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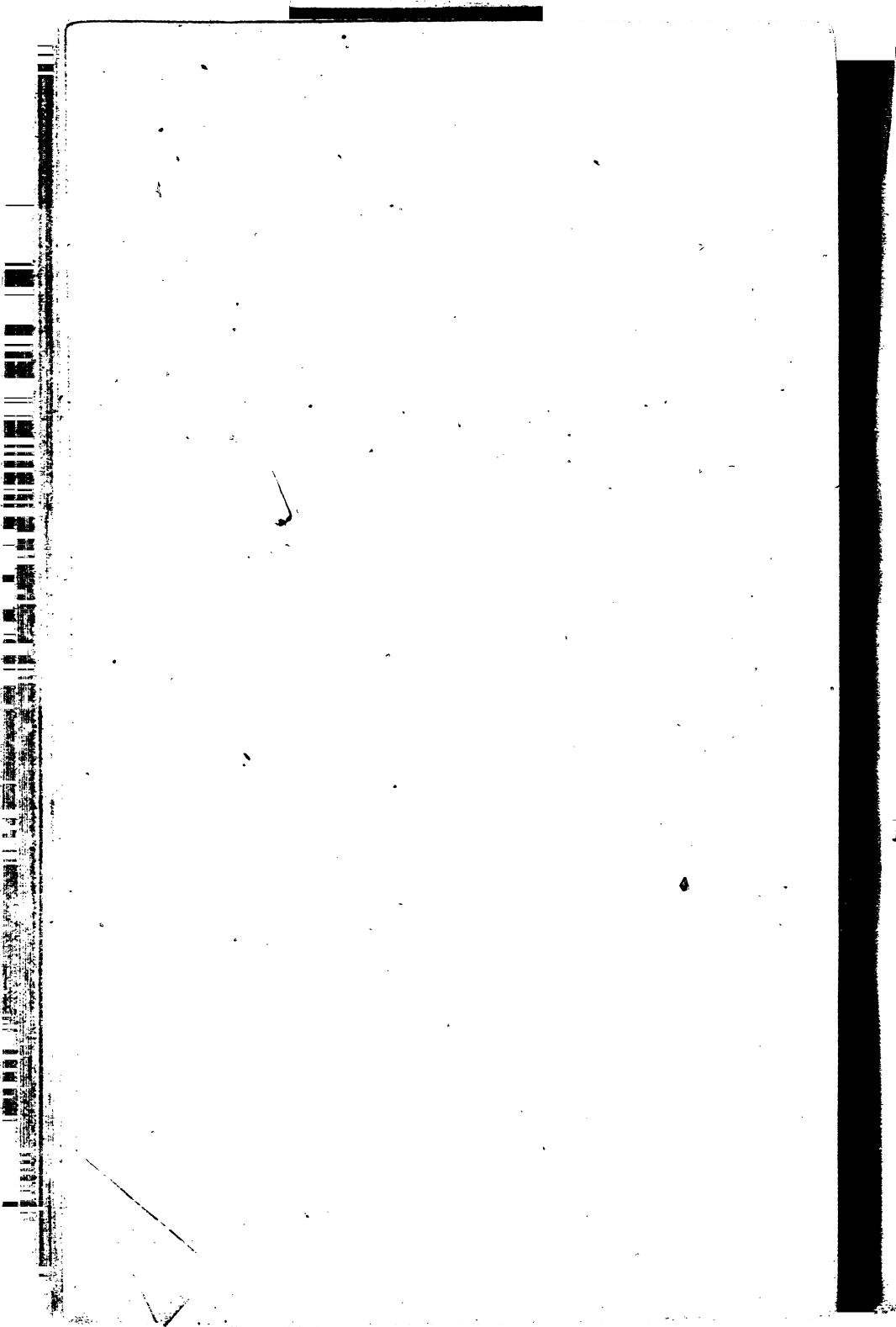
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**British Association for the Advancement  
of Science.**

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE MEETING, 1889.

**FIFTH REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE**

APPOINTED FOR THE PURPOSE OF

INVESTIGATING AND PUBLISHING REPORTS

ON THE

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS, LANGUAGES, AND

INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL CONDITION

OF THE

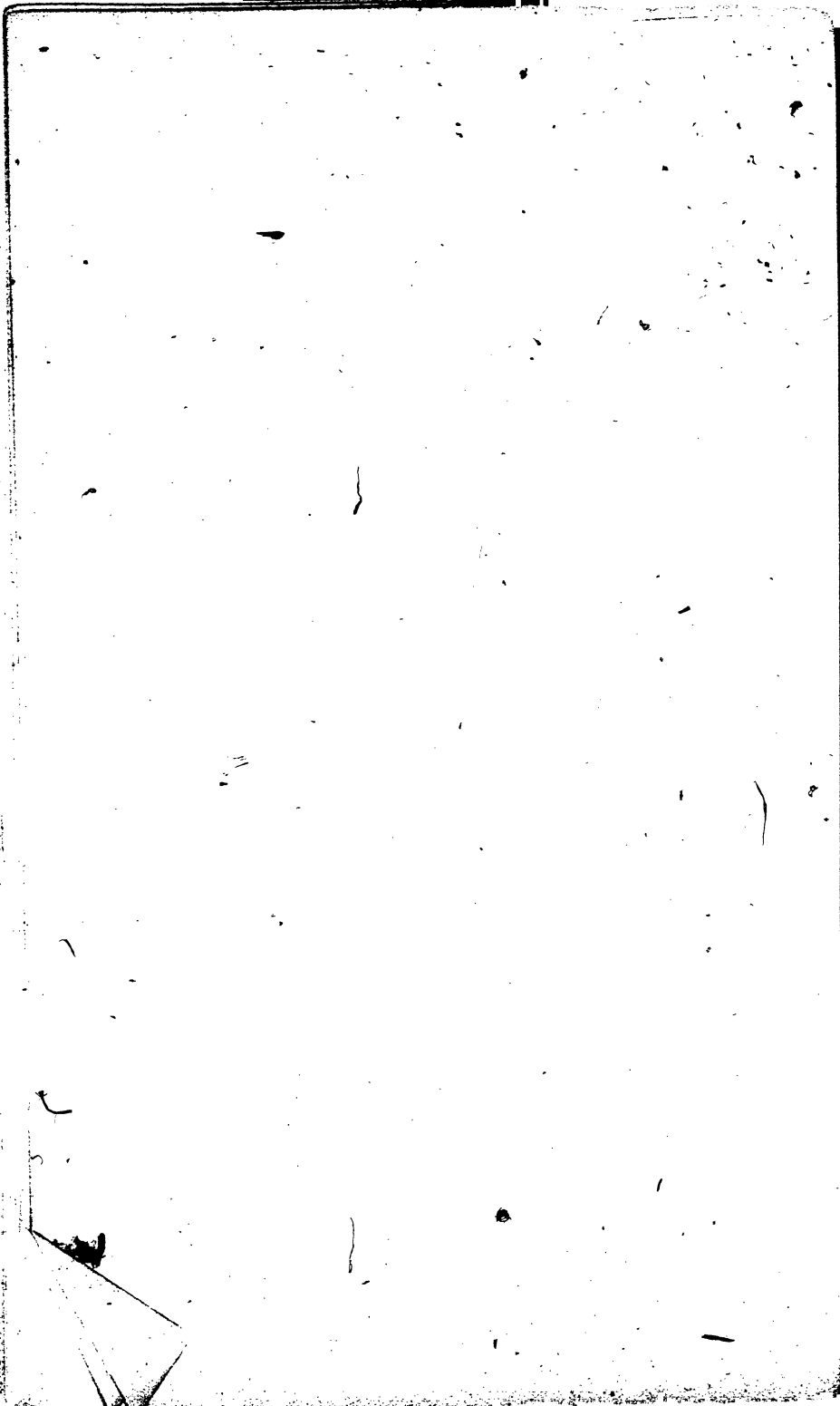
NORTH-WESTERN TRIBES OF THE

DOMINION OF CANADA.

[PLATES I.—VI.]

Office of the Association :

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## British Association for the Advancement of Science.

*Fifth Report of the Committee, consisting of Dr. E. B. TYLOR, Dr. G. M. DAWSON, General Sir J. H. LEFROY, Dr. DANIEL WILSON, Mr. R. G. HALIBURTON, and Mr. GEORGE W. BLOXAM (Secretary), appointed for the purpose of investigating and publishing reports on the physical characters, languages, and industrial and social condition of the North-Western Tribes of the Dominion of Canada.*

[PLATES I.—VI.]

*Remarks on North American Ethnology: Introductory to the Report on the Indians of British Columbia. By HORATIO HALE.*

THE Province of British Columbia offers probably the best field of ethnological research now to be found in North America. This distinction is due to two circumstances, each of much importance. The one is the fact that the tribes of this Province have thus far suffered less displacement and change from foreign influences than those of any other region. They still for the most part occupy their original seats, and they retain to a large extent their primitive customs and beliefs. The other circumstance, and one of special scientific interest, is the great number of linguistic stocks, or families of languages, which are found in the Province. There are, as will appear from the report and map, no less than eight of these stocks, being twice as many as now exist in the whole of Europe.

The importance of this fact will be appreciated if we bear in mind that in America the linguistic stock is the universally accepted unit of ethnological classification. It is not that the physical distinctions which have elsewhere been proposed as the basis of classifications are lacking on this continent. On the contrary, they are markedly apparent. In colour the difference is great between the fair-skinned Haidas and Tsimshians of the northern coasts and islands, and the swarthy, almost black, natives of Southern California. Even more notable is the difference between the short, squat, broad-faced, and coarse-featured members of the coast tribes of Oregon and British Columbia, and the tall, slender, oval-visaged Indians of the interior. The striking differences of cranial measurement are shown in Sir Daniel Wilson's work on 'Prehistoric Man.' Hair varying from coarse, straight, and black to fine, brown, and curly; eyes with horizontal and eyes with oblique openings; noses in some tribes aquiline, and in others depressed, show varieties as great as those of colour, stature, and cranial outlines. These and other physical distinctions, however, have not been accepted by any scientific inquirer in America of late years as grounds of classification of the native tribes, for the simple  
Section H.

reason that they are manifestly due to climatic or other local or casual influences, and cannot be held to indicate any difference of race.

But the distinction of linguistic stocks is radical and profound. The differences which it indicates extend far beyond language, and are displayed in the whole nature and character of the speakers of each language. This fact became apparent to me many years ago, in making for the U.S. Government an ethnographical survey of Oregon and of a part of British Columbia.<sup>1</sup> Its existence perplexed me at the time, as it has since perplexed other investigators; and the question of the origin of so many linguistic stocks, or languages radically and totally distinct, found in so limited a district, has appeared to present a problem of the highest scientific interest.<sup>2</sup>

In an address delivered before the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1886, and published in their volume of 'Proceedings' for that year, I ventured to propose an explanation of the origin, not only of these American languages, but of all stock languages whatsoever, except, of course, the primitive language (whatever it may have been) which was spoken by the first community of the human species. A succinct but clear outline of this theory was given by Professor Sayce in his Presidential Address at the Manchester meeting in 1887. While pointing out what he considered the merits of the theory, Mr. Sayce asked, very reasonably, for more evidence to sustain it than I had been able to include in my brief essay. This evidence I have endeavoured to give in a paper read last year before the Canadian Institute of Toronto, and published in the 'Proceedings' of that society for 1888-89.

With Professor Sayce's address in the hands of the members of the Association, I need only say, briefly, that the theory supposes these isolated idioms to have had their origin in the natural language-making faculty of young children. Many instances of languages thus spontaneously created by children were given; and in my Toronto paper evidence was produced to show that the words and grammar of such languages might, and probably would in many cases, be totally different from those of the parental speech. The fact was pointed out that in the first peopling of every country, when, from various causes, families must often be scattered at very wide distances from one another, many cases must have occurred

<sup>1</sup> 'In the long and narrow section of this continent, included between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, and extending from the country of the Eskimo on the north to the Californian Peninsula on the south, there are found perhaps a greater number of tribes speaking distinct languages than in any other territory of the same size in the world. Not only do these tribes differ in their idioms, but also in personal appearance, character, and usages.'—*United States Exploring Expedition under Charles Wilkes, vol. vii. 'Ethnography and Philology,' by Horatio Hale; 1846; p. 197.*

<sup>2</sup> 'It [the map] brings out in a most striking way the singular linguistic diversity which obtains along the west line of this part of America—a fact for which it is indeed difficult to offer a reasonable explanation, knowing as we do how essentially maritime the coast tribes are in their habits, and how skilled and fearless they are in the management of their excellent canoes. The anomaly appears still greater when we contrast the several clearly defined colonies of the coast with the wide sweep of the languages of the interior of the Province, where from the generally rugged and often densely wooded character of the country, and the turbulent nature of the rivers, intercommunication must have been by comparison extremely difficult.'—*Dr. George M. Dawson: Preface to 'Comparative Vocabularies of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia; with a Map illustrating Distribution,' by Drs. Tolmie and Dawson, 1884, p. 7.*

where two or more young children of different sexes, left by the death of their parents to grow up secluded from all other society, were thus compelled to frame a language of their own, which would become the mother-tongue of a new linguistic stock. This result, it is clear, would only follow in those regions where, from the mildness of the climate and the spontaneous fruitfulness of the soil, young children would be able to find subsistence for themselves through all seasons of the year.

It is evident that, along with their new language, these children and their descendants would have to frame a new religion, a new social policy, and, in general, new customs and arts, except so far as reminiscences of the parental example and teachings might direct or modify the latter. All these conclusions accord precisely with the results of ethnological investigations in America.

It should, however, be borne in mind that, whether the theory which I thus proposed is accepted or not, the fact will still remain that the existence of a linguistic stock involves the absolute certainty that the tribe speaking such a form of language, differing entirely from all other tongues, must have lived for a very long period wholly isolated from all other communities; otherwise this idiom would not have had time to be formed and to become the speech of a tribe sufficiently numerous and strong to maintain its independence. In this long isolation (however it might arise) the tribe would necessarily acquire by continual inter-marriage a peculiar mental character, common to the whole tribe, and with it the modes of thought and the social institutions which are the necessary outcome of such a character. Thus the linguistic stock, whatever its origin, must naturally and necessarily be, as has been said, the proper ethnological unit of classification.

The experience of the able philologists of the American Bureau of Ethnology entirely confirms these views. Special attention, of course, has been given by them to the investigation of the stocks in North America. Mr. J. C. Pilling, of the Bureau, the author of the valuable series of bibliographies of American linguistic stocks now in course of publication, informs me that the number of these stocks in North America (north of Mexico), so far as at present determined, is fifty-eight—a greater number, perhaps, than can be found in the whole eastern hemisphere, apart from Central Africa. Of this number no less than thirty-nine are comprised in the narrow strip of territory west of the Rocky Mountains, which extends from Alaska to Lower California. Why a great number of stocks might naturally be looked for along this coast, with its mild and equable climate, and its shores and valleys abounding in shell-fish, berries, and edible roots, is fully explained in my essays already referred to.

From what has been said it follows that in our studies of communities in the earliest stage, we must look, not for sameness, but for almost endless diversity, alike in languages and in social organisations. Instead of one 'primitive human horde' we must think of some two or three hundred primitive societies, each beginning in a single household, and expanding gradually to a people distinct from every other, alike in speech, in character, in mythology, in form of government, and in social usages. The language may be monosyllabic, like the Khasi and the Othomi; or agglutinative in various methods, like the Mantshu, the Nahuatl, the Eskimo, and the Iroquoian; or inflected, like the Semitic and the Sabaptin. Its forms may be simple, as in the Maya and the Haida, or complex, as in the Aryan, the Basque, the Algonkin, and the Tinneh. The old theo-

retical notion, that the more complex and inflected idioms have grown out of the simpler agglutinative or monosyllabic forms, must be given up as inconsistent with the results of modern researches.

In like manner, we find among primitive communities every form of government and of social institutions—monarchy among the Mayas and the Natchez, aristocracy among the Iroquois and the Kwakintl, democracy among the Algonkins and the Shoshonees, descending almost to pure, though perhaps peaceful, anarchy among the Tinneh, the Eskimo, and various other families. In some stocks we find patriarchal (or 'paternal') institutions, as among the Salish and the Algonkin; in others, matriarchal (or 'maternal'), as among the Iroquoian and the Haida. In some the clan system exists; in others it is unknown. In some exogamy prevails, in others endogamy. In some, women are honoured and have great influence and privileges; in others, they are despised and ill-treated. In some, wives are obtained by capture, in others by courtship, in others by the agreement of the parents. All these various institutions and usages exist among tribes in the same stage of culture, and all of them appear to be equally primitive. They are simply the forms in which each community, by force of the character of its people, tends to crystallise.

We frequently, however, find evidence, if not of internal development, at least of derivation. Institutions, creeds, and customs are in many cases adopted by one stock from another. As there are now 'loan-words' in all languages, so there are borrowed beliefs, borrowed laws, and borrowed arts and usages. Then, also, there are many mixed communities, in which, through the effect of conquest or of intermarriages, the physical traits, languages, and institutions of two or more stocks have become variously combined and intermingled. In short, the study of human societies in the light of the classification by linguistic stocks is like the study of material substances in the light of their classification by the chemical elements. In each case we find an almost infinite variety of phenomena, some primitive and others secondary and composite, but all referable to a limited number of primary constituents: in chemistry, the material elements; in ethnology, the linguistic stocks. Such is the result of the latest investigations, as pursued on the Western Continent, where for the first time a great number of distinct communities, in the earliest social stages, have been exposed to scientific observation, with all their organisation and workings as clearly discernible as those of bees in a glass hive.

The researches of Dr. Boas, while pursued, as will be apparent, without any bias of preconceived theory, will throw much valuable light on the subjects now referred to, as well as on others of equal importance. It should be added that some of the facts which he has gathered, particularly in regard to the tenure of land among the tribes of British Columbia, have a great practical value. This is a point which deserves special mention, as the Canadian Government is now sharing with the Association the expense of these inquiries. Many of the most costly wars which the Colonial Governments have had to wage with the aboriginal tribes in America, New Zealand, and elsewhere have arisen, as is well known, from misunderstandings growing out of the acquisition of land from the natives. The great benefit which accrued to New Zealand, in the improved relations between the natives and the colonists, from the researches of Sir George Grey into the laws, usages, and traditions of the Maori tribes, is a matter of history. The state of affairs in British



Columbia is in some respects remarkably similar to that which prevailed in New Zealand. If the inquiries which have been instituted by the Association shall have the effect of averting a very possible conflict of races, their utility will be very great—one might almost say incalculable. It may be well, therefore, to draw particular attention to some noteworthy facts set forth in Dr. Boas's report. We learn that the land occupied by certain tribes is held, not by the tribe, nor by individuals, but by the clan, or *gens*, which is consequently the only authority able to dispose of it; and, further, that when the land is sold the original owners are still considered by the native law to retain 'the right of fishing, hunting, and gathering berries in their old home.' It is easy to see how, when these native laws and usages are not understood, collisions might at any time arise, in which each party would naturally claim to be in the right. It should, further, be borne in mind that as there are eight distinct stocks in the Province there may possibly be as many distinct systems of land tenure. At all events, it is certain that the tenure among the tribes in which the clan system exists must differ in one important respect from that of the tribes in which it is unknown.

It is evident that, as Dr. Boas suggests, this branch of inquiry is one which deserves to be carefully prosecuted, both for its scientific interest and for the great practical benefit which may result from it.

*First General Report on the Indians of British Columbia.*

By DR. FRANZ BOAS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The following report on the Indians of British Columbia embodies the general results of a reconnaissance made by the writer in the summer of 1888; under the auspices of the Committee of the British Association appointed for the purpose of collecting information respecting the North-Western Tribes of the Dominion of Canada, supplemented by observations made by the author on a previous trip in the winter of 1886-87. A preliminary report was published in the Fourth Report of the Committee. The present report contains the principal results of the author's investigations on the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, and Kootanaqa (Kootanie). His limited time and the preparations for a new journey to British Columbia, undertaken under the auspices of the Committee, did not permit him to study exhaustively the extensive osteological material collected on the previous journeys. For the same reason the linguistic material collected among the Nootka and Kwakiutl is kept back. Besides this it seemed desirable to await the publication of the grammar of the latter language by the Rev. A. J. Hall in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada' before publishing the linguistic notes on the same stock, which are necessarily fragmentary when compared to a grammar drawn up by a student who has lived many years among the Indians speaking that language. The chapters on social organisation, customs, art, and knowledge are also necessarily incomplete. The difficulty of observing or even acquiring information on such points during a flying visit of a fortnight—the maximum time spent among any single tribe—is so overwhelming that no thorough report is possible, and it is almost impossible to guard against serious errors. On account of this difficulty the author has paid great attention to the collection of reports

on historical events and of traditions. In these the peculiar customs and character of a people always appear very clearly, and the facts mentioned in these tales form a valuable starting-point for the observation of customs which would else remain unnoticed. Among tribes who have partly yielded to the influence of the contact with whites they afford a valuable clue to their former customs.

The chapter on 'Arts and Knowledge' has not been treated fully, as the general character of North-West American art is well known, and, in order to give a complete account of the conventionalism of the works of art of these tribes, an exhaustive study is necessary, which the writer has been so far unable to undertake.

The author's researches do not include the Tinneh tribes, some of which are comparatively well known. The Salish languages are merely enumerated, as investigations on this interesting stock are being carried on, and the material in its present shape would require an early revision.

The present report is supplemented by the following papers by the author:—

'Zur Ethnologie von Britisch-Columbien.' Petermann's Mittheilungen, 1887. No 5, with map.

'Mittheilungen über die Bilqûla Indianer.' Original Mittheilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, pp. 177-182, with two plates.

'Die Sprache der Bilqûla.' Verh. anthrop. Ges. Berlin, 1886, pp. 202-206.

'Census and Reservations of the Kwakiutl.' Bull. Am. Geogr. Soc. Sept. 1887.

'On Certain Songs and Dances of the Kwakiutl.' Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, 1888, pp. 49-64.

'Chinook Songs.' Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, 1888, pp. 220-226.

'Die Tsimschian.' Ztschr. für Ethnologie, Berlin, 1888, pp. 231-247.

'The Houses of the Kwakiutl Indians.' Proc. U.S. National Museum, 1888, pp. 197-213.

'Notes on the Snanaimuq.' Am. Anthropologist, Washington, 1889, pp. 321-328.

'The Indians of British Columbia.' Trans. Roy. Soc. of Canada, 1888, Sec. II. pp. 47-57.

'Die Mythologie der nordwestamerikanischen Küstenstämme.' Globus, Braunschweig, 1887-88.

The following alphabet has been used in the report:—

The vowels have their continental sounds, namely: *a*, as in *father*; *e*, like *a* in *mate*; *i*, as in *machine*; *o*, as in *note*; *u*, as in *rule*.

In addition the following are used: *ä*, *ö*, as in German; *ä=aw* in law; *ε=e* in *flower* (Lepsius's *g*).

Among the consonants the following additional letters have been used: *g*, a very guttural *g*, similar to *gr*; *k*, a very guttural *k*, similar to *kr*; *q*, the German *ch* in *bach*; *h*, the German *ch* in *ich*; *a*, between *q* and *h*; *c=sh* in *shore*; *ç*, as *th* in *thin*; *tl*, an explosive *l*; *dl*, a palatal *l*, pronounced with the back of the tongue (dorso-apical).

#### CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY.

The north-west coast of America, from Juan de Fuca Strait to Cross Sound in Alaska, is characterised by its fiords, sounds, and islands, which make it very favourable for navigation in canoes and other small craft.

Among the most important of these fiords is Portland Inlet, in the extreme north of the territory. Near its mouth Nass River empties itself, which is navigable for canoes for about 80 miles. Between the 55th and 54th degrees of latitude the coast is comparatively open. Here the Skeena River has its mouth. Farther south we find an extremely intricate network of fiords and channels, some of which penetrate far into the interior. Among these we may mention Gardner and Douglas Channels, Dean Inlet, and Bentinck Arm, and the straits and sounds separating Vancouver Island from the mainland. This region has a very temperate climate, the heat of summer and the cold of winter being moderated by the influence of the sea winds. This influence, however, does not extend far inland, and a few miles from the sea-coast low temperatures prevail in winter. While intercourse all along the coast is greatly facilitated by its character, it is almost impossible to penetrate into the interior, the high peaks of the coast ranges rising abruptly from the sea. There are only a few passes by means of which intercourse is possible. The most important of these are on Skeena River, and on Salmon and Bella Coola Rivers of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm.

As the precipitation all along the coast is very great, its lower parts are covered with dense forests, which furnish wood for building houses and canoes. Among these, the pine, hemlock, and the red and yellow cedar are the most prominent; while the hard wood of the maple is used for implements of various kinds, principally for paddles. The woods abound with numerous kinds of berries, which are eagerly sought for by the Indians. They also make use of the kelp and seaweed with which the sea abounds.

In the woods the deer, the elk, the cariboo, the black and the grizzly bears, the wolf, and numerous other animals, are found. The mountain goat lives on the high mountain ranges. The beaver, the otter, and the fur-seal furnish valuable skins. The Indians keep a great number of dogs in their villages, which look almost exactly like the coyote. In the northern villages they are much like the Eskimo dog.

Of prime importance to the natives is the abundance of fish and other animals living in the sea. Seals, sea-lions, and whales are found in considerable numbers, but the Indian depends almost entirely upon the various species of salmon and the olachen (*Thaleichthys pacificus*, Gir.), which are caught in enormous quantities in the rivers. Various species of cod and halibut are caught throughout the year; herrings visit the coast early in spring; in short, there is such an abundance of animal life in the sea that the Indians live almost solely upon it. Besides fish, they gather several kinds of shell-fish, sea-eggs, and cuttle-fish.

The interior of the Province is throughout mountainous, with the exception of a portion of the territory occupied by the Tinneh. The country east of the coast ranges is comparatively dry, hot in summer and cold in winter. The southern parts of this region are desolate, the rivers cutting deep gorges through the valleys, which are filled with drift. Agriculture can be carried on only by means of irrigation, but the country is well adapted to stock-raising. Salmon ascend the rivers, and the lakes are well stocked with fish, which forms the staple food of the tribes west of the Selkirk Range. Between this range and the Rocky Mountains the wide valley of the Columbia and Kootenay Rivers extends from the International Boundary to near the great bend of the Columbia. The Indians of this valley have access to the great plains over a number of passes.

## INHABITANTS.

The country is inhabited by a great number of tribes belonging to seven or eight linguistic stocks. Certain similarities of form and phonetic elements between the Tlingit and Haida languages have given rise to the opinion that further researches may show them to be remote branches of the same stock. This presumption might appear to be strengthened by their divergence from all other stocks inhabiting the territory. Nevertheless the dissimilarity of vocabularies and of grammatical elements is so great that the coincidences referred to cannot yet be considered sufficient proof of their common origin, although the two languages must be classed together in one group when compared with the other languages of the North Pacific coast. Counting them for the present as separate stocks, we distinguish the following families:—

1. Tlingit.—Inhabiting Southern Alaska.
2. Haida.—Inhabiting Queen Charlotte Islands and part of Prince of Wales Archipelago.
3. Tsimshian.—Inhabiting Nass and Skeena Rivers and the adjacent islands.
4. Kwakiutl.—Inhabiting the coast from Gardiner Channel to Cape Mudge, with the sole exceptions of the country around Dean Inlet and the west coast of Vancouver Island.
5. The Nootka.—Inhabiting the west coast of Vancouver Island.<sup>1</sup>
6. The Salish.—Inhabiting the coast and the eastern part of Vancouver Island south of Cape Mudge, the southern part of the interior as far as the crest of the Selkirk Range and the northern parts of Washington, Idaho, and Montana.
7. The Kutonāqa.—Inhabiting the valley of the Upper Columbia River, Kootenay Lake and River, and the adjoining parts of the United States.

The Tlingit, although not belonging properly to British Columbia, have been included in this report, as they must be considered in a study of the Haida and Tsimshian.

I do not enumerate the tribes composing the Tlingit and Haida peoples, as the former have been treated by Dr. A. Krause in his excellent work, 'Die Tlinkit Indianer,' while I am not acquainted with the subdivisions of the latter. Dr. G. M. Dawson in his 'Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands' gives a list of villages. It seems that the Haida divide their people into several groups, each group comprising a number of villages. The Haida call themselves Qā'eda, i.e. people. They are called by the Tlingit Dēkyinō', i.e. people of the sea. The Tsimshian call them Haida, which is evidently derived from Qā'eda.

The following list of Tsimshian tribes was obtained by inquiries at the mouth of Skeena River.

The language is spoken in two principal dialects, the Nasqa' and the Tsimshian proper.

I. Tribes speaking the Nasqa' dialect:

1. Nasqa', on Nass River.
2. Gyitksa'n, on the upper Skeena River=people of the Ksia'n.

<sup>1</sup> New observations made in 1889 seem to indicate that there exists an affinity between the fourth and fifth groups.

## II. Tribes speaking the Tsimshian proper:

1. Ts'emsia'n, on the mouth of Skeena River=on the Ksia'n.
2. Gyits'umrä'lon, below the cañon of Skeena River=people on the upper part of the river.
3. Gyits'ala'ser, at the cañon of Skeena River=cañon people.
4. Gytqā'tla, on the islands off the mouth of Skeena River=people of the sea.
5. Gyitg'ā'ata, on the shores of Grenville Channel=people of the poles, so called on account of their salmon weirs.
6. Gyidesdzo', north-west of Milbank Sound.

Some of these tribes are subdivided into septs, each of which inhabits one village (see 'Ztschr. für Ethnologie,' 1888, p. 232).

The Tsimshian are called by the Tlingit Ts'otsq'ā'n; by the Hēiltsuk Kwē'tela; by the Bilqula, Elqī'miñ; while the Haida designate each tribe by its proper name.

The whole people is divided into four clans: the *raven*, called K'an-ha'da; the *eagle*, called Laqski'yek; the *wolf*, called Laqkyebō'; and the *bear*, called Gyispōtuwe'da. Details on this subject will be found in the chapter on social organisation.

4. The Kwakiutl.—So far as I am aware, the language is spoken in three dialects, the people speaking them not being wholly unintelligible to each other: the Qāisla', the Hēiltsuk', and the Kwakiutl proper. The Qāisla' is spoken north of Grenville Channel; the Hēiltsuk' embraces the tribes from Grenville Channel to Rivers Inlet; the Kwakiutl proper is spoken from Rivers Inlet to the central part of Vancouver Island. I do not enter into an enumeration of the many tribes of this group, one list having been published by Dr. George M. Dawson in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,' 1887, another, accompanied by a detailed map by the writer, in Petermann's 'Mittheilungen,' 1887.

The most northern tribe of this group, the Qāisla', are called Gyit'amā't by the Tsimshian; the Gyimanoitq of Gardner Channel are called Gyitlō'p by the same people. The Hēiltsuk' proper are called Wutsta' by the Tsimshian, elk-la'sumñ by the Bilqula.

5. Nootka.—Regarding their tribal divisions I would refer to Sproat's 'Scenes and Studies of Savage Life.' The Pēntlatc call the Nootka Çolē'itc, but as a rule this name is used for the tribes of Alberni Channel only. The Çatlō'ltq call these tribes Ō'menē, the Sk-qō'mic call them Tē'ecā'atq. (Detailed information on the tribes of this stock will be given in the report for 1890.)

6. The Salish.—This important stock, which inhabits a large part of British Columbia and the adjacent territories of the United States, is represented by two groups of tribes on the coast of the province:—

A. The Bilqula of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm, comprising four tribes.

B. The Coast Salish.—I comprise in this group the numerous dialects of the Salish stock that are spoken on the coasts of the Gulf of Georgia and of Puget Sound. The difference between these tribes and those of the interior, in regard to their mode of life and language, is so marked that we may be allowed to class them in one large group. H. Hale and A. Gallatin first pointed out their affinities to the Salish proper. A number of tribes of Puget Sound are included under the name of Niskwalli more properly, Nsk'oa'li), but it seems to me that the subdivisions of the

latter are not perfectly known. The Niskwalli would properly form one of the larger divisions of the Coast Salish. The latter is spoken in the following dialects in British Columbia:—

1. Čatlō'ltq, in Discovery Passage, Valdes Island, Bute and Malaspina Inlets. The Čatlō'ltq are called K'ō'moks by the Lē'kwiltok'.

2. Si'ciatl, in Jervis Inlet. Called Si'cātl by the Snanaimuq, Ni'ciatl by the Čatlō'ltq.

3. P'ē'ntlatc, from Comox to Qualekum.

4. Skqō'mic, on Howe Sound and Burrard Inlet. Called Sk'qoā'mic by the Čatlō'ltq.

5. K'an'itcin, from Nonooos Bay to Sanitch Inlet, and on Fraser River as far as Spuzzum.

6. Lku'ngen, on the south-eastern part of Vancouver Island. Called Lkū'men by the K'an'itcin.

Similar to their language is the Tla'lēm of the south coast of Juan de Fuca Strait; the S'a'mic, which is spoken east of San Juan Island; the Semia'mō of Semiamo Bay, and the qtlumi (Lummi).

C. Ntlakya'pamuq, from Spuzzum to Ashcroft.

D. Stla'tliumH, on Douglas and Lilloet Lakes.

E. Squa'pamuq, from Kamloops and Shushwap Lakes to Quesnelle. Called Thitk'atewū'mlat by the Kutona'qa (= without shirts and trousers).

F. Okinā'k'ēn, on Okanagan and Arrow Lakes. Called Teitquā'nt by the Ntlakya'pamuq; Kānk'utlā'atlam (= flatheads) by the Kutona'qa.

7. The Kutona'qa (Kootenay), inhabiting the valley of the Kootenay and Columbia Rivers. The language is spoken in two slightly differing dialects, the upper and lower Kootenay.

I. Upper Kootenay, on the Columbia Lakes and upper Kootenay River.

(1) Aqkisk'anū'kenik, = tribes of the (Columbia) lakes.

(2) Aqk'a'mnik, at Fort Steele.

(3) Aqk'anequ'nik (= river Indians), Tobacco Plains.

(4) Aqkiyē'nik, Lake Pend d'Oreille.

II. Lower Kootenay.

Aquqtlā'tlqō, Aquqenu'kqō; Kootenay Lake.

The Kutona'qa call the Blackfeet Sahā'ntla = bad Indians; the Cree, Gutskian'm = liars; the Sioux, Katsk'agi'tsāk = charcoal legs.

The census returns of the Indian Department give the following numbers for the various peoples. The Tlingit are not included in this list, as they do not live in British territory.

—	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888
Haida, Kaigani excepted (estimated)	—	—	—	—	—	2,500
Tsimshian (estimated)	—	—	—	—	—	5,000
Bilqula and Heiltsuk' (estimated)	—	—	—	—	—	2,500
Nootka	3,612	3,437	3,445	3,415	3,361	3,160
Kwakiutl and Lēkwiltok	2,264	1,889	1,969	1,969	1,936	1,898
Coast Salish	—	6,605	6,874	7,080	6,724	6,838
Ntlakypamuq, Stla'tliumH, and Squa'pamuq	5,791	5,470	4,740	4,649	4,655	4,497
Okinā'k'é	1,188	1,188	1,020	1,004	956	942
Kutona'qa	—	—	—	—	568	587

These figures show that the census is approximate only. The inland

tribes appear to be decreasing in numbers, while the coast tribes appear to be almost stationary. The above list gives a total of about 27,900. To these must be added 1,500 Tinneh and 8,522 'bands not visited,' whoever these may be.

The Indians of the interior have almost entirely given up their ancient customs. They are mostly Roman Catholics, but there are a few Protestants. Of course a considerable amount of paganism is still lurking under the Christianity of these natives. They are good stock-raisers, and endeavour to irrigate their lands; but it seems that the majority are poor. The lower Kutona'qa still adhere, to a great extent, to their ancient customs. They are principally fishermen. All the Salish tribes catch a considerable amount of fish, while the upper Kutona'qa were originally hunters.

The coast Indians are well off up to this day. While the efforts of missionaries among the Haida have so far not been very successful, the Tsimshian proper have become Christianised. They have given up all their old customs except those referring to their social organisation. The gentes are still acknowledged, and the laws referring to the mutual support among members of one gens and to the work to be done by the father's gens at certain occasions (see p. 41) are still in force. The final giving up of customs seems to be done by the council, not by the individuals. The Heiltsuk have been Protestants for many years, while the Bilqula are still uninfluenced by contact with missionaries. The same is true, to a large extent, among the Kwakintl, only a few individuals of the Nimkic tribe adhering to the Episcopalian Church. The Coast Salish belong in part to the Roman Catholic Church; but notwithstanding their allegations paganism still prevails to a great extent. In the report of the Department of Indian Affairs almost all of them are enumerated as Roman Catholics, even the pagan tribes of Comox, Victoria, and Nanaimo, where their old customs are still rigidly adhered to. Among the Nootka the Roman Catholics have gained considerable influence.

In my preliminary report I have dwelt upon the present state of these Indians, the causes of their discontent, and the incapacity of white settlers to understand the peculiar culture of the Indian. The establishment of industrial schools, which is now taken up energetically, is a great step forward, and will help the Indians to reach independence and to retain or regain self-esteem, one of the foundations of progress. I will not repeat the statements made and the views expressed last year. It is to be hoped that by a considerate land policy, by the encouragement of industries rather than of agriculture, and by an attempt to develop existing institutions instead of destroying them the Indians will in course of time become useful men and good citizens.

#### PHYSICAL CHARACTER.

The physical characteristics of the coast tribes are very uniform. This is undoubtedly due to the frequent intermarriages between the various tribes, which have had also a distinct effect upon the various languages, some of which have borrowed great numbers of words from the languages spoken by neighbouring tribes. I shall refer to this fact later on. The habitus of the northern tribes of this region is similar to that of East Asiatic tribes—a fact which was observed by R. Virchow, who examined a number of Bilqula who visited Berlin in the winter of

1885-86. This similarity is very marked among the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Kwakiutl and Bilqula, to a less extent among the Nootka, while the Coast Salish and the Salish of the interior show a different type. As the Bilqula speak a language belonging to the Salish family, it must be assumed that they acquired their distinct physical character through intermixture with the neighbouring tribes.

Many tribes of this region are in the habit of deforming the heads of their children. I noticed three different methods of deformation. The tribes of the northern part of Vancouver Island use circular bandages by means of which the occiput acquires an extraordinary length. Excessively deformed heads of this kind are found on the northern part of the west coast of Vancouver Island among the K'oski'mō. Farther south a strong pressure is exerted upon the occiput, a bandage is laid around the head immediately behind the coronal suture, and a soft cushion is used for pressing down the forehead. The Flatheads proper compress forehead and occiput by means of boards or hard cushions. It seems that the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian never practised the custom of head-flattening. It is unfortunate that no observations on the Tsimshian of the upper Skeena River exist. Those at the mouth of the river have frequently intermarried with the Tlingit, Haida, and Heiltsuk.

Among the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian and Heiltsuk the custom prevails of perforating the lower lips of the females. In these perforations, which are enlarged with increasing age, labrets are worn, which are in some instances as long as 40mm. and as wide as 20mm. The men of all the coast tribes have the septum perforated, the operation being performed in early childhood. Earrings are worn either in a series of perforations of the helix or in the lobe of the ear.

Chiefs' daughters, among the Tsimshian, have the incisors ground down to the gums by chewing a pebble of jade, the row of teeth thus assuming an arched form.

Among the Nootka scars may frequently be seen running at regular intervals from the shoulder down the breast to the belly, and in the same way down the legs and arms. Tattoos are found on arms, breast, back, legs, and feet among the Haida; on arms and feet among the Tsimshian, Kwakiutl, and Bilqula; on breast and arms among the Nootka; on the jaw among the Coast Salish women.

Members of tribes practising the Hamats'a ceremonies (see p. 55) show remarkable scars produced by biting. At certain festivals it is the duty of the Hamats'a to bite a piece of flesh out of the arms, leg, or breast of a man.

The women of the Kwakiutl tribes wear very tight anklets, which prevent free circulation between feet and legs. These anklets leave lasting impressions.

Before describing the general features of these tribes I give a table of measurements. Unfortunately I was not in possession of a *glissière*, and therefore no great weight is attributed to the measures, which ought to be made with that instrument. A T-square, to which a movable arm was attached, was used as a substitute. The seven individuals, all male, were measured in the jail at Victoria, kind permission having been given by Major Grant. I did not consider it advisable to make anthropometrical measurements in the villages of the natives, as I feared to rouse their distrust, and had nowhere time to become well acquainted with them. It



is almost impossible to use profitably a very short time for both anthropometrical and ethnological collections.

The following individuals were measured:—

- Haida: 1. Gétgalgā'o (Samuel), 25 years old; raven gens; native of Coal Harbour.  
 2. Johnny Dixie, *circ.* 50 years old; native of Skidegate.  
 Tsimshian: 3. Johnny, *circ.* 32 years old; native of Fort Simpson.  
 4. William Seba'sa, *circ.* 28 years old; raven gens; native of Meqtlakqatla.  
 5. Peter Vann, Kesuwā'tk, *circ.* 25 years old; wolf gens; native of Meqtlakqatla.  
 Kwakiutl: 6. Nalakyutsa, *circ.* 50 years old; native of Fort Rupert.  
 Nootka: 7. Wispu, *circ.* 25 years; Nitinath.

	Haida		Tsimshian			Kwa-kiutl	Nootka
	Samuel Gétgalgā'o from Coal Harbour, 25 years	Johnny Dixie from Skidegate, <i>circ.</i> 50 years	Johnny, 32 years, Fort Simpson	William Seba'sa Meqtlakqatla, 28 years	Peter Vann, Kesuwā'tk Meqtlakqatla, 25 years	Nalakyutsa from Fort Rupert, <i>circ.</i> 50 years	Wispu from Nitinath, <i>circ.</i> 25 years

## I. HEAD.

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.
Maximum length . . . . .	192	203	201	192	199	206	189
Maximum width . . . . .	149	159	154	160	159	175	162
Height of ear . . . . .	149	—	127	127	126	130	135
Chin to hair . . . . .	196	213	203	201	188	200	190
Chin to root of nose . . . . .	130	118	128	126	122	121	127
Root of nose to mouth . . . . .	76	86	90	81	74	81	78
Width of face between zyg. arch.	154	142	151	146	151	138	152
"  "  angles of jaw . . . . .	114	—	102	104	114	—	122
"  of sup. max. bone . . . . .	105	108	121	112	112	105	117
Distance of edges of orbits . . . . .	107	120	108	108	113	121	121
"  inner corners of eyes . . . . .	38	37	38	35	38	38	40
"  outer corners of eyes . . . . .	95	96	98	95	98	92	99
Chin to tragus . . . . .	146	150	156	152	144	152	156
Tragus to root of nose . . . . .	112	112	124	119	114	107	129
Nose, height . . . . .	58	—	57	62	54	54	60
"  width . . . . .	38	41	38	33	38	35	41
Mouth, length . . . . .	56	57	56	56	54	57	59
Ear, height . . . . .	76	76	73	70	67	71	67
Horizontal circumference . . . . .	581	—	—	578	603	—	—
Vertical circumference from ear to ear . . . . .	358	—	—	365	341	—	—

## II. INDICES.

Length-width index . . . . .	77·6	78·3	76·6	83·3	79·9	85·0	85·7
Height of ear index . . . . .	77·6	—	63·2	66·1	63·3	63·1	71·4
Facial index . . . . .	84·4	83·1	84·1	86·3	80·8	87·7	83·6
Nasal index . . . . .	65·5	—	66·6	53·2	70·4	64·8	68·3

	Haida		Tsimshian			Kwa-kiutl	Nootka
	Samuel Getcalgao from Coal Harbour, 25 years	Johnny Dixie from Skidegate, circa 50 years	Johnny, 32 years, Fort Simpson	William Sebassa, Meqlakqatla, 28 years	Peter Vann, Kesuwatk, Meqlakqatla, 25 years	Nalakutsa from Fort Rupert, circa 50 years	Wispu from Nitinath, circa 25 years
III. BODY.							
Total height . . . . .	1,689	1,603	1,637	1,649	1,589	1,575	1,711
Distance between finger-tips, the arms extended horizontally . . . . .	1,705	1,692	1,727	—	1,676	1,664	1,829
Height of chin . . . . .	1,441	1,353	1,413	1,405	1,356	1,343	1,470
" top of sternum . . . . .	1,365	1,287	1,306	1,317	1,278	1,273	1,391
" shoulder (right) . . . . .	1,382	1,311	1,313	1,329	1,321	1,292	1,403
" (left) . . . . .	—	1,286	—	—	—	—	—
" elbow (right) . . . . .	1,071	968	1,007	1,025	995	965	1,065
" wrist . . . . .	825	752	768	826	776	760	814
" second finger . . . . .	612	570	571	614	597	571	618
" nipples . . . . .	1,210	1,105	1,143	1,205	—	1,133	1,230
" navel . . . . .	970	913	933	946	876	897	985
" crista ilii . . . . .	940	930	930	943	905	933	—
" symphysis . . . . .	—	835	851	—	—	832	—
" perinæum . . . . .	—	711	721	—	—	714	—
" ant. sup. iliac spine . . . . .	—	873	870	892	857	851	—
" trochanter . . . . .	861	841	829	825	—	—	—
" patella . . . . .	444	444	400	427	438	429	—
" malleolus internus . . . . .	—	86	83	—	—	89	—
" seventh vertebra . . . . .	—	1,362	—	1,400	1,353	1,299	1,475
" vertex in sitting . . . . .	—	873	876	—	—	873	914
Width between iliac spines . . . . .	—	267	267	—	—	—	—
" iliac crests . . . . .	—	292	298	—	—	283	—
" trochanters . . . . .	—	314	314	—	—	289	—
Circumference of chest . . . . .	910	930	960	940	950	925	945
" waist . . . . .	800	815	822	822	825	860	727
" thigh . . . . .	—	508	524	—	—	480	—
" calf of leg . . . . .	—	311	355	—	—	310	—
Length of thumb . . . . .	67	65	60	63	57	63	65
" second finger . . . . .	98	101	97	97	97	98	98
Width of hand at fingers . . . . .	84	82	82	84	85	84	78
Length of foot . . . . .	243	245	241	236	—	245	251

It appears from these tables that the size of these Indians varies considerably; including measurements of nine Bilqula, made by R. Virchow (see 'Verh. Ges. f. Anthr., Ethn. u. Urg.' 1886, p. 215), the average height is 1,655 mm., the extremes being 1,743 mm. and 1,542 mm. I am under the impression that, as regards size, the Coast Salish are much smaller than the other tribes. The distance between the tips of the finger, the arms being extended, is in all cases greater than the total height. The skin is very light, resembling that of Europeans. Only No. 6 of the above table has a somewhat reddish hue. This, however, is due to the fact that he is the only one among the individuals measured who does not wear trousers and shirt, but still adheres to the ancient custom of wearing a blanket. In most cases the hair is black, smooth, coarse, and

abundant. In a few cases it has a brownish tinge: In all tribes there are a few individuals who have slightly wavy hair. In the village of Sá'menos, in Cowitchin Valley, I observed wavy or even curly hair comparatively frequently. It is worth remarking that the Indians have a tradition referring to this fact, which shows that this peculiarity has obtained for several generations. The eyebrows are thick, and remarkably wide on the outer side. This peculiarity may also be observed in the carvings of these tribes. The eyebrows are carefully trimmed. The beard is sparse, but it must be remembered that the hair is generally pulled out as it appears, particularly on the cheeks, while the moustache and the chin-tuft are allowed to grow. The iris is dark brown. Virchow first pointed out the frequent occurrence of the *plica interna*. I found it to occur very generally, particularly among the Haida and Tsimshian. The face is wide, the cheek-bones prominent, the index chamæproscopic, averaging (including Virchow's measures) 83.1. The nose is narrow, the root narrow and depressed. The ridge of the nose is frequently depressed, particularly among the Haida and Tsimshian; while among the Nootka, Kwakiutl, and Salish I observed very generally straight or slightly hooked noses. It seems that the heads of the southern tribes are decidedly more brachycephalic than those of the northern tribes; but it is difficult to decide how far that is due to artificial deformation.

From the limited material at my disposal, I do not venture to describe any physical features as characteristic of one tribe or the other. The frequent intermarriages between the various tribes make it probable that none of them shows peculiar somatological characteristics which do not occur also among the neighbouring tribes. Notwithstanding this fact, it is quite possible to distinguish individuals belonging to various tribes, but this is principally due to the variety of artificial deformations. The Kwakiutl have a remarkably deep sinus in the hair at its anterior margin. Their heads are very long and wide, particularly when compared with the width of the face.

I am unable in the present report to give a full description of the crania and skeletons I collected; the latter belong principally to tribes of the Salish stock. I have only a single Tsimshian cranium, which, however, is of some interest. Plates I. to VI. are orthogonal tracings of four Tsimshian crania. No. 2 to 4 are from the Morton Collection in the Museum of the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia. The measurements of this series of crania are given in the table on the following page.

*Notes.*—No. 1 was a syphilitic individual. Marks of the disease are seen particularly around the bregma and on the right parietal bone. The cranium is asymmetrical, more particularly the occiput. The sagittal suture in its hind part is depressed, while slight indications of a ridge may be seen in the part immediately behind the bregma. The face is narrow as compared to the other specimens. The grooves of the lachrymal duct are comparatively small. The most peculiar feature of the present skull is its dental and alveolar prognathism of the upper row of teeth, which project considerably over the lower one.

Nos. 2, 3, and 4 show very marked sagittal ridges. There is no indication of premature synostosis, and I conclude that this must be considered a characteristic feature of these skulls. No. 3 has a flattened occiput, but without any compensatory flattening of the forehead. This

shows that the flattening is not intentional, but merely the result of the hardness of the cradle board on which the child was kept. The occipital spine and protuberance of No. 3 are very strongly developed, but they are very marked in all the crania. The vertical plate of the ethmoid bone and the nasal process of the maxillary bones are in Nos. 2 and 3 much distorted.

*Tsimshian.*

	I. Boas, No. 85. Male	II. Philadel- phia, No. 213. Male	III. Philadel- phia, No. 214. Female	IV. Philadelphia, No. 987. Youth, about 18 years of age
CRANIA.				
1. Horizontal length . . . . .	176	188	176	177
2. Maximum length . . . . .	176	190	176	178
3. " width . . . . .	135	147	135	147
4. Minimum width of forehead . . . . .	89	91	87	95
5. Total height . . . . .	130	134	127	129
6. Height of ear . . . . .	110	112	112	112
7. Length of basis . . . . .	95	109	100	95
8. Width of basis . . . . .	99	119	106	102
9. Length of pars basilaris . . . . .	29	32	31	25
10. Max. width of For. Magn. . . . .	32	33	28	30
11. Max. length of For. Magn. . . . .	43	38	35	36
12. Horizontal circumference . . . . .	500	—	—	520
13. Sagittal circumference . . . . .	363	—	—	366
14. Vertical circumference . . . . .	301	—	—	330
15. Width of face . . . . .	97	106	105	90
16. Width between zyg. arches . . . . .	126	149	139	124
17. Height of upper face . . . . .	69 <sup>1</sup>	81	69	65
18. Height of nose . . . . .	49	57	52	49
19. Max. width of nose . . . . .	26	24	25	22
20. Width of orbit . . . . .	38	41	40	41
21. Height of orbit . . . . .	32	36	35	36
22. Length of palate . . . . .	50	59	54	(45)
23. Width of palate at second molar . . . . .	35	38	38	35
24. Width of palate at posterior end . . . . .	40	—	47	42
25. Length of face . . . . .	96	102	98	95
26. Angle of profile . . . . .	83°	88°	86°	—
INDICES.				
Length—width . . . . .	76.7	78.2	76.7	83.0
Length—height . . . . .	73.9	71.3	72.1	72.9

I do not intend, in the present report, to treat of the deformed crania of the southern tribes. Suffice it to say that three methods of deformation are practised in British Columbia: (i) the conical one, which results in the long heads of the Kwakiutl, and which is also used by the Čatlóltq; (ii) the flattening by means of cushions and bandages, resulting in asymmetrical hyperbrachycephalic heads; and (iii) flattening by means of boards. It may be of interest to show the effect of these methods upon the length and width of the crania. The second group comprises only crania flattened by means of cushions. I add a short column of crania with little or no deformations.

<sup>1</sup> Height of face, 116.

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Inc

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19. F  
20. F  
21. F  
22. V  
23. V  
24. F  
25. V  
26. V  
27. L  
28. V  
29. V  
30. L

1. Comox		2. Sanitch		3. Songish		
Length	Width	Length	Width	Length	Width	
171	150	158	158	192	144	
181	149	160	147	186	141	
173	138	171	153	183	142	
162	131	162	158	176	139	
179	145	141	152	178	144	
177	135	161	156	190	147	
178	143	156	155	189	143	
186	147	147	138	180	140	
171	138	156	137	180	140	
174	139	169	164	187	146	
175	142	164	163	195	157	
Average	175	142	159	153	185	144
Indices	81.1		96.2		77.8	

The following are measurements of a few Songish crania in the possession of Dr. Milne, of Victoria, British Columbia.

*Songish Crania.*

	I.	II.	III.
1. Horizontal length . . . . .	183	—	181
2. Maximum length . . . . .	183.5	153	181
3. Intertuberal length . . . . .	182.5	146	180
4. Maximum width . . . . .	139.8	154.6	154
5. Minimum width of forehead . . . . .	93	98	97
6. Total height . . . . .	143.2	123.2	138.5
7. Height of bregma . . . . .	141	122.3	137
8. Height of ear . . . . .	114	106	117
9. Height from ear to vertex . . . . .	114	114 <sup>1</sup>	123
10. Length of basis . . . . .	103	89	101
10a. Width of basis . . . . .	111.2	106	118
11. Length of pars basilaris . . . . .	—	23.5	29
12. Max. width of foramen magnum . . . . .	33	34	37.5
13. Max. length of foramen magnum . . . . .	34.5	29	34
14. Horizontal circumference . . . . .	523	485	535
15. Sagittal circumference . . . . .	375	321 <sup>2</sup>	382
16. Vertical circumference . . . . .	320	328	335
17. Width of face . . . . .	105	91.5	103
18. Width between zygom. arch . . . . .	146	130	148.5
19. Height of face . . . . .	—	101.5	—
20. Height of upper part of face . . . . .	72.5	61	76
21. Height of nose . . . . .	50	47	54
22. Max. width of nose . . . . .	22.7	22	26.5
23. Max. width of orbit . . . . .	42	38.5	44
24. Horizontal width of orbit . . . . .	41.5	38	41
25. Maximum height of orbit . . . . .	36.5	35	37.5
26. Vertical height of orbit . . . . .	37	35	36
27. Length of palate . . . . .	49	45	51.5
28. Width of palate at second molar . . . . .	34	35	41
29. Width of palate at posterior end . . . . .	46	39	47
30. Length of face . . . . .	102	88	100

<sup>1</sup> Vertex 25 mm. behind bregma.

<sup>2</sup> 124 Sut. nas. front. to bregma, 222 Lambda, 248 interparietal sut.

Finally, I give a series of measurements of seven crania from Lytton, probably of the Ntlakypamuq, collected a number of years ago by Dr. G. M. Dawson, who kindly had the measurements made at my request.

*Skulls from Lytton B. C. in the Museum of the Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada.*

	No. 368	No. 369	No. 370	No. 371	No. 372	No. 373	No. 374
1. Maximum length . . .	174	185	167	173	182	175	173
2. Horizontal length . . .	173	—	167	172	181	175	169
3. Maximum width . . .	139	140	138	139	131	144	132
4. Minimum width of forehead	94	96	91	86	94	96	93
5. Total height . . .	127	—	132	131	135	134	134
6. Height of ear . . .	111	—	92	110	121	123	120
7. Length of basis . . .	99	—	97	96	99	103	102
8. Horizontal circumference . .	497	516	485	497	506	516	494
9. Sagittal circumference . . .	346	375	346	358	386	349	346
10. Vertical circumference . . .	314	321	305	307	307	324	311
11. Width of face . . .	107	—	112	115	111	122	—
12. Width between zyg. arch . .	—	—	—	127	135	—	—
13. Height of face . . .	62	—	68	72	64	69	64
14. Height of nose . . .	51	—	52	55	49	40	47
15. Width of nose . . .	21	—	23	25	23	26	22
16. Angle of profile . . .	88°	—	79°	80°	88°	85°	82°
Length—width—index . . .	80.4	75.7	82.6	80.4	72.4	82.3	78.1

SENSES AND MENTAL CHARACTERS.

It is only with a considerable degree of diffidence that I venture to express an opinion on the senses, mental capacity, and character of the natives of British Columbia. Observations made in the course of a few days hardly entitle an observer to judge of the mental faculties or of the virtues and vices of a people. The only tribes with whom I came into closer contact are the Tlatlasik-oala of Hope Island and the Çatloltq of Comox, among both of whom I lived for a few weeks in 1886.

The Indians of the whole coast are able-bodied and muscular, the upper limbs being very generally better developed than the lower ones, as the constant use of the paddle strengthens arms and chest. They have a keen sight, but in old age become frequently blear-eyed, presumably an effect of the smoke which always fills the houses. I have not made any experiments regarding their acuteness of sight, hearing, and smell. Their mental capacity is undoubtedly a high one. The state of their culture is ample proof of this. I have expressed my opinion regarding the possibility of educating them at another place.

The best material for judging their character is contained in their stories, in which appears what is considered good and what bad, what commendable and what objectionable, what beautiful and what otherwise. Regarding the last point, whiteness of skin and slenderness of limbs is considered one of the principal beauties of men and women. Another beauty of the latter is long, black hair. In some tales red hair is described as a peculiar beauty of women. Red paint on the face, tight-fitting bracelets and anklets of copper, nose- and ear-ornaments of variegated haliotis shells, and hair strewn with eagle-downs add to the

natural charms. The fact that in honour of the arrival of friends the house is swept and strewn with sand, and that the people bathe at such occasions, shows that cleanliness is appreciated. The current expression is that the house is so cleaned that no bad smell remains to offend the guest. For the same reason the Indian takes repeated baths before praying, 'that he may be of agreeable smell to the Deity.'

The Indian is grave and self-composed in all his actions. This is shown by the fact that playing is not only considered undignified, but actually as bad. In the Tsimshian language the term for 'to play' means to talk to no purpose; and doing anything 'to no purpose' is contemptible to the Indian.

He is rash in his anger, but does not easily lose control over his actions. He sits down or lies down sullenly for days without partaking of food, and when he rises his first thought is, not how to take revenge, but to show that he is superior to his adversary. A great pride and vanity, combined with the most susceptible jealousy, characterise all actions of the Indian. He watches that he may receive his proper share of honour at festivals; he cannot endure to be ridiculed for even the slightest mistake; he carefully guards all his actions, and looks for due honour to be paid to him by friends, strangers, and subordinates. This peculiarity appears most clearly in great festivals, which are themselves an outcome of the vanity of the natives, and of their love of displaying their power and wealth. To be strong, and able to sustain the pangs of hunger, is evidently considered worthy of praise by the Indian; but foremost of all is wealth.

It is considered the duty of every man to have pity upon the poor and hungry. Women are honoured for their chastity and for being true to their husbands; children, for taking care of their parents; men, for skill and daring in hunting, and for bravery in war.

Closely connected with their vanity is their inclination to flatter the stranger or friend, but particularly anyone who is expected to be of service to the Indian. Vanity and servility are the most unamiable traits of his character. Wit and humour are little appreciated, although they are not wanting. The character of the Indian, on the whole, is sombre, and he is not given to gentle emotions. Even his festivals have this character, as he retains his dignity throughout.

#### FOOD—HUNTING AND FISHING—CLOTHING—IMPLEMENTS.

It is not the object of this report to give a full description of the various kinds of food and of the methods of hunting and fishing. It seems, however, desirable to mention the most important points in connection with this subject.

The principal part of the food of the natives is derived from the sea. It seems that whales are pursued only exceptionally, though the West Vancouver tribes are great whalers. Sea-lions and seals are harpooned, the barbed harpoon-point being either attached to a bladder or tied to the stem of the boat. The harpoon lines are made of cedar-bark and sinews. The meat of these sea-animals is eaten, while their intestines are used for the manufacture of bowstrings and bags. The bristles of the sea-lion are used by the Tsimshian and the neighbouring tribes for adorning dancing ornaments. Codfish and halibut are caught by means of hooks. These are attached to fish-lines made of cedar-twigs, or, what is more

frequently used, of kelp. The hook, the form of which is well known, is provided with a sinker, while the upper part is kept afloat by a bladder or by a piece of wood. The hooks are set, and after a while taken up. Cuttle-fish is extensively used for bait. The fish are either roasted near or over the fire, or boiled in baskets or wooden kettles by means of red-hot stones. Those intended for use in winter are split in strips and dried in the sun, or on frames that are placed over the fire. I did not observe such frames among the tribes south of the Snaaimuq. The most important fish, however, is the salmon, which is caught in weirs when ascending the rivers, in fish-traps, or by means of nets dragged between two boats. Later in the season salmon are harpooned. For fishing in deep water a very long double-pointed harpoon is used. Herring and olachen are caught by means of a long rake. The latter are tried in canoes filled with water, which is heated by means of red-hot stones. The oil is kept in bottles made of dried and cleaned kelp. In winter dried halibut dipped in oil is one of the principal dishes of the tribes living on the outer coast. Fish, when caught, are carried in open-work wooden baskets. Clams and mussels are collected in a similar kind of basket. They are eaten roasted, or dried for winter use. Cuttle-fish are caught by means of long sticks; sea-eggs, in nets which are fastened to a round frame. Fish-roe, particularly that of herrings, is collected in great quantities, dried, and eaten with oil.

Sea-grass is cut in pieces and dried so as to form square cakes, which are also eaten with oil, as are all kinds of dried berries and roots. The

Fig. 1. Kwakiutl and their neighbours keep their provisions in large boxes. These are bent out of thin planks of cedar. At those places where the edges of the box are to be, a triangular strip is cut out of the plank, which is thus reduced in thickness. Then it is bent so that the sides of the triangle touch each other.



After three edges have been made, the sides of the fourth are sewed together. The bottom is either sewed or nailed to the box. The lid either overlaps the sides of the box (fitting on it as the cover on a pill-box) or moves on a kind of hinges. In the latter case it has always the following form.

Fig. 2.



The Coast Salish keep their stock of provisions on a loft, with which every house is provided.

In winter deer are hunted. Formerly bows and arrows were used for this purpose, but they have now been replaced by guns. The bow was made of yew-wood. The arrows had stone, bone, and iron points. The bow was held horizontally, the shaft of the arrow resting between the first and second fingers of the left hand, that grasps the rounded central part of the bow, while the arrow is held between the thumb and the side of the first finger. Deer are also captured by being driven into large nets made of cedar-bark, deer-sinews, or nettles. Elk are hunted in the same way. For smaller animals traps are used. Birds are shot with arrows provided with a thick wooden plug instead of a point.

Deer-skins are worked into leather and used for various purposes, principally for ropes, and formerly for clothing. The natives of this region go barelegged. The principal part of their clothing is the blanket. This is made of tanned skins, or more frequently woven of mountain-sheep wool, dog's hair, or of a mixture of both. The thread is spun on the bare leg, and by means of a stone spindle. The blanket is woven on a

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solid frame. Another kind of blanket is woven of soft cedar-bark, the warp being tied across the weft. They are trimmed with fur. At the present time woollen blankets are extensively used. Men wear a shirt under the latter, while women wear a petticoat in addition. Before the introduction of woollen blankets, women used to wear an apron made of cedar-bark and a belt made of the same material. The head is covered with a water-tight hat made of roots. In rainy weather and in the canoe a water-tight cape or a poncho, both made of cedar-bark, is used. The women dress their hair in two plaits, while the men wear it comparatively short. The latter keep it back from the face by means of a strap of fur or cloth. Ear and nose ornaments are extensively used. They are made of bone and haliotis-shell.

Besides the baskets mentioned above, a variety of others are used, some made of dried seaweed, for keeping sewing-utensils; others made of cedar-bark, for storing away blankets. Still others are used for carrying the travelling outfit. They have two straps attached to them, one passing over the brow, the other over the breast, of the carrier. Water-tight baskets made of roots are used for cooking purposes and for holding water. Mats made of cedar-bark, of reed, and of rushes are used to a great extent, for covering the walls of the house, for bedding, for packing, for travelling in canoes, &c.

In olden times work in wood was extensively done by means of stone implements. Of these, only stone hammers are still used. They are either carved stones, flat on one side, and having a notch in the middle, attached to a handle by means of a leather strap, or they are similar in shape to a pestle. Trees were felled with stone axes, and split by means of wooden or horn-wedges. The latter are still extensively used. In order to prevent the wooden wedge from splitting, a cedar-bark rope is firmly tied around its top. Boards are split out of trees by means of these wedges. They were planed with adzes, a considerable number of which were made of jade that was evidently found in the basin of Fraser and Lewis Rivers. Carvings were made with stone knives. Stone mortars and pestles were used for mashing berries and bark, the latter for being mixed with tobacco. Paint-pots of stone, with two or more excavations, were extensively used. Pipes were made of slate or wood.

Canoes are principally made of cedar-wood. After the tree has been felled, about one-third of its thickness is removed by means of wedges, the outer side worked according to the proposed dimensions of the boat, and then the tree is hollowed by means of axes, fire, and adzes. When the sides of the canoe have almost reached the desired thickness, it is filled with water, which is heated by means of red-hot stones. Thus the wood becomes pliable, and is gradually shaped. In large canoes the gunwale is made higher by fastening a board to it. The northern tribes use the so-called 'Tsimshian canoe,' which has a high prow and a high stern. The southern tribes use the 'Chinook canoe,' which has a smaller prow, and the stern of which is straight up and down. Some other types of boats are used for the purposes of war and fishing. The boat is propelled and steered by means of paddles. In hunting there is a steersman in the stern of the canoe, while the harpioneer stands in the stem. It seems that sails have been used only since the advent of the whites. They are sometimes made of mats of cedar-bark. Most of the large boats have names of their own. For fishing on rivers very narrow canoes are used, which differ somewhat in shape among the various tribes.

The Salish of the interior and the Lower Kootenay also live to a great extent upon fish. They use dug-out canoes, in which they navigate the lakes and rapid rivers. Fish are caught by means of hooks, but principally in bagnets. Deer, elk, mountain goat, big-horn sheep, and bears are hunted extensively. At the present time these tribes raise considerable numbers of horses, which are used in hunting and travelling. The upper Kootenay are principally hunters. They used to cross the mountains and hunt buffalo on the plains. The Salish dress in the blanket, in the same way as the coast tribes do; while the clothing of the Kootenay resembles that worn by the Indians of the plains. They wear moccasins, leggings, breeches, and a buckskin jacket, trimmed with metal and leather fringes. Men and women wear braids wound with brass spirals and trimmed with beads.

The art of pottery is unknown in British Columbia, and in the eastern parts of the province little carving in wood is done. Large baskets serve for cooking purposes. Stone hammers and pestles and mortars are still used throughout the Province.

I cannot give a satisfactory account of the arts and industries of the tribes of the interior, as these have been supplanted by the use of European manufactures, and old implements are scarce and difficult to obtain.

#### HOUSES.

The coast tribes live in large wooden houses. The plan of the house of the northern tribes differs somewhat from that of the Coast Salish, although the mode of construction is the same. The framework of the house consists of heavy posts, which support long beams. The walls and the roof are constructed of heavy planks. Those forming the walls rest upon strong ropes of cedar-bark connecting two poles, one of which stands inside the wall, while the other is outside. The boards overlap each other in order to prevent the rain from penetrating the house. The boards forming the roof are arranged like Chinese tiles. The rain flows off on the lower boards, as through a gutter.

The house of the northern tribes is square. It faces the sea. A platform of about two feet high and four feet wide runs all around it inside. It has a gable roof, which is supported by one or two beams resting on two pairs of heavy posts which stand in the centre of the front and of the rear of the house. The door is between the pair of posts standing near the front of the house. Three or four steps lead up to the door, which is on the platform. Very large houses have two or three platforms, and thus attain, to some extent, the shape of an amphitheatre. The houses are generally occupied by four families, each living in one corner. Small sheds are built on the platforms, all along the walls of the houses. They serve for bedrooms. Each family has its own fireplace, near which the enormous family settee, capable of holding the whole family, stands. Some of the houses of the Hëltsuk and Bilqula are built on posts, the floor being about eight feet above the ground. In these houses the fireplaces are made of earth and of stones. The Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit make a hole in the centre of the roof for a smoke-escape, while the Kwakiutl merely push aside one or two boards of the roof.

The houses of the Coast Salish and Nootka are very long, being occupied by a great many families, each of whom owns one section. The roofs are highest in the rear part of the house, and slope downward

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towards the front. There is also a platform running along the walls of the houses; but while in the houses of the Kwakiutl it is made of earth, here it is carefully built of wood. All along the rear wall of the house, which is somewhat higher than the opposite, runs a loft, which is about five feet wide. It is used as a storeroom. There are no sheds serving for bedrooms, but the beds are arranged on the platforms.<sup>1</sup>

The houses here described are found in stationary villages. In travelling small sheds made of bark, of wood, or of branches are used.

The Salish of the interior used to live in subterranean houses, access to which was obtained from above. These were used in winter, and afforded a good shelter from the severe cold. In summer tents were used.

The Kootenay live in large lodges, the framework of which consists of converging poles. They used to be covered with buffalo hides, but now canvas is mostly used.

#### SOCIAL ORGANISATION.

J. G. Frazer, in his comprehensive review of totemism, defines the totem as 'a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respect, believing that there exists between himself and every member of the class an intimate and altogether special relation. As distinguished from a fetish, a totem is never an isolated individual, but always a class of objects.' Accepting this definition, I will try to outline the peculiar kind of totemism as observed in British Columbia. Among the Kootenay and Salish of the interior I did not find the slightest trace of the existence of totems.

The Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, and Hëiltsuk have animal totems. The first of these have two phratries—the raven and eagle (or wolf); the Tsimshian have four totems—raven, eagle, wolf, and bear; the Hëiltsuk three—raven, eagle, and killer (*Delphinus orca*). Animal totems in the proper sense of this term are confined to these four peoples. They are not found among the Kwākiutl, although they belong to the same linguistic stock to which the Hëiltsuk belong. The clans of the four peoples mentioned above bear the names of their respective totems. These phratries or clans are exogamous. It must be clearly understood that the natives do not consider themselves descendants of the totem. The Tlingit, for instance, who believe in a transmigration of souls, state clearly and plainly that a man will be born again as a man, a wolf as a wolf, a raven as a raven, notwithstanding the fact that the animal and a member of its clan are considered relations. Thus the wolf gens will pray to the wolves, 'We are your relations; pray don't hurt us!' But notwithstanding this fact they will hunt wolves without hesitation. So far as I am aware, this is true of all tribes, although the opposite view has frequently been expressed. All my endeavours to obtain information regarding the supposed origin of this relation between man and animal have invariably led to the telling of a myth, in which it is stated how a certain ancestor of the clan in question obtained his totem. The character of these legends is uniform among all the peoples of this region; even further south, among the Kwākiutl and the northern tribes of the Coast Salish, who have no animal totem in the restricted sense of this term. As these legends reveal the fundamental views the natives hold in regard to

<sup>1</sup> See 'The Houses of the Kwākiutl Indians, British Columbia,' *Proc. U.S. National Museum*, 1888, pp. 197-213.

their totems, I shall give abstracts of some of them. The following are from the Tsimshian.

*The Bear Gens.*—An Indian went mountain-goat hunting. When he had reached a remote mountain range he met a black bear, who took him to his home, taught him how to catch salmon and how to build boats. Two years the man stayed with the bear; then he returned to his village. All people were afraid of him, for he looked just like a bear. One man, however, caught him and took him home. He could not speak, and could not eat anything but raw food. Then they rubbed him with magic herbs, and he was retransformed into the shape of a man. Thenceforth, when he was in want, he went into the woods, and his friend the bear helped him. In winter, when the rivers were frozen, he caught plenty of his salmon. He built a house, and painted the bear on the front of it. His sister made a dancing-blanket, the design of which represented a bear. Therefore the descendants of his sister use the bear for their crest.

*The Whale Gens.*—Tseremsá'aks went out fishing. After he had been out three days without having caught a single fish, he cast anchor at the base of a steep hill. His anchor fell upon the house of the whale, who drew the boat to the bottom of the sea. Two years he remained with the whale, who taught him his dance, and gave him the ornaments of his house. When Tseremsá'aks returned he was grown all over with seaweed. The time which he had staid at the bottom of the sea had seemed to him two days, but he had been there two years. He built a house, and painted the whale upon its front. He also used the mask and the blanket of the whale when dancing. Since that time the descendants of his sisters use this design.

There is another tale belonging to the Raven Gens of the Tsimshian: Yaqagwonó'sk was the descendant of a man who had been taken to the bottom of the ocean like Tseremsá'aks. He was a great chief, and once invited all chiefs of the whole earth to a great feast, which was to be celebrated at Nass River. All the monsters of the whole coast came, using whales (*Delphinus orca*) for their boats. They were so numerous that the river was full of them. They landed and entered Yaqagwonó'sk's house. Whenever one of them opened the door water flowed into the house. Each wore his peculiar clothing. The first to enter was Kuwá'k (this and the following names are those of dangerous points and of rapids). He was followed by Tlkwats'a'q, Kntepwē'n, Kélkno'l, Spaed'ana'kt, Kspaha'watlk. These last were very dangerous, and used to kill everyone passing their houses. The most dangerous monsters were seated in the rear of the house, the others around the platform nearer the door. The next to enter was Lak'anpētse'qtl. He wore a head-ring, which was made of twigs that passers-by used to give him in order to secure his good-will. Then came Wulnebālg'ätlso'ks and Wud'e'ano'n (=great hands). Yaqagwonó'sk gave everyone what he liked best: fat, tobacco, red paint, and eagle-down. All present promised to abstain henceforth from killing people, and after their return removed from the track of the canoes plying between the villages. Yaqagwonó'sk imitated the dresses of all his guests, and since that time he used them. His descendants, therefore, have all the sea-monsters on their heraldic columns.

These legends, of which I have given a few examples, do not belong to the whole gens, but to a subdivision of the same. Only the descendants in the female line of the ancestor who had an adventure of the kind

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described—that is, his nephews and nieces, and their descendants in the female line—use the emblems he obtained in consequence of his adventure. This accounts for the diversity of emblems and the variety of their grouping on the carvings, paintings, and tattooings of the Indians. In these cases the whole group would therefore more properly be styled phratry than gens. The raven and wolf (eagle) groups of the Tlingit and Haida are pre-eminently phratries. Each gens, which forms a subdivision of the phratries, derives its origin from one of these mythical ancestors who had an encounter with one of the animals of the phratry.

The following is a partial list of the totems of each of the two phratries of the Tlingit:—

- I. Raven: Raven, frog, goose, sea-lion, owl, salmon, beaver, codfish (wēq), skate.
- II. Wolf (eagle): Wolf, bear, eagle, *Delphinus orca*, shark, auk, gull, sparrow-hawk (g'anō'k), thunder-bird.

Among this and all other tribes of the coast the crest of a group includes those animals which serve as the food of the animal from which the group takes its name.

As an example I enumerate the gentes of the Stikin tribe of the Tlingit, the only one with members of whom I came into closer contact. I give also the chief emblems of each gens:—

- I. Wolf: Nanaā'ri or siknaq'a'dē, bear (corresponds to the Kagontā'u of other Tlingit tribes).  
Qōk'ē'dē, *Delphinus orca*.
- II. Raven: K'asq'aguē'dē, raven.  
Kyiks'a'dē, frog.  
K'atc'a'dē, raven.  
Tir hit t̄an (=bark house gens), beaver.  
Dētlk'ōē'dē (=people of the point), raven.  
K'agan hit tan (=sun house gens), raven.  
Qētlk'oan, beaver.

Among these the gens Nanaā'ri has six houses, the people of each forming a sub-gens:—

1. Harā'c hit tan, porch house gens.
2. Tos hit tan, shark house gens.
3. K'ētgo hit tan,
4. Qūts hit tan, bear house gens.

The names of the remaining two houses I did not learn.

The proper names of members of the various gentes are derived from their respective totems, each gens having its peculiar names. The connection between name and totem is sometimes not very clear, but it always exists. Here are a few examples taken from gentes of the Stikin tribe:—

*Nanaā'ri names:*

- Male: Tl'uck'ē, ugly (danger/face), referring to the bear.  
G'aqē, crying man (referring to the howling wolf).  
Sēktutlqēt, scared of his voice (to wit, the wolf's).  
Ank'au'ts, bear in snow.

Female: Qutc gya's, standing bear.  
 Hè lèng djat, thunder-woman.  
 Kun djat, whale-woman.

*Qōk'ē'dē names:*

Cak'ā'ts, head-stick (reference doubtful).  
 Gōuq narū', slave's dead body (reference doubtful).

*Dētlk'oēdē names:*

Yētl rēdē', little raven.  
 Tlē'neqk, one alone (the raven on the beach).  
 Hiqtc tlē'n, great frog.  
 Yētl k'u djat, raven's wife.

The social organisation of the Haida is very much like that of the Tlingit. They have also two phratries, raven and eagle. Their totems are also similar to those of the Tlingit, but they are differently arranged. The most important difference is that the raven is an emblem of the eagle gens.

- I. Eagle phratry (Gyītena'): Eagle, raven, frog, beaver, shark, moon, duck, codfish (l'ā'ma), waski (fabulous whale with five dorsal fins), whale, owl.
- II. Raven phratry (K'oa'la): Wolf, bear, *Delphinus orca*, skate, mountain-goat, sea-lion, ts'ē'maōs (a sea-monster), moon, sun, rainbow, thunder-bird.

From some indications I conclude that the division of emblems between the two phratries is not the same among the Kaigani and the tribes of Queen Charlotte Islands, but the subject requires further study.

The phratries of the Haida are divided into gentes in the same way as those of the Tlingit. They also take their names, in the majority of cases, from their houses. The people of Skidegate village (Tlk'agitl), for instance, are divided into the following gentes:—

- I. Eagle phratry: Nā yū'ans qā'etqa, large house people.  
 Na s'ā'yas qā'etqa, old house people.  
 Dj'āaquig'it 'ena'i,  
 Gyitingits 'ats,
- II. Raven phratry: Naēku'n k'ērauā'i, those born in Naēku'n.  
 Djāaqu'isk'uatl'adagāi (extinct).  
 Tlqaiu lā'nas,  
 K'āstak'ē'rauā'i, those born in Skidegate Street.

The following gentes are said to exist in one of the Kaigani villages. I did not learn the gentes of the eagle phratry.

- I. Ts'ātl lā'nas, eagle.
- II. Yak' lā'nas = middle town. Raven.  
 Yatl nas :had'ā'i<sup>1</sup> = raven house people.  
 k'at nas :had'ā'i = shark house people.  
 gutgunē'st nas :had'ā'i = owl house people.

<sup>1</sup> h of the Kaigani dialect stands for q of the other dialects. It is an h preceded by a slight intonation.

qō'utc nas :had'ā'i==bear house people.  
 na k'āl nas :had'ā'i==empty house people.  
 t'ā'rō nas :had'ā'i==copper house people.  
 kun nas :had'ā'i==whale house people.  
 g'Egihēt nas :had'ā'i==land-otter house people.  
 k'ēt nas :had'ā'i==sea-lion house people.  
 :hōt nas :had'ā'i==box house people.  
 k'ōk' nas :had'ā'i==snow-owl house people.

From the first of these lists it will be seen that two of these gentes are called from the locality which they formerly inhabited. Wemiaminow and Krause noted a few Tlingit gentes which were also named from the places at which their houses stood, and one name of this kind is found on the preceding list on p. 25. The majority of gentes are called from the names and emblems of their houses. If a new house is built by the chief of the gens it receives the name of the old one, the place of which it takes. These facts show that the houses must be considered communal houses of the gentes. The members of the gens are connected by ties of consanguinity, not by an imaginary relationship through the totem. The latter exists only inside the phratry. It must be borne in mind that the emblems of the gens are *only* emblems commemorative of certain events, that they do not indicate any relationship between man and emblem. This becomes particularly clear in the case of the Haida phratries, where the raven is the emblem of the eagle phratry and is not used by the raven phratry. Gentcs of great numerical strength are subdivided. The houses of each gens always stand grouped together.

The single gentes do not possess the whole series of emblems pertaining to the phratry. Among the Skidegate gentes enumerated above, the one called Nā s'āyas has the following emblems: raven, shark, eagle, frog. Their chief has, in addition to these, the fabulous five-finned whale *wask* and the fish *l'ā'ma* (codfish?). Before giving a festival the child of the eagle gens must use no other emblem but the eagle.

Any Haida who has the raven among his emblems, when marrying a Tlingit, is considered a member of the raven phratry, and *vice versa*, the emblems always deciding to which phratry an individual is to be reckoned.

The social organisation of the Tsimshian is somewhat different from that of the preceding group of peoples. They have four gentes: the raven, called K'anha'da; the eagle, Laqski'yek (=on the eagle); the wolf, Laqkyebō' (=on the wolf); and the bear, Gyispōtuwē'da. The following is a partial list of their emblems.

1. K'anha'da : Raven, codfish, starfish.
2. Laqski'yek : Eagle, halibut, beaver, whale.
3. Laqkyebō' : Wolf, crane, grizzly bear.
4. Gyispōtuwē'da : *Delphinus orca*, sun, moon, stars, rainbow, grouse, tsem'aks (a sea-monster).

The Tsimshian are divided into three classes: common people, middle-class people, and chiefs. Common people are those who have not been initiated into a secret society (v. p. 52); by the initiation they become middle-class people; but they can never become chiefs, who form a distinct class. Each gens has its own proper names, which are different for chiefs and middle-class people. It seems that, as a rule, the names

are common to all tribes, with the exception of a few chiefs' names, which will be noted later on. These names are different, according to the gens to which the father belongs, and have always a reference to the father's crest. Here are a few instances :—

*K'anha'da names.*

1. A K'anha'da woman marries a Laqski'yek man.

Middle-class names :—

Male : Nēesyulā'ops=grandfather carrying stones.

Female : Laqtlpō'u=on a whale.

Chiefs' names :—

Male : Nēeswoksenā'tlk=grandfather of the not-breathing one.

Female : Ndsē'edsd'a'loks=grandmother of ?

Ndsē'ets lē'itlks=watching's grandmother.

Lid'amloqdā'u=(eagle) sitting on the ice.

2. A K'anha'da woman marries a Gyisputuwe'da man.

Name of female : Nebō'ht=making noise to each other (killers).

Names of male : Wud'adā'u=large icebergs (floating at Kuwā'k).

Wiha'=great wind.

*Laqski'yek names.*

1. A Laqski'yek woman marries a K'anha'da man.

Male : Wonlō'otk (raven)=having no nest.

2. A Laqski'yek woman marries a Laqkyebō' man.

Female : Demdēmá'ksk=wishing to be white.

3. A Laqski'yek woman marries a Gyisputuwe'da man.

Names of females : Wibō'=great noise (of killers).

Winē'eq=great fin (of killer).

Names of males : Qpi'yēlek=half-hairy sea-monster (abbreviated from Qpi litl hag'ulō'oq).

Hats'eksnē'eq=dreadful fin (of killer).

*Laqkyebō' names.*

1. A Laqkyebō woman marries a Laqski'yek man.

Chief's daughter's name : Saraitqagā'i=eagle having one colour of wings.

*Gyisputuwe'da names.*

1. A Gyisputuwe'da woman marries a K'anha'da man.

Female : Bā'yuk (raven)=flying in front of the house early in the morning; abbreviated from Seó'pyibā'yuk. The eldest daughter is always given this name.

In each village the houses of members of each gens are grouped together. The phratries of the Haida correspond to the Tsimshian



gentes in such a way that raven and eagle on one side, wolf and bear on the other, are amalgamated.

The Hēiltsuk of Milbank Sound are also in the maternal stage, and are divided into clans having animal totems. There are three of them:—

1. K'ōih̄tēnoq (=raven people), raven, starfish, sun, g'og'amā'tsē (box in which the sun was kept before the raven liberated it). Their house is painted all black.

2. Wik'oak'htēnoq (=eagle people). Thunder-bird (K'ani'sltsna), an enormous dancing-hat.

3. Ha'lq'aintēnoq (=killer people). *Delphinus orca*, K'omō'k'oa. A huge mouth is painted on the house-front, the posts are killers, two fish named Melhani'gun are painted at both sides of the door. Sea-lions (which are considered the dog of K'omō'k'oa) are the crossbeams.

The most southern tribe which belongs to this group are the Awiky'ēnoq of Rivers Inlet. Further south, and among the Bilqula, patriarchate prevails. The social organisation of these tribes differs fundamentally from that of the northern group. We do not find a single clan that has, properly speaking, an animal for its totem; neither do the clans take their names from their crest, nor are there phratries. It seems as though the members of each gens were really kindred. The 'first' of each gens is said to have been sent by the deity, or to have risen from the depth of the ocean or the earth to a certain place which became his home.

I shall give abstracts of a few of these legends, which will explain the character of the clans of the Kwākiutl.

*Hē'likilikila and Lōtlemāk'a.*—Hē'likilikila descended from heaven in the shape of a bird carrying a neck-ring of red cedar-bark.<sup>1</sup> He built a house and made a large fire. Then a woman called Lōtlemāk'a rose from under the earth. He spoke to her: 'You shall stay with me and be my sister.' Thenceforth they lived in opposite corners of the house. The Kwats'ēnok had heard of Hē'likilikila's neck-ring, and made a futile attempt to steal it. When one of them entered the house where Hē'likilikila was sleeping, he was stricken with madness. Hē'likilikila, however, cured him, gave him the ring, and the Kwats'ēnok returned home. Since that day they dance the Tsētsā'ēk'a, in which rings of red cedar-bark are used.

*Lē'laqa.*—Two eagles and their young descended from heaven and alighted at Qu'mqatē (Cape Scott). They took off their eagle-skins and became men. The father's name was Nā'laqōtau; that of the mother Ank'ā'laynk'oa; and the young was called Lē'laqa. One day the latter pursued a seal, which, when far away from the coast, was transformed into a cuttle-fish, and drowned Lē'laqa. After a while he awoke to new life, and flew to heaven in the shape of an eagle. Then he returned to his parents, who had mourned for him, for they believed him to be dead. They saw an eagle descending from heaven. In his talons he carried a little box, in which he had many whistles imitating the voice of the eagle. He wore the double mask Naqnakyak'umtl and a neck-ring of red cedar bark. He became the ancestor of the gens Nēē'ntsa.

*Se'ntlaē.*—Se'ntlaē, the sun, descended in the shape of a bird from heaven, assumed the shape of a man, and built a house in Yik'ā'men. Then he wandered to K'ō'moks, visited the Tlau'itsis, the Nēm'ic, and

<sup>1</sup> It conveys the secrets of the winter dance (see p. 53).

Nā'k'oartok, and finally reached Tliksi'uaē (=the plain at the mouth of the river, where clover-root is found), in the country of the Kwākiutl, where he settled at K'āioq. He took a wife among each tribe whom he visited, and his family has the name Sisintlē. He resolved to stay in Tliksi'uaē, and took a Kwākiutl woman for his wife. They had a son, whom they called Tsqt'qā'lis. On each side of the door of their house they painted a large sun. The posts are men, each carrying a sun. They are called Lēla'qt'otpes, and were Se'ntlaē's slaves. The crossbars resting upon the posts also represent men, while the beams are sea-lions. The steps leading to the house-door are three men called Tlē'nonis. During the winter dances the Sisintlē use the mask of the sun, Tlē'selak'urtl; in the dance Yā'wiqa, that of the dog Ku'loqsā (=the sun shining red through the clouds), who descended with SE'ntlaē from heaven. Their heraldic column is called SE'ntlē'qēm. It represents a series of copper plates, on the top of which a man called Lāqt'otpes (singular of Lēla'qt'otpes—he who gives presents to strangers only) is standing. Above all is the mask of the sun emitting rays.

Of special importance is the connection of the ancestors of these gentes with K'ā'nikilak' (meaning doubtful), the son of the deity. He is the ancestor of a gens of the Nak'o'mkilisila, who, upon the strength of this legend, claim a superiority to all others. This point seems of sufficient importance to be given in greater detail. I was told that in the far west there lived a chief called Ha'nitsum (the possessor of arrows), who had a daughter called Aintsuma'letlilok' (with many earrings of halotis shells). K'ā'nikilak' went into his boat K'ok'ō'malis, and after long wandering he reached Hā'nitsum's house. He married the latter's daughter, and took her home to Koā'nē (near Cape Scott). They had a son, who received the name of Hā'neus. He lived to be a great chief.

K'anikilak' wandered all over the world. In his wanderings he encountered the ancestors of all gentes of the various Kwākiutl tribes, made friends with them, and filled the rivers of their countries with salmon. I give an example of this kind of tradition. K'anikilak' met Nōmas, the ancestor of the Tlauitsis. He was the first to make fish-lines of kelp to catch halibut; therefore the Tlauitsis were the first tribe to use these. K'anikilak' made friends with Nōmas, and filled the rivers of his country with salmon. He met Ō'meāt, who was sitting on an island. When the latter saw K'anikilak' approaching, he pointed his first finger towards him, which perforated K'anikilak's head. Then the latter perforated Ōmeāt's head in the same way. Now they knew that they were equally strong, and parted.

In some cases it is very difficult to decide whether a group of men deriving their origin from one of these ancestors is really a gens or a tribe, particularly in those cases in which the tribal name agrees with that of the ancestor of one of the gentes; for instance, Ma'malēlēk'ala (collective of Mālēlēk'ala), or Wē'wēk'ae (collective of Wē'k'ae). A considerable number of tribal names and the majority of names of gentes are simply the collective form of the name of the ancestor. Others are taken from the regions inhabited by the tribe.

It appears that a tribe of the Kwākiutl must be defined as a series of gentes, whose ancestors first made their appearance in a certain well-defined region. Thus the ancestors of the Nak'o'mkilisila gentes appeared on or near Cape Scott; those of the Tlatlasik'oala on or near Hope Island,

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of the Kwákiutl in Hardy Bay. No other connection between the several gentes seems to exist. We shall see later on that the Coast Salish have the same organisation, with the exception that the gentes are named on a different principle. The latter, however, have only very slight indications of crests, while the crests play an exceedingly important part in the life of the Kwákiutl.

In order to make clear the organisation of these tribes, I will enumerate the divisions and gentes of one group of tribes.

The following four tribes which inhabit the north-eastern part of Vancouver Island form one group. I enumerate the tribes, subdivisions, and gentes of this group according to their rank.

1. Kwá'kintl, called by the Bilqula and Coast Salish, Kwakó'otl; Fort Rupert.

Subdivisions: 1. Kué'tela, so called by the tribes north of Vancouver Island.

Gentes: 1, Maa'mtakyila. 2, Kwókwá'kum. 3, Gyé'qsem. 4, Lá'alaqsent'aiō. 5, Sísintlaē.

2. K'ó'mōyue (=rich people). War name: Kué'qa (=murderers).

Gentes: 1, Kwókwá'kum. 2, Há'anatlinō. 3, Yaa'i'hak'emē (=crab). 4, Háailakyawē or Lá'gsē. 5, Gyí'gyilk'am.

3. Walaskwakiutl=the great Kwákiutl.

Gentes: 1, Ts'ents'ennuk'aiō. 2, Gyé'qsem. 3, Wa'alipōē. 4, K'ómkyütis (=the rich ride).

2. Mamalélek'a'la. East of Alert Bay.

Gentes: 1, Te'mtēmtlets. 2, We'omask'am. 3, Wá'las. 4, Mā'malélek'am.

3. Né'mkic, K'á'matsin Lake and Nimkish River.

Gentes: 1, Ts'etsētloa'lak'amaē. 2, Tlätel'a'min. 3, Gyí'gyitk'am. 4, Sísintlaē. 5, Né'nelky'ēnoq.

4. Tlauitsis, Cracroft and Turner Islands.

Gentes: 1, Sísintlaē. 2, Nūnemasek'ālis. 3, Tlätlk'ēt. 4, Gyí'gyilk'am.

It remains to describe briefly their crests. Every gens has certain tales in which the reason for their using these crests is explained. I shall confine myself in this place to a list of crests of the tribes of Fort Rupert.

1. Maa'mtakyila: Carvings: Thunder-bird, crane, grizzly bear, raven, sun. Mask: Mā'takyila, sun.

2. Kwókwá'kum: Ancestor, Tlá'k'oaki'la. Posts: Grizzly bear on top of crane, thunder-bird, crane, sun.

3. Gyé'qsem: Crane on top of a man's head.

4. Lá'alaqsent'aiō: *Delphinus orca* with man's body.

5. SE'ntlaē: Sun.

6. Háailikyawē: Large head-ring with raven head attached to it. Heraldic columns: Tsōnō'k'oa, grizzly bear, thunder-bird; Sísintl, crane, raven.

7. Kwókwá'kum. Ancestor, Nō'lis. Dancing utensil: Bear with beaver tail. Post: Sea-lion. Heraldic column: Pole, man on top of it.

8. Há'anatlinō. Mask: Man, on top of whom moon and eagle. Posts: Bear, thunder-bird.

9. TSENHK'AIÖ. Post: TSENHK'AIÖ (a species of eagle). Beams: Sea-lion. Post: TS'E'NHK'AIÖ. Heraldic column: A little man with a thick belly.

10. Gyē'qsem. Heraldic column: Long pole, the base of which rests on a man, on top of which stands a crane, its beak turned downward, and a double-headed snake (Sisiutl).

This very fragmentary list shows that each gens uses certain carvings for certain purposes. The details of the carvings of their houses are prescribed by the legendary description of the house of the ancestor, and so are their masks and their heraldic columns. I would call attention to the important fact that the dancing implements and the dances themselves belong to the crest of the tribe, or, more properly speaking, to the customs and carvings to which the gens is entitled.

The distinction of what constitutes a gens and what a tribe is still more difficult among the Coast Salish. Their legends are very much like those of the Kwäkiutl. They tell of fabulous ancestors who descended from heaven and built houses. From these a certain group of families, who always inhabit one village, derive their origin. They call themselves from the place at which their village stands, or which they claim as their original home. Whenever they leave their home, they take the name of their old village to the new place, although the name is generally a geographical one, taken from certain peculiarities of the locality. For instance, the name Tsimé'nes means 'where the landing is close by the house,' an epithet that was well adapted to their former village at the mouth of Cowitchin River, but not to their new home at Chimenes. Many such instances might be enumerated. Some of these gentes have certain prerogatives and certain carvings, but these are of very little importance, when compared to those of the Kwäkiutl, among whom they exert a ruling influence over their whole life. The Snanai-muq, for instance, have the following gentes: Tē'wētqen, Yē'ceqen, K'oltsi'owotl, Qsá'loql, Anu'énes. Among these only the first and the second are allowed to use masks, which have the shape of beavers, ducks, or salmon. Each gens has its own proper names.

I have so far stated only in a very general way that the northern tribes have a maternal, the southern a paternal organisation. It remains to give some more details on this important subject. One of the main facts is, that the phratries, viz. gentes of the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, and Héiltsuk, are exogamous, not only among each tribe, but throughout the whole region. A member of the eagle gens of the Héiltsuk, for instance, cannot marry a member of the eagle phratry of the Tlingit. Those gentes are considered identical which have the same crest. I do not know whether any such law prevails in the case of marriages between the Kwäkiutl and Héiltsuk, which, however, seem to be of very rare occurrence. Neither was I able to arrive at a fully satisfactory conclusion regarding the question whether marriages inside a gens of the Kwäkiutl are absolutely prohibited, but I believe that such is the case. This difficulty arises from the fact that the Kwäkiutl considers himself as belonging half to his mother's, half to his father's gens, while he uses the crest of his wife. I do not know of a single instance of a Kwäkiutl marrying a member of his own gens. The Salish gentes, for instance those of the Sk-qō'mic, are not exogamous, but I am not quite positive whether this is true in all cases.

I do not intend in the present chapter to discuss the customs refer-

ring to birth, marriage, and death, all of which have reference to the social organisation of these tribes, and which help to gain a better understanding of this organisation. It will be sufficient to mention a few facts gleaned from these customs which have special reference to the questions under discussion.

The members of a gens are obliged to assist each other on every occasion, but particularly when heavy payments are to be made to other gentes. Instances of this kind will be found later on in the description of the proceedings at the occasion of the building of new houses and at burials. It is a very remarkable fact that the gens of the male line has to do certain services at such opportunities which are not paid by the individual but by the gens. Thus a gens is not permitted to touch the body of one of its members; the burial is to be arranged by the gens to which the deceased's father belongs. This solidarity of the gens is principally found among the northern tribes, which are in the maternal stage. Among the same tribes mothers' sisters are considered and called mothers, fathers' brothers, fathers, while there exist separate terms for mothers' brothers and fathers' sisters.

It is a noteworthy fact that the Hēiltsuk and the Kwākiutl, who speak dialects of the same language, differ fundamentally in regard to their social organisation. I am inclined to believe that the natriarchate of the Hēiltsuk is due to the influence of the Tsimshian, with whom they have frequently intermarried, and upon whom the Hēiltsuk have had a considerable influence. But the marriage ceremonies of the Kwākiutl seem to show that originally matriarchate prevailed also among them. The husband always assumes, a short time after marriage, his father-in-law's name and crest, and thus becomes a member of his wife's clan. From him this crest descends upon his children; the daughters retain it, but his sons, on marrying, lose it, adopting that of their wives. Thus the descent of the crest is practically in the female line, every unmarried man having his mother's crest; but still we cannot call this state matriarchate proper, as the father is the head of the family, as he gives up his own crest for that of his wife. This law is carried so far that a chief who has no daughters marries one of his sons to another chief's son, the latter thus acquiring his crest. By this means the extinction of gentes is prevented. It seems, however, that the father's gens is not entirely given up, for the natives frequently use carvings of both gentes promiscuously, but certain parts of the father's gens, to which I shall refer presently, are excluded from this use. The following instance, which came under my personal observation, will show the customs of the Kwākiutl regarding this point. K'ōmena'kula, chief of the gens Gyī'gyilk'am, of the tribe Tlatlasik'ōala, has the heraldic column of that gens, and the double-headed snake for his crest. In dances he uses the latter, but chiefly the attributes of the raven gens. His mother belonged to the gens Nūnemasek'ālis, of the Tlau'itsis; hence he wears the mask of that gens. He had an only daughter, who, with her husband, lived with him. She died, and her husband is the present owner of the heraldic column of the gens. The son of this daughter, at present a boy seven years of age, is the future chief of the gens.

Among the Salish there is no trace of matriarchal institutions. The child belongs to the father's gens, the eldest son inheriting his rank and name.

Closely connected with the gentes of the Kwākiutl are their secret societies, each of which has certain characteristic dancing implements. They are obtained by marriage in the same way in which the crest is obtained. There is, however, one restriction to the acquiring of the right to become a member of the secret society. The person who is to acquire it must be declared worthy by the tribe assembled in council. Not until this is done is the man allowed to marry the girl from whose father the right of being initiated is to be acquired. This is even true regarding the 'medicine men.' The emblems of these secret societies are rings of red cedar-bark, of various designs. The connection of the gentes and these institutions may be seen from the legend 'Hēlikilikila and Lōtemak'a,' which was told on p. 29.<sup>1</sup>

Although a few of the tribes inhabiting the country adjoining that of the Kwākiutl have secret societies of the same character among them they are in no way connected with the gens. This fact, as well as the difference in the character of the legends of the gentes, proves that the social organisation of these groups of tribes is of entirely different origin. The southern groups derive their origin from a fabulous ancestor who is either himself the totem or to whose adventures the totem refers. The first is the case in the gens Sī'sintlaē, which derives its origin from the sun, Ts'e'nts'enhk' aiō of the Walaskwakintl, which derives its origin from the eagle, and others. In the majority of cases the crest refers to adventures of the ancestor. In the northern groups we observe a pure animal totem, but the animal is not considered the ancestor of the gens bearing its name. The crest always refers to adventures of one of the ancestors.

#### GOVERNMENT AND LAW.

The people of this country are divided into three classes: common people, middle class, and chiefs. While the last form a group by themselves, the members of the class forming the highest nobility, children of middle-class people are born common people, and remain so until they become members of a secret society, or give a great feast and take a name. All along the coast the giving away of presents is considered a means of attaining social distinction. The chief has numerous prerogatives, although his influence upon the members of the tribe is comparatively small. I am best acquainted with his claims among the Tsimshian, but it seems probable that these institutions are much alike among the various peoples. He has to carry out the decisions of the council; more particularly, he has to declare peace and war. His opinion must be asked by the tribe in all important events. He decides when the winter village is to be left, when the fishing begins, &c. The first fish, the first berries, &c. are given to him. It is his duty to begin all dances. He must be invited to all festivities, and when the first whistles are blown in winter, indicating the beginning of the dancing season, he receives a certain tribute. People of low rank must not step up directly to a chief, whose seat is in the rear of the house, but must approach him going along the walls of the house.

The highest in rank among all Tsimshian chiefs is the one of the Gyispaqlá'ots tribe. His name is invariably Legi'eq. He is considered

<sup>1</sup> See the author's paper on 'The use of masks on the North-West Coast of America,' in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, 1888.

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the noblest, because a number of secret societies are only permitted to his family and tribe. This is accounted for by the fact that these secret societies were acquired by marriage from the Gyit'amá't. Tradition says—and it is undoubtedly correct—that a woman of the Gyispaqlá'ots tribe eloped with a Gyit'amá't chief, to whose gens these dances belonged. After her return the woman was given the name G'andema'qtl (= only in eloping ascending mountain). The name LEGÍ'eq is a Gyit'amá't name. It is a privilege of the Gyispaqlá'ots to trade with the Gyitksa'n; and they kept up this privilege successfully even against the Hudson Bay Company until the latter purchased it from them in 1886. The Gyit'endá chiefs are relatives of those of the Gyispaqlá'ots. They share their privileges, and bear the same names, the one LEGÍ'eq excepted.

The Gyitqá'tla are considered higher in rank than any other of the tribes of the Tsimshian proper. They have the same secret societies which the Gyispaqlá'ots and Git'endá have. They acquired them through inter-marriage from the Gyitló'p and Hēiltsuk'. Only quite recently the Haida acquired them from the Gyitqá'tla.

The Gyits'umrá'lon are not of Tsimshian origin. Six generations (that is, about 150 years) ago a number of Tongas (Tlingit), men and women, emigrated from Alaska in consequence of continued wars, and settled on the brook of Gyits'umrá'lon. They married a number of Tsimshian women and men, among whom the names Rataqá'q and Astoé'nē are mentioned. For a considerable time they continued to speak Tlingit, but finally were assimilated by the Tsimshian. Their descendants are still called Gunhó'ot (runaways).

It is becoming to a chief to be proud and to leave his memory to his descendants. Therefore the LEGÍ'eq, who ruled 150 years ago (the sixth back), had his figure painted on a vertical precipice on Nass River. A series of coppers is standing under his figure. Since that time the place is called Wulgyiləstqald'amptk (where self on written).

Seven generations ago Nēs-wiba'sk (grandfather great wind), a chief at Meqtlak-qá'tla, had his figure carved on a rock on an island near Meqtlak-qá'tla. He lay down, had his outline marked, and the carving completed in a single night.

The Gyitg'á'ata of Grenville Channel are subjects of the chief of the Gyitwulgyá'ts. They have to pay a tribute of fish, oil, berries, and skins every year. The Gyitlá'op are subjects of the chief of the Gyitqá'tla.

When a chief dies the chieftaincy devolves upon his younger brother, then upon his nephew, and, if there is none, upon his niece. Only, if a chief's family dies out the head man of his crest can become chief. This is the only case in which a middle-class man can advance to the rank of a chief. The chief's property, as well as that of others, is inherited first by the nephews; if there are none, then by the deceased's mother or aunt. A woman's property is inherited by her children.

There are very few common people, for whoever can afford it lets his child enter a secret society immediately after birth, by proxy. The child thus becomes a middle-class man. The more feasts are given by him the higher becomes his rank, but no member of the middle class can ever become a member of the chief class. The chief's daughter on reaching maturity must grind down her teeth by chewing a pebble of jade (see p. 12). So far as I know, this is the only deformation of the body which is confined to one class only.

When a family is liable to die out the father is allowed to adopt one

of his daughters, who then receives a name belonging to his crest. On this occasion a great festival is given. A man cannot adopt more than one child at a time.

The council is composed of middle-class men. Nobody who has not taken a name, or who is not a member of a secret society, is allowed to take part in it. The mother's brother represents his nephews. A woman is only admitted if she is the head of a family.

The council decides all important questions concerning the tribe, and is the court which judges criminals. Those who are found guilty of sorcery are tied up and placed at the edge of low water, and are left there to be drowned. According to legends, such people were frequently left alone in the winter village to starve to death. If a man does not observe the prescribed rules during dances he is tied and brought before the council. If nobody speaks in his favour he is killed, else he is punished by being made a slave, or by heavy payments. All crimes can be atoned for by sufficient payments. If such are not made it is the duty of the nearest relatives to take revenge.

The coast tribes have always been great traders, and they had a certain currency. Dentalia, skins, and slaves were standards of value. For less valuable property marmot-skins sewed together served as currency. The Tsimshian used to exchange olachen oil and carvings of mountain-goat horn for canoes. The Chitk'at sold their beautiful blankets; the Heiltsuk, canoes; while the southern tribes furnished principally slaves.

The latter were in every respect the property of their masters, who were allowed to kill them, to sell them, or to give them their liberty. Children of slaves were also slaves.

Strangers are always received kindly and with much ceremony. Among the tribes who still adhere to their old customs they are offered the host's daughter while they remain.

So far as I am aware, the institutions of the Haida, Tlingit, and Heiltsuk are much the same as those described here. I did not learn any details, as I did not visit these tribes in their homes.

The following observations hold good for the Kwākiutl and Coast Salish, as well as for the northern group of tribes. Polygamy is not of rare occurrence, although generally each man has only one wife. The first wife is of higher rank than those married at a later date. Women must not take part in the councils and feasts, except when they are heads of families (or, among the Kwākiutl, chief's daughters); but the husband takes home from the feast a dish of all the various kinds of food that were served. The dish must be returned the same night.

The principal work of the women is gathering berries and clams, drying fish, and preparing the meals. They weave mats, blankets, and hats. The men, on the other hand, hunt and fish, they fetch fuel—if large logs are wanted—and build houses and canoes. They also make the carvings and paintings.

The property of the whole gens is vested in the chief, who considers the salmon rivers, berry patches, and coast strips, in which the gens has the sole right, as his property. Houses belong to the man who erected the framework. They are always inhabited by members of one gens. Canoes, fishing-gear, &c. are personal property. Women own boxes; dishes, and other household goods.

*The Kwākiutl.*—As among these tribes paternal institutions take the place of maternal institutions, many laws are found that are not known

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to the northern group of tribes. If such is possible, the rank of each man is here still more exactly fixed than among their neighbours. The rank is determined by the gens to which a man belongs, by the feasts he has given, and by the secret societies to which he belongs. In the list of gentes on page 31 I have enumerated the Kwākiutl gentes according to their social standing. In great festivals celebrated for the purpose of acquiring rank by giving away property, the noblest guests sit in the rear part of the house, nearest the fire, and the lower in rank the farther back they sit. When only one row is formed those lowest in rank sit nearest the door.

The affairs of the whole tribe are discussed in council, in which only men participate. Before the opening of the discussion four songs are sung and four courses are served. Then the public affairs are discussed in long and elaborate speeches, delivered principally by the chiefs. In time of peace there is no chief who has acknowledged authority over the whole tribe, but each gens has its own chief. A certain superiority of social standing is acknowledged in those who have given a great donation feast. In times of war a war chief is elected.

The chief represents his gens, and carries out the decision of the council. Except on delivering speeches, he does not speak to people of low rank, but converses with them through messengers.

If a single person is offended, the gentes of both his father and mother are obliged to come to his help. Thus the long war between the Coast Salish and Lekwiltok originated. Formerly these wars were of so frequent occurrence that the villages all along the coast were protected by stockades.

The institutions of the Coast Salish and of the Kwākiutl are pretty much the same, except that the former have a pure patriarchate, and the child inherits his father's rank and property.

Among the Sk'qō'mic, for instance, the chieftaincy devolves upon the chief's son. If there is only a daughter his grandson is the successor. If there are no children a new chief is elected from among his gens. If the successor is a young boy a representative is elected who acts as chief until the boy is grown up and has assumed a name. If a man dies his wife inherits all the property and keeps it until her children are grown up. After the death of the husband she gives a potlatch to his memory.

Among all the tribes heretofore described each gens owns a certain district and certain fishing privileges. Among the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian each gens in each village has its own fishing-ground; its mountains and valleys, on which it has the sole right of hunting and picking berries; its rivers in which to fish salmon, and its house-sites. For this reason the houses of one gens are always grouped together. I do not know of any tradition which accounts for this fact, or of any other foundation of their claim. The Kwākiutl, who have the same distribution of land among the various gentes, account for this fact by saying that the ancestor of each gens descended from heaven to the particular region now owned by his descendants. Later on K'anikilak', the son of the deity (see p. 30), in his wanderings encountered these ancestors, and gave them the country they inhabited as their property, filling at the same time their rivers with salmon. The Coast Salish derive their claims to certain tracts of land in the same way from the fact that the ancestor of each gens came down to a certain place, or that he settled there after the great flood. The right of a gens to the place where it

originated cannot be destroyed. It may acquire by war or by other events territory originally belonging to foreign tribes, and leave its home to be taken up by others; the right of fishing, hunting, and gathering berries in their old home is rigidly maintained. A careful study shows that nowhere the tribe as a body politic owns a district, but that each gens has its proper hunting and fishing grounds, upon which neither members of other tribes nor of other gentes must intrude except by special permission. It would be an interesting and important object of study to inquire into the territorial rights of each gens, for such a study would undoubtedly throw much light upon the ancient history of these peoples. These rigid laws in regard to the holding of land by the gentes are very important in the past history of the Indians of British Columbia, and are of prime importance in their present relations to the white settlers.

One of the most complicated and interesting institutions of these tribes is the so-called *potlatch*—the custom of paying debts and of acquiring distinction by means of giving a great feast and making presents to all guests. It is somewhat difficult to understand the meaning of the potlatch. I should compare its most simple form to our custom of invitation or making presents and the obligations arising from the offering, not from the acceptance, of such invitations and presents. Indeed, the system is almost exactly analogous, with the sole exception that the Indian is more anxious to outdo the first giver than the civilised European, who, however, has the same tendency, and that what is custom with us is law to the Indian. Thus by continued potlatches each man becomes necessarily the debtor of the other. According to Indian ideas any moral or material harm done to a man can be made good by an adequate potlatch. Thus if a man was ridiculed by another he gives away a number of blankets to his friends, and thus regains his former standing. I remember, for instance, that the grandson of a chief in Hope Island by unskilful management of his little canoe was upset near the beach and had to wade ashore. The grandfather felt ashamed on account of the boy's accident, and gave away blankets to take away the occasion of remarks on this subject. In the same way a man who feels injured by another will destroy a certain amount of property; then his adversary is compelled to do the same, else a stain of dishonour would rest upon him. This custom may be compared to a case when a member of civilised society gives away to no good purpose a considerable amount of money ostentatiously in order to show his superiority over a detested neighbour. I adduce these comparisons to show that the custom is not so difficult to understand, and is founded on psychical causes as active in our civilised society as among the barbarous natives of British Columbia. A remarkable feature of the potlatch is the custom of giving feasts going beyond the host's means. The procedure at such occasions is also exactly regulated. The foundation of this custom is the solidarity of the individual and the gens, or even the tribe, to which he belongs. If an individual gains social distinction his gens participates in it. If he loses in respect the stain rests also on the gens. Therefore the gens contributes to the payments to be made at a festival. If the feast is given to foreign tribes the whole tribe contributes to these payments. The method by which this is done has been well set forth by Dr. G. M. Dawson ('Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.' 1887, page 80). The man who intends to give the potlatch first borrows as many blankets as he needs

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from both his friends and from those whom he is going to invite to the feast. Everyone lends him as many as he can afford, i.e. according to his rank. At the feast these are given away, each man receiving the more the higher his rank is. All those who have received anything at the potlatch have to repay the double amount at a later day, and this is used to repay those who lent blankets. At each such feast the man who gives it acquires a new and more honourable name.

Among the Snanaimuq I observed the following customs: The chief's son adopts, some time after his father's death, the latter's name. For this purpose he invites all the neighbouring tribes to a potlatch. The Snanaimuq have a permanent scaffold erected in front of their houses, on which the chief stands during the potlatch, assisted by two slaves, who distribute the presents he gives away among his guests, who stand and sit in the street. As it is necessary to give a great festival at the assumption of the chief's name, the new chief continues sometimes for years and years to accumulate wealth for the purpose of celebrating this event. At the festival his father's name is given him by four chiefs of foreign tribes.

I will give here some details on the wars of this tribe. The warriors were thoroughly trained. They were not allowed to eat while on the war-path. Before setting out on such an expedition they painted their faces red. When near the village they intended to attack, the party divided; one half hid in the woods behind the village, while the others watched in their canoes. When the latter gave a sign both parties attacked the village. When successful, the men were killed, the women and children carried off as slaves. The heads of the slain were cut off, taken home, and planted on poles in front of the houses.

It may be of interest to hear the history of one of these wars that raged for many years about the middle of this century as told by a chief of the Snanaimuq. K'oä'Elite, a chief of the Si'ciatl, had a daughter, who was the wife of a chief of the Snanaimuq. Once upon a time the former tribe was attacked by the Lē'kwiltok', and many men had been killed. Then Koä'Elite sent to the chief of the Snanaimuq and called upon him for help. They set out jointly and met the Lē'kwiltok' at Qu'sam (Salmon River). In the ensuing struggle the Si'ciatl and Snanaimuq were victorious, but many of their warriors were killed. They brought home many heads of their enemies. The friends of the Snanaimuq, however, were sad when they heard of the death of so many of their friends, and they resolved to take revenge. They all, the Pēnā'leqats, T'ä'teke, Yeqo'laos, Qelä'ltq, Çek'emē'n, Snōū'os, Snanaimuq, and Si'ciatl, gathered and made war upon the Lē'kwiltok'. Another battle was fought at Qu'sam, in which the Lē'kwiltok' were utterly defeated, and in which many slaves were captured. Now the Lē'kwiltok' called upon their northern neighbours for help. They were greatly reduced in numbers; of the Tla'aluis only three were left. Then these tribes went south to take revenge, and in a number of battles fought with the southern tribes, who had meanwhile been joined by the tribes of Puget Sound. While the war was thus raging with alternating success, part of the tribes on Vancouver Island had removed to the upper part of Cowitchin River, others to Nanaimo River, still others to the mainland. Posts were continually maintained to keep the tribes informed of movements of the Lē'kwiltok' and their allies. Once they had unexpectedly made an expedition southward before the tribes were able to gather. They had gone past Fraser River to Puget Sound and had massacred the tribes of that region.

Meanwhile those assembled on Cowitchin River had sent word to the tribes of Fraser River and summoned them to come to the island. They told them to pass through Cowitchin Gap and to look on the shallow beach on the north side of that channel for a signal. They obeyed. Meanwhile all the tribes on the island had assembled and determined to await the return of the Lē'kwiltok in Maple Bay. To indicate this they erected a pole, sprinkled with the blood of a blue jay, at the beach in Cowitchin Gap, and made it point towards Maple Bay. Thus they all assembled. Early one morning they heard the Lē'kwiltok coming. They sang songs of victory. Unexpectedly they were attacked. Almost all of them were slaughtered, their canoes sunk, and women and children enslaved. A few reached the shore, but were starved near Comox. This was the last great battle of the war. The narrator's father made peace with the northern tribes. He was the first to settle again on Gabriola Island. He emancipated his slaves. When peace was made the chiefs made their peoples intermarry.

I have no observations to offer on the government or laws of the Kutona'qa, except that usually the chief is succeeded by his son. If the latter is not considered worthy the new chief is elected from among his family.

#### CUSTOMS REGARDING BIRTH, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH.

Krause gives the following reports of the customs of the Tlingit observed at the birth of a child. He says that, according to Kemiainow, the women are assisted by midwives. After the child is born the young mother has to remain for ten days in a small hut, which is erected for this purpose, and in which the child was born. The new-born infant is washed with cold fresh water and kept in a cradle filled with moss. It is not given the breast until all the contents of its stomach (which are considered the cause of disease) are removed by vomiting, which is promoted by pressing the stomach. A month after birth the mother is said to leave her hut for the first time; then she washes her child and puts on new clothing. For five days after birth the mother does not partake of any food, but drinks a little lukewarm water.

Among the Tsimshian I observed the following customs: A woman who is with child is not allowed to eat tails of salmon, as else the confinement would be hard. She must rise early in the morning and leave the house before any of the other inhabitants leave it. Before the child is born the father must stay outside his house, and must wear ragged clothing. After the child is born he must abstain from eating any fat food, particularly porcupine, seal, and whale. The mother is confined in a small house or in a separate room.

Numerous ceremonies must be observed when girls reach maturity. When about thirteen or fourteen years old they begin to practise fasting, eating in the afternoon only, as a very severe fasting is prescribed at the time when they reach maturity. It is believed that if they had any food in their stomachs at this time they would have bad luck in all future. They must remain alone and unseen in their room or in a porch for ten days, and abstain from food and drink. For four days they are not even allowed a drop of water. For a fortnight the girl is not permitted to chew her own food. If she desires to have two or three boys when married, two or three men chew her food for her; in the other case, two or three

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women. At the end of this fasting they are covered with mats and held over a fire. It is believed that by this ceremony her children are made to be healthy; if it were omitted they would die, even if they grow up to be a few years old. The girl is not allowed to look at fresh salmon and olachen for a whole year, and has to abstain from eating it. Her head is always covered with a small mat, and she must not look at men. She must not lie down, but always sit, propped up between boxes and mats. Her mother's clan give a great feast and many presents to her father's clan. At this feast her ears are perforated, and she is given ear-ornaments. When a chief's daughter reaches maturity she is given a jade pebble, which she must bite until her teeth are completely worn down in the middle. When the festival was held slaves were often given away or killed.

I will mention in this place that women when drinking for the first time after marriage must turn their cup four times in the same direction in which the sun is moving, and drink very little only. The perforation of the ears is repeated at later occasions, and every time a new hole is made a new festival is celebrated.

After a death has occurred, the relatives of the deceased have their hair cut short and their faces blackened. They cover their heads with ragged and soiled mats, and go four times around the body singing mourning songs. They must speak but little, confining themselves to answering questions, as it is believed that they would else become chatterboxes. Until the body is buried they must fast, eating only a very little at night. Women of the gentes to which the deceased did not belong act as wailers, and are paid for their work, the whole gens of the deceased contributing to the payment. In wailing the women must keep their eyes closed. The gens to which the deceased person's father belongs must bury him. The body lies in state for a number of days. It is washed immediately after death, placed upright and painted with the crest of the gens of the dead person. His dancing ornaments and weapons are placed by his side. Then the body is put into a box which is tied up with lines made of elk-skins. These are furnished by the gens of the deceased, and kept as a payment by the other gens. The bodies, except those of shamans, are burnt. The box is placed on the funeral pile, the lines of elk-skin are taken off and kept by the father's gens. A hole is cut into the bottom of the box and the pile is lighted. Before all is burnt the heart is taken out of the body and buried. It is believed that if it were burnt, all relations of the deceased would die. The father's gens, besides receiving the lines, is paid with marmot-skins and blankets. The nearest relations mourn for a whole year. Some time after the burial a memorial post is erected and a memorial festival celebrated. If many members of one family die in quick succession, the survivors lay their fourth fingers on the edge of the box in which the corpse is deposited and cut off the first joint 'to cut off the deaths' (gyidig'ots). The bodies of shamans are buried in caves or in the woods. These customs are common to the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian.

- *Bilqula*.—Among the Bilqula I noted the following customs: They have professional midwives to assist the woman, who is delivered in a small house built for this purpose. The child is washed in warm water. The mother must remain for ten days in her room. Father and mother are not allowed to go near the river for a year, else the salmon would take offence.

Girls when reaching maturity must stay in their bedroom, where they have a fireplace of their own. They are not allowed to descend to the floor, and do not sit by the fire of the family. After a while they may leave their room, but only through a hole cut in the floor (the houses standing on piles), through which they must also enter. They are allowed to pick berries, but for a whole year they must not come near the river or the sea. They must not drink more than is absolutely necessary. They must not eat salmon of the season, else they would lose their senses, or their mouths would be transformed into long beaks. They must not eat snow, which is much liked by the Indians, nor must they chew gum.

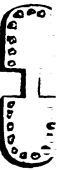
*Kwākiutl.*—There are the same restrictions regarding the place in which women are confined and regarding the food of girls reaching maturity. The marriage customs are of peculiar interest on account of the transition from maternal to paternal institutions that may be observed here. If a young man wishes to marry a girl, he must send messengers to the girl's father and ask his permission. If the father accepts the suitor, he may demand fifty or more blankets, according to his rank, to be paid at once. He demands double that number to be paid after three months. After this second payment has been made, the young man is allowed to live with his wife in his father-in-law's house. When he goes to live there the young man gives a feast to the whole tribe, without giving away any blankets, and receives from his father-in-law fifty blankets or more. At the same time his father-in-law states when he intends to refund the rest. During the feast, in which the young wife takes part, she tells her father that her husband wishes to have his carvings and dances. Her father is obliged to give them to him, and promises to do so at a future occasion. After three months more the young man pays his father-in-law 100 blankets to gain permission to take his wife to his own home. The blankets which he has given to his father-in-law are repaid by the latter with interest. At the appointed time the woman's father gives a great feast to the whole tribe. He steps forward carrying his copper, the emblem of richness and power, and hands it to his son-in-law, thus giving him his name, carvings, and dances. The young man has to give blankets to every guest attending the feast; the nobler the guest is, the more blankets he receives.

The dowry of the bride consists of bracelets made of beaver-toes and copper; so-called 'button-blankets,' copper-plates, and the *gyi'serstäl*. The last is a heavy board shaped like one of the lids of Indian boxes. Its front is set with sea-otter teeth. It is said to represent the human lower jaw, and I was told that it indicates the right of the husband to command his wife to speak or to be silent as he may desire.

The bride receives her boxes and other household goods from her parents. After the marriage she makes presents of dishes, spoons, trays, and similar objects to the whole tribe in behalf of her husband, in order to show his liberality. If the woman should intend to separate from her husband, and to return to her parents, her father must repay twofold all he has received from his son-in-law. If there should be a child, he has to repay him threefold. This third part becomes the property of the child. Frequently this is only a sham divorce, entered into to give an opportunity to the father-in-law to show his liberality and wealth. As soon as he has paid the husband, the latter repurchases his wife. I was

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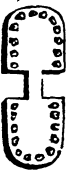
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told that the *gyi'serstal* is not used by the *Lé'kwiltok'*. It is certainly not known to the Coast Salish.

Among the *Tlatlasik'oala* and *Awiky'é'nok'* the gens of the young man go out to meet his bride. They connect four boats by long boards and per-

Fig. 3.



form a dance on this platform. The dance is called *Ia'tiati* by the *Tlatlasik'oala*. Among the *Awiky'é'nok'* another dance is performed, in which a woman has the chief part. She carries a carved piece of wood about a foot and a half long, of the shape shown by the figure, and set with *haliotis* shells. Besides her, four masked dancers take part in the dance. They are called *Winoqué'lak'*, *Yaiaua'lak'amē*, *Aiqumā'lakila*, and *Yaiawinó'akila*. Unfortunately I was unable to understand the meaning of their dance.

The dead are put into boxes and buried either in a separate burial ground or deposited in the higher branches of trees. The tribes living at the northern end of Vancouver Island have separate burial grounds for chiefs and for common or middle-class people. The box containing the body is placed in a small house similar to those of the *Tlingit* and *Haida*. The house is covered with blankets, and strips of blanket are fastened to poles erected near the grave or to lines drawn from one tree to the other. Memorial columns, showing the crest of the tribe, are erected near the graves. Large spoons are placed alongside the houses, and are filled with food when the body is buried. At the same time food is burnt on the beach. If the body is hung up in a tree, the lower branches are carefully removed to make it inaccessible. Sometimes chiefs are buried in canoes. The *Koskimo* frequently bury their dead in a cave. The graveyards are generally situated on small islands or grounds near the village, and are one of the most remarkable sights on the coast, on account of the great display of colours and carvings.

The regulations referring to the mourning period are very severe. In case of the death of husband or wife, the survivor has to observe the following rules: For four days after the death the survivor must sit motionless, the knees drawn up toward the chin. On the third day all the inhabitants of the village, including children, must take a bath. On the fourth day some water is heated in a wooden kettle, and the widow or widower drips it upon his head. When he becomes tired of sitting motionless, and must move, he thinks of his enemy, stretches his legs slowly four times, and draws them up again. Then his enemy must die. During the following sixteen days he must remain on the same spot, but he may stretch out his legs. He is not allowed, however, to move his hands. Nobody must speak to him, and whosoever disobeys this command will be punished by the death of one of his relatives. Every fourth day he takes a bath. He is fed twice a day by an old woman at the time of low water, with salmon caught in the preceding year, and given to him in the dishes and spoons of the deceased. While sitting so his mind is wandering to and fro. He sees his house and his friends as though far, far away. If in his visions he sees a man near by, the latter is sure to die at no distant day; if he sees him very far away, he will continue to live long. After the sixteen days have passed, he may lie down, but not stretch out. He takes a bath every eighth day. At the end of the first month he takes off his clothing, and dresses the stump of a tree with it. After another month has passed he may sit in a corner of the house, but for four months he must not mingle with others. He must not use the

house door, but a separate door is cut for his use. Before he leaves the house for the first time he must three times approach the door and return, then he may leave the house. After ten months his hair is cut short, and after a year the mourning is at an end. At present the Indians abstain, during the mourning, from the use of European implements.

Food is burned for the dead on the beach, sometimes in great quantities, which is intended to serve for their food. The mourners wail every morning on the beach, facing the grave. The women scratch their faces with their nails, and cut them with knives and shells.

After the chief's death a great feast is celebrated, in which the son adopts his father's name. At first mourning songs are sung, in which stones are used instead of sticks for beating time. Then the whistle *Ts'é'koityala* is heard, which ends their mourning and restores happiness to their minds. After a while the chief's son enters, carrying his copper plate, and, assuming his father's name, becomes the new chief.

#### *Coast Salish.*

I am best acquainted with the customs of the *Snanaimuq*, which are probably almost identical with those of the other tribes of this group, the *Çatlo'ltq* excepted, whose customs are more alike to those of the *Kwäkiutl* than to those of the other Coast Salish.

It is the custom of the *Snanaimuq* that, if a woman is to be delivered, all the women are invited to come, and to rub cedar-bark, which is used for washing and bedding the babe. Two women, the wives of chiefs, wash the new-born babe. All those who do any work on behalf of the mother or child are paid with pieces of a mountain-goat blanket. The mother must not eat anything but dried salmon, and is not allowed to go down to the river. The children are not named until they are several years old. Then all the gentes of the tribe are invited, and at the ensuing festival the child receives the name of his grandfather or that of another old member of the gens. Names once given are not changed, except when that of a chief is assumed by his son.

The man who wants to marry a girl goes into the house of her parents, and sits down, without speaking a word, close by the door. There he sits four days, without eating any food. For three days the girl's parents abuse him in every way, but on the fourth day they feign to be moved by his perseverance, and the girl's mother gives him a mat to sit on. In the evening of the fourth day the girl's parents call on the chief of the gens, and request his wife to invite the young man to sit down near the fire. Then he knows that the parents will give their consent to the marriage. A meal is cooked; some food is served to the young man, and some is sent to his parents in order to advise them of the consent of the girl's family. The latter, on receiving the food, accept it, and turn at once to cooking a meal. They fill the empty dishes in which the food was sent, and return them to the girl's parents. Then both families give jointly a great feast. The young man's parents load their boat with mountain-goat blankets and other valuable presents, and leave the landing-place of their house and land at that of the bride's house. They are accompanied by the members of their gens. Meanwhile the bride's gens has assembled in her house. The chiefs of the groom's gens deliver the presents to the bride's parents, making a long and elaborate speech. In return, the bride's parents present these chiefs



with a few blankets, which are handed to them by the chiefs of their gens. Then the groom's gens is invited to partake in a great feast. After these ceremonies are ended, the young man and his gens return to the boat, and stay for a few hours on the water. Meanwhile the bride is intrusted to the care of the highest chief of her gens, who takes her by the hand, carrying a rattle elaborately carved, of mountain-goat horn, in the other. Besides this, he carries a mat for the bride to sit on. Then the highest chief of the other gens takes her from the hands of the former, and leads her into the boat. The presents given by the parents of the young man are restored, later on, in the same proportion by the bride's parents.

While these formal ceremonies are always observed when both parties are of high rank, in other cases, if both parents are of the same rank, the marriage is sometimes celebrated only by a feast and by a payment of the value of about forty blankets to the bride's parents by those of the groom. These are also restored later on.

If the families are of different social standing, the whole gens of those parents who are of higher rank may go to the young couple and recover the husband or wife, as the case may be. This is considered a divorce. Or the chiefs of the offended gens summon a council, and the case is settled by a payment of blankets.

The following funeral customs are practised by the Snanaimuq. The face of the deceased is painted with red and black paint. The corpse is put in a box, which is placed on four posts about five feet above the ground. In rare instances only the boxes are fastened in the tops of trees, which are made inaccessible by cutting off the lower branches. Members of a gens are placed near each other, near relatives sometimes in a small house, in which the boxes are enclosed. A chief's body is put in a carved box, and the front posts supporting his coffin are carved. His mask is placed between these posts. The graves of great warriors are marked by a statue representing a warrior with a war-club. There is nothing to distinguish a shaman's grave from that of an ordinary man. The mourners must move very slowly. They are not allowed to come near the water and eat the heads of salmon. They must cook and eat alone, and not use the fire and the dishes which other people use. Every morning they go down to the beach and wail for the dead. After the death of a young child, the parents cut off their hair, but there is no other ceremony.

After the death of husband or wife, the survivor must paint his legs and his blanket red. For three or four days he must not eat anything. Then three men or women give him some food, and henceforth he is allowed to eat. Twice every day he must take a bath, in which he or she is assisted by two men or women. At the end of the mourning period the red blanket is given to an old man, who deposits it in the woods.

At the death of the chief the whole tribe mourns. Four days after the death occurred the whole tribe assembles, and all take a bath, which concludes the mourning.

*Kutonaga.*—I have not obtained any information regarding customs referring to birth.

When a girl reaches maturity she must inform her mother and grandmother, who lead her to a lonely place, or the woods, and provide her with food for about twenty days. When this food is at an end, she

returns at night to the village for more. If anybody should happen to find her whereabouts, she has to resort to another secluded place. Generally she has to shift her hiding-place four times. She must abstain from certain kinds of food in order to preserve her teeth. She must not eat soup made of shavings from deer or elk skin, as else her skin would become an unclean complexion. She must not eat bones with marrow, heart, or kidney. An unmarried woman must eat neither breast nor tenderloin of any animal. If she should eat tenderloin of both sides of the animal, it is believed she would give birth to twins. Neither must she eat meat lying around the *obturator foramen* of the pelvic bone, else an enemy's arrow would hit her husband in that part.

When a young man wishes to marry a girl, he has to make a certain payment to his parents-in-law. It seems there is no further ceremony connected with the marriage. After marriage the woman's parents give some presents to the young couple. The first child is often sacrificed to the sun, to secure health and happiness to the whole family. An old 'brave' is requested to give a boy his name, to make him a good warrior. Children must not eat blood and marrow, else they will become weak.

The dead are buried in an outstretched position. The head was probably always directed eastwards. They kill the deceased's horse and hang his property to a tree under which his grave is. The body is given its best clothing. The mourners cut off their hair, which is buried with the body. When a warrior dies, they paint his face red, and bury him between trees which are peeled and then painted red.

Before the body is buried, they prophesy future events from the position of his hands. These are placed over the breast of the body, the left nearer the chin than the right. Then the body is covered with a skin, which after a few minutes is removed. If the hands have not changed their position, it indicates that no more deaths will occur in the same season. If they are partly closed, the number of closed fingers indicates the number of deaths. If the point of the thumb very nearly touches the point of the first finger, it indicates that these deaths will take place very soon. If both hands are firmly closed, they open the fingers one by one, and if they find beads (torn from the clothing?) in the hands, they believe that they will have good fortune. If they find dried meat in the hand, it indicates that they will have plenty of food. If both hands are closed so firmly that they cannot be opened, it indicates that the tribe will be strong and healthy and free from disease. These experiments are repeated several times.

While a few men bury the body, the mourners remain in the lodge motionless. When those who have buried the body return, they take a thornbush, dip it into a kettle of water, and sprinkle the doors of all lodges. Then the bush is broken to pieces, thrown into a kettle of water, which is drunk by the mourners. This ends the mourning ceremonies.

After the death of a woman, her children must wear until the following spring rings cut out of skin around the wrists, lower and upper arms, and around the legs. It is believed that else their bones would become weak.

#### RELIGIONS.

*Tlingit*.—While the shamanistic practices and customs are very much alike among the various peoples of the North Pacific coast, their ideas about future life and the great deities deserve a separate description. The

Tlingit believe that the soul, after death, lives in a country similar to ours. Those who have died a violent death go to heaven, to a country ruled by Tahiti; those who die by sickness (also women dying in child-bed) go to a country beyond the borders of the earth, but on the same level. It is said that the dead from both countries join during the daytime. I believe that this idea, which is also held by the Haida, must be ascribed to Eskimo influence. The ideas of the Tlingit regarding future life are best described in the following tales, which are told as adventures of shamans who lived about 150 or 200 years ago:

A shaman had been sick for many years. When he felt that he could not recover, and death was approaching, he asked his mother to take good care of his dog. He died. The corpse was wrapped in furs, and on the fourth day he was buried in the graveyard of the shamans, near the beach. Every day his mother went to the little house in which his body was deposited, bewailing his death, and burning food for him. One day the dog, who had accompanied her, began to bark, and would not be quieted. Suddenly she heard something moving in the grave, and a sound as though somebody was awaking from a long sleep. She fled, terrified, and told the people what she had heard. They went to the grave, opened it, and found that the dead had returned to life. They carried him home, and gave him some food. But he felt weak, and it was not until he had slept long and soundly that he began to speak. 'Mother,' he said, 'why did not you give me to eat when I asked you? Did not you hear me?' I said, "I am hungry," and nudged you. I wanted to touch your right side, but I was unable to do so. I was compelled by a magic force to stand at your left side. You did not reply, but merely touched your side, saying, "That is a bad omen." When I saw you eating, I asked you to let me take part in your meal, but you did not answer, and without your permission I was not able to partake of any food. You said, "The fire crackles, and you threw some of your meal into it."

'When I was dead I did not feel any pain. I sat by my body, and saw how you prepared it for burial, and how you painted my face with our crest. I heard you, O mother, mourning at my grave. I told you that I was not dead, but you did not hear me. After four days I felt as though there was no day and no night. I saw you carrying away my body, and felt compelled to accompany it, although I wished to stay in our house. I asked every one of you to give me some food, but you threw it into the fire, and then I felt satisfied. At last I thought, "I believe I am dead, for nobody hears me, and the burnt food satisfies me," and I resolved to go into the land of the souls. Soon I arrived at a fork in the road. A much-trodden road led one way, while the other seemed to have been seldom used. I followed the former. I longed to die, and went on and on, hoping to reach the country of the deceased. At last I arrived at a steep rock, the end of the world. At the foot of the rock a river flowed sluggishly. On the other side I saw a village, and recognised many of its inhabitants. I saw my grandmother and my uncle who have long been dead, and many children whom I had once tried to cure. But many of those I saw I did not know. I cried, "Oh, come, have pity upon me! Take me over to you!" But they continued to wander about as though they did not hear me. I was overcome by weariness, and lay down. The hard rock was my pillow. I slept soundly, and when I awoke I did not know how long I had slept. I

stretched my limbs and yawned. Then the people in the village cried, "Somebody is coming! Let us go and take him across the river!" A boat came to where I stood, and took me to the village. Everyone greeted me kindly. I was going to tell them of this life, but they raised their hands and motioned me to be silent, saying, "Don't speak of these matters; they do not belong to us." They gave me salmon and berries to eat, but everything had a burnt taste, although it looked like good food; therefore I did not touch it. They gave me water, but when I was about to drink it I found that it looked green and had a bitter taste. They told me that the river which I had crossed was formed of the tears shed by the women over the dead; therefore you must not cry until your dead friend has crossed the river.

'I thought, "I came here to die, but the spirits lead a miserable life. I will rather endure the pains my mother inflicts upon me than stay here." The spirits asked me to stay, but I was not moved by their entreaties, and left. As soon as I turned round the river had disappeared, and I found myself on a path that was seldom trodden by man. I went on and on, and saw many hands growing out of the ground, and moving towards me, as though they were asking something. Far away I saw a great fire, and close behind it a sword swinging around. When I followed the narrow path I saw many eyes, which were all fixed upon me. But I did not mind them, for I wanted to die, and I went on and on. The fire was still at a distance. At last I reached it, and then I thought, "What shall I do? My mother does not hear me. I hate the life of the spirits. I will die a violent death, and go to Tahit." I put my head into the fire, right where the sword was swinging round. Then all of a sudden I felt cold. I heard my dog barking and my mother crying. I stretched my limbs, peeped through the walls of my little grave, and saw you, O mother, running away. I called my dog; he came to see me, and then you arrived and found me alive. Many would like to return from the country of the spirits, but they dread the hands, the eyes, and the fire; therefore the path is almost obliterated.'

A similar story tells of a man's visit to the upper country, which is ruled by Tahit:

A man named Ky'itl'ā'c, who lived about seven generations ago, killed himself. When he died he saw a ladder descending from heaven, and he ascended it. At the head of the ladder he met an old watchman, who was all black, and had curly hair (??). He asked, 'What do you want here?' When Ky'itl'ā'c told him that he had killed himself, the watchman allowed him to pass. Soon he discovered a large house, and saw a kettle standing in front of it. In the house he saw Tahit, who beckoned him to come in. He called two of his people (who are called Kyēwak'ā'ō) and ordered them to show Ky'itl'ā'c the whole country. They led him to the Milky Way, and to a lake in which two white geese were swimming. They gave him a small stone and asked him to try and hit the geese with it. He complied with their request, and as soon as he had hit the geese they began to sing. This made him laugh, for their singing felt as though somebody tickled him. Then his companions asked him, 'Do you wish to see Tahit's daughters?' When he expressed his desire they opened the cloud door, and he saw two bashful young girls beyond the clouds. When he looked down upon the earth he saw the tops of the trees looking like so many pins. But he wished to return to the earth. He pulled his blanket over his head and flung himself down.

He arrived at the earth unhurt, and found himself at the foot of some trees. Soon he discovered a small house, the door of which was covered with mats. He peeped into it, and heard a child crying that had just been born. He himself was the child, and when he came to be grown up he told the people of Tahít. They had heard about him before, but only then they learnt everything about the upper world. Ky'itl'a'c told that those whose heads had been cut off had their eyes between their shoulders in the upper world.

Another man, named Gynaskila'c, did not believe in Tahít. He said to the people, 'Kill me! If I really go to Tahít, I shall throw down fuel from heaven.' He was killed, and after a short time four pieces of wood fell down from heaven. Then the people knew that Ky'itl'a'c's report was true.

In the second of these tales, reference is made to the Tlingit idea of transmigration of souls. Former authors state that man is born anew four times, and that the soul is then annihilated. I did not hear of any such restriction, but it may be that some notion of this kind obtains. The souls of animals also descend to the next generation, but there is no transmigration of souls between man and animal, or between animals of different kinds. There is particularly no transmigration of souls between man and his crest.

It is said that 'our world is sharp as a knife.' Although there is a mythical side to the idea, it seems to be said principally in a moral aspect. The saying continues, 'We must take care that we do not deviate from the straight course, for else we would fall off and die.' My informant explained this, saying, 'Once a boy did not believe that our world is sharp. He danced about and behaved foolishly. Then he ran a splinter of wood into his foot and died. Now he knew that our world is as sharp as a knife.'

I have not heard that Yétl, the great hero of their myths, is worshipped, but they believe that he will return. It is, however, not stated what he will do on his return, whether he will continue his adventures or benefit mankind. It must be borne in mind that Yétl, in all his exploits, by which he benefited man, did so against his will and intent.

The Tlingit pray to the sun to give them food and fair weather, but it does not seem that he occupies in any way a prominent place among their deities. They also pray and offer to the mountains and to the thunder, to the killer (*Delphinus orca*) and to the seals. Their religion is a nature worship. When praying they blow up eagle-down as an offering, and give to every being what they think it likes best. The mountains are asked for fair wind. When they hear a peal of thunder, they shake themselves and jump high up, crying, 'Take all my sickness from me!'

The killer is believed to upset canoes and take the crew with him. Him and the seal they ask for food. They believe in fabulous seal-men. When one of these is seen, they pour a bucket of fresh water into the sea.

I have not discovered any belief distinguishing the religion of the Haida from that of the Tlingit.

*Tsimshian.*—While the religion of the Tlingit and Haida seems to be a nature worship, founded on the general idea of the animation of natural objects, no object obtaining a prominent place, that of the Tsimshian is a pure worship of Heaven (Leqa'). Heaven is the great deity who has a

number of mediators called Neqno'q. Any natural object can be a Neqno'q, but the most important ones are sun and moon, spirits appearing in the shape of lightning strokes and animals. Neqno'q designates anything mysterious. It is the supernatural will of the deity, as well as the whistle which is used in the dances and is kept a profound secret, and a mere sleight-of-hand. In one myth the master of the moon, the pestilence (Hai'atliloq), appears as a powerful deity. I suspect that this last idea is due to Kwákiutl influence. Heaven rules the destinies of mankind; Heaven taught man to distinguish between good and bad, and gave the religious laws and institutions. Heaven is gratified by the mere existence of man. He is worshipped by offerings and prayer, the smoke rising from fires being especially agreeable to him. Murderers, adulterers, and those who behave foolishly, talking to no purpose, and making noise at night, are especially hateful to him. He loves those who take pity upon the poor, who do not try to become rich by selling at high prices what others want. His messengers, particularly sun and moon, must be treated with respect. Men make themselves agreeable to the deity by cleanliness. Therefore, they must bathe and wash their whole bodies before praying. For the same reason they take a vomitive when they wish to please the deity well. They fast and abstain from touching their wives if they desire their prayers to be successful. They offer everything that is considered valuable—eagle-down, red paint, red cedar bark, good elk-skin lines, &c. The offering is burnt.

The Tsimshian do not always pray to Heaven directly, but far more frequently to his mediators. Thus they pray in a general way to the Neqno'q: '*Neqno'q, Neqno'q! Semá'yits, Semá'yits! ramrá'den! áyēn tie'n qspäyá'neksen tle'rent! Neqno'q! ramrá'den!*' that is, 'Neqno'q, Neqno'q! Chief, chief! Have pity upon us! Else there will be nobody to make smoke under you! Neqno'q! Have pity upon us!' Or praying for fair weather: '*Neqno'q, Neqno'q! Semá'yits, Semá'yits! ramrá'den! tgyinē'e wäl tlerē'nt neseqya'tent. Man sä'ikya si'ent ada ma d'o ds'ánt!*' 'Neqno'q, Neqno'q! Chief, chief! Have pity upon us! Look down and see what those whom you made are doing! Pull up thy foot and sweep off thy face!' ('Pull up thy foot'=stop the rain; 'sweep off thy face'=take away the clouds.) The following is a prayer for calm weather: '*Ló'seqya nā ksenā'tigent! Semá'yit demwul gya'kset!*' 'Hold in thy breath, Chief! that it be calm!' Before eating they burn food; having done so they pray: '*Wa semá'yits dem ga'benguaa qpigá' ga'benmēe. Tawá'l mändegua'a, tawá'l mändegua'a tgeranē'e. Gyi'ENEM!*' 'Here! Chief! Here is for you to eat, part of our food. It is all that is left us! It is all that is left us! Now feed us!' In the same way the woman in the legend prays: '*Wa wa gyi'ENEM hadsená's!*' 'Now, now, now feed us! fortunate one!' (name of a bird, a Neqno'q)

The dead go to a place similar to that of the living. Our summer is their winter, our winter their summer. They have everything—fish, venison, and skins—in abundance.

If a special object is to be attained, they believe they can compel the deity to grant it by a rigid fasting. For seven days they have to abstain from food and from seeing their wives. During these days they have to lie in bed motionless. After seven days they may rise, wash themselves, comb the right side of their head, and paint the right side of their face. Then they might look at their wives. A less rigid form of fasting extends over four days only. To make the ceremony very successful, their

wives must join them. If the wife should not be true to the husband the effect of the fasting is destroyed.

The following beliefs and customs are connected with their religious ideas and ceremonies:—Twins are believed to control the weather; therefore they pray to wind and rain: 'Calm down, breath of the twins.' Whatever twins wish for is fulfilled. Therefore they are feared, as they can harm the man whom they hate. They can call the olachen and salmon, and are therefore called *Sewihá'n*=making plentiful.

The olachen is called *halémá'tk*, the Saviour. Certain ceremonies are prescribed when the first fish are caught. They are roasted on an instrument of elderberry-wood, of the form shown in the accompanying sketch. A handle is tied to the central rod, which is about three

Fig. 4.



feet long. A short crosspiece is fastened to the rod about one foot from its end, and twigs are fastened to its outer ends, being tied to the central rod near its upper end. The man who roasts the fish on this instrument must wear his travelling attire: mittens, cape, &c. While it is roasted they pray for plenty of fish, and ask that they might come to their fishing ground. When the fish is turned round, all cry, *lawá!* The fire must not be blown up. In eating the fish they must not cool it by blowing, nor break a single bone. Everything must be kept neat and clean.

The rakes for catching the fish must be hidden in the house. The fish must not be left outside, but stored in boxes. The first fish that they give as a present to their neighbours must be covered with a new mat. When the fish become more plentiful, they are doubled up, and roasted on the point of a stick. After that they are treated without any further ceremonies.

*Kwákiutl*.—The *Kwákiutl* worship the sun, who is called *K'ants'ó'ump* (our father), *A'ta* (the one above), *K'anski'yi* (our brother), *K'ansnó'la* (our elder brother), or *Amiaé'qet* (the one to whom we must be grateful). They pray to him and they give him offerings. His son is *K'ānikilak'* (with outspread wings), who descended from heaven and wandered all over the world, giving man his social institutions, customs, and arts. They pray to him also. After death the souls go to a country like ours, and continue to be what they have been on earth. The ghosts may reappear; to see them brings sickness and death.

The *Kwákiutl* have a belief regarding twins similar to that of the *Tsimshian*. They consider twins transformed salmon, and, as children of salmon, they are guarded against going near the water, as it is believed they would be re-transformed into salmon. While children they are able to summon any wind by motions of their hands, and can make fair or bad weather. They have the power of curing diseases, and use for this purpose a rattle called *k'óá'qaten*, which has the shape of a flat box about three feet long by two feet wide. Their mother-marks are considered scars of wounds which they received when they were struck by a harpoon while still having the shape of salmon.

*The Coast Salish*.—The *Coast Salish* worship the sun and the great wanderer. The *Çatló'tiq* call the latter *Kumsnó'otl* (our elder brother), a word which has been borrowed from the *Kwákiutl*. They pray to him *Ai kwacqátó'mótl, Kumsnó'otl, kums é'tlén!* (O *Kumsnó'otl*, give us to eat!) The *Snanaimuq* must not partake of any food until the sun is well up in the sky. The *Sk'qó'mic* seem to consider the great wanderer, whom they call *Qá'is*, the great deity. He is also called *Qá'aqa* and

Slaā'lek'am. All these tribes believe that the touch or the seeing of ghosts brings sickness and death.

The Kutona'qa have a distinct sun-worship. They pray and sacrifice to the sun. Before beginning their council they put tobacco into a pipe and offer it three times to the sun, holding up the pipe-stem to it. This ceremony is called *wusitlwatlak'ō'nē* (=making the sun smoke). Then the pipe is turned round three times horizontally, a smoke being thus offered to the four points of the compass. They make hoops of twigs, and everyone ties to his a part of what he desires to have. A horse's hair indicates that horses are wished for. The hoop is hung to a tree as an offering to the sun. Before war expeditions, and to ward off disaster, they celebrate a great festival, in which the first joint of a finger is cut off as an offering to the sun. It is then hung to a tree. They also pierce their flesh on arms and breast with awls, cut off the piece they have thus lifted and offer it to the sun. The first-born child is sacrificed to him. The mother prays, 'I am with child. When it is born I shall offer it to you. Have pity upon us.' Thus they expected to secure health and good fortune for their families. These customs evidently correspond to the similar customs of the Blackfeet, although my informant maintained that the so-called sun-dance was never held by the Kutonaqa. In winter a large dancing ('medicine') lodge is built for dancing and praying purposes. Then they pray for snow in order to easily obtain game.

The dead go to the sun. One of the important features of their religion is the belief that all the dead will return at a future time. This event is expected to take place at Lake Pend Oreille. Therefore all Kutonaqa tribes used to assemble there from time to time to await the dead. On their journey they danced every night around a fire, going in the direction of the sun. Only those who were at war with any tribe or family danced the opposite way. The festival at the lake, which lasted many days, and consisted principally of dances, was celebrated only at rare intervals.

#### SHAMANISM AND SECRET SOCIETIES.

In the preceding account of the religious ideas of the Indians of British Columbia I have not mentioned shamanism, which forms a most important part of their religions, and which is closely connected with all their customs. All nature is animated, and the spirit of any being can become the genius of a man, who thus acquires supernatural powers. These spirits are called *Yēk* by the Tlingit: they are the *Neqno'q* of the Tsimshian. It is a remarkable fact that this acquiring of supernatural powers is designated by the Tsimshian, Bilqula, and Nutka by a *Kwākiutl* word (*Tlōk'oala*), which in these instances, however, is restricted to the highest degrees of supernatural power. This proves that the ideas of the *Kwākiutl* exercised a great influence over those of the neighbouring peoples, and for this reason I shall begin with a description of shamanism among the *Kwākiutl*.

The secrets of shamanism are confided to a number of secret societies which are closely connected with the clans of the tribes. Thus the art of the 'medicine man' (of the shaman proper) is derived from *Haialikyawē*, the ancestor of the gens of that name. The secrets of others are obtained by initiation. I failed to reach a fully satisfactory



understanding of this subject, which offers one of the most interesting but at the same time most difficult problems of North-West American ethnology. The crest of a clan and the insignia of the secret societies are acquired in the same way. They are obtained by marriage. If a man wants to obtain a certain carving, or the membership of a secret society, he must marry the daughter of a man who is in possession of this carving or who is a member of the secret society; but this can be done only by consent of the whole tribe, who must declare the candidate worthy of becoming a member of this society or of acquiring that crest. Notwithstanding this fact, the man who is thus entitled to become a member of the secret society must be initiated.

The insignia of all these societies are made of the bark of cedar, carefully prepared, and dyed red by means of maple bark. It may be said that the secrets are vested in these ornaments of red cedar bark, and wherever these ornaments are found on the north-west coast secret societies occur. I do not hesitate to say that this custom must have originated among the Kwákiutl, as it is principally developed among them, and as the other tribes whenever they have such societies designate them with Kwákiutl names. Historical traditions are in accord with this view.

I will not attempt in this place to describe all the secret societies and their insignia, my knowledge of them being still deficient, and an amply illustrated article having appeared in the 'Internationales Archiv für Ethnologie.' I shall describe, however, the general character of these societies and some of the most important among them.

The secret societies are allowed to meet and to perform their dances and ceremonies only in winter. The time of the year when they meet is called by most tribes Tsá'ék'a, or Tsétsá'ék'a (=the secrets). The following facts were observed among the Kwákiutl. During the Tsá'ék'a season the whole tribe is divided into a number of groups which form secret societies. Among the Kwákiutl I observed some groups, the principal of which is called the Mě'emqoat (=the seals). It embraces the secret societies, principally the Hā'mats'a and the Nutlematl. Besides these the masks of the crane, Hā'maa, grizzly bear, and several others belong to this group. Among the other groups I mention the following:

2. K'ō'k'oski'mō, who are formed by the old men.
3. Maa'mq'ēnok (=the killers, *Delph. orca*), the young men.
4. Mō'smōs (=the dams), the married women.
5. Kā'k'āō (=the partridges), the unmarried girls.
6. Hē'melk' (=those who eat continually), the old chiefs.
7. Kēki'qalak' (=the crows), the children.

Every one of these groups has its separate feasts, in which no member of another group is allowed to take part; but before beginning their feast they must send a dish of food to the Hā'mats'a. At the beginning of the feast the chief of the group—for instance, of the K'ā'k'āō—will say, 'The partridges always have something nice to eat,' and then all peep like partridges. All these groups try to offend the Mě'emqoat, and every one of these is offended by a particular action or object. The grizzly bear mask must not be shown any red colour, his preference being black. The Nutlematl and crane do not like to hear a nose mentioned, as theirs are very long. Sometimes the former try to induce men to mention their noses, and then they burn and smash whatever they can lay their

hands on ; e.g. a Nutlematl blackens his nose ; then the people will say : ' Oh, your head is black ; ' but if anybody should happen to say, ' What is the matter with your nose ? ' the Nutlematl would take offence. Sometimes they cut off the prows of canoes because of their resemblance to noses. The Nutlematl must be as filthy as possible.

Sometimes a chief will give a feast to which all these groups are invited. Then nobody is allowed to eat before the Hā'mats'a has eaten, and if he should decline to accept the food offered him, the feast must not take place. After he has once bitten men he is not allowed to take part in feasts.

The chief's wife must make a brief speech before the meal is served. She has to say, ' I thank you for coming. Be merry and eat and drink.' If she should make a mistake, deviating from the formula, she has to give another feast.

From these brief notes it will be seen that the winter festivals, besides their religious character, are events of social interest in which merry-making and feasting form a prominent feature. The same has been observed among numerous American tribes.

Among the secret societies forming the group of the Mē'emqoat the Hā'mats'a is by far the most important. The Hā'mats'a is initiated by one of three spirits : Baqbakualanosi'uaē, Baqbakuā'latlē, Hā'maa or the human-headed crane. The ceremonies of initiation are as follows : In winter the inhabitants of the village assemble every night and sing four songs, accompanying the dance of the novice, who is accompanied by ten companions called Sā'latlila, who carry rattles. When the dance is at an end they leave the house where the festival is celebrated, always surrounding the novice ; they go all around the village, visiting every house. All of a sudden the novice disappears, and his companions say that he has flown away. Then his voice is heard in the woods, and everybody knows that he is now with the spirits. There he stays from one to five months, and the people believe that during this time he wanders all over the world. At the end of this term his voice is again heard in the woods. Birds are heard whistling on all sides of the village, and then the Indians prepare to meet the new Hā'mats'a. The sound of the birds' voices is produced by means of whistles, which are blown by the new Hā'mats'a and by those who were initiated at former occasions, but they are kept a profound secret from all those who are not initiated.

The father of the young Hā'mats'a invites the inhabitants of the village to a feast. The guests sit down in the rear of the house, everyone carrying a stick for beating time. Two watchmen, each carrying a rattle in shape of a skull, stand on each side of the door, and are occasionally relieved. A chief stands in the centre of the house, two messengers attending him. These he despatches to the women of the gens of which the new Hā'mats'a is a member, and they are ordered to dance. The interval until the women are dressed up and make their appearance is filled with railleries between the messengers. As soon as the watchmen see a woman coming they begin swinging their rattles, and then the guests begin singing and beating time with their sticks. The woman enters the house, and, turning to the right, goes around the fire until she arrives in the rear part of the house. Then the guests stop singing and beating time until the dance begins. In dancing the woman first faces the singers ; then she turns to the left, to the fire, and to the right, and, finally, faces the singers again. She leaves the house by going along the left side of the fire. When the

feast is almost at an end, a terrible noise is heard on the roof of the house, where the new Hā'mats'a is dancing and whistling. Sometimes he throws the boards forming the roof aside and thrusts his arms into the house. Then he disappears again, and his whistles are heard in the woods.

His father requests the men to assemble early in the morning, and they set out to meet the young Hā'mats'a in the woods. They take a long rope made of cedar bark, and, having arrived at an open place in the forest, lay it on the ground in form of a square. They then sit down inside the square, all along the rope, which represents the platform of the house, and sing four new songs composed for the purpose. The two first ones are in a quick binary measure, the third is in a five-part measure, and the last has a slow movement. One man dances in the centre of the square. Meanwhile the mother of the new Hā'mats'a invites the women and the old men to a feast, which is celebrated in the house. All the men are painted black; the women red. The latter wear button-blankets, head-rings of cedar bark dyed red, and their hair is strewn with eagle-down. The men who are in the forest wear head-rings and necklets of hemlock branches. While they are singing and dancing the new Hā'mats'a makes his appearance. He looks pale and haggard, and his hair falls out readily. He wears three neck-rings, a head-ring, and arm-rings made of hemlock branches, but no shirt and no blanket. He is immediately surrounded by his companions, and the men return to the village singing the new songs. When the women hear them approaching they come out of the house and expect them on the street, dancing. They wish to please the new Hā'mats'a, for whosoever excites his anger is at once attacked by him. He seizes his arm and bites a small piece of flesh out of it. It is said that in fact this is done with a sharp, bent knife, but I doubt whether this is true. At the end of the Tsā'ek'a season the Hā'mats'a must compensate every single person whom he has bitten with a blanket or two. In the evening the people assemble in the house of the Hā'mats'a's father for singing and dancing. If anything should displease the Hā'mats'a, he rushes out of the house and soon returns carrying a corpse. His companions continue to surround him in all his movements. He enters the house and, turning to the right, goes around the fire until he arrives in the rear of the house. As soon as the old Hā'mats'a see the corpse they make a rush at it, and fight with each other for the flesh. They break the skull and devour the brains, and smash the bones to get at the marrow. The companions cut large slices from the body, and put them into the mouth of the young Hā'mat'a, who bolts them. At the end of this ceremony the father of the young Hā'mats'a presents everyone with bracelets of copper.

The new Hā'mats'a dances four nights—twice with rings of hemlock branches, twice with rings of dyed cedar bark. Strips of cedar bark are tied into the hair, which is covered with eagle-down. His face is painted black; he wears three neck-rings of cedar bark, arranged in a peculiar way, and each of a separate design. Strips of cedar bark are tied around his wrists and ankles. He dances in a squatting position, his arms extended to one side, as though he were carrying a corpse. His hands are trembling continually. First he extends his arms to the left; then he jumps to the right, at the same time moving his arms to the right. His eyes are staring, his lips protruding voluptuously.

The Indians are said to prepare the corpses by laying them into the

sea and covering them with stones. The *Čatlō'ltq*, who also practise the *Hā'mats'a* dances, make artificial corpses by sewing dried halibut to the bones of a skeleton and covering its skull with a scalp.

The new *Hā'mats'a* is not allowed to have intercourse with anybody, but must stay for a whole year in his rooms. He must not work until the end of the following dancing season. The *Hā'mats'a* must use a kettle, spoon, and dish of his own for four months after the dancing season is at an end; then these are thrown away and he is allowed to eat with the other people. During the time of the winter dance a pole, called *hā'mspiq*, is erected in the house where the *Hā'mats'a* lives. It is covered with red cedar bark, and made so that it can turn round.

Another secret society is called *Mā'mak'a* (from *mak'qa'*, to throw). The initiation is exactly like that of the *Hā'mats'a*. The man or woman who is to become *Mā'mak'a* disappears in the woods and stays for several months with *Mā'mak'a*, the genius of this group, who gives him a magic staff and a small mask. The staff is made of a wooden tube and a stick that fits into it, the whole being covered with cloth. In dancing the *Mā'mak'a* carries this staff between the palms of his hands, which he holds pressed against each other, moving his arms up and down like a swimmer. Then he opens his hands, separating the palms, and his staff is seen to grow and to decrease in size. When the time has come for the new *Mā'mak'a* to return from the woods, the inhabitants of the village go in search of him. They sit down in a square formed by a rope, and sing four new songs. Then the new *Mā'mak'a* appears, adorned with hemlock branches. While the *Hā'mats'a* is given ten companions, the *Mā'mak'a* has none. The same night he dances for the first time. If he does not like one of the songs, he shakes his staff, and immediately the spectators cover their heads with their blankets. Then he whirls his staff, which strikes one of the spectators, who at once begins to bleed profusely. Then *Mā'mak'a* is reconciled by a new song, and he pulls out his staff from the stricken man's body. He must pay the latter two blankets for this performance, which, of course, is agreed upon beforehand.

This may suffice as a description of the secret societies. The dance of the *Mā'mak'a* shows the idea of the natives regarding the origin of sickness. It is the universal notion of an object having entered the body of the sick man; by its removal he is restored to health. The *Mā'mak'a* and the ordinary medicine man have the power of finding such objects and of removing them by means of sucking or pulling them out with carved instruments, by the help of the noise of rattles and incantations. Among the objects thrown into the body to cause sickness, quartz is considered one of the most dangerous. Sickness is also produced by the soul leaving the body. The shaman is able to find it and to restore it. Besides the *Mā'mak'a*, the descendants of *Haialikyawē* and those initiated in his mysteries are considered the most powerful medicine men. Magic power can also be acquired by a visit to the fabulous mountain *Ts'ilky-umpaē*, the feather mountain, on which the magic eagle-down and the quartz which enables the possessor to fly are found.

The Tsimshian have four secret societies, which have evidently been borrowed from the *Kwākiutl*—the *Olala* or *Wihalait*, *Nō'ntlem*, *Mē'ntla*, and *Sēmhalait*. The words *Olala*, *Nō'ntlem* (=mad), and *Mē'ntla* have been borrowed from the *Kwākiutl*. *Wihalait* means the great dance; *Sēmhalait*, the ordinary dance. The *Olala* corresponds to the *Hā'mats'a* of the *Kwākiutl*; the *Nō'ntlem* to the *Nūtlmatl*. The *Olala* is (or rather

was) a prerogative of the Gyitqá'tla and Gyispaqlá'ots, who obtained them by intermarriage with the northern Kwákiutl tribes. There exists a tradition among the Tsimshian referring to the fabulous origin of these societies by the initiation of a man; but it is evident that this legend has been invented in analogy to others of a similar character. Historical traditions, and the fact that the Olala is confined to the southern Tsimshian tribes, prove that they are of foreign origin.

A man who is not a member of a secret society is a 'common man.' He becomes a middle-class man after the first initiation, and attains higher rank by repeated initiations. The novice disappears in the same way as among the Kwákiutl. It is supposed that he goes to heaven. During the dancing season a feast is given, and while the women are dancing the novice is suddenly said to have disappeared. If he is a child he stays away four days; youths remain absent six days, and grown-up persons several months. Chiefs are supposed to stay in heaven during the fall and the entire winter. When this period has elapsed they suddenly reappear on the beach, carried by an artificially-made monster belonging to their crest. Then all the members of the secret society to which the novice is to belong gather and walk down in grand procession to the beach to fetch the child. At this time the child's parents bring presents, particularly elk-skins, strung upon a rope as long as the procession, to be given at a subsequent feast. The people surround the novice and lead him into every house in order to show that he has returned. Then he is taken to the house of his parents and a bunch of cedar bark is fastened over the door, to show that the place is tabooed, and nobody is allowed to enter. The chief sings while it is being fastened. In the afternoon the sacred house is prepared for the dance. A section in the rear of the house is divided off by means of curtains; it is to serve as a stage, on which the dancers and the novice appear. When all is ready, messengers, carrying large carved batons, are sent round to invite the members of the society, the chief first. The women sit down in one row, nicely dressed up in button-blankets, and their faces painted red. The chief wears the Amhalait—a carving rising from the forehead, set with sea-lion barbs, and with a long drapery of ermine-skins—the others, the cedar-bark rings of the society. Then the women begin to dance. After a while a prominent man rises to deliver a speech. He says: 'All of you know that our novice went up to heaven. There he made a mistake, and has been returned. Now you will see him.' Then he begins the song, the curtain is drawn, and masked dancers are seen surrounding the novice, and representing the spirits he has encountered in heaven. At the same time eagle-down is blown into the air. The novice has a pair of clappers between his fingers, and for every new initiation he receives an additional clapper. After the dance is over, the presents which were strung on the rope are distributed among the members of the secret society.

The novice has a beautifully-painted room set apart for his use. He has to remain naked during the dancing season. He must not look into the fire, must abstain from food and drink, and is only allowed to moisten his lips occasionally. He has to wear his head-ring continually. After the ceremonies are all gone through, the festival of 'clothing the novice' is celebrated. He sits in his room quietly singing while the people assemble in the house. His song is heard to grow louder and louder, and at last he makes his appearance. He has put off his ring of

cedar bark. Then the people try to throw a bear-skin over him, which they succeed in doing only after a severe struggle. At this feast all societies take part, each sitting grouped together. The common people stand at the door. This ends the initiation ceremonies.

The festival of 'clothing' is also celebrated by the Kwákiutl, when it seems to indicate the end of the trance of the novice.

The initiation is repeatedly celebrated, the rank of the person being the higher the more frequently he has gone through the ceremonies. But nobody, chiefs excepted, can be a member of more than one secret society. It seems that the Sémhalait are considered a preparatory step for the initiation into other societies, so that every person must have been Sémhalait before he can become Mëitla, Nöntlem, or Olala. A Mëitla, however, can never become Nöntlem or Olala. Those who passed twice through the Sémhalait ceremony are called Ts'é'ik. The Mëitla have a red head-ring and red eagle-downs, the Nöntlem a neck-ring plaited of white and red cedar bark, the Olala a similar but far larger one. The members of the societies receive a head-ring for each time they pass through these ceremonies. These are fastened one on top of the other. The Nöntlem destroy everything, carry firebrands, and tear live dogs to pieces, which they devour. They correspond exactly to the Nütmatland Nöntsistat of the Kwákiutl.

The secret societies have no connection whatever with the gentes. Generally the father determines to what society each child is to belong, and has them initiated by proxy, so that they may belong to the middle class from childhood.

The Haida borrowed these customs from the Tsimshian, and sometimes perform the Mëitla and Olala dances; but the Tsimshian maintain that they have no right to do so. Their dance, corresponding to the Sémhalait of the Tsimshian, is that of the shaman, the Sk'aga, the initiation being identical with that of the Tsimshian Sémhalait. The Sk'aga has a number of head-rings, one on top of the other, corresponding to the number of ceremonies he went through.

The shamans proper of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian are initiated by a spirit after long fasting. Those of the Tlingit and Haida acquire their knowledge of the mysteries of shamanism by tearing out the tongues of an otter, an eagle, and several other animals. In doing so they must use a bundle of twigs strung together with spruce roots for catching the blood that flows from the animal's tongue. Those twigs which have not come into contact with the blood are taken out. Sometimes a piece or the whole of the tongue is wrapped in those bundles, and, in cases of great emergency, worn by the shaman round the neck to endow him with great power over spirits (see 'Journal Amer. Folk-Lore,' i. p. 218). The dignity seems to be hereditary. They wear long hair, which must never be touched with the hands, and is therefore extremely filthy and matted. They wear a necklace set with bone ornaments, a long curved piece of bone in the septum of the nose, a bird's head on the breast, a rattle, and a carved staff. Their art consists in extracting the sickness or in finding and restoring the soul of the sick person. In trying to find it three or four shamans sing and rattle over the sick person until they declare to have found the whereabouts of his soul, which is supposed to be in possession of the salmon or olachen, or in that of the deceased shaman. Then they go to the place where it is supposed to be and by singing and incantations obtain possession of it and enclose it in a hollow

carved bone. Then mountain-goat tallow, red paint, eagle-down, and other valuable objects are burnt, and the soul held over the fire. The bone is then laid upon the sick man's head, the shaman saying, 'Here is your soul. Now you will be better and eat again.' Sometimes the soul is supposed to be held by a shaman, who is paid for returning it.

A supposed sorcerer is tied up and starved until a confession is made, when he is driven into the sea to expel the evil spirit. Should he refuse to confess he is either starved to death or placed on shore at the limit of low tide, and, being bound, is drowned when the water rises. Sorcery is practised principally by means of parts of the body of the person to whom the sorcerer wishes to do harm. If it is believed that a man died in consequence of being bewitched, the Tsimshian take the heart from the body and put a red-hot stone into it. They wish at the same time that the enemy should die. If the heart burst their wish is expected to be fulfilled; if not, it is a sign that their suspicions were unfounded.

The shamans of the Coast Salish go into the woods in order to be initiated. They swim in ponds and wash their bodies with cedar branches, and thus prepare themselves to meet the spirits and the fabulous double-headed snake who give them their supernatural powers. They cause sickness by making bits of quartz and wood fly into the body of their adversary, and heal the sick by removing these objects. To show their power they perform dances in certain festivals in which they pretend to cut their bodies with knives; the blood is seen to flow from the wounds; but when they move their hands over them no trace of the cuts is to be seen. At the burial, food is burnt for the dead on the beach. On this occasion the shaman throws presents for the dead into the fire on behalf of the mourners. He then affirms that he sees the deceased person's spirit, who speaks to him. In the winter dances each shaman wears the painting or the mask of the spirit who initiated him.

The shamans of the Kutona'qa are also initiated in the woods after long fasting. They cure sick people, and prophesy the result of hunting and war parties. If this is to be done, the shaman ties a rope around his waist and goes into the medicine-lodge, where he is covered with an elk-skin. After a short while he appears, his thumbs firmly tied together by a knot which is very difficult to open. He re-enters the lodge, and after a short time reappears, his thumbs being untied. After he has been tied a second time he is put into a blanket, which is firmly tied together like a bag. The line which is tied around his waist, and to which his thumbs are fastened, may be seen protruding from the place where the blanket is tied together. Before he is tied up, a piece of bone is placed between his toes. Then the men pull at the protruding end of the rope, which gives way; the blanket is removed and the shaman is seen to lie under it. This performance is called *k'eqnemnám* (= somebody cut in two). The shaman remains silent, and re-enters the lodge, in which rattles made of pieces of bone are heard. Suddenly something is heard falling down. Three times this noise is repeated, and then singing is heard in the lodge. It is supposed that the shaman has invoked souls of certain people whom he wished to see, and that their arrival produced the noise. From these he obtains the information and instructions which he later on communicates to the people.

## LINGUISTICS.

## I. TLINGIT.

Obtained from Mrs. Vine, Victoria, a native of the Stik'in tribe.

## PHONETICS.

Vowels: a, e, E, i, o, u.

Consonants: d, t; gy, ky; g, k, k'; g', k'; w, r, q, Q;  
h, H, y; n; s, c; dz, ts; dj, tc; dl, tl.

The labials are absent. The difference between surds and sonants is very slight. I find in my lists a great number of cases in which for the same sound both surds and sonants are used promiscuously. The difference is so slight that I am inclined to think the language has only surd-sonants, which we apperceive by the means of our surds and sonants, and that they are for this reason considered two sounds. The *r* is a very deep guttural, the mouth assuming at the same time the position for pronouncing *w*, the lips only being a little further apart. The uvula vibrates very little, and thus it happens that the sound is very much alike *w*. In many cases, particularly when preceding *u*, it is very difficult to distinguish both sounds. There seems to be a *dz* and *dj*, the sonants corresponding to *ts* and *tc*; but as in all instances I was just as much inclined to write the latter, I have mostly applied the latter form. The hiatus is very frequent, and occurs after all consonants. No combinations of consonants occur in the beginning of the word, except *dl* and *tl*, followed by a guttural, and perhaps *s* followed by the same. All letters can be initial and terminal sounds. I found the following terminal combinations of consonants:

qk		ks	kc	kts		kt	ktl
nk	nq	k's				k-t	ktl
sk					qtc	qt	
ck			nc		ntc		ntl
tk					stc		tctl
tlk	tlk						

Sonants occur very rarely at the end of words, but this may be accounted for by the indefinite character of these sounds. Combinations of consonants are very rare. I do not attempt to give a list, as it is in many instances doubtful whether the word is really a single word or a compound.

## GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

## THE NOUN.

The Tlingit language has no grammatical sex and no separate forms for singular and plural. As Wemiaminov states that there is a plural, I have made frequent attempts to find it, but my search has been in vain, and I agree with Krause, who states that there is no separate form for the plural. In two or three instances I found the terminal vowel of nouns repeated, the word expressing at the same time a plural; but I have reason to believe that this repetition has merely euphonic reasons, as it is also found in other cases, and as the plural of the same word has frequently the same form as the singular: *tlōō* and *tlō*, noses. Wemiaminov mentions the plural *t'ck*, stones (singular *t'e*), but I find in my collection *dēq t'e*, two stones. If it is necessary or desirable to state expressly that the plural is meant *k'toq*, a number of—, is placed after the noun. It seems to me probable that this is the plural referred to by Wemiaminov and spelled—*khth*. I have not found any indication of the existence of cases, not even of the instrumentalis mentioned by Wemiaminov.

Compound nouns are of very frequent occurrence, the components being placed side by side:

*ca qū'wu*, hair = head hair.  
*k'ōs t'ahl*, ankle = leg knuckle.  
*sE'sa a'sē*, mast = sail tree.  
*ts'ak sēt*, necklace = bone necklace.  
*k'a tōrñ*, titmouse = man heart.

*Dēkyā nō*, name of an island = far from the coast, rock.  
*tāō s'ā'te*, thief = steal master.  
*gūts rē tō'tl*, Gallinago Wilsoni = cloud place bird.



Local adverbs enter frequently into compound words of this kind :

*ǎz'ǎk da kǎt*, pipe = smoke around box. *gan da da gǔ'gǔ*, woodpecker = tree-out-side pick.  
*tǔ ug rirǎ't*, whistle = into blow instrument. *k'iri t'ǎ'k'ǎ*, icicle = above ice.  
*an ka n'igu* Arnica cordifolia = town on medicine. *k'an yiq'ku atǎ'*, aurora = fire-like weather colour.  
*diq kara kidjǎ't*, horse = back upon sit. *kin ǎ' tǎ'wǎ't*, Anas boschas = moving straight up.

The names of colours are compound words :

*kan yi'qatǎ*, red = fire-like colour. *tlǎd yiqatǎ*, white = snow-like colour.  
*kǎtl ha'tlǎ yiqatǎ*, yellow = dog dung colour.

### THE ADJECTIVE.

The adjective follows the substantive to which it belongs, except when it has a verbal meaning :

*toǎtl gǎk*, dried halibut. *aga darǎ't*, oar = long paddle.  
*wǎt curǎ'*, half fathom. *tlǎk ridǎ'*, reed = wide grass.  
*kǎtl gǎ'tskǎ*, young dog. *hit tlǎn*, large house.

When the adjective stands for our adjective with the verbum substantivum, it generally precedes the substantive :

*a tlǎn hit*, that is a large house.

### NUMERALS.

#### CARDINAL NUMBERS.

1, <i>tlǎk'.</i>	30, <i>natsk' djinkǎ't.</i>
2, <i>dǎg.</i>	40, <i>dak' ǔ'n djinkǎ't.</i>
3, <i>natsk'.</i>	50, <i>kǎdjǎn djinkǎ't.</i>
4, <i>dǎk'ǔ'n.</i>	60, <i>tlǎ durcǔ' djinkǎ't.</i>
5, <i>kǎdjǎn.</i>	70, <i>daqa durcǔ' djinkǎ't.</i>
6, <i>tlǎ durcǔ'.</i>	80, <i>natska durcǔ' djinkǎ't.</i>
7, <i>daqa durcǔ'.</i>	90, <i>gǔ'cuk' djinkǎ't.</i>
8, <i>natska durcǔ'.</i>	100, <i>kǎdjǎn kǎ.</i>
9, <i>gǔ'cuk'.</i>	200, <i>djinkǎ't kǎ.</i>
10, <i>djinkǎt.</i>	300, <i>natsk' djinkǎ't kǎ.</i>
11, <i>djinkǎt ka tlǎk'.</i>	400, <i>dak' ǔ'n djinkǎ't kǎ.</i>
20, <i>tlǎ kǎ.</i>	

Four is evidently the second two, five a derivative from *djin*, hand, while the numbers from 6 to 8 are the other one, two, three. Ten seems to mean both hands ; 20 is one man ; 100, five men ; while the numbers from 30 to 90 mean three, four, five, &c. tens.

In counting men the following numerals are used :

1 man <i>tlǎ nǎq kǎ.</i>	4 men <i>dak'ǔ'nǎ' nǎq kǎ.</i>
2 men <i>dǎq nǎq kǎ.</i>	5 men <i>kǎdjǎnǎ' nǎq kǎ.</i>
3 men <i>natskyǎ nǎq kǎ.</i>	6 men <i>tlǎ durcǔ' nǎq kǎ.</i>

The same numerals may be used in counting dogs.

#### ORDINAL NUMBERS.

The following ordinal numbers differ to some extent from those given by Wemiaminov, and appear in parts doubtful :

<i>cuk'a'</i> , the first.	<i>tlagkara(dǎ'a)</i> , the fifth.
<i>i'ta</i> , the second.	<i>tlǎ durcǔra(dǎ'a)</i> , the sixth.
<i>t'ara(dǎ'a)</i> , the third.	<i>daqa durcǔra(dǎ'a)</i> , the seventh.
<i>anira(dǎ'a)</i> , the fourth.	<i>natska durcǔra(dǎ'a)</i> , the eighth.

So far as I was able to discover, the cardinal numbers are generally used in place of the ordinal numbers.

## NUMERAL ADVERBS.

These are formed by adding the suffix *-dahē'n* to the cardinal numbers.

*tlēdahē'n*, once.

*natsk' dahē'n*, three times.

*daqdahē'n*, twice.

*dak'ōn dahē'n*, four times.

## DISTRIBUTIVE NUMBERS.

The cardinal numbers are at the same time distributives. I collected the following examples:

*tlē k'a neq* and *tlē neq*, one to each.

*natskyē neq*, three to each.

*drq neq*, two to each.

It will be observed that in this instance that form of numeral is used which denotes a number of men. It is probable that when other substantives are referred to the other numerals take their place.

## THE PRONOUN

## PERSONAL PRONOUN.

There are two forms of the personal pronoun, which may be designated the ordinary and the selective forms. The difference of these forms will best be made clear by giving examples: To the question, Who is there? I answer, *qat* (I), which is the ordinary form; while to the question, Who among all of you will help me? I answer, *qato* (I).

Besides these we find two forms of the personal pronoun which are used in the inflexion of the verb: one in inflecting the transitive, the other in inflecting the intransitive verb, the latter being at the same time the object of the transitive pronoun. This makes it probable that the intransitive verb is really impersonal.

	Ordinary	Selective	Intransitive	Transitive	
				Subjective	Objective
Singular, 1st person	<i>qat</i>	<i>qatc</i>	<i>qat</i>	<i>qa</i> (q)	<i>qat</i>
" 2nd "	<i>woe'</i>	<i>woe'tc</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
" 3rd "	<i>hu</i>	<i>hōtc</i>	—	(a)	—
Plural, 1st "	<i>ohā'n</i>	<i>ohā'ntc</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>tō</i>	<i>ha</i>
" 2nd "	<i>riwā'n</i>	<i>riwā'ntc</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>ri</i>
" 3rd "	<i>has</i>	<i>hastc</i>	<i>has</i>	<i>has</i> (a)	<i>has</i>

The transitive and intransitive forms must not be considered prefixes, as they are not inseparable from the verb.

## DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN.

Krause and Wemiaminov give the demonstrative pronouns: *yatat*, this; and *yutat*, that. Krause states that the adjective form is *ya* and *yu*. I have no example of this kind in my list. There exists a demonstrative word *a*, which is very extensively used.

*a tō*, something inside.

*aq ari age?* is that mine?

*a tlēn hit*, that large house.

*hit a tlēn a*, that is a large house.

The following are evidently derivatives from the same demonstrative stem:

*aq ari aua*, that is mine.

*hit g'e'tsgō asia'*, that is a small house.

*i hiti asia*, that is your house.

NOTE.—The demonstrative *nē* is found twice in my collection:

*nōtc qat nu sī nēq*, that man saved me.

*nē atqa' qat sī nēk'*, that food me makes sick.

NOTE.—The personal and possessive pronouns, third person, are sometimes used with the termination *-tlē*, denoting that the person is at a distance, and thus receive a demonstrative meaning:

*talētl ari aua*, it is his, or that man's.

*hastētl*, they (at a distance).

## POSSESSIVE PRONOUN.

The possessive pronoun has two forms, which are derived from the personal pronoun. The following form is most frequently found; it precedes the noun to which it belongs:

Singular, 1st person, aq.	Plural, 1st person, hā.
" 2nd " i.	" 2nd " ri.
" 3rd " tō.	" 3rd " hastō.

While in this form the noun is not altered, in the following it takes the suffix *-ri*:

Singular, 1st person, aq—ri.	Plural, 1st person, hā—ri.
" 2nd " i—ri.	" 2nd " ri—ri.
" 3rd " tō—ri.	" 3rd " hastō—ri.

I am not able to give any rule as to the use of these forms. The substantive possessive pronoun is formed by the demonstrative *a* and the second possessive form: *aq a ri*, mine (= my that).

NOTE.—The suffix *-ri* is sometimes contracted with the terminal sound of the noun:

*aq hiti*, my house; instead of *aq hit—ri*.

## THE VERB.

In discussing the pronoun we stated that there are two forms, one for the transitive, the other for the intransitive verb, the latter being identical with the objective case of the transitive pronoun. This makes it probable that the intransitive verb may be impersonal, a theory which is the more probable on account of the remarkable particles used with these verbs. In Tlingit all verbs are transitive which express an activity, even in cases in which we do not use an object; all verbs expressing a state are intransitive, and for this reason our passive is rendered in the same way. Following is a list of transitive and intransitive verbs in the first person singular:

## INTRANSITIVE VERBS.

<i>gat re nēk'</i> , I am sick.	<i>gat tli ts'ŋ</i> , I am strong.
<i>gat re ta ura ha'</i> , I am sleepy.	<i>gat ru nēq</i> , I recover from sickness.
<i>gat wu di quē'tl</i> , I am tired.	I am saved.
<i>gat ran ura ha'</i> , I am hungry.	<i>gat kavanē'tl</i> , I break down.

In another group of such verbs the pronoun is placed after the stem.

<i>Tlingit gat</i> , I am a Tlingit.	<i>icū'n gat</i> , I am poor.
<i>ank'a'ō gat</i> , I am rich.	<i>gūcu gat</i> , I desire.

## TRANSITIVE VERBS.

<i>at qa qa</i> , I eat (it).	<i>yuq'a qa tēŋ</i> , I speak.
<i>qa aqtc</i> , I hear.	<i>at qa saē'</i> , I cook.
<i>qa djūn</i> , I dream.	<i>qa tana'</i> , I drink.
<i>qa tl'ēq</i> , I dance.	<i>qa tl'ik'</i> , I open my eyes.
<i>qa cī</i> , I sing.	<i>at qa cō'uk'</i> , I laugh.
<i>qa tēn</i> , I see.	<i>qa ce gōk</i> , I know to—
<i>qa ta</i> , I sleep.	<i>qa gōt</i> , I walk.
<i>h'ān qa gaō</i> , I am angry.	<i>qa t'igt</i> , I pound.

*qa tēn*, I carry.

The verb, more especially the intransitive verb, appears frequently combined with certain particles, the meaning and origin of which I cannot explain. Former students of the Tlingit language failed to separate these particles from the words with which they are connected. Therefore the greater number of words of Wemiaminov's, as well as of other, lists are really compounds. I give first an alphabetic list of these particles. In those cases in which they may be omitted I have placed them in brackets.

<i>dē</i>	<i>dē gat ran ura ha</i> , I am growing hungry.
	<i>dē wu di quē'tl</i> , I am growing tired.
	[ <i>dē</i> ] <i>ra kē na ē'n</i> , it is growing to be daylight.

*dē* [dē] *k'ē wa a'*, it is daylight.  
 [dē] *rī sē-tē'nagk?* did you see them?  
*dē k'uk'qatēn*, I shall leave.  
*dē qat rī sēnē'g*, you have saved me!  
*dē qa gōdē'n*, I have gone.  
*qa'cu dē qa gōd*, I wish to go.  
*dē rēn at qoa qa*, I have eaten.  
*dē aq tanā'*, I have drunk.

*ku* *ku wat*, tall. *ku datl*, heavy.  
*ku watl*, small. *ku tla*, stout.

*ku* seems to imply a reference to personal appearance.

*ku*, weather, out-of-doors :

*kū siāt'*, it is cold. *kū ti t'lek*, it is wet.  
*kū re ta*, it is warm. *kū tli gats*, it is cloudy.  
*kū wa quk'*, it is dry.  
*kūgū'ts*, horizon, probably belongs to this group.  
*k'anyiqh'ūwatē'*, aurora; fire like out-of-doors colour.

*ra, rē* *rē nēk'*, you are sick. *rē k'ē*, good.  
*ha rē nē'gūn*, we were sick. *rē sū'*, a short time ago.  
*qat rē ta uwa ha*, I am sleepy. *rē detl*, heavy.

It is doubtful whether the following are derived from the same root :

*at i ra qa*, you have eaten. *tō ra aqtc*, we know.

*na* *na tlē*, far  
*tlētl kyē qat wu na tlēcēn*, I am growing weak.  
*dē ra kē na ēn*, it is growing to be daylight.  
*hin ra rē na t'ēn*, the water begins to be warm.  
*hin ra na s'et*, the water begins to be cold.  
*aq* (1) *īc* (2) *na* (3) *nā'nēk'* (4), if (4) my (1) father (2) should die (3).  
*ku na tē'nēk'*, if he should leave.

From these examples it would seem that *na* designates the commencement of a certain state.

*qat wu ti quē'tl*, I am tired. *wu ti t'lek*, it is wet.  
*yiq ctuq ti nēk'*, I feel sick (*yiq* = like).

*na* *a ha wō qats*, clear sky. *na quk'*, dry.  
*wa sē ku datl?* is it heavy? *a ra ka wa dan*, it is snowing.  
*kē wa a*, it is daylight.

*wu* *wu nēk'*, he (absent) is sick. *qat wu nēk'*, I am growing sick.  
*tlētl qat wu nēk'*, I am not sick. *resū' wu nēk'*, I just got sick.  
*tlētl qat wuck'e'*, I am bad. *qat wu tlitsē'n*, I am growing strong.  
*tlētl wu detl*, light (not heavy)  
*tlētl wu tli tsē'*, easy. *qat wu nēg*, I recover from sickness, I am saved.  
*tlētl wu q ergōk*, I cannot— *qat wu ti quē'tl*, I am tired.  
*tlēgtl qat wu nēk'*? Am I not sick?  
*gutl qat wu nēk'*, may be I am sick. *wu tli qun*, thin.  
*ī wu tli tsēngk?* are you strong? *dwg wu stanēn*, it was raining.  
*has wu tō sētē'n*, we see them.

In the great majority of cases in which *wu* is used the state (or action?) expressed by the verb is still incomplete, not yet or not longer existing, or existing at a distance. Thus it would appear that the particle *wu* denotes the 'not actually being.' It seems doubtful whether the *wu* of the last example can be classed with the rest. It is remarkable that this particle appears very frequently combined with others, especially so with *ti* and *tli*.

*yē* *yē q sinē*, I have done it.  
*John yē s'ak' ku wat*, John is tall (John is bone-long).  
*yē qat s'ak' hu watl*, I am small (I am bone-short).  
*y' qat ku tla'*, I am stout.

*yə*      *aka yē qaō*, I put it on top of—  
*rē kē yē k'a*, he is a good man.  
*tli tsēn yē k'a*, he is a strong man.

It may be that this is a *verbum substantivum*; at least it seems possible to class all the examples given here in such a way.

*tli*      *tli ān*, good-natured.      *tli tsē*, difficult.  
*tli tsēn*, strong.      *ck'ag tli nēk'*, I pretend to be sick.  
*k-ū tli guts*, cloudy.      *ck'ag qa tliqa*, I pretend to cut.  
*tli wus*, strong (rope).      *tli ts'a*, later on.  
    *wu tli qun* thin.

To these particles might be added one which frequently, although not regularly, precedes the future tense, and in some instances also the past.

*kyē*      *kyē qat k'uk ra nēk'*, I shall be sick.  
*tli tli kyē qat wu na tli tsēn*, I am growing weak.  
*tli giti kyē qat k'uk wu nēk'*, am I not going to be sick?  
*tli tli kyē qat wu nēk'tc*, I have not been sick.  
*tli giti kyē nēk'tcēn?* have you not been sick?

The following I found only in one single instance:

*dāg sētē'n*, it is raining.      *dāg wu stanēn*, it was raining.  
*ā wu dāg ganē'n*, the sun was shining.

TENSES.

Wemiaminov states that there are six tenses: present, imperfect, perfect, plusquamperfect, future, futurum exactum. My collections contain only the present, past (imperfect), and future tenses, which I give here in paradigmatic form:

*nēk'*, sick.

—		Present Tense	Imperfect	Future
Singular, 1st person		qat rē nēk'	qat (rē) nē'gūn	(kyē) qat k'ug' rē nēk'
" 2nd "		i rē nēk'sē	i (rē) nē'gūnēsē	(kyē) i k'ug' rē nēk'
" 3rd "		rē nēk'	(rē) nē'gūn	(kyē) k'ug' rē nēk'
Plural, 1st "		ha rē nēk'	ha (rē) nē'gūn	(kyē) ha k'ug' rē nēk'
" 2nd "		ri rē nēk'	ri (rē) nē'gūn	(kyē) ri k'ug' rē nēk'
" 3rd "		has rē nēk'	has (rē) nē'gūn	kyē has k'ug' rē nēk'

In inflecting the transitive verb, the pronoun is placed immediately before the verb. In many instances the verb has an indefinite object, *at*, which is placed before the subject: *at qa qa*, I eat (it); *at qa cī*, I sing (it); *at qa saē'*, I cook (it). In compound verbs which consist of a stem denoting the action or state, and attributes limiting the action as to manner, place, or time, the subject is placed between these two parts, and thus an apparent infixion originates:

*sk'a* (1) *qa* (2) *da* (3) *ts'ēk* (4), I smoke = mouth (1) I (2) aro nd (3) smoke (4).  
*ka* (1) *qa* (2) *tliqkhl* (3), I rub with pestle = upon (1) I (2) ru' (3).  
*tō* (1) *qa* (2) *uq* (3), I (2) blow (3) into (1).

The following forms must be explained in the same way, alth ugh I am not able to translate the elements of these words. The place of the pronoun is indicated by a dash:

*k'ant*—*wa nuk*, angry (*k'an*, angry).      *k'an*—*rañ*, cross (*k'an*, angry).  
*yē*—*siñē*, to do (*si*, to make).      *su*—*s'ēt'e'n*, to think of—.  
*yūq'a*—*tsēñ*, to speak.  
*a*—*tli'ēq*, to dance.      *a*—*djūn*, to dream.

As a rule, the object is placed before the subject, but when the object is a pronoun and has a separate objective form the sequence may be reversed. *Has*, the third person plural of the personal pronoun, always precedes the object; therefore it seems probable that it is an attribute to the pronoun, limiting it to the plural. It

also precedes the first part of compound verbs: *has tō uq*, they blow into. Following is a paradigmatic table of the transitive verb in the present tense:

*sētē'n*, to see.

Object	Subject, Singular		
	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Singular, 1st person	—	qat rī sētē'n	qat wu sētē'n
" 2nd "	I qa sētē'n	—	I wu sētē'n
" 3rd "	qoa sētē'n	rī sētē'n	ac wu sētē'n
Plural, 1st "	—	ha rī sētē'n	ha wu sētē'n
" 2nd "	rī qa sētē'n	—	rī wu sētē'n
" 3rd "	has qoa sētē'n	has rī sētē'n	hōtc wu sētē'n

Object	Subject, Plural		
	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Singular, 1st person	—	qat rīrī sētē'n	has qat wu sētē'n
" 2nd "	I wu tu sētē'n	—	has I wu sētē'n
" 3rd "	wu tu sētē'n	rīrī sētē'n	has ac wu sētē'n
Plural, 1st "	—	ha rīrī sētē'n	has ha wu sētē'n
" 2nd "	rī wu tu sētē'n	—	has rī wu sētē'n
" 3rd "	has wu tu sētē'n	has rīrī sētē'n	—

When the object is a substantive it precedes the subject:

*hīn qa tana'*, I drink water.

*hīn a tana'*, he drinks water.

NOTE.—In a great number of cases the first person singular of the transitive verb is *qoa* instead of *qa*. I am not quite certain how this form originates, but it seems to be a contraction of *qa wu* or of *qa wa*. It would seem that the third person—subject as well as object—takes this particle, and this would explain the *qoa* in *qoa sētē'n*, he sees him. In certain cases it is evidently contracted from *qa ra*, as in the perfect. I am, however, far from being able to explain the rules regulating the use of *qoa* and *qa*.

*at qoa qa*, I have eaten (from *at qara qa*).

*qoa sētē'n*, I see him.

*qoa sētē'nēn*, I have seen it once.

*qoa a'qēn*, I have heard it once, occasionally.

*ī ēctat k'u qoa a'qēn*, I have heard of your father (somebody spoke of him).

*dē k'ug' qoa gōd*, I am going to go.

*at k'ug' qoa qa*, I shall eat.

*na tli rē dē k'ug' qoa tēn*, I am going far away.

*k'ānt qoa nuk*, I am angry.

*at qa qa*, I am eating.

*qa tē'nēn*, I have seen it frequently.

*qa tītē'n*, I look at it.

*qa a'qtcēn*, I have heard it often, I know it.

*ī ē'ctat qa a'qtcēn*, I have heard of your father (he is widely known).

*qat k'ug' qa gōd*, I (emphatically) am going to go.

The character of the past is—*gūn*, *gēn*, or *ēn*, according to the terminal sound of the verb. The tense formed by this suffix corresponds to both our imperfect and perfect:

*ī qa sētē'n-ēn*, I saw you just now.

(*dē*) *qa gōd-ē'n*, I went.

*qoa a'q-ēn*, I heard it (once, occasionally).

*qa a'qtc-ēn*, I have heard it (frequently).

*ī anē' qoa sētē'n-ēn*, I have seen your country (once).

*i anē qa tēn'-ēn*, I have seen your country (often).  
*hīn qa tanā'-g'ēn*, I was drinking (water).  
*ara kāna dan-ē' n a'sē*, it has been snowing.  
*dūg wu stā'n-ēn*, it has been raining.  
*ū wu dūg gan-ē'n*, the sun was shining.

Besides this, I found the following perfect forms:

*qatc yē qa sīnē'*, I have done it.  
*(dē ran) at-goa qa*, I have eaten.  
*(dē) qa tana'*, I have drunk.

#### To eat, perfect.

Singular, 1st person, <i>at goa qa.</i>	Plural, 1st person, <i>at wu to ra qa.</i>
" 2nd " <i>at i ra qa.</i>	" 2nd " <i>at iri ra qa.</i>
" 3rd " <i>at wu ra qa.</i>	" 3rd " <i>has at wu ra qa.</i>

It seems that this form agrees with Wemiaminov's perfect tense. It must be stated that in many instances the imperfect characteristic is dropped, and that thus a form originates which is identical with the present tense. The inflexion of *aqtc*, to know, is of interest regarding this point.

Singular, 1st person, <i>qā aqtc.</i>	Plural, 1st person, <i>tō ra aqtc.</i>
" 2nd " <i>i ra aqtc.</i>	" 2nd " <i>iri ra aqtc.</i>
" 3rd " <i>a ra aqtc.</i>	" 3rd " <i>has a ra aqtc.</i>

This shows that the verb is evidently the perfect, I have heard, and *ra* appears to be the particle expressing a completed action (see p. 64).

The future tense is characterised by *k'ug'*, which is placed between the object and the subject.

<i>at k'ug' qa tana'</i> , I am going to drink.	<i>yē k'ug' goa sīnē'</i> , I shall do it.
<i>(qat) k'ug' qa gōd</i> , I shall go.	<i>(dē) k'ug' qua gōd</i> , I shall go.
<i>k'ug' goa aq</i> , I shall hear it.	<i>k'ug' goa tēn</i> , I shall leave.
<i>arē k'ug' ra dān</i> , it is going to snow.	<i>dag k'ug' sētū'n</i> , it is going to rain.
<i>rē a k'ug' dag gān</i> , the sun is going to shine.	

#### To eat, future.

Singular, 1st person, <i>at k'ug' qa qa'</i>	Plural, 1st person, <i>at k'ug' tō qa (gE).</i>
" 2nd " <i>at k'ag' i qa (gE).</i>	" 2nd " <i>at k'ug' rī qa (gE).</i>
" 3rd " <i>at k'ug' qa (gE).</i>	" 3rd " <i>has at k'ug' a qa.</i>

#### To see, future.

I shall see.	You will see.
me —	<i>(re) qat k'ag' rī sētē'n.</i>
you <i>(re) i k'goa sētē'n.</i>	—
him <i>(rē) k'qa sētē'n.</i>	<i>(rc) k' rī sētē'n.</i>
us —	<i>(rē) ha k' rī sētē'n.</i>
you <i>(re) rī k'goa sētē'n.</i>	—
them <i>(re) has k'goa sētē'n.</i>	<i>(rē) has k'ag' rī sētē'n.</i>

It seems that *k'ug'* is sometimes abbreviated, and in other instances assumes the form *k'ag'*. The initial *rē* is not necessary for forming the plural. *Kyē* (see p. 65) is very frequently used in connection with future forms.

#### INTERROGATIVE.

The interrogative is formed by the particle *agE*, which is attached to the verb, but in case the latter is accompanied by an adverb it follows the latter.

#### INTRANSITIVE VERB.

##### To be sick, present.

Singular, 1st person, <i>qat ra nēk' agE?</i>	Plural, 1st person, <i>ha ra nēk' agE?</i>
" 2nd " <i>i ra nēk' agE?</i>	" 2nd " <i>rī ra nēk' agE?</i>
" 3rd " <i>ra nēk' agE?</i>	" 3rd " <i>has ra nēk' agE?</i>

## Imperfect.

*qat n'gun age?* was I sick? &c.

## Future.

(*kyē*) *qat k'ug' ra nēk' age?* am I going to be sick?

## TRANSITIVE VERB.

*qat rī sētē'n age?* do you see me?      *ha rī sētē'n age?* do you see us?  
*rī sētē'n age(s)?* do you see him?      *has rī sētē'n age?* do you see them?

## Imperfect.

(*dē*) *qat rī sētēnē'n age?* did you see me?  
*dē rī sētēnē'n age?* or *rī sētēnē'n ages?* did you see him?  
*ha rī sētēnē'n age?* did you see us?

Here are a few instances in which *age* follows the adverb:

*sērē'nh age rī ha k'ug' rī sētē'n?* will you see us to-morrow?  
*t'xtqē' age rī sētē'n?* did you see him yesterday?

Also: *aq hiti age' rē k'e'?* is my house all right?

In interrogative sentences *age* stands for our *verbum substantivum* (see p. 69).

*aq ari age?* is that mine?      *aq hiti age?* is that my house?

In order to emphasise the question, it may be repeated in the beginning of the sentence:

*age aq hiti age?* is that my house?

After an interrogative pronoun the interrogative particle is not used:

*tūse i djunēn?* what did you dream?

## IMPERATIVE.

° I found two forms of imperative; one formed by the suffix *-dē*, the other by *k'a*:

<i>-dē:</i>	<i>at qadē!</i> eat!	<i>cēndē!</i> get up!
	<i>at iri qadē!</i> eat! (plural)	—
<i>k'a:</i>	<i>k'a sētē'n!</i> look here!	<i>qat k'a sētē'n!</i> look at me!
	—	<i>k'a sētē'n!</i> look at him!
	—	<i>ha k'a sētē'n!</i> look at us!
	<i>a kaq sētē'n!</i> let him look!	<i>has k'a sētē'n!</i> look at them!
	—	<i>qat a kaq sētē'n!</i> let him look at me!
	<i>yē k'a sinē!</i> do it!	<i>rī k'a tu tliitē'n!</i> let us look at you!
	<i>k'a snēq!</i> save him!	<i>a dē k'a sia'q!</i> listen now!
	<i>qat k'a snēq!</i> save me!	<i>at k'a tō qa!</i> let us eat!

Both forms are in some instances combined:

*at k'a gadē!* let him eat!      *at k'a t' gadē!* let us eat!

The following forms are doubtful:

*sugs'ēl'ē'n!* think of it!      *hā'ētlik'ē'n!* look here!

## CONDITIONAL.

The conditional has the suffix *-nēk'*. It will be seen from the following examples that the verbs frequently take the particle *na* in this mood. This agrees well with our supposition that the latter denotes the commencement of a state.

*dāq sētannēk'*, *t'lēt' ha dē k'ug' na gōd*, if it rains, I shall not come.  
*aq dāq gannēk'*, *ha dē k'ug' na gōd*, if the sun shines, I shall come.  
*gē nēk'nēk'*, *t'lēt' a k'ug' atlē'q*, if he is sick, I shall not dance.  
*qat gē nēk'nēk'*, if I am sick, . . . .  
*qat ran hanēk'*, if I am hungry, . . . .  
*i qa sētē'nnēk'*, if I see you, . . . .  
*t'l' i qon sētē'nnēk'*, if I do not see you, . . . .  
*t'l' qon sētē'nnēk'*, if I do not see him, . . . .  
*to t'lē'k' : qn tē'nēk'*, every time I see you, . . . .



The following are constructed with *na* :

*aq ic na nū'nēk'*, *tlētl a kuy' atlēq*, if my father dies, I shall not dance.  
*k'unatē'nēk'*, *aq tōru kyē k'ug' wu nēk'*, if he leaves, my mind will be sick.  
*k'unitē'nēk'*, if you should leave.  
*tl' (1) aq (2) ic (3) wu na (4), runōn katlēqē'n (5)*, if (4) my (2) father (3) were not (1) dead (4), I should dance (5).

## NEGATIVE.

The negative is formed by *tlētl*, not. The negative has always the particle *wu*.

*tlētl qat wu nēk'*, I am not sick.  
*tlētl qat wu nēgun*, I have not been sick.

In the interrogative negative the interrogative particle follows the negative, and both are contracted into *tlēgīt* :

*tlēgīt qat wu nēk'?* am I not sick?  
*tlēgīt kyē qat k'ug' wu nēk'?* am I not going to be sick?

## IMPERATIVE NEGATIVE.

*tlētl at i qak'* ! don't eat !      *tlētl at rī qak'* ! don't eat ! (plural)  
*tlētl at tō qak'* ! let us not eat !

## DERIVATIVES.

Undoubtedly there exist a considerable number of derivatives in Tlingit. It seems probable that the majority of these derivatives are formed by means of particles. I shall first give a few examples of the use of these particles, and the change they effect in the meaning of the verb :

*re nēk'*, he (present) is sick.      *re detl*, heavy.  
*wu nēk'*, he (absent) is sick ; he is growing sick.      *tlētl wu detl*, not heavy.  
*(t'e)ch'a qa tli nēk'*, I pretend to be sick.      *kū detl*, heavy (referring to man).  
*ch'a qa tli qa*, I pretend to eat.

The following seem to be derivatives in the proper meaning of that term :

<i>sē-</i>	<i>tēn</i> , to look ;	<i>sētē'n</i> , to see.
	<i>aq</i> , to hear ;	<i>sēa'q</i> , to listen.
<i>tli-</i>	<i>tēn</i> , to see ;	<i>qa tlitē'n</i> , I look at it.
<i>-tc</i>	<i>aq</i> , to hear ;	<i>aqtc</i> , to know.
	<i>nēk'</i> , sick ;	<i>nēk'tc</i> , to be sick a long time.

There are some sentences that seem to indicate the existence of a dubitative formed by means of the interrogative particle :

*gutl (1) Ts'ōtsqē'n (2) aqē (3) wōē' (4)*, may be (1, 3) you (4) are a Tsimshian (2) ;

but the same may be expressed simply with *gutl* :

*gutl (1) Ts'ōtsqē'n (2) wōē' (3)*, may be (1) you (3) are a Tsimshian (2).

*gutl (1) qat (2) wu nēk' (3)*, may be (1) I (2) am sick (3).

The passive seems to be formed by means of the particle *wu* and the stem :

*qat wu nēy*, I am saved ; but this appears doubtful, as the active form, *sīnē'q*, to save, may be compound and mean : to make saved.

NOTE.—A circumscriptive inflexion of the verb is very frequent. It is formed by using the word (my, your, his) 'mind' instead of the pronoun :

*aq tōru re k'e'*, I am glad = my mind is good.  
*aq torū sigō at qa*, I wish to eat = my mind desires to eat.

## VERBUM SUBSTANTIVUM.

It was mentioned above that the particle *yē* may have the meaning of the *verbum substantivum*. Undoubtedly the demonstrative *a* is frequently used in this way :

*hit a tlēna*, that is a large house.      *i hīti asia*, that is your house.

The independent pronoun stands also for the pronoun and *verbum substantivum* :

*qat*, it is I.      *Tlingit wōē'*, you are a Tlingit.

## THE ADVERB.

The adverb stands mostly at the beginning of the sentence :

*yāridxt has rī sētē'n*, you see them now.  
*resū' gat wu nek'*, I just got sick.  
*tētgr' agē' rī sētē'n?* did you see him yesterday?  
*tlīts'ē aq ā'nē k'ug' rī sētē'n*, later on you will see my country.

In a few cases it stands at the end of the sentence :

*gat* (1) *k'anichidēg* (2) *sitē'* (3), I am (1) very (3) poor (2).

## FORMATION OF WORDS.

It was mentioned above that compound words are very frequent, and I believe that all words can be reduced to monosyllabic stems. In many cases it is evident that the word is a compound, although we are not able to determine the meaning of the elements. Excepting the particles referred to above (p. 64), it seems that the composing elements may occur independently as well as forming part of other words. For instance, *riā'ti*, place for something, occurs both independently and as a constituent of many words :

*t'ēk'a riā'ti*, mortar = pestle place.      *k'ōū'tl riā'ti*, bed = feather place.

From the same stem are derived the following :

*ya'k'rērē't*, canoe place.  
*kaqē' guarē't*, mortar = pestle place.  
*tōuqsērē't*, whistle = place into which one blows.  
*gutsrē(t)*, heaven = cloud place.  
*gan ētē'*, fire place.  
*tl'ēnētē'*, beach = sand place.

Many adjectives are compounds of *tlē(tl)*, being merely a negation of their opposite:

*tlētl wu ch'E*, bad, and *tl'wu ch'E*, ugly.      *tlētl wu tlītsēn*, weak.  
*tlētl wu dētl*, light.

Probably also :

*ku matl*, short (see *ku wat*, long).      *tlk'atck*, lame.  
*tk'ōctēn*, blind (*tēn*, to see).      *tlk'ōtl'agt*, deaf (*aq*, to hear).

I give finally a collection of sentences :

*hahēa qa tama!* give me to drink !  
*a hu qa tli qētl*, I am afraid.  
*aqag'a kaqcēh't*, I paint my face.  
*aq ēk' iē'rētē qun*, I am and remain thin.  
*at qa qa rit aq tōrū tē*, I want to eat.  
*at qa agē i tōrū sigō?* do you wish to eat ?  
*aq tōrū sigō' at qa*, I wish to eat.  
*aq tōru wa sigō' at qoa qū rit*, I wish to eat.  
*tlētl aq tōru wa wu sigō' gat wu nek'*, I do not like to be sick.  
*gācu dē gat wu nē'qēk'*, I should like to be well.  
*gācu (wōk') rī gōd (yua')*, I wish you would go.  
*gācu dē qa gōd*, I wish to go.  
*gacū' tlingit k'a qa aqtc*, I wish I understood the Tlingit.  
*qa cegōk rāndat'e'tc*, I can swim.  
*tlētl wu qa cegōk rāndat'e'tc*, I cannot swim.  
*tlētl a dē at qoa qa rīrē*, I cannot eat.  
*teātł kyēnu qa sē'yik*, I haul in halibut (halibut line I haul in).  
*hītk-tō re qoa gōd*, I go to the houses.  
*hītk-tō re a nē gōd*, he goes to the houses.  
*tlētl i tla tl'rk' qēk!* don't make it wet !  
*re tli tlē'k!* don't make it wet !  
*(tē'ē) ch'a qa tlī nek'*, I pretend to be sick.  
*ch'a qa tli qa*, I pretend to eat.  
*Ts'ōtsqē'ngc qa tlē'q*, I pretend to be a Tsimshian.

*Ts'otsoe'n agr nū, hē tlētl tlaqōsēhō'*, maybe he is a Tsimshian, but

I do not know.

*tlētl ta goakō qat nēk'*, I fear I am sick (I am not sure I am sick).

*gutl hōtc yē awu sinē*, maybe he has done it.

*wē atqa qat sī nēk'*, that food makes me sick.

*qat k'asneq ! kic' anag'ā't k'ō yēk' !* save me, O rainbow !

*wōtc qat wu sēnē'g !* It is he who saved me !

*ara ka wa dan*, it is snowing.

*ara ka wa danēn a'sē*, it has been snowing.

*ara krug' wa dan*, it is going to snow.

*tlētl qat ca cqamu !* no hair is on my head.

*aq k'ōs tāh rē nēk'*, my foot is sore.

*su q s'ēt'e'n*, I think of him.

*ī su q s'ēt'e'n*, I think of you.

*wūctē'n at tō ta qa*, we eat together.

*c'itlk'e'tl*, stop crying !

*wūtc kike't has ta k'ēn*, they sit opposite each other.

*John es kike't qaa'*, John is opposite to me.

*wūtc'e'n ānka dē haq to ā't*, we go together to the town.

*wūtc'e'n ānka dē sk'uqka ā't*, they go together to the town.

*ceda hōtc yē anaq s'i'nē !* let him do it !

*hēn qa rē krug' qoa te !* I am going to put you into the water.

*hēn qa ī rē' qoa tē*, I put your face into the water (I baptise you).

It will be seen from these remarks and examples how much remains to be done in this language. It is evident that the grammatical structure cannot be understood until the words have been more closely studied and we know the meaning of their components and of the particles which are so important in the inflexion of the verb. From what we know, it appears that the particles and pronouns are placed between the components of words. I do not think there is a real infixion. The independence which the components retain is one of the most remarkable features of this language.

## II. HAIDA.

Obtained from *Wiha*, a native of *Skidegate (Tlka gyitl)*, and *Mrs. Franklin*, a half-blood Indian, living in Victoria.

### PHONETICS.

Vowels : a, (ā), e, E, i, ō, u.

Consonants : d, t; gy, ky; g, k, k'; g, k'; r, q; h, H, y;  
m, n, n̄; w; s, (dz), ts; c, dj, tc; l, dl, tl.

There is only one labial, *m*, which does not occur as an initial sound except in a few words which are borrowed from the Tsimshian. The *m* is not the pure English *m*, but closely related to *n̄*, from which it is distinguished with great difficulty, the lips being not perfectly closed. The difference between surds and sonants is still slighter than in Tlingit, it being in most cases impossible to determine whether a sound is the one or the other. I believe a thorough study of the language would show that it would be proper to use only one letter for the dentals and one for the gutturals, the slight variations of which cause in our ear the sensation of surds and sonants. The *r* is very guttural, but has more of a trill than in Tlingit. Therefore it is easily distinguished from the *m*. The hiatus is very frequent, and occurs after all consonants. In the beginning of words I found the following combinations of consonants: *l, dl, tl*, followed by a guttural, and *t, n̄*, followed by *g* (one instance); *s* followed by any consonant, except *s, dz, ts, c, dj, tc*. Regarding the latter, it must be stated that *s* frequently does not belong to the stem; *t* is followed by *h*. I found the following combinations of consonants terminating words:

			ks			
		nq	ns		ndl	n'l
sk	sk'			st		stl
tsk				ct		
tk						
tlk	tlk'	ln				

All letters can be initial and terminal sounds. (Regarding *m* see above.) Combinations of consonants are very rare.

## GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

## THE NOUN.

The Haida language has no grammatical sex, and no separate forms for singular and plural. When it is necessary or desirable to state expressly that the plural is meant, *skōl* (a group of) is added when human beings are referred to; *k'oa'n* in all other cases. The latter may also be applied to human beings.

*dja'ata skōl*, women.

*ētl skōlga*, it is we.

*ētl gyitina skōl yux'nga*, we belong to the eagle gens.

*qā'etqa skōl yū'a'n*, many people; but also—

*ts'ēñ k'oa'n*, beavers.

*k'ēt k'oa'n*, trees.

*na k'oa'n*, houses.

*qā'etqa k'oa'n yū'an*, many people.

I have not found any indication of cases. Compound nouns are as frequent as they are in the Tlingit language, and they are composed in the same way, the components being placed side by side:

*gy'atl d'amx'l*, ankle = leg knuckle.

*gy'atl gya*, dancing leggings = leg ornament.

*tlk'yan k'a'itla*, wood dish.

*Tlk'a gyitl*, stone beach, name of Skidegate village.

*k'ōt'itla trā'era*, thief = steal master.

*sqā'na dā'tzēñ*, hat with carving of *Delphinus orca*.

The following examples consist of three components:

*g'at k'al gyū'atk*, deer-skin blanket.

*qē'tlēñ g'ā'ūdā'o*, pipe = mouth smoke box.

*slā'gul k'a'tsē k'ēdā'*, carved spoon—spoon head figure.

*ga ta tū'n*, table = it eat instrument.

Local adverbs are frequently placed between the components of the word, which always retain their independence: *hī u'nse g'ata'* = wing top white (name of a bird).

The names of several colours are evidently composed words: *gō tlatl*, blue; *gan tlatl*, yellow; *aga tlatl*, many-coloured.

## THE ADJECTIVE.

The adjective is placed after the substantive to which it belongs:

*g'al yū'kō*, midnight = night half.

*ād dzi'nda*, oar = long paddle.

*lā'na g'x'tsō*, small town.

*lā'na yū'an*, large town.

*ian tlatl*, black cloud.

*ta'nga g'ū'ga*, salt = dry ocean.

The adjective is rarely used alone; if it has no noun, to which it belongs, *gyina*, something, is added:

*gyina g'ada*, something white.

*gyina dā'ranga*, something bad.

*gyina k'a'lra*, something different, another.

## NUMERALS.

## CARDINAL NUMBERS.

1, <i>squn</i> , <i>sqā'sgō</i> , <i>sqoā'nseñ</i> .	30, <i>tlā'lē dlk'u'nutl</i> .
2, <i>stīñ</i> .	40, <i>tlā'lē sta'nseñ</i> .
3, <i>dlk'u'nutl</i> .	50, <i>tlā'lē tlē'etl</i> .
4, <i>sta'nseñ</i> .	60, <i>tlā'lē dlk'unō'utl</i> .
5, <i>tlēt</i> .	70, <i>tlā'lē dzi'gura</i> .
6, <i>dlk'unō'utl</i> .	80, <i>tlā'lē sta'nseñra</i> .
7, <i>dzi'gura</i> .	90, <i>tlā'lē tlā'lēñ sqoā'nseñgō</i> .
8, <i>sta'nseñra</i> .	100, <i>lā'gua tlā'atl</i> .
9, <i>tlā'lēñ sqoā'nseñ</i> .	200, <i>lā'gua stīñ</i> .
10, <i>tlā'atl</i> .	300, <i>lā'gua dlk'u'nutl</i> .
11, <i>tlā'atl wogē'</i> , or <i>sqoā'nseñ</i> .	900, <i>lā'gua tlā'lēñ sqoā'nseñgō</i> .
20, <i>lag'usqa'nēgō</i> .	1,000, <i>lā'gua tlā'lē tlā'atlē</i> .

Evidently four is second two, six the second three, eight the second four, and five and ten are also derived from the same stem, perhaps (*s*)*tl*, hand. The formation of four corresponds to that of the same number in Tlingit (see p. 61). I found no double forms of numerals, except for one: *sgoū'nsēñ* is the word generally used; *sga'sgō* is used in counting divisions of time:

*tū'da sga'sgō*, one year.

*g'al sga'sgō*, one night.

*sēn sga'sgō*, one day, also all day long.

In counting objects classifying words are used very extensively:

*na thēi stīñ*, two (sleep) houses.

*thē'idān g'a sgoū'nsēñ*, one (flat) bed.

*thē'idān tlg'a sgoū'nsēñ*, one (frame) bed.

*k'ā'tla k'a stīñ*, two (open) dishes.

*tlō k'a stīñ*, two (open) canoes.

*tlō gi stīñ*, two (?) canoes.

*tlk'a g'ā'is sgoū'nsēñ*, one (round) stone.

*k'ēi stīñ*, steamboat, two (ship) steamboats.

*tlk'ē'it sta sgoū'nsēñ*, one (?) bow.

*k'ēt sk'a sgoū'nsēñ*, one (long) tree.

*gatātā'n tlg'a sgoū'nsēñ*, one (with legs) table.

No such classifying words are used in counting animals and divisions of time. I am unable to account for the following double form:

*ē'tlēñga stīñ* } two men.  
*ē'tlēñstat stīñ* }

#### ORDINAL NUMBERS.

The following ordinal numbers seem to me very doubtful:

*dēkuna'ot*, the first.

*lātālā'nā*, the fourth.

*dētlā'a*, the second.

*lāma gōstlā'na*, the fifth.

*lāncagō'st*, the third.

So far as I was able to discover, the cardinal numbers are generally used in place of ordinal numbers.

#### NUMERAL ADVERBS.

The numeral adverbs are formed by adding the suffix *-gen* to the cardinal numbers.

*sgoū'nsēñgen*, once.

*stī'ñgen*, twice.

#### DISTRIBUTIVE NUMBERS.

These are also expressed by the cardinal numbers. For 'one' the form *squn* is used:

*squn qaula'ñ tla ēsta g'o'ganē*, I give one to each.

*stīñ qaula'ñ tla ēsta g'o'ganē*, I give two to each.

#### THE PRONOUN.

##### PERSONAL PRONOUN.

There are two forms of the personal pronoun exactly alike in character to those found in Tlingit: the former denoting simply the person, the second denoting that the person is one among many. In Haida the latter is used for inflecting the transitive verb, the former for inflecting the intransitive verb. The objective case of the pronoun is the same as the intransitive pronoun. This would make it probable that the intransitive verb is indeed impersonal, if it were not for the fact that the same form is used for the ordinary pronoun.

## Personal Pronoun.

—	Ordinary	Selective	Intransitive	Transitive	
				Subjective	Objective
Singular, 1st person	dēa	tlā'a	dē	tla, tl	dē
„ 2nd „	dē'ña	dā'a	dēñ	da	dēñ
„ 3rd „	lā'a	lā'a	la	la, l	la
Plural, 1st person	ē'tla	d'al'e'nga	ētl	d'al'e'ñ	ētl
„ 2nd „	dal'e'nga	dal'e'nga	dāl'e'ñ	dāl'e'ñ	dāl'e'ñ
„ 3rd „	lā'a	lā'a	la	la, l	la

NOTE 1.—The *a* at the end of the ordinary and selective forms is the same *a* which is affixed to all words when used independently, and also in other cases where it seems to stand merely for reasons of euphony.

NOTE 2.—The *a* at the end of *tla* and *la*, when the subject of transitive verbs, seems to be frequently dropped, or at least to be pronounced very indistinctly.

## DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN.

There are a number of words which take the place of demonstrative pronouns, which, however, seem to be compounds. I have not referred to the use of an article, as it seems to be really the demonstrative pronoun. It is *n* or *neñ*. Here are a few examples:

*n djā'ata*, a woman.

*n sqā'ga*, a shaman.

*neñ ē'tle'nga*, a man.

*neñ g'ā'ga*, a baby.

*neñ sqōa'neñ*, one man.

The last example is suggestive of the origin of this article, which, however, is very seldom used.

This article, combined with *ēts*, then forms the demonstrative which is most frequently used: *nēts*, to which the terminal *a* is frequently added: *nē'tsa*. To this a prefix *a*, of unknown origin, is frequently added: *anē'tsa*. These three forms mean 'this'; *na* (denoting distance) prefixed makes them 'that.'

*anēts nārau ē'tsi*, this is his house, it is this man's house.

*nanēts nārau ē'tsi*, this is his house, it is that man's house.

We also find *neñ*, with and without the prefix *a*, used in this sense:

*a neñ djā'atas nā'rau ē'tsi*, it is this woman's house.

I find besides this the plural form *silda* and *astilda*, and *tska'e* for 'these,' which I am unable to explain.

NOTE.—The prefix *a* occurs also in temporal adverbs and with the personal pronoun, third person:

*a-tlsta*, some time ago.

*a-la ē'tsigua da kiñ?* do you see him?

*a-wiā't*, now.

*a-dā'rgatl*, yesterday.

NOTE.—The use of *na* as denoting distance will best be seen from the following examples:

*na tlō'gen*, all (distant).

*na ē'ñ skōl*, many people (distant).

*na na ē'tsigua da kiñ?* do you see him there?

*na nāra tlgai ē'tsigua da kiñ?* do you see my land there?

*gyistō na ē'tseñ?* who is that?

*watcua gyina ē'tsigua da kiñ?* do you see anything there?

*na nā ēts tla k'āga*, I see a house there.

## POSSESSIVE PRONOUN.

The possessive pronoun has various forms, the use of which is very difficult to understand. As the material which I have collected is not sufficient for a satisfactory explanation of the use of this pronoun, I must confine myself to giving examples of the various forms, illustrating their use.

The simplest form of the possessive pronoun is identical with the objective form of the personal pronoun. It precedes the substantive, to which is added the suffix *ra*:

Singular, 1st person, <i>dē-ra</i> .	Plural, 1st person, <i>ētl-ra</i> .
" 2nd " <i>dēñ-ra</i> .	" 2nd " <i>daleñ-ra</i> .
" 3rd " <i>l-ra</i> .	" 3rd " <i>l-ra</i> .

*dē kuñ-ra*, my father.

In certain compound words the elements are not simply placed side by side, but the possessive form is used, corresponding to our genitive. This, however, seems to be the case only when the object is really possessed:

*lā'na ā'ora*, chief = town mother.      *djā'ata qā'tra*, the woman's father.

The full form of the possessive pronoun in indicative sentences is:

Singular, 1st person, <i>gya'gen-gai</i>	Plural, 1st person, <i>ētl gyā'ra-gai</i>
" 2nd " <i>dēñ gyā'ra-gai</i>	" 2nd " <i>daleñ gyā'ra-gai</i>
" 3rd " <i>l gyā'ra-gai</i>	" 3rd " <i>l gyā'ra-gai</i>

Examples:

*kua'ē gya'gen nāgai da k'i'ng-asga*, later on you will see my house.  
*gya'gen nāgai*, it is my house.  
*dēñ gyā'ra nā'gaigua ēts?* is that your house?  
*gem gya'gen ē'tsanga*, it is not mine.

The same form with the terminal vowel *ō* is used for the substantive possessive pronoun:

<i>gya'genō</i> , mine.	<i>ētl gyā'raō</i> , ours.
<i>dēñ gyā'raō</i> , yours.	<i>daleñ gyā'raō</i> , yours.
<i>l gyā'raō</i> , his.	<i>la gyā'raō</i> , theirs.

The second form of the possessive pronoun is the following:

Singular, 1st person, <i>nā'ra-gai</i>	Plural, 1st person, <i>ē'tlāra-gai</i>
" 2nd " <i>dēñra-gai</i>	" 2nd " <i>daleñra-gai</i>
" 3rd " <i>lā'ra-gai</i>	" 3rd " <i>lāra-gai</i>

NOTE.—In one instance I found for the second person singular: *tlēra-gai*.

In some instances this second form and the first are used indiscriminately:

*kua'ē gya'gen nāgai da k'i'ng-asga* } later on you will see my house.  
*kua'ē nāra nāgai da k'i'ng-asga* }

In other cases the first form must not be used, but I did not succeed in discovering the rule. The second form serves also as a substantive possessive pronoun:

*nā'ragua*, is it mine?  
*nā'ragua lu da k'iñ*, do you see mine?  
*tłgaigua nāra da k'iñ*, do you see my land?  
*la ra tla lā'ra ista!* give his to him!  
*hala! dē gi nā'ra ista!* give me mine!  
*dārgatl nāra nā'gai da k'i'ng-asga*, to-morrow you will see my house.  
*gyānū nā'ra ā'lai ē'tseñ?* where is my paddle?

NOTE.—The suffix *-gai* is sometimes contracted with the substantive to which it is affixed:

*tlvai* for *tłogai*, canoe.      *tlgai* for *tlgogai*, country.  
*qatai* for *qatgai*, father.

In addressing a person only the suffix *-gai* is used:

*k'u'ngai!* my father!      *dā'gai!* my younger brother!

In a few instances I found the suffix *-rao* used for expressing the relation of possession. It is evidently of the same origin as the second part of *gyā'raō* (see above).

*gyistō nā'raō ē'tseñ*, whose house is that?  
*ā'nets nā'raō ē'tsi*, it is his house.  
*nastlā k'unrao ē'tsi*, that is their father.

NOTE.—I found a peculiar possessive form in a few sentences, which, it would seem, is used where object and subject are the same person :

*k'alañ tl tl̄ga*, I wash my skin.  
*qāñgañ la tl̄ga*, he washes his face.  
*tl̄gañ k'a tl i'sg'asga*, I shall go to my country.  
*tl̄gañ tl k'iñg'asga*, I shall see my country.

### THE VERB.

In discussing the pronoun we stated that there are two forms, one for the transitive, the other for the intransitive verb, the latter being identical with the objective case of the transitive pronoun. This makes it probable that the intransitive verb may be impersonal. The division of transitive and intransitive verbs is, of course, peculiar to the language, but it will be found very much like that observed in Tlingit. Following is a list of intransitive and transitive verbs in the first person singular :

#### INTRANSITIVE VERBS.

*dē qā'etqaga*, I am a Haida.  
*dē gytinā'ga*, I belong to the eagle gens.  
*dē st'ē'ga*, I am sick.  
*dē lā'ga*, I am well.  
*dē lgilga*, I recover from sickness.  
*dē ŋaistl̄ēñ*, I recover from sickness.

*dē k'ōē'ta*, I am hungry.  
*dē k'ā'āga*, I am thirsty.  
*dē stāt'ga*, I like.  
*dē w'nsētga*, I know to—  
*dē ran(?)*, I have.  
*dē k'āēskidā'ga*, I forget.

#### TRANSITIVE VERBS.

*tla skagē'tga*, I cry.  
*tla nia'tlga*, I dance.  
*tla nū'ga*, I eat with somebody.  
*tla ē'ta*, I give.  
*tla k'ā'ga*, I go.  
*tla dū'raga*, I have.  
*tla gūde'ñ*, I hear.  
*tla tē'aqan*, I kill.  
*tla k'ū'ga*, I laugh.

*tla qutlga*, I drink.  
*tla ga taga*, I eat (it).  
*tla g'ō'traga*, I make.  
*tl k'iñga*, I see.  
*tla k'ā'ga (tla thā'ga?)*, I sleep.  
*tla skungudē'ngən*, I smell.  
*tla k'ē'tkūlga*, I talk.  
*tla qū'dēn* (see *dēgū'dēnra*), I think.  
*tl tl̄ga*, I wash.

I found four tenses : the present, imperfect, perfect, and future ; and five moods : the indicative, interrogative, negative, imperative, and infinitive. I have no examples of the conjunctive and conditional which make their use sufficiently clear. I shall first give the tenses of the intransitive verb in a paradigmatic form :

*st'ē*, sick.

—	Present tense	Imperfect	Perfect	Future <sup>1</sup>
Singular, 1st person	dē st'ē'ga	dē st'ē'gan	dē st'ē'ganē	dē st'ē'rasga
" 2nd "	dēñ st'ē'gagen	dēñ st'ē'gagan	dēñ st'ē'ganē	dēñ st'ē'rasga and st'ē'rasañ
" 3rd "	l st'ē'ga	l st'ē'gan	l st'ē'ganē	l st'ē'rasga
Plural 1st "	ētl st'ē'ga	ētl st'ē'gan	ētl st'ē'ganē	ētl st'ē'rasga
" 2nd "	dalen'ñ st'ē'gagen	dalen'ñ st'ē'gagan	dalen'ñ st'ē'ganē	dalen'ñ st'ē'rasga and st'ē'rasañ
" 3rd "	l st'ē'rōga	l st'ē'rōgan	l st'ē'rōganē	l st'ē'uasga

In inflecting the transitive verb the pronoun is placed immediately before the verb. In some instances the verb has an indefinite object, *ga*, exactly corresponding to the same indefinite object in Tlingit (see p. 65). It is placed between the subject and the verb : *tla ga ta*, I eat it. As a rule, the object is placed before the subject, but when the object is a pronoun and has a separate objective form (1st, 2nd, person singular, 1st person plural) the sequence may be reversed. Following is a paradigmatic table of the transitive verb in the present tense :

<sup>1</sup> I found the following doubtful future : *l st'ērañ k'acā'raga*, he is going to be sick.



*k'iñ*, to see.

## INDICATIVE; PRESENT TENSE.

Object	Subject, Singular		
	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
Singular, 1st person	—	dē da k'i'ñga	dē la k'i'ñga
" 2nd "	dēñ tl k'i'ñga	—	dēñ la k'i'ñga
" 3rd "	{ tla k'i'ñga } { tla l k'i'ñga }	la da k'i'ñga	—
Plural, 1st "	—	ētl da k'i'ñga	ētl la k'i'ñga
" 2nd "	dāleñ tl k'i'ñga	—	dāleñ la k'i'ñga
" 3rd "	la tl k'i'ñrōga	la da k'i'ñrōga	—

Object	Subject, Plural		
	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
Singular, 1st person	—	dē dāleñ k'i'ñga	dē la k'i'ñrōga
" 2nd "	d'aleñ dēñ k'i'ñga	—	dēñ la k'i'ñrōga
" 3rd "	le dēñ k'i'ñga	la dāleñ k'i'ñga	—
Plural, 1st "	—	ētl dāleñ k'i'ñga	ētl la k'i'ñrōga
" 2nd "	dāleñ dēñ k'i'ñga	—	dāleñ la k'i'ñrōga
" 3rd "	le dēñ k'i'ñrōga	la dāleñ k'i'ñrōga	—

NOTE.—It seems that in the first person plural the transitive pronoun *d'ale'ñ* is contracted. It is remarkable that the characteristic suffix of the third person plural *-rō* is also used when the object is in the third person plural. When the object is a substantive it is placed before the subject:

*tc'i'nō tl tā'ga*, I eat salmon.

It will be seen that the suffixes of the transitive verb are the same as those of the intransitive, with the sole exception of the second persons, where the termination *-gen* is missing. This, however, is also frequently the case in intransitive verbs.

NOTE.—While in the great majority of cases the verb is inflected, as indicated above, I found a considerable number of instances in which the terminal *-ga* was missing; for instance, *tla gata'* and *tla gata'ga*, I eat; *tla gūde'ñ*, I hear. In other cases I found the terminal syllable *-geñ* instead of *-ga*; but I was not able to detect any rule regarding their use.

*tla gata'ñg ē'sēñ tla gata'*, I eat and eat again.

*tla gūde'ñgeñ*, I hear.

*tla skuñgūde'ñgeñ*, I smell.

*tla k'iñgeñ*, I see it (something inanimate).

NOTE.—There are a few instances in which the pronoun, second person singular, seems to be *tlā* or *tlāñ*:

*da tlā k'i'ñga*, I see you.

*tc'in tla tlañra ta!* eat your salmon!

*tlāra nā'gai*, your house.

NOTE.—Sometimes the syllable *gyī* is added to the first person without changing the meaning:

*gyī dē stātl yūa'ngang*, I should like much.

*dēñ k'ea'ngai gyīdē gūde'ñga*, I wish to see you.

*gyī dē k'ā'skidū'ganē!* I forgot!

*hal dē gyī sqā'wai i'sta!* give me a knife!

It may be that it is an interjection similar to 'oh!' (Latin *utinam!*)

## INTERROGATIVE.

The interrogative is expressed by the particle *gwa*, which is placed after the subject, object, or adverb, as the case may be.

## INTRANSITIVE VERB.

## Present Tense.

Singular, 1st person, <i>dē qua st'ē?</i>	Plural, 1st person, <i>ētl qua st'ē?</i>
" 2nd " <i>dēñ qua st'ēgōs?</i>	" 2nd " <i>dāl'ēñ qua st'ē'gōs?</i>
" 3rd " <i>la qua st'ē'gōs?</i>	" 3rd " <i>la qua st'ē'rōā'ōs?</i>

## Imperfect.

*dē qua st'ē'ga?* and *dē' qua st'ēgō'odja?* was I sick?

## TRANSITIVE VERB.

*dē qua da k'iñ?* do you see me?      *ētl qua k'iñ?* do you see us?  
*la qua da k'iñ?* do you see him?      *la qua da k'iñrō?* do you see them?  
*da qua da k'iñ?* do you see it?

In the interrogative the subject frequently precedes the object:

*dā qua qa dā'ra?* have you got a dog?

When there is an adverb accompanying the verb the former takes the interrogative particle:

*dā'rqatigua dēñ st'ēgō'odja?* were you sick yesterday?  
*a la ē'tsisgua da k'iñ?* do you see them there?

It may also be attached to both object and adverb:

*tlgaigna nā'ra da k'iñ?* do you see my land?  
*nategua gyina ē'tsisgua da k'iñ?* do you see anything there (at a distance)?

Sentences beginning with interrogative words do not take this particle, and have instead of the verbal suffix *-ga, gēñ*:

*gyi'stō st'ē'gēñ?* who is sick?  
*gyi'stō ē'tsēñ?* who is there?  
*gyi'stō nā'rao ē'tsēñ?* whose house is that?  
*gō'su da tā'gēñ?* what are you eating?  
*gō'su wa ē'tsēñ?* what is that?  
*gō'gusg-anō da k'ā'gēñ?* why do you laugh?  
*gā'tlentlā'ō gēm dē da k'iñgēñ ē'odja?* why did not you see me?  
*kasu'ñgu dēñ k'ē'tēñ?* how are you?  
*dēñ gyā'ra nā'gai qua ēts?* is that your house?  
*dēñ gyā'ra lā'nagai qua ēts Tlk-ā'giltā?* is Tlk-āgilt your town?

## IMPERATIVE.

The second person singular is formed by the separable particle *tla*, which is affixed either to the verb or to its object, or precedes the verb. In the plural the suffix *-rō* is added to the stem of the verb:

Singular, 2nd person:	<i>tā tla!</i> eat!	and	<i>ga tla ta!</i> eat (it)!
	<i>sqāl'n tla!</i> sing!		<i>tla gō'tlga!</i> make it!
	<i>kā'it tla!</i> go!		<i>dzin da tla!</i> make it longer!
Plural, 2nd person:	<i>tā'rō tla!</i> eat!	and	<i>ga tla tā'rō.</i>
	<i>qōtlrō tla!</i> drink!		

In transitive verbs which have an object *tla* is always placed after the object:

*dē tla k'iñ!* look at me!      *la tla k'iñ!* look at him!  
*ā'gēñ tla k'iñ!* look at yourself!

Plural, 1st person: *d'ā'lēñ ga tā s'añ!* let us eat!

A periphrastic form is frequently used:

*hala! ga ta!* come! eat!  
*hala! dē ē'tlwa!* come! help me!  
*hala! gandl dē gotl da!* come! make me drink water! (let me drink!)  
*hala! d'alēñ gotl s'añ!* come! let us drink!

The following forms seem to indicate that there is still another method of forming the imperative:

*nā'ra i'sta!* give me mire!      *gotl ta!* drink!

## INFINITIVE.

I found two infinitives, one ending in *-(g)ai*, the other in *-gan*.

*gem tl k'ag'ai dzi'nra'nga*, I laugh almost (I am not far from laughing).

*dē g'uñra g'otulá'i gá'ustlō tl niatlilnā'ga*, if my father were not dead, I should dance.

*dēñ k'eā'ngai gyē dē statl yū'ngen*, I should like much to see you.

*sqala'ng'an dē u'nsēt yū'anga*, I understand well to sing.

*rā'nitliag'an lu'nsēda*, he knows to fight.

NOTE.—I give the following conditional sentences without an attempt at explanation:

*l* (1) *st'ē'gēs* (2) *rā'ganō* (3) *gem* (4) *tl* (5) *kāitlra'nga* (6), if (3) he (1) is sick (2), I (5) not (4) shall go (6).

*dē* (1) *k'u'ñra* (2) *gem* (3) *g'ō'tul* (4) *gēñ gyan* (5) *niat'lrasga* (6), if (5) my (1) father (2) not (3) dead (4), I shall dance (6).

*dē* (1) *k'u'ñra* (2) *gō'ustl* (3) *gyan* (4) *gem* (5) *tl* (6) *niatlrā'nsqa* (7), if (4) my (1) father (2) dead (3), I (6) shall not (5) dance (7).

*l* (1) *st'ē'gē* (2) *gā'ustlō* (3) *lū'ra* (4) *tl* (5) *k'ā'itsqiga* (6), if not (3) he (1) were sick (2), I (5) should go (6) to him (4).

*l* (1) *st'ē'gē* (2) *gā'ustlō* (3) *dē'ng'et* (4) *lū'ra* (5) *tl* (6) *k'ā'itlñā'ga* (7), if not (3) he (1) were sick (2), I (6) should go (7) with you (4) to him (5).

*dē* (1) *k'u'ñra* (2) *g'otulai* (3) *gā'ustlō* (4) *tl* (5) *niatllñā'gē* (6), if not (4) my (1) father (2) dead (3), I (5) should dance (6).

## NEGATIVE.

The negative is formed by *gem*, not, while the suffix *-ran* is added to the stem of the verb:

*gem dē st'ē'ranqa*, I am not sick.

*gem la tl k'iñranrōga*, I do not see them.

*gem na ēs tl k'iñranqa*, I do not see a house there.

In the interrogative-negative the interrogative particle is attached to the negation; the suffix of the verb is *-rañ*.

*gem gua l st'ē'rañ?* is he not sick?

*gem gua na nā ēs ta k'iñrañ?* don't you see that house there?

Here is a negative imperative:

*gem tū'ranqa!* don't eat!

## DERIVATIVES.

*-gēi*, repeatedly:

*dē st'ē-gē'iga*, I am repeatedly sick.

*-gī(gēñ)*, he is in the habit of:

*l k'a-gī'gēñga*, he laughs always.

*l rā'nitlta-gī'gēñga*, he is in the habit of fighting.

*tlā gatagī'ga*, I eat always.

*-gīl(gēñ)* *gītlēñ*, it is beginning, growing to be:

*dē st'ē-gītlēñga*, I am getting worse.

*sēn-gītlēñga*, dawn, it becomes daylight.

*shūūga-gī'lgeñ*, it is high water.

*g'āisgū-gī'lga*, it is growing round.

*t'atsēgī'lga*, the wind is increasing in strength.

*gyiñ*, to cause:

*gyina* (1) *tl* (2) *tū'gen* (3) *dē* (4) *gyiñ* (5) *st'ē'ga* (6), I (2) ate (3) something (1) (that) makes (5) me (4) sick (6).

There are several derivatives the meaning of which I do not know:

*tl ta-nō'ga*, I eat.

*aq'alqua*, it begins to be night.

*k'eā'nga*, to see (from *k'iñ*).

## VERBUM SUBSTANTIVUM.

*ēts*, there, and its derivations frequently stand for the *verbum substantivum*, as will be seen from the following examples. In such cases a terminal *-ō* is generally added to the subject:

*tlk'ā-ō ē'tsi*, it is a rock, these are rocks.  
*g'at-ō ē'tsi*, it is a deer.  
*tlā-ō ē'tsi*, it is I.  
*dā qua ēts?* is that you?  
*gya'gen tlwai-ō ē'tsi*, it is my canoe.  
*Qā'ēdes tlgū'ra-ō ē'tsi*, it is the country of the Haida.  
*nā'nets nā'rau-ō ē'tsi*, it is his house.  
*la gyū'ra-ō ē'tsrōga*, it is theirs.  
*gem gya'gen ē'tsranga*, it is not mine.  
*gem gya'gen nā'gai ē'tsranga*, it is not my house.

## THE ADVERB.

It seems that adverbs are placed either at the beginning or at the end of a sentence:

*dū'rgatl dē da ki'ngena*, I saw you yesterday.  
*kōā'ē lū'ra tlgai ta ki'ngasañ*, you will see my land later on.  
*dā gude'ngaseñ kōā'ē*, you will hear it later on.  
*tlā l k'ca'ñgen sqa'ntsēñgen*, I saw him once.  
*dārgatl tēñ ētl da ki'nrāsga*, you will see us again to-morrow.  
*d'ale'ñ ā'señ gūde'nganē*, we have heard it again.

NOTE.—In a number of instances I found the verbal affixes *-ga* and *-gen* not attached to the verb, but to the adverb, so that the latter would appear to be the inflected verb, if it were not for the fact that the pronoun precedes the verb. All the examples I collected refer to the adverb *yū'an*, much, very.

*sqa'l'ngan dē n'sēd yū'enga*, I know well to sing.  
*ētl gyitina skōl yū'enga*, we belong to the eagle gens.  
*dē ran na k'oan yū'enga*, I have many houses.  
*dēñ k'ēd'ngaige dē stātl yū'ēngem*, I should like much to see you.

## FORMATION OF WORDS.

It was mentioned above that compound words occur very frequently, and it seems probable that by far the greater number of words are compounds of monosyllabic stems. In many cases I am unable to ascertain the meaning of the elements of words, although the fact that they are compounds cannot be doubted.

*st'a k'a ran*, plant of foot (perhaps: foot inside above).  
*sl k'a ran*, palm of hand. *k'ō'yē k'a ran*, sky above.  
*kulō k'a ran*, knee pan. *na k'a ran*, roof = house above.  
*hi* (1) *k'ōl* (2) *dā'ngō* (3), wrist [(arm (1) joint (2) ? (3)].  
*gy'atl* (1) *k'ōl* (2) *dā'ngō* (3), knee joint [(leg (1) joint (2) ? (3)].  
*k'ōts g'a'ngō*, post supporting roof.  
*hi ta g'a'ngō*, rattle (*hi* probably arm).  
*gyū'rañ*, to stand. *k'ā'rañ*, to walk.  
*rānitlta*, to fight. *k'ō'tlta*, to steal.  
*qōā'tlta*, to boil.

The word *k'ā'tsē*, head, appears in compounds generally in the form *k'ūs*.

*k'ūs k'ē'tel*, head hair. *k'ūs ku'tsē*, head bone, skull.

The words denoting the activity of senses are evidently derived from the names of the respective organs:

*gyū*, ear.  
*qañ*, eye.

*gūds'ñ*,<sup>1</sup> to hear.  
*k'ñ*, to see (I was frequently doubtful whether to write *k'ñ* or *qiñ*, but preferred the former, as I found it more frequently the most adequate spelling than *qiñ*).

*kun*, nose.  
Also: *gūdeñ*, mind.

*sku'ngudeñ*,<sup>1</sup> to smell.  
*gūdeñ*, to think.

In the word 'to smell' we find an initial *s*, which seems to occur rather often. There are some indications that it is interchangeable with *tl*.

*sk'atl* and *tlk'atl*, black.  
*kas'ntseñ* and *k'atle'ntseñ*, brain.  
*sq'et* and *q'et*, fire.

Finally I give a collection of sentences illustrating various peculiarities of the language:

*neñ k'el g'ada'a*, he is a white man.  
*deñ tl k'ingen nen k'el g'u'das*, I see you are a white man.  
*tla neñ dā'raga*, I have one.  
*dē ran na k'oan yū'ēñga*, I have many houses.  
(*ātran*) *na thēi stīñ tl dā'raga*, I have two houses.  
*na t'el skōlga*, there are many people.  
*tlgāñ k'a tl i'sg'asga*, I shall go to my country.  
*dē atgua da i'sgas?* do you go with me?  
*squn qaul'e'ñ lēistla g'o'ganē*, I give one to each.  
*l sk'al gyidā'ga*, his shoulder is tattooed.  
*dēñgua qin qū'ētran?* what is your people?  
*tlā'o tl g'ōtra'ganē*, I have made it myself.  
*dē gūde'ngai st'ē yū'an*, I am downcast = my heart is very sick.  
*dēñ qua gyūq'el?* have you a perforation of your ear?  
*tl gūden stlō dē st'ē'ga*, I think I am sick.  
*dē nak'tl k'ōtla'ēa'ganē*, somebody has stolen mine (this form seems to serve for the passive).  
*dā g'ōtran aqen st'ēda*, you make yourself sick.  
*a'lēgi sqū'nai ista!* give me a knife!  
*haldigi nā'ra sqū'nai digi i'sta!* give me my knife!  
*hala dē'itka k'ū'it!* come along with me!  
*gyi'stō tlrutlū'ean?* who made that?  
*gōt'el skōl yū'an*, there are many people.

### III. TSIMSHIAN.

Obtained from a native of Meqtlak'qā'tla, 'Matthias'; a native of Ft. Simpson, Mrs. Lawson; and from Mrs. Morrison, a half-blood Tsimshian from Meqtlak'qā'tla, the interpreter of the Bishop of Caledonia.

#### PHONETICS.

Vowels: a, ā, e, ē, i, o, u.

Consonants: b, p; w; m; gy, ky; g, k; r, q; h; d, t; n; ds, ts; s; l, tl; y.

*A* is never pure, but pronounced between *a* and *ā*. Long vowels are by many individuals still further lengthened by repeated intonation; for instance. *iō't* and *iō'ot*, man; *ts'ēn* and *ts'ē'en*, to enter. I have preferred to retain the repeated vowels, except where I was sure that the repetition is only an individual peculiarity. The distinction of surds and sonants is clear, but terminal surds are throughout transformed into sonants whenever a vowel follows. *Ds* and *ts*, however, when followed by an hiatus, are very much alike. *S* is not the English *s*, but has a slight touch of

<sup>1</sup> The following forms are remarkable:

*dēñ qua gyū q'el?* don't you hear?

*dēñ qua kunq'el?* don't you smell it?

Also: *dā qua gyūde'ñ?*

*dā qua skunq'u'k'ng'ē?*

*sh*, the point of the tongue not quite touching the teeth. *L* is pronounced, the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth, the back being pressed against the palate. *N* is similar to *dn*, the nose being almost closed.

All sounds occur as initial sounds. I found the following combinations of consonants beginning words:

pt	kw	qp	nd	tgy	sp	tlp
pts	kt	qk	nts	tk; tkw	sky	tlg
ptl	kts	qt; qtk	nl	tk	sk	tlk
					sg	
ks; ksp, ksk, kstq	qts; qtsky			tq	sk	
					sq	
		qs; qsk, qst			srl	
					st	
		qtl			stz	

The following consonants occur as terminal sounds:

p, m, ky, k, k', r, q, t, n, s, l, tl

Terminal combinations of consonants are:

lp	lky	pk	tk; ntk	pq	pt	ps	qtl; mqtl
		qk	tsk	mq	k't; lk't	ms	ntl
		tk; ntk, ltk	mk	tq; ltq	qt	ks; lks, tlks	tstl
		ək; ksk, nsk, tsk		nq	st; lkst, mst	k's	
		lk		sq	nt	qs; pqs	
		tlk; mtlk		lq	lt	ns	
					tit	ls	

## GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

### PLURAL.

Nouns and verbs form the plural in the same way. Therefore I shall treat this subject before discussing the parts of speech separately.

There is a great variety of plural forms; I observed the following classes:

1. Singular and plural have the same form:

<i>bear</i> , ol.	<i>day</i> , ca.
<i>cat</i> , tō'us (Chinook).	<i>year</i> , k'ātl.
<i>deer</i> , wan.	<i>fathom</i> , g'ā'it.
<i>seal</i> , rE'la.	<i>blanket</i> , guc.
<i>cedar</i> , g'Elā'r.	<i>to hear</i> , nEqEnō'.
<i>arrow</i> , hāuwā'l.	<i>to see</i> , nē.

It seems that all quadrupeds, the dog excepted, belong to this class; also divisions of time and measures.

2. The plural is formed by repetition of the whole word:

<i>dog</i> , has—hashā's.	<i>good</i> , ām—amā'm.
<i>foot</i> , si—si'si.	<i>to carve</i> , gyetlk—gyetlgyetlk.
<i>stone</i> , lāp—lāplā'p.	<i>to cut</i> , g'ots—g'asg'ots.
<i>tree</i> , k'an—k'ank'an.	<i>to make</i> , ds'ap—ds'apds'ap.
<i>water</i> , aks—akeEa'ks.	<i>to strike</i> , d'ō'oc—d'ēdōoc.
<i>flat</i> , tqa—t'aqtqa.	

It would probably be more proper to join this class to the next:

3. The plural is formed by reduplication.

<i>branch</i> , anē'ic—ananē'ic.	<i>to finish</i> , g'ā'ōdē—g'ag'ā'ōdē.
<i>ghost</i> , bā'laq—bilbā'laq.	<i>to know</i> , wulā—wulwulā'.
<i>hat</i> , k'ā'it—k'ak'ā'it.	<i>to look</i> , nē'etsk—nekne'etsk.
<i>scar</i> , tlē'eky—tlētlē'eky.	<i>to miss</i> , guā'adec—gutguā'adec.
<i>spruce</i> , sE'mEn—sEmse'mEn.	<i>to pursue</i> , loyā'ek—lōliyā'ek.
<i>inside</i> , ds'ār—ds'Eds'ār.	<i>to speak</i> , a'lgiaq—ala'lgiaq.
<i>sick</i> , si'epk—sipsi'epk.	<i>to give</i> , gyEnā'm—gyEngEnā'm.

4. The plural is formed by diæresis :

*to hang*, yaq—yá'iaq. *to leave the house*, ksEr—ksâq.

5. The plural is formed by the prefix *lu* (*li*) :

*hungry*, k'tē—luk'tē. *to laugh*, cic'a'qs—licaā'qs.  
*to be afraid*, bāc—lEbāc. *to sleep*, qstoq—laqstā'iq.  
*to drink*, aks—laa'ks. *to walk on a road*, yāk--liyā'k.

6. The plural is formed by the prefix *ka* :

*canoe*, qsā'o—k'agsā'o. *to dress up*, nō'otk—k'anō'otk.  
*face*, ts'al—k'ats'Elts'a'l. *to leave*, dā'wutlt—k'adā'.  
*tired*, cōnā'tl—k'acōnā'tl.

7. The plural is formed by the prefix *hū* :

*house*, wālp—huwā'lp.

8. Singular and plural are derived from the same stem partly by epenthesis ; but no rule of formation is evident.

*company*, nā'tatl—natatl (this may *round*, tikiwā'tlk—tikwi'yitlyatl.  
*be a distributive*). *to call*, hō'otk—hukhō'otk.  
*man*, iō'ot—iō'ota. *to scream*, aya'wa—ayaluwā'da.  
*raven*, k'āq—k'ā'rat. *to watch*, lōma'kca—lōhaya'kca.  
*woman*, hanā'aq—hanā'naq. *to fall down*, k'āina—lē'ina.

9. Singular and plural are derived from different stems :

*child*, tikuā'mElk'—k'apEtgerE'tlk. *to enter*, ts'ē'en—lamts'aq.  
*large*, wī—wu'd'a. *to kill*, ds'ak'—yets.  
*separate*, lEks—hagul. *to lie (recline)*, nāk—lātIk.  
*to come from*, wātK'—amiā'an. *to run*, ba—otl.  
*to cry*, wihā'ut (= large say)—bāk. *to sit*, d'a—wan.  
*to die*, ds'ak'—dEr. *to stand*, hā'yetk—maqsk.  
*to eat*, yā'wiqk—tqā'oqk. *to take*, ga—doqtga.

It seems that in compound words only one part of the word takes the plural form :

*island*, lEks d'a = *separate sitting*—lEks hūwā'n.  
*river*, g'alā'aks = *ascending water*—g'alā'akaks.  
*stranger*, lEksgyat = *separate people*—hagulEgyat.  
*town*, k'alts'a'p—k'alts'apts'a'p.  
*glad*, lō āmak'ā'ot = *in good heart*—lō amā'mk'ak'ā'ot.

### THE NOUN.

There is no grammatical gender, and apparently no oblique case. Possessive relation is either expressed by simply co-ordinating nouns or by the particle *Em* :

*the chief's* (1) *house* (2), wālp (2) sEm'ā'yit (1).  
*the raven's* (1) *master* (2), miā'n (2) k'āq (1).

But *a white man's* (1) *canoe* (2), qsā'e (2) Em k'amksi'oa (1).  
*the door* (1) *of the house* (2), lEksā'q (1) Em wā'lbet (2).

As will be seen, the nominative always precedes the genitive. In a few cases I found *nE* prefixed to the possessed object or to the part :

*the man's* (1) *canoe* (2), nE qsā'e (2) iō'ota (1).  
*the dog's* (1) *tail* (2), nE ts'ō'be (2) has (1).

When the possessor is a person whose name is given, the possessed object takes a terminal *s* :

*George's* (1) *canoe* (2), qsā'es Dords (see p. 91).

All other relations are expressed by prepositions, which take a terminal *s* when referring to a *nomen proprium* (see p. 91).

## TENSES.

When the object spoken of belongs to the past, that is, if it has perished, or has been destroyed or lost, the noun is used in the past tense, which is formed by the suffix *-dEE*.

*the dead man*, ió'dEE = *the man that was*.

*the broken canoe*, qsá'dEE = *the canoe that was*.

When the object belongs to the future, the noun is used in the future tense, which is formed by the prefix *dEm* :

*the future husband*, dEm naks.

*the canoe that will be made*, dEm qsá'E.

This prefix is the same as the characteristic of the future of the verb.

In continuous speech presence and absence are also distinguished, the former being expressed by the suffix *-t*, the latter by *-ga*.

## THE ADJECTIVE AND ADVERB.

The adjective precedes the noun, and is generally joined to it by *Em* :

*young man*, sóp'as Em ió'ot.

*married man*, naks Em ió'ot.

*old man*, wud'á'gyat Em ió'ot (= great person man).

*bad man*, hada'q Em ió'ot.

*good man*, ám Em ió'ot.

In some instances *a* stands instead of *Em* :

*good man*, ám a ió'ot.

But: *bad man*, hada'q a ió'ot, is obsolete.

Certain adjectives immediately precede the noun :

*large*, wí: wí wálp, a *large house*.

wud'a huwálp, *large houses*.

*very, important*, sEMral.

A number of adjectives are abbreviated in forming compounds :

*very*, sEMral, *abbreviated*, sEM: sEMhalá'it, *the important dance*.

*good for nothing*, k'amstE, *abbreviated*, k'am: k'amwálp, *a miserable house*.

The abbreviations cannot be used at pleasure.

K'amstE wálp and k'am wálp, *miserable house*, are equally correct; but, while we have atlgE sEMá'm, *not very nice*, sEMá'm would not be correct; it must be sEMral ám, *very nice*.

NOTE.—The meaning differs sometimes, according to whether *Em* is used or omitted; for instance :

wihá'u, *to cry; from wí, great, and háu, to say*.

But: wí Em háu, *to scold*.

## COMPARISON.

I give only a few examples of comparatives :

*John is taller than George*, k'á wilé'eks dE John tEst Dsords.

*John is smaller than George*, k'á tso'oske John tEst Dsords.

*that is the heaviest*, p'a'lék's gua'a = *that is heavy*.

## NUMERALS.

The Tsimshian has seven sets of cardinal numbers, which are used for various classes of objects that are counted. The first set is used in counting when there is no definite object referred to; the second class is used for counting flat objects and animals; the third for counting round objects and divisions of time; the fourth for counting men; the fifth for counting long objects, the numerals being composed with *k'an*, tree; the sixth for counting canoes; and the seventh for measures. The last seem to be composed with *and'n*, hand.



No.	Counting	Flat Objects	Round Objects	Men	Long Objects	Canoes	Measures
1	gyak'	gäk'	g'E'el	k'al	k'a'wutsk'an	k'amä't	k'al
2	t'epqä't	t'Epqä't	gö'upel	t'Epqadä'l	g'a'opsk'an	g'alp'eitk	gu'lbel
3	gua'nt	gua'nt	gutl'e	gulä'l	g'a'ltsk'an	g'altsk'a'ntk	gul'e'ont
4	tqälpq	tqälpq	tqälpq	tqälpqadä'l	tqä'apsk'an	tqälpqsk	tqälpqalo'nt
5	ketonc	ketonc	ketonc	kcenecä'l	k'etö'entsk'an	ketö'onek	ketönsilo'nt
6	k'ält	k'ält	k'ält	k'aldä'l	k'a'olt-k'an	k'ältk	k'a'delo'nt
7	t'epqä't	t'Epqä't	t'Epqä't	t'Epqaldä'l	t'epqä'tsk'an	t'Epqä'ttk	t'Epqä'delo'nt
8	guandä't	yuktä't	yuktä't	yuktä'dä'l	ek'tiä'edsk'an	yuktä'tk	yuktä'delo'nt
9	ketmä'c	ketmä'c	ketmä'c	ketemacä'l	ketemä'etsk'an	ketemä'ek	ketemäsilo'nt
10	gy'ap	gy'ap	k'p'el	k'päl	k'p'el	gy'apek	k'pö'ut
11	gyäk'	—	—	k'päl t'e k'äl	—	—	—
12	t'epqä't	—	—	k'päl t'e t'Epqadä'l	—	—	—
20	kyedä'l	—	—	kyedä'l	—	—	—
30	gulä'wulgyap	—	—	gulä'legyitk	—	—	—
40	t'Epqadä'legyitk	—	—	—	—	—	—
50	tqälpqwulgyap	—	—	—	—	—	—
100	kcenecä'l	—	—	—	—	—	—
200	k'päl	—	—	—	—	—	—
300	k'päl t'e kcenecä'l	—	—	—	—	—	—
400	kyedä'l	—	—	—	—	—	—
500	kyedä'l t'e kcenecä'l	—	—	—	—	—	—
600	gulä'legyitk	—	—	—	—	—	—
700	gulä'legyitk t'e kcenecä'l	—	—	—	—	—	—
800	tqälpqä'legyitk	—	—	—	—	—	—
900	tqälpqä'legyitk t'e kcenecä'l	—	—	—	—	—	—
1,000	k'päl	—	—	—	—	—	—

It will be seen at once that this system is quinary-vigesimal. It seems doubtful whether *tqälpq*, four, is derived from the same root as *t'Epqä't*, two. In five we find the word for 'hand,' *and'n*, in compounds *on* (?). Six and seven are evidently the second one and two. In twenty we find the word *gyat*, man. The hundreds are identical with the numerals used in counting men, and here the quinary-vigesimal system is most evident.

ORDINAL NUMBERS.

The first has two forms, one for animate, the other for inanimate objects. The following ordinal numbers are formed by means of *naanhiä'*, 'the next to,' and the preceding cardinal numeral, except in the case of the second, when the 'next to the first' is used. The terminal *t* which is here attached to the cardinal numbers is probably nothing else than the terminal euphonic *t* spoken of above.

	Animate	Inanimate
<i>The first :</i>	ksk'ä'oq	kstso'q
<i>The second :</i>	naanhiä' ksk'ä'oq	naanhiä' kstso'q
<i>The third :</i>		

Counting	Flat Objects	Round Objects	Men	Long Objects	Canoes	Measures
naanhiä' t'Epqä'det	naanhiä' t'Epqä'det	naanhiä' gö'upel	naanhiä' t'Epqadä't	naanhiä' g'a'opsk'anget	naanhiä' g'alp'eitk	naanhiä' gu'lbel

NUMERAL ADVERBS.

<i>once, g'E'el.</i>	<i>four times, tqälpq.</i>
<i>twice, gö'upel.</i>	<i>five times, kctonc.</i>
<i>three times, gutl'e'</i>	

It will be seen that they are identical with the forms used for enumerating round objects.

DISTRIBUTIVE.

The distributive numerals are formed by *metle*, followed by the cardinal numeral for instance, *one (round) to each*: *metle g'E'el*.

## PRONOUN.

## PERSONAL PRONOUN.

Independent.		Dependent.	
<i>I, nE'riō</i>	<i>me, gā'i</i>	<i>I (present), (n)---ō, I (absent),---ē</i>	
<i>thou, nE'rēn</i>	<i>thee, gua(n)</i>	<i>thou (mE),---En</i>	
<i>he, she (present), nE'Edet</i>	<i>him, her (present),---</i>	<i>he, she (present),---Et</i>	
<i>--- (absent), nE'etga</i>	<i>--- (absent),---</i>	<i>--- (absent),---Etga, Ega</i>	
<i>we, nE'rēm</i>	<i>us, g'Em</i>	<i>we,---Em</i>	
<i>you, nE'rESEm</i>	<i>(to) you, guā'sEM</i>	<i>you, ---EnSEm</i>	
<i>they (present), dEP nE'Edet</i>	<i>them (present),---</i>	<i>they (present),---Et</i>	
<i>--- (absent), dEP nE'etga</i>	<i>--- (absent),---</i>	<i>--- (absent), Etga, Ega</i>	

The independent pronoun, the third person excepted, is formed from the stem *ner*—, the origin of which is unknown to me.

## POSSESSIVE PRONOUN.

The independent form of the possessive pronoun is identical with the nominative of the personal pronoun: *mine, nE'riō, &c.*

The dependent possessive pronoun is affixed to the noun to which it belongs. There are distinct forms for the object being present or absent, and three tenses, past, present, and future. There is no difference between the possessive form of the noun and the intransitive verb, and it seems to the writer that according to the logical form of the Tsimshian language both must be considered identical. For this reason it seems possible that the form *neriō* (*I* and *mine*) is formed from the *verbum substantivum nē* and the pronominal suffix. The temporal prefixes and the forms for presence and absence are also identical with those of the verb. The third person plural is omitted, being identical with the singular. Further remarks on these suffixes will be found on p. 88.

	Past		Present		Future	
	Present	Absent	Present	Absent	Present	Absent
1st person singular . . .	nE---ō	nE---ēdaē	---ō	---ōga and---ēda	dEM---ō	dEM---ēdaē
2nd " " "	n---En	n---Endāē	---En	---Enga	dEM---En	dEM---Enga
3rd " present, singular	n---Et	n---Etga	---Et	---Etga	dEM---Et	dEM---Etga
3rd " absent, " "	n---da	n---ga	---daa	---ga	dEM---daa	dEM---ga
1st " plural . . .	n---EM	n---EMda	---EM	---EMga	dEM---EM	dEM---EMga
2nd " " " "	n---SEM	n---SEmda	---SEM	---SEmga	dEM---SEM	dEM---SEmga

## DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN.

Presence and absence may best be treated under this heading, as they correspond to a certain extent to our 'this' and 'that.' Absence is designated by the suffixes *-ga* and *-da(a)*, presence by *-t*. I do not know whether there is any difference between the two forms of absence. In continuous speech presence and absence are a ways expressed by *-ga* and *-t*.

Besides these suffixes, we find the particles (or pronouns), *-asga* = being absent, *-a* = being present, frequently used. The suffix *-ga* is used instead of the imperfect tense, the absence indicating, at the same time, that the action or event belonged to the past. The suffix is always attached to the word the presence or absence of which is to be stated:

*nēguā'ts Dsordst*, the (present) George's father.  
*nēguā'ts Dsordsdaa*, the (absent) George's father.

The demonstrative pronouns are formed by means of the same suffixes:

*this, guē'Et and guā'a.*

*that, gua'sga.*

In sentences our demonstrative pronoun is frequently expressed by the corresponding verbal form:

*this man is good, ām iō'odEt.*

*that man is good, ām at iō'odEtga.*

Demonstrative adverbs are : *here*, guē'E; *there*, ya'gua.

*the book here*, sāwuus guē'e.

It seems that these suffixes are also attached to words :

*your children here*, tlguenē'E.

Some prepositions have separate forms for presence and absence :

*at, to, present*—da.

*at, to, absent*—ga, gasga.

### THE VERB.

#### THE INTRANSITIVE VERB.

##### Present tense.

	Singular.	Plural.
1st person :	(n)—ō	(dep)—em.
2nd "	(me)—en	(meSEM)—ensem.
3rd " present :	—et (et)	(dep)—et(et).
3rd " absent :	—etga, ega	(dep)—etga, ega.

The prefixes placed in parentheses are not always used, but seem to serve merely for the purpose of giving greater clearness or emphasis to the sentence.

The imperfect tense is formed by the prefix *ne*—, the future by *dem*—. It seems that in the imperfect the personal prefixes are almost always used. They are contracted with the temporal character.

	Imperfect tense		Future tense	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st person . . .	nan—ō	nap—em	dem (n)—ō	dem (dep)—em
2nd " . . .	DEM—EN	namSEM—ensem	dem (ME)—en	dem (meSEM)—ensem
3rd " present	NE—et	nap—et, or NE—et	dem—et	dem (dep)—et
3rd " absent.	NE—ega	nap—ega, or NE—ega	dem—ega	dem (dep)—ega

The perfect is formed by *tla* preceding the present tense, the plusquamperfectum and futurum exactum by the characteristic particles of these tenses preceding the perfect.

*he has been sick*, tla si'epget.

*he had been sick*, na tla si'epget.

*he will have been sick*, dem tla si'epget.

#### INTERROGATIVE.

	Singular.	Plural.
1st person	—enavē	—enamē.
2nd "	me—enē'	—esemē.
3rd "	—ē	—ē.

#### NEGATIVE.

1st person singular, <i>atige</i> —ē.	1st person plural, <i>atige</i> —en
2nd " " <i>atige</i> —en.	2nd " " <i>atige</i> —es en.
3rd " " <i>atige</i> —et.	3rd " " <i>atige</i> —et.

NOTE.—Nouns and adjectives with the *verbum substantivum* are inflected in the same way as the *verbum intransitivum*. If the noun is accompanied by an adjective, the former is inflected :

*I am a Tsimshian*, Ts'Emsiano'.

*I am a good woman*, ama' hanā'ranō.

*you are Tsimshian*, Ts'Emsiā'nsEM.

*are you a Tsimshian?* Ts'EmsianEnē' ?

The third person is frequently expressed by adding the demonstrative pronoun :

*they are Tsimshian*, Ts'Emsian dep gua'sga.

## VERBUM TRANSITIVUM.

Object	Singular				Plural	
	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person, Present	3rd Person, Absent	1st Person	2nd Person
Singular.						
1st person, present	..	mE-ō	t-Enō	t-Enē'ga	..	mESEM-ō
1st " absent	..	mE-ē	t-Enē	t-Enēga	..	mESEM-ē
2nd " "	n-En	..	t-En	t-Enga	dep-En	..
3rd " present	-ut	-Ent	-Edet	-Edet	-Emt	-ESEMt
3rd " absent	-ēga	-Enga	-Etga	-Etga	-Emga	-ESEMga
Plural.						
1st " "	..	mE-Em	t-EnEm	t-EnEmga	..	mESEM-Em
2nd " "	n-SEM	..	t-EnSEM	t-EnSEMga	dep-SEM	..
3rd " present	-ut	-Ent	-Edet	-Edet	-Emt	-ESEMt
3rd " absent	-ēga	-Enga	-Etga	-Etga	-Emga	-ESEMga

It will be seen that the object generally appears as the suffix of the verb. This makes the inflexion very much like that of the possessive pronoun, and it must probably be understood in the same way as the possessive pronoun; for instance, I see you = I your seeing. In accordance with this fact—that the object appears as the suffix of the verb—is the other: that when the object is in the plural the verb has the plural form, while it has the singular form when the subject is in the plural: *I know you*, *nwulwula'sEM*; *you know me*, *mESEM wula'yo*.

The tenses are formed in the same way as those of the intransitive verb.

## INTERROGATIVE.

Object	Singular		Plural	
	2nd Person	3rd Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
1st person singular	mE-owē	t-owē'	mESEM-owē	t-owē
2nd " "	...	t-Enē	...	t-Enē
3rd " "	..	-Edē	-ESEMē	-Edē
1st " plural	mE-Emē	t-Emē	mESEM-Emē	t-Emē
2nd " "	..	t-SEMē	...	t-SEMē
3rd " "	..	-Edē	-ESEMē	-Edē

the interrogative there is no distinction of presence and absence.

## NEGATIVE.

*atige-*.

Object	Singular			Plural	
	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person	1st Person	2nd Person
1st person, singular	...	mE-ē	t-ē	...	mESEM-ē
2nd " "	n-En	...	t-En	dep-En	...
3rd " "	n-t	mE-t	t-t	dep-t	mESEM-t
1st " plural	...	mE-Em	t-Em	...	mESEM-Em
2nd " "	n-SEM	...	t-SEM	dep-SEM	...

## IMPERATIVE.

I have not reached a satisfactory understanding of the formation of the imperative. The following examples show that the indicative is frequently used for expressing an order:

*Singular*: *eat!* *yā'wiqEn!* = *thou art eating!*      *Plural*: *eat!* *yā'wiqSEM!*  
*drink!* *a'ksEn!* = *thou art drinking!*      *drink!* *laa'ksESEM!*  
*sit down!* *d'an!* = *thou sitst down!*      *sit down!* *wā'uSEM!*



<i>to use, há.</i>	<i>used, há'yek.</i>
<i>to see, nē.</i>	<i>seen, nē'esk.</i>
<i>to burn, mälq.</i>	<i>burnt, mälq'esk.</i>
<i>to pay, qtká.</i>	<i>paid, qtkák.</i>
<i>to pull, sá'ik.</i>	<i>pulled, sá'isk.</i>
<i>to send, há'yets.</i>	<i>sent, há'yetsk.</i>
<i>to hurt, sg'a'yigs.</i>	<i>hurt, sg'a'yiksk.</i>
<i>to make, ts'ap.</i>	<i>made, ts'apsk.</i>
<i>to prepare, guldem k'a'wun.</i>	<i>prepared, guldem k'a'wuntk.</i>
<i>to know, wulá'.</i>	<i>known, wulá'itk.</i>
<i>to smoothen, tle'lEp.</i>	<i>smoothened, tlel'esk.</i>

There are a number of other forms :

<i>to kill, ts'ak.</i>	<i>killed, ts'aksa.</i>
<i>to hate, lEbá'lEqs.</i>	<i>hated, lEbá'lEqdē.</i>
<i>to do, wál.</i>	<i>done, wá'ldē.</i>
<i>to say, háu.</i>	<i>said, há'udē.</i>

From these passive forms a present, past, future, &c. are formed in the same way as from the stem.

#### DERIVATIVES.

##### 1. Causative, formed by —*En* and *r'an* :

*I cause him to make, ts'a'p'Enút.*  
*to cause to drink, aksEn*  
*to cause to stop = to hinder, gyilá'En.*  
*I hinder you to drink, gyilá'Enó a'ksEn.*  
*I cause him to eat, yáwir'anót.*  
*it causes him to do, r'anwá'ldet.*

##### 2. Inchoative, formed by reduplication :

*I get sick, sisi'epgEnó.*                      *I get hungry, kuk'té'Enó.*  
*I get tired, sēsonátlEnó.*

##### 3. Imitative, formed by *sis-* and by reduplication combined :

*I feign to be sick, sissisi'epkEnó.*                      *I feign to be hungry, siskuk'té'EgEnó.*  
*I feign to be tired, sissisoná'tlgEnó.*                      *I feign to sleep, sisqaqsta'qsenó.*

##### 4. Usitative, expressing something habitual, also anything serious, a necessity, formed by *r'ap* :

*I am sick a long while, r'ap si'epkEnó.*  
*I am in the habit of eating, r'ap yá'wiqgEnó.*  
*I must sleep, r'ap qstá'qEnó.*  
*I am repeatedly (always) hungry, r'ap tlá'wola k'té'yó.*

##### *Frequentative*, formed by *huk* :

*he comes repeatedly, huk k'á'edekset.*  
*he is repeatedly sick, huk si'ēpget.*

##### *Quotative*, formed by *ka*, which is derived from *amek'ad*, hearsay :

*it is said that he is coming, k'á'edekska.*

##### *Dubitative*, formed by *sEEn*, following the personal suffix :

*maybe he is sick, siē'pgESEEn.*  
*maybe you see me, mEnē'etsēSEEn.*

The first person singular has in this derivative always the absent form in *-ē*.

*Reflexive*.—Although the reflexive is not a real derivative, I may add here that it is formed by *lep gyi'leks* = self back ; for instance :

*I strike myself, lep gyi'leks t'ó'uskEnó.*

NOTE.—There are a number of interrogative forms in *tl* which I cannot explain :

*is that mine? nEriótl (na) wá'ldē?*  
*is that his? gua'sgatl (na) wá'ldē?*  
*will he not come? á'yentl dEm k'á'edeksde?*



*Mεqtla*(1)-*k*(2)-*qū'tla*(3) = narrow channel (1) where (2) sea (3).  
*Lεq*(1)-*k*(2)-*lān*(3) = on (1) where (2) (Gyit)lan (3); village of the Gyitlan.

*KεNE-*, place of :

*KεNE*(1)-*k*(2)-*qā'lē*(3) = place (1) where (2) scalps (3).  
*KεNE*(1)-*kānā'ō*(2) = place of (1) trade (2).

(*kun-*, place of, Gyitksan dialect.)

*kεPE-*, place where something is frequently done :

*KεPE*(1)-*k'amē'elεq*(2) = where always (1) good for nothing say (2) = playground.

*KεPE*(1)-*ī'ū*(2) = where one always (1) sits (2).

*KεPE*(1)-*sōnt*(2) = where always (1) in summer (2).

*k am-*, miserable, good for nothing, from *kamtse* :

*k amē'elεq* = good for nothing to speak = to play.

*k'an-*, instrument :

*k'anā'i*, rowlock = rowing instrument.

*k'ant'ō'opes*, thimble = sewing instrument.

*q-*, to eat, to receive :

*qpēianō*, to smoke = to eat smoke.

*qgyat*, man-eater.

*qana'ē*, bread-eater.

*qlōan'ō'n*, to receive payment for burial (*lō*, into; *an'ō'n*, hand).

*q—ka*, misfortune happening :

*qhasi'epka*, having sickness.

*wulaqlāotk*, when a landslide went down.

*qpī-*, half, in part, from *qpīyē'* :

*qpīmā'k*, partially white.

*ha-*, instrument (cf. *hā*, to use) :

*haaks*, cup, spoon = drinking instrument.

*haa'lagyaq*, windpipe = speaking instrument.

*hayā'wiqk*, fork = eating instrument.

*had'ō'oshk*, broom = sweeping instrument.

*ha-*, causative :

*hasi'epk*, causing sickness.

*halemā'tk*, causing salvation, saviour (Olachen).

*ts'εm-*, in :

*ts'εm aks*, = in water, a sea monster.

*ts'εm ts'aq* = in nose, nostril.

*ts'εm εn'ō'n* = in hand, palm of hand.

*tsē-*, future :

*tsēdε'nda*, when ? (future)

*tsēgyētse'ip*, to-morrow.

*se-*, to make :

*se wulā'ishk* = to make relative, to adopt.

*se wulā'* = to make know, to teach.

*wul-*, where something is done (only once, not habitually) :

*wul* (1) *gyileks* (2) *tgāl* (3) *d'amtk* (4) = where (1) self (2) on (3) written (4); a place on Nass River.

*ndε-*, place where something is kept :

*ndεsu'ga*, sugar-bowl.



I add translations of a few names :

Geographical names :

- Laq* (1) -*k* (2) -*spaqtł* (3), Aberdeen = on (1) where (2) catch salmon (3).  
*Gyat* (1) *laq* (2) *q* (3) *tsá'oks* (4) = People on eat canoe-boards = people of village where they steal canoe-boards (*ktsá'oks*).  
*Gyat* (1) *Ksian'n* (2) = people (1) of the *Ksian* (2) (*Skeena*).  
*Ksian*, probably from *aks mian* = the main river.  
*Ts'emsü'n* = on the *Ksian*.

Names of persons :

- Na* (1) *gun* (2) *aks* (3), what (1) mistaken for (2) water (3).  
*Tsag'a* (1) *dí* (2) *lá'o* (3), across the water (1) also (2) staying (3).  
*Tsereñ* (1) *sá'gyisk* (2), ashore (1) pulling (2).  
*Ts'enslá'ek*, the one left alone.  
*Ts'kba'sa*, either overcast sky = close eye sky, or fastened talon (of eagle).  
*Wihá'*, great wind.  
*Nchát*, making noise to each other.  
*Ndsé'cts lé'itlks*, grandmother of watching.  
*Nrs'wiba'sk*, grandfather great storm.  
*Hats'eqnē'eq*, dreadful fire.  
*Dem dí máksk*, going to be white.  
*Nrs'yulá'ops*, grandfather carrying stones.  
*Lí d'am laq t'á'ó*, sitting on ice.  
*Sco'pyyibá'yuk*, flying in front of town early in morning.  
*Saraitk'ak'á'i*, eagle having one coloured wing.  
*Qpi'yelēk*, contracted from *qpi'litl haq'ulō'oq* = partly hairy sea-monster.  
*Hok'qān ram Neqnoq* = unbeliever in *Neqnoq*.

I cannot satisfactorily explain the formation of the last five names.

#### IV. KUTONA'QA.

##### PHONETICS.

Vowels : a, e, E, i, o, u; au.

Consonants : -p; m, w; d, t; n; g, k; g', k' ; -q, h; s, ts; -tl; y.

Initial and terminal combinations of consonants are very scarce. Among my collection of words only a few initial, and no terminal combinations are found. The former are : *kt, sk, sk-, st-, tsg, tsp, tlk, tln*. As all words are undoubtedly compounds, numerous combinations occur in words, one consonant being the terminal sound of one part of the word, the other the initial sound of the subsequent part.

#### GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

##### THE NOUN.

Singular and plural have no separate forms. There are no cases. The genitive is frequently expressed by the possessive pronoun. *k'atlaq'atsin aqktlā'mis*, the horse's head.

In such cases in which we use the indefinite article the suffix *-nām*, designating somebody's or some, is attached to the noun.

*aqk'unā'nām*, a tooth, somebody's tooth.

*aggitlā'nām*, a house.

*aqk'atluma'nām*, a mouth.

A great number of nouns have the prefix *aq-* or begin with compounds of this prefix and certain others. I am unable to explain the meaning of this prefix, which does not form an integral part of the word, being dropped in certain syntactic forms.

*aggitla*, the house (stem : *tla*).

*inika gitla*, it is my house.

*sān tlanā'menē*, there is a house.

*aqkinmi'tuk*, river :

*nān mitu'kenē*, there is a river.

## THE ADJECTIVE

The adjective precedes the noun.

## PRONOUN.

## PERSONAL PRONOUN.

I, <i>kāmin</i> .	we, <i>kamina'tla</i> .
thou, <i>n'nkō</i> .	you, <i>ninkō'nisgitl</i> .
he, <i>ninkō'is</i> .	they, <i>ninkō'isis</i> .

## POSSESSIVE PRONOUN.

my, <i>ka—</i> .	our, <i>ka—na'tla</i> .
thy, <i>—nis</i> .	your, <i>—ni'sgitl</i> .
his, <i>—is</i> .	their, <i>—isis</i> .

The independent form of the possessive pronoun is identical with the personal pronoun:

*kāmin*, it is mine.

## NUMERALS.

## CARDINALS.

1, <i>ō'krē</i> .	9, <i>g'aikī'tōwō</i> .
2, <i>ās</i> .	10, <i>ē'tōwō</i> .
3, <i>g'a'tlsa</i> .	20, <i>a'wō</i> .
4, <i>gū'tsa</i> .	30, <i>g'a'tlsa'nōwō</i> .
5, <i>iē'hkō</i> .	100, <i>gyi'urō'nōwō</i> .
6, <i>nmi'sa</i> .	200, <i>ās tlet'urō'nōwō</i> .
7, <i>nsta'tlā</i> .	300, <i>g'a'tlsa tlet'urō'nōwō</i> .
8, <i>ōuqā'tsa</i> .	1,000, <i>gyi'tōwō tlet'urō'nōwō</i> .

In some cases I found the prefix *ga-* added to the numerals one and two:

*g'ō'krē aqhtsemā'kinik*, one man.  
*g'ō'krē nī'tlgō*, one dollar.  
*g'ō'krē a'qtlāt*, one fathom.  
*g'ō'krē natā'nik*, one month.  
*gia'sē natā'nik*, two months.

The following is remarkable:

*ā'snē qā'atlsin*, two dogs.

## ORDINALS.

the first, *ō'smēt*.                      the second, *ās*                      the third, *g'a'tlsa*; &c.

## NUMERAL ADVERBS.

once, *ōkk'ena'*.                      twice, *a'sk'atl*.                      three times, *g'a'tlsak'atl*.  
*the first time*, *ō'pāk*.                      *the second time*, *ask'astl*; &c.

## PARTITIVES.

*one-half*, *ās tsekose'ka*.                      *one-third*, *g'a'tlsa tsekose'ka*.

## THE VERB.

## THE INTRANSITIVE VERB.

*Indicative.*

	Present tense	Imperfect tense	Future tense
1st pers. sing.	ku—nē	mā-ku—nē	ku-tsqatl—nē'nē
2nd " "	gin—nē	mā-gin—nē	gin-tsqatl—nē'nē
3rd " "	i—nē	mā(k)—nē	(i)-tsqatl—nē'nē
1st " plur.	ku—natla(anē)	mā-ku—natla(anē)	ku-tsqatl—natla(anē)
2nd " "	gin—n'gitl	mā-gin—n'gitl	gin-tsqatl—n'gitl(nē)
3rd " "	—nenā'menē	mā(k)—nenā'menē	(i)-tsqatl—nenā'menē

The intransitive verb may also be inflected by means of an auxiliary verb *i*, as follows:

	Present tense	Imperfect tense	Future tense
1st pers. sing.	kuinē—nē	mā-kuinē—nē &c. &c. &c.	ku-tsqatl-inē'nē—nē.

The attributive verb is formed in the same way, or by means of the auxiliary verb *i*:

For instance: *kušū'nē*, or *kuinē sūnē*, I am bad.

The noun does not take the verbal suffixes and prefixes, but is used with the auxiliary verb:

*gin inē Kutona'qa*, you are a Kootonay.  
*k'a'pē inē Kutona'qa*, they are all Kootonay.  
*inē kagitla*, it is my house.

#### Imperative.

2nd person singular: —ēn; for instance: *i'kēn*, eat! *g'o'mēn(ē)*, sleep!  
 2nd „ plural: —ētī; „ *i'kētl*, eat!

#### INTERROGATIVE.

The interrogative particle is *k'an* or *naqk'an*, which, however, is not used when it is self-evident that a question is meant:

*naqk'an gin-g'o'menē*? and *gin g'o'menē*? are you asleep?  
*naqk'an gin inē Kutona'qa*? and *gin inē Kutona'qa*? are you a Kootonay?  
*k'an inē ka'min*? is it mine?  
*k'an inē aggitlā'is*? is that his house?

After an interrogative pronoun the particle is omitted:

*gatla kī'ē*? who is that?

#### NEGATIVE.

The negative is formed by the prefix *k'a*, which follows the pronominal prefix:

*ku-k'a-santlqō'onē*, I am not sick (= bad body).

#### ITERATIVE.

The iterative is formed by *tla*, which follows the pronominal prefix:

*ku-tla-santlqō'onē*, I am again sick.

#### OPTATIVE.

The optative is formed by a compound particle, composed of the particles designating future and past. It is, therefore, a futurum exactum.

*tsqē-ma kui'kenē*, I should like to drink.

The future is also used to express a desiderative.

*ku-tsqatl-i'kenē*, I shall drink, and I want to drink.

#### QUOTATIVE AND RESPONSIVE.

If the verb is said in answer to a question, or in repetition of a sentence heard from another speaker, the prefix *slu* is used.

*slu-watlenketlatlō'nā*, somebody said it is snowing.  
*ku-slu-wa'qē*, I am coming (said in reply to a question).  
*slu-i'kenē*, they say that he eats.

**TRANSITIVE VERB.**  
*Indicative, Present Tense.*

Object	Singular			Plural	
	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person	1st Person	2nd Person
1st person singular	—	gin-ná'penē	—ná'penē	—	gin-naggi'tlnē
2nd " "	ku-nisenē	—	—ni'senē	wō-nauwá'senē	—
3rd " "	kun-nkō'is	gin—	—	wō—	gin-agi'tlnē
1st " plural	—	gin-nauwá'senē	—nauwá'senē	—	gin-nauwá'senē
2nd " "	ku-nisgi'tlnē	—	—nisgi'tlnē	wō-nisgi'tlnē	—
3rd " "	ku-ni'nkō'is	gin-natlá'anē	—	wō-natlá'anē	gin-natlá'anē

The third persons plural and singular are identical.

For instance, from *nu-kō*, to conquer:

*kunuk'ōni'senē*, I conquer thee.  
*kunnuk'ōnkō'is*, I conquer him.  
*nuk'ōnā'penē*, he conquers me.  
*nuk'ōni'senē*, he conquers thee.  
*ōnunuk'ōnauwá'senē*, we conquer thee; &c.

PASSIVE.

*ku k'antla'tltitl*, I am struck.  
*George nu-k'o-a'tlnē*, George has been beaten.  
*ku-k'ō-atl*, I am beaten.

FORMATION OF WORDS.

I have not succeeded in analysing many words, but a number of prefixes and suffixes have resulted from my comparisons. Among the words of the vocabulary I collected, 164 begin with the prefix *aq* above referred to. Besides this I found a number of other prefixes.

*gia-*, animal:

<i>gia'kqō</i> , fish.	<i>gianuqtlū'mena</i> , rabbit.
<i>giak'anu'koat</i> , eagle.	<i>giantli'kqō</i> , ground hog.
<i>gia'k'etla</i> , duck.	<i>giaū'ats</i> , fool hen.
<i>gianu'kqō</i> , mountain-goat.	

*nu-*, another prefix of animal names:

<i>nutksa'k'tlē</i> , humming-bird.	<i>nutlgamiū'at</i> , snail.
<i>nuk'tlu'koēn</i> , loon.	<i>nutlō'kat</i> , the white tail deer.
<i>nutlaketli'tlik</i> , hawk.	<i>nutltō'kup</i> , antelope.

Here may also belong:

<i>gia-nu'kqō</i> , mountain-goat.	<i>giantlikqō</i> , ground hog.
<i>gia-nuqtlū'mena</i> , rabbit.	

*gu-*, separable prefix. Meaning unknown.

<i>gu-ri'tlka</i> , large.	<i>gu-ranak'anā'nām</i> , war.
<i>gu-atla'skin</i> , to break off.	<i>gu-natlāk'uk'u'kut</i> , rain.

*-ka-*, opening of:

*aqk'asatlā'gak*, opening of nose = nostril.  
*aqk'atle'ma*, opening of œsophagus = mouth.  
*aqk'atlaqāu'eit*, opening of house = door.

*-kak-*, central part, dividing line:

*aqk'ā'nek'ak*, notch of arrow.  
*aqkink'aksu'tla*, septum.

-*gak* suffix occurring in names of many parts of body :

*aqk'a-satlā'gak*, nostril.

*aggurē'tegāk*, breast.

*aggē'igak*, foot.

*aqk'ō'igak*, wrist.

*agg'oatg'atliga'h*, eyebrow.

*agg'a'tligak*, forehead.

*aggu'ngak*, beak.

*akqa'sgak*, breastbone.

*aggō'ugak*, neck.

*aggōguptlā'mgāk*, nape.

-*nōk*, tree :

*katlā'nōk*, thorn.

*sk'ōmō'nōk*, sarvis (?) berry bush.

*aqk'unā'nōk*, willow.

*aqhitlmū'krōk*, cherry tree.

*aqk'urā'tlōk*, birch.

-*tlqō*, body :

*sūn*, bad.

*sōke*, good.

*k'a*, broad.

*sū'ntlqō*, sick.

*sō'kētlqō*, well.

*k'a'tlqō*, stout.

-*mōtl*, instrument :

*yī'cakō'umōtl*, brush.

*itli'nmōtl*, instrument.

*ksakō'mōtl*, net = dipping instrument.

*gāmtlakenōk'ō'mōtl*, sling.

*g'ak'tsqō'mōtl*, pestle.

*itluktsū'mōtl*, sewing machine.

*anankō'mōtl*, broom.

-*kin*, to do something with hand or foot :

*yī'wakin*, to paint.

*aqtsē'kin*, to crush with foot.

*yū'tsikin*, to stand on top of something.

*gasni'nkin*, to break.

*quatla'skin*, to break off.

*hū'neutskin*, to hold in hand.

*itkin*, to make something with the hand.

*atkin*, to carry in hand.

-*gan*, to do something with teeth :

*gug'a'sgan*, to bite off a piece.

*gasni'ngan*, to break by biting.

-*qō*, to do something by hammering :

*(g)'ak'tsqō*, to pound.

*gasitlu'qō*, to break to pieces with hammer.

*quatla'sqō*, to break off with hammer. *g'ak'tsē'tlmakqō*, to pound.

-*mik*, vibrate :

*ataskā'mik*, a cut.

*ak'ayī'nmik*, a war.

[A comparative vocabulary of all the languages of British Columbia, including the principal dialects, will be given in a future report.]

#### DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

Plate I., Fig. 1. Tsimshian, male, *circ.* 55 years [col. Boas, No. 85]. *Norma frontalis.*

„ Fig. 2. Tsimshian, *circ.* 50 years. [Morton collection in the Museum of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, No. 213.] *Norma frontalis.*

Plate II., Fig. 1. Tsimshian. [Morton collection in the Museum of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, No. 214.] *Norma frontalis.*

„ Fig. 2. Tsimshian, *circ.* 18 years. [Morton collection in the Museum of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, No. 987.] *Norma frontalis.*

Plate III., Fig. 1. Same as Plate I., Fig. 1. *Norma lateralis.*

„ Fig. 2. Same as Plate I., Fig. 2. *Norma lateralis.*

Plate IV., Fig. 1. Same as Plate II., Fig. 1. *Norma lateralis.*

„ Fig. 2. Same as Plate II., Fig. 2. *Norma lateralis.*

Plate V., Fig. 1. Same as Plate I., Fig. 1. *Norma verticalis.*

„ Fig. 2. Same as Plate I., Fig. 2. *Norma verticalis.*

Plate VI., Fig. 1. Same as Plate II., Fig. 1. *Norma verticalis.*

„ Fig. 2. Same as Plate II., Fig. 2. *Norma verticalis.*

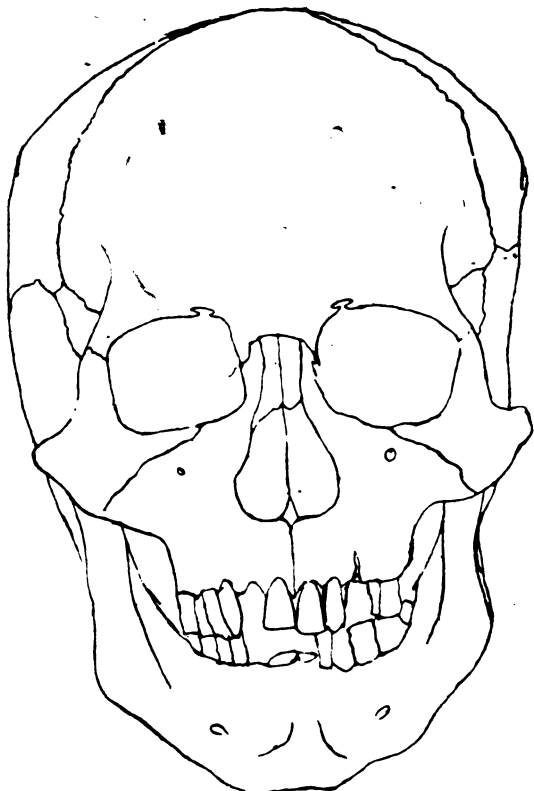


FIG. 1.—Half natural size. ♂

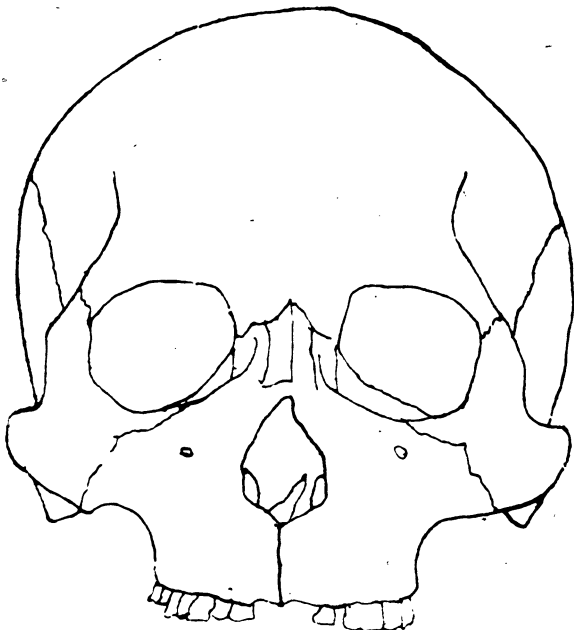


FIG. 2.—Half natural size.

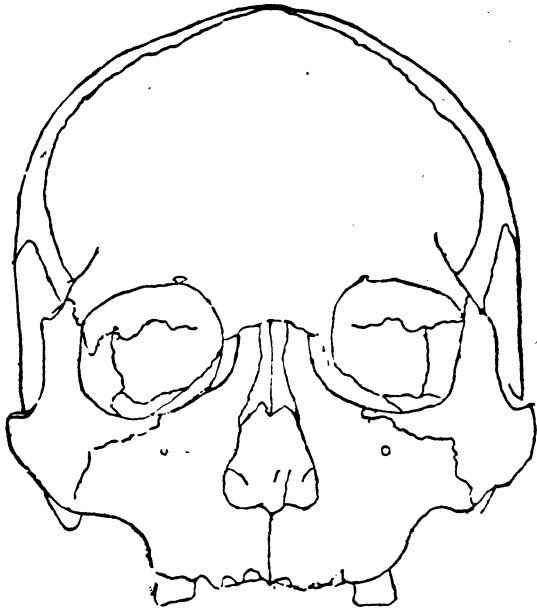


FIG. 1.—Half natural size.

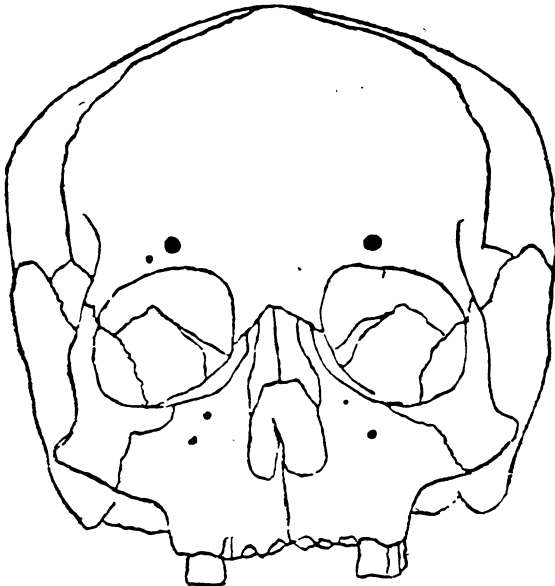


FIG. 2.—Half natural size.

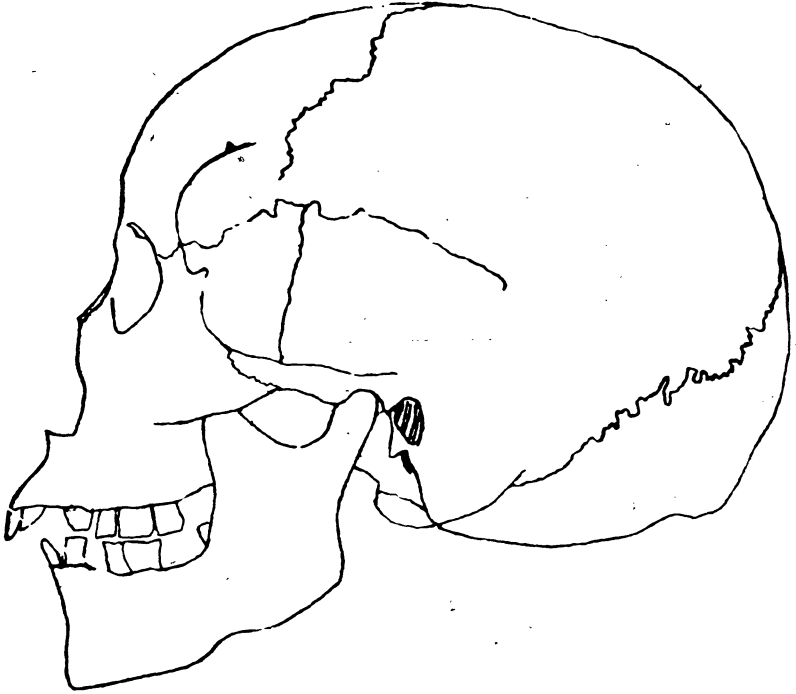


FIG. 1.—Half natural size. ♂

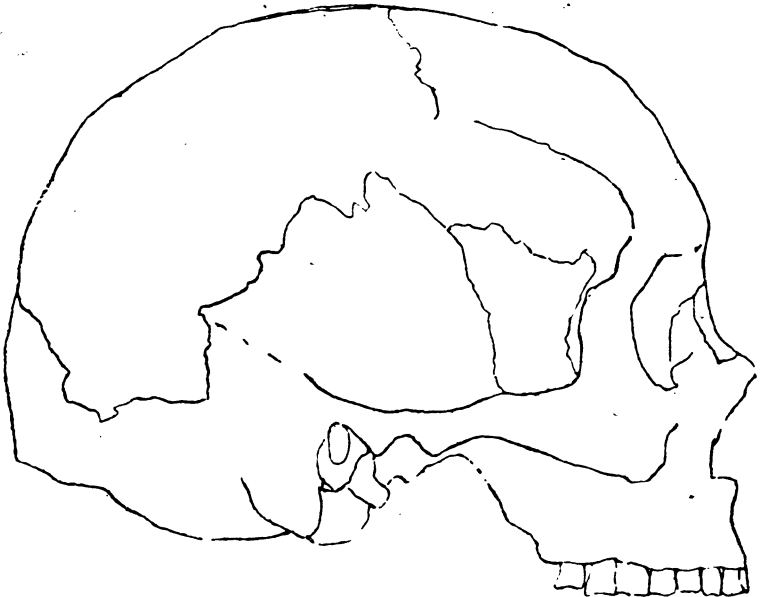


FIG. 2.—Half natural size.



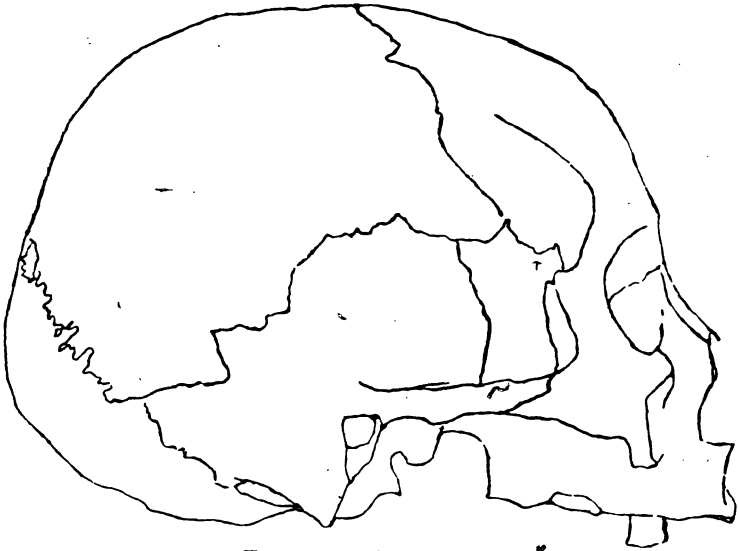


FIG. 1.—Half natural size.

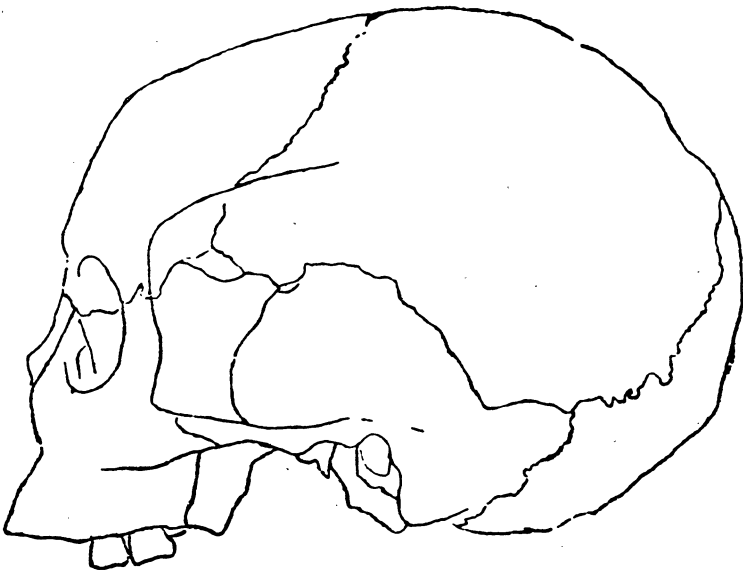


FIG. 2.—Half natural size.

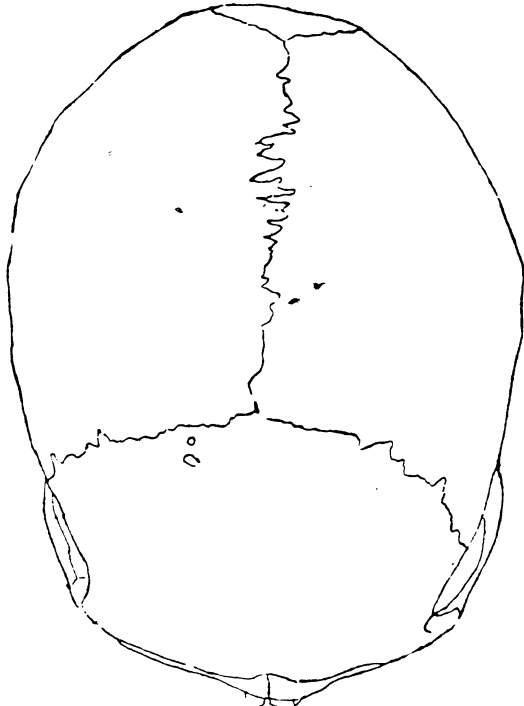


FIG. 1.—Half natural size. ♂

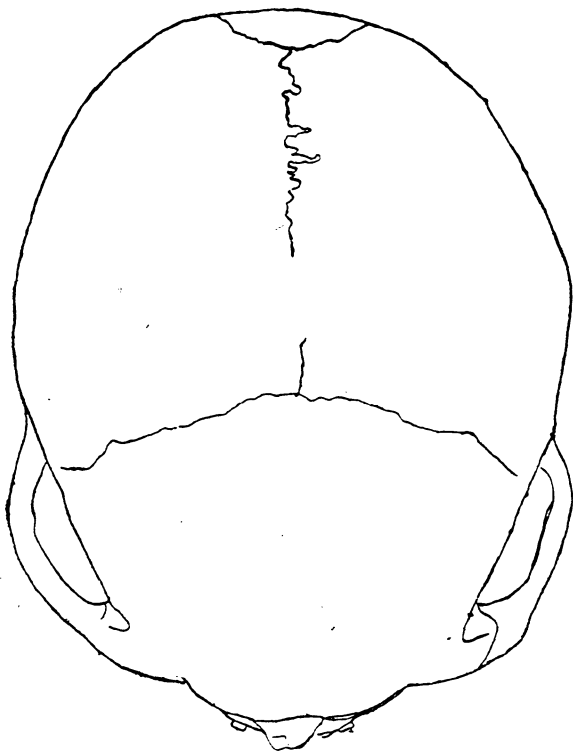


FIG. 2.—Half natural size.

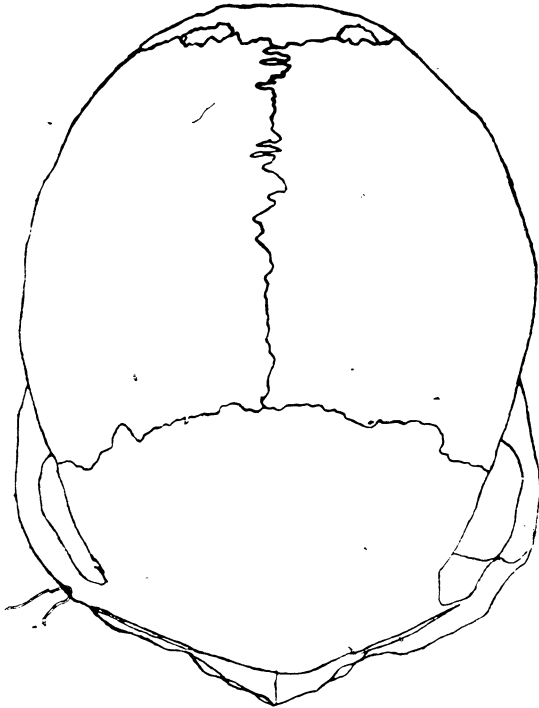


FIG. 1.—Half natural size.

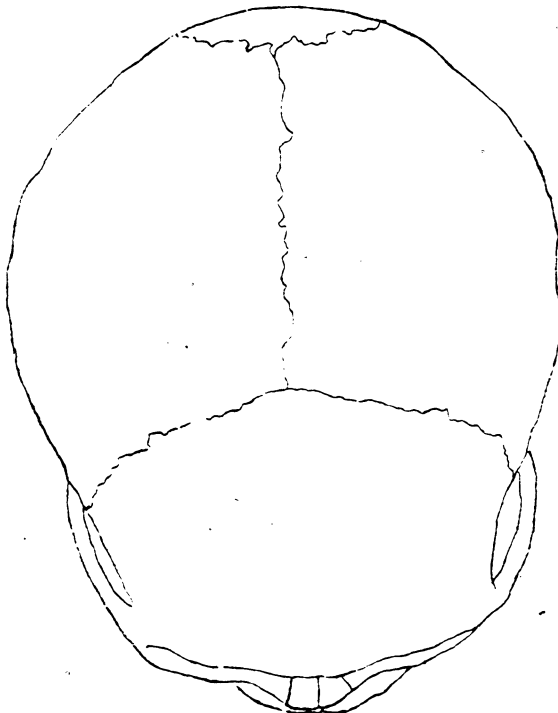


FIG. 2.—Half natural size.

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