of pitch. If we take as a basis the intervals between the higher pitch of the accented vowels and the lower pitch of the unaccented, it will be found that in No. 14 it is half a tone; in 12, one tone; in 13, about one tone and a quarter;[1] in No. 1, one and a half; in 7, two tones; while in 2 and 8 it is two and one half. This range of variation[2] from one to five semitones may be interpreted in various ways. The variations may be regarded

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[1] These measurements refer to the pitch represented in the above graphs. They must not be construed as absolute standards. A few of the words recorded for these groups deviate as much as a semitone above or below the majority.

[2] Throughout this discussion it must be born in mind that the words on which the estimates are based were spoken out of context, thus precluding any influence which the intonation of the sentence might have upon the accents.

as changes of one type of accent, or as alterations of two types which
merge or approximate each other in pitch under such influences as
position in the initial or final syllable, upon a long or short vowel,
and before or after another accent. Once more we may contend that
the word pattern is a more constant fact than the accentual type.
Our guide for marking a stressed vowel with the middle-tone or
with the high-tone sign is principally the behavior of such accented
vowels in different situations. It is observed that if a word of two
or three syllables appears with a short accented vowel whose pitch
is two or two and one half tones above the unstressed vowel, in
most conditions such a vowel will be found with a higher pitch than
if it appears originally with a pitch of one or one and a half tones.
Furthermore, such a higher pitch will be accompanied in favorable
situations by the dieresis[1]. Such observations have led us to regard
the accent in pattern No. 4 as a form of the high-tone accent in a
final syllable. Let us take, for example, the word *koxó·l*, (he) rolled
down, which appears with this accentual pattern. Here the pitch
of the accented vowel rises one tone above the unaccented initial
and falls from four to four and one half tones. Should we affix
other syllables, the first interval will change to two or two and one
half tones, the pitch no longer glides downward, and the vowel
becomes short, followed by a dieresis, or remains long, as in
*koxó·li'l·as*, he is going to roll down; *koxó.si''ili*, I shall make him
roll down; *koxó.s·ta'l·as*, he is going to make me roll down. The
small rise of one tone in pattern No. 4 would lead us to identify it
rather with the middle-tone accent, but against this we find that a
word with the middle-tone like *tciko'c*, it became large, which fits
into pattern No. 1, upon taking a suffix, as in *tciko'cil*, it will become
large, the pitch of the accented vowel is reduced to half a tone, as
in pattern No. 4; whereas the accent in *koxó'l* rises to two tones in
*koxó·laks*, she rolled down. Again, the downward glide of four and
one half tones in No. 4 might suggest that this is a form of the high-
falling accent. If that were the case, we could not account for the
fact that upon adding one syllable to *koxó·l* we do not obtain pattern
No. 10.

A peculiar phenomenon is observed in the accent of trisyllables
consisting of two short syllables (initial and final) and a long
accented penultima. In such situations the accented long vowel may
be pronounced with the same pitch as the initial, the accent de-
pending only on a greater intensity (stress), or the word may take
the intonation of pattern No. 9, the accent being practically the

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[1] As heard in the dictaphone records, this phenomenon impressed Dr. Herzog
as a "hesitation" in passing from the accented vowel to the next phonetic
element.

same as the low-tone accent. However, Dr. Herzog observes that in such cases the downward glide is more constant and definite in the words of group No. 9 than in these, and the interval between the initial and the lower pitch is less than in the low tone. It is hardly justifiable to consider this as a special modification of the middle-tone accent, but it has been so regarded partly because of the unstable character of the melodic pattern, and principally in view of the changes which take place when other syllables are affixed. For example:

### Low-tone (pattern No. 9)

*t'aqà·tcil*, thimble berry
    *t'áqatci'l·t'sa*, little thimbleberry
*t'uwà·dak*, blue huckleberry
    *t'uwádake'do*, it became a blue huckleberry
*kadè·do'*, dog
    *kádedo'o'c*, he became a dog
    *kádedo''t'sa*, little dog
    *kade'do'o'xas*, he is a dog

### Middle-tone

*q'ala·'pat*, placed across
    *q'ála·patsi''ili*, I shall place it across
*üxwa·'t'so*, animal
    *üxwa·'t'so''t'sa*, little animal
    *úxwa·t'so'o'c*, he became an animal
*łaqo·'t'soks*, adze
    *łaqó·t'soksi''t'sa*, little adze
    *łáqo·t'so'ks·ya''ak*, it is his adze

We notice that in every instance in which the low-tone accent disappears the vowel becomes short. This is true even in *kade'-do'o'xas*, although the stress remains on the *e*. In this case the accented syllable has a higher pitch than the initial, as in pattern No. 14. Hence, we conclude that the quantity of these vowels was due to the presence of the low-tone accent. In contrast with this behavior we see that in the middle-tone group the vowel stays long, whether accented or not. If only one syllable follows the long accented vowel, the pitch of the latter is either equal to or lower than that of the initial, thus merging into the low-tone pattern. Our inference is that in this group the duration of the accented vowel is etymologically determined, it is inherent in the vowel. When a middle-tone accent falls upon such a vowel in a trisyllable with a short unstressed ultima, the melody of the word approximates or perhaps merges into that of pattern No. 9.

As an additional characteristic of the high-pitch accent, we should mention its effect upon the quality of the vowel. Such effects are more or less marked depending on the specific quality of the vowel in the situations defined in Sections 12 to 17. For the sake of brevity we shall mention only the two most important. When the quality of the *e* approaches that of the *i*, the high-pitch accent transforms the *e* into *i*; similarly, *o* becomes *u*.

30. Few statements can be made in regard to melodic patterns in words of more than three syllables. In the first place, the high-falling and the low-tone accents are very rarely found in such words. We find chiefly a distribution of high-tone and middle-tone accents which give us the impression of primary and secondary accents, as they occur in most languages. Two high-tone accents are found only in very long words. A word of more than three syllables generally contains one high-tone accent and one or more middle-tone accents. The high-tone accent is most frequently found on the first or second syllable, although it has occurred in others. The material at our disposal does not justify any further conclusions. The Quileute accentual system cannot be studied from texts without the additional information of how each word behaves in different contexts.

31. On the whole it may be said that accent is not a fixed element of Quileute morphemes, but that it is associated rather with the composite word formed by whatever morphemes may be combined into one unit in a given sentence. However, certain observations lead us to think that some accentual types, in spite of their shifts and modifications, are etymologically determined. We could not account otherwise for the fact that a word which appears with pattern No. 9, for example, could not be pronounced with the melody of pattern No. 10, since the position of the stress and that of the long and short vowels are identical in both patterns. The same holds true for patterns Nos. 3 and 4, or 5 and 6. Moreover, there are certain morphemes which require the middle-tone accent almost invariably, regardless of whatever other accents may precede or follow. Others, which consist of one single consonant require the the middle-tone accent on the preceding vowel. It is possible that these fixed accents serve as pivots upon which the accentual pattern of the word must find its rhythmic equilibrium, either by shifting or by passing from one type of accent to the other, but no definite conclusions can be reached with any degree of confidence from the material that has been collected. If there are any principles governing the distribution of accents within the word, they must be very complex. The following morphemes have been found with a fixed accent: the objective pronouns, the suffix -*i''* which expresses momentaneous action with intransitive verbs; the adverb

-*qwa'* (or -*qwa·'*), well, very much; the sign of the inceptive aspect
-*'c*; the future of the first and second persons -*''* (a glottal stop with
an accent on the preceding vowel); and a suffix expressing con-
templated or inferred future action -*'l*. A few examples with the
indirect object pronoun of the first person may suffice to illustrate
this fixity of accent:

> *lüwó·s·ta'xas*, he brought it to me
> *há.kutłas·ta'xax^u*, he (invisible person) is bringing it to me
> *qwáqwae'c·kola's·ta'litc*, you are surprising me continually
> *hé.sta'litc*, you gave it to me

It should be born in mind, however, that there are exceptions to the
rules governing the position of such accents. Emphasis on one element,
of a given composite word may alter its usual accentual pattern.
We may speak of prevalent tendencies, but not of fixed principles.

The only morphemes which are constantly found with the high-
tone accent are the formal bases (Sec. 48), and the negative *é·*.
These morphemes appear with a short vowel, with a long one, or
with a dieresis, depending chiefly on the following consonants. As a
rule, the dieresis is not used before affricatives. When the affricative
is glottalized, and hence (Sec. 40) the preceding vowel ends with a
glottal closure, these morphemes are found with short vowels, as in
*á't'cit*, chief; *hé't'sit*, when. Their pitch remains constant and con-
forms with patterns Nos. 2, 5, 8, 11, or 12, depending on the length
of the accented vowel or on the pressence of another accent. In
regard to the negative *é·* we are hardly justified in speaking of
accent, since it is a monosyllable. However, its high-tone is constant,
and distinguishes it from *è·*, yes, which is always pronounced with
a low-tone. Is is only in this particular instance that Quileute can
be said to be a tone language like Chinese, Ewe, and others.

Three morphemes are invariably found with the low-tone in
determined positions. The applicative classifier (Sec. 85) *è·* is used
instead of -*i* when affixed to an unaccented monosyllabic mor-
pheme. The element -*a*, which denotes a durative or continuative
aspect, appears with the low-tone *(à·)* when final. In the same
position, -*wa*, which indicates direction of motion or analogous
meanings is always found with the same type of accent.


## PHONETIC STRUCTURE.

32. Any one consonant may be the initial of a word. More words
begin with *q*, *q'*, *k*, *k'*, *ts*, *t's*, *tc*, *t'c* than with any other consonant.
Only three words have been found with initial *tl*. More than one
consonant as initials occur only in the word *spela'q*, exactly. The
use of no more than one initial consonant is confined to the word.
Thus we find that affixable elements may begin with the sounds

*qt, ql, qc, qp, qlt, tq, tq$^u$, tk, tcx, sp, sd, sk, st, st', sq sq'w, lq, łk, łk'w.*
But even here we notice that the combinations are limitted in
number and in kind. There are only five instances of two plosives in
direct contact, and in four of them *q* is one of the sounds, while in
the fifth one, *tk,* the plosive may have a postpalatal point of contact.
In regard to the other combinations, we find that *s* and *l* combine
more readily with any consonant than any other sound, whether
initial, final, or medial.

33. All the consonants have been found as finals, excepting *p,p'.*
More than two final consonants in direct contact have been met
with only in the word *tsaqotca'qlx,* it is impossible. Even two ter-
minal consonants are not very frequent. The following have been
observed: *tq, tx, ks, kc, kt'c, kl, ql, sk, sx, st'c, ls, łt', tsk', tsl, tcx.*

34. Combinations of more than two consonants between two
vowels are rare. The following, which were brought about by the
union of two morphologic elements are the only ones which have
been found: *ksx, qlt, qst, qlx, qtx, łtx.* A glottalized consonant is
never followed by any other consonant. Two plosives seldom come
together. The following have occurred: *tq, tq$^u$, tk, kt, qp, qt.* In most
of the other medial sequences we find that fricatives and affricatives
predominate, the voiceless *l* being by far the one that enters into
the greatest number of combinations. The following is a list of
normal sequences:

> *bs*
> *ptc*
> *kł, kt's, kc*
> *ql, qd, qt'l, qt's, qs, qc*
> *sp* (rare), *sq, sl, sd, stc, st, sł, sq'$^u$, sx*
> *ck, ck$^u$, ct, cł*
> *xł, xk$^u$, xts, xt', xtc* (the same combinations are possible with *x̣*)
> *tsq, tsk', tsl, tsx, tsk, tsk$^u$*
> *tcq, tcx, tcs, tct*
> *ll*
> *łt's, łk$^u$, łk, łl, łq, łq', łx, łs, łt, łtc, łp, łk', łt', łd*
> *t.l, td, tx*
> *dl*

35. Our observations on the phonetic structure include the fre-
quency with which certain vowels occur before and after determined
consonants. The utility of such a study will, perhaps, appear more
evident in the discussion of phonetic contact, and in the treatment
of the connecting vowels (Secs. 36, 37), but it also throws some
light on the divergences of vocalic quality due to consonantal
contact (Secs. 10—17). The tendency for certain vowels to appear
in contact with determined consonants is most marked when a
single consonant stands between two vowels. In such situations
the vowels *e, i,* appear more frequently in contact with the con-

sonants which are articulated with the tip of the tongue in contact with or near the front teeth or gums, while *a*-sounds occur most frequently when the tongue recedes from this position for the articulation of the consonant. A similar tendency is manifested in the vowels of initial and final syllables, but not to the same extent.

The following is a tabulation of 3097 instances of single consonants between two vowels, which occurred in 2467 unanalyzable independent words and in stems and suffixes of two or more syllables. Two examples may suffice to illustrate how the three sounds involved in each situation have been tabulated. A word containing such a sequence as -*iwa*- is recorded as one occurrence in column 2, line 2; where we find a total of 24 like cases. The opposite vocalic sequence with the same consonant *(-awi-)* has occurred 12 times, as shown in column 4, line 2.

| Second vowel | *a* | | | *e, i* | | | *o, u* | | | No. of |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| First vowel | *a* | *e, i* | *o, u* | *a* | *e, i* | *o, u* | *a* | *e, i* | *o, u* | cases |
| *b, p, p'* | 26 | 19 | 6 | 20 | 11 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 96 |
| *w* | 92 | 24 | 9 | 12 | 4 | 21 | 13 | 4 | 15 | 194 |
| *d, t, t'* | 85 | 29 | 11 | 72 | 60 | 5 | 16 | 6 | 11 | 295 |
| *s, c* | 41 | 54 | 6 | 73 | 67 | 18 | 17 | 9 | 6 | 291 |
| *ts, t's* | 32 | 49 | 10 | 78 | 70 | 15 | 14 | 18 | 9 | 295 |
| *tc, t'c* | 15 | 39 | 12 | 41 | 30 | 12 | 15 | 9 | 12 | 185 |
| *l* | 60 | 45 | 15 | 28 | 23 | 16 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 205 |
| *ł* | 43 | 54 | 13 | 52 | 89 | 30 | 11 | 24 | 7 | 323 |
| *tl, t'l* | 11 | 8 | 2 | 13 | 11 | 4 | 10 | 13 | 5 | 77 |
| *y* | 21 | 58 | 9 | 32 | 30 | 14 | 11 | 8 | 6 | 189 |
| *k, k', x* | 102 | 44 | 22 | 50 | 29 | 15 | 27 | 13 | 20 | 322 |
| *q, q', x̣* | 173 | 44 | 21 | 15 | 26 | 6 | 17 | 8 | 35 | 345 |
| *'* | 107 | 14 | 35 | 10 | 55 | 2 | 8 | 6 | 43 | 280 |

Doubtless, inferences from computations of this nature should be made with extreme caution, since we are dealing with a number of unknown factors. We should not regard as significant, for example, the fact that in 62.5% of the instances in which *l* is preceded by *a* it is also followed by the same vowel. In the total number of 5,894 vowels found in the elements tabulated, we find *a* in 45%; *e, i* in 38%; *o, u* in 17% of all cases. On this basis the sequence *ala* might be expected among 120 cases 54 times (observed 60); *al-e, i* 46 times (observed 45); *al-o, u* 20 times (observed 15). These deviations are not significant. On the other hand we cannot attribute to mere chance the fact that, when a velar is preceded by *a*, it is also followed by *a*. Among 238 cases we might expect *a-a* 107 times (observed 173); *a-e, i* 90 times (observed 44); *a-o, u* 41 times (observed 21). The tendency of the sequence *a* velar *a* is most marked in the combinations *aqa, aq'a, ax̣a*, but it is rather evident with any other vowel and a velar, and to a less extent with the k-series. We

do not mention the glottal stop in this connection because of the various factors which may possibly be involved (Secs. 9, 37). Since the assimilation of any vowel to the one preceding a velar takes place in determined conditions between two morphologic elements (Sec. 39), the above observations may indicate that we are dealing with a general principle, which may have played an important part in the history of the language. Among other sequences which have occurred with a rather high ratio of frequency are: *awa, si, se, tsi, tse, tci, tce, ka, xa*. Future comparative work may, perhaps, reveal whether or not this tendency of certain vowels to appear after determined consonants has any bearing on such vocalic correspondences as, Nootka *-wi* (beach), Quileute *-wa*; N. *t'ca* (water), Q. *-t'si*; N. *tlukw* (big), Q. *tce·k$^u$*; N. *t'soqw* (hit), Q. *tsex*. Chemakum *ksuk-* (to die), Q. *t'ciq-*; Ch. *tcina'n·o'* (dog), Q. *kadè·do'*; Ch. *t'so-* (water), Q. *-t'si*.

## *PHONETIC PROCESSES.*

36. We shall consider here the phonetic phenomena which are due to affixation. The phonetic modifications observed within the structure of the morphologic element have been dealt with in previous sections. As a rule, the sounds which constitute a morphologic element suffer no changes in affixation. In some situations even direct contact is avoided. This separation, which is effected by the insertion of vowels or the glottal stop, may be regarded in some instances as a tendency to avoid consonantal sequences which do not occur in the phonetic structure of the language, (Secs. 32—34), but in many instances the insertion of such sounds takes place between some of the most frequent sequences. On the whole this phenomenon seems to be of a morphologic nature. There are, however, various irregularities, which we may assume to depend on the meaning or function of the morpheme. Morphemes which can be readily translated by our nouns, verbs or adverbs are more regularly kept apart than those which perform purely grammatical functions.

37. If we disregard these irregularities, we can formulate the three following rules: (1) When one morphologic element is affixed to another, we find direct contact without insertions or modifications only when a consonant and a vowel come together. (2) The fusion of two vowels is prevented by inserting a glottal stop. (3) The contiguity of two consonants is avoided by inserting the vowels *a, i(e)*, which we shall call connecting vowels, or by using the vocalic form of certain suffixes (Sec. 38). The choice of *a, e* or *i* seems to be determined mainly by the preceding consonant. There is a distinct tendency to use *a* after *k, q, q', x, x̣, w*; and to insert

*i* or *e* before and after *s*, *c*, *ts* (cf. Sec. 35). A situation in which two tendencies conflict, as when one element ends with *k* and the next one begins with *s* or *c*, is disposed of in various irregular ways, one of which is to insert no vowel if the consonantal sequence is permissible. The following observation may be of interest: The word for *school* is *kúlxa'ositi*, which is an imitation of the English pronunciation of *school-house*, with the addition of the suffix *-ti*, meaning "house" and the insertion of the connecting vowel *i*. Phonetically, the connecting vowel seems unnecessary, because the sequence *-st-* within a word is quite common. There can be no doubt that in this instance the vowel *i* does not belong to either element, and that its insertion is due to a morphologic principle.

It is often impossible to determine whether a given vowel has been inserted in accordance with the above rules or whether it belongs etymologically to the following element. We find, for example, that the suffix which expresses causation has the form *-its* after *s*, *ts*, *w*, but after any other consonant *-ats* is used. After a vowel we find *-ts* for the same morpheme. In this case various explanations seem equally reasonable, but at least after the vowel *o* we may be fairly certain that its form is *-ts*, since the identity of the element *o* indicating location is quite clear. From the frequent occurrence of the vowel *a* before this element, we might infer that its primary form is *-ats*, and that the *a* is changed to *i* under the influence of the preceding consonants, but then we cannot account for the form *-ts* after a vowel, considering that the normal process in such cases (Sec. 37) would be to retain the form *-ats* and insert a glottal stop between the vowel of the preceding element and the *a* of *-ats*.

38. Owing to the regularity with which some suffixes appear preceded by *i* or *a*, as in the above instance, we may consider these vowels as integral parts of these suffixes, which for some unknown reason resist phonetic contact influences in some situations, and disappear only when in contact with other vowels. Such is clearly the case with *-at*, which expresses continued activity; *-ic*, meaning *to become* or used as the sign of an inceptive aspect of action; *-il*, which expresses immediate or purposive future action; and also all the pronouns listed with two forms (Sec. 67). We may illustrate these various contact processes by contrasting different words which contain the same elements:

1. *lasátsas*, he broke it *(las-*, to break; *-a-*, classifier (Sec. 85); *-ts-*, causative (Sec. 104); *-as*, he) This example is given to introduce the elements *-ats* and *-as* in contact with each other, as a basis for the next example.

2. *lás·atsi'ľas*, he is going to break it. *(-il-*, immediate or purposive future action. The other elements as in example 1. This instance seems to define the form of the element *-il-* since it appears between the two

elements *-ats* and *-as* of the preceding example. In the following example *-il-* becomes *-l-*.

3. *kól·os^uwo'l·li*, I am going to put you inside. *(kol-*, to place; *-o-*, classifier for location; *-s^uwo-*, object pronoun; *-l-*, as in example 2; *-li*, subject pronoun). For the long duration of the *l* see section 25.

4. *áq·so^wat*, he is on the roof. *(aq-*, to be on top of; *-so-*, roof; for the *w*-glide between *o* and *a* see Sec. 43; *-at*, continued action or condition. No pronoun is used for the subject in this instance.

5. *áq·so^wata'qlti*, he feels at ease on the roof. *(áq·so^wat-*, as in example 4; *-a-*, connecting vowel or part of the suffix *-qlti*, to do something easily. The connecting vowel disappears in the following example.

6. *hé.qlti*, expert, one who does something without much effort. *(hé-*, formal base (Sec. 48); for the dieresis between the stem and the suffix see Sec. 24.

7. *tsil·a'à·*, he is pushing. *(tsil-*, to push; *-a-*, classifier as in examples 1 and 2; *-à·*, durative aspect, separated from the preceding vowel as explained in Sec. 39).

8. *tci' i'là·titc*, that which you were doing. *(tci'*, demonstrative; *i'l-*, to be busy, to be active in; *-à··*, durative, as in example 7; showing that the glottal stop in example 7 does not belong to the *-à··*.

9. *ki'ta's·wali'l·as*, he is going to send it to him. *(ki'ta-*, to go; *-s-*, causative (Sec. 104); *-swa-*, indirect object pronoun; *-l-*, verbal classifier (Sec. 93); *-l-as*, as in example 2.

10. *xekó.tipili'l·as*, he is going to shut the door. *(xek^u*, to shut; *-tip-*, door; *-i-*, connecting vowel; *-l-*, as in example 9.)

11. *xekó.ti'p·as*, he shut the door. (All the elements have been explained i) example 10. Notice the absence of the connecting vowel after *-tip-*.n

39. Contrary to the prevalent tendency to preserve intact the different morphologic elements, we find a process of assimilation, whereby a vowel affixed to an element ending in *q*, *x* or the glottal stop is replaced by the sound of the preceding vowel, e. g.:

*ká.dedo'o'c*, it became a dog. *(kadè·do'*, dog; *-ic*, to become)
*pó.oqo'c*, it became a human being *(poò·q*, human being, Indian)
*k'wá.ya'a'c*, it became water. *(k'wâ·ya'*, water)
*eci'c*, it increased *(ec*, much)

40. Vowels generally end with a glottal closure when a glottalized affricative or glottalized velar follows, or occasionally when *k'* is affixed to a vowel. This happens more regularly when the contact is due to suffixation, but it occurs also in unanalyzable morphemes. In the following examples this phenomenon was caused by suffixation:

*hé't'sis*, when he, if he. *(hé-*, initial formative (Sec. 48); *-t's-*, occasion, event; *-is*, or *-as*, he).
*t'lá'k'wal*, it broke. (but *t'lába·xa'l*, he broke it).
*bix·a'a''t'sa*, little flower *(bixa'à·*, flower; *-t'sa*, diminutive).
*hétkuli't'ca'yo'li*, I imagine I am sick *(hé*, formal base; *-tkul-*, sick; *-i'-*, connecting vowel with the glottal catch due to the following glottalized affricative; *-t'cayo'*, to talk out of one's imagination, to report a rumor; *-li*, subject pronoun).

41. The converse of the above process has been observed in the use of the suffix -ts, to make, which becomes glottalized after a glottal stop, e. g.:

> te·'kwa', rope; te·'kwa't'sis, he made a rope
> tcatci'', it flew; tcatci''t'sis, he made it fly.

42. A glottal stop is produced by the presence of a middle-tone accent on a final vowel. A reduction of the normal duration of such vowels is quite noticeable. That this glottal stop is produced by the accent is evident from the constant recurrence of such situations, and from the fact that suffixation, with a consequent shift of the accent makes such glottal stops disappear. This phenomenon takes place with more frequence at the end of a sentence. E. g.:

> base'', bad; bá.sedi'st'cli, I have a bad hat
> ká'ayo'', crow; ká'ayoxa'li, I eat crow (meat)
> tcatci'', it flew; tcá.tcili'l, it is going to fly

43. Between a palatal or a velar consonant and a vowel, o and u become w. For example: ce·'qol, he is pulling (-o is a classifier, Sec. 85); ce'qwats, he jerked (the suffix -ats is used for a sudden action). If other consonants precede the o or u, these vowels do not change to w, but a w-glide is heard between them and the following, as in examples 4 and 5 in Section 38.

The proximity of o, u, or w influences the quality of an i-sound in the preceding morphologic element to the extent that we hear a quality which is very similar to that of the French u in "tu". Since this phenomenon does not take place regularly in the pronunciation of all individuals, it has seemed advisable to use the symbol ü whenever such instances occur. Examples:

> yü'x·o, this one here (yix-o, demonstrative and locative)
> üxwa''t'so', animal.
> lüwò·, he carried to a definite place; but liwè·l, he carried away.

## MORPHOLOGY.

44. Some of the terms generally used in the analysis of morphology are not adequate to present the structure of the Quileute language in the proper perspective. It has seemed advisable, therefore, to deviate from established usage in some aspects of our presentation. In so far as it is feasible, the plan of the present analysis will be based on morphologic facts. Function will be discussed coincidently with the form that performs it, or in subdivisions of the general morphologic scheme.

The morphologic elements of the Quileute language may be divided into three classes:

1. *Initial morphemes*[1]. Their characteristic feature is that they must occupy the first position in a composite word. In by far the majority of cases they require at least one suffix to form a word. Some of them can be used without affixes when they function as qualifiers (Sec. 124).

2. *Postpositive morphemes*. These can never occupy the first position in the word, but must always be affixed to their coordinates or to the elements of the other two classes.

3. *Free morphemes*. In most cases these elements appear without affixes, but some of them permit the suffixation of postpositive morphemes to modify their meaning.

From these definitions one might infer that the classical terms stem and suffix would be quite applicable. In fact, they would be suitable with minor modifications in their definition, were it not for their non-morphologic connotations[2]. When we consider the semantic and grammatical functions performed by these Quileute elements, the inadequacy of the usual terms becomes patent. This point may be more readily elucidated by borrowing the nomemclature of Sapir's classification of grammatical concepts[3]. The term root or radical or stem suggests not only the morphological fact that it serves as a basis for affixation, but also that it expresses "basic concepts" in Sapir's sense. But the Quileute initial morphemes, though they generally express "basic concepts", they may occasionally be so void of concrete meaning (in so far as we can express it in English words) that they may be characterized as conveying "pure relational concepts." Furthermore, the elements of class 2 can express the same "basic concepts" that we associate with roots or radicals. Again, the term suffix connotes the expression of "relational concepts" or "derivational concepts", but the Quileute postpositive morphemes very often express such "basic concepts" as *hat, canoe, roof*. For the sake of brevity we shall often use the term suffix referring to these Quileute elements, but it is to be understood only in its morphologic sense.

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[1] I use the term *morpheme* as defined by Bloomfield in LANGUAGE, II, 3, 1926, p. 155. In the use of the term *free* for the third class of Quileute morphemes, there is a slight departure from Bloomfield's definition. It has seemed preferable, however, to make this modification, rather than to introduce a new term. The forms of class 1 are generally *bound* and those of class 2 are always *bound*, in Bloomfield's sense. In contrast with these, the forms of the third class are *free* in most of the cases in which they occur. But my use of the term *free* does not refer exclusively to the specific instances in which the form is free, but to the possibility of using it thus (without any suffixes).

[2] "La racine indique le sens général du mot, le suffixe en précise la valeur . . ." Meillet: Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes, Paris, 1924, p. 116.

[3] Sapir: LANGUAGE, New York, 1921, p. 106.

45. In contrast with the above restrictions governing form, we find that there is considerable freedom in regard to the function which the three classes of morphemes can perform. Most of the morphemes may be used as nouns or as verbs, provided their function is indicated by the proper suffixes. It is not infrequent, however, to find words whose function is determined only by their position in the sentence or by the presence or absence of proclitic demonstratives. Considering the meaning of the morphemes, we observe that the words which we should classify as adjectives in Indo-European languages are identical in their morphology and syntax with the Quileute verbs. This applies even to the numerals (Sec. 118). In the freedom with which various functions are performed by the morphemes, we note that it is more common to form nouns with elements whose meanings we should regard as primarily verbal, than to form verbs by the reverse process. In fact, Quileute has a decided predilection for nominalizing morphologic composites which contain the characteristic verbal suffixes. Only a few examples will be given here to illustrate some permutations of function, others will be found elsewhere (Secs. 55, 56, 66, 122).

*yix̣ tsox̣o'' łaki'' x̣e' de'q·deq'*, the hunters lost the duck. (*yix̣*, demonstrative, subjective case; *tsox̣o''*, hunt, generally used as a verb; *łaki''*, lost; *x̣e'*, demonstrative, oblique case; *de'q'deq'*, duck.)

*ki'e·tasa'l tsó·x̣ole'c deq'de'q'a'al*, they went hunting for ducks. (The first word means "to be moving about"; in the second word we have the same free morpheme as in the preceding example, plus the element *-l* (Sec. 93), and the sign of the inceptive aspect; the last word means "duck" as in the preceding example, but here we find it with the verbal classifier *-a*, and the postpositive morpheme *-al*, meaning *to go after*.)

*sákt'caq$^u$ x$^u$ sa'kt'cit*, put on an eagle feather. (We notice here the initial morpheme *sakt'c-* used as a verb meaning *to don an eagle feather* with the verbal classifier *-a*, and the postpositive morpheme *-q$^u$*, *on* or *at a place*; the same initial morpheme being used as a noun after the indefinite demonstrative *x$^u$*, with the nominalizer *-it*.)

*yix̣ te· tcá'aba'a''t'ot'*, the grandparents who were inside; literally: the inside grandparents. (The element *te·* means *house, inside the house* or *where one dwells*. *yix̣* as in the first example. *-t'ot'* is a special possessive used with kinship words, meaning *some one's*.

*te· ax̣u*, Stay inside. (*te·* as in the preceding example; *ax̣u*, a special pronoun for the second person singular in the imperative.

*yix̣ ü'xwało·'la'te·*, the shaman's house. *ü'xwało·'la'*, free morpheme meaning *shaman*. *yix̣* and *te·* as in the preceding examples.

*yix̣ hé'ol*, those who had gathered. *hé'ol*, to be together; composed of the initial element *hé*, with practically no semantic value (Sec. 51), and the postpositive *-ol*, to be together. For the glottal catch see Sec. 39.

*hé'ol*, he accompanied him. (The pronouns *he* and *him* are understood.)

## *INITIAL MORPHEMES.*

46. The majority of the initial morphemes are monosyllabic. In isolating these morphemes we meet with the difficulty that they are always accompanied by suffixes, the latter being in most cases the applicative classifiers (Sec. 85). Since there are considerable irregularities in the use of the classifiers, it is impossible to discover in many cases whether such a vowel belongs to the initial element or is affixed to it. Notwithstanding, we may be fairly certain, that the majority of the initial morphemes are of the following types[1]: VC, CV, CVC, the last type being the most prevalent. There are no instances of initial morphemes represented by a single vowel or consonant.

47. Certain obviously compounded[2] morphemes can be analyzed into simpler elements, although we cannot ascertain the meaning of all their components. For a few groups of such morphemes we can find a general concept which will be common to all the instances in which one of the components occurs, but the others remain obscure, as they have not been found in other combinations. Thus we notice in the following examples that the element *la* occurs in a number of words implying motion, and that *t'co* is associated with the concept of *end* or *point*, but no information is available on the meaning of the other elements.

| | |
|---|---|
| *la'o-*, to walk | *t'co-*, end |
| *lato-*, to cross | *t'cod*, arrow-head |
| *lak-*, to come out | *t'coq$^u$*, foot |
| *laq'-* to chase away | *t'cos*, nose |
| *tala'o-*, to run | |

It may be of interest to note in this connection that a number of Quileute words have some syllables in common with those which we may assume to be their Chemakum cognates, but they appear arranged in a different order or combined with other elements which are not common to the two languages:

| Quileute | Chemakum | |
|---|---|---|
| *tala'o* | *lata-* | to run |
| *ha·'deqwa* | *kahaqwa* | salmon |
| *á'lotq* | *akutq* | sealing canoe |
| *wésa't'sopat* | *kwet'sosapat* | woman |

FORMAL BASES.

48. As remarked above (Sec. 44) the postpositive morphemes can never occupy the first position in the word or be used by themselves. We shall see in Sec. 64 that though apparently the same meaning can be expressed in many cases either by a postpositive morpheme

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[1] The symbol V stands for any vowel, and C for any consonant.
[2] We refer here to the history of the morpheme; not to its present structure.

or by a free morpheme, it is possible that the two kinds of morphemes are seldom synonymous. Thus, for example, our word *hat* can be expressed by the free morpheme *tsiyá.pus*[1] or by the postpositive *-dist'c*, but the latter can also refer to a cap or to some kinds of head-dress, if no specific hat has been mentioned in the context. Naturally, the postpositive *-dist'c* appears generally together with another morpheme which expresses some other meaning, as *há't'cidist'cit*, good hat, or *t'łabá·xadist'ci''ili*, I shall smash the hat. What happens, then, when such a generic concept as conveyed by *-dist'c* has to be expressed by itself as a word? In such situations the semantic demands are fulfilled without violating the morphologic restrictions. The postpositive *-dist'c* remains postponed, but it is postponed to an initial morpheme whose meaning approaches zero. We may thus say *ó·dist'cit*, where the morpheme *ó·* conveys a very general idea of location, and the suffix *-it* indicates that the word functions as a noun. There are three of these substitutes for the initial morphemes, *á'-*, *hé-*, *ó-*, which we shall call *formal bases*. The above example illustrates only one of the several situations in which it is necessary to use a postpositive without a meaningful initial element; other instances will be found in the following sections.

49. The phonetic character of the formal bases is rather constant. Their high-tone accent may be considered as one of their normal features, since it is disturbed only in rare instances, presumably, by such factors as the duration of the following vowels and by the proximity of the other high pitch accents. The duration of their vowels is not so fixed. The vowel of *hé-* is prolonged only in a few sporadic instances, but *ó-* is often long, and *á'-* drops the glottal stop in many cases and the vowel is then prolonged. It is very difficult to predict in what phonetic situations these variations take place, but it seems probable that they respond exclusively to phonetic influences. When the glottal stop is retained in *á'-*, a voiceless reproduction of the vowel *a* is heard after the glottal release, but in careful pronunciation it may become fully voiced. When insisted upon, the native is generally in doubt as to whether it should be voiced or unvoiced (cf. Secs. 9, 24).

50. It may not be altogether fortuituous that these three formatives are parallel in their vocalic sounds to the applicative classifiers (Sec. 85), and that the use of *á'* is as irregular as that of the classifier *-a-*, while *hé-* has many points of contact with *-e (-i)*, and *ó-* and the classifier *-o* agree in their connotations of location. This correspondence may indicate simply an etymological connection between the two series of elements, the nature of which we cannot determine. Disregarding this possible historical relation between the two series,

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[1] Perhaps of French origin.

and attending to their present functions, we may say that the
formal bases classify all the words in which they occur into three
classes, which correspond in their main outline to those distin-
guished by the three classifiers, *-a, -e (-i), -o*; namely, in the *ó*-
class we find words which refer to objects or actions which can be
confined to a more or less definite location. Hence, the names of
practically all the parts of the body appear with the formative
*ó*-. There are very few initial or free morphemes that serve as names
for such parts. The formative *hé*- introduces verbs which refer
mainly to actions in which localization is irrelevant, and which on
the whole seem to be directed to a specific object; however, only
by a stretch of the imagination could we find such concepts in many
verbs formed with *hé*-. As to nouns, we find that most of those which
occur with *hé*- are artifacts designed, as most artifacts are, for
specific purposes. The formative *á*'- appears in a variety of nouns
whose meanings cannot be logically embraced by any general
concept. Postpositive morphemes whose meanings we cannot
definitely classify either as nouns or verbs are always affixed to
*hé*-. Examples of typical, and irregular uses of these formatives are:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ó·lit*, mouth | *hétcsida't*, to swim |
| *ót'a·'yat*, arm | *hé't'sexat*, fishing line |
| *ótcqê·dit*, belly | *hé.ya''at*, arrow-feather |
| *ó·la'yo'*, sound, noise | *hétkul*, to be sick |
| *ó't'cowo''t'sit*, sky | *hé.lac*, to eat |
| *ó·qale'k*, to arrive | *hé.swa*, to give |
| *ó·sit*, roof | *hé.tac*, to catch |

*á·lita''*, fish
*á'saya't*, meat
*á'lotq*, sealing-canoe
*á·qlti*, expert
*á·tca'à·*, yonder
*á·xuyo''*, box, pot

It might seem that these formatives, *hé- ó-, á'-,* could be regarded
as prefixes. On such an assumption we should have to say that
these prefixes appear only before suffixes (postpositive morphemes)
when the latter function as stems (to use the classical word). But
we also notice that they are never prefixed to any morpheme which
can be regularly used as a "stem". This last observation is in-
compatible with the usual acceptation of the term prefix, and the
former introduces a strong element of doubt in the fact that a prefix
should be used only when a suffix acts as a stem. Considering the
regularity with which the postpositive morphemes occur after other
elements and never as the first element in the word, and considering,
further, the fact that no other Quileute elements can be regarded as
prefixes, it seems more reasonable to conclude that the formal bases
serve as substitutes for "stems", and that the language has no

prefixes. Further corroboration will be found in Sec. 55, if we consider the meaning of some of the elements that can be suffixed to these formal stems.

51. There are many words with *á'* or *á·* for their initial sound, from which their presumably affixed elements cannot be separated. In the case of dissyllables we may be fairly certain that this initial vowel is a formal base, since the high-tone accent is of very rare occurrence in words of two syllables, unless they be compounded. Thus, the words *á'xit*, mountain; *á't'cit*, rich man, chief; *á'beyat*, ocean canoe; *á't'co*, to lie beside some one; and others, are dealt with as though they were indissoluble units, owing, perhaps, to the fact that the postpositive elements have lost their morphologic independence, and consequently are no longer understood if deprived of their initial syllable. This is clearly the case with the word for slave, *á·woqo'l*, whose distributive plural may be formed by substituting *tci'* for *á'-* *(tci'woqo'l)*, but the element *-woqol* cannot be affixed to any other morpheme. However, most of the postpositives which occur with the formal base *á'-* may be suffixed to other morphemes, as illustrated by the following examples:

*ót'a'yat*, hand
*á't'a'yat*, branch of a tree

*á'qᵘsi'yat*, small branch
*tci.las·i'qᵘsiyas*, it has six small branches

*á'lotq*, sealing-canoe (generic term)
*hélotq*, a definite sealing-canoe

*á·lax*, to be eating (in answer to the question "What is he doing?")
*hélax*, to be eating (the food already mentioned)

*á·tca'à·*, yonder
*ó·tca'à·*, there (at a comparatively short distance)

*héqlti*, expert (referring to a specific person)
*á·qlti*, expert (referring to the qualifications)

*á·lita''*, fish
*hé.lita'a''t'so'*, sea-food

52. So far, we have regarded the elements *á'-*, *hé-*, *ó-*, mainly as morphologic devices, although we have also pointed out that they classify words into three vaguely definable groups. We may now note some facts which indicate that the semantic value of these elements is not always as near zero as may appear from the preceding discussion. In the examples given above (Sec. 51), we notice that in some instances a word built with the formative *hé-* has a more specific meaning than when *á'-* is used. Similarly, we may say

*á·da'’adal*, he talked, but *hé.da'’adal*, he talked about it (the matter just mentioned). We may infer from these instances that *hé-* has a demonstrative force, since reference to context is doubtless a characteristic demonstrative function. However, this shift from *á'-* to *hé-* cannot always be made, and besides, the number of words which appear with the formative *á'-* is rather limited. No such shifts have occurred between *á'-* and *ó-*, or between *hé-* and *ó-*, but we observe certain connections between these elements and others whose functions are definitly demonstrative, as will be shown in the following sections, and also a definite demonstrative function performed by *hé-* and *ó-*, when they do not serve as formal bases (Sec. 56). All these facts may indicate that at least two of the initial formatives *(hé-* and *ó-)* were at one time demonstratives, but we are not justified in concluding that they perform at present any demonstrative function in the majority of the cases in which they occur. The instances cited above and those which follow (Sec. 56) may be vestiges of their original character. We find further that all the demonstratives may be used before the words formed with these elements which we suspect to have been demonstratives originally. This is, perhaps, a conclusive proof that they have no demonstrative value in such cases, particularly, if we notice that when *hé-* is used as an independent demonstrative (Sec. 56) it refers to something that is present, but when it appears as an initial formative, the word may be preceded by demonstratives with the opposite meaning. For example: *há't'cik'e't·at* means *a good fishing equipment*. The analysis of this word is: *há't'c-*, initial morpheme meaning *good*; *-i-*, connecting vowel between the consonantal sequence *t'c-k'*; *-k'et*, postpositive morpheme meaning *equipment*; *-at*, postpositive morpheme indicating that the word is used as a noun (if it were a verb it would be *há't'cik'e't·as*, it is a good equipment). Now, if we wish to say simply *equipment*, the postpositive *-k'et* is affixed to the initial formative *hé-*, and we have *hé.k'e't·at*. This *hé-* cannot have any demonstrative value, because we may say *yix̣ hé.k'e't·at*, the or that equipment (just mentioned in the context); *xwa' hé.k'e't·at*, that equipment (which I know of only by hearsay); *tci' hé.k'e't·at*, the or that equipment (which is not present, nor mentioned in context, but known by direct experience to the speaker as well as the listener); or we may, likewise, use the demonstrative *x^u* to refer to an equipment that the speaker just thought of, as in "Has he an equipment ?" Other examples are QT. 18:11; 19:3; 19:16; 30:8; 34:39.

53. The three elements *á'-*, *hé-*, *ó-*, are not the only ones which may serve as formal bases. A limited number of words have been found in which the same office is performed by the morpheme *üxwa*, which means *some, any, that* (indefinite thing) when used

independently as a demonstrative. There has also occurred in the texts, though in very rare cases, that the same function is performed by another demonstrative, *xwa'*, meaning the, this, that (referring to something absent at the moment and known only by hearsay). In such cases, the informants were ready to substitute *hé-* or *üxwa-* for *xwa'*, but the latter could not be used to form other words. The following are pratically all the words in which a postpositive morpheme has been affixed to *üxwa*:

> *ü'xwalo·'la'*, shaman
> *üxwa'kusil*, dream
> *üxwa''q'ol*, potlatch
> *üxwa'tcaql*, to be pregnant
> *üxwa'lk'wal*, to give birth
> *üxwa''at'so'*, animal
> *üxwa'te·lit*, to hunt big game
> *üxwa''at'a't*, a wound
> *üxwa't'owa*, small pox
> *ü'xwaqawo·'l·xal*, to inform

54. All the formal bases are replaced by the form *tci'* to express distributed plurality in nouns, and iterative or continued action in verbs. These functions are regularly performed by reduplication when the words are not built with the initial formatives. This element *tci'* is identical in form with the demonstrative that refers to an object that is not present, but is known by previous, direct experience (Sec. 114). Examples are:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ü'xwalo·'la'*, shaman | *tci'ilo·'la'*, shamans |
| *üxwa''q'ol*, potlatch | *tci'aq'o'l*, potlatches |
| *xwá't'ci'sta'*, bait (just mentioned) | *tci't'ci'sta'*, baits |
| *ó·laxat*, ear | *tci'laxat*, (several person's) ears |
| *ó't'eq^u*, head | *tci't'eq^u*, heads |
| *hé·ya''at*, arrow-feather | *tci'ya''at*, arrow-feathers |
| *hétkula's*, he is sick | *tci'kula's*, he is often sick |
| *á·x̣uyo''*, box | *tci'ix̣uyo''*, boxes |

55. By means of the formal bases words can be formed with postpositive morphemes, however abstract their meaning may be. They may thus be brought into prominence in the sentence and emphasized, e. g.:

*qala'xal* (1) *hé·'yi* (2) *héqalitaxa'l s é·wala't' hé·xat s kole·'yut'*, there had already been war between the Ozettes and the Quileute. 1, they made war; 2, the formal base *hé-* with the suffix -*'yi* (Sec. 130) which expresses completion of action or the transition from existence to nonexistence; ordinarily it occurs in the verb, and its office may be compared with that of our tense suffixes; here it appears as an independent word, and is strongly emphasized to indicate that this war had already taken place.

*hé·x̣atc* (1) *la* (2) *ti* (3) *á'kil* (4) *liwits·ta'* (5), he himself, Bear, made me carry it. 1, the formal base with the pronominal suffix for *he* (when the person

is not visible); in normal conditions this pronoun would be affixed to the verb; 2 and 3 enclitic words meaning *surely*, *indeed*; 4, bear; 5, *(liw-i-ts-sta)*, initial morpheme meaning *to carry*, connecting vowel, causative, object pronoun.

*yix̣* (1) *hé't'e·li'et* (2) *lüwo''oqa''a* (3), the one by whom they had been taken. 1, demonstrative (Sec. 109); 2, formal base, followed by the suffix *-t'e*, which indicates instrument or means, formal element *-li* (Sec. 136), and *-'e* which is another form of *'yi*, as in the first example; 3, initial morpheme *liw-*, as in the second example, with the change of *i* to *ü* due to the following *o* (Sec. 43); *-qa*, passive voice, *-a*, modal suffix (Sec. 144).

See QT. p. 3:17; p. 9:9; p. 13:3, 5, 10, 13, 16; p. 14:7; 15:7; 12; 16:1.

56. It may be advisable to discuss here the use of *hé* and *ó* as free morphemes, although we may thereby alter the general plan of our presentation. As an independent word, *hé* is a verb meaning *it is*, *it was*, asserting identification, as in many uses of the copula *to be*. Similarly, *ó* is equivalent to the verb *to be* expressing location, presence, or like the French "voici, voilà", directing the attention to the presence of something or somebody. Examples:

*é·* (1) *t'atca'a'* (2) *s* (3) *hé·* (4) *q'wäeti'* (5), he did not know that it was *Q'wäeti'*. 1, negative; 2, to know; 3, subjunctive pronoun, introducing the subordinate clause (Sec. 75); 4, it was; 5, the name of the culture hero.

*hé·* (1) *t'ciqa'l* (2) *x̣e'* (3) *á't'cit* (4), it was he who killed the chief. 1, *it was*; asserts a relation of identity between the person mentioned in the context and the subject of this sentence; 2, kill; 3, oblique case of the demonstrative; 4, chief.

*ó·* (1) *dâ·kil* (2) *yíluxo·* (3) *ciqwa·'d·o* (4) *s* (5) *tci'beqib* (6), there it was when the land dried up and they drifted to Chemakum. 1, there it was, referring to the place just mentioned; 2, then, therefore; 3, to dry up; 4, were pulled (by the stream); 5, demonstrative indicating direction of motion; 6, Chemakum.

For other examples see QT. p. 13:14; p. 14:1; p. 14:10; p. 16:2; p. 18:9; p. 18:13; p. 19:13; p. 7:11; 8:3; 8:8; 8:15; 8:31; 8:50; 9:31; 13:38; 21:7; 21:9; 23:31; 23:20.

### REDUPLICATION AND INFIXATION.

57. These two modifications of the initial morphemes or of the free morphemes will be discussed together for the following reasons: first, if we disregard the possible historical development of Quileute infixation from reduplication, we shall have to say that in many words we find both reduplication and infixation as a single process; secondly, the words which appear with infixes cannot be reduplicated; each word has its own particular process; third, though the processes differ with the words, the functions performed by the processes are identical, excepting the office performed by the infix *-y*, which is always a kind of diminutive. Adhering to the morpholo-

gic facts, regardless of what their history may possibly be[1], we shall call infixation the insertion of any sound that does not appear in the morpheme; the term reduplication being limited to the repetition of one or more sounds found in the morpheme. We find the following types:

Type 1. Reduplication of the initial consonant and of the following vowel. This is by far the most prevalent type.

| | |
|---|---|
| da'q'ò·, eye | dada''q'o, eyes |
| dók$^u$t'cit, head | dódok$^u$t'cit, heads |
| t'abò·q$^u$s, navel | t'á't'abò·q$^u$s, navels |
| wék'wa'yo'o'l, mouse | wéwek'wa'yo'o'l, mice |

Type 2. Reduplication of the initial vowel of the stem with the insertion of a glottal stop:

| | |
|---|---|
| á't'cit, rich man, chief | á'á't'cit, chiefs |
| éca''$^a$q'wa, warrior | é'eca''$^a$q'wa, warriors |
| éla·'xali, I left him | é'ela·'xali, I leave him often |
| ó·xwal, he carries water | ó·'o·'xwal, he carries water often |
| á·woqo'l, slave | á'awoqo'l, slaves |

Type 3. Reduplication of the vowel of the first syllable with the insertion of a glottal stop:

| | |
|---|---|
| bi'b·a'à·, blind man | bi'i'b·a'à·, blind men |
| xálatsli, I cut it | xá'alatsli, I cut it often, repeatedly |
| tsiła'tsas, he pushed | tsi'iła'tsas, (iterative) |
| ya·'tcoli, I sold it | yá'a·tco'li, I sold (several things on different occasions) |

Type 4. Reduplication of the initial consonant after the first syllable:

| | |
|---|---|
| qa·lé', he failed | qáqle', frequentative |
| tsi'ko, he put it on | tsítsko, frequentative |
| kwe·'tsa', he is hungry | kwe·'k$^u$tsa, several people are hungry |
| tukô·yo', snow | tutkô·yo', snow here and there |

Type 5. Reduplication of a consonant and infixation or modification of a vowel:

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[1] It seems quite possible, for example, that in type 5, listed below, we have a special development from the more common process of reduplication, by modifying the vowel of the reduplicated syllable, though it is also possible that this apparently modified vowel represents an older sound of the first syllable. But the same may be true even in cases in which the infixes -s- and -ts- appear. It is conceivable that these consonants represent or developed from old initial consonants in these words. It would be arbitrary to draw a line between these two types of infixation just because we can more easily account for one than for the other. These possible etymological connections should be noted, but they do not affect the morphologic fact that at the present time this language has infixes, according to our definition. If the term infix is not restricted to the morphologic fact, we may question that there are infixes in most of the languages in which this grammatical process is said to exist.

*qa·'wats*, potato               *qá·qe·wats*, potatoes
*t'â·dax*, tail (of bird)        *t'at'è·dax*, tails
*há.ba·*, tree                   *há.hiba''*, trees
*k'á't'la*, stone                *k'ak'è·t'la*, stones

### Type 6. Reduplication of a vowel and infixation of a consonant:

*kwáti'*, he tried               *kwayá.ti'*, he tried a little
*t'lè·x*, stiff                  *t'leyéx*, rather stiff
*sayà·'li*, I like it            *sayá.yaa''li*, I rather like it
*hétkul*, he is sick            *heyítkul*, he is a little sick

### Type 7. Reduplication of the consonant and of the vowel of the first syllable and infixation of a consonant between the duplicated syllables:

*kadè·do'*, dog                  *káskade'do'*, dogs
*tcibò·d*, fish hook             *tcístcibo'd*, fish-hooks
*tsiyá.pus*, hat                 *tsístsiya'pus*, hats
*ka·ya'd*, shark                 *káskaya'd*, sharks

58. From the various instances found in the texts, and in extensive material gathered especially for this purpose, the following general principles come to light:

(A) There are few cases of infixation without reduplication of either a consonant or a vowel. We must exclude here, however, the appearance of *e* instead of *i*, or the reverse, for these are due to phonetic influences (Sec. 35). Therefore, the increment has generally one element in common with the initial syllable of the word.

(B) Only three consonantal infixes can occur without duplication of the initial consonant, namely, *y*, *t'*, and *ts*; the latter becoming glottalized when the initial of the stem is a glottalized sound. We may call -*y*- an independent infix, since it may be found in any stem, regardless of its initial consonant. On the other hand, *t'* and *ts* stand in a fixed relation to the initial of the stem, thus: if the initial is a plosive, the infix is the affricative *ts*; whereas if the initial is an affricative, the infix must be the plosive *t'*. We can point to only one exception to these correspondences: *k'a·'t'axil*, distributive plural of *k'a·'xil*, iron. Only three words have been found with an initial fricative which take any consonantal infix except *y*:

*xwaxa·'lpat*, white pine               *xwatsxa·'lpat*, white pines
*hókwat'*, white man                    *hótskwat'*, white persons
*sé·kabats*, clam shell (for drinking)  *sé·t'i'skabats*, distributive

The following examples illustrate these three types of consonantal infixation:

*k'wéselaqwa·'li*, I firmly believe     *k'weyése·li*, I hardly believe
*ce·'qol*, he pulled                    *ciyè·qol*, he pulled a little
*t'áx·a*, hot                           *t'ayáx·a*, warm

*pi''ko'*, root basket      *pi'tsko'*, root baskets
*poò·q*, human, Indian      *póts.oò·q*, Indians
*t'é'là·*, vulva      *t'ét'sè·la*, vulvas
*ti·'ła'*, hemlock      *ti·'tsiła'*, hemlock trees
*kéyuta'd*,[1] horse      *kétsiyuta'd*, horses
*qa'xadi's*, arrow notch      *qátsaxadi's*, arrow notches

*t'séxelili'l*, hill      *t'sét'exi'lili'l*, hills
*t'sa'p·is*, cedar tree      *t'sa·'t'apis*, cedar trees
*tsi'k·ił*, fork      *tsit'è·kił*, forks
*t'ło·'oqol*, lake      *t'łót'o'oqol*, lakes
*tła·'qwa'*, a bruise      *tłát'e·qwa'*, bruises

(C) When the vowel of the initial syllable of the stem sounds as the English *e* in "met", the quality of the infixed vowel is like that of English *i* in *hit*.

*se·'ya*, he sees      *sesi·'ya*, he sees now and then
*de'q'deq'*, mallard duck      *dedíq'deq'*, mallard ducks
*wésa't'so·pat*, woman      *wewísa't'so·pat*, women

(D) Reduplication concerns regularly only the initial consonant or the first vowel of the word or both. So, in words whose initial is a vowel, this is the only element that is reduplicated. This principle is strictly adhered to even in cases in which a monosyllabic stem has a terminal consonant, or when we may infer from the general phonetic tendencies that the consonant following the first vowel belongs to the initial syllable. For example:

*ha't'c-*, good      *hahé't'capa''li*, I have good weapons
*qa·x̣*, bone      *qaqa·x̣*, bones
*ba'k'-*, to ask      *babá'k'etid*, they asked one another
*ci·p-*, black; *hókwat'*, white man      *cici·p·ho'kwat'*, negroes
     (non-Indian)

(E) The first syllable of the redupliated word is identical with that of the original, which means that the increment appears always as infixed. Only one exception has been found:

*tcá'le·tiqo'l*, pencil      *tcitcá'le·tiqo'l*, pencils

(F) The following irregular cases have occurred, in which the second syllable is reduplicated instead of the first one:

*lila·p*, soft      *lilale·p*, soft things
*sowa'tc*, alive      *sowa·'witc*, living things
*é·t'ikło·'wà·*, crazy      *é·t'et'i'kłowà·*, crazy persons
*q'aba·'ała*, white color      *q'aba·bi'ła*, white things
*t'su'wi·tcił*, a boil      *t'suwe·wi'tcił*, boils here and there
*haya'qa'*, weak      *haya·'yiqa'*, weak persons
*kide·'qet*, whetstone      *kide·'deqet*, whetstones
*tcudó·tcâ·was*, he rolled on      *tcudó·do·tcâ·was*, he rolled re-
     the beach      peatedly on the beach

---

[1] Probably borrowed from Chinook.

(G) The substitution of the demonstrative *tci'* for the formal base in order to form the distributive plural has been noticed above (Sec. 58). Occasionally, however, we find the formal base *ó-* duplicated. This seems to occur mainly in the most common words. This process is not employed by the older Quileute. The following were given by Frachtenberg's informant and by one of my own, Eli Ward:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ó·laxat*, ear | *ó·'olaxat*, ears |
| *ó·lit*, mouth | *ó·'olit*, mouths |
| *ó·lit*, face | *ó·'oƚit*, face |
| *ó·doqwa't*, forehead | *ó·'odoqwa't*, foreheads |

59. The expanded word (by reduplication or infixation) performs two fundamentally different functions. It denotes, on the one hand, the existence or occurrence of conceptually identical objects or actions in different situations or occasions; on the other hand, it expresses what we may call the diminutive of objects or actions. The first of these general concepts appears in nouns with the more specific aspect of a distributive plural; and in verbs with the analogous designation of an act which takes place frequently or occasionally, or, in more rare instances, in continuous repetitions at one given occasion, or simultaneously if the acts are performed by different persons.

At the present time, perhaps under the influence of English, the younger Quileute reduplicate their words to express plurality, without any connotation of distribution. Due to the nature of the occasion, it is difficult to determine in some instances whether distribution or only plurality is denoted; but in by far the majority of the reduplicated nouns in the texts dictated by Sei'x̣tis, distribution is clearly expressed, and in numerous occasions in which plurality was implied in the sentence, the nouns were not reduplicated.

60. Any of the seven types of expansion described above, may express the concept of distribution in space or time; but the diminutive is denoted exclusively by the infix *-y*. For nouns, the diminutive suffix *-t'sa* is more commonly employed than the infix *-y*; but for verbs the latter is the only one admitted. By the diminutive of a verb we mean here the expression of the idea that an act fails to reach perfection or is performed to a lesser extent than expected, or sometimes to a somewhat surprising degree beyond expectation, as when we say in English, "It is rather chilly!" For illustrations we may refer to the examples already given, and to the text references given in the following section.

61. It is difficult to predict what word or words will be reduplicated when the sentence connotes distribution. On the whole we notice that an abstract concept involved in a unit of thought is more liable

to be reduplicated than the more concrete ones which integrate such a unit. The following are typical examples:

*tcik*[u] (1) *ka·'yad* (2) *lawé·lk'wa'as* (3) *hahé't'c* (4). Big Shark had two daughtere who were pretty, 1, big; 2, shark; 3, *lawe-*, two, *-lk'wa-*, postpositivs meaning *son* or *daughter*; *-as*, subjective pronoun, *he*; 4, pretty; *ha't'c-*, is reduplicated, presumably because the quality of beauty was distributed (each one was pretty in her own way).

*tcitcikut'os ha'*, he had big thighs, *tcik*[u]*-*, big, reduplicated; in this example it is difficult to see anything else than plurality, unless we view it as each thigh being big.

*se·'yac* (1) *s* (2) *xaba'* (3) *yix* (4) *éwala't'* (5) *t'cit'ciqa'* (6), he saw that all the Ozettes were dead. 1, began to see; 2, demonstrative introducing the subordinate clause; 3, all; 4, article; 5, Ozettes; 6, *t'ciqa*, to die or be dead; reduplicated as each one died at a different time and place during the attack.

*q'ot'il* (1) *xe'* (2) *tsixa''* (3) *xe'* (2) *t'lat'lat'citi''lo'x*[u]*a'es* (4) *yix* (5) *tcitcoo'tsk'* (6), she melted the gum that had been sealing the eyes of the children. 1, melted; 2, demonstrative oblique case; 3, gum; 4, reduplication of *t'lat'c-*, to gum or stick together; *-tilox*[u], postposive morpheme meaning *eye*; *-'e* expresses transition from existence to non-existence; 5, demonstrative, subjective case expressing the syntactic relation between 4 and 6; 6, reduplication of *tcoo'tsk'*, child.

*ec* (1) *yix* (2) *kole·'yut'* (3) *t'cá't'ceyoo't* (4), many of the Quileute were gossiping. 1, much, many; 2, demonstrative, subjective case; 3, Quileute; 4, reduplication of *t'cayo-*, to talk from hearsay or out of imagination.

For other examples see QT. 7:12; 15:9; 19:4; 19:5; 19:35; 19:42; 19:43; 19:44; 23:9; 23:35.

## POSTPOSITIVE MORPHEMES.

62. These elements have already been defined (Sec. 48). In regard to their phonetic character, we notice that some consist of one consonant, as *-t*, which indicates that the word is used as a noun; others consist of a single vowel, as *-o*, a locative adverb; but most of them have a more complex phonetic structure. The majority are monosyllabic. There is some probability that a few of the dissyllabic, and even some of the monosyllabic postpositives may be analyzable into two etymologically independent elements, but we are unable to do so confidently because in each case one of the two elements has lost its independence. Thus, *-qalek*, to arrive, may be composed of *-qal*, an element of unknown meaning, and *-k*, which signifies *to go*, the *-e* being the usual connecting vowel (Sec. 37). Likewise, *-tcats*, to use, may contain the element *-ts*, to do, together with another morpheme of obscure sense. Of course, isolated instances like these may be mere coincidences, but there are other cases in which the recurrence of a given element can hardly be attributed to chance. For example, *-qal*, to look; *-t'sil*, to spy; *-qol*, to intend; *-tqa'yil*, to have as a goal; *-qawol*, to talk for the

purpose of conveying information or news. Here, the element *l* may be identified with the postpositive *-l*, which expresses direction of motion or purpose when used as the last element in the word or just before the pronoun. Naturally, this analysis throws light only on the history of these morphemes. Since the element *-qa* in *-qal*, to look, has never been found without the *l*, we have to regard *-qal* as a simple morphologic element, regardless of its history.

63. Although it is not customary to insert lexicographic material in the body of a grammatical discussion, it may be justifiable to include here a list of postpositive morphemes with their meanings, principally to illustrate the facts discussed in section 48, concerning the use these affixed elements. Moreover, a grammatical study must necessarily deal with the forms which express tense, aspect, mode, voice, etc., but in this language a separation of such morphemes from those which express nominal, verbal, or adverbial notions would have no morphologic foundation, as noted in section 48, and as illustrated further in Sections 66, 92, 130, 131.

Two opposite extremes may be observed in the functions[1] of the postpositive morphemes. The meaning of some of them can be defined only in grammatical terms, as *-qa*, the sign of the passive voice for neutral verbs; *-t*, denoting that a word is used as a noun. In contrast with these, there are others which can be defined with reference to items of human experience linguistically classified, as *-qalek*, to arrive; *-t'ada*, to smell; *-sp*, fire; *-tip*, door. An attempt to draw a line between these two classes meets with the usual difficulties encountered in any classification of function. Furthermore, in Quileute, as in all languages, a given form may perform coincidently or in different contexts two or more functions which may belong to two different categories. Notwithstanding these difficulties, it seems preferable for the purposes of a grammatical study to present these forms in groups having similar functions, rather than to deal with them in alphabetical order, which is the only alternative. In the following groups of postpositive morphemes we shall find mainly those whose meanings may be rendered by our nouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, etc. Their functions are more objectively referential, and hence they constitute the kind of linguistic material more commonly found in vocabularies. Those

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[1] The term function is used here in its broadest sense. It includes what is generally called meaning. Thus, we can say that *-yax̣* means *rock*, or that the function of the form *-yax̣* is to refer to those aspects of matter which we classify under the concept symbolized by the English word *rock*. This will be called *referential function*. The office performed by such forms as *-t*, a nominal ending, is a *grammatical function*. This distinction is useful, although an attempt to show that any given form performs only a grammatical function would involve us in philosophical or psychological discussions, which have, so far, proved to be fruitless.

Quileute postpositives corresponding to the Indo-European elements generally dealt with in grammars will be discussed in separate sections.The first two groups embrace those forms whose meanings we can more readily characterize as nominal or verbal. The distintion between nominal and verbal morphemes is based on whether they can be rendered by an English verb or by a noun; since, as stated in Section 127, we have no means of determining whether the postpositive morphemes within a Quileute word perform verbal, adverbial, nominal or adjectival functions. A third group includes those whose functions are of a more complex nature. In some cases we cannot be certain as to whether they perform a subordinated referential function as our ending *-less* in *homeless*, or whether the reference is comparable to that of our preposition in *without a home* or to that of our verb in *to have no home*.

### POSTPOSITIVE MORPHEMES EXPRESSING NOMINAL CONCEPTS.

64. Many of the concepts which are commonly expressed by nouns in other languages are represented in Quileute by the postpositive morphemes, although they can also be expressed by independent words. In many cases the two forms are available. Thus, we may refer to a person's head by the independent word *do'kut'cit*, or, if the syntax permits it (Sec. 127), by affixing *-t'e* or *t'eq$^u$* to another morpheme. However, this duplicity of form is not available for all nominal concepts, and, as we shall see below, it does not exist at all for the expression of non-nominal concepts. For some nominal concepts the language has no morphologically independent word. In such cases, when the structure of the sentence requires that the concept be expressed by itself in a word (cf. Sec. 48), such a word can be formed, as shown above (Sec. 55), by appending a postpositive morpheme to a formal base. It is only by this process that most of the parts of the body can be named independently from other concepts. For example, there is only one word for *mouth*: *ó·lit*, in which we find the element *-li*, of common occurrence as a suffix meaning *mouth*. The other elements are mere devices to form an independent word that can function as a noun.

No inferences can safely be drawn from the present state of the language as to the origin of these affixed elements which express nominal[1] concepts. In about 60 per cent of the cases in which the language has two forms for the same nominal concept, it is not conceivable that there can be any etymological connection between them. For example:

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[1] They are nominal from the point of view of most of the languages that are familiar to us. In reality, all we can say is that they express concepts which may be rendered by our nouns.

|        | Free | Postpositive |
|--------|------|--------------|
| arrow  | *hae·ta't*  | *-k'i* |
| child  | *tcoo'tsk'* | *-łk'wa* |
| water  | *k'wá·ya'*  | *-sid* or *-t'sit* |
| tree   | *há'ba·*    | *-ya* |

In other duplets the free and the postpositive forms have at least one or two phonetic elements in common:

|               | Free | Postpositive |
|---------------|------|--------------|
| blanket       | *ho'kᵘt'sat* | *-t'sai* |
| basket        | *ba'xᵘi*     | *-bai* |
| dress         | *t'sik·t'sal* | *-t'sa* |
| sealing-canoe | *á'lotq*     | *-tq* |

In many cases in which we find these duplets, no distinction of meaning can be discovered, but in others we may infer that the postpositive morphemes are more generic, and the free forms more specific. At the present time, *tsiyá.pus* means simply *hat*, but *-dist'c* is a hat or a cap. Similarly, there are several words for the different types of canoes, but the postpositive *-qa* may refer to any of them, as well as to a wagon or an automobile. Also, there are free morphemes for bow and arrow, as well as for the modern gun, besides the generic term *a'tcta'*, weapon; but all these concepts may be rendered by the postpositive *-pa*. Nevertheless, it is not possible to determine to what extent this distinction is prevalent. We find that in connected discourse the same object is referred to by a free form used as the subject of the sentence, and in the very next utterance by a postpositive morpheme in a different syntactic connection. This may indicate either that the two forms have the same meaning in that particular context, or that the pospositive may even in such cases have a generic meaning, as when we use the word *hammer* in one sentence but in the following context refer to the same individual object by the generic term *tool*. Illustrations of such situations will be found in QT. 15:8; 19:6; 19:27; 23:7, 8.

The following is a list of the nominal postpositives that have been isolated from various words:

*at'*, color[1]
*ał*, weather
*eli*, wood
*ełwa*, food
*idis*, decorated blanket
*ya*, tree, log
*ya'*, intestines, sinew
*ya'at*, stone arrow-head
*yax̣*, rock
*yit*, flounder
*oqus*, navel

*os*, nose
*o·łwa*, point *(t'sobo·'łwa*, sharp poin)t
*wa*, beach
*wiy*, wall
*wo'*, sky
*bai*, basket
*pa*, bow, gun, weapon
*pat*, plant, bush, tree (affixed to names of trees)
*patska*, bow (arrow)
*dask*, leg, foot

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[1] See also p. 197.

*da·qwa*, fish tail
*daqo*, anus (male)
*dat'sił*, anus or buttocks (female)
*dis*, skin, hide
*dist'c*, hat
*dił*, tooth
*doq^u*, forehead
*dosqwai*, elbow
*t*, day (used with numerals)
*tay*, gravel at bottom of sea
*takił*, foot-prints
*taqs*, dress
*taqoł*, fishing equipment
*taqł*, food to be eaten in a journey, [lunch
*taxo*, bow-string
*tal*, place where something is done (*paqe·'tal*, workshop)
*ta·ł*, mind, heart
*te· (ti)*, dwelling, indoors
*tepił*, breast, trunk, lungs
*tiyoł*, village
*ti' (to')*, dead whale
*tip*, door
*tits*, breasts (mamma)
*ti'lox^u*, eye
*to·'ot*, prairie
*toq^u*, place, location (*łáwatoq^u*, two [places]
*tkuł*, sick
*tq*, sealing-canoe
*tqei*, trap (for fish)
*tqo*, bed
*t'*, consort (husband or wife)
*t'ai*, hand, twig, branch
*t'ada*, odor[1]
*t'adax*, tail of a quadruped
*t'e·*, head (also: *t'e·q^u*)
*t'e·q*, shaman (*we·sa't'so·patt'e·'qat*, female shaman)
*t'e·'lał*, vulva
*t'ida(q^u)*, extreme, end
*t'is*, eyebrow
*t'ił (t'oł)*, knife
*t'os*, thigh
*kapo·*, man's coat[2]
*keda*, manner, way
*kisi*, territory
*kił*, wife
*ku*, river canoe
*kwal*, whale
*kwa'*, a fire (built for warming or cooking purposes)

*k'aq^u*, size, room (space)
*k'at's*, river
*k'a'das*, throat
*k'edax*, egg of salmon
*k'es*, body
*k'ełi*, heel
*k'i(t)*, arrow
*k'is*, kelp
*k'wa'*, strand of a rope
*qa*, canoe or any vehicle
*qa'*, hair
*qas*, friend
*qal*, canoe mate
*qei*, bunch, handful
*qe·tqal*, custom
*qo·t*, inside, interior of a box or cave
*qoł*, tool, instrument, utensil, artifice
*q^u*, place, location, dish, container
*qus*, side of a canoe (*t'sixile·qusa'*, high side of a canoe)
*qtiya'*, sun
*qłi*, kind, sort
*q'o*, an indefinite place, somewhere
*q'os*, neck
*q'uts*, mussels
*q'w*, piece
*q'wa*, hip
*q'wa·i*, pack (carried on the back)[1]
*q'wa·ł*, fur
*saya'*, meat, flesh
*sa·ya*, box
*s (si, so)*, roof
*sid*, water (generally a body of water)
*sidał*, human hair
*sil*, load
*sił*, guardian spirit
*suwa*, egg of salmon
*suwa'*, muscle
*sp*, fire
*stake·tił*, remainder, waste
*ski*, feather, wing, gill
*sko*, penis
*sqobe'*, companion[1]
*sq'wa'*, language[1]
*sx*, occasion, turn, time
*ciks*, food
*ci'l*, platform
*ci·l*, food
*xai*, shoulder
*xe·*, testicles
*xiksa*, year

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[1] See also p. 197.
[2] Loan word from Chinook Jargon, here used as postpositive.

*xwa'das*, inside of the mouth

*tse·doqᵘ*, back of the head, nape of the neck (see *doqᵘ* forehead)

*t'sai*, blanket, bed covers[1]

*t'sep*, stump

*t'si*, spear

*t's*, trout, smelt, sucker

*t'sidaxai*, pack strap

*t'si*, water

*t'sitqo*, rib

*t'six*, fishing line

*t'so'*, thing, ground

*t'so'op*, female

*tca'*, side (of any object)

*tcapas*, top of a bag

*tci*, gill net

*tciso*, fire (same sense as -*sp*-)[2]

*t'cata*, shoulder (top part)

*t'celi*, foot, leg

*t'ciyil*, leaf

*t'ciyol*, village

*t'c*, egg of bird

*'cisa'*, small basket

*t'cista*, bait

*t'cixal*, shoulder

*t'cod*, arrow point

*t'coqᵘ*, foot, leg

*t'cos*, nose

*t'co*, river bank

*t'col*, point, peak

*läyo'*, noise, sound

*lat*, wood (combustible)

*la'q'*, coast

*lax*, ear

*li*, mouth

*lil*, hill

*l*, face

*lal*, grass, hay

*le·*, child (son or daughter)

*li*, cape, point of land projecting into river

*lib*, road

*lile'to'*, tongue

*lo·l*, magic

*lk'wa*, child, youngster

*t'la'tc*, hand

*t'lo't'latc*, palm of the hand

*t'lol*, ground, soil. dirt

## POSTPOSITIVE MORPHEMES EXPRESSING VERBAL CONCEPTS.

65. The duplex expression of a given concept by a postpositive morpheme and by a free form, so frequent in nominal notions, is not possible with verbal notions. Approximations in meaning are often found, but the distinctions are quite evident; for example: the initial morpheme *t'atc*- and the postpositive -*ats* may be rendered by our verb *to pay*, but *t'atc*- refers exclusively to paying for what is bought or given on credit, while -*ats* is limited to paying for a service. For many verbal concepts there are no initial morphemes, although most of these are verbal. We find, for example, that for a group of concepts which we may roughly define as ideas of *catching*, there is no free morpheme, and there is only one initial morpheme, *k'i'*-, meaning to catch animals in traps. In contrast with this, we notice that there is the postpositive -*qa*, denoting the general idea of seizing; -*'al*, to catch an animal or a person who tries to escape; to be successful in catching fish in large quantities is expressed by -*soqᵘ*; but to catch fish for the specific purpose of drying it for future use, we must use -*pats*; to take some one by surprise at an act is rendered by -*aqli*, if the act is considered proper, but by -*ba'*, if it is wrong.

Examples of verbal postpositives are:

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[1] See p. 197.                  [2] See p. 198.

*ap*, to grow (said of persons or animals)

*aqĭi*, to take by surprise, to catch an animal while asleep or unaware

*at'*, to be of a certain color *(cipa·'at'*, it is black)[1]

*ats*, to pay for a service

*'al*, to catch a person or animal that tries to escape

*ol*, to be with, to own

*ba'*, to catch some one at a wrong doing

*pats*, to fish in order to store it away

*tac*, to fish, hunt, the act of catching the fish or the game

*ti*, to have, to be in connection with

*titc(xa)*, to need

*tqa'yiĭ*, to be one's purpose, to intend

*t'ada*, to smell (intransitive)[2]

*t'aĭ*, to come from

*t'et's*, to use

*k*, to go to a definite place *(diya'k*, he went to Neah Bay)

*ke·'da*, to be surprised

*kel*, to dance

*kiyi*, to paddle

*kwa'*, to speak, to make use of the faculty of speech, to make an address

*kwal*, to go through

*k'o*, to conjecture *(á't'cittcak'o*, I wonder if you are a chief)

*qa*, to take hold of, to seize

*qawoĭ*, to inform

*qalek*, to arrive

*qaĭ*, to look *(kolowaqaĭ*, to look down)

*qpa'at'*, to be a part of what has ceased to exist as such *(t'é'k'a·liqpa'at'*, these are parts of a broken house)

*qĭti*, to be an expert, to have as a trade, to do as an established custom, to be at one's ease

*q'wayi*, to pack (to carry a pack)[2]

*q'o·t*, to give away

*s*, to give

*si'e*, to sleep

*soq^u*, to catch fish in large quantities

*st'al*, to command, to order

*sqal*, to carry

*sqobe*, to have something on one's person, or together with him *(léba·'t'e·lis-qobe·'las*, he slept with it on (a coat))[2]

*sq'wa*, to speak a language (this stem is also used as a noun) *(diyat'isq'wa'as*, he spoke in Makah)[2]

*xa*, to eat *(á'asayatxaci*, he began to eat meat)

*xal*, to be gone, to be missing or lacking *(wé·diĭxal*, one tooth is missing)

*xal(s)*, to sing about something

*t's*, to eat *(hé·yo't'sili*, when he finished eating)

*t'sa*, to dress, to have clothes on[3]

*t'saqs*, to cry over something

*t'siĭ*, to spy, to catch a glimpse of, to see at a distance

*t'sol*, to share with

*tcay*, to walk like some one else *(á'kiĭtcayiĭ*, he walks like a bear)

*tcaq*, to be like, to look like

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[1] See p. 194.

[2] See p. 195.

[3] See p. 196.

*tcaqlx*, to happen

*tcas*, to carry something for a specific purpose

*tcats*, to use as *(baxui'tcatsas*, he uses it as a basket)

*tci·so*, to burn (intransitive, said of a fire)[1]

*tco*, deceased or destroyed *(hadostcoyitc*, your deceased brother)

*t'cayo*, to talk idly, to pretend, to oneself to be *(hétkuli't'cayo*, he made
   · believe he was sick, he imagined he was sick)

*t'co'*, to have inside, to contain, *(pe·t'itt'co·'*, it has light inside)

*t'col*, to wish, to want

*la*, to move, to be in motion

*lix*, to claim, to assert one's rights

*lo*, to belong

*loku*, to keep, to be in charge of

*los*, to be on something that moves, to use a canoe or a horse *(t'a'be·la'lo·sli*,
    I use a river canoe)

*lewe'l*, to come

*lalo'*, to be fond of *(á'asaya'tlalo''li*, I am fond of meat)

*lo·wo'ot*, to walk behind some one

*lqa*, to have as an obligation *(lá·'q'ale·lqa·'lo*, we ought to send him away)

*ha*, to have.


### POSTPOSITIVES NOT INCLUDED IN THE PRECEDING GROUPS.

66. As stated in Sec. 63, this is a miscellaneous group of post-positive morphemes whose functions are not decidedly nominal or verbal:

*'e* or *'yi*, two phonetic variations of a morpheme which expresses
    transition from existence to non-existence. It may be used with
    nouns or verbs. With the former it indicates either that the
    person or thing has ceased to exist or that the relation of such
    a person or object to another person has come to an end. In
    the case of a deceased person it is preceded by the element
    *-tco*, which may be identical to the form *-tco(xat)* given below.
    When used with verbs it denotes that the action has or had
    been discontinued. It may also be equivalent to our past tense,
    but always with the connotation that conditions are now
    different. It often stands for the English idiom "to have just
    done something". Its uses with verbs will be further illustrated
    in Sec. 130.

> *t'ét'se·k'ale''yi*, house that used to be (they have been destroyed)
> *póts·oqo''yi*, the people that used to be (people of other times)
> *t'cáqe'qala''yi*, those who had been fighting
> *hé·li ó'yi*, I am the one who used to be there
> *hé·lk'wa'e ti'l*, my former child (he had disowned her)
> *ó't'i'e ti'l*, my former dwelling (he had moved elsewhere)
> *tcóotsk'itco'yi*, the deceased boy.

Other examples will be found in

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[1] See p. 196.

*isli*, expresses coincidence of durative actions. When no other verb follows the one to which it is attached it indicates that the action took place while moving. This idea is modified by the sequence of another verb, in which case it indicates that the action of the second verb took place while that of the first verb was going on.

> *ó·de·'sisli*, he cried as he walked
> *léli'sli*, he bled as he moved, walked or rode
> *ada·'dislili á·lax̱*, I talk while I eat
> *lada·'sislili la''au*, I break it as I walk

*wa* or *wà·*, to move away, or an adverbial expression of direction away; it is often equivalent to the sense of *-ward* in *upward*, *toward*, etc. In many instances its use is very idiomatic:

> *basa'lowa·'lo*, we are having bad weather *(bas-*, bad; *-o*, locative classifier; *-lo*, we)
> *t'sílo·wasli*, I took it up (to some high place). *(t'sil-*, up, high; *-o*, locative classifier; *-s*, to cause; *-li*, I)

When *-wa* stands at the end of a word, it takes the low tone accent:

> *sisa·'wà·*, before
> *tciya·'wà·*, beneath
> *sat'o·'wà·*, below
> *atco''wà·*, side by side in bed
> *t'ó·tcotcawà·*, in the middle
> *t'layo''wà·*, after
> *liko''wà·*, to wait for some one
> *yalo·''wà· x̱e' k'wá·ya*, near the water

It serves as a sign of the comparative degree by affixing it to the word which indicates the quality or to the initial morpheme *baqa-*, which means *to have advantage over*:

> *tcè·k$^u$*, big; *tcíkuwà·*, it is bigger than
> *hat'c-*, pretty, good; *há't'cawà·*, or *há't'ca baqa''wà·* it is prettier

*dak*, to do something to an excess. Used with verbs or nouns. With the latter it is equivalent to the agentive of other languages:

> *lá'wa·da'k*, he walks too much
> *ada''didak*, a talkative person *(ada'd-*, to talk)
> *k'o·k'o·'tsta''dak*, thief *(k'o·k'o·ts-*, to steal)

*do*, to become. It denotes in most of its uses the beginning of a state which is the result of an action or of a purposive process; but in many cases its use seems very arbitrary. Other functions of this suffix will be discussed below (Secs. 92, 134). Examples:

> *á't'ce'd·o*, he became a chief
> *loboqwa'd·o*, he got wet with the rain (became rained on)
> *pa·qe'tdo*, he began to work

It is used sometimes together with the inceptive *-ic* or *-c*, e. g.: *awi-c-qwa·'-d·o*, it became completely night, night overtook us; *awe-* (or *awi-*) night; *-c*, inceptive; *-qwa*, completely, very much; *-do*, to become.

*t* or *ta*, there is a need, to be obliged to do something. When used with this sense the formative *-l* indicating purpose or con-templated action (sec. 131) precedes it, e. g.:

>   *ála-c-i-l-ta-li*, I have to eat
>   *la'wa-l-i-l-ta-xas*, he has to walk
>   *kí'ta-x-a-l-ta-li*, I have to go

The same form *(-t* or *-ta)* has been found with the meaning of *from* preceding an object pronoun. Possibly this is a different morpheme with the identical phonetic elements; e. g.:

>   *tilá-t-l-i-swo-li*, I bought it from you
>   *qaqá-t-l-i-sta-litc*, you took it away from me

For the uses of a formative *-t* which may be historically related to this see Secs. 91, 122, 138.

*tax^u*, to be probable, to be evident.

>   *hé.tax^u kéyuta'd*, it must be a horse
>   *é·wa'litcala'tax^u*, he must have arrived

*tqwa*, be means of, by dint of.

>   *hétcsida·'tqwali óqalek sa''a*, I arrived there by swimming
>   *t'caqe·'do'otqwa'li petsla'tsqats*, I teach him by punishing him

*t'*, to live, or one who lives at a certain place or with some one. It is the suffix with which most of the names of the tribes end, including the Quileute themselves:

>   *kole·'yut'*, Quileute
>   *diya't'*, the Neah Bay people

*t'e*, indicates the material of which something is made, the instru-ment with which it is made, the reason for doing something.

>   *xa·'bil xe' yisda'k xitsa't'e'is*, he adjusted the dress with a leather strap
>   *tso''o't'e dâ·kil*, for that reason
>   *hétsi't'e'is*, that with which he did it

It is used idiomatically with the meaning of *although*:

>   *k'e·da''a't'e á·lax*, although he is full he continues to eat
>   *hétkuli''t'e'li kitsi''*, although I was sick I danced.

*kil*, to be able, to be possible

>   *de'xa' xá·ba·'kil yix pótsooq se·'ya*, so that all the people might see it. In some of its uses it appears as a modal element.

*k'ade*, so, therefore; used very idiomatically. One of its most frequent uses is to express meekness or hesitation, as

> *t'líxulista'k'ade*, will you not show it to me?

It is also used to express a kind of challenge, as

> *óke·sik'ade*, put it there, then! (if you say you have it, prove it by showing it)

*qata*, perhaps

> *atlá·xedo''oqata'li*, perhaps I heard it
> *t'cíqatse·'liqata'x<sup>u</sup>*, perhaps some one has died
> *hé·s<sup>u</sup>wo·'qatali*, perhaps I will give it to you

*qotcx*, after

> *wétaqotcx*, after one day
> *wé'awaqotcx*, after one hour (-awa-, from the English *hour*)

*qu*, on, at, and any other locative relation, excepting inside and outside

> *t'ci·yo't'coquli*, I dropped it on him
> *t'ate·pa'taqwas*, it is on the door
> *poxo'qus<sup>u</sup>woli*, I blew it at you
> *se'lebq<sup>u</sup>*, at Selem

*qwa*, thoroughly, definitely, too much, exceedingly, certainly.

> *k'ude'qwa*, too small
> *hésiqwa·'li síyaci·'t'col*, I want to see him specially
> *walqwa''litc é·caxaqwa's·i*, you should not eat so much
> *waqwa·'li hétkuli*, I am certainly not sick
> *t'á·tcaqwa·'li*, I know it very well.

*qcil*, nevertheless, although

> *bo·'q'otaqcil*, although he was on his knees
> *ho·qwa'a'qcil sa' t'é'k'al tca'we·'la te·'wa*, although the house was burning, he went in.

*sal*, indicates distributive plurality: one here, one there; or action performed by various individuals at different times: one now, another later. It may be used alone or followed by a pronominal suffix, as

> *hétkusal*, or *hétkusa'las*, they were sick (on different occasions)

*sqal*, reflexive suffix for all persons. The purely reflexive usage will be treated in Section 102. A number of idiomatic uses seem to be related to or are developments of the reflexive meaning. The fundamental idea in these uses seems to be one of pretence, simulation, imitation, misrepresentation.

> *yaló·latsqal*, supposed wife (said to be so)
> *hétkuli'sqal*, he pretends to be sick
> *poo'qosqal*, an imitation of a human being (an effigy)
> *we·sá't'so·patsi·'sqali'*, disguised as a woman
> *kóca'asqal*, pretended to be menstruating

*c, (-ic)* to begin, to become; used formally and also as a sign of the
inceptive aspect. Its grammatical functions will be discussed in
Sections 92 and 134. In the following examples this formative
has been affixed to nouns:

  *awi'c*, it became night
  *póoqo'c*, he became a human being
  *eci'c*, they became many (multiplied)

*x̣*, its use varies from that of a sign of durative or continuative
action, formally employed, to a verbal expression of continua-
tion. It is most frequently employed with verbs of locomotion,
as to go, to come, to go up stream, etc. Its formal uses are
discussed in section 91.

  *álax̣a'sto*, let us continue to eat
  *tat á·lax̣*, while he was eating
  *sa·'t'ax̣*, he came down stream
  *t'silo'wa'tx̣*, go up!
  *k'a·sa'qḷx̣a·li*, I am ashamed

*ts*, to make, to do. For other important uses of an identical form
see Secs. 91, 104.

  *héts*, do it
  *há'eta'tsis*, they made arrows

*tsi'la*, evidently

  *tce·'kᵘ á·kiltsi·'la*, it must be a big bear

*t'sa*, used as a diminutive suffix. *kádedo''t'sa*, little dog; *á't'ce'tt'sa*,
the son of the chief (the little chief)

*t'si*, on account of

  *béqwa'at'sit*, on account of the fog

*tcal*, necessarily

  *e'wa'litcala'taxᵘ*, he must have arrived

*tco*, apart, separated by a distance

  *pé·le'tcox̣at*, enough apart

*tcx(a)*, by means of, because of

  *ciqᵘtaxuli'tcxali ła's·ats*, I broke the bow-string by pulling it

*ł*, forward direction, progression, to intend, purpose, instrument,
and other volitional concepts. For other uses see Sec. 131.

  *t'suyu''q'walli*, I point at him
  *si·kwa'lli*, I aim at him
  *ada''adałs·ta'x̣as*, he spoke to me
  *q'o·t'sa'lli*, I peeked at it
  *taske·'las*, he is coming out
  *bó·t'e·''lel*, she is getting fat
  *yali'lel*, they were about to die

For its use with names of tools or utensils see Sec. 139.

## PRONOUNS.

Pronominal functions are performed in Quileute mainly by post-positives, but there are also a number of free morphemes whose office comes under this heading. It seems desirable to alter the plan of our presentation at this point, and group under one functional category all the pronominal forms regardless of their morphological classification. In attention to their grammatical and referential functions, they may be divided into *subjective*, *possessive*, and *objective* pronouns, there being three different series of forms corresponding to this division. The objective pronouns will be treated together with other related elements under the heading of Objective Relations (Sec. 96).

### SUBJECTIVE PRONOUNS.

67. The uses of the various forms of the subjective pronouns are on the whole determined by modal functions. Accordingly, four of the main series have been named after the modes with which they are associated, namely, *indicative*, *interrogative*, *subjunctive*, and *imperative*. For the sake of uniformity of nomenclature, one of the series has been called *conditional*, although its functions are not exclusively modal. Whether or not the uses of the *vocative* forms are to be regarded as modal, depends on what definition of mode is preferred. The chief functions performed by the subjective pronouns may be tabulated as follows (see next page):

Some of these forms are free morphemes, and others are suffixes, as indicated by the hyphens. The three forms of the indicative, third person, singular and plural, -*x̣as*, -*as*, -*s*, do not stand for any distinction of meaning. After *a* and *e* we find -*x̣as*; after *i*, *o*, *u*, the form -*s* is employed, while -*as* appears after consonants. The vowels inserted before the other pronouns when the preceding elements end in a consonant depend on phonetic influences (Secs. 36, 37). There is, besides, a prevalent tendency to insert the vowel -*i* (Sec. 35) before the pronominal suffixes which have an initial -*l* (-*li*, -*la*, -*litc*, -*lo*).

As already suggested, the preceding table presents a system rather than a list of different forms. Thus we find that the pronoun *ku* appears in three of the series, and *s* is repeated for the singular and plural of the subjunctive. Such repetitions have no morphologic significance, but merely conform with the general practice in giving paradigms, by showing what morphemes occupy various points in the system. In reality, the suffix -*kᵘ*, for example, is the identical morpheme whether used in an indicative or in an interrogative sentence. On the other hand, its presence as a free morpheme in the

| | INDICATIVE | | INTER. | SUBJ. | COND. | IMP. | VOCATIVE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **I** | -*li* | *lab* | -*la* | *al* | *ti'l* | | |
| **THOU** | -*litc* | *tche* | -*tca* | *tc* | *titc* | *ax*$^u$ | *tcá·li*(masc.) *dá·li* (fem.) |
| **HE, IT** visible | -*x̣as*, -*as*, -*s* *hé.x̣as* | | -*x̣a'a* | *s* | *tas* | | |
| invisible, known | -*atc*, -*tc* *hé.x̣atc* | | -*a* | | *tat* | | |
| invisible, unknown | -*x*$^u$ *xu'xwa'* | | -*ax*$^u$ | | *tax*$^u$ | | |
| **SHE** visible | -*aks*, -*ks* *heks* | | -*ksa* | *ks* | *taks* | | |
| invisible, known | -*akc*, -*kc* *hekc* | | -*kca* | *kc* | *takc* | | |
| invisible, unknown | -*k*$^u$ *ku'kwa'* | | -*k*$^u$ | *k*$^u$ | *tak*$^u$ | | |
| **WE** | -*lo* (-*q*$^u$) *lub·a'à·* | | -*lub·a'à.* | *aq*$^u$ | *t'oq*$^u$ | -*sto* | |
| **YE** | -*ka* | *hé.ka'a (ka)* | -*ka* | *ki* | *tik* | *axo'l* | |
| **THEY (non-feminine)** visible | -*a'as* *hé.x̣a'as* | | -*a'a* | *s* | *tas* | | |
| invisible, known | -*a'atc* *hé.x̣a'atc* | | -*a'a* | | *tat* | | |
| invisible, unknown | -*x̣a'ax*$^u$ *xu'xwa'a* | | -*x̣a'ax*$^u$ | | *tax*$^u$ | | |
| **THEY (feminine)** visible | -*a'aks* *hé.ksa'a* | | -*ksa'a* | *as* | *taks* | | |
| invisible, known | -*a'akc* *hé.kca'a* | | *kca'a* | | *takc* | | |
| invisible, unknown | -*k*$^u$ *ku'kwa'a* | | -*k*$^u$ | | *tak*$^u$ | | |

subjunctive is a significant fact, for the use of the same morpheme as a free form and as a postpositive runs contrary to the fundamental principles of Quileute morphology.

We are impressed by the recurrence of certain elements in the forms of each person in different modes. The first person singular, for instance, has an -*l* in all the series, and likewise *tc* and *ks* occur in all the second and third persons respectively. It is further observed that all but three of the interrogative pronouns end in -*a*, while all the forms of the conditional, excepting *t'oq*$^u$ have an initial *t*-followed by *i* or *a*. Doubtless, such recurrences indicate that all these forms are historically related. It is also reasonable to conclude that the conditional series is the result of coalescence between a hypothetical morpheme *tə* and the pronominal suffixes. Similarly,

the forms of the subjunctive may have been produced by phonetic decay. However, these genetic considerations do not enable us to procede with a morphologic analysis of the present forms. The process of differentiation has gone too far. If on etymologic considerations we conclude that *ti'l* and *-li* have at present one morpheme in common, we could, with more justification, allege that the words *first* and *foremost* are phonetic variations of the same modern English morpheme. Similar difficulties are encountered in separating the final *-a* from the interrogative pronouns, especially, if we take into account the fact that the pronoun is invariably the last affix in all Quileute verbs.

Several coincidences are noticed between the pronouns and other morphemes. The form *ku* occurs in a number of contexts in which no pronominal office can be inferred. For example, in *hé-tkul-i-ku-l-atc*, It is said that he is sick, the postpositive *-ku* indicates that the statement "he is sick" is based on hearsay rather than on direct experience. There is doubtless the same fundamental concept in denoting that a person has never been seen, and in signifying that a fact is not known from direct experience. Again, we can be fairly certain that these two uses of *ku* are grammatical differentiations of what may have been formerly a single morpheme, but at the present time the situation is to be viewed as two grammatical functions performed by homonyms. If the semantic and etymological identity is taken as a basis for speaking of a single morpheme *-ku*, we cannot account for the fact that in its pronominal office it is confined to the feminine gender, nor could we explain its duplication in *hé-tkul-i-ku'-ku*, it is said that she is sick, speaking of a woman who is unknown to the speaker. For the same reason we must regard the corresponding non-feminine pronoun *-x^u* as a different morpheme from the evidently cognate *x^u* which appears as a free morpheme performing a demonstrative function (Sec. 113).

A more difficult problem is presented by the pronouns *s, as* of the subjunctive and the identical forms of the indefinite article (Secs. 109, 111). In this case we have morphologic coincidence accompanied by a considerable divergence in grammatical and referential function. Regarding their etymological connection, several possibilities are conceivable, namely, that the subjunctive pronouns *s, as* are modified forms of the indicative or interrogative pronouns, suggested by such correspondences as indicative *-as, -s* and subjunctive *s*; interrogative *-tca*, and subjunctive *tc*; indicative *-ks*, interrogative *-ksa*, and subjunctive *ks*. On this assumption, the articles can be regarded as special developments of the pronouns, or as accidental convergences in form (homonyms), or it may be possible that both the pronouns and the articles developed from forms now extinct. Nevertheless, the use of a demonstrative as a

pronoun is common in Quileute, as evidenced in the uses of the free
forms of the indicative.

The composition of many of the free forms of the indicative is
quite clear. In *hé.x̣as*, *hé.x̣atc*, *héks*, *hékc*, and others, we have the
formal base *hé-* and the pronominal suffix. This, as illustrated in
Section 55, is the normal method of using a postpositive as a free
morpheme. The form *xu'xwa'* may be identical with the correspond-
ing demonstrative (Sec. 116). In fact, most of the demonstratives
can be used as emphatic pronouns for the third person, when it is
necessary to establish distinctions of visibility and reference to
previous experience (Secs. 113, 114).

MODES.

68. Adhering to our morphologic plan, we may regard the modes
as functions of the pronominal series. In Quileute, the pronoun is the
chief sign of the mode. In some cases special modal suffixes are
present with or without the pronoun, but since some modes do not
have such suffixes, the pronoun must be taken as the basis for the
distinction of mode. The enumeration of modes is not based here
on the number of modal concepts manifested in the language, but
rather on the special morphologic systems which perform modal
functions. If the function were taken as a basis, we could mention
many more Quileute modes. Accepting for the sake of argument the
definition of modal function given by Brugman, Oertel, Jespersen
and others, to the effect that modes reflect certain attitudes of the
speaker toward the contents of the sentence, one may say, for
example, that *á·la-c-i''-t'col-aks*, she wishes to eat, is in the optative
mode; and that *á·la-c-i'-st'al-aks*, she ordered him to eat, is in the
jussive mode. Similarly, a necessitative mode may be formed by
means of the suffix *-tax^u*, as, *á·la-c-i'-tax^u*, surely, he must eat (for
if he did not he would not be alive); and we have an inferential
mode in *á·la-x̣-a'-tsa*, he must have been eating (because his plate
is empty); a concessional in *á·la-x̣-a'-qcil*, although he was eating;
an obligative in *á·la-x̣-a'-lqa-li*, I ought to eat. We may likewise
regard *-ku* as another modal suffix, since it gives us the charac-
teristic attitude of mind that we may have toward an assertion that
is founded only on hearsay, as in *á·la-x̣-a'-ku-l-atc*, it is said that
he eats. There is no morphologic basis for equating these elements
with the modal uses of the pronouns, nor can we be certain that
they are modal signs and not as fully significant as any other
affixed morpheme. In the first example, the morpheme *-t'col* can
be regarded as one of the many postpositives which may be rendered
by our verbs. We can say that *-t'col* means "to wish" in *ki.tax̣-a-
t'co'l-aks*, she wishes to go, just as *-x̣a* means "to eat" in *á·saya-*

ɤa'-ks, she eats meat. In other languages the fact that the concepts of wish or desire are expressed by means of suffixes, other things being equal, may be accepted as an indication that such suffixes are signs of an optative or desiderative mode. In Quileute the situation is different, for, as shown in Sec. 63, a "suffix" may have such concrete meanings as to eat, to go, or even as hat, head, canoe.

### The indicative mode.

69. A formal presentation of the indicative mode seems superfluous. In Quileute, as in most languages, the uses of this mode are difficult to define, since they generally include all the modal attitudes that are not represented by the other modes. It may suffice to mention briefly the uses of the pronouns of the free form series. Their composition has already been discussed. Their function is often similar to that of the French disjunctive pronouns "moi, toi", etc. In other instances they are comparable to the French expressions "me voici, la voilà", etc. Thus, hé.ɤas can mean "he" (emphatic), or "there he is, he is the one, it is he." The following examples illustrate other uses:

> we·l lub·a'à·, one of us
> ba"ayas héka'a, four of you
> lub·a'a tcitcisqal, it is we, ourselves
> itso·'li lab ats ti'l, that is the way I do, myself.

Other illustrations will be found in QT. p. 13:4; p. 14:6; p. 15:5; 7:2; 7:11; 7:17; 8:24; 10:11; 11:5; 21:46.

### The interrogative mode.

70. Whatever reasons may be alleged for regarding the imperative use of the verb as a modal function are equally applicable to the interrogative. The subjective element in the imperative is the purpose of the speaker to induce the second person to act. In the interrogative we have a special application of this general purpose, namely, to induce the second person to give information. Most languages distinguish in one way or another between these two purposes of communication, but, if by mode we do not mean a function, as indicated above, it will be proper to speak of an interrogative mode only in those languages in which the same kind of morphologic system is employed for the interrogative and the other modes. In Quileute the morphologic signs of the interrogative mode are a special system of pronouns and two suffixes, -t'a and -ɤa. The suffixes establish the distinction so prevalent in language between the "yes and no" questions and those in which the speaker asks for supplementary information. For the latter, Quileute has

special initial morphemes which correspond to our interrogative pronouns, and the postpositive morpheme -*t'a*. Whether these initial morphemes should be called interrogative pronouns or not is a matter of choice. They are pronouns from a functional point of view, if we accept the usual definition of pronouns. They have not been regarded as such for morphologic reasons which, we must admit, are not very convincing. No other Quileute pronouns are initial morphemes, according to our definition in Sec. 44. These interrogative elements cannot be used as free morphemes. Thus, one cannot say in Quileute simply "What? Who?" but a complete sentence must always be used: "What did you say? Who did it?" The independent possessive pronouns may also take suffixes, (Sec. 84) and thus they can function as initial morphemes, but the fact that they can be used without affixes places them in a different morphologic class from these interrogative elements. The interrogative initial morphemes are:

*ak'is-* (or *a-*) Used only when the designation of a nominal concept is desired; corresponding in meaning to some of the uses of "what".

*asaq-* Indicates that the characterization of an action is desired, as, "What is he doing?" It generally asks for an explanation when it refers to an object. It may be rendered by "what, how, why".

*taqa-* Who?

*qo-* Where?

*at's* When? This may be a compound of the interrogative *a-* and the postpositive -*t's* commonly found in the word *hé't'sit*, introducing a subordinate temporal clause.

*qots-* How much? How many?

*aso'-* Has the same notional reference as *asaq-*, but reflects besides a state of emotion on the part of the speaker. It is used in situations in which the speaker uses the interrogative sentence as a manifestation of perplexity or other emotional condition rather than to solicit information, as "What am I to do? Is it possible?" (expressing surprise).

It is probable that the initial vowel in *ak'is-*, *asaq-*, *at's-*, and *aso'-* was formerly an independent morpheme. Although *a-* is used occasionally for *ak'is-* (which the natives regard as an abbreviation), and -*t's*, as suggested above, appears in other contexts, it is advisable to consider these elements as functionally indivisible units, since the forms -*k'is-*, -*saq-*, and -*so'-* have no independent value.

71. The postpositive -*t'a* is not used when the second person is the subject of the interrogative sentence. We shall illustrate the structure of this type of question by using the postpositive -*k*, which

means *to go* (to a definite place). The suffix *-i* is an applicative classifier (Sec. 85).

> *qó-k-i-t'a'-la,* where am I going ?
> *qó-k-i-tca',* where are you going ?
> *qó-k-i-t'a-'-a,* where is he going ?
> *qó-k-i-t'a-lu'b·a'a,* where are we going ?
> *qó-k-i-ka',* where are you (pl.) going ?
> *qó-k-i-t'a-'-a'a,* where are they going ?

72. The "yes and no" type of question is distinguished from the above by the absence of the interrogative initial elements, and by the use of the suffix *-xa* instead of *-t'a*. The suffix *-xa* is omitted when the second person is the subject, as in the preceding case. In the following examples *say-* means "to like"; *-á·* is the applicative classifier.

> *say-á·-xa-la,* do I like it ?
> *say-á·-tca,* do you like it ?
> *say-á·-xa-'-a,* does he like it ?
> *say-á·-xa-lu'b·a'a,* do we like it ?
> *say-á·-ka,* do you (pl.) like it ?
> *say-á·-xa-'-a'a,* do they like it ?

Examples of both types will be found in QT. p. 18:7; 10:17; 21:41; 21:45; 22:28; 23:47; 24:12; 28:14; 28:30; 32:36; 33:3; 33:14; 33:48; 33:52; 35:6; 36:24; 36:70.

*The subjunctive mode.*

73. Morphologically, this mode is distinguished from the others by a special series of pronouns. The subordinating suffixes *-a*, *-i* (Sec. 136) are invariably appended at the end of the verb when the subjunctive is used, but since they can also be found in the conditional mode and in other subordinate clauses, they cannot be regarded as supplementary signs of the subjunctive. The subjunctive pronouns are placed immediately before the verb. Notwithstanding the fact that some of the pronominal forms consist of a single consonant, they cannot be considered either as prefixes or proclitics. There is always a dieresis (Sec. 24) between the consonants of these pronouns and the initial sound of the verb, whether the latter be a consonant or a vowel. Their independent character is more evident when *aqᵘ* and *as* are used, for the vowels of these two pronouns are stressed and have a higher pitch than that of the initial syllable of the verb.

74. In regard to function, we observe that this mode is used exclusively in subordinate clauses. In the majority of cases, the action expressed by the Quileute subjunctive is not asserted as an actual occurrence, but it is merely thought of or contemplated as a design or possibility. The subjunctive is not employed in subordin-

ate clauses of indirect discourse with verbs of saying. These uses characterize it as a more typical subjunctive, according to prevalent definitions, than the modes which have been so called in some European languages, but contrary to this general impression, we find that it occurs after verbs of knowing, and others whose subordinate clauses express an occurrence which is viewed as an actuallity. We may thus conclude that its grammatical function as a device for subordination is more constant than its referential function, which in fact, is also the case in the majority of languages that have a subjunctive. The distinction between the subordinate clauses that require the subjunctive and those in which the conditional pronouns are employed depends on syntactic as well as on semantic relations. The subjunctive occurs in clauses which are treated as objects of transitive verbs, whereas the conditional pronouns appear mainly in subjective, adverbial, and other syntactic relations. The distinctions in meaning are difficult to define. On the whole we find that the subjunctive follows verbs of volition or implied command or request, and verbs of knowing. In such cases the subordinate clause expresses the action desired or the facts known. Whereas in the sentences in which the conditional pronouns appear in object clauses there is an implication of manner, cause, reason, or instrumentality.

75. The subjunctive is not used when the subject of the main clause and that of the subordinate refer to the same individual[1], but the subordinate clause still retains the subordinating suffixes -*a* or -*i*, with the functions described in Secs. 136, 143.

The following examples illustrate the use and omission of the subjunctive pronouns. Other illustrations are found in QT. p. 18:15; 19:21; 23:72; 26:56; 26:65; 32:16; 36:13; 36:30; 36:41; 36:52.

*t'a·'tca-li ki.tax̱-a*, I know I am going
*t'a·'tca-x̱as al ki.tax̱-a*, he knows I am going
*t'a·'tca-x̱as tc ki.tax̱-a*, he knows you are going
*t'a·'tca-x̱as ki.tax̱-a*, he knows he (himself) is going
*t'a·'tca-x̱as s ki.tax̱-a*, he knows he (some one else) is going
*t'a·'tca-x̱as aq^u ki.tax̱-a*, he knows we are going
*t'a·'tca-lo ki ki.tax̱-a*, we know you (pl.) are going
*wa·sta' al á·lac-i*, do not permit that I eat
*bá'k'il-as al ó·qale·'k-i*, he asked whether I had arrived
*tcá'wa''ac-li t'a·'tc-i tc á't'cit tsi'la*, that is how I found out that you are really a chief.

In the last example, the subject pronoun *(-li)* is affixed to the verb *tcá'wa''ac*, which means "therefore, that is the reason". The verb *t'a·'tc-*, to know is subordinated to the preceding by the suffix -*i*.

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[1] It is of interest to note that in such situations the Quileute subjunctive follows the rules observed in various European languages, as for example, in French, "je veux qu'il parte," but "je veux partir."

This suffix is -*i* instead of -*a* because the aspect is momentaneous, the verb meaning here "to become aware of a fact", rather than to have knowledge of it. The word *á·'t'cit*, chief, and *tsi'la*, really, form a subjunctive clause preceded by the subjunctive pronoun *tc*, and is subordinated to the preceding subordinate verb; that is, *á·'t'cit* functions here as a verb, "to be a chief", for if *tsi'la* were the verb of this clause, it would precede *á·'t'cit* (Sec. 149).

### *Uses of the conditional pronouns.*

76. Only one of the uses of the conditional pronouns can be characterized as a mode. In the other contexts in which these pronouns occur no modal meaning can be discovered, if we are consistent in our use of the term mode. Furthermore, the analogical connections between the various uses are too vague to justify the formulation of one general concept applicable to all of them. Such a general concept could be found, but, of course, in the most heterogeneous group of notions expressed in any language by one morpheme it is generally possible to discover a common factor by a convenient selection of their logical connotations, or else to find a common multiple, so to speak. In such cases the investigator is generally successful to the extent that his own vocabulary may possess the proper abstract term. In the writer's opinion, the validity of such a procedure is to be judged in the light of all the facts present in each particular situation. In the present case its application would be indefensible. By way of illustration, let us consider three of the divergent uses of one of these pronouns. We find the pronoun *ti'l* performing a modal function in *ti'l hákuta' xatc*, if I should come (I shall bring it); but as a special possessive for certain kinds of genitival relations in *hé.qa·li ti'l*, my canoe-mate; and again, as the subject of a verb expressing habitual action in *hé.k·'i't·a ti'l*, I generally use it. We could say that the common factor in these three examples is a notion of potentiality. Such a concept is clear in the conditional clause, and it could be abstracted from the last example, though with less plausibility, if we consider that the statement "I generally use it" does not connote exclusively the use of the object in the past, but also future repetitions of the use; that is, a potential condition which determines behavior, or a contemplated possibility comparable to that of the clause "If I come". Allowing for a rather divergent extension of this meaning, one could allege that "my canoe mate" is analogous to the statement of a habitual action. My canoe mate is the person who habitually goes with me in the canoe; the relation between him and me implies future possibilities of going together, hence, a relation of potentiality.

Several objections may be made to this explanation: first, the concept of potentiality and its opposite, actuality, are comprehen-

sive enough to embrace all human experience. It is not significant, therefore, that one of these universal concepts can include three uses of a morpheme by chosing the connotations that may seem pertinent. Secondly, the fact that we can connect these three uses with a single concept, does not warrant the conclusion that there is such a connection in the mind of the native. It is a well-known fact that a given form, by gradual extensions of its meaning, may eventually perform the most divergent functions, which in the end may appear totally unrelated to all but the etymologist[1]. Further, the concept of potentiality does not define the use of these pronouns, for the same concept may be abstracted in most of the uses of the subjunctive pronouns.

In view of these considerations, we may assume that at least three of the uses of the pronouns in question are functionally unrelated, although they are doubtless historically connected. For convenience of reference, this pronominal series has been named *conditional*. The choice of the term was suggested by its use in conditional sentences, and in those expressing customary action, which from a different point of view may also be said to be expressions of conditions. It would have been equally proper to take another usage as a point of departure, and to characterize them as a special series of possessive pronouns for certain genitival relations, and regard their office as subjects in subordinate clauses as an extension of their possessive meaning. A similar situation is found in the use of the English possessives as logical subjects of nominalized clauses, as in "He left without my seeing him; I insist on your paying the debt".

77. The conditional pronouns generally follow the verb[2], but in conditional sentences they precede it. In such sentences they are most commonly found only in the protasis, but they can be used coincidently in the protasis and in the apodosis. The suffixes -*a* and -*i* are present, as in most subordinate clauses (Sec. 136), and in addition, the postpositive -*tc* is used if the condition is hypothetical or contrary to fact. Examples:

*ti'l* (1) *xudeqô·stis* (2) *x̣e'* (3) *tcik*ᵘ (4) *ha''ba* (5) *ti'l* (1) *ha'bè·l* (6), if I scratch this big tree, I shall fell it. 1, conditional pronoun. 2, to scratch with one's finger nails. 3, oblique case of the article. 4, big. 5, tree. 6, to fell a tree.

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[1] As, for example, in such uses of the preposition "at" as in "to throw something at some one, to be at home, at his request, not at all," etc.

[2] In such cases they are enclitics, pronounced as though they were unaccented final syllables of the preceding nouns. They were erroneously written as suffixes in some instances in the Quileute Texts. Certain morphologic facts indicate that they are independent words both before and after the noun.

*té·xwal* (1) *ax^u* (2) *titc* (3) *téxwale't'coli'tc* (4), go thou home, if thou wantest to go home. 1, to go home. 2, imperative pronoun. 3, conditional pronoun. 4, *té·xwal*, to go home; *-e*, connecting vowel (Sec. 37); for the glottal stop see Sec. 40; *-t'col*, to wish; *-i*, subordination suffix; *-tc*, indicates a hypothetical condition (Sec. 77).

*titc* (1) *há̱'t'catc* (2) *t'cíqali* (3), if you are slow (move slowly) you will die. 1, conditional pronoun. 2, to be slow; the suffix *-tc* as in the preceding example. 4, to die; no future tense suffix is used; the verb is just subordinated by the suffix *-i*, and the tense is implied by the meaning of the protasis and the context.

78. Possibly related to the above, is the use of the conditional pronouns in temporal and other subordinate clauses which do not admit the use of the subjunctive (Sec. 74). In these cases the pronouns generally follow the verb, although, presumably for purposes of emphasis, they may occasionally precede it. Examples are:

*t'silo'wasta* (1) *ax^u* (2) *ti'l* (3) *hiyo''sitc* (4) *k'ia'tsitc* (5), pull me up when I finish tying it. 1, pull me up. 2, imperative pronoun. 3, conditional pronoun. 4, to finish; with the causative *-s*, the subordinating suffix *-i*, and *-tc* for hypothetical notions, as above. 5, to tie; *-i*, and *-tc* as in the preceding word.

*hé't'si* (1) *ti'l* (2) *ó·qale·'ki* (3), when I arrived. 1, when; this is a verb whose meaning is difficult to render by our words; the subordinating suffix *-i* is used because the whole clause is subordinated to the rest of the sentence omitted in the example. 2, conditional pronoun, subject of the preceding verb. 3, to arrive, with the subordinating suffix *-i*; the verb is subordinate to the preceding verb.

*ti'l* (1) *hiyo·'do'otc* (2) *k'atse·'litc* (3), after I may finish hitting him. 1, conditional pronoun. 2, to finish; with the resultative *-do*; *-'o* is the subordinating suffix *-i* assimilated to the *-o* of the preceding morpheme by the glottal stop (Sec. 39) which must be inserted between the two vowels (Sec. 37); *-tc* for hypothetical occurrence. 3, to hit; *-i-tc*, as in preceding examples.

79. Habitual action is expressed only by the use of the conditional pronouns. Thus, *hé.laxa'li*, I ate it (at one particular occasion) with the addition of the pronoun *ti'l* means I generally eat it or ate it, *hé.laxa'li ti'l*. It should be noted that the pronominal suffixes of the indicative can be used together with the conditional pronouns, the latter following immediately after the former. Their omissions are about as frequent as their occurrences, and the choice of either construction seems to imply no distinction in meaning. Examples:

*t'a·'tcali ti'l xe' xaba''t'so'*, I generally know everything
*tsátsali''li ti'l*, I usually get up early ("early" expressed by reduplication)
*xa''lil itca'qla xe' itca'lala t'oq^u*, knives like the ones we use.

80. It is difficult to define the genitival use of the conditional pronouns. In fact, the only justification for regarding this use as genitival is the rather irrelevant fact that it can be rendered by our possessive pronouns. But who can enumerate all the notional

relations expressed by our possessives and the equivalent use of the preposition "of?" Certainly in each of the expressions, my head, my knife, my father, my country, my illness, a different notional relation is implied between the "possessor" and the entity "possessed." The data collected upon this use of the Quileute pronoun are not sufficient to define it. Most of the examples available were obtained out of context, in order to supplement their rare occurrence in the texts. In one instance it was possible to find the following distinction. "My foot" is generally rendered by the common possessive, *ó't'celi't-s*, but in a sentence literally translated as "these tracks were made by my foot", the conditional pronoun was used *(ó't'celit ti'l)*. The translation given by one informant, being prevailed upon to find a distinction, was "These tracks were made by the foot I use."[1] A similar notional relation may be derived from "my canoe mate, my clothes," and perhaps, "my wife," but it is not so readily inferred from "my children," and other contexts in which these pronouns have occurred,[2] e. g.:

> *tcilk`wa''a ti'l*, my children
> *hé't'sa''e ti'l*, my former clothes
> *hé.qa·'li titc*, your canoe mate
> *yaló·la''e ti'l*, my former wife
> *tsítskwa''asido'o'l ti'l*, my future son
> *qala''a'e ti'l*, my former failure

The following are a few examples illustrating some uses of the conditional pronouns which differ from the above. Other illustrations of similar uses and of those discussed above will be found in QT. 5:2; p. 10:15; p. 13:1; p. 14:9; p. 14:7; p. 14:13; p. 14:17; p. 15:3; p. 15:9; p. 19:1; p. 19:9; 7:7; 9:34; 10:8; 14:9; 18:5; 21:15; 23:10; 23:46; p. 20:16; p. 20:13; 24:22; 31:50.

*hé.ali ti'l*, what I (propose) to catch
*yix hé.kulasi''e ti'l*, what I had thought
*tcíswa'li'e ti'l*, what I had given him
*yix hé.lilo ti'l*, what I travel in
*ó·t'ala' ti'l*, the place I come from
*ó·t'i''e titc*, where you used to live
*xwa'a'uli xe' itcala' ti'l*, I arrived at my destination
*tca'qlti'si titc*, the way you do it
*bá'k'il xwa' itca'qts'ala·lqa''a ti'l*, ask him how I ought to dress
*xwa'a'uli sa' poò·q adá·sa'a''e ti'l*, I found the man I had been looking for
*yix kadè·do kádatse''e t'oqᵘ*, the dog we had hanged
*t'a·'tcali xe' itse·'kil titc*, I know how you do it

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[1] This may possibly mean "by using my foot," (as I generally do).
[2] It is possible that with some nouns it makes little difference whether the conditional pronoun or the common possessive is used. See the last paragraphs of Section 83.

### The imperative mode.

81. The second person pronouns $ax^u$ (singular) and $axu'l$ or $axo'l$ (plural) are used exclusively in imperative sentences. The pronoun -*sto*, of the hortatory imperative is probably identical with the form used for an indirect object (Sec. 96). The verb itself shows no imperative characteristic apart from the intonation of the imperative utterance. The presence of the low-tone accent on the applicative -*a* in verbs which require the verbal classifier -*l* seems to be optional or may, perhaps, indicate a milder request. When this tonal modulation is used, the pronoun is generally omitted, and the informants have frequently rendered its force by the word "please". Thus, *t'laxà·l*, please, get ready; *t'laxa'l ax^u*, get ready. In addition to the following, examples may be found in QT. 5:2; p. 14:8; p. 18:3; p. 19:8; 8:19; 26:66; 28:20; 31:53; 31:67; 33:24.

> *álaci'sto*, let us begin to eat
> *ki̱.taxa'sto*, let us go (be going)
> *álac ax^u*, eat, (begin to eat)
> *ki̱.tax*, go
> *t'lé'kasta'*, tatoo me
> *wa ax^u ki̱.taxa*, do not go
> *wa axu'l álaci*, do not begin to eat (plural)

### The vocative pronouns.

82. The vocative pronouns are used in polite imperative sentences, as well as in any other form of address either to attract the attention of the person spoken to or to manifest esteem or respect in a manner similar to our uses of the word "Sir". *t'â·li, tcâ·li, tca* are employed when addressing a man, the first one being the most respectful and the last one the least formal. Corresponding to these masculine pronouns in the order given, *dâ·li, da, hed* are used when addressing a woman. Husband and wife frequently employ *tcâ·li* and *dâ·li* when addressing each other. Examples may be found in QT. p. 18:7; p. 19:1; p. 20:4; p. 20:13; 7:2; 7:6; 7:10; 11:2, 3; 14:34; 18:2: 20:19; 24:17.

### Possessive pronouns.

83. There is one series of postpositive and one of free morphemes for the expression of genitival relations, e. g. (see next page):
The form -*ya'ak* is used for both genders and numbers. Its use is somewhat irregular. It must be employed when the possessor and the subject of the sentence is not the identical person, but it may also be used in a noncommittal manner when the subject is the possessor. The affixed possessives establish a genitival relation between the nouns to which they are appended and the possessor;

|            | Postpositive | Free          |
|------------|--------------|---------------|
| my         | -s           | *ta''ad*      |
| thy        | -tc          | *tcï''id*     |
| his own    | -ya'as       | *lá·'aya''as* |
| her own    | -ya'aks      | *lá·'aya''aks*|
| another's  | -ya'ak       | *lá·'aya''ak* |
| our        | -t'oqᵘ       | *tá·aq'o'la'* |
| your       | -tctik       | *tcï'tcï'iq'o'la'* |
| their (masc.) | -salaya'as | *lá·salaya''as* |
| their (fem.)  | -salaya''aks | *lá·salata''as* |

the latter being represented by the suffix itself or by the suffix and the noun which follows the name of the possession. The relation may be one of possession in the literal sense of the term or one of the various relations generally classified as genitival. Examples:

*he·'das*, my father
*he·'datc*, thy father
*hé·daya''as yix ā't'cit*, the chief's father
*hé·daya''aks yik wésa't'sopat*, the woman's father

The possessive suffixes of the third person are formed by appending the subjective pronouns to the element *ya-*. For the sake of brevity only one form has been given above, but any of the subjective pronouns of the third person, non-feminine or feminine, can take the place of *-as, -aks*. Thus, the possessive for a person who is not present is *-ya'atc*, masculine; *-ya'akc*, feminine; and for an unknown person *-ya'axᵘ, -ya'akᵘ*. We might, accordingly, be justified in saying that there is one general possessive for the third person, *-ya*, and that this suffix is made more explicit by adding the subjective pronouns. In the same manner various forms of the third person plural could be constructed by adding the distributive plural suffix *-sal* (Sec. 66), and the pronouns of this person.

84. The free forms of the possessives predicate possession, as, *ta''ad*, it is mine; or may, in addition, have a demonstrative value by referring to a noun mentioned in the context, as, *qaqa'l xe' ta''ad*, he took mine (i. e., of the object mentioned, the one that belongs to me). Their verbal character is further evidenced by the fact that they can take the usual affixes which denote tense and appear with subjective pronominal affixes, like any other verb, v. g.:

*ta''ad-as tcï' hákult-i-s*, he is my friend
*tá·ad-i'l·-as xᵘ hákult-i-s*, he is going to be my friend
*tá·ad-i''-yi-salas xwa' hákult-i''-yi-s*, they used to be my friends

We may add to the list of possessives the element *-t'ot'*, which means *belonging to some one's family*. This suffix has occurred only

with nouns denoting family relations, most of which cannot be used without a possessive element; as, *hé·xas yix·o hé·dat'ot'*, he is a father, someone's father.

A different type of genitival relation has already been discussed as one of the uses of the conditional pronouns (Sec. 80). There are still other methods of denoting possession. By affixing the subjective pronouns to a noun, a predication of possession can be expressed, thus:

*hé.lk'wa'a*, child (formal base *hé-*, postpositive *-lk'wa'a*)
*hé.lk'wa''a-li*, I have a child
*hé.lk'wa''a-xas*, he has a child
*lawi-lk'wa''a-li*, I have two children

*kadè·do*, dog
*kádedoli*, I have a dog
*káskade'do-ka*, you (pl.) have dogs (reduplication for distributive plural).

These constructions may be used in a subordinate clause expressing a relation of possession which, so far as we can determine, is identical to that denoted by the possessive suffixes, viz.

*yix hé.lk'wa''ali*, the child I have (my child)
*yix kádedoli*, the dog I have (my dog)

In all cases in which such constructions have occurred it has been possible to substitute the possessive suffixes: *yix hé.lk'wa''as*, my child; *yix kadè·dos*, my dog. In one instance it was possible to express possession in three different ways, and the informant was not conscious of any difference. It is probable, however, that in special contexts the choice of one of these methods would be preferable to the others. The word we refer to is *taxe·'lit*, guardian spirit. "My guardian spirit" may be rendered thus:

*taxe·'lits*, (possessive suffix)
*ta''ad taxe·'lit* (independent possessive)
*taxe·'lit ti'l* (conditional pronoun)

Similarly, the assertion of possession, as expressed by our verb *to have*, may be denoted by the affixation of the subjective pronoun, as indicated above, by the affixation of the postpositive *-ti* to the formal base for location *(ó-)*, by the postpositives *-ha* or *-lo* affixed to the noun. The general meaning of *-lo* is "to belong, to be together"; *-ha* indicates an intimate relation of possession (not necessarily inseparable); *-ti*, can be rendered by "to have" or "to be". Examples:

*taxe·'lit.ha·'ali*, I have a guardian spirit
*ó·tili táxᵘlo'*, I have a bow
*kádedolos*, he has a dog
*to·pa·'tilha*, he has a belt (or *to·pa·'til·a*)
*xa·ba''t'so'ol-as*, he has everything
*ó·tili xᵘ qali·'it*, I have an enemy

> *qali'·it.ha''ali*, I have an enemy
> *á·xuyo''li*, I have a box
> *ó·tíli xwa' á·xuyo''*, I have a box
> *hé.xas ó·til xwa' á·xuyo''*, he has a box

In the last example *hé-* is the formal base; *-xas*, subjective pronoun; *ó·-ti-l*, the first two elements referred to above and the verbal classifier *-l* (Sec. 93); *xwa'* is a demonstrative (Sec. 113).

<div align="center">OBJECTIVE RELATIONS.</div>

The expression of objective relations in Quileute presents a greater complexity than any other aspect of the language. We have grouped under this heading the functions which are equivalent to our direct and indirect objects, as well as those which partake of the nature of voices, and still others which have been designated by various terms in the analysis of other languages. As we shall see, all these functions present some points of contact in Quileute. In the analyses of languages in which the term voice has been consistently applied on the basis of some uniform principle, the voices deal with some aspect of the relation of the object to the subject, or with a more complex relation of the object to the verb and the subject, as in the applicative voice. This connection between voice and grammatical object cannot be regarded as a mere logical deduction, if we take into account the numerous instances in which it is manifested either in the etymology or in the use of object pronouns in various unrelated languages. The reflexive pronoun, for example, seems to afford an easy analogical transition, particularly if we consider its common occurrence in reciprocal action. The reflexive is an object pronoun, but it specifies a particular objective relation in which the subject is affected. The transition from this to a kind of passive voice expressed by reflexive pronouns is quite familiar to us. In this construction the subject is affected logically, as in the purely reflexive, and still it is a subject, although only grammatically. We refer to such uses of the reflexive pronoun as in German, "Salz löst sich auf"; French, "Ce journal se publie à Paris"; and particularly, in the extensive use of the reflexive passive in Spanish and Italian. Since semantic development, so far as we know, does not follow any predictable course, it seems reasonable to assume that when two given functions are performed in various languages by the same class of morphemes, whatever logical connection may be discovered between such functions is to be regarded as having some linguistic significance. These considerations may, perhaps, lend some support to our extension of the term objective relation. In so far as Quileute is concerned, such an extension is amply warranted by the morphologic facts. In this language, we are confronted with the occurrence of identical morphologic elements in

what we may provisionally call accusative and dative relations, in reflexive and reciprocal constructions, in the passive voice, and in causative relations. Moreover, the nature of the action expressed by the verb, as well as its locative and purposive application seem to be inextricably interwoven with the other relations of a more definitely objective character. The question of whether the morphologic coincidences represent only etymologic connections, with present divergent functions, or whether they reveal present functional connections, will be treated together with the different morphemes concerned. The forms involved in the expression of objective relations may be more readily isolated if we treat first of three important elements whose functions partake of the same nature.

### Applicative classifiers.

85. The formatives -*a*, -*i*, -*o* are the first postpositive elements that must be affixed to an initial morpheme before a word can be formed. Occasionally, they are the only affixes, as in *t'ciq-a*, he died; *qal-i*, he failed; *tok-o*, he descended. But regardless of how many more elements may be affixed, they are always present[1], and in the same position. We find -*o* when the action is applied to a definite location, to a particular part or portion of an object, or when it takes place inside of an object, other than a house. The uses of -*o* are by far more regular than those of -*i* or -*a*. The functions of the latter are difficult to define. In most situations in which -*i* occurs, the action is momentaneous or connotes that is is directed toward a particular person or object, that is, specific application of action to an entity, rather than to a point in space. The most practical way to characterize the use of -*a* is to say that it occurs when neither -*o* nor -*i* are definitely applicable. It is most frequently found with all verbs which are decidedly durative, as are those expressing state or condition, with those which denote motion through space, particularly locomotion, and with others whose action, whether momentaneous or durative, is not directed to any particular location or object.

If we look for a basic concept in these distinctions, we may infer one of delimitation. We may, then, say that -*a* does not delimit the action either in time, space or purpose; -*i* delimits it in its application and also in its duration, since it connotes a momentaneous aspect; while -*o* delimits it only in space. We may also assume a concept of application involved in this delimitation. In its favor we could allege that -*o* occurs with considerable regularity in situations in which an action is applied to a delimited location, and that -*i*

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[1] They are omitted when the formal bases are used for initial morphemes, but cf. Sec. 86.

is found in many cases of application to a specified person or thing, whereas -*a* is neutral in regard to application. This characterization of -*a* receives a slight support from the fact that it occurs in about seventy five per cent of the verbs which do not require an object, and accordingly, may be considered intransitive. Whether these are merely logical abstractions or actual functional principles in this language, we have no means of determining. The application of these general concepts, or even of the more limited rules given above, meets with numerous exceptions. Thus, the situations in which -*i* would be indicated according to these principles often coincide with those which likewise would require -*a*. For example: the verb which means "to follow some one", to walk behind him in order to see where he is going, would be expected to take -*a*, considering that it is durative or that it connotes motion through space; but if we take into account the fact that the action is aimed at a definite goal, the use of -*i* would be expected. How actual usage will decide, cannot be predicted. For this meaning of "to follow" we find *ab-i-l*, but for the verb which means "to be going toward (a particular place), to be headed for," we have *itc-a-x̣*.

In view of these difficulties, we have decided to characterize these elements as classifiers. Classifier is a convenient term in such situations. It could be applied to the gender suffixes in Indo-European languages, to the class prefixes in Bantu, and to the arbitrary use of "instrumentals" in some American Indian languages, in all of which experience (as expressed by nouns or verbs, or both) is arbitrarily classified under a limited number of groups, from some arbitrary point of view. In such a manner the elements -*a*, -*i*, -*o* classify all verbal action into three classes. Their application seems logical in some cases, as it appears also in many of the distinctions of gender in European languages, but it is quite inconsistent in many others. These elements will be referred to as *applicative classifiers*, to distinguish them from the verbal classifiers discussed below. The qualification of *applicative* is not to be construed as a conclusive characterization of their function. It is intended chiefly to facilitate reference, although there is some probability that such is their nature. Other tripartite classifications of all the verbs in this language occur in the use of the objective pronominal forms (Sec. 96), in the expression of causation (Sec. 104) and in the passive voice (Sec. 106). Another threefold classification has already been presented in Section 48 in the use of the formal bases.

86. It is of interest to note the morphologic points of contact between the formal bases, *á'*-, *hé*-, *ó*-, and the applicative classifiers, -*a*, -*i*, -*o*, as well as the further coincidence that *ó*- and -*o* are associated with location; *hé*- occasionally specifies reference (Secs. 52, 56), which is a characteristic of -*i*; and *á'*- and -*a* seem to be neutral

in regard to such connotations. These are doubtless significant facts, but any attempt to trace functional connections leads into confusion. In the first place, no more than a dozen verbs are formed with the initial morpheme *á'-*, and only four occur with *ó-*, these two morphemes being used mainly with nouns. Moreover, considering the diversity of verbs that can be constructed with *hé-*, it is hopeless to trace its connections with *-i*. Worthy of note in this connection is the fact that the applicative classifiers are not affixed to the formal bases, but only to the meaningful morphemes.

87. When a verbal classifier (Sec. 93) is affixed to a monosyllabic morpheme, it frequently happens that the accent falls on the classifier. In such cases the latter takes the low-tone accent, and *-i* becomes *-è·* (cf. Sec. 29). A few words have been found with the high-pitch accent on the classifier *-o*. In pollysyllables, these elements may appear with the main accent of the word. No principles governing the accentuation of the verbal classifiers have been discovered. Due to phonetic contact (Sec. 35), *-i* often changes to *-e*, even when unaccented.

The following are examples of verbs with their normal classifiers. The formative *-l* is a verbal classifier, discussed in subsequent sections. The glottal stop after some of the applicative classifiers has been explained in Section 42.

> *ĺila·'q-o-l*, to be across
> *k'i'i't's-o-l*, to anchor
> *le·'xw-o-l*, to turn inside of something
> *t'ła''y-o-l*, to be behind
> *tó'w-o-l*, to cover with soil
> *ko'l-o-l*, to embark in a canoe
> *lo'-ó·-l*, to disembark (from up stream)
> *ko·t-o-l*, to look into a hole
> *ha''t's-o-l*, to go to bed
> *la·'k-o-l*, to wipe
> *tok-o*, to descend
> *lat-o-s*, to take across
> *hé.l-o*, to travel in a canoe, car, or horseback
> *lüw-ò·*, to bring something to a definite place
> *ce·q-o-l*, to pull
> *xwa'a-o*, to find
> *t'lix-ò·-l*, to examine
> *bo·x-o*, to warm food in a pot
> *tsa'da-o*, to approach
> *laku't's-o-l*, the spirit of the shaman returns with the soul of the
>     sick person
>
> *yik-i*, to resume action
> *lob-i*, to die
> *tca·tl-i*, to go into a fit
> *tsa·l-i*, to get up
> *ki'itl-i*, to continue in the same direction

*kik-i*, to land on the beach
*let-i*, to step out of a canoe
*kix-i*, to tell a myth
*kwat-i*, to try
*ba'k'-i-l*, to ask
*k'à·y-i-l*, to blow an ember into flame
*ab-i-l*, to follow
*tsi·l-i-l*, to push
*was-i-l*, to prevent
*tak'et-i-l*, to jump
*tsi·x-i-l*, to mention, speak of
*xal-i-l*, to cut
*t'si'la'k'-i-l*, to dive
*t'a·tc-i-l*, to pay a debt
*kiye·x-i-l*, to tear down
*xa̲·b-i-l*, to fix, repair
*hawa·y-i-l*, to hunt deer
*ha'b-è·-l*, to fell a tree
*il-è·-l*, to untie

*t'atc-a*, to know
*kits-a*, to dance
*hó·kw-a*, to drift
*say-a*, to like, covet
*t'ciq-a*, to die
*bai-a*, to laugh
*laq'-a*, to run away
*sey-a*, to see
*ka'dê·y-a*, to hide
*k'aiy-a*, to hold for ransom
*wê·qw-a-l*, to assemble (intrans.)
*lé·ew-a-l*, to cough
*ha'a·b-a-l*, to deceive
*là·q'-a-l*, to drive away
*xat'l-a-l*, to stumble
*xwa'q'w-a-l*, to loosen

88. Although a verb appears generally with the same applicative classifier, this constant association is not of such a mechanical nature, as for example, that of the endings of the four conjugations in Latin. However arbitrary the choice of the classifier for a particular verb may seem, its use is constant with the normal sense of the verb or with the application of its action. If the verb appears with a different sense or in a different context, a different classifier may be required[1]. In such cases the choice seems rather consistent with the rules given above in regard to aspect and application of action to a definite location. For example:

*t'la''t'c-i-l*, he stuck it (made it adhere)
*t'la''t'c-a-'-à·*, it is stuck
*t'la't'c-ó-stista al·à·b*, stick it on me

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[1] The use of the applicative classifiers for the expression of aspect is discussed in Section 133.

*letc-è·-l,* he wrapped it
*letc-a-'à·li,* I am wrapping it
*létc-o-sti's·ta''as,* he wrapped it around me

*lex·w-a-l,* it is going around (outside of something)
*lex·w-o-l,* it is going around (inside of something)

*kwat-i-''ili,* I shall try it
*kwát-o-sti's,* try it on him
*kwát-i-las,* he is trying it (he is going to try it; the durative aspect cannot be used with this verb).

### *Verbal classifiers.*

89. We shall again resort to the employment of the term classifier as a convenient device to designate the elements *-l, -t, -ts, -s, -x,* the uses of which, like those of the applicative classifiers, conform only in part to a barely discernible system. For reasons which may become apparent in the course of their discussion, they have been given the noncommittal name of *verbal classifiers.* These elements seem to be more directly involved in the expression of objective relations than the applicative classifiers, as evidenced by the fact that they cannot be used in normal conditions when the object is incorporated in the verb, and by the further observation that they are more frequently found with transitive than with intransitive verbs, or, more accurately, they occur oftener with verbs which can take an object. Nevertheless, an exclusive concern with the relation of the object to the verb cannot be asserted. Here, as well as in the applicative classifiers and the pronominal objective forms treated below, we discern a possible convergence of two or more principles.

One of these principles which becomes apparent in many cases is the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs, just mentioned. As we all know, this distinction seldom, if ever, coincides point for point in any two languages, although on the whole we find considerable agreement even between the most distant and unrelated. Granting that disagreement on various points is to be expected, the problem that confronts us in Quileute is to decide to what extent we are to make allowance for such divergences and still regard the distinction as based on transitive and intransitive action. Let us take as an example the uses of one of these elements. If we characterize *-l* as the sign of the transitive verb, we find evidence of this function in such instances as *t'ciq-a,* to die; and *t'ciq-a-l,* to kill; *kul-è·,* to be named; *kul-è·-l,* to name, give a name to; and likewise in the following cases:

> *hiye·x-i-l,* to destroy
> *t'o·'t's-i-l,* to lift
> *tsa'b-è·-l,* to stab
> *qwas-è·-l,* to dig up

*liw-è·-l,* to carry, take along
*k'i'-è·-l,* to trap animals
*xa·l-i-l,* to cut with a knife
*bá'k'-i-l,* to ask
*ha'q'-o-l,* to carry with the pack strap
*k'ok'ó·t-a-l,* to steal
*like·'t-i-l,* to wrap

*ɣel-a,* to be angry
*bai-a,* to laugh
*a·q-a,* to be on top of
*xa·b-a,* to be dressed
*k'a·k'-i,* to groan
*tcatc-a,* to be flying
*xwas-a,* to return, come from a trip
*tok-o,* to descend
*qaɬ-i,* to fail
*tca·t'ɬ-i,* to faint
*lob-e,* to die (respectful term)
*q'we·l-a,* to be late, delay
*téxw-a,* to go home
*ɬakɬ-i,* to be puzzled, hesitate

In contrast with the above examples, we find that *liw-è·-l,* to take an object along, to pick it up and carry it away, is transitive, assuming that such is the meaning of *-l;* but *lüw-ò· (liw-o)* to bring or take an object to a definite place and lay it down, is intransitive. Under no circumstances can the *-l* be used with this verb when the applicative classifier is changed from *è·* to *ò·* to convey this meaning. Nor can we aptly account for the presence or absence of the *-l* as a sign of transitive action in the following verbs, considering that those which have this sign cannot take an object, while those which omit it are generally followed by the oblique case of the article and the noun object.

*ɬé·exw-a-l,* to cough
*kwat-a-l,* to come out, appear
*ha't's-o-l,* to go to bed, retire
*kok-o-l,* to be alone, be deserted
*las-a-l,* to snap, break (intransitive)
*pux·w-a-l,* to drift
*tek'et-i-l,* to jump, leap
*t'si'la'k'-i-l,* to dive
*ha'b-è·-l,* to fall
*ɣat'ɬ-a-l,* to stumble
*lex·w-a-l,* to move in a circle
*tca'-a-l,* to run away

*say-a,* to like, long for
*t'a·bil-a,* to hate
*it·-a,* to drink
*kade·-y-a,* to conceal

*qay-i*, to hold in the hand
*t'atc-a*, to know
*sey-a*, to see
*k'aiy-a*, to hold for ransom

In perhaps two thirds of the cases in which the verbal classifiers are omitted, the verb is intransitive from our point of view, and from the fact that such verbs never take an object in Quileute. Among the other third there are verbs like *t'atc-a*, to know; *sey-a*, to see; *it-a*, to drink; and *t'abil-a*, to hate, which appear to be transitive from our point of view, and because they are generally followed by an object. But since in Quileute the oblique case of the article makes no distinction between dative and accusative, the presence of the object cannot be taken as a proof that the verbs are transitive. If we assume that with such verbs the oblique case of the article is equivalent to our dative case, the verbs can possibly be intransitive. Similar situations could be cited from languages that are better known to us. For example, we use in English a transitive verb when we say "I helped him," but the same idea is conveyed by an intransitive verb with the dative case in Spanish: "Le ayudé." As we may all concede, it is futile to attempt to define transitiveness and intransitiveness on the basis of meaning. This distinction can be drawn only on the basis of grammatical phenomena, which is tantamount to saying that whatever meanings a given language may regard as transitive or as intransitive, their distribution is neither more nor less arbitrary than any other we may be familiar with. Nevertheless, these considerations do not remove all our obstacles. We may find an explanation for the morphologically intransitive verbs in Quileute which are found with an object (the apparent object may stand in some oblique relation other than accusative), but it is difficult to understand how a verb which can never take an object may be morphologically transitive. If *-l* marks the transitive verb, how can we account for its use with such verbs as *lé·exw-al*, to cough; *púx·w-a-l*, to drift? No object ever follows these verbs, nor do the natives admit any sentence in which one may be supplied, as, for example, "to cough blood."

A conjecture which readily suggests itself is that the *-l* in such verbs is a survival of their former transitive nature, when they had perhaps a more extensive meaning. By a process of semantic specialization, the expression of an object became superfluous, and was finally eliminated. This hypothesis, of course, may account for the irregularities, but does not enable us to understand the present function of *-l* with such verbs. Furthermore, we observe that some of the *l*-verbs that are used intransitively do not retain the *-l* in transitive usage. Thus, *las-a-l*, which signifies that a string or a rope accidentally breaks while pulling it, becomes *las-a-ts*, to cause to

break, when used transitively. The use of the causative here clearly indicates that this and other similar verbs are at present intransitive from every point of view. Is it conceivable that -*l* may connote transitiveness when *t'ciq-a*, to die, becomes *t'ciq-a-l*, to kill, while in *las-a-l* it is so closely associated with an intransitive idea that it cannot be retained if the verb is used transitively? Still, in about seventy five per cent of the cases in which -*l* is present the verb may be regarded as transitive without resorting to much conjecturing. Two conclusions seem possible. The fact that -*l* coincides with transitive action in so many cases may indicate that this was its original function, but that at present its adherence to these verbs and to others which later became intransitive has no more functional significance than the four conjugations or the five declensions in Latin. The other possibility is that -*l* performs an entirely different function which incidentally happens to group together more transitive than intransitive verbs. For example, if we should in some conventional manner separate in any language all the verbs which express a state of mind, a relation or a condition from those which denote action, we would find more intransitive verbs in the former and more transitive verbs in the latter, while a probable concomittant result would be a similar distribution of durative and momentaneous aspects. If such a separation were effected in any language by a given morpheme, the probability is that we would find about the same proportion of irregularities and doubtful cases whether we attributed to such a morpheme the function of distinguishing between momentaneous and durative aspects, transitive and intransitive verbs, or static and dynamic predication. An attempt to discover a dynamic connotation in the uses of -*l*, and a static implication in its omission, meets with considerable success, but the number of exceptions is about equal to that of the transitive-intransitive distinction. It is interesting to note, however, that in many cases the two classifications do not overlap. Thus, when we find an exceptional use of a transitive verb, it is frequently observed that it expresses an action, rather than a condition. The last two groups of examples were selected because of their incompatibility with a transitive-intransitive distribution, but we notice that the majority of those which would be expected to be intransitive, express an action, event or occurrence, while those which, contrary to expectations, are used apparently as transitive verbs without the -*l*, are expressions of a state or condition. Nevertheless, the exceptions and doubtful cases should not be overlooked. In the *l*-group, *kok-o-l*, to be alone, to be deserted, denotes a condition, so far as we may judge by the translation. What the native "feeling" is we do not know. *pux·wa-l*, which is applicable to a situation in which a canoe is being driven by the wind, the tide or the current

of a stream, may be regarded as a condition if we view the situation as a whole; but if we fix our attention on one of its aspects, namely, the fact that the canoe is moving, it may be regarded linguistically as an expression of action or occurrence, analogous to that of *lex·w-a-l*, to move in a circle, go around. Passing now to the last group of examples, the most striking exception is *kade·y-a*, to conceal or hide an object. That this verb is actually transitive, and expresses an action may be inferred from the fact that the English intransitive use of to hide is rendered by *kade·y-a-sqal*, to hide oneself. Since the postpositive *-sqal* is a typical reflexive in all its uses, we cannot imagine from what point of view this reflexive expression can be intransitive or express a condition. The same conclusion can be reached for *it-a*, to drink, in *ita'c xe' lab*, he began to drink the whiskey. If we should alledge that this sentence is to be understood in such a sense as "he entered upon a whiskey-drinking-condition," then, by one device or another we should be at liberty to regard most utterances either as conditions or as actions. Refer-ring now to *sey-a*, to see; *qay-i*, to hold in the hand; *k'aiy-a*, to hold for ransom, may we not reckon them as static or dynamic depending upon which we choose to fix our attention? It is impossible there-fore, to decide with any degree of confidence to what extent the element *-l* connotes action, and its omission indicates a state or condition.

90. In a few instances, the substitution of the classifier *-ts (-ats)* instead of the normal *-l* indicates a more rapid or energetic action. For example: *ceq-o-l*, to pull, and *ceq-w-ats*, to jerk; *k'i' x-a-l*, to lift gradually and *k'i· x-a-ts*, to lift suddenly; *wa·x-i-l*, to stop, and *wa·x-a-ts*, to stop suddenly; *k'wada'q-a-l*, to tear (cloth or any fabric or textile), *k'wada'q-a-ts*, to tear with a jerk; *tux-a-l*, to spit, *tux-a-ts*, to sputter.

Evidently, the implications of the element *-l* in the preceding examples are rather divergent from those which we have thus far considered, but any attempt to follow any suggestions derived from such cases meets with obstacles in the majority of the contexts in which this element occurs.

91. Were we able to decide with any degree of certainty that *-l* is a sign of transitive action and that its omission indicates intransitive predication, the use of the other classifiers of this group could be characterized as special subdivisions of these two classes, although their office is not always clear. Three of them, *-ts*, *-s*, and *-x* are identical in form with morphemes whose meanings are rather evident. The first one is employed in some contexts with the mean-ing of "to do" or "make", and in others (Secs. 103, 104) as a sign of causation. The second, *-s*, is also a causative, but disregarding for the moment a considerable number of exceptions, it seems to

specify the production of continued activity, in contrast with *-ts*, which generally denotes a causation of momentaneous action. Moreover, there is a morpheme *-s* which means "to give". It is also curious to notice that it is identical with one of the components of the pronominal forms which express an indirect object relation or a direct object connection with continued activity, as discussed below. The formative *-x̣* is a sign of the durative or continuative aspect, used most frequently with verbs signifying locomotion. In regard to the other classifier, *-t*, no single concept can be formulated for all the verbs with which it appears, but about half of them express a complex activity with a concomitant durative aspect, like "to fight, to bathe, to work, to ride on horseback," etc. In form it is identical with the sign of nominalization discussed in Secs. 122, 148. Intermediate between the presumably formal use of *-t* under consideration and the employment of a *-t* to nominalize a verbal morpheme, we find some instances in which a formative *-t* can be characterized as a participial suffix. The analogical transition between these three offices is rather obvious, but considering that numerous unanalyzable nouns end in *-t* (Sec. 138), and that no single concept underlying all its presumably formal uses can be found without venturing into psychological or logical abstractions, it seems advisable to consider these points of contact as having only a possible historical significance. We shall, therefore, regard the nominalizing *-t* as a separate morpheme from the *-t* used formally in many cases, but with a clear implication of continued activity in others. There seems to be no ground for speaking of a special morpheme *-t* changing a verb into a kind of participle, since the syntactical relation of such verbs to the main verb of the sentence is either equivalent to that of a noun or to that of a subordinate verb. In the former case it would be arbitrary to separate it from the general nominalizing function of *-t*, and in the latter we have simply one of the instances in which the meaning of *-t* is that of an activity, the nature of which is inherently durative, as stated above; this being the only meaning that can be attributed to the use of *-t* with words which function as verbs.

It is important to state that, excepting an occasional combination of *-t* and *x̣*, these classifiers are mutually exclusive, and, as stated above, they must be omitted when the object or complementary noun is incorporated in the verb. Furthermore, their use is limited to certain verbs, and one is not at liberty to use *-s*, for example, to denote the causation of any durative action. Thus, in *talawe-ts-i-li*, I made him run, we must use *-ts* instead of *-s*, although the use of the latter would be expected, to judge by its most frequent usage. Nor is it clear why *qé't'la-x̣*, to go up stream, should take *-x̣* instead of *-t*. If we say that the latter is due to the fact that it is a verb of

locomotion, we cannot account for the presence of -*x* in *é·latí'tc-x*, to need, and in *tsáqotca'ql-x*, to be impossible. These facts may be taken as conclusive evidence that, whatever meaning these elements may have in other contexts or may have had formerly in their constant presence with certain verbs, they are now employed formally rather than semantically.

92. It is possible that in the use of two other formatives which we have somewhat arbitrarily excluded from this group, there is an indication of how these classifiers came into existence. A few verbs are generally found with the elements -*c* and -*do*, which mean "to begin", and "to result", respectively, when affixed to verbs, and "to become" when used with nouns. They are also employed formally as signs of an inceptive and resultative aspect. The constant, conventional use of these formatives resembles that of the verbal classifiers. The verb *sey-a*, to see, for example, must be used with -*c* in all situations in which a momentaneous aspect is expressed by our verb. That is, in Quileute one fixes his attention on the threshold of a visual perception, and, accordingly, one would say "I began to see him" where we would say "I saw him." Similarly, the postpositive -*do*, to become as a result of previous action (generaly purposive) is constantly used with certain verbs presumably to denote a resultative aspect of action. For example, *hiy-o-do*, to finish, unless it is employed in a causative sense (to cause to end), can never be used without -*do*. In spite of these points of contact with the verbal classifiers, it may be justifiable to reckon -*c* and -*do* as essentially different from them. In the first place, they are not omitted when the object is present in the verb, which is the most regular characteristic of the verbal classifiers. Secondly, their meaning seems clear in all situations, and they are replaced by the continuative -*x* when the inceptive implication is altered. However, even here we have to contend with formal usage, for *ala-c*, to eat, becomes *ala-x*, to be eating; but *se'ya-c*, to see, forms the continuative by lengthening *(se·'ya)* and cannot, under any circumstances take -*x*. Even the use of -*c* is restricted to certain verbs: *saya''li*, I like, would be expected to require the sign of the inceptive -*c* in "I begin to like," but we find a change of the applicative classifier with an implication of momentaneous aspect, instead of the normal durative, thus, *say-i''-li*. An analogous change takes place if the objective pronouns are used: *sayá-qala'wo-li*, I like you; *sayí-tila'wo-li*, I begin to like you. On the whole, verbs which do not express an objective activity but signify a mental action or condition express inceptive action by changing to a momentaneous aspect.

Examples of the uses of -*c* and -*x* for inceptive, durative and continuative action are:

*ál-a-c-i'-sto*, let us eat (begin to eat)
*ál-a-x-a'-sto*, let us keep on eating
*é· ál-a-c-i''*, he did not eat (did not begin to eat)
*é· ál-a-x-a''*, he did not continue to eat
*ál-a-x-a t'oqᵘ*, we used to eat
*hiy-ò·-do ál-a-x-a''*, he finished eating
*hiy-o-t's-i-do*, he finished eating (referring to the mechanical act of
   taking the food into his body, rather than to the whole social
   situation of eating a meal.)

Similar to the conventional selection of the inceptive aspect in such experiences as seeing, eating, hearing, recognizing, etc. instead of viewing the experience as a whole, it is observed that the continuative aspect is always chosen for many verbs of locomotion. Thus, *ki't-a-x*, means "to be going", rather than "to go", and cannot be used in any other aspect. It cannot be made inceptive to express the idea of starting out. In such situations the Quileute manner of expression would be "he was leaving and was going," or "he intended to be going *(ki't-a-x-al)* and was on the way *(itc-a-x)*." Such an occurrence as would be conveyed by our sentence "he went to so-and-so's house" is generally analyzed by a Quileute speaker into several acts: "He was going, being headed for so-and-so's house; he arrived, entered." If the person did not intend to enter, they would say, "He arrived at the walls (of the house)." It is conceivable that these ways of viewing experience, which are so different from ours, may have involved at one time all the classifiers in a manner analogous to the uses of the inceptives *-c, -do* and the continuative *-x*. At present, their use may have become entirely or partially formal.

93. In view of all these difficulties, it seems advisable to content ourselves with a description of the morphologic facts, and to suspend judgment in regard to conceptual functions. We may, therefore, say that there are five formatives in Quileute which divide all the verbs into six classes. Accordingly, these formatives may be called *verbal classifiers*. They are *-l, -ts, -t, -s, -x*. Five of the classes are designated by the constant presence of one of the classifiers, when no object is expressed by a morpheme within the verb. The sixth class is defined by the absence of a classifier in all situations. This has been labeled *neutral class*. The other five will be mentioned by their respective classifiers, as the *l*-class, the *ts*-class, etc.

Special material was collected to determine what classifiers are required by various verbs. To secure uniformity in the answers, and preclude as much as possible a choice of aspect by the informant, each sentence that he was asked to translate had a noun for its subject, so that the Quileute verb might be given without any pronominal suffixes, and the English verb was in the past tense. Verbs which could be used transitively were placed in complete

sentences with a nominal object which could not be incorporated, as, this man saw the horse, or with a nominalized clause, as, that woman knew what you did. The examples which follow were selected from such answers with the special design of presenting a variety of meaning. This information was given for 439 verbs, which were used with the various classifiers or without them in the following proportion. The verbs which are generally found with the inceptive and resultative suffixes -c, -do have been included to illustrate their formal use as discussed in Sec. 92.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| -l | 239 | -s | 17 |
| neutral | 98 | -x̣ | 12 |
| -ts | 34 | -c | 11 |
| -t | 19 | -do | 9 |

## l-class

tca″al, escaped
tci″al, took care of
lás·al, it broke
pux·wal, drifted
lé·exwal, coughed
kwát·al, came out
luwa·'qwal, transformed
k'ok'ó·tal, stole
lila·'qol, was across
hé'ol, accompanied
toqó·ol, avenged
ha'q'ò·l, packed
ha″t'sol, went to bed
te″lol, met at the beach
ko'kol, was isolated

tek'e·'til, jumped
hiyé·x̣il, destroyed
á·bil, followed
t'a·tcil, paid a debt
xwali·wil, overtook
t'ó·t'sil, raised
hé·qcil, applied magic
likè·til, wrapped
la'è·l, gathered
tsa'bè·l, stabbed
k'i'è·l, caught in a trap
t'e'k'è·l, started a fire
p'e't'lè·l, filled
qwas·è·l, dug roots
liwè·l, brought along

## Neutral class

xel·à·, was angry
la″q'a, ran away
baià·, laughed
xa·ba″, was dressed
sayà·, liked
kax·à·, opened (trans.)
t'á·bila″, hated
xwasà·, returned
ki'di″, got busy
héqli, came upon him
lipi″, turned over (intrans.)
t'é·kili″, felt (trans.)
k'a·k'e″, shouted with pain

i't·a, drank
á·qa, was on top of
k'a'k'à·, opened his mouth
we'k'wa, chewed (trans.)
t'ciqa″, died
kadê·ya″, hid it
t'ca'a″, cooked it
t'ca'à·, it was cooked (was done)
yiki″, resumed action
tcitci″, opened his eyes
qaye″, held in his hand
kulè·, his name was
ta'x̣oli, became ashamed

## ts-class

x̣ékwats, he closed
óxwats, he dipped it
p'e·'t'cats, lit a candle

t'ókwats, he cut in two
i·'xuts, he exchanged
t'so″o·sats, shook the discs

*kadá·qwats*, rolled the discs
*kábats*, mixed
*qwa''t'lats*, piled up (trans.)
*t'sâ·bats* poked
*t'laxᵘ·a'ts*, (he) shot (with gun)
*q'wa'tats*, stretched (trans.)

*tsó'otsats*, jerked (intrans.)
*k'ada''t'sats*, cut a piece from
*yaxo'ts*, placed in front
*q'ó't'lats*, poured (trans.)
*wá·tc·ats*, split (trans.)
*k'iya'ts*, he tied

## *t*-class

*t'cá·qe'xat*, fought with
*xosida't*, bathed (intrans.)
*t'silo·wa't*, went up
*pa·'qet*, worked
*á·tcoxa't*, lay together with
*ha'p'is·pat*, roasted (trans.)

*k'o·'xwat*, divided profits with
*k'isé.dat*, tied canoe to kelp
*kwó·lo''ot*, rode on horseback
*k'opa't*, loved, coveted
*qá·lexa't*, waged war with
*t'iktada't*, smelled (trans.)

## *s*-class

*tcitcóstis*, put into, introduced
*ada's*, searched for
*üxwa''atsis*, paid (for service)
*k'apa·'lis*, doubled in two (trans.)
*há't'ca·'t'sis*, cured (trans.)
*laqá·tsis*, made smaller, reduced

*xwasáqltis*, revived from faint (tr.)
*wakalaxe's*, listened to
*héciks*, happened to find
*itca'qltis*, described
*wa''t'sis*, stopped (trans.)
*ó·qalis*, brought nearer

## *x̣*-class

*ilax̣a'sx̣*, set free
*itca'x̣*, was headed for
*suku'sx̣*, came empty handed
*lá'lowa'tx̣*, withdrew (intrans.)

*ki'tax̣*, was going
*qé't'lax̣*, was going up stream
*é·lati'tcx̣*, needed
*tsáqotca'qlx̣*, was impossible

## Inceptive verbs

*siyac*, he saw
*hét'ic*, he married (her)
*kukwa·'lec*, heard, understood

*koli'c*, he hurried (intrans.)
*tipile'c*, was tired, worried
*t'sixale'c*, recognized

## Resultative verbs

*hiyò·do*, he finished (trans. or intr.)
*atlaxe'd·o*, received news
*t'aqló·do*, missed the guess
*i'sido*, urinated (said of a woman)

*xile·kli'd·o*, forgot
*pike·'d·o*, gave news
*ba·'d·o*, defecated
*t'lica·'d·o*, departed for a trip

94. The verbal classifiers are associated with the meaning expressed by the verb in a given context rather than with its form. Thus, when a form is used in a different sense, the verb may pass from one class to another. A few examples have already been given (Sec. 90); others are:

*t'ciq-a*, to die
*las-·a-l*, to break
*kol-o-l*, to embark
*ha'kut-a-x̣*, to be coming

*t'ciq-a-l*, to kill
*las-·a-ts*, to cause to break
*kol-o-s*, to place in the canoe
*ha'kut-a-s*, to send

95. As already mentioned, when the object of the verb is expressed by a postpositive, whether nominal or pronominal (Sec. 96), the classifier is omitted. Rare exceptions to this rule have occurred in verbs composed of two or more meaningful postpositives which seem to have become stereotyped compounds.

> *ce'q-o-l-as*, he pulled
> *ce'q-o-l-as xe' te·'kwa'*, he pulled the rope
> *céq-ᵘ-ti'p-as*, he pulled the door (*-tip*, door)
> *céq-ᵘ-tci'l-i-sta-xas*, he pulled my leg (pulled-leg-to-me-he)
> *céq-ᵘ-a-tila-xas*, he pulled me
>
> *xékᵘ-a-ts-is*, he closed it
> *xékᵘ-a-ts-is xe' á·xuyo"*, he closed the box
> *xékᵘ-tip-as*, he closed the door

### Objective relations expressed by pronominal forms.

96. Certain forms occur in all cases in which a relation similar to our direct or indirect object is expressed by pronominal suffixes. Their uses can be more accurately defined by reference to the verbal classifiers. Connotations of momentaneous, durative, and continuative aspects may be disclosed, as well as a distinction which corresponds to some extent with that established by our direct and indirect objects. However, the difficulties encountered in an attempt to account for the exceptions are analogous to those pointed out in the use of the verbal classifiers. If we take the verbal classes (Sec. 93) as a basis, it is generally possible to predict which objective forms will be used. No verb of the neutral class, for example, has been found with any other than the *qa*-objective forms given below, unless a kind of ethical dative is expressed, in which case the *s*-forms would be employed. The *l*- and *ts*-classes may take the *ti*-forms or the *s*-forms according to the rules given below. These correspondences may be presented as follows:

| Person | neutral | -l, -ts | -t, -s (-l, -ts) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1st sing. | -qala | -tila | -sta |
| 1st plur. | -qalo | -tilo | -sto |
| 2nd. | -qalawo | -tilawo[1] | -swo |
| 3rd. | | | -swa (-b) |

If regard is had to their correspondence with our objective relations, we observe that the *ti*-forms coincide quite regularly with our direct object, the *qa*-forms express the same relation but not as regularly, while the *s*-forms may perform either function, depending

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[1] The forms *-qalawo* and *-tilawo* become *-qala'v* and *-tila'v* when the accent falls on the penult. But this depends on the individual; in careful articulation the accent does not produce this contraction.

on the verbal class and the aspect of the action. Verbs of the *l*- and
*ts*-classes which would normally take the *ti*-forms, require the *s*-
forms in any aspect but the momentaneous. For example, *xwats-
è·-l*, to hit (or he hit him); *xwáts-e-tila'-litc*, you hit me; *xwáts-e-
sta'-litc*, you kept on hitting me; *xwáxwats-e-sta'-litc*, you hit me
repeatedly, you hit me now and then. This is not to be construed as
signifying that the *ti*-forms cannot be used in durative action. The
principle seems to be rather that a verb of the *l*-class requires the
*ti*-forms regardless of the normal aspect connoted by the verb. For
example, *tci''-a-l*, to take care of, look after, takes the *ti*-forms so
long as the verb is used in its normal aspect. If we should use it in a
continuative or iterative aspect, the *s*-forms would be employed,
v. g.: *tci'-a-tila-xas*, he takes care of me; *tci'-a-sta'-xas*, he continues
to take care of me. Hence, in order to determine whether the *s*-forms
denote aspect or a relation which can be rendered by our indirect
object, as in *t'sí·x-i-sta' ax^u*, show it to me, it is necessary to know
to what class the verb belongs in its normal usage. Of course, this
is necessary only when the verb is found out of context, for in actual
discourse the presence of an object, either expressed by an in-
dependent word or understood, reveals at once the function of the
pronominal forms.

97. The composition of these forms presents an interesting
problem in linguistic analysis. From an inspection of the above
table, we can readily isolate two sets of pronominal morphemes:
*-la*, *-lo*, *-lawo*, and *-ta*, *-to*, *-wo*, *-wa*. On technical considerations no
objection can be raised in regard to the first set. The forms *-la*, *-lo*,
*-lawo* may be considered separable from the accompanying ele-
ments, since they are in one case preceded by *qa-* and in the other
by *ti-*. Furthermore, the element *-ti* may possibly be identical with
one morphologic factor in the obviative *-sti* (Sec. 100), while *qa-* is
identical, at least in form, with one of the signs of the passive voice
(Sec. 106), and may with less probability be one of the components
of the reflexive *-sqal*. Whether these coincidences argue for func-
tional identity in the present language, or are to be reckoned only
as indications of cognate origin is a question we cannot answer with
any degree of confidence in the light of the data at our disposal. The
isolation of the second series of pronominal forms contemplated
above raises more serious doubts. We may state at the outset that
the forms *-ta*, *-to*, *-wo*, *-wa* are functionally inseparable from the *s*-
that precedes them. They cannot be appended to any other forms,
and it is problematic whether the consonant which invariably pre-
cedes them is functionally identifiable with the verbal classifier *-s*
(Sec. 91), with the postpositive *-s* which means "to give" or with the
causative *-s* (Sec. 104). If we disregard these doubtful connections,
we must conclude that the forms *-sta*, *-sto*, *-swo*, *-swa* are morpholog-

ically indivisible. The fact that they have one consonant in common and the observation that the analogous forms -*tila*, -*qala*, etc. may perhaps be composite, is not sufficient ground to regard -*s* as a separate morpheme. An analogous situation is present in the English words "what, which, who, when, where, whence, whither". Were we to adopt the methods which are frequently applied in the analysis of illiterate languages, we could isolate an initial element *hw*-, to which we might assign an interrogative function. Then, the remaining elements -*at*, -*ich*, -*en*, etc. would be characterized as adverbs or pronouns denoting place, time, thing, etc. Some support for this analysis would apparently be found in such points of contact as, "what", and "that"; "where, there, whither, here". Such a method of procedure, besides failing to discover the actual facts in the history of these words, misrepresents the functional facts in modern English or even in Anglo-Saxon. To us, "what, that, where, there" are indivisible morphemes, as are also "that, those, this, these, there, they, them, the, thus," in spite of the evident morphologic element *th*- which these words have in common, and which incidentally represents an actual historic connection. Likewise, when one Quileute informant was asked what part of the word *t'si·xista'*, show it to me, means m e, his reply was -*sta*, not -*ta*, as we would expect from the logical analysis contemplated above. In the same manner -*qalawo*, and -*tilawo* were given for *you*. Considering the doubtful functional connection of *ti*- and *qa*- with the other elements mentioned above, these reactions of the native suggest caution.

It seems advisable, therefore, to regard all the forms of the above table as functionally indivisible. The recurrence of the elements *ti*-, *qa*-, *s*- we may consider only of historical significance. Of the same nature may be such mutual points of contact as -*a* in -*tila*, -*qala*, -*sta*, for the first person singular; -*o* in -*tilo*, -*qalo*, -*sto* for the first person plural; -*wo* in -*tilawo*, -*qalawo*, -*swo* of the second person; and the presence of -*l* in all the forms of the direct object, contrasted with its absence in those which can be used as indirect objects. Further identities of form and similarities of function will be pointed out below. In the light of the preceding discussions, these points of contact will be presented, without further comment, as possible etymologic connections, unless it is otherwise stated.

98. Certain limitations are observed in the use of the above objective pronouns. We notice, first, that there is no form for the direct object of the third person. The use of a transitive verb without an object is sufficient to indicate that a third person is affected. However, when emphasis, contrast, or precision of reference is desired, the free objective pronouns given below are used after the verb. These free morphemes perform no other function.

When the action of the verb is regarded as a benefit or as a detriment to the indirect object, -b is used instead of -swa. This rule, however, does not apply in cases in which a person serves as a substitute for another in the performance of an act, unless it is desired to bring into relief the benefit derived therefrom. In many cases in which -b occurs it appears from our point of view that it stands for a direct object rather than an indirect. This is due, of course, to the fact that the same meaning is expressed by a transitive verb in one language and by an intransitive in the other. For example, to curse some one, is dealt with as an intransitive in Quileute, the person cursed being an indirect object.

Another important limitation in the use of the objective forms is found when the subject is a third person and the object a second person. In this situation the passive voice is used for the direct or the indirect object. Thus, "he hit you" is rendered by "you were hit." "They gave you many dogs," becomes "you were given many dogs."

The omission of the objective pronoun in relation to the persons which are subjects or objects and the substitution of the passive voice may be represented as follows:

|  | I, WE | THOU, YE | HE, THEY |
|---|---|---|---|
| ME, US |  | pronoun | pronoun |
| THEE, YOU | pronoun |  | passive |
| HIM, THEM (direct) | omitted | omitted | omitted |
| (indirect) | pronoun | pronoun | pronoun |

The following examples illustrate the uses of the objective pronouns. Other illustrations will be found in QT. 16:15; 18:3; 18:8; 18:11; 19:49; 20:7; 20:17; 20:20; 21:13; 22:26; 26:77.

### ti-forms

xwa''t'sátilas, he hit me
xwa''t'sátilawo'li, I hit you
xwa''t'sátilolitc, you hit us
céqwatilawo''oli, I will pull you
céqwatila'litc, you pulled me
hé'otilaci'las, he is going to accompany me
ké·xatila's, he lifted me
qáqatila'woli, I carried you away

### s-forms

xwa''t'sás·ta'xas, he was hitting me
xwa''t'sáswo'li, I was hitting you
xwa''t'sásto'litc, you were hitting us
céqwaswa'litc, you were pulling him
céqwaswo'li, I was pulling you
hés·ta'xas, he gave it to me
ẋe'la'áswoli, I am angry at you
ẋe'la'ástoxas, he is angry at us

*lüwó'os·ta'xas á·lita'*, he is bringing me salmon
*keqátswo''oli*, I shall push it away from you (-*t*, from)
*ká.de·yaswo'li*, I hid it from you
*tiłatswà·li*, I bought it for him
*ki'ta'swa ax$^u$*, send it to him
*ha'yoq$^u$s·ta'xas*, he invited me

### *qa*-forms

*se·'yaqalas*, he sees me
*se·'yaqalawo'li*, I see you
*se·'yaqalo'litc*, you see us
*t'a'tca'a·'qalawo'li*, I know you
*t'a'tca'a·'qalas*, he knows me
*baye'qołá·qalas*, he was making fun of me
*adá·sa·qalas*, he is looking for me
*hálaqalawo'li*, I am speaking to you
*hé·t'iqalawoci''ili*, I will marry you
*baqa·'wata libe·'tiqalawo'lo*, we are stronger than you

### Uses of -*b*

*łás-taxo-pa-b-li*, I broke his bow string (broke-string-bow-him-I)
*ki·yabli*, I coaxed him
*lá'ełabli*, I cursed him
*céq$^u$qabli*, I pulled the canoe for him (-*qa*, canoe)

99. The following free morphemes are used as objective pronouns for the direct and the indirect object:

| | |
|---|---|
| me | *al·à·b* |
| thee | *he* |
| him, it | *xo''o* (near the speaker) |
| | *so''o* (near the second person) |
| | *sa''a* (removed from both) |
| | *tca''a* (visible at a long distance) |
| | *tci''tci'* (invisible, known) |
| | *xu'xwa'* (invisible, unknown) |
| her | *ki'ksa* (visible) |
| | *ki'kci* (invisible, known) |
| | *ku'kwa* (invisible, unknown) |
| us | *q$^u$loba''a* |
| you | *kika'a* |
| them (non-fem.) | *so'ó·'o* (near) |
| | *sa'á·'a* (at a distance) |
| them (fem.) | *ki'ksa'a* (visible) |
| | *ki'kci'i* (invisible, known) |
| | *ku'kwa'a* (invisible, unknown) |

This promonimal series includes various elements which are found either in the subjective pronouns (Sec. 67) or in the locative demonstratives (Sec. 116). All the forms of the third person singular, non-feminine gender, are identical with the locative demonstratives. The feminine *ku'kwa'* is found also in one of the subjective series.

Whether the subjective *ku'kwa'* is to be considered as a different morpheme from the objective *ku'kwa'*, and a like distinction is to be drawn between the locative demonstratives and the objective pronouns of the third person, depends on how we define a morpheme. Their inclusion in the above list may be justified on the ground that our purpose is to present a system rather than a list of unique forms. In the other members of this series we find only points of contact, e. g.: objective *al·à·b*, subjective indicative *lab*, subjunctive *al*; objective *he*, indicative *tche*, subjunctive *tc*; objective *qᵘloba''a*, subjective indicative *lub·a'à·*, subjunctive *aqᵘ*, conditional *t'oqᵘ*. The process by which the singular forms of the third person are pluralized is evident also in the subjective pronouns. The uses of the pronominal free morphemes were indicated above (Sec. 98). Examples in connected discourse will be found in Q. T. p. 13:3; 4:3; 36:42.

100. It was shown in Sec. 96 that the pronominal forms *-sta*, *-sto*, *-swo*, *-swa* may express two objective relations which are entirely different from the point of view of the languages that are more familiar to us. In some situations they are equivalent to our indirect objects, while in others they are direct objects of verbs expressing continuous action, and which of these two relations is meant can be determined by the context or by the presence of an object expressed by an independent word or clause. It would seem that although these pronominal forms are used for both relations, the Quileute speaker is conscious of their difference. That is, these morphemes perform two distinct functions; not one, as we might infer from the morphologic facts. This inference is supported by the fact that in situations in which the *s-* pronominal forms can be ambiguous, the elements *-sti*, *-li*, *-la* are used to indicate that they stand for an indirect object. These elements cannot be regarded as pronouns, for they can refer to any direct object regardless of the person. They seem to be special symbols of a direct object relation when the indirect object is expressed by a pronominal form, or they merely indicate that another entity is concerned. We may call them *obviatives*, considering that their office is somewhat similar to the obviative in Kutenai. In *t'lico-sti-swo-'oli*, I shall separate it from you, were we to omit the element *-sti*, the pronoun *-swo* of the second person, could stand for a direct object in durative action, and hence, *t'lico-swo-'oli* would mean "I shall be separating you, drawing you apart". Likewise, *kwati-sta*, means "try me, put me to a test"; but *kwati-sti-sta* indicates that something or some one else is the direct object, and may, accordingly, mean "try it for me (in my stead)".

As in most languages, when a direct and an indirect object are present, in the majority of cases the direct object is a thing and the

indirect is a person. Very few verbs have been found in this language whose meaning would require a person as a direct object coincidently with an indirect object, but where such a situation is possible the same obviatives are used regardless of what person is the direct object. Thus, *t'lico-sti-swo-'oli*, means "I will separate him from you," while *t'lico-sti-swa-'ali*, means "I will separate you from him;" similarly "you will separate me from him" necessitates only a change in the subject pronoun: *t'lico-sti-swa-'alitc*.

It should be noted that the obviatives are used occasionally when the object to which they refer is expressed by a noun, viz. *le'tco-sti-sta-'as s ho'kᵘt'sat*, he is going to wrap a blanket around me.

The choice of each of the three obviatives depends on the same tripartite division observed in the use of the objective pronominal forms, as explained in Sec. 96, and is governed, accordingly, by the verbal classes (Sec. 93).

In the cases in which a single object pronoun would be expressed by the *ti*-forms, *-sti* represents the direct object; and a similar relation is observed between the *s*-forms and *-li* or *-la*. The verbs requiring the *qa*-forms, being of the neutral class, which are intransitive in their majority, can seldom be used with two objects. In a few cases in which it has been possible to form double object constructions with the neutral verbs, *-la* was employed to refer to the direct object. With other verbs, *-li* is used for the normal aspect of the verb (Sec. 132) and *-la* for an accidental durative or continuative. Examples of the uses of these elements are:

> *t'labaxo-sti-sta-litc*, you broke it on me
> *lexo-sti-swo-'oli*, I shall put it around you
> *kwato-sti-swo-'oli*, I shall try it on you
> *t'latco-sti-sta*, stick it on me
> *tciyo-sti-swo-'oli*, I shall put it under you
> *sa·ko-sti-s*, sew it on it
> *keqats-li-swo-lli*, I am going to push it away from you
> *k'ok'ot-li-swo-lli*, I am going to steal it from you
> *tilat-li-sta-litc*, you bought it from me
> *k'ok'ot-li-litc tci' tsiyapo's·tc*, he stole your hat
> *k'ok'ot-li-sta-litc tc kadè·do'*, you stole that dog from me
> *kwato-la-swo-li*, I am trying it on you
> *kwato-la-sta-litc*, you are trying it on me
> *kwato-la-sta-litc k'i'tat*, you try on me every day
> *tilat-la-sta-xas k'i'tat*, he buys it from me every day
> *tciyo-la-swo-li*, I am putting it under you
> *lexo-la-swo-li*, I am putting it around you

Although it is possible to use the obviatives in any case in which the reference to the direct object is ambiguous, with certain verbs the native prefers a periphrastic construction, and it is observed further that their use is avoided where they seem superfluous. The

following are instances in which the periphrastic construction is preferred:

*ki'ta-swo-lli tci''tci'*, I am sending it to you *(tci''tci'* represents the direct object; see Sec. 99)

*xa·'bili hé't'e·tsis*, I fixed it with it (literally, "I fixed by using it")

*k'alap'o-q<sup>u</sup>-swo-li*, I slammed it on you *(-q<sup>u</sup>*, place, location; the introduction of this concept *-q<sup>u</sup>* indicates that some object affected a part of something or somebody, hence, the pronoun *-swo* is readily interpreted as an indirect object.)

*xela-swo-li héq·tsoo't tci''tci'*, I am angry at you for it (literally, "I-am-angry-at-you, the-reason-is that-thing)

*é·xo'ts·li hé·kis*, I exchanged it for it (literally, "I-changed-it substituting-it")

101. Reciprocal objective relations are expressed by three formatives: *-xat, -tid, -sid*. Their uses are governed by the tripartite division effected by the pronominal forms of the objective case (Sec. 96). Thus, the reciprocal *-xat* is used in situations in which a pronominal object would be represented by the *qa*-forms, and similarly *-tid* corresponds to the *ti*-forms, and *-sid* to the *s*-forms. The possible etymologic significance of the recurrent elements *ti*- and *-s*, and the difficulties of attributing any functional value to them has been pointed out in Secs. 96, 97. Examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| *t'cáq-e-xa't-t'col,* | they wished to fight (one another) |
| *se·'ya-xa't-is,* | they (can) see each other |
| *hál-a-xa't-lo,* | we speak (to each other) |
| *ha'yoq<sup>u</sup>-sid-a's,* | they invite one another |
| *xe'la-'a-sid-lo,* | we are angry at each other |
| *lá'el-a-sid-a's,* | they cursed each other |
| *xwa''t's-á-tid-a's,* | they hit each other (once) |
| *céqw-a-tid-a's,* | they pulled each other |
| *céqw-a-sid-a's,* | they kept on pulling each other |

See also QT. p. 9:12; 13 : 5, 7, 9, 12; p. 13:15, 16; p. 21:5; p. 19:41; 21:2; 23:34.

102. Reflexive action is denoted by the formative *-sqal*, which serves for all persons. It is of interest to note that this is the only objective element which can be used with all the verbal classes, and with the three divisions observed in the uses of all other morphemes involved in the expression of objective relations. Coincident with this observation we notice that it has considerable semantic independence, for it may be affixed to nouns or verbs to express a concept of disguise, pretence,[1] or simulation, viz.: *we·sát'sopat-sqal-e'-l*, he was going to pretend to be a woman (make some one believe he was one); *hét'e.ci'-sqal-aks*, she pretended she was married; *hé.tk-a-sqal-as*, he pretended to be sick. It is possible that these are

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[1] In Spanish a concept of pretence is commonly expressed by the reflexive of the verb *hacer*, to make, viz.: *se hizo el enfermo*, he pretended to be sick.

idiomatic uses of a reflexive morpheme, or that the reflexive function is a special development of such meanings, or else that a concept unfamiliar to us underlies all these uses.

Examples of the reflexive usage:

| | |
|---|---|
| *tcilá-sqal-a's,* | he warmed himself |
| *se·'y-a-sqal-a's,* | he sees himself |
| *xe'la-'a-sqal-aks,* | she is angry at herself |
| *xwa''t's-á-sqal-i''ili,* | I shall hit myself. |

See also QT. 15:28; 19:39; 20:7; 21:32; 23:13, 30; 24:8.

## *Causation.*

103. One of the most prevalent notions connoted in all languages in the relation between the subject and the verb is one of causation. The subject causes or produces an effect with the majority of the transitive and with many intransitive verbs. Logically, the production of an effect is as clear in "I stopped him," as in "I made him stop." Within a given language the expression of causation by a special morpheme or by implication in the subject-predicate relation, generally involves a distinction of meaning, either in its reference to experience or in the subjective attitude of the speaker. But this holds true mainly for the use of a given verb in one or the other manner, as in the above example with "stop." In other cases the language may resort to the use of a special morpheme to denote causation merely as an expedient to employ an intransitive verb transitively. Moreover, it frequently happens that a more direct causation is expressed by the subject-predicate relation than by a special morpheme, as in "I set him down" and "I made him sit down." Evidently we are dealing with a question of form which each language determines for itself and bears mainly on the use of particular verbs. This is quite evident in the Quileute morphemes which express causation.

There are no definite lines of demarcation between the expression of causation and the use of the verbal classifiers *-ts*, and *-s*. In fact, these two morphemes occur in both situations. We have regarded them as classifiers when they are semantically inseparable from a given verb, as in *kaba-ts*, to mix; *t'okwa-ts*, to cut in two; *t'laxwa-ts*, to shoot with a gun; *t'sa·ba-ts*, to poke. Obviously, if we knew the meaning which *kaba-*, *t'okwa-*, etc. had originally or, perhaps, have at present, the use of the causative might seem quite logical, but it has not been possible to find a context in which they can be used without it. These morphemes are reckoned as signs of causation when a verb which generally appears with another classifier, as *talawe-l*, to run, changes the normal classifier to introduce a notion of causation, as *talawe-ts*, to cause to run.

This functional distinction is supported also by the fact that there is a special sign of causation, -tces, which does not occur as a classifier. Whether the -s in this formative is to be identified functionally with the classifier -s or the concurrence represents a historical connection, or is a mere accident, we have no means of determining.

104. There are, therefore, three signs of causation, -tces, -ts, -s. The choice of one of them in a given situation can be more definitely predicted on a formal basis than on an analysis of meaning. Verbs of the neutral class (Sec. 93) take -tces, those of the l-class and most of the t-class use -ts when the nature of the causal act is momentaneous, but when the causal agency is continuous or repetitive, as in "I kept on making him run," -s is used. This use of -s is analogous to one of the functions of the pronominal forms -sta, -sto, -swo, -swa (Sec. 96). A further point of contact with these pronominal functions is the occasional use of -s to denote that a person was compelled or persuaded to perform an act for his own benefit.

Most of the verbs of the x-class cannot be employed in causative predication, but a change of verb or idiom is generally resorted to. One of these verbs, t'silowatx, to climb, ascend, takes -s. One verb of the neutral class, ita, to drink, occurs with the causative -ts, instead of -tces, in ita'tsilo, we made (them) drink (start drinking), and with -s in ita'silo, we kept on making them drink. Other irregularities have occurred, but in no case can a verb appear either with -tces or with one of the other causatives, regardless of the change in context.

The tripartite division of the causatives is analogous to the use of the three series of pronominal forms for objective relations (Sec. 96). In both cases there is an interchange between two classes (the ti- and s- series in the pronominal forms and the causatives -ts, -s), and one which remains isolated (the qa- pronominal forms and the causative tces-). The further correspondence of the two functions of the s-pronouns and the -s causative has already been mentioned. The verbal classes (as determined by the verbal classifiers) which fall within the province of each causative correspond in general with those which take each of the three series of pronominal forms, although there are many exceptions. The most regular correspondence is exhibited by the neutral class, which requires the causative -tces and the qa-series of pronominal forms. A further correspondence to this threefold division will be shown in the passive voice.

Illustrations of the uses of the causative formatives are:

> lebat'e-tces-ili, I caused him to fall asleep
> tci'iyaxo-tces-as, he makes it stand up
> t'seqa-tces-as, he causes it to hail
> á·lati-tces-sta-xas, he made me cry

*talawe-ts-ili*, I made him run
*waxi-ts-ili*, I made him stop
*kaxa-ts-as*, he caused it to open
*be'exa-ts-as*, he made it thunder
*ada''ada-ts-ili*, I made him talk
*kitsi-ts-ilitc*, you made him kick
*ita-ts-ilo*, we made them drink


*qwase''li-s-li*, I let him dig roots
*ha''t'so-s-litc*, you made him go to bed
*kitsa-tilawo-s-li*, I made him kick you
*talawe-s-ili*, I kept on forcing him to run
*ada''ada-s-ilitc*, you kept on forcing him to speak

See also QT. 15:17; 19:13; 23:23; 23:24; 23:33; 24:2; 24:4; 26:13, 18, 19, 29, 51; 27:4; 38:39, 53; 39:25; 42:25, 28, 37; 43:25; 45:9.

### PASSIVE VOICE.

105. The Quileute passive voice is a construction in which the normal subject-predicate relation is inverted. The normal relation is not to be reckoned by logical implications or by our standards, but by Quileute usage. Thus, if in *se·ya-litc*, you see (him), the pronoun *-litc* refers to the person who sees, while in *se·ya-qa-litc*, the same subject pronoun refers to the person who is seen, we are to regard the latter as a passive voice construction notwithstanding the fact that in most cases it corresponds to our sentence, "he sees you". However, many uses of the Quileute passive correspond to ours. The passive voice is resorted to much more frequently than in English.

106. Besides the inversion of the relation normally connoted by the subjective pronouns, four formatives are employed. One of these, *-t*, has been found only with four verbs, the other three, *-qa*, *-tsil (-tsel)*, *-sil (-sel)*, divide all the verbs into three classes which correspond in every respect to those of the causative formatives. Thus, if one knows what causative is used with a given verb, it is possible to predict almost invariably what passive voice suffix it will require. The correspondence is as follows:

| Causative | Passive |
|-----------|---------|
| *-tces*   | *-qa*   |
| *-ts*     | *-tsil* |
| *-s*      | *-sil*  |

We are at once impressed by the morphologic points of contact between the causative *-ts*, *-s*, and the passive *-tsil*, *-sil*. The *-l* element of the passive morphemes might be identified with the verbal classifier *-l* (Sec. 93). Only, the validity of a morphologic identification based on a single phonetic element is questionable, partic-

ularly in cases like the present, where the meaning of the morpheme cannot be determined. As shown in Sec. 89, the uses of the verbal classifier -*l* are predominantly formal. On the other hand, the morphologic correspondences of the causatives -*ts*, -*s* and the passive -*tsil*, -*sil* is doubtless significant, for they are used in the two presumably different functions with the same verbal classes. It may be argued further, that the connotations of the passive voice are not very divergent from those of causative action, considering that the meaning of most of the verbs with which these morphemes are used (Secs. 104, 106) is such that the subject of the causative and the agent ("logical subject") of the passive actually cause an effect upon the entity represented by the object of the causative or by the grammatical subject of the passive. Nevertheless, the fact that the person affected is represented in one construction by an object and by a grammatical subject in the other, leads us to conclude that these two constructions are fundamentally different in form and function. The points of contact we have observed may represent a historic connection, rather than a functional fact in the present language.

It is of interest to note in this connection that the causative signs have been used in a few instances with a passive meaning. Generally, a causative passive, like *lebat'e-tces-i-sil*, (he) was put to sleep (literally, he was caused to fall asleep) is constructed by employing the proper causative sign *(-tces* in this case) together with the sign of the passive *(-sil)*. It is possible, however, to say *lébat'e'-tces xe' ü'xwalo·'la'*, (he) was put to sleep by the shaman. Here, the agent of the action is preceded by the oblique case of the article, as in the normal use of the passive voice (Sec. 112). It would seem that, apart from the help of the context, this construction is ambiguous unless the agent is expressed, thus,

> *xile''*, he became angry
> *xile's*, he made (him) angry
> *xile's xe' tcoo'tsk'*, he was made angry by the boy
> *xile's yix tcoo'tsk'*, the boy made him angry
> *xile'' yix tcoo'tsk'*, the boy became angry.

Obviously, we have no means of determining whether this use of the causative suffixes is a survival or a later development.

107. One of the most common services rendered by the passive voice is to express an objective relation in which a third person is the subject and a second person is the object. As stated in Sec. 98 in such situations the second person objective forms -*tilawo*, -*qalawo*, -*swo* cannot be used; e. g.:

> *sayá'a-qa-litc*, he likes you (you are liked)
> *xali-tsil-i''ilitc*, he will skin you
> *ada'adal-sel-elitc*, he spoke to you
> *t'atca''a-qa-litc*, he knows you, they know you

108. Some uses of the Quileute passive voice are strange to us, and occasionally cannot be translated by our passive voice without considerable periphrasis. For example:

*t'ciqa-sel-e'litc*, it was killed for you (you were benefited by the killing of it)
*t'axt'ce-li-tsel-ilitc*, they warmed your feet (you were feet-warmed)
*t'ła'q'a-st'a'daxa'-tsel-ilitc*, he slapped you with his tail

The following sentences illustrate the uses of the passive voice formatives. Other examples will be found in QT. 13:28; 13:22; 17:30; 19:5; 20:4; 21:34; 22:2; 23:24; 24:20; 24:23; 26:61; 38:34.

> *t'atca'a-qa-li*, I am known
> *tso'o-st'ale-qa-li*, I was ordered to do so
> *é siya-qa-'a ax^u*, do not be seen
> *t'ciqa-tila-st'ale-qa-xas*, he was ordered to kill me
> *wakalaxesla-qa-li*, I am listened to
> *ha'yoq^u-qa-li*, I am invited
> *k'op-qa-litc*, you are loved
> *té·'lo-qa-xas*, he will be met at the beach
> *yalo'-qa-lo*, we were approached
>
> *lüwe-t'e-tsil*, his head was carried away
> *tsoxo'-tsil*, they were shot
> *t'ciqa-tsil*, he was killed
> *ciqo-tsil-li*, I was pulled
> *q'isi-tsil-litc*, you were hurt
> *letce-tsil*, they were wrapped up
> *ká'ada-tsil*, they were hung
> *t'ła·k'i-tsil-i''ilitc*, you will be pricked
>
> *tsixi-sel-as*, he was shown it (it was shown to him)
> *kule-sel-i''ilitc*, you will be named
> *wéqwala-sel*, they were summoned
> *ada'adał-sel-li*, I was spoken to
> *hé·yi-(s)-sel-li*, I was given a little *(hé·yis·el·i)*
> *kixtce-sel*, they told him a story (a myth)
> *tciye·'t'coq^u-sel-litc sa' k'á't'la*, they dropped a rock on you
> *héqa·wo'łxats-sel-iłlitc xwa' ha'tc*, you are going to be told something good.

The following are the only verbs which have been found with the element *-t* as a sign of the passive voice:

> *ba'k'-e-t-a-'yi-litc*, you had been asked
> *tip-e-t-a-c-e-litc*, you are gotten tired of (he got tired of you)
> *ba'q'olx-a-t-a-li*, I am being waited for (they are waiting for me)
> *t'ikasq-a-t-a-litc*, you are obeyed

### FREE MORPHEMES.

As stated in Section 45, the majority of the free morphemes are nouns of two or three syllables which cannot be analyzed into simpler elements. Consequently, most of them may be regarded as

lexicographical subject-matter. We shall mention here only the free morphemes whose functions may be properly discussed in a grammatical study.

## DEMONSTRATIVES.

109. There are two groups of demonstratives: those which refer to an entity (a being, an object, or an idea) and those which designate a location. The latter are conventionally classified as adverbs in most grammars. Those which refer to an entity are:

| | | FEMININE | |
| ARTICLES | NON-FEMININE | Singular | Plural |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Subjective | *yix̣* | *yik* | *ya''ak* |
| Oblique, definite | *x̣e'* | *ki'* | *ka'ki'* |
| Oblique, indefinite | *s* | *ks* | *as* |
| **INVISIBLE** | | | |
| Unknown, unrelated | *x̣ᵘ* | *kᵘ* | |
| Unknown, related | *x̣wa'* | *kwa'* | |
| Known | *tci'* | *kci'* | |
| **VISIBLE** | | | |
| Near speaker | *yü'x̣·o* | *yü'k·o* | |
| Near second person | *yi'tca* | | |
| Near both | *sa''a* | *ksa'* | |
| Removed from both | *ha* | | |

These demonstratives perform some of the most important syntactic functions in the Quileute sentence. As we shall see below (Sec. 112) the cohesion of the sentence depends very largely upon these free morphemes. In regard to the melodic aspect of the phrase in which they occur, it should be noted that some of them are pronounced as proclitic particles before the nouns or nominalized clauses to which they refer, but most frequently they are stressed as though these substantival units were subordinated to them. It may seem strange that such demonstratives as *s* and *ks* are here regarded as free morphemes. In the natural flow of connected discourse they sound as long initial consonants belonging to the following word, but the native readily isolates them when asked, for example, whether *s t'éi'k'al*, a house, is a single word or two words. The distinctions denoted by the different demonstratives may be classified under the following heads:

1. Visibility and invisibility

2. Relative position
   (a) near the speaker
   (b) near the person addressed
   (c) near both
   (d) removed from both

3. Relation to previous experience
   (a) unknown
   (b) known by hearsay
   (c) known by immediate experience
   (d) mentioned in the present conversation or known to all persons.

4. Gender
   (a) feminine
   (b) non-feminine

5. Number
   (a) singular
   (b) plural

6. Syntactic relations
   (a) subjective case
   (b) oblique case

The fundamental principle which seems to govern the employment of the various forms of the demonstratives is the degree to which the object or person is felt as a perceptive reality. Each form responds to more or less definite differentials in a scale that ranges from actual perception to the feeling of unreality that may accompany the thought of an object that has never been seen by the speaker or has been presented to him as a reality by some one else. From this point of view of degree of perceptive reality we can arrange the demonstratives in the following ascending order: (1) $x^u$, $k^u$; (2) $xwa$', $kwa$'; (3) $tci$', $kci$'; (4) $sa$''$a$, and the others which refer to visible objects. The articles do not fit properly into this scheme.

110. The demonstrative function of the articles does not differ much from that of the articles in English and other European languages, except that they cannot be used before distributed terms (distributed in the logical sense), as "the dog is man's oldest friend." We may contrast them with the other Quileute demonstratives from the viewpoint that the article is a word of anaphoric reference to an entity in the speaker's discourse, or one which is generally known by all persons; whereas the other demonstratives connect directly with the thought of objective reality, or refer to an entity that is known or unknown to either the speaker or the person addressed. For example, the article $yix$ may be rendered by the words *the* or *this*, but *this* is to be interpreted as "the one I mentioned," or "the thing everybody knows;" while $xwa$', which may be equivalent to *this* or *that* is to be paraphrased as "the one which I heard of," or "the one which you know of." A closer step toward objective reality may be taken by using $sa$''$a$, which may mean *this* or *that* but must be accompanied by a gesture in its normal use.

The feminine articles are used before nouns which refer to female beings, as woman, girl, sister, wife, female shaman, mare, or the female of any large animal. The non-feminine forms are used before any noun that does not signify a female being. This includes men, inanimate objects, abstract ideas, and clauses which are syntactically dealt with as though they were nouns.

111. The fundamental distinction between the definite and the indefinite articles corresponds in several respects to that of our articles *the, a*. In its most common use, the Quileute definite article refers to an object that has been mentioned in the discourse, whereas the indefinite article introduces a new reference into the discourse. The new object may be known to both the speaker and the listener, but the speaker withholds that fact from the listener, at least for the moment, or the fact that the object is known may be irrelevant, and the speaker introduces it by merely referring to the general class, as *a hat, a canoe*, that is, one of those things we all know which are called hats, canoes, etc. Most frequently, the object is known to the speaker and not to the listener, as in "I bought a hat." In such cases, if the speaker intends to give more details about the hat, he will use the demonstrative *xwa'*, which can be interpreted as "not known to you." But if his intention is merely to introduce the new fact without considering its relation to the second person's experience, it is probable that he will use the indefinite article. However, personal habits of speech seem to incline to the use of one or to the other. In the language of the myths the articles are used in practically all situations in preference to the demonstrative *xwa'*, but the latter occurs more frequently in conversation.

It is not clear why the indefinite articles are always used before proper nouns of persons or localities, regardless of how familiar they may be to the speaker as well as to the listener. When a clause is treated as a noun, as it is often the case, the definite non-feminine articles are used if the fact expressed in the clause is related to previous experience, while the indefinite article is generally employed if such a relation does not exist.

112. The oblique forms of the articles perform a variety of syntactic functions, which are quite diverse from our point of view. They denote every possible relation between a noun and a verb, excepting that of the subject to the predicate. The most important functions assigned to them are: to designate (1) the object of the verb, which, from our point of view, may be direct or indirect; (2) to subordinate a clause to a noun; a construction equivalent to our relative clause; (4) various other relations of space, time, instrumentality, and purpose, the determination of which depends on the context; (5) to introduce the agent of the passive voice.

The following sentences illustrate the most common uses of the articles discussed in the preceding sections:

*é·c* (1) *yix̱* (2) *kule·'yut'* (3) *tcat'ce·'yot* (4), many of the Quileutes were chatting. 1, to be much or many. 2, article, non-feminine gender, subjective case, referring to 3, which is the subject of 1 and 4, the latter is a coordinate verb. 5, Quileute. 6, to chat, talk idly; the suffix *-t* (Sec. 91) expressing a state of activity turns this verb into a kind of participle: many were the Quileutes who were chatting, or the chatting Quileutes.

*xaba'c* (1) *yix̱* (2) *kule·'yut'* (3) *t'atci* (4) *xe'* (5) *kule·'s* (6) *yix̱* (7) *ho'kwat'* (8), practically all the Quileutes knew the name of this white man. 1, to be all, to be complete; the inceptive *-c* gives the whole sentence an inceptive aspect; that is, the name was beginning to be known to all, or more literally, it was beginning to be all of them who knew the name; this idea is reflected also by the ending of 4. 2, article, as in the preceding sentence. 4, *t'atc-*, to know; this verb takes the applicative classifier *-a* (Sec. 88) in its durative sense of being in possession of knowledge, the use of *-i* in this case indicates the fact of coming into possession of knowledge, learning; verbs of the neutral class, like this, do not admit the inceptive *-c*. 5, article, non-feminine, oblique case, referring to the following clause which is the object of 4. 6, *kule-*, name; *-s*, to cause a condition (Sec. 91), that is, a person causes others to apply a certain name to him; to assign a name to (for the first time) requires the classifier *-l*; to have a name requires no verbal classifier, neutral class (Sec. 93). 7, article, like 2, as modifier of subject of 6. 8 — white man.

*q'waeti'* (1) *yi·'kal* (2) *xe'* (3) *itca·'lat* (4), Q'waeti' went on his way. 1, the name of the Quileute culture hero. 2, to keep on going. 3, article, oblique case. 4, *itc-*, to move through space toward a definite point; *-a*, applicative classifier; *-l*, to intend or sign of purposive action (Sec. 131); *-t*, sign of nominalization (Sec. 122).

*é·ca·si'l* (1) *s* (2) *pótsxwil* (3) *xe'* (4) *ka'ptid* (5), they were given much canvas by the captain. 1, *é·c-*, to be much or many; see 1 in the first example; *-sil* (or *-sel*), passive voice (Sec. 106); the postpositive meaning "to give" is *-s*, which collides with the *-s* of the next element; the word can be pronounced also *é·cas·i'l*; the meaning being "(they) were given much". 2, indefinite article, oblique case. 3, canvas. 4, definite article, oblique case for the logical subject of the passive voice. 5, Quileute adaptation of the English word "captain".

*hawa'yicka* (1) *toqo'l* (2) *s* (3) *bâ·yaq* (4) Deer answered Raven. 1, Deer, personification of the animal. 2, to answer. 3, indefinite article required before all proper nouns in the oblique case. 4, Raven.

*état* (1) *siya* (2) *xe'* (3) *potsoò·q* (4) *xe'* (5) *lüwò·* (6) *xe'* (7) *si'yat* (8) *á·lita''* (9), she could never see the people who brought the salmon that she saw. 1, never. 2, see, without any verbal classifier denotes the possibility of seeing. 3, article, oblique case. 4, *poò·q*, man, with infix for distributed plural (Sec. 59). 5, article performing a function equivalent to our relative pronoun, it governs the clause which completes the sentence. 6, to bring to a definite place (*liw-*, and the applicative classifier for definite location). 7, article governing the object of 6. 8, the suffix *-t* converts the verb into a kind of participle; see 4 in the first example; for the convergence of this with the nominalizing function see Sec. 91. 9, salmon or food; this noun is either the object of the participle, or 8 is substantival and qualifies 9.

*síyac* (1) *x̣e'* (2) *le'tcti* (3) *ó·* (4) *x̣e'* (5) *ó·t'oslaks* (6), he saw the blood on her
    thighs.  1, saw; -c, inceptive.   2, article governing object of 1.
    3, blood.  4, to be at a place, independent use of the formal base for
    location (Sec. 56). 5, article, oblique case after 4. 6, her thigh; *ó·-*, formal
    base for location; *-ks*, subject pronoun used as a possessive (Sec. 83).
*xabi'k'iłq'os* (1) *x̣e'* (2) *tiyało''* (3), (she) prepared a pillow for her husband.
    1, prepared a pillow; *xabi-* to make ready, mend, fix; *k'iłq'o-*, pillow;
    *-s*, causative.  2, oblique case of the article expressing a relation
    equivalent to that of the dative in other languages.
*q'waeti'* (1) *tci·'tcal* (2) *yix̣* (3) *atłaxe''e·qa* (4) *łibe·'ti* (5) *ü'xwało·'la'* (6),
    Q'waeti' made use of magic, for he was reported to be a powerful shaman.
    1, Name of the culture hero.  2, to apply magic, to discover or cure by
    means of magic.  3, subjective case of the article, which, to use a
    conventional terminology, is in apposition with *q'waeti'* and hence serves
    as a pronoun, subject of the following clause.  4, was reported, was said
    commonly; *-qa*, sign of the passive voice of neutral verbs (Sec. 106).
    7, strength, power; used as a qualifier.  8, shaman (see Sec. 53 re-
    garding *üxwa-* as a formal base).

113. In direct discourse, when the object is not known to the
speaker, $x^u$ (non-feminine), $k^u$ (feminine) or *xwa'* (non-feminine),
*kwa'* (feminine) precede the noun. The distinction between these
two pairs is parallel to that of *x̣e'* and *s*. That is, $x^u$ introduces an
unknown unrelated object, while *xwa'* refers to an object that is
known to only one of the interlocutors or not known to either, but
has been mentioned in the discourse, or is otherwise related
indirectly to previous experience, as when the speaker has been told
about the object by his interlocutor or some one else in previous
conversations. Thus, the meaning of *xwa'* merges into that of the
definite article, as pointed out in Sec. 111. This distinction between
$x^u$ and *xwa'* is shown very clearly in the following sentence:

*wéls·wo* (1) $x^u$ (2) *qwa·'t'ła'* (3) *xwa'* (4) *hélitse''t'a* (5) *titc* (6) *xwa'* (7) *póoq* (8)
    *titc* (9) *é·wa·litc* (10), a whale will be given to you which you may feed
    to the people when you arrive.  1, *wel-*, one; *-s*, to give; *-swo*, pronominal
    object, *to you*; a kind of impersonal construction equivalent to the
    passive voice; literally, "some one give you."  2, demonstrative for an
    unknown, unrelated object; the speaker intended to fish a whale for
    this purpose, hence the whale is entirely unrelated to experience and is
    introduced in the discourse for the first time.  3, whale.  4, demon-
    strative for an unknown object, previously mentioned; since the whale
    has just been mentioned, all the demonstratives referring to it will no
    longer be $x^u$, they may be *xwa'* or *yix̣* (*x̣e'*), the articles; *xwa'* is pre-
    ferred here because the whale is the important topic; this demonstrative
    refers back to 3 and is the object of 5, equivalent to our relative pro-
    nouns; similar to the last example under Sec. 112.  5, to feed, to serve
    as food; the suffix *-a* is the sign of subordination required by all verbs
    whose subjects are represented by a conditional pronoun (Secs. 76—78).
    6, conditional pronoun subject of a subordinate clause expressing
    contingent future action.  7, demonstrative for persons unknown to
    the speaker, but mentioned by his interlocutor in previous conversations;
    it refers to the tribe from which the interlocutor had come.  9, con-
    ditional pronoun for contingent occurrence, subject of 10.   10, *é·wa·l*,
    to arrive from an ocean trip; *-itc*, suffix expressing eventuality (Sec. 76).

114. When the object is known to the speaker, but not present in the circumstantial context of the communication, the proper demonstrative is *tci'* (non-feminine), *kci'* (feminine). The same forms are used for all syntactic relations. As already stated (Sec. 54), these demonstratives take the place of the formal bases *hé-* and *ó-* to express a distributed plural. An interesting contrast in the use of *tci'* and $x^u$ (Sec. 113) is seen in the expressions for *yesterday* and *to-morrow*. The word *tawi'l* may be rendered as *contiguous day*, which is equally applicable to the day following and to the day preceding the present. By using the demonstrative for an invisible, experienced fact, we obtain the expression for "yesterday," *tci' tawi'l*; while "to-morrow" requires the demonstrative for invisible, unexperienced facts, $x^u$ *tawi'l*. Examples of the normal uses of *tci'* and *kci'* are:

*tci'* (1) *hél·osi* (2) *t'oqᵘ* (3) *loto'li* (4), the canoe in which we used to go across. 1, demonstrative, referring to a canoe known to both interlocutors but not present. 2, *hé-*, formal base; *-l·*, to travel in a canoe; at present also to ride in an automobile; *-o*, applicative classifier for location; *-s*, causative for continued action (Sec. 104); *-i*, subordinating suffix; the clause of the above example is taken from a sentence in which it was subordinated to the main verb; literally, "that in which we travelled"; there are many words for various types of canoes, but in Quileute one frequently refers to an object by mentioning its use; the word for "canoe" could be used in this context, but it seems superfluous, since both interlocutors know the canoe in question. 3, conditional pronoun, first person plural, used for customary action (Sec. 79). 4, *lot-*, to cross a stream or body of water; *-o*, applicative classifier for space; *-l*, verbal classifier; *-i*, subordinating suffix, as in 2.

*liweli·'ilo* (1) *sa''a* (2) *á·saya't* (3) *itca'si* (4) *kci'* (5) *tsi'tskwa''as* (6), we shall take that meat to my daughter. 1, we shall take. 2, demonstrative for an object present; the meat was in the canoe between the speaker and his interlocutor. 3, meat. 4, *itc-*, to be going in a definite direction; *-a*, applicative for motion; *-s*, causative for continued action; that is, they will cause the meat to go in a definite direction, namely, to his daughter's house; *-i*, sign of subordination, this verb being subordinate to the first verb. 5, demonstrative, feminine gender, for a person known to both interlocutors but not present. 6, daughter with the possessive *-s*.

115. When the person or object is visible or present, different demonstratives are used according to the position, the gender and syntactic relation, as shown in the table above (Sec. 109). The forms *yi'tca* and *ha* are used with any gender. Referring to a statement or an object which has just been mentioned *sa''a* or *sa'* may be used instead of the demonstratives for invisible objects, extending, thus, the concept of presence in space to include presence in mind. Illustrations in connected discourse will be found in QT. p. 14:18; p. 15:15; 6:1; 6:2; p. 18:10; p. 18:16; p. 20:16; p. 21:5; p. 21:10; 7:3; 7:10; 18:5; 19:5; 19:35; 24:12.

*Locative demonstratives.*

116. The locative demonstratives direct the attention of the person addressed toward a location, just as the preceding demonstratives direct it towards an object, a person or any other entity. They are:

Visible location
> *xo''o*, near the speaker
> *so''o*, near the second person
> *sa''a*, at a comparatively short distance from both
> *á·tca'a (tca''a)* at a long distance

Invisible location
> *xa'x·e*, near, indefinite in extension
> *tci''tci'*, known place
> *xu'xwa'*, unknown place

The concept "here" is expressed by *xa'x·e* when the location is near or when the speaker is in it, and hence, visible only in part. It corresponds to such English expressions as "over here, in this region, on this side." It is used also for such ideas as, "now, now-a-days," and functions as an initial morpheme with the postpositive *-qtiya*, day, to mean "to-day" *(xaxe'qtiya)*.

The other two locative demonstratives, *tci''tci'* and *xu'xwa'*, may be used for an immediate location as well as for a remote one. Their use depends on whether the place is known to the speaker from previous direct experience, having been there, or whether he imagines the place or has heard of it. For illustrations see QT. p. 14:7; p. 15:11; p. 15:17; p. 8:7; p. 18:9; 7:7; 7:8; 8:47; 14:13; 16:2; 16:12.


OTHER FREE MORPHEMES[1].

117. There are very few elements besides nouns, demonstratives and some of the pronouns, which we may confidently classify as unanalyzable free morphemes. The predilection for verbal forms is so manifest in Quileute, that even such words as *he'xat, hé·qati, abe''*, whose meaning is apparently identical to our conjunctions "and, also, because," respectively, are perhaps verbal compounds. The first one, *he'xat* may possibly consist of the formal base *hé-*, and other elements we cannot definitely identify. If the final element *-at* is the element which converts a verb into a noun or a participle (Sec. 122), the *-x* may be the continuative for motion (Sec. 66). We cannot be certain of the composition of *hé·qati*, but it is quite possible that it consists, like the latter, of the combination of two elements

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[1] Pronominal morphemes belonging to this morphologic class of free morphemes have been discussed in Sections 69, 73, 76, 81, 82, 84, 99.

appended to the formal base, bringing those elements into promin-
ence as illustrated with other affixes of the same nature in Section
55. We notice, further, that there are two other words of conjunctive
meaning, which are similarly formed: *héqal*, to, for, against; and
*héqale'k*, due to. We may be sure that *abe''* is a verb, as evidenced by
its occurrence with pronominal affixes, e. g.:

> *abe''li é t'a'tca'a*, because I do not know

Here, *abe''* is the main verb, to which the pronoun *-li*, I, is affixed.
*é*, negative; *t'a'tc-*, to know, with the applicative classifier *-a*, and
the subordinating suffix separated by a glottal stop (Sec. 37); this
verb is subordinated to *abe''li*.

In other cases no data are available upon the elements which
integrate the words, but we have some reason to suspect that they
are composite. Compare, for example:

> *tca''wa'ac* (or *tca''wac*), then, after
> *tca''we·la*, nevertheless
> *la*, still, yet, even so, etc.

> *hoi*, only, just
> *hoyali'l*, always, not only ... but also

The following free morphemes have not been found with affixes:

> *a·*, oh, (surprise)
> *ay^i*, oh, ah, (pain, reproach)
> *è·*, yes
> *é·*, no
> *dâ·kil*, and, but, then, therefore, etc.
> *dê·xa''*, so that, in order that
> *tit'seka*, confound you
> *xec*, for, for the benefit of
> *la*, still, yet, even so, indeed (Greek δέ), and other meanings
> *ho'ho*, well, now, (French "donc")

118. A few remarks about the numerals may be pertinent in this
grammatical study. There are two forms for each of the first ten
numerals. One series which we may name *absolute*, is used when
counting objects or when employed independently, as in answer to
the question "How many?" The other series precedes the noun
which denotes the objects enumerated. The first six numbers of
this series may be used as initial morphemes to which postpositives
may be affixed. Individual usage varies for number *seven*. Some
persons affix postpositive elements to this numeral, while others
claim that it is not proper to do so. Thus, *láwaqt'si'silk'wa*, seven
children, may also be expressed by two free morphemes, *láwaqt'si'si
tcoo'tsk'*. But all informants concur in using *eight* and the other
numerals above *eight* without affixes. The forms for the first ten
numerals are:

|  | Syntactical | Absolute |
|---|---|---|
| one | *wa·ł-, we·ł-, we·-* | *weł* |
| two | *ławe-* | *łä′u* |
| three | *qwa′′le-* | *qwä′l* |
| four | *bayas-* | *bä′′yis* |
| five | *łasi-* | *łas* |
| six | *tciłasi-* | *tciła′s* |
| seven | *ławaqt′sisi-* | *łä′uaqt′sis* |
| eight | *ławet′ałi-* | *łä′ut′ał* |
| nine | *wiłt′ałi-* | *we′łt′ał* |
| ten | *t′ópa-* | *kstcił* |

There is only one series for the numerals above ten. They may be used absolutely or before nouns. In the latter case, those which end in -*o* change this vowel to -*i*, while those ending in -*a′* add -*a*, e. g.: *ławás·ta′a tcoo′sk′*, twenty children. It might thus be said, that this is the only instance of an adjectival formative in Quileute.

The numerals above ten are compounded as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 11 *wi′łt′siyo′′* | 21 *ławás·ta′ he′xat we·ł* |
| 12 *łäwe′′t′siyo′* | 22 *ławás·ta′ he′xat łä′u* |
| 13 *qwä′let′siyo′* | 30 *qwá′las·ta′* |
| 18 *ławe′t′ałe′′t′siyo′* | 40 *ba′′yás·ta′* |
| 19 *wéł·t′ałe′′t′siyo′* | 100 *tcíł·ta′s·ta′* |
| 20 *ławás·ta′* | |

## THE WORD.

119. The Quileute word may consist of one morpheme, as *è·*, yes, or of two or more, as *t′lá′q′asi′dast′a′daxa′las*, it is going to strike the water with its tail. In this language the judgment of the native is quite consistent in dividing the sentence into its morphologically independent units. Phonetic tendencies, as well as morphologic principles probably facilitate this clear delimitation. We observe, on the one hand, that there is no phonetic coalescence between the words, and on the other hand, that the free morphemes, which are the only elements capable of semantic independence, and also the initial morphemes, which, so far as we may infer from our experiments, approximate semantic independence, are never affixed to other elements. The native as a rule cannot recognize a disconnected postpositive, however concrete its meaning may be. It seems reasonable, therefore, to expect that the initial morphemes should clearly indicate the beginning of the word, and that the postpositives affixed to them should not be mistaken for separate elements. Similarly, there being no prefixation in Quileute, an erroneous transposition of a formative from the preceding word to the following, is very improbable. Apart from the native's awareness of such demarcations, the analyst can generally gather unmistakable morphologic and phonetic evidence to delimit the word.

## PARTS OF SPEECH.

Linguists are at variance as to the number, definition, and nomenclature of the "parts of speech." In the present classification it is not our purpose to propose a solution of this debatable question for all languages, but merely to treat such grammatical functions in the light of the morphologic and semantic phenomena exhibited in this particular language. It may not be superfluous to state at the outset that in the present analysis, the terms noun, verb, etc. denote functions; not ideas or forms. Thus, the word *t'laxà·l* is a verb in *t'laxà·l ó.ki s á·qala't*, get ready to go to James Island. That is, its functional share in the formation of this sentence is of a verbal nature. On the other hand when this word stands alone as in *t'laxà·l*, get ready! it is not a part of speech, but a complete act of speech, an utterance. If we should regard it as a verb in this case, our term would merely designate a form that can be used as a verb, but would not characterize its function in the particular act of speech under consideration. Accordingly, we may say that Quileute words serve as utterances, verbs, nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, qualifiers, and conjunctions.

120. All main verbs, as defined below, may function as utterances. Apart from these, very few Quileute words can perform this function. The forms that are used as nouns can never[1] be utterances. In English and other languages, in answer to the question "Who is there?" we may use a noun in the so-called eliptical sentence "John." In Quileute one must say "It is John." *(hé.xas* John). Aside from the verbal forms and interjections, the only words which are used as utterances are the absolute numerals (Sec. 118), most of the demonstratives, and the free morphemes *è·*, yes; *la*, indeed, *dâ·kil*, very well, so, (French "donc"). A negative reply cannot be expressed by a single morpheme as in English, "No." It is always necessary to affix a pronominal, temporal or aspect formative to the negative verb, *wa*, or in the case of a verb of the neutral class, (Sec. 93) the use of both negatives *é· wa-*, with the proper suffixes appended to the latter. These expressions are equivalent to saying "Not I," "You will not," etc.

121. We may dispense with a discussion of the nature of verbal function, and assume that it is identical to that of our verbs, there being no evidence to the contrary. What words function as verbs in a given Quileute sentence can be determined by certain morphologic characteristics, the most reliable of which is the use of pronouns. A word functions as a main verb when a pronominal postpositive

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[1] Unless we include the unique situation of asking a Quileute for the equivalent of an English word, and even in this case the word is often preceded by *hé* (Sec. 56) it is.

is or can be affixed thereto. The function of a word as a subordinate verb can be disclosed by the presence of a pronominal free morpheme before or after it or, in its absence, by the final subordinating suffix *-i* or *-a* (Sec. 136). A consistent application of these rules will lead us to classify as verbs certain words the meanings of which might not seem adaptable to verbal function, e. g.: *abe''*, because; *wa*, no; *ec*, much, many; *xaya'*, other; the syntactic forms of the numerals (Sec. 118), the free forms of the possessive pronouns (Sec. 84), and many others. These apparent oddities are doubtless due to our conventional translation. Should we render the predicative reference of *abé'* by a clause, such as, "the reason is" or "this is due to the fact that," its use as a verb would seem more natural. However, this translation fails to convey the meaning of *abe''* in such a clause as *abe''li é· t'átca'a'*, because I do not know. The affixation of the subject of the sentence *(-li)* to *abe''*, which apparently establishes a relation of cause and effect between two statements, clearly indicates that it is well-nigh impossible for us to realize the full import of this Quileute verb. Whether the affixation of the subject pronoun to *abe''*, is merely a matter of form which does not impede the connection of the pronoun with the main thought expressed by *t'átca'a'*, or whether it forms a thought unit with *abe''*, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to decide. We must content ourselves with the morphologic fact that this word *abe''li* is treated as any other main verb; while *t'átca'a'* is morphologically and syntactically a subordinate verb.

122. The noun, as in all languages, denominates an entity. A word functions as a noun in a given sentence if it is preceded by a demonstrative. This definition excludes the use of proper nouns when they appear as subjects, but these also must be preceded by demonstratives when used in any other syntactic relation.

Any word may be used as a noun, however typically verbal its morphologic composition may be, and regardless of its meaning. All that is required for this alteration of normal usage is the precession of a demonstrative and the affixation of the nominalizer *-t*, e. g.: *yix̣ hé·t'e·tsi''llit*, the material with which they are going to do it; *yix̣ hét'oa'sici''llit*, those who are going to help him.

123. The pronouns and the demonstratives refer to an entity present or included in a context. In the social context of an act of communication, the pronoun refers to the speaker, or to the person or persons addressed, or to the latter and the speaker. The third person of the pronoun refers to some one or something that may be present in the circumstantial context or has been mentioned in the discourse. Reference to the third person converges with the function of the demonstrative. Accordingly, some Quileute morphemes are used as pronouns for the third person (Secs.67,69, 99) or

as demonstratives before nouns, or referring to a local point in the circumstantial context. These two related parts of speech possess no general morphological characteristics. They are to be identified by their individual forms. When the possessive pronouns treated in Sec. 84 are used as verbs, they perform two functions coincidently: they retain their usual characteristic of referring to a person, and predicate a genitival relation.

124. The qualificative function may be characterized as a subordinated predication of a quality or attribute. The only Quileute words which adopt a special form to perform this function are the numerals above ten (Sec. 118), and the verbs which appear without the classifiers in this syntactic relation. But in all cases the melody of the sentence symbolizes this function by assigning a higher pitch to the qualifier and by connecting it in the phonetic word-grouping (phrasing) with the word it qualifies. Most of the qualifiers are normally used as verbs in other syntactic constructions. Examples are:

*s* (1) *tcoo'tsk'* (2) *ha't'c* (3) *tsi''da* (4) *poò·q* (5), a handsome young man, 1, indefinite article. 2, youth. 3, handsome, good, pretty; it may be used as a verb, but if it were so used here it would have the applicative classifier -*a*. 4, young; the verbal form is *tsi''da'à·*. 5, man, human being; Indian.

*tsix* (1) *há't'cá·lowa''* (2), very good weather, 1, very, a great deal; may be used as a verb with the applicative -*a*; it cannot be used here verbally, because *ha't'c*, good, is an initial morpheme, and, accordingly, cannot be affixed. 2, good weather; *há't'c*, good; -*a*, applicative classifier lengthened by the accent.

125. The conjunctive function partakes of the nature of the demonstrative and of the verbal office. It is a reference to the preceding and the following context, as well as the predication of a relation between the two. Most of the words whose meanings may be rendered by our conjunctions are actually used as verbs or exhibit some verbal morphologic characteristics. A few, however, do not seem to function as verbs, so far as we may infer from the fact that they cannot take pronominal affixes. These are the only ones which we may regard as exclusively conjunctive, although we must assign both verbal and conjunctive value to such a word as *abe''*, discussed above. There is a very limited number of non-verbal conjunctions:

> *dâ·kił*, and, but, then, therefore, so
> *dê·xa''*, so that, in order that
> *tca''wa'ac*, then, after
> *tca''we·la*, nevertheless
> *ła*, still, yet, even so
> *he'xat (hé·xat)* and
> *hé·qati'*, and also, as well as

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE VERB.

**126.** The words which are most commonly composed of more than one morpheme are those which perform nominal and verbal functions. We may now consider the structure of such composite words.

A certain order is observed in the affixation of postpositive elements, an order which is rigidly observed with some formatives, but is subject to alterations with others. These alterations seem to be required by logical connections. Thus, the inceptive *-c* generally follows all the morphemes whose meanings appear to us as more decidedly nominal, verbal or adverbial, but this normal sequence is altered in *séy-a-c-i'-t'col-aks*, she wishes to see it. We may account for the position of *-c* after *sey-a*, to see, and not after *-t'col-*, to wish, on the ground that the logical connection of the inceptive aspect is with the former. Making due allowance for such changes, the formatives of a verb in the indicative mode appear in the following order:

1. Initial morpheme (Secs. 44, 48).
2. Applicative classifier (Sec. 85). If the element is one of the formal bases *hé-*, *ó-*, *á'-* (Sec. 44) the classifier is omitted.
3. One or two postpositives of notional import (Secs. 64, 65).
4. Objective pronoun (Sec. 96).
5. Formative with qualificative or modal value (Sec. 66).
6. Formative denoting tense, aspect (Secs. 129—135) or voice (Sec. 106).
7. (a) Subjective pronoun, or
   (b) Sign of subordination (Sec. 136).

The following examples illustrate the order of these classes of elements.

> *ce·'q-o-l*, (he) pulled
> *ce·'q-o-l-ka*, you (pl.) pulled
> *céq-o-l-i'l-ka*, you are going to pull
> *céq-o-tilawo'-l-li*, I am going to pull you
> *céq-o-tci'l-i-swo'-l-li*, I am going to pull your leg (pull leg to you)
> *céq-o-tci'l-i-swo-qwa'-l-li*, I am going to pull your leg very hard
> *céq-o-tci'l-i-swo'-st'al-qa'-li*, I was ordered to pull your leg.

The last example exhibits an alteration of the normal order due to the meaning of the morphemes involved. The postpositive *-st'al*, to order, command, would be expected to precede the objective pronoun *-swo*, according to the order indicated above. Such a sequence would be proper in other contexts if *-swo* were the object of *-st'al*, but the meaning of the present word connects the concepts pull-leg-affecting-you. Incidentally, we observe that the concept expressed by the main verb of our sentence seems to occupy a subordinate position in the Quileute utterance. This may indicate that *-st'al* functions as a modal element, (a jussive mode) or that

position is not correlative with the subordination of ideas within the word. We shall turn presently to such considerations.

127. A few remarks anent the meaning of some of the verbal components may be pertinent. We shall attend to the postpositives which occupy the third position in the verb, and to those which denote tense and aspect, having treated the other classes in previous sections. It would be arbitrary to conclude that because the meaning of a given formative is rendered by a noun in English it must perform a nominal function within the Quileute word. Let us take as an example the utterance *há't'cidist'c*, it is a good hat, or: that hat is good. We know that *ha't'c* expresses a concept equivalent to the general sense of our word *good*, and likewise, *-dist'c* refers to a hat, but we have no means of determining whether the grammatical relations connoted by *ha't'c* are verbal, adjectival or nominal, or whether any of these relations can be attributed to *-dist'c*. To people with the Quileute habit of thought formulation, this word may be equivalent to saying "it is hat-ly good", or "it is a hat-ish goodness" or possibly no such relations are connoted and the word stands as a unified predication, as a sequence of concepts whose relations are supplied by experience and conventional modes of expression. We shall borrow a few examples from English to elucidate this point. In the sequence of the concepts "stone" and "wall" in "stone-wall," experience supplies a relation of object and material of which it is made, but in "stone-mason, stone-blind, stone-cold, stone-hearted, Stone Age," entirely different relations are supplied by experience and convention. To say that in "stone-blind, stone-cold and stone-hearted" the first element functions as an adverb, while in the other cases it serves as an adjective, is a grammatical expedient to be consistent in the application of the rule that a word which modifies an adjective is an adverb. As regards the function of modification, we may say that "blind, cold, and hearted" modify the meaning of "stone" perhaps to the same extent that the latter modifies the former. This holds true in various degrees for the other examples, as evidenced by the fact that in each combination different attributes or connotations of "stone" are brought into prominence while others are excluded. The order of the components in these combinations corresponds with a subordination in thought of the concept "stone," but the context may invert this relation, as in "Is it a stone wall or a brick wall ?"

These English examples, however, are not parallel to the Quileute composite words under consideration, for the English elements retain to a great extent their word character in these constructions, while the Quileute postpositives are as a rule meaningless when detached from a word. A closer parallel would be obtained if we

attempted to determine whether in the comparative degree of an
English adjective, as "higher," the element "-er" functions as an
adverb modifying "high," or whether "high" is subordinated in
thought to the concept denoted by "-er", as it obviously is in "This
building is high, but the other is higher," or whether we are to
conclude that the characterization of the functions performed by
the words within a sentence as verbal, nominal, adverbial, etc., is
not applicable to the interrelations of the morphemes which consti-
tute a word. Such is our conclusion for the apparently nominal or
verbal formatives in a Quileute word. We may be certain that
*-dist'c* in the above example refers to the class of objects designated
by our word "hat", but we do not know whether its grammatical
relation to *ha't'c*, good, should be regarded as one of subject and
verb, or verb and object, or as one of a verb meaning "to be good"
and an adverb referring to the attributes of "hat," in a manner
analogous to our abstraction of the attributes of "stone" in "stone-
blind, stone-cold."

The order of the elements does not aid us in determining sub-
ordination of concepts in a Quileute word, nor can we conclude that
an affixed element conveys its meaning less obtrusively than an
initial morpheme. This last statement can be substantiated by
contrasting the above word, *há't'cidist'c* with *á·lita' 'a-xa-li*, I eat
salmon. Here the initial morpheme means *salmon*, while the concept
"eat" is expressed by the affix *-xa*. In this case, if the initial mor-
pheme conveys the main force of the predication, the word is
presumably understood as "I salmon eating-ly" (using salmon as a
verb), whereas if we insist on regarding the concept "eat" as the
principal thought-factor, we must conclude that an affixed element
can be the nucleous of the predication. Both assumptions are
equally tenable. The first one may seem less convincing due to the
strange formulation of thought entailed. However, upon reflecting
on analogous uses in English and other languages it seems quite
possible. We commonly employ the name of an object verbally
to denote some activity which involves the use of the object, as
"to paddle" for the customary use of a paddle, while it is just as
common to employ a verb adverbially as "lovingly, amusingly."
It is thus quite conceivable that in Quileute "to salmon" may
signify an undetermined activity involving the use of salmon, this
general activity being defined by an adverbial element which
refers to the characteristics of the act of eating. But, after all,
these considerations are influenced by our linguistic habits. Being
unable to penetrate into the native's mind, we may content our-
selves with the observation of the objective facts. From such facts
we are inclined to infer that the order of the elements in question is
chiefly a matter of form.

Which concepts are expressed by an initial morpheme and which by an affixed element seems to depend on whether the language possesses a postpositive or an initial or free morpheme for the meaning required. Their order is determined by the rigid morphologic principle that an initial morpheme and a free morpheme cannot be affixed, while postpositive morphemes must be affixed. Referring to the above example, *á·lita''aχali*, I eat salmon, we observe that the language has no postpositive morpheme meaning "salmon". But the two morphemes which may be rendered by our verb "to eat", *-la*, and *-χa*, are postpositive. Hence the only way to embody in one word the concepts "salmon" and "eat" is to affix the formative which means "eat" to the one that means "salmon". This order does not necessarily imply subordination of the affixed element, as is generally the case with suffixes in other languages. However, it is possible that the word thus formed blends these two concepts in a manner unknown to us, as may be inferred from the following observations. A more exact rendering of the word *á·lita''aχali* is "my diet is salmon", or in a situation in which a choice is given between eating salmon or some other kind of food, we may say "I shall have salmon". In order to say in Quileute "I am eating salmon", i. e. I am in the act of eating this salmon, the two concepts are expressed by independent words, and *-la* must be used instead of *-χa*. Thus: *á·la' χali[1] χe' á·lita''*. It is further observed that it is not permissible to use *-χa* with a formal base and construct a separate verb, as it was done with *-la* in the preceding sentence. This and other observations give us the impression that the concepts expressed by the initial morpheme and the affixed elements constituting a single word blend into a more unified thought than when conveyed by separate words, and that the expression of a concept like "hat", for example, by the postpositive *-dist'c* is not identical to that of the free morpheme *tsiyá.pus*, referring to the same object (cf. Sec. 50). Nevertheless, whatever distinctions may be thus established are confined to the cases in which the language has a free morpheme as well as a postpositive referring to the same object or activity. In a great many cases it is impossible to embody two given concepts into a single word because there is no postpositive element to express one of them.

The following sentences illustrate various combinations of morphemes whose meanings would be normally expressed in European languages by independent verbs, nouns, or adjectives:

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[1] The syllable *-χa* should not be confused with the postpositive *-χa*, to eat. The analysis of this verb is *á·-la-χ-a-li*; *-χ*, continuative; *-a*, connecting vowel (Sec. 37). This syllable is replaced by the inceptive and a different connecting vowel in *á·-la'-c-i-li*, I began to eat.

*siya*(1)-*takiḷ*(2)-*lic* (3), he began to see the footprints. 1 — to see (*siy-* and the applicative classifier -*a*; in these examples the applicative classifiers, connecting vowels and verbal classifiers will not be mentioned). 2 — footprint. 3 — to become, begin, or sign of inceptive aspect (-*c*).

*xwa'a*(1)-*wi·yi'*(2)-*l* (3), he approached the wall. 1 — approach. 2 — wall. 3 — verbal classifier. In this and in other examples the subject third person pronoun is omitted.

*lao'*(1)-*t'lo·*(2)*l*-*li* (3) I walked in the dirt. 1 — walk. 2 — dirt. 3 — subject pronoun, *I*.

*t'ca't'ci*(1)-*spe·*(2)-*s*(3)-*li* (4), I placed it by the fire. 1 — to set, place, locate. 2 — fire. 3 — sign of causation of a state or condition. 4 — pronoun, *I*.

*taxa'*(1)-*t'col*(2)-*as* (3), he went toward the bank of the river. 1 — to go toward a region, an extended location, rather than a definite point. 2 — bank of the river. 3 — pronoun, *he*.

*kits*(1)-*t'ida*(2)-*qu* (3) *xe'* (4) *ta'xulo'* (5), he kicked the end of the bow. 1 — to kick. 2 — an indefinite portion of the end of a long object. 3 — spot, place, point. 4 — article, oblique case. 5 — bow.

*t'lá'q'a*(1)-*sida'*(2)-*s*(3)-*t'a'dax* (4), it slaps the water with its tail. 1 — to slap. 2 — water. 3 — causative, serving here as a sign of instrumentality. 4 — tail.

*ba's*(1)-*sida''* (2) (*ba's·ida''*), it was bad water. 1 — to be bad. 2 — water.

*tcikò·*(1)-*yit* (2), big flounder, 1 — big, large. 2 — flounder.

*xaba'*(1)-*qti* (2), there were all kinds. 1 — to be all, be complete. 2 — kind, sort.

*lawe''*(1)-*t'ci·yit* (2), there were two leaves. 1 — two, syntactic form of the numeral (Sec. 118). 2 — leaf.

*la'k*ᵘ(1)-*sida* (2), it came out of the water. 1 — to come out into the open, appear. 2 — water.

*t'lic*(1)-*spa*(2)-*t* (3), it is far from the fire. 1 — to be far. 2 — fire (rather, -*sp*, fire; -*a*, connecting vowel). 3 — verbal classifier (Sec. 91).

*litca*(1)-*t'o·s*(2)-*at* (3), it was between his thighs. 1 — to be between. 2 — thigh. 3 — as 3 in the preceding example.

*kádedo'o'*(1)-*xa*(2)-*li* (3), I eat dog (meat). 1 — dog; used generally as a free morpheme. -*xa*, to eat. 3 — pronoun, *I*.

*ákili*(1)-*tcay*(2)-*il* (3), he walks like a bear. 1 — bear; used generally as a free morpheme. 2 — to walk like some one; imitate some one; for any other imitation, a morpheme expressing the characteristic imitated must be used. 3 — connecting vowel -*i*, and verbal classifier.

*di'ya*(1)-*k* (2), he went to Neah Bay. 1 — Quileute adaptation of Neah. 2 — to go to a definite place.

*aqa·'la*(1)-*t'*(2)-*i*(3)-*li* (4), I live on James Island. 1 — the Quileute name of the little island off the mouth of the Quileute River; literally, *the high place*. 2 — to live. 3 — connecting vowel. 4 — pronoun, *I*.

*te·kwa''*(1)-*t's*(2)-*i*(3)-*s* (4), he made a rope. 1 — rope. 2 — to make (for the glottalization of -*ts*, see Sec. 41). 3 — connecting vowel. 4 — pronoun, *he*.

*p'ét'it*(1)-*t'co'*(2)-*t'*(3)-*as* (4), it will contain light. 1 — light. 2 — to have inside. 3 — sign of the future (Sec. 129). 4 — pronoun, third person, non-feminine gender.

*ha't'c*(1)-*i*(2)-*kits* (3), he dances well. 1 — good. 2 — connecting vowel. 3 — to dance or kick.

*hiyo'*(1)-*t's*(2)-*i*(3)-*li* (4), I stopped eating. 1 — to discontinue action, to finish or stop. 2 — to be in the act of eating. 3 — connecting vowel. 4 — pronoun, *I*.

*hé*(1)-*qo*(2)-*sqa*(3)-*l*(4)-*aks* (5), she uses it for carrying (loads). 1 — formal base (Sec. 48). 2 — to make use of. 3 — to carry. 4 — verbal classifier. 5 — pronoun, *she*.

*hal*(1)-*a*(2)-*xals*(3)-*i*(4)-*li* (5), I said in my song (I said singing). 1 — to say. 2 — applicative classifier. 3 — to sing. 4 — connecting vowel. 5 — pronoun, *I*.

## TENSE AND ASPECT.

128. The position of the elements which express tense and aspect is invariably next to the subject pronoun or final if the latter is omitted, as it often happens when the subject is a third person, or when it is expressed by an independent word. The Quileute verb makes no distinctions corresponding to our present and past tenses. In other words, no reference is made to the temporal context of the actual communication. Thus, *céqwas·ta'xas* means from the point of view of our language "he is pulling me" or "he was pulling me", depending on the context of the discourse or upon the external context of the communication. When momentaneous action is expressed, as in *céqwati'las*, we must render it by our past tense, "he pulled me", but the time of the action may be just one second after the act or any other occasion in recent or remote time. It would not be proper to characterize this as a tense. It appears to us as a past tense because of the intrinsic nature of a rapid action when it is not expressed as a future event. Namely, due to its short duration, by the time the speaker refers to it, it is generally a recent past event. In the durative, repetitive, usitative and inceptive aspects, the same verbal form is used for past and present.

However, one should not infer from the lack of morphologic distinctions, that a Quileute speaker at any time ignores or is unaware of the fact that he is referring to a present or past occurrence. So far as we may judge by the reactions of the informants and by certain incidents in the course of a conversation, both the speaker and the listener are ever aware of the relation implied between the time of the event predicated and the time of the predication. The external context, that is, the whole setting of the communication, the attitude of the speaker as expressed in his countenance or by his gestures or posture, his emotional attitude as manifested by the emphasis, melody or speed of his speech, the circumstances which preceded the communication, or the context of the discourse, all these things combined are in most cases sufficient to supply all the temporal reference conveyed by our tense suffixes or auxiliaries. When they are not sufficient, the interlocutor asks for a definition of the temporal relation, viz.: *hé'yi*, Has it ceased to be thus? or *látcal*, immediately, or *la ti*, still, yet, just the same. The last two expressions are employed idiomatically in such situations to refer to the present time. They are not interrogative in form. The speaker utters them as statements, expecting to be corroborated or corrected.

129. The future is the only temporal concept whose expression may be properly regarded as a tense in Quileute. Apart from the morphologic features mentioned below, it is signified by the affix -*t'* when the subject of the verb is a third person, and by a glottal stop (') with the first and second persons. So far as we may judge by its uses, it predicts a future event, without any other connotations. The vowel preceding the sign of the future bears the middle-tone accent, and its stress seems to be of greater intensity than that of any other accented vowel in the verb. If the verb does not belong to the *l*-class (Sec. 93), this vowel is lengthened. Such vowels are connecting vowels (Sec. 37) when the preceding elements ends in a consonant. In the case of the first and second persons, which require the glottal stop as a sign of the future tense, the vowel is duplicated after this articulation (Sec. 9). If owing to the influence of the preceding consonant (Sec. 35) the vowel is *e*, the sound *i*, instead of *e* is heard after the glottal stop, but in all other cases the preceding sound is reproduced. If the verb belongs to the *l*-class, and the word contains no objective pronoun (cf. Sec. 95) the classifier -*l*, with the connecting vowel *i* comes before the sign of the future tense. The following paradigms illustrate the application of these rules:

*its-e·'-'-i-li*, I shall do
*itse·''ilitc*, thou wilt do
*itse·'t'as*, he will do
*itse·'t'aks*, she will do
*itse·''ilo*, we shall do
*itse·t'ka*, ye will do
*itse·'t'asala's*, they will do

*há·x-i-l-i'-'-i-li*, I shall boil (it)
*há·xili''ilitc*, thou wilt boil
*há·xili't'as*, he will boil
*há·xili''ilo*, we shall boil
*há·xili't'ka*, ye will boil
*há·xili't'asala's*, they will boil

See also QT. p. 21:4; 17:35; 18:4; 20:7; 22:21; 33:4; 34; 39; 35:4; 37:6; 38:44; 38:46.

130. There is one formative *(-'e* or *'yi)* which denotes that a certain relation or condition existed previous to the time of the communication, and is now nonexistent, or that it existed previous to a time designated in the discourse and ceased to exist at the time thus designated. If we define tense as a relation of time between the actual temporal context of the act of communication and a point in the past, present or future, there is no tense connotation in the meaning of this formative, since the relation of priority is not confined to the time of the communication. This reference should be characterized rather as a cessative aspect. However, some of the

uses of this morpheme indicate that it cannot be considered always
as a mere sign of aspect. It may be affixed to nouns or verbs, and
may even form a meaningful independent word when affixed to the
formal base *hé (hé'yi)*, signifying "it used to be so," "it had already
been done." It is affixed to the name of a person to express a
thought equivalent to "the late Mr. So-and-so," and to a noun in-
dicating any relation that has ceased to exist. In No. 49 of the
Quileute Texts, a father uses it to refer to his daughter, whom he
has disowned because of her immoral act. Examples are:

> *há·xili''yilitc*, you had boiled
> *itsó·'e'xᵘ*, as they used to do
> *pótsoqo''yi*, the people of other times
> *hé·lk'wa'a'e ti'l*, my deceased child

See also QT. p. 21:1; 7:1; 7:7; 9:5; 9:40; 21:33; 21:42; 23:9;
p. 24:1; 11:10. Cf. sec. 66.

131. The formative *-l* designates an occurrence which is or was
planned or predicted as a consequence of previous conditions. If
the condition or the design exists at the time of the communication
it is equivalent to a future or perhaps more closely related to some
uses of the verb "to go" as in, "I am going to buy it," "It is going
to rain," "I was going to stop," "It was going to fall" or "It was
about to fall." This cannot be characterized as a tense, since it does
not establish a connection with the temporal context of the com-
munication, but may be used indiscriminately for a past or a future
sequence of action. If we are justified in speaking of a resultative
aspect of action, as some linguists do, we may regard *-l* as the sign
of an aspect of eventuality. In both cases we are dealing with a
condition or an occurrence which is viewed as a result. In the resul-
tative aspect the result is an actuality; in the use of *-l* it is an
eventuality. This applies to predications in which no volition is
implied, as in *háb·ali'l*, it is going to fall (speaking of a tree that is
being felled). But in *hés·wo'lli*, I am going to give it to you, the
volitional element is distinctly felt by the native, and accordingly,
if we are consistent in our definition of mode, we must conclude
that *-l* performs a modal function. The analogical transition from
one of these uses to the other is rather clear, but it would be un-
warranted to assume that in cases in which no volition is implied
we have a figurative expression, or that the fundamental function
of *-l* in both uses is to predict a result, considering the volitional
element whenever it exists as an accidental concomitant. It seems
more advisable to conclude that we have one morpheme with two
functions, which is a rather common situation in language. The
formative *-l* may or may not imply volition depending on the
circumstances. When it does, it may be regarded as a modal element;
when it does not, it may be called a sign of aspect, for the same

reasons, whatever they may be, that the term is applied to resulta-
tive action.

Like the sign of the cessative aspect (Sec. 130) this formative
can be affixed to nouns. Its function, then, is to denote intended
or expected use of an object, or contemplated relation to a person.
This function may be related to the frequent occurrence of the
final consonant -*l* in the names of materials, implements and utensils
(Sec. 139).

The rules given above (Sec. 129) for the affixation of the future
formative -*t'* apply also to -*l*, in regard to accent, the insertion of a
connecting vowel, and the use of the classifier -*l*, excepting that the
vowel preceding -*l* is not lengthened. A few examples will illustrate
the uses of -*l* with verbs and nouns. Other instances will be found in
QT. 13:26; 14:13; 15:7; 15:15; 15:16; 15:27; 15:28; 16:14;
17:36; 19:29; 20:8; 21:37; 23:3.

> *lás·atsi'las*, he is going to break it
> *kíyis·wo'llo,* I am going to persuade you
> *hé·ci'l·s*, my future food
> *yalô·la'l ti'l*, my future wife

132. The designation of momentaneous and durative action
merges into the use of the applicative classifiers (Sec. 85), the verbal
classifiers (Sec. 93), and the expression of the objective relations
by pronominal forms (Sec. 96). Having dealt at length with these
aspects in previous sections, we may limit the present discussion
to the cases where a change occurs in the normal aspect of the
verb.

It was seen in the sections referred to that although the moment-
aneous and durative aspects blend with other notions, it seems that
a verb is viewed as having a normal aspect. This normal aspect
cannot always be inferred from morphologic features, although the
majority of verbs in a given class, the neutral class for example,
are durative while others are predominantly momentaneous. How-
ever, the normal aspect comes to light when it does not fit in a
particular situation. In such cases the morphologic changes in the
applicative classifier, in the verbal classifier, or in whatever format-
ive expressing an objective relation may be used, indicate how the
normal aspect has been altered. The normal aspect of some verbs
is so fixed that the language does not permit a change to other
aspects without altering the meaning. For example: *t'lák'wal*, it
broke, and *t'lá'k'wa'tsis*, he broke it, are normally momentaneous,
and cannot be used duratively to signify "it is breaking" or "he is
breaking it." In such situations the language resorts to what we
have called the aspect of eventuality (Sec. 131), viz.: *t'lá'k'wali'l*,
it is going to break; *t'lá'k'watsi'las*, he is going to break it. With
other verbs a change of aspect entails a change in meaning, at least

from our point of view. Thus, *t'a·'tca*, he knows, (durative), but *t'atci''*, he found out, he has just learned.

133. Verbs which are adaptable to durative or momentaneous action appear as a rule with the applicative classifier *-a* in the durative and with *-i* in the momentaneous aspect. Verbs which require the applicative classifier *-o* retain this vowel in all aspects. Verbs of the neutral class with monosyllabic initial morphemes, and the monosyllabic verbs with the classfier *-o* lengthen the vowel of the initial morpheme to express past or present durative action in the main clause. In the future tense and in any other construction this vowel remains with its normal length. With all other verbs a present or past durative aspect requires the addition of *-a·* to the applicative classifier *-a*, the two vowels being separated by a glottal stop (Sec. 37). If the phonetic structure of the word permits it (Sec. 28), the special durative sign *-a·* takes the low-tone accent. In the momentaneous aspect, *-i* takes the middle-tone accent, adding a glottal stop (Sec. 42). The same accent appears on the vowel which has been lengthened according to the preceding rules. Examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| *tcatc-i''* | it flew away |
| *tca·'tc-a* | it is (was) flying |
| *q'wá't's-i-li* | I stretched it |
| *q'wá't's-a-'à·-li* | I am (was) stretching it |
| *ce'q-o-l* | he pulled |
| *ce·'q-o-l* | he is (was) pulling |
| *há·x-i-li* | I boiled it |
| *há·x-a-'à·-li* | I am (was) boiling it. |

See QT. 14:43; 19:25; 21:9, 11; 22:3, 7, 31; 26:65; 26:15, 16, 20, 32, 40; 47:20; 48:17; 44:101.

134. The inceptive aspect is denoted by the formative *-c*, and the resultative by *-do*, both of which are affixed also to nouns. With nouns, *-do* means "to become" as the result of an endeavor as, *á't'ci't-do*, he became a chief; *-c*, signifies "to become" without any volitional implication, as *awi-c*, it became night. When affixed to verbs, these elements may be considered signs of aspect, rather than morphemes meaning "to begin, to result" due to the position they occupy. Were they meaningful forms they would be placed before the objective pronouns, but they are affixed to the latter, which is the normal position for tense and aspect elements. Various uses of *-c* and *-do* are treated in Sections 66 and 92. See also QT. p. 18:6; 8:1; 8:11; 19:30; 23:2; 23:12; 23:21.

135. Repetition of an action takes two forms of expression in Quileute. If the repetition is successful, it is expressed by means of reduplication, as illustrated in Sections 60 and 61. If the repetitions are only attempts, the verb takes the element *-'al*, preceded by the suffixes *-i* or *-a* (Sec. 136), e. g.:

> *taxo'li'al*, he was trying to string the bow
> *á·laxa''al*, he was trying to eat
> *tsale''li'al*, I tried repeatedly to get up
> *ki'taxa''al·i*, I was trying to go

See QT. 14:44; 20:11; 23:10; 23:64; 24:7; 24:14; 31:62.

A single trial or attempt is expressed by using the verb *kwat-i*, to try, as the main verb, while the action contemplated is expressed in the subordinate clause e. g.:

> *kwati'' ki'taxa*, he tried to go
> *kwati''ilo tsale''li*, we shall try to get up

See also QT. 22:19; 26:54; 26:72; 49:61, 94.

### THE SIGNS OF SUBORDINATION.

136. The modal elements which occupy the fifth position in the verb have been treated in Section 66. We may now attend to the two formatives which occupy the last position in subordinate verbs.

Subordination is indicated by the suffixes *-i* and *-a*. The choice of these formatives is determined by the verbal classes (Sec. 93). Subordinate verbs of the neutral class, and those which take the *-x* and *-t* classifiers require *-a*, while the others go with *-i*. After the inceptive *-c*, and the formative *-l* (Sec. 131), we always find *-i*, regardless of the class to which the verb belongs. It is not possible to determine which of these two formatives is used with the resultative *-do*, for whichever is used becomes assimilated to the *-o*, owing to the effect of the glottal stop inserted between the two vowels (Secs. 37, 39). The same phenomenon occurs with many other elements ending in a vowel. With verbs of the *l-* and *s-*classes this assimilation of the vowels is avoided by using the verbal classifiers *-l*, *-s* before the subordination suffixes. This is one of the exceptional cases in which the verbal classifiers are not affixed to the applicative classifiers[1].

One of the most common uses of these signs of subordination is seen in negative sentences. In this construction the negative morphemes *wa* or *é·* or the two in succession *(é· wa)* function as the main verb, and the action negated is expressed by a subordinate verb, which must, therefore, end in *-a* or *-i*. The principal distinction between the negative morphemes *é·* and *wa* is of a morphologic nature. No affixes may be appended to *é·*, while *wa* may be used as an initial morpheme with pronominal, temporal, and aspect suffixes, as well as with the causative or verbal classifier *-s*. In regard to the use of these negatives, we observe that *é·* followed by *wa* can be

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[1] These elements are used for the same purpose with the inceptive *-c*; the sign of eventuality; *l*, and the nominalizer *-t (-at, -it)*.

used with all verbs and modes for an emphatic negation. When no particular emphasis is laid on the negation, *é·* can be used alone in all constructions, excepting in the interrogative and in the imperative modes. The use of *wa* without the precedence of *é·* occurs in the imperative and interrogative modes, and also when the action negated is expressed by a verb of the *l-*, *s-*, and *ts*-classes. It is understood, however, that even in these cases *é·* may precede *wa*, but it cannot be used without *wa*, as implied above, in the imperative and interrogative modes. In many instances the use of *wa* after *é·* seems to be a morphologic expedient, rather than an expression of emphasis. Since no suffixes may be attached to *é·*, when the structure of the sentence requires the use of the suffixes with the negative (Sec. 149) *wa* seems to be introduced solely for this purpose. The following sentences illustrate the use of these two negatives and that of the sign of subordination, which must be affixed to their subordinate verbs. Illustrations and further details about the use of the subordination suffixes will be given in Sec. 143.

> *é· t'átca-'-a' xe' ó·t*, (she) did not know where they were
> *é· ki.taxa'-a'*, he did not go
> *é· ásqa''l-i*, he did not succeed
> *wa axo'l q'wélats·qa'l-a*, do not hesitate (you, pl.)
> *wa-sto é'l-a*, let us not do (that)
> *wa tca si'ya tci' qá·tsa'la'e* ? Have you seen, sir, the one has been in search of shell-fish ?
> *é· wa-s la tca*, not yet, sir.
> *é· wa-s lák·lilo''-o*, do not worry
> *é· wa-l-litc siya''-a*, you do not intend to see it
> *é· wa ax^u ce'qol-i*, do not pull

### THE STRUCTURE OF COMPOSITE NOUNS.

137. The order of the morphemes in a composite noun is parallel to that of the verb in various respects. Let us take, for example, the noun *hadó·s-tco-'yi-tc*, your deceased brother, and the verb *te·kwa''-t'si-'yi-litc*, you had made a rope. We observe that in both cases the composite word consists of a free morpheme *(hado·s*, brother, and *te·kwa''*, rope), followed by a postpositive with concrete notional value *(-tco*, dead, and *-ts*, to make), to which the formative element *-'yi* denoting cessation (Sec. 130) is affixed; both words terminating with a pronoun *(-tc*, your, and *-litc*, you).

A further agreement between the noun and the verb is that both may be constructed with postpositive elements using the formal bases for their initial morphemes (Sec. 48). The use of any composite verb as a noun has been treated in Sec. 122.

Examples of composite nouns are:

*hé*(1)-*lk'wa*(2)-*sqal*(3)-*i*(4)-*tc* (5), your supposed child. 1 — formal base.
  2 — child. 3 — a morpheme which may be used as a reflexive or to

denote falsity or pretence (Sec. 102). 4 — connecting vowel (Sec. 37). 5 — possessive pronoun.

*hé*(1)-*lislo'*(2)-*o'*(3)-*l*(4)-*ya''as* (5), his future wife. 1 — formal base. 2 — consort, can be used for husband or wife. 3 — connecting vowel assimilated to the preceding by the glottal stop (Sec. 39); the accent is required by the following morpheme. 4 — expression of purpose or eventuality (Sec. 131). 5 — possessive pronoun.

*ó*(1)-*t'co·l*(2)-*t'e*(3)-*t* (4) crown of the head. 1 — formal stem for location. 2 — point, top (of a mountain). 3 — head. 4 — sign of nominalization (Sec. 138).

138. The nouns which end in -*t* present an interesting phenomenon. Many of them are built with a formal base, which indicates that they consist of this element as an initial morpheme, followed by a postpositive, and terminating with the nominalizer -*t* (Sec. 66). The postpositive elements thus used have been found in other compositions, as, *ó·-li-t*, mouth; *há't'c-a-li-ks*, she has a pretty mouth; *hé-ya''-a-t*, arrow feather; *tci'-ya''-a-t*, arrow feathers (Sec. 54). But there are many nouns ending in -*t* which are not formed in this manner, and still the element -*t* is dropped when they are used verbally, showing that the -*t* is a separate morpheme, presumably identical with the nominalizer. Thus:

> *wa·'xulit*, moustache
> *wa·'xulits*, my moustache
> *wa·'xul-a-li*, I have a moustache
>
> *qa'xolit*, grandson
> *qa'xolits*, my grandson
> *qa'xol-a-li*, I have a grandson

139. Many nouns are composed of one or more elements whose primary meaning we cannot determine and a terminal suffix whose meaning is evident. In regard to others we may conclude that they are compounded, though the meaning of their elements is unknown. In the first class we have (1) those nouns which end in -*qol*, which may perhaps contain the elements -*q^u*, place, and -*l*, (Sec. 131) presumably denoting purpose; a frequent ending for nouns denoting tools and utensils; (2) those ending in -*l*, which are also words for the majority of utensils and tools, as well as material destined for special purposes; (3) those ending in -*t'*, which are names of tribes, (4) others ending in -*tal*, which denote the place where something is done habitually; (5) a few ending in -*q^u*, which are geographical names. In a number of possibly composite nouns whose formation is obscure to us, we notice that certain endings are common to a number of them, a fact which should not, perhaps, be considered as a mere coincidence. Examples of nouns with the above derivative suffixes are:

*xwa't'si'yaqoł*, ax (hit-tree-tool)
*xwa't'sò·qoł*, war club
*la"apedi'sqoł*, needle
*latsò·quł*, war spear
*k'o"bò·quł*, spit for smoking salmon
*lotsowó·t'soqoł*, shaman's poles (representing a guardian spirit)

*to'tisił*, drill (old type)
*tá·yidi'ł*, fish club
*há'q'wa'qstił*, pack strap
*t'lé'exeł*, pole *(t'lé'ex*, stick, twig)
*ká·axu'ł*, bailer

*kole·'yut'*, Quileute
*tcidò·kut'*, Chinook
*tcibeqi'bit'*, Chemakum
*tcitca'ásto't'*, Ozette *(tcitca'a*, near; *-sto*, us)

140. A few groups of nouns seem to be compounded, as evidenced by the fact that they have one morphologic element in common, and by the further observation that they are more or less connected in meaning. Nevertheless, their possible components have no semantic independence at present. The following groups have been selected among those which exhibit these features more clearly:

*ka·ya'd*, shark
*pa"déład*, sturgeon
*t'co'xᵘsid*, sucker (fish)
*tsa'tsad*, trout
*ya·t'co·'bad*, summer whale
*kákawa'd*, killer whale
*pa·'kwad*, a species of sturgeon
*á·dad*, sea-gull

*supî·ya"*, board
*si'k'ô·ya"*, cedar bark
*saq'ò·ya*, entrails (used as material)
*ka'dê·ya"*, hide

*ó·doqwat*, forehead
*ó·t'ceyu"qwat*, side of a canoe
*ó·tco·'doqwat*, bottom of a canoe
*ó·la·qwat*, hill

## THE SENTENCE.

141. It is not always easy to delimit the Quileute sentence. Not infrequently, the intonation and the reaction of the native are the only basis for regarding as a single sentence a sequence of two or more verbs which, so far as their grammatical features are concerned, could be considered as independent utterances. Let us take, for example, the sentence *é· wa dâ·kił á·la·ci' bâ·yaqt'sa task*, a free

rendition of which is "So, not being able to eat, little Raven went out." Literally, "So, little Raven did not eat he went out." The context of the narrative clearly indicates that Raven's going out was a consequence of his not being able to eat. The intonation of the whole utterance is characteristic of most Quileute sentences. The first word has the highest pitch, and the melody descends gradually, except for one or more incidental vowels whose pitch rises above the level of the descending curve, without altering, however, its general downward trend. In long sentences, however, the melody does not always descend continuously. After a marked descent from the pitch of the first words, several components may be pronounced on practically the same pitch, there being a final descent at the last word. In the example under consideration, *task*, went out, is pronounced with a slightly lower pitch than the normal trend of the individual's voice. Were this word a separate utterance, its pitch would be considerably higher than that of the preceding word, and there would be a perceptibly longer pause. This fact was clearly demonstrated by one informant, when in a different context, "not eating" and "going out" were presented as antithetical thoughts to disprove a previous assertion that Raven had eaten. Thus, we may see that unless we regard intonation as a morphologic factor performing syntactic functions, it can be asserted that in many cases the morphology of this language does not indicate whether certain words are parts of a sentence or constitute syntactically independent units.

### COORDINATION.

We shall call coordination[1] the juxtaposition of words which are capable of standing alone as independent utterances. The term is not to be construed, however, as precluding the probability that in many such situations there may be subordination or connection in thought. It is intended mainly to contrast this construction with that described below, in which subordination is indicated by various morphologic devices. In fact, thought subordination, meaning the presentation of certain concepts as parts of an experience complex summed up by one of the words in the utterance, is evident in many instances. In Sec. 92 we mentioned the usual manner of expressing in Quileute such an occurrence as "He went to so-and-so's house." The verbs *kí.tax*, he was going, and *itca'x*, he was headed for, ever present in such expressions, are invariably used to express two aspects of the same occurrence, without any morphologic indication of their connection. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to infer that

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[1] Perhaps a more proper term is asyndeton, but it may be objected that the melody of the sentence serves as a connecting device.

the native does not regard these concepts as two separate acts. One of the informants, Jack Ward, who had a good command of English, generally rendered the second verb by a participle, "he was going, being headed for so-and-so."

Relations of cause, reason, manner and many others may be expressed by coordination of two or more verbs. In the following sentences each of their verbal components could constitute an independent utterance, and they could be so regarded were it not for the melody of the sentence, and the information supplied by the informant[1].

*betsé.t'saci'l ceqwa'à· te·la's*, he was getting so tired of pulling — it was heavy.

*alitsi'ili'c hé't'si'slil s á·lita''*, they were served food, some fish having been cooked for them.

*ki.taχ qá·qal χe' á·'a''t'se·xat*, he was going, carrying the halibut lines.

*hiyò·do téxwal*, having finished, he went home

*yaló'watχ dâ·kil bâ·yaqt'sa itca'χ χe' ó·s yiṛ t'ó·pa' tcit'á't'si'c yilé·kil*, then little Raven was approaching, coming in the direction in which the trap was located, prepared the basket and immersed it.

Occasionally, the fact that the coordinate verbs precede a noun which can be a complement to either or both verbs, clearly indicates that they do not constitute independent utterances, viz.:

*kê·xil* (1) *t'laxotcé·s ṛe'* (2) *tsitswa'a''* (3), he awoke his son by shaking him. 1 — he shook; 2 — he awoke; 3 — son.

*hal* (1) *dâ·kil* (2) *bâ·yaq* (3) *ada''adal* (4) *ki'* (5) *yaló·lat* (6), then Raven spoke to his wife and said... 1 — said; 2 — then; 3 — Raven; 4 — he intended to speak; 5 — to the; 6 — wife.

A looser type of coordination is prevalent in the enumeration of acts in a temporal or logical sequence necessary for the accomplishment of one single purpose, or which the speaker regards as parts of a single occurrence. For example:

*xaya'sχ* (1) *its* (2) *xwa'* (3) *aé·o* (4) *its* (5) *xwa'* (6) *itsi'l·a* (7) *tciya'xᵘtcis* (8) *hé·qati'* (9) *hiyo's* (10), on another occasion (1), he makes the platform (2—4), makes the network (5—7), sets it up (8), and so (9), he completes it (10). Here, although clauses 1—4, 5—7, and 8 could be complete sentences, the voice does not fall to its rest key-note until the final word is reached. This last word and the first one are the summation of the occurrence presented by the speaker as a unit of expression.

Other examples will be found in QT. p. 4:18; p. 10:8; p. 3:6; p. 3:7; p. 7:3; 2:2; p. 3:3, 4; p. 3:1.

142. Two other types of syntactic connection denoted by juxtaposition is seen in the use of qualifiers, and in words which, to use a conventional term, may be said to stand in apposition. As already

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[1] As the comparatively short time spent in the field did not permit such detailed observations for each instance in which such constructions occurred, the division of those sentences in the author's Quileute Texts may be inaccurate in many cases.

stated (Sec. 124) most of the words which express quality bear the morphologic characteristics of the verb. The function of such words as qualifiers is indicated by the absence of applicative classifiers and verbal classifiers, besides the position of the demonstrative. For example: *há''t'ca'a yix̣ tcoo'tsk'*, the boy is good; *yix̣ ha't'c tcoo'tsk'*, the good boy. Examples of qualifiers will be found in Sec. 124; the following illustrate special instances of qualification and apposition.

*xwa'* (1) *t'six̣ì·l* (2) *á't'cit* (3), the chief above (referring to the Christian god). Literally, the (1) above (2) chief.

*é·* (1) *yu'kil* (2) *tâ·we·* (3), he does not go near it. Literally, not (1) near (2) approach (3).

*x̣e'* (1) *xá·ba'qłi* (2) *á·lita''* (3), all kinds of fish. Literally, the (1) *xa·ba-*, all (2), *-qłi*, kind, fish (3).

*hé.ka''a* (1) *yix̣* (2) *kwé·da·yi'lt'* (3), you, Quinaults. Literally, it is you (pl.) (1), the (2) Quinault (3).

*yix̣* (1) *ó·t'is* (2) *yix̣* (3) *xabà·* (4) *poò·q* (5) *ó·* (6) *xo''o* (7) *x̣axe'qtiya* (8), the place where all the Indians who are here to-day live. 1 — the. 2 — *ó·-*, formal base; *-t'*, live; *-s*, third person pronoun; for the use of this verb as a noun see Sec. 147. 3 — the. 4 — all. 5 — man or Indian. 6 — independent use of the formal base (Sec. 56), to be at a place. 7 — here. 8 — to-day; *x̣ax''·e*, this, present; *-qtiya*, day.

*yix̣* (1) *itcá.qayi'la* (2) *t'oqᵘ* (3) *lub·á·'* (4) *kolè·yut'* (5), the way we, Quileute do. 1 — the. 2 — manner of acting. 3 — our (Sec. 80) 4 — we. 5 — Quileute.

See QT. 2:2; 2:6; p. 3:9; 3:11; 4:8; 4:10, 16; 7:22; 15:15; 21:33; 23:49; 39:11, 12; 43:5, 6; 49:32.

## SUBORDINATION.

143. Contrasted with the above constructions in which the relation of the various verbal components is implied by juxtaposition, and the cohesion of the sentence depends upon intonation as the only morphologic feature, we find many others in which subordination is denoted by the suffixes *-i*, *-a* (Sec. 136). The use of these suffixes is subject to various semantic restrictions. Their affixation to the subordinate verbs of negative sentences has been discussed in Sec. 136, and their use in subordinate clauses whose subjects are represented by subjunctive or conditional pronouns has been treated in Sections 73 and 76. Another common employment of these suffixes is seen in subordinate clauses which specify the inner contents of the main verb. Thus, any verb subordinate to *t'atc-*, to know, appears always with these signs of subordination, v. g.: *t'a·'tcax̣as kí.tax̣-a*, he knows he is going. For the same reason they are required after the verbs which mean to *think, communicate* (excepting *hal*, he said, which introduces direct discourse), *remember, ascertain, wish, refuse, to act for a reason (héq·t'so'o't), to prepare to do something,* and others with analogous meanings. They are like-

wise employed in subordinate clauses whose connection with the preceding clause implies a relation of purpose, or of contemplated action, as, *qe·'t'lax adâ·s-i xwa' ha't'c há'ba·* (cf. QT. p. 2:2), they go up stream *(qe·'t'lax)* to search for *(adâ·si)* a good tree. Similarly, they are always used after the word *dê·xa',* in order to.

An analogous office is performed by these suffixes in subordinate clauses which express a contingent or eventual action, as, *tax^u qé·t'lal-i' xwa' qwá·wiyis,* whenever the steal-head salmon may be going up stream.

However, when purpose is expressed by the formative *-l* (Sec. 131) or when eventuality is denoted by *-tc* (Sec. 77), these signs of subordination are not used, v. g.: *tax^u xaxeyas·xa'-tc,* whenever he may do it again and again (repetition expressed by reduplication); *dekwa'tsqal bâ·yaq hóxwâ·li-l,* Raven made preparations to go to the ocean; *qá·qal xe' á·'a''t'se·xat pá't'sili'-l,* he carried the halibut lines in order to soak them.

144. We may thus see that these signs of subordination occur in all clauses which express an action that is merely contemplated as a purpose or a possibility. Adding to these uses their employment with subordinate verbs in negative sentences, and with subjunctive and conditional pronouns, we would be led to regard these suffixes as signs of a mode which we might term *modus irrealis.* Against such a conclusion, however, we have the numerous instances in which the verb to which they are appended expresses an accomplished fact, as in *t'a·'tcaxas al hákuta's-i,* he knows I sent it; and in numerous temporal clauses with *hé't's,* when, as shown below.

The following are examples of the various uses discussed above; others will be found in the sections referred to, and in QT. 2:2; 2:3; p. 7:9; p. 8:2; p. 9:16, 17; p. 10:2; p. 10:13; p. 13:12; p. 15:3; p. 20:2; 23:65.

*é.la'tctisi'lkuli'* (1) *xa'x·e* (2) *cé·qol-i* (3), I was told to pull now. Literally, I was told I must act (1) now (2) in order to pull (3).

*wá·'t'col* (1) *suwa·'tcâ·l-i* (2), do not hope to resurect him. 1 — negative verb *wa-*; *-t'col,* to wish.

*heyás·qal suwa·'tcâ·l-i,* he refused to resurect him

*t'laxà·l* (1) *yix* (2) *poò·q* (3) *háyo.kul-i* (4) *xe'* (5) *héla'qtciyoli't'ot'* (6) *téwas-i* (7) *xe'* (8) *ó·t'it* (9), (he said that) the people should prepare to invite their tribesmen and have them come to his house. 1 — prepare; 2 — the; 3 — man; 4 — to invite; 5 — the; 6 — tribe folks belonging to them; 7 — to enter a house; 8 — the; 9 — where he lives.

145. Some verbs whose intimate connection with their subordinates is analogous to that of the verbs mentioned above, do not require the signs of subordination. The verb *hiy-o-do,* to finish, complete, cease, is an outstanding example. Its subordinate verb appears with whatever sign of a continuative aspect may fit the nature of its action (Secs. 132, 133), but with no morphologic

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indication of its relation to the main verb. If the normal aspect of the verb is continuative (Sec. 132), no change is made in its form.

> *hiyò·do á·la-x̱*, he finished eating
> *hiyò·do hal-a*, he finished saying (this), he had just said it.
> *hiyò·do bô·te-l x̱e' á·'at'se·x̱at*, he finished moistening the halibut lines.

QT. p. 21:5; p. 3:18; 9:23; 13:30; 26:60, 66, 75, 102; 39:14; 49:101.

146. One of the words most frequently used in temporal clauses which require in almost every case that the suffixes *-i* or *-a* be appended to the subordinate verb is *hé't's*. This word is composed of the formal base *hé-* and the postpositive *-t's*, which adds a glottal stop to the preceding vowel (Sec. 40). The meaning of *-t's* is difficult to translate. In some contexts it may be rendered by *occasion*, as in *hé't's xu'x·wa* (QT. 19:16), on this occasion; in others it means *to happen*, as in *hé't's tá·la'yi kila* (QT. 27:1), it happened long ago, it used to be so long ago. Most commonly it may be rendered by "when, after, upon," as conjunctive adverbs. We find this word in the majority of cases with the suffix *-t*, which denotes a state of activity (Secs. 66, 91). This expression of a state of activity reflects the aspect of the action expressed by the subordinate verb, which, from our point of view is the principal verb in the temporal clause. When the meaning of this temporal clause is viewed as an occurrence, an act, rather than a state, quality or condition, the pronouns *-s*, he; *-ks*, she, are affixed to *hé't's* (*hé't'sis* or *hé't'ses*, *hé't'siks* or *hé't'seks*). The pronouns of the first and second persons are never affixed, for in such cases the subordinate verb requires either the conditional or the subjunctive pronouns, since the subject of the subordinate verb and that of the main verb (*hé't's*) are different persons (Sec. 75). Before a conditional or a subjunctive pronoun, *hé't's* appears only with its applicative classifier *-i* or *-e* (for the change from *-i* to *-e* see Secs. 35, 87). e. g.:

> *tcilá·sxe'ksata''e hé't's-e ti'l là·b t'layo'sx̱a t'lo'qᵘqa·li't'sol*, Literally, six years it was when I myself for the last time helped to carry it out of the woods.

The distinction established by the use of the suffix *-t* or the pronouns is subject to the choice of the speaker in regard to the manner in which the experience is envisaged. This gives occasion to apparent exceptions to the rules given above. In identical external situations the same individual may view the predication expressed by the temporal clause with *hé't's* as a background for the action conveyed by the main clause, or the two clauses may be regarded as a sequence of two facts. In the former case *-t* is employed; while the latter requires the pronouns *-s* or *-ks*. Thus, in the context "When he arrived, he told his wife so-and-so," we often find

*hé't'set é.wali'*, when he arrived. Here, the two occurrences may be viewed as a sequence, or, considering the fact that in the context there existed a condition which prevented the communication to his wife, while after his arrival this condition gave place to one which made it possible, his communication coexisted with this latter condition. This, of course, is a mere guess in our attempt to justify the exceptional use of *-t*. Contrasted with this, we find *hé't'seks é.wali'* (QT. 26:24), when she arrived, in a very similar context: "When she arrived, the tribe became very much perturbed." Since the news which she brought to the tribe produced their consternation, the two facts may be viewed as a sequence, but we could also take the opposite point of view, as in the preceding example.

When customary action is expressed, *hé't's* appears with no other suffix than its applicative classifier, *-i* or *-e*, which in careless enunciation is elided. For example:

*hé't'si tat e·là· ha'bè·l xe' hét'e·tsi'llit é· yu'kil tá·we·*, when they fell the (tree) of which it is to be made, they do not come near to it.
*hé't'se xwa' tá.laqwa'se· kila hóq<sup>u</sup>qwala''e*, a long time ago they used to burn it

147. Aside from the free morphemes which perform conjunctive functions (Sec. 125), the demonstrative *xwa'* (Sec. 113), the articles (Secs. 110, 111) and the formal base or free morpheme *ó* (Sec. 56), are the most common connectives in the Quileute sentence. The morpheme *ó (ó·)* is frequently equivalent to our conjunctive adverb *where*, or to a relative pronoun with the verb to be (which is, who is); e. g.:

*yix* (1) *á·lita''* (2) *ó* (3) *xe'* (4) *k'wá.k'uya''* (4), the (1) fish (2) existing in (4) waters (4).
*wá.alic* (1) *üxwa·'t'so* (2) *ó* (3) *xe'* (4) *qa'bá.luwa't* (5), the animals of the forest are beginning to disappear. 1 — begin to disappear. 2 — animals. 3 — exist. 4 — the, oblique case. 5 — forest, woods.
*laká·* (1) *xwa'* (2) *he'qlti* (3) *ó* (4) *xe'* (5) *kole·'yut'* (6), there are few experts among the Quileutes. 1 — are few. 2 — the, invisible known. 3 — experts. 4 — exist. 5 — the, oblique case. 6 — Quileute.
*t'loqwa''at'col* (1) *se·'yac* (2) *kó·xod* (3) *dápt'â·yat* (4) *s* (5) *tcitcsida't* (6) *há'ba* (7) *ó* (8) *kuló·oqwa'l* (9), they came out to the bank of a river and saw an owl screeching, perched upon the branch of a tree which was floating on the water. 1 — to pass from the woods to the bank of a river. 2 — began to see, saw. 3 — owl. 4 — *dap-*, to perch upon; *-t'a·yat*, arm or branch of a tree. 5 — indefinite article functioning as a relative pronoun. 6 — *tcitc-*, to float; *-sid*, water; *-t*, continued action. 7 — tree. 8 — existing, being. 9 — to screech.

It may be of interest to note in this connection that verbs which are built with *ó-* as a formal base do not require the affixation of the nominalizer *-t*, even when an article precedes, as explained below. Thus, such verbs are converted into nouns by the articles, without any morphologic change. For example:

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*á·tca'a' ó·t'is*, yonder he lives

*yix ó·t'is*, the (place where) he lives.

*hákuta'x* (1) *yix* (2) *há'ba* (3) *yix* (2) *ó·s* (4) *yix* (2) *kó·xod* (5), the tree upon which the owl was (perched) was coming. 1 — was coming. 2 — the subjective case of article, non-feminine gender; in the first and in the third instances, the article stands before the subject of the preceding verb; in the second instance it introduces a clause (4—5) in a manner similar to our relative pronouns. 3 — tree. 4 — was. 5 — owl.

*hé·qu* (1) *xo'ò·* (2) *yix* (3) *t'siqà·ti* (4) *yix* (5) *ó·t'oqu* (6), here, in the country where we live. 1 — it is the place. 2 — here. 3 — the. 4 — country, region. 5 — the. 6 — we live.

148. The articles and the demonstrative *xwa'* may connect a noun or a clause whose syntactic relation to the preceding elements may be that of a qualifier, of a direct object, or of any other complementary nature, as illustrated in Sec. 112. There is an important morphologic difference between the use of the articles and that of the demonstrative *xwa'* in such constructions. Excepting the instances already pointed out and those mentioned below, the articles require the affixation of the element *-t* (Sec. 122), which converts the subordinate verb into a noun or participle; whereas *xwa'* performs the same function without the use of this affix. It must be understood, however, that the use of the nominalizer *-t* is confined to cases in which the subject of the subordinate verb is a third person, since with any other person the conditional pronouns are employed (Secs. 76), and the subordinate element functions as a verb rather than as a noun. Examples of uses of the articles with nominalized verbs will be found in Secs. 111, 112, 122. The following illustrate the same constructions with *xwa'* and with the conditional pronouns.

*xá·bat'so'* (1) *xwa'* (2) *hé.et'e'eux* (3) *xwa'* (4) *t'o·'pa'* (5) *poóqolo'o't'owasqu* (6), all the material used in the fish trap is made by our people. 1 — everything. 2 — demonstrative, invisible, but known. 3 — is being used in it. 4 — demonstrative. 5 — fish trap. 6 — material belonging to our people.

*yix* (1) *halá.qalawó·t'co·li'* (2) *t'oqu* (3), what we wish to tell you. 1 — the. 2 — hal-, to say; -qalawo, you (Sec. 96); -t'col, to wish; -i, sign of subordination. 3 — conditional pronoun, we, probably functioning as a possessive (Sec. 80).

*yix* (1) *itcá.qayi'la* (2) *ti'l* (3), the way I do it. 1 — article. 2 — *itc-*, to be like; -qayil, to behave, act; -a, sign of subordination, continuative. 3 — conditional pronoun.

## WORD ORDER.

149. The order of the words in the Quileute sentence is quite regular. In the main clause, the normal order is (1) verb, (2) subject, (3) object. In the subordinate clause the subject precedes the verb. As shown in Sec. 109, the distinction between subject and object is generally indicated by the form of the article. Temporal clauses (Sec. 146) generally precede the main verb. All other subordinate

clauses follow the main clause, including its subject and object. Qualifiers precede the word qualified.

All these rules are to be construed as applying only in the majority of cases, for in Quileute, as in most languages, emotional factors may alter the normal word order. The most common alteration due to such influences is seen in the position of the subject before the verb.

A most striking characteristic in the order in which concepts are expressed is seen in the tendency to begin the sentence with the most abstract concepts. This order is most evident when the subject and the modal and temporal aspects are expressed by affixable elements. In the majority of such cases we are given the general setting of the sentence in its temporal modal and subject aspects before other concrete ideas are reached. For example:

*hoyaso*(1)-*'o*(2)-*litc* (3) *wa*(4)-*c*(5)-*i* (6) *siya*(7)-*qala* (8), you certainly will not see me. Here, the first element (1) expresses the assurance felt by the speaker: *it is certain*; the sign of the future (2) and the subject of the sentence (3) are affixed to this first word; then follows the negation (4) with the normal aspect of the occurrence of seeing (5), which, as stated in Section 92, is always inceptive; this verb is subordinated to the preceding, as evidenced by the sign of subordination (6); then follows the expression of the act of seeing (7) with the object pronoun (8); a verb subordinated to a subordinate verb does not require the sign of subordination.

Examples of word order are readily obtained from the interlinear translations in the Quileute texts. The following illustrate the various points discussed above.

*wá·ali'c* (1) *xwa'* (2) *á·lita''* (3) *ó* (4) *x̱e'* (5) *qałé·* (6), the fish of the sea are beginning to disappear. 1 — begin to disappear. 2 — demonstrative. 3 — fish. 4 — existing. 5 — the, oblique case. 6 — sea, ocean.

*lüwò·* (1) *yix̱* (2) *á't'cit* (3) *x̱e'* (4) *á·xuyo''* (5), the chief brought the box. 1 — brought. 2 — article, subjective case. 3 — chief. 4 — article, oblique case. 5 — box.

*hé·* (1) *yix̱* (2) *ho'kwa·t'* (3) *itsó·* (4) *x̱e'* (5) *há.la* (6) *ti'l* (7) *qá.xayo''otaqwá·* (8), it is the white people, as I said, who overdo it. 1 — it is (Sec. 56). 2 — the. 3 — White. 4 — it is thus. 5 — the, oblique case. 6 — said. 7 — conditional pronoun, *I*. 8 — to do something excessively.

### SPECIMEN TEXT AND ANALYSIS

*tsó·*[1] *sa''a.*[2] *ki'tax̱*[3] *yik*[4] *á't'cit.t'*[5]   *hé.olic*[6] *kakï''*[7] *tsitsi'itskwa''a*[8]
Well, then.  Going  the chief's wife accompany  the      daughters

*t'iyó·qo't'soli'ł.*[9]   *ki'tax̱*[10] *xabá·*[11] *ła*[12] *ha'yéq''ᵘba·'yili.*[13]   *tsix̱*[14]
to dig fern roots.   Going   all   indeed   carry basket.    Very

*há't'cá·łowa''.*[15] *é.la·*[16] *sa''a,*[17] *xwa'áv*[18] *x̱e'*[19] *itcá·ła't*[20] *t'łayo''wà·*[21]
good weather.   Did   this,   reach   the destination   after

*tâ·lï'c*[22] *la''v*[23] *itcâ·li*[24] *x̱e'*[25] *óq'otse·cé·lili't*[26] *qwa'seli.*[27] *lá.tcal,*[28]
long time walk headed for  the  place chosen   dig roots. Immediately,

*dâ·kiɬ,*[29]  *hé'bô·li*[30]  *ó.qale·k*[31]  *t'iyoqó't'sol.*[32]  *dâ·kiɬ,*[33]  *tsa'di*[34]
then,     as soon as    arrive    dig fern roots.      But      almost

*t'otcóq·tiya''*[35]  *xe'*[36]  *hé't'sit*[37]  *ó.qalè·ki.*[38]  *qwaslá.qwa''at*[39]  *ɬa*[40]
was noon      the    when    arrive.    Digging for food    indeed

*dâ·kiɬ*[41]  *xu*[42]  *kopiɬáqtiya'd·o'.*[43]  *ó·ɬas*[44]  *awi'c*[45]  *tsáqotca'qɬx*[46]
therefore that    become dusk.    Stay    become night   was impossible

*té.xwâ·li.*[47]  *há·tesi'sal*[48]  *dâ·kiɬ.*[49]  *se·'ya*[50]  *dâ·kiɬ*[51]  *s*[52]  *é·c*[53]  *yix*[54]
go home.    Lie down    therefore.  Seeing    then    that were many the

*t'lotóloo't.*  *dâ·kiɬ*[56]  *yik*[57]  *k'adé'et'ot'*[58]  *k'wé·sec*[59]  *adá'dal*[60]  *ki'*[61]
star.      Then    the    younger sister    finally    began to speak the

*ha·do'sya'a'k*[62]  *hal*[63]  *ku'd·asé·*[64]  *tca'à·*[65]  *ha'*[66]  *k'udè·*  *t'lotóloo't*[68]  *s*[69]
her elder sister    said,  "Would that yonder that   little    star    he

*há.kutaxa'*[70]  *da''qala.*[71]  *toqò·l*[72]  *dâ·kiɬ*[73]  *yik*[74]  *hadós·t'ot'*[75]  *ki'*[76]
come    fetch me."    Replied    then    the    elder sister    the

*k'ade''ya'a'k*[77]  *hé.se'kɬli*[78]  *tca'à·*[79]  *ha'*[80]  *tcè·ku*[81]  *t'lotóloo't*[82]  *tas*[83]
her younger sister,  "I prefer    yonder    that    large    star    he

*há.kutaxa'*[84]  *hal*[85]  *ki'*[86]  *k'ade''.*[87]    *hé·*[88]    *adá'ada'l*[89]  *xe'*[90]
come,"    said    the    younger sister.  It is this    talk    to the

*t'lotóloo't*[91]  *pata'qtiya'sqal*[92]  *ya'a'k*[93]  *t'a't'sá·xei't.*[94]  *xile''*[95]  *dâ·kiɬ*[96]
star    until about midnight    the    girls.    Got angry then

*yik*[97]  *kátc.t'ot'*[98]  *abe''*[99]  *é·*[100]  *xe'sitce.sí·lia'li*[101]  *kaki''*  *tsitsí'itskwa'a''.*[103]
the    mother because not was allowed to sleep by the    daughters.

*hal*[104]  *dâ·kiɬ*[105]  *kub·ilé·ci'l*[106]  *ɬebat'é'leɬ*[107]  *abe''qu*[108]  *t'ce'é·t'aɬxa'l*[109]
Said    then,  "Must be quiet, must go to sleep because we    at dawn

*xu*[110]  *t'cee'è·*[111]  *tsá.le''li.*[112]  *xaya'sxá·alo*[113]  *t'iyoqó't'so·li.*[114]  *é·*[115]
in the    morning    get up.    Again we shall    dig fern roots."    Not

*dâ·kiɬ*[116]  *ku'b·ilé·cia'li*[117]  *ya'a'k*[118]  *t'a't'sá·xei't.*[119]  *tá·li'l*[120]  *ɬa*[121]  *hé*[122]
but    try to be quiet    the    girls.    Continue still    this

*adá'ada'l*[123]  *xe'*[124]  *t'lotóloo't.*[125]  *hal*[126]  *ɬa*[127]  *hé·s*[128]  *ɬa*[129]  *sayà·'*[130]
talk    the    star.    Said    still it is the same indeed   likes

*xe'*[131]  *hé.si't*[132]  *ɬa.*[136]  *é·*[137]  *dâ·kiɬ*[138]  *t'átca'a'*[139]  *yaa'k*[140]  *t'at'sá.xei't*[141]
the    same one indeed. Not    then    know    the    girls

*xe'*[142]  *hé't'set*[143]  *ɬebat'é'li'.*[144]  *t'laxo''*[145]  *dâ·kiɬ*[146]  *yik*[147]  *kátc.t'ot'.*[148]
the    when    fall asleep.    Awoke    then    the    mother.

*ɬa*[149]  *ke·''das*[150]  *as*[151]  *wá.al*[152]  *ya'a'k*[153]  *tsitsí'itskwa''a.*[154]  *é·*[155]
Indeed was astonished that disappeared    the    daughters.    Not

*t'atca'a'*[156]  *xwa'*[157]  *ó.kita''as.*[158]  *té.xwa·'li*[159]  *kula's.*[160]
know    that place where were gone.  "Went home," it occurred to her.

*tsó·*[161]  *sa''a,*[162]  *té.xwa·'l*[163]  *kô·lic.*[164]  *tsó·*[165]  *sa''a*[166]  *t'laxo''*[167]  *ya'a'k*[168]
So,    then,    went home    hurried.    Then    awoke    the

*t'a't'sá·xei't.*[169]  *é·*[170]  *t'átca'a'*[171]  *xe'*[172]  *ó·t.*[173]    *hó.ya·so''*[174]
girls.    Not    know    the    where they were.  Absolutely

*hopê·la'*[175] *hé't'cé·yo·li't'*[176] *yik*[177] *k'adé't'ot'*[178] *s*[179] *t'łó·xwa''das*[180]
strange    lay in bed with    the    younger sister    an    old man

*kí.lispi'l*[181]    *ki'*[182]    *ha·do'sya'a'k.*[183]    *hé't'cé·yo·li't'*[184]    *ki'*[185]
other side of fire    the    her elder sister.    Lay in bed with    the

*ha·do'sya'a'k*[186]   *s*[187]   *tcoo'tsk'*[188]   *ha't'c*[189]   *tsi''da*[190]   *poò·q.*[191]   *tsó·*[192]
elder sister    a    boy    handsome    young    man.    Well,

*sa''a,*[193]   *ke·di''*[194]   *dâ·kił*[195]   *yix*[196]   *t'é·k'a'à·*[197]   *hé't'seks*[198]
then,    became agitated    therefore    the    tribe    when

*é·wa''li*[199]   *yik*[200]   *kátc.t'ot'*[201]   *ó.t'ali'*[202]   *t'łiba·'q*[203]   *t'iyoqó't'soo't.*[204]
arrived home    the    mother    coming from over night digging fern roots.

*tsáqti*[205]   *ki'*[206]   *o'kulás·e'i't*[207]   *kaki''*[208]   *tsitsí'itskwa'a''.*[209]
She missed    the    she had thought there    the    daughters.

*bá'k'il*[210]   *dâ·kił*[211]   *yik*[212]   *kátc.t'ot'*[213]   *xe'*[214]   *hé't'it*[215]   *á't'cit*[216]   *as*[217]
Asked    then    the    mother    the    husband    chief    if they

*óqalè·ki*[218]   *ya'a'k*[219]   *tsitsí'itskwa''a*[220]   *xwa'*[221]   *awè·.*[222]   *wá·alax^u,*[223]
arrived    the    girls    the (last)    night.    "Not present,"

*hal*[224]   *dâ·kił*[225]   *yix*[226]   *á't'cit.*[226]   *tsó·*[227]   *sa''a*[227]   *é.xwa'o*[228]   *bá'k'il*[229]
said    then    the    chief.    Then    on his turn    asked

*yix*[230]   *á't'cit*[231]   *ki'*[232]   *yalô·lat*[233]   *xilà·'.*[234]   *hal*[235]   *dâ·kił*[236]   *yik*[237]
the    chief    the    wife    being angry.    Said    then    the

*likà·t'so'*[238]   *é.*[239]   *t'atca'a'.*[240]   *üxwa'qawó·t·xa'ts*[241]   *dâ·kił*[242]   *xe'*[243]
married woman    not    know.    Communicated    then    the

*hé.t'it*[244]   *yik*[245]   *likà·t'so'*[246]   *as*[247]   *hé*[248]   *adá'ada'l*[249]   *xe'*[250]
husband    the    married woman    that they    this    talk    the

*t'łot'ołoo't*[251]   *pat'a'qtiya'sqal*[252]   *hal*[253]   *as*[254]   *dá'aqa·t'co·las*[255]
star    until about midnight    said    that    they wished to be fetched

*xe'*[256]   *t'łot'ółoo't*[257]   *dê·xa'*[258]   *hé.t'ici'.*[259]   *liyá·*[260]   *ła*[261]   *dâ·kił*[262]
by the    star    in order to    marry.    Immediately indeed    then

*yix*[263]   *á't'cit*[264]   *t'atcí'i*[265]   *as*[266]   *qaqa''*[267]   *xe'*[268]   *t'łot'ółoo't.*[269]
the    chief    knew    that they    were taken    by the    star.

*tsó·*[270]   *sa''a*[271]   *kidi''*[272]   *hayóq^ulił*[273]   *xe'*[274]   *t'é.k'a'à·*[275]   *qwá't'łats*[276]
Then    got busy    to summon    the    tribe    assemble

*hé*[277]   *adá'adali'*[278]   *ki'*[279]   *tsí'itskwa'a''.*[280]   *qwá't'łats*[281]   *dâ·kił*[282]
this    to talk    (about) the    daughters.    Assembled    so

*ó.kis*[283]   *xe'*[284]   *tcè·k^u*[285]   *t'é'k'a·lo''*[286]   *hé*[287]   *adá'ada'l.*[288]   *bá'k'il*[289]   *s*[290]
coming to    the    large    his house    this    talk.    Asked    the

*kalá·to'b*[291]   *héxat*[292]   *s*[293]   *tatá·q^uyal*[294]   *xwa'*[295]   *itca'qł·tise·łqa'at*[296]
Kalá·to'b    and    the    Tatá·q^uyal    the    manner ought to plan

*taxáowi'*[297]   *xe'*[298]   *t'łot'ołoo't*[299]   *tsoo't*[300]   *qál·e't.sil.*[301]   *liyá·'*[302]   *ła*[303]
reach    the    star    because    took away.    Immediately indeed

*dâ·kił*[304]   *kalá·to'b*[305]   *axó·c*[306]   *hal*[307]   *t'caqé.do'oci'łqa'lo*[308]   *hal*[309]
then    Kalá·to'b    spoke    said,    "We ought to fight,"    said

*kalá·to′b*[310]   *héqalítiχa′l*[311]   *χe′*[312]   *á′t′cit*[313]   *hé.χat*[314]   *la*[315]   *χe′*[316]
Kalá·to′b       addressing       the       chief       and       indeed   the

*t′é′k′a′á·*[317]   *bá′k′il*[318]   *dâ·kil*[319]   *bâ·yaq*[320]   *xwa′*[321]   *itcáq·qwa′sido′o′-*[ ]
tribe.       Asked       then       Raven       the       what manner will

*t′át*[322]   *t′sil ó.wa′t·χa*[323]   *héqalít·χal*[324]   *s*[325]   *kalá·to′b.*[326]   *tsó·*[327]   *sa′ ′a*[328]
it be       to go up,       addressing       the   Kalá·to′b.       Then

*hé·*[329]   *tatá·qᵘya′l*[330]   *axó·c*[331]   *é·*[332]   *was*[333]   *lák.lilo′ ′o*[334]   *xwa′*[335]   *itcáq·qwa′-*[ ]
it was   Tatá·qᵘya′l       spoke,       "Not       worry       the       what

*sido′o′t*[336]   *t′oqᵘ*[337]   *t′sil ó.wa′t·χa.*[338]   *t′sil ó.watxa′ ′alo.*[339]   *wa*[340]   *axo′l*[341]
manner       we       to go up.       We shall go up.       Not   you

*láklila′.*[342]
despair."

## ANALYSIS

**1–9** Now then. The chief's wife was going with her daughters to dig fern roots. **1** — contraction of *itso*; *its-*, to do; *-o*, applicative classifier for space (Sec. 85). This word together with the following constitute a conventional introduction to a narrative, which may be rendered by "now then, well, so." **2** — demonstrative (Secs. 109, 115). **3** — *ki′t-* or *ki.t-*, to go; *-a*, applicative classifier (Sec. 85); *-x*, continuative used mainly with verbs of motion, or verbal classifier with an analogous meaning (Secs. 91, 93); i. e., were going. **4** — article, subjective case, feminine gender (Secs. 109, 110). **5** — noun meaning "chief," with the postpositive *-t′*, a derivative for one who lives with or at; with the name or title of a person it has the specific meaning of wife (Sec. 66). **6** —*hé-*, formal base (Sec. 48); *-ol*, together, belong, accompany, be with; *-i*, connecting vowel (Sec. 37); *-c*, inceptive; this is one of the verbs which are always used with the inceptive in a formal manner like a verbal classifier (Sec. 92). **7** — article, oblique case, feminine gender, plural (Sec. 109). **8** — Reduplication of *tsítskwa′′a* (Sec. 59); in this word, as in many others, it seems that the position of the middle-tone accent may be on the ultima or on the penult; if it is placed on the ultima the vowel ends with a glottal closure as stated in Sec. 42; a secondary accent of this kind has a very small degree of intensity. **9** — *-o-l-i′-l*, Secs. 85, 131.

**10–13** They went on, each with her pack basket. **10** — see word No. 3. **11** — *xab-*, to be all; *-a*, applicative classifier; the syntactic relation of this verb to the preceding is one of coordination: "they were going," "it was all of them" (referring to having baskets). **12** — This particle is used very idiomatically; its force may be rendered here in connection with the preceding word as an emotional evaluation of the fact that every one of them carried a basket. **13** — *ha′yéq′ᵘ-*, to carry with the pack-strap; the element *q′ᵘ* is probably the postpositive *-q′o*, position upon, location on a particular spot, but it is inseparable from *há′y(e)*, since the latter has no semantic independence; see word No. 26; *ba·y-*, postpositive morpheme, meaning *basket*; *-i*, connecting vowel (Sec. 37); *-l*, verbal classifier required before the subordinating suffix *-i*, because the initial morpheme belongs to the *l*-class (Sec. 136). This verb is subordinated to No. 11.

**14–15** It was very good weather. **14** — a free morpheme used frequently as an initial morpheme; in this context its syntax is that of a qualifier, as evidenced by the fact that it has no suffixes (Sec. 142). **15** — *ha′t′c-*,

to be good; -a·l, weather; -o, connecting vowel of frequent occurrence before w; -wa, indicates direction away, continuous process in a vague direction; the glottal stop is due to the accent (Sec. 42), particularly on the final word of a sentence. This postpositive is used idiomatically with many words for temporal or other abstract relations (Sec. 66), cf. also No. 21.

**16–27** So, they arrived at their destination, after walking for a long time toward the place where they had planned to dig roots. ¹⁶ — é.l- (or e'l-) to be active or occupied doing something; this, together with the following demonstrative constitutes a conjunctive phrase. ¹⁷ — see No. 2. ¹⁸ — the affix -ʋ is the applicative -o for space (Sec. 85), the phonetic change is due to the influence of the preceding vowel (Sec. 18). ¹⁹ — article (Secs. 109, 110), oblique case, non-feminine gender; for its syntactic function see Sec. 112. ²⁰ — itc-, to be going toward a specific place, be headed for; -a, applicative classifier; -l, indicates purpose (cf. No. 9); -at, (-it, or -t) (Sec. 38), transforms this verbal composite into a noun (Secs. 122, 138). ²¹ — t'layo''-, a verb meaning to be subsequent to; -wà·, is identical with -wa (cf. No. 15), the low-tone accent (which includes duration, Sec 28) is probably an etymologic characteristic which disappears in many cases due to the accentual pattern (Sec. 26). ²² — ta·l-, to last, to take a long time; -i, applicative classifier; -c, inceptive (cf. No. 6). ²³ — la'-, to walk; -ʋ, applicative classifier for space, cf. No. 18. Verbs 21, 22, 23, are coordinate (Sec. 141). ²⁴ — for the first two elements see No. 20; -i, subordinating suffix (Sec. 136); principal verb of the clause subordinated under No. 23. ²⁵ — article cf. No. 20. ²⁶ — ó-, formal base (Sec. 48); -q'o, upon, space upon which an activity takes place, in contrast with -qᵘ, which indicates a location where something stands or lies; -tse·c, to select; -é·, a connecting vowel lengthened by the high-tone accent (Sec. 29); -l, purpose (cf. Nos. 9, 20); -i, connecting vowel; -l, verbal classifier; -it, nominalizer (cf. No. 20). ²⁷ — qwas-, to dig any kind of root; more general in meaning than No. 9; -e, applicative classifier, for its form -e instead of -i see Sec. 87; -l, verbal classifier; -i, sign of subordination; this verb depends on the verbal meaning of the nominalized verb which precedes it, that is, it is subordinated to it as though it functioned verbally in this context.

**28–32** No sooner had they arrived they were digging fern roots. ²⁸ — lá.tc-, to take place at once, to wait no longer; -a, applicative classifier, -l, verbal classifier. ²⁹ — a free morpheme which does not take suffixes; a conjunctive utterance of frequent occurrence, it is used in cases in which we would say, "so, then, for, furthermore, therefore, but," etc. Here it connects 28 and the following clause. ³⁰ — -o-l, classifiers; -i, sign of subordination; asserts coincidence of action or immediate sequence; to judge by other occurrences, it is subordinated to the following verb, as verbs with such meanings are wont to be (Sec. 143). ³¹ — ó-, formal base for space relations (Sec. 48); -qal, or qale-, a postpositive of obscure meaning inseparable from this word; -k, to go to a definite place. ³² — see 9. Verbs 28, 31, and 32 are coordinate, as shown by the absence of subordinating suffixes. The sentence is to be understood as "There was no delay (for) they arrived (and) got busy." Verb 32 is normally durative, since it does not refer to digging up one root, but to be engaged in the activity of procuring food in this manner. Hence it seems proper to translate it in this context as a durative.

**33–38** But it was almost noon when they arrived. ³³ — see 29. ³⁴ — free morpheme, a qualifier. ³⁵ — t'otc-, middle; -o, applicative for space;

*-qtiya*, day; this is the main verb of this sentence. [36] — article, oblique case, expressing a relation of difficult interpretation between the preceding verb and the following nominalized clause. [37] — *hé-*, formal base; the glottal stop is due to the following glottalized affricative (Sec. 40); *-t's*, predicates a relation of time, may be rendered generally by *when*; *-(i)t*, nominalizer. [38] — see 31; *-i*, sign of subordination; this subordinate syntax is identical to that of 26, and 27.

[39-43] So, they kept on digging for food until dusk. [39] — *qwas-*, see 27; *-la*, eat; this postpositive affixed to the formal base *á-* gives the verb to eat *á·la-*; *-qwa*, thoroughly, an intensifier; its force in this context is approximately "they dug and dug;" *-a*, connecting vowel or vocalic form of *-t*; *-t*, an element expressing a state of activity (Sec. 66; cf. Sec. 91). [40] — see 12, an emotional evaluation of their persistence in digging. [41] — see 29 and 33; here it connects with the previous sentence implying a consequence. [42] — demonstrative for invisible entities unrelated to previous experience (Sec. 113); establishes a syntactic relation with the main verb, 39, and the following verbal noun; a kind of accusative of time, end-point of a period. [43] — dark, evening; *-a*, applicative classifier; *-qtiya*, day (see word 35); *-do*, resultative (Secs. 92, 134), the long consonant is due to the accent; the glottal stop may occur with any vowel at the end of a sentence; it is optional; a verb with the sign of the resultative aspect may be used as a noun without the sign *-t* of nominalization.

[44-47] There they stayed until night overtook them and they were unable to return home. [44] — *ó-*, formal base for location (Sec. 50); *-l*, to persist (Sec. 66); *-as*, third person pronoun. [45] — *aw-*, night; *-c*, to become (Sec. 134). [46] — *tsa-*, to be without, not to do or have; *-qo*, an element of rare occurrence whose meaning has not been ascertained in this and two other words from which it is inseparable; *-tcaqlx*, to happen. [47] — *te-*, house; *-xwa*, probably identifiable with the initial morpheme meaning *to arrive*, see 18; *-i*, sign of subordination, depending syntactically upon the main verb, *to be possible*. The high-falling accent here is rhetorical, if we may judge by the fact that the word may be pronounced without it.

[48-49] So, they lay down. [48] — *há·t-*, to lie down; *-e*, applicative classifier *-i* changed to *-e* by phonetic contact; *-i*, is considered proper in spite of the phonetic tendencies; *-s*, verbal classifier for causation of a state or condition; *-i*, connecting vowel; *-sal*, distributive suffix (Secs. 66, 67); i. e. each one lay down, one here, one there. [49] — see 29.

[50-55] They observed then that there were many stars. [50] — *sey-*, to see; the lengthening denotes durative aspect (Secs. 132, 133); *-a*, applicative classifier; literally, they were seeing. [51] — see 29. [52] — indefinite article before the following clause, which is treated as a noun (Secs. 111, 112). [54] — article, referring to the subject of the preceding verb. [55] — unanalyzable noun, except for the possible nominalizer *-t*, (Sec. 138).

[56-71] Then the younger sister spoke to her elder sister saying, "I wish that little star yonder would come and take me." [56] — see 29. [57] — article, subjective case, feminine. [58] — *k'ade''*, the youngest child in the family, male or female; *-t'ot'*, belonging to some one's family; some kinship terms cannot as a rule be used without a possessive (Sec. 83). [59] — *k'we·s-*, to be a consequence of, to evolve from a previous condition; it is used sometimes together with the resultative suffix *-do* (Sec. 134) for emphasis, but serves more frequently as a conjunctive verb. *-c*, inceptive, used formally or perhaps with the idea that the following predication starts from the preceding premise. [60] — article, feminine gender, oblique case,

object of 60. [62] — *ha·do's*, eldest brother or sister in the family; -*ya'ak*, possessive. [63] — unanalyzable; although the -*l* could be a verbal classifier, it is inseparable from this morpheme. [64] — a free morpheme, never found with pronominal affixes; a kind of impersonal verb expressing a wish. [65] — locative demonstrative for a remote object. [66] — *ha*, a demonstrative for an entity distant from the speaker and the listener; the glottal stop is due to the anticipation of the *k'*- in the following word (cf. Sec. 40) to which it is a proclitic. [67] — can be used as a noun or as a verb; unanalyzable; a qualifier in this construction; if it were a verb, a demonstrative would precede 68. [68] — see 55. [69] — subjunctive pronoun (Secs. 67, 73, 74), subject of the subordinate clause; although in form it is identical with the indefinite article, it can be recognized by the fact that the following verb is not nominalized, but takes the subordinating suffix. [70] — *há.kut-*, to come; -*a*, applicative classifier; -*x*, verbal classifier (Secs. 91, 92); -*a*, sign of subordination for durative action; the sense of this verb is "to be moving toward the speaker" (Sec. 92). [71] — *da'-*, to fetch; -*qala*, object pronoun, first person, for verbs of the neutral class (Sec. 96); a coordinate verb, "that he would be coming and fetch me," a verb coordinate to a subordinate verb does not require the subordinating suffix (Sec. 143).

[72–87] Then the elder girl said to her younger sister, "I should prefer that big star yonder would come," she said to her younger sister. [72] — *toq-*, to reply or answer; for unknown reasons this verb takes the applicative classifier for space, -*o*; -*l*, verbal classifier. [74] — feminine article, subjective case. [76] — feminine article, oblique case, expressing an objective relation between 72 and 77. [68] — *hé·*, formal base; -*sekl*, to choose, select; -*li*, subject pronoun. [79], [80] — as in 65, 66. [81] — unanalyzable free morpheme; its syntactic relation to 82 is that of a qualifier. [82] — third person of the conditional pronoun; the conditional is used here with a sense of eventuality; with verb 64 the subjunctive was used as a more definite wish; here the thought was interpreted as "if one is to come, I wish it were the big one." [87] — an exceptional use of this kinship term without a possessive; no explanation can be offered; however, the suffix -*t'ot'* could be used in this context.

[88–94] The girls talked in this manner about the stars until about midnight. [88] — use of the formal base as a free morpheme (Sec. 56). [92] — *pat-*, an initial morpheme of unknown meaning; it has occurred only in composition with -*qtiya*, day, to mean *midnight*; -*sqal*, reflexive suffix in one of its non-reflexive meanings (Sec. 102); literally, "it simulated midnight." [93] — plural, feminine article. [94] — *t'á.xei't*, girl, with the infix -*t'sa* (Sec. 57) for distributed plural.

[95–103] Then their mother became angry, because her daughters did not let her sleep. [95] — *xil-*, angry; when used with the applicative -*a*, it means to be angry; -*e*, is a modified form of the applicative -*i* (Sec. 87); as with many other verbs expressing a mental condition, the applicative -*i* is equivalent to the inceptive (Sec. 92); for the glottal stop see Sec. 42. [98] — *katc*, mother; for -*t'ot'* see 58 and 75. [99] — see Sec. 121. [100] — negative (Sec. 136). [101] — *xes-*, to sleep; -*tces*, causative for a state or condition (Sec. 104); her efforts to cause a condition of sleep is the causation referred to; -*sil*, one of the signs of the passive voice (Sec. 106); -*ial* (or -*i'al*) repetitive for attempts which fail (Sec. 135); -*i*, subordinating suffix (all negative action appears as subordinated to the negative verb; Sec. 136). [102] — article, feminine, plural, oblique case for the agent of the passive voice (Sec. 112); the passive voice may be understood in the sense that she was so affected by the girls that

her repeated attempts to bring about a condition of sleep had failed.

104–112 So, she said, "You must keep quiet and go to sleep, because we are going to get up at dawn." [104] — see 63. [106] — *kub·il*, to be silent, not to speak; *-c*, inceptive; *-l*, aspect of eventuality (Sec. 131); a stern command given in the indicative, rather than in the imperative with the pronoun *axo'l*, as normally; literally, "(You) are going to begin to be still." [107] — *lebat'*-, to fall asleep; *-l*, as in the preceding verb. [108] — a conjunctive verb (Sec. 125); *-qᵘ*, pronoun, first person, plural, indicative, used occasionally instead of *-lo* with no distinction of meaning, so far as can be determined, but appearing generally with the same words. [109] — *t'ce'e·*, morning, as in 111; *-t'al*, come from, originate; *-x*, continuative for motion (Sec. 92); *-l*, aspect of eventuality; literally, the time from which morning is going to start. [110] — demonstrative for an invisible, unexperienced entity. [111] — the early part of the day, applicable till the sun is considerably above the horizon. [112] — *tsa*-, perhaps the initial morpheme meaning not to have, a kind of negative verb; *-le''l*, element of unknown meaning; *-i*, sign of subordination, this verb being subordinated to 108.

113–114 We shall again dig fern roots. [113] — *xaya*-, another; *-sx*, time, turn; the accent and the glottal stop constitute the sign of the future (Sec. 129); *-lo*, subject pronoun, we; this is the main verb of this predication: we shall do again. [114] — as in 32; *-i*, sign of subordination, being subordinated to 113.

115–119 But the girls made no effort to be quiet. [115] — as in 100. [117] — see 106, and 101 for *-ial*; *-i*, sign of subordination.

120–125 They still went on talking in this manner about the stars. [120] — *tal*-, to persist, to last, be a long time; *-i*, applicative classifier for definite purpose (Sec. 85); *-l*, verbal classifier. [121] — see 12 and 40. [122–125] — see 88—91.

126–136 Each girl kept on saying that she liked the same star. [128] — *hé*-, formal base; *-s*, pronoun; literally, "it is he." [130] — *say*-, to like, love, covet; *-à·*, continuative (Sec. 132); the glottal stop was verified, but cannot be accounted for. [132] — nominalization of 128.

137–144 Then, the girls did not know when they fell asleep. [139] — *t'atc*-, to know; *-a*, applicative classifier separated by a glottal stop (Sec. 37) from the sign of subordination *-a*; being subordinated to the negative verb 137. [143] — *hé*-, formal base; glottal stop due to the influence of the following glottalized sound (Sec. 40); *-t's*, to be the time when; *-t* nominalizes this verb. [144] — see 107; *-i*, sign of subordination; being subordinated to 143.

145–148 Then the mother awoke. [145] — *t'lax*-, to be alert, at attention, active; with the applicative *-a* and the verbal classifier *-l* means to get ready, to be active in preparation; for some reason the applicative for location is used for *awaking*.

149–154 She was astonished, indeed, (to find) that her daughters had disappeared. [150] — *ke·''d*-, to be astonished; upset, excited; *-a*, applicative; *-s*, causation (Sec. 104); a causative construction is occasionally equivalent to the passive voice (Sec. 106); the mother, understood, is the subject, since the following clause is preceded by the oblique case of the feminine article, which is the case required for the agent of the passive voice. [151] — indefinite article for a new fact introduced in the discourse (Secs. 111, 112); it is the oblique case for the agent of the passive voice (Sec. 112). [152] — *wá.-a-l*, this verb may possibly be identical with the negative *wa*; with this applicative and verbal

classifier it means *not to exist, not to be present, to there be no* or *none*; being preceded by an article one would expect the verb to have the nominalizing or participial suffix -*t*; but the use of the nominalizer is limited by the meaning of the verb as well as by that of the demonstrative used (cf. Sec. 148), and on the whole it seems that its use is more constant with verbs of action than with others.

155–158 She did not know where they had gone. ¹⁵⁵, ¹⁵⁶ — see 137, 139. ¹⁵⁷ — demonstrative, for its use here see Sec. 113. ¹⁵⁸ — *ó-*, formal base for location; -*k*, to go to a definite place and arrive; -*t*, verbal classifier for a state of activity or continuous condition (Sec. 91); -*a'as*, plural, subjective pronoun.

159–160 "They went home," she thought. ¹⁵⁹ — *texwa-*, to go home; a composite verb; *te-*, house, -*xwa*, probably an element in *xwa-'a-o*, to arrive; the lengthening of the -*a* is probably due to a slurring of the glottal stop which will be expected to separate the vowel of the stem from the applicative classifier -*a*; -*l*, verbal classifier; -*i*, sign of subordination; the verb is subordinated to the next one. ¹⁶⁰ — *kul-*, to have an idea; -*a*, applicative; -*s*, sign of causation for a condition (Sec. 104); it is a kind of passive voice expressed by causatives; see 150; she was led to think.

161–164 So, she hurried home. ¹⁶¹, ¹⁶² — see 1, 2. ¹⁶³ — see 159. ¹⁶⁴ — *ko·l-*, to hurry; -*c*, inceptive; this verb is normally used with the inceptive (Sec. 92); coordinate with 163.

165–169 Then the girls woke up. ¹⁶⁷ — see 145. ¹⁶⁸ — article, subjective case, feminine, plural. ¹⁶⁹ — see 94.

170–173 They did not know where they were. ¹⁷⁰, ¹⁷¹ — see 137, 139. ¹⁷² — article, oblique case before a nominalized verb. ¹⁷³ — *ó-*, independent use of the formal base for location (Sec. 56); -*t*, nominalizer or participial suffix (Sec. 91).

174–183 Much to their surprise, on the side of the room opposite the elder sister, there lay the young one in bed with an old man. ¹⁷⁴ — a word whose meaning is difficult to define; in the contexts in which it has occurred it seems to express a feeling of intensity of the quality predicated, or of magnitude of the occurrence; it has occurred with pronominal and aspect suffixes as a verb. ¹⁷⁵ — strange, surprising, generally used as a qualifier. ¹⁷⁶ — *hé-*, formal base with glottal stop due to the influence of the following glottalized sound; -*t'ce·yo·lit'*, when used in a context in which a man and a woman are concerned it means to lie in bed with, but this is a special implication, for it is used also in descriptive names of tribes, as *tsét'i'pt'eqwa''tciyo·'lit'*, the tribe of the hair tied on top of the head (QT. 23:65); -*t'*, to live with; see 5; 177, 178 are the subject of this verb; 179, 180 are the object. ¹⁸¹ — *kil-*, to be on the other side of; -*sp*, fire, referring to the old Quileute houses where the fire-place was in the center of the lodge; -*l*, verbal classifier. ¹⁸² — oblique case of the feminine article before the object of 181.

184–191 The elder sister lay in bed with a handsome young man. ¹⁸⁴ — see 176. ¹⁸⁷ — indefinite article for a new fact introduced in the narrative (Sec. 111). ¹⁸⁸ — boy, adolescent. ¹⁸⁹, ¹⁹⁰ — qualifiers.

192–204 Well, the tribe was upset when the mother returned to her house the next day from the place where she had been digging roots. ¹⁹⁴ — see 150; with a verb of state of mind the use of the applicative -*i*, which stands frequently for a momentaneous aspect, is equivalent to an inceptive (Sec. 133, 134). ¹⁹⁸ — *hé-*, formal base; -*t's*, occasion; -*ks*, pronoun, "she." ¹⁹⁹ — *é·wa''l* (or *é·wa'l*), to return home from a trip; -*i*, sign of subordination; subordinated to 198, which having a pronoun,

functions here as a verb. [202] — *ó-*, formal base; *-t'al*, to come from; *-i*, sign of subordination.

[205–209] She did not find her daughters, whom she expected to be there. [205] — not to do, or to have; *-ql*, to hit the mark, to do in an efficient manner, used in *hé.qlti*, expert; *-i*, applicative classifier for action directed to a specific purpose. [207] — *o*, identical to the formal base for location (Sec. 50). It could not be said in this case that it functions as a formal base, since *kulas* is not a postpositive, as evidenced by its use in 160; it is possible that *-o* should be considered a separate word, but we should not be able to explain the absence of the high-tone accent; if it is a part of the word in question, the omission of the accent can be accounted for by the presence of a high-tone accent on the *-a* (cf. Sec. 30); *-'i*, cessative (Sec. 130); *-t*, nominalizer, the word functioning as a noun with article 206; the use of the singular form of the feminine article is occasionally used when for some reason the women refered to are thought of collectively; notice also that noun 209 in apposition with 207 takes the plural article.

[210–222] Then the mother asked the chief, her husband, whether the girls had arrived the previous night. [210] — *ba'k'-*, to ask for an object or to question; *-i*, applicative classifier for a specific purpose; *-l*, verbal classifier. [216–216] — noun No. 215 functions as a qualifier; were 216 in apposition with 215, the former would be preceded by the article. [217] — see 31; *-i*, sign of subordination required by all verbs preceded by a subjunctive pronoun (Sec. 73). [221] — demonstrative for invisible entity related to previous experience; see remarks on the expression for *yesterday* and *to-morrow* in Sec. 114.

[223–226] "They are not here," said the chief. [223] — the quantity of the accented vowel may be rhetorical (Sec. 24); this word is generally pronounced with the dieresis after the high-tone accent; *wa-*, is probably the usual negative verb (Sec. 143), with the applicative classifier *-a*, and the verbal classifier *-l*; with these suffixes it means *not to exist*, to be no more, to there be none or no more, not to be at a place; the locative meaning is not likely to be predominant, or it would take the applicative classifier for location *(-o)*; *-x^u*, pronoun for an invisible entity unrelated to previous experience; one would not expect the use of this pronoun here, considering that the daughters are related to previous experience; the fact that the feminine form *-k^u*, equivalent to the non-feminine *-x^u*, was not used, would lead us to infer that it does not stand for the daughters, but refers, perhaps, to the fact itself of being present; it must be admitted, however, that even so, its use cannot be definitely accounted for.

[227–234] Then the chief was angry, and proceded to question his wife. [228] — figurative use of a verb whose literal meaning is to turn around; *-o*, applicative classifier for location. [234] — *xil-* (or *xel-*); see 95; applicative classifier for a state or condition, lengthened by the low-tone accent (Secs. 28, 133); the glottal stop may always occur at the end of a sentence if the vowel is accented; the syntactic relation of this verb is one of coordination (Sec. 141).

[235–240] Then his wife said she did not know. (Implying that her husband had asked her a similar question about the whereabouts of the girls). [238] — in talking about another's wife this general term is often used instead of *yaló.lat*, which refers specifically to a woman's relation to a particular man.

[241–259] Whereupon the woman informed her husband that they had been talking about the stars until late in the night, saying that they wished

to be taken away by the stars in order to marry them. [241] — *üxwa-*, something, an indefinite thing; *-qawolx*, to be acquainted with; *-ts*, causative. [247] — subjunctive pronoun; see 217. [248] — functions as a demonstrative (Sec. 56); commonly used with 249 to refer to the subject of the conversation, which generally precedes, as shown more clearly in 287, but may also follow the verb. [252] — *pat'*, middle; *-qtiya*, day; *-sqal*, false, not quite, almost, and other meanings given in Sec. 102. [255] — *da-*, to go and bring or come and take away, fetch; *-qa*, passive voice; *-t'col*, to wish; *-as*, pronoun. [256] — oblique case of the article before the agent of the passive voice. [258] — see Sec. 125. [259] — *hé-*, formal base; *-t'*, to be a husband to (but notice the suffix in 5); the combination of these two morphemes is seen in 244 with the nominalizer *-t*; *-c*, inceptive; *-i*, sign of subordination.

[260–269] At once the chief realized that they had been taken away by the stars. [260] — to take place suddenly; this word has not occurred with any other suffixes; we presume that *-á·* may include the applicative classifier *-a*, but we cannot account for the high-tone accent; it must function as a verb, for 265 appears with the sign of subordination. [265] — this verb generally takes the applicative classifier *-a*, but as stated in Sec. 92, some verbs of the neutral class form their inceptives by changing this classifier which may connote durative action for *-i*, which frequently expresses momentaneous action; the momentaneous aspect of this verb refers to the moment of becoming aware; *-i* is the sign of subordination separated from the preceding vowel by a glottal stop (Sec. 37). [266] — subjunctive pronoun. [267] — *qa-*, to take away; *-qa*, passive voice; for the glottal stop see Sec. 42. [268] — oblique case before the agent of the passive voice.

[270–280] Then he got busy summoning the tribe, and had them assemble to talk about this matter. [273] — with the applicative classifier *-a*, this verb means *to be busy*, the inceptive aspect being expressed as in 265. [273] — *hay-*, to call; *-o*, applicative for location; *-q^u*, a definite place (Sec. 64); for the *-l* see Sec. 136; *-l*, expresses contemplated action (Sec. 131); for the omission of the sign of subordination see Sec. 143. [276] — caused (them) to assemble; *-ts*, causative. [278] — see 249; *-i*, subordination with implication of purpose (Sec. 131).

[281–288] So, he assembled them and they came to his large house. [283] — *ó-*, formal base for location; *-k*, to go to a definite place; *-s*, pronoun. [285] — a word which can be a verb, but functions here as a qualifier without verbal suffixes (Sec. 124). [286] — the syllable *-lo*, includes the final *-l* of *t'é'k'al*, house, and the initial of *-lo'*, to belong.

[289–301] He asked Kalá·to'b and Tatá·q^uyal in what manner they could reach the stars, because they had abducted (his daughters). [290] — the indefinite article before a proper noun in an objective relation (Sec. 111). 291, 294, names of two mythologic giants fabulously strong. [296] — *itcaq-*, to do something in accordance with a plan, in imitation of a model; also to be like something else; the elements *-ltis* are of limited use, it has not been possible to determine their meaning definitely; *-l*, indicates purpose (Sec. 131); *-qa'a*, to need, have as a duty; *-t*, nominalizer. [297] — *taxa-*, to reach; *-o*, applicative classifier for location; for the sound of *o* after *a* see Sec. 18; *-w* is a glide between the *ʋ*-sound of the *-o* and the next vowel; *-i*, subordination with implication of purpose (Sec. 143). [301] — *qa-*, to take away, (see 267); *-let*, violently; *-sil*, passive voice, mainly for momentaneous or rapid action parallel to the use of the causative *-ts* (Secs. 90, 103, 105, 106).

302-317 Immediately Kalá·to′b spoke and said, "We must wage war," said he addressing the chief, and also the tribe. 306 — inceptive verb with -c (Sec. 92). 308 — *t'caq*-, to fight; -*do*, resultative; -*c*, inceptive; -*l*, contemplated action; -*qa*, passive voice; -*lo*, subject pronoun, *we*; the use of the resultative together with the inceptive has occurred in other contexts with the idea of an action undertaken as a consequence of facts previously stated; the use of the passive voice may be paraphrased in such a sense as, "in view of the outrage committed by the stars, it is incumbent upon us to wage war." 311 — *hé*-, formal base; -*qalitx*, against, toward, used of any action except locomotion.

318-326 Then Raven asked Kalá·to′b how would they go up. 318, 319 —Cf. Nos. 210, 211. 321, 322 — Cf. Nos. 295, 296; -*qwa*, definitely, see page 197; -*s*, causative (Sec. 104); -*do*, resultative (Sec. 134); -*o′-t'*, future (Sec. 129); -*t*, nominalizer (Sec. 122), for the connecting vowel -*a*- cf. Sec. 38. 323 — *t'sil*-, initial morpheme; -*o*, applicative classifier for location; -*wa*, direction away, page 195; -*t-x*, verbal classifiers (Sec. 91); -*a*, sign of subordination (See No. 311).

327-338 Then Tatá·q<sup>u</sup>yal was the one who spoke, "Do not worry about how we may go up. 332, 333 — for the use of the double negative see Sec. 136. 334 — *lák.lil*-, to worry, cannot be analyzed; none of its elements have occurred in other contexts; the final -*o* represents the subordinating suffix required in a negative sentence; it may be -*i* or -*a* assimilated to the preceding vowel of the applicative -*o* by the glottal stop (Sec. 39). 337 — conditional pronoun (Sec. 78).

339-342 We shall go up. Do not dispair. 339 — see 338; -'*a*, future of first persons (Sec. 129); -*lo*, pronoun, *we*. 341 — imperative pronoun, plural. 342 — see 334; -*a*, sign of subordination required by the negative verb *wa*.

# INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

The numbers refer to sections.