# TSIMSHIAN

BY

## FRANZ BOAS

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# TSIMSHIAN

### By Franz Boas

## §1. DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS

The Tsimshian (Chimmesyan) is spoken on the coast of northern British Columbia and in the region adjacent to Nass and Skeena rivers. On the islands off the coast the Tsimshian occupy the region southward as far as Milbank sound.

Three principal dialects may be, distinguished: The Tsimshian proper, which is spoken on Skeena river and on the islands farther to the south; the Nîsqa'ᵋ, which is spoken on Nass river, and the G·itkᴄan (Gyitkshan), which is spoken on the upper course of Skeena river. The first and second of these dialects form the subject of the following discussion. The description of the Tsimshian proper is set off by a vertical rule down the left-hand margin of the pages.

The Tsimshian dialect has been discussed by the writer[1] and by Count von der Schulenburg.[2] I have also briefly discussed the dialect of Nass river,[3] and have published a collection of texts[4] in the same dialect. References accompanying examples (like 290.2) refer to page and line in this publication; those preceded by ZE refer to a Tsimshian text with notes published by me.[5]

## PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

### §2. System of Sounds

The phonetic system of the Tsimshian dialects is in many respects similar to that of other languages of the North Pacific coast. It abounds particularly in *k*-sounds and *l*-sounds. The informants from

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[1] Fifth Report of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada (*Report of the 59th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1889, 877-889).

[2] Dr. A. C. Graf von der Schulenburg, Die Sprache der Zimshian-Indianer (Brunswick, 1894).

[3] Tenth and Eleventh Reports of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada (*Reports of the 65th and 66th Meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1895, 583-586; 1896 586-591).

[4] Tsimshian Texts (*Bulletin 27 of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1902).

[5] Eine Sonnensage der Tsimschian, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1908, 776-797.

whom my material in the Nass river dialect has been gathered used the hiatus frequently, without, however, giving the preceding stop enough strength to justify the introduction of a fortis. A few people from other villages, whom I heard occasionally, seemed to use greater strength of articulation; and there is little doubt that the older mode of pronunciation had a distinct series of strong stops. In the Tsimshian dialect the fortis survives clearly in the $t$ and $p$; while the $ts$ and $k$ fortis have come to be very weak. I have also observed in this dialect a distinct fortis of the $y$, $w$, $m$, $n$, and $l$. In these sounds the increased stress of articulation brings about a tension of the vocal chords and epiglottis, the release of which gives the sound a strongly sonant character, and produces a glottal stop preceding the sound when it appears after a vowel. Thus the fortes of these continued sounds are analogous to the Kwakiutl $ᵋy$, $ᵋw$, $ᵋm$, $ᵋn$, and $ᵋl$. Presumably the same sounds occur in the Nass dialect, although they escaped my attention. Differentiation between surd and sonant is difficult, particularly in the velar $k$ series.

The phonetics of Tsimshian take an exceptional position among the languages of the North Pacific coast, in that the series of $l$ stops are missing. Besides the sound corresponding to our $l$, we find only the $ɫ$, a voiceless continued sound produced by the escape of air from the space behind the canine teeth; the whole front part of the mouth being filled by the tip of the tongue, which is pressed against the palate. The Tsimshian dialect has a continued sonant $k$ sound, which is exceedingly weak and resembles the weak medial $r$, which has almost no trill and is pronounced a little in front of the border of the hard palate. It corresponds to the sound in Tlingit which Swanton (see p. 165) writes $y$, but which I have heard among the older generation of Tlingit distinctly as the same sound as the Tsimshian sound here discussed. With the assumption that it was originally the continued sonant corresponding to $x$ of other Pacific Coast languages agrees its prevalent $u$ tinge. I feel, however, a weak trill in pronouncing the sound, and for this reason I have used the symbol $r$ for denoting this sound. In some cases a velar trill appears, which I have written $ṛ$.

In the Nass dialect, liquids ($m$, $n$, $l$) that occur at the ends of words are suppressed. Tongue and lips are placed in position for these sounds, but there is no emission of air, and hence no sound, unless a following word with its outgoing breath makes the terminal sound audible.

§ 2

The vocalic system of Tsimshian is similar to that of other Northwest Coast languages, with which it has in common the strong tendency to a weakening of vowels. The Tsimshian dialect has no clear *a*, but all its *a*'s are intermediate between *a* and *ä*. Only after *w* does this vowel assume a purer *a* tinge. A peculiarity of the language is the doubling of almost every long vowel by the addition of a parasitic vowel of the same timbre as the principal vowel, but pronounced with relaxation of all muscles.

Following is a tabular statement of the sounds observed in the Nass dialect.

The series of vowels may be rendered as follows:[1]

|  |  |  |  | E |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Short | *u* | *o* | *ô* | *a* | *ê* | *e* | *î* | *i* |
| Long | – | *ō* | *â* | *ā* | *ä* | *ē* | – | *ī* |
| With parasitic vowel | – | *ōu* | *âô* | *āa* | *äê* | *ēê* | – | *īî* |

This series begins with the *u*-vowel with rounded lips and open posterior part of mouth-opening, and proceeds with less protrusion of lips and wider opening of the anterior portion of the mouth to *a;* then, with gradual flattening of the middle part of the mouth-opening, through *e* to *i*.

The system of consonants is contained in the following table:

| | Stops | | | Affricatives | | | Continued | | Nasals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sonant | Surd | Surd followed by hiatus | Sonant | Surd | Surd followed by hiatus | Sonant | Surd | |
| Labial . . . . . | *b* | *p* | (*p'*) | – | – | – | – | – | *m* |
| Dental . . . . . | *d* | *t* | (*t'*) | *dz* | *ts* | (*ts'*) | *z* | *s*,(*c*) | *n* |
| Anterior palatal . . | *g·* | *k·* | (*k·'*) | – | – | – | – | *x·* | – |
| Middle palatal . . | *g* | *k* | (*k'*) | – | – | – | – | *x̣* | – |
| Velar . . . . . | *ǥ* | *q* | (*q'*) | – | – | – | (*ʳ*) | *x* | – |

| | |
|---|---|
| Lateral, voiced continued . . . . . . . | *l* |
| voiceless stop (?) . . . . . . . | L |
| Breathing . . . . . . . . | *h* |
| Semi-vowels . . . . . . . . | *y hw* |

It is doubtful whether *c* (English *sh*) occurs as a separate sound; *s* seems rather to be pronounced with somewhat open teeth. The sounds *g* and *k* take very often a *u*-tinge. The semi-vowel *w* is almost always aspirated.

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[1] Notwithstanding its defects, I have adhered for the Nass dialect to the spelling used in previous publications.

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10——19 §2

## § 3. Grouping of Sounds and Laws of Euphony

Clustering of consonants is almost unrestricted, and a number of extended consonantic clusters may occur; as, for instance, -ltkᵘtg·, ppt, qsʟ, xtg·, and many others.

Examples are:

a'qʟkᵘdet they reached 111.1[1]
ā'd̂'îk·sk̂ᵘʟ came 35.1
xsk·āk·· eagle 178.10

There are, however, a number of restrictions regulating the use of consonants.  Terminal surd stops and the affricative ts are transformed into sonants whenever a vowel is added to the word.

| | |
|---|---|
| g·at man | g·a'dɛm 90.6 |
| gwalkᵘ dry | gwa'lgwa 176.2 |
| nɛ-bē'p uncle | dɛp-bē'ɛbē my uncles 157.9 |
| n-ts'ē'êts grandmother | ts'ē'ɛdzē my grandmother 157.10 |

It seems that single surd stops do not occur in intervocalic position. A number of apparent exceptions, like k'ōpɛ- SMALL, were heard by me often with sonant, and contain probably in reality sonants.

There are a number of additional intervocalic changes:

Intervocalic x· changes into y.
  "   x changes into w, ō.
  "   x changes into g.   This last change is not quite regular.

| | |
|---|---|
| ôx· to throw | ô'yin you throw 139.3 |
| hwîlā'x· to know | hwîlā'yi I know |
| hâx· to use | hâ'yaɛm use of—55.3 |
| xbɛtsā'x afraid | xbɛtsā'wē I am afraid |
| k·sax to go out | k·sa'wun I go out! 171.4 |
| yâ'ôxkᵘ to eat | yâ'ôg'an to feed |

In a few cases l is assimilated by preceding n.

an-hwî'n instead of an-hwî'l 40.6, 7

## § 4. The Phonetic Systems of Nass and Tsimshian

The system of vowels of Tsimshian is nearly the same as that of the Nass dialect, except that the pure a and ā do not occur. The vowels o ō, and e ē appear decidedly as variants of u ū and i ī respectively, their timbre being modified by adjoining consonants.

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[1] Figures refer to page and line of F. Boas, Tsimshian Texts (*Bulletin 27 of the Bureau of American Ethnology*); figures preceded by E S, to F. Boas, Tsimshian Texts, New Series (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. III, 1910).

I have been able to observe the system of consonants of Tsimshian more fully than that of the Nass dialect. It may be represented as follows:

| | Stops | | | Affricatives | | | Continued | | Nasals | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sonant | Surd | Fortis | Sonant | Surd | Fortis | Sonant (trill?) | Surd | Sonant | Fortis |
| Labial . . . . . | $b$ | $p$ | $p!$ | – | – | – | – | – | $m$ | $m!$ |
| Dental . . . . . | $d$ | $t$ | $t!$ | $dz$ | $ts$ | $ts!$ | – | $s$ | $n$ | $n!$ |
| Anterior palatal . . | $g\cdot$ | $k\cdot$ | $k\cdot!$ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| Middle palatal . . | $g$ | $k$ | $k!$ | – | – | – | $r$ | – | – | – |
| Velar . . . . . | $\underset{\cdot}{g}$ | $q$ | $q!$ | – | – | – | $(r)$ | $x$ | – | – |
| Glottal . . . . . | $\epsilon$ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |

| | |
|---|---|
| Lateral, continued, voiced . . . . . . | $l$ |
| "        "        "        fortis . . . . | $l!$ |
| "        "        voiceless, posterior . . . . | $\ell$ |
| Breathing . . . . . . . . . | $h$ |
| Semi-vowels . . . . . . . . | $y, w$ |
| "        fortis . . . . . . . | $y!, w!$ |

The terminal surd is much weaker than in the Nass dialect, and I have recorded many cases in which the terminal stop is without doubt a sonant:

> $w\bar{a}lb$ house                        $g\cdot ad$ people

Before $g$ and $k$, terminal sonants become surds:

> $w\bar{\imath}$-$ts!_Em$-$l\hat{a}'^o pg_E$ great cave ES 96.30
> $n_E$-$g\bar{a}'itga^o$ his hat ES 90.1

Before $t$ and vowels, the sound remains a sonant:

> $g\cdot a'b_E$ . . . to draw water . . . ES 96.10
> $h\bar{e}'^o ld_Et$ . . . many . . . ES 96.14

The fact that some terminal sounds always remain surd shows that in the cases of alternation of surd and sonant the latter must be considered the stem consonant.

Some of the sounds require fuller discussion. It has been stated before that the fortes, as pronounced by the present generation, are not as strong as they used to be and as they are among more southern tribes. The $t$-series is alveolar, the tip of the tongue touching behind the teeth. The affricatives have a clear continued $s$-sound, the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth; while $s$ has a decided tinge of the English $sh$. It is pronounced with tip of tongue turned back (cerebral) and touching the palate. The teeth are closed. The sound is entirely surd. The nasals $m$ and $n$ are

long continued and sonant, even in terminal positions; *m!* and *n!*
have great tension of oral closure with accompanying tension of
glottis and epiglottis. The sound *r* has been described before. It
is entirely absent in the Nass dialect. Bishop Ridley, who prepared
the translation of the gospel on which Count von der Schulenburg's
grammar is based, has rendered this sound, which often follows a
very obscure *î* or *ɛ*, by *ū;* but I hear distinctly *r*. Thus, in place
of Bishop Ridley's *nūyū* (I), I hear *n!ɛ'ryu;* instead of *gūel, gɛ'rɛl;*
instead of *shgū, sgɛr*. In the Nass dialect, *ē* or *ī* takes the place of
this sound:

| Tsimshian | Nass | English |
|---|---|---|
| sgɛr | sg·ī | to lie |
| n!ɛ'rɛn | nē'ɛn | thou |
| gɛ'rel | g·ē'ɛl | to pick |
| sɛ'rɛl | sē'ɛl | middle |
| k!ɛ'rɛl | k·'ē'ɛl | one |
| gɛ'rɛdax | k·ē'dax | to ask |
| gɛ'rɛtks | g·etks | to reach |
| qⁱᵏɛ'rɛng·axs | qʟē'ng·îxs | to crush with foot |
| ɛ'rɛnx | ēnx | box |
| ɛ'rɛml | ēmʟ | bucket |
| ɛ'rla | ēlx | seal |

The sound has, however, a close affinity to *u*, before which it
tends to disappear.

   *pliä'r* to tell; *pliä'u* I tell.

It is suggestive that many *u*-sounds of Tsimshian are *ī* or *ē* in Nass.
This may indicate that the *u* and *r* in Tsimshian are either a later
differentiation of one sound or that a loss of *r* has occurred in many
forms. On the whole, the latter theory appears more plausible.
Examples of this substitution are the following:

| Tsimshian | Nass | English |
|---|---|---|
| dūls | dēls | to live |
| t!ū°s | t!ēs | to push |
| dū'°la | dē'lîx | tongue |
| hū°s | wis | root |
| iū'°tk | ie'tkᵘ | to have around neck |
| dūᵒlk | dēʟkᵘ | cedar-bark basket |
| hū°tk | ētkᵘ | to call |
| lū'°nti | ʟîntx· | angry |
| lū'alg·at | lē'ɛlg·it | feast |
| sū°ns | sîns | blind |
| lūt | lēt | wedge |
| gū'°p!ɛl | k·'î'lb'ɛl | two |

In terminal position Tsimshian -*ɛr* corresponds to Nass -*aẋ*, and after long vowels *r* to *ẋ*.

| Tsimshian | Nass | English |
|---|---|---|
| *dɛr* | *daẋ* | to die, plural |
| *ksɛr* | *ksaẋ* | to go out, plural |
| *yɛr* | *yaẋ* | to hide |
| *ts!ɛr* | *ts!aẋ* | much |
| *sɛr* | *saẋ* | mouth of river |
| *lɛr* | *ʟaẋ* | under |

Examples of *r* following a long vowel are—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *lār* | *lāẋ* | trout |
| *ts!är* | *ts!äẋ* | inside |
| *dzīr* | *dzīẋ* | porpoise |

Combined with change of vowels are—

| Tsimshian | Nass | English |
|---|---|---|
| *pʟiä′r* | *pʟeyō′ẋ* | to tell |
| *xlîr* | *xʟuẋ* | to burst |

The sound *ɽ*, the continued sonant corresponding to *g*, is heard very often in the middle and at the end of words, as *ganɽa′n* TREES; but it disappears invariably when the word is pronounced slowly, and *g* takes its place.

The sounds *x·* and *ẋ* of the Nass dialect do not occur in the Tsimshian dialect.

The ending *x·* of the Nass dialect is generally replaced by *i* in Tsimshian.

| Tsimshian | Nass | English |
|---|---|---|
| *wila′i* | *hwulā′x·* | to know |
| *hoi* | *hâx·* | to use |
| *gai* | *qā′ix·* | wing |
| *wai* | *wāx·* | to paddle |

This change is evidently related to the substitution of *y* for *x·* before vowels.

Terminal *x* of the Nass dialect tends to be displaced by a terminal *a*.

| Tsimshian | Nass | English |
|---|---|---|
| *dū′°la* | *dē′lix* | tongue |
| *ɛ′rla* | *ēlx* | seal |
| *nā′°la* | *nāʟx* | jejune |
| *gaina* | *qēnx* | trail |
| *gô′ep!a* | *qô′ep!ax* | light |
| *nā°* | *nax* | bait |
| *t!ā°* | *d′ax* | lake |

Here belong also—

| Tsimshian | Nass | English |
|---|---|---|
| mē̆ | mäx | sour |
| bū̆° | bôx | to wait |

Vocalic changes, besides those referred to before in connection with the sound r, occur.

In place of au in Tsimshian we find ē in Nass.

| Tsimshian | Nass | English |
|---|---|---|
| hau | hē | to say |
| gil-hau'li | g·ilē'lîx· | inland |
| g·ītxau'tk | g·itxē'tk | some time ago |
| t.!ɛm-ga'us | t.!ɛm-qē's | head |
| ma'ulk̇st (mᴀ̂lk̇st) | mēlk·st | crab-apple |

Tsimshian āu is replaced in Nass by âô.

| Tsimshian | Nass | English |
|---|---|---|
| yā'uxk | yâ'ôxkᵘ | to eat, singular |
| yā'uk | yâôkᵘ | to follow |
| q.!ā'watsx | q.!â'ôtsx | gills |

Initial wâ of Tsimshian is sometimes replaced by ō in Nass.

| Tsimshian | Nass | English |
|---|---|---|
| wâpx | ōpx | forehead |

Another very frequent change is that from ā following w to î.

| Tsimshian | Nass | English |
|---|---|---|
| wālp | hwîlp | house |
| wāl | hwîl | to do |
| wātk | hwîtkᵘ | from |
| ts.!uwā'n | ts.!uwî'n | top |
| ɫgwā'lksɛlk | ɫgu-wî'lksiʟkᵘ | prince |
| wās | (hai)wî's | rain |

The substitution is, however, not regular, for we find—

| Tsimshian | Nass | English |
|---|---|---|
| wāi | hwāx· | to paddle |
| wān | hwan | to sit, plural |

Related to this is probably—

| Tsimshian | Nass | English |
|---|---|---|
| hā'yets | hêts | to send |
| hā'yîtkᵘ | hêtkᵘ | to stand |
| gai'na | qēnx | trail |
| sgā'yiks | sqêkskᵘ | to wound |

Tsimshian p.! is replaced by Nass m.

| Tsimshian | Nass | English |
|---|---|---|
| p.!a'lg·îxs | ma'lg·îx | heavy |
| p.!as | mas | to grow |
| p.!ē'yan | miyā'n | smoke |
| p.!al | mal | button |
| gan-sp.!a | gan-sma | baton |

## § 5. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The most characteristic trait of Tsimshian grammar is the use of a superabundance of particles that modify the following word. Phonetically these particles are strong enough to form a syllabic unit, and they remain always separated by a hiatus from the following word. Most of them, however, have no accent, and must therefore be designated either as proclitics or as prefixes. These appear particularly with verbal stems, but their use with nominal stems is not by any means rare. They do not undergo any modifications, except in a few cases, and for this reason a large part of the grammatical processes relate to the use of these particles. On the whole, their position in the sentence or word-complex is fairly free. Suffixes are rather few in number. They differ fundamentally from the proclitic particles in being phonetically weaker and in forming with the preceding stem a firm unit. Some pronouns which belong to the proclitic series are also phonetically weak and share with the suffixes the inclination to amalgamate with the preceding elements. Thus the proclitic pronouns sometimes become apparently suffixes of the preceding words, whatever these may be.

Incorporation of the nominal object occurs principally in terms expressing habitual activities. In these it is well developed.

The Tsimshian uses stem modifications extensively for expressing grammatical processes. Most important among these is reduplication, which is very frequent, and which follows, on the whole, fixed laws. Change of stem-vowel is not so common, and seems sometimes to have developed from reduplication. It occurs also in compound words, which form a peculiar trait of the language. Not many instances of this type of composition have been observed, but they play undoubtedly an important part in the history of the language. Many elements used in word-composition have come to be so weak in meaning that they are at present more or less formal elements. This is true particularly of suffixes, but also, to a certain extent, of prefixes, though, on the whole, they have preserved a distinct meaning.

The grammatical processes of Tsimshian have assumed a much more formal character than those of many other Indian languages. It is not possible to lay down general rules of composition or reduplication, which would cover by far the greatest part of the field of grammar.

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Instead of this, we find peculiar forms that belong to certain definite stems—peculiar plurals, passives, causatives, etc., that must be treated in the form of lists of types. In this respect Tsimshian resembles the Athapascan with its groups of verbal stems, the Salish and Takelma with their modes of reduplication, and the Iroquois with its classes of verbs. The freedom of the language lies particularly in the extended free use of proclitics.

### § 6. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The use of the same stems as nouns and as verbs is common in Tsimshian, although the occurrence of nominalizing and verbalizing elements shows that the distinction between the two classes is clearly felt. The proclitic particles mentioned in the last section may also be used with both verbs and nouns. While many of these particles, particularly the numerous class of local adverbs, always precede the stem from which they can not be separated, there are a considerable number of modal elements which have a greater freedom of position, and which merge into the group of independent adverbs. These elements are so numerous and diverse in meaning, that it is difficult to give a satisfactory classification. The group of local proclitics occupies a prominent place on account of its numbers and the nicety of local distinctions. It is, however, impossible to separate it strictly from the group of modal proclitics.

The use of these proclitics is so general, that the total number of common verbal stems is rather restricted.

The proclitics are used—

(1) As local adverbial and adnominal terms;

(2) As modal adverbial and adnominal terms;

(3) To transform verbs into nouns;

(4) To transform nouns into verbs.

Almost all the proclitics belonging to these groups form a syntactic unit with the following stem, so that in the sentence they can not be separated from it. The pronominal subject of the transitive verb precedes the whole complex.

Another series of proclitics differs from the last, only in that they do not form so firm a unit with the stem. The pronominal subject of the transitive verb may separate them from the following stem. To this group belong all strictly temporal particles. The transition from this class to true adverbs is quite gradual.

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In the group of inseparable modal proclitics must also be classed the plural prefixes *qa-* and *l-*, which will be discussed in §§ 43-45.

The pronominal subjects of some forms of the transitive verb—and of some forms of the intransitive verb as well—are also proclitics. They consist each of a single consonant, and have the tendency to amalgamate with the preceding word.

Suffixes are few in number. They are partly modal in character, signifying ideas like passive, elimination of object of the transitive verb, causative. A second group expresses certainty and uncertainty and the source of information. By a peculiar treatment, consisting partly in the use of suffixes, the modes of the verb are differentiated. Still another group indicates presence and absence; these take the place to a great extent of demonstrative pronouns. The objective and possessive pronouns are also formed by means of suffixes. Most remarkable among the suffixes are the connectives which express the relations between adjective and noun, adverb and verb, subject and object, predicate and object, preposition and object, and conjunction and the following word. There are only a few classes of these connectives, by means of which practically all syntactic relations are expressed that are not expressed by means of particles.

Reduplication serves primarily the purpose of forming the plural. A number of particles require reduplicated forms of the following verb. Among these are the particles indicating IMITATION, GENUINE, ACTION DONE WHILE IN MOTION. The progressive is indicated by a different kind of reduplication.

Nouns are classified from two points of view, according to form, and as special human individuals and common nouns. The selection of verbal stems and of numerals accompanying the noun is determined by a classification according to form, while there is no grammatical differentiation in the noun itself. The classes of the numeral are formed partly by independent stems, but largely by suffixes or by contraction of the numeral and a classifying noun. In syntactic construction a sharp division is made between special human individuals—including personal and personal demonstrative pronouns, some terms of relationship, and proper names—and other nouns.

Plurality is ordinarily expressed both in the noun and in the verb. It would seem that the primary idea of these forms is that of distribution, but at present this idea is clearly implied in only one of the many methods of forming the plural. The multiplicity of the methods

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used for forming the plural is one of the striking characteristics of the
Tsimshian language.

It has been mentioned before that most forms of the transitive verb
are treated differently from intransitive verbs. While the subject of
these forms of the transitive verb precedes the verb, that of the intran-
sitive verb, which is identical with the object of the transitive verb and
with the possessive pronoun, follows the verb. This relation is obscured
by a peculiar use of intransitive constructions that seem to have gained
a wider application, and by the use of the transitive pronoun in some
forms of the intransitive verb. The independent personal pronoun,
both in its absolute case (subject and object) and in its oblique case, is
derived from the intransitive pronoun.

All oblique syntactic relations of noun and verb are expressed by a
single preposition, *a*, which also serves frequently to introduce subor-
dinate clauses which are nominalized by means of particles.

## DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 7-67)

### Proclitic Particles (§§ 7-16)

#### § 7. General Remarks

The Tsimshian language possesses a very large number of particles
which qualify the verb or noun that follows them, each particle modi-
fying the whole following complex, which consists of particles and a
verbal or nominal stem. All these particles are closely connected
with the following stem, which carries the accent. Nevertheless they
retain their phonetic independence. When the terminal sound of the
particle is a consonant, and the first sound of the following stem
is a vowel, there always remains a hiatus between the two. Lack
of cohesion is also shown in the formation of the plural. In a very
few cases only is the stem with its particles treated as a unit. Usually
the particles remain unmodified, while the stem takes its peculiar
plural form, as though no particles were present. There are very few
exceptions to this rule.

The freedom of use of these particles is very great, and the ideas
expressed by them are quite varied. There is not even a rigid dis-
tinction between adverbial and adnominal particles, and for this reason
a satisfactory grouping is very difficult. Neither is the order of the
particles sufficiently definitely fixed to afford a satisfactory basis for
their classification.

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As will be shown later (§ 22), nouns, verbs, and adverbs may be transformed into elements analogous to the particles here discussed by the addition of the suffix -*ᴇm*. Since a number of particles have the same ending -*ᴇm* (*haldᴇm*- no. 77; *pᴇlᴇm*- no. 80; *bᴇlxsᴇm*- no. 81; *mᴇsᴇm*- no. 83; *nôôm*- no. 96; *tsagam*- no. 9; *ts'ᴇlᴇm*- no. 7; *xpîlyîm*- no. 126; *lᴇgᴇm*- no. 5; and the monosyllabic particles *am*- no. 136; *ham*- no. 156; *t'ᴇm*- no. 140; *t'ᴇm*- no. 13; *ts'ᴇm*- no. 152; *k·sᴇm*- no. 146; *q'am*- no. 118; *xlᴇm*- no. 56; *lᴇm*- no. 134; *sᴇm*- no. 168; *dᴇm*- no. 170), it seems justifiable to suggest that at least some of these may either have or have had an independent existence as stems that may take pronominal endings, and that their present form is due to contractions (see § 33). At least one particle (*q'ai*- no. 122) seems to occur both with and without the connective -*ᴇm*.

The particles may be classified according to the fixity of their connection with the following stem. In a large number the connection is so firm that the pronoun can not be placed between particle and stem, so that the two form a syntactic unit. A much smaller number may be so separated. Since only the subject of the transitive verb appears in this position (see § 48), it is impossible to tell definitely in every case to which group a particle belongs. Furthermore, the particles of the second group may in some cases be joined to the verb more firmly, so that the pronominal subject precedes them, while this freedom does not exist in the former group.

The most distinct group among the particles is formed by the local adverbs. Many of these occur in pairs; as UP and DOWN, IN and OUT, etc. All of these express motion. In many cases in which we should use an adverb expressing position, the Tsimshian use adverbs expressing motion, the position being indicated as a result of motion. For instance, instead of HE STANDS NEAR BY, the Tsimshian will say HE IS PLACED TOWARD A PLACE NEAR BY. These particles are generally adverbial. This seems to be due, however, more to their significance than to a prevalent adverbial character. We find instances of their use with nouns; as,

> *gali-a'k·s* river (*gali*- up river; *ak·s* water)

A second group might be distinguished, consisting of local adverbs, which, however, show a gradual transition into modal adverbs. Here belong terms like IN, ON, OVER, LENGTHWISE, ALL OVER, SIDEWAYS, etc. In composition this group precedes the first group; but no fixed

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rules can be given in regard to the order in which particles of this group are arranged among themselves. The use of some of these particles with nouns is quite frequent.

The second series leads us to the extensive group of modal adverbs, many of which occur both with nouns and verbs. These gradually lead us to others, the prevailing function of which is a nominal one.

I have combined in a small group those that have a decidedly denominative character.

There is another small group that is used to transform nouns into verbs, and expresses ideas like TO MAKE, TO PARTAKE OF, TO SAY.

It will be recognized from these remarks that a classification necessarily will be quite arbitrary and can serve only the purpose of a convenient grouping.

### § 8. *Local Particles appearing in Pairs*

1. **bax-** up along the ground (Tsimshian: **bax-**).
     *bax-iä'* to go up, singular 142.8
     *bax-qâ'ôdᴇn* to finish taking up 209.2
     *bax-sg·ē'* trail leads upward (literally, to lie up)
     *bax-dô'q* to take up several 208.8
We find also—
     *bax-iä'ʟ ak·s* water rises (literally, goes up)
Tsimshian:
     | *bax-wa'lxs* to go up hill
     | *bax-gᴇ'ºwa* to haul up

2. **iaga-** down along the ground (Tsimshian: **y!aga-**).
     *iaga-sg·ē'* trail leads downward (literally, to lie downward)
     *iaga-iē'* to go down 137.5
     *iaga-sa'k·sk̄ᵘ* to go down (plural) 29.9
Tsimshian:
     | *y!aga-gâ'º* to go down to ——
     | *y!aga-dô'x* to take down

3. **mᴇn-** up through the air (Tsimshian: **man-**).
     *mᴇn-g·a'askᵘ* to look up 214.2
     *mᴇn-dā'uʟt* he went up through the air 95.4
     *mᴇn-g·ibā'yuk* to fly up 126.9
     *mᴇn-lô'ô* to go up, plural 42.8
     *lō-mᴇn-hwan* to sit in something high up, plural 34.1 (*lō-* in; *hwan* to sit, plural)
     *mᴇn-dô'x* to be piled up; (to lie up, plural) 164.13
     *mᴇn-qâ'ôd* to finish taking up 95.10

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Tsimshian:

> *man-iā'ᵒ* to go up ZE[1] 790[185]
> *di-man-hô'ksg* to go up with some one
> *mɛla-man-wālxs* both go up
> *man-lī'* plume (literally, upward feather)

**4. *d'ɛp-* down through the air (Tsimshian: *tgi-*).**

> *d'ɛp-iē'* to go down (from a tree) 9.14
> *d'ɛp-hē'tkᵘ* to stand downward, a tree inclines downward 201.8
> *dē-gulîk·s-d'ɛp-ma'qs* to throw one's self down also (*dē* also; *gulîk·s* self [obj.]; *maqs* to throw)
> *lō-d'ɛp-gal* to drop down inside (*lō* in; *gal* to drop) 181.13
> *lō-d'ɛp-dā'ᵤʟ lôqs* the sun sets

Tsimshian:

> *tgi-nē'ᵒtsg* to look down
> *lu-tgi-lôᵒ* to stretch down in something
> *tgi-iä'ᵒ* to go straight down through the air

**5. *lɛgɛm-, lôgôm-* into, from the top (Tsimshian: *lôgôm-*).**

> *lôgôm-ba'x* to go aboard (literally, to run into [canoe]) 111.11
> *lɛgɛm-qâ't'ɛn* to finish (putting) into 215.12
> *lôgôm-ô'x·* to throw into from the top

Tsimshian:

> *sa-lôgôm-gôs* to jump into (canoe) suddenly
> *lôgôm-bā'ᵒ* to run in
> *lôgôm-t!ā°* to sit on edge of water

**6. *t'uks-* out of, from top (Tsimshian: *uks-, t'uks-*).**

> *t'uks-ʟô'ô* to stretch down out of canoe 181.3
> *t'uks-iä'ê* to go out of (here, to boil over) 132.5
> *t'uks-ba'x* to run out of dish (over the rim)
> *t'uks-ô'x·* to throw (meat out of skin of game 150.12

Tsimshian:

> *uks-halhô'lt* they are full all the way out
> *uks-dô'g* to take out of (bucket)
> *adat uks-sa'k·!a n-ts!a'ltgaᵒ* then he stretched out his face

**7. *ts'ɛlɛm-* into, from the side (Tsimshian: *ts!ɛlɛm-*).**

> *ts'ɛlɛm-ba'x* to run in 204.9
> *ts'ɛlɛm-hē'tkᵘ* to rush in (literally, to place one's self into) 209.11
> *ts'ɛlɛm-a'qʟkᵘ* to get into 129.12
> *ts!ɛlɛm-dē-ba'x* to run in with something 140.15

Tsimshian:

> *ts!ɛlɛm-wi-ha'utg* to cry into (house)
> *ts!ɛlɛm-t!āᵒl* to put into

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[1] References preceded by ZE refer to the Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908.

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8. *k·si-* out of, from the side (Tsimshian: *ksE-*).

>    *k·si-gō'u* to take out 129.12
>    *k·si-q'ōts* to cut out 121.6
>    *k·si-hä'tk^u* to rush out (literally, to place one's self outside) 30.7

Tsimshian:

> | *ksE-lō'⁰* to shove out
> | *ksE-hū'⁰tk* to call out
> | *sEm-ksE-ya'dz* to cut right out ZE 784[73]
> | *ksE-gwa'ntg* to rise (sun), (literally, to touch out)

9. *tsagam-* from on the water toward the shore (Tsimshian: *dzagam-*).

>    *tsagam-ha'k·s* to scold from the water toward the shore 16.4
>    *tsagam-hō'u* to escape to the shore 51.14
>    *tsagam-dē-g·ibā'yuk* to fly ashore with it (*dē-* with) 178.12
>    *t lEp-tsagam-q'äē'xqLt* he himself dragged it ashore (*t* he; *lEp-*
>       self [subj.]; *q'ä'êxqL* to drag; *-t* it) 175.14
>    *tsagam-g·ē'n* to give food shoreward 175.3

Tsimshian:

> | *dzagam-dā'ul* to go ashore
> | *dzagam-lu-yîlya'ltg* to return to the shore, plural

10. *uks-* from the land to a place on the water (Tsimshian: *uks-*, *t'uks*).

>    *uks-iē'* to go out to a place on the water near the shore 150.14
>    *uks-a'qLk^u* to reach a point out on the water 74.13
>    *dē-uks-ba'xt* he also ran down to the beach 104.13

>    Sometimes this prefix is used apparently in place of *iaga-* (no. 2),
>       signifying motion from inland down to the beach, although it
>       seems to express properly the motion out to a point on the
>       water.

Tsimshian:

> | *uks-hē'⁰tk·* to stand near the water
> | *uks·ha'u* to say turned seaward
> | *uks-da'ul* to go out to sea

In Tsimshian this prefix occurs also with nouns:

> | *uks-a'pda-q!amē'⁰tg* one canoe after another being out seaward
> | *wagait-uks-G·idEganē'idzEt* the Tlingit way out at sea

11. *qaldix·-* to the woods in rear of the houses; corresponding nouns,
>       *g·ilē'lix·; qaq'alā'n* 65.13 (Tsimshian: *qaldîk-;* correspond-
>       ing noun, *gîl-hau'li*).

>    *qaldix·-iē'* to go back into the woods 8.4
>    *qaldix·-ma'ga* to put behind the houses into the woods 65.13

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Tsimshian:

> *qaldîk-sgE'r* to lie aside
> *qaldîk-iā'ᵒ* to go into woods

12. **na-** out of the woods in rear of the houses to the houses; corresponding noun, *g·äu* (Tsimshian: **na-**).

*na-ba'x* to run out of woods 147.11
*na-hē'ts* to send out of woods 213.13
*na-de-iä* to go out of woods with something 214.8

Tsimshian:

> *na-gôl* to run out of woods, plural
> *na-bā'ᵃ* to run out of woods, singular

13. **t'Em-** from rear to middle of house (Tsimshian: **t!Em-**).

*t'Em-iē'* to go to the middle of the house 130.12
*t'Em-dꞋā'L* to put into the middle of the house 193.14
*t'Em-q'ä'qL* to drag into the middle of the house 62.11

Tsimshian:

> *t!Em-stū'ᵒl* to accompany to the fire
> *t!Em-di-iā'ᵒ* to go also to the fire

14. **asē-** from the middle to the front of the house (Tsimshian: **asdi-**).

*asē-ô'x·* to throw from the middle of the house to the door

Tsimshian:

> *asdi-gā'ᵒ* to take back from fire

The same prefix is used in Tsimshian to express the idea of MISTAKE:

> *asdi-ha'u* to make a mistake in speaking

Tsimshian synonyms of **t'Em-** (no. 13) and **asdi-** (no. 14) are—

15. **lagauk-** from the side of the house to the fire.

> *lagauk-iā'ᵒ* to go to the fire
> *lagauk-hū'ᵒtg* to call to fire

16. **ts!Ek·!al-** from the fire to the side of the house.

> *ts!Ek·!al-ma'g* to put away from fire

17. **gali-** up river; corresponding noun, *magân* 117.6 (Tsimshian: **q!ala-**).

*lō-gali-sg·ī* (trail) lies up in the river 146.10
*gali-iē'* to go up river 117.6

This prefix occurs with nominal significance in *gali-a'k·s* river (literally, up river water).

Tsimshian:

> *wī-q!ala-a'k·s* large river
> *lu-q!ala-yä'ᵒk·* to follow behind

18. *g·isi-* down river; corresponding noun, *saⱨ* 23.6 (Tsimshian: *gisi-;* corresponding noun, *ꜱEr*).

> *g·îsi-ba'ⱨ* to run down river 18.11
> *g·îsi-a'qʟk·ᵘ* to arrive down river 23.6
> *k'uʟ-g·îsi-lâk·ꜱ* they float about down the river 16.10

In one case it seems to mean DOWN AT THE BANK OF THE RIVER.

> *g·îsi-lō-wâ'wôq'* it was dug down in it down the river 197.8

Tsimshian:

> | *ꜱtE-gisi-iā'ᵒ* to continue to go down river
> | *gisi-ksiā'n* down Skeena river

19. *g·îdi-* right there, just at the right place or in the right manner (Tsimshian: *g·îdi-*).

> *ꜱEm-g·îdi-lō-hē'tk·ᵘ* exactly just there in it it stood 88.8
> *g·îdi-qäk·ꜱk·ᵘt* just there he was dragged 51.5
> *g·îdi-gō'u* to catch (literally, to take in the right manner) 147.8

Tsimshian:

> | *g·îdi-gā'ᵒ* to catch ZE 787[137]
> | *g·îdi-wā'l* to stop
> | *ꜱE-g·îdi-hë̆ᵒtg* to stand still suddenly
> | *g·îdi-t!ā'ᵒ* to stop ZE 788[155]

20. *lîg·i-* at some indefinite place, not in the right manner; i. e., almost (Tsimshian: *lîgi-*).

> *lîg·i-k'uʟ-da'* to sit about somewhere 54.10
> *lîg·i-tsagam-dē'lpk·ᵘ* it was a short distance to the shore somewhere 104.8
> *lîg·i-mEtmē'tk·ᵘ* full in some place (i. e., almost full) 159.10

This particle is often used with numerals in the sense of ABOUT:

> *lîg·i-tⱨa'lpⱨ* about four 14.1

It is also used as a nominal prefix:

> *lîg·i-laⱨ-tꜱ'ä'ʟ* somewhere on the edge 104.8
> *lîg·î-nda'* somewhere 87.1
> *lîg·i-hwî'l* goods (i. e., being something) 164.8

Tsimshian:

> | *lîgi-ndE'* somewhere ZE 782[20]
> | *lîgi-gâ'ᵒ* something
> | *lîg·i-la-nī'Edz* to see bad luck coming
> | *lîg·i-ga'n* any tree

'A few others appear probably in pairs like the preceding, but only one of the pair has been recorded.

21. *ꜱpī-* out of water.

> *ꜱpī-iē'* to go out of water 52.2
> *ꜱpī-gō'u* to take out of water

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22. *wul'am-* out of water (Tsimshian: *wul'am-*).

Tsimshian:

   *wul'am-bax-dó'g* to take up from water
   *wul'am-a'ɪlg* to get ashore
   *wul'am-iā'ᵒ* to go ashore

### § 9. *Local Particles*—Continued

The following series of local particles do not appear clearly in pairs, or—according to their meaning—do not form pairs:

23. *tsaga-* across (Tsimshian: *dzaga-*).

   *tsaga-sg·ī* to lay across 40.12
   *lɛp-tsaga-yôxkᵘ* he went across 40.13
   *tsaga-dē'êntkᵘ* to lead across 79.11
   *tsaga-hō'ksaan* to fasten across an opening 217.5
   *tsaga-hîs'ia'ts* to chop across 201.7
   *gun-tsaga-iĕ'* to order to go across 40.13

Tsimshian:

   *dzaga-iā'ᵒ* to go across
   *dzaga-di-lâ'ᵒ* staying also across (a name).
   *g'ap-k!a-dzaga-alu-bā'ᵒ* to run really very openly across ZE 786[121]

24. *qalk·si-* through a hole (Tsimshian: *galksɛ-*).

   *qalk·si-yô'xkᵘ* to go through 149.12
   *qalk·si-g·a'askᵘ* to look through 127.8
   *qalk·si-libā'yuk* to fly through, plural 14.9
   *lō-qalk·si-ha'q'oax* to squeeze through inside 149.15

This prefix occurs also before nouns:

   *qalk·si-nô'ô* a hole through 11.9
   *qalk·si-sqä'êxkᵘ* through the darkness

Tsimshian:

   *galksɛ-nē'ᵒtsg* to look through
   *galksɛ-k!ī'ᵒts!ɛl* to poke through
   *galksɛ-a'xlg* to get through (literally, to finish through)

25. *g·îme-* probably far into, way in (Tsimshian: *gami-*).

   *g·îme-iĕ* to walk to the rear of the house, through the space
     between people sitting on the sides 132.14, 189.13
   *g·îme-qa'ts* to pour through a pipe, along the bottom of a canoe
   *g·îme-yô'xkᵘ* to go through a pipe 183.1

Tsimshian:

   *lu-gami-t!ā'ᵒ* it goes way in

26. *lôgôl-* under (corresponding noun, *lɑɪ*).

   *lôgôl-dɛp-dʼa,* to sit under (a tree) 8.4

27. *lukʟ-* under (Tsimshian: *lukʟi-*).

　　　*lukʟ-gˑibā'yuk* to fly under

Tsimshian:

　| *lukʟi-da'ʌl* to go under

28. *lē-gan-* over.　(In Tsimshian *q'an-* occurs alone, but also *l!ī-q!an-,* which is more frequent.　This prefix is a compound of *l!ī-* ON, and *q!an* OVER.)

　　　*lē-gan-ôxˑ* to throw over
　　　*lē-gan-gˑa'askᵘ* to look over

Tsimshian:

　| *l!ī-q!an-bê'l* to be spread over
　| *l!ī-q!an-sū'* to swing over
　| *sa-q!an-t!ā'ᵒ* to put over

29. *lō-* in; the corresponding noun has the prefix *ts'ɛm-* INSIDE; independent noun, *ts'äwu* (Tsimshian: *lu-;* the corresponding noun has the prefix *ts!ɛm-* INSIDE).

　　　*lō-dʼa* to be in 118.10
　　　*dē-lō-a'lgˑîxʟ qô'ot* he also speaks in his mind (i. e., he thinks) 49.14
　　　*lō-dʼɛp-iax'ia'q* to hang down inside 65.10 (*dʼɛp-* down [no. 4])
　　　*lō-sqa-ma'qsaan* to put in sideways 150.3 (*sqa-* sideways [no. 36])
　　　*lō-wusɛn-mē'tkᵘ* it is full inside all along 29.10 (*wusɛn-* along [no. 51])
　　　*hasp'a-lō-yô'ʀkᵘ* to go in the same road 202.15 (*hasp'a-, hasba-* upside down [no. 74])
　　　*lē-lō-dʼɛp-yu'k* to move on the surface in something downward 104.11 (*lē-* on [no. 30]; *dʼɛp-* down [no. 4])

This prefix occurs in a few fixed compositions:

　　　*lō-ya'ltkᵘ* to return
　　　*lō-dā'ltkᵘ* to meet

It occurs also in a few cases as a nominal prefix:

　　　*lō-ts'ä'wu* inside 102.10
　　　*lō-kˑs-gˑē'wît* in the lowest one 53.11 (*kˑs-* extreme [no. 143])
　　　*lō-kˑs-gˑī'êks* at the extreme outside 219.1
　　　*lō-ʟîpʟa'p* deep inside 197.8
　　　*lō-sē'luk* in the middle 184.13

Tsimshian:

　| *lu-sgɛ'r* to lie inside ZE 782²⁷
　| *lu-t!ā'ᵒ* to sit in
　| *sa-lu-haldɛm-bā'ᵒ* suddenly to rise in something
　| *lu-tgi-lô'ᵒ* to stretch down in
　| *lagax-lu-dâ'ᵒ* to put in on both sides (*lagax-* on both sides [no. 38])

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30. *lē-* on; the corresponding noun has the prefix *lax-;* independent
  noun, *lax'ō'* (Tsimshian: *l.'ī-;* the corresponding noun has
  the prefix *lax-;* independent noun, *lax'ō'*).

> *lē-d'a'* to sit on 202.4
> *lē-mɛn-pta'ltkᵘ* to rise up to the top of (see no. 3)
> *lē-ia'q* to hang on 89.10
> *txa-lē-baʟ* to spread over entirely (see no. 93)
> *lē-sqa-sg·i* to put on sideways 184.13 (see no. 36)

Tsimshian:

> *sa-l.'ī-g·â'ᵒks* to drift suddenly on something (see no. 98)
> *l.'ī-bɛ'ts'ɛn* to put on
> *sɛm-l.'ī-t'ālb* to cover well (see no. 168)
> *l.'ī-sɛ-gu'lg* to make fire on something (see no. 164)
> *ha-l.'ī-gâ'ᵒt* to think (see no. 160)

31. *tgo-* around (Tsimshian: *tgu-*).

> *lō-tgo-ba'x* to run around inside 77.11
> *k'wa'ts'ik·s-tgo-ma'ga* to turn over and over much 52.10 (see
>   no. 176)
> *tgo-ya'ltkᵘ* to turn around 47.9
> *k'uʟ-lō-tgo-lāx-lē'lb'ɛn* to roll about around inside to and fro
>   13.14 (*k'uʟ-* about [no. 33]· *lō-* inside [no. 29]: *tgo-* around; *lāx-*
>   to and fro ⌈no. 38])

Tsimshian:

> *k'ul-tgu-nē'ᵒtsg* to look around (see no. 33)
> *tgu-wa'n* to sit around, plural
> *tgu-iā'ᵒ* to go around
> *tgu-da'p* to measure around ZE 784[80]

32. *k'utgo-* around; corresponding noun, *dax·* circumference.

> *sā-k'utgo-dā'uʟ* to go suddenly around (the trunk of a tree) 211.9
> *k'utgo-iē'etkᵘ* to go around (the house) 218.1

33. *k'uʟ-* about (Tsimshian: *k.'ul-*).

> *k'uʟ-ba'x* to run about 94.10
> *k'uʟ-lē-ʟô'ôtkᵘ* he puts about on it 218.7
> *q'asba-k'uʟ-hwa'ax·* he paddled about astray 17.2
> *k'uʟ-lix·la'k·* to scatter about

Tsimshian:

> *alu-k'ul-iā'ᵒ* to go about plainly ZE 783[48]
> *k.'ul-yu-ha'ᵒksg* to carry bucket about (see no. 159)
> *k.'ul-da'msax* to be downcast here and there (i. e., always)

34. *k·'îlq'al-* round on the outside.

> *k·'îlq'al-ma'n* to rub over the outside 103.12
> *k·'îlgal-axts'ā'xkᵘ* scabby all around

35. *tq'al-* against (Tsimshian: *txal-*).

> *tq'al-gwalk*[u] to dry against (i. e., so that it can not come off) 104.2
> *tq'al-d'āt* to put against (i. e., on) face 195.12
> *tq'al-da'k·ʟ* to tie on 68.12

This prefix is often used to express the idea of MEETING:

> *tq'al-hwa'* to meet and find 31.6
> *hwagait-lō-tq'al-gō'usk*[u] to reach up to inside against (i. e., meeting) (*hwagait-* up to [no. 71]; *lo-* in [no. 29])
> *tq'al-qâ'ô* to go to meet (to go against) 158.11

Sometimes it expresses the idea of WITH:

> *tq'al-a'k·s* to drink something with water 21.9
> *tq'al-hu'ksaan* to place with something 36.8

In still other cases it signifies FOREVER, in so far as the object remains fastened against something:

> *lō-tq'al-gwâ'tk*[u] to be lost forever in something (*lō-* in; *tq'al-* against 166.1

It also may express the idea FOR A PURPOSE:

> *tq'al-ā'm* good for a purpose 80.14
> *sɛm-tq'al-sīɛp'ɛn* to like much for a purpose 45.1
> *tq'al-wē'lɛmʟk*[u] female servant

Tsimshian:

> *sa-txal-g·â'sg* to float suddenly against (i. e., so that it reaches)
> *txal-hô'ltg* full all over
> *txal-a'xlg* to arrive at

36. *sqa-* across the way (Tsimshian: *sqa-*).

> *sqa-d'a'* to be in the way 183.10
> *lō-sqa-hē't'ɛn* to place inside in the way 129.10
> *sqa-sg·ī'* to lie across 148.11

Tsimshian:

> *lū-sqa-yêdz* to strike in and across the face
> *lɛp-sqa-dakl* (he) himself ties across (see no. 129)
> *sqa-g·ī'ºtg* to swell lying across
> *sqa-bā'º* to run across (i. e., to assist)
> *sqa-na'k* some time (literally, across long) ZE 791[204]
> *sqa-bō'* a few

37. *g·ilwul-* past, beyond (Tsimshian: *g·ilwul-*).

> *g·ilwul-dām* to hold beyond a certain point 61.8

Tsimshian:

> *g·ilwul-bā'º* to run past
> *g·ilwul-ax'a'xlg* to get ahead
> *l!ī-q!an-g·ilwul-dū'ºlxk* not to be able to pass over (see no. 28)

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38. *lāx-* to and fro, at both ends (Tsimshian: *lagax-*).

(*a*) to and fro:

*lāx-ba'x* to run to and fro

(*b*) at both ends, on both sides:

*lāx-g·iLg·a'Lkᵘs* carved at both ends

*lāx-lō-liô'xkᵘ* to move in it on both sides 34.4

*lāx-lē'Lk·* to watch both ends 136.10

*lāx-aa'lg·ix* to talk both ways (i. e., to interpret)

*lāx-hwā'nɛmLkᵘ* seated on both sides (two wives of the same man) 194.7

This prefix occurs also with nouns:

*Lāx-wôsɛ*, Wâs (a monster) at each end 106.14

*Lāx-mâk·sk̑ᵘ* white at each end (name of a man)

Tsimshian:

*lagax-lu-dâ'ᵒ* to put in on both sides

*lagax-nɛ-stâ'ᵒ* both sides

39. *sa-* off (Tsimshian: *sa-*).

*sa-ôx·* to throw off 145.2

*sa-bɛsbē's* to tear off 25.4

*sa-hē'tkᵘ* to stand off 137.9

*sa-t'ô'q* to scratch off

*sa-uks-ts'ɛns-x·k·"ä'xkᵘ* to escape going off, leaving out to sea (*uks-* toward water [no. 10]; *ts'ɛns-* leaving [no. 104])

Tsimshian:

*sa-gā'ᵒ* to take off

*sa-ts!â'ᵒt* to pull off

40. *g̑îs-* away to another place.

*g̑îs-d'a'* (plural *g̑îs-hwa'n*) to transplant (*d'a* [plural *hwan*] to sit)

*g̑îs-iē'* to move away to another place

*g̑î's-hē'tkᵘsɛn!* move away to another place!

41. *wud'ɛn-* away forward (Tsimshian: *wud'ɛn-*).

*wud'ɛn-iē'* to step forward

*wud'ɛn-k·sla'qs* to kick away

Tsimshian:

| *wud'ɛn-gwa'ᵒ* away here along the middle

42. *lūks-* along a valley (Tsimshian).

| *lūks-g·ig·ā'ᵒnit* down along the river

43. *wiL-* away, probably in some special direction (Tsimshian: *awul-*).

*wiL-gō'* to take away

Tsimshian:

| *awul-ma'g* to put aside, to sidetrack

§ 9

**44. *hagun-*** toward, near; corresponding noun, *awa'a* (Tsimshian: ***gun-;*** corresponding noun, *awa'ᵒ*).

*hagun-iĕ'* to go toward 129.14
*aqʟ-hagun-yô'xkᵘ* unable to get near 201.6 (see no. 137)
*hagun-hĕ'tkᵘ* to stand near 125.4
*hagun-dĕ'lpkᵘ* a short distance near by 147.5

Tsimshian:

*gun-iā'ᵒ* to go toward
*gun-gâ'ᵒ* to go toward something
*gun-t.'ā'ᵒ* to sit near

**45. *hĕla-*** near by.

*hĕla-dʼa'* to sit near by

**46. *lōsa-*** in front.

*lōsa-iĕ'* to walk in front of
*lōsa-dʼa'* to sit in front of

**47. *txas-*** along the surface of a long thing (Tsimshian: ***txas-***).

*txas-iĕ'* to walk on a long thing
*txas-la'agul* to wrap up a long thing
*txas-ia'ṭs* to chop along a long thing

Tsimshian:

*lu-txas-sgɛ'r* to put in edgewise
*sa-lu-txas-lâ'ᵒt* to shove in suddenly edgewise
*txas-k.'â'ᵒl* through the year ZE 792[232]

**48. *hadîx·-*** lengthwise along the middle line (Tsimshian: ***hat.'Ēk-***).

*hadîx·-qō'ts* to cut (a salmon) lengthwise 55.3

Tsimshian:

*lu-hat.'ɛk-lâᵒt* to push in endwise

**49. *stEx-*** lengthwise, on either side of middle line.

*stEx·-tʼōtskᵘ* one side lengthwise is black
*stEx-sg·ῑl qĕ'nEx lax-ts'ĕ'ʟ ak·s* the trail lies along (the water) on the beach-side; (*sg·ῑ* to lie; *qĕ'nEx* trail; *lax-* on [no. 151]; *ts'ĕ'ʟ* beach; *ak·s* water)

**50. *haʟ-*** along the edge, edgewise (Tsimshian: ***hal-***).

(a) Along the edge:

*k'uʟ-haʟ-iä'* to walk about along the edge (of the water) 122.4
*dĕt-haʟ-dô'qt* he held it also along the edge (of the fire) 47.8 (*dĕ* also [no. 167]; *t* he [subj.]; *dôq* to place; *-t* it)

Not quite clear is the following:

*q'am-lō-haʟ-tʼuxtʼa'kᵘdet* they only twisted off (their necks) inside along the edge 115.5 (*q'am-* only [no. 118]; *lō-* in [no. 29]; *-det* they)

(*b*) Edgewise:

> *haʟ-g·â'ôt'ɛn* to put (the paddle into the water) edgewise

Tsimshian:

> *k!ul-hal-hě'tg* to stand about alongside of ZE 796[197]
> *hat-k·!a'n* to go along beach in canoe
> *hal-gwa'ᵒ* along here

**51. *wusɛn-*** along the inside (Tsimshian: *wusɛn-*).

> *wusɛn-hě'tkᵘ* to rush along inside (the canoe) 57.5
> *lō-wusɛn-mě'tkᵘ* full along inside (the canoe) 29.10
> *wusɛn-bîsbě's* to tear lengthwise (to split) 99.13 (or *wudɛn-*
>    see no. 41)
> *wusɛn-yîs'ia'ts* to chop lengthwise (into wedges) 148.4

Tsimshian:

> *lax-wusɛn-iā'ᵒ* on the flat top of a mountain (literally, on along
>    going)

**52. *wĭtsɛn-, hūts'ɛn-*** along  through  the  middle  (Tsimshian:
>    ***wuts!ɛn-***).

> *wĭts'ɛn-iä'* to go back through the house 125.3
> *hūts'ɛn-ďāʟ* to put from fire back to the rear of the house 207.2

Tsimshian:

> | *wuts!ɛn-iā'ᵒ* to go along through the house

**53. *xʟîp-*** at end (Tsimshian: ***xlɛp-***).

> *xʟîp-gu'χ* to hit at end 88.11
> *xʟîp-ťêsťō'tskᵘ* black at the ends 31.5

Tsimshian:

> *xlɛp-hô'ksɛn* to put on at end
> *sɛm-xlɛp-ts'uwā'n* the very end of the top

**54. *xtsē-*** in the middle of a long thing (Tsimshian: ***xts!ɛ-***).

> *xtsē-ia'ts* to chop across the middle 133.9
> *sa-xtse-q'ō'ts* to cut quickly across the middle 100.6

Tsimshian:

> | *xts!ɛ-ɡai'* to bite through in the middle

**55. *kᵘʟē-*** all over (Tsimshian: ***kᵘli-***).

> *kᵘʟē-hasha'ts* to bite all over 84.15
> *kᵘʟē-bîsbě's* to tear to pieces 71.6
> *kᵘʟē-ia'ts* to hit all over 58.2

Tsimshian:

> *kᵘlĭ-iā'ᵒm laxha'* going across the sky ZE 783[50]
> *kᵘlĭ-ɡaiɡai'* to bite all over
> *kᵘlĭ-ɡalɡô'l* split all over

56. *xLEm-* around an obstacle, making a curve around something
(Tsimshian: *xlEm-*).

*xLEm ïē'* to go overland, cutting off a point
*xLEm-ma'gaL* to put a rope over something
*xLEm-hē'tsL* to send around something
*xLEm-da'ga* to choke some one, hang some one

Here belongs also—

*xLEm-galgai's'êt* to kneel down

This prefix occurs also with nouns.

*xLEm-qē'nEx* trail going around in a circle

Tsimshian:

*xlEm-iā'°k* to embrace
*xlEm-da'kl* to tie around

57. *k·'êdō-* sideways.

*k·'êdō-g·a'ask* to look sideways

58. *k·'āL-* aside.

*q'am-k·'āL-Lô'ôt* she only pushes aside 191.11
*k·'āL-hē'tgum q'ē'sEmq* labret standing on one side 191.13

59. *qana-* inclined against (Tsimshian)

*qana-t'ā'°* to sit leaning against something
*qana-hē'°tg* to stand leaning against something
*qana-ba'tsg* to stand leaning against something

60. *maxlE-* through a narrow channel (Tsimshian).

*maxlE-bā'°* to go through a channel
*maxlE-ha'd'Eks* to swim through a channel
*maxlE-g'ā'p* a narrow channel
*MaxlE-qā'la* Metlakahtla, narrow channel of sea (compare
*G·it-qā'la* people of the sea)

61. *g·ik·si-* out of; undoubtedly a compound of *k·si·* out of (no. 8).

*g·ik·si-hwî'tkᵘ* to come out of 10.1

62. *lūila-* near the end; perhaps a compound of *lō-* in (no. 29), and
*hēla-* near (no. 45).

*lū'ila-d'ē'lîks* cut off smooth at end (name of a dog), from
*d'ē'lîk·s* smooth
*lū'ila-a'lg·îx* to speak close to some one

### §10. *Modal Particles*

There is no strict distinction between this group and the preceding
one. Many of the particles classed here are used with equal frequency
as adverbial and as adnominal elements. Thus we find *wī-*, which
means at the same time GREATLY, MUCH, and LARGE; *Lgo-*, which sig-

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nifies both A LITTLE and SMALL. The attempt has been made to relegate all elements which may be separated from the stem by a pronoun into a group by themselves (§ 15); but since such separation occurs only in transitive verbs, and not all particles have been found with transitive verbs, it seems likely that the grouping may have to be changed when the language comes to be better known. While in some cases the composition of particles and stems is quite firm, others convey the impression of being almost independent adverbs.

63. *awus-* ready to move; not free (Tsimshian).

> *awus-t!ā'ᵒ* ready to stand up, singular
> *awus-wa'n* ready to stand up, plural
> *awus-hĕ'ᵒtk* ready to move

63a. *a-* easily (Tsimshian).

> *a-sonā'l* easily tired
> *a-kᵘti'* easily hungry
> *a-bā'g'ask* worried (literally, easily tasted)

64. *anb'ɛl-* in an unusual frame of mind. This prefix is not entirely free (Tsimshian: *p!ɛl-*).

> *anb'ɛl-hē'* to say crying 220.5
> *anb'ɛl-a'lg'ix* to speak while angry, to talk behind one's back
> *anb'ɛl-ia'aʟkᵘ* to strike, break, in a state of anger
> *anb'ɛl-qalā'q* to play

Tsimshian:

> *p!ɛl-qa-mī'ᵒlk* to play with something

65. *ank·s-* opening up (Tsimshian: *aks-*).

> *ank·s-ksla'qst* to kick apart 134.3
> *ank·s-iē'* to increase
> *ank·s-t'ɛmē'st* paint-pot
> *wĭ-anksî-sgan* large rotten (open) tree 106.12

Tsimshian:

> *sa-hagul-aks-iā'ᵒ* to open suddenly slowly (see no. 76)
> *aks-iā'ᵒg* to increase
> *aks-t!ū'ᵒs* to push open
> *sɛ-aks-q!a'g* to open up

66. *agwi-* outside, beyond (Tsimshian: *agwi-*).

> *agwi-tq'al-dᵋa'* it is outside close against it
> *agwi-an-dā'x·* the outside
> *agwi-mā'l* boat (literally, beyond a canoe)
> *agwi-huxdā'ek·'ɛn* great-grandchild (lit., beyond grandchild)

Tsimshian:

> *agwi-ba'tsg* to stand outside

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67. **alō-** (*a-* easily, *lu-* in?) plainly; alone (Tsimshian: **alu-**).

(*a*) Plainly, real:

*alō-d'a'* there was plainly 106.13

*alō-bā'n* run quickly! 93.4

*ꜱᴇm-k·'a-ale-ba'x* to run really exceedingly quick 107.10

As a nominal prefix we find it in—

*alō-g·ig·a't* real persons (i. e., Indians) 170.13

Here belongs probably—

*ꜱᴇn-alo-qôl* to run quite suddenly, plural 141.8

(*b*) Alone; always with reduplication:

*alō-hehē'tk*ᵘ to stand alone 44.15

*alō-sîsgī'* to lie alone

*alō-d'ᴇd'a'* to sit alone

Tsimshian:

*alu-k'uʟ-iā'ᵒ* to go about plainly ZE 783⁴⁸

*alu-t!ā'ᵒ* to be in evidence .

*alu-bā'ᵒ* to run really

68. **aʟax-** in bad health (Tsimshian: **la-**).

*aʟax-hag·d'ôtk*ᵘ having a crippled back

Tsimshian:

*la-g·a'tk* in bad health

69. **aʟda-** in the dark.

*aʟda-wā'x·* to paddle in the night

*aʟda-iē'* to walk in the dark

70. **i-** with reduplication; action done while in motion.

*i-g·ig·ᴇbā'yuk* flying while being moved

*i-aa'lg·înē* I talk while moving, while at work

*i-hahā'dîk·s* swimming while carrying

71. **hwagait-** completing a motion entirely (Tsimshian: **wagait-**).

This prefix belongs to the series *bagait-* (*ʟᴇbagait-*) (no. 82),
*sagait-* (no. 99), *spagait-* (no. 103), *q'amgait-* (no. 119).

*hwagait-qalk·si-dā'uʟ* to pass through entirely 143.14 (see no. 24)

*hwagait-sg·ī'* to lie way over 134.3

*hwagait-ma'q* to put away

This is also a nominal prefix:

*hwagait-g·ī'îks* way off shore 146.14

*hwagait-gō'st* over there 134.4

Tsimshian:

*ꜱᴇm-sa-wagait-uks-da'ul* to go right out to sea very suddenly
(see nos. 168, 98, 10)

*wagait-g·iā'ks* way off shore

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**72. waLEn- former.**

waLEn-ga'n an old (rotten) tree 25.4
waLEn-na'k·st his former wife 135.14
waLEn-g·ig·a't the people of former times 191.1
waLEn-wĭ-gêsgâ'ôt the same size as before 23.4

**73. wĭ- great, greatly; singular (Tsimshian: wī-).** This prefix is
commonly used as an attribute, but also as an adverb,
expressing, however, rather a quality of the subject. See
also Lgo- no. 135.

(a) Adverbial:
wĭ-sE-mē'L to make burn much 89.8
wĭ-sa'gat it splits much 148.8

It is also found in fixed combinations:
wĭ-yē'tkᵘ to cry 90.3
wĭ-am-hē't to shout 89.12. Here it is apparently connected
with the adverbial -Em (§ 22)

(b) Adjectival:
wĭ-g·a't big (awkward) man 196.9
wĭ-lig·ˈē'Ensk great grizzly bear 118.4
Wĭ-xbā'la Great West-wind (a name)

Tsimshian:

(a) Adverbial:
wi-ha'utk to cry
(b) Adjectival:
wĭ-gô'ep.ˈa great light ZE 785[98]
wĭ-mEdĭ'Ek great grizzly bear
g·ap-k.ˈa-wĭ-naxnô'g really exceedingly great supernatural
being (see nos. 117, 106)
wĭ-sEm'âgit great chief

**73a. wud'ax- great, plural (Tsimshian: wut.ˈa-).**

wud'ax-qa-wē'n large teeth 84.3
wud'ax-ax-qa-gâ'ôdEt great fools 33.10

**74. hasba- upside down (Tsimshian: hasba-).** This prefix is re-
lated to q'asba- no. 121.

haspa-bē's to tear out so that it is upside down 127.13
sEm-hasba-sg·ĭ' to lay exactly face up 214.11
hasba'-sg·i to lay upside down (a hat) 17.2

Peculiar is—

hasba-lō-yô'xkᵘ to go in the same trail 202.15

Tsimshian:

hasba-p.ˈē'Egal to tear out so that it is upside down

75. *hats'Eks-* terribly, causing feeling of uneasiness.
> *hats'Eks-hwî'l* to act so that people get afraid
> *hats'Eks-a'lg·îx* to talk roughly

76. *hagul-* slowly (Tsimshian: *hagul-*).
> *hagul-hwî'l* to do slowly 54.4
> *hagul-gwâ'ôtkᵘ* to disappear slowly

Tsimshian:
> *hagul-bā'°* to run slowly ZE 786[124]
> *hagul-dzaga-iā'°* to go slowly across ZL 787[135]
> *hagul-kᵘda'xs* to leave slowly
> *hagul-iā'°x* to go slowly

77. *haldEm-* (Tsimshian: *haldEm-*) occurs only with the verbs
> *bax*, plural *gôl*, TO RUN, with the meaning TO RISE 124.9, 114.7.
> In Tsimshian the same composition with *bā°*, plural *gôl*, TO RUN,
> occurs with the same meaning; but the prefix seems to be a
> little freer with the meaning RISING FROM THE GROUND.
> *haldEm-nī°dz* to look up

78. *hī-* to begin (Tsimshian: *hī-*).
> *hē'-yuk* to begin 138.14
> *q'ai·hē-lē'duxdet* they just began to shoot 20.4

This prefix is much more common with nouns:
> *hī·mEsā'x·* beginning of day
> *hē'-ᴌuk* morning

Tsimshian:
> *hī-sE-t!ā'°t* it just began to be ZE 781°
> *hī-ts!ī'°n* just to enter
> *hī-sEt!a-dEmt p!a'egant* he began to break it down

79. *hîs-* to do apparently, to pretend to (Tsimshian: *sîs-*); ·always
> with medial suffix (see § 17.3-5).
> *hîs'-a'k·skᵘ* to pretend to drink 18.7
> *hîs-huwâ'qs* to pretend to sleep 219.10
> *hîs-huwî'ltkᵘs* to pretend to do 23.1
> *hîs-nô'ôtkᵘ* to pretend to be dead 65.11
> *hîs-wiyē'tkᵘs* to pretend to cry 217.10
> *hîs-ᴌî'ntk·s* to pretend to be angry
> *hîs-xda'k·s* to pretend to be hungry

Tsimshian:
> *sîs-kᵘtī'°nu* I pretend to be hungry
> *sîs-ā'xs* to laugh (literally, to play with the mouth)
> *sîs-yu-ha-kᵘda'ks* to play having (i. e., with) a bow (see nos. 159,
> 160)

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80. *pElEm-* to act as though one was performing an action (Tsimshian: *bEnEm-*).

    *pElEm-gō'* to act as though taking 38.8
    *pElEm-iē'* to go and turn back again at once
    *pElEm-g·a'p* to act as though eating something

Tsimshian:
    | *bEnEm-xsī'ºtk* to act as though vomiting
    | *bEnEm-t!ū'ºs* to act as though about to strike

81. *bElxsEm-* in front of body, forward; similar in meaning to *xLna-* no. 127 (Tsimshian: *xbEsEm-*).

    *t lō-bElxsEm-qaq'ā'q'ant* he opened it in front of his body 26.14

Tsimshian:
    ·| *xbEsEm-sgEr* to lie prone ZE 789[171]

82. *bagait-* just in the right place or manner (Tsimshian: *lEbagait-*). Compare *hwagait-* (no. 71), *sagait-* (no. 99), *spagait-* (no. 103), *q'amgait-* (no. 119).

    *bagait-kwa'st* it is cracked right in the middle
    *bagait-gō'* to hit just in the right place
    *q'am-bagait-bEbEsba'tsk*[u] only to be lifted just in the right way 62.13

Like the other prefixes ending in *-gait*, this prefix is also nominal:
    *sEm-bagait-sē'luk* just right in the middle 73.4.

Tsimshian:
    | *lEbagait-sga-ba'tsg* to stand across just there ZE 793[249]
    | *lEbagait-dEt!ā'º* sitting alone
    | *lEbagait-bā'º* to be lost

83. *mEsEm-* separate.
    *mEsEm-hwa'n* to sit separately
    *mEsEm-Lδ'* to walk separately

84. *ma-* like (Tsimshian: *mE-*).
    *ma-wa'tsx* crazy (literally, like a land-otter)
    *ma-δ'l* having epileptic fits (literally, like a bear)

Tsimshian:
    | *mE-wa'ts!a* crazy (literally, like a land-otter)

85. *wadi-* like (Tsimshian).
    | *wadi-hats!iā'ºn* innumerable (literally, like fly-blows)
    | *wadi-ksE-lè'atx* like fluid slime
    | *wadi-wā'lb* like a house

86. *max-* only, entirely, all.
    *max-hāna'q* (they are) all women 184.5
    *max-ē'uxt* a woman having only sons; (they are) all men
    *max-hē'x·* it is only fat 42.3

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87. *mEL(a)-* to each, distributive (Tsimshian: *mEla-*).

     *mEla-gulā'nt* three to each

     *mELi-k·'â'l* one man in each (corner) 33.12

Tsimshian:

     | *mEla-k!E'rEl* one to each

88. *mEla-* both (Tsimshian).

     | *mE'la-mEn-wā'lxs* both go up (see no. 3)

     | *mEla-l!ī-dâ'º* to put on both (see no. 30)

     | *mEla-hakhē'ldEm g·at* both (villages had) many people

89. *sEn-* firmly (Tsimshian).

     | *sEn-nā'º* to bait

     | *sEn-dô'xs* to hold fast

     | *sEn-wô'x* to admonish

90. *dEx-, dîx·-* firmly; not free (Tsimshian: *dax-*).

     *dîx·-yu'kᵘ* to hold fast

Tsimshian:

     | *dax-yā'ºgwa* to hold fast

91. *dE-, dē-* with (Tsimshian: *dE-*).

     *dE-dā'uL* to carry away (literally, to go away with)

     *tsaɪm-de-g·iba'yuk* to fly ashore with something 178.12

Tsimshian:

     | *dE-bā'º* to run away with

     | *bax-dE-gô'it!Eks* to come up with

     | *t dE-ts'ī°nt* he entered with it

92. *dūla-* improperly.

     *dūla-a'lg·îx* to talk improperly, to grumble

     *dūla-d͞ā'dEL āqt* to put mouth on one side

     *dūla-yē'êtkᵘs* to walk improperly, to wabble

     *wī-dūla-g·a'tkᵘ* being a great improper man (i. e., cowardly) 195.3

93. *txa-* entirely, all (Tsimshian: *txa-*).

     *txa-qō'ltsEgat* he carried all on his shoulder 116.4

     *txa-wô'ô* to invite all 186.15

     *txa-lō-ts'â'ôt* to skin inside entirely 150.10

     *txa-bElā'da* it was all abalone 45.3

This prefix is contained also in—

     *txanē'tkᵘ* all

Tsimshian:

     | *txa-ga'ntg* stiff (literally, woody) all over

     | *txa-wā'ºntg* to have teeth to the end (of life)

     | *txa-yêtg* all slippery

     | *txa-l!ī-qai'nat* all fall on

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94. *nā́-* to complete an action (Tsimshian: *na-*).

     *nā-da'qʟ* to strike with a hammer so that it breaks

     *nā-ha'ts* to bite through 127.8

     *na-ô'x·* to hit so that it breaks 48.8

     *na-gapgā'bɛt* they fastened it so that it staid 178.3

     *nā-dʾîsdʾē's* to knock with the hand 8.12

Tsimshian:

     | *na-g·a'lk* to punch through

95. *na-* each other, one another (Tsimshian: *na-*).

     *kʾʾax-na-aᴸa'lg·îxdet* they talked to each other for a while 19.8 (see no. 107)

     *na-xsē'nqdet* they disbelieved each other 28.2

     *kʾuʟ-na-gaqʾē'det* they howled about to one another 96.4

Tsimshian:

     | *lu-na-lâ'ᵒl* to put into each other

96. *nô'ôm-* to desire. This may possibly be the verb *nô'ô* TO DIE.

     *nô'ôm-iē'* to desire to go

     *nô'ôn-a'k·s* to desire to drink 21.8

If this element is an adverbial form of *nô'ô*, it corresponds to Tsimshian:

     | *dza'gɛm xst'â'ganu* I am dead asleep

97. *sɛl-* fellow, companion (Tsimshian: *sɛl-*).

     *sîlhāna'q* fellow-woman 208.12

     *sîl-qʾaima'qsit* fellow-youths 195.13

This prefix is also used with verbs:

     *sîl-hwa'n* to sit together

     *sîl-qas-qâ'ôt'ɛn* to be of the same size 89.7

Tsimshian:

     | *nɛ -sɛl-wā'lt* his companions

98. *sā́-* suddenly (Tsimshian: *sa-*).

     *sā-hē'tkᵘ* to stand suddenly 99.14

     *sā-gē'sxkᵘ* to stop crying suddenly 22.5

Tsimshian:

     | *sa-ha'u* to say suddenly

     | *sa-lʾi-g·âᵒks* to float suddenly on something

     | *sa-lu-haldɛm-bā'ᵒ* to arise suddenly on something

     | *sa-lu-nâ'ᵒk* to lie on something suddenly

99. *sagaīt-* together (Tsimshian: *sagaīt-*) (see nos. 71, 82, 103, 119).

     *sagaīt-da'k·ʟ* to fasten together 68.10

     *sagait-iē'* to go together 51.8

     *sagait-wî'lgat* to carry all together 70.10

Tsimshian:

> *sagait-wa'n* to sit together ZE 786[113]
>
> *sagait-hǣᵖtg* to stand together
>
> *sagait-lu-am'ā'm gagâ'ᵒd* they were all glad (literally, good in their hearts)
>
> *sagait-wā'lxsɛm* we walk together

100. **sag'ap-** without purpose (Tsimshian: **sag'ap-**).

> *k'uʟ-sag'ap-iě'* to walk about without purpose 96.10
>
> *sag'ap-lě'mîx·* to sing without purpose

Tsimshian:

> *k'!ul-sag'ap-iā'ᵒ* to go about without purpose ZE 796[296]

101. **sī-** new (Tsimshian: **su-**).

> *sī·na'k··st* his new wife 135.15
>
> *sī-hwîl* new

Tsimshian:

> *su-p!a's* young, singular (literally, newly grown)
>
> *su-ma'ᵹs* young, plural (literally, newly standing)
>
> *su-sa'mi* fresh meat
>
> *su-sɛ-n-dzô'g* to make a new village (see no. 164)

102. **sîx·-** steadily (Tsimshian: **sta-**).

> *sîx·-g·a'a* to look steadily, to watch 156.1
>
> *sîx·-iě'* to walk steadily
>
> *sîx·-wā'x·* to paddle steadily

Tsimshian:

> *sta-iā'ᵒnu* I walk steadily
>
> *sta-gisi-iā'ᵒ* to go down river steadily

103. **spagait-** among (Tsimshian: **spagait-**).   This prefix belongs to the series *hwagait-, bagait-, sagait-, q'amgait-* (nos. 71, 82, 99, 119); *-spa* seems to belong to *haspa-* INVERTED, *q'aspa-* ASTRAY, which have *spa* in common with *spagait-*.

> *dē-lō-spagait-hôksk*[u] also to be inside among 42.4

This prefix occurs also with nouns:

> *spagait-ganga'n* among trees 31.14
>
> *spagait-sq'ä'ɛxk*[u] in the darkness 11.9
>
> *spagait-lôga lō'lɛq* [among] in a rotten corpse 217.9

Tsimshian:

> *spagait-sqē'ᵒtg* in the darkness ZE 782[32]
>
> *spagait-g·a't* among people
>
> *spagait-ganga'n* among trees

104. **ts'ɛns-** to desert, deserted (Tsimshian: **ts!ɛns-**).

> *ts'ɛns-lu'k* to desert by moving 159.15
>
> *ts'ɛns-dza'k*[u] widow (literally, deserted by dying)

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Tsimshian:

| *ts.'ɛns-lâ'yîk* to desert by moving
| *ts.'ɛns-dza'k* widow (literally, deserted by dying)

105. **ts'ɛnɬ-** a short way (Tsimshian).

| *ts.'ɛnɬ-dzô'x* to move canoe back a short way
| *ts.'ɛnɬ-iā'ᵒ* to go a short way off

106. **k·'ā-** to a higher degree, exceedingly (Tsimshian: **k!a-**).

sɛm-*k·'ā-ale-ba'x* to run really exceedingly fast 107.10 (see nos. 168, 67)

*k·'a-wī-hē'ldɛl ēlx* there were exceedingly many seals 107.6 (see no 73; *ēlx* seal)

*k·'a-wī-t'ē'sɬ hwîlpt as nē'ɛ* his house is larger than mine (literally, his house is exceedingly large to me) (see no. 73; *hwîlp* house; *as* to; *nēɛ* me)

*k·'a-wī-t'ē'sɬ hwîlp* (this) house is the largest

ʟgō-*k·'ā-wī-t'ē'st* he was a little larger 103.15 (see no. 135)

Tsimshian:

| *g'ap-k!a-dzaga-alu-bā'ᵒ* to run really very openly across ZE 786 [121]
| *g'ap-k!a-wī-naxnô'g* really a greater supernatural being
| *k!a-na'g* exceedingly long ZE 786 [126]

107. **k·'ax-** for a while (Tsimshian: **k!a-**).

*k·'ax-hā'ôt* it stops for a while 218.3

*k·'ax-hâx·* to use for a while 34.6

*k·'ax-gun-g·a'a* to show for a while 26.6 (*gun-* to cause; *g·a'a* to see)

*k·'ax-na-aɬa'lg·îx* to talk to each other for a while 19.8

*k·'ax-sa-qē't* to make a string for a while 117.6

Here belongs also—

*g·'ax hao'n* later on

Tsimshian:

| *ada' k'a-t'ā'ᵒt* then he sat for a while

108. **g·în-** seems to occur only in *g·în-hē'tkᵘ* TO RISE 151.14.

Tsimshian:

| *g·îna-hᵃ̆ᵖtg* to rise

109. **g·îna-** (left) behind (Tsimshian **g·îna-**).

*g·îna-hē'tkᵘ* to stand behind 141.2

*g·îna-g·â'ô* to be there, being left behind 67.2

*g·îna-d'ā'* to remain, being left behind 194.13

*k'uʟ-g·îna-dô'x* to be (plural) about being left behind 70.8 (see no. 33)

ʟgō-*q'am-g·îna-d'ā'* only a little one was left 95.14

Tsimshian:

> g·ina-t.!ā° to stay behind
> g·ina-iā'° to go slower than (literally, to leave going)
> g·ina-ts'ī'°k left dry

110. *k·!ína-* to go to do something; the action to be done is expressed by a noun (Tsimshian).[1]

> k·!ína-xsa'n to go to gamble
> k·!ína-dâ'°sta to go across (to see)
> k·!ína-su-p!a's to go after a young girl

111. *g·î'ldEp-* underneath (?), upside down (?)

> g·îldEp-da'lbîk·sk^u to cling to the under side (of the canoe) 57.6
> k'uL-g·îldEp-qaxā'ik^u to drift about capsized, upside down 24.3
> g·îldEp-qalu'ks I turn dishes over upside down

112. *k·sax-* only, just (Tsimshian: *ksa-*, often with *q'am-* or *am-* ONLY).

> k·sax-d̄'ô'q just to take (i. e., without implements for taking) 41.7
> k·sax-k'uL-daxdô'x they just lay about 162.5
> k·sax-g·inā'mL tsō'ôsk·L hē'x· he only gave a little fat 163.6
> (tsōôsk· little; hēx· fat)

This may really belong to the particles given in § 15.

> k·sax- is often used with nouns:
> k·sax-ts'ē'p only bones 214.12
> k·sax-Lgo-nts'ē'êts only the little grandmother 152.10

·Tsimshian:

> q'am-ksa-txālpx only four
> q'am-ksa-k·!E'rEl only one
> am-ksa hanā'nga only the women
> ksa-hē'°tgEt he just stood still

113. *k'ōpE-* little, plural; a little (Tsimshian: *k.!abE-*). This is commonly used as an attributive prefix for the plural only. The idea of A LITTLE, SLIGHTLY, is generally expressed by this prefix; while *Lgo-*, which is the singular of the attributive prefix, seems to imply that a small one performs the action expressed in the verb. See no. 135.

(a) Adverbial:

> k'ōpE-aba'g'ask^u to be troubled a little 74.15
> k'ōpE-ama-g·a'adEsEm, look out a little well for her 192.1
> k'ōpE-lō-qabu'x to splash in something a little

(b) Adjectival:

> k'ōpE-huwî'lp little houses 185.8
> k'ōpE-tk·ē'Lk^u children 102.1

[1] This particle is classed more properly with those given in § 13.

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Tsimshian:

> (a) Adverbial:
>> k!abε-sī'εpgεnu I poor one am sick
>
> (b) Adjectival:
>> k!abε-ga-gô'k little baskets

**114. gun-** to order, to cause (Tsimshian: **gun-**).

> gun-ba'L to cause to spread out 130.11
> gun-gō'u to cause to hit 53.8
> gun-sε-mē'L to order to make burn 91.14
> gun-qē'Lqan to order to poke 91.6

Tsimshian:

> gun-mô'ç̣an to ask to be taken aboard
> gun-nī'°dz to show (literally, to cause to see)

**115. gulîk·s-** backward; also reflexive object (Tsimshian: **g·îlεks-**).

> gulîk·s-hē'tkᵘ to rush back 210.4
> gulîk·s-a'qLkᵘ to reach (arrive) coming back 76.10
> gulîk·s-g·a'askᵘ to look back
> dē-gulîk·s-dʼεp-ma'qs to throw one's self also down (dē also; dʼεp down) 42.13
> gulîk·s-dza'kᵘs to kill one's self
> sεm-gulîk·s-ē'tkᵘs to repent (literally, to name one's self much) 52.3
> gulîk·s-â'ôtkᵘ pocket-knife (literally, covering itself)
> anîk·s-lō-lā'galtkᵘ looking-glass (contracted from an-gulîk·s-lō-lā'galtkᵘ what one's self in beholds)

Tsimshian:

> g·îlεks-bā'° to run back ZE 788[149]
> g·îlεks-gā'° to take back
> g·îlεks-nī'°dz to look back
> lεp-g·îlεks-ô'igεt he threw himself down

**116. gulx-** continued motion (Tsimshian: **gugulx-** for all times).

> gulx-tʼē's to push along
> gulx-ba'x to jump along

Tsimshian:

> gugulx-hē'°tg to stand for all times

**117. g'ap-** really, certainly, must, strongly (Tsimshian: **g'ap-**).

> ġ'ap-Lgu'ksaan to be really unable (to carry) 167.13
> ġ'ap-dē-dzā'pt really on his part he made 170.5
> ġ'ap-hä'q'al to urge really 43.13
> ġ'ap-wī-tʼē'st it is really large 13.13
> ġ'ap-gō'dē I have taken it entirely
> ġ'ap-yô'xgun you must eat
> ġ'ap-ô'lq·ê certainly, it is a bear

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Tsimshian:

> g'ap-xs-ts!a'ps really to be called a tribe ZE 783[41]
>
> g'ap-k!a-wī-naxnô'g really a greater supernatural being (see nos. 106, 73)
>
> g'ap-wuľam-bâ'°sg really to blow ashore (see no. 22)
>
> g'ap-bɛ'tsg really to stand

118. **q'am-** only, i. e., without result, to no purpose; compare k·sax- (no. 112) ONLY, i. e., without doing anything else (Tsimshian: **q'am-, am-**).

(a) Adverbial:

q'am-anâ'q to agree without caring 18.13

q'am-tsagam-sîdä'ɛxt he only fastened it ashore (without taking it up to the house to eat it) 178.3

q'am-Lîʟä'êxk*t he only finished eating (but did not go) 107.10

q'am-lō-g·ä'ɛʟ only to lie down (without doing anything) 59.7.

(b) Adnominal, with numerals:

q'am-k·'â'l only one 100.13

q'am-gulâ'n only three 113.1

q'am-aʟɛbō' only few 178.10

(c) Adnominal; refuse, useless:

q'am-ia'ts chips

q'am-hwî'lp a miserable house

Tsimshian:

> (a) Adverbial:
>
> am-man-wā'lxs he just went up (see no. 3)
>
> (b) Adnominal, with numerals:
>
> q'am-ksa-txālpx only four
>
> q'am-k!â'l only one
>
> (c) Adnominal; useless:
>
> ʟgu-q'am-k!wa's an old little broken one
>
> q'am-wā'lb old house
>
> q'am-t!ō'°ts charcoal

119. **q'amgait-** already, just then (Tsimshian: **amgait-**). This prefix, which is related to the series in -gait- (nos. 71, 82, 99, 103), appears also independently.

k·'ēt q'amgait-g·a'as Txä'msɛm T. had already seen it 17.12

t q'amgait-hwîlä'x·ʟ sɛm'â'g·it the chief knew it already 220.1 (hwîlä'x· to know; sɛm'â'g·it chief)

q'amgait nîg·i wô'qt just then he did not sleep 37.1

q'amgait q'a'mts'ɛn dâ'gôʟ . . . mēg'â'qst already he had secretly taken salmon berries 49.15 (q'a'mts'ɛn secretly; dâ'g to take; mēg'â'qst salmon berry)

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Tsimshian:

| *ada amgait-tā'ᵒt* then he was just there ZE 782²²˙

120. **ganē-** always, permanently, without stopping.    This prefix
occurs commonly with *hwîl* and adverbial ending *-a* in the
sense of ALWAYS 121.4, 15.    Other compounds are—

*ganē-mē'ʟ* it burns so that the fire can not be put out again

*ganē-d'a'* to sit down for good

*ganē-ts'ē'n* to have entered to stay

*ganē-a'lg·îx* to talk without stopping

*ganē-qabē'yit* there are just as many

121. **q'asba-** anywhere, astray.    This prefix is related to *hasba-* UP-
SIDE DOWN (no. 74); see also no. 103.

*q'asba-k'uʟ-hwā'ax·* to paddle about astray 17.2 (*k'uʟ-* about
[no. 33])

*q'asba-sa-k'uʟ-iē'* he went about away astray 38.14 (*sa-* off
[no. 39]; *k'uʟ-* about [no. 33])

122. **q'ai-** still, just, near; also used as an independent adverb.

(*a*) Adverbial:

*q'ai-huwô'qt* he was still asleep 127.5

*q'ai-hwagait-tsagam-yu'kdet* they moved still far away toward
the shore (*hwagait-* [no. 71]; *tsagam-* toward shore [no. 9])

*q'ai-lîg·i-qē'sxk*ᵘ*t* just any time he stopped 91.5 (*lîg·i-* any place
or time [no. 20]; *qēsxk*ᵘ to stop speaking)

(*b*) Adnominal:

*q'ai-q'ā'lîʟ ʟôqs* just six months 29.5

*ʟgo-q'ai-ts'ō'sg·îm wi-t'ē's* just a little large 153.5 (*ʟgo-* small
[no. 135]; *ts'ōsk·* small; *-m* adjectival connective; *wi-* great
[no. 73]; *t'ēs* large)

123. **gal-** too.

*gal-alà'n* too slow

*gal-d'ē'elt* too fast

*gal-lā'ltk*ᵘ too late

124. **qal-** without people, empty (Tsimshian: **qal-**).

*qal-hwî'lp* house without people in it

*qal-bē'is* space 81.6

*qal-ts'a'p* town, tribe

This particle is also used with verbs:

*qal-d'a'* to stay away from a town

*qal-dzô'q* to camp away from a town

Tsimshian:

| *qal-ʀ'rɛnx* empty box
| *qal-ts!a'p* town

**125. *xpī̆-* partly.**

> *xpī̆-ma'k·sk*ᵘ partly white
>
> *xpī̆-ts'ᴇmē'lĭx·* partly beaver (name of a monster supposed to resemble a seal with beaver-tail)
>
> *xpī̆-nâ'ts* partly coward (name of a man)

**126. *xpî̆lyîm-* forward (in time and space).**

> *xpî̆lyîm-g·a'a* to look forward

**127. *xʟna-* bending forward (Tsimshian: *xlna-*).**

> *xʟna-sg·î̆'tk*ᵘ to fall down forward
>
> *xʟna-dâ'k* to kneel down

Tsimshian·

> *xlna-ma'xsg* to dive, plural (literally, to stand head foremost)
>
> *xlna-dᴇ-dā'ul* to go down headlong with

**128. *l-* is a particle used to express the plural of certain words, and will be found discussed in § 45.**

**129. *lᴇp-* self, as subject (see *gulîk·s-* self as object [no. 115]).**

(a) Adverbial:

> *lᴇp-g·în-hē'tk*ᵘt he himself arose 156.11
>
> *t lᴇp-tsagam-q'ä'êxqʟt* he himself dragged it ashore 175.13
>
> *lᴇp-gulā'ᴇltk*ᵘt it itself acted by itself 61.3
>
> *lᴇp-gulîk·s-hanwulā'k*ᵘs *nä'ê̆*, I myself destroyed my own 220.5 (*nä'ê̆* I)

(b) Adnominal:

> *lᴇp-nᴇbē'pt* his own uncle

Tsimshian:

> (a) Adverbial:
>
> > *lᴇp-ê'itg* he himself takes a name
> >
> > *lᴇp-lgusgᴇ'ret* he himself is happy
> >
> > *dĭ t-lᴇp-dô'gᴇt* he himself, on his part, took
> >
> > *ām-di-lᴇp-nᴇxnô'xsᴇdᴇt* that they themselves, on their part, are supernatural
> >
> > *lᴇp-g·îlᴇks-ô'igᴇt* he himself threw himself down
>
> (b) Adnominal:
>
> > *lᴇp-qaxsâ'* (their) own canoes

**130. *lᴇbᴇlt-* against (Tsimshian: *lᴇbᴇlt-*).**

> *dē-lᴇbᴇlt-hwîlᴇnᴇstä'* you also do against (some one) 65.14
>
> *lᴇbᴇlt-hē'tk*ᵘ to incite against
>
> *lᴇbᴇlt-a'lg·îx* to talk with some one

Tsimshian:

> *lᴇbᴇlt-da'l* to fight against
>
> *lᴇbᴇlt-wā'l* enemy

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131. *lEg'ul-* for good (Tsimshian: *lEk!ul-* for good; see *ganē-* always, permanently [no. 120]).

    *lEg'ul-sî'ns* to be entirely blind
    *lEg'ul-dā'uL* to leave for good
    *lEg'ul-ts!ē'n* to have entered to stay

Tsimshian:
    | *lEk!ul-kᵘda'xs* to leave for good

132. *lîg·'êx-* partly, half.

    *lîg·'êx-ma'gaL* to put away half
    *lîg·'êx-g·a't* nobility (literally, halfway [chief] people)

133. *lEks-* strange, different, by itself (Tsimshian: *lEks-*).

    *lEks-g·a't* a strange person
    *sa-txa-lEks-g·a't* to make quite different
    *lEks-d'a'* island (literally, sitting by itself)

Tsimshian:
    | *lEks-t!ā'ᵒ* island
    | *lEks-g·ig·a'd* kinds ZE 791[205]

134. *LEm-* stopping a motion (Tsimshian: *lEm-*).

    *lEm-ba'x* to stop by running
    *lEm-gô'c* to offend
    *lEm-ē'tkᵘc* to interfere (literally, to stop by calling)

In Tsimshian this prefix does not seem to be free.
    | *lEm-g·ipā'îg* to fly against the wind
    | *lEm-bā'asg* head-wind

135. *Lgō-* little (Tsimshian: *lgu-*). This is commonly used as an attributive prefix, but for the singular only. The adverbial idea is expressed by *k'ōpE-* (Tsimshian: *k!abE-* [no. 113]), which, in an attributive sense, is used only for the plural.

    *Lgō-a'lg·îxt* he said with a low voice (perhaps better, the little one said) 54.12

The use of *Lgō-* as attributive is very common:
    *k·sax-Lgō-ts'Epts'a'p* only the little wren 126.5 (see no. 112)
    *Lgo-ts'Evî'ng·it* the little youngest one 185.14

Still more frequent is its use with adjectives:
    *Lgo-gwä'Em Lgo-tk·'ē'lkᵘ* the little poor little boy 139.7
    *Lgo-q'ai-ts'ō'sg·im wi-t'ē's* only a little large (*q'ai-* just; *ts'ōsk·* small; *wî-* great; *t'ēs* large)
    *Lgo-dax-g·a't* a little strong

Tsimshian:
    | *lgu-xā'ᵒ* little slave ZE 789[177]
    | *lgu-q'am-k!wa's* a bad little broken one

§ 10

## § 11. *Nominal Particles*

A number of particles, according to their meaning, can occur only in a nominal sense, modifying nouns and adjectives. A few of these might as well have been classed with the preceding group.

136. **am-** serving for (Tsimshian: **am-**). This prefix is not free.

> *am-lō'x·* alder-tree (serving for [the dyeing of] head rings of cedar-bark)
> *am-mā'l* cottonwood (serving for canoes)
> *am-halai't* head-dress (serving for shaman's dance)
> *am-sg·inî'st* pine-tree (serving for pitch)
> *am-yu'kt* used in potlatch 194.1

Tsimshian

> *am-mē̆'ᵒlk* mask (serving for dance)
> *am-ga'n* cedar (serving for wood)

This prefix is also used in some connections where the explanation here given does not seem satisfactory:

> *am-ga'n* a kind of salmon-trap
> *am-xʟā'ʟ* willow (*xʟāʟ* fruit of willow)
> *am-hā'ts'* stump 55.5

In other cases it appears as a verbal prefix, the meaning of which is not known:

> *am-qâ'ôd* to remember 209.13
> *am-sg·i* to lie (on the beach?) 172.11
> *am'ā'lɛq* to destroy in anger

137. **ax-** without (Tsimshian: **wa-**). This prefix is nominal, and serves as negation in subordinate clauses, which in Tsimshian are transformed into nominal form. Examples are here given of nominal forms and of subordinate clauses:

(*a*) Nouns:

> *ax'-a'k·s* without water
> *ax-wunä'x·* without food
> *ax-qagâ'd* foolish (literally, without minds) 123.10
> *ax-gâ'dɛm g·a't* foolish person
> *an-ax-kō'ᵋ* carelessness
> *ax-mô'kᵘ* unripe 50.5
> *ax-qam-da'xkᵘ* disgraceful
> *ax-dē-si-halai't* never giving a dance (an opprobrious epithet)
> *ax-na-mu'x* without ear-ornaments (an opprobrious epithet)
> *ax-q'ē'ts* without labret (a little girl)
> *ax-tqal-g·a'tkᵘ* virgin (not against a man)

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(*b*) Subordinate clauses:

*k·'ēt g·a'aʟ wunä'x· ʟa ax-g·ē'bɛtg·ê* then he saw the food which he had not eaten 41.3,4 (*k·'ē* then; *-t* he; *g·a'a* to see; *-ʟ* connective [§ 23]; *wunä'x·* food; *ʟa* past, nominal form; *ax-* not; *g·ē'p* to eat something; *-t* his; *-g·ê* absent [§ 20])

*nā t'an ax-hwîlā'gîn?* who does not know thee (*nā* who; *t'an* he who; *ax-* not; *hwîlā'x·* to know; *-n* thee)

*nîg·în dɛm dē gō'ut hwîl ax-kᵘta'yē* I, on my part, shall not take it, not being hungry (*nîg·î* not; *-n* I; *dɛm* future; *dē* on the other hand, on (my) part; *gōu* to take; *-t* it; *hwîl* being; *ax-* not; *kᵘta'i* hungry; *-ē* I)

There is a second form, *aqʟ*, the relation of which to *ax* is difficult to understand. Apparently this form is *aq* with connective *-ʟ* (see § 23). It does not occur in subordinate clauses, and may perhaps be considered as a verb meaning IT IS NOTHING.

*nʟk·'ē aqʟ hwîlt* then he did nothing 68.6 (then nothing was his doing)

*nʟk·'ē aqʟ g·ē'bɛn* then nothing is your food 157.11

*nʟk·'ē aqʟ-yô'xkᵘs Ts'ak·* then Ts'ak· was without (place to) go 126.7

*nʟk·'ē aqʟ-hwî'lt* then he was without doing anything 68.6

It is doubtful, however, whether this explanation is really satisfactory. Difficulties are presented particularly by forms like—

*aq dɛp-hwîlā'gut* what can we do? 103.7 (*dɛp* we)

*aq n hwîla dzā'bɛt* I do not know how to make it

Only a few Tsimshian forms may be given here:

  *wa-dĩ-ʟgu-xā'ᵃ* on their part without even a little foam (*dĩ* on their part; *ʟgu-* little; *xā'ᵃ* foam)

  *wa-dzaga-lā'ᵃp!ɛl* without twinkling across

138. **hwîn-** innermost part (Tsimshian: **wun-**).

  *hwîn-gē's* brain

  *hwîn-hawu'l* point of arrow

  *hwîn-ts!ä'wuʟ* heart of tree 148.8

Tsimshian:

  *wun-ga'us* brain

139. **dɛ-** extreme, plural; see *k·s-* singular (no. 143) (Tsimshian: **ta-**)

  *dɛ-lax'ō't* the highest ones

  *dɛ-ʟā'wit* the lowest ones

  *dɛ-galgalā'nt* the last ones

Tsimshian:

  *man-ta-gâ'ga* the first ones to come up (see no. 3)

  *ta-sĩ'ᵒlg·ît* the eldest ones

140. *t!Em-* a nominal prefix of very indefinite significance (Tsim-
shian: *t!Em-*).   In several cases this is clearly a weakened
form of the attributive form *t!ām* SITTING, and probably this
is the meaning of this particle everywhere.   (See § 33.)

*t!Em-ba'x* hip
*t!Em-qē's* head (*qēs* hair) 46.6
*t!Em-Lā'm* leg below knee
*t!Em-lā'nix·* neck
*t!Em-gā'x·* fathom, shoulder; and some other terms for parts of
the body
*t!Fm-lā'n* steersman
*t!Em-tsä'iᵧ* man in bow of canoe

Tsimshian:

| *lax-t!Em-ga'us* crown of head
| *t!Em-lā'n* steersman (*g·ilā'n* stern)   (See § 33)

141. *spE-* place where something belongs, where one lives (Tsim-
shian: *spE-*).

*spE-a'p* wasp-nest
*spE-a'ṛt* den of porcupine
*spE-tk'ō'Lᵧan* ant-hill
*SpE-nEṛnô'ᵧ* place of supernatural beings 32.11
*Spā-wa'Lkᵘ* place of taboos 32.12
*spE-sō'ntk* place where one lives in summer
*spE-ksō'nt* place where one lives in autumn

Tsimshian

| *spE-sa'mi* bear's den

142. *sgan-* tree, stick; evidently from *gan* tree (Tsimshian: *sgan-*).

*sgan-mē'lik·st* crabapple-tree 17.11
*sgan-ᵧala'mst* rose-bush
*sgan-lä'ts* elderberry-bush
*sgan-dā'pṛL* harpoon-shaft
*sgan-haLô'* mast

Tsimshian:

| *sgan-k!ī'nt* wooden quiver
| *sgan-t!ū'ºtsg* spear-shaft

143. *k·s-* extreme, singular; see *dE-*, plural (no. 139) (Tsimshian: *ks-*).

*k·s-ᵧalā'n* the last 140.8
*d'Ep-k·s-ᵧâq* down first 81.4
·  *lō-k·s-g·ī'êkst* in extreme outer side 219.1

Tsimshian:

| *ks-ᵧâ'ga* first ZE 791[214]

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144. **ksE-** fluid (Tsimshian: **ksE-**).   This is evidently an abbreviated
      form of *aks* WATER.   (See § 33.)

   *ksE-t!ō'tskᵘ* black fluid
   *ksE-mâ'dzîk·s* milk (literally, breast fluid)

Tsimshian:

   *wadi-ksE-lē'atx* fluid-like slime (see no. 85)
   *ksE-ā'mks* clear water
   *ksE-gwa'nuks* spring
   *ksE-sganē'ᵒst* water of mountain

145. **k·cE-** fresh (Tsimshian: **ksE-**).

   *k·cE-cā'k·* fresh olachen
   *k·cE-sma'x·* fresh meat

Tsimshian:

   *ksE-mEg'â'ᵒxs* fresh berries

146. **k·sEm-** woman (Tsimshian: **ksEm-**).

   *k·sEm-nîsqa'a* a Nass woman
   *k·sEm-qa'k·ʟ* mouse woman 136.4
   *k·sEm-sawa't* Tongass woman
   *k·sEm-alō-g·ig·a't* Indian woman 207.12

Tsimshian:

   *ksEm-wutsī'ᵒn* mouse woman
   *ksEm-q!asgâ'ᵒs* crane woman

147. **g·ît-** people, person (Tsimshian: **g·it-**).   (See also § 33.)

   *G·ît-wîk·!ē'na* Awī'k·!ēnôxᵘ, Rivers Inlet tribe
   *G·ît-gā'ns* Tongass
   *g·ît-wī'ltkᵘ* warriors 113.13
   *G·ît-lax-dā'mEk·s* people of lake

148. **gwîs-** blanket, garment (Tsimshian: **gus-**).

   *gwîs-halai''t* dancing blanket 71.5
   *gwîs-qā'aqt* raven blanket 39.8
   *wî-gwîs-qana'ō* large frog blanket 168.3
   *gwîs-ma'k·skᵘ* white blanket

Tsimshian:

   *gus-ya'ni* mink blanket
   *gus-bElhā'tk* button blanket
   *gus-sga'n* mat coat (rain coat)

149. **qa-** seems to indicate location (Tsimshian: **g·i-**).

   *qa-sä'x* place in front 61.4
   *qa-qalā'n* place behind the houses 138.6
   *qa-g·ä'u* place in front of house 138.13
   *qa-dâ'* the other side 211.10

   The same prefix appears in certain plurals.   These will be dis-
      cussed in § 43.

Tsimshian:

> $g\cdot i\text{-}ts!\hat{a}'\bar{e}g$ bow of canoe
> $g\cdot i\text{-}l\bar{a}'n$ stern of canoe
> $g\cdot i\text{-}g\cdot\bar{a}'ni$ up river
> $g\cdot ilhau'li$ in the woods (with euphonic $l$ [?])

150. **qaldEm-** receptacle (Tsimshian: **qɑldEm-**).

> $qald_{E}m\text{-}halda'u\text{-}g\cdot\hat{\imath}t$ box of a sorcerer 217.3

Tsimshian:

> | $gald_{E}m\text{-}a'ksk$ bucket (literally, drinking-receptacle)

151. **lax-** surface of, top; corresponding to the adverbial prefix $l\bar{e}$-
(Tsimshian: **lax-**).

> $lax\text{-}l\hat{o}'\hat{o}p$ surface of stone 109.4
> $lax\text{-}a'us$ surface of sand 122.4
> $lax'\bar{o}'$ top 55.4
> $lax\text{-}ha'$ sky (literally, upper side of air)

The names of some clans contain this element.

> $lax\text{-}sk\bar{\imath}'y\hat{e}k$ eagle clan (literally, on the eagle) 108.3
> $lax\text{-}k\cdot\hat{e}b\bar{o}'$ wolf clan (literally, on the wolf) 108.2

Names of islands and of the ocean are compounded with this prefix:

> $Lax\text{-}waq_{L}$ Dundas island
> $lax\text{-}s\bar{e}'lda$ ocean 104.7

Tsimshian:

> | $lax\text{-}t!_{E}m\text{-}ga'us$ crown of head
> | $lax\text{-}la'mg_{E}m\ l_{E}pl\hat{o}'^{o}b$ top of hot stones
> | $lax\text{-}ha'$ sky ZE 782[26]

152. **ts'Em-** inside; corresponding to the verbal prefixes $l\bar{o}$-, $ts'_{E}l_{E}m$-,
$l_{E}g_{E}m$- (Tsimshian: **ts!Em-**).

> $ts'_{E}m\text{-}hw\hat{\imath}'lp$ inside of house 134.2
> $ts'_{E}m\text{-}dz'\ddot{a}'dz'\hat{\imath}k\cdot s$ inside of ground 201.9
> $ts'_{E}m\text{-}l\hat{o}'\hat{o}p$ inside of stone 20.2

A considerable number of words require this prefix:

> $ts'_{E}m\text{-}\bar{a}'q$ inside of mouth 118.15
> $ts'_{E}m\text{-}qal\hat{a}'s$ stomach 118.11
> $ts'_{E}m\text{-}an'\hat{o}'n$ palm (literally, inside) of hand 110.10
> $ts'_{E}m\text{-}t'\bar{e}'n$ valley 77.3

Tsimshian:

> | $ts!_{E}m\text{-}lax\text{-}ha'$ in the sky ZE 782[26]
> | $ts!_{E}m\text{-}xs\hat{a}'^{o}$ inside of canoe
> | $ts!_{E}m\text{-}a'ks$ inside of water
> | $ts!_{E}m\text{-}w\bar{a}'lb$ inside of house
> | $ts!_{E}m\text{-}ts!\bar{a}'ns$ armpit
> | $ts!_{E}m\text{-}n_{E}\text{-}\bar{u}'^{o}$ oven

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153. *ts'a-* inside.  I found this prefix, which is evidently related to the
last, only in *ts'a-hwî'lp* (Nass) and *ts!a-wālb* (Tsimshian) THE
INSIDE OF THE HOUSE, so designated in contrast to the outside;
while *ts'ɛm-hwîlp* (*ts!ɛm-wālb*) appears in conjunction with
the locative adverbial prefixes *lu-*, *ts'ɛlɛm-*, etc.

154. *anō-* direction toward (Tsimshian: **nak-** or **na-**).

　　*anō-g·ī'ɛlka* south
　　*anō-qal-ts'a'p* direction of the town
　　*anō-t'ɛm-ḡē's* head end
　　*anō-lax-mô'ôn* direction of (on the) sea

Tsimshian:

　　*nak-sɛmiā'wunt* or *na-sɛmiā'wunt* left hand
　　*nak-stâ'º* one side
　　*nak-txa-g·isi-hi-wā'ªs* east (literally, direction along down river
　　　at the same time rain) ZE 785[90]

155. *ts'îk·s-* surrounding (Tsimshian: *t!ɛks-*).

　　*ts'îk·s-naa'qs* bracelet (literally, surrounding jade)
　　*ts'îk·s-daô'* finger-ring

Tsimshian:

　　*t!ɛks-nā'ºxs* bracelet

156. *ham-* nearness.

　　*ham-ts!ēwî'n* place near the top, 80.12

### § 12. *Particles Transforming Verbs into Nouns*

157. *an-*.  This prefix is very difficult to translate.  It is used to
transform verbs into nouns, and expresses abstract terms,
local terms, and even instruments.  (Tsimshian: *n-*, *nɛ-*).

(*a*) Abstract nouns:

　　*an-xpɛdzā'x* fear
　　*an-lɛbā'lq* hatred
　　*an-sē'ibenskᵘ* love
　　*an-ɹâ'msk* honor

(*b*) Local terms:

　　*an-la'kᵘ* fireplace
　　*an-sg·îmɹkᵘ* womb (literally, lying-in place)
　　*an-tg'ō-lē'lbîk·skᵘ* whirlpool (what around drifts) 104.12
　　*an-sā'lep* hole for steaming 55.4
　　*an-ɹō'uɹkᵘ* nest (literally, place of young ones)
　　*an-sg·ī't* grave (literally, where he lies) 218.5
　　*an-qalā'q* play-ground
　　*an-dâ'* other side

Tsimshian:

> *n-lak* fireplace
> *ts.'ɛm-nɛ-ū'ᵒ* oven (literally, in-baking-place)
> *n-g·îl-hau'li* a place in the woods

(c) Result of an act, instrument, etc.

> *an-hē't* what he said 118.1
> *an-lē'pɛlsk*ᵘ thread (for sewing)
> *an-dōy'în* garden

**158. *anda-*** receptacle, perhaps from *an-* no. 157 (Tsimshian: ***nta-***).

> *anda-ha-sä'xs* "rattle-box" 124.12
> *ande-ʟa'îx* box of crabapples 192.4
> *anda-hawî'l* quiver (literally, arrow receptacle) 19.5
> *ande-t'ē'lx·* box of grease 192.3

Here belongs—

> *anda-xsa'n* gambling-sticks 28.11

Tsimshian:

> *nta-ha-wulā'ᵒwad* work-box
> *nta-hawā'l* quiver

**159. *yu—k*ᵘ** one who has (Tsimshian: ***yu—g***).

> *yu-hwî'lpk*ᵘ one who has a house
> *yu-nɛgwó'ôtk*ᵘ one who has a father

Tsimshian:

> *k.'ul-yu-ha-a'ksg* carrying a bucket about
> *yu-sa'miy* having meat
> *yuhg·a'ty* having manhood ZE 783[52]

**160. *ha-*** instrument (Tsimshian: ***ha-***).

> *ha-xda'k*ᵘ bow (literally, shooting-instrument) 19.6
> *ha-a'k·s* cup (literally, drinking-instrument)
> *ha-q'ô'ʟ* knife for splitting 96.12
> *ha-la'k*ᵘ powder (literally, fire-instrument)
> *ha-sä'x* rattle 213.9

Tsimshian:

> *ha-g·ê'tg* harpoon (literally, harpooning-instrument)
> *ha-na'kst* marriage present (literally, means of marrying)

The compound prefix *ha-lē-* is particularly frequent:

> *ha-lē-t'a'* chair (literally, instrument to sit on)
> *ha-lē-dâ'lɛp* pile of wood to roast on 131.12
> *ha-lē-dzô'qsē* world (literally, means of camping on) 14.10

Tsimshian:

> *ha-l.'î-dzô'g* world (literally, means of camping on) ZE 782[19]
> *ha-l.'î-gâ'ᵒd* to think (literally, means of minding on)

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The days of the week are nowadays designated by the same prefixes:

> ha-lē-qanō'ôtkᵘ day of dressing up (Sunday)
>
> ha·lē-yē'ᴇq day of paying out (Saturday)

**161.** *gan-* means of, cause of (Tsimshian: ***gan-***).

> gan-mâ'tkᵘ means of saving
>
> gan-dᴇdē'ls cause of life
>
> gan-ʟē'ntx· cause of anger
>
> gan-lō-gō'ibax window (literally, cause of light inside)
>
> gan-hwā'lix· carrying-strap, (literally, means of carrying)

Tsimshian:

> | gan-hā'axg difficulty
>
> | gan-p!a'lg·ixsg ballast (literally, means of being heavy)

This prefix is identical with the particle *gan* THEREFORE.

**162.** *gwîx·-* nomen actoris (Tsimshian: ***huk-***).

> gwîx·-ā'd fisherman
>
> wī-gwîx·-su-g·a't great murderer 23.5
>
> gwîx·-wô'ô hunter 108.4
>
> gwîx·-iā'mq'askᵘ cheater 52.12

Tsimshian:

> | huk-ga'ts.!ᴇ one who pours out, an auctioneer
>
> | huk-yê'lsk one who drills

**163.** *an-* the one who ——; preceding transitive verb (Tsimshian: ***în-***). This prefix is used very frequently in phrases corresponding to our relative clauses. It is always preceded by the subjective pronoun of the third person.

> nē'ᴇn t'an-dᴇdô'qʟ lāx you are the one who caught the trout 157.4
>
> k·'ē k·saxʟ ʟgo-g·î'mx·dit, dᴇmt an-ts'ᴇlᴇm-wô'ôʟ nak·st then his little sister went out, she who was to call in his wife 204.6 (k·sax to go out; g·î'mx·de sister; ts'ᴇlᴇm- into; wô'ô to invite; nak·s wife)
>
> nʟk·'ē dā'uʟʟ k·'âlʟ g·at t'an-gō'uʟ ʟgo-tk·'ē'ʟkᵘ then one man left, who took the child 205.6 (dā'uʟ to leave; k·'âl one person; g·at person; gôu to take; ʟgo-tk·'ē'ʟkᵘ child)
>
> k·'ē hwîl sagait-hā'p'aaʟ t'an-kᵘʟē-hîsya'tst then they rushed together who beat him all over 62.12 (sagait- together; hā'p'a to rush; kᵘʟē- all over; yats to strike)

Tsimshian:

> | nā⁰l dᴇmt în-na'ksgᴀ lgū'⁰lgᴇs Ǥauô' who is it who will marry the daughter of Ǥauô?
>
> | t n!ᴇ'ryu dᴇmt în-na'ksgᴀ lgū'⁰lgᴇnt it is I who will marry your daughter
>
> | n!înī's dᴇp gwai t'în-sᴇ-t!ā'⁰sga these are the ones who began
>
> | ada n!înī' t'în-lᴇbā'⁰lsᴇtga⁵ he was the one who paid it back

## § 13. Particles Transforming Nouns into Verbs

164. *sE-* to make something (Tsimshian: *sE-*).

> *sE-hwa'* to call (literally, to make name) 97.13
> *sE-lē't* to make wedges 148.4
> *sE-hâ'n* to catch salmon
> *sE-lē'mx·* to make a song 77.9
> *lEp-sE-nExnô'x* to make one's self supernatural 152.6
> *sE-bEla'* to make abalone shell 45.14

Tsimshian:

> *l!ī-sE-gu'lg* to make fire on
> *su-sE-n-dzôg* to make a new village
> *sE-ma'xs* to cause to grow ZE 791[109]

165. *x-* to eat, consume (Tsimshian: *x-*).

> *x-hâ'n* to eat salmon 205.1
> *x-ama'lgwax* eating scabs 41.14
> *ha-x-sma'x·* fork (literally, meat-eating instrument)
> *ha-x-miyä'n* pipe (literally, smoke-eating instrument)

Tsimshian:

> *x-sts!â'la* to eat beaver
> *x-gwa'tksEnu* I feel cold (literally, I consume cold)
> *lu-x-dzī'usg* until morning (literally, in consume morning)
> *x-sganē'îs* to kill mountain goats (literally, to eat mountain)
> *x-gô'ep!akem* we enjoy the light ZE 786[127]

166. *xs-* to say, to appear like (Tsimshian: *xs-*).

> *xs-nEguâ'tk* to say FATHER
> *xs-mē'mExk* to say HM
> *xs-ia'nsks* it sounds like leaves
> *xs-ma'k·sk^u* white (literally, it appears like snow)
> *xs-gusguâ'ôsk^us* light blue (literally, it appears like a bluejay)

Tsimshian:

> *wī-xs-nâ'ôl* it sounds loud like a drum
> *wi-xs-suwa'nsg* it sounds loud like curing disease
> *g'ap-xs-ts!a'ps* to be called a tribe ZE 783[41]

## § 14. Transitive Pronominal Subject

The transitive subjective pronouns are in both dialects:

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| *n* I | | *m sEm* ye | |
| *dEp* we | | *t* { he, | |
| *m* thou | | they | |

These are placed before the verb and the particles treated in §§ 8–13.
They will be discussed more fully in § 52.

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## § 15. *Particles that may Precede the Transitive Subject*

The particles enumerated in the present section differ from all those previously treated, in that their connection with the verb is not so close. In certain cases of the third person, to be discussed later, they precede the transitive pronominal subject. Since many of these particles have not been found with transitive verbs of this kind, it remains doubtful whether they are simply adverbial particles placed before the verb, or whether the first and second persons of the transitive verb, when used as subject, precede them. The particles enumerated under nos. 167–174 are more clearly connected with the verb than the later ones.

167. *dē-* with, also, on (his) part (Tsimshian: *dī-*).

*dē-t-gun-g·ē′îpt* on her part, she ordered (her) to eat it 155.11

*dē-uks-ba′xt* he, on his part, ran out to the sea 104.13

*dē-gulîk·s-d̄ᴇp-ma′qᵄt* he also threw himself down 42.13

*dē-t-gōut* he, on his part, took it 14.8

*nîg·î-n dᴇm dē-g·ipt* not I shall, on my part, eat it

*dē nîg·î di-deʟkᵘt* she, on her part, had no bag 206.9, 10 (*dē-di* on her part; *nîg·î* not; *deʟkᵘ* bag)

*nîg·î-n dē-g·a′at* I have not seen him

Tsimshian:

> *t!ᴇm-dī-yä′a* he went to the fire, on his part
>
> *dīt-lᴇp-dô′gᴇt* he, on his part, took it himself
>
> *ada g·ik dīt q'am-gâ′ᵒtyᴇ hanā′ᵒxt* and also he, on his part, blessed (*q'am-gâ′ᵒt*) the woman ZE 797

168. *sᴇm-* very, exceedingly (Tsimshian: *sᴇm-*). This particle is very free in its position. It is often used in nominal compounds in the sense of GENUINE.

*sᴇm-aba′g'askᵘt* he was much troubled 80.1

*sᴇm-hasba-sg·ē′* to lay really upside down 214.11

*sᴇm-hō′m a′lg·îxnē* I speak the truth

*yagai-sᴇm-k·″ā-wi-hē′lt*, however, exceedingly very many 158.11

*sᴇm-t-lō-qâ′ôdᴇnt* she emptied it inside entirely 208.7

*sᴇm-ama sg·ē′det* they laid it down well 214.10 (*am* good; *sg·î* to lay)

*sᴇm-huẋ-dē-ʟgo-wî′lk·sîʟkᵘ* also, on his part, a very prince (*huẋ* also; *dē* on his part; *ʟgo-* little)

*wî-sᴇm-ga′n* the great very tree (i. e., cedar) 147.9

*sᴇm-ts'ē′wîn* the very top 80.4

*sᴇm-q'ai-tsetsō′osk·* just very small 171.8

*sᴇm-q'am-k·″â′l* really only one 145.13

Tsimshian:

> *sɛm-lu-dza'ga gâ'ºt* very downcast (literally, very dead in heart)
> *sɛm-lu-xā'xst* to weep bitterly
> *ada sɛmt tgu-da'pt* then he measured exactly around it ZE 784[80]
> *nɛ-sɛm-sɛ'rɛlg* exactly the middle

169. ***hux*** also, again (Tsimshian: ***gik***).

> *hux ā'd'ʔik·sk^uʟ yu'ksa* evening came again 142.8 (*ā'd'ʔik·sk^u* to come; *yu'ksa* evening)
> *hux dē-t'ɛm-iä't* he also, on his part, went down to the middle of the house 142.14
> *hux dēt gu'nat* he also, on his part, demanded it 143.1
> *k·ēt hux g·inā'mt* then he gave it again 139.6
> *hux k·ⁱâ'lʟ g·at* another man 108.1

Tsimshian:

> *lat g·ik t!a'lɛ nɛ-mɛs-a'usɛ lɛmkdī'ºdɛt a ts!a'ltgaº* when his sister again put on her paint on her face ZE 795[280] (*mɛs-a'us* ochre; *lɛmkdī'ºd* sister; *ts!al* face)
> *adat g·ik wulā'ⁱdɛ g·a'd* then the people knew it again ZE 795[282]
> *ada g·ikt wulā'i dɛm hat!a'xgɛ* then they knew again that it would be bad ZE 796[288]

The following four particles serve to express future, present, past, and continuation. Their syntactic use will be discussed in § 59. Here I give only a few examples illustrating their use with the verb.

170. ***dɛm*** future (Tsimshian: ***dɛm***).

> *dɛm iä'nēɛ aʟ awa'an* I go to thy proximity 196.12
> *dɛm g·a'an* you will see 80.2
> *n dɛm swant* I shall cure her 123.7
> *dɛmt mu'kdēʟ txox·* they were going to catch halibut 43.6

In the following examples *dɛm* is nominal:

> *nîg·idi ā'd'ʔik·sk^uʟ dɛm mɛsā'x·* not had come the future daylight 11.10
> *dɛm lɛp-hwa'yîmʟ dɛm nā'ɛm* we ourselves will find our future bait 56.6 (*lɛp-* self; *hwa* to find; *nax* bait)

Tsimshian:

> *dɛmt dzā'bɛ txan!ī' gâº* he was about to make everything
> *n dɛm k!a-txal-wā'n* I shall overtake you soon
> *ada dɛmt sɛ-ma'xsɛ gâ'ºt* then it will make things grow

171. ***hwîl*** present (Tsimshian: ***wul***).

> *txanē'tk^uʟ hwîl sɛsō'sʟ k!ōpɛ-ts'ō'ôts* all the small birds 124.11
> *naxna's Ts'ak· hwîl dūʟ hana'q* Ts'ak· heard (about) a woman being there 126.2 (*naxna'x* to hear; *d'a* to sit; *hana'q* woman)
> *-t hwîl lō-ba'qt* at his touching into it 203.6

Tsimshian:

*at gâ'ᵒ wul ksᴇ-gwa'ntgᴇ g·a'mgᴇt* he went to where out comes (touches) the sun

*lat nī'ᴇstgᴇ ts!a'bdᴇ wul k·!ᴀ-sᴀ-gidi-t!ā'ᵒ g·a'mgᴇm dzī'ust* when the people saw the sun standing still suddenly for a while ZE 788.13 (*nī* to see; *ts!ab* people; *k·!ᴀ-* for a while; *sᴀ-* suddenly; *t!ā°* to sit; *g·amg* heat, heavenly body; *dzĭust* daylight)

*-a wul wa-dī-aya'ᵒwult* on account of his being without cleverness ZE 789.14 (*wa-* without; *dī* on his part; *aya'ᵒwul* clever)

**172. La past (Tsimshian: *la*).**

*nᴌk·!ē ᴌa huҳ hē'ᴌuk* it had been morning again 204.2 (*huҳ* again; *hē'ᴌuk* morning)

*ᴌa dē'lpkᵘᴌ dᴇm mᴇsā'x·* it was shortly going to be daylight 143.7 (*dĕlpkᵘ* short; *mᴇsā'x·* daylight)

*ᴌa huҳ hwî'lt* he had done this also 145.4

*k·!ē ᴌat hwîlā'x·ᴌ hwîl nô'ôt* he had known that he was dead 57.7 (*hwîlā'x·* to know; *nô'ô* dead)

Tsimshian:

*n!īnī' lat nī'ᴇstgᴇ ts!a'b* that was when the people saw

*ada la al dī ts!ī'ᵒnsgᴇ wak·t* but then his brother had gone in (*al* but; *dī* on his part; *ts!ī'ᵒn* to enter; *wak·* brother)

*nī wā'ldᴇ la hᴀ'udᴇt* it happened, what he had said

**173. Lā while (Tsimshian: *lā*).**

*lā wī-t'ē'sᴌ ᴌgo-tk·'ē'ᴌkᵘg·ê̂ aᴌ lō-d'ā't aᴌ ts'ᴇm-xpē'îst* while the child was large, it was in the box 9.9 (*wī-t'ē's* large; *ᴌgo-tk·'ē'ᴌkᵘ* child; *lō-* in; *d'ā* to sit; *ts'ᴇm-* inside; *xpēîs* box)

Tsimshian:

*lā n!īnī' nᴇ-sᴇla-wā'ldᴇt* while that one did it with them

*lā q!a'ldᴇk-iā'ᵒtgaᵒ* while he was walking about in the woods

**174. iagai- already, however, rather (Tsimshian: *y!agai-*).**

*iagai-g·în-hē'tkᵘt* however, he stood behind 141.1

*iagai-nē't* however, it was so 26.7, 157.9

*iagai-sᴇm-k·!a-wi-hē'lt* however, exceedingly many 158.11

*k·'ēt iagai-lē-ia'qt* then, however, it hung on it 46.1

*k·!ē iagait-g·ê̂'ᴇlt* then, he had picked it up already 26.3

*iagait-lō-dâ'yît* he had put it on already 50.4

Tsimshian:

*y!agai lā'-wula tgi-nī'ᵒtsgᴇt* however, he looked always down

*adat y!agai-dzaga-gâ'ᵒdᴇt* then, however, he went across it

*n dᴇm y!agai-na'ksᴇn* I shall marry thee

*y!agai-sᴇm-bā's* very much afraid, however

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175. *mâ'dzE-* almost.

>*mâ'dzE-sg·it* he almost lay 62.8
>*q'am-mâ'dzE-nô'ôêE* I am only almost dead 76.13
>*mâ'dzEt-ôx·t* he almost hit it 140.7

176. *kwa'ts'îk·s-* close by.

>*kwa'ts!îk·s-tq'al-sg·în* you lie close against 75.12

177. *sEm-g·it* strongly (derived from *sEm-* MUCH [no. 168], and *g·at*
>person) (Tsimshian: *sEm-g·it*).

>*dEm sEm-g·it dax-yu'kdEn* you will hold fast strongly
>*sEm-g·it dē-yō'guʟ t'Em-lā'nêîst* hold on to my neck! 80.10

Tsimshian:

>| *ada sEm-g·it hë'tgE hana'gat* then the woman stood fast

178. *sEm-gal* very, much (from *sEm-*) (Tsimshian: *sEm-gal*).

>*sEm-gal aba'g'ask*ᵘ*t* he was much troubled 36.4, 40.4
>*sEm-gal gwä'Et* he was very poor 38.4

Tsimshian:

>| *sEm-gal xaº!* arch-slave!   ZE 790[197]
>| *t sEm-gal lEbā'lExst* they hate them much ZE 793[338]

179. *q'amts'En* secretly.

>*q'amts'En hë't* he said secretly 40.5
>*q'amts'En ts'ë'nt* he entered secretly 25.6

180. *nîg·i* not; used in indicative sentences (Tsimshian: *a'lgE*).

>*k·'ē nîg·i daa'qʟk*ᵘ*det* then they did not succeed 123.6
>*nîg·î baxʟ ak·s* the water did not run 18.3
>*nîg·ît hux dzak*ᵘ*t* she did not kill him also 203.7
>*nîg·idî hwāx·s Lôgôbolā'* Lôgôbolā' did not paddle 17.3
>*nîg·în dē g·a'at* I have not seen it

>The syllable *dî, dē*, which is very often added to the negative,
>probably signifies ON HIS PART, and is the particle no. 167.

Tsimshian:

>| *a'lgE āml dEmt wulā'idEl g·at* it is not good that the people know
>it (*ām* good; *wulā'i* to know; *g·at* people)
>*ada a'lgE ts!a'k·asga la'kgaº* then the fire was not out
>*a'lgE ndEm k·!înā'mt al hanā'ºx* I will not give it to the woman

### § 16. *Alphabetical List of Particles*

As a matter of convenience, I give here an alphabetical list of parti-
cles, the letters being arranged in the order vowels, semi-vowels,
labials, dentals, palatals, laterals.   In each series the order of sounds
is sonant, surd stop; sonant, surd affricative.   Each particle is given its

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number in the preceding lists. It will be remembered that there are slight differences in the rendering of the Nass (N) and Tsimshian (T) sounds, which are due to imperfections in the recording of the former dialect.

a T 63a

awus T 63

awul T (wiʟ N) 43

am N T 136

am, q!am T (qʼam N) 118

amgait T (qʼamgait N) 119

an N (în T) 163

an N (n, ṅɛ T) 157

anō N (na, nak T) 154

andu N (nta T) 158

anbʼɛl N (p.ʼɛl T) 64

ankˑs N (aks T) 65

asē N (asdi T) 14

asdi T (asē N) 14

agwi N T 66

aks T (ankˑs N) 65

ax N (wa T) 137

alō N (alu T) 67

aʟax N (la T) 68

aʟda N 69

algɛ T (nîgˑi N) 180

i N 70

iaga N T 2

iagai N (y!agai T) 174

yu-kᵘ N (yu-g T) 159

în T (an N) 163

uks N T 6, 10

wa T (ax N) 137

wadi T 85

hwagait N (wagait T) 71

waʟɛn N 72

wī N T 73

wudʼax N (wut.ʼa T) 73a

wudʼɛn N T 41

hwîn N (wun T) 138

wun T (hwîn N) 138

wusɛn N T 51

wutsʼɛn T (wītsʼɛn, hutsʼɛn N) 52

hwîl N (wul T) 171

wiʟ N (awul T) 43

wul T (hwîl N) 171

wulʼam N T 22

ha N T 160

ham N 156

hadîxˑ N (hat!ɛk T) 48

hasba N T 74

hatsʼɛks N 75

hagun N (gun T)·44

hagul N T 76

haldɛm N T 77

haʟ N (hal T) 50

hī N T 78

hîs N (sîs T) 79

hēla N 45

hūtsʼɛn, wītsʼɛn N (wutsʼɛm T) 52

huk T (gwîxˑ N) 162

hux N (gik T) 169

bɛnɛm T (pɛlɛm N) 80

p!ɛl T (anbʼɛl N) 64

pɛlɛm N (bɛnɛm T) 80

bɛlxsɛm N (xbɛsɛm T) 81

bagait N (ʟɛbagait T) 82

bax N T 1

mɛ T (ma N) 84

mɛn N (man T) 3

mɛsɛm N 83

mɛla T 88

mɛl N (mɛla T) 87

ma N (mɛ T) 84

man T (mɛn N) 3

max N 86

maxlɛ T 60

mâdzɛ N 175

dɛ, dē N (dɛ T) 91

dɛ N (ta T) 139

dē N (dī T) 167

dʼɛp N (tgi T) 4

dɛm N T 170

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*t'ɛm* N T 13
*t'ɛm* N T 140
*ta* T (*dɛ* N) 139
*dɛx, dîx·* N (*dax* T) 90
*t'ɛks* T (*ts'îk·s* N) 155
*t'uks* N T 6, 10
*dūla* N 92
*tq'al* N (*txal* T) 35
*tgi* T (*d'ɛp* N) 4
*tgo* N (*tgu* T) 31
*txa* N T 93
*txas* N T 47
*n* T (*an* N) 157
*na* N T 12
*na, nak* T (*anō* N) 154
*nā* N T 94
*na* N T 95
*nak, na* T ( *anō* N) 154
*nîg·i* N (*algɛ* T) 180
*nô'ôm* N 96
*nta* T (*anda* N) 158
*sɛ* N T 164
*sā* N (*sa* T) 98
*sa* N T 39
*sɛm* N T 168
*sɛm-g·it* N T 177
*sɛm-gal* N T 178
*sɛn* T 89
*sagait* N T 99
*sag'ap* N T 100
*sîs* T (*hîs* N) 79
*sîx·* N (*sta* T) 102
*sɛl* N T 97
*sî* N (*su* T) 101
*su* T (*sî* N) 101
*spɛ* N T 141
*spagait* N T 103
*spî* N 21
*stɛx* N 49
*sta* T (*sîx·* N) 102
*sgan* N T 142
*sqa* N (*sga* T) 36
*ts!ɛm* N T 152
*ts!ɛns* N T 104
*ts!ɛnl* T 105

*ts!ɛk·!al* T 16
*ts!a* N T 153
*tsaga* N (*dzaga* T) 23
*tsagam* N (*dzagam* T) 9
*ts!îk·s* N (*t!ɛks* T) 155
*ts!ɛlɛm* N T 7
*k·'ā* N (*k!a* T) 106
*k·'ax* N (*k!a* T) 107
*k·'aʟ* N 58
*g·i* T (*qa* in part, N) 149
*g·îme* N (*gami* T) 25
*g·it* N T 147
*g·idi* N T 19
*k·!êdo* N 57
*g·in* N (*g·ina* T) 108
*g·ina* N T 109
*k·!ina* T 110
*g·is* N 40
*g·isi* N (*gisi* T) 18
*gik* T (*huχ* N) 169
*g·ik·si* N 61
*g·îlɛks* T (*gulik·s* N) 115
*g·îlwul* N T 37
*g·îldɛp* N 111
*k·'îlq'al* N 34
*k·s* N (*ks* T) 143
*ksɛ* T (*k·si* N) 8
*ksɛ* N T 144
*k·cɛ* N (*ksɛ* T) 145
*k·sɛm* N (*ksɛm* T) 146
*ksa* T (*k·sax* N) 112
*k·si* N (*ksɛ* T) 8
*qa* N in part (*g·i* T) 149
*q'ai* N 122
*q'ap* N T 117
*q'am* N (*q!am, am* T) 118
*gami* T (*g·îme* N) 25
*q'amts'ɛn* N 179
*q'amgait* N (*amgait* T) 119
*gan* N T 161
*q!an* T 28
*qana* T 59
*ganē* N 120
*q'asba* N 121
*gal* N 123

qal N T 124

q!ala T (gali N) 17

gali N (q!ala T) 17

qaldɛm N (galdɛm T) 150

qaldîx· N (qaldik T) 11

qalk·si N (galksɛ T) 24

kwa'ts'ik·s N 176

gwis N (gus T) 148

gwix· N (huk T) 162

k'abɛ T (k'ōpɛ N) 113

k'utgo N 32

gun T (hagun N) 44

gun N 114

gus T (gwis N) 148

gugulx T (gulx N) 116

gulîk·s N (g·ûlɛks T) 115

gulx N (gugulx T) 116

k'uʟ N (k!uʟ T) 33

ksɛ T (k·si N) 8

kᵘʟē N (kᵘ!i T) 55

x N T 165

xbɛsɛm T (bɛlxsɛm N) 81

xpī N 125

xpî'lyîm N 126

xs N T 166

xtsē N (xts!ɛ T) 54

xlɛp T (xʟîp N) 53

xlɛm N (xlɛm T) 56

xʟna N (xlna T) 127

l N T 128

lɛp N T 129

lɛbɛlt N T 130

lɛbagait T (bagait N) 82

lɛgɛm N (lôgôm T) 5

lîg·i N T 20

lîg·'êx N 132

lɛg'ul N (lɛk!ul T) 131

lɛks N T 133

lagauk T 15

lagax T (lāx N) 38

lax N T 151

lāx N (lagax T) 38

lē N (l!i T) 30

lē-gan N (l!i-q!an T) 28

lôgôm T (lɛgɛm N) 5

lō N (lu T) 29

lūila N 62

lōsa N 46

lūks T 42

lukʟ N (lukli T) 27

lôgôl N 26

ʟɛm N (lɛm T) 134

la T (aʟax N) 68

ʟa N (la T) 172

ʟā N (lā T) 173

lukli T (lukʟ N) 27

ʟgo N (lgu T) 135

## Suffixes (§§ 17-32)

### § 17. Suffixes following the Stem

There are quite a number of suffixes in the Tsimshian dialects, almost all of which are firmly united with the stem. The significance of most of these is much more ill-defined than that of the prefixes, but those that immediately follow the stem appear to be primarily modal elements. Some of them indicate the passive, causative, elimination of the object, etc. Their use shows great irregularities. These suffixes are followed by pronominal suffixes, while demonstrative elements and the interrogative element are always found in terminal position.

§ 17

1. *-En* causative (Tsimshian: *-En*).   In both dialects this suffix generally modifies the terminal consonant of the stem.

| | |
|---|---|
| *hētkᵘ* to stand, singular | *lō-tq̓'al-hē't̓ₑn* to place a thing upright against something and inside of something 131.3 |
| *mētkᵘ* full | *mē't!ₑn* to fill |
| *yậ'ôxkᵘ* to eat, singular | *yậ'ôg'an* to feed one person |
| *txậ'ôxkᵘ* to eat, plural | *txậ'ôg'an* to feed several persons |
| *bā'sîx* to divide, v. n. | *bā'sig'an* to separate  (v. a.) |
| *hē-ʟā'q* it breaks | *hē-ʟā'gan* to break (v. a.) |
| *bax* to run | *ba'an* to cause to run |
| *maqskᵘ* to stand,  plural | *ma'qsaan* to place several things upright 8.1 |
| *qolk·skᵘ* covered | *qō'lk·saan* to cover (v. a.) |
| *lō-la'qskᵘt* she washes in 197.10 | *la'qsaan* to wash (v. a.) 198.8 |
| *hōkskᵘ* to be with 91.8 | *hu'ksaan* to place with 36.8 |
| *gukskᵘ* to awake 121.9 | *gu'ksaan* to awaken 121.8 |
| *lē'lbîk·skᵘ* whirlpool 104.12 | *lē'lb'ₑn* to roll |

Tsimshian:

| | |
|---|---|
| *sa'îpk* hard | *sa'îp!ₑn* to harden |
| *mậlk* to be uneasy | *mậ'lk!ₑn* to force |
| *môxk* to be aboard, singular | *mô'g'an* to put aboard one object |
| *hā°xk* annoyed | *hā'g'an* to annoy |
| *lāk·* bent | *lā'k·!în* to bend (v. a.) |
| *bā°* to run | *bā'han* to cause to run |
| *gaksk* to wake up, singular | *ga'ksₑn* to awaken one person |
| *lî'daksk* to wake up, plural | *lî'dₑksₑn* to awaken several |
| *hôksk* to be with | *hô'ksₑn* to place with |

2. *-skᵘ* expresses primarily the elimination of the object of the transitive verb (Tsimshian *-sk*).

| | |
|---|---|
| *t̓a'a* to clap (v. a.) 34.10 | *t̓a'askᵘ* to clap (no object) 203.3 |
| *suwa'n* to blow (v. a.) 123.1 | *suwa'anskᵘ* to blow (no object) 124.8 |
| *maʟ* to tell (v. a.) | *ma'ʟaaskᵘ* to tell news 161.15 |
| *g·a'a* to see (v. a.) | *g·a'askᵘ* to look 137.6 |
| *dā'mgan* to pull (v. a.) | *dā'mganskᵘ* to be in the act of pulling 51.8 |
| *gō* to take (v. a.) | *gōskᵘ* to extend 126.7 |

Verbs with this ending often form verbal nouns:

| | |
|---|---|
| *d̓ā'pxan* to nail | *d̓ā'pxansk* nail |
| *sî'êp'ₑn* to love | *sî'êp'ₑnsk* love |
| *ayō'q* to command | *ayō'g'ask* commander |
| *lē'lb'ₑn* to roll | *lē'lbîk·skᵘ* whirlpool 104.12 |

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Tsimshian:

| | |
|---|---|
| *lu-t!ū'ᵒyu xbī'ᵒs* I sweep out a box | *t!ū̆ᵒsk* to sweep |
| *sᴇ-y·ə̆'lgu wa'i* I polish a paddle | *sᴇ-yiə̆'lask* to polish |
| *sī'ᵒl* to spin something | *sī̆ᵒlsk* to spin |
| *hŏ'ksᴇn* to place with something | *gan-hŏ'ksᴇnsk* fastening-implement |

Undoubtedly related to the preceding are the following two:

3. *-kᵘ* used commonly after terminal *p, t, s, ts, q, x, ʟ,* and sometimes after *l* (Tsimshian: *-k*); and

4. *-tkᵘ* used after vowels, *l, m,* and *n* (Tsimshian: *-tk*).

Both of these have the same meaning, and seem to be primarily medial or semi-reflexive, while in other cases no clear reason for their use can be given. These endings are found regularly in the possessive form of names of animals. (See § 55.)

Examples of *-k* are:

| | |
|---|---|
| *hēt-* upright | *hētkᵘ* to stand |
| *gōks-* to awake | *gōkskᵘ* to wake up |
| *ʟēs-* finished | *ʟēskᵘ* to be finished |
| *bats-* to lift | *batskᵘ* to be lifted |

Tsimshian:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ha'îts* to send | *ha'îtsk* sent |
| *sa'ip-* hard | *sa'îpk* to be hard |

Examples of *-tkᵘ* are:

| | |
|---|---|
| *dᶻa* to sit | *dᶻatkᵘ* to be placed 215.1, 131.1 |
| *sᴇ-hwa'* to name | *sᴇ-hwa'tkᵘ* named |
| *wŏ'ŏ* to invite | *wŏ'ŏtkᵘ* to be invited 128.5 |
| *halda'u* to bewitch | *halda'uyîtkᵘ* bewitched |
| *dᶻā'pxan* nail | *dᶻā'pxantkᵘ* nailed |
| *bᴇlā'n* belt | *bᴇlā'ntkᵘ* belted |

Tsimshian :

| | |
|---|---|
| *sī'ᵒp!ᴇn* to love | *sī'ᵒp!ᴇntk* loved |
| *k·!înā'm* to give | *km·!înā'tk* given |
| *sᴇ-wā̆ᵒ* to name | *sᴇwā̆'ᵒtk* named |
| *plân* sea-otter | *nᴇ-plâ' ntgu* my sea-otter |

These endings occur in many intransitive verbs, and in nouns:

| | |
|---|---|
| *dēlpkᵘ* short | *metkᵘ* full |
| *ts'îpkᵘ* strong | *o'lîk·skᵘ* to drift |
| *ayawā'tkᵘ* to cry | *bēskᵘ* to expect |
| *mîtkᵘ* to scatter | *da'lbîk·skᵘ* to bend |

§ 17

*ba'ask<sup>u</sup>* wind

*a'd'îk·sk<sup>u</sup>* to come

*ä'êmsk<sup>u</sup>* to blame

*lislē'sk<sup>u</sup>* to hang

*mô'ôsk<sup>u</sup>* gray

*ts'ɛlā'sk<sup>u</sup>* canyon

*q'âtsk<sup>u</sup>* to be tired

*yôxk<sup>u</sup>* to follow

*dē'lɛmɛxk<sup>u</sup>* to answer

*maxk<sup>u</sup>* to go aboard a canoe

*t'êlxk<sup>u</sup>* to shout

*ā'dzîxk<sup>u</sup>* enough

*aqʟk<sup>u</sup>* to attain

*ia'ʟk<sup>u</sup>* slimy

*âʟk<sup>u</sup>* fuel

*waʟk<sup>u</sup>* taboo

*dāmqʟk<sup>u</sup>* friend

*tk·'ēʟk<sup>u</sup>* child

*meʟk<sup>u</sup>* to shine

*dēʟk<sup>u</sup>* bag

*mao'lk<sup>u</sup>* rope

*malk<sup>u</sup>* to put into fire

*ama'lk<sup>u</sup>* scab

It is uncertain in many of the endings in -*sk<sup>u</sup>* whether they are derived from stems ending in -*s*, or whether they belong to the suffix -*sk<sup>u</sup>*. The same is true of forms in -*tk<sup>u</sup>*, which may be derived from stems ending in -*t* or represent the suffix -*tk<sup>u</sup>*. The following have probably the suffix -*tk<sup>u</sup>*:

*yaltk<sup>u</sup>* to return

*daltk<sup>u</sup>* to meet

*dē'êntk<sup>u</sup>* to guide

*laltk<sup>u</sup>* slow

*ptaltk<sup>u</sup>* to climb

The same conditions are found in Tsimshian, but it does not seem necessary to give additional examples.

5. -*A* In the Tsimshian dialect, words ending in *p, t, s, ts, q, x, ʟ,* and sometimes in *l* (i. e., those corresponding to the group with the suffix -*k* [no. 3, p. 345]) have, instead of -*sk* (no. 2, p. 344), -*A*. The terminal consonant is here modified, as before the suffix -*ɛn* (no. 1, p. 344).

*dab* to measure something

*t!ä<sup>o</sup>p* to drive piles

*g·ab* to dig

*sɛ-wulg·a'd* to dye something

*gats* to pour out

*būs* to split

*da'p!ʌ* to measure

*t!ä'<sup>o</sup>p!ʌ* to be engaged in pile-driving

*gan-g·a'p!ʌ* a spade

*huk-sɛ-wulg·a'd'ʌ* a dyer

*huk-ga'ts!ʌ* one who pours out

*huk-bū's ʌ* one who splits

6. -*s* is used in Nisqa'<sup>ɛ</sup> and in Tsimshian in place of -*k* and -*tk* (nos. 3 and 4, p. 345) after *k·, x·, k<sup>u</sup>, q,* and *x·.*

*ôx·* to throw

*bēk<sup>u</sup>* to lie

*hwîlā'x·* to know

*mag* to put

*wôq* to dig

*ôk·s* to fall (literally, to be thrown)

*sa-bē'k<sup>u</sup>s* to make lies

*sɛ-hwîlā'x·s* to teach (literally, to make known)

*ma'gas* to be put 11.14

*wôqs* to be buried

Tsimshian:

| | |
|---|---|
| *dzak* to kill | *dzaks* killed |
| *mɛdī'ɛk* grizzly bear | *nɛ-mɛdī'ᵒksu* my grizzly bear |

Here the -*s* suffix is also used after *p*, although not regularly:

| | |
|---|---|
| *wālb* house | *nɛ wä'lpsu* my house |

7. -*ɛs* appears in Tsimshian a few times after terminal *p* in place of -*sk.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *lalb* to plane down something | *la'lp!ɛs* to plane |
| *lū'ᵒb* to sew something | *lū'ᵒp!ɛs* to sew |

8. -*x* seems to mean IN BEHALF OF.

| | |
|---|---|
| *qē'ɛnt* to chew | *qē'ɛndɛx* to chew for 36.5 |
| *hāp* cover 8.15 | *lē-hā'baxt* it is on as a cover for it 67.7 |
| *lē'lg·it* a feast | *lē'lg·itx* a feast for somebody 83.1 |

9. -*n.* This suffix designates the indicative, and appears only preceding the suffixes of the first person singular and plural, and the second person plural of the intransitive verb and the same objects of the transitive verb.

| | |
|---|---|
| *āt* gill-net | *ā'tnēɛ* I fish |
| *ā'lg'al* to examine 138.8 | *ā'lg'alnēɛ* I look at something |
| *äᵉskᵘ* to call | *äᵉskᵘnēɛ* I call |
| *wît͡kᵘ* to come from | *wî'tkᵘnēɛ* I come from |
| *dā'uʟ* to leave | *dɛm dā'uʟnēɛ Lē'sɛms* I shall leave for Nass river |
| *iē'ɛ* to go | *iē'ɛnēɛ* I go |

Tsimshian:

| | |
|---|---|
| *t!ū'ᵒsg* to sweep | *t!ū'ᵒsgɛnu* I sweep |
| *bā'ᵒ* to run | *bā'ᵒnu* I run |
| *lī'ᵒmi* to sing | *lī'ᵒminu* I sing |
| *wā'ᵒ* to find | *t wā'yinu* he finds me |
| | *t wā'yinɛm* he finds us |

10. -*d.* The corresponding suffix -*d* appears in the indicative of many transitive verbs, both in Nass and in Tsimshian.

| | |
|---|---|
| *iā'ēɛ* what I roast 121.9 | *iā'dɛt* he roasts it 121.7, 154.3 |
| *habā'l* to take care of 143.1 | *bā'ɛldēɛ* I take care of it |
| *hats* to bite 65.9, 127.8 | *ha'tsdēɛ* I bite |
| *lîgi agō'l dɛm hē'nîst* whatever you say 59.3 | *dɛp hē'idɛnōm* we say 42.11 |
| *qāq* to open · | *qā'qdēɛ* I open something |
| *sax* to shake something | *sa'xdēɛ* I shake it |
| *anâ'ɛl* to allow 122.1 | *anâ'ɛldēɛ* I lend |

§ 17

Tsimshian:

| *dzak* dead | *dza'kdu* I kill |
| *bū* to wait | *bū'°dut* I wait for him |
| *gā̆°* to take | *gā̆'°du* I take |

11. *-ma* may be, perhaps (Tsimshian: *-ma*).

> *lĭg'ĭ-gula'ɛldɛma lôqs* may be three months 170.13
> *nô'°t-maɛ* maybe he is dead 182.8
> *sī'ɛgumanēɛ* maybe I am sick.

Tsimshian:

> | *n!inī' gwai k!unā̆'°matga°* this is what they may ask

### § 18. Pronominal Suffixes

The group of suffixes treated in the preceding section are followed by the pronominal suffixes, which will be described fully in §§ 50-51, and § 53. For the sake of completeness I give here a list of the suffixed pronouns:

|  | Nass. | Tsimshian. |
|---|---|---|
| First person singular . . . . . . . | *-ēɛ* | *-ū, -ī* |
| First person plural . . . . . . . . | *-m* | *-m* |
| Second person singular . . . . . . . | *-n* | *-n* |
| Second person plural . . . . . : . . | *-sɛm* | *-sɛm* |
| Third person . . . . . . . . . . | *-t* | } *-t* |
| Third person plural . . . . . . . . | *-det* | |

### § 19. Modal Suffixes following the Pronominal Suffixes

12. *-g·ê* might (Tsimshian: *-g·î°n, -gun*). The position of this suffix seems to vary.

> *nɛxna'yĭtg·ê* they might hear it 91.10
> *sī'êpkᵘg·inēɛ* I might be sick
> *gwa'tstg·ê* it might be dung 207.7

Tsimshian:

> | *naha'ung·î°n* maybe it is true
> | *naha'unguna n!axno'yu* it may be that it is true what I have
> |    heard
> | *n t!ū'usɛng·î°n* (take care!) I might hit you!

13. *-sɛ°n* evidently (Tsimshian).

> | *n!inī'ɛt-sɛ°n* evidently it is he
> | *nɛ ɬɛ gwa'ɬgɛsɛ°n* evidently there has been a fire

14. *-sɛn* indeed! (Tsimshian).

> | *n!inī'ɛt-sɛn* indeed! it is he
> | *naha'unsɛn* indeed! it is true

15. **-gat** it is said (Tsimshian: **-gat**).

> *sg·ī'-gaL ama xpē'is* there was a good box, it is said 19.4 (*sg·ī* to lie; *ām* good; *-a* connective; *xpēis* box)
>
> *k·ʾax-ā'm-gaL t'ɛm-qē'st* his head was good before, it is said 32.8 (*k·ʾax-* before; *ām* good; *t'ɛm-qē's* head)
>
> *tgōn-gaL dɛm hwî'lɛm dɛm alâ'tk·ᵘ-gat nōm* this, we are told, we shall do, we are told we shall swim in a shoal 70.6 (*tgōn* this; *dɛm* future; *hwîl* to do; *-ɛm* we; *alâ'tk·ᵘ* to swim in a shoal; *nōm* we)
>
> *dɛm suwa'nt-gaL Lgō'uLk·ᵘt* he says he will cure his child 123.10 (*suwa'n* to cure; *Lgō'uLk·ᵘ* child)
>
> *nē-gat-g·i di gwîx·-g·êîpt* he says he does not like to eat it 40.6 (*nē-g·i* not; *di* on his part; *gwîx·-* expert; *g·êîp* to eat something)

Tsimshian:

> | *sī'ɛpgɛ-gat* I hear he is sick

### § 20. Demonstrative Suffixes

There are two suffixes which are generally attached to the last word of a clause, and which indicate distance and presence in space and time. They are quite distinct from the demonstrative pronouns, and determine the demonstrative character of the whole sentence. These elements are much simpler in the Nass dialect than in Tsimshian, and their general discussion in the latter dialect will be given in §§ 24–31. In Nass we find:

**-g·ê** absence and distance:

> *nlk·ʾē a'lg·îxtg·ê* then he said 53.1 (referring to one who is absent and to an event of the past)
>
> *nLk·ʾē lō-ya'ltk·ᵘL g·a'tg·ê* then the man returned 113.3
>
> *yu'kdēL ga'ng·ê La dza'pdɛt* they took the sticks they had made 114.7 (*yuk* to take; *gan* stick; *dzap* to make)
>
> *haō'ng·ê nak·ᵘt da yu'ksa* before long it was evening 152.14 (*haō'n* it is soon: *nak·ᵘ* long; *yu'ksa* evening)

**-st** presence and nearness:

> *dɛm q'aiyî'm ō'k·sdē hawî'lɛist* my arrow will drop near by 19.15 (*dɛm* future; *q'ai* near; *-ɛm* connective [see § 22]; *ōk·s* to drop; *hawî'l* arrow)
>
> *tgōnL gōuîst* this I guess 28.2
>
> *sɛm-hō'daast* it is true 29.13
>
> *txē'ldɛsɛmɛst* ye will burn 215.10
>
> *ndāLda dɛm ā'd·îk·sdɛst* when will he come?

In some cases a terminal -*t* is found which indicates presence and nearness and corresponds to the analogous form in Tsimshian.

*na-gan-hwîlā'gut* therefore I did so 113.6

This element is, however, quite rare in our texts.

## Connectives (§§ *21-31*)

### § 21. GENERAL REMARKS

The connective suffixes form a class by themselves. They are always terminal in the word and connect two words that are syntactically related. Therefore they never stand at the end of a clause. We must distinguish between attributive and adverbial connectives, and predicative and possessive connectives.

### § 22. ATTRIBUTIVE AND ADVERBIAL CONNECTIVES

**-Em.** The connective -*Em* is used to express attributive and adverbial relations. Thus it occurs as—

(1) Connective between adjective and noun.

(2) Connective between two nouns, one of which has the function of an attribute.

(3) Connective between an adverb or adverbial phrase and a verb.

The following examples illustrate the use of -*Em:*

1. Between adjective and noun. In this case the adjective always precedes the noun, and the connective is firmly attached to it. The analogy with the second group suggests that the adjective expresses the class of things referred to, while the following noun qualifies the particular kind; as *qē'sgum gan*, A SMALL TREE (namely, a slender thing which is a tree, or which belongs to the class "tree").

*sĭsō'sEm gan* little sticks 27.15

*wî-hē'ldEm g·at* many people 28.12

*Lgo-guä'Em Lgo-tk·''ē'Lk·ᵘ* little poor little boy 155.15

*mā'k·sgum lô'ôp* white stone 139.8

*wô'ôm wan* the invited deer 83.3

Tsimshian:

*sĭ'lg·idEm lgū'ᵒlg* the eldest child ZE 783⁴⁶

*lgū'ᵒlgEm hanā'.r* little woman ZE 797.32

*gwa'dEksEm yē'ᵒn* cool fog ZE 797³¹⁵

*lū'nksEm sĕ̈ipg* dry bone

Numerals do not take this connective, but take -*L* instead (see § 23) (Tsimshian, -*A* pp. 351, 353).

2. Between nouns.  The first noun takes the ending *-ɛm*, and designates the kind of thing referred to, while the second noun
specifies the class.

*g·a'dɛm gan* a wooden man 89.12 (a man belonging to the class
"wood")

*dawî'sɛm lô'ôp* a stone ax 147.14 (an ax belonging to the class
"stone")

*huxdā'g·intgɯm q'auq'ā'ō* crow-grandchildren 19.15 (grandchildren of the class "crow")

*a'lg·igam Tʃ'ɛɯsa'n* Tsimshian language 20.9 (speech of the
class "Tsimshian")

*amg·ä'g·îm Lē'sɛms* sawbill ducks of Nass river 114.5 (sawbill
ducks of the kind [belonging to] Nass river)

*huwa'm hadʼa'xkᵘ* bad names 41.12 (names of the kind "bad")

Tsimshian:

> *ǥô'ip.!ɛm tsʼ!al* light-face
> *g·a'mgɛm dzī'us* day-sun ZE 781³
> *tsʼ!a'bɛm yɛ̂'tsʼ!ɛsg* the animal tribe 783⁴⁰
> *mâ'sɛm an'ô'n* thumb of hand 792²²⁷
> *yɛ̂'tsʼ!ɛsgɛm gilhau'li* the animals of the woods

3. Adverbial.

*hadā'gam a'lg·îxs Txä'msɛm* Txä'msen spoke badly 38.11

*sɛm-hō'm nô'ôt* he was truly dead 9.6

*wî-tʼɛ̂'sɛm yô'ôxkᵘt* he ate much 36.10 (*yô'ôxkᵘ* is an intransitive
verb)

*tsʼō'sg·îm mast* he grew a little 175.8

*kʼɯl-wî-yɛ̂'tgɯm xdax·t* he was hungry (going) about 39.9

Tsimshian:

> *dza'gɛm xstʼôx* to be dead asleep
> *ks-qâ'gôm a'lg·îx* to speak first
> *ks-qâ'gôm mʌn-a'xlg* he reaches up first

**-a.**  The connective *-a* is used in a number of cases in place of *-ɛm*.  It
would seem that its use is determined largely by the particular qualifying term.  Some of these seem to take *-a* regularly
in place of *-ɛm*.  In Tsimshian this connective is *-ʌ;* it
appears regularly after numerals.

*ama hwîlp* a good house 48.3

*wî-ama g·at* very good man 203.7

*ama a'lg·îxt* he spoke well 45.6

*wî-ama hwa'ndɛ̂t* they sat down very well 83.4

*gwa'lgwa txō'x·* dry halibut 161.10

*hɛ̂'ya ēlx* fat of seal 161.12

*tʼɛ̂'la ēlx* oil of seal 47.2

§ 22

Tsimshian:

> *lɛksg·ig·a'dɛ biā'lɛtet* various stars
> *amʌ y!ū'°t* a good man
> *wī-lē'°ksɛ lu-am'ā'm ga-gâ'°dɛmt* we are exceedingly glad
> *k!ɛ'rɛldɛ g·a'mgɛt* one moon
> *k!â'ldɛ g·ad* one person
> *hē'ldɛ ts!ap* many people

### § 23. PREDICATIVE AND POSSESSIVE CONNECTIVES

The development of these connectives is quite different in Nass and in Tsimshian, and the two dialects must be treated quite independently. In the present section I give the Nass forms. In all cases where the connection between words is not attributive or adverbial, -L or -ʂ are used as connectives, -ʂ being applied in all cases where the following noun is a proper name designating a person, a personal pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun designating a person, or a term of relationship. In all other cases -L is used. With terms of relationship -ʂ is not always used, but -L may be substituted.

The particular cases in which -L and -ʂ are used are the following:

1. In sentences with intransitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal subject.

   (a) -L.

   > *lē-ia'qL oq* a copper hung on it 138.3
   > *g·ô'ôL māl* there lay a canoe 138.13
   > *hwîlL ts'ɛmē'lix·* the beaver did so 81.4
   > *ts'ēnL ts'ɛmē'lix·* the beaver entered 77.4
   > *a'lg·îxL wī-g·a't* the great man said 195.15

   (b) -ʂ.

   > *gali-iä'ʂ Ts'ak·* Ts'ak· went up the river 117.6
   > *hwîlʂ dɛp-bē'ɛbē* my uncles did so 157.9
   > *x̣dax·ʂ Txä'msɛm* Txämsɛm was hungry 21.2

2. In sentences with transitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal subject.

   (a) ·L.

   > *nʟk·'ēt lēLk·'L guʂlî'sk·ᵘt* then watched his nephews 9.5
   > *wô'ôL ts'ɛmē'lix· axt* the beaver invited the porcupine 73.2
   > *lô-d'ɛp-lô'ôdɛL sg·idɛmna'q an'ô'nt* inside down put the chieftainess her hand 183.8

   (b) -ʂ.

   > *k'uʟ-yu'kdɛtʂ Ts'ak· lô'ôp* Ts'ak· carried a stone about 118.9
   > *nʟk·'ēt ôx·ʂ Ts'ak·· ʟgo-qa'mt* Ts'ak· struck a little fire 118.12
   > *t hwaʂ Txä'msɛm hwîlp* Txä'msɛm found a house 43.3

3. In sentences with transitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal object.

  (*a*) -*L.*

    *dᴇm lō-ma'qdēᴇl ts'ē'sgun* I shall put thy louse in 43.10

    *nʟk·'ēt g·a'aʟ t'ē'sᴇm y·at* then he saw a large man 95.10

    *ā'mʟē wô'ôʟ na'k·sîn* (good you) invite your wife! 205.10

  (*b*) -*s.*

    *nʟk·'ēt sa-gō'udᴇts Ts'ak·* they took Ts'ak· off 120.15

4. In sentences with transitive verb, the object may sometimes precede the verb, and is then connected with the predicate by -*L* or -*s.*

    *txanē'tkᵘʟ qal-ts'îp-ts'a'pʟ g·ē'daxdēt* they asked all the towns 87.3

    *naxʟ g·a'at* he saw bait 50.15

5. To express the possessive relation between nouns.

  (*a*) -*L.*

    *qa-qalā'nʟ hwîlpʟ sem'â'g·ît* the rear of the house of the chief 137.8

    *anē'sʟ gan* the branch of a tree 137.9

    *magâ'nʟ K·san* the mouth of Skeena river 15.3

    *qa-wē'nʟ k·ebō'* the teeth of the wolves 84.4

    *q'ᴀᴇldâ'lʟ ʟg·îʟ hana'qg·ᵉ* six were the children of the woman 97.8

  (*b*) -*s.*

    *qal-ts'a'ps dᴇp nᴇguâ'ôt* the town of their fathers 107.13

    *ndzē'ᴇts Ts'ak·* the grandmother of Ts'ak· 119.8

    *xpē'isîs Lôgôbolā'* the box of Lôgôbolā' 19.4

6. Between definite and indefinite numerals and nouns, the connective is -*L.*

    *k·'âlʟ sᴇm'â'g·ît* one chief 137.1

    *k·'ēlʟ sa* one day 137.2

    *k·'ä'guʟ hân* one salmon 169.8

    *q'ai-t'ᴇpxā'ʟ qāʠ* even two ravens 155.4

    *baqadē'lʟ ʟg·ît* two children 159.5

    *baqadē'lʟ nak·st* two wives 194.6

    *wi-hē'lʟ lāx* many trout 157.6

    *txanē'tkᵘʟ q'aima'qsit* many youths 141.10

    *g'ul-ganē'ʟ ha-xdakᵘsᴇ'mᴇst* all your arrows 144.10

  A few indefinite numerals may also take the attributive connective -*ᴇm.*

    *wi-hē'ldᴇm q'aima'qsit* many youths 144.3

7. Connecting the preposition *a* (see § 67) with the following noun.

    (*a*) -L.

        *k·'atsk^ut aL qal-ts'a'p* they landed at the town 107.13

        *lē-hwî'lt aL lax-lô'ôp* it is on the stone 109.4

        *a'lg·îxL qal-ts'a'p aL dɛm sɛm'â'g·it* the people said he should be chief 163.10 (*a'lg·îx* to say; *dɛm* future; *sɛm'â'g·it* chief)

        *māLt aL nak·st* he told his wife 165.11

    (*b*) -*s*.

        *a'lg·îxt as né'tg·ê* he said to him 157.1

        *a'lg·îxt as Ts'ak·* he said to Ts'ak· 120.6

        *k·'ēt sg·it as Txä'msɛm* he laid it before Txä'msɛm 48.10

8. Connecting the conjunction *qan* with the following noun.

    (*a*) -L.

        *hē'ya ēlx qanL hē'ya dzîx* fat of seal and fat of porpoise 161.12

        *lāx qanL sɛsō'sɛm hân* trout and little salmon 157.4

    (*c*) -*s*.

        *nē'ɛn qans nē'ɛ qans ts'ē'ɛdzē* you and I and my grandmother 157.10

### PREDICATIVE AND POSSESSIVE CONNECTIVES OF THE TSIMSHIAN DIALECT (§§ 24-31)

#### § 24. General Characteristics of the Connectives

While the connectives -*s* and -*t* seem to be regularly used in the Nass dialect, they are absent in Tsimshian in many cases, and a much more complicated series takes their place. We have to distinguish between the connectives in indicative and subjunctive sentences; those belonging to the subject of the intransitive and object of the transitive verb; and those belonging to the subject of the transitive verb. Furthermore, those belonging to common nouns must be distinguished from those belonging to proper nouns; and in each form, indefinite location, presence, and absence, are treated differently. Some of these endings are very rare; others, the existence of which may be expected by analogy, have so far not been found. The series of forms in which a proper name appears as subject of the transitive verb is, for instance, hardly found at all, because sentences of this form are almost invariably rendered by a periphrastic form: "It was (John) who" . . . It will be noticed in the following discussion that the prepositional and possessive forms agree with the predicative forms. The peculiar agreement of the indicative connectives of the subject of the tran-

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sitive verb and of the subjunctive connectives of the subject of the intransitive verb corresponds to a similar phenomenon that may be observed in the pronominal forms. These will be discussed in §§ 49–50. The series of connectives may be represented as follows:

| | A. Indicative. | | | B. Subjunctive. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (a) Indefinite. | (b) Present. | (c) Absent. | (a) Indefinite. | (b) Present. | (c) Absent. | |
| 1. Subject of intransitive verb, and object of transitive verb . . . . . . | -ᴇ | -dᴇ | -gᴇ | -ᴇ | -sdᴇ | -sgᴇ | } I. Common nouns |
| 2. Subject of transitive verb | -ᴇ | -sdᴇ(?) | -sgᴇ | -(ᴇ) | -dᴇ | -tgᴇ | |
| 1. Subject of intransitive verb, and object of transitive verb . . . . . . | -ᴇt | -dᴇt | -gᴇt | -s | -dᴇs | -s | } II. Proper names. |
| 2. Subject of transitive verb | ? | ? | -s | -dᴇt | -dᴇt | -tgᴇt | |

## § 25. Predicative Connectives

In the present section I shall give examples of these various classes of connectives, such as occur between verbs and nouns.

A I 1. Intransitive verbs, indicative, common nouns:

    (a) Indefinite connective -ᴇ

        *da uks-hếᵒtgᴇ a'uta a nᴇ-'gôdzᴀ a'ksᴇt* then the porcupine stood at the edge of the water (*da* then; *uks-* toward water; *hếᵒtg* to stand; *a'ut* porcupine; *a* at; *nᴇ-* possessive; *dzôg* edge; *aks* water)

        *hô'ltgᴇ ba'ntgᴇga a'ksgaᵒ* his belly was full of water (*hôltg* full; *ban* belly; *gᴇga* development of preposition *a* [see § 28]; *aks* water)

        *sᴇm-bā'ᵒsᴇ sts!â'lgaᵒ* the beaver was much afraid (*sᴇm-* very; *bāᵒs* afraid; *sts!âl* beaver)

    (b) Present connective -dᴇ

        *na-stū'ᵒldᴇ lgū'ᵒlgᴇm y!ū'ᵒtgaᵒ* the boy went along (*na-* past; *stūᵒl* to go in company; *lgūᵒlg* child; *-ᴇm* attributive connective [§ 22]; *y!ūᵒt* man)

        *da al ts!ᴇlᴇm-ha'pdᴇ n!ā'ᵒrlᴇt* but then the killerwhales rushed in (*da* then; *al* but; *ts!ᴇlᴇm-* into from the side; *hap* to rush [plural]; *n!āᵒrl* killerwhales)

    (c) Absent connective -gᴇ

        *da na-bā'ᵒgᴇ ô'lgaᵒ* then the white bear ran out of the woods (*na-* out of woods; *bāᵒ* to run; *ôl* bear)

        *da gik ksᴇ-nā'ᵒlgᴇgᴀ sts!â'lgaᵒ* then the beaver breathed again (*gik* again; *ksᴇ-* out; *nāᵒlg* breath; *sts!âl* beaver)

A I 1. **Transitive verbs, indicative, common nouns.** It is difficult to find the connectives of transitive verbs before the object, because the order of words in the sentence requires ordinarily that the subject shall follow the predicate. The cases here given, except the first one, contain the pronominal subject of the third person.

(a) Indefinite connective -ε

k!wa'tgε nε-ha-xba'gʌ lgū'ᵒlgut my child has lost his knife (k!watg to lose; nε- possessive; ha-xba'g knife; lgū'ᵒlg child; -u my)

wā'idε hā'ᵒsεt he has found the dog

dεm dza'kdεdʌ hā'ᵒs he will kill the dog

(b) Present connective -dε

nε la ma'ldεdε wula dza'bεdεs Gunaxnēsεmg·a'd he had told what did Gunaxnēsεmg·ad (la past; mal to tell; wul verbal noun; dzab to do)

(c) Absent connective -gε

wā'itgε hā'ᵒsgaᵒ he has found the dog

dεm dza'kdεtgʌ hā'ᵒsgaᵒ he will kill the dog

A I 2. **Transitive verbs, indicative, common nouns:**

(a) Indefinite connective -ε

wa'i hana'xgε ha'ᵒsgε the woman found the dog

agwi-bʌ'tsgε nε-gā''du my lance stands outside ES 94.20

(c) Absent connective -sgε

gū'isgε huksulī'ɛnsgεtgε ô'lgaᵒ the hunter hit the bear (gū to hit; huksulī'ɛnsg hunter; ôl bear)

dεm dza'kdεsga g·ibā'ugʌ hā'ᵒsgaᵒ the wolf will kill the dog (dzak to kill; -d- [see § 17.10]; g·iba'u wolf; hā'ᵒs dog)

da dī-l.!'ī-wa'isgε wī-mεs-ô'lgʌ qal-ts.!a'pgaᵒ the great bear found the town (dī on his part; l.!'ī- on; wa to arrive, to find; wī- great; mεs- white; ôl bear; qal- empty; ts.!ap tribe)

A II 1. **Intransitive verb, indicative, proper names:**

(a) Indefinite connective -εt

ama wā'lt Tom Tom is rich

da hā'ut Sadzapanī'l then Sadzapanī'l said

dū'ᵒlxgεt Asdi-wālt Asdi-wā'l can not move ES 90.15

(b) Present connective -dεt

l.!'ī-q!an-dā'uldεt Astiwā'lgaᵒ Astiwā'l has gone across (l.!'ī- on; q!an- over; dā'ul to leave)

(c) Absent connective -gεt

bā'ᵒgεt Dzô'nga John is running

**A II 2. Transitive verb, indicative, proper names:**

    (c) Absent connective *-s*

        *da nĭ'ɛdzɛs Astiwā'l wul hô'ltgɛ* . . . then Astiwā'l
saw that it was full (*nĭ* to see; *hôltg* full)

**B I 1. Intransitive verbs, subjunctive, common nouns:**

    (a) Indefinite connective *-ɛ*

        *adat nĭ' wul gatgô'it!ɛksʌ t!ɛpxadū'ᵒlda y!ū'ᵒta* then
they saw two men coming (*ala* then; *t-* he [subj.];
*gô'it!ɛks* [plural *gatgô'it!ɛks*] to come; *t!ɛpxadū'ᵒl*
two persons; *y!ū'ᵒt* man)

        *a wul hasā'gʌ sts!âl* because the beaver desired (*hasā'g*
to desire; *sts!âl* beaver)

    (b) Present connective *-dɛ*

        *dzɛ ha'usdɛ sɛm'â'g·it a k!â'i* if the chief says to me
(*dzɛ* conditional; *ha'u* to say; *sɛm'â'g·it* chief; *a* to;
*k!â'i* me)

        *asĭ dā'ulsdɛ t'in-gā'ᵒsdʌ na'ksɛn* he who took your
wife has just left (*asĭ* just; *da'ul* to leave; *t* he; *in-*
who; *gā'ᵒ* to take; *naks* wife; *-ɛn* thy)

    (c) Absent connective *-sgɛ*

        *adu wul txal-iā'ᵒsgɛ bā'ᵒsgɛgaᵒ* then his fear increased
(*txal-iā'ᵒ* to increase; *bā'ᵒsg* fear)

        *wul lu-la'psgɛ a'ksgaᵒ* where the water is deep (*lu-* in;
*lap* deep; *aks* water)

        *n!inĭ'gan ha'usgɛ sts!â'lgaᵒ* therefore the beaver said
(*n!inĭ'* it is that; *gan* reason)

**B I 1. Transitive verbs, subjunctive, common nouns:**

    (a) Indefinite connective *-ɛ*

        *ada n dɛm sa-l!'ĭ-t!'ū'ᵒsʌ nɛ-galdɛm-a'ksgu* I shall sud-
denly push over on it my bucket (*n* I; *dɛm* future
*sa-* suddenly; *l!'ĭ-* on; *t!'ū'ᵒs* to push; *nɛ-* possessive;
*galdɛm-* receptacle; *aks* water; *-u* my)

        *adat lu-xba-q!asgô'dzɛ nɛ-ga-ts!ɛlts!a'lsgɛ hā'ᵒxgaᵒ*
then he cut (in) across the faces of the geese (*t* he;
*lu-* in; *xba-* across; *gôdz*, with plu. obj. *q!as'gôdz*
to cut; *nɛ-* possessive; *ga-* plural; *ts!al*, distribu-
tive plural *ts!ɛlts!a'l* face; *hā'ᵒx* goose)

    (b) Present connective *-sdɛ*

        . . . *t'in gā'ᵒsdɛ na'ksɛn* he who took thy wife

    (c) Absent connective *-sgɛ*

        *adat gɛ'rɛdɛxsgɛ hanā'ᵒxgaᵒ* then he asked the woman
(*t* he; *gɛ'rɛdɛg* to ask; *hanā'ᵒg* woman)

        *dat wul sū'ᵒsgɛ maā'wulkgaᵒ* then he shook the rope
(*sū* to shake; *maā'wulk* rope)

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B I 2. **Transitive verb, subjunctive, common nouns:**

    (*a*) Indefinite connective -*E*

        *adat ts!ɛlɛm-ks-gâ'gɛ xē'ºgɛt* first foam came in (*t* it, subj.; *ts!ɛlɛm-* into, from the side; *ks-* extreme; *gâg* first; *xēºg* foam)

    (*b*) Present connective -*dE*

        *adat g'ap-yā'ºkɛdɛ txan.!ī' ga-ᴡula-dza'bɛt* then all the hunters really pursued it (*g'ap-* really; *yāºk* to pursue; *txan.!ī'* all; *ga-* plural; *ᴡula-dza'b* hunter)

    (*c*) Absent connective -*tgE*

        *ada ᴡult ksɛ-hashë'ºtstgɛ sɛm'â'g·itgɛ hanā'naxtgaº* then the chief sent out the women (*ksɛ-* out; *hëts* plural obj.; *hashë'ts* to send; *sɛm'-â'g·it* chief; *hanā'g* [plural *hanā'nag*] woman)

        *adat nē'ºdzɛtgʌ sts.!â'lgɛ nī'ºtgaº* then the beaver saw him (*nī'ºdz* to see; *sts.!âl* beaver; *n.!īºt* he)

B II 1. **Intransitive verb, subjunctive, proper names:**

    (*a*) Indefinite connective -*s*

        *la dɛm bā'ºs Dzôn* John was running

        *ada ᴡul sī'ɛpgɛs Tôm* Tom was sick

    (*b*) Present connective -*dEs*

        *ᴡula dza'bɛdɛs Gunaxnēsɛmg·a'd* what Gunaxnē-sɛmg·a'd was doing

    (*c*) Absent connective -*s*

        *hi-ts.!ī'ɛns Gunaxnēsɛmg·a'tgaº* Gunaxnēsɛmg·a'd came in

        *ada ᴡul sɛm-bā'ºs Gunaxnēsɛmg·a'tgaº* then Gunaxnē-sɛmg·a'd ran fast

B II 2. **Transitive verb, subjunctive, proper names:**

    (*b*) Present connective -*dEt*

        *ada ᴡult yɛ'rɛdaxdɛt K̄sɛm-q.!asgâ'ºsgaº* then Crane-Woman asked him (*gɛ'rɛdag* to ask; *ksɛm-* female; *q.!asgâ'ºs* crane)

        *adat dôxdɛt Gunaxnesɛmg·a'tgɛ lūdɛm mɛ-sī'ºnsgaº* then Gunaxnēsɛmg·a'd took the copper wedge (*dôx* to take; *lūd* wedge; -*ɛm* attributive connective; *mɛsīºns* copper)

    (*c*) Absent connective -*tgEt*

        *adat gɛ'rɛdaxtgɛt nɛgᴡā'ºtgɛ k̄lgɛ'rɛm y.!ū'ºdatgaº* then the father asked his sons (*gɛ'rɛdag* to ask; *nɛgᴡā't* father; *k̄lgɛr* children; -*ɛm* attributive connective; *y.!ūºd* man)

        *ada al ᴡult lī'ºtsxdɛt Astiᴡā'lgaº* then Astiwā'l counted it (*līºtsx* to count)

### § 26. Connectives between Subject and Object

In sentences with transitive verb as predicate, the subject gener-ally follows the predicate and precedes the object. The connectives between subject and object are in all sentences, and for both common nouns and proper names, -ᴇ, -dᴇ, -gᴇ, which generally agree with the predicate connective.

A I 2. Indicative, common nouns:

> (a) (with -ᴇ) *wa'i hana'gₐ hā'°sᴇt* the woman found the dog
>
> (c) (with -gᴇ) *dᴇm dza'kdᴇsga g·ibā' ugₐ hā'°sga°* the wolf will kill the dog

B I 2. Subjunctive, common nouns:

> (a) (with -ᴇ) *ada wult gā'°dᴇt Gunaxnēsᴇmg·a'dᴇ ha-kdū'°stga* then Gunaxnēsᴇmg·a'd took his knife
>
> > *ada dit wagait-lu-yā'°kᴇtgᴇt Asdi-wā'ldᴇ ts!ᴇm-ga'inaga°* then Asdi-wū'l also followed in the path (*di* on his part; *-t* he; *wagait* entirely; *lu-* in; *yā°k* to follow; *ts!ᴇm-* in; *ga'ina* path)
> >
> > *dᴇmt bax-gâ'°dᴇ la'msu mₐ'ti* my son-in-law will go after mountain-goats (see § 29)
>
> (a) (with -dᴇ) *ada al sa-nī'°dzᴇ nᴇ-ts'a'bᴇm ya'ts!ᴇsgᴇ-dᴇ wul ksᴇ-gwa'ntgᴇ wī-gô'ep!a*, but then suddenly saw the animal tribe the great light rising
>
> (b) (with -gₐ) *ada la hiā'°gut sᴇx-dâ'°dᴇ lguwā'lksᴇtgₐ nᴇ-sᴇ-mᴇg·â'xstga°* then the princess began to gather her berries (*hiā'°gu* to begin; *sᴇx-dâ'°* to gather, to hold fast; *lguwā'lksᴇt* princess; *nᴇ-* possessive; *sᴇ-* to make, to gather; *mᴇg·â'xst* berries)
>
> (c) *da dī l.!ī-wā'isgᴇ wī-mᴇs-ô'lgᴇ qal-ts.!a'pga°* then the great white bear, on his part, found the town (*dī-* on his part; *l.!ī-* on; *wā* to find; *wī-* great; *mᴇs-* white; *ôl* bear; *qal-* empty; *ts.!ap* tribe)
>
> (c) *da woulat y.!aga-ks-dū'°ltgᴇ hanā'naxgᴇ su-p!a'sᴇm y.!ū'°tagas* then the women accompanied the young man down (Tsimshian Texts, New Series, *Publica-tions of the American Ethnological Society*, Vol. III, 78.29; *y.!aga-* down; *ks-* extreme; *dū°l* to accompany; *-t* he; *hanā'nax*, plural, women; *su-* newly; *p!as* to grow; *-ᴇm* adjectival connective; *y.!ū°ta* man)
>
> (c) *adat wul k·!ina'mdᴇt Asdiwā'lgᴇ gô'kgᴇ . . .* then Asdiwā'l gave the basket . . . (*Ibid.*, 98.17; *k·!i-na'm* to give; *-dᴇt* connective B II 2 *b;* *gôk* basket)

So far I have not been able to find examples in which proper names appear as objects.

## § 27. Possessive Connectives

The possessive connectives differ in indicative and subjunctive sentences, and it seems that the complete series must be as follows:

| | I. Common nouns. | | | II. Proper names. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (a) Indefinite. | (b) Present. | (c) Absent. | |
| A. Indicative . . . . . . . . . | -ᴇ | -dᴇ | -gᴇ | }-ᴤ |
| B. Subjunctive . . . . . . . . | (-ᴇ) | -sdᴇ | -sgᴇ | |

I have not been able to get examples of the whole series.

A I. (*a*) Indefinite connective -ᴇ

    *n.ʹīnī' nᴇ-wā'lbᴇ sᴇm'ā'g·ît* this is the house of the chief

    (*b*) Present connective -dᴇ

      *nᴇ-mᴇlᴇ-l.ʹī-q.ʹā'ᵒlsxan nᴇ-ga-ts.ʹuwā'ldᴇ hā'ᵒsᴇt* the fingers of the dog were six on each (paw) (*nᴇ-* past; *mᴇlᴇ-* each; *l.ʹī-* on; *q.ʹâlt* six; *-sxan* long; *nᴇ-* possessive; *ga-* plural; *ts.ʹuwā'l* finger; *hā's* dog)

    (*c*) Absent connective -gᴇ

      *gū'gᴀ dzô'gat gᴇsgᴇ qal-ts.ʹa'pgᴇ nᴇ-wā'lptgaᵒ* who lived in the houses of the town (*gū* who; *dzôg* to camp; *gᴇsgᴇ* from *a* ɪɴ [see § 28]; *qal-ts.ʹa'b* town; *wālb* house)

B I. (*b*) Present connective -sdᴇ

      *adᴀ nᴇ wul nīᵒ nᴇ-wā'lbsdᴇ y.ʹū'ᵒta* then I saw the house of the man (*nᴇ* I; *nīᵒ* to see; *wālb* house; *y.ʹū'ᵒt* man)

    (*c*) Absent connective -sgᴇ

      *adᴀ wul gwa'lsgsgᴇ nᴇ-wā'lbsgᴇ y.ʹū'ᵒta* then the house of the man was burnt

B II. *nā'l dᴇmt în-na'ksgᴀ lgū'ᵒlgᴇs Ǧau'oⁱ* who will marry Ǧauo's daughter? (*nā°* who; *dᴇm* future; *t'în-* he who; *naksg* to marry; *lgūᵒlg* child)

    *txa-n.ʹī' nᴇ-ligi-wā'ls nᴇgwā'ᵒdᴇngaᵒ* all the wealth of thy father (*txa-n.ʹī'* all; *nᴇ-* possessive; *ligi-wā'l* wealth; *nᴇ-gwā'ᵒd* father; *-n* thy)

## § 28. Prepositional Connectives

The general preposition *a*, which has been described in the Nass dialect (§ 23.7), occurs apparently alone in Tsimshian; but it seems more likely that the *a* without connective must be considered as a special form for *aᴇ* (see § 29). With connectives we find both the indicative and subjunctive forms.

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| | I. Common nouns. | | | II. Proper names. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (a) Indefinite. | (b) Present. | (c) Absent. | (a) Indefinite. | (b) Present. | (c) Absent. |
| A. Indicative . . . | a | da | gᴀ | as | dᴇs | gᴇs |
| B. Subjunctive . . | a | asda | asga | | | |

Furthermore, several of these forms occur contracted with demonstrative *d* and *g;* as—

    *dᴇda*          *gᴇgᴀ*

    *dᴇsda*        *gᴇsga*

I A. (a) Indefinite *a*

    *k!a-ā'm a txa-n!ī' gâ'°* it is better than all things (*k!a* exceedingly; *ām* good; *txa-n!ī'* all; *gâ°* something)

    *da uks-hᵉˣ°tgᴇ a'uta a nᴇ-dzôga-a'ksᴇt* then the porcupine stood at the edge of the water (*da* then; *uks-* toward water; *hᵉˣtg* to stand; *a'uta* porcupine; *nᴇ-* possessive; *dzôg* edge; *aks* water)

  (b) Present *da*

    *lᴇp-lgusgᴇ'rᴇsgᴇ sts!â'ldᴀ lax-a'ksᴇt* the beaver himself was happy in the water (*lᴇp-* self; *lgusgᴇ'rᴇsg* happy; *sts!âl* beaver; *lax-* surface; *aks* water)

  (c) Absent *gᴀ*

    *hô'ltgᴇ bᴀ'ntgᴇgᴀ a'ksga°* his belly was full of water (*hôltg* full; *bᴀn* belly; *-t* his; *gᴇgᴀ* from *gᴀ;* *aks* water)

I B. (a) Indefinite *a*

    *la bax-a'xlgᴇt a nᴇ-miyā'n wī-sa'mᴇnga°* he came up to the foot of the great spruce tree (*la* past; *bax-* up; *axlg* arrive; *nᴇ-* possessive; *miyā'n* foot of tree; *wī-* great; *sa'mᴇn* spruce)

  (b) Present *asda*

    *ada al l!ī-q!an-dā'ulda° a'sdᴇ nᴇ-ts!uwā'n sganē'°stga°* but he has gone over the top of the mountain (*al* but; *l!ī-* on; *q!an-* over; *dā'ul* to leave; *nᴇ-* possessive; *ts!uwā'n* top; *sganē'°st* mountain)

  (c) Absent *asga*

    *ada hā'usgᴀ a'uta asgᴀ sts!â'lga°* then said the porcupine to the beaver

II. (a) Indefinite *as*

    *ada ha'ut na'kst as nē'°t* then his wife said to him

  (b) Present *dᴇs*

    *da-ya't Astiwā'l dᴇs nᴇgwā'°tga°* said Astiwā'l to his father

  (c) Absent *gᴇs*

    *da'wula ha'usgᴀ a'uta gᴇs nī'°tga°* then the porcupine said to him

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Examples of the forms *dɛsdʌ* and *gɛsgʌ* are the following:

> *nɛ n ksɛ'ranu dɛsdʌ da'ʌlda°* I went out (at) some time ago
>
> *da wī-am-ha'usgʌ a'uta gɛsgʌ sts!â'lga°* then the porcupine shouted to the beaver

The forms in *dɛdʌ* and *gɛgʌ* occur in the translations of the Gospels with great frequency; but I have not been able to find any examples except the one given before under A I (*c*).

### § 29. Phonetic Modification of the Connectives

1. All forms in *ɛ* described in the preceding paragraphs have no ending after the vowels *l*, *m*, *n*, and *r*.

> *ada al sgɛr a'uta* . . . then the porcupine lay . . .
>
> *adat kˑ!înâ'm nɛ-wundâ'°tga°* then he gave him tobacco
>
> *da wul wā'l nɛ-lū'du* because of what happened to my wedge
>
> *ada dɛmt q!â'pɛgan lɛksâ'gat* then it will obstruct the doorway (*q!âpɛgan* to obstruct; *lɛksâ'g* doorway)
>
> *stū'°p!ɛl wul t!ā°* *na'ksɛn* your wife is in the rear of the house (*stū'°p!ɛl* rear of house; *t!ā°* to sit [singular]; *naks* wife; -*ɛn* thy)
>
> *a lat nī gô'ep!at* when he saw the light

2. The endings beginning with *s* lose this sound after words with terminal *s;* for instance,

> *ada sɛm-bā'°sgʌ sts!â'lga°* then the beaver was much afraid (*bā°s* afraid; *bā'°sgʌ* instead of *bā'°s-sgʌ*)

### § 30. Connectives of the Conjunction AND

The conjunction AND, when expressed by *di* or *gan*, takes the connectives *s* and *l*, as in the Nass dialect—the former before proper names, some terms of relationship, and pronouns designating persons; the latter before common nouns.

> *n!ɛ'rɛn dis n!ɛ'riu* thou and I
>
> *gwa° dis gwī°* that one and this one
>
> *Dzôn dis Tôm* \
> *Dzôn gans Tôm* } John and Tom

On the other hand:

> *gwa° dil gwī°* that thing and this thing
>
> *y!ū'°ta dil hanā'°g* \
> *y!ū'°ta ganl hanā'°g* } the man and the woman

### § 31. The Connective -l

Besides its use with the conjunctions *di* and *gan*, the connective -*l* is used in negative, conditional, and interrogative sentences, be-

tween the intransitive verb and its subject, and between the transitive verb and its object.

> *awa'lgɛ dzakl wan* the deer is not dead yet (*awa'lgɛ* not yet; *dzak* dead; *wan* deer)
>
> *a'lgɛ dī hē'tgɛl wālb asgɛ gwa'sgaga⁰* there was no house there (*algɛ* not; *dī* on its part; *hētg* to stand; *wālb* house; *asgɛ* at [see § 28]; *gwa'sga* that; *-ga⁰* [see § 20])
>
> *a'lgɛt dza'gul wan* he did not kill the deer (*dza'g* to kill)
>
> *a'lgɛ āml dɛmt wula'idɛl g·at* it is not good that the people should know it (*ām* good; *dɛm* future, nominal particle; *wulā'i* to know; *g·ad* people)

In interrogative sentences:

> *du nā⁰l dɛm dɛdū'ºlsɛdɛl txā'lpxadɛ wul k·!ȋpk·!a'pl sa al mɛla-k!ɛ'rɛldɛl g·amk a tras-k!â'ºlɛt?* who will live (with) forty days each month throughout the year? (*du* demonstrative; *nā⁰* who; *dɛm* future; *dɛdū'ºls* to live; *txālpx* four; *wul* being; *k·!ap* ten round ones, *k·!ȋpk·!a'p* distributive; *sa* day; *a* at; *mɛla-* each; *k!ɛ'rɛl* one round one; *g·amk* sun, moon; *a* at; *tras-* along, throughout; *k!â⁰l*, year)

## § 32. Suffixes of Numerals

In the Nass river dialect, only three classes of numerals have distinctive suffixes. These are:

> -*âl* human beings
> -*kᵘs* canoes
> -*al'ôn* fathoms (derived from the stem *ôn* HAND)

In the Tsimshian dialect the corresponding suffixes occur also, and, besides, another one used to designate long objects. These are:

> -*âl* human beings
> -*sk* canoes
> -*ɛl'ô'n* fathoms
> -*sxan* long objects

The numerals will be treated more fully in § 57.

## § 33. Contraction.

The Tsimshian dialects have a marked tendency to form compound words by contraction which is apparently based partly on weakening of vowels, partly on the omission of syllables. In some cases it can be shown that omitted syllables do not belong to the stem of the word that enters into composition; while in other cases this is doubtful. Since my material in the Tsimshian dialect is better, I will give the Tsimshian examples first.

Contraction by weakening of vowels:

*t!ɛm-lā'n* steersman; for *t!ā°m g·i-lā'n* sitting-stern (*t!ā°* to sit; *g·i-lā'n* stern of canoe)

*nɛgutshā'°s* smart, frisky; for *nɛgwā'°ts hā°s* father of dog

*stɛ⁶mâ'n* humpback salmon; for *stâm hân* on one side salmon

*lɛbe ts!ā°g·* kidney-fat; for *lâ'°bɛ ts!ā°g·* fat of stone (i. e., of kidney)

*lɛbɛ-ô'n* biceps; for *lâ'°bɛ an`ô'n* arm-stone

*ts!ūnɛ l!ī-hæ°tg* he stands on the end of it; for *ts!uwā'n*

Here belongs also the particle *ksɛ-* fluid; for *aks* water:

*ksɛ-gwā'nuks* spring of water.

Following are examples of contraction by omission of prefixes:

*t!ɛm-lā'n* steersman, for *t!ā°m g·i-lā'n*

*t!ɛm-ts!âēg* harpooneer, for *t!ā°m g·i-ts!â'ēg* sitting bow

*nɛ-ksluni'°sk* looking-glass, for *nɛ-g·ilɛks-lu-ni'°sk* where backward in one looks. It seems probable that *g·il-* is a separable part of *g·ilɛks-*

*t!ɛm-g·ā'ni* the one up river, for *t!ā°m g·ig·ä'ni*, is not used, but is understood; also *t!ɛm-hau'li* the one in the woods; for *t!ā°m g·ilhau'li.*

Contraction with omission of syllables that are not known as prefixes seems to occur in—

*sig·idɛmna'x* chieftainess; for *sig·idɛm hana'g* chief woman

*ha-l!ī-ta t!ī'°bɛn* when sea-lions lie on; for *ha-l!ī-dâ t!ī'°bɛn* contains also a material change of the stem-form.

The name of the tribe itself is interpreted in a similar manner: *ts!ɛm-sia'n*, for *ts!ɛm-ksia'n* in the Skeena river. The latter word may possibly contain the element *ks-* fluid.

In the Nass river dialect the same kinds of contraction occur, but examples are not numerous:

*anik·su-lō'galtk* looking-glass; for *an-gulik·s-lō-lā'galtk* where back in one examines.

*sig·idɛmna'q* chieftainess; for *sig·adɛm hā'naq* chief woman

*sɛm`â'g·ît* chief, seems to contain *sɛm-* very; *g·at* person.

*Masɛmts`ē'tsk^u* (a name); for *mā'sɛmst yō-n-ts`ē'êtsk^u* growing up having a grandmother (*mās* to grow; *-m* connective; *-st* [?]; *yō—k^u* to have; *n-ts`ē'êts* grandmother)

*Xpī'yelek* (a name); for *xpī-hagulâ'q* partly sea-monster.

In connection with this phenomenon may be mentioned the use of some elements as verbs and nouns in fragmentary form,—or without affixes, as particles. An instance is:

*hasa'ga* to desire; *saga dɛm yā'°gu* I desire to go.

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### § 34. Incorporation

In expressions designating an habitual activity directed toward an object, the verbal stem and its object form a compound word, which is treated like a single verb, so that the object appears in an incorporated form. Examples of this form are the following:

Tsimshian:

> gô'lts.'ɛxgan to be a stick-carrier (gô'lts.'ɛg to carry; gan stick)
> gô'lts.'ɛxlô'ᵒb to be a stone-carrier (lô'ᵒb stone)
> waliga'n to be a stick-carrier (wali to carry on back)
> g·ǎᵗ'ɛ'rla to be out harpooning seals (g·ǎg to harpoon; ɛ'rla seal)
> bū'sgan to split wood (būs to split).
> bū'slag to split fire-wood (lag fire)
> g·ǎxbī'ᵒsnu I am a box-carver (g·ǎg to carve; xbī'ᵒs box)
> sɛ-yǎt-wa'yinu I am a paddle-polisher (sɛ- to make; yǎg smooth; wa'i paddle)

### Reduplication (§§ 35-38)

### § 35. General Remarks

There are two types of reduplication in Tsimshian—one in which the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel, is repeated; the other in which the initial sounds, including the first vowel, are repeated. The functions of these two methods of reduplication are quite distinct. The former is generally used to form plurals, and with a number of proclitic particles that imply more or less clearly the meaning of repetition or plurality. The second forms generally a progressive form, or, perhaps better, a present participle of the verb.

### § 36. Initial Reduplication, including the First Consonant following the First Vowel

This part of the word is repeated before the stem-syllable with weakened vowel. The accent of the word is not changed, and the reduplicated syllable remains separated from the word by a hiatus. This is particularly evident in words beginning with a vowel.

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| ôx· | îx'ô'x· | to throw |
| ām | ɛm'ā'm | good |
| a'lg·îx | rl'a'lg·îx | to speak |
| ētkᵘs | at'ē'tkᵘs | to name |

This method of reduplication may be considered as duplication modified by phonetic laws. Monosyllabic words terminating with a consonantic cluster retain only the first sound of the cluster, thus avoiding a great accumulation of consonants in the middle of the word. The same causes probably affect polysyllabic words in such manner that the whole end of the word is dropped. This seems the more likely, as the repeated syllable has its vowel weakened. This process would easily reduce the terminal parts of polysyllabic words, when repeated, to consonantic clusters.

The weakened vowels have a tendency to change to *ɛ* or *î*. The great variability of the vowels makes it difficult to establish a general rule.

(*a*) Monosyllabic words, beginning and terminating either with a vowel or with a single consonant:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *ôxˑ* | *îxˑ'ô'xˑ* | to throw |
| *ôs* | *ɛs'ô's* | dog |
| *ām* | *ɛm'ā'm* | good |
| *ôl* | *al'ô'l* | bear |
| *daxˑ* | *dîxˑda'xˑ* | hill |
| *d'ec* | *d'îcd'e'c* | to push |
| *ʟap* | *ʟɛpʟa'p* | deep |
| *baʟ* | *bɛʟba'ʟ* | to spread out |
| *hap* | *hapha'p* | to shut |
| *gan* | *ganga'n* | tree |
| *t'aq* | *{t'aqt'a'q*<br>*(but also t'ɛt'a'q)* | }lake |
| *dzôq* | *dzıqdzô'q* | to camp |
| *t'ē* | *t'ɛt'ē'* | valley |
| *mēʟ* | *mîʟmē'ʟ* | to burn |
| *mêʟ* | *mîʟmê'ʟ* | to tell |
| *gˑîc* | *gˑîcgˑî'c* | wrong |
| *lâ'ôp* | *lɛplâ'ôp* | stone |
| *tsap* | *tsɛptsa'p* | to make |
| *ts'al* | *ts'îlts'a'l* | face |
| *ts'ē'îp* | *ts'ɛpts'ē'îp* | to tie |
| *qôs* | *qîsqo's* | to jump |
| *dzôq* | *dzɛqdzô'q* | to camp |
| *n-dza'm* | *n-dzɛmdza'm* | kettle |

The vowel is apparently strengthened in

| *nô'* | *nōnô'* | hole |

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Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| ôy | ay'ô'y | to throw |
| ām | am'ā'm | good |
| hā°s | haꭓhā'°s | dog |
| dâ | dadâ' | to place |
| dam | dᴇmdá'm | to hold |
| dal | dïlda'l | to fight |
| dū°p | dᴇpdū'°p | foot of mountain |
| hôᵋn | hanhô'°n | to fill |
| bū° | bᴇbū'° | to wait |
| bêl | bïlbê'l | to spread |
| k·!ak | k·!îkk·!a'k | to choke |
| ts!êl | ts!ᴇlts!ê'l | to slice fish |
| mal | mᴇlma'l | to tell |
| dzâ°l | dzᴇldzâ'°l | to slide |
| ts!ap | tsⵊ!ᴇpts!a'p | tribe |
| lâ°b | lᴇplâ'°b | stone |
| dā'u | dudā'u | ice |
| lū-sā'°ꭓ | lū-ꭓᴇꭑsā'°ꭓ | red-hot |
| q̇!aī | q̇!aĭgaī' | to bite |

(b) Monosyllabic words beginning with a vowel or a single consonant, and terminating with a cluster of consonants, reduplicate the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| sī'êpkᵘ | sîpsī'êpkᵘ | sick |
| ts˙ēpkᵘ | ts˙îpts˙ē'pkᵘ | hard |
| îskᵘ | îs˙î'skᵘ | stench |
| gîcᵍkᵘ | gîcgî'ckᵘ | lean |
| qêckᵘ | qasqê'ckᵘ | narrow |
| dēlpkᵘ | dêldē'lpkᵘ | short |
| lō-dā'ltkᵘ | lō-dᴇldā'lpkᵘ | to meet |
| ʟantkᵘ | ʟᴇnʟa'ntkᵘ | to move |
| mîtkᵘ | mîtmî'tᴌᵘ | full |
| g·îtkᵘ | g·îtg·î'tkᵘ | to swell |
| g·aʟkᵘ | g·îʟg·a'ʟkᵘ | to pierce |
| hanꭓ· | hanha'nꭓ· | thin |
| ʟîntꭓ· | ʟînʟî'ntꭓ· | to be angry |
| g·êpkc | g·îpg·ê'pkc | high |
| ētqc | at'ē'tqc | to end |
| ētkᵘs | at'ē'tkᵘs | to name |
| maô'ꭓk· | maꭓmaô'ꭓk· | meek |
| lō-ya'ltkᵘ | lō-yîlya'ltkᵘ | to return |

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Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| sĭ'ᵖpk | sɛpsĭ'ᵒpk | sick |
| ālx | al'ā'lx | brave |
| wālb | (wîlwā'lb) | house |
| hā°ᵡk | haxhā'°ᵡk | annoyed |
| hôksk | hakhô'ksk | to be with |
| g·ī°sk | g·îsgī'°sk | to go past |
| yaltk | yîlya'ltk | to return |
| g·êlks | g·îlg·ê'lks | to feel |
| aᵡlg | ax'a'ᵡlg | to attain |
| qā°pk | gapqā'°pk | to scratch, to rake |
| kwā°tk | kutkwā'°tk | to disappear |

(c) Polysyllabic words, beginning with a vowel or a single conso-
nant, reduplicate the beginning of the word, including the first con-
sonant following the first vowel:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| sĭ'ɛb'ɛn | sîpsĭ'ɛb'ɛn | to love |
| hadⁱa'ᵡkᵘ | hadhadⁱa'ᵡkᵘ | bad |
| hwîlā'x· | hwîlhwîlā'x· | to know |
| bā'sîᵡkᵘ | bɛsbā'sîᵡkᵘ | to separate |
| hwā'lîx· | hwîlhwā'lîx· | to carry on back |
| ā'dⁱîk·skᵘ | adⁱā'dⁱîk·skᵘ | to come |
| g·î'dɛx | g·îdg·î'dɛx | to ask |
| asā'x· | as'asā'x· | foot |
| dē'lîx | dîldē'lîx | tongue |
| lō'laq | lɛllō'laq | ghost |
| (qan)mā'la | (qan)mɛlmā'la | button |
| a'lg·îx | al'a'lg·îx | to speak |
| ma'lgêk·skᵘ | mɛlma'lgêk·skᵘ | heavy |
| haxda'kᵘ | hîx·haxda'kᵘ | bow |
| hō'mts!îx | hamhō'mts!îx | to kiss |
| ha'ᵡg·'at | haxha'ᵡg·'at | sweet-smelling |

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| k·!înā'm | k·!înk·!înā'm | to give |
| lê'p!gan | lɛplê'p!gan | to shuffle about |
| la'°k·!ultk | lɛk'la'k·!ultk | to wrap up |
| g·a'°gɛltk | g·îkg·a'°gɛltk | to roll |
| p!î'°lɛn | p!ɛlp!î'°lɛn | to nudge |
| k!wā'°das | k!utk!wā'°das | to miss |
| ts!a'k·a | ts!ɛk·ts!a'k·a | fire is out |
| da'kⱡɯɛn | dɛkda'kⱡɯɛn | to drown |

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| Singular | Plural | |
|----------|--------|--|
| *g·ilā'ᵒl* | *g·ĭlg·ilā'ᵒl* | to look after |
| *da'msax* | *dᴇmda'msax* | downcast |
| *p!a'lg·îxsk* | *p!ᴇlp!a'lg·îxsk* | heavy |
| *wulī'ᵒl* | *wulᴇwulī'ᵒl* | to rub |
| *su-wulī'ᵒnsk* | *su-wulwulī'ᵒnsk* | hunter |
| *gô'it!ᴇks* | *gatgô'it!ᴇks* | to come |

(*d*) A number of euphonic changes occur in this type of reduplication. They differ in character in the two dialects. In the Nass dialect, when the reduplicated syllable ends in *k·*, *g·*, and *k*, these are aspirated, and become *x·*; *g* and *q* are aspirated and become *x*; *y* becomes *x·*; *ts* becomes *s*; *dz* becomes *z*.

(*α*) *k·*, *g·*, *k* following the first vowel are changed into *x·*:

| Singular | Plural | |
|----------|--------|--|
| *t'ak·* | *t'îx·t'a'k·* | to forget |
| *hak·s* | *hax·ha'k·s* | to abuse |
| *ōk·s* | *ax·'ō'k·s* | to drop |
| *iâ'ôk·s* | *îx·'iâ'ôk·s* | to wash |
| *âk·s* | *êx·'â'k·s* | broad |
| *dak·ʟ* | *dîx·da'k·ʟ* | to tie |
| *sak·skᵘ* | *sîx·sa'k·sᴋᵘ* | clean |
| *ʟē-g·a't* | *ʟîx·ʟē-g·a't* | weak, sickly |
| *mōkᵘ* | *mîx·mō'kᵘ* | to catch fish |
| *g·uks* | *g·îx·g·u'ks* | fish jumps |
| *hokckᵘ* | *hax·ho'kckᵘ* | to be with others |

(*β*) *y* following the first vowel changes to *x·*:

| Singular | Plural | |
|----------|--------|--|
| *hō'yîx* | *hîx·hō'yîx* | like |

(*γ*) *g* and *q* following the first vowel change to *x*:

| Singular | Plural | |
|----------|--------|--|
| *magā'nskᵘ* | *mîxnagā'nskᵘ* | explanation |
| *gä'iqckᵘ* | *gᴇxgä'iqckᵘ* | to sit |
| *sō'uqskᵘ* | *sᴇxsō'uqskᵘ* | to dive |
| *q'äqʟ* | *q'ᴇxq'ä'qʟ* | to drag |
| *aqkᵘʟ* | *ax'a'qkᵘʟ* | to succeed |

(*δ*) *ts* and *s* following the first vowel change to *s* and *z*:

| Singular | Plural | |
|----------|--------|--|
| *yats* | *yîs'ia'ts* | to chop |
| *q'ôts* | *q'ᴇsq'ô'ts* | to chop a tree |
| *hē'îts* | *hîshē'îts* | to send |
| *hē'tsumᴇx* | *hashē'tsumᴇx* | to command. |
| *ā'dzîks* | *az'ā'dzîks* | proud |

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§ 36

(ε) Sometimes a x· is introduced at the end of the reduplicated syllable:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| dɛdā'lɛq | dîx·dɛdā'lɛq | to talk to |
| amō's | ax·'amō's | corner |
| t'ōtskᵘ | t'îx·t'ō'tskᵘ | iron |
| yînā'tsîx | yîx·inā'tsîx | whip |
| an-dō'yɛn | ax·'an-dō'yɛn | garden |
| an-sg·ī'st | ax·'an-sg·īst | grave |
| sā'aʟkᵘ | sîx·sā'aʟkᵘ | weak |
| haʟā'alst | hax·êʟā'alst | to work |
| ha-ʟɛbî'skᵘ | hax·ê-ʟɛbî'skᵘ | knife |
| sanlai'dîk·s | sîx·sanlai'dîk·s | sign |
| ē'ɛskᵘ | ax·'ē'ɛskᵘ | debt |
| ax-yâ'ôk·skᵘ | ax-îx·yâ'ôk·skᵘ | to trust |
| tq'al-hwē'lɛmʟkᵘ | tq'al-hwîx·hwē'lɛmʟkᵘ | servant |

Here may also belong—

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| yō'lmɛx | hîx·iō'lmɛx | to advise |

It seems possible that these forms of reduplication should be considered as belonging to the class to be discussed in § 37.

The phonetic changes in the Tsimshian dialect do not agree with those found in the Nass dialect.

(α β γ) The aspiration of g·, k·, g, and k does not seem to occur; only g and q are aspirated:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| dzôg | dzɛxdzô'g | to camp |
| y!aq | y!îxy!a'q | to hang |

(δ) The changes from dz and ts to z and s are also not regular: ·

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| gôdz | gadzgô'dz | to tear |
| hẽᵒts | hashẽ'ᵒts | to send |
| ya'dz | yîsya'dz | to chop |
| t!ū'tsk | t!ɛst!ū'ᵒtsk | black |

(ε) In many cases a k, corresponding to Nass x·, appears inserted:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| sa'ᵒlk!ɛnsk | sɛksa'ᵒlk!ɛnsk | dismayed |
| lâᵒl | lɛklâ'ᵒl | to shove |
| lūᵒntī | lɛklū'ᵒntī | angry |
| lâᵒ | lɛklâ'ᵒ | fast |
| wâmxk | wukwâ'mxk | to suffer |
| nīᵒ | nɛknī'ᵒ | to see |
| nīᵒts | nɛknī'ᵒts | to look |

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| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *lâîk* | *lɛklâ'îk* (better: *lɛ-lâ'îk*) | to move |
| *stū͞oͮlt* | *stɛkstū͞'oͮlt* | companion |
| *gaba'xs* | *gakgaba'xs* | to splash |
| *yā'ulɛmx* | *yîkyā'ulɛmx* | to advise |
| *galˈâ'd* | *gakgalˈâ'd* | to let go |

(3) Some words insert a *t* after the first vowel. Since a *d* or *t* occurs in some of these cases after the first vowel of the stem, the occurrence of the *t* may sometimes be due to an irregular treatment of the reduplication:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *gwāntk* | *gutgwa'ntk* | to touch |
| *qɛ'rɛdax* | *qɛtgɛ'rɛdax* | to ask |
| *wā͞o* | *wutwā'o* | to find |

## § 37. Initial Reduplication, including the First Vowel

(*a*) In most cases the stem-vowel is weakened in the reduplicated syllable:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a'lgˑîx* | to speak | *aa'lgˑîx* | one who is speaking |
| *gˑibā'yuk* | to fly | *gˑîgˑibā'yuk* | one who is flying |
| *xmiyä'n* | I smoke | *igɛxmiyä'ēɛ* | I smoke walking |
| *ha'dîkˑs* | to swim | *ihahā'dîkˑs* | swimming while carrying |
| *gɛba'kskᵘ* | to splash | *igɛgɛba'kskᵘ* | splashing while being carried |
| *lē̆'p!ɛs* | to sew | *llē̆'p!ɛs* | one who is sewing |
| *txâxkᵘ* | to eat [plural] | *ttxâ'xkᵘ* | those eating |
| *gˑip* | to eat something | *angˑigˑi'pt* | one who is eating it |
| *ts'ēn* | to enter | *alō-ts'ɛts'ē'n* | one who enters publicly |
| *t'ax* | lake | *t'ɛt'a'x* | lakes |
| *māl* | canoe | *m'māl* | canoes |
| *bax·* | to run | *bba.x* | one who runs |

Here belongs also

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *wôq* to sleep | | *huwô'q* | one who sleeps |

Similar forms occur in the Tsimshian dialect:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a'lgˑîg* | to speak | *aa'lgˑîg* | the one who is speaking |
| *hᵃ͂ᵒtg* | to stand | *hʌhë̆'tg* | the one standing |
| *t!ā͞o* | to sit | *tɛt!ā͞o* | the one sitting |
| *bā͞o* | to run | *bɛbā'o* | the one running |
| *lī'ᵒdɛg* | to be silent | *llī'ɛdɛg* | silent |
| *sī͞ᵒp* | bone | *sɛsī'ᵒp* | bones |
| *gˑad* | person | *gˑigˑa'd* | people |

(b) In a number of cases the vowel of the reduplicated syllable is long and the accent is thrown back upon it, while the vowel of the stem is weakened:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| lɛqs | lā'lɛqs | to wash body |
| wôq | wā'wôq | to sleep |
| sak· | sĕ'isĭk· | to haul out |
| ʟak· | ʟĕ'ʟĭk· | to bend |
| t!ôq | t!ā't!ɛq | to scratch |

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| lå° | lå'°la | to swim (fish) |
| la°xt | lā'la°xt | to hold with teeth |
| lāk· | lĭ'lĭk· | to bend |
| wa°q | wa'wuq | to bury |
| t!ôg | t!ô'dɛg | to step on |
| sɛ⁽n-wô'q | sɛ⁽n-wā'wôq | to rebuke |

(c) Words beginning in hw (w Tsimshian) have a form of redu‿ cation which is evidently of the same origin as the forms here discussed:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| hwā | huwā' | name |
| hwîlp | huwî'lp | house |

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| wa | huwā'° | name |
| wālb | huwā'lb | house |
| wai | huwa'i | paddle |

(d) Words beginning with a consonantic cluster reduplicate in the Nass dialect by a repetition of the first consonant; at the same time initial x is transformed into q. In Tsimshian the consonantic cluster is treated like a syllable, and is repeated with insertion of a weak vowel:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| ptô | pptô | door |
| xʟqô | qɛxʟqô' | to pray |
| xʟkō'lux | qɛxʟkō'lux | to scold |
| xtsa'ē | qɛxtsa'ē | thick |

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| sqag | sɛxsqa'g | to refuse |
| txā° | t!axtxā'° | flat |

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(e) A number of cases of irregular reduplication occur. Examples in the Nass dialect are—

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *alĭ'sk*ᵘ | *allĭ'sk*ᵘ | weak (*a* may be a prefix) |
| *anē's* | *annē's* | branch |

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *la'g·axsk* | *laxla'g·axsk* | to climb |
| *hanā'g* | *hanā'nag* | woman (for *hanhā'nag*?) |
| *nak* | *nɛknō'ᵒnk* | long |
| *naxnô'x* | *naxnô'ᵒnx* | supernatural |
| *lᵘᵒwä'l* | *wulᵒwa'l* | drop |

## § 38. *Reduplication of Words containing Proclitic Particles*

As a rule, compound words containing proclitic elements reduplicate the stem only.

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *lō-ā'm* | *lō-am'ā'm* | to be good inside |

A few examples of compounds of the type which reduplicate the initial syllables have been given in § 36, *d*, *ε*.

## § 39. Modification of Stem Vowel

In a few cases modifications of length and accent of stem syllables occur. I am inclined to think that all of these have originated by secondary modification of reduplicated forms. The following cases have come under my observation. All of them belong to the Nass River dialect.

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *anā's* | *anā'ɛs* | skin |
| *g·ĭnā'm* | *g·ē'nam* | to give |
| *k·ĭba'* | *k·ība'* | to wait |
| *gwula'* | *guïla'* | cloak |
| *halai't* | *hā'lait* | ceremonial dance |
| *hanā'g* | *hā'naq* | woman |

### Formation of Plural (§§ 40-47)

### § 40. *Methods of forming the Plural*

The plural is generally sharply set off from the singular, both in the noun and in the verb, and only a limited number of words have the same form in singular and plural. Including these words and those which apply different stems in singular and plural, the following methods of expressing the plural may be distinguished.

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(1) Singular and plural have the same form.

(2) The plural is formed by reduplication.

(3) The plural is formed by diæresis or by lengthening of vowels.

(4) The plural is formed by the prefix *qa-*.

(5) The plural is formed by the prefix *qa-* and the suffix *-(t)k<sup>u</sup>*.

(6) The plural is formed by the prefix *l-* with variable vowel.

(7) The plural and singular are formed from the same stem, but in an irregular manner, or they are derived from different stems.

### § 41. *First Group.   Singular and Plural the same*

In this group are combined the words, singular and plural of which have the same form.   Here belong the names of all animals except DOG *ôs* and BEAR *ôl*, trees, and many words that can not be classified.

Parts of the body (see also § 43):

| | |
|---|---|
| *qēc* hair | *nîsq* upper lip |
| *ōpx* forehead | *pʟnāx̣* body (plural also *qa-* |
| *dz'aq* nose | *pʟnā'x̣*) |
| *wan* tooth | *mmâs* thumb |
| *iē'mq* beard | *ʟätsx* tail of fish |
| *ʟaqs* finger-nail | *näiq* fin |
| *ban* belly | *q'āx·* feather |
| *ptal* rib | *la'ē* wing |
| *mâ'dz'ik·s* breast | *t'ɛm-lā'nix·* neck |
| *mîsx·k'ā'x·* down of bird | *t'ɛm-gā'x·* fathom |

Miscellaneous:

| | |
|---|---|
| *sɛ* day | *āt* net |
| *axk<sup>u</sup>* night | *ts'ak·* dish |
| *k'ōʟ* year | *wâ'ôs* dish |
| *lak<sup>u</sup>* fire | *lē'p'ɛst* marmot blanket |
| *ak·s* water | *d'ā'ist* bed-quilt |
| *pɛlî'st* star | *yā'tsɛsk<sup>u</sup>* animal |
| *ia'ns* leaf | *wîc* root |
| *dawî's* axe | *bɛla'* haliotis-shell |
| *hawî'l* arrow | *mî'uks* sweet-smelling |
| *bɛla'* haliotis | *xʟqaō'm* payment |
| | |
| *ia'k·* to thunder | *ʟmâ'ɛm* to help |
| *dē'lɛmxk<sup>u</sup>* to reply | *hätk<sup>u</sup>t* to rush |
| *mē'lɛk<sup>u</sup>* to dance | *g·i'dɛx* to ask |
| *lē'mîx·* to sing | *bak<sup>u</sup>* to feel |
| *g·a'a* to see | *li-ya'q* to hang |
| *hasa'q* to want | *anâ'q* to agree |

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A number of stems with prefixes also retain the same form in singular and plural :

| | |
|---|---|
| *gwîs-ma'k·sk<sup>u</sup>* white blanket | *hwîl-dig·a't* warrior |
| *gwîs-halai't* dancing-blanket | *lō-sanā'ʟk<sup>u</sup>* to be surprised |
| *lax-ama'k<sup>u</sup>s* prairie | *sᴇ-anuwô'q* to rebuke |

The same class occurs in Tsimshian. Here also all names of animals have the same forms in singular and plural except those of the dog (*hā<sup>o</sup>s*) and the bear (*ôl*). Names of parts of the body appear also in the same form in singular and plural, although more often they have the prefix *qa-*.

Examples are—

| | |
|---|---|
| *nê'tsᴇks* fish-tail | *ū* to fish with line |
| *sa* day | *ma'k·.'il* to drop down |
| *latsx* smoked split salmon-tail | *lᴇhē'lꝺ* to forbid |
| *mag·â'sx* berry | *p!ᴇlô'* to break law |
| *hasa'x* to desire | *ā<sup>o</sup>lks* servant |

### § 42. *Second and Third Groups. Plurals formed by Reduplication and Vowel Change*

In these groups are comprised the words the plurals of which are formed by reduplication or diæreses. By far the majority of words belong to this class.

The plurals of the second group, which are formed by reduplication, may be subdivided into the following groups:

(*a*) The plural is formed generally by reduplication of the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel, which method has been fully described in § 36.

(*b*) Only in exceptional cases is the plural formed by the reduplication of the beginning of the word, including the first vowel. The following instances of this type of reduplication used for forming the plural have been observed.

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *g·în* | *g·îg·î'n* | to give food |
| *g·īk<sup>u</sup>* | *g·îg·ī'k<sup>u</sup>* | to buy |
| *ts'ak·* | *ts'ᴇts'a'k·* | dish |
| *t'ax* | *t'ᴇt'a'x*, *t'axt'a'x* | lake |
| *ts'ēp* | *ts'ᴇts'ē'p* | bone |
| *g·āt* | *g·îg·a't* | people |
| *māl* | *mmāl* | canoe |

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Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *sī°p* | *sᴇsī'°p* | bone |
| *lâ°* | { *lᴀlâ'°* *lᴇklâ'°* } | fast |
| *lā°ld* | *lᴇlā'°ld* | to move |
| *lâ'îk* | { *lᴇlâ'* *lᴇklâ'îk* } | to move |

A special form of this reduplication is found in words beginning with *hw*, which take *hūw* in the plural, probably originating from *hwhw* .

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *hwa* | *hūwa'* | name |
| *hwîlp* | *hūwî'lp* | house |
| *hwât* | *hūwâ't* | to sell |
| *hwîl* | *hūwî'l* | to do |
| *hwô* | *hūwô'* | to call |
| *hwāx·* | *hūwā'x·* | to paddle |

Related to this are the two plurals described in § 37 *e* .

(*c*) The few cases in which the syllable reduplicated according to this method is long and has the accent, while the vowel of the stem is weakened, have been described in § 37 *b* .

(*d*) In some cases the singular is formed from a certain stem by the second type of reduplication, while the plural is formed by the first type of reduplication.

| Stem | Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *dēls* | *dᴇdē'ls* | *dᴇldē'ls* | alive |
| *gēt* | *qᴇgē'tk^u* | *qᴇtgē'tk^u* | difficult |

The word *mak·sk^u*, plural *n.ᴇsma'k·sk^u*, WHITE, may be mentioned here, since its stem seems to be *mas*.

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *dᴇdū'°ls* | *dᴇldū'°ls* | alive |

In Tsimshian a number of cases occur in which irregular reduplications are used, or phonetic increments of the stem.

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *xswâxs* | *sᴇxswâ'xs* | to dive |
| *ts!â* | *ts!â'ts!ᴇxt* | to split |
| *q!âx* | *q!â°lx* | to pull |
| *txa-a'q* | *txa-ā'lq* | place near the door |
| *lâ°* | *lâ'°ltk* | fish swims |
| *laq* | *lā'°lq* | to bite |

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In the third group are combined a few words the plural of which is formed by change of the vowel of the stem and by change of accent. Examples of this kind have been given in § 39.

### § 43. Fourth Group. Plurals formed by the Prefix qa-

In words of this class the plural is formed by the prefix qa-. It includes many names of parts of the body; adjectives expressing states of the body, such as BLIND, DEAF; words of location; and a miscellaneous group of words.

(a) Parts of the body:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| t'ɛm-qē'c | qa-t'ɛm-q'ē'c | head |
| ts'ɛm-mu'x | qa-ts'ɛm-mu'x | ear |
| ts'ɛm-ā'q | qa-ts'ɛm-ā'q | mouth |
| t'ɛm-qā'x· | qa-t'ɛm-qā'x· | arm |
| t'ɛm-ʟā'm | qa-t'ɛm-ʟā'm | leg below knee |
| tsuwē'ɛnt | qa-tsuwē'ɛnt | fingers |
| an'ō'n | qa-an'ō'n | hand |
| pʟnāx | qa-pʟnāx and pʟnāx | body |
| q'ēʟq | qa-q'ē'ʟq | chest |
| gât | qa-gâ't | heart |
| tgamā'q | qa-tgamā'q | lip |
| q'ē'sɛɛ | qa-q'ē'sɛɛ | knee |
| ʟaqst | qa-ʟaqst and ʟaqst | nail, claw |
| smax· | qa-smax· | meat |

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| bɛⁿ | ga-bɛ'n | belly |
| dū'la | ga-dū'la | tongue |
| ts!ɛm ts!ā'us | ga-ts!ɛm-ts!u'us | armpit |
| gâºd | ga-gâ'ºd | heart |
| an'ō'n | ga-an'ō'n | hand |

(b) Adjectives expressing states of the body:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| k·îba'ɛ | qa-k·îba'ɛ | lame |
| sîns | qa-sî'ns | blind |
| ts'äq | qa-ts'ä'q | deaf |
| mɛ-wa'tsx | qa-mɛ-wa'tsx | crazy (literally, like land-otter) |
| xâ'ôsk^u | qa-xâ'ôsk^u | wise |
| ax-gâ'ôt | ax-qa-gâ'ôt | foolish (literally, without mind) |

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Here may belong also:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| gwä'ᴇ | qa-gwä'ᴇ | poor |
| huҳ-iō'nst | huҳ-qa-iō'nst | liberal |
| ama hwîl | ama qa-hwî'l | { rich (literally, well-to-do) |

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| ama wā'l | ama ga-wā'l | rich |
| sagau-sā'ºt | sagau-ga-sā'ºt | good luck |
| lgusgᴇ'r | ga-lgusgᴇ'r | happy |

(c) Locations:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| dāx· | qa-dā'x· | outside |
| laxˋō' | qa-laxˋō' | top |
| stō'ôk·ˢ | qa-stō'ôk·ˢ | side |
| g·ä'u | qa-g·ä'u | beach |

(d) Unclassified words:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| sᴇmō'tkˢ | qa-sᴇmō'tkˢ | to believe |
| nō'd'ᴇn | qa-nō'd'ᴇn | to adorn |
| yîs-gu'sg·itkᵘˢ | yîs-qa-gu'sg·itkᵘˢ | to rejoice |
| lē'lukˢ | qa-lē'luks | to steal |
| gwîx·-silē'ênskᵘ | gwîx·-qa-silē'ênskᵘ | hunter |
| wîs | qa-wî'ˢ and wîs | root |
| qā'it | qa-qā'it | hat |
| mēn | qa-mē'n | butt of tree |

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| y!ū'º | ga-y!ū'º | berrying-basket |
| gôk· | ga-gô'k | basket |
| bū'º | ga-bū'º | to scatter |
| ҳsâº | ga-ҳsâ'º | canoe |
| lā°kˢ | ga-lā'°ks | torch |
| ҳā'îk | ga-ҳā'îk | to upset |
| nā°l | ga-nā'°l | to fast |
| kˢᴇ-nā'°lk | ga-kˢᴇ-nā'°lk | to breathe |
| mâ'mᴇga | ga-mâ'mᴇga | to smile |
| ҳstāº | ga-ҳstā'º | to vanquish |

On the whole, this prefix conveys strongly the impression of being a distributive, not a plural; but in many cases its use seems to have become formal and fixed. It would seem that particularly terms for parts of the body that have no reduplicated plural may take the

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prefix *qa-*. The distributive character appears very clearly in one case where *ga-tsǃa'p* means THE ONE TOWN OF EACH ONE, while the plural would be *tsǃɛptsǃa'p*, and also in *kʼōpɛ-ga-tɛptē'tkᵘ* ALL SMALL PIECES (of salmon) 56.1

### § 44. Fifth Group. Plurals formed by the Prefix qa- and the Suffix -(t)kᵘ

Plurals formed by the prefix *qa-* and the suffix *-(t)kᵘ* are confined to terms of relationship. The prefix is probably the same as that used in the preceding class, while the suffix seems to be related to the verbal and possessive suffix *-kᵘ*.

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *niä'* | *qa-niä'ɛtkᵘ* | grandfather |
| *ntsē'ĕts* | *qa-ntsē'ĕtskᵘ* | grandmother |
| *nɛguâ'ôt* | *qa-nɛguâ'ôtkᵘ* | father |
| *nɛbē'p* | *qa-nɛbē'pkᵘ* | uncle |
| *wak·* | *qa-wa'k·kᵘ* | younger brother |

Here belongs also—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *mē'ɛn* | *qa-mē'ɛntkᵘ* | master |

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *nɛbī'ᵒp* | *ga-nɛbī'ᵒpg* | uncle |
| *miā'n* | *ga-miā'ntg* | master |

The following words have *qa—kᵘ* combined with reduplication, the reduplicated syllable being lengthened and the stem-vowel weakened:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *nak·s* | *qa-nē'nîk·skᵘ* | wife |
| *nôx* | *qa-nâ'nɛxkᵘ* | mother |

Without the prefix *qa-* are found—

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *wak·* | *wak·kᵘ* | younger brother |
| *g·î'mɹ·dē* | *g·î'mɹ·dētk* | elder brother |

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *nak·s* | *nēnk·sg* | wife |

Irregular is—

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *huχdā'ek·'ɛn* | *Luχdā'ek·'ɛntkᵘ* | grandson |

Undoubtedly the terminal *-tkᵘ*, *-kᵘ*, in these forms, is the same as the suffix discussed in § 17. **§ 44**

### § 45. Sixth Group. Plurals formed by the Prefix l-

Plurals formed by the prefix *l-* are pre-eminently verbal plurals, as is illustrated by the following examples taken from the Tsimshian:

| Singular | Nominal Plural | Verbal Plural |
|---|---|---|
| *ak·s* water, to drink | *ak'a'k·s* waters | *la-a'k·s* to drink |
| *wa'i* paddle, to paddle | *ʾhuwa'i* paddles | *lu-wa'i* to paddle |

The vowel connected with this prefix is variable, and many irregularities are found in this class.

(a)

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *ak·s* | *la-a'k·s* | to drink |
| *yôxkᵘ* | *lē-yô'xkᵘ* | to follow |
| *gōkskᵘ* | *lᴇ-gō'kskᵘ* | to be awake |
| *d'äq* | *lᴇ-d'ä'q* | to devour |

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *wa'i* | *lu-wa'i* | to paddle |
| *ga-ba'xsk* | *ga-lē'bᴇxsk* | to shake one's self |
| *yᴇr* | *lĭ-yᴇ'r* | to hide |

(b) Reduplication or lengthening of vowel is found with *l-*:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *xdax·* | *lu-xdē'dîx·* | hungry |
| *xbᴇts'a'x* | *la-xbē'ts'ᴇx* | to be afraid |

Here may be mentioned Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *kᵘtĭ°* | *lu-ktĭ'°d* | hungry |

(c) Initial *g·*, *k·*, and *q* drop out after *l-*:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *g·âk·s* | *lâk·s* | a bird swims |
| *g·ibā'yuk* | *libā'yuk* | to fly |
| *qē'nᴇx* | *lē'nᴇx* | (tree) falls |

Here belong also the reduplicated plurals:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *g·amk·s* | *lᴇmla'mk·s* | to warm one's self |
| *g·a'mg·iʟ* | *lᴇmla'mg·iʟ* | to warm something |

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *gᴇ'rᴇnks* | *lūnks* | to dry (meat) |
| *gë°na* | *lë'°na* | to fall over |
| *g·ā°ks* | *lā°ks* | absent |
| *g·â°ks* | *lâ°ks* | to float |
| *g·ig·â'°ks* | *llâ°ks* | floating |
| *g·ī°mg* | *lī'°mg* | to wipe |
| *g·amg* | *lamks* | hot |
| *g·ipa'yuk* | *lipa'yuk* | to fly |

(*d*) Irregular, but related to this class, are:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *yax̱* | *lī'lē̱x* | to hide |
| *yîxya'q* | *lîslî'sk͏ᵘ* | to hang [v. n.] |
| *x̱dak͏ᵘ* | *lidux̱* | to shoot |
| *g·în-hē̆'tk͏ᵘ* | *lî'nᴇdᴇmk͏ᵘst* | to arise |
| *k͏ᵘstaqs* | *lukstsā'dᴇqs* | to leave |

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *gaksk* | *lî'dᴀksk* | to wake up |
| *g·a'ksᴇn* | *lî'dᴀksᴇn* | to awaken |
| *sᴇs-ā'°x̱s* | *lᴇs-aā'x̱s* | to laugh |
| *x̱st!ôg* | *lax̱st!ô'ega* | to sleep |

## § 46. Seventh Group.  Irregular Plurals

This last group is quite irregular.   The following plurals are formed from the same or related stems, but in an irregular manner:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *sᴇm'ä́'g·ît* | *sᴇmg·ig·a't* | chief |
| *sig·idᴇmna'x* | *sig·idᴇmhā'nax* | chieftainess |
| *wuyî'tk͏ᵘ* | *siya'tk͏ᵘ* | to weep |
| *ayawa'tk͏ᵘ* | *alayuwa't* | to shout |
| *wîamhē'* | *wud'ax al'amhē'* | to shout |
| *lō-mā'k·sa* | *lō-lē̆'dîk·sa* | to wash cloths |
| *wî-na'k͏ᵘ* | *nnē'nᴇk͏ᵘ* | long |
| *wî-d'ô'x̱* | *d'ᴇx̱d'ô'x̱* | stout |
| *q'ai-ma's* | *q'ai-ma'qsît* | youth |
| *am'a-ma's* | *am'a-ma'qsît* | pretty |

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *sᴇm'ä́'g·id* | *sᴇmg·ig·a'd* | chief |
| *sig·idᴇmna'g* | *sig·idemhā'naɡ̣* | chieftainess |
| *k!înī'°tk* | *nanī'°tk* | to arise |

Although the use of different stems for singular and plural belongs rather to the classification of nouns and verbs according to form of objects and actors, this feature is so prominent in the dialects of the Tsimshian that it deserves mention here.

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *g·'äxk͏ᵘ* | *hō'ut* | to escape |
| *iē'* | *lô* | to go |
| *iä'ôxk͏ᵘ* | *tx̱ô'ôxk͏ᵘ* | to eat |
| *d'a* | *wan* | to sit |
| *dzak͏ᵘ* | *yêts* | to kill   (plural = to chop) |

| Singular | Plural. | |
|---|---|---|
| *hĕtkᵘ* | *mak·skᵘ* | to stand |
| *hwîtkᵘ* | *bakᵘ* | to come from |
| *gō* | *dôq* | to take |
| *sg·îtkᵘ* | *dôxkᵘ* | to lie |
| *k·sax* | *k·si-ʟô'* | to go out |
| *maqt* | *hwîlqt* | to carry |
| *sqats'a'x̣* | *alisg·ī'da* | ugly |
| *dā'uʟ* | *sak·skᵘ* | to leave |
| *malkᵘ* | *trä'ldᴇt* | to put into fire |
| *mᾱxkᵘt* | *cĕntkᵘ* | to go aboard |
| *bax* | *gôl* | to run |
| *mᴀ'gat* | *t'aʟ* | to put |
| *g·ēʟ* | *lā'ʟ* | to lie down |
| *ts'ēn* | *la'mdzîx* | to enter |
| *nô'ô* | *dax* | to die |
| *xa'ᴇ*, male slave | | |
| *wa't!akᵘ*, female slave | *ʟʟēng·ît* | slaves |
| *g·at* | *ē'ux̣t* | man |
| *ts!ōsk·* | *sᴇs'ō's* | small |
| *ʟgo-* | *k'obᴇ-* | small |
| *wī-* | *woud'ax-* | large |
| *k·s-* | *dᴇ-* | extreme |

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *k·!ē°x̣k* | *hūt* | to escape |
| *iā°* | *wᾱlx̣s* | to go |
| *gâ°* | *hab* | to go to a place |
| *iâ°x̣k* | *tx̣â°x̣k* | to eat |
| *t!ā°* | *wan* | to sit |
| *dzag* | *yadz* | to kill |
| *hĕtg, batsg* | *max̣sk* | to stand |
| *wᾱ°tg* | *amiā't* | to come from |
| *gᾱ°* | *dôg* | to take |
| *hayā'°ks* | *maksk* | to put |
| *mô·rk* | *sᾱ°ntk* | to go aboard |
| *mô'g·an* | *sᾱ°n* | to put aboard |
| *ba°* | *g'ôl* | to run |
| *nâ°k* | *lᾱ°lk* | to lie down |
| *ts!ī°n* | *la'mdzᴇx* | to enter |
| *dzag* | *dᴇr* | to die |
| *xa°* | *lîlū'ng·ît* | male slave |
| *lgū°lg* | *klgᴇr* | child |
| *ôl* | *sa'mi* (i. e., meat) | bear |

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *gā'°wa* | *txâ°* | to take canoe down to the water |
| *ha'utk* | *bâk* | to cry |
| *laxla'x* | *tgi-klē'l* | to drop down |
| *p!as* | *maxs* | to grow |
| *su-p!a's* | *su-ma'xs* | youth |
| *lgu-* | *k!abE-* | small |
| *wī-* | *wut!a-* | large |
| *ks-* | *ta-* | extreme |

### § 47. *Plurals of Compounds*

In by far the majority of cases the plural of compounds is formed, in cases of reduplication, by leaving all prefixes unmodified, and by forming the reduplicated plural of the principal theme.

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *qal-ts'a'p* | *qal-ts'Epts'a'p* | town |
| *dax-g·a't* | *dax-g·ig·a't* | strong |
| *an-sē'bEnsk^u* | *an-sEpsē'bEnsk^u* | friend |

Tsimshian:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *sa-dzagam-lu-ya'ltg* | *sa-dzagam-lu-yílya'ltg* | suddenly to return across |
| *lū-ām gâ'°d* | *lū-am'ā'm gâ'°d* | to be of [in] good heart |

There are, however, cases in which the whole word is reduplicated. Examples of these have been given in § 36, *d* (p. 370). The principal suffixes so treated are *an-* and *ha-*.

The position of the prefix *ga-* seems to depend upon the firmness of the compound. Generally it precedes the stem; as in

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *gwîx·-sile̅'ênsk^u* | *gwîx·-qa-sile̅'ênsk^u* | hunter (Nass dialect) |

*k!A-k!ul-ga-lgusgE'rEdEt* they are for a while here and there happy (Tsimshian dialect)

On the other hand, we find in the Tsimshian dialect:

| Singular | Plural | |
|---|---|---|
| *ts!Em-mū'* | *ga-ts!Em-mū'* | ear |

## Personal Pronouns (§§ 48-54)

### § 48. *Subjective and Objective Pronouns*

The personal pronouns have two distinctive forms, which, according to their probable original significance, may be designated as transitive and intransitive, or, better, subjective and objective. The former

express, at least partly, the subject of the transitive verb; the latter, its object, and at the same time the subject of the intransitive verb. Their use is, therefore, to a certain extent analogous to that of the subjective and objective pronouns in languages like the Siouan, Iroquois, Haida, Tlingit, and others. The use of these forms in Tsimshian, however, is peculiarly irregular. The forms in the two dialects are—

|  | Subjective. | Objective. | |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | Nass and Tsimshian. | Nass. | Tsimshian. |
| First person singular . . . . . . . . . . . . | *n-* | *-čɛ* | *-û, -î* |
| First person plural . . . . . . . . . . . . . | *dɛp-* | *-m, -ôm* | *-ɛm* |
| Second person singular . . . . . . . . . . | *m-* | *-n* | *-n* |
| Second person plural . . . . . . . . . . . | *m sɛm-* | *-sɛm* | *-sɛm*  . |
| Third person . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | *t-* | *-t* | *-t* |

### § 49. *Use of the Subjective*

(a) The subjective pronouns are used most regularly in the subjunctive mood, where they appear as prefixes of the verb. It will be sufficient to demonstrate their use in one dialect only, since the rules are the same in both, and I choose the Tsimshian dialect for this purpose.

SUBJUNCTIVE

|  | me. | us. | thee. | you. | him, them. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I . . . . . . . | — | — | *n—n* | *n—sɛm* | *n—t* |
| we . . . . . | — | -- | *dɛp—n* | *dɛp—sɛm* | *dɛp—t* |
| thou . . . . . | *m—u* | *m—m* | — | — | *n—t* |
| ye . . . . . . | *m sɛm—u* | *m sɛm—m* | — | — | *m sɛm—t* |
| he . . . . . . | *t—u* | *t—m* | *!—n* | *!—sɛm* | *t—t* |

Examples:

    *ada wul mɛ wā'yu* then you (singular) found me

    *a wul m sɛm wā'yu* because ye (plural) found me

    *ada wult wā'yu hā'ᵒsɛt* then the dog found me

    *haᶜwī'ᵒnī, n dɛm k!ʌ-tᴧal-wā'n* wait until I shall for a while meet you (*haᶜwī'ᵒnī,* wait until; *n* I; *dɛm* future; *k!ʌ-* for a while; *tᴧal-* against; *wā* to find; *-n* thee)

    *a dɛmt ū'ᵒtu* that he will bake me

    *ada mɛ dɛm sɛm wul man-sā'k·!ut* then ye will pull it up (*ada* then; *mɛ* thou; *dɛm* future; *sɛm* ye; *wul* being; *man-* up; *sa'k·!u* to pull; *-t* it)

    *a wul dɛp dī-sɛ-wā'ᵒt* because we, on our part, give them names (*a* at; *wul* being; *dɛp* we; *dī-* on our part; *sɛ-* to make; *wāᵒ* name; *-t* it)

*dɛm-t ligi-la-nī'ºdzɛtgaº* he would see somewhere bad luck (*dɛm-* future; *t-* he; *ligi-* somewhere; *la-* bad luck; *nī'ºdz* to see; *-t* it; *-gaº* absence [see § 20])

*lat g·ik da'mkstgaº* when he squeezed it again (*la* when; *t* he; *g·ik* again; *damks* to squeeze; *-t* it; *-gaº* absence)

(*b*) In the indicative, the subjective pronouns are used when the object of the verb is a first or second person. The objective pronouns are used to express the subject of the transitive verb, in the indicative, when the object is a third person. The verb takes the suffix *-d* or *-n* described in § 17.

INDICATIVE

|  | me. | us. | thee. | you. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I . . . . . . | — | — | $n-\begin{cases}n\\dɛn\end{cases}$ | $n-\begin{cases}nsɛm\\sɛm\end{cases}$ |
| we . . . . . | — | — | $dɛp-\begin{cases}n\\dɛn\end{cases}$ | $dɛp-\begin{cases}nsɛm\\sɛm\end{cases}$ |
| thou . . . . . | $m-\begin{cases}nu\\du\end{cases}$ | $m-\begin{cases}nɛm\\dɛm\end{cases}$ | — | — |
| ye . . . . . . | $m\,sɛm-\begin{cases}nu\\du\end{cases}$ | $m\,sɛm-\begin{cases}nɛm\\dɛm\end{cases}$ | — | — |
| he . . . . . . | $t-\begin{cases}nu\\du\end{cases}$ | $t-\begin{cases}nɛm\\dɛm\end{cases}$ | $t-\begin{cases}n\\dɛn\end{cases}$ | $t-\begin{cases}nsɛm\\sɛm\end{cases}$ |

Examples:

*m wā'yinu* you (singular) found me

*m dɛm dza'kdu* you will kill me (*dzak* to kill)

*t wā'yinu hā'ºsɛt* the dog found me

*n dza'kdɛn* I have killed thee

*n wā'ºn* you have found me

*mɛ ay'ô'yînɛm* you (singular) have hit us

*dɛp ô'yîn* we hit thee

(*c*) The subjective pronouns are used with transitive and intransitive forms that take the objective pronouns for the purpose of emphasis.

or $\quad\begin{cases}\textit{mɛ dɛm dza'kdɛnt gu'i}\\\textit{dɛm dza'kdɛnt gu'i}\end{cases}$ you (singular) will kill this one

or $\quad\begin{cases}\textit{mɛ dɛm sɛm dza'ksɛmt gu'i}\\\textit{dɛm dza'ksɛmt gu'i}\end{cases}$ you (plural) will kill this one

or $\quad\begin{cases}\textit{t dza'kdɛtgɛ hā'ºsgaº}\\\textit{dza'kdɛtgɛ hā'ºsgaº}\end{cases}$ he has killed the dog

or $\quad\begin{cases}\textit{nan la yā'wuxgɛᶜnu}\\\textit{na la yā'wuxgɛᶜnu}\end{cases}$ I was eating

or $\quad\begin{cases}\textit{nam la yā'wuxgɛn}\\\textit{na la yā'wuxgɛn}\end{cases}$ you (singular) were eating

(d) The verb *da-ya* TO SAY so takes these elements always:

> *da-n-ya'⁰nu* I say so
> *da-dEp-ya'⁰nEm* we say so
> *da-m-ya'n* you (singular) say so
> *da-m-sEm-ya'⁰nsEm* ye say so
> *da-yat* he says, they say

Adverbs like *g·ik* AGAIN are placed here following the subjective pronoun, including *m-sEm.*

> *da-m-sEm g·ik ya'⁰nsEm* ye say so again

## § 50. *Use of the Objective*

(a) The objective is used to express the subject of the intransitive verb.

> *sī'⁰pgEnu* I am sick
> *dEm al tgi-ks-qâ'ganu* but I shall (go) down first (*dEm* future; *al* but; *tgi-* down; *ks-* extreme; *qâga* first)
> *ada dEm l.!ī-ô'ksEn* then you will drop on (it) (*ada* then; *l.!ī-* on; *ôks* to drop)
> *sa-ô'kst* suddenly he dropped
> *da wul dzô'xsEmt* when you camped (*da* at [see § 28]; *wul* being; *dzôg* to camp)
> *mE'la hasa'gau* tell that I wish
> *ts!ElEm-ks-txalā'nu* I am the last one behind

(b) The objective is used to express the object of the transitive verb. Examples have been given in § 49, *b.*

(c) The objective is used in the indicative of the transitive verb when the object is a third person or a noun. When the object is a third person pronoun, the objective *-t* is added to the objective pronoun.

> *ô'yut* I hit it
> *ô'yînt* you (singular) hit him
> *ô'yîmt* we hit it
> *nE la dza'kdEmt gu'i* we have killed this one
> *dEm dza'kdut* I will kill him
> *ô'yu hā⁰s* I hit the dog

(d) The objective is used in a periphrastic conjugation of the transitive verb, in which the objective pronoun is repeated in the form of the independent pronoun.

> *nī'⁰dzut n.!E'rEn* I see thee (literally: I see it, thee)
> *dEm dza'gdEn n!E'ryu* you (singular) will kill me

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(*e*) The objective pronoun is used to express the possessive relation.

*miā'nu* my master

*nE-wā'lbEn* thy house

*nE-sī'ºp!Ensget* his friend

*ga-gâ'ºdEm* our minds

*nE-wā'nsEm* what you have (*wān* for *wāl*, *l* assimilated by preceding *n*)

### § 51. The First Person Singular, Objective Pronoun

The first person singular of the objective form has a second form in -*ī*, which occurs also in the possessive pronoun (see § 55). It is used in all cases in which the event is conceived as unreal.

(*a*) In negative sentences.

*a'lgE dī ha-dza'gi* I do not die from it

*a'lgE hasa'gail dEm dza'gEn* I do not want thee to die

(*b*) In sentences expressing potentiality, but with reference to the unreality of the event.

*ada a'lgEt nāºl dEm t'în-l!ī-q!an-a'xlgī* then there is no one who could get across me (*a'lgE* not; *nāº* who; -*l* [see § 31]; *dEm* future; -*t* he [trans. subj.]; *în-* nomen actoris (see p. 335); *l!ī-q!an-* over; *axlg* to attain)

*sEmgal bā'ºsEnut ôp dzE dza'gi* I am much afraid lest I may die (*sEmgal* much; *bā'ºs* afraid; -*n* indicative; -*u* I; *ôp* lest; *dzE* conditional; *dzag* to die)

*mE ô'yig·în* you might hit me! (*m* thou; *ôy* to hit; -*i* me; -*g·în* perhaps)

*ada dEmt hě'ºdzīge nʌ-xā'igEsgE dEmt gun-a'ksgigaº; wī-qô'gE dEm g·a'bu, dzEda la ts!ī'ºnī, da . . .* then my master may send me, he may order me to get water; I shall take a large basket, when I come in, then . . . (*hě'ºdz* to send; ·*gE* [see § 24]; *nʌ-* possessive prefix [see § 55]; *xā'º* slave; *nʌ-xā'i* my master; *gEsgE* preposition [see § 28]; *gun-* to order, to cause; *aksg* to get water; -*yaº* absence [§ 20]; *wī-* great; *qôg* basket; *g·ab* to dip up; *dzEda* if; *ts!ī'ºn* to enter; *da* then)

(*c*) In conditional clauses.

*ada dzE la lu-ya'ltgi* then, if I return ——

(*d*) The possessive suffix of the first person has the form -*ī* in address.

*lgū'ºlgi* my child!

*nä'i* my mother! (said by girl)

*nEgwā'ºdī* my father!

(*c*) The possessive suffix of the first person has the form -*ī* in sub-junctive and negative sentences, in which it designates potentiality of existence.

> *ēä′p!ɛrdī a n dzɛ ɬɛ tral-wā′sdɛ ɬgū′ʰɬgīdaᵒ* I might remember when I met my child (*ēä′p!ɛr* to remember; *a* at; *n* I; *dzɛ* conditional; *ɬa* past; *tral-* against; *vāᵒ* to meet; *ɬgūʰɬg* child) *a′ɬgɛ dī wā′lbi* I have no house (*a′lgɛ* not; *di* on my part; *wālb* house)

### § 52. Remarks on the Subjective Pronouns

(*a*) The prefixed personal pronouns *n*-, *m*-, and *t*- may be consid-ered true pronominal forms. The first person plural *dɛp* is, how-ever, by origin, a plural of much wider application. It is used fre-quently to express the plural of demonstrative pronouns; for in-stance, *dɛp gwa′i* THOSE. It seems, therefore, that its use as a first person plural may be secondary.

(*b*) The second person plural contains the objective element -*sɛm*, which remains separable from the transitive second person *m*-. Particularly the temporal elements *wil, dɛm, la* are placed between *m*- and -*sɛm*.

> *ada mɛ dɛm sɛm wulā′i la gwā′ntgut* then you will know that I have touched it (*ada* then; *mɛ*- 2d pers. subj.; *dɛm* future; -*sɛm* 2d pers. plural; *wulā′i* to know [singular obj.]; *la* past; *gwantg* to touch; -*u* I; -*t* it)

(*c*) The third person is placed following the temporal particles, while all the other persons precede them, except the -*sɛm* of the second person plural (see under *b*).

> First person singular: *n dɛm sū mɛā′ulgɛt* I shall shake the rope (*n* I; *dɛm* future; *sū* to swing; *mɛā′ulg* rope)
>
> First person singular: *n-dɛm na′ksgɛn* I shall marry thee
>
> First person plural: *dɛp dɛm awul-ma′gan* we will stand by you (*dɛp* we; *dɛm* future; *awul*- by the side of; *mag* to place; -*n* thee)
>
> Second person: *ada mɛ dɛm ksɛ-dɛ-bā′ᵒtgaᵒ* then you will run out with her (*ksɛ*- out; *dɛ*- with; *bāᵒ* to run; -*t* her; -*gaᵒ* absence)
>
> Third person: *ada dɛmt q!â′pɛgan lɛksâ′gat* then he will close the doorway (*q!â′pɛgan* to close, fill up; *lɛksâ′g* doorway)
>
> First person: *a′lgɛ n la dī-k·!īnā′m dɛl hanā′ᵒg* I have not given it to the woman (*a′lgɛ* not; *n* I; *la* past; *dī* on my part; *k·!īnā′m* to give; *dɛl* [see §§ 28, 31]; *hanā′ᵒg* woman)

First person: *ada nE wul nī° nE-wā'lpsgE y.'ū'°ta* then I saw
the house of the man (*ada* then; *nE* I; *wul* being; *nī°* to see;
*nE-* possessive prefix [see § 55]; *wālb* house; *-sgE* [see § 24];
*y.'ū°t* man)

Third person: *ada wult ô'yîtga°* *adat wul ôyîtga°* } and then he hit him

(*d*) A comparison between the use of the connectives [see § 24]
and the personal pronouns shows a strict correspondence between
these forms. We have seen that in the indicative, in forms with
the third person object, the subjective forms are not used, but that
the objective forms are used instead. This corresponds to the
peculiar identity of the objective forms of the subjunctive connec-
tive (B 1, § 24) and of the indicative of the subjective connective of
the transitive verb (A 2, § 24). It seems justifiable, therefore, to
state that, in transitive sentences with nominal subject and object,
the indicative takes the objective forms in the same way as in sen-
tences of the same kind, in which pronominal subjects and objects
only occur.

### § 53. The Personal Pronoun in the Nass Dialect

As stated before, the usage in the two dialects is very nearly the
same, and a number of examples may be given here to illustrate the
forms of the Nass dialect.

Use of the subjective (see § 49, *a*):

(*a*) Subjunctive forms.

*ām. mE dEm wô'ôL qal-ts'a'p* good (if) you call the people 206.13
(*ām* good; *wô'ô* to call; *qal-ts'a'p* town)

*La ām mE na'k·squēE* good (if) you marry me 158.2

*ām dEp d'isd'ē'sL qa-dz'a'gam* good (if) we strike our noses 103.8
(*ām* good; *d'ēs* to strike; *qa-* plural; *dz'ag* nose; *-Em* our)

*at gwa'lkᵘdet* for their drying them 169.7 (*a* preposition; *t-* 3ᵈ per.
subj.; *gwalkᵘ* to dry)

*nîg·in hwîlā'x·t* I did not know it (*nîg·i* not [takes the subjunctive])

(*b*) } I have not found any examples of indicative and emphatic forms
(*c*) } (see § 49, *b*, *c*).

(*d*) The verb *dē-ya* TO SAY SO (see § 49, *d*) has the following forms:

*nē-ya'ᶜnē* I say so
*dEp hē'idenōm* we say so
*mē-ya'an* you (singular) said so 171.5
*mEsEm hē'idē* you say so
*dē-ya* he says so 65.5

§ 53

Use of the objective:

Most of the objective pronouns of the Nass dialect are identical with those of Tsimshian. The only exceptions are the first person singular, which in the Nass dialect is always *-ēE*, and the third person plural, which is *-det.*

Examples of the third person plural are the following:

*sEm-a-baxba′g′askᵘdetg·ê* they were much troubled 195.14

*alayūwā′tdet* they made noise 173.14

*tqal-la′k·det aL dēpL wī-sganē′st* they reached (against at) the foot of the mountain 126.6

*huɣ hē-yukt ôx·det* they began to throw again 139.15

*hwî′lpdet* their house 102.3

The objective pronoun is used in the same way as in the Tsimshian dialect.

(a) Subject of the intransitive verb (see § 50, *a*).

*nî′g·ide halai′dēE* I am not a shaman 128.9 (*nîg·i* not; *de* on my part; *halai′t* shaman)

*dEm lē′tsxan* you will count 129.9 (*dEm* future; *lētsx* to count)

*hagun-iē′êt* he went in the direction (toward it) 129.14

*dEm dē-ba′gam* we, on our part, shall try 114.16 (*bag* to try)

*mEn-Lô′ônōm* we go up 42.8

*g·ilô dze huɣ hwî′lsEm* do not do so also 98.4 (*g·ilô′* do not; *dze* conditional; *huɣ* also, again; *hwîl* to do; *-sEm* ye)

*La sEm-dEx-g·îg·a′tdet* they had become very strong 98.13 (*La* past; *sEm* very; *dEx-* strong; *g·at* person; *-det* they)

(b) Object of the transitive verb (see p. 389).

(c) Subject of transitive verb, indicative with third person object.

*dEm Lep-hwa′yîmL dEm nā′Em* we ourselves will find our bait 56.6

(d) Periphrastic conjugation.

*dEm na′kskuē nē′En* I shall marry thee 203.9

*La lîksg·a′t′EnEn nēE* thou hast taken notice of me 158.1

*sakᵘsta′qsdēt nē′En qans nē′E* they have deserted thee and me 157.10

*dEm hwā′lēE nē′En* I shall carry thee 74.1

(e) Possessive pronoun.

*an-qalā′gaèE* my playground 79.1

*ts!ā′bē* my people 192.2

*nEgwâ′ôdEn* thy father 133.2

*Lgō′uLgun* thy child 205.5

*nak·st* his wife 133.1

*La dEm g·ē′ibEm* what was to have been our food 122.9

*qa-ts’Em-ā′qsEm* your mouths 84.10

*qa-ts’Em-a′qdet* their mouths 84.13

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## § 54. Independent Personal Pronoun

The independent personal pronoun, which in its subjective form has also predicative character, is formed from the following stems:

Nass dialect: Subjective *nē-;* objective *lâ-.*

Tsimshian dialect: Subjective *n!ɛr-;* objective *k!â-.*

| | Nass dialect. | Tsimshian dialect. | | | Nass dialect. | Tsimshian dialect. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I . . . | *nēɛ* | *n!ɛ'riu* | me . . | *lâ'ɛ* | *a k!â'i* |
| we . . | *nôɛm* | *n!ɛ'rɛm* | us . . | *lâ'ɛm* | *a k!ʌm* |
| thou . . | *nē'ɛn* | *n!ɛ'rɛn* | thee . . | *lâ'ɛn* | *a k!wan* |
| ye . . . | *nē'ɛɛm* | *n!ɛ'rɛɛɛm* | you . . | *lâ'ɛɛm* | *a k!waɛɛm* |
| he . . . | *net* | | him . . | *lâ'ôt* | |
| they . . | {*nē'det* / *dɛp nē'det*} | }*n!ot* | them . | *lâ'ôdɛt* | }*a n!ot* |

Examples:

*nē'ɛ t'an mukt* I am the one who caught it 44.8

*nē'ɛn t'an dɛdô'qt* thou art the one who took it 157.4

*nʟk·!ē lɛp-nē'ʟ xa'ɛg·ê* then he himself the slave 40.8

*k·!ax-nē'ɛɛm* only ye 83.6

*txanē'tk⁺ɛʟ dɛm hwîls nɛgwâ'ôdɛn lâ'ôɛ* all that thy father will do to me 133.2 (*txanē'tk⁺* all; *dɛm* future; *hwîl* to do; *-ɛ* connective; *nɛgwâ'ᵒt* father; *-n* thy)

*dɛm d'ɛp-k·ɛ-qâq nēē'ɛt lân* I shall (go) down first to you 81.4 (*dɛm* future; *d'ɛp-* down; *k·ɛ-* extreme; *qâq* first; *nēɛ* I; *-ɛt* emphatic [see § 20]; *lâɛn* to thee)

*lō-mē'ᵒtk⁺ʟ g·at lâ'ôt* inside it was full of people in it 120.3 (*lō-* in; *mētk⁺* full; *-ʟ* connective; *g·at* people)

*gôp dē-lâ'ɛɛm* go ahead, to you also! 83.10

*dɛm na'kɛkuē nēɛn* I shall marry thee 203.9

In place of the oblique form, the subjective with the preposition *as* (containing the connective *-ɛ* [see § 23.7]) is also found, particularly for the third person.

*hwîl hwî'lɛ dɛp-bē'ɛbē as nē'ɛn qanɛ nē'ɛ* thus did my uncles to thee and to me 157.9 (*hwîl* being; *hwîl* to do; *-ɛ* connective; *dɛp* plural [see § 52, *a*]; *bēɛp* uncle; *-ē* my; *qan* and; *-ɛ* connective)

*a'lg·îxt . . . as nē'tg·ê* she spoke to him 157.1

Tsimshian:

*n!ɛriu dɛmt în-na'kɛgʌ lgū'ᵒlgɛnt* I am the one who will marry thy child (*dɛm* future; *t-* he; *în-* nomen actoris; *nakɛg* to marry; *lgū'ᵒlg* child; *-ɛn* thy)

*n!ɛ'rɛnt în-ô'yît* thou art the one who hit him

y!agai-nī'ᵒdɛsɛn g'ap-k!a-wī-na꞉nô'gan da k!â'i  however, he (i. e.,
you) indeed, you are really more greatly supernatural than I
(y!agai- however; nī°d he [here with the meaning YOU]; -sɛn in-
deed; g'ap- really; k!a- exceedingly, more; wī- greatly; naxnô'g
supernatural; -n thou; da preposition [see § 28]; k!â'i me)

lī·g'i-gâ'ᵒ dɛm k!unâ'yin da k!â'i, dɛm k·!înā'mu da k!wan what-
ever you will ask of me, (that) I shall give you (lī·gi- any [see
§ 8, no. 20]; gâ° something; dɛm future; k!unō' to request; -n
thou; da preposition; k·!înā'm to give; -u I)

da-ya'gɛt nɛgwā'ᵒt gɛs nī'ᵒt thus said his father to him

## § 55. Possession

In the Tsimshian dialect three forms of possession may be distin-
guished, while the Nass dialect has only two. In the former dialect,
separable possession is always introduced by the prefix na-, which
is absent in the Nass dialect. Both dialects distinguish possession of
inanimate and of animate objects.

1. Nass dialect:

(a) All possession of inanimate objects is expressed by the suffix
expressing the possessive pronoun (see § 53, e), or, when the possessive
is expressed by a noun, by the addition of the connective (see § 23).

wī'lbēɛ my house          hawī'ls Lôgôbola' the arrow of Lôgôbola' 20.3
a'k·sēɛ my water 18.7     ts'ēlē'mʟ mā'lg·ê food of the canoe 107.6

(b) All possession of animate objects is expressed by the same
suffixes, but the noun is given the passive suffixes -k, -tk, -s (discussed
in § 17). Exceptions to this rule are terms of relationship in the sin-
gular, which take simply the possessive suffixes, like nouns expressing
inanimate objects. The occurrence of the endings -k and -tk in the
plurals of terms of relationship (see § 44) may be due to the treatment
of these like other nouns designating animate objects.

g·ibō'tkᵘt his wolf (g·ibō' wolf; -tk passive suffix; -t his)
huxdā'g·intkᵘt his grandchildren 19.10

2. Tsimshian dialect:

(a) All inseparable possession, including nouns designating parts
of the body, locations referring to self, and terms of relationship,
are expressed by possessive suffixes, and, when the possessive is
expressed by a noun, by the connectives (see § 27).

(α) Inseparable possession relating to parts of the body:

bʌn belly                  bʌ'nu my belly
ts!ag nose                 ts!a'gɛn thy nose

(β) Inseparable possession relating to space relations:

| | |
|---|---|
| awā'ᵒ proximity | awā'ᵒt near him (his proximity) |
| lax̣'ô' the place over | lax̣'ô'yu the place over me |
| txalā'n the place behind | txalā'nt the place behind him |

(γ) Inseparable possession, expressing terms of relationship, in singular:

| | |
|---|---|
| nEgwā'ᵒd father | nEgwā'ᵒdu my father |
| lEmkdī' sister | lEmkdī'yu my sister |

To this group belong also—

| | |
|---|---|
| miā'n master | miā'nu my master |
| nEsī'ᵒp.'Ensg friend | nEsī'ᵒp.'Ensgen thy friend |

(b) Separable possession of inanimate objects is expressed by the prefix nE- and the possessive suffix (viz., the connective suffix).

| | |
|---|---|
| wālb house | nE-wā'lbu my house |
| lâ°b stone | nE-lâ'°bu my stone |

(c) Separable possession of animate objects is expressed by the prefix nE-, the passive suffix, and the possessive (viz., connective) suffix.

| | |
|---|---|
| E'rla seal | nE-E'rlagu my seal |
| hā°s dog | nE-hā'°sgu my dog |
| ôl bear | nE-ô'ltgu my bear |
| hân salmon | nE-hâ'ntgEn thy salmon |
| skE herring | nE-skE'tgu my herring |
| ap bee | nE-a'psu my bee |
| mElī'ᵒk steelhead salmon | nE-mElī'ᵒksu my steelhead salmon |
| ts.'ap tribe | n-ts.'a'psu people of my village (but n-ts.'a'bu my village) |
| wālb house | nE-wā'lpsu people of my house (but nE-wā'lbu my house) |

## § 56. Demonstrative Pronouns

I have not succeeded in analyzing satisfactorily the forms of the demonstrative pronoun. It has been stated before (§ 20) that presence and absence are expressed by the suffixes -st (-t) and -g·ê (Tsimshian -t and -ga). Besides these, we find independent demonstrative pronouns and peculiar demonstrative suffixes. In the Nass dialect there are two independent demonstratives: gōn THIS, gōs THAT.

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*gōn:*

> *lɛp-nē'ɛ qane-hwîla gōn* I am always doing this myself 52.3 (*lɛp-* self; *nēɛ* I; *qane-hwîla* always)
>
> *nʟk·''ē tyōnʟ sa-gâ'ôtk·ᵘt* then she resolved this 7.5
>
> *gɛ-g·îpg·a'psʟ hwîl daxdô'ɛt gōn* high piles these 42.10
>
> *tgōnl hēt:* this he said 99.12

*gōs:*

> *sɛm-lîk·s-g·a'dɛm qa-gâ't dɛp gō'stg·ê* very different were the minds of those 114.12 (*sɛm-* very; *lîk·s-* separate; *-g·at* person; *-ɛm* attributive connective; *qa-* plural; *gât* mind; *dɛp-* plural [§ 52, *a*])
>
> *sɛm-gō'usk·ᵘʟ qē'nɛx as gō'stg·ê* really he reached a trail there 126.7 (*sɛm-* very; *gux* to hit; *-sk·ᵘ* intransitive [17. 2]; *qē'nɛx* trail)
>
> *mēnʟ ts'ɛnʟî'k·  gō'stg·ê* that was the master of the squirrels 212.5 (*mēn* master; *-ʟ* possessive connective; *ts'ɛnʟîk·* squirrel)
>
> *wî-sɛm- k·.'ā-ama māl tgō'stg·ê* that was a large exceedingly good canoe 107.5 (*wî-* large; *sɛm-* very; *k·.'ā-* exceedingly; *am,* good; *-a* connective [§ 22]; *māl* canoe)

In Tsimshian the demonstratives seem to be more numerous. There are two independent forms: *gwī* THIS, *gwaᵒ* THAT.

*gwī:*

> *dâᵒ da gwīᵒt* they are here
>
> *adat plïā'rɛdɛt Waxayā'ᵒq dɛp gwī'ᵒt* then Waxayā'ᵒq told them
>
> *lgu-sga-na'k da gwī'* a little after this (*sga-* across; *nak* long)

*gwaᵒ:*

> *nin.'ī' ksdɛmâ's gal-ts.'ɛpts.'a'bɛ gwaᵒ* those are the nine towns (*nin.'ī'* this; *ksdɛmâ's* nine; *gal-ts.'a'p* town)
>
> *G·îlksats.'ā'ᵒntk wāᵒ xāᵒ gwaᵒ* this slave's name was G.
>
> *k.'a-sgô'ksɛm gwaᵒ* we will stop here for a while
>
> *adat anâ'xdɛ dɛp gwa'ᵒ* then these agreed

Derived from *gwaᵒ* is *gwa'sgaᵒ*, which always refers to absent objects:

> *ada al sgɛr lgu-dza'gum a'uta gɛsga gwa'sgaᵒ* but then the little dead porcupine lay there (*ada* then; *al* but; *lgu-* little; *dzag* dead; *a'uta* porcupine; *gɛsga* at [see § 28])
>
> *a'lgɛ hë'ᵒtgɛl wā'lbɛsgɛ gwa'sgagaᵒ* no house stood there

It would seem that *gwaᵒ* refers to locations near by, since it is never used with the ending *-ga;* while *gwa'sga* designates the distance, and is always used with the corresponding connectives.

Derived from *gwa* is also *gwai*, which seems to point to the part of the sentence that follows immediately; while *gwaᵒ* is almost always in terminal position.

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> *nin!'ĭ' wĭlwā'lb gwai na-tgi-dā'ul* those were the houses that had come down
>
> *nεgwā'°dε lgwâ'mlgε gwa'it Ha'ts!εna'sεt* the father of the boy was that Ha'ts!εna'sεt

Possibly these two demonstratives are related to *gu*, which appears often with the function of a relative pronoun, but seems to be a demonstrative of another class. These appear to be made up of the demonstratives *d* and *g*, which have been treated in § 20, and the two vowels *-ĭ* and *-ū*. I have not succeeded, however, in gaining a clear understanding of these forms. I have found the series

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *-ĭ* | — | — |
| *-ū* | *-dū* | *-gū* |

of which I shall give examples:

**-ĭ:**

> *ttū'°sεnĭ* this one hit thee
>
> *nin!'ĭ' bĭā'lхtε gwa° sε-wā'tεmi yē'°lda°* this is the star that we call *yē°l*
>
> *kᵘdū'°nεmĭ* those around us
>
> *gal-ts!a'bε t!'ĭ'°bεnĭ la gu gwa°* this is the town of the sea-lions
>
> *ada hē'ldε wā'ldi a gwa°* much did this one here
>
> *wĭ-sganē'°stε hē'°tgεdĭ a st!ū'°p!εlt* a large mountain stands here behind the house

**-ū**

> *nε-bā'°du hanā'°g* this woman has been running
>
> *nε-bā'°du awā'n* the one near thee has been running

**-du**

> *nin!'ĭ' gal-ts!εpts!a'bε du gwa°* those are the towns
>
> *du nā°l dεm dεdū'°lsεdεl* . . . who will live then?   ZE 792²³⁰
>
> *gâ'° du gan lū'°ntin* you were angry for something ôf the kind.

**-gu**

> *gū na-di-g·ig·'ĭ'nεxgʌ nε-ga-niā'°tgεm* those were the ones prayed to by our grandfathers
>
> *da'-yagʌ sεm'â'g·itgu° gugε g·a'mgεm dzĭ'usdεga°* thus said the chief, that sun
>
> *tnε'riut în-k·!'ŭlk·!'înā'm ya'ts!εsgε da k!wan, gu lā'°wula wutwa'yîn* I am the one who gave you the animals that you always found (*t* he; *nε'riu* I; *în* nomen actoris; *k·!'înā'm* to give; *ya'ts!εsg* animals; *da* to; *k!wan* you [dative]; *lā'wula* always; *wā* to find)

Among the demonstratives may also be enumerated the element *n-*, which, in the Nass dialect, forms the common conjunction *n-k·'ē*, and

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which also may be contained in the stem *nē-* (Tsimshian *n/ɛr-*) of the independent pronouns. In Tsimshian it is found in the very frequent demonstrative *nin/ī'* THAT ONE.

## Numerals (§§ 57, 58)

### § 57. Cardinal Numbers

The Tsimshian dialects use various sets of numerals for various classes of objects. In Tsimshian one of these classes is used for simple counting. The others designate flat, round, long objects; human beings; canoes; measures. In the Nass dialect round and long objects are counted by the same set of numerals.

These sets of numerals in the two dialects are as follows:

| | I. Abstract count. | | II. Flat objects. | | III. Round objects. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Nass. | Tsimshian. | Nass. | Tsimshian. | Nass. | Tsimshian. |
| 1 | k·'äkᵘ | k·!aᵒk | = I | = I | k·'ē'ɛl | k!ɛ'rɛl |
| 2 | t'ɛpxä't | t!ɛpxä'd | = I | = I | k·'ē'lbɛl | gū'ᵒp!ɛl |
| 3 | golä'nt | gwant | = I | = I | gul'ä'l | k!ulē' |
| 4 | txälpx | txälpx | = I | = I | = I | = I |
| 5 | kᵘstēnc | kᵘstōns | = I | = I | = I | = I |
| 6 | q'ä'ɛlt | q!äᵒlt | = I | = I | = I | = I |
| 7 | t'ɛpxä'ɛlt | t!ɛpxä'ᵒlt | = I | = I | = I | = I |
| 8 | qandä'ɛlt | q!andä'ᵒlt | yuxdä'ɛlt | yukda'lt | = II | = II |
| 9 | kᵘstɛmä'c | kstɛmä's | = I | = I | = I | = I |
| 10 | k·'ap | k·'ap | = I | = I | x·pē'ɛl | kp!ᵒl |
| 11 | k·'ap di k·'äkᵘ | k·!ap di g·äᵒk | = I | = I | x·pē'ɛl di k·'ē'ɛl | |
| 12 | k·'ap di t'ɛpxä't | k·'ap di t!ɛpxä'd | = I | = I | x·pē'ɛl di k·'ē'lbɛl | |
| 20 | k·'ē'lbɛl wul k·'ap | k·edē'ᵒl | k·!iyē'tkᵘ | | = I | |
| 30 | gula wul k·'ap | | = I | | = I | |

| | IV. Long objects. | | V. Human beings. | | VI. Canoes. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Nass. | Tsimshian. | Nass. | Tsimshian. | Nass. | Tsimshian. |
| 1 | = III | q!a'wutsxan | ky'äl | k!äl | qamä'ɛt | q!amä'ᵒt |
| 2 | = III | qä'ᵒpsxan | bagadē'l | t!ɛpxadō'l | galbä'ɛltkᵘs | galbä'ᵒltk |
| 3 | = III | ga'ltsgan | gulä'n | gulä'n | gulä'altkᵘs | galtsga'ntk |
| 4 | = III | txä'ᵒpsxan | txalpxdä'l | txalpxdä'l | txälpxkᵘs | txälpxsk |
| 5 | = III | ktū'ᵒnsxan | kᵘstɛnsä'l | kstɛnsä'l | kᵘstēnskᵘs | kstō'ᵒnsk |
| 6 | = III | q!ä'ltsxan | q'ädɛldä'l | q!aldä'l | q!ä̈ɛltkᵘs | q!ältk |
| 7 | = III | t!ɛpxä'ltsxan | t!ɛpxadɛdä'l | t!ɛpxaldä'l | t!ɛpxä'ɛltkᵘs | t!ɛpxä'ltk |
| 8 | = III | yuklaᵒtsxa'n | yuxdaɛldä'l | yukleadä'l | yuxdä'ɛltkᵘs | yukdä'ltk |
| 9 | = III | kstɛmä'tsxan | kᵘstɛmasä'l | { kstɛnsä'l / kstɛmasä'l } | kᵘstɛmä'skᵘs | kstɛmä'sk |
| 10 | = III | kpē'ᵒtsxan | x·päl | kpäl | k·'apkᵘs | k·'apsk |
| 11 | = III | | x·päl di k·'äl | | k·'apkᵘs di qamä'ɛt | |
| 12 | = III | | x·päl di bagadē'l | | k·'apkᵘs di galbä'-ɛltkᵘs | |
| 20 | = III | | = I | k·edä'ᵒl | k·'iyē'tkᵘs | |
| 30 | = III | | = I | gulä'lɛg·itk | | |

| | VII. Measures. | | VIII. Bundles of ten skins. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Nass. | Tsimshian. | Nass. |
| 1 | (k·'ilgä'x·)=III | k!ɛl'ô'n | gusk·"ewa' |
| 2 | (k·'ĭbɛlga'x·)=III | gŭ'ᵒp!ɛl'ô'n | g·ĭlpwa' |
| 3 | gulalaô'n | k!ul'ô'n | |
| 4 | txalpxalô'n | txalpxl'ô'n | |
| 5 | kᵘstēnsɛlô'n | kstōnsɛl'ô'n, kstɛn'ô'n | |
| 6 | q'ʌɛldɛlô'n | q'ʌldɛl'ô'n | |
| 7 | t'ɛpxʌɛldɛlô'n | t!ɛpxʌᵒldɛl'ô'n | |
| 8 | yuχdäaldɛlô'n | yukdäᵒldɛl'ô'n, yukdɛldɛl'ô'n | |
| 9 | kᵘstɛmʌsɛlô'n | kstɛmʌsɛl'ô'n | |
| 10 | x·paô'ndē | kpɛl'ô'n | |

This system will appear clearer when the numerals are arranged according to their stems.

|  | **Nass** | **Tsimshian** |
|---|---|---|
| **One:** | k·'ä(kᵘ) | k·!ā̆ᵒk |
| | k·!ēɛl | k!ɛ'rɛl |
| | qamä(ɛt) | q!amā, which may be the stem also for q!a'wutsxan |
| **Two:** | t'ɛpxā'(t) | t!ɛpxā'(ᵒd) |
| | k·!ē'lbɛl | gŭ'ᵒp!ɛl |
| | | qâᵒp, which seems to be the stem for qalbā'ᵒltk |
| | baqad(êl) | |
| **Three:** | gol(ā'nt) | gul- in gwant, gulâ'n |
| | | k!ulē' It seems doubtful if this is different from the preceding one |
| | | galt |
| **Four:** | txālpx | txālpx |
| **Five:** | kᵘstēns | kᵘstōns |
| **Six:** | q!âɛl | q!âᵒl |
| **Seven:** | t'ɛpxa | t!ɛpxa the same as two |
| **Eight:** | qan | q!an |
| | yuχ | yuk |
| **Nine:** | kᵘstɛmâ'c | kstɛmâ's (containing mâs thumb?) |
| **Ten:** | k·'ap | k·!ap |
| | x·p̄īᵒl | kp̄īᵒl probably related to the preceding one |

It will be seen that a multiplicity of stems belong to the first three numerals, eight, ten, and probably twenty. Not all these distinct stems are entirely independent, but evidently in part modifications of

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the same remote root. It would seem that the numerals one, two, three, ten, for the class of round objects, had a suffix -*l*, which has brought about modifications of the stems to which it has been attached. It seems plausible, therefore, that *k·!ā°k* and *k!ɛ′rɛl*, *gwant* and *k!ulē*, *k·!ap* and *kpī°l*, are derived each pair from one root.

In some of the other classes the suffixes are obvious, although their meaning is not always clear. The suffix -*sxan*, in the class for long objects in Tsimshian, may well be a contraction of the numeral with *sgan* STICK. The class designating human beings contains the endings -*âl*, -*dâl*, which in the numeral three (*gulâ′n*) has been changed to -*ân* by dissimilation. The class expressing measures contains the element -*ôn* HAND.

In the numerals the process of contraction may be observed with great clearness. Examples are the weakened forms *kstɛnsâ′l* FIVE PERSONS, and that for NINE PERSONS, which is probably derived from the same stem, *kstɛmasâ′l*. Here belong also the forms *yukɬeadâ′l*, which stands for *yukdeldâ′l*; *k!ɛl̓ô′n*, for *k!ɛ′rɛl̓ôn*; *k·̓ilgā′x·*, for *k·̓ēɛl gāx·* ONE FATHOM.

## § 58. *Ordinal Numbers, Numeral Adverbs, and Distributive Numbers*

Ordinal numbers are not found, except the words *ks-qâ′°x* and *ks-dzô′x* THE FIRST, and *aniā′* THE NEXT, which are not, strictly speaking, numerals.

Numeral adverbs agree in form with the numerals used for counting round objects.

> *nɹk·̓ēt lō-la′qsk^ut ɹa gulā′alt* then she washed him in it three times 197.11 (-*t* she; *lō-* in; *laqsk^u* to wash; -*t* him)

Tsimshian:

> | *txā′lpxa haha′k!uxt* four times it clapped together

Distributive numbers are formed with the prefix *mɛɹa-* (Tsimshian *mɛɬe-*), which has been recorded in § 10, no. 87. Besides this, reduplicated forms are found.

Tsimshian:

> | *txā′lpxadɛ wul k·̓ipk·̓!a′pɹ sa aɹ mɛɹa-k!ɛ′rɛldɛɹ g·amk* forty days
> | to each month ZE 792.21 (*sa* day; *g·amk* month)

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**Syntactic Use of the Verb (§§ 59-65)**

*§ 59. Use of Subjunctive after Temporal Particles*

</div>

The method of forming the modes has been discussed before, but it remains to add some remarks on their use. By far the most common form is the subjunctive. All historical prose, every sentence that does not express the speaker's own immediate experience, is expressed in this mode. For this reason almost all introductory conjunctions are followed by the subjunctive mode. Possibly this mode can best be compared with our participles in so far as it often has a somewhat nominal character. This is true particularly of the verb when introduced by the temporal particles *hwîl, La, Lā, dEm* (Tsimshian: *wul, la, lā°, dEm*). The following examples illustrate their use:

1. **hwîl** seems to indicate primarily an action or state, then the place where an action takes place. It occurs commonly after verbs like TO KNOW, TO HEAR, TO SEE, TO FEEL, TO COME, TO GO, and other verbs of motion, TO FIND, TO TELL, and after many adjectives when treated as verbs. After the preposition *a* (see § 67) it generally expresses causal relations.

After *hwîlā'x·* TO KNOW:

> *hwîlā'yît hwîla'nuksEm ēlxt* he knew the condition of being cooked of his seal 183.13 (*a'nuks* done; *-Em* attributive connective; *ēlx* seal)
>
> *at hwîlā'x·L hwîl had·a'xkᵘL hwî'ltg·ê* he knew the being bad his doing 37.6 (*had·a'xkᵘ* bad; *hwîl* to do)
>
> (Compare with this *nîg·it hwîlā'x·s Ts'ak· hē'tg·ê* Ts'ak· did not know what he said 127.7)

After *baq* TO FEEL:

> *baqL hwîl sqa-d·āL dâ'sgum ēlx* 183.10 she felt the piece of seal being across (*sqa-* across; *d·ā* to sit; *dâskᵘ* slice; *ēlx* seal)
>
> *nLk·"ē Lat baqL dEm hwîl alē'skᵘt* then he felt himself getting weak

After *naxna'* TO HEAR:

> *naxna'L hwîl a'lg·îxL qāq* she heard that the raven spoke 151.11
>
> *t naxna'L hwîl hahä't t'an mokᵘL ia'ns* he heard that some one was speaking who caught leaves 15.11 (*hēt* to say; *mokᵘ* to catch with net; *ia'ns* leaves)
>
> (Compare with this *t naxna'L hēL wî-d·ē'sEt* he heard what the old man said 22.6)

<div align="right">

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</div>

After *g·a'a* TO SEE:

*t g·a'aʟ hwîl gōksʟ mɛlē't* he saw a salmon jumping 52.15

*t g·a'aʟ hwîl ā'lg·alʟ g·at wî-x·pā'ot* he saw a man examining the large jaw 52.6

*t g·a'aʟ ʟîʟî'ng·it hwîl ʟa ā'dʼîk·skᵘʟ iʟä'e* the slaves saw the blood having come out 133.15

After *ā'dʼîk·skᵘ* TO COME:

*ā'dʼîk·skᵘʟ hwîl mɛsā'x·* it came to be daylight 160.7

*ā'dʼîk·skᵘʟ hwîl sîg·a'tkᵘdet* it came that they cried 104.11

*ā'dʼîk·skᵘʟ hwîl q'andā'ᵘʟ lax-ha'* the sky came to be clear 78.12

After *iä'ê* TO GO:

*hagun-iä'êʟ g·at aʟ hwîl tsʼɛlɛm-nô'ôt* the man went to the hole being there 201.11

After *qâ'ô* TO GO TO:

*nʟk·ʼēt qâ'ôʟ hwîl dʼât* she went to where he was sitting 209.10

*k·ʼēt qâ'ôʟ hwîl sg·it* he goes to where he lies 218.4

After *hwa* TO FIND:

*nîg·it hwat hwîl g·âk·sʟ qē'ttg·ê* he did not find his string of fish lying in the water 117.8 (*nîg·i* not; *g·âk·s* to be in water; *qēt* a string of fish)

After *maʟ* TO TELL:

*t ma'ʟdet hwîl wî'tkᵘdetg·ê* they told him where they got it from 42.8 (*wîtkᵘ* to come from)

*t māʟs G·îx·satsʼā'ntx·ʟ hwîl lē-hō'kskᵘʟ ʟgō'ᵘʟkᵘʟ g·a'tg·ê* 90.15 G·îx·satsʼā'ntx· told where the child of the man was on (*lē-* on; *hōkskᵘ* to be with something; *ʟgō'ᵘʟkᵘ* child; *g·at* man)

After adjectives used as verbs, and after numerals:

*nakᵘʟ hwîl iä't* long he went 146.11 (long was his going)

*nakᵘʟ hwîl ʟô'ôdet* long they walked 126.6

*wî-tʼē'sʟ hwîl g·î'tkᵘtg·ê* he swelled up much 90.12

*wî-tʼē'sʟ hwîl ayawā'tkᵘt* he cried much 123.4

*hux k·ʼēlʟ hwîl hwî'ls Txä'msɛm* T. did one thing more 44.13

*q'ayîm-dē'lpkᵘt aʟ hwîl nanâ'ôʟ lax-ha'* he was quite near to where the hole in the sky was

Tsimshian:

*adat t!ɛl-qâ'ºti wul wa'tsɛga sqā'ºtgɛt* he thought about it that the darkness continued ZE 784.3 (*t!ɛl-qā'ºti* to think; *wa'tsɛg* to continue; *sqā°tg* darkness)

*adat n!axnū'º wul la g·îk ha'ts!ɛksɛm gô'it!ɛkst* then he heard him come again (*n!axnū'º* to hear; *g·îk* again; *ha'ts!ɛksɛm* once more; *gô'it!ɛks* to come)

*adat n!axnū'ºdɛt Waxayā'ºk wul wî-sā'ldzɛgɛ ts!a-wā'lbɛt* then Waxayā'ºk heard the people in the house groan much (*wî-* greatly; *sāldz* to groan; *ts!a-* inside; *wālb* house)

§ 59

*ada sa-nĭ'ᵒdᴢᴇ ya'ts!ᴇsgᴇdᴇ wul ksᴇ-gwā'ᵒntgᴇ wī-gô'ep!a* then the
animals saw the great light rising ZE 785.6 (*sa-* suddenly; *nĭᵒdᴢ*
to see, discover; *ya'ts!ᴇsg* animal; *ksᴇ-* out; *gwāᵒntg* to touch;
*ksᴇ-gwā'ᵒntg* to rise; *wī-* great; *gô'ep!a* light)

*adat ma'lᴇsgᴇ wula ha'usgᴇ n-ts!a'ptgaᵒ* then he told what his tribe
said ZE 786.8 (*mal* to tell; *ha'u* to say; *ts!ap* tribe)

*adat p̌liā'rᴇt nᴇ-ts!a'pt gᴇsga wula dza'ksgᴀ wai'k·tgaᵒ* they told
the tribe about their brother being dead (*p̌liā'r* to tell; *ts!ap*
tribe; *dzak* dead; *waik·* brother)

*at k·!ĭ'ᵒtsxan wul ksᴇ-gwā'ᵒntgᴇ g·a'mgᴇt* and he showed the moon
that rose ZE 791.17 (*k·!ĭ'ᵒtsxan* to show; *g·amg* sun, moon)

*ām dᴇp dᴇm iā'ᵒka wula ha'u a'uta* good we follow what porcu-
pine says ZE 792.22 (*ām* good; *dᴇp* we; *dᴇm* future; *iā'ᵒk* to fol-
low; *ha'u* to say; *a'uta* porcupine)

The use of *wul* is not quite so regular in Tsimshian as in the
Nass dialect. We find, for instance,

*t n!axnū'ᵒ ha'us Waxayā'ᵒk* he heard what Waxayā'ᵒk said
*ada g·ĭk k!ᴇ'rᴇldᴇ wul hôltgaᵒ* and one more being full

On the other hand, *wul* is used very commonly with the intro-
ductory conjunctions *ada, da*. In fact, in most prose the greater
number of sentences begin with this combination:

*ada wul k·!ê'pxa-lᴇmâ'ᵒtgᴇt* then every one was saved
*ada wulat yā'ulᴇmxs Waxayā'ᵒkgaᵒ* then he gave advice to W.
*ada wul ts!ĭᵒnt* then he entered

The two forms *wul* and *wula* are apparently used without much
discrimination. Both are generally admissible, and I have not
succeeded so far in discovering any difference in their meaning.

2. **Lα** expresses a past state (Tsimshian: **lα**).

*sᴇm-gwä'êʟ hwĭ'lt aʟ gwasʟ guĭs-halai'tg·ê* he was very poor on
having lost his dancing-blanket 38.14 (*sᴇm-* very; *gwäê* poor;
*gwas* to lose; *guĭs-* blanket; *halai't* ceremonial dance)

*k·si-lô'ôdet aʟ la laxlä'xkᵘdet* they went out having finished
eating 40.9

*t g·a'aʟ wunä'x· la ax-g·ê'bᴇtg·ê* he saw the food which he had not
eaten 41.4 (*wunä'x·* food; *ax-* not; *g·êp* to eat something)

*a'lg·ĭxs Lôgôbolā' aʟ lat hwĭlā'x·ʟ hwĭl dz'aʟt* Lôgôbolā' spoke
when he knew that he had lost 20.10 (*a'lg·ĭx* to speak; *hwĭlā'x·*
to know; *dz'aʟ* to lose)

*ba'sĭxkᵘdet aʟ la xsdāt* they divided upon his having won 21.1
*la hux yu'ksa, nʟk·'ê* . . . when it was evening again 141.4
*la lê'skᵘt lê-ia'tsʟ axt k'ô'ukᵘt aʟ lax-an-la'kᵘ,* after the porcupine
had struck the fire with its tail 77.7

Tsimshian:

*adat sᴇm-lu-sanā'lgᴇtga a lat nī'ᵒ dudā'u ʟᴇplô'ᵒp* then he was much surprised at it when he saw the ice (on the) stones (*sᴇm-* very; *lu-* in; *sanā'lg* surprised; *nī°* to see; *dā'u* ice; *lô'ᵒp* stone)

*lu-ā'm gâ'ᵒts nâ'ᵒt gᴇsgᴇ lat nī'ᵇstgaᵒ* his mother was glad when she saw him (*lu-* in; *ām* good; *gâ°d* mind; *nâ°* mother; *nī°* to see)

*nin!ī' gan-hâldᴇm-g'ô'lt gᴇsgᴇ la g'ik ganlā'ᵒk* therefore they arose when it was morning again (*nin!ī'* that it is; *gan-* reason; *hâldᴇm-* up; *g'ôl* to run [plural]; *gᴇsgᴇ* at; *g'ik* again; *ganlā'ᵒk* morning)

*adat g'ē'lksᴀ lat wulam-suwa'ndᴇ ba'ᵒsgᴇt* then he felt when the wind had driven him ashore (*g'êlks* to feel; *wulam-* landward; *suwa'n* to blow; *bā°sg* wind)

*la g'ik k!ᴇ'rᴇldᴇ la tgi-iā'ᵒ sat* when again one day went down (*k!ᴇ'rᴇl* one; *tgi-* down; *iā'ᵒ* to go; *sa* day)

*dzᴇda' la xgwa'tksᴇn* if you feel cold

*dzᴇ la gwā'nksᴇn* you may have been cooked

*ada la qa'odisgᴇ ha'utgaᵒ* when he had finished speaking

*ada lat sa-gā'lᴇmgᴀ u'nksᴇgᴇt* when they had taken off the ashes

3. **ʟā** while (Tsimshian: **lā°**).

*nlk·'ēt ma'ʟdētg'ê ʟā metkᵘʟ qal-ts'a'p* then they told him that the town was full 183.14

*la sᴇm-bag·ait-d'ā'ʟ lôqs, nʟk·'ē . . .* when really in the middle was the sun, then . . . 103.15

*nîg'î hux hwîlt ʟa qâ'ôdet* they did not do it again when they finished 179.10

Tsimshian:

*n!īnī't wul wulā'i lā°t wula sī'ᵒp!ᴇndᴇ na'kstgaᵒ* that was how she knew that her husband continued to love her (*wulā'i* to know; *sī'ᵒp!ᴇn* to love; *naks* husband)

*ada lā'ᵒ wula hẽ'ᵒtgᴇ wul-qâ'ᵒsgᴇdᴇt* then continued to stand the wise ones ZE 792.20 (*hẽᵖtg* to stand; *wul-qâ'ᵒsg* wise)

*ada sagait-anâ'gasgᴇtgᴀ a lā° dᴇm wula iā'ᵒ g'a'mgᴇm dzî'usdᴇt* then they agreed together that the sun should continue to go ZE 791.18 (*sagait-* together; *anâ'gasg* to agree; *iā'ᵒ* to go; *g'amg* moon, sun; *dzī'us* daylight)

4. **dᴇm** future (Tsimshian: **dᴇm**).

*xpᴇts!a'xʟ lig·'ē'ᴇnskᵘg'ê aʟ dᴇm dē-hwîlt* the grizzly was afraid to do it also 56.14 (*xpᴇts'a'x* afraid; *lig·'ē'ᴇnskᵘ* grizzly bear)

*hēʟ qâ'ôdᴇʟ xa'ᴇʟ dᴇm t'uks-t!ē'sᴇs Ts!ak·* the slave thought he would push out Ts'ak· 135.4 (*hē* to say; *qâ'ôd* heart; *xa'ᴇ* slave; *t'uks-* out of; *t!ēs* to push)

*nîg'i dᴇm hux a'd'îk·sguēg'ê* I may not come again 165.14

*dzaʟ am-hā'ts' dᴇm g'ē'îptg'ê* the stump ate all he was going to eat 55.12

*dᴇm k·'ē mᴇn-iē'ᴇn* you shall go up 91.2

Tsimshian:

ada dᴇm k!ul-man-gô'sᴇn then you will jump up and about ZE
790.15 (k!ul- about; man- up; gôs to jump)

gwa'i dᴇm ha'un this will you say ZE 790.15

da mᴇ dᴇm ksᴇ-lô'°l sī'°bᴇt then shove out the bone! (mᴇ thou
[subj.]; ksᴇ- out; lô° to shove; sī°b bone)

ma'lᴇ dᴇmt lᴇgū'°lardᴇt she told she would burn it

## § 60. Use of Subjunctive in the Negative

The negative conjunction nîg·i (Tsimshian: algᴇ), and that used in
interrogative-negative sentences nē (Tsimshian: al), are followed by
the subjunctive or by the connective -l

nîg·it mât'ᴇnʟ dᴇm sqa-iät lât 107.1 it did not let go what went
across the way of it (mâ't'ᴇn to let go; sqa- across; iä to go; lât
to it)

nʟk'·ēt nîg·it da-a'qʟkᵘdet they do not reach it 139.2

nîgin dᴇm dē-gō'ut I will not take it

nēîʟ ad'ā'dik·sdeda? are they not coming?

nē mᴇsᴇm hwa'da? didn't you find it? 106.7

Tsimshian:

In the Tsimshian dialect the negative is generally used with the
connective -l, as described in § 31; the first person singular fol-
lowing the negative is -ī.  (See § 51.)

a'lgᴇ n dᴇm k!înā'mt al hanā°g I shall not give it to the woman

a'lgᴇ di t!â'°xlgᴇtga° it is not difficult

a wul a'lgᴇ dī t wulā'il dᴇm dax-yā'°gul anī'°stga° because he did
not know how to hold on to the branch (wulā'i to know; dax-
yā'°g to hold; anī'°s branch)

a'lgᴇ di hasā'gai I do not wish (to do so)

a'lgᴇt nīsagâ'°tgᴇtgᴀ sts!â'lga° the beaver did not mind it
(nīsagâ'°tg to mind; sts!âl beaver)

Negative-interrogative sentences:

al sī'°pgᴇdi gugᴀ hanā'°xga°? is not this woman sick?

al mᴇ wulā'idut în-wulā'gun? don't you know who has done this
to you?

## § 61. The Subjunctive after Conjunctions

nʟk'·ēt g·a'aʟ hwîl lēba'yukʟ qē'wun 103.5 then he saw the gulls
fly (g·a'a to see; lēba'yuk to fly [plural]; qē'wun gull)

k·'ēt gō'uʟ wôhā'st then he takes a string 217.4

wôaʟk·'ēt lō-d'ᴇp-t'ᴇklā'aʟsaant then he breaks it down in it 217.8
(lō- in; d'ᴇp- down; t'ᴇklā'aʟsaan to break)

tse n dᴇm suwa'nt I may cure her 123.7

dat hwîlā'gut when he has done this to him 217.6

Tsimshian:

  *adat gɛ'rɛdaxtgaᵒ* then he asked her
  *ada mɛ dɛm˙ ꜱɛm ꞵoulā'i la ꞯꞷā'ntgut* then ye will know that I have touched

### § 62. Use of the Indicative

On account of the tendency of the Tsimshian language to express all narrative in the subjunctive mood, indicative forms are quite rare, and occur almost only in statements of self-experienced facts. It is remarkable that the particle *na*, which expresses the completed past, and which occurs in the Tsimshian dialect only, is always followed by the indicative.

  *nan k!ul-sag'ap-iā'ᵒnu* I have only walked about without purpose

Examples of the use of the indicative are the following:

  *dɛm iä'nɛɛ ɑʟ awa'an* I shall go (to) near you 196.12
  *dɛm qalā'qnōm* we will play 75.6
  *nîʟnɛ'ʟ iâ'dēɛ* I roast that 121.9
  *ʟɛp-g·ē'bɛdaꜱ dzē'ɛdzē ʟgo-ʟɛp-tq'al-mē'nt* grandmother ate her
    own little vulva 121.12 (*ʟɛp-* she herself; *g·ēb* to eat something;
    *dzē'ɛdz* grandmother; *ʟgo-* little; *tq'al-* against; *mēn* vulva)

Tsimshian:

  *gwa'lgɛ nɛ ꞷā'lbɛ ꜱɛm῾â'g·ît* the chief's house is burnt
  *ama ꞷā'lt Tôm* Tom is rich
  *dɛm g·idi-gā'ᵒdu ɹā°* I shall catch the slave
  *ꞷâᵒnt yā'ᵒgut* my grandfather invites thee

### § 63. The Negative

(a) The negative declarative is expressed by the adverb *nî'g·i* (Tsimshian *a'lgɛ*), which evidently contains the stem *nē* (Tsimshian *al*) and the suffix indicating ABSENCE. The stem without this suffix is used in the negative interrogative (see § 60). The negative adverbs are always followed by the subjunctive.

  *nîg·ît hꞷîlā'x·ʟ hꞷîl dā'uʟʟ ꜱtēlt* he did not know where his com-
    panion had gone 15.2 (*hꞷîlā'x·* to know; *dāuʟ* to leave; *ꜱtēl* com-
    panion)
  *nîg·i t'ɛꜱt'ē'ꜱt* they were not large 113.9    (See also p. 403.)

(b) The negative interrogative is expressed by *nē* (Tsimshian: *al*).

  *nēʟ aꞷā'dîk·ꜱdɛdɑ?* are they not coming?
  *nēʟ ꜱg·iʟ mɛ dɛm ha-mɛn-ꜱā'g·îda?* have you anything to pull it
    up with? (*ꜱg·i* to lie; *mɛ* thou; *ha-* means of; *mɛn-* up; *ꜱāg·* to
    pull)

Tsimshian:

*al nᴇ-bā'°di?* has he not been running?

*a'l mᴇ-wulā'idut în-wulā'gun?* don't you know who did this to you?

(*c*) The word ɴᴏ is expressed by *nē* (Tsimshian: *a'yîn*). The form *a'yîn* is also sometimes used in interrogative sentences.

"*nē*," *dē'yaʟ g·a'tg·ê* "no," said the man 87.11

Tsimshian:

"*A'yînl nᴇ-gan-wā'lsᴇmi, nā°t?*"—"*A'yîn.*" Did you not get what you went for, my dear?"—"No." (*a'yîn* not; *nᴇ-* posses-sive; *gan-* reason; *wāl* to do; *-sᴇm* ye; *nā°t* my dear! [masc.])

(*d*) *hawā'lg* (Tsimshian) signifies ɴᴏᴛ ʏᴇᴛ.

a *hawā'lga gâ°l dᴇdū'°lsᴇt* when not yet anything was alive ZE 782.1

(*e*) In subordinate clauses the negation is expressed by *ax-* (Tsim-shian *wa-*). These prefixes have been described in § 11, no. 137, p. 328. This prefix must be considered to have a nominal character, so that the whole sentence appears as a verbal noun.

(*f*) *g·îlô'* don't! (Tsimshian *g·îlâ'*).

*g·îlô dzᴇ sô'ôsᴇm, ana!* don't take the rest out 181.9 (*dzᴇ* weakens the imperative)

*g·îlô' mᴇ dzᴇ sᴇm ma'ʟᴇt* don't tell about it! 181.11

Tsimshian :

*g·îlâ' bā'°sᴇnt* don't be afraid !

*g·îlâ' mᴇ dzᴇ gâ'°t* don't go there !

### § 64. *The Interrogative*

In the Nass dialect the interrogative seems to be formed regularly by the suffix *-a*, which is attached to the indicative pronominal endings (see § 48). In Tsimshian the most frequent ending is *-ī*, but *-ū* also occurs. It does not seem unlikely that these endings may be identical with the demonstrative endings *-ī* and *-ū*, which were discussed in § 56. After interrogative pronouns these endings are not used.

1. Interrogative suffix *-a* :

*nêêʟ ts!ēns K·'aʟ-hä'tgum-q·ē'sᴇmq aʟ ts!ᴇm-hwîlbā'?* did not Labret-on-One-Side enter the house? 191.12 (*ts!ēn* to enter; *k·'aʟ-* on one side; *hätg*ᵘ to stand; *q!ē'sᴇmq* labret; *ts!ᴇm-* interior; *hwîlp* house; *-a* interrogative)

*nêîʟ wî-t!ē'sda?* is it great?

*nē mᴇ sᴇm hwa'da?* didn't you find it? 106.7

Tsimshian -ī:

> *wa, nī'ᵒdzɛnī?* do you see?
> *mɛ dɛdū'ᵒlsɛni?* are you alive?
> *a wu la dzakl wa'ni?* is the deer dead yet?
> *al mɛ n!axnō'ᵒdi gu xstāmqt?* don't you hear a noise?
> *āl di ga'usɛnī?* have you no hair?

Tsimshian -u:

> *sī'ᵒpgut?* is he sick?
> *al mɛ wulā'ɪdut în-wulā'gun?* dost thou not know who did this to thee?
> *al mɛ lā' wula habɛbā'ldut?* didst thou not always keep it?

2. No interrogative suffix is used after interrogative pronouns.

  *agō'* what (Tsimshian: *gâᵒ*):

> *agō'ʟ ʟa an-hä'ʟ qal-ts'ap?* what is it that the people say? 138.15
> *agō'ʟ dɛm an-a'k·sɛn?* what are you going to drink? 17.14
> *agō'ʟ hě'tsɛn?* what is talking (there)? 23.9

  Tsimshian:

> | *gâᵒ wula ha' unt?* what do you say?

  *nda* where (Tsimshian: *ndʌ*):

> *ndaʟ hwîl hětk^uʟ hwîlp?* where is the house?
> *ndaʟ dɛmt hwîl dē-wîtk^ut?* where will he have come from? 16.6

  Tsimshian:

> | *ndʌ wula wā'ᵒtgɛnt?* where do you come from?

  *nā* who (Tsimshian: *nāᵒ*):

> *nā t'an-ax-hwîlā'yîn?* who does not know thee?

  Tsimshian:

> *nāᵒl t în na'ksgɛ lgū'ᵒlgɛs Ǵauô'?* who is the one to marry the daughter of Ǵauô?
> *nāᵒdɛ gu awā'ᵒn?* who is the one next to thee?

### § 65. *The Imperative*

The imperative of ɪntransitive verbs is ordinarily expressed by the second person of the indicative or subjunctive, while its emphasis may be lessened by the particle *dzɛ*. Very often the personal pronoun is strengthened by the addition of the prefixed subjective pronouns. In many cases the imperative has the future particle, which suggests that the form is not a true imperative but merely a future which serves the purpose of expressing an order.

> *dɛm yu'kdɛnʟ t'ɛm-lā'nēɛ* hold to my neck! 75.11
> *dɛm qalā'qnōm* let us play! (literally, we shall play) 75.6

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Weakened by *dze:*

*dze ama-g·a'adɛsɛm* look well after her 191.15

*mɛ dzɛ k·'ē' mɛ lō-k·'ē'tsɛlt* then put in the finger 195.10

Tsimshian:

*dɛm k!ul-man-gô'sɛn* then jump up and about!

*n!ĭnĭ' dɛm dzagam-hā'°tgɛnga°* that one call ashore! (literally, that is the one you will call ashore)

*dɛm d'an nɛ-ama-wā'ls nɛgwā'°dɛn* promise him the wealth of your father

Weakend by *dzɛ:*

*ada dzɛ wul hau'un "lax-lô'°b"* then say "on stone"

Transitive verbs may form their imperatives in the same way.

*tgōnʟ dɛm hwî'lɛn* do this! (literally, you will do this)

Tsimshian:

*mɛ dɛm lagax-lu-dâ° dā'u* put ice on each side!

*mɛ dɛm sɛ-wa'dit* call him a name!

More frequently the imperative of transitive verbs is expressed by indefinite connectives, or, when there is no nominal object, by the ending ʟ (Tsimshian *-l*).

*gôuʟ ʟgō'uʟgun* take your child! 205.5

*hūts'ɛn-d'a'ʟ ga-ts'ō'oʟ ts'ak·* put back from the fire some dishes 207.2

*sā'lɛbɛʟ* steam it! 54.8.

Tsimshian:

*wai, di bā'°lt* you, on your part, try!

*dɛx-yā'°gwᴀ anĭ'°sɛt* hold on to the branch!

*t!ɛm-stū'°l lu'msut* accompany my son-in-law to the fire!

*man-sa'ik·ᴀ asĭ'°nt* pull up your foot!

By far the most frequent method of expressing the imperative is by the periphrastic expression *ām* (IT WOULD BE) GOOD (IF).

*āmʟ dɛm guxt* take it! 141.6

*āmʟ dɛm sɛ-â'ʟgum* let us cut wood! 63.4

*āmʟ dɛm dē-xsan* you gamble also! 29.1

*ām mɛ dɛm wô'ôʟ gal-ts'a'p* invite the town 206.13

Tsimshian:

*ām mɛ dɛm dĭ bā°lt* try it too!

*ā'msɛᶜnl mɛ k!a-dĭ-ba'ga n-dĭ-na-bɛba'gan* just try my playground too (*ām* good; *-sɛᶜn* dubitative; *mɛ* thou; *k!a-* just; *dĭ-* on (thy) part; *bag* to taste; *n-* possessive; *na-* place; *bag* to taste, play)

*ām dɛm k·!ē'ʋgɛnt* escape!

*ām dzɛ gâ°s dɛp nɛgwā'°dɛn* go to your parents!

The negative imperative is expressed by *g·ɨlô'*.

*g·ɨlô'! nɛxna'yîtg·ê aʟ ts!ɛm-hwî'lp* don't! they might hear you in the house 91.10.

*g·ɨlô' mɛ dzɛ sɛm sqa-yô'xkᵘt* don't pass in front of it 107.3

*g·ɨlâ'ʟ sɛxsâ'mɛxsɛmɛs* don't keep your mouths closed 84.5

## § 66. Subordinating Conjunctions

The use of the temporal particles and of the negative as subordinating conjunctions has been described before (§§ 59 et seq.). It remains to enumerate a few of the other important conjunctions.

1. *k·'ē* THEN; generally in connection with the demonstrative *n-*

   *nʟk·'ē ā'd'îk·skᵘt* then he came

   *k·'ē dôqʟ annā'sʟ qāq* then he took the skins of ravens 39.2

   *nʟ dɛm k·'ē mɛ-txē'ldîʟ smax·* then burn the meat 213.1

2. *da* when.

   *da ʟa wôqsʟ g·a'tg·ê* when the man is buried 218.4

3. *dzɛ (tsɛ)* weakens statements.

   *nʟk·'ē g·î'daxʟ sɛm·â'g·ît tsɛ hwîl wîtkᵘt* then the chief asked where it might come from 183.13

   *nîg·ît hwîlāx·s Wîg·a't tsɛ hwîl d'ɛp-a'xkᵘʟ* not knew Giant where he came down 15.1

   *nʟk·'ē wôxwa'xdet a tsɛ hwîl hvî'ʟʟ ēlx* then they wondered at where was the seal 42.6

   *ōp tsɛ nô'ôt, tsɛ mē'tkᵘʟ ak·s aʟ ba'nt* lest he die, if his belly should be full of water 73.7

The use of *dzɛ* with imperatives has been explained before.

4. *tsɛda (dzɛ da)* when, if.

   *tsɛda hasa'xʟ haldā'ug·ît dɛmt dzakᵘʟ sɛl-g·a'tt, k·'ē,* when a witch desires to kill a fellow-man, then 217.1

   *tsɛda hux hwî'lēɛ, nʟk·'ē,* when I do it again, then 165.12

   *ts!ē'nē nāt, tsɛda nē'ɛn* enter, my dear, if it is you! 39.13

5. *ōp tsɛ* else, lest.

   *ōp tsɛ nô'ôēɛ* else I might die 74.4

   *k·'ē sɛm-ia'ʟkᵘʟ lax-ō'ʟ lô'ôp; ōp tsɛ g'utg'wâ'ôtkᵘʟ sāk· qan-hwîlt* 34.9 then the top of the stone was very slippery; lest the olachen might be lost was the reason of his doing so (*sɛm-* very; *iaʟkᵘ* slippery; *lax-ō'* top; *lô'ôp* stone; *g'wâôtkᵘ* to be lost; *sak·* olachen)

6. *ts'ō* although.

   *ts'ōt hux hwîlā'x·t* although he knows it

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˙ Tsimshian:

1. *ada* then.

   *ada ma'ɬɛdɛ dɛp gua'°* then these told

   *adat gˑik ᵴga-bā'°t* he assisted him (literally, then he stood by him)

2. *da* when.

   *nɛ la dɛm gwā'ntgɛ da n dɛm ᵴū mɛa'wulgɛt* when I shall have touched it, then I shall swing the rope (*gwāntg* to touch; *ᵴū* to swing; *mɛa'wulg* rope)

   *da ʌl tṣ!ɛlɛm-ha'pdʌ n.!ā'°ᵡlɛt, ada . . .* when the killer-whales rushed in, then . . . (*tṣ!ɛlɛm-* into; *hap* to rush [plural]; *n.!ā°ᵡl* killer-whale)

3. *dzɛ* weakens statements.

   *adat gɛ'rɛdaᵡtgɛ a gȧ' dzɛ gan ha'ut* then they asked why he might have said so

   *ēāp!ɛᵡdī a n dzɛ tᵡal-wā'ᵴdɛ lgū'°lgida°* I may remember when I may have met my child (*āp!ɛᵡ* to remember; *tᵡal-wā'°* to meet; *lgū°lg* child; *-ī* I, my [see § 51])

4. *dzɛ da* when, if.

   *n dɛm wa'lint dzɛ da bā'°ᵴɛn* I will carry you if you are afraid (*wa'li* to carry on back; *bā°ᵴ* to be afraid)

   *dzɛ da lā tṣˑī'°nī dʌ n dɛm ᵴa-dʌ-ga'inat* when I enter, I shall fall with it (*tṣ!ī°n* to enter; *ᵴa-* suddenly; *dʌ-* with something; *ga'ina* to fall)

5. *ôp dzɛ* else, lest.

   *bā'°ᵴɛnut ô'p dzɛ dza'gi* I fear (lest) I fall

6. *tṣ!u* although.

   *tṣ!u nī'yɛdʌ tgi-ô'kᵴut, da g'ap-a'lgʌ-di-ᵴga'yîkᵴyī* although I (literally, this one) fell down, he (I) really did not hurt himself (myself) (*nīyɛdʌ* he, this; *tgi-* down; *ôkᵴ* to drop; *-u* I; *g'ap-* really; *a'lgʌ* not; *di-* on [my] part; *ᵴga'yîkᵴg* to be hurt)

   *tṣ!u wagait n'a g'idɛganē'°tᵴga°* even though far to the Tlingit

7. *asī* while.

   *ada asī hiä'°kᵴga lī'°mitga°* then while he began his song

8. *amī* if (event assumed as not likely to happen)

   *amī dzɛ la mɛ g'a'lkᵴɛ dzɛ dɛm lu-da'kɬᵡan* if you should feel that you may drown (*g'alkᵴ* to feel, *lu-* in; *da'kɬᵡan* to be drowned)

   *amī dzɛ la k·!ē'°ᵡgɛn* when you have made your escape

9. *yū°ɬ* if (event expected to happen).

   *yu°ɬ nɛ yē'dzɛn* if I hit you

## § 67. Preposition

The preposition *a* is used to express local, temporal, and modal relations. When used for expressing local relations, the particular class is often expressed by the local particles prefixed to the verb and substantive. The preposition always takes the connective suffix -*L* or -*s*, as described in §§ 23, 28.

The following examples illustrate the wide application of this preposition:

1. Signifying AT:

   *baxL Lgo-a′k·s aL awa′adetg·ê* a little water ran near them 117.3
   . (*bax* to run; *Lgo-* little; *ak·s* water; *awa′a* proximity)

   *iaga-ma′gat aL g·ä′u* he put him down at the front of the house
   46.8 (*iaga-* down; *mag* to put; *g·ä′u* beach in front of house)

   *aL g·ā′lEq* outside 121.15

2. Signifying IN; generally with the verbal prefix *lō-* and with the substantival prefix *ts′Em-*:

   *lō-ma′qsk*ᵘ*L t′ēlx· aL ts′Em-ts′ak·* the grease ran in (into) the dish
   46.14 (*lō-* in; *maqsk*ᵘ to stand [plural]; *t′ēlx·* grease; *ts′Em-* inside
   of; *ts′ak·* dish)

   *tq′al-lō-dzô′qst aL hwîlpg·ê* he stayed in the house 64.11 (*tq′al-*
   against [i. e., permanently]; *lō-* in; *dzôq* to camp; *hwîlp* house)

3. Signifying ON; generally with verbal prefix *lē-* and substantival prefix *lax-*:

   *lē-iaq′L oq aL lax-anē′st* a copper hangs on a branch 138.3 (*lē-* on;
   *ia′q* to hang; *anē′s* branch)

4. Signifying TOWARD; often with the verbal prefix *hagun-*:

   *hagun-iē′êL g·at aL awa′at* a man went toward him 138.14 (*hagun-*
   toward; *iē′ê* to go; *g·at* man; *awa′a* proximity)

   *iä′êt aL g·ilē′lîx·* he went into the woods 119.11

   *g·a′ask*ᵘ*t aL lax-ha′* he looked at the sky 137.6

5. Signifying FROM:

   *wêtk*ᵘ*t aL awa′as nôxt* he came from near his mother 22.12 (*wêtk*ᵘ
   to come from; *awa′a* proximity; *nôx* mother)

   *k·saxt aL hwî′lp* he went out of the house 166.11

6. Signifying TO; used like our dative:

   *hwîl hwî′ls dEp bē′EbēE as nē′En* thus did my uncles to thee 157.9
   (*hwîl* to do; *dEp* plural; (*n-)bē′êb* uncle; -*ēE* my; *nē′En* thou)

   *g·inā′mt aL Lgo-tk·′ē′Lk*ᵘ he gave it to the boy 139.4

7. Signifying WITH; instrumental:

   *La′lbEL q′aldō′x· aL ha-q′ō′L* she scraped the spoon with her fish-
   knife 8.9 (*La′lb* to scrape; *q′aldō′x·* spoon; *ha-q′ō′L* fish-knife)

*lē-ia'tsɛt lax-a'k·s aʟ waɋʟt* he struck the water with his tail 75.15
(*lē-* on; *ia'ts* to strike; *lax-* surface; *ak·s* water; *waɋʟ* beaver's
tail)

*guȥʟ lak*ᵘ *aʟ lēt qanʟ daɋʟ* he took fire-wood with wedge and
hammer 90.8 (*guȥ* to take; *lak*ᵘ fire-wood; *lēt* wedge; *qan* and;
*daɋʟ* hammer)

8. Signifying ON ACCOUNT OF:

*sīɛpk*ᵘʟ *qâ'ôts Wī-g·a't aʟ ȥdax·t* sick was Giant's mind on account
of his hunger 69.4

*sɛm-pʟa'k·sk*ᵘ*t aʟ hwî'ltg·ê* he was very tired on account of what
he had done 62.15

9. Expressing time:

*aʟ wī-sa'* all day long 138.9 (literally, at great day)

*aʟ haô'ng·ê mɛsā'.x·g·ê* before daylight 151.6 (at not yet daylight)

*aʟ sînt* in summer 20.14

10. Used with various verbs:

*lē-mɛtmē'tk*ᵘ*t aʟ t'ē'bɛn* they were full of sea-lions 108.8 (*lē-* on;
*mētk*ᵘ full; *t'ē'bɛn* sea-lion)

*mētk*ᵘʟ *māl aʟ lān* the canoe was full of spawn 29.10

*ansgwa'tgut as ne'tg·ê* they made fun of him 143.3

*nʟk·'ēt g·enʟ g·a'tg·ê aʟ hwîndô'ô* the man fed him with tobacco
90.10 (*g·en* to give to eat; *g·at* man; *hwîndô'ô* tobacco)

*g·ēk*ᵘʟ *ʟiâ'n aʟ haya'tsk*ᵘ he bought elk for coppers 194.11 (*g·ēk*ᵘ
to buy; *ʟiâ'n* elk; *haya'tsk*ᵘ copper)

*sa-hwa'dɛt aʟ X-ama'lgwaxdɛʟ Wâ'sɛ* they called him Eating-
Scabs-of-Wâ'sɛ 41.14 (*sa-* to make; *hwa* name; *x-* to eat;
*ama'lk*ᵘ scab)

*q'âtsk*ᵘ*t aʟ hana'q* he was tired of the woman 126.1

*wai-g·a'tk*ᵘ*t as nɛguâ'ôdɛt* he longed for his father 203.13

The preposition *a* is used very often with *hwîl* and *dɛm* to express
causal and final subordination, the subordinate clause being thus trans-
formed into a nominal phrase.

11. *aʟ hwîl* because (literally, at [its] being):

*laxbēts'ē'x·dēt . . . aʟ hwîlt g·a'adɛt* they were afraid because they
saw it 207.10

*aʟ hwîl nîg·idi halai'ts Ts'ak·; nîʟne't qant-hwîla'k*ᵘ*detg·ê* because
Ts'ak· was no shaman, therefore they did so 123.12 (*nîg·i* not;
*di* on his part; *halai't* shaman; *nîʟne't* that; *qan* reason; *hwîl*
to do)

*lō-hwa'ntk*ᵘʟ *qâ'ôdɛt aʟ hwîl x·tamk*ᵘ*t* its heart was annoyed
because of the noise 95.15 (*lō-* in; *hwantk*ᵘ annoyed; *qâôt*
heart; *xstamk*ᵘ noise)

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*lō-hwa'ntk*ᵘ*ʟ qâ'ôdɛt aʟ hwîl xstamk*ᵘ*t* he was annoyed on account
of the noise 95.15 (*lō-hwa'ntk*ᵘ annoyed; *qâ'ôt* mind)

*aba'g'ask*ᵘ*t aʟ hwîl sî-k*·'*a-wi-yē'tk*ᵘ*st* he was troubled because he
cried anew very much 21.12 (*aba'g'ask*ᵘ to be troubled; *sî-* anew;
*k*·'*a-* exceedingly; *wi-yē'tk*ᵘ to cry)

12. *aʟ dɛm* in order to, that:

*tsagam-wô'ôt aʟ dɛm dɛdā'lɛqt* he called it ashore to talk with it
38.1 (*tsagam-* ashore: *wô'ô* to call; *dɛdā'lɛq* to talk with)

*k*·'*ēt bôxt aʟ dɛm nōôm-a'k·st* he waited for her to be thirsty 21.7
(*bôx* to wait; *nōôm-* to desire; *ak·s* to drink)

*lō-ya'ltk*ᵘ*t aʟ dɛm yō'ôxk*ᵘ*t* he returned to eat 55.9

*k·si-ba'x aʟ dɛm gun-lu'kt* he ran out to make move

13. Sometimes the connection expressed by *a* is so weak that it may
be translated by the conjunction AND. Evidently the verb fol-
lowing *a* is nominalized.

*yō'ôxk*ᵘ*t aʟ wî-t'ē'sɛm yō'ôxk*ᵘ*t* he ate, and ate much 36.10

*d'āt aʟ wî-yē'tk*ᵘ*t* he sat and wept 39.7 (he sat down, weeping)

*iaga-iä'ʟ na'k·stg·ê . . . aʟ la gwâ'ôtk*ᵘ*t* his wife went down, and
he was lost 166.7, 8

Tsimshian:

The variety of forms which the preposition *a* takes in Tsimshian
has been discussed in § 28. Here examples will be given illus-
trating its application.

1. Signifying AT:

*ada k!a-t!ā'*ᵒ*t gɛsgʌ g·îlhau'li* then he sat at the inland-side for
a while

*al di nâᵒkl g·ad a awa' nakse nɛ-wai'g·u?* does a person lie near
my brother's wife? (*al* not; *di-* on his part; *nâᵒk* to lie; *g·ad*
a person; *awa'* proximity; *naks* wife; *waig·* brother)

2. Signifying IN:

*dɛmt ū'ᵒdɛn a ts!ɛm-la'gɛt* he will bake thee in the fire (*ūᵒd* to
bake; *ts!ɛm-* interior of; *lag* fire)

3. Signifying ON:

*adat l!î-sɛ-gu'lgɛ la'gɛ dʌ lax'ô'tga*ᵒ then he lighted a fire on
top of him (*l!î-* on; *sɛ-* to make; *gulg* to light; *lag* fire;
*lax'ô* top)

*mɛ dɛm t!ā'*ᵒ*nt gɛsgɛ stū'ᵒp!ɛlga*ᵒ make him sit in the rear of
the house

4. Signifying TOWARD:

*ada hagul-iā'*ᵒ*t gɛsgʌ awa' nɛ-wā'lbt* then he went slowly toward
his house

*gun-iā'*ᵒ*t gɛsgɛ wul nâᵒkt* he went to where he lay

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5. Signifying FROM:

> *wā'ºtgɛt gɛꜱgɛ awā' na'kꜱtgaⁱ* he came from near his wife
>
> *haldɛm-bā'ºgɛt Astiwā'l gɛꜱgɛ lax-lô'ºpgaº* Astiwā'l arose from the stones

6. Signifying TO; used like our dative:

> *ada wul ha'uꜱ nɛgwā'ºt gɛꜱ nī'ºtgaº* then his father said to him
>
> *adat wula k·ʃina'mꜱgɛ da'u gɛꜱgɛ lgū'ºlgɛtgaº* then he gave ice to his child (*k·ʃina'm* to give; *da'u* ice; *lgū'ºlg* child)

7. Signifying WITH, instrumental:

> *dat wul lū-ꜱga-ya'dzɛ tꜱ.'alt gɛꜱgɛ lī* then she struck him across the face with the feather (*lū-* in; *ꜱga-* across; *yadz* to strike; *tꜱ.'al* face; *lī* feather)
>
> *dzā'bɛt aL an'o'ntg·ê* he made with his hands
>
> *Lalbɛt aL ha-q'ō'L* she scraped with a fish-knife 8.9

8. Signifying ON ACCOUNT OF:

> *lū-q.'ā'gA gâ'ºtꜱ Astiwā'l gɛꜱgɛ nɛ-txalā'ndⸯt* Astiwā'l was sad on account of those he had (left) behind (*lū-* in; *q.'āg* open, hollow; *gâºd* mind; *txalā'n* behind)

9. Expressing time:

> *a wi-gâ'mꜱɛm* during the whole (great) winter
>
> *a nA-gâ'ga* in the beginning ZE 781[11]

10. Used with various verbs:

> *a wult ꜱɛ-q.'an-q.'adā'ula ga-gâ'ºdA a gwa'dɛkꜱɛm iēºnt* because she refreshed the hearts with cool fog ZE 797.32 (*q.'an-dā'ul*, literally, to go over, to refresh; *gwa'dɛkꜱ* cool; *iēºn* fog)
>
> *hô'ltgɛ wā'lbɛt a tꜱ.'āºg* full was the house of fat
>
> *adat wul p̣liā'rɛꜱ nɛgwā'ºt gɛꜱgɛt g·îlkꜱ-nī'ºꜱgɛ na'kꜱtgaº* then she told her father that she had looked back at her husband (*p̣liā'r* to tell; *g·îlkꜱ-* back; *nīº* to see)

11. *a wul* because:

> *a wult la na'gɛdat n.'axnū' hau* because for a long time she had heard say (*nag* long; *n.'axnu'* to hear; *hau* to say)
>
> *aꜱdɛ wul wa-dī-lgu-xā'ºga* because they, on their part, were even without a little foam (i. e., had nothing) (*wa-* without; *dī-* on their part; *lgu-* little; *xā'ºg* foam)

12. *a dɛm* in order to, that:

> *txan.'ī' gâ bā'ºldɛ la'mꜱu a dɛmt wula dza'kdut* everything tries my father-in-law to kill me (*txan.'ī* all; *gâ* what, something; *bā'ºld* to try; *lamꜱ* father-in-law; *dzak* to kill)
>
> *a dɛmt ū'ºtut* in order to bake me
>
> *a dɛmt ma'kꜱgɛ nɛ-ꜱɛꜱī'ºp̣tgaº* in order to gather his bones

13. *a* and:

> *ada wul wa'ndit a bâ'ºkɛdɛt* then they sat down and lamented

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# TEXTS

## NASS DIALECT

Txanē′tkʟ[1]   sa[2]   hîs-dzô′qsʟ[3]   k!opE-tk·lē′ʟkᵘ.[4]   Wī-hē′lt,[5]
Every      day      played camping      little  children.      Many

q'am-k·!ēlʟ[6]   wī-ga′n.[7]   Wī-lō-nô′ôʟ[8]   wī-ts!ä′wut.[9]   Wi-d'E′xʟ[10]
only  one    great log.   Great in  hole    great  inside.    Large

wī-ga′n.[7]   Nʟ[11]  hwîl[12]  g·its′EL-qâ′ôdEʟ[13]  k'opE-tk·′ē′ʟkᵘ.[4]  Nîlne′ʟ[14]
great tree.   Then  where   in      went   little  children.   Then

hwî′lpdētg·ê[15]  wī-qalk·si-nô′ôm[16]  gan.[7]  Nʟk·′ēt[17]  lō-sī-me′ʟdēʟ[18]
their house    large through hole of     tree.    Then     in made burn they

lakᵘ   lât.[19]   Nʟk·′ē[17]  hux  txâ′xkᵘdet[20]  wi-hē′lʟ[5]  ts'ele′mdet.
fire   in it.     Then    again   they ate       many     their traveling
                                                       provisions.

Hân   ts'ele′mʟ   gul-q'anē′tkᵘʟ[21]  k'ōpE-tk·′ēʟkᵘ.[4]  ʟa[22]  nakᵘʟ[23]
Salmon  the provisions of    all         little children.   When   long

hwî′ldet[24]  aʟ[25]  txanē′tkᵘʟ[1]  sa,[2]  nʟk·′e[17]  ʟa[22]  hux  t′ēsʟ  ak·s
they did so       at   every    day,    then    when  again large was  water

ʟa[22]  hux  lō-dzô′qdet[26]  aʟ[25]  wī-ts'Em-ga′n.[27]  Nʟk·′ē[17]  hux  pta′lîk·s.
when  again  in they camped  at   great in   log.    Then   again  the water
                                                         rose.

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[1] *txa-* all (§ 10, no. 93); *tranētkᵘ* independent form; *ʟ-*connective of numerals (§ 23.6).

[2] Same form in singular and plural (§ 41).

[3] *hîs-* to pretend (§ 10, no. 79); *dzóq* to camp; *-s* suffix (§ 17, no. 6) required by *hîs-*; *ʟ-* connective of predicate and subject (§ 23).

[4] *k'opE-* small [plural] (§ 10, no. 113); *tk·′ēʟkᵘ* children [plural]; *k'opE-* only in the plural; *ʟgō-* is the singular of SMALL.

[5] *wi-* great (§ 10, no. 73); *hēlt* many (almost always used with the prefix *wi-*).

[6] *q'am-* only (§ 10, no. 118); *k·′ēl* one flat thing (§ 57); *ʟ-* connective of numerals.

[7] *wī-* great (§10, no. 73); *gan* tree, log.

[8] *wī* great; *lō-* in (verbal prefix [§ 9, no. 29]); *nô′ô* hole; *-ʟ* predicative connective.

[9] *ts'äwu* the inside; in combination with nouns the prefix *ts'Em-* is used to designate THE INSIDE (§ 11, no. 152); *-t* probably possessively ITS.

[10] *wī* great; *d'Ex* large.

[11] *n-* demonstrative (?); *ʟ* probably connective.

[12] Verbal noun, here designating the place where something happens (§ 59).

[13] The prefix *g·its′EL* is not known in other combinations; *iē′ē* (singular), *qá′ó* (plural), to go; *-det* 3d person plural (§ 53); *-ʟ* connective.

[14] *n-* demonstrative (?); *ʟ-* probably connective. This conjunction seems to appear here doubled.

[15] *hwilp* house; *-dēt* their; *-g·ê* invisible (§ 20).

[16] *wī-* great; *qalk·si-* through (§ 9, no. 24); *nô′ô* hole; *-m* adjectival connective.

[17] *nʟ*; see note 11; *k·′ē* then; *t* transitive subject, 3d person (§ 48).

[18] *lō-* in (§ 9, no. 29); *si-* to cause (§ 13, no. 164); *meʟ* to burn; *-det* they; *-ʟ* connects predicate and object.

[19] *lát* 3d person pronoun, oblique case (§ 54).

[20] *yá′äxkᵘ* (singular), *txá′óxkᵘ* (plural), to eat (intransitive verb); *-det* they.

[21] A compound the elements of which are not quite clear (compare *tranē′tkᵘ* all); also *qane-hwîla* always (§ 10, no. 120).

[22] Particle indicating that one action is past when another sets in; also verbal noun (§ 59).

[23] *nakᵘ* long, temporal and local.

[24] *hwil* to do; *-det* they.

[25] *a* general preposition (§ 67); *-ʟ* indefinite connective.

[26] *lō-* in; *dzóq* to camp; *-det* they.

[27] *wī-* large; *ts'Em-* inside of (§ 11, no. 152).

NLk·'ē[17] g·îg·â'k·sL[28] wī-ga'n. NLk·'ē uks-o'lîk·sk<sup>u</sup>t.[29] Nî'g·ît[30]
Then   floated   the great log.   Then   out to sea   it drifted.   Not they

hwîlā'x·L[31] k'opE-tk·'ē'Lk<sup>u</sup>.[4] YukL[32] gwanEm-qalā'qdet[33] aL[25]
knew it   the little children.   Beginning   they were playing   at

lo-ts'ä'wuL[34] wī-ga'n La[22] hwagait-uks-dā'uL[35] aL[25] hwagait-g·ī'ks[36]
inside of   great log   when   away   out it was going   at   way off shore
         to sea

La[22] uks-na'k<sup>u</sup>t.[37] NLk·'ē[17] k·si-Lô'ôtk<sup>u</sup>L[38] k·'âlL[39] Lgō-tk·'ē'Lk<sup>u</sup>.[4]
when out to sea far.   Then   out   went   one   little   boy.

NLk·'ēt[17] g·a'at[40] hwîl La[41] hwagait-uks-o'lîk·sk<sup>u</sup>t[29,35] aL[25]
Then he   saw   where   when   way seaward it drifted   to

hwagait-g·ī'îks.[36] NLk·'ē[17] k·si-qâ'ôdeL[42] k'opE-tk·'ē'Lk<sup>u</sup>.[4] NLk·'ē[17]
way off shore.   Then   out   went   the little children.   Then

sîg·a'tk<sup>u</sup>dēt;[43] qanē-hwîla[44] sîg·a'tk<sup>u</sup>dēt.[43] NLk·'ē[17] k'uL-da'uL[45]
they cried;   always   they cried.   Then   about went

wī-ga'n[7] aL[25] hwagait-lax-sē'Elda.[46]
the log   at   way off   on the ocean.
great

NLk·'ē hux k·si-Lô'ôtk<sup>u</sup>L[38] Lgō-hwîl-xô'ôsgum[47] Lgo-tk·'ē'Lk<sup>u</sup>.[4]
Then   again   out was put   the little being wise   little   child.

NLk·'ēt g·a'aL[40] hwîl[12] lēba'yukL[48] qē'wun.[49] NLk·'ē ha'ts'îk·sEm[50]
Then he   saw   where   flew   gulls.   Then   again

lō-ya'ltk<sup>u</sup>t[51] aL ts'ä'wuL[34] wī-ga'n. K·'ēt maLt:[52] "Qa'nē-hwîla[44]
he returned   at   inside of   great log.   Then he   told it:   "Always

lē-hwa'nL[53] qē'wun[49] aL lax-ō'Em,[54] aq-dEp-hwîlā'gut?"[55] NLk·'ē
on   sit   gulls   at   top of us,   without we [way of] doing?"   Then

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<sup>28</sup> g·îg·d'k·s to drift.

<sup>29</sup> uks- out to sea, from land to sea (§ 8, no. 6); -t intransitive, 3d person singular.

<sup>30</sup> nîg·î indicative negation; -t transitive subject, 3d person.

<sup>31</sup> hwîld'x· to know; -det (3d person plural ending has been omitted here).

<sup>32</sup> yuk appears both as verb and as particle.

<sup>33</sup> gwanEm-a prefix of doubtful significance.

<sup>34</sup> lō- a verbal prefix, appears here with the noun ts'ä'wu THE INSIDE. It seems that this whole expression is possessive or verbal, because otherwise the connective would be -m (§ 22).

<sup>35</sup> hwagait- away (§ 10, no. 71); uks- seaward (§ 8, no. 6); da'uL to leave; perhaps the ending -t would be better.

<sup>36</sup> hwagait- is both verbal and nominal prefix; g·îks the region off shore (a noun corresponding to the verbal prefix uks-).

<sup>37</sup> uks- seaward; nak<sup>u</sup> far; -t perhaps closure of sentence (§ 20).

<sup>38</sup> k·si- out (§ 8, no. 8); Lô'ôtk<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> k·'dl one (numeral for counting human beings [§ 57]; -L connective of numerals (§ 23).

<sup>40</sup> g·a'a to see; -t it (object).

<sup>41</sup> hwîl La present and past participle forming nominal clause (§ 59).

<sup>42</sup> k·si- out of (§ 8, no. 8); qd'ôd to go (plural); -det they.

<sup>43</sup> irregular plural (§ 46); singular wuyî'tk<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> qanē- always (§ 10, no. 120).

<sup>45</sup> k'uL- about; da'uL to leave, to go.

<sup>46</sup> hwagait- way off (verbal and nominal prefix); lax- surface of (nominal prefix corresponding to lē- on: (§ 11, no. 151; § 9, no. 30) sē-Elda ocean.

<sup>47</sup> Lgō- little; hwîl- being (§ 59); xô'ôsk<sup>u</sup> wise; -m adjective connective (§ 22).

<sup>48</sup> g·îbā'yuk<sup>u</sup> (plural lēbā'yuk<sup>u</sup>) to fly (§ 45).

<sup>49</sup> Singular and plural same form (§ 41).

<sup>50</sup> Adverb.

<sup>51</sup> This verb occurs always with the prefix lō- IN.

<sup>52</sup> maL to tell (transitive verb).

<sup>53</sup> lē- ON corresponds to the nominal prefix lax- (note 46); d'a (plural hwan) to sit; -L indefinite connective.

<sup>54</sup> lax- surface (corresponds to the verbal prefix lē- on [note 53]); ô' top; -m our.

<sup>55</sup> aq- without, and also negation of dependent clauses (§ 11, no. 137); dEp- plural of transitive pronoun; hwîlā'k<sup>u</sup> is a peculiar form; while it is apparently a passive of hwîl, it is used as a transitive verb; -t probably object 3d person.

tgōn⁵⁶    hēʟ⁵⁷    k·'âlʟ³⁹    ʟgō-tk·'ē'ʟkᵘ:⁴    "Ām⁵⁸    dᴇp⁵⁹    d'îsd'ē'sʟ⁶⁰
this    said    one    little    child:    "Good    we    strike

qa-dz'ā'gam,⁶¹    nʟ    dᴇm    k·'ē⁶²    iʟā'êʟaat,⁶³    dᴇp⁶⁴    dᴇm    k·'ē
our noses,    they    future    then    bleed,    we    future    then

mant⁶⁴    aʟ    dāx·ʟ⁶⁵    wī-ga'n.    Nʟ    dᴇm    k·'ē⁶²    tq'al-hathē't⁶⁶
rub it    at    outside of    great log.    They    future    then    against stand

ts'obā'qʟ    qē'wun    lâ'tg·ê.⁶⁷"    Nʟk·'ē    hwî'ldetg·ê.⁶⁸    D'îsd'e'sdᴇʟ⁶⁰
feet of    gulls    on it."    Then    they did so.    They struck

qa-dz'a'qdēt.⁶¹    K·'ē    ā'd'îk·skᵘʟ⁶⁹    hwîl¹²    iʟā'êʟaat.⁶³    Nʟk·'ēt    k·'îlq'al-
their noses.    Then    came    being    they bled.    Then    they    around

ma'ndēt⁷⁰    aʟ    wi-ga'n.    Nʟk·'ē    la'mdzîxdēt⁷¹    aʟ    ts'ä'wuʟ    wī-ga'n.
rubbed it    on the great log.    Then    they entered    at    the inside of the log.
                                                                                     great

Nʟk·'ē    ad'ā'd'îk·skᵘʟ⁶⁹    wi-hē'ldᴇm⁷²    qē'wun.    Nʟk·'ē    lē-hwa'nt⁵³
Then    came    many    gulls.    Then    on they sat

lâ'ôt.¹⁹    K·'ē    tq'al-gulgwa'lukʟ⁷³    as'îsa'it.⁷⁴    ʟa²²    sᴇm-bagait-d'āʟ⁷⁵
on it.    Then    against dried    their feet.    When    very middle was

ʟôqs,⁷⁶    nʟk·'ē    hux    k·saxʟ⁷⁷    ʟgō-k·'ā-wī-t'ē'st.⁷⁸    Nʟk·'ē    lēba'yukʟ⁴⁸
the sun,    then    again    went out    little really great large.    Then    flew

qē'wun.    Nî'g·ît³⁰    daa'qʟk·udēʟ⁷⁹    dᴇm    lēbā'yukdētg·ê.⁴⁸    Nʟk·'ēt
the gulls.    Not they    succeeded    future    they flew.    Then he

dôqʟ⁸⁰    k·'âlʟ³⁹    ʟgō-tk·'ē'ʟkᵘ.⁴    Nʟk·'ēt    lō-haʟ-t'uxt'a'qʟ⁸¹    t'ᴇm-
took them    one    little child.    Then he    in along twisted    their

lā'nîx·t⁸²    gul-ganē'ʟ⁸³    wi-hē'ldᴇm⁷²    qē'wun.    Nʟk·'ēt    lō-d'ᴇp-
necks    all    great many    gulls.    Then he    in down

dā'ʟet⁸⁴    aʟ    hwîl    nanô'ôʟ⁸⁵    wī-ga'n.    Nʟk·'ē    lō-am'ā'mʟ⁸⁶    qagô'ôʟ⁸⁷
put them    at    where    holes    great log.    Then    in good    hearts

⁵⁶ The introductory *t-* of the demonstrative is the subject of the transitive verb; HE.

⁵⁷ For *hět-ʟ.*

⁵⁸ *ăm* good; used here as a periphrastic exhortative: IT WOULD BE GOOD IF WE —— (§ 65).

⁵⁹ *dᴇp* plural of transitive subject (§ 48).

⁶⁰ *d'ĕs* (plural *d'ĭsd'ē's*) to strike (§ 42).

⁶¹ *dz'ag* nose; plural *qa-dz'ag* (§ 43); *-m* our.

⁶² *nʟk·'ĕ* (note 17) appears here divided by the future particle *dᴇm.*

⁶³ *iʟăĕ* blood.

⁶⁴ *d ᴇp mant* we rub it (§ 48) (subjunctive).

⁶⁵ *dăx·* surface, outer side.

⁶⁶ *tq'al-* against (§ 9, no. 35); *hět* (plural *hathĕ't*) to stand.

⁶⁷ *lăt* oblique case, 3d person pronoun; *-g·ĕ* absent (because the outer side of the tree was invisible to the speaker).

⁶⁸ *hwil* to do; *-det* they; *-g·ĕ* absent.

⁶⁹ *ă'd'ik·skᵘ* (plural *ād'd'd'ik·skᵘ*) to come.

⁷⁰ *k·'ilq'al-* around; *man* to rub (transitive verb).

⁷¹ *ts'ĕn* (plural *la'mdzix*) to enter.

⁷² *wi-hē'lt* many (see note 5); usually used with adjectival connective *-m*, not with numeral connective *-ʟ* (§ 22).

⁷³ *tq'al-* against; *gwa'luk* to dry.

⁷⁴ *asa'e* (plural *as'isa'e*) foot.

⁷⁵ *sᴇm-* very (§ 15, no. 168); *bagait-* in middle; *d'a* to sit (used to express the idea of TO BE IN A POSITION, for round objects.

⁷⁶ sun or moon.

⁷⁷ *k·saɩ* to go out (probably related to *k·si-* OUT OF [§ 8, no. 8]).

⁷⁸ *ʟgō-* a little; *k·'ā-* really; *wi-* great; *t'ĕs* large (almost always combined with *wi-*); *-t* probably close of sentence.

⁷⁹ *da-aqʟkᵘ*; *aqʟkᵘ* to attain. The prefix *da* may be the same as in *dĕ'ya* HE SAYS THUS (§ 49, *d*).

⁸⁰ *gôu* (plural *dôq*) to take (§ 46).

⁸¹ *lō-* in; *haʟ* along (§ 9, no. 50); *t'aq* (plural *t'ᴇxt'a'q*) to twist; *-ʟ* connects predicate with object.

⁸² *t'ᴇm-* prefix indicating certain parts of the body; probably from *t'ăm* SITTING (§ 33).

⁸³ See note 21.

⁸⁴ *lō-* in; *d'ᴇp-* downward (§ 8, no. 4); *dăʟ* to put.

⁸⁵ See note 8; *nanô'ô* is here plural.

⁸⁶ *lō-* in; *ăm* (plural *am'ă'm*) good (§ 42).

⁸⁷ *gă'ôt* (plural *qagô'ôt*) mind, heart.

k'opE-tk·'ē'Lkᵘ.  G·ē'îpdeL⁸⁸ sma'x·tg·ê⁸⁹ La²² t'a'k·dēL⁹⁰ hwî'ldetg·ê⁹¹
the little children.  They ate it   the meat   when   they forgot   what they did

La²² hwagait-k'uL-da'uLdēt⁹² aL hwagait-lax-sē'lda.⁴⁶
when   way out about they went   at   way out   on ocean.

Nîg·î³⁰  lîg·i-tsagam-dē'lpkᵘdet,⁹³  aL  lîg·i-lax-ts·'ä'L⁹⁴  ak·s.
Not   anywhere landward short they   at   some-   on edge of   water.
                                              where

NLk·'ē  La  hux  k·'ēlL⁶  sa  dē-nExna'xdēL⁹⁵  wī-xstō'ntkᵘ.  K·'ē
Then   when   one   day   also   they heard   great   noise.   Then

k·si-Lô'ôL⁹⁶   k'opE-tk·'ē'Lkᵘ.   Gwinä'dēL,   an-tgo-lē'lbîk·'skᵘ⁹⁷
out went   the little   boys.   Behold   the whirlpool

hwîl   La⁹⁸   lō-lē-d'Ep-yu'kdet.⁹⁹   NLk·'ē   ä'd'îk·skᵘL·⁶⁹   hwîl¹²
where   when   in on down they went.   Then   came   the

sîg·a'tkᵘdēt⁴³ La²²  lō-d'Ep-hē'tkᵘL¹⁰⁰  wī-ga'n  aL  dEnı¹⁰¹ ⸜LôqkᵘL
their crying   when   in down   stood   the great tree   to   future   swallow
                                                                          (them)

an-tgo-lē'lbîk·skᵘ.⁹⁷
the whirlpool.

NLk·'ē  La²²  lō-d'Ep-hē'tkᵘt,¹⁰⁰  dē-uks-ba'xL  k·'âlL³⁹  g·a'tg·ê.¹⁰²
Then   when   in down it stood,   also sea-   ran   one   man.
                                       ward

Q'am-k·'ē'lL¹⁰³  asa'eL⁷⁴  g·a'tg·ê.¹⁰²  NLk·'ēt  g·aLkᵘL¹⁰⁴  wī-ga'n  aL²⁵
Only   one   foot   the man.   Then he   speared   the log   with
                                                              great

qalä'st.¹⁰⁵  K·'ēt  tsagam-dä'mgantg·ê;¹⁰⁶  de-lē-mâ'tguL¹⁰⁷  g·a'tg·ê.¹⁰²
his harpoon.  Then he   ashore   pulled it;   he saved them   the man.

NLk·'ē  bax-Lô'ôL¹⁰⁸  k'opE-tk·'ē'Lkᵘ  aL  ts'EIn-hwî'lpL¹⁰⁹  g·a'tg·ê.
Then   up went   the little children   to   inside of house of   the man.

NLk·'ē  yuk-txâ'q'Ens¹¹⁰  Q'am-k·'ē'lEm-asa'ē.¹¹¹
Then   began he fed them   Only-One-Foot.

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⁸⁸ g·ĕip to eat something.  We should expect here t g·ē'ipdet smax·.

⁸⁹ smax· venison; -t its; -g·ĕ absent.

⁹⁰ t'ak· to forget; -det they; -L connective.

⁹¹ hwil to do; -det they; -g·ĕ absent.

⁹² hwagait·- way off; k'uL- about; -det they.

⁹³ lig·i- somewhere, indefinite place (§ 8, no. 20); tsagam- landward (§ 8, no. 9); dēlpkᵘ short, near; -det they.

⁹⁴ lig·i- (see note 93); lax- surface; ts·'äL shore, edge (nominal term corresponding to tsagam).

⁹⁵ dē- also (precedes transitive subject); nExna'x to hear.

⁹⁶ täĕ (plural Lô'ó) to go (§ 46).

⁹⁷ an- prefix indicating place (§ 12, no. 157); tgo- around; k·'lbîk·skᵘ to flow (?).

⁹⁸ hwil La where in the past.

⁹⁹ lō- in (namely, inside the whirlpool); lē- on (namely, on the surface of the water); d'Ep down-ward; yuk to begin; -det they.

¹⁰⁰ lō- in; d'Ep- down; hĭt to place upright; hĕtkᵘ to be placed upright, to stand (§ 17).

¹⁰¹ aL dEm to the future—, final sentence (§§ 59, 67); i. e., to the future swallowing of the whirlpool.

¹⁰² g·at man; -g·ĕ absent.

¹⁰³ q'am only; k·'ĕl one flat or round thing.

¹⁰⁴ g·aLkᵘ to spear; the preceding t is the subject, the terminal -L conneate predicate and object.

¹⁰⁵ Terminal t either pronom or close of sentence.

¹⁰⁶ tsagam- shoreward; dä'mgan to haul.

¹⁰⁷ mdĭkᵘ (plural le-mä'tkᵘ) to save (§ 45).

¹⁰⁸ bax- up along ground (§ 8, no. 1).

¹⁰⁹ ts'Em- the inside of (nominal prefix).

¹¹⁰ yuk- beginning; txôòxkᵘ to eat (plural) (see note 20); -En causative suffix.

¹¹¹ See note 103.  Here q'am k·'ĕl is used as an attribute, not as a predicate, hence the connective -am instead of -L.

[Translation]

Children played camping every day. There were many of them, and there was only one great log. It had a great hole inside. It was a large log. That is the place where the children went in. Then the large tree with the hole in it was their house. They made a fire burn in it, and they also ate [many] traveling-provisions. Salmon was the traveling-provisions of all the children. When they had done so for a long time every day, when the water was great (high) again, they again camped in the great log. The water rose again and the great log floated. It drifted out to sea. The children did not know it. They were playing inside of the great log while it was going out to sea and when it was far away from the shore. Then one boy went out. He saw that they had drifted seaward and that they were way off shore. Then the children went out. Then they cried. They cried all the time. Then the great log went way out on the ocean.

Then a little wise boy went out. He saw gulls flying about. He returned again into the great log, and he told them, "Gulls are always sitting on top of us. Can we not do anything?" Then one child said the following: "Let us strike our noses. Then they will bleed. Then we will rub (the blood) on the outside of the great log. Then the feet of the gulls will stand on it." They did so. They struck their noses, and blood came out of them. Then they rubbed it on the great log. Then they entered the inside of the great log. Many gulls came and sat on it. Then their feet dried against it. When the sun was right in the middle of the sky, the one who was really a little large went out again. Then the gulls flew. They did not succeed in flying. Then one boy took them. Then he twisted off the necks of all the many gulls. Then he put them down into the hole of the great log. Then the children were glad. They ate the meat and forgot what was happening, that they were going way out on the ocean.

They were not anywhere near shore or the edge of the water. Then one day they heard a great noise. The boys went out. Behold! there was a whirlpool in which they were going down. Then they began to cry when the great log stood downward in it, about to be swallowed by the whirlpool.

While it was standing downward in it, a man ran seaward. The man had one foot. Then he speared the great log with his harpoon. He pulled it ashore. The man saved them. Then the children went up into the house of the man. Then Only-One-Foot began to feed them.

# TSIMSHIAN DIALECT

## Adā'oɢam[1] Ā'utagaᵒ[2] (Story of Porcupine)

Ninℓī'sɢᴇ[3] la[4] ksū'ᵒtgaᵒ,[5] a[6] la[4] wa'nsɢA[7] txanℓī'sɢᴇ[8] ya'ts!ᴇsɢᴇsɢA[9]
That it was when   fall,   at when were sitting   all   animals in

nA-ga-ts!ᴇm-ts!a'ptgaᵒ.[10]   Da'[11]   wula[12]   dī[13]   t!ā'ᵒsɢᴇ[14]   wī-mᴇdī'ᵒk[15]
their towns.   Then   being   on his part   sitting   great grizzly bear

ɢᴇsɢA[16]   n dī ts!a'pt[17] A[6] dzA[18] wī-gâ'msᴇmgaᵒ.[19]   Ada[20] ga'ni-wula[21]
in   his also   town   at   when   great   winter.   Then   always

gwa'ntgᴇsɢA[22]   wā'ᵒsgaᵒ,[23]   da[11] g·ik[24] lū-la'wa'l[25] nA-ts!ᴇm-ts!a'psɢA[10]
touched   the rain,   then   also   in it dripped   the town of

wī-mᴇdī'ᵒkgaᵒ.[15]   Ada[20] g·ik[24] lô'gaksɢᴇsɢA[26] n-lī'ᵒtgaᵒ.[27]   Ada[20]
the great grizzly bear.   Then   again   he was wet   his fur.   Then

sᴇmgal[28]   lu-hā'ᵒxgᴇsɢA[29] gâ'ᵒt[30] gᴇsɢA[16] sga-nA'ksɢA[31] wā'ᵒstgaᵒ.[32]
very   in   annoyed   his heart   at   too   long   rain.

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[1] ada'oɢ story: -ᴇm connection (§ 22).

[2] a'uta porcupine; -gaᵒ absent (§ 20)

[3] nin!i' that (§ 56); -sɢᴇ (§ 25).

[4] la when (§ 59).

[5] ksū'ᵒ fall; -gaᵒ absent (§ 20).

[6] a preposition (§ 67).

[7] t!āᵃ (plural wan) to sit (§ 46); -sɢᴇ (§ 24).

[8] txan!i' all (contains the particle txa- ENTIRELY); -sɢᴇ (§ 24).

[9] From yats to kill many; ya'ts'ᴇsk the killing (§ 17, no. 2); the terminal -ᴇsga stands here for asga IN.

[10] nA- separable possession (§ 55); ga- distributive plural, the towns of the various kinds of animals; ts!ᴇm- inside (§ 11, no. 152); ts!ab town; -t his; gaᵒ absence.

[11] da conjunction (§ 66, no. 2).

[12] § 59.

[13] dī on (his) part (§ 15, no. 167).

[14] t!āᵒ to sit; -sɢᴇ § 25.

[15] wī- great (§ 10, no. 73); mᴇdī'ᵒk grizzly bear.

[16] a preposition (§ 67); absent conjunctive form (§ 28).

[17] n- separable possession; dī- on his part (cf. note 13); ts!ab town.

[18] dzA weakened statement, WHEN IT MAY HAVE BEEN (§ 66, no. 3).

[19] wī- great (§ 10, no. 73); gd'mᴇᴇm winter; -gaᵒ absence.

[20] Conjunction (§ 66, no. 1).

[21] gani- all (§ 10, no. 120).

[22] gwantg to touch (i. e., here, fell); -sɢA connection (§§ 24, 25).

[23] wāᵒs rain.

[24] g·ik again (§ 15, no. 169).

[25] lū- in (§ 9, no. 29); la'wa'l to drip; no connective after l (§ 29).

[26] lô'gaksg to be wet (fur, skin).

[27] n- separable possession; lī fur, hair of body; -t his; -gaᵒ absence.

[28] sᴇm-gal very (§ 15, no. 178).

[29] lu- in (§ 9, no. 29), relating to gdᵒd mind; hdᵒxg annoyed.

[30] gdᵒd mind.

[31] sga- across (§ 9, no. 36); nag long; here apparently a verbal subordinate construction: AT ACROSS LONG BEING THE RAIN.

[32] wāᵒs rain; the -t is a difficult directive ending, which is used very frequently, and for which no adequate explanation has been given.

Nīnlī'[33] gan-ksɛ-tlā'ot[34] gɛsgA[16] nɛ-txaa'gAsgA[35] n-tsla'ptgaᵒ,[10] at[36]
That   reason out   he sat   at   the mouth of   his town,   at he

nīᵒ[37] lîg·i-lɛp-gâ'ᵒ[38] gɛsgA[16] kᵘdū'ᵒntgaᵒ.[39] Ada a'sī[40] dɛtlā'ot[41] gɛsgA[16]
seeing   everything   at   around him.   Then while   sitting   at

gwA'sgA,[42] gakstatnā'ᵒgA[43] ā'utAgA[44] gun-hĕ'ᵒtgɛt[45] gɛsgA[16] awā'ᵒtgaᵒ.[46]
that,   behold who   the porcupine   toward stood   at   his proximity.

A'sī[40] t[47] sga-iā'ᵒt[48] gɛsgA[16] n-lɛksâ'gasgɛ[49] n-tsla'psgɛ[10] wī-
When   he   across went   at   the doorway of   the town of   the

mɛdī'ᵒkgaᵒ,[15] ada wul ha'usgA[50] wī-mɛdī'ᵒkgaᵒ, "Tslī'ᵒnA[51] g·ī'ᵒt[52]
great grizzly   bear, then being   said   the great grizzly bear, "Enter   here,

n-sī'ɛplɛnsgī[53] Mɛ dɛm kla-xdī'ᵒyut."[54] Nīnlī'[33] gan da' wula
my friend!   You shall   a little eat with me."   That it was   reason then   when

tslī'ᵒnsgA[51] a'ut[44] gɛsgA awā'ᵒsgA[46] wī-mɛdī'ᵒkgaᵒ.[15] Ada' wula
entered   the porcu-   at   the proximity of   the great grizzly bear.   Then   being
pine

wī-sɛ-la'ksɛsgA[55] wī-mɛdī'ᵒkgaᵒ. Adat sa-gā'ᵒsgA[56] lgu-ā'utagaᵒ.[57]
great made fire   the great grizzly bear.   Then he   suddenly took   the little porcupine.

Adat dɛkda'klɛgA[58] ga-sɛsī'ᵒtgaᵒ[59] dil[60] ga-an'ô'ntgaᵒ.[61] Adat
Then he   tied   his feet   and   his hands.   Then he

hał-sgɛ'rt[62] gɛsgA dzô'gasgA[63] la'ktgaᵒ.[64] Adat wul gwa'lklɛnsgA[65]
alongside laid it   at   the edge of   the fire.   Then   he burnt

haklâ'ᵒsgA[66] lgu-a'utagaᵒ.[57] Nlī[33] ada' wul ha'usgA[50] wī-mɛdī'ᵒk[15] asgA[16]
the back of the   little porcupine.   He then   said   the great grizzly   to the
bear

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[33] *ni* that; *n.ʼi* probably demonstrative (§ 56)

[34] *gan-* reason; following *ninʼi*, it means THEREFORE; *ksɛ-* out, generally directive, but here indicating the position outside; *tʼdo* to sit; *-t* he.

[35] *nɛ-* separable possession; *txa-* direction; *dᵍ* mouth.

[36] *a* preposition (§ 67) with subjective (subjunctive) pronoun attached (§ 49).

[37] *niᵒ* to see; after *i̇o* the connective is missing (§ 29).

[38] *lig·i-* somewhere, this or that (§ 8, no. 20); *lɛp-* self (§ 10, no. 129); *gdᵒ* something, what; *lig·i-gdʼo* anything; *lig·i-lɛp-gdᵒ* everything.

[39] *kᵘdũᵒn* the place around (a nominal expression). When used in the possessive, it is considered as inseparable possession (§ 55).

[40] *asi* while (§ 66, no. 7), here followed by the progressive form.

[41] *d·ɛtʼd'o* progressive form of *tʼdo* to sit (§ 37).

[42] *gwaᵒ* this; *gwa'sgA* that (§ 56).

[43] an interjection, probably *gakᵃta* behold; *t* he; *ndᵒ* who.

[44] *a'uta* porcupine: *-gA* connective (§ 25).

[45] *gun-* toward (§ 10, no. 114); *hĕotg* to stand; *-t* he.

[46] *awā* proximity (a noun which corresponds to the particle *gun-* [see notes 39, 45]).

[47] *t* subject of intransitive verb, here emphatic.

[48] *sga* across (§ 9, no. 36); *iā'o* to go; *-t* he.

[49] *n-* separable pronoun; *lɛksd'ᵍ* doorway.

[50] *ha'u* to say.

[51] *tslion* (plural, *la'mdzɛx*) to enter by (imperative [§ 65]).

[52] *g·i̇ot* here.

[53] *n-* separable possession; *si'opʼɛnsg* friend; *-i* my (in address [§ 51]).

[54] *mɛ* thou (subjective [§ 49]); *dɛm* future (§ 59); *kʼa-* a little while (§ 10, no. 10ʼ); *xdī'o* to eat with some one; *-u* me; *-t* (see note 32).

[55] *wi-* great (§ 10, no. 73); *sɛ-* to make (§ 13, no. 164).

[56] *t* subjective pronoun; *sa-* suddenly; *gdᵒ* to take.

[57] *lgu-* little (§ 10, no. 135).

[58] *dakl* to lie (with plural object *dɛkda'kl*).

[59] *asi'o* (plural, *gasɛsi'o* [§ 43]).

[60] *di* and; *l* connective (§ 30).

[61] *an'ó'n* hand; *ga-an'ó'n* hands (§ 43).

[62] *hal-* along (§ 9, no. 50); *sgɛr* to lie.

[63] *dzóg* edge (noun corresponds to the particle *hal-* [see note 62]).

[64] *lak* fire (cf. note 32).

[65] *gwalg* to burn; *gwa'lklɛn* to cause to burn (§ 17, no. 1).

[66] *hakʼdo* back; has no prefix *nɛ-*, because, as a part of the body, the possession is inseparable.

łgu-a'ut a[6] ła[4] gwa'łksgA[65] n-līᵒm[67] hakłâ'ᵒtgaᵒ[66]: "Duu, duu,"
little porcu-  at when  burnt   the fur of  its back:   "Duu, duu,"
pine.     was

da-yê'gA[68] wī-mEdī'ᵒkgaᵒ, "DEm wā'lut,"[69] da-yê'gA[68] a'utaga,
said  the great grizzly bear.  "Future  I do it,"  said the  porcupine,

"sEm·â'g·id,[70] łū'ᵒn[71] dEda'kłut,[72] ada dEm wul wā'luda nE-ha'unt."
"chief,  untie  my bands,  then future being  I do it  what you say."

Yagai[73] a'łgEt[74] nEsEgâ'tgA[75] wī-mEdī'ᵒkgA ha'usgA łgu-a'uta gEs[76]
However,  not he   minded   the great grizzly bear  said the  little porcupine  to

n!ī'ᵒtgaᵒ, a wul[77] sEm-gal[28] wī-gat-g·a'dgaᵒ.[78] N!ī'ᵒtgA k!a-gat-g·a'dEt[79]
him,  because   very  greatly he is strong.  He is   most  strong

gEsga txan!ī'sgA[8] ya'ts!Esgaᵒ.[9] Nīn!ī'[33] gan-a'łgEt[74] n!Exnō'[80] k!abE-
among   all   animals.   That  reason not he   heard   the little
                                                one

ha'usgA[81] łgu-a'uta gEs[76] n!ī'ᵒtgaᵒ. SEm-gal wī-a'dzEksgaᵒ,[82] adat g·ik
said  little porcupine  to   him.   Very   much proud,   then he again

łagauk-kła'xsEt[83] gEsgA ts!Em-n-la'ktgaᵒ.[84]
to fire  kicked him   into   in the fireplace.

[Translation]

When it was fall, all the animals were sitting in their towns. A great Grizzly Bear, on his part, was also sitting in his town in midwinter. Rain was always falling, and it also dripped into the house of the great Grizzly Bear. His fur was wet. Then he was much annoyed because it was raining too long, therefore he sat at the entrance of his house and looked around to see everything. While he was sitting there, behold! Porcupine came near him. When he passed the doorway of the house of the great Grizzly Bear, the great Grizzly Bear said, "Enter here, friend! You shall eat with me for a little while." Therefore the Porcupine entered near the great Grizzly Bear. The great Grizzly Bear made a great fire. He suddenly took the little Porcupine. He tied his feet and his hands. Then he laid him near the edge of the fire. Then the back of the little Porcupine was burnt. Then the great Grizzly Bear said to the little Porcupine when

[67] līom hak!d'o back fur (§ 22).
[66] This verb has always subjective pronouns (see § 49).
[69] Here indicative, therefore -u objective pronoun with third person object (§ 50).
[70] sEm'd'g·id chief (see § 33).
[71] łūo to untie. Here indicative construction in place of imperative.
[72] dEda'kł bands; -u my; -t (see note 32).
[73] yagai however (§ 15 no. 174).
[74] a'łgE not (§ 15, no. 180; § 63).
[75] nEsgā' to mind; -tgE connective (§ 24 BI2 absent).
[76] gEs preposition, definite form before pronoun designating human beings (§ 28).
[77] a wul because (§ 67, no. 11).
[78] wi- greatly (§ 10, no. 73); gat-g'a·d strong (a compound of g·ad PERSON).
[79] k!a- exceedingly (here used as superlative [§ 10, no. 106]).
[80] nExnō' to hear; no connective after vowels (§ 29).
[81] k!abE the little one, poorly (§ 10, no. 113), also plural to łgu- small.
[82] â'dzEk proud.
[83] łagauk- from the sides of the house to the fire; kłaxs to kick.
[84] ts!Em- the inside; n- place (§ 12, no. 157); łak fire.

the fur on his back was burnt, " Duu, duu!" said the great Grizzly Bear. " I will do it," said the Porcupine. "Chief, untie my bands, then I will do what you say." However, the great Grizzly Bear did not mind what the little Porcupine said to him, because he was very strong. He is the strongest of all the animals, therefore he did not listen to what the poor little Porcupine said to him. He was very proud. Then he kicked him again into the fireplace.