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THE UNITY OF SPEECH AMONG THE NORTHERN AND THE SOUTHERN DÉNÉ

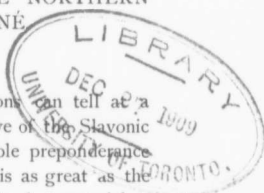
By A. G. MORICE

The merest tyro in linguistic differentiations can tell at a glance a Polynesian dialect from any representative of the Slavonic or Germanic group of languages. The remarkable preponderance of vowel over consonant sounds in the former is as great as the reverse is in the latter. These are, however, nothing but material or outward differences that do not affect the soul of a language. What the philologist is concerned with above all is its morphology, its process of word building, the rules that govern the relations of its component parts, and the particular alterations that may spring up as it splits into dialects.

Taking as an instance the Déné languages of North America, a close study of their characteristics will reveal the fact that they are at the same time monosyllabic and polysynthetic, agglutinative and inflective, much as these properties seem to be mutually self-excluding. I have more or less adverted on these points in previous writings.¹ My purpose in the present paper is not to enlarge thereon. I prefer to call the reader's attention to a particularity which, considering the vast extent of the area occupied by the Déné family and the great isolation of several of its branches, I consider nothing short of wonderful: I mean the practical identity, the morphological and grammatical unity of all its dialects.

From the arid wastes of Arizona and even the sunny plains of Mexico to the frozen deserts that confine the haunts of the Eskimo, the same roots, sometimes with unimportant variations, quite often without an iota of difference, are used by members of tribes separated by a distance of more than two thousand miles, where aborigines alien in blood and language have ranged for unknown centuries. The same delicate and highly significant sounds occur in the dialects

¹ See especially *The Déné Languages*, *Transactions of the Canadian Institute* vol. 1, Toronto, 1889.



of the former, whose terminology moreover is formed according to an identical process and whose grammar is remarkable for the similarity of its rules.

But to fully appreciate this radical homogeneity the student must become imbued with the fact that, though the consonants contain the quintessence of the Déné idioms, to the exclusion of the vowels, which vary as a matter of course from tribe to tribe, there are some among the former that are interchangeable throughout the entire family to the extent of being utterly undifferentiated by the natives, while others are invariable within the dialect they characterize but may change according to the various tribes.

To the first class belong the correlated sonant and surd *b* and *p*, *d* and *t*, *g* and *k*, as well as the exploded *t't* and *k'k*. Thus the Déné ear can detect absolutely no difference between, for instance, *bés*, knife, and *pés*; *déné* man, and *téné*; *go*, worm, and *ko*; *t'ta*, posterior, and *k'ka*. Question any Déné on the difference in the meaning of, say, the words *debe*, mountain sheep, and *tepe*, and he will assert that you are uttering exactly the same sound in both instances.

To the second class belong the consonants, single or double, such as *p* (or *b*) and *m* (or *v* in the far north); *c* (*sh*) and *fiv*; *'t* and *'q*; *ts* and *tc*, *k'w* or *k'fiv*; *t's* and *'k'w*, sometimes *t'q* or simply *'t*.¹ While these remain invariable within a given tribe, they are mutually convertible from dialect to dialect, to the extent of becoming safe gauges in determining the sept or band to which the speaker belongs. The transmutability of these particular consonants is noticeable especially in the north. A few examples will illustrate my meaning:

lake	<i>piñ</i>	(Chilcotin)	<i>mæn</i>	(Sékanais)	<i>væn</i>	(Loucheux)
snare	<i>pił</i>	"	<i>mił</i>	"	<i>vía</i>	"
his, her	<i>pæ-</i>	"	<i>mæ-</i>	"	<i>væ-</i>	"
leggings	<i>cæł</i>	(Chippewayan)	<i>fivé</i>	(Hare)		
long time	<i>ca</i>	"	<i>fwa</i>	"		
vainly	<i>cun</i>	"	<i>fwin</i>	"		

¹ In these and all aboriginal words quoted throughout this paper the apostrophe (') represents the click; an inverted period (·) stands for the hiatus; *q* (except in Navaho terms reproduced from the writings of Navaho scholars, who assign to it the value of a strong aspiration) is identical with *cu* in the English *cure*; *t* is a peculiar sibilant *t*; *æ* is the *æ* of the French *je, te*, etc.; *s'* and *z'* are intermediary between *s* and *c* and *z* and *j* respectively.

vein	<i>a'tâz</i>	(Carrier)	<i>et'qûze</i>	(Hare)
inhabitant	<i>-hwo'ten</i>	"	<i>hwof'qen</i>	(Sékanais)
stone	<i>tse</i>	"	<i>kfwê</i>	(Hare)
meat	<i>atsan</i>	"	<i>ekfwen</i>	"
bone	<i>l'sæn</i>	"	<i>e'kwenê</i>	"
sinews	<i>l'sê</i>	"	<i>'kwê</i>	"
breasts	<i>l'sû</i>	"	<i>'toe</i>	"

All of these interchanges are common in the north. The letters they affect are therefore co-affin, and in terminological comparisons this fact should never be lost sight of.

The *t* of one tribe will even occasionally become *n* with another; ex.: *ta*, eyes, in Sékanais; *na* for the same in Carrier, Chilcotin, etc. A *kl* may also either appear *krh* to some transcribers, or be really so modified by a strange tribe: Chilcotin *khon*, fire; Chippeawan and Hare *krhon*. But in no case that I know of will a *th* (= *t + h*) be converted into a common *t*, or a *klh* (= *k + a* harsh *h*) into a common *k*, any more than a click can disappear from the word it affects, though its less essential elements may otherwise be altered to suit the requirements of a particular dialect. The reader is likewise requested to bear constantly in mind those fundamental laws of the northern Déné phonology.

But what of the south? What can I know of the Déné of the United States, the Apache and the Navaho, the Hupa and the other remnants of tribes on the Pacific coast, with whom I am not personally acquainted? How could I speak of their idioms without inviting the charge of presumption? This objection, which is but natural and may seem unanswerable to an outsider, was forcibly brought to my notice by the remark of a reviewer animadverting on criticisms of my own concerning a work which deals with one of those southern dialects. Dr A. F. Chamberlain, in a review of the Déné languages published in the *Année linguistique* of Paris, says: "Father Morice's strictures on Mr Goddard's work seem to the reviewer too dogmatic, since the critic is not himself an expert in Hupa which Mr Goddard has studied *in loco*."¹

While I cannot by any means consider myself warranted in drawing the line between what is an excess and what is a defect of dog-

¹ *American Anthropologist*, vol. IX, no. 2, p. 400.

matism, especially when my own judgment is at stake, I cannot help thinking that had my worthy friend been aware of the wonderful uniformity in essentials of the Déné languages which it is the object of this paper to bring into relief, he would have hesitated to make this criticism. It would be much more agreeable to let it pass unchallenged; but then Philology would be the loser to the extent of its remaining unacquainted with a fact which I consider well worth a few moments' consideration.

We are confronted here, not with a question of personal right or wrong — which may well be overlooked — but with the fact that a patient investigation of some nine or ten Déné dialects during the last thirty years or so has impressed on my mind the wonderful similarity in morphology throughout that linguistic family, which I fancy entitles one who has acquired a speaking knowledge of several of its idioms to write with some degree of confidence of those he has not actually studied.¹

When the late Dr Washington Matthews published his invaluable *Mountain Chant*, two things impressed me irresistibly from a philological standpoint: the great similarity of the root words mentioned in his Navaho texts with their equivalents in the north, and the fact that this similarity would have become a perfect identity but

¹ Dr Goddard says in a late paper that "the people occupying the southern portion of the territory which lies west of the Rocky mountains have received the attention of Morice who has published extended accounts of them" (Assimilation to Environment as Illustrated by Athapaskan Peoples, in *Congrès International des Américanistes*, vol. 1, Québec, 1907). As the appositeness of my contentions such as embodied in this paper depends considerably on the extent of my Déné studies, I may be permitted to remark that the area covered by the natives of whom I have personal knowledge is much more extensive than this author seems to suspect. I have lived among the Déné who range between Teslin lake in the Yukon and the Lillooet mountains, that is between 51° and 61° N. lat., and have collected extensive dictionaries or briefer vocabularies not only of the Chilcotin, Carrier, Sékanais, and Babine idioms, but even of the Nahanaïs of the far north. Of the latter I have a grammar which I printed myself, and a vocabulary partly in print, without counting a number of texts still in manuscript. Moreover, five years ago I published in *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, The Nahane and their Language. Now, the Nahanaïs can hardly be said to occupy "the southern portion of the territory which lies west of the Rocky mountains." Finally, I have had personal intercourse with Déné from the eastern side of that range, the Beavers, the Sarcee, and even representatives of the Mackenzie tribes. In each case their language has been the chief object of my investigations. Simple justice to the subject of these pages has brought forth these statements.

for the lack of a few delicate though none the less important sounds common to all the other Déné idioms with which I am familiar. Being by experience aware that these usually escape the notice of the uninitiated, I surmised, somewhat hesitatingly, that the transcriber must have overlooked them. To arrive at the truth in this important matter, I wrote the following in a tentative way more than sixteen years ago: "Shall I confess in this connection that the irregularity of some radical and, in *all* the other dialects, unchangeable consonants entering into the composition of those words would lead me to suspect that such delicate, but very important, sounds as *t's*, *'k*, *ł*, may possibly have escaped the notice of the compiler? Those and many other terms in the said Mountain Chant are, in other respects so similar to synonyms from the Northern Déné dialects as to hardly leave me any other way of explaining away the discrepancies between, for instance, the Navajo roots Nos. 3, 76, 84, 185 and 327,¹ and their equivalents in the other dialects."²

At that time, at least, I was not "too dogmatic," for I immediately added: "If I am mistaken in my assumption, these alterations of essential consonant sounds afford the comparative philologist data well worth some moments of study."

In the work cited Matthews had written with a common *l* such words as *dsit*, mountain; *litsòì*, yellow; *takài*, white, etc.; without click, the terms for now, *'kat*; arrow, *'ka*; on, *'ki*; cloud, *'kos*, etc.; without the harsh guttural, those for fire, *khon*; for young man, *tsilkhe*; and without the guttural, or any sign for the lingual explosion, the term for woman, which, in the north, requires both (*t'cikhe*).

The *Mountain Chant* was published in 1887, and a marked copy of my strictures on the rendering of the aboriginal words in it was sent to the author as soon as published. Exactly ten years after the appearance of the former, Matthews' *Navaho Legends* was issued, in which, though disclaiming any pretensions at too scientific a transcription of the texts or occasional native words therein,³ their compiler introduced the sibilant *l* (*ł*) against the absence of which

¹ These numbers refer to groups of radical words in my vocabulary of Déné roots.

² Déné Roots, *Trans. Can. Inst.*, vol. III, p. 152.

³ *Memoirs American Folk-lore Society*, vol. v, p. 54.

I had protested, though he still neglected the no less important click and the characteristic *th*.

In his beautiful *Night Chant*, published in 1902,¹ Dr Matthews went a step farther, and occasionally noted this double consonant in terms which likewise contain it in the north, such as *tha-*, water (in composition); *yitha*, among, and derivatives; while he scrupulously reproduced all the *t* sounds.

Was not this an implicit admission that I was right in my remarks, even though I had never studied Navaho on the spot?

But there now comes a recent and conscientious student of that dialect in the person of the Rev. Fr. Leopold, O.F.M., who admits unbidden, nay probably unaware of my comments on Matthews' first writings, the all-important click and *th* (which he writes *tq*) in the first chapter of a Navaho grammar which I now have before me. And it should not be forgotten that this gentleman, who has already written much on the Navaho, is studying their language *in loco* and with a view of acquiring a perfect speaking knowledge of it.

Nor is this all. In 1887 the late Dr G. M. Dawson, Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, published an essay on the western Nahanais,² followed by a vocabulary of their dialect which he kindly sent me for emendation and correction, if any should prove necessary. Dr Chamberlain will please remember that at that time I had not had anything to do with the Nahanais. Yet my acquaintance, not only with other dialects, but with the morphology and the phonology of the whole family — with those linguistic traits which I had so far found to pervade all its branches east and west — emboldened me to point out many inaccuracies which were embodied in an appendix to a paper in the *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*.³

By referring thereto, the reader will perceive that my strictures bear on precisely the same stumbling-blocks as those I have already mentioned in connection with the Navaho dialect. But when afterward I made a special trip to the home of those Indians, I found that not one of my criticisms of Dawson's vocabulary was amiss. Is

¹ *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. vi.

² *Report on an Exploration in the Yukon District*, Montreal, 1888.

³ *The Use and Abuse of Philology*, *Trans. Can. Inst.*, vol. vi.

not that enough to impress one with the fact that the characteristics of the Déné languages are essentially the same north and south, and that when the contrary would seem to be the case with a particular dialect expounded by a new scholar, the fault for the apparent disparity lies with the latter, not the former?

At the Congress of Americanists held last year at Quebec, a learned member of the same, who has studied racial differentiations more from the physical standpoint than through the intellectual life of the people such as is evidenced by their languages, seemed surprised at my assurance in speaking of the Navaho as Déné, while those aborigines are, he said, physiologically so different from the Apache. No doubt they are now a more or less mixed people, but even though there seem to be among them at least two very distinct types of physique, one of these appears to me unmistakably Déné. Moreover, I have the photographs of many Navaho to whom I am ever tempted to give names familiar to me, as their features recall so vividly those of several of my Carriers and Chilcotin friends. To facilitate comparison, even with very limited material, let my honored friend — who, I hope, will read these lines — only glance at the picture of Mariano in Matthews' *Navaho Legends*, and that of the Carrier fisherman in my own *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*. The age of the two individuals is evidently not the same; yet were there ever two brothers who bore closer resemblance?

But we must not forget that in America language is the safest guide to racial differentiation. The following list of root words, whose elements are extracted, not from a dictionary or even a vocabulary, but from very short texts and casual references in the works of Matthews and Fr Leopold, ought to satisfy the most exacting scholar, not only as to the racial identity of the Navaho with the Déné of the north, but even as to the racial unity of the dialects spoken by both branches of this great linguistic family. So far as I know, the speech of the Apache differs but little from that of the Navaho.

NAVAHO	NORTHERN DÈNÈ	NAVAHO	NORTHERN DÈNÈ
<i>to</i> , fish	<i>to</i> (Carrier)	<i>diñ</i> , four	<i>tiñ</i> (Chilco- tin)
<i>lit</i> , smoke	<i>lét</i>	<i>tanj</i> , many (pers.)	<i>lane</i> (Carrier)
<i>tiñ</i> , horse	<i>tiñ</i> , dog ¹	' <i>ka</i> , arrow	' <i>kra</i> ³
<i>ke</i> (?) feet	<i>khè</i>	<i>kai</i> (?), husband	<i>khe</i> (do.)
<i>yā</i> , louse	<i>yā</i>	' <i>kos</i> , cloud	' <i>kwoš</i>
<i>ya</i> , sky	<i>ya</i>	<i>dzil</i> , mountain	<i>dzat</i>
<i>yé</i> , son (of father)	<i>yé</i>	<i>thin</i> , road	<i>thèn</i> (Chilco- tin)
<i>l'to</i> , grass	<i>l'to</i>	<i>del</i> , crane	<i>tel</i>
<i>l'tol</i> , rope	<i>l'tol</i>	<i>peł</i> , drowsiness	<i>peł, pœł</i>
<i>tsè</i> , stone	<i>tsè</i>	<i>ni'</i> , earth	<i>nèn</i> (Chilco- tin); in compos. <i>ni-</i>
<i>il</i> , leaf (of a conifer)	' <i>at</i> ²	<i>ni</i> , mind	<i>ni</i>
<i>ad</i> , wife	' <i>at</i> ²	<i>łakan</i> , sweet (to taste)	<i>łakre</i> ³ Car- rier)
<i>-na</i> , eyes	<i>-na</i>	<i>nił</i> , with thee	<i>neł</i> (Chilco- tin)
<i>-ze</i> , mouth	<i>-zè</i>	<i>bił, yił</i> , with him	<i>beł, yeł</i>
<i>-bit</i> , belly	<i>-bœł</i>	<i>yi'</i> , in	<i>yo</i> , it
<i>-tsi'</i> , flesh	<i>-tsi</i> (Babine)	<i>be</i> , with (instru- ment)	<i>be</i>
<i>-tan</i> , leaf (decidu- ous tree)	' <i>tan</i>	' <i>kat</i> , now	' <i>kai</i> (Babine)
<i>-do</i> , nest	' <i>to</i>	<i>-tyel</i> and <i>nthel</i> , broad	<i>-thel</i> and <i>nthel</i>
<i>-dagha</i> , beard (lit. lip-hair)	<i>-tara</i> (do.)	<i>nez'kaz</i> , cold	<i>nez'kaz</i>
<i>dine</i> , man, people	<i>dènè, dinè</i>	<i>nizá</i> , far off	<i>neza</i>
<i>debe</i> , sheep	<i>tepe</i> (moun- tain sheep)	<i>yuta</i> , above	<i>yuto</i>
<i>thaba</i> , shore (lit. water-edge)	<i>thapa</i> (do.)	<i>yuya</i> , below	<i>yuyo</i>
<i>atthiñ</i> , bow	<i>atthæñ</i> (old Carrier, now <i>atthi'</i>)		
<i>al'ta</i> , bottom	<i>œł'ta</i>		
<i>tha</i> , three (things)	<i>tha</i> (do.)		

¹ The horse having replaced the dog in Navaho economics, the former has usurped the name of the latter, which is nowadays nothing more than *ti-tan*, 'horse excrement,' to the proud southerners.

² The hiatus indicated by the dot may have escaped the notice of Matthews. This can be ascertained by prefixing to those words a possessive pronoun. For instance, "his wife" should be *p-at* in Carrier, were it not for the initial hiatus that gives a separate form to the pronominal prefix, *pœ-at*.

³ The *r* in such words is hardly perceptible even in the north, and will be discerned only after years of study.

NAVAHO	NORTHERN DÈNÈ	NAVAHO	NORTHERN DÈNÈ
<i>e la</i> , this (is)	<i>e la</i>	<i>neslin</i> , I am	<i>neslin</i>
<i>yina-</i> , round it	<i>yena-</i>	<i>niliñ</i> , it flows	<i>ninliñ</i>
<i>yika</i> (?), for it (desire)	<i>yekha</i> (do.)	<i>nani'ti</i> , it stretches across	<i>nani'ti</i>
<i>saka</i> (?), it lies (in a receptacle)	<i>sækha</i> (do.)	<i>niya</i> , he arrived	<i>ninya</i>
<i>yikai</i> (?), daylight	<i>yækhaih</i>	<i>biázi</i> , his little one	<i>beyaze</i>

In the above list an interrogation mark (?) follows such of the Navaho words as I am inclined to believe should have their guttural sound more emphatic than is indicated in the works of the southern transcribers. As to the initial hyphen (-), it represents a prefix, *a*, *æ*, denotive of generality which disappears in compounds. Ex. : *æna*, eyes (of any living being) ; *sna*, my eyes ; *æna*, human eyes ; *mæstzih-na*, owl eyes.

But to get an adequate idea of the remarkable similarity of the southern with the northern dialects, one should not lose sight of the peculiar system of transmutation, which more than doubles the number of practically homonymous equivalents. Thus, for instance, the Navaho *c* (*sh*) is very generally replaced by *s* in the north. Ex. :

NAVAHO	NORTHERN DÈNÈ	NAVAHO	NORTHERN DÈNÈ
<i>ci</i> , I	<i>si</i>	<i>d'zin</i> , bone	<i>l'sæn</i>
<i>ca</i> , sun	<i>sa</i>	<i>nilt'ci</i> , wind	<i>nilt'si</i>
<i>cac</i> , black bear	<i>sas</i>	<i>naca</i> , I walk	<i>nassa</i>
<i>cit</i> , with me	<i>set</i>	<i>icla</i> , I made	<i>æsla, esla</i>
<i>bec</i> , knife, iron	<i>bês</i>	<i>dieni</i> , I said	<i>disni</i>
<i>ca</i> , beaver	<i>tsa</i>	<i>l'totcin</i> , wild onion (lit. grass-stinks)	<i>l'totsèn</i> (do.)
<i>tcan</i> , dung	<i>tsan</i>		
<i>l'ci</i> , towards	<i>l'se</i>		

Strange to say, this convertibility works both ways, as the double consonant *te* of the northerners is almost invariably replaced by *ts* in the south. Ex. :

NAVAHO	NORTHERN DÈNÈ	NAVAHO	NORTHERN DÈNÈ
<i>tso</i> , big (augmenta- tive)	<i>tco</i> , (do.)	<i>atsile</i> , younger brother	<i>atcele</i>
<i>tse</i> , tail	<i>tcé</i>	<i>tsilke</i> (?), young man	<i>teilkhe</i> , young men
<i>tsin</i> , stick	<i>tcèn</i>		
<i>ntsâ</i> , big (adj.)	<i>ntcâ</i> (do.)		

On the other hand, the *ts* or *dz* of the north is occasionally converted into *tc* in the south. Thus, the Navaho say *tcin* when the northerners have *tsin* (day); *tca* (ears) for *tza*, etc.; while the *s* of the northern tribes is almost without exception transformed into *j* in the south. Ex. :

NAVAHO	NORTHERN DÉNÉ	NAVAHO	NORTHERN DÉNÉ
<i>tāj</i> , firewood	<i>tséz</i>	<i>bí-jí</i> , his corpse	<i>be-zí</i>
<i>yaj</i> , young (of parent)	<i>yaz</i>	<i>níjò</i> , beautiful	<i>nezur</i>

Another form of transmutation that adds to the number of terms identical in both divisions of the family is the commutability of *g* and *y*. In the north we say *téyén*, shaman; *bé-yén* his or her song, while the Navaho and the Apache have it respectively *dhigin*¹ and *bi-gin*.

If we add to the above such words as the Navaho *ko* (?), fire; *kin* (?), house (northern Déné *khon* and *khoñ*), we shall obtain a uniformity of speech that will, I fancy, entitle one who has thoroughly familiarized himself with the make-up of the dialects of one division to speak with some degree of confidence of those of the other.

This uniformity was, down to a comparatively recent date, even more striking. For instance, the Carriers of the north say for six, *t'ka-tha*, 'on both [hands] it is three,' and for eight, *t'ka-tāñge*, — *tāñge* is *tñ* in Chilcotin — that is, 'on both [hands] it is four.' Now, let us listen to one of my southern correspondents: "I have," writes Fr Leopold, "repeatedly taken your Déné roots and compared them with the root words of their own [Navaho] language, which caused many an exclamation of surprise, and much smiling and commenting. One day, I went through the numerals with some old men. In modern Navaho six and eight are *hatqā* (*hathā*) and *tsebi*. When I read out your words for the same figures, an old man smiled, clapped his hands, and said: *at'ke-tqā*, *at'ke-dī*, adding

¹ Matthews and others translate this word "holy," thereby giving expression to an idea which I dare say is entirely foreign to the mind of the aboriginal Déné. In the north, song and magic are correlative notions, which are expressed by the same word, *cin* or *cün* — *yün* or *yèn* in compounds. Thus, *dhigin*, whatever may be its real meaning among the modern Navaho, originally stood for "he that is possessed of supernatural or magical powers." The Carriers still have a verb which vividly recalls that meaning: *tacyèn*, 'I am a singer' (i. e. possessed by magic); *tuyèn* (2d pers.); *tayèn* = *dhigin*.

that that was the way the old Navajos used to pronounce those figures."¹

I am well aware that the *corpus delicti* in my case is interference with the studies of a Hupa, not a Navaho, scholar. What precedes must, however, stand at least as some sort of preparatory argument, showing without the possibility of cavil the remarkable uniformity of the Déné phonetics and morphology under various climes. It must also point out the chief difficulties that have so far proved stumbling blocks to the majority of new students, north and south. Is it probable that rules which govern the speech of all the other tribes, however distant they may be one from another, should be set at naught just by one branch of the family, which is nearer to the cradle of the race, and that those delicate sounds and morphological intricacies that were pointed out by such a philologist as Dr Franz Boas² should suddenly disappear in one particular case? Of course, this is possible, but I hardly think it likely.

Yet I may as well confess that the Hupa dialect, as rendered by Dr Goddard, differs more from the northern idioms than does either Navaho or Apache. The tribe, being much less powerful, has apparently yielded with more readiness to the influence of environment.³ Nevertheless, it is unmistakably Déné in its language, and as such I fail to see how it could have done away with those essential characteristics, the lingual explosions or clicks, the *th* (= *t + h*) and the *kh*, which we find everywhere. Nor can it have entirely discarded those grammatical and morphological peculiarities which are distinctive of the linguistic stock throughout. That it has not the sequence will amply prove. To commence with the terminological affinities, I present a list of words extracted from Dr Goddard's own texts⁴ with their equivalents in the north.

¹ Letter of January 24, 1906.

² Tenth Report on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, in *Rep. Brit. A. S. S.* In the Twelfth Report Dr Boas has himself a short Chilcotin vocabulary which contains the same inaccuracies that I have found in the works of all transient students of the Déné languages.

³ Powers' contention that the Hupa compel all their tributaries to speak Hupa in their communications with them is now admitted to have been devoid of foundation.

⁴ Hupa Texts, *Univ. of California Pub., Am. Archaeol. and Ethnol.*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 1904.

HUPA	NORTHERN DÈNÉ	HUPA	NORTHERN DÈNÉ
<i>a</i> (?), cloud	<i>·a</i>	<i>nin</i> , thou	<i>nin</i>
<i>es</i> (?), sort of fish		<i>non</i> , we	<i>nrôn</i> (Chilcotin)
trap	<i>·æs</i>	<i>ta</i> , one	<i>itc</i>
<i>at</i> (?), wife	<i>·at</i>	<i>nak</i> , two (things)	<i>nekh</i> (Babine, do.)
<i>hñ</i> , dog	<i>hñ</i>	<i>nanin</i> , two	<i>nane</i> , <i>nanæn</i>
<i>tít</i> , smoke	<i>tét</i>	(pers.)	(do.) etc.
<i>-la</i> , hands	<i>-la</i>	<i>nadin</i> , twice	<i>naden</i>
<i>-na</i> , eyes	<i>-na</i>	<i>tan</i> , many	<i>tan</i> (Chilcotin)
<i>-niñ</i> , face	<i>-niñ</i>	<i>mela</i> , some	<i>mællærh</i>
<i>tsè</i> , stone,	<i>tsé</i>	<i>mi-nin</i> , its month;	
<i>ya</i> , louse	<i>yä</i>	season ¹	<i>mæ-næn</i>
<i>mæñk</i> , lake	<i>mæn</i>	<i>me</i> , in	<i>me</i>
<i>rhay</i> , winter	<i>rhei</i>	<i>yo</i> , that	<i>nyu</i>
<i>rhait</i> , burden	<i>rhét</i>	<i>yidæk</i> , above	<i>yedæk</i>
<i>l'lo</i> , grass	<i>l'lo</i>	<i>yinæk</i> , south ²	<i>yenæk</i> , upstream
<i>kos</i> , bulb	<i>kus</i> , species of bulbous plant	<i>yida</i> , east	<i>yeda</i> , downstream
<i>ðon</i> , mouse	<i>tlün</i> (Chilcotin)	<i>yitsin</i> , down	<i>yetsæn</i> (do. in the direction of water)
<i>khon</i> , fire	<i>khon</i>	<i>na-</i> , again, (in composition)	<i>na-</i> (do.)
<i>-khan</i> , husband	<i>-khan</i> (Chilcotin)	<i>-nat</i> , in presence of	<i>-nat</i>
<i>tse</i> , daughter	<i>tsé</i>	<i>-a</i> , for; ex.: <i>na</i> , for thee	<i>-a</i> ; <i>na</i>
<i>dètc</i> , younger sister	<i>tits</i> (Babine)	<i>ma</i> , <i>ya</i> , for him	<i>ma</i> , <i>ya</i>
<i>go</i> , worm	<i>go</i>	<i>saa</i> , a long time	<i>sa</i>
<i>-tæn</i> , leaf	<i>-tan</i>	<i>nisa</i> , far off	<i>neza</i>
<i>-mit</i> , belly	<i>-mèt</i> , <i>-pæt</i>	<i>edin</i> , without	<i>·edin</i>
<i>sats</i> , black bear	<i>sas</i>	<i>ëtso</i> , blue ³	<i>tæltso</i> , yellow
<i>dje</i> , pitch	<i>dzè</i>	<i>a'ten</i> , he did	<i>l'ten</i>
<i>djo</i> , now	<i>djugu</i> (Loucheux)	<i>neitin</i> (?), I see	<i>nit-in</i>
<i>nin</i> , earth	<i>nèn</i>		
<i>tsel-kai</i> , white stone	<i>tsé-lkrai</i>		

¹ In a footnote Dr Goddard gives the phrase 'its face' as the literal rendering of this compound, apparently unaware of the fact that in Déné *nin* (in the north, *nan*, *næn* or *nèn*, not *nin*, face) means 'season,' 'month,' as affecting the appearance of the ground. See Petitot's Dictionary at *Saison*, *Mois*.

² This and all other similar words are given no very fixed meaning in Goddard's *Texts*. In the north they refer strictly to bodies of water, though they are occasionally, yet improperly, used to designate the points of the compass.

³ Blue, green, and yellow are not clearly differentiated among the Déné. Interrogation marks express doubt as to the correctness of the spelling.

HUPA	NORTHERN DÉNÉ	HUPA	NORTHERN DÉNÉ
<i>nadiŋ</i> , they walk	<i>naŋiŋ</i>	of tree)	<i>nadin'a</i>
<i>silliñ</i> , become	<i>selleñ</i>	<i>nilliñ</i> , it flows	<i>ninlin</i>
<i>saəñ</i> (?) lying ¹	<i>sa'añ</i>	<i>yeiyot</i> , he blew	<i>yeinyul</i>
<i>nindas</i> , thou art		<i>yiskhan</i> , daylight	<i>yekhaih</i>
heavy	<i>nintas</i>	<i>teceiyai</i> , he went	
<i>nadaa</i> (?) stand-		out	<i>tecininya</i>
ing (speaking)			

If there is in the Déné or in other American languages a set of terms that is of paramount importance, it is that of the verbs, and in the structure of the verbs nothing can compare from a philological standpoint with that radical part which contains in itself the very essence of the word. These verbal roots form generally the last syllable of the term, and nothing can so well bring home to the reader the perfect similarity of the Hupa with the northern Déné dialects as the following list of radical desinenes which are identical in the north and in the south, save for the unimportant (northern) variations occasionally noted within parentheses :

<i>-ai</i> , <i>-a</i> (<i>-ai</i> , <i>-a</i>), position of single objects	<i>-men</i> , fullness
<i>-kha</i> , position in a receptacle	<i>-yöt</i> , blowing with the breath
<i>-da</i> , station, sitting	<i>-kha</i> (<i>khaih</i>), dawning
<i>-yen</i> , standing on one's feet	<i>-khet</i> , buying
<i>-ya</i> , <i>-yai</i> , locomotion on two feet	<i>-khet</i> , questioning
<i>-lat</i> , floating	<i>-len</i> , becoming
<i>-me</i> (= <i>pi</i>), natation	<i>-tas</i> , gashing
<i>-mas</i> , rotation	<i>-lal</i> , dreaming
<i>-na</i> , motion in general	<i>-git</i> (<i>get</i>), fear
<i>-at</i> (<i>'at</i>), manducation	<i>-los</i> , sleighing
<i>-nan</i> , drinking	<i>-tsas</i> , whipping
<i>-litc</i> (<i>lets</i> , <i>lets</i>), urinating	<i>-tsit</i> , pounding
<i>-tsau</i> (<i>'to</i>), flying	<i>-sel</i> (<i>səl</i>), relation to heat
<i>-lat</i> , springing, dashing	<i>-sit</i> (and <i>-zit</i>), awakening
<i>-kai</i> (<i>kre</i>), poorness in flesh	<i>-dits</i> (<i>-tets</i> , <i>-tæz</i>), twisting
	<i>-ten</i> , action in general, etc.

In the face of this wonderful similarity, nay perfect identity, the evidence of which is faithfully recorded when the sounds are clear

¹Not 'standing' as Goddard has it, p. 110. On the following page he gives it as the equivalent of 'lying there.'

and easy of detection, can it be said that there is nothing abnormal in the omission of the clicks or of the aspiration in the sounds *th* and *kh*, which enter into the composition of the following words?

HUPA (?)	NORTHERN DÉNÉ	HUPA (?)	NORTHERN DÉNÉ
<i>tsin</i> , bone	<i>t' sæn</i>	<i>-tis</i> , over	<i>-thas</i>
<i>-tcin</i> , toward it	<i>-t' se, -t' sæn</i>	<i>-tak</i> , between	<i>-thak</i>
<i>tsa</i> , dish, basket	<i>t' sai</i>	<i>tits</i> , cane	<i>thats, thawz</i>
<i>-tsôts</i> , kissing	<i>-t' sus</i>	<i>tin</i> , trail	<i>thèn</i>
<i>-tsit</i> , falling	<i>-t' sit</i>	<i>tak</i> , three (things)	<i>tha, thakhe</i> (do.)
<i>tcin-niñyai</i> , he arrived (at a body of water)	<i>t' sè-ninya</i>	<i>tak kan</i> , three (pers.)	<i>thanen</i> (do.)
<i>-kai</i> , after	<i>-' ke</i>	<i>-tel</i> , broad	<i>-thel</i>
<i>-kat</i> , on	<i>-' kat</i>	<i>-tat</i> , kicking	<i>-that</i>
<i>ket</i> , now	<i>' kai</i>	<i>-tak</i> , counting	<i>-tho, -thak</i>
<i>lak-kau</i> , fat	<i>ta-' ka</i>	<i>setin</i> , I lay down	<i>sethi</i>
<i>-do</i> , slashing,	<i>-' to</i>	<i>tsiltiñ</i> , bow	<i>æthi-</i>
<i>to</i> , water	<i>tho</i>	<i>-kai</i> , navigation	<i>khe</i>
<i>-ta</i> , father	<i>-iha</i>	<i>-kyas</i> , sudden break	<i>-' qas</i>
<i>-ta</i> , among	<i>-tha, -thærh</i>	etc., etc.	

Goddard has three or four of the words which are affected by the lingual explosion rendered by an italic *t*, when that is the letter on which it falls. He also spells with a special letter (*x*) many of those which in the north are noticeable for the reinforced guttural sound *kh*. As to the *th* (= *t* + *h*), neither his volume of texts nor his valuable study on the morphology of the Hupa contains one or any equivalent transcription. Considering that the second element of that double consonant (*h*) is hardly perceptible to an English-speaking student, who may himself add unaware some sort of aspiration between his *t*'s and the following vowel,¹ it may be objected that the difference between that double consonant and the common *t* is too trifling to be taken into consideration. The following terms, taken respectively from the speech of the same tribe, ought to undecieve such easy-going linguists.

¹ Most Carriers, for instance, perceive such an aspiration in the word "town," which they pronounce "thown" in imitation, they think, of the strangers among them.

<i>ata</i> , lips	<i>atha</i> , father	<i>a'ta</i> , feather
<i>to</i> , above	<i>tho</i> , water	<i>'to</i> , nest
<i>tər̄h</i> , high up	<i>-thər̄h</i> , among	<i>'tər̄h</i> , pocket
<i>tər̄h</i> , edge (of a high place)	<i>thər̄h</i> , bottom (of the water)	<i>'tər̄h</i> , raw
<i>tək!</i> well, now!	<i>-thək</i> , break	<i>'tək</i> , suction, smoking
<i>utē</i> , its horns	<i>uthē</i> , he shall lie down	<i>u'tē</i> , he shall possess
<i>ninti</i> , incandescent	<i>nin̄thi</i> , thou liest down	<i>nin'ti</i> , thou pullest
<i>tī?</i> what?	<i>thi</i> , road	
<i>tēl</i> , crane	<i>thēl</i> , berry basket	
<i>təz</i> , driftwood	<i>thəz</i> , cane	
<i>tai</i> , famine	<i>-thai</i> , father-in-law	
<i>təs</i> , from above	<i>thəs</i> , blunt-headed arrow	
<i>təp̄e</i> , mountain sheep	<i>thəp̄e</i> , much, very	
<i>tīla</i> , that which	<i>thīla</i> , perhaps	

Compare also : *atas'ten*, I work for myself, and *athas'ten*, I start working for the first time, and such other Carrier phrases as *tīwt* *thīwt*, himself shall smoke, and *tēt sarh* *thāt sarh*, his own hat is liable to be shot off, wherein the difference of meaning is due entirely to the presence of the *h* sound after the *t*.

I have a similar list at hand to demonstrate the necessity of distinguishing between *k* and *kh*. I hope the reader will not need it to become convinced of that important difference. I also deem it unnecessary to add to the above a list of the incomparable *quid pro quos* which may result from the overlooking of the click or lingual explosion, as I published one, not long ago, in *Anthropos*.¹ Moreover, its effect on the sense of a word has just been noted in the first half of the preceding list.

If it is for having called attention to the absence of these all-important distinctions that I am now accused of having been too dogmatic, I am afraid I cannot plead repentance to obtain the pardon of my fault, especially as, instead of pronouncing boldly on the merits of the case, I merely asked, "Would it be presumption to suppose

¹ Vol. II, pp. 198-99.

that there is here an error of hearing or of transcribing?"¹ If these have really disappeared from the speech of the Hupa, I consider that we are face to face with a most remarkable, and I would fain add, unprecedented linguistic phenomenon.

I repeat that, so far as I know, the Déné *th* will occasionally change with the tribe of the speaker, becoming, for instance, *tc* among the Sékanais (Carrier *thū-thū*, big water; Sékanais *tcū-tcū*), or *trh* and *tq* — practically the same as *th*, though perhaps more emphatic — among the eastern Déné and the Navaho respectively. I am told that it even degenerates into a *k* among the Lipan;² but as to becoming converted into a common *t*, I know of no such case.

As usual, a particular system of consonantal commutability adds not a little to the similarity between Hupa and any of the northern dialects. That system, however, is in keeping with the greater individuality of the former, and while it admits, for instance, of the transformation of the *p* into *m* common to most cognate idioms, it affects also letters which nowhere else undergo any such changes.

¹ "Les Langues dénées," in *L'Année linguistique*, vol. II, p. 238. In my review of Goddard's *Texts*, I thought I had treated their transcriber with more leniency than my own confrères Frs. Petitot and Legoff, and had scarcely conformed, in connection with his effort, to the outspokenness, nay blunt severity, which characterizes the publication for which I was writing (see, for instance, the article on the Basque Languages in vol. I of the same), and which was implicitly asked of me. The only unqualified criticism I made of the *Hupa Texts* is the following: "Certaines erreurs évidentes se sont aussi glissées dans son travail, et c'est merveille, en vérité, que ses 272 pages de textes et de traductions n'en contiennent pas davantage. Ainsi page 315, ligne 8, *kwīn-nis-te* veut dire 'mon corps' et non pas 'ma médecine'; page 254, ligne 17, *nit* devrait être traduit 'avec toi,' au lieu de 'pour vous.'" Truth bids me repeat these assertions; will Dr Goddard deny that they are founded on fact? On the other hand, I would be extremely sorry if any words of mine should in the least detract from the real worth of that gentleman's studies, to which I have repeatedly testified in the incriminated review itself. Yet, there may be some who will be tempted to distinguish between the researches of a student who goes to a tribe of Indians to acquire a theoretical knowledge of their most intricate language and those of a man who, for a quarter of a century, has lived with several cognate tribes so as to become one of them, to speak nothing but their dialects, to think as they do and through the same medium; of a man who came to publish several volumes for their own use in a system of writing which made phonetical and grammatical errors an impossibility. Bearing in mind the marvelous similarity of those idioms in the north and in the south, anybody placed in such a position, even though blessed with very common linguistic aptitudes, should, it seems to me, be able to know something even of those he cannot speak himself.

² Letter from Dr Goddard, January 25, 1907.

In the first place, the sibilant sounds *s* (or even *z*) and *c* (*sh*) are converted into *hw* or *uw* by the Hupa, and the Hupa alone. Ex. :

NORTHERN DÉNÉ	HUPA	NORTHERN DÉNÉ	HUPA
<i>si</i> , I	<i>hwe</i>	<i>sav-ello</i> , my salmon	<i>hwi-llo</i>
<i>sa</i> , sun	<i>hwa</i>	<i>p-uzi</i> , his name	<i>hō-hwe</i>
<i>sel</i> , with me	<i>hwił</i>	<i>nauspe</i> , let me swim across	<i>nauwome</i>
<i>cin</i> , song	<i>hwin</i>	<i>-yas</i> , sign of diminutive	<i>-yaww</i>
<i>sa</i> , only	<i>hwane</i>	<i>-'tēs</i> , coal	<i>-'teuw</i>

Then we have the *ts* of the northerners, the *tc* of the Navaho, transformed by the Hupa into the unwieldy *tcw*. Ex. :

NORTHERN DÉNÉ	HUPA	NORTHERN DÉNÉ	HUPA
<i>tsū</i> , grandmother	<i>tcwo</i>	<i>tsæz</i> , firewood	<i>tcwite</i>
<i>tso</i> , crying	<i>tcwū</i>	<i>l'sal</i> , toad	<i>tcwal</i> (?)
<i>tsan</i> , excrement	<i>tcwen</i>		

On the other hand, the *tc* of the north and *ts* of the south often become *k* among the Hupa. Ex. :

NORTHERN DÉNÉ	HUPA	NORTHERN DÉNÉ	HUPA
<i>-tcē</i> , tail	<i>-ke</i>	<i>tcu</i> , also	<i>kañ</i>
<i>tcin</i> , stick	<i>kiñ</i>	<i>tcēl</i> , younger brother	<i>-kil</i>

Lastly, the Hupa likewise change *r* into *w*. Ex. :

NORTHERN DÉNÉ	HUPA	NORTHERN DÉNÉ	HUPA
<i>saræn</i> , from me	<i>hwō-waēñ</i>	<i>unikran</i> , like	<i>newan</i>
<i>saræntan</i> , my son-in-law	<i>hwo-waēndan</i>	<i>yæzitre</i> , he killed him	<i>yissitwe</i>
<i>itæræn</i> , one (pers.)	<i>tuwāñ</i> (do.)	<i>ædætræs</i> , he bores a hole	<i>yekitwis</i>
<i>rættar</i> , yesterday	<i>wildwāñ</i>	<i>na-dædikrat</i> , he shook himself	<i>anaidūwiñwat</i>

If now, passing from the phonetics and the chief radicals we come to the material structure and even the grammatical rules of the Hupa dialect, we will find that both conform wonderfully to those of the north. It is the same system of word formation, even in its very particularities. Thus, to give an instance, the notion of aid is rendered by *hwilla-*, *nillau-* (which bear a close resemblance to 'my hand,' 'thy hand,' etc.), followed by the verb determining the

kind of help rendered. Among the Carriers, these prefixes are the same (taking into account the transmutability of the consonants), *sla-*, *nla-*, etc. The compounding of monosyllables is identical north and south, even with regard to given words. The Carriers say for tears *-na-tsal-thû*, 'eyes-posterior-water'; the Hupa have it *-na-kat-to* [*tho*]. To express the act of getting married, the former say of a man *a-'ti* (contraction of *'at-a'ti*, a wife he has). The Hupa similarly say *at-'ten*.

In Hupa, as well as in Carrier and in Sékanais, the few plurals that exist for the terms of relationship are in *-khai*; the possessive case changes the sibilant *l* (*l'*) into a common *l*, and adds a desinential *-e*; the possessive pronouns are formed according to the same principle of prefixing to the noun the initial consonant proper to each personal pronoun; our relative pronouns are replaced by a monosyllable preceding the verb, as in the eastern Déné, etc.

But we need not pursue further our parallelism. The Hupa dialect, though encumbered by many foreign words, is essentially Déné. All the other Déné languages, without exception, are remarkably similar in their phonetics and morphology. Under the circumstances that prompted these pages, I leave it to the reader to draw the natural conclusion.

KAMLOOPS,
BRITISH COLUMBIA.

