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INTRODUCTORY

The International Journal of American Linguistics will be devoted to the study of American aboriginal languages. It seems fitting to state briefly a few of the problems that confront us in this field of research.

It is not necessary to set forth the fragmentary character of our knowledge of the languages spoken by the American aborigines. This has been well done for North America by Dr. Pliny Earle Goddard, and it is not saying too much if we claim that for most of the native languages of Central and South America the field is practically terra incognita. We have vocabularies; but, excepting the old missionary grammars, there is very little systematic work. Even where we have grammars, we have no bodies of aboriginal texts.

The methods of collection have been considerably improved of late years, but nevertheless much remains to be done. While until about 1880 investigators confined themselves to the collection of vocabularies and brief grammatical notes, it has become more and more evident that large masses of texts are needed in order to elucidate the structure of the languages.

The labors of Stephen R. Riggs, James Owen Dorsey, and Albert S. Gatschet marked a new era in the development of linguistic work. Besides these, should be mentioned the "Library of Aboriginal Literature," edited and published by Daniel G. Brinton, which contains largely older material of a similar character. During the following decades, texts were published on a quite extended scale, but largely brought together by the same methods. They were obtained by dictation from a few informants, and taken down verbatim by the recorder. In later years the example of James Owen Dorsey, who published texts written by natives, has been adapted to the recording of aboriginal literature; and quite a number of collections of folk-lore have been published in Indian languages, the originals of which have been written by the natives themselves.

Marked differences in stylistic character exist between tales thus recorded and those written by investigators who are not in perfect command of the language, who often have to acquire it by means of the collected text material. The slowness of dictation that is necessary for recording texts makes it difficult for the narrator to employ that freedom of diction that belongs to the well-told tale, and consequently an unnatural simplicity of syntax prevails in most of the dictated texts. When, on the other hand, a native has once acquired ease in the use of the written language, the stylistic form becomes more natural, and refinements of expression are found that are often lost in slow dictation.

Nevertheless the writing of single individuals cannot replace the dictated record, because the individual characteristics of the writer become too prominent, and may give a false impression in regard to syntactic and stylistic traits; even the variability of grammatical form may be obscured by the one-sidedness of such records. Whenever it is possible to train several writers, many of these difficulties may be overcome. Where a native alphabet exists, as among the Cherokee, Fox, and Cree, and where for this reason many persons write with ease, a serviceable variety of stylistic and syntactic expression may be secured. Excellent examples of native texts recorded naively by

natives are contained in the Eskimo publications printed in Greenland, which are devoted both to topics of daily interest and to ancient folk-lore. Similar conditions prevail in the Cherokee material collected by James Mooney, and in some of the daily papers printed in aboriginal languages. Even when good written records are available, control by means of the spoken language is necessary, because the expression of the written language may differ considerably from the spoken form.

Up to this time too little attention has been paid to the variety of expression and to the careful preservation of diction. We have rather been interested in the preservation of fundamental forms. Fortunately, many of the recorded texts contain, at least to some extent, stereotyped conversation and other formulas, as well as poetical parts, which give a certain insight into certain stylistic peculiarities, although they can seldom be taken as examples of the spoken language.

An added difficulty in the use of texts written by natives is that most are written by Indians who have had a modern school education. It may be observed in all parts of America that the native languages are being modified by the influence of European languages, not only in vocabulary, but also in phonetics and grammar. The far-reaching influence of these causes may be observed in a most striking manner in modern Mexican and other Central American languages, that have been under Spanish influence for centuries, and which not only have lost large parts of their vocabularies, that have disappeared with the ancient ideas, but which have also developed a new syntax, and, in part at least, new morphological forms. Modifications of this type are common in those regions where the intercourse between Indian and white is intimate, and particularly where the children are segregated from the parents. On the Pacific coast, for instance, the articulation of the glottalized fortis loses much of its strength, old words disappear, and new syntactical forms develop. Even the old facility of composition of stems tends to disappear. It is therefore necessary to obtain text material also from the older generation, because it is required for the study of the recent development of the languages.

On account of the difficulties and expense involved in the collection of texts, collectors have not only hesitated to obtain similar material from different individuals, but they have also confined themselves largely to the collections of native traditions. In some cases, native poetry has been included in the collections. Albert Gatschet recognized the need of varied material and collected texts on diverse topics in his studies of the Klamath, and J. Owen Dorsey published a collection of letters. The contents of the Eskimo publications and the native newspapers previously referred to also form a notable exception to this rule. Among later collectors, Drs. Goddard and Sapir have given particular attention to the collection of texts of varied contents. On the whole, however, the available material gives a one-sided presentation of linguistic data, because we have hardly any records of daily occurrences, every-day conversation, descriptions of industries, customs, and the like. For these reasons the vocabularies yielded by texts are one-sided and incomplete.

Notwithstanding the progress that during the last few decades has been made in the character of the material recorded, both as regards the accuracy of phonetic transcription and the character of the matter recorded, there is ample room for improvements of method.

With the extent of our knowledge of native languages, the problems of our inquiry have also assumed wider and greater interest. It is quite natural that the first task of the investigator was the registering and the rough classification of languages. It appeared very soon that languages are more or less closely related, and that comparison of brief
vocabularies was sufficient to bring out the most striking relationships. The classification of North American languages, that we owe to Major J. W. Powell, which will form the basis of all future work, was made by this method. Further progress on these lines is beset with great difficulties, that are common to America and to those continents in which we cannot trace the development of languages by means of historical documents. The results of the historical and comparative studies of Indo-European languages show very clearly that languages that have sprung from the same source may become so distinct, that, without documents illustrating their historical development, relationships are difficult to discover; so much so, that in some cases this task might even be impossible. We are therefore permitted to assume that similar divergences have developed in American languages, and that quite a number of languages that appear distinct may in a remote period have had a common origin.

Here lies one of the most difficult problems of research, and one in which the greatest critical caution is necessary, if we wish to avoid the pitfalls that are besetting the path of scientific inquiry. The method of investigation has to take into account possibilities of linguistic growth, in regard to which generalized data are not available. Modern languages have developed by differentiation. In so far as this is true, the establishment of a genealogical series must be the aim of inquiry. On the other hand, languages may influence one another to such an extent, that, beyond a certain point, the genealogical question has no meaning, because it would lead back to several sources and to an arbitrary selection of one or another as the single ancestral type. Our knowledge of linguistic processes is sufficiently wide to show that lexicographic borrowing may proceed to such an extent, that the substance of a language may be materially changed. As long, however, as the inner form remains unchanged, our judgment is determined, not by the provenience of the vocabulary, but by that of the form. In most Indian languages etymological processes are so transparent, that borrowing of whole words will be easily detected; and, on the whole, the diffusion of words over diverse groups does not present serious difficulties, provided the borrowed material does not undergo radical phonetic changes.

The matter is different when we ask ourselves in how far phonetics and morphological features may have been borrowed. In these cases our experience does not permit us to give a definite answer. The system of sounds of a language is certainly unstable; but in how far inner forces and in how far foreign influence mould its forms, is a question not always easy to answer. In America we can discern various areas that have common phonetic characteristics; like the areas of prevalence of nasalization of vowels, of glottalized fortis, of superabundant development of laterals, of absence of bi-labials or of labio-dental spirants, or of trills. These areas do not coincide with any morphological groupings, and are apparently geographically well defined. If we are dealing here with phenomena of late assimilation, a disturbing element is introduced that will make it more difficult to assign a language to a definite genealogical line, much more so than is the case in the borrowing of words. The conditions favoring such phonetic influence must have been much more numerous in primitive America than they were in the later development of European languages. The number of individuals speaking any given American dialect is small. Many women of foreign parentage lived in each tribe, and their speech influenced the pronunciation of the young; so that phonetic changes may have come about easily.

Still more difficult is the problem presented by the distribution of morphological traits. Even with our imperfect knowledge of American languages, it may be recognized that certain morphological types have a
wide continuous distribution. This is true of morphological processes as well as of particular psychological aspects of American languages. Thus the incorporation of the nominal object, which in former times was considered one of the most characteristic features of American languages, is confined to certain areas, while it is foreign to others. The tendency to qualify generalized verbal terms by means of elements which express instrumentality is characteristic of some areas. The occurrence of various specific elements that define locality of an action, as affecting objects like "hand," "house," "water," "fire," or other special nominal concepts, is characteristic of other regions. Classification of actions or of nouns according to the form of the actor or of the object also belong to several groups of languages. Nominal cases are present in some languages, absent in others. In a similar way we find present in some regions, absent in others, processes like that of reduplication or of vocalic or consonant modification of stems.

Attempts to classify languages from these distinct points of view do not lead to very satisfactory results. Not only would the purely morphological classifications be contradictory, but in many cases where a close morphological agreement exists, it remains highly unsatisfactory to co-ordinate vocabularies and the phonetic equivalents of similar morphological ideas. On the basis of Indo-European experience, we should be very much inclined to seek for a common origin for all those languages that have a far-reaching morphological similarity; but it must be acknowledged, that, when the results of classifications based on different linguistic phenomena conflict, we must recognize the possibility of the occurrence of morphological assimilation. The problem is analogous to that of the relation between Finnish and Indo-European languages, which Sweet assumed as established, while the observed relations may also be due to other causes.

Owing to the fundamental importance of these questions for the solution of the problem of the historical relationship between American languages, it seems particularly important to attempt to carry through these classifications without prejudging the question as to the genealogical position of the various groups. It is quite inconceivable that similarities such as exist between Quileute, Kwakiutl, and Salish, should be due to a mere accident, or that the morphological similarities of Californian languages, which Kroeber and Dixon have pointed out, should not be due to a definite cause. The experience of Aryan studies might induce us to agree that these must be members of single linguistic stocks; but this assumption leaves fundamental differences unaccounted for, and neglects the possibility of morphological assimilation, so that at the present time the conclusion does not seem convincing. We ought to inquire, first of all, into the possibility of mutual influences, which will be revealed, in part at least, by lack of correspondence between lexicographic, phonetic, and detailed morphological classifications.

We do not mean to say that the investigation may not satisfactorily prove certain genealogical relationships; but what should be emphasized is, that, in the present state of our knowledge of primitive languages, it is not safe to disregard the possibility of a complex origin of linguistic groups, which would limit the applicability of the term "linguistic family" in the sense in which we are accustomed to use it. It is certainly desirable, and necessary, to investigate minutely and carefully all suggestive analogies. The proof of genetic relationship, however, can be considered as given, only when the number of unexplained distinct elements is not over-large, and when the contradictory classifications, to which reference has been made before, have been satisfactorily accounted for.
It is quite evident, that, owing to the lack of knowledge of the historical development of American languages, convincing proof of genealogical relationship may be impossible to obtain, even where such relation exists; so that, from both a practical and a theoretical point of view, the solution of the problems of genetic relationship presents a large number of attractive problems.

Considering the complexity of this question, and the doubts that we entertain in regard to some of the principles to be followed in our inquiry, it seems probable that a safer basis will be reached by following out dialectic studies. Very little work of this kind has been done on our continent. James Owen Dorsey was able to point out a few phenomena pertaining to the inter-relation of Siouan dialects. Similar points have been made in regard to the Salish languages and in a few other cases, but no penetrating systematic attempt has been made to clear up the processes of differentiation by which modern American dialects have developed. It is fortunate for the prosecution of this study that quite a number of linguistic families in America are broken up into numerous strongly divergent dialects, the study of which will help us the more in the investigation of the relations between distinct languages, the more markedly they are differentiated. Siouan, Algonquian, Muskogean, Salishan, Shoshonian, Wakashan, Caddoan, are languages of this type. They present examples of divergence of phonetic character, of differences in structure and vocabulary, that will bring us face to face with the problem of the origin of these divergent elements.

The more detailed study of American languages promises rich returns in the fields of the mechanical processes of linguistic development and of the psychological problems presented by languages of different types. In many American languages the etymological processes are so transparent, that the mechanism of phonetic adaptation stands out with great clearness. Contact-phenomena, and types of sound-harmony that affect more remote parts of words, occur with great frequency. Phonetic shifts between related dialects are easily observed, so that we can accumulate a large mass of material which will help to solve the question in how far certain phonetic processes may be of more or less universal occurrence.

Remotely related to this problem is the question that was touched upon by Gatschet, in how far the frequent occurrence of similar sounds for expressing related ideas (like the personal pronouns) may be due to obscure psychological causes rather than to genetic relationship. Undoubtedly, many hitherto unexpected types of processes will reveal themselves in the pursuit of these studies.

The variety of American languages is so great, that they will be of high value for the solution of many fundamental psychological problems.

The unconsciously formed categories found in human speech have not been sufficiently exploited for the investigation of the categories into which the whole range of human experience is forced. Here, again, the clearness of etymological processes in many American languages is a great help to our investigation.

The isolation of formal elements and of stems, or of co-ordinate stems,—whichever the case may be,—is easily performed, and the meaning of every part of an expression is determined much more readily than in the innumerable fossilized forms of Indo-European languages.

Lexicographic differentiation corresponds to the morphological differentiation of languages. Where ideas are expressed by means of separate stems or by subordinate elements, generalized stems will be found that express a certain action regardless of the instrument with which it has been performed; while, in languages that are not provided with these formal elements, a number of separate words
will take the place of the modified general stem. In languages that possess a full equipment of adverbial and locative formative elements, generalized words of motion may be qualified by their use; while, wherever these elements are absent, new stems must take their place. The same is true of grammatical elements that designate form or substance. Where these occur, the languages may lack words expressing predicative ideas relating to objects of different form and consisting of different substances (like our words "to lie," "to sit," "to stand," "to tear," "to break").

A lexicographic analysis based on these principles of classification promises important results, but requires a much more accurate knowledge of the meaning of stems than is available in most cases.

No less interesting are the categories of thought that find expression in grammatical form. The older grammars, although many of them contain excellent material, do not clearly present these points of difference, because they are modelled strictly on the Latin scheme, which obscures the characteristic psychological categories of Indian languages. Thus the idea of plurality is not often developed in the same sense as in Latin, but expresses rather the idea of distribution or of collectivity. The category of gender is rare, and nominal cases are not common. In the pronoun we find often a much more rigid adherence to the series of three persons than the one that we apply, in so far as the distinction is carried through in the pronominal plural and in the demonstrative. Furthermore, new ideas—such as visibility, or position in regard to the speaker in the six principal directions (up, down, right, left, front, back), or tense—are added to the concept of the demonstrative pronouns. In the numeral the varied bases of numeral systems find expression. In the verb the category of tense may be almost suppressed or may be exuberantly developed. Modes may include many ideas that we express by means of adverbs, or they may be absent. The distinction between verb and noun may be different from ours. In short, an enormous variety of forms illustrates the multifarious ways in which languageseizes upon one or another feature as an essential of expression of thought.

Besides the greater or lesser development of categories that are parallel to our own, many new ones appear. The groups of ideas selected for expression by formative elements are quite distinctive, and they belong to the most important features in the characterization of each language. In some cases they are poorly developed, but most American languages possess an astonishing number of formative elements of this type.

In some cases their number is so great, that the very idea of subordination of one element of a word under another one loses its significance; and we are in doubt whether we shall designate one group as subordinate elements, or whether we shall speak of the composition of co-ordinate elements. While in some languages, as in Algonquin or Kutenai, this may be a matter of arbitrary definition, it involves a problem of great theoretical interest; namely, the question whether formative elements have developed from independent words, as has been proved to be the case with many formal suffixes of European languages.

The objectivating tendency of our mind makes the thought congenial, that part of a word the significance of which we can determine by analysis must also have objectively an independent existence; but there is certainly no a priori reason that compels us to make this assumption. It must be proved to be true by empirical evidence. Although the history of American languages is not known, and therefore cannot furnish any direct evidence for or against this theory, the study of the etymological processes will throw light upon this problem, because in many cases the very phonetic weakness of the constituent elements, their internal
changes, and the transparency of the method of composition, make it clear that we are performing here an analytical process, that does not need to have as its counterpart the synthesis of independent elements. The same question may also be raised in regard to phonetic modifications of the stem, which may be secondary, and due to the influence of changing accents in composition or to vanished component elements, while they may also be primary phenomena.

This problem is in a way identical with the whole question of the relation between word and sentence. Here also American languages may furnish us with much important material that emphasizes the view that the unit of human speech as we know it is the sentence, not the word.

The problems treated in a linguistic journal must include also the literary forms of native production. Indian oratory has long been famous, but the number of recorded speeches from which we can judge their oratorical devices is exceedingly small. There is no doubt whatever that definite stylistic forms exist that are utilized to impress the hearer; but we do not know what they are. As yet, nobody has attempted a careful analysis of the style of narrative art as practised by the various tribes. The crudeness of most records presents a serious obstacle for this study, which, however, should be taken up seriously. We can study the general structure of the narrative, the style of composition, of motives, their character and sequence; but the formal stylistic devices for obtaining effects are not so easily determined.

Notwithstanding the unsatisfactory character of the available material, we do find cases in which we may at least obtain a glimpse of the intent of the narrator. In many cases metaphorical expressions occur that indicate a vigorous imagination. Not much material of this character is available, but what little we have demonstrates that the type of metaphor used in different parts of the continent shows characteristic differences. It would be interesting to know in how far these expressions have become purely formal without actual meaning, and in how far they reflect an active imagination.

Evidence is not missing which shows that the sentence is built up with a view of stressing certain ideas or words by means of position, repetition, or other devices for securing emphasis. There are curious differences in the tendency to fill the discourse with brief allusions to current ideas difficult to understand for any one who is not versed in the whole culture of the people, and the enjoyment of diffuse, detailed description. Collectors of texts are fully aware that in the art of narrative there are artists and bunglers in every primitive tribe, as well as among ourselves. At present there is hardly any material available that will allow us to characterize the tribal characteristics of the art of narrative.

The most promising material for the study of certain aspects of artistic expression are the formal elements that appear with great frequency in the tales of all tribes. Most of these are stereotyped to such an extent, that little individual variation is found. Even in poorly recorded tales, written down in translation only, and obtained with the help of inadequate interpreters, the sameness of stereotyped formulas may sometimes be recognized. Conversation in animal tales and in other types of narrative, prayers and incantations, are probably the most important material of this character.

Attention should also be paid to the existing forms of literature. The narrative is of universal occurrence, but other forms show a much more irregular distribution. The psychological basis of the trivial American anecdote is not easily understood. The connotation of meaningless syllables that occur in songs, the frequent use of distorted words in poetry, and the fondness for a secret language, including obsolete, symbolic, or arbitrary
terms, deserve the most careful attention. Here belong also the peculiar modes of speech of various personages, that are recorded in many tales, and which Dr. Sapir has found so fully developed among the Nootka, and Dr. Frachtenberg among the Quilleute. The fixity of form of the recitative used by certain animals, to which Dr. Sapir has called attention in his studies of the Paiute, also suggests an interesting line of inquiry.

Equally important is the absence of certain literary forms with which we are familiar. The great dearth of proverbs, of popular snatches, and of riddles, among American aborigines, in contrast to their strong development in Africa and other parts of the Old World, requires attentive study. The general lack of epic poetry, the germs of which are found in a very few regions only, is another feature that promises to clear up certain problems of the early development of literary art. We are able to observe lyric poetry in its simplest forms among all tribes. Indeed, we may say that, even where the slightest vestiges of epic poetry are missing, lyric poetry of one form or another is always present. It may consist of the musical use of meaningless syllables that sustain the song; or it may consist largely of such syllables, with a few interspersed words suggesting certain ideas and certain feelings; or it may rise to the expression of emotions connected with warlike deeds, with religious feeling, love, or even to the praise of the beauties of nature. The records which have been accumulated during the last few years, particularly by students of primitive music, contain a mass of material that can be utilized from this point of view.

Undoubtedly the problems of native poetry have to be taken up in connection with the study of native music, because there is practically no poetry that is not at the same time song. The literary aspects of this subject, however, fall entirely within the scope of a linguistic journal.

Let us hope that the new journal may be able to contribute its share to the solution of all these problems!

FRANZ BOAS
Pochutla, capital del distrito del mismo nombre del Estado de Oaxaca, está ubicada al Oeste de Tehuantepec y al Sur de Oaxaca, aproximadamente a tres leguas del Océano Pacífico. En todas las poblaciones que están al rededor de Pochutla se hablaba el Zapoteco, pero entre los vocabularios recogidos por el eminente sabio Sr. Doctor Antonio Peñañuel, quien bondadosamente me dio permiso de hacer uso de sus importantes colecciones, se encuentra un vocabulario como de 80 vocablos de Pochutla, los cuales muestran claramente que allí se habla el idioma náhua o mexicano. El vocabulario lo recogieron en 1888 y en ese año ya iba desapareciendo el idioma. Los datos, aunque muy imperfectos, indican que el idioma se diferencia mucho del mexicano clásico y que su fonetismo se parece al de los dialectos del Sur.

A mi modo de ver, la cuestión de la distribución antigua de los dialectos mexicanos es importantísima y creí que valía la pena visitar el pueblo y recoger todo lo que se pudiera sacar.

Llegué a Pochutla en enero de 1912, y quedé allá hasta fines de febrero, cuando ya no se podía conseguir más de los pocos individuos que conocen parte del idioma. Son mujeres casi todas las personas que todavía se acuerdan de algunos vocablos y frases, y no hay más que una que lo pueda hablar, conociendo, como conoce, un número bastante grande de palabras y teniendo dominio sobre las formas gramaticales. Se llama Sabina Martínez y es una anciana como de 75 años. Desgraciadamente no fue posible explicarle que para apuntar las formas se necesita una pronunciación clara y lenta y la repetición de las mismas frases. Siempre cambiaba ella la forma de las frases y por esa razón fue muy difícil recoger un buen acopio de datos. Después de unos cuantos días empezó a creer que hablar lentamente era repetir la primera sílaba del vocablo despacio y después pronunciar toda la palabra o toda la frase muy de prisa. Aunque otras mujeres, con las cuales estaba trabajando, le explicaron muchas veces lo que quería y hasta le enseñaron como se debía hablar, fue imposible lograr una buena pronunciación. Por esa razón siempre me acompañaban Mauricia Riquel, anciana muy inteligente que recuerda muchos vocablos y que me ayudó repitiendo los vocablos pronunciados por Sabina, cuando ella se acordaba de ellos. Mauricia y María Trinidad son las que tienen los mejores conocimientos del idioma, después de Sabina. Son como de 65 y 70 años de edad. Otras que conocen bastantes vocablos son: Felíciana, Francisca, Joaquina y Paula Nicha, ancianas como de 75 años, Ines Vázquez, como de 60 años y Eleuteria Avesilla, quien no tiene más de 50 años. Muy escasos son los conocimientos de Andrea Castillo, señora como de 50 años, quien siempre se interesaba en el idioma, y aunque su madre no lo hablaba, había aprendido muchos vocablos y frases.

Pocos son los hombres que recuerdan el idioma. Estanislao y Epifanio Pina, hombres como de 50 años, me comunicaron un pequeño número de vocablos; Pedro Marcelino Pastor, hombre como de 60 años, es el que tiene los mayores conocimientos, relativamente al idioma mexicano, entre los hombres.
Otros individuos que, según lo que se dice, hablan el idioma mexicano, han sido examinados, pero no tienen conocimientos útiles. Se dijo que había un vocabulario escrito, pero es muy claro que eso se refiere al vocabulario del Sr. Dr. Peñañuel, el cual ha sido escrito por el Sr. Apolonio Rosario.

La Sra. Ines Vázquez tiene fama de saber de memoria una carta que un tal Pepe escribió en el dialecto a su madre, cuando estaba en Oaxaca, pero la carta estaba casi toda escrita en castellano.

—Mamá Florentina, nebá (l) ntsichuá (2) mandar las expresiones que nguet (2) en la prisión con cabal salud. Titéz (2) con mucho cariño a nob'lugám (4). Az xichué (4) perder la esperanza que nen quicéz (4) de la prisión. Tischtuá (4) contestar todo lo más pronto que puedas. Nebá (l) ntsichuá (2) unos abrazos para noyé (8) Florentina.—Don Pepe.

El dialecto mexicano de Pochutla es uno del grupo de dialectos meridionales del nahua, cuyo fonetismo se diferencia mucho del nahuatl clásico. Ese grupo de dialectos incluye a los de la América Central y la mayoría de los de Tabasco, Vera-Cruz, probablemente de Chiapas y también el dialecto de Jalisco. Sus rasgos más importantes son la ausencia de consonantes africativas, antes de otras consonantes, y la substitución de la t en vez de la ll.

El fonetismo del dialecto de Pochutla tiene otros caracteres importantes. Hay grupos de consonantes al principio de las palabras y también grupos de más de dos consonantes, los cuales nunca se encuentran en el mexicano del Valle de México y de las regiones vecinas. También hay cambios regulares de las vocales. Casi siempre el acento está en la última y parece que la elisión de vocales y el origen de grupos de consonantes se deben en parte al cambio del acento.

Las noticias que recogí sobre la gramática de Pochutla, son muy incompletas. Sin embargo, parece que hay unas cuantas formas, tal vez más antiguas que las del mexicano clásico, como la terminación del plural en quit; terminación u del posesivo, y la forma na del artículo.

El vocabulario es muy semejante al del mexicano clásico y se reconocen fácilmente muchos vocablos. Hay unas diferencias interesantes. El vocablo cuíal, mujer, no se encuentra, sino g'last, que es la forma de Pochutla para quíalaztili, la diosa mexicana.

Fonetismo

Consonantes

Explosivas  Continuas  Africativas  Nasaíes
Labiales  . .  (b) p  —  —  m
Dentales  . .  (d) t  z (g)  tz  n
  —  x  ch  —
Palatales  . .  (g) c (qu)  h  —  ŋ
Lateralles  . .  l  —  —

Semivocales  . (gu) (u)

Vocales

a  e  i  o  u

La e y la o son muy semejantes a las del castellano. Creo que no hay vocales largas en Pochutla. Las vocales terminales tienen aspiración fuerte.

En el mexicano clásico todas las explosivas son insonoras, sin aspiración, mientras que en Pochutla las explosivas iniciales siempre principan sonoras y nazaranistas. Después hay oclusión lenta del conducto nasal y se pierde el carácter sonoro. Por eso la p inicial se pronuncia como la transición mdp, la t inicial como ndt, la c inicial (antes de o y u) como ndg. El carácter nasal es más débil en la p inicial que en las otras consonantes explosivas.

patéz se pronuncia mdpdad'c, ancho
pi'bul'c se pronuncia mdpib'bul'c, envolver
pinau' se pronuncia mdpinau', tener vergüenza
tot se pronuncia ndlotin, piedra
to se pronuncia ndte, ¿qué?
caxa' se pronuncia ndgaxa', está sanando
La explosiva, cuando se encuentra entre dos vocales, es muy suave. La $p$, en esa posición tiene casi siempre el carácter de la $b$ castellana (continua); la $t$ también es muy suave y la articulación laringal de la vocal precedente continúa hasta que se forme la oclusión de la dicha $t$. Por esa razón, cuando la palabra se pronuncia aprisa, la $t$ es muy semejante a la $d$, y también así la $c$ es semejante a la $g$.

$tapoté$ se pronuncia como ndavodé; está contando
$tequét$ se pronuncia como ndteguét, hombre

Las consonantes sonoras influyen de la misma manera sobre las explosivas que las siguen y preceden.

$unité$ se pronuncia undé, borracho

Las explosivas sonoras tienen un carácter muy distinto del de las insonoras, cuando una vocal sin acento ha desaparecido entre la explosiva y otra consonante sonora. En ese caso, siempre tienen el carácter sonoro, cuya pronunciación nunca cambia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pochutla</th>
<th>Mexicano del Valle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ug'lo'm</td>
<td>ocuitin gusano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig'lia'</td>
<td>(piqui') golpear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'let</td>
<td>pelatl petate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'last</td>
<td>quilatzli mujer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cuando la vocal se pierde delante de una consona, la primera consonante explosiva sigue insonora:

cixe  <  quetza levantar

Las lingüales, cuando se encuentran en posición terminal, son insonoras y requieren la oclusión língeo-palatal mientras se abre la nariz, saliendo el aire por ella. Por esa razón tienen el carácter de consonantes insonoras explosivas nasales. La $z$ terminal tiene el mismo carácter, es decir, que al terminar se abre la nariz y el aliento sale por ella.

La $n$ se encuentra solamente delante de las $g$ y $c$ (o $qu$) y es la $n$ modificada por las consonantes palatales.

La $x$ es distinta de la del mexicano. En ese dialecto se articula formando una estrecha hendidura entre el paladar y la punta de la lengua, que se aplana y se pega al primero, y con otra estrechez entre el paladar y el dorso de la lengua; así es que el sonido de la $x$ mexicana se forma de dos clases de vibraciones, las unas anteriores y semejantes a las de la $sh$ inglesa, las otras posteriores y semejantes a las de la $j$ castellana. Un sonido de esa clase se encuentra también en el zapoteca de Oaxaca. En Pochutla, cada vez que la he oído, era igual a la $sh$ inglesa pura.

Mientras que en el mexicano moderno del Valle de México todas las consonantes terminales son insonoras, hasta las nasales y la $l$, en Pochutla las nasales terminales y la $l$ quedan sonoras.

En el dialecto de Pochutla faltan unos cuantos sonidos del mexicano clásico, que son el saltillo y la consonante $huí$, o sea una continua paladial que principia con resonancia de la $u$ (carácter labial) y termina con resonancia de la $i$ (carácter paladial). El fonetismo del mexicano moderno del Valle de México demuestra que, no obstante el cambio de la resonancia, el sonido corresponde a una sola consonante, porque se encuentra muchas veces en posición terminal, en la que no se permite más de una consonante. Tampoco hay la $h$, consonante continua paladial con estrechez en la región de la $c$ ($ca$, $co$, $cu$), como la $huí$, pero solamente con resonancia de la $i$ (paladial). Ya he mencionado que no hay la $tl$ del mexicano, en lugar de la cual la $t$ se encuentra siempre.

Los grupos de consonantes de Pochutla son distintos de los del Valle de México. Las africativas no se pueden poner antes de otras consonantes, así como en el dialecto de Jalisco, aunque en el mexicano clásico y también en el mexicano moderno del Valle de México, hay todas las combinaciones de africativas y otras consonantes:

1 Gerónimo Thomas de Aquino, Arte, Vocabulario y Confesionario en el idioma mexicano, como se usa en el obispado de Guadalaxara, 1765, pp. 5, 6.
Pochutla | Mexicano del Valle
---|---
c, z<tz | otsii embaraizada
usi' | uitsii espina
mezt | metstii luna
td'posta'c | teputsii sus espaldas
oce | (uetsii) cayó
x<ch | oco'xt oquichti hombre
oxque't | itcachtal algodón
noquezque'm | quechquemitl mi huipil
totomo'xt | tachotchil mazorca

En ciertas formas gramaticales, cuando la africativa se pone delante de otra consonante, también cambia y llega a ser una continua:

| motzematutmuc | motzematutmuc andan buscándote
| motoap'zc | motoap'pzc te parió
| tiznamig'il | tiznamig'il víndeme
| nizmexitl | nizmexitl me enseñó
| tacho'p | tacho'perrito

En el mexicano moderno del Valle las explosivas no se pueden poner delante de otras consonantes. Cuando se encuentran en esa posición se les da una aspiración fuerte con resonancia paladial, y los sonidos se pueden escribir pi, ti, qui. Muchas veces la c llega a ser una continua paladial (ka). En Pochutla las explosivas se encuentran delante de todas las otras consonantes.

Se permiten también grupos de consonantes al principio y al fin de las palabras, cosa imposible en el mexicano clásico, del que muchas irregularidades se expliquan. La l se encuentra al principio de la palabra. Hay combinaciones de tres consonantes, pero parece que se forman solamente en palabras compuestas.

Entre el dialecto de Pochutla y el del Valle de México hay un número de cambios fonéticos regulares:

1. á (larga) del mexicano se vuelve a en Pochutla:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pochutla</th>
<th>Mexicano</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| ayu't | aytll tortuga
| apo'zt | aputll olla
| ame't | amall papel
| at | all agua

2. á del mexicano se vuelve a en Pochutla:

| taca' | tlaca medio día
| tatell' | tlattani preguntar

3. a del mexicano se vuelve e en Pochutla:

| ame't | ámall papel
| etu'l | atollli atole
| tye'c | iyac huele
| yeque'l | yacall nariz
| oze't | isall sal
| tep'u' | llapaña abrir
| tep'oxt | llapechilicama
| toque't | llacall hombre
| teloa | llaloa correr

4. e del mexicano, con acento, se vuelve o en Pochutla:

| ato'mi | átemil piojo
| pot | pelall petate
| mot | metall metate
| tepo'xt | llapechitl cama
| tot | tell piedra
| toqo' | ticil 1 moler
| toxt | texttli harina
| nixe't | nixtil cenizas
| con | centli mazorca
| coquiqui | (quequequixia) comezón
| coxe't | quechiltli pescuezo

En unos cuantos vocablos se encuentran dos formas, una en o, otra en e; pero parece que la forma en o es mucho más frecuente:

| b'etl y pot | pelall petate
| quest y coxt | quechiltli pescuezo

5. La e y la i, sin acento, del mexicano corresponden a una oclusión de la glotis:

| albet | allpetl pueblo
| dpots | tepultli espalda
| nod'mu't | lemo voy a bajar
| n'qui | nequis querer
| z'bi | celtic tierno
| xnochtse' | (quetse) ¡párate!
| ig'ti' | isquit tijer
| plzec | pilzazac delgado

1 Según Carochi la e en teqi es larga.
NO. 1
EL DIALECTO MEXICANO DE POCUTLA, OAXACA

6. La i del mexicano se vuelve o en Pochuta:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mexicano</th>
<th>Pochuta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ecco'c</td>
<td>iuccic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ieco'c</td>
<td>iuaniquiçt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oste't</td>
<td>istali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ozque't</td>
<td>icchali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opque't</td>
<td>iccali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oco'xt</td>
<td>oquichéli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulumi'</td>
<td>olivina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nlaposquex'z</td>
<td>pissca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moc</td>
<td>mic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlo'c</td>
<td>bitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ox'</td>
<td>ixtelli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nomocii'</td>
<td>namiquia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsucua'et</td>
<td>tsicanásti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>choch</td>
<td>chichi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>micho'm</td>
<td>michin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sin embargo hay muchas i que no cambian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mexicano</th>
<th>Pochuta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aci'</td>
<td>aci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iue</td>
<td>icuíll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iqu'</td>
<td>icuíll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ig'ti</td>
<td>iguíll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yulit'c</td>
<td>yolic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uitsu'</td>
<td>uits</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Casi todas las i que se vuelven o son breves.

7. La u sin acento del mexicano corresponde a una oclusión de la glotis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mexicano</th>
<th>Pochuta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tag'lu'utc'e</td>
<td>cuuloa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ug'lo'm</td>
<td>ocuilin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. La u del mexicano se vuelve o en Pochuta:

9. La ô (larga) del mexicano se vuelve e en Pochuta. Parece que ese fenómeno tiene lugar solamente en la ô del preterito:

10. Las aua del mexicano se vuelven e en Pochuta:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mexicano</th>
<th>Pochuta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pate'c</td>
<td>patlauac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ptse'c</td>
<td>pitsauac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chique'c</td>
<td>chicauac</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. La tl del mexicano se vuelve t en Pochuta:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mexicano</th>
<th>Pochuta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsiqué't</td>
<td>tsicatlı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xuchó't</td>
<td>xochil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çon</td>
<td>cenli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noxt</td>
<td>nextli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neque't</td>
<td>nacatl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsi</td>
<td>tilili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teque't</td>
<td>tlacatl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tel</td>
<td>teltli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepó'xt</td>
<td>tlapachitl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teyul't</td>
<td>tlasyollí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teyul't</td>
<td>tlasyollí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teyul't</td>
<td>tlasyollí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talyua'</td>
<td>tl apply</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ACENTO

El acento cae casi siempre en la última sílaba.

En todas las formas que no tienen la vocal de la sílaba terminal que es característica de las formas del mexicano clásico, el acento cae en la misma sílaba en los dos dialectos:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mexicano</th>
<th>Pochuta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apa'xt</td>
<td>apastli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apoça't</td>
<td>ipotecili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alet'n</td>
<td>atenlìl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atôm't</td>
<td>atemtlí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quequex'mt</td>
<td>quechquemtil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etuw'</td>
<td>atollí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teyu'</td>
<td>tlasyollí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cuando la última sílaba no pierde la vocal, el acento no cae en las mismas sílabas en los dos dialectos:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mexicano</th>
<th>Pochuta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teque't</td>
<td>tlacatl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quagu't</td>
<td>quawitl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>micho'm</td>
<td>michinl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emo'c</td>
<td>omicl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>momai'</td>
<td>moma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hay un pequeño número de palabras cuyo acento cae en la penúltima sílaba. Parece que el acento de todas las palabras que tienen
eu en las últimas sílabas cae en la e. Son las formas posesivas en eu, como:

noal'be'u mi pueblo
nogüe'u mi marido

También:

cyey'uc cansado

El acento de palabras que terminan en ai y oi: cae en la penúltima:

otoc'i dulce
noxo'i mi pié

Otras palabras que tienen el acento en la penúltima sílaba son:

tu'chí pequeño
te'spo lagarto
a'mpa porque
ui'zti uisli espina

El último vocablo conserva su vocal terminal. La forma de los demás sustantivos que terminan en tli en el mexicano clásico terminan en t en Pochutla.

**Gramática**

**Formas del sustantivo**

En el mexicano clásico no se permiten grupos de más de dos consonantes, ni la terminación de la palabra con dos consonantes. Las raíces que terminan con una consonante o con dos consonantes tienen terminaciones particulares: la mayoría de las que terminan con una consonante toman tli; las que terminan con dos consonantes toman una vocal auxiliar y t. En Pochutla las palabras pueden terminar con grupos de dos consonantes, y, por esa razón, no hay formas distintas de nombres en t (que corresponde a la tl del mexicano).

Raíces que terminan con una vocal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POCHUTLA</th>
<th>MEXICANO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>at</td>
<td>ãtil agua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tot</td>
<td>ãtil fuego</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tot</td>
<td>ãtil piedra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cue't</td>
<td>coatl culebra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Raíces que terminan con una consonante:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POCHUTLA</th>
<th>MEXICANO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apa'at</td>
<td>ãpastli olla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apo'o'tl</td>
<td>ãpoa'atli humo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ey'u't</td>
<td>ay'olli calabaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>est</td>
<td>esilí sangre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mex</td>
<td>meitsli luna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepo'xt</td>
<td>ilapecilí camas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noxt</td>
<td>naxilí ceniza</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Después de la n no se oye la t terminal:

ten         | tenilí boca |
ate'n       | atentli río |
noxi'n     | (—tonilí) pequeño |
izon     | pelo |

Apolonio Rosario escribe:

adem río
soní pelo

Después de la l desaparece la l, probablemente a causa de la antigua asimilación entre la terminación tli y la l:

etu'l       | atelí atole |
mil         | mili campo |
tal         | tili tierra |
teyú'lt     | tiyolli maíz |
neneptl     | neneptli lengua |

Ese fenómeno es muy importante, porque demuestra que la t de Pochutla procede de dos elementos fonéticos (t y l). A lo menos hay la combinación de l+t sin asimilación en 'chilõ't piedra para moler (<chil+t). No encontré otros ejemplos que muestren claramente si se conserva la l antes de la t. En el dialecto de Guadalajara en el cual también falta la tl hay la misma combinación, como:

talticpac mundo (l. c., p. 142)

Encontré una palabra que tiene la terminación ti como los nombres del mexicano cuya raíz termina con una sola consonante:

ui'zti    | uisli espina |

Las raíces que terminan con dos consonantes toman una vocal auxiliar (o conservan una vocal antigua de la raíz):

opque't    | ícapal hilo |
ozte't    | istatl sal |
oque't    | ichealt algodón |
Es probable que en esos casos también persista una condición más antigua, en la cual se encuentra todavía el dialecto del Valle de México.

Las raíces que terminan con una t tienen dos formas; las unas terminan con una vocal auxiliar, las otras no tienen terminación. La última clase es más frecuente:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pochutla</th>
<th>Mexicano</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b’let y bot</td>
<td>peltail petate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mot</td>
<td>mettall metate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(osti)</td>
<td>uestill uña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cute’t</td>
<td>cuvitlal mierda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

En el mexicano clásico muchas raíces que terminan con consonantes o conservan vocales antiguas de la raíz). Los sonidos más importantes de esa clase son la c y la m (aunque las raíces en m tienen formas en -ntli).

Las raíces que terminan en c tienen también vocales auxiliares en Pochutla:

- teque’t lacall hombre
- neque’t nacall carne
- ceque’t caçall zacate
- taque’t taçall hormiga

Las raíces que terminan en m no tienen vocal auxiliar, y corresponden a las formas clásicas en tli:

- atom’t atemilt pijojo
- queque’mt quechquemilt huipil
- cutm comilt cántaro
- xamt (xamilt) tortilla

Se saca:

- omilt hueso

Hay una clase de nombres que terminan en om o em. Los nombres de ciertos animales pertenecen a esa clase:

- achiquelo’m camarón
- uglo’m ocuillin gusano
- tacho’m perro
- micho’m michil pescado
- cuixo’m iguana
- picho’m ?

Pochutla Mexicano

todolem (Apo-Jonio Rosario) totolin guajalote
ome’m ome dos
quizco’m (quezqui) cuantos
mixco’m (?) nixtamal
huhio’m (ney) grande
eyo’m yei tres
nayo’m nati cuatro

Tal vez esa terminación corresponda a la in del mexicano clásico. No cabe duda que no forma parte de la raíz, porque se encuentra taxpo’l, perrito, de tacho’m; pero es posible que corresponda al plural me.

PLURAL

No encontré formas distintas del plural en la mayoría de los nombres. Puede ser que eso se deba a que con adjectivos que expresan el plural no se usan formas distintas o a que ya se hayan olvidado las formas. En pocas palabras encontré la reduplicación:

SINGULAR | PLURAL
---|---
g’lazt | guig’lasqui’t mujer
cone’t | cocone’t niño
conebo’t | cocone’po’l criatura
tequé’t | teque’t’ hombr

tmotezqui’t | teque’t’ hombre

La terminación qui que tienen dos de las palabras que mencioné, corresponde a que del mexicano clásico y es terminación del plural del verbo que se halla frecuentemente:

- tiquasqui’t comemos
- quaguzqui’t vamos a leñar
- imolotqui’t nos veremos
- ecxociqui’t le matorn

FORMAS POSESIVAS

Son muy irregulares las formas posesivas. La terminación uh del mexicano corresponde a la terminación u en Pochutla. A mi parecer esa era la terminación antigua del posesivo. Se pronuncia hui sonido que se ha descrito (p. 11). En Pochutla es vocal y siendo la última sílaba, como es, siempre lleva el acento. Solamente cuando la raíz termina en e el acento está en la penúltima.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formas en u con acento en la u:</th>
<th>Pochutla</th>
<th>Mexicano</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noh'tu'</td>
<td>nopilillo</td>
<td>mi hijo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nohce'u</td>
<td>nohecuyo</td>
<td>mi padre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuch'ul'</td>
<td>mi atole</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nohch'ul'</td>
<td>mi esposa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nochilul'</td>
<td>tu vulva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nocholi'</td>
<td>mi hermano</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noquelul'</td>
<td>mi lado</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nocamelul'</td>
<td>nocomal mi comal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nochani' (castellano)</td>
<td>mi pan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nochilani'</td>
<td>mi galina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nochumunu' (y nochumun')</td>
<td>mi dinero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nochani' (de con)</td>
<td>mi mazorca</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nochani'n' x noch'an'</td>
<td>mi tortilla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nochani' y noch'an</td>
<td>mi rebozo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nochon'</td>
<td>nololo mi corazón</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nochon' (mescal)</td>
<td>nomelac mi huso</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nopedu'</td>
<td>(nopedeau)</td>
<td>mi hilo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nochon' (de tacho'm)</td>
<td>nochau mi algodón</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Formas en u con acento en la penúltima sílaba:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formas sin terminación:</th>
<th>Pochutla</th>
<th>Mexicano</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noch'be'u (not'-be'u)</td>
<td>naltpeuk mi pueblo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nol'ke'u</td>
<td>mi marido</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noche'ke'u</td>
<td>mi machete</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nochumule'u (castellano)</td>
<td>mi compadre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Según la lista de vocablos parece que los sustantivos en *twin* no tienen la terminación en *u*, y que no es frecuente en raíces que terminan en *n*. Sustantivos cuyas raíces terminan en una vocal no pierden la *i* en las formas posesivas.

La contracción de la vocal del pronombre con la vocal inicial del sustantivo se encuentra cuando el sustantivo principia con la *o*:

| opque'li hilo nope'li mi hilo            | nesti tu uña          |
| oxque'li algodón noxu' mi algodón        |                  |

Los sustantivos que principian con otras vocales no forman contracciones sino que son irregulares, encontrándose formas con contracción que son raras, y otras sin contracción que son más frecuentes:

| albe'li pueblo noalbe'u mi pueblo       |                  |
| mat'be'u tu pueblo                     |                  |
| xixi cara                               |                  |
| mixquez tu frente (Apolonio Rosario)    |                  |
| ixto'tol' ojo mixtotol's' tu ojo        |                  |
| etol' atole                            |                  |
| noa'pa't mi olla                       |                  |
| noachu' mi semilla                      |                  |
| noibe' mi hermana                      |                  |
El plural de las formas posesivas tiene el sufijo gam (mex. *huan*). Una vez el gan, seis veces gam.

- *mocholuga'm* tus hermanos
- *mob'luga'm* tus hijos

**COMPOSICIÓN DE LOS NOMBRES**

El diminutivo más frecuente es *pol* (mex. *pulh*).

- *cayupol* caballito (de cayu)
- *tazpol* perro (de tacho'm)
- *g'laspol* muchacha (de g'la'za)
- *cone'pol* criatura (de cone't)

El diminutivo *tun* (mex. *ton, toutli*) se encuentra solamente en

- *nixtu'n* pequeño

El reverencial es *tsin* (mex. *tsin, tsintli*)

- *totoltsin* el cura
- *motatsin* tu padrino
- *monantsin* tu madrina
- *mob'atsin* tu ahijado

Encontré pocas postposiciones:

- *c en* Pochutla (mex. *Pochutla*)
  - *toquele* 
  - *ato'le* 

Las otras se encuentran solamente con pronombres posesivos:

- *itou* en
- *ipe'n* sobre
- *tie'nc* (mex. *ilan*) debajo
- *ixna'e* (mex. *ixnauc*) frente
- *iacpa'e, icpa'e* sobre

**PRONOMBRES**

Los pronombres del verbo intransitivo son:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yo</th>
<th>nosotros</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tu</em></td>
<td><em>vosotros</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>él</em></td>
<td><em>éllos</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Los pronombres del verbo reflexivo son:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yo—me</th>
<th><em>tich</em>—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>él—me</em></td>
<td><em>nich</em>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yo—te</em></td>
<td><em>niz</em>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>él—te</em></td>
<td><em>mots</em>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yo—le</em></td>
<td><em>nc</em>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tú—le</em></td>
<td><em>t</em>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>él—le</em></td>
<td><em>e</em>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Los pronombres del verbo transitivo son:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tu—me</th>
<th><em>tich</em>—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>él—me</em></td>
<td><em>nich</em>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yo—te</em></td>
<td><em>niz</em>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>él—te</em></td>
<td><em>mots</em>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yo—le</em></td>
<td><em>nc</em>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tú—le</em></td>
<td><em>t</em>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>él—le</em></td>
<td><em>e</em>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Las formas de la segunda persona del imperativo son:

- Verbo intransitivo *tu* x—
- Verbo reflexivo *tú* xo—, xmo—
- Verbo transitivo *tú—me* *tich*—
  - *tú—le* x—

Es un rasgo característico del dialecto de Pochutla, que, con los pronombres transitivos no se usan los sujetos del intransitivo, sino que formas compuestas indican la combinación particular del sujeto y del régimen pronominal. Combinaciones de esta clase se encuentran en muchos idiomas americanos y, por esa razón, no es de suponerse que las formas de Pochutla se desarrollaron por contracción reciente.

- *tich* < t + *nech*  
- *nich* < n + *mits*  
- *mots* < mits

En el verbo reflexivo tampoco se usan los sujetos del verbo intransitivo, sino sujetos particulares del verbo reflexivo. Sin embargo, lo mismo que en el mexicano clásico, hay otras formas del verbo reflexivo las cuales tienen el prefijo *mo* con los sujetos del verbo intransitivo.

Entre el pronombre y el verbo se encuentran ligaduras que no se explican fácilmente. En muchos verbos no hay ligadura; en otros se explica la ligadura por el fonetismo del dialecto, pero es claro que hay otras causas que la determinen.

Se pueden dar las reglas siguientes:

La *t* de la segunda persona toma una ligadura antes de las consonantes dentales y palatales. Casi siempre la ligadura es *t*.

- *(tamota')* tirar  
- *(talamote')* tiraste  
- *(tali')* poner  
- *(talializ')* pondrás  
- *(temoa')* buscar  
- *(tilemoa')* buscas  
- *(tuca')* sembrar  
- *(elitique')* sembraste
La x del imperativo toma una ligadura antes de las consonantes dentales, continuas y aspiradas, y antes de las palatales. Casi siempre la ligadura es i.

(1) comprar xígualú ¡cómpralo!
(2) cerrar xítce' ¡ciérralo!
(3) cortar xísute' ¡córtalo!
(4) sacudir xitsultú ¡jacamúlo!
(5) esperar xiche' ¡espera!
(6) hacer xichué' ¡haz!
(7) salir xiqué' ¡sale!
(8) sacar xiquixí ¡sácalo!
(9) comprar xicué' ¡cómpralo!
(10) pepear xihulú ¡jepénalo!

En otros verbos no se puede dar suficiente explicación.

pechua' apretar xipechú' ¡apriétalo!
po contar xipó' ¡cuentalo!
ma traer xímo' ¡anda, traelo!
mocí' matar ximocí' ¡mátalo!

pero: xnamuí' ¡báñalo!

La c, régimen de la tercera persona, nunca toma la ligadura i, sino o. Las demás formas transitivas excepto t y x toman la misma ligadura. No se pueden dar reglas que indiquen cuándo se toma la o. Los verbos que toman la o toman la ligadura i en la segunda persona del indicativo y del imperativo, y en la primera del plural.

bia' tener ncbia' lo tengo
pu'a' limpiar encopú' el limpíe'
ma tomar moztuma' le tomo
mama' cargar

xígu llevar ncoñtú' lo llevé
nqui querer ncoñtú' quiero
tingui' quieres
che esperar ntsotche' esto
xiche' ¡espera!
esperándote
chua' hacer entsehú'c me heiste
xichue' ¡haz!

cua' comprar encotu'c lo compré
ticue' ¡cómpralo!
teste parar ncoñtse'c lo paré
hulu' pepear enchulú'c lo jepemo' ¡jepénalo!

Sácanse
ma tomar cna' c lo tomó
che esperar tische' ¡esperame!
tnehe' voy a esperar
chua' hacer ntschua'c me hace

Dos verbos cuyas raíces principian probablemente con t toman la o en la misma posición.

tita' ver
nichote'c ¡él me viste
tite'lo viste
tichota'c me ves
xite' ¡mira!
teote'c lo vió, etc.
xetote'c lo vió,

ilpí' atar
encolpi'c lo até
tilpí'c tú lo ataste
xilpí' ¡jatalo!

El verbo meca', dar siempre toma la i.
niczimeca' te doy
moczimeca' te dieron
tichimeque' ¡ dame!
timeca' das
nichime'c él me dió
ximeque' ¡dáselo!

No estoy seguro si es de la misma clase

coxqui'c conexón
nicoxqui'c tengo conexón

Un número pequeño de verbos tiene la ligadura a.

(poea') lavar
encapec' lo lavó
xapeque' ¡lavalo!
(pela') lamer
encapeluc' lo lamí
xapeluc' ¡lámelo!
(pis pu') parir
motsapi'c te parió (pero xipté'c ¡sopló!)

pig'il' golpear
capig'il'c lo golpeó
napi'gile'c voy á golpear
ntapi'gile'c voy á golpear...
tichapi'gile' ¡golpeamé!
xapi'gile' ¡goleó!

(auna') guardar
coaqueuc' ¡ve a guardarlo!

xaguane' ¡ráscale!
Excepto las formas en a que acabo de mencionar, la n de la primera persona nunca toma ligadura.

Hay un número de verbos que tienen la ligadura o en la segunda persona. Parece que todos son intransitivos, pero no es clara la causa que produce la o. No creo que sea indicación de una forma reflexiva.

tochuca' tú lloras totactse' hablas
toquequ'i tú oyes toeuata'e' estás viejo
toteque'a' tú comiste totuni' estás borracho

Ejemplos de formas sin ligadura son:
awe'e' se mojó naue'e' me mojé
ape'i entró napec'o' entrare
acr'i encontrar tichac'i me encuentras
ilt'i decir tizit'i le dije
ixpete'i conocer ngixpete'i lo conozco
(yu) ir nías iré
(ten)+ pasar epenue'i pasaste
pete'i ayudar moetepeb'i te ayudó
pecho'a' apretar tixpebu' ¡apriétame!
ma tomar cmac lo tomó
met'i saber cmeti lo sé
mexiti' enseñar nmxexiti' enseñaste
metá' sentarse nemte'i te sentaste
mociti' matar ecnociti' lo mataron
manu'i bañar xmnuit,i bañaste
tepexi' lavar ntepequie'i lavaste
tamote'i tirar xtamotec'i tiraste
	atenili' preguntar

tatu'i quedar enitetu' lo acabaste
	acui' decidir enxiteci' acuéstate

tecu' subir
	amiti' llorar
	amouti' lloraste
	namig'il'i vender
	amost' asarse
	isosa' hilar

tseupi' comprar
	seutu' sacudir

tche esperar

tcha' hacer

tchua' llorar

tqua comer

tuala'i venir

Ejemplos de los pronombres reflexivos y transitivos siguen:

Reflexivos; primera forma:
enopíib'lu'e' me envolví xopipil'lu've' ¡envuélvete!
nopíia' tengo irio xoepil'lu've' ¡írte!
nocyeb'i estoy cansado
tocuoile' tengo miedo
nozil'e' voy a morir
nocono'a' estoy enfermo
enoya'e' me escondí
nód'mu'e' voy a bajarme xod'mu've' ¡bájate!

Reflexivos; segunda forma:
enmoteq'e' me acoísté xemoteq'e' ¡acuéstate!
emhóue'e' nen me bañé
nmxous' te esparció
enmoc'oe' me levanté
xemoteq'e' ¡levántate!
xmoyane'i ¡escóndete!

Transitivos:
tú—me
tichimequ'i ¡dámelos! tixpechui' ¡apriétame!
tichet'i dijiste tixpetebs'i ¡ayúdame!
ticholmequ'i ¡pásemelos! tixnamig'il'i ¡vendémealos!
tichapig'il'i ¡pégame! tixche' ¡esperame!
un golpe!
él—me
nichu'ma'e' me cogió nixmexiti' me enseñó
dichime'c me lo dió nixmociti' me mató
tichimequi'¡ me dieron enixáciu' ya me pagó
nichot'a me mira nixtupini' me picó
nicheti'c me dijo

yo—te
ntacu'i te encuentro ntacu'ma' te doy
nta'pi'le'e' voy a pegar ntacoche' te espero

un golpe
ntet'i te dije
él—te
motata'c te pidió motemutu'c están
matsumu'a te cogio buscándote
motxeni' te enseñó motset'c te dijo

motximequ'i te dieron

yo—lo
ncobi' lo tengo en capebi' lo lamé
ntepo'c abritó enxemeti' lo acabó
ntocuí' lo llevó enxemoticle' lo tiré
encapa'c lo lavó nconqui' lo quieró

tú—lo
timama'c lo cargaste timac' se lo das
tiaccui' te quieres tixhua' lo haces
tichue' comprarás tiquay' lo comes
tite'e lo viste
EL PLURAL DEL VERBO
Ya se han mencionado los plurales en quit (p. 15).
Hay otra forma que se encuentra solamente en la primera persona del plural. Me parece muy probable que esa sea la forma impersonal que tiene el sufijo lo en el mexicano clásico.

FORMACIÓN DEL PRETÉRITO
Los verbos del mexicano clásico que terminan en el pretérito con el sonido final de la raíz, añaden en el dialecto de Pochutla c a la raíz.

Pochutla y Mexicano

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raíz</th>
<th>Pretérito</th>
<th>Mexicano</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pitz-</td>
<td>piz (piz) nacer</td>
<td>pisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>mac (ma) tomar</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamá'</td>
<td>mama'c (mama) cargar</td>
<td>mama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tom-</td>
<td>tome (ion) desatar</td>
<td>toma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quix-</td>
<td>quixc (quix) salir</td>
<td>quixa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cotez-</td>
<td>cotez y ctez (quetez) levantar</td>
<td>quetza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cyeu-</td>
<td>cyeuc (ciach) cansar</td>
<td>ciaui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cu-</td>
<td>cuch (coh) comprar</td>
<td>coa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu-</td>
<td>puc (pouh) limpiar</td>
<td>poui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chu-</td>
<td>chuch (chish) hacer</td>
<td>chuia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olz-</td>
<td>ozc (uetz) caer</td>
<td>ueti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coch-</td>
<td>coxe (coch) dormir</td>
<td>cochi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quec-</td>
<td>quec (cac) oir</td>
<td>cachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitan-</td>
<td>paton'c (pallon) volar</td>
<td>pallani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molun</td>
<td>molun'c (molon) hervir</td>
<td>moloni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaman-</td>
<td>xaman'c (xaman) quebrar</td>
<td>xamani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caxan-</td>
<td>caxa'nc (caxan) sanar</td>
<td>caxani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temi-</td>
<td>teme (ilan) acabar</td>
<td>ilami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moyan-</td>
<td>moyan'c (yan) esconderse</td>
<td>yana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apec-</td>
<td>apec entrar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

En esa clase se encuentran los verbos en o a del mexicano clásico cuyas raíces terminan en o, y los en ia cuyas raíces terminan en i.

Los verbos cuyas raíces terminan en á son también de esa clase:

qua quac (qua) comer | qua |

Los verbos cuyas raíces terminan en e y que toman ac en mexicano, no toman sufijo en Pochutla.

pec- pec (pac y pacac) lavar | paca |

y talvez
apec- apec' c entrar | |

Los verbos del mexicano clásico que añaden e a la a del presente, o a la o (sin saltillo) de la raíz, añaden en Pochutla c a la e del imperativo.

Imp. Pretérito Mexicano

cute' (citolac) vomitar | icolla |

mote' mote'c (motacl) tirar | motla |

mohue' mohue'c (motacl) bañar | |

tayue'c (llayoc) oscurecer | llayo |

ite' ite'c (itac) ver | ita |

teque' teque'c (teac) acostarse | teca |

tique'c (tocac) sembrar | toca |

nuque'c decir | |

cute' cute'c (collac) espantarse | colla |

dumu d'muc (lemoc) bajar | temo |

Verbos que en el mexicano clásico terminan en i y toman la e, en Pochutla cambian la i a que llega a ser o.
FORMACIÓN DEL PRESENTE

Los verbos que terminan en a en el mexicano clásico, tienen la misma terminación en Pochutla.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raíz</th>
<th>Presente</th>
<th>México clásico</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tom-</td>
<td>toma' (toma)</td>
<td>desatar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuta-</td>
<td>nuta' (nuta)</td>
<td>llamar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mec-</td>
<td>meca' (meca)</td>
<td>dar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tayu-</td>
<td>tayua' (tayoa)</td>
<td>obscurecer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it-</td>
<td>ita' (ita)</td>
<td>ver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neuc-</td>
<td>nuca'</td>
<td>decir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chu-</td>
<td>chu'a (chiua)</td>
<td>hacer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>choc-</td>
<td>chuc'a (choca)</td>
<td>llorar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quis-</td>
<td>quia' (quica)</td>
<td>salir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuisc-</td>
<td>cuisc'a</td>
<td>tirar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cotz-</td>
<td>cotza' (quetza)</td>
<td>levantar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temo-</td>
<td>temoa' (temoa)</td>
<td>buscar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teto-</td>
<td>tetoa' (tetoa)</td>
<td>bramar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tag'lu-</td>
<td>tag'lua' (cuiloa)</td>
<td>escribir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cu-</td>
<td>cu'a' (coo)</td>
<td>comprar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Las raíces que terminan en á no toman a en el presente.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raíz</th>
<th>Presente</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma (ma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamá-</td>
<td>mamá (mama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qua-</td>
<td>qua (qua)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Otros verbos cuyas raíces terminan en i y o sin saltillo no tienen sufijos, ni en el mexicano clásico ni en Pochutla.

FORMACIÓN DEL IMPERATIVO Y DEL FUTURO

El imperativo de todos los verbos cuyo presente toma el sufijo a, toma e; y el futuro se forma anadiendo e al imperativo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pochutla</th>
<th>Mexico clásico</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aci</td>
<td>aci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatl'</td>
<td>tatl' (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Los verbos cuyas raíces terminan con una consonante y que toman í en el mexicano clásico, toman el mismo sufijo en Pochutla.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raíz</th>
<th>Presente</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>caxan-</td>
<td>caxan' (caxani)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quec-</td>
<td>quec' (caqui)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Los en e en el dialecto de Pochutla no toman sufijos aunque en el mexicano clásico tomen a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pochutla</th>
<th>Mexico clásico</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>che</td>
<td>chia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cete</td>
<td>cete</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbos cuyas raíces terminan en o, ó, i en el mexicano clásico no toman sufijo en el imperativo, y añaden z a la raíz en el futuro.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POCHUTLA</th>
<th>MEXICANO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperativo</td>
<td>Futuro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pechú'</td>
<td>paxalu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelú'</td>
<td>pechoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilí'i</td>
<td>pilíloa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepú'</td>
<td>llapoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsulu'</td>
<td>tsulu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hulu'</td>
<td>hulu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tecu'</td>
<td>tecu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'mu</td>
<td>d'mus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pete'bi</td>
<td>pete'bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pis'ilí</td>
<td>pis'ilí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moci</td>
<td>moci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamú</td>
<td>mamú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talení</td>
<td>talení</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tali'</td>
<td>tali'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temí</td>
<td>temí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totoqui</td>
<td>totoqui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namí</td>
<td>namí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qusi'</td>
<td>qusi'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilí</td>
<td>ilí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xamani</td>
<td>xamani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Los verbos cuyas raíces terminan con una consonante y toman i en el presente, tienen el sufijo z en el futuro. No pude apuntar imperativos de ese grupo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POCHUTLA</th>
<th>MEXICANO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Futuro</td>
<td>Presente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pata'ñz</td>
<td>paltani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Los verbos cuyas raíces terminan en i sin saltillo la cambian en o en el imperativo y futuro (véase el mismo cambio en el pretérito, p. 20).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POCHUTLA</th>
<th>MEXICANO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Presente</td>
<td>Imp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yequi'</td>
<td>yeqo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatu'</td>
<td>tatu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo'co'</td>
<td>lo'co'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiku</td>
<td>tiko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nqui</td>
<td>ncoz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FORMACIÓN DEL IMPERFECTO

El imperfeto se forma añadiendo el sufijo ya al imperativo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presente</th>
<th>Futuro</th>
<th>Pretérito</th>
<th>Presente</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>calamquiz</td>
<td>calameco'z</td>
<td>cocho'z</td>
<td>cochi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cu'gli'</td>
<td>cu'gli'c</td>
<td>cu'gli'c</td>
<td>hacer frio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(apequ'ilí)</td>
<td>apeco'</td>
<td>apeco'</td>
<td>ape'c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FORMAS COMPOSTAS CON LOS VERBOS DE IR, VENIR Y ESTAR

Encontré dos formas del "Gerundio" con "ir," el imperativo y el pretérito. El imperativo tiene el sufijo ti (mexicano tì).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presente</th>
<th>Imp.</th>
<th>Futuro</th>
<th>Pretérito</th>
<th>Presente</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ximo'</td>
<td>ximó</td>
<td>ximó</td>
<td>ximó</td>
<td>ximó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xique'</td>
<td>xique'</td>
<td>xique'</td>
<td>xique'</td>
<td>xique'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xito'</td>
<td>xito'</td>
<td>xito'</td>
<td>xito'</td>
<td>xito'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nique'</td>
<td>nique'</td>
<td>nique'</td>
<td>nique'</td>
<td>nique'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

El pretérito tiene el sufijo tu (mexicano to).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presente</th>
<th>Imp.</th>
<th>Futuro</th>
<th>Pretérito</th>
<th>Presente</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xiqui</td>
<td>xiqui</td>
<td>xiqui</td>
<td>xiqui</td>
<td>xiqui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiqui</td>
<td>xiqui</td>
<td>xiqui</td>
<td>xiqui</td>
<td>xiqui</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tengo solamente el imperativo del gerundio con "venir," que tiene el sufijo qui (mexicano qui).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presente</th>
<th>Imp.</th>
<th>Futuro</th>
<th>Pretérito</th>
<th>Presente</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xig'</td>
<td>xig'</td>
<td>xig'</td>
<td>xig'</td>
<td>xig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xg'</td>
<td>xg'</td>
<td>xg'</td>
<td>xg'</td>
<td>xg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xg'</td>
<td>xg'</td>
<td>xg'</td>
<td>xg'</td>
<td>xg'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

En el perfecto siempre se usa el gerundio con "ir" en vez del con "venir."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presente</th>
<th>Imp.</th>
<th>Futuro</th>
<th>Pretérito</th>
<th>Presente</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>enola'c</td>
<td>nimeequetú</td>
<td>enola'c</td>
<td>tuxiquetú</td>
<td>vine para que me pagues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enola'c</td>
<td>enola'c</td>
<td>tuxiquetú</td>
<td>vine para que me pagues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Las formas en luc (mexicano ti + oc) se usan mucho.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presente</th>
<th>Imp.</th>
<th>Futuro</th>
<th>Pretérito</th>
<th>Presente</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nta'otú</td>
<td>nta'otú</td>
<td>nta'otú</td>
<td>nta'otú</td>
<td>estoy contando</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tata'otú</td>
<td>tata'otú</td>
<td>tata'otú</td>
<td>tata'otú</td>
<td>está gritando</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>log'lu'tú</td>
<td>log'lu'tú</td>
<td>log'lu'tú</td>
<td>log'lu'tú</td>
<td>está escribiendo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NO. 1 EL DIALECTO MEXICANO DE POCHUTLA, OAXACA

Todas las formas añaden el sufijo al imperativo.

PREFIJO DEL PRETÉRITO
El pretérito toma el prefijo e (mexicano o) el cual prefijo no se junta firmemente con el verbo.

REDUPLICACIÓN
Ya se mencionaron los plurales de sustantivos que reduplican la primera sílaba. Ejemplos de verbos frecuentativos con reduplicación son:

ENCONTRÉ VERBOS IRREGULARES
Encontré las formas siguientes del verbo irregular ui’z, venir.

COMPOSICIÓN
Encontré un número pequeño de vocablos que demuestran que los métodos de composición del dialecto de Pochutla y del de México eran iguales.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbo</th>
<th>Significado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>vasequi</em></td>
<td>seco es larga, la de <em>naqui</em> mojarase breve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aco'c aue'c</em></td>
<td>mucho se mojó S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>naue'c</em></td>
<td>me mojé S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anque'et</em></td>
<td>(mex. <em>ahuacati</em>) aguacate S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>apa'zt</em></td>
<td>(mex. <em>ózpatli</em>) olla A F Fr Jo M Mr P S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>noapa'z</em></td>
<td>mi olla Fr Jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>exama'nc naapo'zt</em></td>
<td>se quebró la olla S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**VOCABULARIO**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letra</th>
<th>Nombre</th>
<th>Significado</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A</strong></td>
<td>Andrea</td>
<td>Castillo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E</strong></td>
<td>Eleuterio</td>
<td>Avesilla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E</strong></td>
<td>Epifanio</td>
<td>Pina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E</strong></td>
<td>Estanisla</td>
<td>Pina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F</strong></td>
<td>Feliciana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F</strong></td>
<td>Francisca</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I</strong></td>
<td>Ines</td>
<td>Vázquez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>J</strong></td>
<td>Joaquina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P</strong></td>
<td>presente</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>p</strong></td>
<td>pretérito</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>f</strong></td>
<td>futuro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**POCHUTLA—CASTELLANO**

*ayago' (mex. *ayac*) no hay F M P S |
*az nui' Uetú'l ampa ayago' tumi'n* no me voy a Huatulco porque no hay dinero F M |
*guineba' ayagoa'i* no está aquí S |
*ayago' nintega' no hay nada F M |
*ete ayago' moye'? ¿no está tu madre? S |
*aay'et* (mex. *ayoll*) tortuga F M |
*ay te' (mex. *aya ile*) [no] A I Es Mr P S (hayte Apolonio Rosario) |
*ay te', tiome'n* no, después I |
*ay te', az nui' no, no me voy A |
*ay te', az nococoa' no, no estoy enfermo Mr S |
*ay te', compadre J ¡buenos días, compadre! (?) |
*aue'c (véase mex. naqui)* mojarase M Mr S. Véase *nac*. Según esa forma la a de *uacqui* seco es larga, la de *naqui* mojarase breve |
*aco'c aue'c* mucho se mojó S |
*naue'c* me mojé S |
*anque'et* (mex. *ahuacati*) aguacate S |
*apa'zt* (mex. *ózpatli*) olla A F Fr Jo M Mr P S |
*noapa'z* mi olla Fr Jo |
*exama'nc naapo'zt* se quebró la olla S |
*apeco', imp.; eyape'c, apec'; apeco'z* entrar A F M Mr P S |
*apec'c ye ni'zt'ixo'o'í* me entró una espina en el pié. |
*eyape'c ito'c quagu'í* ya entró en la cárcel P |
*eyape'c ogüe'l* ya entró la noche Mr S |
*eyape'c tune'l* ya se ha puesto el sol P |
*nebape'c (<neba' apec') aquí entró S |
*xape'co' jentral A F M S |
*nui' napeco'z* voy a entrar S |
*apitz'z f. (mex. *apitz*) purgar |
*nui' napeco'z* voy a purgar |
*apoto'ct (mex. *ipotoci*) humo Mr S |
*ame't (mex. *ámall*) papel S; carta S |
*a'mpa (mex. *ipampa*) porque A F M Mr P S |
*xmuyane' ampa mostemtu'c* escéndete porque te están buscando S |
*az nyac ampa'co'c (<ampa aco'c) nichota' nogüelu' no me fuí porque mucho me miró mi marido P |
*naco' ígüe'n uya'c. ñteca'? ampa'co'c chuca' ib'lu'* hace poco tiempo se fue.— |
*¿Por qué?—Porque llora su hijo P |
*noncooa' noliu' ampa' emo'c nob'lu' me duele el corazón porque se murió mi hijo F M |
*mue'n tu' ampa' tibia' tumi'n tu te vas porque tienes dinero F M |
*nen unya'c ampa' naguaconqui' me fuí porque tengo hambre M Mr S |
*ñteca'? ampa' as neobia' tumi'n ¿por qué?—Porque no tengo dinero P |
*at (mex. *ált*) agua F Jo M Mr S (ad Apolonio Rosario) |
*ate'n (mex. *atentli*) río F Jo M Mr P S (adem Apolonio Rosario) |
*antu' ate'n* ¡vámonos al río! S |
*tutuca' ca xue' ate'n; que pronto vayás al río! F M |
el be' t (Mex. Ulepete') pueblo Mr S  (altibet
Apolonio Rosario)
noa' be'u mío pueblo S
mat' be'u tu pueblo S
(alunna mar, Apolonio Rosario)
at'o'mi (Mex. atemiti) piojo S
at'o'lce fuera F M P S
mat'o'lce (< mato'lce) allí fuera P S
tiquiça mat'o'lce ¿sales fuera? S
xiquice mat'o'lce ¿sale fuera! S
ma quet ato'lce está fuera F M
anye'n (?) (véase ni' irse)
anye'n nui' Uaxc'c' no he ido a Oaxaca S
anye'n totolq'a'c ¿no has comido? S
ant'u? ¡vámonos! A E S Fr I Jo M Mr P S
ant'u totolq'a'z ¡vámonos a comer! A P
ant'u leca' ¡vámonos pronto! F M (véase leca' venir)
ant'u' pa tocha'n ¡vámonos a nuestra casa! Jo
az no A F Fr I Jo M Mr P S
az nui' no me voy I M Mr S
az ncoiba' teyul' no tengo maíz P
az tinqui' no quieres P S
az nco'lo no lo veo F M
te az tiba' ce tila'n ¿no tienes un pollo? S
ni az nui'z naco', quago' nui'z si no vengo
ahora, vengo mañana S
xite' na conebo'l que az chique' ¡mira al
niño que no llorea! F M
ay te', az nococoa' no, no estoy enfermo
Mr S
ac'i'; aço'c; acoya' (Mex. aci) encontrar
si az tui' naco' nimé'n az caci' si no te vas
orita, no lo encuentres (caci', sin sujeto
de la segunda persona) Mr
ma ntzac'i allí te encuentro S
neba' tichaci' aquí me encuentras S
encao'c ya lo encontré F M S
tiço'no naco'c neba', ntsochelu'c llegué aquí,
estoy esperándote S
ntzo'coya' te encontraba S
aço'c (Mex. aco) mucho, muy A F Fr I Jo
M Mr P S (asot, asoc Apolonio Rosario)
aço'c tamoca' noliu' mucho me duele el
corazón F P
aço'c tacho'm unyo'c neba' aquí hay muchos
perros S
aço'c unt' muy borracho S
aço'c unyo'c hay muchos Mr S
aço'c unyo'c cue't hay muchas culebras
F M
achiquelo' M P S, azqelo' M F M camarón
(axt) noachu' (Mex. áchili) mi semilla Fr Jo
ah na (Mex. auh ini) entonces
techemeca', ah na nui' dame cosa, enton-
ces me voy M S
ac (Mex. ác) ¿quién? F M P S
ac tolaciza' ¿con quién hablas? F M
ac nacona' ¿quién es ese? P (ac nacona
Apolonio Rosario)
ac nauc' ¿quién dijo eso? F M
ac mozpeteb'c la IDIOMA ¿quién te enseñó
el idioma? S
ac mozpeteb'c ¿quién te ayudó? S
nto'ntite'c ac timeca' verás a quién le des S
(algueneumi, andar, Apolonio Rosario)
ague't (Mex. ácalt) carrizo S
alqua' (Mex. ylhuá) ayer M Mr S (alqua
Apolonio Rosario)
alqua' tolaqu'il mañana vendremos S
eyo'm (Mex. yei) tres Ep M Mr S oyo'm A
(ejom Apolonio Rosario)
eyul' (Mex. ayotli) calabaza F Fr Jo M
(eyul Apolonio Rosario)
eueta'c (Mex. huexhué) está viejo F M (eguetac
Apolonio Rosario)
aço'c toeueta'c está muy viejo P
eti' (Mex. etic) pesado M Mr S
az eti', nen coqui' no está pesado, puedo
llevarlo S
etiotel'c P, teotel'c P (Mex. teotlac) tarde
(eyuleu Apolonio Rosario)
nui' a'mpa aço'c etiotel' me voy porque es
muy tarde P
aço'c etiotel' ya es muy tarde P
etiu' (Mex. atollo) atole F I M Mr S
mololu' tu atole Mr S
est. (Mex. estli) sangre F M (est Apolonio
Rosario)
(escocul, arco, Apolonio Rosario)
ecöö'c (mex. icucic) cocido, maduro M Mr S
meceöö' ¡cuiceloo'! S
eolu't (mex. eloll) elote Mr S
iyöö'c (mex. iyac) apesto A
iyöö'c tacho'm apesto el perro A
ita' pr.; ite' imp.; itöö'c p.; itöö'c f. (mex. itila) ver A F I M Mr P S
xöö'o ce cuöö'! ¡mira, una culebra! M Mr S
xöö'o ¡mira! A
xöö'o na conebo'l ¡mira, el niño! F M
nichöö'c el me mira P
tichöö'c tú me miras F M
ecöö'c ya lo vió F M
as töö'c ¿no lo viste? S
as tichöö'c ¿no me viste? S
as nichöö'c ¿no me vio? P
encöö'c ya lo vi P
nöö'c nöö'c voy a verlo S
mue'n töö'c vas a verlo S
töö'c ya verás I
nen nöö'c nomi'l voy a ver mi milpa P
nöö'c nöö'c no nocompai'c' u voy a ver mi compadre I
ite'nc (mex. itlan) debajo S
ite'nc apap'er debajo de la olla S
iti, eti; iti'c p.; itiya' impf. (mex. itoa) decir M Mr P S
igüë'n nicheti' ella me dijo P
tenotzöö'n ¿qué te dijo? M Mr S
te tichöö'n ¿qué me dijiste? S
as ntöö'c az monamocöö'c ¿no te dije que no te cases? S
ue' na ntöö'c eso es lo que le dije S
nichöö'töö'c oye' me dijo mi madre S
nichitiya' oye' na idioma me hablabas mi madre el idioma S
igüë'n (mex. yeheull) él F M P (igüen Apolonio Rosario)
az conqui'güë'n (<conqu'i güë'n) él no quiere F
igüë'n nicheti' ella me dijo P
(iui?) noibe' (mex. iueil?) mi hermana. Talvez se debe escribir noiue' en vez de noibe'
ina' (mex. inin) este A S (inac Apolonio Rosario)
quët mas bueno ina' o nami'n ¿está mejor éste o ése? S
ina' conebo'l quixi'c itecu' este muchacho es parecido a su padre S
ina' nequ'et quet manidu esta carne está manida S
inane'l teque'lt açöö'c pichöö't este hombre está muy viejo A
entsute'c p. (mex. iscola) vomitar S
entsute'c na conebo'l vomito el niño S
(iix) moi'x (mex. ixtli) tu cara Mr S (mix Apolonio Rosario)
(mixcuay [<ixt + quait] tu frente, Apolonio Rosario)
ixöö'c semejante, parecido Mr S
ina' conebo'l quixi'c itecu' este muchacho es parecido a su padre S
açöö'c ixöö'c itecu' muy parecido a su padre Mr
(ixtotolu') (mex. ixtolololol) ojo F M Mr Pa P S (extodolu Apolonio Rosario)
oxtotolu' mi ojo F M Mr P Pa
nixtotolu' mi ojo S
ixtotolu' su ojo F M
ixna'c (mex. ixnauac) frente. Véase nac
xmoque' ixna'c quagut' ¡acuéstate frente al banco! S
ixque' imp.; ixque'c p. (mex. ixquia) asar M Mr S
xixque' ¡ásalo! Mr M S
xixque' na quaxilu' pa tiquazqui't asa el platán para que lo comamos S
enoxue'c ya está asado M Mr S
ic (mex. ic) ¿cuándo? A F M Mr S
ic tu'i'z ¿cuándo te vas? F M
ic tinamocöö' ¿cuándo te casas? Mr S
ic tola'c ¿cuándo vinieron? S
iqualgua', iqualgua'(?!) antier M Mr S. Véase algun
(ieco)- (mex. quiquiçoa ?) chiflar S
nen nicozöö'c estoy chiflando
icpa'c (mex. icpac) sobre S
icpa'c nomi'l en mi milpa
tacpa'c sobre
ig'li'; ig'lo'tz f.; ig'lotu'c (mex. iguiiti) tejer S
tui' tig'tolz vas a tejer S
EL DIALECTO MEXICANO DE POCHUTLA, OAXACA

nui' nig'to'z ce tzoct voy a tejer un paño S
enquis'lotu'c estoy tejéndolo S
ilpi' imp.; ilpi'c p.; ilpi'z f. (mex. ilpia) atar M Mr S
xilpi’ ¡átalo! M Mr S
encolpi’c lo até S
mue'n tilpi'c tú lo ataste S
nui' ncolpi'z voy a atarlo S
(ya ?); moyane' imp.; enoya'c p.; moyane'z f. (mex. inaya, yana ?) esconderse S
xmoyane’ ¡escúndete! S
xmoyane’ d’mpa mozlemutu’c escúndete, porque están buscándote S
enoya’c estoy escondido S
njoyane’z Voy a esconderme S
(yayái, alas, Apolonio Rosario)
yutcangi, olvidar, Apolonio Rosario)
(ye) madre F Fr M Mr S
noye’ mi madre F Fr M Mr S
noye’ tu madre F Fr M Mr S
lye’ su madre F M S
(yeqe’l [mex. yacall] nariz F M Mr S)
noye’c mi nariz S (mec, tu nariz, Apolonio Rosario) F y M dijeron none’c MI NARIZ, loques une equivocación; otra vez dijeron mec, tu nariz, como Apolonio Rosario; evidentemente eso también era una equivocación
yect, yequi’ pr.; yectu’c p.; yecoz f. lluvia. (Véase mex. etal, viento ?) M Mr S
(yexixtitud, yeexniduc Apolonio Rosario)
me witz yect allí viene lluvia Mr S
nichoma’c yect me cogió la lluvia M Mr S
yectu’c está lloviendo Mr S
ui’ yecoz va a llover S
yequi’ llueve S
yu’, viento, (yud Apolonio Rosario) S
yu’ teto’ brama el viento S
yulicyuli’c (mex. yolic) despacio M Mr S
yulicyuli’c ui’ caxa’nz sana poco a poco M Mr S
yulicyuli’c xapa’mox apa’2t ¡lava la olla! S
oguel (mex. goall) noche Mr S
eya’c oguel’ ya entró la noche Mr S
pen oguel’ anoche S
opque’t (mex. icpail, metátesis de la cp) hilo Fr Jo M Mr P S
xitzuqu’a na opque’t ¡corta el hilo! S
nopcu’ mi hilo Fr Jo S
ome’m (mex. ome), dos A Ep M Mr P S (omem Apolonio Rosario)
xima’ ome’m tito’t ¡toma dos huevos! Mr
ome’m cobia’ JOAQUINA Joaquina tiene dos S
omem’t quig’lazqui’t dos mujeres P
t (mex. omil), hueso M Mr S (tod, nuestro hueso, Apolonio Rosario)
o’tca’n (mex. ólil) camino Mr S. Véase mex. óllica en el camino
o’tca’i dulce S
ozte’t (mex. istic) sal F I M Mr Pa (ozte’t Apolonio Rosario)
(oxt) (mex. istic) mosh tu uña F M. Se pronunció claramente mosh, no most. Apolonio Rosario también escribe mosh
oxca’zt jícara F Fr M Mr S
oxque’l (mex. ixcall) algodón F Fr Jo M Mr P S
noxco’ mi algodón F M
noxco’ tu algodón S
(ox-) oxc p.; ozco’z f. (mex. uetzí) caer S
ozc cayo S
nox caí S
nui’ nochtso’z (sic) voy a caer S
nui’ nochtzoy’a’ (sic) iba a caer S
oco’t (mex. occotl) ocote Mr S
oco’xt (mex. oquichlit) hombre Mr S
quisco’m oco’xt ¿cuántos varones? Mr
Uaxe’c Oaxaca A F Fr Jo M S
(ua’c); euac p. (mex. uaquí) seco S. Véase euac
euac’ xu estén secas las hojas
Uetul’ Huatulco F M Mr S
ue’l (mex. uel) poder S
az uel nocta’sn no se puede levantar S
ui’ (mex. yuah) ir. Véase p. 23 A El F Fr I M Mr P S
nui’ ncutuque’z teyu’l voy a sembrar maiz I
nen az nui’ no me voy F M Mr S
ic tu’ ¡cuándo te vas? Mr S
ul’c tu’ ¡que vayas bien! F M
ca tui' quago'
¡a dónde te vas mañana?
Mr S

ma ui' cue't allí va una culebra S
ui' palan'z va a volar S
nocho' tui' todos nosotros vamos F M
az tiuluí' no iremos A
nen noontoy'a nyaz quería irme P
ti tui' ¿cuándo te vas? F M
nen unya'c pen tepo'x me acosté (fuí a mi cama) A
unya'c, pero nichoma' yect me fuí, pero me cogió la lluvia M
ta tia'c ¿dónde fuiste? (ie tui'c ¿cuándo fuiste? M)
ti con tia'c ¿a qué hora te fuiste? S
nya'c pala'nc se voló S (nyac Apolonio Rosario)
cu yua'c molecu' ¿a dónde se fue tu padre? F M
ma nuya' nosc allí andando caí S
nen nyan cocho'z voy a dormir F M
nyan toco'z voy a moler Jo
nyam patani' voy a volar S
cu xue' ¡anda! vete! A F M Mr S
az tuelu'li no nos vamos P
muelu' ya se van P
ui'zt (mex. uiztli) esquina F Fr M Mr S
no'ni'zt mi esquina S
ui'ts (mex. huizt) venir A F M Mr P S (ehuix Apolonio Rosario)
ni a s no'zt nozco', quago' noit' si no vengo
ahora, manana vendré S
naconime'n noit' ahorita vengo P
az tui'z quago' ¿no vienes mañana? S
ma ui'ts allí viene F M
ma uizt totolts'zin allí viene el cura A S
emui'tz totolts'zin ya vino el cura Mr S
ui'ts yect viene la lluvia M S
tuizelu' venimos A
unyo'c (mex. onocal) estar echado F Fr Jo M Mr S
aço'c unyo'c cue'ilit hay muchas culebras F M
unui' (mex. iuiniti) borracho A F M P S
teca' louini mue'n ¿por qué te emborrachas? P

ui' unui' anda borracho S
untitlui' están borrachos A
unui' (mex. oxtst) embarazada P S
ug'lo'm (mex. ocultín) gusano A S
uli'c (mex. ueltl) bueno Ep Fr Jo M Mr P
quet uil'c F M uil'c que F está bueno
uluni' imp. (mex. olínia) menear, echar S
xuluni' ca ce quagu'il ¡menéalo con un palo! S
az xuluni' napa'zt ¡que no muevas la olla! S
xuculuni' ito'c apa'zt ¡échalo en la olla! S
ba tener. Véase bia
payo' (castellano paño ?) rebozo, paño Jo Mr S
nopayu' mi rebozo Jo Mr S
pata'nc p.; pata'nz f. (mex. paltaná) volar S
epata'nc voló S
uya'c pata'nc se voló S
ui' pata'nz va a volar S
pate'c (mex. paltaná) ancho S
pan (castellano) pan Fr I Jo Mr
nopanu' mi pan I
(paxalu-); paxalu'z f. (castellano ?) pasearse M Mr S
nu' npaxalu'z voy a pasearme S
yac paxalu'fué paseándose S
peu'c p. (mex. peu'c) empezar S
pebe't jicalpezte F M Mr P
petebi' imp.; petebi'c p. ayudar S
ac mospetebi'c ¿quién te ayudó? S
nixpetebi'c me ayudó S
tixpetebi' juyádate! S
(pen) (mex. pen) sobre A F Jo M P S
ma quet ipe'n MESA está allí en la mesa F M
xtecui' ipe'n na quagu'il ¡sube el palo! S
ma quet ipe'n tepoxpolar está en el tabanco
nop'é' sobre mí S
lope'n sobre nosotros S
mope'n sobre ti P
ipe' sobre él S
ipe'nocu' anecho S
(pen) tiope'n (mex. teopantli) iglesia S
penu'c p. (mex. pano) pasar S
epenu'c ce bruja pasó una bruja S
neba' penuc' ce bruja ogüel' aquí pasó una bruja anoche S
quem t'penuc' na ate'n ¿cómo pasaste el río? S
pechu' imp. (mex. pechoa) apretar Mr S
ixepechu' ¡apriétalo! S
tixpechu' ¡apriétame! S
(bec?) nobec' el mio Fr Jo
mobe'c el tuyo Fr Jo
ibe'c el suyo P
peque' imp.; pec p.; peque'z f. (mex. paca)
lavar Jo M Mr S
xapeque' napa'zt ¡limpia la olla! S
xicape'ñe noropa ¡lava mi ropa! Jo
ecape'c ya lo lavé S
yac tepaquetu' se fué a lavar S
nui' nixapequez quago' voy a lavarlo mañana M
pelu' imp.; peluc' p. (mex. paloa) lamer S
xapeluc' napa'zt ¡lame la olla! S
ecapelu'c lo lamé S
bi'a', ba (mex. pia) tener A F Fr Jo M Mr PS
cobia' nixtu'n mil tengo una milpa muy pequeña S
az nicrobia tumi'n no tengo dinero P
tibia' nub'luga'm ¿tienes hijos? Mr S
guisco'ñ tibia' mob'lu' ¿cuántos hijos tienes? Mr S
tecobia' ¿qué tiene? P
tne'n titialu' nosotros lo tenemos S
tilangu'ñobia' tengo gallinas S
cobia' nayo'm tengo cuatro S
nucobia' tal aço'c notso'c mi traje tiene mucho lodo A
guiscoc'm mocha'n tiba' ¿cuántas casas tienes? S
ome'm cobia' JOAQUINA Joaquina tiene dos S
cobeya' eyo'm tito' tenfa tres huevos S
piblu' imp.; piblu'c p. (mex. pipiloa) en-volver S
xopiblu'ca pacyu' ¡envuelvete en tu rebozo! S
enopiblu'c ya me cubrí S
xiblu' ¿cuez'lgalo!
(pina'), nopima' mi hermana F M Mr (nobima Apolonio Rosario)
pina' (mex. pineua?) hace frio F Jo M P S
nopina' tengo frio F Jo M P S
pinuau' (mex. pinuaua) tener vergüenza S
pisc p. (mex. pitza en opitzaloc BIEN NACIDO) F M S; solamente en la afrenta
puta motzapiz'zc una puta te pidió; ALMA motzapiz'zc el alma te pidió
pixt nube (?) P
pitze' imp. soplar S
xipitzel na let ¡sopla el fuego! S
picho'm (?)
picho't viejo A
pig'li' imp.; pig'le'c p.; pig'le'z f. (mex. piqui?) golpear
az ticha pig'li' ¡no me golpea! A
xapig'li' ¡pégale! P
capig'le'c ize' su madre le golpeó S
etapig'le'c golpeó S
nui' nixapig'le'z voy a golpearlo P
nui' nixapig'le'z voy a golpearte S
pict (mex. piqui) tamal A S
bos (?) echar Mr S
nuibo'z motolu' echaré atole Mr S
(bu?) (nobu', mi hermano, Apolonio Rosario)
po imp.; potu'c ger. (mex. lapa) contar S
xipo' motuminu' ¡cuenta tu dinero! S
tapotu'c está contando S
niapotu'c notuminu' estoy contando mi dinero S
pue' imp.; pue p. (cf. mex. po'ui) limpiar S
xipue' na conebo'l ¡limpia la criatura! S
ecopu'c lo limpié S
pot (mex. petatl) petate S. Véase b'tet
mopo't tu petate
puçome'l (mex. poconiloll) espuma S
poqu'c f. (mex. pixca) pizcar S
nui' nixapoquez' nosnu' voy a piczar mi mazorca S
pochu'l (mex. pochoi) Bombax ceiba S
detluc p. (mex. poloa) perder Fr Jo PS
epolu'c se perdió Fr Jo
noche' poluc todos se perdieron S
gempolu'c ota'n perdí el camino S
b'tet (mex. petatl) petate Mr S. Véase bot
nobo'te't mi petate S
ptsec (mex. pizauac) delgado S
(b’l) (mex. pilli) hijo F M Mr P S
ib’lun su hijo P
nob’lun mi hijo F M Mr (noblu Apolonio Rosario)
nobluga’m mis hijos Mr S
nobliz’i’n tu ahijado S
ma, me allí, ése F Fr I Jo M Mr P S (ma allá, Apolonio Rosario)
ma ntsaci’ allí voy a encontrarte S
ma tequé’ ma pen loma ese hombre allí en la loma Jo
me que’l allí está F Jo M (megue Apolonio Rosario)
me ui’tz allí viene Jo
me onqué’ allí hay P
me que’l tito’c apa’et está allí en la olla F M
ma que’l oque’l está adentro S
ma imp. dar, tomar F Fr Jo M Mr S. Vease meca
xima’ ome’m tito’l ¡pásame dos huevos! Mr
xima’ noxa’et ¡toma mi jicara! S
xima’ ce quagu’l ¡toma un palo! F
ma (?) ; mac p. tomar M Mr S
motzuma’ te cogió S
nichuma’c yect me cogió la lluvia M Mr S
lal cmac noxo’i, me ca noz c la tierra cogió mi pié, allí caí S
mai (mex. maill) mano F M Mr Pa P S
(may Apolonio Rosario)
noma’i’ mi mano F M Mr S
imai’ nomo’t mano de mi metate F M
(noma’l, mi brazo, Apolonio Rosario)
(mateesu once, Apolonio Rosario)
(matu diez, Apolonia Rosario)
(matu eyem doce, [evidentemente trece] Apolonia Rosario)
macu’il (mex. macuilli), cinco Ep Mr P S
(maguel Apolonio Rosario)
mama’c p. (mex. mama) cargar S
me timama’c lo cargaste S
(manli reir, Apolonio Rosario)
(ximani’ imp. Apolonio Rosario)
malague’u F Mr melegu’ Fr Jo M (mex. malacatl) huso, malacate
nomelegu’ mi malacate F
meti’ (mex. mati) saber F Jo M Mr S
nen nocece’ meti’ idioma noat’be’u yo sólo conozco el idioma de mi pueblo S
az cmeti’ noch no sé todo S
az meti’ no sé F Jo M
az nolmeti’ Uaxc’c no conozco el camino para Oaxaca S (véase p. 24)
ixmeti’ (mex. izimati < ixiti + mati) conocer
az nquixmeti’ no los conozco S
az nchixmeti’ no te conozco S (equivocación en vez de ntsixmeti’?)
meça’l (mex. maçati) venado F Fr Jo M P S
mest (mex. metelti) luna F M (mest Apolonio Rosario)
mexti’; mexti’c p.; mexti’z f. (mex. machti) enseñar S
acmozmexti’ ¿quién te enseña? S
nixmexti’c noye’ me enseñó mi madre S
nui’ nmxexti’z voy a enseñar S
metsel’ imp.; metsel’z f. sentarse F I Jo Mr S
(esmeu Apolonio Rosario)
xmetsel’ ¡séntate! F I Jo Mr S
lece’ para metsel’z ito’c ¡vete a sentar adentro! S
mehel’t, machete, Mr S
nomeche’u mi machete Fr Jo M Mr P S
meca’ pr.; meque’ imp.; mec p. (mex. maça) dar A Ep F I Jo M Mr P S
enolac’ ntsimequetu’ ce recuerdo vine a darte un recuerdo S
muén’ tilez ac timeca’ tú verás a quien se lo das S
tiumen’ ntsimeca’ dentro de un rato te daré una cosa I
az nimeque’ na conebo’l ¡que no lo des a la criatura! S
ximeque’ consejo ¡aconsejalo! Ep P (ximegui Apolonio Rosario)
tichimeque’ nixtu’n at ¡dame un poco de agua! S
tichimeque’ noxamu’ ¡dame mi tortilla! S
tichimeque’ enquibo’z ¡dame que beba! F M
tichimeque’ ce iluxa’m ¡dame una tortilla de elote! A
nichime’c el me dió S
quisco’m time’c ¿cuántos has dado? S
nichimequ’i’l me dieron S
motzimequ’i’l te dieron S
ticholmequ’ na notu’i’l ¡pásame mi tenate! S
Jo
ticholmeque’ noexqu’el, nantsau’ez ¡pásame mi algodón! voy a hilar Mr S
ticholmequ’ ¡pásame! Fr Jo Mr Mr S
mie’c (mex. miac) bastante S
mie’c motsimequ’i’l te dieron bastante S
miciu’l (mex. mizilí) puma S
mich’o’m (mex. michin) pescado M Mr P S
mizco’x nixtumal
micus’x (mex. mel) muguey P S
míl (mex. millí) campo, milpa Mr P S
momi’l tu milpa S
milyu’ ce un real Mr
(mo ?) ximoti’ at ¡trae agua! Mr S
moyu’l (mex. moyul) mosca
mot (mex. metlall) metate F Fr Mr Mr P
nomo’l mi metate Mr
(motudis, bailar, Apolonio Rosario)
mue’n, tú Ep F Fr Jo Mr Mr P S (muen Apolonio Rosario)
mue’n tle’z tú verás S
coch’ mue’n ¡duerme! F M
mue’n tu’i tú te vas S
(la) mote’ imp.; mote’c p.; mote’z f. (mex. molla)
tirar M Mr S
xtamote’ na tot ¡tira la piedra! S
xtamote’ na noxt ¡tira las cenizas! M Mr
endamote’c ¡tire de sus cabezas! S
que etlameote’c na tot ¡tiraste la piedra? S
nu’i nctamote’ez voy a tirarlos S
moc (mex. miqui) morir F M Mr Mr P S (mocis Apolonio Rosario; véase mociti)
emoc’ nob’lu’ está muerto mi hijo F M
noch moqui’l todos murieron S
emoc’ noche’ todos murieron S
mociti’ imp.; mociti’c p. (mex. mictia) matar
FM Mr S (mocis Apolonio Rosario)
ximoci’i ce tla’i’ n ¡mata una gallina! Mr S
ximoci’ ¡mátalos! S
nimoci’i’c me mató S
mociti’qu’i’ mequet’ mataron venados S
cemoci’qu’i’ ¡ya los mataron S
(moca’) tamoc’’ noguas’ me duele la cabeza S
tamoco’ note’n me duele la boca M Mr S
(mougui, estar en pié, Apolonio Rosario)
(mohue’ imp.; mohue’c p; mohue’z f. bañar,
lavar AF I Jo M P S
mohue; ¡lávate! F M
mohue’ momai’ ¡lávate la mano! F M
emohue’c nen ya me bañé A
nen mohue’z voy a lavarme I Jo
nu’i mohue’z voy a bañar AF M P
mamui’ imp., mamui’c p. bañar S
xmamui’ ¡baña! S
yac mamuitz’ se fué a bañar S
toque’c mamui’c adentro se bañó! S
molu’nc p. (mex. moloni) hervir S
emolu’nc ya hirvió S
moluntu’c está hirviendo S
tlayua’; tlayu’c p. (mex. tlayoa) obscurecer P
dzo’c tlayua’ está muy obscuro Mr S
etlayu’c ya está obscuro S
tatenli’ imp.; tetenli’ f. (mex. tlatlani) pre-
guntar S
xatenli’ ¡pregúntale! S
nu’i natenli’z voy a preguntarlo S
tati’ imp.; tate’c p. (mex. tlatia) quemar Mr S
xtati’ na oco’ ¡quema el ocote! S
tate’c noma’i’ quemo mi mano S
(dasupua [mex. llaqolli + poa ?, estimar]
mentir, Apolonio Rosario)
(laxpan-) tachapane’ imp. (mex. tlachpana)
barrer Jo M Mr S
xtachapane’ na noxt ¡barre las cenizas! M Mr S
taxapan’st escoba Mr S
notaxapan’st tu escoba Jo
(laxiqueluc [mex. ixica], gotear, Apolonio Rosario)
(laxtoc, robar, Apolonio Rosario)
tatz’i’; tatzo’c p. (mex. tzáltsi ?) ladrar S gritar
M Mr S
tatz’i’ ladra S
etatzo’c gritó M Mr S (taxoc Apolonio Rosario)
tatzohu’c tecolote está gritando el tecolote S
tacho’m (mex. techichi ?) perro AF M P S
(tachom Apolonio Rosario)
agó'c tacho'm muchos perros S
notachu' mi perro P S
taxpo'territo S
tacane'l (mex. tlācātl) medio día Fr Jo S
taquechu'c p. (mex. llacachinua) parir S
elaquechu'c ya parió
lacuñ'c p. (mex. coa ?) pagar S
enixacaú'c ya me pagó S
tenolacacuñ't vine a que me pagues S
tacpá'c, sobre (mex. tlacpac). Vease ipac
(lagnum [mex. tlacomonii ?] trueno, Apolonio Rosario)
tal (mex. tlalli) tierra Jo Mr P S, mugre S
(tals Apolonio Rosario)
talotlizti'n tu padrino S (mex. tōtstintlē)
totolizti'n el cura (nuestro padrino?)
tali' imp.; taliz p.; tali's.l. (mex. itlāli) poner S
xtali' motso'c ¡ponte tu camisa! S
entali'c motso'c me puse mi traje S
taxpo'l sobre S (mex. tlālōc)
temti'c imp.; temi'c, temc p. (mex. itlān) acabar P S
nen temtoa' nomeche'u busco mi machete M S
xtemuit'i ¡anda, búscaledo! S
moxtemuit'i'c andan buscándote S
tet (mex. tlell) fuego El Fr Jo Mr S
(tantitlutilguid Apolonio Rosario)
tetoa' (mex. tlalooa) hablar (?) S
yut tetoa' drama el viento S
ten (mex. teltli) boca F M Mr P S
(modenx tu boca, Apolonio Rosario)
noten mi boca F M. Vease tson
tegue' imp.; tegue'c p.; tegue'z f. (mex. teca)
acostar S
nxmotequec ic na quaguit lacuéstate en el banco S
enmotequec'c me acosté S
nu'i' moteque'z voy a acostarme S
tegue't (mex. tlacatl) hombre A F Jo Mr P S (tequet Apolonio Rosario)
tequetque'c (plural) P
tequetque't (plural) P
Vease taquechu'c < teque't + chua
(tecu') (mex. teculli, señor) padre F M Mr P S
notecu'd mi padre F M
itecu' su padre P
tecu' imp.; tecu'z f. (mex. tlēco) subir M Mr S
xtecu' ¡sube! M Mr S
nu'i' ntecu'z voy a subir S
tecolot' tecolote
telu'c.f. (mex. tlālōa) correr S
nu'i' motelu'z voy a correr S
tiópe'n (mex. teopantli) iglesia El M Mr P S (tioben Apolonio Rosario)
tiome'n ahorita, después I S
tiome'n tolasqui'í ahorita vendemos I S
tipe'n (mex. iti'pan) pecho Mr S
notiipe'n mi pecho Mr S (nodevin Apolonio Rosario)
(tit) (mex. ate'tl) testículos M Mr S
motitu' tus testículos M'Mr S
tito't huevo Mr S. Véase tot, piedra
ome'm toio't dos huevos Mr
tielt (mex. tiéatl) huesos quemados que se usan para blanquear algodón jo S
tiquani' (mex. taquani) tigre P S (tequam Apolonio Rosario)
tico'n ¿cuándo? S
tico'n mono'c ¿cuándo vino? S
.tico'n tiac' ¿cuándo te fuiste? S
til (mex. tililí) tizne S
tila'n (mex. totolin ?) gallina A Es F Jo M Mr P Pa S
tilansu'í nocoba' tengo gallinas S
notilanu' mi gallina Jo
tuen (mex. tehuan) nosotros Es F M S (tuen Apolonio Rosario)
tuen tibieltu't tenemos S
tup culo F M S
itute' su culo F M
motu' tu culo S
motuposta'c quet está en tu culo
upile't (mex. topilli) tenete Jo S
notupi'il mi tenete Jo
toma'; tomé' imp.; tomé p.; tomé' S. f. (mex. toma) desatar M Mr S
ntatoma' voy a desatarlo S
xtatome' ¿desátalo! M Mr
entato'mo' lo desaté M Mr S
nu' nctatome's voy a desatarlo S
tome'l (mex. tomarl) jitomate F M Mr S
tum'í'n (mex. tomin) dinero El F I Jo M P S
notum'í'n mi dinero El
notuminu' mi dinero S
tot (mex. tell) piedra El F M Mr P S (toto Apolonio Rosario)
tiolt huevo
chillo't piedra para moler chile Mr
totolini' blando P S
totomo'xt (mex. totomochli) mazorca A S
tutu't (mex. totoll, pajaro) carne F M S.
Véase neque't
totogui' imp. (mex. toquía) atizar
xtotogui' ¡atizalo! S
tutuca' (mex. totoqa') pronto F Fr Jo M Mr P S
tutuca' leca' ¡vente pronto! Fr Jo
xtutuque' na tacho'm ¡corre el perro! M
tolu'l (mex. toto'l) guajalote F M (todolem Apolonio Rosario)
totoli't iguana verde H Mr S
(to)toltzi'n cura A El Fr Jo Mr P S (togolim Apolonio Rosario). Véase talzsin
tunel' (mex. tonalli) sol F Fr Jo M P (dunel, dia, tunel, sol, Apolonio Rosario)
tutume' calentura A
açoc' tuni' muy caliente S
tuni' qet na eso está caliente Fr Jo (tuni Apolonio Rosario)
tinqui' mas tuni' ¿lo quieres más caliente? S
xtutume' na xam ¡calienta la tortilla! S
toco' imp.; toco' S. f. (mex. tecí) moler Jo Mr Mr S
xtoco' ¡muélelo! S
nyan toco' voy a moler Jo
nen nato' voy a moler M Mr S
toxt (mex. tektil) masa Jo M Mr S
notoxt mi masa Jo
equel toxt ya está (molida) la masa S
tu'chi pequeño, no bastante F M S (tutqui P) (tuch Apolonio Rosario)
quet tu'chi nocha'n mi casa es muy pequeña F
(tog, dios Apolonio Rosario)
totch (mex. to'c) en, adentro F M P S
itoca' at en el agua S
ma qet ito'c apa' está en la olla F M
itoque'lc (mex. itoc calco) en la casa S
xmetex' ito'c síéntate adentro! S
tuque'c p.; tuque' S. f. (mex. toca) sembrar M Mr S
quisco'm etituque'c teyu'l ¿cuánto maíz has sembrado? M
eyo'm oxca'st encotuque'c sembré tres jícaras M
nuí nct quez teyu’t voy a sembrar maiz S
tituque’z teyu’t vas a sembrar maiz Mr
cotique’z el va a sembrar S
todo [mex. tequiti] trabajar, Apolonio Rosario. Vease tqui
ncoba’ toco’t tengo trabajo S
d’poza (mex. teputzli) espalda S
nod’po’tz mi espalda S
mod’poza’c tus espaldas S
id’poza’c la cara exterior de una olla S
d’mu imp.; d’muć p.; d’muć f. (mex. temo) bajar S
xod’mu’ ¡vente abajo! S
enod’muć bajé S
nod’muć’ bajaré S
tqui (mex. tequiti) llevar M Mr S. Vease toco’s
nen nctqui’ lo llevé M Mr S
nctqui’ lo llevó S
xito’ ¡llévalo! S
na (mex. in) el A F Fr Jo M Mr P S
ximoci’ na tila’ in mata la gallina! S
ximá’ na conebo’t ¡toma la criatura! F M
xitli’ na ocot’ ¡quema el ocote! Mr S
chucá’ na cone’t llora el niño F M
unti’ na conebo’t está borracho el muchacho P
coba’ dolor na g’last la mujer tiene dolor S
nocho’ xama’nc napa’zt se quebraron todas las ollas S
na g’last uztli’ la mujer está embarazada S
na tequ’e ni’ uunti’ el hombre anda borracho S
tuni’ quet na ése está caliente Fr Jo
na mue’n tibia’ tú lo tienes P
nayo’m (mex. nawi) cuatro Ep Fr Jo Mr P S (tayo’m A) (nayom Apolonio Rosario)
namel’ éste A S (nameł, aquél, Apolonio Rosario)
xite’ nameł xucho’t ¡mira esta flor! A
ina’ o nameł aquél ó éste S
namig’li’ imp. (mex. namaquiltia) vender S
tixnamig’li’ pect ¡vendeme tamales! S
namoici’; namoici’e p.; namoici’z f. (mex. namiquia) casarse Mr P S
ic tinamooci’ ¿cuándo te casas? S
az monamooci’ ¿no te casas? S
enamooci’c ya se casó S
encnamoci’c ya me casé S
nuí’ namooci’z voy a casarme P
nan (mex. nautli, madre) S. Vease ye
monantzi’n tu madrina S
nac (mex. nauat) cerca S
xmoteque’ ixna’c quagü’t acuéstate frente al banco S
nocha’n quet ina’c ate’n mi casa está en la orilla del río S
naco’ ahorita A F I M P S (naco’, hoy, a
nacna’ quién? Apolonio Rosario)
na’ cuet uli’c ya está bueno F M
te naco’ na tu’tz’ ¿qué trae’s? A
nga’u’l (mex. nahuatl) nombre del idioma de Pochuta I
neba’ (mex. nepa) aquí A Ep F I Jo M S (neva
Apolonio Rosario). Vease qui
leca’ neba’ ¡vente acá! Ep Jo
ác’ac tacho’m unyo’c neba’ hay aquí muchos perros S
neba’ pec aquí entró S
neba’ quet aquí está F M
nen (mex. nahuatl) yo F Jo M Mr S (nen
Apolonio Rosario)
az nui’ nen no me voy F M
nen az nui’ no me voy F M Mr S
nen as nconqui’ cocho’z no quiero dormir F M
nen ca igüe’n tacostu’c estoy platicando con él S
nenepi’l (mex. nenepilli) lengua F M Mr S
nonenepi’l mi lengua F M (monenepi, tu
lengua, Apolonio Rosario)
neque’t (mex. nacall) carne A S (nequet,
Apolonio Rosario). Vease tutu’t
neque’zt (mex. nacastli) oreja M Mr P Pa S
nonenque’zt mi oreja, mi oído Mr S (mon-
gues, tu oído, Apolonio Rosario)
ni’ si S
nimé’n (mex. nimen) ahorita I Mr P S
naco’ nimé’n nui’tz ahorita vengo P
naco’ nimé’n nui’ ahorita me voy
nintega’ nada A F M P S
nintega’ az nconqui’ no quiero nada P
ayogo' nintega' no hay nada P
nixtun' (mex. —lontli) un poquito F M Mr S
nixtun' quete' queda un poquito Mr S
nixtun' nucob' tengo un poquito S
nixtun' at nichi'meqwit' me dieron un po-
quio de agua S
noceb' el mio F Fr Jo M
nobjue' mañana F M (?). Véase quag'o'n
noxt' (mex. nexli) ceniza, polvo El M Mr S
tuxa' (mex. notza) llamar S
t e t' inquetz'a nohe' ¿le llamas a mi hermana? S
nocho' (mex. mochi, nochi) todo F M S
noch' tu' ' todos nosotros vamos F M
emo' nocho' todos Mieron F M
az ncalamqui' noch' no me acuerdo de todo
S
noch' ma til' todo allí está (lleno de) tizne S
nuca'; nuque' p.; nuqueya' impf.; nuque'x f.
decir, pensar F I M P S
tenuca' ¿qué dice? F I M S
ac nuca' ¿quién dice eso? F M
qui na nuqueya' así decía S
nen nuque'x nconquiya' ce tumi'n' creí que
quería un peso P
mue'n nuque'x tu dirás
nqui'; ncoya' impf.; ncoz f. (mex. nequi)
querer El F Fr Jo M Mr S
nconqui' taqua'x quiero comer F M
az tuxi' cocho' ¿no quieres dormir? F M
az conqui' igüe'n él no quiere F M
az conqui' tue'n no queremos F M
nconcoya' quería P
t e tinconcoya' ¿qué querías? S
ticno'x' tu querías M
gal't imp. (mex. caliui) comprar S
xi'al't' cómpralo! S
ce (mex. ce) uno A El Ep F M Mr P S (se
Apolonio Rosario)
Mr miju' un peso Mr
tehismeque' ce quagui' ¡dame un palo! A
txe ce cue't ¡mira una culebra! A
nen noce'ce meti' la idioma yo sólo conozco
el idioma S
xampe' (mex. ceppa) otra vez S
xicobe' xampe' ¡hazlo otra vez! S
cetxe' (mex. cacall) zacate S
cel noce'x mi pene P
cyu'; cy'uc (mex. cian) cansado S
nocyu'; estoy cansado S
enocy'x me cansé S
evce'x nod'po'tz está cansada mi espalda S
(semibuel, veinte, Apolonio Rosario)
çump'el magui'l (mex. compualli); cemengui'l
El; çump'a'x magui'l veinticinco Fr Jo
cu'te', cu'te'x p. (mex. çollaua) espantarse A S
cu'ce'x me espante A S
nmoçute' tengo miedo S
çon (mex. cenlli) mazorca S
nozmu' mi mazorca S
(sousongui, amar, Apolonio Rosario)
(z'il') (mex. celic) tierno P S
xam'ac p.; xamani'x f. (mex. xamania) que-
brar S
nocho' xam'a'x todos se quebraron S
exama'nc napas't se quebró la olla S
nui' xamani'x voy a quebrarlo S
xamî (mex. xamil, adobe) tortilla A El Es
F Fr Jo M Mr S
noxa'x ñ El, noxamu' Jo S mi tortilla
eluxa'mi tortilla de electo A
xabó (castellano) jabón Mr P
xipu'n (mex. xipinli) prepucio
xixe'x f. (mex. xixa) mear P
nu' noxixe'x voy a mear P
xict (mex. xictli) ombligo S
ixi'c su ombligo S
noxi'c mi ombligo S
(xo-) (mex. xotl) pié A F M Mr Pa P S (xo,
Apolonio Rosario)
noxi' mi pié S
xwi' verde M Mr S. Véase xut
quet xwi' x na quaxiull' está verde el plátano S
xut (mex. xutl) hoja M Mr S (xut, Apolonio
Rosario)
xucho't (mex. xochi) flor A Fr Jo S
tzaue'x f. (mex. tzaua) hilar Jo M Mr S
nentsau'e'x voy a hilar Jo M Mr S
nu' nitsau'e'x voy a hilar M Mr S
(tzau'e, cue'x?) apagar S
xitseue' na tet' ¡apaga el fuego! S
xicete' na tequagui' ¡apaga los tizones! S
enceu' lo apague S
tsepo’t (mex. tsapotl) zapote S
xzicu’c imp.; tse p.; tsucuo’z f. (mex. tsagua) cerrar M Mr S
xitezcucu’ na xamt itu tapa la tortilla! M Mr S
tse’c está cerrado S
tenze’c lo cerré S
te tizte’c ¿lo cerraste? S
tzepocu’c noneque’z está cerrado mi oido S
nui’ ntezcuco’z voy a taparlo S
tzinaca’ (mex. tzinacan) murcielago (chinaca, Apolonio Rosario)
(tzintu’c) (mex. tzinti) nacer, animales y plantas S
z’li tizintu’c tertito está naciendo S
tzintintu’c mopollito está naciendo tu pollito S
tziqte’l (mex. tzicatl) hormiga S
(tzilini) (mex. tzilinli) sonar S
tziku’l’c está sonando S
tzupin’c; tzupin’c p. (mex. tsupina) picar S
ntenzipul’c’c ce guau’t picó con un palo S
nixtzupin’c’c ce culu’t me picó un alacrán S
nixtzupin’c’c nomai’c picó mi mano S
tzupile’l (mex. tzopilotl) zopilote. Véase cu’t (tzupcu —?) tzucua’; tzucua’c, tzupa’c (sic) p.;
tzupa’c (sic) f. cortar P S
xitzucua’ na opque’l ¡corta el hilo! S
tzucu’a’c ya está cortado S
tzupa’c nomai’c cortó mi mano P S
pa tzupa’z na guau’l para cortar el palo S
(tzoma’); tzome’z f. (mex. tzoma) coser M Mr S
tizome’z tu vas a coser S
nui’ ntezome’z voy a coser S
ntzontu’c’c estaba cosiendo S
tzon (mex. tzontli) pelo Mr P Pa S (sont, Apolonio Rosario)
mozo’n tu pelo P
motenzo’n tu barba P (tu boca-pelo) (modensen Apolonio Rosario)
tsoct paño, traje, camisa M Mr S
notso’c mi traje
tzocua’st (mex. tzicuacuasti) peine S
ntzocu’i’c voy a peinar S
tzulu’ imp.; tzulu’c p. (mex. tzoloi) sacudir M Mr S
xitzulu’ na tepo’xt sacudí la cama M Mr S
entzulu’c lo sacudí S
(chan) (mex. chantli) casa A El F Fr M Mr
P Pa S (nochan, mi casa Apolonio Rosario)
huhi’om nocha’n mi casa es grande F M
ich’a’ su casa S
quizo’m mocha’n tiba’ ¿cuántas casas tienes? S
toca’n nuestra casa
che pr. é imp.; ches f. (mex. chia) esperar S
neba’ ntoche’ aquí te espero S
xiche’ ¡espera! S
tixche’ ¡esperame! S
nui’ nchez voy a esperar S
ntzocueltu’c estoy esperándote S
(chibilu’) (mex. tepilli?) vulva P
mochibilu’ tu vulva P
chicala’t corriente del río P
chique’c (mex. chicaucac) duro P S
chil (mex. chilli) chile Mr S (chil, Apolonio Rosario)
chillo’c piedra para moler chile Mr
chua’: pr.; chue’ imp.; chuc p. (mex. chiua) hacer A El F Fr I taquechu’c Jo Mr Mr P S
nixcha’ pulga me pica (hace) la pulga S
te tichua’ ¿qué haces? F M
chua’ daño quaxilintu’ xui’ hace daño el plátano verde S
pa chue’ amarrar para amarrarlo M Mr
xichua’ ¡haz! A El F Fr I Jo Mr Mr P S
ehue’ uil’c lo hizo bueno F M
tichulintu’ vamos a hacerlo S
chyu’c planchando está planchando S
tenzuchu’c vender yo te lo vendido A.
Véase taquechu’c
chupel’c (mex. chipauac) blanco A M Mr S
choch (mex. chica, chichá) escupir, saliva S
ichoch su saliva S
nocho’ch mi saliva S
chucha’c huele A Fr Jo P S
chua’c (mex. chocha) llorar F M P S
chua’c na conet’ llora el niño F M
teca’ chucá ¿por qué lloras? F M
teca’ tochuca’ ¿por qué lloras? S
nchu'a, a'mba emo'c nob'lu' lloro, porque se murió mi hijo S
chucoco' (mex. chiquacen) seis Eps S (chigon, Apolonio Rosario)
chucula't (mex. chocolatl) chocolate F M Mr S
(chol ?) nocholu' mi hermano Fr Jo S
mocholuga'm tus hermanos S
cayu (mex. ca) (partícula) A F M Mr
cayu' caballo Fr Jo P S (cayu, Apolonio Rosario)
cau (mex. caua) quedarse S
cau' caballo Fr Jo P S

xague' (mex. que) guardal S
quem (mex. quej) cómo S
quem tenu' na at' en ¿cómo pasaste el río? S
que' otets' (mex. calqui) hay A Ep F Mr I
Jo M Mr P S
neba' quey' aquí está F M
ma quey' allí está F M
az quey' ulei' no está bueno Ep
quey' t'chi nocha' mi casa es pequeña F M
ma quey' oque'le está allí adentro F M
ma quey' te'nc apa'nt está debajo de la olla S
na quey' ma está allí I
neba' quey' aquí estaba S
onque' (mex. onca) hay P S
aco'c onque' cue' hay muchas culebras P
quago' az nonque' beba' mañana no estaré aquí S
eyonque' xamí hay tortillas Fr Jo
quey' emí (mex. quech quemil) huipil F Jo
Ma P (quext, coxt pescueso)
noque' (mex. quem) mi huipil Jo
quey' , quec p.; ques f. (mex. caqui) oir F M
Mr S
az noque' (mex. quin) no lo oigo Mr S
toque' yeyes F M
encoque' of S
nu' nque't voy a oir S
(quel) (mex. calli) casa F M
ito'c quelc en la casa F M
quin (mex. quin) solamente con neba' y na A
Jo P S
quineba' nu' acá me voy Jo
leca' pa quineba' ¡vete acá! A
quina' nquenya' así decía A P
qui'ca; quic' imp.; quiec p.; quiec's f. (mex. qui) salir F M P S
tiquic' mato'c sales fuera S
xiquic' S; quic' F M P S ¡sal!
ma que' quistu'c apo'c allí está saliendo
el humo S
equ'c tune'l salió el sol P
nen quic'e saldré I
quisco'm (mex. quequis) ¿cuántos Mr S
quisco'm meleque' tiba' ¿cuántos malacates tienen S
quixi’ imp.; quixi’c p.; quixi’z f. (mex. quixtia) sacar S
xiquixi’júsacalo S
enquixi’c lo saqué S
nquixi’z voy a sacarlo S
c o naco’ ahora S P. Véase naco’(qua); quac p.; qua f. (mex. qua) comer A F Fr Jo M Mr S etaquac’ comió M P
tolquac’ha comido S
az nequiqui’taquaz’ no quiero comer F M aztiquaz’no lo comerás F M
tolquac’comeremos A (tolaquasquit, Apol- lonio Rosario)
xique’na quaxilit’pa tiquazquit’ asa el plátano para que lo comamos F M S xicue’tce pan pa tiquazquit’compra un pan para que lo comamos S pa quaz’para que lo coma S xataquit’jvéte a comer! S xataquit’mucha’n jvéte a tu casa a comer! S
xataquiqui’jvéte a comer! S
nenaquacamqui’t tengo hambre Fr Jo S
toquacnqui’t tengo hambre P
ueba’; cue imp.; cue p.; cuaz’f. (mex. coa) comprar F Fr Jo M Mr S
xicue’a lo compras Fr Jo
xicue’jcompralo! S
xicue’tjvéte a comprarlo! S
enoccu’lo compré S
encue’cleyu’ compré maiz M Mr S
az ticue’ztutu’tpa taquaz’¿no comprarás carne para comerla? F
(quait) (mex. quait) cabeza F M Mr P Pa S
noquai’mi cabeza (noquay, Apolono- sario)
quan’e imp. rascar P S
xaquane’¿rascal? S
chu’naquaut’c está rascándose S
quanco’chcostal Fr Jo
quaxa’xtfaja M Mr S
quaxilit’(mex.coaxilotl) plátano A El F M Mr S
quago’mañana A Fr Jo M Mr S (cuago, goago, Apolonio Rosario)

quagu’t (mex. quauilt) palo, árbol, leña banco, cárcel, fusil A El F Fr Jo M Mr S
noquagu’t mi fusil El
tequagu’t tizón S
nyac quagutufuí a leñar S
antu’quaguzquit’¡vámonos a leñar! A Jo Mr
quala’t lagartija S
guala’c (mex. huallahu) venir F I M P S
neba’guala’c acá vino S
equala’ctotolzi’n vino el cura P
enola’c vine
ic tola’c ¿cuyándo viniste? S
nola’c tixtaguetu’vina para que me pagues S
tolaquiqui’t venimos S
ci molaquiqui’t ¿cuyándo vinieron? S
guai’? noquau’ mi lado M Mr S
(gué, cue ?) noqué’u mi marido Mr P S
(noquetu, Apolonio Rosario)
(cueit) (mex. cueit) enagua El F Jo M Mr
Pa S
nocue’imi enagua Mr
ceu’t (mex. coatl) culebra F Fr Jo M S
(cuet, Apolonio Rosario)
aco’c cue’t muchas culebras F M
cuetex’t (mex. cuetlexti) cuero, piel S
guecha’t (véase mex. uípla) pasado mañana M Mr P S (guechait, Apolonio Rosario)
Gueuaila’n LAGUNA nombre antiguo de Poohutla Fr Jo
gueque’(mex. uca) lejos Fr Jo (asocigueque muy lejos, Apolonio Rosario)
(guél?) iguélu’su esposa Fr Jo M Mr P S
temicu’l moguélu¿cómo se llama tu esposa? Mr S (noquele, mi esposa, Apolonio Rosario)
(cuisca’?) traer I
aco’c VIENTO cuixa LA LUNA mucho viento trajo la luna I
cuixo’miguana (mex. cuixin MILAN) F Fr Jo M S
(cuique) (mex. cuica) cantar S
ntacuicuetuc’estoy cantando S
coyu’d (mex. coyoll) coyote (Apolonio Rosario)
copé’c (mex. copelic) grueso S
comal (mex. comalli) comal A F Fr Jo M Mr
no comal no mi comal A F
no comal (mex. comadre) mi comadre F S
no comal (mex. comadre) mi comadre El Fr Jo M Mr S
cum (mex. comill) cárter F Fr Jo Mr S
cute' (mex. cuill) mierda A
con (mex. coniel) niño El F M P
xite' na con (mex. coniel) mira el niño F M
con (mex. coniel) niños F M P (coconet, muchacho; coconet, muchachas, Apolonio Rosario)
con (mex. coniel) criaturas F M P (conevol, Apolonio Rosario)
con (mex. coniel) criaturas P
(coconet) zopilote Mr S. Véase tsipilu't
con (mex. coniel) y con (mex. coniel) dormir
F M Mr P S
eco'x (mex. chocoi) durmió S
cocoxtu'c está durmiendo F M
nen cocoxtu'c voy a dormir F M (cochos, Apolonio Rosario)
a (mex. chocot) no quiero dormir F
cochotu'c ¡vete a dormir! S
g'co'c neconoxn (mex. chacot) deseo mucho dormir P
cuchi (mex. chocoi) puerco M Mr S
coco (mex. cocoi) enfermo F M Mr S
no coco (mex. nococi) tengo enfermedad la mano F M
as no coco (mex. nococi) no estoy enfermo S
no coco (mex. nococi) mi madre está enferma S
cug'li; cug'li cug'li p. frio M Mr S
ace (mex. cocoi) se enfrió mucho M Mr S
ecug'li cug'li ya se enfrió S
quet cug'li (mex. chocot) hace frio S
(cul?) (mex. colli, antepasado?) nombre
tel nicul' mue'n ¿cómo te llamas? F M
que micul' moye' ¿cómo se llama tu madre? S
que tmocul' ¿cómo te llamas? S
icul' mogüelu' MARIA mi esposa se llama Maria S
culu't (mex. colotl) alacran A F M
colm'n (mex. queman) hace poco tiempo S
colm'n nolac' vino hace poco tiempo S
tolm'n yac se fue hace poco tiempo S
colm'n quic salió hace poco tiempo S
tse; tse imp.; cozc, ctesc p.; ctes f. (mex. quetsa) levantar F M S
az uel nocza'n no se puede levantar S
xmoc'z (mex. quetsa) ¡párate! F M
te noctse'c ¿en qué piés? S
ennoco'zc me levanté S
nu' noctse'z nocha'n voy a parar a mi casa S
az nconqu' tshmoc'z no quiero levantarme F M
(ta) cts (mex. quetsa) platicar F M S
totactse' hablas F M
xtactse' ¡habla! S
tacostu'c está platicando F M S (claxtl, Apolonio Rosario)
totacostu'c estamos platicando S, está platicando S
ntacostu'c neba' estoy platicando aquí S
gla'z (mex. guialiti) mujer A F Fr Jo M
Mr P S (claxtl, Apolonio Rosario)
quig'lasqui't mujeres P S
omenet quig'lasqui't dos mujeres P
g'la'zt (mex. guialiti) mi esposa Fr Jo
glaspo'l muchacha A
(ta) g'lu'a' (mex. culio) escribir S
tag'lutu'c está escribiendo S
xtag'lutu' cscribe! S
huhio'm (mex. nei) grande F Fr Jo M Mr S
hulu' imp.; hulu' p. (mex. ollia) pepenan, recoger, separar S
xihulu' na teyu'l ¡pepén el maíz S!

1 Véase Cecilio A. Robelo, Diccionario de Aztequismos (Cuernavaca, 1904), p. 632.
encuhuluc' lo pepené S
leca' ¡vente! A Ep Fr Jo Mr P S
li'tu' bule F Fr Jo M Mr calabazo con
cintura¹ (mex. ilpia atar ?)
(lyu) (mex. [no] yollo) corazón Mr S (noliu,
Apolonio Rosario)
aço'c tamoca' nolyu' mucho me duele el
corazón S
luxalyu' (castellano rosario) Fr Jo S
noluxalyu' mi rosario Fr S

CASTELLANO-Pochutla
abrir tepu'
acá quineba' (quín)
acabar temi'
acordarse temi'
adiéntro toc (ma, mete', quel). Véase EN
agua at (meca, loc, nixtu'n, ca)
aguacate auxque't
ahijado b'lizin
ahora naco' (as, ui'ts); nacona' (te); conaco'
álas alacran
alas yajai'
alacran culu't (tzupine')
algodón oxque't (meca)
all ma (a'le', aca', ui', ui'tz, yecl, pen, toc, nocho',
quei, quica')
amar sousongui
ancho pate'c
andar aguenumui
anoche ague'l (apeco', pen, penu'c)
antier tinalqua' (igualqua'?)
apagar tueve', teve' (?)
apetar iye'c
apretar pechui'
aqué' neba' (ayago, apeco', aca', aço'c, penu'c, guala'c,
qu'el)
árbol guagu't
arco escocu'l
asar ixque' (qua)
así qui na (quín)
atar ilpi'
atizar iotoqui'
atole etu'l (box)
ayer algua'
ayudar pelebi' (ac)
bailar motudi's
bajar d'mu
banco guagu't (ixna'c, teque')

¹ Véase Cecilio A. Robelo, Dicionario de Aztequis-
mos, Apendice, p. 2.
contar po
corazón lyu (ampa, aco'c)
correr telu's
corriente del río chicala't
cortar tsucua' (opquet)
cosa te (ah na)
coser toma'
costal quanco'ch
coyote coy'u'd
criatura cone't (pue', meca', na)
¿cómo? ic (ui', te, namoci', guala'c); tico'n (ui')
¿cuántos? quisco'm (aco'x, bia', meca', tuque'l, chan)
cuatro nay'o'm (bia')
cuero cuete'st
culebra cuet'l (aco'c, ui', unyo'c, ce, quel)
culo tup
cura totoltzi'n (ui'ts, guala'c)
chifar (ico'c)
chile chil
chocolate chucula't
dar ma; meca' (ah na, ac, mie'e, te, ce, nixtu'n)
deabax te'ne' (quet)
decir ict (igü'e'n, caxani'); nuca' (ac, te, quin)
delgado ptez
desabrochar toma'
despacio yul'i'e (caxani')
despues tio'm'n (ay te')
destapar tepu'
día tune'l
diez, matsu
dinero tumi'n (ayago', ampa, po, bia')
dios log
dolce moc'a' (aco'c, lyu); cocoa' (ampa)
donde ca (ui'); campa'
dormir coci'n (ui', mue'n, nen, nqui)
dos ome'm (bia', ma [dar], tito'l, g'laxi)
dulce ocia'ti
duro chique'c
echar bos; (contse); tuluni'
el na
el icü'e'n (ampa, nen, nqui, ca)
elote elu'i't

tortilla de elote (xamit, meca')
elia. Véase EL (sic)
embarazada uñi'n (na)
empezar peu'c
en loc (apeco', tuluni', ma [allí]); nac; ic (teque'); 
pen (ögue'l)
enagua (cuei')
encontrar aci' (ma [allí])
enfermo cocoa' (ay te', az, ampa)
enojarse teue'
enseñar metí' (ac, metí)
tenencias ah na

entrar apeco' (ögue'l, neba')
envolver pib'lu'
es quo't (iu'chi)
escoba (tachapane')
escondese ya (ampa)
escribir g'lua'
escupir choch
ése ina' (name'l); ma
es no (ac, ina')
eso no (tune'l)
espalda d'bots (cyeui')
espantarse ch'te'
esperar che (aci')
espina ui'sti (apeco')
espon guel' (te, cul); g'lazy
espuma pucone'l
ést quet (ato'le, na, cug'li', uli'c, pen, ma [allí], tuf, toxi, neba', naco', loc, na, nac, xui' qu'ca')
está en pie' mougui'
está echado unyo'c
ést ina' (ixi'c); name'l
faja quaxa'xt
flor xuch'i (name'l)
frente ix; ixma'c
frío pina'; cug'li'; cayívima
fuego tel (teue')
fuerza ato'le (qui'co')
fusil guagu't
gallina tsun (bia, moci', na)
golpear piq'li'
gotear taxiquetuc
grande huhi'o'm (chan)
gritar tasiti'
grueso cope'c
guajalote toto'l
guardar queue'
gusano ygo'lo'm
hablar teo'a'; cte (ac)
hacer cha' (te, campe', quane')
hace poco tiempo naco'
hambre noquacamqui'; (ampa)
hay unyo'c (aco'c, neba'); que' (ma)
no hay ayago' (nimte')
hermana su'i'; pina' (pina')
hermano (ba); chot
hervir molu'nc
hijo b'i (ampa, bia', moc, chua')
hilar iu'ze' (meca')
hilo opquete (izu'pa)
oja xut
hombre teque't (ina', ma [allí], na); oco'xt
hormiga iquiku'el
hoy naco'
Huautlco Uetu'l
huele chucha'c
hueso ot
huesos quemados tiec't
huevo titò't (ome'm, bia', ma [dar], tot)
huipil queque'm
humo apoto'c (guic'e)
huso malage'u (quizco'm)
iglesia tiop'e (pen)
iguana cuixo'm
iguana verde toto'l't
ir ui' (ay te',ampa, atè'n)
jabón xabo'
jicalpèzte pebe't
jícara oxca'zt (ma [dar], tuque'c)
lado qual
ladrar tots
lagarto te'ipo
lagartija quala't
lamer peu'
lavar peque' (yulicyuli'c)
lavar mohue'
lejos güeque'
lengua nenep'il
leña quau'li
levantar iqui', cta (ue'l)
limpliar pue'
lo me (mama'c)
ido tal (bia)
luna met
llamar nusna'
llamar teq (eti')
llorar chuca' (ampa, az, te, na)
lluvia yeet (ui', ui'iz, ma [tomar])
machete meche't (lemao')
madre ye (ayago', ití, piq'li', mete', cui, cocoa')
madrina "nan
maduro ecce'c
maguey micui'x
maiz teyu'li (az, ui', tuque'c, cuia)
malacate malague'u (quizco'm)
mano mai (laiti', tzupíne', cocoa')
mañana quago' (az, ui', ui'iz, peque', quel); nobug'eç
mañana, pasado güeche'li
mar at
marido güe' (ampa)
masa tost
matar mocti' (ca [con], na)
mazorca tóto'nest; con (poxce'z)
meat xise'ç
medio día lacane'l
menear uluni'
mentir dasupna
metate mot (mai)
miera cutel
milpa mil (bia', ita')
mio nobe'c
mirar ita' (ampa, az, name'l, ce, conet')
mojar awe'e
moler toco' (ui')
morir moc (ampa, nocho', chuca)
mosca moyu't
mover ulunt'ç
muchacha g'last
muchacho conet' (ina', isi'c, na)
mucho ago'ç (awe'e, ampa, unyo'c, ug'li', bia', tene', tacho'm, neba', cochi', cuixo', cue't, quel)
mugre tal
mujer g'last (na)
murciélagos tzinaca'
muy ago'ç (etiole'c, euta'c, ina', tayua', tune'l, lyu)
nacer tzintu'e
nada nintega' (ayago')
Nahuatl nqau'l
nairiz yeque't
niño conet' (az, entiuce'c, ita', na, chuco')
nosotros tue'n (bia', ngit)
nube pixt (?)
Oaxaca Uaxe'c (anye'n, mete')
ocote oco't (na)
oido neque'çt (tsecue)
oir quequi'
ojo ixtotol't
olla apa'çt (ite'nc, yulicyuli', ulumi', ma [all] peque', pelù', toc, na, xama'nc, quel)
olvidar yaqcangui
ombigo xict
once mateesu
oreja neque'çt
orita (ahorita) naco'; nime'ñ; (aci', ui'tz); tiume'n (meca')
obscurecer tayua'
otra vez çampe'
padre (tecu') (ina', ñixë, utí)
padrino (tal)
pagar tagui'ç (guala'c)
palo quagu't (ulumi', pen, ma [dar], tuxpíne', ca [con], ce)
pal pan
paño payo'; tzoc (ig'li')
papel ame't
paseido ¡xi'c (ina')
parr tayeche'ç; pixc
pasar peni'ç (quem)
pasearse paxalu-
pecho *tipe'n*
péine *tsucua'zt*
péinar *tsucu'm*
peito *ts'on*
pene *ot*
pensar *nuca'*
pepear *hulu'*
pequeño *nixtun' (bía'); *tú'chi* (quet)
perder *polu'c*
perro *tacho'm* (aço'c, iye'c, *tutuca', neba')
pesado *e'ti'*
pescado *micho'm*
pescuezo *cost*
peso *milyu' (ce); *tumi'n (nuca')*
petate *b'tet; pot*
Picar *tzupine'*
pie *xo- (apeco', ma [tomar], ca [con])
piedra *tot (mote')*
piedra para moler chile *chillo'*
piel cuete'xt*
píojo *atoma'*
pizar *pesque'z*
plátano *quaxilt' (ixque', xui', chua', qua)*
platicar *cozi'u'c, ciza (nen)*
poco *nixtun' (meca')*
Pochutla *Güenalín'*
poder *ne'l (ciza [levantar])*
pollo *tila'n (as)*
poner *tali' (apeco')*
papito *nixtun'*
porque *ampa (ayago', etiote', ya, chuca')*
por qué *te (ampa, unit', chuca')*
potro *cayu'*
preguntar *tatenli'*
prepucio *tatenli'*
pronto *tutuca' (ate'); *leca' (vèase VENIR)*
pueblo *al'be't (meti', te)*
puerco *cuchi'*
puma *miciu't*
purgar *apite'z*
què *te (ayago', as, iti, bia', renoa', talí', naco', caxani', chuia', tsucue', nqui, nuca', ciza [levantar], cul, gi'él')*
quebrar *xama'nc (apa'zt, na)*
quedarse *cau (nixtu'n)*
quemar *tati' (na)*
querer *nqui (az, igé'e'n, ui', te, talí', nuca', nintege', nen, cochú', qua, ciza [levantar])*
quien *ac (pete'ti', meti', meca', nuca')*
rascar *quane'*
real *milyu'*
rebozo *payo' (pi'b'lu')*
reir *manil'*
rio *ate'n (penu'c, nac, quem)*
corriente del rio *chicala't*

robar *taxto'c*
oratorio *luxalyu'*
saber *meti' (ce)*
sacar *quixi'*
sacudir *itzulu'*
sal *ozte'i*
salir *quisa' (ato'le, colme'n)*
saliva *choch*
sanar *caxani' (yuli'c)*
sangre *est*
seco *na'e (ace'c)*
seis *chucoc-e*
semejante *is'i*
semilla *axi*
sentarse *meta' (loc)*
servir *cau*
si *ni (as, ui'zts)*
sobres *pen (ma); tacpa'c*
sol *tune'l (apeco', quixa')*
solo *ce (meti, cau)*
sonar *isixini'*
soplar *piize*
subir *tuc' (pen)*
suyo *bec*
tabanco *lepo'xt (pen)*
tamar *pica (namilig')*
tarde *etio'te', tote'c*
tecolote *tecolo't*
tegar *ig'is'*
tenete *tupi'l*
tener *ba, bia' (ampa, as, ome'm, tila'n, tue'n, te, na, nixtu'n, ca [dónde], chan, quisoc'm)*
testiculo *titi*
temperatura *hace poco colme'n (ampa)*
tierno *tli (izintu'c)*
tierra *tal*
tigre *tiquani'*
tirar *mite*
tizne *tit (nocho')*
tizón *quagui't (tseuec)*
todo *nocho' (ui', polu'c, moc, meti', na, xama'nc, calamqui')*
tomar *ma (ome'm, na)*
tomate *tome't*
tortilla *xam (meca', tsucue', quet)*
tortilla, hacer *contze*
tortuga *ayui't*
trabajar *toces*
traer *ui'ts (naco'); mo, cuizca' (?)*
traje *tsocet (bia', talí')*
trece *matu eyem*
tres *eyo'm (bia', talí')*
trueno *tagmum*
tu mue'n (ampa, ac, unt'i, meca', ie, na, nuca, cochi', ilpi', cuil)
uno ce (apeco', az, ig'ti', ulumi', pens'e, ma [tomar], meca', mocti', nuca', izupine', ca [con], qua)
uña oxi
¡vámonos! antu' (ate'n, guagu'i)
veinte semibuel
veinticinco gump'e'l magü'íl; cemengü'íl; gump'ñ magü'íl
venado meça'i (moci')
vender namig'il'
venir ni'tz (az, yect, ma [all], nime'n); guala'c (algu'a, ic, tiome'n, meca', colme'n); leca' (antu', metze', neba', tutuca', quin). Véase PRONTO

ver ña' (ampa, az, meca', mue'n)
verde xuí' (chua)
vergüenza, tener pinau'a
viejo picho't (ina'); eneta'c
viento yut
volar pata'nc (ut')
vomitar entsute'c
vuIva chibilu'
yo nen (ampa, eti', ñoz-, ut', mokue, meti', ita', toco', teue, temoa', inqu, nuca', ce [con], cau, ce, quia, cochi', quica')
zapoté tzepo't
zopilote izupi'us', eus
A SILETZ VOCABULARY
By Leo J. Frachtenberg

The dialect spoken by the Indian tribe that lived on the Siletz River prior to the establishment of the Siletz Indian Reservation (1856) represents the most southern branch of the Salish linguistic family. The origin of the word “Siletz” was for a long time a puzzle to the students of Indian linguistics. The most frequent explanation that was put forth was, that it represented a corrupted form of the name “Saint Celestine.” This explanation seemed quite plausible, in view of the fact that the earliest white people that came in contact with these Indians were Catholic missionaries. I myself considered this etymology correct up to the time of my recent trip to the Grande Ronde Reservation. While stopping at Devil’s Lake (situated three miles north of the Siletz River), I was informed that this lake and also the Siletz River were known as Silet Lake and Silet River respectively. Further inquiries proved that the word “Silet” is of Athapascan origin, meaning “Black Bear” (compare Rogue River Silit’ and Tütü’-tunne Siryi’s). This explanation of the word “Siletz” is more correct than the former etymology, for two reasons,—first, because of the established fact that in a majority of cases the names for Indian tribes, localities, etc., are not native; and, secondly, because of the fact that to this day many black bears are found in the woods near the mouth of the Siletz River,—hence I have no hesitation in accepting the word “Siletz” as of Athapascan origin.

The following material was obtained in 1910 from Susan Fuller, an old Indian woman living on the Siletz Reservation. It is quite possible that many of the terms of relationship obtained from her include the possessive pronouns; but I had no means of verifying this suspicion, because of the fact that she was the only Siletz Indian, and that she spoke very little English. I have therefore put down the words obtained from her without any changes, leaving the correct grammatical analysis to the students of Salishan linguistics.

SOUNDS.

| a, e, i, o, u | short vowels of continental values. |
| a, e, i, o, u | long vowels of continental values. |
| ai, au, eu | short diphthongs. |
| ai | long diphthong. |
| a | as in German wählen. |
| e | obscure vowel. |
| u | whispered vowel. |
| ë, û | nasalized vowels. |
| g | sonant stop. |
| t, k, ts, tc | unaspirated surds. |
| q | velar k. |
| k’, ts ’ | palatalized surds. |
| t’, g’ | aspirated t and q. |
| tl, ts, tc, k’l, ql | explosives. |
| x | like ch in German Bach. |
| s | as in English. |
| c | like sh in English she. |
| l, n | as in English. |
| l’ | like l in English lure. |
| n | vocalized n. |
| l | spirant lateral. |
| l | surd lateral. |
| | glottal stop. |
| | aspiration. |
| h, y, w | as in English. |
| | stress accent. |

NUMERALS.

| tsxai, one | yilhâ’tci, six |
| hensa’t, two | t’eko’ls, seven |
| tca’na’t, three | ts’gô’tci, eight |
| lawit’s, four | inyit’s, nine |
| tsxus, five | tahâ’teis, ten |

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP.

| tata’s, mother | wawu’a’s, father |
| ci’guts, older sister | su’q’lèis, elder brother |
| xeha’s, grandfather |
ge'na's, grandmother
tawu'na's, son
tc'lix's, daughter
tcv'ya's, grandson
tcv'ya's, granddaughter
si'la'ts, grandchild
swa'a'ls, paternal uncle
gi'sa'ts, maternal uncle
tc'ats, paternal aunt
si'la'ts, maternal aunt
nä'teli's, father-in-law
tats'eli's, mother-in-law
tci'au'lin, brother-in-law
sus'si'xis, sister-in-law
snä'teli's, son-in-law
snä'teli's, daughter-in-law
si'gis'c, daughter of elder brother
son of elder brother
si'gis'c, daughter of younger brother
son of younger brother
sa'as, son of elder sister
daughter of elder sister
son of younger sister
daughter of younger sister
taskö'tsi's, relatives after death of person that caused a relationship

PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY.
xa'ilxal, head
waq'i'n, hair
wa'qsin, nose
tintalana's, ear
na'ls, forehead
kundal'sun, eyebrow
tsi'slin, lip
tas'sinu, tooth
wil'ya, tongue
t'ci'satci, index-finger
t'qe'tci, middle finger
ts'xus, little finger

ANIMALS.
asai'yeha'l, coyote
talva'el, panther
si'yu, grizzly bear
tl'ün'te'l's, black bear
xqas, cinnamon bear
tsa'ha'la', wolf
tasqu'gai, fox
u'xalís'nu, coon
d'i's'ta', wildcat

NOUNS.
tskak'leu', coals
tasna'win, house
galqa'lu, ashes

SILETZ, ORE.,
September, 1913.
UNCLASSIFIED LANGUAGES OF THE SOUTHEAST

By John R. Swanton

In Bulletin 43 of the Bureau of American Ethnology I undertook a classification of the Indian tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and the adjacent coast of the Gulf of Mexico, based on known or indicated similarities in their languages; and in another paper, now practically completed, I have attempted the same work for those between the area first covered and the Atlantic Ocean. Here I intend merely to indicate a few of the more important results, and to list the languages which I have so far been unable to classify with certainty, in order to put the present status of the subject on record.

So far, my work reveals no new stock language; nor does it indicate the likelihood of finding any, except in one region, southern Florida. Some years ago Mooney called attention to the fact that there was not sufficient evidence on which to extend the Timuquanan family over the southern part of the peninsula. In the first place, the tribes called "Timucua" by the Spaniards never included those south of Tampa Bay and Cape Calaveral; and, secondly, although we have scarcely any linguistic material from the South Florida tribes, a comparison of the place-names in the two areas shows striking differences. At the same time, they seem to indicate that South Floridians—the Caloosa, Ais, Tekesta, and their neighbors—were related to each other, the differences between them being probably only dialectic. Other evidence points toward a connection between all of these and the tribes of the Muskogean family; but definite classification must wait upon further discoveries, which can hardly be outside of manuscripts, since there is small ground for hope that any speakers of the old Florida languages have survived to the present day. If a Muskogean connection were actually established, an interesting question would at once arise as to how it came about that the Muskogean stock was cut in two by a people entirely distinct from it, or only very remotely related.

All of the other tribes which history reveals to us as living in the Southeast probably belonged to the stocks already recognized. In the majority of cases we can prove this, or at least show its extreme likelihood; but there are a few tribes whose position is uncertain. I will review them briefly.

Beginning at the northeast, the first problematical tribe is the Coree, which lived about Cape Lookout and Core Sound, on the coast of North Carolina. In this neighborhood three stocks met. Northward began that fringe of Algonquian peoples which extended unbrokenly to the St. Lawrence, south were Siouan tribes on Cape Fear River, and inland the Iroquoian Tuscarora. So far, I am aware of but one fragment of evidence bearing on the affinities of the Coree. This is dropped incidentally by Lawson, who says: "I once met with a young Indian woman that had been brought from beyond the mountains, and was sold a slave into Virginia. She spoke the same language as the Comanche [Coree], that dwell near Cape Lookout, allowing for some few words, which were different, yet no otherwise than that they might understand one another very well." 1

If any theory may be based upon this, it seems to exclude the Siouan connection and to point to Iroquoian relationship, the Iroquois having been the principal enemies of the tribes of this area.

The Pascagoula of the river which now bears their name cannot be placed with

1 Lawson, History of North Carolina, 280.
certainty, because, while they were always closely associated with the Siouan Biloxi, they are just as constantly distinguished from them. Their name, which signifies "Bread People," is from Choctaw or a related dialect. This circumstance, contrasted with the fact that Biloxi is a corruption of the proper Siouan term for that tribe, along with some additional bits of evidence, have led the writer to consider the Pascagoula Muskho-gean, but the proof is insufficient.

The Grigra, or Gri, formed a distinct village among the Natchez Indians; but Du Pratz states that they were an alien people, whose language was distinguished by the use of a well-developed r. From the fact that they shared this peculiarity with four neighboring tribes,—the Tunica, Yazoo, Koroa, and Tiou,—while it was absolutely wanting from the tongues of the other people of that section, I have, in Bulletin 43, assigned all of these conjecturally to one stock, called from the only recorded language Tunican. At the time when I wrote the above work, my argument was rather weak, because the association between the five tribes was based merely on circumstantial evidence, albeit rather strong evidence of that class. Recently, however, my attention has been called to the following important statement in the "Journal of Diron d'Artaguette," under date of Jan. 14, 1723: "We summoned the Natchez chiefs to supply us with provisions, which they agreed to do; also the chief of the Tyous. This is a small nation which has its village a league to the south of the [Natchez] fort. This nation is not very large, consisting of only 50 men bearing arms. It has the same language as the Thonniquas [Tunica], and does not differ from them in any way as to customs." ²

This strengthens the whole case very considerably, since circumstantial evidence connecting Yazoo and Koroa with Tunica was stronger than that linking Tiou and Tunica, until the discovery of this reference. Nevertheless, Grigra still remains somewhat in doubt, since the tribe cannot be traced back to Yazoo River, like all of the others of the stock, and Du Pratz tells us that it united with the Natchez earlier than the Tiou.

The Opelousa lived west of the Mississippi, near the place which perpetuates their name. Although this name is in Choctaw, the tribe certainly was not Muskho-gean. It is always referred to as allied with the Chitimacha and Atakapa, but rather with the latter than the former. For this reason I have placed it provisionally in the Atakapan stock, but absolute proof is wanting.

The Okelousa, or "Black Water" people,—not to be confused with the preceding,—are mentioned seldom. They seem, however, to be associated with the Houma, who are known to have been of Muskho-gean stock, and hence I have so classed them.

The Bidai were on and near a western branch of the middle Trinity River, Texas, called after them. The word is perhaps Caddo, but evidence collected by Professor H. E. Bolton from the Spanish archives points to a connection with the Atakapan stock.

A great many tribes, and probably dialects as well, have been exterminated throughout southern Texas, but there is as yet no evidence that any of these was divergent enough to be given an independent position. In fact, relationships are rather indicated between the bodies now rated independent.

It is gratifying to the writer to find that of three cases in which proof of relationship has come to light since the publication of Bulletin 43, the writer's hypothesis, based on circumstantial evidence or slight indications, was established in two cases and disproved in but one, the case for which was exceptionally weak. One of these was the status of the Tiou Indians, which has already been considered. Another was the position of the

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² Travels in American Colonies (ed. by Merenness), 46.
Akokisa. My belief that this tribe, or group of tribes, belonged to the Atakapan stock, has been absolutely confirmed by the discovery of a vocabulary of forty-five words in an unpublished manuscript among the valuable documents in the Edward E. Ayer collection at the Newberry Library, Chicago. This vocabulary, and an equally valuable Karankawa vocabulary in the same manuscript, will be reproduced and fully discussed in a future number of this Journal. From a second document in the Ayer collection I obtained, however, a correction of my position regarding the classification of two little tribes on Bayou La Fourche, near the mouth of the Mississippi,—the Washa and Chawasha. These I had considered Muskhocean; but the author of the document just alluded to, who seems to have been none other than Bienville, and should therefore know whereof he writes, not only states that these tribes have always spoken almost the same language ("ont toujours parlé presque la même langue"), but begins his account of the Chitimacha by saying that the Tchioutimachas, who live six leagues from the Houmas on the left bank of the river, are of the same genius and the same character as the Tchaouachas and the Ouachas, with whom they have always been allied, and who also speak almost the same language ("Les Tchioutimachas qui demeurent à six lieues des Houmas sur la gauche du fleuve sont du même genre, et du même caractère que les Tchaouachas, et les Ouachas auxquels ils ont toujours été alliez, et dont ils parlent aussi presque la même langue").

This carries the stock boundary of the Chitimacha eastward over all of Bayou La Fourche and as far as the mouths of the Mississippi.

In general, it may be said that the number, position, and boundaries of all of the linguistic groups of the Southeast, at least those eastward of the Mississippi River, are now satisfactorily established, such lacunae as exist being small and of little apparent importance.
NOTES ON ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGES

By Truman Michelson

Notes on Fox Verbal Composition.—I have tried to show in the "American Anthropologist" (n.s., 15: 473 et seq.) that the very great firmness in the verbal complex was more apparent than real. In the present paper I propose to emphasize a special feature which escaped me at the time; namely, that what I have termed "incorporation" should rather be called "loose composition," for it is desirable to restrict the word "incorporation" to such cases as lose their word-forming elements in the verbal complex. In the above-mentioned paper I have given some examples which clearly show that such elements are not lost in the Fox verbal complex; but, to bring this out more patently, it may be well to amplify the material. The examples are all taken from my unpublished texts, with a few exceptions which are from Jones's "Fox Texts." The phonetic system employed is that of Jones; but I should state, that, after several seasons' field-work with the Foxes, I am convinced that this system is inadequate in a number of important points. As long as this paper does not deal with purely phonetic problems, however, it is justifiable to use a known system rather than confuse the reader with a new transcription of the same language. The sections (§) referred to are those of the Algonquian sketch in the "Handbook of American Indian Languages." Jones's "Fox Texts" and "Kickapoo Tales" are quoted respectively "J." and "J. Kickapoo," followed by reference to page and line.

A good illustration of this looseness in composition is ḥpiningwana'iyowat! then they ceased using their teeth. Observe that wopingwana' their teeth occurs in the middle of a verbal complex, but suffers no elimination of the pronominal elements u—wopingwana' (§ 45) beyond that of the terminal i', which would be lost also if we had to deal with a verbal stem. The initial ai of the stem aiyow is responsible for this alone, exactly as is the initial u of wopingwana' for the loss of the terminal i of the stem pini cessation (see § 16). Such a loss is not comparable with the elimination of terminal w of nouns before the possessive suffix m: e.g., ketugimâmenâng<sup>4</sup> our [inclusive]chiefs (J. 62.22) as contrasted with ugiumâ chief, the <sup>6</sup> of which is a suffix-showing that the noun is singular and animate; and with the denominative ugiumâi<sup>6</sup> he would have become chief (J. 26.16), in which i is the copula, and <sup>6</sup> is the verbal pronoun of the potential subjunctive third person animate singular (§ 30). Had we true cases like this in verbal complexes, we should call them "incorporations." Examples like ki'utuqimânâmpem泰安 shall be chief to us (J. 8.3) do not count; for tugimám is simply abstracted from the possessed noun, and then verbalized in the manner shown in the above-mentioned paper. A supposed case in which certain elements were thought to be eliminated (American Anthropologist, 15: 473) has turned out to be erroneous. The error was induced by two factors; namely, a mistrans-

<sup>1</sup> Printed with permission of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.
<sup>2</sup> William Jones, Fox Texts (PAES 1).
<sup>3</sup> William Jones, Kickapoo Tales (PAES 9).

<sup>4</sup> A word like netugimâmy chief, reconstructed by myself, but absolutely certain in formation (cf. the Kickapoo vocative netogimâne o my chief! [J. Kickapoo 86.17, 26]), would bring this out more clearly. The difference in the vowel-quantities, supported by Kickapoo, is unexplained.—The elimination of w before the possessive suffix m occurs also in Cree, Ojibwa, and Algonkin; very probably also in other Algonquian dialects. Lacombe has a completely wrong explanation. Owing to phonetic laws, the state of affairs in Ojibwa and Algonkin is largely disguised.
loration on the part of an interpreter, and a faulty phonetic restoration on my part.

In the paper mentioned above I also stated that incorporation of the nominal object did not occur. It does not if we follow the argument of the preceding paragraph; we do find loose composition wherein the objective noun is in the midst of a verbal complex. The example of the preceding paragraph is absolutely parallel to nepyätciketändesawāpamāpen\(^2\) WE HAVE COME TO SEE THY DAUGHTER.\(^1\) In this verbal complex, kelānes\(^a\) THY DAUGHTER is treated precisely as it would be in a sentence before a word beginning with a consonant. If I am asked to define under what circumstances the nominal object is within the verbal compound and when without it, I candidly admit I do not know, any more than I know under precisely what conditions particles, independent pronouns (see below), and so on, occur within or without the verbal complex. I say this, after going over hundreds of pages of Fox texts; and it is precisely this inability to define the conditions that leads me to believe in an extreme looseness of structure: that is, for the greater part there are no hard and fast rules.

To go on with examples. An example where a locative singular of a noun is in a verbal complex without losing the locative-making element is pwadawakūlāgipagise'ka-
mān\(^a\) THAT I DID NOT JAM MY FOOT IN THE FIRE (J. 306.21). Here asktāgi IN THE FIRE is between two verbal stems.

The following are some cases in which independent personal pronouns are found in the heart of verbal compounds: \(\text{jutā}'\) wi\('\)ukināninānānālāpurētōnāg\(^2\) THAT VERILY IS WHY WE SHALL BELIEVE YOU (nīnān\(^a\) WE


precisely the same as they would be outside of a compound, and that whatever phonetic changes they suffer is not due to intimate association in the compound. Thus *uwiyä'ë* becomes *uwiyä'a*, because the stem *kaski* ability begins with a consonant. Similarly Kickapoo *awiyähi* something retains the terminal *i* to show that the form is inanimate singular (J. Kickapoo, 127). A less clear case is Fox *wi'pwdwi-wiyä'andakwamalaminic* that no one would be sick. This stands for *wi'pwdwi-uwiyä'aniä'kwamalaminic*. The elision of *i* in both instances is due to ordinary euphonic rules. The difficulty is, that in the sentence it is necessary to carefully distinguish identity and difference in the third person, a well-known feature of Algonquian languages. Hence it is that *uwiyä'ë* needs an obviative, which is *uwiyä'aniä*. The obviatives of indefinite pronouns are not discussed in the Fox sketch in the "Handbook of American Indian Languages," but they exist; exactly as do obviatives of demonstrative pronouns, pointed out by me elsewhere (J. Kickapoo, 127). The formation is exactly the same as in animate nouns. Note that terminal *an* loses its *i* because a vowel immediately follows, and for no other reason. For *wi—*aminic*, see §§ 29, 34; *t*, § 21; *pwdwi*, below, p. 54; *ä'kwamä* is the stem, meaning sick. Another example is *ä'pwdwägemugewi'pwdwi'anikaskipyunutaminic* it is indeed said that no one succeeded in reaching it (a wigwam). In this case the terminal *i* of *uwiyä'aniä* has become full-sounding, as a consonant immediately follows. A brief analysis of the whole compound is: *ä—*aminic*, §§ 29, 34; *pwdwi*, an original verbal stem which in Fox is used as a modal negation; *gä* and *megu*, particles of weak meanings; *p* for *phi*, a quotative (cf. § 41); *kaski* ability, *pyä* movement hitherward, both well-known verbal stems (§ 16); *nu*, a verbal stem of no independent existence; the combination *pyänu* means reach.

The inclusion of particles and adverbs within verbal compounds has been sufficiently illustrated in the above-mentioned paper. I may add, however, that it would be an easy matter to give almost unlimited examples.

Formerly I could give but two examples of verbal compounds included within other verbal compounds. To these I now add *ä'pwdwägemugewi'anacima'kaläwinö'i'netec* he never was told, "fast." This stands for *ä'-pwdwä-megu-nanäci-ma'kaläwinö-inetec*; *ma'kaläwinö* is a rhetorical lengthening of *ma'kaläwin* (see § 6); the imperative sentence is in the midst of another sentence. For -*n* see § 31; *ä—etc*, § 41; *pwdwä*, as above; similarly megu; *nanäci*, an adverb, used apparently only with negatives, with the combined sense of *never*; *i*, § 16; *n*, § 21, but conventionalized in meaning.

This leads me to discuss a new type of verbal composition; namely, where, from our point of view, Fox has a sentence within a verbal compound, which, from the Fox point of view, is quite distinct from the type above. An example is kekicimegyühonedepowinemenepeñ we indeed already thought you were dead. This stands for ke-kici-meguyüh—nep-o-w—ane-m—e—nepeñ*; kici and megu have been explained above; *yüh* is an adverb meaning in the past, *ane* is a stem which, so far as known, cannot occur independently, and has the meaning mental activity (§ 18); *m* is used simply to transitivize the verb (§ 37); *e* is to prevent the combination *mn*; *ke—nepeñ* are the subjective and objective pronominal elements (§ 28); *nep* is a verbal stem of considerable independence, meaning to die; I cannot as yet give the value of *o*, but we find nepohiwa* as well as nepwa*; apparently both with the same meaning; the *w* is also unexplained, but see p. 53. In the combination, *nep* is simply an object clause. An example almost the same as the above is wälcči nepowinemeneq why we thought you were dead. For -*nag*, the pronominal elements, see § 29. On the same order is
kicikigănowâmeg4 I thought they had completed their clan-feast: kici, âne, and m have been explained above, and w has been referred to; âgé is a termination of the conjunctive mode showing that i is the subject and them (animate) the object; kigânu is a verbal stem to hold a clan-feast. Observe that no subjective pronouns in the object-clause are expressed. In a way, it resembles accusative and infinitive construction in Latin indirect discourse. Nearly allied is nepewâmegoldâg he probably thought me upright. The analysis is: ne—gô for ne—gwa (§ 28) before the affix tugâ probably, the phonetics are not treated in the Fox sketch; âneme, explained above; pecigw for pecigwi before a vowel; pecigwi means upright in the moral sense. Compare kepewâgitanitâganâtâmawetâg I truly indeed tell you this uprightly, a compound of the type discussed above (tcâ, megu, mani, included within a verbal compound; ke—netâg, § 28; amô, § 34; stem probably wî, not wi as in § 16; i, § 21), and pecigwimêtâg me'losânînimewâgâni whosoever lives uprightly.

Another novel type of composition is câgwâmewôwinâgwâwâ It seems that they are unwilling: câgw, unwilling, § 16; âne, mental activity, § 19; mo, §§ 21, 40; wû is the inanimate singular pronoun of the independent mode, § 28; nâgwâl cannot be analyzed in a completely satisfactory manner, but it is evident that it is to be connected with a stem nâgu appearance, look (§ 18), which apparently cannot occur in initial positions; and at the same time the posterior portion resembles the copula gowâl, § 20; it is possible that nâgwâl is for *nâgwigâl (cf. § 13); but it is also possible that we have a copula at, for all inanimate copulas are not given in § 20 (for instance, i in myânetâg it is bad as contrasted with myânesîwâ he is bad); and it will be noted that the animate copula si goes with nâgu. [Ojibwa has a formation that corresponds exactly to nâgwâl. April, 1917.] Note that câgwâmemo starts out just as if animate intransitive verbal pronouns were to be immediately suffixed, whereas none are. The element wi is at present completely obscure, though it may be cognate to the w mentioned above, and compare the w in two examples below. Observe, furthermore, that a verbal stem is found farther on in the compound, which is quite contrary to the ordinary views of Algonquian grammar. The two examples referred to above are wi'tacimâmâtimumowâstâcâ he shall sit in worship there and mamâmâtumowâhâtâcâ he is prayerful in feeling. We cannot tell whether the element is w or wi; for the i, in any case, would be elided before the â of api to sit (§ 16) and itâ to feel (§ 18). The analysis otherwise is wî—tâc, § 29; taci there, § 16; ma, § 25; mâtâ pray, a verbal stem of considerable independence, § 16; mo, §§ 21, 40; api, a verbal stem of considerable independence, § 16; itâ, a verbal stem of apparently limited position, § 18; tcâ, § 29; hâ, a connective stem, practically a copula, § 20. Observe that both these compounds start out as if animate intransitive verbal pronouns were immediately to follow, whereas they do not; and other verbal stems occur farther on in the compounds, which are the same anomalies as those referred to above. Yet another novel type of composition is kewîtiehâmegulâpitimesetâg I am indeed truly happy with you. The inclusion of the particles tcâ verily, truly, and megu, is of the type discussed above. The analysis of the other elements is: ke—netâg, the subjective and objective pronouns of the entire complex, § 28; wi, initial stem, meaning association; lei, the same element as appears in conjunction with pyâ (pyâtci), sâgî (sâgitci), etc., the exact meaning of which is unknown, and probably is conventionalized in use; lâpe, an initial stem happy; si, the copula, § 20; m, to transitivize the verb, § 37; e, to prevent the combination mm, § 8. Observe that in this compound we have the copula immediately before the transitivizing suffix.
I think that the explanation is that läpesi is taken as a unit. This is confirmed by kiwá-
el-epesinthehogōsi they will set you crazy, J. 308.21 (ki—gōsi, § 28; si, apparently for si; hi, § 20; h, §§ 21, 37; e, § 8). In this compound also the copula precedes the transitivizing suffix. For läpesı and wāpesi, note a'läpesiwáłc they were happy (a—wálc, § 29), nekatawíwápesi I have almost gone crazy, J. 308.18 (ne—, § 28; katawi almost).

The Position of the Fox Verbal Stem kaski ("ability").—In the "American Anthropologist" (n. s., 15: 475) I stated that the Fox verbal stem kaski could not occur outside a compound. I have just discovered from a text recently collected that it can do this very thing: thus, ki'uwígípwameg kaski nötesi you (pl.) will be able to live there when it is windy.

Remarks on the Phonetic Elements of Fox. — On p. 50 I stated that I do not consider Jones’s phonetic scheme adequate for the Fox dialect. Our chief points of difference are: that I hear aspirations before all initial vowels and diphthongs, after all terminal voiceless vowels, and after all vowels when followed by sibilants; long vowels for short, and vice versa; ő for ü always; sometimes o for u; always u for o initially and terminally, rarely otherwise; but one sound (‘) for h and t; ck always for sk; surd stops as glides after sonant stops when immediately preceding terminal voiceless vowels which are at the same time aspirated; a voiceless w after stops in the same position; surd m and n as glides after m and n respectively in the same positions; a fricative that begins as a sonant stop, gliding into a surd fricative, for τc when preceding the terminal voiceless aspirated vowels, and in a few other cases; glides for Jones’s inverted periods; the main accent in different positions; ‘a’- (Jones a’-) and wi- everywhere in verbal complexes, and not solely before k, t, p.

A Second Note on Fox Pwāwi. — In the "American Anthropologist" (n. s., 15: 364) I pointed out, that, from the evidence of Kickapoo, we must consider Fox ḫwāwi-, the negative particle of the conjunctive and certain other subordinate modes, to be a primary stem. At the time I overlooked the fact that the published Cree, Ojibwa, and Algonkin material also supported this view (see Lacome, under ḫwā [être impuissant], etc.; Baraga, under ḫwāma, etc.; Lemoine, under incapable [śwā-, śwā-, śwāwi-]; Cuq, under śwā-, śwāwi-). I may add that Ojibwa ninbwaśi I cannot prevail upon him is to be analyzed thus: nin—a, the subjective and objective pronominal elements; ḫwā, the primary stem; -m-, the instrumental particle done with the mouth, with animate object. Evidently the wi of Fox ḫwāwi- and Algonkin ḫwāwi-, ḫwāwi-, needs further elucidation. Shawnee ḫwā-, the equivalent of Fox ḫwāwi-, sheds no light on the problem, owing to the phonetics of that language.

Remarks on the Phonetics of the Gull Lake Dialect of Ojibwa.—The material from which these notes are taken was gathered about two years ago from a single informant; namely, William Potter, at that time sixty-one years old. The informant was nearly a full-blooded Indian, and spoke but broken English. We may therefore presume that his pronunciation is characteristic of the dialect. These notes are assembled here in the belief that they will be of interest, and stimulate others to note peculiarities of the various Ojibwa dialects. They are not exhaustive, and other points in the phonetics of this dialect may surely be found out by a protracted study; for a half-hour with the informant was all that was possible, owing to his own pressing business in Washington. Some features of the Gull Lake dialect are thus far quite unique, not occurring in the dialects of Bois Fort or Fort William or Leech Lake, to judge from the texts of William Jones and De Jong. It is to be hoped that Radin’s texts may be published soon, that the phonetics may be compared with those of the Gull Lake dialect.
1. Glottal Stop.—The glottal stop is often found where other writers have recorded nothing. Examples are nicka'disì; he is angry, minōnâ'gūisì; she is good-looking. The glottal stop doubtless is a relic of the personal pronoun,—Fox -aw in Jones’s transcription; or -awɔ, as I think correct. The si in both cases is the copula.

2. Weakly Articulated Vowels.—Long vowels at times are followed by corresponding weakly articulated short vowels which are voiced, not voiceless. At present I cannot formulate a rule governing the usage. Examples are: si, bi’; river, pimiswe’; he walks past, nā, na’n five, mį, da’c and, wu’a, baŋ; to-morrow, wį, nad’; it is dirty. Something like this apparently occurs in the dialects of Bois Fort and Fort William.

3. The Correspondent to’k of Other Dialects.—The ’k of other Ojibwa dialects goes back to a sibilant followed by a palatal surd stop. In the Gull Lake dialect we have a marked aspiration, followed by a glottal stop and then a surd stop, which is certainly velar as compared with English k, but not as pronounced as the surd velar stop of the Northwest-coast Indian languages. Probably it is akin to the corresponding Paiute sound. Examples are, a’t’a’; ground, ma’t’wa; bear.

4. Terminal Aspirations.—Temporarily after stops I hear very distinct aspirations. It is very probable that sonant stops glide into surds before the aspiration, as is the case in Potawatomi, but I find that I have not recorded the glide in most cases. In Fox, sonant stops always glide into surds before terminal vowels which are both voiceless and aspirated. We may therefore conclude that the phenomenon is old. Examples from the Gull Lake dialect are, ma’t’wa; bears, wį, nad’; it is dirty, mā’jimaŋwad’; it smells badly.

Miscellaneous Notes.—The miscellany presented here deals with a number of novel points in Algonquian philology, which are assembled in the belief that, as our knowledge is so woefully deficient, it is suitable to promptly publish any new facts that are firmly established. I have adhered to Jones’s Fox phonetic scheme for the reasons set forth on p. 50.

The Change of n to c.—In the “American Anthropologist” (N. S., 15 : 470 et seq.) and “Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences” (4:403) I have shown that n becomes c before i, which is either a new morphological element or the initial sound of such an element in Fox, Potawatomi, Ojibwa, and probably in Shawnee. From my last summer’s field-work this last is amply confirmed. I also find, from my early work with the Menominee, that we have the same or an allied phenomenon (s for c) in that dialect. From the material contained in the works of Cuq and Lemoine, it is patent that in Algonkin we have the same or a similar phenomenon (e.g., mikaj bats-le, in which a final ṭ has been lost, as shown by Fox, etc.). From my work in Peoria last summer, it is evident that the same phenomenon occurs in that dialect, but apparently a preceding original ṭ cancels the law. The n, of course, is replaced by l. Examples are: ma’ci’t’a n; he who copulated with me (stem ma; vowel-change, as the form is a participial; -i’t’ he—me) as contrasted with ma’hìhìwì; n; let us copulate (i, to prevent the combination ët; ët, sign of the reciprocal, as in Fox, etc.; tawø’, the termination of the intransitive first person inclusive of the imperative, corresponding to Fox taw); pi’ci’t’a; he who brought me (stem pi, for older pya [Fox pyä], hence not contradicting the law; c, the instrumental particle done by the hand, owing to the action of the law; i for i before sibilants); pi’ci’n; bring thou him (i’, thou—him of the imperative mode, Fox ʃ); pi’ci’yåŋ, ye brought us (yåŋ, ye—us of the conjunctive mode [Ojibwa iyåŋ, from Baraga; Algonkin iyåŋ, from Lemoine]); kìpî’cimwå; ye brought me (kì—imwå, the pronominal elements for ye—me in the independent mode [Ojibwa and
Algonkin *ki-im*, from Baraga and Lemoine; see also folder at end of RBAE 28); *pi'ciwâlê-kilce* they must bring me (*iwâ'kilce*, the pronominal elements for *they—me* in the potential mode; apparently Fox has the medial portion in a reversed order; Kickapoo apparently agrees with Peoria),—all as contrasted with *kipilâmi'nâ* we brought them (*ki-âmina*, the pronominal elements for *we* [inclusive]—*them* [animate] of the independent mode [Potawatomi has a similar termination: see RBAE 28 : 267]; *l* is the instrumental particle done by the hand); *pi'lê* thou brought them (*uicê* thou—*them* [animate] of the conjunctive mode; compare the equivalents in Fox, Sauk, Kickapoo, and Shawnee); *pile'ko* bring ye him (e, to prevent a consonant cluster foreign to the language; *ko* are the pronominal elements for *ye—he* of the imperative mode [Fox *'kê*]); *nimbila* i brought him (*nim-â* are the elements for *i—he* of the independent mode; *b*, regularly for *p* after a nasal). The action of original nullifying the law when it immediately precedes the consonant is illustrated by *mîlî'o* give thou me (Fox *mîcinâ*). As contrasted with *nimî'lâ* (Fox *niminâw*). I gave him. Note also *mîlî'o* he that gave me as compared with *pi'cê'o*'. This proves that Fox *yâ* after consonants is more original than Peoria *î*. The same contraction takes place in Ojibwa and Menominee. Besides establishing the fact that Fox *e* and *i* are more original than Ojibwa *î* (see the papers cited above), the law shows that the terminal vowels in Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Shawnee, and Peoria, which are lacking in Ojibwa, etc., are more primitive, as I previously inferred from the evidence of Montagnais (see RBAE 28 : 247).

The Interchange of *â* and *â*.—At the end of §11 of the Algonquin sketch in the "Handbook of American Indian Languages" I pointed out that *â* and *â* interchange in Fox under unknown conditions: e.g., *pyâwâ* he comes, *pyânâ* come, *â* *pyâlê* when he came, etc. The same phenomenon naturally occurs in Sauk and Kickapoo.

From my early Shawnee notes (collected in the summer and fall of 1911) and recent (summer and fall of 1916) work with Peoria, I find that we have the same phenomenon in both these dialects, though it is disguised in Peoria owing to phonetic laws. Examples are, Shawnee *pyâwâ* he comes, *pyâlê* if he comes. As pointed out above, *yâ* after consonants in Peoria contracts to *î*, and so we find the variation *î* and *yâ*. An example is *pîwâ*' he comes as compared with *kipyâmâ*" ye come, *pyâci* when he came, *pyâkilce* he must come.

The Conjunctive of the Independent Passive with Obviatives as Subjects.—The conjunctive of the independent passive with obviatives as subjects is not touched upon in the Algonquin sketch in the "Handbook of American Indian Languages." For *-êto* we have *-mêto*. Examples are, *â'imêto* they were told, *ânesemêto* ugyâni *Acâbâ* his mother was slain by the Sioux, *nâñunakanâ* *âmecenêto* their daughters were captured. In the examples given, terminal vowels have not been elided before initial ones, that the point at issue may not be obscured.

The Linguistic Classification of Mohican-Pequot.—The material upon which I base my classification is contained in the articles by Speck and Prince in Volumes 5 and 6 of the "American Anthropologist," N.S. In my "Preliminary report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquin Tribes" (RBAE 28) I left the affiliations of this dialect undecided. Prince and Speck (l.c. 5:195) say: "Pequot, a dialect which shows a more striking kinship with the idiom of the Rhode Island Narragansetts and with the present speech of the Canadian Abenakis than with the language of the Lenni Lenape Mohicans..." it seems probable either that the Pequot-Mohigans were only distantly akin to the Mohicans of the Hudson River region, or that the Pequots had modified their language to a New England form during the years of their
migration into Connecticut. The former theory is the more likely of the two." At the time, hardly more could be said. Since then, however, enough material has been gathered to definitely settle the question. The tables in my "Preliminary Report" show clearly that Canadian Abenaki and Natick do not belong closely together; and the evidence that Narragansett linguistically belongs with Natick is quite conclusive. A few summers ago I was able to gather a few texts and a vocabulary of the Mohicans of the Hudson River region, which I hope will soon be published; and this new material, together with similar material published by Prince in Volume 7 of the "Anthropologist," N. S., establish firmly the conjecture of Prince and Speck that Pequot and Mohican are not closely related, though, as I shall show later on, Mohican is more closely related to Pequot than it is to Delaware-Munsee, contrary to the prevalent belief. I think the following facts prove that Mohegan-Pequot belongs with the Natick division of Central Algonquian languages: a sibilant is retained before k, g, but lost before a dental stop \(^1\) (squaaw woman; meloog tree); the inanimate plural ends in sh (nish those); the verbal pronouns of the independent mode for I—thee are g—sh (germee sh I give thee); the verbal pronoun of the imperative mode for the second person singular is a sibilant (beush come, cowish go to sleep). These features are characteristic of Natick (see RBAE 28: 272–275; and Eliot, in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2d ser., 9). From the scanty material available, it would seem that Mohegan-Pequot is a y dialect, thus agreeing with Narragansett, rather than a dialect in which n at times is totally eliminated, as Prince and Speck would have it. However, this is a minor point.

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\(^1\) Where a sibilant is retained before a dental stop, a medial vowel has been lost; e.g., wüstū he made=Fox 'A' ci'tdow'; cf. Ojibwa uji to make. (The etymology of wüstū was previously unknown.)
A PASSAMAQUODDY TOBACCO FAMINE

By J. Dyneley Prince

The following curious tale was related to me at St. Andrew's, New Brunswick, by Bennett N. Francis of the Passamaquoddy tribe of Pleasant Point (Me.) Reservation (Sibáyik). The story is interesting, in that it indicates how precious a commodity the Indian tobacco was in the sparsely settled districts. The *dramatis personae* are the usual magically endowed hero and a companion, in this case his little brother (*ostmis'li*), and the mysterious old woman who forms the *staffage* around which the exploits of the hero are grouped. Like so many eastern Algonquin tales, it runs along in jerky conversational style, and has no particular ending. The hero obtains his tobacco from the demon, while flying; and then the story rambles on, describing his escape from her vengeance, with no account of what actually happened. Linguistically, the tale is in very pure Passamaquoddy with some highly idiomatic combinations, indicated in the following commentary.

The Passamaquoddies live about four hundred strong at Pleasant Point, Me., and about one hundred and fifty persons near Princeton, Me. They show no signs of diminishing numerically, and retain their language with great persistence. The small children all speak in Indian much better than in English, a certain evidence that their idiom is not going to perish with the present generation. These people are linguistically identical with the Maliseet, or St. John's River Indians, whose headquarters are near Fredericton, N. B. As there are nearly five hundred of these, it is safe to estimate that about a thousand persons still speak Passamaquoddy.

Students interested in this highly characteristic eastern Algonquin language will find material published by me as follows:

- Kulóskap the Master (Funk & Wagnalls, 1902), folk-lore.

Compare also Hastings, Dictionary of Religions, subject *'Algonquins,* on the religion of these people.

I intend to publish shortly a complete chrestomathy of Passamaquoddy tales, with dictionary and grammatical sketch, as the oral "literature" of this race has been much neglected.

**W'ma'taqwe'sso**
*(The Man with the Rabbit)*

Wut-a'gw ne'kwt¹ w'sk'i'jin² *yu'tau'tcmike'ssc³* Once upon a time an Indian scared up (from the tall grass)

ma'taqwe'sul⁴ w'tazowita'kozínul⁵ ma'-a rabbit. He throws it over (his (he _shoulder)._)

¹ wut-a'gw nekwt: wut THAT+demonstrative -agw; nekwt=once, that once (cf. note 2, p. 60).
² w'sk'i'jin the usual word for INDIAN.
³ *yu'tau'tomike'sso* he started him up (the words from the tall grass are an addition of the narrator's): *yu'la here+w'tomike'sso* (from temg trample, seen in *k'temgago'kech* they will trample you, *k'temgibi'kon* he will trample thee, *w'temgite'km'n* he stumbles over it).
⁴ *ma'taqwes rabbit; with the obviative -ul (see w'ma'taqwe'sso, note 25, p. 59).
⁵ w'tazowita'kozínul: from ake bend, throw; the form may be analyzed: w'=3d per.+i- infix+a'zowi over+t- infix+a'kós throw over+inul verb-ending =1t (animate). With a'zowi, cf. a'os on top, seen in a'sosu'ñ hat, a'snume'ñk lap (see below), ot-asho'nel bed-clothes=coverings, etc. With a'kós, cf. the same stem in *tesa'giu over, across, kwuska'phin* set me over. The idea SHOULDER is not expressed.
They can see him.

The man with the rabbit

nö"k'mi.

Tan-bal
t'li-gizi-gutsunmu'lin grandmother.

"How can I give you a smoke?

He sits down.

The narrator pronounced k'li throughout instead of t'li. t'li-u'tsu'me she (He) smokes; w'tem as in níil

w't'em man that I smoke. Note also wigw-itwem he likes (w'ite) to smoke (w'tem). In tmawi TOBACCO the w of the stem is elided (see notes 27, 32; and note 9, p. 60).

w'tem'agwe'sso he (w') who has a rabbit (see note 4, p. 58). The rabbit was his charm.

w't'yal = w + t = infix + i say + y= connective, -al obviative (cf. note 21, p. 61).

kutsunmi' give me to smoke: k = 2d per. do thou + utsun smoke + m (inanimate) + i to me. The stem utsun contains the same element as w'tem; cf. eliti- kisi-ut'mats how he smoked a pipe (see notes 24 and 30).

no'k'mi my grandmother (from o'k'mis). No'k'mis

with rising tone = dead grandmother; with falling tone = living grandmother (cf. note 4, p. 60).

Tan-bal: tan = interrogative + conditional ba + obviative -i.

T'li-gizi-gutsunmu'lin: t'li for k't'li; k = 2d per. to three + gisí can + g = k (2d per. repeated) + utsun smoke + m (inanimate object) + -ul (1st per.) + in (conjunctive participial ending).

Edotsu'ssit it has gone out = become extinguished; the usual word is nekas; cf. wa we'ji ska neka'swenuk so that it shall not go out.

Notma'gun my pipe = hutma'gon pipe, containing the same stem as w'tem and tmawi TOBACCO (note 24).
nu’d'wut. nu'd'wut is rare; either an error for, or cognate with, nud'wut scarce.

emegwabi'yet when he was young. I cannot place the root. The usual form is e-wasi'swi'yin when I was a child (wasis).

k’mu’sums your grandfather (mu’sums). This word, when pronounced with a rising tone on the last syllable, means dead grandfather; with a falling tone = living grandfather (cf. note 28, p. 59).

tabi-nojiptone’p’n used to get tobacco. Here nojı denotes purpose + pt obtain + e’p’n = past element; cf. naji’pton I will fetch (see note 12).

m’ni’kuk; m’ni’kw island + locative -uk. She says to the hero these words.

lal’kwe’smin lay his head down.

nd-a’smelök my lap, written by Louis Mitchel nd-a’snmelök.

hod’mun = how’tem’n he smokes (from w’tem, note 24, p. 59).

mit weji after (weji) that (mit).

wi’kwipkip’do’gihi’git he inhales seems to contain wi’kw suck + p-k-d+ (ih)-igit.

najji’pton 1 will fetch (see note 5).

a’isossada’nin she begins to cry (from sd’sdemo it cries; see note 17, p. 59).

kwuske’cos (see note 22, p. 59). ke’kw-se really = what indeed; why is properly ke’kw-we’ji.

meste’mi’yi’n: root tem (dem) cry, with prefix mes, probably durable (notes 11, 17, p. 59).

kada’ta not = kada (kat)+ta; not is usually ka’dam (s-kat in Maliseet).

k’mach mud’we’yo. tanajja’ga tutha’ntowin It is very difficult. If you are very brave, k’tabis-naji’ptowun t’ma’wei.
you can get the tobacco."

Ni’tte oma’jehan osemi’z’t. meskw

Then he goes with his little brother.

peji’at’ti’kw m’ni’’kuk n’mi’’ton w’sk’ni’zul he comes to the island, he sees bones;

weji muduamka’tek ma’jehan. ma’lum-de from the beginning of he goes Then the pile along.

nim’al he’pili’jil ali-labodyihi’ge. ni’tte he sees a woman looking (through Then a spy-glass).

ot’lian p’giga’lstownuk al-eplus’lstownuk he goes up they wrestle; they struggle; to her;

wi’nial huna’pcha kezami’ko’twun she throws Again they get up (somehow).

k’tabis-naji’ptowun. cf. tabi-naji’ptoneip’n (note 5), and note negative -awn.

meskw followed by negative verb always = before;

n’mi’ton inanimate, from nim (note 2, p. 59), as seen by -ton.

w’sk’ni’zul bones; pl. of w’ksi’nis.

muduamka’tek at the pile + locative -ek.

he’pili’jil: obviative, with prefixed aspirate of e’pit woman.

ali-labodyihi’ge looking; the words through a spy-glass have been added by the narrator. The root is ab look; cf. w’il’a’b-mun he looks at him.

ot’lian: from el go, with prefixed o for w and infixed i.

p’giga’lstownuk they wrestle; probably connected with mika’ka, as in k’mika’kamen you fight them; sigi-mika’ket he fights fiercely.

al-eplus’lstownuk they continue fighting; pn fight; cf. kizi-p’n’li’tit after they fought; wichi-p’n’usi’he fights with him (cf. notes 11, p. 61; 25, p. 62).

w’i’ni’al she threw him down. The stem seems to be simply n, with a possible prefixed p, as in w’pene-gua’khan he threw him down.

huna’pcha: distinction of n-apeh again with prefixed aspirate; cf. hepi’li’jil (note 22) and huha’chio for achi.

kezami’ko’twun: keza = kiz (past sign) + mi’kot, the same root as seen in wetta-miklek’kwit he woke up (see note 1, p. 61).
Then they (both) get up, and she flies away (as a crow). He changes himself into (like) a bird. Then he follows her. The narrator says, "You'd better go your way:"

\[ \text{ni'tte eli-w'nak't'kwe'tit' na'ga}^2 \]
\[ \text{Then} \quad \text{he swoops up. Then he seizes} \]
\[ \text{ma'wei.} \quad \text{He says, back.} \]
\[ \text{She says} \]
\[ \text{K'dunlogo'kw.} \]
\[ \text{He will be after you.} \]

The combination is \( k = 2 \) per. + infixed phonetic \( t + \) the to me unknown element \( wu + \) connecting \( l \). My narrator said THEY BE WILL AFTER YOU, but this would be properly \( k'dunlogo'kwuk \).

1. eli-w'nak't'kwe'tit' then they get up; \( w + na \) demonstrative + \( k't'kwe \), same root as above (note 29, p. 60).
2. na'ga and.
3. el-mid'wu'at she flies away (from root \( t'wu \) fly, as \( kwuskwiwit'u'yan he flies over \).
4. k'chi HiG; indeclinable adjective.
5. sips bird, with \( z \) after vowel (\( = \)sips bird).
6. noso'kwan follow, for \( w'noso'kwan \). The 3d per. is frequently omitted.
7. bis'wui'keshu air.
8. talen'li't'nia: see above (note 26, p. 60), for \( p'n \) fight; tale there.
9. eli-na'kasis'tit swoops. The stem \( nak \) really = rise, as \( w'na' kesi \ he rises up; here the idea is of rising in the air, as the hero took the tobacco from the demon in flight.
10. kizi-p'ki'ga'd'mun he seized (\( kizi = \)past). This is a new stem to me. My maje'p'wun he brings it back. Here -o'wun is not negative; cf. \( w'ma'zes'phon \) he brings it to him.
11. ndege k'lli'nan you had better go. The particle ndege is recommending cohortative + \( k'lli'nan \), 2d per. from \( el \) to go, or \( k'ma'jehan \).
12. K'dunlogokw she will be after you. This is an interesting form. The stem -og-, seen here, is possibly Amsk'wa's-de7 petkaudi'nia18 wigwa'm'k.19 First they come to - a wigwam.

w'ski'jin \( e'bit \) nehe20 t'dam21 w'll'-de22 An is sitting "Ha, ha!" he "Please Indian there; says, k'sa'ha23 nau'tek.24 ni'tte w'ski'nos kwusse'tese25 come in to the Then the lad enters (quickly);

-owun)

i'dam tohat'e'b'n26 t'dam ple'ta27 mits.28 ni'tte he "Let us play He "(First) eat." Then says, ball;" says,

na sakhi'pton29 sa'skich30 p'su'npede31 mime'i32 he fetches a birch full of oil,
ta pu'n'mon'1 tu elkw'a'bit.2 i'dam ne'he and he places it before him. He says, "Ha, ha! I drink!"
Only he laughs; "Before I drink!"

wi'os-me'ji muze'i.9 ni'tte eat (meat) moose meat." Then
na'jie'-beska'm'10 w'tu'm'ha11 p'si'de.12 he goes (to play he wins; every one
w'nu'tka-tu'm'ha.13 w'ta-ma'jehan14 we'ji he goes along to where
p'sad'lgwi'ye.15 ni'tte na peji-p'sa'n.16 it snows. Then it begins to snow.

1 pu'n'mon'I he puts it + I (from pu'n'mon).
2 elkw'a'bit in front of him; cognate with el'gui along by, around (cf. note 7).
3 kudo'sum imperative drink; cf. n'g'da'u'sem I am thirsty, and meskw ng'dosme'uwun before I drink (cf. note 6).
4 te'po only.
5 sikte'l'ma he laughs; cf. sikte'l'mit he laughing.
6 meskw ng'dosme'uwun (see note 3).
7 e'legut = el'i (continuative) + que (participial) + I (cf. el'gui, note 2).
8 ni'l-ga wi'os-me'ji; ni'l-ga I indeed+w'i'os meat+me'ji eat, derivative of mits (see note 28, p. 61).
9 muze'i moose meat; note that -el'i always indicates the meat, as ko'wus cow (loan-word); kowuse'i beef.
10 na'jie'-beska'm'n; literally he goes away from = pesh burst away.
11 w'tu'm'ha he beats them; cf. w'nu'tka-tu'm'ha (note 13); cf. Natick tummuho'wan he earns; de-serves (Natick Dict. 166).
12 p'si'de every one; usually m'si'de or m's'tu'ul.
13 w'nu'tka-tu'm'ha he beats them; nutka not clear, but may be nut'k pl. of nut, nit, used here in the sense these.
14 w'ta-ma'jehan he goes along; ta=along.
15 we'ji p'sad'lgwi'ye to where (weji) it is snowing. Louis Mitchell gives k'san as snow; cf. Natick kun.
The form p'san appears in peji -p'san it is beginning
snow and in the noun p'san (note 26). I cannot explain the final elements of p'sad'lgwi'ye, except that
-gwi'ye indicates a continuous present.

s'la'ki-de maje-de'mo16 osimi'z'l. w'skino'sis
Then begins to cry his little
deather. The little lad
ma'jehan wizgamwe'sso17 ti'ke'pode.18
goes along; it is a fierce storm; it rumbles
away.
no'd'han w'skino'sis wi'kw'nan19
he hears it the little lad, it calling
ulgwunsi'z'l20 masejika'men21 eli'yat.22
at his heels; it sweeps where he goes.
ma'lum-de ke'skw-de23 heliya'tp'n24 w'nimi'tal
Then while he was going he seems
his (his brother)
etli-p'n'sili'jil25 p'sa'nul.26 ni'tte beija'27
fighting with the Then coming,
holago'zin28 p'san w'ti'yan p'sa'nul
he asks the he says to the
snow; to it snow,
k'ma'jehan wajeyawi'yun29 na'ga to'ji'n30
"You go where you and then
back to came from,"

16 maje-de's begins (maje=mache) to cry + demo (see notes 11, 17, p. 59; 15, p. 60).
17 wizgamwe'sso it storms furiously: wizg- very
much + am-s storm; cf. etul-l-a'm-s-ek it blows.
18 ti'ke'pode it rumbles away; ti'ke'pde it dies
away.
19 w'kw'n' (how) it calls (not rumbles, as the
narrator had it).
20 ulgwunsi'z'l: from mu' (l)kwun heel = at his
heels.
21 masejika'men it sweeps.
22 eli'yat where he goes (el); cf. heliya'tp'n, with
aspirate (note 24).
23 keskw-de while.
24 heliya'tp'n; cf. note 22.
25 etli-p'n'sili'jil while he is fighting (p'n)(see notes
26, p. 60; 11, p. 61).
26 p'sa'nul snow, with obviative -ul (see note 15).
27 pejia't he is coming (from peji approach).
28 holago'zin he asks; the usual form is w't-ekwe'chi-
mo'lin.
29 wajeyawi'yun participle in 2d per. where you
come from; a distracted form of weji from, verbalized:
cf. eli-wochite'iti where they go.
30 to'ji'n then.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ne'g'm</th>
<th>w'z'we'ssin.</th>
<th>osimi'z'l</th>
<th>His little brother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>turns back.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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k'lulwiga'lal p'sa'nul mō'za apch nit

calls to the "Do again now snow, not ever

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ke'k'si'-p'gussino'kich.</th>
<th>nitte m'sl'u nit falls so thickly.&quot;</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tōji w'z'we'ssin. mejaldet'gēulmt'ye.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>that return.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Perhaps he is still going.

1 w'z'we'ssin HE TURNS BACK FROM: wēswe BACK; cf. wēswe-ma"tit WHEN HE COMES BACK.
2 k'lulwiga"lal HE CALLS AT HIM; evidently a form of k'lul CALL; cf. noji-k'lul'-wet CALLER; HERALD.
3 mō'za prohibitive negative.
4 apch AGAIN.

5 ke'k'si'-p'gussino'kich DO NOT FALL SO THICK;
ke'k'si = ke'k'w-se SOMEWHAT + p'gu(s) = pa'kw'tek THICK;
eti-pakw'tek IT BECOMES THICK.
6 m'stu ALL.
7 mejaldet'gēulmt'ye: mech-al (both continuatives) + phonetic d+el'ge=continuous motion +ul (=el) GO +-mtye=present ending; literally STILL CONTINUOUSLY HE IS GOING. The idea PERHAPS inserted by the narrator would be expressed by chīp'duk, but is omitted here.
MYTHS OF THE ALSEA INDIANS OF NORTHWESTERN OREGON

By Leo J. Frachtenberg

INTRODUCTORY

The following four texts form part of a fair collection of Alsea traditions obtained by Dr. Livingston Farrand in 1900, and by myself in 1910 and 1913. The greater part of this collection is in process of publication as a Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology. For several reasons it was deemed advisable to omit these four texts from the above-mentioned publication. It therefore became necessary to publish them separately.

The Alsea Indians, who, with the Yaqwina tribe, form the Yakonan linguistic family, occupied in former days a small strip of the northwestern coast of the State of Oregon. They are a small band practically on the very verge of extinction. At present they live on the Siletz Reservation, and at the time of my last visit (in 1913) they numbered only five individuals. The Yaqwina subdivision is totally extinct, the last member of this sub-tribe having died some three years ago.

Culturally the Alsea Indians are closely related to the several smaller coastal stocks that inhabit the northern part of California and the whole of the State of Oregon. Linguistically they show a close affiliation with the Kusan, Siuslawan, and Kalapuyan stocks. Their mythology is typical of this region, which embraces northern California, Oregon, and part of Washington, and shows many points of contact with the folk-lore of the Maidu, Yana, Shasta, Takelma, Molala, Kalapuya, Tillamook, and Chinook Indians. The main aspects of this mythology, and its relation to the folk-lore of the neighboring tribes, have been discussed in a separate paper, which appeared in the "American Anthropologist," N.s., 3:240-247.

ALPHABET

a . . . . like a in shall.
e . . . . like e in helmet.
i . . . . like i in it.
o . . . . like o in sort.
u . . . . like u in German Furcht.
ä . . . . like a in car.
i . . . . like a in table, but with a strong i-tinge.
di . . . . like ee in seem.
dö . . . . like o in rose, but with a strong u-tinge.
tä . . . . like oo in too.
a*v, e*v, i*v, o*v, u*v, short vowels of continental values, slightly nasalized.
a*ö, e*ö, i*ö, o*ö, u*ö, long vowels of continental values, slightly nasalized.
e . . . . obscure vowel.
a, i, o, u . . resonance and epenthetic vowels.
ai . . . . like i in island.
a.I . . . . same as preceding, but with second element long; interchanges with i.
av . . . . like ou in mouth.
aü . . . . same as preceding, but with second element long; interchanges with ü.
bü . . . . diphthong öu.
bi . . . . diphthong ëi.
a*ö . . . . diphthong ai slightly nasalized.
a*ö . . . . diphthong ai slightly nasalized.
aü . . . . diphthong ai slightly nasalized.
q . . . . velar k.
gl . . . . same as preceding, with great stress of explosion.
x . . . . like ch in German Bach.
k . . . . like c in come, but unaspirated.
kl . . . . same as preceding, with great stress of explosion.
g' . . . . palatal g, like g in give.
k' . . . . palatal k, like c in cubic.
k'l . . . . same as preceding, with great stress of explosion.
x' . . . . like ch in German ich.
k' . . . . aspirated, like c in come.

1 Published with the permission of the Smithsonian Institution.
1. PÁ'lis (Skunk)

Súdá'st Lmu'tsk' exile. Tl. hau'k'silx x'ú'lam 'k'ta's le'wi'. LÁlxìya qá'ítsé x'ú'lamtxa, te'mìtla txé'wilx as Lèyxìa-tsìt. "'a'a, yá'tsxax-a hú'k'i mehá'ít?" — "'a'a, hú'k'i sin le'wi', hú'k'in hi'tselmaal. ná'k'sautxap-e'nu mu'hú?" — "Lályìa nák's yá'xau. hi'k'e'l x'ú'lam Lhá'nút 'k'ta's hi'tselmaal is qauwa'įló-nu."

"Tempí-á' mehà'ntex as hi'tselmaal ali'k'i?" — "Lìya. — "Sípa tsqá'ia'di Lhá'nút as hi'tselmaal, k'ins aya'yusóp ná'k'ei ku's hi'tselmaal k'a'xk'ex. — "K'ei'li'sa, k'-qau'wís xakuli'n hàt! Ústá'yú."

Temau'x mu'hú k'e'a aya'í. Láuxìya

15 qá'ítsé yá'xau, temau'x haihaitxai'. temau'x qalpa'í xé'tsxaxa. te'mìtla mu'hú tsmalsxai'. ku'k's'-axa k'linây'íí. "x-aú Lpù'klyúents, x-aú Líya Lehýà'-lsalsxam." k'is mu'hú k'e'a Lhílkwá'í'í.

20 k'ets hi'k'e' sa'x't'lelì ts-pa'halyústålem. tem k'a'xu'xuts haihaitxai'qalpa'. qalpa'í k'a'xu'xuts xé'tsxaxa, te'mìtla hi'k'e halá'tsí

1 Told by Thomas Jackson in 1910. This story would seem to be one of the few distinctive traditions that were obtained either by Farrand or myself. At least, thus far this myth has not been found recorded among any other tribe of this region.

2 Consists of 'líya' not; -lx 3d per. pl.

I. THE STORY OF SKUNK

(Once there were) five (boys) related as younger brothers. They were travelling all over the world. They did not travel long, when they came upon a person (Skunk). "Oh, dost thou live here, old man?" — "Yes, here is my place, here I grew into a man. Where are you going now?" — "We are not going anywhere. We just travel to look over the people everywhere." — "And have you seen any people already?" — "No." — "If you want to look at people, I will constantly go with you where the people come together."

— "All right, this our eldest brother will go with thee first."

And then, indeed, they two started. They two were not going long, when they two rested. Then they two started again. And now (Skunk) began to try repeatedly (his own power). He was constantly looking back at (the man who followed him). "Thou shalt follow right behind me, thou sha'n't be dodging here and there." Then, indeed, he would do it. (And Skunk) would just open his anus. Then again they two would take a rest. Once more they two would start, but just similarly

1 Consists of 'hílyìa' not; -l 1st per. pl.

2 Consists of sis conditional particle; -p 2d per. pl.

3 Consists of 'líya' not; -ux 3d per. dual.

4 Consists of k'í's temporal particle; -ų'k' suffixed particle away; -axa suffixed particle again.

5 hil- to miss, to dodge.
it would happen. At last they two started out for the fifth time. "We two are now about to arrive at where there are many people. Thou shalt always follow me close behind." And then, indeed, (the man) did it, whereupon (Skunk) broke wind at him suddenly. He killed him, (and) dragged him to one side. He turned back and went home. And then, when he came home, he was asked, "Where is our oldest brother?" — "Oh, he remained at (the place) to which we two came. (Those people there) are doing all sorts of things, — they play shinny-ball, they throw spears through hoops, they play the guessing-game, — all sorts of things are done (by them)." — "Oh, all right, we shall go (together)." — "You will (come with me) one at a time." — "All right, I will go with him." And then, verily, they two went. They two did not go long, when they two took a rest. Then they two started out again, but (soon) the same thing would happen as before. For the fifth time they two started out again, whereupon (Skunk) once more broke wind at him suddenly. Again he carried him to one side, and went back home once more. Then he arrived home again. "Oh, didst thou come back?" — "Yes, I came back alone." — "And where are they two?" — "Oh, they two remained (there). All sorts of things are done at where we two came." — "All right, art thou going back again?" — "Yes, I am going back once more." — "May I go with thee?" — "Certainly, we two shall go." Then they two, verily, started out. They two did not go long, when they two took a rest (and) sat down. "Let me have this thy bow!" Then, indeed, he gave it to him. (The man) began to examine it. "Thy bow is good." — "Yes, I have inherited it," (said Skunk.) (The man) tried it several times, he pulled it a little. "Hey! do not pull it hard, (it is) my heirloom. (It is) the bow of my father's father." Again they whining tone. He is afraid lest his bow (in reality his anus) be broken by the young man.

1 wil- to kill.
2 k'ist- to leave.
3 Skunk utters each word in this sentence in a
two started out. The same thing was done
as before. Finally, after their (dual)
fifth start, (Skunk) said to him several
times, “Keep thou right behind me! Thou shalt
not dodge back and forth; because, if thou
keepest on dodging here and there, perchance
somebody will hurt thee.” Then (the man)
did it, indeed. Thereupon again he quickly
broke wind at him, after which he went home
once more. And then, when he came back,
he told the two (remaining brothers), “I left
them behind.” — “All right, art thou going
back again?” — “Yes, I am going back.”
Then they two (Skunk and the fourth brother)
went back again. They two did not go long,
when they two took a rest. “Let me have thy
bow!” So he gave him his bow. “Verily, thy
bow is good.” — “Yes, (it is) my heirloom.”
Then (the boy) began to pull its string. “Hey!
do not pull it hard!” Nevertheless he kept on
pulling it harder. “Hey! do not pull it hard!
Thou wilt spoil it. (It is) my heirloom, it is
the bow of my father’s father and also of my
father.” Then they two started out again.
“Keep right behind me! Thou shalt not twist
thyself here and there.” He looked back at
him once in a while. “Hey! thou art twisting
thyself here. Follow close behind me, follow
close behind me, follow close behind me!”
Then (the boy) walked right behind him,
although his anus was all the time repulsive
to his sense (of smell). (Skunk) was continually
opening his anus. Finally, after their
(dual) fifth start, (Skunk) did the same thing
as before. (He kept on saying,) “Keep right
behind me! Thou shalt not dodge here and
there.” Then at last he again broke wind at
him suddenly. (The boy died.)
Then he went home. And when he came
back, he was asked (by the last brother),
“Where are thy (former) companions?” —
“Oh, I left them behind. They refused to

1 *is* (conditional particle) + -x (2d per. sing.) + -a (suffixed particle) here.

2 *k'ets* (temporal particle) + -aux (3d per. dual).

3 *la* (pronominal particle) + *k'ets* (temporal particle) + -aux (suffixed particle) inside.
axa. lemū’ltliyūsxaxl. qauwā* intsk’i’s lhīlikwā’tlxnx; lpū’pēnhaut, leyā’hats’iit, lku’kumkwaut, tsxwā’tsxwataut, kxw’-łxwiya’ut." — "á’a, k’ex-á’ axa aya’im?" 5 — "á’a, k’in-axa qalpai’m aya’im." — "k’cai’ša, k’in-axa utsa’yū." come home. All sorts of things are done (there), — shinny-playing, guessing, running, wrestling, throwing spears through hoops." — "All right, wilt thou go back?" — "Yes, I am going back once more." — "All right, I will go back with thee."

Then, verily, they two went. They two did not go long, when they two took a rest. "Let me have this thy bow!" (said the young man). Thereupon, indeed, (Skunk) gave it to him. So then he tried to pull it. "Hey! do thou not pull it hard! Thou wilt break my ancient heirloom, (the thing) which was left to me. (This is) the bow of my father’s father, and then (of) his father." — "Now, verily, thy bow is good." Again he would begin to pull it. "Hey! do thou not pull it hard! Thou wilt break it, perchance." Again they two started out. Once more then similarly (it was done) thus. Then they two would start out again. "Follow me close right behind, perchance somebody might hurt thee." Nevertheless (the young man would) not (do this); he just kept on going alongside (of him). "Hey! thou art not walking behind me. Keep right behind me!" Then (the boy) would pretend to walk behind him, whereupon (Skunk) began to open his anus. At the fifth time they two rested again. "Let me see this thy bow! I am going to carry thy bow." — "No. Thou mayst not (know) what to do with it. Thou art young (yet)." (Finally the boy persuaded Skunk to part with his bow.) And then he began to pull it again. He would pull it quickly just a little. "Hey! do thou not pull it! Hey! do thou not pull it!" He pulled it a little harder. "Hey! do not pull it! Give me back my bow!" — "No! Thou shalt (first) give me back my elder brothers, then I will return to thee thy bow." — "All right, but give me back my bow!" — "No! First

1 Reduplicated stem hisx.
2 Nominalized verbal stem.
3 k’is temporal particle; hā particle.
4 Līya* not + -x (2d per. sing.) + -aū (suffixed particle) here.
5 Without, however, killing him.
6 Consists of ait + -a + -aū.
muʔhū ihɨʔyem teʔa'm mūkutslii. — "k'əai'sə." temuʔhū k'a ayaʔxa. liyaʔ qaʔtəsə paiʔyuxə, te'mtalx-axa wilx. qau'watilx-axa spaq'yaux. "hūʔ-" 3 k'i teʔa'm hāʔtɬō." — "ham mū'kutslii ā as anhūu'" — "ə'a." — "hən, liyaʔ, sin anaʔi's. ham pəhalyustɬem, liyaʔ ham mū'kutslii." txwaʔilx muʔhū. taiʔ muʔhū. mis təxusamx, 10 k'əts hiʔk'əxə həyaʔqaiťtxa. temuʔhū lqayaʔyū ts-mū'kutsliik; hiʔk'əxə tsiʔyaʔ-qətex; qəʔtənex muʔhū. Taiʔ muʔhū.

2. COYOTE AND THE TWO OTTER-WOMEN

Hamstiʔ hiʔk'ə ɪntsk'iʔsə lhilkwəi'sex 15 Məlwupstəniʔslə. nəmːk; mis qam'iʔn qaiʔhəi Leyəʔtsit, temuʔhū τiʔtəl'wanxtəi is leʔwi'. nəmːk; mis-axa wiʔləl kus tsūdaʔi's, tem τiʔtəl'wanxtəi is k'ə'auʔ-kələuʔ, is tsūdai's ts-k'ə'auʔk'ələuʔk; temuʔhū k'ilwiʔ is tsūdai's ts-k'ə'auʔ-kələuʔk'i'k'ə. 20 Tem-auk: muʔhū txaiʔnx ts-haiʔnˈk; k'-Ləqqudi'i'm is mukwa'stəli. temau'x melənə xe'Lk'it-s-tsə'sidoo. tem-auk;

25 lələ'xəsəl tshaiʔnˈk. "k'in mukwə'tstəliya'a xamˈ," hiʔk'axə lhayəˈnix ts-xa'kəxə hamstiʔ. temau'x liyaʔ tqaia'iˈdxə, sau'xusə xamˈ nə yəʔtsi. k'əux hiʔk'ə k'əaxk'ə yəʔtsi. temau'x-auk hiʔk'ə 30 qəʔtə ɪmste lələ'xəsəl ts-haiʔnˈk. "k'-Liyaʔ nə yəʔtsi kusʔin qətem. k'-xan hiʔk'ə k'əaxk'ə yəʔtsi." lələ'tasəx lhayəˈnix hiʔk'ə tsaˈme haihayət ts-kəliˈsk, lələ'tasəx-auk ɪmste ts-haiʔnˈk; "xan-liyaʔ nəmːk yəʔtsi. xan-qal'k-ə'i'm, lələta miʔsxən liyaʔ tqaia'iˈdxə. k'-Liyaʔ sələsxaim is mukwa'stəli, sis tepli'i; kus təa haihayət ts-kəliˈsk." 35

1 Told by William Smith in 1910. Compare Frachtenberg (CU 4 : 88 et seq.).
2 This part of the story hardly belongs here. It may bring back here my elder brothers, then I will return to thee thy bow." — "All right." Then, indeed, he went. He was not absent long, when they (all) came back. He brought them all back. "Here are thy elder brothers." — "Is this here thy bow?" — "Yes." — "Hm! no, my friend! (It is) thy anus, not thy bow." So he began to pull it. Only (this much was necessary). As he kept on pulling it, (Skunk) just whined all the time. Finally his bow broke. (Then Skunk) just straightened out again, and died.

Only now (the story ends).

2. COYOTE AND THE TWO OTTER-WOMEN

Coyote did all sorts of things. When long ago he was ready (for) people, he created the world. Again, after the salmon (began to) arrive regularly, he made a fish-basket, — a fish-basket for salmon. Thereupon the salmon went into their fish-basket.

Then (one day) he thought in his inner mind that he would take (unto him) a wife. Now, he knew (of) two women. So he thought in his inner mind, "I am going to marry one of them.)" Modo videbat vulvas utarumque. But they two did not desire that one of them should live somewhere (else). They two were just going to stay together. Thus they two were always thinking in their inner minds: "My younger sister is not going to live somewhere (else). We two are just going to stay together." Quia illae duae videbant penem eius modo longum esse, propter eae duae sic cogitabant. "We two shall never stay with him. We two are going to run away, because we two do not like him. Mulier cum qua hic copulabit non superstes erit; valde longus penis eius est."
Then one night he came back. Then he said to one (of them), "Thou shalt fetch the salmon at the canoe." So (the older woman) said to her younger sister, "Thou shalt split this pitch-wood. I am going to take my bucket along when I go to the river." So, after she stood up that pitch-wood, it produced sounds just like a human being. Now, the one who went down to the river to fetch water had already disappeared. (But before she left, she told her younger sister,) "Should I not come back right away, thou shalt think in thy inner mind, 'Now she must have escaped.'" Then she (also) told her younger sister, "I shall wait for thee there. We two shall never live with him, we two shall never survive. Modo valde longus penis eius est." Then she went (away). And after her older sister went (away), her husband kept on shouting his (following) message: "I do not want that thou shouldst go there. (Do) not (act so), my wife!"

So they two escaped. And now she overtook her older sister there. "(I am glad that thou hast come. We two are going to run away far." But not long (afterwards) she saw her husband coming. Then she said to her older sister, "He is coming nearer. It will not be long before he will overtake us two." So then her older sister kept on saying, "We two shall not escape on land, we two shall travel on the water." Thereupon they two did so, they two began to travel on water. Then her older sister said, "We two shall stop there for a while; and if (we two) are overtaken here again, we two will go into the middle of the ocean." Then not long (afterwards) it began to rain and blow exceedingly hard. And not long (afterwards) she saw him (come) in a canoe. So (they two) departed from there

1 In the mean while Coyote seems to have succeeded in persuading these women to become his wives.
2 Consists of sis conditional particle; -n 1st per. sing.
3 This pitch was to answer in her stead, in case her husband called for her.

Tem is xa’met-s-qamli’s tem-axa wilx.1 tem yásau’ya’lnx xa’meli. “xa-eló’ qudixwai’m is tsúdai’s kwé’k’s-auck.” tem yásau’ya’lnx ts-qí’mk. “xa-tsúla’a 5 kus tqauli’tsl. k’in spa’idi sin pu’ya’, sins ayai’mi kó’kus.” temu’á hú mis pk’lai’nx kus tqauli’ts!,3 tem mu’li’ hí’tsem pi’uxsai. lá’ kus aili’k’i yu’xtex kus lkú’husal lts’ai’nt. “námk’ sins 10 Liya’-axa wil bá’alqa, k’xau’k’s4 t’xa’yu’ts k’xa’m hai5, ‘mu’hú tsqwa qal’k’ai’.” tem yásau’ya’lnx ts-qí’mk. “k’in hak’im má’ntitxú, k’ist Liya’ námk’ yá’tseli, k’ist Liya’ námk’ sá’luxaim. 15 tsá’mé hi’k’e haihayat ts-k’éli’sk.” temu’á hú ayaí, temu’á hú mis ayaí ats-sá’ak, tem pi’uxsá’yaí ats-temxtsl’sk5 ts-il’diyúk. “Laniya’ tsqía’l’dex sxas ayaí’m kí’mhak’s. Liya’, sin mukwa’ 20 stéli.’"

Temau’x mu’hú qal’k’ai’. temu’hú kí’mhak’s Lqwá’milx ats-sa’ak’. “tsa’tí sex tas wilx. k’ist qal’k’ai’m ni’sk’iks.” te’míta Liya’ qá’tse tem Lea’í sx 25 ats-si’ték awi’lu. temu’hú yásau’ya’lnx ats-sa’ak’. “aül’ixa. k-Liya’ qá’tse kíst Lqwá’míts.” temu’hú mëyá’saux ats-sa’ak’. “kíst Liya’ le’wí’yai’sí qal’k’-ai’m, kíst kí’lú’waisí qal’k’-ai’m.” temau’x 30 mu’á hú ké’a instí’; kí’lú’waisay ux qal’k’ai’. tem mëyá’saux ats-sá’ak’. “kíst kí’ mhak’s k’a’wil, tem mis qalpai’m qwá’mstoxs háits, kí’sta’uk5 kú’k’s ayaí’m.” te’míta Liya’ qá’tse tem 35 Ixusai’ tem xúdi’ ya’x-auk’ is hai6. te’míta Liya’ qá’tse tem Lea’í sx mukwi’sta. tem-axa hak’i’m qalpai’ xé’tsuxa.

4 k’is (temporal particle) + -x (2d per. sing.) + -auk’ (suffixed particle) inside.
5 te’máxt BROTHER-IN-LAW.
6 k’is (temporal particle) + -st (inclusive dual) + -auk’ (suffixed particle) inside.
“k’ist liya² ayai’m k’i’luk’s qalpai’m. k’ist hi’ke quli’i’m kwas n’atk’au.”

Temau’x mu’hu ayai’ k’i’nhak’s qauxa’n’k’n’k’ kwas tseki’tsi. temau’x k’i’mhaisi

5 mey’xauxa. temita liya² qas’tse mis mey’xauxa. “auli’ixa, auli’ixa.” temau’x mu’huk’eqwa’mitx qaux is tseki’tsi. “näm: st-lqwa’mits, k’ist ayai’m kül’k’s. k’ist k’i’nhak’s spa’idi.” temau’x

10 mu’huk’ ke’e imst’ixa.

Tem mezqami’nt as kul’ai’s hi’ke tsa’m’me. näm: k’au’xuts qit’ixa k’as kül’xa, k’au’xuts hi’ke hamsti leai’stú ts-spa’ik’. tsa’m’aux hi’ke mâ’k’st ts-spa’ik’. tem is i’mste tem-auk: tla’xsalx ts-hai’k’ kuts-s’itek’aux, “lå’xaux 1 nî’sk’ik’s ayai’m, k’i’nau liya² näm: Lxai’i. is i’mste ts-kwâ’mk’ là’xaux nî’sk’ik’s ayai’m, k’i’nau liya² näm: Lxai’i, lå’ta aqâ’titaux s-mukwa’sтелi. 2 nî’tsek’aux-auk: tla’xsalx ts-hai’k’, temau’xin-auk: melâ’niyux ts-ka’ltsük’.” tem-auk i’mste ts-hai’k’. “k’i’nau’x liya² näm: Lxai’i.” temi’lx mu’huk’mey’xauxa. temi’lx mu’huk wilx leyâ’tstik’s. “st-hak’i’k’i’qalpa’a k’i’stì.” tem yâsau’ya’inx kuts-qti’mk’. “melâ’niyem’tsxat nî’tsek’-aust-auk: tla’xsalx stín hai’èt.

25 k’ist k’i’stì, nâm: sis atsk’ai’m. nâ’-mk’s’lx wilx leyâ’tstik’s, “tsâ’i’men hi’ke Lqâ’hiyù. temu’u yâsau’ya’inx kuts-qti’mk’. “xâ-liya² ä’tsk’a. nâm: sis lunc’lwaixwa’im, k’i’stis ta’mink’ink.

30 k’i’sti’mu’huk’ ke’e lanq’lwaixwa’ixa. temu’u huk yâsau’ya’inx ts-qti’mk’. “k’ist qal’ka’im mu’huk; atsk’ai’ mu’huk’.” temau’x mu’huk qal’ka’i’. “xâ-xe’il’ke lhây’na’uwi. xâ-liya² tsa’m’tul’msta.

40 kus tu’msa! k’ist limlâ’ntemts.” temau’-

once more. “We two shall not go into the water again. We two shall just go upstream along that creek.” So then they two went there on top of a mountain. Then they two kept on travelling there. But (it was) not long before she said (again), “He is approaching, he is approaching!” So then he overtook those two on top of the mountain. “If he should overtake us two, we two will go west. We two will lead him there.” Then, verily, they two did so.

Now (on that place), there were very many windfalls. Whenever they two went over a log, (Coyote) modo de more videbat vulvas ambarum. Valde modo pingues vulvas illae duae habeant. And it was for that reason that their (dual) husband was continually thinking in his inner mind, “Even if they two should go far, I shall never give them up. For that reason will I never give them up, although they two may go far, properterea vulvae ambarum pingues sunt, properterea eae duae formasae mulieres sunt. Whatever they two are thinking in their inner minds, I know their (dual) inner thoughts.” Then such (were) his inner thoughts: “I shall never give those two up.” Then they kept on going. And then they two came to a village. “We two are going to leave him behind right here.” Then (the older woman) said to her younger sister, “He knows (what) we two (are going to do, and) whatever we two are thinking in our inner thoughts. We two will leave him when he is asleep.”

When they came to the village, (the younger woman said,) “I am very tired.” Thereupon (the older woman) said to her younger sister, “Thou shalt not sleep! As soon as he begins to snore, we two will leave him at that time.” And then, verily, he began to snore. So then she said to her younger sister, “We two will escape now; he is asleep now.” So they two ran away. “Thou shalt watch him carefully. Do thou not close the door hard! He will find us two

1 lâ’ (particle) + -aux (3d per. dual).
2 The plural form ma’mkuså would have been more proper here.
3 tsimsu- to shut (of door only).
Temu'hu Lqo'u'txa kuts-si'tek'aux. aili'aux wa' i'le'lì't. tem-auck: mu'hu txai'nx ts-hai'k. "Lauxiya ta'i qo'tse tsâ'sidù. mëgami'nt tsâ'sidù." tem na'k'sEx-E'n A xe'tux. tsudai's. ha'qwawits tem yatsl qalxa'tsit! qalxa'tsit! "'Lauxlya* 'Liya* k'-ayai'mi Where hi'k-exan Is "Certainly." hi'tsLEm. question)." tskwai'x. 1913. 'kha'm ts-hai COYOTE "What Nothing. "All hi'tsLEm is it?" tern-auk- VOL. they phai- k-aux k-aux "is ku'kta'mE ku'kta'mE 'k-eai'sa. 'Liya'k-i'lu. phai- "k-eai'sa. k-i'lu. phai- 'k-Ets pi'usxa a'xa. Then, "If "k-qe'xan ya'tsl is qa'la'tsit! ts-Li'qayuk- Is qafl'k-eai -xan- ytse'xan ya'tsl ts-Li'qayuk-. k-Ets" Is qa *tsE qa'fl'k-eai tsusai's. k-Ets Ixekemyuk- yar nx. tskwal'tEx. k-aux 15 k-aux hi'k'e qa'lte yâtsi is k'i'lù, k-aux meitsai'st is qalxa'tsit! ts-Li'qayuk'k, aul hi'k'e is k'i'lù. .

Temu'hu tseq'am'tliyù.

3. COYOTE AND THE TWO FROG-WOMEN

Xa'mets-s-hî'sle'm yâ'tsx. wa'na' ts- mukuwsa'lik. 'Liya qa'ñ'k'eiå tqa'a'ldex. tem is xa'mets-s-pî'tskum tem-auck- txai'nx ts-hair'k. k'-ayai'mi kók'ës phai- nai'st is ëow'a'qatit-s-tsudai's, k'ai'i qlöw'i. temu'hu ke'a ayai. 'Liya qa 'tsE yâ'xau, tem'tla yai'xa'Ìx xe'Ìk'- it-s-tsâ'sidù kín'wâ'txaux. temau'x pi'usxa'ya'Ìnx. "nák'k'sex-e'n yâ'xau?" k'ets ta'me 'Liya tskù'ya'Ìx. k'ets pśni'k'-xekemyuk ts-pìwì'shnk' tem k'ets qa'half tskwai'Ìtex. "lă-e'n kípst tqa'a'ldex?" — 'Liya. Hî'k'exan ñxî'tsùsa't- txùx." — "is intskî's-en?" — "á'a, nák'k'sex-e'n yâ'xau?" — "kú'k'sin phai- nai'st is tsûdi's." — "k'ea'i'sa. k-xan- axa a' hă'qwâwits 4 k'ha'm yâ'xau, ssax- axa yâlâ'sauttxam?" — "k'ea'i'sa." tem k'ets mu'hu'x xé'tsuxa.

1 sis (temporal particle) + -st (inclusive dual).
2 Told by Thomas Jackson in 1913. A similar tradition was also obtained among the Kalapuya Indians.
3 For example, Coyote.
4 haqu- to leave.
Now, he was constantly thinking in his inner mind, "(I) wonder how I am going to play a trick on those two?" He was not going long, when he happened to look at some yellow-jackets where (they were) hanging on a branch. Thereupon he went to the (nest) and took it off (the tree), and closed it so that (the yellow-jackets) would not come out. Then he put (the nest) into his basket. And after he put it (into his basket), he opened (the nest) again and tied his basket tightly. Then, after he finished, he carried it like a pack, and went back.

Then he came back there, where those previously mentioned two women were digging the ground. He did not seem to pay any attention to (those two) after he came back. Then those women shouted at him, "Art thou on thy way home?" — "Yes, I am on my way home." — "Is it much (what) thou art bringing back?" — "Not very much." — "Thou shalt leave some behind for us two." — "All right, do you two come here!" So they two, verily, went, and came near to where he was staying. Thereupon he beckoned to those two. "You two shall come nearer here." Then he began to untie his pack. "Do you two put your (dual) heads inside this basket!" Then they two did it, indeed. Thereupon, after they two put their heads inside, he quickly kicked his pack. Then the yellow-jackets just became active, whereupon the two women were stung, and then they two died. And after they two were dead, he took off them their (dual) female organs and left those two. Nunc quandocunque congressum habere desiderabat, terram fodebat atque vulvam ibidem ponebat atque ibidem co-habitabat.

Then after those two (women) came to life again, one of them began to examine herself. "My female organ is gone. How art thou?" Thereupon, verily, the other one in turn ex-

1 *stgu-* TO KICK.

2 *k'ets* temporal particle; *-a* suffixed particle *HERE*.
4. COYOTE'S AMOROUS ADVENTURES

1

Xa'met's-hitslem, wilx k'au'k's. temlta leai'sx xe'lk'it-tsâ'sidû lû'tsau.x temau'x pqal'txanx. "kînau'x hî'te mu'hû lâ mehilkwaï'si? maaï'tsitx-û

10 mu'hû k'e'a. mel'xan k'înau'x iltqa'a." tem k'ets mu'hû lqaïl'ta'yûxs tem k'ets mu'hû sitxî'inx k'au'k's ats-k'elt'sk'. yâsauf'ya'inx ats-k'elt'sk'. "xa-kwas mukwa'ntsit k'ëx qo'tse lqâ'-

15 yutëli."

Temu'hû ayai' aul is lqamîlaut. temu'hû wilx k'au'k's, temu'hû qakx'xa. temu'hû kûyâ'lnx. temu'hû mis lqâi'lnx, temu'hû quwi'. tem-axa

mu'hû lqâ'yuushx k'au'k's. tem ñkëlt'su- sa'i. "qami'nt-â tas hit'islem?" — "a'a." — "ta'xtë-en sili'kwey." — "Liya' ta'xtë. xa'met tai' tk'a'mk'la lqâl'tex tsâ'me." — "a'a, lâ'-en lqâl'tex?" — "a'a, p'uí'x

ts-qalô'nak." — "a'a." temu'hû wîl- lshnx k'au'k's temu'hû ayai' leyâ'tstik's. k'ëts lts'ûyâ'tesaxl-slô. temu'hû tipxa'lnx, temlta Liya' tsâ'me nûnsa'i. tem ñkëlt'süsa'lnx, sis liya' a' ts'ûyâ'telî-slô?

tem mâyex. "a'a, ts'ûyâ'telîn-slô." tem pts'lûtêliya'lnx-slô. tem wus'tlina'i temu'hû ayai'. temu'hû metsimxaxa'i. liya' qo's'tse metsî'mxaxa, temu'hû mâyex, k'-uksi quî'siylûn is tsexa'i.

Simplified for ts-spa'i'k. Told by Thomas Jackson in 1913. Compare Boas (JFL 11:140-141); Dixon (PAES 4:75); Sapir (PAES 2:11). Similar stories were also recorded among the Molala, Thompson River, and Kwakiutl Indians. Passive.
temu'hu k'e'a imsti'slnx. temu'hu qalpai' tsi'hi'dux. "ha'mk'ix, ha'mk'ix, ha'mk'ix!" temu'hu aini'suwi'txai' as muku'asli. "ânâ', la'ltqa'x-E'n tsa'tii a'sin ma'hats?" ts-ye'ai'sk' ats-li'ya'k. "Liya qa'tse temu'hu k'ea'i'. tem-axa mu'hu yûx'e'lnx as tsex'ai'. "ma'yex mis k'ea'i' mu'hu limtsi'mxam."

"tem-axa mu'hu qal'k'ain'. la'qayû-axa" temu'hu tsmisti'mxaxak. tem k'ets mu'hu qal'k'ain'. xûts hi'ke mis qal'-slô, temu'hu xe'tsux.

II

Temu'hu qalpai' wilx is tsâ'mst nâ'tk'-1, temu'hu ayai'. tem'ita Leai'sx as tsâ'sidû k'a'ux li'n'tsx. "ki'naux hi'te mu'hu là* klawya'ai' â'a, kin qa'halt ma'hats k'la'i'tiyutl's'mxus 6 muku'ist-auk.'" tem k'ets mu'hu la'i'tiyû'tlem as mêtâ'kust'katû, 4 k'ets a'ni'yuxu temau'x Leai'sx xas tsâ'sidû as mêtâ'kust'katû k'laya'tauryem, temau'x mu'hu plî'sanx. te'mita mu'hu k'e'a hauwi'tit's-ма'hats. temau'x mu'hu k'loqdi'yû'Lx, temau'x mu'hu pxe'pxóltsû'sî'ttxa. "k'i'st îltqa'a-en? xukwai'tist-auk' a'!") temau'x mu'hu k'e'a imsti'slnx. tem mi'ssxwauk: 7 lha'-kwai'te'x, k'ets yai'x-auk' is hai'â a'ni'yuxu. 4 k'ets hi'ke hauk's sila'tal.

"Liya qa'tse tsila'tal hauk's, te'mitak' pâ'kantxai. "pqani'sex! 8 qô'tse k'ets ta' Lxama'k'ink'alx." temu'hu lxa'wa'î'ste'x yâ'sau: "û'k'ex-E'n? tas S'u'ku yai'tsxâ ham hîlkwai's.") tem k'ets mu'hu tsiqû'ixa. "hê+, tsihû'nakâ tas tk'a'mk'la."

Tai 5 mu'hu. 1

1 mk*: to join.
2 ag* to be well.
3 Contracted for ts-mesti'mxaxak.
4 Compare Boas (JAFL 11:145); Sapir (PAES 2:3).
5 ai*: to drift.
6 ta'lkust! receptacle.

person. Thereupon it was done so. So then he began to sing his song: "Come together, come together, come together!" Then the woman (whom he was doctoring) attempted to cry. "Well, what on earth is he doing to my child?" (those were) the words of her mother. Then (it was) not long, when he finished. Thereupon the partition was removed. "He said that he was now through doctoring." And then he ran away. Now, his subject for doctoring became well after he ran away. As soon as daylight appeared, he started out.

II

And then he came again to another river. Then he went on. Soon he saw two women who were bathing. "(I) wonder in what way I can fool those two! Yes, (disguised) as a child I will float in a canoe." Then he floated in a basket, crying all the time. Then the two women saw the basket as it was floating, whereupon they two went to look at it. And, verily, a young child (was in that basket). Then they two took hold of it, and began to ask each other, "What shall we two do with it? Pray, let us take it out (from the basket)!" So, verily, they two did this. And after they two had taken it out, (the child) kept on crying very hard. It was just reaching out (with its hands) everywhere. It was not reaching out everywhere (very) long, cum vulvam (puellae quae infantem teneant) tangere inchoaret. "What a nasty thing! Why! it is bent upon mischief!" Thereupon it was thrown (away, and the two girls) kept on saying, "Who art thou? Thy actions are different (from) those (of) S'û'ku." And then (Coyote) laughed. "Hey! macilenta est vulva puellae eae."

Only now (it ends).

7 Transposed for mi'saux-auk.
8 A term denoting anger, and corresponding to the English expletive "'S'- death!"
9 This sentence is not correct; for, as a matter of fact, Sû'ku, the Transformer, tried to perform a similar trick.
REVIEWS

LINGUISTIC PUBLICATIONS OF THE BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY, A GENERAL REVIEW

If only by virtue of its historical position, the Bureau of American Ethnology is easily the most prominent American institution engaged in scientific research and publication on the ethology, archaeology, physical anthropology, and linguistics of the natives of America, particularly of the tribes north of Mexico. For linguistic students there is cause for congratulation that from the very first the Bureau has devoted a considerable share of its attention to the study of the languages of these tribes. For this policy they must ever remain thankful to the founder of the Bureau, J. W. Powell, who, though not a linguist, clearly perceived the value of linguistic data to Americanistic studies. He himself set the ball rolling with his "Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages," published in 1877. Since then there has been a steady stream of Bureau linguistic publications, of varying interest and importance, but, on the whole, of constantly increasing merit, until the total output has reached the respectable figure of well-nigh ten thousand printed pages. It is now just forty years since the Bureau, or rather its immediate government precursor, published the "Introduction" referred to, so that this would seem to be an appropriate enough time to get a bird's-eye view of the whole linguistic output. A specific review of each and every publication would be both useless and impossible, but perhaps a few general impressions may not be without value. The publications themselves are listed in the following bibliography.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BUREAU PUBLICATIONS IN AMERICAN INDIAN LINGUISTICS

I. General


3. Powell, J. W. On the Evolution of Language, as exhibited in the Specialization of the Grammatic Processes, the Differentiation of the Parts of Speech, and the Integration of the Sentence; from a Study of Indian Languages (Ibid., 1-16).

4. — Philology, or the Science of Activities designed for Expression (BBAE 20 [1903]: cxxxix-clxx).


II. Bibliography


8. — Bibliography of the Siouan Languages (BBAE 5 [1887]: 1-87).


10. — Bibliography of the Iroquoian Languages (BBAE 6 [1888]: 1-208).

11. — Bibliography of the Muskogean Languages (BBAE 9 [1889]: 1-114).

12. — Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages (BBAE 13 [1891]: 1-614).

13. — Bibliography of the Athapascan Languages (BBAE 14 [1892]: 1-125).

14. — Bibliography of the Salishan Languages (BBAE 16 [1893]: 1-86).

15. — Bibliography of the Wakashan Languages (BBAE 19 [1894]: 1-70).
III. Texts


20. Mooney, J. The Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees (Specimen Formulas, RBAE 7 [1891]: 344-397).


23. — Kathlamet Texts (BBAE 26 [1901]: 1-251).


27. Russell, F. The Pima Indians (Linguistics, Songs and Speeches, RBAE 26 [1908]: 269-389).


IV. Lexical Material


34. Powers, Stephen. Tribes of California; Appendix, Linguistics (Appendix, CNAE 3 [1877]: 439-613).

35. Boas, F. The Central Eskimo (Glossary, RBAE 6 [1888]: 659-666).


40. — Calendar History of the Kiowa (The Kiowa Language, RBAE 17 [1898]: 389-439).


V. Grammatical Material


49. Swanton, John R. Tlingit (BBAE 40 [pt. 1]: 159-204).

50. — Haida (BBAE 40 [pt. 1]: 205-282).


52. — Kwakiutl (BBAE 40 [pt. 1]: 423-557).

53. — Chinook (BBAE 40 [pt. 1]: 559-677).


60. Powell, J. W. Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico (RBAE 7 [1891]: 1-142).
61. Hewitt, J. N. B. Comparative Lexicology [of Seri and Yuman] (RBAE 17 [1898]: 299*-344*).
62. Swanton, J. R. Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians (Relationship between the Tlingit and Haida Languages, RBAE 26 [1908]: 472-485).
63. Thomas, Cyrus; and Swanton, J. R. Indian Languages of Mexico and Central America, and their Geographical Distribution (BBAE 44 [1911]: 1-108).

In brief, 370 pages are devoted to linguistic papers of a general nature, 1526 pages to linguistic bibliographies (not counting No. 7), 2612 pages to Indian text (including connected English translations), 3007 pages to lexical material, 2211 pages to grammatical studies, and 382 pages to comparative linguistics. Nor is this all, for a very considerable body of lexical and text material (chiefly songs and short ritualistic texts) is scattered up and down various ethnological monographs (for example, in Miss Fletcher’s “Hako Ceremony,” Mrs. Stevenson’s “Zuñi Indians,” J. P. Harrington’s “Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians,” and elsewhere). Moreover, there is much unpublished manuscript of a linguistic nature in the hands of the Bureau, some of which has been drawn upon for the published papers.\(^1\) As regards mere bulk, the linguistic output of the Bureau is impressive enough, even when allowance is made for a considerable share of material (such as Nos. 6-16) that is intended merely as a help for scientific research. Nor should we forget that lexical and text matter, the indispensable raw material of all linguistic studies, is necessarily a somewhat forbidding item from the quantitative standpoint. The total readable volume of linguistic contributions (aside from translations of texts) boils down, therefore, to hardly more than a fourth of the whole.

How about quality? It is a thankless, certainly a somewhat dangerous, proceeding to pronounce judgment right and left wise- acre-fashion, so much depending on personal bias and the peculiar circumstances attending each publication. Nevertheless it seems safe to say that in quality the Bureau linguistic publications run a very long gamut indeed, extending all the way from the distressing amateurishness of, say, No. 34, to work exemplified, say, in No. 57, of as high a standard of phonetic finish and morphological insight as one could hope to find anywhere in descriptive linguistic literature. As these examples indicate, the general standard has improved with time, as was indeed to be expected on general principles. Yet this is not unreservedly true, for I should consider it beyond dispute that, for instance, J. O. Dorsey’s text material (Nos. 18 and 19) can more than hold its own in comparison with much that followed.

Any general criticism of the linguistics of the Bureau should be tempered by three considerations. In the first place, much of the output is the work of men who were either not trained in linguistic methods at all, or, at any rate, did not receive a training rigorous enough to set them the highest desirable standard of accomplishment. Under the circumstances in which the scientific activities of the Bureau were launched, this is perfectly excusable; for most of the trained linguists were and still largely are men devoted

\(^1\) And let us not forget that not a few linguistic papers and monographs published in anthropological journals and in the anthropological series of other institutions were based on material obtained under the auspices of the Bureau.
to specialist researches of a more traditional color, — men who shrink from the serious study of languages spoken by mere Indians with the same amusing helplessness that the conventional classicist seems to betray when he gets a whiff of modern ethnological method. The Bureau could not pick and choose, it had to avail itself of the services of such enthusiasts as could be found. In the second place, the languages studied by the Bureau were in most cases a veritable terra incognita when first handled by its investigators. It was not, as had already come to be the case among the Semitists and Indogermanists, a question of refined morphologic analyses and of subtle phonetic determinations. The problems were rougher and more fundamental, in many ways all the more fascinating on that account. The vast number of aboriginal American languages had to be roughly compared with one another, and grouped into at least temporarily exclusive "stocks;" the phonetic systems, vocabularies, and structures of these languages had to be painfully worked out point by point; the oral literature of the Indians had to be slowly recorded in the form of texts which might serve as a bona fide basis for the grammatical superstructures built out of the raw materials of field-work. The subject of North American linguistics was, when Powell first took the work in hand, a tangled thicket with few discernible trails; now, chiefly through the labors of the Bureau itself, trails have been blazed all through the thicket, and, though there are still many clumps of virgin forest, most of the trees have been felled, and a good part of the land turned over to agricultural uses. Finally, there is a third consideration, in part already anticipated, that makes any direct comparison of American Indian linguistic work with that of, say, most Indogermanic philologists highly misleading. The latter deals chiefly with written records whose accuracy is beyond personal control, the former includes and is further based on field-records for whose accuracy the Americanist is himself responsible. There is therefore no use contrasting the breathless finesse of a German Lautschieber with the relatively rough-and-ready carrying-on of the majority of Indian linguists. One can be sword-maker and swordsman too, but is not likely to be equally clever at both jobs. Anyway, most of us have a shrewd suspicion that many a renowned denizen of the German universities, impressive in his balancing of imponderable phonologic nuances, would find himself sadly up a tree when confronted with the live problems of an intricate Indian language that he was forced to study by pure induction. In spite of the difficulties that we have mentioned, the general level of quality in the linguistic publications of the Bureau must be admitted to be high.

The corner-stone of the linguistic edifice in aboriginal North America, one might almost say of North American anthropology generally, is Powell's "Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico" (No. 60 of the bibliography). Though the work generally passes under Powell's name, it is of course a compilation based on the labors of several members of the Bureau staff. This monumental work, with its appended map, has served, and on the whole still serves, as the basis of all classificatory work in North American linguistics, secondarily (and less justly) in ethnology as well. Despite its inevitable errors of detail, it has proved itself to be an eminently reliable guide. The lines of linguistic cleavage laid down in it still have a fundamental significance, though the interpretation of these lines of cleavage has been somewhat modified by recent research. There can now be no reasonable doubt that the "stocks" of Powell's linguistic map are not all to be taken in the mutually exclusive sense in which he defined them. New syntheses are forced upon us by further investigation, the terrifying complexity disclosed on Powell's map progressively yielding to simplification. On the basis of evidence
already present, and of advance statements whose validity remains to be demonstrated, I should say that the 57 distinct stocks recognized on the revised linguistic map of the Bureau may be expected to re-arrange themselves into perhaps not more than 16, or even less. Always bear in mind, however, that the great divisions recognized by Powell still have significance, only that many of them are now to be understood as major subdivisions of larger linguistic units. While nothing is further from my mind than to minimize the great usefulness of Powell's classification, I may be pardoned for regretting the too definite and dogmatic form in which it was presented. This has had the effect until recently of discouraging further researches into the problem of linguistic groupings in America. It is always dangerous to erect a formidable structure on a largely negative basis, for one tends to interpret it as a positive and finished accomplishment. However, I would freely grant that the services rendered by Powell's classification have far outweighed its deterrent influence. A thoroughly revised map of linguistic stocks north of Mexico will sooner or later have to be issued; but it is as well not to be too precipitate about this, as the whole subject of the genetic classification of Indian languages is at present in a state of flux.

In reviewing the linguistic publications of the Bureau as a whole, we have a right to ask three leading questions: Is the standard of phonetic accuracy adopted in the recording of the languages adequate? Are the grammars of these languages so presented as to convey a satisfactory notion of the fundamental characteristics of their structure? and, Have various languages been treated from the comparative standpoint, so as to suggest historical perspectives transcending those obtained from the intensive study of particular languages? Let us briefly consider each of these queries.

Early in its career the Bureau outlined a phonetic alphabet, which, as compared with the best that phonetic research at the time had to offer, was quite inadequate, but which was so vast an improvement on the amateurish methods in vogue for recording Indian words, that its adoption must be considered a great step forward in the study of American Indian linguistics. It has undoubtedly done good work in its day, and must be taken as the basis for further improvements. However, as it was framed without any very deep knowledge of the actual phonetic problems presented by American languages, many of which are of exceptional difficulty and complexity in this respect, field investigators soon found it impossible to give an even approximately adequate idea of the requisite phonetic facts without straining its resources. In this way new symbols were added from time to time by various investigators, and the accuracy of linguistic notation, limited naturally by the native abilities of the recorders, grew apace. It is difficult to dispose of the phonetic quality of the series in a word. It is hardly fair to lay stress on the orthographies of some of the earlier works; e.g., Nos. 30–34 and 44. On the other hand, I do not think one could candidly say that much even of the more recent work is as good as we should like to have it (Nos. 18, 52, and 57 probably about represent the high-water mark). The general run of the linguistic papers might be not unfairly described as "reasonably good" in phonetic respects, certainly no better.

Had a really scientific and reasonably complete phonetic alphabet been adopted earlier in the life of the Bureau, I believe the phonetic standard of some of the later linguistic work done under its auspices would have been even higher than it is. Experience shows that a field-worker tends, in his hearing of unfamiliar sounds, to be influenced by the standard phonetic scheme that has made itself at home in his inner ear; he will assim-
late to this scheme more readily than recognize and record as distinctive elements sounds not already provided for. For this reason the new phonetic scheme adopted by a committee of the American Anthropological Association, and recently published in the "Miscellaneous Collections of the Smithsonian Institution," is timely, and, let us hope, adequate. I believe that the Bureau cannot do better than adopt it as the standard alphabet for its future publications. While a fetich should not be made of uniformity in orthographic matters, I do not think it is altogether wise to indulge in too many individual vagaries.

It is in morphology that I think the Bureau has done its most valuable linguistic work. Chiefly under the enthusiastic guidance of Boas, we have presented to us in Nos. 48–59 (other sketches, such as Kutenai, Alsea, Siuslaw, and Paiute, are to follow) an excellent set of descriptive analyses of the structures of several Indian languages. How excellent, on the whole, they are, may be best gathered by contrasting them with the conventional grammatical treatment with a Latin bias, that we find in so many of the older Indian grammars (No. 47 is not altogether free from this bias). "The Handbook of American Indian Languages" is, indeed, easily the most significant linguistic achievement of the Bureau; taking it all in all, it probably marks the crest up to the present of research in American Indian linguistics, and at the same time constitutes one of the really important monuments to Boas's versatility as anthropologist. It would be idle to pretend that all are equally good, or that any one, indeed, is altogether perfect. Many valid criticisms could be made of all or most of them; but they certainly do succeed, for all that, in giving a vivid picture of the exuberant variety and distinctiveness of American Indian linguistic morphology. To the linguistic psychologist and to the comparative philologist alike it is certainly something very like an aesthetic delight to have clearly revealed to him, for instance, two such unique linguistic organisms as those described in Nos. 48 and 51.

One cannot with such enthusiastic affirmation answer the third of our leading questions. Nos. 60 and 63 are really studies in linguistic geography and classification rather than in comparative philology proper, though they constitute a necessary preliminary to the latter type of investigation. No. 61 is a purely negative and rather fruitless type of linguistic research; while No. 62, despite its more positive outlook, is too hesitating and incomplete a presentation of evidence to merit unqualified praise. This leaves No. 64 as the only really serious work yet undertaken by the Bureau in comparative linguistics; and even this, valuable as it is, is too restricted in scope to mark a very notable advance. The truth is, that the Bureau has not yet fairly reached the comparative stage of linguistic work, but is still, and for quite some time to come necessarily will be, mainly concerned with purely descriptive labors. Nevertheless, I do not believe that this almost total lack of emphasis on comparative work is altogether due to the fact that so much remains to be done in the amassing of lexical and text materials and in the analysis of individual morphologies. Comparative work in linguistics, if it is to be of any scientific value, requires a keenly sensitive historical consciousness in the handling of linguistic phenomena. It is precisely the historical interpretation of cultural elements, however, that has up to the recent past been most conspicuously absent in Americanistic work. The lack of linguistic studies of a comparative nature is merely a symptom of this general defect.

E. Sapir.

In this highly suggestive and important paper the distinguished Dutch philologist Uhlenbeck undertakes to show that in many American languages (as, for example, also in Basque) the transitive verb or verb of action is not fundamentally active in voice, but rather passive; that the logical subject (from our own point of view) is really a sort of instrumental, or, better, agentive; and that the logical object is grammatically the subject of a passive verb. Thus, in a sentence like I KILLED HIM, the primary idea expressed by the verb-stem is BEING KILLED rather than KILLING: whence it follows that the I is really an agentive (BY ME, THROUGH MY MEDIATION), and that the HIM is best rendered as a subjective HE: HE WAS KILLED BY ME. Uhlenbeck does not assume this interpretation to hold generally for America, but is careful to point out that in a number of American languages (e.g., Klamath and Maidu) we have true active forms. Nevertheless, he looks upon the passive conception of the logically transitive or active verb as belonging to a particularly primitive stage of linguistic evolution. Even where a newer conception has supplanted the old, he sometimes finds reason to believe that the latter may still be traced in survival phenomena. In other words, he believes that the passive verb as fundamental concept belongs to the same group of antique linguistic phenomena as, say, grammatical gender.

I think it would be doing Uhlenbeck no injustice to say that his main interest in writing the paper was not a strictly philosophical one, but rather to contribute to ethno-psychologic speculation on the basis of linguistic data. The gist of the paper, together with Uhlenbeck's psychological interpretation of the linguistic facts and the inferences made by him, is given towards the end (pp. 213–215), and it seems advisable to quote from this passage in some detail: "The pronominal elements in conjugation present, as we have already noted more than once, a certain case-value. In the languages with passive conception of the so-called active, or of only the transitive, verb, two case-values are to be clearly distinguished in the pronominal affixes; namely, that of a casus energeticus and that of a casus inertiae. Each of these two is found in two varieties, according to whether the whole active verb, or only the transitive verb, is passively conceived. The energetic, in other words, may be a transitive case (as, for example, in Basque), in which case it has an intransitive case opposed to it; or, as case of the logical subject in all verbs of action, it may be an active case (as, for example, in Dakota), in which instance it may be contrasted with an inactive case. It is easy to discover the nature of the casus inertiae, whether intransitive or inactive. It is the case of him who or that which is, or gets to be, in a certain state, aside from his (or its) own will and without his (or its) own participation, whether under the influence of a stronger person or thing or as if it were of himself (or itself). But what is the essential nature of the energetic case? It is a case of instrumental-like character, but nevertheless to be clearly distinguished from an ordinary instrumental. One might call the energetic the case of the primary instrument; the ordinary instrumental, that of the secondary instrument. For the primitive linguistic feeling, the real agent is a hidden power. It acts via the apparent agent, the primary instrument, which again can itself make use of a secondary tool. Take, for example, a
sentence like HE KILLS THE BIRD WITH A STONE. A Blackfoot would express this in the following manner: THE BIRD BY-MEANS-OF-IS-KILLED-BY-HIM A STONE. He who kills is what is generally called the 'agent;' but in truth is only the apparent agent, the primary instrument, which is itself controlled by a hidden power. The apparent agent, although itself dependent, works on the logical object (i.e., the grammatical subject) by its own emanating orenda; and even when it is the logical subject of an intransitive action,—which is often the case in the mentality of peoples that recognize the contrast, not of transitive and intransitive, but of active and inactive,—it works similarly by virtue of the same outstreaming mystic power. Therefore the energetic case, the exclusively transitive as well as the general active, can be called *casus emanativus* or 'case of outstreaming power.' When it is an active case, it can be more closely defined as the 'case of operative power;' when it is a transitive, as the case of power that operates on something else."

For us the main point of value in the paper is the fact that Uhlenbeck has striven to explain three distinct linguistic phenomena, each of which had been abundantly recognized as such, as symptomatic of one fundamental feature,—the passivity of the so-called transitive and active verbs. These phenomena are the close morphological resemblance in certain languages between normal passive forms and at least certain transitive forms; the classification of verb-stems on the basis of singularity or plurality, according to the number of the intransitive subject and transitive object; and the frequent classification of pronominal elements into two groups that do not correspond to our normal subjective and objective (i.e., either into intransitive subject and transitive object versus transitive subject, or into inactive subject and transitive object versus active subject). A few remarks on each of these points.

Uhlenbeck's data for the first class of evidence are taken from Algonkin alone (Ojibwa and Blackfoot; Michelson's corroborative evidence for Fox is also referred to). For certain Algonkin verb-forms there can, indeed, be no doubt that Uhlenbeck's findings are correct; but frankly I do not see that he has succeeded in showing that the Algonkin transitive as a whole needs to be interpreted as a passive. I would tend rather to feel that certain true passives had been dragged for purely paradigmatic reasons into transitive company; e.g., Jones's Fox form for HE—ME is evidently identical with his I as passive subject, and has morphologically nothing to do with such true pronominally compound transitive forms as THOU—ME. That the passive is unrelated to the true transitive in Fox, seems to me to be strongly suggested by the occurrence of two morphologically very distinct forms for the combination of two third persons,—a true transitive (e.g., HE SEES HIM), and a passive of the same structure as the HE—ME and similar forms already instanced (this passive occurs in two distinct forms,—an agentive, HE IS SEEN BY HIM; and a non-agentive, HE IS SEEN indefinitely). However, there no doubt are languages whose whole transitive is morphologically a true passive. This is notably the case with Yana, in which such a form as HE SEES ME is quite evidently to be interpreted as meaning properly I AM SEEN BY HIM; THOU SEEST ME, as I AM SEEN (BY THEE is merely implied); I SEE THEE, as THOU ART SEEN (BY ME is merely implied); and so on. Yet even where there is a close morphological resemblance between transitives and passives, it does not always follow that the transitives are of passive origin. Thus, in Takelma such a form as HE SEES ME is closely related to I AM SEEN, but is not derived from it. On the contrary, the passive is formed from the transitive by means of a suffix which differs for various tense-modes. Hence it seems plausible to interpret it as a sort of impersonal, though there is a true impersonal (with or without object) in
Takelma, besides. At any rate, the pronominal object of the transitive cannot in Takelma well be interpreted as the subject of a passive, for the simple reason that it shows no resemblance to the intransitive subject, which differs in turn from the transitive subject. This and other examples that might be adduced show conclusively that evidence of the relation between passive and transitive forms cannot without further ado be used to demonstrate the passive origin of the transitive. Morphological evidence for such an origin undoubtedly exists in some cases, but hardly so abundantly as to establish the general validity of Uhlenbeck's main thesis.

That in those American languages that distinguish singular and plural verb-stems the determining factor is not altogether the number of the subject, but, where the verb is transitive, the number of the object, is well known to Americanists. Uhlenbeck quotes examples from Athapascan, Haida, Tsimshian, Chinook, Coos, and Pomo. Naturally there are many other languages that present the same feature. Uhlenbeck considers it as a reflex of the primarily passive nature of the transitive verb; the logical object of an action being psychologically, and in many cases grammatically, the subject of the passive form of the action, and hence directly comparable to the subject of an intransitive verb. A rapid survey of American languages classifying verb-stems in the manner described soon discloses the fact, however, that there is no clear correlation between this feature and the classification of pronominal affixes into transitive versus intransitive, or into active versus inactive, as contrasted with subjective versus objective. Thus, while Haida classifies its pronominal elements into active and inactive (to use Uhlenbeck's terminology), and Tsimshian and Chinook into transitive and intransitive, there are not a few languages of subjective versus objective pronominal classification that recognize precisely the same feature of number-classification of verbs as these languages. Shoshonean, for example, is a group of languages (I speak chiefly for Southern Paiute) that rigidly classifies its pronouns into subjective and objective; yet it makes an unusually liberal use of verb-stems that are distinct for singular and plural, singularity or plurality of the transitive verb being, as usual, determined by the object. One way out of the difficulty is to assume, as Uhlenbeck is evidently inclined to do, that in such languages as Shoshonean and Klamath the present classification of pronominal elements is a secondary feature, and that the numerical classification of verb-stems reflects an older status of pronominal classification. As I see no warrant for such an inference, I prefer to doubt seriously whether the two features are causally related. On general psychological principles, it seems likely enough that transitive activities are necessarily more closely connected in experience with the object than with the subject. A passive interpretation of the transitive is hardly necessary. I would suggest, however, that the link between the subjectively determined intransitive and the objectively determined transitive verbs lies in the causative origin of many transitives. If to kill is really in origin to cause to die, then the difference between one man dying and several dying would necessarily have to be reflected in a difference between causing one man to die, killing one man, and causing several to die, killing several. And, indeed, a survey of transitive verb-stems that recognize a distinction of number shows that they consist chiefly, if not entirely, of such as can be, in part even morphologically, explained as causative derivatives of intransitives. If such causatives be taken as a starting-point for number-discrimination in the object, other types of transitive with number-discrimination, if such exist, might be explained as due to analogy.

The greater part of Uhlenbeck's paper is taken up with his third class of evidence, the
classification of pronominal affixes. The Basque forms (intransitive subject and transitive object versus transitive subject) are taken as his starting-point, and attention is called to parallels in Eskimo and, hypothetically, an inferred stage in Indogermanic. The Indian forms are quoted from Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Chinook, Muskogean, and Siouan. Riggs's Dakota evidence, in particular, is presented in great detail; the conclusion arrived at being that all active verbs are passive in nature, the logical subject being really an agentive. Comparison with other Siouan dialects (Hidatsa, Ponca, Winnebago, Tutelo) shows the pronominal peculiarities of Dakota to be general to Siouan; the Catawba evidence throws no light on the subject (I cannot refrain, in passing, from remarking that there is no bit of American Indian linguistic research that more urgently needs doing than the preparation in the field of a Catawba grammar; Gatschet's sketch is worthless). It follows clearly enough from Uhlenbeck's evidence, which could no doubt be greatly augmented, that the ordinary contrast between subject and object does not hold in these languages; but I do not see that the interpretation of the transitive or active verb as a passive is a necessary one. At least two other possibilities seem open. Uhlenbeck's casus inertiae may be an intrinsically caseless form which takes on all functions not specifically covered by the transitive or active case (subject of transitive or active verb); in other words, the I of I SLEEP, and the me of he KILLS ME may be identical in form, not because of any identity of verb-morphology, but merely by way of contrast to the distinctively transitive form of the I of I KILL HIM. This explanation would probably imply a previous stage of complete lack of pronominal differentiation. Secondly, instead of interpreting the object of the transitive verb as a sort of subjective (in other words, deriving it from the intransitive or inactive case), one may, on the contrary, look upon the latter as an objective, the inactive or intransitive verb being interpreted as a static verb without expressed subject, but with direct or indirect object. Thus, forms like I SLEEP or I THINK could be understood as meaning properly IT SLEEPS ME, IT SEEMS TO ME (cf. such German forms as mich hungert). Personally, I consider the latter explanation as very likely for those languages that, like Tlingit, Haida, Muskogean, and Siouan, distinguish between active and inactive verbs. On the other hand, it seems considerably more far-fetched in the case of languages that distinguish between transitive and intransitive verbs (I RUN, for example, as IT RUNS TO ME). This brings me to what I consider the greatest weakness of Uhlenbeck's paper,—the inclusion under one rubric of transitive versus intransitive, and active versus inactive. I believe he would have made a more convincing case if he had confined himself to the former category, and adopted our second suggestion for the latter. In brief, the transitive verb may be plausibly interpreted as a passive, though this hardly seems necessary to me where there is not direct morphologic evidence of the kind that Uhlenbeck has produced for certain Algonkin forms; the active verb is far more plausibly otherwise interpreted.

To Uhlenbeck's speculations as to the primitiveness of the passive verb I am not inclined to attach much importance. Such questions must be attacked morphologically and historically, not ethno-psychologically. As long as we are not better informed as to the exact distribution of types of pronominal classification and as to the historical drifts inferred from comparative linguistic research, it is premature to talk of certain features as primitive, of others as secondary. For the present, I should like to point out that we know of at least five, fundamentally probably only three, types of pronominal classification
in America, as indicated in the following table:

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<th>Obj. tr.</th>
<th>Subj. intr.</th>
<th>Subj. tr.</th>
<th>Example</th>
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<td>A</td>
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<td>B</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>A (sometimes subj. of passive)</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>Vana</td>
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Identity of letter symbolizes identity of pronominal form. Type 4 is probably either simplified from type 3 or else represents an earlier stage of it; both developments may well have taken place. Type 5 is no doubt a specialized simplification of type 4. What the historical relations between types 1 and 2 and between each of these and types 3-5 are, it is impossible to tell at present, though there is at least some evidence to show that type 4 tends to develop from type 2. The interpretation of the nature of the verb in each of these types is not always easy. The passive interpretation of the transitive may apply in certain cases of types 1 and 5.

E. Sapir


Uhlenbeck calls renewed attention in this paper to the well-known fact that in many American languages the possessive pronouns, generally affixed to the noun, occur in two more or less morphologically distinct series,—one for nouns possession of which is of an inseparable nature, the other for nouns denoting separable possession. The former category includes chiefly terms of relationship and nouns denoting parts of the body. A careful survey of the evidence presented by Uhlenbeck shows, that, though body-part nouns and terms of relationship are not infrequently classed together in contrast to separable nouns, there are sometimes special morphological features that distinguish the two types of inseparable nouns; further, that in certain languages only the terms of relationship constitute a special class as regards possessive affixes. Languages distinguishing separable and inseparable possession as such are Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Chimariko, Muskhoegan, and Siouan. As a rule, however, the two pronominal series are not fundamentally distinct, but are morphologically related; in Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Siouan, the separability of the noun is indicated by an affixed element, while only in Chimariko are the possessive elements of the two series radically distinct. Moreover, in both Haida and Siouan the terms of relationship are not treated in quite the same manner as the body-part nouns. In Algongin, of which he treats Blackfoot in particularly great detail, Uhlenbeck finds that, while there is no rigid classification of possessed nouns into separable and inseparable, a suffixed -m- is used with great frequency to indicate the separability of the noun.

The relative independence of terms of relationship as a class, suggested by Haida and Siouan, is still further emphasized by Takelma, in which such nouns have a peculiar set of possessive affixes as distinct from all other nouns, including such as refer to parts of the body; further by Yuki and Pomo, in which only terms of relationship have possessive pronominal affixes. In Mutsun (Costanoan), moreover, where there is, properly speaking, no possessive inflection, terms of relationship have different endings, according to the person of the possessor. Such examples strongly suggest that alongside of, or inter-
crossing, the classification of possessed nouns into separable *versus* inseparable, there is to be recognized an independent classification of possessed nouns into terms of relationship *versus* all others. Uhlenbeck does not take this view. He prefers to consider such languages as Takelma, Yuki, Pomo, and Mutsun as survivals of an earlier condition, in which both terms of relationship and body-part nouns constituted a separable class of possessed nouns; and that, as they grew more analytic in character, the body-part nouns gradually yielded to the analogy of the vast majority of nouns. Such a language as Haida, according to Uhlenbeck, represents a transition stage.

So long as we look at the facts in a purely schematic way, Uhlenbeck’s historical theory seems plausible; but further consideration of the facts tends to cast doubt on the correctness of his view. Leaving Chimariko aside, it certainly seems suggestive that the fundamental difference between the separable and inseparable pronominal affixes of such languages as recognize the distinction merely lies in the presence of an affix of separable significance. The example of Algonkin, further, strongly suggests that this type of affix is a morphological element that has *per se* nothing to do with pronominal classification. On the other hand, the pronominal relationship-term affixes of Takelma, Yuki, Pomo, and Mutsun form a morphologically distinct class of elements. In other words, the two types of classification of possessed nouns (separable *versus* inseparable, and terms of relationship *versus* other nouns) work, on the whole, along quite distinct lines; whence we must conclude that they are historically distinct phenomena, and merely intercross in certain languages (Haida, Siouan).

That our point of view is sound (i.e., that the concept of separability or inseparability is generally, directly or at last analysis, indicated by an affix, and that, on the other hand, the terms of relationship generally owe their distinctness as a class to the factor of pronominal classification), is further indicated by other linguistic data, in part not accessible to Uhlenbeck. In Southern Paiute there is no real classification of possessed nouns into separable and inseparable, nor any classification of possessive pronominal affixes; but there are two suffixes of not infrequent use that bear on the concepts of acquirement and inseparability,—*-i’ni*- ACQUIRED BY, OWNED BY (e.g., *qani-i’ni*- HOUSE OWNED BY ONE, *qani*- HOUSE, HOUSE ONE LIVES IN); and *-a*-INSEPARABLY BELONGING TO, chiefly used with body-part nouns that in ordinary experience often occur disconnected from the body, like BONE, SALIVA, *SINEW, FAT, HORN* (e.g., *oo*-BONE, *oo*’-a- BONE IN ONE’S BODY).

In Nootka, again, there is, with certain interesting exceptions to be presently noted, but one series of possessive pronominal affixes; but before the possessive suffix properly normally appears one of two suffixed elements,—*’uk*, *’ak*, indicating that the possessor and the object possessed are physically separable (hence including terms of relationship); or *’al*, indicating that they are not physically separable (hence applying, above all, to parts of the body). The latter element is morphologically identical with the passive suffix in verbs. The Nootka *’al*-forms suggest that, in any reduction of the range of the inseparable class of possessed nouns, it would be the terms of relationship—not, as Uhlenbeck assumes, the body-part nouns—that would be levelled out by analogy. From another point of view, however, the Nootka terms of relationship stand in a class by themselves. Not only are most of them provided with a distinctive relationship-term affix *-qso* (cf. the corresponding *-mp* of Kwakiu), but the second person singular possessive is either formed in the regular manner (*-qso* plus separably possessive *’ak* plus pronominal *’itqak*, contracted to *-gsak’itqak*) or, far more frequently, by using the bare stem without
any affix whatever (-qso drops off: hence thy uncle is a simpler term than uncle). Further, the terms for my father and my mother are irregularly formed by adding the first person singular “objective” element -s directly to the stem, the vowel of which is lengthened (the normal affix for my is -qsak-gas). These facts mean, for example, that while the forms for my father and thy father have no suffix of physical separability, and fall outside the ordinary possessive pronominal scheme, such forms as his father, our father, and my uncle are treated, as far as the possessive pronominal affixes are concerned, like an ordinary possessed noun; in neither sets of forms is the suffix of physical inseparability in place. As far as the Nootka evidence is pertinent, it is obvious that the concepts of separability and relationship-term classification are morphologically and historically unrelated.

The pronominal distinctness of terms of relationship is not as isolated a phenomenon as Uhlenbeck implies. Wishram\(^1\) (Upper Chinook) affords us some interesting data. The possessive pronominal prefixes of terms of relationship in this language are precisely the same as for all other nouns, except for the first and second persons singular of the words for father and mother. In these isolated cases my and thy are respectively expressed by -na- and -ma- instead of the normal -lc-, -k- my and -mi- thy; the interesting point is, that -na- and -ma- are evidently closely related to the verbal pronominal prefixes n- and m-. Body-part nouns with possessives are in no way peculiarly treated in Wishram.

The combined evidence of Takelma, Yuki, Pomo, Mutsun, Nootka, and Chinookan for the occurrence of a distinctive series, sometimes only preserved in very fragmentary form, of possessive pronominal affixes for terms of relationship, can hardly be set aside as pointing to a merely secondary reduction of the inseparable class of possessed nouns. A little reflection shows that terms of relationship as modified by possessive pronouns differ from most other nouns so modified, not so much in the matter of inseparability as in the fact that in the former a personal relation is defined, while in the latter true possession or some allied concept is indicated. Thus, my father is not one who is owned by me, but rather one who stands to me in a certain relation; moreover, he may be some one else’s father at the same time, so that my father has no inherently exclusive value. On the other hand, my arm, like my hat, indicates actual and exclusive possession. Hence we can readily understand both why certain non-kinship nouns that indicate relationship are sometimes morphologically classed with kinship terms (e.g., friend in Takelma, sweetheart in Nootka), and why, on the other hand, such relationship terms as do not involve an inherent or non-controllable relation frequently fall outside the true set of kinship terms (e.g., husband and wife are not treated like relationship terms in either Takelma or Nootka). That personal relation, not possession, is primarily expressed by the possessive pronominal affixes of relationship terms, is beautifully illustrated by the Iroquois usage of expressing many such relations as transitive verbs; thus, one cannot say my grandfather or my grandson in Iroquois, but uses formal transitives which may be respectively translated as he grandfathers me or i grandfather him. Clearly, the morphological isolation of possessed terms of relationship finds abundant justification in psychological considerations. I would, then, in contradistinction to Uhlenbeck, allow for three fundamental types of classification of possessive pronouns in America:—

1. All nouns treated alike (Yana, Southern Paiute).
2. Relationship terms contrasted with other nouns (Takelma).

\(^1\) The Paiute, Nootka, and Wishram facts are quoted from my manuscript field-notes.
3. Possessed nouns classified into inseparable (comprising chiefly body-parts and terms of relationship) and separable (Chimariko).

Sometimes types 2 and 3 intercross, when we get the triple classification of languages like Sioux and Haida.

Uhlenbeck's desire to look upon inseparability as the most fundamental concept involved in the so-called possessive relation is evidently largely determined by reasons of a speculatively psychological order. He notes with justice that the possessive pronouns of the inseparable category are generally simpler than those of the separable category; that the latter are, indeed, frequently derivatives from the former. From this he argues that originally only inseparable nouns (body-part nouns and terms of relationship) had possessive affixes at all. Further, aside from certain exceptions (Miwok, Mutsun, Chumash), he finds that where, as is generally the case, the possessive pronouns are related to the pronominal affixes of the verb, they agree in form, not with the subjective or energetic, but, on the whole, with the objective or casus inertiae. The evidence for this important and well-known fact is drawn from Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Chinook, Chimariko, Maidu, Yuki, Pomo, Muskogean, and Siouan, to which we might add Shoshonean and Nootka.

Uhlenbeck's psychological interpretation of this fact, as well as of the greater primitiveness of the possessive pronominal affixes of inseparable nouns, is given at the close of the paper: "Where there is identity of the possessive elements with inert personal elements, there can hardly be any talk of real 'possession,' seeing that, where real 'possession' is involved, we should rather expect similarity of possessive with energetic elements, as opposed to a distinct series of inert personal pronouns or personal affixes. If, now, we recollect the excellent remarks of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl on 'possession' in Melanesia, and bear in mind that, for example, in Dakota a noun with inseparably-possessive affixes has entirely, or nearly so, the form of a conjugated adjective, or, aside from the, in Dakota, differently placed pronominal element, of a verbalized independent noun, we shall not go wrong in recognizing in the so-called possessively inflected noun an identifying expression. A [Dakota] form [meaning 'my heart'] thus does not signify 'my heart' in the manner of our civilized languages, but indicates the identity of myself with the one heart with which I, and no other, stand in the closest relation. Similarly the inclusive [Dakota form meaning 'child of us two'] is not so much 'child of us two' as indeed 'the child that we both are,' 'the phase of us two which is the child.' But it is impossible to transcribe into modern words the thoughts and feelings of 'primitives,' even though we are perhaps able to think and feel ourselves into them."

This psychological interpretation strikes me as extreme, the more so as I see no conclusive reason for assuming that possessive pronominal affixes were originally not employed with separable nouns. If we interpret Uhlenbeck's casus inertiae, as suggested in the preceding review, as a neutral form of no intrinsic case significance, then the identification of a functional possessive with a specifically intransitive or inactive case is arbitrary. As a matter of fact, in quite a number of American languages we find that the possessive affixes, while generally closely related to a series of pronominal affixes in the verb, are composed of a distinctively possessive element of non-personal significance and a pronominal element proper. This is the case, for instance, in Nootka and most of the Takelma possessive affixes. In such cases the possessive affix must naturally be periphrastically interpreted: MY AS OF ME, BELONGING TO ME. Where the sign of general possessive relation is lacking, the pronominal affix can be conceived of as standing in an implicit position-determined genitive relation to the noun,
more or less as in noun-compounds (i.e., 1-HOUSE, for MY HOUSE, might be conceived of as a compound with merely implied genitive relation, precisely as in a form like HEN-HOUSE if interpreted as HOUSE OF HENS). There is still a further method of interpretation, corresponding to the objective interpretation of the inactive or intransitive case given in the preceding review. This is to look upon the possessive affix as frankly objective (or dative) in character; e.g., to interpret a form like MY HOUSE as a semiverbal HOUSE (is) TO ME. As a matter of fact, the line between such predicative forms as IT IS MY HOUSE and such purely denominative forms as MY HOUSE is often very difficult to draw; e.g., in Chinookan. Either of these explanations of the verbal affiliation of the possessive pronouns of so many American languages seems preferable, in my opinion, to Uhlenbeck's mystical theory of identification. The less we operate with "primitive" psychology, the better. Modern research is beginning to make it clear that the psychology of civilized man is primitive enough to explain the mental processes of savages.

One more point before closing. I feel that Uhlenbeck is too much inclined to look for functional or semantic explanations of possessive pronominal differentiation where purely phonetic factors are probably all that is really involved (e.g., in Washo; Salinan; Algonkin; and Takelma, aside from terms of relationship). A striking example of the failure to evaluate purely phonetic factors is afforded by his discussion of the Blackfoot terms isk BUCKET and its possessives (e.g., no-xk MY BUCKET). He considers the forms isk and -(o)xk as representing two etymologically unrelated stems, and connects this surprising phenomenon with such suppletive examples in Blackfoot as HORSE and MY HORSE (as also in Southern Paiute; similar cases occur frequently for DOG in America). It seems very much more likely to me that we are not here dealing with independent stems at all, but that an original osk was in Blackfoot regularly shifted to oxk (the back vowel and k pulling the s to a back position; namely, x). This explanation is practically demonstrated by comparing no-xk with Blackfoot mo-xkats-is FOOT (from Algonkin *-skat-; cf. Cree miskât¹ LEG).

E. SAPIR.

¹ Quoted from Lacombe.
TEPECANO PRAYERS
By J. Alden Mason

INTRODUCTION

The following prayers or *perdones* as they are locally termed were collected during the months of December, 1911, to March, 1912, and from November of the latter year to January, 1913, while I was enjoying the facilities for field work afforded me as representative from the University of Pennsylvania to the International School of Mexican Ethnology and Archeology. They were secured in Azqueltán, a little pueblo in the northeastern corner of the state of Jalisco, some hundred miles west of Zacatecas and nearly the same distance north of Guadalajara. Here live the remainder of the Tepecanos, at present the southernmost people speaking a language of the Piman group. A brief sketch of their life and customs and collections of their folk-tales have been published as well as a short account of one of the religious fiestas.

The principal results of the residence in Azqueltán, in addition to the above-mentioned sketches, were studies of the language and of the religion of this group. An exposition of the language is being published by the New York Academy of Sciences. To the same Academy is due no little credit for the appearance of the present paper, since it supplied the needed funds for its preparation. The present collection of prayers is presented partly as illustrative material for the aforesaid linguistic sketch and partly as basic material for the study of the religion which is to be prepared. For this reason the prayers are presented with little introduction and no attempt has been made to explain the ceremonial allusions. Footnotes have been appended only to elucidate grammatical points.

The greater number of the prayers were given me by my principal informant, Eleno Aguilar. A few were given by the *Cantador Mayor* or High Priest, Rito de la Cruz, and one was secured from Francisco Aguilar. But all were revised and corrected by Eleno.

The religion of the Tepecanos appears to be very similar to those of the other neighboring peoples of the Sierra Madre Occidental, the Huichol, Cora, Tepehuane and Tarahumare. Preuss has published a voluminous account of the religion of the Cora and Lumholtz more or less detailed accounts of those of the other groups, particularly the Huichol. The religion of the latter appears to be somewhat specialized but those of the other groups are doubtless basically the same. Preuss gives many songs and prayers very similar in form and concept to those given here and Lumholtz mentions the same among other groups.

3 The Pinole Fiesta at Azqueltán, University of Pennsylvania Museum Journal, III, p. 44.
4 Tepecano, A Piman Language of Western Mexico, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences. The appearance of this article is delayed on account of the war.
5 K. T. Preuss, Die Religion der Cora-Indianer, Leipzig, 1912, and many smaller articles in various periodicals.
6 Karl Lumholtz, Unknown Mexico, New York, 1902, and several smaller articles.
The old Tepecano religion is now practically abandoned in favor of Catholicism and the Christian influence may be traced in several of the prayers. Fortunately it is slight. But it must be borne in mind that the prayers are traditional material and many have not been recited for years. Probably a large number have been lost beyond possibility of record. The possibility of inaccuracy is therefore considerable. In many cases, the exact meaning of esoteric phrases has been forgotten or they are interpreted differently by different informants. In other cases the purpose of the prayer itself is disputed by various authorities or changes suggested in the final revision. It is with a full realization of these possible inaccuracies that the collection is presented.

For the greater part, the texts have been printed exactly as written down even in cases where cumulative evidence of many records of the same word indicates that a certain instance was incorrectly recorded. In addition to certain regular changes to conform with the orthography now in standard usage,\(^1\) the principal change in preparation of manuscript has been in the cases of the complexes \(pb, td,\) and \(kg\) where the initial surd is not released, to \(B', D',\) and \(G',\) respectively.

For a complete account of the phonetics and morphology of the language the reader is referred to the before-mentioned linguistic paper. A brief résumé of the phonetic key used is here appended for ready reference:

\[
\begin{array}{l|l}
\text{a} & \text{as in arm} \\
\text{e} & \text{as in end (very rare and probably reduced from diphthong ia)} \\
\text{i} & \text{as in machine} \\
\text{o} & \text{as in orb} \\
\text{ð} & \text{as in urn (i and û were occasionally written as variants of ð)} \\
\text{u} & \text{as in rule (approaches o of note)} \\
\text{y} & \text{as in yes (generally as an i glide)} \\
\text{w} & \text{as in wet (generally as an u glide; also confused with v)} \\
\text{w} & \text{semi-voiceless w} \\
\end{array}
\]

\(^1\) Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, publication 2415, Washington, D. C.

m as in men
n as in net
\(\eta\) as in sing (rare)
r as in Spanish pero
\(\rho\) as in Spanish pavo
\(\upsilon\) as in Spanish pero
\(\upsilon\) as in Spanish pavo
\(\upsilon\) as in semi-voiceless \(\upsilon\)
\(\upsilon\) as in show (but approaching \(s\))
\(\upsilon\) as in hat (probably not differentiated from \(h\))
\(\upsilon\) as in Spanish jota (probably not differentiated from \(h\))

1. TO PREPARE THE PATIO FOR THE FIESTA OF THE RAIN

\(\text{adiu's.um}^2\) naparin.\(q''c^3\) naparinda''\(D^4\)

To God,\(^1\) thou who art my Father,\(^3\) who art my Mother,\(^4\)

\(^1\) Adios is the most frequent beginning for most of the prayers and is, of course, a Christian influence. It is a question whether it represents a dedication to the Christian God or merely an exclamation of greeting, in which sense it is frequent in Spanish usage. It has been most frequently translated as "Hail!" The particle um here is of doubtful nature.

\(^3\) The stem means FATHER; it has frequently been translated as "Lord."

\(^4\) The stem means MOTHER; it has frequently been translated as "Lady."
ganaveric’vgok o’hi tö’tvag. wöt’a pihö’ they which are seven beautiful skies beneath, where
napimpum’a’r’gid kutsapica’tivb’hi’möd that ye are formed. We say we hither came
amta’nim ha’gcicara para begging you pardon, in order
nantu’t nantumtuha’’na nanpu.i’ni.ci’a da’rs that I here may meddle, ¹ that I here them may place,
hidi nampurictök’’dam cidu’dkam² these which are powerful fetishes⁶ nampumtot’ök anihö’ nampu’a’r’gidic⁸ that they are named hereabouts, that they are
formed,⁴ hacnaci’d dúdu⁴ kuha’pu.pi’c.Ö’b nica’m’a’tud thus that boards.⁴ Then likewise also I give you
to know
kupimitunha’gcida hidi hö’ma’d go’k that ye me will pardon these one two
va’ik ni’o khököt nicputö’mai.amta’n three word with. I continually you beg
ha’gcicara⁵ kupiminma’kia lise’nsia pardon⁴ that ye me will give permission
ku’n.inta’t mo’imör.cituha’’na nanpu.i’ni.tu’t that I here suddenly may meddle that I here may pass
kagda para nanpu.i’ni.cituna’da hidi the night in order that I here may take fire this

¹ It has been difficult to translate this stem succinctly. It is better translated by the Spanish manejar, the idea being to putter around, putting things in order.
² Probably from the stem cidu, TO HOARD or CHERISH. They are commonly known by their native name but are translated on demand as IDOLS. They are small objects of stone, bone, etc.
³ This stem has given great trouble as it seems to be used in a passive sense either with or without the passive particle.
⁴ This is a word of esoteric meaning which has practically been forgotten. My informant translated it by different phrases until at last he settled on como pertenece a los cuatro vientos. It seems to contain the same stem as cidukam, TO GUARD and CHERISH.
⁵ The phrase “to beg pardon” seems to carry both the idea of craving forgiveness and beseeching favor.
⁶ Always translated “green” but probably signifies “blue” as well.

navarictö’dog⁸ am’ai’nic.dám⁶ pihö’dör which is green⁶ your petate⁶ on. Where from
napuixi’kma’d napuivo’pmic ganavaramhi’t- that it clouds up that arises that which is your koma navarica’pma’citk’a’t na.icva’ut’ak⁸ cloud which is well appearing, spread out which drizzles⁸
navarictö’dgikat’ pihö’ napuam’a’r’gid which is very green, spread out. Where that it is formed
navarni’okid⁸ ganavarnisu’sbidat¹⁰ inci’u’g¹¹ which is her² word she who is my Guide¹⁰ my Morning Star,¹¹
in.o’G napubō’tō’kdim gano’víd para my Father, that he hither to us comes reaching that his hand in order

natpuha’bantu’d’a’gimöd gantuño’l.dida that we in it enveloping ourselves will go beholding
wö’c.oras.a’ba pihö napu’a’r’gidic¹² navaric’tall hours in. Where that it is formed which is
a’r.wöta.hövan pihö’dör napubō’iwpö east beneath there whence that lightninged down
natpuob’inió¹³ amöhö’dör natpu’a’vo’m that spoke¹² down hither. From afar that has arisen
natpuma’nio’k’i gava’varipkam hu’r’nipkam that has spoken to him he of the north westerner

⁷ Nahua petlatl, MAT, generally translated CARPET.
⁸ Lovisimar.
⁹ The singular pronoun is frequently used in apposition to the names of several deities. It is one of the most puzzling problems which of the divinities named is referred to or whether they are conceived as being various attributes of one individual. At other times the plural pronoun is employed.
¹⁰ Evidently combined of sob’, PROTECT, and dad, MOTHER. The guia is interpreted as a small star which rises immediately before the Morning Star.
¹¹ Evidently related to cic, ELDER BROTHER.
¹² Reference doubtful.
¹³ The thunder is conceived as a voice, the Word. In many of the prayers the Word seems to be conceived as an entity, arising, being formed, speaking and performing other anthropomorphic functions. This concept has rendered certain translations very equivocal.
This prayer is recited by the Cantador Mayor, the principal functionary of Tepecano religion, to beg permission of the divinities to clean and prepare the ceremonial patio for the celebration of the Rain Fiesta, the principal fiesta of the year, held on the fifth of April. This is done in the late afternoon. After reciting this, the Cantador, or Chief Singer, sweeps the dance patio, lights the fire and decorates the altar with the necessary ceremonial objects.

**TRANSLATION**

Oh ye who are my Lord and my Lady who were created beneath the seven beautiful heavens! Hither have we come to ask your forgiveness so that I may here prepare and may place here these powerful Cidukakam, as they are called hereabouts where they are formed and cherished. Also do I say unto you that ye must forgive me these few words. Continually do I implore you that ye give me leave to work here and to pass the night here that I may kindle fire on this your green carpet.

Thence the heaven becometh overcast and your cloud ariseth, beautifully outspread, which drizzles and is very green. There is formed the Word of Him who is my Guide, my Morning Star and my Lord, who cometh teaching unto us his hand that we, gathering ourselves into it, may go beholding in all hours. There beneath the east is it formed whence he hath sent his lightning and spoken. From afar it hath arisen; he hath spoken to them of the north, the west and the south, telling to all parts. Thus did they know it; they have seated themselves and have reached unto us their hand that we, wrapping ourselves in it, may go observing.

They will repel the heat with their arrows; with their chimales will they cast it aside. hexagon of yarn, the "God's eye" of the Huichol. To the Tepecanos it is God's face.

1. *Chimal* is the native adaptation of the Nahua *chimalli*, SHIELD. The chimal is the little diagonal or...
They will shield us from whatever pestilence may come. For we may not see and in darkness we grope, for we are vile and with our filthiness we impede ourselves.

This only do I say unto you. Hear ye me! Ye will pardon me for meddling here in this your court. Here will I place your white cloth on your carpet where ye are formed in all hours. Continually do I implore you. May God bless you.

2. TO COMMMENCE THE FIESTA OF THE RAIN
(PERDÓN MAYOR)

adio's ino'G inda'd inci'u'G
To God, my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star.

ati'puhi'möt aptu'i' napimaringö'korak1
We have come; to be that ye are my *manes*.

a'mohóvan napimarda'dar'kam hó' there that ye are the sitters that

garictumáM ictód'og ci'a'r wó't'a is five green east beneath.

amomó'dór napimivo'pmiça hóga There from that ye will lift that

navarumé'umí navarumú'umí2 nab' which is health. Which are thy* ceremonial arrows that*

aituda'giúna hóga na'p'gama'.itwi'cturda thou hither us wilt cleanse that thou, coming-

hóga'ac'ko'dakam aric'i'kó't umtót that sickness is vicinity thy-

tvagiwopta a'bi'dór na'puiwu'wacda skies beneath. There from thou wilt select

navarumvo'pökam a'nihódror nab'ai' which is thy path. Here from that thou-

ituda'giúna hóga naparicxö'pitkam hither us wilt cleanse that which is the coldness*

navarumno'V hó'kót na'p'ahu'kót.iktka'- which is thy hand with; that thou with it for us-

pkaturda navarum.òra'dakam napit'ò' wilt constrain which is thy inwardsness; that-

vörturda hóga navarumhi'mda thou us wilt lengthen that which is thy way

napgamipkitöt'kò'hini'da hóga navaruma' which thou also now us wilt cause to tread that which is-

t'vagi.sa'gíd ku'hí'di'kò'd apictunha'gicda thy altar between. Then this with thou wilt-
pardon,

adio's in.o'G inda'd inci'u'k hidi God my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star, this

hóma go'k ba'ik tak'u'gumó'kót one two three fragments with

nanitaitumnö'i'puctur navaricda'dik'am which I to thee have recited which is health

navarumni'o'k kuhi'di hó'madakamó'kót which is thy word. Then this creation with

apictunha'gicda porki aniamai'cturda thou me wilt pardon because I not may fulfill

hóga na'varumhi'mda hóga that which is thy way that

navarumtövoríG hóga napubó.'ima'c which is thy length that which hither appears

hóga avemicmökór havaericda'dik'am that it very distant and it is health

havaeric'du'k'am kuha'bandor a'niam- and it is treasure. Then with it from I not-

vhóamttö'gíd'a4 kuhi'ði'oma'dakam.hókót anywhere you may see.4 Then this creation with

adio's in.o'G inda't inci'u'k to God, my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star.

ha'p'hihó'van napimaringö'korak In that place that ye are my *manes*

amihóvan napimarda'dar'kam ictód'og there that ye are sitters green8

1 Translated "Our Fathers and Mothers of the heavens." It is not quite certain whether these are the major divinities, minor divinities or ancestral spirits.

2 The changes in person in this and other prayers are very confusing. Their signification is most puzzling.

3 Cold and wind are conceived as health-giving and purifying, heat as synonymous with sickness.

4 Possibly auditory error for -*um-, THEE.

4 The color appropriate to the east.
ci"arwö'ta' hõga navarictö'dog east beneath that which is green
o'hi' so'so'n navarum.a'tök'kar1 beautiful bead which is thy seat,
ha'bandör nagamida'dig nagamihi'komac where from that comes health that it clouds up
tag which is thy seat.
nagamiwö'pövä' ha'bandör navi'vata'tag that comes lightning where from that it hitherto drizzles.
kua'mömô'dör napum.a'r'gidida2 navarictö'do Then there from that will be formed3 which is green
o'hi hi'komö'k-öö gô'gor o'hi beautiful cloud with great beautiful
hi'komsa'gïd na'puwö'pövä'ma.iwö'cnià cloud between. That advancing will start
na'puva'tönö'idida va'viar3 o'hi that will go beholding gray4 beautiful
tö'tvawö'ta napumai'anio'k'ida bat'iar skies beneath. That hence already will go speaking
gray
o'hi so'so'btio'd amömô' navarada'k'am beautiful bead-man there that is sitter
navarva'viar tö'vawö'ta na'purnu'- that it is gray sky beneath that he
k'ad'am navarva'viar o'xi is guardian which is gray beautiful
navarumva'p'ämöric ha'bandör nab'- that are thy lakes. Hence that
öixa'dug4 na'puvi'i'ngi ku'a'mömô'dör it hither4 . . . that it . . . Then there from
napuivo'mgia na'puva'tönö'idida that will arise that already will go beholding
navargö'gor va'paviar o'xi which are gray beautiful
hi'komö'tr a'bîmô na'puvadu'via cloud within. That already arrives

1 Possibly auditory error for -am-, your.
2 From here on, the references of the third person are doubtful. Most if not all of them probably refer to the journey of the Word, the prayer, the formula, through the heavens though some may have reference to the habitant spirits of the cardinal directions.
3 Yellowish-gray, the color of the north.
4 These two stems evidently carry an esoteric ceremonial significance which has been forgotten by the present natives. None of the authorities interrogated was able to give a translation of them. They probably refer to various phases of the rain.
5 The color of the west.
ha"k'ic u'vikam na'puarinda'ñ where is my Lady.

d'aricu'g o'xi to'vagwot'a

napur'da'kam na'purunu'k'ad'am that is sitter that she is guardian

navarumba'pamörid a'midör na'piv'o'-that are thy lakes there from that thou

pmigid navarica'dik'am navarumci'-liftest which is health which is thy

cvordaD ha'ban'dô'r na'puio'hi plumes. Thence it becomes beautiful,

naB'ia'du'g ha'ban'dô'r napuiv'i'gi that it . . . whence that it . .

naB'a'id'a'giuna navaruma'mar inimô That thou hither us wilt cleanse

navarum.ó'k'ad'a wô't'a ku'ba'i'id'a'giuna which is thy shadow beneath. Then thou hither us wilt cleanse

navarica'dik'am navarumsa'kumghô'köt which is health which is thy sorrow with.

napgama.it'ô'vörturda navarumg'gu'cdara That thou for us wilt increase which is thy succeed.

ku.a'mi'dô'r na'pivo'mgia navarictu'tuk Then there from which will arise which are black

navarumhi'komag orhô'dôr na'p'uta'tonô'-which is thy cloud within from which already

idida navargô'gôr o'xî xi'komôr will go beholding which are great beautiful cloud within

naphô'kô'pa.ua'rgida navaricdak'am Which with will be formed this which is health

navarumxi'komagô'kôt ha'ban'dô'r which is thy cloud with whence

nagamiwô'gôv ha'ban'dô'r nab'iva'uta which it lightnings whence which drizzles,

a'bi.môdô'r napugaminiôk' na'pu.unhô'gib There from that speaks that to thee replies

hôdô'r navarumxi'komagôra ku.a'bi.môdô'r alone which is thy cloud within. Then there from

napumgo'kiptôtu'gia naB'ai'vatuda'giuna that to both sides will look that thou hither already

giuna navarichô'pitkam navarumusa'-wilt cleanse which is coldness which are thy ceremonial arrows

navarumto'tvagiwô't'a napubai'vatuda'-that is thy skies beneath. That hither already

kumigô'kôt navarci'k'o'r navarumbo'-sorrow with which is vicinity which are

pro'iga'ba napubai'vaha'du'g napubai'-thy paths in. Which hither already . . . which

vavi'ngi ha'ba'nô'dôr nab'ai'hâhi'komag hither already . . . Thence which hither already clouds up

umhi'komaks'a'gid na'pgamiwôpgôv thy cloud between that thou sendest lightnings

naga'maicuma'ma'c navarumbo'poiga'ba that appear which are thy paths in.

ku.amîdô'r napuma'vatônôidida aric'ta' Then there from that hence already will go beholding is white!

a'ric'ta' o'hi umtô'vagiwô'ta' a'ric'ta o'hi beautiful thy sky beneath is white beautiful

hi'komô'kô'p na'puwama'rgida napuma'-cloud with that already will be formed. Which

ivanio'k'ida a'ric'ta' o'hi so'so'btia'o hence already will go speaking is white beautiful bead-man

a'ric'ta' o'hi umtô'vagiwô'ta' napurda'k'am is white beautiful thy sky beneath that is sitter

a'ric'ta' o'hi so'so'btia'o navaruma'toc'kardam is white beautiful bead which is thy seat on

naparnuká'd'am navarumba'p'amô'rit which is guardian which are thy lakes.

ku.amîdô'r napivo'pimô'da a'ric'ta' o'hi Then there from that thou wilt lift is white beautiful

navarumci'cvordad ha'ban'dô'r na'puio'hi which are thy plumes whence that becomes beautiful

1 The color of the south.
na'bandör na'nu'ida'di ku'ganavaricta' whence that thou healthenest. Then that which is white
o'hi navarumci'cvod a'pđör beautiful which are thy plumes in from
na'puiha'jug na'bu'ivi'gni napuha' that it... that that
bandör na'puihi'komag hi'komasg'giñ whence that it clouds up within
na'pgamiwō'p'gōv nagamictuma'mac' that thou sendest lightnings which they appear
a'ricta' o'hi navarum'ai'niqādām is white beautiful which is thy petale on.
kua'mōmō'dōr napugo'kip.a'ptōtūgia Then there from that in both sides wilt look
na'puva'yo'qādīda a'ricta' o'hi that already will go beholding is white beautiful hi'kom.ōr naphō'kō'ūma'rgida cloud within; that with it will be formed
a'rictā:ta hi'komō'kō't napuha'bandōri'vo' are white cloud with. That whence hither witt pmikda navarica'dik'am navarumu'umī raise which is health which are thy ceremonial arrows bai'vatuda'giuna arici'ko'r navarumū'tō' hither already cleanse is vicinity which are tvagiwō'ta na'pumōratōnō'dida thy skies beneath. That within will go beholding a'richtumā'm tō'do tōvawō'ta it is five green sky beneath na'puhō'kōuma'rgida a'richtumā'm o'hi that with will be formed is five beautiful navarumhi'komagō'ko't na'pamōmōdör which is thy cloud with. That there from napivo'mgīa a'richtumā'm navarumnī' that will arise is five which is o'k'hō'kōd napuba'vatunōidīda arici'i' thy word with, that hither already will go beholding are vgo'k'o'hi tō'vaqādam a'bi'mō seven beautiful sky on. There na'puvadu'via na'ba'ivani'o'k'ida that already arrives that hither already will come speaking

na'varit.o'g to'no'r hi'kom ci'vo't who is our Lord Sun Cloud Plume
cidūkam ha'bandör na'gamida'dīg Fetish, whence that comes health
hō'kia ma'mci'm hi'komō'kōd how many apparitions cloud with.
na'b'ida'giuna va'paviar o'hi That thou wilt cleanse gray beautiful
navarumu'umihō'kō'd ku.a'bimōdōr which are thy ceremonial arrows with. Then there from na'parda'k'am arici'vgo'k'o'hi that thou art sitter is seven beautiful navaruma'tokardām naparu'kam which is thy seat on that thou art guardian arici'vgo'k'o'hi navarumva'p'amārīg are seven beautiful which are thy lakes napivo'pmikda navaricadā'dik'am that thou wilt raise which is health navarumci'cvorda arici'ko'r na'ima' which are thy plumes is vicinity which ma'c'i'a'rwō'ta va'varip hu'rnip appear east beneath north west o'gipas ku.a'bimōdör nav'uwo'p'gōv south. Then there from that it lightnings na'gamistuma'mac arici'vgo'k'hi'kom.ōr that appear are seven cloud within. a'bimōdōr na'pgaminio'k'ia napumhō'kda There from that thou begin wilt speak that to thee will reply a'ric'i'ko'r tō'tvawō'kta ba'varip is vicinity skies beneath north hu'rnip o'gipas a'rici'vgo'k west south are seven hi'kom.ōr na'ri'ku'mida na'varictumām cloud within. That thou hither wilt go ceasing which are five o'hi navarumnī'o'k' kuhi'di beautiful which is thy word. Then this hō'ma'dakam hō'kōd api'ctunha'gicda creation with thou me wilt pardon.
adī's in.o'g inada't inci'k To God my Lord my Lady my Morning Star.
NOTE

This is the Perdon Mayor or principal prayer, it being the opening prayer of the most important of the four annual fiestas. After the patio has been prepared, the altar arranged and the fire lighted, the communicants arrive. Then, after darkness has set in, the Chief Singer takes his seat facing the altar to the east and recites the prayer.

This prayer must also be recited by one desiring to become a shaman in order to prove his knowledge and ability.

TRANSLATION

Oh my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star! Hither have we come. Ye are my spirits who are seated there in the five heavens beneath the green east. From there will ye bring health.

With thy arrows thou wilt purify us; thou wilt quit from us the pestilence which surroundeth us beneath thy heavens. From there thou wilt lead thy path. Thou wilt cleanse us with the cold which is thy hand, with which thou wilt intensify for us thy spirit. Thou wilt lengthen for us thy way which thou wilt now cause us to tread, which is between thy altar. With these few fragments which I have recited unto thee thou wilt pardon me, God, my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star, for they are thy Word which is health. With this formula thou wilt pardon me for I may not fulfill thy commandment, thy course which hither leadeth, for it is very far; it is health and treasure. Therefore I never may behold thee. So with this formula Hail! my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star.

There are ye seated, my spirits, beneath the green east, on the beautiful green bead which is your throne, whence come health and the clouds, lightning and drizzle. There will it be created of the beautiful green cloud between the great beautiful clouds.

Forward will it proceed, observing beneath the beautiful gray heavens. Hence will go speaking the beautiful gray Bead-man who sittheth there beneath the gray heaven, the guardian of thy beautiful gray lakes. Then from there will it arise and go observing within the beautiful great gray cloud. Far away will it arrive where it will be formed within the great cloud. There wilt thou purify it with thy tears, which are health. Thence will it look to both sides, within the great gray clouds. Thou wilt weep and purify it with thy arrows which are the cold. Thou wilt quit from us the pestilence round about beneath thy heavens with the cold of thy chimal which is thy countenance. Here will it go about observing beneath thy heavens where it will be formed of the cold with thy many-colored cloud.

Then will it go about observing beneath thy beautiful black heavens where thou wilt cleanse it with the cold of thy arrows. Hither will come speaking and reciting the Woman who is my Lady. Beneath the beautiful black heaven is she sitting, guarding thy lakes whence thou drawest health, thy plumes. From them cometh beauty. Thou wilt cleanse us who are thy sons who wander here beneath thy healthful shadow. Thou wilt purify us with thy health-giving tears. Thou wilt increase for us thy succor. Thence will it arise from out thy black cloud and will go beholding within the beautiful great cloud. It will be created with thy healthful cloud whence come the lightning and the drizzle. From there he speaketh, answering thee within thy cloud, alone. Then will it look to both sides and thou wilt cleanse it with the cold of thy arrows. Round about beneath thy heavens will it gaze and thou wilt purify it with the cold of thy tears, round about in thy paths. From it thou sendeth the clouds and, within the cloud, thy lightning which appeareth in thy paths.

From there will it go beholding beneath thy beautiful white heaven where it will be formed of the beautiful white cloud. Hence will go speaking the beautiful white Bead-
man who sitteth beneath thy beautiful white heaven on the beautiful white bead which is thy throne, guarding thy lakes. From these wilt thou raise thy beautiful white plumes whence come beauty and health. From thy beautiful white plumes cometh the rain; from them come the clouds and within the cloud thou sendest lightnings which flash on thy beautiful white carpet. From there will it look to both sides, gazing within the beautiful white cloud where it will be formed of the white cloud. From it thou wilt bring health and wilt cleanse with thy arrows, round about beneath thy heavens.

It will go about gazing beneath the five green heavens where it will be formed of thy five beautiful clouds. From there will it arise with thy five Words and will go about observing in the seven beautiful heavens. There will arrive speaking our Lord, the Sun, the Cloud, the Plume, the Cidukam from which cometh health in the many-colored cloud. With thy beautiful gray arrows wilt thou cleanse it. Thou art seated on thy seven beautiful thrones guarding thy seven beautiful lakes whence thou wilt raise thy health-giving plumes which appear round about beneath the east, the north, the west and the south. From there afar the lightnings flash through the seven clouds. From there thou wilt speak and they will reply unto thee from all around beneath the heavens, from north, west and south within the seven clouds. So wilt thou end thy five beautiful Words.

With this formula thou wilt forgive me. Hail! my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star.

3. TO CONCLUDE THE FIESTA OF THE RAIN

a'tiputhi'mōt a'ptu'i' dū'os in.o'g
We have come be God my Lord.

api'cu'ntuña'gicda i'nimō napiti'da'kta
Thou wilt pardon here that thou didst us leave

hi'di navarictō'd'og un'ai'niGdam
this that is green thy petale on.

kuamōmō'dör nā'B'ivo'pniGda hō'g'a
Then there from that thou hither wilt raise that

va Venā'viār ō'hi gamu'ūmi naphō'g'mr
gray beautiful those thy ceremonial arrows which thou with

kō'titsō's'bida hō'g'a navaricko'k'dakam
us wilt go shielding that which is sickness

arci'k'o'r navarumtōtvag'i ci'a'r
is vicinity which are thy skies east

wō't'a' ba'varip hū'rnip o'gipa
beneath north west south

a'ricivo'k' ō'hi tō't'vagdam kuamōmō'dör
are seven beautiful skies on. Then there from

na'a'id'a'gīuna na'varichō'pīkam
thou hither us wilt cleanse which is coldness

na'varumno'v na'pgama.i'twi'cūtūrda
which is thy hand. That thou, beginning, from us wilt repel

hō'g'a navaricko'k'dakam xu'p'ur
that which is sickness wind

ci'cvorīg na't'unō'nō' hidi
plumes which fly this

navarum'ai'niGdam a.mō'mōdōr
which is thy petale on. There from

na'a'id'a'gīda na'varumgō'gu'cērā'
that thou hither us wilt send which is thy succor

na-phōk'ōtīt'-ōvōr'tūrda na'varum-
which thou with to us wilt extend which is thy

ō'rad'ak'am inwardness.

NOTE

This prayer is recited by the Chief Singer at the close of the Rain Fiesta about dawn on the following day.

TRANSLATION

Oh God, my Lord! We have come where thou art. Thou wilt forgive me, thou who didst leave us here on this thy green carpet. From afar thou wilt raise thy beautiful gray arrows with which thou wilt shield us from sickness round about in thy heavens, beneath
the east, the north, the west and the south in thy seven beautiful heavens. From there thou wilt purify us with the cold, which is in thy hand. Thou wilt cast from us the pestilence, the whirlwinds, the plumes which fly about on this thy carpet. From afar thou wilt send us thy succor and wilt reveal unto us thy spirit.

4. TO PREPARE THE PATIO FOR THE FIESTA OF THE ELOTES

adiu's naparinsu'sbidat inci'u'k
To God that thou art my Guide, my Morning Star,
in'o'g naparinda't ci'arwö't'ahö'
my Lord. That thou art my Lady east beneath
there
napusoi'má'c napitpübö.'inió-
that thou sad appearest that thou didst hither speak
napitpuböiwö'gö amöhödör
that thou didst hither send lightnings there from
napitpuböihíkmát ati'cumtán ha'gicdara
that thou didst hither send clouds. We thee beg
pardon
navarci'vgok ohi tövacwö't'a pixödör
that are seven beautiful skies beneath where-
from
napüböm.a'r'göd kuticputömai.amtán
that thou hither art created. Thus we continually-
you beg
há'gicdara kupimi.'thutá'gicda kupimi'.
pardon that ye us will pardon, that ye us will-
ita'ma'kia liese'nsíá kutsapi'ni.itu'kakda
give permission that we here may pass the night
kutkó'amdo'dicda höga navaramnók'ar
that we decorated for you may make which is
your patio
para natpumci'cvoöra2 höga itö'cig
in order that we for thee3 may make plumes he
our Corn
kuti'ni.cia'dá'rsa gactökö.dam ci'du'ökam
that we here them may place that powerful fetishes

nampumtö'tök ganavaricta ava't'o.dám
that they are called that which is white their-
tapeste on
ganavaricta mai'niq.wö't'a kutsapi-
that which is white pêate beneath. Then we-
putuasa'sa'uda3 para natputuïktä4
say for them we will play5 in order that we may-
bless6
para napub'ai'k'a nat'uh'gia
in order that may be able that we may eat.
kuti'puainci'cvoöra höganavarcivgok
Then we for you will make plumes that which is seven
amni'o'khóköt para natpum'a'töö'a
your word with in order that you may cause-
to know
ganavarani'o'k ganamaritgökorak
that which is their word they who are our manes
wöpuhímdam nampuböit'ökdim gana-
before gone on; that they hither us come extending
that which
varano'v para natpua'bangun'a'gimöt
is their hand in order that we in it having-
unfolded ourselves
gamtnöü.dida wöcorasa'ba kuha'pu.pu-
may go beholding all hours in. Then so-
i'cöpata'n ha'gicdara wö'pu
also them beg pardon first
höga navariti'uk kuvipuböitnöü.dida
he that he is our Morning Star. Then he hither us
will come beholding
pixö nat'üha'nda pixö nat'ima'cdiδ6
where that we will meddle where that we will-
go dawning6
pixö' natitu'kakdida kuyam-
where that we will go passing the night that not-
ha'ctuïd'amhacumwa'ða icköököt
anything over us anything will happen strong with
aticia'pída5 kumipuböitnöü.dida
we will arise.6 Then they hither us will come be-
holding

1 Nahua elotl, green ear of corn.
2 Possibly auditory error for -pu-am-, you.
3 On the musical bow.

* By raising the ears of corn to the heavens.
* The stem mar denotes appear; the stem cia is evidently related to ci'ar, east. Both are used with the idea of ARISING AT SUNRISE, amanecer.
ganamaritgö’korak
they who are our manes.

konkihapögía-
With which thus only.
ti’cпуam’ätuð hidi
taku’gumó’’köt
we you give to know
this fragment with
porki
avi’a’mhacibaíg
natumátöö’d’a
because not anyhow can
that we you will cause
to know
ganavaramni’o’k
navaramhi’mda
that which is your word
which it is your way
porkia’tiv iti’kradö’köt
putso’sbidim
because we
our filthiness with
us go obstructing.
konki’.hpah itkaök kudiu’ spócambi’ak’a
With which thus is; us hear. That God you will
sympathize.

NOTE

The Fiestas of Elotes or ripe ears of corn is
held on September fifth. The Chief Singer
arrives early in the evening and recites this
prayer to the divinities to beg permission to
prepare the patio for the fiesta.

TRANSLATION

Hail! my Guide, my Morning Star and
my Father.

My Mother, who sadly appearest beneath
the east, whence thou didst speak, sending
thy lightnings and clouds, we crave thy for-giveness.
Beneath the seven beautiful heav-
ens thou wast created.

Continually do we implore you to forgive
us and to give us leave to pass the night here,
to array your court for you, to make you
plumes of our Corn, and to place here the
powerful cidudakam, as they are called, on
their white cloth beneath their white carpet.
We will play for them in worship, that we
may be enabled to eat. Also will we make
plumes for you with your seven words, that
we may teach you the Word of our spirits
who have gone before. They come reaching
unto us their hand that we, enfolding our-
selves in it, may go beholding in all hours.

Likewise do we beg forgiveness first of
Him who is our Morning Star. He will come
to watch over us where we perform, where
we pass the night and rise with the dawn, so
that no ill may befall us and we may arise
with strength. Our spirits will come to watch
over us.

Only this fragment do we say unto you, for
we may not teach you more of your Word,
which is your Way, for we are confused by
our sinfulness. This, no more. Hear us!
May God bless you.

5. TO COMMENCE THE FIESTA
OF THE ELOTES

adio’s
na’par.inq’k
tunha’gicio
To God, that thou art my Father. Me pardon
hi’di homað
gok’ ba’ik ni’o’k’hök’öt
this one two three word with.
tunha’gicið
porke na’naric.i’kra’k’am
Me pardon because that I am vile
hög’ahököð
a’nicpons’bdim gökö
that with I myself obstructing. Therefore
nipumtán
hágicdara ku’pi’am.ago’
I thee beg pardon. Then thou in two-
kiptöö’nöök’da’
picina’ptunda’gia’
places wilt look. Thou in me wilt seize
namarit’go’korak
vöpõhmdam na’pu.pui’
that they are our manes before go on. Thus
çö’p
pi’miambi’ak’a
napimarapim
also ye not will need
pimia’m.so’umö’rib’a
pi’miecööntö’kda
ye not sad selves will feel. Ye hither me will extend
hög’a
navaramno’v
para nan.
that which is your hand in order that I
a’ptunda’gia
para
nanickö’k’.hök’öö.
in it me will seize in order that I happy with
ima’cdida
gaga’gurahö’van
pimi.iu’rnida
will go appearing. Aside there ye will go casting
gacto’nkam
hög’a
navaramu’uni
hög’ga
heat that which are your ceremonial arrows
that
navaramkávarakoh’kød
pi’mi.potsos’bidim
which are your chimales with ye us go protecting

1 If correctly given, this form is inexplicable.
bóc ci’ko’rhóvan högacto’nkam all vicinity there that heat.
ku’pigama.iwa’hida höga ictonkam Then thou wilt go repulsing that heat
natpóivámd.hagó’i gó’kó ni’pumta’n that it did us over already fall. Therefore I thee beg
ha’gicdara pia’mbi’ak’á napsoi’umó’ri’id’a pardon. Thou wilt not need that thou sad thyself wilt feel.
apica’ptumda’gía ganamaritókorak Thou in them thyself wilt seize they that are our names
amóhódör namitpóihíkmat there from that they did cloud up
namitpóívówó’gö, höga na’vargó:- that they did hither lighten that is great
tó’vakwó’t’a navarci’ar amóhó’van sky beneath. That is east there from
natpóva’nio ha’va natpóbía’hó’k that did already speak and that he did hither already reply
ba’baripkam natpówa’nio havahó’rnip North. That he did already speak and west
natpó’vahók höga hu’hukti’o’ that did already reply that Pine-Man
na’tpu.bó’a’hók ha’pu natpóva’p’nio that did hither already reply. Thus that did already again speak
natpóbó.o’’hók hó’ga’ o’gipa anihóvan that did hither already reply that south. There
tum’á’aqdimuk ci’kor’hóvan hi’di hence already gone conversing vicinity there this
hó’kóD namitpóva’nio ci’vgo’k with that they did already speak, seven
tó’tvaqdam natpuvák’ugat skies on that did already arrive.

TRANSLATION
Hail! thou who art my Father. Pardon me these few words; forgive me them. For I am vile and therefore do I obstruct myself. Therefore do I beg thy forgiveness. Look not askance; thou must be possessed of our spirits who have gone before.

And ye who are ye, do not feel sad. Ye will reach unto me your hand that I may be held in it and arise with gladness. With your arrows will ye cast aside the heat; with your chimales will ye shield us from it, round about.

Thou wilt repel the heat that has fallen upon us. Therefore do I beg thy forgiveness. Be not sad. Thou must be gathered unto them who are our spirits who from afar send the clouds and the lightnings beneath the great heaven.

From the east he spoke and He of the North replied. He spoke and the West replied, replied the Pine-Man. Again he spoke and the South replied. And so did each in turn repeat the word they had spoken till it came unto the seven heavens.

6. TO CONCLUDE THE FIESTA OF THE ELOTES

adiü’s naparín.q’G naparinci’ul’k To God that thou art my Lord, that thou art my Morning Star,
insu’sbidat ati’cubohímód puctuga’im my Guide. We hither came desirous of roasting
hi’dimnói’kar’dá’ım bóc na’tpuin.da’r’im this thy patio on all that we here are sitting
navarumnói’kardám pihóvan na’ that is thy patio on where that
pitpuda’iwak’ sa’sa’kic navarumo’k thou didst, having sat down weep for him who is thy Lord,
na’varumda’t ci’arwó’t’ahó’ napu who is thy Lady, east beneath there that
a’rgídíc pixó’ napuká’t’ ganavaramhávu1 is created, where that is hung that which is thy jícará1
bóc umu’umihók’ó’t umka’kvarhóku’p all thy ceremonial arrows with thy chimales with

1 A cup or bowl made from a gourd and generally decorated with beads impressed in wax.
Hail! thou who art my Lord, my Morning Star and my Guide. Hither did we come to roast in this thy court, all of us who here are seated in thy court. There thou didst seat thyself and didst cry unto Him who is thy Lord and thy Lady who was created beneath the east. There is hung thy \textit{fícaru} with all thy arrows and thy \textit{chimales} beneath thy white carpet o'erspread with drizzly clouds. There ariseth the cloud whence came the lightnings and the voice beneath the seven beautiful heavens. Thence it cometh speaking and drizzling.

\footnote{1 This form is impossible; the future suffix is probably superfluous.}

\footnote{2 Probably a direct translation of the Spanish idiom \textit{hasta que no} in the sense of \textit{until}.}
From afar cometh hearkening she who is his daughter whom he, her father, did send to this green carpet, beautifully clean. Here she arrived in this his court with every adornment that belongeth to her, having journeyed from whence her father sent her. At last she came, weeping, unto this his court, beneath the seven beautiful heavens, beneath the north, the west, the south and the east. From there did her father send her that she might appear in this his court.

Therefore did we grasp her to raise up her who was created round about; laying her on her green cloth in her court, where she was created, we did roast and eat her. Therefore will He who is her father and her mother forgive us because of all her tears. There did she appear and wait until we should raise her up.

Thus do I give thee to know. May God have mercy on thee.

7. TO PREPARE THE PATIO FOR THE FIESTA OF THE PINOLE

adío's naparinsu'sbdat inci'u'k
To God who thou art my Guide, my Morning-Star,
in'o'G inda'd anihó napimuda'dar
my Lord, my Lady. There that ye are seated
ci'kor ganavarica'ma'cim am.a'
that which is well appearing your

Hómat gok that which is your word
nu'k navaramtótnorik that which is your suns.
ku'sapi'tuwó'eka hídí navarictódo
Then I say will sweep this your patio on
amnósíkardá'm para nansapi'ni.i' your patio on in order that I say here,
citu'kakda nanpu'i'ni.tuno'da
will pass the night that I here will make fire
navarannósíkardá'm para nan'i.ni.adá'rsa
that is your patio on in order that I here them will place
nu'k hídí that idols that they are named this
nu'k navaricta' ava't.o.dám navaricta'
that is white their tapestry that is white
amainícwó'ta ganavarau'umihókót hídí
their petate beneath. That which are their ceremonial arrows with that
nu'k navaraka'k'varak pihó' nampuókóditso'-
that are their chimales that they with us
sbdim anihó wóc'ikorhóvan
go protecting there all vicinity there,
kutí'puama'tó'da kutsapi'pumía'g hídí
Then we them will cause to know that we say hence scatter that
nu'aratui'spi' navaravamuit
which is their pinole which is their atole.
kuti.ini.púcitos'kia hídí navaraha'vu'óra
Then we here will place this which is their ficara within.
kutí'puama'atu'ganamaritókorak
Then we them cause to know they who are our menes
wópuhi'mdam anihó' nampuó'dar
before go on there that they are seated
nampubótónfi námpubótónfi
that they hither us watch all hours in
nampubóit'ú'k'it hógnavarano'v
that they hither us extend that which is their hand
nátpwa'ban.tud'a'gimót gamtónbidim
that we in it having wrapped ourselves going observing

1 Nahua *pinoli*, *PULVERIZED CORN-MEAL*.
wōcorasab'a kuti'cpuatán ha'gidara
all hours in. Then we them beg
pardon
ganavarinsusbidat inci'uk ino'k
she who is my Guide, my Morning Star, my Lord,
inda'd kumi'puma'tōhi itka'ōk
my Lady. Then they shall know. Us hear!
kumitutha'gid a konkidio'spōcambi'ak'a
Then they us will pardon. With which God you will
sympathize.

NOTE
This prayer is spoken by the Chief Singer
upon arriving at the ceremonial patio early
in the evening of the fifth of January in order
to beg permission of the divinities to prepare
the patio for the Fiesta of the Pinole to be
held that night.

TRANSLATION
Hail! my Guide, my Morning Star, my
Lord and my Lady who are seated round
about on your pleasant green throne. I be-
seech you, forgive me these few words, this
fragment, for I may not teach you your
word, which is your days. I will sweep this
your green court that I may pass the night
here, that I may kindle fire here in your
court and place here the Cidudkam, as they
are called, on this their white cloth beneath
their white carpet. With their arrows and
their chimales do they protect us in all parts.
We say unto them that we will scatter about
their pinole and their atole, and will place
them here in this their jicara.

Also do we implore our spirits who have
gone before, there where they are seated,
watching us in all hours, that they reach
unto us their hand that we, wrapping our-
selves in it, may go beholding in all hours.

Also do we beg forgiveness of my Guide,
my Morning Star, my Lord and my Lady.
So may they know. Hear us and forgive us!
May God grant you his mercy.

8. TO COMMENCE THE FIESTA OF
THE PINOLE
napimarinhā'ah'cdun anihōnapimtuda'da'r
That ye are my relations there that ye are seated.
kupi'miambi'ak'a hactudō'kō't napimsoi'-
Then ye not will feel anything with that ye-
um'ō'rid'ā hōga amōmdō'r hōga
sad will feel. He there from that
dio's itq'k i'd'a't avipūbiam-
God our Lord, our Lady he hither you-
da'giuna hōg'a navaricxō'pitkam
will cleanse that which is coldness
navaramu'unihōkōd kungama iam-
which are your ceremonial arrows with. Then they-
wi'cturda hōga navaricko'dakam
you will quit that which is sickness
ga'gurahu'van nagama'r na mōkōrhō-
aside there that he will raise distant-
van kuviambisha'k turda ha'cid'um'nia
within. Then not hither will finish any us will
happen
hi'ditu'ki'psāgīd i'nimō natipubaiva-
this night within here that we did hither-
da'ra'iwa hi'di navaricto'd'o o'hi
already seat ourselves this that it is green
beautiful
navaranō'kardam hōga namanitgōkoraq
which is their patio that that they are ours-
manes.
kuxa'cumdūk'ahō'kōd ku'amumōdō'r
Then any happening with. Then there from
amato'v'ō'r tur'da1 gu'gudara da'di
they for them will lengthen sweer health
hi'ko'm natxōk'ō'gamtōt'gia ku'hi'di
cloud that we with will see. Then This
hō'mad'akamō'kō a'pimi'ctunha'gid a
creation with ye me will pardon
napimarinhā'ah'cdun napimitc'i va. umtā't
that ye are my relations. That ye did tired your-
selves feel
amumōdōr napimitso'soigīt
there from
1 Possibly should be amit—, for us.
the cold. They will cast from you the pestilence which he will put far aside. No harm will come unto us this night while we are seated here in this beautiful green court of our spirits. From afar they will send us increased succor, health and clouds, that with their help we may behold.

Ye will pardon me this formula, my brethren. Ye have tired yourselves on your sad way hither; ye have stumbled and hurt yourselves. But do not on that account apprehend anything. Our spirits will protect us; they will bring health. With the chimal, which is their faces, will they shield us from sickness beneath the east, the north, the west and the south in the seven beautiful heavens. From there will they bend hither their plumes with which they will chill us.

With this ye will pardon me. Thus do I say unto you, my brethren. May God bless you.

9. TO CONCLUDE THE FIESTA OF THE PINOLE

adiu's inq'g inci'u'k tunha'gicid
To God, my Father, my Morning Star. May ye
pardon.

a'tivatsapi'puinda''r'im amatanimot
We, we say here seating ourselves you begging
ha'gicidara porki titi'ma''wa gatui'sap
pardon because we did hence already scatter that
pinole.

kuti'crama'tud b'cir natpuindadar
Then we you cause to know all that we here are
seated

nati'tpua'macid hiditukasagit
that we did already appear this night within
natitupuiniva'dara'iwa ticputoma'am
that we did here already seat ourselves. We continu-
sa'kcit napimargo'gur'kam c'idudakam
ally you weep that ye are greatnesses fetishes
napimumtotog kuha'pu.pui'cop
that ye are named.

1 Eleno gave o'gipa; Rito insisted that o'gipas was correct.
ti'camtán há'gicdara kuvia'miD'am.tuo'ka
we you beg pardon that not us over-
will happen.

ku'ganavaramu"umihök-ö pimitso'sbidida
Then that which are your ceremonial arrows with ye-
us will go shielding.

hō'ga navaricko'k'dakam wōcōrasa"ba
that which is sickness all hours in

icxo'pitkamök-ö pi'miD'a'giiunid'a
coldness with ye us will go cleansing.

kuga"gurahōwan
Then aside towards ye will we go begging

gactōnka kuha'pu.pui'cōp ati'cumta'nim
the heat. Then thus also we thee go begging

hā'gicdara na'paritām.ite'u'c na'pu.o'dak
pardon who thou art our yellow, our Morning Star
that thou belongest

ci'arwō'tahō'van na'pitpubō'iwōp'gō
east beneath there that thou didst hither send-
lightnings

na'pitpubō'ihi'kmād napitpubōniD'o
that thou didst hither send clouds that thou diDst+
hither speak

na'pitpubō'itōk hō'ganavarumnōv
that thou didst hither us extend that which is thy
hand.

kuha'ctu.gō'kamök'kō't kuvia'miD'amha'c
Then anything greatness with. Then not over us-
tuacumwāda kutiti'ceto'nimor.ba'cituñahuāl
anything will happen. Then we did suddenly al-
ready make isquile.¹

kutiti'puma'vwvā hōga a'rak.ūv
Then we did hence already scatter that child-

varummār na'pitpubōida'ktā hidi
which is thy daughter that thou didst hither send
this

oi'dadám kugōku.ti'pumtán ha'gicdara
world on. Then on this account we thee beg
pardon

na'varci'vgōk 6'xi tō'tvak.wōt'a
that are seven beautiful skies beneath

na'pua'rigidic kutiti'cubōidārāiva
that thou art created. Then we did hither seat-
ourselves

¹ Nahua isquile, toasted corn.

navarichidīdō amnō'i/kardām vōc
that is this green
your patio on all

itha'pū.hōkō iθii'o'cigōhō'kō
havahtidi-our jicara with our flower with and this-

ittvā'm'uit ku'pimia'mpihō'.sa'sar'kadiD'a
our atole. Then ye not anywhere will discompose

ganavaramhīmda navaramnī'o-k
which is your way that which is your word

navaramtōnorik kutiti'ceto'nimor.ba'cituñahuāl
that which is your suns. Then we did suddenly al-
ready make isquile

hidi amnō'i/kardām kuticpuma'tānim
this your patio on. Then we go begging

ha'gicdara hidi navarci'vgōk
pardon this which is seven

ni'o'k'hōkō't na'pitpubō'idāk'ta
word with. That thou hither leave

ganavarum'ār na'pitpubōiniD'o ci'vōgk
she who is thy daughter that thou didst hither-
speak seven

ni'o'k'hōkō't na'pitpubō'iho't hidi
word with that thou didst hither send this

navarictō'do amai'niDdām navaricap-
that is green your petate on that is beautiful-
mā'cim.ka't na'varichi'komak navaric-
appearing, outspread, that is overclouded that is-
va'utak navarihichimak.ka't kuha'pu.ōp
drizzly that is beclouded, outspread. Then thus also
ati'camā'tut ku'nika'p.ī inka'ōk
we you cause to know. With which thus is. Me hear

naparino'g naparinda't naparinsu'-
who thou art my Father, who thou art my Lady,
who thou art my-
sbidat inci'u'k kunkidios pōcumbī'aka
Guide, my Morning Star. With which God thee feel.

TRANSLATION

Hail! my Lord and my Morning Star. Forgive me. Seating ourselves, we beg your
forgiveness, for we have scattered the pinole.
We give you to know, all of us who here are
seated, that we have this night appeared here
and seated ourselves.

² The "flower" signifies peyote, Nahua peyotl, Echinoca-
cactus or Lophophora Williamsii.
Continually do we beseech you, ye who are called the powerful Cidudkam. Likewise do we beg your forgiveness, that no ill may befall us. With your arrows will ye cast from us all sickness and in all hours will ye purify us with the cold. Ye will put to flight the heat.

Likewise do we beg thy forgiveness, our Golden Morning Star who belongeth beneath the east, whence thou didst send the lightnings and the clouds, whence thou didst speak and didst reach unto us thy hand with magnitude. Therefore no ill will befall us because, unbiddcn, we have toasted isquite. We have scattered the maiden who is thy daughter whom thou didst send to this world. Therefore do we beg thy forgiveness, who wast created beneath the seven beautiful heavens.

We have seated ourselves in this your green court with our jicaras and our peyote and our atole. Ye will not interrupt your way, your word, your days because, unbidden, we have toasted isquite in this your court. Therefore do we beg your forgiveness with these seven words.

Here thou didst leave thy child. Speaking the seven words thou didst send her to this thy green carpet, beautifully outspread, overcast with drizzly clouds.

Likewise do we give you to know.

So be it! Hear me! thou who art my Father, my Mother, my Guide and Morning Star. May God bless thee.

10. TO PREPARE THE PATIO FOR THE FIESTA OF THE MILPA CUATA

adiu's naparinsu'sbidat inci'uk
To God that thou art my Guide, my Morning-Star,
in'o'k indat anihó' napimpudadar
my Father, my Mother, there that ye are
seated

1 Nahua milpa properly signifies a cornfield; among the Tepecanos it connotes the growing corn plant. Nahua cuate means "twin"; Tepecano changes it to cuata to agree with milpa.

cikorhó'van ganavarictódó ama'tockardám
surroundings in that which is green your seat on.
kupirimutmakia lisensia kutpu-
Then ye will give permission that we-
i'nicituha' na para natkótudo'da hidi
here will handle in order that we decorated-
will make this
navaramnochárdám para natsapuka'iya
which is your patio in order that we may-
hear

hóga ni'ok'id hóga o'B-
that his word that stranger

napumôhôdôrva umágim ci'arwó' tahôdôr
that he afar from already comes conversing east-
beneath from.
kutsapi' pu.ininó'ra hidi tôho'v pixó'
Then we say here will await this cave where
namiamit'ó gia hidi navaricítu'k
that they not us will see this that are dark

u'u'c.ór' para naptugamikáhida
mountains within in order that we may go-
hearing
ganio'k'it kuvipumôhôdôrva umágim
that his word. Then he there from already comes-
reminding
pixódôr natpubóiho't ganavarógat
whence that he did hither send he who is his-
father

navardô.ot para napu.intam.soí-
who is his mother in order that he here sadly-
'mác'ka initságit napu'kitumpa'niarád:a
should appear here us between that we should-
accompany
pixó napusoi'mác'ka itvwó'm
where that he sadly should appear us with.

kupumôhôdôrva'hi'm pubó'a'nio
Then he there from already comes hither already-
spoke
bóawó'pó wó'c kötui'kamököt
hither already lightened all decorations with
wó'c'c'vógod'ókót hacnapuár'gidic
all his plumes with. Thus as he forms

2 This is the term applied to the Mexican neighbors.
napuca'pma-'cim kötui'k'am bō-him
that good appearing decoration comes
ganavaričtōdok tō'idōkōt pumōhōdōrvā'
that which is green garb with thence already-
umāgim wōc'i'korhōvan hacnapuci'dūdu
goes counselling all surroundings thus that hoards.
kuti'pukōd'ūn'ahi para natpunō'ra
Then we decorated ourselves will make in order
that we will await
hi'di navarnōkaraD'am kuvi'pubōi-
this is his patio on. Then hither-
du'via para natsp'uka'ya ganio'kit
arrives in order that we may hear that
his word,
para natpunōl'D'a para natputōtgicdā
in order that we may see, in order that we
may repeat
hōga nio'kit para natpuhī'nkoida
that his word, in order that we shall cry to-
him,
para natpumātōd'a navaro'gat
in order that we may give him to know who is
his father
navardō.ōt natpuhōi'kot hidi
who is his mother that he did hither send this
oi'dadām para napurit'u'kuka1
world on in order that he be our flesh
will
para natpuōkōt.gamtonōl'D'a hidi
in order that we with may go seeing this
oi'da.dām konkimi'puma'tōhi inka'ōk
world on. With which they shall know it. Me hear
ganamarinōkorak wōpuhi'mdam
they which are my spirits before gone on.
kuhapu.puicōp nicata'n
Then thus also I them beg
hagicdara
pardon.
konkidiospocambi'ak'a
With which God you feel.

NOTE
The _Fiesta_ of the _Milpa Cuata_, celebrated
on the fifth of March, is rather variant from

the other three _fiestas_. It is held in a cave
or rock shelter and is quite different from the
others in type. As before, the Chief Singer
arrives early in the evening before the others
and recites this prayer to the divinities to
beg permission to prepare the dance _patio_
for the celebration of the _fiesta_.

The _Milpa Cuata_ is any corn plant which
grows with a forked stalk and an ear on either
branch. It probably has an intimate
connection with the horns of the deer. At
harvest time the forked stalks are garnered
with a special prayer (no. 29). They are then
bound in a sheaf and preserved until this
_fiesta_.

TRANSLATION

Hail! my Guide, my Morning Star, my
Father and my Mother, seated round about
on your green throne. Ye will give us leave
to work here, to adorn this your court that
we may hear the words of the stranger who
from afar cometh counselling from beneath
the east. Here will we await him in this
cave among the dark forests where the neigh-
bors will not behold us, that we may hear
his word. He cometh counselling from afar
whence his Father and his Mother did send
him mournfully to appear here among us
and accompany us. Already he cometh; he
hath spoken in the lightnings with all his
adornment, with all his plumes. He cometh
arrayed in his glorious green garb with which
he was created, counselling on every side.

Therefore will we adorn ourselves to wait
for him in this his court. Here he will arrive
that we may hear his word, that we may
behold him, that we may repeat his words
and that we may cry unto him. We will say
unto Him who is his Father and his Mother
that he did send him to this world to be our
flesh, that we might go beholding in this
world.

Thus shall they know it. May my spirits
who have gone before give ear unto me. Like-
wise do I beseech them. May God bless you.
11. TO COMMENCE THE FIESTA
OF THE MILPA CUATA

a'diu's in.o'g inda't To God, my Lord, my Lady,
inc'i'u'g tu'tha'gicid hî'dî my Morning Star. Us pardon this
hô'mat go'k nî'o'k'hô'k'd one two word with
napimaritgô'korâg napimitnô'did that ye are our spirits that ye us go beholding
vô'cô'rases'ba nati'mâ'cdim pîhô' all hours in. That we go appearing where
natihûru'ndim1 napimitnô'did that we go retiring that ye us go beholding
vôcorasa'ba napimaritgô'korak all hours in. That we are your spirits
pi'miambi'a'ka' pîhô'na'pimagô'kîptunô'- ye not will feel
nîô'kda ku'pimi'ctutha'gicda pîhô'- will look. Then ye us will pardon where
natitu'ka'didim pîhô'natica'dim na'pim- we go passing the night wherever that we go
dawning that ye
itnû'ka'da na'pimarti'tu'korak kûpi'm-us will guard that ye are our spirits. Then ye
iâmgo'kîptunônik'kda' kûti'cامتa'nîm
not to both sides will look. Then we go begging
ha'gicâ're ga'gurhâ' pînîôndid'a pardon aside where will cause to fly
hôganavârigî'ton'kam pînâ'tâ'tiviamôpô that which is heat that where we not walk.
kû'pimibô'ituda'giuna ichô'pitkâmô'k'dô' Then ye hither we will cleanse coldness with.
kâ'pimîn'ô'nî'da mô'khô' hô'ga' Then ye will cause to fly distant that
navârigî'ton'kam kû'pimibô'ituda'giuna which is heat. Then ye hither we will cleanse.
kupîmînô'nî'da mô'khô' va'p'aviar Then ye will cause to fly distant gray
u'umî.hô'k'ô' pînâ'tâ'tiviamôpô ceremonial arrows with where that we, we not walk

1 hurry, to set in the west, related to hurnip, west.

na'varamka'va'rigô'kôd napimbô'itsu' that which are your chimales with that ye hither
sûdim hôganavârigî'ton'kam ku-us go shielding that which is sickness. Then
ga'gûra.hô'vinô'nî'da kuvîmâ'ctu'id- inside will cause to fly. Then not anything us
âm.ha'ctua'cumwâda atî'puta'nîm häufig over anything will occur. We go begging par-
gicâ're hô'ganavârigî'sîdat itcû'g don he who is our Guide, our Morning Star,
navarî'tô'g na'pîbô'itô'k'dim who is our Father that he hither us comes extending
ganavâmôvit navuha'ba'ntuwdâ'gim that which is his hand that we in it ourselves may go seizing
para nagama'itwic'turda hôga
in order that he for us will go repulsing that
navârigî'ton'kam ha'pu'piô'd pictâ'nîm which is sickness. Thus also we go begging
hâ'gicâ're hô'ga navarî'dâ't pardon she who is our Lady
wîdaluv'pi pîhô napuaptu'i' Guadalupe where she that is
hô'ganavârigî'ha'kô'm.sâ'git òrxôva'n that which is white cloud within, within there
napua'rgidic hôga navarci'vgo'k that she forms. That which is seven
ô'xi tô'tvâk'dâm pîhô'napu'osî'má'c beautiful skies on where that she sad appears.
napubô'inô'didim vô'cô'rases'ba That she hither us comes looking all hours in
That she hither us comes looking all hours in
natarmâm rat pîhô natsoî'mâ'ma'c that we are her children where that we sad appear
itî'korâsagîd kuvî'pîbô'înô'dida our fitfulness among. Then she hither us will come beholding,
avî'pugama'itwic'turda gacî'ton'kam she from us will repulse that heat
âtîv natarâm'mrat kuvia'miô'a'm.tō'b'k'a we that are her children. Then not us over will happen.
kumia'mpihö':ita'tiwa'da gapa'r'nio'k'dam
Then they not anywhere us small make that bad word on

namarú'Nmam2. ga"gurahö'van
that they are foreigners. Aside there
pi'miaso'sBîdida ha'ctuicto'nkamôk'o't
ye them will cast any heat with.
bô'.itnô'dida hô'ganavarid'a't
Hither us will go beholding she who is our Lady,
avi'puta'givida böcu'rasa'ban
she us will go covering all hours with.
kunkiha'p.i mât'ök inka'ök
With which thus is, Know! Me hear
naparinsu'snidat inciu'k in.o'-G
that thou art my Guide, my Morning Star, my Lord.
konkihap'î diu'spô'cumbi'ak'a
With which thus is. God thee feel.

TRANSLATION

Hail! my Father, my Mother, my Morning Star. Forgive us these few words, ye who are our spirits who do watch over us through all hours. Ye watch over us when we arise at dawn and when we retire at dusk and in all hours. Ye need not look askance, our spirits. Ye will forgive us and ye will guard us, our spirits, here where we pass the night and the dawn. Do not look askance; we beseech you, put to flight the heat, aside where we walk not. Ye will cleanse us with the cold; far away will ye put to flight the heat. Ye will come to cleanse us. With your gray arrows will ye put it to flight, far away where we walk not. And with your chimales will ye shield us from the sickness. Aside will ye put it to flight, that no ill may befall us.

We beseech him who is our Guide, our Morning Star and our Father that he reach unto us his hand that we may be gathered into it so that he may shield us from the pestilence.

Likewise do we beseech our Lady of Guadalupe, she who was created within the white cloud in the seven beautiful heavens where sadly she doth appear. Hither she looketh in all hours, beholding her children, how pitiful we appear in our sinfulness. Hither will she look upon us who are her children and will cast from us the heat. Then will no ill befall us; then will the strangers who speak strange tongues not molest us. With the heat will ye cast them aside. And she who is our Mother will watch over us and will protect us in all hours.

So may it be! Know it and hear me, thou who art my Guide, my Morning Star and my Lord. So be it. May God bless thee.

12. THE CALL OF THE FIESTA
OF THE MILPA CUATA

hu'giangiv ha'ha'cdun gamava'tiag
Come! relations. Having bathed, gamamsu'sak cida'rsag kutsa'pmika'ya those your sandals having put on. Then we say hence will hear hôga' o'b amôhôdôr
that stranger there from na'puamôrin'ogim icamba'haq örhô'd'ôr
that he already goes running yellow broom within from na'puwa'nio'k'im hôg'a navaricuttuk
that he already goes speaking that which is dark o'idak hu'rap hôd'ôr na'puva'-hill midway from. That he already môrimo'gim ic'a'pkö'cimdu'na'G goes running well decorated himself having made ci'cwo'ôkô puvatu'tuatû gatud his plumes with already them carries his bow cibô'G havaga.u'u'd havagana'vsogad carries and that his arrows and that his wristguard.

ku'tsapmika'himôc a'môhôdôr
Then we say hence having gone hearing there from

1 Used in practically the same sense as o'b but generally collective.
The festival of the Milpa Cuata has a particular extra prayer or announcement which has no counterpart in the other fiestas. Several times during the night's ceremony, at the end of every song, the Master of the Fiesta, the man who has brought the sheaf of Milpa Cuata and supplied the other paraphernalia for the celebration, advances to the four quarters of the dance circle, east, north, west and south in turn, in company with a small boy dressed to represent the Morning Star. Both carry stalks of the forked twin corn and raise these on high, while the Master, in a loud, joyful voice, shouts out the prayer over the hillside.

TRANSLATION

Come, brethren! Come cleansed and with your sandals tied! Let us go to hear the stranger who cometh hither! He cometh running from out the yellow broom-grass. He cometh speaking from the slopes of the dark hills. Beautifully arrayed with his plumes he cometh. His bow he carrieth ready, his arrows and likewise his wrist-guard. Then, having given ear to him who cometh running and speaking from afar, let us go hence. Yea!

13. TO CONCLUDE THE FIESTA OF THE MILPA CUATA

adi'o's in.o'G inda'd inci'u'G
To God, my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star.

api'ctunha'gicda hidi go'k va'ik:
Thou me wilt pardon this two three
ni'o'k: nanibaivaumno'i'pöctur(da)¹
word that I did hither already to thee (will)¹ recite.

kuhi'dihö'madakanhö'kò'd apictunha'gicda
Then this form with thou me wilt pardon
navarumni'o'k: go'k va'ik:
which is thy word two three
navarumi'akia curt ku.inimo'dör.i'ana'gic'da
that I did to thee tell. Then from here we will send
da'íg gago'gucdara nat(i)go'kiptò'ugi²
health the succor that we (did)² to both
sides may look.

ku'tiamha'ctuda.id'am'acumdü' hi'di
That did not anything us over already happen this
tu'kipsa'gig i'nimo na'titiva.cit'u'ka:k
darkness within here that we did already
pass the night

navaricda'dikam navarumno'ik'ardam
that is health that is thy patio on
ha'cumdu'kandhö'köt kupi'puitma'kida
some space of time with. Then thou to us wilt give
hö'gagü'gucdara natgamiumha'k'icturd'a
that succor that we to thee will tell
navarumka'k'iort³ adio's in.o'G
which is thy ceremonial rabbit.³ To God, my
Lord,

inda't inci'u'G kuhí'dihö'köt
my Lady my Morning Star. Then this with
pictunha'gicda porki aviamha'-
thou me wilt pardon because not any

2 cicbái'gï'd nanma'sga'miamha'k'icturd'a
how can that I more to thee may tell

3 höga na'varum.a'rag porki
that which is thy form because

kim höga'köt a'via'micbái'gib
Treasure. That with not can.
napgamaiumto'vör.turdha höga amohö.vi'pu.-
That thou shalt lengthen that there thus

imá'c navarumhiumda a'tiambium-
appears which is thy way we not hither for thee

¹ Probably incorrectly given in revision; future suffix is probably superfluous.
² Probably incorrectly given in revision; past prefix probably superfluous.
³ At the altar are placed several figures made of cooked cornmeal dough in the form of rabbits.
bō'p'a'uwda itki'kiturda1 kuhi'di' may equal our. . . . . . . . . Then this
api'citma'k'ia gu'gucedara nat(it)- thou us wilt give succor that we (did)2
go'kiptōt'gia2 to both sides may look.

TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art my Father, my Mother, my Morning Star. Thou wilt forgive me these few words which I have spoken unto thee. With this formula, with these few words of thine which I have recited unto thee, thou wilt pardon me. Thou wilt send us health, thy succor, that we may behold about us. No harm hath come unto us in the darkness; here have we passed the night in health, a short time on this, thy court. Thou wilt give thy succor, which is thy rabbit, to us who have prayed unto thee. Hail! my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star.

Thou wilt pardon me this for I cannot recite to thee more of thy formula, for it is rare and dear. It may not be. Thou lengthenest thy which here appears and we may never complete it. Thou wilt give us succor, that we may behold all.

14. TO LEAVE THE OFFERINGS IN THE HILLS

adiu's anihō' napimputuda'dar To God hereabouts that ye are seated
ći'korpho'wan hasnaci'dūdu vicinity there as that hoards,
kuticpubōhǐ'mōt to'nimōra'ciammio'k'idi'm Then we hither were coming suddenly already to you go speaking.
pere pi'miamha'c.uma'k'a pi'mica'p'tum But ye not any will think. Ye in them yourselves-
da'gia ganamaritgō'k'orak.ap a kuha' will seize they that are our spirits in. Then-

1 Incomprehensible; informant was neither able to translate nor suggest revision.
2 Probably incorrectly given in revision; past prefix probably superfluous.

pu.pui'c.ō'p pimi'cata'nida ha'gicdara thus also ye them will go begging pardon
para napimiampihō'cit-tō'gia aticpubōhǐ'mōt in order that ye not anywhere we will ignore. We hither were coming
pubi'amnāmō'k'dam hī'di ha'vuhōko'p hither you paying this jicara with
ha'va hi'di so'so'b kupimitut-and this bead. Then ye-
ha'gicdara napimpurkī'k'am hi'di will pardon that ye are dwellers this
oi'da.a'ba natitpubō'idāda hī'di hill at that we did hither arrive this
ammō'i'kardām na'titpui'ni'gō'gu your patio on that we did here stay.
kutō'maiamtān ha'gicdara pi'm- Then continually you beg pardon. Ye
iami'b'aka pihō' napimsoi'mō'rid'a not will feel anywhere that ye sad will feel
na'pimago'kiptōnō'nōd'a ha'pu.pui'c.ō'p that ye to both sides will look. Thus also
pi'mi'cata'nia ha'gicdara ganamari-ye them will beg pardon they who are our-
gō'k'orak ha'cnat.a'tiv.amtānim ha'gicdara manes as that we, we you go begging pardon
hidita'kugumokō'∩' porki avia'm this fragment with because it not-
ha'cicba'ik hacnatma's.ama'tōd'a anyhow can as that we more you will cause to know.
konki'hapi' pim'a'tōk inka'ōk With which thus is. Ye know, me hear.
konkido'spōcama'ri'dak'am2 With which God you smallness.

NOTE

After the conclusion of the fiestas, particularly after that of the rain, messengers are sent to the sacred places at the four cardinal directions around Azqueltán with jicaras decorated with beads and other ceremonial objects which they leave there as presents

2 Difficult to translate.
to the divinities of the localities, after reciting this prayer.

TRANSLATION

Hail! ye who are seated round about. Unbidden have we come here to speak unto you. But do not apprehend anything. Ye must be possessed of them who are our spirits. Also must ye beg their forgiveness, that ye may nowhere ignore us. We have come hither to pay you with this jícara and these beads, that ye may forgive us, ye who are the spirits of this hill, because we came here and stayed on this your court. Continually do we ask your forgiveness. Be not sad. Neither look askance. Ye must beg pardon of our spirits like as we now beg yours with this fragment, for we cannot tell you more.

So be it. Know it and hear me! May God be as a Father unto you.

15. TO BEG PERMISSION TO ENTER A SACRED PLACE

adiosum aticbóhi'mód to'nimór.vacitu-
To God. We hither came suddenly already.

ha' nim pero högakót anicbóhi'dad
dhandling but that with I hither was coming

amta'nim ha'gicidara kuhóga'kóö
you begging pardon. Then that with

pímiambi'aka napimago'kip'töño'nöigda
ye not will feel obliged that ye to both sides will

kuga'gur.ahó'van pimi.iu'rnid'a
Then aside there ye will go lifting

hógacto'nkam hava gacko'k'dakam
that heat and that sickness

havawó'cíchöptkam.hó'köö pimi.id'a'giuna
and all cold with ye us will cleanse.

ganavaramu'umi ganavaramka'kvarak
They which are your ceremonial arrows they

which are your chimales

napimpuhó'kö't.ítso'sbidim ganavaric-
that ye with us go shielding that which is-
k'ok'dakam kuxa'pu.pwic.ó'p pimiamb-
sickness. Then thus also ye not will

bi'ak'a napimsoi'mó'rid'a kuticbóhímót
feel obliged that ye sad yourselves will feel. Then

we hither came

amta'nim lisensia para
you begging permission in order

nat.i'nituha'na kupimiambitníó'úk'á
that we here may handle. Then ye not us will ignore.

kupimica'kim xó'p'ór kunó'níd'a
Then ye give winds. Then will cause to fly

ga'gurahó'van kupimpuma'tón tun-
aside there. Then ye know.

ha'gícic adio's naparinsu'sbidad
pardon. To God that thou art my Guide,

inci'u'k in.o'k
my Morning Star, my Father.

NOTE

This prayer is spoken by anyone who enters a ceremonial patio or other sacred place for any purpose; particularly when coming to begin a religious performance or fiesta.

TRANSLATION

Hail! Unbidden have we come hither to arrange, but on that account I have come to crave your forgiveness. Do not therefore look askance. To one side will ye put away the heat and the pestilence and with all the cold will ye purify us. With your arrows and with your chimales will ye shield us from sickness. So ye need not feel sad. We have come hither to beg your leave to perform here. Do not refuse us. Ye will send your winds and will put to flight all ills. Know this and forgive me.


16. TO BEG PERMISSION TO LEAVE A SACRED PLACE

adiu's na'parino'k naparinci'u'k
To God that thou art my Father, that thou art

my Morning Star,
naparinda’t anihó’napimpuda’dar
that thou art my Mother. Hereabouts that ye-
are seated

hasnadidúdu ni’cpu.amáltanim ha’gicdara
as that hoards. I you come begging pardon

napimaringo’korak wópuhímdam anihó’
that ye are my manes before go on. Hereabouts

na’pimpudádar ganavarica’p.ma’micim
that ye are seated that which is well appearing

am.a’tockar.dám anihó’ napimpum-
your seat on. Hereabouts that ye yourselves-

na’mók’ ci’korxovan navarci’vgo’k o’hi
encounter vicinity there that are seven beautiful

tō’tvakdam pihó’ napimpum-
skies on that ye-

a’r’gidic ganavaricto’dog am’ai’nikdám
create. That which is green your petalo on

navarica’pma’cimká’t navaricvi’gíkam
that is well appearing outspread that is ———

cixa’duk’am na’icva’utakat.ká’t
that was drizzling, outspread

pixódór napubóixi’kmat
where from that hither clouds up

na’tpubóiwópgó natpubó’.inio’ na’
that did hither lighten that did hither speak. That-

puamóhó’dór.apum.a’gim na’pumóhó’-
there from already goes conversing that there-

dórmin’ogim ganavaritsu’shidat
from comes running she that is our Guide

itci’u’k it.q’k id’a’nt ati’c
our Morning Star, our Father, our Mother. We-

puta’n ha’gicdara kuvi’tut-
beg pardon. Then we will-

ha’gicda hidita’kugumókót’ porki
pardon this fragment with because

a’tiv.iamha’cicba’ik natawópau’da porki
we not anyhow can that we them will equal because

ti’carici’k’orak’am porki it’kradókó’t
we are vile because our filthiness with

ti’cputsob’dim
we ourselves go obstructing

natawópa’da ganavarahí’mda
that we them will equal which is their way

navarato’t’porik kugó’kuti’puya’n
which are their sons. Then therefore we them beg

ha’gicdara pixó’ nampuda’dar
pardon where that they are seated

nampubó’itnó.it wócorasa’ba intám
that they hither us behold all hours in. Here

natpuda’rim ticputó’maiasa’kcit pihó’
that we go sitting we continually to them-

weep where

natipuá’má’cit navaranó’lkardám
that we did already appear that is their patio on

navarica’p.ma’citká’t navaricta’ mai’-
that is well appearing, outspread that is white petalo-

nikwóta pihó’dór napuhi’k’mat
beneath where from that clouds up.

ticputó’mai.am’a’turit ganavic’vgo’k
We continually them cause to know that which

is seven

o’hi tō’tvakwó’ta kumi’tuthá’gicda
beautiful skies beneath that they us will-

pardon

hidi takugumókót’ bá’barip
this fragment with. North

hu’rnip’ o’gipas hidi’kó’t
west south this with

id’a’mahówan nampubó.itnó.it pihó’dór
over us there that they hither us observe where-

from

nampubót’ó’kdim ganavarumnnó’1 para
that they hither us go extending that which is thy-

hand1 in order

natpuha’bantu’dágimot gamtunóídida
that we in it ourselves having enfolded may go-

beholding

wócorasa’ba kuha’ctuicto’nkam
all hours in. Then any heat

nabóma’gida ga’gurahó’mi.u’r’nida
that hither will come announcing aside hence will-

go thrusting.

hó’ga
That

navaraka’k’varhók’ót
which are their chimas with

mipuitso’b’ida
they us will go shielding which are their ceremonial-

arrows with

1 Probably error for -anów, their hand.
their sacred place, beautifully outspread, beneath their white carpet whence spring the clouds. Continually do we, beneath the seven beautiful heavens, tell them that they must forgive us this fragment.

From above us do they watch us from north, west and south whence they reach unto us their hand that we, wrapping ourselves in it, may go beholding through all hours. They will thrust aside whatever heat may draw near. With their chimales will they shield us, with their arrows will they put to flight the heat and with all manner of cold will they purify us, our spirits who have gone before to beneath the east where was created our Morning Star.

So be it; know it and hear me! May God bless you.

17. TO DELIVER THE FIRE TO THE CARE OF ITS GUARDIAN

esta' mui bien apiampum.a'gad
It is very well, thou not wast thinking
putudá'kat kuto'nimor.puba.ciumnio'k'it
seated wast that suddenly hither already thee-speak.

kupica'ptuma'gia höga namaritgő'k'orak
Then thou in them thyself wilt seize that that-
they are our manes
wöpuhímdam apiamago'kiptönönökda
before go on. Thou not in two places wilt look.

ati'cpumta'n há'gidara apiamhacuma'ka
We thee beg pardon. Thou not any wilt think
hactugökamó'köt pica'ptuma'gia
anything greatness with. Thou in him wilt-
seize
it.o'Ga'ba kupsapipui'ntámni=a
our Father in. Then thou say here wilt look
höganavario'G natpubö'j ci'cvoit amóhödöör
he that is our Father that did hither raise-
plumes. There from
pixódöör natpubö'ixo't ganavaro'gad
where from that he did hither send he who is his-

1 Possibly -ambi'aka, YOU WILL SYMPATHIZE; this
final phrase is very frequent and difficult to interpret
precisely. It probably carries some esoteric significance.
ci"arwötahö' napuoidak navarita'm east beneath there that he belongs who is our-
yellow
iti'ug napubö'itök'dim ganavarno'vit our Morning Star that he hither us comes ex-
tending that which is his hand
atpuha'ban.tu'ágimöt gamtönö'ldim that we in it ourselves having seized going beholding
wöcorasa'ba kuti'puntán hágicdara all hours in. Then we thee beg pardon.
kupitutha'gicda hidi navarictuma'rm Then thou us wilt pardon. This that is five
o'hi tötvakwö'ta natpubö'iwpögö beautiful skies beneath that did hither lighten
atpubö'iniö' amóbödör natpuixi'k'mat that did hither speak. There from that did cloud up
navarc'i'arwöta ba'varip xu'r'nip which is east beneath north west
o'gipa anihö ci'korhö ofmörimök south. Hereabouts vicinity there walking
aka'himök namarma'mrat kutipu-
them hearing that they are his children. Then did-
i'nihövadu'viá kuvia'hmacumdû'kat here already arrive. Then not anything itself was-
making.
apitutha'gicda hidi hö'mat Thou us wilt pardon this one
go'k vai'k ni'o'khökö't porkiatiamha'- two three word with because we not
cicba'i gö natma'sum'a'töd'a ganavarni'ok'it anyhow can that we more thee will cause to-
know that which is his word
högansu'sbidat inci'u'k in.q'g porki she my Guide, my Morning Star, my-
Father, because
a'ni.ina'bat'i'puap'u'r' porkianti'- I me in did also remain
amnu'k'tur höga navara'rgat not guard that which is his creation.
kugö'k'u then therefore
nipuia'mat I not know
hacna'numtö'da apicapma'mcimpuxco'hi what that I thee shall say; thou well appearing-
desirest
ica'picdádpam peroavia'mha'cicba'i gö well explained but not anyhow can.
haputu'ki'p niega'mup'tönö'j it Thus darkness I also behold
pero ma'skise'a hidi takügumököt but more than might be this fragment with
ani'çpuma'tu'd kupiama'cum'a'k'a I thee cause to know. Then thou not any wilt think;
pica'aptundu'gia ganamaritgökarak thou in them thyself wilt seize they who are our-
manes.
konkihapö'gia nicum'a'tu'd With which thus only I thee cause to know.
kumsapidiospöcumbi'ak'a kupsapan'u'k'- Then they say God thee will sympathize. Then thou-
turdana'rin gänaramtögökarak say for them wilt guard that which is their-
fire they that are our manes
anihö' namda'dâ'r navaricama'cim hereabouts that they are seated that is well-
apparing
a'tockardám hidi navarannökardám1 seat on this which is your1 patio on.
konkidiuspöcumbi'ak'a With which God thee sympathize.

NOTE
After the Cantador has prepared the fire for the fiesta and is ready to commence the ceremonies, he goes up to one of the men present, whom he has decided upon to be Guardian of the Fire (ci'cikti'o'i), and addresses him as follows. Thereafter no one but him may touch the fire.

TRANSLATION
It is well that thou, seated there, didst not dream that of a sudden I would speak unto thee. Thou must be possessed by them who are our spirits who have gone before. Look not askance; we beg thy forgiveness. Neither be vain. Thou shalt be possessed of our Father. Thou must here watch for him

1 Possibly should be -anöikar, their patio.
who is our Father who here hath raised his
plumes.

From there beneath the east where he
belongeth, whence he, his father, did hither
send our Golden Morning Star, he now
cometh, reaching unto us his hand that we,
wrapping ourselves in it, may go beholding
through all hours. Thus do we beg thy
pardon and thou must forgive us. Beneath
these five beautiful heavens did he send his
lightnings and his voice. From afar come the
clouds beneath the east, the north, the west
and the south, where wander and hearken his
children. Here they arrived but nothing
befell.

Thou wilt forgive us these few words, for
we cannot teach thee more the Word of my
Guide, my Morning Star, and my Father.
For it remaineth within me, because I have
ever obeyed his commandment. Therefore I
know not what I shall say unto thee; thou
desirest it beautiful and clearly explained,
but thus it cannot be. For in darkness I
also grope, but nevertheless do I teach thee
this fragment. Be not offended; thou must
be gathered unto them who are our spirits.
Thus only do I give thee to know; may
God bless thee. Thou must guard the fire
of our spirits who are seated round about on
their pleasant seat in this their court. May
God bless thee.

18. TO CURE THE SICK

adi'o's ino'k abimō napaptu'i'
To God, my Father. There that thou art
hōga navaric'ivgo'k o'hi
that which are seven beautiful
tō'tvakdam naparicidu'kam
skies on that thou art treasure.
abimöhödör napitumtō't napitbai'vah!
There from that thou didst thyself name that
thou didst hither already come

hidi navarum'ai'niödam napitapdu'
this that is thy petate on. That thou didst
already also do
twolunta'd ku.i'na hidi mai'ndam
thy will then here this petate on
kumu tō'tvagdām kunapaitma'k
as skies on. Then that thou us givest
umgō'gudara vōc to'nora'ba
thy succor all sun at.
kup(it)bai'itma'kia1 umci'v api'ctun-
Then thou (didst) hither us will give now. Thou
ha'gičda umta'giv vacitu'd:a
me wilt pardon thee before already will dance.
ku.i'ni apicitunha'gičda porke
Then here thou me wilt pardon because
nicarici'krakam kupicitunha'gičda
I am filthiness. Then thou me wilt pardon.
kupiamid'a'k'ta'ka nat'i'akia'
Then thou not us wilt permit that we shall fall.
apiamvi'a'k'a hactudō'kō
Thou not wilt feel anything with
napasa'sarkadida api'id'a'gib'a vōc
that thou wilt go withdrawing. Thou us wilt send all
icko'k'dakam2 ame'n
sickness.3

NOTE

Disease among the Tepecanos was com-
monly treated by a priest-doctor by cere-
monial and magic means. The patient is
laid on his back, the doctor standing at his
feet. He blows tobacco smoke to the four
winds and recites one of several prayers in
a low voice. Five puffs of smoke are then
blown on the invalid's hands, feet and fore-
head. The body is then stroked vigorously
from the extremities to the center of pain
and the latter is subjected to a vigorous
suction. Thick spittle, blood, or a tangible
object is extracted. The first is proof of
affliction by a chan, a mythical water-serpent,
the second of affliction by the spirits of the
dead, the last of witchcraft. The object

1 Probably incorrectly given; past prefix probably superfluous.
2 Undoubtedly error for icxo'piham, THE COLD.
extracted is then rubbed and palmed until it disappears.

Smoke is then blown five times on the affected part and the cure is effected. The shaman rinses his mouth well and recites the prayer again to the west, whence the evil spirits flee. If the individual is very sick, a different prayer is repeated every third day.

The following prayer is of doubtful value. Together with no. 26 it was given to me to show the lack of antagonism between the old Tepecano and the Catholic religions, and was termed the "Our Father." The informant constantly compared the Christian prayer while giving it. It was originally claimed to be a prayer to beg permission to enter a sacred place.

TRANSLATION

Hail! my Father who art in the seven beautiful heavens. Thou art dear. From there where thou wast named, thou didst come to this thy carpet. Thou didst thy will here on this earth as in the heavens. Thou givest us thy succor daily. Thou wilt give it us now. Thou wilt pardon me; before thee will we dance. Thou wilt forgive me for I am vile. Thou wilt not allow us to fall. Thou needst on no account hold aloof. Thou wilt send us all the cold. Amen.

19. TO CURE ONE VERY ILL

adiu's naparinsu' sindat inci'u'k To God, that thou art my Guide, my Morning-Star, that he again soon may see well himself may feel.

adios in.o'g inda't inci'u'k amumôdôr To God, my Father, my Mother, my Morning-Star. There from

napivo'pmigda na'varumu' umi ha'ba'n- that thou wilt raise which are thy ceremonial- arrows whence

dôr napgamih'koma'gda na'pu- from that thou cloudest. That thou

hô'kôt.inô'ni'dâ navarick'o'k'dakam with wilt cause to fly which is sickness

gâ'gura.hoven api'd'a'gi'd'a gö'guc'dara aside to. Thou us wilt send succor

nagamupkîtûtì'gìja ica'pum.ô'dadô that he again soon may see well himself may feel.

ku't'aviamibìha' jo'd'a.da'man.a'cumdu'nila Then not hither anything above already will make.

kupipu'sôb'd'a icko'k'dakam Then thou wilt repulse sickness

na'varicàdi k'ava'r navarumbu'pu'uvnas which is health chimal which are thy faces-

hô'kôd cik'or navaruntu't vogwip'ta with 'vicinity which are thy skies beneath

ci'arwô'ta ba'barip hu'qanp east beneath north west

ogipas kuhî'dihô'madakamhô'kôt south. Then this creation with

api'ctunha'gicda hôga na'varum'ûr thou wilt send for who is thy child,

adios in.o'g inda't inciuk God, my Father, my Mother, my Morning-Star.

TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star. From afar thou wilt raise thy arrows whence come the clouds. With them wilt thou put to flight the sickness. Thou wilt send us succor, that this invalid soon again may behold and feel himself well. No evil must come upon him. Thou wilt repel the sickness with the health of thy chimal, which is thy face, round about beneath thy heavens to east, north, west and south. With this formula thou wilt pardon me, who am thy son.

Hail! my Father, my Mother, my Morning Star.

20. TO CURE ONE ON POINT OF DEATH

adiu's naparinsu'ssidat inci'u'k To God, that thou art my Guide, my Morning-Star,

in.o'G navarci'vgok ohi my Father that are seven beautiful

tôtvakdâm pöh na'pudâ skies on where that thou art seated.
TEPECANO PRAYERS

This sick one. With which thus is. I thee beg

há'gicdara hi'di hö'mat gó'k:
pardon this one two

nó'k'hók'o't'
cí'arwó't'ahó'
word with.
East beneath there

nap'um.ár'git va'varip hú'r'nip
that thou thyself foremost north west

ó'gipa
hídi'kódá'ám'óhó
na'pudá
south this with over us there that thou art seated

navarci'vgok
ohi tótvakdám
that are seven beautiful skies on

napubó.itnó't wóco'rasa'ba kuhapu.pućop-
that thou hither us observe all hours in. Then also

tí'cumpúta'n há'gicdara kuvi'-
we thee beg pardon. Then

pugamupkitotó'gia hógackó'k'am hóga
again soon will behold that sick one. That

navarumu'umihók'ó'd
napidá'gunta
which are thy ceremonial arrows with that thou wilt cleanse;

kuga'gura.xó'pi.iúrna
gackó'k'dara
that aside there wilt cast that sickness.

kua'viamimu'k'ia
hidickó'k'am
Then he not will die

künkha'p hógia
nic.um'atút
With which thus only thee cause to know

na'parin.ó'k
naparinsu'sbidat
that thou art my Father, that thou art my Guide,

inci'ú'k konkidakspócumbi'ak'a
my Morning Star. With which God thee will sympathize.

NOTE
This is the last resort of the shaman, cited when the patient is nearly on point of death. The accompanying treatment is the same as for the other prayers.

TRANSLATION
Hail! thou who art my Guide, my Morning Star and my Father who art seated in the seven beautiful heavens. Thence thou
watchest us and reachest unto us thy hand and thy foot that we may be held in them and go beholding these few days in this world where thou didst leave us. In darkness we grope for we are vile and with our filthiness do we obstruct ourselves.

The heat must take itself hence that this invalid may recover. With these few words do we beg thy forgiveness. Thou wilt repel the heat with thy arrows and with thy chimales. Do not look askance. Thou must reach unto us thy hand that we may be gathered into it in all hours. Then will no evil befall us. With all manner of cold will our Lady purify us. Then will this invalid recover. So be it. With these few words do I beg thy forgiveness. Thou who wast created beneath the cast, the north, the west and the south art seated above us in the seven beautiful heavens whence thou watchest us in all hours.

Thus do we beg thy pardon. Soon will this invalid see again. With thy arrows wilt thou cleanse him; thou wilt cast aside the affliction that he may not die. This only do I say unto thee, my Lord, my Guide, my Morning Star. May God bless thee.

21. TO CURE ONE SICKENED BY THE SPIRITS OF THE DEAD

adio's naparicmu'k'am
To God that thou art

ni a'ni pero
neither I but

nap'uo'i'dak
that thou pertinest

navarumictodog
that is thy green

o'idawo'pt'a
world beneath

ma'i'nikwo't'a
that which is white

napimpurickof'k'am
your corral in

petate beneath.
That ye are the dead

pihö'wan
where that which is white

amku'rar.or
your corral in

pihö
napimpuolioag
kuni'camta'n
where that ye pertain.

kupimiampihö'.tunko'k'datu'd'a
pardon. Then ye not anywhere me will cause to be sick,

nu fomubu'o
which is your shadow where

pimpupuböin-
daeli'munida kuga'gura pimiru'rnida
cleansing. Then aside ye will go casting,

kuvia'mindäm. ha'ctu.indama'cumwa'da
Then not over me anything over me itself will make.

kupimia'mpihö'tunko'k'datu'd'a
ganavargö'
Then ye not anywhere me will cause to be sick. That which is great

tö'tvakdäm pihö'
na'pu.ambi'
skies on where that he holds

höga navariq'q'c
ganavari'a't
he who is our Father she that is our Mother

napubö'.it'ök'dim
ganavarnö'vít
that he hither us comes extending that which is his hand

natpuha'bantud'a'gim
d kuwö'c.icxo'pitkam
that we in it us seizing. Then all cold

höga navaramka'g
navaramkuj'gra'
That we in it us seizing. Then all cold

avipubö':la'a'giuna
da'varito'o'g
para
he hither us will cleanse that is our Father in order

natpugamtonöf.dida
hi'di o'i'da.däm
that we may go beholding this world on.

kuyamha'ctui'däm. ha'cumwa'da
Then not anything over us any itself will make.

kupimimöö'mu'rin'ka hoga navaramku'..
Then ye hither yourselves will cast that which

krus.avüi
navaramkada'a
pixö'
your crosses with which is your shadow where

napimpua'a'g'dic
navaramicto'do
that ye are formed which is your green

am'ainikwo't'a
pihö'
napimpua'a'g'dic
your petate beneath where ye are formed

höga navaramhi'komsa'git
pihö'
that which is your cloud between where

nampu.ambiá
ganamaritgökorak
that they ye possess they who are our manes

wö'puhi'mdam
nampubö'it'ök'dim
before go on. That they hither us come extending

navara'a'rak pixö
nampuhöködböi-
which is their form where that they with hither-
From the great heavens where he who is our Father and our Mother holdeth you, he reacheth unto us his hand that we may be gathered into it. With all the cold will he, our Father, cleanse us, that we may go beholding in this world. Then will no evil befall us.

Ye must take yourselves hence to your crosses, your shadows, where ye were created, beneath your green carpet where ye belong. There within your cloud are ye held by our spirits who have gone before. From the seven beautiful heavens where they are seated in their pleasant broad court our spirits stretch unto us their forms in which they were created.

Likewise do we beg forgiveness of the Dead who are seated round about on their accustomed paths. They must take themselves hence. Thus will they forgive me; I warn them that they must forgive me.

May God have pity on you.

22. TO SEIZE DEATH

adío’s naparín.q’k insu’sbída
To God that thou art my Father, my Protector,

inci’u’k nda’b ani’cho’hi’
my Morning Star, my Mother. I desire

ku’pibón.tö’k’da gana’varumo’v para
that thou hither me wilt extend that which is thy hand in order

natuma’p’tuda’gia para na’.itwi’.um’a’c’da
that we thee in will seize in order that she with us herself will appear

gacmú’k’ik’am para náp’ágia
that Death in order that we shall seize

anih’ wo’pó’dá’m ha’cnapumá’r’gid
hereabouts paths on as that she is formed

ció’k’orho’wána ha’cnapu.of.mór ci’ar-
vicinity there as that she walks. East-
wót’ahó napu’i’idak amuhódor
beneath there that she belongs there from

NOTE

After death, at least before Christian times, a person became a puff of wind, wandering over the world and sickening those with whom it came into contact. When the priest-doctor’s diagnosis showed sickness caused by the spirits of the dead, this being determined by the extraction of blood in the sucking examination, the following prayer was recited to cause the spirit to quit the body it was afflicting. The same prayer was also spoken to drive away a persistent haunting spirit.

TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art Death. Thou belongeth beneath the ground, beneath thy green carpet. And ye who are the Dead in your white fields where ye belong, I beg your forgiveness. Ye must not sicken me, neither myself nor my family. With all manner of cold will ye purify me; to one side will ye cast the sickness, that no ill may befall me. Ye must not afflict me.
In order that she us carried shall place in order

natpumá'kira  

that we shall go to give report that God

it.o'i  

our Father how that we do this

oi'dadám  

kuha'puti'cup tá

Then thus we also beg

há'gicdara hóga navarit.o'g  

pardon that who is our Father

kuvi'putmák'ia lise'n'sia para  

that he us shall give permission in order

naď'a'gía  

gaemú'k'ikam anihódör  

that we shall seize that Death hereabouts from

na'pubó'umágim anihó' na'pufořm  

that she hither comes conversing hereabouts that she walks

ci'khorhóvan hasnic'dúdu na'pua.ú'k'atók:  

vicinity there as hoards that she them carrying places

ganamarma'mrat kuti'cxó'xi kuvia'mkita' they that are his children. Then we desire that she not*

pa'ro'nda porki tišó'r'kam na'tparó  

soon us shall maltreat because we many that she did maltreat.

kuti'cputa'n há'gicdara gat.o'k  

Then we beg pardon that our Father

gad'a'i' kuvi'pubó'it'ók'da ganavarnóvit  

that our Mother that he hither us will extend that which is his hand

ganavartó'nat para natpwa'bantudo'g'ia  

that which is his foot in order that we in it ourselves shall seize

natia'mpihó'k'ordo kuvi'putma'kia  

that we not anywhere ourselves will sicken. Then he us will give

gani'ók'it para naya'mpihóit'u'k'atók'da  

that his word in order that she not anywhere us carried shall place.

kuti'ho'tsa kuhf'mia pihó  

Then we will dispatch her that will go where

napu.a'rg'idic  

naputunú'k'ad  

that she is formed that she guards

gana'varahu'k'úg  

ganamaritgó'k'orak  

that which are their torches they who are our manes

nampubó'itno'dim wóc orasa'ba  

that they hither us watch all hours in

na'tica'pi'tó'r'da.dima'c.dida  

a'nihó'  

that we well ourselves shall feel will go appearing hereabouts

nat.o'ipu gana'varictó'dok ma'inikdám  

that we walk that which is green petate on.

kuya'mpihó.'it'a'ri.wa'da kuhapu.pi'.ó'p  

Then not anywhere us small will make. Then thus also

ti'cé'tán há'gicdara ganavarcí'vgok  

we beg pardon that which is seven

o'hi tō'tvaktám pihó' napudá  

beautiful skies on where that is seated

gana'varító'k'  

gana'varid'a'd  

he that is our Father, she that is our Mother.

ti'cpumá'tu'd  

kuya'mpihó.itpáro'nda  

We cause to know that not anywhere us shall maltreat

natarma'mrat konkidius pōcambi'ak'a  

that we are his children. With which God you will sympathize.

NOTE

When there has been a great deal of sickness and many deaths among the Tepecanos, the five principal men of the village meet and hold a consultation. They decide that the Death Goddess has been too active and must be sent hence. They therefore undergo an ablutionary fast of five days. At midnight on the fifth day they meet in the graveyard and together recite in a low voice the following prayer, begging permission of the higher Gods to seize the Death Goddess and send her away. They all carry their bows and arrows. One remains in the town while the other four seek to the four winds. One of them encounters the Death Goddess in
the form of a mortal woman and bids her
togone and not molest them more.
The information volunteered to the effect
that each person has a lighted candle in
heaven, representing his spirit, and that the
Death Goddess goes about snuffing them out,
is probably of Christian origin.

TRANSLATION

Hail, O God, thou that art my Father and
Mother, my Guide, and Morning Star! I
beseech thee, stretch forth thy hand that it
lay hold upon us. Then will the Goddess
Death herself appear before us that we may
seize her as she walketh about on her ac-
customed paths. She belongeth beneath the
east whence our Father has sent her to
carry us hence, so that we may give report
to Him, our God and Father, of how we have
acted in this world.

Likewise do we beseech of our Father that
he give us leave to seize the Death Goddess,
she who cometh whispering, stalking about
and carrying off his children. We ask that
she shall not harm us as already she has
harmed so many.

Likewise do we beg of our Lord and Lady
that he stretch forth his hand and his foot
so that we may be upheld and not be sick-
ened. He will give us his word that she shall
carry us away. We will send her where
she belongeth where she guardeth the torches
of our spirits who watch us through all hours.
Then will we be well here where we wander
on the green carpet. Then will we never be
decreased.

Also do we beg forgiveness of our Lord
and Lady seated in the seven beautiful
heavens. We will let the Death Goddess
know that nothing shall harm us who are the
children of the Father.

May God bless you.

23. TO PLACATE THE CHANES

na'pimpumtºtºk' anihº napimpuda'dar
that ye are named hereabouts that ye are
seated
na'pimputun'kat hóga navarahi'
that ye guard that which is their
komaG ganamaritgº'koraG bópuhi'mdam
cloud they who are our mares before go on.
anihº nampuda'dar ci'korxóvan
Hereabouts that they are seated vicinity
there
ha'cnaci'dúdu kuticbó'hí'mót antáním
as that boards. Then we hither were coming you
begging
hágiedara konkiha'pí mátök'
pardon. With which thus is. Know!
pimiam.pixó.in'údu'k'a niganfamí'lía
Ye not anywhere me will ignore nor that my family
anihº namóipu i'ntám
hereabouts that they walk here
pusoi'mámác hóga navarica'm'-
sad appear. Then we not anywhere sicken
má'aniwikót'a na'pimpudádar
parent your petate beneath that ye are
seated.
kuni'cpuam'átud þorki anta'sóna't
Then I you cause to know because I did al-
ready begin
i'ntám nano'ímób R
na'npuamha'ncíD
here that I walk that I for you
meddle
gana'varicmám:dormag. amáínik konkiha'p.l
that which is transparent your petate. With
which thus is.
anti'cpubí'annámók'dam hi'dí so'sóbó'köt
I did hither you come paying this bead with
para napimia'mphó'tunok'datud'a
in order that ye not anywhere me will sicken
niganmá.ma'R i'ntám na'ñpuóipu
nor that my children here that they walk
amicmámdormág amva'pamóí.R
your transparent your lakes in.

1 Said to be derived from tenchaniados, etymology
unknown.
kuha'pu.öp ati'cupó'tám hó'ga
Then thus also we also begging
that
navarica'm itcú'k ci'a'rwhöta
which is yellow our Morning Star, east
beneath
na'puóidag kuipüöitö'k'da ganavarno'vit
that belongs. Then hither we will reach that
which is his hand
para na'tpuhabantuö'agimööd
in order that we in it us having seized
xu'viamha'ctuö'äm.a'cuamwya'da bööc
then not anything over us any itself will do all
gackö'k'dakam píxöván ati'ctö.nimör.-
that sickness where we suddenly
putuðan gökö tivuta'n hágicdara
meddle. Therefore we beg pardon
para naga'gurhá.nööid:a gactönkam
in order that he aside will cause to fly that heat
para na'miampihö tutködátuda ganamar.-
in order that they not anywhere us will sicken they who are-
su'di.örik'am na'mpumtötk
water in chanes that they are called
nampaunihö.dádar' namputun'nakat
that they hereabouts are seated that they guard
gi'gior namputö'tök ku.hapöf
rainbows that they are called. Then thus is.
nicpua'mätut na'pimaringö'korak
I you cause to know that ye are my mänes.
adius.u'm naparinsu'sbidat inciu'k
To God, that thou art my Protector, my Morning Star.
avi'puööintökdida ganavarno'vit
He hither me will come reaching that which is his-hand.
kuyamphö.indäm.a'ctu.acumwa'da konki-
Then not anywhere over me anything itself will do. With which-
ha'pöf nicpuö'tömai.ümënt hágicdara
thus is, I continually thee beg pardon
na'parino'g konkhi'p.mátöö dööö's
that thou art my Father. With which thus know. God
pökumbi'aköa
thee will sympathize.

NOTE

The chanes are malevolent water-serpents which inhabit the springs and streams. They are horned and of many colors. They always travel in pairs, male and female, and love to stretch themselves through the clouds in rainy weather, head in one spring and tail in another, visiting. In this form they appear as rainbows. They are called the "winds of the water."

The chanes are vicious and will sting those who have not placated them. For this reason a native will never put his mouth to a spring while drinking; the water is dashed into the mouth with the hand. When thus bitten, malaria, fever, headache and many other ills result.

When a man decides to build a house and make his home on a new site it is necessary for him to placate the chanes of the spring whence he draws his water supply. To this end he prepares a jicara decorated with transparent small glass beads (water beads) and fills it with a gruel of pinole and water. This is scattered to the four winds at the spring while the following prayer is recited. The jicara is then left there as an offering.

TRANSLATION

Hail! ye who are called Chanes, who are seated hereabouts in the waters, guarding the cloud of the spirits of those who have gone before and are seated round about us. We come to beg forgiveness. Know ye that it is so. Ye must not ignore me nor my family who walk about here. Sadly do they appear beneath your crystal carpet where ye are seated. Thus do I give you to know, for already have I begun to walk about here and to meddle with your lucid carpet. So be it! I have come hither to offer you these beads that ye may not sicken me nor my children who wander here among your limpid lakes.
Likewise do we beg forgiveness of our
golden Morning Star who belongeth beneath
the east. He will stretch unto us his hand
so that, wrapping ourselves in it, no sickness
may come upon us because we have meddled
here unbidden. Therefore do we beseech
that he will put to flight the heat. Then they
will not sicken us, they who are called Chanes
who are seated hereabouts in the waters guarding
those that are called the rainbows.

Thus do I give you to know, my spirits.
Hail! thou who art my Guide, my Morning
Star. He will reach me his hand, that no
ill may befall me. So be it! Know, O my
Lord, that I do continually implore thee.

24. TO CURE ONE SICKENED BY THE
CHANES

adío's o'oik'am na'pimpumtótök
To God chanes that ye are named
aníhó' napimpuda' dar napimputunú' nk'at
hereabouts that ye are seated that ye guard
hó'ga navarahi'komac ganamarih- that which is their cloud who are our
gò'korak hóga navaric ma'mdormag
manes. that that is transparent
amrai'nik hóga navaric ma'mdormag
their petate that that is transparent
aka'va'rik nampuhó'k'ódumsósbidim
their chimal that they with selves protecting.
aníhó'namdádar1 nampuanuktúrid hóga
Hereabouts that they1 are seated that they for
guard that
navarahi'komac na' maritgò'korak
which is their cloud that they are our manes.
ha'pu.pui'cóp ti'camtánim há'gícdara
Thus also we you beg pardon.
kuga'gurahopimitu.u'rin'ka ganavaričma-
Then aside ye will cast that which is
mdorma' amb' sa' ə r namia'mpihó'. tuha'nda transparent your gourd within that they
not anywhere will meddle

1 Although in the third person, evidently refers to
the chanes.

ganmá.mar ganamaramho'ho'cia
they my children those which are your saucers
ganamaramha'ha' ganamaramha'ha'kar
those which are your jars those which are your
griddles
namaramba'paidaka ganavaričma'mdormag
those which are your pitchers that which is trans-
parent
amó'cig.ər namia'mpihótumha'hi'cdá
your cornfield within that they not anywhere for-
you will break
para napimiampihótuakok'datúd' a
in order that ye not anywhere them will sicken
ghanami'lia gó'köni'puamá' tud porki
that my family. Therefore I you cause to
know because
aníhó'miói'pu ganfami'lia amicto'
hereabouts they walk that my family they
nimó'-bituha'nda gó'kó ni'puamta'n
suddenly hither will meddle. Therefore I you
beg
ha'gícdara porki niti'matót
pardon because I if cause to know
hó'ga navarinsu'sbidat inci'u'k
he who is my Protector, my Morning Star,
kuhó'ga' vi'tuamko'k'adá'a kep' mia'm-
then he you will sicken. Then ye no-
a'k'kda kuniti'amam'a'tót gó'kó
later will say that I did not you cause to know.
Therefore
ni'puamta'nim há'gícdara wóc
I you am begging pardon all
orasa'ba koha'pu.pí'cóp ati'tá'nida
hours in. Then thus also we will go begging
ganavariči'u'k kovibító'k'vida
he who is our Morning Star, that hither us will come
reaching
ganavarno'vit para natha'ban.tu-
that which is his hand in order that we in it
D'a.'gímót ga'mtönö'idida ha'ctu
us seizing will go beholding anything
napuanihó'dorumávida ha'enc'í'n'dúdú
that from hereabouts will come thinking thus that
hoards.
gō'kunipuama'gīd ku'pimi'mōtu.ur'na
Therefore I you advise that ye hence will cast
ganavaricma'mdorma' amba'sa.ōra
that which is transparent your gourd within.
konki'ap.i pimima'tōhi kunki.-With which thus is. Ye must know. With which
diu'.s.ōcamb'i'ak'a
God you will sympathize.

NOTE
When the priest-doctor has determined by the extraction of thick spittle from the patient in the sucking examination, that he
is afflicted by a chan, he makes a chimal and a bastōn with feathers of the heron and
cleanses the invalid by waving the latter over him. He then deposits it at the spring whence
the water is brought. The balance of the treatment is as before but the following prayer
is recited.

TRANSLATION
Hail! ye who are called Chanes who are seated round about, guarding the cloud of our
spirits. It is their transparent carpet, their limpid chimal with which they do shield them-
Selves. Round about are ye seated, guarding the cloud of our Gods.
We beseech you, put away your saucers, your jars, your griddles and your pitchers.
Hide them within your transparent gourd. Then will my children not meddle with them;
then they will not break anything which lieth within your transparent cornfield. Then will
you not afflict my family. Thus do I say unto you for already do my family walk about here and mayhap will meddle. This
do I ask of you, for if I tell him who is my Protector and my Morning Star, he will then
afflict you. Then do not say afterwards that I did not warn you.
Therefore do I implore you in all hours. And also will we beseech him who is our
Morning Star that he stretch unto us his hand. Then, held in it, we may safely behold whatever may come unto us. Therefore do

I bid you begone into your transparent gourd. Thus shall ye know. May God have pity
on you.

25. TO RETIRE THE CHANES
adio's.um na'pimaro'oik'am
To God that ye are chanes.
pimi'mōm.u'rin'kā ganavaricma'mdorma'
Ye hence yourselves will cast that which is transparent
am'a'ni.igungō't.a pimia'mpixō'.tuan-
your petate beneath. Ye not anywhere them-
ko'k'datud'a ganfami't'lia porki
will sicken that my family because
ni.a'k'da ganavarinsu'ssidat inci'ufik
I will tell he who is my Protector, my Morning
Star,
in.o'k' para natuamko'k'da'na
my Father, in order that he you will sicken.
pimia'māsā'nda porki högavi'tuam-
Ye not later will weep because he you-
ko'k'da'd'a kuha'pf nicamta'nim
will sicken. Then thus is; I you am begging
ha'giedara kupi'mfmōm.u'rinka
par don. Then ye hence yourselves will cast
ganavaricma'mdorma' amba'kuri.ōra
that which is transparent your water-gourd within.
pimti'pu.da'aryo api'minwi'cidim
Ye if endanger ye me following,
kuni'tuamko'k'da'd'a höga navari'vgo'k
then I you will sicken that which is seven
a'rag napimpuōkōta'rgidic gö'ku
formations that ye with are formed. Therefore
nipu.amta'nim ha'giedara konki'hap.i
I you begging pardon. With which thus is.
pim'a'tōk inka'gī pimihimia
Ye know, me hear. Ye will go
pīhō' napimpuaptu'i ganavaram-
where that ye are that is your
hi'komak.ōr kudios.pocam.ōra'dakam
cloud within. Then God you withinness.
NOTE
This prayer is spoken after the invalid is convalescing from the sickness caused by the chanes and is intended to cause them to depart from the vicinity. It is recited to the west, whither they flee.

TRANSLATION
Farewell! Chanes. Ye shall take yourselves beneath your lucid carpet. Ye must not sicken my family, or I will tell him who is my Protector, my Morning Star and my Lord so that he may sicken you. Then do not afterwards weep if he shall have sickened you. So be it; I beg your forgiveness. You must take yourselves within your crystal water-gourd. For if ye follow to persecute me, I will sicken you with the seven forms in which ye were created. Therefore do I beg your forgiveness.

So be it. Know it and hear ye me! Ye shall take yourselves within your cloud where ye belong. May God bless you.

26. TO BEWITCH

adío's in.o'G' inda'D
To God, my Father, my Mother,
icí'u'G abimo naparda'kam höga
my Morning Star. Afar that thou art
sitter that
to'tvak.dam ku.imimo' navarum'ai'nak-s
skies on. Then here that is thy petale

dam napargōkami naparicidu'kam on
that thou art greatness that thou
art value.
natarum'a'ma'r ku.imimōkmōdör
That we are thy children. Then here distant from
abi.mō'dör hudur napituma'rgi
afar from alone that thou didst thyself form
napitbaivatuda'giu inimō napitivu'si
that thou didst already hither cleanse. Here that
thou didst select
huga mari'a na'puri'P'a'd
that Mary that she is our Mother

na'tuna'kog inimō umwō't'amō
that we are suffering here thee beneath.
napitbaivatuda'giu ku.ani.mōdör
That thou didst hither already cleanse. Then
hereabouts from
napitbai'vavo'm hudō'r napit-
that thou didst hither already arise alone that
a'ban.ai'vavo höga umkuroṣi'g
thou didst in it already recline that thy cross
napitmu' amumō napitpuagō'i
that thou didst die. There that thou didst already fall
navaricada'dik'am navarumva'sa'ōr
which is health which is thy box within
navarictutō'g'amōr va'iō um-
which is darkness in three thy-
to'tnorìg kuambilōap'ti'ma'c'ir asa'gīd
sun. Then afar thou didst appear them-
between
hōga namaricko'i'kam ku.imimōdör
that which they are Dead. Then here from
napithapuva't'utō hōga navartō'tvakdām
that thou didst thus already behold that that-
is skies on.
naparda'kam napara'o'k'amhōkō'd' dios
That thou art sitter that thou art arrangement-
with God
naparín.o'k naparumnō'icturid'am
that thou art my Father that thou art thy observa-
tion on.
ku.ami.dör napubaivatuda'g'iuna
Then there that thou hither already us wilt-
cleanse
natōpkiwō'nōk hidi maindam
that we also soon journey this petale on
napōpkitma'kim gögcdara kupibai-
that thou also soon us giving succor. Then
thou hither-
iD'āgiuna hōga navaricada'dikam
us wilt cleanse that is health
navarumōkade'wō'ta' nabāi'īr'g'ā
that is thy shadow beneath that thou hither us-
will send
natapōvābō'iya hōga navarichō'pikam
that we already will carry that which is cold
navarumno'nov-ám kudiköt pictutha'gicda which are thy hands in. Then this with thou us- wilt pardon

porke nataric.i'korak-ám because

ku.hidi.hömadakamhö'kö't apiid'a'gid'a
Then this formation with thou us wilt send

navargö'gucdara amen
which is thy succor. Amen.

NOTE

This prayer is merely one of several modes of casting spells of witchery, the others not entailing the use of any set prayer and savoring more of European custom. Even this, however, is of dubious authenticity as its resemblance to Christian philosophy is only too evident. In fact it was given in order to prove to me the lack of antagonism between the old Tepecano religion and Catholicism and was entitled the "Creed." I have great suspicion that it was created to suit the occasion, like no. 18. It was originally said to be a prayer to beg permission to enter a sacred spot but my principal informant pronounced it to be a prayer to bewitch.

It is recited at midnight when the one whom it is desired to bewitch is asleep, and is addressed to the pagan idols (cidudkam) and the Christian cross. A fast is likewise enjoined. Then the supplicant goes to the cemetery and lights a wax candle and buries there a figure he has made in representation of the hated one. It is buried at the foot of the cross and a prayer said entreating the death of the individual.

TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art my Father, my Mother, and my Morning Star who art seated afar in the heavens. Here on thy earth thou art powerful, art dear. We are thy children. From afar where alone thou wast formed thou didst come to cleanse us. Here thou didst choose Mary, the Mother of us who suffer here beneath thee. Thou didst purify us. From hence thou didst arise alone, thou didst lay thyself on thy cross and die. There thou didst descend into thy grave, into the darkness for three days. Afar thou didst appear among the dead.

From here thou didst behold Him who is in heaven. Thou art seated with the chosen, God, who art my Father, which is thy thought. From there thou wilt send purification to us who also journey through this world, and give us succor. Thou wilt come to cleanse us with the health which is beneath thy shadow; thou wilt send us the cold which is in thy hand that we may lay hold upon it. With this thou wilt pardon us, for we are vile. With this formula thou wilt send us thy succor. Amen.

27. TO CURE FROM WITCHCRAFT

adio's inda't inci'u'k
To God, my Mother, my Morning Star.

anipumta'nim hágicdara kovi'- I thee am begging pardon that-
tö'k'owumböya ganavarictôn'kam above itself will take that which is heat.
avi'puböintök'da gano'vit ganciu'k He hither me will stretch that his hand, he-
my Morning Star
ci'arwö'tahö napua'ri'gidic ko'vixö'pra east beneath there that he is formed. Then will recover
hidickö'ok'am ati'pihö.va'amhág this sick one. It if anywhere self lacks
komi'pu.hivo'i's kuaviamiputu'ik'a that they bewitch. Then not thus shall be.
icxö'pitkamökö't a'pi.ida'giunida hö'ga Cold with thou wilt go cleansing that
namarumú.umihökö't ha'vanavà'riktá that they are thy ceremonial arrows with, and which is white
amka'varikökö't ku.'gara.há'pi'mi.- your chimal with. Then aside to, ye-

¹ The change from second person singular to plural is rather inexplicable here.
iu'rnida ganavarickök'dakam
will go repulsing that which is sickness.
kuni'puamtán há'gićdara naparindá't
Then I you beg pardon that thou art my-
Mother,
in.ó:k' kua'nibi'aka maspóde'r
my Father. Then I will have more power
kinihó'gananhivo'ís kupi'miam'ă'kda
than even he who is bewitching. Then ye not will give
li'se'ńšia ku'pixó.puít'a''riwa'da
permission that anywhere us small shall make
hidicto'nkamököt hóganavarinciú'g
this heat with. He who is our Morning Star
avi'pubó.in.da'giunihida kuvia'mina'p.hak'-
he hither me will come cleansing that not in me back-
gó'cia gactónkam hidi
will fall that heat. This
na'varinú.umi.hökó ni'punsōbida
which are my ceremonial arrows with I me will go-
protecting.
kuvia'mindám.ha'ctuacumdáníia konkíháp.f
Then not over me anything itself will make. With-
which thus is.
píma'tök piminka'ök kudío's.pócán-
Ye know. Ye me hear. Then God ye-
ő'ra'dak'am withinness.

NOTE

When a man is ill and suspects witchcraft he sends for a doctor of reputation. The latter bathes and fasts seven days. It is revealed to him in his dreams and later verified by examination of the patient whether he is sickened by will of God, by a chan, by disembodied spirits, or by witchcraft. Kneading and squeezing the joints is one of the criteria, sucking being another, the drawing of blood being a certain sign of witchcraft.

Having assured himself of the cause, the doctor brings his ceremonial arrows and other paraphernalia. First three arrows are placed around the patient’s head and another at his feet, stuck in the ground. The one to the left of the head is then raised and carried to the foot and these two are lifted, one in either hand, and pointed in turn to the east, north, west, south and zenith, the prayer being repeated five times, once to each direction. Then the five ceremonial circuits are performed around the sick man and he is sucked vigorously. The arrows are then replaced, two at the head and two at the feet. The doctor stands at the foot, then goes to the right and performs the sucking operation again. He then goes to the patient’s head and spits in his hand to note the result of the sucking treatment. This is repeated five times on different parts of the body, each time returning to the sick man’s head by a counter-clockwise direction. Usually some tangible object is extracted by these means. To finish the treatment the doctor seizes all four arrows, two in either hand, and circles them over the patient to purify him. The treatment is repeated every three days for five times and is said to be generally efficacious.

TRANSLATION

Hail! my Mother, my Morning Star. I beseech thee that this heat may take itself hence. My Morning Star must stretch unto me his hand from beneath the east where he be-longeth. Then shall this invalid recover. Mayhap something is lacking that thus they bewitch him. But it must not be so. Thou wilt cleanse him with the cold and with thy arrows; with your white chimál will ye cast aside the pestilence. Therefore do I implore you, my Lord and my Lady. I must have more power than even he who is bewitching. Ye will not allow him to molest us with this heat. Our Morning Star will come to cleanse me that this heat may not return unto me. With my arrows will I shield myself, that no ill may befall me. So be it! Know ye it and hear me!

May God bless you.
28. TO SOW THE CORN

adío's naparinsu'sbidad
To God, that thou art my Father, that thou art my Protector,
inci'u'g tunhágicid a'ntsapita'putó.ófi
my Morning Star. Me pardon I did say almost sowed.
ku'ni'i.nipucia'k
Then I here scatter she who is thy child
napitpubó'ho't natpu.i'ni.má'cin
that thou didst hither send that she did here appear
hi'di navarictódo um'ai'nikdám
this that is green thy petale on.
híkom na.ofmór navarici'vegok
Cloud that wanders which are seven
ó'hi tö'tvak.wó'pta pina'pu'cikó'kwá
beautiful skies beneath where that she will rest
na'pu.ivu'snia hôga a'ra'k
that she will arise that creature
uv napumtótök na'varuma'r
female that she is called that is thy child.
kuha'pu.pió'p t'icumta'n hágicdara
Then thus also we thee beg pardon
naparinsu'o'k naparindá't naparín-thou art my Father, that thou art my
Mother, that thou art my
su'sbidad inci'u'k napu.uma'r'gid
Protector, my Morning Star that is formed
ci'arkwó'tahówan napitpubó'ho't east beneath there that thou didst hither send
gà'már kutilpubó'idu'via i'so'soigim that thy child. Then did hither arrive weeping
hi'di oí'dadám para
this world on in order
na'puitgó'gucia'a para natpukáda
that she us will succor in order that we shall eat
natga'mt'nídida hidi óidadám
that we will go beholding this world on
i'ntám natpumór'in'ok hiditukip.sa'git here that we run this darkness within
i'ntám natpuvói.nug hi'di oí'dadám here that we journey this world on.

kotípum'a'túd kutí'pu.ini.citó.ócia
Then we thee cause to know that we here will sow
na'kutnú'kda hô'ga na'varumár to see if we will guard she who is thy child.
kupia'mago'kíptónnikdá pi'epubó'í'tó'k'da Then thou not to two sides wilt look, thou hither-me wilt stretch
ganavarumnóv pa'ra nanha'bantundágmop that which is thy hand in order that I in-it myself may seize
gamtnóhíida wó'c o'rasa'ba will go beholding all hours in.

kunihap.i ni'cpum'a'tút naparín- With which thus is, I thee cause to know that thou art my
su'spídat inci'u'k ino'g kunki'hap.i
Protector, my Morning Star, my Father. With which thus is.
dios.pócambi'ak'a
God bless you.

NOTE

After the first heavy rain in June the corn is planted. A fast of five days and a purifying bath are the primary requisites. After this has been undergone small beads and a jícara of pinole mixed with water are prepared. The beads are placed in the four corners and in the center of the field to prevent injury by crows and other animals. The pinole water is then sprinkled to the four cardinal points and the prayer is recited while facing east. The pinole serves to prepare the soil for the reception of the kernels. The corn may then be planted but the kernels taken from the twin ears, the Milpa Cuata, must be planted first.

TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art my Lord, my Guide and my Morning Star. Forgive me because I am about to sow. Here am I scattering thy daughter whom thou didst send hither to appear on this thy green carpet. The cloud wanders beneath the seven beautiful heavens where she will come to rest, where
will spring up the maiden who is thy child. Likewise do we beg forgiveness of thee, my Father and Mother, my Guide and Morning Star, who dwelleth beneath the east whence thou didst send thy child hither. Here did she arrive in this world weeping, to succor us that we might have food and might go beholding where now we grope in darkness, journeying through the world. We say unto thee that we will sow here, if perchance we may guard well thy daughter. Do not look askance; thou must reach me thy hand that I may be held in it and go beholding through all hours. Thus do I say unto thee who art my Lord, my Guide and Morning Star. So be it.

May God bless you.

29. TO REAP THE MILPA CUATA

adiu's a'rag' uv na'pumtō'tōk To God, creature female that thou art called.
a'nihō napuo'įdak hacnaci'dūdu Hereabouts that thou belongest thus that hoards
ci'korhō'wan navarci'arwō't'a vicinity there. That is east beneath amōhōdōr natpubō'imho't ganavaram.o'k' there from that did hither thee send he that is thy Father
navarumna'na,1 kuha'pu.ųp' ati'ctan that is thy Mother.1 Then thus also we beg hā'gicdara bābarip'kām pixō' pardon North One where
napua'rgidic kupi'pugamihi'mia pixō' that thou art formed. Then thou wilt go where nanumbō'k'ta kupi'puga'minka'hida that I thee shall carry. Then thou wilt go hearing hōga navarumu'umi.hōkō'p na'pų-that which are thy ceremonial arrows with that a'argidic hapu.pic'p navaru.xi'rnipkam thou art formed. Thus also that is West One,

1 nana, MAMA, childish word for mother.

hu'hukti'ot na'pumtō'tōk kuha'pu.-Pine-Man that is called. Then thus pi'cō'p' ti'ctan hā'gicdara also we beg pardon ganavaro'gad navardo'ud kutia'mi-he that is her Father that is her Mother. Then pixō'pāro'n'da kuti'nō'fa pōnō'gitnōv we not anywhere will maltreat. Then we will watch her like our hand.

kuha'pu.πi'cō'p' ati'ctan hā'gicdara Then thus also we beg pardon hōganavaricta' to'vōrip cidu'kam that which is white star fetish
napumtō'tōk o'gipa amōhō that is called south there natpumā'cir ganavarma'rat ku-that did appear she that is his child. Then ti'cputā'n hā'gicdara ganavaro'gat we beg pardon he who is her Father havaganavardō'ud kuti'pugama'hi anihō' and she who is her Mother. Then did already go hereabouts ci'korhō'wan avi'puva'niōk' im ku-vicinity there she already speaking. Then ha'pu.puić'p' ti'pumō'vadu'via anihō' thus also did hence already arrive hereabouts o'imōrimōk ci'korhō'van sā'kimōg having walked vicinity there having wept pumō'vadu'via navaro'gatvwi puva'- hence already arrive who is her Father with already 'a'g kumi'pupa'ro'nu ganamarmamråd tell that they maltreat they who are his children.

kugōku aticpugōmhwōn2 kuti'puinōr' Then therefore she did away.3 Then did return navaro'gat.vi a'birinē天鹅 pixō' that is her Father with afar there where na'tpukur'gad navarci'vgok o'hi that she did finish that are seven beautiful tō'tvakdm pixō' napuda' ga.o'gat skies on where that is seated he her Father.

1 Verbal in form but with locative in place of verbal stem.
kohapu'pu'wz'hy'p' ati'cta'n hają'gicdara
Then thus also we beg pardon;
tipum'ra'k ganavari'ti'nu'k kutiamipihô-
we thee give that which is our word that we
not anywhere will
páro'nda kuica'pi'motok'kia konkipia'm-
maltreat that well we hence will place. With
which thou not
bi'aka napiho'pis'orib'apia'm-
wilt need that thou anywhere sad wilt
feel. Thou not
ago'kipiton'nikda sa'ra'k napumtôtok
thou art called
to two places wilt look Milpa Cuatas that
thou art called
napararak'úv amöhô'ddor na'punio'kim
that thou art creature female. There from that
thou speaking
umbi'kumôrhdôr hi'di navarictô'do
thy cloud within this that is green
mai'ndam na'pitpum'â'cir kupictunhâ'gicdaventle
on that thou didst appear. Then
thou wilt pardon
piho' nantô'nimor.i'civo'mikda kupia'm-
anywhere that I unbidden will raise. Then thou
bi'aka napiho'pis'morî'da kugôku
not wilt need that thou anywhere sad wilt
feel. Then therefore
ni'pumtan hâ'gicdara konkidiôs
I thee beg pardon. With which God
pócamb'aka
you will sympathize.

NOTE

When the corn is ripe and the harvest time
has come, the owner of the field goes forth
and reaps all the ordinary ears of corn. But
the Milpas Cuatas, the corn plants with a
forked stem and two ears, are left standing
after the others have been gathered. Then
the field is encircled with ceremonial circuits
as many times as there are Cuatas within
and the following prayer is recited.

TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art called Maiden. Round
about us art thou met! From beneath the
east did thy Father and Mother send thee
hither. Likewise do we beseech him of the
North where thou belongeth. Thou must
accompany me wherever I may carry thee.
Thou must harken unto me, formed as thou
art with thy arrows. And also he of the West
who is called the Pine-Man. We promise her
Father and her Mother that we will not
maltreat her; we will guard her like our
own hand. Likewise do we beseech him who
is called the White Star Cidukam who be-
longeth in the south where appeareth the
child of the Father. We beseech her Father
and her Mother.

Hereabouts did she walk, bemoaning. Then,
having wandered and wept here she returned
unto her Father and told him that his children
had mistreated her. Therefore did she depart;
she returned unto her Father and arrived
there afar where he is seated in the seven
beautiful heavens.¹

Thus do we pray. We give thee our word
that we will not mistreat her, that we will
guard her well. Thou needst not feel offended.
Nor look askance, Milpa Cuatas, as thou art
called, maiden. Speaking from within thy
distant cloud thou didst appear on this
green carpet. Thou wilt forgive me if, un-
bidden, I reap. Do not feel sad; on this
account I beg thy pardon.

May God bless you.

30. TO BEG PERMISSION TO HUNT DEER

anicbô'himdan to'nmor puamta'nim
I hither coming was unbidden you begging
hô'gam namaramso'solik anihô'van
they that they are your pets. Hereabouts
nampuoi'pô hôga namarictu'tuk that they walk that they are black
ôidak'a'ba su'suimar nampumto'tôk
hills in deer they are called
hôga navarictô'dog amainikdâm
that that is green your ventle on.

¹ Cf. JAFIL, xxvii, 155.
anihó nampua'rgidic hacnaci'dúd'u
Hereabouts that they belong thus that hoards.
ku'ha'pu.pwieö'p a'nichó'hi napim-
Then thus also I desire that ye-
xō'mai.intane'tiđ'a navarlvgok'o'xi one me will lend that is seven beautiful
xi'komórhóvan nampuöip'u ku-
cloud within that they walk. Then-
xa'pu.pwi'cöö'p ani'camtán ha'gücidara
thus also I you beg pardon.
kupi'mipuma'töhi gami'ника'hida
Then ye know me will go hearing
ganavarxö'pör na'mpuanihó'mö'rin'ok
they which are winds. That they hereabouts run
hóga navarictö'dók' amai'nikdát
that which is green their petate on
na'mpuanihó.so'ima'mač hacnaci'idúdú
that they hereabouts sad appear thus that hoards.
hóga navarakai'k'orag navarinsu'sbídát
That which is their master who is my
Protector,
inci'u'k in.o'k kuncipum'átu't
my Morning Star, my Father. Then I cause
know
hidi hó'mađ ni'o'k nampuhab'an-
this one word that they in it
a'rgidic namaramso'oi'k'am nampum-
are formed that they are your pets that they
tó'tök konk'ha'pma'ntōd inka'uk tun-
are called. With which thus know; me hear, me-
ha'gücid
pardon.

NOTE

The deer is the animal of consummate importance in all the religions of the Tepecano
region\(^1\) and around it center many ceremonies and rites.

When a man desires to hunt deer, which is a requisite for certain ceremonies, he com-
mences a fast of seven days. On the first

\(^1\) Cf. Lumholtz, Symbolism, p. 22.

\(^2\) Nahua olallí, the base of a reed with branching
rts which are trimmed and decorated to represent

day he goes to the Cerro del Cántaro with
an \(\text{olates}\)\(^2\) decorated with beads, to resemble
the head of a deer, a \(\text{ji cará}\) decorated with
beads, and a \(\text{chimal}\) of pure white cotton. The
\(\text{olates}\) have the same name and spirit as
a deer and are made with green beads for the
eyes. But if no \(\text{olate}\) is available a figure of a
deer may be made of clay or wax and
used instead. At the Cerro del Cántaro the
supplicant leaves his offerings and recites the
prayer.

The following day he hunts to the east,
the third day to the north, the fourth to the
west and the fifth to the south. Thereafter
he may hunt where he wishes as long as he
desires. But the first deer secured must be
entirely distributed among the others; he
may not touch it. Candles must be made of
the fat and he must light one and put it
in his house before setting forth again. This
is for the spirits.\(^3\)

For the \textit{Fiesta} of the \textit{Milpa Cuata} the deer
of which the \textit{chuales}\(^4\) are made must be
caught in a snare and cooked whole, head and
all.

TRANSLATION

Unbidden have I come hither, craving
your pets which wander about in the dark
hills, the deer as they are called hereabouts
on your green carpet where they belong. I
ask that ye lend me one of these which
wander in the seven beautiful clouds. Like-
wise do I beg your forgiveness. Ye should
know that they may hear me in the winds,
running about on their green carpet where
mournfully they appear. Their Master is my
Lord, my Guide, my Morning Star. I will
speak unto him the one word with which were
created these which are called your pets.
Know it; hear me and pardon me.

\(^2\) Uncertain whether the spirits of the deer or
whether disembodied or unembodied anthropomorphic
spirits.

\(^3\) Nahua chualli, a mush made of pinole and finely
chopped meat, cooked in corn husk; practically equiva-
ient to \textit{tamale}.\(^4\)
31. TO RID THE RANCH OF SCORPIONS

adi'o's naparinci'u'k: apipubó,in'idida
To God, that thou art my Morning Star. Thou
hither will come watching,
kuya'm.inda'mactuacumwa'da di' aniho
that not over me anything itself will make of here-
abouts
namputukí'kí'ó hi'di oi'da.dám
that they live this world on
namic'tókd.u't aniho' napputuoípu
that they vicious hereabouts that they walk
namana'na'skórd kuha'pu,pu'i'cotp
that they are scorpions. Then thus also
ni'cata'n há'gic'dara ku'mimímu'ri'inka
I them beg pardon that they hence selves-
will take
pixó' nania'manó'nóikdá ga'agu'rahú'wan
where that I not them will see aside there
pixó' nampaúódág aniamho'hi
where that they belong. I not wish
nan.i'ntam.anó'nóikdá piho' nanoi'mór
that I here them will see where that I walk.
kuhapu.pwícotp ni'cam'átud ganavar-
Then thus also I them cause to know that
ci'vgo'k o'hi tó'tvakwó'p'ta
which is seven beautiful skies beneath
nampaú'r'gidíc kumi'mómu'rin'ka pokí
that they form that they hence selves will take be-
cause
niti'.anató ani'zuakó'k'da'd'a kuni'pu
I if here them see I them will sicken. Then
ma'tud ganci'u'k kui'bu.intókdá
I cause to know that my Morning Star, that
hither will extend
gano'vid para nawó'c.o'ras.a'b-
that his hand in order that he in all hours-
in'u'k'dida kumia'm.pihó'.tunkó'k'datu'd'a
me will go guarding Then they not any-
where will me sicken
ganamariictuk'dam kugó'k'uni'putá'n
they which are vicious ones. Then therefore I beg
há'gic'dara ganci'u'g kuvi'aha'pú'd'a
pardon he my Morning Star that them will restrain
ganampuanihópukíkíó hidioi'daga'ba
they which hereabouts live this hill in
namarnána'skór namarhiptípak
that they are scorpions, that they are spiders,
namarkók'o ha'ctunamup.i'ntamupukíkíó
that they are snakes, any that they here reside.
kumi'.mómu'r'na ganavarictó'dóg
Then they hence selves will take that which is green
ma'ínikwó't'a kuniamho'hi
petále beneath. Then I not wish
nananó'nóik'dá konki'hápí nicmá'tut
that I them will see. With which thus I, I cause-
to know
ganavarinci'u'k tunha'gicíó
he that is my Morning Star. Me pardon
naparinci'u'k naparinda'd in.o'k
that thou art my Morning Star, that thou art my-
Mother, my Father.

NOTE

This prayer is recited by a man when he
goes to a new locality to build his house and
make his home. It has the power to drive
away the scorpions, snakes, spiders, and other
poisonous insects and animals.

He must first fast for five days and prepare
a jícara of pinóle mixed in water or of holy
water. This jícara is decorated with small
beads. At the end of the fast it is placed in
the center of the holding and the water
sprinkled to the four cardinal points while
the prayer is recited. The latter is addressed
to the Morning Star, the arch-enemy of the
scorpions who are the cattle of the Devil.
The principal scorpion is in the sky;¹ those
on earth are smaller copies of it.

The prayer must be repeated every year
if the scorpions are to be kept under control.

TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art my Morning Star. Thou
wilt come to watch over me that no
evil may come upon me from those who dwell

¹ Probably borrowed from the European zodiac.
hereabouts upon the earth, the poisonous scorpions which here wander.
Likewise do I beseech them that they take themselves hence where I may not be- hold them, away where they belong. I do not wish to see them hereabouts where I walk. Also do I give them to know, formed as they are beneath the seven beautiful heavens, that they must take themselves hence, for if I behold them hereabouts I will sicken them.
Also do I beseech my Morning Star that he reach unto me his hand to shield me through all hours. Then will these poisonous ones not sicken me. Therefore do I beseech him, my Morning Star, that he restrain them who live in this hill, the scorpions, the spiders, the serpents, and all those who here dwell. They must take themselves beneath the green carpet, for I do not wish to behold them.
Thus do I say unto my Morning Star. Forgive me, my Morning Star, my Lord and my Lady.

32. TO OBTAIN A SERPENT PROTECTOR

adin's naparin.o'k naparinda'ob To God that thou art my Father, that thou art my Mother.
pimi'tunha'gicda kuni'da'gia hi'di ko Ye me will pardon that I will seize this snake i'ntâm na'nitpuvatô ku'nilbo'k'ta here that I did already find. That I will carry inki'amhá para natun'úkturi'da my home to in order that he for me will guard. hi'di navarictôdo ama'inikdam This that is green your petate on napu'i'ntâm napuma'r'git hacnic'dûdu that he belongs that he is formed as that hoards napu.i'ntâm napumvâp'an kuvin.ôda that he here that he is stretched out. Then me will accompany pihô nanpunxõpît inki'a'm napumtõtök where that I me rest, my home that it is called para natun'úkturi'da ha'ctunanpihô'dâktä in order that he for me will guard anything that I anywhere will leave 
pihô'van a'npusoi'mac hi'di oi'dadâ'm where I sad appear this world on. kuha'pu.ô'p' ani'ctanim ha'gicdara Then thus also I am begging pardon hidi navarictôdo mai'nikdâm pihô this that is green petate on where nanpusoi'mac navarci'vgo'k ohi that I sad appear that is seven beautiful tô'tvakwô'pta kuhi'di ko skies beneath. Then this snake aviampihõinô'p'kiô'âa kuni'puta'n he not anywhere me will frighten. Then I beg hâgicdara kuvi'môm.u'rin'ka pixô pardon that he hence self will shelve where nanda'k'ta kuviamiadâk'taka that I will leave. Then not them will leave nampihôtunta'nii'dâ ganha'ha'cdun that anywhere me will meddle that my relations, kumiamha'ctupixo.inbô'bôtci'd'a kuvi'a-that they not anything anywhere me will steal. Thus wu'pu'rdâ amti'pihô'.hactucinvwfdi'cdam he them will tie they if anywhere anything me with wish to take. kuvia'mi'âdâ'k'taka gökô ni'puta'n Then not them will leave. Therefore I beg favor kuvi'n.ôda inki'amhâ favor, that me will accompany my home to. kuhapu.ô'p' nicmátu'd gan.ô'g' Then thus also I cause to know that my Father, inda't nampunmá'kim lisensia hi'di my Mother, that they me give permission this o'i'dadâm na'npugamtnôldim hidi world on that I going beholding this go'k va'îk tônô'r nanitpu'a' two three sun that I did already, cimá'cit kuhapu.ô'p' avi'pkindâk-ta appear that thus also he also yet me will leave
NOTE

Large constrictor serpents are said to live in the forests of the Sierra Madre Occidental above Azqueltán and these are claimed to make excellent pets and house guardians.\(^1\)

If properly approached they will accompany the finder to his house and guard it for him. They give notice of danger by striking the ground with the tail and bind and hold any one who may come with intent to rob. If the owner is asleep they strike him in the face with the tail to awaken him. But they must be given bread to eat every Thursday if they are to remain content.

When a man wishes to secure one of them he first buys a candle and begs permission of Maria Santísima in the church. Then he takes a white cloth with which to bind the snake and hunts to the four cardinal points. When he has found it he recites this prayer.

TRANSLATION

Hail! my Father and my Mother. Forgive me if I carry hence this serpent which I have found here. I will carry him to my house that he may be my guard. On this your green carpet where he belongeth was formed he who lieth here. He must go with me to where I rest, my home as it is called, to keep watch for me over anything which I may leave wherever I do mournfully appear in this world.

Thus do I pray here where I do sadly appear on this green carpet beneath the seven beautiful heavens. This serpent must not frighten me. I beg that he may stay hidden wherever I may put him. He must not allow my neighbors to meddle anywhere nor to steal from me. He must wrap himself around them if they come to rob me of anything. He shall not permit them. Therefore do I ask the favor that he accompany me to my home.

Likewise do I say unto my Father and my Mother who have given me leave to go beholding in this world these few days which have dawned, that they shall still allow me yet a few days which shall yet come to a close.

Know it to be thus and hear me! May God bless thee.

33. TO BEG RICHES OF THE TOLOACHE

adío's na'parinq'g' na'parinda'r
To God that thou art my Father, that thou art my Mother.
i'tunhá'gicda ku.a'ni.a'nsapiwi'nartun-
Thou wilt pardon that I, I say, to him me-
ma'kia gako't'rup\(^2\) a'nihö'
will give that Toloache\(^3\) hereabouts
nampudáder
that they are seated
hargó'gur

That are the rock-piles on
hereabouts

hargó'gur
dara

That fortune

kuni'puta'nia
Then I will beg
ave'r.ti'nsokore'rota ku'ntane'jid'a
to see if I will succor.
Then me will lend
gagó'gucdara gökuni'puamtán há'gicdara
that fortune. Therefore I you beg pardon
napimaringö'korak vó'puhídam
that ye are my manes
before go on.
kuhapu.pícõ'p ni'cta'n ga'há'gicdara
Then thus also I beg that pardon
gako't'rup kupimima'kia lise'nsia aниhö
that Toloache. Then ye will give permission. Here-
hereabouts

nampudádr ha'snacji'dudí ci'arwó'tahówan
that they are seated thus that hoards east beneath-
there

\(^1\) Cf. Lumholtz, Unknown Mexico, II, p. 124.

\(^2\) Nahua toloatzin, Datura stramonium.
va’rvarib hu’nib o’gipa hidi’kô’d north west south. This with
id’amôhôwan natpubô’ida’kta ga-us over there that he did hither leave that-
ba’maro’gat para ha’stu his father-in-law in order anything
nat’a’ndâ kuvi’putma’kda natar-that we might beg that he us will give that we-
mâ’mrat gat.o’k kuvi’putma’kida are his children that our Father. Then he us-
will go giving
ha’natat’inda anihô’ nampudâdar thus that we will go begging. Hereabouts that they are-
seated
hacnci’du’du ganavaric’tô do ma’iniig-thus that hoards that which is green petales-
dâm navarica’pma’cìmkâ’t ichikmad on. That is well appearing spread out cloudy
icva’u’tag navarahi’kom.ôr na’mpuar’gidic drizly which is their cloud within that-
they form
ganavarg’gur t’ôhongi’t’ân anihô’ ci’kô’r that which is great rock-piles on hereabouts
vicinity
puha’kagó’cim ba’variÎ hu’nib returning north west
o’gipa hidi’kô’t navaric’to’dog south. This with which is green
tô’vagá’pa puva’kúg’atîm hi’di sky in already finishing this
hô’mat go’g vaik nî.q’k one two three word
natpuhk’ô’tbô’ì.a’r’gidic hi’di oî’dadâm that he did with hither form this world on.
kuti’épuawô’t’amô’mgïa gana’varcí’vgok Then we them beneath will bow they which are seven
o’hi tô’t’vawkô’t’a pihô’dôr beautiful skies beneath where from
na’tpubob’d’a’ktá na’varid’a’d pa’ra that she did hither us leave that she is our-
Mother in order
natpután.dad gako’t’r’up’ ha’stu-that we should beg that Toloache anything-
naticho’huiD kuvi’putma’kida
that he us will go giving
ha’stunata’n da natarma’mrad na’tpupihô’ anything that we will beg that are his children
that we anywhere-
soimá.mac kuha’pu.piçôp’ ati’cta’n sad appear. Then thus also we beg
ha’gicîda ganavarinsu’sbidat inci’u’k pardon she that is my Protector, my Morning-
Star,
in.q’k inda’â’t anihô’ nampudâdâr my Father my Mother hereabouts that they are-
seated
ganavarci’vgok o’hi tô’tvâkdâm they which are seven beautiful skies on.
konkîhap.i ma’tôk inka’ök With which thus is; know, me hear.
kudios.piçumbi’ak’a Then God thee will sympathize.

NOTE

The toloache is a plant of great power, being the son-in-law of the Father Sun. He
attained this by reason of his marriage to the Corn Daughter. But he mistreated her
by having two mistresses, Crow and Map-uache, and was fastened head-downward in
the ground, his limbs outstretched and was commanded to give mortals whatever they
might beg of him.1

It is said to have a thick trunk of nine inches diameter and no roots, growing on the
bare rock. Its five branches extend to the cardinal points and to heaven. It is made
of money and each one has a jicara full of coin in front of it. One may borrow this
money and return it in five years time. But having done so, he may not attend confession.
Or he may beg fortune which will later be vouchsafed to him. Needless to say, the
toloache is an extremely rare plant in the Tepecano country.

To beg fortune of the toloache one must first fast seven days for María Santísima and

1 Cf. JAFL, xxvii, 160.
go to church and recite this prayer to her to beg her permission. Then he fasts forty days for the *toloache*. He goes to the river and finds a black stone which has a child, a smaller black stone, beside it. These two he takes away, the smaller one for María Santísima, the larger one to pay the *toloache*. He also carries a *bastón* decorated with cotton and a *jícara* decorated with beads. Going to the *toloache*, he recites this prayer and leaves the offerings there. Soon thereafter he attains great wealth.

**TRANSLATION**

Hail! thou who art my Father and Mother. Thou wilt forgive me for I am about to give myself unto the *Toloaches* who are seated round about among the great rocks. I will beg fortune of one of them, if perchance he may succor me and lend me riches.

Therefore do I beg your forgiveness, my spirits who have gone before. And likewise do I beg forgiveness of the Toloache; ye shall give me leave to do so.

Round about are they seated in their places beneath the east, the north, the west and the south. There did their father-in-law who is above us put them that they should render unto us whatever we might crave, who are the children of the Father. They must give us whatever we ask. Round about are they seated on the verdant carpet. Within their drizzly cloud, beautifully o’ercast, were they formed, from whence they returned hither to the great rocky slopes to north, west and south.

So doth ascend unto the blue heavens these few words with which he was created in this world. So do we bow our heads beneath the seven beautiful heavens from whence our Mother sent us to beg of the *Toloache* whatever we might crave. He must grant us, the children of the Father, whatever we may wish, wherever we may appear.

Likewise do we beg forgiveness of my Lord and my Lady, my Guide and Morning Star there where they are seated in the seven beautiful heavens.

Know it to be thus and hear me! May God bless thee.

34. **TO BEG FORTUNE OF THE HILLS**

*a'dio's  naparin.o'G'  naparinda'd
To God that thou art my Father, that thou art my Mother,
anihô'  napimpu'dáda'ı  ci'kor
hereabouts that ye are seated vicinity
xõvwan  gana'varicapMa'cim  am-
there that which is well appearing yours-
a'tockardám  navarichi'kmat.ká'ı  navari-
seat on which is cloudy, outspread which is-
va'ı'tak  anihô  na'pimpu'dáda'ı  drizly.  Hereabouts that ye are seated
hasnac'i.dúdu  na'pimpubö'.it'nödim  thus that hoards that ye hither us watching
gana'varumbu'puivashóku't  navaram-
those which are thy faces with which are-
ka'k'varik  navarumu'umí  pihö'dör
your chimates. Which are thy ceremonial arrows
wherefrom
napu.iwán  ganavarhiko'm  ganavarci'vgo'k
that it rises that which is cloud that which is-
seven
o'hi  totvagwó'tadór  kuti'c.pu.amtán
beautiful skies beneath from. Then we-
you beg
há'gicdara  pihö'dör  na'pimitbó'.inió
pardon where from that ye did hither speak
gaci'vgo'k  amni'o'khók'u't  ha'p'u
that seven your word with thus
namita'pam.hó'k  ha'p'u  hákia
that they did already also you reply thus same
ni'o'khók'ıt  kuna'mita'pamtá  lise'nnsia
word with. Then that they did already also you begged permission
*para  na'mpu.itma'k'ıa  gaha'ctu
in order that they us will give that anything
natatánida  gagö'gu'cdara  hastu
that we them will go begging  that succor  anything
naticho'hida  hastu  na'pustuhafatu
that we will desire  anything  that it exists
hi'di  navarictó'dog  amai'nikdám
this  which is green  your petal  on
pihö'  natpusoi'mámá coch napimaringó'-
where that we sad appear.  That ye are my-
korak  ti'camtán  há'gicdara
spirits we you beg  pardon.
ku'pimi'tuthá'gicda  ti'cuputó'maiamsá-kcit
Then ye us will pardon.  We continually to you weep
ha'cnapuci'dádu  na'pimpuanihö'cezár
thus that hoards that ye hereabouts are seated
na'pimaringókorak  ci'arwot'ahö
that ye are my manes  east beneath there
napimpusoi.mamá'ce bá-varip  hu'rinip
that ye sad appear  north  west
o'gípa  kohá'pu.piwic.óp
ni'camtán
south.  Then thus also I you beg
há'gicdara  ku'pimim'nama'kia  lise'siá
pardon that ye will give permission
nanpuavwi'tunma'kia  gana'mpuanihö'tukiö'
that I with them will give they who hereabouts reside
ganavarictutuk  o'hi  oldak'ába
that which is black beautiful hill in.
kumia'mphö'cín'óí'da  kuminma'kia
Then they not anywhere me will ignore.  Then they  
me will give
ha'ctunanpíhö'atránída  ganihö
anything that I anywhere them will beg.  That  
hereabouts
namputukkiiö  ganavari'vgo'k  o'hi
that they dwell that which is seven beautiful
tóvakwóptá  pihö'dör  napimi'tpuboit'ök
sky beneath where from that ye did hither  
us extend
gana'varumné  na'titpuha'bantun'á
that which is thy hand  that we did in it us seized
natitpua'tá  gagö'gu'cdara  ku-
that we did begged  that succor.  Then-
ha'pu,piwicóp  ticamtán  há'gicdara
thus also  we you beg  pardon
hiditákugumökó'te  kuya'mha'ctu.ib'ám-
this fragment with  that not anything over us-
acumwá'da  tia'mphö'kók'orda  wóc
itself will make we not anywhere will sicken.  All
icxö'pítkamökót  pimi'pubö.id'ágünida
cold with ye hither us will go cleansing
gana'varamu'umi.okó't  ganavaram-
they which are your ceremonial arrows with those  
which are your-
ka'k'varik  ganavaramci'cvot  pihö'dör
chimales with those which are your plumes where- 
from
napubói.hfk'mad  konki'.hapí
that it hither clouds up.  With which thus is;
ni'cupamá'tut  kupiminka'ök
I you cause to know  that ye me hear
napimaringókorak  konki'.hapí  dós-
that ye are my manes.  With which thus is.  God-
pócamá'rik'á'm
you smallness.

NOTE

The surrounding hills or cerros are elements of the greatest importance in the religion of this region and the more important ones have their particular habitant spirits. These can grant wealth to mortals if properly approached. The method displays a strange mixture of Christian and pagan philosophy but the prayer is purely aboriginal.

When one has determined to sell himself to the hills in return for fortune he first fasts seven days for María Santísima. At midnight on the seventh day he goes to the church carrying a lighted twenty-five cent candle and says this prayer to sever his connection with the church. Then he rests several days, bathes himself and then fasts forty days. At the end of this fast he goes to one of the principal hills carrying a jícara decorated with small beads (chaquira) and many larger beads for payment. There he says the prayer again and leaves the offering.
From a neighboring spring he takes a gourd of water and carries it to his cornfield (condmil). Here he sprinkles it to the four corners and in the middle while reciting the prayer for the third time. After he has sown and reaped his crop he becomes very wealthy. He may not go to confession thenceforth and every fifth of May he must go to the hill to repeat his vows. Every fifth year he must repeat the fast and the visit to church.

**TRANSLATION**

Hail! my Father and my Mother, seated somewhere on your pleasant throne, o'er-spread with drizzly clouds. From there where ye are seated do ye gaze upon us with your countenances, which are your chimales. From your arrows ariseth the cloud from beneath the seven beautiful heavens. We beg your forgiveness. From there did ye speak your seven words and they replied unto you with the same words. They besought you that they might grant us anything which we might crave of them, that they might succor us with anything we might wish upon this your green carpet where mournfully we appear.

We also beg your forgiveness, my spirits. And ye will forgive us. Continually do we cry unto you, my spirits, seated there beneath the east, the north, the west and the south, where ye do sadly appear. Likewise do I beseech you that ye grant me leave to give myself unto them who live herabouts in the beautiful dark hill. They must not refuse me; they must give me whatever I may ask of them. Hereabouts do they dwell beneath the seven beautiful heavens whence ye did reach unto us your hand into which we were gathered when we begged succor.

So with this fragment do we beseech you that no evil may come upon us and that we may not be sickened. With all the cold will ye cleanse us; with your arrows, your chimales and your plumes whence spring the clouds.

Thus do I give ye to know. Hear me, O my spirits! So be it. May God bless you.

35. **TO GAIN A SWEETHEART**

adío's naparmāxda1 ci'arwōtahō
To God that thou art the intoxicated 1 one east-beneath there

napu.a'rgidic napuaimat'i aticumta'n
which thou art formed that thou art intoxicated. We-

thee beg

ha'gicdara navarici'vo'kó'kó' ohi
pardon which are seven beautiful
tówakwō'ta napu.i'oi'dök kupi'pu-
sky beneath that thou belongest. That thou-

ci'korhimia hō'ga na'varica'p'māmcim
about wilt go that which is well appearing
um.a'racbok'ō't napa'ur'gidic kuni-
thy form with that thou art formed. Then I-
puchohi kupi'mai'mu'd'a hō'ga
desire that thou wilt cause to be intoxicated that

uv nanica'pnōid ica'p'māmcim xio'cig
woman whom I well see well appearing flower

nanpuhō'kōt'a'rgidic kuha'pi'pwič'p
that I with am formed. Then thus also

ni'ctán ha'gicdara xio'cīkti'o'ō
I beg pardon Flower Man.

ku'nihö'kō.pua'ur'gidic navarica.p'māmcim
Then I with am formed which is well appearing

u'par2 xio'cīgu nanpuhō'kōktūf
flower that I with am decorated.

guisache2 kuvianaptūt'gīa hō'ga
Then with me shall behold that woman

nanica'pnōid kuni'puchohi na.ina'p
whom I good see. Then I desire that she with me-
tōtūgīa kuvia'ma's hō'ma
shall behold. Then not more other

xio'cī'k ica'p'ma'e'cka ma's
flower well shall appear more

1 Intoxicated with peyote.
2 Nahua huisatain, probably Pithecolobium albicans.
di ga.a'ni nanpuanhökôkötuf than the I that I here with am decorated 
i'ntám nanpuso'imac kuha'pu.piçô.p here that I sad appear. Then thus also 
avia'mbía'ka pixówan naxó'mai she not need anywhere that she other 
xi'oci na.icapno'id'a mas flower that she good shall behold more 
di nanpuhököt.kutui 'navar6'gat than that I with am decorated which is 
palo mulato1 
hio'cgi nanpuhökô.a'r'gidic flower that I with am formed. 
kui'cipuhó'gia.hògapacnopoi'da kuha- Then she only that well shall behold. Then thus 
pwicô.p hòga navarho'ogì'surica also that which is garambullos 
hio'cgi.hòkó nanpuhökôdína'r'gid 
napu.-flower with that I with me form that she 
a'rak ha'ncacidu'du hava form thus that hoards and 
gas rak hio'cikhökó nanpu.a'r'gid that rosa maria2 flower with that I am formed. 
kui'pucho'hi kui'cinho'hida hòga Then I desire that she me shall desire that 
vu nanica'pnöit gana'varici'vgok woman whom I well behold that which is seven 
o'hi tò'twak napua'r'gidic beautiful skies that is formed. 
ci'arwó't:â na'tpumöhô'ma'cir ica'p-East beneath that she did there appear well- 
ma'ncim hioçigôkít kótuik'am appearing flower with decoration 
natpubō'iho'ôt nanvaroho'gat hava that he did hither send he who is her father and 
navar6'ôd navarica'pma'mcim a'rákhökót who is her mother which is well appearing form with 
kötul'k'am hapa piçô.p ni'c.ta'n decoration. Thus also I beg 
hágicdara hòga navar6'gat hava pardon he who is her father and 
navardu'ud kumí.tunhâ'gieda ku- who is her mother that they me will pardon. Then- 
ví'ñwi.tum'a'kia hòga uv with me self shall give that woman 
nanica'pnöiD havaganavarkot'rüp ho'cig-that I well behold. And that which is toloache4 flowers- 
hô'k'o't nanpuhököt.kôtúi kuha- with that I with am decorated. Then thus- 
picô.p kuni'pucho'hi kuvi'cinho'hida also that I desire that she me shall- desire 
hi'di u'v ha'vaganavarmai'mda this woman and she is the intoxicated one 
uvkami napumtôtok ganavari- womankind that she is called that which is 
ci'vgok o'hi tòwakwô'ta seven beautiful sky beneath 
napu.oi'dak kuha'pupi'cô.p nictan that she belongs. Then thus also I beg 
ha'gicdara ganavarhio'cíktio't gö'gur pardon he who is Flower Man great 
tûhungid'âm na'puóidak konki.hapf rock-piles on that he belongs. With 
which thus is; 
dios pócambi'ak'a God you will sympathize. 

NOTE
This prayer is the native's substitute for the love potions of the European necromancer.
When a boy desires the love of a girl who has given him no encouragement he must first fast five days. Then if he does not know the prayer he must secure the services of one who does, paying him for the labor. He has first stealthily secured some article of apparel worn by the girl. A figure or "doll" is made from this and another from one of his garments. The latter is decorated with the flowers of five narcotic plants, guizache, palo mulato, garambullo, rosa marla and toloache.

1 Possibly Xanthoxylum penianome. 
2 Unidentified. 
4 Indian hemp, "hashish" mari-guana.
At midnight, when the girl is asleep, a candle is lighted and the two figures placed in a jicara or bowl of water where they float. The prayer is then recited and a ceremonial song sung five times to the accompaniment of the musical bow. Five ceremonial circuits of the bowl are then made and the charm is complete. If the figures have floated together, the prayer will be answered; if they have parted, the case is hopeless.

The prayer is replete with allegory and ceremonial allusions.

TRANSLATION

Hail! thou who art called the Intoxicated Woman who wast created beneath the east, intoxicated. We beg thy forgiveness, thou that belongeth beneath the seven beautiful heavens. Thou shalt return, formed as thou art with thy beauteous figure. I ask that thou wilt intoxicate the woman whom I crave, who am arrayed with pretty flowers.

Likewise do I beseech the Flower Man. For I am arrayed with the pretty flower of guisache. She must look upon me, this woman whom I covet; I ask that she look upon me, that no other flower shall please her but the one with which I am arrayed, sadly appearing here. She must not crave another flower but that with which I am arrayed, the flower of palo mulato. This only shall she like. And likewise the flowers of rosa marta and garambullo of which I am made. I wish that she shall want me, this woman whom I crave, who was created beneath the seven beautiful heavens. Beneath the east did she appear, arrayed with pretty flowers. Thence did her father and her mother send her, arrayed with her beauteous form.

Likewise do I beseech her father and her mother that they forgive me. She must give herself unto me, this woman whom I covet. For I am arrayed with the flower of toloache. Therefore do I ask that this woman shall want me, and also she who is called the Intoxicated Woman who belongeth beneath the seven beautiful heavens.

Thus do I beseech the Flower Man who dwelleth on the great rocky slopes.

So be it. May God bless you.

36. TO SECURE A BRIDE

a'nicbō'him a'piam.ha'pum.a'gat i'nimō
I hither come; thou not thus shouldst think here
konticanbōidu'viac to'nimōr.va.umni'ok'id
that I did here hither have arrived unbidden-
already to thee speak.

pero hōga'kō't  api'ctunha'gicda
But that-with thou me wilt pardon
porke na'nummóit na'psoi'mā'c
because that I thee behold that thou sad-
appearest.

ku'hōga'kōt anicto'nimó'ra'umnio'k'it
Then that-with I unbidden already thee speak.
ku'animōk.mōdōr namaivanioki dios
Then afar-from that he hence already speaks God
na'puap'tul' ci'vgo'k' o'hi tō'tvāk-
that he is seven beautiful skies-
dam abimō' natpuvahō'mādi1
on. There that he1 did already-
create

navarīdō'ōt' o'gat' hōga
who is her mother her father that

ci'vgo'k' hi'komōra hōga
seven cloud within. That

navaric.tō'dok' o'hi ha'vū'ōra
which is green beautiful jicara within

natpuhō'mād'idak natpuhivasptu kō'dō'ūt'
that he did form that he did hide carry her-
mother

o'gat natpuanihō'vam'a ci'r ta'tpan
her father. Then she did herabouts appear in-
the legs

natpuvaso's'ouigim natsa'sa kuamihō'dōr
that she did already sorrowing that she did-
weep. Then there-from

1 The parents seem to be generally spoken of in the singular number, inclusively.
**NO. 2 TEPECANO PRAYERS**

Ôrhô’dôr napuba‘niok’im hôg’a within-from that hither already goes speaking that

navaríc.da’dikam hi’kom.ôrhô’van
which is health cloud within

na’pubavamô’git ku’a’mimô’dur.-
that hither already replies. Then there-from in two-
go’kpa.n.tôtu’gia napubavatônô’idim aric.-
places will see that hither already beholding. Is-
tô’d'o o’hi ba’hakôrhô’dôr
green beautiful broom within-from

amihô napubavamô’ringim napubavam.-
there that hither already comes running, that-
hither already self-

a’’rgidim aric.tô’d'o hi’komhô’kô’t-
is forming is green cloud with.

na’pubava’’nô’idim
That hither already watching
navarumas’tigiat
which is his *petate*

avarica’pma’‘cîmna’ka’t’
ari’cha’’duk’am
it is well appearing outspread is

aricvi’ngikam aricva’’utac’at aric-

........................
is drizzly is

tô’tgîna’ka’t hôga na’varuma’ing’at
his green, outspread that which is his *petate*

ku.amihô’dôr napuivov’p’mis’a navaric.-
Then there-from that will raise which is-

da’dik’am navarva’’utag’it napu.hôk’ô’t-
health which is his drizzle that he with-

baivada’giuna na’varumarat a’midôr
hither already will cleanse who is his child. There-

avimivo’nikda napuhô’kô’t.uma’’rgida
she hence will arise that she with self will form

gôg’ôr o’hi va’hak’hôk’ô’t
great beautiful broom with.

napuvatô’tô’gia arictô’d’o va’môr.ô’r amihô’
That she already will behold is green lake-

within there

napuvatônô’idida amihô’ napuva’’mô’rida
that she already will go watching. There that-
she already self will form

tô’d'o o’hi hi’kom’dô’k’ô’t
green beautiful cloud with.
napuvatōnō'idida ci'kōr va'mōr that she already will go watching vicinity lake
hu'gid'am arica'pma'cīttnaka't i'ciam.- at shore is well appearing, outspread very-
puhō'pgivi ha'ba'n'dōr na'bōi-brilliant which-from which hither-
hi'koma ha'ba'n'dōr nagamiwō'p'gōvi clouds up which-from which lightnings
na'gamaictuma'c hōg'a hi'kom.- which appears that cloud-
ōrōvan ku'a'ni.dōr na'var-within. Then there-from which is-
icda'di va'uta'qīdįhįkōd a'vi.um-health his drizzle with she self-
a'rōgidā napubaivada'giuna hōg'a will form that he hither will cleanse that
navar.a'ri'g'it amihōvan na'p'ua'sa'k-įm which is his little one. There that she already-
goes weeping
na'puga'gim hōga navar-
that she goes seeking that which is
hoi'gurda'gen navarictō'do va'mör.ōr her sadness which is green lake within.
napugamivō'cnia napuvatōnō'idida hōg'a That she will depart that she already will go-
seeing that
ci'kōr tōtvakwō'pta a'nihōvan vicinity skies beneath. Hereabouts
napubavakō'hinida ku.a'nihōvan that she hither already will go treading then here-
about
ha'cnatpu.o'ımōr navardō'u't o'gat'- as that she did walk which is her mother her father.
ku'hacmaciįhökōt' natpuma'rgida1 ku-
That what appearance with that she did self will-
form,1 then
ha'pum'a'ciィhįkōd natpubia'rgi nav-
thus appearance with that she did hither form that-
ar'ma'raD a'ric.tūmso'soi'gim sa'sa'gša'gįd is her child is sad weeping between.
amihō' napuvakō'hinim napuv-
There that she already treading that she already-
1 Probably incorrectly given; future suffix probably superfluous.
ma'mciria aric.tōd'o o'hī will appear is green beautiful
hi'komōřō'van napuva.uma'rgida aric.-cloud within that she already will be formed is-
tō'do o'hī so'sōp navartōid green beautiful bead which is his garment
hō'ganavar.o'gad ku.a'ni.dōr he that is his father. Then there-from
napuvatōnō'idida navar.va'viar o'hī that she already will go seeing which is gray beautiful
tō'vakwō'ta na'varic.a'ım va'viar o'hī sky beneath that is yellow gray beautiful
mai'ngid'am kuanihōnapuvad'via his petate on. Then hereabouts that she already-
arives
navaruma'rgida vaviar ohi that she self will form gray beautiful
navarci'cwo'dadįk-ćiτ ku.a'mihō which are her plumes with. Then there
napuatonō'idida va'paviar o'hī that already will go seeing gray beautiful
vahak.ōr na'puvahō'kōdambō'himōt- broom within that with hither having come
va'paviar o'hī navarci'cwodat gray beautiful which are her plumes
nahōk'ōdama'giuna ku.a'mihōvan that she with self will cleanse. Then there-from
napuvawu'p'au navardō'u'D o'gad that she did them equal who is her mother, her-
father.
ha'c.macimhō'kōt na'tpuvam.a'rtgī What appearance with that she already self form,
kupumaciィhįkōd avi'c.upa'rk- then appearance with he also forms
navar'marad kuamihō'dör who is his child. Then there-from
napuagramatōnō'idida2 aric.tūmām o'hī that she did will go seeing2 is five beautiful
hi'kom.ōra ku.a'mi.dōr napuvam.a'rtgī cloud within. Then there-from that she did-
already self form
2 Probably incorrectly given; future suffix probably superfluous.
kō'hina hi'di a'tvangsa'gīd ku'-
will tread this altar between. Then-

amihō'van napuvatōtu'g'ia na'varicūtūk-
there that she already will see which is black

o'hi va'mōr.Ōr amihō na'p'uda
beautiful lake within there that is seated

navardō'ut' o'gāt' napuvama'idah'-
who is her mother her father. That he already-
giunim navaricda'dik'am u'ur'migidō'kōd
hence cleansing which is health his ceremonial-
arrows with

nagamiwi'cturda icko'kdakam i'ctōnkam
that he will repel sickness heat.

ku.imimō napuvamōrin'ogim na'puvās'kīm
Then here that she already goes running that
she already goes weeping

naga'gimōt hōg'a navarhoi'gardargat
that she went seeking that which is her sadness.

ku'a'mi.dōr nagamivo'mgia i'ctumā'm
Then there-from that she will arise five
hi'komagidō'kōt na'pugama.iwō'cniā
his cloud with that she will depart.

napuvatōnō'idida ci'ko'sr ma'ingidām
That she already will look vicinity his-

pelate on

napuvatōnō'idida hu'r'nip'arīc-
that she already will go seeing west is-
tu'tu'k' o'hi hi'komagidō'kōb'
black beautiful his cloud with
na'puvama'rgida kua'mi ha'cnatuma'rgi
that she already will be formed. Then there as that-
she was formed

dō'u't o'gāt' kupuma'cimhō'kōt'
her mother, her father, that appearance with
avi'c.upa'ra'k kua'mi.dōr napu
she also form. Then there-from that he did-
vo'pmīg hō'ga arica'pma'mcim
raise that

hi'komō'kōt
natōpkibaivada'giu
cloud with that he did also now hither already-
cleanse

navaruma'r'ag1 natpuida'gīd gō'gucdara
which is thy form. 1 That he did send succor

da'dik' hi'kom nathō'kōdgamī
health cloud that he did with-
tō'vurtōr navar.ōr'd'ak'am kuvi'pu'p'-
increase which is inwardness. Then he thus also-
kima'kim gō'gucdara na'gamaipukitō-
now giving succor which he thus also now-

1 Probably incorrect; apparently should be HER

FORM.
a'rgidimök' aric'i'k'o'r na'pugamisák'kim
forming. Is vicinity that she weeping

 ci'kori'pas na'gamikö'hinim a'ric'i'k'o'r
vicinity that she goes treading. Is vicinity
na'pubaivaha'du'a na'gamivi'gí arír-
that hither already that . . . . . . . . . . . . . is all-
ci'kori'pas ha'dör nabihi'komac hi'kom-
around to-from that hither clouds up
dúg'it na'gamiwöpgöv vo'pogida'p'dör
between that lightnings his paths in-from
nabaivá'uta abimödör nabaivatö'tvak' that hither already drizzles. There-from that-
that hither already skies

nabaiva'va'utak aric.tö'do ma'indam
that hither already drizzles is green petale on
aric.a'pmac aricöt'gíd aricva'utagi is
is well appearing is his green is drizzly
aric.hád'uga't adaman ati'am.tö'ka'k is
is . . . . . . Above she did self place

na'tpubaivad'a'gím nava'arma'ra't that he did hither already sending who is his child.
natpugamaivom hu'kín ma'mcim
That she did hence already arise so many appearances
hi'komö'rhövan napuva'tönödim aric'ta' cloud within that she already beholding is white
o'hi tóvakwö'ta aric'ta' o'hi beautiful sky beneath. Is white beautiful
mai'ngid'äm a'mihö na'puvadúvía
his petale on there that she already arrives
na'tpuvam.a'rgi aricta'ta o'hi
that she did already self form is white beautiful
hi'komagidö'köt' natpugamai vatö'th
his cloud with. That she did hither already see
aric.tuma'm hö'kia ma'mcim is five so many appearances
hi'komö'r kua'mi.dör na'tpuva'tönödim
cloud within. Then there-from that she did-
already beholding

navaricta'ta o'hi va'ha'k'óra that is white beautiful broom within
amihö' napuamö'ringim aric.ta'ta
there that she already running. Is white

1 Possibly incorrect, verbal form with nominal stem.

o'hi u'umigidö'köt' na'puhö'köt-
beautiful his ceremonial arrows with that she-

bama'rgidim ku.ami.dör nat-
with hither self forming. Then there-from that-

go'k.pan.tö'tö na'puvatótu'gia aric.ta' she did in two places look that she already will-
see is white

o'hi va'mör.ör amihö
beautiful lake within there

napuvadu'via va'pamör.örhödör
that she already arrives. Lakes within-from

na'puvam'o'rin'ogim navarvámör hu' she that she already goes running that is lake on-
gid'an napugamas'a'kım arictumsosoi'gim
shore that she weeping is pitiful

sa'sa'gid sa'gid
napugama'niok'im her tears within that she speaking

napu'gigim
navar.hö'i'gur.dargat
that she seeking which is her sadness

navar.dú'ut o'gat ku'amí.hödör
who is her mother her father. Then there-from

na'tpuva'm.a'rgi navaric.da'dig
that she did already self form which is health

sa'kumgidö'köt na'tpuivo'pmodation navar-
her weeping with. That did raise which are-

ci'cvordat na'tpugamaivakugat aric'kor
his plumes that did already finish is vicinity

tóvakwöpta ci'a'rwöta ba'barip
skies beneath east beneath north

hurnip o'gípas ku.amihödör
west south. Then there-from

pu'iwömik' na'vermárat' ida'giuna
raise who is his child will cleanse

navarichöpitkam da'dikam napubövató-
which is cold health that he hither already-
tö'gid'a navaric.tö'do o'hi so'so'p to see that is green beautiful bead-
will cause

a'tockara'd'am napubava'u'rna
his seat on that he hither already will raise.

THE REPLY OF THE FATHER OF THE GIRL

ha'pu.pi'cam.a'gat hapu.tú'ó'ip'ú hö'g'a
Thus also ye were thinking thus walk. That
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imnár ave'ma'rte ha’ctuna’du’nía
my child she not know anything that she will do.
ave’ma’t tót’ut’u’a’ avicicto’o’hot’
She not know to grind. She lazy.
péro apimtic.a’pño’it kuha’pu.pimi’soíd’a
But ye if well see then thus ye will suffer.
kuaviam.hactu.dám ku.i’nimó
Then not anything over. That here
napimitaivágó’gu napimitci’wa.úmtát’.
that ye did already halt that ye did already-
i’bwi’mda napimitci’ehu’t’ua
yourselves tire that ye already stumble
napimit’átumko’k’dát
that ye did already yourselves sicken. That there
a’piambí’ak’a1 hactu.da’kóö
thou not wilt need anything with
napimha’cun.a’ka api’miam.bi’ak’a
that ye any will think. Ye not will need
hactu’dó’t
napimsa’sa’kída
anything with that ye will weep
navar.ö’rå’dakam namarítgö’’korak
which is inwardsness that they are our manes.
ku’amihóvan ha’pu.ní’cup.tá’n ha’giescara
Then there thus I also beg pardon
wó’puhímdam namarítgö’’korak ago’kíp-
before go on that they are our manes two parts-
dór na’píma’rma’Mrat’ navaríto’’g
from. That ye are his children who is our Father,
i’s’a’l itci’u’k ha’pu.pwí’c
our Mother, our Morning Star. Thus
a’mí.dór amibóíamda’gieuna navarí-
there-from they hither you will cleanse which is-
da’dík’am navarumxí’komak’hö’kót’
health which is thy cloud with1
namgamaitumtö’gicda namivo’pmícd’a
that they thee will cause to see. That they will raise
navarícd’a’dík’am navarumú’’umi
which is health which are thy ceremonial arrows

1 Possibly error for apimiam-, ye not, as in next line.
2 The use of the second person singular in these lines is quite puzzling.

nam.hö’kóö, gamaiumwö’ctu’rdá navarí-
that they with from thee will repulse which is-
kö’k’dakam aric’i’kor navar’tó’tvakwö’ptá
sickness is in vicinity which is skies beneath.
kuha’ban’dór namivo’pmícd’a hó’kía
Then which-from that they will raise so many
ma’mcíim ahi’komak: namgamai.am-
appearances their cloud that they selves will-
a’rdgía ku.a’mimó’dór go’kpan.putö’gía
form. Then there-from two places will see
navar.hó’kía ma’mcíim hi’komáö
which are so many appearances cloud within.
ku.a’mi.dór nam.hö’kóö.puvatuda’gieuna
Then there-from that they with already will cleanse
navaraxi’komak navarada’dig
which is their cloud which is their health
navarava’utak’ kugaku a’bi.mó’dór
which is their drizzle. Then therefore there-from
apimictune’hígic’a porke i’nimó
ye me will pardon because here
nanitaivamnó’puctur navargo’k: va’ik
that I did already to you relate that is two three
ni’o’k: porke hactóö.dó’k a’viám-
word because anything it not
acíc.bai’gíö nanaha’kiacturda navar-
anyhow is able that I for them will recount which
ama’rak3 namarítgö’’korac hó’g’a
are your forms3 that they are our manes that
ha’puvi’cima’c aví’riçda’rakam
thus appears it is dear
avaríc’idukam inwi’dúr porke anicaric-
it is treasure me with-from because I am-
i’krakam to’vur.da’m.kam4 kugókó
vile wind overness.4 Then therefore
a’ban’dór aviam.ha’ci’c.bai’gíö
which-from it not anyhow is able
navá’praüvturda navara’a’rak porke
that I them will equal which is their form because
hactú’i’duk’ ku’amóhóvan.pubö’.-
anything then there hither-

3 Probably should be -a-a”rak, THEIR FORMS.
4 The accuracy of this phrase is very questionable.
This long and involved prayer is spoken to the father of a girl desired in marriage.\(^1\) Marriage generally takes place at about the age of eighteen. The details having been arranged informally, the husband-to-be and his father appear at the house of the girl on a Wednesday night. It happens that at present only two Tepecanos know this long prayer and one of them must be engaged at a fee of a peso per night to accompany the suppliants and recite the prayer. It must be recited five times on successive evenings, Wednesday, Saturday, Wednesday, Saturday and Wednesday. On the final night the father makes his reply. Since the affair is always prearranged, the reply is never negative.

Then a white cloth is spread out and the clothes and other property of the girl and the wedding gifts placed upon it. The bride and groom and their fathers each seize a corner and raise the cloth and the ceremony is complete.

After this they are married. The boy gives a present to his parents-in-law and goes to live with them for a short period, six months or a year before setting up a separate home. Two wedding feasts and dances are held, one in the house of each parent.

The prayer is extremely long and involved and so full of ceremonial and esoteric allusions as to be very difficult of proper translation. In many cases the exact meaning is very doubtful and obscure.

**TRANSLATION**

Hither have I come. Do not wonder that I have come here to speak unto thee unhidden. Thou wilt forgive me, for I behold that thou

\(^1\) The exact meaning here is dubious.
art sad. Therefore do I thus unbidden speak unto thee.

From afar God speaketh from his seven beautiful heavens. There did her father and her mother create her within the seven clouds; within the beautiful green jicara where she was formed did she carry her hidden, until at last she appeared between the limbs, sorrowfully weeping.

Then she arose and trod on the beautiful green carpet where she was formed in the image of her father and her mother. From there she arose and went observing within the five clouds, where she was formed of his beautiful green cloud. Then she arose, gazing within the many-colored cloud and wept, cleansing it with her tears. Within the cloud will she run about, being formed of the five plumes of her Father from which spring the clouds and the rain. From within that cloud he speaketh and within the healthful cloud is answered. From there will she look in two directions, observing. From within the beautiful green broom-grass she cometh running, being formed of the green cloud. She looketh down upon his green carpet, beautifully outspread with fog and drizzly rains. His carpet is verdantly spread out. From there he will draw his welcome drizzle with which he will purify his child. Thence will she arise and be formed of the great beautiful broom-grass. Within the green lake where she watcheth will she gaze. There will she be formed of the beautiful green cloud. She will gaze all around on the shores of the sparkling lake, beautifully outspread, whence rise the clouds. From within these clouds flash the lightnings. There will she be formed of the healthful drizzle with which he will purify his little one. There she goeth about weeping, seeking her sorrow within the green lake. She will depart and will gaze about beneath the heavens. Here will she come to tread just as have her father and her mother walked. In the same likeness as were her parents created, so did they form their child, with sad tears. There will she appear, walking within the beautiful green cloud where will be formed the beautiful green bead which is the garment of the Father.

From there will she go beholding on his beautiful golden gray carpet beneath the beautiful gray heaven. There she arriveth where she will be formed with her beautiful gray plumes. Within the beautiful gray broom-grass will she gaze, purifying herself with her beautiful gray plumes, with which she came. Thus did she resemble her father and her mother. In the same likeness as were they formed, so also did they form their child. Then did she go beholding within the five beautiful clouds; there was she formed of the beautiful gray cloud.

Thence did she look to both sides round about beneath his heavens. She began to weep, running about amidst sad tears. With many forms of cloud is she created. Round about doth she gaze upon his carpet, looking to the west where she will be formed of his beautiful black cloud. As were formed her father and her mother, so with the same likeness do they create her. Thence did he lift his graceful cloud with which he did purify her form. He sent succor and health in his cloud, thereby augmenting his spirit. So also doth he now send succor to him who will tread between this his altar. There will she gaze into the beautiful black lake where are seated her father and her mother. With his health will he purify and with his arrows will he cast out sickness and heat. Here, running sadly about, did she seek her sorrow. Thence will she arise with his five clouds and depart. She will gaze within the lake, beautifully outspread out with rain and fog. From there ariseth the cloud within which flash the lightnings. Thence will she look upon his paths where she treadeth. With his health-giving cloud is she formed. All around doth she go wandering and weeping. Round about it raineth and showereth and cloudeth up and within the cloud flash the lightnings.
From his paths cometh the drizzle. From afar cometh the drizzle on his pleasant green carpet. From there above where she was placed did he send his child. Then did she arise within the many-colored cloud, gazing beneath the beautiful white heaven. On his beautiful white carpet did she arrive and was formed of his beautiful white cloud. She gazed within the five many-colored clouds. Then did she go gazing within the beautiful white broom-grass where she was running. With his beautiful white arrows is she formed. Thence did she glance to both sides, gazing into the beautiful white lake where she now arriveth. From within the lakes she goeth running along the shore, pitifully weeping and speaking through her tears, seeking her father and her mother in her sadness. There was she formed with her health-giving tears.

Thus did he raise his plumes unto the end round about beneath the heavens to east, north, west and south. Lifting from there his child he will purify her with the cold, the health. He will give her sight and raise her unto the beautiful green bead which is on his throne.

THE REPLY OF THE FATHER OF THE GIRL

With this thought have ye come. But my child knoweth nothing. She cannot grind corn; she is lazy. But if ye so desire, so must ye endure. May no ill ensue. Here have ye stopped; ye have tired yourselves, ye have stumbled and hurt yourselves. But do not think of that. Neither weep; it is the will of our spirits.

I also beseech our spirits who have gone before from both sides. Ye are the children of our Lord, our Lady, our Morning Star. From afar will they come to purify you with their healthful cloud, and will give you sight. They will bring health and with their arrows will they repel the pestilence round about beneath the heavens. From them will they draw their cloud of many colors with which they will be formed. Thence will they look to both sides within the many-colored cloud. Thence will they cleanse with their cloud and their health-giving drizzle.

Ye will forgive me because I have recited unto you only a few words. For I cannot repeat to you the formulas of our spirits as they appear. For they are rare and are cherished; they depart from me to the winds, for I am vile. Therefore I cannot imitate their formula, for it appeareth afar. You desired that I should hear your word clearly. But if my child so wishes, God willing, I will teach you. But nevertheless ye must forgive me these few fragments. Then will ye be enabled to say anything.

With this formula, God, my Lord, my Lady, my Morning Star. With this he will give you sight, ye who will tread thus his carpet, pleasantly outspread. From his cloud above come the rains and fogs from which he raiseth his plumes which appear all about beneath the east, the north, the west and the south.

There in the seven beautiful heavens sitteth the healthful Green Woman who is our Lady who reacheth unto us her hand that we may be gathered into it.

So with this formula forgive me God, thou who holdest no malice.

37. TO BEG PARDON WHEN ANGRY WITH ANOTHER

adiosum anicbö’himdat to’nimör.-
To God. I hither was coming unbidden already-
vaciumnio’k’idim piambi’ak’a pihōnapsoi’
thee speaking. Thou not wilt need anywhere-
mörid’a anicumta’nim ha’gicdara
that thou sad wilt feel. I thee am begging pardon.

pero höga’köt’ piambi’ak’a napa-
But that with thou not wilt need that thou in-
go’kip.tönö’nikda pi’captunda’gia
two places wilt look. Thou in them thyself wilt-
seize
hōganamaritgō'korak wō-pōhi-'mdam
they that are our spirits before go on.
kuha'pu.pwō'cō-p' pimica ptumda'gia
Then thus also ye in him yourselves will seize
hōga navarito'k napubōi'tō'kdi m hōga
that who is our Father who hither us is extending that
navarno'vit' para natpuga'm-
which is his hand in order that we going
tōnō'idim wōc oras a'ba
beholding all hours in.
namputso'sbit'urdim gacto'nakam hōga
That they for us protecting that heat that
navara.u'umihōkō't navaraka'k'varak
which are their ceremonial arrows with which are their chimales
navarawu'p'uvias hōga'k'ōt' mi'pugama'-
which are their faces this with they*
iti'ct'urdim gacko'k'dakam hōga
for us repelling that sickness. That
navarina'a'd navaritna'na wadalupi
who is our Mother who is our mama Guadalupe
awi'putnōidim para nata'nid'a
she us watching in order that we shall go begging
ha'giedara havaganavarito'k
And he who is our Father
sanontie'ru amipubōi nu'kūdida
San Anton Tierra they hither us will go guarding
wōc orasa'ba kuaviamha'ctud'am-
all hours in that not anything over us
a'cumdu'nia ko'ntshap'i hō'gia
itself will make. With which thus only
ni'cumu'atūd kupiambi'a'ka nap'i-
I thee cause to know. Then thou wilt need that
hō'wan soi'mō'rida i'n'vwi' kupi'
thou anywhere sad wilt feel me with. Then thou

NOTE
When one person is angry with another or on bad terms with him and wishes to resume amicable relations, he goes to the other's house and recites to him the following prayer.

The influence of Christian theology is unusually evident.

TRANSLATION
Greetings! Unbidden have I come hither to speak unto thee. Thou must not feel angry; I come to beg forgiveness. Neither look askance. Thou must be possessed of the spirits of those who have gone before. Thou must be possessed likewise of our Father who reacheth unto us his hand that we may go beholding throughout all hours. With their arrows do they protect us from the heat and with their chimales, which are their faces, they cast from us the plague. She who is our Lady, our Mother of Guadalupe, is watching us that we beg forgiveness. And He who is our Father, San Anton Tierra, will guard us throughout all hours that no evil may befall us.

This only do I say unto thee. Thou needst not feel angry at me. Thou must be possessed of my Lord, my Guide and Morning Star. Thus be thy thought.
TYPES OF REDUPLICATION IN THE SALISH DIALECTS

By Herman K. Haeberlin

INTRODUCTION

The following paper was originally intended to be a part of a more comprehensive work on the Classification of Salish Dialects. This latter paper has been prepared by Prof. Franz Boas and the writer, and will be published by the Smithsonian Institution. The available material on Salishan reduplications was found to be too fragmentary to be embodied in that paper. I have, therefore, preferred to present it in the present form as a basis for further work on the classification of the Salish dialects from the point of view of reduplication systems. While the material lacks uniformity for the different linguistic areas, it is sufficient to point out the main problems and to present a number of interesting facts concerning linguistic differentiation in the Salish area.

My method of procedure has been to present successively the material available for the different dialects. I have done this in the order adopted by Prof. Boas in his comparative vocabularies which will be published in the above-named paper, namely, starting with the inland dialects, then taking up the coast dialects from south to north, and ending with the isolated dialects of the Bella Coola and Tillamook. The more general comparative considerations are presented in the concluding paragraphs. All of the material both published and in manuscript form has been utilized. The manuscript material is the Salish vocabularies recorded by Prof. Boas and Mr. J. Teit, Dr. Leo Frachtenberg’s notes on the plural and diminutive forms in Quinault and Clallam, and finally the writer’s Snohomish material, collected in the fall of 1916, and his Thompson and Shuswap forms, collected in the summer of 1917. The vocabularies and grammatical notes published by Prof. Boas and Mr. Hill-Tout are found in the following series: “British Association for the Advancement of Science,” Volumes 1890, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1902; “Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,” Volumes 34, 35, 37, 41.

Most of the material collected by Mr. Teit and that collected by myself has been procured on expeditions that were made possible by the generous donations of Mr. Homer E. Sargent, who has for many years supported our researches in the Salish area. While the paper deals primarily with forms of reduplication, it was necessary also to include in many cases derivatives formed by the extension of vowels (dieresis), for in a discussion of the formation of plurals and diminutives this process cannot be separated consistently from that of reduplication. There can be no doubt that augmentative forms are very important in a consideration of the grammatical processes in question. Our material on these is, however, so meager that I was only able to cite a few more or less detached examples.

The abbreviations used are as follows:

- **BAAS**: British Association for the Advancement of Science.
- **JAI**: Journal of the Anthropological Institute.
- **B**: Boas.
- **H.T**: Hill-Tout.
- **G**: Giorda (Dictionary of the Kalispelm).
- **Hbl**: Haeberlin.

Throughout this paper x is used for the velar and ĺ for mid-palatal.

**LILLOOET**

Very little material is available from this dialect. The plural seems to be ordinarily
formed by a reduplication of the stem-syllable including the consonant following the first vowel.

The following example consists in a reduplication of the stem-syllable and a reduction of the reduplicated syllable by a shift of the accent on the reduplicating syllable:

skum'yuks, man; pl., skak'yukyi'ux H.T.

Compare—Thom: sqai'yuks, pl., sqai'ku'en B.

In the following words only the first consonant and the first vowel are reduplicated:

tsi'wi, little boy; pl., tsi'tsi'wi H.T.

The diminutive is formed either by a reduplication of the first consonant and the first vowel of the stem or by a phonetic change of the stem-vowel:

sge'yuks, man; sge'gesyux, boy B.

The last two examples suggest the presence of an *i*-type of reduplication, that is to say a change of the stem-vowel to *i* in the reduplicating syllable.

ci'uk'mel, infant B. (kwi = small G.)
skci'ux, large creek; scli'ux, small creek H.T.
tsi'ku'wa, big fish; ti'siku'wa, small fish H.T.

The last two examples may prove to be augmentative forms rather than examples of diminutives.

The plural of a diminutive may be formed by a double process of reduplication. It is important to notice that in the following cases the plural reduplication (i.e., that including the consonant after the first vowel) precedes the diminutive reduplication (i.e., that including only the first vowel).

skukumët, child; pl., skumkôkôme't H.T.

Clearly the formation of the plural-diminitives in Lillooet is the same as in Thompson and Shuswap.

THOMPSON

The plural or distributive is usually formed by a repetition of the stem-syllable including the consonant (or vowel) following the first vowel: The accent seems to remain invariably on the reduplicated syllable (see Boas: BAAS 1898, p. 28).

ca'enx, stone; pl., cene'ca'nx B.
squu, mountain; pl., squum'qu'm B., Hbl.
temû's, ground; pl., temtemû's B.
sam, camp fire; pl., spempt'a'm B.
snikia'p, coyote; pl., sninikia'p B.
spečzö', animal; pl., spečpezö' B.
snu'ko's, friend; pl., snuke'ku'oa B.
tsqu'ito, canoe; pl., tsqutsqu'ito H.T.

cem'a'm, wife; pl., ceme'mam H.T.

tse'n, sick; pl., kenkek'nu B.
skoi'm, crumpled; pl., skoomkö'um B.
syua'ito, to walk; pl., syusyua'ito B.

pa'zulqo, lake; pl., pe'za'zułqo Hbl.

tqua'xa', dog, horse; pl., sqqua'xa' Hbl.

tmili'ats, woman; pl., timilil'ats Hbl.
	tuwë'ut', youth; pl., tuwituwë'ut' Hbl.

tsi'a', basket; pl., tsi'ts'ts'a' Hbl.

ci'lu'mqen, head; pl., ci'le'mqen Hbl.

spil'qa', nose; pl., spilspil'qa' Hbl.

gi'ip, buffalo; pl., gigo'ip Hbl.

split't, skunk; pl., split'nt Hbl.

ki'ku', mouse; pl., kikoklontë' Hbl.

gi'tsii'lu, blanket; pl., isis'is'lu Hbl.

smi'n, tobacco; pl., smi'mi'n Hbl.

shëlc', knife; pl., shëla'sla'sla's Hbl.

qumë'tema', little; pl., qumqume'tema' Hbl.

tse'eta, sad; pl., tsse'sse'tse't Hbl.

nul'ox'nu, eye; pl., nulnul'ox'nu Hbl.

i'ta', good; pl., i'ti'ata' Hbl.

1 s = intermediate between s and c.
The plural-forms of the following loan-words are instructive:

ko'qo', pig (cochon); pl., kocko'qa Hbl.
pos, cat; pl., pospo's Hbl.
tci'ken, chicken; pl., tci'tcejen Hbl.
tca'namen, chinaman; pl., tcintca'namen Hbl.
mu'l'a, mule; pl., mulmu'la Hbl.
ma'nata, cover, canvas; pl., manma'nta Hbl.
şâ'ma", white man; pl., şemşa'ma" Hbl.
šil (= sail) calico; pl., šilšil Hbl.

These modern forms demonstrate that the regular plural-derivation includes the consonant following the stem-vowel. There are, however, a number of plurals in which the process of reduplication does not include this consonant, for example:

stsutq, picture; pl., stsutsu'q B.
šmô'â", cougar; pl., šmômô'â" Hbl.
šnô'ya, beaver; pl., šnônô'ya Hbl.
šmâ'x, snake; pl., šmenâ'x Hbl.

[In the last four examples the initial s(s) is doubtlessly a prefix.]

xaxoz'm, big (= Shuswap xayû'm), pl., xaxazoz'm Hbl.

The following plural-forms show slight individual peculiarities:

sqa'yu'sa, man; pl., sqai'queus Hbl.
(Compare: dim. sqa'queus)
šau'ut, slave; pl., šo'sau'ut Hbl.
qô', water; pl., qô'qô' Hbl.
(Compare: dim qô'qô')

For examples of plural-reduplication in agent nouns see: Hill-Tout: BAAS 1899, p. 23.

The usual type of diminutive formation consists in reduplicating the stem exclusive of the consonant following the first vowel. In contradistinction to the plural reduplication the accent of the diminutives is thrown back to the reduplicated syllable. This is usually associated with the reduction of the vowel of the reduplicated syllable (see Boas: BAAS 1898, p. 29; also Hill-Tout: BAAS 1899, p. 24).

snu'kooa, friend; dim., nu'kooa B.
čem'its, deer; dim., čem'em'its B.
spê'tc, black bear; dim., spâ'paats B.

pa'zulqô, lake; dim., pa'pzu'tqô Hbl.
(Compare pl; pepa'pzu'tqô)
sqa'xa', dog, horse; dim., sqa'xa' Hbl.
šmô'a", cougar, dim., šmô'mô'a" Hbl.
(Compare pl, šmômô'a")
qô'qsp, buffalo; dim., qô'qsp Hbl.
kâ'nê'e, mouse; dim., kâ'k'nê'e Hbl.
šmâ'x, snake; dim., šma'mâ'x Hbl.
šô'pa', tail; dim., šô'spa' Hbl.
sqü'm, mountain; dim., sqü'qum Hbl.
šî'slum, blanket; dim., šî'slum Hbl.
šmûlats, woman; dim., šmûlats Hbl.
šnô'ya, beaver; dim., šnô'nêa Hbl.
(Compare pl, šnônô'ya)

The following derivatives of the verb tcit'umken, "I work," are instructive for the different positions of the accent in the plural and the diminutive:
tcit'umken, I work often Teit.
tcî'tcîteùmken, I work a little Teit.

The reduplication of loan-words demonstrates clearly the fundamental principles underlying the formation of diminutives:
ko'qo, pig; dim., ko'kço Hbl.
(Pos, cat; dim., pospo Hbl.
(pl., pospo's)
tci'ken, chicken; dim., tci'tken Hbl.
tca'namen, chinaman; dim., tca'namen Hbl.
mu'l'a, mule; dim., mû'ma Hbl.
ma'nata, cover, canvas; dim., ma'manta Hbl.
şâ'ma", white man; dim., şâ'sema" Hbl.

The change in the vowel of the reduplicated syllable of the following word appears to be slightly irregular:
sqa'yu'sa, man; dim., sqa'queus Hbl.
(Compare pl., sqai'queus and plural-diminutive, sqaqa'quyes) Hbl.

In some cases the diminutive and its derivative, the plural-diminutive, is distinguished from the simplex and the plural by the closing of the terminal vocalized consonant (n, m, l) with a glottal stop, thus:
qî'qî'umqæn', small head, and Hbl.
qî'emqî'qî'umqæn', several small heads; but qî'qu'mæn, head and qî'emqî'qu'mæn, heads
xaxoz'm, big; pl., xaxazo'm, but
dim., xaxozo'm and pl.-dim., xaxazo'zo'm Hbl.
The same phenomenon appears in the following loan-word:

\[\text{sil (sail), CALICO; pl., silsil, but dim., isil', pl.-dim., isil'isil'} \quad \text{Hbl.}\]

The following word shows a related phenomenon:

\[\text{tsi'a', HEAD; pl., tsie'tsi'a', but dim., tsiai', pl.-dim., tsitsiai'} \quad \text{Hbl.}\]

This word also shows the peculiarity of the change of the terminal accented a-vowel to an ai. The same is the case with the following word:

\[\text{i'ia', GOOD; dim., i'ai' \quad \text{Hbl.}}\]

\[\text{(pl. i'i'a', pl.-dim., i'i'i'ai')}\]

I am not able to say whether these forms are derived by dieresis of the stem-vowel or by a type of end-reduplication. Probably the final i corresponds to l in Shuswap; compare: Shuswap: tsila", BASKET, dim., tsila'la'; la', GOOD, dim., la'l'a. In some cases the diminutive is derived from the simplex by means of an internal reduplication, while the plural is formed by initial reduplication. Good examples are:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{spa'nt, SKUNK; dim., spa'nt} & \quad \text{Hbl.} \\
\text{(pl. spspa'nt) 1} \\
\text{xazo'm, BIG; dim., xazo'zom} & \quad \text{Hbl.} \\
\text{(pl. xaza zo'm)} \\
\text{qume'ema', LITTLE; dim., quma'eme'ema} & \quad \text{Hbl.} \\
\text{(pl. qumo'qume'ema')} \\
\text{stloma'lt', COW; dim., stloma'mal't;} & \quad \text{Hbl.} \\
\text{pl., stunts'umal't'} \\
\end{align*}\]

The following word apparently forms its diminutive in the same way:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{sa'le'c, KNIFE; dim., sa'le'c} & \quad \text{Hbl.} \\
\text{(pl. sa'a'sa'le'c)} \\
\end{align*}\]

This diminutive was sometimes also heard as sa'le'c. The glottal stop in the accented syllable of sa'le'c corresponds doubtlessly to an i, since the shift of this sound to a stop or to an i-vowel is characteristic of Thompson in general.

Possibly the following diminutive is derived likewise by internal reduplication. But it may also be a type of initial reduplication, provided we assume the initial n to be a prefix:

\[\text{nuwa'n'os, FORMERLY; dim., nowau'n'os} \quad \text{Hbl.}\]

The word spezu'zu, BIRD B. [spispezo', BIRDS (Teil)] appears to be a diminutive formed by a process of end-reduplication from spezo', ANIMAL.

\[\text{speyu'zu, SMALL BIRD, is derived by dieresis and with a shift of accent from spezo'}\]

Of considerable interest is the type of diminutive end-reduplication that occurs in the words compounded with the suffix -e't (= Shuswap -e't), "young one." In these the terminal consonant of the stem and the initial vowel of the suffix are repeated; see for example:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{stloma'lt'et}, \text{YOUNG COW (stloma'lt', COW) Hbl.} \\
\text{stloma'lt'et', SMALL YOUNG COW} \quad \text{Hbl.} \\
\text{(Shuswap: stloma'lt'et; compare also Shuswap: stloma'lt'w'lt', CALF) qoqpe'et, YOUNG BUFFALO (qoqpe', BUFFALO) Hbl.} \\
\text{qoqpe'et, SMALL YOUNG BUFFALO} \\
\text{snöyah'et, YOUNG BEAVER (snö'ya beaver) Hbl.} \\
\text{snöyah'ë'et, SMALL YOUNG BEAVER} \\
\text{klo'ë'et, SMALL YOUNG MOUSE} \\
\text{(klö'ë'= mouse)} \\
\text{skukluma'më'et, SMALL CHILD Hbl.} \\
\text{(sku'ku'më'et, CHILD; skukukluma'më'et, SEVERAL SMALL CHILDREN)} \\
\end{align*}\]

The type of diminutive reduplication with a change of the stem-vowel to an i-vowel in the reduplicating syllable—a type so common in many of the dialects—seems to be absent in Thompson and Shuswap. It is barely possible that we are dealing with the following words:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Thompson: sa'ut, SLAVE; dim., se'so'ut} \quad \text{Hbl.} \\
\text{Shuswap and Thompson: la'rtqst, FINGER; dim., le'laxqst} \quad \text{Hbl. (pl. lelax'tqst)} \\
\end{align*}\]

Apparently there is a type of diminutive formation in Thompson derived by means of a

\[\begin{align*}
\text{stlumal'mal't', SEVERAL SMALL COWS stlumal't'et', SEVERAL SMALL COWS} \\
\text{stlumal't'et', SEVERAL SMALL YOUNG COWS qoqpe'et, SEVERAL YOUNG BUFFALOS qoqpe'et, SEVERAL SMALL YOUNG BUFFALOS} \\
\text{klo'ë'et, SEVERAL SMALL YOUNG MICE} \\
\end{align*}\]
change of the stem-vowel without reduplication. For instance:

tčę'umken, I work indifferently Teit
(tčę'umken, I work, tču'tčemken, I work
a little)

tuawö'ut', boy (Hbl.) is probably derived by such
a process from tuwe'ut', youth (Hbl.)

A few plurals seem to be formed by similar
methods:

lāq, to come; pl., lā'zēk Teit.

wuxt, to snow; pl., wē'üst Teit.

The plurals of diminutives are formed con-
stantly by means of a process of double re-
duplication. They are derived directly from the
diminutive. The first reduplicating syllable
which precedes the diminutive form de-
notes the plural and is identical with the red-
duplicating element of the simplex. The
accent remains on the same syllable as in the
singular-diminutive form.

pa'zulqō, lake; dim. pl., pezpa'pzuqlō Hbl.
sqa'xa', dog; dim. pl., sqęsq'xa' Hbl.
smū'lats, woman; dim. pl., sambil'm'ats Hbl.
qul'mqen, head; dim. pl., qenmq'lo'qul'mqen" Hbl.
šmō'a', cougar; dim. pl., šmōm'ō'm'ōa" Hbl.
qō't'yp, buffalo; dim. pl., qo'sqo'qqıp Hbl.
šnō'ya, beaver; dim. pl., šnondq'nea Hbl.
smā's, snake; dim. pl., smama'nuq' Hbl.
šo'pa', tail; dim. pl., šopq'opapa' Hbl.
sqwi', mountain; dim. pl., squmq'qum Hbl.
št'sls, blanket; dim. pl., šts'stsq'sl Hbl.
št', water; dim. pl., šō'nqō'nqō' Hbl.

(Compare: dim., qō'qō', pl., qō'qō'∅)

smā'nx, tobacco; dim. pl., smäm'äm'nx Hbl.
klest, bad; dim. pl., klesk'lä'klest Hbl.
sku'ku'më'et, child; pl., skuku'ku'më'et Hbl.

(sku'ku'më'et is no doubt a diminutive form)

The following suggestion suggests an irre-
regularity in the plural-reduplicating syllable of the
plural-diminutive:

sqa'yuy∅, man; pl. dim., sqaq'a'qayuy∅ Hbl.

(pl., sqai'qeuy∅)

The following are forms derived from loan-
words:

ko'śɔ, pig; pl. dim., koško'kɔ Hbl.
pos, cat; pl. dim., pospo'ps Hbl.
tči'ken, chicken; pl. dim., tcitk'tčen Hbl.
tcaitn'enam, chinamen; pl. dim., tčintca'tcaitnamen
šił, calico; pl. dim., šišiš'šiš" Hbl. [Hbl.
mul'a, mule; pl. dim., mulm'ulma Hbl.
mana'ta, canvas; pl. dim., manma'manta Hbl.
ša'ma'∅, white man; pl. dim., šemšiš'ema" Hbl.

The plural-diminutives are formed by pre-
fixing the reduplicating syllable of the plural
to the diminutive even in those cases where the
diminutive is not formed by the ordinary type
of initial reduplication:

tša'∅, basket; pl. dim., tšitsi'ai" Hbl.

(dim. tši'ai")
i'∅, good; pl. dim., i'i''ai" Hbl.

(dim. i''ai")
xazō'm, big; pl. dim., xazo'z'om Hbl.

(dim. xazo'z'om)
spla'nt, skunk; pl. dim., splapla'int Hbl.

(dim., spla'int)

qłum'Łema', little; pl. dim., qılmqua'me'ema' Hbl.

(dim., q ilma'me'ema' )

ša'∅'c, knife; pl. dim., šiša'∅'c Hbl.

(dim., ša'∅'c)
sau'ut, slave; pl. dim., šo'šo'šo'ut Hbl.

(dim., še'šo'ut, pl., šo'šo'ut)

SHUSWAP

The principles by which the Shuswap re-
duplications are formed are identical with
those in Thompson. Thus the plural is ordi-
narily derived from the simplex by a repetition
of the stem including the consonant following
the vowel (see Boas: BAAS 1890, p. 683).

pa'zulqwa, lake; pl., pezpa'zulqwa Hbl.
sqa'łemux∅, man; pl., sqalq'lemux∅ Hbl.

no'xenox, woman; pl., noono'xenox Hbl.
tsūl∅, basket; pl., tsūltsūl∅ Hbl.
sqal'p'qen, head; pl., sqalq'p'qen Hbl.
sqalau', beaver; pl., sqalq'au" Hbl.

xala'∅, tooth; pl., xala'la'∅ Hbl.
ci'ts'lu, moccasin; pl., clet's'lu Hbl.
gk̓l'k'em∅'n, knife; pl., gk̓l'k'um∅'m∅'n Hbl.

cxa'ni'n, stone; pl., cxe'xa'ni'n Hbl.
sq'le'txalaq, feather; pl., sq'le'txalaq Hbl.
sq'le'txalaq, foot; pl., sq'le'txalaq Hbl.
st÷t'eiw∅, arrow (Thompson, st÷t'eiw∅);

pl., st÷t'eiw∅ Hbl.

klo'k∅, quiver; pl., klo'klo'k∅ Hbl.
k'k'et, bad; pl., k'k'ek'k∅ Hbl.
l'∅', good; pl., l'il∅" Hbl.

I
In the following word the reduplication includes the vowel following the second consonant:

\[ \text{stsil} = \text{to stand}; \text{pl.}, \text{stsistili} = \text{ut} \]

In other cases the plural-reduplication does not include the sound following the first vowel of the stem:

\[ \text{sq}"\text{oa}'\text{xt}, \text{leg, foot}; \text{pl.}, \text{skuq}"\text{oa}'\text{xt} \]

\[ \text{xia}'\text{m}, \text{large}; \text{pl.}, \text{xaxia}'\text{m} \]

\[ \text{te"}\text{w} = \text{ut, boy}; \text{pl.}, \text{tutuwe"} = \text{ut} \]

\[ \text{xu} = \text{atem, girl}; \text{pl.}, \text{sxu"atem} \]

\[ \text{gi} = \text{ia, old woman}; \text{pl.}, \text{gigia"} \]

\[ \text{kaka}'\text{wuk}, \text{old}; \text{pl.}, \text{kukka}'\text{wuk} \]

\[ \text{xa"xewa}'\text{l}, \text{road}; \text{pl.}, \text{xa"xaxewa}' \]

\[ \text{ti"r} = \text{q, fire}; \text{pl.}, \text{ti"ti"r} = \text{q} \]

\[ \text{Li} = \text{x"a, bark canoe}; \text{pl.}, \text{L"a"l} = \text{x"a} \]

(Compare: Thompson: \text{L"a"l}, \text{pl.}, \text{L"a"l} = \text{x"a})

In the following words the consonant of the stem does not belong to the stem and is not included in the reduplication:

\[ \text{tcitcita}{^\prime} = \text{x", house}; \text{pl.}, \text{tcitcita}{^\prime} = \text{Hbl.} \]

\[ \text{sisitse"n} = \text{stem, to sing}; \text{pl.}, \text{sisitse"n} \]

(-\text{tse"n} = \text{suffix for mouth}, \text{-en} = \text{verbal suffix})

This restriction of the process of reduplication to the stem does not seem to be a general rule in Shuswap, see for instance:

\[ \text{Lam"e"n}, \text{axe; pl.}, \text{L"e} = \text{m"e"n} \]

(-\text{m} = \text{instrumental suffix})

In some cases the \( \text{t} \) of the reduplicated syllable changes to \( \text{i} \) in the reduplicating one:

\[ \text{slx"a}'\text{m}, \text{old man}; \text{pl.}, \text{stavlax"a}'\text{m} \]

\[ \text{sl"a}'\text{x}, \text{to come}; \text{pl.}, \text{stela}'\text{x} \]

As in Thompson, the diminutive is formed by a reduplication of the first consonant and first vowel of the stem. The type of diminutive reduplication with i-shift does not seem to occur. The accent is thrown back on the reduplicating syllable, usually causing a reduction of the stem-vowel:

\[ \text{pa"zulqwa}, \text{lake}; \text{dim.}, \text{pa"zulqwa} = \text{Hbl.} \]

\[ \text{sq}"\text{al"emux}, \text{man}; \text{dim.}, \text{sq}"\text{alemux} = \text{Hbl.} \]

\[ \text{sk}"\text{onox}, \text{woman}; \text{dim.}, \text{nu"onox} = \text{Hbl.} \]

\[ \text{sq}"\text{l"ap"en}, \text{head}; \text{dim.}, \text{sq}"\text{al"q"ap"en} = \text{Hbl.} \]

\[ \text{ci"tsla}, \text{moccasin}; \text{dim.}, \text{ci"tsalu"} = \text{Hbl.} \]

\[ \text{tcitcita}, \text{house}; \text{dim.}, \text{tcitcita} = \text{Hbl.} \]

\[ \text{hau"ent}, \text{rat}; \text{dim.}, \text{ha"aunt} = \text{Hbl.} \]

(Thompson: hau"ut, rat, dim. ha"aunt, pl. hauhau"ut = Hbl.)

\[ \text{cxu"ni}, \text{stone}; \text{dim.}, \text{cxu"xenix} = \text{Hbl.} \]

\[ \text{sq}"\text{l"exalaqs}, \text{badger}; \text{dim.}, \text{sq}"\text{l"exalaqs} = \text{Hbl.} \]

\[ \text{la"raxqst}, \text{finger}; \text{dim.}, \text{le"la"raxqst} = \text{Hbl.} \]

\[ \text{squwa"x}, \text{foot}; \text{dim.}, \text{squwa"q"ex} = \text{Hbl.} \]

\[ \text{k} = \text{l, red.}; \text{dim.}, \text{k"e"k"e"l} = \text{Hbl.} \]

\[ \text{l"a"l}, \text{good}; \text{dim.}, \text{l"a"l} = \text{Hbl.} \]

(cf: pl. L"a"l)

\[ \text{su}"\text{ns} = \text{stem, island}; \text{dim.}, \text{su}"\text{ns} = \text{Hbl.} \]

\[ \text{pe} = \text{pl, snake; dim.}, \text{p}e" = \text{pl.} \]

The last form may really be a diminutive-plural. As in Thompson, some diminutives are formed by an internal reduplication, while the corresponding plurals are reduplicated initially:

\[ \text{xala"s}, \text{tooth}; \text{dim.}, \text{xala"l} = \text{Hbl.} \]

(pl. xalaxala"s)

\[ \text{steekw"i}, \text{arrow}; \text{dim.}, \text{steekw"i} = \text{Hbl.} \]

(steuksteekwi"l)

\[ \text{xkult"a}'\text{m}, \text{meadow}; \text{dim.}, \text{xkult"at} = \text{Hbl.} \]

In the following words the diminutive (and plural-diminutive) is formed by reduplicating the first consonant of the instrumental suffix -\text{me"n}:

\[ \text{goklem"e"n}, \text{knife}; \text{dim.}, \text{guklem"e"m"e"n} = \text{Hbl.} \]

\[ \text{Lam"e"n}, \text{axe}; \text{dim.}, \text{Lam"e"m"e"n} \]

\[ \text{pl.}, \text{pluklem"e"m"e"n} = \text{Hbl.} \]

Some diminutives are formed by a process of end-reduplication:

\[ \text{tsil"a}, \text{basket}; \text{dim.}, \text{tsil"a} = \text{Hbl.} \]

\[ \text{kolt"e"}, \text{quiver}; \text{dim.}, \text{kolt"et} = \text{Hbl.} \]

Probably the following is formed in the same way:

\[ \text{Li"ya}, \text{bark canoe}; \text{dim.}, \text{Li"ye} = \text{Hbl.} \]

(Compare with this Thompson: \text{Li"a}, \text{dim.}, \text{Lizl} or \text{Lizl'z}; the latter, however, is used less frequently)
The diminutive of sq'ula', BEAVER, is formed by initial as well as terminal reduplication: sqeqlə'lo', pl.-dim., sqeqləeqlə'lo'.

As in Thompson, the diminutive of words compounded with the suffix -elt, YOUNG ONE, is derived by a reduplication of the terminal consonant of the stem:

stəməl'yi'xi'wil't, CALF Hbl.
qoi'ip, BUFFALO; xusqə'pElt, BUFFALO-CALF B.
słemkə'lt, DAUGHTER; dim., słemqə'kEl't B.
čmits, GRANDCHILD; ēmimets'tsilt, GREATGRANDCHILD B.

(Snohomish: č'ebats, GRANDCHILD, č'ebats, GREATGRANDCHILD Hbl.)

According to the following cases the diminutive sometimes shows a double initial reduplication:

xə'utəm, GIRL; dim., xusə'xutəm B.
ts'əl', COLD; dim., ts'etsə'tsEl't B.

A few diminutives are formed by an extension of the accented vowel:

tcuwa'x, CREEK; dim., tcuwoo'ux B.
xaxewə'ł, ROAD; dim., xaxewə'ul Hbl.
ti'qə, FIRE; dim., ti'qə Hbl.

(pl., titi'qə, pl.-dim., titi'qə)

Reduplication is also used to form the following augmentatives:

sqənə, STONE; aug., sqənə'qə B.

(Compare: cxa'niq, STONE; dim., cxa'xeniq Hbl.; N. B. The diminutive shows a forward shift of the accent)

skulko'k'ult, A SINGLE HIGH MOUNTAIN B.

Probably kə'kpi, CHIEF, is also an augmentative of this plural of the term which is kupko'kpi B. (Compare Lillooet: kwakwəkpi, CHIEFS, H.T.)

The plural diminutives are formed in exactly the same way as in Thompson. They are invariably derived from the diminutive form:

pa'zulqwa, LAKE; dim. pl., pəzpa'pulqwa Hbl.
sqə' 결ə'wə, MAN; dim. pl., sqəqə'qəkəməwə Hbl.
no'xə'noq, WOMAN; dim. pl., no'xə'noqənoq Hbl.
tsi'la', BASKET; dim. pl., tsiłtsi'la Hbl.
sqəlpəgən, HEAD; dim. pl., sqəlpəqəlpəqən Hbl.
sqəlu', BEAVER; dim. pl., sqeqlə'lo' Hbl.
xala'qə, TOOTH; dim. pl., xaləxala'luxə Hbl.
ci'ltslu, MOCCASIN; dim. pl., cici'ltslu Hbl.
tc'tə, HOUSE; dim. pl., tceti'tc'tə Hbl.
xaxewə'ł, ROAD; dim. pl., xaxaxewə'ul Hbl.
cxa'nət, STONE; dim. pl., cxa'xenə'q Hbl.
sqələ'txalaqəs, BADGER; dim. pl., sqələqələ'qətxalaqəs ti'qə, FIRE; dim. pl., ti'qə Hbl.

Hbl. sqəla'xt, FOOT; dim. pl., sqəoxəqəlaqəxt Hbl.
lə'rxqst, FINGER; dim. pl., ləxələ'raxqst Hbl.

(dim., lə' laxqst)

steökə'wə, ARROW; dim. pl., steukə'teökəkwə Hbl.
lə'kamə'n, AXE; dim. pl., lə'tmə'ləmə'mən Hbl.
kə'ltə', QUIVER; dim. pl., kəlkələkə'tə Hbl.
kə'lt, BAD; dim. pl., kələkəkəkələ Hbl.
lə', GOOD; dim. pl., lə'la Hbl.
lə'ya', BARK CANOE; dim. pl., ləli'li'yə'a Hbl.

(Compare Kalispelm: sheshu'tem, LITTLE GIRL, sheshu'tem, LITTLE GIRLS, Giorda.)

OKANAGON

Examples of typical plural reduplication in which the stem including the consonant after the first vowel is repeated are:

sqələtemə's, MAN; pl., sqələqələtemə's B.
hilə'təsum, CHIEF; pl., hilələtemə'sum B.

(i̲l = TO STRIKE C.)
kə'lmə, EYEBROW; pl., kə'lməkəməs B.
kə'ltə, WEAK; pl., kə'laqə'pət B.
xə'kət, STONE; pl., xəkələkət B.
snəqə, TO STEAL; pl., snəqəsnəqə B.
tsqəqəqəq, TO CRY; pl., tsqətsqəqəqəq B.
smələxə'a, TO TELL A LIE; pl., smələmələxə'a B.

As in Lillooet, Thompson, and Shuswap, the accent is not shifted back in this type of reduplication. The plural is sometimes also formed by a dieresis of the stem-vowel:

gə'kəqəqəq, STRONG; pl., gə'qəzəqəqəqəqəqət B.
sə'lintət, TO LAUGH; pl., sə'lyəlintət B.

The diminutive is formed by the shorter type of reduplication with a shift of the accent on the reduplicating syllable:

tə'k'u't, LAKE; dim., tə'taakut B.
tə'tuwič, BOY
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The plural of the diminutive is formed in the following example by a double reduplication:

\[ \text{xê'xôtem, girl; pl., xê'sê'xôtem B.} \]

Compare: Kalispelm: sheushû'tem, little girls G.

The plural of têtuwe't, boy, is tô'tuit B. This appears to be an irregular formation.

**KALISPELM**

Giorda's dictionary of the Kalispelm offers much material for the study of the systems of reduplication in this dialect. The phonetics as well as the English translations in this dictionary are often deficient. In extracting the material of interest to us I have not changed the phonetic transcription used by Giorda. It must be borne in mind that his g = x (or x), k = k or q, ch = tc, sh = c, z = ts, gu = x, and ' often represents an obscure vowel.

The references given in the discussion below refer to the pages of the Kalispelm-English section of Giorda's dictionary. Giorda discusses the types of reduplication on pp. 34 and 35 of the appendix.

The fundamental type of plural formation is the reduplication of the stem including the consonant after the vowel. The accent remains normally in its original position.

| smo'lemen, LANCE; pl., smlmo'lemen | p. 530 |
| se'me, WHITE MAN; pl., s'mse'me | p. 499 |
| ske'ltich, FLESH, BODY; pl., skalke'ltich | p. 274 |
| koelzen, FIR TREE; pl., kolkoe'izen | p. 284 |
| s'chitemi'p, CLOUD; pl., s'chitemtemi'p | p. 494 |
| moko, MOUNTAIN; pl., mkomo'k | p. 398 |
| ni'chemen, SAW; pl., nchni'chemen | p. 413 |
| szolem, BULL; pl., sz'izo'lemen | p. 544 |
| sko'i, MOTHER; pl., sko'iko'i | p. 292 |
| koleuie, ONION; pl., kolkole'ulie | p. 306 |

kali'i, LAKE; pl., chilkalkali'i p. 257
snaze'ne, EARRING; pl., snazaze'ne p. 31

(az = (root) TO TIE; sn are prefixes)
golko, WHEEL; pl., go'lo'gko p. 184
chkal'tmen, HOOK; pl., chkatkal'tmen p. 86
gelge'u, HUSBAND, pl.; sgalge'lu p. 159
galegu, TOOTH; pl., galgale'gu p. 140
oli'n, BELLY; pl., ololi'n p. 441
ies-la'ganem, I STRIKE HIS ARM p. 233
ies-nilila'ganem, I STRIKE BOTH ARMS chin-u'gchst, MY HAND IS FROZEN p. 607
chin-u'gchst, MY HANDS ARE FROZEN

In the following examples l becomes t in the reduplicating syllable; compare:

sgutle'chst, SHOULDER BLADE; pl., sgutle'chst p. 504
skutlu's, FACE; pl., skukutlu's p. 529

In some plurals the consonant following the vowel is not included in the reduplication. In these cases, too, the accent seems to remain normally in the position it has in the simplex and is not thrown backward as in the diminutive reduplication.

peninch, LIVER; pl., papeni'nch p. 459
skooalshi'n, CRANE; pl., skookaabilidade'chst p. 528
pi'a'k, RIPE; pl., pipia'k p. 460
s'che'it, SPIDER; pl., s'chiche'it p. 494
chines-chalalo's, I HAVE A SORAYE p. 519
chin-chalalo's, I HAVE SOME EYES

As far as I can see from Giorda's material the plural reduplication in Kalispelm does not normally seem to extend beyond the stem and to include the initial sound of a suffix. Where the stem consists only of a consonant and a vowel the reduplication is restricted to it. See for instance:

s'che'legu, SHADY PLACE; pl., s'chiche'legu p. 494

-slegu = suffix for PLACE
szoshin, LEG, FOOT; pl., szozooshi'n p. 545

-sshin = suffix for FOOT
s'chaugan, ARM; pl., s'chucha'gan p. 494

-schaupu's, TEAR; pl., s'chaupaupa'pul p. 24

-pul = (root) TO FALL IN DROPS

Possibly the following may be an exception to this rule:

supps, TAIL; pl., spspuls p. 543
The diminutive is usually formed by a reduplication of the stem exclusive of the consonant following the vowel. In contrast, the accent of the diminutive is ordinarily thrown backward with the effect of reducing the vowel of the reduplicated syllable.

With the suffix -t, denoting "the person...

The formation of the plurals of diminutives is interesting. Goir's material seems to show clearly that they are never formed by means of a double reduplication. The following examples show that they are derived from the reduplicated form of the diminutive, the

The plural is sometimes expressed by an extension of the stem-vowel:

It is noteworthy that the plural reduplication usually
tends to substitute with the frequentative suffix -bus:

The translative prefix of the diminutive is often used to denote inchoative action:

The extension of the prefixed vowel is also used to denote transitive action:

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The plural is sometimes expressed by an extension of the stem-vowel:

It is noteworthy that the plural reduplication usually
plural being indicated by an extension of the reducifying vowel, sometimes by a diaphthongization of this vowel with an i. They never seem to be derived from the plural of the simplex.

kali'i, lake; chillkaikali'i, small lakes p. 257
(chillkaikali'i = lake)
skuse'e, son; skoiskuse'e, boys p. 529
skukuse'e = boy
kokomeus, young horse; pl., koikome'us p. 296
(tituit' = boy; pl., tituit' p. 572
pogo', parent; pl. dim., piipogo' p. 470
(pogogo', parents)
she'utem, girl; pl. dim., she'utem p. 510
(she'utem = little girl,
shue'utem = girl)

End-reduplication, that is to say, the repeating of the last consonant of the stem, is a prominent feature of Kalispelm. It occurs in some plural forms:

skolchemu's, cheek; pl., skolchemmu's p. 52
chem = (root) = extremity of something
s'chem = phrase, heel; pl., scheme'phim p. 494
ies-nchexu'sem, I uncover his face
ies-kolchehehu'sem, I uncover his cheeks p. 45
chines-lke'ishi, I lay down
kaes-lkali'ishi, we lay down p. 354
kaes-lkalkali'ishi, we lay down in groups
es-npenna'ksi, they lie on the road, all
in one place p. 466
es-npenpenna'ksi, they lie here and there
on the road
(pen = root; -aks = suffix for road)

In the verb the end-reduplication ordinarily expresses the passing from one state into another:

tgo'go, it became straight p. 591
tog = straight
chines-tkokomi', I fall p. 578
tk = (root) to lie
chines-sko'li, je deviens p. 297
kol = (root) to make
chines-ntkokomi', I am being conceived. (This expresses the act of passing from a state of not being conceived to one of being conceived,
Giorda) p. 430
chines-nakokoi, I go to steal p. 404
nako = (root) to steal
es-mkonomi', I swell up p. 398
moko = root
gui'kuku, it is being dressed p. 197
guika = root
chines-ia'tti, I am being shaken p. 223
lechi'ch, it becomes bound p. 341
lich = (root) to bind
es-po'z', it flattens p. 455
i-po'z = flat
pi'ni', it became full p. 465
pin = full
es-telilemi, it grows hard p. 564
ti = (root) to harden
go'go', it got scattered p. 460
pog = (root) to scatter

Certain verbal suffixes are ordinarily associated with the end-reduplication. Thus -nunem, to succeed in something occurs almost always with this form of the verb.

ies-kammu'hem, I succeed in swallowing it p. 261
ies-goll'hu'hem, I succeed in throwing it away p. 176
ies-skakanu'hem, I succeed in splitting it away p. 492
ies-paag'qanu'hem, I succeed in curing p. 448
ies-ilz'nu'hem, I succeed in whipping him p. 365
ies-koeenu'hem, I succeed in biting it p. 281
ies-il'nu'hem, I succeed in striking p. 232
ies-gukukunu'hem, I succeed in cleansing it p. 204

End-reduplication with -utem:
elchutem, able to be bound p. 343
lech = (root) to bind
ngal'lu'tem, to be feared p. 157
gul'lu'tem, sanabilis p. 197
gez'tmu'tem, able to dig p. 168

The end-reduplication seems almost always to be used with the negation:
tas-i'o'o, not well, io', well p. 237
taks-shini', it will not stick p. 516
shin = root
tas-gokoko'tem, inseparable p. 183
tas kue'lech, it does not set p. 324
tras kup'p, it does not move p. 333
ta-spi'pe, but: chines-spmin', I whip

Verbs may have an initial as well as an end-reduplication in one and the same form.

chines-chshiteshtemu's, I raise my eyes chines-chshitesh'temu's, my eyes rise up by themselves
sgolkolkoi'l'I, unjust profits p. 294
koil = (root), to cheat
kaes-zkakali'lish, we fall on our backs p. 630
(chines-zkalo't, I lie on my back)
From Mengarini's "Flathead Grammar" (Grammatica Linguæ Selicæ) it is clear that the plural and diminutive forms of this dialect are the same as those of Kalispelm. See for instance:

**Plural:**
- skoi, mother; pl., skoikoi
- esmo'ck, mountain; pl., esmikmo'ck
- sko'chemu's, cheek; pl., sko'chammu's

**Diminutives:**
- eslmimo'ck, small mountain
- she'shu'ten, small girl
- lgogiko, small wheel
- siko'koi, small mother

**QUINAULT**

Dr. Leo Frachtenberg has studied the formation of the diminutive and of the plural in this dialect. He has kindly permitted me the use of his manuscript. He has established the interesting fact that the process of reduplication is practically absent in this Salish dialect.

The only clear case of reduplication in Quinault is the following:
- ki'ulan, horse
- tci'le'k' xigwë'tan, I have good horses

Possibly the following may also suggest the presence of a reduplication provided one postulates the change of y to dj in the reduplicated syllable:
- xwa' yâlen, knife
- ta' an lëtc! xwe' idjëlen, my sharp knives

In the vocabulary collected by Dr. Boas it may be that tce'l.tcelte', SPINSTER, is a reduplicated form.

From Frachtenberg's material it is plain that the plural in Quinault is formed either by the particle xwe', MANY, or the suffix -elma'.
- sqë'qnal, woman; pl., xwe sqë'qnal
- ma'qin, nose; pl., ma'qin nelma'

The diminutive is formed, in addition to a suffixed a, by means of a change of the stem-vowel. This change consists ordinarily either in replacing a simple vowel by an echoed one or by simply introducing a glottal stop.
- që'quis, stone; dim., qä'a'so
- së'ple, axe; dim., së'ple'ño
tcil, high; dim., tci'il

The same type of vowel-extension is observed in the word kwai'él, INFANT, which is common to Satsep, Upper Chehalis, and Cowlitz. It is the diminutive form of kwai'il, YOUNG.

**SNOHOMISH**

The reduplications of this dialect were recorded by the writer during his field-work among the Snohomish and Snuqualmi in the fall of 1916.

The plural is formed almost without exception by a repetition of the stem including the consonant following the vowel. The vowel of the reduplicating syllable remains the same as that of the simplex.

- klo'spl, TROUT (klwa'spl Snuqualmi); pl., klo'sk'l'spl
- lb'ë'ai', DOG-SALMON; pl., lbc'l'be'ai'
- l'tcets, BOW; pl., l'tala'tcets
- sqë'ba'i', DOG; pl., sqë'baqbai'
- t's'id, ARROW; pl., t'es'tesid
- ste'qa'yu', WOLF; pl., ste'tqa'yu'
- sce't'sud, BEAR; pl., sce'tct'sud
- yix'é'la', EAGLE; pl., yix'iyix'é'la'
- cau', BONE; pl., cau'cau'
- lë'lbid, CANOE; pl., lë'lLëlbid
- xk'lo'dced, FOOT; pl., xk'lo'dkc'dced
tca'l'as, ARM; pl., tca'l'tc'elas
t'kl'lo's, OWL; pl., t'kt'klo's
- sqë'bi'a, SKUNK (sqë'bi'o' Snuqualmi); pl., sqë'bi'bìba
tca'l'asats, FERN; pl., tca'ltc'elasats
- k'pla'lu, SKIN; pl., k'pa'lk'elu
- spetco', BASKET; pl., spe'tctesco
- axa', GOOSE; pl., 'ax'axa'
- sp'k'ab, HILL; pl., sp'k'p'k'ab
- stcbé'dats, FIR; pl., stcbétscbé'dats
- xpai' Cedar; pl., xpexpai'
- k'ag'c'dted, ELK; pl., k'ag'k'ag'c'dted
- sq'p'qae'q, ROBIN; pl., sq'p'qak'p'qae'q
- xebxeb, HAWK; pl., xebxebxeb
- s'o'pq's, SEAL; pl., s'o'sp'oqp's
- sqë'xa', WOOL DOG; pl., sqë'xqexa'
- a'la', house; pl., a'la'al
bō'ctceb, mink; pl., bō'chō'ctceb
xa'tcu, lake; pl., xa'ctxatcu

Plurals which do not reduplicate the consonant following the stem-vowel seem to be rather exceptional. See the following examples:
tca'la', stone (tcə'la' Snuqualmi); pl., tcətcəla'
sbyau, fox; pl., sə'bi'au'
sə'da', woman; pl., sələ'da'
swawa', lion; pl., swawawa'

The following does not belong properly in this class as it is onomatopoeic:
kə'kəla', crow; pl., kə'kəkəla

It seems to be a constant feature of the plural-reduplication in Snohomish that the repetition is restricted to the stem and does not include the initial consonant of the suffix when the stem consists only of two sounds. See:
pə'ted, shirt; pl., pə'pəted
(= ted = instrumental suffix)
sqə'cəd, mocassin; pl., sqə'qəcəd
(= cəd = suffix for foot)
dzidi's, tooth; pl., dzidzə'dis
(= dis = suffix for tooth)

The following plural forms seem to be likewise explained by the presence of a suffix:
bo'qə', duck; pl., bo'bə'qə'
stə'li', heart; pl., stə'tsali
sqə'lə'lı', otter; pl., sqə'qə'lə'lı

The Comox plural-reduplications are distinguished from those of the Snohomish in that the former do not, like the latter, restrict themselves to the etymological stem, but may also include part of a suffix, for instance (Sapir: "Noun Reduplication in Comox" pp. 12 and 13):
qə'lə'lə', land-otter; pl., qə'ləqə'lə'lə!
qəla'sə', sea-otter; pl., qa'səqə'la'sə' (Kwakiutl)
mə'qəsin', nose; pl., mə'qəməqəsin'
(= qəsin' = suffix for nose)
dji'cim', foot; pl., dji'cdjicim'
dji'dis, tooth; pl., dji'djijdis
(= dis = suffix for tooth).

The following plural forms are irregular:
sxi'us, head; pl., sxaxa'yə's

This plural form is explained by the Snuqualmi word for head: sxə'yə's.

syə'bə, chief; pl., si'ya'b
stə'bo', man; pl., stə'bo'bo'

This last form is very extraordinary. -bo is the suffix for person. Compare the Comox form ta'mto'mic.\(^2\)

There are two types of diminutive reduplication in Snohomish. In the one type the vowel of the stem is repeated in the reduplicating-syllable, in the other this vowel is changed to an i (or e). In either case the consonant following the vowel is not included in the reduplication. It is almost a constant feature that the accent is thrown back on the reduplicating-syllable. This is usually associated with a reduction or complete elimination of the vowel of the reduplicated syllable. Examples of reduplication of the first type are:
tca'la's, arm; dim., tcə'ctcəla
kə'gəe'dəcəd, elk; dim., kə'kə'gəe'dəcəd
(Compare: pl., kə'agə'kə'gəe'dəcəd)
sə'kəqə'qə, robin; dim., sə'kə'kəqə'qə'
sə'pəqə's, seal; dim., sə'səpəqə's
sə'lə', house; dim., sə'ə'lə'
tə'kəu, lake; dim., xa'txu
stə'bo', man; dim., stə'təbc
kə'kəla', crow; dim., kə'kəkəla
sə'la' da', woman; dim., sələ'la'dai'; pl., sələ'la'dai'
stə'sələ', heart; dim., stə'təsel
sqə'lə'lə', cloud; dim., sqə'qə'lə'
cəu', bone; dim., ca'cu'
swawa', lion; dim., swa'swa'

Instances of the second type of diminutive reduplication (with a shift to i in the reduplicating-syllable) are:
pə'ted, shirt; dim., pə'potəd
sqə'cəd, mocassin; dim., sqə'qəcəd
bo'qə', duck; dim., bi'bo'qə
sqə'lə'lə', otter; dim., sqə'qə'lə'lə'
bə'ctceb, mink; dim., bə'ctceb
kə'lə'u', skin; dim., kə'kə'lə'u'
xəkə'dəcid, foot; dim., xəkə'kə'dəcid
kələ'spl, trout; dim., kə'kə'lə'spl
lə'tcəts, bow; dim., lə'kələ'tcəts
(= pl., lə'kələ'tcəts)
sxi'us, head, (sxa'yə's Snuqualmi)
dim., sxə'i'səs
stə'etxud, bear, (ctə'ctxud Snuqualmi)
dim., stə'etxud


\(^3\) See Nisqualli la'ledai = girl (Teit).
In some cases the vowel of the reduplicating-syllable represents a diphthongization with ī:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{axa}, & \text{ goose; dim., i'ixa} \\
\text{sqe'ba'i}, & \text{ dog (sqe'ba'i Snuqualmi);} \\
\text{dim., sqa'q'ba'i} & \\
\text{tca'la'sats, & FERN; dim., tca'la'tte'c'la'sats} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Words in which the stem-vowel is obscure or is itself an ī-vowel cannot be attributed either to one or to the other of the above types, for instance:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{spE'tco', & BASKET; dim., spE'ptco} \\
\text{tē's'id, & ARROW; dim., tē'tsid} \\
\text{Lē'be'ai', & DOG-SALMON; dim., L'ē'le'bē'ai'} \\
\text{steq'ya'u', & WOLF; dim., stī'tq'a'ya'u'} \\
\text{L'ē'tbid, & CANOE; dim., L'ē'le'tē'bīd} \\
\text{t'klo's, & OWL; dim., t'ć'tklos} \\
\text{sqa'lē'bīa', & SKUNK; dim., sqa'q'lebēnia} \\
\text{stē'bē'dats, & FIR; dim., stē'tcē'bīdats} \\
\text{xpa'i, & CEDAR; dim., xe'xpai'} \\
\text{xeběx, & HAWK; dim., xe'xebxex} \\
\text{sqē'xa', & WOOL DOG; dim., sqē'q'sxa} \\
\text{syā'b, & CHEF; dim., se'ya'b} \\
\text{dzi'dī's, & TOOTH; dim., da'zi'didī's} \\
\text{tclī'la', & STONE; dim., tclī'tcī'la'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(tclă'la' = STONE Snuqualmi)

sbyna, FOX; dim., sbī'byau.

In the following word the diminutive is formed by an extension of the stem-vowel without reduplication:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{spō'kēab, HILL; dim., spō'e'kēab} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Probably the same is true in the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yixē'ela', & EAGLE, yixē'ela'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

As far as I can judge from my material the plural-diminutives are invariably derived from the diminutive form. This general principle of formation contrasts with that of Comox where the corresponding forms are always diminutized plurals, the first reduplicating syllable being of the diminutive type, the second of the plural type (cf. Sapir: \textit{op. cit.} p. 34). With the exception of the words for "man" and "woman" the Snohomish plural diminutives are formed by repeating the reduplicating syllable of the diminutive form.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{spē'tco', & BASKET; dim., spē'ptco} \\
\text{(dim., spē'ptco; pl., spē'teptco)} \\
\text{tē's'id, & ARROW; dim., tē'tsid} \\
\text{(dim., te'tsid; pl., te'tesid)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Lē'be'ai', DOG-SALMON; pl. dim., Lē'lē'le'bē'ai' steq'ya'u', WOLF; pl. dim., stī'tq'a'ya'u'
L'ē'tbid, CANOE; pl. dim., Lē'le'tē'bīd t'klo's, OWL; pl. dim., t'ć'tklos
sqa'lē'bīa', SKUNK; pl. dim., sqa'q'lebēnia
stē'bē'dats, FIR; pl. dim., stē'tcē'bīdats
xpa'i, CEDAR; pl. dim., xe'xepa'i'
xeběx, HAWK; pl. dim., xe'xebxex
sqē'xa', WOOL DOG; pl. dim., sqē'q'sxa
dzi'dī's, TOOTH; pl. dim., da'zi'didī's
tclī'la', STONE; pl. dim., tclī'tcī'la'

The only two exceptions known to me of the above method of forming the plural-diminutive are the words for MAN and WOMAN.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{stō'bc, & MAN; pl. dim., stō'hotōbc} \\
\text{(pl., stō'bo'bc, dim., stō'tu'tbc) \\
\text{sla'dai', & WOMAN; pl. dim., sla'haladai'} \\
\text{(pl., sla'la'dai, dim., sla'la'dai') \\
\end{align*}
\]

These two plural-diminutives are also derived from the diminutive form, but not by means of an additional reduplication, but by
an extension of the vowel of the reduplicating syllable of the diminutive.

It is a general rule that the accent in the plural-diminutive is thrown back on the first reduplicating syllable.

CLALLAM-LKUŃGEN

Dr. Frachtenberg has collected reduplications of the Clallam. He has kindly let me use the material in his manuscript. Where no other author is mentioned the Clallam-Lkungen reduplications cited below were recorded by him.¹

There are three distinct types of plural formation in Clallam. In the first the stem, including the consonant following the first vowel, is reduplicated. Dr. Frachtenberg’s material seems to show that this type of plural is not very frequent.

xo’unt, paddle; pl., xo’xwant
stca’ninux, salmon; pl., stcentca’ninux
sli-ne-catl, girl; pl., sli-linatcatl H.T.
luq¹, to stick; luq²luq³, sticky H.T.
dja’tdjutuxum, to build a house B.

In the last example the reduplication includes the initial consonant of the suffix (-tx², house).

The second type of plurals is formed by repeating the stem without the second consonant. Here we can distinguish between reduplications in which the reduplicating syllable repeats the quality of the stem-vowel and such in which the vowel is changed to i (or e).

sqoʔltct, willow; pl., sqqoʔoltc
tsi’a’ip, red; pl., tsi’a’ipe
paaq¹, white; pl., pî’paq¹
qa’yîn, eye; pl., qèqa’yîn
anitsa’qu, red; pl., anitsasa’qu
smas’îta, elk; pl., smis’îts

Finally, the third type is not formed by reduplication, but by means of an extension of the stem-vowel.

sma’sîta, skunk; pl., smaya’sîtans
tc’îswa’yî, whale; pl., tciyuxwé’yî

¹Compare: Hill-Tout JAI 37, p. 314

klwa’yînsin, seagull; pl., klwa’ya’yînsin
l’îla’qit, long; pl., l’îla’yàqt
tsis’îla’altc, maple; pl., tsis’îla’altc

The material recorded by Hill-Tout in JAI Vol. 37 is from Lkungen, a dialect very closely related to Clallam. The extension of the stem-vowel in the plurals of this dialect is not brought about by a y-glide, but by an l-glide; see for instance:

qa’ni, maid; pl., qala’ni H.T.
kwa’ni’nî, orphan; pl., kwela’ni’nî H.T.

This difference between Clallam and Lkungen corresponds to the shift of l to i, characteristic of Clallam.

The extension of the stem-vowel is often brought about by the introduction of an i-vowel:

sxäx, bad; pl., sxîyâ’s
tla’tu’sna’, star; pl., tî’ya’tu’sna’
ss’na’am, shaman; pl., ss’niyâ’ám
kwa’ckwac, bluejay; pl., kwa’yîckuc

The diminutives in Clallam seem to be formed regularly by a repetition of the stem exclusive of the second consonant. We can distinguish between diminutive reduplications in which the reduplicating syllable repeats the vowel of the stem and such in which this vowel is changed to an a. A corresponding type with a shift to i does not seem to exist in this dialect.

xo’unt, paddle; dim., xo’xwant
paq¹, white; dim., pa’pa’q’alá
( pl., pî’paq¹)
spa’t, cedar; dim., sxa’pé
( pl., sxîa’pé)
ssqoʔoltc, willow; dim., sqqoʔoltc
sqaxa’, dog; dim., sqa’qa’xa
( pl., sqa’ya’xa)

Diminutive-reduplications with a-shift:
steqeu’, horse; dim., stâteqeu’
( pl., stîteqeu’)
cctc’a’tayil, child
qu’a’nî, seagull; dim., qua’qun-I
tcïl’telaltc, spruce; dim., tcïl’telaltc

In the following words not the same syllables are reduplicated in the plural and in the diminutive:
Furthermore, not clear given the is this coast conditions:

\[ \text{Diminutives which are not formed by reduplication seem to be very unusual, see for instance:} \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sma'yits, ELK; dim., sme'its} \\
\text{k'awa'ya'nisin, EAGLE; dim., k'we'eyi'nis'in}
\end{align*}
\]

The plural-diminutive is never derived from the plural, but always from the diminutive. It is not formed by an additional reduplication, but by means of extending the vowel of the reduplicating syllable of the diminutive. This extension does not seem ever to be brought about by an introduction of an i-vowel as is the case in many plurals derived from the simplex.

\[ \text{sǐq'le, HEAVY; pl. dim., sā'yā'śe'q'le} \]
\[ \text{dim., sa'se'q'le; pl., sa'yì'q'le} \]
\[ \text{tcēla't, THICK; pl. dim., tc'ya'tće'e't} \]
\[ \text{dim., tc'a'tće'lt; pl., tc'tće'lt} \]
\[ \text{pla'wi', FLOWUNDER; pl. dim., pla'ya'pla'ūwi'} \]
\[ \text{dim., pla'ya'pla'ūwi'; pl., pla'ya'wə'ūwi'} \]
\[ \text{wāxa', FROG; pl. dim., wa'yawaxa't} \]
\[ \text{dim., wa'waxa't; pl., wiyə's'axəl} \]
\[ \text{sklwatə', RAVEN; pl. dim., sklwə'yə'klutə'} \]
\[ \text{dim., sklwə'klutə'; pl., sklwə'yə'tə'} \]

Lku'ngen has again the extension with l instead of y:

\[ \text{skā'kälə, INFANT; pl., skalə'kala} \]
\[ \text{H.T.} \]
\[ \text{slələlukəl, CHILD; pl., slələləlukəl} \]
\[ \text{H.T.} \]

SQUAMISH

Our material on the reduplications of this dialect is very meager. This is especially regrettable as Squamish is linguistically more or less independent from the other northern coast dialects.

Hill-Tout gives a list of plural reduplications: BAAS 1900, p. 497. Furthermore, the following examples are found in his vocabulary (ibidem pp. 513 et seq.):

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ā'xəi, HOUSE-FLY; pl., oxə'xəi} \\
\text{stə'fəl, CHILD; pl., stə'tə'ftəl} \\
\text{tcuwa'c, WIFE; pl., tcu'tec'wac} \\
\end{align*} \]
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{suə'kə, MAN; pl., siwə'e'ka} \\
\text{tcима'c, BROTHER-IN-LAW; pl., tсимtcима'c} \\
\text{mən, SON; pl., mənən} \\
\text{slə'nai, WOMAN; pl., sləlnə'nai} \\
\text{Compare: slənə'nəl', YOUNG WOMAN (Boas)} \\
\text{(-əl= diminutive suffix)} \\
\text{pl., slənəlnə'nəl'.} \\
\text{səq̓'əl, INFANT, is also a diminutive form.} \\
\text{From the examples cited above it is clear that as in other Salish dialects the plural is formed by repeating the stem either with or without the consonant following the vowel.} \\
\end{align*} \]

NANAIMO AND LOWER FRASER

These are very closely related dialects. A list of Nanaimo reduplications is given by Dr. Boas: BAAS 1890, pp. 680-681. Hill-Tout gives a number from the Lower Fraser: BAAS 1902, p. 20.

There are two chief types of plural formation represented in this material. The first type consists in reduplicating the stem-syllable either with or without the consonant following the vowel.

Nanaimo:

\[ \text{spəl, RAVEN; pl., spələ'pəl} \]
\[ \text{qələ'qa, CROW; pl., qələqələ'qa} \]
\[ \text{stə'lo, RIVER; pl., stələ'təlo} \]
\[ \text{stələ'lem, SALMON; pl., stələsə'ltəlem} \]
\[ \text{lə'lem, HOUSE; pl., ləllə'lem} \]

Lower Fraser:

\[ \text{skwomai', DOG; pl., skwomkwomai'} \]
\[ \text{sməlt, STONE; pl., sməltə'məlt} \]
\[ \text{kwətlə'i, LOG; pl., kwətlkwəti} \]
\[ \text{H.T.} \]
\[ \text{mə'la, SON; pl., mə'məla} \]

Compare: Squamish: mən, pl., mənən \text{H.T.} \]
\[ \text{səllə'təl, LITTLE GIRL; pl., səlləhə'təl} \]
\[ \text{H.T.} \]
\[ \text{(-ətəl= diminutive suffix)} \]
\[ \text{ləku'kəm, DRIVER (lu'kəm= TO DRIVE) \text{H.T.}} \]

The second type of plurals is formed by an extension of the stem-vowel by means of an l-glide:

Nanaimo:

\[ \text{hə'pet, DEER; pl., hələ'pet} \]
\[ \text{qə'qən, POST; pl., qə'qənən} \]
\[ \text{spə'qən, FLOWER; pl., spə'qənən} \]
The plural is formed by a reduplication of the stem with or without the second consonant:

stó'mic, MAN; pl., ste'ntòmic
stékai'g, HORSE; pl., stekté'akaìú
lu'mstan, HOUSE; pl., LÀ'umstan
kwò'yiluk, TO MURDER; kwòkwo'yiluk, MURDERER

There are no examples of a plural formation by means of an extension of the stem-vowel as found so frequently in Clallam-Lkuñgen and Nanaimo-Lower Fraser. Compare for instance:

Seshelt: hò'pit, DEER; pl., hephò'pit H.T.
Nanaimo: hâ'pet, DEER; pl., halâ'pet B.

The diminutive is formed by the common process of repeating the stem without the consonant following the vowel. This is sometimes associated with a shift of the reduplicating vowel to an i (e):

tlu'mstan, house; dim., tle'tlumstan
stó'tlò, RIVER; dim., stó'telò
hò'pit, DEER; dim., hòhò'pit, FAWN
skwuke't, SPLINTER; dim., skwè'kwukèt
tlá'ni, woman; LILÀ'ni, GIRL
(sta'tcin, CHIEF; sisì'a'm, HIGHEST CHIEF)

I can cite only the following three examples of plural-diminutive formation:

tlá'ni, woman; tí'tlùntlánai, GIRLS
tlíatlánai= GIRL
mè'man, CHILD; mumè'man, CHILDREN
swá'welòs, BOY; pl., swáwè'welòs

Compare:

Lower Fraser: swé'wilus, YOUTH;
pl., swá'wilus H.T.
Comox: we'wàlòs; pl., wè'wàlòs Sapir.

Seshelt is a dialect closely related to Comox and Pentlatch. The form tí'tlùntlánai is derived in the same way as the Comox plural-diminutives, namely, by a secondary reduplication of the plural form (see p. 170).

**COMOX**

In his paper on “Noun Reduplication in Comox” (Geological Survey of Canada, memoir 63), Dr. Sapir has given us much valuable material. He has tabulated it in
of the reduplicating syllable either maintains
the quality of the stem-vowel or shows a shift
to i (e).

sō'śn', MOUTH; dim., sō'śeln
sō'pada'te, TAIL; dim., sō'pada'te
ti'a-qlat', MOUNTAIN; dim., ti'a-tqle't'
xə'a', BIG CLAM; dim., xə'xə'ʔə'
pə'xai', CREEK; dim., pə'pə'xə'
Lİa'qulwai, FISH-GILL; dim., Lİi'Łqulwai

In those cases where the accent is thrown
on the reduplicating syllable the vowel of
the reduplicated syllable is frequently reduced or
eliminated.

In those cases where the plural as well
as the diminutive are formed by repeating
the stem without the second consonant and
by changing the vowel to i the two forms
are ordinarily distinguished by the different
position of the accent. It is thrown on the
reduplicating syllable in the plural form, but
remains on the reduplicated one in the dimin-
utive.

təkə'yac, HAND; pl., təkə'təyac; dim., təkə'təyac
qə'ya', WATER; pl., qə'qə'ya'; dim., qəqə'ya'
sə'yal, LAKE; pl., sə'sə'yəl; dim., sisə'yal
xə'aj-da'jac, STONE; pl., xə'xə'aj-da'jac;
dim., xə'xə'aj-da'jac

As mentioned elsewhere the plural redupli-
cation is not necessarily confined in Comox
to the etymological stem. The initial con-
sonant of a suffix may be included in the rep-
ition; for instance in:
ma'qsin', NOSE; pl., ma'qmaqsəsin'
djə'cin', FOOT; pl., djə'djə'cin'

The plural-diminutives in Comox are formed
by a double process of reduplication, the first
reduplicating syllable expressing the diminu-
tive idea, the second that of plurality (see
Sapir: op. cit. p. 34 et seq.).

Lɪl'kuinas, HEART; pl. dim., Lɪl'lik'likuinas
AL, LEGGING; pl. dim., al'AL
yə'xai', PACK-BASKET; pl. dim., yəyi'yə'xai'

BELLA COOLA

From this dialect I can cite only a very few
examples from the material of Dr. Boas.
It is especially regrettable that this is the case with Nootsak, Twana, and Squamish, since these show a number of linguistic peculiarities. In spite of these deficiencies, however, a comparison of our material brings out a number of important points which I shall try to summarize in the following remarks.

The most general observation is that apparently all Salish dialects make use of the process of reduplication with the exception of Quinault. It must, however, be mentioned that we have no material on reduplications from Satsep, Upper Chehalis, Lower Chehalis, and Cowlitz. As these, especially Lower Chehalis, are the dialects which are most closely related to Quinault, it will be of interest to know whether they too are without the grammatical process in question. In regard to the presence of reduplications the Salish stock must be grouped together with Chemakum, Wakashán, and Tsimshian, as belongs to the great continuous area in which this process occurs, and must be contrasted against the area of the Haida, Tlingit, and Athapaskan, in which it is absent.

Reduplication is used in Salish pre-eminently for the formation of distributive-plurals and of diminutives and presumably also of augmentatives. It is often closely asso-

CONCLUSIONS

It appears from the above presentation of material, that there are wide gaps in our knowledge of the processes of reduplication in the Salishan dialects. From a considerable number of dialects we have no material at all.
associated with the process of vowel extension. Reduplication is used in nouns as well as in verbs. In the inland dialects initial as well as terminal reduplication is used. The latter may be restricted to the inland. The only reduplication from the coast known to me which is not initial is Snohomish stó’bóbc, MEN, from stó’bc. The same word is reduplicated ta’mtőmic in Comox. stó’bóbc is not properly speaking a terminal reduplication as the repeated b is the initial sound of the suffix -bc, MAN. From the large amount of material we have from Kalispelm it is obvious that terminal reduplication, that is to say, the repetition of the terminal sound of the stem, is a prominent feature in this dialect (see p. 161). Some of the plurals in Kalispelm are formed by terminal reduplication, whereas none of the diminutives seem to be formed by this process in that dialect. But from Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagan, we have examples of diminutives formed by terminal reduplication. In Thompson and Shuswap a number of diminutives are also formed by internal reduplication. None of the plurals of these two dialects seem to be formed either by internal or by terminal reduplication. This shows a striking difference between these dialects and Kalispelm.

There are two large types of plural reduplication which seem to be common to all of the reduplicating Salish dialects. In the first type the stem including the consonant following the vowel is repeated, in the second this consonant is not included. There seems to be a general tendency that in contradistinction to the diminutive formations the accent remains on the reduplicated syllable. The dialects differ as to whether in the process of reduplication the stem of a word is regarded as a unit or not. Thus, in words which consist only of one consonant and of one vowel the initial sound of the suffix may or may not be included in the plural-reduplication. While in Kalispelm and Snohomish, the process does not extend beyond the stem, this is frequently the case in Comox (see pp. 169-170). Compare for instance: Comox ta’mtő’mic, MEN. As far as I know, a prefix is never included in the reduplication in any of the dialects.

The general type of diminutive reduplication common to all of the reduplicating dialects consists in repeating the stem exclusive of the consonant following the vowel. This process is distinguished from the shorter type of plural reduplication by the more or less general tendency in the diminutive to throw the accent on the reduplicating-syllable. Compare for instance: Snohomish slə’adāi’, LITTLE WOMAN and sləla’dāi’, WOMEN. A concomitant phenomenon of this shift of accent is the tendency towards reduction or elimination of the unaccented stem-vowel in the diminutive forms (see p. 164).

The vowel of the reduplicating-syllable of the diminutive may either be the same in quality as the stem-vowel of the simplex or it may show a shift. The most common shift of this kind is that to an i-vowel. This diminutive-reduplication with i-shift is a very persistent feature in the Salishan dialects and seems to be common to most of them; however, it does not appear to occur in Clallam, or in Thompson and Shuswap. The most frequent vowel-shift in the diminutives of Clallam is that to a (see p. 167). In Thompson and Shuswap the vowel of the reduplicating-syllable is normally the same as that of the stem.

As shown repeatedly in the above discussions, the plural or the diminutive of one and the same word may be formed in different ways in different dialects. For instance:

Seshelet: hó’pit; DEER; pl. hépó’pit
Nanaimo: há’pet; pl., halá’pet

and:

Kalispelm: she’utem, GIRL; pl., she’utem
Shuswap: xa’utem; pl., xuñxutem

or:

Snohomish: stó’bóbc
Comox: ta’mtő’mic
While the general principles that underlie the formation of the plural and of the diminutive are practically the same for all the dialects, we find an entirely different state of affairs in the case of the formation of plural-diminutives. Almost each dialect follows a distinctive method of deriving these forms. Different psychological concepts obviously underlie this heterogeneity. Thus, in contrast to other dialects the Comox forms, as Dr. Sapir has pointed out, are, properly speaking, diminutized-plurals. The heterogeneity is all the more surprising when it is taken into consideration that in all of the dialects the plural-diminutives are, built up on the common principles of plural and of diminutive formation.

In Lillooet we find examples of plural-diminutives in which the first reduplicating syllable expresses plurality and is a repetition of the stem of the simplex, while the second syllable expresses the diminutive idea (see skwumkōkōmeʔ, CHILDREN). This is the type of formation of plural-diminutives that is so typical of Thompson and Shuswap. It shows a high degree of relationship between these three dialects as far as the process of reduplicating is concerned. In Kalispelm they are apparently never formed by double reduplication, but are always derived from the diminutive of the simplex by means of an extension of the reduplicating vowel (see sheushu'tem). In this the Kalispelm method is identical in principle with that obtaining in Clallam and Lkūŋen. In these dialects the forms in question are derived from the diminutive by means of extending the reduplicating vowel by a y (Clallam) or an l (Lkūŋen) glide (see p̣ãɬãɬa Ꞥuʔi, SMALL FLOUNDERS; sk̕al̓a̕k̓ala, INFANTS). The plural-diminutives of Snohomish are formed by double reduplication (with the exception of the words for MAN and WOMAN), and are derived from the diminutive. The idea of plurality is expressed by repeating the reduplicating syllable of the diminutive (see for example: spiɬ̓ip̓tco, SMALL BASKETS.)

This feature distinguishes the Snohomish forms from the double reduplications of Lillooet on the one hand and of Comox on the other. Our material from Lower Fraser and Seshelt is very meager. The few examples from the latter show double reduplication, while the Lower Fraser form q̕a̕ʔa̕l̓ami from q̕āmi, MAID, represents a new type in which the plural-diminutive is derived from the extended, non-reduplicated plural (see p. 169). Finally, the Comox derivatives are formed by a process of double reduplication, in which the first reduplication is of the diminutive type, while the second is of the plural type.

The enormous diversity in the formation of plural-diminutives shows that they have been developed by a high degree of local differentiation. This contrasts strikingly with the comparatively great uniformity of the principles common to the plural and the diminutive reduplications of the whole Salish area. This situation suggests clearly that the plural-diminutives are genetically secondary to the latter. Another outstanding difference is that in one and the same dialect the plural-diminutives show great consistency in the regularity with which they are formed. In each dialect they are all derived, almost without exception, according to one principle. In contrast to this the plurals and diminutives of a given dialect are formed according to several principles and contain a number of irregular forms. This again is significant for the genetic priority of the plurals and of the diminutives as compared with the plural-diminutives.

From the point of view of the classification of the Salish dialects the plurals and the diminutives on the one hand and the plural-diminutives on the other, offer criteria of heterogeneous value for the degree of affiliation between the various dialects. The Salish plural-diminutives clearly presuppose the plural as well as the diminutive forms. They are, therefore, phenomena of a higher degree
of complexity. Where in two or more dialects the same principle is employed for the formation of plural-diminutives, we have a criterion for a very close affiliation. This is the case in Clallam and Lkungen, as well as in Thompson and Shuswap. It is obvious that when we shall have sufficient material from all the dialects, the plural-diminutives will be of considerable importance for a refined grouping of the dialects with indications for the degrees of their linguistic affiliations. And as products of comparatively recent developments they will also be of general interest from the point of view of understanding the linguistic processes of local differentiation and of interdialectic borrowing.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
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COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN TAKELMAN, KALAPUYAN AND CHINOOKAN LEXICOGRAPHY
A PRELIMINARY PAPER

By Leo J. Frachtenberg

INTRODUCTION

The last ten years or so have witnessed an almost feverish activity in the field of American Indian linguistics, culminating in more or less successful attempts to reclassify and to reduce the seemingly too great number of linguistic stocks that are found on the American continent north of Mexico. It is by no means accidental that these efforts should have commenced at such a late date. It must be borne in mind that the real stimulus to a comprehensive and intelligent study of the various American Indian languages, both analytical and historical, came not from the writings of the earlier students but through the activities of Powell and Boas, especially through the comparatively recent undertaking of the latter to compile and edit a handbook of American Indian languages. Consequently, during the last ten years more voluminous data have been made accessible, in the form of grammatical sketches, vocabularies, and texts, than during any other previous period. The wealth of the material presented by the various investigators resulted in the perfectly natural tendency to look for and to establish, wherever possible, genetic relationships between the multiple linguistic stocks. Furthermore, it was perfectly natural that these reductive efforts should be applied to a field where the greatest multiplicity of stocks prevailed and where these stocks were observed to occupy a comparatively limited and, in most cases, continuous area. Two such areas, peculiarly adapted for investigations of this sort, were found: the Pacific Coast, and the region adjacent to the Gulf of Mexico; and regardless of the relative merits of the reductions that have been thus far made in the linguistic stocks of these two areas, it seems unlikely that the enormous multiplicity of languages in these two littoral regions should be purely accidental.

The greatest diversity of aboriginal languages obtains in California where, according to previous investigators, are found not less than twenty-one linguistic families, or over one-third of all languages known to have been spoken by the Indians north of Mexico. Consequently, the first efforts towards a possible reduction were made in the California area. In 1914 Dixon and Kroeber presented evidence tending to show that the twenty-one languages of California may be reduced to twelve distinct stocks. They claimed that the Yokuts, Wintun, Costanoan, Maidu, and Miwok languages are reducible to one group, called the Penutian languages; that Karok, Chimariko, Shasta, Pomo, Esselen, Yana, and Yuman form another, the Hokan group; that Chumash and Salinan are related; and that Yurok and Wiyot had a common origin. Simultaneously with this announcement came Sapir’s paper attempting to demonstrate a genetic relationship between Wiyot, Yurok, and Algonkin. Before and after these reduc-

1 Published with permission of the Smithsonian Institution.


3 Wiyot and Yurok, Algonkin Languages of California (AANS, vol. xv, no. 4, pp. 617–646).
tive attempts Sapir\(^1\) presented voluminous evidence for a genetic relationship between the Shoshonean, Piman, Sonoran, and Nahuatl languages.

From now on, the comparative investigations shifted to the north. In addition to verbal announcements made on several occasions by Sapir of his belief that a genetic relationship may be ultimately established between the Takelma and Coos languages of Oregon, he wrote a preliminary paper\(^2\) on the ultimate relationship between Athapaskan, Haida, and Tlingit. In my own field I have collected a mass of material establishing a probable common origin for the Kusan, Siukslawan, Yakonan, and (perhaps) Kalapuyan languages which will be presented in the near future either in the conclusion to my grammatical sketch of the Alsea (Yakonan) language,\(^8\) or else in a separate paper. I have, furthermore, gathered voluminous data supporting previously expressed contentions concerning the genetic relationship between Lutuamian, Wailatpuan, and Sahaptin, which will be published as soon as additional material from the Sahaptin field will be made available; and I have also good material for a comparative study of Salish, Chimakuan, and Wakashan. The latest efforts towards a re-classification of the Indian languages were made by Swanton\(^4\) in the southeastern field which, however, are still in an experimental stage, although the Natchez-Muskogean relationship would seem a practically established fact.\(^5\)

To be sure, a number of these reconstructions are by no means new ideas. They were formulated by previous investigators who, for lack of suitable data, could merely indicate but not follow them up minutely. Thus, the Uto-Aztekan relationship was suspected long ago by Buschman and Brinton; similar ideas were held concerning Haida, Tlingit, and Athapaskan by Boas and Swanton; marked resemblances between Siukslawan and Yakonan were first noticed by Latham and Gatschet; Gatschet and Hewitt were convinced of a genetic relationship between Lutuamian, Wailatpuan, and Sahaptin; and Boas long ago called attention to the marked structural agreements between the Salish, Chimakuan, and Wakashan languages. Thus, it will be seen that, in most cases, the younger linguists merely tried to follow up and develop the deductions arrived at by their predecessors.

Concerning the merits of the relationships that have been promulgated thus far in print, not all of them are tenable when subjected to the acid test of minute and scientific criticism. This is especially true of the several proposed reductions in California. Thus Dixon's and Kroeber's presentation of Penutian and Hokan are exceedingly inadequate, both methodologically and in regards to subject matter. The conclusions arrived at by these two students are based upon such fragmentary material and presented so scantily that, while their Penutian and Hokan relationships may be probable, they are by no means a certainty. Comparisons presented of five or more stems and of a few formative elements and not backed by exhaustive grammatical sketches, can not be accepted as conclusive evidence, and all judgment concerning the correctness of these conclusions must be withheld pending the introduction of additional and extensive data. During a recent visit to San Francisco I was accorded access, for a brief time, to the comparative vocabularies of the so-called Penutian and Hokan languages that have been

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\(^3\) Now in course of publication by the Bureau of American Ethnology as part of volume ii of the Handbook of American Indian Languages.

\(^4\) Linguistic Position of the Tribes of Southern Texas and Northeastern Mexico (AANS, vol. xvii, no. 1, pp. 17-40).

\(^5\) Ethnological Position of the Natchez Indians (AA) vol. ix, no. 3, pp. 513-528).
compiled by Dixon and Kroeber, and while my superficial examination of this lexical material impressed me with the probable soundness of Dixon's and Kroeber's conclusions, I still must refuse to accept them as final, as long as these vocabularies are continued to be withheld from publication and until more morphological evidence is brought into play. Nothing is more dangerous and unsatisfactory in an investigation of this sort than to arrive at so-called final conclusions that are seemingly based solely upon lexicographical material. In the same way it would be wrong to deny the existence of a relationship between two languages, merely because the evidence of the lexical material is negative. It is well to bear in mind that in trying to establish genetic relationships between languages that seem to be, at first sight, non-related, lexical and morphological evidence must be treated separately, and that morphological evidence must be accorded greater weight. I believe it to be a fact, established by investigations in other linguistic fields, that lexicography is more easily subject to borrowing, to loss of words and stems, and to new additions; and that the formative elements and structure of a language are more stationary and less influenced by those of some neighboring tongue. Of course, I am perfectly aware of the fact that instances may be cited where the morphology of one language has undergone changes due to borrowing. But these instances are so few that they, in no way, affect the correctness of my statement.

The absence of conclusive evidence concerning Penutian and Hokan is the more unfortunate, as there exist strong reasons to believe that the Takelman, Kusan, Siu-Slaw-an, Yakon-an, Kalapuyan, and (perhaps) Chinookan languages spoken in Oregon may be proven to be Penutian sister-tongues. For that reason, the additional collection of material from the Penutian field in California and the immediate publication of the data thus far collected would seem to constitute one of the most important tasks that confront the investigators in the California area. Without such material the Penutian theory must, for the time being, be held in abeyance, and the establishing of a relationship between California-Penutian and Oregon-Penutian must be deferred to the future.

Undoubtedly the strongest and best evidence adduced by Dixon and Kroeber is that upon which they base their conclusion concerning the genetic relationship between Yurok and Wiyot. The amount of lexical correspondences, the existence of phonetic shifts, and the presence of structural similarities are too numerous and too regular to be accounted for as due to accident or to borrowing, although it would be highly desirable to produce more evidence in the near future. But sufficient proof has already been furnished to justify a belief that additional material would rather increase than decrease the certainty of a genetic relationship between Yurok and Wiyot.

A very weak case of reduction is found in Sapir's previously mentioned attempt to classify Yurok and Wiyot as Algonkin languages, which, on the face of the evidence presented, is far from conclusive. The difficulties encountered by him were twofold: First, inadequate Yurok and Wiyot data, both grammatical and lexical; and, secondly, unfamiliarity with the intricate and complicated structure of the Algonkin languages. To the first are probably due the unsatisfactory and irregular correspondences quoted by him as based upon phonetic shifts, while the second has been responsible for the numerous comparisons of wrong morphological elements. Sapir's paper, more than any other effort, demonstrates the imperative necessity of basing all attempts at establishing relationships upon exhaustive and (phonetically) sound lexical material and upon
comprehensive grammatical sketches. Still, his evidence for the probable Algonkin origin of Yurok and Wiyot is of such a character as to take it out of the "purely accidental" class and to justify further researches in this field. It is, therefore, desirable, even imperative that in the near future, the Wiyot language be made the object of a thorough investigation and that this investigation be carried on by some authority on the structure of the Algonkin languages. To my mind, such a study, whether positive or negative in its results, will contribute far more to the general problem presented by the American Indian languages, than can be said of the continued researches into the minutest details of Algonkin word-formation or into the dialectic differentiations within the Algonkin family.

On the other hand, Sapir’s articles establishing relationships between Uto-Azatan and between Haida, Tlingit, and Athapascan are most convincing. The comparative data presented in these two papers are so voluminous and conclusive, covering not only phonetics and lexical material but also morphology and structural correspondences that, to my mind, the unreserved acceptance, by all students of the American Indian languages, of a genetic relationship between the Shoshonean, Sonoran-Piman, and Nahuatl families on one hand, and of a similar affiliation between Athapascan, Haida, and Tlingit on the other hand, is only a question of time. The extreme likelihood of these two reductive theories is undoubtedly due to the fact that all comparisons have been based upon extensive material; and although some of the Nadene correspondence may, upon further investigations, prove to be erroneous, sufficient correspondences have been found to meet the requirements of even the conservative and exacting scholars.

I have purposely dwelt at such length upon the efforts of my co-workers to reclassify and to reduce a number of so-called independent stocks, so that my own conservative attitude towards a potential genetic relationship be-
and the work on Kalapuya is in such a preliminary stage, that it seems highly desirable to be cautious and not to jump at any too hasty conclusions. But, the resemblances that have been observed thus far are so striking, and their bearing upon a general revision of our present classification of the languages of California and Oregon so important, that I feel justified in presenting these correspondences, deferring a conclusive discussion until all evidence has been carefully analyzed and critically sifted.

In view of the fact that only nineteen lexical correspondences have thus far been observed between Kalapuya and Chinook, while a comparison of Kalapuya and Takelma lexicography has yielded not less than fifty-five agreements, a discussion of phonetic shifts will be confined to only these two languages.

**PHONOLOGY**

Pending the presentation of additional comparative data, no attempt will be made to establish probable vocalic shifts in these two languages. The vocalic systems of Kalapuya and Takelma differ but slightly. The characteristic unlaughted ā-vowel and diphthongs of Takelma are missing in Kalapuya where, however, we meet with an unlaughted ă-vowel and āį-diphthong. In the consonantic systems of the two languages we find close correspondences on one hand, and marked disagreements on the other hand, which would seem to place Kalapuya, phonetically at least, midway between the vocalic, musical languages of the south and the consonantic, harsh languages of the north. Thus, the surd lateral (s) is missing in both, while its spirant equivalent (ʃ) occurs rarely. Similarly, the alveolar and palatal spirants (ʃ, ʒ) are lacking in both, and both languages show a constant variation between s and palatized s (ʃ). Furthermore, the occurrence of aspirated surds (p', t', k') is exceedingly common in both languages. On the other hand, the Takelma consonantic system is characterized by the absence of velar sounds (q, q!), both of which occur in Kalapuya; and it lacks the labial spirant (ʃ), the mid-palatal spirant (x), the anterior palatal surd (k), the linguo-dental surd (t), and the long (doubled) laterals and nasals (l', m', n'), all of which are found in Kalapuya. Consonantic clusters occur in both languages, but they are greatly limited in numbers and can hardly be considered difficult.

Turning now to the question of possible phonetic shifts the following changes have been observed to occur with a marked degree of regularity:

**Takelma b** is represented in Kalapuya by p, regardless of position. (In one instance a Takelma b in medial position would seem to correspond to a Kalapuya m. cf. T. tlibis'tAnt; K. tlmös, ant).

Examples:
- T. beyan-, daughter; K. pū'ne, girl
- T. bôp', alder; K. pō'p', alder
- T. de'b-, to arise; K. tāp-, to stand

**Takelma d** corresponds to a Kalapuya t, regardless of position.

Examples:
- T. t'a'd-, maternal aunt; K. tāt', maternal aunt
- T. o'd-, to look for; K. ət- . . . kwə', to look for
- T. dō'm, spider; K. to', spider
- T. dān, rock; K. ta' rock

**Takelma g** is represented in Kalapuya by g, q, k or ʃ.

Examples:
- T. t'gwala', owl; K. du'gulhu', owl
- T. t'gām, elk; K. tqa', elk
- T. naga', to say; K. nak'-to say
- T. gā'm, two; K. kē'mə', two

My phonetic transcription of Kalapuya sounds agrees in main with the recommendations made by the committee of the American Anthropological Association. No changes, however, were made in the transcription of the Takelma and Chinook words.

1 My phonetic transcription of Kalapuya sounds.

2 The Takelma forms are quoted from Sapir's, "The Takelma Language of Southwestern Oregon," extract from Handbook of American Indian Languages (BBAE, 40, part 2).
Takelma \( p, t \) correspond, in most cases, to Kalapuya \( p, t \).

Examples:
- T. *plän*, liver; K. *pau'*, liver
- T. *t'päl't*, snail; K. *tpo'lt*, snail
- T. *tibis*?¹, *ant*; K. *timtös*, *ant*

Takelma \( b \) is represented in Kalapuya by \( k \), \( b \), or \( g \).

Examples:
- T. *duikl-*, to push; K. *tloik-*, to push
- T. *dak'*, to finish; K. *tlok-*, to finish
- T. *boik',* chipmunk; K. *po'yaq*, squirrel
- T. *klas-, mother's parents*; K. *të'tso', grandmother*

Takelma \( s \) is found in Kalapuya as \( s \) or \( ts \), while Takelma \( ts \) remains unchanged.

Examples:
- T. *gwisgwas*, chipmunk; K. *kwis'ek', chipmunk
- T. *båls, long*; K. *pı's, long
- T. *s'om, mountain*; K. *tšé'mo', mountain
- T. *al-të'll, red*; K. *tš'tolö', red

Takelma \( l, m, n \) remain unchanged, except on occasions when they form diphthongs with a preceding vowel,¹ in which cases they are represented in Kalapuya by the glottal stop (').

Examples:
- T. *k'ał*, penis; K. *qal*, penis
- T. *la'law-, to call*; K. *lålaw-, to shout
- T. *någ-, to say*; K. *nak'-, to say
- T. *mël, crow*; K. *mo'la, crow
- T. *båls, long*; K. *po's, long
- T. *t'päl't, snail*; K. *tpo'lt', snail
- T. *t'gåm, elk*; K. *tqal', elk
- T. *t'gû'm, rattlesnake*; K. *tša', rattlesnake
- T. *dån, rock*; K. *ta', rock
- T. *plän, liver*; K. *pau', liver

Takelma \( x \) apparently becomes \( f \) in Kalapuya.²

Examples:
- T. *môx, grouse*; K. *muf, grouse
- T. *môxô, buzzard*; K. *tîfo', buzzard

¹ See The Takelma Language, loc cit. p. 10.
² The same change apparently also takes place between a Chinook \( x \) and a Kalapuya \( f \) (cf. Chinook *te'xem, six*; Kalapuya *ta'fo six*).

Takelma \( h, y, w \) remain unchanged in Kalapuya.

Examples:
- T. *hulk', panther*; K. *hul'ts, panther
- T. *yok'y-, to know*; K. *yuk'-, to know
- T. *wog-, to arrive*; K. *wök-, to arrive

Having thus discussed the phonetic shifts that apparently take place in the two languages, it now remains to present the lexical correspondences that have been found in both.

**LEXYCO CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN TAKELMA AND KALAPUYA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Takelma</th>
<th>Kalapuya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>båls</em>, long ²</td>
<td><em>po's</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>bå, sun, day</em></td>
<td><em>pyä'n</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>beyan-, daughter</em></td>
<td><em>pı'ne girl</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. <em>bobop', screech owl</em></td>
<td><em>tpopo'</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. <em>boik', chipmunk</em></td>
<td><em>po'yaq, squirrel</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. <em>bop', alder</em></td>
<td><em>pā'p</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. <em>dak', to finish</em></td>
<td><em>tloik-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. <em>dån, rock</em></td>
<td><em>ta'</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. <em>de'b-, to arise</em></td>
<td><em>täp- to stand</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. <em>dél, yellow jacket</em></td>
<td><em>tïål</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. <em>dip', camass</em></td>
<td><em>tip'</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. <em>du'm, spider</em></td>
<td><em>to'</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. <em>-duikl-, to push</em></td>
<td><em>tloik-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. <em>gå'm, two</em></td>
<td><em>të'm</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. <em>gungun, (&lt;<em>gun</em>), otter</em></td>
<td><em>kwtn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. <em>gwan, trail</em></td>
<td><em>kau'n</em>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. <em>gwisgwas, (&lt;<em>gwis</em>), chipmunk</em></td>
<td><em>kwis'ek'</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. <em>ham- (ma-), father</em></td>
<td>*må, må'ma' ⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. <em>has-, maternal uncle</em></td>
<td><em>hå's</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. <em>hillw-, to climb</em></td>
<td><em>höl-, höl-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. <em>hin- (ni-), mother</em></td>
<td>*ni ⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. <em>hûlk', panther</em></td>
<td><em>hû'ts</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. <em>k'ál, penis</em></td>
<td><em>qal</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. <em>klas-, mother's parents</em></td>
<td><em>të'tso', grandmother</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. <em>la'law-, to call</em></td>
<td><em>lålaw-, to shout</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. <em>låm, cedar</em></td>
<td><em>la'</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. <em>mël, crow</em></td>
<td><em>mo'la</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. <em>môx, grouse</em></td>
<td><em>muf</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. <em>någ-, to say</em></td>
<td><em>nak'-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. <em>o'd-, to look for</em></td>
<td><em>öt- . . . kwa'</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Unless otherwise stated, the English equivalent is the same in both languages.
² Compare here Chinook *-ma, -am father*.
³ Compare here Chinook *-nåa mother*. 
LEXICAL CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN CHINOOK AND KALAPUYA

Let us now turn to the correspondences that have been observed between Chinook and Kalapuya. As has been stated before, these are less numerous. In this list are not included words that have been undoubtedly borrowed through the medium of Chinook jargon. The most interesting feature of these correspondences is found in the fact that, while in Chinook most of these words are stems that must be used with some affix, in Kalapuya they are treated as independent words. The following correspondences have been observed:

CHINOOK
1. -cät'ım, grizzly bear şa'yım
2. -cät'an, neck pa'naq
3. -'lxaiu, seal u'lsayū
4. koa'iś, nine kw'i'sta
5. -mā (redupl.), father mā, mā'ma'
6. -mōlak, elk mū'lkwa, cow
7. -naa, mother pā'l'am, drunk
8. pā'l, pā'li'ma, full nī
9. pō', to blow pūl-
10. pō'tsel', kingfisher tsal'lal
11. p'tcīx, green p'tśix, blue, green
12. q'lem, fall salmon qa't'am silverside salmon
13. qelōq, swan qo'loq
14. 'qawen, silverside salmon CHINOOK SALMON
15. qōs (redupl.), crane kwa'skwas
16. qu'lem, five wan'
17. si'nāmōkt, seven psīnīwē'
18. te'xem, six ta'fo
19. łun, three psīn'

CONCLUSION

The correspondences quoted on the preceding pages are by no means exhaustive; and, while it is highly probable that, upon further investigations, some of them may have to be disregarded, I feel reasonably certain that a great deal of additional comparative material will be disclosed in the near future. It will be remembered that thus far less than one-third of all available Kalapuya data have been carded. The highly polysynthetic character of Chinook would be sufficient to render a comparison between this language and Kalapuya (which is inflective par excellence) an almost hopeless task, were it not for the great lexical and structural divergencies that have been noted to exist within the Kalapuya dialects themselves. The Kalapuya family consists of seven distinct dialects that may be sub-divided into three separate groups: the Northern (embracing Yamhill and Atfalati); the Central (to which belong the Santiam, Lakmayut, Ahantsayuk, and Mary's River dialects); and the Southern group (consisting of Yonkalla). Now, while the work on each of these dialects is far from being completed, enough data have already been extracted to give us a bird's eye view of the lexical and

1 All Chinook vocables are quoted from Boas, "The Vocabulary of the Chinook Language" (AANS, vol. vi, no. 1, pp. 118-147).
structural differences that exist between the separate groups. Thus, some very distinctive traits have been noted in the northern group, where a great number of nouns which, in the other groups, appear as independent words, are treated as suffixed stems. For that reason, a conclusive discussion of the probable genetic relationship between Chinook and Kalapuya will depend largely upon whether the distinctive traits of the northern dialects are due to bodily borrowing from the immediately adjoining Chinook or whether they represent a survival of structural features that have become lost in the other dialects. Until this problem has been settled, we must refrain from jumping at any too hasty conclusions concerning the probable Chinook-Kalapuyan affiliations, no matter how tempting such conclusions may appear.

Turning now to the Takelma-Kalapuyan aspect, the possibilities of a probable ultimate relationship are much stronger, although in this case also extreme caution must be exercised, at least for the time being. The structural differences between these two languages are too great to be entirely wiped away because of lexical correspondences of even the closest type. I shall mention only some of the most salient distinctive traits. Nominal incorporation is lacking in Kalapuya, and pronominal incorporation is confined to the object. All subjective relations are expressed by means of the independent pronouns which precede the verb in the form of very loose prefixes; similarly possessive relations are expressed by means of loose prefixes. No distinction is made, in Kalapuya, by means of phonetic changes between aorist and non-aorist stems, tense being indicated by means of particles. On the other hand, there are evidences of structural elements which, when considered from a numerical point of view, would seem peculiarly typical of these two languages. Among these correspondences may be mentioned: the lack, in both languages, of a dual number; of an inclusive and exclusive person; the absence of nominal cases; the considerable use of end-reduplication and the total absence of initial reduplication; the presence of instrumental affixes denoting body-part nouns (in Kalapuya these appear as suffixed particles; in Takelma as prefixes); and the apparent absence of distinct verb-stems for the singular and plural.

To sum up, while the correspondences that have been noted between Kalapuya and Chinook on one hand, and between Kalapuya and Takelma on the other hand, are too numerous and too close to be explained away by a theory of accident or recent borrowing, they are not conclusive enough to constitute adequate proof for a genetic relationship between these three linguistic stocks. Such an assumption, to be correct, must be predicated upon the introduction of additional material, especially from the field of Kalapuya linguistics. And I make bold to predict that additional data will be produced in the near future, for, it must be remembered, this is after all only a preliminary paper.
MOSETENO VOCABULARY AND TREATISES.

The external facts leading up to the publication of this sumptuously printed volume are given by Dr. Schuller in his preface: “Northwestern University Library possesses a fairly large collection of unpublished Spanish manuscripts which are probably unique in the United States . . . Professor Lichtenstein, Librarian of Northwestern University, acquired this material, consisting of books, pamphlets, early periodicals and the like, from Señor Donato Lanza y Lanza during a sojourn in Bolivia. In September, 1916, Professor Lichtenstein asked me to arrange and collate the manuscripts and prepare them for the binder. While examining the different packages in order to make a preliminary selection of the papers according to the subjects treated in them, I found Bibolotti’s manuscript dealing with the Moseteno language. The unexpected discovery is all the more important since it concerns extensive materials gathered together by a yet unknown author of a relatively little studied Bolivian aboriginal idiom spoken by Indians who have almost vanished. If there are still a few of them remaining without foreign admixture, they are destined to be absorbed completely in the near future by the process of amalgamation . . . Within a few years the name of the Moseteno will be added to the alarmingly long list of extinct South American Indian tribes.” The manuscript is the work of an Italian Franciscan, concerning whom very little is known; it was written some time between 1857 and 1868.

The Moseteno, also known as Chumanos or Chomanes, are or were one of the Andean tribes of western Bolivia; their territory was embraced within the present province of Yungas. More exactly, to quote from Dr. Schuller, “the habitat of the Moseteno-Chumanos embraced the mountainous regions to the east of the Beni, more or less between 15° and 16° south latitude, and 69° to 71° longitude west of Paris. Their eastern neighbors were the Yurucaré; in the north they reached as far as the territories occupied by Mobima and Moxo, or Mojo, tribes, and in the northwest they touched Tacana and Leco speaking peoples. The natural border to the south and the west is the range of the higher Andes.”

Dr. Schuller’s editorial work has been most painstaking, and the volume is a highly welcome addition to our knowledge of the exceedingly tangled and obscure problems of Bolivian linguistics. In his lengthy introduction Dr. Schuller discusses first the manuscript; the author; the Moseteno Indians and the Franciscan Missions (‘in spite of uninterrupted intercourse for many centuries with the more highly developed culture of Peru and Bolivia, the primitive tribes, like the Moseteno, Tacana, Leco, Araona, etc., were not much influenced’); and gives a critical analysis of previous writings on Moseteno. Pages xxviii to xcv of the introduction give a digest in English of our present knowledge of Moseteno, as based on Bibolotti and other writers (Weddell, Heath, Armentia). This section includes notes on phonetics; vocabularies; grammatical processes (nouns: number, gender, formation of nouns, grammatical cases; adjectives; pronouns: personal, possessive, relative and demonstrative, indefinite, interrogative; numerals; adverbs; prepositions; conjunc-
tions; verbs: verbal stems, classification of verbs, tenses, the imperative mood, the participial mood, other moods); and general observations on suffixes, reduplication, and affiliated languages and peoples. Of the three appendices, one is devoted to a full bibliography of manuscript and printed sources. The body of the work is a transcript of Bibolotti's Spanish text (Spanish-Moseteno vocabulary and supplementary papers).

A few of the more interesting points may be noted here. Sex gender is indicated in nouns and adjectives by distinctive suffixes (e.g., izanqui-t "baby boy;" izanqui-s "baby girl;" moži-t "new" m.: moži-s "new" f.). There is a genitive suffix in -s or -si, also a number of local case suffixes. The curiously widespread American second person singular in m- meets us here once more (mi "thou"). Pronouns are not welded with the verb stem, but occur independently (e.g., ye queti "I plant"). A considerable number of verbal suffixes have been isolated by Dr. Schuller, but more intensive study of Moseteno, at first hand, if possible, is needed to make clear their functions. Phonetically, Moseteno would seem to be "far from agreeable to the ear;" it has many "clusters of totally heterogeneous consonants." In this respect it differs from Tacana, Cavineño and other languages of the Bolivian highlands, approaching the "Chaco-Guaycurú linguistic family, although it does not have the slightest affinity with the latter." Nevertheless, Dr. Schuller finds that "the morphological and syntactical structure convey the impression that the Moseteno is related to the Tacaan group, and particularly to the Cavineño."

Dr. Schuller leaves no doubt of the thoroughness of his task, and students of American linguistics owe him a very real debt of gratitude. Perhaps one may be pardoned, however, for expressing the wish that penetrating first-hand phonetic and morphological studies of a number of South American languages, of a standard corresponding to some already accessible for certain North American languages, be vouchsafed to us in the course of time. These interminable vocabularies, grammatical notes, and classificatory speculations are, let us hope, but the harbingers of more substantial meals.

E. Sapir

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CANADA,
OTTAWA, ONT.


This excellent doctor's dissertation consists of two parts: a critical discussion of the nature of the elements that enter into the Algonkin verb, and a list of nearly 150 Blackfoot verbal prefixes with illustrations drawn from text material.

The character of the highly complex verb of Algonkin has been examined by Jones, Michelson, Uhlenbeck, and others, and is too intricate for detailed review here; except for a statement of Dr. Geers' conclusion that this part of speech is "a compound of various elements (verbal, adverbial, nominal, etc.) characterized as a verbal form by means of a verbal ending." American students have sought, admittedly with qualified success, to find the rules by which verb building is controlled or limited in these languages. Dr. Geers' position seems to be that there are no limiting rules, and that, except for the crystallization of idiom, elements of any character can enter the complex. It is the verbal ending, and not any relation of the constituents, that makes the verb. This interesting conception the author considers documented by the second part of his work; but as the material in his list of prefixes there is not synthesized, his new evidence, while perhaps sufficient, does not substantiate his proposition as directly as might be. The somewhat aggressively controversial tone is to be regretted, as weakening rather than strengthening the keen analysis displayed in the paper.
Particularly is this true of the strictures on William Jones, the modern pioneer in this field, whose farther progress in the subject was cut off by his early death.

It may be added that while the problem in question must be solved by strictly technical means, its bearings are certainly of some general interest. The Algonkin family of languages is one of the most widely spread and populous in America; its distribution in part coincides with lines of cultural cleavage; and its type is an extremely peculiar or radical one. Its characteristic qualities clearly culminate in its verbs; so that a just understanding of these promises to be of ultimate significance to anthropologists engaged in other lines of work.

The author is to be congratulated on his capacity for analytic criticism; and Professor Uhlenbeck on his success in stimulating another productive convert to American philology. Anthropologists in this country will appreciate the interest developing in this field abroad, and can but be the gainers by hearty cooperation with the new Dutch school.

A. L. Kroeber

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
PENOBSKOT TRANSFORMER TALES
By FRANK G. SPECK

INTRODUCTION

The following material is part of a collection of mythological texts obtained from Newell Lion of the Penobscot tribe, at Oldtown, Me. After devoting parts of several years prior to 1910 to a general study of Penobscot ethnology, I fortunately joined forces with Mr. Lion, who through a life-long interest in his native literature, has become a sort of raconteur among the Indians. Our combined labors then narrowed down to a study of linguistics and mythology. I am glad to pay him well-deserved tribute by stating that he has shown the interest and natural ability of a scholar in our common work. Discounting the fact that he himself ranks as the principal informant among the older men, he was wise enough to consult other old people for corroborative and supplementary material. Consequently I feel quite safe in presenting this version of the transformer trickster-cycle as being fairly complete and typical so far as the Penobscot are concerned.

No previous attempt has been made to record texts in the Penobscot language, although Professor Prince has recorded some short texts in its near relative, Passamaquoddy, and has occasionally remarked in comparison on characteristics of Penobscot grammar.1

In the versions of eastern Indian myths given by the authors, there is, however, an undertone of untrue if not inferior reconception, which takes away the smack of originality that every reader feels the true examples of native oral literature should possess. This is unfortunately the case with all the hitherto published material from this region. Without exception, it has been interpreted and rendered in an altered form. Irresponsibility for the intrinsic worth of the original must pass by before primitive literature is free to make its own appeal to the interest of students.

Among the tribes forming the Wabanaki, or north-eastern Algonkian group, the mythical personage known as the "Deceiver" 2 figures pre-eminently in the rôle of the transformer-trickster. Already a number of published versions of the hero-myth are available from the Micmac, 3 the Malecite, 4 and the Passamaquoddy, 5 although the myths of the last-named people are not presented objectively enough nor recorded critically enough to be of much value for comparison. Incidentally I have also prepared another set, in text form, from the Wawenock. 5 Accordingly, when

1 J. D. Prince, The Differentiation Between the Penobscot and the Canadian Abenaki Dialects (A.A. 4 [1902]: 17–32).
2 Penobscot, Glusk'be; Wawenock, Glusk'be; Passamaquoddy, Malecite, and Micmac, Glusk'ap.
4 W. H. Mechling, Malecite Tales (G S Can, Anthropological Series, No. 4); E. Jack, Maliseet Legends (J. A.F.L. 8 [1893]); and F. G. Speck, Some Malecite Tales (J. A.F.L. 30 [1917]).
more versions from the widely separated bands of Micmac and from the Passamaquoddy and St. Francis Abenaki\textsuperscript{1} are available, we shall be in a position to discuss the problems of the culture-hero concept among the tribes of this group.

As regards the Glusk\textsuperscript{a}be myth, making due allowances for individual variations in the narrative, we may assume that in each tribe there is a more or less standard pattern which embraces the individual versions. These versions may, however, show a considerable range in the sequence and choice of episodes forming the whole. Much seems to depend upon the personality of the narrator. In this region there are no organized cults to hold before the people a fixed version of any myth, no matter how important it may be. There is no attempt anywhere to correct tendencies toward divergence in narration, no tendency to eliminate intrusive features which may seem to fit the pattern, and there is no single personal source of authority for the stories. We must, in short, conceive the picture of life among these nomadic hunting-people to understand how myths are handed down, and how the versions are governed by individual tastes, individual memory, and local factors, such as interest, time, place, and like circumstances. Individuals who may be gathered together in camps hear stories, which they may remember in whole or in part, the particular features of which may be lost and ultimately forgotten through mere accident of circumstance. In small tribes we can thus appreciate how myth elements may be lost to the dialect if by chance through a generation they do not happen to be repeated to hearers who may number all told not more than several hundred souls. Radin\textsuperscript{2} discusses very clearly both sides of the question of the priority of fixed or correct versions of myths.

\textsuperscript{1} It seems almost too late to hope to secure an Abenaki version of the myth. The only reference so far to the hero in Abenaki was encountered by the writer in 1908 at Indian Lorette, P. Q. Jean Baptiste de Gonzague, an Abenaki married to a Huron woman, related several episodes in the career of Glusk\textsuperscript{a}be, the Abenaki form of the name.

\textsuperscript{2} P. Radin, Literary Aspects of American Mythology (G S Can, Bull. 16 [1915]).

over the fluctuating element-construction. On the whole, it would be difficult to find sufficient reason, in the existing material from these tribes, to assert the contrary to what has been assumed.

Briefly, in the Penobscot transformer cycle, Glusk\textsuperscript{a}be appears in the mixed rôle of a shaman, trickster, and a somewhat altruistic culture-hero. His benevolence grows as the story of his career progresses. Consecutive geographical transformations show considerable forethought for his 'descendants' by which are meant the Indians of the present era. In the animal kingdom, however, most transformations may be laid to more trivial causes, vengeance or rivalry. Other causations are found in first results, apparently accidental actions, becoming future fixed traits. In general the episodes in myths of the eastern region correspond well with those of the central and northern Algonkian, the common elements being re-combined in various ways in different tribes.

My present object is, however, not to attempt a discussion of the eastern transformer concept, but to offer carefully prepared objective material until we have sources sufficient to warrant conclusive comparisons.

As regards transformer characters, several other secondary personages may be noted in Penobscot mythology,—Kwun'a'was ("Long-Hair"), Bi'tes ("Froth"), and Gesi'lat ("Fast-Runner"). The first two of these are included in this paper; others will be presented in a subsequent part. The "Froth" story is as remarkable for its contents as is the Glusk\textsuperscript{a}be cycle, in that it shows the virgin birth concept and the well-known Achillean conquest combined in the same tale. Discussion of these interesting phenomena is to form a separate study, for our main concern at present.
is to make available the body of the north-eastern Indian material.

EXPLANATION OF THE CHARACTERS AND SOUNDS IN PENOBSCOT

a . . . as in father, of medium length.
a' . . . lengthened.
e . . . open medium, about as in met.
e . . . long open e, as in North German Bär.
e' . . . close and long, like a in say.
i . . . short, as in pin.
i' . . . long and close, like ee in queen.
o . . . close, medium in length.
o' . . . close and longer, with more protruding lips.
u . . . like oo in boot.
u' . . . long, with protruded lips.
a . . . a dulled form of short a, like u of English but.
a' . . . short obscure vowel of uncertain quality, like e in flower.
a' . . . rather long, like a in fall; a, open and shorter.
b-p . . . bilabial stops.
d-t . . . alveolar stops, no lingual-dental contact.
g-k . . . medial palatal stops.
s-z . . . dorsal sibilants.
tc and dj . . . surd and sonant sibilant affricatives, corresponding respectively to English ch and j.
m . . . as in English.
n . . . as in English.
ŋ . . . palatal nasal, like ng of English sing.
l . . . as in English.
l . . . soft lateral surd, tongue-tip and alveolar contact, preceded and accompanied by aspiration. The effect of this sound is approximated by condensing vowel followed by aspiration and l; (jl).
h . . . as in English.
w . . . as in English.
y . . . as in English.
q . . . nasalized vowel, q, æ, etc.
' . . . aspiration following vowel or consonant.
' . . . accent stress; ' secondary stress.

A superior dot following a vowel or consonant denotes lengthening.

There is a rhetorical tendency among the purest speakers to separate two consonants coming together by a weak vocalic glide.

1 Published with the permission of the Division of Anthropology, Geological Survey of Canada.

This largely eliminates the consonant clusters from Penobsbot, which occur commonly in neighboring dialects. Furthermore, in Penobsbot, the beginnings of words are slurred in utterance. There are no pronounced tone modulations. In recording the texts, where the narrator occasionally varied in the pronunciation of words, the variances were retained for their rhetorical value.

TALES OF GLUSKA'BE
"THE DECEIVER"

I. GLUSKA'BE'S CHILDHOOD

ndatlo'k'gan Glusk'be wi'gi'djik
My story Glusk'be. Lived

moni'mkwes'u na'ga o'kwens'al' woodchuck and

Glusk'be oma'djgonan mas'i'gwegwus
North woodchuck and her grandchild

Glusk'be. He grew up, everything

udagi"ki'mun eli'gado'n'kemun na'ga
she taught him,— how to hunt, and

e'li'a'tc a'malut na'me's'a' we'dji'tc
also how to catch fish,— so that also

gi'za'uwshehi'dit ma'lam Glusk'be
they could live. At last Glusk'be

de'bagil ogi'zawen'kohan ta'mbi'al na'ga
grew up enough that he could handle bow and

ba'kwal na'ga o'kamas'al' udi'lan
arrows, and to his grandmother he said,

ali'ta'wi ta'mbi na'ga ba'kwal
"Make me bow and arrows,

naga'di'gadona'lan no'lke ki's nzi'-
I want to hunt deer; already I am-

wa'daman ma'tagwes'wi'ye na'ga
weary of rabbit-meat and

name's'i'ye nogi'wo's'an uni'l'an no'ika'
fish-meat." Then he roamed in the woods, he slew-

deer.

ki'i' wli'daha'zu moni'mkwes'u ga'matc
Ki'i' she rejoiced Woodchuck. Very

2 Between ten and thirteen years of age.

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Here starts my story of Gluskâ'be. He lived with his grandmother, Woodchuck. She raised him and taught him everything—how to hunt, fish, and how to make his living. When he grew up large enough to use a bow and arrow, he said to his grandmother, “Make me a bow and arrows, as I want to hunt deer; I am already tired of rabbit’s meat and fish.” Then he roamed away and killed a deer, and she was glad. She was very proud of him. Then next he roamed away and killed a bear. “What creature is it?” he asked her when he brought it home. She was glad, and began to dance. “You have killed a bear, a great piece of meat. Now we shall have plenty of fat. We shall live richly.” Said she, “He will be a great magician. He will do great wonders for our descendants as he goes on,” thought she to herself, “because various dangers will in the future endanger their lives.
different beasts will seek their lives, also rivers, and he can transform them so that they will not be dangerous." Then Glusk'be said to his grandmother, "I should like you to show me how to build a canoe, so that I can hunt ducks."—"Surely I will teach you, grandson!" So she taught him how to build a canoe, and at last it was finished. She was glad when he paddled out to get ducks. He got a great many.

Now at last, as time went on, the wind got so strong that he could not paddle about. He tried hunting in the woods, thinking, "Hunting is evidently very slow." So he returned to his wigwam.

2. GLUSKA'BE BAGS ALL THE GAME-ANIMALS

ma'ni'te wuls's'in uda'bonuk umadj'e'ntun
Then he lay down on his bedding, he began to sing,
ali'nsin'tu e'tcwe'ldak bi'e'sawiy'e
so singing his words he made of hair
ami'gonagwe we'dji nago'mi'hat awa's'a
and he called for of game-animals, so that he could secure more easily the beasts.
moni'mkwes'u ola'bin na'ga udlit'tun
Woodchuck sat down and made
no'lkai bie'swi'ye mi'gonagwe1 gizi'-deer hair material receptacle.1
When tak'w udl'a'kewun kwe'na'sal' da'tema
done she tossed it to her grandchild. Not
tcami'ni'no Glusk'be nami'na mu'si'bi:e-the ceased singing Glusk'be. Then again off swi'ye koda'k udlit'tun moni'mkwes'u
Woodchuck another she made Woodchuck.
mi'na udl'a'kewun pe'sagwun e'lin'tek'w
Again she tossed it to him, still singing.
ne'dudji ma'newadak'w moni'mkwes'u
Thereupon pulling Woodchuck

1 They used to have game-bags made of woven animal wool or hair. Mi'gonagwe is, however, more specifically a birch-bark basket.

abi'esomal' udlit'tun koda'k mi'go-
her hair, she made another receptacle
nagwe moni'mkwes'wi bi'e'sawiy'e 2
of Woodchuck hair material. 2
nagasi'bi uli'dahasin Glusk'be
Then indeed he was glad Glusk'be
e'bagwattc ala'mi'tu noma'djin kpi:
on account of it he thanked her. Then he left in the woods,
a'ga ugega'lonan' awa's'a' udi'lan
and he called for beasts. He said,
ne'udabazik'w awa'sa'duk ga'di:
"Come assemble, you animals! It will be,
metka'mirge ka'nak'a'nebatc nage'hel'a end of the world. You will all perish." Then accordingly
awa's'ak usakhaba'sine ekiki'ki'dijk
animals came forth of all kinds.
nodi'lan i'yu' bi'zabq'zik'w nami'-
Then he told them, "Here you all get inside my
gonagwek nate a'tama knami'tone
bag, here not you will see
metka'mirgek na'ga ne'ka bi'gi'daba'silit the end of the world." And then they all entered
mi'gonagwek amadjewa'lan wi'gwomuk the bag, he carried it to the wigwam.
udi'lan o'komas'al oni'- no'kami
He said to his grandmother, "Sol grandma,
nabedji'p'han awa's'ak na'djini'kwup'
I come bringing game-animals. From now on
'ga'da nsa'giebaimgio'se'wan nono'de's'an not I (shall have) such a hard time wandering for
game." Then she went out
moni'mkwes'u e'ligbit mazi' eki'kigit
Woodchuck looking at all sorts of
awa's mazi' ayo'lduwak mi'gonagwek animal all they were there in the bag.
ubi'di'gan moni'mkwes'u udi'lan She went in Woodchuck, she said to
kwe'na'sal' a'tama kola'lo'keu kwe'nas her grandson, "Not you did well, grandson,

2 That is why the Woodchuck has only a thin coat of hair on her belly to this day.
From now on we shall not have such a hard time searching for game." Then Woodchuck went and saw all the different kinds of animals which were in the bag. She went into the wigwam, and said, "You have not done well, grandson. Our descendants will in the future die of starvation. I have great hopes in you for our descendants. Do not do what you have done. You must only do what will benefit them, our descendants." Glusk'a'be heeded his grandmother. He went and opened the bag, and said to the animals, "Go out! The danger has already gone by. Go out!" And they scattered.

3. GLUSKA'BE TRAPS ALL THE FISH

The Indians made rock and brush fences part way across streams, so that they could spear fish as they passed through the opening left in the middle.
PENOBSCOT

so 'bek'" ga'di' met'ka'mi'ge masi 'tc
the ocean, going to be end of the world, and all
ki 'lawa kənaq'q'neba nani 'kwup'
you
will die. So now
ngi'zi'tun we'dji'tc pmau'zo'lidic'k'
I have made so that you will all live,
məsi ' tan noda'witu' name'si' nag'zit
all that hear me of the fish kind
bi'thi'lätc nazi 'bomuk məsi 'tc kobmau-enter
in my river, and all you will
zo'ldi'ba wzam medji 'mi tc a'yu
live, because always will exist
nazi 'bom ni 'kwup' məzi ' tan
my river. Now all that
noda'wit bi'thi'lätc
hear me will enter."

na'laul name'sak eki'ki'gi'dji'k
Then coming the fish all kinds
məla'm psa'nte yu' kəse'nəngan
at last it was full this fish-weir;
nogu'p'hamon te'dali'medji'mi azu'ldi'dit
then he closed it, then there always they were
enclosed.
ne'nome'djin awi' gwomwak nodi'lan
Then he went away to his wigwam. Then he said to
o'kməs'al on'i' no'kami' gədə'tc
his grandmother, "Enni' grandma, never
ni 'kwup kəsə'gi'gəmeu' i'bi't'dete
now you fish so hard only will
kəna'dji'p'hak na'me'sək tan edu'dji
you go and get fishes as much as
tcwel'mat namoni'mkwes'u nodi'j:i'
you want." Then Woodchuck then went to-
dabana'uzin tan owa' ugi'zi'ala'lo'kan
examine what he he had worked at.
noma'be'djo'seti yuda'k kəse'nəngan
When she arrived here, the fish-weir
wuli psa'nte eki'ki'gi'hi'dit na'me'sək
brimful all kinds fish,
e'bgwa'tc kaba'kg wadi'hadowak ma'djelan
on account of it they crowded each other out. She left
moni'mkwes'u bedji'ilat wi'gwomwak
Woodchuck came to the wigwam.
udi'lan kwe'nas a'tama kola'lo'keu
She said, "Grandson, not you have done well,
məzi 'ne'k'a' tahan na'me'sək tandj
all annihilating the fish. How will
wudlauzol'di'na go'ssonawak ni'ka'ni
they finally all do our descendants in the future,
wza'm gi'u'na gwa'skwai' ge'sit na'me'sə
should you and I have plenty as many fish
tan ge'si'cuwe'lmak' ni'kwup' te
as many as wish? Now at once
nəd'jii no'dahale gehe'la o'nə'gin i'dak
go turn them loose." Accordingly he got up, said,
ko'lame no'kəmi nəd'jii pkwudahəla'qək
"You are right, grandma, I will go open it up
ni 'kwup' now."

TRANSLATION

Then he went wandering about. When he returned to his wigwam, he saw his grandmother there fishing. He at last became impatient, as he saw that his grandmother was having a hard time fishing. Then he thought, "I had better help my grandmother, so that she will not have such a hard time." Then he made a weir across the mouth of the river, and left an opening half way in the middle, so that the fish could enter. Then he started out upon the ocean, and called everywhere to all the fish, saying to them, "The ocean is going to dry up, the world is coming to an end, and you will all die; but I have arranged it so that you will all live if you will listen to me. All who hear me, enter into my river, and you will live, because my river will survive! Enter all ye who hear me!" All kinds of fish came, until the fish-weir was full; and then he closed it up and held them there. Then he went to his wigwam, and said to his grandmother, "Now, grandma, you will not have to fish so hard, you will only have to go and gather as many fish as you want." Then Woodchuck went to examine what he had
done; and when she arrived, she saw the weir brimful of all kinds of fish that were even crowding one another out. Then she went back, and said to her grandson, “Grandson, you have not done well by annihilating all the fish. How will our descendants manage in the future, should you and I now have as many fish as we wish? Now go at once and turn them loose!” Accordingly he said, “You are right, grandmother, I will go and open up [the weir];” and he went and turned them loose.

4. Glusk’be Tempers the Wind

nodamii:’k’-onanam Glusk’be kwsawa’pskek
Then he over-turned Glusk’be a rocky point,
udji’-tun wudo’l’1 nodasi’-ps’o’kan
he made of it his canoe.3 Then he went duck-hunting
wudo’l’uk pana’pskolak’-g’dagwi’-na
in his canoe of hallowed-out stone. Not indeed
uni’-l’wo’n’i’ si’-psa’ medji’-mi kassla’m’-son
he killed birds; always the wind blew,
sa’-gi’gi’-zi’-bi’e mala’m’tᵉ sala’-’ki’
he could hardly paddle. At last suddenly
muska’wi’le eli’-doh’gi’-tana’-gi’-ma
he grew angry, thinking, “What
ali’-dobi’le edu’-dji medji’mola’-m’-sak
causes such continuous winds?
i’-dam Glusk’be no’-kamii naga’-di
Said Glusk’be, “Grandma, I am going
gwi’-lawa’tun da’nwedla’m’-sak moni’
to search for where the wind blows.”
Woods
mkwe’su i’-dam nkwe’n’as ga’matc
chuek said, “Grandchild, very
nawa’-doge i’-dak Glusk’be ndlo’-’san
far away.” Said Glusk’be, “I am going there,
da’nte be’loda’k naga’-di na’-miha awei’n
no matter how far. I am going to see who
GI’-zi’-tak’-g” gasola’m’son na’-bi’-te be’-djo’se
makes the wind. Soon I shall return.”

1 No particular locality is indicated.

noma’djin we’tcsak na’-lo’-set gkw’a’bo’s’e
Then he went against the wind going; as he
gained headway,
ahq’dji angwa’malams’-son ma’lam t’ba’was
further increased the wind. Then on the seventh
e’-sogona’ki’w’ik gi’zawa’-’katc gi’zo’-’se
day he could hardly could walk
e’dolam’sak masi’- manola’m’-senal
such strong wind. All blew off
ubere’somal mala’am una’mihal eda’li’his hair. Then he saw there, swaying,
gwanew’ili’l’ktaha’n’dwi’ si’-bas mala’m’-te
his wings slowly, a great magic bird. Then,
mahe’djo’se awa’-’katc e’-il’ktci’-si’-psal
when he came there with difficulty where was the
great bird,
udi’-lan namo’sumi ndaha’-be’ kis’-ha’-he said, “My grandfather could not you
dawan angwo’-mola’m’-son naktci’-si’-bas
possibly make stronger wind?” Then the big bird
udi’-lan no’-so’s n’a’te tegi’-zi’-ha’-dawa
said, “My grandchild, that’s as much as I can make.”
Glusk’be udi’-lan ni’-’kwup’ ni’-’kwo’ba
Glusk’be said, “Now now if possible
angwo’-mi’-sp’o’bi’an ye’e + noma’t
sit higher up far over there
tkwan’k’i’ edali’-spadonek naba’
on the hill where there is a peak, then ought
angwo’-mala’m’-son2 i’-da’k si’-bas
blow stronger.3 Said the bird,
nada’tegani’ kwe’nas yu’-te e’-bi’-a
“No able am I, grandson; here I have sat
ne’-ge’-teg’-oge udi’-lan Glusk’be
since the beginning.” Said Glusk’be,
namo’sumi ni’-atc kwi’djo’-kemal
“My grandfather, I indeed will help you.”
si’-bas i’-dak eda’-gite’-ki’-si’
The bird said, “If so you can
wi’djo’-kemi’-ane ke’-hele’t ndlo’-’san
help me, surely I will go there,

2 Mentioned by the narrator as another one of
Glusk’be’s deceptions following the spirit of those
narrated in the two preceding episodes.
wzam nda’tcwe’ldamən məs’-’elkwə’bə’ a because I wish that all facing where I sit
wuli’gəsələm’ənən Gluska’be awi’-’to have benefit of wind.” Then Gluska’be took
xoxa’man瘢 ktc’-si’psal’ oma’dje’wa’man
him on his back1 the big bird, he carried him off.

mala’m’te eda’li’spa’se’gək neda’li’ Then where the high peak was, there
bali’phat ktca’wən is naktc’-si’bas
he dropped him accidentally, then the big bird
təmləgwa’te’te’sin nəGluska’be odji’madji’n suddenly had his wing broken. Then Gluska’be went away.

maləm’tə uwi’gəwəmuk ube’djo’set udi’-lən
At last to his wigwam he came. He said
o’kəmas’-’ənən nətc ni’-’kwup’
to his grandfather, “So! here now
no’li’si’psəkən ni’-’kwəmbtc medji’mi
I shall have good duck-hunting and now always
wuli’-’bən ke’helə’te wula’-’bən
it will be good calm.” Surely it was good calm,
na’-lən uδa’si’psəkən me’dji’ma’wi-’bən
then he went duck-hunting always it was calm,
ka’spən’-e’ ge’sak a’gwəgwa’ləbə’
so much scummy water,
a’-təma e’-ləwe gə’zi’-bə’rə udi’-’lən
not it seemed he could paddle. He said
o’kəmas’-’əl’ el’əwətc mi’-’nə ndlo’-’sən
his grandmother, “I think again I will go where
kəsələm’-sən e’-’i’t wə’-’əni’medji’ma’wi-’bən
the wind is, because it is always calm.
mi’-’nə oma’dje’ni’ ktc’-si’-’bəs e’-’i’t
Again he went (where) the big bird was;
ma’-ləm nəma’ bedjo’set nda’-’təma
then, when there he came, it did not
wewi’nɡə-’wə’l’ wəzam mi’-’nə gə’zi’-’gənəl
recognize him, because again already grown
ubr’-e’-’soma Gluska’be udi’-’lən ktc’-si’-’psal’
his hair. Gluska’be said to the big bird,
nəmu’-’sumi dənali’-’dəbi’-’le edu’dje’
“My grandfather, what is the reason so much

1 X, accidental soft guttural spirant, resulting from collision of ‘ and h.

medji’mi’ awi’’bək tə’-nəgwəb’-’e’ni’-’dəbi’-’le always it is calm?”— “For the simple reason
se’-nəbə i’ryu’dəl’ be’-’djo’-’sən abala’-’sədəbə
a man here came bald-headed,
madji’nəg’su uδa’-’təcwədamən əŋgwə’-
vəl’-’lən, he wished stronger
məla’m’-sən nəso’ke di’-’-lən ndadje’-’li’-’tun
wind, so then I told him I could not manage it,
na’tə tega’-’gizi’-’hə’dəwə nədi’-’lagun
this was as much as I was able. He told me,
kəmə’-djəwə’-mələn edali’-’spədənək nəgə’-’hə’də’
‘I will carry you to where it is higher’. Then,
sure enough,
madjəwə’ti nəbə’-’nə’-’kələgən ndə’-’-ləg
he carried me; then he dropped me, and my
wane’tə’-’sị’məgu’-’n ni’-’kwu’-’p’-’pe’-səgəwə’-
wən’-e’ni’-’bən’-e’ni’-’lagun
wing was broken, now just one
i’-’bə’ no’-’-lagwa’ udi’-’lən Gluska’be
only, my wing.” Said Gluska’be,
nəmu’-’sumi ni’-’a’tc mi’-’nə go’-’-bə’-’-dəgo’-
“My grandfather, I again will carry you
sə’-’lən e’-’bə’-’-nəbə’ na’-’gətc kəl’-’-tə’-’lən
back where you would sit and also heal
kə’-’ləgwa’ udi’-’lən eda’-’gə’-’tə’-’kəwə’-’nəs
your wing.” He said, “Forsooth, grandchild,
ali’-’gizi’-’-hə’-’-dəwə na’-’madji’nəc nəli’-’dəhəsi
if you could do it, very much I should rejoice;
ə’-’sə’-’-ga’mətc i’-’-yu nsi’-’-wə’-’sə’-’-nən’
already very here I am tired lying.”
neGluska’be uwi’-’xoa’-’man udlo’-’sə’-’lən
Then Gluska’be took him on his back, he carried him
ebi’-’l’i’-’dəbən uli’tə’-’-wən uəla’gə’-’nəl
where he would sit, he healed his wing.
udi’-’lən nehe’ nəmu’-’-sumi agwe’-
“Nehe’! grandfather, try-
dəj’i’-’lagwa’-’newi nəgə’-’hə’-’-lə’-kətci’-’-si’-’-bəs
moving your wing.” Then surely the great bird
udag’-’-wedji’-’lagwa’-’newi Gluska’be
tried to move his wing.
Gluska’be
ugi’-’ba’-’mə’-’sə’-’-gə’-’ni’-’-dək si’-’-bə’-’-ga’mətc
blew over. Then said the bird, “Very much,
At last he suddenly grew angry, thinking, "What causes such continuous winds?"

Then Glusk'be said, "Grandma, I am going to search for the place where the wind comes from."—"It is very far," said his grandmother. "No matter how far away it is," said he, "I am going to find out who causes it. Soon I shall return." He went away, going against the wind, it growing stronger as he went. On the seventh day he could hardly walk, it was so strong. It blew off all his hair. Then he saw a great magic bird slowly waving its wings, making the wind. Then, when he reached the place with difficulty, he said, "Grandfather, couldn't you possibly make stronger wind?"—"Grandchild, that's the best I can do," said the big bird. Then Glusk'be said, "If you could possibly sit higher up, far over there on the hill on the peak, you would make it stronger."—"No, grandson, I could not," said he; "I have sat here since the beginning of things."—"I will help you, grandfather," said Glusk'be. "Very well," said the bird. "If you will help me, I will go, because I want all who face me to have the benefit of my wind." Then Glusk'be took the big bird on his back, carried him to a high ledge, and there dropped him accidentally, so that he suddenly broke his wing. Then Glusk'be left, and went home. "Now," said he, "I shall have good duck-hunting. We shall always have a calm." Then he went out paddling. Surely it was calm. The water grew so thick with scum, that he could hardly paddle. Said he, "I think I will go again there where the wind is. It is always too calm." Then he went to where the great bird was. The bird did not know him now, when he arrived, because Glusk'be's hair had already grown out again. "What has always caused so much calm, grandfather?" asked Glusk'be of the big bird. "Simply that an ugly bald-headed man came here and wanted stronger wind; and I told him that I could not manage it, that it was all I could do; and he told me he would carry me on to a higher place. Then,
sure enough, he carried me; and he dropped me and broke my wing. Now I have only one wing.” Then said Gluska’be, “Grandfather, I will carry you back again where you sat, and will also heal you.”—“O grandchild!” said the bird, “I should rejoice so much if you would. I am already tired of lying here.” Then Gluska’be carried him, and put him back where he wanted to sit, and healed his wing. “Now, grandfather, try your wing.” And the bird tried his wing, and it was healed. Gluska’be was blown over. The bird was very glad. “Very much you have pleased me, grandchild.”—“Now, grandfather,” said Gluska’be, hereafter do not use your wings too steadily, because our descendants cannot hunt for their living when there are such continuous winds. When you move your wings, our descendants cannot paddle or hunt ducks on the water. Now, if possible, wave your wings a day or for two days, then rest a day, so that our descendants can hunt ducks on the ocean.”

—“You speak the truth. I guess, grandson, there was too much wind. From now on there shall not be such strenuous wind.” Then Gluska’be went home; and when he arrived, his grandmother rejoiced.

5. GLUSKA’BE STEALS TOBACCO FROM GRASSHOPPER, AND BESTOWS IT UPON THE WORLD

monim’kwas’u udi’-tan Gluska’bal Woodchuck said to Gluska’be,
nkwe’nas kmi’tsona’zi’bna udama’we “My grandchild, we are out of tobacco.”

Gluska’be udi’-tan dan’a’skwe e’-i’t
Gluska’be said, “Where lives
udama’we moni’mkwes’u udi’-tan wa’-ka
Gluska’be said, “Far out
ami’-li: ktci’-mana’hanuk tca’-las
on the water on a big island Grasshopper

eda’li’madje’ganat udama’weal’ ke’nuk there raises tobacco; but
nda’’tama ugi’ze’lma’wi’al sagi’n̪ag’-zu not he will share it, he is stingy,
na’ga a’tci: ki’na’ndo nsànq’g’zu and besides great magician dangerous.”

Gluska’be said to his grandmother, “I
gi’zi’ha’dawun ugi’ze’lmun udama’weal’ am able to distribute the tobacco.”

noli’’tun agwi’dan mala’m’tse gi’zi’’tak’w Then he made a canoe. At last, when it was made,
udjawà’’pànàman nabi’k na’ga udami’-’ he put it in in the water and pushed it off
ítka’man nàbedji’-sòwì’lè pe’sàgwàda with his foot. Then it glided once
tegag’bì’muk’1 ndà’tegàni te’bi: as far as one can see.1 Not enough sufficiently
kasi’kwa’le wàdù’l ni’kdà’k udi’-tun fast enough goes his canoe. Then another he made;
na’tc gi’zi’’tak’w udjawà’’pànàman and also, when it was made, he launched it,
udebi’gà’dà’hìn udami’itékàman nàbedji’-’ he jumped in, he pushed it off with his foot. Then,
swà’le ni’sòdà tegag’bì’muk’ mi’nà it glided twice a “look” again
a’tmà udebi’na’muwàn nàmì’na ñàdà’k not it was sufficient. Then again another
udli’’tun gi’zi’’tak’w udjawà’’pànàman he made. When it was made, he launched it,
mi’na udebi’gà’dà’hin amì’itékàman again he jumped in, he pushed it off with his foot
nss’dà tegag’bì’muk bedji’-sòwì’lè thrice a “look” it glided.
nagà’’bì’ e’bagwàtc abèdè’lmù
And then because of it he laughed.
nudli’dòhà’man2 tca’’lsal ki’u’’se3 we’dji Then he wished Grasshopper to be cruising away
from home4 so that

1 A commonly recognized unit of measure, known as a “look.” In the open or on the water this would mean about a league; in the woods, about two hundred yards, as the term is used by the Indians.

2 The magic will possessed by the conjurers.

3 Denotes to be abroad in the woods in search of favorable conditions for hunting. This is a common Indian occupation.
ne'gôma ni'gi'i'kanat udama'weal he could secure his tobacco. 
bedjo'set nama' gehela'te a''tama When he arrived there sure enough, not 
tca'las a'yi' mosi' ge'salat tca'las Grasshopper was there, all he possessed himself—of Grasshopper, 
be'djit'e pemigidiijk udama'weal even what was growing tobacco 
uda'ki'kanuk Glusk'be na'ga mi'na in his garden Glusk'be. And again 
ude'bi'hasin wudu'luk na'ga udami' he got in his canoe, and he pushed it 
Itekaman nomat'e bedji'sawi'ke off with his foot there he glided 
uda'sidamonuk1 udi'lan o'komasal1 to his beach.1 He said to his grandmother, 
nâbec't'ho'lan udama'we a'ndatc mi'na "I have brought tobacco, never again 
kânada'wi'hogowi'na wul'i'dahasu moni'-will it be scarce." Rejoiced Woodmêkwê'su e'skwan edalodo'nikhehidit chuck. While they were talking there 
nobedji'bi'e'lan tca'las nogwa'galon then came paddling up Grasshopper; then he shouted, 
udi'daman kônaka'kmo'dana mi nodama'-he said, "You have stolen all my- 
we'im nôGlusk'be node'lan onaska'wan tobacco!" Then Glusk'be then went out he met him. 
tca'lasal udi'lan ko'lamie nák'a'na Grasshopper, he said, "You speak truth, I took all 
wedjia'skwe ni'ka'ni go'sa'sñawak a'tc so that in the future our descendants also 
ne'gôma gir'zawe'kâhâ'dit udi'lan they can enjoy it." He said 
tca'lasal a''tama ko'la'lo'ke kôda'lisâ'-to Grasshopper, "Not you do well, you- 

1 In the old days each hunter had his own strip of beach where his canoe could be kept, and where he always landed when returning home. Beach rights are still preserved among the Montagnais and Naskapi.

2 This accounts for the brown juice which exudes from the grasshopper's mouth and his long double wings. "He only has enough for one chew, but that lasts him all the time," the Indians say.

gelman udama'we ge'si' gir'ziv'gônat begrudge tobacco, as much as you raise 
da'haba kâ'a ke'sawe'kâhawân i'dak cannot you so much enjoy." Said 
tca'las ki'nâg'ga mi'li' skani'mi'nal Grasshopper, "Please give me seeds, 
we'djitc ki'ziv'gônu dan ge'si' so that I can raise how much 
tcuwe'muk Glusk'be udi'lan a''tama I need." Glusk'be said, "Not 
ki'mi'lowanal skani'mi'nal ke'nukdji I will give you seeds, but will 
ki'mi'lan dan ge'si' kâdawowe'kâhat I give you how much you will need 
dan kwen'â'si'ran nodi'lan ni'kwup' as long as you live." Then he said, "Now, 
ki'mi'lan udama'we dan gwenâmêtat I give you tobacco as will support you 
kwen'â'si'ran udi'lan nehe' kâdâ'newi while you live." He said, "Nehe' open your mouth."

nubi'zôamawan udo'nu'k udama'weal Then he placed in his mouth tobacco. 
udi'lan an'i'n ni'kwup' ki'zâ'bezin He said, "an'î'n now you have your share 
ki'a uni'mîp'han tca'lasl na'ga you!" He took him Grasshopper and 
ubo'si'ginahâda'wan uda'pskwansi udi'lan he split the back of his coat. He said, 
yu'gôni'kwup' gir'ziv'tolân ko'la'agwanak "From now on I have made your wings, 
ni'kwup' madje'dowi'la na'kî'q'besin2 now fly away, you have your share." 

TRANSLATION

Once Glusk'be's grandmother said to Glusk'be, "My grandchild, we are out of tobacco."—"Where does it exist?" asked he.
Woodchuck answered, “Far out on a big island in the water. Grasshopper raises tobacco; but he won’t share it, he is so stingy; and besides, he is a great dangerous magician.”—“I am able to distribute it,” said Glusk’a’be to his grandmother. Then he built a canoe; and when it was made, he pushed it off with his foot. Its first glide was as far as he could see. It did not go fast enough, this canoe. So he made another, and pushed this off, jumped in, and it went twice as far, “two looks.” This was not enough. Again he made one, jumped in, and pushed it off. This went “three looks.” Then he laughed. Then by a magic wish he wished Grasshopper to leave home, so that he could secure his tobacco. When he arrived at Grasshopper’s place, sure enough, he was gone. Then Glusk’a’be took it all, even what was growing in the fields, got into his canoe, pushed it off, and returned. He said to his grandmother, “I have brought tobacco. Never again will it be scarce.” And they rejoiced. Then, while they were talking, Grasshopper came paddling up. He shouted, and said, “You have stolen all my tobacco!” Glusk’a’be went out to meet him. “It is true,” said Glusk’a’be, “I have taken all. The reason is, that in the future our descendants too may enjoy it. You do not do well to begrudge tobacco. You raise so much, that you cannot enjoy or use it.” Replied Grasshopper, “Please give me seeds, so that I may raise what I need!”—“No,” said Glusk’a’be, “I will not give you seeds, but I will give you as much as you need for your lifetime. I give you sufficient for life. Now open your mouth!” Then he put some tobacco in his mouth. “Now you have your share.” Then he took Grasshopper and split the back of his coat, and said, “From now on you shall have wings. Fly away, you have your share!” (The grasshopper has his tobacco in his mouth, and he chews and spits it all the time, as may be seen by picking him up.)

6. GLUSKA’BE FIXES THE RIVERS AND FALLS

Glusk’a’be udi’tan o’komas’al ni’kwup’ Glusk’a’be said to his grandmother, “Now, no’kami nagwi’lawi’woli’tun dantc grandma, I shall search out and prepare for go’sa’snawak ² we’dji’ ada’ sak’a’- our descendants, ² so that not hard- hedi’hedi’k’w elmauzo’ldi’dit ni’k’a’ni times they will have while they live in the future. ni’kwup’ nabo’-sin ndobana’wi’tun Now I leave, I will inspect si’bual na’ga nagwa’sabe’mal ni’kwup’tc rivers and lakes. Now also nsi’pki’la no’kami ke’nuk mo’zak I shall be a long time, grandma, but don’t nsa’hi’katc nubo’-sin oma’dje’bian masi’ worry.” Then he left, he began paddling, all ubi’t’hi’lanal si’bual sa’nkade’tawegil he entered the rivers which emptied into so’beguk uda’donawi’tonal neda’ma the ocean, he inspected them. Then where sa’gi’k’c’ uli’tun elami ba’n’tagwi’kek difficulties were they fixed it going among the river- fall places, we’dji’tc qa’da ado’dji sak’a’hedi’hi’dik’w so that not ever so hard times they would have o’sas’a’ ni’ka’n’i masi’a’tc be’dji his descendants in the future. And all even wuni’ganal ³ ugi’zi’mosi’k’te’monal we’dji the carrying places ³ he cleared out for wulau’das’ak mala’mte pe’sagwun good path place. Then one si’bu bi’t’hi’bi’et nabo’nak udu’l river he paddled into. Then he placed his canoe,

¹ “One look,” a unit of distance.

² This implies that people were always in existence somewhere.

³ A “carry” is the land separating two navigable pieces of water.
7. GLUSKA’BE STOPS THE WATER FAMINE, ORIGINATES FISHES AND THE FAMILIES

amośka’man o’dene kada’mag’ni’g’ni’nag’ni’g’sulduwak. He found a village (where) they looked feeble.

a’Inébak el’mi’ na’lmuik egłabe’mu the people. Up river Guards-Water

ug’a’llhama’wun nabi’ a’Inéba’ nabi’ held back water from the people. Water

na’nagwute kwa’skwí’ ka’dawusmol’duwak some to death died of thirst.
mala’mte Glusk’a’be dalibe’djo’se una’mi’ha Then Glusk’a’be there came he saw

udalna’bema kada’mag’ni’nag’ni’nag’sulduwak his people looking sickly feeble.

no’dagwedjí’ molan tanali’dobi’le ida’- Then he asked, “What is the reason (of this)?” They

mohodit ke’gan’ka’tahogona egłabe’mu said, “Almost he has killed us Guards-Water;
ngwa’ški’ kada’wusmol’di’bana naga’l’-we are dying of thirst, as he
hamogonena nabi’ no’di’daman forbids us water.” Then he said
Glusk’a’be ni’a’tc no’gi’zi’ha’da’wun
Glusk’a’be, “I can make him
kemi’lgona nabi’ nodlo’sana sa’ng’omal four give you water.” They went to the chief
egłabe’mu e’i’t nodi’la’ha ke’gome’si’ Guards-Water where he was; then he said, “Why
kada’mag’i’hat’ go’so’snawa’ noso’ke do you enfeeble our descendants? For this
ni’kwp’ gode’ldaman eli’go’dama’gi’hat’ now you will be sorry for enfeebling
snawa’ ni’kwp’ ni’a nami’la’n our descendants, now I shall give them
nabi’ nami’ tc kada’dobi’ wu’l’beda’ water, and all will share the water good-
mama ni’mi’lah’na’ga wdama’hi’gan’la’h’ina benefit.” Then he grabbed him and he broke his

we’dji’ ni’kwp’ tama’hi’ga’na’t maa’si’ hence now broken-backed all
koba’lamak metcda’tama ugi’zelda’muwan bull-frogs are. Even then not he would give up
nobi’ Glusk’a’be wi’kwanam mana’dhi’gan’ water. Glusk’a’be took his axe

nag asi’bi’ udo’m’tahan ktc’a’bas’i and cut down a big tree
wi’ge’sk’ uga’uha’ egłabe’mu’al yellow birch, cutting it so upon Guards-Water
nelega’wi’lat wi’ge’sk’ egłabe’mu’al when it fell yellow birch Guards-Water

w’gwa’k’tahan nawe’dji’ ki’zi’dobi’la’q’k’ it struck him dead. That is how originated
si’bu pan’awam’mpske’tu’k’ namazi’ the river Penobscot River then all

A frog-like monster, the prototype of the frogs.

Supposed to have been at Chesuncook Lake.

The etymology of this name is not clear. It is translated by the narrator as “river that broadens out.” Varying translations have been suggested.
pska"'tag"nul  si"'bual  namazi"  branch streams  rivers  and all
sāgade'tagwal  ktcī'si"'buk  waḍji"'  river inlets  into the big river so
ki"'si"'dobi"'le  ktcī'si"'bu  namazi"  originated  the great river,  and all
a'lnąbak  edu"dji  ka'dawasmo"ldi"'hi"'dit  the people  so  were thirsty
namazi"  udja"'u'pigī'daho"'ldi"'na  nona"'nagwutc  then all  jumped into the water,  then some
name"s-i"'la"'uladawak  tcigwa"'slsi"'la"'uladawak  became fish,  became frogs,
tolbai"'la"'uladawak  wa"'kesuak  i"'bi  became turtles,  a few only
we'dauzol'di"'djik  ni"'kwup  nowe"dji"'  survived.  Now  from this
madje'gedit'  koda"'gik  a'lnąbak  they increased  others  people.
ni"'kwup'.  we'dji"'  ude"dawabi"'ta"'lama  now hence  they inhabit the length of
pan"awa"mpske"tu"k'w  nowe"dji"'  ni"'kwup"'.  Penobscot River.  Thence  now
a'li"'wi"'zo"'ldi"'dit  na"'nagwatec  na"'me"'s"'ak  they are named  some  fishes
na"'me"'s-i"'lo"'ldi"'dit  uda'lnąbe"'mnaga  having become fish  their departed relatives.
ni"'kwup"'  nowe"dji"'  wi"'kwu"'modit  Now  thence  so they took
eli"'wi"'zo"'ldi"'dit  eki"'ki"'git  na"'me"'s"'ak  their namings  all kinds  fishes
na"'ga  dol"'bak  and  turtles.

TRANSLATION

He came to a village where the people looked feeble. Up the river, a monster frog (anglōbe'mu) held back the water from these Indians. Some even died on account of thirst for water. Then Gluską'be came there. He saw his people looking sickly. He asked them, "What is the trouble?" They told him, "Guards-Water has almost killed us all. He is making us die with thirst. He forbids us water." Then Gluską'be said, "I will make him give you water." Then they went with Gluską'be, their chief, to where Guards-Water is. Then he said to him, "Why do you enfeeble our grandchildren? Now, you will be sorry for this, for enfeebling our grandchildren. Now, I shall give them the water, so that all will receive an equal share of the water. The benefit will be shared." Then he grabbed him and broke his back. Hence all bull-frogs are now broken-backed. Even then he did not give up the water. So Gluską'be took his axe and cut down a big tree, a yellow birch, cutting it so that when it fell down upon Guards-Water, the yellow birch killed him. That is how the Penobscot River originated. The water flowed from him. All the branches of the tree became rivers. All emptied into the main river. From this came the big river. Now all the Indians were so thirsty, nearly dying, that they all jumped into the river. Some turned into fish, some turned into frogs, some turned into turtles. A few survived. Now, that's why from them other Indians increased. Now, that's why they inhabit the length of the Penobscot River. Thence now they took their names. Some took fishes' names, since their departed relatives turned into fish. Now thence in this way they took their family names from all kinds of fish and turtles.

NOTE

to this transformation certain fish, crustaceans, and amphibians owe their origin. As the myth explains, though perhaps rather vaguely for a matter of such importance in the social life of the tribe, the human creatures who escaped transformation took the names, and assumed some associated characteristics, of their transformed relatives. From this developed some of the totemic family groups with totemic associations in naming, paternal descent, and imaginary physical peculiarities. Like the other eastern and northern Algonkian, the Penobscot families each possessed inher-
iterated hunting-territories which were designated by the totemic animal names. So we find those families located near the ocean bearing marine-animal names, while the territories of the land-animal families are situated in the interior. The latter trace their origins to independent causes. The family hunting-territory is called *nzì’–*bum (“my river”). The family groups had no definite marriage regulations, or taboos against killing the associated animals. Aside from nicknames, individuals were generally known by their family-group names.

In this phase of Penobscot social life we have the most interesting case of the sort encountered in a series of family social-unit studies made among the northern Algonkian tribes.\(^1\)

8. **GLUSKÀ’BE KILLS THE MONSTER MOOSE AND CREATES LANDMARKS**

\(\text{na}^*\)Gluskà’be odji’madjełan kàda’gi’hi
Then Gluskà’be departed others
\(\text{agwì’la’ohan} a’lnaba’ ma’lam be’dji’lat\)
he searched for people. At last he reached
\(\text{kte}’i’nagwa’–sàbem dalì’miskawat\)
a very big lake
\(\text{a}’lnaba’ udi’la’gun ga’matc sa’nàngwa’dì \)
where he met
\(\text{people. They told him, “Very dangerous} \)
yu ñdode’nènà nàmà’sëlo’tòthogona here our village. Many of us he has killed
\(\text{ktaha’n’dwi’} \text{ mu’s} \text{ a’}’tame’læwæ} \text{a great magic} \text{moose, not hardly} \)
gì’zìka’don’ka’zol’dì’bàna udi’la’kàni’Àtc can we go hunting.”
\(\text{She said, “I} \text{ ngwì’la’o’hà} \text{ ni’Àtc kàni’Àtamu’lana will search for him, I will destroy him for you.”} \)

\(^1\) A brief discussion of this feature of Algonkian social organization has been given by the writer in “The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization” (A A 17 [1915]), and “Game Totems of the Northeastern Algonkians” (A A 19 [1917]). A more intensive study of the Penobscot family group is now in preparation.

\(^2\) In the winter the moose congregate in a common feeding-ground where they trample down the snow in paths from which they browse. This is called a “yard.”

\(\text{wespoza’ki’wik odji’madje}’lan agwì’la’ohan\)
In the morning he departed to search for
\(\text{kte}’i’mo’sul’ ma’lam amaska’man\)
the big moose. At last he found him
\(\text{awù’sòndà}’ì edalà’sònàlèt na’stè \)
in his yard where he yarded. Soon
\(\text{u’gà’la’bànan nùno’so’kàwa}’n\)
he started him up,
\(\text{êl’mà’tìp’hàgwà’t mo’zul’ sala’’ki e’l’àbît} \)
then he followed him,
\(\text{ni’ka’ni’} \text{ e’lkwerlàt una’mì’tun} \)
looking ahead where he was going he saw
\(\text{wi’gwànsis} \text{ sàdik’ànsìsì na’stè} \)
little wigwam,
\(\text{u’zà’nk’hi’no’dès’àn p’ë’nàm e’li’làt} \)
came walking out a woman
\(\text{Gluskà’be pùkà’dì’jì’nskùwë’sù}’ \text{ mu’ntì’tè} \)
Gluskà’be (it was) Squatty-Woman.\(^4\)
\(\text{bà’nde’lé a’}’tàmà uë’dàzìë’mawìlì ke’dì} \)
by not he answered her
\(\text{pà’pi’màgo’t be’sà’gùn e’li’làt} \)
when she joked with him
\(\text{pùkà’dì’jì’nskùwë’sù mu’skàdà’lmà}’ \text{ i’da}’kà \)
Squatty-Woman became angry. She said,
\(\text{gà’màtì cà’dì pëlì’g’wèyu ni’’kwà’pas’kùe} \)
“Very you want to be haughty, now
\(\text{kò’lìnà’mì’tìndj ne’dùdè’jì no’sò’ka’wà’t} \)
you will see.”
\(\text{Glus’kàbàl’ e’làmì’làt e’làmì’làt ta’màbà}’ \text{Gluskà’be going along going along wherever} \)
\(\text{ni’làtè} \text{ na’wà’bà’màgwë’kà’} \text{a’}’tàmà \text{ she reached a viewing-place} \text{ not} \)

\(^4\) This is a sort of temporary shelter made by leaning spruce-branches together. It is conical in shape, like the regular bark wigwam.

\(^4\) This creature is also known popularly as “Jug-Woman.” She is conceived of as a short, ugly woman, with no curves at the waist. So when the Indians first saw a stone jug or pitcher, they nicknamed it *Pùkà’dì’jì’nskùwë’sù*. This hag figures prominently in mythology.

\(^5\) An opening in the woods where a view can be had of game.
PENOBSCOT TRANSFORMER TALES

na’mi’hqwial mi’na tamabani’lat
she could see him again where she reached (an-
opening)

a’tame na’mi’hqwial i’dak ga’matc
not she could see him. She said, “Very

kanga’wi’le se’nabe q’skwe Glus’kqbe
fast going

be’dji’lat si’buk sa’ngade’tagwutc
When she reached the river mouth of the river, ¹

elq’bit age’mi kwe’sewa’pskek nona’mi’han
looking across

elmia’di’djil mo’zul’ nogwu’saga’gada’hin
going along with the moose. Then he jumped across

na’ste ude’mi’zal’ udadami’ka’ngun
his dog

soon

nodi’lan yu’gi’a abi’’ sko’hule
Then he said, “Here you sit watch for

pukadjii’nskwes’ nagehe’ta a’lamus uda’ bin
pukadjii’nskwes’ a’lamus

laman Squatty-Woman.” Accordingly the dog sat down,

nodasko’halan pukadjii’nskwes’uwal’ nowa’
along

then he watched for Squatty-Woman. Then she

unam’it’un kwesawa’pskek n’a’ste
saw

she

_gwus’q’ godahin abe’gaw’sik² i’dak tci’³
saw

she jumped across where he struck (Glus’q’be). ⁴

She said, “Tci’³”

¹ Extending her finger at him from arm’s length—a common sign of emphasis.
² Extending her finger at him from arm’s length—a common sign of emphasis.
³ Extending her finger at him from arm’s length—a common sign of emphasis.
⁴ Extending her finger at him from arm’s length—a common sign of emphasis.
very swift man." When she reached the mouth of the river, looking across a rocky point, she saw him going along after the moose. Then he jumped across. His dog overtook him. He said, "You sit here and watch for Squatty-Woman." Accordingly the dog sat down and watched for her. When she came down to the river, she saw the rocky point, and jumped across in the same place where Gluskébe landed. She said, "Tci', you will soon see." Then she beheld the big dog, and became disheartened, and turned back. He followed the moose, and on the fourth day overtook him and killed him. He took his insides out and threw them to his dog. They reached the distance of three "looks." His dog ate as far as they went. As the intestines fell in the water, so they lay and sank, turning into stone, and may still be seen white on the bottom of the river. Now it is called Musi'kotci ("moose hind-parts"). Then he turned his dog into stone, and there he sits too. Then Gluskébe returned and cooked his moose-meat in his kettle near the big lake. When he had eaten, he turned his kettle over, and left it there turned into stone. Now it may still be seen. It is the mountain called Kineo. Then he went back and told his people, his descendants, "Now I have killed the big beast. He will never bother you again." They rejoiced, and said, "You have done very much for us. We thank you exceedingly all together."

9. GLUSKA'BE OVERCOME BY WINTER

nödjiima'djelän wi'gwmwak e'ilit
Then he went to his wigwam where was
o''kamas'ał ga'matc wulidahasu
his grandmother. Very much she rejoiced

1 Mount Kineo, on the eastern shore of Moosehead Lake. Folk etymology among the Indians says that the first people who saw the mountain after its transformation declared, "ki' ni'yu'" ("oh, [see] here!")

2 A very formal expression.

3 A landmark at Cape Rosary.

4 For the Indian explanation of this term see footnote 1 on this page.
moni’mkwes’u udi’lal kwe’nas ga’matec Woodchuck. She told him, “Grandson, very noli’dohas bedji’lan ga’matec ki’si’sagip’on I am glad that you come, very has been hard-winter, sa’gi’ki’zauzolduwak go’sa’snaawk pseglag they have had hard living our descendants, very matec kwa’askwalamoldi’djik edu’a’ngwaw’tek many have starved to death; so deep was the snow a’tama abasi’ak na’mi’ha’wi’ak masi’ not the tree-tops could they see. All wa’woho’k’hadawak nodi’lan Gluska’be were buried in snow.” Then said Gluska’be o’kamas’al da’naske na e’iti pabu’n to his grandmother, “Where that is winter?” udi’lan nkw’es’as ga’matec nawa’doge She said, “Grandchild, very far off ndahaba’wen oda’uzi’wun alo’se’de cannot any one not live. If he goes there, kwa’askwadjoba’i’dak Gluska’be ni’a he would freeze to death.” Said Gluska’be, “I nda’gwedji alo’sen naga’di na’mi’ha will try to go there, I want to see pabu’n ni’kwup’ nda’tcwe’ldamon winter. Now I wish kdlha’ngamewin nda’tcwe’ldamak ni’sa’ngag you to make snowshoes for me, I want them two ma’gzawak ma’galibuwewa’i’yak ni’sangapair snowshoes of caribou-skin, two pair ma’gzawaga’tc no’lkewa’i’yak ni’sangam’ snowshoes also of deer-skin, and two pair gzwaga’tc mu’sewa’i’yak no’madjelan snowshoes of moose-skin.” Then he went e’elami’lat1 ma’lam met’ka wa going along.1 At last he wore out ni’sangam’gzuwa mu’se’wai’yak pe’sagwun two pair snowshoes moose-skin still e’lo’set ma’lam mi’na umet’ka’wa going on at last again he wore out

no’lkewa’i’yak pe’sagwun elo’set ma’lam the deer-skin (ones) still going on at last ahq’djii almi’t’ke’ ma’lam met’ka’wa growing colder at last he wore out nagwoda’ngoma’gzuwa ma’galibuwewa’ye one pair snowshoes of caribou-skin, masala’t’e nagwoda’ngoma’gzuwa uda’ngoma finally only one pair snowshoes his snowshoes. natec gi’zatec ga’matec ka’wa’djo mi’na Then it had also become very cold, again una’slan kada’ghi elomi’lat ahq’djii he put on the others. Going along still growing almi’t’ke’ mala’mte, ke’gi’zatec ma’lam colder. At last then he almost wore out uda’ngoma wusa’gi’ga’wadjo gi’zi’gi’zatec his snowshoes it was terribly cold after also already una’mi’t’un wi’gwem e’tek e’umuk’re te he saw wigwam where it was just then bedjo’se klanga’nuk na’ste umet’ka’wan he came to the door at once he wore out uda’ngoma ubi’didigan pkwa’miga’sik’ his snowshoes. He entered an ice-house. gi’zi’bi’diget nkla’ggan gabade’des’an When he entered, then the door closed tight, a’tama gi’zi’ node’san Gluska’be not he could get out. Gluska’be i’dak kwe2 nomu’sumi ma’nit’e said, “Kwe’1 my grandpa!” Then udamaskalo’tanguul palus’a’sizal he mocked him the old man pkwa’mi’al i’dak wa palu’sas’is kwe of ice. Said that old man, “Kwe’1 nomu’sumi Gluska’be edu’di’jo kawad’jit my grandpa.” Gluska’be was so cold udi’lan nomu’sumi ga’matec nakawa’djii he said, “Grandfather, very I am cold, pukuwde’hema’wi 2 palu’sas’is udama’ open the door.” The old man mocked skalo’tawan nomu’sumi ga’matec nakawa’djii him, “Grandfather very I am cold, 2 The regular Algonkin salutation. 2 Every wigwam had a drop flap of skin or bark for a door.
Then Glusk'be said, "Grandfather, open the door, almost I am frozen." The old man mocked him more than ever, on account of it. He almost had more grandchildren than ever. "My grandfather, open the door, I am Glusk'be.

Then he froze to death Glusk'be. He was nearly dead, and his skin was growing colder. At last he lay Glusk'be. He was mocked again, in the same tones. "Grandfather, open the door for me, I am almost frozen," said Glusk'be. He was mocked again, in the same tones. Then he froze to death. The old man threw him out, and there Glusk'be lay until spring. Then he woke up. Said he, "Awake! Why there, tce'he, I have been asleep." The snow wigwam was gone. Then he went back home.

10. MEANWHILE THE FOXES ABUSE HIS GRANDMOTHER, AND GLUSKA'BE RETURNS AND PUNISHES THEM.

When he was away Glusk'be and his grandmother (Woodchuck). She rejoiced to see him, but said, "Grandson, I am glad you came back, as this has been a very hard winter. A great many of our descendants have starved to death. So deep was the snow that the tree-tops could not be seen; they were covered with snow." Then Glusk'be said, "Where is that Winter?—"Very far, grandchild. No one can live there. He would freeze to death if he went there."—"I will try to go there, I want to see Winter," said Glusk'be. "Now I want you to make snowshoes for me,—two pairs netted with caribou, two with deer, and two with moose skin. Then he started. First he wore out the moose-skin snowshoes, then next the deer-skin pair, and lastly one pair of the caribou-skins. At last it was still growing colder, and he nearly wore out his last pair. Then he came to a wigwam. It was an ice-house. When he went in, the door closed tight, so that he could not get out. Glusk'be said, "Kwe, grandfather!" At once the old man mocked him in the same voice, "Kwe, grandfather!" He was a man of ice. Then said Glusk'be, "Grandfather, I am very cold, open the door for me." The old man mocked him in the same tones. "Grandfather, open the door for me, I am almost frozen," said Glusk'be. He was mocked again, in the same tones. Then he froze to death. The old man threw him out, and there Glusk'be lay until spring. Then he woke up. Said he, "Awake! Why there, tce'he, I have been asleep." The snow wigwam was gone. Then he went back home.
monimkwe's ufal ma lam e lwe ntk'a bo Woodchuck. At last almost became blind

moni mkwes u a tam a gi'zi msaw'hi Woodchuck, not she would give up hope, medji mi s'ka ha bi'az u edu'dji kwilumant always looking out when so anxious kwe'nas'al Gluska'bal mala mte sala'ki for her grandson Gluska'be. At last after a while tk'a bo na'dji naska'daha'mat blind, then she despaired of

ubedji'alin Gluska'bal kwe'nas'al his return. Gluska'be her grandchild.

bedji'lat Gluska'be udi'lan no'kami When he came Gluska'be he said, "Grandmother,

bedji'la pkwude'hemawi namoni mkwes u I am come, open the door." Then Woodchuck udi'lan kebima'djin kwa'gk'sas ke'ga said, "Go away, fox, grandmother.

kani'li'ba ge' si sagi'li'ekw Gluska'be you have killed me, so many times have you urinated on me." Gluska'be

ugadamak'sada'wul o'kamas'al udi'lan pitied deeply his grandmother. Said he, no'kami anda'ga ni'a kwa'gk'sas "Grandma, not indeed I (am) fox!

namoni mkwes u udi'lan nda'tama Then Woodchuck said, "Never

mi'na ki'zinaba'kada'wilaba Gluska'be again can you deceive me." Gluska'be

udi'lan nda ni'a kwa'gk'sas no'kami said, "Not I fox, grandmother,
tcka'wip'ti'newi nage'he'la uno'dep' ti' hold out your hand." Accordingly she held out her

newin moni mkwes u nGluska'be hand Woodchuck. Then Gluska'be

wi'kwanama'wan pud'i'n kvi took hold of her hand. Kii!

uhl'dahas u edu'dji wuli'daha'sit e'bagwa'tc she was glad, so much she was glad, on account of it

seska demu i'dak ga'matc noli'dahas she cried. She said, "Very I am glad

bedji'lan ke'ga kwa'gk'sas'ak ni'laguk that you have come, almost the foxes killed me e'bagwa'tc ni'kwup'a'tama on account of it. Now not kana'mi'ho'lu kwe'nas a'ndatc mi'na I can see you, grandchild, never more kana'mi'ho'lu wzam ni'kq'bi' Gluska'be I can see you, because I am blind." Gluska'be

udi'lan o'kamas'al' e'kw'i' ni' i'da said to his grandmother, "Don't that say, mi'na'tetc kana'mi'hi n'a'tc kada'si'ipi'lal yet again you will see me, and I will treat you,
i'natetc kana'mi'hi nGluska'be yet again you will see me." Then Gluska'be

uda'si'ipi'lan nabi'na'gwa't ogi'gohan treated her, very quickly he cured her,

ki'hi'3 wulu'dahasu moni mkwes u Ki'hi'3 she rejoiced Woodchuck.

nGluska'be udi'lan o'kamas'al' Then Gluska'be said to his grandmother, ni'kwup medji mi kana'mi'hi aska'mi "Now always you will see me forever." Then Gluska'be

nGluska'be uga'dona'lan kwa'gk'sas a' Then Gluska'be went hunting foxes.

ma'lam unak'a'taha pe'sogoa1 Then he killed them all, but one

uda'kwotci'tahan uma'djepe'han he spared, he took him

awi'gomwuk udl'a'ke'wan o'kamas'al to his wigwam, he tossed him to his grandmother.

udi'lan ni'i kopedji'p'tolan kwa'gk'sas He said, "Now I bring you a fox ni'kwup' kada'benka'das'in ge' si' now you take your revenge as much as

3 The Penobscot have an extensive knowledge of herb medicines.

1 Crying for joy is commonly heard of among the old people. The quavering voice of the woodchuck is thought to be crying.

2 Emphatic form of ki+i + exclamation, equivalent to "oh!"
usí'gi'hus kwa'ŋk'wás'ak
you were abused by the foxes." She went
doná'lk i'bi'si'al moní'mkwes'ù
the fox, and
ugala'kwe'bi'lán kwa'ŋk'wás'al
she whipped him. At last fox
uda'sem'hán ma'łam kwa'ŋk'wás
A grandmother, I am sorry as much as I have abused you, never
mi'na kós'li'ho'lowan kádama'kásá'wí
I will do it to you. Have pity on me,
té'bat e'k'wátahe
enough! do stop (beating me)!
Then Woodchuck
ude'k'táhán udi'lan an'i'
kół'másadúl
stopped beating him. She said, "Now I believe you.
node'pkwi'a'lan udi'ilán ni'kwup'
Then she untied him. She said, "Now
eloma'uzí'án mo'zák mi'na wi'ní'na'
you may live. Don't again look
wa'kátc wí'né'sosis dálínágwí' tčí'ni'de
upon (scorn) an old woman wherever she
is helpless
tá'má ná Gluska'be udi'ilán kwa'ŋk'wás'al
anywhere." Then Gluska'be said to the fox,
mo'zák amo'tcke be'sotká'mo'kátc
"Don't even near approach near
wi'gwam abi'tá'síge náwe'djí ni'kwup'
a wigwam inhabited." That is why now
kwa'ŋk'wás a'k'qálomí
the fox is shy.

TRANSLATION

While Gluska'be was away, the Foxes had deceived his grandmother, Woodchuck. They went to her camp, and kept saying, "Grandma, I have come, your grandson." Then, whenever she looked out, they urinated in

1 The eastern Indians often treated prisoners in this manner, killing all but one and torturing him; then turning him free to return and tell his people what kind of treatment to expect in the future.

her eyes. Then they ran away laughing. They were always plaguing her, until, because of her anxiety to greet Gluska'be, they at last blinded her; and because he did not return, she gave him up for dead. When Gluska'be did at last come, he said, "Grandma, open the door!" But she answered, "Go away, Fox, you have almost killed me, so many times you have urinated on me." Gluska'be then said, "I am no Fox." She said, "You cannot deceive me any longer."—"I am no Fox, grandmother," said Gluska'be; "hold out your hand." Then he took her hand, and she cried, she was so glad. "I am glad you have come; the Foxes almost killed me; because of it I cannot see you now, grandson, I am blind."—"Don't say that! You will see me again," said Gluska'be. "I will heal you." Then he cured her. She was so glad when he said, "You will always see me hereafter." Then he went hunting Foxes, and killed all but one. This one he took to his wigwam, and threw it to his grandmother. "Now take your revenge. I have brought you a Fox." Then she gathered switches and lashed the Fox to a pole, and whipped him. He cried and begged, saying, "Grandmother, I am sorry for abusing you. Never will I do so any more." Then she stopped, and said, "I believe you," and untied him. "Now you shall live, but don't ever have contempt for a helpless old woman again." Then Gluska'be said to the Fox, "Don't ever go near an inhabited wigwam again." That is why Foxes are shy.

11. GLUSKA'BE VISITS HIS FATHER, AND OVERCOMES HIS BROTHERS

ni'kwup' udi'ilán o'káms'á'l mi'na
Now he said to his grandmother, "Again
náma'djela ni'kwup'aga'k ndá'habá'-
I go away, now indeed impossible, I will stay
nsí'pko'seú udi'ilán o'káms'á'l
He said to his grandmother,
nda'tcíwi alo'kewán go'sá'snawa
"I must work for our descendants,
naga’di nga’dj’odek’kaw’ pabu’n
I am going to visit winter.
pi’tamadj’a’mt’o uqodom’ga’hi’ go’sa’snawa
He is very cruel, he abuses our descendants,
oza’mi’a’we’k’at el’ha’n’dowit udi’lan
too much using his magic power.” He said
o’kamas’al dana’k’we e’rit ni’ban
to his grandmother, “Where is that he lives Sum-
mer?”

udi’lan sawa’nauk ga’matc sa’gi’nen-
She said, “In the south, very difficult,”
we’lqazu medji’mi une’nawe’l’mawul
guarded, always he is guarded
spada’hi a’tc ni’bq’i’ udi’lan
in daytime, also by night.” He said
o’kamas’al nda’tcw’i’ ali’lan
to his grandmother, “I must go.
alam’emsawti walo’gesal1 na’ga
Cut up for me rawhide strings2 and
koda’dap’hodun nage’hel’a na’lau
roll them into a ball.” Accordingly (undertook) then
udabe’si’gan moni’mkwas’u ma’lam
the cutting Woodchuck. Then
taba’wus ge’pasal walo’gesal na’ga
seven rolls of rawhide and
ni’sangoma’gzuwak ali’ta’wi nage’hel’a
two pairs of snowshoes she made. Accordingly
moni’mkwas’u udal’ha’gama3 nomadje’lan
Woodchuck filled the snowshoes.3 Then he started out

Gluksbe udi’lan o’kamas’al mo’zak
Gluksbe, said to his grandson, “Don’t
nasa’hi’katc na’bi’tc nabe’dji’la
worry! Soon I shall come.”

moni’mkwas’u kwe’nas’al udi’lan nama’
Woodchuck to her grandson said, “There
be’dji’la’ne we’dji’dj we’wi’na’wat
when you arrive, so that you will know
kami’t’angwus nagwadala’gi’gwe oma’djelan
your father, he has one eye.” He departed

elami’ilat ma’lam’te sala’ki
going along, at last then soon
madje’pa’pangwangle te’so’g’wun e’li’lat
began to be less depth of snow, still going on.
mala’m’ta ta’ka’mi’ge na’ste omet’ka’wan
At last bare ground, soon he wore out
uda’ngama nga’daja’hi ude’k’holan
his snowshoes; the others he hung on a tree
uda’ngama nga’ga uma’n’aman si’suk’
na’ga uda’sap’kwa’n ab’gwe’sa’guk
and he hid it in a hollow tree,
na’ga udi’lan gitci’gigi’la’suwal’
and told to the Chickadee,
ne’naw’bad’man nis’i’i’k’
omadje’lan
“Take care of my eye.” Then he left,
matc’si’dah’hi elami’ilat ma’a’lam’te3
on foot going. At last3
sala’ki unoda’man kodwa’gamuk’
suddenly he heard noise of dancing.
nona’mi’tun o’dena noma’be’dji’lat
Then he saw village. There when he came
udali udi’j’tci’wan umi’ta’k’sal
there he came as a guest to his father’s
wi’gwomuk udi’lan kwe’ mi’tangwi
wigmum. He said, “Kwe’ father!”
i’dak kwe’ ne’man kobe’dodek’awi
He said, “Kwe’ my son, you have come to visit me,
nolii’dahas nage’nuk awi’dji’la anda’gwi’na
different and glad.” But then his brothers not really (glad)
abe’ki’wi’da’magowia ma’n’it’e we’wi’na’wge
because of jealousy. Then he knew
uga’dona’lgo nabe’sago dalibi’tsona’lan
they sought his life. Then one there filled
ktaha’n’dwil’ pana’pkswa’so’onal4 uba’
great magic stone pipe,4 he
skwule’pan na’ga udi’lan Gluska’bal
lit it up and said to Gluska’be,

1 “Babiche,” fine strips of rawhide used for filling snowshoes and the like.
2 Wove in the netting or “filling.”
3 Emphatic.
4 Stone pipes with a flat vertical keel-like base were typical of the region.
nehe' "uda'ma nage'hel'a Glusk'be

"Now, smoke!" Accordingly Glusk'be

awi' 'kwxan uda'mang'a'nal nomam'hona' took his pipe, then he inhaled-

zaha'lan ni'soda e'likasa'halat deeply twice. When he inhaled,

nozi'k'aha'lan 1 udama'nga'nal nami'na he emptied 1 the pipe. Then again

wi' 'kwibagade'pat nozeksk'a'm'ki'azin he took a puff, then it burst

uda'mangan udi'daman ak'wa'dale 2 the pipe. He said, "Akwos'dalel 2

po'skoli'zas'u goda'mangan ni'dji'e it breaks easily your pipe, my brother,
tce'na'ni'a nobi'tsonan none'goma let me fill it." Then he

uda'manganal ubi'tsana'lan pi'tussawal his pipe filled it. It was small,

ke'nuk wq'bi'ga'niyal ubo'skwule'pan but made of white bone. 3 He lighted it,

na'ga umi'lan wi'dji'al tce'na o'wa and he gave it to his brother. "Let (us) this

agwe'dji udame'khane ma'nite try, let us smoke!" Then

kada'welomual wi'dji'la' awi'kiwi'dhahamal he began to smile his brother, he scorned in his mind

uda'mang'a'nal edu'dji bi'rusa'si'lit his pipe so small.

eli'daha'sit waga'gatc be'sagwada He thought to himself, "So this thing once

wi' 'kwibagade'poge nsi'k'aha'late taking a puff I will empty it."

nage'hel'a wi'kwibagade na'lar oda'man Accordingly he took a puff, then he he smoked,

ma'lam pa'ta'zu nodi'lan koda'gil then he sickened with smoke. Then he said to the other

wi'dji'la nehe' gi'a'tc uda'ma his brother, "Now, you also smoke,
gamatc wula'sanal uda'mang'a'nal very sweet flavor his pipe,

kodo'kani'mizana ne'na'tc ne'gama our younger brother's." Then also he

oda'man ma'lam pa'ta'zu mi'na smoked. Then he sickened from smoke, again

koda'k oda'man en'a'tc pa'ta'zu another smoked, and that one sickened from

smoke.

mala'mte mazi' ge'siri'awi'dji'a' Then all, as many as there were his brothers,
nirgi'k'pa tazo'lduwak nam'lo'sas all sickened with smoke. Then the old man

udi'lan gamatc kaha'nd'o kado'-, said, "Very magic your younger-

kani'mizuwə e'kwii'gadona'lo'k brother, don't seek his life

metcote ge'se'ka'ngowater metcote he overcame you." In spite of it

uga'donalgal udo'kani'mizuwal wzam they sought his life their younger brother, because

udji'skawq'lawal nami'na udi'lan they were jealous of him. Then again they said

udo'kani'mizuwal amadi'hi'di'nəe to their younger brother, "Let us play,

wa'la'de'hama'di'nce 4 dish-game let us play." They produced

wala'de ha'mang'a'nal pana'pskwive'y a dish game of stone.

ki'ria'ndowi'nag'zu i'dak Glusk'be Kif it was magic looking. He said Glusk'be,

nehe' amadi'hi'di'nəe wzam ni'a "Now, let us play! because I

gamatc nawii'g'mke nada'madi'hidi'nəe very I fond of playing." Then they played.

known in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and as late as 1761

in New Brunswick waters.

4 This is the well-known dish and dice game. It is

played with six dice and fifty-two counting-sticks. The dice

are shaken in the dish, five or six of one face counting

for the thrower. The counting is very complex.
tam'ka'te ke'tca'iwit awi''kwonan
The first elder brother took
wala'-dal udl't'e'si'man ma'lam
the dish, he threw it, then
amaste'hemana'l ag'idama'nga'nal
he secured many counting-sticks.
naGluskq'be awi''kwonan wala'-dal
Then Gluskq'be took the dish
pe'sagwada'te ela'ket uza'kskam'ki'te' once only throwing, he broke it all to pieces by-
si'ma'1 ume'mla'we'lamin Gluskq'be
throwing. He gave a great laugh Gluskq'be,
i'dak ak'wa'dale poskal'i'zas'u
said, "Ak'wa'dalel it breaks easily
kowa'la'den'a tce'na o'wa ni'a nowala'de
your dish. Let us this my my dish
agwe'tcko'ha'lane nomo'skonan awala'dal
let us try?" Then he produced his dish
bi'u'sas'as'wal w'omalya'ni'na
small of ivory, then at that
kada'welam uke'tca'iwit wi'dji'al
smiled the elder brother.
naGluskq'be udl't'e'si'man awala'dal
Then Gluskq'be threw his dish.
ma'lam amaste'hemana'l ag'idama'nga'nal
Then he secured many counters.
ne' nake'tca'iwit wi'dji'al wi''kwonan
Then then the elder brother took
wala'dal eli'qnhasit waga''k pe'sagwada
the dish, thinking, "This once
ala'ka'ne nsu'ksek'te'si'ma nag'e'diala'ket
when I throw it will break in pieces." Then
about to throw
udala'wunal i'bi't'e daliwasa'si'ha'suwa
he could not lift it, only just there it slipped from
o'ka'si'a' neda'li se'ka'ut udi'lan
his finger-nails. Then there being defeated, he
said,
nda'te'gani i'dji'e bagwa'na wala'de
"Not possible, brother, to raise the dish.
gase'ka'wi
You have won."

TRANSLATION

Then Gluskq'be said, "I am going away again to stay a while. I shall not stay long. I must work for our descendants. I am going to visit Winter. He is very cruel. He abuses our descendants too much by his magic power. Where does Summer live?" he asked his grandmother. "In the south," said she, "always very well guarded by day and night." —"Well, I must go," he said. "Cut me some rawhide strings and roll them into a ball." Then she made seven rolls of rawhide and two pairs of snowshoes. Accordingly, she netted the snowshoes. Then Gluskq'be departed, saying, "Don't worry! I shall soon return." Then his grandmother said, "Your father has one eye; you will know him when you get there." Then he went. As he went, soon the snow appeared less and less; then, as he went on, bare ground appeared, and he wore out his snowshoes. Then he hung his other snowshoes on a tree. Then he took out his eye and hid it in a hollow tree, and told the Chickadee, "Watch over it for me." Then he walked on. At last he heard dancing and saw a village. Then he went in as a guest to his father's wigwam. "Kwe, father!" said he. "Kwe, son!" said the father, "I am glad you have come." But his brothers were not glad to see him. Then Gluskq'be knew they were seeking his life. One of them began to fill a magic stone pipe. He lighted it, and said to Gluskq'be, "Now smoke!" Gluskq'be inhaled a long breath twice, and emptied the pipe. Then he took another long breath, and the pipe exploded. Said he, "Oh! it breaks easily. Let me fill a pipe, brother!" So he took his pipe, a small one of ivory, and lighted it and gave it to his brother. "Let us try this! Let us smoke!" Then his brother smiled with a sneer, because the pipe was so small. He thought he would empty it with one breath. Then he began to smoke. He got sick. Then he told the other brother to smoke, and he got sick; and the third the
same, until all were sick. Then the father said, "Your younger brother is a great magician. Do not seek his life, for he will overcome you." Despite this, they sought his life, because they were jealous. "Let us play the dish-game!" They brought a dish of stone, a big magic dish. Said Glusk'be, "Now, let us begin for I am fond of playing." They began playing. The oldest brother threw first, and won many counters. Then Glusk'be threw once, and broke the dish to pieces. He gave a great laugh, and said, "Oh! it breaks easily. Let us try my dish!" Then he produced his dish, a small one of ivory. The oldest brother smiled. Glusk'be threw, and won many counters. The oldest brother thought, "At once I shall break it in pieces when I throw." But when he tried, he could not lift it; his finger-nails only slipped on it. He was beaten. "I am not able to raise the dish, brother. You have won."

12. Glusk'be Steals Summer for the People, Escapes from the Crows, and Overcomes Winter

udlo'san eda'lgamuk' nodji'wi'dagan
He went to where they were dancing to dance with them.

noma be'djo set una'mi'han
When there he arrived, he saw

pma'uzowi'n'owna' peba'mi ki'gi'm'don'-living people going about in groups talking-

ka'hadi'djik na'tc ne'goma
low. Then also he

uda'si'djo'san uda'gwedjo'damu'kan dan edged up. He inquired, "What

mi'n'a ali'dabi'le ke'gwus ali'"ta'ngwat
next has occurred, what is being done?"

ma'ni'te pe'sagoaal udi'lagul te'a'ste'1
Then one of them told him, "Te'a'ste'1

ki'abe'"t eli'g'i'a' gwe'we'ldaman e'ta'ngwa'k you the likes of you. You know what is going on!"

1 Accompanied by an insulting gesture, spreading the knuckles of the first two fingers and pointing toward him,—a most insulting exclamation and motion.

na'n'a a'tc ne'goma Glusk'be udi'al
Then also he Glusk'be said to him,

ki'a'ga'tc te'a'ste'1 om'a'ni'ta'nenen
"You yourself te'a'ste'1!" He twisted his nose off
(with his fingers),

nob'i'digan eda'lgamuk' nowi'dagan
then he went in where they were dancing, then danced,

wi'wunage'ta'wral ni'banal teba'bo
round about they danced (circling) summer a fluid

ktci'p'kon'a'djo 2 ni'yu bo'magat
in a big bark receptacle.2 Here were dancing

ni'swak nə'ŋkskwak wuli'gowak
two young girls handsome.

ugolo'lan nda'tama udq'isi'de'magowi'a'
He spoke to them, not they answered him,

e'bagwa'tc awi'kwi'na'g manipu ila'-
on account of it they made fun of him. He-

ohogo ne'bagwate wza'mi p'skwa'nenan
became angry. Then on account of it, because he stroked them on the back,

ne'lami wi'wuna'gaha'dit pe'sagwoda
while they circled around, at once

gi'z medje' pi'lwi'na'g'zuwak me'soma
already they began to look strange before

mi'na wi'wuna'gaha'dik'wa ndala'oga'na
again they circled about they could not dance.

c'lebolli'hidit a'lnèbak una'mi'hane
Looking on the people saw

ni'swa' ma'snak e'bi'i'djik no'noda'kana
two toads sitting. Then they threw them out.

ma'li'dahasu'ldowak e'l'li ma'skaibhadit
They wondered at how they turned into toads

nə'ŋkskwak ke'nuk pe'sagwun el'gaha'dit
the girls, but still kept dancing

wzam medji'mi tca'wí' wi'wuna'ge ta'we
because always must surround

ni'bøn we'dji'tc a'nda a'wen gi'zi-
summer so that no one could-

2 Birch-bark vessels of at least eight different styles were used for storage and culinary purposes.
sa'manak'w Glusk'be eli'-dahasit 1 touch it.
Glusk'be thought 1
pasaga"taha'sitc wi'gwom nugi'zi' for darkness to come (in) wigwam then he was able
ni'ni'm'han ni'ba'anal kwe'ni'basaga"tek'w he grabbed summer while it was dark
unode'goda"hin ama'djegwago'ma sala'... he jumped outside he began to run suddenly
kit'e yu'geda'ldedjk wunoda'wawal' at once those dancing here heard
ni'ba'anal mekwe'li'djil ne'de'ba'wi'rahadit summer groaning; then they examined it (and saw)
tci'ina'lu nu'm'ni'te' ka'ngalowa'hadowak finger-marks where it was seized. Then they quickly cried out,
a'wen ugi'zi' tci'inal ni'ba'anal "Some one has succeeded snatching away summer!"
ida'mohodit nabi'lwii a'lnabe nela'lo'ke They said, "That strange man has done that!"
nono'degadohok'ina nono'so'ka'wana Then they leaped to pursue then they chased him
Gluska'be sal'a'kit'e Glusk'be e'lam'lat Glusk'be. Suddenly Glusk'be going along
unoda'wag no'so'kanagoci'jdjii' ktcii'- heard them chasing after him big
m'ka'sesa' nodo'si'da'bi'dun wa'dabak crows; then they tied on his head
pe'sagwun be'dagwa'pske wlo'ges one ball of rawhide
pe'sagwun eli'-lat mala'm'te pe'sagwol still going on at last one
ktcii'm'ka'sesa' nal uda'dami'kagul big crow caught up to him!
no'ni'mip'hogun wadabak nam'ka'ses then he grabbed him on the head this crow
omo'wip'tun be'dagwa'pske wlo'ges he grabbed the ball of rawhide
na'ga agwulbi'dowi'lan ali'dahasu and flew back he thought
ka'ses wada'p' Glusk'be pe'mip'tak'w the crow [it was] head, Glusk'be he was carrying along.

mala'm'te elq'bit wlo'ges ke'lnak At last looking at the rawhide he seized
me'tci abi'ta'pode malhi'doha'su the end unrolled he was surprised
ka'ses nam'ni'unos'o'kawan mi'na crow. Then again he chased him again
uda'dami'ka'wan mi'na uni'mip'han he overtook him again he grabbed
wa'dabak mi'na ozawedawi'lan nam'ni na his head again he flew about then again
i'bi'te wlo'ges ke'lnak me'tci just only the rawhide he seized the end
abi'ta'pode nonaska'dahasin ka'ses unrolled. Then he gave up crow.
pe'sagwun eli'-lat Glusk'be elq'bit Still going on Glusk'be looking
una'mi'tun wazali 2 pe'sagwun eli'-lat saw snow 2 still going on
mala'm'te be'djii'le wazali e'i'lk ki'sa'ttc at last he came (where) snow was, and already
m'ka'sesak gwa'li ayo'iduwak ke'nuk the crows near were; but
nami'timo'dodit wazali uma'ske'dahasoldi'n a when they saw snow, they all gave up
nobadagi'dowi'ha'ldi'na Glusk'be then they all flew back. Glusk'be
una'mi'han u'da'goma e'khodjinli'djiihi saw his snowshoes hanging together.

be'djii'jat una'slan u'da'goma' When he came up, he fastened on his snowshoes,
nagwi'la'wa'tun wsi'suk'w a'tama when he searched for his eye not
maska'mowun naktci'gi'gi'laswal u'di'tan he found it. Then to Chickadee he said,
dan si'suk'w u'di'takan di'ktagli 2 "Where is eye?" He answered him, "Horned-Owl 2
udli'mi'p'tone nogaga'lonman dikta'gli'al carried it off!" Then he called Horned-Owl

1 The conjurer's wish-thought.
2 A graphic indication that he was returning rapidly to the north country.
3 American long-eared owl (Asio Wilsonianus). The name is derived from the bird's supposed cry.
wi’’kwi’man bedji’doi’lan di’ktagli
he called him to him he came flying Horned-Owl;
noni’-mip’han Glusk’be’ noge’dnama’wan
then he took hold of him Glusk’be’, then he pulled out
si’-suk’ w ne’gama una’stun nom’a’djelan
eye, he put it in. Then he left
pa’bu’n’kik elami’tlat gwaskwa’i’t
for winter land going along it grew colder.
mala’m’te una’mi’tun e’ttek
At last he saw where sat
pkwa’mi’ga’mik’ w nama’ bedji’lat
an ice-house. When he arrived,
ubi’di’gan nopolu’s’os’is e’bit’ udi’lagul
he entered; then the old man sitting there said to him,
kwe’ kwe’n’as kwe’ kwe’n’as1 nGlusk’be
“Kwe’, grandson!” “Kwe’, grandson!”1 Then
Glusk’be amo’sk’o’nan ni’bonal na’ga abo’n’an
took up the summer and set it down
e’lkwe’bi’lit polus’os’izal sala’kit’e
facing in front of the old man. Suddenly
bedji’a’mpse’zu polu’s’os’is i’ dak
he came to sweat the old man. He said,
kwe’n’as ga’matc nda’bama’lsin me’wi’a
“Grandson, very I am hot, it is better
ma’djii’a’ne — kwe’n’as ga’matc nda’-
that you go away.” “Grandson, very I am
bama’lsin me’wi’a ma’djii’a’ne, ke’nuk
hot, it is better that you go away.” But
Glusk’be pe’’sgwun ela’’bit nami’na
Glusk’be still sat there. Then again
polu’s’os’is awi’kwo’dama’wan Glu’sk’bal
the old man begged him Glusk’be’a
ama’djii’lin udi’’lan kwe’n’as nobe’t’t
that he go away. He said, “Grandson, I wish
ma’djii’a’ne ke’ga kani’li’i kwe’n’as
that you would go, almost you kill me!” “Grand-
sion;

1 Glusk’be is mocking him.
2 An insulting exclamation, accompanied by spreading the knuckles and pointing.

nobe’t ma’djii’a’ne ke’ga kani’li’i
I wish that you would go, almost you kill me!”
uda’maskolo’ tawal Glusk’be’ ma’lam
He mocked him Glusk’be’, then
polu’s’os’is wi’’tan pani’le go’spon’e
the old man his nose melted off continuing until
upu’dinal pani’lal ka’skone’lal
his legs melted off he melted away.
nGlusk’be’ odji’madjin ne’li’ no’des’et’
Then Glusk’be departed. Then as he went out
na’ste gi’bi’le pkwa’mi’ga’mik’ w
soon melted down the ice-house.

TRANSLATION

Then Glusk’be went on to where they were
dancing. He saw the living people in groups
talking low. He edged up, and asked, “What
is going on next?” Then one answered,
“Tecestil2 the likes of you to know what is
going on?” Glusk’be said, “You yourself
tecstil” and he twisted his nose off with his
fingers. Then he entered where they were
dancing round about a big bark dish which
contained Summer like a kind of jelly. Two
handsome girls were there dancing. Glusk’be
spoke to them, but they did not answer. They
made fun of him. Because of this he stroked
them on the back as they were dancing around.
After circling once, their appearance began to
change; before they made another turn, they
could not dance. The people looking on them
saw two toads sitting there. They threw them
out, because the girls had turned into toads.3
They wondered, as they still kept on dancing,
why the girls had become toads, guarding the
Summer (jelly) so that no one could touch it.
Then Glusk’be wished for darkness in the
wigwam. Then he grabbed the Summer in the
dark, and started to run away with it. The
others, dancing, heard the Summer
groaning. Examining it, there were finger-
marks where it had been picked out. They

2 Probably accounting for the origin of the Toad-
Woman creature (Mask’i’k’-si) mentioned before as a
minor supernatural being.
cried out, "Somebody has snatched away Summer. That stranger has done this." Then they leaped up and went in pursuit of Gluskà’be. Soon he heard them coming in the shape of big crows. He tied his rawhide ball on his head. Then one of the big crows grabbed him on the head. He grabbed the ball of rawhide and flew back, thinking he had Gluskà’be’s head. Then he saw the end of the rawhide as he unrolled it flying along. He started again in pursuit, and again grabbed another ball, thinking it was the head. Then again only rawhide he held by the end. Then he gave it up. Gluskà’be kept on until he saw snow. Soon he reached the snow. The crows chasing him turned back when they saw the snow. Gluskà’be took his snowshoes from the tree, put them on, and looked for his eye. He could not find it. "Where is my eye?" he asked the Chickadee. "A big Horned-Owl carried it off," answered the Chickadee. Then Gluskà’be called the Owl, and it came flying, and he pulled out the Owl’s eye and put it in his own head. Then he left, going to where it was still colder. Then he came to where the ice-house was. He entered, and the old ice-man said, "Kwe’, grandson!" Gluskà’be mocked him in return. Then Gluskà’be took the Summer, and set it down in front of the ice-man. He began at once to sweat, saying, "Grandson, I am very hot. You better go away." Gluskà’be mimicked him, but sat still. Then the old man begged him, "Grandson, go away, you are almost killing me." Gluskà’be again mimicked him. Then the ice-man’s nose melted off, then his legs, and finally he melted away. Then Gluskà’be left, and the ice-house melted away too.

13. GLUSKA’BE DEPARTS, AND PROMISES TO AID THE PEOPLE WHEN HE RETURNS AGAIN

omadji’in wi’gwomwuk nàma’ be’djo’set
He went to his wigwam. When there he arrived,

wuli’dahasu moni’mkwes’u Gluskà’be
rejoiced Woodchuck. Gluskà’be

udi’lan oni’ ni’kwup’ gi’zi’uli’tun said, “So! Now it is fixed
anda’tc mi’na ado’djí sa’gi’po’nuwi never again such severe winter.
name’talo’kewan go’sa’snawa’ ni’kwup’ I have finished working for our descendants. Now
ki’u’na kàmadje’ode’bana me’tagwi’- you and I will move away to the extreme
ndji-ni”kwup’ nadjiwi’gi’ak’ end of our land to live there
kàda’kína nadji-ku’wanak forever. Nevertheless we shall work for them
gos’a’snawak medji’mtic noda’wanak our descendants, and always I shall hear them
wi’kwu’damawi’hi’dide wi’djo’ke’dawa’gan whenever they call for me for help.

rendji’ni’kwup’ nàdje’dala’lo’kan From now on I shall work
edà’li’ta’wa sa’wonal tci’ba’dok’ to make stone arrow-heads perhaps
e’lami’ga’dak’ ktci’a’odin ni’ldj
in future years a great war these will
e’we’ke’di’djíl mirga’ke’hi’dié’dit go’sa’-
be used when they fight our
snawak noda’daman moni’mkwes’u descendants.” Then spoke Woodchuck:
ìni’ ni’ega’tc ni’a ndli’i’tun ni’mawan 2 "So! then also I shall make lunches 2
basoda’mun a’o’dimge go’sa’snawak of crushed corn in the war our descendants
uni’mawa’nwul’ their lunches.”

ni’kwup’ pemgi’zaga tanedu’djí
Now to-day whenever
atlo’kalut tcana’lo’ke Gluskà’be
a story is told of him, he stops work Gluskà’be
nodaba’askwazin na’ga udbade’lin
raises his head and laughs heartily,

1 Surmised to be at the eastern end of the world.
2 Hunters and warriors carried small quantities of prepared corn and smoked meat in their belts on their journeys, called "lunches."
Then he said, "Aha'at! Yet even they remember—"

Then he went home, and his grandmother rejoiced. "Now," said he, "I have fixed it so that never again will there be a winter too hard. I have finished working for our descendants. Now you and I will go away from here to the extreme end of our land (the earth). There we shall live forever; nevertheless we shall work for our descendants. I shall always hear them whenever they ask help of me. From now on I shall continue to work. I shall make arrow-points. Perhaps in future years a great war will come. Then they can use them, our descendants." Then Woodchuck, his grandmother, said, "Now I also shall make stores of baked crushed corn for our descendants' food when the great war takes place, to be their provisions."

Even now, to-day, whenever a story is told of him, Glusk'be stops work, raises his head, and laughs heartily. He says, "Aha'at! Even yet our descendants remember me."1

SECONDARY MYTHS CONCERNING GLUSKA'BE

14. GLUSKA'BE IS DEFEATED BY A BABY

Glusk'be ga'matc ktc'i-se'nqbe
Glusk'be very great man
pse'li-gi-si'ha'du mazi' wuse'ka'wan
many things he could do all he overcame
ktci'awa'la'ne'sana'gzi'i-dji'hi mazi'a'tc great beasts, dangerous ones, and all
ktci'made'olinowa'2 wuse'ka'wq be'dji' great conjurers he overcame, even
kosala'm'son wuse'ka'wq an'i' the wind he overcame. "So!"

1 It was believed even until recently by some of the older people that Glusk'be would some day return and restore the country to the Indians; the expulsion of

2 Made'olinu, professional conjurer.
And Glusk'a'be laughed again. Then the baby uttered another scream, and Glusk'a'be tried to stop his crying; but he kept on just the same. Then said Glusk'a'be, "So, let us both cry." Then he, too, uttered a scream, and Glusk'a'be cried. So they were both crying and screaming. At last the baby stopped crying; but he began more mischief, he began spilling water. Then Glusk'a'be did the same. They both spilled water all about. Soon the baby got tired spilling water and sat down. Forthwith he defecated, and then he turned around and ate it. Now Glusk'a'be was conquered. Right there he was conquered; Glusk'a'be could not do that.

15. GLUSKA'BE CAUSES HIS UNCLE, TURTLE, TO LOSE HIS MEMBER, AND RECOVERS IT FOR HIM

Sal'a'ki bemo'sedit kpi' Glusk'a'be Once walking along in woods Glusk'a'be na'ga wusa'si'zal do'labal 1 umada'ban and his mother's brother Turtle 1 they came down ktc'isi'buk udlan kwazi'na gi'za'kwa' to a big river; finally they cooked dinner; after zi'hi'dit umi'ts'i'na gi'zi'pi'hi'dit they had cooked, they ate. After they had eaten, da'la'de'mona sala'ki e'lgi'bi'hi'dit there they smoked. Suddenly they looked ag'e'muk si'buk una'mi'hi'ana p'he'namu across the river, they saw women me'daq'ba'zai'dijk dali'tkasi'mo'li'na coming down to the shore, there they went in bathing.

Akw'a'dale awi'gi'na'wa do't'be p'he'namu Akw'a'dale! He wanted to cohabit Turtle with the women.

I'dak nda'wesam 2 tanbe'te't ndla'lo'kan He said, "Nephew, how please shall I do we'dji' gi'zi'be'su't'kawak ni'gik so that can approach those

1 Sculptured terrapin (Chelopus insculptus).
2 It is interesting to note that the relationship terms employed here indicate Turtle to have been the hero's maternal uncle.
p'he'namu ga'mate nga'dawg'dabebi women, very much I desire to cohabit."

udi'lan wza'si'zal kdl'a'lo'ke'gatc He said to his uncle, "So finally you do this,
ta'maze gobe'skuhwagi 1 na'ga aba'si'ik cut off your member 1 and on a stick
kwu'saga'k"hanam nage'hel'a do'l'be push it across." Accordingly Turtle
uga'donadun kwe'naha'ndowa'kwa'k kwaked for a long magic wood
aba'si' na'ga abe'skuhwagi di u'dama'mamak stick, and his member he cut off
na'ga ubi'za'mudun aba'si'ik na'ga and stuck it through on the stick, and
agwu'saga'k"hanam nabe'dak'whak pushed it across. Then, when it reached
eba's'tagwe aq nozas'ki'goda'hi'n middle of river, aq/ then jumped out
sko'tam noba'gaha'dun udl'mikuw'si'a a trout, then he grabbed it, he finally
ha'done do'l'be ube'skuwa'di swallowed it Turtle's member,
ki'n'gi'ni'la'wele do'l'be e'bagwatac terribly greatly he got angry Turtle on account
of it
se'si'la'we naGluskä'be udi'lan e'kwi he cried. Then Gluskä'be said, "Don't
ge'gwus ali'daha'zi wulago'go'tc anything think of it, for this evening
kamo's'ganam kobe'skuhwagi di name' you will get it your member." Then he
wi'a'dahasin do'l'be nowelq'gwii'vik felt better Turtle. Then that evening
Gluskä'be uma'dami'man i'zame'gwesawal2 Gluskä'be hired Fish-Hawk 2
awa'sane 3 udi'lan mo'zak sap'taha'kate to go torching for fish.3 He said, "Don't spear him

1 Literally, "gun."
2 Osprey (Pandion haliaetus).
3 To fish at night from canoes with torches made of birch-bark which light up the depths of the river and also draw the fish so that the spearmen can see them.

na'mes ki'napska'idjade eba'si'a a fish big-bellied in his middle,
wu'dabak gosa'p'ah tan mala'mte on the head you spear him." Then
una'mihal i'zame'gwes'u na'mes'al he saw it Fish-Hawk the fish
ki'napskaidjal wsa'p'tahan wu'dabak big-bellied he spear him on the head,

Then, "Nephew, Turtle.
Then
oba'ska'zun na'mes'al na'ga uge'dnamon he cut open the fish and he took
abe'skuhwagi di e'bagwatac w'ba'gwason the member on account of (the soaking) it was
shriveled. Then
udi'lan Gluskä'be wza'si'zal wi'hwiz'a'e He said Gluskä'be to his uncle, "Hurry up
gla'mod'one'dudji wi'za'neg'gitzit attach it!" Then so much he hurrying
do'l'be galama'ket abe'skuwagi Turtle to attach quickly his member
e'bagwatac wzu'skuw'ptun wzo'skuw'a'tc on account of it belly up he put it right upside down
abe'skuhwagi di we'dji ni'kwup' do'l'be his member so that now Turtle
soskuwa'tek abe'skuwagi e'bagwatac upside down member on account of this
ni'kwup' ali'wi'la do'l'be soskuwa'los now he is called "Turtle inverted member."

TRANSLATION

Once upon a time Gluskä'be was walking along in the woods. His mother's brother, Turtle, was with him. They came to a big river, where they cooked a meal and ate it. After they had eaten, they smoked together. All of a sudden, looking across the river, they saw some women coming down to the shore to go in bathing. Turtle voluit copulare cum mulieribus very eagerly. Said he, "Nephew, what shall I do so that I may get near those women? Volui copulare very much." His uncle replied, "Cut off your member, put it on a stick, and send it across: that is what
you will do." So thus Turtle found a great long stick, cut off his member, and stuck it upon the end of the stick. Then he pushed it across the river underneath the water. When he had sent it half way in the middle of the river, lo, a trout jumped out of the water and grabbed and swallowed Turtle's member. Ki'n! he was angry. So angry was Turtle, that he cried. Then Glusk'be said, "Don't think anything of it, for to-night we shall recover your member." Then Turtle felt more at ease, and that evening Glusk'be hired a Fish-Hawk to go spearing fish by torch-light. Said he to the Fish-Hawk, "If you encounter a great big-bellied fish, don't spear it in the middle, but hit it on the head." So the Fish-Hawk went spearing by torch-light. At last he saw the big-bellied fish, and speared it on the head. Ki'v! how Turtle rejoiced! Straightway he cut open the fish, took out his member. On account of its being in the belly of the fish so long, it was much water-soaked and wrinkled. Then said Glusk'be, "Hurry, stick it on, connect it!" And Turtle hurried, and quickly joined his member on; but he put it on his belly bottom side up in his haste, so that now Turtle has his member upside down. That is why the turtle is now called "wrong-side up member."

16. GLUSK'BE AIDS TURTLE TO GET MARRIED; BUT TURTLE GETS BURNED, AND TRIES IN VAIN TO KILL GLUSK'BE

Nodji'ma'dji'na nodlo'sana a'lnqbai o'dene
Then they started out, then they went to a village of people,
Noda'li udji' 'tci'hi'wana sa'ngama'ke and there they came as visitors to the chief
Kal'u'1 Kal'u' lowa'udo'zal nado'l'be Auk.1 Auk had three daughters. That Turtle

1 Supposed to be Great Auk (Plautus impennis) or perhaps Razor-Billed Auk (Alca torda).
2 The formal proposal by means of wampum. Some male relative, in behalf of the suitor, carries a belt, collar, or handkerchief full of wampum to the mother of

O'li'na'wan pe'sogowal na'kskwal udi'lan
liked one girl. He said
UDAwazomal Glusk'a'bal nda'wa'zam to his nephew Glusk'a'be, "My nephew,
Nda'tcwelma nabe'sogo na'kskwe I want that one girl
Ew'qsi'sawit ni'kwup ni'a youngest. Now I
Nda'tcwe'ldamom gira kal'u'lwewin i'dak wish you to propose." Said
Glusk'a'be am'i' ni'atc kal'u'lwewu Glusk'a'be, "So! I will propose for you."
Gehe'a wela'ngwi'wik ogol'u'wan Accordingly at evening he proposed
Glusk'a'be uli'cama do'l'be na'te Glusk'a'be. He was accepted Turtle, right away
Uni'ba'wina ki'i+ mam'ho'nan they married. Ki'+' a big dance
Na'ga o'manaska'sin do'l'be na'mi'tso'ldin and provided a feast Turtle. Then they ate
Na'ga pa'poldin ne'ngama'di'hi'din and played games and running-races,
Na'ga eli'goda'holdin Glusk'a'be udi'lan and also jumping. Glusk'a'be said
Wza'sial ki'a'tc wi'dji'goda'hi to his nephew, "And you join in jumping,
K'skwidi'goda'hi kasi'l'hos wi'gwom jump over the top your father-in-law's wigwam
Kal'u' sangma'wi'gama'ikw nsa'da Auk the chief's house, three times
K'skwidi'goda'hin ke'nuk q'da jump over it, but no
A'gkwomuk' nsa'da ki'i+ edu'dji more than three times." Ki'+' when
Spi'goda'hit do'l'be mazi' oma'li'hina'wal over the top he jumped Turtle, all were surprised
E'dudji spi'goda'hi'lit do'l'bal mazi' when he jumped over Turtle. All

The girl desired, at the same time delivering a commendatory speech. If the suit is favorable, the wampum is accepted; otherwise it is returned. This procedure constituted one of the few ceremonies in the native life of the region.
Then so

he outstripped them the youths. Accordingly

he felt proud. Turtle he said, “That is not my limit!”

Then again he tried to jump, then Glusk'be

caused him by wishing, “Get caught fall.”

Then he fell (the rascal), and

fall.

Then he fell (the rascal),

all

That’s why

a’li’guk do’l’be uba’skwan ni’ “kwup”
looks so turtle his back now.

Hardly he could snatch him out Auk

udalu’sogul do’l’be wewi’ dahu’man
his son-in-law Turtle. He knew

uda’wazemal ne’li’ho’got’ amukski’ dahu’
his nephew so was causing it. He got angry with

man eli’ ho’got’ ga’matc aga’djo do’l’be
him for doing it, very ashamed Turtle e’dudji muskwi’ dahu’ sit ugi’zi’ dahu’daman
so much he felt angry. He made up his mind

wani’lan Glu’skåbal welg’ wiwik
kill Glusk’be. At evening

udi’lan uda’wazemal pe’ mal’ gwik
he said to his nephew, “To-night

ki’ u’mat’ e nizo’ si’ nune’ ge’ hel’a
you and I directly together will lie.” Accordingly

uni’ zo’ si’ n’a wa’ skwe Glusk’be
they lay together that Glusk’be

wewi’ dahu’ mal ke’ di’ alalo’ kelit ma’ ni
knew it what he would do. After

ki’ sasi’ nohodit udi’ dhaman madje’ gona’tc
they had lain down, he wished, “Commence also to
gobo’ skuhwádi nage’ hel’a madje’ gom your member.” Accordingly it grew
do’l’be abe’ skuwahádi ma’ lam’ Turtle his member. Then

ude’dabigwunag’ zo’ tاغun to’ gi’ lat
it became as long as to reach to his head. He woke up

pema’ kwasi’ gwa’ wen eli’ dohásit
lying alongside of him some one he thought (it was)

Glusk’be ga’ o agwi’ lonat i’ dak
Glusk’be sleeping; he felt of him, he said,
kii+ ule’ wëgan wewam’ dama’ man
“Ki+i+ his heart!” He felt of it
edi’ te’ s’ ak uni’ se’ kwak’ wi’ kwana’ mon there it beating, his knife he took.
sesala’ ‘ki uzq’ p’ tah’ a ncedudi
All of a sudden he jabbed him. Then

tci’ ba’ gowet a gë’ e+ y’a el’ bit he gave a cry, “A gë’ e+ y’a!” Looking

a’ nsama ude’ zEk’ *toh’ man ube’ skuwawádi
right square he had jabbed it through his member.

**TRANSLATION**

After this they started out, and went to a village, where, as strangers, they entered the chief’s house. Auk was the chief. Auk had three daughters. Now, the Turtle took a liking to one girl; so he said to his nephew, Glusk’be, “Nephew, I should like that particular girl, the youngest one; so now I want you to propose for me.” Glusk’be replied, “All right, I will propose for you.” So that night Glusk’be sent the proposal-wampum to the chief for Turtle, and he was accepted. Right away they got married. Ki+ a splendid dance and a great feast were furnished by the Turtle. The people ate and played games, running races and jumping. Then said Glusk’be to his uncle, “Now you jump in the contests, too. Jump over your father-in-law’s wigwam, Auk’s, the chief’s house. Jump over it three times, but not more than three times.”

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1 The first degree of objurgative emphasis in verbs, translated ordinarily nowadays as, “Then he fell, damn him!” The objurgative element here is -dj-, a still more forcible element is-djale-, and the ultimate is _djalegidi_-. 
Ki′i! when Turtle jumped over the top of Auk’s wigwam, all the people were greatly astonished. He beat every one in jumping. And he became very proud, this Turtle, and said, “Oh! that’s nothing.” Then he tried to jump again. Now Glusk’be, by thinking, caused him to get caught in the wigwam-poles of Auk’s house; and there the rascal stuck, and soon fell into the fire, where he lay on his back. His back was all wrinkled and dried. That’s why the turtle’s back is so nowadays. Auk, indeed, could hardly snatch his son-in-law from the fire. Turtle knew that his nephew was the cause of his trouble, and so got angry with him for what he had done. Turtle was very much ashamed, and, besides, very angry; so he made up his mind to kill Glusk’be that evening. That evening he said to his nephew, “To-night we shall lie down together.” Accordingly they slept together that night. Now, Glusk’be knew what Turtle was planning. So, after they had lain down, Glusk’be, by thinking, caused Turtle’s member to grow very large. So Turtle’s member began to grow very large indeed, until at last it got to be as large as his own body, as tall as his head. When he woke up, Turtle thought that the object lying beside him was Glusk’be, sound asleep; so he felt of him, and said, “Ki′i! his heart throbs.” He could feel the pulse beating in his member. Then he took his knife and all of a sudden stabbed it. He made an outcry. “Age′+yu′!” Point blank he had jabbed his knife through his own member.

SECONDARY HERO-TRANSFORMER TALES

1. LONG-HAIR (Kwun-a′was) IS ABANDONED BY HIS PARENTS, AND IS RAISED BY HIS GRANDMOTHER, WOODCHUCK

wa′ka na′lamak me′tagwik pan′awa′-Far up river at head of Penobscot- mske′utuk′w na′wat e′rigosa odene River long ago where was village

ali′wi′ ′tazu q′zwazo′ge′s′ak ni′wi′′gi′za
called Crooked-Channel there lived
ktci′sa′ngomo a′li′wi′′zo nak′′tata′′wit
great chief named Lone-Light,
gi′nha′ndo na′ga gi′ni′nag′zu
great magician and very powerful
gizi′dha′nigazo′sa na′ga taba′wus
beloved by his people; and seven
une′mona no′gwudas gi′ni′nag′zowak
his sons. Six were powerful,
ke′nuk nihi′mosa′dji′na ke′nuk
but these he loved; but
made′s′a pi′wabas′u ni′lil a′tama
the youngest small, that one not
amosa′dji′na e′bagwa′tc ami′lwγ′na
he loved so much that he gave him away
wuzu′gwu′s′a moni′mkwes′uwel′ nemoni′mk-
to his mother-in-law Woodchuck. Then Wood-
wes′u oma′dje′gonan o′kwe′nasal′
chuck raised him as his grandchild,
nodli′wi′lan Kwun′a′was wutc eli′′wli′gu
then called him Long-Hair, for so nice (was)
ubir′esomal′ ga′matc omosa′dji′na
his hair, very much she loved
o′kwe′nasal uzam una′mi′ta′wan
her grandson, because she saw him
e′li′ ga′di gi′nhan′do′wili′lit nodage′-
how going to be great magician. Then she-
ki′man e′li′ ka′dana′lut awa′s′ak
taught him how to hunt beasts,
pala′te nta′m′ka e′li′ po′nawama′wut
the very first of all how to set snares for
ma′tagwe′′s′u be′dji′leo kado′pow′gan
rabbit. Came here a famine,
na′mas′i′ madje′kenoldi′na a′lnabak
then all left the place the people.
oda′li naga′la′na moni′mkwes′uwel′
Then there they abandoned Woodchuck
na′ga kwe′nasal na′ga ma′dje′gadon′ka
and her grandson. And began to hunt
Kwun′a′was pala′te ma′tagwes′uwel′
Long-Hair, first of all, rabbits
ogadona'la we'dji kisimi'tsi'dit to hunt, is that they could eat.
naKwun'a'was uda'tcwemdamə o'komas'al
Then Long-Hair wanted his grandmother udli' tagwun ta'mbial na'ga ba'kwal to make him a bow and arrows we'dji giz'i'bmam madji'les'uwal so that he could shoot partridges.
moni'mkwes'u udli'han ta'mbial na'ga Woodchuck made for him bow and ba'kwal nta'mk'a'te ki'u' set Kwun'a'was arrows. The first time he walked about (hunting),
Long-Hair ggi'mataba'wus ne'ladjih'i' madji'les'uwal remarkable seven killed partridges.
ed'dudji wli'dahasit moni'mkwes'u So much she rejoiced Woodchuck e'bagwatc' on account of it, she danced. Woodchuck said kwe'nus'al o'n'i' kwe'nus'is na'ga to her grandson, "Now, little grandson! and pmauzi'nena ni ni'kwup' ka'dona'lan we shall live this now you will hunt ktc'i'awa's ak ni'kwup' kami'lan big animals now I shall give you kamo'sumsal uda'tambil nmoni'mkwes'u your grandfather's bow. Then Woodchuck omu'ska'namon miga'n'gwe udli'k'hasin took out a bark vessel, searching odji'moskəna wa'mbiga'niye1 ta'mbial she took from it white bone made (ivory)1 bow na'ga sa'wonal nodi'lan kwe'nas and flint arrows, then she said, "Grandson, wa ta'mbi kmo'sumsal uda'tambil that bow your grandfather his bow. na ni'kwup' mosi'dan ne'mi'hat Hence now all whatever you may see awa's a'tamat kəbu'lgu beast never escape you."
nta'm'ka'te gwi'lat Kwun'a'was The first time he went about, Long-Hair q'gi'mataba'was no'lkə' ne'la'dji'hī remarkable seven deer killed.
dana'skwe no'kami e'nda mi'na "How is it, grandma, not more ta'ma ai'w'i'yak a'lnəbak moni'mkwes'u anywhere exist people?" Woodchuck seska'demin si'pki' dabi'dahasu cried for a long time she pondered moni'mkwes'u mala'mte i'dak kwe'nas Woodchuck then she said, "My grandchild, a'i'wak kə'da'gik a'lnəbak kii'ntac there exist other people,— you and my kə'da'lnəbe'mnawak ke'nu'k i'yu our people (relatives), but here eda'li'na'na'ngaban we'dji gwaskwalamia' is where they abandoned us so that starve to death, aso'ke gəbma'u'zi'bənə e'skwa in spite of it we are living yet. a'lmot'ha'doba'nik ala'gwi we'dji They moved away in direction whence sq'əkihi'lat gi'zo's2 ni'kwup' gwa'li comes out the sun.2 Now near ktc'is'əbeguk ayo'lduwak məzi' ela'goda' the great ocean they exist. All our kin man udali'widi'lan naKwun'a'was there went with them." Then Long-Hair udi'daman ni'kwup' ngwila'uhən said, "Now I shall search for them, naga'di na'mi'hak ndaləng'baumak I want to see them my people." udi'lan moni'mkwes'u o'kwe'nas'al Said Woodchuck to her grandchild, ga'matc nagwi' te'ldaman anda' mi'na "Very much I am afraid not again kəna'mi'ho'lawən wəm na'nəgwa'te I shall see you, because some ma'dji'-se'nəbək ki'dji'ak ka'do'nə'logətəc are bad men your brothers seeking your life na'mi'uske kə'da'tcwə wəlu'skə'ho'datəmən when they see you you must take good care.

1 Described as a composite bow made of three lengths of ivory lashed together.

The east.
Far up the river, at the head of Penobscot River, where there was a village called Crooked Channel, there lived a great chief named Lone-Light. He was a great and powerful magician, beloved by his people, and he had seven sons. Six were strong, and these he loved; but the youngest was small, and that one he loved not. On this account he gave him away to his mother-in-law, Woodchuck. Then Woodchuck raised him as her grandson, and called him Long-Hair, for he had such nice hair. Very much she loved her grandson. Then she taught him how to hunt beasts, first of all how to set snares for rabbits.

There came a famine, and all the people left the place and abandoned Woodchuck and her grandson. Then Long-Hair began to hunt. First of all, rabbits he hunted, so that they could eat. Then Long-Hair wanted his grandmother to make him a bow and arrows, so that he could hunt partridges. Woodchuck made him a bow and arrows. The first time he went about, Long-Hair, strange to say, killed seven partridges. So much Woodchuck rejoiced on account of this, that she danced, and said to her grandson, "Now, little grandson, indeed we shall live from now on. You will hunt big animals. Now, I shall give you your grandfather's bow." Then Woodchuck took out a bark basket. Searching in it, she took out a bow of ivory, and flint arrows, and said, "Grandson, that bow is your grandfather's bow. Henceforth whatever beasts you may see will never escape you." The first time he went about, Long-Hair, strange to say, killed seven deer. "How is it, grandmother, that no more people exist anywhere?" Woodchuck wept; and for a long time she pondered, then she said, "My grandchild, there do exist other people,—your relatives and my relatives,—but they abandoned us here to starve to death. In spite of it, however, we are living yet. They moved away in the direction whence comes up the
sun. Now, near the great ocean they still exist. All our kin went there with them." Then Long-Hair said, "Now, I will search for them, for I want to see my people." Said Woodchuck to her grandchild, "Very much I fear that not again shall I see you, because some are bad men, your brothers, who will seek your life when they see you. You must take good thought, for there will be two villages equally to be passed through; and if you pass these, you will live. But now I must help you." Then Woodchuck searched in a bark basket, and took out from it a belt. Said she, "Here! Whatever you wish for, it will obey you if you only say to it what you wish." Then Long-Hair said to his grandmother, "Do not worry about me. I shall try to take care of myself on my journey. Surely I shall come again." He said to his grandmother, "Here is my pipe; I shall leave it with you, my stone pipe. Place this in your bed as you lie down, and watch it. As long as it is empty, worry not; but should you see it contain blood, watch it well, for then danger is present before me. But if it does not become full, I am still living, and shall soon come back."

2. LONG-HAIR STARTS OUT

IN SEARCH OF HIS PEOPLE, AND OVERCOMES THE BAD PEOPLE OF THREE VILLAGES

naKwun'a'was omadje'lan agwi'la'ohan
Then Long-Hair went away to seek
udalne'bemal elmo'set taba'was
his people, going along seven
days ends he came to a village.
ubi'dilgan ni'ta'ma'tek wi'gwam,
He entered the first wigwam,
wlidaha'suwak ktcipalu'sis na'ga
they rejoiced old man and
tciphe'nam udi'lan Kwun'a'wasal
old woman. They said to Long-Hair,
gamatch ni'u'na sa'nagwat i'yu
"Very much we dangerous here
ndode'lena ga'match ma'dji' se'nqbe
our village, very bad man
sq'gama oga'donalan mazi' dan
chief he tries to kill all who
be'djo'set udode'nenuk de'banuk gobe'dji-
come to his village, soon they will come to
nadjji'p'hoge ko'li'sko'hodaman
get you; you take good care for yourself,
kadona'lguk kowi'djo'kemzi' tega'gi'
they want to kill you; you help yourself as much as
bagwa'tawan tebedjo'san ni'zwak
you are able to." Then came two
se'nabak udi'daman kong'dji
men they said, "We are going
kadona'lana tama'kwe nagwazobet-
to kill beaver in the
misi'sak udi'daman ni'a dili'lan
little pond." He said, "I will go.
palu'sasis udi'lan ni'a'tc kwidjo'kemal
The old man said, "And I will help you.
taba'was se'nabak ki'gi'ni ndla'gi'man
Seven men secretly I ordered
kaso'sana omadjabosi'na tama'kwe
to go along." They all started to where beaver
e'irt elabit Kwun'a'was ktc
was. He saw Long-Hair, big
nagwa'sobem e'lmega'me'k una'mi'han
lake along the lake; he saw
ktci'wa'djowal nodi'lagun yu'hi
big mountains. They told him these
a'lnaba na wa'sis'e tama'kwe wza'mi
people, "That nest of beaver too
agwane'gi'zogat se'batc kmo'dnana
late in the day, but to-morrow we will attack him
tama'kwe yut kda'tcwi'ka'daguni'beaver.
Here must we stay over
di'bna ma'nite wul'gwak yu'gik
night." Then they lay down these
madji'a'lnabak be'malagwek na'tc
bad people on the glare ice. Then

1 This verb is used in the sense of "hunting down," "preying upon," in reference to game-animals.
Kwun'a'was sen'a'bema olq'gwana Long-Hair his men lay down
pagwa'mik nagazi-'bi' u'da'do'ksoldi'ni'na on the ice. At the same time they told stories
a'bodelmo'lduwak naKwun'a'was they were laughing. Then Long-Hair
wudagwa'bi'zun wi'sekhosoldi'ni'na naga' his belt covered them, and
a'tc ne'qoma u'da'dosoldi'ni'na naga' also they told stories and
uda'bodelmo'ldi'na mala'm'te ktc'gi'lk lak' laughed. Then great stillness
kada'gik a'lnq'bak masi'te kwa'skwadjo'-the others, people all froze to
dowak ma'djii'a'lnq'ba' ne'qoma'skwé death bad people. Then they
Kwun'a'was na'ga usenq'bema Long-Hair and his men
dje'kwon'i' gao'dowak nama'djabo'si'na all night slept. Then they
o'denek masi'awen uli'dahasu to the village, every one rejoiced
nek'a'nehe'dit ma'djii' a'lnq'bak that they overcame bad people.
bà'maga'nà a'lnq'bak edu'djii They danced the people, so much
wuli'dahaso'ldi'hi'dit e'bagwatac they rejoiced on account of it
mo'wi'mi'tsoldowak mi'na odji'madjo' they held a great feast. Again departed
Kwun'a'was mi'na teb'a'was Long-Hair and in seven
kesogna'ki'wik obedjo'san kada'k days' time he came to another
o'dene mi'nà'te obi'digan ni'tama'tek village, then again he entered the first
wi'gwam mi'na tc'a'lnq'be na'ga wigwam, again an old man and
tc'iphe'nam uli'doha'suwak mi'na old woman rejoiced, again
udi'laná Kwun'a'wasal no'li'dha'si'bna they said to Long-Hair, "We rejoice
ni'una ne'mi'holek'w' ke'nuk that we see you, but
ka'dona'lguk nda'lnq'be'mnawak ni'u'natc' they seek your life our people, and our
madji'se'nqbe se'q'goma de'bone kabe'djii- bad man chief soon will come to
nadji'p'hoge kda'tcwi ko'lline'nawé- get you you must take good care for
Imas'in tebe'djii'ndadjii'p'hogon se'q'ba yourself." Then came for him men.
udi'lagó kna'dahe'oldi'ba' bantu'k'sis'sak He was told, "We will engage in sport in the little- 
"We e'bagwatc ko'l'nawe'" rapid." He was told, "We will engage in sport in the little-
had eaten, he went with them. They reached
ktcib'antaguk udi'lana Kwun'a'wasal a great rapid. They said Long-Hair,
nehe' debo'se ki'a ni'ka'kan'ke debo'san nera'ma jú'gwa'-
"Now, embark in the canoe! You get in the bow!" He got in
agwi'ndanuk noda'mi'la'kana nagwa'- into the canoe, then they pushed him off. Then
dagwa'bi'zun una'stun udi'lana his belt he put on, he said
u'gogwa'bi'zun kada'hi'lgwebna na to his belt, "We will drift down." Then
monimkwe'su e'lbít u'da'màcgan Woodchuck looking at her pipe
ta'obe paga'kan seska'demin j'ta'm in it was blood, she wept; she said,
nkwe'nas sa'gi' mi'ko'kam "My grandchild severe is in danger."
nodbi'na'wun u'da'màcgan mala'mte' Then she watched it her pipe. At last
sínl'kile u'da'màcgan monimkwe'su it went dry her pipe. Woodchuck
onagi'godahi'n obamagam i'ta'm jumped up, she danced, she said,
kwe'nasis pma'uzas'u "My little grandchild is living!"
Kwun'a'was madja'halagwán ba'ntaguk Long-Hair began to drift away into the rapids.
Then safely he drifted through, he paddled ashore; he began to carry his canoe up river on the portage.

When he arrived there, he said to them these Long-Hair bad people, “Very much I like the sport, again let us drift down.” All then he told them, "Well, you get in." Very much they were afraid; they had to get in. They drifted down.

All sukskatcagi’hasolduwak omadjìn o’denek they were ground to pieces. He went to the village back again, they rejoiced for killing the great magicians. Lnàbak e’bagwàtc oba’magana na’ga people, on account of it they danced and amìtsol’dinà feasted.

mi’na odji’madjìn taba’was seven Again he went away, ge’sogana’ki’wik be’dj’osàn koda’k days’ time he came to another o’denì mi’nà obì’digan ni’ta’ma’tek village, again he went in the first wi’gwan yu’odene i’siga’ni tci’kte wigwam. This village one side was quiet, a’tesìga’ni na’ska’tèqg wattsulidh’osàtc -the other side was uproarious, they rejoiced on account of it a dance, they were

kidi’hawa yu’hi’ koda’gi’hi al’lnàba tormenting these other people a’gamos dene uga’gohil’ki’hawa wzi’m across the village, they were tormenting because agwi’telma’gawà ni’yù’ eda’liwadji” - they were afraid. Then here where coming-

Very "wzi’m nàgwi’telmana’wan us because we are afraid of them, na’ga wsenq’bema udi’lagun de’banuk and his men." He was told, "Very soon some gobe’djì’nadji’p’hoge wzi’m ka’dona’l’guk they will come to get you because they seek your-

life."

ni’"kwp’ koli’nena’l’ma’asin ge’hela’tre Now, take good care of yourself.” Accordingly nà’nagac’was be’djì’na’djì’han se’nàbe soon after he came for him a man be’djì’lat udi’lan Kwun’a’wasal nehe’ coming said to Long-Hair, "Now, ni’dàbe koba’po’ldi’bana’gwa kadebe’- my friend, we are going to play they say, we will

skwomhà’dì’bna Kwun’a’was udi’lan play ball."1 Long-Hair said to him, ke’hel’e’t ni’dàbe ndli’lan ni’’atc ‘Surely, my friend, I shall go, for I

now’’gi’ ebe’sk’he’ma’ nom’a’gonan I am fond of ball.” Then he picked taba’was se’nàba ke’so’se’djì’hi seven men to go with him.

e’lmabo’shi’ddi’ Kwun’a’was gi’zi’domi’p’han While they were going, Long-Hair took and broke-

off kwa’n’a’skwondawgir’zal na’ga udalà’m’sa’- the tip of a spruce-branch, and put it in his hasin be’dj’oset eda’li ebe’skwomha’- bosom, coming there they played-
di’hi’ddi’ udi’lagun nehe’ ni’dàbe ball. He was told, “Now, my friend,

1 Lacrosse. This game was formerly played after the Iroquois manner.
yugilwala'gwini nudalaba'si'na Kwun'a'was
this is your direction." Then they went Long-Hair
na'ga wi'dqba' ugi'za'dji'na no'wa
and his friends ready to play, then that
ktaha'n'do ube'djip'han ebe'sk'wa' magician
threw the-
managana'ga udlak'kan ktaha'n'dwi
ball and threw it down, a magic
wa'sagag'dap manit'e madje'gewe'le
empty head, skull. Then it began to roll
ktaha'n'dowi wa'sagag'dap na'lau
the magic skull. Then
oma'dnago'na wa'sagag'dap mala'mte
it attacked them the skull. At last
ubet'ko'gona gwali' ktciso'beguk
it droved them near the great ocean,
me'tagwe'dji'lak kwes'we'k nedu'dji' to
the end of a point of land. Then so
Kwun'a'was goda'ksko'dak masi' wuzu'kskam-
Long-Hair kicked it all smashed to
ki'teka'man ne'dudji Kwun'a'was
pieces. Then Long-Hair
memla'uelmit i'dak Kwun'a'was ak'wa'dale
and gave a great laugh. He said, Long-Hair, "Oho!
ni'dqbe bo'skali'zoz'u ebe'sk'ha'mag
my friend, a very tender ball
tce'na o'wa ni'a ndabes'kha'mag
let us this my ball
agwe'tskoha'lane ni'yomo'kip'han
let us try." Then he took out
kwan'a'skwonda'gwal nabe'gos'ik
his spruce-branch tip. When it struck ground,
madje'gwe'le kada'k wa'sagag'dap
it began to roll another skull
nawo'mbi'ga'ni'ye ma'nite'ma'djeba-
that of ivory. At last it began-
gahad'qmu nda'tama ugi'zi' te'a'n'-
to bite, not could they kick-
tekamona'na ktaha'n'dowak ma'lam
it away the magicians. Then
abe'tpolagona nobi'k so'beguk mani-
it drove them to the water in the ocean, then
tca'uwwapi'gidahoiduwak nabi'k
they jumped all into the water.

begso'o'di'dit ktcina'me'si'la'uladawak
Where they struck they were transformed into big-
fish.1

naKwun'a'wasal wun'a'dodama'wona
Then Long-Hair they begged of him
uni'dja'nowa wulege'si'zowa2 naKwun'a'was
their children's little breech-cloths.3 Then-
Long-Hair
udila'lan nda'tama kami'lo'nak wza'm
said, "Not I shall give them to you because
e'li'gadona'li'ek' be'dji' na'dode'kolek' that you sought my life coming to visit you.
nawado'ge no'dji'la no'dji'na' Then-
long ways I came from in order to see-
muihyo'lek' ki'lawo na'dji'ak nani'lwu
your, my brothers. But now
ndje'li'kma'uzi'ek' no'dji'aste'ksi'ek'
hence so you shall live you shall never increase.
wuli'dhaso'ldi'wi'ina Kwun'a'was ni'dqba'
They rejoiced Long-Hair his friends.
ba'magana'na na'ga mitso'ldi'na
They danced and feasted.

TRANSLATION

Then Long-Hair went away to seek his
people. Travelling for seven days, he came
to a village. He entered the first wigwam;
and an old man and woman in it rejoiced, and
said to Long-Hair, "We are very dangerous
here in our village. A very bad man is our
chief. He tries to kill all who come to his
village. In a short time they will come to
get you; so take good care of yourself, for
they seek your life. You help yourself as
much as you are able to." Then came two
men. They said, "We are going to kill beaver
in the little pond." Said he, "I will go too." The
old man said, "And I will help you.
Seven men secretly I ordered to go along with

1 Becoming sharks.
2 The sharks asked for these as a means of recover-
ing something to enable them to restore themselves
by their magic.
they all started to where the beaver was. Long-Hair saw a big lake, and along the lake he saw a big mountain. Then they told him, these people, "That is the nest of the beaver. It is too late in the day now; but to-morrow we shall attack him, the beaver. We must stay here over night." Then they lay down, these bad people, on the glare ice, and Long-Hair and his men lay down on the ice at the same time. They told stories and were laughing. Then Long-Hair covered them with his belt. And they too told stories and were laughing. At last a great stillness came over the other people. They all froze to death, the bad people. Then Long-Hair and his men slept all night; and they went to the village, where every one rejoiced that they had overcome the bad people. They danced, and the people rejoiced so much over it that they held a great feast.

Again Long-Hair departed; and again, in seven days' time, he came to another village; and then, again, he entered the first wigwam; and again an old woman and an old man rejoiced; and again they said to Long-Hair, "We rejoice that we see you; but our people seek your life, and our chief is a bad man. Soon he will come to get you. You must take good care of yourself." Then came for him some men; and he was told, "We will engage in sport in the little rapids." After he had eaten, he went with them, and they reached the Great Falls. And they said to Long-Hair, "Now get into the canoe. You sit in the bow." He got into the canoe, and they pushed him off. Then he put his belt on, and said to his belt, "We will drift down."

Then Woodchuck, looking at her pipe, saw in it blood, and she wept. She said, "My grandchild is in severe danger;" and she watched it, her pipe, and at last the pipe went dry. Then Woodchuck jumped up, danced about, and said, "My grandchild is still living!"

Long-Hair then began to drift away into the rapids. At last safely he drifted through and paddled ashore, and he began to carry his canoe up the river on the portage. When he reached them, he said to these bad people, "Very much I like the sport; let us drift down again." Then he told them all, "So, you get in." They were very much afraid; but they had to get in, and they all drifted down and they were killed. They were ground to pieces, all of them. Then he went back to the village again, and they rejoiced for the killing of the great bad magicians, and on account of it they danced and feasted.

Again he left, and in seven days' time he came to another village; and again he went in the first wigwam. In this village one side was quiet, and the other side was uproarious. On account of it a rejoicing and a dance were being held. The latter were tormenting the other people across the village; they were tormenting them because they were afraid. Then, as he came up here, he was told, "Thus they are always doing in our village; they abuse us because we are afraid of them; such great magicians are they, the bad chief and his men." He was told, "Soon they will come to get you, because they seek your life. Now take good care of yourself." Accordingly, soon after a man came for him, saying as he came up to Long-Hair, "Now, my friend, we are going to play; we will play lacrosse." Then Long-Hair said to him, "Surely, my friend, I shall go, for I am fond of lacrosse." Then he picked seven men to go with him; and while they were on the way, Long-Hair took and broke off the tip of a spruce-branch and put it in his bosom. When he reached the place where they played ball, he was told, "Now, my friend, this is the direction of your goal." Then they went, Long-Hair and his friends, and were ready to play. Then the magician brought the ball and threw it down. It was a great magic skull. And it began to roll, this magic skull, and it attacked them, and at last it drove them near the great ocean to the end of the land. Thereupon Long-Hair kicked it, and smashed it all to pieces. Thereupon Long-Hair gave a great laugh. Said Long-Hair,
"Ho, ho, my friend, such a tender ball! Let us try this, my ball." Then he took out his spruce-branch tip; and when it struck the ground, it began to roll, another skull of ivory. At last it began to bite. The magicians could not kick it away. Then it drove them to the water into the ocean, and they all jumped into the water. When they struck, they were transformed into big fish, sharks. Then they begged of Long-Hair the breech-cloths of their little children; but Long-Hair said, "I shall not give them to you, because you sought my life when I came to visit you: A long distance I travelled in order to see you, my brothers, but henceforth thus you shall live. You shall never increase." Long-Hair and his friends then rejoiced. They danced and feasted.

3. LONG-HAIR FINDS A GOOD VILLAGE, AND DOMESTICATES THE DOG
	nodji-‘madjin Kwun’a’was nona’stun
Then he went away Long-Hair; then he put on
a’gudagwa’bi’zun na’ga udi’da’man
his belt and said,
ška’tcwí: bedjo’sebna no’‘komasage’
“We must come back to grandmother
pe’mla’ngwik ge’lat’e be’djo’sak
this evening,” Straightway they came
o’‘komasage’ moni’mkwe’s’u e’dudji
to his grandmother Woodchuck; so much
wul’i’doshasít moni’mkwe’s’u e’bogwa’tc
rejoiced Woodchuck on account of it,
seska’demú nodo’dala‘si’mín Kwun’a’was
she wept. Then he rested Long-Hair,
taba’was geso’goni ka’o me’magwa’sit
seven days he slept. When he had enough,
mi’na o’loma’s-al’ udi’lan mi’na
again to his grandmother he said, “Again
ngwi’la’ohak kada’gik a’nqabak
I will search for other people
pi’lwm’tódidjik pska’oge natc
of a different kind. Where found, there
kloda’nena pi’‘ta i’yú: nagi’wadjí’ná-
we will move. Extremely here lonely it is
gwat ni’‘kupaga’ k na’bi’tc be’djo’se
now indeed, soon I shall come back,
na’tetc kma’dje’oda’nena nodji-‘ma’djin
and there we shall begin to move." Then he left
Kwun’a’was udi’lagun o’‘komas’al
Long-Hair. He was told by his grandmother,
ni’‘kwup kdlo’san pa’skwenuak
“Now you walk southward,
ni’dji’dali’mska’wat wuli’alnq’bak
because there you will find good people.”
taba’was ge’sogana’ki’wik ube’djo’san
Seven days’ length he came
o’denek mi’na ni’tama’tek wi’gwam
to a village, again in the first wigwam
ubi’di’gan wul’i’dohaso’lduwak a’lngbak
he entered. They rejoiced the people
eda’li udji’ ‘tci’hiwet udi’lagun ga’matc
there he was a guest. He was told, “Very much
noli’daha’si’bana be’djo’san ga’madji’yu
we rejoice that you come, very here
u’li’o’dene se’luk awa’s’ak wola’kaga’ni
a good village many beasts (game), good place
to live in
i’bi’tde na’nawutc ma’dji’gowak
only some bad
awa’s’ak nsan’g’zowak ni’ ‘kwapaha
beasts dangerous. Now, if
i’yua’yane ki’taba ni’gik ma’dji’awa’s’ak
here you stay, you may these bad beasts
gabemha’n’dwi’ka’dawak i’da’k Kwun’a’-
you subdue them by magic.” Said Long-
was noli’dahas a’tc ni’a
Hair, “I am glad, and I
kona’mi’hol’na e’lwete’tc nabe’do’debaná
see you, and probably we shall move here,
n’a’ga kwí’dji’dle’molana’ ni’una
and we shall stay with you, I and
no’‘komas weso’za’ki’wik o’dji’madje’lan
my grandmother.” The next morning he left,
no’gadagwa’bi’zun una’stun ugo’l’daman
his belt he put on, he spoke to it,
he said, "Must we come this evening to our camp." Rejoiced Woodchuck there, they got ready, and They rejoiced the people when they arrived at the village.

He went to the woods searching for beasts.

At last he found them, and then he looked for which one was willing to stay with people after they had assembled.

awu:'sa' ne udi:'lan nehe' a'wen the beads; then he said, "Now, who is willing to stay with our descendants?"

Then some were very angry and went off shaking themselves, said, "I stay because they are too poor." At last suddenly went away.

be'sago i'dak ni'a nawi'dji'leman one said, "I stay with our descendants, I am willing now with them, to share poverty." That dog said. Then Long-Hair said, "Very much I thank you, you also can help."

You said, they were said, he our nehe" can the squirrel. Rejoiced there, the people, but can very much, he said, "You (is) Long-Hair; and he put on his belt, and said, "We must go back to grandmother this evening." Straightway they arrived at his grandmother's. Woodchuck rejoiced so much, that Woodchuck wept on account of it. Then Long-Hair rested for seven days. He slept. When he had enough, again he said to his grandmother, "Again I will search for other people, of a different kind. We will move there where
they are found. Extremely lonely it is here, for now I shall soon come back, and we shall begin to move there." Then Long-Hair left. He was told by his grandmother, "Now you walk southward, because there you will find good people." After seven days he came to a village, and again he entered the first wigwam. The people rejoiced, and there he was their guest. He was told, "We rejoice very much that you have come, for here is a very good village. There is much game. This is a good place to live in, only that some beasts are dangerous. Now, if you stay here, you can subdue these bad beasts by magic." Then said Long-Hair, "I am glad to see you; and probably we shall move here, and we shall stay with you, I and my grandmother." The next morning he left. He put on his belt; he spoke to it; he said, "We must come this evening to our camp." Woodchuck rejoiced, and they got ready and started off. The people rejoiced when they arrived at the village.

Then he went into the woods, searching for beasts. At last he found them, and then he called them by hallooing to them. First he sought out which one was willing to stay with the people. After the beasts had assembled, then he said, "Now, who is willing to stay with our descendants?" And some were very angry, and went off shaking themselves, saying, "Not I will stay, because they are too poor." At last suddenly one said, "I will stay with our descendants, I am willing now, I will share their poverty with them." It was the dog that spoke. Then Long-Hair said, "I thank you very much, for you also can help them, our descendants. Henceforth those who went off shaking themselves, they shall also hold you in fear. All of the other different kinds shall hold you in fear." And then he called the other beasts, and he said, "Now, this dog, him you shall fear. The squirrel is the most evil one, but I can fix him so that he will not again be dangerous." And he called him, and said, "You, squirrel, powerful one, I indeed can make you become small; so small may you become, that you indeed will fear the crow." And he stroked his hair, and the squirrel began to grow small. Now he is only as large as the squirrel.

4. LONG-HAIR'S GRANDMOTHER DIES, AND HE FALLS IN LOVE, ONLY TO BE KILLED BY A JEALOUS SORCERESS

nuna'di'elin ama'stahan awa's'a'
Then he went hunting, he got a supply of beasts.
na'gasi'bi ami'lawan mi'tcaw'gan
And then he gave away the food
awa's'wi'ye na'ga wuli'dahaso'ludwak
animal meat and they rejoiced
a'ln'ahak educ'dji wala'm'tak'w pi'li:
the people, so kind he was the strange
a'ln'ahbe umi'tso'ldi'na ba'magana
man, they feasted they danced.
nomoni'mkwe's'u uda'kwama'lsin na'ste
Then Woodchuck became sick, soon
ume'tci'ne ga'matc Kwun'a'was
she died. Very Long-Hair
usigi'dahasu ode'ldamonal o'kamas'al
felt lonesome, he missed his grandmother,
taba'was geso'gani seska'demun ndo'ki'lat
seven days he wept, then he woke up;
agwil'a'wamba'man p'he'nanu e'lpkwa'-
he went to look for a woman to cook for
lagotcil ni'swaw o'li'na'wan be'sago
him, two looked good to him,—one
sangoma's'kwes'isis kada'k ktaha'n'doskwe'
a chief's daughter, the other a great sorceress.
ni'la'skwwe a'was'a'gi tcuwe'lmagu'l
The latter beyond measure wanted him.
na'kskwe Kwun'a'was abe'mel'man
Young girl Long-Hair he preferred,
sa'ngoma's'kwe's'isal e'dudji noktaha'n-
the chief's daughter; so then the
doskwe ali'doham'at ndahabe'skwe
sorceress thought, "Impossible that one
Kwun'a'was amatana'wi'al ni'lil
Long-Hair will get her the one
Kwun'a'was ala'tc ni'łakta'gni ni'"kwup Long-Hair or else I will kill both." Now namadjedbi'dahada'man dan udi'gi'zina then she began to think out how she could ba'ka'tawen Kwun'a'was'al pala'te entice Long-Hair. First of all ogomo'dana'man ugo'dagwa'bi'zun she stole his belt, na'gasi'bi udlolo'san e'iri'lit wi'gwomwa'k and then she went where he was in his wigwan.

ud'i'lan Kwun'a'wasal nobe't' She said to Long-Hair, "I wish gi'zi'nahlo'li'a'ne ktc'i'mana'hanuk naga'di you could paddle me over to the big island, I want nda'wizzi asi'kimir'al gi's to pick low-bush cranberries. Can nda'lawadmigemi ndolo'lo'lagen kia'te not get any one else to paddle me over, but you mos'gha'la ka'dawo'mbemal naKwun'a are the last one I am going to rcequent." Then was udi'i'lan ni'a nawi'gada'man Long-Hair said, "I am willing gada'lhor'lon naga'metc wuli'dahasu to paddle you over." Then very much she felt-pleased ktaha'ndoskwe nowubo'si'ne ktc'imana' the great sorceress. Then they went to the big hanuk bedji'la'dit udi'i'lan Kwun'a'wasal island. When they came there, she said to Long-Hair, nsa'wa'tu nga'di'andala'si'mi i'yu' "I am tired, I want to rest here, pal'a' a'bin'e ma'kwa'was udi'i'lan first let us sit down a little while." He said Kwun'a'was q'ha a'bin'e nola'bin Long-Hair, "Yes, let us sit down." Then they sat down.

oma'dje a'eda wula'wenen Kwun'a'was She began so to stroke his hair, Long-Hair uga'win nowaha'ndoskwe ude'stawen fell asleep, then the sorceress placed uma'ksan wo'dabek Kwun'a'wasal her moccasin on his head, Long-Hair's.

negalat wi'kwonomon udu'l na'ga Then she left him, she took her canoe and abo'sin unaga't'han Kwun'a'wasal went away, she abandoned Long-Hair. to'klat Kwun'a'was nda'tama He woke up Long-Hair, not una'mir'ha'wial p'he'nomu ma'nite he saw her his woman, then awewi'daha'mal unaga'lothogul nobaba'he knew (what had happened). He was abandoned, mo'san mona'hanuk uma'daban then he wandered all about the island. He walked down si'damuk' nona'mihan name'sial to the'shore, then he saw a little fish, nodi'i'lan naga't'ho'ga'nia nodla'gim man then he said, "I am abandoned then inform naghdi' we'wado'keman ktc'i'asigala'ldi go tell him the big bone shark nda'tcwe'ldamane t'a'goho'logun I wish to be taken ashore." nobeda'godelan asi'galadi udi'i'lan Then he came swimming the bone shark. He said Kwun'a'wasal kana'ta'goho'la de'so'se to Long-Hair, "I will take you ashore; get upon nbeskwa'nak na'ga kobo'sigigwewin my back and close your eyes, mo'zak ampska'bi'katc ke'gwus do not open your eyes, whatever noda'mane no'noda'man mi'lkwezo'lduwak you may hear." Then he heard various kinds of noises.

mala'mte sala'ki' wunoda'wal a'wenil At last suddenly he heard some one ke'dawinto'li'djil singing,—
be’djo’sak elama’dani ‘kik udi’da’man
they came among the mountains. She said
auha’n’doskwe’ an’i’ gabezjo’san
that sorceress, “Now you have come
gwa’li: e’i’hi’dit oda’lo’hwi’gan udi’i’lan
near where they are.” She pointed, she said,
ne’i’hi’dit ni’swak wa’djowak ni’
“There are two mountains, there
awa’se’i e’i’hi’dit de’banuk ki’s
beyond they are, soon after
bosade’ge kdllo’sa’nen nntc
nightfall we will go, and there
ngama’s’ana’nen a I’m’te ki’s ba’asdek
we shall take them unawares.” Then after dark
madji’na ma’lam’te gwa’li’ nama’
they went. At last near to where
wa’djowak e’i’hi’dit udi’i’lan nehe’
the mountains they were she said, “Now,
gi’a ni’ka’n’ose uni’ka’no’se
you go ahead!” He went on ahead
Kwun’a’was ma’lam’te eba’se’i’ e’i’t
Long-Hair. At last half way he was,
numi’l ‘kawi’dohada’man ugo’dagwa’bi’zun
then he remembered his belt.
n’a’tse’ ti’ke’pode na’skwe gi’s
Soon the earth rumbled, then already
wza’mi me’tsi giz we’udji’te’si’nu
too late, already they collided
wa’djowak nomadje’lan ktaha’n’doskwe’
the mountains. Then she went the great sorceress
wi’gwormuk wuli’do’ha’su se’ka’wat
to her wigwam. She rejoiced conquering
Kwun’a’wasal wi’l’kwi’dohasu ktaha’-
Long-Hair. She made fun the-
n’doskwe’ e’li’gi’zi’ ba’kada’wq
sorceress how she had fooled
Kwun’a’wasal nana’kskwesis a’tama
Long-Hair. That young girl not ever
madji’l’ewi’sa e’bogwa’ta na’na’kskwesis’
they went from home, on account of it that young girl
Then he went hunting and got a great supply of game. And then he gave away the food, this animal meat; and the people rejoiced, so kind-hearted was the strange man, they feasted, they danced. Then Woodchuck became sick, and soon she died. Very lonesome was Long-Hair. He missed his grandmother. For seven days he wept, then he woke up; and he went to look for a woman to cook for him. 'Two looked good to him.' One was the chief's daughter, the other was a great sorceress. The latter desired him beyond measure. But the young girl Long-Hair preferred, the chief's daughter. So then the sorceress thought, "Never that one will Long-Hair get,—her, the one he wants; for I indeed must possess Long-Hair, or else I shall kill both." Thereupon she began to think out how she could entice Long-Hair. First of all, she stole his belt; and then she went where his wigwam was, and said to Long-Hair, "I wish you could paddle me over to the big island, for I wish to pick low-bush cranberries. I cannot get any one else to paddle me over. Now you are the last I am going to request." Then Long-Hair said, "I? I am willing to paddle you over." Then she felt very much pleased, the great sorceress. And they went to the big island. When they came there, she said to Long-Hair, "I am weary, I wish to rest here first; so let us sit down a little while." Then said Long-Hair, "Yes, let us sit down." And they sat down. She began so to stroke his hair that Long-Hair fell asleep. Then the sorceress placed her mocassin on his head, and she left him. She took her canoe and went away, abandoning Long-Hair. When Long-Hair woke up, he did not see his woman, then he knew what had happened. He was abandoned. And he wandered about the island and walked down to the shore. Then he saw a little fish, and said, "I am abandoned, go inform the big Bone Shark. Go tell him that I wish to be taken ashore." Then the Bone Shark came swimming, and said to Long-Hair, "I will take you ashore. Get upon my back and close your eyes. Do not open your eyes, whatever you may hear." And he heard various kinds of noises. At last he heard some one singing,—

"Old ruffled head of hair is sailing about. See him! See him!"

"Who is that singing?" he asked him. "Don't listen to it, it's the clams." Then he walked ashore and went to his wigwam. When he came to his wigwam, food was ready at once. It had already been cooked by the sorceress. Then Long-Hair said to her, "Why did you come? Get out of here!" Then the sorceress answered, "Yes, I will get out. You have driven me away. But I say to you, you will be sorry if you drive me out. Now I will tell you what has happened. That girl you desired has run away with a man. They have gone. But it is I who knows where she is. It is impossible for you to find her; but if you wish, I will show you." Long-Hair was willing to go, and they started. At last they came among the mountains; and the sorceress said, "Now you have come near where they are." She pointed, and said, "There are two mountains. Over there, beyond, they are. Soon after nightfall we will go and take them unawares." Then after nightfall they went; and when they were near the mountain, she said, "Now, you go ahead." Long-Hair went on ahead. At last, when he was half way, he remembered his belt. Soon the earth cumbled; but then it was already too late, for the mountains had collided.

Then the great sorceress went to her wigwam. She rejoiced at conquering Long-Hair. The sorceress made a joke of how she had fooled Long-Hair. That young girl had never
Left home. On account of it the young girl grieved, because Long-Hair was dead. Here ends the story.

5. FROTH-OF-WATER (BI-"TES")

[The Virgin Birth; Abandonment of the Mother; The Child becomes a Prodigy, and Kills the Invulnerable White-Bear by a Shot in the Heel, and Frees the People.]

wqwi'git atlo'kågan na'kskwe Here camps story. Young girl be'ki'nakskwe 1 wi'git'tka'samo medjii'mi pure girl 1 was fond of swimming, always kla'hamawan neba'udodji wi'git'tka'somin advised her against so much fond of swimming wi'ga'wus'al sala'kitc alambegwi'no'sis 2 her mother (said), "Some time Under-Water-Nymph * gama'djiibe'djip'hek'w a'tama djkosda'mu will put you in trouble." Not she obeyed, pe'sa'gwun eli'wi'git'tka'somit' sala'ki just the same so fond of swimming. At last peba'mi'tka'somit' unat'age'zogun once moving around swimming, as she waded ashore, ni'we'k'wes et una'mi'han bo'kode'za' in front of where she was going she saw bubbles moski'la'dajik ski'dabegwe amalhi'na'wå coming up on the surface of water. She was surprised, nodjani'g'åba'win e'skwatelq'åba'mat sala'nt' then she stopped and looked. While looking, sud-kite ma'dje'bi'ta'ilak e'skwelq'åba'mat denly began gradually turning while looking udl'i'na'wå ma'na'ba awq'sis na'ste ultimately it appeared resembling baby, be'dji'no'lam'son manit'e skaula'm'soge then came a breeze. Then it blew towards her bi'te nozek'pa'ulogun noga'di madjje-the froth. Then she got frightened. Then she p'howan g'za'skwe nda'tegone wza'mi' wanted to get away from it, already could not, too

1 A virgin.
2 A supernatural creature believed to live beneath the water.

me'tsi' ki's bi't'tes amq'te'kå'gung much late already froth came into contact with her. na'ste da'li'wa'ni'kå bi't'tes unat'age' Then it disappeared froth. She waded zogun nomq'djin wi'gwomwak a'skamat' ashore, then she went home. Thereafter a'tami'na tka'sami' anelmi'dobi-lak not again swam. As time went on, sala'kitc' madje'gan wa'nde nodi'lagun all at once began to grow her belly. Then said wi'ga'wus'al tama'na kdli'dobi-lan her mother, "What more trouble has happened to you?"

i'dåk na'kskwe nda'tege'k 3 ndli'dobi-lau 4 said the girl, "Nothing ails me, ke'gwusebogwa' wi'ga'wus'al 5 udi'lagun what for (why)?" Her mother said to her, ga'madjga komalhi'nagzi ke'geme'si 'Very you look surprising why madje'gak' ka'de el'twe se'nåbe ki'zi' grows your belly, it seems man already be'sut'kåk'w i'dåk na'kskwe ni'ga has been near you." Said the girl, "Mother, e'sma nî'a' se'nåbe nabe' never me man came sut'kå'go udi'lagun wi'ga'wus'al ka'di near me." She said her mother, "You are trying to noba'kada' kenu'gtc q'da ki'zi'kå'lazi'yu deceive me, but also not you can hide yourself, debone'tde kwe'wi'la mala'm'te sala'ki here soon you will be found out." Then at last ki'na'p'sk'zo ne'mi'ho'got ami'tak'sal very large she looked. When he saw her, her father udi'lagun ga'matc koma'dji p'he'namwi he said, "Very you are bad woman, a'nsåba i'kaska'mone gwa'sk'taholo'lo I have a notion if I did not hold in myself to strike you dead.

nani'kwup' yu't'etc wi'gi'ran någwå'tci' Now here you will live alone, ta'nt'el'i'bedji'lan ni'kwup' yu'te whatever (fate) may come to you. Now here
edalinogado’damlek’ ni’a kadji’bagi’de-
where we are going to leave you. I I am disgusted
hamal ni’‘kwup’ ta’n’t’e eli’gwaskwa’lami:
with you now, whether you may die of starvation
a’g’d’a noma’djeoda’di’na nagwado’dene
or not.” Then they moved away the whole village.
na’t’e edali’vaga’lot’ na’kskwe ga’matc
Then there leaving her young girl very
a’da uli’dehazi me’tci’naga’lot’
not she was happy. She was left alone to die,
elida’hazit’ ta’n’dje’t’ ndli’dedi’lan
she thought, “What now will become of me
ultimately?”
c’lwet’etc yunda’alli’ kwaskwa’lamin
It seems probable here I shall die of starvation.”
ne’dudji’ memla’wi’ seska’demmit’ ma’l’am
Thereupon greatly she burst out crying. Then,
eskewet’pazit sala’’ki’ bedji’dawi’lat
while she was crying, suddenly came flying
kaskama’nas’u i’’dak ek’paza’zi nda’haba
Kingfisher. He said, “Don’t grieve, impossible
kwaskwa’lami’yu ni’a’tc wi’djo’’kemal
to die of starvation here. For I I will help you,
naga ko’kemose’adjat’c kona’welmuk’
and our grandmother also will take care of you,
p’sk’egodamu’si’ kiri’ uli’dehuzu na’kskwe
P’sk’egodamu’s. Kiri’, she was glad the girl;
i’’dak eni’’ nabma’uzin nodi’lan
she said, “So! I will live.” She told
kaskama’nas’wal’ wli’uni’ ga’matc
Kingfisher, “Thank you very much
kdala’miri’ hi’ mala’mt’e welg’gwi’wik
you please me very much.” Then in evening
birdi’get wi’ne’so’sis alas’a’kami’gwi’ye
came old woman, ground-moss material
udlag’de’wangan na’ga’kanksi’gabi’al
her clothing and cedar-bark
ugodagwa’bir’znë
udiri’lan kwe’nas
her belt;2 she said, “Grandchild,
moza’k ke’gwus debi’dohida’mo’katc
don’t anything worry, in mind

1 A female supernatural creature, referred to by the
Kingfisher as their “grandmother.”
2 This is the native conception of the appearance of
the fairy-woman.
na’wak bi’lw’awálnqíbaktí wzam ni’u’nána
strange people, because our
sa’ngomónamí wan’em’k’wí balqabá’o
our chief White-Bear is proud.
k’dá’tcwi’tcé sê’ka’wí’benta q’da’ se’kawí’c.
You must conquer us, not if you conquer-
wek’we k’dá’tcwi’tcé a’li’bíma’uzí’bí tåhåla’
us you must live the same as
awa’kana’i’i’dak k’tc’i’zqága’tc’ te on’i’’i’
slaves.” Said Big-Screech-Owl, “So!
ki’zdjí’tol’ba ta’ntado’djí’ . kí’zq’djí’
we are ready whenever you are ready
nàmi’ga’k’ná a’t temporarily nodjí’madje’oda’wan
to fight; not ever away from here we shall leave.”
nomaa’djí’n a’lnóbe sa’ngomál’k’e u’dí’tan
Then left the man, (he went) to the chief. He said
sa’ngomái a’t’ama madje’odadiw’ak
the chief, “Not, they will leave;
grí’zq’djí’ná umí’ga’k’ana i’dak
they are ready, they fight.” Said
sa’ngomá on’i’’i’’i’ nagáse’ba kwi’lé’dawó’nénà
the chief, “So, and to-morrow we will attack.”
gehe’ta wespozá’k’iliwik agwi’ldá’wóna
Accordingly next morning they attacked;
nóda’odína ma’lám sála’’ki’ sá’k’hi’lát
they began a battle. Then suddenly came out
wan’em’k’wí ni’uk a’èdá1 k’tc’i’zqága’tc’
White-Bear these well1 Big-Screech-Owl
wan’em’k’wí’bema elqábó’ddhi’díma’n’i’té
his men they looked and saw. Then
madjép’ho’hádowak nák’tc’i’zqága’tc’
they began to run with fright. Then Big-Screech-Owl
nóda’daházu elq’ábit sa’qk’hi’lát’ awá’as’
became discouraged when he saw coming up the
elq’í’kwí’nág’zít amq’tawa’k’we aṣpó’’s’e
so big looked he half way up the trees his height
nedal’inská’daházit nága’galáwan u’dí’tan
here he got discouraged he cried out he said
wa’mp’skwál’ grí’sta’hi’bana kla’hama’we
to White-Bear, “You have conquered us stop off

1 Rhetorical pause.
2 The scene now returns to the heroine.

kàxénbémak nala’wisté ndá’wá’ka’ni’wí’bana
your men I give up now we will become slaves,”
i’i’dak wan’em’k’wí’ on’i’’i’ ulí’gán
said White-Bear, “So! that’s good.”
nógo’t’hamawa’wan wenzó’bema u’dí’tan
Then he stopped his men he said,
e’lí’kwi’huk’ awá’ka’ni’wówak
“Let them alone they have become slaves.”
wana’kskwe2 k’tc’i’zqága’tc’ te u’dó’zal’
That girl3 Big-Screech-Owl his daughter
abí’us’as’i’da’mi’n skí’no’sí’zal ma’s-
had delivered her baby a boy Ma’s-
ki’k’wí’si’3 u’dí’tan seng’besí nàmi’
ki’k’wí’si’3 said, “The little man is now
hi’l’í’’su ke’gwus tíc’gôldí’wí’la i’i’dak
seen what will you name him? She said,
po’k’óde’zi’bi’’tes wzam q’skwé dali’-
’Bubble-Froth’ because why there he-
ki’zi’dbá’i’le nòbi’k
was conceived in water.”
i’i’dak p’ske’gód’mú’s on’i’’i’ ulí’’i’
Said P’ske’gód’mú’s, “So! a good-
wízu owa’tc ki’zabá’i’de ne’k’ák’tahá’n’
name he also, after he becomes a man,
(will become) greatest great-
dowít se’na’be i’’yu alak’wámi’gí’
magician man here on this side of the land
násté’tc awá’’sí’ a’dá’wáhaník ulí’’dá’házu
and soon across the top of the range.” Rejoiced
na’kskwe na’lóu p’ske’gód’mú’s olí’néná’
the girl then P’ske’gód’mú’s took-
welman wíga’wus’ú’it na’gá une’manál
good care of her the mother and her son
kí’í’ na’tcwá kaskáma’nas’u
Kí’í’ Then that Kingfisher
abe’deúwa’da’sí’ en’ ki’ki’gi’l’i’ddí’hi’ na’mé’s’a’
bring back all kinds of fish

* A supernatural creature, another name for P’ske’gód’mú’s. The etymology of the name is not clear. The narrator interpreted it as denoting “a woman whose eyes tempt men.”
ga’matc ola’uzik’ha nenawelma’djihi’
very much he fed them well those whom he was
taking care of,
a’tcwa ski’no’sis sa’nglaba’su na’ga
and that boy grew very healthy and
na’bi’go nagi’ste’bogil’uku’ nana’ski’k’si
fast. Then when he had grown enough, then
Ma’ski’k’si.

udage’ki’man unadi’e’li’lin ugi’zi’ta’wun
taught him to hunt, made him
tabl’al’ na’ga kpi’ udlo’salan
a bow and in woods took him
ma’tagwe’s’ukana gi’zage’ki’man eli-
they hunted rabbits. When she taught him how
nadi’e’li’muk none’goma ski’no’sis
to hunt then he boy
nagwi’te’ una’di’elin mi’lewda’da’su
all alone hunted lots of game he brought,
awa’swi’ye ol’gi’za’uzik’ha wi’ga’wusal’
wild meat well provided his mother
na’ga o’kamas’al’maski’k’si’al’
and his grandmother Maski’k’si’al’

ma’la’mte gi’zga’o ni’u’l kaskama’nas’wal
Then when he became a man then this Kingfisher,
gwi’na wi’dabal udi’logun tca’kaba
really his friend told him, “You ought to
kwila’ohq kmo’sumas na’ga ko’kamas
search for your grandfather and your grandmother
na’ga kod’a’gik kdalna’bemak nabe’djo’
and others your people.” Then coming
sat wi’gwomwak udi’lan wi’ga’wasal’
to his wigwam, he said to his mother
na’ga maski’k’si’al ndi’’lak’
and Maski’k’si’al, “Told me
kaskama’nas’u kdalna’bemak a’gwa
Kingfisher my relatives, it is said,
pse’luk’ noni’kwup nagadi’kwi’laohq’
are many. Now then I am going to search for them.”
udi’lan maski’k’si’al’ tanala’gwi’
He said to Maski’k’si’al, “Which way
e’hi’dit ndalna’bemak ma’nite’i’da
are they my people?” Then said
ma’ski’k’si’i ga’matc nawa’doge ke’nuk
Ma’ski’k’si’i, “Very far away but
aso’ke tca’ kape’ddi’lan e’oldi’di
certainly surely you will come where they are.”
i’da’k an’i’ ni’kwup’ yu’te godlo’s’an
She said, “So! now here you go on toward
nala’tagwe’s’naok ma’lam’tetk konami’tun
north direction at length also you see
pe’mi’awanadani’kek one’oldi’hi’di
cross-range of hazy mountains then there are
awa’si’ kdalna’bemak weso’za’ki’wik
across your people.” Next morning
u’dji’madje’lan Bi’’tes na’lau
went away Froth meanwhile
abmo’s’an kage’so’goni’ ma’la’mte
walking along a long day’s journey. At last
sala’ki ela’bit’ pe’+’mi’awanadani’kek
suddenly looking [he saw] way off a cross-range of
misty mountains.

ki’i uli’dohazu i’da’k de’bonet e
Ki’i! He rejoiced, he said, “Soon
nbe’dji’i an eo’ldi’hi’di ndalna’bemak
I shall come where they are my people.”

ki’i elmi’lat wi’zana’g’zu tega’was
Ki’i going along he hurried himself seven
kesogona’ki’wik nabe’ddi’lan awa’as’donowa’i
days’ time. Then he came to the other side of the
mountains.

una’mi’tun o’dene i’da’k an’i’i’ de’bon
He saw a village. He said, “So! Soon
na’mi’han ndalna’bemak ela’bit una’mi’tun
I shall see my people.” Looking he saw
eba’so’dene tci’k’te q’skwe kada’k
half the village quiet, then other
agemo’dene tci’bagi’taga’wik dal-
side the village appeared noisy, many
abe’skwmhadi’ddi’jik kada’gik q’skwe
together there playing ball, others then
bama’hadowak ni’tem’tek wi’gwom
were dancing. The first
wigwam
ubi'di'gan tc'i-k'tek ala'gwi wada'k he entered in the quiet direction there was mon'kmwes'u ma'nitre wise'lmu Woodchuck. Then she cried ans'pi' da'ldon'ke i'dak ali'ge nkwe'nas while there talking. She said, "Poor grandson, ga'matc n'una nza'k'ahadi'baa very much we we suffer mazi' n'una awa'k'anak amadjegi-all we slaves." Then she dama'wan Bi'tezal' weda'uz Hit began to relate to Froth her life-history. i'dak nadja'tc gi' a kwi'dji She said, "And then you you with awa'kanwi' anode'k'pazin anobe'nag*xin slave sort." Then she stopped grieving she bustled around.

udla'kwelan uda'dji'han Bi'tesal She prepared food, she made him over with good-food, Froth.

nomi'tsi Bi'tes neda'li'pit a'lnge he then ate Froth, while there eating, a man bi'di'gi'gada'hit i'dak awa'sis i'yu rushed in quickly. He said, "A little beast here kpi'wus p'ma'mtuwi'tlan koba'po'ldi'ben in the bush is tracked going by we will have-sport, a'gwa no'so'ka'wan i'dak moni'kmwes'u it is said, they pursued him." Said Woodchuck, ki'nag'ba pla'gi'zi'po se'nqbe ma'nitre "At least ought to wait till he is done eating the-man." Then Bi'tes i'dak an'i' debne'te negi'za'dji' Froth said, "So! soon I shall be ready, ni'a'tc ga'matc nowi'gam'hologun I too very I am fond of pa'pwagan na'te gi' zi'pit uwii'kwunan sport." Then when he finished eating he took uda'tabi'al udi'tlan moni'kmwes'w'al' his bow. He told Woodchuck, mo'za'k nsa'hi'ketc no'kami nno'delan "Don't worry about me, Grandmother." Then he went on Bi'tes yu'geda'k se'nqbe aban'a'ldi'djik Froth. Here (outside) men were standing eda'lska'wgo'ldi'djik udi'tlan Bi'tesal' there waiting for him. They said to Froth, yu' te kpi'wus abma'p'tuwi'tlan awa'sis "Here in the thicket fresh tracks going by," little animal nauza'man'ee nage'hela ama'djaba'zi'na let us chase him." Surely they all went forth. ma'la'mte pema'p'tuwi'lat elq'bit Then his tracking looking Bi'tes ki'nala'gidi'e'na1 wada'k Froth, ki'nala'gidi'e'na there pema'p'tuwi'lat ma'naba wi'gwom his tracks going like a wigwam wo'dji' kedji'ptazi'gaza'ne wudjik'k as though greatly pulled out from the ground e'spamp'tak'w e'e2 ma'nitre kwagwo'male such big tracks e'e2 Right away he began to run Bi'tes uno'so'ka'wan awa'si'zal e'e Froth, chasing the little animal, e'e1 na'la'au agwagwo'male yu'gaskwa'lnqaban then how he ran. These people mazi' bado'ke'hodjo'lduwak udji'gi' all hung back. They let him ta'wawal Bi'tesal' uni' go ahead Froth he went ahead kani'lahalin e'jogwa'tc awi'kwidahamawal of them on account of it they were laughing at him in their minds wq'skwe Bi'tes e'lni'lat ma'lam this Froth as he was going along. Then udadami'ka'wal awa'si'zal elq'bit he overtook him little beast looking (he saw) gi'nalagiti'de'na wada'k se'ket gi'nalagiti'de'na there standing amptawa'kwe spo'se wp'bi'awe'sus us half way up the trees in height White-Bear kaha'n'dwi' wamp'sk'w gi'i na'bma'dje'wan magic White-Bear gi'i then he shot at him.

1 An expression of extreme surprise.
2 Rhetorical, like ki'i.
3 An objurgative form, see footnote 1, p. 220.
a’tebogwac’te woe’l’w’al nemi’na a’boman not because of this he felt it. Then again he shot, ma’lam me’tci’lal aba’kwal mas’ala’t’e then all were used up the arrows except be’segwun aba’kwe ki’s mal’hi’do’ahazu one arrow. Thenupon he wondered Bi’tes sala’kit’e se Yok’hi’dawi’lat Froth, suddenly came out flying ktcirgigirla’xis ma’nit’e pa’gos’iin Bi’tes Chicadee. Then he alighted (struck) Froth udlo’l’manga’nak ma’nit’e madje’k’wezu on his shoulders. Then began making a noise (whispering)

ki’gir’im ktcirgigigiri wa’gwa’nak slyly “Ktcirgigiri wa’gwa’nak” elq’bit Bi’tes ke’gwus neda’tes’uk Looking Froth something throbbing there wa’gwa’nak wamp’sk’w e+m abo’madje’ at his heel White-Bear e+m he shot oda’man edalap’ski’tes’uk na’ste it + where the throbbing thing was. Then uldimi’gi’bi’tan wamp’sk’w Bi’tes he toppled over White-Bear Froth eli’lat wa’ngada’k tci’dona’kw’i’hazu going there he was dead was stiff. me’tci’ne elq’bit Bi’tes udeza’k’w. He died looking Froth he had

tela’man ule’wanggan wamp’sk’w aba’kwe shot him his heart White-Bear arrow sa’ba’mo ule’wangganuk kiri ma’lam’te clear through in his heart. Ki’ti’l Then sa’k’haba’zi’hi’dit a’ln’b’ak na’ngwutc they came up in a mass the people, some e’bogwac’tc abedemo’l’duwak bedaba’zi’hi’dit on account of it were laughing when they got there elq’bo’l’di’hi’dit nada’k wamp’sk’w they looked and saw there White-Bear elo’sik me’tcadje’ne2 i’dak Bi’tes lying there dead.2 Said Froth, kado’bogwahol’na awa’sis kiri ga’matc “I will give you your share of the beast Ki’ti’l Very

wi’gan pa’pw’eggan yuga’kwe a’ln’b’ak good sport.” These people ma’nit’e atci’dawa’mk’wahazo’l’duwak right away they cast their faces down quickly. a’tawen klo’z’i ma’nit’e bo’dog’b’azuwak Nobody spoke. Then they walked back o’denek na’tc Bi’tes ama’djin o’denek to village. Then Froth walked to the village. ma’la’mte moni’mkwe’s’o’ke udi’lan Then (he got) to Woodchuck. He said, no’k’omi’ ndl’madje’telawa awa’mp’s’k” “Grandma, I have shot him dead that White-Bear.” kiri ma’nit’e wio’se’mu moni’mkwe’s Ki’ti’l Then cried Woodchuck e’dudjirwulid’ohasit +noba’bamagan + so glad she felt + + then they danced around. udi’lan kwe’n’as’is ga’matc gama’m’ She said, “Grandson, very you have done lawigi’zi’hadu gawe’kawan ne’k’g a great thing, you have conquered the greatest gi’i’nhan’dowit se’na’bal dalwiski’ta’mi’gw magician man there in the world.” i’dak Bi’tes naga’ele’bemuk kaska’- Said Froth, “By the help of King ma’nas’u na’ga ktcirgigirla’xis kiri fisher and Chickadee!” Ki’ti’l

elmi’wa’ngwi’wik ktcirgigiri’l’da’ahzwan that evening a big rejoicing, ei’bogwa’tc kti’b’ok’magan mozi’awen on this account big dance, every one udi’l’ha’zhi weso’gi’wik odji’madje’lana was happy. Next morning he left for wi’ga’wus’age udi’lan ma’la’m’ta’ his mother’s. He went along. At last be’dji’lat udi’lan wi’ga’wus’al’ wul’deji he arrived, he said to his mother, “Be well prepared, se’ba kamadje’odebna namas’ka’wak to-morrow we will move. I have found (and met)
kda’l’n’b’se’mmawak weso’gi’wik our people.” The next morning umadje’odana obedji’lan ka’skamanas’u they started off; along came Kingfisher

1 An objurgative form.
2 Another objurgative form.
na'ga ktc'i gi'la's iis na'ga maski'k'si: and Chickadee and Maski'k'si:
ube'dji a'ri-o'hewi' kada'wana kaska-
came, good-by they bid him. King-
ma'nas'u udi'Ilan a'di'yo1 Bi''tes fisher
said, "A'diyo1 Froth
ni''kwup' elma'uzi'an ke'gwus
now (in future) as long as you live anything
ali'sa'gi'mi'ko'ka'mane gami''kawi''-
if you meet with great danger think of-
dahamin kwi'djo'kemaldj a'tc me, I will help you accordingly." And
maski'k'si: a'tc udi'Ilan Bi''tesal
Maski'k'si: also said to Froth,
ni'a'tc kwe'nas ke'gwus ali'sa'gi'mi'ko' 
"And I, grandson, anything when you meet with
ka'mane kami''kawi'dahamin na'tc difficulty, think and wish for me." And
ktci'gi'gi'la's iis i'dak ni'a'tc kami''
Chickadee said, "And I, think-
ktci'gi'la's iis i'dak ni'a'tc kami''
Chickadee said, "And I, think-
kawi'dahamin wi'djo'kemaldj nodji'ma'n-
of me, I will help you." Then they-
dji'nna wi'ga'wus'al ma'lam be'djo's:ak
went and his mother. At last they reached
o'denek ma'ni'te moni'mkwes'oke
a village. Then to Woodchuck's (wigwam)
bi'di'gan ma'ni'te wi'se'i'mu moni'mkwes'u
they went in. Then cried Woodchuck
edudjivi'lahazit nan'agae'wus abed-
so glad was she. After a little while they all-
be'zi'na udalng'bema amo'sumsal'
came up, his relations, his grandfather,
o'kemas'al' na'ga gada'gi'hi' his grandmother, and the other
udalng'bema udi'logun umo'sumsal'
relatives. Said to him his grandfather,
wedji beda'bazi'ek ni'u'na nda'tcwe'ldamen "The reason why we came, we I wish you
koda'n'heldama'wina' eli-kodame'gi'-
to forgive us for leaving you so misera-
pagi'logat ki'ga'wus ga'matc
bly, your mother. Very

kamas'e'li'ki'gahi'ben se'ka'wat ne'k:q a lot you saved us; conquered the greatest
ktaha'n'dowit se'ngbe nani'kwup' magic man. Now then
i'yu'tc eda'liktci'sa'ng'amawi'an nani'a here also you will be a great chief, and I
ni''kwup' nga'dnaman ndli'daba'swanggan now take off my office mantle
nagi'a gona'stolan noga'dnaman and you I put it on." Then he took off
uza'ngama'odi2 unasta'wan kwe'nas'al' his chieftainship-path,3 he put it on his grandson
Bi''tesal naBi''tesal udali'ktci'sangema'in Froth. Then Froth there great chief became.

TRANSLATION

Here camps story of a young girl, a virtuous
girl, who was fond of swimming. Her mother
advised her against too much swimming. Her mother said, "Some time a water-nymph
will put you in trouble." She did not obey her
mother. She was just as fond of swimming. Once as she waded ashore, after swimming,
she saw bubbles coming up to the surface of
the water in front of where she was going. She was surprised. Then she stopped and
looked. While looking at the bubbles, they
suddenly turned to froth, and appeared
finally, while she looked on, to resemble a
baby. Then came a breeze that blew the
froth towards her. She became frightened,
and wanted to get away from the froth; but
it was too late. The froth came in contact
with her body, and then disappeared after
touching her. She waded ashore, and then
went home. Thereafter she did not swim.

Time went on, and all at once her belly be-
gan to grow. Her mother asked, "What
trouble has happened to you?" The girl said,
"Nothing ails me. Why?" Her mother said,
"You look strange. Why does your belly
grow? It seems man has already been near
you." Said the girl, "Mother, man has not
been near me." Then the mother said, "You

1From French adieu.
2This was a robe of bear-skin with painted designs.
are trying to deceive me, but you cannot hide yourself here. Soon you will be found out." Then at last, when her belly was very large, her father saw her, and said, "You are a very bad woman. I have a notion, if I do not restrain myself, to strike you dead at once here. You will have to live here alone, whatever may come to you. I am disgusted with you; and we are going to leave you here, whether you die of starvation or not."

Then the whole village moved away and left the young girl. She was very unhappy after she was left alone, and thought, "What will ultimately become of me? It seems probable that I shall die of starvation here." Then in consequence she burst out crying. While she was crying, Kingfisher came flying to her suddenly. He said, "Don't grieve! It is impossible to die of starvation here. I will help you, and my grandmother, P'ske'gadomu's, and I will take care of you." Ki'iti, the girl was glad, and said, "on'i'nu, now I shall live." She told the Kingfisher, "Thank you very much. You have pleased me exceedingly." Then in the evening came an old woman. Ground-moss was the material of her clothing, and cedar-bark her belt. She said, "Granddaughter, don't let anything worry you. Be contented, for I shall take care of you." When it was time for her to bear a child, the girl said, "Grandmother, I am very glad, and thank you for what you are going to do for me."

Big-Screech-Owl, great chief, and his people, moved away, and were a long while getting far over the divide of mountains. There they came to a village, and there they settled. The inhabitants of the village did not like it very well; they were not pleased. Then they began to antagonize the strange people. When Big-Screech-Owl knew that they were after the lives of his people, he said, "We must fight if we want to stay." At last a man came to Big-Screech-Owl, and said, "If you are going to stay here, you must fight, because we do not love you strange people, and because our chief White-Bear is proud. You must conquer us, or, if you do not conquer us, you must live as our slaves." Said Big-Screech-Owl, "Go ahead! We are ready to fight whenever you are, and we shall never leave here." Then the man left, and went to his chief and said, "They will not leave, and they are ready to fight." Said the chief, "So then! To-morrow we will attack them." Next morning they attacked, and began battle. Then suddenly White-Bear came rushing up. Big-Screech-Owl's men looked and saw him, and then began to run, they were so frightened. Then Big Screech-Owl became discouraged when he saw the beast coming up. The beast was so big, that he was half way up the trees in height. Big-Screech-Owl was discouraged, and cried out to White-Bear, "You have conquered us. Stop! Hold off your men! I give up now! We will be your slaves." Said White-Bear, "So! That's good." Then he called off his men, and said, "Let them alone, they have become our slaves."

The girl, Big-Screech-Owl's daughter, had delivered her baby, which was a boy. Maski'k"si' said, "The little man is now seen here. What will you name him?" She said, "Bubble-Froth, because he was conceived there in water." Said P'ske'gadomu's, "So! A good name; and after he becomes a man, he will become the greatest magician on this side of the land-divide, and soon after also across the top of the range." The girl rejoiced. P'ske'gadomu's thereupon took good care of both mother and son. Ki'iti! That Kingfisher brought them all kinds of fish, which fed very well those whom he cared for. The boy grew very fast and was healthy. Then, when he had grown enough, then Maski'k"si' taught him to hunt. She made him a bow and took him in the woods. Rabbits they hunted. When she had taught him how, then he hunted alone, and brought in an abundance of wild meat. He provided well for his mother and grandmother, Maski'k"si'. When he be-
came a man, his true friend, Kingfisher, said to him, “You ought to search for your grandfather and your grandmother and the others of your people.” When he came back to his wigwam, he said to his mother and Mask’-

ki’k’-si’, “Kingfisher told me it is said I have many relatives. Now, then, I am going to search for them.” Then said Mask’-k’-si’-si, “Very far away, but you will surely come to their abode.” She said, “Now go to the north until you see a cross-range of hazy mountains, and across them you will find your people.” Froth, on the next morning, went away, and walked for many days. At last he suddenly saw a range of misty mountains in the distance. Ki’-i’! He rejoiced, and said, “Soon I shall come to where my people are.” He hurried along for seven days’ time, and then he came to the other side of the mountains. He saw a village, and said, “Now, then, soon I shall see my people.” Looking, he saw half the village quiet, and the other half noisy, and many there together playing ball, and others dancing. He entered from the quiet direction, and in the first wigwam he entered was Woodchuck. When Woodchuck saw Froth, she began to cry, and at the same time spoke and said, “Poor grandson! We suffer very much because we are all slaves.” Then she began to relate to Froth the history of her life. She said, “And you are now with the slave sort.” Then she stopped grieving, she bustled about and prepared food, and gave it to him. Then Froth ate; and while eating, a man rushed in quickly, and said, “A little beast is tracked, having gone by in the bush. We shall have great sport, it is said.” Said Woodchuck, “At least you ought to wait until the man (Froth) is done eating.” Then Froth said, “So! I shall soon be ready. I too am very fond of sport.” When he had finished eating, he took up his bow. He told Woodchuck, “Don’t worry about me, grandmother.” When he went outside, men were standing there waiting for him. They said to Froth, “Here in the thicket a little way off are the fresh tracks of the animal going by. Let us chase him!” Accordingly then they all went forth. Froth began looking at the tracking; and when he saw the tracks, ki’nalagitdie’-na they looked like the place where a wigwam had been after being wrenched from the ground, ee’, they were so big and deep! Right away Froth began to run and chase the little animal. ee’! How he ran then! These people all hung back, they let him go on ahead. He went ahead of them, and on this account they were all laughing in their minds at him. Then, as he went on, he overtook the little beast, and saw it standing there half way up to the trees in height. It was the great magic White-Bear. Then Froth shot at it. But even so, he did not notice it. Gi’-i’, then again he shot. Then at last all his arrows were used up except one. Suddenly a Chickadee appeared flying, and alighted on Froth’s shoulder and began to whisper, “Ktc’gi’gi’gi’i’ heel!” Looking, Froth saw something throbbing on White-Bear’s heel. q+! He shot at that cursed throbbing round thing. Then White-Bear toppled over. Froth went up to him. White-Bear was stiff and dead. Looking at him, Froth saw that he had shot White-Bear in his heart, and the arrow had gone clear through. Ki’-i’! The people came up in a mass. Some of them were laughing when they got there because of it. They looked, and saw White-Bear lying there dead. Said Froth, “I will give you your share of the beast. Ki’-i’! It was very good sport.” The people right away cast down their faces quickly. Nobody spoke. Then they walked back to the village. When Froth saw Woodchuck, he said, “Grandma, I have shot him dead, that White-Bear.” Ki’-i’! Then Woodchuck cried, she was so glad. q+! They danced around, and she said, “Grandson, you have done a very great thing. You have conquered the greatest magic man in the world.” Froth said, “It was by the help of Kingfisher and Chickadee.” Ki’-i’! That evening there was a big rejoicing-feast. There was a big dance on this account, and every one was
happy. Next morning Froth left for his mother's. Going along, at last he arrived, and said to her, "Get well ready. To-morrow we shall move. I have found and met our people." The next morning they started off. Along came Kingfisher and Chickadee and Maski'k^si. They came to bid good-by. Kingfisher said, "Adieu, Froth! now as long as you live, in the future, if you meet with great danger, think of me. I will help you accordingly." And Maski'k^si also said, "Froth, when you meet with difficulty, think of and wish for me." And Chickadee said, "And as for me, think of me. I will help you." Then they went away. At last Froth and his mother reached a village. Then to Woodchuck's wigwam they went; and Woodchuck cried, she was so glad. Soon after, all his relatives came up,—his grandfather, his grandmother, and the other relations. His grandfather said to him, "The reason we come is that we wish you to forgive us for abandoning your mother so miserably. You saved us a great deal when you conquered the great magic man. Now, then, here is where you will be a great chief, and I now take off my office mantle and I put it on you." Then he took off his chieftainship-path and put it on his grandson. Then Froth was a great chief.

1 This mantle was generally a tanned bear-skin with flower designs painted on the leather side, and decorated with porcupine-quills, it is said.
2 A figurative expression for the responsibilities and insignia of the chieftaincy. The bear-skin and the eagle's feather were regarded as the emblems of a chief; these being the most noble among the mammals and birds.
Linguistique bolivienne.

La langue Kayuvava,
Par G. de Créqui-Montfort et P. Rivet.


Toujours d'après d'Orbigny, la mission d'Exaltacion était divisée en huit sections, dont les noms commencent tous par la syllabe mai qui, ainsi que nous le verrons, indique le pluriel en Kayuvasa : c'étaient les Mai-simat, les Mai-dibokot, les Mai-dépurnpih, les Mai-rouañ, les Mai-auké, les Mai-dixibobo, les Mai-maxuya, les Mai-mosoroya.

La langue kayuvava est déjà connue par un certain nombre de vocabulaires et quelques textes dont voici la liste complète :


2. d'Orbigny, op. cit., p. 80 (Vocabulaire de 23 mots).


4. Heath (Edwin R.). Dialects of Bolivian Indians. A philological contribution from material gathered during three years residence in the department of Bení, in Bolivia (Kansas City Review of Science, and Industry, a monthly Record of Progress in Science, mechanic Arts and Literature, vol. VI.


(Avocabulaire de 39 mots).

A ces divers documents que nous reproduisons intégralement, parce que la plupart sont inaccessibles aux chercheurs, nous ajoutons le vocabulaire resté inédit recueilli par d’Orbigny,


**

1. De petits vocabulaires se trouvent également dans les ouvrages suivants : Adeiling (Johann Christoph) et Vater (Johann Seelen). Millhridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde mit dem
Genre. — Comme la plupart des langues de la région, le Kayuvava ne semble pas connaître la distinction de genre. Pour distinguer le mâle de la femelle, il juxtapose au nom de celle-ci le mot yasi « homme », ou au nom de celui-là le mot torane « femme ».

Ex.: poule, takura, tâkarâro, coq, yasi-takuraka, garçon, mamixi, mâmi, jeune fille, mami-torani 1.

Toutefois, d’après ce que nous verrons plus loin à propos de l’article, il semble qu’il existe, au moins dans ce cas particulier, une distinction entre l’homme et les êtres anthropomorphes (dieu) d’une part, les animaux et les objets, d’autre part.


Orton (James). *The Andes and the Amazonas* or across the continent of South America. 3° éd., New York, 1875, p. 473.


Ces vocabulaires ne sont pas originaux. Ceux du Mitrodates (23 mots) et de Balbi (26 mots) sont pris dans Hervás ; celui d’Orton (8 mots) dans d’Orbigny, bien que le voyageur écrive kratolarone, femme, au lieu de kratolarone, et nharaman, soleil, au lieu de haraman. Celui de Brinton (17 mots) est extrait en partie de d’Orbigny, en partie de Heath ; les trois premiers noms de nombre sont empruntés à Adelung et Vater (op. cit., p. 576) ; ils n’appartiennent pas d’ailleurs au Kayuvava mais au Sapibokona (dialecte talana). Les linguistes allemands, en les copiant eux-mêmes dans Hervás (*Arithmetica*, op. cit., p. 576), ont en effet interposé les noms de nombre kayuvava et sapibokona, erreur dont Brinton ne s’est pas aperçu en les transcrivant à son tour.

1. On pourrait supposer, d’après l’exemple suivant, que la distinction du mâle et de la femelle peut être indiquée par le préfixe i- :

Chien, nabua,

Chienne, i-nabua.

Toutefois, nous pensons que, dans ce cas, ce préfixe n’est autre que celui que nous trouvons dans un grand nombre de substantifs et dont nous expliquons plus loin le sens (p. 132).

Il est par contre certain que les adjectifs sont invariables :

pâ-riki-ba, tu es content,

pa-pira-ba, tu es béni.

Nombre. — Le pluriel est indiqué d’une façon très régulière par le préfixe may-, mey-, ma-, me-, mi-, qui correspond exactement au préfixe mi- de l’Itonama :

Ex.: chien, *nabua*, les chiens, *mey-nabua*,

poule, tâkarâro, les poules, *mey-tâkarâro*,

homme, yasi, le peuple (les hommes),

saint, santo, les saints, *ma-santo*,

femme, tôrêne, les femmes, *mai-torene*.

Article. — De même qu’en Mobima, il existe en Kayuvava une particule remplissant le rôle assez vague d’article ou d’adjectif indéfini :

*xuariye ki xetdaba*.

J’ai-tué un jaguar.

Patdara kixares ko dابa.

Grand j’aime le dieu.

*ću anuexi ko dâbâpa ?*

Y a-t-il un Dieu ?

ko dâbâpa ara-içu kei tuį yî-tîal.

Le dieu est en-haut au-ciel.

*mia-içu-e ki daka ki tdati ?*

Qui la créa la terre ?

*ana ko dâbâpa ki daka.*

Le dieu la créa.

*ća-içu-aća ko dâbâpa ?*

Où est le dieu ?

Comme en Mobima également, il semble y avoir deux formes, suivant que l’article est joint à un nom d’être (*ko*) ou à un nom de chose ou d’animal (*ki*).

Pronoms. — Voici la liste des pronoms personnels, telle qu’on peut l’établir d’après nos différentes sources d’information :
Tous ces pronoms sont formés avec le même radical, are, auquel sont ajoutées des désinences variables.

D'après le texte de Teza, il semble que ces désinences puissent être employées isolément à la place de la forme complète correspondante.

C'est ainsi que ribi a le sens de « nous » dans les phrases suivantes:

ven. hir-ide-ba ribi, comme nous pardonnons

mais ibe-ba-dopai ribi, que tu [abandonnes ?] nous!

Toujours d'après notre texte, ce mot ribi semble pouvoir se décliner. C'est ainsi qu'à côté de la forme ribi, qui nous est attestée comme sujet ou régime, nous avons les formes iibi, iieibi, qui correspondraient à : à nous, pour nous.

Le radical are entre aussi dans la composition des pronoms démonstratifs:

ce, cette, are-naxi,

ceux-là, celles-là, ara-naxi.

Adjectifs possessifs. — Seule, la 2e personne du singulier nous est fournie par notre vocabulaire. Nous y retrouvons le radical des pronoms personnels:

ton, are-n.

Mais, nous avons dans nos listes un grand nombre de mots où les relations de la possession sont indiquées par préfixation.

La première personne du singulier semble indiquée soit par les préfixes ara-, are-, ara-, soit par les préfixes ana-, an-, a- :

mec dents, an-alsiro, mon épouse, ara-nya-toniini,

mon fils | ana-ci-romi | mon fils, are-eti-romibi',

ma mère, an-ditey, ma mère, era-pipi,

mon nez, a-huariöse, mon mari, ara-iriri,

mon pied, a-sip, mon père, era-papa, 

ma main, a-rui, ara-huopi'.

ma maison, a-nyika,

ma langue, a-nyhny.

La deuxième personne du singulier est indiquée par les préfixes ana-pa-, are-pa-, ka-pa-, apa-:

tes dents, ana-aysi,

ton fils, arepa-romibi,

ta main, ana-pa-l'no,

ton idoine, ka-pa-raniiniña,

ton nom, ka-pa-emé,

ton nez, pa-huariöse,

ta langue, apa-nyé,

ton fils, apa-romibi,

ton royaume, apa-reino,

ton pied, apa-bey,

ton nom, apa-emé,

ta maison, apa-nyika.

Signalons aussi les formes probablement erronées:

ton père, na-mo, ta mère, i da-pedi.

1. L'interposition de la particule et entre le préfixe possessif et le radical romi nous fait supposer que ces deux mots signifient en réalité « c'est mon fils ». Cf. ce que nous disons plus loin de l'existence d'un verbe auxiliaire en Kayuava.

2. A ce groupe appartiennent vraisemblablement les mots de notre vocabulaire:

ira-biiki, flèche,

ira-loko, épaule,

ira-pola, ira-pene, menton,

ira-okafo, front.

Ces mots nous sont, par ailleurs, donnés avec un autre préfixe:

da-biiki, flèche,

na-biikte, arc,

i-loko, épaule,

da-pota, barbe,

i-loko, front.
Le préfixe possessif de la 3e personne ne nous est attesté que par l'exemple suivant du texte de Teza :
son fils, abi-tó-rome.

Quant au préfixe qui traduit « notre », Nordenskiöld nous donne pour l'exprimer yu- :
notre village, y-ú-indero, [enteru, village]
et le texte de Teza le préfixe très voisin o- :
notre nourriture, o-an-añibi,
notre père, o-doba-pa, o-daba-pa.

**Adjectifs.** — D'après d'Orbigny, les adjectifs sont invariables.
Le plus grand nombre se terminent en -ha, -hà, -xa, beaucoup plus rarement en -xi, -he ; en outre, ils sont précédés de divers préfixes, qui peuvent être classés en deux groupes : 1er hà-, ira-, 2e pa-, p-
L'exemple suivant, qui nous est fourni par Nordenskiöld :
hà-rika-hà, je suis content,
pà-rika-hà, tu es content,
corréboré par deux exemples extraits du texte de Teza :
p-ipo-hà, tu es pleine,
pà-pira-hà, tu es bénie,
prouve que ces deux classes de préfixes, qui correspondent d'ailleurs aux préfixes possessifs de la 1ère et de la 2e personnes, servent à constituer des phrases nominales : moi-content, toi-content, etc.... Voici les nombreux exemples que nous en avons relevés dans nos vocabulaires :

- *ira-bore,* blanc.
- *pa-idao-hà,* obscur,
- *pa-tbe-hà,* odorant,
- *pa-tbokoro-hà,* clair,
- *pa-tc-hà,* rouge,
- *pà-yàba-hà,* bon,
- *pa-ilo-hà,* doux,
- *pa-ira-xà,* sain.

Le suffixe -ha se retrouve dans les adjectifs suivants employés comme substantifs :
- *ipu-xà,* voleur,
- *mò-budu-hà,* les pécheurs,
- *idoko-hà,* créateur.

Le renforcement des adjectifs est indiqué par le préfixe ñà- :
- *ñà-raparetay,* très beaucoup,
- *ñà-ñàriké,* très peu,
- *ñà-ñàvari,* rien (yavari, il n'y a pas),
- *ñà-ràma,* près (sans doute : très près).
C'est sans doute le sens qu'il faut donner au préfixe *(n)ýà-,* ya-, dont notre vocabulaire nous fournit de nombreux exemples :
- *ya-daçe-xà,* ivre,
- *ya-puxa-he,* gras,
- *ya-moe-xì,* sale,
- *ya-te-xà,* *(n)ýà-ta-hà,* rouge,
- *ya-ta-xà,* *(n)ýà-ta-hà,* noir,
- *ya-raka-xà,* méchant,
- *ya-kevaine-xà,* malade,
- *ya-ròro-xà,* propre,
- *ya-pora-xà,* (ji) *ya-bore-hà,* blanc.

Signalons enfin le préfixe *ice-,* ce-, qui semble avoir le sens des préfixes français *mê-* ou *in- :
- *ice-uné,* aveugle,
- *ice-aïa,* sourd,
- *ce-bëyìe,* chétif,
- *ce-xëëre,* mauvais,
- *ce-apùbi,* maigre.

**Préfixes.** — Nous groupons ici un certain nombre de préfixes, dont les uns correspondent certainement aux préfixes possessifs précédemment étudiés, mais dont les autres sont parfois

1. D'ORBIGNY, op. cit., p. 305.
d'une interprétation difficile ou impossible pour l'instant.

Préfixe i-. Ce préfixe correspond, sans doute, à la forme substantive sans indication de possession, ainsi qu'il résulte de quelques exemples empruntés à nos textes :

bi-köë ye-Dios i-dabapa, i-doko-bà.
je-crois en-Dieu le-père, créateur.

Il est très fréquent dans nos vocabulaires, surtout dans les mots désignant les parties du corps :
i-diaïe, bouche, i-radîkè, oreille,
i-yokori, œil, i-rikera, jambe,
i-nè, langue, i-nâhue, bras,
i-huriobò, nez, i-rakaxè. poitrine.

Préfixe ir-. Nous voyons dans ce préfixe l'équivalent du précédent, l'ir jouant peut-être un rôle simplement euphonique, dans les mots commençant par une voyelle. Les deux exemples suivants empruntés à nos textes viennent à l'appui de cette hypothèse :
hikoë ir-anameariri rabuddu,
je-crois au-pardon des-pêchés,
ir-tekerène-tni mai-r-na.
à-la-résurrection des-morts.

Ce préfixe, le plus abondamment représenté dans nos vocabulaires, se rencontre surtout dans les mots qui désignent des plantes, des animaux ou des phénomènes naturels :
àme, ir-iètè,
animal, ir-abadio,
année, ir-idore-maka,
bambou, ir-adzûdzhì,
canne-à-sucre, ir-attnì,
cassique tojo, ir-iarabo,
choclo, ir-isoeikì,
courant, ir-ibuîtì.

Étoile, ir-abûahna,
ir-aguagna,
ir-anbahna,
jour, ir-iarama,
lune, ir-are,
miel, ir-atutu,
montagne, ir-uretnbi,
moufette, ir-bokole,
nuit, ir-idahì,
œuf, ir-onixe,
paille, prairie, ir-ixeke,
palmier du Guaporé, ir-iai,
plaine, ir-ibnîkoe,
riz, ir-antara,
roi des vautours, ir-apaçahua,
sable, ir-ipu,
scorpion, ir-oûbikidi,
tonnerre, ir-idìkîkhe.

Préfixe ana-, na-, ena-, en-. Ce préfixe est vraisemblablement le préfixe possessif de la première personne :
en-diaïi, bouche, na-rakâxe, cœur,
ânà-yoknosi, na-rakâxe, oreille,
en-êko, na-ridjìkè,
na-hè, langue, ena-xirêra, jambe,
na-huareoxo, nez, na-ribêra,
na-ôbo, ombilic, na-ñahna, bras.
ena-xakâxe, poitrine.

Préfixe da-, ita-, iti- :
ita-bóro, cou, da-êkero, cheville,
da-toro, cou, da-roto, coude,
it-rakade, cœur, da haruha, poignet,
ita-tokoro, index, da-tarna, sang,
da-kirn, ongle, da-rakahua, ventre.

Ainsi qu'on peut s'en rendre compte en confrontant les listes qui précèdent, ces trois préfixes peuvent alterner les uns avec les autres.

Ce n'est que dans notre vocabulaire que nous trouvons parfois des mots dépouillés de tout préfixe. Voici la liste de ces mots :
NO. 4 LA LANGUE KAYUVAVA

Formes préfixées.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Langue Kayuvava</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chicha, veiki, i-veiki,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perroquet, báro, i-báro,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lac, kuri, i-kuri,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poisson, data, i-data,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patate, kôri, i-kôri,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fleur, cóa, i-cóa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maïs, xiki, i-xiki,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terre, datû, i-datû,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arc, raupu, i-raupu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eau, kita, i-kita,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feu, dore, i-dore,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pied, aheî, d-axe, idâb-bât; en-ârxe,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>femme, tôrêne, i-tôrêne,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sang, torobua, da-tarua,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bouche, diača, en-diači, i-diači,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oiseau, titiño, i-titiño.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prefixe kra-ta-. Ce préfixe, assez rare, nous semble correspondre à l'adjectif numérique karata, un, dont il serait la forme de mot secondaire.

kra-torane, krata-torana, femme (litt. : une femme),
krata-mihi-torane, fille,
kratasi, homme,
krata-dapa, canot,
kata-irare, mois (litt.: une lune),
kata-ñika, maison.

Suffixes. — Les suffixes paraissent être aussi variés que les préfixes. Le radical raka par exemple se retrouve sous les multiples formes suivantes :

- Suffixe -xe, -be, -e, -yi (?):
  - na-raká-xe, it-raka-be, cœur,
  - i-raka-bé, i-raka-xe, ena-xaká-e, poitrine,
  - na-raki-be, na-raki-yi, os,
  - da-ba-ro-be, poignet.

- Suffixe -do, -lo, -tu, -ta, -te. Ce suffixe paraît spécial aux mots désignant les poils de l'homme et des animaux, et les plumes :
  - da-po-to, barbe,
  - ira-po-ta, menton (litt. : barbe),
  - na-piru-tu, cils,
  - na-maravo-do, sourcils,
  - a-po-la-kame, da-pe-la-guanq, cheveux,
  - po-te, plume.

- Suffixe -hua, -hue :
  - da-raka-hua, ventre,
  - ira-pe-hue, menton,
  - toro-hua, da-lar-ña, sang.

- Suffixe -be, -bi :
  - a-raka-be, ena-naka-bi, ventre.

- Suffixe -ra. Ce suffixe ne nous est attesté que par l'exemple suivant :

- Suffixe -ri ou plutôt -si :
  - i-yoko-ri, âna-yokuo-si, œil (cf. ni-yoko),
  - iená-si, feuille (cf. yenq).

- Suffixe -kama, -kame, -kamei, -kuana, -guana :
  - a-bara-kama, na-buara-kama, guana-kuana,
  - a-buara-kamei, na-ora-kama, tète,
  - a-pota-kame, da-peta-guanq, cheveux.

- Suffixe -kuhe. Nous n'avons noté ce suffixe que dans les deux mots suivants :
  - idahu-kuhe, vent,
  - iridžu-kuhe, tonnerre.
Verbe auxiliaire. — Le Kayuvava possède un radical, *iće*, qui indique l'existence :

*ara-iće, are-iće*, il est,  
*arép-iće*, toi-qui-es,  
*če-iće-nće ko dabapa*, où est dieu ?

Nous retrouvons le même radical dans les deux formes verbales suivantes :

*or-iće-huēbhna*, je veux,  
*bie-iće-enbna*, je-ne-veux-pas,

qui doivent signifier sans doute « il y a volonté », « il n'y a pas volonté ».

Conjugaison. — La deuxième personne de l'imperatif est indiquée, d'une façon assez générale, par la préfixation de *p-*, qui est le pronom personnel de la 2e personne :

*p-icbei, rire*,  
*p-niribi, tuer*,  
*p-ibiribi, ramer*,  
*p-aki, danser*,  
*p-anii, manger*,  
*p-adjarai, parler*,  
*p-aparaite, payer*,  
*p-axerei, peindre*.

L'imperatif précatif est indiqué, dans nos textes religieux, par la suffixation de *-dopai* :

*thuba-dopai*, que soit établi !  
*adaro-so-ba-dopai*, que soit adoré !  
*p-ipepe-ba-dopai*, que tu abandonnes !  
*p-imihi-dopai*, que tu donnes !  
*tiko-ba-dopai*, qu'ils obéissent !

Dans ces textes également, la troisième personne du singulier du parfait est indiquée très régulièrement par le suffixe *-huipe*, exceptionnellement réduit à *-ui* :

*ačoka-ui*, naquit,  
*adabebe-huipe*, souffrit,  
*ua-huipe*, mourut,  
*adabari-huipe*, fut enterré,  
*obi-huipe*, alla,  
*ičuru-huipe*, s'assit.

Négation. — La négation est indiquée par préfixation de *ye* :

*pa-gibekexa*, je comprends,  
*ye-gibekê*, je ne comprends pas,  
*or-iće-huēbhna*, je veux,  
*bie-iće-enbna*, je ne veux pas,  
*uviat*, je vais,  
*ye-xabcar-uxi*, je ne vais pas,  
*ye-bari, yê-pâri*, il n'y a pas,  
*ye-rire*, laid.

Interrogation. — L'interrogation se marque par la particule *če*, exceptionnellement *če ou ěu* :
La langue Kayuvava

Note que dans les langues indiennes, il ne semble pas que le déterminant suive le déterminé :

yaça-titido, sec (litt. : bouche-oiseau),
pote-arabadio, poil (litt. : plume-animal).

Cette observation est confirmée par la place qu'occupe le génitif dans nos textes ; il est vrai qu'il s'agit peut-être de calques de l'espagnol :

adite ape Diosi, mère de dieu,
y-arakabe Virgen, dans le ventre de la vierge,
ñe-tidoko Dios, par l'œuvre de Dieu,
ñe-tasi Ponsio Pilato, par l'ordre de Ponce-Pilate,
yi-ritoki Diosi, à la droite de Dieu,
ir-anameariri rabuddu, le pardon des péchés.

**

L'étude de nos documents permet de présenter d'autres faits grammaticaux intéressants, mais nous préférons, pour l'instant, nous en tenir aux particularités qui nous sont attestées d'une façon à peu près certaine, et attendre, pour compléter cette brève esquisse grammaticale du Kayuvava, des matériaux d'étude plus complets.

Pour la même raison, nous mentionnerons seulement que nous avons noté entre le Kayuvava et les langues de la famille Guaykuru quelques similitudes lexicographiques, dont le nombre ne nous parait pas suffisant pour affirmer, dès maintenant, une parenté entre les deux idiomes. Le fait est toutefois à retenir, car, dans une autre langue bolivienne, encore bien mal connue, le Tuyoneiri, nous avons trouvé des concordances identiques.

Aux langues qui l'environnent, le Kayuvava ne semble pas avoir fait beaucoup d'emprunts.

1. Signalons toutefois une exception : le mot qui signifie "grande maison" d'après Nordenskiöld : idore-nyika, peut en effet se décomposer en idore-inika "feu-maison" et doit évidemment être traduit "la maison du feu".

**

Prépositions. — Le préfixe yi-, ye- a le sens de "dans, à parmi":

ye-mai-torene, parmi les femmes,
ye-mai-rua, parmi les morts,
yi-biilinbo, à l'enfer,
yi-tdal, dans le ciel,
yi-idag, au ciel,
yi-ritoki, à la droite,
yapa-nika, à ta maison,
y-arakabe, dans le ventre,

Le préfixe yo- a le sens de "avec" (accompagnement):

yo-dabapa, avec Dieu.

Enfin, le préfixe ñe- a le sens de "par", quoique dans un cas, la même relation soit indiquée par le préfixe y : ñe-tasi, par l'ordre,
ñe-tidoko, par l'œuvre,
y-ira-bihiki, par ma flèche.

Composition. — Les mots composés sont formés par juxtaposition des composants, mais, contrairement à ce qui se passe dans la grande
Nous avons donné, dans un travail antérieur 1, la liste des mots communs au Mobima et au Kayuvava; voici, d'autre part, les rares ressemblances que nous avons relevées entre cet idiome et le Kaničana:

**KAYUVAVA.**

aujourd'hui ñoxo
sain paìra-xa
blanc ya-pora-xa

**KANIČANA.**

unexe
ta-pereko
m-bala, bm-bàra

bois pipade
capricorne kara-ta
pied d-axe
côtes da-taraka
courant iri-buči
trois kurpa, knlpa

Kalaxa-ka.

De nos recherches, il résulte, en définitive, qu'il y a lieu provisoirement de maintenir la famille linguistique Kayuvava comme famille indépendante.

**KAYUVAVA** 2.


2. Nous désignons par 1 le Kayuvava d'Hervás, par 2 le Kayuvava de d'Orbigny, par 3 le Kayuvava de Fonseca, par 4 le Kayuvava de Heath, par 5 le Kayuvava de Cardús, par 6 le Kayuvava de Teza, par 7 le Kayuvava de Norderskiöld.


**I. VOCABULAIRE.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kayuvava</th>
<th>Kaničana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abeille</td>
<td>keuara (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accoucher</td>
<td>pa-ronibi (2) [cf. fils]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agouti</td>
<td>yekeke (2) [cf. paca, lapin d’Amérique]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aimer</td>
<td>[paldara] kixarese [ko dala-pa] (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j’aime [Dieu]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aller</td>
<td>nxi-ui (5) wiši-ui (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>je vais</td>
<td>doši (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu vas</td>
<td>xuíça [berei] (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>je suis allé [ce matin]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il est allé</td>
<td>áriákó (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>îiraï [demain]</td>
<td>marax-uni [oukaën] (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>îiraï [au ciel avec Dieu]</td>
<td>marax-uni [lui yi tdal yo dala-pa] (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>je ne vais pas</td>
<td>ye xabe ar-uni (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va à ta maison et reviens vite!</td>
<td>terei-nama [y-apa-nika, yau-rexita šíne] (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allons!</td>
<td>oyere (2) wiši-ère (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allons-nous-en d’ici!</td>
<td>terei (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>âme</td>
<td>ir-ičel (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ami</td>
<td>inyeka (4) [cf. maison]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ananas</td>
<td>yoro (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>ir-abadio (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>année</td>
<td>ir-idoremaka (1) [cf. feu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appelle!</td>
<td>tatulipa (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’appeler :</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comment t’appelle-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>les-tu?</td>
<td>baca űapa-emé (5) [litt. : quoi ton nom ?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apporte!</td>
<td>pueci (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>araignée</td>
<td>šoropo (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arc</td>
<td>i-rabupi (2) raupu (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>argile</td>
<td>na-bihiki (3) [cl. flèche]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’asseoir :</td>
<td>poné (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assieds-toi!</td>
<td>éurwiya (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aujourd’hui</td>
<td>ñoxo (2) íñobó (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aveugle</td>
<td>íeume (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avoir :</td>
<td>aũnuxi (5) aũnhébi (7) arexi (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Vraisemblablement faute d'impression pour : raupu.
il n’y a pas yebari (5) yavari (2) yéari, yépedri (7) [cf. non]
y-a-t-il [un Dieu] ? èn aîniexi [ko dòbàta] (5)
bambou (grand) ir-adźdížü (2)
banane ikoko (2) ikwánko (7)
barbe da-poto (2)
en bas yabin (1)
beaucoup tadeta (2)
superlatif de beaucoup hiaraparetay (2)
beau-frère saiti (2)
bec yača tītīdo (2) [cf. bouche, oiseau]	blanc ya-pora-xa (2) ́ra-bore (1)
               (n)́ya-bore-ha (7)
blatte bibi (2)
bleu yurusi (2) (n)́yořosi (7)
bois nařazí (3)
bois, broussailles bišpôle (3)
bois, forêt pipade (2) pipédà (7)
inÉranare (1)
bois à brûler ibisi (2)
bon pà-yra-ha (7) [cf. joli]
bouche en-dia̱či (4) i-dia̱të (5) dia̱ča
               (2) iyačae (1)
bouilloire torendı́to (4)
bouton de fleur araipa (3)
bras nanyan (4) na-nàına (3) na-
               nànhu (2) i-nàhwe (1)
brun (n)́ya-là-ha (7) [cf. noir, rouge]
cabai yananan (2)
calebasse en arbre kócope (2)
canne à sucre ir-attn (2) [cf. bambou, miel]
dia̱zkar (7) [esp. : azucar, sucre]
canot krata-dapà (2)
capricorne (Cer-
               rambyx) karata (2)
ce, cette arenaxi (2)
cendre òsohò (3)
cerf guazu pucu idarhe (2) (n)dàrà (7)
(Cervus paludo-
sus)
cerf guazu ti (Cer-
vus canstris)
cerf guazu bira (Cervus simplier-
cornis)
cervelle i-natúlä (2)
ceux-là, celles-là aranañi (2)
chaleur baibó (3)
chanter paitoño (2)
chat barieke (2)
chauve-souris iecë (2)
chemin i-nanaka (1)
chemise d’écorce i-mor (2)
chenille naiñu (2)
chercher : baça píaxże (5)
que cherches-tu ? ñเคë (7) [cf. mauvais]
chéřif, misérable a-potakane (1) da-petagua-
   na (2)
tatób (4) ndatá b (3)
cheveux da-ëkëro (2)
chicha ivesi (2) veiki (5)
chien nañna (2-7)
chienne ñ-nañ (7)
les chiens mej-nañna (7)
ciel ñdah (1) ñdah (2)
[Dieu est] au ciel [ko dàbàta araïcu kei tui] ́ry-
   tal (5)
   Dieu] dàbàta] (5)
[qui créa] le ciel [miãëçe ki dàkà] i tal [anai-
   pa ki tdàtì] (5)
cigale takıñë (2)
cils na-pëku (2)
cire kenara (2) [cf. abeille]
citrouille ikimi (2)

1. Fonseca donne pour ndatá le sens de *tête* et pour
na-orakama, le sens de *cheveux*. L’inversion est évi-
dente. Aussi avons-nous cru pouvoir la supprimer.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French Word</th>
<th>Lowvish/English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clair</td>
<td>pa-ibokoro-ba (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coati roux(Nasua)</td>
<td>kapuya (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cobaye</td>
<td>ir-udži (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cœur</td>
<td>il-rakabe (2) na-rakaxe (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[cf. ventre]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comment :</td>
<td>bača kapa-emé (5) [litt. :</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quoi ton-nom?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprendre :</td>
<td>pagibekexa kapa-rami niña (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>je comprends ton idiom</td>
<td>ye gie bët kapa-rami niña (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>je ne comprends pas ton idiom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>content :</td>
<td>hi-ríki-ba (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tues content (heu-</td>
<td>pí-ríki-ba (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reux)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copris ou bousier</td>
<td>korodapixi (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corbeille</td>
<td>suëra (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corde</td>
<td>ena-sakâna (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cornes de cerf</td>
<td>iëa-derhe (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corps</td>
<td>hñabe (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>côtes (os)</td>
<td>da-taraka (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coton</td>
<td>yuxuru (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cou</td>
<td>da-burba (4) ita-bóro (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>da-zoro (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se coucher :</td>
<td>piñuñuña (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>couche-toi !</td>
<td>da-roto (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coude</td>
<td>tapu (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>couguar(Felis con-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>color)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>courant des rivières</td>
<td>ir-iluici (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>courir</td>
<td>p-iveringhe (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>court</td>
<td>maëaxakama (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>couteau</td>
<td>anatâwre (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[je veux] un couteau</td>
<td>xuagnaxa ratlaure (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crabe d'eau douce</td>
<td>kovo (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crapaud</td>
<td>bõcõ (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>créer :</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qui crée le ciel et la terre ?</td>
<td>miñem ki daka i idal anapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki idati (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dieu le créa</td>
<td>ana ko daba prá daka (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crocodile</td>
<td>ŋatë (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuir</td>
<td>išahédëva (3) [cf. écorce]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuisse</td>
<td>i-daxé (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danser</td>
<td>paki (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dauphin des rivières</td>
<td>po bëli (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demain</td>
<td>čëakačo (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[jirai] demain</td>
<td>[maraxux] čëakaču (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dent</td>
<td>id-ábi (3) níce (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dents incisives</td>
<td>d-axi (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mes dents incisives</td>
<td>an-aísiro (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tes dents incisives</td>
<td>anap-áysi (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dents molaires</td>
<td>dadiodi (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diable</td>
<td>mabínaxe (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>didelphe</td>
<td>čëo (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dieu</td>
<td>mani-ména (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y a-t-il un Dieu ?</td>
<td>i daba prá (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>où est Dieu ?</td>
<td>tu aíuxi ko daba prá (5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dieu est au ciel</td>
<td>ko daba prá ariču kei tui yi-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ital (5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dieu le créa</td>
<td>ana ko daba prá daka (5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>j'aime Dieu</td>
<td>patára kixare ko daba prá (5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>j'irai au ciel avec</td>
<td>maraxuxi tuyi yi ital yo daba (5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dieu</td>
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<td>dire :</td>
<td>yaće (5)</td>
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<td>que dis-tu ?</td>
<td>en-dádra (4) [cf. main]</td>
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<tr>
<td>doigt</td>
<td>asíhi (1)</td>
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<td>indicateur</td>
<td>iarue-tarusi (3) [cf. main]</td>
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<td>itatokoro (2)</td>
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<td>auriculaire</td>
<td>yeupare (2)</td>
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<td>pouce</td>
<td>píaço (2)</td>
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<td>doigt des pieds</td>
<td>en-dádra (4) [cf. doigt,</td>
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<td>donner</td>
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<td>imwëre (2)</td>
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<td>donne-moi plus!</td>
<td>sisibadaxe (2)</td>
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<td>pibolíri (2)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>bûre pálëtëbi (7)</td>
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</table>
dormir  pibiti (2)
doux  pa-ito-bi (1)
drap, étoffe  iotca (3)
eau  ikita (1) ikita (2) kita (3-5)
          kita (7)
éclair  ietara (1)
écorce  isahedava (3) [cf. cuir]
écureuil  iutu (2)
enfant  mani-toraui (4) [cf. garçon, femme]
enfant mâle  mani (3) mamixini (2)
enfant femelle  mani-toraui (3) [cf. garçon, femme]
épaule  io-toko (1) ira-toko (2)
épine  yana (2)
épouse :  ara-nyatombi (4)
mon épouse  ir-agauna (1) ir-anubha (2)
          ranubha (3) ir-anubha (7)
etcétera
être :
où est Dieu?  eai ena ko dabapa (5)
    ko dabapa araici kei tni yiit
    dal (5)
    na-ran (4) [cf. front]
face  i-rabanu (1) i-rabanu (2)
femme  iorene (1) leire (7) krata-
          torane (2)
          tenani (4)
femme mariée  torana, krata-torana (3)
fer  nekararebe (2)
resse  inadare (2)
feu  idore (1-2) idori (3) dore (5)
          idore (7)
feuille  yen (2) iehesi (3)
 fichier  cakunu (2)
fille (opposé à garçon)  krata-mibi-torane (2) mani-
          torani (4) [cf. garçon, femme]
fille (opposé à fils)  ciromixi (2)
ma fille  ana-ciromi (4)
fils  ciromixi (2)
mon fils  ana-čirimómi (4) āre-čiromibi (7)
ton fils  ārepá-romibi (7)
flèche  ira-bibi (2) da-bibi (4)
          żera-bi (3)
[j'ai tué un jaguar]  [xumerie ki xetdaba] y-ira-
          bibiki (5)
fleur  őoa (3) őoa (2)
fleuve  kita (3) [cf. eau]
force  isidzipixa (2)
fourmi  piti (3)
          išodo (2)
fourmilier tamana-
noir (Myrmecophaga jubata)  pataio (2)
fourmilier tamana-
qua  nitua (2)
fourmilière  čodo (2) [cf. fourmi]
frère  vadanube (2)
froid  ridži (3)
front  i-toko (1) ira-toko (2)
        na-ran (4) [cf. face]
fruit  ipa (2)
        anábim (3)
fumée  nanu (3)
garçon  minu (4) maxim (2)
genou  da-čokoló (2)
glouton taira  tara (2)
graine  varie (2) [cf. noyau]
grand  pata (2)
grand'mère  itata (2)
grand-père  itava (2)
gras  ya-puxa-be (2)
grenouille  kurara (2)
grillon  ter-ter (2)
guêpe à miel  mino (2)
guerrier  načunu (4)
haricots  ipete (2)
en haut  tni (1)
herbe pour les bestiaux  r-išóło (3) [cf. paille, prairie]
[mon père est] rarirne [bua ka papa] (5)

homme
xadsi (1) krat-asì (2) iási (7) yasi (6) me-yèse (4)
[cf. peuple]
iákó (3)

Hydromys
idiome :
[je comprends] ton idiome
[pas] ton idiome

iguane
[le comprends] huirí-huirí (2)

il, elle
are (2) aré (5),
are-riki (2-5)

ils, elles
mì-kayuvbà (7)

indjens Kayuva
intestin
na-kono (2) éameroro (2) [cf. scolopendre]
iule
yada-xa (2) yeda-xa (2) yedd- bhuà (7)
jaguar (Felis onça)

[j'ai tué] un ja-
guar [avec la flèche]

jambe
i-ribera (1) i-rabura (2) na-
ribéra (3) ena-xiréra (4)
daruta (2) dárute (7)

jaune
areabi (2) arrédi (5) arréy (7)

je, moi
âmêrêro (7)

c'est moi
manì-basi (2) [cf. garçon, homme]

jeune
ira-xa (2) [cf. bon]

joli
i-ribuxì (2) [cf. visage]

jour
i-riarama (1-6) ir-iarama (2)

lac
ikuri (1) kuri (2) kúri (7)
yátaba (7)
lac Rojo agudo

laid
yerîre (2)
laine
irâna (2)
lampyre ou hélà-
ter
dzàpe (2)

langue
i-nè (1) na-ji (4) na-ñè (2)

ma langue
ma langue
ta langue

lapin d'Amérique
dent de pou
de lever :

lézard
libellule
loin
long

loup rouge (Canis
jubatus)

loutre (grande)

loutre (petite)
lune

maigre
main

mais

mais vert (clorella)

main

ma maison
mais

[totalement] yapa-nika, [yau-
[etreviensvitél] rexiâ inê (5)

grandes maisons

petite maison
malade

manger

manioc
dàdùxu (2) dàdùhù (7)

1. Vraisemblablement erreur d'impression pour nanhe (transcription portugaise) = nanhe.
2. Fonseca donne : ire à pour « langue » et nanhe pour « lune ». Il y a eu évidemment inversion entre ces 2 mots qui se suivent dans son vocabulaire.
3. Le premier r est nasal.
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<th>Kayuvava</th>
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<td>parorokui (2)</td>
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<td>marche !</td>
<td>krât-asi (3) [cf. homme]</td>
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<td>mari</td>
<td>ara-tiri (4)</td>
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<td>mon mari</td>
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<td>matin :</td>
<td>xuiça oreiri (5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>je suis allé ce matin</td>
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<tr>
<td>mauvais</td>
<td>ceroxère (2) [cf. chétif]</td>
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<tr>
<td>méchant</td>
<td>ya-raka-xa (2)</td>
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<td>mentir</td>
<td>abuexa (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>menton</td>
<td>ira-pota (3) ira-pehue (2)</td>
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<td>mère</td>
<td>i-dite (1)</td>
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<td>ma mère</td>
<td>apipi (2)</td>
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<td>ta mère</td>
<td>era-pipi (4)</td>
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<td>hélices et ampulaires</td>
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<td>montagne</td>
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<td>mouche</td>
<td>tindare (3)</td>
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<td>mouche marche</td>
<td>naniê (3)</td>
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<td>moufette (Mephitis)</td>
<td>ikarahue (2)</td>
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<td>mourir :</td>
<td>meko (2)</td>
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<td>mon père est mort hier</td>
<td>ir-ilokhe (2)</td>
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<td>neveu, nièce</td>
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<td>nez</td>
<td>rarirne hua ka papa (5)</td>
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<td>na-buweño (4)</td>
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<td>na-orandza (3)</td>
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<td>â-luariôte (7)</td>
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<td>pâ-luariôte (7)</td>
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<td>ya-ta-xa (2) (ny)â-ta-ba (7)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(cf. rouge, brun)</td>
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<tr>
<td>iñenare (1) [cf. bois]</td>
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<tr>
<td>non</td>
<td>yebari (5) [cf. il n'y a pas]</td>
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<td>nourriture</td>
<td>rabururue (5)</td>
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<td>nous</td>
<td>are-riši (2) are-rixi (5)</td>
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<td>anere (7)</td>
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<td>nous tous</td>
<td>kuöesåère (7)</td>
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<td>obscur</td>
<td>pa-idao-bà (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>œil</td>
<td>i-yokoi (1) ni-yoko (2) ând-yokosì (7)</td>
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<td>oiseau</td>
<td>mismi (3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ir-apatahù (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>roi des vautours</td>
<td>(Sarcoampaθus papa)</td>
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<td>pérénoptère uru-bu (Catharthes urubu)</td>
<td>bado (2)</td>
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<td>pérénoptère aura (Catharthes aur)</td>
<td>dakebe bado (2)</td>
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<td>caracara (grand)</td>
<td>čarqa (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Polyborus vulgaris)</td>
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<tr>
<td>caracara (petit)</td>
<td>iye (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Polyborus chimbina)</td>
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<tr>
<td>aigle (Morphnus kerekere (2)</td>
<td>urubitinga)</td>
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<tr>
<td>French Word</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
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<td>chouette</td>
<td>monorokoto (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ouraucourca</td>
<td>arara (Macrocerus)</td>
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<td>duc niacurutu (Bubon magellanicus)</td>
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<td>hirondelle</td>
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<td>(Crax sp.) pico (2)</td>
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<td>grand cassique</td>
<td>(Crax sp.) faisan à cravate kodo (2)</td>
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<td>cassique tojo</td>
<td>faisan noir čaxi (2)</td>
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<td>grand hérone cou leur de plomb buahukare (2)</td>
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<td>ibis de Cayenne</td>
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<td>jacana (Parra xrekeši (2))</td>
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kamichi huppé (Palmatea) dokotha (2)
poule d’eau korokoro (2)
râle géant sirikoba (2)
grêbe (Podiceps) popo (2)
mouette davrikita (2)
cormoran nigaud vayuyu (2)
haninga (Plotus) torayuyu (2)
anbinga (2)
canard musqué yabaGa (2)
petit canard visisi (2)
ombilic na-zebo (2)
oncle tete (2)
ongles do-kira (4) da-kiru (2)
masouhousi (3)
oreille  i-radike (2) a-ridaykei (7)
ua-ridayke (3) ena-xeughi-
ku [probablement : ena-
xeughiiku] (4)
os na-rakike (2) ua-rakify (4)
où :
où vas-tu ? caputildaça (5)
où est Dieu ? cai éuaca ko dabapa (5)
oui axa (2) xal (5)
paca yekike (2) [cf. agouti, lapin
d’Amérique]
paille ir-ixeke (2) [cf. prairie,
herbe]
paille de maïs yeki (2)
palmier total padaku (2)
palmier motacu (Attalea Hum-
bdiatiana) bmariki-te (2)
palmier carundai keté (2)
palmier chonta papabo (2)
palmier cusu (At-
talea spectabilis) murereakeu (2)
palmier royal sosiki (2)
palmier marayahu yaddaden (2)
(Bactrix mara-
ja)
palmier du Guá-
poré ir-iay (2)
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neux ubuare (2)
papillon zanžaro (3)
paresseux tridac-
tyte huayore (2)
parler païdjarai (2)
patate douce ikeri (2) kori (7)
payer paparalce (2)
payé paparai (2)
pau da-isi (2)
pécari yakuku (2)
pécher pikiti tuhi (2)
peigne rapapada (3)
peindre paxeret (2)
pénis na-nidina (3)
père i-dabapa (1) apapa (2)
mon père era-papa (4)
mon père [est]
mon père [est
mort hier] nanohi (7)
petit motiye (2)
peu rikenaxi (2)
très peu ṣahaaxike (2)
peuple ne-yeste (4) [cf. homme]
pied abei (1) d-axe (2) en-årxe
(4) idab-bads (3)
mon pied àsey (7)
ton pied àp-abe (7)
pierre iyaroba (1) yarobo (2) iarogo
(3) idaboh (7)
piment kadaibu (2)
plaine ir-buoboe (7)
plante du pied d-axe (2) [cf. pied]
pleurer purili (2)
pleuvoir mairibokidabo (2)
il pleut tiboe kitlabi (5)
pluie idabu (1)
plumes poti (2)
plus :
donne-moi plus! böre pâdetabi (7)
poignet da-barube (2)
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<td>pote arabadio (2) [cf. plume, animal]</td>
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<td>poisson</td>
<td>idita (3) idata (1) data (2)</td>
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<td>[je désir] du poisson</td>
<td>[atdaïca] dakti (5)</td>
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<td>raie armée des rivières</td>
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<td>săhalo</td>
<td>òboko (2)</td>
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<td>bagre surubi (Platystoma sp.)</td>
<td>yutapa (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palometa</td>
<td>dâdžure (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anguille ou syn-branchie</td>
<td>puwenca (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagre</td>
<td>èka (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pacu (Prochilodus, Myletes sp.)</td>
<td>barikidi (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poitrine</td>
<td>i-rakabé (1) i-rakaxe (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ena-xukaie (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>na-mâme (3) [cf. sein]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>huarinahu (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>porc-épic</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>se porter</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>comment te por-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tes-tu ?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>je me porte bien</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pot</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pou de tête</td>
<td></td>
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<td>pourri</td>
<td></td>
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<td>prairié</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>prendre :</td>
<td></td>
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<td>prends !</td>
<td></td>
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<td>près</td>
<td></td>
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<td>propre</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>puce pénétrante</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>punaise</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>quand ?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>que ?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>que dis-tu ?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>que cherches-tu?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>que veux-tu ?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>queue (du chien)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qui ?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qui [est-ce] ?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qui est là ?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>qui créa le ciel et la terre ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rainette</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>rame</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ramer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>rat</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>regarder !</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>rencard</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>revenir :</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>va à ta maison et reviens vite!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rien</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tire</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>rivière</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>rio Iténès ou Guaporé</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>rio Mamoré</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>narabamareki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rio Itonama</td>
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<tr>
<td>rio Blanco</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>riz</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>rose (adjunct.)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>roseau en éven-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tail</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>rosée</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rouge</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ibarakobo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa-lo-hî (1) ya-te-xa (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n)yá-ta-ha (7) [cf. noir, brun]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ir-îpu (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idatibi (3) [cf. terre]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa-ira-xu (2) [cf. bon, joli et se porter]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sâle</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ya-moe-xi (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sang</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sauterelle</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>scolopendre</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>scorpion</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sein de femme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana-mâni (4) [cf. poitrine]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>torane (2) [cf. femme]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sel  copara (2)  čopala (7)

serpents :  čukubu (2)

orvet et amphi-  yoari (2)
bène  yatalaxeni (2)
crotales  sisisi (2)
singes :

atèle coaïta (Ate-  yoara (2)
les paniscus)
alouette rouge (Sten-  yalexà, maxani (2)
tor)
alouette noir (Sten-  maxani, ñataxa (2)
tor)
callitrice  ñoko (2)
callitrice leon  tsiux (2)
maquis nocturne  džišiži (2)
sœur  amabo (2)
soif  araxexa (2)
soleil  tyaram (1)  ñaraman (2)
        (2)  ñaraman (3)  yarama (5)
        [cf. jour]  imaka (7)
sot  čakuče (2)
sourcils  na-maravoro (2)
soud  ićaia (2)
spectre (insecte)  vaba (2)
tabac  yupa (4)  yupa (2)  yupa (7)
talon  tokoro-daxe (2)
tante  mamui (2)
taon  pakorava (2)
tapir  bata (2)  bahata (3)  mbute (7)
tatou géant (Dasypus  bayaka (2)
gigas)
tatou peba  dapole (2)
tatou encoubert  lora-dapole (2)
(Dasypus sex-  nictus)
ténéré  tatuama (2)
termitie  čorapada (2)
termitière  čarača (2)
terre  idatu (1)  datu (2)  idati (3)

[qui créa le ciel et]  dati (5)  ndati (7) [cf.
la terre ?  sable]

[miâcau ki daka i tdal anai-
pa] ki tdati (5)
tête  a-barakama (1)  na-bura-
kama (2)  gu-anakuana
(4)  à-burarakámei (7)  na-
orakama (3)
tique, garrapata  pêcêce (2)
tisser  iratiki (2)
ton  arèn (7)
tonnerre  ir-idzíkühë (2)
tortue d'eau douce  čubada (2)
tortue de terre  bada (2)
tous :

nous tous  kubèsâ-ère (7)
vous tous  kubèsâ-pere (7)
triste  imixirakab (2)
tu, toi  area (2)  areë (5)  âréa (7)
c'est toi  arëni ëy (7)
tuer  puarihi (2)
j'ai tué [un jaguar  xuariye [ki xedaba y-ira-
avec la flèche]  biki (5)
uriner  ipatchë (2)
vasse de terre  bëku (2)
veine  nakuwoomë (2)

venir :

viens!  yaviru (2)
viens ici !  âhiri (7)
vent  idabkuhe (2)  idabuku (1)
ventre  arakabe (1)  da-rakabuna (2)
        da-rakárusi (3)  ena-na-
kabi (4)

ver à viande  ñatëcekë (2)
vers :
lombrics et acar-  čukubu (2)
rides

vert  divevera (2)
vessie  dikipata (2)
vieux  iratakási (2)
daåbe (3)

1. Cette phrase doit être interrogative [cf. p. 138].
village
notre village
visage
vite :
va à ta maison et
reviens vite!
vivre :
ous vivons là
voleur
vouloir :
je veux
je ne veux pas
je veux [un cou-
teau]
je désire [du pois-
son]
que veux-tu ?
vous
vous tous
vulve
un
deux
trois
quatre
cinq
six
sept
huit
neuf
dix
onze
douze
dix-neuf
vingt

ente (4)
yà-uder (7)
i-ribùño (3) [cf. joue]
tereinau yapanaika, yaure- xï;i iïe (5)

mi-va (7) [litt. : les habi-

votre (2)
ořeënubënu (2)
xuagnaxa [ratdaure] (5)
atdaëca [slakta] (5)

forp (5)
kuwësaïpere (7)
da-bibe (3)
karaï (1-2-6) karã (7)
mìtia (1)mìtiha (2)mìtia (7)
kurapa (1-2-6) kulapa (7)
çada (2) çada (1) çada (7)
midadari (1) midadaru (2)
mënduí (7)
karaï-roibo (1-2) karã-
trëbu (7)
mïtia-roibo(1-2)mïtia-trëbu
t(7)
kurapa-roibo (1-2) kulapë-
trëbu (7)
çada-rëbo (2) çada-rëbo
(1) çada-trëbu (7)
bururûte (1-2) burûrûte (7)
bururûte-karato-rogikïnë (1)
bururûte-mìtiha-rogikïnë (1)

mitia-bururûte-karato-rogik-

ne (1)
mitia-bururûte-mìtia-rogikïnë

(1)
kurapa-bururûte (1-2)
kurapa-bururûte-karato-
rogikïnë (1)
çada-bururûte (2) çada-bu-
rûte (1)
maidaru-bururûte (2)
kurapa-roibo-bururûte (2)
mìtia-roibo-bururûte (2)
kurapa-roibo-bururûte (2)
çada-roibo-bururûte (2)
burûte-burûte (1)
birûrûte-penë-bururûte (1)

II. TEXTES.

Pater Noster.

O-dobapà arêp-iënu tui yi-idag,
Notre-Père toi-qui-es en-haut dans-le-ciel,
adaroso-hà-dopai apa-eme; tubuça-dopai yere
adoré-soit-que ton-nom ; établi-soit-que [ici]
apa-reino; tiku-hà-dopai apè mai-varie
son-royaume; obéissent-que [toi] les-habitants
yabù, yape mai-varie tui yi-idag.
en-bas, aussi les-habitants en-haut dans-le-ciel.
P-imibi-dopai čibì o-ananibì
Tu-donnes-que à-nous notre-nourriture
iöbò; ireberehë [ire herehë] aïtirâni
aujourd'hui; mal
p-idei-rihi, yapè bir-ide-bà rihi;
pardonne-nous, aussi nous-pardonnons nous;
p-ipepe-hà-dopai . rihi [rihi] yi-ireherehe
tu-abandonnes-que nous dans-le-mal
yæbêha !. Amen.
[ne-pas]. Amen.

1. Sur la 2e copie, on lit clairement ce mot; sur la
première, il y a doute pour yae.' (Note de Texa.)
Ave Maria.


Credo.

Hikoê ye Dios i-dabapa êêhe rukaha atibeke Je-crois en Dieu Père i-doko-hà dâg, ykarebeêa idatu. Hikoê ye Xesn créer ciel, terre. Je-crois en Îesus Kristo o-dabapa, karata ê abicho-rome; areêa Christ notre-Père, un son-fils; qui ikuddue yasi; y-arahake virgen Santa [se-fit] homme; dans-ventre Vierge Sainte Maria ñê tidoko Dios Espîritu Santo aêoka-úi; Marie par l'œuvre Dieu Esprit Saint naquit; adahhepe-hui-pe ñê tesi Ponsio Pilato; souffrit par l'ordre de-Ponce Pilate; na-hui-pe; adahari-hui-pe; obi-hui-pe po mourut; fut-enterré; alla [en-bas]


Chanson.

实质性 yi-indero anêre kwêsâtre Allons notre-village nous nous-tous mi-kayuvabá anêre mi-kayuvabá kwêsâtre anêre Kayuvava nous Kayuvava nous-tous nous les-habitants 1. mi-varyê.

HAS TLINGIT A GENETIC RELATION TO ATHAPASCAN?

By Pliny Earle Goddard

The question of the possible connection of Tlingit and Athapascan presented itself to Professor Franz Boas, when, during his work on the Northwest coast, the morphological similarities were observed by him. At that time the requisite knowledge of both Athapascan and Tlingit was lacking for a final determination of the question of genetic relationship.

When some years later Dr. John R. Swanton was engaged in field-work on the Northwest coast, he secured Tlingit linguistic material from which a grammatical sketch was prepared for the Handbook of American Languages. The recording of this Tlingit material lacked the phonetic accuracy necessary for a basis of comparison, and the meanings of the stems were not determined with sufficient exactness. Dr. Swanton was aware of the general resemblance of Haida, Tlingit, and Athapascan, but realized the futility of making a prolonged and detailed comparison based on limited and faulty material.

Dr. E. Sapir read a paper at the Philadelphia meeting of the American Anthropological Association in 1914, on the Na-dene, a name he chose for a linguistic group composed of Haida, Tlingit, and all the Athapascan languages. Dr. Sapir's contention was that these three hitherto considered independent stocks were genetically related. The material used for Tlingit was that embodied in Dr. Swanton's two contributions mentioned above. He drew upon the various sources of Athapascan material, restoring in many instances hypothetical parent-forms with which to make his comparison. The paper, which appeared in the "American Antropoligist", was called preliminary; but the final results of the study have not yet appeared in print.

It was only in the winter of 1914-15 that an opportunity presented itself for a satisfactory examination of Tlingit. Mr. Louis Shotridge, a Tlingit Indian, spent some weeks in New York City, during which time Professor Boas secured rather full material, chiefly in the form of grammatical notes and lists of words. Particular attention was given by Professor Boas and his students to an exact classification and representation of the sounds of Tlingit. With the preparation and publication of this material, an opportunity for a profitable comparative study from the side of Tlingit was presented for the first time.

During the years in which a satisfactory knowledge of Tlingit has been awaited, various Athapascan languages have been studied, and bodies of texts and grammatical sketches have been published. The firsts of these dealing with Hupa contains some regrettable deficiencies in phonetic exactness. There are still large and important groups of Athapascan dialects as yet unstudied or unavailable, due to delay in

1. The relationship of Haida and Tlingit was suggested and discussed in an article, "Classification of the Languages of the North Pacific coast" (Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology [Chicago, 1893], 339-346).
2. The texts were published in BBae 39 (1909).
3. BBae 40 (pt 1): 159-204.
the preparation and publication of collected material. The Wailaki and Tolowa in northwestern California will, when published, present very important linguistic material. The Yukon dialects are practically unknown, with the exception of Ten'a. While, without this at present unavailable Athapaskan material, the final word on the subject of a genetic relationship between Tlingit and Athapaskan cannot be said, some useful comments and comparisons may be made. These indicate rather clearly what may be anticipated as the final decision on the subject.

In some respects the material to be compared presents unusual opportunities. Both Tlingit and the Athapaskan languages have a rather large number of monosyllabic nouns, and the larger number of these are apparently simple and primary. The phonetic changes possible are therefore simplified and reduced in number; for the action of word-accent, both of stress and pitch, are eliminated. Phonetic changes should therefore proceed with unusual regularity. Simple nouns like these present great advantages also in the matter of stable and easily-determined meanings. In the case of Athapaskan ca sun, we have a memory association tying a simple phonetic group with a definite single object. In most other instances there is opportunity for varying ranges of application. The word l'hu water may come to be applied to lake and ocean; but, aside from an expansion or contraction of application, a change of meaning in the majority of such simple words, so complete as to make an original identity of form and meaning in the parent language untraceable in the descendants, is not likely to happen. The known history of Indo-European languages shows that certain classes of words — such as numerals, body-parts, and terms of relationship — are particularly stable.

What appears to have happened in the Athapaskan languages is that monosyllabic, non-descriptive nouns have been gradually replaced by longer, descriptive terms. A sufficient number, however, of these simple nouns remain in the various languages to furnish a fair basis of comparison. For Tlingit, Professor Boas has furnished upward of three hundred simple nouns. When the Athapaskan nouns of identical or closely related meanings are placed beside these Tlingit nouns in parallel columns, only a few words are sufficiently alike to attract attention. With the Tlingit words arranged alphabetically, phonetic sound-shifts between Tlingit and Athapaskan, if present, should appear at once. No such shifts are found after careful study.

There are two relationship terms similar in form and of identical or allied meaning. In Tlingit, mother-in-law, is te'um, and in Beaver, teon. Tlingit 'at, father's sister; and -at in the Athapaskan dialects of Northwestern California, where the meaning is elder sister or cousin. This term, in these dialects, is also applied to father's sister. Were it not for this anomaly in classification, the meanings of the words would not in the least coincide. A connection is possible if it be assumed that in Athapaskan the term for father's sister came to be applied to elder sister. If the change was from elder sister to include father's sister, the connection in meaning disappears.

A connection might be assumed between Tlingit wan edge, and Ten'a -won edge or border, if a parallel of w=wvw could be found. The Athapaskan sound which appears with a queer alternation in various dialects as b and m, becomes wv, a bilabial spirant, in Ten'a. Without other correspondences, nothing can be made of this single instance.

Perhaps the most striking correspondence

1. J. W. Chapman, Ten'a Texts and Tales (Pac. 6, [1914]: 1-230).

2. See below, p. 271.
in the nouns is the word for crane, — dul in Tlingit, and del in Kato, and found fairly frequently in other Athapascan dialects. A relation between Tlingit u and Athapascan ξ or x is all that is lacking. Since the word is almost an isolated case of phonetic correspondence of nouns of identical meaning, as will appear below, it seems more logical to consider the word one that Tlingit has borrowed from a neighboring Athapascan dialect.

Almost equally exact is the agreement of Tlingit t'aw feather, and t'a' which, in Athapascan frequently translated feather, is everywhere restricted to the larger stiff feathers of the wings and tail. The more exact rendering, then, would be plume. I am told there is a corresponding restriction in meaning in Tlingit.

In only one instance is there an indication of several nouns with the same phonetic correspondences. Tlingit saq' and Athapascan ts'ii'n mean bone; Tlingit sax means hat and Chipewyan te'a dance-hat; and Tlingit six' and Jicarilla ts'ai mean dish. In these cases there is agreement only between the initial consonants, the other sounds varying. A dance-hat is probably something quite different from simply a hat. The case is too weak to be convincing, and, unsupported as it is, carries very little weight. Two other fair agreements appear in the list, — Tlingit can old person, and Beaver con old age; Tlingit c'̨ song, and Chipewyan c'm song.

Out of over three hundred monosyllabic nouns gathered by Professor Boas, most of which have clear-cut meanings, one hundred and fifteen have been matched with Athapascan words of identical or closely-related meanings. Some of the unmatched Tlingit nouns have meanings too general or too specialized to be matched satisfactorily with Athapascan forms. In many instances the Athapascan nouns of corresponding meanings are disyllabic and have descriptive meanings, and are therefore not comparable with the monosyllabic, non-descriptive nouns of Tlingit. This tendency to replace the simple nouns with longer descriptive terms is very pronounced in Athapascan. The unmatched Tlingit nouns, then, do not weaken the case for genetic relation. However, five fairly satisfactory agreements out of one hundred and fifteen which have been matched in meaning do not present an impressive proportion.

In addition to these, Sapir lists the following:

**Athapascan**

- xe grease
- -qo tooth
- -kla arrow
- -onaya elder brother
- i'ek night
- tok fish
- mès cheek
- no place of retreat, island

**Tlingit**

- ex grease
- ux tooth
- g'la point
- hux man's older brother
- t'a't night
- tlu'k' cohoes
- wac cheek
- uu fort

Of these xe grease is unfamiliar to me in Athapascan; and Tlingit e'y (Boas 'ex') is given the meaning fish-oil. The Athapascan word for tooth is -qo, or -wo; Boas gives for Tlingit 'ux. Sapir gives g'la as meaning point, and compares it with Athapascan kla arrow. Swanton's texts and Boas', wordlist give the meaning point of land. The connection in meaning would appear far-fetched. The Athapascan word kla does not refer to the point of the arrow, but to the shaft, since the separable pointed end, either of stone or wood, has a different name. Boas has tlu'k' cohoes-salmon, which leaves only the vowel u to carry the phonetic similarity; for glottalized l and k are very distinct from l and k without glottalization. In Athapascan, u'o does not mean a place of retreat, it means an island.

Dr. Sapir has assumed that the primitive Na-
In the case of the verbs, Professor Boas has segregated about three hundred and fifty stems, to the greater number of which he has assigned meanings. The opportunity for comparison is not nearly so favorable in the case of verbs as in that of nouns. Phonetically, the verbal stem is part of a complex, subject to accent variations and to assimilation. In the case of Athapaskan verbal stems, the presence of a series of reduced suffixes is to be suspected. These suffixes may appear as the final consonants of the apparently monosyllabic stems. The meaning of a monosyllabic noun appears without analysis, while the meaning of a verbal stem can be determined only by the examination of several verbs containing it. Often even then the meaning is elusive, and difficult of precise statement. It happens, therefore, that the matching of Professor Boas' list of Tlingit verb stems with Athapaskan stems of equivalent meanings is a difficult matter. It has been attempted only where the meanings of the Tlingit stems have been rather definitely given. While the complete verbs in Tlingit usually can be rendered in an Athapaskan dialect by verbs of fairly equivalent meaning, it does not follow that the stems are comparable, for other elements than the stem in each case help to make up the verb.

It has been possible to match one hundred and twenty-four of the Tlingit stems with Athapaskan-stems of similar meaning 1. In a fair number of these instances, the agreement in meaning is satisfactory. Of these one hundred and twenty-four compared forms, only five show sufficient phonetic similarity to require comment.

Tlingit 'a to sit agrees in form with -'ai, -'a, an Athapaskan stem used almost exclusively of the position of single inanimate objects. If the Tlingit meaning could be shown to be a derived one, the correspondence might be cited as evidence of common origin.

Tlingit stem na to drink, and Athapaskan *-nau with the same meaning, are irrefutable, since the final n of Athapaskan is explainable as a suffix.

Tlingit t'd, t'd, t'en, mean to sleep. Athapaskan *t'ez, *t'en, also has that for a secondary meaning. Its primary meaning relates to the position or movement of anything animate. The concept of sleeping, itself seems often to be connected with dreaming, the subjective view of sleep, while a reclining position is the objective view. The Tlingit verb-stem is also a noun meaning sleep, and comparable with Athapaskan bzl. In primary meaning, then, the two stems are widely separated.

Following in alphabetical order is Tlingit t'an to carry a solid elongated object. There is an Athapaskan stem t'an, relating to the position or movement of a long object, such as a pole. The particular Tlingit verbs given are not comparable with the Athapaskan, but there seems to be a fair agreement in the meaning and the phonetic form of this stem.

One of the Tlingit stems, meaning to shoot with a bow and arrow, is t'uk. Navajo has a stem t'o, which also means to shoot with a bow. Beaver has a stem t'ok, t'o to shoot, but employed of shooting with a gun.

Tlingit has a stem sel to tear, and Athapaskan one, te'l with a similar meaning.

Dr. Sapir cites additional correspondences: such as Athapaskan -ca, -cal, to catch with a
hook; and Tlingit *cat, to take, to pick up, to seize. The difference in meaning should be sufficiently apparent without comment.

The pronouns show but one resemblance sufficient to warrant comment. Tlingit has a third person singular form *du. Certain of the northern Athapascan dialects have a reflexive third person possessive pronoun prefixed *de. Here, again, is a possible borrowing, which has been responsible for the limited distribution of the form in Athapascan.

Among the numerals, Tlingit has *la' one, with which Athapascan Kato *ku one, is comparable.

Professor Boas has succeeded beyond expectation in isolating and defining the etymological parts of the verbs. The adverbial prefixes are of the same general sort as are found in Athapascan, but among these there are no correspondences of note. Professor Boas lists as an incorporated noun *q'u space, used in such expressions as *q'udil'ak' it is wet (weather, soil). Compare with this Kato *kowanstal it was not.

Tlingit has a set of classifiers seemingly entirely lacking in Athapascan verbs which classify the subject or object solely by the limited application of the stem.

Morphologically, Tlingit is very similar to Athapascan. The nouns in both stocks seem to have been originally monosyllabic. To these primary nouns certain suffixes to form diminutives and augmentatives, etc., were added. The verbs are similar in structure, having elements of the same character which take the same general order. First are adverbial elements of direction and position, and pronoun objects. The stems are toward the end, and are preceded by the subject pronouns. In Athapascan there are modal elements, some of which precede the subject, and others follow. Tlingit has modal prefixes preceding the subject, but with classi-
mon objects, that it was possible for Tlingit to be supplied with one set, and all the many Athapascan languages with the other, totally different set.

3. That the Tlingit have a creative genius for language-formation which, since they separated from the Athapascan peoples, has led them to replace all the older forms with newly-created ones.

It must be conceded that the linguistic universe might have been so ordered that any one or all of these three things might have happened. In particular, there seems to be no evident reason why words should not be created constantly in any language. However, modern linguistic study is based on a belief in phonetic laws which produce uniform results under identical conditions. The one recognized method of establishing genetic relationship is to point out the uniform changes which in the course of time have caused the separation of a uniform linguistic area into dialects and related languages. This method of establishing genetic relationship has failed in several instances to produce a definite conviction that relationship really exists. Critics are urged to accept the results on the plea that the particular problems are too difficult to be solved by this method. The question then presents itself whether we shall retain the old definition of a linguistic stock as a group of languages whose genetic relationship has been established by showing that they have diverged as a result of uniform phonetic change, or whether we shall form a new definition. A linguistic stock, such as the proposed Na–dene, consists of a group of languages called Athapascan which have become divergent as a result of phonetic change, and of two other languages which contain a few words and elements resembling similar ones in the first group.

For one, I contend that the present definition should be kept. "Athapascan" is an exceedingly useful designation of a definite group. If the name "Na–dene" is to be established, may we not have also a new generic term to be applied to such groups of a linguistic stock plus others?

When once we have concluded that Tlingit and Athapascan are either unrelated, or so remotely related as to have left no clearly perceptible evidence of the relationship, a new and interesting problem will present itself. When two peoples either linguistically unrelated or very remotely related come into prolonged contact, to what extent do their languages become assimilated, phonetically, morphologically, and lexically?

That the various correspondences pointed out in this paper and by Dr. Sapir are the result of such acculturating influence, I have little doubt.

### COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

#### NOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tlingit</th>
<th>Athapascan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'d a lake</td>
<td>maäk lake H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'at' father's sister</td>
<td>at older sister, father's sister K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ás tree</td>
<td>k'íi tree H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dn town</td>
<td>kai village Ten'a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The abbreviations used in the vocabularies to indicate the dialect from which the examples are taken are: B, Beaver; CC, Chasta Costa; Chip, Chipewyan; H, Hupa; K, Kato; Nav, Navajo; T, Tolowa.
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>'ld</td>
<td>'beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>'lt</td>
<td>'place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>'lct</td>
<td>'father</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>'ltc</td>
<td>'rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>'lk</td>
<td>'brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>'łx</td>
<td>'shaman</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>'lx</td>
<td>'tooth</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>'face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>yzą</td>
<td>'offspring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>yzu</td>
<td>'hunger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>yłu</td>
<td>'canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>yżą</td>
<td>'border, edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>yet</td>
<td>'fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>yłe</td>
<td>'spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>ył</td>
<td>'place underneath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>yit</td>
<td>'son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>yis</td>
<td>'spear</td>
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<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>yław</td>
<td>'stomach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>węć</td>
<td>'cheek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>wını</td>
<td>'edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>wąq</td>
<td>'eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>wu</td>
<td>'food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>hàń</td>
<td>'dung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>bit</td>
<td>'house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>bin</td>
<td>'water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>bąnx</td>
<td>elder brother (said by male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>'weasel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>dź</td>
<td>'trail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>ds</td>
<td>'moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>dńku</td>
<td>'skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>dńq</td>
<td>cottonwood-tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>dńł</td>
<td>'crane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>(t'a)</td>
<td>'sleep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. A separate simple word for cheek is generally lacking in Athapascan languages.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Genetic Relation</th>
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<td>38.</td>
<td>ṭ'ay fat</td>
<td>ṭ'ay fat K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>ṭ'at' night</td>
<td>ṭ'at' night Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>ṭ'án navel</td>
<td>ṭ'án navel K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>ṭ'àn sea-lion</td>
<td>ṭ'àn sea-lion K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>ṭ'èx' heart</td>
<td>ṭ'èx' heart K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>ṭ'à stone</td>
<td>ṭ'à stone H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>(t'èx') rope</td>
<td>(t'èx') rope H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>ṭ'è shoe</td>
<td>ṭ'è moccasin Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>ṭ'à'í mind</td>
<td>ṭ'à'í mind Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>ṭ'èog' anus</td>
<td>ṭ'èog' anus K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>ṭà king-salmon</td>
<td>ṭà king-salmon Ten'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>ṭàwv feather</td>
<td>ṭàwv feather K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>ṭ'ly elbow</td>
<td>ṭ'ly elbows H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>ṭ'ük' cradle</td>
<td>ṭ'ük' cradle K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>(sz) name</td>
<td>(sz) name Chip.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>sú neck</td>
<td>sú neck B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>sú daughter</td>
<td>sú daughter H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>sú spruce</td>
<td>xsú spruce T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>súk' strap, belt, cord</td>
<td>súk' belt Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>sú rain</td>
<td>sú rain Jic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>sú clay</td>
<td>sú clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>sàq' bone</td>
<td>sàq' bone K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>sàxu' hat</td>
<td>sàxu' hat Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>(shg) smoke</td>
<td>(shg) smoke H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>súk' black bear</td>
<td>súk' black bear H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>súx' dish</td>
<td>súx' dish Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>súku'c rib</td>
<td>súku'c rib B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td>džás skin</td>
<td>džás skin bark H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td>tsúk' owl</td>
<td>tsúk' owl Apache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>tsútskus' bird</td>
<td>tsútskus' bird B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68.</td>
<td>cà head</td>
<td>cà head K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69.</td>
<td>cûn old person</td>
<td>cûn old age B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>cīl spoon</td>
<td>spoon Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>cāl salmon-trap</td>
<td>fish trap H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>cē blood</td>
<td>blood Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>cēt horn</td>
<td>horn K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>(cī) song</td>
<td>song Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>djūu hand</td>
<td>hand K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>tētān mother-in-law</td>
<td>mother-in-law B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>tēlal cache</td>
<td>cache T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>gāxw duck</td>
<td>duck Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>gūb cloud</td>
<td>cloud B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>gūbēr ear</td>
<td>ear K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>gwēl bag, pouch</td>
<td>sack Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>kēl' ashes</td>
<td>ashes Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>kēl' dog</td>
<td>dog H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>kēl' mud</td>
<td>mud K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>gēx fire-wood</td>
<td>fire-wood K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>gē place-between folds of something</td>
<td>blanket fold K</td>
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<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>q'ot' stomach</td>
<td>stomach, belly Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>q'uwal' pot</td>
<td>pot Ten'a</td>
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<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>(q'uwal') down, feathers</td>
<td>feathers, downy Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>xxtāl frog</td>
<td>frog Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>xūdzī burnt wood, coals</td>
<td>coal Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>xār' island</td>
<td>island Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>xāl club</td>
<td>club Chip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>(xa) war</td>
<td>war H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>xāw hair</td>
<td>hair K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>xē chest</td>
<td>chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>xiy pack</td>
<td>pack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>xōxu husband</td>
<td>husband H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>x'a mouth</td>
<td>mouth H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>x'āu fire</td>
<td>fire K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>x'ās foot</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>lāxu famine</td>
<td>famine B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>leq' red ochre</td>
<td>ochre K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>lu nose</td>
<td>nose B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlingit</td>
<td>Athapaskan</td>
<td></td>
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<td>---------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'da, 'dà, 'du to sit (sing.)</td>
<td>-'a, -'a to have position (of round objects)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'at*, 'at', 'at', 'a to walk in company</td>
<td>Chip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'at* cold</td>
<td>-dší to walk (pl.) Chip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ak*, 'ak*, 'ak* to interlock</td>
<td>-t<em>xu, -t</em>e to be cold K</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>'ax, 'ax*, 'ax to carry a textile</td>
<td>-k'a cold Nav</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ax, 'ax*, 'ax to hear</td>
<td>-dhi, -dhi to be cold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'eke* bad</td>
<td>-l'on, l'u to tie, to knot Chip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'eke* to whistle</td>
<td>-l'on, l'o to weave baskets H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'iw to pick up; to carry in a vessel</td>
<td>-k'yo to carry a flexible object H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'in to kill many</td>
<td>-śi to move flat, flexible objects H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ix* to shout, to call, to invite</td>
<td>-t's<em>e', t's</em>e' to hear K</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'iù, 'iu, 'iu to dwell</td>
<td>-tce' to be bad K</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'iù, 'iù, 'iù to buy</td>
<td>-t'e', -t'ok' to be ill tempered, to be angry</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>'iš, 'iš, 'iš to wash</td>
<td>Chip</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>'uku*, 'uku*, 'uku* to boil</td>
<td>-yic to whistle K</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ix, 'ix, 'ix, to blow</td>
<td>-sol (-yot) to whistle Jic</td>
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<tr>
<td>sai sand K</td>
<td>-k' an, -k'a to move a vessel containing liquid K</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-tso tongue Nav</td>
<td>-gan, -gai to kill (pl. object) K</td>
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<tr>
<td>tok' salmon H</td>
<td>-zel, -zel to shout Chip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nan mother K</td>
<td>t'ai to speak as a chief Jic</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-t'ei' sister K</td>
<td>-et, -et' to stay at a place Chip</td>
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<tr>
<td>yas snow K</td>
<td>-xait, -xai to buy H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ts̓ù meat H</td>
<td>-ds to wash Chip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kya dress H</td>
<td>-gis to wash Nav</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-la' finger K</td>
<td>-bej to boil Nav</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lai' mentula K</td>
<td>-yoc to boil Jic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tce' tail Chip</td>
<td>-medj to boil H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yot, -yel to blow (with the breath) H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
yà, yà, yàn to pack
yal' long
yá to step
yá' to pull
yëx, yëx, yëx to whittle
yit', yit', yit' to pull
yite, yite to fly
yik'w', yik'w', yik'w' to shake
wa's, wa's, wa's to inquire
wa'll, wa'll, wa'll to break
wa's tough, hard
wa's, wa's, wa's, to ask, to inquire
wuq' wide
hát', hát' to drive (animals)
buk' full
hù, hù, hùn to wade, to swim
buk to shout
da's to catch in snare
dàl, heavy
dex' ashamed
di' to watch
dix'n' to tie a knot
dut' to fly
t'd to boil in water
t'á, t'á, t'n to sleep (sing.)
t'áw to steal
t'á'n, t'á'n, t'á'n to carry a solid, elongated object
t'ség' to hit with the point of a long thing.
t'sé to twist
t'ín, t'ín, t'íin to see
t'íw to count
t'íil, t'íil, t'íil to drill
t'á, t'á, t'én hot

-"i'in, "i'zi to carry on the back
-nas long H
-tal, -tìl to step H
-lol to drag, to pull along H
-was to shave off, to whittle H
-yos to draw out of narrow space, to stretch H
-t'a', t'a' to fly K
-wàt, -wà to shake H
-xàl, -xal to ask a question H
-k'yas to break H
-táis to be strong K
-xàl, -xal to inquire H
-t'el, t'el to be wide, to be flat K
-yot, -yot to drive, to chase K
-a to be full Chip
-bån' to be full K
-kol walking in water (woll) Chip
-t'at, -t'a to shout K
-"zi, -"zi to shout Chip
-li' to snare K
-das to be heavy H
-yaï to be ashamed K
-yan, -yan to watch, to spy upon H
-ton to tie, to knot Chip
-yets to tie H
-t'a', -t'a' to fly K
-madj to boil H
-t'e, t'ein to lie down (sing only) H
-i' to steal Chip
-t'un, -t'a'd, t'nw to handle or move a long object H
-gel, got to spear B
-dacts, -dats to twist K
-"u' to look, to see K
-t'ë' to teach H
-t'xk to count H
-wíl to drill Nav
-do to heat Nav
-do to be hot Apache
-sel, -sé to be warm H

1. See also gín, gén, gin.
t'ax' to bite

t'ex to fish with hook

'tex' to pound

'i, i, i, t'i to find

'tukw', 'tukw', 'tékw' to shoot an arrow

sà, sà, sèn to name; to breathe

sis, sís, sís to sail; smoke rises

sél, sél, sél to tear

sú to sew with cedar-withes

síw, síw, síw to chop

tsaq', tsaq', tsiq' to push with the point of a long thing

tsëx, tsëx, tsëx to kick

tsis, tsis, tis to dive, to swim under water

tsin alive, strong

càt', cát', cát' to take

cù to hunt

cùwq, cùwq, cùwq to laugh

djàq', djàq', djàq' to kill (sing, object)
djii to think

djinh to dream

djíx, djíx, djíx to roll a ring or hoop
tév to wound
tékw', tekók', tekók' to rub a skin in order to soften it

na to drink

ná, ná, nán to do, to work

ná' to shake

náq', náq', náq' to stand (pl.)
ni, ni, nin to carry several things

nút' to swallow

-gus to bite K

-eat' to catch with a hook K

-gx1, -gx to fish B

-bwal, -bwal to fish for with a hook H

-tssë', -tstå to pound H

-tsan, -tstå to find H

-t'o to shoot with arrow Nav

-t'ok, t'o to shoot (with a gun) B

-t'as to shoot (with bow and arrow) Chip

-ye', -yi' to be named Chip

-kit to hang, to spread, to settle (fog or smoke) H

-te'ul, -te'ul, -te'el to tear, to rend Chip

-dan to sew Chip

-tôél, t'ôl, -ôél to strike, to chop Chip

-ise, tsi, tsi' to push (long object?) Chip

'sis to kick B

-t'al to kick H

-lu, -le to dive, to swim under water H

-ná, -nai to be alive Chip

-kü to catch with the hands H

-tcu to seize Chip

sq old age Nav

-fi to hunt game Nav

-ze, -ze' to hunt Chip

-dlo-dlok' to laugh Chip,

-zé' to kill (sing, object) Chip

-ʒən, -ʒən, -ʒən, -ʒən to think Chip

-lal, -lal to dream to sleep Chip

-bas to roll a hoop Jic

-lats to shoot, to wound B

-gis to rub a skin Jic

-nən to drink K

-nu to do K

-taw to shake (intrans.) H

-ya to stand on one's feet (pl. only) H

-la, -lai, -lai relating to the position or movement of two or three objects Chip

-ka to swallow K

-dzək' to swallow B
nik'^, nik'^, nik' to tell
nix' to smell
gxl a long thing moves straight ahead
gac to cohabit
gån, gån' to burn
g iç, gên large
g'u' to move
gût'^, gût'^, gût', gû to go (sing.)
gwâs, gwâs, gwâs' fog
k'e, k'en to track
k'û, k'sên to know
k'ûq'^, k'ûq', k'ûq' to bubble
kwâc to swallow
k'âs' sharp-pointed
k'uts to break (a strap)
gâ's, gâ's, gâ'sx to cry
gxl to split
gût', gu' dark
gên, gên', gên' to look
geq' to throw
q'â, q'd, q'ên to sew
q'a to say
q'ê, q'e, q'ên to sit (pl.)
q'ut' to suspect
q'ux to travel by canoe
q'âq'^, q'âq', q'âq' to swim (fish)
q'xl' to cut fish lengthwise
q'ës to urinate
xâc, xâc, xâc to cut
xîl', xîl', xîl' to sweep
xîk'u' dry
x'dî to scrape, to slice
xà, xà, xèn to eat

1. See also t'in, t'in, t'in, above.
2. See nik'^, nik'^, nik', above.
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\(xa\)} to paddle
\item \textit{\(x\dot{e}, x\ddot{e}, xen\)} to camp over night
\item \textit{\(x\dot{a}t\)} to whip, to club
\item \textit{\(x\dot{u}t\)} to drop, to chop, to pull
\item \textit{\(x\dot{u}x\), \(x\ddot{u}x\), \(x\ddot{u}x\)} to call
\item \textit{\(L\dot{a}n, L\ddot{a}n\)} deep (water, snow)
\item \textit{\(La\)} to feed
\item \textit{\(L\dot{a}q\), \(L\ddot{a}q\), \(L\dot{a}q\)} to overcome, to win
\item \textit{\(L\dot{a}k\)} scared
\item \textit{\(L\ddot{a}k\)} wet
\item \textit{\(L\dot{i}t\), \(L\ddot{i}t\), \(L\dot{i}t\)} cast off, to abandon
\item \textit{\(L\ddot{i}t\)} to defecate
\item \textit{\(L\dot{a}\)} complete, deep
\item \textit{\(L\dot{e}, L\ddot{e}, L\ddot{e}\)} to dance
\item \textit{\(-k\dot{i}\)} to paddle Chip
\item \textit{\(-wx\), \(-wxh, -wxh\)} the passing of the night H
\item \textit{\(-x\ddot{a}t, -x\ddot{a}t\)} to strike repeatedly, to beat a drum B
\item \textit{\(-x\ddot{i}l, -x\ddot{i}l\)} to strike repeatedly K
\item \textit{\(-g\ddot{a}l, -g\ddot{a}l, -g\ddot{a}l\)} to drop, to beat K
\item \textit{\(-l\dot{c}a\), \(-l\ddot{c}a\)} to shout K
\item \textit{\(-s\ddot{a}t\)} deep (water) K
\item \textit{\(-l\dot{c}a\)} to feed K
\item \textit{\(-n\ddot{a}\)} to win in a contest Chip
\item \textit{\(-d\ddot{e}, -d\ddot{e}\)} to win K
\item \textit{\(-g\ddot{a}, -g\ddot{a}\)} to be afraid K
\item \textit{\(-c\ddot{a}l\)} to be wet B
\item \textit{\(-l\ddot{c}a, -l\ddot{c}a\)} to be wet or damp K
\item \textit{\(-l\ddot{c}a\)} to leave to quit B
\item \textit{\(-l\dot{c}a, -l\dot{c}a\)} to leave one K
\item \textit{\(-l\dot{c}a\ddot{n}\)} to defecate K
\item \textit{\(-s\ddot{a}t\)} deep H
\item \textit{\(-y\ddot{e}\)} to dance H
\end{itemize}
THE HOKAN AND COAHUILTECAN LANGUAGES

By E. SAPIR

In the general simplification of American Indian linguistic stocks which is at last being seriously undertaken by various investigators, two recently published articles are of particular interest. These are Kroeber’s *Serian, Tequistlatecan, and Hokan* and Swanton’s *Linguistic Position of the Tribes of Southern Texas and Northeastern Mexico*. The former adds to the Hokan stock recently determined by Dixon and Kroeber (Shasta-Achomawi, Chimariko, Karok, Pomo, Yana, Yuman, Esselen; possibly also Chumash and Salinan), the Seri language of western Sonora and the Tequistlatecan or Chontal language of Oaxaca; the latter gives good evidence to show that a number of languages spoken along the Texas coast and back into the interior from it (Coahuilteco, Cotoname, Comecrudo; Karankawa; Tonkawa; and Atakapa), which have, according to Powell’s scheme, been classified into four distinct linguistic stocks, are best considered as genetically related. The full evidence for the validity of the Hokan stock has not yet been made public, but we have been promised it by Dixon and Kroeber. A comparative Hokan vocabulary insofar as it affects Yana has been kindly put into my hands by Dr. Kroeber; this, together with such descriptive or comparative grammatical and lexical Hokan material as has been published and such further comparative evidence serving to link Yana with Hokan as I have been able to gather from time to time, leaves small doubt in my mind of the correctness of the theory.

In going through Swanton’s comparative vocabularies, I was soon struck by a number of startling Hokan echoes. My interest having been actively aroused, I looked into the matter more carefully. The following comparative vocabulary of over a hundred stems and elements is the result. When we consider that only a very limited number of comparable terms were available for any two of the languages concerned, this result seems astonishing. It is difficult for me to suggest any alternative to the hypothesis of a common origin of the Hokan and Coahuiltecan languages. True, I have little morphological evidence at hand, but the study of the problem thus newly opened up is confessedly in its infancy. As it is, the very imperfect sketch of Tonkawa given by Gatschet suggests a considerable number of Hokan-Tonkawa parallels in morphological elements.

In order not to complicate our problem, I have not listed in the table such Chumash and Salinan terms as seemed likely to be connected with Hokan words. These have been referred to in the notes to the vocabularies. A few Chumash-Coahuiltecan terms are noted at the end.

Kroeber’s, Dixon’s, Barrett’s, and Swanton’s

3. Since this was written, there has appeared E. Sapir’s *The Position of Yana in the Hokan Stock* (University of California Publications in *American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 13, pp. 1-34, 1917).
4. I here use the term Coahuilteco to include Coahuilteco, Comecrudo, Cotoname, Karankawa, Tonkawa, and Atakapa.
orthographies have been preserved, except that Swanton's `i (of English "ii"), 
\' (e of English "met"), and \$ (u of English "but") have been re-
spectively changed to \(, \epsilon \) and \( ; \) Kroeber's and Bar-
rett's \(G^s\) (voiced velar spirant) have been changed to \(γ\).

The vocabularies have been derived from the
following sources:

1. Chontal material obtained from vocab-
ulary quoted in A. L. Kroeber, Serian, Tequis-
iletecan, and Hokan. A few forms I owe to ma-
uscript material loaned by Dr. P. Radin.

2. Seri material obtained from vocabularies
quoted in J. N. B. Hewitt, Comparative Lexi-
cology, pp. 299-344 of W J McGee, The Seri
Indians, 17th Annual Report Bureau of Ameri-
can Ethnology, part I, 1898.

3. Yuman dialects quoted are: Diegueño
(Dieg.), Mohave (Moh.), Tonto, Kutchán (or
Yuma), Cocopa (Coc.), Tulkepaya (Tul.),
Santa Catalina (de los Yumas) (S. Cat.),
H'taím, Maricopa (Mar.), Walapai (Wal.),
Kiliwi, and Cochimi. Most of this material is
taken from Yuman vocabularies quoted in J. N.
B. Hewitt, ibid.; and in Albert S. Gatschet,
Der Yuma-Sprachstamm nach den neuesten hand-
scriptlichen Quellen dargestellt, Zeitschrift für
Ethnologie, vol. 9, pp. 365-418, 1877. (K) after
Mohave and Diegueño forms indicate that they
are quoted from A. L. Kroeber, Phonetic Ele-
ments of the Mohave Language, University of
California Publications in American Archae-
ology and Ethnology, vol. 10, n° 3, pp. 45-96,
1911; and A. L. Kroeber and J. P. Harrington,
Phonetic Elements of the Diegueño Language, ibid.,
vol. 11, n° 2, pp. 177-188, 1914.

4. Esselen material obtained from A. L
Kroeber, Esselen, pp. 49-68 of The Languages
of the Coast of California south of San Francisco,
ibid., vol. 2, n° 2.

5. Seven dialects of Pomo are recognized by
Barrett: Northern (N.), Central (C.), Sou-
thern (S.), Southwestern (S. W.), Southeast-
ern (S. E.), Eastern (E.), and Northeastern
(N. E.). All forms whose dialect is expressly
given are from S. A. Barrett, vocabularies given
(pp. 56-58) in The Ethno-geography of the Pomo
and neighboring Indians, ibid., vol. 6, n° 1, 1908.
Pomo forms not specified as to dialect are from
Kroeber's Eastern Pomo material in The Lan-
guages of the Coast of California north of San

6. Yana material obtained from my own
manuscripts... Central Yana forms are given
except where S. indicates that Southern Yana
(Yahi) is meant.

7. Chimariko material obtained from R. B.
Dixon, The Chimariko Indians and Language,

8. Karok material obtained from A. L. Kroe-
ber, Karok sketch (pp. 427-435) in The Lan-
guages of the Coast of California north of San
Francisco. Further material obtained from Mr.
E. W. Gifford's Karok manuscripts is indicated
(G).

9. Shastan consists principally of three lan-
guages: Shasta (S.), Achomawi or Pit River
(Ach.), and Atsugewi or Hat Creek (Ats.).
Forms given are obtained from R. B. Dixon,
The Shasta-Achomawi: a new Linguistic Stock,
with four new Dialects, American Anthropo-
gist, N. S., vol. 7, pp. 213-217, 1905; also his
comparative Chimariko-Shastan table given on
pp. 337 and 338 of The Chimariko Indians and
Language. A few Achomawi words marked (S)
are taken from a manuscript vocabulary I ob-
tained in 1907 while engaged in Yana work for
the University of California. Certain Achomawi
and Shasta forms were also obtained from Mr.
E. W. Gifford's manuscripts; they are indicated
(G).

10. All undesignated Tonkawa words and
all Karankawa, Atakapa, Coahuilteco, Comecrudo, and Cotonâme words are taken from Swanton’s article cited above. Tonkawa words followed by (G) are taken from A. S. Gatschet, Die Sprache der Tonkawas, Zeitschrift für Ethnology, vol. 9, 1877, pp. 64-73.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF HOKAN AND COAHUILTECAN  Languages

I. — Pronouns.

1. I, me, my  3. Dieg. nya 1; 4. ehi, eme I, nie-my; 7. ntu 1; 8. na, mi-I, na-me, nai-my; 11. na I; 13. na-I; 14. na-yi I
2. I 5. ha; 10. ha 2 (G) 5. that
3. me, my 1. ka-ki-I (incorporated); 5. N, C, ke my; 10. ka me
4. thou, thee, 1. ima thou; 2. me thou; thy 3. Dieg. ma thou, Moh. mi-nya thou (K); 4. nemi, name thou, nemi-ci, mi-ci-thy; 5. N, C, E, SW, SÉ ma thou, N mi thy, E mi thee; 6. ma thou, -wa'-ma I-thee; ma thou, -m-ni-thou, m(i)-, -mi thou, thy; 8. m thou, mi-thy; 9. ma thou, Ach. mi-thou, mű-thy (S), Ats. mi-thou; 13. ma-thou
5. that 2. itam he, that; 5. C ñu-ya those people (-ya plural suffix); 6. (a)dai-(ri), da that; 8. ta-adverbial particle, “probably indefinite or imperfect time”; 10. tel, ta-ka, tua-ta-e that, this; 13. la that, the; 14. tal that, he

II. — Personal Nouns.

6. aunt 5. C mann-tsak, SW mu-

1. Cf. also Chumash (Santa Ynez, S. Yn.) nei I; (Santa Barbara, S. Bar.) and (Santa Cruz, S. Cruz) nei = I n; (San Buenaventura, S. Buen.) no = I n; (San Luis Obispo, S.L.O) is not available for comparison. Chumash material obtained from A. L. Kroeber, Chumash, pp. 31-43 of The Languages of the Coast of California south of San Francisco; and Chumash comparative vocabularies in A. L. Kroeber, The Chumash and Costanoan Languages, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 9, no 2, pp. 237-271, 1910.
2. E. g. xaxa-ha I was, xaya-ja-ja I was not.
3. Cf. also Salinan ke I. Salinan material obtained from pp. 43-47 of Kroeber’s Languages of the Coast of California south of San Francisco; forms marked (M) are from manuscript material of Dr. J. A. Mason. Cf. further Chumash k- “I; my”.
4. Cf. also Salinan mo thou, t-m-thy (t- is article). tsem father’s sister; 6. mu’xdi paternal aunt, S mu’ldi; 7. muta-la-(i) (my) maternal aunt; 8. ma’di-ts father’s sister, mita-waci father’s sister after death of father (G); 9. Ach. hamut father’s sister (G); 13. miteal aunt.

5. Cf. also Chumash (S. Bar.) ite this; (S. Cruz) tuhu this. Identical in origin with this Hikan-Coahuiltecan demonstrative stem *tu may well be Chumash t- found prefixed in absolute forms of certain noun stems (e. g. S.L.O. t-axa : S. Yn., S. Bar., S. Buen. ax = bow ; S.L.O. t-awa : S. Yn., S. Bar. awhi moon). Cf. also article-like noun prefix t- of Salinan (e. g. t-am house; t-ilet teeth).
7. aunt 5. E exā-a mother’s sister; 10. wacék aunt
8. brother 5. C ki-de, SW (a)-kin older brother, Cekū, SW kün younger brother; 10. kena brother; 11. kanosa brother
9. father 5. N, NE-mee, S-men, SE-mek; 11. man, mawis; 13. mana
11. man 5. Exak; 10. baakou man, male; 13. xagū man, male
13. mother 4. atsia; 5. C teo-de, S -teon, SE-cek; 7. cido-i, sito-i; 10. issa
15. mother 5. E nixa; 6. ni’na; 9. S. ani (G); Ach. -ani (G); 13. S. F. Solano’s naha
16. sister 5. S inman younger brother, younger sister; 10. nila sister; 15. bleti sister
17. woman, to marry woman, NE daiku; 10. da to marry; 13. tayagū man marries, wife

III. — Body-Part Nouns.

18. arm, hand 2. inat; 3. —; 5. N, C, S tana hand, SE atan; 6. dal- hand; 7. b-itcinpu; b-itca hand, b-itra, b-ila, b-itca hand, -teni hand; 9. Ach. ili’ hand (< *ilihi) (S); 10. bitián
20. breast 3. Dieg. itchiek, i.e. itcix breast; 6. te’i’ kli breast; 9. Ach. itcix female breast (S); S itsik milk, Ats. atciska milk; 10. yatezx breast; 15. itsk breast
21. female breast 3. H’taam nyemal, Kiliwi

1. Cf. also Chumash (S. Yn.) iniyix husband.
2. Moh. iniyix hand, Dieg. inat are probably not connected with these words but are rather comparable to S. Pomo èxa, ian arm, S. W. ixa, N., C. ca, S. E. xal.
3. -pu of Chimariko itan-pu is perhaps to be compared with Chumash pu arm, hand.
4. Cf. also Chumash (S. Buen.) qop belly.
5. Cf. also Chumash (S. L.O.) tuyu, (S. Yn.) tuq mother.
6. San Francisco Solano is an isolated, apparently Coahuiltecan, dialect of which Swanton publishes a brief vocabulary.
7. Cf. also Chumash (S. Yn., S. Bar.) t-em leg, foot, possibly also (S. Cruz) n-im-í leg, foot with n- prefix (cf. note 17).
8. Chontal -is is suffixed, as further evidenced by anats earth (cf. Chimariko ama earth) and iantx ear (cf. Chimariko -i'an ear).
9. Here probably belongs also Pomo mi- instrumental prefix with the foot.
10. Perhaps Chimariko mi-tei-instrumental prefix with the foot belongs here.
11. Cf. perhaps also Chumash (S. Yn.) u'uí chest, heart; this is more likely, however, to be cognate to Chim. b-usí breast.
24. hair 3. Tonto yamia skin, hide; 6. mi'-vi, -mi hide; 7. b-inia hair; 11. e-wol skin, hair on body

25. mouth, lip 3. Kiliwi abha-a, i.e. axaa, Cochimi ha, jaa, i.e. xaa mouth; 5. N, C, ba, S, SW abaa, E xastaa, SE xasto, NE ba'-ino mouth; 10. kala mouth (G); 11. xal lip

26. nail 5. N, S, SW hete, C etc., NE hetca; 10. yo-tean (G)

27. neck 3. Wal. ipuk, Dieg. ipuk,

H'taim epok; 10. hepe(a) (G)
2. uuf, bif; 3. Moh. ibu (K), Dieg. 'exu (K); 4. b-oii-s; 7. b-oxii; 8. yuhi; 9. Ach. zmim(S); 11. ya; 12. ya'x, yaax

28. nose 3. Tonto yo, Moh. 'ex, Dieg. Eya, Kiliwi e-au, i.e. iyay; 5. E yad; 11. iy; 14. e

14. Tonto
10. 10.
10.

29. tooth 3. Tonto yo, Moh. 'ex, Dieg. Eya, Kiliwi e-au, i.e. iyay; 5. E yad; 11. iy; 14. e

30. sexual organs 3. Tonto minyeta penis; 11. melluwi female sexual organs; 13. malaux male sexual organs

IV. — ANIMALS.

31. crow 3. Moh. aqaga raven (K); 5. N, C, E, S, SW kaai; 6. ga'gi; 10. kal

32. dog 3. Coc. cowvaiek, i.e. ka(NU)waik; 10. ekwanu; 12. kowd-u

33. deer 7. a'a; 10. ao

34. fish 5. N, C, E, NE ca, S, SW oca; 10. evva-han (G)

35. goose 3. Moh. uiago-e; 5. SW lalo; 6. la'logi; 7. lalo; 14. l-a-ak

36. rabbit 3. Dieg. khilkbau, i.e. xil-xao; 11. kiexiyen; 12. kiexyem

V. — OBJECTS.

37. arrow 6. sa'wa; 7. sa'a; 10. caaxni 2

38. bow 3. 7. xapuene; 9. S xau; 10. nica-u; 11. xai; 14. gai

39. day 4. 2. sax sun, isax moon; 4. asi, aci sun, asatsa day; 7. asi; 9. S axtei; Ats. asisiyi; 10. etc-nau (G)

40. fire 3. Tul. obi; 5. N bo, S, SE xo, S, SW, NE obo; 14. bimbe

41. house 7. 3. Moh. awa (K); 4. iwa-

5. Cf. probably also Chumash (S. Bar., S. Buen.) n-oXe nose, (S. Yn.) n-oX nose; for n- cf. (S. Cruz) n-ime-l (note 12).

6. It seems likely that Hokan-Coahuiltecan *yau is to be assumed for nose. ya-(yas), labialized in Karok to yu, is found intact in Comercedo, Cotoname, Achomawi, and Karok; it is monophthongized to i-, e- in Seri and Yuman; this front vowel is further rounded to e- in Chimariko and Esselen because of following -e, -x; x has become labialized to f, because of originally following u, in Karok and Seri. x has become e, s in Esselen, as regularly (cf. asa-nux water< Hokan *xana). Seri variant i and a may point to some such sound as a, labialized form of i. Achomawi yimmimi may be assimilated from older *yax-mi.

6. If probably also Chumash p-awa-yte « house ».
42. house
5. N, C tea, S atca, SE tsa, NE la; 13. ixun house, to dwell

43. moccasins
3. Tonto nayo, nanu; 7. (pa)-nna (snow)shoes; 15. na-u

44. moon
3. Cochimi kon-ga, gama-ua, ganeb-naffen; 11. kan

45. mountain
3. Dieg. manaiteh, H'taam motar; 13. Maratino ma-toumau to the mountain

46. river
6. da-water lies, da-ba river; 15. ti-i river

47. sky
1. emaa; 2. amime; 3. Moh. ammaya, Dieg. animai; 4. iniita; 6. 'a-pa; 11. apel

48. sky
3. S. Cat. akwarra; 13. usuul heaven

49. sun
3. Moh. anya (K); 5. E la, S atca moon, SW ka-laca moon; 7. alla, ala sun; 11. al sun; 13. anna month

50. sun
2. tahj i. e. tax; 5. NE -daka; 10. taxac, tagac sun, day

51. stone
3. Tonto vui, Moh. avi, Dieg. i. wvi; 11. wayekuel; 15. wvi

52. thunder
5. N makila, C makela, SW makala, NE ti-mamka; 11. (pa)-mak, (pa)-mok

53. thunder
5. E kat-matol; 10. metan to lighten (G); 11. (pa)-meto-lightening

54. water
1. aba; 2. ax; 3. Moh. aba (K); 4. asa-nax; 5. NE, SE xa, C, NE ka, S, SW aka; 6. ba-, S xa-; 7. ak', aka; 8. as, isa; 9. Ach. ac (S), S atsa; 10. ax water, xana to drink; 11. ax; 12. ax; 15. ak, ka, kan

55. wood
1. eke; 2. ehe; 3. Kiliwi kharip, i. e. xaip, ka; 5. N, C hai, E, SE xai, S, SW abai; 11. xai, tree, wood

VI. — ADJECTIVES.

56. black
2. ko'-pol i. e. -pol; 6. p'al-; 14. pal

1. It is barely possible that Chimariko panna is to be analyzed as p'a-snow, -nna footweat. p'a- would then be cognate with Yana p'a-dju "snow", p'a- "snow lies spread out"; Tonto paka snow. This pa- would only accidentally resemble Chimariko pa,ipa moccasin. Snow in Chimariko is ordinarily hipu, hipue; cf. Chumash (S. Buen.) po snow.

2. Maratino is an isolated, apparently Coahuiltec, dialect of which Swanton publishes a brief vocabulary.

3. Cf. also Chumash (S. Yn., S. Bar.) al-apa sky, (S. Buen.) hat-nap, possibly also Salinan l-em sky.

4. Cf. perhaps also Chumash (S. Yn.) alca sun, (S. Bar.) atca sun. However (S. Buen.) iemu sun (cf. perhaps Esselen asi, ari sun; Chimariko asi day: Ato as-i day) suggests that these forms are to be understood as a-l-ca, a-l-ia (for prefixed a-l, a-l, cf. Chumash a-la-pa sky, a-l-ap a above: Salinan l-em sky, l-em above:

57. cold
3. Mar. b'tchurk, i. e. xtcuq, Mohave baton-urk, i. e. batcuq, Kiliwi abhtchuk, i. e. axtcaq; 6. hatstil' to be cold; 7. xatsa; 9. Ach. actela-(S); 10. hatsex

58. large
1. kweka; 2. ka-koleh, i. e. -kal; 10. kivalo great; 15. kome great

Chontal emaa, Seri ani-ne, Mohave ammaya, Esselen inita, Yana xip'-sa sky). More likely to be related is (S. Crus) li-umw sun.

5. ko- is (color-)adjectival prefix.

6. kati denotes sky.

7. Cf. also Salinan t-ca' "water" (M) (t- prefixed article; ca' < *xa').
59. old 1. akrw old man; 3. Moh. kwora- old (man), Cochimi acwó, i.e. akwn; 10. kuca old, ancient

60. red 2. ko-massol, i.e. massol brown, móssohl, i.e. müssol yellow 2; 7. masosam red salmon; 11. (pa)-msol red; 12. mssá red

61. round 5. SW pololo; 6. píilılı round basket cap; 10. pilil, ko-pol; 11. pa-wa-pél

62. small 3 3. Tonto kolye; 4. axus-k, ukus-ki, ukú small, infant;

63. white

64. white 6

VII. — NumeraLs.

65. one 4 4. pek; 6. bai-; 10. pax, paxaatok alone, only

66. two 1. oko; 2. (ka)xño-(m);

VIII. — Verbs.

68. to blow 5. pu-cen, pu-tam to take breath, pu-cul to blow, n-ya to whistle, E pu-xamk to whistle; 6. píi,-píil to blow; 7. xu- -xuc- 5 to blow, -xú to whistle; 10. puxo to blow; 11. (pa)-puv to blow, (pa)puxa-mak to whistle

69. to burn 7. -uax; 10. ma-i; 11. (pa)-makw

70. to come 3. Kutchán kírik, Dieg. kiyu; 6.-k'i; 7. -k- hither;

71. to cry 13. kal; 14. ka's, kas

72. to cry 3. 7; 5. maxar; 6. 1; 10. maka; 12. pa-ma

5. N kawi infant, C-kú son, daughter, ku- boy, girl infant, kuite small, E kawi boy, kus infant, kute small, SW kawí small; 10. ca-xu small, wi-xun girl; 12. kuxosam small, young; 14. kwan, kwaan small, young; 15. kun girl

1. ko- is (color-) adjectival prefix.

3. With Hokan-Coahuiltecan *kus- small, infant* is perhaps also cognate Chumash gu, ku- of (S. Buen,) guon child (S. Cruz) kuto child.

4. Cf. also Chumash (S. Yn., S. Bar.) puka, (S. Buen.) pulet one.

5. Hokan *pu* seems regular to have developed to *xu* in Chimariko. Other examples are : Chimariko *xu- to swim*.
73. to cry 5. SE xakit, SW kaca, 
NE kaetet; 12. xakile to weep
74. to cut 5. xa to cut, to cut off; 
10. kaeta; 11. kawii
75. to die, to be dead meley; 4. 1; 5.17; 6. mal- 
to get hurt, (mocassin) has 
holes, (basket) is torn; 11. pa-plai (from *mlau); 14. 
mal dead
76. to do 5. hu; 7. -xai- to make; 
13. hawai, bo to do, to 
make; 14. ka-bawan
77. to drink 5. C, N kotecim, E xöxi, 
S hoxii; 10. (ben)uk-(no); 
12. xiaxe; 13. ouk; 14. 
akveten; 15. kawii
78. to eat 3. Coc. abha, Tonto 
maa; 4. am; 5. N maaamaa; 
au (< am); 9. Ach. -am-; 
Ats. -ammi; 12. babime, 
xaxane; 13. ham
79. to eat 5. C kawan, SE kawa-
maaka; 10. ya-xa (G), yax; 
11. (pa)-kai to eat, (pa)- 
kakui to masticate
80. to fall 1. mef; 7. -man-, -no-; 
11. mel; 14. amoka; 15. wak
81. to forget 7. -xone-; 13. xam
82. to give 4. inka; 7. -bak- (?); 10. 
ax
83. to go 5. xa, wai to go, to walk; 
7. -taw-, -owa-; 8. var(an); 10. wana they go; 12. a-
swiyo go over there!; 14. 
84. to go out 6. -dam- (to go) out or 
house; 7. -tap out of; 
9. Ach. -da out of, Ats.-ta 
out of; 15. ta to come out
85. to hear 5. cok; 13. teakweii
86. to kill 5. C kim; 7. -ko-; 12. 
wati-xu-ka; 14. abik
87. to laugh 5. SE ke; 10. xaxaya; 14. 
kelta; 15. hayii
88. to like 5. NE kawanit; 6. klun-; 
11. huail to love; 13. kawa 
to love; 14. ka to love
89. to be pre-
90. to run 3. Kutchán conó, i.e. konó, 
Dieg. gana; 4. cauca; 5. 
E kak, S katan, SE xawanu; 
10. xana to go away; 14. 
xankaye to run, to hasten
91. to say 5. ba- to tell, to preach; 
6. ha- to call; 7. -pa-, 
-paci-; 10. hepa; 14. -ptsin 
92. to scratch 7. -xolgo-; 10. swacika
93. to see 5. ma-bi, ma-yap to face, 
to look, mag.a to look for; 
6. minu-, mi-, mé- to look; 
7. -man- to see; 8. nab- 
to see; 9. Ach. -umá, Ats. 
-ima- to see; 11. imíx, 
mahe; 13. mas
94. to see 5. N teadin, S teadá; 10. 
atee (G); 14. tea
95. to shoot 7. -pa-; 15. pots
96. to sit 7. -pat- (plural subject); 
11. (pa)-nél-pán; 12. páwe
97. to sleep 1. cnai; 2. sim; 3.

1. Here belong perhaps also Esselen mahe he died; 
Pomo mudal to die, dead. Pomo mudal is, however, 
better compared with Yana muri, to lie, metaphorically: 
"to lie dead".
2. Cf. also Chumash (S. Buen.) umu to eat; Sal. 
amo"(M).
3. Cf. also Chumash (S. Yn.) ike, (S. Bar. xike) to 
give.
4. Yana y corresponds to Chimariko-Karok s, in cer-
tains words, e. g. Yana ywa trail: Chimariko hisa; 
Yana we'yi horn: Chimariko wer, Karok wew-r; Yana 
-wi female: Chimariko -sa (e. g. ten-mak-sa mother-
in-law : ten-maku father-in-law).
Moh. isma; 4. atsini-si; 5. N, E, S, SW, sina, C sina, NE cima; 6. santsi-1, S, te'santsi; 9. Ats. ismi (K), S. issmus (K); 11. (n)eneti; 13. tanoksian; 14. un

98. to speak

5. ga-nuk; 6. ga- 7. -ko-, -go- to talk; 13. ka to say, to speak; 15. ko-i to say, to speak

99. to tear

100. to touch

5. -tra- to tear; 14. tâhama to break, to tear

6. din- to touch, to put out one's hand to; 10. ta-an to handle, to touch

IX. — Adverbs.

101. alone

7. pola; 11. palen alone, only

102. near

3. Tonto ipe, Moh. hipawik, Mar. hepanik; 14. pahual; 15. ipal

103. no, not

5. E kayi; 6. k'ur-; 7. -ni-, x-, gu; 13. ox, oxna not; 14. kon, kwu-on no, not

104. no, not

3. Wala. ápa no; 7. pate-

109. derivative 4. -naux, -nex, -no 1; 6. -na 6; noun suffix 7. -ar 7; 8. -an, -ar 8; 10. -on, -an 9 (G)

1. Simpler form of stem, same-, implied in plur. sääma-(alongside of sääma), with infixed -di.

2. Occurs only in compounds, e. g. ga-yu- to talk; ga-lá- to cry; ga-wáni- to tell a lie; ga-ri- to talk N. Yana; ga-lá- to talk C. Yana; and many others.

3. Cf. also Salinan ká (M). 

4. Cf. also Chumash (S.Yn.) paw no.

5. Esselen -naux, -nex in, e. g., nsa-nax water, pagnux bow, katus-nex mouth; -no in, e. g., tawa-no house.

6. Yana (N. and C. dialects) -na is regularly suffixed, in male forms, to all monosyllabic noun stems and to all nouns ending in long vowel, diphthong, or consonant; it is assimilated to -la after preceding -l. E. g. ha-na water, démnu-na pine martens, klu-ní-la crane.

7. E. g. tczm man, pntsar woman, huar crane. Forms like tábokor mole, tagurí wildcat, and bimetaus morning suggest that only -r is suffixed, preceding a, i, o, and u being stem vowels. This -r varies in orthography with -l, e. g. sápxel spoon, variant punsal-i my wife.

110. derivative 4. -s 13; 8. -c 14; 10. -e, noun suffix -s 15 (G)

Forms like püeira skunk and ta'ira ground squirrel suggest that -r, -l is abbreviated from -ra.

8. Karok -an, -ar makes nouns of agent and instrument, e. g. kivip-an "runner", xnc-er thinker.

9. E. g. kano-ec Mexican from kánoec Mexico, be-yat-ec sénglass from acíe to see, ye-box-ec boot from laxa to go, ye-box-ec tent from laxa cloth, canvas. These nouns are evidently instrumental in force, like their Karok parallels.

10. Perhaps also Pomo dak "to split ".

11. E. g. tax-ec no not to be, yaxa-bó he does not eat, unxa-ba-ba I was not.

12. Qo is found also in other interrogatives, e. g. qo- who? qo-í where?

13. E. g. elepa-s rabbit-skin robe, boc-í-s nose, apo-pah-s seal, wateka-s coyote, toplís-s birds, huki-s panther.


15. E. g. tága-ec, táxa-ec sun, mac-ec terrapin, awas-ec buffalo, apiw-ec house-fly. In Esselen, Karok, and Tonkawa -ec, -s seems to forms chiefly animate, e. g. animal, nouns.
diminutive 7. -lla '; 10. -lo, -la-n, suffix -lo-n, -li-n ² (G)
112. adjective suf-
fix 3. -k ²; 4. -k, -ki ²; 5. suffix 8. -ak in, at ²; 10. -ak ²
(G)
113. locative case 5. -ka-te at, to, by, near ?

SUPPLEMENTARY CHUMASH-COAHUILTECAN VOCABULARY

115. (S. Bar.) akcewe, (S. Yn.) Tonk. acewi belly
116. (S. Bar.) xonii mother
117. (S. Bar.) pako-wac Tonk. ewac fa-
old man, eneXe-
wc old woman ci old, ancient

1. E. g. itri-lia boy (cf. itri-MAN), tuntite-lia SWALLOW, teisuma-lia ORPHAN. -lia is quite likely assimilated from -r-la (or as in 89 a), e. g. punti-lia (read puntia-) GIRL < "punti-va-lia (punta-r woman).
2. These elements are not specifically termed diminu-
itive by Gatschet, but some of his examples suggest that they are. E. g. enoxa-lo MOSQUITO, apinki-lin GREEN FLY, RED FLY, eti-lan FISH, naxitun-se-lon MATCH (liter-
ally perhaps LITTLE FIRE-MAKER, cf. naxitun FIRE). -n probably as in 106.
4. E. g. oxuk-k, uquis-k SMALL, putu-ki LARGE, sale-ki GOOD, ala-ki BLACK.
5. E. g. Pomo maka-la THUNDER: Comecrudo (pa)mak THUNDER, E. Pomo -maliöö (with final reduplication) THUNDER: Comecrudo (pa)netöt (with final reduplication) LIGHTNING does not smack of accident.
An important feature of both Hokan and Coahuiltecan languages is the alternation of stems with initial vowels with forms of the stem without the vowel ², e. g. Chontal aba, Seri ax, Mohave aba, S. Pomo aka, Esselen asa-, Karok as-, Achomawi ac, Shasta alsa, Tonkawa ax, Atakapa ak, Comecrudo ax, Cotoname ax WATER: N. E. Pomo xar-, Yana bar-, Tonkawa.

10. E. g. E. Pomo kilikili-k WHITE, këdakëdu-k RED, torëtorë-k STRIPED.
6. E. g. maki-k YELLOW, maslo-k, maslo-k WHITE, gala-k MORE. -k occurs also as noun suffix, e. g. kalo-k "mustache " (cf. kala MOUTH), oyu-POCKET. Such substanti-
vized adjectives as maki-k GOLD (from YELLOW) and mas-
lo-k CATTLE (from WHITE) suggest that nouns in -k may be primarily adjectives.
7. Cf. probably also -k in -ima-k IN COMPANY WITH (with Pomo -ima- cf. Esselen -ma- together with, Yana verbal suffix -ma- TOGETHER WITH).
8. Locative -ka-, -k probably also compounded with other elements in -k-cU IN, -atu-ka-M ON, OVER, -or-
ka-M BEFORE, -xal-ku-M "behind", -xa-ka-M "in company with", -eru-UNDER.
9. E. g. yetsaxan-ak TENT-IN.
na-na to drink, Atakapa ka; Atsugewi -ima-, Achomawi -(u)ina-, Comecrudo imi to see: Pomo ma-, Yana mi-, Chimariko -mam-, Karok mah-, Coahuilteco mas, Comecrudo mahe. Even the dialects of a single group vary on this point, as could be abundantly illustrated from Pomo and Yuman.

Statistics based on the comparative vocabulary are of little significance at present, owing to the fact that most of the languages are but sparsely represented, some far more sparsely than others. Thus, the fact that Pomo, Chimariko, Yuman, and Yana offer the greatest number of cognates to the Coahuiltecan languages, while Chumash, Esselen, Shastan, Seri, Karok, and Chontal offer the least loses nearly all its significance when we remember that there was less material available for comparison in the latter group than in the former. In proportion to the amount of material to chose from, indeed, Esselen, Karok, Seri, and Chontal seem to offer more similarity to the Coahuiltecan languages than Yana, which, in manuscript form, is by far the best known to the writer of all the languages compared. The relatively small number of Yana-Coahuiltecan cognates found is probably the only significant point that could at present be made on statistical evidence. It is doubtless closely related to the fact, abundantly proven by other evidence, that of all Hakan languages Yana is the most specialised and therefore the least typical. Turning to the Coahuiltecan languages, we find that the order of degree of similarity to Hakan is Tonkawa, Comecrudo, Coahuilteco (including one example each from San Francisco Solano and Maratino), Karankawa, Atakapa, and Cotoname, the number of Tonkawa-Hakan cognates being somewhat greater than of Pomo-Coahuiltecan. This, if significant at all, is as it should be, for Tonkawa is an interior language and, geographically speaking, relatively nearest the Hakan languages of California.

A glance at Powell's linguistic map, so far from creating dismay at the hazardous nature of our attempt, rather serves to render it intelligible. True, there is an enormous distance separating Tonkawa and Yuman, or Coahuilteco and Seri. But is it an accident that practically the whole of the vast stretch of country separating the Coahuiltecan from the Yuman tribes is taken up by the Southern Athapascans (Lipan, various Apache tribes, and Navaho)? That these last are intrusive in this area has always been felt probable by both ethnologist and linguist. The relationship of Athapaskan to Haida and Tlingit, which I have demonstrated in another paper, raises this feeling to a certainty. I venture to put forward the hypothesis that the Hakan-speaking and Coahuiltecan-speaking tribes formed at one time a geographical continuum and that at least one of the factors in their disruption was the intrusion of Athapaskan-speaking tribes from the north. An earlier intrusion of Uto-Aztekan (more particularly Sonoran-Shoshonean) tribes from the south may eventually also have to be taken account of.

1. This I consider a most encouraging fact. If the resemblances here discussed were entirely explainable as due to accident, the Yana-Coahuiltecan parallels should have been several times as numerous as for any other pair, whereas, as a matter of fact, there are only a triffe over half as many Yana-Coahuiltecan parallels as Pomo-Coahuiltecan ones.

A NOTE ON THE FIRST PERSON PLURAL IN CHIMARIKO
By E. SAPIR

I know of few irrevocable facts in the domain of American linguistics that are quite so regrettable as our scanty knowledge of Chimariko. What attention I have been able to give the Hokan problem has tended to convince me that in Chimariko we possess, or possessed, one of the most archaic languages of the whole group, perhaps the only language in California which came nearest a faithful representation of the theoretical Hokan prototype. As it is, we must make shift to get on with such material as has been spared us and be doubly thankful for the fragmentary data that Dixon was able to secure in 1906 from the one or two aged or half-witted survivors of the tribe. The present note will serve to illustrate how unexpected and far-reaching may be the threads that bind Chimariko to geographically remote languages in California.

The first personal pronominal affix for Chimariko verbs always, or nearly always, shows clearly related forms for singular and plural. This will be evident from the following 1:

"tc-", first person singular. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with adjectival stems. Prefixed as object of transitive verbs.

"tca-", tco-, first person plural. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with adjectival stems. This suffix is distinguished from singular tc- by change of vowel. If the singular has a as connecting vowel, the plural has o, and vice-versa. Prefixed as object of transitive verbs.

i-, y-, first person singular. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with verbal stems. Prefixed as subject of transitive verbs.

ya-, we-, w-, first person plural. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with verbal stems. Prefixed (ya-) as subject of transitive verbs."

Further on Dixon remarks 2:

"It will be seen that two wholly different forms are given in both singular and plural for the first person. In the use of the one or the other of these, there is a fairly clear distinction in use. The first type, tc, is never employed with verbal stems indicating action or movement, but with those, on the contrary, which indicate a state or condition. On the other hand, whereas the second form, i, y, is invariably used with the former class of verbal stems, it is also employed with the latter, but is then always suffixed. In most cases, there is no confusion between the two forms, i. e., if the first person singular is i or y, the first person plural is ya. A few instances appear, however, in which this does not hold, and we have i in the singular, and tc or ts in the plural. In a limited number of cases also, either form may apparently be used, as qe'-i-xanan, qe'-tca-xanan I SHALL DIE, i-saxni, tca-saxni I COUGH [perhaps better understood as stem asax-, with i displacing a- of stem; tc- prefixed : tc-asax-ni. Cf. tc-a'-wi'n I FEAR and other singulars in tc-a-]."

A phonetic basis is to some extent observable,

3. Read doubtless "affix ".
in that tc or ts is never a prefix when the verbal stem begins with a vowel. [This seems doubtful.] As between i and y, it appears that the latter is always used before stems beginning with a vowel except i, whereas i is employed before stems beginning with i or with consonants. [There seems, however, to be some evidence to show that i- may displace the initial stem vowel, just as u of tcu- my displaces the initial vowel of the noun stem, e. g. m-isam thy ear, b-isam his ear, but tcu-sum my ear.] The first persons singular and plural are distinguished from each other, where the form tc is used, only by a change of connecting vowel already pointed out. [Dixon's "connecting vowel", in the verb as in the noun, as is shown by general Hokan comparative evidence, is in all probability either the initial vowel of the stem or a prefixed vowel inhering in the pronominal or other prefixed element.]

"The pronominal elements as given, are, when used as prefixes, attached to the verb by means of connecting vowels. These... often show some relation to the vowel of the verbal stem, but this is noticeable chiefly in the case of o and u stems. The first person singular and plural are distinguished from each other only by the change in this connecting vowel. As a rule, the first person singular it i- or uc-, whereas the plural is tc-. In one or two instances, however, this seems to be reversed."

Forms with combined prefixed pronominal subject and object involving the first person are given by Dixon as follows:

1: I-thee, I-him, I-ve
ya: we-thee, we-him, we-ve, we-theem
he-us
tc-, tc-: he-me, they-me
tc-: he-us, they-us

The material contained in Dixon's paper is hardly sufficient to enable us to unravel all the details of first person pronominal usage. Much remains uncertain or obscure. It is fairly clear that a number of phonetic laws are operative that Dixon has not succeeded in disentangling; it is also possible that certain phonetic niceties not explicitly taken into account, particularly vocalic quantity, may be significant. Thus, it is observable that verb stems in a- with preceding first person y- show a ye- in the first person singular, ya- in the first person plural; e. g., from ama- to eat: y-emã I eat, ya-ma let us eat. Apparently, in the singular the a- of the stem has been palatalized to e by the preceding y-; in the plural the ya- of the pronominal prefix has displaced the a- of the stem, or the two a- vowels have contracted to a single vowel that ordinarily resists palatalization. It seems more likely that the a- of ya- and tc- regularly displace initial stem vowels. The simplest statement of the facts that it seems possible to formulate is as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sing.} & & \text{Plur.} \\
\text{Subjective (i. e. subject y- (before vowels))} & \quad i- & (\text{before consonants}) & \quad ya- \\
\text{Objective (i. e. subject -i of active verb) } & \quad i- & (\text{before consonants}) & \quad ya- \\
\text{Object of transitive tc- (before vowels); verb) } & \quad tc-, tc- & \quad tcu-, tc-
\end{align*}
\]

The vowels of tc- (singular) and of ya- and tc- (plural) are probably inherent vowels of the prefixes that normally displace initial stem vowels; tc- for tcu- and tc- for tc- are probably secondary phonetic developments due to assimilation, contraction, or elision. The first person plural, then, is formed from the corresponding singular by adding an -a- to the y- or tc- of the singular or by displacing the vowel of the singular tcu- by an -a-. In other words, the really essential element of the affixed first person plural of Chimariko is -a-.

The truth of this is confirmed by certain first person plural forms in a- (without preceding y- or tc-) that are, not explicitly discussed.
by Dixon but are scattered about in his texts. The verb -\textit{uwam}, -\textit{xawam} to go (-\textit{uwam} appears also as -\textit{xawam}, -\textit{wawum}) regularly appears with "connecting vowel" -\textit{u}-, -\textit{o}-, e. g.:

\begin{align*}
y-\textit{owa'm}-\textit{xan-nan} & \text{ I'll go (p. 349, 1.11)} \\
y-\textit{wawam}-\textit{xa'-nan} & \text{ I shall go (349.5)} \\
y-\textit{uwam}-\textit{ia} & \text{ I go (349.2)} \\
m-\textit{owa'm}-\textit{xan-nan} & \text{ You shall go (349.14)} \\
b-\textit{e-d} & \text{ he went (349.1)} \\
n-\textit{uwa'am} & \text{ go! (349.8; } \textit{n} \text{ is second person singular imperative)} \\
nu-g-\textit{uwa'm}-\textit{na} & \text{ "Don't go!" (350.18)}
\end{align*}

With these forms contrast the following first person plurals:

\begin{align*}
a^{'-}\textit{wam} & \text{ let's go (351.9; 343.4)} \\
a^{'-}\textit{wa'm} & \text{ go (350.5)} \\
a-\textit{wam} & \text{ let's go (351.18)} \\
a-\textit{wa'm} & \text{ we'll go (341.6)} \\
a-\textit{wam}-\textit{an} & \text{ we'll go (351.16)} \\
na^{'-}\textit{teidut} & \text{ a'-\textit{wam} we go (349.9)} \\
xoko-lz^{'-}\textit{tce} & \text{ a-wa'm}-\textit{xan-nan} \text{ two-of-us will-go (350.17; 351.3)} \\
xot\textit{a-tir}-\textit{tce} & \text{ a-wa'm}-\textit{xan-nan} \text{ (we) three will-go (350.15)}
\end{align*}

Obviously \textit{a-} is here a pronominal element, displacing, as do \textit{ya-} and \textit{tea-}, the initial vowel of the stem. The verb -\textit{uwam} probably contains a suffixed, perhaps local, -\textit{w-}, as shown by other derivatives of -\textit{uwam}, e. g.:

\begin{align*}
n-\textit{u'-a'kta} & \text{ go (350.6)} \\
m-\textit{u'a'dok-ni} & \text{ you come back (360.2)}
\end{align*}

In such verbs also the first person plural is characterized by an \textit{a-} displacing the \textit{u-} of the stem, e. g.:

\begin{align*}
a-\textit{wa-kda-xa'n} & \text{ let's go around (341.10; 11)}
\end{align*}

Finally, the negative of the first person plural, ordinarily \textit{ya-x-}, \textit{tea-x-}, is for the verb -\textit{uwam} (\textit{m}) apparently \textit{a-x-}, e. g.:

\begin{align*}
a-x-\textit{am-gu-tea'}-\textit{da-nan} & \text{ (we) don't want to go (350.14)}
\end{align*}

On the basis of Chimariko alone one might surmise that the original form for the first person plural pronominal prefix (perhaps only for the "subjective" series) was \textit{a-} and that the \textit{ya-} (and perhaps also \textit{tea-}) forms arose under the influence of the singular. An original Hokan paradigm for the first person pronominal prefixes:

\begin{align*}
\text{Sing. } & \textit{i-} \\
\text{Plur. } & \textit{a-}
\end{align*}

is, indeed, preserved in Salinan'. The contrast of sing. \textit{i-} (which generally appears in Salinan as \textit{e-}); for Salinan \textit{e} < \textit{i} cf. Antoniaño \textit{eta'1 tongue}, Miguéleño \textit{ipat}. < Hokan * \textit{ipali}, Chimariko \textit{ipen}, Achomawi \textit{ip'li}) : plur. \textit{a-} appears in the independent personal pronoun (Antoniaño \textit{be'1 I}, \textit{ba'1} \textit{we}; Miguéleño \textit{k'1 e I}, \textit{k'a'1 we}); in the prefixed subjective elements (\textit{e-1}, \textit{a-1 we}); and in the locative pronominal series (\textit{-k'1 to me}, \textit{-k'a to us}). The possessive pronominal prefixes are all but analogous. The first person singular is characterized by the absence of a prefix except, in the case of stems with initial vowel, for the prefixed article-like element \textit{t}, which is not properly a possessive pronominal element; the corresponding plural has \textit{t-a-}, the article-like \textit{t-} plus the proper pronominal \textit{-a-}, or (before vowels) \textit{t-a-t-}, in which \textit{t-} seems to be used pleonastically. The only pronominal series in Salinan not characterized by a distinctive \textit{a-} in the first person plural is the objective, suffixed to the verb (-\textit{ak me}; -\textit{t'ak us}); here the plural is derived from the singular by means of the common Salinan

pluralizing element -t (cf. also -ka THEE: -l'kam YOU; -o, -ko HIM: -ot, -kot THEM).

It is the series of subjective pronominal prefixes that most closely corresponds to the Chimariko "subjective" series. This is true for all persons, as indicated in the following comparative table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chimariko</th>
<th>Salinan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-, i-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m-</td>
<td>m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 b-</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. 1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a- ; ya-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 q-</td>
<td>k- (subject of 2nd per. plur. imperative '1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 b-</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Treated by Mason (p. 41) as a modal (imperative) prefix of the plural, but evidently pronominal, as shown by the parallel use of pronominal m in the imperative of the singular, by the analogy of the Salinan possessive form t-k-, t-uk-, t-ko- YOUR, and by the comparison of other Hokan dialects (besides Chimariko q-, qa-, qe- we have also Yana -ga ye). Cf. also Washo ge-, imperative prefix; this is likely to be the old second person plural prefix, generalized for both numbers. The leveling of singular and plural pronominal prefixes is characteristic of Washo. The pronominal analogies of Washo ge- have been already pointed out by Kroeber.

As so often in Chimariko, the Salinan pronominal elements of the first person frequently, if not regularly, displace or contract with the initial vowel of the stem or displace the vowel of a preceding element (e.g. ko- NOT; k-e- NOT I, k-a- NOT we). Examples of Salinan forms in e- and a- are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salinan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e-ki AM I GOING?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-kiyal ARE WE GOING?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-e-cxai I WOKE UP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-a-paLa LET US DANCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('icxai TO ARISE AT DAWN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-e-k'a'k'a 1 WILL NOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-a-suxtax WE ARE NOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-e-yax WHEN I CAME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-a-ya WHEN WE GO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iya TO COME)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iya SEVERAL GO)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that i- of iya TO GO, iyax TO COME (for i- cf. Washo iye TO GO; for -x < -k' cf. Chimariko -uwa-k- TO COME < -uwa-, -uwa-m- TO GO and Yana -k'i- HITHER, e.g. ni-sa- TO GO AWAY, ni-k'i- TO COME) is displaced by first person plural pronominal a- as in Chimariko (e.g. ya-miicit-ni WE KICK, b-miicit-ni HE KICKS; stem -miicit-, cf. Hokan *imi- LEG).
ABNORMAL TYPES OF SPEECH IN QUILEUTE

By Leo J. Frachtenberg

The devices employed in a number of languages, primitive and otherwise, for the purpose of implying something in regard to the status, sex, age, or other characteristics of the speaker, person addressed, or person spoken of, are well known to all students of linguistics. These devices belong properly in the domain of abnormal types of speech, and quite a number of them have been brought together in an interesting paper written recently by Dr. Sapir and entitled "Abnormal Types of Speech in Nootka". Consequently, I am not going to expose myself to the reproach of repetition by quoting the examples cited by Dr. Sapir, but will confine myself to referring all those interested in this subject to the highly instructive and illuminating article mentioned above.

This paper deals only with such abnormal types of speech as have been observed by me in the Quileute language during extensive studies conducted for the Bureau of American Ethnology in the summer of 1915 and again in the summer and fall of 1916. My informants were Hallie George, an intelligent young half-blood Quileute, whose father was a white man, and Arthur Howeattle, a full-blood Indian and the eldest son of the last chief of the Quileute tribe. In justice to Howeattle be it said that he was by far the better of the two informants and that he was still able to recollect and explain the exact function of practically each abnormal type of speech. I do not claim, however, to have succeeded in collecting every device, owing to the rapid process of disintegration which the Quileute language is undergoing and to its gradual replacement by the English tongue.

A few words concerning the position and distribution of the Quileute language and Indians may not be out of place here. These Indians belong to the Chimakuan family which embraces, in addition to this tribe, also the totally extinct Chimacum division. The differences between the two dialects are very slight, being confined to a certain amount of lexicographic and to some phonetic divergences. There are good reasons to believe that Chimakuan, Wakashan, and Salishan may be proved to be genetically related, representing three linguistic stocks that ultimately go back to a single source. Assuming, for the time being, this to be the case, I would suggest the term Mosan for this group of languages, in view of the fact that the numeral for four (mós or bós) is commonly found in the dialects of each of these three groups. Ethnologically little is known of the Chimacum tribe, whose territory lay in the northeastern portion of Jefferson County in the State of Washington. The Quileute Indians lived formerly in the western part of Clallam County, but occupy today a small strip of land around the mouth of the river of the same name. A smaller sub-division, called the Hoh Indians, live some twenty miles farther south. The mythology and culture of these Indians are closely related to the mythologies and cultures of the adjoining tribes, especially those of the Quinault to the south and the Nootka to the north. Particularly close points of contact

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have been observed between the Quileute and Makah tribes. The members of these two are the only Indians in the United States proper known to have actually engaged in whaling. And, while the Makahs gave up this occupation with the advent of the white man, the Quileutes still pursued it up to about 20 years ago.

One of the forms of abnormal types of speech first observed in Quileute pertains to certain words used by children. These words are distinguished from similar terms used by grown-up people either by means of a certain suffix, or also by the exhibition of internal changes which, to borrow Sapir's terminology, are based upon the principle of "consonantal or vocalic play". A few words have been found which are totally distinct from the stems used by individuals other than children.

In a majority of cases the children add the suffix -ycl to each word used by them. This suffix has no other grammatical function. Thus a child says 1.

{o'do'ecly! for o'do'

tci'elalaycly! for tci'elalay'

aba'ecly! for aba'

In addressing its mother, a child uses the term ka'a'da'da instead of ka'a. In this case the reduplicated form of the suffix -da merely represents the babbling of a young child and was referred to by my informant as "baby talk."

Some "baby talk" words are based upon changes involving "consonantal and vocalic play." Thus a child calls the deer bawo'kica' instead of bawo'kica'; a cat is referred to as pu'da instead of pu'c; while a cow in "baby talk" is m'a instead of bo'sbós. In this connec-

tion it is worth while noting that the nasal m is foreign to Quileute phonetics, being always replaced by a labial b. The inferences that may be drawn from this will be discussed later on.

Among the words used by children only and totally distinct from similar terms employed by grown-up persons the following may be mentioned.

| ba'ba' | food   | for a'dita'
| b'o'  | water  | for qlw'ya'
| a'a'  | crow   | for ka'a'y'o'
| d'id'c | clothes | for y'l'sak'
| la'la' | toy     |

Of a far greater importance, particularly from a comparative point of view, are those abnormal types of speech which are used whenever it is desired to single out some physical trait of the speaker, of the person addressed, or of the person spoken of. For that purpose the native Quileute uses partly certain prefixes, and partly internal changes involving "consonantal play". It will be well to state at the outset that these forms of speech apply only to persons physically abnormal and to mythological beings or animals. Sufficient data from other languages are still lacking to justify even the attempt at explaining or accounting for the psychological reasons underlying this linguistic phenomenon. Attention, however, may be called to the explanation given by one of my informants. According to his testimony, this phenomenon goes back to an ancient custom whereby each individual discriminated his own speech by means of an affix. The individual in question usually had some physical deformity. Now, while this explanation may not be convincing, it is original and, in the absence of weightier reasons, must be taken at its face value.

Most affixes and forms representing an abnor-

1. The phonetic transcription of sounds agrees in the main with the recommendations made by the Committee of the American Anthropological Society.

2. These two terms may be onomatopoetic in origin and character.
mal type of speech are used either by the speaker himself or by another person speaking of the individual whom such a speech-form intends to single out. In few cases only is the abnormal form used in direct address, the reason for this being too apparent to require any comment. In some instances the speaker himself refrains from using the appropriate affix, because such a use would constitute an admission of some deformity.

When speaking of snail or of a cross-eyed and one-eyed person the prefix L- is placed before each word; such individuals, when speaking themselves, also change all sibilants (s and c sounds) to l sounds. In this manner l is substituted for s or c; L for ts and tc; and LL for tsl or tcl. These forms are never used in direct address. The following examples may be given for the use of such forms of speech with snail or a cross-eyed person as the speakers or persons spoken of.

L-li'yal'i I SEE IT for si'yal'i
L-li'qul'i I PULL IT for ci'quli
L-li's'li I INTEND TO DO IT for its'li
L-li's'ki'a'a WHERE IS IT? for a'xaki'a'a
L-li'qal'i WORLD for tsli'qal'i

When addressing a funny person, the prefix tek- is used; when speaking to a small-sized man, a sibilant (s-) is placed before each word; in talking of a hunchback, the affix ts l is employed; while the prefix ts- refers to a lame person. Two other prefixes of this type were mentioned by Arthur Howeattle (tc-, teq-) who could not, however, state definitely what kind of individuals they singled out.

Turning now to types of speech peculiar to mythological beings and animals, we find first of all the prefix sx- characterizing each word used by Qlwâ'ti, the culture-hero of Quileute mythology (Students of Nootka linguistics will recognize in this being the Kwa'tiyat' of Nootka and Kwe'ti of Makah mythologies.) Thus Qlwâ'ti is supposed to say,

sx-qâ'gal TAKE IT! for qâ'gal
sx-hâ'kutax COME HERE! for hâ'kutax, etc.

In like manner raven prefixes to each word a -c-, as c-ki'taxalI I AM GOING, etc. His wife uses the prefix ts- and changes d and l to n and b to m. Here again I call attention to the fact that these abnormal forms are the only instances in Quileute where the nasals m, n, occur. These two nasals are foreign to this language, being always represented by b and d respectively. Examples illustrating abnormalities in the speech of Raven's wife may be given as follows:

ts-tâsk GO OUT for tâsk
ts-Lâkwa'nâs OLD MAN for lâkwa'dâs
ts-hê tkuni I AM SICK for he'tkuli
ts-mô'yâkwa'tslo' SOMETHING for bo'yâkwa'tslo'

Furthermore, to all words used by Deer or employed when speaking of Deer there is added the prefix Lk-, and in such words all sibilants are changed to laterals. Thus l is changed to s or c; L is substituted for ts or tc; and Ll replaces both tsl and tcl. The examples follow.

Lk-hawâ'yikâ' DEER for hawâ'yika'
Lk-da'âktya GIANTESS for da'âktya
Lk-Lôk'ôl SHOOT IT! for tsoxôl
Lk-Li'bö'd HALIBUTHOOK for teibö'd
Lk-Lâq'al KILL HIM! for tcliqâ'l

Lastly, there are two devices in Quileute which imply a distinction in regard to the sex of the person addressed; one consisting of a prefix, and the other, of syntactic particles placed at the very end of the sentence. These two devices may be the result of the presence, in this language, of sex gender. Thus whenever a man speaks to a woman directly or whenever one woman speaks of another woman who is
absent, each word must be preceded by the prefix *tcx-*; it is rather interesting to note that, in this case, the man is not afraid of giving offense to the addressed person by calling attention to her "abnormality"; from which it will be seen that the Quileute Indians were not afraid of their women. In the same manner the particles *tca* and *da* are used in addressing a man and a woman respectively; the first being usually translated by my informant by means of the English term *sir*, and the latter being rendered by *madam* or *lady*.

The most important problem suggesting itself in connection with the abnormal types of speech in Quileute, to which I wish here to call attention briefly, is their probable relation to a similar phenomenon observed by Dr. Sapir in the Nootka language. This problem becomes more interesting when it is considered that there exist close cultural and linguistic affinities between these two groups. Very close correspondences have been observed in this respect between these two languages. Thus both have distinct devices indicating the speech of children, small persons, cross-eyed and one-eyed people, hunchbacks, and lame persons. Turning to mythological beings and animals, we find that both single out the speech of the Culture-Hero, of Raven, and of Deer. Furthermore, some of this distinctiveness in speech is accomplished in both tongues by means of certain consonantic changes; a particularly close resemblance being furnished by the change of *s* and *c* sounds into *l* sounds, which is found in both languages to apply to the speech of Deer. These correspondences are certainly close. On the other hand, divergences have been observed which are just as striking. Aside from the fact that the Nootka speech-peculiarities attributed to large persons, left-handed persons, circumsized people, greedy persons, cowards, and to small birds, to bear, and to elk, are missing in Quileute, the Quileute grammatical and phonemic devices are different from those employed in the Nootka language. Suffixation is replaced in Quileute by prefixation, where the phonetic composition of the elements is also different and shows a greater variety of sounds.

The question which confronts us now is this; are these abnormal types of speech, as observed in Quileute and Nootka, the result of an independent origin and development, or are they due to contact? A categorical answer to this question at the present writing is impossible. However, when we consider that the Quileute language, in using abnormal types of speech, resorts to the borrowing of foreign phonetic elements, we ought to feel justified in the assumption that this phenomenon goes back to a time when these two languages were one, but that in addition it was developed independently and modified through a later close contact between these two tribes. It is safer to hold to this assumption until such time as comparative data shall be made available from the Salish tribes adjoining the Quileute, which may furnish the sole and ultimate proof for the exact origin and distribution of this interesting linguistic peculiarity.

**Tabular Presentation of Abnormal Types of Speech Used in Quileute**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Person</th>
<th>Linguistic Peculiarity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>Add <em>-ck</em>!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-eyed one</td>
<td>Prefix <em>L</em>; change <em>s</em> and <em>c</em> sounds to <em>l</em> sounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funny person</td>
<td>Prefix <em>tek-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small person</td>
<td>Prefix <em>s-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunchback</td>
<td>Prefix <em>tx-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lame person</td>
<td>Prefixes <em>tc-, tcq-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Prefix/Particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male to female</td>
<td>Prefix $tcx$-; or add particle $da$ at end of sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female to male</td>
<td>Add particle $te$ at end of sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male to male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture hero</td>
<td>Prefix $sx$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Qtwälli$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TWO PHONETIC SHIFTS OCCURRING IN MANY ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGES

By Truman Michelson

I stated in the "Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences", 4:404, that the interchange of ə before consonants, and aw before vowels, is universal in Fox. This it not quite accurate, for aw shifts to ə, not ə, before certain consonants. An examination has revealed that the same (or closely allied) shifts occur in many Algonquian languages. Specifically the languages in which I have thus far been able to establish that the shifts take place are Fox, Kickapoo, Cree (see below), Montagnais (see below), Shawnee, Ojibwa, Algonkin, Potawatomi, Peoria, and Delaware. Since these shifts are shared by so many Algonquian languages, and since these languages are in substantial agreement in the shifts, it is clear that these changes must be very ancient, and presumably in their beginnings go back to the Algonquian parent-language. I have derived my examples, for Fox, from Jones's Texts (references by page and line) and my unpublished texts, and notes in a few cases (for the principle differences between Jones's and my phonetics see p. 54 of this Journal); for Kickapoo, Jones's Tales (references by page and line); for Cree, Lacombe's grammar and dictionary; for Montagnais, Lemoine's grammar and dictionary; for Shawnee, Gatschet's manuscripts in the Bureau of American Ethnology; and for Delaware, Zeisberger's grammar. These sources are of greatly varying quality, not to speak of quantity. Moreover, it has not been possible for me to control their phonetics in all cases; hence it is that I cannot formulate definite laws covering all the languages concerned. Nor do I claim to give exhaustive rules for even those languages with which I am tolerably familiar. It would be an easy matter to obtain full data in the field; in the office, it means the reading of hundreds of pages of texts, without being sure of completeness. What I wish to do is to establish the shifts and give such rules as I can, in the hope that others will assist in gathering materials which will enable complete laws to be formulated, and especially to find out whether these same shifts occur in other Algonquian languages. The following table shows the provisional results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Shifts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>aw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kickapoo</td>
<td>aw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shawnee</td>
<td>aw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cree</td>
<td>aw, aw[aw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montagnais</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ojibwa</td>
<td>aw, aw[aw]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Printed by permission of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

2. Terminally; Gull Lake dialect -di according to Michelson.
Algonkin... aw

Potawatomi. aw [aw]

Peoria.... aw

Delaware... aw

It will be recalled that Shawnee, Peoria, and Delaware l corresponds to u of the other dialects. I have not discussed the Cree examples that may be extracted from Horden's grammar, as I do not know how to interpret the forms (see pp. 153, 154, et seq. Note netoshetowew but netoshetwak, etc.).

FOX

ānenośiwawóte¹ how she understood him 224.5, 'agwi pwānawiweno'nónágwun"i¢ he will not fail to understand us, kenenō'tágunun"a¢ he understands us; netótawawó¢ i brought this on him 190.6, 'ā'kotówawad"i¢ how they treated him; ā'kicenewóntawiyāg"i¢ by the kindness that ye have done me 180.13, 'ā'kotówagow"a¢ how i treated you, āgwi námácinyációtótawitawecin' they never ill-treated each other 148.3, 'ā'kotówagow"a¢ how they were treated by; kiciscityawiyāg"i¢ what ye have set for me 374.19, keki'cisetágunun"a¢ he has set it for us, anekisetewó¢² he spread it open 172.10; ānótawawó¢ when he heard him 110.16, neteci'nótawagun"a such is the rumor we have heard 154.7, ānótawg"e when she heard the news 170.19; nótágunóte³ when he heard the news 146.14, ã'pyāticinétawisinite³ he was heard approaching 156.22; inā'pyātinétawawó¢ when he came to him there 368.21, pyānūnagutawinc the one by whom she was visited 154.2.5, pyānūntawg"e she was visited by 154.10, wípyānūntog"i [so read] they will be visited by 184.14, wítípyānūntunágawo [read -tonágwö] why i came to visit you 178.10; ā'kiciketeminawaté for they have pitied me 186.18, ā'kiciketeminawaté² they have all blessed me 184.7, wketeminuawyandº that you will take pity on me 380.2, keketeminópet"a¢ i bless you, neketemunagó¢ they have blessed me 376.8, kiciąciketeminawaté³ after he had been blessed by all; ānagiskawaté he met her 208.19, ānagiskágute he was met by 208.14, ā'pyāticinigiskákawaté they came to meet them [a passive in formation] 218.12; āgwiyábi vigetawitecini he not so much as gave me even a reply 368.1, 'apwānwiregątagutc when he got no reply from him 365.24; neneskinawaté¹ i loathe him 68.14, āneskinawaté for that you loathe him 68.17.20, wátícineskinun"i¢ [read -un"a¢] why i hate thee 140.4, kene'čikinómen"a¢ i hate thee, kene'čiñágunun"a¢ he hates us; ā'káske'íaawaté she heard them 222.8, ka'cčetá'gu'sow'ó¢ he is heard, ka'cčetagkwar he is heard by; kekt'ci'ta'wiper"a¢ ye made it for us, kekt'ci'tómen"a¢ i made it for thee, nēkt'ci'tákwar he made it for me, nēkt'ci'tágunun"a¢ he made it for us (exclusive); mo'kį'tągawaté if they made a sudden assault [contrast this with Cree (from Lacombe) moskistawew il fonce sur lui and Ojibwa (from Baraga) nimokitaawa i rush upon him suddenly]. In the Algonquian sketch in the Handbook of American Indian Languages, part I, paragraph 34 I mentioned the use of -amá- beside -amaw-, -ambó- in the double object construction. At the time I was unable to explain its use. It is now apparent that -amá- is simply due to the operation of phonetic law. An example from the sketch is nivōtāmāgwa-ma of course he will tell me it as contrasted with nivōtāmónun³ i tell it to thee, nivōtāmawó¢ thou wilt tell it to him. Other examples can be readily found in the sketch. It is probable that -tā- discussed in the same section is to be explained as being a phonetic reflex, and corresponds to -taw- before vowels, and -tó- before certain consonants. [It may be observed that ā'kotawutc how he had been treated 204.14 is an error for ātōtawute as is ātōthutc how she was
KICKAPOO

[The discussion of variations (PAES 9:119-123) should be read to understand some of the forms cited below.]

änemn'tawātci HE HEARD HIM 94.11, änennu'taadəci HE HEARD HER 50.20, äneno'li'kιyiyūhe HE probably HEARD THEE 74.20, witcinemn'tagutci that HE MIGHT BE HEARD BY 8.21; ò'pyānmutaadəci HE CAME TO HIM 52.22, ò'pyānmutagutci HE CAME TO HIM [really a passive]; imetāc'kaicticəci HE TRULY TRIED TO RAPE ME 76.11, nenetāc'kāgwa HE is RAPING ME 70.18; àme'kāgutci HE was FOUND 106.7 [contrast this with Fox àme'kavātci then SHE FOUND HIM 160.15]; àucī tawātēba HE MADE IT FOR HIM 72.7, àacī'tōtci HE THOUGHT IT OUT 94.3, nekci'i'ágwa HE MADE IT FOR ME 72.17 [contrast -'taw-, -'tō-, -'tə-]; ànāgiskātci HE MET HIM 18.13, 20.12, 26.13, 102.18, ànyāneskagutci THEY were MADE SICK by 66.10 [contrast -skā(w)ə-, -skə-; Fox, Cree, Ojibwa, also support the variation: see pp. 301, 302, 303]; àne'taadəci THEN HE KILLED HIM FOR HIM 8.6, kime'tone I WILL KILL for YOU 8.5; witōtautēba what SHOULD BE DONE with HIM 40.4, witōtonāge WE SHALL DO for THEE 42.14.

SHAWNEE

metelatamawâ'dsbī she CREATED for THEM, metelatamako'li she CREATED for THEM (really a passive); ninatamawâ i HELP HIM, nenatamagieta a HELPER (really a participial, gi probably represents an anterior palatal g); ninwitamawâ gi.1 TELL THEM, kehvitumule I WILL TELL THEE; witamawē'lawi I CARRY IT AWAY FROM HIM, nitamawetāgwa HE CARRIED IT AWAY FROM ME, kitamawetā'gun he CARRIED IT AWAY FROM US (exclusive).

CREE

witamātwev il LUI confesse, witamātwevok ils s'avertissent, witamātwev il déclare; totamātwev il LE FAIT pour LUI, totamētwev action, totamātwev il FAIT CELA pour AUTRUI; totamātwev il LUI FAIT, totākwev il FAIT, tepiskaw̱e il LUI VA bien, tepiskaw̱e il VA bien, takiskaw̱e il DONNE un Coup de pied; nakiskaw̱e il LE RENCONTRE, nakiskaw̱e il LE RENCONTRE, nakiskaw̱e ils LE RENCONTRE; moskistaw̱e il s'ELÂNCE sur LUI, moskistaw̱e il s'ELÂNCE; tāpwoataw̱e il LE CROIT, tāpwoataw̱e il LUI CROIT; tepittaw̱e il L'ENTEND BIEN, tepittaw̱e il L'ENTEND BIEN, tepittaw̱esuiv il EST BIEN ENTENDU; mamiskotamaw̱e v il LUI EN PARLE, mamiskotamaw̱e v EN PARLE.

MONTAGNAIS

nitutunâa je le FAIS, nitutaku il me FAIT; tsiskutamunâa je LUI enseigne, tsishiskutamunâa il M'ENSEIGNE; niwitamunâa je l'avertis, niwitamunâa il m'avertit, niwitamunâa il nous AVERTIT, tsbishitamunâa il vous AVERTIT.

OJIBWA

(a) From Baraga.

kinondâwimin thou HEAREST us, kinondow i HEAR THEE, kishpin nondonâwân i IF i HEAR THEE, kishpin nondok if i HEAR THEE, kishpin nondowâkwa i IF THEY HEAR THEE, kishpin nondonegwa i IF THEY SEE YOU, kinondag HE HEARS THEE, kinondagog THEY HEAR THEE, kinondagog ye are HEARD, kinondogowâ he HEARS YOU, kinondogowâg they HEAR YOU, kishpin nondôgôânh i IF i AM HEARD; ningashkitamawanâ i EARN IT for HIM, ningashkitamadis i EARN IT for MYSELF, ningashkitamas i EARN IT for MYSELF; ninwīndâwamawan i TELL him, ninwīndamagan i RELATE it; ninwîbändamawan i see his, ninwîbändamadis i see MYSELF, i see mine; ninmagishkawa i meet him, ninma-
gishkige i meet; nintangishkawâ i kick him, nintangishkige i kick; niedebwetawa i believe him, niedebwetagos i speak the truth, niedebwetage i speak the truth; niedâdawa i do it to him, niedodasis i do it to myself, niedodas i do it to myself, dodàiwin mutual treatment, nimmigitawa i give birth to a child for him, kingitagowa he is born to you, nimmigidg he is born to me.

(b) From Jones's Ojibwa Texts, Part 1
windamawici tell me 92.7, kigawindamón i will advise you 20.1, uwindamagon i was informed 88.18; ogi' ji' arancickawâni he made him retrace his way 18.17, kâ'wendei'a'jânic- 'kâgut he was driven back from that place 18.18; kâ'i'jânicickawâni he kicked him 34.21, kitangickâgut he was kicked by 172.10; nîngatowâ i will do to him 132.19, kitwâniâtawanâni we nearly did a mistake to him i 30.14, tôdâgut he was treated by 90.21, wânteitâawit why he should treat me i 10.5, tilidâtîti that they shall do to each other 38.23; nêndawiyûn if you hear me 254.12, kîndawâtâ she heard them 4.10, nünîntawáî he heard them 134.9, sîndawá he was heard 124.17, nîndâgusi i.f. was heard 238.17, nîngâki'ò̂n [so read] i shall be able to make it 224.28, kîçpin gâč'îwânu if you can make it 224.27, ki'kîc'i' àwâ'wâ then they were done with it 226.3 [Fox 'taw-, 'tô-, 'tâ-]

ALGONKIN

ninondawa i hear him, kinondon i hear thee, nondagosi he is heard, nondage he hears; nîmînotawâk i treat them well, totawidiqik those who treat me, nîmînototago i am well treated, nîmînototatîk treat each other well, pîžîndawa il est écâté, opiçîndagon il est écâté de lui, kîpîçîndag tu es écâté de lui, pîzîndatik écâtez-vous les uns les autres; for examples of -anaw-, -amo-, -ama-, of the double object, see paragraphs 222-225.

POTAWATOMI

nît'dâkawâ i treat him, tó'tâ'kâ'wîn treatment; nîn't'dâkawâ i hear him, nît'tâ'kâ'wîn hearing; nîd'bwîtowâ i believe him, tê'bwîhâ'kê' a believer; nîwâtîmîno'wâ i tell him, wà'tâmâ'kê'wîn information.

PEORIA

wendamawate'i' she advised him, windamakôte he was informed; nû'n'dawâwâte he heard him, nûn'îdâ'wâ'wà watch they were heard.

DELAWARE

n'pendawâ i hear him, n'penda'wâkâk i hear them, pendawake if I hear him, pendawitâ if he hears me, pendawâte if he hear him, pendawîl do thou hear me, k'pendolen i hear thee, n'pendagon he hears me, k'pendagon he hears thee, pendagol he hears him, k'pendagona he hears you; n'petawowâk i bring to them, k'petawi thou bringest to me, petawîl bring thou to me, petawik bring ye to me, petawite if he brings to me, petawâte if he brings to him, k'petolen i bring to thee, petagol he brings to him, n'petàgùsun he brings to us (excl.), k'petàguwâ he brings to you.

Addition Nov. 1st, 1920. This paper was written nearly three years ago. An abstract will be found in the Journal of the Washington Academy of Science, 9.333-334. Ottawa, Passamoquoddy, and Penobscot should be added to the list of languages (given above) in which the changes take place. The inferences regarding Ottawa are drawn from unpublished manuscripts in the possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology; those appurtenant to Passamoquoddy from a number of sources; those concerning Penobscot, Speck's material published in this Journal, vol. I, p. 187 ff. It may be well to give a few examples showing
the changes in the last: — *uda'domi'ka'wan* HE OVERTOOK HIM [exact reference lost], *uda-domi'kagul* CAUGHT UP TO HIM [really a passive; 213]; *uno'so'kawan* HE CHASED HIM [213], *no-so'kxrgotci'idjibi* CHASING AFTER HIM [really a passive: those by whom he was chased; 213]; *gi-zibe'sut'kawk* I CAN APPROACH HER [217], *nebe'sut'kxgo* HE HAS COME NEAR ME [really a passive; 235], *ki'zi'be'sut'kzk'tw* HE ALREADY HAS BEEN NEAR YOU [235]; *se'kar'wit* HE THAT CONQUERS ME [216], *se'kask* HE WHO SHALL CONQUER YOU [216]; *gëna'stokx* I PUT IT ON YOU [241], *unasta'wan* HE PUT IT ON HIM [241]; *udama'skolo'tawan* HE MOCKED HIM [205], *udamaskolo'txrgul* HE MOCKED HIM [really a passive; 205]; note also -*main-, -*mo- (Fox -*amaw-, -*amó-): *alombe'swawik* CUT THEM (INAN.) UP FOR ME [209]. *kan'zga'dëmo'lan* I LEAVE IT WITH YOU [223]. From my work among the Plains Cree this summer it would seem that *aw* contracts only to -*a-, not to -*o-. [Penobscot -*xg- (*g-*) corresponds to Fox -*g-..]

Our previous knowledge of the language of the Salinan Indians, of southwestern California, had been embodied in Sitjar’s not easily accessible “Vocabulary of the Language of San Antonio Mission, California” (Shea’s Library of American Linguistics, 1861) and in a very brief sketch of Kroeber’s published in 1904. The present work is another of those happily increasing studies for which future Americanists will be thankful, studies of aboriginal languages doomed to extinction within at most a few decades. Mason has in this volume given us the linguistic results of two field trips to Monterey County in 1910 and 1916, besides a convenient summary of the older material contained in Sitjar. The whole makes a very useful compendium of the language in both its extant dialects, Antoniaño and Miguéleño. To the treatment of the phonology (pp. 7-17) and of the morphology (pp. 18-58) are added a series of twenty-seven Antoniaño and eleven Miguéleño texts with both interlinear and free translations (pp. 59-120) and a systematic vocabulary of all extant Salinan words (pp. 121-154). The handling of the language, which is characterized by considerable irregularity, is competent. A number of obscure or imperfectly analyzed features remain, but these are as much due to the fragmentary nature of our material as to any shortcomings on the part of the author. The language is moderately synthetic in structure, with a drift towards analytic methods.

Mason’s treatment of the Salinan phonetic system, as a system and without regard to sound relationships, is eminently satisfactory and shows considerable grounding in general phonetics. It is refreshingly unlike the amateurish sound surveys that have generally done duty in American linguistics for “phonetics.” The description of a (p. 7) as “mid-mixed-narrow”, however, is an error, probably an oversight; a is a “back”, not a “mixed” vowel. Less satisfactory are Mason’s contributions to the phonology of Salinan. For purposes of linguistic comparison it is important to know not so much the distinctive sounds found, in their various nuances, in a given language, as the irreducible set of organically, or better etymologically, distinct sounds with which one has to operate. Thus, to say that two languages both possess a given sound, say x, is not even suggestive unless we know that the status of the x is analogous, in other words, that it is in both a primary consonant or secondarily derived from an identical source. From this standpoint Mason, like most Americanists, leaves something to be desired. It is not altogether easy to be clear, for instance, from his data whether the aspirated surds are an organically independent series or merely a secondary development of the intermediate-surds. The former is the impression conveyed in the phonetic portion of the paper, the latter as the data unfold themselves in the body of the work. In other words, it would seem that the Yana-Pomo-Shastan-Chimariko organic differentiation, say, of older k and k’ has been obliterated (or never developed) in Salinan and that Salinan k’, and apparently often x, are but secondary developments of k (leveled or
original); cf. Salinan ko- not with Yana k'-u- and Chimariko xu- (from *k'-u-). Further comparative research may lead us to modify this view. Meanwhile it seems fairly clear that the great majority of instances of Salinan aspirated surds are merely due to positional causes.

Mason’s examples of “metathesis” (p. 15) are not convincing. They seem best explained as due to vocalic syncope, e. g. lice year: elci'-taewel years in all probability presupposes an originally trisyllabic stem with initial vowel elci-, elcie-. The recognition of this type of stem, which may almost be considered the original norm for the Hokan languages (e. g. *ipali TONGUE, *axwati BLOOD) would, in general, have helped to clear up more than one stubborn feature of Salinan phonetics or morphology. In particular, I am inclined to suspect that many examples analyzed by Mason as consisting of prefixed consonant plus vowel followed by stem with initial consonant would have been more accurately interpreted as consonantal prefix followed by stem with initial vowel. Salinan here offers precisely the same difficulties and perplexities that Dixon met with in Chimariko.

Under reduplication (p. 14) Mason omits to mention several interesting examples of final reduplication in Salinan, e. g. t-ikelele round, k-itspilil painted, t'pelel striped, exoxo brain. This would not be so important if not for the presence of analogous forms in other Hokan-Coahuiltecan languages, e. g. Chimariko le'tetre'-spotted, -poxolxol to paint; Washo tamo'mo woman, tewi'wi youth; Pomo pololo round, matoto thunder; Tonkawa pilil round. There are also indications of the former existence in Salinan of a method of forming the plural by final reduplication, e. g. ixcexe feet (this is doubtful because ex- seems often in Salinan to act as a single consonant related to -c-), t-icxeplip feet (apparently old plural *-icxepli later re-pluralized by infixed -l-). This is very suggestive, as final reduplication to express plurality of the noun is much in evidence in Esselen and Washo.

There seems some evidence for a diminutive suffix -la-, though this is not explicitly recognized by Mason, e. g. cxapa-la-t pebble (cf. cxap stone); t'o'-l heap (cf. t'oi mountain); lua-ne-lo slave (cf. lua man); k-ek'e-l-e to have a father (cf. ek father); iio'-l brother, plur. ito'-la-nel; mue-tl great-grandchild. The establishment of a diminutive suffix -la- would receive its due significance by referring to the common Chimariko diminutive -l-(la), -la-; this element is also frequently found in Chimariko terms of relationship.

One of the most interesting and irregular features of Salinan is the formation of the plural of nouns and of the plural and iterative of verbs. No less than a dozen distinct types and a large number of irregular formations are discussed and illustrated by Mason, the great majority of them involving a suffixed or infixed -t-, -w-, or -l-. Significantly analogous plurals, often of great irregularity though of less frequency, are found in Yana; e. g. such Salinan plurals as t-eteitina arrows (sing. t-eteiyi') and anem several remain (sing. anem) offer more than a cursory parallel to such Yana forms as nuu'djau'ti-wi chiefs (sing. nuu'djau'pa'), k'uru-wi shamans (-r- < -d-; sing. k'u'wi), sa'diinsi-several sleep (sing. samsi, sans). The Salinan type with infixed -b-, -x- (e. g. meben-hands, sing. men' - kaxau several sleep, sing. kau) may be analogous to such Yana forms as dja'li-several laugh (from *djabali-?), sing. djal-.

The most striking feature of Salinan noun morphology is the prefixing of an element t- or t-. This prefix occurs both in primary nouns and in nominal derivatives of verb stems. When the noun is preceded by possessive nominal prefixes, the t- sometimes appears before the pronominal element, at other times
it is lacking. It seems highly probable, moreover, that a number of other *l-* prefixes (verbal and local) that Mason discusses in the progress of his sketch are etymologically identical with the nominal *l*- (e. g. conditional *l-, *la-, p. 44). It is most plausibly interpreted as a kind of nominal article of originally demonstrative force (cf. Hokan demonstrative stem *ta; this fuller form seems to be found in Salinan enclitic -*la now). It offers a striking and probably significant analogy to Washo *d-, similarly prefixed to both primary and derivative nouns. The possessive pronominal prefixes of Salinan offer important analogies to the corresponding elements of other Hokan languages, notably Chimariko and Washo; the lack of a distinct pronominal prefix for the first person singular is paralleled, it would seem, in Yuman.

In discussing the pronominal system of Salinan, Mason points out the presence of six more or less distinct series of elements: the independent personal pronouns; the "proclitic" series, which might better have been frankly recognized as constituting true prefixes (they occur only as verb subjects and are closely connected with the stem, whose initial vowels they sometimes displace); the objective elements, suffixed to the verb; the locative series (e. g. *near me, to him); the possessive prefixes; and the enclitic subjects. The last of these, however, are merely a secondarily abbreviated set derived from the independent pronouns. Of the others, the objective series stands out, for the most part, as distinctive, the others show considerable interrelationship. The locative series, in particular, is evidently closely related, not, as Mason remarks, to the independent series, but to the "proclitics" and possessives. It is compounded of the pronominal element proper and a preceding *k-, *ke-, evidently an old locative or objective particle (cf. Yana objective and locative particle *gi); hence, e. g., *ke-me (locative) and *ke-o him (locative) are to be analyzed as *k(e)-i to-me and *ke-o to-him (such a form as Mason's *tewa-kok'e near me is most easily interpreted as *t-e-wa-ko *k*e-the-proximity to-me). The close parallelism between the first person singular and plural forms in Salinan is characteristic of other Hokan languages; the contrast of the *e* (*i*) or zero of the singular with the *a* of the plural is strikingly reminiscent of Chimariko.

In the section on "temporal proclitics" (pp. 34, 35) there is betrayed a certain incompleteness or haltingness of analysis which is in evidence also elsewhere in the book. Phonetically, this comes out in the author's treatment of the pronominal prefix or initial vowel of the stem, which is often mistakenly, I imagine, drawn to the proclitic. To say that "the prefix *ma-" probably differs only phonetically from *me- [WHEN]" (p. 25) is misleading. Such examples as *me-yam when I see and *ma-yat when we go suggest strongly the analysis *m-e-yam and *m-a-yat with the regular "proclitic" pronouns *e-1 and *a- we. Morphologically, Mason does not seem to realize the probable denoting, in part demonstrative, origin of his temporal proclitics. They are only secondarily subordinating elements. Such a form as *be-ya when I went (better *b-e-ya or contracted *b-e-ya) is, without doubt, an indicative *e:ya i went subordinated by the demonstrative stem *pe, pa "the, that "; that *I-went, whence when *I went, is a method of subordination that seems to be paralleled by like constructions in Yana and is strongly reminiscent of Siouan.

The use of the perplexing verbal prefixes *p- and *k- (pp. 38, 39) suggests a fundamental generic classification of verbs. Mason himself doubtfully describes the *p- verbs as transitives, the *k- verbs as intransitives (e. g. *k-enai to hurt oneself, *p-enai to wound). This is the most obvious explanation but there are many difficulties in the way of its acceptance. That
p-verbs embrace such ideas as to think and to circle around seems to suggest that the proper basis of classification is not so much transitive and intransitive as active and static, as in Haida-Tlingit, Siouan, and Chimariko. A more intensive study of the Salinan material, supplemented eventually by comparison with Chumash, Yuman, Seri, and possibly Coahuiltecan-Tonkawa (cf. Comecrudo pa-verbs and Seri, like Salinan, adjectives in k-), will doubtless clear up this fundamental problem of Salinan morphology. The t-verbs (pp. 39, 40) seem most intelligibly explained as subordinates (conjunctives), morphologically nothing but nominalized forms, the t- being identical, as Mason suggests with reserve, with the common nominal t- prefix. This explanation gains force from the fact that the t-forms regularly replace p- and k-forms after "proclitic" and other prefixed elements. Thus, such a form as ram-t'-xwen then (he) arrived is really then-the-arriving, then (it is) that (he) arrived; similarly me-t-um-p' when (it) came out must be understood as time-the-coming out. Such constructions, it need hardly be added, are common in America.

The negative verbal prefix ko-, k (pp. 41, 42) offers many points of similarity with the Chimariko negative xu,-x-. The pronominal element follows in Salinan, regularly precedes in Chimariko. Dixon, however, remarks that the first person singular negative of verbs with y-, i- as first person singular pronominal prefix is generally x-., the -e- replacing frequently the initial vowel of the stem. This feature is so isolated as to appear archaic; it strongly, and perhaps significantly, parallels Salinan k-e not i.

The locative adverbs and prepositions (pp. 55-57) are frequently characterized by certain prefixed elements (ma-; tuma-; um-; tumpa-; tumpa-; tu-; ti-) which seem to me not quite fully understood by Mason. The most likely analysis, it seems to me, assumes a petrified noun *tumapa-place, there, which may appear abbreviated to ma- or um-, according to phonetic, perhaps accentual, conditions. To this element may be prefixed the article-like t-, while the demonstrative pa that may follow. The correctness of this view is corroborated by such an independent adverb as tumpa there, evidently t-um-pa the-place-there; similarly, rum-t'ca' in the water is to be understood as r-um-t'ca' the (r-<<t-)>place-the-water. The element um-, ma-, -uma- is cognate to ma- forms in Yana, Chimariko, and Pomo.

A detailed linguistic analysis of the first text (pp. 64-67) makes concrete in the mind of the reader what has been given in analytic form in the grammatical survey. This analysis is convincing in the main. The chief misunderstandings, if I may be allowed the term, are due to a failure to recognize in all cases the nominal t- prefix and to a tendency to cut loose the initial vowel of the stem or the pronominal "proclitic" vowel and attach it to the preceding consonant. Thus, the form tiyaten', translated as (then why) to go also? (freely, why should I come?) is analyzed as consisting of a general preposition ti-, the stem ya, and the iterative suffix -ten. Far more plausible is the analysis t-iy-a-ten (why) the-going-also? (stem iya, ia; cf. Washo iye to go), possibly t-i-ya-ten (why) the-I-go-also? The "preposition" ti- is probably a phantom.

In view of the rapidly increasing importance of lexical comparisons in American linguistics, the full Salinan vocabulary included by Mason is in the highest degree welcome and will eventually constitute not the least valuable part of the book. It is precisely because of the growing importance of comparative work that I have in this review emphasized points of relationship between Salinan and other languages of its group, for that it belongs to the group provisionally known as "Hokan" is now abundantly clear. Much more might have been
advanced on this point than I have touched upon, but a review is not the proper place for a full discussion.

E. Sapir.

Renward Brandstetter. — Die Reduplikation in den indianischen, indonesischen und indogermanischen Sprachen (Beilage zum Jahresbericht der Luzerner Kantonschule) : 1917.

In this treatise the author gives a survey of those phenomena of reduplication which are found in each of the three groups of languages mentioned in the title. Types found in only one or two of these groups, however interesting they may be, are left out of consideration. Each type mentioned is represented by one example drawn from each of the three groups. When the author assures us that his examples are taken from the best texts we are, of course, quite willing to believe him; but still we should have been much obliged to him if he had taken the trouble to mention his sources in each separate case. Especially regarding the origin of his Indian examples some more information would not have been superfluous, since even an Americanist can hardly be supposed to recognise these sources by intuition. The paper is purely descriptive throughout: it is an enumeration of parallels, and even the relations between forms and functions have hardly been taken notice of. So the reader who expects to learn something about the essential character of this interesting phenomenon will be sorely disappointed: what he does learn is that, even after Brandstetter’s list of parallels from a great number of linguistic stocks published in 1917, Pott’s well-known book on reduplication, printed in 1862, remains our best starting-point for further inquiry. Evidently Brandstetter himself is not aware of this fact; at least he never shows that he is, though it is hardly to be supposed that the imposing array of data presented by that eminent scholar has not materially facilitated his own investigations.

As Brandstetter’s study practically contains neither new facts nor new ideas, the task of his reviewer is not a grateful one.

It might have been otherwise if the author had made an effort to penetrate a little deeper into his subject. That he has not done so is the more astonishing because some valuable preparatory work has already been done. Already Pott had perceived that the numerous and very divergent functions of reduplication (in its widest sense) may, all of them, be traced back to the same psychic motive. He speaks of “quantitative steigerung”, which, however, may lead to a qualitative change of meaning (Pott, Die Reduplikation, p. 22). About 45 years later the same idea was much more technically expressed by van Ginneken when he demonstrated that all reduplication is a manifestation of psychic energy (Jac. van Ginneken, Principes de linguistique psychologique, see Index s. v. redoublements). Pott distinguished further between intensive and extensive “steigerung”: the former manifesting itself e.g. in reduplicated interjections, “lallwörter”, onomatopoeia; the latter in reduplicated plurals and distributive numerals. Thus far these two groups of Pott correspond to van Ginneken’s general classification, which distinguishes between extrinsic and intrinsic energy; but Pott’s conception of the essential character of each group is rather superficial. As to this point van Ginneken’s argument opens a new aspect. According to him the difference between e.g. “lallwörter” and plurals consists in this that the psychic energy manifesting itself in the reduplication in the former case originates from the emotional attitude of the speaker and in the latter case is stimulated by the meaning of the grammatical form itself. In his opinion the types of reduplication belonging to group I
(extrinsic energy) represent a period in the development of language when people used to speak with more sentiment or to articulate less clearly. He might have added that both factors may easily be observed in modern child language, though I am far from asserting that this proves anything. In group I are also classed the reduplicated forms of numerous very old roots which could not possibly be classified according to their meaning, but which generally belong to the most indispensable part of the vocabulary. As usually, van Ginneken, after stimulating our interest to the utmost, leaves the subject; attempting to construct a well thought out theory out of his sporadic remarks is quite as useless as trying to read by an occasional flash of lightning. In the first place his explanation of reduplications resulting from extrinsic energy is rather vague. That uncivilized peoples speak with more sentiment than we do, is not to be denied, but about the statement that they articulate less clearly we should be glad to hear something more. Further, does van Ginneken mean that there has been a period in the development of language when all words occurred in a reduplicated form only? This must be our inference if it is true that the meaning of the words themselves had nothing whatever to do with the circumstance that they were reduplicated. But in this case it is obviously impossible to distinguish between the two groups, as any reduplicated form may have originated in the period when reduplication was universal. It is evident that van Ginneken's theory cannot quite satisfy us, but this does not imply that his classification is wholly wrong. It will be admitted, I think, that at least one of his groups is really suggestive of a definite semantic category. This category comprises those cases of reduplication whose functions may be summarized by the general term *increase*: plural forms, distributives, intensity of action, continuity of action, repetition of action, customary action, superlatives etc. (for American examples see the Handbook of American Indian Languages I). With a view to the mental attitude of the speaker we may perhaps call them *emphatic* reduplications. If we now consider the numerous reduplications which are not immediately recognizable as belonging to the emphatic group, we meet with a striking variety: thus we find a. o. onomatopoeia, "lallwörtler", adjectives of color, shape and surface quality, nomina actoris and acti; further reduplication may express unreality, imitation, playful activity. Among these various functions the last mentioned group seems to present itself as a semantic category indicating the idea of unreality. According to van Ginneken, this group has about the same function as the Indo-European *vṛddhi*-derivatives, which he calls "allongements d'âhésitation" in contradistinction to the "allongements d'emphase", which seem to be (psychologically) akin to our emphatic reduplications. Further the onomatopoeia and "lallwörter", whose common characteristic seems to consist in their emotional nature, cannot well be separated from the foregoing group, though here the emotional element is less obvious. No doubt van Ginneken's first class, with which the "lallwörter" group brings us into touch again, is large enough to embrace both of them. However, there is no reason to regard these reduplications as "survivals" belonging to a period when reduplication was well-nigh universal because people used to speak with more sentiment: even to our "civilized" conceptions the character of the concerned words is quite sufficient to explain the sentiment with which they were pronounced. The only kind of reduplications which undoubtedly originate of extrinsic energy are those found among the interjections; but these belong to all times and all peoples.

It is quite true that there remain a great
number of reduplications, especially in Indo-European, whose functions we cannot even guess, but the very fact that these roots belong to the most primitive part of the vocabulary (as van Gineken argues) would seem to suggest the possibility that we are here confronted with an ethno-psychological problem which the present state of our knowledge does not enable us to solve. Some types may be less mysterious than they would seem to be at first sight. If, e. g. the adjectives of color, shape, and surface quality are really to be regarded as iteratives (red here and there), as Gatschet thought (Contributions to North American Ethnology II, part 1, p. 276), they belong to our emphatic group; and this author’s valuable information about distributive nomina actoris and acti in Klamath whose distributive meaning (“action done at different times or occasions repeatedly, habitually or gradually”; Gatschet, ibidem) suggests the idea that perhaps all reduplicated nomina actoris, agentis, and acti may originally have had this meaning.

These few remarks about some of the most common types of reduplication may suffice to show that a careful inquiry into the psychological background of the phenomenon considered in its entirety may be expected to yield important results. However, such an inquiry should be founded on a somewhat complete set of data and not on a number of facts arbitrarily selected. A very valuable foundation would e. g. be afforded by a survey of all the types reduplicated found in languages of North America, whereas a comparative treatment embracing such an enormous field as the one represented by Brandstetter’s short paper cannot be but both incomplete and superficial.

Finally I may be allowed to remind the reader of the existence of a highly important morphological problem connected with our subject, viz. the relation between reduplication and vocalic intermutation (“change”) in North American languages. Several years ago Uhlenbeck pointed out the probability that, wherever it presents itself, this vocalic intermutation has originated of reduplication attended with vocalic differentiation (C. C. Uhlenbeck, Grammatical distinctions in Algonquian demonstrated especially from the Ojibway-dialect, Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1909, pp. 10–20). Though the available evidence is perhaps not yet conclusive it is not to be disputed that more recent data point in the same direction. So Boas is inclined to think that certain plural forms in the Nass river dialect which show modifications of length and accent of stem syllables have originated by secondary modification of reduplicated forms (Handbook Amer. Ind. Lang., I 373). The same may be said of modification of the vowel replacing distributive reduplication in Kwakiutl (Boas, ibid., 519, 522).

An interesting example of how this process may take place is to be found in Sapir’s paper on noun reduplication in Comox (Canada Geologic al Survey, Memoir 63 : type IV on p. 16), in which language we also meet with nouns reduplicated to begin with and substituting for plural reduplication a change of the first stem vowel (ibid., p. 18). If it could be proved that Uhlenbeck’s suggestion is true, this would be a discovery of the greatest importance, not only with regard to the North American languages under consideration, but also with a view to the problem of the qualitative “ablaut” in Indo-European, although the psychological relation between the latter and the North American “change” is still obscure.

It is to be hoped that Brandstetter’s descriptive essay is to be regarded as the precursor of a thorough inquiry in which full justice will be done to every side of the problem.

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