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SIUSLAWAN (LOWER UMPQUA)

BY

LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

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## INTRODUCTION

In 1884 J. Owen Dorsey spent a month at the Siletz reservation, Oregon, collecting short vocabularies of the Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua, as well as of other languages. Prior to Dorsey's investigations the linguistic position of Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua was a debated question. Some investigators believed that these two dialects belonged to the Yakonan family; while others, notably Latham and Gatschet, held them to form a distinct stock, although they observed marked agreement with some features of the Yakonan. After a superficial investigation, lasting less than a month, Dorsey came to the conclusion that Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua were dialects belonging to the Yakonan stock. This assertion was repeated by J. W. Powell in his "Indian Linguistic Families" (*Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 134), and was held to be correct by all subsequent students of American Indian languages. This view, however, is not in harmony with my own investigations. A closer study of Alsea (one of the Yakonan dialects) on the one hand, and of Lower Umpqua on the other, proves conclusively that Siuslaw and Lower Umpqua form a distinct family, which I propose to call the Siuslawan linguistic stock.<sup>1</sup> The term "Siuslaw" was given preference over "Umpqua" or "Lower Umpqua," in order to avoid the ambiguity of meaning which might arise from the fact that we have become accustomed to call the Athapascan dialect, spoken on the upper course of the Umpqua river, the "Upper Umpqua."

The material on which the following sketch is based was collected, under the joint auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology and of Columbia University, on the Siletz reservation, Oregon, during the months of March, April, and May, 1911.

My principal informant was Louisa Smith, a Lower Umpqua Indian over 70 years of age. Her advanced years, her absolute lack of knowledge of the English language, her ill health, and, above all, the fact that prior to my arrival on the reservation she had

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<sup>1</sup>It is not at all impossible that this stock, the Yakonan, Kusan, and perhaps the Kalapuyan, may eventually prove to be genetically related. Their affinities are so remote, however, that I prefer to take a conservative position, and to treat them for the time being as independent stocks.

not used her native tongue for a considerable period, rendered her a poor, though willing informant. In the course of this investigation it was therefore necessary to employ such additional informants and interpreters as were available. By far the most important of these was William Smith, an Alsea Indian and the husband of Louisa, who had spent his childhood among the Siuslaw Indians, from whom he had gained a fairly good knowledge of their language. But he, too, was far from being an ideal informant. His command of English was imperfect, his degree of intelligence rather limited, his pronunciation of Lower Umpqua was affected by Alsea phonetics, and he was only too often unable to keep apart the Siuslaw, Lower Umpqua, and Alsea forms of a given word. However, in spite of these deficiencies, his services proved highly valuable, because, having previously assisted me in my work on the Alsea language, he knew more or less what was wanted of him. My other informants were Spencer Scott, a son of Louisa; Louis Smith, a full-blooded Lower Umpqua Indian; and Hank Johnson, the son of a Lower Umpqua father and of an Alsea mother. The three last mentioned were, comparatively speaking, young men, whose knowledge of Lower Umpqua was imperfect and rather vague. They were employed solely for the purpose of settling questions that pertained to phonetics, and of disentangling the frequent difficulties that were involved in the collection and translation of texts; and if I add that throughout the progress of this work, Louisa Smith was suffering from a severe ear-ache (which at times rendered her absolutely deaf), that William Smith had to undergo frequent surgical operations because of a poisoned finger, and that my other informants could give me only part of their time, I shall have mentioned all the difficulties under which the following material was collected. Should this sketch, therefore, be found deficient in completeness of treatment and clearness of interpretation, it will have to be accounted for by the extraordinary circumstances under which the work was conducted.

But if the actual work involved in this investigation was rather trying and tiresome, there were other features connected with it that rendered it pleasant and enjoyable. These features consist of the many courtesies and helpful assistance received from the inhabitants of Siletz; and it is a great source of pleasure to me to record my deep gratitude to these kind friends. My greatest obligations are due to



Superintendent and Mrs. Knott C. Egbert, to the former for his untiring efforts to assist me, both officially and personally, in whatever way he could, and to the latter for the motherly care with which she attended to my personal wants throughout my stay at the reservation. My sincere thanks are also due to Dr. Maximilian F. Clausius, the physician of the Siletz agency, for the numerous tokens of friendship received at his hand.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,

*September, 1911.*



# SIUSLAWAN (LOWER UMPQUA)

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By LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

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## § 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

The Siuslawan stock embraces two closely related dialects—Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw—that were spoken by the people living on the lower courses of the Umpqua and Siuslaw rivers, in the southern part of Oregon. Their northern neighbors were the Alsea Indians<sup>1</sup> (whom they called *Hanī's hītc*<sup>2</sup>), on the east they came in contact with the Kalapuya (chiefly the Yonkalla tribe, known to them as the *Qa'axqax*), and on the south they were contiguous to the Coos (*Qū'yax*). The territory of the Lower Umpqua was bounded on the north by Five Mile lake, on the south by Ten Mile lake, while on the east they claimed the whole region adjoining the Umpqua river as far as Scottsburg. The possessions of the Siuslaw Indians extended as far south as Five Mile lake, on the north they bordered on the Yahach river, and eastwards they extended as far as Mapleton. Thus it may safely be assumed that these two dialects were spoken in the western parts of what are known today as Lane and Douglas counties. No information pertaining to the previous strength of these two tribes could be obtained. Their numbers have been so greatly reduced, that, besides the four individuals who served as my informants, and the two or three Siuslaw Indians said to be living near Florence, Lane county, there are no other members living; and since these people no longer converse in their native tongue, the Siuslaw family may be looked upon as an extinct linguistic stock.

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<sup>1</sup> One of the two members of the Yakonan family.

<sup>2</sup> For explanation of alphabet see pp. 443, 444.

The Lower Umpqua call themselves *Qū'itc*, and refer to their language as *Qū'itcax wa'as*. These terms are of native origin, and are formed from the stem *qū'ī* or *qō'ī* SOUTH. The Alsea called them *Tkul-mā'k'*, and they were known to the Coos as *Bīldjī'yex*, i. e. NORTHERN Indians. The Siuslaw refer to themselves as *Cā'yuc̄la*, and were called *Cā'yūcle* by the Coos and *Qwas* or *Kwas* by the Alsea Indians. The etymology of these names could not be ascertained.

Judging from the scanty notes on Siuslaw obtained by Dorsey and myself, the differences between this dialect and Lower Umpqua were very slight and of a purely phonetic and lexicographic character. No distinct morphological formations were found. The chief phonetic feature that seems to separate these two dialects is the change of a Lower Umpqua *n* into *l* in Siuslaw.

Lower Umpqua	Siuslaw
<i>pā'nū</i>	<i>pā'l'ū</i> well, spring 76.12
<i>qan'nal</i> 19.6	<i>qal'nal</i> knife 50.19
<i>qa'nni</i>	<i>qa'lni</i> (D.) <sup>1</sup> face
<i>tsnā'wī</i>	<i>tsla'we</i> (D.) bone
<i>lkwa'nug<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>lkwa'luk<sup>u</sup></i> (D.) hat

The lexicographical differences cover a limited number of stems and words, of which only a few examples may be quoted here.

Lower Umpqua	Siuslaw
<i>lā'n-</i> 23.7	<i>lēcīn-</i> to call by name
<i>xīp-</i>	<i>yīq'a<sup>u</sup>-</i> to split (pitch wood)
<i>lī'ū-</i> 8.3	<i>xumc-</i> to come, to approach 23.2
<i>t!āmc</i> 40.19	<i>t!ī'lmīs</i> (D.) child
<i>xwā'ka</i> 29.5	<i>gamī'līs</i> (D.) head
<i>lī't!a<sup>i</sup></i> 34.23	<i>wīts!ū'we</i> (D.) food
<i>k!wī'yōs<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>cqā'wic<sup>3</sup></i> dog
<i>kō'tan<sup>4</sup></i> 34.10	<i>ta<sup>w</sup>we<sup>x</sup></i> (D.) <sup>5</sup> horse

Texts of myths and tales in the Lower Umpqua dialect were collected by the author, and were published by Columbia University.<sup>6</sup> All references accompanying examples refer to page and line of that publication.

<sup>1</sup> Words marked (D.) are quoted from Dorsey's manuscripts in possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

<sup>2</sup> Coos *kwi'yos*.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently related to Alsea *tcqēnx*.

<sup>4</sup> Chinook jargon.

<sup>5</sup> Related to Alsea *l!awā'yū*.

<sup>6</sup> Lower Umpqua Texts, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 4.

## PHONOLOGY (§§ 2-17)

## § 2. Vowels

The vowels have short and long quantities. Resonance vowels, marked here by superior vowels, are employed often, as is also the obscure vowel *e*, which seems to be related to short *a*. In some instances, due to contact phenomena, the obscure vowel partakes of the quality of a short *o*, and is represented here by *o*. The open *e* vowel appears to be lacking, while the long  $\bar{e}$  frequently glides from  $\bar{e}$  to  $\bar{i}$  and resembles a long  $\bar{i}$ . Significant pitch appears in a few cases (see p. 447).

The  $a^i$ - and  $a^u$  diphthongs occur in two distinct forms, one with the initial element short or long ( $a^i$ ,  $a^u$ ,  $\bar{a}^i$ ,  $\bar{a}^u$ ), and the other with the first element short and the second long ( $a^{\bar{i}}$  and  $a^{\bar{u}}$ ). The latter two forms are closely related to the long  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$  with which they constantly interchange. This interchange usually takes place after *a*, *h*, *m*, *n*, *q*, *x*, and *l*, although numerous instances will be found where the substitution of  $a^{\bar{i}}$  and  $a^{\bar{u}}$  for  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$  respectively has taken place after vowels and consonants other than those enumerated, or where the interchange does not occur at all.

Examples of interchange between  $\bar{i}$  and  $a^{\bar{i}}$ :

*inq!a'ī* 30.23

*māla'ītīn*

*sī'naxit* 46.18

*tī'k<sup>e</sup>nax* here thou 56.19

*hate'v'xam* he was asked 66.16

*tsv'k!yan hī'sītī ha<sup>3</sup>* I am very  
glad 25.8

*inq!a'a<sup>ī</sup>* river 30.20

*qamāla'a<sup>ī</sup>tīn* my mother 100.12

*cī'naxa<sup>ī</sup>t* he thinks 90.15

*ta<sup>ī</sup>k<sup>e</sup>ns* here we two (incl.)  
56.6

*skwaha<sup>ī</sup>xam* it is placed (in)

*ta<sup>ī</sup>k<sup>e</sup>ns aya'qa<sup>ī</sup>tī sī'xa<sup>ī</sup>* here  
we two (incl.) shall leave  
our canoe 56.5

Examples of interchange between  $\bar{u}$  and  $a^{\bar{u}}$ :

*waa'ūn* 7.4

*waxa'yūtsm<sub>E</sub>* he gave him  
his . . . 76.9

*k!īmūL' Lūn*

*h<sup>i</sup>yatsī'tsūn* he put it on 11.8

*pīlq<sup>u</sup>tsū'nî* made of raccoon  
(hides) 70.23, 24

*kā'lūtūn* I tire him out

*yāk!isk'īnū' L!aya'* on a small  
place 38.19

*waa'a<sup>ūn</sup>* he says to him 20.7

*tkwīha'ha<sup>ū</sup>tsm<sub>E</sub>* he buried his . . .  
40.22

*k!īma<sup>ū</sup>L' Lūn* I am hitting him

*āqa'qa<sup>ūn</sup>* he took it off 13.1

*hamxa<sup>ū</sup>nî* made of tied (grass)  
8.6

*kā'la<sup>ū</sup>tīn* I am tired

*māk!a<sup>ū</sup>' L!aya'* in a bad place  
12.10; 13.1

The Siuslaw<sup>1</sup> system of vowels and diphthongs may be represented as follows:

Vowels						Semi-vowels		Diphthongs					
		<i>B, o</i>											
<i>a</i>	<i>(e)</i>	<i>i̇</i>	<i>î</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>û</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>a<sup>i</sup></i>	<i>a<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>a<sup>i</sup></i>	<i>a<sup>û</sup></i>	<i>w<sup>i</sup></i>
<i>ā</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ū</i>				<i>ā<sup>i</sup></i>	<i>ā<sup>u</sup></i>			<i>ū<sup>i</sup></i>

The unlauded *ā* occurs rarely, and is pronounced like *ä* in German *wählen*; *î* is pronounced like the Slavic short *y*-vowel; and *û* indicates very short quantity.

### § 3. Consonants

The consonantic system deviates in a great many respects from those of the neighboring tribes. Its chief characteristics are the total absence of the anterior palatal series (*g*, *k*, *k'*, *w*); the absence of all sonants excepting *d*; the presence of a palatal lateral (*l*); and, above all, the occurrence of a double series of glottalized explosives differing in the quality and amount of stress employed in their production. The real explosives are followed in this sketch by the sign of exclamation (!), while the glottalized stops of ordinary strength will be found accompanied by the apostrophe ('). The latter seem to be confined to the consonants of the dental series and to *k*. The surds *t* and *k* occur also as aspirated consonants.

The following table illustrates the Siuslaw consonantic system:

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Aspirated	Spirant	Nasal
Velar.....	—	<i>q</i>	<i>q'</i>	—	<i>w</i>	—
Palatal.....	—	<i>k(w)</i>	<i>k'!(w)</i>	<i>k'</i>	—	—
Alveolar.....	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t'!, t'</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>s, c</i>	<i>n</i>
Affricative.....	—	<i>ts, tc</i>	<i>ts'!, tc'</i>	—	—	—
			<i>ts', tc'</i>			
Labial.....	—	<i>p</i>	<i>p'!(?)</i>	—	—	<i>m</i>
Lateral.....	—	<i>L</i>	<i>L'</i>		<i>l, l', l̄</i>	—
Glottal stop.....	<i>ε</i>					
Aspiration.....	'					
		<i>y</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>h<sup>u</sup></i>	

The palatal *l* is pronounced like *l* in the English word *lure*. The glottal stop occurs seldom, and seems to be associated with the explosive character of the consonants following it, although I did not succeed in verifying this connection definitely. The aspiration corre-

<sup>1</sup> Whenever the term "Siuslaw" is used, it is to be understood as referring to the whole group, and not to the dialect only.

sponds to the character of the vowels and consonants that precede or follow it: that is to say, after palatal vowels it is of a palatal character; while before the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u*, and before velar consonants, it becomes guttural. When followed by a vowel, it is changed into an *h*.

*tū'tc-* to spear 62.2

*qaqū'n-* to hear 30.18

*sī'* to grow (intr.) 98.10

*qnū'* to find

*wa'tūx* again shall . . . 11.2

*tuhatca'yūn* he spears it

*qa'q<sup>h</sup>antūn* he heard it 36.23

*sīhī'tcīn xīntyax* I began to grow  
up 100.17

*qnū'hūn* (they two) found it 56.9

*waha'hūn h'yatsī'tsūn* again he put  
it on 12.1

In some instances the aspiration results from the dropping of a *t* before a following *n* (see §§ 16, 58, 59).

#### § 4. Sound Groupings

Clusters of two consonants are admissible, except *w* + any consonant other than *n*. Whenever a *w* is followed by a consonant other than *n*, it changes into a voiceless *w*, represented here by *hw*. Clusters of three or more consonants may occur medially or finally, provided a nasal or lateral forms the initial sound of such groupings.

When, owing to grammatical processes, three consonants that can not form a cluster come into contact, an obscure or weak vowel (mostly *ε*, *a*, or *î*) is inserted between two of the three consonants, thus facilitating the pronunciation of the cluster.

A similar insertion takes place in initial clusters beginning with *m* or *n*, and between two consonants belonging to the same series. The latter rule applies to clusters in initial, medial, and final position.

Examples of clusters consisting of *w* + consonant:

*a'tcnaw-* to trade mutually +  
*-tūx* + *-ts*

*Lōlnaw-* to hit mutually + *-em*  
+ *-tcî*

*a'tcna<sup>hw</sup>tūxts* you two will  
trade mutually

*Lōlna<sup>hw</sup>matcî* you hit one an-  
other!

*xnī'<sup>w</sup>na* he does 11.11

Examples of avoidance of clusters in initial position:

*m-* (prefix of relationship)  
+ *ta* father

*m-* (prefix of relationship)  
+ *la* mother

*mîlà* father 54.22

*mîlà* mother 54.23

## Examples of avoidance of clusters in medial position:

<i>wînæ-</i> (to be afraid) + <i>-nawa<sup>ux</sup></i>	<i>wîn<sup>ε</sup>xna'wa<sup>ux</sup></i> they two were afraid of each other 86.1,2
<i>qātæ-</i> (to cry) + <i>-tūæ</i>	<i>qā'tæ<sup>a</sup>tūæ</i> he will cry

## Examples of avoidance of clusters in final position:

<i>qatcîni'tæ</i> (to keep on going) + <i>-n</i>	<i>qatcîni'tæan</i> I keep on going
<i>qa<sup>i</sup>x</i> (night) + <i>-næ</i>	<i>qa<sup>y</sup>x<sup>ε</sup>næ</i> (at) night thou . . . 70.18
<i>ta<sup>i</sup>k</i> (here) + <i>-ns</i>	<i>ta<sup>y</sup>k<sup>ε</sup>ns</i> here we two (incl.) 56.6
<i>ha<sup>i</sup>q</i> (ashore) + <i>-næan</i>	<i>ha<sup>y</sup>q<sup>ε</sup>næan</i> ashore we (excl.) 88.13
<i>hatc'a'yūn</i> (he asked him) + <i>-tcî</i>	<i>hatc'a'yūnatcî</i> ye ask her 74.10
<i>tcîn-</i> (to come back) + <i>-næ</i>	<i>tcî'nænæ</i> they came back 72.23

## Examples of avoidance of clusters of consonants belonging to the same series:

<i>kum<sup>i</sup>ntc</i> (not) + <i>-tc</i>	<i>kum<sup>i</sup>ntc<sup>ε</sup>tc</i> not his 92.15
<i>ants</i> (that one) + <i>cā'ya</i>	<i>ants<sup>ε</sup> cā'ya</i> that penis
<i>pīūla'wax</i> (he intends to hunt) + <i>-xūn</i>	<i>pīūla'wax<sup>ε</sup>xūn</i> we two (excl.) intend to go hunting 54.22
<i>līt!</i> (to eat) + <i>-tūæ</i>	<i>līt!<sup>i</sup>tūæ</i> (you) will eat 50.2
<i>tcînt</i> (how much) + <i>tææ</i>	<i>tcînt<sup>ε</sup> tææ</i> suppose 38.20,21
<i>s<sup>ε</sup>a<sup>i</sup>t</i> (such) + <i>L!<sup>a</sup>a<sup>i</sup></i>	<i>s<sup>ε</sup>a<sup>i</sup>t<sup>ε</sup> L!<sup>a</sup>a<sup>i</sup></i> such a place 15.1

## Examples of clusters permissible in medial or final position:

Final	Medial
<i>tsîng!<sup>t</sup></i> poor 16.10	<i>ts<sup>i</sup>'ng!<sup>t</sup>tanæ</i> you are poor
<i>lakwa'ūltæ</i> (their) . . . was taken away 50.22	<i>lakwa'ūltæan</i> my . . . was taken
<i>lokwi'xamltæ</i> his . . . was taken away from him 54.14	<i>lakwi'xamltæ<sup>ux</sup></i> their two . . . were taken away from them

The only consonantic cluster that does not seem to be permissible is the grouping of *næ+k*. Whenever these three consonants would appear together in the above-named order, the *x* is always changed into *a*.

<i>ts<sup>i</sup>ya'L!<sup>i</sup>næ</i> (you will be shot) + <i>k<sup>u</sup>nà</i>	<i>ts<sup>i</sup>ya'L!<sup>i</sup>na k<sup>u</sup>nà</i> you might get shot
<i>k<sup>u</sup>wā'<sup>i</sup>nīnæ</i> (they will be beaten) + <i>k<sup>u</sup>nà</i>	<i>k<sup>u</sup>wā'<sup>i</sup>nīna k<sup>u</sup>nà</i> they may be beaten



An exception to this rule is found in the following sentence:

*ʔkwa'yūnanax k<sup>u</sup> t̄'v̄'a<sup>i</sup>* you may get (some) salmon 48.18

In like manner the combination *nax + ū* is changed into *a<sup>ū</sup>* (see § 132).

*ya'qu'yūnanax* (thou art seen)  
+ *-ū* (*-a<sup>ū</sup>*)

*yaqu'yū'nana<sup>ū</sup>* thou art seen  
here

### § 5. Accent

Siuslaw exhibits a stress accent, represented here by the acute mark ('); and a pitch accent, designated by the mark (˘). Only a limited number of enclitic and proclitic particles show no accent whatsoever. The pitch accent occurs mostly in monosyllabic words that have a short vowel, and lends to the syllable a sharp, abrupt intonation. Both accents are freely shifted from one syllable to another. It seems, however, to be a fixed rule that in the past tense the accent is placed on the first syllable, and that the locative case-endings and the adverbial suffixes must be accented.

*ha'qa'q* he goes ashore 58.17

*ha''q'iqyax* (having) come a-  
shore 56.13

*qa'x'ix* it gets dark 64.19

*qa''x'ixyax* it became dark 34.4

*t'watc'itcūna<sup>ux</sup>* they two are  
spearing it 56.15, 16

*t'wa'tc'itcyaxa<sup>ūn</sup>* I have been  
spearing it 66.17

*ts!atn* pitch 26.6

*ts!itna'* (locative case) 94.18

*t̄v̄'t!a<sup>i</sup>* food 34.23

*t̄v̄'t!aya'* (locative case) 13.7

*lqa<sup>u</sup>'tū* log 32.21

*lqatūwiyū's* (locative case)  
88.16

*pk'v̄'ti* lake 62.18

*pk'v̄t̄iyū's* (locative case) 34.11

*sī'xa<sup>i</sup>* canoe 56.5

*sēxa<sup>ū</sup>tc* into the canoe 34.5

*qa'xūn* above, up 34.21

*qaxūntcī'tc* upwards

*s<sup>ē</sup>a'tsa* thus 8.7

*s<sup>ē</sup>atsv̄'tc* in that manner 8.1

*ya<sup>ak</sup>'i'sk'in* very small 36.23

*yāk!isk'inū'* in a very small  
. . . 38.19

### § 6. Phonetic Laws

In both dialects a number of phonetic laws are found which affect both vowels and consonants. All phonetic processes are due either to contact phenomena or to the effects of accent. They may be summarized as follows:

#### VOCALIC PROCESSES:

- (1) Diphthongization of *v̄* and *ū*.
- (2) Consonantization of *i-* and *u-*.

- (3) Contraction.
- (4) Vocalic hiatus.
- (5) Vocalic harmony.
- (6) Effects of accent.

CONSONANTIC PROCESSES :

- (1) Consonantic metathesis.
- (2) Consonantic euphony.
- (3) Simplification of double consonants.
- (4) Modifications of *t* and *k*.
- (5) Minor consonantic changes.

§§ 7-12. Vocalic Processes

§ 7. *Diphthongization of ī and ū*

This is by far the most important phonetic change, owing to the fact that it gives rise to a double form of stems that contain these vowels, and because it is employed in certain grammatical processes (see §§ 111, 112). The principle may be described as follows: For the purpose of expressing (in nouns) the discriminative case and (in verbs) intensity or duration of action, long *ī* and *ū* are changed into *ya* and *wa* respectively.

Examples of diphthongization of *ī*:

<i>hīna'yūn</i> he brings him 23.2	<i>h<sup>i</sup>ya'nyūtsanx</i> I'll take thee along 58.6
<i>hītsī'xam</i> it is put on 11.8	<i>h<sup>i</sup>yatsī'tsūn</i> he is putting it on 11.8
<i>īlqa<sup>i</sup></i> he digs 84.2	<i>a'n<sup>i</sup>tsux ya'lqa<sup>u</sup>n</i> those two (who) are digging (a hole) 84.5
<i>cītx-</i> to flop	<i>c<sup>i</sup>yatx</i> it flops around 36.23
<i>ya'q<sup>u</sup>hītūn<sup>x</sup></i> thou shalt see 36.25	<i>yog<sup>u</sup>ya'wax</i> he intended to see 70.8
<i>u<sup>l</sup>enx k!<sup>i</sup>nk'ūt</i> they went to look for 60.5	<i>k!<sup>i</sup>nk'ya'wax(I)</i> intend to go and look for 60.5
<i>Qa'a'tcīx</i> along the North Fork 32.19	<i>qa<sup>w</sup>xūnyax</i> along the sky 32.19

Examples of diphthongization of *ū*:

<i>qū'nī'xamīmE</i> it was poured into his . . . 29.2	<i>qwa'nyūx</i> pour it into his . . . 29.2
<i>L!xū'xū<sup>u</sup>n</i> he knows it 40.16	<i>kum'n<sup>i</sup>ntc<sup>w</sup>ax tE'q L!x<sup>w</sup>wax<sup>u</sup></i> not they two anything knew it 54.16

*lakū'kūn* he takes it  
*tū'tca'yūn* he spears it 64.12

*ʷtaʷx tkūma'yūn* they two  
 made a dam 48.8

*ū'ttī* snow 76.10

*pEkū'ya xāL!a' L!a'ai* people  
 make shinny-sticks 78.5

*lakwa'kūʷn* he took it 64.10

*tʷwatci'tcūnaʷx* they two are  
 spearing it 56.15, 16

*ʷns tkwa'mīsūn* we two (incl.)  
 will keep on making dams  
 48.14

*watt* it snows

*a'ntsux pākwa'wax* those two  
 (who) are about to play . . .  
 shinny 78.10, 11

Owing to the interchange between *ī* and *a<sup>i</sup>* and *ū* and *a<sup>u</sup>* (see § 2), these diphthongs are subject to the same amplification.

*hī'q!a<sup>i</sup>t* he started 22.6  
*mEq!a<sup>i</sup>tx* they dance 72.13

*qā'tkīn tE a'qa'qa<sup>u</sup>ts* (from)  
 here he left me 60.4

*ka<sup>u</sup>sī's* he keeps on following  
 92.7

*hīq!ya'a<sup>u</sup>* it will be started 32.1  
*mEq!ya'wax* (I) intend to dance  
 72.12

*ta<sup>v</sup>k<sup>ns</sup> aya'qyūn* here we two  
 (incl.) will leave it 56.16, 17

*k<sup>i</sup>was<sup>i</sup>yū'tsana<sup>u</sup>* you will follow  
 me 92.3

The change of *ī* into *ya* often takes place in the third person singular, which ends in *-ī* (see p. 468).

*Lī'wat!īn* I come frequently

*cī'nxyat!īn* I am thinking

*ha'kwat!īn* I fall frequently

*xī'l'xīn* I work

*pElī'tcīn* I (am) ahead

*ya'q<sup>u</sup>hīn* I look

*sī'nxīn* I want

*Lī'wat!ī* 68.5, (*Lī'wat!ya*) he  
 came frequently

(*cī'n<sup>i</sup>xyat!ī*), *cī'n<sup>i</sup>xyat!ya* 17.6  
 he is thinking

(*ha'kwat!ī*), *ha'kwat!ya* 90.12 it  
 falls continually

*xī'l'xī* 50.9, (*xī'l'xīya*) he was  
 working

*pElī'tcīya* he was first 48.11

*ya'q<sup>u</sup>ya* he looked 70.16

*sī'n<sup>i</sup>xya* he desires

### § 8. Consonantization of *i-* and *u-*

The *i-* and *u-* elements of the diphthongs are changed into the semi-vocalic consonants *y* and *w* whenever they are followed by vowels of different qualities. This law affects also the simple short or long *i-* and *u-* vowels.

Consonantization of *i*-:

<i>p̄itca<sup>i</sup></i> (he goes over) + <i>-a<sup>u</sup>x</i>	<i>p̄itca<sup>i</sup>ya<sup>u</sup>x</i> they two go over 88.15
<i>t̄i't!<sup>i</sup>a<sup>i</sup></i> (food) + <i>-a</i>	<i>yā'xatc̄'ist<sup>u</sup>næ t̄i't!<sup>i</sup>aya'</i> for food you will always try to look 13.7
<i>kū<sup>i</sup></i> (not) + <i>-a<sup>u</sup>x</i>	<i>kū<sup>i</sup>ya<sup>u</sup>x</i> not they two . . . 98.11
<i>qnūhū<sup>i</sup>'</i> (he finds) + <i>-a<sup>i</sup></i>	<i>qnūhū'yūn</i> (they) found it 60.7
<i>t̄ɛxmū'nî</i> (male) + <i>-a</i>	<i>t̄a'kukyax t̄ɛxmū'nya</i> she took a mortal man 60.23
<i>x̄il'xc̄i-</i> (to work) + <i>-a<sup>i</sup></i>	<i>x̄il'xc̄ya<sup>i</sup>'</i> (they two) worked 48.10
<i>t!<sup>i</sup>r̄</i> (bear) + <i>-ūnî</i>	<i>t!<sup>i</sup>ryū'nî</i> made of bear (hides) 70.24
<i>s̄i'nax̄i-</i> (to desire) + <i>-ūn</i>	<i>s̄i'n<sup>i</sup>xyūn</i> I want it 15.8

Consonantization of *u*-:

<i>L̄īya'a<sup>u</sup></i> (fire) + <i>-a + -tc</i>	<i>hā'qmas L̄īya'wate</i> alongside of the fire 25.4, 5
<i>w̄ilū-</i> (to affirm) + <i>-axam</i>	<i>w̄ilwa'xam</i> he was assured 30.11
<i>xa'ū</i> (he died) + <i>-l̄</i>	<i>kum̄<sup>i</sup>'ntc xa'w̄il</i> not he dies 15.8
<i>xā'ts!<sup>i</sup>ū</i> (two) + <i>-a<sup>u</sup>x</i>	<i>xā'ts!<sup>u</sup>wa<sup>u</sup>x</i> two of them 40.18

A peculiar case of consonantization seems to have taken place in the objective case *t̄c̄'wa* 32.20, formed from the noun *t̄c̄i* WATER 36.20.

§ 9. *Contraction*

Contraction of two or three vowels following in immediate succession does not seem to be of regular occurrence, and there are no fixed rules governing this process. The following usages may, however, be stated to prevail:

(1) Short or long *i* or *u* following a vowel of different quality form diphthongs.

$$\begin{array}{l} a^i < a + i & u^i < u + i \\ a^u < a + u \end{array}$$

The combination *i + u*, however, does not form a diphthong (see § 10).

<i>t̄ɛmū'</i> (to assemble) + <i>-itc</i>	<i>t̄ɛmū<sup>i</sup>'tc x̄int</i> (they) assembled 30.15, 16
<i>qa'ntcya</i> (from where) + <i>-itc</i>	<i>qantcya<sup>i</sup>'tc</i> from where
<i>qatcū-</i> (to drink) + <i>-itxa<sup>u</sup>n</i>	<i>qatcū<sup>i</sup>'txa<sup>u</sup>n</i> (they) drink (from) it 76.12

(2) A short vowel preceding another short vowel or a diphthong is contracted with the following vowel into a short or long vowel or into a diphthong.

<i>a'tsa</i> (thus) + $-a^ux$	<i>a'tsa^ux</i> thus they two . . .
<i>waana'wa</i> (to talk to each other) + $-a^ux$	<i>waana'wa^ux</i> they two talk to each other 10.4
<i>s<sup>ɛ</sup>à</i> (this) + $-a^iwa^ux$	<i>s<sup>ɛ</sup>a^i'wa^ux</i> on this they two . . . 88.18
<i>xā'ts!ū</i> (two) + $-a^ux$	<i>xā'ts!ūx</i> they two . . .
<i>yałqa'a<sup>u</sup></i> (a hole) + $-ūn$	<i>ya'łqa<sup>u</sup>n</i> (they) dig holes 84.5
<i>a<sup>w</sup>tcīsī</i> (camas) + $-a^ux$	<i>a<sup>w</sup>tcīs<sup>a</sup>^ux yuwa<sup>i</sup></i> camas they two dig 96.18

(3) The obscure vowel *E* is contracted with all vowels preceding it into a vowel of a clear quality.

<i>haū-</i> (to quit) + $-EM$	<i>ha'ūm</i> quit!
<i>nà</i> (I) + $-EMł$	<i>nam<sup>ɛ</sup>ł</i> of me 20.6
<i>s<sup>ɛ</sup>a<sup>i</sup>'na</i> (him) + $-EMł$	<i>s<sup>ɛ</sup>a<sup>i</sup>'na'mł</i> of him

An exception is

<i>wa-</i> (to speak) + $-EM$	<i>wa'am</i> speak!
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(4) Two long vowels of similar qualities immediately following each other are contracted into one long vowel.

<i>peku-</i> (to play shinny) + $-ūs$	<i>pekū<sup>u</sup>s</i> (locative case) 78.18
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A peculiar case of contraction has apparently taken place in the genitive case *łq!ānū'<sup>i</sup>mł* OF HIDES 102.1, composed of *łq!ā'nū* HIDE, and  $-EMł$ , the genitive case-ending (see § 87).

Another process of contraction takes place whenever a personal pronoun (see § 24) is added to the suffix  $-yaxs$ , which expresses the past durative tense (see p. 526). In such cases the suffix  $-yaxs$  is invariably contracted into  $-īxs$ . Attention may be called to the fact that in this case we are dealing with a process that is of a character opposite to the diphthongization of  $-ī$ , which has been discussed in § 7.

<i>a<sup>u</sup>s-</i> to sleep 24.1	<i>a<sup>w</sup>sīxsīn</i> I have been sleeping, instead of <i>a<sup>w</sup>syaxsīn</i>
<i>qatcū-</i> to drink 76.13	<i>qa'tcwa<sup>i</sup>xsīn</i> I have been drinking, instead of <i>qa'tcūyaxsīn</i>
<i>pekū'</i> - to play shinny 9.4	<i>pa'ku<sup>i</sup>xsanx</i> you have been playing shinny, instead of <i>pa'kuyaxsanx</i>
<i>łit!-</i> to eat 13.10	<i>łi't!īxs</i> he has been eating, instead of <i>łi't!yaxs</i>

### § 10. *Vocalic Hiatus*

In cases where contraction has not taken place, two vowels occurring in immediate succession are separated by means of an inserted *h* or by means of the accent. No definite rules could be found that would show under what circumstances either of these processes may be employed. Separation of two vowels by means of an inserted *h* occurs more regularly than separation by means of accent.

<i>hī'q'a</i> (dentalia shells) + <i>-a<sup>ū</sup>nî</i>	<i>hīq'aha<sup>w</sup>nî</i> consisting of dentalia shells 70.6
<i>lxaū</i> (pole) + <i>-īnE</i>	<i>lxa<sup>w</sup>hīnE</i> with a spear (in his hand) 64.11
<i>mEkktī</i> (mother-in-law) + <i>-ītīn</i>	<i>mEkktī' hītīn</i> my mother-in-law
<i>t'ī'a<sup>i</sup></i> (salmon) + <i>-anx</i>	<i>t'īa<sup>i</sup> anx xayā<sup>i</sup></i> salmon they catch 82.13, 14
<i>lī'ū</i> (he came) + <i>-ūn</i>	<i>līū'ūn</i> he arrived 16.3

### § 11. *Vocalic Harmony*

The tendency towards vocalic euphony is so inconsistent in Siuslaw, that one is almost tempted to deny the presence of such a process. The two examples I have been able to find are extremely unsatisfactory and do not permit the formulation of any clearly defined rules.

<i>ha<sup>w</sup>mūt</i> (all) + <i>-Eml</i>	<i>ha<sup>w</sup>mūtū'ml</i> of all
<i>qa'xūn</i> high up, above 34.21	<i>qa<sup>w</sup>xūn</i> on top 32.19

### § 12. *Effects of Accent*

Besides the frequent tendency to lengthen the vowel of the syllable on which it falls, or to lend to it a clear quality, the loss of accent shortens or obscures the quantity of the stem-vowel as soon as it is shifted to one of the suffixed syllables. This law appears with such regular frequency as to make it a characteristic trait of Siuslaw phonology.

While examples covering the whole vocalic system could not be obtained, the following rules seem to prevail:

(1) The *a*-, *i*-, and *u*- vowels of the stem, when they lose their accent, are changed into open *i* (written here *î*) or obscure vowels whenever they precede or follow non-labialized consonants.

(2) These vowels are changed—for the sake of harmonization—into short *u* whenever they appear before or after labialized consonants or *w*.

(3) The unaccented diphthongs lose the second element, especially in cases where the stem-vowel is followed by the accented verbalizing suffixes  $-a^i$  and  $-\bar{u}^i$  (see § 75).

Examples showing the change of  $a-$ ,  $i-$ , and  $u-$  vowels before or after non-labialized consonants:

$m\bar{a}'\bar{t}\bar{i}$  dam 48.10

$ts!a\bar{l}n$  pitch 26.6

$ma^ate$  it lay 32.22

$yax-$  to see 34.4

$tc\bar{i}n$  (they) came back 7.7

$ts\bar{i}L!i'$  arrow 50.11

$s\bar{i}'x\bar{a}^i$  boat 56.5

$sm\bar{u}t'$ - to end 20.5

$hw\bar{u}n-$  to be dark 34.8, 9

$s\bar{u}n-$  to dive 64.21

$m\hat{i}t\bar{i}'y\bar{u}'u$  the art of making dams  
48.11

$m\bar{e}t\bar{i}'txa^ux$  they two always made  
dams 50.12, 13

$ts!i\bar{u}na'te$  with pitch 24.1

$m\hat{i}tc\bar{u}'wi$  many were lying 36.27

$m\bar{e}tca'wanx$  they intended to lie  
down 38.23

$y\hat{i}xa'y\bar{u}n$  he saw it 58.13

$tc\bar{e}n\bar{i}'tcx\bar{i}nt$  he went back 58.15, 16

$ts\hat{i}L!a^i$  he shot 50.20

$ts\hat{i}L!i'te$  by means of an arrow 15.8

$s\bar{e}xa^u'te$  into (a) boat 34.5

$sm\hat{i}t'\bar{u}'i$  it ends 14.6

$hw\bar{i}n\bar{u}'i$  it is dark

$s\hat{i}n\bar{u}'i$  he dives

Change of  $a-$ ,  $i-$  (and  $u-$ ) vowels before or after labialized consonants or  $w$ :

$m\bar{a}'q^uL$  crow 34.23

$ya'wis\bar{u}n$  (you) will pick 36.18

$i\bar{l}qwa^ateM$  trunk of a tree  
92.5, 6

$m\bar{i}'k^ut\bar{u}x$  he will cut

$m^uqwa'LEM$  of crow 34.21

$ywwa^i$  he digs 96.18

$i\bar{l}q\bar{u}tm\bar{i}'a^ux$   $qaa^i$  into the stem  
they two went 92.6

$m^ukwa^i$  he cuts

Treatment of diphthongs:

$xa^itc-$  to roast (meat) 90.8

$p^aa^iLn-$  to hunt 15.3

$a^us-$  to sleep 23.9

$tc!ha^uc-$  to be glad 23.3

$q\bar{u}i^t^2-$  to dream 68.21

$xatca^i$  he roasts (meat)

$u^iEnx$   $paLn\bar{i}'tx$  they are hunting  
82.16, 17

$as\bar{u}^i$  he sleeps 70.2

$tc!hac\bar{u}^i$  he is glad

$q\bar{u}t'a^i$  he dreams

Shortening of the stem-vowel frequently takes place after the suffixation of an additional syllable, regardless of whether the accent had been shifted or not.

*yā<sup>a'</sup>xa<sup>i</sup>* much, many 8.5

*t!āmc* infant 40.19

*tēmtca'mî* ax 27.10

*ya'atūx* (ye two) will multiply 32.6  
*yεxa<sup>ī'</sup>tc<sup>w</sup>ax aî'ntis* they (dual) continually multiply 98.12

*t!î'mct!<sup>i</sup>tūx* (they) will raise children 32.3

*tēmtcî'mya* (locative case) 29.1

In a few instances accent and suffixation have caused the loss or addition of a vowel, and hence that of an extra syllable.

*qūūtcū'nî* woman 30.21

*mîtt!<sup>a'</sup>sk<sup>n</sup>in* step-father

*waa<sup>v</sup>mu<sup>u</sup>* (they two) talk to each other 10.7

*gayū<sup>wi</sup>nts* stone

*qūūtcna<sup>v</sup>* (when) he marries 76.8

*mîtt!<sup>a'</sup>sk<sup>n</sup>î'tîn* my step-father 100.5

*waa'yεmarust* (they two) begin to talk to each other 56.4

*waa<sup>v</sup>mæustx* (they) began to talk to each other 64.20, 21

*gay<sup>u</sup>na'ts<sup>i</sup>tc* upon the rock 62.11

## §§ 13-17. Consonantic Processes

### § 13. Consonantic Metathesis

This change affects mostly the subjective suffix for the third person dual *-a<sup>u</sup>x* (see § 24), and (very seldom) the consonantic combination *n + s* or *n + ts*.

In the first instance *-a<sup>u</sup>x* is transposed into *-<sup>w</sup>ax* (contracted sometimes into *-<sup>w</sup>æ*) or whenever it is added to stems or words that precede the verbal expression (see § 26). This transposition never takes place when the pronoun is suffixed to the verb.

*tsîm* (always) + *-a<sup>u</sup>x*

*pεnî's* (skunk) + *-a<sup>u</sup>x*

*ants* (that one) + *-a<sup>u</sup>x*

*s<sup>ε</sup>atsî'tc* (thus) + *-a<sup>u</sup>x*

*wl* (and, then) + *-a<sup>u</sup>x*

*an'tsîtc* (this his) + *-a<sup>u</sup>x*

*tsî<sup>m</sup>w<sup>ax</sup>* always they two . . . 50.10

*ants pεnî's<sup>w</sup>ax* those two skunks 88.6, 7

*a'nts<sup>u</sup>x* those two 52.3, 5

*s<sup>ε</sup>atsî'tc<sup>w</sup>ax* thus they two 50.15, 16

*w<sup>i</sup>t<sup>w</sup>ax* and they two

*a'ntsîtc<sup>u</sup>* these their two 50.4

This transposition is seldom absent; and parallel forms, like *a'nts<sup>u</sup>x* and *a'nts<sup>u</sup>x* 50.12, *stî'ma<sup>u</sup>x* 50.21, and *stî'm<sup>w</sup>ax* 52.20, are extremely rare. As a matter of fact, the tendency towards the metathesis of *-a<sup>u</sup>x* is so great that it takes place even in cases where *-a<sup>u</sup>x* is suffixed to stems ending in a vowel.



*qwoa'txa*<sup>1</sup> (beaver) + *-a<sup>u</sup>x*

*qwoa'txa<sup>iw</sup>ax* they two (he and)  
beaver 52.4

*tsâmî'l'ä* (muskrat) + *-a<sup>u</sup>x*

*tsâmîl'a'wax* they two (he and)  
muskrat 54.19

The transposition of *n* + *s* and *ts* actually occurs in a few instances only, although I have no doubt that under more favorable conditions a greater number of cases could have been collected (see also p. 599).

*ants* . . . *ha<sup>i</sup>qa<sup>i</sup>* . . . when *tsa'na<sup>ü</sup>* *lî'ütüx* when it will come  
he comes ashore 82.5 (this way) 62.21, 22

. . . *ants tkwa'myax* when it *tsa'ntcî* if you . . . 74.8  
closed up 78.3

*kū<sup>i</sup> nàts* if not . . . 29.7

#### § 14. Consonantic Euphony

This law requires that the consonants of the *k*-series should correspond to the quality of the vowel preceding or following it. Hence all velar and palatal *k*-sounds following a *u*-vowel become labialized. Owing to the fact that Siuslaw does not possess anterior palatal sounds, harmonization of consonants does not take place after or before *i*-vowels.

*lk'anū<sup>i</sup>k<sup>u</sup>* screech owl 86.1

*lkwa'nug<sup>u</sup>* hat

*tcu<sup>i</sup>x<sup>u</sup>s* vulva 90.16

*t'a<sup>i</sup>ntūq<sup>i</sup>wī* moccasins

*qō<sup>i</sup>x<sup>u</sup>m* off shore 34.6

*ts!<sup>i</sup>ū<sup>i</sup>xwī* spoon

*cugwa'an* roast 90.12

*k!<sup>i</sup>u<sup>x</sup>wīna<sup>i</sup>* ice appears 76.13

*qō<sup>i</sup>q<sup>u</sup>* knee

*cū<sup>i</sup>kwa* sugar<sup>1</sup>

#### § 15. Simplification of Double Consonants

Double consonants, when not kept apart by means of an inserted weak vowel (see § 4), are usually simplified. This process especially takes place between two *t* and *n* sounds, in which case the repeated consonant is dropped. This phonetic law is of great importance; and it should always be borne in mind, because it affects the subjective suffix for the first person singular *-n*, when following the transitive form in *-ün*. In such cases the subjective pronoun is invariably dropped; and since the third person singular has no distinct suffix, it becomes at times rather difficult to comprehend by which of these two persons a given action is performed (§§ 24, 28).

<sup>1</sup> English loan-word.

*hatca't* (tall, long) + *-t'ū*  
*yâkt* (big) + *-t'ū<sup>wi</sup>*  
*wàn* (now) + *-n<sup>xan</sup>*  
*sî'n<sup>i</sup>xyūn* (he wants it) + *-n*  
*an<sup>x</sup>ax<sup>a</sup>n* (he gives it up) + *-n*  
*mî'tt<sup>i</sup>cîst* (he begins to burn) +  
*t<sup>x</sup>*  
*yâk!<sup>i</sup>tc* (in pieces) + *-yax* +  
*-xam*

*ha'tot'ū<sup>u</sup>* a long (time) 48.2  
*yâkt'ū<sup>wi</sup>* large size  
*wa'n<sup>xan</sup>* now we (excl.) 30.13  
*sî'n<sup>i</sup>xyūn* I want it 30.4  
*an<sup>x</sup>ax<sup>a</sup>n* I give him up 60.11  
*mî'tt<sup>i</sup>cîst<sup>x</sup>* *Lad'* his mouth be-  
 gins to burn 29.3  
*yâk!<sup>i</sup>tcya'<sup>xam</sup>* into pieces it  
 was cut 29.4

Compare, on the other hand,—

*tîkwa'yūn* (he takes it) + *-n<sup>x</sup>*  
*L!wā'nīsūn* (he keeps on tell-  
 ing him) + *-n<sup>x</sup>*

*tîkwa'yūnan<sup>x</sup>* you get it 48.18  
*L!wā'nīsūnan<sup>x</sup>* you keep on  
 telling him 17.2

### § 16. Modifications of *t* and *k*

Siuslaw seems to have a tendency to avoid as much as possible the clusters *tn* and *kn*. Since the phonetic character of certain suffixes causes *t* and *n* to come into contact frequently, there are many cases of sound shiftings due to the influence of *n* upon the preceding *t*. Combinations of this kind are the passive suffixes *-ūt<sub>NE</sub>* and *-īsūt<sub>NE</sub>* (see §§ 58, 59). In these cases the *t* closure is not formed, but replaced by a free emission of breath, thereby changing these suffixes into *-ū'n<sub>NE</sub>* and *-īsū'n<sub>NE</sub>* respectively. It is not inconceivable that this process may have a dialectic significance, differentiating the Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw dialects, because it was noticed that William Smith (who spoke the latter dialect) never used the forms *-ūt<sub>NE</sub>* and *-īsūt<sub>NE</sub>*; while his wife<sup>1</sup> (a Lower Umpqua Indian) invariably hesitated to acknowledge the correctness of the use of *-ū'n<sub>NE</sub>* and *-īsū'n<sub>NE</sub>*. But as I had no other means of verifying this possibility, I thought it advisable to discuss this change as a *consonantic process*. The dialectic function of the process under discussion may be borne out further by the fact that in a good many instances these two suffixes occur in parallel forms.

<i>waa'</i> he says 8.9	<i>waa'yūt<sub>NE</sub></i> 20.6	<i>waa'yū'n<sub>NE</sub></i> he is told 72.3
<i>sî'n<sup>i</sup>n<sup>wi</sup></i> - to desire 18.5	<i>sî'n<sup>i</sup>xyūt<sub>NE</sub></i> 13.4	<i>sî'n<sup>i</sup>xyū'n<sub>NE</sub></i> it is de- sired 20.4

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.

<i>hacʰ</i> - to ask 66.16	<i>hacʰa'yūt<sub>NE</sub></i> 68.3	<i>hacʰayū'ne</i> he is asked 66.23
<i>xn̄<sup>w</sup>n-</i> to do 10.5	<i>xn̄<sup>w</sup>nūt<sub>NE</sub></i> 62.9	<i>xn̄<sup>w</sup>nū'ne</i> it is done
<i>waa<sup>v</sup></i> he says 8.9	<i>waa<sup>v</sup>sūt<sub>NE</sub></i> 24.3	<i>waa<sup>v</sup>sū'ne</i> he is continually told 23.10
<i>lī'ū-</i> to come 8.3	<i>l'īl!wī'sūt<sub>NE</sub></i> 26.2	<i>lī'wīsū'ne</i> he is continually approached 26.6
<i>qaLx-</i> to count 8.5	<i>qa'lxūt<sub>NE</sub></i> 62.8	<i>qa'Lxīsū'ne</i> (they) are continually counted 62.11
<i>k!aha<sup>v</sup></i> he invites	<i>tanx k!aha'yūt<sub>NE</sub></i> this one you are invited 24.3	
<i>tū'tca<sup>i</sup></i> he spears 62.2	<i>tū'tca'yūt<sub>NE</sub></i> it is speared 8.7	
<i>hakwa<sup>v</sup></i> he drops	<i>hakwa'yū'ne</i> it is thrown 8.7	
<i>tqūtū<sup>v</sup></i> he shouts 92.6	<i>tqūtū'yū'ne</i> he is shouted at 78.3	
<i>hakī'tx</i> they shout 13.11	<i>lhatī'sū'ne</i> he is continually shouted at 14.2	
<i>čl'x-</i> to move 27.3	<i>čl'lxīsūt<sub>NE</sub></i> he is continually shaken 27.2	
<i>h<sup>i</sup>yats-</i> to put on 11.8	<i>h<sup>i</sup>ya'tsīsūt<sub>NE</sub></i> it is continually put on 11.7	

The verbal suffix *-t* expressing periphrastically the idea TO HAVE, TO BE WITH SOMETHING (see § 76), is very often dropped when followed by the subjective pronouns that begin with *n* (see § 24; see also § 88).

<i>atsī'tcītīn ha<sup>i</sup></i> thus I think 36.13	<i>s<sup>E</sup>atsī'tcīn ha<sup>i</sup></i> thus I think 21.7
<i>na'm<sup>E</sup>lītīn wa'as</i> my language	<i>na'm<sup>E</sup>līn wa'as</i> my language
<i>L'a'ītān<sup>xan</sup></i> our residence 100.3	<i>na'm<sup>E</sup>līn<sup>xan</sup></i> our . . . 102.5
	<i>hī<sup>v</sup>sīn<sup>xan</sup> hītsī<sup>i</sup></i> good (was) our house 100.13

The same tendency of dropping a consonant prevails in clusters consisting of *k+n*.

<i>ta<sup>a</sup>k</i> (this here) + <i>-n<sub>x</sub></i>	<i>tanx</i> this one thou 20.6
<i>ta<sup>a</sup>k</i> (this here) + <i>-n<sup>xan</sup></i>	<i>ta'n<sup>xan</sup></i> these ones we . . . 25.3

The dropping of *k* in these instances may also be explained as having resulted from the abbreviation of *ta<sup>a</sup>k* into *t<sub>E</sub>* (see § 115); the more so, as an analogous case is furnished by the local adverb

*stīmk* THERE, which usually loses its *k* before all following subjective suffixes (see § 119).

<i>stīmk</i> (there) 30.18 + - <i>nə</i>	<i>stī'm<sup>n</sup>nə</i> there they . . . 32.3
<i>stīmkts</i> (there you two) 32.12	<i>stīmts</i> there you two . . . 32.6
	<i>stī'mtc̄</i> there you (pl.) 32.8

### § 17. *Minor Consonantic Changes*

In this section those changes affecting the consonants will be discussed, for which not enough examples could be found to permit the formulation of clearly defined rules.

Here belongs in first place the apparent change of a sonant into a fortis in initial reduplication, a process exemplified by only three cases.

<i>lī'ū-</i> to come 9.2	<i>l'īL!wī'sūtne</i> he is continually approached 26.2
	<i>l'īL!wa'xam</i> he is approached 16.3
<i>temū'-</i> to assemble 7.3	<i>t!Emt!ma'xam</i> people assemble about him (passive) 23.3

Another sporadic change is that of *q* and *q'* into *k* before the suffix of place -*a<sup>e</sup>mū* (see § 103).

<i>yaq<sup>u</sup>'-</i> to look 9.1	<i>yīkya<sup>e</sup>mū</i> a place from where one can see, a vantage point
<i>ma'q!ī-</i> to dance 28.7	<i>mEkya<sup>e</sup>mū</i> a dance hall

Compare, however, on the other hand,

<i>yaq<sup>u</sup>'ya'waxan</i> I intend to look 25.8,9
<i>mī'nq!yEm</i> buy a woman!

A third doubtful process consists in the change which the modal adverb *kū<sup>i</sup> xyal'x* ALMOST, NEARLY (see § 121), undergoes whenever used with the subjective pronouns for the second person singular or third person plural (see § 24). In such cases the form obtained is always *kwī'n<sup>ex</sup>yal'x* THOU ALMOST, THEY ALMOST, which may be explained as a result of a simplification from *kū<sup>i</sup> + -nə + xyal'x* (see § 15).

<i>kū<sup>i</sup> xyal'x smū't'a</i> it almost is the end 10.9, 11.1	<i>kwī'n<sup>ex</sup>yal'x kū'na'wūn</i> you almost beat him
	<i>kwīnə xyal'x lī'wīl</i> they had almost arrived 66.25

## § 18. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

All grammatical categories and syntactic relations are expressed in Siuslaw by one of the following four processes:

- (1) Prefixation.
- (2) Suffixation.
- (3) Reduplication.
- (4) Phonetic changes.

Prefixation as a means of expressing grammatical categories is resorted to in only two instances. Almost all grammatical ideas are expressed by means of suffixes. A singular trait of the suffixes in Siuslaw is presented by the fact that the adverbial suffixes are added to the locative form of the noun and must precede the pronominal suffixes. Reduplication is practically confined to the formation of intensive and durative actions; while phonetic changes are employed for the purpose of forming the discriminative case and of expressing duration and intensity of action.

## § 19. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

By far the majority of stems that constitute the Siuslaw vocabulary are neutral, receiving their respective nominal or verbal significance from the functional character of the suffix that is added to them. All stems expressing our adjectival ideas are in reality intransitive verbs.

Of the two prefixes employed as a means of expressing grammatical categories, one indicates relationship, while the other points out the performer of an action.

The suffixes are overwhelmingly verbal in character; that is to say, they indicate ideas of action and kindred conceptions. Hence they are employed for the purpose of expressing activity, causation, reciprocity, the passive voice, the imperative and exhortative modes, etc. The pronouns denoting both subject and object of an action are indicated by suffixes, as are also the possessive relations that may exist between the object of a sentence and its subject. All temporal ideas are conveyed by means of suffixes, and Siuslaw shows a remarkable development of this category, having distinct suffixes that express inception, termination, frequency, duration, intention of performing an action, as well as the present, future, and past tenses. Other ideas that are expressed by means of verbal suffixes are mainly

modal in character, indicating distribution, negation, location of action, and the attempt to perform a given act.

Nominal suffixes are, comparatively speaking, few in number, and express chiefly adverbial ideas, such as local relationships and instrumentality. They are used, furthermore, for the purpose of forming abstract concepts, diminutive and augmentative nouns, and also express cases of nouns.

Ideas of plurality are hardly developed; for, with the exception of two suffixes that express plurality of the subject of the sentence, Siuslaw has no other grammatical means of indicating plurality of action or of nominal concepts. Distinct verbal and nominal stems for singular and plural subjects or objects, such as are employed in other languages, do not exist. Plurality of subject and object is sometimes indicated by particles.

Reduplication expresses primarily repetition and duration of action; while phonetic changes serve the purpose of denoting the performer and intensity of action.

The grammatical function of particles covers a wide range of ideas, pertaining chiefly to the verb. Some express finality of action, sources of knowledge, emotional states, connection with previously expressed ideas, others have an exhortative and restrictive significance.

In the pronoun, three persons, and a singular, dual, and plural, are distinguished. Grammatical gender does not exist. The first person dual has two distinct forms,—one indicating the inclusive (I AND THOU), and the other the exclusive (I AND HE). In like manner the first person plural shows two separate forms,—one expressing the inclusive (I AND YE), and the other the exclusive (I AND THEY).

The demonstrative pronoun, while showing a variety of forms, does not accentuate visibility or invisibility, presence or absence, and nearness or remoteness, in relation to the three pronominal persons.

The numeral is poorly developed, exhibiting forms for the cardinals only. Means of forming the other numerals do not exist. They are expressed mostly by the cardinals. The ordinals are sometimes indicated by means of an adverbial suffix.

The syntactic structure of the sentence presents no complications. The different parts of speech may shift their position freely without affecting the meaning of the sentence. Nominal incorporation and

words that are compounds of independent stems do not exist, and words denoting nominal or verbal ideas can be easily recognized through the character of their suffixes.

## MORPHOLOGY (§§ 20-136)

### Prefixes (§§ 20-21)

Siuslaw has only two prefixes,—a fact that stands out most conspicuously when we consider the large number of prefixes that are found in some of the languages spoken by the neighboring tribes. Of these two prefixes, one is employed for the purpose of denoting nouns of relationship, while the other forms the discriminative case of nouns and pronouns.

#### § 20. Prefix of Relationship *m-*

This prefix is found in a limited number of terms of relationship. All these terms occur also in Alesa,<sup>1</sup> and it is quite conceivable that they represent loan-words assimilated by means of this prefix. By far the majority of nouns expressing degrees of relationship occur without the prefix *m-*. Owing to the fact that Siuslaw does not permit an *m* to appear in initial consonantic clusters, the prefix is often changed into *mâ-* (see § 4).

The following is a complete list of all terms employed in Siuslaw for the purpose of denoting the different degrees of relationship.

English	Siuslaw
Father	<i>mâtâ</i> <sup>2</sup>
Mother	<i>mâtâ</i> <sup>3</sup>
Elder brother	<i>mât'î'</i> <sup>4</sup>
Younger brother	<i>m'û'sk'</i> <sup>5</sup>
Elder sister	<i>mâs'î'a'</i> <sup>6</sup>
Younger sister	<i>mâctc'î'</i>
Grandfather	<i>lîpL, lîpL'mâ</i> (see § 84)
Grandmother	<i>kamL, kamL'mâ</i> (see § 84)
Grandson	<i>tîm'î'sk'î'n</i> (see § 83)
Granddaughter	<i>tîkô'n</i>
Paternal uncle, stepfather	<i>mât'a'sk'î'n</i> (see § 83)
Maternal uncle	<i>t'î'â'sîts'î'</i> <sup>7</sup>
Paternal and maternal aunt	<i>k'û'la</i>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 437, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Alesa *tâsa*.

<sup>3</sup> Alesa *tîs'î*.

<sup>4</sup> Alesa *hâs'tî*.

<sup>5</sup> Alesa *mû'tsîk*.

<sup>6</sup> Alesa *sâsa*.

<sup>7</sup> Alesa *t'î'â'atsa*.

Parent-in-law	<i>mɛkʔi'</i> <sup>1</sup>
Son-in-law	<i>mū'n(i)</i> <sup>2</sup>
Daughter-in-law	<i>tɛ'maxan</i> (?)
Brother-in-law, sister-in-law	<i>tā'maxt</i> <sup>3</sup>
Stepmother	<i>mūlask'i'l'mä</i> (see §§ 83, 84)
Stepbrother	<i>mū'sku'l'mä</i> (see § 84)
Stepsister	(?)
Nephew (son of brother)	<i>kɪp</i>
Nephew (son of sister); stepson	<i>t!ā't</i> <sup>4</sup>
Niece (daughter of brother)	<i>k'paxan</i> (?) <sup>5</sup>
Niece (daughter of sister); stepdaughter (?)	<i>tɪnl</i> <sup>6</sup>
Term of relationship, by marriage, after the death of the person that caused this kinship	<i>xayū'sL</i> <sup>7</sup>

In addition to these terms of kinship, I have obtained a few other stems, whose exact rendering did not seem to be very clear in the minds of my informants. Thus, William Smith maintained that *q'a'si'nti*<sup>8</sup> denoted ELDER SISTER; while Louisa Smith thought she remembered that *taq'i'wi* signified BROTHER-IN-LAW. Other terms that may belong here are the nouns *temā'nī* (rendered by my interpreter by COUSIN), that seemed to be used in addressing a non-related member of the tribe; *ts'il'mū't* FRIEND, referring to a person outside the consanguinity and affinity group; *ts'i'mqma* PEOPLE, FOLKS; and *tɛ'q* RELATIVE (see § 123).

### § 21. Discriminative q- (qa-)

This prefix is added to all terms of relationship and to all independent pronouns for the first and second persons, whenever they are the subject of a transitive action or whenever the presence of both a nominal subject and object in one and the same sentence necessitates the discrimination of the subject. The discriminative case of nouns

<sup>1</sup> Aalsea *mak'i*.

<sup>2</sup> Aalsea *mūn*.

<sup>3</sup> Aalsea *temzt* SISTER-IN-LAW.

<sup>4</sup> Likewise so by Dorsey for "nephew." The use of this term for "stepson" contradicts the term for "stepfather."

<sup>5</sup> Frequently rendered COUSIN.

<sup>6</sup> The same contradiction as mentioned in note 4.

<sup>7</sup> Coos *xayūslāt*.

<sup>8</sup> Aalsea *qa'sintl*.



other than terms of relationship is formed by means of an internal phonetic change (see § 111). The same case for the independent personal pronouns for the third person will be found discussed in § 113 (pp. 575 *et seq.*). The rules of consonantic clusters change this prefix frequently into *qa-* (see § 4).

<i>mîtà</i> father 54.22	<i>gamîta'te wî'tcîstûn</i> her father sent her 92.20
<i>m<sup>u</sup>'sk<sup>u</sup></i> younger brother 56.6	<i>ʷl wàn waha' ha<sup>n</sup> qa'msk<sup>u</sup>tc</i> now again (said to him) his younger brother 56.20, 21
<i>mîlà</i> mother 54.23	<i>a'l<sup>o</sup>q qîûtç'î'l'mâ ta'yûn gamîla'-a<sup>î</sup>n</i> one old woman kept (in her house) my mother 100.12
<i>nà</i> I 21.8	<i>tsî'k!yanx qnà sî'n<sup>i</sup>xyûts</i> very much thee I like 22.7
<i>na'han</i> I 40.14	<i>L!xû'yûn qna'han</i> I know it 19.9
<i>nîx<sup>a</sup>ts</i> thou 50.16	<i>hî'sanx mâ'nîsûts qnî'x<sup>a</sup>ts</i> well thou shalt always take care of me 22.2, 3
	<i>ʷlnx qnî'x<sup>a</sup>ts xñ<sup>w</sup>nîsûn</i> and you will continually do it 98.10
<i>na<sup>u</sup>'xûn</i> we two (excl.) 36.15	<i>qna'xûn LElû'yûts</i> we two (excl.) hit thee
<i>na'nzan</i> we (excl.)	<i>qna'nzan ya'q<sup>u</sup>hîsûts</i> we (excl.) will watch thee 72.6
<i>watc</i> who, somebody 10.1	<i>qwate L!xû'yûn</i> he who knows it 44.8
	<i>kumî'ntç<sup>n</sup>l qwate kû'î'nîsûts</i> not us (excl.) anybody will ever beat 72.17

### Suffixes (§§ 22-105)

#### § 22. General Remarks

Besides the few ideas that are conveyed by means of other grammatical processes (such as prefixation, reduplication, etc.), Siuslaw employs suffixation as a means of forming practically all of its morphological and syntactic categories. These suffixes are either simple or they are compounded of two or more distinct formative elements. The compound suffixes usually have the cumulative significance of their separate component parts. In many cases, owing to far-reaching

phonetic changes, the derivation of the compound suffixes can not be given with certainty.

From a functional point of view all suffixes may be divided into a verbal and a non-verbal group; the former used in the formation of verbal ideas, the latter employed for the purpose of conveying grammatical concepts of a nominal, adjectival, or adverbial character. In one or two instances we do find a suffix denoting both verbal and nominal ideas. This is especially true of the suffix  $-ū^u$ ,  $-ū^{wi}$ , which may indicate an act performed by several subjects, or else the abstract concept of that action (see §§ 79, 97); and of the auxiliary  $-t$ , which is also employed in the formation of a number of words denoting adjectival ideas. (See §§ 76, 104.) While it might have been more proper to discuss such suffixes in a separate chapter as "Neutral Suffixes," practical considerations have induced me to treat them in accordance with their functional values, notwithstanding the fact that this treatment entails some repetition.

The majority of Siuslaw stems are neutral, and receive their respective nominal or verbal meaning from the nature of the suffix that is added to them. There are, however, a few stems denoting adverbial ideas that can under no circumstances be amplified by nominal suffixes. Furthermore, it seems to be a general rule that nominalizing suffixes can not be added to a stem that has already been verbalized by some verbal suffix; while numerous instances will be found where a stem originally developed as a verbal idea, and nominalized by means of suffixes, can again be verbalized by adding to the derivative noun an additional verbal suffix.

The following examples will serve to illustrate the three possibilities that prevail in the derivation of verbs and nouns.

(1) NEUTRAL STEMS:

Stem.	Verb	Noun
<i>ts̄lL!</i> - to shoot 8.6	<i>ts̄l'!a'</i> he shoots 10.3	<i>ts̄l'L!ī</i> arrow 50.7
<i>l̄t!</i> - to eat 13.10	<i>l̄t'!a'</i> he eats 44.19	<i>l̄t'!a'</i> food 34.23
<i>h̄ts-</i> to live	<i>h̄<sup>i</sup>yatsū<sup>wi</sup></i> they live	<i>h̄tsv'<sup>i</sup></i> house 25.2
<i>ūlt-</i> to snow	<i>walt</i> it snows	<i>ū<sup>l</sup>l<sup>t</sup>ī</i> snow 76.10
<i>tsxa<sup>i</sup>-</i> to shine (?)	<i>tsxaya<sup>i</sup> L!<sup>i</sup>a<sup>i</sup></i> day breaks 50.3	<i>tsxayū<sup>wi</sup></i> day, sun 7.3
<i>īlq-</i> to dig 80.6	<i>a'ntsux ya'lqa<sup>ūn</sup></i> they two dig (the ground) 84.5	<i>yatqa'a<sup>ū</sup></i> hole (in the ground) 84.6

## (2) ADVERBIAL PARTICLES:

*s<sup>ə</sup>a'tsa* thus 8.7*yā'tsa s<sup>ə</sup>a'ts<sup>ə</sup>yax* for a long time  
he did it thus 11.3, 4*s<sup>ə</sup>atsi'xamyax* thus it was done  
32.16*waha'* again 19.5*waha'ha<sup>ū</sup>n qa'msk<sup>u</sup>tc* again (said  
to him) his younger brother  
56.21*wa'tūnax m<sup>u</sup>qwa'LEMtc wa'as*  
you will again (talk) Crow's  
language 38.8, 9<sup>1</sup>

## (3) NOUNS:

	Noun	Verb
<i>q<sup>ū</sup>ūt<sup>c</sup></i> f e m a l e 52.17	<i>q<sup>ū</sup>ūt<sup>cū</sup>n<sup>ū</sup></i> woman 30.21	<i>q<sup>ū</sup>ūt<sup>cna</sup>'</i> (when) he marries 76.8
<i>pīctc-?</i>	<i>pīctcem</i> summer 46.11	<i>pīctcīma'</i> (when) it gets summer 54.2
<i>waa-</i> to speak 7.1	<i>wa'as</i> language 34.21	<i>s<sup>ə</sup>a'na'mltc wa'as</i> <i>wa<sup>ə</sup>'syaxa<sup>ū</sup>n</i> his language he spoke 36.14

*Verbal Suffixes* (§§ 23-81)

## § 23. INTRODUCTORY

The study of the verbal suffixes of Siuslaw brings out a strong tendency to phonetic amalgamation between different groups of suffixes, by which the component elements are often obscured. For this reason the question of an ultimate relationship between many of the suffixes that occur in Siuslaw can not be ascertained as easily as might seem at first sight, owing chiefly to the fact that in most of the compound suffixes the originally separate elements have undergone considerable phonetic changes and have become to a large extent petrified. However, a careful examination of the phonetic composition of those suffixes that convey kindred psychological and grammatical concepts will show that certain phonetic elements of a given suffix may have served originally to conduce one leading idea, and have amalgamated, in the course of time, with other suffixes, thereby showing a genetic relationship between many of the verbal suffixes.

<sup>1</sup> See also § 135.

Thus,  $\bar{u}$  may have had primarily a transitive indicative function occurring in the suffixes  $\bar{u}n$  (see § 28),  $\bar{u}ts$  (see § 29),  $\bar{u}x$  (see § 30), etc. In like manner,  $-ts-$  may have been the proto-suffix that indicated pronominal relations between subject and object, being present in suffixes like  $\bar{u}ts$  (see § 29),  $\bar{e}mts$  (see § 31),  $\bar{u}tsm-$  (see § 34),  $\bar{u}lts$  (see § 36),  $\bar{i}ts$  (see § 42), etc.; and  $\bar{l}$ - seems to have been originally a modal suffix, denoting chiefly the possession of the object of the verb by another person or thing, because it is found in suffixes like  $\bar{u}\bar{l}$  (see § 35),  $\bar{u}lts$  (see § 36),  $\bar{i}\bar{l}$  (see § 45),  $\bar{i}lts$  (see § 46), etc. To all appearances  $\bar{i}$  must have been an independent suffix implying a command, for it enters into composition with imperative and exhortative suffixes like  $\bar{i}ts$  (see § 62),  $\bar{i}lts$  (see § 42),  $\bar{i}mts$  (see § 44),  $\bar{i}\bar{l}$  (see § 45),  $\bar{i}lts$  (see § 46),  $\bar{i}xm\bar{l}$  (see § 63),  $\bar{i}n\bar{i}$  (see § 41), etc.; and  $-tc$  was undoubtedly the general adverbial suffix.

The following table will best illustrate the plausibility of relationships between some of the suffixes that occur in Siuslaw. The forms marked with an asterisk (\*) represent the probable original suffix, while the other forms indicate the suffixes as they appear today.

* $\bar{u}$ indicative	$\bar{u}ts$ direct object of first and second persons (see § 29)
$\bar{u}n$ direct object of third person (see § 28)	$\bar{e}mts$ indirect object of first and second persons (see § 31)
$\bar{u}ts$ direct object of first and second persons (see § 29)	$\bar{u}tsm$ object possessed by subject, but separable from it (see § 34)
$\bar{u}x$ indirect object of third person (see § 30)	$\bar{u}lts$ object possessed by a first or second person object (see § 36)
$\bar{u}tsm$ object possessed by subject, but separable from it (see § 34)	$\bar{i}ts$ imperative with direct object of the first person (see § 42)
$\bar{u}\bar{l}$ object possessed by a third person object (see § 35)	$\bar{i}mts$ imperative with indirect object of the first person (see § 44)
$\bar{u}lts$ object possessed by a first or second person object (see § 36)	$\bar{i}lts$ imperative with object possessed by a first person (see § 46)
$\bar{y}\bar{u}n$ , $\bar{i}^w\bar{y}\bar{u}n$ exhortative (see § 41)	$\bar{t}sx$ imperative expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject (see § 47)
$\bar{a}^w\bar{u}n$ intentional (see § 70)	$\bar{i}tsmE$ exhortative expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject (see § 48)
* $-ts$ pronominal relations between subject and object	* $\bar{i}$ imperative

- ī<sup>w</sup>yūn*, *-īnī* exhortative with direct object of the third person (see § 41)
- īts* imperative with the direct object of the first person (see § 42)
- īmts* imperative with indirect object of the first person (see § 44)
- īl* imperative denoting that object is possessed by a third person (see § 45)
- īlts* imperative denoting that object is possessed by a first person (see § 46)
- ītsmē* exhortative with possessive interrelations between object and subject (see § 48)
- īs* imperative for transitive verbs (see § 62)
- īxmī* intransitive exhortative (see § 63)
- \*-*l* possessive interrelations between object and subject
- ūl* object possessed by a third person object (see § 35)
- ūlts* object possessed by a first or second person object (see § 36)
- ūltx*, *-xamltx* passive with possessive relations of subject (see § 39)
- īl* imperative denoting that object is possessed by a third person (see § 45)
- īlts* imperative denoting that object is possessed by a first person (see § 46)
- l* (?) exhortative (see § 64)
- \*-*tc* adverbial
- tc'* tentative (see § 52)
- tc* local (see § 90)
- ītc* modal (see § 94)

In discussing these suffixes it seems convenient to begin with the group that appears in the sentence in terminal position and proceed backwards with our analysis. According to this treatment, we may distinguish—

- (1) Pronominal suffixes.
- (2) Objective forms.
- (3) Modal suffixes.
- (4) Temporal suffixes.
- (5) Verbalizing suffixes.
- (6) Plural formations.
- (7) Irregular suffixes.

#### PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (§§ 24-26)

##### § 24. The Subjective Pronouns

The pronouns denoting the subjects of an action, transitive and intransitive, as well as pronominal objects, are expressed by means of suffixes that invariably stand in terminal position. The third person singular has no distinct form. The first persons dual and plural have

distinct forms for the inclusive and exclusive. The same pronouns are used for all modes and voices. In the imperative the second person singular is omitted.

The following table will serve to illustrate what may be called the fundamental type of the subjective pronouns:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person sing. . . . .	} . . - <i>n</i>	- <i>ns</i>	- <i>nĭ</i>
Inclusive du. and pl. }			
2d person . . . . .	<i>nx</i>	- <i>ts</i>	- <i>tċĭ</i>
3d person . . . . .	-	- <i>a<sup>u</sup>x</i>	- <i>nx</i>
Exclusive du. and pl. . . . .	-	- <i>a<sup>u</sup>xĭn</i> , - <i>axĭn</i>	- <i>nxan</i>

It would seem that the exclusive forms are derived from the third persons dual and plural and the first person.

These suffixes appear also in the independent personal pronouns (see § 113). The suffix for the first person singular, *-n*, disappears regularly after the transitive *-ĭn* (see § 15), and the confusion that might arise from the fact that the transitive form for the third person singular ends in *-ĭn* also, is avoided by accentuation of the first person singular as the subject of an action by the additional use of the independent pronoun that either precedes or follows the verb.

The second person singular and the third person plural happen to consist of the same phonetic elements, *-nx*. Ambiguity of meaning in both forms is avoided by addition of the independent personal pronouns. The suffix for the third person dual undergoes frequent changes, which have been fully discussed in § 13.

The rules regulating consonantic clusters require the insertion of an obscure (or weak) vowel between stems ending in a consonant and any of the subjective suffixes that begin with a consonant (see § 4).

According to the manner in which the subjective pronouns are added to a given verbal stem, the verbs may be divided into the five following distinct groups:

(1) Verbs that add the pronominal suffixes directly to the stem or that take them after the verbalizing suffixes *-a<sup>t</sup>* and *-ĭ<sup>t</sup>*.

(2) Verbs that end in *-ĭ*.

(3) Certain verbs that end in *x*.

(4) Verbs that express the third person singular by means of stem amplification (see § 112).

(5) Verbs that end in *-a*.

The first group presents no difficulties whatsoever. The subjective pronouns are added directly to the stem or else follow the verbalizing suffixes *-a<sup>i</sup>* and *-ū<sup>i</sup>* (see § 75).

A number of verbs seem to end in *-ī*, which undergoes a phonetic change whenever the pronominal suffixes are added to it. Thus, it is shortened when followed by the pronoun for the first person singular, and it undergoes the process of diphthongization (see § 7) whenever a pronoun for any of the other persons is added to it. Whenever the third person singular is to be expressed, the verb appears with *-ī*, which is often diphthongized into *-ya*. Verbs that take the tentative suffix *-tč'* (see § 52) and the frequentative *-at!ī* (see § 68) are treated similarly.

A peculiar treatment is accorded to certain verbs that end in *x*. Here belong only such verbs as have been amplified by means of the modal suffix *-īt'ax* (see § 51) and of the temporal suffixes *-awax*, *-tūx*, and *-yax* (see §§ 70, 73, 74). These suffixes do not change their phonetic composition when followed by the pronouns for the first person singular and second persons dual and plural. However, as soon as the subjective pronouns for any of the other persons are added to them, the final *x* disappears. An exception to this rule is offered by the future *-tūx* (see § 73) when followed by the pronoun for the third person dual. In this case the final *x* is always retained. Whether the disappearance of the *x* is due to contraction or to other causes, can not be said with any degree of certainty.

The last two groups comprise verbs the stems of which undergo a process of amplification whenever the third person singular is to be expressed. Verbs belonging to the fourth group show an internal change of the stem, while those of the fifth group add an *a* to the bare stem. A full discussion of the phonetic character of these two processes will be found in § 112, p. 574.

In accordance with these five types of verbs, the following tabular arrangement of the pronominal suffixes may be presented:

	1st type	2d type	3d type	4th type	5th type	
1st person	{Singular . . . . .	-n	-in	-xan	-n	-n
	{Dual (incl.) . . . . .	-ns	-yans	-ns	-ns	-ns
	{Plural (incl.) . . . . .	-nl	-yanl	-nl	-nl	-nl
2d person	{Singular . . . . .	-nx	-yanx	-nx	-nx	-nx
	{Dual . . . . .	-ts	-yats	-xts	-ts	-ts
	{Plural . . . . .	-tci	-yatci	-xtci	-tci	-tci
3d person	{Singular . . . . .	-, -a <sup>i</sup> , -ū <sup>i</sup>	-i, -ya	-x	{Amplified stem}	-a
	{Dual . . . . .	-aux	-yau <sup>x</sup>	-xau <sup>x</sup> , -a <sup>ux</sup>	-a <sup>ux</sup>	-a <sup>ux</sup>
	{Plural . . . . .	-nx	-yanx	-nx	-nx	-nx
Exclusive	{Dual . . . . .	{-aux <sup>in</sup>	-yau <sup>xin</sup>	-aux <sup>in</sup>	-aux <sup>in</sup>	-aux <sup>in</sup>
	{ . . . . .	{-ax <sup>in</sup>	-yax <sup>in</sup>	-ax <sup>in</sup>	-ax <sup>in</sup>	-ax <sup>in</sup>
	{Plural . . . . .	-nzan	-yanzan	-nzan	-nzan	-nzan

(1) Pronominal suffixes added directly to the stem or following the verbalizing -a<sup>i</sup> and -ū<sup>i</sup>:

*winx-* to be afraid 17.6  
*waa-* to speak 7. 1  
*winx-* to be afraid 17.6  
*lna<sup>w</sup>w-* to be rich 76.3  
*lqag-* to pass wind 86.7  
*tsinq!-* to be poor 16.10  
*l<sup>t</sup>!<sup>a</sup>* he eats 46.5  
*tsinq!-* to be poor 16.10

*tcin-* to come back  
*skwa<sup>i</sup>-* to stand 10.9  
*tqūl-* to shout 52.8  
*smūt<sup>i</sup>-* to end 8.8  
*qa<sup>i</sup>tc<sup>i</sup>nt* he goes 12.  
*xint-* to start 23.1  
*tsinq!-* to be poor 16.10

*yuwa<sup>i</sup>* he gets pitch 96.18  
*neqū<sup>i</sup>tw-* to be cold

*w<sup>i</sup>n<sup>xin</sup>* I was afraid 58.22  
*waa<sup>i</sup>n* I say  
*w<sup>i</sup>n<sup>xins</sup>* we two (incl.) are afraid  
*lna<sup>w</sup>wanl* we (incl.) are rich  
*lqa<sup>i</sup>qanx* thou passest wind 86.14  
*ts<sup>i</sup>ng!<sup>ats</sup>* you two are poor  
*l<sup>t</sup>!<sup>a</sup>yats* you two eat  
*ts<sup>i</sup>ng!<sup>atci</sup>* you are poor  
*tsinq!* he is poor  
*tcin* he returned 7.7  
*skwaha<sup>i</sup>* he stands 14.4  
*tqūlū<sup>i</sup>* he shouted 92.6  
*smūt<sup>i</sup>ū<sup>i</sup>* it ends 14.6  
*qa<sup>i</sup>tc<sup>i</sup>nta<sup>ux</sup>* they two go 23.1  
*x<sup>i</sup>ntanx* they started 88.20  
*ts<sup>i</sup>ng!<sup>a<sup>xin</sup></sup>* we two (excl.) are  
 poor  
*yuwa<sup>i</sup>ya<sup>xin</sup>* we two (excl.) will  
 get pitch 94.17, 18  
*neqū<sup>i</sup>twanxan* we (excl.) are cold  
 76.20



(2) Pronouns added to verbs that end in *ī*:*xī'l'xci-* to work 50.3*sī'naxī-* to desire 18.5*wī'nkī-* to work 50.6*xī'l'xci-* to work 50.3*xī'l'xci'n* I work*xī'l'xciyans* we two (incl.) work*xī'l'xciyanl* we (incl.) work*sī'nīxyanx* (if) you desire 44.6*sī'nīxyats* you two desire*wī'nkīyati* you are working*wī'nkī* he is working*xī'l'xci* (*xī'l'xciya*) he is working  
50.9*xī'l'xciya<sup>u</sup>x* they two work*xī'l'xciyanx* they work*xī'l'xciya<sup>u</sup>xūn* we two (excl.) are  
working*xī'l'xciyanxan* we (excl.) are work-  
ing.(3) Pronouns added to certain verbs that end in *x*:*qate<sup>n</sup>-* to go, to start 8.2*āq-* to run away 52.10*lī'ū-* to come 8.3*āq-* to run away 52.10*xwīL!-* to return 12.6*hūt-* to play 8.8*lī'ū-* to come 8.3*ta<sup>i</sup>* it lives 32.21*mīkū'-* to cut 82.14*temū'-* to assemble 7.3*lī'ū-* to approach 8.3*āq-* to run away 88.3*ta<sup>i</sup>* it lives 32.21*lī'ū-* to approach 8.3*āq-* to run away 88.3*qa'tc<sup>n</sup>tūxan* I shall go 22.2*āqa'waxan* I intend to run away  
90.21*lī'ūyaxan* I came*ā'qtūns* we two (incl.) shall run  
away 92.2*āqa'wans* we two (incl.) intend to  
run away 90.23*xwī'L!tūnl* we (incl.) shall return  
60.9*xwī'L!yanl* we (incl.) have returned*hū'tctūnl* we (incl.) shall play 7.2*lī'wā'wanx* you intend to come 25.8*ta'yanx* thou didst live*mī'k<sup>u</sup>tūxts* you two will cut 90.5*temū'tūxtcī* you shall assemble 30.7*lī'ūtūx* he will come 8.9*āqa'wax* he intends to run away  
86.15*ta'yax* (if) he lives 44.12*lī'ūtūxa<sup>u</sup>x* they two will come*lī'ūya<sup>u</sup>x* they two came*āqa'wa<sup>u</sup>x* they two intend to run  
away 86.18

*āq-* to run away 88.3

*lī'ū-* to approach 8.3

*āqa'wa<sup>u</sup>wān* we two (excl.) intend  
to run away

*lī'ūtūnwan* we (excl.) will come  
30.11

*lī'ūyanwan* we (excl.) have come

(4) Amplification of stem:

*īlq-* to dig 80.6

*cīta-* to flop

*ha<sup>w</sup>-* to be ready 8.10

*līōn-* to tell 16.9

*yalq* (they two) dig 84.7

*c'yata* (they) flop (around) 36.23

*ha'wa* it is ready 23.10

*lī'wa<sup>n</sup>* he relates 16.6

(5) Verbs that end in *-a*:

*haū-* to quit 11.4

*wa-* to speak 7.1

*qa'tc<sup>i</sup>n-* to go 12.1

*wītw-* to affirm 17.7

*ha'wa* it is ready 23.10

*waa'* he said 12.10

*qa'tc<sup>n</sup>a* he goes 36.1

*wīwa'* he affirms 58.9

§ 25. The Objective Pronouns

The same forms as those discussed in § 24 are used to express the pronominal objects. In these terms the verbal stem is followed by an objective element, which in most cases is followed first by the pronominal object, then by the pronominal subject. In all cases where this composition would bring two consonants into contact they are separated by a weak vowel (*a* or *i*).

The objective elements here referred to are *-ūn*, which expresses the relation to the third person object, and *-ūts*, which indicates the relation to the first and second persons. These will be treated more fully in §§ 27-29.

In all forms that express a relation of a second person subject or of an exclusive subject to a singular pronominal object, the latter is omitted, and the pronominal subject follows directly the objective element before referred to. Perfect clearness is attained here, since the objective element defines the person of the object. Thus the forms THOU, YE TWO, YE, acting upon either first or second person, can refer only to the first person; I AND HE, and I AND THEY, only to the second, for otherwise they would be reflexives. In the combination I-THEE the subject is omitted. In the combinations I-HIM, I-THEM TWO, I-THEM, the subject pronoun *-n* seems to have been contracted with the *n* of the objective element (see § 15); while in THEY-ME the order of subject and object is reversed.

These phenomena may be indicated in the following tabular form:

I. OBJECTIVE FORMS FOLLOWED BY SUBJECT

Third person object				First and second persons objects			
Subjects				Subjects			
Singular		Dual	Plural	Singular		Dual	Plural
Inclusive .	-	- <i>ūnans</i>	- <i>ūnanl</i>	Inclusive .	-	-	-
Exclusive .	-	- <i>ūna<sup>w</sup>xūn</i>	- <i>ūnanzan</i>	Exclusive .	-	- <i>ūtsa<sup>w</sup>xūn</i>	- <i>ūtsanzan</i>
2d person .	- <i>ūnanx</i>	- <i>ūnats</i>	- <i>ūnatci</i>	2d person .	- <i>ūtsanz</i>	- <i>ūtsats</i>	- <i>ūtsatci</i>
3d person .	- <i>ūn</i>	- <i>ūna<sup>w</sup>x</i>	- <i>ūnanx</i>	3d person .	-	-	-

II. SUBJECT OMITTED

I-~~THEE~~-*-ūtsanz*.

III. INVERSION OF SUBJECT AND OBJECT

THEY-ME-*-ūtsanzin*.

IV. SEQUENCE: OBJECT-SUBJECT

All dual and plural objects; all third person subjects (except **THEY-ME**).

The following table may serve to illustrate more fully the forms that are used in Siuslaw to express relations between subject and object. Suffixes marked with an asterisk (\*) are forms reconstructed by analogy.

		SINGULAR		
		I	Thou	He
Singular	Me . . . . .	-	- <i>ūtsanz</i>	- <i>ūtsin</i>
	Thee . . . . .	- <i>ūtsanz</i>	-	- <i>ūtsanz</i>
	Him . . . . .	- <i>ūn</i>	- <i>ūnanx</i>	- <i>ūn</i>
Dual	Inclusive . . . . .	-	-	- <i>ūtsans</i>
	Exclusive . . . . .	-	*- <i>ūtsa<sup>w</sup>xūnanx</i>	- <i>ūtsa<sup>w</sup>xūn</i>
	You . . . . .	- <i>ūtsatsin</i>	-	- <i>ūtsats</i>
	Them . . . . .	{ - <i>ūna<sup>w</sup>xūn</i> - <i>ūn</i>	- <i>ūna<sup>w</sup>xanz</i> - <i>ūnanx</i>	- <i>ūna<sup>w</sup>x</i> - <i>ūn</i>
Plural	Inclusive . . . . .	-	-	- <i>ūtsani</i>
	Exclusive . . . . .	-	*- <i>ūtsanzananx</i>	- <i>ūtsanzan</i>
	You . . . . .	- <i>ūtsatcin</i>	-	- <i>ūtsatci</i>
	Them . . . . .	{ - <i>ūnanzin</i> - <i>ūn</i>	- <i>ūnanzanx</i> - <i>ūnanx</i>	- <i>ūnanx</i> - <i>ūn</i>

		DUAL			
		Inclusive	Exclusive	Ye	They
Sin- gular	Me . . . . .	-	-	- <i>ûtsats</i>	- <i>ûtsinaux</i>
	Thee . . . . .	-	- <i>ûtsauxân</i>	-	* <i>ûtsanzaux</i>
	Him . . . . .	- <i>ûnans</i>	- <i>ûnaxrân</i>	- <i>ûnats</i>	- <i>ûnauz</i>
Dual	Inclusive . . . . .	-	-	-	- <i>ûtsansaux</i>
	Exclusive . . . . .	-	-	- <i>ûtsauxânats</i>	* <i>ûtsauxânauz</i>
	You . . . . .	-	- <i>ûtsatsauxân</i>	-	* <i>ûtsatsaux</i>
	Them . . . . .	{ - <i>ûnaxzans</i> - <i>ûnans</i>	- <i>ûnaxzaxrân</i> - <i>ûnaxrân</i>	- <i>ûnaxzats</i> - <i>ûnats</i>	- -
Plural	Inclusive . . . . .	-	-	-	* <i>ûtsanloux</i>
	Exclusive . . . . .	-	-	- <i>ûtsanzanats</i>	- <i>ûtsanzanauz</i>
	You . . . . .	-	- <i>ûtsatcyaxân</i>	-	- <i>ûtsatcyaux</i>
	Them . . . . .	{ - <i>ûnanxzans</i> - <i>ûnans</i>	- <i>ûnanzaxrân</i> - <i>ûnaxrân</i>	- <i>ûnanzats</i> - <i>ûnats</i>	- <i>ûnanzauz</i> - <i>ûnauz</i>

  

		PLURAL			
		Inclusive	Exclusive	You	They
Sin- gular	Me . . . . .	-	-	{ - <i>ûtsatci</i> - <i>ûtsinacî</i> }	- <i>ûtsaxrân</i>
	Thee . . . . .	-	- <i>ûtsanzan</i>	-	* <i>ûtsanzanz</i>
	Him . . . . .	- <i>ûnanl</i>	- <i>ûnanzan</i>	- <i>ûnaci</i>	- <i>ûnanz</i>
Dual	Inclusive . . . . .	-	-	-	* <i>ûtsanzanz</i>
	Exclusive . . . . .	-	-	* <i>ûtsauxânacî</i>	* <i>ûtsauxânanz</i>
	You . . . . .	-	- <i>ûtsanzanzan</i>	-	* <i>ûtsanzanz</i>
	Them . . . . .	{ - <i>ûnaxzanl</i> - <i>ûnanl</i>	- <i>ûnaxzanzan</i> - <i>ûnanzan</i>	- <i>ûnaxzaci</i> - <i>ûnaci</i>	- <i>ûnaxzanz</i> - <i>ûnanz</i>
Plural	Inclusive . . . . .	-	-	-	- <i>ûtsanlanz</i>
	Exclusive . . . . .	-	-	- <i>ûtsanzanacî</i>	* <i>ûtsanzananz</i>
	You . . . . .	-	- <i>ûtsatcyanzan</i>	-	- <i>ûtsatcyanz</i>
	Them . . . . .	{ - <i>ûnanzanl</i> - <i>ûnanl</i>	- <i>ûnanzanzan</i> - <i>ûnanzan</i>	- <i>ûnanzaci</i> - <i>ûnaci</i>	- <i>ûnanzanz</i> - <i>ûnanz</i>

While all these forms may actually appear suffixed to the verb, there prevails a tendency (discussed on p. 479) to suffix the subjective pronouns to adverbial terms preceding the verb rather than to the verb itself. This transposition of the suffixes for the subject of the action considerably lessens the syllabic quantity of the whole verbal expression.

The pronoun I-THEE coincides phonetically with the form for THOU-ME; and in order to avoid ambiguity of meaning, the subjects

of these combinations may be indicated by means of the discriminative forms of the independent personal pronouns (see §§ 21, 113).

All forms having a third person as the object do not, as a rule, indicate the number of the subject. This is rather done by means of the numeral *xā'ts/ū* TWO for the dual, and the numeral particle *hā'mūt* ALL for the plural.

The difficulty arising from the fact that the suffix *-ūnanx* may express THOU-HIM, etc., and THEY-HIM, etc., is bridged over by the additional use of the independent pronouns for THOU and THEY (see § 113). This rule applies to all cases, so that it may be stated that, whenever, by some process of contraction, simplification, or abbreviation, two or more suffixes expressing identical relations between subject and object are phonetically alike, their subjects are indicated by the use of the independent pronominal forms. Thus, for instance, the form *-ūtsanx* may express I-THEE, THOU-ME, and HE-THEE. These are usually distinguished by means of the pronouns *qnà* I, *qnāx<sup>a</sup>ts* THOU, and *s<sup>ə</sup>às* HE (see § 113), that are placed before or after the verb, denoting that the first, second, or third person respectively is the subject of the action.

The third person singular has no subjective element, owing to the fact that Siuslaw has no distinct form for that pronoun (see § 24).

<i>s<sup>ə</sup>'nāxī-</i> to desire 18.5	<i>s<sup>ə</sup>'n<sup>i</sup>xyūtsanx qnà hūtc'a'wax</i> I want thee to have fun 21.6
<i>waa'<sup>v</sup></i> he says 19.3	<i>s<sup>ə</sup>ats<sup>v</sup>'tc<sup>ə</sup>n<sup>x</sup> waa'yūts</i> (when) thus thee I tell 36.19
<i>l<sup>i</sup>'kwa'<sup>v</sup></i> he gets, he takes 82.6	<i>s<sup>ə</sup>'tsanx tanx l<sup>i</sup>'kwa'yūts qnà</i> that's why I (came to) get thee 21.3
<i>hīn-</i> to take along 9.5	<i>h<sup>i</sup>'ya'nyūtsanx hīts<sup>s</sup>'stein</i> I'll take thee into my house 58.6
<i>tcaq-</i> to spear 68.18	<i>ya<sup>ə</sup>'k<sup>u</sup>s<sup>in</sup> tcāqa'qa<sup>ū</sup>n</i> a seal I was spearing 68.8
<i>yaq<sup>u</sup>'-</i> to look, to watch 9.1	<i>ya'qu'yūtsats qnà</i> I will look at you two
<i>yaax-</i> to see 34.4	<i>y<sup>l</sup>ax'yūna<sup>u</sup>xīn qnà</i> I see them two
<i>xn<sup>v</sup>wn-</i> to do 9.7	<i>s<sup>ə</sup>'a'tsa<sup>u</sup>xīn xn<sup>v</sup>yun<sup>v</sup>'wyūn</i> thus to them two I will do it 88.17
<i>temū'-</i> to assemble 7.3	<i>kum<sup>l</sup>'ntc<sup>ə</sup>t<sup>ə</sup> nāct<sup>ə</sup>'tc ta't<sup>ə</sup> temū'-</i> <i>ūts</i> not you in vain these you I assembled 30.18, 19

<i>s<sup>ə</sup>a'tsa</i> thus 8.7	<i>s<sup>ə</sup>atsa'ūtsatc̄i</i> thus I (do it) for you 32.14
<i>waa'i'</i> he says 8.9	<i>ha'mūt'nəan waa'yūn</i> (to) all them I tell it
<i>temū'</i> - to assemble 7.3	<i>temū'ūnanax̄n</i> I assemble them
<i>tqūl'</i> - to shout 52.8	<i>tqūl'ū'yūtsanə qn̄'x<sup>a</sup>ts</i> thou art shouting at me
<i>mān</i> - to take care of 38.13	<i>h̄i'sanə mā'nīsūts qn̄'x<sup>a</sup>ts</i> well thou shalt always take care of me 22.2, 3
<i>L'wa<sup>a</sup>n</i> - to tell 16.5	<i>L'wā'nīsūnanə s<sup>ə</sup>ats̄i'tc</i> thou wilt keep on telling him thus 17.2
<i>LElū'i'</i> he is hitting	<i>lna'tinə LElū'yūtsa<sup>u</sup>x̄n</i> always thou art hitting us two (excl.)
<i>yaq<sup>u</sup>'</i> - to look 9.1	<i>LElū'yūnanə tū'a<sup>u</sup>x̄x̄'ā'ts'ū</i> thou art hitting those two
	<i>ya'q<sup>u</sup>h̄īsūtsanəan h̄i'sa</i> thou shalt always watch us (excl.) well 70.14, 15
	<i>ya'qu'yūnanə qn̄'x<sup>a</sup>ts</i> thou wilt look at them
<i>waa'</i> - to speak 7.1	<i>waa'a<sup>ū</sup>ts̄in</i> he told me 58.18
	<i>ats̄i'tc̄in waa'a<sup>ū</sup>ts</i> thus me he told 58.20
<i>h̄in</i> - to take along 9.5	<i>u<sup>i</sup>in s<sup>ə</sup>ās h̄i'n̄ix̄a<sup>ū</sup>ts qa<sup>i</sup>ha'ntc</i> and me he took way off 66.18
<i>L'x̄ū</i> - to know 19.9	<i>L'x̄ū'yūtsanə s<sup>ə</sup>ās</i> thee he knows
<i>yax</i> - to see 20.10	<i>t̄c̄i'k<sup>ə</sup>nə ȳix̄a'yūts mā'q<sup>u</sup>L u<sup>i</sup>ənə</i> <i>wa'a<sup>i</sup>sūts ts̄im</i> wherever thee sees Crow, to thee he will keep on talking always 38.16, 17
<i>skwa'</i> - to stand 10.9	<i>skwahā'ha<sup>ū</sup>n s<sup>ə</sup>ās</i> he set it up
<i>yax</i> - to see 20.10	<i>ȳix̄a'yūn</i> he sees it 70.2
<i>LElū<sup>i</sup></i> he hits	<i>LElū'yūtsans s<sup>ə</sup>ās</i> he is hitting us two (incl.)
<i>yax</i> - to see 20.10	<i>ȳix̄a'yūtsa<sup>u</sup>x̄n</i> he is looking at us two (excl.)
<i>x̄āntm</i> - to travel 13.3	<i>u<sup>i</sup>ā<sup>u</sup>x̄ x̄i'ntm̄s̄ūn</i> he takes them two along 92.16
<i>kū'n</i> - to beat 78.18	<i>kumū'ntc<sup>ə</sup>n̄l qwāt̄c kū'nīsūts</i> not us (incl.) any one will ever beat 72.17

*yaq<sup>w</sup>*- to look 9.1

*lī'ū*- to come 9.2

*LElū'* he hits

*xn̄<sup>w</sup>n*- to do 9.7

*LElū'* he hits

*xaū'* he died 40.21

*LElū'* he hits

*ya'qu'yūtsanxan s<sup>ə</sup>às* he looks at us (excl.)

*h<sup>i</sup>ya'tc<sup>n</sup>xan L'l'ūts* people us (excl.) came (to see) 100.8

*LElū'yūtsatc<sup>i</sup>* he is hitting you  
*s<sup>ə</sup>a'sūtsatc<sup>i</sup> LElū'yūts* he is hitting you

*LElū'yūnanx s<sup>ə</sup>às* he is hitting them  
*s<sup>ə</sup>às ha'<sup>v</sup>mūt LElū'yūn* he hits all

*xn̄<sup>w</sup>nī'<sup>w</sup>yūns* 10.5 (abbreviated from *xn̄<sup>w</sup>nī'<sup>w</sup>yūnans*) we two (incl.) will do it

*LElū'yūtsa<sup>w</sup>xūn* we two (excl.) are hitting thee

*qna'xūn LElū'yūts* we two (excl.) are hitting thee

*xaū'na<sup>w</sup>xūn ants mī'k!<sup>a</sup> hāt<sup>c</sup>* we two (excl.) killed that bad man 96.8.9

*qna<sup>w</sup>xūn LElū'yūtsats* we two (excl.) are hitting you two

*qna'xūn LElū'yūn* we two (excl.) are hitting him

*LElū'yūna<sup>w</sup>xūn tū'a<sup>w</sup>x xā'ts!<sup>ū</sup>* we two (excl.) are hitting those two

*qna'xūn LElū'yūtsatc<sup>i</sup>* we two (excl.) are hitting you two

*qna'xūn <sup>w</sup>l<sup>w</sup>xūn LElū'yūn tū'a L!<sup>a</sup>ai* we two (excl.) are hitting those (many)

*LElū'yūtsats qn̄'<sup>w</sup>x<sup>a</sup>ts* you two are hitting me

*LElū'yūnats* you two are hitting him

*qn̄'<sup>w</sup>x<sup>a</sup>ts LElū'yūtsa<sup>w</sup>xūn* you two are hitting us two (excl.)

*LElū'yūnats tū'a<sup>w</sup>x xā'ts!<sup>ū</sup>* you two are hitting those two

*qn̄'<sup>w</sup>x<sup>s</sup>ts ha'<sup>v</sup>mūt<sup>n</sup>xan LElū'yūts* you two are hitting us (excl.) all

*LElū'yūnats ha'<sup>v</sup>mūt* you two are hitting (them) all

*s<sup>ə</sup>a's<sup>w</sup>ax LElū'yūtsîn* they two are hitting me

*ya'x-* to see 20.10

*qnū'* - to find

*LEtū'* he hits

*L!xmīya'* he kills

*k!a'* - to invite 16.3

*hatc'* - to ask 66.16

*yaq<sup>u</sup>'* - to look 9.1

*sī'naxī-* to desire 18.5

*Lxūl'* - to dr<sup>v</sup> 60.19

*LEtū'* he hits

*anx-* to give up 54.12

*yaq<sup>u</sup>'* - to look 9.1

*hatc'* - to ask 66.16

*yaq<sup>u</sup>'* - to look 9.1

*waa'* he says 19.3

*yīxa'yūna<sup>u</sup>x* they two saw him  
62.20, 21

*ūta<sup>u</sup>x qnū' hūn* they two find it 56.9  
*s<sup>2</sup>a's<sup>w</sup>ax LEtū'yūtsans* they two are  
hitting us two (incl.)

*s<sup>2</sup>a's<sup>w</sup>ax LEtū'yūtsanxan* they two  
are hitting us two (excl.)

*tūa's<sup>w</sup>ax LEtū'yūtsatcī* those two  
are hitting you two

*tūa's<sup>w</sup>ax LEtū'yūn ha'mūt* those  
two are hitting (them) all

*L!xmīya'yūnanl* we (incl.) will kill  
him 28.3

*qnānl L!xmīya'yūn tū'anx* we (incl.)  
will kill those (all)

*s<sup>2</sup>a'tsanxan k!aha'yūts* that's why  
we (excl.) invite thee 24.10

*a'tsanxan tE hatc'a'yūts qnā* that's  
why we (excl.) ask thee 74.15

*qna'nxan ya'q<sup>u</sup>hīsūts* we (excl.)  
will continually watch thee 72.6

*sī'nīxyūnanxan lī'ūtūx* we (excl.)  
want him to come 17.2, 3

*yā<sup>w</sup>xa'nxan lī'v'a<sup>ī</sup> Lxuyū'yūn* lots  
we (excl.) salmon dry it

*qna'nxan LEtū'yūtsats* we (excl.)  
are hitting you two

*qna'nxan LEtū'yūn tū'a<sup>u</sup>x xā'ts!ū*  
we (excl.) are hitting those two

*qna'nxan LEtū'yūtsatcī* we (excl.)  
are hitting you (pl.)

*ha'mūt'nxan LEtū'yūn qnā* we  
(excl.) are hitting (them) all

*a'nxa<sup>ū</sup>tsatcī* you (shall) let me  
alone 27.5

*yaq<sup>u</sup>'yī<sup>w</sup>yūtsatcī haya'mūt* you all  
shall look at me 72.11, 12

*hatc'a'yūnatcī* you (shall) ask her  
74.10

*ya'q<sup>u</sup>'yūtsa<sup>u</sup>xūn qnī'ats<sup>2</sup>tcī* you are  
looking at us (excl.)

*atsī'tc<sup>2</sup>n<sup>w</sup>axan waa'yūts* thus they  
told me 46.20, 21



*sʰnax̄i-* to desire 18.5

*Lʰamaʹyanx̄in sʰnʹxyūts* (to) kill  
me they want 21.9

*tsʰiʰaʹyūn* he kills it 46.5, 6

*tsʰiʰaʹyūnanax̄ ants Lʰmnaʹq* they  
kill that elk 82.17, 18

*Lʰwaʹan-* to tell 16.5

*tūaʹsʰnax̄ Lʰōndaʹyūtsanl̄* these told  
us (incl.)

§ 26. Position of Pronouns in Verbs Accompanied by Adverbial Forms

As has been stated before (see p. 474), the pronominal suffixes stand in terminal position, and theoretically are added to the verb; but whenever an adjective, an adverb, or a particle precedes the verb, the pronouns are preferably suffixed to these and precede the verbal expression. The verb appears in all such cases in what may be called the fundamental type (see pp. 470, 474).

*nʰiʹctc̄im* because 18.8

*nʰiʹctc̄im̄in mEqʹyaʹwax̄* because I  
intend to dance 72.12

*kum̄iʹntc* not 12.2

*kum̄iʹntcʰnax̄ plnaʹiʹ* not you are sick  
86.14

*taʹk* here

*taʹkʰns ayaʹqaʹt̄iʹt̄i tE s̄iʹxaʹi* here we  
two (incl.) will leave this (our)  
canoe 56.5

*sq̄aʹk* there 14.6

*sq̄aʹkts̄ qaʹtcʰntūx̄, sq̄aʹkts̄ tʹim-  
ctʹiʹt̄ūx̄* there you two shall go,  
there you two shall raise chil-  
dren 32.5

*sʰats̄iʹtc* thus 8.1

*sʰats̄iʹtcʰwax̄ waanaʹwa* thus they  
two speak to each other 10.1, 2

*haʹiʹna* different 58.9

*haʹiʹnanl̄ hūʹtctūx̄* differently we  
(incl.) will play 11.2

*yāʹaʹxaʹi* much 8.5

*yāʹaʹxaʹiʹnax̄an hūʹtcūʹiʹ* lots (of games)  
we (excl.) play 70.19

*tc̄iʹk* where 34.2

*tc̄iʹktc̄iʹ hūʹtcūʹiʹ, sʰats̄aʹtc̄iʹ x̄n̄iʹw̄n̄iʹs*  
where (ever) you play, thus you  
will keep on doing it 72.20, 21

*ʷl̄* and, then 7.4

*ʷlnx̄ w̄an̄ tc̄iʹn* then they finally  
returned 60.10, 11

The same tendency to suffix the subjective pronouns to adverbial expressions that precede the verb is shown even in cases where a verbal expression is preceded by a nominal subject or object.

*hʹyaʹtc* people 60.25

*hʹyaʹtcʰnax̄ t̄iʹtʹiʹsūts̄ t̄w̄* people thee  
will eat just 13.10

*Lʰwaʹx̄* messenger 7.7

*Lʰwaʹx̄ʰnax̄an tE L̄iʹiʹ* (as) messen-  
gers we (excl.) these come 30.6, 7

<i>ŭqwa<sup>a</sup>t<sub>EM</sub></i> root, alder tree	<i>ŭqūt<sub>m</sub>ā'α<sup>u</sup>x qaa'</i> an alder tree they
92.5, 6	two entered 92.6
<i>yā<sup>h</sup>k<sup>u</sup>s</i> seal 62.4	<i>yēkū's<sup>en</sup>x tū'tca'</i> sea-lions they
	spear 62.2
<i>qa<sup>t</sup>x</i> night 40.14	<i>qa'<sup>u</sup>x<sup>en</sup>x a'l'dū ya'q<sup>u</sup>hītūx</i> (at)night
	likewise you will watch 70.18, 19

## OBJECTIVE FORMS (§§ 27-48)

## § 27. Introductory

In sentences containing subject and object the interrelation between them is expressed with great definiteness by means of suffixes that precede the subjective and objective pronouns. My original intention was to treat these suffixes as pronominal elements; but the chief objection to such a treatment lies in the fact that the pronouns, subjective and objective, are repeated after them. Hence it was found advisable to treat them as objective elements. In the expression of the relations a distinction is made between third person objects on the one hand, and first and second persons on the other. Furthermore, the indirect object is distinguished from the direct object, and the same classification of persons is found. The possessive relations between the subject and the two objects are also expressed with great clearness; and, finally, a sharp line of demarcation is drawn between the indicative, imperative, and passive modes.

It would seem that the following table represents all the suffixes belonging to this group:

INDICATIVE		IMPERATIVE		PASSIVE
Personal Interrelations				
Object	1st & 2d per.	3d per.	1st per.	3d per.
Direct . .	-ūts	-ūn	-īts	-yūn, -inī
Indirect . .	-ēmts	-ūx	-īmts	-īwyūn
				-īmE, -ūmE
Possessive Interrelations				
Forms of possession				
Not own .	-ūts	-ūl	-īts	-il
Own inseparably . .	-īlx, -lx		-ītsx	
Own separately . .	-ūtsm		-ītsm	-xamltx

Some of these forms are applicable to the present tense only, showing different suffixes in other tenses. Thus, an entirely divergent treatment is accorded to the suffixes denoting possessive interrelations for the durative, intentional, and past tenses (see § 37).

For the purpose of greater clearness, these forms have been subdivided into the following four groups:

- (1) Indicative forms denoting personal interrelations.
- (2) Indicative forms expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject.
- (3) Passive suffixes indicating pronominal and possessive interrelations.
- (4) Imperative forms denoting pronominal and possessive interrelations.

**Indicative Suffixes Denoting Personal Interrelations (§§ 28-31)**

**§ 28. Direct Object of Third Person -*ūn* (-a<sup>ūn</sup>)**

This suffix transforms nouns into verbs, transitivizes all verbs expressing intransitive actions, and changes a transitive idea into a causative concept. In all these cases the object must be a third person. All stems ending in *i*-diphthongs change the *i* of the diphthong into *y* before adding the transitive suffix (see § 8). This suffix immediately precedes the subjective pronouns, and hence invariably follows the tense signs. For the interchange between -*ūn* and -*a<sup>ūn</sup>* see § 2.

<i>k!w<sup>x</sup>wīnā<sup>v</sup></i> ice appears 76.13	<i>k!w<sup>x</sup>wī'nūn L!a'<sup>ai</sup></i> ice he made all over 94.2, 3
<i>tEk!ā'kL!</i> trap 100.4	<i>tEk!ā'kL!ūn</i> he sets traps
<i>yałqa'a<sup>ū</sup></i> hole 84.6	<i>a'ntsux ya'łqa<sup>ūn</sup></i> those two (who) dig holes 84.5
<i>s<sup>z</sup>a'tsa</i> thus 8.7	<i>s<sup>z</sup>atsa'ūn</i> thus (he does it)
<i>hī'sa</i> well 12.2	<i>hīs'a'ūn</i> he cures him
<i>wīnx</i> he is afraid 17.6	<i>wī'nxa<sup>ūn</sup></i> she was afraid of him 86.1
<i>čīl·x</i> it shook 36.10	<i>čī'l'xūn</i> she shook him 58.4
<i>małtc-</i> to burn 25.2	<i>ma'łtcū<sup>n</sup> Līya'wa</i> he made a fire 94.23
<i>xaū'</i> he died 40.21	<i>xaū'ūn</i> he killed him 96.13
<i>ma<sup>a</sup>tc</i> it lay 32.20	<i>qa<sup>u</sup>x ma'łtcūn</i> on top (they) put it 80.9

<i>xnā'w<sup>n</sup>E</i> (they two) do 48.12	<i>xnā'w<sup>n</sup>nūn</i> he did it 94.14
<i>L'wa<sup>a</sup>n</i> he tells 16.5	<i>ʷla<sup>u</sup>x L'wa<sup>a</sup>nūn</i> they two told her 96.10
<i>waa'</i> he says 12.10	<i>waa'a<sup>n</sup></i> he said to him 20.7
<i>waa<sup>i</sup></i> he said 8.9	<i>waa'yūn</i> he told him 36.26
<i>l̄t̄!a<sup>i</sup></i> he eats 44.19	<i>l̄t̄!a'yūn</i> he devoured him 15.2
<i>yāxa<sup>i</sup></i> (they) look 66.6	<i>ʷl̄ yāxa'yūn</i> and he saw it 58.13
<i>tū'tca<sup>i</sup></i> (they) spear 62.2	<i>ʷl̄<sup>x</sup>nax tū'tca'yūn</i> they spear (them) 62.5
<i>ta<sup>i</sup></i> it sits 32.21	<i>ta'yūn qamāla'a<sup>i</sup>tūn</i> my mother kept her 100.12
<i>qnūh<sup>h</sup>ū<sup>i</sup></i> he finds	<i>tE'q qnūh<sup>h</sup>ū'yūn</i> something he finds
<i>tqūlū<sup>i</sup></i> he shouted 92.6	<i>tqūlū'yūn</i> he shouts at him
<i>ya'q<sup>u</sup>ha<sup>i</sup>t</i> he looked 25.3	<i>ya'q<sup>u</sup>ha<sup>i</sup>tūn</i> (I) look at them 25.5, 6
<i>ʷla<sup>u</sup>x wī'lūt</i> they two affirmed 90.6	<i>ʷl̄ mā'q<sup>u</sup>L wī'lūtūn</i> Crow answered him 36.6, 7
<i>wa'ayax</i> he spoke	<i>wa'yaxa<sup>n</sup></i> he spoke to him 36.11
<i>xā'ntm<sup>i</sup>yax</i> he traveled	<i>ʷl̄ xā'ntm<sup>i</sup>yaxa<sup>n</sup></i> he took (them) along 92.13
<i>xā'ntmās</i> (you) will continually travel 13.3	<i>qnā'ats<sup>n</sup>x xā'ntmāsūn</i> you will always carry it 14.3
<i>wa'a<sup>i</sup>s</i> he says continually 26.8	<i>wa'a<sup>i</sup>sūn</i> (you) keep on telling him 19.5
<i>Lī'ū</i> (they) came 9.3	<i>Līū'ūn</i> he got (there) 16.3
<i>xaū'</i> he died 40.21	<i>xaū'na<sup>u</sup>xūn</i> we two (excl.) killed him 96.8, 9
<i>yāxa<sup>i</sup></i> he sees	<i>yāxa'yūna<sup>u</sup>x</i> they two see it 62.20, 21
<i>hac<sup>i</sup></i> - to ask 66.16	<i>hac<sup>i</sup>a'yūnata<sup>i</sup></i> you ask her 74.10

§ 29. *Direct Object of First and Second Persons* -ūts (-a<sup>u</sup>ts)

This suffix indicates that an action has been performed upon a first or second person as object. The person of the actor is expressed by suffixing to -ūts the corresponding subjective pronouns (see § 24). Its use corresponds to that of -ūn for the third person object.

An explanation for the interchange between -ūts and -a<sup>u</sup>ts will be found in § 2. This suffix follows all other verbal suffixes excepting, of course, the subjective pronouns. The ū unquestionably denotes the indicative mode, and is identical with the ū in -ūn, -ūx, -ūlts, -ūl, etc. (see §§ 23, 28, 30, 35, 36).

This suffix has been referred to in § 25, where a tabular presentation of the different combined subject and object pronouns will be found.

*sí'nax̄i-* to desire 18.5

*yaqu'* - to look 9.1

*mān-* to take care 38.13

*yaqu'* - to look 9.1

*waa'* - to speak 7.1

*yāx-* to see 13.7

*sí'n'ax̄yūtsanx qnà hūtcá'wax* I  
want you to have fun 21.6

*ya'qu'yūtsats qnà* I will look at  
you two

*hī'sanx mā'nīsūts* well thou shalt  
always take care of me 22.2

*ya'q<sup>u</sup>hīsūtsanxan hī'sa* thou  
shalt always watch us (excl.)  
well 70.14, 15

*waa'a<sup>u</sup>tsín* he told me 58.18

*tē'k<sup>n</sup>ax yācá'yūts mā'g<sup>u</sup>L* where-  
ever Crow sees thee 38.16, 17

For further examples see § 25.

### § 30. Indirect Object of Third Person -ūx (-a<sup>u</sup>x)

Each language has a number of verbal expressions that require the presence of a direct and indirect object. Such verbs are, as a rule, distinguished from other stems by means of some grammatical contrivance. Siuslaw uses for that purpose the suffix *-ūx* added to the bare stem. This suffix, however, is used only when the third person (singular, dual or plural) is the indirect object of the sentence. As soon as the first or second person becomes the indirect object, another suffix, *-emts*, is used (see § 31).

The pronoun expressing the subject of the action always follows the suffix *-ūx*.

*waxax-* reduplicated stem of *wax-* to give 18.5 *u<sup>l</sup> waxá'xá<sup>u</sup>x ants m<sup>h</sup>'n'axwī* then he  
gave him that lightning 38.2 (for  
*ūx* = *a<sup>u</sup>x* see § 2)

*hamts-* to dip out *s<sup>ε</sup>às ha'mtsūx* he dipped it out for  
him 46.6

*h<sup>i</sup>yatsí'ts-* reduplicated form of *hīts-*, *h<sup>i</sup>yats-* to put on,  
to wear 11.8 *h<sup>i</sup>yatsí'tsūxan* I put it on him

*lak<sup>u</sup>-* to take, to fetch 7.5 *lakwa'kūxan* I took it away from  
him

*hamx-* to tie 8.6. *hamxí'xūx* he tied it on him

### § 31. Indirect Object of First and Second Persons -emts

This suffix is used only with verbal stems that require a direct and indirect object. The direct object expressed by this suffix is always the third person, while the indirect object must be either a first or

a second person, regardless of number. The suffix expressing the same idea with the third person as the indirect object has been discussed in § 30. The pronominal suffixes denoting the subject of the action and its relation to the direct object are the same as those used in connection with the suffix *-ūts* (see § 29). The verbal stem to which this suffix is added has frequently terminal reduplication.

*hamx-* to tie 8.6  
*wax-* to give 18.2

*h̄tsaʷ* he put it on

*aʷq-* to leave 56.5  
*wax-* to give 18.2

*hamxʷʷemtsanx* I tie it on thee  
*qnaʷhamts<sup>en</sup>x wāʷxāʷsemts* to thee  
I will keep on giving it 44.15  
*wāʷxāʷemtsanxān* they gave it to  
me  
*h̄tsaʷyemtsanx qn̄x<sup>ts</sup>* you put it  
on me  
*s<sup>e</sup>aʷs̄n h̄ʷyats̄ʷtsemts* he put it on  
me  
*s<sup>e</sup>aʷs<sup>en</sup>x h̄tsaʷyemts* he put it on  
thee  
*aʷqaʷqemts̄n* he left it to me  
*wāʷxāʷemtsanx tāʷla* he gives thee  
money

#### Indicative Suffixes Expressing Possessive Interrelations Between Object and Subject (§§ 32-37)

##### § 32. *Introductory*

The phenomenon of expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject of a sentence through the medium of distinct suffixes is by no means of uncommon occurrence in the American Indian languages.<sup>1</sup> From a logical point of view such a formation is perfectly justifiable, and may be said to have its origin in the actual difference that exists between the concept of an act performed upon a given object and the conveying of the same act performed upon an object that stands in some relation to the subject of the sentence. Thus the English sentence I WHIP MY HORSE states a fact that is fundamentally different from the sentence I WHIP THE HORSE, in so far as it expresses, besides the act performed by the subject upon the object, also the possessive relation that exists between object and subject. In the Indo-European languages, in which each idea maintains an independent position in a complex of grammatical concepts, such

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Sioux, Chinook, Kutenai.

relations are indicated by means of independent words, as a rule possessive pronouns; but in Siuslaw these relations are relegated to the verb, and consequently we find them conveyed by means of certain suffixes that are added to stems denoting verbal ideas.

The possessive relations that may exist between object and subject of a sentence are of a threefold nature. The object may form an inseparable part of the subject (I WASH MY FACE); the object may be separably connected with the subject (I LOSE MY KNIFE); or the object may stand in a possessive relation to another object (I LOSE HIS KNIFE). Siuslaw distinguishes clearly between these three types of relationship, and expresses each of them by means of a distinct suffix.

§ 33. *Suffix Indicating that the Object Forms an Inseparable Part of the Subject* -itx (-a<sup>1</sup>tx), -tx

This suffix indicates that the object of the sentence is inseparably connected with the subject. Hence all stems expressing an action performed by the speaker upon any part of his own body (and even upon his name) occur with these suffixes. Now and then they will be found added to stems denoting actions that do not necessarily involve an integral part of the subject as its recipient. All such formations must be looked upon as ungrammatical; that is to say, as due either to analogy or to an unintentional mistake on the part of the informant.<sup>1</sup>

The verbal ideas which are expressed in this manner need not always be transitive in our sense of the word. They may, and as a matter of fact they do, denote conditions and states in which an integral part of the subject may find itself. Such expressions are possible, because to the mind of the Siuslaw they convey transitive ideas. Thus the sentence I AM SORRY expresses, according to our interpretation, an intransitive idea. The Siuslaw treats it as a transitive sentence, and expresses it by saying I MAKE MY MIND SICK. In the same manner Siuslaw conceives of our expressions MY HAIR BURNED, HIS CHILD DIED, IT IS COLD, etc., as transitive sentences, and renders them by (I) BURNED MY HAIR, (HE) CAUSED HIS CHILD TO DIE, THE EARTH MAKES ITS BODY COLD, etc.

No specific reason can be given for the occurrence of the parallel forms -itx and -tx, nor has any distinction been detected in the use of

<sup>1</sup> My informant made such mistakes rather frequently, but corrected them promptly whenever her attention was called to them.

the two forms. It seems, however, that *-tx* tends to appear after other suffixes, while *-ĩtx* is added to bare stems.

This suffix must not be confounded with the frequentative *-ĩtx* (see § 68). *-ĩtx* interchanges frequently with *-a<sup>3</sup>tx*. For an explanation of this interchange see § 2.

<i>kuts-</i> to paint	<i>kutsa<sup>3</sup>'twan qa'nnî</i> I paint my face
<i>lk!-</i> to open (mouth) 28.2	<i>lk!<sup>3</sup>a<sup>3</sup>tx laa'</i> he opened his mouth 96.1
<i>skwa<sup>3</sup>-</i> to stand 14.4	<i>ha<sup>3</sup>'mũt<sup>3</sup>næ la<sup>3</sup>'gat skwaha<sup>3</sup>'tx xwāk<sup>3</sup>'</i> they all had feathers on their heads (literally, all they, feathers to stand caused on their heads) 10.9
<i>k!<sup>3</sup>u<sup>3</sup>wîn-</i> ice 76.11	<i>k!<sup>3</sup>u<sup>3</sup>wîna<sup>3</sup>'tx L!<sup>3</sup>a<sup>3</sup>ai</i> ice appeared (literally, ice made on its body, the earth) 76.10
<i>płn-</i> to be sick 40.21	<i>płna<sup>3</sup>'tx ha<sup>3</sup></i> they were sorry (literally, sick they made their minds) 15.4
<i>yā<sup>3</sup>'xa<sup>3</sup></i> much 8.5	<i>yā<sup>3</sup>'xa<sup>3</sup>'twan ha<sup>3</sup></i> I am crafty (literally, much I have in my mind) 20.7
<i>tcanhatĩ-</i> to club	<i>tcanhatĩ'mxutxa<sup>3</sup> q<sup>3</sup>ũ'm t ants pēn<sup>3</sup>'s</i> they two were clubbing each other's anus, those skunks 86.9
<i>tĩn-</i> to boil, to be ripe 98.7	<i>tĩntx ha<sup>3</sup></i> his heart cooked 96.9, 10
<i>hamx-</i> to tie 8.6	<i>ha<sup>3</sup>'m<sup>3</sup>xtwan hĩ'qũ<sup>3</sup></i> I tie my hair
<i>m<sup>3</sup>'łtĉst</i> he commenced to burn 29.3	<i>m<sup>3</sup>'łtĉstx ha<sup>3</sup>'mũt hĩ'qũ<sup>3</sup></i> his hair began to burn (literally, it began to burn on him his all, hair) 29.4
<i>haw-</i> to end, to make 14.6	<i>ha<sup>3</sup>'na haũ'tx ha<sup>3</sup></i> his mind had become different (literally, different on him it had made itself, his mind) 60.21

In the following examples, terms of relationship are treated as inseparable parts of the subject:

*płn-* to be sick 40.21

*pła<sup>3</sup>ntx ants t!<sup>3</sup>āmc* (he) got sick his boy 40.20



*sí'naxi-* to desire 18.5

*sí'naxitax ants t!āmc xwí' L!tūaxtc* he wanted that his child should come back (literally, he wanted his, that child, return shall his) 42.5, 6

*waa'* - to say 7.1

*s<sup>x</sup>atsí'tc<sup>w</sup>ax waa<sup>v</sup>'tx ants mīlā* thus their (dual) mother told them (literally, thus their two, told, that mother) 54.23

*hant'* - to call

*ha'nt'itax māt'í'* he called his elder brother 58.16

*xawū'* he died 40.21

*tE'q<sup>x</sup>nax xawā<sup>v</sup>'tx* (when) their relatives died (literally, relatives they, die theirs) 68.13

*waa'* - to say 7.1

*s<sup>x</sup>atsí'tc wa'ā<sup>v</sup>'tx ants Lxaw<sup>w</sup>'yax* thus he said to that his friend 42.7, 8

§ 34. *Suffix Denoting that the Object is Possessed by the Subject, but Separable from it* -ūtsm- (-a<sup>tsm</sup>-)

This suffix seems to be a compound consisting of two separate suffixes, -ūts- and -m-. While the original function of the second element is unknown, the first component is undoubtedly the suffix expressing the direct object of the first and second persons (see § 29 and also § 23).

It expresses a transitive action whose recipient is possessed by the subject without forming an integral part of it. Terms of relationship, and all concrete nouns, excepting those nominal stems that denote parts of the body, are thus considered; but, owing to frequent errors on the part of the informant, this suffix will be found used also in connection with objects expressing parts of the body.<sup>1</sup> All subjective pronouns are added to this suffix by means of a connecting weak vowel, as a result of the law regulating the use of consonantic clusters (see § 4); and, as the third person singular has no distinct form, this suffix appears in final position as -ūtsmE. The *ū* of this suffix often interchanges with the diphthong *aū* (see § 2). The suffix follows the tense signs, and is frequently added to reduplicated stems.

*la'k<sup>u</sup>-* to take, to get 7.5

*lākwa'kūtsmīn k<sup>x</sup>ā'nī* I take my bucket

*qnū'* - to find 56.9

*qnū'hūtsmīn qal'tc* I found my knife

*L!xma<sup>v</sup>'* - to kill 15.3

*L!xma<sup>v</sup>'yūtsmanx m<sup>u</sup>ū'sk<sup>u</sup>* you killed your younger brother

<sup>1</sup> See § 33, p. 485.

<i>lak<sup>u</sup></i> - to take 7.5	<i>lakwa'kūtsmE k<sup>ə</sup>ā'nī</i> she took her bucket 90.21
<i>L!ōx-</i> to send 16.10	<i>L!ōxa'xa<sup>ə</sup>tsmE hītc</i> he sent his people 30.1, 2
<i>waa'<sup>i</sup></i> he says 8.9	<i>atsē'tc waa'yūtsmE qī'ūtc</i> thus he said to his wife 48.17
<i>Lī'ū</i> (they) come 9.3	<i>yā'<sup>a</sup>xa<sup>i</sup> tE hī't!a<sup>i</sup> Līwī'wūtsmE</i> lots (of) this (their) food (they) are bringing 100.9, 10
<i>waa-</i> to speak 8.1	<i>Līū'ūtsmE hītsī'stc</i> she came to her (own) house 58.7, 8
<i>mī'ttāst</i> he begins to burn 29.3	<i>waa'a<sup>ə</sup>tsmE ants L!a'<sup>a</sup>i hītc</i> he said to his many people 7.1
<i>xī'l'xē-</i> to work 50.9	<i>u<sup>l</sup> q!a'īl mī'ttāstūtsmE</i> then her pitch began to burn 90.22
	<i>xīl'xē'yūtsma<sup>u</sup>x a'nts<sup>ə</sup>tc<sup>w</sup>ax mā'tī</i> they two worked at their (dual) dams 48.10

In the following instances this suffix has been used in connection with nouns that form an integral part of the subject:

<i>t!Emx<sup>u</sup></i> - to cut	<i>u<sup>l</sup>ēnx t!Emxū'yūtsmE hī'qū<sup>i</sup></i> then they cut their hair 68.14
<i>pāx-</i> to close (eyes) 36.16	<i>paxa'xūtsmE kōpax</i> he shut his eyes 36.20
<i>ya'q<sup>u</sup>ha<sup>i</sup>t</i> he looked 58.1	<i>yō'quha<sup>i</sup>tū'<sup>u</sup>tsmE kōpax</i> he opened his eyes (literally, he looked with his eyes) 36.20
<i>wī'ttāst</i> he begins to send	<i>wī'ttāstū'tsmE wa'as</i> he began sending his message (word) 92.19
<i>pīn-</i> to be sick 40.21	<i>pīanya'<sup>i</sup>tīstūtsmE ha<sup>i</sup>tc</i> he was sorry (literally, he begins to make sick, his mind) 40.21
<i>mīnx<sup>u</sup></i> - to lighten 38.5	<i>u<sup>l</sup> wān mī'nxa<sup>u</sup>tū'tsmE L!a'<sup>a</sup>i</i> now he made lightning (literally, then finally caused to lighten her body, the world) 38.6
<i>tē't'ī</i> wind	<i>tē't'a't'ūtsmE L!a'<sup>a</sup>i ants tsxu'n-pLī</i> Tsxunplī made a wind (literally, caused to blow his world, that Tsxunplī) 94.6, 7

§ 35. *Suffix Indicating that the Object is Possessed by a Third Person Object -ūl (-a<sup>u</sup>l)*

This suffix expresses an act performed upon an object that forms an integral part of or that is separably connected with another object. Hence it indicates the possessive relation that exists between two objects as seen by the subject of the sentence. The possessor of the object of the action must be the third person, regardless of number. If, however, it is absolutely necessary to indicate the number of the possessor, this is accomplished by means of suffixing to the possessed object the possessive suffixes for the third person singular, dual or plural (see § 88). It is noteworthy that the possessed object appears in the absolutive form, and not with the locative case endings, as might be expected. The pronominal suffixes expressing the subject of the action follow the suffix *-ūl*; and as this suffix ends in a consonant, and some of the subjective pronouns begin with a consonant, the pronouns are frequently preceded by a connecting, weak vowel (see § 4). There exists undoubtedly an etymological connection between the *ū* of this suffix and the *ū* of the direct object of the third person *-ūn* (see §§ 23, 28). For the *ū* of *-ūl* the diphthong *a<sup>u</sup>* is quite frequently substituted. This interchange has been discussed in § 2.

*s'na<sup>x</sup>i-* to desire 18.5

*hamax-* to tie 8.6

*yax-* to see 34.4

*hān-* to take along 23.2

*ya'q<sup>u</sup>-* to see 23.9

*yax-* to see 34.4

*ya<sup>a</sup>k!-* small 36.23

*haw-* to end, to make 14.6

*lak<sup>u</sup>-* to take 7.5

*s'n<sup>x</sup>xyūln hītsi<sup>i</sup>* I like his house

*ha'max<sup>a</sup>tn tcīL* I tie his hands

*yāx<sup>a</sup>yūlanx mītā* you see his father

*hāna'yūlanx L'amī'tī* you took his bow along

*ūl ya'q<sup>u</sup>yūl mī'ck'la<sup>i</sup>* and he saw her vulva (bad thing) 90.10

*yāx<sup>i</sup>xūla<sup>u</sup>x tcu'<sup>u</sup>s* he saw their (dual) vulvas 90.15

*yāk!<sup>i</sup>t<sup>a</sup>tūl xwā'ka* she cut his head into pieces 96.11

*ha<sup>i</sup>'na haū'ūl ha<sup>i</sup>* different she made his mind 58.9

*t!<sup>i</sup>ya<sup>i</sup> lakwā'kūl ants māt!<sup>i</sup>* bear had seized that his older brother 58.16

*qva'*n- to pour 29.2

<sup>u</sup>*l*wàn *qva'*nūl *Laaya'to<sup>tc</sup>tc* (they two) now pour it into his mouth 96.7

*hac'*- to ask 66.16

<sup>u</sup>*l*tc<sup>i</sup> *hac'*a'yūl *ha'* you ask her (literally, and you ask about her mind [opinion]) 74.8

§ 36. *Suffix Expressing an Object Possessed by a First or Second Person Object -ūlts (-a<sup>ū</sup>lts)*

This suffix has the same function as *-ūl*, but differs from it in so far as the possessor of the object must be either a first or a second person. The number of the possessor, when required, is indicated by the possessive suffixes added to the possessed object (see § 88). Owing to the variability of the person of the possessor, this suffix conveys, besides the idea of a possessive relation between two objects, also the connection that exists between subject and object. Hence it assumes a function, limited in scope, but similar in character to the suffix for the combined subject and object pronouns. This functional similarity is indicated even in the phonetic composition of the suffix. *-ūlts* is undoubtedly a compound suffix consisting of the previously discussed *-ūl* and of the suffix for the subject and object pronoun *-ūts* (see § 29). It is not inconceivable that the original form may have been *-ūbūts*, contracted later on into *-ūlts*. A comparison of the Siuslaw transitive indicative suffixes shows that the majority of them have the *ū* in common. Hence it may be claimed that the *ū* originally conveyed the idea of a transitive indicative action (see § 23); and as the *ū* was already present in the first element of this suffix (*-ūl*), it may have been omitted as superfluous in the second part.

Owing to this additional function of this suffix as a medium of expressing subject and object pronouns, the subjective pronouns are added to it in a method similar to the one employed in the suffixation of the subjective pronouns to the suffix *-ūts* (see § 25). After certain consonants this suffix is changed into *-a<sup>ū</sup>lts* (see § 2).

*hīn*- to take along 23.2

*hīn*a'yūltsana *L!x*mī'tī I take along thy bow

*yax*- to see 34.4

*yāx*a'yūltsana *qa'*nnī I look at thy face

*L!x*(*ū*)- to know 40.16

*L!x*ū'yūltsana *mī*tà *qnà* I know thy father

*wax-* to give 18.2

*waxa'yūłtsanæ tā'kín mî'n'awī* I  
will give thee my lightning  
38.1, 2

*L!xmaī-* to kill 15.3

*L!xmaī'yūłtsanæ m<sup>u</sup>ū'sk<sup>u</sup> qnīx<sup>a</sup>ts*  
you killed my younger brother  
*tsxana'yūłtsanæ hī'qū'* you combed  
my hair

*lak<sup>u</sup>-* to take 7.5

*łkwa'yūłtsîn ants qal'te* he took  
that my knife

*L!x(ū)-* to know 40.16

*L!xū'yūłtsîn mîtà* he knows my  
father

*yax-* to see 34.4

*s<sup>ə</sup>às L!xū'yūłtsanæ mîtà* he knows  
thy father

*əàs yīxā'yūłtsanæ qa'nnî* he looks  
at thy face

§ 37. *Suffixes Denoting Possessive Interrelations for Tenses other than the Present* -isitî, -a<sup>w</sup>itî, -yaxa'tî

When possessive interrelations that occur in tenses other than the present are to be expressed, the Siuslaw language resorts to an interesting form of composition of suffixes. Thus the durative suffix *-is* (see § 69), the intentional (see § 70), and the past *-yax* (see § 74), are combined with the possessive suffix *-itî* (see § 88), forming new compound suffixes *-isitî*, *-a<sup>w</sup>itî*, and *-yaxa'tî*, that indicate semi-reflexive actions performed constantly, or about to be performed, or performed long ago. In these new suffixes no sharp line of demarcation is drawn between objects that are inseparably connected with the subject, and objects that are possessed by the subject.

*ya<sup>a</sup>'k!-* small 36.23

*yāk!is* he is constantly (get-  
ting) small

*kwi'teî yā'k!isitî ha<sup>3</sup>* don't ye be  
downhearted! (literally, not you  
small always make your mind)  
66.5

*haw-* to finish 14.6

*ha<sup>w</sup>wīs* he makes continually

*ł<sup>ə</sup>næ kumî'nte atsī'te ha<sup>w</sup>wīsitî*  
*ha<sup>3</sup>* and you don't believe it thus  
(literally, and you, not thus,  
make continually your mind)  
46.24

*qa'xante ha<sup>w</sup>wīsitî ha<sup>3</sup>* downward  
make continually your hearts  
8.10

*h̄n-* to take along 23.2

*h̄'nīs* he always takes along

*n̄x<sup>ats</sup> u<sup>Enx</sup> qanī'nal h̄'nīsītī* you will take along your knife (literally, you, and you, knife, take along will always yours) 50.16, 17

*xn̄<sup>w</sup>n-* to do 10.5

*xn̄<sup>w</sup>nīs* (we) always do it  
72.15

*u<sup>Enl</sup> xn̄<sup>w</sup>nīsītī* still we will keep on doing our . . . 72.17

*hamx-* to tie 8.6

*hamx<sup>w-</sup>* to intend to tie

*hamx<sup>w</sup>ītīn h̄'qū<sup>i</sup>* I intend tying my hair

*pāx-* to shut (eye) 36.16

*pāx<sup>w-</sup>* to be about to close

*pāx<sup>w</sup>ītīn kōpæ* I intend to close my eyes

*yā<sup>w</sup>xatc'-* to try to look 13.7

*yāxatc'<sup>a-w</sup>* to intend to try to look

*yāxatc'<sup>a-w</sup>ītīn t!āmc k!<sup>l</sup>lū* I intend to try to look for my boy tomorrow 60.1, 2

*tquya<sup>w-</sup>* to intend to boil

*u<sup>Ens</sup> tquya<sup>w</sup>ītī* we will cook (our camas) 98.3

*hamx-* to tie 8.6

*ha'mxyax* he tied

*ha'mxyax<sup>ītī</sup> h̄'qū<sup>i</sup>* he tied his hair

*pāx-* to close 36.16

*pā<sup>w</sup>xyax* he closed

*pā<sup>w</sup>xyax<sup>ītīn</sup> kōpæ* I closed my eyes

A similar process is resorted to whenever the prohibitive mode (see § 40) of an action denoting that the object is possessed by the subject is to be expressed. In such cases the durative *-īs* (see § 69) is combined with the possessive *-ītī-* (see § 88), and the whole verb is preceded by the negative particle *kū<sup>i</sup>*, *kumī'ntc* NOT (see § 131).

*tsxanu-* to comb

*kwīnæ tsx<sup>anw</sup>īsītī h̄'qū<sup>i</sup>* don't comb thy hair!

*lk!<sup>a-</sup>* to open 28.2

*kū<sup>ts</sup> lk!<sup>a</sup>īsītī laa'* don't you (pl.) open your mouths!

*h̄n-* to take along 23.2

*kwīnæ h̄'nīsītī sī'xā<sup>i</sup>* don't take thy canoe along!

*haw-* to finish, to work 14.6

*kumī'ntc<sup>tcī</sup> qa<sup>xante</sup> ha<sup>w</sup>īsītī ha<sup>i</sup>* don't ye be continually downhearted (literally, not ye, downwards, make continually your, hearts) 8.10

Passive Suffixes Indicating Pronominal and Possessive Interrelations  
(§§ 38-39)

§ 38. *Passive Suffixes for Verbs Requiring in the Active a Double Object* -imE, -ūmE (-a<sup>u</sup>mE)

**-imE.** This suffix invariably follows the verbalizing -ī or -a<sup>i</sup> (see § 75), and seems to express the passive voice of verbs that require in the active the presence of a double (direct and indirect) object, although it will be found suffixed to verbal stems that do not necessarily require such a double object. Whenever the subjective pronouns are added to it, the obscure *E* of this suffix is changed into a weak *a* or *î*. The form -imE occurs in terminal position only. This suffix follows all temporal suffixes.

*wax-* to give 18.2

*waxa'yīmanx qanī'nal* it (will) be given to you, (a) big knife 19.6  
*hī'q!a waxa'yūsīmE a'nts<sup>2c</sup> mîtà* dentalia shells are usually given to him, to that her father 74.19

*hīts-* to put on 11.10

*hītsa'yīmîn* it is put on me

*haw-* to end, to make, 14.6

*txūnx hī'sa hawd'yīmE ha<sup>3</sup>* they are just good-minded toward thee (literally, just thee well it is made towards, mind) 21.1

In two instances this suffix has been added to a stem without the aid of the verbalizing -ī (-a<sup>i</sup>).

*ha'ūs* easy

*atsī'tc ha'ūsīmE* thus it was agreed upon (literally, thus it was [made] easy) 24.1

*haw-* to finish, to end 14.6

*ha'ūsīmE ants ts!atn* ready (made for him is) that pitch 26.5, 6

This suffix may be preceded—for the sake of emphasizing its passive function—by the present passive -xam (see § 55). In such cases the verbalizing suffix is omitted.

*hīts-* to put on 11.8

*waa' ants hītsī'xamīmE* said that one on whom it was put on 11.10

*qū'n-* to pour

*ʷl wàn qū'nī'xamīmE* and now it was poured down into his . . . 29.2

*āq-* to take off 13.1

*aqā'xamīmE* it was taken off him

*-ūmE* has the same function as *-īmE*, and is used in connection with similar verbal stems. It differs from it only in so far as it is added directly to the stem. An explanation of the parallel occurrence of *-ūme* and *-a<sup>ū</sup>mE* has been given in § 2.

*wax-* to give 18.2

*tE' qīn waxa<sup>ū</sup>mE* what do you give me (literally, something to me, it is given?) 18.2

*qanī'nal waxa<sup>ū</sup>manx* a big knife is given to you 21.4

*pī'ū-* to be noisy 36.24

*wa<sup>3</sup> yā<sup>ū</sup>xa<sup>i</sup> tE'q u<sup>l</sup> pī'ūmE* they made noise with everything (literally, although many things [they have], still it is made noise with) 29.1

§ 39. *Passive Suffixes Denoting Possessive Relations of the Subject -ūitx, -xamitx*

These suffixes express, besides the passive voice, also the fact that the recipient of the action is either possessed or forms an integral part of a given object.

*-ūitx* seems to be composed of the suffix *-ūl*, which indicates that the object forms an integral part of or is possessed by another object (see § 35), and of the suffix *-tx*, denoting that the object is an integral part of the subject (see § 33). If this is the origin of the compound suffix, the amalgamation of these two independent suffixes into one new formative element that expresses the passive voice, and at the same time contains the idea of a possessive relation between object (grammatical subject) and object, presents a problem that must remain unexplained. The person of the possessed subject is indicated by the suffixed subjective pronouns (see § 24). The stem to which this suffix is added occurs frequently in an amplified form (see § 112). Stems ending in *i* (short or long) change it into *y* before adding the passive suffix (see § 8).

*lak<sup>u</sup>-* to take, to get 7.5

*kumī'ntc<sup>w</sup>ax lakwa'ūitx ants qī'ūtc* not their (dual) were taken, those wives 50.22

*lakwa'ūitxa<sup>u</sup>x ta'tc<sup>w</sup>ax qī'ūtc* taken away were these their (dual) wives 52.3, 4



<i>tū'</i> - (also <i>t!ū'</i> ) to buy 74.8	<i>kumî'ntc<sup>n</sup>x tawū t!ūha'ūltxanx</i> <i>t!āmc</i> not for nothing will they buy your child (literally, not [of] thee just bought [will be] thy child) 74.5
<i>xāL'</i> - to make 50.8	<i>sî'n'xyū<sup>u</sup> xāL'a'ūltx</i> they try to find some remedy (literally, they desire [that] made [cured] be his mind) 15.5 <i>hūya'ūltx ha<sup>h</sup></i> his mind will be made different 19.2
<i>sî'navī</i> - to desire 18.5	<i>sî'n'xyūltxanx t!āmc</i> thy child is desired (asked for) 74.4
<i>tsî'navī</i> - to scorch	<i>u<sup>l</sup>ta<sup>u</sup>x tsîna'a'yūltxq<sup>u</sup>Lī'mt</i> and their (dual) anus [will] be scorched 88.7
<i>hatc'</i> - to ask 66.16	<i>ha'tc'yaxa'ūltx ha<sup>h</sup> ants qūtcū'nî</i> (when) asked was her opinion, that woman 74.16 (-a <sup>ū</sup> ltx = -ūltx see § 2)

In many instances this suffix is preceded by the verbalizing -a<sup>i</sup> (see §§ 75, 8).

<i>skwaha'</i> he stands 14.4	<i>u<sup>l</sup> skwaha'yūltx teqyū<sup>u</sup></i> then is stood up its (of the house) frame 80.7
<i>tkwī'</i> - to bury 80.10	<i>tkwīha'yūltx qaw<sup>u</sup>ntī'yūwītc ants</i> <i>hītsī'<sup>i</sup></i> dirt is put on both sides (of) that house 80.10, 11
<i>hatc'</i> - to ask 66.16	. . . <i>ants hatc'a'yūltx ha<sup>h</sup></i> (when of) that one is asked his opinion 74.4, 5
<i>waa'</i> he says 8.9	<i>waa'yūltxan mītà</i> my father is spoken to

-*xamltx* is undoubtedly composed of the suffix for the present passive -*xam* (see § 55), of the abbreviated -*ūl* (see § 35), and of the suffix -*tx* (see § 33). When it is remembered that this suffix can be added only to verbs that require a double object, the amalgamation of these three independent formative elements into one suffix for the purpose of expressing the passive voice of an act whose recipient (grammatical subject) stands in some possessive relation to one of

the three persons (speaker, person spoken to, or person spoken of), becomes at once apparent.

The use of this suffix may be illustrated by an example. The verb TO PUT ON requires a double object, because it implies the idea TO PUT SOMETHING ON SOMEBODY, or *vice versa*. Hence Siuslaw renders the English sentence HIS HAT WAS PUT ON (really, HIS HAT WAS PUT ON HIM) by a complex consisting of the verbal stem and the compound suffix *-xamltx*. In this suffix the first element, *-xam*, indicates that the action is passive (performed by somebody upon the recipient); the second element, *-l-*, denotes that the direct object (in this case the noun HAT) is possessed by the recipient of the action; while the last element, *-tx* (which when used alone indicates that the object forms an integral part of the subject), serves to bring out the idea that the action is performed upon the indirect object (ON HIM) which (in this case) can no be separated from the (logical) subject (HIS HAT).

The persons that are implied in the possessive relations as indicated by this suffix are expressed by means of the subjective pronouns added to it (see § 24). Since the first element of this compound suffix is the present passive *-xam*, the manner in which it is added to the verbal stem is similar to that employed in the suffixation of *-xam* (see § 55).

<i>āq-</i> to take off 13.1	<i>ayā'xamltxan lkwa'nug<sup>u</sup></i> taken off (me) is my hat
<i>hīts-</i> to put on 11.8	<i>hīts'xamltxan lkwa'nug<sup>u</sup></i> put on (me) is my hat
<i>t'Emx<sup>u</sup>-</i> to cut off	<i>t'Emxwa'xamltxanx tēL</i> cut off (thee) was thy hand
<i>lak<sup>u</sup>-</i> to take (away) 7.5	<i>s<sup>2</sup>atsī'tc<sup>wax</sup> waa'xam a'ntsux lo-</i> <i>kwī'xamltx qī'ūtc</i> thus were told those two from whom the wives were taken away (literally, thus they two were told, those two [of] whom taken away were [those their dual] wives) 54.14

#### Imperative Forms Denoting Pronominal and Possessive Interrelations (§§ 40-48)

##### § 40. Introductory

In the following sections there will be discussed suffixes that express not only the imperative mode, but also the exhortative.

##### § 40

Besides separate suffixes indicating the imperative of intransitive and transitive verbs (see §§ 61, 62), Siuslaw shows distinct suffixes that express the pronominal and possessive interrelations between subject and object.

Another interesting feature that may be noted in connection with the formation of the imperative mode is the presence of a distinct negative form of the imperative or prohibitive mode, and the manner in which it is expressed. Generally speaking, the durative suffix *-̄s* (see § 69), used in connection with the subjective pronouns for the second persons (see § 24), and in addition to the particle of negation (see § 131), expresses the prohibitive mode. This idiomatic expression may be justified by the fact that a prohibitive command addressed to the second person has much in common with the negative form of a durative action performed by the same person.

Owing to the fact that the imperative suffixes express other categories than a command, the prohibitive form of the imperative referring to such categories is expressed by adding to the durative *-̄s* the respective suffixes that denote the non-imperative idea (see §§ 29, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37). Examples of the prohibitive mode and a detailed description of its formation will be found in §§ 60-62, 42-46.

§ 41. *Exhortative Suffixes Expressing the Direct Object of the Third Person* -yūn, -i<sup>w</sup>yūn, -ini

These three suffixes express an admonition to perform an action having a third (not mentioned) person as its object. The difference between *-yūn* and *-i<sup>w</sup>yūn* could not be traced to any particular cause, owing chiefly to the fact that the latter form occurs very seldom. The informant always rendered the first two suffixes by a transitive future, and they seem to have been employed quite extensively in this secondary function.

*-yūn* is suffixed to verbs expressing transitive ideas only, and the stem to which it is added always occurs in an amplified form (see §§ 7, 112).

*a<sup>i</sup>q-* to leave 56.6

*ta<sup>y</sup>k<sup>e</sup>ns aya'qyūn tE l<sup>t</sup>'i' a<sup>i</sup>* here we two (incl.) will leave this salmon (literally, let us two leave)

*L!<sup>o</sup>̄x-* to send 16.10

*L!<sup>o</sup>wa'xyūn hītc* I will send these people (literally, let me send) 30.19

<i>anæ-</i> to give up 60.11	<i>kumî'ntcânî and'xyûn</i> not we (incl.) will give it up (literally, don't let us two) 16.8
<i>L!xamāi'</i> to kill 15.3	<i>L!xamīya'yūnanî</i> we (incl.) will kill him (literally, let us kill him) 28.3
<i>î't!</i> to eat 15.2	<i>kumî'ntc î't!îyûn</i> not he will eat it (literally, don't let him eat it) 34.22
<i>hamæ-</i> to tie 8.6	<i>hamd'xyûn</i> he will tie it (literally, let him tie it)

*-î<sup>w</sup>yûn* exercises apparently the same function as the first suffix, but does not necessarily require amplification of the stem to which it is added.

<i>xnî<sup>w</sup>n-</i> to do 11.11	<i>xnî<sup>w</sup>nî<sup>w</sup>yûns</i> we two (incl.) will do it (literally, let us two do it) 10.5
<i>qatc<sup>i</sup>n-</i> to go 12.1	<i>xnîyûnî<sup>w</sup>yûn</i> I will do it (literally, let me do it)
<i>kwa<sup>hu</sup>n-</i> to bend down 13.5	<i>qatcî<sup>n</sup>î<sup>w</sup>yûn</i> I will make him go (literally, let me make him go)
	<i>kû' nî<sup>w</sup>yûn</i> I will bend it down

In an analogous manner Siuslaw seems to have formed an exhortative suffix expressing the direct object of the first person. This is done by substituting *-ts* (see § 23) for the *-n*. As but few examples of this formation were obtained, a full discussion is impossible. The examples follow.

<i>yaq<sup>u</sup>'-</i> to look, to see 25.3	<i>yaq<sup>u</sup>'yî<sup>w</sup>yutsatcî</i> ye look at me 72.11, 12
<i>L!xû-</i> to know 40.7	<i>L!x<sup>u</sup>wa'x<sup>u</sup>yûtsa'tcî</i> ye shall know me 30.17
<i>ka<sup>û</sup>s-</i> to follow 92.7	<i>kî<sup>u</sup>was<sup>i</sup>yû'tsana<sup>û</sup></i> you shall follow me 92.3
<i>hî<sup>n</sup>-</i> to take along 9.5	<i>hî<sup>y</sup>a'nyûtsanæ</i> I will take you along 58.6

*-î<sup>n</sup>î* is suffixed to transitive verbs, and is always used in connection with the exhortative particle *qa<sup>i</sup>î* (see § 129). The subjective pronouns for the first and third persons as the performers of the action are always added to the particle (see § 26). This suffix appears frequently as *-a<sup>i</sup>nî* (see § 2).

*lak<sup>u</sup>*- to take, to seize 7.5

*waa'*- to speak 7.1

*taqūl*- to shout 52.8

*hīts*- to put on 11.8

*tū'n*- to invite 16.2

*qa'<sup>i</sup>la<sup>u</sup>x lakwī'nī* let them two take (them)! 52.12, 13

*qa'<sup>i</sup>l waa'<sup>i</sup>nī* let him speak to him!

*qa'<sup>i</sup>l<sup>ens</sup> taqūl'nī* let us two (incl.) shout at him!

*qa'<sup>i</sup>l<sup>en</sup>x h<sup>i</sup>yatsī'nī* let them put it on!

*qa'<sup>i</sup>l<sup>en</sup>l tū'nī'nī* let us (incl.) invite

§ 42. *Imperative Suffix Expressing the Direct Object of the First Person -īts (-a'its)*

This suffix is added directly to the stem, and commands the person addressed (subject) to perform an act upon an object which must be one of the first persons. The *-ts* of this suffix is undoubtedly identical with the *-ts* found in all suffixes that express first and second persons objects (see §§ 23, 29, 34, 36). The combined pronominal forms that are added to this suffix can be only those indicating the second persons as the subject and the first persons as the object of the action (see table, pp. 473, 474). In this connection the following peculiarities may be noted:

(1) The singular subject is not expressed, being understood in the command.

(2) Dual and plural objects are not expressed in the suffixes, but are indicated by means of the independent personal pronouns for the first persons.

(3) For a singular object the subjective pronoun for the first singular (*-n*) is added to the imperative suffix.

(4) For dual and plural subjects the subjective pronouns for these persons are added to the imperative *-īts*.

The following table will best serve to illustrate these four rules:

	Thou	Ye	You
Me . . . . .	<i>-ītsn</i>	<i>-ītsats</i>	<i>-ītsatcī</i>
Us two (exclusive) . .	<i>-ītsaxān</i>	<i>-ītsats</i>	<i>-ītsatcī</i>
Us (exclusive) . . . .	<i>-ītsaxan</i>	<i>-ītsats</i>	<i>-ītsatcī</i>

The subjective pronouns beginning with a consonant are added by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see §§ 4, 24).

This imperative suffix occurs often as *-a'its* (see § 2).

<i>waa'</i> - to speak 7.1	<i>wa'a<sup>3</sup>ts<sup>1</sup>n tā'k<sup>1</sup>n wa'as</i> speak to me (with) this my language! 36.10
<i>h<sup>1</sup>n</i> - to take along 23.2	<i>h<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>nts<sup>1</sup>n</i> take me along!
<i>L'wan</i> - to tell 7.3	<i>L'wā<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ts<sup>1</sup>n</i> tell me!
<i>yaq<sup>w</sup></i> - to look 23.9	<i>L'wā<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>ts<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>xan</i> tell us (excl.)!
<i>a<sup>4</sup>q</i> - to leave 56.5	<i>yd'quh<sup>1</sup>tsats tE nà</i> look ye at me! <i>a'<sup>4</sup>qa<sup>3</sup>tsatc<sup>1</sup></i> you leave me!

The prohibitive form is expressed by combining the durative *-īs* with the objective form *-ūts* and by placing the particle of negation *kū<sup>i</sup>*, *kum<sup>1</sup>'ntc*, before the verbal expression (see §§ 69, 29, 60). The pronominal suffixes are those used to express the second person as the subject, and the first person as the object, of an action (see § 24 and table, pp. 473, 474).

<i>h<sup>1</sup>n</i> - to take along 23.2	<i>kw<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>x h<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>ūts</i> don't take me along!
	<i>kw<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>xan h<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>ūts</i> don't take us (excl.) along!
<i>qn<sup>w</sup></i> - to find 34.12	<i>kw<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>x qn<sup>w</sup>'<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>ūts</i> don't find me!

#### § 43. Imperative Suffix Indicating the Indirect Object of the Third Person *-yūx*

This suffix is etymologically related to the suffix *-ūx* discussed in § 30. It is added to verbs requiring the presence of a direct and indirect object, and it expresses a command that involves the third person (singular, dual and plural) as the recipient of the action.

<i>wax</i> - to give 18.2	<i>wa'xyūx</i> give it to him!
	<i>wa'xyūxanx</i> give it to them!
<i>qū<sup>1</sup>n</i> - to pour 29.2	<i>qwa'<sup>1</sup>nyūx Laaya'tc</i> pour it down into his mouth! 29.2
<i>h<sup>1</sup>ts</i> - to put on 11.8	<i>h<sup>4</sup>ya'tsyūx</i> put it on him!
<i>hamx</i> - to tie 8.6	<i>ha'mxyūx</i> tie it on him!

The prohibitive mode is obtained by combining the durative *-īs* (see § 69) with the suffix *-ūx* (see § 30) and by placing the particle *kū<sup>i</sup>* or *kum<sup>1</sup>'ntc* (see § 131), before the verbal expression.

<i>wax</i> - to give 18.2	<i>kw<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>x wa'xa<sup>3</sup>sūx</i> don't give it to him!
<i>h<sup>1</sup>ts</i> - to put on 11.8	<i>kw<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>x h<sup>4</sup>ya'tsīsūx</i> don't put it on him!
<i>qū<sup>1</sup>n</i> - to pour 29.2	<i>kum<sup>1</sup>'ntc<sup>1</sup>na qwa'<sup>1</sup>nīsūx</i> don't pour it (into his mouth)!

§ 44. *Imperative Suffix Denoting the Indirect Object of the First Person -imts*

This suffix expresses a command to perform an act the indirect recipient of which is the first person. It is etymologically related to the imperative suffix *-īts* (see § 42) and to the objective form *-emts* (see § 31), being composed of the initial element of the former suffix and of the whole of the latter formation (see § 23). The method of adding the pronominal forms to this suffix is identical with the method discussed on pp. 472–475.

*wax-* to give 18.2

*wā'xīmtsīn* give it to me!

*hīts-* to put on 11.8

*wā'xīmtsānān* give it to us!

*hamx-* to tie 8.6

*h<sup>i</sup>ya'tsīmtsīn* put it on me!

*hā'māīmtsātē* you (pl.) tie it on me!

The suffixed particle *-ū* (see § 132) is frequently added to this combined suffix. In such cases it denotes an act performed near the speaker.

*xwīL!-* to return 12.6

*xwīL!ī'ītsīnū* give it back to me!

*hamx-* to tie 8.6

*hamāī'ītsīnū* tie it on me!

The prohibitive mode is expressed by combining the durative *-īs* (see § 69) with the suffix *-emts* (see § 31 and also § 40).

*wax-* to give 18.2

*kwīnā wā'xā<sup>i</sup>sēmts* don't give it to me!

*hīts-* to put on 11.8

*kwīnā h<sup>i</sup>ya'tsīsēmts nātē* don't put it on me!

§ 45. *Imperative Suffix Denoting that the Object is Possessed by a Third Person -īl.*

This suffix indicates that the possessor of the recipient of the action is the third person singular. Duality and plurality of the possessor is expressed by suffixing the subjective pronouns for the third persons dual and plural (see § 24) to the possessed object (see § 35). This suffix is added directly to the stem, and is related (phonetically and etymologically) to the suffix *-ūl*, indicating that the object is possessed by a third person object (see §§ 23, 35). Duality and plurality of the subject of the action are expressed by adding the subjective pronouns *-ts* and *-tē* (see § 24) to the suffix *-ūl*; and as these pronouns begin with

a consonant, they are merged with the imperative suffix by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see § 4).

*yū<sup>wi</sup>L!*- to break 94.4  
*tsaxanu-* to comb  
*hīn-* to take along 23.2  
*lān-* to call 23.7

*hamx-* to tie 8.6

*t!E'maxū-* to cut 48.12

*yū'L!il qal'tc* break his knife!  
*tsaxanwīl hī'qūi* comb his hair!  
*hī'nīl L!am'ti* take along his bow!  
*lā'nīl l'ntc<sup>wa</sup>* call their (dual)  
 names!  
*ha'maxīl tē'l<sup>tc</sup>na* tie their hands!  
*hamaxīlats tēL* you two tie his  
 hands!  
*t!Emaxū'l<sup>atc</sup> awā'ka* you cut (off)  
 his head!

The prohibitive mode is expressed by combining the durative *-īs* (see § 69) with the suffix *-ūl* (see § 35) and by placing the negation *kūi*, *kumī'ntc* NOT before the verb (see § 40).

*yū<sup>wi</sup>L!*- to break 94.4

*hamx-* to tie 8.6

*tsaxanu-* to comb

*kwīnax yū'L!isūl qal'tc* don't break  
 his knife!  
*kumī'ntc<sup>na</sup> ha'maxīsūl tēL* don't  
 tie his hands!  
*kwīnax tsaxanwīsūl hī'qūi* don't  
 comb his hair!

§ 46. *Imperative Suffix Indicating that the Object is Possessed by a First Person -īts*

It expresses a command to perform an action, whose recipient is either possessed or forms an integral part of the first person. It is related to the imperative *-īts* (see § 42) and to the suffix *-ūlts* discussed in § 36. The combined pronominal forms that are added to this suffix for the purpose of indicating the number of subject and possessor are identical with those discussed on pp. 472-475.

*xāL!*- to make 50.8  
*xamL-* to wash  
*hīn-* to take along 23.2

*hamx-* to tie 8.6

*xā'L!ūltsīn qal'tc* fix my knife!  
*xā'mlūltsīn qa'nni* wash my face!  
*hī'nūltsatēl sī'xāi* you take my canoe  
 along!  
*ha'maxīltsanxan tēL* tie our (excl.)  
 hands!

The prohibitive form is obtained by combining the durative *-īs* (see § 69) with the suffix *-ūlts* (see § 36). The negative particle *kūi*, *kumī'ntc* NOT must precede the verb, while the pronouns expressing



the person spoken to may be suffixed either to the negation or to the combined suffix (see §§ 40, 26).

<i>tsxanu-</i> to comb	<i>kwīnə tsxa'nwīsūlts hī'qū<sup>i</sup></i> don't comb my hair!
<i>hamə-</i> to tie 8.6	<i>kumī'ntc<sup>ts</sup>ts ha'məīsūlts tcīL</i> don't you two tie my hands!
<i>hīn-</i> to take along 23.2	<i>kwī'tcī hī'nīsūlts L!xmī'tī</i> don't you take along my bow!

§ 47. *Imperative Suffix Expressing Possessive Interrelations between Object and Subject -tsx*

In the imperative the suffix *-tsx* is used for expressing possessive interrelations between object and subject in both cases, when the object forms an integral part of the subject and when it is only separably connected with it. Considering that actions involved in such a command presuppose the presence of a pronominal subject and object, it is not improbable that the suffix *-tsx* may be related to the suffixes *-ūts* and *-ītx* (see §§ 23, 29, 33). For subjects other than the second person singular, the different subjective pronouns are added to *-tsx* (see §§ 24, 4).

<i>hī'n<sup>ε</sup>k!y</i> to rain 78.1	<i>hī'n<sup>ε</sup>k!ītsxL!a'<sup>ai</sup></i> cause (thy) rain to come down! 76.18
<i>tsxanu-</i> to comb	<i>tsxa'nutsx hī'qū<sup>i</sup></i> comb thy hair!
<i>īk!a'a-</i> to open 28.2	<i>īk!a'atsx Laa'</i> open thy mouth!
<i>īak<sup>u</sup>-</i> to take 7.5	<i>īa'kutsx k<sup>ε</sup>ā'nī</i> get thy basket!
<i>L!ōx-</i> to send 16.10	<i>L!ōxtsx hītc</i> send thy man!
<i>pāx-</i> to close 36.16	<i>pāxtsx kōpə</i> shut thy eyes!
<i>mīnəx<sup>u</sup>-</i> to lighten 38.5	<i>mī'nə<sup>u</sup>tsx L!a'<sup>ai</sup></i> make lightning! 38.5
<i>a'ītc-</i> to trade 36.4	<i>a'ītcna'<sup>hu</sup>tsxans</i> let us two (incl). trade!
<i>īak<sup>u</sup>-</i> to get 7.5	<i>īa'kutsxats qv'ūtc</i> you two take your wives! 52.17
<i>hī'n<sup>ε</sup>k!y-</i> to rain 78.1	<i>hī'n<sup>ε</sup>k!ītsxats L!a'<sup>ai</sup></i> you two cause your rain to descend 76.19
	<i>hīn<sup>ε</sup>k!ī'tsxatcī L!a'<sup>ai</sup></i> you fellows make rain!

For the formation of the prohibitive mode see § 37.

§ 48. *Exhortative Suffix Expressing Possessive Interrelations Between Object and Subject* -*itsmE* (-*a<sup>i</sup>tsmE*)

This suffix may be called the imperativized form of the suffix *-ūtsm* denoting that the object is separably connected with the subject (see §§ 23, 34). It expresses, however, possessive relations between subject and object regardless of the kind of possession, and is used only in connection with the particle *qa<sup>i</sup>l* (see § 129). By its means Siuslaw expresses a desire addressed to the first and third persons that a certain act be performed upon an object that either forms an integral part of or else is separably connected with the third person. All subjective pronouns are added to the particle *qa<sup>i</sup>l* (see §§ 24, 26). Siuslaw has no distinct suffixes for the purpose of expressing possessive relations with the first or second persons as the possessor, or relations between subject and object. For the interchange between *-ītsmE* and *-a<sup>i</sup>tsmE* see § 2.

*pāx-* to close 36.16

*xāL/-* to build 50.8

*xamL-* to wash

*hīts-* to put on 11.8

*qa<sup>i</sup>l paxa<sup>i</sup>tsmE kōpax* let him shut his eyes!

*qa<sup>i</sup>l<sup>ns</sup> xāL!<sup>i</sup>tsmE hīts<sup>i</sup>* let us two (incl.) fix his house!

*qa<sup>i</sup>lnx xamL<sup>i</sup>tsmE qa<sup>i</sup>nni* let them wash their faces!

*qa<sup>i</sup>la<sup>ux</sup> h<sup>i</sup>yats<sup>i</sup>tsmE kwanu<sup>i</sup>q<sup>u</sup>* let them two put on their (dual) hats!

MODAL SUFFIXES (§§ 49-64)

§ 49. Introductory

In the succeeding chapters will be discussed, besides the suffixes that indicate the passive voice and the imperative and exhortative modes, also the formative elements expressing such concepts as reciprocity, distribution, and tentative and negative actions. A separate section might have been devoted here to a discussion of the formative elements *-ū* and *-ī*, the former expressing the indicative and the latter indicating the imperative mode. Since, however, these two elements never occur alone, and since they have been fully discussed in connection with other suffixes (see §§ 23, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 36, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48), it has been thought advisable to call attention here to their modal functions, but not to treat them separately.

§§ 48-49

§ 50. Reciprocal *-naw(a)*, *-mux<sup>u</sup>-*

*-naw(a)* precedes all other suffixes, and is followed by the subjective pronouns. Owing to the fact that Siuslaw does not permit clusters of *w* + any consonant (excepting *n*), the *w* of this suffix changes into a voiceless *w* (written here <sup>h</sup>*w*) before all consonants except *n* (see § 4). For that reason the reciprocal *-naw(a)*, when followed by the present *-t* (see § 72), the future *-tūx* (see § 73), or by the imperative *-em* (see § 61), is heard as *-na<sup>h</sup>wt*, *-na<sup>h</sup>wtūx*, and *-na<sup>h</sup>wem* respectively.

The stem to which this suffix is added is not infrequently followed by the reflexive particle *ts'ims* (see § 123). The full form *-nawa* is added when the suffix stands in final position; that is to say, when it expresses the subjective pronoun for the third person singular (see § 24).

*ɬōl-* to hit

*lōlna'wans* we two (incl.) hit each other

*lōlna'wa<sup>u</sup>xūn ts'ims* we two (excl.) hit each other

*lōlna'wats ts'ims* you two hit each other

*wīnx-* to be afraid 17.6

*wīn<sup>ɛ</sup>xna'wa<sup>u</sup>x* they two were afraid of each other 86.1, 2

*waa'-* to speak 7.1

*waana'wa<sup>u</sup>x* they two talk to each other 10.4

*s<sup>ɛ</sup>atsi'te<sup>w</sup>ax waana'wa* thus they two speak to each other 10.1, 2

*waana'wisa<sup>u</sup>x ants m<sup>a</sup>ā'ti* they two keep on talking to each other, those chiefs 78.8, 9

*s'īnax-* to desire 18.5

*a'tsanl kum'ntc m'īk!a'na s'īn<sup>i</sup>x-na'wīs* thus we (incl.) won't try to abuse one another (literally, thus we not badly will desire [to abuse] one another continually) 78.12, 13

*wīnx-* to fear 17.6

*wīn<sup>ɛ</sup>xna'wanxan ts'ims* we (excl.) are afraid of one another.

*tqūl-* to shout 52.8

*tqūlna'wanx* they shout at one another.

*a<sup>i</sup>tc-* to trade 36.4

*a<sup>i</sup>tcna<sup>h</sup>wtūx<sup>ɛ</sup>ns* we two (incl.) will trade 36.7

*ūla<sup>u</sup>x a<sup>i</sup>tcna'ha<sup>u</sup>t* then they two traded 36.7

<i>lōl-</i> to hit	<i>lōlna'hu<sup>t</sup>tūaxts</i> you two will hit each other
<i>tqūl-</i> to shout 52.8	<i>lōlna'humats</i> you two hit each other! <i>tqūlna'hu<sup>t</sup>tūnxa<sup>n</sup></i> we (excl.) will shout at one another
<i>yaq<sup>u</sup>-</i> to look 23.9	<i>yaq<sup>u</sup>hīna'hu<sup>t</sup>matcā</i> look you at one another!
<i>waa'-</i> to speak 7.1	<i>waana'hu<sup>t</sup>xa<sup>n</sup></i> <i>wa'as</i> they speak one another's language

In two instances this suffix is followed by the verbalizing *-a<sup>i</sup>* implying the commencement of a reciprocal action. For an explanation of this inchoative idea see § 75.

<i>waa'-</i> to speak 7.1	<i>atsī'tc<sup>w</sup>ax waanawa<sup>i</sup></i> thus they two (begin to) talk to each other 78.13
<i>kū'n-</i> to beat 72.17	<i>u<sup>t</sup>Ena<sup>n</sup> wān kū'nawa<sup>i</sup></i> now they (begin to) beat one another 80.1.

In a few instances this suffix is used to express distribution of action.

<i>t!E'maxū<sup>u</sup>-</i> to cut 48.12	<i>u<sup>t</sup> t!Emax<sup>u</sup>na'wū<sup>u</sup>n</i> he cut it into pieces (literally, he cut it here and there) 52.23, 24
<i>lqu'nwī</i> knot	<i>lqunwīna'hu<sup>t</sup>tūn yā<sup>a</sup>'wa<sup>i</sup></i> he made lots of knots (literally, he made many knots here and there)
<i>sū'qu-</i> to join 80.9	<i>sūq<sup>u</sup>na'hu<sup>t</sup>tūn</i> he joined it together
<i>Lāpq-</i> (?) 80.15	<i>Lāpqana'hu<sup>t</sup>tūn</i> he put them side by side
<i>āq-</i> to take off 13.1	<i>āqna'hu<sup>t</sup>tūn</i> he took it apart.

*-mux<sup>u</sup>-* has the same function as the preceding *-naw(a)*, but is employed less often, and seems to be confined to a limited number of stems. This suffix is frequently affected by the shifting of the accent (see § 12).

*waa<sup>i</sup>'* he says 8.9

*waa<sup>i</sup>'muxwa<sup>u</sup>x* they two talk to each other 10.6  
*s<sup>e</sup>atsī'tca<sup>u</sup>x waa<sup>i</sup>'mux<sup>u</sup>* thus they two talk to each other 10.6, 7  
*atsī'tc<sup>w</sup>ax waa'yEmax<sup>u</sup>t* thus they began to talk to each other 56.4  
*waa'yEmax<sup>u</sup>sta<sup>u</sup>x* they two began to talk to each other 48.13

*tcanhatī-* to club

*tcanhatī'maxutax<sup>u</sup>x q<sup>u</sup>lī'mt ants*  
*penī's* they two were clubbing  
 each other's anus, those skunks  
 86.9

*kīma<sup>u</sup>L!*- to hit

*kīma<sup>u</sup>L!muawana* they hit one  
 another

§ 51. Distributive -*it'ax*

This suffix expresses the distributive of intransitive verbs. Owing to the fact that most nouns, even without the aid of any specific device, may have the function of intransitive verbs, this suffix will be found added to nouns, especially to terms of relationship. The initial *ī* is frequently changed into *a<sup>ī</sup>* (see § 2).

The form -*it'ax* followed by certain subjective pronouns is subject to a peculiar law of contraction (see § 24).

*k!īn-* to hear 70.5

*k!īnā'ī'atc wa'as wā'ts!ū īnq!a'-*  
*a<sup>ī</sup>* two rivers will have one  
 language (literally, hear mutu-  
 ally their language [the people  
 of] two rivers) 32.6, 7

*sūqu-* to join

*sū'qū'it'ax ants hītsī'ī wāL!ī'yūsne*  
 adjoining these houses are built  
 80.9, 10.

*Lāpq-* (?)

*ālqa'tc L!ayā' ūt cīn<sup>a</sup>x hītsī'ī wā-*  
*L!a'yū'nE Lā'pqā'it'ax* on one  
 place three houses are built side  
 by side 80.14, 15

*nāctc-* to fight

*nī'ctcat<sup>a</sup>u<sup>x</sup> sī'nīxyūn* (to) fight  
 mutually they two want (with  
 them) 52.2

*mā<sup>u</sup>'sk<sup>u</sup>* younger brother 56.6

*mā'skwīt'a<sup>u</sup>x wā'ts!<sup>u</sup>wa<sup>u</sup>x* younger  
 brothers mutually they two  
 (were) 40.18

*nī'ctcat<sup>a</sup>u<sup>x</sup>, mā'skwīt'a<sup>u</sup>x = nī'ct-*  
*cat<sup>a</sup>ax<sup>u</sup>x, mā'skwīt'ax<sup>u</sup>x* (see  
 § 24)

*māctcī'<sup>ī</sup>* younger sister 40.2

*mā'ctcī'anxan* (= *mā'ctcī'axan-*  
*xan*) sisters mutually we (excl.)  
 are

§ 52. Tentative *-tc'*

This suffix indicates an attempt on the part of the subject to perform a certain action, and may best be rendered by TO ATTEMPT, TO TRY . . . The native Siuslaw, unable to express its exact meaning, rendered it by various phrases, chiefly by sentences like TO DO SOMETHING SLOWLY, TO "KIND OF" . . ., etc. Verbal stems ending in a consonant insert a weak vowel between its final sound and the suffix (see § 4). In terminal position this suffix appears as *-tc'ya* (see § 24).

*yax-* to see 34.4

*st'i<sup>m</sup>enə yāwatec'a'wax* there they  
intend to try to look 60.7

*yāwatec'ist<sup>m</sup>enə līt'aya'* you (will)  
try to begin to look for food 13.7

*yāwatec'a<sup>w</sup>wit'in t'āmc* I intend try-  
ing to look for my boy 60.1, 2

*laxat-* to run 12.3

*laxat'atc'ist k'ēxū'tc l'aya'tc* he  
begins to attempt to run every-  
where 13.8, 9

*kū'n-* to beat 72.17

*u<sup>l</sup> s<sup>sa</sup> tsī'k'ya kū'nū'tswa* that one  
very (hard) tries to beat (them)  
78.18

*t'ūha'-* to sell, to buy 74.5

*t'ūhatec'v'ntxaw<sup>u</sup>* (they two) try to  
sell their (dual) many (hides)

*līt'-* to eat 13.10

*līt'atc'v'n* I eat slowly

*māx-* to swim

*māxatec'ya* he is "kind of" swim-  
ming

§ 53. Negative *-it* (*-a'it*)

This suffix expresses negation of action, and is used with intransitive verbs only. Negation of transitive verbs by means of a special suffix is not exhibited. The verbal stem to which this suffix is added must be preceded by the negative particles *kū<sup>t</sup>*, *kumū'ntc* NOT (see § 131). An explanation of the parallel occurrence of *-it* and *-a'it* is given in § 2.

*a<sup>u</sup>s-* to sleep 23.9

*kumū'ntc<sup>m</sup>nwan a<sup>w</sup>sit* not we (excl.)  
sleep 70.19

*xāntm-* to travel 12.10

*kumū'ntc nū'k'a xāntmīl* not alone  
he traveled 94.11

*cū'nax̄-* to think

*kumū'ntc nūctc'v'tc cū'nax̄it* not (of)  
anything he was thinking 60.  
20, 21

*cū'l'x-* to move, to shake 27.2

*kū<sup>t</sup> cū'l'x̄it* not he moved 27.2, 3

<i>wīlw-</i> to affirm, to answer 17.7	<i>kū<sup>i</sup> yā'tsa wī'lwīl</i> not (for) a long time he answered 74.4
<i>ta<sup>i</sup>-</i> to live 32.21	<i>sqū'ma<sup>u</sup>l kum'ntc ta'īl īnq!a'ītc</i> pelican did not live in the bay 44.1
<i>sīnq!-</i> to be hungry 44.11	<i>u<sup>ī</sup>n kum'ntc sī'nq!a'īl</i> I (am) not hungry 44.15, 16
<i>xaū-</i> to die 40.21	<i>kum'ntc xa'wīl</i> he does not die 15.8

Modal Elements of the Passive Voice (§§ 54-59)

§ 54. *Introductory*

Siuslaw employs a great number of suffixes for the purpose of expressing the passive voice. Many of these suffixes express, besides the passive idea, some other grammatical category, and according to this secondary function they may be divided into the following classes:

- (1) Pure passive suffixes.
- (2) Suffixes conveying the passive voice and temporal categories.
- (3) Passive suffixes indicating pronominal and possessive interrelations.

The suffixes of the last category have been fully discussed in §§ 38 and 39.

§ 55. *Present Passive -xam*

It expresses the present tense of the passive voice, and may be added directly to the stem or may be preceded by the verbalizing suffix *-a<sup>i</sup>* (*-ī*) (see §§ 75, 2). In the latter case it conveys an inchoative passive idea. In narratives this suffix assumes the function of an historic present. Stems ending in a consonant insert a weak vowel between their final sound and the suffix (see § 4).

<i>L!<sup>o</sup>wa'x-</i> to send 7.7	<i>u<sup>ī</sup> wān L!<sup>o</sup>xa'xam</i> then finally he was sent 16.10
<i>qaa-</i> to enter 44.4	<i>sēxa'<sup>ū</sup>tc qaa'xam</i> into a canoe it was put in 34.5
<i>waa'-</i> to speak 7.1	<i>waa'xam s<sup>ē</sup>ats'ītc</i> he was told thus 8.1
<i>wīlw-</i> to affirm 17.7	<i>wīlwa'xam</i> he was answered "yes" 30.11
<i>skwa'-</i> to stand 10.9	<i>skwaha'xam ants xa'tca'a<sup>ū</sup></i> placed was that roast (in the fire) 90.9
<i>hac<sup>i</sup>-</i> to ask 66.16	<i>u<sup>ī</sup> hac<sup>i</sup>'īxam</i> he was asked 66.16
<i>tak<sup>u</sup>-</i> to get, to take 7.5	<i>tāmtca'mī lokwī'xam</i> an ax was seized 27.10

In two instances the verbal stem, to which this suffix is added, has been reduplicated (see § 107).

*lī'ū* he comes 9.3

*ʷl wàn l!īl!wa'xam* finally he was approached 16.3

*tēmū-* to assemble 7.3

*t!Emt!ma'xam wàn* they come to see him now (literally, he is assembled about, now) 23.3, 4

For forms in *-xamltx*, expressing passives with indirect object, the grammatical subject being the property of the indirect object, see § 39.

§ 56. *Future Passives in -atam, -ī (-aʷ), -aa<sup>u</sup>*

These suffixes indicate the future tense of the passive voice. No explanation for the occurrence of the variety of forms can be given. Similarly, all attempts to correlate these different suffixes with certain stems have been without results.

*-atam* is added directly to stems. Stems ending in *a*-vowels contract this vowel with the initial *a* of the suffix (see § 9). Final *ī* and *ū* of the stem are diphthongized into *ya* and *wa* respectively before the addition of the suffix (see § 7).

*tēmū-* to assemble 7.3

*nīctēl'tc<sup>u</sup>tē* *te tēm<sup>u</sup>wa'tam* . . .  
why these you, will be assembled 30.17

*gn<sup>u</sup>*- to find 34.12

*gn<sup>u</sup>wa'tamīn* I will be found

*s<sup>u</sup>a'tsa* thus 8.7

*s<sup>u</sup>atsa'tamīn* thus it will (be done) to me

*k!a'*- to invite 16.3

*k!aha'tamanx* you will be invited

*waa'*- to speak 7.1

*waa'tam* he will be told

*hīn-* to take along 23.2

*hīna'tam* it will be taken along

By adding to *-atam* the objective form *-ūn* (see § 28) a compound suffix *-atamūn* is obtained which exercises the function of a causative passive for the future tense. No examples of this formation have been found in the texts.

*hīn-* to take along 23.2

*hīna'tamūn* he will cause him to be taken along

*skwa'*- to stand 10.9

*skwaha'tamūn* I will cause him to be placed

*skwaha'tamūn* = *skwaha'tamūnīn*  
(see § 15)



*tū'n-* to invite 16.2

*tū'na'tamūn* I will cause him to be invited

**-ī (-a<sup>i</sup>).** This suffix must not be confounded with the nominalizing suffix of identical phonetic value. The stem to which it is added invariably undergoes a phonetic change, which may be called stem-amplification (see § 112). An explanation for the parallel occurrence of *-ī* and *-a<sup>i</sup>* is found in § 2.

*hīn-* to take along 23.2

*h'ya'nīn* I shall be taken along

*kū'n-* to beat 72.17

*k<sup>u</sup>wa'nīn* I shall be beaten

*lōl-* to hit

*l<sup>o</sup>wa'līn<sup>x</sup>* you will get hit

*hakw-* to fall 8.7

*<sup>u</sup>la<sup>x</sup> tō'wate hakwa'a<sup>i</sup>* they two into the water will be thrown 88.7, 8

*ana'<sup>x</sup>-* to give up 16.8

*nēct<sup>x</sup> k<sup>u</sup> a'naxa<sup>i</sup>* suppose he be given up 64.26

*L!<sup>x</sup>ū<sup>x</sup>-* reduplicated form of

*L!<sup>x</sup>ū<sup>x</sup>wa'<sup>x</sup>wīn* I shall be known

*L!<sup>x</sup>ū-* to know 40.16

**-aa<sup>u</sup>** occurs more frequently than the two previously discussed suffixes, and is added to the bare stem. Stems ending in *a* contract their final vowel with the initial *a* of the suffix (see § 9). Sometimes, but not as a rule, the stem is amplified before adding the future passive *-aa<sup>u</sup>*. This suffix usually requires the accent.

*xnī<sup>w</sup>n-* to do 10.5

*yā'a<sup>i</sup> xā<sup>i</sup> hūtcā<sup>i</sup> xnī<sup>w</sup>na'a<sup>u</sup>* much playing will be done 9.6, 7

*L!<sup>x</sup>maī'-* to kill 15.3

*<sup>u</sup>ln kumī'ntc sī'n<sup>i</sup>xyūn L!<sup>x</sup>mayya'a<sup>u</sup>* I not want it (that) he shall be killed 15.8, 16.2

*tū'n-* to invite

*s<sup>z</sup>a'tsa tū'na'a<sup>u</sup>* thus he will be invited 16.2

*ma'q!<sup>i</sup>-* to dance 28.7

*atsī'tc wad<sup>x</sup>am mEq!<sup>i</sup>ē'na'a<sup>u</sup>* thus it was said, "A dance will be arranged for him" 19.1, 2

*L!<sup>i</sup>ō<sup>x</sup>-* to send 16.10

*čī'n<sup>i</sup>xyat!<sup>i</sup>ya ants hītc L!<sup>i</sup>ō<sup>x</sup>a'a<sup>u</sup>* was thinking that man (who) was going to be sent 19.8, 9

*xāū-* to die 40.21

*sī'n<sup>i</sup>xyū'nE xawda'a<sup>u</sup>* it was desired (that) he be killed 24.1

*hīn-* to take along 9.5

*wān hīnd'a<sup>u</sup>* now he will be taken along 25.1

*tū'tc-* to spear 62.2  
*lak<sup>u</sup>-* to get 7.5

*t<sup>w</sup>atca'a<sup>u</sup>* it will be speared 62.3  
*kum<sup>l</sup>'ntc<sup>en</sup>x taw<sup>u</sup> lakwa'a<sup>u</sup>, tūha'-  
 a<sup>u</sup>n<sup>x</sup> yā'a<sup>l</sup>xa* not for nothing they  
 will get you, they will buy you  
 big (literally, not you just taken  
 will be, bought you will be  
 much) 74.16, 17

§ 57. *Past Passive -xamyax*

This suffix is (loosely) composed of the present passive *-xam* (see § 55) and of the suffix for the past tense *-yax* (see § 74).

*qnū'* to find 56.9

*L<sup>l</sup>mnā'q qn<sup>u</sup>'wa'xamyax* elk was  
 found 34.12, 13

*lak<sup>u</sup>-* to seize 7.5

*ants hītc lōkwī'xamyax* that man  
 (who) was seized 60.12

*s<sup>en</sup>a'tsa* thus 11.10

*s<sup>en</sup>atsī'xamyax* thus it was (done)  
 32.16

*hīq!-* to start 15.1

*s<sup>en</sup>a'tsa hīq!a'xamyax* thus it was  
 started 32.16

*xaū'* he died 40.21

*xa<sup>u</sup>wī'xamyax* he was killed 29.6

That the composition of this suffix is felt to be rather loose may be best inferred from the fact that the sign of the past (*-yax*) may precede the passive suffix *-xam*, as is shown in the following instances:

*c<sup>l</sup>'nāi-* to think 60.21

*c<sup>l</sup>'n<sup>i</sup>'yaxam s<sup>en</sup>atsī'tc* it was thought  
 thus 27.6

*hū'<sup>i</sup>* (?) to lose

*hū'<sup>i</sup>yaxan* (I) got lost 68.2

*yāk!<sup>l</sup>vī'tc-* in pieces 96.11

*yāk!<sup>l</sup>vī'teya'xam xwā'kate* into pieces  
 was (cut) his head 29.4, 5

*tc!<sup>l</sup>ha<sup>u</sup>c-* to be glad 27.1

*tc!<sup>l</sup>ha<sup>u</sup>cya'xam wān* gladness was  
 felt now 23.3

In all these instances the suffix *-yaxam* has resulted from an original *-yaxxam* (see § 15).

§ 58. *Passive Verbs in -ūtn- (-a<sup>n</sup>tn-), -ū'nE (-a<sup>n</sup>'nE)*

These suffixes are extensively employed in the formation of the passive voice; alone they do not express any particular tense. They may be added either directly to the stem, or to the stem verbalized by means of the suffix *-a<sup>i</sup>* (see § 75). The subjective suffixes are added to these suffixes by means of a weak vowel (see § 4); but since the third person singular has no distinct form, and as clusters of §§ 57-58

consonants in final position are inadmissible, the form of this suffix in terminal position is always  $-ūtnE$  ( $-a^{ū}tnE$ ).

The form  $-ū'nE$  has resulted from the change of the  $t$  of  $-ūtn-$  to a weak aspiration (see § 16). The interchange between  $ū$  and  $a^{ū}$  has been discussed in § 2.

*qalw-* to count 8.5

*xn̄w̄n-* to do 10.5

*waa-* to speak 7.1

*gacū'i'tx* he drinks

*lhab'i'tw-* to shout continually  
11.10

*waa'i'* he says 8.9

*tū'tca'i'* he spears 62.2

*xāL'a'* he makes 50.8

*xn̄w̄n-* to do 10.5

*mīl'tc-* to burn 26.9

*waa'i'* he says 8.9

*xāL'a'* he makes 50.8

*k'a'* - to invite 16.3

*sī'nax̄-* to desire 18.5

*L'ōn̄itw-* to tell continually

*u' qa'lxūtNE* then it was counted  
*s<sup>e</sup>a'tsa xn̄w̄nūtnE* thus it was done  
62.9

*kum'i'ntc n̄ctcē'tc wa<sup>a'</sup>a<sup>ū</sup>tnE* noth-  
ing was said 18.3

*pā'l'ū gacū'i'txa<sup>ū</sup>tnE* (from the)  
well it is drunk 76.12

*lhab'i'txa<sup>ū</sup>tnE* he is continually  
shouted at

*atsi'tc<sup>i'n</sup> waa'yūtnE* thus I am told  
20.6

*tū'tca'yūtnE* it is speared 8.7

*ts̄v'L'ī L'a<sup>ai</sup> u' xāL'a'yūtnE*  
many arrows are made 78.6

*s<sup>e</sup>a'tsa xn̄w̄nū'nE* thus it is done  
74.2

*ma'ttcū'nE ants h̄tsi'<sup>i</sup>* a fire was  
built (in) that house 25.2

*s<sup>e</sup>ats̄'tc waa'yū'nE ants h̄tc* thus  
was told that man 30.2, 3

*k'ix tē'q xāL'a'yū'nE* everything  
is made 78.5, 6

*k'aha'yū'n̄n* I am invited 17.9

*k'aha'yū'nax̄* thou art invited  
16.3

*k'aha'yū'natcī* you are invited  
30.10

*sī'n̄ixyū'nax̄ Lī'ūtūx̄* you are  
wanted (to) come 19.7, 8

*atsi'tc L'ōn̄i'txa<sup>ū</sup>nE* thus it is fre-  
quently said 16.9

When preceded by the sign of the past tense,  $-yax$  (see § 74), these suffixes denote the passive voice of the past tense.

*hac'* - to ask 66.16

*atsi'tc waa' ants ha'tc'yaxa<sup>ū</sup>tnE*  
thus said that one (who) was  
asked 66.24, 25

*haw-* to finish 14.6

. . . *ants hītsī' i ha<sup>u</sup>wa' styawa<sup>ū</sup>tnE*  
(when) that house began to be  
finished

§ 59. *Durative Passives in -īsūtñ- (-īsū'ñE), -ūsñ-*

*-īsūtñ- (-īsū'ñE)*. This suffix is composed of the durative *-īs* (see § 69) and of the passive *-ūtñ-* (see § 58). It denotes a passive action of long duration. Owing to its durative character, the verbal stem to which this suffix is added is frequently amplified (see § 112) or duplicated (see § 107). *-īsūtñ-* interchanges constantly with *-a<sup>ī</sup>sūtñ-* (see §§ 2, 69). The subjective pronouns are added by means of a weak vowel. In final position it occurs as *-īsūtñE*, because a final cluster of *t+n* is inadmissible (see § 4). The change of the *t* to a weak aspiration in *-īsū'ñE* has been fully discussed in § 16 (see also § 58).

*lāñ-* to call by name

*lā' nīsūtñE ants hītc* he is constantly  
called, that man 23.7

*cīl'x-* to shake 27.3

*cī'l'xīsūtñE* he is constantly shaken  
27.2

*waa'-* to speak 7.1

*atsī'tc wa' a<sup>ī</sup>sū'ñE* thus he is always  
told 24.2

*hīts-* to put on 11.8

*h<sup>ī</sup>ya'tsīsūtñE* it is frequently put  
on 11.7

*lī'ū* (they) come 9.3

*L'īL'wī'sūtñE* he is being ap-  
proached 26.2

*yaq<sup>u</sup>'-* to look 23.9

*ya'q<sup>u</sup>hīsū'ñE* he is continually  
watched 26.1

*qalx-* to count 8.5

*qa'lxīsū'ñE* it is being counted  
62.11

*waa'-* to speak 7.1

*atsī'tc waa'ī'sū'ñE* thus he is being  
told 23.10

*hał-* to shout 13.11

*łhałī'sū'ñE* he is continually  
shouted at 14.2

*L'xū-* to know 40.16

*kū<sup>ī</sup> L'xū'xū<sup>ī</sup>sū'ñE tcaītcī'tc ants*  
*xīnt* not it was known where  
that one went 64.15, 16

*-ūsñ-* is a combined suffix. Its first element is undoubtedly the durative *-ūs* (see § 69); while the second component seems to represent an abbreviated form of the passive suffix *-ūtñ-*, discussed in § 58. It indicates a passive action of long duration or frequent occurrence, and may best be rendered by IT WOULD . . .

This suffix is always added to the verbal stem by means of the verbalizing *-a'* (changed into *-ī*; see § 75). Both *-ī* and *-a'* are subject to consonantization before the initial vowel of the passive suffix, so that this suffix invariably occurs as *-īyūs-* or *-ayūs-* (see § 8). In a few instances it appears as *-ē<sup>i</sup>yūs-* (see § 2). The subjective pronouns beginning with a consonant are added to this suffix by means of a weak vowel; and as a third person singular has no special form, and since a terminal cluster of *s+n* is inadmissible, these suffixes in terminal position always appear as *-ūsNE*, *-īyūsNE* or *-ayūsNE* (see § 4).

*tqūl-* to shout 52.8

*tqūlī'yūsNE ants tčānī'NE* he is always shouted at, that raccoon 76.16, 17

*hāt-* to shout 13.11

*hātī'yūsNE* he would be shouted at 70.22

*waa'-* to speak 7.1

*atsī'tc waa'yūsNE* thus he would be told 24.7

*lān-* to call 23.7

*lānat!ī'yūsNE* he is continually called 76.17, 18

*tū'-* to buy 74.17

*tūha'yūsNE* she would be bought 74.18, 19

*xnā<sup>w</sup>n-* to do 10.15

*s<sup>p</sup>a'tsa xnā<sup>w</sup>nī'yūsNE* thus it would be done 76.5

*īlq-* to dig 84.2

*īlqē<sup>i</sup>'yūsNE ants L!a'<sup>ai</sup>* dug would be the ground 80.6

*xāL!-* to make 50.8

*xāL!ī'yūsNE ants hītsī<sup>i</sup>* made is that house 80.13

In one instance this suffix has been added to a verbal stem by means of the verbalizing *-ū<sup>i</sup>* (see § 75).

*tčān<sup>u</sup>-* to pack

*tčān<sup>w</sup>ū'yūsNE ʷ qatc<sup>p</sup>nī'yūsNE* they pack it and go (literally, it is packed and carried off) 100.20

In another instance the suffix appears as *-wūsNE*.

*Lī'ū* (they) come 9.3

*L!mā'kcū Līwī'wūsNE* flounder is brought continually 100.10

This occurrence of the *w* before *-ūsNE* may be explained as due to retrogressive assimilation; that is to say, the original *y* has been changed into *w* to agree in character with the *w* of the stem *Līwa<sup>i</sup>* HE COMES.

## Modal Elements of the Imperative and Exhortative Modes (§§ 60-64)

§ 60. *Introductory*

Attention has been called in § 40 to the variety of suffixes that are employed in Siuslaw for the purpose of expressing the imperative mode. By far the majority of these suffixes indicate, besides the imperative idea, also pronominal and possessive interrelations between subject and object. These have been treated as primarily objective forms, and have been fully discussed in §§ 40-48. In the following sections only such suffixes will be discussed the primary functions of which are those of an imperative mode.

Siuslaw makes a clear distinction between a true imperative, a prohibitive, and an exhortative mode, and expresses these three varieties by means of distinct formative elements.

The difference between the ideas expressed by the imperative and exhortative is one of degree rather than of contents. The imperative expresses a command more or less peremptory; while the exhortative conveys an admonition, a wish. Furthermore, the exhortative rarely applies to the second person as the subject of the action. All exhortative expressions are preceded by the particle *qa'it* (see § 129) and are rendered by LET ME, HIM . . . , PERMIT ME TO . . . , MAY I . . . , etc

§ 61. *Imperative Suffix for Intransitive Verbs -em*

This suffix is added to intransitive verbs only, regardless of whether they express a real active idea or a mere condition. It is suffixed directly to the verbal stem; and when added to stems that end in a vowel, the obscure *E* of the suffix is contracted with the vowel of the stem. In such contractions the quality and quantity of the stem-vowel usually predominate (see § 9). The second person singular is not expressed. The imperative for the second persons dual and plural is obtained by suffixing to *-em* the subjective pronouns *-ts* and *-tc'i* respectively (see § 24). These pronouns are added by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see § 4).

*it!*- to eat 13.10

*kwis-* to wake up 40.9

*waa'-* to speak 7.1

*qatc<sup>n</sup>-* to go 8.2

*ma'q'i-* to dance 28.7

*it!em* eat! 40.26

*kwis'em* wake up! 58.5

*wa'am* speak!

*qa'tcnem* go!

*maq'yem* dance!

<i>haw-</i> to quit, to end 14.6	<i>ha'ūm</i> quit!
<i>qatc<sup>En</sup>-</i> to go 8.2	<i>qa'tc<sup>En</sup>emats</i> you two go!
<i>tgūl-</i> to shout 52.8	<i>tgū'l<sup>Em</sup>emats</i> you two shout!
<i>qāt<sup>x</sup>-</i> to cry 58.15	<i>qā't<sup>x</sup>ematc<sup>ē</sup></i> you cry!
<i>xat<sup>i</sup>n-</i> to climb up 12.4	<i>xat<sup>i</sup>n<sup>Em</sup>ematc<sup>ē</sup></i> you climb up!

In negative sentences the imperative suffix *-em* is replaced by the durative *-īs* (see § 69). The whole phrase is preceded by the particle of negation *kū<sup>i</sup>*, *kum<sup>i</sup>'ntc* NOT (see § 131), to which are added the subjective pronouns for the second persons (see §§ 24, 26).

<i>xāntm-</i> to travel 12.10	<i>kwī'n<sup>x</sup> xā'ntmīs</i> don't travel!
<i>a<sup>u</sup>s-</i> to sleep 24.1	<i>kwī'n<sup>x</sup> a<sup>u</sup>sīs</i> don't sleep! 23.9
<i>qa'ha'ntc</i> far 10.3	<i>kwī'n<sup>x</sup> qa'ha'ntcīs</i> don't (go) far away! 56.21
<i>waa'-</i> to speak 7.1	<i>kwī'n<sup>x</sup> s<sup>ē</sup>atsī'tc wa'a'īs</i> don't thus say! 50.1
<i>qatc<sup>En</sup>-</i> to go 8.2	<i>kū<sup>i</sup>ts qa'tc<sup>En</sup>nīs</i> don't you two go! 54.23, 56.1
<i>ma'q/ī-</i> to dance 28.7	<i>kum<sup>i</sup>'ntc<sup>ē</sup>tc<sup>ē</sup> ma'q/īs</i> don't ye dance!

By suffixing to the imperative the subjective pronouns for the first persons dual and plural (see § 24), an exhortative mode for these persons is obtained.

<i>tca'xum</i> go!	<i>tca'xumans</i> let us two (incl.) go! 58.5
<i>ī't!<sup>Em</sup></i> eat! 40.26	<i>ī't!<sup>Em</sup>ans</i> let us two (incl.) eat!
<i>na'l<sup>Em</sup></i> start!	<i>ī't!<sup>Em</sup>anl</i> let us (incl.) eat!
	<i>na'l<sup>Em</sup>anl</i> let us (incl.) start!

### § 62. Imperative Suffix for Transitive Verbs *-īs* (*-a'īs*)

This suffix expresses an imperative transitive idea. It must not be confused with the durative suffix *-īs* (see § 69), the phonetic resemblance between these two suffixes being purely accidental. It must be borne in mind that the durative *-īs* indicates an intransitive action, and is made transitive by the addition of the transitive *-ūn* (see § 28).

The student is easily apt to confuse these two suffixes, because in the prohibitive mode the transitivized durative *-īsūn* (see p. 518) is used; but this use is perfectly logical, since a transitive prohibitive is intimately connected with the idea of a (negated) action of long duration performed by a second person as subject.

The following table may best serve to distinguish at a glance between the different suffixes in *-īs* that occur in Siuslaw:

Not related . . . . .	<i>-īs</i> transitive imperative	<i>-īs</i> intransitive durative
Related . . . . .	<i>-īsūn</i> transitive prohibitive	<i>-īsūn</i> transitive durative

The imperative for the second persons dual und plural is not often expressed by suffixing to *-īs* the subjective pronouns *-ts* and *-tc̄i* respectively (see § 24), because the subjective pronouns are usually suffixed to attributes and particles that precede the verbal term (see § 26). The interchange between *-ī* and *-a<sup>i</sup>* has been discussed in § 2.

*waa'*- to talk 7.1  
*L!wan-* to tell 7.3

*wa'a<sup>i</sup>s* talk to him! 76.18  
*L!wā'nīs* tell him! 30.13  
*hī'satc̄i L!wā'nīs* well you tell  
(them)! 30.3

*tū'tc-* to spear 62.2  
*hīn-* to take along 9.5  
*skwa'*- to stand 10.9  
*hamx-* to tie 8.6  
*qatc<sup>n</sup>-* to go 8.2  
*tīt!*- to eat 13.10

*t<sup>o</sup>wa'tcīs* spear it! 64.2  
*hī'nīs* take it along!  
*skwa'ha<sup>i</sup>s* set it up!  
*ha'māīs* tie it!  
*qa'tc<sup>n</sup>nīsats* you two make him go!  
*tīt!<sup>i</sup>īsatc̄i* you eat it!

In negative sentences the imperative suffix is replaced by the transitive form of the durative *-īsūn* (see § 69). The verb is preceded by the negative particle *kū<sup>i</sup>*, *kumī'ntc*, used in connection with the subjective pronouns for the second persons (see §§ 131, 40).

*L!wan-* to tell 7.3

*kwī'nā L!wā'nīsūn* don't you tell  
him! 17.1, 2

*qatc<sup>n</sup>-* to go 8.2

*kwīnā qa'tc<sup>n</sup>nīsūn* don't you make  
him go!

*hīn-* to take along 9.5

*kumī'ntc<sup>i</sup>nā hī'nīsūn* don't you  
take it along!

The exhortative for the first persons is formed by adding to *-īs* the subjective pronouns for these persons (see § 24).

*lak<sup>u</sup>-* to take 7.5

*la'kwīsans* let us two (incl.) take it!

*haw-* to quit, to stop 14.6

*ha'wīsant* let us (incl.) stop it!

### § 63. Intransitive Exhortative *-ixmī* (*-a<sup>i</sup>xmī*)

This suffix expresses an admonition, addressed to a first or third person, to perform an action that has no object. The verb must be preceded by the exhortative particle *qa<sup>i</sup>t* (see § 129), and the subjective



pronouns indicating the subject of the action are added to this particle and never to the exhortative suffix (see § 26).

The reasons for the interchange between  $\bar{i}xm\hat{i}$  and  $-a^i xm\hat{i}$  are discussed in § 2.

*qatc<sup>n</sup>-* to go 8.2

*a<sup>u</sup>s-* to sleep 23.9

*waa'-* to speak 7.1

*ma'q!<sup>i</sup>* to dance 28.7

*hał-* to shout 13.11

*qatcū-* to drink 76.12

*tīt!-* to eat 13.10

*qa<sup>i</sup>ł qatc<sup>n</sup>n<sup>i</sup>'xm<sup>i</sup>* let him go!

*qa<sup>i</sup>łn a<sup>u</sup>s<sup>i</sup>'xm<sup>i</sup>* let me sleep!

*qa<sup>i</sup>'ł<sup>n</sup>s waa<sup>i</sup>'xm<sup>i</sup>* let us two (incl.)  
speak!

*qa<sup>i</sup>'ł<sup>n</sup>xan maq!<sup>i</sup>'xm<sup>i</sup>* let us (excl.)  
dance!

*qa<sup>i</sup>'ł<sup>n</sup>ł hał<sup>i</sup>'xm<sup>i</sup>* let us (incl.)  
shout!

*qa<sup>i</sup>'ł<sup>n</sup>x qatcū<sup>i</sup>'xm<sup>i</sup>* let them drink!

*qa<sup>i</sup>ł tīt!<sup>i</sup>'xm<sup>i</sup>* let him eat!

In one single instance the exhortative for a second person (singular) occurs. The suffix is followed by the future passive  $\bar{i}$  (see § 56), and the exhortative particle is missing.

*małtc-* to burn 25.2

*m<sup>i</sup>łtc<sup>i</sup>'xm<sup>i</sup>n<sup>x</sup>* you may get burned  
(literally, to burn [exhortative,  
future passive] thou) 26.9

#### § 64. Exhortative $\bar{i}$

This suffix admonishes the speaker to perform an act, the object of which must be one of the second persons, and may best be rendered into English by LET ME, THEE . . . . The object of the action is expressed by adding the subjective pronouns to this suffix (see § 24) by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see § 4). Singular subjects are not expressed phonetically; duality or plurality of subject is indicated by means of the independent personal pronouns (see § 113). The particle *k<sup>u</sup>* (see § 127) frequently follows these exhortative forms, and, when preceding a form with the second person singular as the object ( $\bar{i}lan\bar{x}$ ), it changes the final *x* into *a* (see § 4).

*ł!<sup>i</sup>wān-* to tell 17.1

*łōł-* to hit

*hałc'-* to ask 66.16

*ł!<sup>i</sup>wān-* to tell 17.1

*ł!<sup>i</sup>wā'nłan<sup>x</sup>* let me tell thee!

*łōłE'<sup>i</sup>łats* let me hit you two!

*ha'łc'łatc<sup>i</sup>* let me ask you!

*ł!<sup>i</sup>wā'nłanak<sup>ku</sup>* let me tell thee!

< *ł!<sup>i</sup>wā'nłan<sup>x</sup> k<sup>u</sup>*

For other devices employed in Siuslaw for the purpose of expressing the exhortative mode, see § 129.

## TEMPORAL SUFFIXES (§§ 65-74)

## § 65. Introductory

Siuslaw shows a rich development of the category of time, and employs a variety of suffixes for the purpose of denoting the different tenses of actions and conditions. The simple form of the verb has an indefinite character and is used to denote past and present occurrences, but otherwise the temporal classification is strictly adhered to.

All temporal suffixes may be divided into semi-temporal and true temporal suffixes. Primarily, each of these suffixes expresses the tense of an intransitive action only; but by suffixing to the tense sign transitive suffixes, such as *-ūn*, *-ūts*, etc., the same idea of time for transitive occurrences is obtained. The only exceptions are found in the intentional and future tenses, which show two separate forms—one for intransitive verbs and the other for transitive actions (see §§ 41, 70, 73).

## Semi-temporal Suffixes (§§ 66-70)

§ 66. Inchoative -*st*

This suffix denotes the commencement of an action, and assumes in some instances a transitional significance. Stems ending in a consonant insert a weak vowel between the final consonant and the initial element of the suffix (see § 4). When it is desired to express the inchoative tense of a transitive action, the transitive *-ūn* or any of the other transitive forms is added to the suffix (see §§ 27 *et seq.*).

<i>qwa<sup>st</sup>tc-</i> to go towards 62.8.	<sup>u</sup> l qwa'xtc'ist tci'wate and she began to go towards the water 90.22
<i>mattē-</i> to burn 25.2	mī'ttē'ist he began to burn 29.3
<i>L!watatc'</i> - to attempt to run	Lxā'tatc'ist k'ēxū'te L!aya'te he begins to attempt to run in all directions 13.8, 9
<i>qa'<sup>u</sup>n<sup>u</sup>-</i> to be tired	qa' <sup>u</sup> nūst a'nts <sup>tc</sup> m <sup>u</sup> ū'sk <sup>u</sup> he began to get tired, his younger brother 58.11
<i>qātāx-</i> to cry 58.15	<sup>u</sup> la <sup>u</sup> x stīm qa'txast and they two there began to cry 58.17
<i>wīttc-</i> to send	gamāta'te wī'ttē'istūn her father (discriminative) began to send her 92.20
<i>matc-</i> to lie 38.21	s <sup>tc</sup> atsī'te mī'tcē'istūn . . . thus he began to fall . . . 94.7, 8

*ha'nânīt!*- to believe 78.1, 2      *uł wàn ha'n<sup>ē</sup>nā't!istūn* and finally she began to believe him 46.3

In a few instances this suffix will be found added to a stem after the same has been verbalized by means of the suffix *-a<sup>i</sup>* (see § 75).

*xāntm-* to travel about 12.10      *k!ēxū'tc L!aya'tc uł<sup>ē</sup>nax xā'ntma<sup>i</sup>st*  
everywhere they began to travel  
about 72.20

*sh<sup>a</sup>tū'nā pēlī'tc xā'ntma<sup>i</sup>stūn* the  
big one first he began to take  
along 92.18

*wusī-* to be sleepy

*wusya'a<sup>i</sup>st ants māk!a hātc* began  
to feel sleepy that bad man 26.  
1, 2

*wusya'a<sup>i</sup>stīn* I begin to feel sleepy  
26.8

*līt!*- to eat 13.10

*wā'wāts līt!ī' stūn* already he (had)  
commenced to devour him 94.19  
(*ī* = *a<sup>i</sup>* see § 2)

It sometimes follows the other true temporal suffixes, lending to the inchoative action a definite tense.

*planya<sup>i</sup>t-* to be sorry (present tense)      *planya<sup>i</sup>'tistūtsmē ha<sup>i</sup>tc* he began  
to feel sorry for his (boy) 40.21

*maltc-* to burn 25.2

*uł maltcī'ūst* he will begin to build a  
fire 90.6

In a number of cases this suffix expresses an adjectival idea.

*pln-* to be sick 40.21

*ants plnast* he (who) begins to get  
sick, he (who) is sick: hence the  
sick (man) 86.15

*y<sup>i</sup>'q!<sup>a</sup>u-* to split

*y<sup>i</sup>'q!<sup>a</sup>ust q!<sup>a</sup>īl* pitch (that) begins  
to split, split pitch

*haw-* to finish 14.6

*ha<sup>u</sup>wa<sup>i</sup>'st* finished

*tsīma<sup>i</sup>'st* any kind of a place (*sic*)  
66.6

### § 67. Terminative *-īxa<sup>i</sup>* (*-a<sup>i</sup>xa<sup>i</sup>*)

This suffix expresses termination of an action. The stem to which it is suffixed must be preceded by some form of the verb *hawū-* TO END, TO FINISH. For the interchange between *-īxa<sup>i</sup>* and *-a<sup>i</sup>xa<sup>i</sup>* see § 2.

<i>p̄t̄c-</i> to go over 88.15	<i>haū'ūn p̄t̄ca'xa<sup>i</sup></i> I quit going over (logs)
<i>q̄ātw-</i> to cry 58.15	<i>haū'ūn qatxa'xa<sup>i</sup></i> I quit crying
<i>watt-</i> to snow	<i>haū'tx watt'xa<sup>i</sup></i> it stopped snowing
<i>hal-</i> to shout 13.11	<i>haū'txan hala'xa<sup>i</sup></i> I stopped shouting
<i>hamax-</i> to tie 8.6	<i>haū'ln hamax'xa<sup>i</sup></i> I quit tying his . . .
<i>ln-</i> to call	<i>haū'ln lna'xa<sup>i</sup> l̄ntc</i> I quit calling his name
<i>waa'-</i> to talk 7.1	<i>haū'ln waa'xa<sup>i</sup></i> I quit talking to him

It seems that the terminative suffix is frequently subject to the law of vocalic harmony, in spite of the fact that Siuslaw makes but little attempt at the harmonization of its vowels (see § 11). I have found a few examples showing that the initial vowel of the suffix has been assimilated to the quality of the vowel of the stem. Whether this rule applies to all cases could not be determined with any degree of certainty.

<i>xūn-</i> to snore 27.9	<i>haū'txan xūnū'xa<sup>i</sup></i> (and not <i>xūna'xa<sup>i</sup></i> ) I quit snoring
<i>hūn-</i> it gets dark 34.8	<i>haū'tx hūnū'xa<sup>i</sup> L!a'<sup>ai</sup></i> (and not <i>hūna'xa<sup>i</sup></i> ) it stopped getting dark
<i>temū'-</i> to assemble 7.3	<i>haū'tx temā<sup>u</sup>ya'xa<sup>i</sup> l̄tū'tc</i> (and not <i>temā<sup>u</sup>ya'xa<sup>i</sup></i> ) he quit assembling (the) people

§ 68. *Frequentatives* -at!ī, -itx (-a!tx)

*-at!ī* denotes frequency of action, and may best be rendered by FREQUENTLY, ALWAYS. In the first person singular the final long vowel of this suffix is shortened (see § 24). In terminal position the suffix *-at!ī* is often changed into *-at!ya* (see §§ 7, 24).

<i>c̄'naī-</i> to think 60.21	<i>c̄'n'axyat!ya</i> he is always thinking 12.4
<i>hakw-</i> to fall 8.7	<i>ha'kwat!ya</i> it always falls down 90.12
<i>qato<sup>en</sup>-</i> to go 8.2	<i>qa'tc̄'nat!ya</i> he frequently goes 14.5
<i>nakwa<sup>i</sup>-</i> to be poor	<i>nā'kwa'yatyanxan</i> we (excl.) are always poor 76.19

*lī'ū-* to come 9.2

*ta<sup>i</sup>-* to live 16.2

*qaa'-* to enter 34.5

*nī'ctām sqā<sup>i</sup>k lī'wat!<sup>i</sup>* because there he came frequently 68.4, 5  
*pī'tsīs ta'yat!<sup>i</sup>* in the ocean he always lived 44.18

*nīctā'<sup>i</sup>tcāx tanx kū<sup>i</sup> qaa't!<sup>i</sup> īn-q!<sup>i</sup>a<sup>i</sup>tc* why do you, this one, not frequently come into the river? 44.3, 4

In one instance this suffix occurs as *-t!<sup>i</sup>*.

*k!ap-* low tide 36.18

*tE k!apa'<sup>i</sup>t!<sup>i</sup> īnq!<sup>i</sup>a<sup>i</sup>* (so that) always dry (may be) this river 38.2

When frequency of action in transitive verbs is to be expressed, the transitive suffixes are added to the frequentative *-at!<sup>i</sup>*. This suffix amalgamates with the transitive *-ūn* into *-at!<sup>i</sup>yūn* (see § 8).

*čī'nāī-* to think 60.21

*čīn<sup>i</sup>xyat!<sup>i</sup>yūn mīta'<sup>i</sup>n* I am always thinking of my father

*čī'l'x-* to shake 27.2

*planya'<sup>i</sup>* he is sorry

*čī'l'xyat!<sup>i</sup>yūn qnà* I always shake it  
*tsī'k!<sup>i</sup>ya planya'<sup>i</sup>t!<sup>i</sup>yūn ha<sup>i</sup>tc* (everybody) is very sorry for him, (everybody) hates him 19.2, 3 (< *planya'<sup>i</sup>ya't!<sup>i</sup>yūn*).

*ta<sup>i</sup>-* to sit to live 16.2

*ants t!<sup>i</sup>t!<sup>i</sup>yūn* (< *taya't!<sup>i</sup>yūn*) that (on which) he was sitting 94.6

*-ītx* has the same function as *-at!<sup>i</sup>*, and was invariably rendered by CONSTANTLY, ALWAYS. It is usually preceded or followed by the temporal adverb *lnàt* ALWAYS (see § 120). The phonetic resemblance between this suffix and the objective *-ītx* (see § 33) I believe to be purely accidental. This suffix occurs often as *-a<sup>i</sup>tx* (see § 2).

*qato<sup>en</sup>-* to go 8.2

*yā<sup>a</sup>'xa<sup>u</sup>x L!ōna'<sup>i</sup> a'ntsux qato<sup>en</sup>nī'tx* much they two talk, those two (who) keep on going 56.7

*p<sup>a</sup>a'<sup>i</sup>Ln-* to hunt 15.3

*tsī'mqmatc<sup>u</sup>l<sup>en</sup>x paLnī'tx* some of them are constantly hunting 82.16, 17

*ma'q!<sup>i</sup>-* to dance 28.7

*meq!<sup>a</sup>'tx* he always dances 86.2

<i>x̄l'x̄cī-</i> to work 48.10	<i>x̄l'x̄cīt̄ax̄<sup>u</sup> a'n̄ts̄t̄cx̄<sup>u</sup> mā'tī</i> they two were constantly fixing those their (dual) dams 50.3, 4
<i>s̄i'n̄x̄ī-</i> to desire 18.5	<i>s̄i'n̄x̄īt̄x̄ t̄etc̄ n̄ict̄c̄i'</i> he always wants that her younger sister 92.13, 14
<i>t̄āqn-</i> to be full 60.19	<i>taqan̄'t̄x̄ h̄it̄ū'st̄c̄</i> it is always full of people 70.3, 4
<i>ȳācum-</i> to watch	<i>ȳācum' t̄x̄ana<sup>u</sup>x̄</i> they two were constantly watching him 94.1
<i>qatc̄<sup>x̄</sup>n-</i> to go 8.2	<i>qatc̄in̄'t̄x̄ā<sup>ū</sup>n̄ kn̄āt</i> I always make him go

In a few instances, especially when following other suffixes, the frequentative *-īt̄x̄* seems to lose its initial *ī*.

<i>hawa'<sup>i</sup></i> it ends 14.6	<i>hawa'<sup>i</sup>st̄x̄ ants̄ L̄yā'wa</i> he begins to finish (kindling) that fire ( <i>hawa'<sup>i</sup>st̄x̄ &lt; hawa'<sup>i</sup>st̄ + -t̄x̄</i> , see § 15) 90.7, 8
<i>t̄!ūhate'<sup>i</sup>n-</i> to try to sell severally (?)	<i>yaxa'<sup>i</sup>t̄x̄a<sup>u</sup>x̄ t̄a't̄c̄w̄ax̄ ḷq!ā'nū<sup>u</sup> ūta<sup>u</sup>x̄</i> <i>t̄!ūhate'<sup>i</sup>n̄t̄x̄a<sup>u</sup>x̄</i> (when) they begin to multiply (have much) these their (dual) hides, then they two constantly tried to sell them 100.19
<i>yū<sup>L</sup>!-</i> to break	<i>yū<sup>wi</sup>L!a't̄x̄ qa<sup>u</sup>x̄ūnū'</i> it constantly broke on the top 94.4

These three examples may also be explained as demonstrating the application of the pronominal suffix *-īt̄x̄* (see § 33).

#### § 69. *Duratives* -is (-a<sup>i</sup>s), -ūs

Duration of action is expressed in Siuslaw by means of the suffix *-s*, which, however, never occurs alone. It invariably enters into composition with other suffixes, such as the suffix for the past tense, for the passive voice, etc., or it is preceded by either *ī* or *ū*. It is not inconceivable that this durative *-s* may be related to the auxiliary *-s* (see § 76). The difference between *-īs* and *-ūs* seems to be of a true temporal nature.

*-īs* (-a<sup>i</sup>s) denotes duration, continuation of action of a clearly marked future significance, and, owing to this future character, it is employed extensively in the formation of the imperative mode (see

§§ 60, 62). Transitive verbs add *-ūn* or its equivalents (see § 28) to the durative *-īs*. For the interchange between *-īs* and *-a<sup>i</sup>s* see § 2.

*xīnt-* to travel 23.1

*ta<sup>i</sup>-* to live, to stay 16.2

*ma'q'ī-* to dance 28.7

*xnī<sup>w</sup>n-* to do 10.5

*waa'-* to speak 7. 1

*skwa'-* to stand 10.9

*xnī<sup>w</sup>n-* to do 10.5

*waa'-* to speak 7. 1

*tkūm-* to make a dam 48.8

*qaLx-* to count 62.8

*tcī'wans xī'nīs* to the water we two (incl.) will keep on traveling 92.9  
*stīm ta'īs* there he kept on staying 70.12

*wa<sup>i</sup> yā'tsa ũn mā'q'īs* even for a long time I still keep on dancing 72.10

*s<sup>a</sup>a'tsanl xnī<sup>w</sup>nīs* thus we (incl.) will do every time 72.14, 15

*atsī'tc wa'a<sup>i</sup>s ants hītc* thus kept on saying the man 25.9

*skwa'ha<sup>i</sup>s ants hītc* continually standing is that man 64.11

*qnī'xts<sup>a</sup>nax xnī<sup>w</sup>nīsūn* you will continually do it 70.11, 12

*atsī'tc wa'a<sup>i</sup>sūn* thus he kept on saying to him 64.14

*ũns tkwa'mīsūn* and we two (incl.) still will keep on making dams 48.14

*qa'lxēsūn ants tsxayū<sup>wi</sup>* (they) keep on counting those days 8.5

*-ūs* is suffixed mostly to stems that have been verbalized by means of the suffix *-a<sup>i</sup>* (see § 75), and expresses a continuative action performed in the present tense. It applies to transitive verbs having a third person object. Examples for similar forms with a second person object were not obtained.

*ūqa<sup>i</sup>* he digs 84. 2

{ *L!xmay-* to kill 16.1

{ *līt!-* to eat 13.10

*tkūm-* to make a dam 48.8

*Lī'ū* (they) come 9.3

*ha<sup>w</sup>wa<sup>i</sup>na<sup>i</sup>-* to finish

*a'ntsux ũqa'yūs ants L!a<sup>a<sup>i</sup></sup>* those two (who) continually dig that ground

*ũl s<sup>a</sup>às L!xmaī'yūs ũl līt!ī'yūs* and he would kill and devour him 15.3, 4

*tcī'k<sup>w</sup>ax tkwamī'yūs L!a<sup>a<sup>i</sup></sup>* wherever they two were making dams 52.24

*ũla<sup>w</sup>x līt'ā<sup>i</sup> L!l!wī'yūs* to them two salmon continually came 98.16

*ha<sup>w</sup>a<sup>i</sup>nī'yūs<sup>a</sup>w* *wàn* they two finish it finally 84.6, 7

*yax-* to see 20.10

*yāxī'ūs<sup>s</sup>n tE sī'xa<sup>i</sup>* (whenever) I saw that canoe (coming) 100.8, 9  
*u<sup>l</sup>ɛ<sup>n</sup>x qnū'wī'wūs yā'xa<sup>i</sup> hītē'wī*  
 they would find lots of people  
*(qnū'wī'wūs < qnūwī'yūs)* 66.22

*qn<sup>u</sup>'w* to find 34.12

By suffixing the durative *-s* to the sign for the past tense, *-yax* (see § 74) a compound suffix *-yaxs* is obtained which denotes an action of long duration performed in the past. This suffix is often contracted into *-īxs* (see § 9).

*a<sup>u</sup>s-* to sleep 24.1

*a<sup>u</sup>syaxsīn, a<sup>u</sup>sīxsīn* I had been sleeping

*qatc<sup>uw</sup>-* to drink 76.11

*qa'tcwa<sup>3</sup>xs, qa'tcwayaxs* he had been drinking

*hīt'-* to eat 13.10

*hīt'!yaxsīn* I have been eating

*pēkū'<sup>u</sup>-* to play shinny 9.4

*pā'kū'xsīn, pā'kū'yaxsīn* I have been playing shinny

#### § 70. *Intentionals* -awax, -a<sup>w</sup>ūn

**-awax.** This suffix indicates intention to perform a certain action. Hence it was usually rendered by I (THOU). . . AM ABOUT TO, I (THOU) . . . AM GOING TO, I (THOU) . . . WILL, I (THOU) . . . WANT TO. It is used with intransitive verbs only; and it is contracted with the subjective pronouns, for persons other than the first person singular and the second dual and plural, into *-awanx*, *-awans*, *-awa<sup>u</sup>x*, *-awanl*, *-awanxan*, and *-awanx* (see § 24).

*āq-* to run away 52.10

*āqa'waxan* I intend to run away 90.21

*ants plna'st<sup>u</sup>l cī'n<sup>i</sup>xyat!ya āqa'wax*  
 that sick (man) always thought  
 of running away 86.15

*Lī'ū* (they) come 9.3

*Līwa'wanx* you intend to come 25.8

*yaq<sup>u</sup>'-* to look 23.9

*yog<sup>u</sup>'ya'wax* he intended to see 70.8

*yaq<sup>u</sup>'ya'wanxan* we (excl.) are going to see

*qaqū'<sup>n</sup>-* to listen

*qaqū'na'wax L!<sup>a</sup>ai* they were going to listen 30.18

*hūtc-* to play, to have fun 7.2

*hū'tcawans* we two (incl.) are going to play 10.5

*pīūl-* to hunt

*pīūla'wax<sup>u</sup>xūn* we two (excl.) intend to go hunting 54.22

*mīk<sup>u</sup>'-* to cut 90.5

*mīkwa'waxts* you two will cut



*xa<sup>i</sup>tc-* to roast 90.9

<sup>u</sup>*la<sup>u</sup>x xa<sup>i</sup>tca'wa<sup>u</sup>x* and they two finally intend roasting 90.8

*Lī'ū* (they) come 9.3

*Līwd'wanl wàn* we (incl.) are about to arrive now 66.1

*temū'-* to assemble 7.3

*temūa'waxtc<sup>i</sup>* you will assemble

*ma<sup>a</sup>tc* it lay 32.22

*metca'wanx* they intended to lie down 38.23

**-a<sup>w</sup>ūn.** This suffix expresses the same idea as *-awax*, from which it differs in so far only as it implies a transitive action that has a third person as its object. It is probable that by some process of contraction this suffix represents an abbreviation from an original *-awaxa<sup>ū</sup>n* or *-awaxūn*.

*hīn-* to take along 9.5

*hīna'<sup>w</sup>ūn ants pīna'st* she intends, taking along that sick (man) 88.1, 2

*waa'-* to speak 7.1

<sup>u</sup>*waa'<sup>w</sup>ūn ants hītc L!a'<sup>ai</sup>* and he was about to talk to these people  
*yā<sup>a</sup>'xa<sup>i</sup> t!āmc lakwa'<sup>w</sup>ūn* many children he wants to have (to get)

*temū'-* to assemble 7.3

*temūa'<sup>w</sup>ūn ants L!a'<sup>ai</sup> hītc* many people are about to assemble 30.8

*yaq<sup>u</sup>'-* to look 23.9

*sqā'tma<sup>u</sup>x yoq<sup>u</sup>'ya'<sup>w</sup>ūn* from there they two intended to watch 62.18, 19

### True Temporal Suffixes (§§ 71-74)

#### § 71. *Introductory*

Siuslaw distinguishes between three true temporal categories, namely, present, future, and past. Excepting for the first of these, which is used to denote present and past, this differentiation is clearly marked and strictly adhered to.

#### § 72. *Present -t*

It denotes an action performed at the present time. Stems ending in a vowel lengthen the vowel before adding the suffix *-t*; stems ending in a *t* insert an obscure (or weak) vowel between their final consonant and the suffix (see § 4). Transitive present actions are expressed by adding to the *-t* the transitive suffixes *-ūn* and *-ūts* (see §§ 28, 29).

<i>wītw-</i> to affirm 30.11	<sup>u</sup> <i>la<sup>u</sup>x wàn wī'tūt</i> they two finally affirmed 90.6
<i>hīq!-</i> to start 15.1	<i>s<sup>ɛ</sup>atsv̄'tc wad' w̄l hī'q!a<sup>t</sup></i> thus he talks and starts (off) 22.5, 6
<i>sī'nxī-</i> to desire 11.7	<i>sī'nxīt tāq<sup>a</sup>'na</i> he wants something 18.5
<i>wa'sLsī-</i> to be angry	<i>wa'sLsīt ants tsīmī'l'ä</i> was angry that muskrat 52.17
<i>tca'xu-</i> to turn back 58.5	<sup>u</sup> <i>tca'xa<sup>u</sup>t</i> he turns back 16.5
<i>qatc<sup>ɛ</sup>n-</i> to go 8.2	<i>qa'tc<sup>i</sup>nt</i> he goes 12.9
<i>xaln-</i> to climb up 62.7	<i>qa'tc<sup>i</sup>nta<sup>u</sup>x</i> they two are going 23.1
<i>qa<sup>a</sup>'ha'ntc</i> way off 10.3	<i>txū xa't<sup>i</sup>nt</i> he just climbs up 12.4
<i>maltc-</i> to burn 25.2	<i>qa<sup>a</sup>'ha'ntctantl wàn</i> we (incl.) have come far now 66.3, 4
<i>qaqū'n-</i> to listen 30.18	<i>ha<sup>a</sup>'mūt ma'ltc<sup>t</sup></i> everything burned (down) 34.18
<i>līt!-</i> to eat 13.10	<i>qa'q<sup>u</sup>hantūn pī'ū hītc</i> he heard (make) noise (the) people 36.23, 24
<i>yaq<sup>u</sup>'-</i> to see 23.9	<i>lī't!<sup>ɛ</sup>tūn</i> he ate him (up) 94.19
<i>wītw-</i> to affirm, to agree 30.11	<i>yo'q<sup>u</sup>ha<sup>a</sup>'tūn ants inq!<sup>a</sup>'a<sup>i</sup></i> he looked at that river 36.21, 22
	<sup>u</sup> <i>l mā'q<sup>u</sup>L wī'lūtūn</i> then Crow agreed to it 36.6, 7

### § 73. Future -tūx

This suffix is added to intransitive stems only, and it denotes an action that is to take place in the future. Stems ending in a vowel lengthen the same before adding this suffix. When added to stems that end in a *t*, an obscure (or weak) vowel is inserted between the final *t* of the stem and the initial consonant of the ending (see § 4).

Whenever -*tūx* is to be followed by the subjective pronouns for the second person singular, inclusive and exclusive dual and plural, and the third person plural, it is contracted with them into -*tūnx*, -*tūns*, -*ta<sup>u</sup>xūn* (?), -*tūnl*, -*tūnxan*, and -*tūnx* respectively (see § 24). The transitive future is rendered by means of the suffixes -*yūn*, -*ī<sup>w</sup>yūn* (see § 41).

*qatc<sup>ɛ</sup>n-* to go 8.2

*qa'tc ntūxan* I will go 22.2

*qa'tc<sup>i</sup>ntūnx* thou shalt go 22.2

*L!wān-* to tell, to relate 17.1

*L!wā'ntūnx* thou shalt tell 30.12

*L!wa'ntūxtcī* you will tell 7.3

<i>smūt'</i> - to end 9.1	<i>smūt't'ētūx</i> it will end 20.5
<i>lī'ū-</i> to come 9.2, 3	<i>lī'ūtūx</i> he will come 9.2
	<i>lī'ūtūnxaan</i> we (excl.) will come 30.11
<i>qiwāxtc-</i> to go down to the river 48.18	<i>nī'k'anl qwa'xtc'tūx</i> alone we (incl.) will go down 62.14
<i>hūt-</i> to play 7.2	<i>hū'tctūns</i> we shall play 10.6
	<i>hū'tctūnl</i> we (incl.) shall play 7.2
<i>āq-</i> to run away 52.10	<i>ā'qtūns</i> we two (incl.) will run away 92.2
<i>sīnq!-</i> to be hungry 44.11	<i>sī'nq!ta'xūn</i> we two (excl.) will be hungry
<i>māk<sup>u</sup>-</i> to cut	<i>mā'k<sup>u</sup>tūxats l't'aya'</i> you two will cut salmon 90.5
<i>xaū'</i> he died 40.21	<i>xa'ūtūxa<sup>u</sup>x</i> they two will die 88.7
<i>xwīL!-</i> to turn back 12.6	<i>xwī'L'tūnl</i> we (incl.) will turn back 60.9
<i>k!ānk'y-</i> to look for 16.1	<i>tqa<sup>w</sup>wī'tc'ns k!ā'nk'ītūx</i> upstream we two will look for . . . 56.17

#### § 74. Past -yax

This suffix expresses an act performed long ago. The idea of a past transitive action is conveyed by suffixing to *-yax* the transitive *-ūn* and *-ūts* (see §§ 28, 29, 2). It is subject to contraction whenever followed by the subjective pronouns for the second person singular, inclusive and exclusive dual, third dual, inclusive and exclusive plural, and third plural (see § 24). The contracted forms for these persons are *-yanx*, *-yans*, *-ya<sup>u</sup>xūn*, *-ya<sup>u</sup>x*, *-yanl*, *-yanxaan*, and *-yanx*. This suffix always requires that the accent be placed on the first syllable of the word.

<i>qū<sup>i</sup>t'-</i> to dream	<i>hītc qū<sup>i</sup>t'yax</i> a person dreamt 68.21
<i>tkūm-</i> to close 48.8	<i>ants tkwa'myax</i> (when) it closed 78.3
<i>līha-</i> to pass by 80.12	<i>Qa'a<sup>i</sup> cīx lī'hayax</i> along North Fork it passed by 32.19
<i>ta<sup>i</sup>-</i> to live 16.2	<i>m<sup>ε</sup>yō<sup>ε</sup>k<sup>u</sup>s ta<sup>v</sup>yax L'aya'</i> in the beginning (they) lived in a place 82.11, 12
<i>xānt-</i> to start 20.3	<i>ūln sīhī'tc xī'ntyax</i> (when) I began to grow up (literally, then I [into] growing started) 100.18
<i>lī'ū</i> (they) come 9.3	<i>lī'ūyans</i> we two (incl.) came

<i>hūtc-</i> to play 7.2	<i>hū'tcyans</i> (when) we two (incl.) play 78.9
	<i>hū'tcyanl</i> (when) we (incl.) play 78.13
<i>lī'ū</i> (they) came 9.3	<i>lī'ūyanxan</i> we (excl.) came
<i>xīntm-</i> to travel 12.10	<i>uī xī'ntm<sup>y</sup>axa<sup>ū</sup>n</i> and he took (them) along 92.13
<i>sī'nxī-</i> to desire 18.5	<i>tcīna'ta<sup>u</sup> sī'n<sup>y</sup>axa<sup>ū</sup>n</i> whoever desired it 11.6, 7
<i>hān-</i> to take along 9.5	<i>qa'ha'ntc hī'nyaxa<sup>ū</sup>n ya<sup>ε</sup>k<sup>us</sup></i> way off took him seal 68.17, 18
<i>waa'-</i> to speak 7.1	<i>s<sup>ε</sup>atsītc wa<sup>w</sup>yaxa<sup>ū</sup>n</i> thus he told him 36.11
<i>L'wān-</i> to relate 17.1	<i>s<sup>ε</sup>atsū'tc L'wa<sup>w</sup>nyaxa<sup>ū</sup>n</i> thus he related to him 38.8

The past suffix is frequently added to a duplicated stem, denoting a past action of long-continued duration (see § 108).

<i>lak<sup>u</sup>-</i> to get, to have 7.5	<i>lā'k<sup>u</sup>kyax hītvū'tc tεxmū'nya</i> she was taking a male person
<i>hīq!-</i> to start 22.6	<i>s<sup>ε</sup>a'tsa hī'q!aq!yax</i> thus it started 15.1
<i>ha'q-</i> shore 44.7	<i>tcī'wan<sup>E</sup> ha'<sup>y</sup>qīqyax</i> from the water ashore it had come 56.13
<i>qa'ix</i> darkness, night 38.21	<i>qa'ixīyax tε L'a'<sup>ai</sup></i> it was getting dark 34.4
<i>tū'tc-</i> to spear 62.2	<i>t<sup>w</sup>wa'tcītcyaxa<sup>ū</sup>n tε ya<sup>ε</sup>k<sup>us</sup></i> I have been spearing this seal 66.17

In a few instances it has been found following the present *-t*, although for what purpose could not be ascertained.

<i>hīq!-</i> to start 22.6	<i>hī'q!a'<sup>it</sup></i> 22.6	<i>a'ntsux hī'q!a'<sup>y</sup>tyax p<sup>u</sup>kwa'<sup>it</sup></i> those two who had started to play shinny 78.15
<i>t!īmct!<sup>i</sup>-</i> to raise children 30.23	<i>t!ī'mct!<sup>it</sup></i>	<i>uīa<sup>x</sup> wān t!ī'mct!<sup>y</sup>tyax</i> then they two finally raised children
<i>wīlw-</i> to affirm 30.11	<i>wī'lūt</i> 90.6	<i>wī'lūtyaxan</i> I agreed
<i>qatc<sup>ε</sup>n-</i> to go 8.2	<i>qa'tc<sup>i</sup>nt</i> 12.1	<i>qa'tc<sup>i</sup>ntyaxan</i> I went away
<i>ma<sup>a</sup>tc-</i> to lie 32.22	<i>m<sup>E</sup>'tcīt</i>	<i>mī'tc<sup>i</sup>tyaxa<sup>ū</sup>n L'ayū'stc</i> I laid it down on the ground
<i>xa<sup>i</sup>tc-</i> to roast 90.8	<i>xa'<sup>y</sup>tcīt</i>	<i>xa'<sup>y</sup>tcītyaxa<sup>ū</sup>n</i> he roasted it

(For the idiomatic use of the past suffix in conditional clauses see § 136.)

### VERBALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 75-77)

#### § 75. Verbalizing *-a<sup>i</sup>*, *-ū<sup>i</sup>*

While the majority of Siuslaw stems do not require the addition of a specific verbal suffix in order to convey a general verbal idea, these two suffixes have been found added to a large number of neutral stems, especially in the present tense. They may therefore be explained as verbalizing a neutral stem and as expressing an intransitive action of present occurrence. They are frequently used to denote an action performed by the third person singular, for which person Siuslaw has no distinct suffix (see § 24). There can be no doubt, however, that these suffixes are identical with the Alsea inchoative *-aī*, *-ūī*,<sup>1</sup> and that *-a<sup>i</sup>* bears some relation to the Coos intransitive *-aai*.<sup>1</sup> While no difference in the use of these two suffixes could be detected, it was observed that *-ū<sup>i</sup>* is never added to stems that end in a *q*, *p*, or in a.

<i>płn-</i> to be sick 15.4	<i>płna<sup>i</sup></i> he was sick 40.21
<i>hūt-</i> to play 7.2	<i>hūta<sup>i</sup></i> 72.6, <i>hūtcū<sup>i</sup></i> 23.8 he plays
<i>waa'-</i> to speak, to say 7.1	<i>waa<sup>i</sup></i> he says 8.9
<i>tīt!-</i> to eat 13.10	<i>tīt!<sup>i</sup>a<sup>i</sup></i> he eats 46.12
<i>ha<sup>i</sup>q-</i> shore 44.7	<i>ha<sup>i</sup>qa<sup>i</sup></i> he comes ashore 82.5
<i>yax-</i> to see, to look 20.10	<i>yīxa<sup>i</sup></i> he looks 66.6
<i>skwa'-</i> to stand 10.9	<i>skwaha<sup>i</sup></i> he stands 14.4
<i>smūt'-</i> to finish, to end 11.1	<i>smūt<sup>i</sup>ū<sup>i</sup></i> it ends 14.6
<i>a<sup>u</sup>s-</i> to dream, to sleep, 23.9	<i>asū<sup>i</sup></i> he dreams 68.22
<i>lxas-</i> to fly, to jump	<i>lxasū<sup>i</sup></i> he jumps
<i>tqūł-</i> to shout 52.8	<i>tqūłū<sup>i</sup></i> he shouted 92.6
<i>sūn-</i> to dive 64.21	<i>sīnū<sup>i</sup></i> he dives

That these suffixes are not essentially necessary for the purpose of expressing a verbal idea, but that, like their Alsea equivalents, they may have originally conveyed inchoative ideas, is best shown by the fact that all such verbalized forms are parallel to bare stem-forms. In all such cases the amplified form seems to denote inception and (at times) finality of action.

<i>wàn wīłwa'</i> now he affirms 58.9	<i>wàn wīłwa<sup>i</sup></i> he begins to affirm 17.7
<i>wł tēn</i> and he came back 7.7	<i>tēna<sup>i</sup></i> he came back 68.16

<sup>1</sup> See Coos, p. 332.

<i>lī'ū</i> (they) arrive 9.3	<i>tā'nta<sup>u</sup> hītc</i> <i>līwa<sup>i'</sup></i> whatever person came 24.7
<i>xāū</i> he died 40.21	<i>xawa<sup>i'</sup> hītc</i> (when a) person dies 42.11
<i>atsī'tc</i> <i>L!wa<sup>a</sup>n</i> thus he tells 58.22	<i>yā<sup>a'</sup>xā<sup>u</sup>x</i> <i>L!ōna<sup>i'</sup></i> much they two begin to talk 56.7
<i>a'nts<sup>enx</sup> xnī'<sup>wnE</sup></i> those (who) do it 78.20	<i>s<sup>a'</sup>tsanx xnī'<sup>wna'</sup></i> thus they begin to do (it) 78.19
<i>ta<sup>i</sup></i> he is sitting, he lives 16.2	<i>tqa<sup>w</sup>wītc</i> <i>taya<sup>i'</sup></i> upstream (they) commence to live 82.12, 13
<i>kum<sup>i'</sup>ntc</i> <i>yax</i> not (he) sees 34.4	<i>yīxa<sup>i'</sup> wān</i> (they) commence to look 66.9
<i>ū<sup>tnx</sup> haū'</i> they quit 11.4	<i>sqā<sup>i'</sup>k wān</i> <i>hawa<sup>i'</sup></i> here finally it ends 14.6
<i>ū<sup>l</sup> wān</i> <i>skwaha'</i> now he stands (up) 28.8	<i>skwaha<sup>i'</sup></i> he stands 14.4
<i>ū<sup>l</sup> waa'</i> then he says 11.2	<i>waa<sup>i'</sup></i> he says 8.9
<i>smū<sup>i'</sup>t'a</i> it ends 11.1	<i>smī<sup>i'</sup>t'ū<sup>i'</sup></i> it ends 14.6

§ 76. Auxiliary -s, -t

These suffixes express our ideas TO HAVE, TO BE WITH. A peculiarity that remains unexplained is the fact that they are always added to the locative noun-forms that end in *-a* or *-ūs* (see § 86).

*-s* is always added to the locative form ending in *-a*, and never to the *-ūs* form, which may be due to phonetic causes. The use of this suffix is rather restricted. It is not inconceivable that it may be related to the durative *-īs* (see § 69).

Absolute	Locative	Auxiliary
<i>tsī<sup>i</sup>L!ī</i> arrow 50.14	<i>tsīL!ya'</i> 50.9	<i>na'han</i> <i>ū<sup>tn</sup> tsīL!<sup>i</sup>ya'<sup>s</sup></i> I will have an arrow 50.16
<i>gal'tc</i> knife	<i>gal'tcya'</i>	<i>ga'l'tcya<sup>s</sup></i> he has a knife
<i>īkwa'nī</i> pipe	<i>īkwa'nya</i>	<i>īkwa'nyasīn</i> I am with a pipe
<i>īqa<sup>i'</sup>tū</i> log 32.21	<i>īqa<sup>i'</sup>tūwa</i>	<i>īqa<sup>i'</sup>tūwas</i> he has a stick

*-t* occurs very often, and is added to all forms of the locative case. It can never be confused with the sign of the present tense *-t*, because it is invariably preceded by the locative forms in *-a* or *-ūs*, while the suffix for the present tense follows vowels and consonants other than *a* or *s* (see § 72).

Absolutive	Locative	Auxiliary
<i>q̄ūtē' n̄i</i> woman 30.21	<i>q̄ūtē' n̄ya</i> 76.7	<i>q̄ūtē' n̄ya' t</i> he has a wife 48.8
<i>kō'tan</i> horse 34.9	<i>kō'tana'</i>	<i>kum̄' n̄te kō'tana' t</i> not they had horses 100.20, 102.1
<i>t'ix</i> tooth	<i>t'ixa'</i>	<i>t'ixa' t cā'ya</i> teeth has (his) penis 90.19
<i>ȳikt̄' l̄' ma</i> big 40.6	<i>ȳikt̄' l̄' ma</i>	<i>ȳikt̄' l̄' ma' t cā'ya</i> he has a big penis 92.1
<i>t̄i' t' a<sup>3</sup></i> food 34.23	<i>t̄i' t' aya'</i> 13.7	<i>kum̄' n̄te t̄i' t' aya' t</i> (they) had no food 34.10
<i>kl̄i' n̄u</i> ladder	<i>kl̄i' n̄wa</i>	<i>kl̄i' n̄wa' t ants h̄itsv̄' i</i> a ladder has that house 80.12
<i>tē' q</i> something 13.2.	<i>tāqa' na</i> 18.5	<i>ha' m̄ūt kum̄' n̄te tāqa' - na' t c h̄i' qū' i</i> they all had no hair (literally, all not with something is their hair) 68.12
<i>s̄ixa<sup>3</sup></i> canoe 56.5	<i>s̄exa' u'</i> 48.18	<i>s̄exa' u' t̄in</i> I have a canoe
<i>tē' t' i</i> wind	<i>tē' t' i' yū' s</i>	<i>kum̄' i' n̄te tē' t' i' yū' s' t</i> (there) was no wind
<i>m̄it̄a</i> father 54.22	<i>m̄it̄a' yūs</i>	<i>m̄it̄a' yūs' t</i> he has a father
<i>m̄it̄a</i> mother 54.23	<i>m̄it̄a' yūs</i>	<i>m̄it̄a' yūs' t</i> he has a mother
<i>l̄qa' v' tū</i> log, stick 32.21	<i>l̄qatūw̄i' yū' s</i> 88.16	<i>l̄qatūw̄i' yūs' t</i> he has a stick
<i>h̄itsv̄' i</i> house 25.2	<i>h̄its' i' s</i> 48.7	<i>h̄its' i' s' t</i> he has a house
<i>L̄i' m̄st̄i</i> raw	<i>L̄i' m̄st̄i' s</i>	<i>tē' k ants L̄i' m̄i' st̄i' s' t</i> <i>L̄i' a' ai</i> where (there was) that green place 34.2, 3

§ 77. Suffix Transitive Verbs that Express Natural Phenomena -L'

A suffix with a similar function is, as far as my knowledge goes, to be found in but one other American Indian language; namely, in Alsea. This suffix is added exclusively to stems expressing meteorological phenomena, such as IT SNOWS, IT RAINS, THE WIND BLOWS, NIGHT APPROACHES, etc.; and it signifies that such an occurrence, otherwise impersonal, has become transitivized by receiving the third person singular as the object of the action. Its function may best be compared with our English idiomatic expression RAIN, SNOW OVERTAKES

HIM, NIGHT COMES UPON HIM, etc. By adding to *-L!* the subjective pronouns for the first and second persons (see § 24), the same expressions with these persons as objects are obtained. This suffix always follows the tense signs, and immediately precedes the pronominal suffixes.

<i>qa<sup>i</sup>x</i> night, darkness 38.21	<i><sup>u</sup>lx<sup>u</sup>n st<sup>u</sup>m<sup>k</sup> qa<sup>i</sup>'xt<sup>u</sup>x<sup>L!</sup></i> us two (excl.) there night will overtake 94.18
<i>t<sup>c</sup>l'<sup>t</sup>l'<sup>i</sup></i> wind	<i>t<sup>c</sup>l'<sup>t</sup>l'<sup>i</sup>L!</i> a storm overtook him
<i>tsxaya<sup>i</sup></i> day breaks 50.3	<i>tsxaya<sup>i</sup>'L!<sup>a</sup>x</i> (when) day came upon them two 48.9
<i>k!<sup>a</sup>p-</i> low tide 36.18	<i>k!<sup>a</sup>'pt<sup>u</sup>x<sup>L!</sup></i> low tide will overtake (them) 36.18
<i>ū'lt<sup>i</sup></i> snow 76.10	<i>wa'<sup>l</sup>t<sup>t</sup>t<sup>u</sup>x<sup>L!</sup>l<sup>n</sup></i> snow will overtake me
<i>h<sup>i</sup>'n<sup>ε</sup>k<sup>i</sup>t</i> it rains	<i>h<sup>i</sup>'n<sup>ε</sup>k!<sup>i</sup>t<sup>i</sup>L!<sup>a</sup>n<sup>x</sup></i> rain pours down upon them

It is not inconceivable that this suffix may represent an abbreviation of the stem *L!<sup>a</sup>ai* PLACE, WORLD, UNIVERSE (see § 133), which the Siuslaw always employs whenever he wants to express a natural phenomenon.

<i>tsxaya<sup>i</sup>' L!<sup>a</sup>ai</i> day breaks 50.3
<i>h<sup>i</sup>'n<sup>ε</sup>k!<sup>i</sup>ya L!<sup>a</sup>ai</i> it rains 78.1
<i>k!<sup>w</sup>w<sup>u</sup>n<sup>a</sup><sup>i</sup>' L!<sup>a</sup>ai</i> (there was) ice all over 76.11
<i>qa<sup>i</sup>'x<sup>i</sup>xyax t<sup>E</sup> L!<sup>a</sup>ai</i> it got dark 34.4

#### PLURAL FORMATIONS (§§ 78-80)

##### § 78. Introductory

The idea of plurality in verbal expressions may refer either to the subject or object of the action. In most American Indian languages that have developed such a category, and that indicate it by means of some grammatical device, plurality of subject is exhibited in intransitive verbs, while plurality of object is found in transitive verbs. Such plurality does not necessarily coincide with our definition of this term. It may, and as a matter of fact it does, in the majority of cases, denote what we commonly call distribution or collectivity. Thus the Siuslaw idea of plurality is of a purely collective character, and seems to have been confined to the subject of intransitive verbs only. Even the contrivance so frequently employed by other American Indian languages, of differentiating singularity and plurality of objects by



means of two separate verbal stems—one for singular and the other for plural objects—is not found in Siuslaw.<sup>1</sup> One and the same verbal stem is used in all cases; and when it becomes necessary to indicate that there are more than one recipient of a transitive action, this is accomplished by the use of the numeral particle *yā<sup>a'</sup>xa<sup>i</sup>* (see § 139) or of the stem *L!a<sup>'ai</sup>* (see § 133), as may be seen from the following examples:

<i>ywwa'yūn ants q!a'īl</i> he gathered pitch	<i>ywwa'yūn yā<sup>a'</sup>xa<sup>i</sup> ants q!a'īl</i> (they) gathered lots (of) that pitch 88.5, 6
<i>yīxa'yūn hītc</i> I saw a person	<i>yīxa'yūn yā<sup>a'</sup>xa<sup>i</sup> hītc</i> I saw many people
<i>waa'a<sup>ū</sup>tsmE ants hītc</i> he said to his man	<i>waa'a<sup>ū</sup>tsmE ants L!a<sup>'ai</sup> hītc</i> he said to all (of) his people 7.1
<i>L!ōxa'xa<sup>ū</sup>tsmE hītc</i> he sent his man	<i>L!ōxa'xa<sup>ū</sup>tsmE hītc L!a<sup>'ai</sup></i> he sent many people 30.1, 2

But if Siuslaw does not employ a distinct grammatical process for the purpose of pointing out plurality of objects of transitive actions, it has developed devices to indicate collectivity of subjects of intransitive verbs. For that purpose it uses, besides the numeral particle *yā<sup>a'</sup>xa<sup>i</sup>* (see § 139) and the stem *L!a<sup>'ai</sup>* (see § 133), two suffixes (*-ū<sup>u</sup>* and *-tx*) that are added directly to the verbal stem. These suffixes are always added to verbal stems that denote an intransitive act, and their functions may best be compared to the functions exercised by the French *on* or German *man* in sentences like *on dit* and *man sagt*.

#### § 79. Plural *-ū<sup>u</sup>*, *-ū<sup>wi</sup>*

This suffix expresses an action that is performed collectively by more than one subject. Etymologically it is the same suffix as the verbal abstract of identical phonetic composition (see § 97), and the use of one and the same suffix in two functions apparently so different may be explained as due to the fact that there exists an intimate psychological connection between an abstract verbal idea and the concept of the same act performed in general.<sup>2</sup> The following example, taken

<sup>1</sup> I have found only one case of such a differentiation. I was told that the stem *qaa-* TO ENTER, TO PUT IN, refers to singular objects, while the stem *lxaa-* can be used with plural objects only. But as this information was conveyed to me after much deliberation and upon my own suggestion, I am inclined to doubt the correctness of this interpretation. It is rather probable that these two stems are synonymes.

<sup>2</sup> The same phenomenon occurs in Dakota.

at random, will serve to illustrate the comparison more clearly. The Siuslaw word *x̄l̄·xcū<sup>wi</sup>* (stem *x̄l̄·xc̄-* TO WORK) may have two distinct meanings. When used nominally (as a verbal abstract), it may best be rendered by THE CONCEPT OF WORKING, WORK; when used verbally, it is to be translated by TO WORK IN GENERAL, ALL (MANY) WORK. This psychological connection between such terms as WORK and TO WORK GENERALLY, COLLECTIVELY, may have led to the use of one and the same suffix in a nominal and verbal capacity (see § 22). This suffix is added directly to the verbal stem, and its double form may be due to rapidity of speech rather than to any phonetic causes. It is frequently preceded by the temporal suffixes, especially the present *-t* (see § 72), and it was always rendered by THEY . . . The subject of the action is usually emphasized by the use of the numeral particles *ha<sup>i</sup>mūt* ALL, *yā<sup>a</sup>xa<sup>i</sup>* MANY (see § 124), and of the stem *L!a<sup>ai</sup>* (see § 133). The particle either precedes or follows the verb. This suffix requires the accent.

*temū<sup>'</sup>*- to assemble 7.3  
*hūtē-* to play 7.2  
*pekū<sup>'</sup>*- to play shinny 9.4

*h<sup>i</sup>yats-* to live

*hał-* to shout 13.11

*maq<sup>'</sup>ī-* to dance 28.7

*xn̄<sup>w</sup>n-* to do 10.5

*mīk<sup>u</sup>-* to cut 90.5

*qatē<sup>n</sup>-* to go 8.2

*ts̄l̄/-* to shoot 10.3

*ma<sup>a</sup>tc-* to lay 32.22

*temū<sup>'u</sup>* they came together 30.16

*hūtē<sup>'u</sup> L!a<sup>ai</sup>* they play 8.8

*pekū<sup>'wi</sup> L!a<sup>ai</sup>* they play shinny  
70.10

*yā<sup>a</sup>xa<sup>i</sup> h<sup>i</sup>yatsū<sup>'wi</sup>* lots (of people)  
live

*halū<sup>'u</sup> ants h̄tc L!a<sup>ai</sup>* shout collec-  
tively, those people 70.9

*maq<sup>'</sup>yū<sup>'u</sup> L!a<sup>ai</sup>* they dance 28.8

*s<sup>a</sup>tsa xn̄<sup>w</sup>nū<sup>'u</sup> ants L!a<sup>ai</sup>* thus  
do it collectively, those people  
70.22, 23

*q̄ūtē<sup>'n̄i</sup> L!a<sup>ai</sup> uł mīkū<sup>'u</sup> t̄<sup>'</sup>ā<sup>'a</sup>*  
many women cut salmon 82.14

*qatē<sup>n</sup>atū<sup>'u</sup>* they walk about 34.19

*ts̄l̄!atū<sup>'u</sup> yā<sup>a</sup>xa<sup>i</sup> L!a<sup>ai</sup>* they are  
shooting 8.6

*ya<sup>'</sup>q<sup>'</sup>yū<sup>n</sup> ants t̄<sup>'</sup>t!<sup>'a<sup>i</sup></sup> m̄tē<sup>'wi</sup>*  
*L!a<sup>ai</sup>* he saw that food lying  
(around in great quantities)  
36.26, 27

Owing to the frequent interchange between the *ū*-vowel and the diphthong *a<sup>ū</sup>* (see § 2), this suffix occurs often as *-aa<sup>ū</sup>*, *-aa<sup>ūwi</sup>*.

*skwa'*- to stand 10.9

*stīm skwaha<sup>ūwi</sup> L!a'ai* there they are standing (collectively) 28.9

*hīq!*- to start 15.1

*s<sup>x</sup>a'tsa hīq!ya<sup>ūwi</sup> ants L!a'ai* thus they (will) start

*s<sup>x</sup>a'tsa* thus 11.10

*s<sup>x</sup>atsa<sup>ūwi</sup> tE hītc L!a'ai* thus (they do it) these people

*k!h̄nk'*- to go and see 16.1

*k!h̄nk'ya'a<sup>ū</sup> n'ctca tE ta<sup>i</sup>* many (were) going to see how this (one was) living

### § 80. Plural *-tx*

This suffix exercises the same function as the preceding *-ū<sup>u</sup>*, differing from it in so far only as its subjects must be human beings. It is added either to the bare stem or to the stem verbalized by means of the suffixes *-a<sup>i</sup>*, *-ū<sup>i</sup>* (see § 75), or it follows any of the temporal suffixes. The function of this suffix as a personal plural is substantiated by the fact that the verb to which it is added must be followed by the collective forms of *hītc* PERSON, *hītcū<sup>w</sup>*, *hītcū<sup>wi</sup>* (see § 97). Whenever this suffix is added to a stem that has been verbalized by means of the suffixes *-a<sup>i</sup>*, *-ū<sup>i</sup>*, it coincides in phonetic structure with the temporal and objective form *-ītx* (see §§ 33, 68). But the following collective *hītcū<sup>u</sup>* differentiates these two forms. Stems ending in an alveolar or affricative add this suffix by means of a weak *a*-vowel (see § 4). This suffix is always rendered by THEY, PEOPLE.

*temū'*- to assemble 7.3

*ūl wān temū'tx hītcū<sup>u</sup>* finally the people assembled 7.6

*tem<sup>u</sup>wa<sup>i</sup>'tx hītcū<sup>wi</sup> sqa<sup>k</sup>* people assembled there 66.15

*s<sup>x</sup>a'tsa* thus 11.10

*ūl wān s<sup>x</sup>atsa'tx hītcū<sup>wi</sup>* now they (began to do it) thus 7.5, 6

*hītc-* to play 7.2

*ūl wān hītcā'tx hītcū<sup>u</sup>* now they (commence to) play 9.3

*waa'*- to talk 7.1

*ūl wān waa'tx hītcū<sup>u</sup>* then finally people said 16.1

*atsū'tc waa<sup>i</sup>'maxustx hītcū<sup>u</sup>* thus they began to talk to each other 64, 20, 21

*qatc<sup>n</sup>-* to go 8.2

*ūl wān qatc<sup>i</sup>ntx* finally they went 16.2

*ta<sup>i</sup>-* to live 16.2

*ha<sup>i</sup>mūt tqa<sup>w</sup>wītc taya<sup>i</sup>'tx hītcū<sup>wi</sup>* all up-stream they lived 82.13

*pekū'u-* to play shinny 9.4

*pākwā'tx hītcū'u tE L!a'ai* these  
people play shinny 78.7

*hał-* to shout

*hal'i'tx hītcū'u* people shout 13.11

§ 81. IRREGULAR SUFFIXES *-n* (*-īn*), *-myax* (*-m*)

Here belong two suffixes whose exact function and etymology can no longer be analyzed. It is even impossible to tell whether they represent petrified formative elements, or elements of an exceedingly restricted scope, which may be responsible for their sporadic appearance.

The first of these suffixes to be discussed here is the suffix *-n* or *-īn*. It never occurs independently, being always followed by another verbal suffix, such as the transitive *-ūn* (see § 28), the temporal (see §§ 65-74) and the passive suffixes (see §§ 38, 39, 54-59). It seems to be related to the reciprocal *-naw* (*a*), and its function may be characterized as expressing a transitive action involving reciprocity or mutuality.

*t!ū'hate'-* to try to sell

*t!ūhate'v'nūn<sup>1</sup> I* try to sell it

*ma'q!v-* to dance 28.7

*ūla<sup>ux</sup> t!ūhat'cī'ntxa<sup>ux</sup>* they two  
try to sell their (hides) 100.19

*maq!ēna'<sup>w</sup>ūn* I will cure him (lit-  
erally, dance for him)

*mEQ!ē'na'a<sup>u</sup>* a dance will be ar-  
ranged for him 19.2

*mīnq!-* to buy (in exchange  
for a slave) (?)

*s<sup>z</sup>à ata's ants ma'q!v'nūtne* (for)  
him only this dance is arranged  
28.7

*ūl mī'nq!v'nū'ne tsax<sup>u</sup>* she is  
bought in exchange for a slave  
76.3

*Lv'ū-* to come 9.3

*Lvūna<sup>w</sup>ya<sup>ux</sup>2* (when) they two  
come together 46.7

The other irregular suffix is *-m*, which, however, occurs by itself in only one instance. It is usually followed by the suffix for the past tense *-yax* (see § 74), and expresses in such cases an action that almost took place. It was invariably rendered by ALMOST, VERY NEAR.

<sup>1</sup> The use of this suffix may be justified here by the fact that the idea TO SELL requires a seller and a buyer.

<sup>2</sup> The *-n* is used here because the action involves two persons—one that comes, and another that is approached.

<i>x̄int</i> he goes, he travels 20.3	<i>p̄n̄' ts̄is x̄intma</i> in the ocean he travels (around ?) 44.1, 2
<i>hakw-</i> to fall 8.7	<i>h̄ak̄umyaxan</i> I almost fell down
<i>a<sup>u</sup>s-</i> to sleep 24.1	<i>a<sup>w</sup>sm̄iyaxan</i> I very nearly fell asleep
<i>qatc<sup>n</sup>-</i> to go 8.2	<i>q̄atc<sup>n</sup>myaxan</i> I very nearly went
<i>kū'n-</i> to beat 72.17	<i>kū'n̄namyaxa<sup>n</sup></i> I almost beat him
<i>q̄atx-</i> to cry 58.15	<i>q̄atx<sup>n</sup>myax</i> he very nearly cried

### Nominal Suffixes (§§ 82-105)

#### § 82. INTRODUCTORY

The number of nominal suffixes found in Siuslaw is, comparatively speaking, rather small, and the ideas they express do not differ materially from the ideas conveyed by the nominal suffixes of the neighboring languages. There is, however, one striking exception, for among the neighboring languages (Coos and Alsea) Siuslaw alone possesses nominal cases. Another interesting feature of the Siuslaw nominal suffixes is the large number of suffixed formative elements that require the accent, and their phonetic strength (see § 12).

#### § 83. DIMINUTIVE *-isk'in*

This suffix conveys our diminutive idea, and may be added to stems that express nominal and adjectival concepts. Under the influence of the consonant preceding it, it may be changed into *-ask'in*.<sup>1</sup> When added to stems that end in a vowel, the vowel of the suffix is contracted with the final vowel of the stem (see § 9). When followed by the augmentative *-il'mä*, the *-in-* element of this suffix disappears (see § 84). This suffix requires the accent.

<i>t'āmc</i> infant 40.19	<i>t'āmc̄isk'in</i> a little boy 94.16
<i>l'v' a<sup>i</sup></i> fish 56.1	<i>l'v'isk'in</i> <i>l'a<sup>ai</sup></i> many small fish 46.6, 7
<i>q̄vūt<sup>cū</sup>n̄i</i> woman 30.21	<i>q̄vūt<sup>cū</sup>n̄isk'in</i> a little woman, a girl
<i>m̄it̄a</i> father 54.22	<i>m̄it̄a'isk'n̄v̄t̄in</i> my step-father (literally, my little father) 100.3, 4
<i>l'v'pxan</i> niece (?) 92.17	<i>l'v'pxan̄isk'inte<sup>w</sup>ax</i> they two (were) his little nieces 92.15, 16
<i>kō'tan</i> horse 34.9	<i>kōtan̄isk'in</i> a small horse, a pony

<sup>1</sup>Owing to the fact that most of the texts and examples were obtained from William Smith, an Alsea Indian (see p. 438), whose native tongue has no true alveolar spirants (*s*, *c*), this suffix appears frequently in the texts as *-ick'in*.

<i>l!māk'</i> - short	<i>l!māk'í'sk'ín</i> very short 50.18
<i>yāk</i> - small 29.4	<i>ya<sup>a</sup>'k!í'sk'ín</i> very small 36.23
<i>xyal·x</i> almost, very nearly 11.1	<i>xyal·xí'sk'ín qa'tc'nt qa'ha'ntc</i> he went a little ways (literally, almost, a little, he goes, far) 12.1
<i>hī'catca</i> a while	<i>hīcatca'sk'ín</i> a little while 64.8

#### § 84. AUGMENTATIVE -*ū·mä*

-*ū·mä* expresses the idea of LARGENESS, and, in terms of relationship, that of AGE; and it may be suffixed to stems expressing, besides nominal, also adjectival ideas. When added to stems that end in a lateral, the lateral of the suffix disappears in accordance with the law of simplification of consonants (see § 15). This suffix requires the accent.

<i>qī'ūtc</i> woman 48.17	<i>qūtc'íl'mä</i> old woman 94.22
<i>l!pL</i> - grandfather	<i>l!pL'mä</i> grandfather
<i>kamL</i> grandmother 96.22	<i>waa<sup>v</sup>'tx ants kamL'matc</i> she said to that her grandmother 96.21
<i>t!āmc</i> infant 40.19	<i>t!āmc'íl'mä</i> old infant, hence young (man) 54.22
<i>tex<sup>a</sup>m</i> strong 10.1	<i>texm'íl'mä</i> very strong (man), hence old (man) 40.10
<i>pení's</i> skunk 86.1	<i>penís'íl'mä</i> a large skunk
<i>yíkt</i> big 48.8	<i>yíkt'íl'ma</i> very big 40.6

The diminutive suffix is not infrequently added to the augmentative for the purpose of mitigating the impression made by the augmentative, and *vice versá*.

<i>t!āmc</i> infant 40.19	<i>t!āmc'íl'ma'sk'ín</i> little big infant, hence little boy 94.20
<i>mílà</i> mother 54.23	<i>mílask'í'l'mä</i> <sup>1</sup> step-mother (literally, little old mother)

#### CASE-ENDINGS (§§ 85-87)

##### § 85. Introductory

Unlike the languages spoken by the neighboring tribes, Siuslaw shows a rich development of nominal cases. Two of these, the genitive or relative case and the locative, are formed by means of separate suffixes, while the discriminative case is formed by means of a vocalic change (see § 111). In addition to these distinct case-endings,

<sup>1</sup> The contraction of *mílask'í'l'mä* from *mílask'íní'l'mä* may be explained as due to the assimilation of *n* to *l* following the contraction of the vowels.

there exists a great number of nominalizing suffixes indicating nominal ideas of an absolutive (nominative) form; so that the Siuslaw noun may be said to show four possible cases,—the nominative or absolutive case, the discriminative, the genitive or relative case, and the locative, which has an extended meaning. In discussing these case-endings it will be found preferable to begin with the locative case, because of the important position it occupies in the language.

§ 86. The Locative Case *-a*, *-ūs*

These two suffixes indicated originally local ideas of rest, and, as such, are best rendered by our local adverbs ON, IN, AT, TO, etc. It would seem, however, that this primary function was extended so that these suffixes may also mark the noun as the object of an action, thereby exercising the function of an accusative case-ending. The use of these suffixes for the purpose of expressing objects of action and the adverbial idea of rest may be explained by the intimate psychological connection that exists between these two apparently distinct concepts. The following example will serve to illustrate this connection. The sentence I CUT SALMON may, and as a matter of fact does, denote the idea I CUT ON THE SALMON.

The correctness of this interpretation is furthermore brought out by the fact that the verb, upon which these suffixes are dependent, can under no circumstance appear in transitive form. Should, however, such a verb appear with a transitive suffix, the noun will then occur in the absolutive form; and, since confusion might arise as to the identity of the subject and object of the action, the subject of the action is always discriminated (see §§ 21, 111).

The importance of these two suffixes as formative elements may be deduced from the fact that they enter into the formation of the forms expressing our periphrastic conjugation TO HAVE, TO BE WITH (see § 76) and that the adverbial suffixes (see §§ 90, 91, 93) can be added only to nouns that occur with these locative endings.

*-a* expresses, besides the nominal object of an action, also the local idea of rest. There is a tendency to have the accent fall upon this suffix.

*lt'v'a<sup>i</sup>* fish 56.1

*l̄ŋya'a<sup>u</sup>* fire 25.5

*ts!aln* pitch 26.6

*m̄l'k<sup>u</sup>tūxts lt'īaya'* you two shall  
cut salmon 90.5

*h̄a'qmas l̄ŋya'wa* near the fire 26.1  
*yūwa'ya<sup>u</sup>xūn yā'xa<sup>i</sup> ts!l̄na'* we  
two (will) get much pitch  
94.17, 18

<i>qīūtē' nī</i> woman 30.21	<i>hītc s' n' xya qīūtē' nya</i> (a) person wants a woman 76.7
<i>pēkū' u-</i> to play shinny 9.4	<i>pēkū' ya xāL! a' L! a' ai</i> many shinny sticks (they) make 78.5
<i>tē</i> water 36.20	<i>tē' wa ma' tē ants</i> . . . in the water lay that . . . 32.22
<i>L! a' ai</i> ground, place 7.1	<i>tē' wa u' k! u' wīna' v</i> on the water ice appeared 76.13
<i>kō' tan</i> horse 34.9	<i>mīk! a' u' L! aya'</i> in a bad place 12.10; 13.1
<i>t' ix</i> tooth	<i>kumī' ntc kōtana' t</i> not they had horses 100.20; 102.1
<i>tē</i> water 36.20	<i>t' ixa' t</i> (it) has teeth 90.19
	<i>u' a' x tē' wate hakwa' a' i</i> they two into the water thrown will be 88.7, 8
	<i>tē' wane ha' qīgyax</i> from the water (it) came ashore 56.13
<i>tēmtca' mī</i> ax 27.10	<i>tēmtca' myate xawa' a' u</i> with an ax (he) killed will be 28.1

**-ūs.** Like the preceding *-a*, it is employed for the purpose of forming the locative case of nouns and of expressing the local idea of rest. It is suffixed to nouns in *-ū* (see § 97) and in *-ī* (see § 98). When added to nouns in *-ī*, the *-ī* of the noun is consonantized, so that the suffix appears to be *-īyūs* (see § 8); while, when suffixed to nouns in *-ū*, the *-ū* of the suffix is contracted with the *ū* of the noun (see § 9).

<i>k! u' wī' nī</i> ice	<i>qa' xa' i' x k! u' wīnīyū' s</i> on top of the ice 76.14, 15
<i>pēk' i' tī</i> lake 62.18	<i>tsī' sqa' pēk' i' tīyū' s tēmū' yax</i> deer at (the) lake assembled 34.11.
<i>tsō' tī</i> sand beach	<i>ta' i' s tsī' tīyū' s</i> (you) will keep on living on the sand beach 46.15
<i>pēkū' u</i> shinny game	<i>s<sup>a</sup> ku' nū' tswa pēkū' u' s L! aya'</i> he always beats (people) at shinny 78.18, 19
<i>hūtē' wī</i> fun 8.5	<i>a' l' tūtūnx hūtē' wī' stc</i> thou also shalt come to the fun 22.8
<i>u' mī</i> thunder	<i>umīyū' stc Līū'</i> to thunder (it) came 36.8, 9



A number of nouns undergo unexplained phonetic changes whenever the locative suffix is added, while others employ an abbreviated form of this case-ending. Since no fixed rules can be given that will cover each of these cases, it will be best to tabulate all such nouns, giving their absolutive and locative forms. These nouns are as follows:

Absolutive case	Locative case
<i>mîsî' a<sup>i</sup></i> elder sister 90.23	<i>mîsa'yūs</i> 40.12, 13
<i>mîctcî'<sup>i</sup></i> younger sister 40.2	<i>mîctca'yūs</i>
<i>mîtà</i> father 54.22	<i>mîta'yūs</i>
<i>mîlà</i> mother 54.23	<i>mîla'yūs</i>
<i>L!a'<sup>ai</sup></i> earth, many 7.1	<i>L!ayū's</i> 76.10
<i>îqa'<sup>w</sup> tū</i> log 32.21	<i>îqatūwîyū's</i> 88.16
<i>a'<sup>w</sup> tcîsî</i> camas 96.20	<i>a'<sup>w</sup> tcîyū's</i> 98.11, 12
<i>hîtc</i> person 15.2	<i>hîtū's</i> 66.14
<i>sî'max<sup>u</sup></i> landing-place	<i>sîma'x<sup>u</sup>s</i> 48.21
<i>tsEha'<sup>w</sup> ya</i> grass 8.6	<i>tsEha'<sup>w</sup> ya's</i>
<i>ya'<sup>w</sup> xa</i> fern-root 80.18	<i>ya'<sup>w</sup> xa's</i>
<i>hîtsî'<sup>i</sup></i> house 25.2	<i>hîtsî's</i> 58.8

In many cases one and the same noun shows in its locative forms both case-endings, as may be seen from the following examples:

<i>L!a'<sup>ai</sup></i> ground, many 7.1	<i>L!aya'</i> 13.1 and <i>L!ayū's</i> 76.10
<i>a'<sup>w</sup> tcîsî</i> camas 96.20	<i>a'<sup>w</sup> tcîsya</i> and <i>a'<sup>w</sup> tcîyū's</i> 98.11, 12
<i>hîtc</i> person 7.1	<i>hîtū's</i> 66.14 and <i>hîtū'tc</i> 7.5

A few nouns appear with locative case-endings that seem to bear no relation to the suffixes *-a*, *-ūs*. The following have been found:

Absolutive	Locative
<i>sî'xa<sup>î</sup></i> boat 56.5	<i>sExa'<sup>ū1</sup></i> 48.18
	<i>sExa'<sup>ū1</sup> tc qaa'xam</i> into a canoe it was put 34.5
<i>hamî'tcî</i> whale 82.5	<i>hamîtcū'</i>
	<i>ha'<sup>w</sup> mūt hamîtcū' î'kwa'<sup>i</sup></i> all (some) whale got 82.6
<i>îlqwa'<sup>a</sup> tEm</i> alder tree 92.5, 6	<i>îlqutmî'</i>
	<i>îlqūt<sup>mî</sup>' a<sup>w</sup> x qaa'<sup>w</sup></i> an alder tree they two entered 92.6
<i>xwā'ka</i> head 29.5	<i>xwākî'</i>
	<i>îa'<sup>i</sup> gat skwa<sup>hā</sup>'tx xwākî'</i> feathers (they) placed on their heads 10.9
<i>Lxaū'</i> spear 64.7	<i>Lxa'<sup>w</sup> hî</i> 64.11

<sup>1</sup> The locative form *sExa'<sup>ū</sup>* may be explained as a noun with the local suffix of rest used as the object of an action (see § 91).

<i>h̄t̄c</i> person 7.1	<i>h̄t̄w̄'tc</i>
<i>mā'q<sup>u</sup>L</i> crow 34.23	<i>ʔa'k<sup>u</sup>t!w̄i h̄t̄w̄'tc</i> a sberiff 7.5
<i>qayū'w<sup>i</sup>nts</i> stone	<i>m<sup>u</sup>qwa'L</i> 34.21
<i>q<sup>u</sup>Lī'mt</i> anus 86.9	<i>qayuna'ts</i> 62.7
<i>ya<sup>s</sup>k<sup>u</sup>s</i> seal 62.4	<i>q<sup>u</sup>Līmī't</i>
<i>Laa'</i> mouth 28.2	<i>yEkū's</i> 62.2
	<i>Laaya'</i> 29.2, 96.7

Nouns that end in the augmentative suffix *-ūl'mā* (see § 84) change the final *ä* into a clear *a*-vowel whenever the locative is to be expressed.

<i>ȳikt̄'ī'l'ma</i> very big 40.6	<i>ȳikt̄'ī'l'mat cā'ya</i> he has a big penis 92.1
<i>q̄ūūt̄c̄'ī'l'mā</i> old woman 96.15	<i>q̄ūūt̄c̄'ī'l'matc</i> to the old woman 94.16

In a few instances the locative suffix *-a* has the function of an adverbial suffix of instrumentality.

<i>tc̄imtea'mī</i> ax 27.10	<i><sup>u</sup>ʔa<sup>u</sup> x wàn tc̄imtc̄'ī'mya qa'tc̄'nt</i> and they two now an ax take along (literally, with an ax go) 96.10, 11
	<i>skwaha<sup>ū</sup>wi L!a<sup>ai</sup> ha<sup>i</sup>mūt ants tc̄imtc̄'ī'mya</i> they are standing, all those who have axes 28.9; 29.1

#### § 87. The Relative or Genitive Case *-Em̄t*, *-Em*

These suffixes have the function of the Indo-European genitive case-endings.

*-Em̄t* is suffixed to the absolutive form of the noun; and when added to nouns that end in a long vowel, its obscure *E* is contracted with the long vowel of the noun and disappears (see § 9). The noun to which this suffix is added is always the object of the action.

<i>lt'ī'a<sup>i</sup></i> salmon 56.1	<i>lt'īayE'm̄t txa'n<sup>e</sup></i> salmon's tracks
<i>lq!ā'nū</i> hide 100.15	<i>lq!ānū'<sup>i</sup>m̄t<sup>1</sup> ȳix̄'ī<sup>i</sup></i> many hides (literally, of hides a multitude) 102. 1, 2
<i>t!ī, t!ī'ya<sup>i</sup></i> bear 56.11; 58.14	<i>t!īyayE'm̄t txa'n<sup>e</sup></i> bear tracks 56.10
<i>p̄ī'lq<sup>u</sup>ts</i> raccoon	<i>p̄ī'lq<sup>u</sup>tsE'm̄t lq!ā'nū</i> raccoon-hide
<i>texmū'nī</i> man 30.21	<i>texmū'nyEm̄t L!xm̄'tī</i> a man's bow

<sup>1</sup> See § 9.

This suffix may be added to pronouns and particles, as may be seen from the following examples:

<i>nà</i> I 21.8	<i>ní'ctám<sup>nx</sup> na'm<sup>l</sup> tE'q</i> because thou (art) of me (a) relative 21.5
<i>ha'<sup>v</sup>mūt</i> all 10.9	<i>ha'mūtū'm<sup>l</sup> m<sup>a</sup>ā'tī</i> of all (the) chief

This suffix is also employed in the formation of the independent possessive pronouns (see § 114).

-*EM* differs from the preceding -*eml* in so far as it can be added only to the locative form of the noun, and that in the few examples that were obtained it denotes the subject of an action.

Absolutive	Objective	Relative
<i>mā'q<sup>u</sup>L</i> crow 34.23	<i>m<sup>u</sup>qwa'L</i>	<i>m<sup>u</sup>qwa'LEM wa'as</i> Crow's language 34.21.
<i>u'mlī</i> thunder	<i>umlī'yūs</i>	<i>umlī'yūSEM wa'as</i> Thunder's language 36.8
<i>hītc</i> a person 7.1	<i>hītū'tc</i> 7.5	<i>hītū'tcem L!xmī'tī</i> (an) Indian's bow
<i>hītsī'<sup>i</sup></i> house 25.2	<i>hītsī's</i> 58.8	<i>hītsī'SEM tEgyū'<sup>wi</sup></i> of house (the) frame

When followed by other suffixes, the obscure *E* of -*EM* drops out, and the consonants are combined into a cluster.

Absolutive	Objective	Relative
<i>mīlā</i> mother 54.23	<i>mīlā'yūs</i>	<i>mīlā'yūsmītīn mītā</i> of my mother (her) father; my grandfather
<i>māt!'ī'</i> elder brother 58.11	<i>māt!'ī'yūs</i>	<i>māt!'ī'yūsmītīn t!āmc</i> my elder brother's boy

### § 88. THE POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

Possessive relations of the noun are expressed in Siuslaw by means of the suffix -*ī* that is followed by the subjective pronouns (see § 24). Possession for the third person singular is expressed by the suffix -*tc* added to the noun without the aid of the sign of possession, -*ī*. Possession for the third persons dual and plural is indicated by adding the subjective pronouns -*a<sup>u</sup>x* and -*nx* to the suffix -*tc*. Thus it would seem that Siuslaw employs two distinct suffixes for the purpose of expressing possession: -*ī* used for the first and second persons, and -*tc* for the third persons.

<sup>1</sup> See § 11.

The possessive suffixes are verbalized by adding the auxiliary suffix *-t* (see § 76) to the sign of possession; so that Siuslaw may be said to possess two sets of possessive suffixes,—one purely nominal set and one with a verbal significance. In the latter set the suffixes for the third persons are missing.

All possessive suffixes stand in terminal position following even the case-endings and the adverbial suffixes.

The following table will serve to illustrate the formation of the possessive suffixes:

		Nominal	Verbal
Singular . . . . .	{1st person . . . . .	- <i>in</i>	- <i>itn</i>
	{2d person . . . . .	- <i>inz</i>	- <i>itnz</i>
	{3d person . . . . .	- <i>c</i>	-
Dual . . . . .	{Inclusive . . . . .	- <i>ins</i>	- <i>itns</i>
	{Exclusive . . . . .	- <i>ixân</i>	- <i>itaxân</i>
	{2d person . . . . .	- <i>its</i>	- <i>itts</i>
	{3d person . . . . .	- <i>tcwaz</i>	-
Plural . . . . .	{Inclusive . . . . .	- <i>int</i>	- <i>itnt</i>
	{Exclusive . . . . .	- <i>inxan</i>	- <i>itnxan</i>
	{2d person . . . . .	- <i>itci</i>	- <i>ittci</i>
	{3d person . . . . .	- <i>tc<sup>E</sup>nz</i>	-

The pronominal suffix for the exclusive dual *-a<sup>u</sup>xân, -axân*, has been abbreviated here to *-xân*. This abbreviation may be the result of contraction. The *i* of the possessive suffixes appears frequently as a diphthong *a<sup>i</sup>* (see § 2). The possessive suffixes follow all other nominal suffixes.

*ts'íl'mū't* friend 23.4

*mîtà* father 54.22

*hîtsî'<sup>i</sup>* house 25.2

*îin* name 13.10

*txa'<sup>i</sup>n<sup>e</sup>* track, path 56.10

*mîsî'<sup>a<sup>i</sup></sup>* elder sister 90.23

*wa'as* language 34.21

*ts'íl'mū'tin* my friend 36.15

*mîta'<sup>a<sup>i</sup></sup>îin . . . mîta'<sup>a<sup>i</sup></sup>îin* my father . . . my mother (literally, I have a father . . . a mother) 100.1

*tca'xumans hîtsî'stcîn* let us two go back to my house! 58.5

*î'<sup>tc<sup>E</sup></sup>î'nînx* cougar (will be) thy name 13.5, 6

*ma<sup>tc</sup>txa'nū'tcînx* it lies in thy path 48.22

*mîsî'<sup>a<sup>i</sup></sup>tc* her elder sister 40.11

*s<sup>E</sup>atsî'tc wa'astc* thus he said (literally, thus his language) 40.26

*t!āmc* child 40.19

*kōpx* eye 36.16

*tcīL* hand 50.18

*mîta* father 54.22

*xwā'ka* head 29.5

*m<sup>a</sup>ā'tī* chief 11.2

*xu'nha<sup>i</sup>* a bet 78.15

*t!āmcīns tcī'ntūx* our (dual incl.)  
boys will return 42.7

*kōpxa<sup>i</sup>xān* our (dual excl.) eyes

*tcī'li<sup>s</sup>* your (dual) hands

*mîta'tc<sup>w</sup>ax* their (dual) father 52.8

*xwā'ka<sup>i</sup>n<sup>i</sup>* our (incl.) heads

*m<sup>a</sup>ā'tī'n<sup>xan</sup>* our (excl.) chief

*m<sup>a</sup>ā'tī'tcī* your chief

*xu'nha<sup>i</sup>tc<sup>en</sup>x* their bets 70.7

The possessive suffixes may be added to particles and attributive elements that precede the noun. This is due to a tendency inherent in the language to keep the principal parts of speech free from all pronominal elements, and which finds its counterpart in the tendency to add all subjective suffixes to the adverbs that precede the verb instead of to the verbal stem (see § 26).

In many instances the independent possessive pronouns (see § 114) are used in addition to the possessive suffixes. This is done for the sake of emphasis; and in all such cases the suffixes are added to the independent pronouns, and not to the nominal stem.

*s<sup>e</sup>atsī'tc* thus 8.1

*nā* I 21.8

*nīctcī'tc* how, manner 36.4

*hīs* good 38.21

*s<sup>e</sup>a'tsa* thus 11.10

*s<sup>e</sup>a'na* he, that one 15.4

*nā* I 21.8

*kīx<sup>s</sup>* ten 8.1

*hīs* good 38.21

*s<sup>e</sup>atsī'tcīn ha<sup>i</sup>* thus I think (literally, thus my mind) 21.7

*wa'a<sup>i</sup>s<sup>e</sup>enx na'm<sup>e</sup>lītīn wa'as* you will continually speak my language 36.13

*nīctcī'tcīnx ha<sup>i</sup>* how (is) thy mind 40.3

*hī'sīnx ha<sup>i</sup> haū'tūx* you will feel better (literally, good thy heart will become)

*s<sup>e</sup>a'tsate nīctcīma<sup>e</sup>mū* thus (is) his custom 38.16

*s<sup>e</sup>a'na'ml<sup>tc</sup> wa'as wa'<sup>a</sup>syaxa<sup>n</sup>* his language he spoke 36.14

*na'm<sup>e</sup>līns kō'tan* our (incl. dual) horses

*kī'x<sup>e</sup>stc<sup>w</sup>ax haū'yax t!āmc* they two had ten children (literally, ten their two, had become, children) 60.16, 17

*hī'<sup>i</sup>sīn<sup>i</sup> ha<sup>i</sup>* we are glad (literally, good our [incl.] heart) 72.18

<i>hīs</i> good 38.21	<i>hī' sīnxaŋ hīsī' i</i> good (was) our (excl.) house 100.13
<i>nà</i> I 21.8	<i>na' m<sup>e</sup>līnxaŋ tē' q</i> our (excl.) relative 102.5
<i>ants</i> that there 7.1	<i>t!ī' ya' lakwa' kū<sup>u</sup>n a' ntsīn mā t!ī'</i> (a) bear caught that there my elder brother 58.18

Nominal possessive suffixes are added to verbal stems in many cases when the object stands in some possessive relation to the subject of the sentence (see § 33). Siuslaw uses for that purpose the verbal set of possessive suffixes (see table on p. 546); and, since the pronouns indicating the subject of the action are added to particles and attributive elements preceding the verb (see § 26), these suffixes occur mostly in terminal position.

<i>a' q-</i> to leave	<i>ta' k<sup>e</sup>ns aya' qa' tī tē sī' xa' i</i> here we two (incl.) shall leave our canoe 56.5
<i>haū-</i> to become	<i>ha' nanx ha' u' tūxa' tī ha' i</i> different will become thy mind 60.14
<i>yā' a' xa' i</i> much 8.5	<i>s<sup>e</sup> a' tsan u' l' n yā' xa' tī ha' i</i> that's why I (know) much (in) my mind 20.9
<i>hīs</i> well 38.21	<i>tsī' k! yanxaŋ hī' sī tī ha' i</i> we (excl.) are very glad 24.5, 6
<i>waā'-</i> to speak 7.1	<i>atsī' tē<sup>e</sup> nx wa' a' sī tī tsī' m qma</i> thus you shall tell your people 78.10
<i>yā' a' xa' i</i> much, many 8.5	<i>u' l<sup>e</sup> nx yā' a' tē tē lī' t! a' i</i> they have much food (literally, and they much their food) 80.17
<i>lxū' īs</i> dry 60.19	<i>lxū' īstē<sup>e</sup> nx ants lī' t! a' i</i> dry (is) that their salmon 80.17, 18

The possessive suffixes are sometimes added to the verbal stem, especially the suffix for the third person singular.

<i>xwī' L! tūx</i> he will return	<i>sī' nxīt x ants t! āmc xwī' L! tūxtē</i> he wanted his boy to come back (literally, he desired his, that boy, shall come back, his) 42.5, 6
<i>waā' u'</i> he says 8.9	<i>kum' nte wa' a' tē ants qas lī' ū</i> not she said (to) that her husband
<i>L! xūx<sup>u</sup>-</i> reduplicated form of	<i>kū' i L! xū' x<sup>u</sup> tē ha' i</i> not he knew his
<i>L! xū-</i> to know 40.16	mind 58.4

The subjective pronouns may at times perform the function of the possessive suffixes. This is especially true in the case of the pronoun for the first person singular when used in connection with a demonstrative pronoun.

*tā<sup>a</sup>k* this here 32.13

*t!ī'ya<sup>i</sup> lakwa'kū<sup>u</sup>n tā'kîn t!āmc* (a)  
bear caught this my boy 60.9, 10  
*wa'a<sup>i</sup>tsîn tā'kîn wa'as* speak to me  
(with) this my language 36.10

*ants* that there 7.1

*t!ī'ya<sup>i</sup> lakwa'kū<sup>u</sup>n a'ntsîn māt!ī'*  
(a) bear caught that there my  
elder brother 58.18

### ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES (§§ 89-96)

#### § 89. Introductory

Siuslaw expresses all adverbial relations derived from nouns by means of suffixes, that precede even the pronominal suffixes. Of these, the local suffixes indicating motion and rest, and the local suffix expressing the ablative idea FROM, can be added only to the locative forms of the noun (see § 86). It is rather interesting to note that there is no special suffix denoting instrumentality. This idea is either expressed by means of the locative *-a* (see § 86), or it is conveyed through the medium of the local suffix of motion *-tc* (see § 90) and of the local *-ya* (see § 93), or it may be contained in the suffix of modality *-ītc* (see § 94). All these ideas are so closely interwoven with that of instrumentality, that the instrumental use of elements denoting primarily objects, motion, and modality, presents no difficulty whatsoever.

#### § 90. Local Suffix Indicating Motion *-tc*

It is added to the locative forms of the noun (see § 86), and may be best rendered by TO, INTO, AT, ON, UPON, TOWARDS.

*tē* water 64.24

*ū<sup>l</sup>a<sup>x</sup> tē'wate hakwa'a<sup>i</sup>* and they  
two into the water will be  
thrown 88.7, 8

*hītsī'<sup>i</sup>* house 25.2

*ū<sup>l</sup>n<sup>x</sup> wàn tē'īn hītsī'stc* they now  
returned into the house 60.10,  
11

*mīsī'a<sup>i</sup>* elder sister 90.23

*wī'ltcāstūn mīsa'yūste* he sent her  
to her elder sister 92.20

*L!a<sup>ai</sup>* ground 76.10

*sī'xā<sup>i</sup>* canoe 56.5

*pk'ī'tī* lake 62.18

*qūūtē'l'mā* old woman 94.22

*gayū<sup>wi</sup>nts* rock

*mā'q<sup>u</sup>L* crow 34.23

*k!īx L!a<sup>ai</sup>* everywhere

*L!ayū'ste* to the ground 94.8

*sexā<sup>w</sup>'tc qad'xam* into a canoe were put 34.5

*pk'ī'tīyū'ste temū'yax* at the lake (they) came together 34.13, 14

*Līū'wax qūūtē'l'ma'te* they two came to an old woman 94.16

*xalna<sup>i</sup> gayuna'ts<sup>i</sup>tc* (one) climbs up the rock 62.7

*Līū' m<sup>u</sup>qwa'L<sup>i</sup>tc* he came to Crow 36.3

*k!ēxū'tc L!aya'tc wad'ūn* everywhere he said . . . 7.2

Local adverbs and stems denoting local phrases are not considered as nouns. Hence they can have no locative forms, and the adverbial suffixes are added directly to such words.

*hā<sup>i</sup>q* shore 44.7

*lnū* outside 38.23

*qō'x<sup>u</sup>m* away from shore 34.6

*qa'xūn* up, above 34.21

*qa<sup>i</sup>hā'n* far 56.8

*yīxā<sup>i</sup> hā<sup>i</sup>qtc* (they) looked ashore 66.6

*ū<sup>l</sup>ēnx lnū'tc Līha'* and they outside went 38.23

*qō'x<sup>u</sup>mtc hā<sup>i</sup>mūt qwa'xtē<sup>i</sup>st* out into the water all went 34.15

*qa'xūntc hakwa'yū'nē* upwards it is thrown 8.7

*qa<sup>i</sup>hā'ntc tsūL!a<sup>i</sup>* he shot far 10.3

In like manner the local suffix is added to the independent pronouns; and all such pronouns, when followed by this suffix, have the function of objective pronouns (see § 113).

*nà* I 21.8

*nīx<sup>a</sup>ts* thou

*temū'tūxtē<sup>i</sup> nātc* you shall come to me 72.11

*kum<sup>i</sup>'ntc hī<sup>i</sup>sa nī'x<sup>a</sup>tc* not good (it is) on you 12.5

In a few instances the local suffix *-tc* has been found added to the absolutive form of nouns. This ungrammatical suffixation may be due either to imperfect perception on my part, or to errors on the part of the informant. The instances referred to are as follows:

*paā<sup>w</sup>wī* sand beach

*īk!ī'a<sup>i</sup>* mouth of the river

*paā<sup>w</sup>wītcīx qatc<sup>x</sup>natū<sup>u</sup>* along the sand beach they walked 34.14

*Līū'wanx īk!ī'a<sup>i</sup>tc* they came to the mouth of the river 66.11



*îng!a'î* river, creek 30.23

*u!a<sup>u</sup>x lîwû' îng!a'îtc* and they two  
came to a creek 56.4

In many instances the locative form of a noun or pronoun followed by the local suffix of motion *-tc* indicates the idea of instrumentality.

*tcî* water 64.24

*hîtsî'î tã'qnîs tcîwa'tc* the house (is)  
full of water

*hîtc* person 7.1

*taganî'tx hîwû'stc* it was always full  
of people 70.3, 4

*tcîmtca'mî* ax 27.10

*tcîmtca'myate xawa'a<sup>u</sup>* with an ax  
he will be killed 28.1

*lî't!a'î* food 34.6

*tã'qnîs lî't!aya'tc ants hîtsî'î* full  
with food (was) that house 54.5

*ts!aln* pitch 26.6

*sî'nîxyû' nE ts!îlna'tc xawa'a<sup>u</sup>* it  
was desired (that) with pitch  
he should be killed 24.1

*s<sup>E</sup>à* that one 10.1

*s<sup>E</sup>a'na'tc xawa'a<sup>u</sup>* with that (thing)  
he will be killed 26.6

#### § 91. Local Suffix Indicating Rest *-û* (*-aû*)

This suffix is added to such stems as are not considered nominal, and hence can not express the local idea of rest by means of the locative *-a* or *-ûs* (see § 86). It is consequently suffixed to adjectives—which are really intransitive verbs—and it performs for such terms the additional function of a locative case-ending. The only noun to which this suffix has been found added in its local and objective meaning is the stem *sî'xa'î* CANOE (see § 86). This apparently exceptional use of the local suffix *-û* in connection with a noun may be due to the fact that the informant, unable to recall a single instance of the noun *sî'xa'î* in its proper objective form (*sîxaya'?*), and not conscious of the grammatical processes of her language, has endeavored to form the objective case according to her own idea. The idea implied by this suffix may be rendered by IN, AT, ON. The interchange between *-û* and *-aû* has been discussed in § 2.

*mî'k!a* bad 14.7

*nî'ctcî tex xî'ntmîs hîtc mîk!a<sup>û</sup>*  
*L!aya'* how (can) always travel  
a person in a bad place? 12.10;  
13.1

*k!îx* each, every 24.4

*txû'nx k!îxû' L!aya' xî'ntmîs* just  
you everywhere will continually  
travel 13.6, 7

<i>k!ix</i> each, every 24.4	<i>k!ēxū' L!aya' w! s<sup>ea</sup>it<sup>e</sup></i> on each place such (was the world) 14.6; 15.1
<i>s<sup>ea</sup>it<sup>e</sup></i> such, in that manner 15.1	<i>w!ēnx sqā<sup>i</sup>k līt!a' s<sup>ea</sup>itū'</i> and they eat on such (a place) 62.5, 6
<i>ya<sup>a</sup>'k!i'sk'īn</i> very small 36.23	<i>yāk!i'sk'īnū' L!aya' w! tīyū'wī</i> on a very small place they lived 38.19
<i>sī'xa<sup>i</sup></i> boat 56.5	<i>lqa<sup>i</sup>' tū txū ma<sup>ate</sup> ants s<sup>exa</sup>ū'</i> sticks merely were lying in that boat 48.20, 21

Instances where this suffix has the function of a locative case-ending may be given as follows:

<i>k!ix</i> each, every 24.4	<i>k!ē'xū'tc L!aya'tc L!ōxa'xa<sup>ū</sup>tsmē</i> to each place he sent his . . .30.1
<i>mī'k!a</i> bad 14.6	<i>lī'ū mī'k!a<sup>ū</sup>tc L!aya'tc</i> he came to a bad place
<i>sī'xa<sup>i</sup></i> canoe 56.5	<i>s<sup>exa</sup>ū'n sī'nīxya</i> a canoe I want <i>s<sup>exa</sup>ū'tc qad'xam</i> into a canoe were put 34.5

§ 92. Local Suffix *-ix* (*-a<sup>i</sup>x*, *-yax*)

This suffix is used chiefly in connection with verbs of motion, and is added to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. Its function may best be compared to the function performed by our adverbs ON, OVER, ALONG, when used in connection with verbs of motion. The long *i* of the suffix is often changed into *a<sup>i</sup>* (see § 2) or diphthongized into *ya* (see § 7).

<i>Qa'a<sup>i</sup>tc</i> a tributary of the Siuslaw river called at present North Fork	<i>Qa'a<sup>i</sup>tcīx pēlīt'c līha'yax</i> along North Fork at first it passed 32.19
<i>paa<sup>ū</sup>'wī</i> sand beach	<i>paa<sup>ū</sup>'wītēīx qatē<sup>n</sup>natū<sup>u</sup></i> along (its) sand beach they walked 34.14
<i>ha<sup>i</sup>q</i> shore 44.7	<i>ha<sup>i</sup>'qa<sup>i</sup>xanl tēd'xwītūx</i> along the shore we will go back 66.12, 13
<i>qa<sup>u</sup>x</i> high, up 80.9	<i>qa<sup>u</sup>xā<sup>i</sup>'x k!u<sup>x</sup>wīnīyū's</i> on top of the ice 76.14, 15
<i>hīs</i> well, straight 38.21	<i>tē'wātē hī'sā<sup>i</sup>x līū'</i> to the water on (a) straight (line) it was coming 32.20
<i>qa<sup>w</sup>'xūn</i> sky	<i>qa<sup>w</sup>'xūnyax xīnt</i> along the sky it traveled 32.19
<i>tēīk</i> where 34.2	<i>tēīkyax līha<sup>i</sup>' tē hītē</i> whereon climb up people 80.13

In one instance this suffix is added to a demonstrative pronoun.

*s<sup>ɛ</sup>à* that one 10.1

*s<sup>ɛ</sup>a'<sup>i</sup>xa<sup>u</sup>x p<sup>i</sup>tca'<sup>i</sup>* over that one they  
two stepped 88.18

§ 93. Local Suffixes *-ya*, *-nE*

*-ya* is added to those locative forms of the personal pronouns and nouns that end in an alveolar or affricative consonant (*t*, *s*, *tc*) and to adverbs the final consonant of which belongs to the same series.

*q<sup>u</sup>l<sup>i</sup>m<sup>i</sup> anus* 86.9

*q<sup>u</sup>L<sup>i</sup>m<sup>i</sup>'tyat<sup>i</sup> l<sup>i</sup>ha'* from his anus  
he came out 94.20

*p<sup>i</sup>'ts<sup>i</sup>s* ocean (locative form)  
44.1

*p<sup>i</sup>'ts<sup>i</sup>sya ha'<sup>i</sup>qa'<sup>i</sup>* from the ocean he  
came ashore 82.4

*q<sup>u</sup>'i<sup>i</sup>tc* Umpqua river

*q<sup>u</sup>'i<sup>i</sup>tcyaa<sup>u</sup>* from the Umpqua river  
(they came) 100.15

*h<sup>i</sup>ts<sup>i</sup>'i* house 25.2

*h<sup>i</sup>ts<sup>i</sup>'iya* from the house

*nà* I 21.8

*na'tcya* from me

*ha'<sup>i</sup>q* shore 44.7

*ha'<sup>i</sup>qa'<sup>i</sup>tcya* go away from the fire!  
(literally, what is shore like from  
it you go away) 26.7

*qantc* where

*qa'nicyanx l<sup>i</sup>ū'* from where (dost)  
thou come 66.16

*-nE* is suffixed to nouns and to personal pronouns whose locative forms end in a vowel (see § 86), and to such stems as form the locative cases by means of the local suffix of rest *-ū* (see § 91).

*k!<sup>i</sup>x L!<sup>a</sup>'ai* every place

*k!<sup>i</sup>xū'<sup>nE</sup> L!<sup>a</sup>ya'<sup>nE</sup>* from each place,  
from everywhere 8.2

*tcī* water 64.24

*tcī'wanE ha'<sup>i</sup>q<sup>i</sup>qyax* from the water  
he came ashore 56.13

*xwā'ka* head 29.5

*xwā'kī'<sup>nE</sup>* from the head

*sī'xa<sup>i</sup>* canoe 56.5

*sixa'<sup>u</sup>'nE* from the canoe

These local suffixes are frequently used as implying the idea of instrumentality.

*qal'tc* knife

*L!<sup>x</sup>maī'yūn qal'tcya* he killed him  
with a knife (literally, from a  
knife)

*tcīL* hand 50.18

*tcī'<sup>nE</sup> Lōlē'lūn* with the hand he  
struck him

*Lxaū'* spear 64.7

*Lxa<sup>u</sup>'hī'nE ants l<sup>i</sup>tc skwaha'<sup>i</sup>* with  
a spear (in his hand) that person  
stood up 64.11, 12

§ 94. Adverbial Suffixes Indicating Modality *-ītc* (*-aītc*), *-'na*

*-ītc*. This suffix has both a nominal and a verbal function. As a nominal suffix it signifies LIKE. It is found suffixed to a number of modal adverbs (see § 121), and it invariably requires the accent. The interchange between the long *ī* and the diphthong *aī* has been discussed in § 2.

*ckō'te* hill 46.10

*qa'xūntc qa'tc'nt ckō'tcī'tc* he went up a hill (literally, upwards he goes, hill-like) 12.9

*txa'n<sup>e</sup>* tracks, road 56.10

*tcīk ants lqa''tū L<sup>o</sup>wa' txa'nī'tc* wherever that tree falls across the road (literally, road-like) 84.2, 3

*ā'aq* one 18.7

*a'lqa'ītcīn L!xū'yūn qnà* half I know it (literally, one [half] like I know it) 92.12

*s<sup>e</sup>a'tsa* thus 11.10

*wad'xam s<sup>e</sup>atsī'tc* he was told thus 8.1

*nī'tcā* something, how 16.2

*kwī'nx nīctcī'tc L!wā'nīsūn* don't you tell him anything 17.1, 2

My informant frequently rendered this suffix by the phrase WHAT YOU WOULD CALL A . . . , SOME KIND OF . . . , especially in cases where the noun employed did not convey the exact idea that was wanted.

*m<sup>a</sup>ā'tī* chief 10.2

*m<sup>a</sup>ā'tītc tE qwo'txaī* beaver (was) (what you would call a) chief 50.6, 7

*mātī'yū<sup>wi</sup>* chief, general

*s<sup>e</sup>atsī'tc wad' ants mātī'wītc ants sī'xaī* thus said that (what you would call) captain (of) that boat 64.26; 66.1

*lna<sup>u</sup>wi* rich man 86.4

*lna<sup>u</sup>wītc ants hītc* (what you would call a) chief (was) that man 76.3

*tEgyū<sup>u</sup>* frame 80.7

*tEgyū'wītc* (what you would call a) frame

*lk!ī'aī* mouth (of river)

*lk!ī'aīwītc ants pk'ī'tī* (something like the) mouth (of) that lake

When added to adverbs that convey local ideas, it must be preceded by the local suffix of motion *-tc* (see § 90).

<i>sqá<sup>1</sup>k</i> there 14.6	<i>sqá<sup>1</sup>kítcí'tc qá'tc<sup>1</sup>ntūx</i> there (they) will go 30.22
<i>qanís-</i> down	<i>qanísítcí'tc txū slōxu'x<sup>u</sup></i> down sim- ply he went (slid) 12.6
<i>tqá<sup>u</sup>wí'-</i> up-stream 56.8	<i>qá'tc<sup>1</sup>nt tqá<sup>u</sup>wítcí'tc</i> he went up- stream 58.12

This modal suffix may also express the idea of instrumentality, as will be seen from the following examples:

<i>tsí' L/í</i> arrow 50.7	<i>kumá'ntc xa'wíl tsí' L/í'tc</i> not he can die through (literally, with) an arrow 15.8
<i>tsax<sup>u</sup></i> slave 76.3	<i>tūhá' ha<sup>u</sup>n tsexwí'tc</i> he bought her in exchange for a slave

When added to verbal stems, *-ítc* is almost invariably followed or preceded by the verbs *xínt-* TO GO, TO START, and *híq!-* TO START, TO BEGIN; and the idea conveyed by such a phrase may best be compared with our English sentences I GO INTO A STATE OF . . . , I START . . . -LY. The Siuslaw informant, unable to express this native phrase in English, usually rendered it by I, THOU, HE ALMOST. . . .

<i>tcí'n-</i> to go home, to return 12.10	<i>qātx tcení'tc xínt</i> he cried as he went home (literally, he cries when homewards he starts) 58.15, 16
<i>temū'-</i> to assemble 7.3	<i>temū'í'tc xínt L/a<sup>ai</sup></i> people came together (literally, into a state of coming together go many) 30.15, 16
<i>lí'ū-</i> to arrive 9.2	<i>líwí'tc<sup>w</sup>ax wàn xínt</i> they two are almost home (literally, in the manner of arriving they two finally go) 23.1
<i>tcax<sup>u</sup>-</i> to go back, to return 30.14	<i>kí'x<sup>Es</sup> tsaxayū'<sup>wi</sup> a'ntsín tsexwí'tc</i> <i>xínt</i> for ten days I was going back (literally, ten days this I returningly went) 66.20, 21
<i>xawū'</i> he died 40.21	<i>xewí'tc<sup>Enx</sup> hí'q!ya</i> (when) you are near death (literally, [when] in the manner of dying you start) 34.25

*k!ap-* low tide 36.18

*u* *k!apī'tc xīntī't ants tcī* and the water began to get low (literally, into a state of low tide went that water) 36.20

*sī'-* to grow 98.10

*sīhī'tcīn xī'ntyax* (when) I began to grow up (literally, [when] into a state of growing I went) 100.17

In one instance this suffix occurs as *-a<sup>ū</sup>tc*, and is preceded by the stem *qatcn-* TO GO.

*yax-* to see 20.10

*u* *qa'tc<sup>ent</sup> yexa<sup>ū</sup>tc a'nts<sup>tc</sup> tcmā'nī*  
he went to see his cousin 40.24

The verbs *xīnt-* and *hīq!-* may be omitted, as is shown in the following example:

*tcāq-* to spear 68.8

*qa<sup>h</sup>ha'ntc hī'nyaxa<sup>ū</sup>n ya<sup>ε</sup>k<sup>u</sup>s tca-qa<sup>ū</sup>'tc* the seal took him way off as he speared him (literally, way off took him, seal, spearingly) 68.17, 18

*-'na* is added to adjectives only, and expresses an idea similar to that of the English suffix *-LY*.

*mī'k!a* bad 14.7

*kwī'nx l!wā'nīsūn mī'k!a'na* don't tell it to him badly 17.1, 2

*kumū'ntc mī'k!a'na sīn<sup>h</sup>xna'wīs* not badly (we shall) keep on thinking of each other 78.12, 13

*t!ī'sa* grease

*nī'ctcīm t!ī'sa'nana līt!a'wax* because greasy (things) they are going to eat 82.8

#### § 95. Adverbial Suffixes Indicating Time *-tīta, -īta*

These suffixes are added to nouns that indicate division of time, and to verbs expressing celestial phenomena, and they may best be rendered by TOWARDS, WHEN THE TIME OF . . . COMES. Both suffixes require the accent.

*pīctcem* summer 46.11

*pīctcemtīta' u<sup>ε</sup>nx sqa<sup>ī</sup>k taya<sup>ū</sup>'* towards summer (hence, in the spring-time) they there live 62.2, 3

*q!exa<sup>u</sup>yū'wî* salmon season

*q!exa<sup>u</sup>yū'witāta' wî tqa<sup>u</sup>'wītē taya<sup>i</sup>'*  
when salmon-time comes (they)  
up-stream live 82.12, 13

*qūū'neM* winter 80.18, 19

*qūū'neMītāta'* towards winter

*hî'n<sup>ε</sup>k!ī-* to rain 76.18

*hî'n<sup>ε</sup>k!ītā'* in the rainy season

*qa<sup>i</sup>x* night 38.21

*qa<sup>i</sup>xītā'* towards night-time

*nîctcînwa<sup>i</sup>'* spring comes

*nîctcînawītā' wla<sup>u</sup>x s<sup>ε</sup>a'tsa xnī'wne*  
towards spring-time they two  
thus do it 98.5

### § 96. Modal Adverbs in -a

This suffix may be called the suffix of modality *par excellence*. By its means all stems expressing adjectival ideas, and all particles, are transformed into adverbs. Many of these stems (amplified by means of the modal suffix -a) do not occur in their original form, being used adverbially only. All such stems are denoted here by an asterisk (\*). Whether this suffix may not be ultimately related to the locative -a (see § 86) is a debatable question.

*hīs* good 38.21

*kumî'ntc hī<sup>i</sup>'sa nātē* not well (it is)  
on me 12.2

*lī'ū* near 40.12

*līū'wa k<sup>u</sup>nà inq!<sup>a</sup>ītē tē ta<sup>i</sup>* near,  
perhaps, the creek, these live  
66.7, 8

*yā<sup>a</sup>'xa<sup>i</sup>* much, many 8.5

*hū'tctūns yā<sup>a</sup>'xa* we shall play a  
great deal 10.6

*yīkt* big, large 48.8

*qanīstcī'tc īlqa'yūsne yī'kta* very  
deep it would be dug (liter-  
ally, down-like it is dug largely)  
84.3, 4

\**līmga-* quick

*lī'mqan tēl'ntūx* right away I shall  
return 56.22

\**ha<sup>i</sup>n-* different

*ha<sup>i</sup>'na* differently 58.9

\**nīk!-* alone

*nī'k!<sup>a</sup>* alone 94.11

\**s<sup>ε</sup>ats-* thus

*s<sup>ε</sup>a'tsa* thus, in that manner 18.4

\**tsīk!-* much, very

*tsī'k!<sup>a</sup>ya* very, very much 13.9

### GENERAL NOMINALIZING SUFFIXES (§§ 97-105)

#### § 97. Nominal -ūu (-aū), -ūwi

This suffix conveys a general nominal idea, changing any neutral stem into a noun, and is employed extensively in the formation of verbal abstract nouns. It is also used to express collectivity of action,

an application that is in perfect harmony with its nominal character, as has been explained in § 78. The forms  $-ū^u$  and  $-ū^{wi}$  may be explained as due to imperfect perception on my part, while the double occurrence of  $-ū^u$  and  $-a^{\bar{u}}$  is caused by the phonetic relation that exists between the  $ū$  and the diphthong  $a^{\bar{u}}$  (see § 2).

*hūtċ-* to play 7.2  
*tēmū'* - to gather 7.3

*paLN-* to hunt 82.17

*xīl'xcē-* to work 48.10

*sī-* to grow 98.10

*Lxat-* to run 12.3  
*xīntm-* to travel 12.10

*yālg-* to dig 84.5  
*xa<sup>i</sup>tc-* to roast 90.8  
*anxī-* to sing

*hūtċū'<sup>wi</sup>, hūtċū'<sup>u</sup>* fun, 8.5; 16.6  
*tċk ants L!a<sup>ai</sup> tēm<sup>u</sup>ū'<sup>u</sup>* where  
(there is) that big assembly 88.3  
*qwà'tċ L!xū'yūn paLNū'<sup>wi</sup>* (he) who  
knows (the art of) hunting 82.18  
*tsī'k!ya L!xū'yūn xīl'xcyū'<sup>u</sup>* very  
(well) he knows (the art of)  
working 52.22, 23

*s<sup>z</sup>a'tsātċ sī'ya'a<sup>ū</sup>* such (was) her  
growth 98.6

*Lxatū'<sup>wi</sup>* a race 78.18  
*wī'nxanx tċi'wa xīntmū'<sup>wi</sup>* thou art  
afraid to go to the ocean (liter-  
ally, thou fearest to water the  
journey)

*yālgā'a<sup>ū</sup>* a hole 84.6  
*xa<sup>i</sup>tċā'a<sup>ū</sup>* roast 90.9  
*anxyū'<sup>wi</sup>* a song

This suffix is found in a great number of nouns whose original stems can no longer be analyzed. The following list may be given:

*ha<sup>u</sup>wī'yū* shaft  
*paā<sup>w</sup>wī* sand beach 34.14  
*pa<sup>h</sup>ū'<sup>wi</sup>* codfish  
*pā'l'ū* spring, well 76.12  
*ma'tcū* bed (place of lying ?)  
*ma'tċū* chimney, stove (place  
of burning ?)  
*teqyū'<sup>u</sup>* frame (of a house)  
80.7  
*tūqya'a<sup>ū</sup>* up the river 32.22  
*t'ū'nāxyū* pocket  
*nīctċāma<sup>e</sup>mū* custom, fashion  
36.28  
*ċā<sup>m</sup>l' Ltxū* upper lip  
*tsaxayū'<sup>wi</sup>* day, sun, weather 8.1

*tċmūlqū'<sup>wi</sup>* ring (*tċmūlq* finger)  
*k<sup>u</sup>tsū'<sup>wi</sup>* saliva  
*kū'cū* hog (from French through  
medium of the Chinook jargon)  
*kū'tċyū* sea-otter  
*kmū'kū* pipe-stem  
*kċċkyū'<sup>wi</sup>* wall  
*kċl'nū* ladder, stairway  
*k<sup>w</sup>īnī'ntxū* throat  
*k!a'l'apū* navel  
*gasl'ū* husband 48.20  
*qa<sup>i</sup>wa'a<sup>ū</sup>* bay, down-stream 80.6  
*qa<sup>u</sup>l'ū* bark 90.8  
*q!exa<sup>u</sup>yū'wī* salmon-time 82.12  
*l<sup>n</sup>a<sup>u</sup>wī* rich man, chief 86.4



*Ik<sup>w</sup>una'atsū* live-coals*lqa'<sup>i</sup>tū* tree, log 32.21*lq!<sup>i</sup>ā'nū* hide, skin 100.15*līya'a<sup>ū</sup>* fire 25.5*lxaū'* pole, spear 64.7*L!<sup>i</sup>m!<sup>i</sup>kcū* flounder 100.10

When added to the numeral particle *yā'a<sup>i</sup>xa<sup>i</sup>* MUCH, MANY, it denotes the idea expressed by a noun of quality. This particle is to all appearances a stem amplified by means of the nominal suffix *-a<sup>i</sup>* (see § 98); and since two nominal suffixes of a similar function can not be added to one and the same stem, the *-a<sup>i</sup>* disappears, and the suffix *-a<sup>ū</sup>* is added to the bare stem *yāx-*.

*yā'a<sup>i</sup>xa<sup>i</sup>* much, many 8.5*tc'<sup>i</sup>ni<sup>etc</sup> ya'xa<sup>ū</sup> xa<sup>na<sup>i</sup></sup>* how many had climbed up (literally, what their number climbed up) 62.11*tc'<sup>i</sup>ni<sup>etc</sup> ya'xa<sup>ū</sup> tē'qtc ants qūūtcū'n<sup>i</sup>* as many relatives as that woman had (literally, how much their number [of] her relatives [of] that woman) 76.1*lxa'<sup>i</sup>p<sup>i</sup>stc ya'xa<sup>ū</sup>* five their number 100.15§ 98. Nominal *-ī* (*-a<sup>i</sup>*)

This suffix is found in a large number of nouns expressing a variety of concepts. It occurs with nouns indicating instrumentality, with verbal abstract nouns, with nouns of relationship, with terms designating animals, with stems expressing natural objects, etc. It is not altogether inconceivable that this nominal formative element may be identical with the verbalizing suffix *-a<sup>i</sup>* (see § 75), even though its nominalizing function can no longer be explained in a majority of cases. In many instances the original stem to which this suffix has been added does not occur in its independent form. The substitution of the diphthong *-a<sup>i</sup>* for the long *ī* has been discussed in § 2.

*pēkcū'* to play shinny 9.4*tsīL'* to shoot 8.6*mānx<sup>u</sup>* to lighten 38.5*w!<sup>i</sup>nkī-* to work 50.6*ta<sup>i</sup>* he sits 16.2*pā'kwī* shinny stick*tsī'L'ī* arrow 50.7*m!<sup>i</sup>n!<sup>i</sup>xwī* lightning 38.2*w!<sup>i</sup>nakī* work*tī'ta<sup>i</sup>* chair

<i>t̄v't̄/-</i> to eat 13.10	<i>t̄v't̄!ā<sup>3</sup></i> food 34.23
<i>hū'tc-</i> to play 7.2	<i>hūtcā<sup>3</sup></i> fun 10.5
<i>aswūt̄'v̄</i> blanket	<i>sī'xā<sup>3</sup></i> canoe 56.5
<i>īnq!a'ā<sup>3</sup></i> , <i>īnq!a'v̄</i> , river 30.20, 23	<i>tsalī'swalī</i> beads (?)
<i>umt̄v̄</i> thunder 36.8	<i>ts̄t̄v̄<sup>3</sup></i> sand beach
<i>ū'tt̄</i> snow 76.10	<i>tsō't̄v̄</i> waves, breakers
<i>ham̄'c̄tc̄</i> whale 82.4	<i>tsxv'npl̄</i> coyote 88.9
<i>ha'kw̄</i> mussels 82.2	<i>tc̄</i> water 36.20
<i>h̄v̄'ā<sup>3</sup></i> clouds	<i>tc̄t̄'t̄v̄</i> wind
<i>h̄ts̄v̄<sup>3</sup></i> house 25.2	<i>ts!ū'xw̄</i> spoon
<i>hā<sup>3</sup></i> heart, mind 8.9	<i>k̄ā'n̄</i> basket 90.21
<i>pk'v̄'t̄v̄</i> lake 62.18	<i>qa'x̄</i> chicken-hawk
<i>m̄k̄t̄v̄</i> father-in-law	<i>qā'w̄</i> blood
<i>ma'v̄</i> kidney	<i>q<sup>u</sup>n̄t̄v̄<sup>3</sup></i> perforation in the ear
<i>m<sup>a</sup>ā't̄v̄</i> chief 10.2	<i>q<sup>w</sup>unax̄<sup>3</sup></i> cheek
<i>mā't̄v̄</i> dam 48.10	<i>qwo'txā<sup>3</sup></i> beaver 48.6
<i>māt!v̄</i> elder brother 58.11	<i>q!a'tct̄v̄</i> cedar
<i>m̄s̄v̄'ā<sup>3</sup></i> elder sister 90.23	<i>t̄t̄'v̄'ā<sup>3</sup></i> salmon 56.1
<i>m̄t̄ct̄v̄<sup>3</sup></i> younger sister 40.2	<i>t̄q!ā's̄</i> eel
<i>m̄'ck'lā<sup>3</sup></i> something bad, vulva 26.5	<i>L!a'ā<sup>3</sup></i> ground, world, earth, place, many 7.2
<i>tqā't̄v̄</i> hook	<i>L!v̄'n̄</i> floor
<i>tqu'n̄</i> smoke	<i>L!xm̄'t̄v̄</i> bow

When added to stems that express adjectival ideas, this suffix forms nouns of quality.

<i>h̄vs</i> good 38.21	<i>h̄vs̄v̄<sup>3</sup></i> goodness
<i>ȳikt</i> big 48.8	<i>h̄ts̄v̄'sem ȳikt̄v̄<sup>3</sup></i> of the house the large (size)
<i>ȳāx-</i> much, many 8.5	<i>t̄q!ānū<sup>3</sup>m̄l ȳāx̄<sup>3</sup></i> of hides a great number 102.1, 2

#### § 99. Nouns of Quality in *-t'ūu* (*-t'ūwi*)

There can be little doubt that the vocalic elements of this suffix are identical with the nominalizing suffix discussed in § 97. The etymology of the initial consonantic element is obscure. This suffix is added to adjectives and adverbs only. Owing to the fact that a number of adjectives end in *-t* (see § 104) and that double consonants are invariably simplified, these adjectives drop their final consonant before adding the suffix (see § 15).

*hatca't* long 76.1

*lna<sup>wi</sup>* rich 86.4

*yikt* large 48.8

*qa'xân* high 8.7

*qa'n-* deep

*hîs* good 38.21

*qa'ha'n-* far 10.3

*tci'nt<sup>etc</sup> ha'tct'û<sup>u</sup>* for a long time  
(literally, how much its long  
period) 48.2

*lna<sup>wi</sup>ât'û<sup>wi</sup>* wealth

*yikt'û<sup>wi</sup>* large size

*qaxânt'û<sup>wi</sup>* height

*qa'nt'û<sup>wi</sup>* depth

*hîst'û<sup>wi</sup>* kindness

*qa'han't'û<sup>u</sup>* distance

§ 100. Nouns of Agency in *-ya<sup>ux</sup>*, *-îl* (*-a<sup>îl</sup>*), *-t!*, *-t!<sup>wi</sup>*

Nomina actoris are formed by means of the following suffixes:

*-ya<sup>ux</sup>* This suffix seems to have been used frequently.

*lak<sup>u</sup>-* to fetch, to catch 7.5

*la'k<sup>u</sup>ky<sup>ux</sup>* sheriff (literally, a  
catcher [of people])

*xû<sup>n-</sup>* to snore 27.9

*xû<sup>n</sup>ya<sup>ux</sup>* a snorer

*la'wat!-* to gamble

*la'wat!<sup>wi</sup>ya<sup>ux</sup>* a gambler

*ln-* to call (?)

*lna'<sup>wi</sup>ya<sup>ux</sup>* an interpreter

*temû'-* to gather 7.3

*tema<sup>wi</sup>ya<sup>ux</sup>* a person who assem-  
bles (people) 30.2

*-îl* (*-a<sup>îl</sup>*). This suffix is easily confounded with the verbal negative suffix of similar phonetic structure (see § 53); but this similarity is purely accidental.

*wî'nkî-* to work

*s<sup>à</sup> tsî'k!<sup>wi</sup>ya wî'nkîl* he (is a) very  
(good) worker 50.5, 6

*xîl'xcî'-* to work 48.10

*xîl'xcîl* a workingman

*xîntm-* to travel 12.10

*xî'ntmîl* a traveler

*waa'-* to speak 7.1

*wa'a<sup>îl</sup>* a speaker

*pekû'-* to play shinny 9.4

*pa'kwîl* a shinny player

*-t!* It is quite possible that this suffix may have some connection with the initial element of the suffix for nouns of quality, *-t'û<sup>wi</sup>* (see § 99).

*L!<sup>wi</sup>n* to tell 8.2

*L!<sup>wi</sup>n<sup>ant!</sup>* an informant

*tsîL!-* to shoot 8.6

*tsîL!<sup>wi</sup>t!* a marksman

*yuw-* to pick, to dig 96.18

*yû<sup>wi</sup>ya<sup>ant!</sup>* a person who picks (ber-  
ries [reduplicated stem])

*paln-* to hunt 82.17

*pal'<sup>wi</sup>nt!* a hunter

*t!<sup>wi</sup>âmc* child, infant 40.20

*t!<sup>wi</sup>âmct!* one who raises children  
30.23

§ 100

*-t!wî* seems to be another form of the preceding suffix.

*lak<sup>u</sup>-* to fetch

. . . *t<sub>E</sub> la'k<sup>u</sup>t!wî hîtû'tc* this  
gatherer of the people 7.5  
*la'k<sup>u</sup>t!wî* a fetcher 22.9

§ 101. Nouns in *-ax*

This suffix is used for the purpose of forming nouns from verbal stems, adverbs, and stems denoting geographical terms. When added to verbs or to adverbs, it is best rendered by PERSON, PEOPLE; while when used in connection with geographical terms, it denotes a tribal name and may be translated by INHABITING, BELONGING TO.

*xāū'* he died 40.21

*kū<sup>i</sup> nāts xā'wa<sup>a</sup>xā<sup>ū</sup>t<sub>NE</sub>* if he had not  
been killed (literally, not had he  
been a person [who was] killed)  
29.7

*L'ōx-* to send 16.10

*tēn ants hītc L'ōwa'x* returned  
this human messenger (literally,  
returned that person [who was]  
sent) 7.7

(*L'ōwa'x* instead of *L'ōwa'xax*, see  
§ 24)

*a<sup>w</sup>stūx* he will sleep 27.7

*s<sup>i</sup>n<sup>i</sup>xyū<sup>'</sup><sub>NE</sub> ts!ūna'tc xawa'a<sup>w</sup> a<sup>w</sup>-  
stūxax* it was desired (that) with  
pitch killed shall be the person  
(who) will sleep 24.1

*wā'nwīts* long ago 14.7

*n<sup>i</sup>'tēim s<sup>a</sup>'tsa wā'nwītsax* be-  
cause thus (did it) the old-timers  
(literally, [people belonging to]  
long ago) 68.13

*nīctēimā<sup>e</sup>mū* custom, fashion  
36.28

*s<sup>a</sup>'tsī'tc wā'nwītsax nīctēimā<sup>e</sup>m<sup>w</sup>ax*  
thus (was) the custom of the old-  
timers (literally, thus [of people  
of] long ago the [things pertain-  
ing to their] customs) 76.6, 7

*pēl<sup>i</sup>'tc* first 32.19

*pēl<sup>i</sup>'tcax* a first settler

*Lxaw<sup>i</sup>-?*

*Lxaw<sup>w</sup>'yax* the other one, friend 42.8

*qū<sup>i</sup>-*, *qū<sup>i</sup>'tc* south

*qū<sup>w</sup>'yax*, *qū<sup>i</sup>'tcax* an Umpqua Indian  
(literally, a person inhabiting  
the south)

*qpa<sup>i</sup>-* north

*qpa<sup>w</sup>'yax* an Alsea man

*qa<sup>i</sup>xq-* east

*qa<sup>w</sup>'xqax* a Kalapuya Indian

*pī<sup>i</sup>'tsīs* ocean 44.1

*pī<sup>w</sup>'tsīsax* inhabitants of the ocean

*ckō<sup>i</sup>'tc* mountain 46.10

*ckō<sup>w</sup>'tcītcax* a mountaineer

§ 102. Nouns in *-ūnī* (*-aūnī*)

This suffix is added to adjectives, a few adverbs used in an adjectival sense, and to nouns. It has a double function. When added to adjectives or to adverbs, it transforms them into nouns, just as any adjective is transformed into a noun by adding ONE to it (compare our phrases THE BIG ONE, THE GOOD ONE, etc.). When used with other nouns, this suffix has an adjectival character, which may be best rendered by MADE OF, COMPOSED OF.

<i>tex<sup>a</sup>m</i> strong 10.1	<i>texmū'nī</i> the strong one, a man 30.21
<i>lxa<sup>u</sup>'yax</i> other 42.8	<i>lxa<sup>u</sup>yaxa<sup>u</sup>'nī</i> the other one 86.18
<i>yīkt</i> big 48.8	<i>yīktū'nī</i> the big one
<i>s<sup>h</sup>a't</i> large	<i>s<sup>h</sup>a'tū'nī</i> the larger one 92.18
<i>yāk!-</i> small 38.19	<i>tū yāk!a<sup>u</sup>'nī</i> that small one 88.12
<i>līmnī'tc</i> behind 86.11	<i>līmnītcū'nī mīctcī'<sup>i</sup></i> the youngest sister 40.2
<i>hī'q!a</i> beads, Indian money, dentalia shells 74.19	<i>hī'q!aha<sup>u</sup>'nī</i> consisting of dentalia shells 78.14
<i>pī'tq<sup>u</sup>ts</i> coon	<i>pī'tq<sup>u</sup>tsū'nī tahā'nīk</i> made of raccoon (-hide) quivers 70.23, 24
<i>t!ī</i> bear 12.4	<i>t!īyū'nī tahā'nīk</i> made of bear (-skin) quivers 70.24
<i>k!īx tE'q</i> everything 24.4	<i>k!ēxū'nī tE'qa<sup>u</sup>'nī hū'tca<sup>3</sup>'</i> composed of every sort (of) fun 10.5
<i>la'qlaq</i> boards	<i>laqlaqa<sup>u</sup>'nītc hī'tsī'<sup>i</sup></i> made of some kinds of boards the house 80.7

This suffix may be added to verbal stems provided the verb has been changed into an attribute of a following noun.

<i>hamx-</i> to tie	<i><sup>u</sup>l hamxa<sup>u</sup>'nī ants tEha<sup>u</sup>'ya</i> and that made of tied grass . . . 8.6
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§ 103. Nominalizing Suffix Indicating Place *-a<sup>ε</sup>mū*

This suffix indicates the place where a certain action is performed. When added to stems ending in a velar or palatal consonant, it appears as *-ya<sup>ε</sup>mū*, and changes the final velar of the stem (*q*, *q!*) into a palatal *k* (see § 17). After all other consonants it occurs as *-a<sup>ε</sup>mū*. The short *u*-vowels following velar and palatal consonants disappear before this suffix. It is possible that the final *ū* of the suffix may be related to the general nominalizing suffix *-ū* discussed in § 94 (see § 23).

*ma'q'ĩ-* to dance 28.7  
*ya'q<sup>u</sup>'-* to see 23.9  
*pekũ'* to play shinny 9.4  
  
*nĩctcat!-* to fight  
*tũhac'* to try to buy  
*lxat-* to run 12.3

*mekya<sup>e</sup>mũ* a dance-hall  
*yekya<sup>e</sup>mũ* a vantage point  
*pekya<sup>e</sup>mũ* a place where shinny is  
 played, ball-grounds  
*nĩctcat!a<sup>e</sup>mũ* battlefield  
*tũhac'a<sup>e</sup>mũ* a store  
*lxata<sup>e</sup>mũ* track (literally, a place  
 where people run)  
*nĩctcĩma<sup>e</sup>mũ* custom, fashion 29.9

#### § 104. Adjectives in -t

Siuslaw has no true adjectives. All stems denoting adjectival ideas are intransitive verbs, and may be used as such, as may be seen from the following examples:

*mĩ'k!a hĩct* that bad man 23.2,3    *tsĩ'k!ya mĩ'k!a* very bad it was  
 14.7  
*hatca't hĩ'q!a* long (strings of)    *hatca't ants lqa'ĩ' tũ* there was a  
 dentalia shells 76.1    tall tree 92.21

Owing to this verbal significance, the Siuslaw adjective shows no special suffixes. A few stems denoting adjectival concepts appear in duplicated form, mostly those expressing color (see § 109). There will be found, however, a number of words expressing attributive ideas that end in -t.<sup>1</sup> Whether this consonant is related to the auxiliary -t (see § 76) or whether it may be looked upon as a true adjectival suffix, is a question open to discussion. The following is a list of such adjectives:

<i>yĩkt</i> big, large 48.8	<i>t'xũĩ't</i> straight
<i>hawā'tsĩt</i> new	<i>sh<sup>a</sup>t</i> big, old 92.18
<i>hatca't</i> long, tall 76.1	<i>tsĩng!t</i> poor 16.10
<i>hĩxt</i> wild	<i>tsĩlt</i> thick
<i>pā'la'st<sup>2</sup></i> spotted	<i>k'ĩ'k'ĩt</i> heavy 11.9
<i>pĩn'ĩ't</i> sharp	<i>k!wĩ'act</i> proud
<i>mekct</i> fat 90.16	<i>q<sup>u</sup>c'ĩ'ct</i> thin
<i>tĩmsqayā't</i> bitter, sour	<i>lqut</i> red
<i>tĩnt</i> ripe	<i>l!āqt</i> wet 56.13
<i>tqatĩya't</i> dear, expensive	<i>l!nũwā'tĩt</i> deep

#### § 105. Irregular Suffixes -Em, -ĩsĩ, -wĩ, -yũwĩ, -ĩwĩ

These suffixes occur very seldom, and, while their function is to all appearances nominal, it can not be explained accurately.

<sup>1</sup> See also § 124.

<sup>2</sup> Dorsey: *p'āl-lāst* gray.

**-Em** occurs with a few nouns.

<i>ilqwa<sup>a</sup>'tem</i> root, alder tree	<i>tsam<sup>i</sup>'tsem</i> chin
92.5, 6	<i>q<sup>i</sup>ū'nem</i> winter 80.19
<i>p<sup>i</sup>'ctcem</i> summer 98.8	<i>xa<sup>i</sup>'tsem</i> woman's basket

**-īśī** seems to denote an abstract idea.

<i>p<sup>i</sup>ln-</i> to be sick 40.21	<i>p<sup>i</sup>ln<sup>i</sup>'sī</i> sickness, cough
<i>qa<sup>i</sup>'x</i> dark, night 38.21	<i>qa<sup>i</sup>'x<sup>i</sup>'sī</i> darkness, night
<i>hw<sup>i</sup>'nhwun</i> black	<i>h<sup>o</sup>'nīsī</i> dusk
<i>nī'ctca</i> (?) how 16.2	<i>nī'ctcīsī</i> arrival (?) 40.16
<i>nīctcānwa<sup>i</sup></i> spring comes	<i>nīctcanū'wisī</i> year 92.12

The following nouns have analogous form:

<i>a<sup>u</sup>'tcīsī</i> camas 96.20	<i>l!<sup>i</sup>n<sup>i</sup>'tcīsī</i> crawfish
<i>h<sup>i</sup>'xtsnīsī</i> small-pox	

The nouns *tswa<sup>i</sup>'sī* FROST and *L<sup>u</sup>wa<sup>i</sup>'sī* NOSE may also belong here.

**-wī** is found in a small number of nouns.

<i>s<sup>i</sup>'na<sup>u</sup>wī</i> grouse	<i>k!<sup>i</sup>ō<sup>o</sup>'xwī</i> gnat
<i>tsna<sup>i</sup>'wī</i> bone	<i>q<sup>u</sup>'hā'qwī</i> broom

In a few instances this suffix seems to form nouns of agency, and may be related to the suffixes discussed in §§ 97 and 99.

<i>tsxan-</i> to comb one's hair	<i>tsxa<sup>i</sup>'nwī</i> a comb
<i>qatcū<sup>i</sup>'</i> to drink 76.12	<i>qatcwī'wī</i> a person who waters animals (?)
<i>c<sup>u</sup>xū-</i> to drive away, to scare	<i>cūxwa<sup>i</sup>'wī</i> a driver (?)
56.11	
<i>ilq-</i> to dig 80.6	<i>ilqa<sup>i</sup>'wī</i> one who digs holes

**-yūwī, -īwī.** These two suffixes have a peculiar function. They seem to denote the nominal object of an action performed by a noun of agency (see § 100). The most puzzling phenomenon connected with their function is the fact that they can be added only to the discriminative form of a noun (see § 111), which seems to stand in direct contradiction to its objective significance, because the discriminative case points to the noun as the subject of the action.

Absolutive	Discriminative	Objective
<i>pen<sup>i</sup>'s</i> skunk 86.1	<i>pena<sup>i</sup>'s</i> 86.7	<i>tsīL!<sup>i</sup>!</i> <i>penasyū'wī</i> a skunk-shooter

Absolutive	Discriminative	Objective
<i>h̄tc</i> person 7.1	<i>h̄ya'tc</i> 13.10; 15.2	<i>ts̄l!t!</i> <i>h̄yatcū'w̄i</i> a man-killer <i>t̄ema'ya<sup>x</sup> h̄yatc̄'w̄i</i> a gatherer of people
<i>swał</i> grizzly bear	<i>swāł</i> 15.2	<i>ts̄l!t!</i> <i>swālyū'w̄i</i> a grizzly-shooter
(?) huckleberries	<i>tE'xya</i>	<i>ta'k<sup>u</sup>t!w̄i</i> <i>taxyū'w̄i</i> a picker of huckleberries
<i>qwo'txa<sup>i</sup></i> beaver 48.6	<i>qwoa'txa<sup>i</sup></i> 52.4	<i>ts̄l!t!</i> <i>qwoatx̄'w̄i</i> a beaver-killer

Another nominalizing suffix that seems to be confined to one stem only is *-as* in the noun *wa'as* LANGUAGE, WORD, MESSAGE 34.21, formed from the verbal stem *waa-* TO SPEAK, TO TALK.

### Reduplication (§§ 106–109)

#### § 106. *Introductory*

Reduplication as a factor in the formation of grammatical categories and processes does not play as important a rôle in Siuslaw as in many other American Indian languages.

Considered from a purely phonetic point of view, the process of reduplication may affect a single sound, a syllable, or the whole word, while from the standpoint of position of the reduplicated elements it may be either initial or final. In accordance with these processes, a given language may show the following possible forms of reduplication: Vocalic or consonantic initial reduplication; consonantic final reduplication, commonly called final reduplication; syllabic reduplication, usually referred to as doubling or reduplication of the syllable; and word-reduplication, better known as repetition of the stem.

Of the forms of reduplication known actually to occur in the American Indian languages, Siuslaw shows only duplication of the (first) syllable, duplication of the final consonant, and repetition of the stem. Syllabic duplication occurs rather seldom, final duplication is resorted to frequently, while repetition of the stem plays a not unimportant part in the formation of words.

Reduplication is confined chiefly to the verb; its use for expressing distribution—a phenomenon commonly found in American Indian languages—is entirely unknown to Siuslaw, which employs this process solely for the purpose of denoting repetition or duration of action.



### § 107. Duplication of the Initial Syllable

This process occurs in a few sporadic instances only. The repeated syllable occurs in its full form, the original syllable losing its vocalic elements. Initial stops of both the original and repeated syllables are usually changed into fortis (see § 17).

*tēmū'*- to assemble 7.3

*t!Emt!ma'xam wàn* they come to see him (literally, he is assembled about) 23.3

*lī'ū* (they) come 9.3

*L!īL!wa'xam* he is approached 16.3

*L!īL!wī'sūtne* he is continually approached 26.2

*s<sup>a</sup>a'tsanx tE L!īL!ūtūts* that's why I came (to see) you 21.6, 7

*h<sup>i</sup>ya'ten<sup>a</sup>xan L!ī' L!ūts* people us came (to see) repeatedly 100.8

*ta<sup>i</sup>*- to sit, to live 16.2

*ants Tsxuna'plī t!ī't!yūn* (that) on which Coyote was sitting 94.6

*ha<sup>l</sup>*- to shout 13.11

*l<sup>h</sup>ahī'yūsne* he would be shouted at 70.22 (this form may be explained as derived from an original *hal<sup>h</sup>ahī'yūsne*)

*l<sup>h</sup>ahī'txā<sup>ū</sup>ne* he is continually shouted at 11.10

*yuw-* to pick 96.18

*yū'ya<sup>ūwt</sup>!* one who picks

### § 108. Duplication of Final Consonants

This process is employed extensively, and consists in the repetition of the final consonant with insertion of a weak *a-* or *ī-* vowel. In many instances the quality of the connecting vowel is affected by the vowel of the stem. This is especially true in cases where the stem ends in a *u*-vowel, after which the connective vowel is assimilated and becomes a weak *u*. The short vowel of the stem is not infrequently changed into a long vowel. This duplication plays an important part in the formation of the past tense (see § 74), and, in addition to denoting frequency and duration of action, it seems to be capable of expressing commencement, especially of intransitive actions.

*a<sup>u</sup>s-* to sleep 23.9

*a<sup>u</sup>'sī's* he began to sleep 26.9

*qax* dark 38.21

*qā'xī'x wā'nwīts* it got dark long ago 64.19

<i>xînt-</i> to go 20.3	<i>uʔ wàn xîntʔt</i> he kept on going now 56.23
<i>sLōxu-</i> to go down	<i>uʔ sLōxu'a<sup>u</sup> wīL!a'xL!</i> he came down again 12.6
<i>ha'q</i> shore 44.7	<i>ha'qa'q wan</i> he then went ashore 58.17
<i>loqw-</i> to boil 96.1	<i>uʔ txū lōqwa'q<sup>u</sup></i> and just he was boiling 96.7, 8
<i>mī'k!a</i> bad 14.7	<i>mīk!a'k! ants tsaxayū'wi</i> began to get rough that weather 64.15
<i>smūt'-</i> to end 11.1	<i>wàn smūt'a't'</i> it ends finally 9.1
<i>tēit'-</i> to blow 94.5	<i>tēit'a't'</i> the wind blew 94.5
<i>hūt-</i> to play 7.2	<i>uʔ<sup>nx</sup> āL hūtca'tc</i> and they now began to play 72.23, 24
<i>k!ap-</i> low water 36.18	<i>k!āpī'p</i> low water (comes)
<i>xwīL!-</i> to go back 42.6	<i>xwīL!a'L! wàn</i> he finally came back 12.7
<i>nał-</i> to start	<i>sqā'tem nālī'l</i> he started from there 68.10
<i>hē'q!-</i> to start 22.6	<i>s'a'tsa hē'q!aq!yax</i> thus it began 15.1
<i>lak<sup>u</sup>-</i> to take 7.5	<i>uʔ<sup>ax</sup> lakwa'kū<sup>n</sup></i> they two took (them) away 52.16
<i>xumc-</i> to come, to approach	<i>la'kukyax</i> she took 60.23
<i>hīts-</i> to put on 11.8	<i>xumca'ca<sup>ux</sup> wàn</i> they two are approaching now 23.2
<i>tū'tc-</i> to spear 62.2	<i>h'yatsī'tsūn ants la'iqat</i> he is putting that feather on 11.8
<i>tcaq-</i> to spear 68.18	<i>t<sup>o</sup>watcī'tcūna<sup>ux</sup></i> they two began to spear it 56.15, 16
<i>yax-</i> to see 20.10	<i>t<sup>o</sup>wa'tcītcyaxa<sup>n</sup></i> I have been spearing it 66.17
<i>qnū<sup>i</sup>-</i> to find 56.9	<i>uʔ<sup>ax</sup> tcaqa'qa<sup>n</sup></i> and they two began to spear it 56.19
	<i>uʔ<sup>ax</sup> yaxī'xūn</i> they two saw it 56.15
	<i>uʔ<sup>n</sup> qnūhū'hū<sup>n</sup></i> I am finding it

A very interesting case of duplication applied to formative elements is presented by the nominal suffix *-ax*. This suffix signifies PEOPLE, BELONGING TO, and, when added to the adverb *wā'nwīts* LONG AGO, it was invariably rendered by OLD-TIMERS (see § 101). Whenever the speaker wants to imply the intensive idea PEOPLE OF VERY LONG AGO, he usually repeats this suffix.

*wā'nwītsax* old-timer 68.13

*wā'nwītsaxax* people of long, long ago 29.9

*s<sup>2</sup>a'tsa xnāw'nūtne wā'nwītsaxax*  
thus it was done (by) people of long, long ago 62.9

*wā'nwītsaxax nīctēma<sup>s</sup>mū* (of) old, old-timers their custom 68.19

Similarly the modal *-ītc* (see § 94) is found repeated in a few instances.

*tcā* where 34.4

*tcāītcī'tc nī'ctūx* where he will go 64.20

### § 109. Duplication of Stems

While this process is, strictly speaking, of a lexicographical character, and as such ought to be treated more properly under the heading "Vocabulary" (see § 137), it will nevertheless be found useful to give here a list of doubled stems. Barring a few nouns, most of these terms are adjectives denoting color and quality.

*hwu'nhwun* black

*pxū'pxū<sup>i</sup>* sorrel, yellow

*tu'ktuk* deaf

*i'n'k!<sup>i</sup>nk!* soft

*kī'k'īt* heavy 11.9

*pūna'pūna'* gopher, mole

96.19

*mū'smūs* cow<sup>1</sup>

*t!'a'l't!'al* tongue

*tsīyī'ktsīyī'k* wagon<sup>1</sup>

*qa'sqas* stiff, hard

*qu'iqul* white 40.10,11

*qtsī'ngqtsīn* blue, green

*xu'sxus* naked

*kīma'tīm* blind

*tsīnī' Ltsīnī' L<sup>2</sup>* little beaver (?)

50.15

*tcīmtca'mī* ax 27.10

*qu'la' L' qu'la' L* otter from ocean (?)

*laqlaq* board 80.7

## Vocalic Changes (§§ 110–112)

### § 110. Introductory

Siuslaw expresses two distinct grammatical categories by means of vocalic change. Of these two categories, one is nominal, while the other has a strictly verbal character pertaining to intensity and frequency of action. When applied to nouns, vocalic change expresses the discriminative case.

<sup>1</sup>Chinook jargon.

<sup>2</sup>Chinook.

### § 111. *The Discriminative Case*

The discriminative case is that form of the noun which singles it out as the performer of an action directed upon an object; i. e., it designates the nominal subject in sentences containing pronominal or nominal object.

The discriminative form of pronouns and of nouns of relationship is expressed by means of the prefix *q-* (see § 21). All other nouns express the discriminative form by means of a vocalic change that varies according to the quantity of the stem-vowel, and in polysyllabic stems according to the quantity of the vowel of the accented syllable. The following rules may be said to apply in all cases:

1. The discriminative form of nouns the stem-vowel of which is a long *ī* or *ū* is obtained through the diphthongization of these vowels into *ya* and *wa* respectively (see § 7). For purely physiological reasons a weak vowel corresponding to the quality of the diphthongized vowel is inserted between the diphthong and its preceding consonant.

*hītc* person, people 7.1

<sup>u</sup>*t* *ya'q<sup>u</sup>yūn h'ya'tc* and people looked on 70.4

*ī'tc<sup>st</sup>* cougar 13.3

*ī'ya'tc<sup>st</sup> h'ya'tsī'tsūn* Cougar put it on 13.4

*mī'k'a* bad 14.7

*m'ya'k'a h'ya'tc ī't!a'yūn* a bad person devoured him 15.2

*hīq<sup>u</sup>* wild-cat 34.17

*h'ya'tsī'tsūn h'ya'q<sup>u</sup>* Wild-Cat put it on 11.11

*lk!anū'k<sup>u</sup>* screech-owl 86.1

*tsī'k!ya w'ī'nxa<sup>ūn</sup> ants pen'ī's lk!an<sup>u</sup>wa'k<sup>u</sup>* Screech-Owl feared that Skunk very much 86.3

*hīna<sup>wūn</sup> ants pīna<sup>st</sup> lk!an<sup>u</sup>wa'k<sup>u</sup>* Screech-Owl intended to take along that sick man 88.1, 2

*qīūtē'ū'nī* woman 30.21

*ē'l'xūn qīūtē<sup>u</sup>wa'nī* (a) woman shook him 58.4

*texmū'nī* man 30.21

*wī'lūn texm<sup>u</sup>wa'nī* (the) man agreed with her 58.7

*tsxayū'<sup>wī</sup>* sun, day 8.1

*mītkwī'tūtsīn tsxay<sup>u</sup>wa'wī* (the) Sun had pity on me 72.14

Somewhat irregular discriminative forms are shown by the nouns *t!ī* GRIZZLY BEAR and *qī'ūtē* WIFE, which occur as *t!īya'* and *qa'yūtē* respectively.

*t!i* grizzly bear 12.4

*q̄v'ūtc* wife 48.17

*t!i'ya'* *h'yatsi'tsūn* Grizzly Bear  
put it on 12.3

*ma<sup>ate</sup>* *q̄a'yūtc<sup>ate</sup>* (he and) his wife  
had lain 60.13

2. Nouns with short stem-vowels, or with short vowels in the accented syllable, change these vowels into an *a* in their discriminative forms. Short *a*-vowels of the stem are lengthened into *ā*.

*pEni's* skunk 86.1

*tsi'sqan* deer 13.9

*qwo'txa<sup>i</sup>* beaver 48.6

*p̄l̄q<sup>u</sup>ts* raccoon 70.23, 24

*q!a'xa<sup>u</sup>xt* wolf 13.2

*swal* grizzly bear

*sqūma'* pelican 44.1

*!na<sup>u</sup>wi* *hītc* *u* *l̄qaqa<sup>v</sup>* *txa<sup>ū</sup>n* *pEna's*  
(at) a rich man he always broke  
his wind, (namely) Skunk 86.6, 7  
*h'yatsi'tsūn* *tsa'sq̄in* Deer put it on  
13.8

*a'tsa* *u* *kum̄'ntc* *s̄i'n̄ixyūn* *qwoa't-*  
*xa<sup>i</sup>* *ants* *q<sup>u</sup>L'i'tc* that's why not  
liked Beaver that Otter 54.8, 9  
*p̄a'l̄q<sup>u</sup>ts* *h'yatsi'tsūn* Raccoon put  
it on

*q!ā'xa<sup>u</sup>xt* *h'yatsi'tsūn* Wolf put it  
on 12.8

*swāl* *l̄i't!* *a'yūn* Grizzly Bear de-  
voured them 15.2

*waa'a<sup>ū</sup>n* *sqūmā'* *ants* *l̄q!a<sup>l</sup>·ō'mä*  
said Pelican to Sea-Gull 44.17

3. Stems containing diphthongs, or stems whose accented syllables end in the diphthong *a<sup>i</sup>*, add a short *a* to the diphthong for the purpose of forming the discriminative case.

*ha<sup>i</sup>mūt* all 9.5

*ha<sup>i</sup>na* different 58.9

*haya'mūt* *h'ya'tc* *L!xū'yūn* all peo-  
ple know it 60.24, 25

*yaq<sup>u</sup>yī<sup>w</sup>yūtsatc̄* *haya'mūt* you all  
shall look at me 72.11, 12

*haya'na* *h'yatsi'tsūn* another (one)  
put it on 12.8

4. Polysyllabic stems whose accented syllable ends in a consonant and is followed by a syllable beginning with a consonant form the discriminative case by inserting a short *a* between these two consonants.

*tsxu'npl̄i* coyote 88.9

*texm̄l'·m̄ä* old people 58.25

*ants* *Tsxuna'pl̄i* *t!i't!* *yūn* that (on  
which) he was sitting, (namely)  
Coyote 94.6

*texm̄l'·a'm̄i* *L!xū'yūn* an old man  
knew it 76.15, 16

<sup>1</sup> Probably misheard for *qwa'txa<sup>i</sup>*.

<i>um'l̄i</i> thunder	<i>s<sup>x</sup>atsi'tc wad'a<sup>n</sup> uma'l̄i</i> thus said to him Thunder 36.9
<i>q̄ūt̄c̄i'l̄mä</i> old woman 96.15	<i>q̄ūt̄c̄i'l̄'a'm̄i ta'yūn ants ts̄i'l̄i</i> the old woman kept that arrow 96.2
<i>tc̄i'nta<sup>u</sup></i> which one 90.1	<i>tc̄i'na'ta<sup>u</sup> s̄i'n̄ixyaxa<sup>n</sup> ants . . .</i> whoever wanted that . . . 11.6, 7

### § 112. *Intensity and Duration of Action*

Vocalic change as a means of expressing intensive and durative actions is of a twofold character. The change consists either in the diphthongization of the long *ī*- and *ū*- vowels of the stem (see § 7), or in stem-amplification. In both cases the underlying principle may be described as the change of a monosyllabic root into a stem having two syllables.

Diphthongization is applied to those stems only whose vowels are either long *ī* or *ū*. A verbal stem with a diphthongized vowel expresses durative actions only in connection with other proper devices, such as the temporal suffixes or duplication of final consonants (see §§ 41, 56, 69, 108). Owing to the fact that certain temporal suffixes—namely the inchoative, the frequentative, the durative, the present, the future, and the imperative—imply to a certain extent intensive actions, or actions that are being performed continually, the suffixes for these tenses are frequently found added to the verbal stem whose vowel has been diphthongized, while all other tenses are formed from the simple root.

<i>L!ōn-</i> to tell 16.9	<i>s<sup>x</sup>atsi'tc L!wa<sup>n</sup></i> thus he was speaking 16.6
<i>kū'n-</i> to bend down	<i>u<sup>l</sup> txū kwa<sup>hu</sup>nt</i> and (they) would just bend down 11.9
	<i>u<sup>l</sup> kwa<sup>hu</sup>na't!ist</i> and he would continually lower his head 13.5
<i>tkūm-</i> to close, to shut 48.8	<i>u<sup>l</sup>ns tkwa'misūn</i> and we two shall keep on making dams (literally, closing [the river]) 48.14
<i>tū'tc-</i> to spear 62.2	<i>t<sup>o</sup>wa'tc̄is wān</i> spear it now! 64.2
	<i>t<sup>o</sup>wa'tc̄i'tcūna<sup>u</sup>x</i> they two are spearing it 56.15, 16
<i>qū'n-</i> to pour 29.2	<i>qwa<sup>l</sup>'nyūx</i> pour it into his . . . ! 29.2
<i>L!ōx-</i> to send 16.10	<i>L!<sup>o</sup>wa<sup>l</sup>xyūn</i> (I) shall keep on sending (them) 30.19

*L!xū-* to know 19.9

*lak<sup>u</sup>-* to take, to get 7.5

*hīts-* to put on 11.8

*cīt<sup>x</sup>-* to flop

*īlqa<sup>i</sup>'* he digs 84.2

*tsīL!-* to shoot 8.6

*L!x<sup>u</sup>wa<sup>x</sup>x<sup>u</sup>yūtsa'tcī* you shall know me 30.17

*wàn lakwa'kū<sup>u</sup>n* now (they two) were taking them 52.16

*h<sup>i</sup>yatsī'tsūn* he is putting it on 11.8

*c<sup>i</sup>yats* it is flopping 36.23

*ya'lqa<sup>u</sup>n* (they two) are digging (holes) 84.5

*ts<sup>i</sup>yaL!-* to shoot

Intensity and duration of action of verbal stems whose root-vowels are vowels of quantities and qualities other than *ī* and *ū* are expressed by means of amplification of the root by the insertion of a weak vowel between its two final consonants. This process occurs in a few rare instances.

*anax-* to give up 60.11

*hamx-* to tie 8.6

*xnī<sup>w</sup>n-* to do 10.5

*kum<sup>i</sup>'ntcīnl ana'xyūn* not we shall give it up 16.8

*k!<sup>ε</sup>Lūn hama'xyūn* tomorrow I will tie it up

*s<sup>ε</sup>a'tsa<sup>w</sup>ūn xnīyūnī<sup>w</sup>'yūn* thus to them two I will do it 88.14, 15

*s<sup>ε</sup>a'tsa<sup>x</sup>ūn xnīyuna<sup>w</sup>ūn* thus to them two I intend doing it

Another example of stem-amplification for the purpose of expressing duration of action is furnished by the stem *a<sup>i</sup>q-* TO LEAVE, which is changed into *ayaq-*.

*ta<sup>v</sup>'k<sup>ε</sup>ns aya'qyūn* here we two (incl.) will leave it 56.16, 17

Stem-amplification may have also caused the change of the root *L!xma<sup>i</sup>-* TO KILL into *L!xmīya<sup>i</sup>-*.

*yā<sup>a</sup>'xa<sup>i</sup> hītc L!xmīya'yūn ants Swāī* many people he is killing, that Grizzly Bear 94.9

*L!xmīya'yūnanī* we (incl.) are going to kill him 28.3

Siuslaw possesses a number of stems that occur in such double forms, and I give here a few of the most important.

*L!ōn-* 16.9

*kū<sup>˘</sup>'n-*

*tkūm-* 48.8

*tū<sup>˘</sup>'tc-* 62.2

*qū<sup>˘</sup>'n-* 29.2

*L!wa<sup>a</sup>n-* to tell 16.6

*kwa<sup>h</sup>un-* to lower one's head 11.9

*tkwam-* to close, to shut 48.14

*t<sup>o</sup>watc-* to spear 56.15

*qwa<sup>˘</sup>'n-* to pour 29.2

*L!ōwax-* 16.10*k<sup>u</sup>ts-**lōl-**ka<sup>u</sup>s-* 92.7*ūt-* 76.10*lak<sup>u</sup>-* 7.5*xaū'-* 40.21*haū'-* 11.4*t!<sup>u</sup>'-* 74.5*t!<sup>E</sup>'mxaū<sup>u</sup>-* 48.12*wī'tū-* 58.7*yax-* 40.11*hīts* 11.8*hīn-* 9.5*īlq-* 80.6*tsīL!-* 8.6*q!<sup>u</sup>'p-**cīt<sup>x</sup>-* 36.23*tīt!-* 13.10*tcī'n-* 12.10*a<sup>i</sup>q-**hamax-* 8.6*anax-* 60.11*xnī<sup>w</sup>n-* 10.5*L!xū-* 19.9*L!xma<sup>i</sup>-**L!<sup>o</sup>wax-* to send 7.7*kwats-* to paint one's face*L<sup>o</sup>wal-* to strike*k<sup>i</sup>was-* to follow 92.3*walt-* to snow*lakwa'-* to take, to get, to fetch  
52.16*xawa'-* to die 15.5*ha'wa-* to be ready 23.10*t!<sup>u</sup>ha'-* to buy 74.5*t!<sup>E</sup>mxa-* to cut into pieces*wīlwa'-* to agree 30.11*ya'xa-* to see 20.10*h<sup>i</sup>yats-* to put on 11.7*h<sup>i</sup>yan-* to take along*yalq-* to dig 84.5*ts<sup>i</sup>yaL!-* to shoot*q!<sup>u</sup>yap-* to twinkle 36.14*c<sup>i</sup>yat<sup>x</sup>-* to flop 36.23*t<sup>i</sup>yat!-* to eat*tc<sup>i</sup>yan-* to come back*aya'q-* to leave 56.5*hamax-* to tie*ana'x-* to give up 16.8*xnīyun-* to do 88.14, 15*L!x<sup>w</sup>wa-* to know 30.17*L!xmīya<sup>i</sup>-* to kill 28.3

Amplification of the stem seems to have been used in a few instances for the purpose of expressing intransitive actions performed by the third person singular. It will be remembered that this person has no special suffix, the same being understood in the stem or in the verbal suffixes. In some cases, however, Siuslaw adds a weak *a* to the stem, provided the same is not followed by any of the subjective suffixes (see § 24).

*haū'* to quit, to be ready 28.2    *wā'nwīts ha'wa* long ago it (was)  
ready 23.10

*xaū'* to die 22.5    *txūn xa'wa sī'n<sup>i</sup>xyūt<sup>nE</sup>* just I to  
die am wanted 20.8, 9

*yax-* to see 40.11    *txūn<sup>x</sup> ya'xa sī'n<sup>i</sup>xyūt<sup>nE</sup>* merely  
thou to (be) see(n) art wanted  
20.10



<i>t!ū'</i> - to buy	<i>tsa'ntcî tū'ha s'n'xyūn</i> if you to buy want her 74.8
<i>waa'</i> - to speak 7.1	<i>ʷ waa'</i> and he said 12.10

In one instance the quality of this weak vowel has been assimilated to that of the stem-vowel.

<i>tqūl-</i> to shout 92.6	<i>mîta'to<sup>w</sup>ax ants tqūlū' waa'</i> their (dual) father, that one shouted (and) said ( <i>tqū'lū</i> instead of <i>tqū'la</i> ) 52.8
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## The Pronoun (§§ 113–115)

### § 113. *The Independent Personal Pronouns*

The independent personal pronouns occur primarily in two forms, according to whether they are used as subjects or objects of an action; but, owing to the fact that from the subjective pronouns there is obtained by means of the prefix *q-* (see § 21) a discriminative form, the independent personal pronouns may be said to have three distinct forms—the discriminative, subjective, and objective or locative sets. Both the discriminative and subjective pronouns refer to the subject of the sentence, differing, however, in so far as the former applies to subjects of transitive actions, while the latter is used mostly in connection with intransitive verbs. The discriminative form, moreover, is employed whenever the sentence absolutely requires that subjectivity of action be indicated (see §§ 21, 111). To be sure, cases where the subjective pronouns are used with transitive verbs are by no means rare.

Siuslaw, like so many other Indian languages, has no distinct pronoun for the third person singular, this person being supplied by the demonstrative pronouns *s<sup>ɛ</sup>à*, *s<sup>ɛ</sup>a'na*, *s<sup>ɛ</sup>às* (see § 115). The first person dual has two separate forms, one for the inclusive (I AND THOU), and the other for the exclusive (I AND HE). Similarly, in the first person plural are distinguished the inclusive (I AND YE) and exclusive (I AND THEY).

These pronouns perform the function of a whole sentence, and may be rendered by I, THOU, HE, etc., AM THE ONE WHO. . . .

The tabular presentation of the independent personal pronouns is as follows:

		Subjective	Objective	Discriminative
Singular. . .	{1st person . . . 2d person . . . 3d person. . .	<i>na'han, nà</i> <i>nīxʷts</i> <i>s<sup>E</sup>à</i>	<i>nàtc</i> <i>nīxʷtc</i> <i>s<sup>E</sup>a'ina, s<sup>E</sup>a'inatc</i>	<i>qna'han, qnà</i> <i>qnīxʷts</i> <i>s<sup>E</sup>às</i>
Dual. . . .	{Inclusive . . . Exclusive . . . 2d person . . . 3d person . . .	<i>nans</i> <i>na'wʷân</i> <i>nīxʷts</i> <i>s<sup>E</sup>a'wax, s<sup>E</sup>awx</i>	<i>na'tc<sup>E</sup>ns</i> <i>na'tcawʷân</i> <i>nī'xtc<sup>E</sup>ts</i> <i>s<sup>E</sup>a'ina'tcawx</i>	<i>qnans</i> <i>qna'wʷân</i> <i>qnīxʷts</i> <i>s<sup>E</sup>a'sawx</i>
Plural. . . .	{Inclusive . . . Exclusive . . . 2d person . . . 3d person . . .	<i>nanł</i> <i>na'nzan</i> <i>nī'xʷts<sup>E</sup>tci</i> <i>s<sup>E</sup>ànx</i>	<i>na'tc'inł</i> <i>na'tc'inzan</i> <i>nī'xtc<sup>E</sup>tci</i> <i>s<sup>E</sup>a'ina'tc'inx</i>	<i>qnanł</i> <i>qna'nzan</i> <i>qnī'xʷts<sup>E</sup>tci</i> <i>s<sup>E</sup>'as<sup>E</sup>nz</i>

This table shows that the independent pronouns are derived from two stems—*nà* for the first persons, and *nīx* or *nīxʷts* for the second persons; the first singular and all dual and plural persons being obtained by suffixing the subjective pronouns for these persons (see § 24) to the singular forms. Thus the inclusive and exclusive dual *nans* and *naxûn* are composed of the first person singular *nà* and of the subjective suffixes *-ns* and *-xûn*. In like manner the inclusive and exclusive plural *nanł* and *na'nzan* consist of *nà* + *-nł* and *nà* + *-nzan* respectively.

The second person dual *nīxʷts* is abbreviated from an original *nī'xʷts<sup>E</sup>ts*. This abbreviation is due to simplification of double consonants (see § 15), causing a phonetic similarity between the pronouns for the second person singular and dual. In order to avoid possible confusion, duality of subject is indicated by suffixing to the verb the subjective pronouns for the second person dual. The second person plural is regular, consisting of the singular form for the second person plus the subjective suffix plural for that person.

The third persons dual and plural are obtained by adding the subjective pronouns for these persons to the subjective form of the demonstrative pronoun *s<sup>E</sup>à*.

The objective forms of the personal pronouns—that is to say, those forms that are used as objects of a sentence—are formed by adding to the subjective pronouns the local suffix indicating motion *-tc* (see § 90). The form for the second person singular is the result of an abbreviation from an original *nī'xʷts<sup>E</sup>tc* caused perhaps by a reduction of the cluster of final consonants.

It will be noticed that the subjective suffixes employed in the formation of the corresponding dual and plural persons are added after the adverbial *-tc*, a trait which Siuslaw has in common with the Alsea language. The objective pronouns for the third persons have as their basis the corresponding forms of the demonstrative pronoun.

For the sake of emphasis the subjective suffixed pronouns are sometimes used in addition to the independent forms.

Examples of subjective pronouns:

*na'han* *ʷn ts̄l!* *ʷya's* I have an arrow (literally, I am the one who

[I] is arrow-having) 50.16

*a'tsan* *tE nà. L!ōxa'xam* that's why this I was sent 21.8

*na'han* *a'nts<sup>Enx</sup> s̄!n'xyūts* I am that one whom you wanted 40.14

*kum'ntc̄in* *nà n̄ctc̄i' tc wa'a'l* not I anything will say (literally, not I, I am the one who anything will say) 74.9

*k!ixa'* *nà* alone (was) I 100.3

*n̄x<sup>ats</sup> ʷ<sup>Enx</sup> qan'nal* *h̄i'n̄s̄it̄i* you'll take along your knife (literally, you are the one, you, knife take along will, yours) 50.16,

17

*n̄x<sup>ats</sup> ʷit!a'* you are eating

*ʷ s̄à p̄t̄i' tc̄t̄ūx* and he will be first 10.1

*nans* *h̄i'sa* we two (incl.) are well

*na'xân* *x̄a'ts!ū* we two (excl.) are two 36.15

*s̄<sup>a<sup>ux</sup></sup> ata's* *L!x̄ū'yūn* they two only knew it 98.9

*s̄<sup>ànx</sup> ts̄i'k!ya* *L!x̄ū'yūn* they very (well) know it 72.1, 2

Examples of objective pronouns:

*kum'ntc̄* *h̄i'sa n̄tc̄* it is not good for me 12.2

*ʷn<sup>x</sup> n̄tc̄* *L̄i'wis* then you shall come to me 44.6

*kum'ntc̄* *h̄i'sa n̄i'x̄<sup>tc̄</sup>* it (does) not (look) good on you 12.5

*kum'ntc̄* *na'tc̄<sup>Ens</sup> s̄!n'xya* *tE q̄ūtc̄ū'n̄i* not us two (incl.) like these women 52.13

Examples of objective and discriminative pronouns for the third persons will be found under "Demonstrative Pronouns" (see § 115), while the discriminative pronouns for the first and second persons have been illustrated in § 21.

### § 114. *The Possessive Pronouns*

The independent possessive pronouns are compound forms consisting of the following three separate elements: the independent personal pronoun (see § 113), the relative case-ending *-Eml* (see § 87),

and the sign of possession  $-i$  (see § 88). The sign of possession is not present in forms that express the third persons as the possessor. To these compound forms are added the suffixed subjective pronouns (see § 24) for the purpose of indicating the person of the possessor. The suffixed pronouns, to be sure, agree always with the independent pronouns that form the initial elements of the compound. The following peculiarities will be observed in connection with the pronominal forms that enter into the composition of the independent possessive pronouns:

1. For the first and second persons (singular, dual and plural) the subjective forms of the independent pronoun are used. The stems  $na$  and  $nix$  are employed for that purpose.

2. For the third person (singular, dual and plural) the objective form of the independent pronoun ( $s^E a' na$ ) is used.

3. Singularity, duality, or plurality of the person is expressed, not in the initial pronominal element, but in the suffixed subjective pronoun. Consequently the initial element remains unchanged for all numbers.

Owing to the fact that Siuslaw has no distinct subjective suffix for the third person singular, the suffix  $-tc$  is added without the aid of the sign of possession  $-i$ . Duality and plurality of the third person are indicated by adding to  $-tc$  the subjective suffixes  $-a^u x$  and  $-nx$  respectively.

In § 88 the fact has been mentioned that possessive phrases are verbalized by adding the auxiliary suffix  $-t$  (see § 76) to the sign of possession. This  $-t$  often figures in the composition of the independent possessive pronouns, especially those for the first and second persons.

The following table shows the independent possessive pronouns:

Singular . . . .	{ 1st person . . . . . { 2d person . . . . . { 3d person . . . . .	$na'm^E \tilde{v}in, na'm^E \tilde{v}it\tilde{v}in$ $n\tilde{i}'xam\tilde{v}in\tilde{x}, n\tilde{i}'xam\tilde{v}it\tilde{v}in\tilde{x}$ $s^E a'ina'm\tilde{i}tc, s^E a'ina'm\tilde{i}$
Dual . . . . .	{ Inclusive . . . . . { Exclusive . . . . . { 2d person . . . . . { 3d person . . . . .	$na'm^E \tilde{v}ins, na'm^E \tilde{v}it\tilde{v}ins$ $na'm^E \tilde{v}ix\tilde{a}n, na'm^E \tilde{v}itax\tilde{a}n$ $n\tilde{i}'xam\tilde{v}it\tilde{v}its, n\tilde{i}'xam\tilde{v}it\tilde{v}it\tilde{v}its$ $s^E a'ina'm\tilde{i}tcwax$
Plural . . . . .	{ Inclusive . . . . . { Exclusive . . . . . { 2d person . . . . . { 3d person . . . . .	$na'm^E \tilde{v}in\tilde{i}, na'm^E \tilde{v}it\tilde{v}in\tilde{i}$ $na'm^E \tilde{v}inx\tilde{a}n, na'm^E \tilde{v}it\tilde{v}inx\tilde{a}n$ $n\tilde{i}'xam\tilde{v}it\tilde{v}itct, n\tilde{i}'xam\tilde{v}it\tilde{v}it\tilde{v}itct$ $s^E a'ina'm\tilde{i}tcn^E x$

It will be noticed that the obscure *E* of the relative suffix *-eml̄* has been contracted with the preceding vowels of *nà* and *s<sup>E</sup>a<sup>i</sup>na* into a clear *a*-vowel (see § 9). The weak vowel in *na<sup>m</sup>l̄in*, *na<sup>m</sup>l̄ins*, etc., is due to the law of sound-groupings (see § 4).

The third person singular often loses its distinct suffix for that person (*-te*). This loss is due to the fact that the form *s<sup>E</sup>a<sup>i</sup>na<sup>m</sup>l̄* is in itself capable of expressing a possessive idea that has the third person as its possessor.

These possessive pronouns have the force of a whole sentence, and may be properly translated by IT IS MINE, IT IS THINE, etc. They are frequently used for the sake of emphasis in addition to the possessive suffixes that are added to nouns, and in such cases invariably precede the nominal concept.

*wa<sup>a</sup>i<sup>s</sup>nx na<sup>m</sup>l̄it̄in wa<sup>a</sup>s* you shall continually speak (with) my language 36.13

*na<sup>m</sup>l̄in q!<sup>a</sup>l̄* my pitch, this is my pitch

*na<sup>m</sup>l̄it̄in lkwa<sup>a</sup>nuq<sup>u</sup>* this is my hat

*na<sup>m</sup>l̄in m̄it̄a* (he) is my father

*n̄i<sup>x</sup>aml̄inx kō<sup>a</sup>tan* your horse

*n̄i<sup>x</sup>aml̄inx m̄il̄a* (she is) your mother

*s<sup>E</sup>a<sup>i</sup>na<sup>m</sup>l̄te wa<sup>a</sup>s wa<sup>a</sup>syaxa<sup>u</sup>n* his language he had spoken 36.14

*s<sup>E</sup>a<sup>i</sup>na<sup>m</sup>l̄te laa<sup>a</sup>* his mouth

*s<sup>E</sup>a<sup>i</sup>na<sup>m</sup>l̄ kō<sup>a</sup>tan* his horse

*na<sup>m</sup>l̄ins kō<sup>a</sup>tan* our (dual, incl.) horses

*na<sup>m</sup>l̄ix̄an t̄c̄l* our (dual, excl.) hands

*n̄i<sup>x</sup>aml̄its kw̄iyō<sup>s</sup>* your (dual) dog

*s<sup>E</sup>a<sup>i</sup>na<sup>m</sup>l̄t̄o<sup>ax</sup> kō<sup>a</sup>tan* their (dual) horse

*na<sup>m</sup>l̄inl̄ kō<sup>a</sup>tan* our (plural, incl.) horses

*na<sup>m</sup>l̄inx̄an t̄e<sup>a</sup>q* our (plural, excl.) relative 102.5

*n̄i<sup>x</sup>aml̄it̄c̄ t̄e<sup>a</sup>q* your (plural) relatives

*s<sup>E</sup>a<sup>i</sup>na<sup>m</sup>l̄t̄c̄inx̄ qal<sup>a</sup>te* their (plural) knives

### § 115. *The Demonstrative Pronouns*

Although Siuslaw has a number of stems that are used as demonstrative pronouns, there could not be detected in them such categories as visibility or invisibility, presence or absence, nearness to or remoteness from the speaker. It is true that in some instances the informant would render a certain demonstrative pronoun as indicating nearness or remoteness; but this rendering was invariably caused by

the leading character of my questions, and never appeared spontaneously.

The demonstrative pronouns, however, present another striking feature that is not commonly found in the American Indian languages. This feature consists in the fact that some of them occur in two distinct forms, one being used with subjects of the sentence, while the other is applied to objects only. This fact serves as another instance illustrating the extent to which the category of subjectivity and objectivity permeates this language.

The following demonstrative pronouns have been found in Siuslaw:

*tā<sup>a</sup>k* has been invariably rendered by THIS, and in some instances by HERE. It may be used in connection with subjects and objects alike. Duality and plurality of subjects and objects are indicated by the suffixation of the subjective pronouns *-a<sup>ux</sup>* and *-nx* respectively (see § 24).

*tā<sup>a</sup>k pen<sup>h</sup>'s* this skunk

*tā<sup>a</sup>k tEXmū'nî* this man

*tš'k!ya hīs tE'q tā'kîn lakwa'kūn* (a) very good thing this here I have obtained 72.15, 16

*L!<sup>o</sup>wa'xan tā'kîn līū'* as a messenger here I come 17.6, 7

*tā<sup>a</sup>'kwax qa'tc'ntūx* these two will go 32.10, 11

*tā<sup>a</sup>'k'nx tEXmū'nî* these men

*tE* applies to subjects and objects. There can be no doubt that it is an abbreviated form of the demonstrative pronoun *tā<sup>a</sup>k* (see above). It was usually rendered by THIS or THE. When followed by the subjective pronouns (see § 24), the obscure vowel assumes a clear tinge and appears as a distinct *a*-vowel.

*u<sup>l</sup> meq!<sup>a</sup>'tx ha'<sup>q</sup>mas līya'wa tE lk!<sup>a</sup>nū'<sup>ku</sup>* and she danced near the fire, this Screech-Owl 86.11, 12

*līha'yax tE līya'<sup>a</sup>* it passed (by), this fire 32.19

*tī'k'n tE ta'* this here is my house (literally, here I, this one, live) 58.8

*s<sup>a</sup>'tsa hī'tc<sup>tc</sup> nīctc<sup>ma</sup>mu tE tī* that's why bear acts like a person (literally, thus [of a] person his fashion [has] the bear) 60.26

*wī'nxā<sup>n</sup> tE pen<sup>h</sup>'s* she was afraid of this skunk 86.1

*hīna'yūn tE mī'k!<sup>a</sup> hītc* he took along this bad man 23.2, 3

*nī'ctcanx tanx yā'<sup>a</sup>xa' qāt<sup>x</sup>* why do you cry much (literally, how [is it that] you this, much cry) 94.16, 17

*s<sup>ʔ</sup>a'tsa tanx s<sup>i</sup>n<sup>i</sup>xyūtne* that's why this you are wanted 18.4  
*lakwa'ūltax<sup>u</sup>x ta'tc<sup>w</sup>ax q<sup>v</sup>'ūt<sup>c</sup> ta<sup>u</sup>x tsīm<sup>i</sup>'l'ū q<sup>v</sup>o<sup>v</sup>a'txa<sup>i</sup>wax* taken  
 away (were) these their (dual) wives, (namely of) them two,  
 Beaver and Muskrat 52.3, 4  
 . . . . *ta'n<sup>x</sup>an hūtcū<sup>v</sup>'* . . . . (as) these we (here) play 70.12

In some instances this pronoun may have a verbal force, and is then best rendered by THIS WHO. . . .

*s<sup>ʔ</sup>a'tsa l'tla<sup>v</sup>' tE ta<sup>v</sup>'yax* thus ate those who lived (there) 82.12

*s<sup>ʔ</sup>às* is used with subjects of transitive verbs only, and seems to have a distinct discriminative character. In this capacity it exercises the function of the missing independent pronoun for the third person (see § 113). It may either precede or follow the verb, although there is a prevailing tendency to place it at the end of the sentence. It may be translated by THIS or HE.

*u<sup>l</sup> l'tla'yūn s<sup>ʔ</sup>às* and he devours him 94.10

*m<sup>i</sup>'k!a tE'q xaū'ūn s<sup>ʔ</sup>às* bad something this (one) had killed 96.12,  
 13

*s<sup>ʔ</sup>às k<sup>u</sup>nà c<sup>u</sup>xū'yūn ants l't<sup>v</sup>'a<sup>i</sup>* he, perhaps, has scared away that  
 salmon 56.11

*s<sup>ʔ</sup>às qata'yūn ants lxaū'* he hooks that spear 64.7

*s<sup>ʔ</sup>a's<sup>ʔ</sup>nt k!<sup>i</sup>xa'yūts* he killed us 28.3

*s<sup>ʔ</sup>à* refers to subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs. The difference between this pronoun and the above discussed *s<sup>ʔ</sup>às* lies in the strictly discriminative character of the latter. It may best be rendered by THIS, HE, and is mostly employed as a personal pronoun for the third person singular (see § 113). Duality and plurality of the subject are indicated by suffixing to *s<sup>ʔ</sup>à* the subjective pronouns *-a<sup>u</sup>x* and *-nx* respectively (see § 24).

*s<sup>ʔ</sup>à tExmū'nî* this man

*u<sup>l</sup> tsīm s<sup>ʔ</sup>à ya'q<sup>u</sup>'yūn* always he sees it 68.22

*u<sup>l</sup> s<sup>ʔ</sup>à pEl<sup>i</sup>'tc<sup>i</sup>tūx* and that one will be first 10.1

*s<sup>ʔ</sup>a<sup>u</sup>x ata's l!xū'yūn l<sup>i</sup>'t!<sup>v</sup>'a<sup>i</sup>* these two only know (where) food (is)  
 98.9

*s<sup>ʔ</sup>ànx ts<sup>v</sup>'k!ya l!xū'yūn hūtcū<sup>u</sup>* these very (well) know (how to)  
 play 72.1, 2

In four instances this pronoun has been used as referring to objects. I believe this use to be the result of erroneous application on the part of the informant. The examples follow.

*s<sup>E</sup>à* *l!xū'yūn lk'an<sup>u</sup>wa'k<sup>u</sup>* him she knows, Screech-Owl 86.7  
*s<sup>E</sup>à* *<sup>u</sup>ln qī'ūtē hawa'yūn* that one I (will my) wife make 90.1, 2  
*s<sup>E</sup>à* *ata's ants ma'q!īnūtne* (for) him only the dance was arranged  
 28.7

*towa'tēis wān s<sup>E</sup>à yīkī'l'mā* spear now that big (one)! 64.2

*s<sup>E</sup>a'<sup>i</sup>na* refers to objects only, and serves as the objective form of the missing personal pronoun for the third person (see § 113). Hence it may be rendered by THIS, THAT, HIM. By adding the subjective suffixes to it (see § 24), the dual and plural persons for this pronoun are obtained.

*yā'a<sup>i</sup>xa<sup>i</sup> hīte plnā<sup>i</sup>tx ha<sup>i</sup> s<sup>E</sup>a'<sup>i</sup>na* many people were sorry for that  
 15.4

*kum'ntcīn nā nīctcī'tc wa'a<sup>i</sup>l pēlī'tc s<sup>E</sup>a'<sup>i</sup>na* not I anything will  
 say first (without) her 74.9

*s<sup>E</sup>a'tsa<sup>ux</sup> wī kum'ntc tē'q s<sup>E</sup>a'<sup>i</sup>na<sup>ux</sup>* that's why they two (cared)  
 nothing about them two 54.11, 12

*tū, tū'a*, a demonstrative pronoun that may best be rendered by THAT ONE. It denotes subjects and objects alike. A comparison between this pronoun and the previously discussed *s<sup>E</sup>à* suggests that the initial elements *t* and *s* may be petrified prefixes having the function of demonstrative pronouns. This assertion receives further substantiation from the fact that Siuslaw forms, in analogy to *s<sup>E</sup>às*, a discriminative pronoun *tū'as*, and that it has two other demonstrative stems whose initial elements are *t*- and *s*- respectively. These pronouns are *tū'a<sup>i</sup>t* THAT KIND and *s<sup>E</sup>a<sup>i</sup>t* THIS KIND, and they may be explained as being composed of *t*- (*tū*-) + *a<sup>i</sup>t* and *s*- + *a<sup>i</sup>t*. The function of the second element can not be explained. The *t*- occurs, furthermore, independently as *tē* (see p. 580).<sup>1</sup>

The pronoun *tū, tū'a*, occurs also in dual and plural forms, obtained by adding the subjective suffixes *-a<sup>ux</sup>* and *-n<sup>x</sup>* (see § 24) to it.

*tū yākl'a<sup>w</sup>nī qīūtēcū'nī* that small(est) woman 88.12

*kum'ntc hīs tū tēxmū'nī* not good (is) that man 90.23; 92.1

*tū'a tēxmū'nī* that man

*qna'n<sup>xan</sup> lēlū'yūn tū'a<sup>ux</sup> xā'ts!ū* we (incl.) are hitting those two

*tū'an<sup>x</sup> tēxmū'nī* those men

*lēlū'yūtsīn tū'as* that one is hitting me

*tū'a<sup>i</sup>t* that (is the) kind 102.2

*kum'ntc hīs nātē tē s<sup>E</sup>a<sup>i</sup>t l!a<sup>ai</sup>* not good (is for) me this kind (of  
 a) place 44.4, 5

<sup>1</sup> The *s* as a demonstrative element has been also found in Alsea.



*s<sup>ε</sup>a<sup>i</sup>t<sup>ε</sup> L!a<sup>a</sup>i* such (a) world 15.1

*wa<sup>λ</sup> yā<sup>a</sup>xa<sup>i</sup> t<sub>E</sub> hītc*, *s<sup>ε</sup>a<sup>i</sup>tū<sup>i</sup> s<sup>i</sup>n<sup>i</sup>xya* although many (are) these people, that kind (of a thing every one) likes 102.2, 3

*ants* is the only pronoun that may be said to contain a locative force. It is invariably used in connection with objects that are away from the speaker, and may be rendered by THAT ONE. It may refer to subject and object, and is used in the singular, dual, and plural, although in most cases duality and plurality are accentuated by suffixing the respective subjective pronouns *-a<sup>ux</sup>* and *-nx* (see § 24). This pronoun may also have a verbal force, and is then best rendered by THAT ONE WHO . . . , THOSE WHO . . . . It always precedes the noun.

*hamxa<sup>ū</sup>nî ants tseha<sup>w</sup>'ya* that tied (up) grass 8.6

*s<sup>ε</sup>kwi<sup>i</sup>tc tsīnq!<sup>i</sup>t ants hītc* very poor (was) that person 16.10; 17.1

*ants qa<sup>i</sup>x* last night (literally, that night) 40.14

*Ik!<sup>a</sup>n<sup>u</sup>wa<sup>i</sup>k<sup>u</sup> w<sup>i</sup>n<sup>u</sup>xa<sup>ū</sup>n ants pen<sup>i</sup>'s* Screech-Owl was afraid of that Skunk 86.5

*ants lqa<sup>i</sup>'tū ants Tsxuna<sup>p</sup>lī t!<sup>i</sup>t!<sup>i</sup>yūn* that tree on which Tsxunplī (Coyote) was sitting 94.6

*xa<sup>ū</sup>'na<sup>u</sup>xūn ants mī'k!<sup>a</sup> hītc* we two killed that bad person 96.8, 9

*lakwa<sup>i</sup>kū<sup>u</sup>n ants qū<sup>i</sup>tcū<sup>i</sup>nî ants<sup>ux</sup> tsīn<sup>i</sup>'Ltsīn<sup>i</sup>'L* those two otters took away those women 52.16

*ants L!a<sup>a</sup>i hītc* those many people 7.1

*ants pekū<sup>wi</sup>* those who play 70.6, 7

*ats<sup>i</sup>'tc wad<sup>'</sup>xam ants hītc tca<sup>'</sup>xa<sup>ū</sup>t* thus was told that man who was going back 30.13, 14

*Ik!<sup>a</sup>nū<sup>i</sup>k<sup>u</sup> ya<sup>i</sup>q<sup>u</sup>'yūn a<sup>'</sup>ntsux meq!<sup>a</sup>'<sup>i</sup>tx* Screech-Owl watched those two who kept on dancing 86.8

*s<sup>ε</sup>a<sup>i</sup>t<sup>a</sup> xnī<sup>w</sup>nīs a<sup>'</sup>nts<sup>enx</sup> pukwa<sup>i</sup>* thus keep on doing those who play shinny 78.17

In a number of instances two demonstrative pronouns are used, following each other in immediate succession. This is done primarily for the sake of emphasis. In such sentences the second demonstrative stem may be rendered by a relative pronoun.

*ha<sup>'</sup>nate a<sup>'</sup>sxa t<sup>i</sup>t!<sup>a</sup> t<sub>E</sub> s<sup>ε</sup>à q<sup>u</sup>L!<sup>i</sup>tc* that otter is eating a different food (literally, different her, also, food, [of] this here sea-otter) 54.7, 8

*u<sup>i</sup> s<sup>ε</sup>à t<sub>E</sub> t!<sup>i</sup>āmci<sup>'</sup>sk<sup>'</sup>in* and this here (is) the little boy 94.16

*u<sup>i</sup> wad<sup>'</sup>xam ants s<sup>ε</sup>a qa<sup>'</sup>tc<sup>i</sup>ntūx* and was told that man who will go 16.7

*kum'ntc<sup>w</sup>ax s'n'xyūn lī'ū ta'is ants s<sup>z</sup>à* they two don't want to stay near here (literally, not they two, want it, near [to] keep on staying, that one here)

Parallel to these forms are the indefinite, interrogative, and reflexive pronouns. The following have been observed:

**wātc.** It has the function of an interrogative, relative, and indefinite pronoun, and applies to animate beings only. When used in an interrogative sense, it is best rendered by WHO, while as an indefinite pronoun, it is to be translated by SOMEBODY. The interrogative character of this particle can be recognized only by the interrogative tone of the sentence in which it occurs.

*wātc<sup>t</sup>tc kō'tan* whose horse (is it)?

*wātc xa'tntūx* somebody will climb up

*wātc tē'x<sup>a</sup>mtc ha<sup>l</sup>* (he) who strong (is) his heart 10.1

*wātc L!xū'yūn Lxatū'<sup>wi</sup>* (he) who knows (the art of) running 78.18

**tē'q** is used as an interrogative and indefinite pronoun, and applies to animals and inanimate objects only. It may best be rendered by WHAT OR SOMETHING.

*tē'q* what (is it)?

*ha'<sup>i</sup>mūt tē'q* everything 9.5

*tsē'k!ya hīs tē'q* (a) very good thing 72.15, 16

*kum'ntc'nx tē'q* you (will be) nothing 13.2

*ats tē'q waxa'yexayim* when something will be given to him 18.5

*ul s<sup>z</sup>a'tsa tē'q qnūhū'yūn* that's why something he finds

In a few instances *tē'q* has been rendered by RELATIVE. This free rendering is perfectly justifiable, because in the instances quoted *tē'q* implies the idea of BEING SOMETHING TO the person spoken to or spoken of.

*na'm<sup>z</sup>līnx tē'q* you (are) my relative (literally, my something you [are]) 20.6

*ts'imstc tē'q ants lq!al'ō'mä* her own relative (was) that pelican (literally, her own something) 46.1

An objective form of this particle has been found in one instance.

*tē'qa<sup>a</sup>na'nī la'kwīsūn* something we (incl.) will always get 72.17, 18

**tāqa'na** is the regular objective form of *tē'q*, and occurs frequently.

*kum'ntexân tâqâ'na wî'nx* not we two (excl.) anything fear 94.17  
*sî'nxît tâqâ'na* he wants something 18.5  
*wa'sî'syanx tâqâ'na* (when) you get mad at anything 36.11, 12  
*wa'aî's<sup>2</sup>nx tâqâ'na* (when) you will say something 38.4

Another objective form of this particle may be the form *tâ'qan*, occurring in one single instance.

*tâ'qan tex tcaîtcô'te xî'ntmîs* why do you want to go anywhere (literally, for something, perhaps, somewhere [you] keep on going) 48.1, 2

*tcînt*, *tcî'nta<sup>u</sup>*, serves primarily as an interrogative pronoun, in which case it is rendered by WHICH ONE? Its scope, however, has been widened, permitting its use as a relative pronoun and in some instances as a numeral adverb. In the latter sense the form *tcînt* is invariably used. It is then translated by WHOEVER, WHATEVER, or by HOW MUCH, HOW MANY?

*tcî'nta<sup>un</sup> tex lî'kwâ'yûn* which one I (wonder) shall I take? 88.20; 90.1

*tcî'nta<sup>unx</sup> sî'nîxyûn* which one do you want? 40.4, 5

*tcî'nta<sup>u</sup> nîctca' ants hîtc* whatever does that man 70.22

*tcî'nta<sup>u</sup> hîtc lîwa'* whatever person came (here) 24.7

*tcî'nta<sup>u</sup> yî'kt<sup>t</sup>tc . . .* whosoever . . . is big 90.1

*tcînt hîtc qa'ntcya lîwa'wax* whatever person from somewhere is going to come 38.10, 11

*tcî'nîinx hî'q'a* how many shells have you? (literally, how many thy dentalia shells?)

*tcînt kô'tan* how many horses?

. . . *tcînt tsxayû'<sup>wi</sup>* . . . on such a day (literally, [on] whatever [a] day) 7.3

*ts'îms* has the function of a reflexive pronoun, and is best rendered by (I) MYSELF, (THOU) THYSELF, etc., or, when used with nouns, by (MY) OWN, (THY) OWN, etc.

*ts'îms s<sup>2</sup>atsî'tc cî'nîxyat'ya* to himself thus he always thinks 88.11

*LEbû'yûn ts'îms* I hit myself

*ts'îmstc tE'q ants lq'al'ô'mä ants sqūmā'* her own relative that Pelican (is of) that Sea-Gull 46.1, 2

*L'xmaî'yūtsmîn ts'îms m<sup>u</sup>ū'sk<sup>u</sup>* I killed my own brother

*qa'w<sup>u</sup>ntî*, *qa'w<sup>u</sup>ntîtc*, imparts the idea of reciprocity, and is best rendered by EACH OTHER, MUTUALLY. The difference between the two parallel forms lies in the fact that the latter has been amplified by means of the modal suffix *-îtc* (see § 94).

*uł k'ix tE'q skwaha'yūsne qa'wintī* everything was placed on both sides 80.8

*qaw<sup>u</sup>ntī'tc<sup>o</sup>ax wīn<sup>x</sup>nd'wa* each other they two feared 86.2  
*qa'w<sup>u</sup>ntī* on both sides

## The Numeral (§§ 116–117)

### § 116. The Cardinals

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>al<sup>a</sup>q</i> 18.7                               | 16. <i>kī'x<sup>s</sup> uł qa'timx</i>                         |
| 2. <i>xā'ts!ū</i> 30.23                                      | 17. <i>kī'x<sup>s</sup> uł xā'ts!ū qtā'max</i>                 |
| 3. <i>cī'n<sup>a</sup>x</i> 62.12                            | 18. <i>kī'x<sup>s</sup> uł cī'n<sup>a</sup>x qtā'max</i>       |
| 4. <i>xā'ts!ūn</i> 40.23                                     | 19. <i>kī'x<sup>s</sup> uł kumī'ntc al<sup>a</sup>q qa'nat</i> |
| 5. <i>Lxa'p<sup>i</sup>s</i> 72.8                            | 20. <i>xā'ts!ū kīxé'stīm</i>                                   |
| 6. <i>qa'timx</i>  | 21. <i>xā'ts!ū kīxé'stīm uł al<sup>a</sup>q</i>                |
| 7. <i>xā'ts!ū qtā'max</i>                                    | 30. <i>cī'n<sup>a</sup>x kīxé'stīm</i>                         |
| 8. <i>cī'n<sup>a</sup>x qtā'max</i>                          | 40. <i>xā'ts!ūn kīxé'stīm</i>                                  |
| 9. <i>a'l<sup>a</sup>qxa<sup>u</sup>t</i>                    | 50. <i>Lxa'p<sup>i</sup>s kīxé'stīm</i>                        |
| 10. <i>kīx<sup>s</sup></i> 8.1                               | 60. <i>qa'timx kīxé'stīm</i>                                   |
| 11. <i>kī'x<sup>s</sup> uł a'l<sup>a</sup>q</i>              | 70. <i>xā'ts!ū qtā'max kīxé'stīm</i>                           |
| 12. <i>kī'x<sup>s</sup> uł xā'ts!ū</i>                       | 80. <i>cī'n<sup>a</sup>x qtā'max kīxé'stīm</i>                 |
| 13. <i>kī'x<sup>s</sup> uł cī'n<sup>a</sup>x</i>             | 90. <i>a'l<sup>a</sup>qxa<sup>u</sup>t qtā'max kīxé'stīm</i>   |
| 14. <i>kī'x<sup>s</sup> uł xā'ts!ūntc a'xwī'yu</i>           | 100. <i>kī'x<sup>s</sup> kīxé'stīm</i>                         |
| 15. <i>kī'x<sup>s</sup> uł Lxa'p<sup>i</sup>stc a'xwī'yu</i> | 101. <i>kī'x<sup>s</sup> kīxé'stīm uł al<sup>a</sup>q</i>      |

By origin the Siuslaw numeral system is probably quinary, although there seem to be only four simple numeral stems; namely, those for ONE, TWO, THREE, and FIVE. The numeral *xā'ts!ūn* FOUR is to all appearances a plural form of *xā'ts!ū* TWO. The numeral *qa'timx* SIX could not be analyzed. It is not improbable, however, that it may signify ONE (FINGER) UP, in which event SEVEN could be explained as denoting TWO (FINGERS) UP, while EIGHT could be rendered by THREE (FINGERS) UP. In spite of incessant attempts, the numeral for NINE could not be analyzed. Its probable rendering may be suggested as ONE (LACKING TO) TEN. The numerals for FOURTEEN and FIFTEEN may be translated as by TEN AND FOUR ITS ADDITION and TEN AND FIVE ITS ADDITION respectively. The exact rendering of NINETEEN is obscure, while TWENTY evidently denotes TWO TIMES TEN, etc.

Siuslaw does not possess the series of ordinal numerals. These and the numeral adverbs, such as the multiplicative numerals, are expressed idiomatically by means of adverbs or adverbial suffixes. The adverbs *pełi'tc* AHEAD and *līmni'tc* BEHIND (see § 119) are very often used as ordinal numerals for the first two numbers.

*penî's pēl'itc* <sup>u</sup> *lk'anū'k<sup>u</sup> līmnī'tc* Skunk (doctored) first, and Screech-Owl second 86.11

*s<sup>h</sup>a<sup>i</sup>tū'nî pēl'itc xī'ntma<sup>i</sup>stūn* the biggest one first he took along 92.18

*Qa'a<sup>i</sup>tēx pēl'itc līha'yax tE līya'a<sup>i</sup>* along North Fork at first it came, this fire 32.19

Multiplicative numerals are sometimes formed by adding to the cardinals the modal suffix *-itc* (see § 94).

*xāts!ūwī'tcīn yīxa'yūn* twice I saw him  
*a'lqa<sup>i</sup>tēn L!xū'yūn qnà* once I knew it 92.12

Ordinal numerals in the sense of AT THE FIRST, SECOND, etc., are sometimes formed by suffixing to the cardinals the suffix *-a'tū*.

*ālqa'tū tsxayū<sup>wi</sup>* on the first day, in one day  
*xāts!ūwā'tū tsxayū<sup>wi</sup>* on the second day, in two days  
*xāts!ūna'tū tsxayū<sup>wi</sup>* on the fourth day, in four days

The suffix for the numeral FIVE appears in a somewhat changed form. Instead of the expected *-a'tū*, this numeral takes the suffixes *-ta'tū*, *-tya'tū*. The suggestion may be offered that the initial *t-* of these suffixes is the adjectival suffix *-t* (see § 104), and the *-a'tū* the regular modal suffix. Of course, this does not explain the occurrence of the semi-vowel *y* in *-tya'tū*.

*t!āmcīns tē'ntūx lxa<sup>i</sup>pīstā'tū tsxayū<sup>wi</sup>* our (dual, incl.) boys will return in five days 42.7

*lxa<sup>i</sup>pīstya'tū* <sup>u</sup> *l wān tē'īn hītsī'stc* on the fifth day he finally came home 72.9

*tē'ntūx lxa<sup>i</sup>pīstya'tu tsxayū<sup>wi</sup>* he will come back in five days 40.25, 26

Two stems, *k<sup>i</sup>x* and *hai'mūt*, are used as definite numerals. The former is best rendered by EACH, EVERY; while the latter, to all appearances an adjective in *-t* (see § 104), is best translated by ALL.

*k<sup>i</sup>x tE<sup>i</sup>q* everything 24.4

*tExmū'nītc<sup>w</sup>ax ants t!āmc k<sup>i</sup>x* they two had each a boy (literally, males their two, those boys, each) 40.19

*ha<sup>i</sup>mūt ma<sup>i</sup>ttē<sup>t</sup> ants līmnā'q* all elks got burned 34.18, 19

*ha<sup>i</sup>mūt qa<sup>i</sup>tē<sup>i</sup>nt sqa<sup>i</sup>ktē<sup>i</sup>tē* all go there 23.6

### § 117. The Decimal System

The units exceeding multiples of ten are expressed by forms whose exact rendering would be TEN (TWENTY) AND ONE (TWO) as, for instance, *k<sup>i</sup>x<sup>E</sup>s* <sup>u</sup> *a<sup>i</sup>l<sup>a</sup>q* TEN AND ONE, etc. The "tens" are formed by means of

the suffix *-tīm*, that is added to the cardinal numerals for TEN. The numeral thus amplified is preceded by the cardinals from TWO to TEN (inclusive). Thus TWENTY, literally translated, means TWO TIMES TEN, THIRTY signifies THREE TIMES TEN, and ONE HUNDRED denotes TEN TIMES TEN. The numeral for THOUSAND was, naturally enough, never used. The informant invariably gave the English equivalent for it.

### The Adverb (§§ 118-121)

#### § 118. *Introductory*

Siuslaw has, comparatively speaking, a small number of adverbial stems. These express ideas of a local, temporal, and modal character. A few of them are compounds,—that is to say, they consist of two or more adverbs that occur independently also,—while others occur with the adverbial suffixes whose function is always in harmony with the ideas expressed by the bare stem. Thus a few adverbs indicating local ideas appear with the local suffix *-tc* (see § 90), while most of the modal adverbs take the suffixes of modality *-ītc* or *-a* (see §§ 94 and 96).

It is quite conceivable that the final *k* in the local adverbs *tīk*, *stīm**k*, and *sqā**k*, may imply some local idea, especially in view of the fact that both *stīm* and *stīm**k* occur.

A very important law applying to local adverbs (and phrases) is the fact that, whenever they are used in connection with nouns, the nouns invariably take the locative case-endings (see § 86).

#### § 119. *Local Adverbs and Phrases*

<i>a'mha</i> <sup>i</sup> <i>tx</i> in the middle	<i>tūtī</i> <sup>m</sup> there 72.3
<i>ha</i> <sup>i</sup> <i>q</i> ashore 44.7	<i>tūqa</i> <sup>t</sup> <i>tmE</i> over there, across
<i>ha</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>qmas</i> alongside, near 25.4	<i>tūqya</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>a</i> <sup>ū2</sup> up-stream 32.22
<i>ha</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>wī</i> <sup>s</sup> beyond	<i>qa</i> <sup>t</sup> <i>tītc</i> <sup>3</sup> across the river, opposite
<i>pētī</i> <sup>t</sup> <i>tc</i> ahead, first 32.19	80.16
<i>m</i> <sup>xy</sup> <i>ō</i> <sup>s</sup> <i>k</i> <sup>us</sup> in the beginning	<i>qā</i> <sup>t</sup> <i>tkā</i> from here 60.4
82.11	<i>qa</i> <sup>x</sup> <i>xante</i> <sup>4</sup> under, down, below 8.10
<i>tū</i> <sup>ū</sup> <i>ts</i> <sup>1</sup> here 17.3	<i>qa</i> <sup>x</sup> <i>xūn</i> , <i>qa</i> <sup>w</sup> <i>xūn</i> <sup>5</sup> high up, above,
<i>tīk</i> , <i>ta</i> <sup>k</sup> here 56.5, 19	on 8.7; 34.21

<sup>1</sup> Probably related to the Coos *tī*<sup>w</sup> OVER THERE.

<sup>2</sup> Also *to*<sup>w</sup>*wī*.

<sup>3</sup> Coos *qa*<sup>t</sup>*tītc* DOWN THE STREAM.

<sup>4</sup> Related to Alsea *qē*<sup>x</sup>*xan* UNDER, BELOW.

<sup>5</sup> Coos *qazan*- UP.

<i>qa<sup>u</sup>x</i> <sup>1</sup> on top 76.14	<i>qa<sup>i</sup>hā'n</i> 56.8, <i>qa<sup>i</sup>ha'ntc</i> far 10.3; 56.5
<i>qa<sup>i</sup>u'tc</i> <sup>2</sup> below, down the stream 62.17, 18	<i>qan</i> , <i>qan̄stc̄i'tc</i> down, below 12.6
<i>qa<sup>i</sup>wa'a<sup>ū</sup></i> below, down stream 80.6	<i>qō'x<sup>ū</sup>m</i> off shore, out in the water 34.6
<i>tqa<sup>u</sup>wī'</i> , <i>tqa<sup>u</sup>wītc</i> up-stream 56.8, 12	<i>qtsī</i> inside
<i>stīm</i> , <i>stīm̄k</i> there 30.23; 32.12	<i>l̄mn̄i'tc</i> behind, after, second 86.11
<i>sqā'tem</i> from there 34.3	<i>lnū</i> outside 38.23
<i>sqā<sup>i</sup>k</i> , <i>sqēk</i> there 14.6	<i>lī'ū</i> near (used also as a verb in the sense TO COME, TO APPROACH) 40.12

### § 120. Temporal Adverbs

<i>ats</i> <sup>3</sup> at that time, when 16.8	<i>tsā'nxa<sup>i</sup>ts</i> yesterday
<i>a<sup>u</sup>lal</i> then, afterwards 34.3	<i>tsīm</i> always 15.5
<i>hī'nak!<sup>i</sup></i> right away 20.1	<i>ts'ū'xtīts</i> early in the morning 40.9
<i>wā'nwīts</i> long ago, already 14.7	<i>tcī'kyac l!<sup>a</sup>a<sup>i</sup></i> sometimes 100.7
<i>wī'yū</i> still, yet	<i>kū<sup>i</sup>yā'tsac l!<sup>a</sup>a<sup>i</sup></i> <sup>4</sup> after a while, soon 7.7
<i>yā'tsa</i> a long time 11.3	<i>k!<sup>i</sup>sā't</i> today 38.16
<i>ta'līts</i> after a while 50.2	<i>k!<sup>i</sup>E'Lū</i> <sup>5</sup> tomorrow 60.2
<i>tīL</i> awhile	<i>ln̄at</i> always 13.3
<i>lī'mqa</i> quick, right away 19.6	

### § 121. Modal Adverbs

<i>a'tsa</i> , <i>atsī'tc</i> thus 15.5; 11.2	<i>s<sup>E</sup>a'tsa</i> , <sup>6</sup> <i>s<sup>E</sup>atsī'tc</i> thus 8.2, 7
<i>hī'cata</i> a little	<i>s<sup>u</sup>kwī'tc</i> very, very much 16.10
<i>yā'a<sup>i</sup>xa<sup>i</sup></i> much, many 8.5	<i>cī'ntcata</i> in a circle
<i>yux<sup>u</sup></i> too much 12.2	<i>tsī'k!ya</i> very, very much 13.9
<i>tī'mwa</i> together 40.18	<i>xyal'x</i> , <i>kū<sup>i</sup> xyal'x</i> almost, very nearly 11.1; 10.9, 11.1
<i>n̄ctcama<sup>i</sup>'nat'E</i> differently 9.3, 4	

### Particles (§§ 122–133)

#### § 122. Introductory

Siuslaw has a great number of particles which serve to define more clearly a certain part of speech or even a whole sentence. Their

<sup>1</sup> Also *qax* HIGH.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly related to Coos *qaya'atc* DOWN THE STREAM.

<sup>3</sup> See § 136.

<sup>4</sup> A compound adverb consisting of the negation *kū<sup>i</sup>* NOT, the adverb *yā'tsa* A LONG TIME, amplified by the obscure suffix *-c*, and of the stem *l!<sup>a</sup>a<sup>i</sup>* (see § 133).

<sup>5</sup> By prefixing to this adverb the demonstrative pronoun *ants*, Siuslaw forms a compound adverb *ants k!<sup>i</sup>E'Lū*, which is best rendered by YESTERDAY.

<sup>6</sup> See § 125.

meaning was deduced mostly from the sense of the sentence in which they occurred. These stems are either monosyllabic (in which case they may be enclitic or proclitic) or they consist of two or more syllables. A limited number seems to be composed of two or more originally independent particles. As a rule, particles are not capable of word-formation—that is to say, they can not be amplified by means of any of the grammatical processes, such as prefixation, suffixation, etc. But owing to the fact that Siuslaw shows a tendency to keep the verbal stem free from all subjective suffixes, these suffixes are preferably added to the particles that precede the verb (see § 26). Some of these particles seem to be in reality verbal stems, but do not convey a clear verbal idea unless used in conjunction with a proper verbal suffix (see § 135).

In accordance with their syntactic function, the particles may be conveniently subdivided into the following categories:

- (1) Pronominal particles.
- (2) Numeral particles.
- (3) Conjunctions.
- (4) Temporal particles.
- (5) Particles denoting degrees of certainty.
- (6) Particles indicating connection with previously expressed ideas.
- (7) Exhortative particles.
- (8) Restrictive particles.
- (9) Miscellaneous particles.
- (10) Suffixed particle  $-ū$  ( $-a^ū$ ).
- (11) The stem  $l!a'ai$ .

### § 123. *Pronominal Particles*

The pronominal forms treated in § 115 are used sometimes without formative prefixes, and appear then like true particles. The following are particularly used in this manner:

$tā^ak$ this, here	$tE'q$ what, something
$tE$ this	$tcînt, tcî'nta^u$ which one, who-
$tū$ that	ever, whatever, how much,
$ants$ that one	how many
$wàtc$ who, some one	$ts'ims$ (reflexive) self
	$qa'w^untî$ mutually



Related to *tc̄int* are the particles *tc̄ik* WHERE, and *tc̄ā*, *tc̄āitc̄i'tc* WHERE TO.

*tc̄ik*, a local particle denoting REST. It may be used indicatively and in an interrogatory sense. It is best rendered by WHERE.

*tc̄ik s<sup>a</sup>na'ml kō'tan* where is his horse ?

*tc̄ik qnūhū'yūn hītc* where (ever) he finds a person 94.9, 10

*kū<sup>i</sup> tc̄ik* nowhere 56.11

*tc̄ik ants k'ālatū<sup>u</sup>* where that fun (is) 88.2

*tc̄ik ants yīktī'l'mā lqa<sup>i'</sup>tū* where that big log (is) 88.17, 18

*tc̄ā*, *tc̄āitc̄i'tc*, a local particle indicating MOTION. It is used in an interrogative and indicative significance, and is best rendered by WHERE (TO). The form *tc̄āitc̄i'tc* may be explained as caused by the double suffixation of the adverbial suffix *-ītc* (see §§ 90, 94). Such double adding of a suffix occurs in only one other instance; namely, in the case of the nominal suffix *-ax* (see § 101).

*kumū'ntc tc̄ā yax* nowhere (anything to) see 34.4

*kumū'ntcxūn qa'ha'ntc tc̄ā nī'ctc̄is* not we two (excl.) far somewhere will go 56.2

. . . *tc̄ān tE līū'* . . . where this I arrived 66.19

*tc̄āitc̄i'tc lō<sup>L</sup> nī'ctūx* (I) wonder where he will go 64.20

*tc̄āitc̄i'tc qa'tc̄intyax* he went somewhere

### § 124. Numeral Particles

Here belong the following stems: *yā<sup>a</sup>xa<sup>i</sup>* MANY (see also § 12), *tE'mxut*, *tsī'nexma*, *tsī'nīxt* HALF, and *k<sup>a</sup>at* HOW MANY. The particles serving as fractional numerals invariably follow the noun they define, while the two other numeral particles may either precede or follow it.

*yīxa'yūn yā<sup>a</sup>xa<sup>i</sup> hītc* I saw many people

*tE'mxut tā'la* half a dollar

*hī'tc<sup>a</sup>tc̄ tsī'nexma ants t'ī* that bear is half a person (literally [a] person [is] his [one] half, that bear) 60.16

*hītc tsī'nīxt ants t'ī* half human (is) that bear 60.22

These forms might also be considered as adjectives. It will be noted that most of them end in the adjectival suffix *-t* (see § 104).

### § 125. Conjunctions

Only three particles were found that may be properly said to have the function of our conjunctions. These particles are *a'l'dū*, *a<sup>i</sup>sxa*, and *u<sup>l</sup>*.

*a'l·dū* refers to nouns only, and its function is of an inclusive character, indicating that the defined noun is included in the action. It always follows the noun and is best rendered by LIKEWISE. It is frequently used as a verb (see § 135).

*ʷl t!i a'l·dū ma'ttē't* Bear likewise got burned 34.16  
*hē'q<sup>u</sup> a'l·dū mī'ttē'st* Wild-Cat likewise burned 34.17  
*ya<sup>u</sup> xa<sup>u</sup>x a'l·dū t't!a'yūn* fern-roots they two likewise eat 98.15  
*qa'x<sup>n</sup>x a'l·dū ya'q<sup>u</sup>hētūx* at night you likewise shall watch 70.18,  
 19

*a'isxa* serves the same purpose as the preceding *a'l·dū*, but may either precede or follow the noun to which it refers. It is best rendered by ALSO, TOO.

*a't<sup>a</sup>q tEXmū'nī ʷl a't<sup>a</sup>q qīūtē'ni ʷl a'isxa sqā'ktē'tc qa'tē'ntūx* one man and one woman too will go there 30.21, 22  
*hā'nate a'isxa t't!a' her food belonged to some one else (literally, different her, also, food) 54.7*

*ʷl* has various functions. Its chief function is that of a copula between nouns and sentences, and in that case is best rendered by AND. Its position is free, although it tends to follow the noun and to precede the verb.

*a't<sup>a</sup>q tEXmū'nī ʷl a't<sup>a</sup>q qīūtē'ni* one man and one woman 30.21, 22  
*mīta'a'tīn ʷl mīta'a'tīn* my father and my mother  
*penī's pēl'tc ʷl lk!anū'k<sup>u</sup> līmī'tc* Skunk (doctored) first, and Screech-Owl second 86.11  
*s<sup>e</sup>atsī'tc wad', ʷl hē'q!a't* thus he said and started 22.5, 6  
*ta' ʷl t't!a'* he sits and eats

It serves, furthermore, to introduce a new idea, in which case its functional character may best be compared to that of our syntactic period. Its exact rendering is a rather difficult matter, unless the arbitrary THEN be excepted.

*L!xū'yūn mī'k!a tsī'k!ya. L!xū'yūn hē'sa lk!an<sup>u</sup>wa'k<sup>u</sup> ants penī's.*  
*Ena<sup>wi</sup> hītē ʷl lqāqā' txa<sup>n</sup> pena's* she knew him (to be) very bad.  
 Screech-Owl knew that Skunk very well. At a rich man Skunk was breaking his wind 86.5, 6, 7  
*s<sup>e</sup>atsī'tc wad' ants lk!anū'k<sup>u</sup>. Ants pīna'st ʷl cī'nīxyat!ya āqā'wax.*  
*ʷl s<sup>e</sup>atsī'tc wad' ants lk!anū'k<sup>u</sup>.* Thus said that Screech-Owl.  
 Then that sick man thought of running away. Then thus said that Screech-Owl 86.14, 15, 16

Finally, it may denote a connection with a previously expressed idea, especially when used in conjunction with the particle *wa'* (see § 128).

*wa' yákt ants hĩtsĩ'i*, *u' tã'qnãs hĩtũ'stc* although big (is) that house, still (it is) full (of) people 25.2, 3

*wa' tẽ'wa maj'atc ants tqã' tũ*, *u' mĩltca'* 'although in the water lay those logs, nevertheless (they) began to burn 32.22

*wa' yã'a'xã' hĩtc*, *u' ha' mũt s'ãs l'it!a'yũn* although many (were) the people, still he devoured (them) all 94.10, 11

This subordinate function, as it were, is particularly brought out when *u'* is followed or preceded by the modal adverb *a'tsa*, *s'a'tsa* THUS (see § 121). This phrase is invariably rendered by THAT IS WHY.

*a'tsa u'wàn temũ'tx hĩtcũ'u* that is why now people assemble 15.5, 6

*a'tsan u'ln kumĩ'ntc s'ĩ'n'xyũn* that is why I don't want it 15.8

*s'a'tsa u' kumĩ'ntc nĩ'k!a x'ĩ'ntmĩl hĩtc* that was why not alone traveled a person 94.11

*u' s'a'tsa u' haya'mũt h'iyãtc L!xũ'yũn* and this is why all people know it

### § 126. Temporal Particles

While Siuslaw employs distinct suffixes for the purpose of expressing the different tenses in the verb, it has a few particles that are used to define more clearly the time, duration, or occurrence of a certain action. These are used mostly in conjunction with the proper temporal suffixes. The following particles serve this purpose:

*ãL* denotes commencement of an action, and has been rendered rather freely by NOW.

*ã'lan l'it!a'wax* now I commence to eat

*ãL s'ĩLa'wax* now he commences to swim

*u'ẽnx ãL hũtca'tc* now they began to play 72.23, 24

*wàn* indicates finality, completion of action. It either precedes or follows the verb. The informant invariably rendered it by NOW, THEN, but the most proper rendering would be FINALLY.

*u'wàn tẽ'ĩn* he finally returned 68.12

*ãqa'qa'x wàn* they two finally ran away 92.5

*wàn smũt'a't'* finally it ends 9.1

*sqã'k wàn hawa'* there finally it ends 14.6

*wa'*, *waha'*, expresses repetition of action, and is best rendered by AGAIN. It rarely occurs as an independent particle, being mostly used as a verb (see § 135). The explanation for the occurrence of the double form has been given in § 3.

*qa'tc<sup>i</sup>nt ants h̄tc waha'* that man went again 19.5  
*k!<sup>i</sup>nk'ya'waxan waha'wax* I will look again 56.20  
*u<sup>i</sup> wàn waha' ha<sup>a</sup>n qa'msk<sup>u</sup>tc* finally again (said) to him his younger  
 brother 56.20, 21  
*u<sup>i</sup>n kum<sup>i</sup>ntc xw<sup>i</sup>L!tūx wa'tūx* I will not go back again 46.8  
*waha'<sup>i</sup> xalna'<sup>i</sup> ants ya<sup>k</sup>u<sup>s</sup>* again climb up those seals 62.10

***ḥiyax-*** indicates short duration of action. It always occurs in verbal form (see § 135), and is best rendered by A WHILE.

*ḥiyaxEM qa'q<sup>u</sup>nEM!* listen a while!  
*ḥiyax<sup>a</sup>xyaxan a<sup>w</sup>s̄syax* I slept a while  
*ḥiyaxa'waxan a<sup>u</sup>sa'wax* I intend to sleep a while 27.5, 6

### § 127. *Particles Denoting Degrees of Certainty and Emotional States*

***a'ck!al̄i*** indicates a supposition on the part of the speaker, and is best rendered by PERHAPS, (I) THOUGHT. It consists of two etymologically obscure stems, *a'ck!a* and *l̄i*. The subjective pronouns, when added to this particle, are always suffixed to the initial element, and never to *l̄i*. It is invariably placed at the beginning of the sentence.

*a'ck!anl̄i l̄i xau'* (I) thought you (had) died 68.14, 15  
*a'ck!al̄i ats̄i'tc xw<sup>i</sup>L!a'wax ants t!<sup>i</sup>ā'mc̄ins* (I) thought thus were  
 to return our (dual, incl.) boys 42.9, 10  
*a'ck!al̄i qa'tc<sup>i</sup>nt* he went (away) perhaps

***ha'nhan*** emphasizes a statement as having actually occurred. Hence it is rendered by INDEED, TO BE SURE. It precedes the verb.

*u<sup>i</sup> wàn ha'nhan s<sup>e</sup>atsd'tx h̄tcū<sup>u</sup>* now, indeed, thus people play 7.4  
*u<sup>i</sup> wàn ha'nhan l̄wū'wanx h̄ts̄i'stc* finally, sure enough, they were  
 coming to different houses 30.6

***hank!*** "KIND OF," LIKE, has a double function. When used with verbs, it implies that the action is not intimately known to the speaker. When referring to nouns (objects), it expresses a comparison between the defined noun and one already known to the speaker. It always precedes the noun or verb.

*hank! t̄c̄k̄tc ha<sup>h</sup>* he is in a way glad (literally, "kind of" somewhere his mind?) 70.15  
*hank! w<sup>i</sup>n<sup>x</sup>tx ha<sup>h</sup>* he is rather afraid

*hank!* *hī' tē<sup>2</sup> tē nīctcāma<sup>2</sup> mū tē qwō' txa<sup>1</sup>* the beaver acts like a person  
(literally, like a person his actions [of] this beaver) 54.11  
*hank!* *hītc* (he is) like (an) Indian 102.5

**tEX** (I) WONDER, SUPPOSE (IF), (I) DON'T KNOW. This particle has a dubitative character, expressing doubt on the part of the speaker as to the possibility or advisability of a certain action. It may refer to any part of the sentence, but must always precede the verb.

*tē' nta<sup>u</sup>n tEX līkwa'yūn* I wonder which one (shall) I take 88.20;  
90.1  
*nī' ctē tEX xī' ntmīs hītc* (I) wonder how (a) person (can) keep on  
traveling  
*nī' ctcan tEX nīctca' wax* (I doubt whether we) shall accomplish (any-  
thing) 60.9  
*nī' ctcanl tEX xawa'ūn* (I) wonder how we (incl.) can kill him 15.7

**kīl**. This particle occurs in the texts only once; but, judging from the examples obtained in conversation, it seems to express agreeable surprise.

*hī' san kīl wān waa'yūts* well he told me (I was agreeably surprised)  
46.18  
*ta<sup>i</sup> kīl wān* he is here (literally, he stays, surprise)

**k** (I) MAY, PERHAPS. This is a dubitative particle, occurring also in Coos,<sup>1</sup> and denoting possibility of action. Owing to its dubitative character, it has often an interrogative significance.

*nī' ctca k<sup>u</sup>* what is the matter? (literally, how, perhaps . . .) 90.12  
*kī' lñk' ya' waxan tqa<sup>u</sup> wī' tē k<sup>u</sup> waha' wax* I may look again up-stream  
56.20  
*nī' ctcan k<sup>u</sup> a' ntsān māt' i' tē kū<sup>i</sup> tē' nīl* what may (be the cause that)  
that my elder brother, this here, not comes back? 58.11, 12  
*līkwa'yūnanx k<sup>u</sup> lī' i' a<sup>i</sup>* you may get salmon 48.18

**k<sup>u</sup> nā**, a compound particle, consisting of the preceding one and of the particle of interrogation *nā* (see § 131). Its significance is dubitative, and it may be rendered by IT SEEMS, PERHAPS, MAYBE, (I) GUESS. Its position is freely movable.

*wān k<sup>u</sup> nā tā' kīn s<sup>2</sup> atsī' tē a<sup>u</sup> sī' s* now it seems, this I thus dream 70.1  
*yā' xa<sup>i</sup> lī' i' a<sup>i</sup> tqa<sup>u</sup> wī' k<sup>u</sup> nā* much salmon may be up-stream 56.8

<sup>1</sup> See Coos, p. 385.

*sʰàs kʷnà cʷxū'yūn* he, I guess, drove it away 56.11  
*lakwa'kūʷn kʷnà* he took him (away), perhaps 58.14  
*kumʷ'ntc kʷnà sʰatsī'tc* not thus (it is), I guess 21.10

*xī* has the same function as the previously discussed *hank'* (see p. 594). It may best be rendered by (IT) LOOKS LIKE, AS IF.

*xā'ts!ū xī hītc tE kī'nna* (it) looks as if two people here were talking  
*plnaʷtx xī* (it) looks as if he were sick  
*tqalaʷtxan xī* I feel rather warm

*Lō<sup>ε</sup>L* (I) WONDER, (I) DON'T KNOW. It either precedes or else follows the verb.

*tcārtcī'tc Lō<sup>ε</sup>L nī'ctūx* (I) wonder where (he will) go 64.20  
*tcā Lō<sup>ε</sup>L Lī'ūtūx* (I) wonder where he will stop (arrive) 64.24  
*plnaʷ Lō<sup>ε</sup>L* (I) wonder whether he is sick

### § 128. Particles Denoting Connection with Previously Expressed Ideas

Siuslaw has only two particles that serve this purpose. These are *nī'ctcīm* and *waʷ*.

*nī'ctcīm* indicates causality, and is best rendered by BECAUSE.

- . . . *nī'ctcīm sqaʷk Lī'wat!ī* . . . because there he frequently came 68.4, 5  
 . . . *nī'ctcīm sʰàs k!ʷxa'yūn tE hītc* . . . because he made disappear these people 18.8  
 . . . *nī'ctcīmîn meq!ya'wax* . . . because I intend to dance 72.12  
 . . . *nī'ctcīm<sup>n</sup>x nam<sup>ε</sup>l tE'q* . . . because you are my relative 21.5

*waʷ* is best rendered by ALTHOUGH, EVEN, IN SPITE OF. It may refer to the sentence as a whole or to any of its parts. The complex of ideas dependent upon *waʷ* is invariably introduced by the conjunction *uʷ* (see § 125).

- cugwa'an harwa'yūn, waʷ cā'yatc* he passes it as roast, although his penis [it was] (literally, roast he makes it) 90.13  
*nī'ctcīm sqaʷk Lī'wat!ī, waʷ yā'tsa*, because there he frequently came every time (literally, because there he came frequently, even for a long time) 68.4, 5  
*waʷ mī'k!aū L!aya' uʷ Lxata'!* even on a bad place he runs 14.1  
*waʷ yīkt ants hītsv'ī uʷ tā'qnīs hītū'stc* although big (was) that house, nevertheless full (it was of) people 25.2, 3

*wàl qa'x*, *u' xînt* in spite of (the fact that it was) night, (they) kept on going 64.24  
*wa' tE'q mî'k/a u' tî!a'yün s'às* even (if it is) something bad still she eats it 44.20

### § 129. *Exhortative Particles*

*qa't* expresses a polite command addressed to the first and third persons. It is hence employed in the formation of the exhortative mode. The verb usually occurs with exhortative suffixes (see §§ 41, 48, 63, 64), although instances of idiomatic expressions are not lacking where these suffixes have been omitted (see § 139). This particle is best rendered by LET (ME, HIM, US, etc.).

*qa't qatc'ni'xmî* let him go!  
*qa't la'x lakw'î nî* let them two seize (them)! 52.12, 13  
*qa'tn xāL!i'tsmE hîtsi'i* let me fix his house!  
*qa't wàn a'w'stūx* let him sleep now! 27.8

*tcū* serves to emphasize the imperative and exhortative modes. It invariably follows the verb, which must occur in either of these two forms. It can not be translated easily. In some instances the informant rendered it by TRY TO.

*qaqū' nEM tcū* listen now!  
*tî't!EMans tcū* let us (incl. dual) eat!  
*qa'txEM tcū* cry!  
*a'w'sEM tcū* try to sleep!

*tEMà'* indicates a polite command addressed to any person. The informant rendered it by IT IS BETTER TO. . . . Although it usually followed verbs having imperative suffixes, I was able to obtain examples showing the use of this particle in conjunction with verbal expressions of a non-imperative character.

*qwa' nyūx tEMà' Laaya'te* better pour it into his mouth! 29.2  
*a'w'sEM tEMà'* (you had) better sleep!  
*tEMà' wa'tūx* it is better (that) he should talk

*ak'ha'n* is apparently a compound particle, whose component elements can no longer be analyzed. It has an emphatic character, implying that a certain command addressed to the second person must be obeyed. It is best rendered by MUST, NECESSARILY.

*tî't!EM ak'ha'n* you must eat!  
*L!wā'nîs ak'ha'n* you must tell him!  
*L!tîs ak'ha'n* you must hit him!

§ 130. *Restrictive Particles*

*ata's* limits the action to only one object, and is to be rendered by ONLY, MERELY. It usually follows the restricted object.

*lqa'qa'inx ata's* your wind only (is sick) 86.16, 17

*pā'l'ū ata's qatcū'txa'tne* from (one) well only it is being drunk (plural) 76.12

*sqā'k wān ata's harwa'* only there now it ends 29.7

*s<sup>2</sup>ās ata's l!xū'yūn* he only knows it 44.8

*ha' tsī* has a restrictive function, and is best rendered by NOTHING BUT.

*hāq!aha' nī ants xu'nha' ha' tsī* nothing but dentalia shells these (people) bet 78.14

*ha' tsīn kō'tan yīxa'yūn* nothing but horses I saw

*txū* MERELY, ONLY, JUST. It refers mostly to the verb, and may either precede or follow it.

*txū xyal'xī'sk'īn qa'tc'nt* just a little ways he went 12.1

*txū lī'tc<sup>2</sup>t lī'nīnx* just Cougar (will be) thy name 13.5, 6

*xa<sup>u</sup>w'ya' txū hīcatca'sk'īn* he merely came out for a little while 64.8  
*līt!Em txū* just eat! 40.26; 42.1

*cī'nīxyat!ya txū* he was only continually thinking 42.2

*kum'ntc txū qīūtēnyat' hītc* not for nothing a person gets a wife (literally, not just a woman has [gets a] person) 74.1

§ 131. *Miscellaneous Particles*

*kū<sup>i</sup>*, *kum'ntc*, NO, NOT. These are two etymologically related stems that are used as particles of negation. The final *tc* in *kum'ntc* is the adverbial suffix (see §§ 23, 94)

*kū<sup>i</sup> cī'l'xīl* he did not move 27.2, 3

*kū<sup>i</sup> nī'tca nī'ctcūtn<sup>E</sup>* nothing could be done to him 94.12, 13

*kū<sup>i</sup>yā'tsac<sup>L</sup>!a'<sup>ai</sup>* not long then . . . 7.7

*kum'ntc hī'sa* not good (it is) 12.2

*kum'ntc līt!aya't ants kō'tan* not food had the horses 34.10

When followed by the subjective pronouns (see § 24), *kū<sup>i</sup>* is contracted into *kwī*. This contraction is not based on any distinct phonetic law, but is the result of rapidity of speech.

*kwī'ya<sup>u</sup>x ya'xa<sup>ū</sup>l mī'ck'la<sup>i</sup>* not he saw their (dual) vulvas 90.3

*kwīnx yā'tsa s<sup>a</sup>'ts<sup>2</sup>yax* not they long (did) thus 11.3, 4



In certain cases the negated verb takes, beside the negative particle, the distinct suffix of negation *-īl* (see § 53).

*ha<sup>ū</sup>*, *hā'nîk*, YES, ALL RIGHT, are used as particles of affirmation.

*ha<sup>ū</sup>* yes, all right 21.8

*hā'nîk* yes

*ha<sup>ū</sup> L'îmqan tcī'ntūx* all right, I'll come back right away 56.21, 22

*ha<sup>ū</sup> wa'naxan hatc'a'wūn* yes, now we (excl.) shall ask her 74.12

*nā* serves as a particle of interrogation, and refers to the sentence as a whole. Its phonetic similarity to the independent personal pronoun for the first person singular (see § 24) is merely accidental.

*nîctcī'tcīn tex nā wa'a'is* I wonder what shall I say? 74.7

*pīnā' nā* is he sick?

*pākwawānax nā* are you going to play shinny?

*ā<sup>ī</sup>*, *hē*, have an exclamatory character, and may be called interjections.

*ā<sup>ī</sup>, nîctcī'tcīn pīa<sup>n</sup> nā waha'* what! is he sick again?

*hē, kum'întc hī'isa nī'x<sup>a</sup>tc* Hey! it (does) not (look) well on you  
13.5

*ka'tī*, *katī'xtī*, an emphatic particle. It never occurs alone, being always preceded by the negation *kū<sup>ī</sup>*, *kum'întc* (see p. 598), and is then best rendered by NOT AT ALL.

*kum'întc katī' xa<sup>w</sup>wīl* not at all he came out (from water) 64.7, 8

*kū<sup>ī</sup> katī'xtī L!xma<sup>i</sup> ants ya<sup>ε</sup>k<sup>u</sup>s* he did not entirely kill that seal  
64.12, 13

*kū<sup>ī</sup> katī'xtī xa<sup>w</sup>wīl* not again he floated up 64.16, 17

*mîntc*, a temporal particle indicating time in general. It is rendered by WHEN, SOMETIMES. The final *tc* is the adverbial suffix *par excellence* (see § 23).

*mîntc L!aya'* some time

*mîntc Lō<sup>ε</sup>L Lī'ūtūx* (I) wonder when he will arrive

*mī'ntc'inx tca'xaūtyax* when did you go home?

*tsan*, *ants*, *kū<sup>ī</sup> nàts*. These three particles are etymologically related. The last one is composed of the particle of negation *kū<sup>ī</sup>* NOT and of *nàts*. The forms *ants* and *nàts* resulted from the law of consonantic metathesis (see § 13); *ants* is easily confused with the demonstrative pronoun of similar phonetic structure (see § 115).

These particles serve to introduce conditional clauses, and are best rendered by IF, SINCE. *kū' nàts* is rendered by IF NOT (see also § 136).

*tsa'ntcē tū'ha sī'n'xyūn* . . . if you want to buy her . . . 74.8  
*tsa'ntcē sī'n'xyaxa<sup>ūn</sup>, <sup>u</sup>ltcē hatc'a'yūn* since you want her, (go and) ask her 74.10, 11

*yā<sup>a</sup>'xa<sup>i</sup> hūtc tem<sup>uwa</sup>'i sqa<sup>k</sup>, ants ha'qa<sup>i</sup> ants ham<sup>ū</sup>'tcē* many people assembled there, when (if) those whales come ashore 82.21, 22  
 . . . *ants ikwa'myax ants inq!<sup>a</sup>'a<sup>i</sup>* when (ice) closed up that river 78.3

Whenever the subordinate clause is introduced by the negative *kū' nàts*, the co-ordinate sentence that follows must be preceded by the particle *nàts*.

*kū' nàts xā'wa<sup>a</sup>xa<sup>a</sup>tn<sub>E</sub>, <sup>u</sup>l nàts tsī'k!ya mī'k!a l!<sup>a</sup>'a<sup>i</sup>* if he had not been killed, it would have been a very bad country 29.7, 8  
*kū' nàts l<sup>ū</sup>'ūyax, <sup>u</sup>ln nàts nakwa'yatitī ha<sup>i</sup>* if he had not come, I should have been sorry

*nū'ctca, nū'ctca, nūctx.* These three forms are undoubtedly etymologically related. Their primary function can not be easily defined, owing to the fact that they are used for the purpose of expressing grammatical concepts of a varying character. The most frequent uses made of these particles are those of an interrogative and indefinite pronoun. The function of an interrogative pronoun is chiefly confined to the form *nū'ctca* when followed by the demonstrative pronoun *te* (see § 115), while it serves as an indefinite pronoun whenever it is preceded by the negative particle *kū'*, *kumū'ntc* NOT. *nū'ctca* is frequently amplified by means of the modal suffix *-ītc* (see § 94).

*nū'ctca k<sup>u</sup> te cuqwa'an te ha'kwat!ya* what may (be the reason that) this roast here continually falls down? 90.12

*nū'ctcanx tanx yā<sup>a</sup>'xa<sup>i</sup> qāt<sup>x</sup>* why do you (this one) cry (so) much? 94.16, 17

*nū'ctcan tex nūctca'wax* I doubt whether (we) shall accomplish anything 60.9

*nū'ctcanl tex xawa'ūn* how can we kill him? 15.7

. . . *nū'ctca te ta<sup>i</sup>* . . . how this one was living 16.2

*kū' nū'ctca nū'ctcūtn<sub>E</sub>* nothing could be done (to stop) him 94.12, 13

*kū' nū'ctca qa'tc<sup>ū</sup>l* not able to get a drink 76.11

*kū' nū'ctca la'kwīl līt!aya'* she could not get food 96.16, 17

*nūctcī'tc<sup>ū</sup>tcē te tem<sup>u</sup>'wa'tam* . . . why you have been gathered 30.17

*kum'ntc n̄ctcē'tc c̄'n̄x̄l* he thinks of nothing (else) 60.20, 21

*kum'ntc<sup>xtc̄</sup> n̄ctcē'tc ta'tc̄ t̄emū'ūts* not for nothing did I assemble you (here) 30.18, 19

*n̄ctx* occurs in two instances only, and to all appearances has an interrogative significance.

*n̄'ctxan k<sup>u</sup> a'n̄ts̄n̄ mā't̄'ī' t̄E k̄ū' t̄c̄' n̄l̄* what may (be the reason that) my elder brother here does not come back? 58.11, 12

*n̄ctx k<sup>u</sup> a'naxa'ī* how (would it be if) he were given up? 64.26

In a great many cases *n̄'ctca* and *n̄'ctca* are used as verbs with a significance that adapts itself to the sense of the sentence (see § 135). The particles are then verbalized by means of some of the verbal suffixes.

*k̄ū' n̄'ctca n̄'ctcūt<sub>NE</sub>* nothing could be done (to stop) him 94.12, 13

*k̄ū' n̄'ctca t̄c̄ā'tc̄' t̄c̄ n̄'ctc̄l̄* not can anywhere (they) go 76.14

*kum'ntcx̄n̄ n̄'ctc̄s* not we two (excl.) will keep on going 56.2

*n̄'ctcan t̄E n̄ctca'wax* I doubt whether (we) are going to do (anything) 60.9

*n̄'ctca' a<sup>ux</sup> s̄' n̄'xyūn* to fight mutually they two want (it) 52.2

In one instance the addition of a nominal suffix has transformed *n̄'ctca* into a noun.

*kum'ntc q̄wac̄ L!x̄ū'x<sup>un</sup> n̄'ctc̄at̄ ants n̄'ctc̄s̄i* no one knows what happened to them (literally, how their arrival) 40.15, 16

### § 132. The Suffixed Particle -ū (-a<sup>ū</sup>)

It indicates an action, transitive or intransitive, that is performed near the speaker, and may be added to stems other than verbal. It always stands in final position as a loose suffix. Since similar formative elements expressing other locative categories were not found in Siuslaw, and in view of the fact that Alsea employs, besides this suffix, many other suffixes denoting location of action, I am inclined to believe that this element represents a formative element borrowed from Alsea. The Siuslaw render it by *HERE, THIS WAY*. A peculiar phonetic law seems to be intimately connected with this particle. When following the consonantic cluster *nx*, it causes the dropping of the *x* (see § 4). The interchange between *ū* and *a<sup>ū</sup>* has been discussed in § 2.

*ka<sup>ū</sup>s* = to follow 92.7

*k<sup>i</sup>was<sup>i</sup>yū'tsana<sup>ū</sup>* you will overtake me 92.3

*qa<sup>u</sup>x̄n̄* above 80.12

*yū<sup>wi</sup>L!a'tx̄ qa<sup>u</sup>x̄n̄ū'* it broke on top 94.4

*qa'tcîntûx* he will come  
*xwîL!Em* come back!  
*lîû'ûnanx* they come (trans.)

*xî'ntanx* they travel 88.20

*ya'qu'yû'nanx* thou art seen  
*qa'hâ'n* from afar 56.8  
*sqâ'tem* from there 34.3

*qa'tcîntûxa<sup>n</sup>nâche* he will come to me  
*xwîL!Ema<sup>n</sup>* come back this way!  
*lîû'ûnana<sup>n</sup> tci'wa'nE* they come  
 out from the water

*xî'ntana<sup>n</sup> tî'mwa* they travel this  
 way together

*ya'qu'yû'nana<sup>n</sup>* thou art seen here  
*qa'hâ'hana<sup>n</sup> lîû'* he came from afar  
*sqâ'tmanû tšîL!a'L!â<sup>un</sup>* I shoot at  
 him from there

### § 133. *The Stem L!a<sup>ai</sup>*

The original function of this stem is that of a noun denoting PLACE, COUNTRY, GROUND, WORLD, and it occurs in this function in a great many instances. Its locative form is *L!aya'* or *L!ayû's* (see § 86).

*mî'k!a L!a<sup>ai</sup>* a bad world 29.8

*yâk!îsk'înu' L!aya' wî tîyû'wi* on a small place they were living  
 38.19

*mî'tcîstûn L!ayû'stc* he made (them) fall to the ground 94.7, 8

In most cases, however, it is used with a significance which, while intimately connected with its original meaning, seems to lend to it a peculiar function. Thus it is employed in the formation of verbs expressing meteorological phenomena, and serves as the (impersonal) subject of such verbs.

*hî'n<sup>ε</sup>k!ya L!a<sup>ai</sup>* it rained 78.1

*k!u<sup>x</sup>wîna<sup>i</sup> L!a<sup>ai</sup>* ice (appeared) all over 76.11

*qa'<sup>y</sup>xîxyax tE L!a<sup>ai</sup>* it got dark 34.4

*nâ'qutyax L!a<sup>ai</sup>* it got cold 76.10, 11

*hû<sup>w</sup>nyax L!a<sup>ai</sup>* it was dark (foggy) 34.8, 9

*kumî'ntc wî'lîl ants L!a<sup>ai</sup>* there was no low tide 34.22

*qîûnEma<sup>i</sup> L!a<sup>ai</sup>* (when) winter begins 78.5

From the Siuslaw point of view this application of *L!a<sup>ai</sup>* is perfectly justifiable, because to his mind verbs expressing natural phenomena represent real actions performed by the UNIVERSE as a personified subject. Consequently he renders our neutral phrases IT RAINS, etc., by THE WORLD RAINS, etc., using the noun *L!a<sup>ai</sup>* as the general subject of the action.

As a further consequence of this general significance, *L!a<sup>ai</sup>* is used to denote plurality of subjects and objects, especially in cases where the verb is used in its singular form (see §§ 78, 79, 139).

*t!āmc'ī'l'mä L!a'<sup>ai</sup>* all the children 34.6, 7

*q'ūtēcū'nî L!a'<sup>ai</sup>* many women 82.14

*SEXa<sup>w</sup>'tc qad'xam ants L!a'<sup>ai</sup> tE'q* into the canoe were put many things 34.5

*mEtcī'tē<sup>tc</sup> xwā'ka ants L!a'<sup>ai</sup>* one-sided their heads (of) those (people) 70.5, 6

*yā'a'xa' xū'nha' L!a'<sup>ai</sup>* they bet a great deal 70.6

*hāq!aha<sup>w</sup>'nî L!a'<sup>ai</sup>* many dentalia shells 70.6

*tš'k'ya mī'k!a wā'nwāts L!a'<sup>ai</sup>* very bad (things existed) long ago 14.7

*stīm L!a'<sup>ai</sup> ma'q!īs* there they keep on dancing 29.3

*waa'a<sup>tsmE</sup> ants L!a'<sup>ai</sup> hītc* he said to all his people 7.1

*pEKū'<sup>u</sup> L!a'<sup>ai</sup>* they play shinny 9.4

*L!ōxa'xa<sup>tsmE</sup> hītc L!a'<sup>ai</sup>* he sent all his people 30.1, 2

*k!u<sup>w</sup>'nūn L!a'<sup>ai</sup>* he made ice all over 94.2, 3

*tēit'a't'ūn L!a'<sup>ai</sup>* he caused the wind to blow all over 94.5

This stem occurs also as a suffix. In such cases it is abbreviated into *-L!* (see § 77).

### § 134. Nouns and Verbs as Qualifiers

Siuslaw has no means of indicating by a grammatical device the sex of a given noun; that is to say, it does not exhibit grammatical gender. Hence, whenever it is desired to distinguish between the male and the female of a species, the nouns *texmū'nî* MAN and *q'ūtēcū'nî* WOMAN are used as qualifying a given appellative term. The qualifying noun either precedes or follows the qualified term.

*q'ūtēcū'nî kwī'yōs* a female dog

*texmū'nî kō'tan* a male horse, stallion

*tš'īsqan q'ūtēcū'nî* a female deer, doe

*la'kukyax hītū'tc texmū'nya* she took a male person 60.23

*texmū'nītc<sup>wax</sup> ants t!āmc k!īx* they two had boys each (literally, male their [dual] those infants each [are]) 40.19

Not infrequently verbs are used to qualify the actions implied by another verbal stem. The qualifier has then the function of a modal adverb, and its significance may best be compared to that of our adverbs ending in *-LY*. The position of the qualifier is freely movable.

*u<sup>s</sup>Lōxu'x<sup>u</sup> xwīL!a'L!* so down(-wardly) he came back (literally, he slid down and came back) 12.6

*xawa<sup>u</sup> h̄t̄c w̄l kum̄'ntc t̄cī'n̄l̄ xw̄l' L!ū* (when) a person dies, (he will) not come back (by way of) return(-ing) (literally, not he comes back [and] returns) 42.11

*m̄t̄a't̄c<sup>w</sup>ax ants tq̄ūlū' wad'* their (dual) father, that one, shouted, saying (literally, shouted [and] said) 52.8

### § 135. Particles as Verbs

The frequent use of particles as verbs constitutes a characteristic feature of Siuslaw that is chiefly due to the fact that the majority of stems are neutral, deriving their nominal or verbal significance from the nature of the suffix that is added to them (see § 22). Consequently any particle (or adverb) may serve as a verb when occurring with the proper verbalizing suffixes, mostly the pronominal and temporal elements.

<i>ha<sup>i</sup>q</i> shore (§ 119)	<i>ha<sup>u</sup>q̄iqyax</i> it was (coming) ashore 56.13
<i>s<sup>ε</sup>a'tsa</i> thus (§ 121)	<i>yā'tsa s<sup>ε</sup>a'ts<sup>ε</sup>yax</i> for a long time thus they (did) 11.3, 4
<i>yā<sup>a</sup>'xa<sup>i</sup></i> many (§ 124)	<i>st̄imts ya'xtūx</i> there you two will multiply 32.6
<i>a'l·dū</i> likewise (§ 125)	<i>al'twa'wanx</i> also you (come) 16.4 <i>a'l·tūtūnx h̄t̄cū'<sup>w</sup>stc</i> also you will (have) fun 22.8
<i>wa', waha'</i> again (§ 126)	<i>w̄la<sup>w</sup>x al'twa<sup>i</sup>' h̄t̄ū'<sup>w</sup>stc</i> they two again were among people 98.17, 18
<i>w̄l' yax-</i> a while (§ 126)	<i>w̄l w̄n waha' ha<sup>ū</sup>n qa'msk<sup>w</sup>tc</i> finally again (said to him) his younger brother 56.20, 21 <i>wa'tūnx m<sup>w</sup>qwa'LEMtc wa'as</i> you will again (talk with) Crow's language 38.8, 9
<i>n̄l'ctca</i> (§ 131)	<i>t̄cī'nta<sup>w</sup> n̄tca<sup>i</sup>' ants h̄t̄c</i> whatever does a man 70.22 <i>kum̄'ntcān n̄l'ctc̄is</i> not we two (excl.) will keep on (going) 56.2

### § 136. The Conditional Clause

The rendering of the conditional clause in Siuslaw is accomplished in so many different ways, that it was thought best, for the sake of §§ 135-136

conciseness, to devote a separate section to this subject. The usual procedure is to introduce a conditional clause by means of the temporal adverb *ats* AT THAT TIME, WHEN (see § 120), or by means of either of these three related particles: *tsan*, *kū<sup>i</sup> nàts*, *ants* (see § 131).

*ats tE<sup>q</sup> waxa'yexayim* if something (will) be given to him 18.5

*tsa'ntcē tū'ha sī'nīxyūn* if you (to) buy want her 74.8

*yā'xa<sup>i</sup> hītc tEm<sup>u</sup>wa<sup>i</sup> sqā<sup>k</sup>*, *ants ha<sup>i</sup>qa<sup>u</sup>* *ants hamā<sup>i</sup>'tōi* many people assemble there, when those whales come ashore 82.21, 22

*kū<sup>i</sup> nàts xā'wa<sup>a</sup>xa<sup>u</sup>tnE* if he had not been killed 29.7

There are, however, other ways of expressing a conditional clause that are resorted to more frequently than the process just mentioned. Of these, the use of the past tense as conveying conditionality is of an exceedingly frequent occurrence, and is due to the participial function that is assigned by the Siuslaw to that tense (see § 74). In such cases the conditional clause tends to precede the sentence expressing the co-ordinate thought, although instances of a reversed order are by no means rare. The verb of the co-ordinate clause takes usually (but not as a rule) the durative suffix (see § 69).

*tē<sup>i</sup>k<sup>enx</sup> ya'xyaxa<sup>ūn</sup> hītc*, *u<sup>i</sup>enx L!<sup>i</sup>wa'nīsūn* if somewhere you see a person, you will tell of it (literally, having seen . . . ) 38.12, 13  
*wa<sup>i</sup>sL<sup>i</sup>syax tāqa<sup>i</sup>'na*, *u<sup>i</sup>enx tsī<sup>k</sup>!<sup>i</sup>ya qa<sup>u</sup>xūn wa<sup>i</sup>a<sup>i</sup>s* if you get mad at anything, you very loud will always talk (literally, having become mad . . . ) 36.11, 12

*Lī<sup>i</sup>wayanx īnq!<sup>i</sup>a<sup>i</sup>tc*, *u<sup>i</sup>enx qnū<sup>i</sup>wī<sup>i</sup>wūs* whenever they came into a river, they would find (literally, having come . . . ) 66.21, 22  
*Lī<sup>i</sup>ūna<sup>u</sup>wya<sup>u</sup>x*, *u<sup>i</sup> s<sup>e</sup>atsī<sup>i</sup>'tc waad'yūn* when they two came together, then thus she said 46.7

*īnq!<sup>i</sup>a<sup>i</sup>tc hītc tā<sup>i</sup>yax*, *u<sup>i</sup> yā<sup>a</sup>xa<sup>i</sup> sīnq!* if in the ocean a man lives, (very) much he is hungry 44.12, 13

*tsī<sup>k</sup>!<sup>i</sup>ya hīs atsī<sup>i</sup>'tc wa<sup>a</sup>yax* very good (it would have been) if thus he had said 42.13

The conditional clause is also expressed by the use of the future tense.

*sī<sup>i</sup>nīxyū<sup>i</sup> nE ts!<sup>i</sup>ūna<sup>i</sup>'tc xawa<sup>a</sup>'a<sup>u</sup>*, *a<sup>u</sup>stūxax* it was desired (that) with an arrow he (should) be killed, if he should (be a) sleep(er) 24.1  
*tsī<sup>k</sup>!<sup>i</sup>ya hīs t!<sup>i</sup>ā<sup>i</sup>mcīns tcī<sup>i</sup>ntūx* very good (would it be) if our children (dual incl.) should come back 42.6, 7

*hawa<sup>i</sup>tūx tE tsī<sup>i</sup>L!<sup>i</sup>*, *u<sup>i</sup>ens tsī<sup>i</sup>L!<sup>i</sup>a<sup>i</sup>t<sup>e</sup>tūx* when finished will (be) these arrows, then we two (incl.) will shoot 50.14

*sī<sup>i</sup>'tūnx*, *u<sup>i</sup>enx qnī<sup>i</sup>xatx xnī<sup>i</sup>wnīsūn* when (if) you will grow up, then you will do it 98.10

The conditional clause may also be expressed by the verb in its present tense.

*sí'níxyanx līt!aya'*, *uínx nàtc lí'wís* if you want food, then you will always come to me 44.6

*tE'q xawaí' pī'tsís*, *uł s<sup>ə</sup>às í't!a'yūn ha'íqyax* if something dies in the ocean, he eats it (it) having come ashore 44.19, 20

*wīLaí' L!a'ái uł ha'íqmas tcī'wa xí'ntmE* when the water is low, alongside of the beach he travels 46.16

*tcīn hīsí'stc ants qwo'txáí*, *atsí'tc waa'yūtsmE qí'ūtc* when he gets home, that Beaver, thus he says to his wife 48.17

### § 137. VOCABULARY

All Siuslaw words may be divided into two distinct classes, those of a denominating character and neutral stems. To the former belong all nouns of relationship, terms denoting parts of the body, animal names, words expressing natural objects, etc. These nouns never consist of more than three syllables. By far the greater part of the vocabulary consists of neutral stems, whose nominal or verbal function depends solely upon the sense in which they are used in a sentence and upon the functional value of the suffix with which they occur (see § 22). These stems are mostly monosyllabic, and consist of a vowel and consonant, of a consonant or consonantic cluster followed by a vowel, or (in most cases) of a consonant vowel and consonant.

*a<sup>u</sup>s-* to sleep 24.1

*anax-* to give up 16.8

*āq-* to go away 52.10

*īL!-* to break 94.4

*wa-* to speak 7.1

*taí-* to sit, to live 16.2

*sīí-* to grow 98.10

*mEQ!-* to dance 19.2

*xāL!-* to do, to make 50.8

*yax-* to see 20.10

*wínx-* to be afraid 17.6

*āq-* to take off 13.1

*a'q-* to leave

*a'itc-* to trade 36.4

*qaa-* to enter 34.5

*xāū-* to die 16.8

*ík!a-* to open (one's mouth) 28.2

*xíntm-* to travel 12.10

*tqūl-* to shout 52.8

*cīl·x-* to shake 27.2

*L!wān-* to tell 17.1

*qatc<sup>en</sup>-* to go 8.2

As examples of bisyllabic stems, the following may be given:

*wasL<sup>i</sup>s-* to be angry 36.11, 12

*qaqū'n-* to listen

*sínxi-* to desire 11.7

*tEMū-* to assemble 7.3

*k!ā'la<sup>u</sup>-* to be tired 36.21

*xīl·xī-* to work 48.10

*ha'n<sup>en</sup>nīt!-* to believe 46.3



Onomatopoeic expressions are exceedingly rare, being confined to three animal names and one verbal stem.

*mî'tcmîtc* grouse (probably called so from its cry *mî't-mî't*)

*pūpuhū'nîk!* owl

*qō'qōq* swan (white)

*xūn-* to snore

*u' wān xū'n* now he snores 27.9

A few terms appear in a reduplicated form (see § 109).

### § 138. STRUCTURE OF SENTENCES

The absence of nominal incorporation and polysynthesis as grammatical devices renders the Siuslaw sentence subject to easy analysis, and prevents the many complications that are met with in many other American languages. Each part of the sentence—such as subject, nominal object, predicate, and attribute—is expressed by means of a phonetically independent word. The successive order in which these parts of a sentence are arranged is arbitrary and exempt from any well-defined rules. The subject may be placed at the beginning or at the end of the sentence, usage favoring its occurrence at the very end, especially in cases where the sentence contains a nominal subject and object.

*lk!anū'k<sup>u</sup> u' mEq!a<sup>v</sup>'tx ha'qmas līya'wa* Screech-Owl was continually dancing alongside of the fire 86.2, 3

*lk!an<sup>u</sup>wa'k<sup>u</sup> wī'nxa<sup>ū</sup>n ants penī's* Screech-Owl fears that Skunk 86.5

*tsī'k!ya wī'nxa<sup>ū</sup>n ants penī's lk!an<sup>u</sup>wa'k<sup>u</sup>* very much is afraid of that Skunk, Screech-Owl 86.3

*pītcā'ya<sup>u</sup>x lqatūwīyū's ants qīūtcū'nī* they two go over logs, these women 88.15, 16

Nominal objects may either precede or follow the subject of the sentence.

*hīna'<sup>w</sup>ūn ants pīna'st lk!an<sup>u</sup>wa'k<sup>u</sup>* she intends to take along that sick man, Screech-Owl 88.1, 2

*waa'a<sup>ū</sup>n sqūmā' ants lq!al'ō'mā* said Pelican to that Sea-Gull 44.17

Of a similar free position are those parts of the sentence that express adverbial ideas. They may precede or follow the verb.

*u'la<sup>u</sup>x tō'watc hakwa'a<sup>i</sup>* they two into the water will be thrown 88.7, 8

*xa'līnt qa'xūntc lqatūwīyū'stc* he climbs up on a tree 12.4

*yāk!isk'īnū' L!aya' u' tīyū'<sup>wi</sup>* on a small place they live 38.19

*ī'kwa'yūnanax k<sup>u</sup> l'ī'a<sup>i</sup> sēxa<sup>ū</sup>* you may get salmon in the boat 48.18

Nominal and adverbial attributive complements may precede or follow the noun or verb, excepting the demonstrative pronouns *ants*, *tɛ* (see § 115), which are usually placed immediately before the noun. Owing to the fact that all adjectives are intransitive verbs, they seldom refer to the noun, and are freely movable.

- yā<sup>a</sup>'xa<sup>i</sup> hītc pīna<sup>i</sup>tx ha<sup>i</sup>* many people were sorry 15.4  
*yīxa'yūn hītc yā<sup>a</sup>'xa<sup>i</sup>* he saw many people  
*wī'na<sup>a</sup>ūn tsī'k!ya tɛ penī's* she was very much afraid of Skunk 86.1  
*tsī'k!ya<sup>u</sup>x xaū' sī'nīxyūn* very much they two wanted him to die  
 86.19  
*ywwa'yūn yā<sup>a</sup>'xa<sup>i</sup> ants q!a'ū* they collected lots of that pitch 88.5, 6  
*lxa'yaxaū'nī ants penī's* that other skunk 86.18, 19  
*yīkt ants hītsī'<sup>i</sup>* big (is) that house 25.2  
*hī'tc<sup>tc</sup> nīctcīma<sup>mu</sup> tɛ t!ī* a person's fashion (has) this Bear 60.26

The same freedom of order as is exhibited by the different parts of the sentence is found in the relative position of coordinate and subordinate sentences. Subordinate clauses are usually introduced by particles, and they may precede or follow the principal clause.

- wa<sup>i</sup> tē'wa ma<sup>tc</sup> ants lqa'<sup>tū</sup>, ũ mīltca'* although in the water lay  
 those logs, still (they) burned 32.22  
*nī'ctcīm sqā'k lī'wat!ī, wa<sup>i</sup> yā'tsa* because there he came fre-  
 quently, even for a long time 68.4, 5  
*yā<sup>a</sup>'xa<sup>i</sup> hītc, ũ tem<sup>u</sup>wa' sqā'k, ants ha'qa' ants hamī'tcī* many  
 people assemble there, when those whales come ashore 82.21, 22  
*tē'q xarwa' pī'tsīs, ũ s<sup>ās</sup> līt!a'yūn ha'gyax* when something  
 dies in the ocean, he eats it after it has come ashore 44.19, 20

### § 139. IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

Here belongs in first place the manner of expressing comparison of adjectives. The comparative degree is expressed by using the objective form of the pronoun (or noun) for the compared object, which is invariably placed at the end of the sentence. In some cases the idea of comparison is brought out more forcibly by the adverb *peli'tc* AHEAD, FIRST, following or preceding the object.

- s<sup>à</sup> hīs nàtc* he is better than I (am)  
*na'han hī'sa nī'x<sup>tc</sup>* I am better than you (are)  
*yīktī'l'mān s<sup>a</sup>'na peli'tc* I am taller than he (is)  
*yīkt s<sup>à</sup> peli'tc na'tc<sup>nl</sup>* he is taller than we (are)

The superlative is expressed in the same manner, although the augmentative or diminutive suffixes (see §§ 83, 84) or the suffix *-ūnî* (see § 102) are preferably used to indicate the superlative degree.

*l'na<sup>uw</sup>i s<sup>ə</sup>à na'to<sup>en</sup>xan* he is (the) richest of us all  
*s<sup>ə</sup>à yāk!l'sk'în tɛxmū'nî* he is the smallest man  
*na'han yîktî'l'mä* I am the tallest  
*s<sup>ə</sup>à yîktū'nî* that biggest one  
*tū yāk!a<sup>w</sup>nî* that smallest one 88.12

A very important example of idiomatic phraseology is the (colloquial) use of the singular number for the plural. It will be remembered that Siuslaw has only two suffixes expressing plurality, neither of which is used consistently (see §§ 79, 80). In many cases the adverb *yā<sup>a'</sup>xa<sup>i</sup>* MUCH, MANY (see § 121), the numeral particle *ha<sup>i'</sup>mūt* ALL (see § 124) or the stem *L!a<sup>ai</sup>* PLACE, WORLD (see § 133), is employed for the purpose of denoting plural subjects and objects, and, while these stems are at times used in conjunction with one of the plural suffixes, they more frequently express plurality without the aid of these suffixes; that is to say, the verb is more often used in the singular form.

*yā<sup>a'</sup>xa<sup>i</sup> L!a<sup>ai</sup> hītc yîxa'yūn* he saw many people 70.2  
*yā<sup>a'</sup>xa<sup>i</sup> hītc p̄tna<sup>i</sup>tx ha<sup>i</sup>* many people were sorry 15.4  
*ha<sup>i'</sup>mūt . . . l'kwa<sup>w</sup>* all get it 82.6  
*la<sup>i'</sup>qat skwaha<sup>w</sup>tx xwākī' ants L!a<sup>ai</sup>* feathers have on their heads  
 those people 10.9

Very often, however, the singular number has a plural function, even without the aid of any of these particles, as may be seen from the following examples:

*s<sup>ə</sup>a'tsa l'it!a<sup>i</sup> tɛ ta<sup>i'</sup>yax* thus eat those who lived here 82.12  
*u<sup>l</sup> tqa<sup>w</sup>wītc taya<sup>w</sup>* they lived up stream 82.12, 13  
*u<sup>l</sup> tɛm<sup>w</sup>wa<sup>w</sup> sqa<sup>i</sup>k* they assemble there 82.21, 22  
*cī'n<sup>a</sup>xtc ya'xa<sup>w</sup> ants ya<sup>ε</sup>k<sup>us</sup>* three were the seals (literally, three his  
 number, that seal) 62.16, 17  
*xā'ts!ū hītc ūlqa<sup>w</sup>* two people dig 84.2  
*sī'n<sup>i</sup>xyūn lq!ā'nū* they wanted (to buy) hides 100.15  
*hīq!aha<sup>w</sup>nî ants xū'nha<sup>i</sup> ha<sup>i'</sup>tsī* nothing but dentalia shells these  
 (people) bet 78.14

Another peculiar idiomatic expression is found in the manner of expressing an act performed by two subjects, both of whom are mentioned. This is usually done by adding the subjective pronoun for

the third person dual  $-a^u x$  (see § 24) to one of the subjects, using the other in its absolutive form. The noun taking the pronominal suffix occurs invariably in its discriminative form (see § 111). It is not absolutely necessary that these two subjects should follow each other in immediate succession.

*s<sup>a</sup>a'tsate nîctcîmâ<sup>a</sup>mû te sqûma' wâ'nvîts lq'al·ôa'ma<sup>u</sup>x* thus was long ago the custom of pelican and sea-gull (literally, thus his custom, [of] this pelican long ago, [of] sea-gull, [of] them two) 48.4, 5

*qwo'txa<sup>i</sup> tsîmîl'a'wa<sup>u</sup>x ta<sup>i</sup>* beaver and muskrat lived 48.6  
*s<sup>a</sup>atsî'tc<sup>w</sup>ax halk! mâ'q<sup>u</sup>L te uma'tî<sup>w</sup>ax* thus is told the story of Crow and Thunder (literally, thus their two, story, Crow [of] this [and] this Thunder [of them two]) 38.18

*qîûtç'l'mâ ltekwâ'ntc<sup>w</sup>ax ta<sup>i</sup> tî'mwa* an old woman and her grandchild lived together (literally, old woman, her grandchild, they two, lived together) 96.15

*<sup>u</sup>la<sup>u</sup>x stîm qa'txast ants tEXmû'nî qayû'tc<sup>EX</sup>tc<sup>w</sup>ax* they two there commenced to cry that man and his wife (literally, they two, there, commenced to cry, that man, his wife, they two) 58.17, 18  
*Lxa<sup>u</sup>yaxa<sup>u</sup>'nî ants penî's tsî'k!ya<sup>u</sup>x xaû' sî'nîxyûn ants plnast* (he and) that other skunk very much they two wanted (that) that sick man (should) die 86.18, 19

An idiomatic expression of irregular occurrence is the formation of the imperative mode of a verb that is preceded by the stem *haû-* TO STOP. Such a phrase consists of the imperative form of the verb TO STOP followed by the demonstrative pronoun *s<sup>EX</sup>à*, and of the past tense of the verbal stem that expresses the prohibited action.

*ha'ûm s<sup>EX</sup>anx qâ'txyax* quit crying! (literally, stop, this one you [who] has been crying)

*ha'ûm s<sup>EX</sup>anx tsî'L!yax* stop shooting!

*ha'ûm s<sup>EX</sup>anx qâ'Lxyax* stop counting!

The verb expressing the prohibited action may sometimes occur without the suffix for the past tense.

*ha'ûmatçî s<sup>EX</sup>a'tçî waana'wa* stop talking to one another!

*ha'ûm s<sup>EX</sup>anx c<sup>u</sup>xû'yûn te kô'tan* stop scaring these horses!

As the last instance of idiomatic phraseology may be mentioned the use of the durative as a negative imperative, a use that has been fully discussed in §§ 40, 60, and 61.

## TEXTS

THE DEATH OF GRIZZLY BEAR<sup>1</sup>

Wā'nwīts. <sup>2</sup>	Tsī'k!ya <sup>3</sup>	mī'kla	wā'nwīts <sup>2</sup>	L!a' <sup>ai</sup> . <sup>4</sup>	K!ēxū <sup>5</sup>	L!aya' <sup>6</sup>	
Long ago.	Very	bad	long ago	world.	Each on	place on	
u <sup>7</sup> s <sup>8</sup> ai <sup>t</sup> <sup>8</sup>	L!a' <sup>ai</sup> . <sup>4</sup>	S <sup>9</sup> a'tsa <sup>3</sup>	hī'q!aq!yax <sup>9</sup>	wā'nwīts. <sup>2</sup>	M!iya'k!a <sup>10</sup>	h!ya'tc <sup>11</sup>	
then such	world.	Thus	it had started	long ago.	Bad	person	
ft!a'yūn. <sup>12</sup>	Swā <sup>13</sup>	ft!a'yūn <sup>12</sup>	h!tc	L!a' <sup>ai</sup> . <sup>4</sup>	wā'nwīts. <sup>2</sup>	H!tc	
devoured him.	Grizzly	devoured	people	many	long ago.	Person	
p <sup>a</sup> a! <sup>14</sup> Ln <sup>14</sup>	qatc'na! <sup>15</sup>	u <sup>1</sup>	s <sup>16</sup> ās <sup>16</sup>	L!xmaī'yūs <sup>17</sup>	u <sup>1</sup>	h!t!i'yūs. <sup>18</sup>	
to hunt	goes,	then	he	would kill him	and	would devour him.	
Yā'a'xa <sup>19</sup>	h!tc	plna! <sup>20</sup> tx <sup>20</sup>	ha <sup>1</sup>	s <sup>21</sup> a! <sup>na</sup> . <sup>21</sup>	u <sup>1</sup>	tēmū'tx <sup>22</sup>	h!tcū' <sup>u</sup> . <sup>23</sup>
Many	persons	sorry their	hearts	for that.	Then	assemble (pl.)	people.
Sīm <sup>24</sup> xyū' <sup>u</sup> <sup>24</sup>	xāl!a'ū!tx. <sup>25</sup>	Tsīm <sup>26</sup>	xawa'a <sup>u</sup> . <sup>27</sup>	A'tsa <sup>28</sup>	u <sup>1</sup>	wān <sup>29</sup>	
Desire (pl.)	be fixed his	Always	killed	That's	why	now	
	(disposition).		shall be.				
tēmū'tx <sup>22</sup>	h!tcū' <sup>wi</sup> . <sup>30</sup>	u <sup>1</sup>	waa! <sup>31</sup> tx <sup>31</sup>	mā!iyū' <sup>u</sup> <sup>32</sup>	tē <sup>33</sup>	L!a' <sup>ai</sup> . <sup>4</sup>	
assemble (pl.)	people.	Then	say continually	chiefs (of)	this	region.	
"P!a'ntxan <sup>34</sup>	ha <sup>1</sup>	tsī'k!ya. <sup>3</sup>	N!t'ctcan! <sup>35</sup>	tēx <sup>36</sup>	xawa'ūn? <sup>37</sup>	u <sup>1</sup>	
"Sorry our	hearts	very.	How we	doubt	kill him?	For	

<sup>1</sup> See Leo J. Frachtenberg, Lower Umpqua Texts, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. IV, pp. 15 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Temporal adverb (§ 120).

<sup>3</sup> Modal adverb (§ 121).

<sup>4</sup> See § 133.

<sup>5</sup> *k!ēx* EACH, EVERY (§§ 124, 2); -*ū* local suffix of rest (§ 91).

<sup>6</sup> *L!a'<sup>ai</sup>* particle (§ 133); -*a* locative case (§§ 86, 8).

<sup>7</sup> Conjunction (§ 125).

<sup>8</sup> Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

<sup>9</sup> *h!q!*- TO START, TO COMMENCE (§ 108); -*yax* past tense (§ 74).

<sup>10</sup> Discriminative form of *mī'kla* (§ 111).

<sup>11</sup> Discriminative form of *h!tc* PERSON (§ 111).

<sup>12</sup> *h!t!*- TO EAT (§ 12); -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75); -*ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

<sup>13</sup> Discriminative form of *swā* GRIZZLY BEAR (§ 111).

<sup>14</sup> Transposed from *palna!<sup>i</sup>* (§ 14); *paln-* TO HUNT; -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75).

<sup>15</sup> *qatcn-* TO GO, TO START; -*ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 136).

<sup>16</sup> Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

<sup>17</sup> *L!xma!*- TO KILL; -*ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9, 2); -*ūs* durative (§§ 69, 8).

<sup>18</sup> *h!t!*- TO EAT; -*ai* verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -*ūs* durative (§§ 69, 8).

<sup>19</sup> Modal adverb (§ 121).

<sup>20</sup> *pln-* TO BE SICK; -*ai*tx suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33).

<sup>21</sup> Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

<sup>22</sup> *tēmū-* TO ASSEMBLE; -*tx* plural (§ 80).

<sup>23</sup> *h!tc* PERSON; -*ūu* plural (§ 79).

<sup>24</sup> *sīmxi-* TO WANT, TO DESIRE; -*ūu* plural (§§ 79, 8)

<sup>25</sup> *xāl!*- TO MAKE, TO FIX; -*ū!tx* passive (§ 33).

<sup>26</sup> Temporal adverb (§ 120).

<sup>27</sup> *xaū-* TO DIE; -*aa* future passive (§§ 56, 8).

<sup>28</sup> Modal adverb (§ 121); *a'tsa u!* FOR THAT REASON (§ 125).

<sup>29</sup> Temporal particle (§ 126).

<sup>30</sup> *h!tc* PERSON; -*ūwi* plural (§ 79).

<sup>31</sup> *waa-* TO SPEAK; -*ai*tx frequentative (§§ 68, 9).

<sup>32</sup> *maā'ti* CHIEF (§ 98); -*ūu* plural (§§ 79, 8).

<sup>33</sup> Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

<sup>34</sup> Abbreviated; for *plā'ntxanxan*; *pln-* TO BE SICK (§ 112); -*tx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33); -*nxan* exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>35</sup> *n!t'ctca* particle (§ 131); -*nt* inclusive plural (§ 24).

<sup>36</sup> Particle (§ 127).

<sup>37</sup> *xaū-* TO DIE (§ 112); -*ūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

kumí'ntc <sup>38</sup> not	xa'wíl <sup>39</sup> he die not	tsílí'tc. <sup>40</sup> arrow through.	A'tsan <sup>41</sup> Thus I	u'ín <sup>42</sup> so I	kumí'ntc <sup>38</sup> not
sí'n'xyūn <sup>43</sup> want it	tsílí'tc. <sup>40</sup> arrow with	L'xmaya'a'u. <sup>44</sup> killed he shall be."	u'í wàn <sup>29</sup> Then finally	waa'tx <sup>45</sup> say (pl.)	hítcū'u, <sup>23</sup> people,
k'í'nk'ya'a'u <sup>46</sup> it will be gone and seen	ní'ctca <sup>47</sup> how	tē <sup>33</sup> ta. <sup>48</sup> this lives.	S <sup>E</sup> a'tsa <sup>3</sup> Thus	tū'na'a'u. <sup>49</sup> he will be invited.	u'í wàn <sup>29</sup> Then now
qa'tc'íntx <sup>50</sup> go (pl.)	k'í'nk't'ū'wi. <sup>51</sup> searchers.	u'í wàn <sup>29</sup> Then now	L'íl'wa'xam. <sup>52</sup> he is approached.	L'īū'ūn. <sup>53</sup> He got there.	
"K'í'aha'yū'nax <sup>54</sup> "Invited art thou,	al'twa'wanx <sup>55</sup> also about thou	hítcū'u'stc <sup>56</sup> fun to	L'aya'tc." <sup>57</sup> place to."	Kumí'ntc <sup>38</sup> Not	
a'mhate <sup>58</sup> willing his	ha. <sup>1</sup> mind.	u'í tca'xa'ūt <sup>59</sup> So goes back	u'í tci'n and goes home	ants <sup>60</sup> hítc. that man.	u'í s <sup>E</sup> atsi'tc. <sup>61</sup> And thus
L'wa <sup>an</sup> . <sup>62</sup> relates.	"Kumí'ntc <sup>38</sup> "Not	a'mhate <sup>58</sup> willing his	ha. <sup>1</sup> mind."	S <sup>E</sup> atsi'tc. <sup>61</sup> Thus	L'wa <sup>an</sup> . <sup>62</sup> relates
ants <sup>60</sup> that	s <sup>E</sup> a <sup>66</sup> who	qa'tc'íntūx. <sup>67</sup> go will.	"Kumí'ntc'íní <sup>68</sup> "Not we	ana'xyūn. <sup>69</sup> give it up will.	Ats <sup>70</sup> When
xa'ūtūx, <sup>71</sup> he die will,	u'íní <sup>72</sup> then we	ana'xyūn." <sup>69</sup> give it up will."	Atsi'tc <sup>73</sup> Thus	L'loni'txa'ū'nē. <sup>74</sup> it is repeatedly said.	

<sup>38</sup> Participle of negation (§ 131).<sup>39</sup> xa'ū- TO DIE; -í negative (§§ 53, 8).<sup>40</sup> tsí/L'í ARROW (§ 98); -ítc adverbial (§§ 94, 9, 12).<sup>41</sup> a'tsa THUS (§ 121); -n 1st person singular (§ 24).<sup>42</sup> u'í THEN (§ 125); -n 1st person singular (§ 24). a'tsan u'n FOR THAT REASON I (§ 125). Singular instead of plural (§ 139). Should have been a'tsanxan u'nzan.<sup>43</sup> sín- TO DESIRE (§ 4); -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 24, 28, 8).<sup>44</sup> L'xma'- TO KILL; -aa' future passive (§§ 56, 8).<sup>45</sup> waa- TO SAY; -tx plural (§ 80).<sup>46</sup> k'í'nk'í- TO GO AND LOOK; -aa' future passive (§§ 56, 8).<sup>47</sup> Participle (§ 131).<sup>48</sup> t- (?) TO LIVE, TO RESIDE; -a' verbalizing (§ 75).<sup>49</sup> tū'n- TO INVITE; -aa' future passive (§ 56).<sup>50</sup> qatcn- TO START, TO GO (§ 4); -tx plural (§ 80).<sup>51</sup> k'í'nk'í- TO GO AND LOOK; -l'ūwí nominal (§ 99).<sup>52</sup> L'īū- TO COME, TO APPROACH (§§ 107, 112); -xam present passive (§§ 55).<sup>53</sup> L'īū- TO ARRIVE, TO COME; -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 23, 10).<sup>54</sup> k'í'a'- TO INVITE; -a' verbalizing (§§ 75, 3); -ū'nē passive (§§ 58, 8); -n 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).<sup>55</sup> Contracted; for al'twa'wanx (§ 9); a'l'dū LIKEWISE (§§ 125, 135); -awax intentional (§§ 70, 8); -n 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).<sup>56</sup> hítcū'u FUN (§ 97); -ūs locative case (§§ 86, 9); -tc local (§ 90).<sup>57</sup> L'a'a' GROUND (§ 133); -a locative case (§§ 86, 8); -tc local (§ 90).<sup>58</sup> a'mha WILLING; -tc possessive 3d person singular (§ 88).<sup>59</sup> tca'ū- TO TURN BACK; -l' present (§§ 72, 2).<sup>60</sup> Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).<sup>61</sup> s<sup>E</sup>a'tsa THUS (§ 121); -ítc modal (§§ 94, 9).<sup>62</sup> L'lon- TO RELATE (§ 112).<sup>63</sup> hítc- TO PLAY; -ūwí nominal (§ 97).<sup>64</sup> tēmū- TO ASSEMBLE; -ūwí nominal (§§ 97, 9).<sup>65</sup> waa- TO SPEAK, TO SAY; -xam present passive (§ 55).<sup>66</sup> Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).<sup>67</sup> qatcn- TO GO (§ 4); -tūx future (§ 73).<sup>68</sup> kumí'ntc NOT (§ 131); -n' inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).<sup>69</sup> anx- TO GIVE UP; -yūn exhortative with direct object of third person (§§ 41, 112).<sup>70</sup> Temporal adverb (§ 120).<sup>71</sup> xa'ū- TO DIE; -tūx future (§ 73).<sup>72</sup> u'í THEN (§ 125); -n' inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).<sup>73</sup> a'tsa THUS (§ 121); -ítc modal (§§ 94, 9).<sup>74</sup> L'lon- TO TELL, TO SAY; -ítx frequentative (§ 68); -a' nē passive (§ 58).

u <sup>1</sup>	wàn <sup>29</sup>	L!ōxa'xam <sup>75</sup>	waa'xam <sup>65</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	hītc.	S <sup>u</sup> kwi'tc <sup>76</sup>	tsinq! <sup>77</sup>
Then	finally	is sent	is told	that	man.	Very	poor
ants <sup>60</sup>	hītc	L!ōxa'xam. <sup>75</sup>	"Hi'sanx <sup>78</sup>	L!wa'nīsūn. <sup>79</sup>	Kwīnx <sup>80</sup>	nīctī'tc <sup>81</sup>	
that	man	who is sent.	"Well thou	shalt tell him.	Not thou	what-like	
L!wa'nīsūn <sup>79</sup>	mī'k!a'na. <sup>82</sup>	L!wa'nīsūnanx <sup>83</sup>	s <sup>F</sup> atsī'tc, <sup>61</sup>	'Sī'n <sup>F</sup> xyūt-			
shalt tell him	bad-ly.	Shalt tell him thou	thus,	'Desire			
sanax <sup>84</sup>	Lī'ūtūx <sup>85</sup>	tīū'ts. <sup>86</sup>	Tsī'k!yanxan <sup>87</sup>	sī'n <sup>i</sup> xyūn <sup>43</sup>	hūtea'u. <sup>78</sup>		
we-thee	come shall	here.	Very we	want it	fun shall be		(had).'
Atsī'tc <sup>E</sup> nx <sup>80</sup>	L!wā'nīsūn. <sup>79</sup>	Kwīnx <sup>80</sup>	L!wā'nīsūn <sup>79</sup>	mī'k!a'na. <sup>82</sup>			
Thus thou	shalt tell him.	Not thou	shalt tell him	bad-ly.			
Yā'a'xa'tc <sup>90</sup>	ha <sup>1</sup> ,	tsī'k!ya <sup>3</sup>	mī'k!a."	u <sup>1</sup>	wàn <sup>29</sup>	qa'tc <sup>i</sup> nt <sup>61</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>
Much his	mind,	very	bad."	So	finally	starts	that
hītc.	Wīnx	tsī'k!ya. <sup>3</sup>	"L!wa'xan <sup>82</sup>	tā'kīn <sup>83</sup>	Līū'."	u <sup>1</sup>	wàn <sup>29</sup>
man.	He fears	very.	"Messenger I	this I	come."	Then	now
wīlwa' <sup>84</sup>	"Nīctī'tcanx <sup>95</sup>	wa'a'yaxa <sup>ū</sup> ts <sup>96</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	Lī'ūyax? <sup>97</sup>			
he assents.	"What-like thee	told he-thee	that (who)	came?"			
"Kumī'ntc <sup>38</sup>	nīctī'tc <sup>81</sup>	wa'a <sup>ī</sup> . <sup>96</sup>	Txūn <sup>99</sup>	L!ōna'yūtn <sup>E</sup> <sup>100</sup>	s <sup>F</sup> atsī'tc: <sup>61</sup>		
"Not	what-like	he said.	Just I	am told	thus:		
'k!aha'yū'nīn. <sup>101</sup>	Atsī'tcīn <sup>102</sup>	L!ōna'yūts. <sup>103</sup>	'Tsī'k!yanx <sup>104</sup>	sī'n <sup>i</sup> xyūn <sup>43</sup>			
'invited am I.'	Thus me	he tells he-me.	'Very they	want it			

<sup>75</sup> L!ōx- TO SEND; -xam present passive (§§ 55, 4).  
<sup>76</sup> Modal adverb (§§ 121, 94).  
<sup>77</sup> tsinq!- TO BE POOR; -t nominal (§ 104).  
<sup>78</sup> hīs GOOD; -a modal (§ 96); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).  
<sup>79</sup> L!ōn- TO TELL (§ 112); -is durative (§ 69); -ūn direct object of third person (§ 28).  
<sup>80</sup> kūi NOT (§ 131); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).  
<sup>81</sup> nī'tca WHAT (§ 131); -tīc modal (§§ 94, 9).  
<sup>82</sup> mī'k!a BAD (§ 96); -na modal (§ 94).  
<sup>83</sup> L!ōn- TO TELL (§ 112); -is durative (§ 69); -ūn direct object of third person (§ 28); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).  
<sup>84</sup> stnxi- TO DESIRE; -ūtsanzan direct object of first and second persons WE-THERE (§§ 29, 8, and Table, p. 473).  
<sup>85</sup> Līū- TO COME; -tūx future (§ 73).  
<sup>86</sup> Local adverb (§ 119).  
<sup>87</sup> tsī'k!ya VERY (§ 121); -nzan exclusive plural (§ 24).  
<sup>88</sup> hūtc- TO PLAY, TO HAVE FUN; -aaw future passive (§ 56).  
<sup>89</sup> atsī'tc THUS (§§ 121, 94); -nx 2nd person singular (§§ 24, 4).  
<sup>90</sup> yā'a'xai MUCH (§ 121); -tc possessive 3rd person singular (§ 88).  
<sup>91</sup> qatcn- TO START (§ 4); -t present (§ 72).  
<sup>92</sup> Contracted; for L!o'waxaxan (§ 24); L!ōx- TO SEND (§ 112); -ax nominal (§ 101); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).  
<sup>93</sup> āak THIS (§ 115); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).  
<sup>94</sup> wīū- TO AFFIRM, TO AGREE, TO ASSENT; -a<sup>i</sup> verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).  
<sup>95</sup> nī'tca WHAT (§ 131); -tīc modal (§§ 94, 9); -nx 2nd person singular (§§ 24, 4).  
<sup>96</sup> waa- TO SAY; -yax past (§ 74); -aūts direct object of first and second persons (§ 29).  
<sup>97</sup> Līū- TO COME; -yax past (§ 74).  
<sup>98</sup> waa- TO SAY; -a<sup>i</sup> negative (§§ 53, 9).  
<sup>99</sup> txū JUST (§ 130); -n 1st person singular (§ 24).  
<sup>100</sup> L!ōn- TO TELL; -a<sup>i</sup> verbalizing (§ 75); -ūtn<sup>E</sup> passive (§§ 58, 8).  
<sup>101</sup> k!a' TO INVITE; -a<sup>i</sup> verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); -ū'n<sup>E</sup> passive (§§ 58, 8); -n 1st person singular (§ 24).  
<sup>102</sup> atsī'tc THUS (§§ 121, 94); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).  
<sup>103</sup> L!ōn- TO TELL; -a<sup>i</sup> verbalizing (§ 75); -ūts direct object of first person and second persons (§§ 29, 8, and Table, p. 480).  
<sup>104</sup> tsī'k!ya VERY (§ 121); -nx 3d person plural (§ 24).

Līwa'wax. <sup>105</sup> intend to come (thou).	S <sup>E</sup> atsī'tcīn <sup>106</sup> Thus I	L <sup>o</sup> wa'x <sup>107</sup> messenger	tā'kīn <sup>93</sup> this I	līū'. <sup>108</sup> come."	S <sup>E</sup> atsī'tc <sup>61</sup> Thus
waa' <sup>108</sup> he says.	"Te'qīn <sup>109</sup> "Something I	waxa <sup>ū</sup> inE <sup>110</sup> be given	tā'kīn <sup>93</sup> this I (who)	klaha'yū'ne? <sup>111</sup> — am invited?"—	
"Kumīn'ntc <sup>38</sup> "Not	nīctcī'tc <sup>81</sup> anything	wa'a <sup>ū</sup> tnE. <sup>112</sup> is said.	Txū <sup>113</sup> Just	wān <sup>7</sup> now	hūtcū' <sup>114</sup> have fun
L <sup>l</sup> a' <sup>ai</sup> . <sup>4</sup> S <sup>E</sup> a'tsa <sup>3</sup> many. Thus	tanx <sup>115</sup> this thou	sī'n <sup>E</sup> xyūtne <sup>116</sup> art wanted	Lī'ūtūx. <sup>85</sup> — come shall."—	"S <sup>E</sup> atsī'tc <sup>Enx</sup> <sup>117</sup> "Thus thou	
L <sup>l</sup> 'wa'nīs, <sup>118</sup> shalt tell,	'Sī'nxīt <sup>119</sup> 'He wants	tāqu' <sup>na</sup> . <sup>120</sup> something.	Ats <sup>70</sup> When	te'q <sup>120</sup> something	waxa'yexayīm, <sup>121</sup> uī be given to him, then
wān <sup>29</sup> finally	Lī'ūtūx. <sup>85</sup> he come will.'	S <sup>E</sup> atsī'tc <sup>Enx</sup> <sup>117</sup> Thus thee	waa'yūts. <sup>122</sup> tells he-thee."		
uī Then	s <sup>E</sup> atsī'tc <sup>61</sup> thus	waa' says	ants <sup>60</sup> that	a'īq <sup>123</sup> one	hītc. man.
ha <sup>1</sup> . mind.	S <sup>E</sup> atsī'tc <sup>61</sup> Thus	sī'nīxya, <sup>124</sup> he desires,	nī'ctcīm <sup>125</sup> because	s <sup>E</sup> ās <sup>16</sup> he	kī'xa'yūn <sup>126</sup> te <sup>33</sup> kills these
hītc. people.	A'tsa <sup>uī</sup> . <sup>28</sup> That's why	yā'a'xa'tc <sup>90</sup> much his	ha <sup>1</sup> . mind."	Atsī'tc <sup>73</sup> Thus	waa' ants <sup>60</sup> hītc. says that man.
"Atsī'tc <sup>73</sup> "Thus	waa'xam, <sup>65</sup> he is told,	'Meq lē'na'a <sup>u</sup> . <sup>127</sup> 'It will be danced for him.	Hūya'ūltx <sup>128</sup> Changed his (will be)	ha <sup>1</sup> . mind.	Tsī'kīya <sup>3</sup> Very
planya' <sup>t</sup> lyūn <sup>129</sup> sorry continually for him	ha <sup>i</sup> tc. <sup>130</sup> mind his.'	S <sup>E</sup> atsī'tc <sup>61</sup> Thus	waa' <sup>108</sup> he says.	'Ats <sup>70</sup> 'When	te'q <sup>120</sup> something
wā'xyaxa <sup>ū</sup> inE, <sup>131</sup> be given to him,	uī then	Lī'ūtūx. <sup>85</sup> he come will.'	S <sup>E</sup> atsī'tcīn <sup>106</sup> Thus me	wa'a <sup>ū</sup> ts. <sup>132</sup> tells he-me."	

<sup>105</sup> Līū- TO COME; -awax intentional (§§ 70, 8).

<sup>106</sup> S<sup>E</sup>atsī'tc THUS (§§ 121, 94); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>107</sup> Contracted; for L<sup>o</sup>wa'a'xax (§ 24); L<sup>o</sup>ōx- TO SEND (§ 112); -ax nominal (§ 101).

<sup>108</sup> waa- TO SAY; -a' verbalizing (§§ 75, 9).

<sup>109</sup> te'q pronominal particle (§ 123); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>110</sup> wax- TO GIVE; -a<sup>ū</sup>inE passive (§ 38).

<sup>111</sup> kī'a'- TO INVITE (§ 3); -a' verbalizing (§ 75); -ū'ne passive (§§ 58, 8).

<sup>112</sup> waa- TO SAY; -a<sup>ū</sup>tnE passive (§ 58).

<sup>113</sup> Restrictive particle (§ 130).

<sup>114</sup> hūtc- TO HAVE FUN; -ū plural (§ 79).

<sup>115</sup> tāq THIS (§ 115); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 16).

<sup>116</sup> sīnxī- TO DESIRE; -ūtne passive (§§ 58, 8).

<sup>117</sup> S<sup>E</sup>atsī'tc THUS (§§ 121, 94); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>118</sup> L<sup>o</sup>ōn- TO RELATE (§ 112); -īs durative (§ 69).

<sup>119</sup> sīnxī- TO DESIRE; -a' verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -ī present (§ 72).

<sup>120</sup> Pronominal particle (§ 123).

<sup>121</sup> Mis-heard for wā'zyaxa<sup>ū</sup>inE; wāx- TO GIVE; -yax past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136); -a<sup>ū</sup>inE passive (§ 38).

<sup>122</sup> waa- TO SAY; -a' verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); -ūts direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 466, § 8).

<sup>123</sup> Numeral (§ 116).

<sup>124</sup> sīnxī- TO DESIRE (§§ 112, 8).

<sup>125</sup> Particle (§ 128).

<sup>126</sup> kīx- TO DISAPPEAR; -a' verbalizing (§ 75); -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

<sup>127</sup> maqī- TO DANCE; -īn verbal (§§ 81, 2); -aa<sup>u</sup> passive (§ 56).

<sup>128</sup> hūya- TO CHANGE; -ūltx passive (§ 39).

<sup>129</sup> Contracted; for planya'<sup>t</sup>lyūn; pln- TO BE SORRY (§ 112); -a' verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); -a<sup>ū</sup>ī infrequentative (§ 68); -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

<sup>130</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>- MIND, HEART (§ 98); -tc possessive 3d person singular (§§ 88, 139).

<sup>131</sup> wax- TO GIVE; -yax past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 135); -a<sup>ū</sup>inE passive (§ 38).

<sup>132</sup> waa- TO SAY; -a<sup>ū</sup>ts direct object of first and second persons (§ 29 and Table, p. 480).



u <sup>1</sup>	wàn <sup>29</sup>	qa'tc <sup>1</sup> nt <sup>91</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	hītc	waha'. <sup>133</sup>	"S <sup>E</sup> atsi'tc <sup>E</sup> nx <sup>117</sup>
Then	now	starts	that	man	again.	"Thus thou
wa'a <sup>1</sup> sūn. <sup>134</sup>	'Waxa'yīmanx <sup>135</sup>	qani'nal.'	A tsi'tc <sup>E</sup> nx <sup>89</sup>	L'ōna'yūn. <sup>136</sup>		
shalt tell him.	'Is given to thee	knife.'	Thus thou	tell him.		
'Lī'mqanx <sup>137</sup>	qa'tc <sup>1</sup> ntūx, <sup>67</sup>	k!aha'yū'nanx. <sup>54</sup>	Hūtcū' <sup>wi</sup> 114	L!a' <sup>ai</sup> 4		
'Quick thou	start shalt,	invited art thou.	Play	many		
yā'a <sup>1</sup> . <sup>19</sup>	Sī'n'xyū'nanx <sup>138</sup>	Lī'ūtūx. <sup>85</sup>	Atsi'tc <sup>E</sup> nx <sup>89</sup>	L'ōna'yūn." <sup>136</sup>		
much.	Wanted art thou	come shall.'	Thus thou	tell him."		
Cī'n'xyat!ya <sup>139</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	hītc	L'ōxa'a <sup>u</sup> . <sup>140</sup>	"Qna'han <sup>141</sup>	waa'yūn. <sup>142</sup>	
Thinks continually	that	man (who)	sent will be.	"I	say to him.	
L!xū'yūn <sup>143</sup>	qna'han <sup>141</sup>	nīctcī'tc <sup>81</sup>	waa'yūn, <sup>142</sup>	u <sup>1</sup>	hī'nak! <sup>144</sup>	
Know it	I	what-like	say to him,	and	right away	
qa'tc <sup>E</sup> ntūx." <sup>67</sup>	u <sup>1</sup>	wàn <sup>29</sup>	qa'tc <sup>E</sup> nt <sup>91</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	hītc.	"Qna'han <sup>141</sup>
he start will."	Then	now	goes	that	man.	"I
waa'yūn, <sup>142</sup>	u <sup>1</sup>	hī'nak! <sup>144</sup>	qa'tc <sup>E</sup> ntūx." <sup>67</sup>			
say to him,	and	right away	he start will."			
Atsi'tc <sup>73</sup>	cī'n'xyat!ya <sup>139</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	hītc.	u <sup>1</sup>	xīnt	u <sup>1</sup>
Thus	thinks continually	that	man.	So	he goes	and
					arrives.	He
					comes	to
					him.	
"L!wa'xan <sup>92</sup>	tā'kīn <sup>93</sup>	Līū'.	Tsī'k!yanx <sup>145</sup>	sī'n'xyū'nE <sup>146</sup>	Līwa'wax. <sup>105</sup>	
"Messenger I	this I	come.	Very thou	art wanted	intend to come.	
Kū'yā'tsac	L!a' <sup>ai</sup> 147	u <sup>1</sup>	smū't' <sup>E</sup> tūx <sup>148</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	L!a' <sup>ai</sup> 4	hūtcū' <sup>u</sup> . <sup>63</sup>
Pretty soon	then	end will	that	big	fun.	
Atsi'tcīn <sup>102</sup>	waa'yūtne. <sup>149</sup>	Na'm <sup>E</sup> īnx <sup>150</sup>	te'q. <sup>120</sup>	Nīctcī'tcanx <sup>95</sup>		
Thus I	am told.	Mine thou	relative.	What manner thou		
tanx <sup>115</sup>	kū <sup>i</sup> 151	a'mha'tī <sup>152</sup>	ha <sup>1</sup> ?"	Atsi'tc <sup>73</sup>	waa'a <sup>ūn</sup> . <sup>153</sup>	"Yāa'-
this thou	not	willing (thy)	mind?"	Thus he	says to him.	"Much
xa'txan <sup>154</sup>	ha <sup>1</sup> .	S <sup>E</sup> a'tsan <sup>155</sup>	te <sup>33</sup>	kumī'ntc <sup>38</sup>	a'mha'tī <sup>152</sup>	ha <sup>1</sup> .
(think in my)	mind.	Thus I	this	not	willing (my)	mind.
						Just I

<sup>133</sup> Temporal particle (§ 126).

<sup>134</sup> *wa-* TO SAY; -*ats* durative (§§ 69, 9); -*ūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

<sup>135</sup> *wax-* TO GIVE; -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75); -*ime* passive (§§ 33, 8); -*nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

<sup>136</sup> *L'ōn-* TO RELATE; -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75); -*ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 23, 8).

<sup>137</sup> *Lī'mqa* RIGHT AWAY (§§ 120, 96); -*nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

<sup>138</sup> *sīnxī-* TO DESIRE; -*ū'ne* passive (§§ 58, 8); -*nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

<sup>139</sup> *cīnxī-* TO THINK (§ 4); -*at'i* frequentative (§§ 68, 8, 7).

<sup>140</sup> *L'ōx-* TO SEND; -*aa<sup>u</sup>* future passive (§ 56).

<sup>141</sup> *q-* discriminative (§ 21); *na'han* personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113).

<sup>142</sup> *wa-* TO SAY; -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75); -*ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

<sup>143</sup> *L!xu-* TO KNOW; -*ū'i* verbalizing (§§ 76, 9); -*ūn* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

<sup>144</sup> Temporal adverb (§ 120).

<sup>145</sup> *tsī'k!ya* VERY (§§ 121, 96); -*nx* 2d person singular (§ 24).

<sup>146</sup> *sīnxī-* TO DESIRE (§ 4); -*ū'ne* passive (§§ 58, 8).

<sup>147</sup> Temporal adverb (§ 120).

<sup>148</sup> *smū't'* TO END, TO FINISH; -*tūx* future (§§ 73, 4).

<sup>149</sup> *wa-* TO SAY; -*ai* verbalizing (§ 75); -*ūtnE* passive (§§ 58, 8).

<sup>150</sup> Contracted; for *na'm<sup>E</sup>īnE<sup>nx</sup>* (§ 15); *nā I* (§ 113); -*eml* relative (§§ 87, 9); -*in* possessive 1st singular (§ 88); -*nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>151</sup> Particle of negation (§ 131).

<sup>152</sup> *a'mha* WILLING; -*ai* possessive (§§ 88, 9).

<sup>153</sup> *wa-* TO SAY; -*a<sup>ūn</sup>* direct object of third person (§ 28).

<sup>154</sup> *yāa'xa<sup>1</sup>* MUCH (§ 121); -*tx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33); -*n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>155</sup> *s<sup>E</sup>a'tsa* THUS (§ 121); -*n* 1st person singular (§ 24).

$k^u n\bar{a}$ <sup>156</sup>	$xa'wa$ <sup>157</sup>	$s\bar{i}'n^i xy\bar{u}tne$ <sup>116</sup>	$S^E a'tsan$ <sup>155</sup>	$u\bar{h}n$ <sup>158</sup>	$y\bar{a}'xa'ti$ <sup>159</sup>	$ha^1$ <sup>160</sup>	—
perhaps	to die	am wanted.	Thus I	and I	much (think in my)	mind."	—
"Kumí'ntc <sup>38</sup> s <sup>E</sup> atsi'tc, <sup>61</sup> txūnx <sup>160</sup> ya'xa <sup>161</sup> sí'n <sup>i</sup> xyūtne. <sup>116</sup> S <sup>E</sup> a'tsanx <sup>162</sup>							
"Not	thus,	just thou	to see	art wanted.	Thus thou		
$t\bar{e}$ <sup>33</sup>	$k'lah'a'y\bar{u}'ne$ <sup>111</sup>	$Tx\bar{u}nx$ <sup>160</sup>	$w\bar{a}n$ <sup>29</sup>	$h\bar{i}'sa$ <sup>163</sup>	$hawa'y\bar{i}me$ <sup>164</sup>	$ha^1$ <sup>165</sup>	
this	art invited.	Just thee	now	well (towards)	it is made	mind.	
$T\bar{e}'q^E nx$ <sup>165</sup>	$waxa\bar{u}'me$ <sup>110</sup>	$S^E a'tsanx$ <sup>162</sup>	$t\bar{e}$ <sup>33</sup>	$k'lah'a'y\bar{u}'ne$ <sup>111</sup>	$Na'm^E$ <sup>166</sup>		
Something thee	it is given.	Thus thou	this	art invited.	Mine		
$\bar{h}nx$ <sup>150</sup>	$t\bar{e}'q$ <sup>120</sup>	$S^E a'tsanx$ <sup>162</sup>	$tanx$ <sup>115</sup>	$\bar{h}'kwa'y\bar{u}ts$ <sup>166</sup>	$qn\bar{a}$ <sup>167</sup>	$S^E ats\bar{i}'-$ <sup>168</sup>	
thou	relative,	thus thee	this thee	fetch I-thee	I.	Thus	
$tc\bar{i}n$ <sup>166</sup>	$t\bar{a}'k\bar{i}n$ <sup>93</sup>	$L\bar{i}'mqa$ <sup>168</sup>	$L\bar{i}\bar{u}'$ <sup>169</sup>	$Qan\bar{i}'na\bar{l}$ <sup>170</sup>	$waxa\bar{u}'manx$ <sup>169</sup>	$S^E a'-$ <sup>171</sup>	
I	this I	quickly	come.	Knife is	given to thee.	Thus	
$tsanx$ <sup>162</sup>	$tanx$ <sup>115</sup>	$k'lah'a'y\bar{u}'ne$ <sup>111</sup>	$s^E a'tsa$ <sup>3</sup>	$t\bar{a}'k\bar{i}n$ <sup>93</sup>	$L\bar{i}\bar{u}'$ <sup>172</sup>	$n\bar{i}'ctc\bar{i}'-$ <sup>173</sup>	
thou	this thou	art invited,	thus	this I	come,	because	
$m^E nx$ <sup>170</sup>	$na'm^E \bar{i}$ <sup>171</sup>	$t\bar{e}'q$ <sup>120</sup>	$S^E a'tsanx$ <sup>162</sup>	$t\bar{e}$ <sup>33</sup>	$L\bar{i}\bar{u}'\bar{u}ts$ <sup>172</sup>	$qn\bar{a}$ <sup>166</sup>	
thou	me of	relative.	Thus thee	this	come I-thee	I.	
$S\bar{i}'n^i xy\bar{u}tsanx$ <sup>173</sup>	$qn\bar{a}$ <sup>166</sup>	$h\bar{u}tca'wax$ <sup>174</sup>	$S^E a'tsanx$ <sup>162</sup>	$t\bar{e}$ <sup>33</sup>	$L\bar{i}'L\bar{i}\bar{u}'\bar{u}ts$ <sup>175</sup>		
Want I-thee	I	intend to play.	Thus thou	this	approach I-thee.		
$S^E ats\bar{i}'tc\bar{i}n$ <sup>176</sup>	$ha^1$ <sup>177</sup>	$kum\bar{i}'ntc$ <sup>38</sup>	$k^u n\bar{a}$ <sup>156</sup>	$t\bar{e}'q$ <sup>120</sup>	$m\bar{i}'k'la'na$ <sup>82</sup>		
Thus my	mind,	not	perhaps	something	badly		
$n\bar{i}x^{atc}$ <sup>177</sup>	$A'tsan$ <sup>41</sup>	$t\bar{e}$ <sup>33</sup>	$n\bar{a}$ <sup>178</sup>	$L\bar{o}xa'xam$ <sup>75</sup>	—	$"Ha\bar{u}$ <sup>179</sup>	$Ts\bar{i}'k'yanx$ <sup>146</sup>
thee to.	Thus I	this	I	am sent."	—	"Yes!	Very thou
$m\bar{i}'k'la$ <sup>180</sup>	$L!xma'yanx\bar{i}n$ <sup>180</sup>	$s\bar{i}'n^i xy\bar{u}ts$ <sup>181</sup>	$S^E a'tsan$ <sup>155</sup>	$k\bar{u}$ <sup>151</sup>	$a'mha'ti$ <sup>152</sup>		
bad.	Kill they me	want he-me.	Thus I	not	willing (my)		
$ha^1$ <sup>181</sup>	—	"Kumí'ntc <sup>38</sup>	$k^u n\bar{a}$ <sup>156</sup>	$s^E ats\bar{i}'tc$ <sup>61</sup>	$S^E a'tsan$ <sup>155</sup>	$t\bar{a}'k\bar{i}n$ <sup>93</sup>	$n\bar{a}$ <sup>178</sup>
mind."	—	"Not	perhaps	thus.	Thus I	this I	I

<sup>156</sup> Dubitative particle (§ 127).

<sup>157</sup>  $xa\bar{u}$ - TO DIE (§ 112).

<sup>158</sup>  $u\bar{l}$  THEN (§ 125); - $n$  1st person singular (§ 24);  $s^E a'tsa u\bar{l}$  THAT'S WHY.

<sup>159</sup>  $y\bar{a}'xa'ti$  MUCH (§ 121); - $ai\bar{t}\bar{i}$  possessive (§§ 88, 9).

<sup>160</sup>  $tx\bar{u}$  JUST (§ 130); - $nx$  2d person singular (§ 24).

<sup>161</sup>  $yax$ - TO SEE (§ 112).

<sup>162</sup>  $s^E a'tsa$  THUS (§ 121); - $nx$  2d person singular (§ 24).

<sup>163</sup>  $h\bar{i}'s$  GOOD; - $a$  modal (§ 96).

<sup>164</sup>  $ha\bar{u}$ - TO MAKE, TO FINISH; - $a't$  verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); - $ime$  passive (§§ 38, 8).

<sup>165</sup>  $t\bar{e}'q$  SOMETHING (§ 123); - $nx$  2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>166</sup>  $lak\bar{u}$ - TO TAKE, TO FETCH (§ 12); - $a't$  verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); - $\bar{u}ts$  direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480 and § 8).

<sup>167</sup>  $q$ - discriminative (§ 21);  $n\bar{a}$  personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113).

<sup>168</sup> Modal adverb (§§ 121, 96).

<sup>169</sup>  $wax$ - TO GIVE; - $\bar{a}m^E$  passive (§ 38); - $nx$  2d person singular (§ 24).

<sup>170</sup>  $n\bar{i}'ctc\bar{i}m$  BECAUSE (§ 128); - $nx$  2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>171</sup>  $n\bar{a}$  personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113); - $em\bar{i}$  relative (§§ 87, 9).

<sup>172</sup>  $L\bar{i}\bar{u}$ - TO COME; - $\bar{u}ts$  direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480, § 10).

<sup>173</sup>  $s\bar{i}n\bar{i}$ - TO DESIRE; - $\bar{u}tsanx$  direct object of first and second persons I-thee (§ 29, Table, p. 473, § 8).

<sup>174</sup>  $h\bar{u}tc$ - TO PLAY; - $\bar{a}wax$  intentional (§ 70).

<sup>175</sup>  $L\bar{i}\bar{u}$ - TO APPROACH (§ 107); - $t$  present (§ 72); - $\bar{u}ts$  direct object of first and second persons (§ 29 and Table, p. 480).

<sup>176</sup>  $s^E ats\bar{i}'tc$  THUS (§§ 121, 94); - $in$  possessive 1st singular (§ 88).

<sup>177</sup> Objective form of personal pronoun 2d singular (§ 113).

<sup>178</sup> Personal pronoun 1st singular (§ 113).

<sup>179</sup> Particle of affirmation (§ 131).

<sup>180</sup>  $L\bar{x}m\bar{i}$ - TO KILL; - $a't$  verbalizing (§ 75); - $nx$  3d person plural (§ 24); - $n$  1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>181</sup>  $s\bar{i}n\bar{i}$ - TO DESIRE; - $\bar{u}ts$  direct object of first and second persons (§§ 29, 8, Table, p. 480).

L'ōxa'xam. <sup>75</sup>	S <sup>E</sup> atsi'tc <sup>61</sup>	nàts, <sup>182</sup>	kū <sup>151</sup>	nàts <sup>182</sup>	nà <sup>178</sup>	L'ō'xyaxa <sup>ū</sup> 'nE. <sup>183</sup>
am sent.	Thus	if not,	not	conditional	I	had been sent.
Qa'tc'ntūx <sup>184</sup>	wàn'q'?" <sup>29</sup>	—	“Qa'tc'ntūxan. <sup>185</sup>	Hī'sanx <sup>78</sup>	mā'nīsūts <sup>186</sup>	
Start wilt thou	now?"	—	“Go will I.	Well thou	shalt watch thou-me	
qni'x <sup>a</sup> ts. <sup>187</sup>	S <sup>E</sup> atsi'tc <sup>61</sup>	waa'a <sup>ū</sup> n. <sup>153</sup>	“Ha <sup>ū</sup> ! <sup>179</sup>	Atsi'tc <sup>in</sup> <sup>188</sup>	ha <sup>1</sup> .	
thou.”	Thus	he tells him.	“All right!	Thus my	mind.	
Kum'ntc <sup>38</sup>	k <sup>u</sup> nà <sup>156</sup>	tē'q <sup>120</sup>	mī'k'la'na <sup>82</sup>	tē <sup>33</sup>	hūtcū' <sup>u</sup> 63	L! <sup>a</sup> 'ai. <sup>74</sup> —
Not	perhaps	something	bad-ly	this	fun	big.” —
“Ha <sup>ū</sup> , <sup>179</sup>	qa'tc'ntūxan <sup>185</sup>	wàn. <sup>29</sup>	Kum'ntc <sup>38</sup>	wàn <sup>29</sup>	tē'q, <sup>120</sup>	xaū'-
“Yes,	start will I	now.	Not	now	something,	die
tūxan.” <sup>189</sup>	S <sup>E</sup> atsi'tc <sup>61</sup>	waa' <sup>17</sup> 108	u <sup>1</sup>	hī'q'la <sup>t</sup> . <sup>190</sup>	“Kum'ntc <sup>38</sup>	k <sup>u</sup> nà <sup>156</sup>
if will I.”	Thus	he says	and	starts.	“Not	perhaps
wàn <sup>29</sup>	S <sup>E</sup> atsi'tc. <sup>61</sup>	Qa'tc'ntūx'q'?" <sup>184</sup>	Atsi'tc <sup>73</sup>	waa'a <sup>ū</sup> n. <sup>153</sup>	“Tsi'k!-	
now	thus.	Go wilt thou?"	Thus	he tells him.	“Very	
yanx <sup>145</sup>	qnà <sup>166</sup>	sī'n'xyūts. <sup>181</sup>	A'l'tūtūx <sup>191</sup>	hūtcū' <sup>u</sup> stc. <sup>56</sup>	Atsi'tc <sup>73</sup>	
thee	I	like I-thee.	Also shalt thou	fun to.”	Thus	
waa'ūn. <sup>192</sup>	“Qa'tc'ntūxan <sup>185</sup>	wàn.” <sup>29</sup>	u <sup>1</sup>	wàn <sup>29</sup>	qa'tc'nt. <sup>91</sup>	Cī'n'x-
he tells him.	“Go will I	now.”	Then	finally	he starts.	Keeps
yat'is <sup>193</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	hītc	la'k <sup>u</sup> t'wī. <sup>194</sup>	S <sup>E</sup> atsi'tc <sup>61</sup>	cī'n'xyat'is. <sup>193</sup>	
on thinking	that	man	fetcher.	Thus	he thinks continually.	
Qa'tc'nta <sup>u</sup> x <sup>185</sup>	wàn. <sup>29</sup>	Līwī'tc <sup>wax</sup> <sup>196</sup>	wàn <sup>29</sup>	xīnt.	ū <sup>h</sup> a <sup>u</sup> x <sup>197</sup>	s <sup>E</sup> atsi'tc <sup>61</sup>
Go they two	now.	“Approach, man-ner of, they two	now	go.	So they two	thus
waa'xam. <sup>65</sup>	“Xumca'ca <sup>u</sup> x <sup>198</sup>	wàn. <sup>29</sup>	Hīna'yūn <sup>199</sup>	wàn <sup>29</sup>	tē <sup>33</sup>	mī'k'la
are told.	“Come they two	now.	He brings him	now	this	bad
hītc.”	Tc! <sup>h</sup> a <sup>u</sup> cya'xam <sup>200</sup>	wàn. <sup>29</sup>	Wàn <sup>29</sup>	tc'īn.	T! <sup>h</sup> em! <sup>h</sup> ma'xam <sup>201</sup>	wàn. <sup>29</sup>
man.”	Gladness was felt	now.	Finally	he	He is assembled about	now.
					returns.	
“Tsi'k!yanx <sup>145</sup>	hīs	tanx <sup>115</sup>	Līū',	ts'īl'mū't.	Hū'tctūn! <sup>202</sup>	yā'a'xa.” <sup>203</sup>
“Very thou	good	this thou	comest,	friend.	Play will we	much.”

<sup>182</sup> Particle (§ 131).

<sup>183</sup> L'ōx- TO SEND; -yax past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136); -a<sup>u</sup>nE passive (§ 58).

<sup>184</sup> Contracted; for qa'tc'ntūxanx (§ 24); qatcn- TO GO (§ 4); -tūx future (§ 73); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>185</sup> qatcn- TO GO (§ 4); -tūx future (§ 73); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>186</sup> mān- TO WATCH; -īs durative (§ 69); -ūts direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480).

<sup>187</sup> q- discriminative (§ 21); nixats personal pronoun 2d singular (§ 113).

<sup>188</sup> atsi'tc THUS (§§ 121, 94); -īn possessive 1st singular (§ 88).

<sup>189</sup> xāū- TO DIE; -tūx future denoting conditionality (§§ 73, 136); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>190</sup> hīq'- TO START, TO COMMENCE; -a<sup>t</sup> verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); -t present (§ 72).

<sup>191</sup> Contracted; for a'l'tūtūxanx (§ 24); a'l'dū LIKEWISE (§§ 125, 135); -tūx future (§ 73); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>192</sup> waa- TO SAY; -ūn direct object of third person (§ 28).

<sup>193</sup> cīnī- TO THINK (§ 4); -at'ī frequentative (§§ 63, 8); -īs durative (§§ 69, 9).

<sup>194</sup> laku- TO TAKE, TO FETCH; -t'wī nominal (§ 100).

<sup>195</sup> qatcn- TO GO (§ 4); -t present (§ 72); -awx 3d person dual (§ 24).

<sup>196</sup> Līū- TO APPROACH; -ūc modal (§§ 94, 8); -wax transposed for -awx 3d dual (§§ 24, 13).

<sup>197</sup> u<sup>1</sup> THEN (§ 125); -awx 3d dual (§ 24).

<sup>198</sup> xumc- TO APPROACH, TO COME (§ 108); -awx 3d dual (§ 24).

<sup>199</sup> hīn- TO TAKE ALONG; -a<sup>t</sup> verbalizing (§ 75); -ūn direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

<sup>200</sup> Abbreviated; for tc!<sup>h</sup>awcyaxam (§ 15); tc!<sup>h</sup>acw- TO FEEL GLAD (§ 12); -yax past (§ 74); -xam present passive (§§ 55, 15).

<sup>201</sup> Lemū- TO ASSEMBLE (§ 107); -xam present passive (§ 55).

<sup>202</sup> Contracted from hū'tctūxan! (§ 24); hūtc- TO PLAY; -tūx future (§ 73); -nī inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>203</sup> yāax- MUCH; -a modal (§ 96).

Atsī'tc <sup>73</sup>	waa'	ants <sup>60</sup>	hītc.	TEMŭ'tx <sup>22</sup>	hītcŭ' <sup>u 23</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	L!a' <sup>ai 4</sup>	Wa <sup>l 204</sup>
Thus	says	that	man.	Assemble (pl.)	people	those	many.	Although
yā' <sup>xa<sup>i 19</sup></sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	hītc,	u <sup>1</sup> ha' <sup>müt<sup>205</sup></sup>	qa'tc'nt <sup>01</sup>	sqa <sup>1</sup> kte'ī'tc, <sup>206</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	L!a' <sup>ai 4</sup>	
many	those	people, still	all	go now	there to, manner,	that	crowd.	
Łā'nīsŭtne <sup>207</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	hītc.	“Tsī'k!ya <sup>3</sup> hīs tanx <sup>115</sup> LĪŭ'.			Yā' <sup>xanxan<sup>208</sup></sup>		
Is called con- tinually	that	man.	“Very good this thou comest.			Much we		
hūtcŭ' <sup>209</sup>	Hŭ'tctŭns. <sup>210</sup>	— “Ha <sup>ū!</sup> ” <sup>179</sup>			S <sup>E</sup> atsī'tc <sup>61</sup>	waa'	ants <sup>60</sup>	hītc.
have fun.	Play will we two.”	— “All right!”			Thus	says	that	man.
“Ya' <sup>q</sup> uhītŭnx, <sup>211</sup>	kwīnx <sup>80</sup>	a <sup>u</sup> 'sīs. <sup>212</sup>	Yā' <sup>xanxan<sup>208</sup></sup>			hūtcŭ' <sup>i.</sup> ” <sup>209</sup>	Atsī'tc <sup>73</sup>	
“Look shalt thou,	not thou	shalt sleep.	Much we			play.”	Thus is	
waa' <sup>i</sup> 'sū'ne <sup>213</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	hītc.	Wā'nwīts <sup>2</sup>	ha'wa. <sup>214</sup>	Sī'n'xyū'ne <sup>146</sup>			
repeatedly told	that	man.	Long ago	it is ready.	It is desired			
tsī'lna'tc <sup>215</sup>	xawa'a <sup>u</sup> <sup>27</sup>	a <sup>u</sup> 'stŭxax. <sup>216</sup>	Atsī'tc <sup>73</sup>			ha'ūsīme. <sup>217</sup>	“Ts'ī'l'mŭ't,	
pitch with	killed he shall	when sleeper he	Thus			it is agreed.	“Friend,	
	be,	will be.						
kwīnx <sup>80</sup>	a <sup>u</sup> 'sīs. <sup>212</sup>	Hŭ'tctŭns. <sup>210</sup>	Atsī'tc <sup>73</sup>			wa'a <sup>i</sup> 'sū'ne. <sup>213</sup>	“S <sup>E</sup> a'tsanx <sup>162</sup>	
not thou	sleep con- tinually.	Play will we two.”	Thus			he is repeatedly told.	“Thus thou	
tanx <sup>115</sup>	k!aha'yŭtne.” <sup>218</sup>	S <sup>E</sup> atsī'tc <sup>61</sup>			waa' <sup>i</sup> 'sŭtne. <sup>219</sup>	“Yā' <sup>xa<sup>i 19</sup></sup> L!a' <sup>ai 4</sup>		
this thou	art invited.”	Thus			he is told continu- ally.	“Many they		
nīctcama' <sup>i</sup> nat'ū' <sup>wi 220</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	tiyū' <sup>wi 221</sup>	hūtcŭ' <sup>wi 222</sup>	K!īx <sup>223</sup>	tē'q <sup>120</sup>	hūtcā' <sup>i 224</sup>		
different	(of)	inhabitants	games.	Each	some- thing	fun		
u <sup>1</sup> Enx <sup>225</sup>	yīxa'yŭn. <sup>226</sup>	S <sup>E</sup> a'tsanx <sup>162</sup>			tanx <sup>115</sup>	k!aha'yū'ne. <sup>111</sup>	Tsī'k!y-	
and thou	seest it.	Thus thou			this thou	art invited.	Very	
anxan <sup>87</sup>	hī'sīti <sup>227</sup>	ha <sup>1</sup> .	Kum'ntc <sup>38</sup>	tē'q <sup>120</sup>	mī'k!a'na.” <sup>82</sup>	Atsī'tc <sup>73</sup>		
we	good is (our)	heart.	Not	something	badly.”	Thus		
wa'aīsū'ne. <sup>213</sup>	Tcī'nta <sup>u 228</sup>	hītc	LĪwa' <sup>i,</sup> <sup>229</sup>	u <sup>1</sup>	atsī'tc <sup>73</sup>	waa'yūsne. <sup>230</sup>		
he is repeatedly told.	Whatever	person	comes,	so	thus	he frequently was told (by him).		

<sup>204</sup> Particle (§ 128).<sup>205</sup> Numeral particle (§ 124).<sup>206</sup> *sqaik* THERE (§ 119); *-tc* local of motion (§ 90); *-ītc* modal (§ 94).<sup>207</sup> *īn-* TO CALL BY NAME; *-īsŭtne* durative passive (§ 59).<sup>208</sup> *yāx-* MUCH; *-a* modal (§ 96); *-nzan* exclusive plural (§ 24).<sup>209</sup> *hūtc-* TO PLAY, TO HAVE FUN; *-ū<sup>i</sup>* verbalizing (§ 75).<sup>210</sup> Contracted; for *hŭ'tctŭxans* (§ 24); *hūtc-* TO PLAY; *-tŭx* future (§ 73); *-ns* inclusive dual (§§ 24, 4).<sup>211</sup> Contracted; for *ya'q'uhītŭxanz* (§ 24); *yaq<sup>u-</sup>* TO LOOK (§ 3); *-a<sup>i</sup>* verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); *-tŭx* future (§ 73); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).<sup>212</sup> *aus-* TO SLEEP (§ 12); *-īs* durative (§ 69).<sup>213</sup> *waa-* TO SAY; *-aīsŭ'ne* durative passive (§§ 69, 9).<sup>214</sup> *haū-* TO MAKE, TO HAVE READY (§ 112).<sup>215</sup> *ts'ān* PITCH; *-a* locative case (§§ 86, 12); *-tc* adverbial (§ 90).<sup>216</sup> *aus-* TO SLEEP (§ 12); *-tŭx* future denoting conditionality (§§ 73, 136); *-ax* nominal (§ 101).<sup>217</sup> *haū* YES (§ 131); *-ūs* durative (§§ 69, 9); *-īmē* passive (§ 38).<sup>218</sup> *k!a'-* TO INVITE (§ 3); *-a<sup>i</sup>* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ātne* passive (§§ 58, 8).<sup>219</sup> *waa-* TO SPEAK; *-aīsŭtne* durative passive (§§ 59, 9).<sup>220</sup> *nīctcama'<sup>i</sup>nat'* DIFFERENT; *-ū<sup>wi</sup>* plural (§ 79).<sup>221</sup> *ta<sup>i-</sup>* TO LIVE (§ 2); *-ū<sup>wi</sup>* nominal (§§ 97, 8).<sup>222</sup> *hūtc-* TO PLAY, TO HAVE FUN; *-ū<sup>wi</sup>* nominal (§ 97).<sup>223</sup> Numeral particle (§ 124).<sup>224</sup> *hūtc-* TO HAVE FUN; *-a<sup>i</sup>* nominal (§ 98).<sup>225</sup> *u<sup>1</sup>* THEN (§ 125); *-nx* 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).<sup>226</sup> *yax-* TO SEE (§ 12); *-a<sup>i</sup>* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ān* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).<sup>227</sup> *hīs* GOOD; *-īlī* possessive (§ 88).<sup>228</sup> pronominal particle (§ 123).<sup>229</sup> *Līū-* TO COME; *-a<sup>i</sup>* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).<sup>230</sup> *waa-* TO SAY; *-a<sup>i</sup>* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūsne* durative passive (§§ 69, 8).

“Tsī'k'ya <sup>3</sup>	hīs tanx <sup>115</sup>	līū', ts'īl·mū't.	Wa <sup>1204</sup>	yā'tsa <sup>231</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>
“Very	good this thou	come, friend.	Although	long time	that
L'la' <sup>ai</sup> , <sup>4</sup> uʃ	xnī'w'nīs. <sup>232</sup>	Ya'quhītūnx.” <sup>211</sup>	uʃ s'atsī'tc <sup>61</sup>	wa'a'isū'nē. <sup>213</sup>	
crowd,	still does continually.	Look shalt thou.”	Then thus	he is told repeatedly.	
“S'e'a'tsanxan <sup>233</sup>	k'lah'a'yūts. <sup>234</sup>	Yā'a'xa <sup>119</sup>	hūtcū'wi” <sup>63</sup>	Wān <sup>29</sup>	hīna'a'u <sup>235</sup>
“Thus we	invite we-thee.	Much	fun.”	Finally	he taken will be
tcīk <sup>236</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	hūtcū'u <sup>63</sup>	L'la' <sup>ai</sup> , <sup>4</sup>	Sqa'k <sup>237</sup>	hīna'a'u. <sup>235</sup>
where	that	fun	great.	There	he taken will be.
ants <sup>60</sup>	hītsī' <sup>1</sup> , <sup>239</sup>	Wa <sup>1204</sup>	yīkt <sup>240</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	hītsī' <sup>1</sup> , <sup>239</sup>
that	house.	Although	big	that	house,
hītū'stc. <sup>241</sup>	Stīm <sup>242</sup>	ya'quha't <sup>243</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	hītc.	“Tī'k'nxan <sup>244</sup>
people with.	There	looks	that	man.	“Here we
ta'nxan <sup>245</sup>	hūtcū' <sup>1</sup> , <sup>209</sup>	ta'nxan <sup>245</sup>	k'lah'a'yūts <sup>234</sup>	qnā.” <sup>167</sup>	Ha'iqmas <sup>246</sup>
these we	play,	these we	invite we-thee	I.”	Alongside
tī'xam <sup>247</sup>	Līya'wate. <sup>248</sup>	Q!a'īl	ants <sup>60</sup>	Līya'a'ū. <sup>249</sup>	“Yaxa'ū'wītc <sup>250</sup>
he is seated	fire at.	Pitch	that	fire.	“Multitude kind of
L'la' <sup>ai</sup> <sup>4</sup>	hītc	ya'quha'tūn.” <sup>251</sup>	Atsī'tc <sup>73</sup>	cī'n'xyatlīs <sup>103</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>
many	people	look at now I.”	Thus	keeps on thinking	that man.
Ma'itcū'nē <sup>238</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	hītsī' <sup>1</sup> , <sup>239</sup>	“Kwīnx <sup>80</sup>	a'u'sīs <sup>212</sup>	ts'īl·mū't.
Fire is built (in)	that	house.	“Not thou	always sleep,	friend.
ta'nxan <sup>245</sup>	waa'yūts <sup>122</sup>	qnā <sup>167</sup>	Līwa'wanx.” <sup>252</sup> —	“Ha'ū <sup>170</sup>	tsī'k'yan <sup>253</sup>
these we	tell we-thee	I	intend to come thou.”—	“All right!	very I
hī'sitī <sup>227</sup>	ha'ī.	Yaq'u'ya'waxan <sup>254</sup>	hūtcū'u'stc <sup>56</sup>	L'laya'.” <sup>255</sup>	Atsī'tc <sup>73</sup>
good (my)	mind.	Intend to look I	fun at	great at.”	Thus says continually
ants <sup>60</sup>	hītc.	Ha'iqmas <sup>246</sup>	tī'xam <sup>247</sup>	Līya'wa. <sup>257</sup>	Ya'quhīsū'nē. <sup>258</sup>
that	man.	Close by	he is seated	fire.	He is continually watched.

<sup>231</sup> Temporal adverb (§ 120).<sup>232</sup> xnī'w'n- TO DO; -is durative (§ 69).<sup>233</sup> s'e'a'tsa- THUS (§§ 121, 96); -n-xan exclusive plural (§ 24).<sup>234</sup> k'a'- TO INVITE (§ 3); -ai verbalizing (§ 75); -ūts direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480, § 8).<sup>235</sup> hīn- TO TAKE ALONG; -aa'u future passive (§ 56).<sup>236</sup> Particle (§ 131).<sup>237</sup> Local adverb (§ 119).<sup>238</sup> mātīc- TO BURN; -ū'nē passive (§ 58).<sup>239</sup> See § 98.<sup>240</sup> See § 104.<sup>241</sup> hītū's locative form of hītc (§ 86); -tc adverbial (§ 90).<sup>242</sup> Local adverb (§ 119).<sup>243</sup> yaqu'- TO LOOK (§ 3); -ai verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); -t present (§ 72).<sup>244</sup> tīk HERE (§ 119); -n-xan exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).<sup>245</sup> tūak THIS (§ 115); -n-xan exclusive plural (§§ 24, 16).<sup>246</sup> Local adverb (§ 119).<sup>247</sup> tait TO SIT (§ 2); -xam present passive (§ 55).<sup>248</sup> Līya'a'ū FIRE (§ 97); -a locative case (§§ 86, 8); -tc local (§ 90).<sup>249</sup> See § 97.<sup>250</sup> yāx- MANY; -a'ūwi nominal (§ 97); -tīc modal (§§ 94, 9).<sup>251</sup> yaqu'- TO LOOK (§ 3); -ai verbalizing (§ 75); -t present (§ 72); -ūn direct object of third person (§ 28).<sup>252</sup> Contracted from Līwa'waxanx (§ 24); Līū- TO COME; -awax intentional (§§ 70, 8); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).<sup>253</sup> tsī'k'ya VERY (§ 121); -n 1st person singular (§ 24).<sup>254</sup> yaqu'- TO LOOK (§ 3); -awax intentional (§§ 70, 8); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).<sup>255</sup> L'la'ai particle (§ 133); -a locative case (§§ 86, 8).<sup>256</sup> waa- TO SAY; -a'is durative (§§ 69, 9).<sup>257</sup> Līya'a'ū FIRE (§ 97); -a locative case (§§ 86, 8).<sup>258</sup> yaqu'- TO LOOK (§ 3); -isū'nē durative passive (§§ 69, 9).

Wusya'a <sup>1</sup> st <sup>259</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	mī'k <sup>1</sup> la	hītc.	L!l!wī'sūtne <sup>260</sup>	wàn. <sup>29</sup>	"Kwīnx <sup>80</sup>
Begins to feel sleepy	that	bad	man.	He is continually approached	now.	"Not thou
a <sup>u</sup> sīs, <sup>212</sup>	ya'q <sup>u</sup> hīs <sup>e</sup> nx. <sup>261</sup>	A'tsanxan <sup>262</sup>	ta'nxan <sup>245</sup>	waa'yūts <sup>122</sup>		
always sleep,	always look thou.	Thus we	these we	tell we-thee		
Līwa'wanx. <sup>252</sup>	Kwīnx <sup>80</sup>	a <sup>u</sup> sīs, <sup>212</sup>	ya'q <sup>u</sup> hīs <sup>e</sup> nx. <sup>261</sup>	Atsī'tc <sup>73</sup>		
intend to come thou.	Not thou	sleep always,	watch always thou.	Thus		
tanx <sup>115</sup>	k!aha'yū'ne. <sup>111</sup>	Hī's <sup>e</sup> nxan <sup>263</sup>	hawa'itx <sup>264</sup>	ha'ī."	Wusya'a <sup>1</sup> st <sup>259</sup>	
this thou	art invited.	Good we	make our	heart."	Begins to feel	sleepy
ants <sup>60</sup>	mī'ck'la <sup>1</sup> . <sup>265</sup>	Ya'q <sup>u</sup> hīsū'ne. <sup>258</sup>	Ha'ūsime <sup>266</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	ts!aIn.	
that	bad man.	He is constantly	watched.	Is made ready for him	that	pitch.
S <sup>e</sup> a <sup>1</sup> na'tc <sup>267</sup>	xawa'a <sup>u</sup> . <sup>27</sup>	Līwīs <sup>u</sup> 'ne <sup>268</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	meq!yū' <sup>u</sup> 269	L!a' <sup>ai</sup> . <sup>4</sup>	
That with	killed he will be.	He is constantly	approached by	those	dancers	many.
"Ha'qa'tcya, <sup>270</sup>	ts'īl'mū't,	mīl'tcī'xmīnx."	Atsī'tc <sup>73</sup>	wa'a <sup>1</sup> sū'ne. <sup>213</sup>		
"Shore-like from,	friend,	thou mayest get burned."	Thus	he is constantly	told.	
"Kwīnx <sup>80</sup>	a <sup>u</sup> sīs <sup>212</sup>	ts'īl'mū't."	Wusya'a <sup>1</sup> stīn."	Meq!yū' <sup>u</sup> 269		
"Not thou	always sleep	friend."	— "Begin to feel	sleepy I,"	Dance (pl.)	
L!a' <sup>ai</sup> . <sup>4</sup>	A <sup>u</sup> sīs <sup>273</sup>	"Ha'qa'tcya, <sup>270</sup>	mīl'tcī'xmīnx."	Tc!ha <sup>u</sup> 'cīsūtne. <sup>274</sup>		
many.	He sleeps.	"Shore-like from,	mayest get burned	Gladness is constantly	felt.	
S <sup>e</sup> a'tsa <sup>3</sup>	xawa'a <sup>u</sup> . <sup>27</sup>	Wusya'a <sup>1</sup> st <sup>259</sup>	wàn. <sup>29</sup>	Atsī'tc <sup>73</sup>	wa'a <sup>1</sup> sūtne, <sup>210</sup>	
Thus	killed he will be.	He begins to sleep	finally,	Thus	he is constantly	told,
cī'l'xīsūtne. <sup>275</sup>	"Ha'qa'tcya, <sup>270</sup>	mīl'tcī'xmīnx."	Kū <sup>i</sup> 151	cī'l'xīl. <sup>276</sup>		
he is shaken con-	"Shore-like from,	mayest get burned	Not he	moves not.		
stantly.		thou."				
u <sup>1</sup> wàn <sup>29</sup>	qaa'xam <sup>277</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	L!yaxa <sup>ū</sup> 'wi <sup>278</sup>	ts!aIn.	Meq!yū' <sup>u</sup> 269	
So finally	is brought in	that	boiled	pitch.	Dance (pl.)	
L!a' <sup>ai</sup> . <sup>4</sup>	"Ha'qa'tcya <sup>270</sup>	ts'īl'mū't."	Kū <sup>i</sup> 151	kwī'sīl, <sup>279</sup>	tsī'k!ya <sup>3</sup>	
many.	"Shore-like from	friend."	Not	wakes up not,	very	
a <sup>u</sup> sīs <sup>273</sup>	Atsī'tc <sup>73</sup>	waa'.	A'nxax <sup>ū</sup> tsatcī. <sup>280</sup>	Līyaxa'waxan <sup>281</sup>	a <sup>u</sup> sa'wax." <sup>282</sup>	
he sleeps.	Thus	he says.	"Leave alone you-me.	A while intend I	sleep intend."	

<sup>259</sup> wusī- TO FEEL SLEEPY; -a<sup>1</sup> verbalizing (§ 75); -st inchoative (§ 66).

<sup>260</sup> Līu- TO APPROACH (§ 107); -īsūtne durative passive (§§ 59, 8).

<sup>261</sup> yaq<sup>u</sup>- TO LOOK (§ 3); -īs durative (§ 69); -nx 2d person singular (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>262</sup> a'tsa THUS (§ 121); -nxan exclusive plural (§ 24).

<sup>263</sup> hīs GOOD; -nxan exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>264</sup> haū- TO MAKE; -aūt suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§§ 33, 8).

<sup>265</sup> See § 98.

<sup>266</sup> ha'ūs READY, DONE; -ime passive (§ 38).

<sup>267</sup> s<sup>e</sup>a<sup>1</sup>na HE, THAT ONE (§ 115); -tc adverbial (§ 90).

<sup>268</sup> Līu- TO APPROACH; -īsū'ne durative passive (§§ 59, 8).

<sup>269</sup> meq!ī- TO DANCE; -ū nominal (§§ 97, 8).

<sup>270</sup> ha'iq SHORE (§ 119); -aīt modal (§ 94); -ya local (§ 93).

<sup>271</sup> maltc- TO BURN (§ 12); -īxmī intransitive exhortative (§ 63); -ī future passive (§§ 56, 9); -nx 2d person singular (§ 24).

<sup>272</sup> wusī- TO FEEL SLEEPY; -a<sup>1</sup> verbalizing (§ 75); -st inchoative (§ 66); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>273</sup> asu- TO SLEEP (§§ 12, 108).

<sup>274</sup> tc!hacu- TO BE GLAD (§ 12); -īsūtne durative passive (§ 59).

<sup>275</sup> cī'l'x- TO SHAKE, TO MOVE; -īsūtne durative passive (§ 59).

<sup>276</sup> cī'l'x- TO MOVE, TO SHAKE; -īl negative (§ 53).

<sup>277</sup> qaa- TO ENTER; -xam present passive (§ 55).

<sup>278</sup> L!ixu- TO BOIL (§§ 112, 7); -āwī nominal (§§ 97, 9).

<sup>279</sup> kwīs- TO WAKE UP; -īl negative (§ 53).

<sup>280</sup> anax- TO LET ALONE; -aūtscī direct object of first and second persons YOU-ME (§ 29, Table, p. 473, and §§ 24, 4).

<sup>281</sup> līyax- A WHILE (§§ 126, 135); -awax intentional (§ 70); -n 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>282</sup> asu- TO SLEEP (§ 12); -awax intentional (§ 70).

uʃ	wàn <sup>29</sup>	cî'n'xyaxam <sup>283</sup>	s <sup>E</sup> atsî'tc: <sup>61</sup>	“Qaʃ <sup>284</sup>	wàn <sup>29</sup>	a <sup>u</sup> 'stūx.” <sup>285</sup>
Then	now	it was thought	thus:	“Let	now	he sleep shall.”
Ła'qwis <sup>286</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	ts'laɪn	L <sup>h</sup> yaxa <sup>ū'wi</sup> <sup>278</sup>	Atsî'tc <sup>73</sup>	waa'xam, <sup>65</sup>	“Qaʃ <sup>284</sup>
Bolls con- tinually	that	pitch	boiled.	Thus	it is said,	“Let
wàn <sup>29</sup>	a <sup>u</sup> 'stūx. <sup>285</sup>	Ha <sup>i</sup> 'qa <sup>i</sup> tcya, <sup>270</sup>	ts'ɪl'mū't.”	Kū <sup>i</sup> <sup>151</sup>	c'ɪl'xɪl. <sup>276</sup>	uʃ
now	he sleep shall.	Shore, manner, from,	friend.”	Not	he moves not.	Then
wàn <sup>29</sup>	xū <sup>n</sup> .					
now	he snores.					
Ha <sup>i</sup> 'mūt <sup>205</sup>	L <sup>h</sup> 'ai <sup>4</sup>	tē'q <sup>120</sup>	lokwi'xam. <sup>287</sup>	Tcɪmtca'mi <sup>288</sup>	lokwi'xam. <sup>287</sup>	
All	many	something	is seized.	Axes	are seized.	
Kā'stūx, <sup>289</sup>	uʃ	txū <sup>113</sup>	tɛɪmtca'myate <sup>290</sup>	xawa'a <sup>u</sup> . <sup>27</sup>	uʃ	wàn <sup>29</sup> xū <sup>n</sup> .
Get up will he,	then	just	ax with	killed he will be.	And	now he snores.
Łk'la'ate <sup>291</sup>	Łaa'	xū <sup>n</sup> .	uʃ	wàn <sup>29</sup>	haū'tx <sup>292</sup>	hītcū' <sup>u</sup> . <sup>23</sup> Tsɪ'k'ya <sup>3</sup>
Open his	mouth	he snores.	Then finally	quit (pl.)	people.	Very
tɛɪmā'nīsū'nɛ. <sup>293</sup>	“L <sup>h</sup> xmīya'yūnanɪ. <sup>294</sup>	S <sup>E</sup> a's <sup>E</sup> nɪ <sup>295</sup>	k <sup>h</sup> 'xa'yūts, <sup>296</sup>	uʃ		
he is watched constantly.	“Kill him will we.	He	us kills he-us,	so		
s <sup>E</sup> a'tsanɪ <sup>297</sup>	L <sup>h</sup> xmīya'yūn.” <sup>298</sup>	Łokwi'xam <sup>287</sup>	wàn <sup>29</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	L <sup>h</sup> yaxa <sup>ū'wi</sup> <sup>278</sup>	
thus we	kill will him.”	Is seized	now	that	boiled (pitch).	
“Ha <sup>i</sup> 'qa <sup>i</sup> tcya <sup>270</sup>	ts'ɪl'mū't,	mīlɛi'xmīnx.” <sup>271</sup>	Kum'ntc <sup>38</sup>	c'ɪl'xɪl. <sup>276</sup>		
“Shore-like, from	friend,	mayest get burned thou.”	Not	he moves not.		
uʃ	wàn <sup>29</sup>	xwākɪ'tc <sup>299</sup>	tɪ'xam <sup>247</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	L <sup>h</sup> yaxa <sup>ū'wi</sup> <sup>278</sup>	Tc!ha <sup>u</sup> cū' <sup>wi</sup> <sup>300</sup>
So	now	head on	is placed	that	boiled (pitch).	Glad are (pl.)
ants <sup>60</sup>	L <sup>h</sup> 'ai <sup>4</sup>	S <sup>E</sup> ā <sup>66</sup>	ata's <sup>301</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	maq! <sup>l</sup> 'nūtne. <sup>302</sup>	Hūya'ultx <sup>128</sup>
those	many.	He	only	that (one)	it is danced for.	Is changed on him his

<sup>283</sup> *cînx-* TO THINK (§ 4); *-yax* past (§§ 74, 8); *-zam* present passive (§§ 55, 15).

<sup>284</sup> Exhortative particle (§ 129).

<sup>285</sup> *asu-* TO SLEEP (§ 12); *-tūx* future (§ 73).

<sup>286</sup> *laqu-* TO BOIL; *-is* durative (§§ 69, 8).

<sup>287</sup> Instead of *lakwi'zam* (§§ 11, 14); *laku-* TO TAKE; *-a* verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); *-zam* present passive (§ 55).

<sup>288</sup> See § 109.

<sup>289</sup> *kast-* TO GET UP; *-tūx* future denoting conditionality (§§ 73, 136, 4).

<sup>290</sup> *tɛɪmtca'mi* AX (§ 109); *-a* locative case (§§ 86, 8); *-tc* adverbial (§ 90).

<sup>291</sup> *lk'aa-* TO OPEN ONE'S MOUTH; *-tc* possessive 3d singular (§ 88).

<sup>292</sup> *haū-* TO QUIT; *-tx* plural (§ 80).

<sup>293</sup> *tɛɪmān-* TO WATCH; *-isū'nɛ* durative passive (§ 59).

<sup>294</sup> *L<sup>h</sup>xmī-* TO KILL; *-a* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); *-yūn* exhortative with direct object of third person (§§ 41, 8); *-nɪ* inclusive plural (§ 24, 4).

<sup>295</sup> *s<sup>E</sup>a's* HE (§ 115); *-nɪ* inclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>296</sup> *k'ix-* TO DISAPPEAR; *-a* verbalizing (§ 75); *-ūts* direct object of first and second persons (§ 29, Table, p. 480, and § 8).

<sup>297</sup> *s<sup>E</sup>a'tsa* THUS (§§ 121, 96); *-nɪ* inclusive plural (§ 24).

<sup>298</sup> *L<sup>h</sup>xmī-* TO KILL; *-a* verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); *-yūn* exhortative with direct object of third person (§§ 41, 9).

<sup>299</sup> *xwākɪ'* locative form of *xwā'ka* HEAD (§ 86); *-tc* local (§ 90).

<sup>300</sup> *tc!hacu-* TO FEEL GLAD (§ 12); *-ūwi* plural (§ 79).

<sup>301</sup> Restrictive particle (§ 130).

<sup>302</sup> *maq!<sup>l</sup>-* TO DANCE; *-in* verbal (§§ 81, 9); *-ūtne* passive (§ 58).

ha <sup>1</sup>	s <sup>E</sup> a'tsa. <sup>3</sup>	S <sup>E</sup> a'tsa <sup>8</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	meq!yū'u <sup>269</sup>	L!a'ai. <sup>4</sup>	u! wàn <sup>29</sup>	skwaha'. <sup>303</sup>
mind	thus.	Thus	those	dance (pl.)	many.	Then	finally he stands up.
Łokwī'xam <sup>287</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	L!yaxa <sup>ū'wi<sup>278</sup></sup>	u!	stīm <sup>242</sup>	skwaha <sup>ū'wi<sup>304</sup></sup>	L!a'ai <sup>4</sup>	many
Is seized	that	boiled (pitch).	And	there	stand (pl.)		
ha' mūt <sup>205</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	tcimtca'mya. <sup>305</sup>	Wa <sup>1</sup> <sup>204</sup>	yā'a'xa <sup>119</sup>	te'q, <sup>120</sup>	u!	
all	those	axes with (are).	Although	much	something,	still	
pī'ūmE. <sup>306</sup>	u!	kumī'ntc <sup>38</sup>	kwī'siĭ. <sup>279</sup>	"Qwa'nyūx <sup>307</sup>	temà' <sup>308</sup>		
noise is made with it.	Still	not	he wakes up not.	"Pour it	it is better		
Laaya'tc! <sup>309</sup>	u!	wàn <sup>29</sup>	qū'nī'xamīmE. <sup>310</sup>	Txū <sup>113</sup>	mī'tcīstx <sup>311</sup>	Laa'.	
mouth into!"	So	now	it is poured into (his mouth).	Just	begins to burn his	mouth.	
Stīm <sup>242</sup>	L!a'ai <sup>4</sup>	ma'q!is. <sup>312</sup>	Mī'tcīst <sup>313</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	hītc.	Mī'tcīstx <sup>311</sup>	
There	many	keep on dancing.	Begins to burn	that	man.	Begins to burn his	
ha' mūt <sup>205</sup>	hī'qū! <sup>1</sup>	Stīm <sup>242</sup>	wàn <sup>29</sup>	yāk lī'tcyaxam <sup>314</sup>	xwā'katc <sup>315</sup>		
all	hair.	There	finally	was cut into pieces	head his		
tcimtca'myate. <sup>280</sup>	Stīm <sup>242</sup>	tqū'nīs <sup>316</sup>	ants <sup>60</sup>	mī'k!a	hītc.	Xa'uwi'-	
ax with.	There	diffuses smoke constantly	that	bad	man.	Killed	
xamyax <sup>317</sup>	te <sup>33</sup>	mī'k!a	hītc.				
was	this	bad	person.				
Sqa'k <sup>237</sup>	wàn <sup>29</sup>	ata's <sup>301</sup>	hawa! <sup>318</sup>	Kū <sup>151</sup>	nàts <sup>182</sup>	s <sup>E</sup> a'tsa <sup>3</sup>	
There	now	only	it ends.	Not	if	thus	
xa'wa <sup>a</sup> xā'ūtnE, <sup>319</sup>	u!	nàts <sup>182</sup>	tsī'k!ya <sup>3</sup>	mī'k!a	L!a'ai. <sup>4</sup>	S <sup>E</sup> a'tsa <sup>3</sup>	
he had been killed,	then	conditional	very	bad	world.	Thus	
xa'uwi'xamyax <sup>317</sup>	mī'k!a	hītc.	S <sup>E</sup> atsī'tc <sup>61</sup>	wàn <sup>29</sup>	ata's <sup>301</sup>		
was killed	bad	man.	Thus	finally	only		
wā'nwītsaxax <sup>320</sup>	nītcīma'mū. <sup>321</sup>	Sqa'k <sup>237</sup>	wàn <sup>29</sup>	smīt'ū! <sup>322</sup>			
old-timers (of)	custom.	There	finally	it ends.			

<sup>303</sup> skwa'- TO STAND (§§ 3, 112).

<sup>304</sup> skwa'- TO STAND (§ 3); -ūwi plural (§ 79).

<sup>305</sup> tcimtca'mī AX (§ 109); -a locative case (§§ 86, 12, 8).

<sup>306</sup> piū- TO MAKE NOISE; -ūmE passive (§§ 38, 9).

<sup>307</sup> qū'n- TO POUR (§§ 7, 112); -yūx imperative with indirect object of third person (§ 43).

<sup>308</sup> Exhortative particle (§ 129).

<sup>309</sup> Laaya' locative form of Laa' MOUTH (§ 86); -tc local (§ 90).

<sup>310</sup> qū'n- TO POUR; -ī (-aī) verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -xam present passive (§ 55); -īmE passive (§ 38).

<sup>311</sup> Contracted from mī'tcīst<sup>E</sup>tx (§ 15); māttc- TO BURN (§ 3); -st inchoative (§§ 66, 4); -tx suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 33).

<sup>312</sup> maq'ī- TO DANCE; -is durative (§§ 69, 9).

<sup>313</sup> māttc- TO BURN (§ 3); -st inchoative (§§ 66, 4).

<sup>314</sup> Contracted from yāk'ī'tcyaxam (§ 15); yāk'- SMALL; -ītc modal (§ 94); -yax past (§ 74); -xam present passive (§§ 55, 57).

<sup>315</sup> xwā'ka HEAD; -tc possessive 3d singular (§ 88).

<sup>316</sup> tqū'nī' SMOKE (§ 98); -is durative (§§ 69, 9).

<sup>317</sup> xaū- TO DIE; -aī verbalizing (§§ 75, 2, 8, 11); -xamyax past passive (§ 57).

<sup>318</sup> haū- TO END, TO FINISH; -aī verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).

<sup>319</sup> Evidently for xa'ūyaxa'ūtnE; xaū- TO DIE; -yax past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136); -aūtnE passive (§ 58).

<sup>320</sup> wā'nwīts LONG AGO (§ 120); -ax nominal (§§ 101, 108).

<sup>321</sup> See § 103.

<sup>322</sup> smūt'- TO END, TO FINISH (§ 12); -ūī verbalizing (§ 75).



[Translation]

(It happened) long ago. The world was very bad long ago. Everywhere it was so, and this was the cause of it: A bad person was devouring (the people). Grizzly Bear was devouring them long ago. Whenever a man went out hunting, he would kill and devour him. Many people felt sorry because of that. So one day the people came together and tried to devise some remedy. (They all agreed that Grizzly) must be killed. For that reason they came together. Then the chiefs of that region said, "We feel very sorry, but how are we going to kill him? He can not be killed by means of arrows: hence we don't want to kill him with an arrow." Then finally someone suggested to go and see how Grizzly lived, and to invite him (to come to the meeting-place). So one man went in search of him. And (when the messenger) came to Grizzly's residence, (he said,) "You, too, are invited to come to the play-grounds." But Grizzly Bear was not willing to go: hence the messenger went back, and, upon returning, related thus: "He does not want (to come)." (In the mean while) the people who had assembled had lots of fun. (Then after a while another messenger was sent), and the man who was about to go was told thus: "We won't give up. When he is dead, then we will give up." Thus it was repeatedly asserted.

Then finally the man was ordered to go. He was a very poor man. "Speak to him carefully, don't tell him anything bad. Tell him thus: 'We want you to come here. We are going to have lots of fun.' Thus you shall tell him. Don't tell him anything bad. He is shrewd and very bad." Then that man started out, thinking (a great deal) to himself, for he was very much afraid (of Grizzly). (And when he came to Grizzly, he said,) "I come here as a messenger." (He then told him his mission and departed. Not long afterwards Grizzly's friends came to visit him and inquired about the messenger's mission). One of them said, "What did the man tell you who came (here)?"—"He said nothing (of importance). I was simply informed that I am invited (to some games). Thus he told me: 'People want you to come very much. For that purpose I came here as a messenger.'" (After a while another messenger was sent to Grizzly, requesting him to come at once.) Then (Grizzly) said thus (to the messenger): "Will anything be given to me, if I come?"—"Nothing was said (about that). People

are just playing, and that's why you are invited to come." (Then Grizzly said), "You tell them thus: 'He wants something. If something be given to him, then he will come.' Thus he says to you."

(The messenger went back to his people and told them what Grizzly said). And he (furthermore) said, "He is shrewd. He thinks (of not coming), because he has killed (so many) people. That's why he is shrewd." Thus the messenger said. "He was (evidently) told (by some friend) that a dance had been arranged for the purpose of changing his (mean) disposition, and that everybody dislikes him. That's why he replied, 'If something be given to him, then he will come.' That's why he told me (so)."

Then another messenger went to Grizzly. "You tell him thus: 'A knife will be given to you.' Thus tell him. 'You shall start right away, you are invited to come. Many people are playing (there), and it is desirable that you should come.' Thus you tell him." And that messenger kept on thinking, "I will speak to him. I know what to tell him, so that he will start right away." Then the messenger started. "I will speak to him, and he will start right away." Thus he was thinking as he kept on going. Finally he came to (Grizzly, and said), "A messenger I come. You are wanted very much. Pretty soon the games will come to an end, and for that reason I was told (to come here). You are my relative. Why don't you want to go?" And (Grizzly) answered him thus: "I am wise, that's why I don't want to go. It seems to me that I am simply wanted (there) to be killed. That's why I am wise."—"Not so, they want you to see (the fun). For that purpose (only) you are wanted. Their intentions toward you are good. A present will be given to you. For that reason you are invited. You are my relative, hence I (came to) fetch you. That's why I came quickly. A knife will be given to you, because you are invited. I came right away, since you are my relative. The reason why I came to you is because I want you to have some fun. That's why I came to you. I don't think that anything bad will happen to you. That's why I was sent." (And Grizzly answered,) "Yes, you are a bad man. They want to kill me, that's why I don't want (to go)."—"I don't think (it will be) thus. (Not) for that purpose I was sent. If it were as you say, I should not have been sent. Will you go now?"—"I shall go. You will have to take

good care of me." And (the messenger) said thus to (Grizzly): "All right, I don't think that anything bad will happen (to you) on the part of those who play (there)."—"All right, I will go. I don't care, even if I die." Thus said (Grizzly) as he started. "I don't think (it will be) as (bad as you imagine). Are you coming?" Thus said (the messenger) to him. "I should very much like to have you, too, at these games." Finally (Grizzly) said, "I will go." So he started. And the man who came to fetch him was thinking continually. He was thinking thus.

Now they two kept on going; and when they were almost there, the two (chiefs) were told, "They two are coming. He is bringing that bad man." So everybody was glad; and when he arrived, people assembled about him. "It's very good that you came, O friend! We shall have a great deal of fun." Thus everybody said (to him). Many people assembled (around him). Although there were many of them, still they all went there (to Grizzly), shouting, "It's very good that you came. We will play a great deal. We two will play." (Then Grizzly would say,) "All right."—"You shall watch (us). You sha'n't sleep. We will play a great deal." Thus he was constantly told. (Everything) had been made ready long ago. It had been decided to kill him with pitch during his sleep. Thus it had been agreed upon. "Friend, don't sleep! we two will play." Thus people kept on telling him. "For that reason you were invited." Thus he was told. "People who live here know different kinds of games, and you will witness all kinds of fun. For that purpose you have been invited. We are well disposed (towards you). No mishap will befall you." Thus he was constantly told. Whoever came in would tell him thus. "It's very good that you came, O friend! You will see, they will play for a long time." And he would (also) be told, "That's why we invited you. There is going to be a great deal of fun."

At last he was taken to the play-grounds. A fire was started in the house, which, although very large, was nevertheless full of people. Grizzly Bear was looking there. "Here we play, those who have invited you." He was seated near the fire, which consisted of pitch. "It seems to me I see (too) many people." Thus Grizzly was thinking. And the fire in the house kept burning. "Don't sleep, O friend! (Not) for that purpose we asked you to come (here)."—"All

right! I am glad. I intend to watch the fun." Thus Grizzly was saying, seated close to the fire. He was constantly watched.

(After a while) he began to feel sleepy. Then people kept on approaching him, (saying,) "Don't sleep, look on! For that purpose we invited you. We have abandoned all our hatred." (Again) he began to feel sleepy, (and again) he was constantly watched. The pitch with which he was going to be killed was made ready; while many dancers went to him, (saying,) "Move away from the fire, you may get burned, friend!" Thus they were telling him. "Don't sleep, friend!"—"I feel sleepy." People kept on dancing, while he began to fall asleep. "Move away from the fire, you may get burned!" Everybody was glad, because he was going to be killed. At last he began to sleep. Then people kept on shaking him, saying to him thus: "Move away from the fire, you may get burned!" But he did not move. So the boiling pitch was brought in, while the people kept on dancing (and saying), "Move away from the fire, friend!" But he did not get up. He was very sleepy, and (merely) said, "Leave me alone! I intend to sleep a while." So the people thought thus: "Let him sleep." And while the pitch kept on boiling, they said, "Let him sleep. Move away from the fire, O friend!" But he did not move, and (soon) commenced to snore.

Then people took hold of all kinds of things. They seized axes, (because it had been decided that as soon as) he should wake up, they would kill him with an ax. He was snoring, keeping his mouth wide open. Then the people got ready. They watched him closely. "We will kill him, because he has killed (so many of) us." Then the boiling pitch was seized, (and one man shouted,) "Move away from the fire, friend, you may get burned!" But he did not move. Then they held the boiling pitch over his head, and everybody was glad, for the dance had been arranged with the purpose in view of getting rid of (the consequences of) his mean disposition. For that purpose so many people had been dancing. Finally (one man) stood up and took hold of the boiling pitch. And around Grizzly there were standing many armed with axes. They made noise with all kinds of implements, but he did not wake up. (Then one man said,) "Better pour it into his mouth!" So it was poured into his mouth, which began to burn (right away). And the people kept on dancing,

(as Grizzly Bear) was consumed (gradually) by the fire. His hair got burned, and then his head was cut into pieces with an ax. And while suffering death, he was constantly diffusing smoke.

Here (the story) ends. If (Grizzly Bear) had not been killed, this would have been a very bad place. Thus that man was killed. Such was the custom of people living long ago. Here at last it ends.

### INVOCATION OF RAIN<sup>1</sup>

K!u <sup>x</sup> wīna <sup>1</sup> 'tx <sup>2</sup>	L!a' <sup>ai</sup> . <sup>3</sup>	Yā <sup>a</sup> 'xa <sup>i</sup>	ū'fti <sup>4</sup>	L!ayū's. <sup>5</sup>	Nā'qutyax <sup>6</sup>		
Ice (has on) its (body)	world.	Much	snow	ground on.	Cold became		
L!a' <sup>ai</sup> . <sup>3</sup>	k!u <sup>x</sup> wīna <sup>1</sup> 'i <sup>7</sup>	L!a' <sup>ai</sup> . <sup>3</sup>	Kū <sup>i</sup> <sup>8</sup>	nī'ctca <sup>9</sup>	qa'tcwi <sup>10</sup>	ants <sup>11</sup>	L!a' <sup>ai</sup> . <sup>3</sup>
universe,	ice has	world.	Not	how	drink not	that	crowd.
Pā'l'ū <sup>12</sup>	ata's <sup>13</sup>	u <sup>14</sup>	qatcū <sup>i</sup> 'txa <sup>ū</sup> tnē. <sup>15</sup>	Haya'mūt <sup>16</sup>	h'yàtc <sup>17</sup>	qatcū <sup>i</sup> '-	
Well	only	then	it is drunk from.	All	people	drink	
txa <sup>ū</sup> n. <sup>18</sup>	Wa <sup>i</sup> <sup>19</sup>	yā <sup>a</sup> 'xa <sup>i</sup>	hītc, u <sup>14</sup>	sqa <sup>i</sup> k <sup>20</sup>	qatcū <sup>i</sup> 'tx. <sup>21</sup>	Tcī'wa <sup>22</sup>	u <sup>14</sup>
(from) it.	Although	many	people, still	there	drink (pl.).	Water on	then
k!u <sup>x</sup> wīna <sup>1</sup> 'i <sup>7</sup>	Kū <sup>18</sup>	nī'ctca <sup>9</sup>	tcaītcī'tc <sup>23</sup>	nī'ctcī <sup>24</sup>	ants <sup>11</sup>	tīyū <sup>wi</sup> <sup>25</sup>	
ice appears.	Not	manner	where manner	go not	those	inhabitants.	
Qa <sup>u</sup> 'xa <sup>i</sup> 'x <sup>26</sup>	k!u <sup>x</sup> wīnīyū's <sup>27</sup>	qatc <sup>ē</sup> natū'u <sup>28</sup>	ants <sup>11</sup>	hītc	L!a' <sup>ai</sup> . <sup>3</sup>	u <sup>14</sup>	
Top along	ice on	go (pl.)	those	people	many.	Then	
wān <sup>29</sup>	texmīl'a'mī <sup>30</sup>	l!xū'yūn <sup>31</sup>	ants <sup>11</sup>	wā'nwītsaxax <sup>32</sup>	nīctcīma <sup>ē</sup> mū. <sup>33</sup>		
now	people old	know it	that	long ago people	custom.		

<sup>1</sup> See Leo J. Frachtenberg, Lower Umpqua Texts (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. IV, pp. 76 *et seq.*)

<sup>2</sup> *k!uxwīn*- ICE (§ 12); *-ātx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of the subject (§ 83).

<sup>3</sup> Particle (§ 133).

<sup>4</sup> See § 98.

<sup>5</sup> *L!a'ai* GROUND (§ 133); *-ūs* locative case (§§ 86, 9, 8).

<sup>6</sup> *naqt*- TO BE COLD; *-yax* past (§ 74).

<sup>7</sup> *k!uxwīn*- ICE (§ 12); *-ai* verbalizing (§ 75).

<sup>8</sup> Particle of negation (§ 131).

<sup>9</sup> Particle (§ 131).

<sup>10</sup> *qatcū*- TO DRINK; *-īl* negative (§§ 53, 8).

<sup>11</sup> Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

<sup>12</sup> See § 97.

<sup>13</sup> Restrictive particle (§ 130).

<sup>14</sup> Conjunction (§ 125).

<sup>15</sup> *qatcū*- TO DRINK; *-ūi* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); *-tx* plural (§ 80); *-aūtnē* passive (§ 58).

<sup>16</sup> Discriminative form of *ha'mūt* ALL (§§ 111, 124).

<sup>17</sup> Discriminative form of *hītc* PERSON (§§ 111, 7).

<sup>18</sup> *qatcū*- TO DRINK; *-ūi* verbalizing (§ 75); *-tx* plural (§ 80); *-aūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

<sup>19</sup> Particle (§ 128).

<sup>20</sup> Local adverb (§ 119).

<sup>21</sup> *qatcū*- TO DRINK; *-ūi* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); *-tx* plural (§ 80).

<sup>22</sup> *tci* WATER (§ 88); *-a* locative case (§§ 86, 8).

<sup>23</sup> Particle (§§ 131, 94, 108).

<sup>24</sup> *nī'ctca* MANNER (§§ 131, 135); *-īl* negative (§§ 53, 9).

<sup>25</sup> *taī*-, *tī*- TO LIVE (§ 2); *-ūw* nominal (§§ 97, 8).

<sup>26</sup> *qax* HIGH, TOP (§ 119); *-ātx* local (§ 92).

<sup>27</sup> *k!uxwīnī* ICE (§§ 98, 12); *-ūs* locative case (§§ 86, 8).

<sup>28</sup> *qatcn*- TO GO (§ 4); *-t* present (§§ 72, 4); *-ūu* plural (§ 79).

<sup>29</sup> Temporal particle (§ 126).

<sup>30</sup> Discriminative form of *texmīl'mā* (§ 111); *texm* STRONG; *-īl'mā* augmentative (§ 84).

<sup>31</sup> *L!xu*- TO KNOW; *-ūi* verbalizing (§§ 75, 9); *-ān* direct object of third person (§§ 28, 8).

<sup>32</sup> *wā'nwīts* LONG AGO (§ 119); *-ax* nominal (§§ 101, 108).

<sup>33</sup> See § 103.

u <sup>14</sup>	tqūlī'yūsne <sup>34</sup>	ants <sup>11</sup>	tcīxni'ne,	u <sup>14</sup>	tqūlī'yūsne <sup>34</sup>	a'l'dū <sup>35</sup>	ants <sup>11</sup>
Then	is shouted at constantly	that	Raccoon,	and	is shouted at constantly	also	that
tsxu'npli. <sup>36</sup>	Īānat'lī'yūsne, <sup>37</sup>		"Tcīxni'ne,	tcīxni'ne,	hī'n <sup>ε</sup> k lītsx <sup>38</sup>		
Coyote.	He is called constantly,		"Raccoon,	Raccoon,	to rain cause thy		
L!a'ai! <sup>3</sup>	Wa'a's <sup>39</sup>	te <sup>40</sup>	mō'luptsīnī'sla! <sup>41</sup>	Hī'n <sup>ε</sup> k lītsxats <sup>42</sup>	L!a'ai! <sup>3</sup>		
world!	Tell to	this	Coyote!	To rain cause ye two your	world!		
Nākwa'yatyanxan, <sup>43</sup>		nēqūi'txanxan <sup>44</sup>	yā'a'xa." <sup>45</sup>	u <sup>14</sup>	wān <sup>29</sup>		
Poor we		cold our (bodies have) we	muchly."	Then	now		
Īānat'lī'yūsne: <sup>37</sup>		"Tcīxni'ne,	tcīxni'ne,	hī'n <sup>ε</sup> k lītsx <sup>38</sup>	L!a'ai! <sup>3</sup>		
he is called continually:		"Raccoon,	Raccoon,	to rain cause thy	world!		
Mō'luptsīnī'sla, <sup>41</sup>		hī'n <sup>ε</sup> k lītsxats <sup>42</sup>	L!a'ai!" <sup>3</sup>	u <sup>14</sup>	wān <sup>29</sup>	hī'n <sup>ε</sup> k lya <sup>46</sup>	
Coyote,		to rain cause ye two your	world!"	Then	finally	begins to rain	
L!a'ai. <sup>3</sup>	Haya'mūt <sup>16</sup>	hī'yāte <sup>17</sup>	ha'nīnīt!ūn. <sup>47</sup>	S <sup>a</sup> 'tsa <sup>48</sup>	u <sup>14</sup> a <sup>u</sup> x <sup>49</sup>		
universe.	All	people	believe it.	Thus	and they two		
tqūlī'yūsne, <sup>34</sup>	u <sup>14</sup>	wān <sup>29</sup>	hīn <sup>ε</sup> k lya'!tx <sup>50</sup>	L!a'ai.	S <sup>a</sup> 'tsa <sup>48</sup>	u <sup>14</sup>	
are shouted at continually,	then	finally	causes to rain its (body)	world.	Thus	then	
tqūlū'ne, <sup>51</sup>	ants <sup>52</sup>	tkwa'myax <sup>53</sup>	ants <sup>11</sup>	īnq!a'a! <sup>54</sup>			
it is shouted,	when	closes up	that	river.			
Sqa'k <sup>20</sup>	wān <sup>29</sup>	hawa'! <sup>55</sup>	Smīt'ū! <sup>56</sup>	wān <sup>29</sup>	sqa'k. <sup>20</sup>	Tā'kīn <sup>57</sup>	
There	now	it ends.	It ends	finally	there.	This I	
L!xū'yūn. <sup>31</sup>							
know it.							

<sup>34</sup> *tqūl-* TO SHOUT; -*a* (*-ī*) verbalizing (§§ 75, 2); -*ūsne* durative passive (§§ 59, 8).

<sup>35</sup> Conjunction (§ 125).

<sup>36</sup> See § 98.

<sup>37</sup> *ln-* TO CALL; -*al'* frequentative (§ 68); -*ūsne* durative passive (§§ 59, 8).

<sup>38</sup> *hīn<sup>ε</sup>k/ī-* TO RAIN; -*a* (*-ī*) verbalizing (§§ 75, 2, 9); -*tsx* imperative (§ 47).

<sup>39</sup> *waa-* TO SPEAK; -*a*<sup>3</sup> transitive imperative (§§ 62, 9).

<sup>40</sup> Demonstrative pronoun (§ 115).

<sup>41</sup> Alean term for COYOTE.

<sup>42</sup> *hīn<sup>ε</sup>k/ī-* TO RAIN; -*a* (*-ī*) verbalizing (§§ 75, 2, 9); -*tsx* imperative (§ 47); -*ts* 2d person dual (§§ 24, 4)

<sup>43</sup> *nākwa'yat-* TO BE POOR; -*nzan* exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4, 8).

<sup>44</sup> Contracted from *nēqutū'txanxan* (§ 15); *naqut-* TO BE COLD (§ 12); -*ū* (*-ī*) verbalizing (§ 75); -*tx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of subject (§ 33); -*nzan* exclusive plural (§§ 24, 4).

<sup>45</sup> *yāax-* MUCH; -*a* modal (§ 96).

<sup>46</sup> *hīn<sup>ε</sup>k/ī-* TO RAIN; -*a* (*-ī*) verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).

<sup>47</sup> *hanīmūt!* TO BELIEVE; -*ūn* direct object of third person (§ 28).

<sup>48</sup> Modal adverb (§§ 121, 96).

<sup>49</sup> *u* THEN (§ 125); -*ax* 3d person dual (§ 24).

<sup>50</sup> *hīn<sup>ε</sup>k/ī-* TO RAIN; -*a* (*-ī*) verbalizing (§§ 75, 8); -*tx* suffix indicating that object forms an inseparable part of subject (§ 33).

<sup>51</sup> *tqūl-* TO SHOUT; -*ūne* passive (§ 58).

<sup>52</sup> Particle (§ 131).

<sup>53</sup> *tūm-* TO SHUT, TO CLOSE (§§ 7, 112); -*yax* past denoting conditionality (§§ 74, 136).

<sup>54</sup> See § 98.

<sup>55</sup> *haū-* TO END; -*a* (*-ī*) verbalizing (§§ 75, 8).

<sup>56</sup> *smūt-* TO END (§ 12); -*ū* (*-ī*) verbalizing (§ 75).

<sup>57</sup> *tāok* THIS (§§ 115, 12); -*n* 1st person singular (§§ 24, 4).

[Translation]

(When in former days the) ground was covered with ice, much snow (lay) on the ground, and it became very cold, then the people had no way of drinking (water freely). From one well only could they drink, and all people drank from it. Although many were the people, still they all drank there. (And when) ice began to appear on the water (of the rivers), then all inhabitants could not go anywhere. They were forced to go along the surface of the ice. Then (at such times there would always be some) old man who knew that (ancient) custom of the people of long ago. (He would then tell it to his people.) And Raccoon would be invoked, and Coyote likewise would be invoked. He would be called by name, "Raccoon, Raccoon, cause thy rain (to flow)! Speak to Coyote! Cause ye two your rain (to flow)! We are in straits, we are very cold." Then (once more Raccoon) would be invoked, "Raccoon, Raccoon, cause thy rain (to flow)! (You and) Coyote cause ye your (dual) rain (to flow)!" Then at last it would rain. All people believed in (the efficacy of this formula). For that reason they two would be invoked, (until) it would commence to rain. Thus people were shouting whenever (ice) closed up the rivers. Now there it ends. It is the finish. (Thus) I know it.