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HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

BY
FRANZ BOAS

PART 1

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE SKETCHES

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ATHAPASCAN
(HUPÁ)

BY

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CONTENTS

	Page
§ 1. Distribution of the Athapascan family	91
§§ 2–4. Phonetics	93
§ 2. Sounds	93
§ 3. Grouping of sounds	97
§ 4. Assimilation of sounds	98
§§ 5–8. Grammatical processes	99
§ 5. Enumeration of grammatical processes	99
§ 6. Composition	99
§ 7. Changes in the phonetic character of the root	100
§ 8. Position	101
§§ 9–19. Ideas expressed by grammatical categories	101
§ 9. Enumeration of categories	101
§ 10. Denominating concepts	102
§ 11. Predicating concepts	102
§ 12. Syntactic relations	103
§ 13. Classification	103
§ 14. Number	104
§ 15. Distribution	104
§ 16. Time	105
§ 17. Mode	105
§ 18. Place and direction	106
§ 19. Person	106
§§ 20–88. Discussion of grammar	106
§§ 20–27. Nouns	106
§ 20. Structure	106
§ 21. Formative elements	107
§ 22. Compounds	108
§ 23. Verbs as nouns	109
§ 24. Plural of nouns	109
§ 25. Possession	109
§ 26. Locative suffixes	110
§ 27. Tense	110
§§ 28–75. Verbs	111
§ 28. Structure	111
§§ 29–50. Formative elements	111
§ 29. General remarks	111
§§ 30–37. Prefixes	112
§ 30. Classification of prefixes according to their position and significance	112
§ 31. Adverbial prefixes, first position	112
§ 32. Adverbial prefixes, second position	116
§ 33. Deictic prefixes, third position	117
§ 34. First modal prefixes, fourth position	117

§§ 20–88. Discussion of grammar—Continued Page
§§ 28–75. Verbs—Continued
§§ 29–50. Formative elements—Continued
§§ 30–37. Prefixes—Continued
§ 35. Second modal prefixes, fifth position 118
§ 36. Pronominal prefixes, sixth position 120
§ 37. Third modal prefixes, seventh position 120
§§ 38–44. Suffixes 121
§ 38. Classification of suffixes 121
§ 39. Temporal suffixes 122
§ 40. Temporal and modal suffixes 123
§ 41. Modal suffixes 123
§ 42. Suffixes indicating source of information 124
§ 43. Conjunctional suffixes 124
§ 44. Adverbial suffixes 125
§§ 45–50. Verbal roots 125
§ 45. Variation of verbal roots 125
§ 46. Roots with four forms 126
§ 47. Roots with three forms 126
§ 48. Roots with two forms 127
§ 49. Roots with one form 129
§ 50. Meaning of roots 132
§ 51. Analysis of verbal forms 132
§ 52. Tenses and modes 134
§§ 53–75. Conjugations 135
§ 53. Class I, Conjugation 1*a* 135
§ 54. Class I, Conjugation 1*b* 135
§ 55. Class I, Conjugation 1*c* 136
§ 56. Class I, Conjugation 1*d* 136
§ 57. Class I, Conjugation 1*e* 136
§ 58. Class I, Conjugation 2 137
§ 59. Class I, Conjugation 2, with a changed root 137
§ 60. Class I, Conjugation 3*a* 137
§ 61. Class I, Conjugation 3*b* 137
§ 62. Class I, Conjugation 4 138
§ 63. Class II, Conjugation 1*a* 138
§ 64. Class II, Conjugation 1*c* 139
§ 65. Class II, Conjugation 2 139
§ 66. Class II, Conjugation 3*a* 140
§ 67. Class II, Conjugation 3*b* 140
§ 68. Class II, Conjugation 4 140
§ 69. Class III, Conjugation 1 141
§ 70. Class III, Conjugation 2 141
§ 71. Class III, Conjugation 3 142
§ 72. Class IV, Conjugation 1 142
§ 73. Class IV, Conjugation 3 143
§ 74. Objective conjugation 144
§ 75. Passive voice 146
§§ 76–78. Adjectives 146
§ 76. Prefixes of adjectives 146
§ 77. Comparison of adjectives 147
§ 78. Conjugation of adjectives 147
§§ 79–86. Syntactic particles 147
§ 79. Personal pronouns 147

§§ 20–88. Discussion of grammar—Continued Page
§§ 79–86. Syntactic particles—Continued
§ 80. Possessive pronouns 148
§ 81. Demonstrative pronouns 148
§ 82. Adjective pronouns 149
§ 83. Numerals 149
§ 84. Adverbs 149
§ 85. Post-positions 150
§ 86. Conjunctions 150
§ 87. Character of sentence 151
§ 88. Character of vocabulary 151
Text 153

ATHAPASCAN

(HUPA)

By Pliny Earle Goddard

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION OF THE ATHAPASCAN FAMILY

The Athapascan stock is one of the largest and most widely distributed families of speech in North America. Geographically it consists of three divisions, the northern, the Pacific coast, and the southern.

The northern division[1] occupies much of the northwestern portion of the continent. East of the Rocky mountains the southern boundary is the Churchill river at the southeast, and the watershed between Athabasca and Peace rivers at the southwest. South of them are peoples of the Algonquian stock. The Eskimo hold a narrow strip of continuous coast-line along the Arctic ocean and Hudson bay to the north and east. West of the Rocky mountains the Athapascan territory begins at the fifty-first parallel of north latitude, and includes all of the country except the coast and islands. Only near the boundary of Alaska and British Columbia did they reach the coast. In the extreme north the coast is in the possession of the Eskimo. To the south the shore-lands are in the possession of the Haida, Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Wakashan. Their southern neighbors are members of the Salishan stock.

[1] The principal works which treat particularly of the Athapascans of the north are the following:

Sir Alexander Mackenzie. Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Laurence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans: in the Years 1789 and 1793. London, 1801.

Sir John Richardson. Arctic Searching Expedition: a Journal of a Boat Voyage through Ruperts Land to the Arctic Sea, in Search of the Discovery Ships under Command of Sir John Franklin. London, 1851.

J. C. E. Buschmann. Der Athapaskische Sprachstamm. *Königliche Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin, Abhandlungen aus dem Jahre* 1855, 144-319.

Le R. P. E. Petitot. Dictionaire de la langue Déné-Dindjié. Paris, 1876.

Rev. Father A. G Morice. The Western Déné, their Manners and Customs. *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, 3d ser., VII, 109-174. Toronto, 1890.

———. The Déné Languages *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, I, 170-212 Toronto, 1891.

———. The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia. Toronto, 1904.

The Pacific coast division[1] formerly consisted of one band in the interior of British Columbia, two small bands in the state of Washington, and many villages in a strip of nearly continuous territory about four hundred miles in length, beginning at the Umpqua river, Oregon, and extending south between the coast and coast range mountains to the head waters of Eel river in California. At the Klamath river their territory was cut through at one point by the Yurok who occupied the lower portion of that river and the coast southward nearly to the mouth of Mad river. From that point the non-Athapascan Wiyot extended along the coast a little south of the mouth of Eel river. These villages were separated in many cases from each other by low but rugged mountains. They were surrounded by the small stocks characteristic of the region.

The southern division[2] occupies a very large area in the Southwest, including much of Arizona, New Mexico, and western Texas, and extending to some distance into Mexico proper. The people form three groups, the Lipan in the East, the Navaho south of the San Juan river in eastern Arizona and western New Mexico, and the various tribes of Apache east and south of the Navaho. This division greatly exceeds in numbers all the other Athapascan people. Their principal neighbors were the Piman, Shoshonean, and Pueblo peoples.

Wide differences in physical type and culture, and considerable changes in language, make it certain that these divisions have not been separated from each other recently.

In the Pacific coast division, to which the Hupa belong, are at least four languages mutually unintelligible. The Umpqua at the north seems to differ widely from the dialects south of it, both in its phonetic character and its vocabulary. From the Umpqua southward to the Yurok country on the Klamath river the dialects seem to shade into one another, those formerly spoken on the Coquille river and

[1] Publications treating this division of the Athapascan are:

J. OWEN DORSEY. Indians of the Siletz Reservation, Oregon. *American Anthropologist*, II, 55-61. Washington, 1889.—The Gentile System of the Siletz Tribes. *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, III, 227-237. Boston, 1890.

STEPHEN POWERS. The Northern California Indians. *Overland Monthly*, VIII, IX. San Francisco, 1872-74.

PLINY EARLE GODDARD. Kato Texts. *University of California Publications, American Archæology and Ethnology*, V, no. 3.

[2] The published material concerning this division is mostly restricted to the Navaho, and has been collected by one author, DR. WASHINGTON MATTHEWS. The more important of his works are:
The Mountain Chant: a Navajo Ceremony. *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1887.
Navaho Legends. *Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society*, V. Boston, 1897.
The Night Chant. *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, VI. New York, 1902.

Galice creek being the most distinct. In the southern portion of the area, on Eel river and the coast, are several dialects differing much more in vocabulary than in phonetics. That Indians from the extremes of this territory can converse in their respective languages is not probable. On lower Mattole and Bear rivers and the adjacent coast a very distinct dialect was spoken. In the middle of this Pacific coast division are two dialects very closely connected. One of them was formerly spoken on upper Redwood creek and middle Mad river in Humboldt county, California; and the other, the Hupa of which this paper treats, on the lower (northern) portion of the Trinity river.

The villages speaking the Hupa dialect have for neighbors, to the north the Yurok, to the northeast the Karok, to the east the Shasta, but with high mountains intervening, to the south the Chimariko and Wintun, and to the west the Athapascans of Redwood creek.

Texts of myths, tales, and medicine formulas collected by the author were published by the University of California,[1] upon which, as a basis, an analytical study of the morphology of the language has been made.[2] A preliminary paper describing in detail the individual sounds of the language and illustrating them by means of palatograms and tracings has been published.[3] The examples given in the following grammatical sketch are taken from the collection of Hupa texts published by the University of California. The figures refer to pages and lines.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. Sounds

Among the sounds composing the Hupa language, consonantal continuants predominate. This takes from the speech the definiteness produced by a predominance of stops, and the musical character imparted by full clear vowels standing alone or scantily attended by consonants in the syllable.

The stops are entirely lacking in one of the most important series, the labial. Hupa has neither *p* nor *b*. The latter is often found in many of the other Athapascan dialects of the Pacific coast division. In Hupa the corresponding words have *w* in place of *b*. The back

[1] For a general account of the Hupa villages and their surroundings, see P. E. Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa. *University of California Publications, American Archæology and Ethnology*, I, no. 1.—Hupa Texts, idem, I, no. 2.

[2] The Morphology of the Hupa Language, idem, III.

[3] The Phonology of the Hupa Language.—Part I, idem, V, no. 1

series are represented by stops, but mostly by surds only. In the dental series alone is the sonant frequent. There are two surds of this series, one quite strongly aspirated, about as much so as is English *t* in a stressed syllable; the other, followed by suction, probably produced by glottal action, has the vowel following the explosion of the consonant in about half the time it does in the aspirated *t*. In this regard it lies between the aspirated *t* and *d*. The unaccustomed ear usually hears it as *d*, but it may easily be distinguished from that sound when the attention is directed toward its sonancy which begins in *d* at the moment of release. On first acquaintance with the language the sonant has been written as *t* by all who have attempted its notation. After more practice it may be distinguished with precision, and its pronunciation only as a sonant meets with the approval of the native speaker. Of the palatal series, only the anterior palatals are employed before *e* and *i* sounds. When these occur before *a*, *o*, and *u*, a well-defined glide is heard, which has been written as *y*. The posterior palatal series is articulated just back of the line of the joining of the soft and hard palates. That there were originally three or more representatives of this series is probable. The full sonant seems to have become *w*. The aspirated surd has become a continuant spirant *x*.[1] There remain two sounds, one (*k*) that has the sonancy closely following the release, and one (*k̲*) accompanied or followed by suction giving it a sharp, harsh sound usually designated as fortis. The velar series is articulated very far back, giving the effect of a closure against a yielding surface, and resulting in a soft sound, rather difficult to distinguish as surd or sonant, but probably always the former. The glottal stop (ˀ) is most easily recognized when final, for then its release is often heard. Between vowels it must be detected by the silence enforced and by the change wrought in the close of the first vowel.

The stops may be represented as follows:

	Glottal	Velar	Palatal	Anterior palatal	Dental	Labial
Sonant	–	–	–	*g*, *gy*	*d*	–
Surd	(ˀ)	*q*	*k*	*k*, *ky*	*t*	–
Fortis	–	–	*k̲*	*k̲*	*t̲*	–

The continuant consonants of Hupa comprise spirants, affricatives, nasals, and liquids. A glottal spirant occurs after as well as before vowels. Initially it is a surd breath escaping as the glottis passes from

[1]Compare Hupa *tcutteswen* HE CARRIED, and *menilxeˢ* YOU FINISHED, with Kato *tctcsgiñ* and *benülkeˢ*.

the open position maintained in breathing to the position required for the vowel, and is written *h*. It is rather stronger than English *h*. When final, the spirant is caused by the sudden opening of the glottis without diminution of the force of the breath, and is written (ʻ). It has been noted only where it is most prominent, or where it differentiates one word or word-element from another. One of the spirants (*x*) imparts a noticeable harshness to the Hupa language. It is formed rather far back in the mouth, apparently in the velar position. The mouth-passage is made quite narrow, and the uvula is thrown into vibration. The period of these vibrations is about forty per second. The resulting sound is harsh, both from the lowness of the period and from its irregularity. The degree of harshness varies considerably in individuals, and, indeed, in the same individual. While the sound is not far removed from the velar *r* in its place and manner of formation, its effect on the ear is rather that of German *ch* after back vowels. In Hupa, however, this sound is usually initial. There is no corresponding sonant in Hupa. It does occur in Navaho; as, for example, in the proper pronunciation of *hogan* HOUSE, where the first consonant is nearly like the Hupa sound, and the second is its sonant. There is a spirant pronounced in the palatal position, but accompanied by marked labial rounding. It closely resembles *w*; but it is a surd, not a sonant. When this sound is initial (*hw̥*), it appears to begin without rounding of the lips, sounding much like English *wh* in WHO. When final (*w̥*), the sound makes much less impression on the ear. It is to be distinguished from *x* by its lack of roughness, and from both *x* and *h* by the rounding of the lips. It differs from a bilabial *f* in that it is accompanied by a narrowing of the mouth-passage in the palatal position.[1] Another spirant (ʟ) common on the Pacific coast, and found in Hupa, causes great difficulty when first heard. It is formed at one or both sides of the tongue, as is *l*, but differs from that sound in that the breath which passes through the opening is surd instead of sonant, and that the passage is narrower, causing a distinct spirant character. When the passage is entirely closed and the breath must break its way through to continue as a spirant, an affricative *L* is formed. Both of these sounds, but especially the latter, impress the ear of one unaccustomed to them as combinations of *t* or *k* and *l*. The spirant *s* in the alveolar position is frequent in Hupa, and does not differ espe-

[1] This sound has for its equivalent in other dialects *c* (sh). Cf. Hupa *hwa* SUN and *hwe* I, ME, with Kato *ca* and *ci*.

cially, either in its method of formation or in its sound, from English *s*. The sonant *z* does not occur except when preceded by *d*. There are no interdental, labio-dental, or bilabial spirants except the rounded palatal spirant, *hw*, *w*, discussed above.

The affricatives are *tc*, *dj*, *ts*, *dz*, and *L*. The first two are formed by a *t*-like closure and explosion, followed by a spirant through a passage formed by a horizontally wide and vertically narrow constriction along the middle of the hard palate near the first and second molars. The second pair, *ts* and *dz*, are formed nearly as in English, in the dental position, through a rather round passageway. It is probable that there are three members of each series, the sonant, the aspirated surd, and the fortis surd. The aspirated anterior palatal surd usually has a *u* tinge and has been written *tcw*. The fortis is indicated by *tc*.

The nasals are three in number—the palatal, dental, and labial. The palatal nasal is very frequent in its occurrence, especially in the final position in the word. It is accompanied by more or less nasality in the preceding vowel.

The only liquid is the lateral one *l*, which does not differ in any considerable degree from English *l* either in the manner of its making or its sound.

The continuants may be represented as follows:

	Glottal	Velar	Palatal	Anterior palatal	Dental	Labial
Spirant	*h* (')	*x*	*hw* (*w*)	L (lateral)	*s*	*hw* (*w*)
Affricative	–	–	–	*tc*, *tcw*, *dj*, *L*	*ts*, *dz*	–
Nasal	–	–	*ñ*	–	*n*	*m*
Liquid	–	–	–	*l* (lateral)	–	–

The complete system of consonants may be tabulated thus:

	Stops		*Continuants*			
	Sonant	Surd	Spirant	Affricative	Nasal	Liquid
Glottal	–	ε	*h* (')	–	–	–
Velar	–	*q*	*x*	–	–	–
Palatal	–	*k* (*k*)	*hw* (*w*)	–	*ñ*	–
Anterior Palatal	*g*, *gy*	*k*, *ky*	L (lateral)	*tc*, *tcw*, *dj* *L* (lateral)	–	*l* (lateral)
Dental	*d*	*t* (*t*)	*s*	*ts*, *dz*	*n*	–
Labial	–	–	*hw* (*w*)	–	*m*	–

There are in Hupa nine vowel-sounds and two semi-vowels. They may be represented as follows:

y, *ī*, *i*, *ē*, *e*, *a*, *û*, *o*, *ō*, *ū*, *w*

The vowels in Hupa are formed with much less movement of the lower jaw and lips than is employed in the corresponding sounds in English speech. The Hupa seem to talk with their mouths nearly closed. As a result, the sounds are not open and clear, but muffled. These vowels may terminate in a sudden opening of the glottis, resulting in an aspiration of the vowel; or in a closure of the glottis,[1] bringing the vowel to an abrupt close. When aspirated, the whole vowel has a breathy quality; and when closed by a glottal stop, it sounds hard and compact.

§ 3. Grouping of Sounds

It is rarely the case that words or syllables begin with a vowel, and most of such cases occur in verb forms. Semi-vowels and single consonants are frequent initially. The only clusters which stand initially are the affricatives *dz*, *ts*, *dj*, *tc*, and *tcw*, and the combinations *hw*, *xw*, and *ky*. Of the affricatives, *tcw* seems to be a phonetic derivation from a simple sound, probably a palatal with a *u* tinge. The combination *hw* corresponds to the simple sound *c* (*sh*) in the other Athapascan dialects; *xw* is due to the change of *ō* to the semi-vowel *w;* and *ky* has for the second element a glide due to a back vowel following an anterior palatal consonant. Probably none of these initial sounds were therefore originally two distinct consonants in juxtaposition.

Many syllables end in vowels. When final in the word, and bearing the accent, some vowels, under certain conditions, seem to develop semi-vowels after themselves, becoming diphthongs. This is especially true of the vowel *a* in the roots of verbs. In the past tense, which is more strongly accented on the ultima (the root syllable), *a* becomes *ai*, or sometimes *au*. The *au* is due to a disappearing final *g*. That *ai* is due to a suffix is not unlikely. Syllables may end in simple consonants or in affricatives. The only prominent sonant stop which occurs in Hupa (*d*) is not frequent in the final position. When a dental stop occurs in the interior of a word, it is usually surd if at the end of a syllable, and sonant if at the beginning. In fact, it often happens that the same sound begins as a surd and is completed as a sonant, the occlusion belonging to the preceding syllable, and the explosion

[1] The opening of the glottis is of course brought about by a separation of the vocal processes. The pitch at the end of the vowel is lowered. The closure of the glottis is more probably brought about by the movement of the epiglottis so as to cover the glottis as in swallowing. A similar glottal action no doubt produces the fortis series.

to the succeeding syllable. Two consonants may stand together in the middle of a word, provided they belong to different syllables.

§ 4. Assimilation of Sounds

Assimilation of consonants, mostly retrogressive, takes place in some cases when two consonants are brought together morphologically or syntactically. The most important are these:

(1) Retrogressive.

t before ***n*** becomes ***n***.
tcūhwiɪkinneen he nearly caught me (for *tcūhwiɪkitneen*)

t before ***m*** becomes ***m***.
yaïɪkimmiñ they intended to catch (for *yaïɪkitmiñ*)

ñ before ***l*** becomes ***l***.
yawiñᵉan he picked up a stone (but *yawillai* he picked up several stones)

t before ***l*** becomes ***l***.
noiwiɪkilliɪte it will be foggy (for *noiwiɪkitliɪte*)

ñ before ***t*** or ***d*** becomes ***n***.
neiɪliñ I am looking at it (but *neiɪlinte* I am going to look at it)

ñ before ***m*** becomes ***m***.
yawiñᵉan he picked it up (but *yawimmas* he rolled over)

(2) Progressive.

h after ***l*** becomes ***l***.
tcûkqallit as he walked along (for *tcûkqalhit*)

w after ***ñ*** becomes ***ñ***.
tcūwiññas he scraped bark off (but *wewas* I scraped bark off)

When morphological causes bring two consonants at the end of a syllable, one of them is dropped. This is evidently the case in the formation of the conjugation where the modal prefix (*l*) would be expected after the sign of the first person singular (*w*). In this case the modal prefix is not found. In the second person singular of the verb the modal prefix remains, but the sign of the second person (*ñ*) has been dropped. Also, in the third person singular *s* would be expected before the same modal prefix, but it does not occur in Hupa. In Tolowa all of these combinations do occur, and in the very places where one would expect them in Hupa but fails to find them.

There are in Hupa several morphological elements which seem to have only the initial consonant fixed. The remainder of the syllable depends upon the sounds which follow it. For example, the sign of the third person singular (*tc*) has the following forms:

tceïlwûl he is always lying down
tcūweswaL he remained lying down
tcissilwaL he is lying down
tcilloiᵉ he tied it
tcimmitc he is breaking it off
tcinnesten he lay down
tcittesyai he went
tcûkqal he walked

GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES (§§ 5-8)

§ 5. Enumeration of Grammatical Processes

Grammatical processes and syntactical relations are expressed by means of the following methods:

(1) Composition.
(2) Changes in the phonetic character of the root.
(3) Position in the sentence.

§ 6. Composition

The verbs of Hupa, and some of the nouns, consist of two or more syllables, each of which has some rather definite meaning or points out some particular relation. These elements do not express ideas of equal rank and of like kind. Each may be replaced in turn by another giving to the thought expressed a different character. The element which by its displacement most completely alters the meaning may be called the root. The word-parts which precede this root may be considered prefixes, and those which follow it suffixes. These prefixes and suffixes fall into classes rather well marked as regards their office in the expression of thought, and have a definite order in the word-structure.

These sound-complexes expressing complete thoughts might be looked upon as sentences, which they often are, and their constituent parts as monosyllabic words, but for the following reasons: First, the individual parts, expressing definite ideas or relations, are not always phonetic wholes capable of independent production. These may be thought once to have had a more complete form, and to have

united with other elements of the word with which they came in contact through the disappearance of one of the vowels or by their contraction. It is, however, possible that from the beginning of the language they have had this meager form. Second, some of these elements, while existing as independent syllables, express relations or subordinate ideas which do not seem to arise in the mind of the Hupa when these syllables by themselves are uttered, but which readily arise when the syllables are uttered in their accustomed connection. Both of these statements are true of some of the monosyllabic elements of spoken English. The difference is not one of kind, but of degree.

Besides these older and largely conjectural phonetic changes which join together the parts of the word, there are other more simple and apparent modifications of the root by the suffix, or of the suffix by the root, bringing the whole into greater phonetic harmony. These changes are quite infrequent, and never great enough to obscure the root or suffix.

§ 7. Changes in the Phonetic Character of the Root

There are definite and regular changes in the phonetic character of the roots which cannot be explained as being due to the influence of morphological additions. These are of two kinds:

(1) Changes in the terminal consonant.

(2) Changes in the character and length of the vowel.

CHANGES IN THE TERMINAL CONSONANT.—One of the most common changes of the terminal consonant of the root is that of *n* to *ñ*. This is a change of series, the nature of the sound remaining the same. The roots in which this change occurs have *n* in the forms expressing past definite, customary, and negative future action, and *ñ* elsewhere. A modification of the character of the sound, not in the place of its formation, is found in the case of *l* and ʟ. The first sound is found in the forms expressing past definite, customary, and negative future action. The change in this case is from surd to sonant. Of a similar nature is the series of three sounds, *l*, ʟ, and *L*. The first (*l*) is found in forms expressing customary and negative future action; the second (ʟ) is employed with the forms of the present and imperative; and the third (*L*) with forms expressing definite action, whether past, present, or future. A few verbs have roots ending in *s* or the corre-

sponding affricative, *ts*. The latter occurs in the forms expressing definite action. It is evident that *c* and *tc* formerly had a similar relation, but the former has since become *w*. Finally there are a number of roots which lose a final *t*. The past definite, customary, and negative future have the form with *t;* and the present of both definite and indefinite action and the imperative do not have it.

CHANGES IN THE CHARACTER AND LENGTH OF THE VOWEL.—Certain vowel-changes occur in connection with the change of terminal consonants, and are perhaps tied up with them. These are a change of *a* to *û*, and of *e* to *i*. The stronger vowels, *a* and *e*, occur with *n;* and *û* and *i*, the weaker ones, with *ñ*. The threefold consonant-change, *l*, ɬ, and *L*, has *e* before *L*, and *i* before *l* and ɬ. Other changes take place in cases where there are now no final consonants. These are *ū* to *e*, *au* to *a*, and *ai* to *a*.[1] In all the pairs given above, the first-named is considerably longer in its duration than is the second. Probably these changes, the direction of which is not known, came about by a change in the position or force of the accent, whether of stress or pitch.

§ 8. Position

Upon the order of the words in the sentence often depends their relation to each other. This is especially true of the subject and object when expressed as nouns. The first in order is the subject, and the second the object. Both of them may precede the verb. Possession and other relations are expressed by syntactical particles, which are joined to the limited word, and fix its place in the sentence after the word which limits it.

IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES (§§ 9-19)

§ 9. Enumeration of Categories

The following ideas have grammatical devices for their expression in Hupa:

(1) Denominating concepts.
(2) Predicating concepts.
(3) Syntactic relations.
(4) Classification.
(5) Number.
(6) Distribution.
(7) Time.
(8) Mode.
(9) Place and direction.
(10) Person.

[1] The pairs *ñ*, *e*, and *au*, *a*, are represented in Kato and other Eel river dialects by *eg*, *e'*, and *ag*, *a'*.

§ 10. Denominating Concepts

Most nouns are clearly separated from verbs, both in form and meaning. Many nouns are monosyllabic, entirely lacking in descriptive power, and having meaning because they have become associated in the mind with the object for which they stand. Of essentially the same character are the names of the parts of the body and terms of relationship, which are always found with a prefixed possessive pronoun, the purely nominal part being a single syllable. There are a few compound nouns, either co-ordinate and in juxtaposition, or one modifying the other. Certain nouns are formed by suffixes which are strictly limited to a nominal use. Of such character are the augmentative and diminutive suffixes *-kyō* and *-itc*. Other suffixes have the meaning of DWELLING IN, FREQUENTING, OR BEING FOUND IN the place named by the stem to which they are attached; for example, *xonteLtau* PLACE BROAD HE FREQUENTS (coyote). While nouns of this class do describe and predicate certain things, that is not their chief purpose. The description is for the purpose of pointing out definitely an object by discriminating between it and other related objects.

A number of nouns have a verbal form, and describe the object referred to by giving some characteristic position, form, or action. For this purpose the verb may appear alone in the active or passive voice, or a noun may be placed before it to serve as its object or limit of motion. It is probable that some such verbal forms, having lost their verbal force, have furnished a number of polysyllabic nouns which have now no descriptive meaning in the mind of the Hupa, and do not yield to attempts at analysis. These complexes which serve the office of nouns, indicating an object or animal by means of a characterization of it, are really substantive clauses.

There are a few suffixes which are employed with both nouns and verbs. They are temporal, indicating that the thing or act belongs to the past or future rather than the present.

§ 11. Predicating Concepts

The verbs differ from the nouns in that they are almost invariably polysyllabic, and have the meaning of a complete sentence. The more essential part or root of the verb is usually not associated in the mind with a certain object or animal, but with some particular act or motion: as *-t̲ō*, which means TO INSERT OR EXSERT AN OBJECT INTO A TUBULAR

OPENING. There are a number of roots which are connected with objects; not, however, naming them specifically, but indicating the class to which they belong as regards size, shape, or physical character. The few roots which do agree in form with monosyllabic nouns seem to name the object by means of which the act is done.

The form of the complete verb differs from the ordinary noun in that it has prefixes as well as suffixes, and in the character of these formative elements, which, with the exceptions noted above, differ from those employed in nouns. They differ in function in that they invariably have predicative force, while nouns either lack predicative force or have it incidentally.

§ 12. Syntactic Relations

The syntactic relation of subject and object to the predicate, when both are expressed by nouns, is shown by their order in the sentence. When only one is expressed by a noun, it may be determined, in most cases, whether it is intended as subject or object by the form of the incorporated pronoun, which is employed in the verb regardless of the employment or non-employment of nouns. However, in the case of a subject and object which are both of the third person and both other than adult Hupa, only one of them being expressed as a noun, it is impossible to tell, except from the context, whether such a noun is the subject or object.

The relation of possession is distinctly and regularly expressed by the prefixing of the possessive pronoun to the limited word and the placing of this compound after the word which limits it. Parts of the body and terms of relationship do not occur without prefixed possessive pronouns. Other syntactic relations are expressed by means of post-positions, having the appropriate force, placed after the weaker form of the pronoun. These post-positions, with their accompanying pronouns, stand after the nouns which they limit.

§ 13. Classification

In the third person of the pronoun, personal and possessive, adult Hupa are distinguished from young and old members of the tribe, from animals and inanimate objects, by a special form.

There are no grammatical forms by which objects are classified. Classification is sometimes indicated, however, in the verb, the stem expressing the character of the object to which the predicate refers,

the objects being characterized as long, round, flat plural in number, etc. In the intransitive verb this classification relates to the subject; in the transitive verb, to the object.

§ 14. Number

Only a few nouns have forms for the plural. These are those denoting age and station in life, and relationship.

The independent as well as the incorporated and prefixed pronouns are capable of expressing the plural in the first and second persons by means of additional forms. The plural of the first person includes, or may include, the third person as well as the second.

In the third person, *-ya-* is placed before the root for a plural subject and also for a plural object. One must judge from the context which is intended to be plural. *ya-* is also prefixed to the possessive form. In the singular, HIS FATHER is expressed by *hai xōtaᵋ*. Sometimes for THEIR FATHER *hai yaxōtaᵋ* is found, *hai* being the article.

In certain intransitive verbs a dual is indicated by using the root, indicating a plural subject, without *-ya-*, while for the plural *-ya-* is inserted.

In many cases Hupa employs the singular, as is shown by the verb, where the plural would be required in English. When a number of individuals do anything as a unit, as in a dance, the singular is used.

§ 15. Distribution

The distributives in Hupa are carefully distinguished from the plurals. For the expression of distribution the prefix *te-* is employed: for example,

tceniñyai he went out
tcenindeL two went out
tceyanindeL they went out
tcetedeL one by one they went out

The same element expresses distribution as to the object. For example,

yawiñᵋan he picked up a stone
yawillai he picked up stones
yatᵋan he picked up a stone here and there

Distinct from this is the intermittence of the act itself. That a thing is done now and again, or habitually, is indicated by a syllable, probably *e*, inserted before the pronominal subjective elements. The

presence of this syllable, together with a certain form of the root, constitutes a customary tense or mode.

By the use of *na-* an iterative force is given to the verb, expressing the fact that the act is done a second time or that it is undone.

§ 16. Time

Time is expressed by means of suffixes, a change of root, independent adverbs, and temporal clauses. For past time *-neen* may be suffixed to a noun or verb. A house in ruins is called *xontaneen* HOUSE USED TO BE. Habitual acts which have ceased are expressed by the same suffix, as *auwtinneen* I USED TO DO IT. A single definite act completed in time already past is differentiated from such acts in present time by a change in the form and length of the root, and a change of the accent: for example,

tcinni'ñya he has just arrived
tcinniñyai' he arrived some time ago

The future is expressed by the suffixes *-te* and *-teL*. The former seems to be employed of the more remote future. These are generally employed only with verbs, but are sometimes found with nouns and adverbs: for example, *haiyate* HERE WILL BE THE PLACE.

§ 17. Mode

Closely connected with the time of the act is the degree of certainty with which it is asserted. For past acts, suffixes which indicate the source of the authority for the statement are often employed. That which is perceived by the sense of hearing has *-tsū* or *-tse'* suffixed; the former for the past, and the latter for the present. When the transaction is in sight, *-e* is suffixed. Things which are conjectured from circumstantial evidence, as the building of a fire from the remains of one, have *-xōlan* added to the verb:

Leyanillai they built a fire
Leyanillaxōlan they must have built a fire [here are the ashes]

Future acts which are contingent on human will or outward circumstance are rendered by the suffix *-dɛ*. When the future is expressed with an absolute negative force, the impossibility of its being brought to pass being implied, a special form of the verb with an auxiliary verb prefixed is used.

Acts attempted, but not succeeded in, have *xōw*, an adverb, inserted before the verb; while the successful attempt after several vain or insufficient ones has *-ei* suffixed to the verb.

§ 18. Place and Direction

Direction and place, both relative and absolute, are expressed in Hupa with much exactness. A number of prefixes, occupying the first place in the verb, indicate the direction of the movement expressed or implied by the verb. The place, initial and ultimate, is also indicated by prefixes as being on the surface of the earth, on some surface higher than the earth, in the fire, on or in the water, or in the air. By means of demonstratives, and adverbs formed from demonstrative elements, added exactness as to location is expressed. For that which is in sight and can be pointed to, the demonstratives *ded* and *haided*, and the adverb of place, *dikkyûñ*, are employed; for the first-mentioned or more remote of two, *haiya* or *hai* is used; while that which is still more remote is referred to by *yō* and *haiyō*, and the most remote of all by *yeū*.

§ 19. Person

The distinction between the person speaking, the person spoken to, and the person or thing spoken of, is made by means of the personal pronouns. The signs of the subject incorporated in the verb are not all to be connected with certainty with the independent pronouns. The pronouns for the first two persons seem to be different in some particulars from those of the third person, which also classify the objects or persons to which they refer. Taking with this fact the frequent absence of any sign for the subject or the object in the third person of the verb, it seems probable that originally there were personal pronouns only for the first and second persons, and that demonstratives were used for the third person.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 20-88)

Nouns (§§ 20-27)

§ *20. Structure*

The nouns of the Hupa language, when classified according to their formation, fall into five classes:

(1) There are many monosyllabic nouns, for the most part the names of common material objects and elements. These words are

mostly common to all the cognate languages, and clearly point to the monosyllable as the probable form of the Athapascan noun.

(2) Closely connected with these are the names of the parts of the body, terms of relationship and intimate possession, which have a single syllable for their substantive part, but always occur with a possessive prefix.

(3) There are a considerable number of nouns, consisting of two or more syllables, which are not easily analyzed and do not seem to have a descriptive meaning at present. They seem originally to have been derived from verbs, or formed by composition.

(4) A large and increasing number of nouns, formed by means of suffixes and by compounding, have a descriptive force which is ever present in the Hupa mind.

(5) Verbs in the third person singular of the active or passive voice, with or without an object or limit of motion, are employed as nouns.

§ 21. *Formative Elements*

As far as is known, the only prefixes employed in noun-formation are the possessive prefixes, which are proclitic forms related to independent pronouns. They may be employed with any noun to denote possession, but must be employed with the names of the parts of the body and terms of relationship. That words of this class require such prefixes is not necessarily due to a lack of mental abstraction, as has been sometimes assumed, but to a habit of speech. The necessity for their use without a possessive seldom occurs.

The suffixes employed in noun-building are not numerous. For the most part, they are used to distinguish one thing from another which it resembles by mentioning its size, color, or other physical character, or by indicating the place where the plant grows or which the animal frequents. The principal suffixes are the following:

1. ***-xoi*** INHABITING; added to the name of a place.
   Lōmitta'xoi glades among people (the New River people)

2. ***-tau*** FREQUENTS. Used of plants or animals.
   xaslintau riffles he frequents (the crane)

3. ***-kyō*** LARGE, an augmentative.
   koskyō bulb large (Chlorogalum pomeridanum, the soap-root)

4. ***-itc, -tc*** SMALL, the diminutive suffix.
   medilitc canoe small (from *medil* canoe) 102.9
   djelōtc small storage-basket 158.13

5. ***-yauw*** SMALL, YOUNG. Used of trees.
   niɬtûkyauw young black oaks (from *niɬtûk* black oak)

6. ***-newan*** RESEMBLING. This has furnished many new names.
   qōnewan worms like (rice, from its resemblance to white grubs)
   xonnewan fire like 329.10

7. ***-diñ*** PLACE.
   tsēdiñ brush-place (a grave)

8. ***-ta'*** PLACES.
   milla$^{\varepsilon}$kinta' its hands bases places (its wrists)

9. ***-kût*** ON.
   miskût a landslide on (the name of a village)
   denōkût the sky (this us on) 286.12

§ 22. Compounds

There are five classes of compound nouns:

(1) A few nouns stand in juxtaposition without a subordinating possessive prefix. In a few cases the second noun seems to qualify the first: for example, *lūwxan* SNAKE RIVER (an eel). If these compounds are introduced by a possessive prefix, the first noun qualifies the second: for example, *kixxakkin* ITS NET POLE.

(2) When the second of two nouns forming a compound has a possessive prefix, the first qualifies the second and is subordinate to it: for example, *dindai$^{\varepsilon}$ mitctcwō* FLINT ITS GRANDMOTHER (a bird).

(3) A few compounds which are true substantives have the first element a noun, and the second an adjective qualifying it. An example of such is *yaûɬkai* LOUSE WHITE (a grayback).

(4) Compounds of nouns and qualifying adjectives are sometimes introduced by possessive prefixes. While they serve as substantives, they really qualify a subject understood: as in *missa$^{\varepsilon}$niɬtcwiñ* ITS MOUTH STINKS, the bird having a stinking mouth (a buzzard).

(5) Compounds similar to the last have for their last element words indicating abundance or lack of the quality named by the first part of the compound. Examples are: *mûxxaixxōlen* ITS CHILDREN HAVING (doe), *mitcdjeēdin* ITS MIND LACKING (an infant).

§ 23. *Verbs as Nouns*

Many verbs in the third person present of the active or passive voice are used as nouns. Examples of the active voice so used are:

nañya it comes down (rain)
nilliñ it flows (a creek)
nûndil they come down (snow)

For the passive voice the following may be cited:

willoiᵋ it has been tied (a bundle)
naxōwilloiᵋ it is tied around him (a belt)
ʟenawilla they have been laid together (a fire)
talk̲ait over the water it has been pushed (a fishing-board)

Sometimes a substantive is formed by a verb with a noun preceding it as its object or limit of motion: for example:

nax-kek̲ōs-nadūwûl two its necks waving about (*nax* two: *ke* its; *k̲ōs* neck; *waL* to strike [a monster])
saᵉxaw̲ in the mouth a liquid is put (acorn-soup)

Adverbial prefixes of place, instrument, accompaniment, and manner make substantives of verbs. Of this sort are the following:

miʟtcōʟwûl with he chops (an axe)
kiʟnadil with them they travel (wolves)

Suffixes of location added to verbs, furnish names of places:

nanatûʟdiñ stepping-down place (the name of the place in the sweat-house at the foot of the ladder)

§ 24. *Plural of Nouns*

Only a few Hupa nouns change their form to indicate the plural. They are those which classify human beings according to their sex and state of life, and a few terms of relationship. The following are all that have been found:

Singular	Plural	
keʟtsan	*keʟtsûn*	virgin, maiden
tsûmmesʟōn	*tsûmmesʟon*	a fully grown woman
xûxai	*xûxaix*	a child
hw̲ittsoi	*hw̲ittsoixai*	my grandchild
nikkil	*nikkilxai*	your younger brother
xōʟtistce	*xōʟtistcexai*	his sister

§ 25. *Possession*

Possession is indicated by prefixes which are shortened forms of pronouns. These vary according to the person and number of the

limiting noun or pronoun. Many nouns, upon taking the prefixes, add a syllable to the end, which seems to have no other office than the preservation of the symmetry of the word in some way. This added syllable has *e* for its vowel, but is preceded by various consonants, apparently suggested by the final sound of the original word.

millitde its smoke (from *ɬit* smoke)
nōliñke our pets (from *ɬiñ* a pet, a dog)
xōhwinne her song (from *hwin*, a song)

It will be noticed that in some of the examples given, *ɬ*, the surd lateral consonant, becomes the sonant *l*.

§ 26. Locative Suffixes

There are several suffixes employed in Hupa which might be looked upon as case-endings, since they are not permanent parts of the nouns to which they are attached, but indicate varying relations of position or direction. Some of these suffixes are also post-positions; but when so used they follow a pronominal prefix. Examples of suffixes showing place-relations are the following:

1. ***-meᵋ*** IN.
   Lōhwûnmeᵋ glade only in (a prominent hill)
   tseyemeᵋ in (under) a rock
2. ***-diñ*** AT.
   mikkindiñ its base at (the name of the place by the back of the house)
3. ***-tciñ*** TOWARD.
   Lōhwûñkûttciñ glade only on toward
4. ***-kai*** ALONG.
   xottselkai his forearm along
5. ***-kût*** ON.
   Lōhwûñkût glade only on

§ 27. Tense

By the use of suffixes the time of the noun's existence may be indicated. This process practically gives tenses to nouns. For the past, *-neen* is employed: for example, *xōûtneen* HIS WIFE USED TO BE (she is now dead). The same form might mean only that the possession of her had ceased. The future, as in verbs, is indicated by *te:* for example, *mitLōwete* THEIR MEDICINE IT WILL BE (Indians who are to possess it have not yet come into existence).

Verbs (§§ 28-75)

§ 28. *Structure*

The verb in Hupa, as in other Athapascan languages, presents many difficulties. It contains in itself all the elements of the sentence. For example, *xanaïsdïyadeᵋ* IF SHE COMES BACK UP has, first an adverbial prefix *xa-*, denoting that the motion is up the side of a hill; next is found the particle *-na-*, having an iterative force, showing that the act is done a second time (in this case it is only intended to show that the path from the river is passed over a second time); the syllable *-is-*, by the consonant it contains, shows that the act is thought of as progressive over the surface of the ground. The fact that *s* following *i* forms a syllable by itself, indicates that the act is thought of as performed by an adult Hupa, otherwise *s* would have been joined to the preceding *na-*. The lack of a sign of person or number at this point in the verb allows no other conclusion than that the third person singular is intended. The syllable *-dï-*, of which *d* seems to be the essential part, usually follows the iterative prefix *-na-*, the two being equivalent, perhaps, to English BACK AGAIN. The next syllable, *-ya-*, may be called the root, since it defines the kind of act. It is used of the locomotion of a single human being on his feet at a walk, and also of the coming of non-material things. Had this verb been in the plural, the root would have been *-deL.* Had the pace been more rapid, *-ʟa* would have been employed. Had some animal been the subject, the root would probably have characterized the gait of the animal. The final suffix *-deᵋ* indicates a future contingency.

Formative Elements (§§ *29-50*)

§ 29. GENERAL REMARKS

The more extended forms of the verb have one or more prefixes preceding the root, and one or more suffixes following it. By means of the prefixes, the direction of the motion in space, its manner and purpose, whether repeated or not in time, and whether conceived as continuous, beginning, or completed, are expressed. By changes in a single syllable, that which usually directly precedes the root, the person and number of the subject are indicated. These changes almost amount to inflection. By variations in the form of the root, the number of the subject in intransitive verbs, and of the object in

transitive verbs, is shown; and also whether the act or state is one and definite in time, or repeated and continuous. By the suffixes which follow the root, the action is further limited as to its time, continuance, or likelihood.

PREFIXES (§§ 30-37)

§ 30. Classification of Prefixes according to their Position and Significance

The prefixes employed in the verb have a fixed order, in accordance with the class of ideas they express. They may be classified as—

(1) Adverbial prefixes, first position.
(2) Adverbial prefix, second position.
(3) Deictic prefixes, third position.
(4) First modal prefixes, fourth position.
(5) Second modal prefixes, fifth position.
(6) Pronominal prefixes, sixth position.
(7) Third modal prefixes, seventh position.

§ 31. Adverbial Prefixes, First Position

These are adverbial prefixes showing the position of persons or things at rest, and the place, limit, or origin of motion. The most important of these follow:

1. ***ya-*** (1) is used of the position of one sitting, of picking things up from the ground, and of motion wholly or partly through the air, as the carrying of objects and the flight of birds. The primary meaning seems to be IN THE AIR, above the surface of the ground.

   yawiñᵋa he was sitting 162.11 (definite, class I, conjugation 1 *b;* § 54; *ᵋa* to be in a position)
   yawiñᵋan he picked up a stone 342.1 (definite, class I, conjugation 1 *b*, § 54; *ᵋan* to transport several round things)
   yawiʟ̲kas he threw up 96.3 (definite, class II, conjugation 1 *b;* § 64; *k̲as* to throw)
   yawiñen he carried it (*wen* to carry)

2. ***ya-*** (2) seems to have the meaning of the object being reduced to many pieces.

   yanakisdimmillei she smashed it 152.16 (*na-* again, § 32; *k-*, § 34; *s-*, § 35; *-d*, 3d modal, after *na-* § 32, p. 116; *mil-* to throw several things; *-ei* suffix, § 40)
   yanaiskil he split 142.3 (*na-* again, § 32; *s-*, § 35; *kil-* to split)

3. ***ye-*** is used of motion into houses, beds of streams, and spaces however slightly enclosed, and also into smaller objects, as canoes and baskets.

yenawityai he went into (a house) 98.15
yenawiʟmen he made it swim into (a river from the ocean) 266.2
yeïntûʟneᵋ you must step into (a canoe) 209.2 (*tal* to step)
yetceïʟk̲as he threw into (a basket) 288.7

4. ***wa-*** (1) seems to mean THROUGH with verbs of cutting and burning.

wakinnillitxōlan they were burned through 119.3 (*lit* to burn)
wakinninkats he cut through

5. ***wa-*** (2) is employed with verbs of handing or giving something to a man or an animal.

xōwaïʟda he handed it to him 181.13 (*xō* him)
waïmmil he always distributes them 195.8.

6. ***Le-*** has the general meaning of the converging or nearness of objects. It has the special meaning of building a fire from the placing-together of sticks. It is also employed of completing a circle, or a circuit in travelling.

ʟenaïsloiᵋ he tied together 210.5
ʟenanillai he built a fire
ʟenaniʟten he took it all the way around (the world)

7. ***me-*** (1) seems to have the meaning of position at, or motion to, against, or along the surface of, something.

menaïsdīyai he climbed (a tree) 103.12
menemen he landed him (against the shore) 162.9
meïtt̲an he stuck to it 202.3
mewiʟwaL he beat on

8. ***me-*** (2) is similar to *ye-*, except that it usually refers to position in something, while *ye-* is employed of motion into.

metsisyen she stands in (the body of her husband) 195.11

9. ***naᵋ-*** (1)[1] is used of indefinite motion over the surface of the ground or water, and of position on the earth's surface. The primary meaning may be HORIZONTAL.

naïʟits it is running about 294.4 (*its* to run)
naᵋwimmeᵋ he swam
naᵋiūu̲ʟū I paint (my body) 247.12

[1] The glottal stop probably belongs with the prefix. It appears in some forms and is absent in others.

10. ***na-*** (2) or ***nana*** expresses motion downward or toward the earth. The second *na* may be the iterative particle, since whatever or whoever comes down must previously have gone up.

naïñxût it dropped down 115.14
nanawityai he came down 138.15

11. ***na-*** (3) is used of horizontal motion or position, as a line stretched, or in crossing a stream.

nananindeL they went over (the river) 267.6
nanūwilxût it was hung for a door 171.1

12. ***nō-*** is employed of the cessation of motion, as in placing something in a position of rest, of reaching the end or limit of something, or of completing a task.

nōyanindeL they sat down 280.5
nōñauu̲ne$^{\varepsilon}$ you must put it down 210.7 (*auu̲* to handle round objects
noiniñyanne that far they ate 347.17

13. ***xa-*** has the general meaning of UP. It is found employed of movement up a hillside when the speaker's standpoint is at the top of the hill, the digging of objects out of the ground, and of motion out of the top of receptacles or of houses.

xaïslai she brought up 98.16
xawillai she dug it out 242.5
xawitqōt he jumped out (of the smoke-hole) 329.13

14. ***xee-*** in the sense of AWAY FROM, as in blowing and pushing.

xeeïLyōl he blows away 296.15
xeenaïlkis she pushed it away 185.3.

15. ***xotda-***, with the general meaning of DOWN, expresses motion down a hill or stream.

xotdaïLk̲as he threw down (from a tree) 138.8
xotdañxen they floated down 216.5

16. ***xōtde-*** is used of one person's meeting another where the movement of only one person is of interest. When one wishes to say they came toward each other, *Le-* is employed.

xōtdeïsyai he met him 105.14
xōtdeyaïsdeL they met them 110.8.

17. ***sa*$^{\varepsilon}$-** is employed of motion into the mouth, as in eating, drinking, or biting.

sa$^{\varepsilon}$*wiñxan* he put it into her mouth 278.10
sa $^{\varepsilon}$*willai* he put in his mouth 119.6.

18. ***da-*** refers to a bank, bench, shelf, or something higher than the ground, on which the person or object is at rest or comes to rest.

danintsa be seated (on a chair) 107.12
daûñxûs fly upon a tree 114.2

19. ***de-d-*** is employed of motion toward or of position in fire. The second syllable, which is completed according to the sound which follows it, may be separated from the first syllable.

denadeïūu̲mil I put in the fire 247.9
dedūwimmeL he threw into the fire 165.10

20. ***dje-*** expresses the separation of a mass, as in splitting wood.
djewiɪtseL he pounded it open 108.11

21. ***dū-*** signifies OFF, AWAY FROM.
dūwiñxûts it came off (the umbilical stump) 157.7

22. ***ta-*** (1) is employed of motion toward or away from a body of water with special regard to its surface.

tanaïstan he took it out of the water 325.4
tawesᵉa a mountain will project into the water 255.2
taidinnûñ let us drink water 179.3

23. ***ta-*** (2) is used with verbs meaning TO DESERT, TO LEAVE A PLACE PERMANENTLY.

tasyahu̲ûñ one ought to go away 215.8 (*ya* to go)

24. ***te-*** refers to motion into water and under its surface (see no. 22).

tewiltsit a canoe sank 153.17
tetcūwintan he put it into the water 101.14

25. ***tsiñ-*** means AWAY FROM in expressions of fleeing.
tsintetesdildeL we ran away 198.10

26. ***tce-*** has the meaning of OUT OF, and is employed of motion out of a house or small receptacle, but also of less definitely enclosed spaces, as brushy places or the bed of a stream (see no. 3).

tcenamiL throw them out (of the house) 301.13
tceniñᵉan he took out (from his quiver) 119.15
tceïlɪat he jumped out (of ambush) 106.2
tcewillindiñ where it flows out 175.10

27. ***k̲e-*** seems to refer to motion or position against or along a vertical surface.

k̲eïsyai he climbed up 137.17
k̲enaniñᵉa it was leaning up 99.5

There are three prefixes which indicate the pursuit or search for a person or thing, or, in a secondary sense, the attempt to do a thing.

28. ***wûn-*** (*wa* + *n* ?) is used of looking for a thing the position of which is unknown, as in hunting game. It also means to attempt something by persistent effort.

wûnnaïsya he started to make 319.3
wûnnadiɬte they will hunt 311.14

29. ***na-*** is employed when there is a track to be followed. It is likely connected with the iterative particle *na-* AGAIN, since the meaning may be that of going over the trail again.

nayaxōteɬxeᵋ they tracked him 170.3

30. ***xa-*** implies the going-after with the intention of getting the thing sought and bringing it back.

xaneʼtete I am going to look for it 336.10

31. ***a-*** is used to introduce verbs of SAYING, THINKING, DOING, and APPEARING. It seems to have no definite meaning; but, since it is omitted when a direct object precedes a verb of thinking or saying, it may be an indefinite object for the verb.

adenne he said 97.15
aʼleneᵋ you must do it 100.18

§ 32. Adverbial Prefixes, Second Position

1. ***na-***, the prefix of iteration, expresses the undoing of anything or the retracing of one's steps, as well as the repeating of an act. It is often employed where in English the repetition is taken for granted, as in the customary acts of daily life, eating, drinking, sleeping, etc. Sometimes the prefix requires *d* or *t* preceding the root, and in other cases it is used without either.

menaniɬtcwit he pushed it back 163.1
nanaïtwūw he used to carry it back 237.8
nanōdīya let it come back 233.5
anatcillau he did it again 106.8

2. ***xa-***, the prefix of identity, refers to any act previously described that is repeated by the same or a different person.

xaatcillau he did the same thing 211.1
xadīyate it will do that 254.10
xaûlle do that 165.19
xaatcityau he did that 280.12

§ 33. Deictic Prefixes, Third Position

For the third person, in Hupa, two forms occur. The first form is that used when speaking of adult Hupa. The second form is used when speaking of Hupa children and sometimes of very aged people, of members of others tribes and races, and of animals. The first form begins with *tc-*, and is completed according to the sound which follows. The second form has *y-* for its beginning, and is also completed according to the following sounds. After many of the prefixes, these signs do not appear; but a hiatus[1] marks the absence of the first form; and contraction or lengthening, often involving diphthongization, the second. There are no pronouns with which these may be connected, and demonstrative sources are to be expected. The third person has a dual whenever the root by its displacement has the power of showing plurality. In that case the same signs—or their absence—indicate the dual as the singular, the forms differing only in the root. The plural is invariably indicated by the syllable *-ya-*, which has the hiatus after it, for the first class of persons, and lengthening or contraction for the second.

yetcɪɪda he is carrying a large object
yeyɪɪda he (not an adult Hupa) is carrying a large object

§ 34. First Modal Prefixes, Fourth Position

Several elements appear as prefixes in many verbs for which no definite and satisfactory meaning has been found.

1. ***k-, ky-,*** is phonetically weak, the remainder of the syllable being supplied from the sound which follows. Only occasionally has a meaning been found for it, and the meanings which do appear are not reconcilable. It is probable that it supplies an indefinite object for verbs of eating, and perhaps some others.[2] In a few cases it has the meaning of LEAVING AS A GIFT rather than LEAVING FOR A TIME. In many cases a sense of indefiniteness is present in the verb as regards the time occupied and the number of acts required for the complete operation.

nakiñyûñ eat again (without mentioning what is to be eaten) 153.9
yakiñwūw carry it 105.18
yekyūwestce the wind blew in 270.4

[1] The hiatus in this case does not seem to be due to a full glottal stop, but to a lessening of the force of the breath. It is very likely brought about by the disappearance of *tc-*. The lengthening and diphthongization which take place in the case of the second form are probably due to the coalescing of *y* with the preceding vowel.

[2] In other dialects a sound (*tc*) which almost certainly corresponds to this is regularly used when the object has not been mentioned or is unknown.

2. ***te-***, the prefix of distribution, means either that the act took place here and there in space, or continuously over space; or that one person after another did the act.

natelōs she dragged it back 190.1
teɪtcwen it grew 96.3
tcittetcwai she buried in several places 192.12
tcetedeL they went out one by one 138.5

3. ***d-*** occurs, for instance, with the adverbial prefix *de-* (§ 31.19), signifying INTO FIRE.

dexōdiɪwaL he threw him into the fire

4. ***ō-*** a verbal prefix, the meaning of which has not been ascertained.

dōtcōwilan she will leave (*dō* not; *tc-* deictic; *ō-* first modal; *-w-* second modal; *lan* stem)

5. ***-e-*** CUSTOMARY. This prefix is not used throughout all the tenses or modes, as are the preceding, but has the office in itself of making a tense, as the suffixes generally have. Before vowels it generally appears as *e*, and that is probably its true form. In many cases it is connected with a consonant suggested by the following sound or another word-element, when it appears as *i*. Its use marks the act or condition as customary or habitual, or at least as occurring more than once.

tceexauw he is accustomed to catch with a net (*tc-* deictic; *-e* customary; *xauw* stem)
tcōexait he is accustomed to buy (*tc-* deictic; *ō-* first modal; *-e* customary; *-xait* to buy, customary tense)

6. In the same group stand all pronominal objects.

tc(ū)hwōw(i)ɪxûl(i)ɪte she will ask me for it (*tc-* deictic; *hw-* me; *ō-* first modal; *-w-* second modal; *-ɪ-* third modal; *xûl* to ask, definite tense; *-ɪ* continuously; *-te* future; the letters in parentheses represent glides)
tanaixōsdōwei it cut him all to pieces (*ta-* adverbial prefix of unknown significance; *na-* iterative; *-i* deictic; *-xō* him; *-s-* second modal; *dō* to cut; *-ei* emphatic)

7. ***n-***. The use of this prefix is mostly confined to adjectives (see § 76).

§ 35. Second Modal Prefixes, Fifth Position

There are three simple sounds which by their presence indicate whether the act is viewed as beginning, ending, or progressing. These sounds are not found in all forms of the same verb, but only in those tenses which refer to the act or state as one and definite. While it

seems certain that these sounds do have the force mentioned above, it is found, by making comparisons, that they follow certain prefixes. In many cases the nature of the prefix requires the act to be thought of as beginning, ending, or progressing. The sound which is of most frequent occurrence is *w*. It stands at the beginning of a syllable, usually the one immediately preceding the root. The remainder of this syllable contains the subjective personal elements. Its initiatory force can be seen in the verbs *wiñyaL* COME ON and *wiñxa* WATER LIES THERE. This last verb can not be applied to a natural body of water, like the ocean, which has had no beginning. The following prefixes require *w* in the definite tenses: *ya-*, *ye-*, *xa-*, *saɛ-*, *da-*, *de-d-*, *dū-*.

In a precisely parallel manner, *n* occurs as the initial of the inflected syllable under circumstances which point to the completion of the act. With *wiñyaL* (above) compare *niñyai* IT ARRIVED. Most of the prefixes which require *n* to follow in the definite tenses require the act to be viewed as ending. They are the following: *wa-*, *Le-*, *me-*, *na-* (3), *nō-*, *-tce-*.

Without the same exact parallelism of forms which obtains with the two mentioned above, a large number of verbs have *s* as the characteristic of the inflected syllable of the definite tenses. Most of these verbs clearly contain the idea of progression, or are used of acts which require considerable time for their accomplishment. The distributive prefix *te-* is always followed by *s*, never by either of the other signs, and some of the prefixes listed above are used with *s* with a distinction in meaning: for example,

xawiñan he took a stone out of a hole (but *xaïsyai* he came up a hill)[1]

Excluding all the verbs which require one of these three sounds in the definite tenses, there remain a considerable number which have no definite tenses, and therefore no such sounds characterizing them.

For the sake of convenience, the Hupa verbs have been divided into conjugations, according as they have one or the other of these sounds in the definite tenses or lack definite tenses entirely. There are, according to this arrangement, four conjugations: the first characterized by *w;* the second, by *n;* the third, by *s;* and the fourth lacking definite tenses.

[1] In one of the Eel river dialects the bringing home of a deer is narrated as follows: *yigiñgin* he started carrying; *yitcsgin* he carried along; *yininggin* he arrived carrying. Here we have *g* (corresponding to Hupa *w*), *s*, and *n* used with the same stem, expressing the exact shades one would expect in Hupa.

§ 36. Pronominal Prefixes, Sixth Position

Next in order are the sounds which indicate the person and number of the subject. These are sometimes changed and sometimes disappear, because of phonetic influences.

First Person

For tenses other than the definite, the sign of the first person singular is *w* or *-ūw*, which is in all cases appended to the preceding syllable. This sound is related to the initial sound of the independent pronoun of the first person singular, *hwe*, and is no doubt derived from it. In the definite tenses this form does not occur, but *-e* is found instead. The first person plural has *d-* for its sign. The remainder of the syllable of which this is the initial is completed from the sound which follows it.

Second Person

In the singular the form is *-ñ* or *-iñ*. The former is found when there is a sound preceding with which it can join, and the latter when no sound precedes, or when, for some reason, it can not unite with it. The sign seems to be dropped before *ʟ* and *l* following in the same syllable, of which there are many cases. It is reasonable to suppose that this sign is connected with the independent pronoun of the second person singular, *niñ*. In nearly all cases, in the second person plural *ō'* is found as the vowel of the inflected syllable. This *ō* is strongly aspirated. The cases in which *ō'* is not found seem to be due to contraction, which always results in an aspirated vowel. An *ō* of similar quality and with an aspiration occurs in the pronoun for the second person plural, *nōhin*.

§ 37. Third Modal Prefixes, Seventh Position

Certain prefixes are found in many verbs immediately preceding the root, and suggest transitiveness or intransitiveness in the verb, or in some way point out the relation between the subject, predicate, and object. As the second modal prefixes are required in most cases by the adverbial prefix which precedes them, so these are necessitated by certain roots which follow them. When, however, a root is found with different prefixes preceding it, their force becomes apparent. Compare *tcitteta*ʟ HE STEPPED ALONG with *tcitteɬta*ʟ HE KICKED SOMETHING ALONG. The absence of a modal prefix in the first is connected

with the intransitive meaning; and ɪ is connected with a transitive force. Compare also *kewintan* IT STUCK FAST (said of a bird alighting on pitch) and *kewiɪtan* HE PUT PITCH ON SOMETHING. The *n* which in the first of these examples precedes the root, seems to be a vestige of a prefix of this order occurring in certain forms of the third person in a class of verbs where usually none is present.

In nearly every case in which ɪ is present, required by the root or not, a transitive force can be conceived for the verb, which is always active. No prefix, or *n* shown above, is found with intransitive verbs; but this is also true of a large number of transitive verbs. It is noticeable, however, that the transitive verbs which do not require a preceding ɪ belong to those which, by the nature of the root, indicate the character of the object. Certain roots are always preceded by *t* or *d* (the third class), and certain others by *l* (the fourth class). But it is found that those without a sign, or with the sign *n* of doubtful character, when changed to the passive, also take *t* or *d*. In the same manner, verbs with ɪ the surd, on becoming passive, change ɪ to *l* the sonant.

On the basis of these prefixes the verbs have been arranged in four classes:

Class I has all intransitive and a certain class of transitive verbs, and has no characteristic prefix, unless it be *n*.

Class II is composed entirely of transitive verbs, and has ɪ as its characteristic.

Class III contains the passives of Class I, and certain verbs not passive, but possibly with passive leanings.

Class IV is composed of the passives of Class II and certain other verbs which show the influence of some power outside of the apparent agent.

SUFFIXES (§§ 38-44)

§ 38. Classification of Suffixes

The suffixes employed with verbs differ from the prefixes in that their use is only occasional, while the prefixes are for the most part essential to the meaning of the verb, and are employed with all its forms. The suffixes are appended mostly to the present definite and present indefinite tense-forms. Most of them have a temporal, modal, or conjunctional force.

§ 39. Temporal Suffixes

1. *-x.* This suffix is used with the forms of the present indefinite, and indicates that the act or condition was persistent through a limited and definitely stated length of time.

   wilweL tsisdaux until night he stayed
   naiɪits^{a}x he ran around (until morning)

2. *-winţe.* The suffixing of *-winţe* to the forms of the present indefinite gives a meaning to the verb but little different from the customary tense, which has a prefix *e-*. It indicates that the act or condition is continuous, or at least takes place whenever cause arises. The customary may mean that the act has been done several times without regard to the regularity of the intervals.

   tciɪwaLwinţe they always dance

3. *-neen.* This suffix is applied to nouns and verbs alike. It states that the thing, act, or condition has ceased, or is about to cease, its existence. When used with verbs, it is usually appended to the forms of the present indefinite, and means that the act or condition was habitual or continual in the past, but has now ceased.

   auwţinneen I used to do that
   wessilyōneen you used to like (him)

4. *-te.* This is the suffix most commonly employed. It predicts a future act or condition, either as the result of the impulse of the agent, or the compelling force of some person or event. It takes the place, therefore, of English WILL and SHALL. It is appended, for the most part, to the forms of the definite present.

   melūwţe I am going to watch it
   dedūwillate he will put it into the fire

   This suffix is sometimes preceded by a syllable containing the vowel *e* standing between the root and *-te*. The prediction is said to be made with less assurance when it has this form.

   tcisdīyannete she may live to be old

5. *-teL.* This suffix seems to denote events in a nearer future than those expressed by *-te*.

   dūwilleteL a party is coming to kill
   mīnesgitteL it will be afraid 295.7

§ 40. Temporal and Modal Suffixes

Certain suffixes are temporal, but also have a modal force.

6. ***-ei.*** In myths and tales the definite past occurs very frequently with an ending *-ei*, which regularly takes over the semi-vowels and often the consonants of the preceding syllable. The younger Hupa, at least, do not seem to be conscious of any change in meaning that may be made by its addition. A comparison of the instances of its occurrence would indicate a mild emphasis, that the act, which has several times been ineffectually ttempted, has been successfully accomplished, or that something which has been several times done is now done for the last time.

yawiɪtennei she picked him up (after several attempts)

7. ***-il, -iɪ.*** The application of the verb may be made continuous over space by adding *-ɪ* or *-iɪ* for the present, and *-l* or *-il* for the past. The shorter forms are used after vowels without increasing the number of syllables; the longer forms add a syllable, often taking over the consonant which precedes.

yaxōwiɪxaiɪ going along they track him
tcōhwëiɪte they will call (continually)
tcūwiɪtel he was bringing
kyūwinyûñil you ate along

§ 41. Modal Suffixes

8. ***-miñ.*** This suffix, which is not of frequent occurrence, indicates that the verb which it follows expresses the purpose of some act

yaïɪkimmiñ that they might catch it

9. ***-neᵋ.*** The more positive and more frequent form of the imperative seems to have *-neᵋ* suffixed to the regular form, implying the duty or mild necessity one is under to do the act.

ōɪtsaineᵋ dry them
yeïntûɪneᵋ you must step in

10. ***-hwûñ.*** To express a moral responsibility or necessity, *-hwûñ* is suffixed to the forms of the definite or indefinite present.

dōnēyahwûñ I can not stay
tasyahwûñ one ought to go away

11. ***-sillen.*** This suffix seems by its use to imply that the occurrence was imminent, but did not result.

yawûnxûtssillen he nearly flew

12. ***-newan.*** The suffix *-newan* indicates that the act is done, but with difficulty.

dōtcūxōnneʟintenewan one can hardly look at

13. ***-deᵋ.*** For the expression of a future condition, *-deᵋ* is employed.

adendeᵋ if he sings
axōladeᵋ if it happens 308.1

14. ***-detc.*** This suffix, which occurs but rarely, seems to indicate a less probable and more general future condition.

tcisseʟwindetc if he kills

15. ***-miñinne.*** For the expression of the result of supposed conditions contrary to fact, *-miñinne* is employed.

dōdaxōatinmiñinne (people) would never have died

§ 42. Suffixes Indicating Source of Information

Certain suffixes are used to show by which of the senses the fact stated was observed, or whether it was inferred from evidence.

16. ***-e.*** The vowel *-e*, standing by itself or preceded by the consonant or semi-vowel of the preceding syllable, indicates that the object or act is within the view of the speaker.

mewintanne he stuck to it (he saw)

17. ***-tsū, -tse.*** When the act is perceived by the sense of hearing or feeling, *-tse* is appended to the present definite, and *-tsū* to the past definite.

neïūwgittse I feel afraid
adentsū he heard it say

18. ***-xōlan.*** A fact inferred from evidence is expressed by the suffix *-xōlan.* Since the act is viewed as already completed, the verbs often have the force of the pluperfect.

ʟenanillaxōlan he had built a fire (he saw)

19. ***-xōlûñ.*** This suffix is said to differ from the preceding only in the fact that the evidence is more certain.

xalaxōlûñ grass has grown up (the fact is certain, for the grass is there, although the growing of it was not seen)

§ 43. Conjunctional Suffixes

A few suffixes are conjunctional. Their union with the verb seems to be rather loose.

20. ***-hit.*** The suffixing of *-hit* to the verb has the effect of making it part of a subordinate temporal clause.

yexōnûñhit when they ran in
tceïnsithit when he woke up

21. ***-miL.*** This suffix has nearly or quite the same force as *-hit.*

yītsiñ eeᵉamiL west (the sun) used to be then

22. ***-tsit.*** This suffix, which occurs seldom, means that the act expressed by the verb to which it is added is to be done before some other contemplated act.

kiñyûntsit eat first

§ 44. Adverbial Suffixes

There are two suffixes which appear to be adverbial.

23. ***-he.*** This suffix emphasizes a negative command or a conditional statement. It is comparable to English IN THE LEAST, or French PAS, in negative clauses.

dōadūwinnehe don't say that
tcūwīyûñilhe even if he eat it

24. ***-ka, -ûk.*** These suffixes signify LIKE, IN THE MANNER OF.

atenka the way they do
nesedaiûk the way I sat

VERBAL ROOTS (§§ 45-50)

§ 45. Variation of Verbal Roots

The greater number of verbal roots undergo a change of form or length, for the most part connected with the changes of mode or tense. In a few cases there is also a change within the mode or tense for the persons. For number, the change, when present, is not an alteration of the root, due to phonetic or morphological causes, but a substitution, in the dual and plural, of a root altogether different from that in the singular.

Sometimes the changes in the root mark off the definite tenses from the indefinite; in other cases the customary and impotential are different also in the form of the root from the present indefinite and imperative; and in a few cases, the impotential alone has a form longer than or different from that found elsewhere in the verb. The indefinite present and imperative are the weakest of all in the form of their roots. Of the definite tenses, the past is usually longer than the present, and

is characterized by stronger vowels: for example, *a* is found in the past instead of *û*, and *e* instead of *i;* and the diphthong *ai* and *au* appear for *a*. Some roots which end in *t* in the past do not have that ending in the present.

A number of roots, many of them containing the vowel *i*, do not change in form or length.

It is extremely difficult to trace these variations of the root to their causes. It is altogether probable that -*w*, which is the final sound in many roots of the indefinite tenses, is to be connected with -*c* (*sh*) or -*s* (which occurs in the same roots and the same tenses in Tolowa and other Athapascan dialects). It is therefore, in all likelihood, the remains of a former suffix. It is most likely that -*n* and -*ñ*, which are so characteristic of the definite tenses, are not original parts of the root. In fact, what seems to be the same root often occurs without the nasals. The difference between the past and present definite is almost certainly due to the accent, which is on the root in the past and on the syllable preceding the root in the present. This in turn may be due to the fact that the latter is often used with suffixes.

The most important verbal roots are given below with their variations and what is deemed the most characteristic meaning of each.

§ 46. Roots with Four Forms

The following roots have the past definite in -*en;* the present definite, in -*iñ;* the impotential, customary, and present indefinite and unexcepted forms of the imperative, in -*ūw;* and the third person imperative, in -*e*.

-*wen*, -*wiñ*, -*wūw*, -*we* (3d imp.) to carry on the back
-*wen*, -*wiñ*, -*wūw*, -*we* (3d imp.) to move or to wave fire
-*ten*, -*tiñ*, -*tūw*, -*te* (1st and 3d imp.) to lie down

Two roots have -*ū* for the impotential and customary, with -*e* for present indefinite and imperative.

-*len*, -*liñ*, -*lū*, -*le* to become, to be, to be transformed
-*lau*, -*la*, -*lū*, -*le* to do something, to arrange according to a plan

§ 47. Roots with Three Forms

The following have the first form for the past definite, the second form for the present definite, and the third form for the indefinite tenses. Some exceptions are noted.

-*ɛan*, -*ɛûñ*, -*ɛauw* to transport round objects
-*an*, -*ûñ*, -*auw* to run, to jump (with plural subject only)

-yan, *-yûñ*, *-yauu* to eat
-xan, *-xûñ*, *-xauu* to move in a basket or other vessel any liquid or smally divided substance, to catch with a net
-tan, *-tûñ*, *tūu* to handle or move a long object
-tan, *-tûñ*, *-tūu* to split
-wen, *-wiñ*, *-we* to kill
-ten, *tiñ*, *tūu* to move or to carry in any way a person or animal
-tcwen, *-tcwiñ*, *-tcwe* to make, to arrange, to grow, to become
-yai, *-ya*, *-yauu* to go, to come, to travel about (1st and 3d imp. in *-ya*)
-lai, *-la*, *-lūu* to move or transfer a number of objects
-lai, *-la*, *-lūu* to travel by canoe, to manage a canoe
-hwai, *-hwa*, *-hwauu* to walk, to go, to come (imp. has *-hwa*)

The following have the definite tenses with *-L*, the customary impotential with *-l*, and the present indefinite and imperative with *-ʟ*:[1]—

-waL, *-wûl*, *-wûʟ* to strike, to throw, to scatter
-weL, *-wil*, *-wiʟ* relating to the passing of night
-meL, *-mil*, *-miʟ* to strike, to throw, to drop
-deL, *-dil*, *-diʟ* to go, to come, to travel (plural only)
-deL, *-dil*, *-diʟ* to strike
-taL, *-tûl*, *-tûʟ* to step, to kick, to do anything with the foot
-tseL, *-tsil*, *-tsiʟ* to pound, as with a hammer or maul

§48. Roots with Two Forms

These roots, with a few exceptions, have the past definite, impotential, and customary with the first form, and the remaining tenses with the other.

First Type, -an, -ûñ

-yan, *-yûñ* to live, to pass through life
-yan, *-yûñ* to spy upon, to watch, to observe with suspicion
-wan, *-wûñ* to sleep
-lan, *-lûñ* to quit, to leave, to desist
-lan, *-lûñ* to be born
-nan, *-nûñ* to drink
-xan, *-xûñ* to be sweet or pleasant to the taste
-tan, *-tûñ* to eat (3d person singular only)
-tan, *-tûñ* relating to any wax or waxlike substance
-tsan, *-tsûñ* to find, to see
-tcwan, *-tcwûñ* relating to the eating of a meal in company
-kan, *-kûñ* to put on edge, to lean up

[1] That the form with *ʟ* is due to a final aspiration and that with *L* to glottal action seems reasonable. The cause of this, if not due to vanished suffixes, must be looked for in accent.

Second Type, -en, -iñ

-en, -iñ to look
-en, -iñ to do, to act, to deport one's self
-yen, -yiñ to stand on one's feet
-len, -liñ to flow, to run (said of any liquid)
-men, -miñ to fill up, to make full
-hwen, -hwiñ to melt
-sen, -siñ to think, to know (1st and 2d persons only)
-den, -diñ to travel in company
-den, -diñ to be light, to blaze
-tlen, -tliñ to do, to perform an act
-tcwen, -tcwiñ to smell, to stink, to defecate
-tcwen, -tcwiñ to want food or sexual gratification, to desire

Third Type, -ai, -a

-ɛai (impoten. and past), *-ɛa* to be in position
-yai (impoten.), *-ya* to move about, to undertake
-wai (impoten.), *-wa* to go, to go about (3d person only)
-dai (impoten. and past def.), *-da* to sit, to stay, to remain, to fish
-tcwai (impoten. and past def.), *-tcwa* to handle or move many small pieces, to dig, to bury, to paw the ground
kai (impoten. and cust.), *-ka* to get up from a reclining or sitting position

Fourth Type, -au, -a[1]

-au, -a to sing
-yau, -ya to do, to follow a line of action, to be in a plight
-dau, -da to melt away, to disappear
-tlau, -tla to hover, to settle, to fly around

Fifth Type, -ū, -e[1]

-lū, -le to make an attack, to form a war-party
-lū, -le to dive, to swim under water
-ɮū, -ɮe to handle or to do anything with a semi-liquid, dough-like substance
-nū, -ne to do, to happen, to behave in a certain way
-xū, -xe to finish, to track, to overtake
-djeū, -dje to fly in a flock
-tū, -te to sing in a ceremony
-tsū, -tse to squirm, to writhe, to roll, to tumble
-tcwū, -tcwe to cry, to weep

[1] Originally *-ag -a'*, and *-eg -e'*; therefore similar to the following *-at -a*.

Sixth Type, -at, -a

-wat, -wa to shake itself (said of a dog)
-lat, -la to float
-ʟat, -ʟa to run, to jump
-xait, -xai to buy
-tcat, -tca to be sick, to become ill
-k̲ait, -k̲ai to cause to project, to push, to pole a canoe, to shoot, to fall forward from weakness (i. e., to starve)
-kyōt, -kyō to flee, to run away
-tsat, -tsa to sit down

Seventh Type, -l, -ʟ

-il, -iʟ to swim, to dive (plural only)
-yōl, -yōʟ to blow with the breath
-wal, -waʟ to shake a stick, to dance
-lal, -laʟ to dream, to sleep
-nel, -neʟ to play
-nōl, -nōʟ to blaze
-hw̲al, -hw̲aʟ to fish for with a hook, to catch with a hook
-hw̲il, -hw̲iʟ to call by name, to name
-xal, -xaʟ to dawn
-dil, -diʟ to ring, to give a metallic response to a blow
-tsel, -tseʟ to be or to become warm
-kil, -kiʟ to split with the hands
-q̇ōl, -q̇ōʟ to crawl, to creep

Eighth Type, -ts, -s

-mats, -mas to roll, to coil
-xûts, -xûs to pass through the air, to fly, to fall, to throw
-t̲ats, -t̲ûs to cut a gash, to slit up, to cut open. to dress eels

Ninth type, -tc, -w̲

-atc, -auw̲ to move in an undulating line
-q̇ōtc, -q̇ōw̲ to throw, like a spear
-q̇ōtc, q̇ōw̲ to run like a wolf

§ 49. Roots with One Form

A few of these vary in length, but those having the vowels *i* and *û* and some others do not.

-eL to have position (plural only)
-iūw̲ to drop
-its to shoot an arrow
-its to wander about
-ût to move flat flexible objects
-ya to stand on one's feet (plural only)

44877—Bull. 40, pt 1—10——9

-*ye* to dance
-*yeūw* to rest
-*yeūw* to rub, to knead
-*yits* to entangle
-*yō* to like
-*yōw* to flow, to scatter
-*yōt* to chase, to bark after
-*wauw* to talk, to make a noise (plural only)
-*was* to shave off
-*wis* to twist, to rotate
-*witc* to rock sidewise
-*le* to feel with the hands
-*lel* to carry more than one animal or child in the hands
-*lel* to bother
-*lit* to burn
-*litc* to urinate
-*lik* to relate, to tell something
-*loiᵋ* to tie, to wrap around
-*lōs* to drag, to pull along
-*lūw* to watch, to stand guard over
-*ɮit* to cause to burn
-*meᵋ* to swim
-*men* to cause to swim
-*medj* to cook by boiling
-*mit* to turn over, to place one's self belly up or down
-*mût* to break out (as a spring of water), to break open
-*na* to cook by placing before the fire
-*na* to move
-*ne* to gather nuts (from the ground)
-*nūw* to hear
-*hweᵋ* to dig
-*xa* to have position (said of water or a liquid)
-*xût* to hang
-*xût* to tear down
-*xûts* to bite, to chew
-*sit* to wake
-*daᵋ* to be poor in flesh
-*daᵋ* to carry, to move (said of a person or animal)
-*daiᵋ* to bloom
-*dik* to peck
-*dits* to twist into a rope
-*dō* to cut, to slash
-*dō* to dodge, to draw back
-*djiñ* to mind, to be bothered by something
-*teᵋ* to look for, to search after
-*teᵋ* to carry around

-te to remain in a recumbent position
-tetc to lie down (plural only)
-tits to use a cane
-tōᵉ referring to the movement or position of water
-t̲ōt to drink
-tū to beg
-t̲ūw̲ to split
-tûk to count
-t̲eᵉ to have some particular form, appearance, or nature
-t̲ik to tie with a string
-t̲ō relating to mutual motions of two objects by means of which one is inserted into or withdrawn from the other
-tsai to be or to make dry
-tsas to swing a stick about, to whip
-tseᵉ to open or shut a sliding door
-tseᵉ to stay, to live (plural only)
-tsis to be hanging
-tsis to find, to know
-tsit to know a person or some fact or legend
-tsit to fall, to sink
-tsit to soak acorn-meal
-tsit to pull out a knot
-tsit to wait
-tceᵉ to blow (said of the wind)
-tcit to die
-tcût to strip off, to take bark from a tree
-tcwit to push, to pull off leaves, to shoot, to rub one's self
-tcwōg to sweep
-tcwūw̲ to smell of
-git to be afraid of, to be frightened
-git to travel in company
-k̲as to throw
-k̲et to creak
-kis to put one's hand on, to stab, to spear
-kit to catch with the hands, to take away
-kit to hang, to spread, to settle (said of fog)
-kit to feed, to give food to any one
-k̲ûtc to make the stroke or throw in playing shinny
-kyaᵉ to wear a dress
-kya to perceive by any of the senses
-kyas to break, to cause to break
-kyōs to handle or to move anything that is flat and flexible
-qal to walk (3d person only)
-qōt to push a pointed instrument into a yielding mass, to stick, to poke
-qōt to dodge, to tumble, to flounder about helplessly

§ 50. Meaning of Roots

In regard to meaning, roots fall into at least three classes.

(1) A few monosyllabic nouns, occupying the position in the verb which belongs to the root, name the means employed; while the general nature of the act is suggested by that part of the verb which precedes the root. For example, *-tits* (a verbal root identical with the noun *tits* A CANE) occurs in the verb *tcitteɬtits* HE WALKED WITH A CANE.

(2) A rather large number of roots, while not definitely naming the object, indicate the class to which it belongs as regards its size, shape, or physical character. The most important of these are the following:

-ɛan, *-ɛûñ*, *-ɛauw* round objects
-ût flat and flexible
-wen, *-wiñ*, *-wūw* fire
-lai, *-la*, *-lūw* several of any kind
-lel several children or animals
-ɬū, *-ɬe* dough
-xan, *-xûñ*, *-xauw* liquid
-da a person or animal
-tan, *-tûñ*, *-tūw* a long object
-ten, *-tiñ*, *-tūw* person, animal, or animal product
-t̲an, *t̲ûñ* wax or waxlike
-tcwai the soil
-kyōs, flat and flexible object

These verbal roots are rigidly restricted in their applicability to objects of definite form, including in this category number. This classification has reference to the appearance of objects as ROUND, FLAT AND FLEXIBLE, LONG AND SLIM, ANIMATE, PLURAL. In the intransitive verb this has reference to the form of the subject; in the transitive verb, to the form of the object.

(3) Most if not all the remaining roots indicate more or less exactly the nature of the act itself. It has been impossible, with no knowledge of the past history of the Hupa language and but little access to the related languages, to define exactly the meaning of many of the roots.

§ 51. *Analysis of Verbal Forms*

A few of the more complex forms are analyzed in the following table in accordance with the general discussion of the formative elements contained in the preceding sections.

Analysis of Verbal Forms.

1. Adverbs, object.	2. Deictic.	3. First modals.	4. Second modals.	5. Pronouns, subject.	6. Third modals.	7. Stem.	8. Suffix.	
		k, ō, c; d, n.	*w, n, s*		*n, ʟ, l, de*			
da	*tc*		*w*		*n*	*ɛan*		he placed it 210.6.
nō na		*k*	*n*		*n*	*ɛûn*	*te*	one should leave it 215.8.
da, na, xō		*d*	*w*		*ñ*	*an*		they ran back 181.6.
da na		*k*	*n*	*w*		*eL*		I lay them crosswise 247.5.
na		*ne*	*w*	*d*	*l* for *ʟ*	*iñ*	*iʟ, te*	we will look at 216.18.
te, na		*d*			*l*	*ya*		they stand in water 310.4.
tce, na			*n*		*d*	*yai*		he came out again 102.13.
niʟ		*te*	*s*	*e*		*ya*	*te*	I will go with you 187.4.
	tc		*n*		*n*	*ya*	*ne en*	he used to come 306.7.
	tc	*te*	*s*			*ya*	*ye, xolan*	he was walking along, he saw 185.13.
ʟe		*k*	*n*		*ʟ*	*yets*	*te*	they will tie together 151.10.
tce xō		*te*			*ʟ*	*waL*		he pulled him out 106.17.
xō		*k*	*w*		*n*	*ñan=wan*		he went to sleep=it slept him 203.1.
hw					*l*	*weL*	*te*	I will spend the night; the night passed 348.2.
dō, hw, wûn		*n*	*w*		*t=l*	*lai*	*he*	don't bring them to me 230.13.
xōʟ, me, na					*n d*	*lat*	*ei*	with him it floated back to shore 315.6.
me, na				*w*		*lūw*	*te*	I will watch again 267.17.
nō na		*e*		*w*		*xauw*		I leave it 247.3.
nō na	*ya*	*k*	*n*		*n*	*ɛan*		they left food 110.9.
da	*ya*	*d*	*w*		*n*	*ɛan*		they took away 171.14.
da, xō		*d*	*w*		*s*	*en*		one could see 242.13.
na		*n*	*w*	*d*	*l*	*in*	*ʟte*	we will look at 216.18.
ʟe na			*n*		*d*	*yai*		he completed the circuit 220.8.

§ 52. *Tenses and Modes*

While the time, reality, and definiteness of the act or condition may be expressed by means of suffixes and variations in the root, the same distinctions of meaning are drawn from the form of the complete verb. Without taking into account the suffixes, the following tense or mode forms exist: present indefinite, imperative, impotential, customary, present definite, and past definite. The first four of these are clearly marked off from the last two, in meaning, by the fact that they do not refer to a single definite act. They differ in form, in most cases, in the root and in the sign of the first person singular.

The name of present indefinite has been chosen to distinguish the present of wider use and of less discrimination as to the time of the action, from the present definite, which affirms a single act as just completed. The former is used of acts in progress but not completed, when such acts consume appreciable time, or of acts desired or intended.

The real imperative forms, the second person singular and plural, are identical with those of the indefinite present, while the forms of the third person, expressing the wish that some person be compelled to perform the act, are different from those of the indefinite present.

The impotential deals with future negative acts in a sweeping way, implying that it is impossible that they should take place. Part of this force is given the form by *dōxōliñ*, which precedes the verb, meaning IT IS NOT. The form of the verb itself in this mode-tense is not different from the present indefinite, except that it often has a longer or stronger form of the root.

The customary differs from the present indefinite in the presence of an element (consisting of a single vowel, probably *-e-*) which stands before the signs of person and number, and sometimes in form of the root. Its meaning, as the name implies, is that the act is habitual, or at least several times performed. It is used almost entirely of past acts.

The definite present and past differ from each other only in the form and length of the root. The past has the longer and stronger form of the root, if it be variable at all. The accent seems to rest on the root in the past, and on the syllable before the root in the present. They refer to individual, completed acts,—the present as just completed; and the past, of more remote time. On the forms of the present definite by means of suffixes, the future, future conditional, and other tenses and modes are built.

Conjugations (§§ 53-75)

§ 53. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1A

tcexauw HE IS CATCHING

Present Indefinite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*iūwxauw*	*itdexauw*
2.	*iñxauw*	*ō'xauw*
3.	*tcexauw*	*yaxauw*
3a.	*yixxauw*	*yaixauw*

Imperative

	Singular	Plural
3.	*tcōxauw*	*yatcōxauw*
3a.	*yōxauw*	*yaiyōxauw*

Customary

	Singular	Plural
1.	*ëïūwxauw*	*ëïtdexauw*
2.	*eïñxauw*	*eō'xauw*
3.	*tceexauw*	*yaexauw*
3a.	*yeexauw*	*yaiexauw*

Definite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*wexûñ*	*witdexûñ*
2.	*wiñxûñ*	*wō'xûñ*
3.	*tcūwiñxûñ*	*yawinxûñ*
3a.	*yūwiñxûñ*	*yaiwiñxûñ*

§ 54. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1B

yamas HE IS ROLLING OVER

Present Indefinite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*yauwmas*	*yadimmas*
2.	*yûmmas*	*ya'mas*
3.	*yamas*	*yayamas*
3a.	*yāmas*	*yayāmas*

Customary

	Singular	Plural
1.	*yaïūwmas*	*yaïtdimmas*
2.	*yaïmmas*	*yaō'mas*
3.	*yaïmmas*	*yayaïmmas*
3a.	*yāïmmas*	*yayāïmmas*

Definite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*yaimas*	*yawitdimmas*
2.	*yawimmas*	*yawō'mas*
3.	*yawimmas*	*yayawimmas*
3a.	*yāwimmas*	*yayāwimmas.*

§ 55. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1C

In this division of the conjugation there is a contraction in the 2d person singular of the definite tenses.

naLit HE IS CHARRING

Definite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*naiLit*	*nawitdiLLit*
2.	*nanLit*	*nawō'Lit*
3.	*nawinLit*	*nayawinLit*
3a.	*naiwinLit*	*nayaiwinLit*

§ 56. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1D

kittûs HE CUTS OPEN

Present Indefinite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*kyūwtûs*	*kitdittûs*
2.	*kintûs*	*kyō'tûs*
3.	*kittûs*	*yakittûs*
3a.	*yikittûs*	*yaikittûs*

Imperative

	Singular	Plural
3.	*kyōtûs*	*yakyōtûs*
3a.	*yikyōtûs*	*yaikyōtûs*

Customary

	Singular	Plural
1.	*keïūwtûs*, etc.	*keïtditûs*, etc.

Definite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*ketats*	*kyūwitdittats*
2.	*kyūwintats*	*kyūwō'tats*
3.	*kintats*	*yakintats*
3a.	*yikintats*	*yaikintats*

§ 57. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1E

tcōxai HE IS BUYING

Present Indefinite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*ōūwxai*	*ōdexai*
2.	*ōñxai*	*ō'xai*
3.	*tcōxai*	*tcōyaxai*
3a.	*yōxai*	*yōyaxai*

Customary

	Singular	Plural
1.	*ōiūwxait*	*ōïtdexait*, etc.

Definite

Singular	Plural
1. *oixai*	*ōwitdexai*
2. *ōñxai*	*ōwō'xai*
3. *tcōñxai*	*tcōyañxai*
3a. *yōñxai*	*yōyañxai*

§ 58. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 2

The several conjugations differ from one another in regard to the definite tenses only.

nōniñût HE PUT A BLANKET DOWN

Definite

Singular	Plural
1. *nōnaût*	*nōndaût*
2. *nōniñût*	*nōnō'ût*
3. *nōniñût*	*nōyaniñût*
3a. *noiniñût*	*nōyainiñût*

§ 59. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 2, WITH A CHANGED ROOT

tceniñya HE IS COMING OUT

Definite

Singular	Dual	Plural
1. *tcenēya*	*tcenedeL*	*tcenedeL*
2. *tceniñya*	*tcenō'deL*	*tcenō'deL*
3. *tceniñya*	*tceniñdeL*	*tceyanindeL*
3a. *tciñya*	*tcindeL*	*tceyûndeL*

§ 60. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 3A

tcisloiᵋ HE IS TYING

Definite

Singular	Plural
1. *seloiᵋ*	*sitdilloiᵋ*
2. *silloiᵋ*	*sō'loiᵋ*
3. *tcisloiᵋ*	*yaïsloiᵋ*
3a. *yisloiᵋ*	*yaiisloiᵋ*

§ 61. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 3B

*tcitteta*L HE IS STEPPING ALONG

Definite

Singular	Plural
1. *teseta*L	*tesditta*L
2. *tesinta*L	*tesō'ta*L
3. *tcitteta*L	*yateta*L
3a. *yitteta*L	*yaiteta*L

§ 62. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 4

na$^{\varepsilon}a$ HE HAS IT

Present

	Singular	Plural
1.	*nauu̲$^{\varepsilon}a$*	*nada$^{\varepsilon}a$*
2.	*nûñ$^{\varepsilon}a$*	*na'$^{\varepsilon}a$*
3.	*na$^{\varepsilon}a$*	*naya$^{\varepsilon}a$*
3a.	*nai$^{\varepsilon}a$*	*nayai$^{\varepsilon}a$*

Imperative

	Singular	Plural
3.	*natc$^{\varepsilon}$ō$^{\varepsilon}a$*	*nayatc$^{\varepsilon}$ō$^{\varepsilon}a$*
3a.	*nay$^{\varepsilon}$ō$^{\varepsilon}a$*	*nayay$^{\varepsilon}$ō$^{\varepsilon}a$*

Customary

	Singular	Plural
1.	*naïūu̲$^{\varepsilon}a$*	*naïtda$^{\varepsilon}a$*
2.	*naïñ$^{\varepsilon}a$*	*naō'$^{\varepsilon}a$*
3.	*naa$^{\varepsilon}a$*	*nayaa$^{\varepsilon}a$*
3a.	*naia$^{\varepsilon}a$*	*nayaia$^{\varepsilon}a$*

§ 63. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 1A

yetciʟda$^{\varepsilon}$[1] HE IS CARRYING IN A LARGE OBJECT

Present Indefinite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*yeïūu̲da*	*yeïtdilda*
2.	*yeïʟda*	*yeōʟda*
3.	*yetciʟda*	*yeyaïʟda*
3a.	*yeyiʟda*	*yeyaiiʟda*

Imperative

	Singular	Plural
3.	*yetcōʟda*	*yeyatcōʟda*
3a.	*yeyōʟda*	*yeyaiyōʟda*

Customary

	Singular	Plural
1.	*yeeïūu̲da*	*yeeïtdilda*
2.	*yeeïʟda*	*yeeōʟda*
3.	*yetceïʟda*	*yeyaïʟda*
3a.	*yeyeïʟda*	*yeyaiiʟda*

Definite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*yewe̲ʟda*	*yewitdilda*
2.	*yewiʟda*	*yewōʟda*
3.	*yetcūwiʟda*	*yeyawiʟda*
3a.	*yeyūwiʟda*	*yeyaiwiʟda*

[1] It is probable but not quite certain that the glottal stop occurs finally in the root in all forms of the verb.

§ 64. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 1C

yaïʟwûʟ HE THREW INTO THE AIR

Present Indefinite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*yauᵘwûʟ*	*yadilwûʟ*
2.	*yûʟwûʟ*	*yaʟwûʟ*
3.	*yaïʟwûʟ*	*yayaïʟwûʟ*
3a.	*yaiʟwûʟ*	*yayaiʟwûʟ*

Imperative

	Singular	Plural
3.	*yatcōʟwûʟ*	*yayatcōʟwûʟ*
3a.	*yaiōʟwûʟ*	*yayaiōʟwûʟ*

Customary

	Singular	Plural
1.	*yaïūᵘwûl*	*yaïtdilwûl*
2.	*yaïʟwûl*	*yaōʟwûl*
3.	*yaïʟwûl*	*yayaïʟwûl*
3a.	*yaiiʟwûl*	*yayaiiʟwûl*

Definite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*yaiʟwaL*	*yawitdilwaL*
2.	*yaʟwaL*	*yawōʟwaL*
3.	*yawiʟwaL*	*yayawiʟwaL*
3a.	*yaiwiʟwaL*	*yayaiwiʟwaL*

§ 65. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 2

meïʟxeᵋ HE IS FINISHING

Present Indefinite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*mūᵘxeᵋ*	*medilxeᵋ*
2.	*miʟxeᵋ*	*meʟxeᵋ*
3.	*meïʟxeᵋ*	*mayaïʟxeᵋ*
3a.	*mīiʟxeᵋ*	*meyaiʟxeᵋ*

Imperative

	Singular	Plural
3.	*metcōʟxeᵋ*	*meyatcōʟxeᵋ*
3a.	*meyōʟxeᵋ*	*meyayōʟxeᵋ*

Customary

	Singular	Plural
1.	*meïūᵘxū*	*meïtdilxū*
2.	*meïʟxū*	*meōʟxū*
3.	*meïʟxū*	*meyaïʟxū*
3a.	*mīïʟxū*	*meyaiiʟxū*

Definite

Singular	Plural
1. *meneLxeᵋ*	*mindilxeᵋ*
2. *meniLxeᵋ*	*menōLxeᵋ*
3. *meniLxeᵋ*	*meyaniLxeᵋ*
3a. *mīniLxeᵋ*	*meyainiLxeᵋ*

§ 66. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 3A

The indefinite tenses do not differ from Conjugation 1.

naïsxût HE IS TEARING DOWN

Definite

Singular	Plural
1. *naseLxût*	*nasdilxût*
2. *nasiLxût*	*nasōLxût*
3. *naïsxût*	*nayaïsxût*
3a. *naisxût*	*nayaisxût*

§ 67. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 3B

tcisseLwiñ HE IS KILLING

Definite

Singular	Plural
1. *seseLwiñ*	*sesdilwiñ*
2. *sesiLwiñ*	*sesōLwiñ*
3. *tcisseLwiñ*	*yaseLwiñ*
3a. *yisseLwiñ*	*yaiseLwiñ*

§ 68. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 4

naïLtsûñ HE IS FINDING

Present

Singular	Plural
1. *nauwtsûñ*	*nadiltsûñ*
2. *nûLtsûñ*	*naLtsûñ*
3. *naïLtsûñ*	*nayaïLtsûñ*
3a. *naiLtsûñ*	*nayaiLtsûñ*

Imperative

Singular	Plural
3. *natcōLtsûñ*	*nayatcōLtsûñ*
3a. *naōLtsûñ*	*nayaōLtsûñ*

Customary

Singular	Plural
1. *naïūwtsan*	*naïtdiltsan*
2. *naïLtsan*	*naōLtsan*
3. *naïLtsan*	*nayaïLtsan*
3a. *naiiLtsan*	*nayaiiLtsan*

§ 69. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 1

yadeqōt HE IS DODGING

Present Indefinite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*yauwdeqōt*	*yadûkqōt*
2.	*yûndeqōt*	*ya'deqōt*
3.	*yadeqōt*	*yayadeqōt*
3a.	*yadûkqōt*	*yayadûkqōt*

Imperative

	Singular	Plural
3.	*yatcōdeqōt*	*yayatcōdeqōt*
3a.	*yaōdeqōt*	*yayaōdeqōt*

Customary

	Singular	Plural
1.	*yaïūwdeqōt*	*yaïtdeqōt*
2.	*yaïndeqōt*	*yaō'deqōt*
3.	*yaïtqōt*	*yayaïtqōt*
3a.	*yaïtqōt*	*yayaïtqōt*

Definite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*yauwdeqōt*	*yawitdeqōt*
2.	*yandeqōt*	*yawō'deqōt*
3.	*yawitqōt*	*yayawitqōt*
3a.	*yatqōt*	*yayatqōt*

§ 70. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 2

nanitᵋauw HE IS BRINGING IT BACK

Present Indefinite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*nauwdeᵋauw*	*nanedeᵋauw*
2.	*nandeᵋauw*	*nanō'deᵋauw*
3.	*nanitᵋauw*	*nayanitᵋauw*
3a.	*nainitᵋauw*	*nayainitᵋauw*

Imperative

	Singular	Plural
3.	*nanōdeᵋauw*	*nayanō'deᵋauw*
3a.	*nainōdeᵋauw*	*nayainōdeᵋauw*

Customary

	Singular	Plural
1.	*naneïūwdeᵋauw*	*naneedeᵋauw*
2.	*naneïndeᵋauw*	*nanōō'deᵋauw*
3.	*naneïtᵋauw*	*nayaneïtᵋauw*
3a.	*naineïtᵋauw*	*nayaineïtᵋauw*

Definite

Singular	Plural
1. *nauwdeᵋûñ*	*nanedeᵋûñ*
2. *nandeᵋûñ*	*nanoʻdeᵋûñ*
3. *naïndeᵋûñ*	*nayaïndeᵋûñ*
3a. *naininideᵋûñ*	*nayaininideᵋûñ*

§ 71. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 3

The forms for the definite tenses are like those given for Class III, Conjugation 1.

naïsdeqōt HE IS TUMBLING ABOUT

Definite

Singular	Plural
1. *nasdûkqōt*	*nasedeqōt*
2. *nasindeqōt*	*nasōʻdeqōt*
3. *naïsdeqōt*	*nayaïsdeqōt*
3a. *nasdûkqōt*	*nayasdûkqot*

§ 72. CLASS IV, CONJUGATION 1

naïlyeūw HE RESTS

Present Indefinite

Singular	Plural
1. *nauwyeūw*	*nadilyeūw*
2. *nûlyeūw*	*naLyeūw*
3. *naïlyeūw*	*nayaïlyeūw*
3a. *nalyeūw*	*nayalyeūw*

Imperative

Singular	Plural
3. *natcōlyeūw*	*nayatcōlyeūw*
3a. *nayōlyeūw*	*nayayōlyeūw*

Customary

Singular	Plural
1. *naïūwyeūw*	*naïtdilyeūw*
2. *naïlyeūw*	*naōLyeūw*
3. *naïlyeūw*	*nayaïlyeūw*
3a. *naïlyeūw*	*nayaïlyeūw*

Definite

Singular	Plural
1. *nauwyeūw*	*nawitdilyeūw*
2. *nalyeūw*	*nawōLyeūw*
3. *nawilyeūw*	*nayawilyeūw*
3a. *nalyeūw*	*nayalyeūw*

§ 73. CLASS IV, CONJUGATION 3

nadiliñ HE IS WATCHING FOR IT

Present Indefinite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*nadūwiñ*	*naditdiliñ*
2.	*nadiliñ*	*nadōlíñ*
3.	*nadiliñ*	*nayadiliñ*
3a.	*naidiliñ*	*nayaidiliñ*

Imperative

	Singular	Plural
3.	*nadōliñ*	*nayadōliñ*
3a.	*naidōlin*	*nayaidōliñ*

Customary

	Singular	Plural
1.	*nadeïūwen*	*nadeïtdilen*
2.	*nadeïlen*	*nadōōlen*
3.	*nadeïlen*	*nayadeïlen*
3a.	*naideïlen*	*nayaideïlen*

Definite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*nadūwesiñ*	*nadūwesdiliñ*
2.	*nadūwesiliñ*	*nadūwesōlíñ*
3.	*nadūwesiñ*	*nayadūwesiñ*
3a.	*naidūwesiñ*	*nayaidūwesiñ*

§ 74. OBJECTIVE CONJUGATION

yahwiɬtūw HE IS PICKING ME UP

Present Indefinite

Subject:		First person singular (object)	Second person singular (object)	Third person singular (object)
Singular..	1.	——	*yúnniūwtūw*	*yaxōwtūw*
	2.	*yahwiɬtūw*	——	*yaxōɬtūw*
	3.	*yahwiɬtūw*	*yúnnetciɬtūw*	*yaxōɬtūw*
	3a.	*yaihwiɬtūw*	*yúnniɬtūw*	*yaixōɬtūw*
Plural	1.	——	*yúnnitdiltūw*	*yaxōtdiltūw*
	2.	*yahwōɬtūw*	——	*yaxōɬtūw*
	3.	*yayahwiɬtūw*	*yayúnnetciɬtūw*	*yayaxōɬtūw*
	3a.	*yayaihwiɬtūw*	*yaiyúnniɬtūw*	*yayaixōɬtūw*

Imperative

Singular..	3.	*yahwōɬtūw*	*yúnnetcōɬtūw*	*yaxōɬtūw*
	3a.	*yaihwōɬtūw*	*yúnnōɬtūw*	*yaixōiiɬtūw*
Plural	3.	*yayahwōɬtūw*	*yayúnnetcōɬtūw*	*yayaxōɬtūw*
	3a.	*yayaihwōɬtūw*	*yaiyúnnōɬtūw*	*yayaixō tūw*

Customary

Singular..	1.	——	*yúnnēiūwtūw*	*yaxoiiūwtūw*
	2.	*yahwēiɬtūw*	——	*yaxoiiɬtūw*
	3.	*yahwēiɬtūw*	*yúnnetcēiɬtūw*	*yaxoiiɬtūw*
	3a.	*yaihwēiɬtūw*	*yúnnēiɬtuw*	*yaixōiiɬtūw*
Plural	1.	——	*yúnnēitdiltūw*	*yaxoitdiltūw*
	2.	*yahwōōɬtūw*	——	*yaxōōɬtūw*
	3.	*yayahwēiɬtūw*	*yayúnnēiɬtūw*	*yayaxoiiɬtūw*
	3a.	*yayaihwēiɬtūw*	*yayúnnēiɬtūw*	*yayaixoiiɬtūw*

Definite

Singular..	1.	——	*yúnneɬtiñ*	*yaxweɬtiñ*
	2.	*yahwūwiɬtiñ*	——	*yaxōwiɬtiñ*
	3.	*yahwiɬtiñ*	*yúnnetciɬtiñ*	*yaxōɬtiñ*
	3a.	*yaihwiɬtiñ*	*yúnniɬtiñ*	*yaixōɬtiñ*
Plural	1.	——	*yúnnūwitdiltiñ*	*yaxōwitdiltiñ*
	2.	*yahwūwōɬtiñ*	——	*yaxōwōɬtiñ*
	3.	*yayahwiɬtiñ*	*yayúnnetciɬtiñ*	*yayaxōɬtiñ*
	3a.	*yayaihwiɬtiñ*	*yaiyúnniɬtiñ*	*yayaixōɬtiñ*

OBJECTIVE CONJUGATION—Continued.

yahwiltūw HE IS PICKING ME UP

Present Indefinite

Subject:		First person plural (object)	Second person plural (object)	Third person plural (object)
Singular..	1.	——	*yúnnōhwūwlūw*	*yayaxōwlūw*
	2.	*yúnnōhōllūw*	——	*yayaxōllūw*
	3.	*yúnnōtcillūw*	*yúnnōtcillūw*	*yayaxōllūw*
	3a.	*yúnnōhillūw*	*yúnnōhillūw*	*yayaixōllūw*
Plural	1.	——	*yúnnōhitdillūw*	*yayaxōtdillūw*
	2.	*yúnnōhō'lūw*	——	*yayaxō'lūw*
	3.	*yayúnnōtcillūw*	*yayúnnōtcillūw*	*yayaxōllūw*
	3a.	*yaiyúnnōhillūw*	*yaiyúnnōhullūw*	*yayaixōllūw*

Imperative

Singular..	3.	*yúnnōtcōlūw*	*yúnnōtcōlūw*	*yayaxōllūw*
	3a.	*yúnnōhōlūw*	*yúnnōhōlūw*	*yayaixōllūw*
Plural	3.	*yayúnnōtcōlūw*	*yayúnnōtcōlūw*	*yayaxōllūw*
	3a.	*yaiyúnnōhōlūw*	*yaiyúnnōhōlūw*	*yayaixōllūw*

Customary

Singular..	1.	——	*yúnnōhe'ūwlūw*	*yayaxoitūwlūw*
	2.	*yúnnōhe'llūw*	——	*yayaxoillūw*
	3.	*yúnnōtce'illūw*	*yúnnōtce'illūw*	*yayaxoillūw*
	3a.	*yúnnōhe'illūw*	*yúnnōhe'illūw*	*yayaixoillūw*
Plural	1.	——	*yúnnōhe'itdillūw*	*yayaxoitdillūw*
	2.	*yúnnōhecō'lūw*	——	*yayaxōō'lūw*
	3.	*yayúnnōtce'illūw*	*yayúnnōtce'illūw*	*yayaxoillūw*
	3a.	*yaiyúnnōhe'illūw*	*yaiyúnnōhe'illūw*	*yayaixoillūw*

Definite

Singular..	1.	——	*yúnnōhela*	*yayaxwella*
	2.	*yúnnōwilla*	——	*yayaxōwilla*
	3.	*yúnnōtcilla*	*yúnnōtcilla*	*yayaxōlla*
	3a.	*yúnnōhilla*	*yúnnōhilla*	*yayaixōlla*
Plural	1.	——	*yúnnōwitdilla*	*yayaxōwitdilla*
	2.	*yúnnōwō'la*	——	*yayaxōwō'la*
	3.	*yayúnnōtcilla*	*yayúnnōtcilla*	*yayaxōlla*
	3a.	*yaiyúnnōhilla*	*yaiyúnnōhilla*	*yayaixōlla*

The past definite has *-lai* for its root.

§ 74

§ 75. PASSIVE VOICE

yaxōwiltiñ HE IS CARRIED OFF

The present indefinite seems to have no forms for the passive voice.

Impotential

	Singular	Plural
1.	*dōxōliñ yahwelditttūw*	*dōxōliñ yûnnōhitlūw*
2.	*yûnneldittūw*	*yûnnōhitlūw*
3.	*yaxōldittūw*	*yayaxōtlūw*
3a.	*yûldittūw*	*yayatlūw*

Customary

	Singular	Plural
1.	*yahweïldittūw*	*yûnnōheïtlūw*
2.	*yûneïldittūw*	*yûnnōheïtlūw*
3.	*yaxoiildittūw*	*yayaxōiitlūw*
3a.	*yaeïldittūw*	*yayaïtlūw*

Definite

	Singular	Plural
1.	*yahwūwiltiñ*	*yûnnōwitla*
2.	*yûnnūwiltiñ*	*yûnnōwitla*
3.	*yaxōwiltiñ*	*yayaxōwitla*
3a.	*yaltiñ*	*yayatla*

Adjectives (§§ 76-78)

The qualifying adjectives in Hupa are very closely linked with the verbs. They are fully conjugated, indicating by internal changes the person and number of the subject qualified, and by changes of tense whether the quality is predicated of the present, past, or future.

§ 76. *Prefixes of Adjectives*

The prefixes of the adjectives consist of a single sound, and are found only in the present. They seem to classify the adjectives according to the degree of connection of the quality with the noun. The principal prefixes are the two following:

1. ***n-*** used mostly of inherent qualities, such as dimensions.

nūwnes I am tall	*nūwteL* I am broad
nūwhwōñ I am good	*nūwtcwiñ* I am dirty
nūwdas I am heavy	*nūwkyaō* I am large

2. ***L-*** used for the more accidental qualities, such as color, and condition of flesh.

Lûwkai I am white	*Littsō* it is blue, yellow, or green
Lûwkau I am fat	*Lūhwin* it is black

§ 77. *Comparison of Adjectives*

The superlative, the only form employed, is expressed by prefixing *dad-*, the second syllable being completed in harmony with the following sound:

hai dadinnes the longest
hai dadiLLûkkau the fattest
hai dadittsit the shortest
hai dadikkyaō the largest, etc.

§ 78. *Conjugation of Adjectives*

nitdas IT IS HEAVY

Present Definite

Singular	Plural
1. *nūẅdas*	*nitditdas*
2. *nindas*	*nō'das*
3. *tcindas*	*yaïndas*
3a. *nitdas*	*yanitdas*

Imperative

Singular	Plural
1. *iūẅdas*[1]	*itditdas*
2. *indas*	*ō'das*
3. *tcōdas*	*yatcōdas*
3a. *yōdas*	*yayōdas*

Customary

Singular	Plural
1. *eïūẅdas*[2]	*eïtditdas*
2. *eïndas*	*eō'das*
3. *tceïtdas*	*yaïtdas*
3a. *eïtdas*	*yaeïtdas*

Past

Singular	Plural
1. *wūẅdas* (or *wedas*)	*witditdas*
2. *windas*	*wō'das*
3. *tcūwindas*	*yawindas*
3a. *windas*	*yandas*

Syntactic Particles (§§ 79-86)

§ 79. *Personal Pronouns*

The personal pronouns in their independent form are used chiefly for emphasis and in replying to questions. The incorporation of the object into the verb, and its inflection to show the subject, reduce to the minimum the need of pronouns as independent words.

[1] Let me be heavy.
[2] I become heavy (each season).

The pronoun for the first person singular is *hwe*, which serves for both subject and object. All other Athapascan languages have a word phonetically related to this. In Tolowa the word is *cī;* in Carrier, *sī;* and in Navaho, *cī*. The plural of the first person is *nehe*. It may be used of the speakers when more than one, or of the speaker and the person spoken to. Instead of *hwe* and *nehe*, longer forms (*hweeñ* and *neheeñ*) often occur. These seem to be formed by the addition of the particle *eñ*, which points to a person, contrasting him with another.

The second person singular is *niñ*, and the plural *nōhin*.

It is probable that originally there was no personal pronoun for the third person, its place being taken by the demonstratives and by incorporated and prefixed forms. In speaking of adult Hupa, when emphasis is required *xōñ* occurs. This appears to be *xō-*, the incorporated and prefixed form, and *eñ* mentioned above. For the plural, *yaxwen* is sometimes heard.

§ 80. *Possessive Pronouns*

Weak forms of the personal pronouns are prefixed to the qualified noun to express possession. For the first and second person, *hwe* and *niñ* are represented by *hw-* and *n-*, which are completed according to the sounds which follow them. The first and second persons plural are represented by one and the same syllable, *nō-*, which may be prefixed without changing its form to any noun. The third person singular has *xō-* prefixed when an adult Hupa is referred to, but *m-* (receiving the same treatment as *hw-* and *n-* above), when the reference is to a Hupa child or very aged person, or to a person of another tribe or race. For animals and inanimate things, *m-* is also sometimes used, but for the former *k-* seems to be more frequent. When the possessor of the object is not known, *k-* is also employed.

A reflexive possessive is used where a chance for ambiguity exists. The form is *ad-* of which *d* is the initial sound of a syllable completed according to the sound which follows it.

§ 81. *Demonstrative Pronouns*

The demonstrative pronouns for the nearer person or object, which must be in sight, are *ded*, *haided*, and *haide*, which do not differ in meaning. The more remote object or person, whether in sight or not, is referred to by *yō* or *haiyō*. Still more remote is *yoū*, which is employed of places rather than of persons.

The Hupa employ *hai* referring to persons or things, singular or plural, in a manner that falls between our use of *that* (the demonstrative) and *the* (the definite article). It is employed before the third person of the possessive where our idiom does not require an article.

§ 82. *Adjective Pronouns*

There are a number of words, equivalent in meaning to ALL, EVERY, SEVERAL, etc., which stand alone, the person or thing limited by them being understood from the context.

The most important of these are the following:

a'tiñ all	*dûñhwee* nobody
a'tinne all people	*dûñhwōᵉ* somebody
a'tinxōᵉûnte everything	*dīhwōᵉ* something
a'tiñkaᵉûnte every kind	*dīhwee* nothing
a'tindiñ every place	*dûnɪûñhwōn* several people
xōdaidehe anything	*dûñɪûñhwōᵉ* several things

§ 83. *Numerals*

The numerals to four are common to the Athapascan languages, most of which have cognate words for five also. From five to nine the Hupa numerals are not easily analyzed. Ten (*minɪûñ*) means ENOUGH FOR IT. The numerals above ten are made by expressing addition for the numbers lying between the decimal terms and by multiplication for those terms. The meaning of *laᵉitdikkin*, one hundred, is not evident. No higher numbers exist, but the hundreds may be enumerated to a thousand or more.

A special termination is used when enumerating people. This seems to be an old suffix, *-nī* or *-ne*, meaning PEOPLE. Compare *laᵉ* and *lūwûn*, *nax* and *nanin*, *tak* and *takûn*, *diñk* and *diñkin*, and *tcwōlaᵉ* and *tcwōlane*, the numerals from one to five, for things and people respectively.

§84. *Adverbs*

Notwithstanding that place and time relations are freely expressed by means of verbal prefixes, a large number of adverbs are employed. These are for the most part closely connected with demonstrative pronouns in their meaning and the elements from which they are formed. Of the formative elements which do not also occur in demonstratives are those employed in expressing directions. These have a

common initial, *yē-*, which may after all be connected with the pronoun *yō*. The final elements are:

-nûk south or up stream
-deᵋ north or down stream
-dûk east or up a hill
-tsiñ west or down a hill
-mañ the opposite side of a stream or the ocean

Besides the demonstrative source already mentioned, many adverbs are formed from nouns, adjectives, and verbs by means of suffixes indicating place, time, and manner. Some of these suffixes are the following:

-diñ and *-tciñ* (place)
-dûñ and *-diñ* (time)
-ka and *-xō*, *-ûx* (manner)

§ 85. *Post-positions*

The post-positions not only follow the nouns which they limit, but they are joined to pronominal prefixes which stand for the limited noun whether it be expressed or not. The most important post-positions follow:

-a for, for the benefit of
-eᵋ in
-ēdin without, lacking
-an out of
-ū under, near
-ye at the foot of
-winna around, encircling
-wûñ toward or from
-lan with the help of
-laiᵋ on top
-ʟ with
-na after
-naʟ in the presence of
-nat around
-xa after
-xûts beside
-taˁ among
-tis over
-tûk between
-ka, *-kai* along
-tciñ toward
-tciña in front of
-ka, *-kai* after, following
-kya away from
-kût on

§ 86. *Conjunctions*

The conjunctions in Hupa seem to be made from demonstratives, or adverbs derived from demonstratives. They usually end with the syllable *-ûñ*. For examples compare the following:

haiûñ, *haiyaʟ*, *haiyaʟûñ*, *haiyamiʟ*, *haiyamiʟûñ* } and

haiyahitdjitûñ, *haiyadetc* } and then

§ 87. Character of Sentence

The Hupa sentence expresses place and direction with very great minuteness and care. This is done both by the prefixes of the verb and by independent adverbs and adverbial phrases. In actual use these sentences are also accompanied by many gestures which might in themselves indicate all that is needful. That the act is repeated, is always stated, and frequently with redundancy, an adverb being employed in addition to the iterative prefix which the verb contains. Usually great care is taken, in making quotations, to state definitely who said or thought the matter quoted. Sequence of time is amply expressed, but other relations are often left to be inferred.

One hesitates to say whether the sentences are all very short or that there are none, but paragraphs instead. One short statement follows another, usually co-ordinate with it but still closely connected in the temporal sequence which carries with it purpose, cause, and result. The synthetic, holophrastic verb is often complete in itself, the other words in the sentence being employed to add distinctness or emphasis.

The greater burden in a Hupa discourse is on the speaker, who expresses with great exactness most of the concepts and their relations, leaving little to be inferred by the listener. Some of the younger generation, who are nearly or quite bilingual, employ Hupa in giving directions about work to be done, or in relating events in which they wish place-relations to be plain, but English for ordinary social discourse.

§ 88. Character of Vocabulary

The vocabulary of Hupa, although it contains words of considerable length, is not far from monosyllabism. It contains many monosyllabic nouns and particles, but a much larger number of polysyllabic verbs, and nouns and other parts of speech derived from verbs. These long words, however, are made up of elements possessed for the most part of great clearness of form and meaning. On the other hand, some of the monosyllables other than nouns and pronouns lack distinctness of meaning, and in some cases of form. In writing the language there is difficulty, therefore, to know just what should constitute a word, and whether certain elements are to be taken with the word before them or the one after them. In a language in which the accent is strong, words are set off from each other by it. In Hupa

the accent is not strong, and in most cases does not belong to the word, but to the sentence.

Nouns and pronouns are clear cut. They are capable of calling up definite and complete mental visions without the aid of associated words and word-elements. The large number of monosyllabic nouns in Hupa, and the still larger number in related languages, which do not occur in Hupa, points to the fact that the original form of Athapascan nouns was monosyllabic. Monosyllabic nouns have given place to polysyllabic ones in Hupa constantly for years, perhaps for centuries. This may have been due to the pleasure which the Hupa find in poetical descriptive names, but it was certainly due, in part, to the dropping of nouns out of the language at the death of persons who had had them for names. These dropped words were replaced by longer descriptive words coined for the purpose.

Only one word has been found in the language which appears to be reduplicated. The aboriginal flute is called *milimil* or *milmil* in Hupa, and in related dialects *bûlbûl*. It is possible that some etymology will appear to explain this apparent exception.

Very few words or word-parts seem to be onomatopoetic in their origin. There is a verb, *kyūwindil* IT RANG, the root of which, *-dil*, no doubt represents the sound of striking metals. Another verb closely resembling this is *kyūwiñket*, which is used of the creaking of trees. The sounds of nature which occur may be represented, but they have no other meaning. They do not stand for the thing or animal which makes them: for example, *dil dūwenne* (*dil* IT SOUNDED) is said of an arrow striking the sky; *dûl dūwenne* (*dûl* IT SOUNDED), of a ball of wood striking a wall of obsidian; and *ka ka dūwenne* (*ka ka* IT SAID), of the cawing of a crow.

For the most part, both the monosyllabic words and the elements of the longer words are to all appearances the ultimate facts of the language. They express fundamental concepts and relations, which are no more resolvable into parts than are the syllables which express them. These elements, simple words, roots, prefixes, and suffixes, are not very numerous (probably less than a thousand), but the combinations of which they are capable are very great. Many combinations theoretically possible are not logically possible, and of these only those for which there was a frequent need in the life of the people really existed as words.

TEXT

THE MEᵋDILDIÑ POOR MAN

Meᵋdildiñ [1]	dedin [2]	tcitteʟtcwenᵋ [3]	haiûñ [4]	kitt̲ēkin [5]	nikkyaō [6]	
Medildiñ	poor	he grew.	And	spoon	large	
tciʟᵋan [7]	haiûñ [4]	takeïmmil [8]	haiûñ [4]	ʟaaiūx [9]	hai [10]	xōkitt̲ēkin [11]
he had.	And	she used to make soup.	And	at once	the	his spoon
miʟ [12]	yaaqōt [13]	haiyō [14]	takeïmmil [8]	miʟ [15]	yaaxauw̲ [16]	haiûñ [4]
with	he used to poke up,	that one.	She used to make soup	then	he used to dip it up.	And
aiwe [17]	xōwûñ [18]	wakinnint̲ats [19]	haiyaʟ [20]	yauw̲xauw̲ [21]	tcōndesne [22]	
away	from him	he cut a hole through.	And,	"Let me dip it up,"	he thought.	
ʟaaiūx [9]	xō' [23]	waniñqōts [24]	tcinneʟen [25]	hai	xōkitt̲ēkin	ʟaaiūx [9]
And	in vain	it ran through.	He looked at	the	his spoon.	At once

[1] *meᵋdil* CANOE; *-diñ* locative suffix, PLACE OF or PLACE AT (§§ 21, 84).

[2] *dedin* POOR, not having possessions.

[3] *tci-* sign of 3d per. sing. (§ 33); *-te-* prefix, distributive as regards time or place (§ 34); *-ʟ*, 3d modal in verbs, mostly transitives (§ 37); *-tcwen* verbal root, TO MAKE, TO DO, TO GROW; class II, con. 3, 3d per. sing.

[4] *hai-* probably the article; *-úñ* termination common to temporal adverbs and conjunctions.

[5] *kit-* possessive prefix used of animals (§ 80); *-t̲ē* HORN, the spoon was of horn.

[6] *nik-* one of the prefixes of adjectives (§ 76); *-kyaō* root of adjective LARGE; compare *tōwiñkyaū* (note 125).

[7] *tci-*, *-ʟ*, see note 3; *-ᵋan* verbal root meaning TO HAVE POSITION, hence the notion of possession.

[8] *ta-*, prefix employed of soup-making, drinking, probably connected with *tō* WATER (§ 31); *-ke-* prefix, weak in form and of little force in meaning, it is connected with verbs requiring repeated motions for a single act (§ 34); *-ï-* sign of customary tense (§ 34); *-mil* verbal root meaning TO LET FALL OR TO THROW SEVERAL SMALL OBJECTS OF THE SAME OR DIFFERENT KINDS, probably the cooking-stones in this case; class II, con. 1, cust., 3d per. sing.

[9] *ʟa-*, the numeral ONE. There is an element of surprise at the quickness of the act.

[10] *hai*, the article is always employed with the possessive third person.

[11] *xō-* possessive prefix of 3d per. sing. or pl., employed only of adult Hupa; see also note 5.

[12] *mi-* pronominal prefix of 3d per. sing. when adult Hupa are not meant; *-ʟ* post-position WITH.

[13] *ya-* prefix used of motion up into, or horizontally through, the air (§ 31); *-a-* sign of customary tense, *a* is due to the preceding *a* of *ya; -qōt* a verbal root used of pushing something into a yielding mass; class I, con. 1, cust., 3d per. sing.

[14] *hai-* the article; *-yō* a demonstrative used of the more remote.

[15] *miʟ* probably the same as in note 12, above; it is often used of time.

[16] *ya-*, *-a* see note 13; *-xauw̲* verbal root referring to water or a liquid; class I, con. 1, cust., 3d per. sing.

[17] *aiwe* AWAY, AT A DISTANCE, NOT IN THE PRESENCE OF; no connection with other words has been found.

[18] *xō-* pronominal prefix of 3d per.; *-wûñ* post-position used of motion toward or away from, according to the context.

[19] *wa-* prefix meaning THROUGH (§ 31); *-kin-* 1st modal prefix of uncertain meaning (§ 34); *-nin-* 2d modal of completed action (§ 35); *-t̲ats* verbal root TO CUT; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

[20] *hai-* probably the article; *-ya-* with *hai-* it forms an adverb there; *-ʟ* perhaps the post-position (see note 12).

[21] *ya-* see note 13; *-ūw̲* sign of 1st per. sing.; class II, con. 1, pres. indef., 1st per. sing.

[22] *te-* deictic 3d per. sing.; *-s-* 2d modal indicating progressive action; *-ne* verbal root, TO THINK; irregular verb, past def., 3d per. sing.

[23] *xō'* indicates that whatever was attempted failed; it is to be construed with *yauw̲xauw̲* (see note 16).

[24] *wa-*, *-niñ* see note 19; *-qōts* verbal root.

[25] *te-* deictic 3d per. sing.; *neʟ-* contraction of *-nūwiʟ* of which *-nū-* is a 1st modal prefix of uncertain meaning and *-wiʟ-* has *w*, 2d modal of inceptive action, and *ʟ*, 3d modal of transitive force; *-en* verbal root meaning TO LOOK; class II, con. 1, past def., 3d per. sing.

yōneyīdûka[26] miL xeekiLtseL[27] Laaiūx innaïsdûkk̲ai[28] Laaiūx
back of the fire up / from / he threw it away. / At once / he got up. / At once

mitdaiᵋ[29] tceniñyai[30] haiûñ hai xōtaᵋ[31] haiyō xōLdūwenne[32]
outside / he went out. / Then / the / his father / that one / said of him,

yeū[33] na tceniñyai[30] mûñk̲ûtnikkyaō[34] haiûñ wûñ[35] xoikyûñ[36]
"Way / across / he has gone out / Mûñk̲ûtnikkyaō." / And / about it / his mind

nañya[37] hai axōLtcitdenne[38] taistsēᵋ[39] mûxxa[40] tcittesyai[41] haiûñ
studied / that / he had said of him. / Sweathouse wood / after it / he went. / And

xōLtelit.[42] xōLnōnillit[43] miL yisxûñhit[44] xûLedûñ adenne xaᵋ[45]
with him it burned. / With him it finished burning / then / the next day / in the morning / he said, / "Well

hwa[46] miñ wiñyaL[47] hai daiditdiñ[48] haidaid tceïLauw̲[49] haiûñ
me / for it come along." / The / (explanation was) / there / it always came out. / Then

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[26] *yōn-* the seat of honor back of the fire, CORNER; *yī-* a prefix common to names of direction; *-dûk* together with *yī-*, has the meaning of UP HILL and the derived meaning of EAST. The word as a whole applies to the bank back of the fire, where the belongings of the men are kept.

[27] *xee-* prefix meaning AWAY FROM, used with verbs of throwing; *-k-* first modal; *-iL-* third modal; *-tseL* verbal root, TO THROW, TO POUND; class II, con. 1, past def., 3d per. sing.

[28] *in-* prefix of uncertain meaning, but employed of the act of rising from a reclining position: *-na-* prefix of iteration; *-is-* 2d modal of durative force; *-dûk-*, *d* 3d modal; *-k̲ai* verbal root of acts performed with the legs (or other long instrument); class III, con. 3, past def., 3d per. sing.

[29] *mitdaiᵋ* the space in front of the house; *mit-* is probably the possessive prefix; compare *mittsitda* (see note 131).

[30] *tce-* prefix meaning OUT OF; *-yai* verbal root TO GO, used only in singular; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

[31] *-taᵋ* FATHER, not used without a possessive prefix.

[32] *xō-* indirect object 3d per. sing.; *-ne* verbal root TO SAY, TO SING, TO MAKE A NOISE; irreg. past def., 3a per. sing.

[33] *yeū* adverb, probably from a demonstrative stem, employed of the most remote.

[34] *mûñk̲ût* LAKE; *-nikkyaō* compare note 6. This is the name given to Trinity Summit, a mountain of 6,500 feet elevation east of Hupa valley.

[35] *wúñ* post-position which does not have a pronominal prefix for 3d per. sing., except when an adult Hupa is referred to.

[36] *-kyûñ* HEART or VITALS, the organ of cogitation.

[37] *na-* perhaps meaning DOWN, FROM ABOVE, is employed of things coming into existence; *-ya* verbal root TO GO, TO COME; class I, con. 1, past def., 3a per. sing.

[38] *a-* prefix found with verbs of thinking, saying, and doing.

[39] *tais-* probably connected with *tai-* of *taikyūw̲; -tsēᵋ* BRUSH, SMALL SHRUBS.

[40] *mûx-* pronominal prefix of which only *m-* is constant, the remainder of the syllable depending on the sound which follows; *-xa* post-position, AFTER.

[41] *tcit-* deictic, 3d per. sing.; *-te-* distributive prefix; *-s-* 2d modal of durative action; *-yai* TO GO; class I, con. 3, past def., 3d per. sing.

[42] *-lit* verbal root TO BURN, in an intransitive sense only; class I, con. 3, past def., 3a per. sing.

[43] *-nō-* prefix indicating the coming to a stop or end; *-nil-* for *-nin-*; class I, con. 2, past def., 3a per. sing.

[44] *yisxûñ-* apparently a verb, of which *yi-* deictic 3d per. sing. (not an adult Hupa), *-s-* 2d modal, and *-xûñ* the root; compare *yisxan* DAY ; *-hit* conjunctional suffix WHEN.

[45] *xaᵋ* seems to terminate a discussion and attract attention to some proposition. It is also used to give assent to a proposition.

[46] *hw̲-* pronominal prefix of 1st per. sing.; *-a* post-position meaning IN THE INTEREST OF, FOR THE BENEFIT OF.

[47] *w-* prefix found in a few presents where the inception of the act is in the mind of the speaker (compare § 28); *-iñ-* sign of 2d per. sing.; *-ya-* verbal root TO GO; *-L* suffix indicating the continuation of the act over space; class I, con. 1, imp. 2d per. sing.

[48] *daiditdiñ*, the meaning of this word as a whole is more apparent than that of its parts. It is employed to introduce the explanation of a mystery. The first syllable, *dai-* or *daid-*, is apparently the element which gives the indefiniteness to interrogative and indefinite pronouns.

[49] *tce-* the prefix mentioned in *tceniñyai* (see note 30), but here it is used of coming out of the surrounding forest into a glade; *-auw̲* verbal root connected with *-atc* UNDULATING MOVEMENT, as of a herd.

hai	xōLiñ	aLtcitdenne[50]	xa$^{\epsilon}$	hwa	miñ	wiñyaL	xatehe[51]	xōsōLwe[52]
the	his brother	he told,	"Well	me	for it	come along."	"Well then,	let it kill him

hai	dīhwō$^{\epsilon}$[53]	niñ	eñ[54]	neskiñ	nax	tak	iLtciñ[55]	kisxan[56]
the	something.	You	it is	firs	two	three	together	stand

mittûk[57]	yeïlLane$^{\epsilon}$[58]	haiûñ	tcittesdeL[59]	mûñkûtnikkyaō	xaïsdeL[60]
between them	you must run in."	Then	they started.	Mûñkûtnikkyaō	they went up.

Lōmatckûttciñ[61]	tcenindeL[62]	haiya	mikkyaqōttse[63]	naLauw[64]
Lōmatckûttciñ	they came out.	There	elks	were about

hai	Lōkût[65]	haiûñ	axōLtcitdenne	niñ	dikkyûñ[66]	minna[67]
the	glade on.	Then	he said to him,	"You	here	around

sindañ[68]	hwe	yeū	kai	wûnnaiwedate[69]	haiûñ	yaixōLtcwen[70]
you stay.	I	distant	along	I will sit for them."	Then	they smelled him.

xōkyatciñ[71]	teLatc[72]	xōkût	danakindīyan[73]	haiûñ	tak	tceseLwen[74]
From him	they ran,	on him	they ran.	Then	three	he killed

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[50] *aLtcitdenne* the form used in speaking to children or non-Hupa adults. Compare *axōLtcitdenne* (see note 38), which is the form ordinarily employed in speaking to adults.

[51] *xa-* probably the same as *xa* discussed in note 45; *-te-* is unknown; *-he* is used of concessions and negations which are sweeping.

[52] *xō-* the object; *-s-* a prefix found in this verb only; *-ō-* regularly indicates 3d per. of imp.; *-L-* 3d modal; *-we* verbal root TO KILL (this form of it occurs in pres. indef. and imp.), compare *-wen* in *tceseLwen* (see note 74).

[53] *dī-* probably connected with the demonstrative stem *dc; -hwō$^{\epsilon}$* suffix often employed to give indefiniteness. This word is often used to avoid a word of ill omen.

[54] *eñ* is employed to point a contrast.

[55] *iL* has a reciprocal force; *-tciñ* post-position, TOWARD.

[56] *-xan* verbal root employed of the standing position of trees.

[57] *mit-* pronominal prefix; *-tûk* post-position BETWEEN.

[58] *ye-* prefix INTO, the correlative of *tce-; -l* 3d modal (*-ñ-* sign of 2d per. sing. is dropped before it); *-La* verbal root TO RUN (the past has *-Lat*); *-nc$^{\epsilon}$* suffix, often found in the imperative, having the force of duty or necessity; class IV, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.

[59] *-deL* verbal root TO GO, used only of the dual or plural. Compare *tcittesyai* (see note 41); class I, con. 3, past def., 3d per. dual.

[60] *xa-* prefix UP, here UP A HILLSIDE; the deictic *tcit-*, is not used after *xa-*); class I, con. 3, past def., 3d per. dual.

[61] *Lō* monosyllabic noun GRASS, LEAF; *-ma-* probably BORDER; *-tc-* diminutive suffix; *-kût-* UPON; *-tciñ* locative suffix TOWARD.

[62] Compare *tceniñyai* (see note 30), the singular. This is the dual.

[63] *mik-* possessive prefix; *-kya-* ANTLERS; *-qōttse* SHARP, POINTED (?).

[64] *na-* prefix used of indefinite motion over the ground. Compare *tceiLauw* (see note 49).

[65] *Lō-* GRASS; *-kût* ON.

[66] The position of the speaker. Compare *haiya*, the more remote position.

[67] *min-* pronominal prefix; *-na* post-position AROUND, ABOUT.

[68] *s-* prefix found in the present of a few verbs (compare *-s-* 2d modal prefix); *-da* verbal root TO SIT, TO REMAIN; *-ñ* suffix, perhaps from *-nc$^{\epsilon}$* (see note 58).

[69] *wûn-* prefix used of pursuit or attempted action; *-w-* 2d modal of inceptive force; *-e-* sign of 1st per. sing., found only in the definite tenses, *-da-* verbal root TO SIT; *-te* suffix used to express the future.

[70] *yai-* sign of plural, employed of animals, etc. (for adult Hupa *-ya-* is used); *-xō-* object; *-tcwen* verbal root TO SMELL, it has *L* preceding it when the verb is transitive, but does not have it when it is intransitive; class II, con. 1, past def., 3a per. pl.

[71] *xō-* pronominal prefix; *-kya-* post-position AWAY FROM; *-tciñ* locative suffix.

[72] *-ate* verbal root TO MOVE IN AN UNDULATING LINE. It is employed of the motion of a pack-train. The verb is singular, since the band as a whole is the subject. Class II, con 3, past def., 3a per. sing.

[73] *dia-* prefix which literally means ON SOMETHING HIGHER THAN THE GROUND, perhaps figurative here, *-kin-* of uncertain force; *-dī-* 3d modal; *-yan* verbal root used of the movements of deer and elk; class III, con 1d, past def , 3a per. sing.

[74] *tce-* sign of 3d per , a variant for *tsis-* and *tcis-* found in *tsisseLwen, tcisseLwen* (below); *-seL-, se-* is the prefix mentioned in note 68, *-s-* 2d modal, is dropped before *L* 3d modal; *-wen* verbal root TO KILL; class II, con. 3, past def., 3d per. sing.

mikkyaqōttse haiûñ Lenaiyanillai[75] haiya xōk̲ût yalweL[76] haiûñ
elks. Then they built a fire. There on them it became night. Then

xōLiñ axōLtcitdenne dikkyûñ tcin[77] dōñ dōxōlwil[78] xaᵉ naidiL[79]
his brother he said to him, "Here they say it is no one spends the night. Come let us go home.

menesgit[80] hai dikkyûñ nehelweLte[81] haiûñ dûnLûñhw̲ōdiñ[82]
I am afraid." "The here we will spend the night." Then several times

axōLtcitdenne yūdiñhit[83] xōtciñ tcūwintcwū[84] axōLtcinne[85] miL
he said it to him. Finally on his account he cried. He kept telling him with

naidiL haiûñ k̲ût wilweL xōtesdūhw̲en[86] haiûñ kittewestceᵉ[87]
"Let us go home." Then already it was night. It grew dark. Then the wind blew.

yūdiñhit axōLtcitdenne xaᵉ tcwitc Lekilla[88] k̲ût ainūwinsen[89]
Finally he said to him, "Well, firewood gather. Already you have decided,

hw̲elweLte[90] haiûñ k̲ût Leyakillau[91] Lenayanillai xōhw̲ōw̲[92]
'I will spend the night.'" Then already they gathered it. They built a fire. Some way

akitdūwenne[93] xōwinLit[94] haiyahitdjit haiyō adenne xaᵉ naidiL dau[95]
it sounded. It thundered. And then that one said, "Well, let us go home." "No,"

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[75] *Le-* prefix employed of motion mutually toward or position near each other; *-nai-* (*na*) iterative prefix often employed of habitual acts; *-ya-* sign of plural; *-nil-* for *-nin-* because of the following *l*; *lai* verbal root employed of moving or handling more than one object; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. pl. The fire may have been ceremonial for the dressing of the elk.

[76] *ya-* sign of plural; *-l-* 3d modal, often of passive force; *-weL* form of a verbal root indicating the passing of the night. The verb may be considered as an active form with the object prefixed, the subject being some natural element or supernatural being, or as a passive form of which the subject is the young men in question.

[77] Of uncertain derivation, but probably connected with the root *-ne -n* TO SPEAK.

[78] *dō-* negative prefix; *-wil* form of the verbal root discussed above.

[79] *na-* iterative prefix used here with the meaning of returning whence they had set out; *-diL* verbal root TO GO, other forms of it are *-dil* and *-deL* (see note 59); class I, con. 3, pres. indef., 1st per. dual.

[80] *me-* object; *-ncs-*, of which *n-* is a prefix of uncertain meaning, and *-s-*, 2d modal (some sign for the first person singular would be expected, but a number of verbs have the first and third persons alike in form); *-git* verbal root TO FEAR; class IV, con. 3, pres. def., 1st per. sing.

[81] *nche-* object US, or subject of passive WE.

[82] *dûn-* stem or prefix found in expressions meaning SEVERAL OR NONE; *-Lúñ* MANY, MUCH; *-hw̲ōᵉ* expresses uncertainty or indefiniteness; *-diñ* locative suffix, but in numbers means TIMES.

[83] *yū-* probably connected with the demonstrative stem *yō; -diñ* locative suffix common with adverbs of time and place; *-hit* conjunctional suffix THEN.

[84] *-tcwū* verbal root TO CRY, TO WEEP.

[85] *-tcin-*, *tcem-* would be expected, but the verb is quite irregular; *-ne* verbal root TO SAY; irreg., cust., 3d per. sing.

[86] *xō-* prefix giving absolute and impersonal force to the verb, used especially of weather conditions; *-te-* distribution; *-s-* 2d modal; *-d-* 3d modal; *-hw̲en* verbal root, no doubt connected with *-hw̲in* in *Lūhw̲in* BLACK.

[87] *kit-* prefix always found with the blowing of the wind, it may give the idea of continuousness to the act; *-we-* formative element which gives a durative force to verbs, especially in the passive; *-tcᵉ* verbal root indicating the action of the wind.

[88] *Le-* see note 75; *-ki-* perhaps giving the force of local distribution; *-l-* for *-n* on account of the following *l*; *-la* shorter form of the verbal root *-lau* (see note 91); class I, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.

[89] *ai-* appparently the same prefix which occurs in *axōLtcitdenne* (below); *-nū-* prefix of unknown force; *-sen* verbal root TO THINK, other forms of it are *-siñ, -ne;* irreg. class I, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.

[90] *hw̲e-* object or subject ME or I.

[91] *-kil-* contraction for *-kūwil-*; *-lau*, verbal root; class I, con. 1, past def., 3d per. sing.

[92] *xō-* WAY OR MANNER; *-hw̲ōw̲*, compare *dihw̲ōᵉ* (see note 53).

[93] *-kit-* employed in the place of *-tcit-* when the subject is some unknown agent

[94] *xō-* see note 92. *-Lit* verbal root employed of noises such as a footfall This verb in its impersonal form is used for the noise of the earthquake as well as of thunder.

[95] Evidently connected with *dō-* the negative prefix.

tcitdenne[96] k̲ût dañ xō' ûnniLdenne[97] naidiL dōmûkkainasiñ'a[98]
he said, "already some time ago in vain I said to you, 'Let us go home.' You did not want to."

haiûñ kīye anakitdenne[99] xōdjōx[100] xûndiñ haiyahitdjit xōwûñ
Then again it sounded still closer. And then for him

xōdje[101] tcōnda'[102] axōLtcitdenne nax hai neskin mittûk yeïlLane'
his mind was sorry. He said to him, "Two the firs between you must run in

hai dikkyûñ nōniñxûts[103] miL haiûñ kût nōltō'n[104] miL hai
the here it lights when." And already it dropped. Then the

neskin mittûk yexōñan[105] haiyō nōltō'n Laaiūx yīkyūwiñyan[106]
firs between they ran in. That one lit. Immediately it began to eat

hai mikkyaqōttse Laaiūx yinneLyan[107] haiyahitdjit Laaiūx xō'
the elks. Really it ate them up. And then at once in vain

xaiteñen[108] yīxōLtsan[109] xōk̲ûttciñ yaltō'n Laaiūx hai neskiñ
it looked for them. It found them. On them it jumped. Really the firs

minnaikitdelai[110] haiûñ xō' mûkk̲ût danadūwiL'al[111] yūdiñhit a'tiñ
it embraced. Then in vain at it he shot. Finally all

tcekinniñits[112] haiyaL hai xōLiñ aLtcitdenne nittsitdûkana'we[113]
he shot out. And the his brother he told, "Your quiver

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[96] Note the omission of the prefix *a-* when the object stands directly before a verb of saying or thinking.

[97] *ûn-* the form *a-* takes when followed by *n; -niL-* indirect object of 2d per. sing. Compare *-xōL-* in *axōLtcitdenne* (below). These indirect objects are really adverbial phrases containing a post-position rendered in full by WITH YOU.

[98] *dō-* negative prefix; *-mûk-* pronominal prefix; *-k̲ai-* post-position AFTER; *-na-* prefix OVER THE SURFACE OF THE GROUND; *-s-* 2d modal; *-iñ-* sign of 2d per. sing.; *-'a* verbal root TO HAVE IN ONE'S POSSESSION. The literal meaning of this phrase is said to be, YOU DID NOT CARRY AFTER IT IN YOUR HAND.

[99] *-na-* iterative prefix. Compare *akitdenne* (see note 93), employed of the first occurrence.

[100] *xōdj-* probably for *xōtc* RIGHT, EXACT, *tc* having become *dj* because of their change from final to initial position.

[101] *xō-* possessive prefix; *-djc* MIND.

[102] *-da'* verbal root TO WASTE AWAY.

[103] *nō-* prefix denoting a position of rest on the surface of the ground; *-niñ-* 2d modal required by *-nō-*; *-xûts* verbal root TO PASS THROUGH THE AIR.

[104] *-tō'n* verbal root TO JUMP, TO ALIGHT. As is usual with Hupa verbs, the root defines the kind of act without reference to the fact of its beginning or ending, which is expressed by prefixes. Class IV con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

[105] *-xō-* prefix of unknown meaning; *-an* verbal root TO RUN, used of dual and plural only; compare *yeïlLane'* (p. 155); class I, con. 1, past def., 3d per. dual.

[106] *yī-* deictic of the third person when not a Hupa adult; *-kyū-* 1st modal prefix used when the object is not known or not definitely named; *-yan* verbal root TO EAT; class I, con. 1, past def., 3a per. sing.

[107] *-neL-* contraction for *-nūwiL-*, of which the prefix evidently has reference to the completion of the act; class II, con. 1, past def., 3a per. sing.

[108] *xa-* prefix indicating PURSUIT or SEARCH (the form *xai-* is due to the subject not being an adult Hupa); *tcī-* probably a contraction for *-tūwiñ-*; *-'n* verbal root TO LOOK; class I, con. 1, past def., 3a per sing.

[109] *-xō-* object; *-L-* 3d modal; *-tsan* verbal root TO SEE, TO FIND; class II, con. 4, past, 3a per. sing.

[110] *min-* pronominal prefix; *-nai-* post-position AROUND; *-lai* verbal root apparently connected with *la* HAND. It was explained that the wings had teeth on them; these the bird drove into the tree with great force.

[111] *da-* prefix POSITION HIGHER THAN THE EARTH, *-nadū-* indicating a position perpendicular as regards some plane; *-'a-* verbal root TO HAVE POSITION; *-l* suffix denoting repeated acts.

[112] *tce-* prefix OUT OF; *-kin-* prefix used of acts completed, the means being exhausted; *-its* verbal root TO SHOOT; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

[113] *nit-* possessive prefix, *-tsildûkana'we* THE QUIVER OF FISHER-SKIN; *-na-* prefix OVER THE SURFACE OF THE GROUND; *-we* verbal root TO CARRY.

hwūwûLwûL[114] haiyaL xōwaïLwaL[115] yūdiñhit xōLûkai[116] tesyayei[117]
throw to me." And he threw it to him. Finally dawn came

xōa'tindiñ yūdiñhit naxaits[118] naᵉtses nōndīyan[119] haiyahitdjit
everywhere. At last two only arrows were left. And then

missaᵉkiñits[120] haiyahitdjit naltsit[121] tsisseLwen haiyaL tcenaïndeL
he shot in its mouth. And then it fell. He killed it. And they came out.

natesdeL kût tcisseLwen haiya medildiñ naïndeL a'tiñkaᵉûnte[122]
They started home. Already he killed it. There Medildiñ they arrived. All kinds

ada[123] tcittesᵉan[124] haiûñ La tōwiñkyaū[125] yaxōLtcitdenne medil
for himself he came to own. Then once the river was high. They said to him, "Canoe

taïntūw[126] hai dōhexōtcōyawenne[127] xō' wûnnayaïsdeL[128]
take out of the water." The he did not do it. In vain they tried.

dōhetayaïstan[129] haiya xanaïsdeL haiûñ Lūwûnniñ[130] tceniñyai
They did not take it out. There they came up again. Then alone he went out.

hai medil xaïstan taikyūw mittsitdaᵉ[131] datcūwintan haiyûka
The canoe he brought up. Sweat-house its roof he put it on. This way

kitteseōx anūweste[132]
smart his nature was.

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[114] *hwū-* indirect object; *-wûL-* from the prefix *-wa-* (used of handing an object to any one) and *L* 3d modal, *a* becomes *û* in 2d per. sing., probably because of the accent; *-wûL*, verbal root TO THROW A LONG OBJECT; class II, con. 2, 2d per. sing. imp.

[115] *xō-* indirect object; *-iL*, *-niL* would be expected; *-waL* another form of the root in *hwūwûLwûL*; class II, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

[116] *xō-* see note 86 above; *-L-*, prefix found with many adjectives; *-kai* root of adjective WHITE. The "Dawn maiden" is meant by *xōLûkai*.

[117] *-yei* suffix giving emphasis to verb indicating the accomplishment of acts which are gradual, or which require several attempts.

[118] *nax-* TWO; *-aits* limiting suffix ONLY.

[119] *-dī-* 3d modal; *-yan* verbal root used of the position of certain objects, such as baskets, etc.

[120] *mis-* possessive prefix; *-saᵉ-* MOUTH.

[121] *na-* prefix DOWN; *-l-* 3d modal; *-tsit* verbal root TO FALL.

[122] *a'tiñ-* ALL; *-ka-* suffix with adjectives and adverbs, KIND, WAY; *-te* verbal root TO APPEAR, TO HAVE A CERTAIN NATURE.

[123] *ad-* reflexive pronoun; *-a* post-position FOR. Compare *hwa* (see note 46).

[124] Compare *tciLᵉan*, note 7, p. 153.

[125] *tō-* the more common word for water in Athapascan dialects (in Hupa it is found in compounds and is applied to the ocean); *-kyaū* adjectival root TO BECOME LARGE.

[126] *ta-* prefix OUT OF THE WATER; *-in-* sign of 2d per. sing.; *-tūw-* verbal root employed of long objects only; this form is confined to the indefinite tenses; class I, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.

[127] *dō-* negative prefix; *-he-* adds emphasis to the negation (see note 51, p. 155); *-xō-* not know deictic; *-ne* verbal root TO DO A SPECIFIED ACT; irreg. past def., 3d per. sing.

[128] *wûn-* see note 35.

[129] *-tan* verbal root, another form of *-tūw* (see note 126).

[130] *Lū-* probably from *Laᵉ* ONE.

[131] *nait-* possessive prefix; *-tsitdaᵉ* ROOF (?).

[132] *-wes-* see note 87; *-te* (see note 122).