
CHINOOK

BY

FRANZ BOAS

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CHINOOK

By FRANZ BOAS

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

The Chinookan stock embraces a number of closely related dialects which were spoken along both banks of Columbia river from the Cascades to the sea, and some distance up the Willamette valley. The Chinook were neighbors of tribes belonging to many linguistic stocks. In Shoalwater bay and on the lower course of Columbia river, along its northern bank as far as the Cascade range, they came into contact with tribes of the coast division of the Salishan family. On the upper course of Willapa river they were contiguous to a small Athapascan tribe; farther to the east they were surrounded by Sahaptin tribes; in the Willamette valley they bordered on the Molala and Kalapuya. On the southern bank of Columbia river, opposite Cowlitz river, lived another Athapascan tribe whose neighbors they were; while south of the mouth of Columbia river they bordered on the Tillamuk, an isolated branch of the Coast Salish.

The language was spoken in two principal dialects, Upper Chinook and Lower Chinook. The former was spoken on the upper course of Columbia river, as far west as Gray's Harbor on the north bank and a little above Astoria on the south bank of the river. It was subdivided into a number of slightly different dialects. The principal representatives are Kathlamet and Clackamas which were spoken on the lower course of the Columbia river and in the Willamette valley, and Wasco and Wishram which were spoken in the region of The Dalles. The Lower Chinook includes the Clatsop dialect on the south bank of the river (from Astoria downward) and the Chinook proper of the north bank from Grays harbor down, and on Shoalwater bay. The last-named dialect is discussed here.

The name Chinook (*Ts!inu'k*) is the one by which the tribe was known to their northern neighbors, the Chehalis.

The grammar of the Chinook language has been discussed by Horatio Hale,¹ Friederich Müller,² Franz Boas,³ John R. Swanton,⁴ and Edward Sapir.⁵

Unless otherwise stated, references in the following sketch refer to page and line in Franz Boas, *Chinook Texts*.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-13)

§ 2. Vowels

The phonetic system of Chinook is characterized by a superabundance of consonants and consonant-clusters combined with great variability of vowels. Since practically all our information on the Lower Chinook has been derived from one single individual, the last survivor capable of giving intelligent information, there remain many uncertainties in regard to the system of sounds. My informant was in the habit of changing the position of the lips very slightly only. There was, particularly, no strong forward movement of the lips in the vowel *u* and the semivowel *w*. This tendency has been observed in many Indian languages and was probably characteristic of all Chinook speakers. For this reason the *u* and *o* sounds are very slightly differentiated. Obscure vowels are frequent and seem to be related to all long and short vowels.

The system of vowels and semivowels may be written as follows:

Diph- thong	Semi- vowel	Vowels						Semi- vowel	Diph- thong
		<i>E</i>							
	<i>w</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ô</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>ê</i>	(<i>E</i>)	<i>î</i>	<i>y</i>
<i>au</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>	(<i>ô</i>)	<i>a</i>	<i>ê</i>	(<i>e</i>)	<i>i</i>	<i>ai</i>
		<i>û</i>	<i>ô</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>ê</i>	(<i>î</i>)	

While the *o* and *u* sounds are indistinct, owing to the similarity of lip-positions, the *e* and *i* sounds seemingly alternate in accordance with the character of the adjoining sounds. They assume a decided *i* tinge by contact with a following *a*, or when following an anterior palatal. There is no strong retraction of the lips, but a considerable

¹ Wilkes Expedition, *Ethnography and Philology*, 562-564. See also *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, II, xxiii-clxxxviii; Hale's *Indians of Northwest America and Vocabularies of North America*; with an Introduction by Albert Gallatin.

² Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, II, 254-256. Vienna, 1882.

³ Notes on the Chinook Language, *American Anthropologist*, 55-63, 1893; *Chinook Texts*, *Bulletin 20 of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1894; *Kathlamet Texts*, *Bulletin 26 of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1901; *The Vocabulary of the Chinook Language*, *American Anthropologist*, n. s., VI, 118-147, 1904.

⁴ Morphology of the Chinook Verb, *American Anthropologist*, n. s., II, 199-237, 1900.

⁵ Preliminary Report on the Language and Mythology of the Upper Chinook, *American Anthropologist*, n. s., IX, 533-544; *Wishram Texts*, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, II, 1900.

linguo-palatal constriction. In the short vowel the *i* character is rather accentuated. In the long vowel the *e* character predominates, unless contact and contrast phenomena emphasize the *i* character. *ô* seems to occur only with *k* sounds and is probably due to an assimilation of short *a*. *â* is rare and seems to occur only in onomatopoeic words. *ê* and *ä* are also of peculiar character. *ä* seems to be always either a rhetorical broadening of *ê* (as in *ä'ka* for *ê'ka*), or an onomatopoeic element which is frequent as terminal sound in interjections. The *a* series is related to the *o* and *u* series in so far as *a* may be transformed into *o* or *u*, while *e* and *i* can never be thus transformed. We will designate the *o* and *u* sounds as *u*-series and the *e* and *i* sounds as *i*-series. The only diphthongs that occur are *au* and *ai*. Doubled vowels, unless separated by a consonantic glottal stop, do not seem to occur. Short *i* and *u* when preceding vowels have always consonantic values.

§ 3. Consonants

The consonants consist of labials, dentals, and a very full series of palatals. There are also a number of *l* sounds. I did not succeed, however, in distinguishing these satisfactorily. There is also much confusion regarding surds and sonants, not only because the sonant has greater stress than our sonant, but also on account of the occurrence of a labial sound with semiclosure of the nose and weak lip-closure, which is therefore intermediate between *b*, *m*, and *w*, with prevalent *m* character. Between vowels the sound approaches a *b*. The occurrence of *d* is also doubtful. Each stop occurs as fortis and surd.

The series of consonants may be represented as follows:

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Semi-nasal	Nasal	Lateral	Semi-vowels
Glottal . . .	ʔ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Velar . . .	(gʔ)	q	qʔ	x	—	—	—	—
Palatal . . .	g	k	kʔ	ç	—	—	—	—
Anterior palatal } (gʔ)	k	kʔ	x	—	—	—	—	
Alveolar . . .	(dʔ)	t	tʔ	s, c	—	n	(l)	(y)
Dento-alveolar affricative	—	ts, tc	tsʔ, tcʔ	—	—	—	—	—
Labial . . .	—	p	pʔ	—	m	m	—	(w)
Lateral . . .	ʔ	l	lʔ	ʔ, l	—	—	—	—

The alveolar *s*, *c*, and the affricative *ts*, *tc*, are pronounced with open teeth. The two *m*'s are not distinguished, since the former occurs only before vowels. It is doubtful if they represent two really distinct sounds.

The glottal stop and the velar surd are closely related, the former often taking the place of the latter. An omission of a *q* after a stop transforms the latter into a fortis. I have placed *l* and *n* in the same line, on account of their frequent alternation. Since the glottal stop, velars, palatals, and anterior palatals have certain peculiarities in common, we will designate them as *k* sounds. The consonants of the anterior palatal series have a decided affricative character, which is least prominent in the fortis. The medial palatal *k* and the velar *q* appear also as affricatives. In these cases the continued sound appears so long, that I have written them as *kʒ* and *qx*.

The language admits of extensive consonantic clusters, and I have not been able to discover any sequence of consonants that is inadmissible except that clusters consisting of a stop followed by *m* and *n* seem to be avoided.

§ 4. Phonetic Laws

Nevertheless we find complex phonetic laws. These may be classed in nine groups:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| (1) Effects of accent. | (5) Vowel changes. |
| (2) Laws of vocalic harmony. | (6) Metathesis. |
| (3) Laws of consonantic assimilation. | (7) Dieresis. |
| (4) Vocalization of consonants. | (8) Contraction. |
| | (9) Weakening and strengthening of consonants. |

Only the first two of these laws are purely phonetic, while the others are restricted to certain grammatical forms. Groups 2-5 are changes due to contact phenomena.

Effects of Accent (§§ 5, 6)

The accent affects the character of the vowel upon which it falls and modifies consonants in so far as certain consonants or consonantic clusters are not tolerated when they precede the accent. On the whole, these changes are confined to the Lower Chinook, but they occur also in part in the western dialects of the Upper Chinook.

§ 5. Vocalic Changes

1. Vocalic changes consist in the introduction of an *E* in an accented consonantic cluster which consists of a combination of stems. The *E* is inserted after the accented consonantic stem. The same change occurs in Kathlamet, while it is absent in Wishram.

a-tcE'-L-a-x he made it (*a-* aorist; *tc-* he; *L-* it; *-a* directive; *-x* to do)

a-gE'-L-a-x she made it (*a-* aorist; *g-* she; *L-* it; *-a* directive; *-x* to do)

tE'-kɛmôn ashes (*t-* plural gender)

2a. Accented short *u*, when followed by *m*, *n*, or *l* which are followed by vowels, becomes *uā*'.

iā'gunat his salmon

iguā'nat salmon

tq'ulipɣunā'yu youths

iq'uā'lipɣ youth

2b. Accented *E* and short *a*, when followed by *m*, *n*, or *l* which are followed by vowels, become *ā*. The short vowels *i* and *u*, when followed by vowels, have consonantic values and affect preceding *E* and *a* in the same manner.

icā'yim grizzly-bear

icāyā'mukc grizzly-bears

xā'penic giving herself in payment to shaman

pā'nic to give in payment to shaman

aqtā'witɣ he gives them to them 249.13

Accented *i* followed by an *a* or *u* vowel becomes *āy*.

atciā'x he is accustomed to make him

atcā'yax he makes him

mLopiā'Lxa you will gather it

agiupā'yax she gathered him

Here belong also the terminal changes of *ē* in plural forms:

ī'ck!alē clam basket

lck!alā'yuks clam baskets

ōcūē'ē frog

tcueā'yuks frogs

Compare with this the following cases, where *n* and *l* belong to consonantic clusters:

nēxE'l'ōkō he awoke

mE'nx'i a little while

In one case *E* accented changes to *ā* before *x*:

llā'lEx bird

tlalā'rukc birds

All these changes given under 2 are confined to Lower Chinook. They do not occur in Kathlamet and Wishram.

§ 6. Consonantic Changes

Consonantic changes due to accent are as follows:

(1) A *k* following the accented syllable tends to become the affricative *kʃ*.

kā'tsek middle
igē'lʃtcutk flint

ō'kʃōtsək middle daughter
oyā'kʃilʃtcutk his flint arrow-point

(2) When the vowel following the cluster *lʃ* is accented, the *ʃ* is dropped.

ē'lʃam town
atciō'lʃam he said to him
ukō'lʃul mouse

ilē'ē country
tciolā'ma he will say to him
ukolō'lukš mice

(3) In words in which a *q* follows the accented syllable it changes to *ε* when the accent shifts to a syllable following the *q*. When the *q* follows the surds *p* and *t*, these are changed to the corresponding fortis:

Lā'qauwilqt its blood
ē'qēL creek
uyā'qalεptkix his fire
lā'qana its beavers

L^εā'wilqt blood
t!ā'LEMα creeks
ō^εō'LEptkix fire
ē^εē'na beaver

This change takes place also when the accent remains on the syllable preceding the *q*, when the vowel following the *q* is short.

ō'qōL fish-weir

ōyā^εαL his fish-weir

These changes mark a phonetic differentiation of Upper and Lower Chinook. In Upper Chinook the *q* is preserved almost throughout; while in Lower Chinook it tends to be replaced by the glottal stop *ε*,—when following *p* and *t* by the corresponding fortis,—whenever the accents stand after *q*, or when it is followed by a short syllable, or when it is terminal.

Kathlamet

Chinook

wā'yaq

ō'ya^ε

his mother

Liā'paqa

Liā'pa^εα

his nape

isEMε'lq

isā'mεl^ε

nose-ornament

ēqē'paqte

ē^εē'paqte

beam

tiā'qoit

tiā^εwit

his legs

tqu'Lē

t!ōL

house

The process of modification is, however, incomplete, since we find a number of Chinook words that retain the *q*.

ēqtq head

ai'aq quick

ē'celqcεlq porcupine

ltcuq water

Here may also be mentioned the loss of terminal *x* and *x'*, which is characteristic of Upper Chinook, in many Lower Chinook forms.

Kathlamet	Chinook	
<i>imō'lekumax</i>	<i>imō'lekuma</i>	elks
<i>tqā'LEMmax</i>	<i>t!ā'LEma</i>	creeks
<i>mā'LNix'</i>	<i>mā'LNē</i>	seaward

Other characteristic changes are from Upper Chinook *t* to Lower Chinook *s*, as in—

Kathlamet	Chinook	
<i>tqā'totinikc</i>	<i>tqā'sosinikc</i>	boys
<i>anix'ENEMō'txēm</i>	<i>anix'ENEMō'sx'EM</i>	I fooled him

and from Upper Chinook *s* to Lower Chinook *tct*.

Kathlamet	Chinook	
<i>ē'mas</i>	<i>ē'matct</i>	shame
<i>anō'suwulxt</i>	<i>anō'tctuwulxt</i>	I went up on the water

§ 7. Laws of Vocalic Harmony

When a *u* vowel precedes a *k* sound, and the *k* sound is either followed by a vowel or is a prefix, it must be followed by a vowel of the *u*-series. The following special cases may be distinguished:

(1) An obscure vowel following the *k* sound is transformed into short *u*.

<i>ō'pL!ike</i> bow	<i>ōgu'pL!ikē</i> my bow (with prefix -gE- my [§ 18])
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(2) a following a *k* sound is transformed into *o* or *u*.

<i>ik!ā'ckc</i> boy	<i>ōk!ō'ckc</i> girl
<i>ikanī'm</i> canoe	<i>ōkunī'm</i> canoes

(3) An *e* sound following a *k* sound requires a *u* before the *e* sound.

<i>aLgē'pzatē</i> alder country	<i>oguē'pzatē'</i> alder-bark tree
<i>L^sā'gīl</i> a woman	<i>ō^sō'gūil</i> the woman

(4) If the *k* sound is a prefix, it is considered as a phonetic unit and an *o* is inserted following the *k* sound, even if it is followed by a consonant.

<i>nā'xLxa</i> she begins to burn	<i>nō'xōLxa</i> they begin to burn
<i>ē'ktcxam</i> he sang	<i>ō'kōtcxam</i> they sang

The following examples show that the rule does not hold good in consonantic clusters that form a stem.

<i>atcō'ktcktamit</i> he roasts her (stem -ktckt)	<i>ōqct</i> louse
--	-------------------

§ 8. Consonantic Assimilation

It is doubtful whether there is a single case of consonantic assimilation that is purely phonetic, not dependent on the grammatical value of the consonants involved. For instance, the assimilation of *l* by preceding and following *n*, observed in *nō'pōnem* IT GETS DARK (from *ō'pōl* NIGHT), finds no strict analogies in other similar sound groups. An assimilation of *l* by preceding *n* is found whenever the *l* is a frequentative suffix (§ 31).

aksō'pena he jumps

aksō'penan he jumps about
(instead of *aksō'penal*)

What is apparently an assimilation of *l* by preceding *n* is also found in cases of insertion which occur with the suffix *-L* (see § 31.8).

§ 9. Vocalization of Consonants

1 *l* and *n* show a peculiar behavior when occurring in the prefixes *-gel-*, *-xel-*, and *-^lel-*; or the corresponding *-gen-* and *-xen* (§ 25). Whenever these prefixes are preceded by *o*, the *l* and *n* become *ē*, so that the prefixes assume the forms *-(o)goē-*, *(o)xoē-*, *-(o)^lwē-*.

agigē'lxēm she called him

nōgoēxē'ma I shall call them

axenō'tēn he helped sing

nōxoēxō'tēn they helped sing

In other cases the combinations *kul* and *kōl* are admissible, as in

ōkō'lxul mouse

ōkulā'm surf

2. The intransitive *t* of the third person plural (§ 21) becomes *o* before all *k* sounds, and also before adverbial *l* and *n* (§ 25).

§ 10. Vowel Changes

The verbal prefix *-ō-* (§ 26), when accented and preceding a *k* sound or a *w*, becomes *a*.

aniō'cgam I took him

aniā'wa^ε I killed him

This change does not take place in Upper Chinook.

igiō'waq (Kathlamet), *agiā'wa^ε* (Chinook) she killed him

Unaccented *o* does not change in this position.

ā'nox^ltk I steal her

ayowā'x'it he is pursued 261.1

§ 11. Metathesis

Metathesis seems to be confined to cases in which two suffixes are thoroughly amalgamated; for instance, *-ako* and *-L* combined form *-alukL* (§ 30).

§§ 8-11

§ 12. Dieresis and Contraction

1. Dieresis is confined to the formation of a few verbal plurals, in which the vowel is expanded by insertion of the syllable *-yu*. Presumably the expansion is related to the dieresis of accented *i* (see § 5). It seems, however, quite possible that this is really a suffix *-yu* indicating the distributive. (See § 38.6.)

Singular	Plural
<i>-x^éōt</i>	<i>-x^éōyut</i> to bathe
<i>-xelatck</i>	<i>-xelāyutck</i> to rise

2. A short *a*, when preceding or following *ā* and *ū*, is contracted with these vowels, which remain unchanged. In the same way *i* is contracted with a following *ī* or *ē*.

<i>ōc</i> she is (instead of <i>a-ōc</i>)	<i>ē'lzām</i> country (instead of
<i>atciungō'mit</i> he causes him to	<i>i-ē'lzām</i>)
run (instead of <i>atciungō'-amit</i>)	

§ 13. Weakening and Strengthening of Consonants

A modification of significance is brought about by a modification of consonants.¹ This phenomenon was discovered by Dr. Edward Sapir in Upper Chinook, but it occurred undoubtedly also in Lower Chinook. The relation of consonants in Upper Chinook is as follows:

<i>b, p</i> hardened become <i>p!</i>	<i>p, p!</i> softened become <i>b</i>
<i>d, t</i> hardened become <i>t!</i>	<i>t, t!</i> softened become <i>d</i>
<i>g, k</i> hardened become <i>k!</i>	<i>k, k!</i> softened become <i>g</i>
<i>q, q</i> hardened become <i>k!</i>	<i>q, q!</i> softened become <i>g</i>

Similar relations are found between the sibilants:

<i>tc!</i> hardened becomes <i>ts!</i>	<i>s</i> softened becomes <i>c</i>
<i>tc</i> hardened becomes <i>ts</i>	<i>ts</i> softened becomes <i>tc</i>
<i>c</i> hardened becomes <i>s, ts</i>	<i>ts!</i> softened becomes <i>tc!</i>
<i>ts</i> hardened becomes <i>ts!</i>	

The hardened *x* becomes *x*. (Cf. § 53.)

§ 14. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

According to their grammatical forms, Chinook words may be grouped in two large classes—syntactic words and particles. While the former, except in exclamations, always contain pronominal and other elements that define their function in the sentence, the latter occur as independent and isolated words. The elements of the syn-

¹ See Edward Sapir, l. c., 537.

tactic words are often phonetically weak, and consist sometimes of single consonants, of consonantic clusters, of single vowels, or of weak monosyllables. In combination these may form polysyllabic words. The particles are necessarily of such phonetic character that they can stand by themselves. For these reasons, both classes of words appear as fixed phonetic and formal units, so that in Chinook there can be no doubt as to the limits of words.

The grammatical processes applied with these two classes of words differ. Some of the particles may be duplicated, while duplication and reduplication never occur in syntactic words. Particles when transformed into syntactic words may, however, retain their duplications. Syntactic words are modified by means of prefixes and suffixes and by modification of the stem, which, however, is probably always of phonetic origin. Prefixes are much more numerous than suffixes, but are phonetically weaker, rarely consisting of more than a single sound. They appear in considerable numbers in single words. Six prefixes in one word are not by any means unusual. The number of suffixes that may appear in combination is more limited. They are phonetically stronger. More than two or three suffixes are rarely found in one word.

Word-composition is not infrequent. However, some of the elements which enter into composition rarely appear alone, or rather, combined with syntactic elements only. They represent principally a definite group of local ideas, and therefore give the impression of being affixes rather than independent stems. These words are, for instance, motion into, out of, up, down (see § 27). Setting aside compound words of this class, composition of independent stems, or rather of stems which are used with syntactic elements only, is infrequent. Nouns are, however, largely of complex origin, and in many of them stems and affixes may be recognized, although the significance of these elements is not known to us.

The position of the word is quite free, while the order of the constituent elements of syntactic words is rigidly fixed.

§ 15. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

In discussing the ideas expressed by means of grammatical forms, it seems best to begin with syntactic words. All syntactic relations of these are expressed by pronominal and adverbial prefixes. Syn-

tactic words may be divided into three classes that receive different treatment—transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, and nouns. All of these have in common that they must contain pronominal elements, which in the first class are subjective and objective, while in the other two classes they are objective (from the Indo-European point of view, subjective). The noun is therefore closely associated with the intransitive verb, although it is not identical with it. It retains, to a certain extent, a predicative character, but is in form partly differentiated from the intransitive verb.

The differentiation of transitive and intransitive is contained in the pronominal elements. The subject of the transitive differs in some cases from that of the intransitive, which is in form identical with the objective form of the transitive.

The relations of nouns are expressed by possessive pronouns, which seem to be remotely related to the subjective transitive pronouns. Owing to the predicative character of the noun, the possessive form has partly the meaning HAVING.

Both intransitive and transitive verbs may contain indirect pronominal objects. These are expressed by objective pronouns. Their particular relation to the verb is defined by elements indicating the ideas of FOR, TO, WITH, etc. The possessive relations of subject and object—*i. e.*, the possession of one of the objects by the subject, or of the indirect object by the direct object, and vice versa—are also expressed.

All the syntactic relations between the verb and the nouns of the sentence must be expressed by means of pronominal and adverbial elements incorporated in the verb, so that the verb is the skeleton of the sentence, while the nouns or noun-groups held together by possessive pronouns are mere appositions. Certain locative affixes which express the syntactic relations of nouns occur in the dialect of the Cascades; but these seem to have been borrowed from the Sahaptin.

The function of each pronominal element is clearly defined, partly by the differentiation of forms in the transitive and intransitive verbs, partly by the order in which they appear and by the adverbial elements mentioned before.

In the pronoun, singular, dual, and plural are distinguished. There is an inclusive and an exclusive in dual and plural, the exclusive being related to the first person. The second persons dual and

plural are related to the second person singular. The third person singular has three genders—masculine, feminine, and neuter—and a single form each for dual and plural. These forms are not only true sex and number forms, but agree also with a generic classification of nouns which is based on sex and number.

The nominal stem itself has no characteristic of gender, which is expressed solely in the pronoun. The sex and number origin of the genders is clear, but in the present status of the language the genders are as irregularly distributed as those of Indo-European languages. These genders are expressed in the incorporated pronominal representative of the noun, and since there is generally sufficient variety in the genders of the nouns of the sentences, clearness is preserved even when the order of the nouns in apposition is quite free.

Besides the sex and number classes we find a classification in human beings on the one hand and other beings and objects on the other. These are expressed in the numeral, the demonstrative, and in plural forms of nouns.

It was stated before, that, in the pronoun, duality and plurality are distinguished. In the noun, a true plural, not pronominal in character, is found only in some words. These were evidently originally the class of human beings, although at present the use of this nominal plural is also irregular. Furthermore, a true distributive is found, which, however, has also become irregular in many cases. Its original significance is discernible in numeral adverbs (§ 38). A distributive is also found in a small number of verbal stems.

There are few nominal affixes of clear meaning, and very few that serve to derive nouns from verbal stems. There are only two important classes of verbal nouns which correspond to the relative sentence **THE ONE WHO**— and to the past-passive relative sentence **WHAT IS —ED**; of these two the latter coincides with ordinary nouns, while the former constitutes a separate class. Still another class contains local nouns, **WHERE**— (§ 40).

Demonstrative pronouns form a class by themselves. They contain the personal pronouns of the third person, but also purely demonstrative elements which indicate position in relation to the three persons, and, in Lower Chinook, present and past tense, or visibility and invisibility.

Only a few modifications of the verb are expressed by incorporated elements. These are the temporal ideas—in Lower Chinook those of

future and perfect and of the indefinite aoristic time, to which are added in Upper Chinook several other past tenses. In some cases these temporal elements express rather ideas that may be termed transitional and continuative. There is a series of semitemporal suffixes expressing the inchoative and varieties of frequentatives; and also a number of directive prefixes, which seem to express the direction of the action in relation to the speaker.

All other ideas are expressed by particles. A somewhat abnormal position among these is occupied by the numerals from 2 to 9 and by a very few adjectives. These numerals are nouns when they are used as ordinals; when used as adjectives, they are generally particles; when referring to human beings, they are nouns of peculiar form (§ 51).

Most remarkable among the particles is a long series of words, many of which are onomatopoeic and which are mostly used to express verbal ideas. In this case the verbal relation is expressed by an auxiliary verb which signifies TO DO, TO MAKE, OR TO BE. These words exhibit a gradation from purely interjectional terms to true adverbial or, more generally, attributive forms. They are analogous to our English forms like BANG WENT THE GUN, OR DING DONG MADE THE BELLS, and merge into forms like HE WAS TIRED. If we imagine the word TIRED pronounced with imitative gestures and expression, it attains the value that these particles have in Chinook. The number of these words is considerable, and they take the place of many verbs. Most of them can be used only with verbs like TO DO and TO GO. Other adverbs differ from this class in that they are used with other verbs as well. There is no clear distinction between these adverbs and conjunctions.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 16-56)

Syntactic Words (§§ 16-45)

§16. *Structure of Syntactic Words*

All syntactic words contain pronominal elements which give them a predicative character. A few seem to contain only the pronominal element and the stem, but by far the greater number contain other elements besides. Most words of this class are built up by composition of a long series of elements, all of which are phonetically too

weak to stand alone. The most complex of these words contain all the elements of the sentence. Their order is as follows:

(1) Modal element (transitional, participial).

(2) Pronominal elements.

(a) Subject.

(b) First object.

(c) Second object.

(3) Following one of these may stand an element expressing the possessive relation between the subject and the objects.

(4) Adverbial prefixes.

(5) Direction of verbal action.

(6) Verbal stem, single or compound.

(7) Adverbial suffixes.

These elements are, of course, hardly ever all represented in one word. Following are a few characteristic examples of these words:

a-m-l-a-x-cg-ā'm-x thou wert in the habit of taking it from her

a- aorist (1, see § 17)

m- thou, subject (2*a*, see § 18)

l- it, object (2*b*, see § 18)

a- her, second object (2*c*, see § 18)

-x- indicates that IT belongs to HER (3, see § 24)

Elements 4 and 5 are not represented.

-cg- stem TO TAKE (6)

-am completive (7*a*, see § 29)

-x usitative (7*b*, see § 32)

tc-t-a-l-ō'-t-a he will give them to her

tc- he, subject (2*a*, see § 18)

t- them, object (2*b*, see § 18)

a- her, second object (2*c*, see § 18)

-l- to (4, see § 25)

-o- direction from speaker (5, see § 26)

-ot- stem TO GIVE (6)

-a future (7, see § 32)

Elements 1 and 3 are not represented.

There are, of course, transitive verbs with but one object. In most intransitive verbs all the elements relating to the object disappear and the form of the word becomes comparatively simple.

l-ō-c it is

l it, subject (2*a*, see § 18)

-ō- direction from speaker (5, see § 26)

-c stem TO BE, singular (6)

Complex intransitive forms are, however, not rare.

tE-n-xE-l-ā'-x-ō they will be on me

t(E)- they, subject (2*a*, see § 18)

n- me, indirect object (2*c*, see § 18)

-x(E)- indicates that **THEY** belong to **ME** (3, see § 24)

-l- to (4, see § 25)

-ā- direction from speaker (5, see § 26)

-x stem TO DO, TO BE (6)

-ō future (7, see § 32)

Nouns are similar to simple intransitive verbs, but they have (or had) nominal (modal) prefixes. They have no directive elements. They may take possessive forms which do not appear in the verb. The order of elements in the noun is the following:

(1*) Nominal (modal) element.

(2*) Pronominal elements.

(*a**) Subjective.

(*b**) Possessive.

(3*) Nominal stem, single or compound.

(4*) Suffixes:

W-ā'-lēmLēm Rotten-wood (a place name)

w- nominal prefix (1*)

a- subjective feminine (2 *a**)

-lēmLēm stem ROTTEN WOOD (3*)

ē'-mē-qtq thy head

ē- subjective masculine (2 *a**)

-mē- possessive second person (2 *b**)

-qtq- stem HEAD (3*)

In the following sections these component elements will be taken up in order.

§ 17. *Modal Elements*

1. *a-*. This prefix indicates a transitional stage, a change from one state into another. Therefore it may be translated in intransitive verbs by TO BECOME. In transitive verbs it is always used when there is no other element affixed which expresses ideas contradictory to the transitional, like the perfect, future, or nominal ideas. In the transitive verb it appears, therefore, on the whole as an aoristic tense. The action passing from the subject to a definite object is in Chinook always considered as transitional (transitive), since it implies a change of condition of object and subject. In the Kathlamet dialect of the Upper Chinook the corresponding prefix is *i-*.

Whenever the *a-* stands before a vocalic element, its place is taken by *n-*. The masculine *i-* preceding a vowel has consonantic character, and retains, therefore, the *a-*. In Kathlamet *n-* is used under the same conditions; but, besides, a form occurs beginning with *i-*, which is followed by a *-g-*.

Intransitive, before consonant:

- a-l-E'-k'im* it said (*a-* transitional; *l-* it; *-k'im* to say)
a-n-ō'-tṣ-uit I began to stand (*a-* transitional; *n-* I; *-ō-* directive; *-tṣ* to stand; *-uit* to be in a position)

Intransitive, before vowel:

- n-ē'-k'im* he said (*n-* transitional; *ē-* he; *-k'im* to say)
n-ō'-x-o-x they became (*n-* transitional; *ō-* they; *-x* reflexive; *-o-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO, TO BE)

Transitive:

- a-tcE'-t-a-x* he did them (*a-* transitional; *tc-* he; *t-* them; *-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO)

The following examples are taken from the Kathlamet dialect:

Intransitive, before consonant:

- i-l-E'-k'im* it said; Kathlamet texts 99.4 (analysis as before)
i-m-ṣa-t-k!oā-mam you came home *ibid.*, 132.15 (*m* -thou; *-ṣ* (*a*)-reflexive; *-t-* coming; *-k!oa* to go home; *-(m)am* to arrive)

Intransitive, before vowel:

- i-g-ē'-ṣ-k!oa* he went home *ibid.* 169.6 (*-ē-* he; *-ṣ-* reflexive)
i-g-ā-ṣ-k!oa she went home *ibid.* 191.8

Transitive:

- i-q-i-ō'-lṣam* somebody told him *ibid.* 169.7 (*-q* somebody; *i-* him; *-ō-* directive; *-lṣam* to tell)
i-gE'-t-u-x she acted on them *ibid.* 217.16 (*gE-* she; *t-* them; *-u-* directive; *-x* to do)

2. *ni-*. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It takes the form *nig-* before vowels, like the preceding. It occurs in transitive and intransitive verbs. It expresses a somewhat indefinite time past, and is used in speaking of events that happened less than a year or so ago, yet more than a couple of days ago. (E. Sapir.)

- ni-y-u'ya* he went (*ni-* past; *-y-* he; *-uya* to go)
nig-u'ya she went (the same before vocalic element; *-a-* she, being contracted with *-u-* into *-u*)
ni-tc-i-gil-kel he saw him (*ni-* past; *-tc-* he; *-i-* him; *gil-* verbal prefix; *-kel* to see)

3. **a-**. This prefix is confined to the intransitive verbs of the Upper Chinook (Kathlamet), and indicates the future. When followed by a vowel, it takes the form *al-*.

a-m-ō'-kL-a thou wilt carry her (*a-* future; *m-* thou; *ō-* contracted for *a-* her and *ō-* directive; *-kL* stem TO CARRY; *-a* future)

Before vowel:

al-ō'-mE-qt-a she will die (*al-* future; *-ō-* contracted for *a-* she and *-ō-* directive; *-mEqt* stem TO DIE; *-a* future)

In the dialects east of the Kathlamet it is used also with transitive verbs (Sapir).

a-tc-i-gE'l-kEL-a he will see her (*a-* future; *-tc-* he; *-i-* him; *-gEL-* verbal prefix; *-kEL* to see; *-a* future)

4. **ga-**, before vowels *gal-*. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It expresses time long past, and is always used in the recital of myths (Sapir).

ga-y-u'ya he went (see analysis under 2)

gal-u'ya she went (see analysis under 2)

ga-tc-i-gE'l-kEL he saw him (see analysis under 2)

n- may be used in place of this prefix.

5. **na-**, before vowels *nal-*. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It refers to recent time exclusive of to-day, more specifically to yesterday. Its use is analogous to that of the preceding. (E. Sapir.)

6. **k-, g-**. This prefix has nominal significance, and designates THE ONE WHO IS, DOES, OR HAS.

k-tgE'-ka-l those who fly (*k-* nominal; *-tgE* they; *-ka* to fly; *-l* always)

k-ck-t-a-xō'-il those two who always make them; (*ck-* they two [transitive subject]; *-t-* them; *-a-* directive before *-x-*; *-xō'-il* to work always)

This prefix is used most frequently with nouns in possessive form, designating THE ONE WHO HAS.

g-i-tā'-ki-kEL-al those who have the power of seeing (*i-* masculine, *-tā-* their; *-ki-* indicates that there is no object; *-kEL* to see; *-al* always)

g-i-lā'-ma^c the one who is shot (*i-* masculine; *-lā-* its; *-ma^c* the condition of being shot)

k-lā'qēwam the one who has shamanistic power (*-lā-* its; *-qēwam* shaman's song)

7. *w-*. This seems to have been at one time the prefix which characterized nouns. It is no longer in general use, but persists in a few terms like *wē'wulē* INTERIOR OF HOUSE, *wē'koa* DAY (Kathlamet), *wēlx* COUNTRY (Kathlamet), and in geographical names like *Waplō'tci* SALAL-BERRIES ON STUMP. It is always followed by the masculine or feminine intransitive pronoun. Its former general use may be inferred from the pronominal form *ō-* of all feminine nouns, which is probably a contraction of *w-* and the ordinary intransitive feminine pronoun *a-*. In Upper Chinook the forms *wi-* and *wa-* are preserved before short words. There is no trace of the former existence of this prefix before the pronominal forms of neuter, dual, and plural, all of which are consonantic, while masculine and feminine are both vocalic (*ē-* and *a-*). It seems probable that its use, like that of *n-*, was confined to vocalic pronouns (§ 17.1).
8. *na-*. This is a nominal prefix indicating locality. It occurs principally in place names, *Nakōt!ā't* (see § 40).

§ 18. Pronominal Elements

It has been stated that the pronominal elements in the verb are subject, first object, second object. The whole series occurs in some transitive verbs only. In form, the subject of the transitive verb is somewhat differentiated from the other forms, while the objective pronouns coincide with the subjects of the intransitive, and are closely related to the personal pronouns which appear attached to nouns.

The possessive has a series of peculiar forms. In the noun the order is personal pronoun, possessive pronoun. Thus the pronouns may be divided into three large groups, which may be called transitive, intransitive, and possessive.

TABLE OF PRONOUNS

	Transitive	Intransitive	Possessive
1st person	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>-tcE- -gE-</i>
Exclusive dual	<i>nt-</i>	<i>nt-</i>	<i>-nt-</i>
Exclusive plural	<i>ntc-</i>	<i>ntc-</i>	<i>-ntc-</i>
Inclusive dual	<i>tx-</i>	<i>tx-</i>	<i>-tx-</i>
Inclusive plural	<i>lx-</i>	<i>lx-</i>	<i>-lx-</i>
2d person singular	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>-m-</i>
2d person dual	<i>mt-</i>	<i>mt-</i>	<i>-mt-</i>
2d person plural	<i>mc-</i>	<i>mc-</i>	<i>-mc-</i>

§ 18

	Transitive	Intransitive	Possessive
3d person singular, masculine	<i>tc-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>-i-</i>
3d person singular, feminine	<i>g-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>-tca- -ga-</i>
3d person singular, neuter	<i>L-</i>	<i>L-</i>	<i>-L-</i>
3d person dual	<i>c-</i>	<i>c- ct-</i>	<i>-ct-</i>
3d person plural	<i>t-</i>	<i>t- (ō-, n-, a-)</i>	<i>-t- -g-</i>
Indefinite	<i>q-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>

It will be seen from this list that most of the forms in the three series are identical. A differentiation exists in the first person and in the third person singular (masculine and feminine). In all these forms the exclusive appears as the dual and plural of the first person, while the inclusive seems to be characterized by the terminal *-x*. *n*- may be interpreted as the first person, *m*- as the second person, *t*- as the characteristic of the dual, and *c* as that of the plural of these persons.

The third person plural exhibits a number of irregularities which will be discussed in § 21.

§ 19. *The Post-Pronominal g*

In a number of cases these pronouns are followed by the sound *g*, which, judging from its irregular occurrence in the present form of the language, may have had a wider application in former times.

(1) The transitive subject (except the first and second persons singular, the third person singular masculine and feminine, and the indefinite *q*) is followed by *g* or *k*, which give to the preceding pronoun its transitive value.

a-L-k-L-ā'-wa^ε it killed it (*a*- transitional; *L*- neuter subject; *-k*- prefix giving the preceding *L*- its transitive character; *-L*- neuter object; *-a*- directive; *-wa^ε* stem TO KILL)

a-t-k-L-ō'-cg-am they took it (*a*- transitional; *t*- they; *-k*- [as above]; *L*- neuter object; *-cg* stem TO TAKE; *-am* completion)

a-n-L-ō'-cg-am I took it (same as last, but with *n*- I as subject, which does not take the following *-k*-)

When followed by a vowel (including *ε*), the *-k*- sound is more like a sonant, and has been written *-g*-. When the subject pronoun is accented, the *ε*, which carries the accent, follows the *g*, so that the transitive pronoun and the *-g*- form a unit.

a-L-g-i-ō'-cg-am it took him (same as above, but with *L*- IT as subject, followed by *-g*- instead of *-k*- before *i*-, which is masculine object)

a-tg-ε'-t-a-x they do them.

(2) The intransitive subject third person plural is followed by *g* in two cases.

(a) When the subject *t* would normally precede the directive element *-ō-* (§ 26.1), this element is omitted, and instead the *t* is followed by *g*.

a-y-ō'-xunē he drifted 24.15 (*a-* transitional; *y-* for *i-* before *ō* HE; *-ō-* directive; *-xunē* stem TO DRIFT)

a-t-gē'-xenē they drift 38.10 (*a-* transitional; *t-* they; *-g-* inserted after subject; *-x-* carries accent [§ 5.1]; *-xenē* stem TO DRIFT)

(b) When the subject *t* is changed to *ō* before *k* stems (§ 9.2; § 21), the *g* follows it when the *k* sound is a stop. It seems, however, more likely that originally this element had *ā* following the *g*.

n-ē'-k'im he said 107.2 (*n-* transitional before vowel [§ 17.1]; *ē-* he; *-k'im-* stem TO SAY)

n-ō-gō'-koim they say 266.5 (*n-* as above; *-o-* third person plural before *k* sound; *-g-* following third person plural before *k* stop; *ō* inserted according to phonetic law [§ 7.4]; *-koim*, *-k'im* stem TO SAY; *o* inserted according to § 7.3)

(3) The possessive pronoun of the third person plural in neuter and plural nouns has the form *-g-*, which probably stands for *tg-*, the *t* being elided between the neuter prefix *l* and the plural prefix *t* respectively, and the *g*. Thus we have

t-g-ā'-qtq-a-kc their heads 165.9 (*t-* plural; *-g-* for *tg-* their; *-ā-* vowel following possessive [§ 23]; *-qtq* stem HEAD; *-a-* connective vowel depending upon terminal consonant of stem; *-kc* plural suffix [§ 38.1])

l-g-ā'-xauyam-t-ikc their poverty 13.18 (*l-* neuter; *-g-* for *tg-* their; *-ā-* vowel following possessive [§ 23]; *-xauyam* poverty; *-t-ikc* plural with connective sound [§ 38.1])

It appears that the *g* occurs most frequently following the third person plural. It seems probable that in these cases, at least, it is derived from the same source. Whether the *g* after the transitive pronoun is of the same origin, is less certain, although it seems likely. This *g* never occurs after objects. The rules given above have the effect that the *g* can not occur in intransitive verbs which contain a reflexive element and in intransitive verbs with indirect objects. It is possible that this may be explained as due to the fact that *all* intransitive pronouns in these cases are really objective. The *g* never appears after the personal pronouns prefixed to the noun.

§ 20. *The Third Person Dual*

The third person dual has two forms, *c-* and *ct-*. *ct-* is used—

(1) As intransitive subject preceding a vowel, except *ε* and its representatives.

Examples of the use of *ct-*:

a-ct-ō'-y-am they two arrive (*a-* transitional; *ct-* third person dual; *-ō-* directive; *-i* stem TO GO; *-am* to complete motion)

ct-ā'qoaiL they two are large

Examples of the use of *c-*:

c-xēlā'itx they two remained

a-cē'-x-a-x they two became (*a-* transitional; *-c* dual; *-x-* reflexive; *-a-* directive before *-x*; *x* to be)

(2) As object of the transitive, when the accent is on the pronominal subject.

Examples of the use of *ct-*:

a-tcē'-ct-u-k^uL he carried their two selves 26.20 (*a-* transitional; *tc-* he [transitive]; *-ε* carries accent; *ct-* them [dual]; *-u-* directive; *-k^uL* stem TO CARRY)

a-lgē'-ct-a-x it did them two (*a-* transitional; *lgē-* neuter subject; *-ct-* they two)

Examples of the use of *c-*:

a-k-c-ō'l_x-am she said to these two (*a-* transitional; *k-* she; *c-* they two; *-ōl_x* to say; *-am* completive)

(3) In all possessive forms.

Lε'-ct-a-qcō their two selves' hair 77.3 (*L-* neuter pronoun; *-ε* carries accent; *ct-* their [dual]; *-a-* vowel following possessive [§ 23]; *-qcō* stem HAIR)

§ 21. *The Third Person Plural*

It has been mentioned before that the third person plural before single *k* sounds, and before adverbial *l* and *n* (§ 25), is *ō-* instead of *t-*. This change occurs both when the pronoun is intransitive subject and when it is first or second object. The transitive subject is always *tg-*, *tk-* (see § 19).

Plural *t-*:

a-t-ē'-x-a-x they came to be on him (*a-* transitional; *t-* they; *ē-* him; *-x* indicates that THEY belonged to HIM; *-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO, TO BE)

a-tc-ε'-t-a-x he did them (*a-* transitional; *tc-* he; *ε-* carries accent; *-t* them; *-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO)

Plural *ō-*:

n-ō'-x-o-x they became (*n-* transitional before vowel; *-ō* they before *k* sound; *-x* reflexive; *-o-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO, TO BE)
a-c-g-ō'-xuina they placed them in the ground (*a-* transitional; *c-* they two; *-g-* marks preceding *c-* as transitive subject; *-ō-* them [before *k* sound]; *-xēna* stem TO STAND [plural])
a-q-t-ā'-w-i-tx somebody gave them to them (*a-* transitional; *q-* indefinite; *t-* them; *-ā'-* inserted in accented syllable before semivowel *w* [§ 5.2*b*]; *-w-* stands for *-ō-* [between two vowels], them; *-i-* stands for *-l-* after preceding *o* [see § 9]; *-tx* stem TO GIVE AWAY)

Before *k* stops, a *-g* is inserted after the subject third person plural, as described in § 19.2*b*.

In a few nouns the third person plural is *n* instead of *t*; for instance:

natē'tanuē Indians
nauā'itk net

Numerals take *a-* instead of *t-* for indicating the plural of human beings (see § 51).

§ 22. *Pronouns of the Transitive Verb*

The first person and the exclusive subject do not occur with a second person object. In place of these combinations we have the forms *yam-*, *yamt-*, *yamc-*, for the combinations I—THEE, I—YOUR TWO SELVES, I—YOU; and *qam-*, *qamt-*, *qamc-*, for the corresponding forms with dual and plural exclusive subject. The inclusive subject can not occur with second person objects, since this would be a reflexive form (see § 24). In transitive verbs with two objects the same irregularities occur when either the first or second object is second person while the first person is subject. In case the second object is second person, the forms begin with the first object.

t-am-l-ō't-a I shall give them to thee (*t-* them; *-am* I—thee; *-l-* to; *-ōt* to give; *-a* future)

The indefinite subject *q-* is peculiar to the transitive.

§ 23. *Possessive Pronoun*

All possessive pronouns are followed by *-a-*, except the first and second persons. The first person is always followed by *ε*, which, after the *-tc-* of the masculine, takes an *î* tinge, while after the *o-* of the feminine it becomes *u* (§ 7.1). The second person is followed by §§ 22, 23

ē. When the accent falls on the possessive pronoun, the *a* is lengthened. If the accent precedes the possessive pronoun, the *a* remains short. In this case the consonantic pronouns introduce an *ɛ* before the possessive (§ 5.1). When followed by *m* and *y*, this *ɛ* is lengthened to *ā* in accordance with the phonetic rules given in § 5.2*b*. The *g* of the first person and of the third person feminine, when following the accent, becomes *kɣ* in accordance with the general tendency to make a *k* following an accent affricative (§ 6.1).

The possessive pronoun exhibits a peculiar modification in the first person and in the third person singular feminine. Masculine nouns have in both cases *-tc-*, while all the other genders have *-g-*.

For the insertion of *-g-* in the third person plural possessive of neuter and plural nouns, see § 19.3.

Examples of possessive forms with accent on possessive pronoun:

- i-tcɛ'-ts!EMENō* my wooden spoon 115.18
ō-gu'-ɣamukc my dog 16.11
L-gɛ'-qacqac my grandfather 211.1
s-gɛ'-ɣanim my (dual) toy canoe 115.21
t-gɛ'-ɣawōk my guardian spirits 211.4
i-mē'-xal thy name 72.26
ō-mē'-putc thy anus 114.1
L-mē'-tata-iks thy uncles 10.12
c-mē'-kɛɣict thy nostrils 113.20
tɛ-mē!-xēqlax thy hunter's protectors 234.10
i-ā'-ok his blanket 74.14
u-yā'-tcinkikala his head wife 74.16
L-iā'-nemckc his wives 74.16
c-iā'-kulq!ast his squinting (on both eyes) 139.5
t-iā'-ɣalaitane-ma his arrows 10.16
i-tcā'-yul!L her pride 74.11
u-gō'-cgan her bucket 115.11
L-gā'-cgane-ma her buckets 115.12
c-gā'-ɣa her two children 14.4
t-gā'-po'tē her arms 115.24
i-lā'-qula their camp 73.15
u-lā'-xk!un their eldest sister 73.15
Lā'wux their younger brother 74.15
c-lā'-amtkct its double spit 93.10
Lā'-uLēma their houses 227.23
t-lā'-ɣilkuē their bushes in canoe 47.10
i-ntā'-ɣanim our two selves' (excl.) canoe 163.4
LE-ntā'-mama our two selves' (excl.) father
i-txā'-kikala our two selves' (incl.) husband 76.12

- ō-txā'-lak* our two selves' (incl.) aunt 116.11
L-txā'-xk'un-ikc our two selves' (incl.) elder brothers 11.19
c-txā'-xamuks our two selves' (incl.) dogs 16.9
txā'-cōlal our two selves' (incl.) relatives 224.12
i-mtā'-k!ē-tēnaz what you two have killed 163.6
ō-mtā'-xamukc your two selves' bitch 16.12
LE-mtā'-naa your two selves' mother 13.24
i-ctā'-mōlak their two selves' elk 115.25
ō-stā'-xamuks their two selves' dog 16.10
L-ctā'-amikct its double spit 96.22
ctā'-xōs their two selves' eyes 129.28
t-ctā'-xti their two selves' smoke 75.22
i-ntcā'-lxam our (excl.) town 234.11
ō-ntcā'-hat!au our (excl.) virgin 150.21
L-ntcā'-xgacgac our (excl.) grandfather 22.20
i-lxā'-xak!emana our (incl.) chief 224.25
o-lxā'-qxalptkix our (incl.) fire 73.21
cī-lxā'-xak!emāna our (incl.) two chiefs 37.10
i-mcā'-xak!emāna your chief 50.3
ō-mcā'-pōtczan your sister-in-law 224.26
LE-mcā'-cguic your mat 173.23
te-mcā'-nemckc your husbands 138.6
i-tā'-lan their rope 227.15
u-tā'-xanīm their canoe 163.16
lgā'-xauyamtikc their poverty 13.18
tgā'-wun-aks their bellies 14.21

Examples of possessive forms with accent preceding the possessive pronoun:

- ē'-tca-mxtc* my heart 12.26
LE'-kxε-ps my foot 41.20
se'-k-xēst my arrogance
te'-kxu-ql my house 24.4
ē'-mī-la thy body
sā'-mē-xēst thy arrogance
tā'-mē-ps thy foot
ā'ya-qcō his skin 115.24
L-ā'ya-qtq his head 73.13
c-ā'ya-qtq his two heads 14.11
t-ā'ya-ql his house 15.12
ē'-tca-qtq its head 223.8
se'-kxa-xēst her arrogance
te'-kxa-ql her house 89.7
ē'-la-tc!a its sickness 196.6
ō'-la-qst its louse 10.21
LE'-la-ps its foot 191.20

- tE'-la-ps* its feet 137.16
ē'-nta-m our two selves' (excl.) father 29.16
tE'-nta-ql'pas our two selves' (excl.) targets 30.12
ē'-txa-m our two selves' (incl.) father 29.11
tE'-txa-ps our two selves' (incl.) feet
tE'-mta-ps your two selves' feet
ē'-cta-tc!a their two selves' sickness 193.18
lE'-cta-qcō their two selves' hair 77.3
tE'-cta-ql their two selves' house 193.4
tE'-ntca-ql our (excl.) house 129.26
tE'-lxa-ql our (incl.) house 225.25

§ 24. Elements Expressing the Possessive Relation Between Subject and Object

When there is a possessive relation between the subject and one of the objects, the element *-x-* is inserted.

(1) After the first object of the transitive verb, it indicates that the object belongs to the subject.

a-g-a-x-ō'-pc-am she hid her own 216.5 (*a-* transitional; *g-* she; *a-* her; *-x-* indicates that the object is possessed by the subject; *-ō-* directive; *-pc* stem TO HIDE; *-am* completion)

(2) After the second object of the transitive, it indicates that the first object belongs to the second.

a-m-l-ā'-x-cg-am you take it (hers) from her 185.16 (*a-* transitional; *m-* thou; *l-* it; *a-* her; *-x-* indicates that IT belongs to HER; *-cg* stem TO TAKE; *-am* completion)

(3) After the intransitive subject, it has the force of a reflexive transitive verb; i. e., it indicates sameness of subject and object.

n-ē'-x-a-x he does himself; i. e., he becomes (*n-* transitional before vocalic pronoun [§ 17.1]; *ē-* he; *-x-* reflexive; *-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO)

a-m-x-ā'-n-el-gu'l-ītck you expressed yourself to me; i. e., you told me 97.10 (*a-* transitional; *m-* thou; *-x-* reflexive; connective *E* with secondary accent becomes *ā-* before *n* [§ 5. 2b]; *n-* me; *-l-* to; *-guL* stem TO TALK; *-tck* inchoative)

(4) After the object of a verb with intransitive subject, it has the force of a transitive reflexive in which subject and second subject are identical.

n-ē'-l-x-a-x he does it in reference to himself; i. e., he becomes from it 244.16 (same analysis as above under 3, with the object *l-* IT inserted)

§ 25. *Adverbial Prefixes*

A number of adverbial ideas—particularly those defining the relation of the verb to the object, and corresponding to some of our prepositions—are expressed by prefixes which follow the pronouns. The adverbial character of these elements appears in forms like—

a-q-ē-l-gi-tk somebody placed him near by (*a-* transitional; *q-* some one; *ē-* him; *-l-* to; *-gi-* eliminates one object [§ 26.4]; *-tk* stem TO PLACE)

The verbal idea is to place near, and the form is purely transitive. The same construction appears clearly in—

a-L-g-i-gē'l-tcxem it sings for him 260.17 (*a-* transitional; *L-* it; *-g-* post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; *i-* him; *-gēl-* on account of; *-tcxem* TO SING SHAMAN'S SONG)

These examples show that the prefixes do not belong to the objects, but that they qualify the verb. Following is a list of these prefixes:

1. *-l-* TO, FOR.

L-ā'-l-ō-c it was to (in) her 71.6 (*L-* it; *a-* her; *-l-* to; *-ō-* directive; *-c* stem TO BE)

a-c-k-L-ē'-l-ō-kL they two carried it to him 29.9 (*a-* transitional; *c-* they two; *-k-* post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; *L-* it; *ē-* him; *-l-* to; *-ō-* directive; *-kL* stem TO CARRY).

The third person plural of the pronoun, when preceding this *-l-*, has the form *ō* (§ 21). In this case the *-l-* changes to *-ē-* (§ 9.1), and the *ō* is then weakened to *w*.

a-q-t-a-w-ē'-m-aku-x they distributed them to (among) them 246.10 (*a-* transitional; *q-* somebody; *t-* them; (*-a-*) probably connective; *-w-* for *ō-* them; *-ē-* for *-l-* after *o*; *-m* stem TO HAND [?]; *-ako* about; *-x* usitative)

2. *-n-* IN, INTO.

a-tc-a-LE-n-gā'n-ait he threw her into it 173.6 (*a-* transitional; *tc-* he; *a-* her; *L-* it; *-n-* into; *-gen* stem TO PLACE changed to *gān* on account of accent [§ 5. 2b]; *-ait* to be in position)

s-ā'-n-pō-t she closed her eyes 47.18 (*s-* they two; *ā-* her; *-n-* in; *-pō* stem TO CLOSE; *-t* perfect)

3. *-k-* ON.

a-L-g-ō'-tḡ she stands on it 191.20 (*a-* she; *L-* it; *-g-* on; *-ō-* directive; *-tḡ* stem TO STAND)

a-LE'-n-ka-t-ka it comes flying above me (*a-* transitional; *L(E)-* it; *n-* me; *-k(a)-* on; *-t-* coming; *-ka* stem TO FLY)

m-a-n-k-ō'-t̄x-umit-a you will make her stand on me 24.13 (*m-* thou; *a-* her; *n-* me; *-k-* on; *-ō-* directive; *-t̄x* stem TO STAND; *-(u)mit* to cause [§ 29]; *-a* future)

4. **-gEl-** ON ACCOUNT OF.

a-l-g-i-gē'l-tcxem-x it sings on account of him 260.17 (*a-* transitional; *L-* it; *-g-* post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; *i-* him; *-gEl-* on account of; *-tcxem* stem TO SING SHAMAN'S SONG; *-x* usitative [§ 32.11])

mc-g-a-n-gēl-ō'-tg-a ye shall keep her for me (*mc-* ye; *-g-* [§ 19.1]; *a-* her; *n-* me; *-gEl-* on account of; *-ō-* directive; *-tg* stem TO PUT; *-a* future)

4a. **-xEl-** reflexive form of *-gEl-* ON ACCOUNT OF. In many cases the translation FOR, ON ACCOUNT OF, does not fit in this case, although the etymological relation is clear.

n-ā'-L-xEl-a-x̄ she makes it for herself 267.2 (*n-* transitional before vowel; *a-* she; *L-* it; *-xEl-* on account of; *-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO, TO MAKE)

a-l-a-xē'l-tciam it combed her for itself; i. e., she combed herself 13.2 (*a-* transitional; *L-* it; *a-* her; *-xEl-* on account of; *-tciam* stem COMBING)

5. **-gEm-** WITH, NEAR.

a-q-l-gem-ō'-t̄x-uit somebody stands near it 238.4 (*a-* transitional; *q-* some one, transitive subject; *L-* it; *-gem-* near; *-ō-* directive; *-t̄x* stem TO STAND; *-(u)it* to be in a state [§ 29])

a-l-x-l-gē'm-^εapko-x it steamed itself near it (*a-* transitional; *L-* it; *-x-* reflexive; *L-* it; *-gem-* near; *-^εapko* stem TO STEAM; *-x* usitative)

5a. **-xEm-** reflexive form of *-gem-* WITH, NEAR.

n-i-n-xem-tcē'na he lays me near himself; i. e., I lay him near me (*n-* transitional before vowel; *i-* he; *n-* me; *-xEm-* near; *-tcē'na* stem TO LAY)

c-xem-l-ā'it they two stood near each other 228.25 (*c-* they two; *-xEm-* near; *-l-* stem TO MOVE [?]; *-a-it* to be in a position)

6. **-x̄-** ON THE GROUND.

ē'-x̄-ō-c he is on the ground 39.18 (*ē-* he; *-x̄-* on ground; *-ō-* directive; *-c* stem TO BE)

7. **-^εEl-**. No translation can be given for this element, which appears in a position analogous to the other adverbs in a few verbal stems.

-^εEl-kEl to see

-^εEl-gē'l-ako to uncover

-^εEl-tatkc to leave

§ 26. *Directional Prefixes*

I use this term for a group of prefixes which are difficult to classify. One of them designates undoubtedly the direction toward the speaker, another one negates the direction toward an object, and a third one seems to imply direction from the actor. For this reason I have applied the term "directional prefixes," although its propriety is not quite certain.

1. *-ō-*, a very frequent verbal prefix which seems to indicate motion away from the actor, although this significance does not readily apply in all cases. This prefix occurs with most verbs and immediately precedes the stem.

a-tc-i-ō'-cg-am he takes him 135.9 (*-ō-* directive; *-cg* stem TO TAKE; *-am* completive)

i-ō'-c he is (*-ō-* directive; *-c* stem TO BE)

When the stem begins with a velar, a glottal stop, or a *w*, the *-ō-* changes to *-a-*, but, when not accented, it remains *-o-* before stems beginning with *w*.

a-tc-i-ā'-wa^ε he killed him 23.20 (*-a-* directive; *-wa^ε* stem TO KILL)

tcE-n-u-wu'l^ε-aya he will eat me 212.15

a-tcE'-t-a-x he did them 9.5 (*-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO)

a-tc-ā'y-a-qc he bit him 9.9 (*-a-* directive; *-qc* stem TO BITE)

a-q-i-a-^εō'nim some one laughs at him 184.3 (*-a-* directive; *-^εōnim* stem TO LAUGH)

This change is evidently secondary, and an older form—in which *ō* was used in all cases, as we find it now in Upper Chinook—must have existed. This is proved by the persistence of *o* in place of all *a* vowels that occur after this stem, even when the directive *o* is changed into *a*.

tc-i-n-l-ā'-x-ō he will make him for me 69.25 (terminal *-ō* for future *-a*, as would be required by the laws of vocalic harmony if the directive *-a-* before the stem *-x* had remained *-ō-*)

a-tc-t-ā'-x-ōm he reached them 191.12 (terminal *-ōm* for *-am*)

This explanation does not account for a form like *naiga't!ōm* SHE REACHES HIM, in which the change from *am* to *-ōm* follows the fortis which stands for *tq*. (See § 29.4.)

The directional *-ō-* is never used with imperatives. As stated in § 22, the imperative of the transitive verb has also no subject.

Intransitive imperatives:

mE'-t_x-wit stand up! 211.21 (*m-* thou; *-t_x* to stand; *-wit* suffix [§ 29.1])

mE'-x-a-x do! 15.25 (*m-* thou; *-x* reflexive; *-a* directive; *-x* to do)

mE'-Lx-a go to the beach 175.16 (*m-* thou; *-Lx* to the beach; *-a* future)

Transitive imperatives:

ē'-cg-am take him! 43.8 (*ē-* him; *-cg-* to take; *-am* completion)

ā'-latck lift her! 15.7 (*a-* her; *-latck* to lift)

ā'-t-kL-a carry her here! 15.24 (*a-* her; *-t-* here [§ 26.2]; *-kL* to carry; *-a* future)

sE'-pēna jump! 16.3 (*sE-* THEM TWO, namely, the legs; *-pēna* to jump)

2. *-t-* designates direction toward the speaker.

a-k-L-E'-t-kL-am she brought it 124.24 (*-t-* toward speaker; *-kL* stem TO BRING; *-am* completion)

a-LE'-t-ga it comes flying 139.1 (*-t-* toward speaker; *-ga* to fly)

a-LE'-n-ka-t-ga it comes flying over me (*-k-* on)

3. *-t-* potentiality, *i. e.*, the power to perform an act moving away from the actor, without actual motion away. This prefix is identical with the preceding, but, according to its sense, it never occurs with the transitional.

tc-LE-t-x he can do it 61.8 (*-t-* potential; *-x* stem TO DO)

q-tE'-t-piALx-ax somebody can gather them 94.15 (*-t-* potential; *-piALx* stem TO GATHER; *-x* usitative)

4. *-ki-* negates direction toward an object, and thus eliminates one of the two objects of transitive verbs with two objects, and transforms transitive verbs into intransitives.

a-q-i-L-gEM-ō'-kte-x somebody pays him to it 261.23 (*-gEM-* with, near; *-ō-* directive; *-kte* thing; *-x* usitative)

a-tc-a-gEM-ki'-ktē he paid her 161.9 (*-gEM-* with; *-ki-* eliminates first object; *-kte* thing)

a-L-k-L-ō-kct it looked at it 256.8 (*-ō-* directive; *-kct* stem TO LOOK)

a-LE'-ki-kct it looked 218.9 (*-ki-* eliminates object; *-kct* stem TO LOOK)

The interpretation of these forms is not quite satisfactory. The element *-t* occurs also as the stem TO COME, and the forms *ā'nō*, *ā'lō* I, IT WENT, suggest that *-ō* may be a stem of motion. If this is the case, the first and third prefixes of this class might rather form compound stems with a great variety of other stems. The potential *-t-*

and the intransitive *-ki-*, on the other hand, do not seem to occur as stems that can be used with pronominal elements alone.

Attention may be called here to the analogy between the prefixes *-gel-* and *-gem-* and their reflexives *-xel-* and *-xem-* (§ 25) and the two forms *-ki-* and *-x-*. However, since *-ki-* never occurs with following directive *-ō-* or *-a-*, while *-x-* appears frequently combined with it, this analogy may be due to a mere coincidence.

It would seem that the directive *-ō-* is always retained after *l-*, and sometimes after *-gel-*, *-gem-*, *-xel-*, *-xem-*, but that it never occurs with other adverbial elements.

§ 27. Verbal Stems

The verbal stems are either simple or compound. It was stated in the preceding section that what we called the prefixes *-t-* and *-ō-* may be stems expressing TO COME and TO GO. There are a number of verbal stems which appear with great frequency in composition, and almost always as second elements of verbal compounds. All of these express local ideas. They are:

- (1) *-pa* motion out of.
- (2) *-p!* motion into.
- (3) *-wulxt* motion up.
- (4) *-tcu* motion down.
- (5) *-lx* motion from cover to open.
- (6) *-ptck* motion from open to cover.

We find, for instance—

n-ē'-t-p! he comes in 211.18 (*-t* toward speaker; *-p!* motion into)

a-l-ō'-pa he goes out 46.8 (*-ō-* directive; *-pa* motion out of)

a-k-l-ō'-kct-ptck she carries it up from the beach 163.11 (*-kct-* to carry; *-ptck* motion from open to cover, especially up from beach)

a-n-ō'-tct-wulxt I travel up in canoe (*-tct* motion on water; *-wulxt* motion upward)

There are a few cases in which these verbs appear in first position in the compound verb.

n-ē'-lx-lait he goes to the beach and stays there (*-lx* motion from cover to open, especially from land to sea; *-lait* to stay)

Compounds of nouns and verbs are much rarer.

a-tc-a-i-ne-mō'k!-^εoya-kō he makes her (the breath) in his throat be between; *i. e.*, he chokes him (*-n-* in; *-mōk-* throat; *-^εoya* to be between; *-akō* around)

Here belong also the compounds with *t!ō* WELL

ē-t!ō'-cg-am hold him well! 44.15 (*-t!ō-* well; *-cg* to take, hold; *-am* completion)

The idea AROUND (*-akō*) does not seem to occur independently, and is therefore treated in the next section.

Suffixes (§§ 28-33)

§ 28. GENERAL REMARKS

According to their significance and position, the verbal suffixes may be classified in five groups:

First, generic suffixes:

1. *-a-it* to be in a position.
2. *-amit* to cause.
3. *-x'it* to be made to.
4. *-am* to complete a motion, to go to.

Second, local suffixes:

5. *-ako* around.

Third, semi-temporal suffixes:

6. *-tck* to begin.
7. *-l* repetition, so far as characteristic of an action.
8. *-L* continued repetition.
9. *-em* repetition at distinct times.
10. *-a-itx* habitually.

Fourth, temporal and semi-temporal suffixes, always following the preceding group:

11. *-x* customary.
12. *-t* perfect.
13. *-a* future.

Fifth, terminal suffixes:

14. *-ē* successful completion.

On the whole, the suffixes appear in the order here given, although sometimes a different order seems to be found. In the following list the combinations of suffixes so far as found are given.

§ 29. GENERIC SUFFIXES

1. ***-a-it* TO BE IN A POSITION.** Followed by *-amit* (2), *-x'it* (3), *-tck* (6), and all the suffixes of the fourth group.

a-y-ō'-L-a-it he sits, he is 212.16 (*-ō* directive; *-L* stem TO SIT)
a-k-L-a-qā'n-a-it she laid it 44.9 (*-a* directive before *q*; stem *-qEN* [accented before vowel becomes *-qā'n*] LONG THING LIES)

After *k* sounds with *u* tinge, this ending is *-uit*; after a terminal *o*, it seems to be *-it*.

from stem <i>-tx^u</i> to stand	<i>mɛ'-tx-uit</i> stand!
from stem <i>-ck^u</i> hot	<i>a-l-ō'-ck-uit</i> it is hot 174.13
from stem <i>-x</i> to do	<i>lx-a-x-ō'it-a</i> we shall do 136.14

2. **-amit** TO CAUSE. Preceded by *-a-it* (1); followed by *-ako* (5), *-l* (7), *-em* (9), and all the suffixes of the fourth group.

a-l-g-ō-l-ā'it-amit it causes her to sit 249.3 (combined with *-a-it*)
a-tc-ō'-kctikt-amit he roasted her 94.4

After a terminal *o*, the two vowels *o* and *a* are contracted to *ō*.

a-tc-i-u-ngō'-mit he causes him to run (= he carries him away)

3. **-x'it**, with intransitive verbs, TO BE CAUSED; with transitive verbs, this suffix forms a passive. Preceded by *-a-it* (1), *-tck* (6); followed by all the suffixes of the fourth group.

a-l-u-wā'-x'it it is caused to be pursued
a-n-o-qun-ā'it-x'it I was caused to lie down 45.5
a-y-ō-lā'-tcku-x'it he was made to begin to rise 137.5

4. **-am** TO COMPLETE A MOTION, TO GO TO. Followed by all the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

a-tc-i-'t-kL-am he came to take him 26.6
n-i-xa-t-ngō'-p!-am he arrives inside running

When the directive *-o-* is changed to an *-a-* before *k* sound, and when, in accordance with the law of harmony, the *a* in *am* would have to be changed into *-ō-*, this change is made, even though the *a* before the *k* sound is substituted for the *-ō-*.

a-tc-t-a'-x-ōm he did them reaching (he reached them)
a-q-l-g-a'-ē-ōm some one met it 117.24

This *-ō-* is retained even where the *-t-* is substituted for *-o-*.

n-a-i-ga'-t!-ōm she reached him (for *naiqa'tqam*)

After *l*, *n*, *a*, *ē*, *i*, *ō*, *ū* this ending takes the form *-mam*.

lgā'lēmam go and take it 25.26
ēxtk'inēmam go and search for him 25.14
n-xōquīlē'mama I shall go to shoot birds
aLgōquixē'mam they invited them 98.19
aqaxiktqō'mam one gives her in marriage 250.19

The form *ayō'yam* HE ARRIVES, from *ā'yō* HE GOES, forms an apparent exception to this rule. Presumably the verb TO GO contains a stem *-y-* which is suppressed in some forms.

§ 30. LOCAL SUFFIXES

5. **-ako** AROUND. Preceded by *-amit* (2); followed by *-x* (11), *-it* (1).

With *-L* it amalgamates by metathesis (see § 31.8).

m-i-t-el-m-ā'kō you distribute him among them 154.4

n-ē'-x-L-akō he goes around him 88.24

n-ē-x-k!ē'ni-akō he wraps it around himself 138.9

The significance of this suffix is often only inadequately rendered by the word AROUND.

a-n-ē'-x-k-akō I get the better of him

a-q-i-ē-ēl-gē'l-akō cover is taken off 329.6

n-i-xē'qaw-akō he dreams 22.11

Preceded by *-amit*:

a-q-i-xL-ā'mit-akō some one was made to be around him

Followed by *-it*:

a-L-awē-ā'y-aku-it he inclosed them

§ 31. SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES

6. **-tck** TO BEGIN. Preceded by *-a-it* (1), *-ako* (5); followed by *-am* (4) and the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

n-ā'-wi-tck she dances (*ā'-wi-l* she dances always)

n-kLē'wa-tck I begin to paddle (*n-kLē'wa-l* I am paddling)

7. **-l** repetition, as characteristic of an action. Followed by *-mam* (4), *-em* (9), *-a-itx* (10), and the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

a-g-i-ō'-l-el she shook him 72.24

n-ē'-k-Lxē-l he crawled about 95.14

a-tg-i-o-mēl-ā'l-emam-x they went to buy him 260.15 (*-āl* on account of accent preceding *l*)

These forms are used very often with verbal nouns:

ē-ctxu-l what is carried on back

ē'-tçem-al what is boiled 185.7

k-tgē'-ka-l those who fly 60.5

After *n* as terminal sound of the stem, the *l* of this suffix becomes *n* (see § 8).

8. **-L** continued repetition. This suffix exhibits a number of curious traits in the manner in which it enters into combination with words. It is only rarely suffixed without causing changes in the preceding elements of the word. Often after *t*, *m*, *x*, *u*, it appears in the form *-niL*.

k-c-ūl-a'-ē-ōm-niL always arriving

a-cg-i-ā'-qc-im-niL they two took him here and there

lk-c-ül-pē'xu-niL she blows it up 238.16
lg-ē'-ctxo-niL he will carry him on his back 110.9
k-lk-t-ō-lā't-niL one who always shoots (disease) 200.16
a-tc-L-el-ē-em-niL he always gives food to him 22.12

In certain cases, perhaps by assimilation or metathesis, an *-l-* appears inserted in the syllable preceding the suffix *-L*.

<i>a-tc-L-ō'-tipa</i> he dips it up	<i>n-L-ō-tē'lipL</i> I dip it up often
<i>a-g-i-ō'-lapa</i> she digs it out	<i>a-k-L-ō-lā'lepL</i> she digs it often
<i>a-yā'm-xg-akō</i> I am before you	<i>a-yam-xg-ā'lukL</i> I am always be- fore you
<i>a-lk-t-ā'-wul^ε</i> it eats them 45.27	<i>i-k!ē'-wul^εlqL</i> food

Following an *m* or *n* the inserted sound is generally *n*.

<i>a-lk-c-i-k-lkā'n-akō</i> it steps across	<i>a-lk-c-i-k-lkā'n^ulukLx</i> she steps across 264.14
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9. **-Em** distribution at distinct times, probably related to *-ma* (see § 38.2). Preceded by *-amit* (2), *-l* (8); followed usually by *-x* (11).

a-tc-L-kxōtē'qo-im-x he always stood on them severally 98.6
a-lg-i-o-pcō'tet-em-x he hides it everywhere 199.18
a-L-x-ā'-x-um-x they always did here and there 228.8

10. **-a-itx** HABITUALLY. Always terminal; often preceded by *-em* (9), and *-L* (8).

a-L-x-ε'ō'tōL-a-itx she always bathes 256.14 (probably with *-L* [8])
a-y-ō'-tx-uit-a-itx he always stood 109.2
a-lk-L-ō-lā'lepL-a-itx they are in the habit of digging continually
74.18

§ 32. TEMPORAL AND SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES

11. **-x** CUSTOMARY. Preceded by all prefixes except *-ē* (14).
a-lk-t-ō'-k^uL-x it is customary that they carry them 267.16
a-L-x-ε'ō't-am-x it is customary that she goes bathing 245.11
12. **-t** PERFECT. Preceded by all suffixes; followed by *-ē*.
tg-i-ā'-wa-t they have followed him 139.2
tc-i-qe'n-xāō-t-ē he has taken care of him 133.20
13. **-a** FUTURE. Preceded by all suffixes. This suffix draws the accent toward the end of the word.
n-i-o-cg-ā'm-a I shall take him
q-o-piā'lx-a some one will catch her 15.19

In those cases in which the suffix *-am* takes the form *-ōm* (see p. 605), namely, after *k* sounds, which would normally require *o*

in harmony with the directive *-o-* that has changed to *-a-*, the future is *-o*.

tc-i-n-l-ā'-x-ō he will make him for me 70.6

After stems ending in a vowel the future is generally *-ya*.

m-xa-t-gō'-ya you will come back 212.2

yam-xōnenemā'-ya I shall show you 234.11

In Kathlamet the future has also a prefix, *a-* or *al-* (see § 17.3).

§ 33. TERMINAL SUFFIX

14. *-ē* SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION. This suffix is always terminal. Its significance is not quite certain.

n-i-gō'-ptcg-am-ē finally he came up to the woods 166.8

It occurs very often with the meaning ACROSS.

a-tc-ā'-k-xonē he carried her across on his shoulder 27.8

mc-i-gō'tct-am-a-ē you will get across 51.6

The Noun (§§ 34-43)

§ 34. GENDER

The pronominal parts of the noun have been discussed in § 18. It is necessary to discuss here the gender of nouns.

Nouns may be masculine, feminine, neuter, dual, or plural. It would seem that originally these forms were used with terms having natural gender, with sexless objects, and objects naturally dual and plural. At present the use of these elements has come to be exceedingly irregular, and it is almost impossible to lay down definite rules regarding their use.

In the following a summary of the use of gender and number will be given.

(1) Masculine and feminine respectively are terms designating men and women.

In all these terms the idea of indefiniteness of the individual, corresponding to the indefinite article in English, may be expressed by the neuter; like *ikā'nax* THE CHIEF, *Lkā'nax* A CHIEF.

Masculine	Feminine
<i>ī'kala</i> man	<i>ō'ō'kuil</i> woman
<i>ik!āsk</i> boy	<i>ōk!ōsk</i> girl
<i>iq!oa'lipx</i> youth	<i>ōxō't!au</i> virgin
<i>ē'pl'au</i> widower	<i>ō'pl'au</i> widow
<i>iq!ēyō'qxut</i> old man	<i>ōq!oeyō'qxut</i> old woman
<i>ēla'ētix</i> male slave	<i>ōla'ētix</i> female slave

(2) Large animals are masculine, as:

badger -*penpen* (-*p'ē'cxac*,
Kathlamet) L; feminine
SKUNK
bear, black -*i'tsxut* (-*sqē'ntxoa*,
Kathlamet)
bear, cinnamon -*t!Ek*
bear, grizzly -*cā'yim*
beaver -*ēna*, -*qoa-inē'nē*
(-*qā'nuk*, Kathlamet)
bird (sp. ?) -*tcu'yam*
bird (sp. ?) -*pō'ēpoē*
bird -*qsō'tlotōt*
bullfrog -*q!oatē'xēxē*
deer -*mā'cēn* (-*lā'lax*, Kathla-
met)
coyote -*t!ā'lapas*
rat -*qā'lapas* (Kathlamet)
buffalo -*tō'iha*
crane -*qoā'sqoas*
crow (mythical name) -*laq!ō'*
duck (sp. ?) -*wē'guic*
eagle, bald-headed -*ninē'xō*
elk -*mō'lak*
a small fish -*qalē'xlēx*
fish-hawk -*l'lcap*
grass-frog -*q!ēnō'nēqēn*
gull -*qonē'qonē*
hawk -*t!ē't!ē*
heron -*q!oa'sk!oai*, -*'qulqul*
horse -*kē'utan*
humming-bird -*'tsentsēn*
blue jay -*qē'cqēc*
kingfisher -*pō'tselal*
lizard (?) -*kinē'pet*
mallard-duck (male) -*cimē'wat*

mink -*'galēllx*, -*pō'sta* (-*kō'sa-*
it, Kathlamet)
mountain-goat -*cī'xq*
mussel, small -*tgūē* (*matk*)
mussel, large -*niā'* (*matk*)
otter -*nanā'muks*
owl -*qoē'lqoēl*
oyster -*lō'xlōx*
panther -*k!oa'yawc*
pike -*'qoqo*
porcupine -*cēlqēlq*
rabbit -*skē'epxoa* (-*kanaxmē'-*
nēm, Kathlamet)
raccoon -*q!oala's* (-*latā't*,
Kathlamet)
raven -*koalē'xoa*
salmon, fall -*qēlēma*
salmon, spring -*gu'nat*
salmon, steel-head -*goanē'x'*
sea-lion -*gē'pix' L*
sea-otter -*lā'kē*
shag -*'paowē*
shark -*k!ā'yicx*
skate -*aiā'iu*
snake -*tciau*
sperm whale -*'mok'txi*
squirrel -*k!ā'uten*
sturgeon -*nā'qōn*
sturgeon, green -*kalē'nax*
swan -*qelō'q*
turtle -*'laxoa*
whale -*'kolē*
lynx -*puk*
wolf -*lē'q'am*
woodpecker -*qstō'konkon*

(3) Small animals are feminine, as:

beetle -*'bic*
bird (sp. ?) -*pē'qciuc*
bird (sp. ?) -*tc!ē'nakoāēkoāē*
sea-bird (sp. ?) -*lqekc*
sea-bird (sp. ?) -*cxulē'x*
chicken-hawk -*'npitc*

chipmunk -*'tsikin* (-*gusgu's*,
Kathlamet)
mud clam -*'i'ē*
fresh-water clam -*'sala*
cormorant -*'waniō*
crane -*q!ucpalē'*

crow -'k!unō (-t!ā'ntsa, Kathlamet)
 killer-whale -gaLā'mat
 dogfish (see shark) -q!oā'icx
 eagle -tc!aktc!ā'k
 fawn of deer -q!ē'xcap
 fish (sp. ?) -nā'wan
 fish (sp. ?) -k!otaqē'
 fish (sp. ?) -'LElō
 flounder -'pkicx
 frog -cuē'eē
 halibut -Ltc!alō'c (said to be borrowed from Quinault)
 louse -'qct
 maggot -'moa
 mallard-duck (female) -goē'x-goēx
 mole -cē'ntan
 mosquito -'p!onats!Ekts!Ek
 mouse -kō'lɣul (-cō, Kathlamet)
 newt -qosā'na, -latsē'mENmEN
 screech-owl -'cɣux

(4) Very few animals are neuter, as:

bird -lā'lax (-p!e'cp!Ec, Kathlamet)
 dog -kē'wisx (-k!u'k!ut, Kathlamet)

(5) Almost all nouns expressing qualities are masculine, as:

-nu'kstx smallness
 -'(k!e)sīL sharpness
 -'xalx'tē flatness
 -'pik heavy weight
 -'ts!axan large belly
 -'wa expense
 -'q!atxal badness
 -'q!ē'latx'ēna meanness
 -lq!ē'latx'ita quiet
 -'yUL!l pride
 -'k!oac(ē'ōmī) fear
 -kā'kɣUL homesickness (subject of transitive verb)
 -kanā'tē life
 -tsā'tsa cold

pheasant (?) -ni'ctɣuc
 pigeon -qamEN
 porgy -qalɣt!e'mɣ
 porpoise -kō'tckōtc
 robin -tsiā'stsias
 salmon, calico -'laatcɣ
 salmon, silver-side -'qawEN
 salmon, blue-back -tsoyēha
 seal -'lxaiu (-qē'sgoax, Kathlamet)
 sea-lion, young -'xoē
 skunk -pENpEN (masculine BADGER)
 snail -ts!EMē'nzan
 snail -ts!EMō'ikɣan
 snail -L!ē'xtan
 snipe -ē'xsa
 teal-duck -munts!ē'kts!ēk
 trout -p!ā'lō
 trout (?) -q!ē'xonē
 woodpecker (female) -'kɣULpa
 woodpecker (male) -ntciawī'ct
 wasp -'pa

shellfish (sp. ?) -k!iLa'ta
 crab -qalxē'la (= one who crawls much)

-'lkuilē similarity
 -'tukltx good luck
 -'tc!a sickness
 -'p!onENkan blindness
 -'kunanEM diligence
 -(ki)ma'tct(ami) shame
 -'L!kin bow legs
 -'Lk!ōp being squeezed out (= one-eyed)
 -qē'wam sleepiness (subject of transitive verb, and possessive)
 -'tc!pux round head (= forehead)
 -'p!aqa flat head

- <i>mENukt</i> blackened face	- <i>t!ōxakamit</i> (= good mind) cleverness
- <i>'(ki)matck</i> spots, painted face	- <i>L!mē'nxut</i> lie of a male (sub- ject of transitive verb)
- <i>'tckc</i> stench	- <i>gō'LGēē</i> lie of a female (sub- ject of transitive verb)
- <i>'q!ES</i> sweet smell	- <i>'ma^c</i> act of hitting (= to hit)
- <i>'ts!ēmEN</i> sweetness	- <i>'kakamit</i> mind (= to think)
- <i>'L!L</i> bitterness	- <i>'qalqt</i> a wail (= to wail)
- <i>'Lēlam</i> ten	- <i>'kux</i> smell (= to smell)
- <i>'k!amōnak</i> hundred	
- <i>'t!ōwil</i> experience (from <i>t!ō</i> good)	
- <i>'(ke)t!ōi</i> } skill	
- <i>'t!ōxōtskin</i> }	

The following are exceptions:

	Feminine	
- <i>x^ti</i> smokiness (= cataract of eye)		- <i>'m^cō</i> what is chewed
- <i>'lō</i> hunger (subject of tran- sitive verb)		- <i>'qōtck</i> cold in head
	Neuter	
- <i>xax</i> sadness		- <i>'xauyam</i> what excites sym- pathy
- <i>'patseu</i> red head		
	Plural	
- <i>'k^uLil</i> custom		- <i>(ki)pā'lau</i> witchcraft
- <i>'kⁱLau</i> taboo		- <i>'katakox</i> cleverness

(6) The verbal noun corresponding to the past-passive participle is generally masculine, as:

- <i>'LxalEmax</i> what is eaten	- <i>'k!ē'wulal</i> what has been picked
- <i>'tcxEmal</i> what is boiled	- <i>'xōtckin</i> work
- <i>'ctxul</i> what is carried	

Exceptions to this rule are—

- <i>ō'mēl</i> purchase money	<i>liā'pōna</i> what has been brought to him
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(7) Nouns formed from particles are generally masculine, as:

- <i>yūL!l</i> pride (from <i>yūL!l</i>)	- <i>gīLq!up</i> cut (from <i>Lq!up</i>)
- <i>k!ē'wax</i> flower (from <i>wax</i>)	- <i>gē'L!mENL!mEN</i> syphilis from <i>L!mEN</i> rotten)
- <i>waxō'mi</i> copper (from <i>wax</i>)	
- <i>k!wac^cō'mi</i> fear (from <i>k!wac</i>)	

(8) No rules can be given for the gender of other nouns.

Masculine are, for instance:

- <i>mā'ma</i> pewter wort	- <i>qtcō</i> hair, skin with hair
- <i>L^a</i> body	- <i>qōt</i> eye
- <i>qtq</i> head	- <i>kacx</i> nose

-*cqL* mouth, beak, bill
 -*mist* beak
 -*tuk* neck
 -*mxtc* heart
 -*to* breast
 -*wan* belly
 -*itcɣ* tail
 -*pote* arm
 -*pā'tpat* net
 -*'tceltcel* brass buttons
 -*kupku'p* short dentalia
 -*qā'lzal* gambling-disks
 -*L!alL!al* gambling-disks
 -*q!ā'lq!al* short baton
 -*qō'mxōm* cedar-bark basket
 -*L!wwalkL!walk* mud
 -*q!ē'qotqot* fever
 -*'pqunɣ* large round spruce-
 root basket (f. small round
 spruce-root basket)
 -*ctc!ē'ct* clam basket
 -*'mal* bay, sea, river
 -*ē'k* blanket
 -*'lk'au* cradle
 -*'qēL* creek, brook
 -*'ktcxem* dance of shaman
 -*'Lq* digging-stick
 -*'am* dish
 -*'pqōn* down of bird
 -*'qcil* fish-trap

-*ci'kc* friend
 -*'pxil* grease
 -*'lɣ* ground, earth
 -*'Lan* short thong, string, pin
 for blanket
 -*'cgan* cedar (f. bucket, cup;
 n. plank)
 -*'tsōL* harpoon-shaft
 -*'msta* hat
 -*'tōL* heat
 -*'k'ik* hook
 -*kā'pa* ice
 -*'paqc* boil, itch
 -*'kzōn* leaf
 -*'m^εecɣ* log, tree, wood (f. ket-
 tle)
 -*'Lkuilɣ* mat
 -*pā'kɣal* mountain
 -*'sik* paddle
 -*'^εapta* roe
 -*'pa-it* rope
 -*'nɣat* plank
 -*gō'cax* sky
 -*'tcxa* point of sealing-spear
 -*kā'wok* shaman's guardian
 spirit
 -*'c^εō* horn spoon
 -*'maktc* spruce
 -*qā'nakc* stone (f. large bowl-
 der)

Feminine are, for instance,

-*'kta* thing
 -*'gat* wind
 -*'^εelqel* polypodium
 -*cā'qcaq* pteris
 -*p!ō'xp!ōx* elbow
 -*tcxō'ltcxōl* lungs
 -*se'qseq* buck-skin
 -*k!oyē'k!oyē* finger-ring
 -*qa'cgas* sealing-spear
 -*'^εwisqwis* breaking of wind
 -*'Lk!enLk!en* open basket
 -*'lexlex* scales
 -*'lemlem* rotten wood

-*tspux* forehead
 -*utca* ear
 -*atcx* tooth
 -*^εatcx* chest
 -*mō'kuē* throat
 -*'kutcɣ* bark
 -*'putc* anus
 -*'kci* finger
 -*'pxa* alder-bark
 -*^εl^ε'm* bark
 -*'pL!ikē* bow
 -*lē'qtsen* box
 -*pā'utc* crab-apple

- <i>alēptkix</i> fire	- <i>gu'nkɣun</i> salal-berry
- <i>'gal</i> fish-weir	- <i>'skL</i> sinew
- <i>'lalɣ</i> camass	- <i>'tcin</i> stump, foot of tree
- <i>'tcala</i> grindstone	- <i>'ā' lax</i> sun
- <i>'mala</i> marrow, kernel	- <i>'ē'ɣatk</i> trail
- <i>'pul</i> night, darkness	- <i>mō'tan</i> twine of willow-bark
- <i>mā'p</i> plank	- <i>'pcam</i> piece of twine
- <i>gā'wē</i> raspberry	- <i>tcā'nix</i> wedge
- <i>'mopa</i> rushes	- <i>'plɣ</i> well

Neuter are, for instance,

- <i>tsE'xtsɛx</i> gravel, thorn	- <i>qoaq</i> blanket
- <i>qulā'ē'ula</i> egg	- <i>'a'tcau</i> grease
- <i>paā</i> nape	- <i>'skuic</i> mat bag
- <i>list</i> tail of fish	- <i>'tō</i> milk, breast
- <i>'wit</i> leg	- <i>tcuq</i> water
- <i>pc</i> foot	- <i>kcku'</i> pitch wood
- <i>qlq</i> armor	

The number of these words that appear *only* in the neuter gender is so small that we may almost suspect that the neuter was until recently indefinite and used to indicate both indefinite singular and plural.

§ 35. DUAL AND PLURAL

(1) Nouns that are naturally dual are:

<i>ckucku'c</i> testicles	<i>ceqoala'la</i> double-barreled gun
<i>szōst</i> eyes, face	<i>cik'ōk</i> double ball for game
<i>ckulkulō'l</i> spear	<i>civ'izatct</i> bed platform on sides of house
<i>cemtk</i> spit for roasting	<i>szutsō'osiq</i> bed platform in front and rear of house
<i>ce'qzō</i> double-pointed arrow	<i>slan</i> bowstring
<i>cpā'ix</i> blanket made of two deer-skins	<i>clā'nist</i> two-stranded twine
<i>ctc!ā'maq</i> castorium	
<i>cē'ōlā'l</i> ground-hog blanket, made of two skins	

There are other words that are always dual, for the form of which no reason can be given, as:

<i>ckā'kolē</i> eel	<i>ckaqe'l</i> dentalia of the length of 40 to a fathom
<i>cenqētqē't</i> hawk	<i>civ'q</i> half-fathom
<i>se'nteptɛp</i> shrew	<i>cgē'can</i> fern-root (pl. <i>ōguē'can</i>)
<i>seq!alōlō</i> butterfly	

(2) Nouns that are naturally plural are:

<i>tqamilā'leq</i> sand	<i>t'ōL</i> house (= dwelling of several families)
<i>te'psō</i> grass	<i>tkemōm</i> ashes
<i>tktē'ma</i> property	

In other cases where the noun occurs always with plural prefix the reason is not apparent, as in:

<i>tā'ta-is</i> codfish	<i>tʔt</i> smoke
<i>tmē'n^sa</i> flounder	<i>t'-skō</i> tattooing
<i>tts!ē'laq</i> grasshopper	<i>tēm^sā'ēma</i> prairie

§ 36. SECONDARY SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDER

Masculine and feminine have assumed the secondary significance of largeness and smallness. This feature appears most clearly in those cases in which a stem used as a masculine expresses a large object, while as a feminine it expresses a similar smaller object. Examples of this use are:

<i>ī'penpen</i> badger	<i>ō'penpen</i> skunk
<i>ē'pqunx</i> large round spruce-root basket	<i>ō'pqunx</i> small round spruce-root basket
<i>ē'cgan</i> cedar	<i>ō'cgan</i> basket, cup
<i>ē'm^secx</i> log, tree, wood	<i>ō'm^secx</i> kettle

One example at least of the reverse relation has come to my notice:

<i>iqā'nakc</i> stone	<i>ōqō'nakc</i> large boulder
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In one case the feminine pronoun expresses plurality:

<i>ikanī'm</i> canoe	<i>ōkunī'm</i> canoes
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There are also a few cases in which smallness is expressed by what appears to be the dual form:

<i>ikanī'm</i> canoe	<i>s^samē'ksōs</i> toy canoe
<i>skēnī'm</i> toy canoe	

§ 37. GENDER OF PLURAL

The use of the pronouns for expressing plurality has come to be exceedingly irregular. The verbal forms suggest that originally *t-* was the true third person plural, which was perhaps originally used for human beings only.

(1) Many plurals of words designating human beings retain the pronoun *t-*.

	Singular	Plural
man	<i>ī'kala</i>	<i>tkā'lauks</i>
women		<i>tā'nemckc</i>
children		<i>tqā'cōcīnīkc</i>
virgin	<i>ōhō't!au</i>	<i>that!aunā'na</i>
old man	<i>iq!eyō'qxut</i>	<i>tq!eyō'qtikc</i>

In some cases a more indefinite number may be expressed by *L-*. Thus we find for WOMEN both *lā'nemckc* and *tā'nemckc*; for COMMON PERSON *lxalā'yuēma* and *txalā'yuēma*.

(2) The articles used in the majority of cases for expressing plurality are *t-* and *L-*. Examples of these are the following:

	Singular	Plural	
beak	<i>ē'-mīst</i>	<i>t-mēctkc</i>	
belly	<i>ē = wan</i> ¹	<i>t = unaks</i> ¹	
bird (sp.?)	<i>i-pō'ē poē</i>	<i>t-poē pō'yukc</i>	
blanket	<i>e-^sō'k</i>	<i>t!ōkkc</i> (also indefinite <i>L^sōk</i>)	
cheek	<i>i = mēlqtan</i> ¹	<i>t = 'mēlqtanuks</i> ¹	
crane	<i>i-qoā'c qoac</i>	<i>t-qoac qoā'c ekc</i>	
deer	<i>ē-mā'c en</i>	<i>t-macā'nukc</i>	
a bird	<i>ēnts!x</i>	<i>tēnts!ē'xukc</i>	
eye	<i>ē'-qxōt</i>	<i>t-qō'tekc</i> (dual <i>s-qōct</i>)	
dorsal fin	<i>ē'-gala</i>	<i>t-kala(īkc)</i>	
monster	<i>īqctxē' Lau</i>	<i>t-qctxēlā'wukc</i>	
pectoral fins		<i>t-qoēā'nīkc</i>	
arrow	<i>ō'-kulaitan</i>	<i>t-kalai'tanēma</i>	
bunch of grass	<i>ō-pā'wil^s</i>	<i>t-pā'wil^s-ma</i>	
chicken-hawk	<i>ō'-n pītc</i>	<i>tē-n pī'tckc</i>	and
		<i>Lē-n pī'tckc</i>	
coat	<i>ō-q!oē' Lxap</i>	<i>t-q!ēlxā'pukc</i>	and
		<i>L-q!ēlxā'pukc</i>	
chipmunk	<i>ō'-ts!ik'in</i>	<i>tē'-ts!ik'in</i>	
flounder	<i>ō-lā'ta-is</i>	<i>tē-lā'ta-is</i>	
dip-net	<i>ō-k!unxā'tē</i>	<i>t-k!anxā'tē</i>	
board	<i>Lē'-cgan</i>	<i>tē'-cgan</i>	
bird	<i>L-lā'lēx</i>	<i>t-lalā'xukc</i>	
albatross	<i>i-tā'mēla</i>	<i>L-tamēlā'yīkc</i>	
open-work clam	<i>ī'-ck!alē</i>	<i>L-ck!alā'yīkc</i>	
basket			
large cedar-bark	<i>i-qō'mxōm</i>	<i>L-qōmxō'mukc</i>	
basket			
grizzly-bear	<i>i-cā'yim</i>	<i>L-cayā'mukc</i>	
eyelashes		<i>L-lxō'tks</i>	
bailer	<i>o-^soētēwā' Lxtē</i>	<i>L!ītēwā' Lxtē</i>	
open-work basket	<i>ō-Lk!ē'nk!ēn</i>	<i>īk!ēnLk!ā'nukc</i>	
round basket	<i>ō'-pqunx</i>	<i>Lpqun'xukc</i>	
long baton	<i>ō'-kumatk</i>	<i>Lē'-kumatk</i>	
belt	<i>ō'-koēma</i>	<i>Lē'-kēma</i>	
bucket	<i>ō'-cgan</i>	<i>Lē'-cgen-ma</i>	
antler	<i>L-^sē'tcam</i>	<i>L-^satcā'ma</i>	
mountain-goat	<i>L-qoa'q</i>	<i>L-qoa'q-ma</i>	
blanket			

¹The sign ... indicates that a possessive pronoun is here required.

(3) There are a few cases in which the article *ō-* is used for expressing the plural, as:

	Singular	Plural
coat	<i>ō' Lqēkc</i>	<i>ō'-Lqēkc</i>
canoe	<i>ikanī'm</i>	<i>ō-kunī'm</i>
eagle	<i>u-tc!akte!ā'k</i>	<i>u-tc!akte!ā'kciniks</i> (only used in tale)

(4) A number of words whose plural was originally a distributive retain the masculine pronoun, as:

	Singular	Plural
abalone	<i>ī-ktē'luwa-itk</i>	<i>ī-ktēluwā'itqema</i>
bone arrow-point	<i>ī-gō'ma(tk)</i>	<i>ī-gomā'tqema</i>
short baton	<i>ī-q!ā'lqal</i>	<i>ī-q!alq!alō'ma</i>
black bear	<i>ī-ī'tsxut</i>	<i>ī-ī'tsxutema</i>
buck-skin straps		<i>ī-t!ā'leqema</i>
cedar	<i>ē'-cgan</i>	<i>ē'-cgenema</i>
elk	<i>ī-mō'lak</i>	<i>ī-mō'lakuma</i>
female	<i>ē'-nēmckc</i>	<i>ē'-nēmckcō'ma</i>

Not all words of this type, however, retain the masculine pronoun, as:

	Singular.	Plural.
bay	<i>ē'-maL</i>	<i>LE-mā'LE-ma</i>
small bluff	<i>ī-kak!ā'lat</i>	<i>L-kak!ā'latE-ma</i>
creek	<i>ē'-qēL</i>	<i>t!ā'LEma</i> (fortis for elided <i>q</i> , see § 6.3)
disease	<i>ē'-tc!a</i>	<i>t-tc!ā'ma</i>

Feminine distributives do not seem to retain their gender, as:

	Singular	Plural
arrow	<i>ō'kulaitan</i>	<i>t-kalai'tanE-ma</i>
bunch of grass	<i>ō-pā'wil^ε</i>	<i>t-pā'wil^ε-ma</i>
dip-net	<i>ō'-nuxcin</i>	<i>L-nuxci'nE-ma</i>

§ 38. PLURAL SUFFIXES

(1) Besides the use of pronominal gender for designating plurality, Chinook seems to have distinguished human beings from other nouns also by the use of a separate plural suffix *-ikc*, *-uks* the use of which for human beings is illustrated by the examples given in § 37.1. At present the ending *-uks* is used for forming the plural of many words, including names of animals and of inanimate objects.

On the whole, this suffix is accompanied by a shift of the accent to the penultima. When the last vowel is the obscure *E* followed by an *l*, *m*, or *n*, it is lengthened to *ā* under the stress of the accent (see § 5); *-ē* changes in these cases to *-āy*.

The following are examples of the shift of accent without accompanying change of vowel:

	Singular	Plural
owl	<i>i-qoē'lqoēl</i>	<i>t-qoēlqoē'luks</i>
crane	<i>i-qaā'cqaac</i>	<i>t-qaacqaā'cεkc</i>
large cedar-bark basket	<i>i-qō'mxōm</i>	<i>L-qōm xō'muke</i>
Tillamook Indian	<i>L!ē'lēm</i>	<i>T!ilē'muks</i>
dog	<i>L-kē'wucx</i>	<i>t-kēwu'cεks</i>
coat	<i>o-q!oē'lxap</i>	<i>L-q!ēlxā'pukc</i>
fawn	<i>o-q!oē'xcap</i>	<i>t-q!ēxcā'pukc</i>
twine	<i>c-lā'nict</i>	<i>lanē'ctuks</i>
sea-lion	<i>i-gē'pix'L</i>	<i>i-gipē'r'Luks</i>
eight	<i>ksto'xtkin</i>	<i>kstortkē'niks</i> (eight persons)
moon	<i>ō-kLE'mēn</i>	<i>L-kLmē'naks</i>
egg	<i>L-qulā'wula</i>	<i>L-qula'wulā'uks</i>
monster	<i>i-qctxē'lau</i>	<i>t-qctxēlā'wukc</i>
turtle	<i>ē'laxoa</i>	<i>laxoā'yikc</i>
albatross	<i>i-tā'mela</i>	<i>L-tamēlā'yikc</i>
dead, corpse	<i>L-mē'malust</i>	<i>t-memalō'stikc</i>
dusk	<i>ō-mvnts!ē'kts!ik</i>	<i>t-mvnts!ēkts!ē'kukc</i>
wolf	<i>i-lē'q!am</i>	<i>L-lēq!ā'muks</i>
mole	<i>u-cē'ntan</i>	<i>t-cēntā'nukc</i>
mouse	<i>u-kō'lxlul</i>	<i>u-kolō'lukc</i> (lx changes to l; see § 6)
evening	<i>tsō'yust</i>	<i>tsōyō'steks</i>

Words are quite numerous in which the shift of accent produces a change of vowel:

	Singular	Plural
pigeon	<i>ō'-εomεn</i>	<i>t!amā'niks</i>
fly	<i>ē'-mōtsgeN</i>	<i>t-mōtsqā'nukc</i>
box	<i>ō-lē'qsen</i>	<i>Leqsā'nukc</i>
open-work basket	<i>ō-lk!E'nLk!εN</i>	<i>Lk!εN Lk!ā'nukc</i>
deer	<i>ē-mā'sεN</i>	<i>t-masā'niks</i>
skunk	<i>ō'-pεNpεN</i>	<i>t-pεNpā'nukc</i>
badger	<i>ī'-pεNpεN</i>	<i>i-pεNpā'nukc</i>
squirrel	<i>i-k!ā'utεN</i>	<i>t-k!autā'nukc</i>
pelican	<i>ī'-tcuYE N</i>	<i>L-tcuYā'nukc</i>
grizzly bear	<i>i-cā'yim</i>	<i>L-cayā'mukc</i>
lance	<i>i-squā'L!εm</i>	<i>squL!ā'mukc</i>
clam basket	<i>ī'-ck!alē</i>	<i>L-ck!alā'yukc</i>
frog	<i>i-q!oatE'nxēxē</i>	<i>t-q!oatεnxēxā'yukc</i>
frog	<i>ō-cuē'ē</i>	<i>t-cuēā'yukc</i>

The plural of *i-po'ēpoē* (a bird), is *t-poēpō'yuks*. Here the accent remains on the *o*, although it is shifted to the next syllable, and the *ē* becomes consonantic.

Here belongs also *L-lā'LEX* BIRD, plural *t-lalā'xukc*, in which word the lengthening of the *E* to *ā* before *x* is irregular.

A number of monosyllabic stems are treated in the same manner, as those here described:

	Singular	Plural
kettle	<i>ō^εomē'cɰ</i>	<i>L-^εmē'cɰukc</i>
flounder	<i>ō-pkē'cɰ</i>	<i>ō-pkē'cɰukc</i>
round basket	<i>ō'-pqunɰ</i>	<i>L-pqu'nɰukc</i>
eye	<i>ē'-qōt</i>	<i>t-qō'tEKc</i>
eyelashes		<i>L-l-xō'tks</i>
cinnamon bear	<i>i-t!E'k</i>	<i>i-t!E'kks</i>
blanket	<i>e-^εō'k</i>	<i>t!ōkkc</i>
chicken-hawk	<i>ō'-npitc</i>	<i>tE-np'itck</i>
well	<i>ō-plx</i>	<i>L-plxoa'kc</i>

In a number of words the accent does not shift:

	Singular	Plural
old person	<i>i-q!eyō'qut</i>	<i>t-q!eyō'qtiks</i>
shag	<i>i-pa'^εowē</i>	<i>L-pā'qo-ikc</i>
male	<i>i'-kala</i>	<i>t-ka'la-ukc</i>

This is particularly frequent in terms which occur always with possessive pronouns, such as terms designating parts of the body and relationships:

ear <i>ō'-utca</i>	<i>t-iā'-utcakc</i> his ears
his belly <i>iā'-wan</i>	<i>tgā'-unakc</i> their bellies
mouth <i>i-cqL</i>	<i>tgā'-cqLEkc</i> their mouths
head <i>ē-qtq</i>	<i>tgā'-qtqekc</i> their heads
cheek <i>ē'-mELqtan</i>	<i>tgā'-mELqtanukc</i> their cheeks
_____	<i>tgā'-amcukc</i> their guts
fin <i>ē'-gala</i>	<i>t-iā'-gala-ikc</i> his fins
his father <i>L-iā'mama</i>	<i>L-mcā'-mama-ikc</i> your fathers
his elder brother <i>iā'-ɰk!un</i>	<i>iā'-ɰk!uniks</i> his elder brothers
his younger brother <i>iā'-wux</i>	<i>iā'-wuxtikc</i> his younger brothers
	ers
his maternal uncle <i>iā'-tata</i>	<i>L-iā'-tatayukc</i> his uncles

Here belong also:

lid <i>i-sā'mEL^ε</i>	<i>L-iā'-semELqaks</i> their lids
five <i>qu'NEM</i>	<i>qu'NEMiks</i> five persons
ten of them <i>i-tā'-Lēlam</i>	<i>i-tā'-Lēlamyuks</i> ten persons
six <i>tE'xEM</i>	<i>i-tā'-k!a-txEMiks</i> six in a canoe

The ending *-tikc* instead of *-(i)kc* is used particularly with indefinite numerals, and expresses a plurality of human beings:

all <i>ka'nawwē</i>	<i>kanawwē'tikc</i> all persons
few <i>mE'nx'ka</i>	<i>mE'nx'katikc</i> a few persons
many (their number) <i>Lgā'pēla</i>	<i>Lgā'pēlatikc</i> many persons
several <i>LE'xawē</i>	<i>LE'xawētikc</i> several persons

Analogous are the forms of—

up river <i>ma'ēma</i>	<i>t-maemā'tēkc</i> those up river
poor (his poverty) <i>Lā'xuyam</i>	<i>Lgā'xuyamtikc</i> the poor ones
his younger brother <i>iā'wux</i>	<i>iā'-wuxtikc</i> his younger brothers

Still a different connective element appears in—

man <i>i'-kala</i>	<i>i-kā'lamuks</i> men
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Attention may also be called to the forms—

	Singular	Plural
children		<i>t-qā'cōcīnikc</i>
eagle	<i>u-tcaktcā'k</i>	<i>u-tcaktcā'ktcīnikc</i>
gull	<i>i-qonē'qonē</i>	<i>i-qonēqonē'tcīnikc</i>
raven	<i>i-goalē'xoa</i>	<i>i-goalē'xoatcīnikc</i>
crow	<i>u-k'onō'</i>	<i>u-k'onō'tcīnikc</i>

The last four forms occur in a wail in a myth (Chinook Texts, p. 40) and are not the ordinary plurals of these words.

(2) The frequent plural-suffix *-ma* (Kathlamet *-maḥ*) seems to have been originally a distributive element. This appears particularly clearly in the words *ē'x'temaē* SOMETIMES (*ē'x't* one; *-ma* distributive; *-ē* adverbial); *kanā'mtēma* BOTH (*kanā'm* both, together; *-ma* distributive). Following are examples of this suffix. In most cases the accent is drawn toward the end of the word:

	Singular	Plural
abalone	<i>i-ktē'luwa-itk</i>	<i>i-ktēluwa'itgēma</i>
bone arrow-point	<i>i-gō'matk</i>	<i>i-gomā'tgēma</i>
chisels		<i>Lqayā'tgēma</i>
willow	<i>ē-lā'itk</i>	<i>ē-lā'itgēma</i> ; <i>ē-lā'ēma</i>
disease	<i>ē'-tc!a</i>	<i>t-tc!ā'ma</i>
geese		<i>t-k!elak!elā'ma</i>
knife	<i>i-qēwī'qē</i>	<i>i-qēwīqē'ma</i> iron
saliva	<i>L-iā'-mxtē</i> (his—)	<i>tE-mxtē'ma</i>
whale	<i>i'-kolē</i>	<i>i-kolē'ma</i>
meat	<i>ē'-L'wule</i>	<i>L!olē'ma</i>
pike	<i>ē'-qōqō</i>	<i>t-qōqō'ma</i>
seal	<i>ō'-lxiū</i>	<i>ō-lxiū'ō'ma</i>
elder brother!	<i>ka'pxō</i>	<i>kā'pxōma</i> , <i>ā'pxōma</i>
breast (female)	<i>i'-tca-tō</i> (her—)	<i>t-qā'-tōma</i> (their—)

	Singular	Plural
bucket	<i>ō'-cgan</i>	<i>t-cge'nma</i>
cedar	<i>ī'-cgan</i>	<i>ī-cge'nma</i>
what	<i>tān</i>	<i>tā'nma</i>
stump	<i>ō'-tcin</i>	<i>t-tcī'nma</i>
arrow	<i>ō-kulai'tan</i>	<i>ō-kulai'tanema, t-ka-lai'tanema</i>
dipnet	<i>ō'-nuxcin</i>	<i>t-nuxci'nema</i>
antler	<i>L-^εE'tcam</i>	<i>L-^εEtōā'ma</i>
bear	<i>i-i'tsxut</i>	<i>i-itsxu'tema</i>
bluff	<i>i-kak!ā'lat</i>	<i>L-kak!ā'latema</i>
porpoise	<i>u-kō'ō'tc-kōtc</i>	<i>u-kōtckō'tcema</i>
mountain	<i>i-pā'kʰal</i>	<i>L-pakʰā'lēma</i>
night	<i>ō'-pōl</i>	<i>L-pō'lēma</i>
bunch of grass	<i>ō-pā'ēwil</i>	<i>t-pā'ēwilēma</i>
common person	<i>giā'-q!atxal</i>	<i>giā'-q!atxalēma</i>
year	<i>i-qē'tak</i>	<i>i-qē'takēma</i>
elk	<i>i-mō'lak</i>	<i>i-mō'lakēma, i-mō'la-kuma</i>
blanket	<i>L-qoa'q</i>	<i>L-qoa'qēma</i>
nail	<i>i-tsuā'saq</i>	<i>i-tsusā'qēma</i>
grey	<i>cpeq</i>	<i>cpe'qēma²</i>
half fathom	<i>cii'q!</i>	<i>cii'q!ma</i>
deerskin blanket	<i>cpā'ix</i>	<i>tpay'i'xema</i>
another	<i>tā'nux</i>	<i>tēnō'xuma</i>
mat	<i>ē'-LkuiLx</i>	<i>Lkuiē'lēma</i>
well	<i>ō-plx</i>	<i>Lā'plxuma¹</i>
strong person	<i>tgELxēwulx'</i>	<i>tgā'lxēwulx'ema</i>
torch	<i>tk!ē'wax</i>	<i>tk!ēwaxē'ma</i>
bay	<i>ē'-mal</i>	<i>LE-mā'lēma</i>
knee	<i>ō'q!ōxL</i>	<i>tq!ō'xlma</i>
full	<i>pāl</i>	<i>pā'lma²</i>

A peculiar form is *oxō'xōc* PILE, plural *oxō xōcēma*, which is a verbal form signifying THEY ARE ON THE GROUND.

In a few cases in which the suffix *-ma* occurs with obscure connective vowel, like the preceding ones, changes of consonants occur in the end of the word:

	Singular	Plural
day	<i>ō^εō'lax</i>	<i>L^εaLā'ma</i>
(his) fathom	<i>ā'yana</i>	<i>L-ā'-nʰama</i> (stem <i>-nʰ</i>)
spruce	<i>ē'-makte</i>	<i>t-mā'kte-xema</i>
sea-otter	<i>e-lā'kē</i>	<i>i-lagē'tēma</i>

Irregular is also the change in vowel in *ē'-qēL* CREEK, plural *t!ā'lēma*.

¹ Also *Lā'pLxōakt*.

² These are particles without pronominal plural sign.

A number of words take the ending *-ma* with connective vowel. Examples of the connective vowel *-ō-* are:

	Singular	Plural
female	<i>ē'-nēmckc</i>	<i>ē-nēmckcō'ma</i>
ground-hog	<i>c^εolā'l^ε</i>	<i>t!ōlā'l^εōma</i>
blanket		
baton	<i>i-q!ā'lq!al</i>	<i>i-q!alq!alō'ma</i>
rock	<i>ō-qō'nakc</i>	<i>t-q^εnakcō'ma</i>
skin	<i>ē-^εē'c</i>	<i>ē-^εcō'ma</i>
grandson!	<i>qāc</i>	<i>qā'cōma</i>
prairie	<i>tE-m^εa'ēma</i>	<i>tE-m^εa'ēmayōma</i>

The last of these seems to be a double plural, the stem being probably *-m^εa*.

Another series of words take *-ē-* as connective vowel, sometimes *-wē-* or *-oē-*:

	Singular	Plural
son!	<i>āq</i>	<i>ā'qxoēma</i>
young seal	<i>ā'-xoē</i>	<i>a-xō'yēwēma</i>
widow whose husband has been dead a long time	<i>a-kE'lial</i>	<i>t-kEliā'lowēma</i>
island	<i>LEʔ</i>	<i>LEʔoē'ma</i>
younger sister!	<i>āts</i>	<i>ā'tsēma</i>
younger brother!	<i>a'o</i>	<i>a'oēma</i>
town	<i>ē'lʔam</i>	<i>tēlʔamē'ma</i>
house	<i>t!ōL</i>	<i>t!ōLē'ma</i>

Here belong also:

thing	<i>i'-kta</i>	<i>t-iā'-ktema</i> his things
prairie		<i>tEm^εā'ēma</i> ¹
a plant		<i>i-q!aLxoē'ma</i>

and the irregular forms:

log	<i>ē'-m^εECʔ</i>	<i>LE-mq^εemā'yema</i>
common man	<i>L-xā'yāl</i>	<i>L-xalā'yuēma</i>
warrior	<i>L-t!ō'xoyal</i>	<i>t!ōxolā'yuēma</i>

In at least one of these words the origin of the *-ē* is reducible to a probable fuller form of the word. The stem of the word HOUSE is *-qulē* in Kathlamet, and would naturally form the plural *tqulēma*, which, in Lower Chinook, would take the form *t!ōLē'ma*.

(3) A considerable number of words have no plural suffix whatever, but differ only in the pronoun, or may even have the same

¹ See above.

pronoun in singular and plural. Examples of these are contained in the lists in § 37. Additional examples are:

	Singular	Plural
beaver	<i>i-goa-inē'nē</i>	<i>t-goa-inē'nē</i>
arm	<i>ī'-potē</i>	<i>t-potē</i>
arm-pit	<i>i-k'emelā'pix'</i>	<i>t-k'emelā'pix'</i>
cut of blubber	<i>i-gitē'tcxala</i>	<i>t-gitē'tcxala</i>
bone	<i>i-kamō'kɔuk</i>	<i>t-kamō'kɔuk</i>
dip-net	<i>ē'-qzacga</i>	<i>tē'-qzacga</i>
buoy	<i>ō'-qxun</i>	<i>LE'-qxun</i>
fresh-water clam	<i>ō'-sala</i>	<i>LE'-sala</i>
coal	<i>ō-qō'Lɔatsx'</i>	<i>L-qā'Lɔatsx'</i>
crab-apple	<i>ō-pā'utc</i>	<i>L-pā'utc</i>
finger	<i>ō-kci</i>	<i>t-kci</i>
canoe	<i>i-kanī'm</i>	<i>ō-kunī'm</i>

(4) Several terms of relationship and a few other related words have a plural in *-nāna*, as:

	Singular	Plural
parent-in-law	<i>ē'-qsix'</i>	<i>tē'-qsix'-nana</i>
sister's son	<i>ī'-latx'EN</i>	<i>t-latx'EN-nana</i>
wife's sister	<i>ō'-pōtszan</i>	<i>t-pō'tszan-nana</i>
father's sister	<i>ō-lak</i>	<i>t-lak-nana</i>
cousin (children of brother and sis- ter)	<i>L-qa'mgē</i>	<i>t-qa'mgē-nana</i>

Also:

virgin	<i>ō-hō't!au</i>	<i>t-hā't!au-nana</i>
friend	<i>i-ci'ke</i>	<i>t-ci'ke-nana</i>

A few terms of relationship have plural forms in *-iks* or the distributive *-ma*, as:

	Singular	Plural
father	<i>L-mama</i>	<i>L-mama-ikc</i>
elder brother	<i>i-ɔk!un</i>	<i>t-ɔk!un-ikc</i>
younger brother	<i>i-wux</i>	<i>t-wux-tikc</i>
mother's brother	<i>i-tata</i>	<i>t-tata-ikc</i>
younger brother! (address)	<i>a'o</i>	<i>a'oema</i>
daughter's child! (address)	<i>qāc</i>	<i>qā'cōma</i>

(5) A number of words have peculiar plural suffixes:

	Singular	Plural
chief	<i>i-kā'nax</i>	<i>t-kanā'x-imct</i>
mother	<i>L-aa</i>	<i>L-atct</i>
youth	<i>i-q'oa'lipx'</i>	<i>t-q'ulipx'-unā'yu</i> (see under 6) §12
sweetheart	<i>L-qōlix'</i>	<i>t'qōleyū</i>

(6) In a number of cases the plural is formed by the insertion of the syllable *-yū-* which may be either an affix or may be considered as an expansion of the vowel of the stem by dieresis.

	Singular	Plural
to bathe	- ^ε ōt	- ^ε ōyut
to rise	-xalatch	-xalayutck
to notch	-ts!ēlx	-ts!ā'yulx
to dance	-wīck	-wāyutck
to awaken	- ^ε ōtc	- ^ε ōyutc

(7) The personal demonstrative pronoun has a plural in *-c*.

<i>x'ī'ta</i> these things	<i>x'ī'tac</i> these men	} (see § 44)
<i>qō'ta</i> those things	<i>qō'tac</i> those men	

(8) Several nouns and verbs form singular and plural from distinct or distantly related stems, as:

	Singular	Plural
woman	ō- ^ε ō'kuil	t-ā'nεmckc
child	L-k!ā'sks	t-qā'sōsinīks
child (some one's)	L-xa	L-a
relative	L-icx	t-cōlal
slave	ē-la'itix	t-ēltgēu
eye	ē'-qot	Dual s-qōct
to be	-ō-c	-x-ēla-itix
to cry	-gE'tsax	-xēnēm
to stand	-tɣuit	-xēna
to die	-ō-mεqt	-ɣE'-L-ait
to kill	-ā-wa ^ε	-o-tēna

§ 39. VOCATIVE

A few nouns, particularly terms of relationship, have a vocative, which has no pronominal element, as:

<i>aō</i> younger brother!	<i>mā'ma</i> father!
<i>āts</i> younger sister!	<i>āq</i> son!
<i>kā'pxō</i> elder brother! elder sister!	<i>āc</i> daughter!
<i>qāc</i> grandchild! (said by man)	<i>cīc</i> friend!
<i>ka'ē</i> grandchild! (said by woman)	

§ 40. DERIVATION OF NOUNS

On the whole the derivation of the numerous polysyllabic nouns in Chinook is obscure. Evidently a considerable number of nominal affixes exist, which, however, occur so rarely that their significance can not be determined. Examples are the derivatives from the stem *ēlx* LAND, COUNTRY—*ilē'ē* COUNTRY (the *ɣ* disappears because the vowel following *lx* carries the accent) *lgōLē'lεmk* PERSON, *ē'lεam* TOWN,

té'lx'em PEOPLE. From the stem *xē* we have *iqoatē'xēxē* BULLFROG; from the stem *kon*, *iqto'konkon* WOODPECKER.

A few affixes only occur fairly frequently, but even in these cases it is sometimes impossible to classify the words satisfactorily.

1. **-kē-**. I presume this prefix is the same as, or at least related to, the verbal prefix *-ki*, *-gi*, which signifies that a verb usually transitive is used without object. Thus may be explained—

o'gi lq!up a cut
igē' l!mēnl!mēn something rotten
igilē'matk store
oquē'pʔatē alder (= wood for dyeing)
ik!ē'wulēlq l food
ē'k'it payment for a wife
lk!ē'wax torch, flower
tkipalā'wul word
tkimō'cx'em toy
ik!etē'nax game

2. **-qe-**. This seems to be a nominal prefix corresponding to the verbal reflexive *-x-*.

ōqōqu'nk latk club (from *-x-gunk* to club)
lqē'tcamētē comb (from *-xel-tciam* to comb one's self)
lqēlē'tcuwa hat (from *-xēnlē'tcuwa* to hang a round thing on top of one's self)
iqats!ē'lxak panther } (from *-xtsē'lxakō* to have a notch around
ōqotsiā'yulxak ants } one's self)

Judging from these examples, it would seem plausible that most nouns beginning with *-gi-*, *-ki-*, *-k!ē-*, *-qē-*, *-q!ē-*, contain these prefixes, for instance:

igē'luxtcutk arrow-head
igē'mxatk burial
igē'l'otē elk-skin
oquē'nzak plank
ōk!wē'lak dried salmon

and other similar ones. Here may also belong

oquewi'qe knife
oq!welā'wulx maturing girl (the one who is moved up, hidden?)
iq!eyō'qxut old

The extensive use of these prefixes is also illustrated by—

iqēk!ē's BRASS, but
ik!ē'sa GALL (both from *k!ēs* YELLOW)
iqē'p!al doorway (probably from *-p!a* INTO [= that into which people always enter])

3. *na-* is a local prefix.

naLxoap HOLE (from *Lxoap* to dig)

na^εē'lim the country of the Tillamook (from *ε'lim*)

4. *-tē* a suffix signifying TREE, WOOD.

oguē'pṛatē alder (= wood for dyeing).

5. *-tk* is a nominal suffix the significance of which is quite obscure.

In a few cases it indicates the point of an object, but in many cases this explanation is quite unsatisfactory. It seems possible that this suffix is the same as the verbal stem *-tk* TO PUT DOWN, TO DEPOSIT, so that its meaning might be something on the ground, or something attached to something else, or a part of something else. This explanation would be satisfactory in words like—

ī'potitk forearm

igē'luxtcutk arrow-head

iwa'nematk belly-cut of a fish

ilemē'tk BED may be derived from *-ēlx* GROUND, and may mean PUT DOWN ON THE GROUND

ikaLXE'lematk may mean PUT DOWN TO EAT FROM (= dish)

The following list contains some stems with their nominal and verbal derivatives. It will be noted that in a number of cases the verb is derived from the noun.

-pṛa ALDER-BARK.

ō'-pṛa alder-bark

ō-guē'-pṛa-tē alder

L-gē'-pṛa-tē alder-woods

-al-ō'-pṛa to dye in alder-bark

L-q-L-al-ō'-pṛa dyed cedar-bark

-ts!ēlx TO NOTCH.

ī-qa-ts!ē'lx-ak what has a notch around itself (= panther)

ō-go-ts!ā'yulx-ak those with notches around themselves (= ants)

-s-x-ts!ēlx-akō to make a notch around a thing

-k!anṣā'tē DRIFT-NET.

ō-k!unṣā'tē drift-net

-xen-k!anṣā'tē-mam to go to catch in drift-net

nauā'itk NET.

-xe-nauā'itgē to catch in net

-wiuc URINE OF MALE.

L-ō'-wiuc urine

-xa-wiuc to urinate

o-wiū'e-matk chamber

-kxamit TO PAY ATTENTION.

i-ka-kxamit mind

-a-kxamit to pay attention

-gunk TO CLUB.

ō-qō-gu'nk-La-tk club

-x-gunk to club

-tciam TO COMB.

L-qē-tcam-ē-tē comb

-Lxē TO CRAWL.

L-qa-Lxē'-la one who crawls much (= crab)

-utca EAR.

ō'-utca ear

-x-wu'tca-tk to hear

-LxEl(EM) TO EAT.

i-ka-LxEl'-matk dish

-^ooic TO BREAK WIND.

-xEl'^ooic-qc to break wind (perhaps for *-^ooicqoic*)

ō'-^owic-qc wind broken

-Lx AROUND NECK.

-Lx-ōt it is around the neck

i-q!ē'-Lx-ōt necklace

-tēwa TO BAIL OUT.

-x-tēwa to bail out canoe

ō-^oi-tewā'-Lx-tē for bailing out into the water (= bailer)

-kamōt PROPERTY.

-x'emōta to barter

t-kamō'ta property

-kema(tk) BATON.

ō'-kumatk baton

-xematk to beat time with baton

-Lē TO CATCH WITH HERRING-RAKE.

-x-Lē-n to catch with herring-rake

i-qa-Lē'-ma-tk herring-rake

-mōcx'EM TO PLAY, TO FOOL.

t-k'i-mō'cx'ema toys

-m^ocx WOOD.

ē-m^ocx tree

ō-m^oēcx kettle

-xEl-mEqci to gather wood

-p!a TO ENTER.

i-qē'-p!al doorway

-*Lētcuwa* TO PUT HOLLOW THING ON TOP OF SOMETHING.

L-qē-Lētcuwā'-ma hat

-*qct* LOUSE.

ō-qct louse

-gē-qcta to louse

-*k^utck* TO NET

c-k^utck-mā'tk net-shuttle

-xel-gē'-k^utck to net

-*tciakt* TO POINT.

-gen-tciaktē to point at something

gi-tcā'aktē-l pointer (= first finger)

-*mq* TO SPIT.

-ō-mqo-it to spit

-ō-m^ε-a to vomit

L-mx-tē saliva

-*кта* THING, SOMETHING, WHAT.

i-кта thing, something, what

-gem-ō-kti to pay

§ 41. NOUNS AND VERBS DERIVED FROM PARTICLES.

Many particles (see § 46) can be used as stems of nouns. I have found the following examples:

i-yūL!l pride 74.11 (from *yūL!l* proud)

ik!ē'waxema torches 27.22 (from *wax* light, to shine)

ik!ē'wax flower 165.27 (from *wax* to bloom)

ēwaxō'mi copper (from *wax* light, to shine)

ik!wac^εō'mi fear 213.10 (from *k!wac* afraid)

igī'Lq!up cut 46.2 (from *Lq!up* to cut)

igē'L!MENL!MEN syphilis (from *L!MEN* soft, rotten)

nats!E'x piece 69.3 (from *ts!E'x* to tear)

naLxoa'p hole 23.7 (from *Lxoa'p* to dig)

nalō'lō something round (from *lō'lō* round)

-xā'penic a woman gives herself in payment for services of a shaman 203.11 (from *pā'nic* to give in payment for services of a shaman)

-gē'staq!oam to go to war 270.1 (from *staq!* war)

L-xq!am to be lazy (from *q!am* lazy)

ne-āxaxome to notice 40.14 (from *xāx* to notice)

cē'kpELEpt it boils (from *lep* to boil)

-xā'giLq!up to cut one's self (from *Lq!up* to cut)

Nevertheless this series of stems is sharply set off from all others, since the latter never occur without pronominal elements, excepting a few vocatives that have been mentioned in §39.

§ 42. COMPOUND NOUNS

There are only very few examples of nouns compounded of two independent elements, as:

c-gē-mō'lak-tc̄rict my elk nose 193.19 (*c-* dual; *-gē-* my; *-mōlak* elk; *-tc̄rict* nose)

t!agēla'ktē woman's utensils (*t-* plural; *-agē'lak* woman; *-ktē* things)

i-k'ani-y-i'l̄xam myth town 216.8 (*i-* masculine. *-kanam* myth; *-el̄xam* town)

A number of nouns, particularly names of animals, are descriptive in character. These were probably used as alternates in case one name of an animal became tabued through the death of a person bearing its name, or a name similar to it. Examples are:

iqats!ē'lzak having a notch around itself, i. e., with a thin belly (= panther)

ogots!iā'yulzak those having notches around themselves (= ants)

itcā'yaū ā'yaqtq snake's head (= dragon fly)

ē'gal̄ELX going into the water (= mink)

otcō'itxul dip-net maker (= spider)

eqē'wam the sleepy one (= a fish [sp.])

okō'l̄xul thief (= mouse)

ik!u'tk!ut the one who always breaks (bones) (= dog [Kathlamet dialect])

§ 43. SUBSTANTIVES AS QUALIFIERS

Substantives are often used to qualify other substantives. In this case the qualifying substantive takes the gender of the one qualified:

ō'k̄ōla o'ō'wun a male silver-side salmon 109.3

e'ē'kil imō'lak a female elk 264.3

ē'k̄zala imō'lak a male elk 264.2

These qualifiers are not adjectives, but remain true substantives, as is shown by the feminine prefix *ō-*, which is characteristic of substantives.

§ 44. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs

(1) *Demonstrative Pronouns of Lower Chinook.* The structure of the demonstrative pronoun of the Chinook proper is analogous to that of the noun. It consists of a modal element, which seems to express visibility and invisibility; the personal pronoun which expresses gender; and the demonstrative element, which expresses position near the first, second, and third persons.

- (1) Modal element.
 Visibility, or existence in present time *x'*-
 Invisibility, or existence in past time *q'*-
- (2) Gender.
 Masculine *-i*-
 Feminine *-a*-
 Neuter *-L*-
 Dual *-ct*-
 Plural *-t*-
- (3) Demonstrative element.
 Near first person *-k*
 Near second person *-au* (*-i-a*)
 Near third person *-x* (*-ō-a*)

In the forms with consonantic pronoun (*-L*-, *-ct*-, *-t*-), the demonstrative element is represented by a secondary character—*-i-* (*-ē-*) preceding the pronoun for the demonstratives of the first and second persons; *-ō-* for the demonstrative pronoun of the third person.

Thus the following table develops:

Present, Visible

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Near 1st person	<i>x'ik</i>	<i>x'ak</i>	<i>x'iLik</i>
Near 2d person	<i>x'iau</i>	<i>x'au</i>	<i>x'iLa</i>
Near 3d person	<i>x'ix'</i>	<i>x'aḡ</i>	<i>x'ōLa</i>
	Dual	Plural	Plural, human beings
Near 1st person	<i>x'ictik</i>	<i>x'itik</i>	<i>x'itikc</i>
Near 2d person	<i>x'icta</i>	<i>x'ita</i>	<i>x'itac</i>
Near 3d person	<i>x'ōcta</i>	<i>x'ōta</i>	<i>x'ōtac</i>

Past, Invisible

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Near 1st person	—	—	—
Near 2d person	<i>q'iau</i>	—	<i>qēLa</i>
Near 3d person	<i>q'ix'</i>	<i>qaḡ</i>	<i>qōLa</i>
	Dual	Plural	Plural, human beings
Near 1st person	—	—	—
Near 2d person	<i>qēcta</i>	<i>qēta</i>	<i>qētac</i>
Near 3d person	<i>qōcta</i>	<i>qōta</i>	<i>qōtac</i>

The forms for past or invisible near the first person do not seem to occur. Besides these, emphatic forms occur in which the initial elements are doubled. Of these I have found the following:

Present, Visible

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
<i>x'ix'ī'k</i>	<i>ɣaxā'k</i>	—
<i>x'ix'iau'</i>	<i>ɣaxau'</i>	—
<i>x'ix'ī'x'</i>	<i>ɣaxā'ɣ</i>	<i>x'ix'ō'la</i>
Dual	Plural	Plural, human beings
—	—	—
—	—	—
<i>x'ix'ō'cta</i>	<i>x'ix'ō'ta</i>	<i>x'ix'ō'tac, x'ix'ō'lac</i>

Past, Invisible

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
—	—	—
<i>qiq'iau'</i>	<i>qaqau'</i>	—
<i>qiqē'x'</i>	<i>qaqā'ɣ</i>	<i>qiqō'la'</i>
Dual.	Plural.	Plural, human beings.
—	—	—
—	—	—
<i>qiqō'cta</i>	<i>qiqō'ta</i>	<i>qiqō'ctac</i>

On the whole, these doubled forms are used more frequently in a predicative sense than the single forms. Apparently they are often substantival forms, but I think they are better characterized as predicative. Quite often these forms may be translated THIS ONE, WHO.

x'ix'ē'k alqē'tk^ulam x'ila lq'eyō'qxōt it is this (masc.), he brought it (masc.) this (neut.) old man 67.6

ōq'ō'xōL ɣaxau' ō'laxat Ōq'ō'xōL, this is the one, she has come down to the beach 107.9 (*ō-* she; *-lx* to the beach; *-t* perfect) *x'ix'iau amigā't'ōm* this one whom you met 185.12 (*a-* transitional; *m-* thou; *i-* him; *-gatq* to meet; *-am* complete)

aniā'wa^ε qiqiau'x ktc_{EN}xgā'lukL I killed that one who always went first 89.5 (*-wa^ε* to kill; *qiqiau'x* probably for *qiqiau'*; *k-* the one who; *tc_{EN}*—he me; *-xgako* to go about; *-L* with suffix *-ako* by metathesis *-alukL*)

The simple forms occur generally in adjectival form.

nal^εē'ma ɣak ōk'u'ltcin I will give her this fish head 183.7 (*nal-* I her to her; *-εm* to give food; *-a* future; *ōk'u'ltcin* fish head) *atciLE'lēm ikamō'kɣuk qō'la lqē'wusɣ* he gave a bone to that dog 187.12 (*atciLEl-* he him to it; *ikamō'kɣuk* bone; *lqē'wusɣ* dog) *k^uca'la x'ik nē'mal* up this river 220.2

In some cases I have found *tīkc*, *tīk*, *lik* instead of the same elements with the prefix *x'i*, but I am not certain whether in these cases the beginning of the word was not slurred over.

Apparently there is also a duplication of the terminal element in *-k*. At least this is a possible explanation of the form *x'ix'ē'kik*.

x'ix'ī'gik mkā'nax tɛmā'xō this here is what will make you rich
218.1 (*m-* thou; *-kānax* chief, rich man; *tɛm-* he thee; *a-*
directive before *x*; *-x* to make; *-ō* future after *x*)

ē'kta tcūwā'ya x'ix'ē'kik what can this one do! 134.25

iū! x'ix'ē'kik! oh, this (miserable) one! 41.10, 147.1

tgā'ma^f x'itē'kik these are shot 213.20 (*tgā-* their; *-ma^f* being shot)

To this form may belong the demonstratives *ō'kuk*, *yō'kuk*, *ya'xkuk*, *x'ix'ō'kuk*, *qiqō'k*, but all these seem to be demonstrative adverbs.

(2) *Demonstrative Adverbs of Lower Chinook.* These are very numerous and it is difficult to present them in a systematic way. One set corresponds strictly to the set described before. The forms expressing present have the element *x'*, those expressing past *q-*. Both occur with the two vowels *-ī-* and *-ō-*, which, in this case, seem to express THIS and THAT. Their locative character is expressed by the suffixed locative element *gō*. Thus we find—

x'igō

x'ōgō

qigō

qōgō

a'lta ā'Lō iau'a x'igō nalxoa'p algā'yax ilē'ē now they went thus to this place where they had dug up the ground 23.7 (*a'lta* now; *a-* transitional; *L-* indefinite; *-ō* to go; *iau'a* here thus; *na-* place; *Lxoap* to dig; *a-* transitional; *Lg-* indefinite transitive subject; *-āy-* for *-i-* masculine object; *-a-* directive; *-x* to do; *ilē'ē* ground masc.)

x'igō Nagalā'mat, gō tgā'k^uLil qō'ta-y-ē'ka here at Galā'mat is their custom thus 240.25 (*na-* place; *gō* there; *tgā'*-their; *-k^uLil* custom; *ē'ka* thus)

iā'xkēwa taL! x'ōk q!at aqā'nax nevertheless there I am loved 39.5 (*iā'xkēwa* there thus; *taL!* nevertheless; *q!at* to love; *a-* transitional; *-ān* me [accented *ā*]; *-a* directive; *-x* to do)

tc!a'a, qa'da x'ōgu nE'xax see! how I became here 178.8

a'lta lpil qigō LEk^u nē'xax now it was red where it was broken 185.20 (*lpil* red; *LEk^u* to break)

pāL ikā'pa qigō mā'Lnē it was full of ice there seaward 44.24 (*pāL* full; *ikā'pa* ice; *mā'Lnē* seaward)

alE'xelatcgux qigō nōpō'nEmx he would arise when it was night 165.6

qōgu itcā'q!atxala ayā'xelax utcā'nix there the wedge was bad 161.8 (*i-* masculine; *-tcā-* feminine possessive; *-q!atxala* badness; *ayā'xelax* hers is on her; *utcā'nix* wedge)

a'ctōp! *gō qōgō gitanō'kstx t'ōl* they entered that little house 29.14
(*a'ctō* they two go; *-p!* into; *gō* there; *gitanō'kstx* having their smallness)

A distinct series, continuing the idea IN THIS MANNER are *ya'kwa*, *yau'a*, *ē'wa*, *qēwa*, *ya'xkēwa*.

Related to these is the interrogative *qā'xēwa*. All of these contain the element *-wa*. They designate nearness and distance, but I am unable to tell the difference in their use, which is rather indefinite. According to their form *ya'kwa* (= *yak-wa*) probably belongs with the series designating position near the speaker, *yau'a* (= *yau-wa*) position near the person addressed. The form *ēwa* seems to correspond to the demonstrative position near the third person, while *ya'xkēwa* always refers back to a place previously designated: **THUS JUST AT THAT PLACE.**

iakwa' gōyē' ā'tcax here he did thus 65.21 (*gōyē'* thus; *ātc-* he her; *-ax* to do)

nēkct mō'ya iau'a do not go there! 185.17

nē'k'ikst ē'wa wē'wulē he looked there into the house 130.17 (*nē-* he, intransitive; *-k'i* designates lack of object; *-kst* to look; *wē'wulē* inside of house)

iā'xkēwa nē'xankō there (to the place pointed out) he ran 23.17

iā'xkēwa ayuqunā'ētix't there (where he was shot) he fell down 62.22

The forms in *-wa* are used often to express the idea **HERE—THERE:**

ē'wa ē'nata, *iau'a ē'natai* here on this side,—there on that side 201.12

iā'kwa nō'ix ā'ēzat, *iau'a ta'nuta nō'ix ā'ēzat* here went the one (feminine); there to the other side went the other 75.14

But we find also forms in *-uk* used in the same way—

iō'kuk agā'yutk iqē'sqēs, *iā'kwa ē'natai agā'yutk kā'sa-it* here on one side she put blue-jay, there on the other robin 50.4

iā'yapc iakwa',—*iō'kuk iā'mēlk* his foot there,—here his thigh 174.15

The same adverb is not often repeated to indicate different directions or places.

iā'ma iau'a mō'yima; *nākct iau'a mai'ēmē iltā'yim* only there (upstream) go; do not go there downstream 192.9

Generally repetition refers to the same places.

iau'a acgixa'lukctgux, *iau'a acgixa'lukctgux* here they two threw him down, here they two threw him down; i. e., they threw him down again and again 26.8

yauā' actik'ēlā'p̄x̄w̄it̄x̄ē, *yauā' actik'ēlā'p̄x̄w̄it̄x̄ē* there they turned over each other again and again 127.4
iā'koa-y-ēxt, *iā'koa-y-ēxt kanā'mtēma* one here, one here, both; i. e., one in each hand 45.10 (see also 157.22)

As stated before, the forms in *-uk* seem to have adverbial meaning. Following are examples of their uses:

ō'kuk klā'qēwam ikē'x imē'x̄anātē there (with that) shaman is thy soul 199.23 (*klā'qēwam* one having a shaman's song; *i-* he; *-kē-* indicates absence of object; *-x* to do, to be; *-mē-* thy; *-kanātē* soul)
iō'kuk agā'yuk gō itcā'x̄malap'ix here she put him in her armpit 50.4 (*-tk* to put; *-k̄malap'ix* armpit)
aqā'nukct x'ix'ō'kuk some one looked at me here 30.8 (*-kct* to look)
lōnas yax̄ku'k Ltā'mama Lōc may be our father is there 29.14 (*Lōnas* may be; *-mama* father; *-c* to be)
tcintuwa'ēōmx qiqō'k antsauwī'p'ēnā'nanma-itx tē'k̄x̄q̄l he comes to kill me when I always jump in my house 64.25 (*tc-* he; *n-* me; *t-* to come; *-wa'* to kill; *-am* to arrive; *-x* habitually; *a-* transitional; *n-* I; *ts-* probably for *s-* both [feet]; *-auwī-* for *-ōn* into them [see § 9]; *-pēn* to jump; *-ān* assimilated for *-āl* always [§ 8] *-a-itx* always [§ 31.10])

Quite isolated is the form *iā'xkati*, which appears with great frequency. The ending *-ti* is evidently adverbial, as is shown by the parallel Kathlamet form *gipā'tix* THERE, and *nō'l'katix* FOR A LITTLE WHILE. It signifies the position near the third person, THERE.

iā'xkati mō'p'aya! enter there! 24.5
iā'xkatē ayō'la-it there he stayed 76.14

Still another form, apparently related to the forms in *-uk*, is *iā'xkayuk* HERE.

iā'xkayuk ayō'yam here he arrived 64.24
iā'xkayuk nL'ēltā'qla I shall leave it here 186.1

Related to this form may be *yukpā'* HERE and *yukpā't* TO THIS POINT HERE. These contain the locative suffix *-pa* AT, which is characteristic of Upper Chinook, but does not occur in Lower Chinook, while the ending *-t* is directive and related to the Upper Chinook *-ta* (see § 55).

yukpā' iā'ma' atcē'lax here he hit him (his shooting he did to him here) 62.22
yukpā' ayagēltcē'mex'it here it hit him 153.22
yukpā't lā'yagsō aqlē'lax ilā'lqta his hair was made that long (to here his hair someone made it on him its length) 156.17
yukpē't nīlē'la-it Ltcuq up to here he stood in (it) the water 225.8

It will be noticed that the element *iax* (*yaḡ*) occurs quite frequently in these demonstratives. As terminal element it is found in *x'ix'ō'yaḡ*, *gō'yaḡ* and the interrogative *qā'xēyaḡ*.

As initial element it occurs in *ya'ḡkuk*, *ia'ḡkayuk*, *ia'ḡkēwa*, *ia'ḡkati*.

It is undoubtedly identical with the terminal *yaḡ* of the Kathlamet demonstrative and with the first element in *ia'ḡka* HE ALONE, the third person masculine personal pronoun of Lower Chinook.

(3) *Demonstrative Pronouns of Kathlamet.* In Kathlamet and Wishram, the distinction of visible and invisible does not occur and the structure of the demonstratives is quite different. In both Kathlamet and Wishram, the demonstrative expressing location near the first person has a prefix (which in Kathlamet has the same form for masculine and feminine), while all the other genders are designated by their characteristic sounds. In Wishram this prefix is invariable. The location near the second and third persons is expressed in both dialects by invariable suffixes.

Kathlamet

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Near 1st person . . .	<i>tayaḡ</i>	<i>tawā'ḡ</i>	<i>LaLā'ḡ</i>
Near 2d person . . .	<i>yā'ḡauē</i>	<i>ā'ḡauē</i>	<i>Lā'ḡauē</i>
Near 3d person . . .	<i>yaḡ'ī'(yaḡ)</i>	<i>waḡ'ī'(yaḡ)</i>	<i>Laḡ'ī'(yaḡ)</i>
	Dual	Plural	Plural, persons
Near 1st person . . .	<i>ctactā'ḡ</i>	<i>tatā'ḡ</i>	<i>LaLā'īkc tatā'īkc</i>
Near 2d person . . .	<i>ctā'ḡauē</i>	<i>tā'ḡauē</i>	(?)
Near 3d person . . .	<i>ctax'ī'(yaḡ)</i>	<i>tax'ī'(yaḡ)</i>	<i>La-ītci ta-ītci</i>

Besides these forms, Kathlamet has two very short forms, *gi* and *tau*. Both are used for positions corresponding to HERE, but their exact relationship has not been determined. They occur with all genders and numbers. The form *tau* is undoubtedly identical with the Wishram *dau*, which characterizes the first and second persons as prefix and suffix.

its!ā'ts!emôm gi ā'mēqet her sweetness this thy louse (=your louse here is sweet) 118.12 (Kathlamet Texts)

lā'ema gi Le'tcin lā'tgatḡ only this stump drifts down 92.5 (*ibid.*)

qātcqī k!ā igō'xoax gi tgu'nat? why have these salmon disappeared? (why nothing became these salmon?) 47.8 (*ibid.*)

qā'mta iō'ya tau igiḡatk!oā'mam? where went he who came home? 162.7 (*ibid.*)

iklotā'mit tau aqagē'lak this woman carried him away 163.1 (*ibid.*)

The element *gi* appears also presumably in *tānki* SOMETHING.

(4) *Demonstrative Adverbs of Kathlamet.* The two most frequent forms of the demonstrative adverbs in Kathlamet are

gipā' here

gōpā' there

both compounds of demonstrative stems and the locative suffix *-pa*.

gipā' gi tã'qçqɛmapa ayamɛlgē'tga here to these our wedges I shall put you 114.13 (Kathlamet Texts) (*tã-* our; *-qçqɛm* wedge; *-ma* plural; *-pa* to; *ayamɛl-* I to thee; *-gi-* indicates absence of object; *-tk* to put; *-a* future)

gipā' çxq!oã'lqōx here the two were grown together 17.1 (*ibid.*)

ixæ'la-ix kō'pa they stayed there 10.6 (*ibid.*)

kōpa' igixi'qo-itq then he awoke 21.8 (*ibid.*)

imō'lak gōpā' cā'xalix an elk is up there 71.5 (*ibid.*)

In place of *gipā'* the stronger form *gipā'tix* is found.

gipā'tix siā'xōstpa right here on his face 76.14 (*ibid.*)

Compare with this form—

ilō'yam ɛlxpadix they arrived in that land 17.14 (*ibid.*)

ioquē'wulxt iqā'menoqpā'tix he climbed a pine there 11.14 (*ibid.*)

Corresponding to the forms *yukpɛ't*, *yukpɛ'tɛma*, in Lower Chinook, we find here *gipɛ't*, *gipɛ'tɛmax*.

gipɛ't ā'yalqt up to here its thickness 189.5 (*ibid.*)

lxp!ōctɛmtix lɛ'lqçqō gipɛ'tɛmax braided was his hair to here 131.10 (*ibid.*)

Often *yaɣi'* (masc. dem. 3d person) is used as an adverb:

yaɣi' aqalā'x there (was) the sun 109.3

ya'xi mā'Lnix igē'kta there seaward he ran 172.11

The series of forms of Lower Chinook ending in *-wa* is represented by *ā'koa*, *ē'wa*.

iqçxɛ'lau ā'koa itcō'xo here thus he made her a monster 224.3 (*ibid.*) (*iqçxɛ'lau* monster; *itcō'* - he her)

lān laxi ā'kua lxō'la? who is that here thus talking? 51.9 (*ibid.*)

lān who; *lxō-* it by itself

ictō'lxa ē'wa ikak!ō'litx the two went down there thus to the lake 18.95 (*ibid.*)

It is characteristic of Upper Chinook that these forms occur often with distributive endings and with directive *-ta*.

mākct ā'wimax itcā'lqtax two these thus their length 189.4 (*ibid.*) (*mākct* two; *itcā'* - her; *-lqtax* length)

Another adverb is found in this dialect, *tē'ka* THUS HERE.

tē'ka gi atxōqō'ya! here we will sleep! 109.4 (*ibid.*)

tē'ka atx!ayā'wulalɛma here we will play! 167.17 (*ibid.*)

(5) *Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs in Wishram* (by E. Sapir).

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Near 1st person . . .	{ <i>da'uya(x)</i> <i>da'ya(x)</i>	{ <i>da'ua(x)</i> <i>da'wa(x)</i>	{ <i>da'ula(x)</i> <i>da'la(x)</i>
Near 2d person . . .	{ <i>ya'xdau</i> <i>ya'xda(x)</i>	{ <i>a'xdau</i> <i>a'xda(x)</i>	{ <i>la'xdau</i> <i>la'xda(x)</i>
Near 3d person . . .	<i>ya'xia(x)</i>	<i>a'xia(x)</i>	<i>la'xia(x)</i>
Near 3d person (formed from <i>ya'xdau</i>) . . .	<i>yakā'xdau</i>	<i>akā'xdau</i>	<i>lakā'xdau</i>
	Dual	Plural	Plural, persons
Near 1st person . . .	{ <i>da'ucda(x)</i> <i>da'cda(x)</i>	{ <i>da'uda(x)</i> <i>da'da(x)</i>	{ <i>da'uda-itc</i> <i>da'da-itc</i> <i>da'(u)la-itc</i> <i>da'(u)a-itc</i> <i>da'xdauaitc</i> <i>la'xdauaitc</i> <i>a'xdauaitc</i>
Near 2d person . . .	{ <i>cda'xdau</i> <i>cda'xda(x)</i>	{ <i>da'xdau</i> <i>da'xda(x)</i>	{ <i>da'xiaitc</i> <i>la'xiaitc</i> <i>a'xiaitc</i>
Near 3d person . . .	<i>cda'xia(x)</i>	<i>da'xia(x)</i>	{ <i>dakā'xdauaitc</i> <i>lakā'xdauaitc</i> <i>akā'xdauaitc</i>
Near 3d person (formed from <i>ya'xdau</i>) . . .	<i>cdakā'xdau</i>	<i>dakā'xdau</i>	

NOTE.—It is somewhat doubtful whether *ya'xdau* should be so read or as *ya'x̄dau*. (*x*) in personal and demonstrative pronouns is deictic in value.

-*ka* may be added to demonstratives in -*itc*.

Elements -*t!a* and -*t!ike* are perhaps "diminutive" forms of demonstrative pronominal stem *da* THIS and personal plural -*dike*.

Following is a list of the demonstrative adverbs of the Wishram dialect:

	Locative	up to	towards, on . . . side
Stem <i>da(u)</i>	<i>da'ba</i> here	<i>dapt</i>	<i>dabā't</i> little ways further on
Stem <i>kwô</i>	<i>kwô'ba</i> there	<i>kwôpt</i>	<i>kwôbā't</i>
Stem <i>iaxi</i>	{ <i>(yax da'ba 48.16)</i> ¹ <i>ia'xiba</i> yonder <i>ia'xi</i> away, off	<i>ya'x̄pt</i>	<i>iaxā't</i> further on
Stem <i>di</i>	<i>dika</i> here (<i>dika dabā' 92.11</i>)	(- <i>pt</i> also in <i>qa'n t c i p t</i> how long?)	<i>di'gat</i> (18.17)

¹ References in the rest of this section relate to E. Sapir, *Wishram Texts* (vol. II, Publication Amer. Ethnol. Society).

Stem <i>gi</i>	Locative	towards, on . . . side
		<i>gi'gat</i> (18.17)
	<i>i'wa</i> thus, there	{ <i>i'wat</i> to you (place) (106.22)
		<i>iwa'tka</i> (158.24)

NOTE.—Compounded with *gi* are also *da'ngi* SOMETHING; *qa'tgi* SOMEHOW; *qa'matgi* SOMEWHERE (96.11).

Related to *di'ka* and *di'gad* is perhaps *digu'twiḡ* PERHAPS (96.17); also *di'wi* LIKE.

In *-ḡi* we have, besides *ya'ḡi*, also (*aga*) *du'ḡi* OH, WELL! (60.4).

NOTE.—*Ya'ḡa* INDEED (also in *quct i'aḡa* AS IT TURNED OUT); *au* (perhaps = *aw'*, *a'wa*, and related to Chinook *ya'wa*) in *da'n au ayambu'da* WHAT, PRAY, SHALL I GIVE YOU? (154.6); *yaḡa'wa* HOW-EVER.

Note also *kwō'biḡiḡ* RIGHT THERE, NOT VERY FAR.

-a'diḡ forms: *a'ngadiḡ* LONG AGO; *iḡka'diḡ* (192.2); *ina'tkadix* (192.5).

With stem *dau*: *kwō'dau* AND; *da'ukwa* JUST AS BEFORE; *qri'dau* THUS.

§ 45. Independent Personal Pronoun

The independent personal pronoun is formed from the objective pronoun by means of a number of suffixes of unknown origin and the terminal suffix *-ka* ONLY.

<i>naika</i> I	<i>ntaika</i> we two (exclusive)	<i>ntaika</i> we (exclusive)
<i>maika</i> thou	<i>traika</i> we two (inclusive)	<i>lzaika</i> we (inclusive)
<i>ia'zka</i> he	<i>mtaika</i> your two selves	<i>mcaika</i> ye
<i>a'zka</i> she	<i>cta'zka</i> their two selves	
<i>la'ska</i> it		<i>ta'ska</i> they

These forms may also be interpreted as intransitive verbs. Another emphatic form, apparently more verbal in character, is—

<i>nā'mka</i> I alone
<i>mā'mka</i> thou alone, etc.

A peculiar form *mī'ca* YOU occurs in the texts (23.1)

In the Kathlamet dialect an emphatic form *na'yax* I, *ma'yax* thou (Kathlamet Texts 114.11) is found, which occurs also in Wishram.

The forms for I, THOU, etc., ALONE are:

<i>na'ēma</i> I alone	<i>tra'ēma</i> we alone 134.16
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These correspond to Wishram forms recorded by Sapir:

<i>na'-ima</i> I alone	<i>la'imadikc</i> , <i>da'-imadikc</i> , <i>a'-imadikc</i>
<i>ma'-ima</i> thou alone	they alone
<i>lxa'-imadikc</i> we (incl.) alone	

Besides these, Doctor Sapir has recorded in Wishram the following:

Shortest form:

<i>na(x)</i> I	<i>ya(x)</i> he	<i>da'-itc</i> they
		<i>la'-itc</i> they (Wishram Texts 48.4)
		<i>a'-itc</i> they

Inclusive:

<i>nai't!a</i> I too	<i>ya'xt!a</i> he too	<i>la'-it!ikc</i> they too
<i>lxi't!ikc</i> we too		<i>da'-it!ikc</i> they too
		<i>a'-it!ikc</i> they too

He remarks that the demonstratives of the third person (*ya'xia*) seem morphologically parallel to first and second personal emphatic pronouns (*na'ya*); that the demonstrative element *-i-* is characteristic of the first and second persons, *-x-* of the third; as in

<i>na-i-ka</i> I	<i>ya-x-ka</i> he
<i>na'-i-t!a</i> I too	<i>ya-x-t!a</i> he too
<i>na'-(i)-ya</i> I	<i>ya'-x-ia</i> he

These elements *-i-* and *-x-* are probably identical with Chinook *-i-* and *-x'*, *-x* in *x'v'La* and *x'ix'*, *xax*.

Particles (§§ 46-52)

§ 46. Attribute Complements

It is one of the most striking characteristics of the Chinook language that a few verbs of very indefinite meaning which require subjective and objective attribute complements are applied with great frequency. By far the greater number of these, and the most characteristic ones, are words that do not require pronominal prefixes. Many are clearly of onomatopoeic origin. In some cases it appears doubtful whether the words belong to the regular vocabulary of the language, or whether they are individual productions. This is true particularly when the words do not form part of the sentence, but appear rather as independent exclamations. Examples of this kind are the following:

oxuiwā'yul kumm, kumm, kumm, kumm they danced, *kumm, kumm, kumm, kumm*, 167.5 (here *kumm* indicates the noise of the feet of the dancers)

hōmm, iguā'nat ēnīLā'kux hōmm, I smell salmon 67.3

a'lta, pemm, temōtsqā'nuks gō iā'yacQL now *pemm*, flies were about his mouth 72.22 (*pemm* indicates the noise of flies)

tcx, tcx, tcx, tcx, gō lkamelā'Leq there was noise of footsteps (*tcx*) on the sand 75.3

In a number of cases onomatopoeic terms which undoubtedly belong to the regular vocabulary are used in the same manner:

tcɣup, tcɣup, tcɣup, tcɣup *alɛ'axx lā'k!ēwax* the torch flickered (literally, made *tcɣup*) 50.24

L!äq, L!äq, L!äq, Lā'xa nē'axx iskē'pɣoa, out, out, out, out came a rabbit 113.6

These cases make it plausible that most terms of this kind belong to the regular vocabulary. The frequent use of such onomatopoeic words and the occurrence of new words of the same kind (such as *tí'ntin* CLOCK, WATCH, TIME; *tsi'ktsik* WAGON) suggest that in Chinook the power of forming new words by imitative sounds has been quite vigorous until recent times.

Examples of onomatopoeic words of this class are:

hē'hē to laugh

tsɛx to break

hō'hō to cough

tcɣup to flicker

pō to blow

tczoap to gnaw

t!ɛq to slap

k!ut to tear off

t!āk to break a piece out

ɣwē to blow

tō'tō to shake

lɛp to boil

cix to rattle

L!äq to crackle

cāu low voice

L!lɛp to go under water

It is difficult to say where, in this class of words, the purely onomatopoeic character ceases, and where a more indirect representation of the verbal idea by sound begins. I think a distinct auditory image of the idea expressed is found in the following words:

iū'L!l proud

ku'lkul light (of weight)

wāx to pour out

k!ā silent

pāL full

q!am lazy

tɛmɛ'n clear

q!ul fast

tɛll tired

lō'lō round

tc!pāk loud

Lɛll to disappear

qu'tɣut exhausted

lāx to appear

qɛ'cgɛc to drive

Lzoap to dig

Most stems of this class occur both single and doubled, sometimes they are even repeated three or four times. Repetition indicates frequency of occurrence of the verbal idea; that is to say, it is distributive, referring to each single occurrence of the idea. We have—

wāx to pour out (blood) 68.1

wā'xwax to pour out (roots) 43.2

pō to blow once 66.25

pō'pō to blow repeatedly 129.20

tɛll tired

tɛ'lltɛll to be tired in all parts of the body

k!ut to tear off 89.25

k!u'tk!ut to tear to pieces 249.4

A few stems, however, occur in duplicated form only, probably on account of the character of the idea expressed, which always implies repetition. Such are—

<i>hē'hē</i> to laugh	<i>gu'tgut</i> exhausted
<i>hō'hō</i> to cough	<i>ku'lkul</i> light (of weight)
<i>tō'tō</i> to shake	<i>lōlō</i> round

Others do not occur in duplicated form, but take the distributive ending *-ma*. These are—

<i>pāL</i> full 39.1, distributive <i>pā'Lma</i> 229.24
<i>wuk!</i> straight, real 24.12, distributive <i>wuk!ma</i> 107.20
<i>cpεq</i> gray, distributive <i>cpε'qεma</i>

Still others do not seem to undergo any change for the distributive.

<i>tεmε'n</i> clean, empty	<i>k'!ē</i> to disappear, nothing
<i>tā'mεnuā</i> to give up 61.18	<i>k'!wac</i> afraid 90.5
<i>tq!ēx</i> to wish 129.27	<i>L!ap</i> to find 140.1, 138.15
<i>stāq!</i> war 272.5	

On the whole, it would seem that those least onomatopoeic in character lack the doubled distributive.

In a few cases the doubled form has acquired a distinctive significance.

<i>k!wan</i> hopeful 134.8	<i>k!wa'nk!wan</i> glad 38.20
<i>lāx</i> sideways 267.3	<i>lā'xlax</i> to deceive 65.19, to rock 129.2

The most common verbal stem which is used in connection with these attributes is *-x* TO BE, TO BECOME, TO DO, TO MAKE. *-ō(-ī?)*, the general verb for motion, is sometimes used with stems signifying motion. It seems difficult to classify these words, except those that clearly express noises. Among a total of 126 words of this class, 44 express activities or processes accompanied by noises; 16 are decidedly imitative; 22 designate states of the mind or body which may be expressed by imitative sounds, such as cold, tired, fear; 7 are terms of color; 45 express miscellaneous concepts, but some of these may also be considered as imitative. It seems likely that, in a language in which onomatopoeic terms are numerous, the frequent use of the association between sound and concept will, in its turn, increase the readiness with which other similar associations are established, so that, to the mind of the Chinook Indian, words may be sound-pictures which to our unaccustomed ear have no such value. I have found that, as my studies of this language progressed, the feeling for the sound-value of words like *wāx* TO POUR, *k'!ē* NOTH-

ING, *k!ômm* SILENCE, *lô* CALM, *pā'εpāε* TO DIVIDE, increased steadily. For this reason I believe that many words of the miscellaneous class conveyed sound-associations to the mind of the Chinook Indian.

It will be noticed that verbs of motion and transitive verbs, except such as are accompanied by decided noises, are almost absent from the list of these words.

In quite a number of cases these words seem to be rather adverbs than attribute complements:

cā'ucau nazayi'llk^ulē she told him in a low voice 40.21

lux nulā'tax'it it fell down broken 49.2

lkε'pLkεp atciō'cgam it took it in its talons 137.15

If I remember rightly the cadence of the spoken sentence, these words must rather be considered as standing alone, the auxiliary verb *-x* being omitted.

LIST OF ATTRIBUTE COMPLEMENTS

(1) Actions and processes accompanied by noises.

wā a noise under water 217.15)

uhū' noise of an arrow striking a body 49.3

(hεmm noise of wind 41.25)

hōmm smell 67.2

(hä noise of an arrow breaking 49.4)

hē'hē to laugh 12.22

hō'hō to cough

pεmm noise of flying 72.22

pō to blow 66.25; *pō'pō* 129.20

pā, pā, pā 175.3

(dell noise of bursting 49.19, noise of bear spirit 217.14)

t!εq to slap 40.25; *tε'qtεq* 26.8

tō'tō to shake 194.1

tumm noise of fire 45.16, noise of bear spirit 217.13

tεmm noise of feet 133.17

t!āk to break a piece out of something

cix noise of rattles 22.5

cεll noise of rattles on a blanket 61.22; *ci'llcill* rattling of breath of one choking 150.7

cā'ca to break, to wreck 198.7

cāu low voice 162.11; *cā'ucau* 40.21

cεx noise of flying birds 137.14

ts!εx (*tc!εx, te!ux, tεεx*) to break a piece of wood, antlers, etc., with hands 60.7; to split wood 27.2; sinews 138.19; roots 95.14 (not used for splitting planks out of trees); to skin a bird 136.23; to bark a tree 164.16; *ts!ε'xts!εx* 45.19; *nats!ε'x* a piece of flint flaked off 69.3

- tc̄ɣup, tc̄ɣɛp* to extinguish 51.2, to flicker 50.24; *tc̄ɣɛ'ptc̄ɣɛp* 28.8
tc̄ɣ noise of footsteps on sand 75.3
tc̄xoɑ'p to gnaw; *tc̄xoɑ'ptc̄xoɑp* 175.23
gumm a noise under water 217.16
gōm noise of something heavy falling down 27.9
kumm noise of dancing 167.5
gɛ'cgɛc to drive 15.5
k!ut to tear off 89.25; *k!u'tk!ut* to clear up (sky) 249.4
ku'tc̄ɣä to sneeze 64.24
qull noise of falling objects 67.1, noise of heels striking the ground 65.13
q!ɑ'lq!ɑl to beat time
q!ē door creaks 66.14
xx to blow 113.20
ɣä'ɣɑ to rub 65.9
ɣwē to blow nose 113.21, to blow on water before drinking 213.13
LEk^u to break 165.19; *LE'kLEk* 68.16
LE'kLEk to burrow 95.13
LEX to split (planks) 27.1, to burst 204.4; *L!E'xL!EX* to tear 145.20
LE'xLEX noise of scratching 153.7
Lap noise of shooting 272.20
LUx to come out 49.2, 201.1; *LU'xLUx* to pull out (of ground) 138.9
lkɛ'pLkɛp to grasp in talons 137.15
Lk!ōp to squeeze 9.8; *Lk!ō'pLk!ōp* with eyes run out 29.20
Lq!ōp to cut 114.3
Lxoɑ'p to dig 23.5; *Lxoɑ'pLxoɑp* 115.15
L!L! to titter 177.15
L!Eq to hit, to strike 156.23
L!üq, L!äx to crackle 38.1, 185.8
L!lɛp under water 14.8
- (2) Descriptive words.
- pāL* full 39.1; *pā'Lma* 229.24
wāx to pour out 68.1, to take across river in canoe 23.24; *wā'xwax* 43.2
wāx to light, set afire 28.2, to bloom 165.26
k!ōmm no noise
k!ā'ya no, none
k!ē no 128.5, nothing 14.1, to disappear 128.28
q!ɛl strong; *q!E'lq!ɛl* hard, 139.8, too difficult 204.12
tɛmɛ'n empty, clean
tɛ'tɛ to stop doing something
tuwā'x to light, shine 12.1 (see *wāx*)
ku'llkull light of weight 199.9
k!am, k!ɛm no, none 37.15
lɛp to boil 173.1

lō'lō round 186.23

L!āk spread out 178.7

L!mEN to break into small pieces, soft 130.4; *L!mE'nL!mEN* 17.9

(3) Words expressing states of mind and body.

iū'L!l proud 93.16

pet quiet 177.24

p!alā' quietly, safe 198.4

tell, täl tired 62.14; *tE'lltEll* tired all over (= rheumatism)

tq!ēx to like 129.27

t!ayā' well, healthy 165.21

tSES cold 41.9

tSE'xtSEx unwell, feeling uncomfortable

tczap to hesitate 27.15

q!at to love 41.6

xāx to notice, observe 75.17

LEk!, Läk! weak 212.21

tc!ē'ktc!ēk almost choked 151.1

lāx lonesome 22.3

gu'tgut exhausted

k!EX cloyed 46.24; *k!E'rk!EX* grease smell 137.7

k!ā silent 37.9, 129.2

k!wan hopeful 134.8; *k!wa'nk!wan* glad 38.20

k!wac afraid 211.15

k!cō stiff in joints

q!am lazy 138.4

L!ō'ya stingy (?) 139.11

L!ā to fear 212.11

L!pāq to recover 196.22

(4) Color-terms.

Lē'el black 25.11

k!äs yellow

cpeq gray (dry?) 109.10

tk!ōp white 124.25

ptcix green 30.21

Lpül red 185.20

ts!Emm variegated

(5) Miscellaneous words.

iā'c to let alone 187.13

ux to take a chance

wuk! straight 24.12; *wuk!Emā'* 107.20

pE'nka afoot 217.8, 107.6

pā'nic to give secretly payment to a shaman 200.7

pā^ε to divide; *pā'^εpa^ε* 248.4

pāx unlucky 264.13

- pōx* foggy 37.4
pux lukewarm
pō'xoiē to make a mistake
mEL! wet 37.5
manē'x to learn a secret 200.10
tā'menua to give up 61.18
tkE'tkEL dull
tklē to sit looking on
t!ā'nuwa to exchange 228.8
nekō to keep, to retain 277.14
stāq! war, attack 272.5
stux to untie, to unwrap 135.13; *stu'xstux* 116.10
(tctāx around a point)
tsk!ES to stoop
tc!pāk strongly 164.9, 110.1
k!au to tie 123.19; *k!au'k!au* 118.6
qōä't reaching 48.6, high water 198.24
quL to hang, to fish with gaff-hook 27.16, to put on garment, to dress 136.23
q!ē'cq!ec dry 14.19 (= thirsty) 21.1
(q!oa'p near 40.9)
q!ul low water 198.26
q!uL fast; *q!uL ē'cgam* hold fast 44.15 (see *quL*)
xuē't half full 166.8
xōp streaming
lāx sideways 267.3, afternoon 63.18, to miss 13.19; *lā'xlax* to rock 129.2, to deceive 65.19
lu'xlux slick
lu'xpamē adultery
LEX to sit still
lāq to step aside 146.14; to turn 137.12, 63.4; to cut off, to fall off 154.28, 194.1; to take out 65.11; *lā'qlāq* zigzag, also plural for the other meanings
lāx to appear, become visible 23.13; *lā'xlax* to emerge
lēx to cohabit 228.16; *lē'x'lēx* to prepare corpse for burial 253.3
lō calm 25.18
luwā' freshet
L!ap to find 261.8
L!āp fitting 154.8

§ 47. Adverbs

The dividing line between attribute complements and a number of adverbs can not be drawn very definitely. I am particularly doubtful how *t!aya'* WELL should be classed, and a few others which are placed in parentheses in the preceding list.

A considerable number of temporal and modal adverbs occur, the latter expressing certainty, compulsion, intention, and a great variety of ideas which we express by auxiliary verbs or by separate clauses. These can not be derived from simpler forms. Such are:

ai'aq can ¹
xa'oxal can not
qōi will
qē'xtcē without reaching the desired end
ka'lta in vain, only
qā'doxuē must
atsuwa' probably
lx may (implying uncertainty)
k'ōma perhaps
lō'nas I don't know (expression of uncertainty)
pōc contrary to fact
pet really
nākct not
na interrogative particle
lēqs almost
qalā'tcx'i hardly
ā'nqa(tē) already, before
a'lta now
ā' Lqē later on
kawa'tka soon
anā' sometimes
nau'i at once
lē, lē'lē a long time
q'astē'n for the first time
tcax for a while
wixt again
kulē'ts once more
alā'tēwa again in this manner
guā'nsem always
wāx next day (*wux'i'* to-morrow; *kawi'x'* early)
q!ōā'p near
tc!pāk quickly
lawā' slowly
 (*ai'aq* quickly)
tʔul too much
maniq!ā' too much
t!ā'qea just like
ā'la even

¹ Evidently the original significance of this word is QUICKLY; for instance, *ai'aq nō'ya* (If you tell me to go) I GO QUICKLY, i. e., I can go.

§ 48. *Exhortative Particles*

A number of exhortative particles form a peculiar group of words. They are applied so regularly and seem to be so weak, that I do not quite like to class them with interjections. It would seem that the meanings conveyed by some of these have very nice shades. Examples are:

- wuska* a somewhat energetic request—now do let us make an end of it and—37.12
niꞤua please, just try to 130.3
tcuꞤ since this is so, do (or let us) 24.10
tayax oh, if he would! 22.4
hō'ntcin be quiet
tca! well! introducing a new idea
(qā't!ōcꞤem look out!)
(nau'itka indeed!)
(tgt!ō'kti good!)

The last three of these hardly belong here. They are derivatives: *qā't!ōcꞤem* is probably derived from *t!ō* WELL; *nau'itka*, perhaps from *nau'i* AT ONCE; *tgt!ō'kti*, from *t!ō* WELL and *-kta* THING.

§ 49. *Interjections*

The line between the last group of words and true interjections is very indefinite. As might be expected, the number of interjections in this language which has such strong onomatopoeic tendencies is considerable. Some of these are:

- ā, á, ō* oh!
adē' surprise 29.13
ē pity for hardships endured 187.19
nā pity 116.15
anā' pain, regret, sorrow, pity 22.4, 161.13
ahaha' pain 177.16
anā'x pity 153.8
hē call 12.2, indeed 38.22, 186.8
hē a long distance 28.3, 123.13
hō, hōhō', ohō' surprise at the success of an action 24.3, 25.22, 67.14
lꞤuū' disgust 46.26
ha'ō'm, haō' now I understand! 39.27, 100.23
nā disapproval 145.12
nāq! contemptuous rejection of an offer 124.11
hohū' derisive rejection of a remark 23.25
ahā' ridicule, disbelief 166.23
ehēhū' derision 45.1

- lE* derision of weakness 60.14, 146.1
iä' reproach for foolishness 117.9
nāṣaxax anger 186.16
tcṣä that is nothing! 47.4
kuc good! 89.4 (also used by the Chehalis)
k!c oh! (?)

As mentioned before, many of the imitative attribute complements may be used as interjections. This may, indeed, be their original function. Such are *hemm* NOISE OF WIND, *kumm* NOISE OF DANCING, *k!óm* SILENCE. A few differ so much in form and use from the attribute complements, that I include them among the interjections:

<i>ha'lelelelelele</i>	noise of flight of an arrow 62.21
<i>wu'lelelele</i>	noise of flight of cormorants 77.16
<i>wa'tsetsetsetse</i>	cry of bluejay 31.2, 157.25
<i>qa'nawulewulewule</i>	cry of gull 88.21
<i>wō</i>	bark of dog 23.9
<i>wä</i>	cry of child 185.24
<i>hä</i>	cry of a person weeping 118.8
<i>wāūū</i>	low voice 162.3
<i>kukuku</i>	voice of bluejay after he had become a ghost 166.19

In this group belong also the burdens of songs, a few of which occur in the texts.

§ 50. Conjunctions

A number of invariable words perform the function of conjunctions. The meanings of a few of these are not quite certain. The most important are the following:

- ka* and, then (connecting sentences) 26.18
cka and, while (connecting sentences) 25.4
k!a and (connecting nouns)
tcx'i a little while passed, then 37.4 (often following the conjunction *qiä'x* IF)
tcu or 276.1
tatc!a although it is so, still 44.4
tal! although I did not expect it, still 74.9
ä'olele although I did not intend to, still 13.3
take then 135.6
a'lta now 135.5
tava'lta otherwise 134.8
manix when 253.14
qiä'x if 127.20 (*qē*, *qēc*?)

§ 51. Adjectives

Color-terms, the plural of small, the numerals from two to nine, and the indefinite numerals are used without pronominal prefixes. The color-terms were enumerated among the attribute complements, because they are generally used in that form. *gen'e'm* SMALL 38.17 is used only for plurals. I have found very few cases only in which these words are clearly used as adjectives:

aqlō'cgam ptcix LE'LUWELKLUWELK green mud was taken 30.21
lō'lo ikta something round 127.5

This is possibly due to the rarity of adjectives, except numerals and a few others in the texts. It would seem, however, that in most cases derivatives of these stems are used whenever the substantive or adjective is to be used, for instance:

ma'nix kā'ltac iLā'yul!l klā'qēwam when a shaman only has pride
 203.18

More often nouns with the prefix *k-* THE ONE WHO HAS (p. 579) are used to express adjectival ideas.

gē'latc!a a sick one (the one who has its sickness) 196.14

The cardinal and indefinite numerals of this class are:

<i>mōkct</i> two	<i>si'namōkct</i> seven	<i>ka'nawwē</i> all
<i>Lōn</i> three	<i>kstó'xkin</i> eight	<i>kapé't</i> enough
<i>la'kit</i> four	<i>kui'tst</i> nine	<i>qāmx</i> part
<i>qui'nem</i> five	<i>tcā</i> several	<i>mank</i> few
<i>te'xem</i> six		

All the cardinal numbers of this group when used as distributives take the suffix *-mtga*; when used as adverbs, they take the adverbial suffix *-ē*. The ordinals are formed by the third person pronominal prefix and the possessive form; for instance, *ēLa'Lōn* ITS THIRD ONE (m.) 217.21, *alā'Lōn* (f.) 211.20; and from these, again, ordinal adverbs, *ē'lalōnē* THE THIRD TIME 134.23. When counting human beings, all these numerals (cardinals as well as indefinite) take the prefix *a-* and the plural suffix *-kc*. *mōkct* TWO may also take the dual prefix *c-*.

To the groups of indefinite numerals belongs the peculiar form *kanem* EACH, ALL, TOGETHER, which occurs alone only in its distributive form *kanā'mtgema* 157.23, while generally it appears as a prefix of numerals: *kanemqōā'nem* FIVE TOGETHER 201.22, *lkanemqōā'nemiks* 176.8. With *mōkct* TWO it seems to lose its *m*: *skanasēmōkct* BOTH 76.14. In this form it appears also in *ka'nawwē* ALL.

§ 52. *Adverbs Derived from Intransitive Verbs*

Particles used as adverbs have been mentioned before. It has also been stated that numeral adverbs are formed from both ordinal and cardinal numbers by the suffix *-ē*. This is also used with intransitive verbs, the adverb being formed from the masculine third person singular.

iū' lqat it is long; *iū' lqtē* long

ē'nata the one on the other side; *ē'natai* on the other side

Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism (§§ 53-54)

§ 53. *Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism in Wishram (by Edward Sapir)*

Very characteristic of Wishram, as also without doubt of all other Chinookan dialects, is a series of changes in the manner, and to some extent in the place, of articulation of many of the consonants, in order to express diminutive and augmentative ideas in the words affected. This peculiar process of "consonantal ablaut," though perhaps most abundantly illustrated in the case of the noun, is exemplified in all parts of speech, so that it has almost as much of a rhetorical as of a purely grammatical character. Of the two series of consonantic changes referred to, that bringing about the addition to the meaning of the word of a diminutive idea is by far the more common, an actual change to augmentative consonantism hardly being found outside of the noun. The main facts of consonantic change may be briefly stated thus: To express the diminutive, non-fortis stopped consonants become fortis, the velars at the same time becoming back-palatals (the treatment of velar stops, however, seems to be somewhat irregular); *c* and its affricative developments *tc* and *tc!* become *s*, *ts*, and *ts!* (*s* seems sometimes to be still further "diminutivized" to *ts*, *ts* to *ts!*, so that *c*, *s*, *ts*, *ts!* may be considered as representing a scale of diminishing values); *x* becomes *ɣ*, in analogy to the change of velar stops to back-palatal stops just noted; other consonants remain unmodified. To express the augmentative, fortis consonants become non-fortis (generally sonant) stops, no change taking place of back-palatal to velar; *s*, *ts*, and *ts!* become respectively *c*, *tc*, and *tc!* (in some few cases *ts* and *tc* affricatives become *dj*, pronounced as in English judge, this sound not being otherwise known to occur in Wishram); other consonants remain unmodified.

The following table of consonantic changes will best make the matter clear:

Normal	Diminutive	Augmentative
<i>b, p</i>	<i>p!</i>	(<i>b</i>)
<i>d, t</i>	<i>t!</i>	(<i>d</i>)
<i>g, k</i>	<i>k!</i>	(<i>g</i>)
<i>g, q</i>	<i>k!, (g, k)</i>	(<i>q</i>)
<i>qx</i>	<i>kx</i>	(<i>qx</i>)
<i>q!</i>	<i>k!, (kx)</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>p!</i>	(<i>p!</i>)	<i>b</i>
<i>t!</i>	(<i>t!</i>)	<i>d</i>
<i>k!</i>	(<i>k!</i>)	<i>g</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>s, ts</i>	(<i>c</i>)
<i>tc</i>	<i>ts</i>	(<i>tc</i>), (?) <i>dj</i>
<i>tc!</i>	<i>ts!</i>	(<i>tc!</i>), <i>dj</i>
<i>s</i>	(<i>s</i>)	<i>c</i>
<i>ts</i>	(<i>ts</i>), <i>ts!</i>	<i>tc, dj</i>
<i>ts!</i>	(<i>ts!</i>)	<i>tc!</i> , (?) <i>dj</i>
<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>	(<i>x</i>)
<i>x</i>	(<i>x</i>)	(?) <i>x</i>

On the whole, there is a distinct tendency to have all the consonants of a word bear a consistent diminutive or augmentative coloring, though absolute concord in this regard is by no means always observed. In general it may be said that *c* and *s* sounds are most easily varied in accordance with our rule. Final non-affricative stops seem incapable of change. It often happens that the normal form of a word is itself partly diminutive in form owing to its meaning; in such cases the form may be still further "diminutivized" if it is desired to give the word a more than ordinarily diminutive force. Thus *-k!ac-* in *it-k!a'c-kac* CHILD is evidently a semi-diminutive form of the stem-syllable *-kac*; LITTLE CHILD, BABY appears in more pronouncedly diminutive form as *ilk!a'skas* (Wishram Texts 176.3).

The following table of body-part nouns will serve as a set of examples of diminutive and augmentative forms. The diminutives would naturally refer to the body-parts of a tiny child, the augmentatives to those of an abnormally large being, as a giant.

Normal	Diminutive	Augmentative
<i>i-p!a'qxa</i> flat-headed-ness (dim.)		<i>i-ba'qxa</i>
<i>i-gE'tc</i> nose (aug.)	<i>i-k!E'tc</i>	
<i>i't-pc</i> foot	<i>i't-ps</i>	

Normal	Diminutive	Augmentative
<i>i-qxw'i't</i> leg	<i>i-khw'i't</i>	
<i>a-q!o'xl</i> knee	<i>a-k!u'xl</i>	<i>a-go'xl</i>
<i>a-mE'luqtan</i> cheek	<i>a-mE'luk!tan</i>	
<i>i-mE'lxik!u'lamat</i> tongue		<i>i-mE'lxigu'lamat</i>
<i>i-mi'ct</i> lips	<i>i-mi'st</i>	
<i>i-k^ucxa't</i> mouth	<i>i-k!^usxa't</i>	
<i>wa'-kceN</i> finger	<i>wa'-kseN</i>	
<i>is-qxu's</i> eyes (dim.)		<i>ic-qxu'c</i>
<i>id-mE'qco</i> face-hair	<i>id-mE'kso</i>	
<i>i-k!wa'yat</i> crown of head		<i>i-gwa'yat</i>
<i>a-tckE'n</i> shoulder	<i>a-tsk!E'n</i>	
<i>wa-qxa'tc</i> breast	<i>wa-kxa'ts</i> ¹	
<i>i-kxa'tc</i> tooth	<i>i-k!a'ts</i>	
<i>i-q!a'qctaq</i> head		<i>i-ga'qctaq</i>
<i>ic-k!a'lkal</i> hip-joints	<i>is-k!a'lkal</i>	<i>ic-ga'lkal</i>
<i>is-q!wá'gwôst</i> jaws (dim.)	<i>is-k!wa'gwast</i>	
<i>a-mu'q!wal</i> paunch, stomach		<i>a-mu'qwal</i>

Examples of other than body-part nouns are:

Normal	Diminutive	Augmentative
<i>it-q!u'tcu</i> bones	<i>it-q!uts'ie'txlEm</i> dog (literally, eater of small bones)	
<i>i-tc!i'au</i> snake	<i>i-ts!i'au</i>	<i>i-dji'au</i>
<i>i-tsi'ktsik</i> wagon (dim.)	<i>is-ts!i'ktsik</i> buggy	<i>i-dji'kdjik</i> heavy truck
<i>i-cgi'lukc</i> wolf (aug.)	<i>il-sk!i'lukc</i> new-born wolf cub (Wishram Texts 56.30)	
<i>da-ga'c</i> yellow	<i>a-qx-k!i'c</i> gold	
<i>i-cga'n</i> cedar board	<i>wa-ska'n</i> box <i>wa'-tsk!un</i> cup	
<i>i-k!a'lamat</i> stone		<i>i-ga'lamat</i>
<i>a-k!a'munaq</i> fir		<i>a-ga'munaq</i>
<i>il-k!a'ckac</i> child (dim.)	<i>il-k!a'skas</i>	
<i>a-t!u'-gagilak</i> good, strong woman		<i>a-du'-gagilak</i> strap- ping big woman

¹ Cf. *wa-q!a'tc* THORN, dim. *wa-kʔa'ts* (Wishram Texts, p. 26.1)

In these lists, (dim.) and (aug.) mean that the words so designated are wholly or partly diminutive or augmentative in consonantism owing to their primary significance. In *i-p!a'qxa*, for instance, the diminutive notion implied by *p!* is easily understood if we remember that head-flattening is associated with infancy. In some cases a consonant change involves or is accompanied by a vocalic change; it seems that the change of *a* to *u* or *ɛ* has in itself more or less diminutive force (cf. *wa'-tsk!un* from *wa-ska'n* with *ila-k!ó'its* VERY LITTLE [Wishram Texts 176.3] ordinarily *-k!aits* SMALL). The case of *i-cga'n* as compared with *wa-ska'n* and *wa'-tsk!un* illustrates the fact that the diminutive form of a noun often has a specialized meaning of its own. A few more examples are:

Normal	Diminutive
<i>i-tc!i'nôn</i> eagle	<i>il-ts!i'nôn</i> bird
<i>i-tc!i'laq</i> cricket	<i>i-ts!i'laq</i> grasshopper
<i>i-q!apca'lwac</i> turtle	<i>is-k!a'psalwas</i> lock (of door)
<i>a-tca'la</i> grindstone	<i>a-tsa'la</i> file

It will be observed that several nouns on becoming diminutive in form at the same time change to a more suitable gender, masculines often becoming feminines (e. g., *wa-ska'n*), neuters (e. g., *il-sk!i'luks*), or diminutive duals in *is-* (e. g., *is-k!a'psalwas*). Most examples of diminutives and augmentatives hitherto given have been formed from nouns that in themselves have no necessary diminutive or augmentative force. Other examples than those already given of words with inherent diminutive force, and hence with at least partial diminutive consonantism, follow:

<i>a-k!u'ksk!uks</i> ankle	<i>is-ga'k!aps</i> hat
<i>a-p!u'ɣp!uɣ</i> elbow-joint	<i>i-k!a'its</i> smallness (contrast <i>-gail</i> BIGNESS)
<i>i-p!u'ɣc</i> cotton-tailed rabbit	<i>i-k!a'stila</i> crab
<i>a-t!antsa</i> crow (contrast <i>i-cka'lar</i> RAVEN)	<i>il-ɣan</i> (somebody's) child
<i>i-sk!u'lya</i> coyote (? cf. <i>i-cgilukc</i> WOLF)	<i>i-sk!wô'latsintsin</i> swallow
<i>a-gu'sgus</i> chipmunk	<i>wa-tsk!E'nLɛ</i> nit
<i>a-p!una'tsektek</i> mosquito (? cf. <i>-bena</i> JUMP)	

Particularly instructive as indicating a live feeling for diminutive consonantism are such words as *a-lik!u'k* CHICKEN and *a-lap!u's* CAT borrowed from Chinook jargon (*p* in *-pus* would not be consistent

with diminutive *s*). It is perhaps not too far-fetched to recognize augmentative consonantism in the following nouns:

<i>i-ga'nuk</i> beaver	<i>ic-kcku'ct</i> testicles (contrast <i>is-</i>
<i>i-gu'nat</i> Chinook salmon (con-	<i>qxu's</i> EYES)
trast <i>wa-tsu'iha</i> BLUE-	<i>i-gu'caz</i> sky
BLACK SALMON)	<i>ic-gwô'lala</i> gun
<i>i-ce'lqcelq</i> porcupine	<i>wa'-itc</i> tail of mammal
<i>ic-ga'kwal</i> eel	<i>ic-li'ct</i> fish-tail (contrast <i>is-p!i'ost</i>
<i>i-du'iha</i> buffalo	TAIL OF BULB, DRIED FISH)

It sometimes happens that a change to diminutive consonantism implies not so much the diminutiveness of the object referred to as a sense of endearment. This seems particularly true in the case of certain terms of relationship:

Non-diminutive		Diminutive
<i>-qce-n</i>	} man's son's	<i>-k!a'c-u-c</i> paternal grandfather
<i>ga'c-u</i> (vocative)		} child
<i>-gak-an</i>	} man's daugh-	<i>-ga'k!-u-c</i> maternal grandfather
<i>ga'g-u</i> (vocative)		} ter's child
<i>-gi-an</i> woman's son's child		<i>-k!i-c</i> paternal grandmother

Interesting as examples of augmentative consonantism are the names of Coyote's four sons, all of which are derived from words denoting body-parts of the salmon. The augmentative consonantism implies the lubberliness of Coyote's sons.

Body-parts of salmon	Names of Coyote's sons
<i>i-k!la'tcin</i> salmon-head gristle	<i>Sipa'-glatsin</i> Big Gristle (Wishram Texts 66.5)
<i>i-ksa'lk!uts</i> backbone of fish	<i>Sipa'-ksalguts</i> Big Backbone (Wishram Texts 66.6)
<i>i-q!wi'nan</i> fin	<i>Sapa'-gwinan</i> Big Fin (Wishram Texts 66.7)
<i>a-k!a'tk!tgwax</i> adipose fin (? better <i>-q!a'tk!tgwax</i>)	<i>Sapag-a'tk!tgwax</i> Big Adipose Fin (Wishram Texts 66.8)

As has already been remarked, the noun is not the only part of speech that illustrates the consonantal play here discussed. Adverbs and particle verbs of appropriate meaning sometimes show diminutive consonantism: *ts!u'nus* A LITTLE; *sāk!* TO WHISTLE; *sa'u sa'u* TO WHISPER (contrast Lower Chinook *cāu*); Lower Chinook *k!a* AND may be diminutive to *ka*. The diminutive form of a particle verb denotes a less intense state of being or activity than its correlative form. Sometimes its meaning is considerably specialized:

Non-diminutive
tcic cold

ma'ca to spoil
gut to break up (earth) by
digging

Possibly also—

wax to pour out
lq'up to cut

Diminutive
(*ts!u'nus*) *a-itsā's* just (a little)
cool (Wishram Texts 190.15)

ma'sa to be ashamed
k!u'tk!ut to pluck

wax to set on fire; to bloom
lk!up to shoot

The dual in *is-* is not the only example of a diminutive form of a purely grammatical element. The diminutive stem *-q!wa'lasup* FAST RUNNING occurs with possessive prefixes showing diminutive consonantism. Thus the normal elements *-tca-* HER and *-cda-* OF THEM TWO appear as *-tsa-* and *-st!a-* in *i-tsa-q!wa'lasup* SHE RUNS FAST (Wishram Texts 66.9) and *i-st!a-q!wa'lasup* THEY TWO RUN FAST (Wishram Texts 66.13). Similarly, in a song (Wishram Texts 94.23), where the reference is to *is-p!i'ast* TAIL OF BULB, a noun of diminutive form, the pronominal element *cd-* and the post-positive local element *-ba* AT appear as *st-* (? better *st!-*) and *-p!a*. Thus:

staimap!ā' giskip!i'ast it-alone-at the-my-tail

Finally the verb may show diminutive consonantism, partly in the stem itself, partly in its local and adverbial prefixes and suffixes, partly and most frequently in its pronominal prefixes. Examples of verb stems in distinctly diminutive form are not exactly common, but certain cases seem clear enough. Thus *gaqiulat!a'-ulx* HE WAS TOSSED UP (Wishram Texts 84.26) and *gaciuulat!a'melq* HE SWALLOWED HIM BY SUCKING HIM IN evidently contain a diminutive form of the verb stem *-lada-* TO THROW AWAY; *silu'skwax* IT TREMBLES (Wishram Texts 116.10) and *gas!ximk!na-uk'atsk* HE LOOKED AROUND (Wishram Texts 30.6) show diminutive consonantism both in their stems (*-skw-* and *-k!na-u-*) and in their first incorporated pronominal objects (dual *s-*), the latter verb also in its adverbial suffix *-tsk*, doubtless the diminutive form of *-tck* UP FROM POSITION OF REST; *gats(s)altsgi'ma* HE LAID HER BELLY UP (Wishram Texts 56.27) shows diminutive consonantism in both stem (*-tsgi*) and incorporated pronominal subject (*-ts-*) and first object (dual *-s-*).

We have already given *-tsk* as an example of a derivative suffix with diminutive consonantism. Other such suffixes are *-p!a* SLIGHTLY OUT (OF POSITION) (from *-ba* OUT) in *ayulap!a'teguxwida* IT WILL TILT UP, literally, IT WILL SPONTANEOUSLY MOVE OUT UP FROM ITS SITTING

POSITION (Wishram Texts 184.10) and *tsu* (from *-tcu* DOWN) in *ililu'stsu* (WATER) MOVED DOWN INTO THE (HOLLOW PLACE). As examples of diminutive forms of local prefixes may be given *-k!el-* (from *-gel-* DIRECTED TOWARD) in *ga-tssi'k!elutk* HE LOOKED AT HIM and its reflexive correlative *-xel-* (from *-xel*) in *gasi'xelutk* HE LOOKED; *-sk!em-* UNDER in *iniask!emla'datcu* I THREW IT DOWN UNDER HER is doubtless diminutive to *-gem-* NEXT TO (cf. *-tcu* and *-s-tsu* ABOVE).

The only examples of diminutive consonantism in the pronominal prefixes of verb forms occur in the case of *ts* (for *tc*, third person masculine subject transitive) and *s* (for *c*, third person dual subject intransitive and transitive and object transitive). Whenever the object of the transitive verb (or the apparent subject, really first object, of the "half-transitive" verb) is diminutive in form, the pronominal prefixes *tc* and *c* appear as *ts* and *s*; the *ts* by no means implies the diminutive character of the transitive subject. Examples are: *i'wi gatssu'x isié'ngxôq* HE LOOKED AT HIS FISH-LINE (Wishram Texts 140.28), where the incorporated pronominal dual element *-s-* of *gatssu'x* refers to the diminutive dual object *is-ié'-ngxôq* HIS FISH-LINE, while the pronominal subject *-ts-* HE agrees with the object in diminutive consonantism; *galksu'klam* (*-lks-* always appears for *-skl-*) THE TWO (WOMEN) CAME HOME WITH THE (BABY) (Wishram Texts 2.12), the diminutive dual *-s-* referring to the grown-up women, not to the baby; *gasengatk!agwā'x gas ktênak!wā'st* IT-WAVES-FREELY-OVER-ME-MY-FEATHERED-CLOAK (Wishram Texts 142.5), where the first object *-s-* of the half-transitive verb refers to the diminutive dual noun *s-tênak!wā'st* (SMALL) FEATHERED CLOAK. Particularly noteworthy in this connection is the idiomatic use of a diminutive dual object *-s-* referring to an implied, unexpressed noun of diminutive significance; there need not even exist such a diminutive dual noun to which reference, if desired, could be explicitly made. A good example is: *gaks'i'lutk* SHE CRADLED HIM, literally, SHE PUT THE-TWO-SMALL (OBJECTS) DOWN TO HIM, where THE TWO SMALL (OBJECTS) refer to an implied word for CRADLE, though the word for CRADLE in actual use is a masculine (*i'-lkaru*). Similarly, verbs of jumping and somersaulting have an incorporated diminutive dual object *-s-* referring to THE TWO SMALL (FEET), though the actual word for FEET is plural (*i't-pc*). Examples are: *gaksu'bena* SHE JUMPED; *gasixmi'lgwa* HE TURNED A SOMERSAULT (Wishram Texts 82.18); and *gats(s)altsgi'ma* HE LAID HER, BELLY UP. The

most transparent example of the use of an incorporated diminutive dual object to refer to an unexpressed but existing noun is afforded by certain verbs of looking, in which the *-s-* has reference to *is-qru's* THE TWO EYES. A frequently occurring example of such a verb is *gatssi'k!elutk* HE LOOKED AT HIM, literally, HE PUT THE TWO SMALL (EYES) DOWN TOWARD HIM, the *-tc-* and *-gēl-* appearing in their diminutive forms *-ts-* and *-k!ēl-* to agree with the object *-s-*; *gasixim-k!na'-uk^uatsk* HE LOOKED AROUND is another such verb.

As a rule, it will have been observed, a verb form tends to be consistently diminutive or non-diminutive in its consonantism. It is at least possible, however, to limit the application of the diminutive idea to some specific element of the action by "diminutivizing" only some corresponding element of the verb form. An example already published elsewhere will again do service here. The normal word for I STRUCK HIM WITH IT is *inige'ltcim*. If the verb stem *-tcim* appears, with diminutive consonantism, as *-tsim*, it implies that the person struck is small; if the verbal prefix *-gēl-*, which implies in this case intent to hit, is pronounced *-k!ēl-* the implication is that the missile used is a small one. Hence we have four forms: *inige'ltcim* I HIT HIM WITH IT; *inige'ltsim* I HIT HIM (a child perhaps) WITH IT; *inik!ēl-tcim* I HIT HIM WITH IT (SOMETHING SMALL), and *inik!ēltsim* I HIT HIM (A CHILD) WITH IT (SOMETHING SMALL). To be sure, such examples are very uncommon and the one just given is perhaps little more than a linguistic tour de force. Nevertheless, it shows very clearly how thoroughly alive is the feeling for the significance of consonantal play.

§ 54. *Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism in Chinook and Kathlamet*

So far as I am able to discover, the diminutive and augmentative consonantism of the *p* and *t* stops does not occur in Chinook; perhaps because the strengthening of these consonants in case of the dropping of a following velar counteracted this tendency. When the word *t!alē'ma* CREEKS has a fortis *t!* on account of the dropping of *q* in the stem *-qēL*, the same strengthening can not very well denote at the same time diminution.

There are, however, indications that the changes from *c* to *s* and the corresponding affricatives occurred, although the significance of

the process does not seem to have been very clear in the mind of my sole informant, Charles Cultee, while my only Clatsop informant considered changes of this type as distinguishing characteristics of the Chinook and Clatsop dialects. For instance: Clatsop, *ē'cēlqēlq*: Chinook, *ē'sēlqēlq* PORCUPINE.

The most characteristic case that I have found in Chinook is the following:

itsa'antca-y-ōgō'lal the waves are too bad (too great)

itsa'antsa-y-ōgō'lal the waves are a little bad

I have also:

ē'cgan cedar

i-sgē'nema young cedars

It is, however, worth remarking that this plural occurs with the particle—

gē'nem isgē'nema small young cedars

without strengthening of the *g* of *gē'nem*. An examination of the texts and explanatory notes collected from Cultee makes it fairly certain that he did not use the diminutive changes of stops in Lower Chinook.

It seems possible that a relation like that between *c* and *s* may exist between *L* and *ts*.

iā'qoa-iL large

iā'qoa-its small

iō'lqat long

iū'tsqat short

L!ex to split large planks

ts!ex to split small pieces of wood

Lxoap to dig

tsxoap to gnaw

In Kathlamet I have found one very clear case of consonantic change, analogous to those found in Wishram:

ksemm taxī tk!unā'temax *ō'xoart* small are those little salmon 98.8
(Kathlamet Texts)

Here the *s* in *ksemm* indicates smallness, and *tgunā'temax* SALMON has been changed to *tk!unā'temax*.

Syntax (§§ 55-56)

§ 55. Syntax of Lower Chinook

In the discussion of the morphology of the verb it has been shown that every verbal form contains incorporated pronominal representatives of the subject, and of the direct and indirect objects when these occur. Nominal incorporation is almost entirely absent. The nominal subject and the object are treated as appositions, without any organic connection with the sentence, except in so far as the

pronouns agree with the nominal gender. This agreement is, on the whole, one of form, but in the Lower Chinook texts cases occur in which the noun has indefinite (neuter) gender L-, while, according to its actual sex or number, the incorporated pronoun is masculine, feminine, or plural. I do not know whether this is an individual trait of the narrator of the available texts or not.

Generally the verb with its incorporated pronouns precedes the subject and objects, but there is great freedom of usage.

Sentences with intransitive verbs:

ayō'maqt iLā'zak! EMāna dead was their chief 37.1

ALtē'mam LGōLē'lXEMk it came a person 11.15

Sentences with transitive verbs, nominal subject and object:

ALktō'p! ENa Lā'ēwam qō'La Lā'nēwa he utters his song that first one 196.7

tgiē'nXautē ikanā'tē tEMēwā'LEma they watch it a soul the ghosts 199.10 (*tgi-* they it; *i-kanā'tē* soul; *t-mēwā'LEma* ghosts)

ALGō'ctxōx Lē'gūl qax ō'ō'kuil she carries her on her back a woman that woman 248.21

Examples of inverted order are the following:

ēqctxē'lau atcungō'mit LEMcā'wux a monster (he) carried (her) away your younger sister 11.5

ka qō'La iau'a k'!imta' ALktōp! ENā'x Lā'ēwam and that one there behind (he) utters (them) his songs 196.9

ēmā'cEN ALGiā'x kLā'qēwam a deer makes the one who has (his) songs (i. e., the shaman) 199.11

aqui'nEMikc tkalā'mukc atgā'qcx ō'LEXkul five men (they) hold (her) in their mouths dried salmon 267.19

ē'ō'k ALGē'LElōtx kLōp! ENā'n tē'lXEM a blanket he gives (it) to (them) those who named the people 267.25

Particle verbs always precede their auxiliary verb:

Lāq° atcā'yax he took him out 133.13

stux atcā'yax he untied him 135.13

ūhu' nē'rax he made *ūhu'* 49.3

LEk^u nā'rax it (fem.) broke 70.24

L!lap ā'yō he went under water 14.16

This agrees with the most frequent position of adverbs:

ā'ka ALXā'x thus it does 239.16

nau'i ALō'mEqtX it faints at once 239.6

nāket ALGiā'wa^ε they did not kill him 99.18

ya'xkati atgē'p!x there they entered 49.14

The discussion of the prefixes in § 25 shows that the relation of indirect objects to the verb are expressed by verbal elements. In

Lower Chinook prepositional elements are practically absent, but we find the demonstrative *gō*, which is used almost like a preposition.

- iō'c gō iqē'p!al* he was in the doorway 65.3
atcā'yaqç gō iā'tuk he bit him at his neck 9.9
naxalgu'litck gō ōgō'xō she told her daughter 11.20
atclā'tklam gō wē'wulē they brought it into the house 11.23
pō'pō agē'lax gō ltcuq she blew on them with water 12.6
agiō'xtkinema gō tē'lxim she searched for him among the people 13.8

The demonstrative character of *gō* appears in sentences like—

- mō'ya mā'lxolē gō* go there inland! 13.1
a'lia gō-y-ō'ō'lax now (when) there the sun 13.5
lō'nas gō lqētcamē'tē lkēx perhaps a comb is there 13.20
gō nō'yam ō'ō'lax there arrived the sun 97.16

It will be shown in § 56 that Wishram possesses quite a number of post-positional elements. In Lower Chinook a few of these appear, clearly loan-words, taken from Upper Chinook:

- yukpē't* up to here 13.9
kapē't (go-pē't?) up to there, enough 98.4

In Kathlamet the number of post-positional elements is greater, but only one or two are used with any degree of freedom:

-pa. This post-position takes the place of *gō* of the Lower Chinook.

It is used quite freely (see § 56.1).

- igixk!ōā'mam tē'ctaqlpa* he arrived at their twoselves' house 91.13¹
itclōlā'etamit laxi lēxā't ltcu'qoapa q!ōā'p he placed it that one at the water near 121.4
q!at igi'yuxt ē'tcamxcpa like she did him her heart in 132.5

Here belong also the common demonstrative adverbs—

- kō'pa* there 216.9
gipā' here 250.14

-pet. The post-position *-pet* is not quite free in Kathlamet.

- gipe'temaç* to those places 131.10
ē'lxpät as far as the ground 67.12

-tu toward.

- iō'ya ē'wata ca'xalata* he went there, then upward 219.2

-at from

- ē'wa iā'pōtcā't lqā'wulqt lāx il'xōx* then from his anus blood came out 184.5.

-te like.

- l!a lkak!emā'nate itcā'kvilē* like a chief was her resemblance 247.6
siā'xōst la lktemenā'kstē his face was like the moon 246.6

¹ References on the rest of this page refer to F. Boas, Kathlamet Texts.

In most cases transitive and intransitive verbs are used in the ordinary manner, but a number of peculiar forms of expression deserve mention. The directional *-ō-* (§ 26) occurs in many transitive and intransitive verbs. When, however, a stem, according to its significance, is transitive, it may be made intransitive either by means of the prefix *-ki-* (§ 26), which brings about elimination of an object, or by the use of reflexive forms. Which of these forms is used depends in part on usage. In some cases the two forms are used for expressing different tenses. Thus *i-kē'-x* (*i-* he; *-kē-* prefix eliminating object; *-x* to do) signifies HE IS, the continuative tense, *n-ē'-x-a-x* (*n-* modal; *-ē-* he; *-x-* reflexive; *-a-* directive; *-x* to do) signifies HE BECOMES, the transitional tense. The manner of eliminating objects has been discussed before (§ 26). It seems, however, desirable to call attention here to the frequent use of implied objects and to the peculiar intransitive verbs with indirect objects which occupy a prominent position in Chinook sentences. Implied objects occur frequently with verbs implying the use of parts of the body, as

a lksō'pēna it jumped (literally, it jumped the two [feet]) 9.6

atkcintēnā'xē they kneel (literally, they kneel them two) 270.6

sā'npōt she closed her eyes (literally, they two were closed in her) 48.10

They occur also with other verbs:

mELnēlēcā'ma you will comb me (literally, you will comb it [namely, the comb] to me)

atca-ü'lgēmax he shouted at him (literally, he shouted her [namely, the shout] at him 236.9)

anLē'ltckō I oil him (literally, I oil it [namely, the oil] to him)

Intransitive verbs with indirect object are used often in place of our transitives. These forms also contain often implied objects.

nē'nxlayu he deserts me (literally, he removes himself from me)
ayaxE'l'iōmēqt she forgets him (literally, he on account of her forgets his own) 167.16

ninxE'lgilx I burn him (literally, he catches fire from me)

sēnpō'xuit I close my eyes (literally, they two are closed in me)

mcagelā'etā-ē you cure her (literally, you cure on account of her)

Subordinate modes are not indicated in Chinook by changes in the form of the verbs. Subordination of sentences is indicated only by conjunctions which are followed by the usual verbal forms. The

most frequent form of subordination is brought about by the particle *ma'nix* which indicates primarily a temporal relation.

ma'nix aqi'e'lgelax ikē'utan when someone sees (it) a horse 198.1
ma'nix ltē'mama, mītelō'ta when they come, give it to them 66.22
mīxenlk!ā'yōgō imē'tuk ma'nix aqemō'lekta bend your neck when
 some one will roast you 107.21 (*mi-* you him; *-xen* reflexive;
-Lk!ik to bend, plural *-Lk!āyuk*; *i-tuk* neck; *-lekta* to roast)

The conditional conjunctions are closely connected with the demonstrative pronoun. The forms *qē*, *qēa*, *qiā'x* occur, which perhaps express NEARNESS and ABSENCE. When a statement contrary to fact is to be expressed, the particle *pōs* is used.

qē nēkctx mai'kxa imē'q!atzala, pōc nēkct ē'ka atci'lzax if it had not been for your badness, he would not have done so to us 139.19 (*nēkct* not; *mai'kxa* thou; *i-q!atzala* badness; *ē'ka* thus; *tc-* he; *-lx* us; *-a* directive; *-x* to do)

qia nākct qax ḡō'kuil, pōc nākct aqiā'wa^e if it had not been for that woman, he would not have been killed 64.5 (*qax* that, feminine; *ḡō'kuil* woman; *qi-* somebody him; *-ā-* directive; *-wa^e* to kill)

t!ayā' qia' mkl!ē'mēn good, if you dive 12.12

qiā'x q!oā'p ilē'ē tcx'ī pōs amlō'lzām algiō'cgam when you were near the land you should have said to it to take it 44.2 (*q!oā'p* near; *ilē'ē* land; *tcx'ī* then; *aml-* you it; *-ō-* directive; *-lzām* to say; *algi-* it him; *-o-* directive; *-cgam* to take)

qiā'x itcā'yan, tcx'ī miā'zō if it is a snake, then you shall eat it 194.2

The interrogative is expressed by the particle *na*, which, however, is not used when there is an interrogative pronoun or adverb.

tenlā'xo-ix na tge'ētgeu? are (they) known to me my slaves? 117.10

nēkct na tnē'trix? do I not know it? 66.2

ē'ktaLx Lgiā'zō? what will he eat? 22.20 (*ē'kta* what; *-Lx* may be; *Lgi-* it him [masc. object corresponding to *ē'kta*])

qā'xēwa ā'lō? where did they go? 23.14

la'ksta x'ix'ō'la? who is that? 73.14

The imperative differs from other verbal forms in that it has no directive prefix. The imperative of the transitive verb has no subject of the second person. (See §§ 22, 26).

§ 56. *Post-positions in Wishram (by Edward Sapir)*

Wishram, differing markedly in this respect from Lower Chinook, makes rather considerable use of a series of post-positive particles

defining material case relations (chiefly local and instrumental). As most such relations can be expressed by means of local and adverbial prefixes and suffixes in the verb, the denominating parts of speech being in apposition to incorporated pronominal elements, this use of postpositions must be considered as un-Chinookan in origin; the fact that some of the postpositive particles are phonetically identical with corresponding Sahaptin case suffixes proves the whole process to be borrowed from the neighboring Sahaptin linguistic stock. As a rule such postpositive particles are used with denominating parts of speech (nouns, pronouns, adjectives), but some of them may also be suffixed to predicating words (verbs, particle verbs); in the latter case the predicate is to be considered as substantivized syntactically, though not morphologically, and is used subordinately to another predicate. Wishram thus utilizes its postpositions to some extent in the building up of subordinate clauses. Where a noun or other denominating part of speech has been already represented in the verb by an incorporated pronominal element, its relation to the verb and to other nouns in the sentence is necessarily already defined, so that no postposition is necessary; even here, however, it not infrequently happens that a postposition is pleonastically used (compare such English possibilities as "He entered into the house"). If a noun is modified by a preceding attributive word (demonstrative pronoun, numeral, noun, or adjective), the postposition is used with the modifying word. The postpositions, with examples illustrating their uses, are listed in the following paragraphs:

1. **-ba (-pa)** IN, AT. With this element should be compared Yakima **-pa** IN. Examples illustrating its use with nouns and pronouns occur with very great frequency, so that only a few need here be given.

cikxa'-imat ci't'iḡ yak'cxa'tpa half of it lies in his mouth 4.3¹

gaklakxa'-ima ilk'a'ckac akni'mba she put the child in the canoe
2.11

atgadi'mama da'uyaba w'i'lḡ they will come in this land 6.17

gayu'yam iḡtpô' w'ilḡ he arrived at one land 6.28

itcqxē'mem axqatcpa I am sick in my breast 12.27

gatci'upmt it!ô'xwatckpa he hid it in the bushes 18.25

galu'ya yazka'ba he went up to him 20.10 (one can also say
galiglu'ya HE WENT TO HIM with local prefix **-geḡ-**)

¹ References are to Wishram Texts.

gadiq!ellxi'uba icia'gítcha ya'k^uc̣atpa wamL!u'xiba they went out through him at his nostrils, at his mouth, and at his ears 28.24
galu'xuni yaga'ilpa wi'mal it floated in the great river 48.7
alxu'ya wa'tcktib' itga'qpuks let us go on the tops of the grass 70.26 (literally, the-grass-at its-tops)

Observe that the first two examples illustrate its pleonastic use; the nouns *yak^uc̣a't* and *akní'm* have been respectively anticipated in the verb by the pronominal elements *-i-* and *-a-*, while their local relation to the verb is defined by the prefix *-k-* ON following these elements. *-ba* is also used with demonstrative stems to form adverbs of place where: *da'ba* HERE; *kwó'ba* THERE; *iā'xiba* YONDER.

As subordinating element, *-ba* denotes WHERE; less frequently it indicates cause. It is suffixed either to the verb itself, or, similarly to the case of the modified noun, to an adverb or particle preceding the verb. Examples are:

ctā'xya i'nadix q!a'tsɛnba gatccqɛ'lgɛlx across yonder (were) the two where he had first seen them 8.10 (literally, first-at he-saw-them)
galiktó'ptck gatccqɛlkɛ'lɣpa he came to land where he had seen them 8.5
ē'wi gali'xôx gayaxa'limatɣpa he looked back to where he had thrown himself into the water 8.6
ma'sa gali'xôx q!u'mba gagi'ux he was ashamed because she had disturbed him in his sleep 58.26 (literally, disturb-in-sleep at she-made-him)

2. *-iamt* (often with palatalized *a* as *-iämt*, *-iëmt*) TO, FROM. This suffix is probably Chinookan in origin; it may be plausibly analyzed as verb stem *-i-* GO + verb suffix *-am* ARRIVING + tense suffix *-t*. This analysis would explain its two apparently contradictory meanings. It tends to draw the accent to itself. Examples are:

icktê'lgwiptck wimahia'mt they collected (driftwood) from the river 2.2
nigɛlga'ba iciagitcia'mt it flew out of his nostrils 80.29 (literally, out of him from his nostrils)
gacɣ^uk!wa'x tctôqlia'mt the two returned to their house 2.12
gayuk!wí'xa ilaxní'miëmt he swam to the person's canoe 18.23
mɣa'tcktcam wimahia'mt go to the river and wash yourself 22.18 (literally, go-and-wash-yourself to-the-river)
gatclu'k^ul itqu'tiä'mt iltcgoa he took the water to the house 28.8

As subordinating element it may be translated as TO WHERE. An example of its use after verbs is:

asEMxELu'tka a'tpxiamd aga'lax you shall look towards the east
188.21 (literally, she-comes-out to-where the-sun)

3. *ba'ma* FOR, BELONGING TO. This is evidently the Yakima suffix
-*pama* FOR. Examples of its use with denominating words are:
na'ikabam' amtklni'dama ilqagi'lak for my sake you two will go
and get me the woman 62.25
ya'xtau laxka'bama lgiubi'tcema that (fish) he obtains for himself
186.4
gaqxó'gwigax its!i'nónks w'lxpama animals were taken belonging to
the country 16.13
ctmó'ket gactu'ix ntca'ikabama two of our men (literally, us-for)
went on 216.16
da'nbama qxē'dau mxu'lal what for do you speak thus? 132.24
lga'tqwóm luwa'n qa'xbabama he has come I know not where from
128.17 (literally, what-in belonging-to)
k!a'ya kwó'babama idE'lzam tcdurt he had not made people be-
longing to there 44.23
gi'gwalbam' ilk!i'tit underclothes (literally, below-for clothes)

Less commonly *bama* may precede. An example is—

bam' ilxē'wulx aktugwi'' ilk!a'lamat he carries rocks for (i. e., in
order to gain) strength 186.17 (cf. *ilxē'wulx bama* 188.2)

When used at the beginning of a predication, *bama* gives it the
meaning of a clause of purpose. Examples are:

ba'ma la'-itcka a'lēm' atcludi'na in order that he might kill them
54.2 (literally, for them will he-will-kill-them)
bama capca'p qixux'nnil ika'ba 188.19 for chopping up the ice
(literally, for chop-up it-is-always-made the-ice)

When accented (*bama'*), it is used after predicates to mean EVER
SINCE. An example is—

nk!a'ckabama' k!ā'ya qzantcix itctqE'mEM ever since I was a
child I have never been sick 190.9

4. (*E*)*nEgi* WITH, BY MEANS OF, less frequently MADE OUT OF. It
seems to be the Yakima genitive case ending -*ngi*. Examples
are—

axk' E'nEgi amcgiv'xa lq!ó'p with it you will cut it off 12.4
lq!ó'p galgi'ux aqE'nEkc E'nEgi they cut it off with the stone knife
18.5
galkló'ql' alakcE'n E'nEgi he counted them with his finger 18.19
it!a'ma ngi gayu'ya he went by means of a round-pointed canoe
38.21
iga'bENac E'nEgi gatclu'x he made them out of young oak 4.13

Less frequently *ngi* may precede. Examples are—

xa'u xau galxu'x ng' ilkc'e'n they combed themselves with the hand 78.10

ayak!a'lamat ngi wa'nux his pipe (was) made out of a stomach 94.9

a'mENi MADE OUT OF, less frequently WITH. It is perhaps the Yakima *-nmi*. Examples are—

sā'q^u itk!a'lamat a'mENi aki!xax it is entirely out of stones 82.13
isk!u'ly' amENi isga'k!aps aqsu'xwa a hat is made out of coyote 182.7

alk!wa'dit amENi aqiu'xwa it is made of tule 182.9

itq!u'tc' a'mENi tse'xtsEX gaqtu'x itk!a'munaq they split trees by means of antlers 182.14

6. **-pt** UP TO is used to form adverbs out of demonstrative stems:

• *dapt* UP TO HERE; *kwôpt* UP TO THERE, THEN, ENOUGH; *ya'xpt* UP TO YONDER. Probably etymologically identical with this element is **-bEt**, frequently added to verbs or other words in the predicate to form temporal clauses. Examples are—

gatc'e'mqwit lqa'wulqt gagiula'dabit he spit blood when she threw him down 14.11

galikta'tckpET p!a'la igi'xôx when he had come up out of the water, he stopped 22.18

lE'p(b)ET alxu'xwa anigELgā'ya when he dives, I shall take hold of it 18.20

nk!a'ckacbET when I was a boy 188.8

aga'lax alaxu'xwa yaxtadi'wi gali'ruX galxô'qbET the weather will be as it was when they came together 130.27

When rhetorically lengthened to *-bā't*, this post-position has a general cumulative significance; with verbs it is best translated AS MANY AS. Examples are—

gwE'nEmabā'd ilgwô'mEX antk!wa'lalaqvida I shall be absent as much as five days 122.12

kwô'pt natcdupqENayabā't that many (ropes) as he had apporportioned 188.6

qxa'ntcipt alktra'tgway' atctulxamabā't he piles up as many as he tells him to 186.19

7. **diwi** (emphatic *dā'wi*) LIKE. This element is very likely of demonstrative origin, and so does not perhaps belong here. It is freely used, however, as a post-position, and so may be included. Examples are—

ick!a'li diwi datc!i'p striped like a basket 166.2

iya'lqx ilgwa'tilx diwi his body (was) like a person's 166.17

naika dā'wi itcE'lgulit exactly like my appearance 104.10

VOCABULARY (§§ 57-60)

§ 57. Onomatopoeic Terms

The most important trait of the Chinook vocabulary is the abundance of onomatopoeic terms.

There are many nouns of onomatopoeic origin. All of these contain the imitative group of sounds doubled. Since, in onomatopoeic words when used as verbs, duplication of the stem signifies repetition, the doubling of the stem in nouns may be interpreted as meaning that the particular sound is uttered habitually by the object designated by the onomatopoeic term. Some nouns contain other phonetic elements in addition to the doubled group of imitative sounds.

This class of nouns includes particularly names of birds, of a few other animals, and a miscellaneous group of terms among which are found names of parts of the body and a few terms of relationship. Some of these are not strictly onomatopoeic, but may be included in the class of doubled stems for the sake of convenience.

(1) Birds.

From stem <i>t!ē</i> is formed	<i>it!ē't!ē</i> hawk
<i>qōēl</i>	<i>iqōē'lqōēl</i> owl
<i>pōē</i>	<i>ipō'ēpōē</i> (sp. ?)
<i>qēs</i>	<i>iqē'sqēs, o'ē'c'ēc</i> blue jay
<i>qōās</i>	<i>iqōā'sqoas</i> crane
<i>qonē</i>	<i>iqonē'qonē</i> gull
<i>tsēn</i>	<i>ē'tsentsēn</i> humming-bird
<i>goēx</i>	<i>ogoē'xgoēx</i> female mallard-duck
<i>tc!āk</i>	<i>utc!aktc!ā'k</i> eagle
<i>tsiās</i>	<i>otsiā'stsias</i> robin
<i>qul</i>	<i>ē'qulqul</i> heron
<i>lōt</i>	<i>iqsō'lolōt</i> (sp. ?)
<i>ts!ēk</i>	<i>ōmunts!ē'kts!ēk</i> teal-duck
<i>koaē</i>	<i>otc!ē'nakoaēkoaē</i> (sp. ?)
<i>tcxēn</i>	<i>tq!ē'ptcxēntcxēn</i> sprigtail ducks
<i>qēt</i>	<i>cēnqētqē't</i> hawk
<i>kon</i>	<i>iqstō'konkon</i> woodpecker

(2) Mammals.

From stem <i>pēn</i> is formed	<i>ō'pēnpēn</i> skunk; <i>ī'pēnpēn</i> badger
<i>nam</i> (?)	<i>ēnamnā'muks</i> otter
<i>kōtc</i>	<i>ukō'tckōtc</i> porpoise
<i>tēp</i>	<i>sē'ntēptēp</i> shrew
<i>cēlq</i>	<i>ē'cēlqcēlq</i> porcupine

(3) Other animals.

From stem <i>qo</i> is formed	<i>ē'qoqo</i> pike
<i>lōx</i>	<i>īlō'xlox</i> oyster
<i>lēx</i>	<i>iqalē'xlex</i> a small fish (see <i>lēx</i> scales)
<i>xē</i>	<i>iq!oatē'xēxē</i> bullfrog
<i>mēn</i>	<i>ōlatsē'mēnmēn</i> newt
<i>lō</i>	<i>seq!alōlō</i> butterfly

(4) Plants.

From stem <i>ma</i> is formed	<i>emā'ma</i> pewterwort
<i>qēl</i>	<i>ō'ēlqēl</i> polypodium
<i>cāq</i>	<i>ucā'qcaq</i> pteris

(5) Parts of body.

From stem <i>p!ōx</i> is formed	<i>up!ō'xp!ōx</i> elbow
<i>tcxōl</i>	<i>utcxō'ltcxōl</i> lungs
<i>kuc</i>	<i>ckucku'c</i> testicles

(6) Terms of relationship.

From stem <i>ga</i> is formed	<i>iā'gaga</i> his mother's father
<i>qac</i>	<i>iā'qacqac</i> his father's father
<i>cga</i>	<i>oyā'cgacga</i> his mother's mother
<i>k!ē</i>	<i>oyā'k!ēk!ē</i> his father's mother
<i>ma</i>	<i>liā'mama</i> his father
<i>ta</i>	<i>liā'tata</i> his mother's brother
<i>k!āc</i>	<i>ik!ā'ckc</i> boy

(7) Miscellaneous terms:

From stem <i>pāt</i> is formed	<i>ipā'tpat</i> net
<i>tcēl</i>	<i>ē'tcēltcēl</i> brass buttons
<i>seq</i>	<i>ōsē'qseq</i> buck-skin
<i>tsēx</i>	<i>ltsē'xtsēx</i> gravel, thorn
<i>k!oyē</i>	<i>ok!oyē'k!oyē</i> fingering
<i>gac</i>	<i>ogō'cgac</i> sealing-spear
<i>kup</i>	<i>īkupku'p</i> short dentalia
<i>qāl</i> (?)	<i>iqā'lzal</i> gambling-disks
<i>l!al</i>	<i>īl!al!al</i> gambling-disks
<i>q!āl</i>	<i>iq!ā'lq!al</i> short baton
<i>qwis</i>	<i>ō'wisqwis</i> breaking of wind
<i>qōm</i> (?)	<i>iqō'mxōm</i> cedar-bark basket
<i>lk!ēn</i>	<i>ō'lk!ēn lk!ēn</i> open basket
<i>qula</i>	<i>lqulā'ula</i> egg
<i>lēx</i>	<i>ō'lēxlēx</i> scales
<i>l!walk.</i>	<i>ē'l!walk l!walk</i> mud
<i>lēm</i>	<i>ōlēmlēm</i> rotten wood (-lēm rotten bark)
<i>got</i>	<i>iq!ē'gotgot</i> fever

A second large class of onomatopoeic terms, those used in place of verbs, has been discussed before (§ 46).

§ 58. Nouns Expressing Adjectival and Verbal Ideas

In Chinook a great many adjectives and verbs are expressed by substantives. In these expressions the quality or action becomes the subject or object of the sentence, as the case may be. The Chinook will say, **THE MAN'S BADNESS KILLED THE CHILD'S POVERTY**, meaning that the bad man killed the poor child. It is true that such expressions are not entirely unfamiliar to us; for we can say, **HE WENT THE WHOLE LENGTH OF THE WAY**, or **HE MASTERED THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE PROBLEM**, in which we also treat a quality as objective. In Chinook this method is applied to a greater extent than in any other language I know. Many qualities are used only as abstract nouns, while others may be transformed into adjectives by the prefix *g-*, which expresses possession (see § 17.6); for instance:

iā'q!atxal his badness

giā'q!atxal the one who has his badness (i. e., the bad one)

In the same way, verbs appear as nouns. This also is a mode of expression not unfamiliar to us, although the frequent application of such expressions and the ideas they express appear very strange. We can say, like the Chinook, **HE MAKES A HIT** and **HE HAS A SICKNESS**, instead of **HE HITS** and **HE IS SICK**; we can even use the verbal idea as the subject of a transitive verb, or form analogous passive constructions; for instance, **SORROW FILLED HIS HEART**, **HE WAS SEIZED BY A FIT OF ANGER**; but the absence or rarity of the corresponding verbal forms and the strong personification of the verbal idea in the noun appear to us quite strange.

Most of the nouns of this class are always used with the possessive pronoun. The following examples illustrate their uses:

a'lta (1) *itsanō'kstx* (2) *ōlk!E'nLk!En* (3) *agiā'lōtk* (4) *ik!Enā'tan*
(5) now (1) she put (4) potentilla-roots (5) into (4) the smallness of (2) a clam basket (3) 43.22

ohō' (1) *īci'qōqcin* (2) *liā'xawjam* (3) ! *ohō'* (1) my wife's relative's (2) poverty (3) ! i. e., oh, my poor relative ! 67.21

taqē' (1) *eē'tcxōt* (2) *iā'lkwilē* (3) just like (1) a bear's (2) similarity (3) 275.11

qulE'tc (1) *igō'lgeli* (2) *tcāxt* (3) *Iō'i* (4) once more (1) her lie (2) has done her (3) Ioi (4) i. e., Ioi has lied again 163.14

ō'lō (1) *aktā'x* (2) *tē'lx'em* (3) hunger (1) acts on (2) the people (3) 260.16

- ka'nauwē* (1) *teḷalā'ruk* (2) *ō'tām'ō* (3) all (1) birds (2) their
chewed thing (3) i. e., all birds eat of it 40.18
ta'kE (1) *ā'yatc!a* (2) *nixā'lax* (3) then (1) his sickness (2) came
to be on him (3) i. e., then he became sick
qa'da (1) *itxā'alqt* (2) *qtgiā'xō* (3) ? how (1) shall we make (3)
our wailing (2)?

A list of these nouns has been given on pp. 599-600.

It will, of course, be understood that these words, from the Chinook point of view, do not form a separate class, but that they are simply concrete or abstract nouns, as the case may be. They are in no way different from similar constructions in English, in which the quality of an object is expressed as its property. We find, therefore, also, that many ordinary concrete nouns perform the functions of adjectives. *Ayā'pẏela* (1) *icimē'wat* (2), literally, THE DUCK (2) ITS FAT (1) means the duck had (much) fat, or the fat duck. The only peculiarity of Chinook in this respect is, that certain ideas which we consider as qualities or activities are always considered as concrete or abstract nouns. A glance at the list shows clearly that quite a number of these words can not be considered as stems. Some are derivatives of unchangeable words, and others are evidently compounds.

§ 59. Phonetic Characteristics of Nominal Stems

On account of the intricate derivation of Chinook nouns, and our unfamiliarity with the component stems, it is impossible to describe the phonetic characteristics of nominal stems. The lists of nouns given before (pp. 597 et seq.) contain a number of stems consisting of consonants only, while most of the others are monosyllabic stems. It is doubtful if the purely consonantic stems have originated entirely through phonetic decay. A comparison of the Upper and Lower Chinook dialects gives no decisive answer to this question.

On the whole I am under the impression that a considerable number of monosyllabic nouns, and perhaps a few of two syllables, may be considered as stems.

§ 60. Verbal Stems

The onomatopoeic stems which do not readily form true verbs, and the nouns used for expressing verbal ideas (so far as they are not derivatives) reduce the total number of true verbal stems considerably. These are very brief, consisting sometimes of a single

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sound, often of a group of consonants, or of a single syllable. Stems of this character are relatively so numerous as to arouse suspicion that all dissyllabic stems may be compounds.

In many cases it is very difficult to determine the stem of the verb, because it remains often doubtful whether an initial *-x*, *-k*, and *-g* belong to the stem or to a prefix. The following list contains only such stems the phonetic character and significance of which appear reasonably certain. The stems are arranged according to their initial sounds—first vowels, then labials, dentals, palatals, and finally laterals. The beginning of the stem is marked by parallel lines; suffixes are separated by single lines; tr., signifies transitive; intr., intransitive.

-*enux* others, apart

-*ā'mka* only, alone

-*ā'newa* first

-*ēxt* one (for animals and inanimate objects)

-*ē'xat* one (person)

-*o||i* to go. The forms of this verb are irregular. Some are derived from a stem *-i*, while others seem to have the stem *-ō*. It may be, however, that the latter is only the directive prefix *-ō-*. The stem *-i* (which is absent in forms like *ā'yō HE GOES*, *ā'Lō IT GOES*) reappears in

ayō'yam he arrives

ayō'ix he is in the habit of going

nō'ya I go

nō'yam I arrive

nē'gemoya he goes along it

nigēlō'ya I go for a purpose, i. e., I go hunting

ayoē'wulxt he goes up

-*xel* *ōi ma* other, different

-*wa* to pursue

-*ā* *|wa* to pursue tr. 62.12

-*xā* *|wa* to run pl. intr. 276.9

-*xē'l* *|wa|ko* to follow around

-*u* *|wā'|x'it* to flee (= to be pursued) 223.10

-*u* *|wā'|ko* to demand 157.19

-*ā* *|wa^ε* to kill sing. obj.

-*a* *|wan* belly 186.6 (= pregnant)

-*ā* *|wul^ε* to swallow 46.12

-*ā* *|wintsx* to melt

-*u* *|wē'^ε* raw, unripe 93.26

-*pēna* to jump

-*o* *||pēna* tr. with dual obj. to jump 192.13

- palau* to talk
 - o||*palaw*|ul to address some one tr. 213.15
 - kī||*palau* substantive TO BEWITCH (=word) 62.16
- o||*piā'*lx to gather, to pick 245.5
- o||*pēqla* to scratch 26.21
- o||*pēL* to stretch out 109.12
- pō* to close, to shut
 - x||*pōtē* to be locked 12.3
 - ā||*pō* to shut a box
 - n||*pōt* to shut in (=to shut eyes) 47.18
- x||*pōna* to carry food to wife's relatives 249.7
- o||*pōn*|it to put up 29.8
- pōl* darkness, night
 - pō'lakli* dark 29.8
 - no'pōnem* it gets dark 23.5
- ō||*pcut* to hide 9.10
- o||*ptca* to lead by hand 130.6
- o||*ptcx* to mend
- o||*p!ena* to pronounce, to utter 253.21
- o||*m'ako* to distribute, to give presents 98.8
 - l||*m'ako* 77.17
- o||*mā'inx* rotten 199.26
- o||*mētck* to find, gather up 162.21
- l||*mē'ctx* to loan, to lend; tr. with two obj.
- o||*mēql* to lick 42.8
- o||*mēla* to scold 93.24 (=bad? Kathlamet)
- mēxa* one more
- o, *mēt* to grow up 224.4
- ō||*mēl* to buy 94.20
- ō||*mēqt* to die sing. 114.3, to faint, 239.6
 - ō||*mēqtit* thirsty 71.1
- mēq* to vomit, to spit
 - ō||*mēq'o-it* to spit
 - ō||*m^εa* to vomit 13.6
 - e'*||*m^εa*|ql qualmish
- xen*||*mō'sx'em* to play, to fool, to make fun of 178.18
- ō||*t* to give 164.6
- t* to come
 - tē* to come 15.18
 - t|ē||*mam* to arrive coming 161.14
 - x,|t|*akō* to come back 28.21
 - x,|t|*akōm* to arrive coming back 16.17
 - ga||t|!*ōm* (for -*gatqōm*) to meet 94.11

- gēl* |*ta* to leave 250.8
 - xēl* |*ta* to leave 250.10
 - ^ε*ēl* |*ta* |*qL* to leave sing. obj. 123.15
 - ē* |*ta* |*qL* to leave pl. obj. 128.7
 - l* |*ta* |*tkc* to leave to somebody 177.5
- k* |*ta* to pursue, to meet 197.24, 23.19
- l* |*taqt* to meet 164.26
- o* |*tēna* to kill pl. obj. 23.22
- l* |*tigō* to oil, to grease; tr. with two objs., the direct obj.
 - L*- standing for GREASE
- xēl* |*tōm* to accompany 135.20
- o* |*tukc* to suck
- tk* to put down
 - ō* |*tk* to put away 177.6, to snow 42.1
 - xēm* |*ō* |*tk* to stake 30.16
 - ō* |*tgakō* to put down around (= to step) 240.29
 - ō* |*tcin* |*tk* to put first (= to begin)
- ō* |*tx* to give away
- tx* to stand sing.
 - ō* |*tx* |*uit* to stand 184.20
 - g* |*ō* |*tx* to stand on, to strike 191.20
 - ō* |*tx* |*uit* |*tcu* to fall down
 - ō* |*tx* |*umit* to place upright 48.5
 - ō* |*tx* |*uitck* to make ready 42.17
 - xēl* |*tx* |*uitck* to get ready
- tcam* to hear
 - x* |*tcimaq* to understand 165.16
 - l* |*tcimaq* to hear 24.18
- o* |*tcēna* to lay down 98.6
- o* |*tcēqzk^u* to be crosswise 266.13
- gēl* |*tcim* to strike, to hit 66.4
- tct* to move on water
 - o* |*tct* |*tcu* to go down river by canoe 277.3
 - o* |*tct* |*amit* to push into water 74.22
- o* |*tctxōm* to finish 46.23
 - naxē'* |*tctxōm* to finish one's own (breath), to faint
- o* |*tcktc* to wash 39.23
- o* |*tsqat* short
- xēl* |*o* |*tcx* to observe 25.1
- o* |*tcxēm* to boil 23.4
- c* to be somewhere sing.
 - o* |*c* to be 219.7
 - l* |*ō* |*c* to be in 151.3
 - k* |*ō* |*c* to be on 39.12
 - x* |*ō* |*c* to be on ground 39.18

- o|*ci* to roast in ashes 185.4
- o|*ctx* to carry on back 114.20
- cg* to take
 - o|*cg|am* to take 134.1
 - o|*cgelx* to take to water 116.24
 - x|*cg|am* to take away
 - gelge|cg|am* to help 28.6
 - x|*cg|alil* to play 17.4
- o|*sko it* warm 174.13
- ckta* to search on beach 88.4
- o|*ck^w!L* to turn over fire
- '|*nata* on the other side, across
- naxl* to miss something that is needed
 - o|*naxlatck* to lose 43.17
- o *naxl* to wipe
- ni* to tie (?)
 - k!ē|niako* to tie around 253.2
 - x|*niako* to tie around 115.24
- ngo* to run sing.
 - xa||ngo* to run 23.23
 - xa|ē|ngo* to come running 28.3
 - o|*ngō'mit* to cause to run (= to carry away) 27.16
 - o|*nguē* to flutter
- kēl* to see
 - ēl|kēl* to see sing. obj. 115.1
 - ē|kēl* to see pl. obj. 66.11
- ka* to fly
 - ō, kō* to fly
 - t|ka* to come flying
 - t|ka|mam* to arrive flying and coming
- kim* to say 127.17
- gē'xa* to swim
 - o|*guēxa* to swim 14.15
 - gel|gēxa|xē* to swim across 217.11
- gēxē* (-*guēxē*?) to sweep
 - o|*guēxē* 172.5
- kō* to go home, to pass
 - x|*kō* to go home 25.9, to go past
 - xat|kō* to come home 212.2
- ka* (-*kō*?)
 - o|*kō* to order 129.29
- gōn* another
 - x|*kxuē* to throw away 17.11
 - o|*kuman* to look at 47.2

- o *kula* to sharpen 15.21
- o *ktik* to lie down on side 76.8
- ktō'mit* to take revenge on relative of a murderer 203.10
- ktuq* to enslave
- o *ktc* to carry 66.4
- ktcax* (-*gē'tcax*) to cry 275.2
- o *ktcan* to hold in hand 271.10
- o *ktcikt* roasted, done 134.10
 - o||*ktcikt|amit* to roast 93.26
- o||*kc* to harpoon 92.9
- o||*kct* to see 217.22
 - o||*kctam* to go to see 187.10
- o||*kct* (probably the same as *-ktc* above) to carry 38.18
- x o||*kti* to lie down, to sleep 76.20
- xal o||*kctgo* to throw down 16.8
- o *k^utk* to make net 95.4
- o||*k^uL* to carry 129.19
 - t||*k^uL* to bring 127.13
 - t *k^uLam* to arrive bringing 67.6
- k^uL* to tell
 - x l||*guL^utk* to tell 37.17
 - x.||*k^uL|ēl* 41.4
- kLēwa* to paddle 135.1
- o||*kLpa* to miss 271.13
- k!a* to haul, to pull
 - x.||*k!a* 117.19
 - gat.||*k!a* to haul here
- k!ōL* to glue
- a||*q* to meet
 - ga||*qōm* to arrive meeting 117.24
- a *qamit* (-a||*qamit?*) to look 218.11
- a *qamst* to drink
- l *qamx* to shout
- qana it* to lie
 - o.||*qana it* to lie down 16.23
 - k||*qana it* to lay on top of
 - o||*qunā' it x'it* to fall down
- qā'yaqt* between
- o||*qa-īL* large
- qēna* orphan
- ēm* to give food
 - l||*ēm* to give food 22.10
 - t||*ēm* to come to give food
 - gē||*qoim* 240.28

- ^ε*ōya* between
 - n*||^ε*ōya* to put between into 172.20
 - a*||^ε*ōya mit* to leave meanwhile 93.26
 - a*||^ε*ōya* time between (= days) 175.9
- a*||^ε*wēwul* to invite 176.18
 - t*||^ε*wēwul* to invite here 41.6
- a*||^ε*wilx* to hit, to strike 65.12
- a*||^ε*ōptit* to sleep 255.16
- a*||^ε*ōpk* to steam on stones 97.25
- a*||*qōt* to bathe
 - x*||^ε*ōt* to bathe sing. 12.8
 - x*||^ε*ōyut* to bathe pl.
- a*||^ε*ōtc!* to awaken sing. 137.23
 - a*||^ε*ōyutc!* to awaken pl.
- a*||^ε*ōnim* to laugh at 184.3
- a*||*qc* to split wood 45.18, to bite 100.13
- a*||*qcti* to be satiated 172.12
- qza* to count
 - qlā'**x'it* to be counted (= to menstruate) 245.20
- o* *xun* to drift
- o*||*xik* to steal 163.12
- o*||*x'ikin* to search 12.5
- xgō* to be transformed
 - xgōmit* to transform 30.23
- a*||*x* tr. to do; intr. to become, to be
 - ||*x'ōm* to arrive
 - a*||*x'otck* to begin to do (= to work)
- xawwē* many
- xāyal* common man -(*xal*?)
- xēna* to stand pl., to place upright 23.6
 - xēna*||*x'it* to stand pl. 235.19
- xomem* to show 41.2
- gen*||^ε*ō'tēn* to help sing 235.5
- o*||*xoqtc* to invite 60.4
- xōL!* dizzy
- xol!* to finish
- o*||*xik* to swim (fish) 63.13
- xgako* to surpass 245.13
- a*||*xs* to cut
- l* to move
 - o*||*l'a* to move
 - x*||*l'l* to shake intr. 156.14
 - o*||*l'atck* to lift 25.21
- lap* to dig
- ā* -*laxta* next 60.8

- o||*lɛktc* to roast 124.19
- o||*lɛxam* to say to tr. 13.17
- LEMāt* next to last
- la* to sit, to remain
 - o||*la it* to be, to sit 22.10
 - gem*||*la it* to wait for 128.5
 - xɛ'*||*la it* dead pl.
 - k*||*la it* to be in canoe
- o||*lata* to pull back 38.13
 - o||*lā'ta|x'it* to fly about
- lk'ik* crooked
- o||*lqat* long
- o||*lɪ* (-o||*lɪq*) to win, to surpass 30.15
- lqɪa* to strike
 - ge*||*lqɪa* to stab 89.1
 - xɛl*||*ō*||*lqɪa* to hammer
- xɛl*||*lɛlɛm* to eat
- l'ala* foolish
- l'ɛlɛx* lean

CHINOOK TEXT

THE SHAMANS

Gitā'kikelal ¹	atgē'ix ²	ē'wa ³	tnēwā'lema. ⁴	Ma'nix ⁵	aLō'niks, ⁶	
Those who have power of seeing	they go	thus	the ghosts.	When	three persons,	
Lā'nēwa ⁷	aqlā'x ⁸	pāt ⁹	gilā'xawōk; ¹⁰	k'łimta' ¹¹	aqlā'x ⁸	pāt ⁹
that one first	some one makes him	really	one who has a guardian spirit;	last	some one makes him	really
gilā'xawōk; ¹⁰	kā'tsek ¹²	aqlā'x ⁸	gianu'kstx ¹³	ila'xawōk. ¹⁴	Aqē'ktaōx ¹⁵	
one who has a guardian spirit;	middle	some one makes him	one who has smallness	his guardian spirit.	Some one pur- sues it	
ilā'xanātē ¹⁶	Lkā'nax, ¹⁷	ma'nix ⁵	ē'lātca ¹⁸	Lkā'nax. ¹⁷	Ma'nix ⁵	
his life	the chief,	when	his sickness	the chief.	When	
itcā'q'atxala ¹⁹	ayā'xelax ²⁰	qax ²¹	uē'xatk, ²²	ałktō'p!ena ²³	Lā'ēwam ²⁴	
its badness	it is on it	that	trail,	he utters it	his shaman song	
qō'la ²⁵	Lā'nēwa. ⁷	Ma'nix ⁵	ē'wa ³	k'łimta' ¹¹	itcā'q'atxala ¹⁹	ayā'xelax ²⁰
that	first one.	When	thus	behind	its badness	it is on it

¹ -*kəl* TO SEE, as a transitive verb used with the prefixed element *ʔ* (§ 25.7); -*k-* is introduced to make the stem -*kəl* intransitive (§ 26.4); terminal -*l* (with connecting weak vowel *əl*) indicates an action characterized by many repetitions (§ 31.7); this compound stem *kikəlal* is treated as a masculine noun, POWER OF SEEING (§ 34.5); this appears as third person plural possessive -*la-* (§ 23), and is transformed into a personal noun by prefixed *g-* (§ 17.6).

² *a-* aorist (§ 17.1); *t-* third person plural, special form (§ 19.2); *ʔ* vowel lengthened under stress of accent; -*x* usitative (§ 32.11).

³ *ē'wa* THUS, THEN (§ 44.2).

⁴ *t-* third person plural (§ 21); -*mēwal* GHOST, a stem introduced after the older stem -*mēmēlōst* had been tabooed on account of the death of a person whose name contained this word; -*ma* distributive ending, always used with the stem -*mēwal* (§ 38.2).

⁵ *ma'nix*, temporal conjunction WHEN.

⁶ *lōn* THREE; -*iks* plural indicating human beings (§ 38.1); *a-* special plural.

⁷ *ā'nēwa* FIRST; *L-* neuter pronoun (§ 18).

⁸ *a-* aorist, *g-*, subject SOME ONE (§ 18); *L-* object IT (§ 18); -*ā-* directive, for *ō* before *k* sound (§ 10); -*x* stem TO DO; contracted with the usitative ending -*x* (§ 32.11), which has drawn the accent to the last syllable.

⁹ *pāt* REALLY, adverb.

¹⁰ *ī'kawōk* GUARDIAN SPIRIT; -*lā-* neuter possessive (§ 23), after which the *k* changes to *ʔ* (§ 6.1); *g-* transforms the term into a personal noun (§ 17.6).

¹¹ *k'łimta'* LAST, AFTERWARDS, BEHIND. Adverb, may also be used as noun.

¹² *kā'tsek* MIDDLE. Adverb, may also be used as noun.

¹³ *i-nukstx* SMALLNESS, with possessive pronoun masculine third person, and personifying prefix *g-* (see notes 1, 10).

¹⁴ See note 10.

¹⁵ *a-* aorist; *g-* SOME ONE; -*ē* HIM; stem presumably -*ta'*; the preceding *k* seems to be adverbial ON (§ 25.3), because when accented it takes the form *gE'*, and because, after *ō*, an *ō* is inserted following it: for instance, *aqūgō'ta'x* 197.15 SOME ONE PURSUES THEM; the verb has, however, only one object. It never occurs with directive -*ō*.

¹⁶ *i-kanā'tē* LIFE, SOUL. Neuter possessive (§ 23). See also note 10.

¹⁷ *i-kā'nax* CHIEF, RICH MAN; *ōkō'nax* CHIEFTAINNESS (§ 7); *Lkā'nax* indefinite, A CHIEF.

¹⁸ *ē'-ic'a* SICKNESS. Masculine noun; neuter possessive.

¹⁹ *ē'-q'atxala* BADNESS. Masculine noun, feminine possessive, relating to the feminine noun *uē'xatk*.

²⁰ Intransitive verb with indirect object; *a-* aorist; *y* for *i* between vowels (§ 17.1), HE (namely, badness); *ā-* HER (namely, trail); -*r-* indicates that the badness belongs to the trail (§ 24); -*l* TO (§ 25.1); -*a-* directive before *k* sound (§ 10); -*x* stem TO DO, TO BE.

qux ²¹ that	ue'xatk, ²² trail,	ka ²⁶ and	qō'la ²⁵ that one	iau'a ²⁷ then	kl'îmta' ¹¹ behind	aLktōp!ena'x ²⁸ he utters it
Lā'ēwam. ²⁴ his song.	Cka ²⁶ And	me'nxi' ²⁹ a little while	nōpō'nemx ³⁰ it is dark	ka ²⁶ and	atōgoē'la-îtx, ³¹ they treat him,	tato! how- ever,
ayu'ktelil ³² the morning star	iō'itet ³³ comes	ka ²⁶ and	aqita'ēm ³⁴ some one reaches it	ilā'xanatē ¹⁶ his life	qō'la ²⁵ that	gē'latc!a. ³⁵ one who has his sickness.
Aqiō'cgam ³⁶ Some one takes it	ilā'xanatē. ¹⁶ his life.	Nōxotā'kox ³⁷ They return	tgā'xawōk ³⁸ their guardian spirits	gitā'kikelal. ¹ those who have power of seeing.		
Ē'xtemaē ³⁹ Sometimes	mō'keti ⁴⁰ twice	alā'ēoix, ⁴¹ are between,	ē'xtemaē ³⁹ sometimes	ē'xti ⁴² once	alā'ēoix ⁴¹ is between	ka ²⁶ and
aqē'telōtxax ⁴³ some one gives him to them	ilā'xanatē ¹⁶ his soul	qigō ⁴⁴ as	nōxotā'komx ⁴⁵ they return	qō'ta ⁴⁶ those	tga'wōk. ³⁸ guardian spirits.	
Tlā'ya ⁴⁷ Well	alxā'x ⁴⁸ he becomes	gē'latc!a. ³⁵ one who has his sickness.				
Ma'nîx ⁵ When	aqiā'wax ⁴⁹ some one pursues him	ilā'xanatē ¹⁶ his soul	gē'latc!a, ³⁵ one who has his sickness	atgē'îx ³ they go	gitā'kikelal ¹ those who have the power of seeing,	
ma'nîx ⁵ when	aqiā'wax ⁴⁹ some one pursues him	ilā'xanatē ¹⁶ his soul	gē'latc!a; ³⁵ one who has sickness;	iau'a ²⁷ then	qiq!e'tcqtā ⁵⁰ to the left	

²¹ Demonstrative feminine, absent past (§ 44); the corresponding masculine is *qir*.

²² *u-ē'xatk* TRAIL. Stem probably *-ēx*.

²³ *a*-aorist; *L*-indefinite (neuter) subject; *-k-* indicates *L* as transitive subject (§ 19); *-t* THEM; *-ō-* directive; stem *p!Ena* (Upper Chinook *-pəEna*).

²⁴ *L-qē'wam* SHAMAN'S SONG. Neuter possessive (§ 23); since the accent is thrown back before the *q*, it is weakened to *ē* (§ 6.3).

²⁵ *qō'la*, neuter demonstrative, absent invisible past (§ 44).

²⁶ The connective conjunction appears as *ka*, *k/a*, and *cka*. It has not been possible to give a satisfactory explanation of their uses.

²⁷ THEM. Demonstrative adverb related to *ē'wa*.

²⁸ See note 23, with usitative suffix *-x* (§ 32.11).

²⁹ *mank* A LITTLE; with adverbial ending *-i*, the *k* is always aspirated.

³⁰ Irregular formation from the feminine stem *-pōl*. It would seem as though the directive *-ō* had been inserted in the verbal form in which the aoristic *n-* appears before a vowel (§ 17.1). This *n-* has assimilated the *-l* of *-pōl* (§ 8). The explanation is, however, not satisfactory.

³¹ *a*-aorist; *t-* third person plural intransitive subject; *-ō-* third person plural object before *-g-*; *-gē-* prefix eliminating one object (?) (§ 26.4); *-la-î* stem, perhaps *-l+a-î* (§ 29.1).

³² Intransitive third person masculine singular before vowel, when the *i-* takes a consonantic character, so that the aoristic *a* is retained; *-u* directive; stem *-ktēliL*.

³³ *i-* third person masculine singular before vowel, *-ō*.

³⁴ *a*-aorist; *-q-* indefinite subject; *-i-* third person masculine singular object; *-lat'* stem TO PURSUE; *-ōm* for *-am* after *k* sound, TO ARRIVE (§ 26.1).

³⁵ See *ē'latc/a* (note 18); *-g-* personal noun (§ 17.6).

³⁶ *a*-aorist; *-q-* indefinite subject; *-i-* third person masculine singular object; *-ō-* directive; *-cg-* stem TO TAKE; *-am* completion of motion.

³⁷ *n-*aorist before vowel; *-ō-* third person plural before *k* sound; *-x* reflexive; *-o* probably short and introduced after *o* preceding *x*; *-t* stem TO COME; *-āko* AROUND, BACK; *-x* usitative.

³⁸ *t-* plural; *tgā'* third person plural possessive; *ī'kawōk* GUARDIAN SPIRIT.

³⁹ *ēxt* ONE; *-ma* distributive; *-ē* adverb.

⁴⁰ *mōkct* TWO; *-i* (= *-ē*) adverb.

⁴¹ *a*-aorist; *L*-intransitive third person neuter subject; *-a-* directive, for *-ō-* before *k* sound; stem-*ēoya* BETWEEN; *-x* usitative.

⁴² *ēxt* ONE; *-i* (= *-ē*) adverb.

⁴³ *a*-aorist; *-q-* indefinite subject; *-ē-* HIM; *-t-* THEM; *-l-* TO; *-ō-* directive; *-îx* TO GIVE AWAY; *-x* usitative. This form is unusual in so far as the two terminal *x*'s are not contracted and the accent is not on the ultima.

⁴⁴ Demonstrative adverb *q-* invisible; *-t-* masculine; *-gō* THERE.

⁴⁵ See note 37; *-ōm* for *-am* after *k* sound and perhaps contracted with *-āko*; *-x* usitative.

⁴⁶ See note 25, plural.

⁴⁷ See § 46.3.

⁴⁸ *a*-aorist; *-L-* neuter; *-x-* reflexive; *-ā-* directive, for *-ō-* before *k* sound; *-x* stem TO DO.

⁴⁹ *a*-aorist; *-q-* indefinite subject; *-i-* third person masculine object; *-ā-* directive, accented before *w*; *-wa-* TO PURSUE ONE; *-x* usitative.

⁵⁰ *qiq!E'tcqtā* LEFT; *qinq!ama'* RIGHT. Particles.

qax ²¹ that	uō'xatk ²² trail	aLō'ix; ⁵¹ it went;	nōgō'goimx ⁵³ they say	gitā'kikelal: ¹ those who have the power of seeing:	“ō, “Oh,	
Lō'meqta ⁵³ he will die,	tal!! ⁵⁴ nevertheless!”	Ma'nix ⁵ When	iau'a ²⁷ there	qinq'leama' ⁵⁰ to the right	ayō'ix ⁵⁵ goes	
iLā'xanātē: ¹⁶ his soul:	“ō, “Oh,	tlā'ya ⁴⁷ well	qLā'xō. ⁵⁶ some one will make him.”			
Aqiga'ōmx ⁵⁷ Some one reaches it	qigō ⁴⁴ when	naLxoā'pē ⁵⁸ the hole	ilē'ē. ⁵⁹ ground.	Ia'xkatē ⁶⁰ There	alkLE- they always	
'ē'meta-itx ⁶¹ drink it	tmēmelo'tike. ⁶² the ghosts.	Ma'nix ⁵ When	alkLā'mctx ⁶³ he has drunk it	gē'latc'a ³⁵ the one who has his sickness	gō ⁶⁴ there	
qō'la ²⁵ that	Ltcuq, ⁶⁵ water,	a'lta ⁶⁶ then	nēkct not	qa'nsix ⁶⁷ (any) how	tlayā' ⁴⁷ well	aqlā'x. ⁸ some one makes him.
Qē'xtcē ⁶⁸ Endeavoring						
ka'nauwē ⁶⁹ all	tgā'qēwama ⁷⁰ their shaman songs	ataLgē'la-itx, ⁷¹ they treat him,	nākct ⁷² not	L'pāx ⁷³ well	aqlā'x. ⁸ some one makes him.	
L'lap ⁷³ Find	aqē'ax ⁷⁴ some one does it	iLā'xanātē ¹⁶ his life	qō'la ²⁵ that	LkLāmctx ⁶³ it has drunk it	Ltcuq. ⁶⁵ the water.	
Aqiō'cgamx, ³⁶ Some one takes it,	iā'qoa-il ⁷⁵ it is large	qix ²¹ that	ikanā'tē. ¹⁶ life.	Nōxōtā'kux ³⁷ They return	tgā'xawōk ³⁸ their guardian spirits	
gitā'kikelal. ¹ those who have power of seeing.	Iā'qoa-il ⁷⁵ It is large	qix ²¹ that	ikanā'tē. ¹⁶ life.	Aqiō'cgamx ³⁶ Some one takes it	qloa'p ⁷³ near	
iā'kuā ⁷⁶ here	Natē'tanuē ⁷⁷ Indians	ka ²⁶ and	ianō'kstx ¹³ its smallness	nē'xelax. ⁷⁸ comes to be on it.	Nōgō'go'imx ⁵³ They say	

²¹ a- aorist; -L- neuter subject; -ō- directive; see note 2.

²² n- aorist before vowel; -ō- plural before k sound; -gō- introduced before k stop (§ 19.2b); -k'im, -qim to SAY, in which -ō- is introduced in harmony with preceding o (§ 7); -x usitative.

⁵³ L neuter subject; -ō- directive; stem -m'eqt DEAD, -a future.

⁵⁴ See § 50.

⁵⁵ a- aorist before consonantic y, which stands for intervocalic -i- third person masculine subject (see note 51).

⁵⁶ q- indefinite subject; -L- neuter object; -i- directive before k sound; -x stem to DO; -ō future for -a after k sound (§ 26.1).

⁵⁷ a- aorist; q- indefinite subject; -i- third person masculine object; -qa- adverbial prefix (?); -x stem to MEET; -ōm for -am after k sound, COMPLETION OF MOTION (compare note 34).

⁵⁸ na- prefix for local names (§ 40.3); Ltoap onomatopoeic term, TO DIG; -x suffix.

⁵⁹ Stem -ēl; masculine; on account of accented vowel following the cluster -l-, the r is dropped (§ 6.2); -z suffix.

⁶⁰ See § 44.

⁶¹ a- aorist; -Lk- neuter transitive subject with following k sound (§ 19); -L- neuter object, implying water (see note 65); -gamct stem TO DRINK, here modified by accent into -amct; -a-liz ALWAYS (§ 31.10).

⁶² See note 4. The stem -m'ēmēlōst DEAD was used occasionally by the narrator; -l- plural; -ikc plural ending (§ 38.1).

⁶³ See note 61. This form stands for aLkLē'Emctx.

⁶⁴ Demonstrative adverb (§ 44).

⁶⁵ Stem -Lcuq; neuter.

⁶⁶ See § 47.

⁶⁷ See § 44.

⁶⁸ Adverb indicating an action performed, but not attaining the desired end.

⁶⁹ Indefinite numeral (§ 51).

⁷⁰ See note 24. Here the stem -q'wam is retained in its original form; -tga- plural, possessive third person plural; -ma plural.

⁷¹ a- aorist; -i- third person plural intransitive subject; -L- neuter object (see note 31).

⁷² nēkct NOT, with rhetoric emphasis nākct.

⁷³ Attribute complement.

⁷⁴ a- aorist; q- indefinite subject; -z- masculine object; -a directive before k sound; -x stem to DO.

⁷⁵ -i- third person masculine singular continuative; -a directive before k sound; -qoa-il stem LARGE.

⁷⁶ Demonstrative adverb of the groups r'wa, iau'a, ia'kuā (§ 44).

⁷⁷ Plural in na-; stem -ē'tanuē (§ 21).

⁷⁸ Intransitive verb; n- aorist; -z- contracted from -i- HE HIS (§ 12); -z- reflexive; -i- TO; -a- directive before k sound; -x stem to DO, TO BE.

ktōguilā'lē: ⁷⁹ those who treat them:	“LŌ'nas “Perhaps	nāket ⁷² not	LE't'oiX ⁸⁰ it comes between	ka ²⁶ and	LŌ'meqta. ^{77 53} he will die.”
Niktō'ktixē. ⁸¹ It gets day.	Qē'xtcē ⁶⁸ Endeavoring	aqē'telōt ⁴³ some one gives it to them	ilā'xanate. ¹⁶ his life.		Aqā'telōtx, ⁸² Some one gives it to them
q'oa'p ⁷³ nearly	ka'nauwē ⁶⁹ all	ē'LaI'a ⁸³ his body	ka ²⁶ and	aLŌ'meqtx. ⁵³ he dies.	Nilgengā'gux ⁸⁴ It is too small
ilā'xanate. ¹⁶ his soul.					

[Translation.]

The seers go thus to the ghosts. When there are three of them, the one who has a strong guardian spirit is placed first, and one who has a strong guardian spirit is placed last. One who has a small guardian spirit is placed in the middle. The soul of a chief is pursued when the chief is sick. When the trail is bad, the first one utters his shaman song. When the trail is bad behind, then the one there behind utters his shaman song. And it is night for a little while, and they treat him; but when the morning star comes, the soul of the sick one is overtaken. His soul is taken. The guardian spirits of the seers return. Sometimes his soul is given to him two nights, sometimes one night, after the guardian spirits return. Then the sick one becomes well.

When the soul of a sick person is pursued, the seers go, when the soul of the sick person is pursued. There it went thus on the trail to the left. Then the seers say, “Oh, he will die, anyway!” when the soul went there thus to the right, “Oh, he will become well!”

It is reached where there is a hole in the ground. There the ghosts are in the habit of drinking. When the sick one has drunk of that water, he can not be made well at all. All those who have shaman songs try to treat him, but he is not made well.

The soul of one who has drunk of that water is found. It is taken. That soul is large. The guardian spirits of the seers return. That soul is large. It is taken here, near to the Indians, and it grows small. Those who treat them say, “Perhaps it will not be one night before he will die.” It gets daylight. The attempt is made to give him his soul. It is given to him. It nearly (fills) his body, and he dies. His soul is too small.

⁷⁹ See note 31. *k*- personal noun.

⁸⁰ See note 41. Presumably with directive *-t* TO COME, which is strengthened by the elision of *q* (§ 6.3).

⁸¹ *n*- aorist before vowel; *-i*- masculine subject; *-k* is a prefix. The origin of the suffix is not clear.

⁸² *ā* rhetoric lengthening of *ʔ* (see notes 43, 72).

⁸³ *z*- masculine pronoun; *-La-* neuter possessive; *-La'a* stem BODY.

⁸⁴ *n*- aorist; *-i*- third person masculine intransitive subject referring to the soul; *-L-* neuter object, referring to the owner of the soul or life; *-ʔEn* probably for *-ʔEl* ON ACCOUNT OF (§ 25.4); *-g-* probably stem; *-ago* AROUND, or part of stem; *-z* usitative.

KATHLAMET TEXT

Ēxā't¹ nē'qatc̄x̄em² nai'ka³ t̄gē'q!ēyuqt̄ikc.⁴ Tqē'qLax⁵ qatciuxoā'-
 One he sang conjurer's I my ancestors. One hundred he owned
 song

watc̄guix̄.⁶ Laxanako'ngut⁷ iLā'l̄x̄am.⁸ Nox̄uā'koax⁹ ta-ītc̄i¹⁰ tē'l̄x̄am⁸
 songs. Laxanako'ngut his town. They assembled those people

ta'xi¹¹ tē'Laqlpa¹² ya'xi¹³ iqē'qt̄cx̄am.² Lākt¹⁴ lpō'l̄emax¹⁵
 that his house at that the one who sang conjurer's songs. Four nights

nox̄uwi'yutckuax¹⁶ ta-ītc̄i¹⁰ tē'l̄x̄am.⁸ A'qa¹⁷ nigē'mx¹⁸ ya'xi¹³
 they danced those people. Then said that

iqē'qt̄cx̄am:² "A'qa¹⁷ Lxatō'guala¹⁹ la'xi¹³ Lq!ēyō'qt,⁴ alxētēlō'tc-
 one who sang "Then he will come to hear that old man, he will go to see
 conjurer's song:

xama.²⁰ Igox̄uīlō'xoa-it²¹ tē'l̄x̄am.⁸ "Qā'mta²² Lq²³ alTē'mama²⁴
 the dances." They thought the people: "Whence may be he will arrive

¹ Stem -ēxt ONE; feminine aē'xt; neuter Lēxt; plural tēxt; forms indicating human beings ē'xt, aē'xt, Lē'xt, tē'xt.

² Stem -icx̄am; the preceding -k- (heard here generally -q-) probably ON; nē- transitional masculine (§ 17).

³ *naika* I, independent personal pronoun; used here to intensify the possessive pronoun in the following noun.

⁴ -q!ēyōt OLD PERSON; *t-* plural; *gē- my*; -k̄c plural, human beings.

⁵ This form is not otherwise known.

⁶ *qa-* a very frequent verbal prefix in Kathlamet, either transitional, or a slurred form of *aga* THEN contracted with transitional *i-*; *tc-* HE, transitive subject; -i- HIM; this verb may correspond to Chinook *ciā'ruwalick* HE HELPED HER SING (Chinook Texts 144.3).

⁷ *Laxanako'ngut* is a Nehelim town, called in that language *Nesō'ka*; perhaps derived from *ōngut* a small bay with steep banks, and *Lā'ran* outside.

⁸ *i-* masculine; -Lā- indefinite possessive; -l̄x̄am TOWN, from stem -l̄x̄. The neuter or indefinite possessive pronoun refers here to the indefinite ancestor whose name is not stated. From the same stem is formed *tē'l̄x̄am*, with *t-* plural prefix.

⁹ Stem probably -koa (Lower Chinook -ko); *no-* transitional, third person plural; -x̄ua- reflexive after *ō* vowel; -koa stem; -x̄ usitative.

¹⁰ Demonstrative, indicating human beings (see § 44).

¹¹ Demonstrative plural, referring to *tqu L* HOUSE.

¹² Without possessive pronoun this noun has the stem -qu L; with possessive pronoun the vowel is dropped. It has always the plural prefix *t-*; -La- refers to the same person as the possessive in *iLā'l̄x̄am* (see note 8); -pa ot (§ 55).

¹³ *ya'xi*, *wu'xi*. *La xi* demonstratives (§ 44).

¹⁴ Numeral; for human beings the form *la'ktike* is used.

¹⁵ *wā'pōl* night; *L-* indefinite pronoun; -pōl night, dark; -maz distributive plural.

¹⁶ *no-*, *igō-* transitional third person plural (§ 17); -x̄ui- reflexive, used apparently in this verb only in the plural; the *u* is introduced after preceding *ō*; stem -wē TO DANCE; always ending with -l̄ expressing repetition, or -ck̄ expressing probably an inchoative (§ 31); -x̄ usitative.

¹⁷ This is the most common connective AND THEN (see note 6).

¹⁸ *nī-* masculine transitional; -k̄zim, accented, -qēm to say; -x̄ usitative.

¹⁹ *L-* indefinite; -xa- reflexive; the stem does not occur in any other place in the available material.

²⁰ *a-* future; -L- indefinite; -x̄- reflexive; -ē- him; -t- coming; -lōlex to look on; -am to go to—; -a future.

²¹ *igō-* transitional third person plural (§ 17); -x̄- reflexive changed to -x̄ui- after preceding *o-*; -Lōre to think; -a-it suffix expressing rest.

²² *qā* where; -mta suffix, not free; WHENCE, WHITHER.

²³ *Lq* enclitic particle, MAY BE.

²⁴ *a-* future; -L- indefinite; -lē to come; -mam for -am after vowel TO ARRIVE (§ 29); -a future.

Lax¹³ Lq'leyō'qt?⁴ Lxuan²⁵ ē'wa²⁶ Naqē'lēm²⁷ altē'mama²⁴ alxitelō'tc-
 that old man? Perhaps thus Nehellm he will arrive he will see the
 xama,²⁰ Lxuan²⁵ ē'wa²⁶ Tiā'k'ēlakix²⁸ altē'mama²⁴ alxitelō'tcxama.²⁰
 dance, perhaps thus Clatsop he will arrive he will see the dance."
 Igō'pōnem.²⁹ A'qa¹⁷ wī't'ax³⁰ iguxuiwī'yutck¹⁶ ta-ŋtci¹⁰ tē'lxam.⁸
 It grew dark. Then again they danced those people.
 Qē'q'layaq³¹ wā'pōlpa,³² a'qa¹⁷ tell²³ igō'xoax³⁴ ta-ŋtci¹⁰ tē'lxam.⁸
 Middle night at, then tired became those people.
 Igugoaqē'witx'it.³⁵ Lēxā't¹ Lq'leyō'qt⁴ Lqagē'lak³⁶ as³⁷ nō'Llīx³⁸
 They rested. One old woman and a little
 igō'pōnem²⁹ a'qa¹⁷ iloqō'ptit.³⁹ Q'loā'p⁴⁰ ē'ktelil⁴¹ qilxē'qo-ŋtq⁴²
 It was dark then she slept. Near morning star she arose
 La'xi¹³ Lq'leyō'qt⁴ Lqagē'lak.³⁶ A'qa¹⁷ tā'nki⁴³ igē'xox.⁴⁴ ILgiltcē'maq⁴⁵
 that old woman. Then something was (there). She heard
 q'a'ē q'a'ē q'a'ē⁴⁶ tā'nki⁴³ igē'xox⁴⁴ icī'qēpa.⁴⁷ ILXLō'xoa-it²¹ La'xi¹³
 noise of a crack opening something was the door at. She thought that
 Lq'leyō'qt.⁴ "Lxuan²⁵ sāq⁴⁸ iqantcī'txam.⁴⁹ Nī'xua⁵⁰ antcuqō'yutc-
 old one: "Perhaps war some one comes to Well I awoke
 make on us.
 qema⁵¹ tē'lxam.⁸" A'qa¹⁷ ilktuqō'yutcq,⁵² ac³⁷ qene'mkatix⁵³ ta-ŋtci¹⁰
 them the people." Then she woke them, and remaining quiet those
 tē'lxam.⁸ Iguxoa'qo-ŋtq⁵⁴ ta-ŋtci¹⁰ tē'lxam.⁸ Iguxoalā'yutck.⁵⁵
 people. They arose those people. They arose.

²⁰ Perhaps related to -Lōro- TO THINK (see note 21); compare mLō'xuan tci q'od'pīx DO YOU THINK IT IS NEAR? 26.5.

²⁴ Demonstrative adverb (see § 44).

²⁷ na- locative prefix (§ 40); -qēlēm stem for a place name south of Columbia river; Tqēlēm' muku THE PEOPLE OF Naqē'lēm (NEHELLM), the Tillamook.

²⁸ t- plural; -id'- HIS; -k'ēlak ROASTED, DRIED SALMON; -ŋ- adverbial ending; WHERE THERE ARE THEIR ROASTED SALMON, the native name of Clatsop. In the Clatsop dialect the name Lā'isep has the same meaning; Lō- THEIR; -isep ROASTED, DRIED SALMON.

²⁹ igō- transitional and directive; -pōl NIGHT; -pōnem IT IS ALWAYS NIGHT (see § 8).

³⁰ AGAIN corresponding to Lower Chinook wēf.

³¹ qē'q'ayak THE MIDDLE OF A THING.

³² w- nominal prefix (§ 17); ō- feminine; -pōl NIGHT; -pa AT, IN.

³³ Onomatopoeic particle verb.

³⁴ igō- transitional intransitive third person plural; -x- reflexive; -oa- changed from o after ō; -x TO DO.

³⁵ iguqoa- third person plural before k sound (§ 19); -qēwit TO REST; -x-ŋ suffix (§ 29).

³⁶ L- indefinite; -qagē'lak WOMAN.

³⁷ as, ac connective conjunction, sometimes used for WHILE.

³⁸ nōL' A LITTLE; nō'Llīx adverb.

³⁹ iL- indefinite transitional; -ō- directive; -qōptit TO SLEEP.

⁴⁰ NEARLY, NEAR BY; also q'od'pīx ALMOST.

⁴¹ Stem -ktelil.

⁴² qil- see note 6; -x- reflexive; -qo-ŋtq TO ARISE.

⁴³ tān WHAT; Lān WHO; tā'nki SOMETHING.

⁴⁴ igē- transitional third person masculine; -x- reflexive; -o- directive; -x TO DO.

⁴⁵ ILgi- IT HIM; -l- is probably the prefix TO (§ 25); stem -icxmaq TO HEAR; the terminal -aq may also be a suffix.

⁴⁶ An onomatopoeic particle.

⁴⁷ i- masculine; -cī'qē DOORWAY; -pa AT.

⁴⁸ A particle verb (see p. 46).

⁴⁹ i- transitional; -q- SOME ONE; -nuc Inclusive plural; -ŋ TO COME; -x TO DO; -am TO ARRIVE.

⁵⁰ nīxua corresponds almost exactly to the German "doch;" here it might be translated ANYWAY.

⁵¹ a- future; -nic- I THEM; -u directive; -qōtcq plural; -qōyutck TO AWAKEN; -ēm distributive; EACH ONE (?); -a future.

⁵² ilkt- IT THEM.

⁵³ Perhaps qān QUIET; distributive qanxma; -katix adverbial suffix; compare Chinook ia'zkatī RIGHT THERE; q'od'pkatī QUITE NEAR.

⁵⁴ igo- transitional third person plural; -xoa- reflexive after o; -qo-ŋtq TO ARISE.

⁵⁵ iguqoa- see note 54; -lātcq plural; -lāyutck TO ARISE; this word contains the Inchoative -tck, and may be the stem -l TO MOVE.

Itgō'guiga⁵⁶ tgā'qamatcx.⁵⁷ IqLō'l̄xam⁵⁸ Laxi¹³ lēxā't.¹ "Wār⁵⁹ ā'xa⁶⁰
They took their arrows. He was told that one: "Light do it
wu'xi¹³ ā'tōL.⁶¹" Wāx⁵⁹ ilē'kox⁶² la'xi¹³ lgoalē'l̄x.⁶³ A'qa¹⁷ tā'nki⁴³
that fire." Light he did that person. Then something
Lāx⁵⁹ igē'xox⁴⁴ ic'qepa.⁴⁷ Lxuan²⁵ ā'wima⁶⁴ ictā'qa-ilax⁶⁵ siā'xōst⁶⁶
visible became the door at. Perhaps thus its largeness its face
La⁶⁷ lktemenā'kstē.⁶⁸ Iguoā'k'im⁶⁹ ta-ŋci¹⁰ tē'l̄xam.⁹ "Iqctxē'Lau⁷⁰
like the moon like. They said those people: "A monster
ya'xi¹³ al̄lxgē'tpqa.⁷¹" Igē'k'im⁶⁹ ya'xi¹³ iqē'qtexam.¹ "Iqcxē'Lautci?⁷²
that he will come in." He said that the one who sang "A monster is it?
the conjurer's song:
Lā'xka⁷³ la'xi¹³ lqleyō'qt⁴ ilxētēlō'tcxam²⁰ ilgemcītqoē'mam."⁷⁴
he that old one he came to see the dance he came to give you food."
Qōct⁷⁵ igē'pīxl⁷⁶ yaxī'yax⁷⁷ igixelō'tcxam.⁷⁸ Hiā'maq⁷⁹ iqtē'lōx.⁸⁰
Behold a sea lion that he came to see the dance. His shots they made on it,
kōpa⁸¹ iō'magt.⁸² Kelā'ix⁸³ cā'xalix⁸³ ya'xi¹³ ē'l̄xam,⁸ tātcl̄a
there it died. Far up that town, nevertheless
iuquē'wulxt⁸⁴ ya'xi¹³ igē'pīxl.⁷⁶ A'qa¹⁷ itgixē'lemux⁸⁵ ta-ŋci¹⁰
it went up that sea lion. Then they ate those
tē'l̄xam,⁸ ta-ŋci¹⁰ igē'taxelō'tcxē.⁸⁶ Oxuē'lutcx⁸⁶ ya'xi¹³ ē'tcxampa.³⁷
people, those who had come to see the dance. They saw the dance that song at.
Kloalqē' Lā'yulemax⁸⁸ ā'nqa⁸⁹ Laxanakcō'ngut⁷ nai'ka³ tge'qlēyuq.
Thus then supernatural helper long ago Laxanakcō'ngut I my ancestors.
t̄k̄c.⁴

⁵⁶ *itgō-* THEY THEM; *-gxi* after *ō* changed to *-gui*; stem *-pa* TO TAKE.

⁵⁷ *t-* plural; *tgō-* THEIR; *-qamatcx* ARROW.

⁵⁸ *iqL-* SOME ONE HIM; *-ō-* directive; *-l̄pa-* TO SAY.

⁵⁹ Onomatopoeic particle verb.

⁶⁰ Imperative of transitive verb without subject; *ā-* feminine object; *-z-* TO DO; *-a* future.

⁶¹ *a-* feminine; *-ōL* FIRE.

⁶² Probably *t-* transitional; *L-* IT; *-k-* indicating preceding transitive subject; *-a-* HER; *-z-* TO DO.

⁶³ Probably from the stem *-l̄lx* PLACE, COUNTRY.

⁶⁴ *ē'wa* THUS; distributive *ā'wimas* (?)

⁶⁵ *t-* masculine; *-cā-* THEIR TWO SIDES, relating to the following dual noun FACE; *-qa-ilax* LARGENESS.

⁶⁶ *s-* dual; *-id-*; HIS; *-xōst* FACE, EYES.

⁶⁷ *La* JUST LIKE.

⁶⁸ In Chinook *ōkLē'mēn* is used for MOON. After the death of a man named *KLē'mēn*, whose guardian spirit was the moon, the Kathlamet discarded the word *akLē'mēn*, which corresponds to the Lower Chinook form, and used *aka'im* instead (see *Lkaxemū'ks* Kathlamet Texts 27.3). The word at this place corresponds to the plural of the Lower Chinook, and should read perhaps *LkLē'mēn'ks* (see Chinook Texts 245.18); the ending *-l̄ē* LIKE (see § 55).

⁶⁹ *igu-* transitional third person plural; *-goa-* inserted before stem in *k*; *-k'im* TO SAY; see note 18.

⁷⁰ Stem *-qctzē' Lan*.

⁷¹ *al-* future before vowels (§ 17); *t-* HE; *-lx-* US; *-gxi* COMING TO; *-pq* INTO; *-a* future.

⁷² *tci* Interrogative particle.

⁷³ *ia'zka*, *a'zka*, *La'zka* HE, SHE, IT.

⁷⁴ *t-* transitional; *Lgemc-* IT YOU; *-z-* TO COME; *-goēm* TO GIVE FOOD; *-am* TO ARRIVE.

⁷⁵ An exclamation.

⁷⁶ Stem *-gē'pī'xl*.

⁷⁷ Demonstrative, see § 44.

⁷⁸ *igi-* transitional intransitive; *-zxi* reflexive ON BEHALF OF THEMSELVES; *-ō-* directive; *-l̄cxam* TO GO TO SEE.

⁷⁹ *t-* plural pronoun; *-id-* HIS; *-maq* THE ACT OF SHOOTING.

⁸⁰ *iqtl-* SOMEBODY THEM ON HIM; *-ō-* directive; *-z-* TO DO, TO MAKE.

⁸¹ Perhaps better *gō-pa'* THERE AT.

⁸² *t-* masculine; *-ō-* directive; *-magt* TO DIE, singular.

⁸³ Both words contain the adverbial ending *-lx*.

⁸⁴ From a stem *-gē* TO GO UP; *-wulxt* UP.

⁸⁵ *ūgi-* THEY HIM; *-zē'l̄emux* used here as a transitive verb; more commonly intransitive *ūzē'l̄emux* THEY AT, IN REFERENCE TO HIM; stem *-mux*.

⁸⁶ See note 20; *-zēlōcx* TO WITNESS A DANCE; *ō-* third person plural; *gē'taxelō'tcxē* is nominal, probably THE ONES WHO HAD THEIR WITNESSING; *g-* nomen actoris; *t-* masculine; *-a* THEIRS.

⁸⁷ See note 2; *ē'tcxam* THE CONJURER'S SONG THAT IS SUNG; *-pa* AT.

⁸⁸ *Lā-* THEIRS; *-yūLema* SUPERNATURAL BEING.

⁸⁹ In Lower Chinook *ā'nqatē*.

WISHRAM TEXT¹

By EDWARD SAPIR

COYOTE AND ITC'E'ḶXAN

Aga ² Now	kwô'pt ³ then	gayu'ya ⁴ he went	isklu'lya ⁵ Coyote	wi'tlax. ⁶ again.	Nā'2wit' ⁷ Straightway	gayu'yam; ⁸ he arrived going;
galix'e'tcmaq ⁹ he heard	isklu'lya Coyote	gwā'nîsîm ¹⁰ always	qtulat'a'melqt ¹¹ they (indef.) are always swallowing them down	idE'lḶxam ¹² the people		

¹ A connected English translation of this text will be found in Sapir's *Wishram Texts*, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, II, 41, 43. The Indian text as here given has been very slightly normalized from its form as there published (pp. 40, 42).

² Used partly with weak temporal force, partly as mere connective in narrative. It is frequently practically untranslatable into English.

³ *kwôpt*, THEN, AT THAT TIME, is regularly used with preceding *aga* to mark new step in narrative. It can be analyzed into demonstrative stem *kwô-* (or *kwa-*) THAT (= Chinook *gô* THERE) and local suffix *-pt* UP TO (SO AND SO) FAR. Neither of these elements occurs freely. *kwô-* is not used to form demonstrative pronouns, only occurring stereotyped in several adverbs; besides *kwôpt* we have *kwô'ba* THERE (note 39), and *kwô'dau* AND (note 46). *-pt* also hardly seems to occur except stereotyped in adverbs; cf. *dapt* AS FAR AS THIS (related to *da'ba*, THIS-IN=HERE, as *kwôpt* is to *kwô'ba*), and *yapt*, AS FAR AS THAT YONDER, from *ya'zi* OFF YONDER). See also note 56.

⁴ *ga-* (*gal-* before vowels) = tense prefix denoting remote past, regularly used in myth narrative. *-y-* = 3d per. masc. subj. intr., referring to *ik'u'lya*, before consonants it would appear as *-i-*, while *gal-* would then appear as tense prefix (*ga-y-* = *gal-i-*: see notes 9, 26, 32, 47). *-u-* = directive prefix AWAY FROM SPEAKER. *-ya-* = verb stem TO GO.

⁵ *i-* = masc. noun prefix with which *-y-* in *gayu'ya* is in agreement. *-sk'u'lya* = noun stem COYOTE, apparently not capable of analysis; perhaps loan-word from Klickitat *spi'lya*. Chinook has another stem, *-i'a'lapas*.

⁶ Composed of *wi'tla* AGAIN and deictic particle *-x-*: cf. *da'uya* (note 54) and *da'uyax* THIS. *wi'tla* is most plausibly explained as stereotyped adverb from *wi-*, masc. noun prefix (originally independent masc. pronoun? See notes 19 and 33), and *-t/a*, emphatic particle added to pronouns, TOO, ALSO (see note 21). According to this analysis *wi'tla(x)* was originally formed from **wi* as *ya'zi/a(x)* HE TOO from *ya-z* HE. Originally it must have meant THAT (masc.) TOO, but was later generalized in meaning.

⁷ Rhetorically lengthened form of *nu'u* IMMEDIATELY, RIGHT AWAY. When thus lengthened to *nd'wit*, it seems to imply direct, unswerving motion without interference of the other action; it may then be rendered AS STRAIGHT ON OR ON AND ON.

⁸ As in note 4, except that instead of verb stem *-ya* we have its shorter form *-y-* *-i-* (as in *yu'u* HE GOES; cf. also note 61). To this is suffixed verb suffix *-am* ARRIVE WHILE —ING, GO (OR COME) TO DO—. Several verb stems have two forms,—one in *-a*, and one without this *-a* (e. g. *-pa* and *-p* TO GO OUT; cf. *galu'pa* SHE WENT OUT with *atp* SHE COMES OUT).

⁹ *gal-* = tense prefix *ga-* before vowels. *-i-* = 3d per. masc. obj. before reflexive element (reflexive verbs have, morphologically speaking, no subject). *-xel-* = indirect reflexive composed of reflexive element *-x-* and local verb prefix *-i-* TO, INTO. *-tcmaq* = verb stem TO HEAR. *galix'e'tcmaq* means literally TO HIMSELF HEARD. TO HEAR SOME ONE is expressed by *-x-tcmaq* with prefixed transitive subject and object pronominal elements.

¹⁰ Adverb not capable of analysis.

¹¹ *q-* = indefinite transitive subj. *-i-* = 3d per. pl. obj. tr., referring to *idE'lḶxam*. *-u-* = directive prefix (very many verbs have this "directive" *-u-* even when no definite idea of direction away from speaker seems to be implied). *-tat'amElq-* is example of rarely occurring compound verbs. *-tat/a-* is "diminutive" form of verb stem *-lada-* TO THROW DOWN, AWAY (in this case its meaning seems to correspond somewhat more closely to that of its Chinook cognate *-lata* TO PULL BACK); *-mElq-* is best explained as verb stem *-mEq-* (or *-mq-*) TO VOMIT with infix *-i-* of frequentative or continuative significance (that *-i-* is not really part of stem is shown by form *itculat'a'maq* HE SWALLOWED HIM DOWN); PULL BACK + VOMIT may be construed as meaning VOMIT BACKWARD, DRAW TO ONE'S SELF AND SWALLOW. *-i-* = tense suffix of present time. Observe peculiar sequence of tense, HE HEARD . . . THEY SWALLOW THEM DOWN. Verbs that are dependent on other verbs, chiefly of saying or perception, are always present in tense, no matter what tense is logically implied; cf. below *galcig'lkEl* . . . *iki'ax* (note 43) HE SAW IT . . . IT IS.

itcE'xyan. ¹³	Qxa'damt ¹⁴	gayu'y' ¹⁵	ikn'm ¹⁶	nā'wit	gaticgE'lga ¹⁷
Merman.	Whither	it went	the canoe	straightway	he got hold of it
itcE'xyan;	gaticulat'a'mElq ¹⁸	kā'nawi ¹⁹	dan. ²⁰	"Naiti" ²¹	a'g' ²²
Merman;	he always swallowed it down	every	thing.	"Me too	now
atcnulat'a'mElEqema, ²³	isklu'lya	galixlu'xwa-it. ²⁴	Aga	kwō'pt	
he will swallow me down."	Coyote	he thought.	Now	then	
gayu'y'	isklu'lya;	gaticgE'lga	yag'aii ²⁵	ikla'munaq. ²⁶	Aga kwō'pt
he went	Coyote;	he got hold of it	its bigness	the tree.	Now then

¹³ *id.* - 3d per. pl. noun prefix, in concord with *-l-* in preceding verb. *-lgam* (*-E* is inorganic) = noun stem VILLAGE (*wi'lgam* VILLAGE is formally masc. sing. of *idE'lgam* PEOPLE); *-lgam* is evidently related to *-lq* (see note 33).

¹⁴ *l-* as in note 5. *-lE'xyan* = noun stem MERMEN, PROTECTOR OF FISHERMEN (see Wishram Texts, p. 40, note 2; p. 42, note 2; p. 256, note 2); no etymology suggests itself. Syntactically *itcE'xyan* is subject implied, but not grammatically referred to, by *g-* of preceding verb. This clause can hardly be considered as quite correct; properly speaking, *itcE'xyan* should go with *tculat'a'mElq*.

¹⁵ From interrogative stem *qza-* (or *qa-*), seen also in *qa'zba* WHAT-IN? = WHERE? *qa'zia* OF WHAT KIND? and *qa'ngi* WHAT-WITH? = HOW? *-damt* = local suffix TOWARD found suffixed to several adverbs (cf. *ca'zaladamt* TOWARD ABOVE, *gigwa'ladamt* TOWARD BELOW). This *-damt* is evidently related to local noun suffix *-iamt* TO, FROM. *Qxa'damt* here introduces indirect question, and may best be translated as NO MATTER WHERE.

¹⁶ = *gayu'ya*. Final vowels are regularly elided when following word begins with vowel. For analysis of form, see note 4.

¹⁷ *l-* as in note 5. *-knm* = noun stem CANOE. This stem can be only secondarily monosyllabic, for otherwise we should have **wiknm* (see note 33); its Chinook cognate *-kanim* shows original dissyllabic form. See also note 37.

¹⁸ *ga-* = tense prefix as in note 4. *-c-* = 3d per. masc. tr. subj., referring to following *itcE'xyan* as subject. *-i-* = 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to *ikn'm* of preceding clause as object. *-gE-* = verb prefix of adverbial force, TOWARD (with purpose, intent to reach); it here replaces directive *-u-* of most transitive verbs. *-ga* = verb stem TO GET HOLD OF, SEIZE; it is possibly to be identified with verb stem *-ga* STICK TO, its particular active significance being gained by use of transitive pronominal prefixes and verb prefix *-gE-*.

¹⁹ *ga-lc-i-* as in note 17, *-i-* here referring to following *dan.* *-u-lat'a'-mElq* as in note 11.

²⁰ *ka'nawi* ALL, EVERY is most probably compounded of *kana-* ALL TOGETHER (found in such numeral forms as *ka'nactmōkt* ALL-THE-TWO = BOTH and, with unexplained *-m-*, in *kanEmtu'nikc* ALL THREE PEOPLE) and old 3d per. masc. demonstrative pronoun **wi* (cf. note 6) now no longer preserved as such (except in such petrified words as *wi't/a* and *ka'nawi*), but specialized, like its corresponding fem. *wa-*, as 3d per. noun prefix (see note 33). These old pronouns **wi* and **wa* are best explained as substantivized from pronominal elements *-i-* (masc.) and *-a-* (fem.) by means of demonstrative element *w-* (or *u-*); this latter element is probably identical with *-u-* in demonstrative stem *da'-u-* THIS (found also as *da-*; see note 54), and with Chinook *-ō-* in demonstratives near 3d per. (*r'ōla*, *r'ōcta*, *r'ōta*). *ka'nawi* must originally have meant something like ALL (OF) THAT (masc.), but, like *wi't/a*, was later generalized in significance. *ka'nawi* is here, as often, rhetorically lengthened to *kā'nawi* to emphasize its meaning of TOTALITY.

²¹ Interrogative and indefinite pronoun referring to things, WHAT, ANYTHING, SOMETHING. Though not provided with any sign of gender, it is always construed as masculine, hence *-i-* in *gaticulat'a'mElq*. Its correlative *can* (Kathlamet *lan*) referring to persons, WHO, ANYBODY, SOMEBODY, is always neuter in gender; HE SWALLOWED EVERYBODY DOWN would be *gaticulat'a'mElq kā'nawi can*.

²² Elided from *na'it/a* (see note 15). Composed of 1st per. sing. pronominal stem *na-* (seen also in *na'ika* I) and emphatic suffix *-t/a* TOO, ALSO (see note 6). All independent pronouns in *-ka* can be changed to emphatic pronouns by merely replacing *-ka* by *-t/a* (e. g., *ya'zka* HE becomes *ya't/a* HE TOO). Syntactically *na'it/a* here anticipates *-n-* in following verb (see note 23) as 1st per. sing. obj.

²³ = *a'ga* (see note 15). This particle is very frequently used before future verb forms in conversation.

²⁴ *a-* = tense prefix of future time. *-c-* = 3d per. masc. tr. subj. *-n-* = 1st per. sing. tr. obj. *-u-lat/a'-mElq-* as in note 11 (*-E-* before *-q-* is inorganic). *-Em-* = connective before future suffix *-a-*; verbs that are continuative or frequentative in form regularly use this connective *-Em-* before certain suffixes (such as future *-a*, cessative *-ck*, usitative *-nil*). *-a* = tense suffix of future time; in Wishram verbs regularly form their future by prefixing *a-* or *al-* (before vowels) and suffixing *-a*. It is somewhat difficult to see why this form should be frequentative; one would rather expect *atcnulat'a'mEgva*.

²⁵ *gal-i-* as in note 9. *-i-* = reflexive element; literal translation of verb would be (TO) HIMSELF THOUGHT. *-uq(w)* = verb stem TO THINK. *-ai-* = verb suffix of rather uncertain significance here; it is found in all tenses of verb but present, where it is replaced by *-an* (*ixlu'xwan* HE THINKS).

²⁶ *ya-* = *i-ya-*. *i-* = masc. noun prefix, determining gender of noun stem *-gail*. *-ya-* = 3d per. masc. possessive pronominal prefix, referring to masculine noun *ikla'munaq*. *-gail* = abstract noun stem BIGNESS. *yagail ikla'munaq* THE TREE'S BIGNESS may, like all other possessive constructions, be construed either attributively (THE BIG TREE) or predicatively (THE TREE IS BIG). Its attributive character is here determined by presence of true verb (*gaticgE'lga*) as predicate.

²⁷ *l-* as in note 5. *-ka'munaq* = noun stem TREE, STICK, WOOD. This word is difficult of etymological analysis, yet can be no simple stem; *-ka-* is undoubtedly to be regarded as noun prefix (cf. *ikla'lamat* ROCK, perhaps from verb stem *-la* TO MOVE). *-ka-* is most plausibly considered as "diminutive" form of verb stem *-ga* TO FLY, UP IN AIR (as first element in compound verbs); cf. *iciuk'wa/la* HE WHETTED IT WITH *ici'ula* HE FILED IT, and *i:tu'gwala'da-ulq* I THREW IT UP ON TOP (OF SOMETHING) WITH *iniula'da-ulq* I THREW IT UP.

la'x ²⁷	gali'xôx ²⁸	Gatcige'lga	itc'e'x̄yan	gaqiulat/la'melEq ²⁹	
in sight	he made him- self.	He got hold of him	merman,	they (Indef.) swallowed him down.	
Nā'wit	itc'qô'ba ³⁰	gi'gwal ³¹	isk'lu'lya	galixi'maxitam ³²	wi'l̄xba ³³
Straightway	in the water	below	Coyote	he arrived falling	on the ground
Aga kwô'pt	gatcugi'kel ³⁴	lgabla'd ³⁵	id'e'l̄xam	lgabla'd ³⁶	akn'i'm ³⁷
Now	then	he saw them	their multitude	the people;	their multitude the canoes
axu'xt ³⁸	kwô'ba ³⁹	gi'gwal	itc'qô'ba .	Aga kwô'pt	gatcige'lkel ⁴⁰
they are piled together	there	below	in the water.	Now then	he saw it
isk'lu'lya	itc'e'x̄yan	yagô'meni ⁴¹	qxwôL ⁴²	iki'ax ⁴³	Aga kwô'pt
Coyote	Merman	his heart	hanging	it is.	Now then

²⁷ Particle verb. Though verbal in force, it is purely adverbial morphologically, having no grammatical form of its own. In regard to tense and person it is defined by following verb, which serves as its forming auxiliary.

²⁸ *gal-i-* as in note 9. *-x-* = reflexive element. *-ô-* (modified from *-u-* because of preceding and following velar consonants) = directive prefix; ordinarily reflexive *-x-* replaces directive *-u-*, but there are several verbs that retain it even when reflexive in form. *-x-* = verb stem to DO, MAKE. *-x-u-x* to DO TO ONE'S SELF, MAKE ONE'S SELF, is regularly used to mean BECOME. For other forms of verb stem *-x-* see notes 43, 53, 64, and 66.

²⁹ *ga-* as in note 4. *-g-* = indefinite tr. subj. *-i-* = 3d per. masc. tr. obj. *-u-lat/la'-melEq* as in note 11. Forms with indefinite *-g-* subject are very commonly used in Wishram in lieu of passives.

³⁰ *it-* = 3d per. neut. noun prefix. *-l-* = inorganic consonant, serving as glide between *l* and *c*. *-c'qô-* (= *-cga-*; *a* is velarized to *ô* by preceding *g*) = noun stem WATER; its shorter form *-c'q-* is seen in *lcta'cq* THE WATER OF THE TWO (Wishram Texts 190.14). *-ba-* = local noun suffix IN, AT (see also notes 33, 39, and 60).

³¹ Adverb; *-al* is probably not part of stem, for it is found also in correlative *ca'x-al* ABOVE.

³² *gal-* as in note 9. *-i-* = 3d per. masc. intr. subj., referring to preceding *i-sk'lu'lya*. *-zima-* = verb stem to PUT DOWN, PUT ON GROUND, LAY DOWN (as tr.); LIE DOWN (as intr.); probably composed of *-x-* ON GROUND(?) and *-ima-* (cf. *ga-ya-x-a'l-ima-lx* HE PUT HIMSELF INTO THE WATER [Wishram Texts 2.5]); whenever indirect object with *-k-* ON is introduced, *-x-ima-* becomes *-za-ima-* (e. g., *ga-k-l-a-k-za'-ima* SHE LAID IT DOWN ON IT [Wishram Texts 2.11]). *-z̄it-* = quasi-passive suffix; *-x-ima-z̄it-* = BE LAID DOWN, LAY ONE'S SELF DOWN, FALL DOWN TO GROUND. *-am* = verb suffix ARRIVE — ING (cf. note 8).

³³ *wi-* = 3d per. masc. noun prefix; masc. noun stems that are non-syllabic or monosyllabic require *wi-* (cf. note 55); those that have more than one syllable have *i-* (see notes 5, 13, 16, 26); for probable origin of *wi-* see note 19. In Chinook *wi-* has entirely given way to *i-*, except as archaism in some place-names and in songs. *-l̄-* = noun stem LAND; seen also in *wi'l̄xam* VILLAGE, *id'e'l̄xam* PEOPLE (see note 12); probably also in *wa'lyi* FISHING STATION and *ic'e'l̄lȳ* STAGING FOR FISHING. *-ba* as in note 30.

³⁴ *ga-* as in note 4. *-c-* = 3d per. masc. tr. subj. *-u-* = 3d per. pl. obj., referring to following *id'e'l̄xam* (before verb prefix *-g'el-* 3d per. plural obj. *-i-* is replaced by *-u-*, *-g'el-* then becoming *-g(w)l-*; in other words, *-i-* before *-g'el-* is treated analogously to when it comes before *-g'el-*). *-g'it-* = plural form of *-g'el-* (see note, 40) OUT FROM ENCLOSED SPACE (cf. *ga-i-a-g'e'l-ba* IT FLOWED OUT OF HER [Wishram Texts 94.4]); analogously to *-g'el-* (see note 17) directive *-u-* is here replaced by *-g'el-*. *-kel-* = verb stem to KNOW (cf. *l-k-d-u'-kul* HE KNOWS THEM [Wishram Texts 176.10]); *-g'el-kel-* = TO KNOW FROM OUT ONE'S (EYES), hence to SEE, GET SIGHT OF.

³⁵ *l-* = 3d per. neut. noun prefix, defining gender of abstract noun stem *-blad*. *-ga-* = 3d per. pl. possessive pronominal prefix, referring to *id'e'l̄xam*. *-blad* = noun stem MULTITUDE, GREAT NUMBER. *lgabla'd id'e'l̄xam* is construed like *ya'gail ik.ta'munaq* (see note 25).

³⁶ As in note 35, except that *-ga-* = 3d per. fem. possessive pron. prefix (merely homonymous with *-ga-* of note 35), referring to *akn'i'm*.

³⁷ *a-* = 3d per. fem. noun prefix; though many fem. dissyllabic stems have *wa-* (e. g., *wala'la* FOND), it is here replaced by analogy of *ikn'i'm* (see note 16), as in related nouns *i-* and *a-*. *wi-* and *wa-* generally pair off respectively. *-kntm* as in note 16. Logically *akn'i'm* CANOES is plural, morphologically it is fem., being so referred to in *axu'xt* (note 38); another example of fem. as plural is *wa'mwa* MAGGOTS, masc. *wi'mwa* MAGGOT.

³⁸ *a-* = 3d per. fem. intr. subj., referring to *akn'i'm*. *-z-* = verb prefix ON GROUND, ON BOTTOM (?) *-u-* = directive prefix. *-zt-* = verb stem to LIE, SIT, BE PLACED, corresponding in use to Chinook *-c-*. This verb stem allows of no formal modification by means of tense affixes.

³⁹ Composed of demonstrative stem *kwô-* (see note 3) and local suffix *-ba* (see note 33); THAT-IN = THERE.

⁴⁰ As in note 34, except that incorporated obj. is *-i-* = 3d per. masc., referring to *yagô'meni*, and that *-g'el-* is unmodified.

⁴¹ *ya-* = *i-ya-* as in note 25, *i-* defining HEART as masc. in gender, while *-ya-* refers to *itc'e'x̄yan*. *-gô'meni* HEART seems to be verbal in form, *-eni* being usitative suffix; *yagô'meni* may also be used predicatively to mean HE IS ALIVE.

⁴² Particle verb, for which *iki'ax* serves as auxiliary.

⁴³ *i-* = 3d per. masc. intr. subj., referring to *yagô'meni*. *-kia-* TO BE is another tenseless verb (cf. note 38). It is best, though somewhat doubtfully, explained as composed of verb prefix *-kt-*, which shows lack of

gaqiu'lxam^{43a} isk!u'lya: "Ya'xdau^{43b} itc!e'xyan yagó'meník." Aga
 they (indef.) told Coyote: "That Merman his heart." Now
 him

kwó'pt Lq!ó'p^{43c} gac!u'ux;^{43d} Lq!ó'p^{43c} gali'xóx^{43e} itc!e'xyan yagó'meník.
 then cut he made it; cut it made itself Merman his heart.

Aga kwó'pt kā'nawi gatkxeni'yutck⁴⁴ sā'q^{u45} akni'm kwó'dau⁴⁶
 Now then all they each floated up out entirely the canoes and
 of water

ide'lxam kwó'dau isk!u'lya.

the people and Coyote.

Aga kwó'pt gali'kim⁴⁷ isk!u'lya: "Ega⁴⁸ pu⁴⁹ qā'ma⁵⁰ ma'ima⁵¹
 Now then he said Coyote: "Perchance would how you alone
 itc!e'xyan qxi'dau⁵² amdu'xwa⁵³ ide'lxam? Da'uuya⁵⁴ wi'gwa⁵⁵ aga
 Merman thus you will do to them the people? This day now

object of ordinarily trans. verb, and verb stem -x TO DO (cf. Eng. HE DOES WELL, i. e., gets along well); -a- would then have to be explained as inorganic glide vowel (cf. Chinook i-ké'-x HE IS and Wishram i-ki'-x-az HE IS, HAS BECOME). For syntactic construction, as subordinated to gac!u'ux, see note 11.

^{43a} ga- as in note 4. -q- = Indef. tr. subj. (cf. note 29). -i- = 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to isk!u'lya. -u- = directive prefix. -lxam = verb stem TO SAY TO with personal object. This verb form is logically passive.

^{43b} Demonstrative pronoun, showing location near 2d person, composed of simple form of independent 3d personal pronoun + demonstrative element -x- (cf. also ordinary forms of independent 3d personal pronoun ya'-ka and similarly for other genders) + demonstrative stem -dau (= -da + -u), for which see note 54. Syntactically ya'xdau, here used substantively, agrees in gender with yagó'meník, to which it refers. There is no expressed predicate in this sentence, yagó'meník (IT IS) HIS HEART being so used.

^{43c} Particle verb, to which following verbs gac!u'ux and gali'xóx, both from verb stem -x TO DO, serve as auxiliaries. Lq!ó'p doubtless has onomatopoeic force.

^{43d} See note 64.

^{43e} As in note 28. CUT IT-MADE-ITSELF = IT BECAME CUT.

⁴⁴ ga- as in note 4. -i- = 3d per. pl. intr. subj., referring to akni'm, ide'lxam, and isk!u'lya as combined plural subject. -k- = regular replacement of directive -u- whenever intr. subj. -i- would theoretically be expected to stand before it. -xeni- (or -xuni-) = verb stem TO FLOAT, DRIFT. -yu- = distributive suffix EACH SEPARATELY (gatkxeni'tck would mean THEY FLOATED UP IN ONE BODY). -ck = local verb suffix UP TO SURFACE, UP FROM POSITION OF REST (cf. also gal-i-x-ck HE MOVED HIMSELF UP FROM SITTING POSITION, HE AROSE [Wishram Texts 4.6]; gal-i'-ka-ck HE ROSE (STICKING HIS HEAD) OUT OF WATER [op. cit., 10.5]); combined with -ba OUT OF INTERIOR, -ck appears as -pck FROM WATER OUT TO LAND (gatkxeni'yupck THEY EACH FLOATED ON TO LAND; for change of -ba to -p cf. galagx'ba with lagx'ipx [Wishram Texts 94.7]). This -ck should be distinguished from -ck of cessative significance, whose function it is to deprive verbs that are continuative or frequentative in form of their continuative force (e. g., yuwi'tal HE IS DANCING, gayuwi'talxmck HE WAS DANCING (but is no longer doing so).

⁴⁵ Adverbial in force. Logically sā'qu (rhetorically lengthened to sá'qu to emphasize idea of totality) often seems to be used attributively with nouns (translated as ALL), but grammatically it is best considered as adverbial, even when there is no expressed predicate.

⁴⁶ Composed of demonstrative stems kwó- (see note 3) and dau- (see note 54). Its original significance was evidently THAT (which precedes) and THIS (which follows).

⁴⁷ gal-i- as in note 32. -kim = verb stem TO SAY (without personal object; cf. note 58).

⁴⁸ Adverb of modal significance, serving to give doubtful coloring to verb.

⁴⁹ Adverb of potential and conditional significance; in formal conditions introduced by cma'ni' if, it often has contrary-to-fact implication. This use of modal particles in lieu of verb modes is characteristic of Chinookan.

⁵⁰ Evidently contains interrogative stem qa- WHAT, seen also in qza'damt (note 14). -ma can not be explained. This word has been found only in such passages as here, and is very likely felt to be archaic. iqa pu qā'ma occurs as stereotyped myth-phrase in transformer incidents (cf. Wishram Texts 6.13, 38.6, for similar passages).

⁵¹ Forms in -aima ALONE may be formed from simplest forms of personal pronouns (subject intr. incorporated); e. g., na'ima I ALONE, ma'ima YOU ALONE, ya'ima HE ALONE. It is doubtful, however, whether these forms should be considered as intransitive verbs from verb stem -aima. Since personal plurals in -dik (e. g., la'imadikc THEY ALONE) occur, it seems preferable to consider them as formed by suffixed -ma ALONE? (cf. qā'ma note 50) from independent pronoun stems in -ai- (as in na'ika, note 57, and na'it/a, note 21); this -ai- is in these forms found also in 3d persons (e. g., la'ima IT ALONE, as contrasted with la'zka and la'z't/a). Chinook na'mka I ALONE, analyzed by Boas as intr. subj. pronoun + verb stem -amka, is probably best explained as simple independent pronoun in -a- (na, ma, and corre-

kwó'pt⁵⁶ qxi'dau amdu'xwa ide'lxam. Na'ika⁵⁷ isk'lu'lya yamu'lxam.⁵⁸
 that far thus you will do to the people. I Coyote I have told you.
 them

Kwa'ic⁵⁹ da'uyaba⁶⁰ wi'lx atgadi'mama⁶¹ ide'lxam. Kwó'pt
 Soon In this land they will arrive coming the people. Then
 alugwagi'ma,⁶² 'Qxi'dau 'Ex⁶³ gatci'ux⁶⁴ isklu'lya itc!E'xyan.'⁶⁵
 they will say, 'Thus exercising he did to him Coyote Merman.'
 supernatural
 power

Kwó'pt a'ga itc!E'xyan pla'l'⁶⁵ amxu'xwa."⁶⁶
 Then now Merman being quiet you will make yourself."

sponding forms for other persons occur not rarely in Wishram) + -m(a) + -ka JUST, ONLY (cf. *ku'uka* JUST THREE).

⁵² Adverb composed of relative particle *qxi-* (cf. *qxi* as relative pronoun in Wishram Texts, 188.1) and demonstrative stem *dau-* THIS (cf. note 54). *qxi'dau* thus means literally AS, LIKE THIS.

⁵³ *a-* = tense prefix of future time. -m- = 2d per. sing. tr. subj. -d- = 3d per. pl. tr. obj., referring to *ide'lxam*. -u- = directive prefix. -x- = verb stem TO DO (TO). -w- = inorganic consonant induced by -u- preceding *k-* sound. -a- = future suffix.

⁵⁴ Demonstrative pronoun, showing location near 1st person, composed of demonstrative stem *daw-* (= *da-*, as in *da'ba* HERE + *-u-*, see note 19) and simple form of 3d per. independent pronoun in -a (masc. *ya*, fem. *a*, neut. *ka*, du. *ca*, pl. *da*). Forms without -u- (e. g., *da'ya*) occur, though much less frequently; deictic -r may be added without material change in meaning (e. g., *da'uyaz* or *da'yar*). -*dau* also occurs as second element in demonstrative pronouns showing location near 2d person (e. g., *ya'zdau* THAT masc., note 43b). *da'uya* is here masculine because in agreement with masc. noun *wi'gwa*. Chinook seems to preserve *da-* only in isolated adverbs like *ta'ke* THEN (= *da'ka* JUST THIS or THAT [cf. Wishram *da'uka* JUST SO]).

⁵⁵ *wi-* = masc. noun prefix, with *w-* because noun stem is monosyllabic. -*gwa* = noun stem DAY. *da'uya wi'gwa* THIS DAY is regularly used as stereotyped phrase for TO-DAY; *dau' ap'laz* THIS SUN is also so used.

⁵⁶ Analysis given in note 3. Here *kwó'pt*, with well-marked stress accent, preserves its literal meaning of THAT FAR, THUS MUCH, *apa kwó'pt* being regularly used, outside of narrative, to mean ENOUGH. Chinook *kape't* ENOUGH is doubtless related, but *ka-* can not be directly equated with *kwó-*, which corresponds rather to Chinook *gō* (see note 3).

⁵⁷ Ordinary form of independent personal pronoun, composed of stems in -*ai-* (for 1st and 2d persons) or -*a-x-* (for 3d persons) and suffixed particle -*ka* JUST, ONLY, found also suffixed to numerals. *na'ika* is here grammatically unnecessary, but is used to emphasize subject of following verb form.

⁵⁸ = *iyamu'lxam*. *t-* = tense prefix of immediate past time. -*yam-* = combination of 1st per. sing. subj. and 2d per. sing. obj. -*u-* = directive prefix. -*lxam* = verb stem TO SAY TO with expressed personal object.

⁵⁹ Temporal adverb referring to action just past or about to occur, either JUST NOW, RECENTLY, or SOON. Seems to be Klickitat loan-word.

⁶⁰ *da'uya* as in note 54; masc. because in agreement with masc. noun *wi'lx*. -*ba* = local noun suffix IN regularly suffixed to demonstrative pronoun preceding noun instead of to noun itself.

⁶¹ *a-* as in note 53. -*t-* = 3d per. pl. intr. subj., referring to *ide'lxam*. -*ga-* = element regularly introduced after 3d per. pl. intr. -*t-* before -*d-t-* TO COME and, before verb stems beginning with *k-* sounds, after 3d per. pl. intr. -*u-* (cf. note 62). -*d-t-* TO COME consists of -*d-* = directive prefix HITHER, TOWARD SPEAKER, correlative to directive -*u-*, and -*t-* = verb stem TO GO. -*mam-* = form of -*am-* (see notes 8 and 32) used after vowels. -*a* as in note 53.

⁶² *ai-* = tense prefix of future time employed before vowels (*ai-* and *a-* used analogously to *gal-* and *ga-*). -*u-* = 3d per. pl. intr. subj. used, instead of -*t-*, before verb stems beginning with *k-* sounds (as here *-gim-*). -*gwa-* = -*ga-* as in note 61, -*w-* being inorganic, due to influence of -*u-* preceding *k-* sound (cf. note 53). -*gim-* = verb stem TO SAY; -*kim* (as in note 47) is used when accent immediately precedes, -*gim-* when suffix (here -*a*) is added and accent is pushed forward. -*a* as in note 53. In Chinook -*ugwa-* appears as -*ogo-* (*gwa* regularly becomes *go*); *alugwagi'ma* is paralleled in Chinook by *ogogol'ma*.

⁶³ Particle verb TO USE SUPERNATURAL POWER, TRANSFORM, to which following *gatci'ux* serves as auxiliary. It is one of those very few Wishram words in which glottal catch is found (other words are -*ci'* OR, *i'ci'ic* BLUEJAY, *dala'a't* PERHAPS).

⁶⁴ *ga-* as in note 4. -*ic-* = 3d per. masc. tr. subj., referring to *isk'lu'lya*. -*t-* = 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to *itc!E'xyan*. Observe that subject noun regularly precedes object noun, their order being thus analogous to that of incorporated pronouns with which they stand in apposition. -*u-* = directive prefix. -*x-* = verb stem TO DO (TO).

⁶⁵ = *p'a'la*. Particle verb, with which following *amxu'xwa* is used as auxiliary. *p'a'l' amxu'xwa* QUIET YOU-WILL-BECOME (I. e., you will stop, desist).

⁶⁶ *a-* as in note 53. -*m-* = 2d per. sing. obj. with following reflexive element (see -*t-* in notes 9 and 28). -*x-* as in note 28. -*u-x-w-a* as in note 53.