

THE LANGUAGE OF THE KATHLAMET CHINOOK

by
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I

INTRODUCTION

- 1.1. Location and related dialects.
- 1.2. Wider relationships of Chinookan.
- 1.3. State of Chinookan linguistic studies.
- 1.4. Background of Kathlamet corpus.
- 1.5. Method of present study.

1.1. Kathlamet Chinook is an extinct dialect of the Upper Chinook language. It was spoken aboriginally in an area along the Columbia river near its mouth, extending from Astoria (on the south or Oregon side) at the west to Rainier (on the north or Washington side) at the east. Kathlamet was the westernmost representative of Upper Chinook, which also included, from west to east, the Clackamas, Cascades, Wasco and Wishram dialects. All these, as well as other Chinookan-speaking communities for which no linguistic information survives, were spoken in villages along the Columbia, the Clackamas also extending somewhat southward up the Willamette Valley. The easternmost, Wasco and Wishram, were a few miles above the site of The Dalles, Oregon. The total extent of Upper Chinook was thus something like two hundred miles east-west. The aboriginal population of the communities is not known precisely, but never numbered more than a few hundreds in the largest.

The other member of the Chinookan family, Lower Chinook, had two dialects, Clatsop and Shoalwater, spoken along the Pacific and a few miles inland, the one on the Oregon, the other on the Washington side, of the Columbia river mouth. Both are now extinct. Of Upper Chinook dialects, only Wasco and Wishram are known to be still spoken, Wasco on the Warm Springs reservation, Oregon, and Wishram on the Yakima reservation, Washington, and by a few individuals at Spearfish, Washington, on the Columbia. The Lower Columbia peoples were reduced to a handful of survivors by epidemics in 1829 and 1853, causing their disappearance as entities, and sometimes their amalgamation with adjacent Salish groups.

Linguistic and ethnographic subdivisions of the Chinookan peoples do not coincide. The easternmost Upper Chinook dialects, Wasco and Wishram, are classified culturally in the Plateau by Murdock, more precisely by Kroeber in the Middle Columbia division of the Columbia-Fraser Plateau, one of his three Intermediate and Intermountain areas. The Cascades villages may belong here. On the other hand, the Clackamas and Kathlamet peoples are grouped with the Shoalwater and Clatsop in Murdock's Oregon Seaboard area; Kroeber does not name the Clackamas, but groups the Kathlamet with his Lower Columbia subdivision of the Northwest Coast.¹ Whereas "Lower Chinook" applies linguistically only to Shoalwater and Clatsop, Ray has adopted it ethnographically for his description of the homogeneous culture of these together with the Kathlamet.²

1.2. The relationship between the Lower and Upper Chinook languages is quite apparent and has never been questioned. On the other hand, no proof in terms of the comparative method has ever been adequately presented for any external genetic relationship of Chinookan to other groups. Frachtenberg presented a small amount of partly acceptable lexical evidence in 1918 for a relationship to two other Oregon languages, Takelma and Kalapuya.³ Sapir carried this further in a 1921 article, adumbrating the basis for his 1929 classification of Chinookan as part of Penutian, one of the six groups under which he comprised all North American indigenous languages. In the 1921 article Sapir reports his arrival at the relationship:⁴

Unfamiliarity with Alsea (Yakonan) and Kalapuya made it impossible for me to follow the chain of evidence geographically. Nevertheless, Chinookan points of contact soon manifested themselves too persistently to be brushed aside. After hesitating for a long while to take up seriously the possibility of affiliating Chinook, one of the most isolated and morphologically specialized languages of Oregon, I now find myself forced by the evidence to admit such an affiliation as not only possible but decidedly probable.

The 1929 Penutian classification comprised California Penutian (Miwok-Costanoan, Yokuts, Maidu, Wintun), Oregon Penutian (Takelma, Coos-Siuslaw-Alsea, Kalapuya), Chinookan, Tsimshian, Plateau Penutian (Sahaptin, Molala-Cayuse, Klamath-Modoc), and Mexican Penutian (Mixe-Zoque, Huave).⁵

The relationship of these languages is now considered established on the evidence of glottochronology by Swadesh. In private correspondence he reports some confirmations of

Whorf's theory of a Macro-Penutian, including besides Sapir's Penutian, two of Sapir's other five major groups, Aztec-Tanoan and Hokan-Siouan. He writes: "Whorf's conception is needs to be enlarged and revised, but is basically sound." The enlargement brings in Maya and Totonac together with Mixe, Zoque and Huave as a Mexican Penutian branch, a relationship independently arrived at by Greenberg.⁶

In the course of "a few remarks of somewhat impressionistic character because of my lack of acquaintance with the linguistic data from this area," Greenberg concludes:⁷

Even the much larger Macro-Penutian grouping seems well within the bounds of what can be accepted without more elaborate investigation and marshaling of supporting evidence. The difference between Oregon and California Penutian is comparable to that between any two of the subdivisions of the Eastern Sudanic family in Africa.

The full evidence on which Sapir based his 1929 Penutian classification has not been published; Hoijer writes of the 1929 classification as a whole:⁸

It is evident from this brief survey of Sapir's work that he achieved his revisions of the Powell classification by the strict application of the comparative method to American Indian materials. Because these materials, in many cases, were fragmentary or otherwise unsatisfactory, his formulations lack completeness and, at least to some of his critics, validity.

Swadesh's evidence for Penutian and for Macro-Penutian, based on glottochronology and techniques described in a recent article,⁹ likewise is not yet fully published. For the time being, then, if one does not suspend judgment, acceptance or rejection of these wider relationships for Chinookan must rest largely on one's evaluation of the methods and judgment of these two scholars, Sapir and Swadesh.

1.3. Our linguistic data for Chinookan languages stems from the early nineteenth century. Pilling's Bibliography characterizes the nineteenth century materials up to 1893, including an extensive literature on the Chinook Jargon. None of it is specified as Kathlamet, except that collected by Boas and known to Pilling in manuscript.

In this century Swanton published "Morphology of the Chinook Verb" (his doctoral dissertation) in 1900; it was based on Boas' materials for Shoalwater Chinook. Boas himself had brought to publication Chinook Texts (Shoalwater dialect) in 1894, and Kathlamet Texts in 1901; "Notes on the Chinook Language" (1893) and "Vocabulary of the Chinook Language" (1904) were substantially included in the Chinook sketch of the first volume (1911) of the Handbook of American Indian Languages. While the Handbook sketch included some references to Kathlamet features, and incorporated a few sections on special aspects of Wishram by Sapir, it was principally a description of Shoalwater dialect, i.e., Lower Chinook. In 1907 Sapir's three weeks of field work with a Wishram informant at Yakima reservation resulted in "Preliminary Report on the Language and Mythology of the Upper Chinook" and Wishram Texts (1909). With this work of Sapir's as a point of departure, Dyk spent two summers with a Wishram informant in 1930 and 1931, completing "A Grammar of Wishram" for a Yale doctoral dissertation in 1933, but the work remains unpublished; Dyk's materials are now held by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. In 1930 Jacobs obtained an extensive body of texts from the last speaker of

Clackamas, the Upper Chinook dialect closest to Kathlamet; these texts will be published in the Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics, but a grammar and lexicon have not been prepared. David French and myself have obtained Wasco material in the last few years, from which it is planned a description and dictionary will result.

In sum, since Pilling's Bibliography (1893) a fairly considerable body of Chinookan materials has been amassed, but only a small portion of it has been fully analyzed and/or published. No description of any Chinookan dialect by present phonemic and structural methods is available, nor any Upper Chinook lexicon. Boas had contemplated a comparative study and dictionary of the Chinookan dialects as early as the appearance of Kathlamet Texts in 1901:¹⁰

These collections of texts will, it is expected, be followed by a grammar and dictionary of the language which will contain a comparison of all the known dialects of the Chinookan stock.

The only historical or comparative Chinookan work to appear, however, has been Sapir's "A Chinookan Phonetic Law" (1926).

1.4. The corpus on which this work is based consists entirely of texts obtained by Boas in 1890, 1891 and 1894 from Charles Cultee at Bay Center, Washington. Cultee was apparently not a native speaker of Kathlamet, but of Shoalwater Chinook, and a proficient bilingual in Chehalis Salish as well as Chinook Jargon. In the description of Kathlamet it is necessary to evaluate some features against this polyglot background of Cultee's. Here all that Boas reports on the matter is cited.¹¹

While studying the Salishan languages of Washington and Oregon I learned that the dialects of the lower Chinook were on the verge of disappearing, and that only a few individuals survived who remembered the languages of the once powerful tribes of the Clatsop and Chinook. This fact determined me to make an effort to collect what little remained of these languages.

I first went to Clatsop, where a small band of Indians are located near Seaside, Clatsop county, Oregon. Although a number of them belonged to the Clatsop tribe, they had all adopted the Nehelim language, a dialect of the Salishan Tillamook. This change of language was brought about by frequent intermarriages with the Nehelim. I found one middle-aged man and two old women who still remembered the Clatsop language, but it was impossible to obtain more than a vocabulary and a few sentences. The man had forgotten a great part of the language, while the women were not able to grasp what I wanted; they claimed to have forgotten their myths and traditions, and could not or would not give me any connected texts. One old Clatsop woman, who had been married to a Mr. Smith, was too sick to be seen, and died soon after my visit. The few remaining Clatsop had totally forgotten the history of their tribe, and even maintained that no allied dialect was spoken north of Columbia river and on Shoalwater bay. They assured me that the whole country was occupied by the Chehalis, another Salishan tribe. They told me, however, that a few of their relatives, who still continued to speak Clatsop, lived on Shoalwater bay among the Chehalis.

I went to search for this remnant of the Clatsop and Chinook peoples, and found them located at Bay Center, Pacific county, Washington. They proved to be the last survivors of the Chinook, who at one time occupied the greater part of Shoalwater bay and the northern bank of Columbia river as far as Greys Harbor. The tribe has adopted the Chehalis language in the same way in which the Clatsop have adopted the Nehelim. The only individuals who spoke Chinook were Charles Cultee and Catherine. While I was unable to obtain anything from the latter, Cultee (or more properly Q'ltē) proved to be a veritable storehouse of information. His mother's mother was a Katlamat, and his mother's father a Quilápax; his father's mother was a Clatsop, and his father's father a Tinneh of the interior. His wife is a Chehalis, and at present he speaks Chehalis almost exclusively, this being also the language of his children. He has lived for a long time in Katlamat, on the southern bank of Columbia river, his mother's town, and for this reason speaks the Katlamat dialect as well as the Chinook dialect. He uses the former dialect in conversing with Samson, a Katlamat Indian, who is also located at Bay Center. Until a few years ago he

spoke Chinook with one of his relatives, while he uses it now only rarely when conversing with Catherine, who lives a few miles from Bay Center. Possibly this Chinook is to a certain extent mixed with Katlamat expressions, but from a close study of the material I conclude that it is on the whole pure and trustworthy.

I have obtained from Cultee a series of Katlamat texts also, which appear to me not quite so good as the Chinook texts, but nevertheless give a good insight into the differences of the two dialects. It may be possible to obtain material in this dialect from other sources.

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More specifically on the Kathlamet material:

The following (Kathlamet) texts were collected in the summers of 1890 and 1891 and in December, 1894. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the Kathlamet dialect is spoken by three persons only--Charles Cultee and Samson, both living at Bay Center, Washington, and Mrs. Wilson, who lives at Nemah, on Shoalwater Bay. Unfortunately neither Samson nor Mrs. Wilson were able to give me any connected texts, so that Charles Cultee was my only informant. This is unfortunate, as he told me also Chinook texts, and is, therefore, the only source for two dialects of the Chinookan stock. In order to ascertain the accuracy of his mode of telling, I had two stories which he had told in the summer of 1891 repeated three and a half years later, in December, 1894. These stories ...show great similarity and corroborate the opinion which I formed from internal evidence that the language of the texts is fairly good and represents the dialect in a comparatively pure state. ...

The work of translating and explaining the texts was greatly facilitated by Cultee's remarkable intelligence. After he had once grasped what was wanted, he explained to me the grammatical structure of sentences by means of examples, and elucidated the sense of difficult periods. This work was the more difficult as we conversed only by means of the Chinook jargon. It will be noticed that the periods of the later dictations are much more complex than those of his earlier dictations.

Boas, then, was satisfied that the Kathlamet and Shoalwater Chinook materials were acceptable as independent testimony to each dialect. Contributing to this conclusion are the comments on Cultee's intelligence and the knowledge that he had opportunity to continue use of both dialects until the time Boas worked with him. Experience with the Kathlamet texts themselves shows some to be of a literary quality above

the average of narratives from this area; the "Myth of the Sun" (pp. 26-33) is an example. I have verified Boas' report of the consistency of narratives dictated three and a half years apart, and of the text material in general. It should be noted that the statements in the Chinook sketch in the Handbook of American Indian languages, concerning phonological and morphemic differences between Lower Chinook and Kathlamet, derive entirely from Cultee's ability to distinguish the two regularly.

The question of the relationship of the Kathlamet data to Lower Chinook and to other Upper Chinook dialects will be mentioned in connection with specific points in the chapters on phonology and morphology, where the reliability of Cultee's testimony will appear in more detail. There remains the question of Chehalis Salish influence on Cultee's speech; when this is considered in the phonology, early lexical data will show that specific similarities between Salishan, Shoalwater Chinook and Kathlamet are due to the history of close contact and intermarriage in the area, rather than to Cultee's personal linguistic history.

It is possible that besides Kathlamet Texts, some Kathlamet data, collected as supplementary information by Boas, may exist in the Franz Boas Collection of the Library of the American Philosophical Society. The passage quoted referring to the explanation of grammatical structure by means of examples suggests that this sort of supplementary material was obtained; however, the Index to the Boas Collection does not indicate the presence of any grammatical notes on Kathlamet,

though such might be found to accompany the text and word
list manuscripts reported.¹³

1.5. The present study seeks to establish the phonemic inventory, the morphological structure, and the lexical stock of Kathlamet Chinook, insofar as this can be determined from Kathlamet Texts. There being no recourse to living informants, it is of course impossible to investigate the productivity of infrequent forms, or elucidate difficult constructions by added examples. This inevitably leaves a somewhat larger residue of imperfectly understood data than is normally the case when research can be based upon field work, utilizing elicited materials; however, it is a frequent experience of workers in many of the branches of Indo-European, Semitic, etc. It is hoped that as existent Chinookan materials reach publication, and my own research in Chinookan continues, material from outside Kathlamet will clarify much of what at present remains obscure. The basic topography is clear and is presented in this dissertation; certain valleys remain in shadow.

The first step has been to prepare a file of 3x5 slips for all forms in Kathlamet Texts. Comparison of these made possible elimination of variants due to errors of printing or transcription, a step analogous to the establishment of the text necessary in much philology. The actual analysis, however, has not been a strictly closed corpus problem, for work on Kathlamet has been influenced by previous sketches of Chinookan dialects by Boas, Sapir and Dyk, which were based on field work. The linguistic analysis, then, consists of (a)

what are essentially structural restatements of earlier descriptions for open, partially elicited corpora, insofar as Kathlamet agrees with the described dialects (Shoalwater Chinook, Wishram); (b) original description based on a closed textual corpus where Kathlamet differs from the described dialects, where the matter has not been presented previously (e.g., particle stems, consonant clusters), and of course in isolating the stem lexicons; (c) original discoveries about Chinookan structure, applied to Kathlamet, but occasioned by field work in the related Wasco dialect (e.g., the existence of a major form-class of pronouns).

The contrast between the present work and earlier treatments of Chinookan dialects is not especially that of open vs. closed corpus, therefore, because work with the former by others and the author has exerted so much influence on the present work with Kathlamet. The deeper contrast is in linguistic statement. Here a modern phonemic treatment is given (although morphophonemics remain scattered through the morphology). Definite commitments are made in the identification of morphemes by assigning index numbers to all but members of stem classes, with decimal points for morpheme alternants. While the Boasian principle of describing each language in terms of its own genius is accepted, the use of index numbers makes Kathlamet more easily comparable to other languages. If for the other Penutian languages there were descriptions employing the method used here, and by Wonderly for Zoque, Garvin for Kutenai, Croft for Nahuatl, and Robinett for Hidatsa, comparative Penutian could soon be established.

The indexing method, while facilitating wide comparison, concedes nothing of the rigor in the Boasian principle of unique description for each language; the inductive assignment of numbers reflects, not constrains, the "native genius" of each structure.

The use of index numbers, irrespective of phonemic shape of morphemes, highlights (1) positional slots, or relative order, and (2) actual occurrences in a closed corpus. The use of capital letters for word classes makes possible an economical statement of phrase sequences, i.e., combinations of words, parallel to the use of index numbers for an economical statement of morpheme sequences within words.

The chief value of the Kathlamet material will be in the comparative study of Chinookan, and, beyond that, the fuller detailed study of the Penutian and Macro-Penutian problems. The opportunity still to work with living speakers of Wasco and Wishram gives those dialects pride of place in the realm of purely synchronic description and structural statement of a Chinookan dialect. But Kathlamet, as an Upper Chinook dialect with a history of mutual influence with Lower Chinook, can shed considerable light on the historical development of Chinookan as a whole. For this reason, the present dissertation gives some attention to details which may prove significant from a comparative or historical perspective.

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER I

- 1 Murdock, George Peter. Ethnographic Bibliography of North America. (New Haven, 1941). Pp. 36, 64.
Kroeber, A. L. Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America. (Berkeley, 1947). Pp. 30, 56.
- 2 Ray, Verne F. Lower Chinook Ethnographic Notes. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 7, No. 2 (May 1938), pp. 29-165.
- 3 Frachtenberg, Leo J. Comparative Studies in Takelman, Kalapuyan, and Chinookan Lexicography. IJAL 1.175-82 (1918).
- 4 Sapir, Edward. A Characteristic Penutian Form of Stem. IJAL 2.58-67 (1921).
- 5 idem, Central and North American Languages. Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th edition, V, 138-41 (1929).
- 6 Greenberg, Joseph. Review of Les Langues du Monde. American Anthropologist 56.1133-1134 (1954).
- 7 idem, Historical Linguistics and Unwritten Languages. In Anthropology Today. (Chicago, 1953). P. 283.
- 8 Hoijer, Harry. Methods in the Classification of American Indian Languages. In Leslie Spier, editor, Language Culture and Personality. (Menasha, 1941). P. 8.
- 9 Swadesh, Morris. Perspectives and Problems of Amerindian Linguistics. Word 10.306-332 (1954).
- 10 Boas, Franz. Kathlamet Texts. BBAE 26 (1901). Introduction, pp. 5-6.

- 11 Boas, Franz. Chinook Texts. BBAE 20 (1894). Introduction, pp. 5-6.
- 12 idem, Kathlamet Texts, pp. 5-6.
- 13 Voegelin, C. F. and Harris, Z. S. Index to the Franz Boas Collection of Materials for American Linguistics. Pp. 14, 21, 32; Mss. 158, 166, 349, 369.

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II

KATHLAMET PHONEMES AND BOAS' ORTHOGRAPHY

- 2.1. Introduction.
- 2.2. Boas' orthography and phonetics.
- 2.3. Phonemic interpretation.
- 2.4. Morphophonemic notes.
- 2.5. Consonant clusters.

2.1. This phonemicization must be inferred from a narrow phonetic record, some 243 printed half-pages, taken in the last decade of the nineteenth century. For that period, it is a remarkably good record. Boas did not omit any segmental phonemic distinctions, except sometimes in variant writings of a single word, such as incorrect "Lap" for /Lʔap/ find; or, more strictly, if Boas did omit any such distinction consistently, morphological analysis of Kathlamet and partial comparison to other Upper Chinook dialects, Wasco and Wishram, has not yet revealed it. For an earlier record such as that of Gibbs¹ a major problem of phonemic interpretation is to supply completely missing distinctions such as /k/ vs. /q/, or the glottal stop ʔ. To interpret the Boas record, the central problem is to reduce the variety of superficial contrasts presented to those which are phonemic, e.g. "i, ĩ, ī, e, and ē" to /i/.

Narrow transcription does not explain all the variation in the printed texts. Presumably Boas could occasionally mishear or mistranscribe, or typographical errors slip into the final publication. When perplexing irregularities in the

shape of forms arise, then, it must be decided whether they inhere in Kathlamet itself, or whether they arise from errors of field work or printing. One must be cautious in resorting to explanation of difficulties as errors; a first principle followed has been what might be termed plausibility. To illustrate: it is plausible that a printing error might involve the interchange of minuscule and majuscule, e.g. of "e" and "E", or "l" and "L". It is plausible that Boas might have misheard /k/ or /q/ as the other in a cluster of voiceless consonants, or have had difficulty in distinguishing the weak labialization of a stop in a consonant cluster; and for such points we have Swadesh's report of similar difficulties in Boas' record of Chemakum.² It is implausible that "EL" should appear between vowels due to mishearing or misprinting, even though in a particular form its presence does not seem morphologically explainable by extant data.

In the phonemic interpretation Swadesh's printed comments on Boas' transcription of other Northwest Coast languages, as in the article just cited, have been helpful, as has the monograph by R. G. Kent on textual criticism, much of which can be extended by analogy to problems of the present kind.³ A knowledge of the phonemic structure of Wishram and Wasco has been helpful, as have the personal communications of Morris Swadesh and Melville Jacobs, based upon their field experience with related or neighboring languages and dialects. These external sources have never been made the principal arbiter of an interpretation, however, but have been subordinated to the internal evidence of the Kathlamet record.

2.2.1. The orthography used by Boas is here reproduced, together with his explanations of phonetic quality, from KF 6-7; corresponding phonetic symbols are sometimes indicated.⁴

p, t, k, b, d, g	as in English, but surd and sonant are difficult to distinguish.
k•	palatalized k (Lepsius's K), almost ky.
q	velar k.
ʔ	posterior palatal l; the tip of the tongue touches the alveoli of the lower jaw, the back of the tongue is pressed against the hard palate; sonant. (Affricate λ or $d\lambda$)
L	the same, short and exploded, surd (Lepsius's \underline{t}). (Affricate λ or $t\lambda$)
L!	the same with very great stress of explosion.
!	designates increased stress of articulation. (Glottal stop ?)
s, c	are evidently the same sound, and might be written s• or c•, both being palatalized; c (English sh) is pronounced with open teeth, the tongue almost touching the palate immediately behind the alveoli; s is modified in the same manner. (s, š)
x•	palatal x as German ich.
X	x pronounced at posterior border of hard palate.
x	ch in German Bach.

h	as in English.
m	is pronounced with semiclosure of the nose and with very slight compression of the lips; it partakes therefore, of the character of b and w.
n	is pronounced with semiclosure of the nose; it partakes, therefore, of the character of d.
l	as in English.
ll	very long, slightly palatalized by allowing a greater portion of the back of the tongue to touch the palate.
y	as in year.
w	as in English.
'	indicates a pause.
2, 4	designate excessive length of vowels, representing approximately the double and fourfold mora.
(mm	though not listed by Boas, this is found in a few forms, presumably parallel to "ll" in indicating prolongation).
a, e, i, o, u	vowels not articulated, but indicated by position of the mouth.
A, E, I, O, U	obscure vowels.
a, e, i, o, u	have their continental sounds (short).
ā, ē, ī, ō, ū	long vowels. (a:, e:, i:, o:, u:)

e	e in bell. (ɛ)
ä	in German Bär (ɛ: (=ē), ae)
ö	o in German voll (ɔ)
ä	aw in law. (ɔ: =ɔ)
i	i in hill. (I)
-	separates vowels which do not form diphthongs.
ai	i in island.
au	ow in how.

2.2.2. Phonetic information from the Chinook sketch in the Handbook is largely applicable to the Kathlamet material, since Cultee was informant for both; indeed, Boas gives the same list and description of sounds in his Chinook Texts as that cited above from KT. On the phonological level, Kathlamet and Lower Chinook differ as the result of sound changes, such as Kathlamet (and Upper Chinook) q to Lower Chinook ? in certain positions, Kathlamet /a/ to Lower Chinook /u/ in certain positions, and differential effects of stress on stem vowels, differences which we can study because Cultee succeeded in maintaining them as a polylingual speaker; but there is no indication of differences in Cultee's articulation of individual sounds from one language to the other.

Boas writes: "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. ...

"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 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 ã are also of peculiar character. ã seems to be always either a rhetorical broadening of ê (as in ãka for êka), or an onomatopoeic element which is frequent as terminal sound in interjections. ... 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."

"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 semi-closure 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." (i.e., both b and d are dubious)

"The consonants of the anterior palatal series have a decided affricative character, which is least prominent in the fortis. The medial k and the velar q appear also as affricatives. In these cases the continued sound appears so long, that I have written them as kX and qx." (from HB 564-566)

2.3.0. The phonemes of Kathlamet Chinook, as inferred from KT, are:

<u>Simple stops</u> :	p	t	l	c	k	q	
<u>Glotalized</u>							
<u>stops</u> :	p?	t?	l?	c?	k?	q?	
<u>Continuants</u> :	m	n	l	s	X	x	h
<u>Vowels</u> :	u	a	ā	i			
<u>Stress</u> :							
<u>Syllabic</u>							
juncture:	o						

There is apparent a hierarchical pattern with a primary dichotomy between stopped and continuant sounds, each of the two in turn having two component parts, simple vs. glottalized stops, and oral vs. non-oral continuants. Aside from stress and syllabic juncture, no information can be inferred about prosodic or suprasegmental features; Wasco and Wishram are known not to have phonemic tone.

The basis for the establishment of this phonemic inventory is discussed in the following parts of this section.

2.3.1. Stop series. The non-phonemic status of the voiced stops written by Boas is apparent from their distribution, and except for "g", infrequent occurrence. We have cited Boas' report that the voiced and voiceless stops were difficult to distinguish, and his doubt of the status of "b"

and "d". These two are written in KT only between voiced sounds, either V-V or l-V, except for one occurrence of initial "d" before vowel. This is not a case of complementary distribution, however, but of permissible free variation, for most of the few writings of "b" and "d" are paralleled by examples of the same form with "p" and "t".⁶ Examples: ti-ka here 59.6, 109.4, 194.16, 238.12, 241.8, 167.17, and di-ka here 69.6; noun stem -Xa.ta.kuax mind, thoughts 19.7, 80.7, 81.5, 83.5, 249.12, and -Xa.dá.kuax 67.4, 217.18; ka-ta and 45.1, 50.10, and ka-da 54.7; i-ka.pá ice 218.1, 220.12, 220.14 and i-ka.bá 205.10, 205.14, 206.2, 206.4; i-c-f-l.pu-ix it froze 35.17, 36.1, it was cold 205.6 and c-l.bút freezing 219.17, c-lx-lbút we are freezing 219.15, 220.6. Note in this last case that the voiced sound is written before stressed vowel, the unvoiced sound before unstressed vowel; where voiced and voiceless stops are written in the same form, this is frequently found, though not as a regular pattern of allocation of allophones, as the first examples given indicate. Other occurrences of "b" before stressed vowel: a-ki.bút salmon roe in skins 73.9, 76.11, and i-qa.bú.ti door flap 193.6, 203.4, 204.1 (Jargon word of French origin (capote)); one of "d" as syllable initial before vowel, but following stressed vowel: qá.da how 26.4, 81.4, 217.18.

In KT "g" is found with considerable frequency, unlike the other symbols for voiced stops, and can occur after other stops; however, it is found only before vowels, with the exception of one phonemically and morphologically unexplained form, tg-t'úk.ti, 15.5, 35.3, 67.15, 116.9, 144.4, 170.5, etc.

A number of cases of the same form having variation of "k" and "g" are found: ga-ta and 151.3, and ka-ta and 45.1, 50.10; a-g'-sgiX my grandmother 193.11, and a-mí-skiX your grandmother 110.3, a-iá-skiX his grandmother 187.10; t-k'giut.guax my pooriness 199.12, and t-k'kiut.guax 17.16, t-k'giut.kuax 167.4, t-iá-kiut.kuax 141.9; gí-gua.la under 151.8 and gí-kua.la 43.4. Some clear cases of variation due to placement of stress are found: n-i-gím-x he said 241.14 and i.g-i-kim he said 106.9; i.g-á-kim she said 22.5 and n-a-gím-x she said 39.9 (but note also free variation, n-u-gua-kím-x they said 240.4, n-u-gua-gím-x 232.1); i-s-guá-mam those two came home 41.2, and a-tx-á-kua we two return 77.15; i.g-i-x-gú.Li-ck he told 169.8 and i.g-i-x-k^uLí-lal-mck he told 183.16; qa-t-i-gl-guá-kua-x they went through water 237.17 and i-L-i-gí-kua-ku-iX he went into water 238.13; i-n-f-ql-kl I saw it 13.9 and qa-c-u-qui-gí-x he saw it 120.4 (but note also free variation, qa-n-s-ql-kí-x I saw it 228.1, qa-c-u-qui-kí-x 248.2 beside qa-c-u-qui-gí-x 120.4).

Where a morpheme such as the noun-initial prefix k- can occur both before vowel and consonant, it is found as g- before vowel, k- before consonant: g-i-ki-Xat.k?uá.mam the one who came home 180.6 and k-t-iá-L.xi.uulX strongest one 95.10, k-t-iá-xiq.Lax the one who is their hunter 241.15 and k-Lá-nau.aik those having the net 49.11; likewise, the third person possessive prefix, which always occurs before the possessive marker a-, is found only as g-, but the first person possessive prefix, which occurs before the allomorph of zero shape can be found both as g- and k-, dependent upon whether

or not it precedes stress. Examples: a-gá-uan her pregnancy 156.1; a-g'puc.xan my sister-in-law 18.11, a-g'ki.kal my wife 36.4, a-g'xi.La.ta my sinew 192.15, and s'k-lXt my two elder brothers 60.4, L'k-lXt-ks my elder brothers 61.5, t'k-qL-pa my house to 148.9. Likewise, again, for stems which may occur before both vowel-initial suffixes and consonant-initial suffixes, or in word-final: a-i-ú-pc.g-a he went up 219.11, i-ú-pck he went up 114.8, i-ú-pc.g-am he came up 79.11, i-t-pck-t he came up 139.14 (but again with k- also sometimes before vowel, as well as g-: qa-i-ú-pc.k-ax he went up 84.13).

On the basis of these patterns of variation and Boas' report that the surd and sonant series were difficult to distinguish, we conclude that they represent phonemically a single series. The greater frequency of "g" than "b, d" reflects the generally greater frequency of palatal and velar stops.

2.3.2. Front palatal k'. Boas writes this symbol only in a few words also found with the normal symbol "k". In one text he curiously writes k'ʔom no noise, nothing 73.7, 74.6, 75.3 for /kʔam/, found written with kʔ- elsewhere 176.15, 29.8, 31.5, 105.1, 195.7, 224.7, and so entered by him for SC in FB 631.41. The other instances of k'- are all before -i: a-k.i.pút salmon roe in skins 76.11, a-ki.pút 73.9; m'k.i-kst look 94.9, a-m'ki-kst 96.12; i-n'k'im I said 181.2, i-n'kim 105.4. An indication of the role of judgment and memory hearing in the Boas transcription is found in the fact that the common verb form i.k-i-kim he said is found written with "k'" only in two stretches of text, pp. 58-68 and pp. 177-246;

that is, Boas wrote the normal k through most of the texts, then between pp. 177-209 wavered between it and "k·", finally settling upon "k·" in this verb from p. 209 on.

2.3.3. Affricative kX. As Boas' own statement indicates, this writing reflects the fricative-like release which /k/ sometimes has before vowels. It and the parallel "qx" are also found phonetically in Wishram and Wasco. Examples of their occurrence in KT: t^h-kxa-qL-pa their house at 239.17, a unique instance of the third person prefix k- which has usually the variant "g" before -a, as in t-gá-qLi-max their houses 35.17, phonemically /tkáq.Li.max/--the printed lowercase x may be an error for X; t^h-qxu.la nuts 143.3 for the stem of á-qu.la nut 103.11; í-qxaL creek 188.17, 248.5, 248.6 for í-qaL 87.10, 125.12, 126.1, 237.17. In one instance the writing of "kX" and "kx" is an error for /q/: a-ká-kxu her mother 248.11 and a-k^h-kXu my mother 169.14 for the stem of a-k^h-qu my mother 232.3, a-mí-qu your mother 18.6, a-ká-qu-pa her mother at 35.5, etc. It should be noted that /k/ and /q/ never occur in clusters before /X/ and /x/.

2.3.4. Lateral Affricates ʎ and L. Two points are of concern here, the non-phonemic status of ʎ, and the phonetic nature of L. As to ʎ, its few occurrences are following palatal or velar stop with but two exceptions. The form ʎu calm occurs twice in KT 182.3, 194.9, as does Llu calm 241.5; the corresponding Lower Chinook form is entered in HB 633.32 as Lu, and this seems the reasonable interpretation of the KT forms, as reflecting Boas' later judgment, there being no reason to expect the Kathlamet and Lower Chinook forms to be different here.

The form ʔ4 scent 122.12, 122.15, because of its indicated prolongation, is perhaps best taken to represent Ll.

In some of the other cases the status of ʔ as a variant is clear: i-c-i-u-kú.laqʔ he recognized him 153.6, where the stem is actually as in i-c-i-u-kú.laqL-q he recognized him 294.1, 148.1, and i-L-k-i-u-kú.laqL he knew it 195.1; i-c-ʔ-ú-c?a.c?a he defecated 45.3, 46.4, 48.5, where the third person morpheme should be L- as in i-c-L-ú-c?a.c?a 47.8, 100.1; a-n-x-kʔí-cku-a I shall tell you 112.6, where the stem should be as in a-n-x-k^uʔí-cku-am-a I will tell 233.14, 233.14, and as in i-n-x-kúʔi-ck I told 169.12; i-c-í-u-kʔ he carried him 108.17, where the stem should be as in qa-c-i-ú-k^uL he carried them 216.12; i-m-a-qʔí-u-qʔ you lost it 25.3, 25.11, where the stem should be as in a-m-a-ql-ú-qLq-a leave it 90.3, i-c-ú-qui-qLq he left them 176.4.

In the remaining instances but one or two examples are found, and these only with ʔ: k-ʔ-u.ʔ.qi unripe 118.3 (this unique form is tentatively analyzed as the ones which are unripe with initial agentive prefix k- and 3rd person prefix L-, rather than as a particle); a-qʔápL.xiX a girl (Sun's daughter) 27.16, 29.8 (but L-qʔápL.xiX 27.6); í-m.qulkʔ qualmishness 155.12; s'ia-qsqʔk-pa his waist to 79.6. With such a small number of examples, and the fact of variation with /L/ established for most of them, it is best to regard all instances of "ʔ" as phonemically /L/. The circumstances of their occurrence, mostly after /k/ or /q/, and with most frequency in verb stems containing -kuL-, suggests difficulty of hearing on the part of Boas, rather than an allophonic feature of Kathlamet; this inference finds support in the

statement by Boas, quoted above, that he did not succeed in distinguishing the \underline{l} sounds satisfactorily.

The problem of the phonetic nature of "L" is raised by the fact that whereas Wasco, Wishram and Clackamas dialects of Upper Chinook all contrast \underline{l} , L and L?, Boas consistently writes in Kathlamet and Lower Chinook only two of these, L and L?. (The symbol "l" can be ignored, per the above interpretation, as a variant of "L", whatever the nature of "L"). The correspondence between \underline{l} in Wasco, for example, and the symbol "L" in Kathlamet, wherever data permits comparison, is exact in that all Wasco \underline{l} 's are Kathlamet L's; some Kathlamet L's, however, correspond to Wasco affricates ($\lambda=L$). Examples of Wasco \underline{l} = Kathlamet L are: the noun stem -maL body of water 45.1, etc., in Kathlamet, Wasco and Wishram -ma \underline{l} ; or the third person prefix L- in Kathlamet, \underline{l} in Wasco and Wishram. An example of Kathlamet L- = Wasco L- is the word for moon, a-kLmin in both.

The presence of \underline{l} in the related dialects leads Melville Jacobs to write in a personal communication that since "Clackamas has \underline{l} , the affricate surd (barred lambda), and the same glottalized," one would expect to find all three in Kathlamet. Another consideration, that of areal probability, is advanced by Morris Swadesh in a personal communication:

I am sure Boas learned to distinguish \underline{l} and L at some stage of his early career, the problem is when. In the Kathlamet Texts, published 1901, he describes L as something which sounds like affricate, but his 'alphabet' (pp. 6-7) does not mention anything which would be the fricative. Now, I know of NW (Northwest Coast) languages which have \underline{l} and not L but no instance of the opposite (having L and not \underline{l}), and I hesitate to accept any report of the latter situation unless it comes very

well founded. The most important problem with reference to Kathlamet is whether it has a contrast between fricative and affricate. If it does not, the question is what Boas' L shows. I believe the likelihood is that the language had the fricative alone, if it had only one, even though I would grant that Boas' description of the sound makes it seem affricate. We can even add the fact that L is paired with a glottalized corresponding phoneme, which was probably affricate.

Supporting my thesis of phonemic likelihood, note that there are languages with s and c? but no simple affricate, Takelma being a case in point; my orthography is s and s? in Takelma, since the two phonemic entities are related to each other as p and p?.

By Kwakiutl Texts, 1914, Boas uses ɺ versus L to contrast fricative and affricate. I think when Boas first heard the voiceless lateral in the northwest, he may have been affected by its sometimes roughness into counting it affricate. His first experience with it may have been in Baffin Eskimo, the positionally determined voiceless variant of l which in many Eskimo dialects is quite strong and frequently written dl by the field worker recorders."

We have then three hypotheses concerning the phonemic status of the lateral order (besides /l/) in Kathlamet:

- (a) ɺ, L and L? (implying some Boas "L"'s are /ɺ/)
- (b) ɺ and L? (implying all Boas "L"'s are /ɺ/)
- (c) L and L? (implying all Boas "L"'s are /L/)

Several considerations are involved in reaching a conclusion:

- (1) other Upper Chinook dialects; (2) areally known patterns of Northwest Coast languages; (3) Boas' transcription habits; (4) Cultee's polyglot background; (5) early Chinook records; (6) the data of Kathlamet Texts.

If hypothesis (a) were true, there should be some indication in Kathlamet Texts of difficulty with the difference between ɺ and L; X and x are distinct phonemes, for instance, and known to Boas as a native speaker of German, but there are many instances of his difficulty in distinguishing them in Kathlamet, and writing one for the other. Boas' only diffi-

culty with "L" in Kathlamet Texts is in connection with , which as a voiced sound cannot be $\underset{\sim}{l}$. Hypothesis (a), then, cannot be accepted, for all the evidence of KT points to but two voiceless members of the lateral order, $l^?$ and whatever L may be. We must remember that Boas was attempting to write as narrow a record as possible, and recorded a multiplicity of non-phonemic features; $\underset{\sim}{l}$ in Wasco is such a fricative sound as to be sometimes mistaken for s in early hearing. It is possible that Boas would have had difficulty with such a difference, not that it would have escaped his ear entirely. And, as will be indicated, it is probable that Boas at this time did know and write the $\underset{\sim}{l}$ -L distinction in other languages.

Hypothesis (b) is in accord with the consistent writing of "L" in Kt. From a historical point of view, it must be noted that interpretation of "L" either as /L/ or / $\underset{\sim}{l}$ / in Kathlamet requires explanation of the change which has resulted in Kathlamet having only the one where other Upper Chinook dialects have two. Now the argument that other known languages of the area have one pattern and not the other can be decisive, it would seem, only when the internal evidence of the given language is in balance regarding either choice. This is not the case here. Evidence pertaining to Boas' transcription habits, Cultee's multilingualism, and early Chinook records points preponderantly to acceptance of hypothesis (c).

Regarding Boas' transcription, it can first be recalled that his description of the "L" does point to an affricate. The identification of the symbol as equivalent to Lepsius's $\underset{\sim}{t}$ supports this. An early phonetic work reproduces Lepsius's symbols

from Das allgemeine Alphabet.⁷ A principal division is between "Explosivae or dividae" and "fricativae or continuae". Under the former, identified as "Linguales (Arabicae)" are found "d (t)"; it would appear that under "fricativae" the symbol "s" is intended to represent what is now indicated by

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 1. Further, Trautmann comments:

Die 'linguales' sind eine besondere dem Arabischen eigentümliche art von lauten; wenn richtig ist was Lepsius St. Alph. 74 (Standard Alphabet p. 74) von ihnen sagt 'in their formation a dental and guttural movement of the tongue combined,' so sind sie keine einfachen laute und durften nicht als eine besondere reihe im system aufgeführt werden.

Now the cultural homogeneity of the Kathlamet and Lower Chinook is reflected in Ray's grouping of them ethnographically as "Lower Chinook" together; there was presumably frequent intermarriage, of which Cultee's own genealogy is an example. We will never know whether Samson, the Kathlamet with whom Cultee conversed in the years when Boas found him, would have observed that Cultee spoke Kathlamet with a Lower Chinook accent. But there is every probability that the two dialects were closely similar, if not identical, in articulatory habits as regards individual phonemes. That they differed in the phonemic makeup of some cognate words and in the use of stress, we know from Cultee's consistent differentiation of the two; but if Cultee could consistently keep apart Lower Chinook *ʔ* for Kathlamet *q*, avoid certain automatic morphophonemic changes of Lower Chinook in his Kathlamet speech, etc., there is no good reason to suppose that his use of *L* in both dialects reflects other than its actual presence in both. Early evidence of the nature of this "*L*" for Lower Chinook, then, is evidence for its nature in Kathlamet.

From the first half of the nineteenth century we have a short word list for the Clatsop dialect of Lower Chinook.⁹ It clearly indicates the presence of affricate L in the forms "Klaska they" for presumably Laska or Laxka, and "Kinutle" for -kai.nuL tobacco (known from Wasco). Gibbs' mid-nineteenth century vocabulary abounds with evidence of the affricate nature of L, frequently in forms for which the Wasco-Wishram correspondent is l.¹⁰ Examples include: "tl-kák-a-má-nan chief" for L-ka.k?má.na 174.11; "tl-kóp to chop" for Lq?up 93.2; "ká-wa-két-li large dentalium" for i-qa.ui-k?í.Li 51.11; "kliká-muks dewberries" for L²km-uks blackberries 150.16; "tát-le-lum ten" for i-tá-Lil.Xam 26.10; "it-hlá-na fathom" for í-La-n.Xa 136.17; "patl" full" for paL 14.11; "klo-wétshk flood tide" for i-Lá.wick 56.16; "klh-whap a hole" for Lxuáp 17.4; "klokh-klokh oyster" for i-Lúx.Lux 214.7; "e-matl river" for i-maL 45.1. In but one form has a possible indication of l been noticed: "kal-hé-la crab" for -qaL.xí.la HB 599.44. Gibbs' only comment on this portion of his orthography is: "Other compounds like kl, tkl, tlk, represent the clucking sounds according to analysis."¹¹

This is clear evidence of the presence in Lower Chinook and Kathlamet of the affricate L, consistently used by Cultee and consistently recorded by Boas. It is necessary, however, to consider Boas' statement that there were a number of l sounds and that he did not succeed in distinguishing them satisfactorily. Now this could well apply to the long "ll", the sonant " ", and a single case of "glottalized" l (249.8), besides the ordinary l and the affricate L. That the statement does not apply also to a fricative l becomes clear from the following

evidence. First, not "distinguishing these satisfactorily" is hardly an apt reference to a sound which, so far as the published record goes, was not distinguished at all. Second, Boas enters ɬ in the table of consonants at the beginning of the Handbook sketch (perhaps because Sapir's sections on Wishram naturally employ it). He makes specific comments on the specific difficulties he had with various sounds; now the " " and "ll" are written so infrequently as not to cause comment, but if he was in this statement recalling difficulty about L and ɬ , it is unlikely it would have been passed over without more specific mention, for in Clackamas, Wishram and Wasco the distinction has a major role. But more significant is the statement in his Tsimshian grammar in the same 1911 volumes of the Handbook:

The phonetics of Tsimshian take an exceptional position among the languages of the North Pacific coast, in that the series of ɬ stops are missing. Besides the sound corresponding to our ɬ , we find only the ɬ , a voiceless continued sound produced by the escape of air from the space behind the canine teeth; the whole front part of the mouth being filled by the tip of the tongue, which is pressed against the palate. (HB 288)

Boas further cites cognates as between Nass and Tsimshian differing in L vs. ɬ , e.g. $\text{m}\mathring{\text{E}}\text{L}(\text{a})$ to each (Nass) : $\text{m}\mathring{\text{e}}\text{ɬ}$ (Tsimshian) (HB 318); La past (Nass) : ɬ (Tsimshian) (HB 339); $\text{L}\mathring{\text{a}}$ while (Nass) : $\text{ɬ}\mathring{\text{a}}$ (Tsimshian) (HB 339). Now Boas first published on Tsimshian in 1889,¹² and brought out Tsimshian Texts within a year of Kathlamet Texts in 1902. In the Kwakiutl grammar in HB Boas again distinguishes ɬ and L in both table of sounds and morphological analysis; his first publication on Kwakiutl was in 1896,¹³ and texts were brought out between 1902-1905. The exact chronology of his work on

Tsimshian, Kwakiutl and Chinook is not known, except that he had completed considerable work on Tsimshian and Kwakiutl by the time of his second visit to Cultee in 1894. I have not been able to consult the reports to the British Association for the Advancement of Science to determine if at that time, definitely before any Chinook work, Boas distinguished \underline{l} and L. If he did not, then it is still difficult to explain why Tsimshian and Kwakiutl appear in the 1911 Handbook with the L- \underline{l} distinction clearly established, but with no trace of correction or reinterpretation in the Chinook sketch; especially this is so, since Boas had known from a short Clackamas text taken in 1894 of the presence of \underline{l} in Clackamas Chinook, and Sapir had fully documented \underline{l} for Wishram in the summer of 1906. (Boas' Clackamas text is included in Sapir, Wishram Texts).

The mass of evidence directly pertaining to Kathlamet, then, requires us to accept Boas' record as a faithful transcription on this point, and Cultee's speech as an accurate reflection of the Kathlamet dialect.

2.3.5. Glottal stop ?. In Kathlamet the glottal stop does not appear as such in Boas' transcription except after the stop series. Consequently, it has not been considered an independent phoneme, and a separate glottalized series of stops is recognized. Two qualifications must be added. First, two terms for villages and their peoples have written sequences of -aa-: k-a-Lá-a.ua.xa.min the people of Awaxamin 201.8, and k-L-stá-a.su.ist the Asuwist 202.13; and one noun has -ii-: a-f.i mud clams 214.8. These do not represent long vowels,

which are written by Boas with the macron $\bar{\quad}$ and numeral postscripts 2, 4; consequently, they must reflect rearticulation. Now in Wasco and Wishram a sequence of two identical vowels, the second rearticulated, is always interrupted by a glottal catch, though one of somewhat different quality than that occurring with consonants. Sapir symbolized the catch by raised reversed epsilon to distinguish it from the glottalization of stops. Boas seems to have been aware of the phenomenon for in the phonetic notes quoted he states that "doubled vowels, unless separated by a consonantic glottal stop, do not seem to occur" (HB 565). We in fact find that Boas enters the form for mud clam in Lower Chinook as $\acute{i} \bar{e}$ (= /i.i/) in HB 598.70. Now it is a common Kathlamet practice to elide one of a sequence of two identical vowels, e.g. morphologically $i\text{-i}\acute{a}\text{-xa.li.u}$ its name ll2.4 (cf. $i\text{-c}\acute{x}\text{-a.li.u}$ my name), appears as $i\acute{a}\text{-xa.li.u}$; when $-ii-$ or $-uu-$ are involved, it is also common for the two to be separated by a $-y-$ or $-w-$ glide, respectively, or sometimes the second appears as the non-syllabic allophone, marking the beginning of a separate syllable. The sum of this is that a variety of practices prevent two identical vowels from appearing adjacent to one another, both as syllabics, and without modification. The proper interpretation of the three forms cited earlier, therefore, would seem to be as reflecting an optional treatment of sequences of identical vowels, namely the insertion of a glottal catch as an accompaniment to rearticulation; but this non-phonemic catch is quite rare and apparently limited in use to stems.

The presence of glottal catch between identical vowels raises the question whether or not Kathlamet also has glottal catch before initial vowel, for the two are paired in languages such as Kwakiutl and Nootka.¹⁴ This seems not to be the case, for as Boas notes (KT 7): "Words ending with a short vowel are contracted with the first vowel of the next word." Though Boas has apparently normalized KT in this respect in most cases, a few still appear, e.g. printed "aqaqLuwáX they were driven" 243.2 for aqa aqLuuáX. An interesting example is the pronominal form u-u.Xi, which occurs written as "wuX" before nouns beginning with a- almost invariably through page 67, after which only the full form "wuXi" is printed.

It should be noted here that Boas appears to employ the symbol ' not for pause, but for glottalization, e.g. "wit'ax" again 241.2 beside "wit!ax" 61.12, and "qēq'ayak" middle 220.13 beside "qēq!ayáq" 194.13. It is in the light of this that several instances of "glottalized continuants" should be examined. We find i-lXam'i-pa bed on 23.11, 23.14, beside (i)-iá-lXami-pa 179.9, i-lXámi 208.7; t'm'i-xu your arms 103.7 beside the very frequent normal form of the second person singular possessive as in i-mí-lXam your town 31.4, t-mí-unim your stinginess 22.1; i-L-u-cXm'-t they boil it 147.4 beside the normal stem form as in i-c-if-u-cXm he boiled them 123.10, i-L'k-(a)-u-cXm they boiled her 155.7; i-x'm'as he was ashamed 43.5, beside the normal stem form as in ik-i-x-más-ait he was ashamed 181.3, i-c'k'i-mas-amit I made them ashamed 172.3; L-n-xa-t'n'ima show it to me 149.3 beside the normal stem form in a-c-L-a-xa-nimá-ia he will show it 188.9, i-k-s-i-xá-nima

she showed it to him 228.4; c-a-qʔiʔiipX 108.13 beside the normal stem form in i-c-i-qʔiʔiipX he refuses 249.8 The interpretation would seem to be that Boas, having already worked on languages with glottalized continuants, such as Kwakiutl, was alerted to their possible presence in Kathlamet and tentatively wrote such in a few words; however, the same forms are also found with the glottalization symbol, and Boas seems to have himself rejected the presence of /mʔ, nʔ, lʔ/ by their silent omission from the alphabet given in Kathlamet Texts and in the Chinook sketch of the Handbook.

2.3.6. Sibilant-Shibilant continuants and affricates.

Boas himself states that "s" and "c" are evidently the same sound, and this is clear from their frequent alternation in the same words: stáXi those 39.8, 143.7, 40.8, ctáXi 18.14, 40.10, 165.1; stáxka they 40.8, 43.15, stáxka they 41.3, 141.16; mśaika you 44.8, mśaika 120.9; as and 31.10, 61.10, 81.14, 120.11, 243.16, ac 46.8, 74.12, 117.3, 202.5, 246.1; saxalá up 238.15, sáxal-iX up 19.14, 45.1, 71.2, 121.6, 216.8, caxalá 17.13, 114.16, 160.1, cáxal-iX 11.9, 52.9, 100.6, 145.12, 185.11, 203.15. Note also the only English loanword discovered in KT, that for soap; it appears in KT as i-cúp 249.4, testifying to the interpretation of English s as an equivalent of the Kathlamet shibilant. The same is borne out by the Gibbs Vocabulary, where for example the word for cedar, which Boas writes with the "c", í-ckan 127.7, 201.5, is found both as "ishkún" and "iskún"; for Lower Chinook -qʔua.lás raccoon (written by Boas in HB 598.42 with "s"), Gibbs has both "ek-wa-lásh" and "ek-wul'-las". While Wasco, Wishram and Clackamas have the sibilant-shibilant contrast, its absence

in Kathlamet occasions no surprise from an areal point of view, for the same distinction is absent in Alsea, Kalapuya, and Molale, and in all the Salishan languages. Since Lower Chinook shares with Salishan such features as sex gender and invisibility vs. visibility in demonstrative pronouns, and with adjacent Salishan Tillamook the absence of labialized palatal and velar stops as a phonemic series, and Kathlamet shares the first and third, there has clearly been areal influence at work.

From the phonemic identity of the symbols "s, c" follows, of course, the phonemic identity of the corresponding affricates, written by Boas as "ts, tc, ts!, tc!". Boas perhaps writes more frequently the symbols with "c", but examples of variation in his writing appear: i-Lá-cqam their sickness 247.10, i-stá-čqam their two's sickness 248.17; i-čʔiqL.quá.ma thwarts (of canoe), 199.4, t-ká-cʔiqLq athwart (their way) 242.10; čúXua well, come 21.4, 79.14, cúXua 109.10, 142.8, 228.7. Gibbs' Vocabulary shows similar variation in some forms, e.g. "ká-chuk, kát-suk" middle for /ká.cak/ 50.11; "lats'kan, i-latsh-kan" oak tree; "tchai-yau, e-tsái-au" snake for i-cʔi.au 229.2.

2.3.7. Palatal x. The allophonic status of this front x is clear from two facts: it is found almost entirely adjacent to the high front vowel /i/ (compare the front k), and it frequently is found in free variation with /X/. Examples: klá.ix· far 60.3, 58.3, 61.4, 67.15, beside klá.iX 15.9, 33.17, 40.1, 51.13, 89.12, 112.4, 145.3, 209.11; qʔuáp-ix· nearby 26.8, 59.8, 61.7, beside qʔuáp-iX 26.3, 157.7, 188.1, 223.12, 234.1; ka-uix· early 58.3, 61.3, beside ka.uiX 29.8, 41.12,

62.9, 72.12, 101.14, 136.4, 170.11, 194.9, 227.3; n-i-xíma-x·it-x he fell down 212.8 beside ik-i-xíma-Xit 80.4, 81.1, 19.11, 84.3, 186.14; i-mí-x·atákuax your mind 26.4 beside i-mí-Xatákuax 19.7, 80.7, 81.5, 83.5. There are many additional instances, many of them involving the verbal and nominal suffixes of shape /-iX/. In this case the Kathlamet interpretation agrees with the other Upper Chinook dialects; Jacobs writes "Certainly there's not the slightest indication of an anterior x in Clackamas, or in Wishram."

2.3.8. Fricative continuants X, x and h. It appears from the number of instances of interchange of palatal X and velar x that Boas had a certain difficulty in transcribing them. Nevertheless, their phonemic status must be recognized for Kathlamet as for the other Upper Chinook dialects. A morphological point makes this clear. Those nouns whose possessed stem form has an initial fricative in place of a palatal or velar stop (k, q) in the unpossessed form have always the homorganic fricative. Thus t-kátaquax thoughts 43.6, i-mi-Xatákuax your mind 19.7, but a-qalxíla crab, L-mí-xalxíla your crabs 22.13. A number of morphemes and stems are particularly constant in appearing with either X or x, e.g. the pronominal inclusive forms in -x, the verb stem to drift -Xuni; others are particularly inconstant, e.g. the possessive or relational morpheme occurring with the person-markers in the verb.

As in such other Northwest languages as Nez Percé, Bella Coola, and Siuslaw, /h/ is rare in occurrence in Kathlamet and the other Chinookan dialects. It does not participate in consonant clusters in final position and only very limitedly

in initial position. Nevertheless there is no doubt of its presence in the stem -há.tʔau virgin 39.9 and in i-tu.i.hí-max buffalo skins 28.7.

2.3.9. Continuants m, n, l, mm, ll. The difficulty which Boas reports with /m/, as having some of the character of b and w, seems not to have prevented him from making a consistent transcription. That the difficulty was a real one, however, can be appreciated by the instances in Gibbs' Vocabulary in which "b" and "m" appear interchanged.

The lengthened "mm" and "ll" appear but rarely in KT. We find "ksmáx small 226.1 beside ksáx 108.8, 228.10, 229.8; kʔamm no, nothing 156.6, 157.11, 176.15, beside kʔam 29.8, 31.11, 99.17, 105.1, 195.7, 224.7. The only other instances of "mm" are: cʔmm variegated (in color, design) 248.4; tummm thundering noise 160.12; and tmm a noise of birds 223.15. Note that all these forms are particles. For "ll" are found Lpll red 149.11, beside Lpl 139.5, 238.10, 70.4; Lllx black beside Llx 238.10, t-Llʔu-max black people 12.11; tll tired 30.16, 49.8, 83.16, 97.11, beside tl 10.7, täl 41.14, tí.tl insignificant, weak 195.10, 224.4; nʔL-u-kull I know them 85.8, mʔL-u-kull you know them 85.9, beside s-ká-u-kul they two know me 117.6; i-x-Lil-t it was burned 234.7 beside i-nʔx-Ll I am burnt 19.1; ik-í-xa-ilta he trembled 92.10, 94.16. The general rule in Kathlamet consonant clusters seems to be that sequences of identical consonants do not occur, and these cases of "mm" and "ll" seem clearly transcriptional variations for cases where /m/ or /l/ was heard as more prolonged than usual.

2.3.10. Semi-vowels y, w. These are interpreted as allophones of phonemes which are written /i/ and /u/. The evidence depends partly upon variant writings, partly upon syllabic juncture. Note that Boas foreshadowed this conclusion by writing "short i and u when preceding vowels have always consonantic values." (HB 565) The matter is discussed fully in the section on the two vowels.

2.3.11. Non-articulated vowels a, e, i, o, u. One case with ^a is found: Lax^a visible 26.3, beside Lax 26.8, 41.17, 42.2, 103.8; it represents, presumably, an articulatory or auditory echo of the preceding /a/. No other vowel is found written in raised position except ^u. This is found only between consonants, C-C, or word final following a consonant, C-#, word final functioning as a consonant in this respect; also, all occurrences are after palatal or velar consonants /k, q, X, x/. The distributional limitation indicates that a separate series of labio-palatal and labio-velar consonants is not involved, but rather a voiceless allophone of /u/, heard also in Wasco under similar conditions. Thus one finds Boas writing "inxgúLick" I told 169.12, but "anxk^uLickuama" I will tell you 233.12. Note that for the stem the change between syllabic /u/ and voiceless allophone is conditioned by the placement of stress, while for the verbal suffix -ck ~ -cku, the /u/ appears as a full vowel only before another vowel, is absent in word final, and appears as voiceless ^u before -t, as seen in "nuXúnick^ut" they drifted 242.15. When /u/ is the syllabic nucleus it is found as a voiced vowel; when it is not the syllabic nucleus, but following and preceding vowels, or following consonant and preceding vowel, or following vowel and preceding

consonant, it is found as a semi-vowel; when following palatal or velar consonant and preceding another consonant (and not the syllabic nucleus), the voiceless allophone appears. Thus, just as /p t k/ tend to be voiced between voiced sounds, so /u/ appears voiceless between voiceless sounds when not the syllabic nucleus. Of the vowels, only /u/ so behaves; if /u/ and another vowel appear adjacent in the same syllable, the other vowel appears as syllabic nucleus, /u/ as non-syllabic, and if the syllable is stressed, the stress falls on the other vowel. Examples are given when /u/ and the other vowels are discussed as such.

2.3.12. Obscure vowels A, E, I, O, U. One case with "A" is found: "k[?]Amm" no (people) 176.15, besides which are found k[?]am no noise (i.e., no people there) 73.7, 74.6, 75.3, and k[?]Em nothing 29.8, 31.5, 99.17, 224.7. Phonemically, these are /k[?]am/; Boas lists both k[?]am, k[?]Em in HB 631.41, but as will be seen, "E" often enough figures as a low-mid central vowel allophone of /a/.

None of the other capitalized vowel symbols is found in KT, except "E". This symbol in fact represents four distinct sets of conditions. It may appear as (1) the phonetic accompaniment of stress between two consonants; (2) the phonetic accompaniment of syllabic /m, n, l/; (3) an allophone of /a/, principally under stress; (4) a sporadically appearing vocalic murmur. Regarding (4), Swadesh writes with reference particularly to Salish:
15

However, there is one subtlety of Salish (and Kwakiutl) that has proved a trap even for well trained phoneticians. It is a phenomenon which may be called the false vowel: a vocalic murmur between consonants in clusters, whose

timbre is much influenced by the neighboring consonants. Probably because of its brevity and frequently indeterminate quality, the murmur has been recorded in various and unpredictable ways. Boas, who referred to the interconsonantic murmur as 'the pepet vowel', evidently knew to a considerable extent which words contained it, and was able to discount it in his comparative work. Nonetheless, the fact that the false vowel is actually recorded with the same symbols as the phonemic vowels caused errors even in Boas' work.

Jacobs writes (personal communication): "I am absolutely certain that neither Clackamas nor Kathlamet have phonemic schwa, and I doubt very much that a single instance of it in Boas' and Sapir's Chinookan materials is phonemic."

Added to the complications of interpreting this symbol is the fact that majuscule "E" sometimes occurs as a typographical error for minuscule "e", which is an allophone of /i/, and conversely. The point should be made, regarding Boas' orthography, that this is the only symbol he employed for the whole central vowel area (excepting "i" for schwa after /c/); this is why its actual values can range from any indistinct presence of vocalic quality to the vowel of English "cut", as an allophone or variant of /a/.

Examples of the occurrence of the "E" with the values listed are:

(1) L-kE-xan my child 9.11, 10.1. Phonetically, as has been noted, the 1st person prefix /k-/ appears voiced before the stress, which normally occurs on the possessive prefix in possessed nouns. When the allomorph of the 1st person prefix after classificatory prefix i- appears, that is, c-, one finds "i" very frequently under the following stress. While this same symbol may represent /i/ in closed syllables, its non-phonemic status here was recognized by Boas, who wrote: "The first

person is followed by E, which, after the -tc- of the masculine, takes an i tinge." (HB 584) Among the numerous examples are: i-cí-xan my son 77.4 (= /i.c'xan/), and i-c-í-na.qan my game 13.9 (= /i.c'na.qan/).

Also: tĒ-k-qL-pa my house to 148.9, 149.6 (= /t'kqL.pa/); tĒ-pa.it ropes 17.11 (= /t'pa.it/); L-tĒ.ki freshwater clams 148.6 (= /L't.ki/); tĒ.ki.la shields 28.4 (= /t'ki.la/); sĒ-ka.la two males 165.10 (= /s'ka.la/); i-qĒ.su skin (= /i.q'su/); na-L'Ēx-pa hole at 195.4 (= /na.L'x.pa/); LĒ.ki.kua.la below 114.15 (= /L'ki.kua.la/); s'k-lXt my two elder brothers 60.4 (= /s'klXt/); mĒ-ki-kst look 94.9 (= /m'kikst/); i-nĒ-kim I said 105.4 (= /i.n'kim/).

(2) The continuants /m n l/ may appear as syllabic nuclei and are written with preceding "E" by Boas when they do; it also appears that when /m n l/ are syllable initial, but following a syllable which ends in a consonant, Boas often writes an intervening "E", as in tánĒmax things 29.4, or it may be, alternatively, that instead of /tán.max/ which parallels the morphological division, such cases should be considered as having the /m/ etc. as second consonant of the syllable, viz. /tá.nmax/. An additional possibility is that syllable division falls within the /m n l/, e.g. /tá.nm.max/. The whole matter of the precise interpretation of such forms hangs upon syllabic phenomena, and these can only be approximately inferred from KT; as will be noted when syllabification is discussed, further field investigation of the still spoken dialects is needed to interpret the Kathlamet record on this point.

Examples: t-qʔm.s-uks intestines 130.7 (=tqʔm.suks/);
 í-cE-mxc my heart 171.6 (=/i.cmxs/); a-t-k-i-kE1-ká-ia they
took him 171.11 (=/a.tki.kl.ká.ia/); i-c-í-qE1-kE1 he saw him
 171.17 (=/i.cf ql.kl/); ik-i-xE1-kúLi-ck he told him 171.17
 (=/i.ki.xl.kú.Lick/); al-i-ktímEnq-am-a he will dive 172.4
 (=a.lik-tí.mn.qa.ma/); L-qEn-aks stones 172.7 (=/Lq.naks/);
 i-q-s-í-kEn-pEna they were jumped at 172.10 (=iq.sí-kn.pna/ or
 /iq.sí.kn.pn.a/ or /iq.sí.kn.p`na/ (since in Wasco the second
 syllable from primary stress has secondary stress)); qʔE1.qʔE1
strong 63.8 (=/qʔI.qʔI/); LpE1 red 138.5 (=/Lpl/); á-lEm1Em
rotten wood 72.4 (=/a.lm.lm/); kEm noise of falling objects
 139.9 (=/km/); tE-ntá-kti our things 28.2 (=/tn.ták.ti/);
 tE-mqu sticks 21.8 (=tm.qu/); LʔmEn LʔmEn soft 123.9
 (=/Lʔmí Lʔmn/).

(3) A comparison for some stems of all occurrences in
 KT indicates a free variation sometimes, an alternation con-
 ditioned by stress sometimes, of /a/ and the symbol "E". It
 is known from Wasco that the "E" represents the vowel of the
 English word "cut". A historical illustration of this rela-
 tionship is found in the Chinookan and Jargon word for
white man, American, [bés.tn] in Wasco (not attested in KT),
 derived from the English Boston. The word in fact illustrates
 the relationship both of é to a, and of s to š.

The stem -maqt to fight, to make dead is found frequently
 both with "E" and "a", but this is free variation, not due to
 stress: i-n-ú-maqt I die 58.7, a-n-ú-mEqt I die 74.13;
 i-ú-maqt he was dead 150.4, 154.1, 246.9, 249.14, i-ú-mEqt
he was dead 105.15, 199.14, 200.2. An example showing the role
 of stress is the stem for smelt, a-k`Lxana 36.15 my smelts,

a-LxĒna smelt 36.11, 36.12; similarly, a-kʔanXáti gill net 197.11, a-kʔĒnXati gill net 199.17, and i-kĒnim canoe 36.1, 74.5, (i)-iá-Xanim his canoe 74.7, s-mí-Xanim your toy canoe 143.7. Note that the examples (as well as instances not cited) are all in closed syllables of type CVC, except perhaps (i)-iá-pXaliu its fat 62.9, a-pXĒliu fat 84.5, depending on the interpretation of syllable division for such forms. This relationship of ě to a perhaps forms part of a pattern in which stressed vowels are centered, for the stressed forms of /i u/ are usually [e o]; most instances of /á/ however are written by Boas with "á". It may be noted here that Boas had a slight difficulty with this relationship in reference to syllabic /l/, for in a few cases he wrote, e.g., i-n-í-qal-kl I saw it 13.15, for i-n-í-ql-kl 92.4, 96.12, 111.6; i-cí-qal-kl he saw it 58.10, for i-c-í-ql-kl 59.11, 83.7, 146.12; a-m'xal-cu you will talk 95.1, i-L'xal-cu he spoke 52.3, for i-L'xl-cu 51.13, 56.12, ik-i-xí-cu 137.12, 234.14.

(4) Between consonants a "E" is sometimes written by Boas that has no phonemic status; this was termed "inorganic schwa" by Sapir. Examples: t'mĒqu sticks 113.13, cf. t'mqu 21.8; iá-mĒ-t-x-t I do you 22.7 for /iámtxt/; i-mínĒqan paper salmon 142.5, 176.9, cf. L-mínqan 150.14, 152.11; a-ms-k'LE-kst you see (strawberries L-) 220.6 for /ams.k'lkst/; cʔEs hissing 228.14 for /cʔs/; cĒs cold 37.3 for /cs/; tĒp noise of arrow hitting 42.3 for /tp/.¹⁷

2.3.13. Short and long vowels a, e, i, o, u. These symbols represent but three phonemic entities, /a i u/. In Boas' transcription the various writings of /i u/, i.e., "i ī î e ē ē u ū o ǝ ǝ" can most of them be found in almost any environment; the prevailing tendency, however, is for the long vowels to be found under stress, the lowered qualities to be found adjacent to palatal and velar consonants, and "î" to appear in closed syllables, "ǝ" to appear in closed syllables adjacent to palatal and velar consonants, the latter never being stressed, the former very rarely. For /a/, the principal variation is between short and long, plus the occurrence of "ē" that we have noted, and a few instances of "ǝ" that will be discussed under that symbol. Examples of the extensive variation in symbols found include: má.iax you 13.10, má.iax 114.11, 115.8, 18.1; maí.ka you 18.3, 85.9, 147.7, etc., mai.kā 91.7, 93.14; á.ē.ma only 207.4, á.e.ma only 37.16, 109.10, 225.4; tá.ē.ma only 232.8, tá.e.ma 236.14; má.ē.ma 228.8 you only 228.8, ma.í.ma 19.9, mā.e.ma 182.14; ta.iáx that, this 45.4, 111.2, 113.8, ta.iax 13.11, 46.7, 112.9, tá.iax 151.16, tá.iax 217.13, 227.10, ta.iáx 135.7, 151.5; a.qa then 30.10, 45.11, 72.3, 95.3, 115.9, etc., etc., á.qa 21.7, 230.1, 248.6, etc., a.qa 111.6, 141.13, 201.7, á2.qa 10.6, ā2.qa 67.3, 72.3, 187.12, ā2.qa 228.11, 160.1, 156.10, 187.5, 196.10, á.qa 120.12, 133.7, 141.11, 156.6, 181.14, 211.7, 222.3, ā4.qa 144.6, a.qā 192.8, á.qā 212.15;

nist not 99.15, nĭst 70.5, 96.13, 111.1, 144.12, 186.16, nest 78.5, nĕst 43.3, 175.3, 146.2, 169.8, nĕst 132.2, nĕ2st 173.5, 216.3, (nĕst 89.11, 176.3, etc., nĕ2st 39.10); e.Xát one 166.1, 185.15, 249.17, ĕ.Xát 19.11, 158.11, 212.2, 245.1, i.Xát 59.1, 61.2, 70.11; i.gĕ.kim he spoke 24.10, 44.13, 77.12, i.gĕ.kim 106.9, 111.12, 164.12, 197.13, etc., ni.gĕmx he said 241.14, 249.12, 49.2, 85.17; i.gĕ.kim she said 22.5, 78.1, i.gĕ.kim 36.9, 56.15, 141.8, i.gĕ.kim 190.14, na.gĕmx she said 39.9, 145.16, 232.2; i.gu.guĕ.kim they said 80.10, i.gō.guĕ.kim 75.13, 74.17, i.go.gōa.kim 73.8, 79.5, i.gō.goĕ.kim 75.13, nu.gua.kĕmx they said 240.4, nu.goa.gĕmx 232.1, 242.8, nō.gua.gĕmx 237.12, 238.1, 244.2. (All these last examples with stem *-/kim/*, verb tense prefixes */ik-, n-/*, subject prefixes */i-, a-, u-kua-/*).

wi again (*=/ui/*) 131.3, 192.5, 248.12, etc., wī 156.9, 209.10, 216.13, 242.5; ĕ.Xatk road 13.11, 221.4, i.tā.e.Xatk their road 222.1, in.cā.i.Xatk our road 13.11; ksĭ.a.na the one referred to 217.10, ksĕ.ya.na 219.10.

cú.xua well 110.2, 142.3, 228.7, cō.Xua well 109.10, cō.xoa 240.5, 143.5, 79.14, cōX^u well 87.13, 88.2, cuX^u 88.7, cūX 208.3, cú.Xoa 92.3, 128.4, 157.17, 188.13; ká.yu grandchild 65.8, 65.9, gĕ.yo 145.16, 146.6, gĕ.yō 146.6, 145.14; goán.sum always 185.2, 222.19, guán.sum 79.3, 134.14, 168.6, 249.2, 158.9, 184.7, gwán.sum 41.8, 239.14; sǎo.sao low voice 112.7, sǎu.sǎu 134.5, 133.9, sǎu.sau 211.11.

The non-syllabic variants of */i u/* are discussed in connection with syllabification in 2.3.16.

2.3.14. Vowels ê, ä, ô, ă, ē, î.

ê: This symbol occurs in but six forms in KT. Five of these are particles: p^ʔä.hê.hê sound of laughing 87.16, 88.4, 88.10; hê, hê, hê sound of laughing 69.4 (cf. hé.hē 231.2); Lê an exclamation 211.6; lá.lê long 9.3, 16.6 (cf. læ.lē 10.7, 23.12, 177.7, 222.17, etc., lâ 10.11, 212.1). The form q^ʔē.q^ʔēck.tan the left 14.2 is of uncertain analysis, but taken as a whole as a particle. The remaining form is the noun stem -lXam, which when it occurs with classificatory prefix i- designates town, but with t- designates people; thus, í-lXam town 48.14, 87.13, etc., i-tá-lXam their town 243.8, 243.9, but tē-lXam people 26.10, 67.13, 164.1, 217.16, etc., and once tã-lXam 183.5. As its phonetic nature and the evidence of variation indicate, "ê" is related to ä as are the short vowels just discussed to their long counterparts.

ä: The special character of this sound was recognized by Boas in writing, as quoted earlier, that "ê and ä are also of special character. ä seems to be always either a rhetorical broadening of ē...or an onomatopoeic element which is frequent as terminal sound in interjections." (HB 565) Note that these two symbols are the only ones in Boas' orthography for the low front area, i.e., lower than [e] and more front than [a]. It seems that in some cases the writing "ä" is but a somewhat lower variant than [ē] of the /i/ phoneme, and that, conversely, some writings of "ē" must be interpreted as in fact /ä/. This is not a case of phonemic intersection, but rather one of orthographic intersection, so to speak; those sounds transcribed by the Boasian cover-symbol for the low front area are members

some of /i/, most of /ä/, but we do not know that they could not have been distinguished, had the question been investigated in the field. Examples of "ä" apparently representing /i/ : lã2.lã long 19.5, lã.lê 9.3, 16.6, lë.lë 10.7, 23.12, 177.7, 222.17, etc.; ä.ui thus 212.17, 227.6, é.ui 68.5, 68.7; it cannot be certain, however, that these do not constitute replacement of /i/ by /ä/. Very clear seem to be certain instances in which "ë" has been mistakenly used for /ä/ : a-q-i-ql-kêl-x he was seen 197.12; cēs cold 250.10, 250.10, cās 124.1, 124.5, cēs (= /cs/) 37.3, 77.13, 123.12, 239.2, 98.4; In many cases /ä/ appears in place of the normal vowel, as in i-L-ã2-X-u-Lq he finished 133.13, i-L-i-X-u-Lq 16.2; al-i-m-xl-gã-Lx-a burn them 138.10, a-L-m-xl-gí-Lx-a 148.10; a-nc-xl-u-kuLã-cku-a we shall tell him 83.9, a-n-x-kuLí-cku-a I shall tell 112.6; ik-a-i-xã2l-ki-Lx he made a fire 109.4, ik-a-i-x'l-ki-Lx 108.1; a-msã-Lxa come down to the water 78.16, a-ms'Lxa 76.16; i-t-k-ã-kst they were done 46.2, i-t-k'kst 48.13; L-cãqua water 207.3, L-cúqua 19.15, 25.2; uãska ha 19.8, uúska 19.7, 67.4, 79.4, 217.17; ha.ha.hã 231.15, 232.2; a few cases however show /ä/ inserted in the stem, rather than replacing the vowel: Lq?uãp Lq?up cut 249.15, Lq?up 19.8, 244.8; a-kus.kuãs chipmunks 141.13, a stem known from Wasco as /-kus.kus/ and so cited by Boas for Kathlamet in HB 598.69 (though not so attested in KT). As a normal matter, /ä/ is stressed. Only in tãlXam (= /tãlXam/) does it appear as a regular thing in other than a particle stem; in Wasco it appears regularly as the stem vowel of some color terms and a few other words, as such constituting one of the differences

between the Wasco and Wishram dialects.

ô: This symbol is found only in closed syllables, unstressed, adjacent to a palatal or velar stop. As for the low front area, so for the low back area, Boas employed a cover symbol; thus any sound heard as lower than [o] or as farther back than [a] would be written with "ô". A comparison of forms shows almost all instances to be variants of /u/; a few cases are shown to be variants of /a/. Boas wavered in his writing of the low back vowel in such a verb form as ik-i-x-u-x, and a few forms are found written with "xax", more with "xux", the majority with "xôx"; it is interesting to note that in the revision of the Kathlamet Text printed with the 1911 sketch in HB, Boas normalized writings of "xax" 245.12, 245.13, and "xôx" to "xox" 246.5. The principle case of "ô" = /a/ is in the form for two, found usually in KT as mōkst 36.6, 99.8, but also as mākst 55.10, 154.3, 244.3.

â: This is the long counterpart of ô, as shown both where it represents /a/ in mākst two 55.2, 217.7, 123.6, and where it represents /u/ in Lân three 215.9, Lōn 48.15, 162.12, 117.15 (= /Lun/). In the form â ah 18.9, 147.1, 226.13 the translation indicates that it is equivalent to /a/ ah 65.13, 92.14, 161.1, etc., rather than to /u/ 58.6, 59.4. Most of the few writings of "â" are found in forms where [ō] also appears, e.g. â.la tomorrow 193.1, 209.15; ô.la 41.10, etc.

ë: This is not listed in the Introduction to KT or in HB; it is written twice in KT, both times equivalent to /i/: kâ.na.uë all 123.14, ik-ë-kim he said 68.5.

i̇: As has been illustrated in preceding sections, this symbol represents a non-phonemic vocalic murmur frequently after the 1st person possessive prefix c-; but otherwise, it represents /i/.

2.3.15. Syllabic juncture /./. It is evident from many writings in KT that a syllabic juncture is present. Thus: iáima he only 21.5, 111.1, yáima 37.12, 118.3; iáxka that 43.13, 129.9, yáxka 11.5, 195.9; iáXawi this 54.5, yaXawi 110.15; yáXawi 63.14; taúwax this 155.10, tawáx 122.4, 218.15; aíaq quick 15.2, 67.16, 111.3, ayáq 132.16, 178.17, 46.9; áui younger brother 80.7, 82.5, áui 10.14, 127.16, áwi 199.10; naúí at once 119.4, 199.4, 237.11, nauf 149.11, nauf 149.13, náwi 43.14, náwi 42.16, 48.4, 162.4, 204.8, núi at once 35.9, 220.15; iúya he went 11.15, 61.5, 111.5, iúix he went 247.6, 247.14, ik-(a)-ú-y-a she went 9.8, 121.12, 143.18, n-(a)-ú-i-x she went 125.9, 225.5; íqa-itk an adze 93.1, 95.6 (here - is Boas' indication of syllable division, and in the examples immediately following); wáwa-iqam a people 244.14; aqawik?íLi long dentalia 189.4, iqawik?íLi 27.14, iqawik?íLi 51.11, 193.1; Lqáwulqt blood 31.8, 216.9, Lqáwulqt 159.13, Lqáowulqt 158.15, Liáqawulqt his blood 44.4, 126.11, Liáqawulqt 159.8; iálkuili like 43.13, iálku-ili 31.9; iáqu-it his leg 125.15, 126.2; tíaxu his arms 103.8, tíyaxu 237.11.

The only overt remark by Boas on this matter is found in the Introduction to KT, where he comments: "The last consonant of a word is united with the first vowel of the next word to one syllable." (KT 7) Relevant here also is the remark in LCT, "When a word ends with a long vowel and the next begins with a vowel, a euphonic -y- is inserted." (LCT 8)

It would appear then that in Kathlamet a syllable most often had an initial consonant, and that sequences such as -VCV-, CVCVC, were divided -V.CV-, CV.CVC.

Some of the writings cited, as those for blood, show the outcropping of semi-vowel glides between vowels at syllabic boundaries, if one of the vowels is /i / or /u/. Some writings, such as those for nau once show that in sequences of vowel phonemes the syllabic boundary could vary in relation with stress, giving such forms as /na.ŋ.i/ 119.4, /nau.f/ 149.13, and /ná.ui/. The semi-vowel nature of u and i after a in the same syllable is illustrated by the few occurrences of [nōi] and the verb prefix alternation of [ō] with [au] before /i/. In general, the placement of stress, however, on sequences of vowels shows that when /a/ occurred with /u i/, especially between consonants, the two vowels formed a diphthong of which /a/ is almost invariably the nucleus; this is reflected in the development of Wishram-Wasco of phonetic labialized palatal and velar consonants before /a/ as in [k^wa.ba], [k^wapt]. The different status of [w] in Kathlamet is shown well in those verbal suffixes such as -cku ~ -ck, which simply drop the labial element in word final, whereas it is preserved in Wasco-Wishram, e.g. [ck^w#]. Diphthongs are not phonemic entities, though Boas listed "ai, au" in his alphabet inventory, since all sequences of two vowels seem to occur: au, ai, ua, ia, ui, iu.

Kathlamet, then, is a language of the type having phonemes which occur in positions of syllabic peak, syllabic second element, and non-syllabic. Hockett wrote on this point: "There remains the possibility of phonemes which occur in all three positions (perhaps /i/ and /u/ in Wishram) but for this the writer can think of no apt label." (C. F. Hockett, Short and Long Syllable Nuclei, IJAL 19.171 (1953)). This is in fact the case for Wishram, as for all the Chinookan dialects. In his Manual of Phonology, now in press, Hockett labels such phonemes omnipotent, surely a misnomer, for it is ubiquity or variety of distribution that is salient, not "potency".

Many cases of writings of "E" with /m n l/ are clear as to syllabic boundaries, but often enough there is an indication that the "E" is written at the syllable boundary itself. The verb stem -x normally occurs with penultimate stress if two or more syllables occur in the construction, but such a form as I was done (shot i-) is found as "iqínElux", where the requirement of consonant-initial syllable is in conflict with the first interpretation of the "E" as indicating a syllabic (and hence syllable-final) /l/. Probably, then, "E" can be found written as transition across syllable boundaries before /m n l/ and the form cited is syllabically /i.qín.lux/. Checking in the field with Wishram-Wasco, if it establishes this for those dialects, will clinch the case for Kathlamet.

The writing of syllabic juncture in the present study has been limited to cases of ambiguity, partly because of the

emphasis in the presenting of forms upon morphological analysis, such that also indicating syllabic division would result in orthographic and visual confusion; partly because it is relatively clear in most instances from the preceding discussion where the syllabic boundaries are; partly because in the middle of words, especially in long consonantal clusters, there is little sound basis on which to judge in the absence of data from the still-spoken related dialects.

Stems are of course not listed with syllabic juncture marked, since the juncture inheres in the word as a whole, dependent therefore on the morphological constructions into which the stem enters with prefixes and suffixes, rather than particularly on the shape of the stem itself. (This is of course also true for stress).

In chapter VII, where a Kathlamet text is presented in phonemic transcription, all forms are presented in 7.2 with syllabic juncture marked, though a few forms might be otherwise interpreted in the present state of partial knowledge. A comparison with the same text as transcribed in Kathlamet Texts or in the Chinook section of the Handbook will reveal the difficulties and principles involved.

2.3.16. Stress //. Problems of stress have not been analyzed, largely due to the morphophonemic considerations involved, which are beyond the scope of the present work. An inspection of forms quickly shows that the placement of stress is morphophonemically conditioned in many instances, such as its usual occurrence on the possessive prefix in nouns, on the penultimate syllable of words with one-syllable verb stems, on the first syllable of many bisyllabic verb stems, etc. Stress also enters into the determination of syllabic boundaries as the writings *naúi* 119.4, *náwi* 43.14, for example, show; this in turn affects the allophones of various phonemes, such as /u/ and /k/, as shown in the writings *inxgúLick* I told 169.12, but *anxk^uLickuama* I will tell you 233.12. The lengthening effect of stress upon vowels has been noted, as well as its regular accompaniment of the rhetorical or emphatic use of /ã/. That it may occur between consonants, accompanied by vocalic murmur, has also been observed. Since, however, the total complex of relationships involving stress has not been exhaustively analyzed, no definitive statement can be made. Stress is written where found marked in KT; note that Boas did not always mark the stress of words, especially particles and pronouns. In this connection *aqa* then is written without stress normally for the first part of KT, then usually as *áqa* for the final portion, indicating that Boas gave more attention to the matter in later recordings.

2.4. Morphophonemic notes. No special morphophonemic symbols are employed, or analysis given, but attention is called here to some matters that might be so handled. First, the directive prefix u- of the verb, and the third person plural allomorph u-, induce a -u- after the following consonant. This results in forms of certain prefixes and stems which have been treated as allomorphs; some stems, for example, have stem vowel /a/ except after -u-, where they have stem vowel /u/, e.g. -qalqt ~ -qulqt. Second, one should note other conditioned changes of shape in verbal prefixes, such that the third person plural object is /u/ before stems with initial /k-, q-, X, -x/, /t/ elsewhere, that instead of the hypothetical sequence of plural object and adverbial prefix * t-l-, one finds /au-i/, and so forth. Changes of /k/ to /X/ and /q/ to /x/ as initial of some noun stems when following the possessive paradigm are also handled as allomorphs. In general, for the sake of consistency, all such matters have been handled in terms of morpheme alternants, since a definitive treatment is not at present possible.

The role of stress morphophonemically is characterized in the preceding section 2.3.16.

In Wasco and Wishram an important role is played by morphophonemic changes to express augmentative and diminutive; but a trace of this is found in Kathlamet and Lower Chinook. One finds written t-gunát-max salmon 98.8, t-kʷunát-max small fish 98.8; similarly, s-cʷilqał roasting frame 226.3, t-cilqál-ks drying frames, and possibly i-kʷilXcu arrowpoints 61.16, i-gilXcu arrowpoints (same as 61.16, but now transformed into a dog by being thrown into a fire). In these, as in Wasco

the glottalized series expresses diminution, the voiced forms the augmentative. Also, if it is a distinction and not a hearing error, the difference between /k/ and /q/ in two forms, t-kamilálq beach 176.9 and t-qamilálq sand, may involve diminutive with /k/, augmentative with /q/.

In the presentation of forms in the stem lists and morphological analyses, parentheses are used to enclose phonemes which do not actually appear because of the environment. Thus, the third person feminine singular /a-/ never appears as such before directive /u-/ in the verb; classificatory noun prefix t- does not appear before prefix or stem with initial t-, l-, and optionally, s-, nor do any of the classificatory noun prefixes appear before prefix or stem beginning with an identical phoneme. Sometimes with stems of but one or a few occurrences, this leaves it uncertain whether the classificatory prefix is actually, say, t- or l-; but where discoverable, these morphemes are always parenthetically presented.

Note that if syllabic juncture were not recognized as a phoneme, morphophonemic treatment of a large number of stems and affixes would be required; syllabic units and morphological units do not closely coincide in Kathlamet, so that the distribution of a morpheme among syllables may be drastically changed by a change of construction, of stress placement, and even of syllabic juncture itself.

2.5. Consonant clusters. Sequences of vowels as such, excluding non-syllabic allophones, have been discussed in the section on syllabic juncture. It remains to consider sequences of consonants.

Kathlamet consonant clusters are defined by their position in relation to the word (initial, medial and final) and the phonemic syllable (initial, final). In sequences of consonants in which a continuant occurs as nucleus, consonants preceding and following the nucleus are taken to occur in separate clusters, the nucleus in none. Likewise, when a sequence of consonants contains a nucleus formed by stress (plus "inorganic schwa"), consonants preceding and following the nucleus are counted as in separate clusters. Thus, tl tired 10.7 is not counted as showing a cluster, nor is ta.q'L yesterday 87.14.

2.5.1.1. Kathlamet words may end in -C, -CC, -CCC, -CCCC, -CCCCC.

2.5.1.2. All consonants are attested in word final position as -C, except -p?, -t?, and -h. Examples: -eXup extinguish 47.15, k?ut act of breaking 106.16, i.nuL (a name) 159.10, a-kúc.kuc porpoise 82.6, i-qá.nuk beaver 80.7, qúq "cuq" 145.6, a-mí-tum your sister-in-law 23.4, Lun three 48.15, qul noise of falling objects 14.14, sq?'.pus place name 219.12, a-ká-suX her relatives 232.7, a'nux stomach 99.6, nuL? little 44.4, ac? surely 106.3, wuk? really 95.12, laq? act of turning 203.5.

2.5.1.3. Word final -CC clusters occur with the second member a stop, affricate, or fricative continuant, except -h.

(Final liquid continuants /-m, -n, -l/ invariably form a syllabic nucleus when preceded by a consonant). Of the glottalized series, only -qʔ occurs final in a -CC cluster. Likewise, only qʔ- occurs as initial member, of the glottalized series; all other consonants occur as first member except h-. ¹⁶ Actual clusters are:

-tp, -lp, (-tt), -lt, -kt, -qt, -mt, -st, -xt, -xt;
 -cl, -kl, -ql, -ml, -xl; -kc, -xc, -lc; -tk, -lk, -ck, -lk;
 -pq, -tq, -lq, -cq, -nq, -lq, -sq, -xq; -ps, -ks, -qs, -xs;
 -pX, -px, -tx, -lx, -lX, -cX, -cx, -mX, -mx, -nX, -nx, -lX,
 -sX; -lqʔ; -qʔt, -qʔp.

(The cluster -tt, found in two or three forms in KT, is problematic, but the writing of "inorganic schwa" between the members in two cases points to its actual occurrence: i-ú-i-tEt 109.16, 110.8).

The pattern revealed by these actual clusters excludes a sequence of two identical or positionally parallel consonants. (Positionally parallel, that is, of the same order in Martinet's use of the term, are: p-m, t-n, l-l, c-s, k-X, q-x). Thus, -tt, qʔp and -qʔt are marginal, the latter two because no other instances of the glottalized series as initial member appear. qʔp is an onomatopoeic particle for the scolding noise of Owl in a myth, and could be equally well taken as an initial cluster. The cluster -qʔt is found once in the stem -maqʔt epidemic 247.6, whose meaning suggests the stem -maq, to render dead, which also occurs in the same passage 247.7. Single occurrences of a form in KT are always subject to doubt as to possible errors of transcription or typography, and this is the case with -qʔt, in that the glottalization may not be actually present.

The back consonants /k q/ seem to count as a single type and the symbol K will be used to designate the two together; X will be used similarly for /X x/ together. The pattern seems to exclude clusters of -KK, -XX, or -KX. The form i-síxq mountain goat 15.10, 13.13 (perhaps LC in origin, cf. HB 598), as the only instance of -XK, must be considered marginal, as must -lq?, for no other instance of -CC? occurs. (In fact no instance of -C? occurs outside the class of particles).

Inadmissible clusters thus appear to be sequences of consonants which are identical or of the same order, of two K and/or X type consonants, and of /t-/ plus affricate (due to the initial element of the affricate); also, of any consonant plus -h.

Virtual clusters appear to be: -Lp, -cp, -kp, -qp, -np, -sp, -Xp, -xp; -ct, -lt; -pL, -nL, -sL, -xL; -pc, -Lc, -qc, -mc, -nc, -Xc; -pk, -mk, -nk, -sk; -mq; -Ls, -ms, -ns, -ls, Xs; -lx, -sx. In the case of the Kathlamet data it is especially likely that fuller material would show some of these virtual clusters to be actual. Indicative of the virtual status of some is their occurrence in word final clusters of more than two members; this holds for -cp, -Lp, -lt, -pc, -pL, -pq, -Lc, -qc, -nc, -sk, -ms. Possible permutations, observing rules against inadmissible clusters, total 80; of this number, 48 are attested in KT, leaving 32 as virtual clusters.

Examples of the -CC clusters: tp noise of hitting 42.3; lp act of boiling 104.17; (i)-iá-qapt its roe 80.4; i-ú-i-t-t he comes 109.16, 59.11 (cf. 180.16, 236.9); i.kal.k'lt he gave him up 97.4; lakt four 41.5; a-q'i.úqt old woman 17.9;

qa-c-t-ká-l-mam-t he comes to fetch them 198.1; nist not
 65.12; (a)-ú-L?lXt she was lean 212.11; iXt one 99.9; n-u-x-t
I am 74.11; i-c-i-u-quixtámacl he was rolling it down 217.16;
 a-iáqstxukL he was a NaqstxukL 196.1; i-qípaql beam (of door)
 218.9; i-m-t-í-mam-L you came indeed 58.6; cáxiXL several times
 118.11; í-mi-kc your nose 153.7; í-c-mxc my heart 171.6;
 i-súlc mat 131.9; tau-qátk what 105.4; i-L-i-x-í-q?ualk he
put it onto himself 89.18; i-mí-kimack your painting 146.15;
 i-súlk mat 248.4; i-k-i-ská-na-pq she looked into 210.11;
 i-q-t-á-katq they were put into the canoes 233.5; qámtaLq
whence 41.7; i-c-i-n-ú-qucq he waked me 106.2; a-xk'qunq
elder sibling 43.8; ik-i-x'kilq he tied a rope round his waist
 83.6; L-ía-sq its water 64.4; i-síxq mountain goat; t'mi-ps
your feet 161.12; L'puks branches 72.4; i-p'ánaqs liver 99.9;
 q?axs wanting to marry 247.1; t-q?í.ipX refuse 101.7;
 i-t-k'px they came out 180.16; i-kak?úLitX lake 63.9;
 qa-i-a-xá-katx he wanted her 247.1; k-i-Lá-unaLX a people
 221.1; i-t-k'Lx they went down to water 180.16; s-xí-k?acX
just as though 42.12; L-q?álxacx coal 153.5; qí-stamX chief
 12.7; qa-L-ú-i-am-x they came 249.2; s-qipanáuunX Skippanon
(a place) 236.3; a-múinx crab apples 148.5; i-lX ground 230.2;
 L-k?uiásX young fish 188.9; i-c-í-uulq? he devoured him 65.5;
 q?p Owl's scolding noise 131.15; í-maq?t epidemic 247.6.

2.5.1.4. Word final -CCC clusters occur with final member
 a stop, affricate, or fricative continuant, except -h; me-
 dially, likewise occur stops, affricates and fricative con-
 tinuants, except -h. Initially, the same phonemes occur plus

the liquid continuants. Actual clusters attested are:

-kLp; -tkL, -Lqt, -Lxt, -kst, -qst, -mst, -lqt, -lXt;
 -tkL, -lpL, -lcL, -lkL; -ckc, -kLc. -mxc, -lkc; -Xtk, -mtk, -pck,
 -ltk; -tpq, -Ltq, -qLq, -qsq, -stq, -mtq, -ntq; -tkc, -Lkc,
 -lkc; -pcx, -LpX, -kLx, -qLx, -qtx, -qsx, -stx, -scX, -XLX,
 -mtX, -ncX.

A few patterns are suggested though not established: continuant-t-K; K-L-x; K-s-t. The final two members of -CCC clusters conform to the patterns found in -CC clusters. The initial two members of -CCC clusters conform to the rule against identical consonants in succession, but when a continuant is initial do not exclude consonants of the same order in succession: -scx, -ntq. Possible permutations in these -CCC clusters can be calculated, observing rules against successive identical consonants, against successive positionally parallel (same order) consonants as final two members, against successive K and/or X type consonants, excluding -h, and permitting successive continuant plus same order consonant for the first two members, but excluding successive stop or affricate plus same order consonant. The total is 440, of which only 40 are found in KT. With this number, small in proportion and absolutely, it is impossible to attempt to establish further patterns, more limited than those just named, though such may have existed in Kathlamet.

Examples of -CCC clusters: i-q=i-u-kLp he was missed 68.3; k-L-k=l-u-tkt she will give them away 27.17; i-aLqt long 44.11; a-Lx-t she went down to the water 144.8; makst two 13.7; á-mi-qst your louse 118.9; t-kanáximst chiefs 19.3; L-qá.uulqt blood 31.8; á-ka-lXt her elder sister 39.10;

i-q-au-f-ki-tkL they were put into the mat 214.13; s-k-u-lálp-L they dug with digging sticks 231.13; m-L-l-kí-xkLalcL you insulted them 105.2; f-mqulkl qualmishness 155.12; f-c-kc my nose 135.11; i-k-u-xua-L-ánuk-L-c she went round it often 124.15; í-mi-mxc your mind 202.7; i-q-í-u-lkc it was roasted 37.6; i-c-í-u-Xtk he stole them 73.9; i-káqamtk southwest winds 70.9; i-qákiltk a basket 189.7; i-ú-pck he went up 114.8; á-ska-t-pq come in 23.10; i-k-i-k'ltq she kicked it 156.8; i-m-n-q'l-u-qLq you left me 171.6; i-s-k-í-l-ki-qsq they speared it 42.5; uí-qistq vulva 91.1; kíqamtq afterward 87.8; Lá-k'intoq wings 37.13; t-lapát-ks house posts 248.1; t-cilqáL-ks drying frames 234.19; i-mukuáls proper name 174.11; i-L-k-í-u-pcx they sewed together 204.14; s-ía-LpX his nose 138.3; qa-c-x-ú-tk-aluk-L-x he stepped 86.12; qa-m-i-u-míqLx lick it off 134.10; i-ú-maqt-x dead 60.10; i-c-L-í-l-u-qsx he harpooned it 159.11; i-c-í-u-stx he carried it on his back 59.15; i-ú-s-c-X he went down the river 73.2; i-kípiXLX sea lion 83.5; a-mí-mtX your younger sister 120.13; Lú-kuancX small 9.1.

2.5.1.5. Word final -CCCC clusters occur as follows:

-mtxt, -lkst, -lkst, -qstk, -LXtk, -kLck, -XLck, -qcks, -kstx, -mqtx, -lq'Lx. Again there is a suggestion of patterns: lateral order-k-s-t, K-s-t-K, but the proportion of attested to hypothetical clusters is vastly too small for proof. All sequences of two consonants in these -CCCC clusters conform to the rules established for -CC clusters. A possible exception (not listed above) is in the form t'qLkX wooden armors 27.9, 28.3, but since -kX before vowels represents only the fricative release of /k/, the same may be true here and the form phonemi-

cally /tqLk/. Instances of -CCCC clusters: iá-m-t-x-t I do to you 22.7; a-ms-k'L-kst you see 220.6; i-kilkst lighting 232.5; t-iá-laqstk his tears 149.15; i-c'LX-tk he put it on the ground 152.2; i-c-x-ú-tk-aluk-L-ck he stepped 86.6; i-ms-k-s-u-pná.u-nan-X-L-ck you jumped around 240.6; t-ká-p'anaqs-ks their livers 99.7; i-q-i-a-q'l-u-kstx he was carried ashore 186.10; qa-m-ú-mqt-x you die 68.6; (t'qLKX wooden armors 27.9?); a-m-t-u-uúlq'-L-x you shall eat them 126.4.

2.5.1.6. Word final -CCCC clusters occur as follows: -tpckt, -lXLck, -lXtks. The forms are: i-t-pck-t he came up 139.14; i-L-a-xl-qílXL-ck she slapped herself 94.3; L-ía-lXtks his brothers 159.14.

2.5.1.7. A possible CCCCC word cluster is written qtgEkst done 46.2; it is perhaps to be interpreted as /qtkkst/, but the morphological analysis is uncertain and one might expect that stress should have been written, thus /qtk'kst/.

2.5.2.1. Kathlamet words may begin in C-, CC-, CCC-, CCCC-, CCCCC-.

2.5.2.2. All consonants appear in word initial position as C-. Examples: paL full 14.11, tan thing 29.15, Lax out 19.12, ca well 68.4, ka.ta and 45.1, qa how 68.16; p'aq slap 100.12, t'a.ia good 172.16, L'ap find 12.11, c'a behold 174.5, k'a and 131.7, q'am lazy 22.1; mank little 13.12, na oh 112.14, lax lonesome 179.5, sa.xa.lá up 238.15, XaX twist 196.12, xax notice 133.7, ha ha 242.4.

2.5.2.3. Word initial CC- clusters occur with the second member a stop, affricate, continuant, or glottalized stop, except L?-. As first member are found stops, affricates, continuants except h-, and glottalized stops except p'=:, t?-.

Actual clusters are: Lp-, sp-, L?p-, c?p-, q?p; ct-, Lt-, kt-, mt-, nt-, st-; tL-, cL-, kL-, qL-, mL-, sL-; pc-, tc-, Lc-, kc-, qc-, nc-, sc-; tk-, Lk-, mk-, nk-, sk-, L?k-, c?k-; tq-, cq-, Lq-, sq-; tm-, Lm-, sm-, L?m-, k?m-; tn-, Ln-, qn-; Ll~; L?l-; cs-, Ls-, ks-, qs-; tX-, LX-, cX-, mX-, nX-, sX-; tx-, Lx-, cx-, mx-, nx-, lx-, sx-; th-, Lh-, sh-; tp?-, Lp?-, sp?-, Lt?-, mt?-, sc?-, tk?-, Lk?-, nk?-, sk?-, tq?-, Lq?-, mq?-, nq?-, lq?, sq?-.

Inadmissible CC- clusters appear to include sequences of identical consonants (plain and glottalized series count together in this regard), of K and/or X type consonants, of back fricative (X, x, h) plus any consonant, and of other than alveolar orders plus glottalized continuant. Unlike final -CC clusters, sequences of two positionally parallel consonants, one a continuant and one a plain stop, may occur: nt-, sc-, tn- Ll-, cs-; but all are composed of alveolar orders, none with K and X type or with the labial order p-m being found. In -CC sequences with initial glottalized consonant, no alveolar or X type consonants are found as second member; no other systematic limitation seems implied for this group. Possible permutations computed observing the rules against inadmissible clusters, total 191; of this number, 81 are found, leaving 110 as virtual clusters for the KT corpus.

Examples of CC- clusters: L-pakál-max-pa mountains on 196.12, spaq dryness 25.2, L?paq act of recovering 31.7, c?paq strongly 86.6, q?p Owl's scolding 131.15; ctá-k?iti their blankets 139.1, L-támq?aL clubs 50.11, k-t-íá-xiqLax their hunter 241.15, m-t-í-a come 168.1, n-t-u-x I did them 33.14, st-áxka they 40.8; t-Lá-Xatk their tracks 123.1, c-L-u-p?faLx what he picked 219.13, k-L-xiqLax the hunter

241.2, q-Lá-sknmaxiX the QLasknmaxiX people 244.14, q-L-á-
 k-u-x-t being in the canoe 52.11, m-L-l-kí-xkLalclL you
insulted them 105.2, s-Latát two raccoons 117.3; pcāx green
 244.10, t-cilqáL-ks drying frames 234.19, L-cúqua water 25.2,
 k-c-i-kl-ká-t what he had on 32.3, q-c-u-x-t he did her 171.16,
 nc-ú-xu-a we do her 248.16, scáqa at last 50.5; tkilíma ex-
change 16.15, L-kanauí-tiks all 15.6, m-kí-x you were 65.10,
 n-kí-x-ax I am 185.14, skásait robin 19.7, L?ki behold 177.15,
 c?kuāk noise of eating soft food 34.11; t-qúLi house 20.4,
 cqi then 30.18, Lqust behold 139.15, s-qakílak girls 39.2;
 t-mí-lXam your people 50.7, L-mí-kulaq your buoys 45.8,
 s-makst two 39.1, L?man break 32.7, k?ma.ia and also 189.10;
 t-nauáitk net 219.8, L-náqun sturgeon 158.11, q-n-l-quím I
was given to eat 179.10, L-líq?amu wolves 116.5, L?lap under
water; cs cold 37.3, L-síki paddles 241.4, k-s-í-ana the one
referred to 217.10, qsai-q?l.q?l very hard (a possible error
 for asai-) 125.8, c?s sound of snake hissing 228.14; t-Xtíi
smoke 91.11, LXuan maybe 14.7, cXup extinguish 47.15;
 m-Xa-t-k?uá.ia come home 104.14; n-X-k?uá.ia I'll go home
 10.1, s-Xumt?ít two fastened together 34.4; tx-ú-pck-a let
us go inland 63.11, L-xúla talking 50.7, cxap not daring 96.4
 (possibly cxp), m-x-u-x you are 19.9, n-x-i-n-mútxm-x I'm
playing with 217.2, lx-ua-Xit-a we run away 75.14, s-x-í-k-u-
 x-t it is 189.15; t-hát?au-nana maidens 238.4, L-hát?au
maiden 222.18, s-hát?au virgins 40.10; t-p?íaLx gather them
 112.15, L-p?ń.xaLx rush-roots 50.3, s-p?iásx salmon tails
 175.5; L-t?úkti pretty 14.10, m-t?anca you crow 62.5;
 s-c?ist large basket 47.1; tk?up white 35.9, Lk?up squeeze
 11.7, L-k?áskas child 10.7, n-k?áskas I am a boy 115.8,

s-kʰisana fern root 227.7; tqʰix wish 15.12, Lqʰap meet 13.5, m-qʰi.úqt you old man 114.10, n-qʰulá.uas a place name 187.1, lqʰ swallow 148.3, s-qʰi.úqt two old women 165.7.

2.5.2.4. Word initial CCC- clusters occur with final member a stop, affricate, continuant, or glottalized stop. Of the fricative continuants, -h does not so occur, and since but one cluster with final liquid continuant is found, that cluster (tkm-) is considered marginal. The prevailing pattern is for a liquid continuant as final member of a CCC- sequence to function as syllabic nucleus, e.g. t-qʰ-aks stones 223.17, L-qʰ-aks 108.3, t-kʰ.u-aks hearts 100.16. No sequences of identical consonants appear, but sequences of consonants of the same order and of K and X type consonants appear: ntk-, tqʰk-mXkʰ-, nXkʰ-, sXqʰ-, as does t- plus affricate: tLq-.

Occurring in KT are; Lst-, kst-, qst-, Lct-, tkt-, Lkt-, Lqʰt-; tkL-, ncl-, tqK-, LqL-, LkL-, skL-, mxL-; Lkc-; Ltk-, qtk-, ntk-, msk-, nck-, kLk-, tqʰk-; tLq-; tkm~; tks-, Lks-; Ltx-, stx-, msx-, ncx-, Lcx-, mnx-; Lxpʰ-; tktʰ-; LpLʰ-; Lxkʰ-, mXkʰ-, nXkʰ-; sXqʰ-.

The examples are: L-stá-xust his face 153.4, ksta then 82.2, qst-í-mam they come 41.1, L-ctá-muX-iks their younger brothers 59.16, t-ktí-max things 29.9, L-ktá-la he walked about 115.5, L-qʰtán-max small dishes 128.3; t-k-L-i-l-ú-qsqa-lal-mck they threw it often with spears 88.8, nc-LúXua-it we thought 206.8, t-qLilXam meat 101.13, L-qLápLxiX a girl 27.6, L-k-L-u-cáca-m-x they defecate 16.13, s-k-L-u-lálp-L they dug with sticks 231.13, m-x-LúXua-n do you think 26.5; L-kcáma comb 14.6; L-tka snow 35.11, q-t-k-í.ix they go 53.6, nt-k-i-x-kʰí-Li-na we string them 193.8, ms-k-i-l-cím-l-it-m-

-ck you heard it 234.15, nc-k-u-Xuí-LluX-t we do not know them 40.7, k-L-k'l-u-t-k-t she will give them away 27.17, t-q'kuasí-max vertical wall planks 83.14; t-Lqul flesh 139.12; t-kmái-pa shoreline at 52.8; tksi these 156.13, L-k-sámit dry 150.17; L-txm-iks six men 163.13, s-txá-puc buttocks 85.7, ms-xa-n-xq'áala you disguised yourselves before me 158.4, nc-x-l-k'áiucx-ax we resemble one another 153.8, L-cxuálap rotten sticks 72.4, m'n-x-ú-la-l-m-x you do me 167.8, n-Lxuáp-iX-pa hole at 9.9; tk-t'úkti good 15.5; L-pL'iki bow 39.13; L-x-k'áit-iXit what was left over 47.5, m-X-k'uát-am go and bathe 43.9, n-X-k'uá.ia I go home 10.1; s-X-q'uáLqux grown together 17.1.

2.5.2.5. Word initial CCCC- clusters attested are: kLst-, ktkL-, LskL-, nxtk-, ktkk-, tkps-, Lktx-, tqsx-. Instances are: k-L-stá-xilalak skillful 243.13, k-t-k-L-i-l-ú-qsqa-la threw at it with spears 89.5, L-skLákux meshes 45.7, m-x-t-kí-maq'-im-L-am I come to ask for a present 192.12, k-t-k-ká-la fliers 44.3 (written in KT as "qtkgála"), t-k-psút-iX it was hidden 150.16, L-k-t-x-u-xúla does he talk 106.9, t-qsxilá-uks monsters 95.8.

As final members, only stops, affricates and fricative continuants are found; liquid continuants do not appear. The sequence of identical consonants, and of K type, in k-t-k-ká-la is problematic, for the form is unique in KT; both k's can be morphologically explained, but in similar cases with other stops, one stop alone appears.

2.5.2.6. Two word initial CCCCC- clusters have been found: mLxsk- and nckLx-. They occur in: m-L-x-skám-a you will take it from her 2l2.1, nc-k-L-xlm-ú-xu-m-a we go to eat them 13.3.

2.5.3. It is believed that analysis of medial clusters, which are extremely numerous, would show them to be composed of sequences already analyzed for initial and final clusters. Analysis of them at the present time would be much more problematic than for initial and final position, due to the ambiguity remaining in the interpretation of syllabic juncture for this purely written corpus. Field work directed to the question of the syllable in the related Wasco and Wishram dialects should provide criteria for removing this ambiguity in KT.

2.5.4. A comparison of initial and final clusters shows that those in initial position are less restricted in sequences, and a greater number of possibilities exists, , e.g. 191 to 80 for clusters of two consonants. Involved are the possibilities of /h/ occurring as second member of an initial cluster, of a continuant and stop of the same order appearing initially, and more frequent appearance of glottalized stops as second members. This difference may be due partly to the greater morphological productivity of prefixes than of suffixes, especially in verbs, which provides a variety of prefix shapes before a variety of stem-initials.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER II

- 1 George Gibbs, Alphabetical Vocabulary of the Chinook Language. New York, 1863.
- 2 Morris Swadesh, Chemakum Lexicon Compared with Quileute, IJAL 21.60-72 (1955).
- 3 R. G. Kent, The Textual Criticism of Inscriptions. Language Monographs 2 (1926).
- 4 Throughout, the following symbols are used:

KT :	Kathlamet Texts
LCT :	Lower Chinook Texts
LC ;	Lower Chinook (Shoalwater, Clatsop dialects)
SC :	Shoalwater Chinook
WW :	Wasco-Wishram dialects (Upper Chinook)
HB :	Handbook of American Indian Languages, Part I. Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology 40 (1911). Chinook, pp. 579-677.
- 5 It would be possible to interpret /i u/ as /y w/ instead, parallelling /m n l/ which also have syllabic and non-syllabic variants; indeed, there are two non-syllabic variants, pre- and post-vowel, to the one syllabic variant:[yV-, wV-], [-Vi, -Vy], [-i-, -u-]. There would then be but two phonemes primarily vowels, /a/ and /ã/, the latter a peripheral unit, and a system approaching that of proto-Hittite.
- 6 Unless indicated otherwise, numbers following forms refer to page and line of KT. Numbers following HB refer to page and form, it being presupposed that the forms in the illustrative lists in the Handbook sketch are consecutively:

- numbered, and separately numbered for each page.
- 7 M. Trautmann, Die Sprachlaute im Allgemeinen und Die Laute des Englischen, Französischen und Deutschen im Besondern. Leipzig, 1884-86.
- Lepsius, Das allgemeine Alphabet. Berlin, 1855; 2nd edition, London and Berlin, 1863.
- 8 Trautmann, op. cit., p.111.
- 9 Daniel Lee and J. H. Frost, Ten Years in Oregon. New York, 1844, pp. 343-344.
- 10 Gibbs, op. cit.
- 11 idem, p. vi.
- 12 F. Boas, Report of the 59th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1899, Fifth pp. 877-899: /Report of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada.
- 13 Sixth Report, Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1891, pp. 655-668.
- 14 E. Sapir, Glottalized Continuants in Navaho, Nootka, and Kwakiutl. Selected Writings of Edward Sapir, p. 237, n.11: "Boas writes -aanō (op. cit. 511) but all cases of Kwakiutl v- and -vvi- are to be interpreted as ?v- and -v?vi-. Smooth vowel initials and combinations of vowel and smooth vowel are impossible in Kwakiutl and Nootka."
- 15 Morris Swadesh, Salish phonologic geography. Language 28.232-248 (1952), p. 235.

- 16 Terms employed in the analysis of clusters are adopted from Hans Vogt, *Phoneme Classes and Phoneme Classification*, Word 10.28-34 (1954). These two passages are most pertinent:

"I shall here understand by the term (structure) the totality of distributional rules that can be formulated on the basis of the occurring clusters, and by structural rule I shall understand a statement concerning the distribution of phonemes in which at least one of the terms brought into relation by the statement is a class of phonemes." (p. 31)

"We would thus by definition have established four classes of clusters for our descriptive purposes: the class of clusters which do not occur and which do not conform to any structural patterns in the language, called inadmissible clusters; the class of clusters which occur but do not conform to any structural patterns, called marginal clusters; the class of clusters which do not occur, but conform to the structural patterns of the language, called virtual clusters; and finally the class of clusters which occur and conform to certain patterns, called actual clusters." (Underlining added)

- 17 Note the comments of Hoenigswald on similar phenomena:

"In an early stage of IE /e/ (parallel Kathlamet ä?/ occurs in accented syllables, /e/ in unaccented ones. The phonetic character of the difference between the vowels makes it probable then that THAT accent was one of stress, and that the difference between /e/ and /e/ had not always been phonemic either. . . . Some have gone further and reduced these two entities to one. This is easy if one regards the location of e as determined by the sequence of consonants in the absence of stress, . . . in other words if e is a nonphonemic outcropping of voice similar to the French schwa as it has been described for some French dialects." In review of W. P. Lehmann, *Proto-Indo-European Phonology*, *Language* 30.473 (1954). Cf. also Hoenigswald, *Language* 291-292 (1953). Boas' treatment of "E" for Shoalwater Chinook in forms where it is found under some conditions, /a/ under others is much in the character of a reduced vowel interpretation.

III

PRONOUNS

- 3.0. Introduction to the morphology.
- 3.1. Pronoun words.
- 3.2. Pronoun stems.
- 3.3. Relative order and affixes.
- 3.4. Examples and Comment.
- 3.5. A residual problem.

3.0. The chapters on the morphology are arranged uniformly, beginning with the pronouns, then nouns, verbs and particles. The word class is defined, relevant stem classes are defined, stems are listed, relative order is presented, affixes are listed, examples and comment are given.

For clarity of presentation, and for facility in using the morphological analysis as a guide to the examples, there is a certain amount of redundancy. The person-marker paradigm is presented in each of its affiliations with word classes, numbered each time according to its position or positions in that word class. So also suffixes which recur with more than one word class are treated with each.

A basic distinction is made between relative order position within the structure of the word, and relative order decades within such positions. This is discussed most fully in the chapter on the verb. It concerns the treatment of suffixes to all word classes and the person-marker paradigm.

3.1. Pronoun words are defined as (a) inflected only by the person-marker paradigm, and as (b) never occurring without such inflection.

Note that Boas treated these stems as intransitive verbs for Shoalwater Chinook, listing them with verb stems in the Handbook sketch, pp. 659-665. Sapir disavowed this classification in a footnote to the Wishram Text analyzed in the Handbook, HB 676, n.51, but his analysis of the stem element differs as between the note to the text and his section in the grammar (cf. p. 627). The analysis in the note agrees in principle with that presented here, but Sapir had shifted to a different interpretation again in his article, A Chinookan Phonetic Law (1926) (cf. p.108). Dyk treats the pronouns with nouns in his grammar of Wishram, though correctly isolating the stem from the preceding person-markers, as Sapir, except in the note mentioned, had not. All the preceding interpretations overlook the principal productive and distinctive feature of Kathlamet and Chinookan morphology generally, that is, the patterns of prefixation, which are distinct as patterns for nouns and verbs and by their absence, for particles. Pronouns never have the classificatory or possessive inflection of nouns, nor the tense and subject-object and adverbial inflection of verbs; yet they are inflected by the person-marker paradigm, a privilege denied to particles. This stamps them as a separate word class.

3.2.0. The stems of pronoun words are always members of the pronominal stem class. This fact also stamps the pronoun word class as a separate entity, for each of the other word classes admits a number of stems occurring in some other word class as well. Conversely, members of the pronominal stem class serve as stems only in pronoun words. Each of the other stem classes either occurs in more than one word class (VN, VP, VNP), or is not the sole stem class to occur in the word class where it is found, (V, N, P).

There are two subclasses of pronoun stems. Stems of subclass Pr1 occur with prefixes marking 1st and 2nd person as well as third, while stems of subclass Pr2 occur only with prefixes marking third person. Also, the plural suffix for human beings, -tiks, is found only with Pr1 stems. Insofar as a semantic correlation appears, subclass Pr2 contains stems more markedly demonstrative in function. (Note that the stems for one (cardinals -iXt, -iXat and ordinal -aniua) are the only numerals not classed morphologically as particles, and that only one has a suppletive ordinal stem. Besides never occurring as free forms, these pronoun stems for one are distinguished from other numeral stems (which may occur with classificatory noun prefixes in appositive function, but only for third person dual and plural) by this occurrence with third person singular prefixes that may distinguish masculine and feminine gender.)

3.2.1. The stems of subclass Pr1 are:

- ai- person (generalized stem)
 m-ai-ka you (emphasis) 174.11
 i-ai-ma he only 70.14
 t-ai-ci those (people) 26.1
- a.ni.ua first
 m-á.ni.ua you first 87.6
- i.sam undetermined meaning
 m-isam you 145.5, 145.10

The stems of subclass Pr2 are:

- ax ~ -aXi ~ -uXi person, demonstrative (generalized)
 i-ax-ka he 55.9
 it 11.5
 t-aXi those 73.6
 u-uXi that 91.4
- ixui ~ -ixauí ~ -iqui quantity (of time, items)
 (i)-ixui many 11.10
 L-äxui much 250.16
- iXat one (denoting person)
 a-iXat one 20.1 (re maiden)
- iXt one (denoting other than person)
 a-iXt one 15.4 (re basket)
- kun other, another (of a series)
 a-kun another 162.3 (woman)
- xa.lu.i.ta another, different (of kind)
 a-xaluita another 46.7 (language)

The conditions for the stem-alternants are as follows:
 -ax before suffixes -t'ax, -ka (423, 424); -aX before suffix
 -aui ~ -au (424); -aXi before suffixes -ax, -pa (422, 612)
 and word-final; -uXi after 3rd singular feminine prefix u-.

-ixui, -ixau, and -iqui alternate under no discoverable conditions. Examples are few, numbering three, four, and one, respectively for each. The relationship between -xui and -qui perhaps reflects the same historical factors that underlie the possessed and unpossessed alternants with fricative and stop initial of some noun stems. -xui and -xau show a relationship between /u/ and /au/ that also appears at a few other points in Kathlamet, as in the indirect object prefix of verbs, which has /au-/ instead of /u-/ before adverbial prefix alternant /i-/.

Hypothetical analysis of infix -a-, or suffixes -at, -t, leading to the interpretation of the stems for one as alternants has no parallel in the Kathlamet data, and so is not undertaken.

3.3.0. In pronoun words the person-marker paradigm occurs immediately before the stem. This is the initial and only prefix position for all pronominal stems except the two of generalized function, -ai and -ax. In quoted speech, -ai-ci (stem-suffix 411) or -ax may occur after an initial demonstrative prefix plus person-marker.

A limited number of suffixes occur. These are shared with noun and particle words, and the relative order analysis has been undertaken with reference to occurrences with all three of these word classes. Of the resulting three positions,

those in the first position may contribute the specific meaning to generalized stems. Those in second position may indicate plurality, and those in third position relate the stem to place or time.

3.3.1. Except for the generalized stem -ai, all pronominal stems may occur without suffix; with this one reservation then, the following scheme holds:

(Demonstrative)-Person marker-Stem-(Suffix)-(Suffix)-(Suffix)
(Parentheses indicate positions which are optionally filled; lack of parenthesis indicates the position must be filled).
The minimal pronoun word is thus person-marker plus stem, e.g.
t-aXi those 73.6

As explained in detail in the chapter on verbs, the person-marker paradigm must be analyzed as containing three or more decades, but these distribute as a unit in relation to other positions. Within the suffixes as well, a distinction of decades must be made within the first position. In terms of numbered positions and decades, then, the relative-order pattern of pronoun words is:

Position 100. Demonstrative.

- 111. ta- with -ai, -ax in quoted speech.
- 112. qa- with -ai, -ax in quoted speech.
- 113. la- with -ai, -ax in quoted speech.

Position 200. Person-Marker.

Decade 210. Person.

- 211. n- 1st person
- 212. m- 2nd person

213. i- 3rd person (masculine)
 214.1 a- 3rd person (feminine)
 .2. u-
 215. L- 3rd person (neuter)
 216. st- 3rd person dual (=226)
 217.1 t- 3rd person plural (=227)
 .2 u-
 218. L- 3rd person plural (=228)
 219. q- 4th person (indefinite) (=229)

Decade 220. Number.

221. Ø Singular.
 222. t- Dual.
 223.1 s- Plural.
 .2 l-
 226. st- 3rd person dual (=216)
 227.1 t- 3rd person plural (=227)
 .2 u-
 228. L- 3rd person plural (=228)
 229. q- 4th person (indefinite) (=219)

Decade 230. Inclusive.

231. x- Inclusive.

Position 300. Stem.

No derivational elements or compound stems.

Position 400. Suffix set 1.

Decade 410.

- 411.1 -ci Plural reference to humans.
 .2 -c

Decade 420.

421.1	-au	<u>Of undetermined meaning.</u>
.2	-aui	
.3	-ui	
422.	-ax	<u>Emphasis, contrast.</u>
423.	-iX	<u>Some specifying force.</u>
424.	-t [?] ax	<u>Succession in time; next, also.</u>
425.	-ka	<u>Emphasis, definite; only.</u>
426.	-ma	<u>Partitive; alone, only.</u>

Position 500. Plural.Decade 510.

511.	-tiks	<u>Plural of humans or myth figures.</u>
512.	-max	<u>Plural.</u>

Position 600. Relational.Decade 610.

611.1	-tiX	<u>Relation to time.</u>
.2	-iX	
612.	-pa	<u>Relation to space; at, to, in, etc.</u>

3.3.3. The conditions for alternants of the affix morphemes are presented here. The relations within the person-marker paradigm can be illustrated usefully by the following paradigmatic arrangement.

n - ∅ -	<u>1st person sg.</u>	(211-221)
n - t -	<u>1st exclusive dual.</u>	(211-222)
n - s -	<u>1st exclusive plural.</u>	(211-223.1)
t - x -	<u>1st inclusive dual.</u>	(222-231)
l - x -	<u>1st inclusive plural.</u>	(223.2-231)

m - ∅ -	<u>2nd person sg.</u> (212-221)
m - t -	<u>2nd person dual.</u> (212-222)
m - s -	<u>2nd person plural.</u> (212-223.1)
i - ∅ -	<u>3rd singular (masculine)</u> (213-221)
a - ∅ -	<u>3rd singular (feminine)</u> (214-221)
~ u - ∅ -	
L - ∅ -	<u>3rd singular (neuter)</u> (215-221)
st-	<u>3rd dual</u> (216 =226)
t - ~u-	<u>3rd plural</u> (217 = 227)
L -	<u>3rd plural</u> (218 = 228)
q -	<u>4th person (indefinite)</u> (219--229)

Only the 1st person exclusive dual sequence is not attested with pronoun stems in KT. The role of sex gender in the 3rd person singular depends in great part upon its role in the classificatory prefixes of nouns (noun decade 110), which is discussed in section 4.4 of the noun chapter. The dual, st-, is not analyzed as 3rd person alterant s- plus dual t- because of the alternant s- for 3rd person dual found in verbs. In general, the 3rd person non-singular forms are apart from the 1st and 2nd person forms in that they mark both number and **person** simultaneously; this has been symbolized by the equation sign, i.e. 216 = 226.

214.2 u- occurs with alternant -uXi of the Pr2 stem -ax ~ -aXi ~ -uXi, and with alternant -ax in the sequence ta-u-ax (111-214.2-S); 214.1 a- occurs elsewhere.

217.2 u- occurs with Pr1 stem -ai in the sequence qa-u-ai-c (112-217.2-S-411.2); 217.1 t- occurs elsewhere, except before stem-initial x- (e.g., -xaluita).

411.2 -c is perhaps an alternant before consonant-initial suffix, as in L-ai-c-ka-pa 169.15, or in close transition with following consonant-initial word, as in qa-u-ai-c tau 40.5, or due to elision before vowel-initial word, as in qa-u-ai-c (i)-ia-maq 43.6; however, 411.1 -ci occurs word-final before both consonant and vowel: L-ai-ci ixt 20.2, L-ai-ci Lun-iks 164.17. These, as well as other phenomena, suggest that the closeness of transition between words varied sufficiently to cause the irregular appearance of vowel-elision or a pre-consonantal alternant. (Note Sapir's analysis of -ai-ci as from *-ai-ki before early Chinookan shift of i-k- to i-c-, in A Chinookan Phonetic Law, p. 201). Unlike the other suffixes attested with stem -ai, -ci ~ -c does not recur elsewhere, and is thus limited to pronoun words. This fact, plus its distributional irregularity, occurring before 425 -ka which otherwise is in initial position after stem (L-ai-c-ka-pa 169.15, n-ai-ka 11.6), suggest that -ai-ci may have been felt as a stem unit by the time of KT; the present analysis of it as a suffix would then count as descriptive etymology).

4211.1, .2, .3 -au, -aui, -ui alternate after stem -ax under no discoverable conditions; compare the alternants of stem -ixui ~ -ixaui -iqui.

3.4.0. Examples and Comment.

The Chinookan dialects differ most markedly perhaps in the structure of the pronoun words; Kathlamet and Wishram are about as different as Kathlamet and Lower Chinook in this respect, as is illustrated in the Handbook sketch (HB 617-627). In this sketch Boas presents a system of Kathlamet demonstrativ

pronouns that (a) differs markedly from that given here, and (b) contains forms, nearly half those cited, that are not attested in KT (HB 623). No citations to KT are given for the system; if it is based on supplementary eliciting at the time the texts were collected, it is not supported by the texts themselves. Where the forms cited do occur in KT, they do not appear to have the function of distinguishing nearness to 1st, 2nd and 3rd person that the HB system ascribes to them.

Boas lists :

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Near 1st person	tayax	tawáx	<u>LaLáx</u>
Near 2nd person	yáxauí	áxauí	<u>Láxauí</u>
Near 3rd person	yaXí(yax)	<u>waXí(yax)</u>	<u>LaXí(yax)</u>
	Dual	Plural	Plural(person)
Near 1st person	<u>stastáx</u>	tatáx	<u>LaLáíks,</u> <u>tatáíks</u>
<u>Near 2nd person</u>	<u>stáxauí</u>	<u>táxauí</u>	(?) (sic)
<u>Near 3rd person</u>	staXí(yax)	taXí(yax)	La-ici, ta-ici

The forms with underlining are not found in KT. The enclosed (yax) element is suffix 422 -ax, preceded by non-phonemic -y- glide after stressed /i/ at syllable boundary.

3.4.1. Stems.

-ai- occurs with suffixes 411, 422, 424, 425, 426, 511, 411-425-612: L-ai-ci those (people) 20.2, ta-t-ái-ci those (people) 46.7, qá-u-ai-c who (these youths) 40.5, La-L-ái-c these (myth persons) 56.11; q{ai-ax what 56.15, m-ai-ax you 2 13.10; n-ai-t[?]ax I also 61.2; m[?]t-ai-ka you two 241.12, m[?]s-ai-ka you (plural) 44.8, n[?]s-ai-ka we 153.8; (a)-ai-ma only (it, her) 37.16, t-ai-ma only 232.8, l[?]x-ai-ma-tíks we

alone 218.18; L-ai-c-ka-pa them from 169.15.

-aniua: (a)-aniua first 40.15, i-aniua-tiX first (time) 212.4, t-aniua first 138.1, L-aniua-tiks first 120.11, i-ániu(a)-iX first (them, skins i-) 123.16, n-s-aniua-tiks we first 120.8.

-isam: This form occurs twice in the burden of a myth song; cf. m-isa, occurring once in LCT 23.1, cited in HB 626.

-ax ~-aXi ~-uXi: ta-t-ax those 139.15, ta-u-ax that one 122.4, ta-i-ax that 112.9, "oh if" (that) 151.4; t-ax-t?ax next 139.5, finally 142.9; (a)-ax-ka that 91.15, she 55.1, t-ax-ka those 137.7, L-ax-ka-pa her at 234.1, i-ax-ka it 11.5, he 55.9, st-ax-ka they two 40.8; (a)-ax-au that one 10.10, (a)-ax-ai that 10.13, i-ax-ai this 54.5, he 44.14; t-aXi those 73.6, t-aXi-ax that 62.11, st-aXi those two 39.8, st-aXi-ax these 248.11, L-aXi those 27.17, that 50.7, u-uXi that 91.4, i-aXi that 30.4, this 61.7, that one 111.6, i-aXi-pa there 132.7, i-aXi-ax that one 126.1, i-aX-tix there (that time) 99.15.

Note that -ax-ka (S-425) functions frequently with reference to persons, while other instances of this stem are usually concerned with demonstrative function, especially in apposition with nouns, e.g. t-aXi t-quiúix-uks those ducks 87.2. Usually the pronominal prefix of words with this stem is in concord formally with the initial prefix of an accompanying noun, as in the example; this formal concord is like that of many pronominal prefixes in verbs in that it is determined by the shape of the noun prefix. Consequently, the sex gender and number normally marked by the person-marker prefixes is subordinated to this formal requirement; a plural noun with i-

prefix will be accompanied by, say, *i-aXi*, if that stem appears, rather than *t-aXi*; or a noun with *a-* prefix will appear with *u-uXi* without sex gender being concerned. To illustrate: *L-áXi L-kipíXL-uks* those sealions (L- 218) 241.9; *t-ai-ci tá-lXam* those people (t- 217) 241.9; *i-áXi k-t-iá-xiqLax* he the one who-they-his-game (= that hunter) 241.15; (here *i-aXi* is in concord with the possessive prefix of the noun); *u-úXi makst a-qisítix* those two hunting canoes 242.1-2 (u- 214); *u-úXi* those 242.2 (referring to the canoes, but independent of accompanying noun); *t-áXi t-qamilálq-pa* that sand-at 242.16-243.1; *i-áXi i-Lá-suX* he their-relative (of the sealions) 243.4 (215 L-); *L-áXi L-pait* that line 244.1 (L- 215); *i-áXi i-kípiXL* that sealion 244.10; *i-áXi i-mólak-max* those elks 234.7; *L-áXi L-qakílak* that woman 234.8 (L- 215).

A special case arises with the prefix *i-* (213). It occurs frequently with and without concord; the other prefixes occur but rarely without concord with this stem (as *u-úXi* 242.2 cited above). While other forms, such as *t-aXi*, retain the same meaning or function when not in concord with a noun (47.5, 101.7), *i-aXi* need not, occurring sometimes in more or less adverbial usages, translated by Boas as "there" (106.14, 146.1). Also, *i-aXi* is the form selected to occur with particles in pronoun-noun like constructions: *i-aXi tan-ki* that thing 136.8 (in verbs, *i-* also is used to refer to *tan-ki* and most of the few particles that can be so indicated because of their "noun-like" significance, but *t-* is used for nauaitk net.) For pronoun words with *-aXi*, then, *i-* is unmarked, occurring in several functions, while such forms as *u-uXi*, *L-aXi*, etc.,

are marked, occurring normally only in one. This would seem to apply as well to i-ax-ka in relation to (a)-ax-ka, etc., (cf. 115.4, 122.7 with 91.15, 55.1), but not to ta-i-ax in relation to ta-u-ax, ta-t-ax (cf. 151.4, 135.3 with 122.4, 130.2, 241.15).

-ixui ~-ixauí ~-iquí: (i)-ixui many 11.10, L-äxui much 250.16, (i)-ixauí-tiX often 188.5, (i)-äqui-tiX often 94.3; (note under stem -ax, (a)-ax-úi much 190.17, (a)-ax-áuí much 190.15, (a)-ax-áuí that 10.13. Phonetically, the relationship both in stems and suffixes is [au.i] : [õ.i].) This stem has apparently semantically contaminated sequences of stem -ax plus suffix 421, facilitated by coalescence of the pronominal vowel prefix with the initial vowel of the stem; by analogy, (i)-ixui and (a)-ax-úi are interpreted as i-, a- plus pseudo-stem *-xui; that this is analogy, not actual analysis, is shown by L-äxui on the one hand (emphatic for *L-ixui), i-ax-áuí and t-kun-úi on the other.

iXat: a-iXat one 20.1, (i)-iXat one 19.11, (i)-iXat-ka one only 95.10, L-iXat one 19.16. Like several other numerals, -iXat is found as second element of a noun stem with first element k'a-: (i)-i-á-k'a-iXat one in a canoe (his-being in a canoe?-one) 80.12, st-á-k'a-makst two in a canoe 185.3, L-á-k'a-txm-iks six in a canoe 199.3; cf. á-k'a-mitx in bow of a canoe 53.1. This stem occurs with nouns in constructions like those with -ax ~-aXi ~-uXi: a-iXát a-lá-ha'au one maiden 20.1, (i)-iXát i-cá-xan one her-son 119.13, L-iXát L-kuaLílx one person 74.2.

-iXt: a-iXt one 15.4, (i)-iXt one 20.2, (i)-iXt-iX once 181.2, (i)-iXt-max-iX sometimes (one-plural-re time) 221.11, (i)-iXt-ka one only 70.14, (i)-iXt-ka-tiX together (one-emphatic, only-re time, (with) they will grow up = they will grow up together) 141.9, t-iXt one 118.1, t-iXt-ma one to each 47.11, t-iXt-max one of each 103.12, st-iXt one 227.6, L-iXt one 14.8. Like -iXat, this stem occurs in sequence with nouns (Pr/N), though, like -iXat, it also occurs apart from such sequences; note the formal concord, such that 116 st- and 117 t- can occur with a stem signifying one: L-iXt L-quák one mountain-goat blanket; 14.8, a-iXt a-kipút one salmon roe in skin 76.11, t-iXt t-qúLi-pa one house-to 190.5, st-áXi st-iXt that one (root s-k'ísana (two rooted fern)) 227.6, t-iXt-ma t-ká-xit'ílalma one-to-each their-roasting spits 47.11, t-quxuí-max t-iXt-max fruits one-of-each 103.11-12.

-kun: a-kun one 9.7, the other 162.6, a-kun-ax another one (later on) 25.4, i-kun another one 124.2, i-kun-ax another 31.12, 32.4, 32.13, 64.15, t-kun another 209.7, t-kun-ax other ones 26.14, t-kun-ui other ones 98.9, L-kun one more 14.9, another 13.8, L-kun-ax another 14.16. This stem can occur with nouns (Pr/N), as in: a-kun á-pul another night 9.7, i-kún-ax (i)-iá-mut (i)-iá-lXam another his-uncle his-town 32.4, t-kun t-iXt t-qúLi another one house 209.7, t-kún-ax t-iXt t-qúLi-pa another one house-to 190.5, t-kún-ax t-qúLi-pa another house-to 191.5; L-kun L-kua'líX another person 13.8. It also occurs apart from such constructions.

-xaluita: a-xaluita a-tá,ua.ua another their-language 46.7, i-xalúita í-ta-qcks different its-smell 91.11, u-xualúita í-ta-qcks different its-smell (smoke, t-) 91.14

s-xalúita s-iá-xust different his-face 180.8; these all illustrate Pr/N sequences. This stem also occurs apart from such sequences, as L-xalúita another one 156.2.

3.4.2. Suffixes.

411.1 -ci: t-ai-ci those 35.15, 68.9, 74.11, 100.4, 171.12, 195.1, 236.2, 251.1; L-ai-ci those 59.16, 199.3, 216.1; ta-t-ái-ci those 45.6, 46.7, 47.10.

411.2 -c: La-L-ái-c 56.11, L-ái-c-ka-pa them from 169.15, those at 209.8, qá-u-ai-c who 40.5, 43.6.

421.1 -au: (a)-áX-au that one 10.10; i-áX-au this 62.16

421.2 -aui: (a)-áx-aui that 10.13, much 190.15; i-áX-aui this 54.5, 249.5, 110.15, 63.14, 44.14.

421.3 -ui: t-kún-ui other ones 98.9.

422. -ax: q-ái-ax what 56.15, m-ái-ax you 13.10, 117.1, 21.6; st-aXí-ax those 41.17, 248.11 these, t-aXí-ax that 62.11 i-aXí-ax that 246.9, this 112.14, that one 126.1; a-kún-ax another one 25.4, 197.6, i-kún-ax another 31.12, 32.4, 149.12, t-kún-ax another 190.4, 191.12, L-kún-ax another 14.16, 55.11, 157.18.

423. -iX: i-ániw(a)-iX first 123.16.

424. -t'ax: n-ái-t'ax I also 61.2, m-ái-t'ax you also 68.4; t-ax-t'ax next 139.5, a-Láx-t'ax last, next.

425. -ka: n-ái-ka I 16.14, 241.11, n's-ai-ka we (plural) 153.8, 224.4, m-ái-ka you 18.3, 85.9, 174.11, m-ái-ka-pa you-at 162.8, m't-ai-ka youtwo 241.12, m's-ai-ka you (plural) 47.8, 120.9, 234.15; i-áx-ka he 195.9, that 143.5, i-áX-ka-pa him-on 141.4, (a)-áx-ka that 91.15, she 55.1, L-áX-ka-pa her at 234.1, L-áX-ka he 246.7, st-áx-ka they 40.8, 43.15, st-áx-ka-pa them-
to 182.8, t-áx-ka those 137.7; L-ai-c-ka-pa them from 169.15;

(i)-iXat-ka one only 95.10; (i)-iXt-ka one only 70.14,
 (i)-iXt-ka-tiX together 141.9.

426. -ma: n's-ai-ma-tiks only we 219.6, tx-ái-ma we are alone 134.16, l'x-ai-ma-tiks we alone 218.18, 219.15, m-ái-ma you only 228.8, m-ái-ma you only 19.9, i-ái-ma only he 71.7, 61.15, 70.14, (a)-ái-ma only she, it 37.16, 89.10, 229.11, L-ái-ma only 13.10, 96.14, st-ái-ma only 175.4, t-ái-ma only 101.5, 212.12, 232.8; t-iXt-ma one to each 47.11.

511. -tiks: n's-ai-ma-tiks only we 219.6, l'x-ai-ma-tiks we alone 218.18; L-ái-tiks those 247.10; L-ániua-tiks first 123.3.

512. -max: (i)-iXt-max-iX sometimes 221.11, t-iXt-max one of each 103.12.

611.1 -tiX: i-aniua-tiX first (time) 212.4; (i)-iXt-ka-tiX together 141.9; (i)-ixawi-tiX often 188.5, (i)-āqui-tiX often 94.3; i-aX-tiX there (that time) 99.15.

611.2 -iX: (i)-iXt-iX once 181.2, (i)-iXt-max-iX sometimes 221.11.

612. -pa: L-ai-c-ka-pa them from 169.15, m-ái-ka-pa you-at 162.8; i-áX-ka-pa him-on 141.4, L-áX-ka-pa her-at 234.1, st-áx-ka-pa them-to 182.8; i-aXi-pa there 123.7.

3.5. Several instances occur in pronoun words of an initial a- that is not accounted for morphologically or phonologically. Instances and frequency of occurrence: a-L-ai-tiks 120.14, a-m-ái-t'ax 118.7, 24.9, 24.6, a-i-ax-t'ax 141.3, a-t-ax-t'ax 30.3, 48.2, 108.11, 17.11, a-L-ax-t'ax 67.10, 124.2, 40.15, 42.2, 227.4, 40.3. The a- is not an echo vowel after

final -a of a preceding word, for five instances of a-L-ax-tʔax occur after word-final -x; also, one finds both -a a-t-ax-tʔax 30.3 and -a t-ax-tʔax 139.5. This last cannot be explained as variable transition between words because of the instances after -x. Morphologically, the a- is not dependent upon the sequence -ax-tʔax, since a-L-ai-tiks occurs; neither is this a case parallel to the use of initial demonstrative prefixes, since not all occur in quoted speech. Analogy to the concord of initial a- of other pronominal forms with noun-initial a- is not possible; some do, some do not, occur adjacent to nouns with initial a-. Semantically, reference is made to persons, animal characters in myths, and objects, both singular and plural, ruling out the Lower Chinook a- which occurs prefixed to numerals when they refer to plural human beings (HB 637). While not regularly explainable, neither is this initial a- quite random in occurrence: all but one instance with -ax-tʔax, that other with the other generalized pronominal stem -ai, and all but five cases after word-final -a and those five after word-final -x. Lacking any sufficient explanation by analogy or function, this seems the trace of a now normally lost, once more frequent feature of the language; unless, that is, it is purely a sport.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER III

1 The sole exception is the numeral stem -iXat, one, which on the analogy of other numeral stems is found in an unusual noun construction: (i)-iá-kʔa-iXat one in a canoe (his-being in a canoe ?-one) 80.12, st-á-kʔa-makst two in a canoe 185.3, Lá-kʔa-txm-iks six in a canoe 199.3; cf. á-kʔa-mitx in bow of a canoe 53.1.

IV NOUNS

- 4.1. Noun words.
- 4.2. Noun stems.
- 4.3. Relative order and affixes.
- 4.4. Examples and Comment.

4.1. Noun words are defined as words occurring with classificatory prefixes (noun decade 110) and/or prefixes of noun decade 10. Many noun words also occur inflected for possession by the person-marker paradigm, and there is indication that any set of nouns exists inherently incapable of this inflection.

4.2.0. The stem of a noun word belongs primarily to one of four major stem classes. Noun (N) stems occur as stems only in noun words; VN stems occur as stems in both noun and verb words; NP stems occur as stems both in noun and particle words; VNP stems occur as stems in verb, noun and particle words. This primary affiliation of a stem is determined by its occurrence with the diagnostic affixation patterns of one, two or three word classes. A stem belonging to a joint class, such as VN, NP, VNP, VP, may also conform to criteria established for a subclass within one of the simple classes, N, V,P; it is then said to be secondarily affiliated with that subclass, so far as its occurrence in the word class in which that stem subclass appears. Thus, the NP stem *makst* two belongs primarily to the NP stem class because it occurs both in noun and particle words; the nature of its occurrence in

the two types of words determines its secondary affiliation with subclasses of N and P.

The subclasses of N stems are difficult to establish because in many instances the KT corpus does not include the diagnostic forms. It can be shown for Wasco and Wishram that two separate schemes of subclassification for Upper Chinook noun stems can be established. The first concerns the patterns of affixation which mark number; it is outlined in section 4.2.4, but is not employed, since but a small proportion of nouns have both singular and plural attested in KT, and semantic correlates for the patterns are too uncertain for reasonable inference. The second scheme concerns the relationship of stems to possessive inflection; here the semantic correlates of the subclasses are fairly sure, and inferences for incompletely attested stems have a high probability of being correct.

4.2.1. A small number of VN stems are attested in KT. It is apparent that a somewhat larger number existed from Lower Chinook and Wasco-Wishram; there the noun stem-initial element *-kʔi-* has had fair productivity with both verb and particle stems in forming derivatives. No subclasses appear for VN stems; in their occurrence as N words, they are listed secondarily in the appropriate subclasses of N. (Forms are listed with occurrence in N word first, in V word second; the stem is enclosed in brackets).

Members of the VN stem class are:

i-Lá-[uick] flood tide 56.16; i-L-t-ú-[ui-ck] it got flood tide 52.14.

a-n-[pʔun]-max I am darkness 12.6, 12.7; ik-(a)-ú-[pun]-m
it grew dark 12.7, 245.8, 119.13. (Cf. a-pul night 9.7)

t-kʔi/[psu] Ai a cache 150.14; a-n-x-psú-t-a I will hide 157.13.

i-qi/[taq] year 34.9; n-i-xl-[táqu]-am-x-iX every year 175.2

i-mí-kʔi/[tina]-x what you caught, your game (i.e., you are a hunter) 198.14; a-m-t-u-[tina] you kill them 46.7.

a-qi/[Lata] sinew 189.12; qa-n-i-u-[Láta]-x I haul him 79.14.

i-ia-kí/[Latʔámnq]-iX his means of drowning 107.15;

a-q-i-m-ú-[Latʔámnq]-am-a you will be drowned 107.14

cf. ik-i-k-tímnq he dived 24.1.

(i)-iá-[lxlm] his food 158.15;

a-ms-x-[xím]-a you will eat 124.10.

i-ka/[cúkt]-iX early tomorrow 151.4;

ik-f-[cukt]-iX it became day 21.13.

i-[cqa]-lit a warm day 219.6;

i-ú-[cqa]-it it was warm 250.9.

i-[cxam]-pa song at 246.12, i-qi/[k-cxam] one who sang conjuror's songs 245.3;

i-k-[cxam] he sings (shaman's songs) 179.8, ik-ú-kua-cxam
they sang 67.9.

L-[cʔacʔa] desire to defecate 124.12, 125.1;

i-k-L-ú-[cʔacʔa] she defecated 125.2.

i-mí-[kimack] painting on you 146.15;

i-L-a-xl-[kimack] she painted herself 126.8.

- L-[kcáma] a comb 14.6;
 i-L-i-xl-[kácam] he combed himself 16.2.
- k-i-tá-ki/[kl-al] the seers 251.4;
 i-m-á-ql-[kl] you saw her 157.17.
- a-[kʔanXáti] a gill net 197.11;
 u-Xui-[kʔanXáti-mam] they went to fish sturgeon in gill
 nets 197.16.
- a-mf-[quis.quis] your farts 89.11;
 qa-c-au-i-[quísquis]-x he farted at them 85.12.
- t-qi/[qLa]-x one hundred 245.1, L-[qLá-Xit] menstruating
 woman (i.e. to be counted, with verbal suffix 814,
 referring to required period of seclusion);
 a-n-[qLá]-Xit I menstruated 222.19.
- á-mi-[qst] your louse 118.9;
 a-L-a-m-kí-qst-a I will louse you 17.3.
- t-[qʔi.ipx] refuse 101.7, c-a-[qʔi.ipx] refuse 108.13;
 i-c-i-[qʔi.ipx] he refuses 249.8, i-c-u-[qʔi.upa] he
 refused them 78.10.
- í-ta-[xul] their cries 92.5, á-ia-[xulam] its noise 239.12;
 m-i-u-[xúla] you speak to him 10.12.
- i-c-ʔ-[maq] I (am) shot 184.2, (i)-iá-[maq] shooting it 11.16;
 i-m-ú-[maq] you were dead 77.11, i-c-t-ú-[maq] he
 shot them 164.7 (i.e., he deaded them).
- k-a-tá-[muktʔi-na] the fishermen 244.2;
 n-u-Xa-[múkti]-ait-x they fished sturgeon with hook 244.1.
- í-La-[nXa] one fathom long 136.17;
 i-c-L-kí-[nXa]-m he stretched it 136.17.

a-qʔi [lá.uulX] a girl menstruating for first time 222.17,
 L-kʔqʔi [la.uulX-m] when I get mature 27.17, 29.3;
 n-a-kʔi-[lá.uulX]-m-x she became mature 222.3.

k-i-c-nc-[lpút] we are freezing 219.7;
 i-c-f-[lpu]-iX it was cold 205.6.

4.2.2. The VNP stem class is listed in the chapter on particles (VI); in their occurrence as noun words, the stems are listed in the appropriate subclasses of this chapter.

4.2.3. The NP stem class is listed in the chapter on particles (VI); in their occurrence as noun words, the stems are listed in the appropriate subclasses of this chapter.

4.2.4.0. It is known from Wasco and Wishram that Upper Chinook nouns form plural according to a number of patterns involving the classificatory prefixes (decade 110) and plural suffixes (decade 510). The forms found in KT show that Kathlamet had the same diversity, but do not permit determining the particular pattern for a given noun in most cases. Still it is presumed that for Kathlamet, as for WW, a set of four classificatory types existed, defined by the occurrence of groups of affixes. These groups of affixes are: (A) i-, a-, L- (113, 114, 115); (B) t-, L- (117, 118); (C) -ks (and its alternants), -max (511, 512, 514); (D) s- (116). Members of group (A) always mark singular, members of (C) always mark plural, and (D) is always dual, but (B) has the number opposite that of whichever group (A or C) it is paired with in an affixation pattern.

The affixation patterns of nouns, defined in terms of these groups, can be illustrated as follows (listing singular first):

A / B (singular marked by prefix of (A), plural by prefix of (B)): i-qʔi.LfLx 142.3, L-qʔi.LfLx 152.4 dried summer salmon; a-qá.macx 156.16, t-qá.macx 27.7 arrow(s).

A / C (singular marked by prefix of (A), plural by suffix of (C)): f-ka.la male 109.14, i-kál-uks males 123.7; L'ka.la a man 52.11, L-kál-uks men 175.2; a-qis.kuax 81.5, a-qis.kuá-max seals 158.11.

A / B-C (singular marked by (A), plural by prefix of (B) and suffix of (C)): i-ntá-uan our belly 135.15, t-ká-un-aks their bellies 48.9; á-pul night 9.7, L-púl-max nights 191.2.

B / C (singular marked by (B), plural by suffix of (C)): t-qúli house 69.3, t-qLí-max houses 19.4.

D / B (inherent dual (D), plural marked by (B)): s-qʔúla woodchuck blanket 51.5, L-qʔulá woodchuck blankets 51.6

D / C (inherent dual (D), plural by (C)): unattested in KT.

D / B-C (inherent dual (D), plural by prefix of (B) and suffix of (C)): s-pʔiásX salmon tails 175.5, t-pʔiásX-iks salmon tails 175.13.

A few stems are unpaired, showing only a prefix of group (B); these can be considered collective nouns: t'km.xm ashes 153.12, L-tka snow 35.11. Note that stems taking (A) or (B) in the singular take (D) in the dual as a regular productive process.

These relationships can be grouped into four classificatory types: (I) A ≠ B, D ≠ B; (II) A ≠ C, D ≠ C; (III) B ≠ C; (IV) (=I ≠ II) A ≠ B-C, D ≠ B-C. (Compare the analagous classification of nouns in Taos, which suggested the above analysis. The Taos classification involves only suffixes, and the paired classes are called "genders"; they cannot be so called in Chinookan, for sex gender is marked by individual members of (A).¹)

The alternative subclassification of N stems, employed in this chapter, is based on differences regarding possessive inflection. Some N stems occur both with and without possessive inflection (N1), i.e. with possession as an optional category. Other N stems occur only with possessive inflection (N2), i.e. with it as a necessary category. Within the N1 class, some stems have two alternants, one occurring with the possessive inflection, the other without it. The possessed alternants have phonemic shapes similar to, but only sometimes predictable from, the unpossessed form. Thus, some noun stems with initial /k-/ or /q-/ have a possessed alternant with initial homorganic continuant, /X-/ or /x-/, while others have a possessed alternant which can be characterized in general only as shortened. These stems comprise subclass N1a, as distinct from subclass N1b, whose stems, a vast majority, retain a constant phonemic shape. The semantic correlates of the subclasses are generally: N1a, a few common words, including water, house, canoe, chief; N1b, the bulk of noun-designated referents; N2, terms for human attributes, such as kin-terms, body parts, and certain qualities, as

well as a number of terms for "the people of such-and-such place". In only a few cases, as where a nominal form of a kin term can be used in the vocative (many kin terms have a particle stem for vocative use), or a body part is conceived as separable from a person (e.g., head), do terms in these categories occur without possessive inflection. The semantic correlates are known for Wasco-Wishram; therefore, when a Kathlamet noun of this category is found only in possessed form in KT, it is reasonable to infer its membership in N2. When a Kathlamet noun not of this category is found only in possessed form in KT, however, (and it would seem always in but one or a few instances), it is reasonable to attribute this to limitations of the data, assume that the noun could also occur in non-possessed form, and place it in N1. If a noun is found only in non-possessed form in KT, it is also placed in N1, for there is no indication that any set of nouns was inherently incapable of possessive inflection. Field experience with Wasco indicates that the proportion of nouns which are not obtained in possessed form varies inversely with the informant's imaginativeness and the investigator's skill in suggesting appropriate contexts.

4.2.4.1. Members of the N1a subclass are:

L-[cúqua] water 25.2 ~ L-fa-[sq] his water 64.4.

t-[katákuax] thoughts 43.6 ~ i-mi-[Xatákuax] your mind

19.7, t-iá-[Xatákuax] his reason 32.6.

[kácak] middle 50.11 (P2) ~ f-La-[Xacak] their middle 159.8

i-[kak?mána] chief 166.14 ~ (i)-iá-[Xak?mana] his chief
129.2, k-iá-[Xak?mana] having a chief 129.1.

t-[kanáximst] chiefs 19.3 ~ l-mf-[Xanaximst] your
masters 122.11.

i-[kánim] canoe 36.1, a-[kánim] canoes 24.11 ~

(i)-iá-[Xanim] his canoe 74.7, s-mf-[Xanim] your
toy canoe 143.7.

á-[kms], á-[kmsu] feathers 224.8, 181.7 ~ á-ta-[Xms]
their feathers 224.8.

a-[ká.u.aks] heart 100.13, t-[kn.u.áks]-ks hearts 99.8 ~
t-ká-[Xn.u.aks]-ks their hearts 99.7.

i-[qa.ui.k?iLi] long dentalia 51.11, a-[qa.ui.k?iLi] 189.4

~ i-stá-[Xa.ui.k?iLi] their two's dentalia 191.10,
193.1, 193.3; but

i-stá-[qa.ui.k?iLi] 191.3.

a-[qaLxíla] crab 98.1, l-qaLxíla the crab 98.2, 237.14 ~
l-mf-[xalxíla] your crabs 22.13.

a-[qálpckiX] firebrand 90.10, t-qálpckiX firebrands 90.11

~ a-stá-[qalpckiX] their firebrand 144.15

t-ká-[qalpckiX] her firebrands 93.13

t-stá-[xalpckiX] their firebrands 144.9.

t-[qilát?a.uulXt]-iX leggings 26.10 ~

t-iá-[xilát?a.uulXt]-iX his leggings 26.14.

i-[qisítíX] hunting canoe 243.12, a-qisítíX canoes 241.3~

a-mtá-[xisítíX] your hunting canoes 241.13.

t-[qúLi] house 15.11, 121.15, 210.9, t-[quíLi] 127.10 ~

t-[qLi]-max houses 19.4 ~

t'-k-[qL]-pa my house to 35.17, t-ká-[qLi]-max

their houses 35.17.

i-[síqi] door, doorway 9.9, 27.15 ~

i-ta-[sq] its door 218.9.

4.2.4.2. Members of the N1b subclass are

i-ai.af.u the skate (bird) 67.15.

(a)-a.uá.xamin Sunnyside (a village) 201.2.

k-a-Lá-a.ua.xamin people of " " 201.8.

i-a.uík day after tomorrow 227.14.

(a)-a.su.íst Nisal (a village) 201.1.

L-stá-a.su.íst the Asuwist 202.2.

k-L-stá-a.su.íst the Asuwist 202.13.

k-s-ía-a.su.íst a man of Asuwist 201.4.

L-an someone, who, anyone 104.15, 18.1, 212.14 ~

k-s-ía-na the one referred to (the one who-his-person) 217.10, 219.10.

a-f.i mud clams 214.8.

(i)-iúlmax supernatural being or figure of one 181.4

t-iúlma supernatural helpers 194.1 (-ma~-max due LC)

a-mí-iulmax your supernatural helper 208.5 (female)

(i)-iá-iulmax his " " 194.2 (male helper)

k-(i)-iá-iulmax one having figure of supernatural being 201.5

n-(i)-iúlmax place of supernatural being 181.8

(i)-iXatk road, trail 13.11

s-iXatk two roads 14.1

i-ncá-iXatk our road 13.11

á-iXatk road 248.5 (semantic differential suggested involving right, right road, road to ghost world in contrast to i- for left, wrong road; cf. 15.8, 14.1, 14.2, 247.15, 122.10)

- L-u.á a freshet 113.2
 a-uá.ua it is said 20.1, a-tá.ua.ua their language 45.6 (VNP)
 á-ia-uax.uax its glare 194.11 (NP)
 k-L-u.á.qi unripe (the ones which are unripe) 118.3
 s-u.a.la.láxust-pa Saddle Mountain on 221.2
 i-Lá-uick flood tide 56.16 (VN)
 L-u.xulímat Wasco language 57.9
 k-i-Lá-unaLX the GiLaunaLX people 221.1
 L-únu urine 14.4
 L'pa.it line, rope 244.1, 249.3; t'pa.it ropes 17.11
 t-páiX deerskin blankets 55.3 ~ t-pa.f.xama 28.12
 s-páiX double deerskin blanket 55.2
 t-pa.iX-uks painted blanket of 2 elk skins 27.12
 ápak a reed 149.9
 i-pákal-pa mountain-on 11.9; L-pakál-max-pa mountains on 196.1
 L-k'pasiskua my blanket 18.8
 t-ia-pixuasxuas monster-father in quasi-Oedipal myth 158.13
 a-pixlnal 214.6, L-pixlnal 207.3 cockles.
 t-pínalX spruce limbs 75.10
 i-púkua lynx 20.9
 á-pul night 9.7, uá-pul 183.2; L-púl-max nights 190.10,
 L-pulakí-max nights 85.17
 (cf. a-n-p'un-max I am darkness 12.6, possible diminutive)
 L'plqau widows, widowers 49.6
 a-plXáinq rotten wood 115.15
 í-pl?i abundance 215.7
 a-ia-pl?iki his bow 12.2, L-pl?iki bows 69.15
 t-pcánu a fruit 153.1

- a-pkísX flounder 53.2
- i-pqúlxi feathers (euphemism for excrements) 216.4
- t'psu grass 188.6
- a-pXáliu grease, fat 84.5
- (i)-iá-pXaliu its fat (of monster. i-) 62.9
- k-a-iá-pXaliu those (elks i-) having fat 234.18
- a-pńcaql chicken hawk 70.11
- L-iá-p'aciu redhead (in song) 216.12
- i-p'ánaqs liver 99.9, 100.14; t-ká-p'ánaqs-ks their livers 99.7.
- s-p'i,ásX salmon tails (i.e., twin-forked) 175.5
- s-p'i.ásX-iks salmon tails 179.10
- t-p'i.ásX-iks salmon tails 175.13, 178.18, 179.1
- a-p'ísxas badger (?) 69.2, 69.7
- i-p'ísxas skunk 79.1, 81.2, 87.11
- (In LC the stem -pnpn serves for badger and skunk, the former with i-, the latter with u- (=UC a-); in Wasco skunk is i-p'íáxas. In a myth concerning Skunk's odor-producing powers, Cultee apparently translated i-p'ísxas as badger. The source of error is not certain, but involves the identity of stem for the two animals at some point in narration or translation. The above assignment of classificatory prefixes seems most likely).
- L-p'šp's a bird (in general) 44.6, 205.2
- t-p'šp's-uks birds 44.5, 176.1
- i-p'ńxaLX rush root 51.16; L-p'ńxaLX rush roots 50.3
- a-támq'aL club 50.10, 202.11; L-támq'áL-ks bone war clubs 27.10, L-támq'aL clubs 50.11.

- n-a-títanui the Indians 49.3, 205.1
 s-títanui two Indians 205.3
 L-iá-títanui his Indians 181.10
 i-títanui Indian 183.10, 194.3
 i-tuihí-max buffalo skins 28.7
 á-tuL fire 19.1, uá-tuL 90.13 (in myth song);
 uu-ká-tuL her fire 92.9, 94.15 (in myth speech of
 Grizzly Bear);
 í-tuL fireplace 237.5, i-tá-tuL-pa their fireplace at 237.
 t-tuL fires 108.2
 L-t'ki freshwater clams 148.6
 L-tka snow 35.11, 205.5
 i-tkuímatk mussels 207.4, 214.7
 i-tk?í.uktax crooked 45.4
 i-tk?í.nua sitting and looking (translation?) 91.1
 i-tk?í.nu.á.i, i-tk?í.nu.a.iu strange 40.9, 41.4, 44.1
 n-í-tl Nitl (a village) 175.3, 175.8
 a-t?áks Cowlitz (kind) basket 15.5
 a-t?ánca the crow 53.3, 144.6; m-t?ánca you crow 62.5
 i-t?álapas coyote 45.3, 79.1, 148.1
 i-t?álpama a thong 124.14
 uu-t?ílpán the fawn 154.10
 s-k-t?u my breasts 120.1; (t)-t?ú-max breasts (cut off)
 119.16; t-ká-t?u-max her breasts 120.5
 L-t?u.ánxa a Klikitat (Sahaptin-speaking group) 238.11
 (t)-t?u.ánxa-íks the Klikitat people 236.1, 240.3
 L-t?útlackán plank at side of fire 100.10
 a-t?úkti good, beautiful 166.7, 225.6 (NP)
 i-t?úkti good, handsome 218.17, 166.9

- s-tʔúkti good 228.7; L-tʔúkti good, pretty 14.10, 213.12
- i-tʔú/xu.ial a warrior 161.8, 194.1
- (t)-tʔu.xulá.iu.i-max warriors 152.16
- f-tʔu/AX fair weather 220.15
- á-Lap a branch (of tree) 202.10
- i-Latát raccoon 20.7, 140.4, 152.3; s-Latát two raccoons 117.3;
- t-Latát-uks raccoons 215.4; ui-Latát "Raccoon"
(addressing myth character) 143.16, 145.7
- f-LaLqi digging stick 233.16
- uá-LaXLaX mythical warriors (invented by Coyote) 152.16
- i-cá-Lana its string 70.6; t-ká-Lana their ropes 177.12;
- t-ká-Lan-max their strings (of coats) 69.15;
- L-ká-Lan-max their strings (of bows) 69.15
- i-Lála lake 104.17, 103.6
- f-Lutk warriors' cries, crying "Eh" 73.4, 202.13
- a-iá-Lutk his breathing 250.3
- f-Lukuma itlukum (gambling game) 103.1, 105.8
- i-LúxLux oysters 214.7 (NP)
- ()-stá-Lpuks its branching roots 227.7 (of fern s-)
- ()-Lpuks branches 72.4, 77.1 (t/L- elided)
- i-Lqúl flesh 138.10, 139.5 (with descriptive color terms)
- t-Lqul flesh 139.12 (without descriptive terms)
- t'-sta-Lqul their (2) flesh 139.3, 139.5
- a-Lxána smelt(s) 36.11, 36.12; i-Lxána smelt(s) 37.5, 241.1;
- a-k'-Lxana my smelts 36.13
- i-Lxlm food 155.4 (VN); (i)-iá-Lxlm his food 158.15
- t-ká-Lxlmai-max their food 34.3
- (t)-Lxlmái-max kinds of food 73.11, 150.14

- i-La-LmIm its foam 239.5
 a-lmq?ái-max small sagittaria root 51.5, 55.1
 t-lIx-max black (people) 12.11 (VNP)
 á-mi-L?aqL?aq you crackle (in burning) 127.6 (NP)
 n?l?ala I (am a) fool 31.8, 154.6; ()-L?alá.ui-iks they (are)
 fools, foolish 240.8
 f-L?u.alkL?u.alk-pa to mud 55.5, 51.12
 n-a-L?x-pa hole at 195.4 (NP)
 i-L?minXut lies 52.16; i-mi-L?minXut you lie 91.15
 L-cá.u.ni a jam (of logs) 113.4
 i-cálam-pa bluff (cliff) on 106.12
 i-cixq mountain goat 15.10, 13.13
 L?cin a snag 92.5, 96.14
 t-cilqáL-ks drying frames 234.19
 i-cú.iust evening star 14.17
 i-ka-cúkt-iX early tomorrow 151.4 (VN)
 i-cú.itk dip net 35.13
 i-cúlq harpoon 39.13
 i-cúmit coldness 68.10, 205.8; i-kicúmit the coldness 217.11
 i-cunáq the maple (tree) 127.15
 á-ia-cqcq it is prickly 78.9
 i-cqá-lit warm day 219.6 (VN)
 a-cq?imímiX sagittaria root, "Indian potatoes" 51.10, 55.15
 f-cxam-pa song at 246.12 (VN)
 L-cxuálap rotten sticks 72.4
 ()-sta-cxn.cxān (in myth song) 131.5
 L?c?ac?a desire to defecate 124.12, 125.1 (VNP)

- i-cʔácʔimam sweet 118.8, 118.12
- i-cʔi.áu snake 229.2; (t)-cʔi.áu-ks snakes 228.16
- a-cʔiqcʔfíq the eagle; s-cʔiqcʔfíq-uks two eagles 206.2;
 (t)-cʔiqcʔfíq-uks eagles 205.12, 206.1
- i-cʔiqlquáma thwarts (of canoe) 199.4 (VN);
 t-ká-cʔiqlq across (athwart) their way 242.10
- s-cʔist a large basket 47.1
- i-cʔiniscʔinis muskrat 24.10
- f-cʔiláq grasshopper 148.8
- s-cʔílqal roasting frame 226.3
- i-cʔXi.á.ni (name given in myth, the Bluejay?) 19.15
- n-a-cʔx.cʔx the cut one 124.17 (NP)
- a-cʔmínqan a snail 110.1
- a-cʔmú.i.qan a snail 110.3
- f-ka.it day 26.7; L-káit-ax days 23.15, 226.8, 118.1;
 uá-ka.it all day 97.11 (quote in myth)
- L-kaim-úks months 27.2
- i-káuXau Owl 129.1, 141.11; sána-XauXau "old Owl" 132.2,
 133.2 (panther's derogatory term of address in myth)
- i-kapá ice 218.1
- L-kaLáqux meshes 45.11
- L-ká-kaLaxana its outside 144.11 (NP)
- i-kákʔuLʔ homesickness 17.8, 29.12
- i-kakʔúLitX lake 63.9, i-kakʔúLitiX lake 112.12;
 L-kakʔuLitX-max lakes 63.7, 187.13
- i-káqamtk Southwest wind 67.1, 70.15 (NP)
- s-kásait robin 19.7, 69.8 (NP)

- t-kamilálq-pa beach on 176.9; L-kamilálq-pa beach to 57.11
- L-kanau.i-tiks all 15.6, 123.4 (NP)
- t-kanackuf roots 72.3, 72.11 (Boas queries spelling)
- i-kanas'p'q huckleberries 231.1 (NP)
- i-kanaxm'ni the Rabbit 72.1, 78.14, 110.15
 (cited as -kanaxm'nim HB 598.41)
- i-cā-kal my backbone 145.2
- i-kala a male, man 109.14, 226.17
- i-kál-uks male (elks) 123.7
- s-kala male (children) 165.10; L-kala a male, man 52.11
- L-kál-uks men 175.2 (enumerated)
- t-kál-uks males, boys, men 119.7, 158.1, 213.8
- i-kala winds 67.1
- i-kalá'kuili scold 134.10 (NP) (possibly i- is error, cf. 135.15, analogic anticipation of i-kala; cf. 131.15)
- t-kalá'kti man's property 27.11, 30.13
- (i)-iá-kalitas its back (of object) 40.16
- s-ki, L-ki these 40.9, 205.3 (NP)
- L-kikuala below them 114.15 (NP)
- L-ki.uan a reed 248.13
- n-a-ki.ú.na (place name) 175.1
- i-kípiXL, i-kípiXLX sea lion 83.14, 243.13, 83.5;
 L-kípiXL-uks sea lions 158.12, 243.13
- n-i-kípiXL a sea lion from there 244.11
- a-kipút salmon roe in skins 73.9, 76.11
- i-ia-kílat'ámnq-iX his means of drowning 107.15 (VN)
- L-kíluL pounded dry salmon 142.7
- t-kíqslma roots 221.8, 223.4 (Boas queries spelling)

- i-kísack Cascades 52.15, 57.3
- k-i-kiXatk?uámam the one who came home 180.6 (VN)
- L-kímacku-iX painted 153.4 (VN);
- i-mf-kimack painting on you (face) 146.15
- t-kíla shields 28.5
- i-kíluqti elkskin armor, shirt 52.1, 54.6
- t-kíluqti elkskin armors, blankets 50.9, 138.17, 28.1
- L-kíluqti elkskin armors 27.8 (generic)
- t-kílkuiq things to sit on 112.14
- f-kílkst lightning 232.5, 231.5
- i-kílxcu arrowpoints 62.4
- f-kua day 20.3, 247.11; uf-kua day 10.8, 251.2, 88.8;
- uã-kua all day 92.12, 138.15; L-kuá-max days 41.5
- L-kuáli poorness 10.4
- i-kualílx person 58.12, 177.13 (person already identified)
- L-kualílx person 13.7, 61.0, 249.1 (unidentified)
- n-kualílx I (being a) person 18.2, 51.3
- a-kúi dewberries or blackberries (both given) 143.1, 103.9
- a-kú.iax snag 167.13, 171.13
- a-kupkúp small dentalia 51.5, 55.3;
- i-kupkúp small dentalia 27.15, 55.4, 189.10, 192.4
- f-kut.liL morning star 186.10, 228.12, 245.11 [k^ut.liL]
- a-kúkcuc porpoise 82.6, 214.2
- L-kucX backs (of fish) 150.18; t-ká-kucX-iks their backs 36.17
- L-kukuacminqan Snowbird (Boas queries identity) 67.11
- i-kúsait mink 103.1, 112.10, 117.14 (NP)
- i-kúsaita mink 106.8, 106.10 (in myth song)

- i-kúsax the sky 11.15, 139.3
- a-kuskuás chipmunks 141.13
- f-kuma the cottonwood 127.1
- i-kúnat the salmon 46.10, 56.15; t-mí-kunat your salmon 48.8
- t-kúnat salmon (plural) 45.4; t-kunát-max salmon 98.8
- cf. t-kʔunat-max salmon (diminutive) 98.7, 98.10
- L-kunkúnti salal berries 186.15
- L-mí-kulaq your buoys 45.8
- L-kúlaq (place name) 183.13, 182.1
- a-iá-kulal its waves 239.6
- ()-La-kpʔústmtiX braided 212.13
- i-ntá-kti our things 28.13 (NP); t-ktí-max things, dentalia,
ornaments, goods 30.3, 220.10, 223.7, 29.9
- t-ntá-kti our things 28.1, 28.12
- (cf. -tʔukti, -kalakti)
- i-ktílu.aítK abalone 237.9, 237.15
- a-klʔmin moon 16.13; L-klmin-áks months, the moons 152.12,
229.2. (Boas, HB 672, n. 68: "After the death of a man
named KLʔmin, whose guardian spirit was the moon, the
Katlamet discarded the word akLʔmin,... and used akáim
instead (see Lkaemúks KT 27.3)!")
- ()-Lá-klál-max their property 18.15
- L-keáma a comb 14.6 (VN)
- t-ksi fingers (measure of width, or span) 155.7
- n-i-ksi.amcás name of Beaver's wife in myth 21.15, 22.4
- t-ká-ksiu their roots (waterplants?) 37.17
- f-ta-ksti stinking (their stench) 14.3

á-km-uks blackberries 142.11, 143.1, 103.10;

L'-km-uks blackberries 150.16

t-kmái-pa shoreline at 52.8

a-kmáLait cholera 247.8, 251.2 (meaning queried by Boas)

t'-kmmx ashes 153.12

i-knu.aksú-max the Thunderbird 194.2, 232.18;

i-kānu.aksú-ma the Thunderbird 222.12 (-ma for -max dueLC

(here "ē" taken as [ä])

á-k?á/nitX in bow of canoe 53.1, 57.6 (NP)

(i)-iá-k?á/nitX one in a canoe 186.1

(t)-tá-k?á-Lun-iks three in a canoe 52.10

L'-xa-k?á/natitUL on both sides of it 201.1

s'-xa-k?á/natitUL two on opposite sides 118.1

k-a-Lá-k?auk?au a murderer 49.4 (NP)

i-k?á.utn a squirrel 107.3

t-k?ataqí a fish 124.11

i-k?áskas a boy 18.6, 218.4; L-k?áskas a child 10.5, 156.16;

boy 196.11, 216.2; n-k?áskas I (am a) boy 115.8, 117.1

i-cá-k?amunaq hundred 164.2

a-k?ánau.i acorns 143.5; t-k?á.nau.i acorns 143.9

uá-k?anasisi(place name) 219.7

t-k?anáLkLiX dried, broken salmon bones 34.5, 35.6

a-k?anXáti a gill net 197.11; t-k?anXáti gill nets 197.2

t-k?alama the Kalama 83.6 (NP) (a Kathlamet-speaking group)

uá-k?alkal a ball 145.4

n-(i)-iá-k?i.uanqiX-pa at middle town of the Klatsop 236.2

t-k?ípsuli a cache 150.14 (VN)

t-kʔilau tabus 49.2; t-ká-kʔilau their tabu, it is forbidden

49.8, 112.2; L-ká-kʔilau their tabus 49.3

a-iá-kʔikcuti its stopper (of container) 12.8.

á-kʔis grandmother (vocative) 142.2

a-kʔis my grandmother 27.17

uu-ncá-kʔis our grandmother (Grizzly Bear in myth)

i-kʔisana pteris roots (a fern) 208.15;

a-kʔisana fern roots 225.3, 229.6;

s-kʔisana fern root (huge, branching roots) 227.7

t-kʔiskla head ornaments (of feathers) 27.10

i-kʔinátan potentilla roots 151.1, 209.1

a-kʔilak dry salmon 47.14, 150.15; t-kʔilak dried salmon 34.5

()-lá-kʔilak the Klatsop 231.1, 238.2;

t-iá-kʔilak-iX Klatsop 233.7, 245.8

f-kʔilxuáq water lilies 97.10

i-kʔilXcu arrowpoints 61.16 (cf. i-kilXcá)

i-kʔilXcu-tk flint (re dog made of broken arrowheads) 62.1

i-kʔuá.ia hole, cache 193.14; i-kʔuá.iat cache 101.2;

i-kʔuá.ia-tk cache 143.8, 143.15;

t-kʔua.iá-tk-max caches 143.12

L-kʔua.iá-tk-max caches 189.9

i-kʔuá.ia.ua the panther 20.3, 132.4, 90.1

()-ca-kʔuá.iXn " (in myth song, untranslated) 147.17

i-kʔuanúm a potlatch 195.2

f-kʔuali whale 222.13, 194.16

L-kʔu.iásX a young fish 188.9, 189.1

a-kʔútkʔut bitch (canine) 122.11 (NP); i-kʔutkʔut male dog

156.8; t-kʔutkʔút-ks dogs; L-kʔútkʔut a dog 62.4

- t-k?umánanmx looking at it (translation?) 151.14 (VN?)
- t-k?unát-max small fish (diminutive of salmon) 98.7, 98.10
- a-k?lácin heads (of salmon) 99.4
- i-qa.iúkt?itiX point of land 208.3
- L-qáitaa year 176.10
- f-qa.itk adze, chisel 92.15, 147.12; f-c-qa.itk my chisel
147.7.
- i-qáitma hemlock firs 11.14/ t-qá.itma hemlocks 196.12
- uá-qa.iqam people of a place 244.14
- n-a-qá.i.max this only (all I have) 192.14
- a-qá.ua-tiks part of, several 193.13, 164.13 (NP)
- s'qa.ua.ua large round clam 44.9
- i-qa.uik?fLi long dentalia 189.3 (see N1a)
- L-qáu.ulqt blood 31.8, 216.9, 159.13, 158.15;
L-mí-qau.ulqt your blood 126.14
- (i)-iá-qap its top
- i-qapúti door flap 193.16, 204.4 (cf. Jargon [kapó coat])
- L'qapt salmon roe 76.12; (i)-iá-qapt its roe 80.5
- i-qatítiX the fisher (bird) 71.5
- t-qátutin-iks children 14.11, 101.16, 208.6
- f-qaL creek 87.10, 188.17; t-qáL-max-pa creeks at 97.15
- a-qaLáx day, sun 19.10, 26.3, 131.6 (NP)
- L-qáLXacX coal 147.5, 153.4
- L-qácau fat, grease (of deer) 91.16, 111.12
- a-qakílak a woman 36.11, 130.9, 234.9, 187.6, 248.16
a-qakíl 133.12
s-qakílak two women 39.2, 232.12
L-qakílak a woman 14.10, 137.4, 191.14, 250.7
L-qakíl 157.16, 20.6

- n-a-qakflak vulva (at, on a woman) 126.7 (euphemism?)
- i-qákiltk a basket 14.6 (made of rushes and grass)
- f-qas whetstones 244.12
- a-qax'mi.uIx the alder 126.13
- a-qámacX arrow 156.16; t-k'qamacX my arrows 182.11
- i-qami.áitx act of conjuring (smelt) 35.14, 36.3
- t-qamilálq sand 242.10
- á-qamu.a large clams 214.5; L'qamu.a large clams 215.6
- i-qámn white pines 11.3, 11.10; i-qámnuq-pát-iX white pine
there 11.14
- t-qanápsupsu a root 50.2, 56.7
- i-qánuk beaver 80.7, 81.3
- a-iá-qanuq his raccoon blanket 138.16;
t-qanúqu-aks raccoon blankets 52.7
t-iá-qanuqu-aks his raccoon blankets 138.16
- i-qálapas rat 69.13 (cf. -qalpas thief)
- i-qalakít-max sea otters 249.15
- a-qalúlmk hemlock tree 128.4
- i-mí-qalpas you thief 145.7 (cf. -qalapas; Wasco -pquliu rat,
thief)
- f-qalpu skunk cabbage 50.5, 54.6 (as speaker in myth);
L'qalpu skunk cabbage 50.2 (as food plant)
- a-qálmq bark (of alder, fir) 114.9 ; a-mí-qálmq your bark
126.15
- f-qi.amit steersman 185.13 (as individual);
L'qi.ami steersman 243.13, 244.7 (as role)
- i-qi.uái.xi.uai a stone axe 31.1; t-qi.uái.xi.uai stone
axes 28.6
- i-qípaqL beam (of house) 218.9 (cf. -quLi ~ qL)
- s-dípaná.unX Skinnanon (place) 226.2 210.1

- i-qítaq year 24.3, 34.9, 222.3 (cf. -qaitaq) (VN)
 t-qitáq-max years 201.10; L-qitáq-max years, all the time 39.2, 207.1, 67.1
- a-qílata sinew 189.12, 193.3, a-qáLata 192.9 (VN)
 a-qílu pounded Cascade salmon 150.15
- t-qílpa moccasins 26.9; t-ia-qílpa his moccasins 26.14
- t-qi/qlax one hundred 245.1 (VN)
- a-mí-qisu your bark (cedar) 127.11; L-qisu cedar bark 79.5
- uí-qístq, ui-qástq vulva 91.1, 91.7, 93.15 (Grizzly Bear's grandmother in myth song)
- a-qískuax the seal (animal) 81.5, 101.1
 a-qískuá-max seals 158.11, 182.2
- i-qísqis bluejay 17.16, 41.3, 100.1
- t-qiXltki-uks slaves 169.5; t-ia-qiXltki-uks his slaves 247.5
 L-ia-qiXltki-uks his slaves 163.10
- i-qíxali excrements 216.4; (i)-ia-qíxali his excrements 217.16
- a-qínYak planks, boards 24.12, 195.3
- n-a-qílim Nehelim (a village) 244.9
- i-qílúq the swan 34.4, 107.9; t-qílúq swans 92.1, 96.12;
 L-qílúq swans 34.2, 37.14
- i-qílkalp'i (name of a town) 215.10
- i-qua.iníni beaver 68.11, 207.10; t-qu.iníni beavers 239.17
- L-quák mountain-goat blanket 15.15;
 t-quák mountain-goat blankets 15.16
 t-quák-max mountain goat blankets 14.13, 29.10
- i-quáquni cohoes clams 214.6 (cohoes queried by Boas)
- i-quásquas the crane (bird) 124.8

- á-qua-max children 15.2
 sána-quipquip "old Owl" (derogatory) 133.3
 L-quitkai little rascal 114.10, 149.5
 i-quitXat vulva 127.2, i-quitXa vulva 126.11
 i-cá-quitXa her vulva 126.7
 a-mí-quisquis your farts 89.11 (VN)
 a-quixquix duck 85.1 (female mallard)
 t-quixquix-uks ducks 87.2
 i-quíxuan steam 150.1
 t-quxuáIXtax hair ornaments 238.6
 t-quxuí-max fruits 103.11, 150.10
 i-qúmzum basket 114.14, 17.10
 i-quná razor clams 214.6
 á-qula a nut 103.11; t²-qula nuts 143.3 **
 L-qulí-max meat 84.5, 130.4
 t-q'p.qp rush roots 221.8 (meaning queried by Boas)
 a-qtíxa shirt lice 49.10
 L-qLáplxiX a girl 27.6; a-qLáplxiX a girl 27.16
 L-qLáXit menstruating woman 49.5, 221.6 (VN) (i.e., to be
 counted, referring presumably to the required number of
 days of seclusion during menstrual period).
 t-ia-qLima their dens 215.8 (of bears)
 t-qLilXam meat 101.13, 102.5
 t²-qLkX wooden armors 27.9, 29.3
 L-q'cam antlers 111.14, 125.12; L-ia-qcam its antlers
 109.14, 111.10
 ** i-tá-qula.im their camp, camping 231.1
 k-i-tá-qula.im those who camped 231.6

- i-qsix son-in-law (vocative use) 13.9
 i-c'qsix my son-in-law 17.8
- i-q'su skin, hair 124.17; i-qsú-max skins (elk) 123.7
 (i)-fa-qsu his hair, their skins (elk) 68.17, 123.6
 t-fa-qsu their hair 234.12
 L-q'su hair 136.10
 L-k'qsu my hair 135.4
 L'qa-qsu their hair (unknown youths) 41.2
- á-mi-qst your louse 118.9 (VN)
- a-ia-qstxukL he was a NaqstxúL (of North River) 196.1
 n-a-qstxúL a village 196.1 (form in translation only)
- t-stá-qsqama their wedges 114.14
- a-qsqúti the batons 204.13
- i-qsxilau monster, monstrous 62.7, 107.10, 239.13
 a-qsxilau female monster 119.3
 t-qsxiláu-ks monsters 95.8, 108.6
 L-qsxilau the monster 92.7
 uu-L-qsxilau monster (in myth song) 92.17, 97.10
 t-ká-qsxilau-ks her worms 144.1, 144.4
- á-qmxm water plants 37.17
- i-q'naks stone 149.10, 244.11; t-q'naks rocks 223.12;
 L-q'naks stones 148.13, 244.10, L-qānaks 218.7
 L-q'naks-pa a stone on 32.3, 33.10
- á-qlql polypodium leaves 72.5, 77.2
- t'q'a.uan winter salmon, silversides 73.8, 97.15, 180.12
- ua-q'a.ui.ás ancestor of people of Nq'uláuas 194.5, 195.11
- f-lxq-q'a.uilXam the one we deserted 180.7

- ()-La-q?apá.uapa.ua untranslated in myth song 52.12, 56.15
 i-q?ápnX a mat 43.10, 248.4 (small rush mat with ornamented margin); L-q?ápnX a mat 129.12, 211.2
 i-q?atúk longest dentalia 127.10
 i-q?alxuima roots 231.7 (spelling queried by Boas)
 i-q?áqstaq head 139.13 (male's separate from body)
 (i)-iá-q?aqstaq his head 139.11
 t-q?áqstaq-uks heads 139.10 (separate from body)
 t-ká-q?aqstaq-uks their heads 36.13
 L-iá-q?aqstaq his head 80.2
 a-q?asxinasxina child-stealing monster 10.4
 a-q?as'na newt 46.1, 108.12
 L-q?axúskan pitch wood 37.6, 147.5; torch 229.1
 ()-La-q?amúsq?amus untranslated expression in myth quote
 52.12, 56.14
 i-q?í.ip refuse 178.9, t-q?í.ipX refuse 101.7 (VN)
 (a)-ca-q?íi.ipX refuse 108.13
 a-q?i.úqt old woman 17.9, 90.11, 200.1; i-q?i.úqt old man
 15.1, 113.11, 165.13;
 i-tá-q?i.uqt their ancestor 195.10
 L-q?i.uqt an old person (man or woman) 58.6, 90.8
 (s)-stá-q?i.uqt its old age (root s-) 227.16
 t-q?i.úq-tiks old people 69.11, 207.2
 t-k'q?i.uq-tiks my ancestors 245.1
 m-q?i.úqt you (are) an old man 114.10, 116.15
 a-q?i.uiqi knife 11.2; a-iá-q?i.uiqi his knife 65.4
 i-q?ilílx dried summer salmon 142.3 (as a kind of food)
 L-q?ilílx dried summer salmon 150.15, 152.2 (quantity)

- a-q?ilxapa a coat 197.2, 199.17; a
 t-ká-q?ilxap their coats 69.16
 (i)-iá-q?icxu his quiver 105.12; L-q?icxu quivers 27.7
 a-q?ixsap fawns 145.14; a-q?äxsap fawns 141.15
 t-q?iXánap stars 71.3
 á-q?iXni a trout 10.9; t-q?ixni trouts 21.1
 i-q?insiq vine maple 196.13, i-q?incik 128.1
 (perhaps n-s- = [nc]; -k/q an error for -q/k)
 a-q?ilá.uulX girl menstruating for first time 222.17, 224.5
 L-q?ilá.uulX girl just mature, menstruating for first
 time 49.5, 224.6 (VN)
 i-q?ilf?ili turkey 70.10
 i-q?uatñ.xixi bullfrog 110.6
 L-q?uacáma single spits 37.6
 i-q?uanfX steelhead salmon 20.7
 a-q?ufluLx woman's coat 127.11
 a-q?útan kettle 92.8, 148.12
 f-q?ucu shell beads 27.14, 138.11
 (i)-iá-q?ucu its bones 214.4 (in catalogue of animals' bones)
 t-q?ucu bones 14.10, 214.13
 t-fa-q?ucu his bones 199.11, 222.13
 a-q?únam dish 34.5; s-q?únam wooden dishes 34.4
 s-q?úla woodchuck blanket 51.5, 201.7
 L-q?ulá woodchuck blankets 51.6
 t-q?ulá-max woodchuck blankets 51.12, 55.16, 56.1
 i-tá-q?ula.uas the people of Nq?uláwas 195.10
 k-i-Lá-q?ula.uas the people of Nq?uláwas 187.1
 n-q?ulá.uas a village (branch of Athapaskan tribe for-

merly on headwaters of Willapa river, Washington; form
in interlinear translation of preceding entries) 187.1,
195.11

i-qʷúlipX a youth 63.7, 166.2, 198.3, 231.9

L-qʷúlipX a youth 74.4, 197.8

s-qʷúlipX two youths 40.13, 40.14, 166.3, 203.1

t-qʷulipXuná.iu youths 35.12, 215.5

t-qʷulipXuná.iu-ks 42.13

uá~qʷpas target 17.15, 169.5

s-qʷʹpus place below St. Helens (on Columbia) 219.12

á-ia-qʷtan his kettle 94.16, 150.5;

L-qʷtán-max small dishes 128.3

t-qʷkuasí-max vertical wall planks 83.14

a-mí-qʷ lu your bark (maple) 128.1

i-sá.iim grizzly bear 25.3, 150.4, 97.5;

L-sa.iim-uks grizzly bears 90.10, 93.11

t-iá-sakʷal-uks his leggings 219.2;

L-iá-sakʷal-uks his leggings 219.13

i-saxala upward 46.10 (NP)

i-sanátaXui parsnip roots 231.11 (parsnip queried by Boas)

i-sitʷiX-ka one-half only 78.10

tʷ-sitʷiX one-half (intestines t-) 140.1, 140.15

L-síki paddles 241.4

i-síqi door, doorway 9.9, 27.15, 121.8 (NP)

i-sixq mountain goat 13.13, 15.10

á-su mouse 20.10, 109.11; t-sú-iks mice 129.12, 134.4

i-suapsiq basket of spruce roots and grass 189.7

- i-súp soap 249.4 (from English; KT = [sɔ:p])
 i-súlc mat 131.9, 133.12, 132.5
 i-súlk mat 248.4, 250.6, 250.8, 250.8
 i-stakʷuín raccoon 214.3, 142.1
 i-stámx chief 26.2, 155.1, 12.7
 i-cá-stxula her load 12.8 (VN);
 k-l-ú-stxula that which she carried 211.2
 í-skan cedar 127.7, 201.5
 ʷskiX grandmother (vocative) 188.12
 a-kʷskiX my grandmother 193.11
 t-íá-skiX-nana his grandmothers 109.12
 i-skintXua black bear 22.9, 140.1, 207.11
 (s)-skintXua two black bears 116.12
 uá-skukʷumaihi Salmon-berry's son's name 119.11, 123.2
 k-Lá-skn.maxiX people of a Kathlamet village 244.14
 i-skʷíla ear ornaments 238.6 (cf. -kʷískla)
 a-sʷqsq buckskin 55.10; t-sqsʷq-uks buckskins 28.10
 i-sqamúl Kathlamet canoe 247.4; a-sqamúl Kathlamet canoes
 247.5
 i-squílʷm a lance 153.3
 i-sqʷú a dish 104.7, 105.1; í-La-sqʷu her dish 104.12
 a-slá.ua haws 145.13, 150.9
 (-)lá-Xamlkʷuila her playing with shells 121.7, 121.17
 a-Xísaqt dry (berries) 142.11, 143.2;
 i-Xísaqt-iX dry (lake) 239.1
 k-ú-XuikʷanXati those who fish sturgeon in gill nets 196.4 (VN)
 a-XutXuít Partridge 146.9 (meaning queried by Boas)
 n-a-Xumákit at the end 144.9

- t-iá-XmaxacX his pillow 151.7
 (i)-iá-Xtamalan herd (of elks) 233.8, 234.11
 t-Xt'li smoke 91.11, 163.4; (t)-txá-Xtli our smoke 91.14
 (i)-iá-xack rascal! 144.7
 a-ncá-xalxacX our coals 181.13
 k-á-ta-xal?i those their best archers 39.6 (cf. -pL?iki)
 i-xí.al a common man 166.2; i-c'xi.al my working man 130.9
 t-ká-xit?ilalma their roasting spits 47.12, 48.16
 L-xui Aúcx salmon backs 74.7
 L-xuímax island 242.10
 ()-La-xuck?ina a builder 20.12
 a-xkáqunq elder one (of two) 40.2, 43.8 (female);
 i-xkáqunq elder one (male) 119.12, 175.12, 58.1
 a-xkásqax younger one (female) 39.10, 42.3; a-xkásqax 122.6
 i-xkásqax younger one (male) 70.11; i-xkásqax 119.13
 L-xkásqax the younger one (crab L-) 98.2
 L-xltát a visitor (from the coast) 194.16
 a-hát?au virgin, maiden 34.1, 166.4, 223.3
 s-hát?au two virgins 39.9, 40.10
 s-ká-hat?au my two virgins 40.9, 41.3
 L-hát?au maiden 222.18, 247.2
 t-hát?au-nana maidens 238.4
 í-mal body of water, river, bay 45.1, 241.2 (VNP)
 í-mal-pa the sea to, on 181.8, 39.3
 a-iá-mal-na toward the water from it 78.2
 t-mal-át country of the ghosts 251.5
 t-mal-ní /quxuí-max seafood 207.12, 214.8

f-makc spruce trees 11.14, 127.4

t-mákcX-max spruce trees 109.7, 196.13

s-makst two 107.9; i-Lá-makst the second one 149.12 (NP)

a-mákst-iks two men 205.3; (a)-makst-Lál-iks twenty men 163.17

i-másn a deer 72.1, 109.7, 214.4; i-masñ-uks deer 158.10

á-mala marrow 136.10; a-ká-mala its kernel 103.11

á-k?ámitx in bow of canoe 53.1, 57.6, 56.11

a-mískaka Robin 118.3, 121.10

t-mimlúst-iks ghosts, dead bodies 183.11, 233.4

L-mímlust corpses 49.6, 14.12

L-mímlúst-iks ghosts 186.11

i-mínqan paper salmon 142.5; L-mínqan paper salmon 152.11

150.14

k-á-ia-mua one having maggots 51.3, 52.4;

ku-á-ia-mua one having maggots 54.3, 54.11, 55.7, 56.4

(Both in same stereotyped utterance in myth; ku- perhaps archaic or archaic-like variant of k-; cf uu-)

(-)-ca-muiXun untranslated in myth song 147.17, 149.1

a-múinx crab apples 148.5, 150.8

a-mútan willow bark 17.9

(a)-amúti strawberry 218.14; L-amúti strawberries 219.12

k-a-L(a)-amúti those having strawberries 218.15

i-mukuálks a personal name 174.11

L-muqsmái-max logs 145.6

i-múlak elk 58.10, 130.11, 234.5; i-múlak-max elks 20.3, 233.7

k-i-múlak-max those having elks 59.8

i-txá-mulak our elk 130.12

- t-mqáima prairie 221.7; t-mqái-max prairies 129.6, 194.10
 f-mqu stick, tree, log 129.14, 160.6, 185.7, 31.18
 á-mqu log 182.6; t-mqu sticks, trees, logs 21.8, 124.15,
 248.2, 113.13; t-sta-mqu their wood 115.9
 f-mqukl qualmishness 155.12
 a-mqsiskan a fir 113.15, 127.12
 L-mq'áimax small sagittaria root 50.2
 f-mq't the epidemic 247.6 (possibly -maq't)
 á-mlk'i a shell 156.16; L-mlk'i shells 157.5
 t-nau.áitk net 219.8 (VNP); t-lxá-nau.a.itk our net 219.10
 t-íá-na.ua.itk his peritoneum 153.17, 154.1
 k-Lá-nau.a.itk those having the net 49.11
 f-nat one side 45.1, 125.15; f-nata one side 35.10, 54.7 (NP)
 f-nat-ka one side only 78.11
 f-nat-iX on one side 148.10
 t-nat one side 130.5, 162.2, 226.9 (of house, t-)
 á-nakusiX to the other side 123.14
 i-náqun the sturgeon 79.4, 199.1; L-náqun sturgeon 158.11, 220.17
 f-nanaks the otter 20.7, 214.3, 24.8
 a-nu.á.iax huckleberry 103.10
 a-nuálma red paint 131.11, 153.4
 f-nul name of a sea-monster 159.9
 a-núl?-ka-tiks a few only 221.12, 243.9 (NP)
 á-nux stomach 99.6 (of salmon)
 L-nkśks large belly 24.14
 i-nti.a.uíst woodpecker 71.4
 t-nqi.á.uas side parts of the house 248.1
 f-nxi.aXul war cries 153.2
 t-nms-ks women, females 59.6, 119.6

ua-la.iú the day 24.13; uá-la.iu ball (a game) 145.4, 145.9

a-láitiX slave girl 166.9, 249.17;

a-iá-la.itiX his slave girl 247.6

L-láitiX a slave 181.3, 247.4

t-láitiX slaves 127.10

i-láitk willow 126.10, 21.3

t-lapát-ks house posts 248.1

a-lákt-iks four people 251.2; i-La-lakt-iX the fourth time

88.11; i-Lá-lakt the fourth one 143.14.

t-iá-laqstk his tears 149.15

a-laxsá.ia low water 47.14

i-lálax the deer 154.9

á-lalX camass root 103.11; t-lalX camass 20.10, 142.10

L-lípax hunting line 244.8 (on harpoon)

i-líq?amu the wolf 140.7; L-líq?amu wolves 116.5

t-líst tails (of salmon) 99.5

t-ká-list-iks their tails (smelt) 37.1

á-lili salmonberry 118.4, 124.8

uá-lu hunger (as condition, as myth personage) 36.1, 207.13,.5

a-luxuáxa generations of 57.6; n-a-luxuáxa generations of (la-

ter generations) 181.12 (V?)

a-luXumapá.ia generations 49.3, 53.7, 89.10

i-lúmniL shouting 99.16 (VN)

k-i-c-nc-lpút we are freezing (the ones who-we-in condition of

freezing) 219.7 (VN)

k-i-c-lxa-lput we having cold 218.16, 219.1

c-lpút freezing 219.17, (35.17, 205.6, i-c-i-lpu-iX)

c-lx-lpút we are freezing 219.15, 220.6 (V?)

c-L-lpút freezing (person) 219.11 (V?)

- t-lkuáti flags (a plant) 20.9
- i-lk?uáti a single rush mat 248.4
- i-Lá-lqaL its remembrance 9.11
- f-lX country, ground, dirt, the earth 11.9, 17.4, 38.2, 120.15
- f-lXam town 48.14, 248.7; i-mf-lXam your town 31.4
- t-iá-lXam his people 160.4, 181.5
- t-ká-lXami-max his towns 26.1
- k-i-lxá-lXam the people of our town 193.10
- k-i-Lá-lXam people of a town, their town, his people
20.2, 196.3, 201.3, 216.1
- k-i-tá-lXam people of a town 26.1, 166.3
- n-f-lXam where the town 100.2
- t-mf-lXam your people 50.7, 54.12, 56.6
- tá-lXam people 26.10, 125.4, 236.3, 242.14, 248.1, 183.5
- i-lXámi bed 43.4, (i)-iá-lXami-tk his bed 20.5, 151.3
- (i)-iá-lXami-pa his bed on 179.9
- i-stá-lXami-pa their two selves' bed on 210.2
- a-lXkúla dried salmon split along back 74.8
- á-lxaiu seal (animal) 214.2; a-lxa.iú-max seals 215.1
- á-lmlm rotten wood 72.4, 102.4
- 4.2.4.3. Members of the N2 subclass are:
- uá-k-[aq] her mother 233.1; uá-m-aq your mother 10.10
- uá-i(a)-aq hismother 18.7, 74.10, 211.10
- f-tx(a)-[am] our father 39.9; uf-m-am your father 124.3;
- s^c-st(a)-am their two selves' fathers 141.16
- a-mf-[ic] your tail 25.3; a-iá-ic his tail 25.7
- i-c-[úan] my belly 24.13; t-ká-[un]-aks their bellies 48.9
- i-ntá-uan our belly 135.15
- a-ká-uan her pregnancy 156.1, 160.15

i-c-[úulX] my nephew 51.14, 56.4, 50.6

L-mí-uulX-nana your nephews 119.2

t-ntá-[uc]-aks our ears 135.5; t-iá-uc-aks its ears 109.7

L-iá-[uX]-iks his brothers 155.6

i-c-úX-iX my younger brother 151.5

k-i-Lá-[naLX] the GilaunaLX people 221.1, 224.14

t-mí-[nim] you (are) stingy 22.1, 23.2

(i)-iá-[puc] his anus 51.2, 87.1

s-ntá-puc our two selves pairs of buttocks 85.7

L-iá-puc his buttocks, anus 87.7, 89.7

(i)-ia-puc-át his anus 184.5

-[pucxan] sibling-in-law of opposite sex (cf. -xan child, and kin terms containing a -xan element in Siuslaw and Coos; possibly this is *-puc/xan buttocks-relative, perhaps reflecting permissible sex relations between siblings-in-law of opposite sex; separate terms, -tum and -qix, are used for siblings-in-law of same sex as speaker).

a-k'-pucxan my sister-in-law 18.11 (male speaking)

a-iá-pucxan his sister-in-law 18.4

i-mí-pucxan your brothers-in-law 139.16 (to female)

L-mí-pucx-nana your sisters-in-law 104.13 (to male)

t'-mi-[ps] your feet 161.12; L'-mi-ps your foot 68.5

(i)-Lá-[pia] many (scalions L-) 241.8, 241.15

L-ká-pla many 45.13, 86.11, 191.17

L-ká-pla-tiks many 48.14, 76.7, 184.1 (re people)

t-ká-pla-tiks many 47.12, 75.14

i-cá-pla-t'ax thick (bark) 114.1

- ()-Lá-[pʔaqa] her nape 100.12
 L-fa-pʔaqa-pa his nape on 144.16
 i-Lá-pʔaqa flathead 129.10
 i-cʰ-[pʔaskual] my skin 63.3; i-tá-pʔaskual their skins 180.3
 a-Lá-[pʔuníkau] a blind one 90.9 (VN)
 (i)-iá-[tuk] his neck 53.5, 95.7
 a-ká-[tum] her sister-in-law 155.9
 i-cʰ-[tkiu] my nephew (brother's child) 51.2, 54.11
 f-c-[tkn] my grandson (daughter's child) 189.15
 f-ia-[tqul] their flesh (mussels) 207.5
 i-mí-[LatXan] your nephew (sister's child) 10.13, 10.15
 a-mí-[Lak] your aunt (father's sister) 51.4, 55.1
 i-cá-[LilXam] ten 241.7; i-Lá-LilXam ten 148.9, 243.6
 i-tá-LilXam ten 26.10
 s-fa-[LpX] his nose (Owl) 139.3
 á-ka-[Ltʔaql] their shells 214.6 (clams)
 á-ta-Ltʔaql their shells 207.12 (all seafood)
 á-ia-Ltʔaql their shells 214.6, 214.7, 214.8
 f-mi-[Lq] your body 68.6; f-ia-Lq his flesh, body 31.10, 50.10
 f-ia-Lqt long 44.11; (i)-iá-Lqt-ax their length 192.5
 (i)-fa-Lqt-iX long time 29.11, 90.4
 á-ka-Lqt high (feathers a-) 224.8
 á-ia-Lqt their thickness 189.5
 (i)-iú-Lqt-iX long 84.6 (LC u for UC a ?)
 t-iá-[Lxi.uulX] strong man 196.1, 196.7
 t-ká-Lxi.uulX she was strong 212.12, 213.1
 k-t-iá-Lxi.uulX strongest one 95.10, 95.12

L²-ta-[LxiX] August 221.2

ua-k²-[Lxuati] my nails 106.8 (in myth song)

a-Lá-Lxuati his nails 106.12

a-stá-[cpuX]-pa their foreheads on 39.14

c-fa-[ck²un]-pa his clavicles at 199.8

i-c²-[cqam] my sickness 184.3, 186.12

i-cá-cqam her sickness (time of pregnancy) 141.5

(i)-iá-[cXmal] boiling 123.11; i-Lá-cXmal 123.13

t-iá-[cxatma] his badness 216.6

s-tá-cxat-max two mean ones 201.11, 202.6

i-mí-[c²max] your great-grandfather 110.11, 111.1

t-iá-c²max-nana his great-grandfathers 110.12, 111.2

i-mí-[kian] your grandson (son's child) 144.6

ui-c²kian my grandson 145.14, 145.15 (in myth refrain)

a-ká-kian her grandchild (son's daughter) 29.13

t-iá-[kiutkuax] the poor one 141.9

t-ká-kiutkuax poor ones 197.9

t-k²kiutkuax my unhappiness 171.5, 167.10

(-)-Lá-kiutkuax poor 119.2

k-()-Lá-kiutkuax poor 207.15

[-kikal] spouse; a-k²kikal my wife 36.4, 234.13

a-iá-kikala his wife 26.5, 180.5

i-mí-kikal your husband 21.15, 36.8

i-cá-kikala her husband 9.1, 226.4

s-iá-kikal his wives, 161.11; s-iá-kikala 164.16

L-iá-kikal his wife (a wife) 158.16, 187.4

k-i-tá-[kiklal] the seers 251.4, 251.8 (VN)

i-ca-[kuá.iam] it became summer 220.15

i-Lú[kuancX] small 9.1 (LC u for UC a 3)

n-á-ia-[kuku]-iX-pa St. Helens at 56.9

L-ia-[kut?u]-max its shining 39.4

i-ntá-[kusXat] our mouth 135.10

(i)-ia-kusXat his mouth 150.1, (i)-ia-kusXa 34.11

(i)-ia-kusXata 184.5

t-ká-kusXat-ks their mouths 108.6

i-c[kc] my nose 135.11

f-ia-[ksi] his hand 103.12; t'ka-ksi her fingers 98.9, 99.2

t-fa-ksi his hands 199.8, 250.10

L'nta-ksi our hand 135.14; L-fa-ksi his handful 104.5

t-kā-[kmtu]-max my ribs 21.10

i-c'k'ak?u my grandfather 247.2

(i)-ia[k?ani] his myth 34.0, 50.0, 54.0, 58.0, 67.0, 142.0,

i-stá-k?ani their myth 72.0, 79.0, 90.0, 98.0, 118.0

(i)-ia-[k?i.uu.la] his game (hunting) 158.10

i-cá-k?i.uula she gathered 118.3, 118.4

k-(i)-ia-k?i.uula having for his game (elks, seals, etc)

(i.e., elk-hunter, seal-hunter, etc.) 214.15, 214.17, 133

k-i-c'17.

k-i-cá-[k?i.uu.lal] a tideland mouse 129.13

(what Owl continually hunted?)

i-c[k?iti] my blanket 33.15, 77.15; L-ia-k?iti his blanket

18.9; t-ká-k?iti their blankets 158.3, 158.3

i-c'[k?i'atinox] what I caught, killed 198.15 (VN)

(i)-ia-k?i'atinox his game, hunter, what he caught

20.3, 79.3, 35.1, 129.3, 197.17

- i-tá-[kʔi/ʂaq] they go to war 182.5 (NP)
- k-i-tá-kʔi/ʂaq warriors 183.3, 239.12
- (i)-Lá-[kʔintq] wings 37.13; t-ka-kʔintq her wings 146.7
- i-tá-[kʔilXcū] their armpits 61.16 (cf. -kʔilXcu arrowpoints)
- (i)-iú-[kʔua.ic] small 66.2, 243.12 (LC u for UC a ?)
- i-Lú-kʔua.ic small 211.2
- k-i-Lú-kʔua.ic the small (ones) 213.13
- (i)-iá-[qa.iL] large 17.10, 237.18
- k-(i)-iá-qa.iL one who is large 30.4, 229.7
- i-cá-qa.iL-ax large 226.1, 227.2, 233.5
- (s)-stá-qa.iL large 19.5, 227.6
- (i)-Lá-[qaLala] the QaLala (a Kathlamet community three miles above Oak point on the north side of the Columbia) 158.13
- (i)-Lá-qaLalí 160.12
- (i)-Lá-[qaLma] the LaqaLma (on south fork of Willapah) 196.11
- (i)-Lá-qaL-max a LaqxaLmax 197.8
- t-iá-qaL-max the LaqxaLma 197.17
- t-iá-[qi.uam] his shaman songs 24.15, 131.4
- t-ká-qi.uam-ax shamans 250.11
- (i)-Lá-qi.uam-ax conjurors 201.3 (or -max)
- L-mí-[qiX]-nana your brothers-in-law (to male) 160.2
- L-iá-qiX-nana his brothers-in-law 160.3
- a-k[qu] my mother 232.3
- t-mí-[qu.it] your legs 153.7
- (i)-iá-qu.it his leg 125.15, 158.7, 126.1
- t-iá-qu.it his feet 80.16, 153.11, 250.10
- his legs 80.1, 81.17, 84.2

- t-iá-qu.it-at his feet 82.16
- t-iá-qu.it-qux his legs 45.4
- uu-i-Lá-qu.it his legs 92.17, 95.5, 97.10 (myth song)
- i-c-[quq] my children 122.8; uu-c-quq her young one 154.11
- i-c-[quqsin] my sister-in-law's relative 116.9, 117.10
- (i)-iá-quqsin his relative's brother-in-law, his sister-in-law's relative (cf. Wasco child-in-law's parent)
113.12, 113.13, 115.11, 115.14
- (i)-fa-[qcks] its smell 37.12
- s-fa-[qcqLk]-pa his waist to 79.6
- i-c-[qan] my grandson (son's child) 62.14, 214.9
- i-stá-[q'asus] their grandfather (father's father) 165.12
- ()-Lá-[q'axL]-max his knees 238.15
- a-ntá-[q'amsu] our navel 135.17
- k-i-tá-[q'imas] the Clackamas 237.4
- k-i-Lá-q'imas a, the Clackamas 237.3, 240.8
- L-k-[q'i/la.uulXm] when I get mature 27.17, 28.1 (VN)
- (i)-iá-q'ualasna the quickest 241.10
- i-c-[siks] my friend 213.6 (NP)
- s-xá-siks two mutual friends 207.13, 166.2
- L-xá-siks the friends 202.1
- a-ká-[suX] her relative 232.7 (relative in general)
- ()-txá-suX-tiks our relatives 208.15, 232.14
- t-iá-suX-tiks his relatives 26.1, 123.17
- L-ká-suX her relative (long dead, a ghost) 248.8
- t-k'-si.uX-tiks my relatives 182.14
- i-Lá-[ski.ual] his companions 50.5
- k-i-ntá-ski.ual our companions 184.1, 232.15

t-iá-[skʔuL] it is bad 142.3; t-ka-skʔuL it is bad,
they are bad 142.8, 143.1

k-(i)-iá-[skʔtxax] short ones 192.4

L-iá-[sla] rapid 87.10

t-iá-[Xatk] his tracks 162.9 (cf. -iXatk Nla)

i-mí-[Xaqaami] your mind 106.13, 147.9

i-mí-Xaqaamit your mind 30.17, 105.9

i-ntá-[Xanati] our life 233.4

(i)-iá-XanatiX his life 231.7

k-i-tá-[XuilapaX] the Willapah 196.2

k-i-Lá-XuilapaX 197.4

k-a-tá-[xa.iami] family 47.12, 48.14

t-iá-[xaklaxli] his fame 138.1; t-mí-xaklaxit your news 248.9

L-mí-[xax] you are sad 180.1; L-ka-xax their sorrow 42.12

[-xan] child

a-iá-xan his daughter 129.4, 170.16

a-ká-xan her daughter 121.13, 141.14, 158.9

i-c-xan my son 77.4

i-mí-xan your son 165.7

(i)-iá-xan his son 164.2, 165.9

i-cá-xan her son 10.12, 119.10, 200.1

L-k-xan my child 9.11, 10.1

L-iá-xan his child 158.16, 187.2

L-ká-xan her child 9.7, 161.2

s-iá-xan his two children 39.1, 43.7

()-La-[xanaksúnkut] a Nehelim vilbge 245.2, 246.13

k-i-Lá-[xaniak] people of a village 244.14

- i-c'²[xaliu] my name 174.11; (i)-iá-xaliu its name 112.4, 112.13
 (i)-iá-xaliuX its name 201.2, 215.10 (of places)
- f-mi-[xalXt] you (are) wide 67.15
 i-Lá-xalXt-ax its width 248.12
- a-k'²[xilata] my sinew 192.15
- t-ká-[xiqlax] hunters 207.9, 233.13
 k-()-Lá-xiqlax the hunter 241.2, 244.12
 k-t-iá-xiqlax their hunter 241.15 (of sealions L-)
- t-iá-[xilauí]-max his people 51.1 (Salmon's, in myth)
- k-L-stá-[xilalak] skillful 243.13
 s-ká-xilalak-max the quickest ones 172.10
- f-c-[xu] my arm 135.13; t'²mi-xu your arms 103.7
 t-fa-xu its hands (claws of crab) 237.11
- (i)-iá-[xut] his face 46.10
- s-ká-[xust] my eyes 136.6
 s-fa-xust his face, his eyes 18.4, 30.6, 76.14, 180.8
 L-stá-xust his face 153.4 (Coyote's, simulating WaLaXLaX)
- f-ta-[xul] their cries 92.5, 94.11 (VN)
 á-ta-xulam their noise 223.15
- a-iá-[xt'ax] his inheritance 194.1 (VN? Pr?)
- L-iá-[xqixí]-nana his brothers-in-law 15.7 (cf. -qix)
- (-)-Lá-[xmalapqiX] his armpits 238.14
- k-a-Lá-[mat] the Kathlamet 244.14
- i-c'²[maq] I (was) shot 184.2, 185.14, 68.1 (VN)
 (i)-iá-maq shooting it 11.16, 106.2, 234.6
 t-k'²maq they-my-being shot (they shoot me) 172.17
- i-c'²[mama] my father 169.14
- (i)-iá-[mist] his mouth 133.2
 s-iá-mist his mouth (Owl's) 131.16 (going q?p q?p)

- s-iá-[mist]-iX people of Monticello 185.1 (twin mouths of a stream?)
- L-iá-[minaLusti]-pa LiaminaLusti to (large town on a lake) 236.8, 236.9
- i-mí-[mut] your uncle (father's brother) 52.6, 55.9
 (i)-iá-mutX his uncle 249.2, 249.17 (all in tale of visit to land of ghosts)
 (i)-iá-mut his uncle 31.3, 32.13
 ui-mí-mut your uncle 124.3 (in myth song)
- á-k-[mukui] my throat 135.12
 f-ia-mukui-pa its stomach in 244.10 (sea lion's, where stones are found; digestive tract?)
- k-a-tá-[mukt?ina] the fishermen 244.2 (VN)
- a-mí-[mtX] your younger sister 121.13
 a-ká-mtXiX her younger sister 99.10, 119.10, 100.9
 a-ká-mtX her younger sister 99.1, 119.8
- a-iá-[mLxliu] landward from it 185.8 (NP)
 a-tá-mLxliu landward from it 172.12
 a-tá-mLxliu inland from it 137.9
- i-ntá-[mXiX] our younger brother 79.8, 83.8
 t-k'mX-iks my younger brothers 154.3
 t-iá-muX-iks his younger brothers 58.3
 s-iá-muXiX his two younger brothers 60.2
 (i)-iá-mXiX his younger brother 45.9, 90.1, 179.12
 uu-L-mi-mXiX your younger brother 94.17, 97.1
 ui-L-mi-mXiX your younger brother 92.11 (last two both sung by Grizzly Bear in myth)
- f-c-[mxc] my heart 171.6

- (i)-fa-mxc his heart 180.6, 250.9
hist stomach 150.4 (GrizzlyBear boiled in)
- (i)-fa-mxc-pa his heart at 65.11, 132.13, 248.16
his mind in 62.15
its stomach at 111.8 (of deer)
- i-mf-[mla] your badness 97.15 (VNP)
i-mlá/kuili rainy spell (= bad/like) 112.2, 112.5
k-(i)-iá-mla the one who is bad 127.3, 112.14
k-i-cá-mla-max those bad (canoes=old canoes) 156.5
n-(i)-iá-mla-iX-pa thicket in (= bad/place) 32.11
- i-c-~~naqan~~] my game (quarry) 13.9
- i-tá-[nXa]-max each (of them) one fathom 108.6 (VN)
L'ka-nXa fathoms 175.9
f-La-nXa one fathom long 136.17
- k-i-Lá-[lilam] people of Nisal 201.1
- (i)-iá-[lkuili] like 43.13, 249.4 (NP), similarity
i-cá-lkuili she resembled 247.7
i-tá-lkuili they are similar to 152.17, 178.13
i-mlá/kuili rainy spell 112.2, 112.5
- t-kā-[lkaal]-max my eyebrows 135.7
- á-ka-[lXt] her elder sister 39.10, 98.1
(i)-fa-lXt his elder brother 19.2, 91.9, 181.9
uf-c-lXt my elder brother (Raccoon in myth song) 112.12
uf-(i)a-lXt his elder brother (in myth song) 106.8, 106.10
s'k-lXt my two elder brothers 60.4
L'k-lXt-ks my elder brothers 61.5
L'txa-lXt-ks our two selves' elder brothers 61.3

L²mi-lXt-ks your elder brothers 61.7, 62.16

L²ia-lXt-ks his elder brothers 159.14, 176.12, 178.16

4.3.0. The Kathlamet noun occurs with both prefixation and suffixation, and the noun stem has sometimes a limited complexity. The minimum noun word consists of a prefix plus single stem element; normally, this is decade 110, classificatory prefix, plus stem. There are one or two cases in which only the locative prefix n- of decade 10 appears before the stem (n²q²ula.uas, n-lxuap-iX-pa), and the rare initial prefix sana- occurs without decade 110. For nouns of stem class N2, the minimum sequence is classificatory prefix plus possessive inflection (noun position 200) plus stem. No form appears in KT which utilizes all relative order positions of the noun, but no consistent structural reason has been found for this; it seems rather a matter of the relative infrequency of initial prefixes of decade 10 and of sequences of all three suffix positions, especially with position 400 filled. The deficiency is primarily that of suffix sequences, since all prefix positions due occur filled. The longest attested sequences are n-á-ia-kuku-iX-pa St. Helens at 56.9 and n-(i)-iá-mla-iX-pa in a thicket 32.11, involving positions 0-100-200-300-400-600.

Of the prefixes, decades 10 and 240 are unique in form and function to noun words, while decades 210-220-230 occur in more or less like form with verb and pronoun words, but differing there in function, certain alternants, and positional relationship. None of the suffixes are unique to nouns, but are shared with pronouns and particles; the one limitation is that ~ks and its alternants are not found

with pronouns and particles, and *-tiḵs* is found only with nouns and pronouns. In general word classes are related in two distinct ways by affixation; in prefixes, pronominal inflection links V, N and Pr as opposed to P, but in suffixes N, Pr and P are basically linked in opposition to V (discounting the few peripheral occurrences of *-pa* with V).

4.3.1. The overall pattern of relative-order positions in the noun is as follows.

- 0. Initial prefixes.
- 100. Classificatory prefixes.
- 200. Person of possessor.
- 300. Stem.
- 400. Suffix set 1.
- 500. Number (of stem).
- 600. Final (relational) suffixes.

4.3.2. The members of these relative-order positions are:

Position 0. Initial prefixes.

Decade 10.

- 11. k- agentive, gerundive
- 12. n- locative
- 13. u- "archaic"
- 14. sana- derogative
- 15. c- situational

Position 100. Classificatory prefixes.

Decade 110.

- 111. n- 1st person
- 112. m- 2nd person

113. i- singular (masculine) (Set A)
 114. a- singular (feminine) (Set A)
 115. L- singular (neuter) (Set A)
 116. s- dual (Set D)
 117. t- plural (singular) (Set B)
 118. L- plural (singular) (Set B)

Position 200. Person of possessor.

Decade 210. Person.

- 211.1 n- 1st person
 .2 k-
 .3 c-
 212. m- 2nd person
 213. i- 3rd person (masculine)
 214.1 k- 3rd person (feminine)
 .2 c-
 215. L- 3rd person (neuter, indefinite)
 216. st- 3rd person dual (=226)
 217.1 t- 3rd person plural (=227)
 .2 k-
 218. L- 3rd person plural (=228)
 219. q- 4th person (=229)

Decade 220. Number.

221. Ø- singular
 222. t- dual
 223.1a s- plural
 .1b c-
 .2 l-

226. st- 3rd person dual (=216)
 227. t- 3rd person plural (=217)
 228. L- 3rd person plural (=218)
 229. q- 4th person (=219)

Decade 230. Inclusive-mutual

231. x- inclusive
 232. x- mutual

Decade 240. Possessive

- 241.1 Ø- possessive
 .2 i-
 .3 a-

Position 300. Stem.

Decade 310. Stem initial

311. ki- nominalizer
 312. kʔi- "
 313. ka- "
 314. kʔa- "
 315. qi "
 316. qa "

Decade 320. Stem medial

Members of the N stem classes. Note as clearly members of compoundnoun stems:

a-[tʔu/kti] good/thing 166.7, 225.6, = good

i-[tʔu/xu.ial] warrior 161.8, 194.1 (= good/man)

(cf. -xi.al common man)

i-[tʔu/AX] fair weather 220.15 (= good/country, land)

i-[kala/kti] man's property 27.11 (= man/thing)

- i-[kala/kuili] scold 134.10 (=wind?/like)
 i-[kana/sp'q] huckleberries 231.1 (=all/gray)
 l-[xui/kucX] salmon backs 74.7 (=salmon?/back)
 i-mí-[puc/xan] sibling-in-law of opposite sex
 139.16 (buttocks/relative?; cf. under N2)

Decade 330. Stem final

331. -at derivational
 332. -tk "
 333. -qux "
 334. -Xat "
 335. -lit "

Position 400. Suffix set 1.

Decade 410.

411. -ax emphasis, contrast
 412. -iX some specifying force
 413. -t?ax succession in time; next, also
 414. -ka emphatic, definite; only
 415. -ma partitive; alone, only

Position 500. Plural.

Decade 510.

- 511.1 -ks plural
 .2 -aks
 .3 -iks
 .4 -uks
 512. -tiks plural (of humans)
 513. -nana plural (of kin)
 514. -max plural

Position 600. Final suffixes.Decade 610.

611.1	-tiX	<u>relation to time</u>
.2	-iX	
612.	-pa	<u>relation to space; at, to, in</u>
613.	-ti	<u>relation of similarity; -like</u>

4.3.3. Conditions for the alternants of the noun affixes, and within the paradigm distributional relations of person markers, are presented here.

211: 211.1 n- / 222 t-, 211.1 n- / 223.lb c-.

211.2 k- / 221 Ø-, following 114-118.

211.3 c- / 221 Ø-, following 113 i-.

214: 214.1 k- / 221 Ø-, following 114-118.

214.2 c- / 221 Ø-, following 113 i-.

217: 217.1 (=227), following 113, 114, 116.

217.2 k- (=227), following 115, 117, 118.

223: 223.1a s-, following 212 m-.

223.1b c-, following 211.1 n-.

223.2 l-, / 231 x-.

241: 241.1 Ø-, following 211.2 k- / 221 Ø;

following 211.3 c- / 221 Ø.

241.2 i-, following 212 m- / 221 Ø.

241.3 a-, following 211.1 / 222, 211.1 / 223.1b,

222 / 231, 223.2 / 231, 212 / 223.1a,

212 / 222, 213 / 221, 214 (.1, .2) / 221,

215 / 221, 216 = 226, 217 = 227, 218 = 228,

219 = 229, 232. (= all other sequences)

511: The alternants of 511 are selected individually by noun stems without semantic or phonemic regularity. 512 occurs only with reference to human beings, though it is not the only suffix of this decade so to occur. Where attested, the plural formation of nouns has been given individually in the lists of stems in section 4.2.

611: 611.1 -tiX occurs after vowel, 611.2 -iX after consonant.

The relationships identified above in part for the prefixation of nouns can be illustrated usefully by a paradigmatic arrangement. a- is used as a cover symbol for all classificatory prefixes, or for all except i-, or for all except L-, t-, L-; the situation is made clear for each entry by the index numbers in parentheses following the semantic identification.

a-k-Ø-Ø- 1st person singular (114-118, 211.2, 221, 241.1)
 i-c-Ø-Ø- _____ " _____ (113, 211.3, 221, 241.1)
 a-n-t-a- 1st exclusive dual (113-118, 211.1, 222, 241.3)
 a-n-c-a- 1st exclusive plural (113-118, 211.1, 223.1b, 241.3)
 a-t-x-a- 1st inclusive dual (113-118, 222, 231, 241.3)
 a-l-x-a- 1st inclusive plural (113-118, 223.2, 231, 241.3)
 a-m-Ø-i- 2nd person singular (113-118, 212, 221, 241.2)
 a-m-t-a- 2nd person dual (113-118, 212, 222, 241.3)
 a-m-s-a- 2nd person plural (113-118, 212, 223.1a, 241.3)

a-i-Ø-a-	<u>3rd singular (masc.)</u>	(113-118, 213, 221, 241.3)
a-k-Ø-a-	<u>3rd singular (fem.)</u>	(114-118, 214.1, 221, 241.3)
i-c-Ø-a-	"	(113, 214.2, 221, 241.3)
a-l-Ø-a-	<u>3rd singular (neuter)</u>	(113-118, 215, 221, 241.3)
a-st -a-	<u>3rd person dual</u>	(113-118, 216=226, 241.3)
a-t -a-	<u>3rd person plural</u>	(113, 114, 116; 217.1=227; 241.3)
l-k -a-	"	(115, 117, 118; 217.2=226; 241.3)
a-l -a-	<u>3rd person plural</u>	(113-118, 218=228, 241.3)
a-q -a-	<u>4th person</u>	(113-118, 219=319, 241.3)
a-x -a-	<u>Mutual</u>	(113-118, 232, 241.3)

4.4. Further examples and comment on the various positions and affixes are given here.

Decade 10.

11 k-: The use of k- has been illustrated with the lists of stems, where all examples were cited. Note that it appears before both otherwise normal noun constructions, and also otherwise normal verb constructions, serving as a nominalizer in the latter instance. Examples: k-(i)-iá-iulmax the one having the figure of the supernatural being (= the one who-singular-his-Stem) 201.5; k-i-ki-ŋat-kʔuá-mam the one who came home 180.6, a verb stem plus completive suffix -mam, with ki- ambiguous as possibly either nominalizer or verb prefix; k-t-iá-lxi.uulŋ strongest one 95.10 (=the one who-plural?-his-strength); k-(i)-iá-kʔi Áula having for his game, hunter of (=the one who-it-his-(nominalizer)/to hunt), as in i-múlak-max k-(i)-iá-kʔi Áula elk hunter 214.15

12 n-: All instances of n- have been given in the stem lists in 4.2. Typical are: n^z(i)-iúLmax place of supernatural being 181.8; n-a-Lxuáp hole 195.7 (i.e., digging or dug place); n-i-kiⁱL a sealion from there 244.11 (in phrase, "when Quinault (is) locus-(of) sealion"); n-a-ki.úna a placename 175.1; n-a-qakílak yulva 126.7, i.e., located on a woman, euphemistic perhaps; n-(i)-iá-mí-a-iX-pa in a location of badness, i.e., in a thicket 32.11.

13. u-: The prefix u- occurs only before 113 i- and 114 a-. Sapir suggested that it was a phonetic phenomenon, occurring before non-syllabic or monosyllabic stems (see note 33 to his Wishram text analysis, HB 675, as well as HB 677, n. 55). This cannot be maintained, for the use of u- has usually a semantic connotation, and contrary examples are found: ui-Latát 143.16 raccoon, uá-k[?]alkal ball 145.4, ua-k[?]Lxuati my nails 106.8, uá-skuk[?]umafhi Salmonberry's son 119.11; all these show u- with polysyllabic stems. Likewise, though Sapir wrote that "this stem can be only secondarily monosyllabic, for otherwise we should have *ui-knim" (HB 674, n.16), one finds: á-pak reed 149.9, á-pul beside uá-pul night 9.7, 183.2, á-Lap branch 202.10, í-qaL creek 87.10, as examples of monosyllabic stems without u-.

The examples given with the lists of stems (4.2) frequently indicate that the form is from a myth song; particularly in a myth involving Grizzly Bear do his stereotyped utterances utilize the u- prefix. Here is found a rare usage, uu-, sometimes plus a usual decade 110 prefix, sometimes not; besides several occurrences in Grizzly Bear's utterances, it occurs only in a phrase spoken by Coyote at

the end of a myth. When the deer mention his dead brother's name, Coyote proclaims that the fawn, the deer's young, shall henceforth be hunted: i-q-á-Lu.a.ia uu-tʔilqan uu-cá-quq he-will-be-pursued the-fawn his-young-one 154.10-11. In the Grizzly Bear mtyh, besides his phrases (94.17, 92.9, 94.15, 96.16), Lynx refers to Grizzly Bear as the monster with uu-L-qsxflau 92.17, 97.10, and Grizzly Bear's mother sings of her vukva in a trochee-iamb rhythm "uí-qístq ui-qástq"

The only examples unconnected with myth phrases and personages seem to be uá-qʔpas target 17.15, and alternate forms of terms for day and night: uã-kua all day 92.12, 138.14; uí-kua all day 251.2; uã-kait all day 97.11; uá-pul night, occurring only in phrases signifying middle of the night 183.2, 220.11, 245.9.

14. sana-: This occurs only in derogatory references to Owl made by Panther: sana-xauxau and sana-quipquip, both translated "old Owl" 132.2, 133.3. The phrases admonish Owl to cease scolding/ Owl's replies indicate that he has been called names, 133.3, 134.15.

15. c-: This occurs only with a few stems in forms whose specific significance is not clearly rendered by Boas. The sense seems to be "being in a situation". It occurs with names of seasons and months: c-a-kua-iX summer 197.10, 220.6, 218.5, 188.15, 50.3, 25.1; c-á-xlqL-iX winter 34.2, 100.4, 112.4, 207.14, 150.11, 202.1; October c-á-maL-iX 175.2, 218.4, c-a-Lxña-iX in February 241.1, 243.10. Other instances are: c-a-kanimá in a canoe 173.15; c-i-qúl-iX in the house 143.4; c-a-lú-iX starving 207.5; cʔ-a-kʔán(i)-iX people of the myths (i.e., in the time of the myths) 50.1; and unusual forms with -lput freezing, to be cold, as in nʔs-ai-ma-tiks L?

k-i-c-nc-lpút we-only behold the-ones-who-are-in-situation-of-freezing 219.6-7 (the speaker has just discovered that only his village, through violation of a tabu, is enduring winter, while other villages are in midsummer). Analysis of these forms with -lpút especially is uncertain; some are possibly verbs with c- as 3rd person subject, but with unknown referent.

Decade 110.

111 n-, 112 m-: These occur only in simple sequences with noun stem in a predicative sense; (it is not known whether other pronominal forms of 1st and 2nd person are unattested in such constructions in KT by chance or rule). Examples: nist qa n-kuaLilX not when I-(was)-person (i.e., when I was not yet born) 18.2; n-l?ala I am a fool 31.8, 154.6; m-q?i.úqt you are an old man 114.10, m-t?anca you be a crow (i.e., transform yourself into a crow) 62.5.

113-118: The patterns of plural formation involving these prefixes have been described in section 4.2.4.0. Boas attempted to assign specific meaning to the members of set A, i-, a-, L-, suggesting that a preponderance of large animals were "masculine" with i- and small animals "feminine" with u- (LC correspondent for Kathlamet 114 a-). Even in his lists difficulties arise, when mussel is "masculine" but killer-whale is "feminine". Most nouns expressing qualities seemed to occur with i- as "masculine" as well. This list of nouns is however by far smaller than the list of those which could not be subsumed under these principles. It appears from field experience with Wasco that these prefixes represent partly stereotyped, partly productive usage. When

it is desired to distinguish male from female, it is possible to do so with many stems by contrast of i- and a-, e.g., i-qi.úqt and a-qi.úqt old man and old woman; the indefinite sense of the singular L- appears in L-qi.úqt an old person (male or female, depending on context, or of unknown or unidentified sex). These prefix resources are also exploited in other ways. Terms for canoes distinguish singular and plural by the contrast of i- and a-: i-kánim canoe 36.1, a-kánim canoes 24.11; i-qisitiX hunting canoe 243.12, a-qisitiX hunting canoes 241.3. The contrast of i-iXatk 13.11 and á-iXatk 14.1 implies a semantic distinction which is however not quite clear; the contrast (and confusion) of terms for badger and skunk, a-pʔisxas, i-pʔisxas 69.2, 79.1, has been noted. Note also á-tuL fire 19.1, í-tuL fireplace 237.5; t-ká-Lan-max their strings (of coats) 69.15, L-ká-Lan-max their strings (of bows) 69.15; í-Lutk warcries 73.4, a-ia-Lutk his breathing 250.3.

Most nouns, however, occur with one or another of this set of prefixes without special sense of gender or other contrast. Thus, í-mulak is elk, í-mulak-max elks with no specification of sex; however, it is probable that if it were desired to introduce the distinction of bull and cow elk, the i-, a- contrast would be introduced. The basically formal nature of these prefixes, or better, overriding formal nature, is shown by the occurrence of "masculine" i- with pronouns and verbs in concord with i-mulak-max herd of elks (i.e., both male and female), where no sex distinction can be intended, and where L- is not resorted to out of any felt need to neutralize the sex difference: (i)-iXt (i)-ia-Xtamala

i-múlak-max one herd elks 233.8; i-n-i-ú-sk-am i-múlak-max
i-X'-lait I-them-found elks they-themselves-are dead 234.10.
(Cf. the discussion with pronouns, pp. 78-79).

For many nouns, of course, no possibility of sex distinction exists: i-qa.itk adze 92.15, a-k'anXáti gill net 197.11. The analogy can be drawn to gender in an Indo-European language such as German, the Chinookan languages being more consistent, however, in always using the appropriate gender when it is clearly required: there is no Chinookan equivalent of das Weib.

This discussion applies as well to the uses of the prefixes with pronouns and verbs, since, syntactically, the selection of 3rd person markers in V and N and Pr is often dependent upon that which occurs formally, without or with semantic distinctiveness, with an accompanying form. Where N are so affected, it is usually stems of subclass N2, especially those designating qualities, occurring with N.

The apparent collective sense of some nouns with t- and L- has been mentioned, e.g. L-únu urine 14.4, t'-psu grass 188.6, L-tka snow 35.11, t'-kmm ash, ashes 153.12. In some instances, however, these prefixes also seem to have purely formal function, for no number significance is apparent. Thus: t-qúLi house 15.11, L-cin a snag 92.5. In such a case as the last, of course, it is uncertain whether the prefix L- represents the singular (indefinite) 115 or the plural 118. Thus, L-cá.uni a jam (of logs) 113.4 is perhaps plural, and L-t'u.ánxa Klikitat is probably indefinite,

neuter, distant and by extension not truly human, for the Klikitat were enemies who raided the Chinook. (The Wasco use this stem for their traditional enemies, the Paiutes). But L-ki.uan a reed 248.13 is possibly either the normally singular 115, or an instance of 118 on the analogy of t-qúli.

As mentioned, nouns are regularly marked for dual by 116 s-. In s-mí-Xanim your toy canoe 143.7 it appears possibly as a diminutive. In some cases the duality involved is not clear, as s-iá-mist his mouth (Owl's), s-iá-qcqlk-pa his waist to 79.6.

Decades 210-240.

The nature of the distinction between stem-classes N1 and N2, based upon optional and necessary occurrence with these decades, has been discussed in 4.2.4.0. The semantic range of the possessive inflection is broad. Thus, i-mi-Xatákuax your mind, thoughts 19.7, with the sense of owning; (i)-iá-Xak?mana his chief 129.2, with the sense of belonging to; so also L-mí-Xanaximst your masters 122.11; k-a-iá-pxaliu those (elks) having fat, 234.18, with the sense of an adjective or attribute, i.e., those fat elks; L'mi-xax your sadness, i.e. you are sad, with predicative sense, 180.1; k-a-tá-mukt?ina the fishermen, as descriptive verbal noun, i.e. the ones who-their-fishing 244.2; i-c'maq I (was) shot, with person-marker as recipient of action indicated in stem, 184.2.

The exclusive-inclusive distinction of course pertains only to the 1st person. The exclusive forms, including the singular, are quite regular, paralleling the second person forms in this respect. In the inclusive forms, t-x- and l-x-, it seems clear that t- represents the dual morpheme found also in n-t- and m-t-; l- by parallel is an alternant of the plural morpheme. To set up -x as inclusive morpheme introduces an additional decade and relative-order position within the person-markers, not represented for the other persons; but this seems to reflect the nature of the opposition between the inclusive forms and the rest of the paradigm. Whatever analysis might be attempted would result in uniqueness of alternants, positional relationships, and the like. It might be possible to identify the inclusive x- with the mutual x-, although this is not done; the two occur positionally distinct within the person-marker paradigm in verb constructions.

That the third person non-singular forms stand apart is symbolized by the equation sign, e.g. 217 = 227; no mark for number apart from that for person is found. It would be possible to assume a plural marker a-, lost before possessive a-, on some grounds of analogy, but this would be no solution for the same forms when found with verbs and pronouns. A possible alternative is to extend this formulation to the third person singular forms as well, but here they have been taken as occurring with the \emptyset singular prefix indicated by the 1st person exclusive and the 2nd person forms.

One instance of apparent use of the fourth person in possessive inflection is found; L²qa-qsu their hair 41.2, referring to two unknown youths. While such an isolated case is open to suspicion as mishearing or misprinting for -ka-, third plural, one might expect instead here the third dual, -sta-, since two youths are concerned; support for accepting the form as it stands is found in the use of the indefinite person in a verb in the preceding line; qámti.ua q-s-t-í-mam whence they come 41.1. Note that while in verbs the 4th person q- is found only as transitive subject, in pronouns and nouns it thus seems to be found with person-marker forms which otherwise parallel the intransitive subject paradigm of verbs.

The reciprocal prefix is found in four instances: L-xá-siks the friends 202.1; s-xá-siks two mutual friends 207.13, 166.2; L²xa-k²anatitūL on both sides of it 201.1; s²xa-k²anatitūL two on opposite sides 118.1.

In one episode of the Panther and Owl myth, Owl engages in a conversation in bed with the woman who has mistaken him for Panther, the desirable husband she had come to find; the episode follows a structure in which Owl asks "What is this, my wife?" regarding a body part, the woman replies naming the body part with the 1st person exclusive singular prefix, and Owl rejoins, "No, our (such-and-such part)" with the 1st person exclusive dual prefix (Panther's and mine, not yours?) until the vulva is reached, concluding the episode. In reference to "my wife" and some of the body parts, a special form of the possessive prefix occurs. Thus:

t-ntá.ia-lckcal-max our eyebrows 135.8

s-ntá.ia-xust our eyes 135.7

a-ntá.ia-cpuX our forehead 135.9

i-ntá.ia-quit.Xa our vulva 136.2

a-ká.ia-kikal my wife 135.4, 135.5, 135.7, 135.15, 136.3.

The only other occurrence of this supplement to the possessive paradigm is when Owl, again, refers to Panther's ancestors in the same myth: t-iá.ia-q'i.uqt-iks his ancestors 133.1, 133.3, beside t-iá-q'i.uqt-iks 134.9.

Decade 310.

The members of this decade each occur one or a few times with the function of a nominalizing prefix. There is evidence that their use, especially that of 312 k'i-, was more widespread than attested in KT alone. Boas lists a larger number of examples for Lower Chinook (HB 613, 616) and their use has been a productive process in Wasco lexical acculturation. Examples:

k-i-tá-ki /klal the seers 251.4 (VN from -kl see)

i-ia-kí /lat'ámnq-iX his means of drowning 107.15 (VN)

t-k'i /psuli a cache 150.14 (VN)

i-mí-k'i /tinax what you caught, killed 198.14 (VN)

i-tá-k'i /saq they go to war, warriors 182.5 (NP)

L-ká-ka /laxana its outside 144.11 (NP)

i-ká /qamtk Southwest wind 67.1 (NP)

á-k'a /mitX in bow of canoe 53.1

()-tá-k'a /lun-iks three in a canoe 52.10

L'xa-k'a /natitul two on opposite sides 118.1

i-qí /taq year 24.3 (VN)

t-qí /lát'a.uulXt-iX leggings 26.10 (VN)

a-qi / Lata sinew 189.12 (VN)

t-qi / qLax one hundred 245.1 (VN)

a-qa / Lax sun 19.10 (NP)

In all probability, many if not all other noun words with an initial component of the shape of a decade 310 element are also the result of nominalization of verb or particle stems, although the evidence is not available in KT.

Decade 320.

As in other languages of the proposed Penutian group, the Chinookan languages have little composition of nominal stems. The few clear examples have been listed. Non-reduplicated stems of more than two syllables are to be suspected, if not borrowings, of reflecting some no longer analyzable composition, e.g., i-qa.uik?iLi long dentalia, or some earlier process of noun formation, e.g. stems with final reduplication such as t-qanápsupsu a root 50.2 .

Decade 330.

These elements are presumed to be derivational, though of uncertain significance in KT. The presence of most of them as well as additional derivation suffixes, is known in WW.

-at: (i)-ia-puc-át his anus 184.5; cf. (i)-iá-puc-pa his anus at in an identical passage in retelling of same tale, 186.15.

t-iá-quit-at his feet 82.16; cf. t-iá-qu.it his feet, in an identical passage.

-tk: i-k?uá.ia-tk cache 143.15; cf. i-k?uá.ia cache 193.

i-k?fiXcu-tk flint 62.14; cf. i-k?fiXcu arrowpoints 61.16.

i-lXámi bed 43.4 , (i)-iá-lXami-tk his bed 20.5

Note also:

t-nau.áitk net 219.8, i-cú.itk dip net 35.13

Boas comments for Lower Chinook (HB 614): " 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."

-qux: t-iá-qu.it-qux his legs 45.4 , in phrase: ā ta-iáx t-iá-quit-qux it-kʔi.uktax Ah that his-legs crooked, i.e., that bandy-legged one.

-Xat: i-quit-Xat a vulva 127.2, 127.5; i-cá-quit-Xa 126.7 her vulva; i-ntá.ia-qu.it-Xa our vulva 136.2.

(i-ntá-kus(-)Xat our mouth 135.10 (?))

-lit: i-cqa-lit a warm day 219.6 (VN)

Decade 410.

-ax: i-cá-qa.iL-ax large 226.1, 227.2; cf. i-cá-qa.iL 108.13.

i-Lá-xalXt-ax its width 248.12

(i)-iá-Lqt-ax their length 192.5

-iX: (i)-iú-Lqt-iX long 84.6

n-(i)-iá-mla-iX-pa thicket in 32.11

f-maL-iX-pa to the bay 220.16

-tʔax: i-cá-pla-tʔax thick 114.1

a-iá-xtʔax his inheritance 194.1; possibly the factotum verb stem -x plus -tʔax as nominal compound, i.e., his to do, make, be, next (in time); the context is: i-tʔú/xu.ial ik-i-x-u-x a-iá-xtʔax a warrior became his inheritance, that is, he received guardian spirit power to become a warrior. (The form also suggests pronouns with stem -ax).

-ka: í-sitʔiX-ka one-half only 78.10

í-nat-ka one side only 78.11

a-núlʔ-ka-tiks a few only 221.12, 243.9

-ma: t-ká-kti-ma her ornaments 223.6

i-qʔalxuí-ma roots 231.7

t-mqái-ma prairie 221.7

Since KT sometimes has Lower Chinook -ma for Upper Chinook -max, these examples of -ma with nouns may be such, rather than the paritive suffix found commonly with pronouns, though in these instances the context supports the interpretation given.

Decade 510. Boas suggests that 511 -ks is in origin a plural of human beings, though it now occurs with human beings, animals and inanimate objects. He also suggests that 514 -max is in origin a distributive plural. While the KT forms do not consistently carry out such a distinction of function, the frequency of occurrence of the two suffixes with the different categories supports the interpretation. Relatively few persons and animate beings are found with -max, relatively few inanimate objects are found with -ks and its alternants.

-ks ~-aks ~-iks ~-uks :

- L-tamq'áI-ks bone war clubs 27.10
 (t)-c'i.áu-ks snakes 228.16
 t-kn.u.áks-ks hearts 99.8
 t-k'utk'út-ks dogs 156.9
 t-lapát-ks house posts 248.1
 t-ká-qsxilau-ks her worms 144.1
 t-iá-uc-aks its ears 109.7
 L-klmin-áks months, moons 152.12
 t-qanúqu-aks raccoon blankets 52.7
 t-ká-kucX-iks their backs 36.17 (of fish)
 (t)-t'u.ánxa-iks the Klikitat 236.1, 240.3
 t-qátutin-iks children 14.11
 t-p'i.ásX-iks salmon tails 179.10
 t-p'óp's-uks birds 176.1
 s-c'iqc'iq-uks two eagles 206.2
 L-kaim-úks months 27.2
 i-kál-uks men 175.2, 123.7 (elks)
 L-kál-uks men 175.2 (human)
 L'km-uks blackberries 150.16
 t-q'áqstaq-uks heads 139.10
 t-q'ulipXuná.i-uks youths 49.13
 t-iá-qiXtki-uks his slaves 247.5

- tiks : t-ká-pla-tiks many (persons) 47.12, 75.14
 t-iá-suX-tiks his relatives 26.1, 123.17
-nana : L-mí-uulX-nana your nephews 119.2
 L-mí-qiX-nana your brothers-in-law 160.2
 L'íá-xqixi-nana his brothers-in-law 15.7

- t-hát?au-nana maidens, virgins 238.4
- max: t-k?ua.iá-tk-max cache 143.12
- i-tuihí-max buffalo skins 28.7
- t-ká-t?u-max her breasts 120.4
- t-kunát-max salmon 98.8
- t-ktí-max things, dentalia, properties 30.3,
220.10, 29.9
- (t)-t?uxulá.iu.i-max warriors 152.16
- i-múlak-max elks 130.11
- i-tá-nXa-max each one fathom 108.6

Decade 610.

- tiX ~iX: i-ka-cúkt-iX early tomorrow 151.4 (VN)
- pa: L-iá-p?aqá-pa his nape on 144.16
- á-tuL-pa fire in 62.2; fire over 62.3; fire on
68.17.
- i-kúsax-pa sky in 12.4; sky to 24.2.
- t-qáL-max-pa creeks at 97.15
- t-ká-q?aqstaq-uks-pa their heads on 238.6
- t-iá-k?ilak-iX-pa Klatsop at 249.14
- n-(i)-iá-mla-iX-pa thicket in 32.11
- ti: L-kak?mána-ti like a chief 247.6 (she looked)
- L-klmin-áks-ti like moons (round face) 246.6
- L-k?u.iásX-ti like young fish (slippery) 188.3
- a-qa/ lax-ti like the sun (shone) 39.4

V

VERBS

- 5.1. Verb words.
- 5.2. Verb stems.
- 5.3. Relative order and affixes.
- 5.4. Examples and comment.

5.1. Verb words are defined as words occurring with initial tense prefixes (verb decade 100). All verb words occur inflected by the person-marker paradigm as well; but unlike noun and pronoun words, verb words may show more than one occurrence of the paradigm. The number of occurrences ranges from one to three, differentially marking subject, direct object and indirect object, largely by relative order position, partly by special forms.

5.2.0. The stem of a verb word belongs primarily to one of four major stem classes. Verb (V) stems occur as stems only in verb words; VN stems occur as stems both in noun and verb words; VP stems occur as stems both in verb and particle words; VNP stems occur as stems in verb, noun and particle words.

Subclasses of V stems are not distinguished in the present analysis. No criteria have appeared which would differentiate consistently large groups of stems within the KT corpus. Comparison with other Chinookan dialects will quite possibly show that a division can be made as to whether a stem occurs only in a transitive construction, only in an intransitive construction, or in both. Thus, of three stems to speak, -lxam occurs only in transitive

constructions with subject and object, -kim only in intransitive constructions with subject alone, and -xula may be found in both; all occur frequently enough in KT to make the classification reasonable. No semantic clues, however, seem sufficient to assess the class membership of stems infrequently found within KT, or to infer their possible productivity and lack thereof in a hypothetical fuller corpus.

5.2.1. The small number of VN stems are listed and discussed in 4.2.1. In their occurrence as verb words, they are secondarily listed in this chapter in 5.2.4.

5.2.2. The quite small VNP stem class is listed in 6.2.2; in their occurrence as verb words, the stems are listed in this chapter.

5.2.3. The VP stem class is listed in 6.2.1; in their occurrence as verb words, the stems are listed in this chapter.

5.2.4. Members of the V stem class are listed in this section. Numbers following the translation meaning refer to occurrences in KT by page and line. Numbers joined by hyphens and enclosed in parentheses refer to the morphological analysis by decades that is presented in 5.3. This indexing is condensed in that representatives of the person-marker positions are identified usually by but one constituent morpheme number.

-ait to make, put in a condition

qa-m-i-áit-x she makes you (sick i-) 10.14 (115-212-313-S-1212)

-aqL to open

q-a-L-x-í-aqL (someone) open the door (for them L-)

37.10 (219-314-418-441-511-S)

i-c-i-u-xuá-l-aqL he opened it 161.13 (113-213-313-417-441-511-S)

i-c-i-x-í-aqL-q he opened it 143.15 (113-213-313-441-511-S-815)

-i to go, travel

qa-n-ú-i-x I went 222.19 (115-311-611-S-1212)

a-L-ú-i-a he will go 106.13 (111-315-611-S-1211)

i-n-t-i I came 147.1 (113-311-612-S)

i-m-t-f-mam you came 146.14 (113-312-612-S-1121)

ik-(a)-ú-i/ cu it (a-) fell 114.1 (113-314-611-S/S)

-im to be in line ~ -ium

ik-a-i-l-ú-ium-Xit just in that line (it was caused to be 114.3 (113-314-413-511-611-S-814)

ik-a-s-l-ú-im-Xit they (a-) came opposite them (s-) 182.7 (113-314-416-511-611-S-814)

-ua to talk (VNP)

i-c-t-i-xá-ua-ck he answered 180.8 (113-213-317-413-441-S-1111)

i-q-i-x-uá-(a)kua-ck he was asked for 97.3 (113-219-313-341-S-911-1111)

-ua to run, pursue

a-lx-k-L-x-uá-ia we will drive them (L-) 241.15 (111-223-231-242-318-341-S-1211)

ik-i-uá-Xit it ran away (was caused to pursue, run) 110.14 (113-313-S-814)

a-q-i-X-l-uá-lal-m-ait-x they always went to hunt 39.2

(111-219-313-441-511-S-811-1011-1122-1212)

qa-t-x-n-k-uá/uulX-L-am-x (mice t-) are crawling up me

134.7, 137.8 (they have arrived to pursue themselves
upward on top of me continually, habitually)

(115-317-341-411-515-S/S-1012-1121-1212)

L-k-i-uá/ quam-niL-ait-x they always catch (i-) 49.10

(112-218-242-313-S/S-812-1012-1122-1212)

-uaLq to obtain food (-aLq ?)

i-n-u-uáLq-am I go to get food 104.1 (113-311-611-S-1121)

-uaq to strike, render dead ~-uaqu (singular object only)

i-n-f-uaq I killed him 115.3 (113-211-313-S)

q-i-uáqu-ax it was killed 244.7 (112-219-313-S-1212)

i-q-f-uaq he was struck 103.2 (113-219-313-S)

-ui to dance ~ -ui.iu (VN)

m-úi-ck you dance (all day) 97.11 (112-312-S-1111)

i-uf-la he danced 138.2 (313-S-811)

n-u-Xui-uf/iu-cku-ax they danced 245.4 (114-317-441-511-
S-1111-1212)

qa-L-u-uf-cku-ax it was flood tide (water L- danced)

196.3 (115-315-611-S-1111-1212)

-uincx to melt

qa-L-u-uincx-ax it (L-) melted 218.8 (115-315-611-S-1212)

-uu to go after, gather (VN)

i-k-a-x-l-k?í-uu-lal-mam she went to gather (roots and
berries 73.1 (113-214-314-441-511-614-S-811-1121)

c-u-Xuá-uu-la he makes them fly away 92.2

(112-213-317-441-S-811)

-uulq? to swallow, eat (VP)

a-n-L-u-uúlq?-am-a I will eat them 121.10

(111-211-318-611-S-1121-1211)

i-q-t-n-xá-u-uulq? it (t-) was eaten from me 102.5

(113-219-317-411-441-611-S)

-pa to go out

a-n-u-pá-ia I will go out 63.6 (111-311-611-S-1211)

ik-f-ql-pa it went out (of his mouth) 150.2 (113-313-

517-S)

-piqLa to scratch

i-s-k-i-ú-piqLa they scratched him 117.12

(113-216-242-313-611-S)

-pixua to blow down

qa-c-t-u-píxu-ax-iX it blew them down 67.3

(115-213-317-611-S-1212-1311)

-pu to close ~-pua

a-m-x-puá-ia close it 143.8 (111-312-341-S-1211)

ik-i-s-x-pú-Xuit he closed (his eyes s-) 43.14

(113-313-416-441-S-814)

-pun to become dark (VN)

n-(a)-u-pún-m-x it grew dark 85.16 (114-314-611-S-

1011-1212)

-puna to bring food to wife's relatives

i-L-k-L-f-ka-puna they carried food to him 159.3

(113-218-242-318-413-515-S)

-pck to come up, move from open to cover ~ -pcka

tx-ú-pcka let us go inland 63.11 (112-322-611-S)

ik-(a)-ú-pcka she went up 139.13 (113-314-611-S)

- i-ú-pck he went up 114.8 (113-313-611-S)
- pcx to sew, mend
- i-L-k-f-u-pcx they sewed together 204.14
(113-218-242-313-611-S)
- pq to enter
- a-lx-ú-pq-a we will go in 69.10 (111-223-611-S-1211)
- á-ska-t-pq come in (house) 23.10, 95.1
(112-314-516-612-S)
- pqna to name
- qa-m-n-u-pqna-nan-m-x you name me (always call names)
134.15 (115-212-311-611-S-812-1011-1212)
- i-q-ń-u-pqna I was named 219.17 (113-219-311-611-S)
- psut to hide, conceal (VN)
- a-n-x-psút-a I will hide 157.13 (111-311-341-S-1211)
- i-c-a-L-xá-psut he hid it from him (his arrow a-)
17.16 (113-213-314-415-441-S)
- pna to jump
- s'pna jump (your 2 feet) 147.14 (112-316-S)
- i-c-í-kn-pna it jumped at him 58.11 (113-213-313-
442-512-S)
- p'iaLx to gather (roots, etc.)
- a-n-t-u-p'i.áLx-a I shall gather them 86.4
(111-211-317-611-S-1211)
- t-p'iaLx gather them 112.15 (112-317-S)
- p'u to close (diminutive from -pu ?)
- a-m-n-p'ú-Xuit-a close your eyes 146.3 (111-312-512-
S-814-1211)

qa-i-au-i-p'ú-t-pa at the place where it is tied

(115-313-417-511-S-1131-1312)

-p'ust to braid, or be braided

L-x-p'úst-am-t-iX it was braided 131.10

(112-318-341-S-1121-1131-1311)

-p'un to put up, hang up

i-c-(a)-u-p'un-it he hung her up 14.13 (113-213-314-

611-S-1131)

-t to move, set in motion; hence, variously, to give, bring,

fetch, put, shake, take, return.

i-c-s'm-l-u-t he gives them to you 165.4

(113-213-316-412-511-611-S)

a-k-i-n-l-ú-t-a she shall give it to me 30.8

(111-214-313-411-511-611-S)

L-n-f-t give it to me 92.11 (112-315-411-511-S)

i-c-(a)-u-t-ámit he took it away 91.8 (113-213-314-611-

S-813 (he caused it to move))

i-c-i-x-l-t-ámit he shook it (his leg) 126.1

(113-213-313-413-441-511-S-813)

a-qa-m-t-X-m-ú-t-a (slaves t-) are exchanged for you

(111-219-312-417-441-513-611-S-1211) 127.11

a-n-i-t-ám fetch her 21.13 (314-411-511-S-1121)

i-s-X't-akua they returned 78.1 (113-316-341-S-911)

a-X't-aku-t she returns, is turning back 210.14

(112-314-341-S-911-1131)

i-c's-a-l-t-i he put them onto her 51.5 (113-213-316-

414-511-S-1213)

-ta to move (initial in compound stems)

i-st-u-tá/áulX it swelled 228.6 (113-316-611-S/S)

a-n-X-tá/á?ua I will return 249.10 (111-311-341-S/S)

i-c-L-tá/quam he reached it 89.7 (113-213-315-S/S)

i-k-i-k-l-ta/qL she left him 9.2 (113-214-313-442-511-S/S)

i-q-i-qí-ta/qL he was left 11.1 (113-219-313-517-S/S)

-tats to leave food (for someone)

a-m-n-l-kí-tats-a you shall leave food for me 59.7

i-s-k-i-n'í-tats they left it for me 60.7

(113-216-242-313-411-511-S)

-taq to be a year (VN) ~-taqu

n-i-x-l-táqu-am-x-iX every year (it-itself-as a year-
arrives-customarily) 175.2 (114-313-441-511-S-
1212-1311) (Note formal parallel to -ta/quam)

-tan to catch (game)

i-c-a-n-f-tan he catches it for me 145.15

(113-213-314-411-511-S)

-tina to kill (plural object)

i-n-i-ú-tina I killed them (elks i-) 214.16

(113-211-313-611-S)

i-s-k-t-u-tín(a)-iL they killed them 84.8 (113-216-242-
317-611-S-1012)

-tu (initial in compound stems)

i-c-n-tú/áua-ck he sent me 116.9 (113-213-311-S/S-1111)

i-c-t-u-tú/áua-ck he sent them 163.1 (113-213-317-611-
S/S-1111)

i-q-L-u-tú/áua-lal-m-ck he was always sent 196.11

(113-219-315-611-S/S-811-1011-1111)

n-tú^haaq kill me! 11.6 (112-311-S^hS; or 112-311-612-S)
 -tuks to suckle ~ -t^huks (?)

i-t-a-x-l-t^huks-amit she suckled them 156.10

(113-317-414-441-511-S-813)

ik-i-tuks he suckled 119.13 (113-313-S) (HB 661.7 cites

-u-tuks (611-S); -t^huks may be error, but note

stem -t^hu breasts, stems -ks to pick berries,

-qs to bite)

-tum to accompany

ik-a-x-l-tum she went in company 223.3 (113-314-441-

511-S)

i-n-u-kuma-tum I accompanied them 183.5

(113-211-317-442-513-S)

-tum to give birth

ik-a-ká-tum she gave birth 156.7, 113.12, 17.1

(113-314-515-S) ?

ik-a-xā-tum she gave birth 141.6 (113-314-411-S)

i-k-i-u-X-ú-tum she gave birth to him 141.7, 156.8

(113-214-313-417?-441?-611-S)

qa-L-q(sic)-túm-x one who gives birth to a child 49.7

(115-315-?-S-1212; analysis of this stem
 problematic)

-tk to put down, place

i-c^hL-X-tk he put it on the ground 152.2

(113-213-318-514-S)

a-k-au-i-kí-tk-ax she kept them 207.9

(111-214-417-511-613-S-1212)

i-c-X-ú-tk-akua-x he stepped (put down around) 86.7

(113-213-(316?)-341-611-S-911-1212) (since c-

occurs normally as transitive subject before object, it perhaps should be inferred that object s- (two feet) has been assimilated here, though c-s- occurs in KT).

a-q-i-ú-tk-a he will be put (buried) 172.16

(111-219-313-611-S-1211)

i-q-a-i-l-u-tk she was twisted 53.2 (113-219-314-413-511-611-S)

i-s-k-á-ka-tk they put into the canoe 114.11 (113-216-242-314-515S; of 10 instances of this sense, 5 have -tq in KT, 5 -tk)

-tkiq (or -tkik) to cover over

i-q-L-a-ká-tkiq they were covered with dirt 195.4

(113-219-315-414-515-S)

qa-L-u-kua-tkiku-Xuit-x they were covered up (by snow L-)

(115-215-317-515-S-814-1212) 217.8

-tq to be heated

i-L-f-X-l-tq he heated stones (L-) 108.2

(113-218-313-441-511-S)

-tx to make war?

i-qa-nc-tx-am they come to make (war) on us 245.14

(113-219-311-323-S-1121)

-tXu to stand, step ~ -tXu

m-tXu-it stand (up) 61.10 (112-312-S-921)

a-ms-x-l-tXu-ft-ck-a make yourselves ready 180.9

(111-312-323-441-511-S-921-1111-12111)

(a)-i-km-tXuf-la she stood there (by him) 33.12

(112-314-413-442-513-S-811)

-tʔit to be fastened together

s-X-m-tʔit 34.4 two fastened together

(112-316-441-513-S; or 112-316-441-513-S-1131)

-L to move, be in motion

i-n-tʔL-am I brought them 115.6 (113-211-317-S-1121)

i-c-a-m-f-L-am he brings it to you 199.17

(113-213-314-412-511-S-1121)

ia-ms-f-L-am I bring her to you 123.2

(112-313-332-412-423-511-S-1121)

i-L-u-Xuá-L-akua she went around it (house t-) 157.16

(113-215-317-341-S-911)

i-q-s-xʔL-akua they were surrounded 171.10

(113-219-316-341-S-911)

i-L-k-á-xa-L someone took her (fire) 92.9, 96.16

(113-215-242-314-341-S)

L-a-x-n-L-ámit she sang a conjuror's song (?-her-self-
into-motion-caused) 224.11 (318?-414-441-512-S-

813)

i-k-u-Xua-L-ánuk-L-ck she went round it often 125.4

(113-214-317-341-S-812, 911-1012-1111)

-Lait to be, remain, stay, sit

a-m-u-Láit-a stay there 103.7 (111-312-611-S-1211)

i-c-i-k-ń-Lait he waited for that one 176.2

(113-213-313-442-513-S)

i-c-(a)-u-Láit-amit he put her down, placed her 121.7

(113-213-314-611-S-813)

i-c-a-ká-Lait he threw her (in fight-sat on her?)

212.9 (113-213-314-515-S)

i-X²-Lait they (elks i-) are dead 234.3, 234.13

(112-313-341-S)

u-Xuá-Lait they are dead 31.17, 232.13

(112-317-341-S)

-La to smell

i-k²-L-i-La she smelled them 122.12 (113-214-318-511-S)

i-t-f-i-La(smoke) he smelled 91.11 (113-317-413-511-S)

-La.iu to move, change residence

i-s-ká-La.iu they two moved 187.11 (113-316-515-S)

n-u-kua-Lá.iu-x they moved 225.1 (114-317-515-S-1212)

-La.ima to rest

ik-i-x-Lá.ima-ck he rested 160.9 (113-313-341-S-1111)

-La.uina to await

i-qa-m-u-Lá.uina you were awaited 248.9 (113-219-312-611-S)

-Lata to haul, pull, carry backward, downward

qa-n-i-u-Láta-x I haul him 79.14 (115-211-313-611-S-1212)

i-u-Láta-Xit he fell down 115.2 (113-611-S-814)

-Lat[?]amq to be drowned, to drown (VN)

a-q-i-m-ú-Lat[?]amq-am-a you will be drowned 107.14

(111-219-313-412-611-S-1121-1211) (cf. -ktimq)

-Lamaq to put

i-q-i-u-Lámaq it was put (middle of house) 43.11

(113-219-313-611-S)

-Li to string

i-k-i-x²k[?]i-Li she strung them up 190.2

(113-214-313-341-614-S)

i-k-i-a-n-k?i-Li-na she strings them (into sinew)

192.18 (113-214-313-414-512-614-S-812)

-LuXua to think

n-x-LúXua-it I thought 43.15 (112-311-341-S-921)

m-x-LúXua-n you think 26.5 (112-312-341-S-812)

a-q-u-kuma-LúXua-it they knew it (it was thought near,
beside them?) (revelations of Cultee's grandfather
became known to "seers" on his return from land of
the dead) 251.4, 251.8 (111-219-317-442-513-S-921)

-Ltq to kick

i-k-i-ká-Ltq she kicked it 156.8 (131-214-313-515-S)

-Lk?cXima to singe

a-q-i-a-Lk?cXimá-ia he shall be singed 68.16

-Lq ~ -Lx to win, conquer, finish ~-Lxu

i-lx-k-f-u-Lq we'll conquer him 159.14 (113-223-242-
313-611-S)

a-mt-k-n-ú-Lxu-a you two win over me 65.5 (111-212-242-
311-611-S-1211)

i-n-t-ú-Lxu-m I finished them 134.4 (113-211-317-611-
S-1121)

i-L'x-u-Lq he finished 14.3 (113-315-341-611-S)

qa-c-L-i-k-ú-Lq-ax he finished on it 247.4
(115-213-318-413-515-611-S-1212)

n-i-x-Lxú-m-x it is finished 244.13 (114-313-341-S-
1121-1212)

-Lqam to go alongside

a-lx-k-f-Lqam-la let us go alongside their canoe 57.3
(111-213-242-313-S-811)

-Lx to burn

i-t-m-x-l-ki-Lx you burnt them (they-you-onaccountof-
burn) 139.14 (113-317-412-441-511-613-S)

a-ms-k-l-i-km-ki-Lx-a you burn (pitchwood L-) (near
smelt i-) 37.7 (111-212-242-315-413-442-513-613-
S-1211)

ik-u-xuf-ki-Lx they made a fire 69.1 (113-317-441-511-
613-S)

n-ú-Xuma-Lx-ax they were burned 231.1 (114-317-441-513-
S-1212)

-Lx ~ -Lxa motion from cover to open, esp. toward water

a-tx-ú-Lx-a let us go down to the water 205.11
(111-322-331-611-S-1211)

m-Lxa go down to the water 199.16 (112-312-S)

a-Lx-t she comes down to the water 144.8 (112-314-S-1131)

qa-t-k-Lx-ax they went down to the water 237.18
(115-317-342-S-1212)

-LXaq ~ -LXaqu to anger, be angry

a-m-X-LXaq-t you are angry 132.2 (111-312-341-S-1131)

n-i-X-LXáqu-ax he became angry 30.10 (114-313-341-S-1212)

ik-a-X-LXaq she became angry 249.17 (113-314-341-S)

-Lxi to crawl (VN)

ik-f-k?-Lxi he crawled 144.8 (113-313-443-S)

i-u-k?ua-Lxi-(a)kua-x he climbed about in trees 153.1
(112-313-417-443-S-911-1212)

ik-a-f-Lxi /pq?-iX she went into it (hole) 123.1
(113-314-413-S /S-1311)

-Lxiu to bend

n-u-xui-Lxi.u-x (they) bent 31.15 (114-317-441-511-S-1212)

-Lxik to turn ~ -Lxiku

i-x²-Lxik he turned 249.7 (112-313-341-S)

ik-i-x²-Lxiku-a it returned 204.3 (113-313-341-S-1211)

-Lm to kill ~ -Lma (in sense of completing killing?)

a-qa-m-ú-Lm you will be killed 78.14 (111-219-312-611-S)

(killed for good)

i-s-k-i-á-k?-Lma-ck they killed the last one 97.12

(113-216-242-313-414-443-S-1111)

-Ll to blacken (including by burning) (VNP)

i-L-k-a-x-Ll-am they singed her 155.7 (113-218-242-314-341-S-1121)

i-n²-x-Ll I am burnt 19.1

a-q-a-km-Ll-(1)ál-m-x they were burned (blackened--canoes on outside) 241.4 (111-219-314-442-513-S-811-1011-1212)

-LluX to not know, i.e., to not remember, identify

nc-k-u-Xuí-LluX-t we do not know them 40.7

(211-223-242-317-441-511-S-1131) (cf. -luX)

s-k-n-xá-LluX-t they do not like me (remember that we are friends) 116.11 (112-216-242-311-341-S-1131)

-L?lx to be lean ~ -L?l-iu-x

(a)-ú-L?lx-t she is lean 212.11 (112-314-611-S-1131)

q-i-ú-L?lx a lean one 46.6 (112-219-313-616-S)

i-u-L?l-iu-x-t the lean ones (elks i-) 234.18

(112-313-611-S-1131)

-caca ~-cʔacʔa to defecate (VN)

i-c-L-ú-cʔácʔa-(a)m he went to defecate 101.2

(113-213-318-611-S-1121)

qa-t-k-L-u-cáca-x they defecate 237.5 (115-217-242-318-611-S-1212; possibly augmentative-diminutive involved in -caca ~ -cʔacʔa)

-cax to cry

i-m-kʔcax you cry 174.12 (113-312-515?-S)

ia-m-k-ń-cax I cry for you 119.1 (112-313-332-412-442-513-S)

-cinkt to eat breakfast

n-u-Xui-kʔi-cinkt-amit-x they took their breakfast

231.12 (114-317-441-511-614-S-813-1212)

ik-i-x-kʔi-cinkt-amit he ate before going out 133.11

(113-313-341-515-S-813)

-cu to speak

n-i-x-l-cú-x he spoke 231.4 (114-313-441-511-S-1212)

ik-ú-Xui-cu they spoke together 40.19 (113-317-441-511-S-1212)

-cukti to become day (VN)

al-i-cúkti-a it was going to become day 9.11

(111-313-S-1211)

-cki to turn over

ik-i-s-l-ckf-Xit it turned over (to them) 107.12

(113-313-416-511-S-814)

-ckc to wash

i-cʔt-u-ckc he washed them (legs) 153.11

(113-213-317-611-S)

-ck?i to be skilled in making canoes

i-á-x-u-ck?i-na he knew how to build (canoes a-)

225.2 247.5 (112-313-414-441-611-S-812)

-ck?u to stretch out

qa-L-k-i-kn-ck?u-ámit-x he stretches it out 221.10

(115-215-242-313-342-512-S-813-1212)

-cqa to be warm 250.9 (VN)

i-ú-cqa-it it was warm 250.9 (112-313-611-S-921)

i-L-ú-cqa-it they were hot 108.2 (113-318-611-S-921)

-cqua to be ugly

qa-L-s-ká-cqua-it (blood L-) is ugly on one (face s-?)

(115-315-416-515-S-921)

-cx to observe

u-xu-í-l-u-cx they saw the dance (to that song) 246.12

(112-317-341-413-511-611-S)

ik-i-x-l-ú-cx-am he came to see the dance 246.9

(113-313-441-511-611-S-1121)

-cxam to sing shaman's songs (VN) ~-cxama

m^h-k-cxam you sing 179.12 (112-312-515?-S)¹

ik-ú-kua-cxam they sang 67.9 (113-317-515-S)

a-L-k-cxam-á.ia he sings his conjuror's song 127.14

(111-315-515-S-1211)

-cXm to boil (VN)

i-c-f-u-cXm he boiled them 108.3 (113-213-313-611-S)

-cm ~-cmaq to hear

i-n-x-cmaq I heard 101.7 (113-311-341-S)

i-c-au-i-cmaq he heard them 249.13 (113-213-317-511-S)

i-c-l-cm-l-it-m-ck he heard it much 248.14

(113-213-315-S-811-921-1011-1111)

n-a-i-x-l-cm-ákua-x he learned (she was dead) 247.7

(114-314-413-441-511-S-911-1212)

-c?iLx to be narrow

qa-s-i-x-c?iLx-aku(a)-it-x it (legs s-) grew narrow 125.1

(115-316-413-441-S-911-921-1212)

-c?iqLku to be crosswise, athwart (VN)

i-u-c?iqLku-it it became cross wise (313-611-S-921) 53.3

-c?inaqu to press upon

m-i-xa-c?inaqu-ax press it 46.10 (112-212-313-341-S-1212)

-ka to have contact with, be in adjacent position, hence,

variously, to take, hold, put on, strike, fetch, send for

a-m-i-kl-ká-ia you take him 80.82 (111-212-313-442-511-

S-1211)

i-c-i-kl-ká-t he was holding it 104.17 (113-213-313-442-

511-S-1131)

i-t-k-ú-ku-i-ka they took them 223.4 (113-217-242-317-

442-511-S)

i-t-k-u-ku-i-ká-t they held them 173.16 (113-217-242-317-

442-511-S-1131)

a-m-x-ká-(a)mit-akua you stay in canoe 48.10

(111-312-341-S-813-911)

i-c-t-i-l-ká-(a)mit he put into it 159.14 (113-213-317-

413-511-S-813)

i-q-i-n-l-ká-(a)mit I was struck by it 147.3

(113-219-313-411-511-S-813)

qa-i-a-xá-ka-t-x he wanted her (with q?axs to marry) 247.

(115-313-414-441-S-1131-1212) (he-her-his-adjacency-
state of-customarily)

a-n-i-u-kuá-l-mam I go to fetch it 238.9

(111-211-313-611-S-811-1121)

i-ká-l-mam fetch it 218.12 (112-313-S-811-1121)

qa-c-i-u-kuá-l-mam-x he went to take them 216.12

(115-213-313-611-S-811-1121-1212)

i-q-(a)-u-kuá-l-mam she was sent for 249.14

(113-219-314-611-S-1121-1212)

a-n-i-l-k-l-ú-kua-cku-a I shall send him for them 116.5

(111-211-313-418-442-511-611-S-1111-1211)

-ka to fly

ik-(a)-ú-kua she flew 146.8 (113-314-611-S)

(cf. k-t-k-ká-la fliers 44.3, verbal noun)

ik-a-f-l-ka-Lx thought of (a-) 95.16 (113-314-413-511-

S/S; it (a-) to him flew from cover to open, or,
possibly, -ka here is for drifted)

-ka to drift ~ -kua

i-ú-kua-cu it went down the river 88.3 (112-313-611-S/S)

f-t-ka-c-x it drifted down the river 205.10

(313-612-S/S-1212)

-ka.iu to fight

i-s-x-l-ka.iu they fought each other 212.14

(113-316-441-511-S)

-kacam to comb

i-l-i-x-l-kácam he combed himself 16.2 (113-315-413-441-511-S; L- refers to comb)

-kam to hide behind

i-s-xá-kam-la they hid behind 182.5 (113-316-341-S-811)

-kiq? to teach

qa-k-i-n-kí-kiq?-nan-m-ait-x she taught him always
216.8 (115-214-313-512-613-S-812-1011-1122-1212)

-kim to say

i-n²kim I said 181.2 (113-311-S)

i-c-i-k-l-kí-kim he spoke to them 84.10 (113-213-313-442-511-613-S)

ik-f-kim he said 58.1, 106.9, 170.2, 246.7 (113-313-S)

ik-á-kim she said 22.5, 78.1, 193.6, 223.1 (113-314-S)

qa-s-kím-x they spoke 39.8, 232.13 (115-316-S-1212)

qa-t-kím-x they said 216.5 (115-317-(342?)-S-1212)

ik-u-kuá-kim they said 36.7, 41.9, 194.14, 237.1

(113-317-342-S)

-kila to land, go ashore

a-lx-k-i-á-kila let us land 55.15 (111-223-313-414-S)

a-ms-x-f-kila-iX go ashore 54.5 (111-212-241-313-S-1311)

-kilq to tie rope round ~ -kilqu

ik-i-x²kilq he tied rope round his waist 83.6

(113-313-341-S)

i-u-kuá¹qu-x his belt was on 48.12 (112-313-611-S-1212)

-ku to be poor, unhappy, frightened

a-ms-k-u-Xua-ku-ámit-a you will make people poor, unhappy

38.1 (111-212-223-242-317-341-S-813-1211)

i-qa-n-u-ku-ámit-ck I was frightened 194.7

(113-219-311-611-S-813-1111; KT has -kuámitack)

-ku to fall (?)

ik-f-x-l-u-ku/cu it fell down 188.10 (113-313-441-511-

611-S/S) (stem shape problematic)

-kua to pass, to go past, to go home

ik-f-n-x-kua it passed me 110.11 (113-313-411-441-S)

i-s-kuá-mam they came home 41.2 (113-316-S-1121)

n-u-Xuá-kua-x they assembled 245.2 (114-317-341-S-1212)

i-L-i-k-l-kua-(a)ku(a)-iX he went (into lake i-) 238.13

(113-315-413-442-511-S-911-1311)

-kua to wish

a-n-i-n-l-kuá-cku-a I wish to eat it (I wish it to me)

194.8 (111-211-313-411-511-S-1111-1211)

i-m-l-kuá-x do you want (it to you) 142.33

(112-313-412-511-S-1212)

-kui to gather, carry ~ -kuia

qa-c-i-u-kú.i-ait-x he gathered (roots i-) 150.9

(115-213-313-611-S-1122-1212)

i-k-(a)-u-kuf-t she always carried it 191.16

(113-214-314-611-S-1131)

i-c-ú-kuia he went to catch (mice t-) 131.3

(113-213-317-S)

i-q-ú-ku.ia they were taken 215.4 (113-219-317-S)

i-c-t-ú-kui he carried them up 73.10

(113-213-317-611-S/S)

-kuiq to throw down, away

i-k-u-Xuá-kuiq she threw them away 120.2 (113-214-317-

341-S)

i-c-s-i-l-Xá-kuiq he threw them down to him 116.10,

117.12 (113-213-316-413-511-514?-S (possibly -Xa

is on ground, a unique case of two 500 prefixes

in sequence)

-kuíma to paint ~-kíma (VN)

a-m-n-u-kuíma-cku-a you paint me 147.1

(111-212-311-611-S-1111-1211)

i-l-a-x-l-kíma-ck she painted herself 126.8

(113-315-414-441-511-S-1111)

-kuL to carry ~-kuLa

a-n-s-ú-kuL-a I shall carry it 227.9 (111-211-316-611-

S-1211)

i-c-i-ú-kuL-am he brought it 130.11 (113-213-313-611-

S-1121)

i-c's-u-kuL he took them 165.9 (113-213-316-611-S)

i-q-(a)-u-kuLa they were carried 233.4 (113-219-314-

611-S)

-kuLi to tell

i-n-x-kúLi-ck I told 169.12 (113-311-341-S-1111)

a-m-xa-n-l-kuLi-cku-a you tell me 112.3

(111-212-214-311-511-S-1111-1211)

ik-i-x-kuLi-lal-m-ck he told much 184.3

(113-313-341-S-811-1011-1111)

-kusm to dry (food) ~-kusma

i-q-á-t-u-ksm they dried (salmon t-) 220.18

(113-219-314-417-611-S) (sic, no 3442)

u-xuá-kusma-l they were drying salmon 73.3

(112-317-341-511-S-811)

qa-q-i-u-kusm-x they dried them (elks i-) 222.9

(115-219-313-611-S-1212)

-kpiqku to be contorted

i-s-i-kpiqku-it his face was contorted 184.6

(113-316-413-S-921; one example)

-kta to run, walk up and down (hurriedly)

m'kta run 114.2 (112-312-S)

ik-á-kta she ran 122.2 (113-314-S)

L-ktá-la he walked about (paced up and down) 115.4

i-L-f-kta-iX it (land i-) was flooded (water L- ran on it, as result of crying) 23.15 (113-215-313-S-1311)

-kti to stretch out

i-c-i-s-k'á-l-u-kti he stretched it out to it 44.9

(113-213-313-416-443-511-611-S)

-ktik he slept (lay down)

i-ú-ktik-t he slept (was lying down) 162.8

(112-313-611-S-1131)

-ktimnq to dive

ik-i-ktimnq he dived 24.1 (113-313-S) (cf. -Lat'amnq)

-ktkm to spin

i-k-á-ktkm she spun (sinew a-) 190.9 (113-214-314-S)

-ktqu to turn over, round

ik-a-xá-i-ktqu-iX she turned over 35.8 (113-314-341-413-S-1311)

i-st-i-ktq̄u-Xuit-iX they twisted its face 53.5

(113-316-413-S-814-1311)

-kLi to lie

i-u-kLi-Xit it (rope) lay there 124.14 (112-313-611-S-814)

-kLi.ua to paddle

i-s-kLi.ua-la they paddled 182.3 (113-316-S-811)

-kLua to creep, approach secretly

ik-a-xá-L-k?n-u-kLu.a she approached secretly 129.7

(113-314-341-418-443-512-611-S)

i-t-xa-tx-k?i-t-kLu.á-t they approach us two secretly

171.10 (113-317-341-422-431-614-? error?-S-1131)

-kLp to miss ~-kLpa

i-q-f-u-kLp he was missed 68.3 (113-219-313-611-S)

a-q-i-u-kLpá-x it was missed 40.1 (111-219-313-611-S

1212)

-kc~-kca to carry

qa-n-i-u-kc/pa-x I carry him out 79.14 (115-211-313-

611-S/S-1212)

i-k-t-ú-kca-n (cholera) took them 247.8

(113-214-317-611-S-812)

-kc?i.unX to become contorted

i-s-i-kc?f.unX his face (s-) became contorted 149.13

(113-316-413-S, or -413-515?-S; one example)

-ks to pick berries

qa-s-x-l-ú-ks-ait-x they two picked berries 118.2

(115-316-441-511-611-S-1122-1212)

-ksit to lie down

a-m-x-ú-ksit-a you lie down 161.12 (111-312-341-611-S-
1211)

ik-i-x-ú-ksit he lay down 113.1 (113-313-341-611-S)

-kst to see, look at

a-tx-k-(a)-ú-kst-am we will go and see 105.6
(111-222-231-242-314-611-S-1121)

m'ki-kst look! 94.9 (112-312-613-S)

-kst to be done, ripe

i-nc-ú-kst we are done (all steamed) 120.10
(113-311-323-611-S)

i-ú-kst it was done (112-313-611-S) 37.10

i-t-k'kst they were done 48.13 (113-317-342-S)

I-u-kst ripe 118.3, 219.13 (112-318-611-S)

-kstx to carry

i-q-i-a-ql-ú-kstx he was carried ashore 186.10
(113-219-313-414-517-611-S)

i-c-s-a-ql-ú-kstx-am he carried them back on his back
117.15 (113-213-316-414-517-611-S-1121)

-ksqua to fly fighting (?)

a-nt-x-i-l-u-ksquá /aúlX-am-a we fly up fighting 138.9
(111-311-322-341-413-511-611-S /S-1121-1211)

i-s-x-f-l-u-ksquá /aúlX they flew up fighting 139.3
(113-316-341-413-511-611-S /S)

-kna to not get

qa-s-f-Xm-kná-x he did not get anything (hunting) 85.13
(115-316-413-441-513-S-1212)

-kna to be afraid

qa-s-u-Xui-kná-x they became afraid 240.2 (115-316-417-
441-511-S-1212) (they = t-; referent of s-?)

a-s-(s)-Xm-kná-t-iX they are afraid 211.11
(111-316-416-441-513-S-1131-1311)

-kl to know ~-kul-kla

n²L-u-kul I know them 85.8 (112-211-318-611-S)

s-k-ñ-u-kul they know me 117.6 (112-216-242-311-611-S)

f-x-kl he awake 119.15 (he know himself)
(112-313-341-S)

a-tx²kl-m-a we will be awake 115.14 (111-322-331-(341)-
S-1011-1211; or -S-1121-1211)

i-c-i-u-kúl /aqL-q he recognized him (know/open) 249.1
(113-213-313-611-S/S-815)

i-L-k-i-u-kúl /aqL he knew it (to be a whale) 195.1
(113-215-242-313-611-S/S)

i-n-f-ql-kl I saw it (I-it-outward-from enclosed space-
knew) 13.9 (113-211-313-517-S)²

a-ms-k-i-ql-klá-ia you will see him 173.9
(111-212-223-242-313-517-S-1212)

i-c-ú-qui-kla he saw them 88.13 (113-213-317-517-S)

-k?a to haul, pull

a-n-L-x-k?a-ia I shall haul her 104.16 (111-211-315-
341-S-1211)

i-k-f-x-k?a she pulled it 124.14 (113-214-313-341-S)

i-k-á-Xa-t-k?a she pulled it 121.16 (113-214-314-341-
612-S)

i-q-ú-xua-k?a it was pulled out 154.1, 219.8

(113-219-317-341-S)

-k?a.ia.u to play, laugh, smile

a-tx-k?a.iá.u-lal-m-a we will play 167.17

ik-i-x-k?a.iá.u-lal-m-ck he laughed 81.2

(113-313-341-S-811-1011-1111)

i-x-k?a.iá.u-la he smiled (at him) 167.15

(112-313-341-S-811)

-k?ait to leave over ~-k?uait

ik-i-x-k?áit-iX he left it over 132.6 (113-313-341-S-1311)

i-u-k?uáit-iXit he is left 95.13 (112-313-611-S-1123)

-k?acX to resemble ~-k?a-iu-cX

s-x-l-k?acX they resemble one another 163.7

nc-x-l-k?á.iu.cX-ax we resemble each other 153.8

(112-311-323-341-511-S-1212)

-k?ák to fit ~-k?aku

qa-s-x-k?áku-ax it fitted 201.7 (115-316-341-S-1212)

ik-i-x-k?ak it fitted 78.12 (113-313-341-S)

-k?anXáti to fish sturgeon in gill nets (VN)

u-Xui-k?anXáti-mam they go to fish sturgeon in gill

nets 197.16 (112-317-341-511-S-1121)

-k?iXa to swim ~-k?uiXa ~-k?uiXi ~-k?uiX (?)

a-n-u-k?ufXi-a I will swim 9P.6 (111-311-611-S-1211)

i-ú-k?uiXa he swam 68.12 (112-313-611-S)

i-ú-k?uiX-i he swam across 97.12 (112-313-611-S-1213)

ik-i-ká-k?iXa-iX he swam across 94.5 (113-313-515-S-1311)

-k[?]ua to return, to go home

n-X-k[?]uá-ia I will go home 10.1 (112-311-341-S-1211)

i-n-Xa-t-k[?]uá-mam I came home 132.15 (113-311-341-612-S-1121)

a-lx[?]xa-t-k[?]ua let us go home 186.6 (111-223-231-241-612-S (-1211?))

-k[?]ua(-)ck to be surprised, startled

i-ú-k[?]ua(-)ck he was surprised, startled 194.4

(112-313-611-S (-1111?) (1 example)

-k[?]uLit to put down, put away, put up

i-u-k[?]úLit-x it stood, was put down 103.9

(112-313-611-S-1212)

i-c-i-ú-k[?]úLit he put it down 104.10 (113-213-313-611-S)

i-k-(a)-u-k[?]úLit she put it up 136.11 (113-214-314-611-S)

-k[?]uma to look at

i-c-t-u-k[?]umá-nan-m-ck he looked at it 152.5

(113-213-317-611-S-812-1011-1111)

qa-L-k-i-u-k[?]umá-nan-m-x she looked at them 234.5

(115-215-242-313-611-S-812-1011-1212)

-k[?]ulat to be crossways

i-u-k[?]ulát-Xit he put it crossways 57.6 (112-313-611-

S-814)

-qa.ia to groan

ik-a-i-X-l-qá.ia-lal-m-ck he groaned 83.15

(113-314-413-441-511-S-811-1011-1111)

-qa.iu to lie down (two persons), to go to bed

i-s-k[?]L-qa.iu they were lying down 23.13 (113-216-242-

315-S)

i-s-k-L-qá.iu-Xuit they went to bed 137.4

(113-216-242-315-S-814)

i-L-k-L-qá.iu-Xuit they went to sleep 21.7

(113-218-242-315-S-814)

-qami to see, look ~-qumi

a-ms-k-f-qami-ck do you see 74.3 (111-212-223-242-313-S-1111, or 111-312-613-S-1111)

ik-f-qami-t he saw (had eyes open) 116.1 (113-313-S-1131)

n-(a)-ú-qumi I see her 190.18 (112-211-314-611-S)

a-ms-k-i-ú-qumi-t-a you see him 173.10 (111-212-223-242-313-611-S-1131-1211)

-qamcxu to ask ~-qumcxu

i-c-t-a-x-qámcxu-(a)kua he asked her about them 29.4
(113-213-317-414-441-S-911)

a-ms-k-i-qámcxu-(a)kua ask them 52.10
(111-212-223-242-313-S-911)

i-ú-qúmcxu-(a)kua he was asked 168.11 (112-313-611-S-911)

i-q-L-u-qúmcxu-(a)kua they were asked 56.12
(113-219-318-611-S-911)

-qamst to drink ~-qumst

a-nc-k-L-u-qúmst-a we shall drink (blood L-) 13.6
(111-211-223-242-315-611-S-1211)

L'qamst drink! 150.3 (112-315-S)

-qamx to shout

i-x'1-qamx he shouted 111.5 (112-313-341-511-S)

a-x-l-qámx-LuL she shouted (while running) 123.2
(112-314-341-511-S-1012)

-qanim to laugh ~-quanim

qa-mt-k-i-t-qánim-x you laughed at it 213.5

(115-212-222-242-313-612-S-1212)

qa-n-i-u-quánim-x I laughed at him 213.6

(115-211-313-611-S-1212)

-qi to go ~-qui (initial in compound stems)

i-ú-qui/cu he went down 70.16 (112-313-611-S/S)

qa-t-k-qi/cú-x they went down 222.7 (115-317-342-S/S)

i-u-quí/áulX-t he ascended 11.14 (112-313-611-S/S)

-qimL to send word to, to send for ~-quimL

a-tx-k-(a)-u-quimL-a we will send word to her 81.5, 82.6

(111-222-231-242-314-611-S-1211)

i-tx-k-i-ú-quimL we send word to him 79.4

(113-222-231-242-313-611-S)

-qi.uit to sleep

i-s-qi.uit-Xit they sleep 43.1 (113-316-S-814)

i-qi.uit-m they sleep 233.11 (112-313-S-1011)

-qilX to strike, hit ~-quilX

i-l-a-x²-l-qilX she (her hands L-) slapped herself 93.14

(113-318-414-441-511-S)

a-n-i-u-quílX-am-a I will strike it 204.1

(111-211-313-611-S-1121-1211)

i-l-a-x-l-qílX-L-ck she slapped herself 90.12

(113-318-414-441-511-S-1012-1111)

-qílXa to make cry with pain

i-s-i-x-l-qílXa-l-m-ck he cried with pain (2 made him)

(113-316-413-441-511-S-811-1011-1111)

-qu to go, bring, send for, carry, reach, find

a-t-i-l-quí-ia they shall go to it 53.7

(111-317-413-511-S-1211)

- f-ska-t-qu-ck bring into the house 130.12, 134.10
(112-313-523-612-S-1111)
- i-c-f-ska-t-qu-ck he carried it into the house 133.4
(113-213-313-516-612-S-1111)
- qa-c-a-x-ú-qu-ck-ax he kept it, took it 134.13
(115-213-314-341-611-S-1111-1212)
- i-t-k-ú-xua-qu-ck they gathered them 101.4
(113-317-342-417-441-S-1111)
- i-q-ú-xua-qu-ck they were called together 67.8, they were sent for 171.2 (113-219-317-341-S-1111)
- i-n-i-k-ú-qu-am I found him 217.10 (113-211-313-515-611-S-1121)
- a-lx-i-k-ú-qu-am-a we will go to meet him 180.9
(111-323-331-413-515-611-S-1121-1211)
- i-m-i-ká-t-qu-am you came to him 138.1 (113-212-313-515-612-S-1121)
- i-t-i-xá-t-qu-am he finished them 12.1 (113-317-413-441-612-S-1121; better rendering, they (arrows t-) reached to him (in motif of arrow-chain to sky))
- i-a-ká-t-qu-am he reached her 139.14 (112-313-414-515-612-S-1121)
- i-u-kuá-qu-am he reached them 145.3 (112-313-417-515-S-1121)
- i-q-s-k-ú-qu-am they were reached 169.3 (113-219-316-515-611-S-1121)
- qu.a to dream, be dreamed of ~- qa.ua.qa (?)
- qa-t-n-x-qu.a-(a)luk-L-x I dreamt about them 137.8
(115-317-411-441-S-811, 911-1012-1212)

qa-n-x-kí-qu.a-(a)luk-L-x I dream 134.6 (115-311-341-613-S-811, 911-1012-1212)

ik-i-X-kí-qa.uaqa he dreamed 62.6 (113-313-341-613-S)
-quána to carry (?)

i-t-k-i-u-quána-t they were carrying it 247.15 (113-217-242-313-611-S-1131; possibly stem=-qána or -qá-812; 1 example, re ghosts in land of dead)

-quát to bathe ~-quá-iu-t

n-i-x-quát-x he bathed 33.8 (114-313-341-S-1212)

al-i-x-quát-i he would wash 15.12 (111-313-341-S-1213)

i-m-xa-n-k'1-quat you bathed against me (to obtain super-natural power to use against me) 199.5

(113-212-241-311-342-511-S)

i-k-i-ká-quat she washed him 161.8 (113-214-313-515-S)

u-xua-quá.iu.t-uL they bathed 238.4 (112-317-341-S-1012)

-qui to sleep ~-qu.iu ~-qu.ia

i-st-ú-qu.i they two slept 91.15 (113-316-611-S)

m-ú-qu.iu you sleep 107.6 (112-312-611-S)

i-st-ú-qu.ia they two slept 81.3 (113-316-611-S)

i-ú-qu.ia-iX he slept 73.16, 205.6 (112-313-611-S-1311)

qa-i-u-quí.i-x he slept 247.12, 57.2 (115-313-611-S-1212)

qa-s-k-L-quí.iu-Xuit-x they two slept together 155.2

(115-216-242-315-S-814-1212)

-quiLti to rain

i-st-ú-quiLti it rained 220.14 (113-316-611-S)

-quitq to awake

ik-i-X'quitq he awoke 21.9 (113-313-341-S)

ik-u-Xuá-qu.itq they arose 246.2 (113-317-341-S)

-qucq to awaken~qu.iucq

i-c-i-n-ú-qucq he waked me 109.1 (113-213-313-411-611-S)

i-q-i-n-ú-qucq I was waked 107.6 (113-219-313-411-611-S)

qa-m-n-u-qúcq-am-x you keep me awake 134.6

(115-212-313-611-S-1121-1212; or -S-1011-1212)

i-L-t-u-qú.iucq she awoke them 246.1 (113-315-417-611-S)

-quisquis to fart (VN)

n-i-x-l-quisquis he farted 86.8 (114-313-341-511-S)

n-a-i-x-l-quisquis-x he farted 86.13 (114-314-413-441-511-S-1212)

ik-a-i-x-l-quisquis he farted 80.4, 86.5 (113-314-413-441-511-S; referent of a- 314 ?)

qa-c-au-i-quisquis-x he farted at them 85.12

(115-213-317-511-S-1212)

-quim to give to eat, to feed

i-n-f-(i)-l-quim I gave to him to eat 249.9

(113-211-313-(413)-511-S)

n-f-t-quim give me to eat (112-311-511-612-S) 12.6

a-tx-k-au-i-quim-n-iL-a we will give them to eat 226.7

(111-222-231-242-317-511-S-812-1012-1211)

i-ms-k-i-l-quim-am bring him food 178.17

(113-212-223-242-313-511-S-1121)

i-q-t-n-l-quim-n-iL-ck I was always given to eat 35.6

(113-219-317-411-511-S-812-1012-1111)

a-ia-m-l-quim-a I will give you to eat 143.17

(111-313-332-412-511-S-1211)

- qupti to sleep i-n-u-qúpti I slept 77.12 (113-311-611-S)
 i-u-qúpti-t he slept 21.7 (112-313-611-S-1131)
- qLa to count (VN)
 a-n-qLá-Xit I menstruated (was caused to count) 222.19
 (111-311-S-814; re isolation period)
- qLq to leave, depart from
 a-n-L-k-l-ú-qLq-a I leave them 15.6 (111-211-318-442-
 511-611-S-1211)
 i-m-n-qí-u-qLq you left me 171.6 (113-212-311-517-611-S)
 a-m-a-q-ú-qLq-a leave it (a-) 95.12 (111-212-314-517?-
 611-S-1211; q- perhaps is error, no other q- found)
 i-c-ú-qui-qLq he left them 176.4 (113-213-317-517-S)
- qck to take, receive (as share of food?)
 i-c-á-x-u-qck he took it (a-fat) 130.15, 133.5
 (113-213-314-341-611-S)
- qs to bite i-c-f-u-qs he bit it 249.5 (113-213-313-611-S)
 i-L-k-f-u-qs-t what it carried in its beak (i.e.
it was biting it) 218.12 (113-215-242-313-611-S-1131)
- qst to louse (VN)
 i-m-L-n-ká-ki-qst you louse me 118.6 (113-212-318-411-
 515-613-S)
 a-La-m-ki-qst-a I'll louse you 118.7 (111-318-332-412-
 613-S)
- qsti to be satiated i-n-ú-qsti I am satiated 160.14
 (113-311-611-S; *qs-1131-1213?)
- qsk to work making canoes (~-qcq?)
 ik-i-k-ú-qsk-am he went to work on canoe 225.14, 226.17
 (113-313-413-515-611-S-1121)
 n-i-k-ú-qcq-ait-x he made canoes 225.3 (114-313-413-515-
 611-S-1122-1212; k/q error for q/k ?)

-qsq to spear, harpoon ~-qsqa

i-s-k-i-l-ki-qsq they speared it 42.5 (113-216-242-313-
413-511-613-S)

qa-t-k-l-(L)-l-ú-qsqa-lal-m-x 243.11 they speared them
(L-) (115-217-242-318-418-511-611-S-811-1011-1212)

i-t-k-l-f-l-u-qsq they harpooned him (i-) 174.3
(113-217-242-318-413-511-611-S)

-qmuXLu to "speak"

i-c-i-t-l-qmuXLu-ck they "spoke" (Coyote's buttocks)
89.6 (113-213-313-417-511-S-1111)

-qalqt to cry, weep ~-qulqt

m-i-x-qalqt you cry 145.7 (112-212-313-341-S)

m-n-k-m-qalqt you cry for me 174.10 (112-212-331-442-
513-S)

i-ú-qulqt he wept 33.11 (112-313-611-S)

(a)-ú-qulqt she wailed 77.6 (112-314-611-S)

-q?a.ia to go between

qa-i-a-x-au-i-q?a.ia-(a)kua-x he squeezed himself through
it 32.1 (115-213?-314?-341-417-511-S-911-1212)

-q?anim to disbelieve

a-ms-k-n-ki-q?anim-a you disbelieve me 229.15

(111-212-223-242-311-613-S-1211) (cf. -qanim)

-q?uaLk to push at, into ~-q?uaLku

ik-i-X-m-q?uaLk it (ice i?) crushed it (canoe i-) 206.4
(113-313-(413)-441-513-S)

i-l-i-x-q?uaLk he put it (anus L-) into himself 89.8

87.9 (113-315-413-441-S)

s-x-q'uáLku-x two grown together 17.1 (112-316-341-S-1212)

-q'uála to keep a secret

i-m-i-u-q'uála did you keep it a secret 169.8
(113-212-313-611-S)

-q'uálak to be clear weather

i-u-q'uálak it was clear weather 111.16 (112-313-611-S)

-q'u.ia to put between

i-t-k-s-f-n-q'u.ia-iX they hid their faces (s-) 158.5
(113-217-242-316-413-512-S-1311)

i-c-i-n-q'u.iá-t-iX he squatted on knees and elbows
144.14 (113-213-313-512-S-1131-1311)

-q?ui.xaimaLx to be scared, to have an evil omen

i-qa-n-u-q?uf.xaimaLx I am scared 227.15 (113-219-311-611-S)

i-q-i-n-u-q?uifxaimaLx it is an evil omen for me 250.7
(113-219-313-411-611-S; but "qen" may be ä, e)

-q?ui.la to sweep

a-mt-k-t-u-q?ufla sweep it 18.12 (111-212-222-317-611-S)

-q?usti to be stuck

ik-i-(i)-n-q?usti-Xit-i he stuck in (doorway i?) 83.13
(113-313-413-512-S-814-1213)

-s to move on or in water

i-st-f-k-u-s-iX they two landed (canoe) 203.1 (113-316-413-515-611-S-1311)

i-st-i-k-ú-s-am-iX they arrived on the other side (river)
203.2 (113-316-413-515-611-S-1121-1311)

i-st-f-k-u-s-iX they went across (river) 113.15
(113-316-413-515-611-S-1311)

a-n-L-ú-s-amit-a I will push him 106.13 (111-211-
315-611-S-813-1211)

i-ú-s/cu he went down river 73.16 (112-313-611-S/S)

i-s/c(u)-x(canoe i-) going downriver 56.10
(112-313-S/S-1212)

qa-i-ú-s/auX-m-x (canoe i-) goes upriver 57.2
(115-313-611-S/S-1011-1212)

a-n-L-ú-s/ak-a I lie down with her 104.16
(111-211-315-611-S/S-1211)

-sa to melt

i-ú-sa it melted 220.14 (112-313-611-S)

-sa to dry

i-k-a-x-sá-(a)mit she dried (roots a-) 226.3
(113-214-314-341-S-813)

ik-i-X'sa-q they were dry 235.1 (113-313-341-S-815)

i-X'sa-q-t-iX it is dry 239.1 (112-313-341-S-815-1131-131)

-stXu to carry on back

a-m-t-ú-stXu-a you carry them on your back 46.9
(111-212-317-611-S-1211)

a-m-t-ú-stXu-n-iL-a you carry them on your back 46.8
(111-212-317-611-S-812-1012-1211)

-saq to war ~-saqu (VNP)

a-lx-k?i-saqu-am-a we are going to war 182.10
(111-323-331-614-S-1121-1211)

n-u-kua-k?i-saqu-am-x they went to attack them 240.2
(114-317-515-614-S-1121-1211)

-si to strike

qa-c-i-u-kui-sim-x he struck it at them 32.2

(115-213-313-417-442-511-S-1011-1212)

i-c-i-L-k'1-t-sim he hit it with it 218.11

(113-213-313-415-442-511-612-S-1011)

L-ms-Xā-l-t-si-L you often strike yourselves 145.6

(112-318-412-423-441-511-612-S-1012)

-sil to lie down on back

m-xá-sil-ck-i lie down on your back 146.3 (112-312-

341-S-1111-1213)

-sk to get, obtain, find, help

a-n-(a)-u-sk-ám-a I will take it 29.5

(111-211-314-611-S-1121-1211)

i-n-i-ú-sk-am I found it 21.6 (113-211-313-611-S-1121)

a-n-L-a-x-sk-ám-a I shall take it from her 208.13

(111-211-315-414-441-S-1121-1211)

i-q-L-ú-sk-am she was found 100.12 (113-219-315-611-S-1121)

i-q-L-a-x'sk-am it was taken from her 211.7

(113-219-315-414-441-S-1121)

a-lx-sk-ám-a we play 145.4 (111-323-(341)-S-1121-1211)

q-i-x'sk-am he played 103.2 (115-313-341-S-1121)

qa-s-x-sk-ám-x they played (target) 167.7

(115-316-341-S-1121-1212)

q-i-k-l-kf-sk-am he is helped 70.14

(219-313-442-511-613-S-1121)

a-ia-m-k-l-kf-sk-am-a I'll help you 211.6 (111-313-332-

412-442-511-613-S-1121-1211)

i-c-i-k-l-ki-sk-l-iL it helped him 65.12

(113-213-313-442-511-613-S-811-1012)

i-k-s-k-l-ki-sk-l-iL she helped them 65.13

(113-214-316-442-511-613-S-811-1012)

i-s-x-sk-l-iL they two play 169.5, 172.9

(113-316-341-S-811-1012)

-ski to launch, go, roll about

i-s-k-i-ú-ski Ax they two launch it 205.14

(113-216-242-313-611-S S)

n-i-x-ski-lal-m-x he rolled about 32.11

(114-313-341-S-811-1011-1212)

a-ms-k-ú-ski úa-l-m-a go much (not) (=don't go anywhere)

(111-312-323-515-611-S S-811-1011-1211) 205.8

-skta to search on beach, to beachcomb

qa-i-a-sktá-(a)kua-cku-ait-x he went to search on the

beach 176.10 (115-313-414-S-911-1111-1122-1212)

-sk?u to become warm, warm

n-u-sk?u-áit I am warm 101.12 (112-311-611-S-1122)

ik-i-x-sk?u-ámit he warmed himself 69.11 (113-313-341-

S-813)

m-xa-sk?u-ámit-am warm yourself 101.11 (112-312-341-S-

813-1121)

i-k-s-u-sk?u-l she roasted it (s-) 228.5

(113-214-316-611-S-1012)

a-k-(a)-u-sk?ú-l-x she roasted them 225.9 (111-214-

(314)-611-S-1012-1212)

-sq to be becoming

L-ñ-k-u-sq becoming to you (blood L-) 126.14

(112-315-412-515-611-S)

L-ã-n-k-u-sq becoming to me 126.10 (112-315-411-515-611-S)

-sxui to be lost

n-i-sxúi-x it was lost 244.8 (114-313-S-1212)

-Xat to recover (health, life)

a-c-n-a-l-Xat-ákua I shall recover 75.8

(111-213-311-414-511-S-911)

i-c-i-l-Xát-akua he recovered 78.5, 240.4

(113-213-313-511-S-911)

-Xak to give back

a-n-l-i-l-Xak-cku-á.ia I will return it to him 86.16

(111-211-318-413-511-S-1111-1211)

-Xaku to tire of

i-q-i-a-k-ñ-Xaku-iX the people were tired of her 192.12

(113-219-313-414-442-512-S-1311)

-Xini to stand, be upright (on water?)

qa-t-k-Xiní-cku-ax they stayed on the water 242.14

(115-317-342-S-1111-1212)

-Xui to know, to be known

ik-i-n-l-ú-Xui-Xit it is known to me 112.10

(113-313-411-511-611-S-814)

a-l-ú-Xui-X she knew it 34.8 (112-314-511-611-S-1311/1212)

t-k-n-l-ú-Xui-x they know about me 182.13 (112-317-342-

411-511-611-S-1212)

i-t-k-t-Xuf-la they discovered it 163.5 (113-317-342-

417-S-811)

-Xuni to drift

i-m-ú-Xuni you drifted 113.8 (113-312-611-S)

i-u-Xúni-ck he floated 24.5 (112-313-611-S-1111)

i-u-Xuní-na drifted 121.12 (112-313-611-S-812)

ik-(a)-u-Xúni/pck she drifted ashore 26.6 (113-314-611-S-A)

i-t-ka-t-Xuní-cku-am they came up floating 24.16

(113-317-515-612-S-1111-1121)

-Xta to move about, dance

a-t-k-i-u-Xtá-m-x they went to dance 195.6

(111-317-342-413-611-S-1121-1212)

i-k-L-á-k?-n-Xta she rolled it around it 136.9

(113-214-315-414-443-512-S)

-Xtk to steal from

al-i-k-ú-Xtk-a he's stealing 143.16 (111-313-515-611-S-1211)

ik-i-k-ú-Xtk-la he was stealing much 76.11

(113-313-515-611-S-811)

i-c-f-u-Xtk he stole them 73.9 (113-213-313-611-S)

-Xca to bite

i-s-k-f-Xca those two bit him 116.10 (113-216-242-313-S)

-Xtk?iq to swim

qa-i-u-Xtk?iq it swam 243.15 (115-313-611-S)

-x to do, make, be, act, become (factotum stem)

ik-f-x he did 101.1, he became 108.5, he was 121.16

(113-313-S)

i-n-f-u-x I did to him 180.3 (113-211-313-611-S)

i-nt-k-í-l-u-x we did them 70.1 (113-211-242-318-611-S)

a-lx-k-i-ú-x-a we will make them on him 64.1

(111-223-242-313-611-S-1211)

- m-x-u-x you are 19.9 (112-312-341-611-S)
- ik-f-x-u-x it became (it did in reference to itself) 220.15
(113-313-341-611-S)
- ik-f-x-u-x-iX it became 25.2 (113-313-341-611-S-1311)
- i-c-t-f-l-u-x he did it with them 63.15 (113-213-317-413-
511-611-S)
- i-c-l-f-k-u-x he did it on him 147.13 (113-213-315-413-515-
611-S)
- i-k-f-u-x she made it 17.10 (113-214-313-611-S)
- i-k-t-á-l-u-x she put them on her 99.2 (113-214-317-414-511-
611-S)
- i-t-k-t-u-x they made them 41.12 (113-217-242-317-611-S)
- a-q-i-ú-x it is made 171.6 (111-219-313-611-S)
- i-q-l-f-l-u-x it was on him 250.12 (113-219-315-413-511-611-S)
- iá-m-u-x I do you 86.3 (112-313-332-412-611-S)
- i-n-x-u-x I became 49.3, I made 86.16, I got 177.13, I did
132.15, I am 169.15, I had been 50.6 (113-311-341-
611-S)
- m-x-á-x-u-x you are of them (a-) 228.11 (112-212-241-314-341-
611-S)
- ik-i-x-l-u-x it was on itself 65.12 (113-313-341-511-611-S)
- ik-i-s-x-l-u-x they two became (big i-) 17.2
(113-313-416-441-511-611-S)
- n-kí-x-ax I am (lazy) 185.14 (112-311-613-S-1212)
- m-ki-x you were (below) 65.10 (112-312-613-S)
- m-kí-x-ax youare 92.14 (112-312-613-S-1212)
- i-m-kí-x you do 134.14 (113-312-613-S)
- i-m-kí-x-ax you do 134.17 (113-312-613-S-1212)

- n-(a)-ú-xu-a I did to her 212.17 (112-211-314-611-S-1211)
- a-m-n-ú-xu-a you do me 168.7 (111-212-311-611-S-1211)
- a-m-n-ú-xu-ax you make me 87.6 (111-212-311-611-S-1212)
- qa-c-n-ú-xu-ait-x he does to me 81.13
(115-213-311-611-S-1122-1212)
- a-q-i-ú-xu-ax-iX someone did it 239.18 (111-219-313-611-S-1212-1311)
- i-q-t-ú-xu-am they were (poured out) 214.13 (113-219-317-611-S-1121)
- a-ms-x-ú-xu-a you be 205.7 (111-312-323-341-611-S-1211)
- qa-n-x-ú-xu-ax I was 223.1 (115-311-341-611-S-1212)
- n-u-xuá-x-ax they did 39.7 (114-317-341-S-1212)
- qa-l-x-ú-xu-am-x he became 239.7 (115-315-341-611-S-1121-1212)
- a-q-l-i-l-ú-xu-ax it was done on him 250.14 (111-219-315-413-511-611-S-1212)
- i-c-t-ú-xu-am he reached them 89.2 (113-213-317-611-S-1121)
- a-x-a do it 198.3 (112-314-S-1211)
- i-x-a make it 63.8 (112-313-S-1211)
- n-x-a do me 199.12 (112-311-S-1211)
- t-x-a do them 45.6 (112-317-S-1211)
- i-xá-t-x do 133.2 (112-313-341-612-S)
- a-c-i-u-kuí-x-a he will do it with them 179.3
(111-213-313-417-442-511-S-1211)
- q-lx-t-x-am they come to make on us 236.4
(112-219-323-331-612-S-1121)
- qa-st-u-kuí-x they went to hunt (birds) (they do on account of them) 85.1 (115-316-417-442-511-S) (or stem -kui)
- L-áu-i-x-t there were (quivers L-) 27.7 (112-318-417-511-S-1131)

- n-u-x-t I am 174.11 (112-311-611-S-1131)
- i-L'x it became, did 161.2, 147.7 (113-315-S)
- i-s-xa-mt-xá-t-x-am we came to fetch you two 185.10, 182.10
(113-216-241-312-322-341-612-S-1121)
- xax to notice (VP) ~-xaxu
i-ms-á-xaxu-mit do you notice 43.16 (113-312-323-414-S-813)
- xami to refuse to give up
i-c-t-ú-xua-xami-l-akua he refused to give up his stakes
103.2 (113-213-317-417-441-S-811-911)
- xiu to buy a wife
i-n-á-i-l-xiu-akua I bought her for him 138.5
(113-211-314-413-511-S-911)
- xi.ua to forbid
i-q-i-k'l-xi.ua-iX it was forbidden 152.18 (113-219-313-442-511-S-1311)
- xim to invite
i-L-k-u-kui-xim-am they invited them 47.4
(113-218-242-317-442-511-S-1121)
- xima to put down ~-xaima ~-xuaima, to discard
i-c-i-xíma he threw it down 104.6 (113-213-313-S)
i-c-L-xíma he threw it away 111.15 (113-213-315-S)
i-xíma-t it lay there 77.7, 194.11 (112-313-S-1131)
n-i-xíma-Xit-x it fell down 212.8 (114-313-S-814-1212)
i-q-u-xuáima were thrown down 14.17 (113-219-317-S)
n-ã-t-k?i-xáima/cu throw down into my mouth 146.2
(112-311-?-613-S/S)

- ik-i-(i)-l-xáima it lay before him 160.5
 (113-313-413-511-S)
- a-m-i-a-k-xaimá-ia you put it onto the canoe 46.10³
 (111-212-313-414-515-S-1211)
- i-a-xa-k-xáima he lay on snag (a-) 167.13
 (112-313-414-441-515-S)
- i-L-k-a-k-xáima they laid (boards a-) over them 160.1
 (113-218-242-314-515-S)
- xitq to tie (to buoy?)
- i-s-k-L-au-f-xitq they tied (net) to buoys 45.12
- xukti to grasp, take hold of at head
- i-c-L-f-n-xukti he took him at his head 70.8
 (113-213-315-413-512-S)
- i-q-L-á-n-xukti she was taken at her head 101.3
 (113-219-315-414-512-S)
- xula to speak
- n-i-u-xúla I speak to him 10.13 (112-211-313-611-S)
- a-m-i-u-xúla-l-m-a speak to him 10.14
 (111-212-313-611-S-811-1011-1211)
- m-xúla you talk 199.11 (112-312-S)
- qa-m-xa-t-xulá (how) you say 160.13 (115-312-341-612-S)
- xklalcl to insult
- m-L-l-ki-xklalcl you insulted them 105.2
 (112-212-318-511-613-S?)
- xq'ala to disguise
- ms-xa-n-xq'ála you disguise yourselves before me 158.4
- xs to cut (112-212-223-241-311-S)

i-c-f-u-xs he cut him 154.3 (113-213-313-611-S)

ik-i-x'1-k'i-xs it was cut 47.2 (113-313-341-511-614-S)

-xlm to eat ~-xuim

i-lx-L-xlm-ck we shall eat 214.9 (113-323-331-418-S-1111)

a-m-x-L-xlm-ck eat much 99.10 (111-312-341-418-S-1111)

i-m-xlm-u-x eat 249.4 (112-313-412-S/611/S)

s-m-xlm-u-x eat (root s-) 228.8 (112-316-412-S/611/S)

al-i-xlm-ú-xu-m-a will he eat 249.8 (111-313-S/611-S-1011-1211)

ik-u-xui-xlm-ck they ate 215.7 (113-317-341-511-S-1111)

qa-t-u-xuim-ú-xu-m-x they ate 50.3

(115-317-417-S/611/S-1011-1212)

-mat to lose one's way

a-tx-u-mát-aku(a)-it-a we shall lose our way 185.5

ik-(a)-u-mát-aku(a)-it she lost her way 119.12

(111-322-331-611-S-911-921-1211;

113-314-611-S-911-921)

(i)-maL/x to do into water (nominal incorporation)

a-m-x-a-l-fmaL/x-a you fall into water 125.16

(111-212-241-414-511-S/S-1211)

i-c-L-a-l-fmaL/x he threw them into water 87.8, 121.5

(113-213-318-414-511-S/S)

i-q-L-a-l-fmaL/x they were thrown into water 87.9

(113-219-318-414-511-S/S)

i-k-a-l-fmaL/x-iXit she fell into water 126.3

(113-214-314-511-S/S-1124)

(but possibly correct analysis is -imaL/x)⁴

-mak to distribute ~-maku

a-m-t-au-i-máku-a you distribute them among them 47.11

i-c-tú-mak he gave much 48.13 (113-213-317-611-S)

-mak?amitaq to compare

i-c-i-ú-k-u-mak?ámitaq he compared it to them 162.14

162.15 (113-213-313-417-515-611-S?)

-maqt to fight, to render dead (VN)

i-n-ú-maqt I die 58.7 (113-311-611-S)

i-nc-x²-maqt we fought 183.16 (113-311-323-341-S)

i-m-ú-maqt you dead? 77.11 (113-312-611-S)

i-c-t-ú-maqt he shot them 164.7 (113-213-317-611-S)

i-t-k-i-ú-maqt-amit they deaded him 103.3

(113-217-242-313-611-S-813)

ik-u-xuá-maqt they fought 183.6, 186.3 (113-317-341-S)

-maq'im to ask for, receive a present

a-n-x-l-kí-maq'im-L-am-a I shall ask for a present 190.4

(111-311-441-511-613-S-1012-1121-1211)

n-x-t-kí-maq'im-L-am I come to ask for a present 192.12

(112-311-341-612-613-S-1012-1121; or -341-417-613-)

i-L-k-a-l-máq'im-L she gave her a present 192.13

(113-215-242-314-511-S-1012)

a-x-l-máq'im-n-iL she receives as present 192.17

(112-314-441-511-S-812-1012)

a-x-i-t-máq'im-L-am-t she comes to ask for present

192.9 (112-314-341-413-612-S-1011-1121-1131)

-mas to beashamed

i-x²-mas he was ashamed 43.5 (112-313-341-S)

ik-a-x-más-ait she was ashamed 16.12 (113-314-341-S-1122)

i-c-k'i-mas-amit it made them ashamed 170.9

(113-213-614-S-813)

-mick'i to find, gather up

i-c-t-ú-mick'i he took it up 101.13, 176.9

(113-213-317-611-S)

qa-c-t-u-mick'i-nan-m-ait-x he always found them on the beach 176.10 (115-213-317-611-S-812-1011-1122-1212)

-miqL to lick

qa-m-i-n-miqL-x lick it (dung) off (elk) 131.15

(115-212-313-512-S-1212, or, lick it off elk for me, 115-212-313-411-S-1212)

qa-m-i-u-miqL-x lick it off 134.10 (115-212-313-611-S-1212)

-minak'ua to wash face

ik-i-x-mínak'ua he washed his face 153.11

(113-313-341-S)

i-k-s-u-mínak'ua she washed their faces 18.12

(113-214-316-611-S)

-mila to scold (VNP)

i-n-i-ú-mila I scolded him 29.14 (113-211-313-611-S)

qa-n-ú-mila I was scolded 167.3 (112-219-311-611-S)

-milaq to listen

ik-i-x-i-k-l-mílaq he listened (for him) 137.5

(113-313-341-413-442-511-S)

ik-a-x-a-mílaq she listened 99.17 (113-314-341-414-S)

-mu to take revenge ~-m

i-k-t-f-k-mu-a she takes revenge on them 124.1, 124.5

(113-214-317-413-515-S-1211)

a-q-i-n-k?i-m-n-akua-x it was taken revenge on him 196.6

(111-219-313-512-614-S-812-911-1212)

-mutXm to play, make fun

n-x-i-n-mútXm-x I am playing with (i-) 217.2

(112-211-241-313-512-S-1212)

i-c-i-X-i-n-mútXm-ait-x he always made fun of him

(113-213-313-341-413-512-S-1122-1212)

i-c-i-n-x-mútXm-ck fooled me 89.10 (113-213-313-411-441-

S-1111; analysis of these forms problematic)

-mukti to fish sturgeon on hook (VN)

n-u-Xua-múkti-ait-x they fished sturgeon with the hook

244.1 (114-317-341-S-1122-1212)

-muq?u.i: to drown

a-xa-L-n-múq?u.i-aku-t she drowned (in water L-) 122.2

(112-314-341-415-512-S-911-1131)

-mt to grow up

qa-c-L-ú-mt-amit-x he raised her 187.3

(115-213-315-611-S-813-1212)

a-st-ú-mt-a they will grow up 141.9 (111-316-611-S-1211)

-mqu to spit, vomit

i-c-i-ú-mqu-it he spit it out 249.6 (113-213-313-611-S-

921)

i-k-t-ú-mqu-q she vomited them 101.4 (113-214-317-611-

S-815)

ik-a-ka-mqu-q she vomited 101.3 (113-314-515-S-815)

-mxanuL to name dead relatives

ik-i-k?i-mxanuL he named his dead relatives 154.11

(113-313-614-S)

-mla to buy

a-nc-k-(a)-u-mlá-l-m-a we will buy her 170.5

(111-211-223-242-(314)-611-S-811-1011-1211)

i-c-(a)-u-mlá-l-m-am he went to buy her 158.14

(113-213-(314)-611-S-811-1011-1121)

i-q-i-ú-mla he was bought 218.3 (113-219-313-611-S)

-mla to carry under arm

ik-i-mlá-t he carried under his arm 105.12

(113-313-S-1131) (1 example)

-na to look

i-c-i-ská-na/pq he looked into (house) 179.9

(113-213-313-516-S/S)

ik-i-x'na-(a)kua he looked back (around) 19.2

(113-313-341-S-911; cf. Athapaskan na- eye)

-nau.aitki to fish with net (VNP)

u-xui-nau.áitki they fished with nets 219.8

(112-317-441-511-S)

i-L-x-i-nau.áitki-mam they went fishing with their net

46.12 (113-218-241-313-S-1121)

-naq to suck

i-c-i-ká-naq he sucked on it 153.17 (113-213-313-515-S)

-naxL to miss something needed, to lose ~-naxLa

a-n-t-ú-naxL-am-a I shall go to look for them 58.2

ms-k-á-naxL search for her 69.7 (112-212-223-242-314-S)

i-c-i-u-náxLa-ck he lost him 112.11 (113-213-313-611-S-1111)

ik-i-k'f-naxL he searched 137.15

ik-i-u-náxLa-ck he was lost 112.11 (113-313-611-S-1111)

-ni to tie

i-c-a-x-kʔi-ni-akua he made a bundle (of a-) 101.14

(113-213-314-341-614-S-911)

i-t-k-u-xua-kʔi-ni-anuk-L-ck they tied them in bundles

101.5 (113-217-242-317-341-614-S-812 911-1012-1111)

i-q-a-kʔi-ni-akua it was tied up 102.5 (113-219-314-

614-S-911)

a-k-i-(i)-x-ni-ákua she was going to tie them to him

249.15 (111-214-313-413-441-S-911)

-nim to cry

u-xui-nim-ck they cried 224.6 (112-317-441-511-S-1111)

n-u-xui-nim-x they cried 208.6 (114-317-441-511-S-1212)

-nima to show

a-n-s-x-i-nimá-ia I shall show it to him 227.9

(111-211-316-341-413-S-1211)

s-a-m-xa-t-nimá-mam I brought it to show it to you

227.17 (112-316-332-412-441-612-S-1121)

-nuapa to exchange

i-nt-kʔs-X-m-kʔi-nuapa we will exchange them (buttocks)

85.6 (113-211-222-242-316-441-512-614-S)

-nku to run (singular)

n-i-x-i-nku-x he ran 234.12 (114-313-341-413-S-1212)

-nqʔikus to come with difficulty (?)

i-nqʔik^us-ait-x it came with difficulty (excrement)

216.9 (112-313-S-1122-1212; 1 example)

-nXa to stretch (VN)

i-c-L-ki-nXa-m he stretched it 136.17 (113-213-315-613-

S-1011)

- a-m-xa-nXá-ia you lay your net 48.7 (111-312-341-S-1211)
 -nXuqt to watch (?)
 i-l-k-i-u-kuá-nXuqt-iX he watched (house t-) 162.9
 (113-215-242-313-417-515-S-1311)
- lax to eat
 i-x-i-láx he ate it 35.1, 126.7 (112-313-341-413-S)
 i-x-t-láx he eats them 179.1 (112-313-341-417-S)
 i-u-xui-láx they eat 205.12 (113-317-441-511-S)
- la to move (vigorously) ~l- ~-la.iu
 m-x-i-l-ú-l you do it (work) 116.3 (112-212-241-313-511-611-S)
 aḷa-m-x-i-l-ú-l you do it (work) 114.11
 (111-212-241-313-511-611-S)
 m-n-x-ú-la-l-m-x you do me (like) 167.8
 (112-212-311-341-611-S-811-1011-1212)
 qa-c-(a)-u-x-ú-la-l-m-ait-x he always made them 247.3
 (115-213-314-417-441-611-S-811-1011-1122-1212, but
 possibly 314-611-S(=xu)-811-)
- ik-i-x-ú-la-l-m-ck he took it off (pulling) 31.10
 (113-313-341-611-S-811-1011-1111)
- a-q-i-u-x-ú-la-l-m-a (basket i-) will be made (by people)
(for people?) 127.16 (111-219-313-417-441-611-S-811-1011-1211)
- n-f-u-la I worked at it 227.10 (112-211-313-611-S)
 i-x-lá-t it moves 228.14 (112-313-341-S-1131)
 ik-f-x-la it moved 203.9 (113-313-341-S)
 ik-i-x-lá-lal-m-ck it swung 16.7, it shook 234.15
 (113-313-341-S-811-1011-1111)

n-i-x-lá-l-m-x it shook 32.5 (114-313-341-S-811-1011-1212)

k-(a)-ú-la-pa where she worked at (a-) 229.6

(112-214-314-611-S-1312)

i-L-x-lá-lal-m-ck it (reed L-) was waving 248.13

(113-315-341-S-811-1011-1111)

a-x'la-ck rise! 137.17 (112-314-341-S-1111)

a-m-i-u-lá-cku-a you lift it 203.15 (111-212-313-611-S-

1111-1211)

ik-u-xua-lá.iu-ck they arose, made selves ready 184.6

(113-317-341-S-1111)

i-st-u-lá-cku-iXit they flew up 139.2 (113-316-611-S-

1111-1124)

ik-f-n-i-la-i-aku(a)-it I forgot him 144.7

(113-313-411-511-S-811-911-921; or 411-S(=i)-811-911-921)

i-c-a-i-l-ámit he put it into it 146.5

(113-213-314-411-S-813)

n-a-k'i-lá/au1X-m-x she became mature 222.3

(114-314-614-S/S-1011-1212)

i-L-i-x-m-la/ock he tied his hair atop his head 211.13

(113-315-413-441-512-S/S)

s-x-i-l-ákua-ck it thundered twice 160.12

(112-216-241-313-S-911-1111)

qa-i-u-xua-l-áit-x they laughed heartily 232.2

(115-313-417-441-S-1122-1212)

qa-L-x-lá.iu/aa-lal-m-x they moved much (branches L-)

75.11 (115-318-341-S/S-811-1011-1212)

-la to gather, catch

i-c-t-ú-la he gathered them 153.1 (113-213-317-611-S)

q-t-ú-la they catch much (salmon) 220.7 (112-219-317-611-S)

-la to be broken, break

ik-u-kua-lá-Xit they (fingers) broke 98.12

(113-317-522-S-814)

i-L-k-i-x'1(a)-akua he broke it 162.10

(113-215-242-313-341-S-911)

-lait to be, stay, be dead

qa-L-i-k-m-láit-x they stand around it 243.4

(115-318-413-442-513-S-1212)

qa-L-i-láit-ait-x they are in it 244.10

(115-318-413-S-1122-1212)

i-c-L-a-ka-láit-amit he put them into the canoe (a-)

74.1 (113-213-318-414-515-S-813)

a-ms-x-i-láit-iX you stay 236.7 (111-312-323-341-413-

S-1311)

L-x-f-lait they stayed 175.12 (112-318-341-413-S)

i-L-x-lait they died 36.2 (113-318-341-S)

-lait to try to cure

i-q-i-ki-láit-a they tried to cure him 153.16

(113-219-313-613-S-1211)

a-i-u-kui-láit-a he tried to cure him 153.16

(111-313-417-442-511-S-1211)

-lap to fall over

ik-f-k'i-lap-Xit-iX he fell over 150.4, 184.4

(113-313-614-S-814-1311)

-lat to turn round

ik-i-x-k[?]i-lat-ámit he turned round 68.3 (113-313-341-
614-S-813; 1 example)

-laku to ground (canoes)

ik-(a)-u-láku-Xuit they grounded (canoes a-) 25.2

(a)-u-láku-x (canoes a-) were there 21.2 (112-315-611-
S-1212)

-lak[?]ua to cover over

á-m-xua-lak[?]ua cover yourself with 94.13 (112-314-
412-441-S)

ik-á-i-xua-lak[?]ua he covered himself with (a-) 92.8
96.15 (113-314-413-441-S)

-lam to burn

qa-c-i-x-t-lám-ax he burned him 115.13

(115-213-313-341-612-S-1212; 1 example; cf. -L1)

-lálam to sing

u-kua-lálam singing 62.15, 13.1 (112-317-515-S)

-lalp to dig with digging sticks

qa-L-s-u-lá.lp-L-ait-x they always gathered 39.11

(115-318-416-611-S-1012-1122-1212)

s-k-L-u-lálp-L they two dug with digging sticks 231.13

(112-216-242-318-611-S-1012)

-lima to hit

a-s-xa-m-kí-limá-ia they will hit you 67.16

(111-216-241-312-613-S-1211)

-luX to know, recognize (cf. -LluX)

i-c-i-x[?]l-u-luX-t he did not know it 27.16 (113-213-313-

441-511-611-S-1131)

ia-m-x't-luX-t I don't understand you 134.17

(112-313-332-412-441-612-S-1131)

-luma to shout, call

a-m-ki-luma shout! 243.16 (111-312-613-S)

i-c-i-ki-luma he called it 79.7 (113-213-313-613-S)

i-c-L-ki-lúma-n-iL-ck they spoke 87.16 (his buttocks)

(113-213-318-613-S-812-1012-1111)

-lpu to boil (VP)

s-i-ká-lp-t it boiled 123.16 (112-316-413-515-S-1131)

(KT has "sikáplpt", apparently an error)

-lpu to be cold, frozen (VN)

i-c-L-lpu cold was on them 218.4 (113-213-318-S)

i-c-f-lpu-iX it was cold, frozen 35.17, 205.6

(113-213-313-S-1311)

-lkc to roast

na-ms-k-i-ú-lkc-a you roast it 37.7 (114-212-223-242-

313-611-S-1211)

i-q-f-u-lkc it was roasted 37.8 (113-219-313-611-S)

-lq? to swallow (VP)

ia-m-ú-lq? I swallow you 65.11 (112-313-332-412-611-S)

-lX to put under

i-q-L-i-k-m-u-lX they were put under his blanket 50.11

(113-219-318-413-442-513-611-S)

i-q-a-i-k-m-u-lX it was put under his blanket 50.9

54.7 (113-219-314-413-442-513-611-S)

-lXa to make with, do?

i-k-i-a-ki-lXa-l-m (what) does she do with it (sinew a-)

191.16 (113-214-313-414-613-S-811-1011)

-lXam to speak, tell, say

i-m-n-ú-lXam you speak to me 127.9 (113-212-311-611-S)

a-m-(a)-u-lXám-am go and say to her 22.2

(111-212-314-611-S-1121)

i-c-i-n-ú-lXam he told it to me 194.8 (113-213-313-411-611-S)

i-c-i-nc-ú-lXam he said it to us 165.1

(113-213-313-411-423-611-S)

i-c-s-ú-lXam he said to them 40.10 (113-213-316-611-S)

a-k-n-u-lXám-x she told me 232.3 (111-214-311-611-S-1212)

a-k-m-u-lXám-a she will say to you 11.6

(111-214-312-611-S-1211)

i-k-i-ú-lXam she said to him 161.10 (113-214-313-611-S)

(113-214-313-611-S)

i-k-i-ú-lXam-x she said to him 225.8 (113-214-313-611-S-1212)

a-k-i-ú-lXam she said to him 143.3, 33.13

(111-214-313-611-S)

a-k-i-u-lXám-x she said to him 135.5, 234.9, 197.1

(111-214-313-611-S-1212)

a-ia-mt-ú-lXam I told you two 65.5

(111-313-332-412-422-611-S)

5.3.0. The Kathlamet verb occurs with both prefixation and suffixation; the stem has sometimes a very limited degree of complexity. The minimum verb word consists of a tense prefix plus pronominal prefix plus stem. This is sometimes an imperative usage, as in m-xúla you talk 199.11 (112-312-S) or s'pna jump (two feet) 147.15 (112-316-S), but may be an ordinary narrative form, as in ik-í-tuks he suckled 119.13 (113-313-S) or i-n'kim I said 181.2 (113-311-S). For some stems, the minimum sequence appears to be necessarily longer; thus, -lXam to say occurs only with subject, object and directive prefixes, e.g. i-m-n-ú-lXam you speak to me 127.9 (113-212-311-611-S); the stem -i to go, travel does not occur without directive prefix, e.g. m't-i- come! 138.15 (112-312-612-S), (a)-ú-i-t they go 242.8 (112-314-611-S-1131), n-ú-i-a I go 9.6 (112-311-611-S-1211). Likewise, some stems do not occur without suffixation, as -sk to get, obtain, e.g. i-n-i-ú-sk-am I found it 21.6 (113-211-313-611-S-1121), i-c-i-k-l-kí-sk-l-iL it helped him 65.12 (113-213-313-442-511-613-S-811-1012).

No form appears in which all relative order positions of the verb are utilized, but this is a feature of the suffixation patterns alone, for forms utilizing all prefix positions are attested. The less freely occurring, partly redundant (e.g., lal-m) verbal suffixes appear to reflect the attrition of a once more uniformly productive, more individually freely-occurring, structure. If this is the case, it would conform to the predominantly suffixing pattern of most Penutian languages. Fitting this interpretation is the

fact that the verbal suffixes are restricted to verbs (except for the rare exceptions of -pa (and -ti?) in final position), but the pronominal prefixation is shared with nouns and pronouns; other considerations are that the other Chinookan dialects are quite similar to Kathlamet in verbal suffixes, but each dialect differs in its development of the initial tense-modal prefixes, in the relation of these to suffixes -x, -a, and perhaps also in the function of the directive prefixes, which in Wishram and Wasco seem to interact with the initial tense markers.

All prefix positions are attested in a-qa-m-t-X-m-ú-t-a (slaves t-) are exchanged for you 127.11 (111-219-312-417-441-513-611-S-1211), i-c-s'm-l-u-t he gives them to you 165.4 (113-213-316-412-511-611-S), i-n-t-k's-X-m-k'i-nuapa we will exchange them 85.6 (113-211-222-242-316-441-513-614-S), i-q-L-i-k-m-u-lX they were put under his blanket 50.11 (113-219-318-413-442-513-611-S), i-c-L-f-k-u-x he did it on him 147.13 (113-213-315-413-515-611-S), i-c-i-k-l-ki-sk-l-il it helped him 65.12 (113-213-313-442-511-613-S-811-1012), and other forms.

The final suffix position (1300) is anomalous and peripheral; anomalous, because here are found two suffixes that also occur (and much more frequently occur) as final with nouns, pronouns and particles, suggesting a trace, or better the inception of the Wasco-Wishram set of enclitics to all word classes; peripheral, because the suffixes either convert the verb construction into the semantic and sometimes the syntactic equivalent of a noun word (-pa, -ti), being superfluous to its completeness as a verb, or add no demonstrable

element of meaning (-iX). Discounting this position, it is possible to find a form in which all suffix positions are filled, (a)-u-kua-Lá-l-it-m-ait-x they (lice a-) are on it 49.10 (112-314-417-515-S-811-921-1011-1122-1212). Since this is the only such form attested in KT, such forms were presumably rare also in Kathlamet speech, unlike the fairly common occurrence of forms with all prefix positions filled.

For any stem, the limitations of occurrence with prefixes and suffixes, so far as shown in KT, is indicated by the examples in 5.2.4. The frequency and importance of affix sequences, both prefixes and suffixes, can also be evaluated with some fairness by a reading of these examples.

5.3.1. The overall pattern of relative order positions in the verb is as follows.

100. Tense-modal prefixes.
200. Subject prefixes (of transitive verb).
300. Subject prefixes (of intransitive verb), object prefixes (of transitive verb).
400. Indirect object prefixes.
500. Adverbial prefixes, relating indirect object.
600. Directive prefixes.
700. Stem.
800. Continuative, causative suffixes.
900. Adverbial suffixes.
1000. Continuative suffixes.
1100. Modal suffixes.
1200. Adverbial suffixes, partly tense-modal.
1300. Final suffixes.

5.3.2. The membership of these relative order positions is based on a recognition of two levels of positional relationship in Chinookan structure. Positions, numbered in centuries are distinguished from decades, numbered in tens within the centuries, and a sequence of decades may occur within a given position. To illustrate: the forms for the second person subject are:

m- - 2nd person singular

m- t - 2nd person dual

m- s - 2nd person plural,

and to these may be compared the exclusive 1st person forms,

n- - 1st person singular

n- t - 1st person exclusive dual

n- c - 1st person exclusive plural.

(The -c is the alternant of -s after dental n-).

It is clear that in these forms n- marks 1st person, m- marks 2nd person, zero (\emptyset) marks singular, t- marks dual, and s ~ c marks plural. Thus, two decades are distinguished within the transitive subject position, to which further analysis adds a third (inclusive x-) and a fourth (relational x- and non-singular subject marker k-). These decades of the transitive subject, however, function as a unit in the verb word in relation to the similar decades of the direct object, etc. The morphemes of this position occur in the first instance relative to each other (k- after non-singular, t- after n-, m-, before x-, etc.); only as joined together

in the position do they occur relative to person-marker morphemes (again joined together) in other positions. We cannot refuse to analyze morphemic distinctions as transparent as those illustrated above of n- 1st person, m- 2nd person, t- dual, etc. On the other hand, a mechanical totaling up of sequential positions for subject, direct object, indirect object, as well as for the verb stem and suffixes, would result in an overall 26-position verb, adding 9 positions for person-marking prefixes, 1 for the verb stem, and 3 for suffixes; and it would ignore (1) the functional unity of the decades within the positions this analysis designates by centuries, and (2) the sharp distributional limitations on members of the decades. Thus in the form a-m-t-k-i-ú-t-a you give him away 220.10 (111-212-222-242-313-611-S-1211), the analysis of m-t-k- depends upon comparison with verbs with subjects m-s-k-, m-∅-, n-t-k-, n-c-k-, and n-∅-, i.e., within its own century position, the rest of the verb structure remaining a frame. In the present analysis, then, the principle of immediate constituents is combined with that of relative order within the word.

Position 100.

Decade 110.

111.1 a- future

.2 al-

112. ∅ present, non-completive

113.1 i- immediate past, aorist

.2 ik-

- 114.1. na- non-immediate
 .2. n-
 115.1. qa- non-immediate
 .2. q-

Position 200. Transitive subject.

Decade 210. Person.

- 211.1 n- 1st
 212. m- 2nd
 213. c- 3rd (masculine)
 214. k- 3rd (feminine)
 215. L- 3rd (neuter)
 216. s- 3rd dual (=226)
 217. t- 3rd plural (=227)
 218. L- 3rd plural (=228)
 219.1 qa- 4th (indefinite) (=229)
 .2 q-

Decade 220. Number.

221. Ø- singular
 222. t- dual (non-3rd person)
 223.1a s- plural (non-3rd person)
 .1b c-
 .2 l-
 226. s- 3rd dual (=216)
 227. t- 3rd plural (=217)
 228. L- 3rd plural (=218)
 229.1 qa- 4th (=219)
 .2 q-

Decade 230. Inclusive.

231. x- inclusive (1-2 same function)
 232. ia- joint (1-2 not same function)

Decade 240. Relational.

242. k- agentive (non-singular)

Position 300. Direct object, intransitive subject.Decade 310. Person.

311. n- 1st
 312. m- 2nd
 313. i- 3rd (masculine)
 314. a- 3rd (feminine)
 315. L- 3rd (neuter)
 316.1 s- 3rd dual (=326)
 .2 st-
 317.1 t- 3rd plural (=327)
 .2 u-
 318. L- 3rd plural (=328)

Decade 320. Number.

321. Ø- singular
 322. t- dual (non-3rd person)
 323.1a s- plural (non-3rd person)
 .lb c-
 .2 l-
 326.1 s- 3rd dual (=316)
 .2 st-
 327.1 t- 3rd plural (=317)
 .2 u-
 328. L- 3rd plural (=318)

Decade 330. Inclusive.331. x- inclusive (1-2 same function, S/O)332. a- joint (1-2 not same function, S-O)Decade 340. Relational.341.1. x- reflexive, reciprocal

.2. xa-

.3. xua-

342.1. k- agentive

.2. kua-

Position 400. Indirect object.Decade 410. Person.411. n- 1st412. m- 2nd413. i- 3rd (masculine)414. a- 3rd (feminine)415. L- 3rd (neuter)416. s- 3rd dual (=426)417.1 t- 3rd plural (=427)

.2 u-

.3 au-

418. L- 3rd plural (=428)Decade 420. Number.421. Ø- singular422. t- dual (non-3rd)423.1a s- plural (non-3rd)

.1b c-

.2 l-

426. s- 3rd dual (=416)
 427.1 t- 3rd plural (=417)
 .2 u-
 .3 au-
 428. L- 3rd plural (=418)

Decade 430. Inclusive.

431. x- inclusive

Decade 440. Relational.

- 441.1 x- reciprocal, reflexive
 .2 xa-
 .3 xua-
 .4 xu-
 442.1 k- agentive
 .2 ku-
 443.1 k?-
 .2 k?ua-

Position 500. Adverbial (relation of 400)

- 511.1. l- relational; to, in, with, for
 .2. i-
 512. n- in, into, toward
 513.1 m- near, beside
 .2 ma-
 514. X- on ground
 515.1. k- on, over, above, up
 .2. ka-
 .3. kua-
 516.1. sk- into house
 .2. ska-

517.1. ql- out of (enclosed space)

.2. qui-

Position 600. Directional.

Decade 610.

611. u- (ablative)

612. t- (allative)

613. ki- (substitutive)

614. k'i- (substitutive)?

Position 700. Stem.

Decade 710.

711. ta- directional, movement

712. tu- directional, movement

713. qi- ~-qui directional, movement

"Decade" 720. Members of the V stem class (5.2.4.)

Decade 730. Directional elements of compound stems.

731. -pa motion out of

732. -pck motion from open to cover, esp. from
water to shore, or inland

733. -pq motion into

734. -tk motion, position down

735. -Lx motion from cover to open, esp.
toward water

736. -cu motion down

737. -uulX motion up

Position 800. Continuative, causative suffixes

Decade 810.

811.1. -l continuative (repetition)

.2. -la

.3. -lal

812.1.	-n	<u>continuative</u> (repetition)
.2.	-na	
.3.	-nan	
813.	-amit	<u>to cause, active</u>
814.1.	-Xit	<u>to be caused, passive</u>
.2.	-Xuit	
815.1.	-q	<u>completely, with finality ?</u>
.2.	-qu	

Position 900. Adverbial.

Decade 910.

911.1.	-akua	<u>about, around</u>
.2.	-aku	
.3.	-a...uk	
921.	-it	<u>perfective ? stative?</u>

Position 1000. Continuative.

Decade 1010.

1011.1.	-m	<u>continuative</u> (distinct repetitions)
.2.	-im	
1012.1.	-L	<u>continuative</u> (repetition)
.2.	-iL	
.3.	-uL	
.4.	-LuL	

Position 1100. Modal.

Decade 1110.

1111.1.	-ck	<u>perfective</u>
.2.	-cku	
1121.1.	-am	<u>purposive, completive</u>
.2.	-mam	

1122.	-ait	<u>situative</u>
1123.	-iXit	<u>perfective? stative?</u>
1131.	-t	<u>perfective? stative?</u>

Position 1200. Adverbial.

1211.1.	-a	<u>future</u>
.2.	-ia	
.3.	-á.ia	
1212.1.	-x	<u>usitative</u>
.2.	-ax	
1213.	-i	<u>successful completion, "across"</u>

Position 1300. Final.

1311.	-iX	
1312.	-pa	<u>locative</u>
1313.	-ti	<u>simulative</u>

5.3.3. The conditions for the alternants of the verb decades are discussed by position as follows.

Position 100.

- 111.1. a- before consonants, 111.2 al- before vowels.
- 113.1. i- before consonants, 113.2 ik- before vowels.
- 114.1. na- before consonants, 114.2 n- before vowels.
- 115.1. qa- before consonants, 115.2 q- before vowels.

Position 200.

See 5.4. for the distributional relations within this position of independent morphemes.

- 219.1 qa- / 311, 312, 219.2 q- elsewhere.
- 223.1a s- after 212 m, 223.1b c- after 211 n-.
- 223.2 l- before 231 x-.

Position 300.

316.1 s- after 200, before consonant;

.2 st- before vowel, not after 200, i.e., as intransitive subject before vowel.

317.1 t- in all sequences except

.2 u- before /k q X x/.

323 = 223; 326 = 316; 327 = 317.

341.1 x- in all sequences except

.2 xa- before 411, 412, before 612 t-, before stem-initial /m n t L c/ as free variant, except

.3 xua- after 317.2 u-, if not before 500.

342.1 k- in all sequences except

.2 kua- after 317.2 u-, if not before 500.

Position 400.

417.1 t- in all sequences except

.2 u- before stem-initial /k q X x/, and

.3 au- before 511 (=417.3 ≠ 511.2 au-i).

423 = 323=223; 427 = 417; 441.1-3 = 341.1-3;

441.4 xu- after 417.2 u- before 511.2 i-.

442.1 k- in all sequences except

.2 ku- in sequence 417-511 (=417.2-442.2-511.2)

443.1 k?- in all sequences except

.2 k?ua- after 317.2 u-

Position 500.

511.1 l- in all sequences except

.2 i- after 417.3 au-, after 417.2 u ≠ 442.2 ku/441.4 xu-, before 612 t-; before stem-initial L-.

513.1 m- in all sequences except

.2 ma- after 442.2 ku-.

515.1 k- before vowels (and certain stems?)

.2 ka- before consonants generally, except

.3 kua- after 417.2 u-.

516.1 sk- before vowels,

.2 ska- before consonants.

(unattested in KT after 417.2 u-)

517.1 ql- in all sequences except

.2 qui- after 417.2 u-.

Position 800.

811.1-3 are free alternants, except that

.2 -la occurs only final,

.1 -l alone occurs with 911.3-1012.

812.1-3 are free alternants, except that

.2 -na occurs only final,

.1 -n alone occurs with 911.3-1012.

814.1 -Xit in all sequences except

.2 -Xuit after stem-final u-.

815.1 -q final and before consonants,

.2 -qu before vowels.

Position 900.

911.1 -akua in final position,

.2 -aku in non-final position, except

.3 -a...uk with 811, 812 before 1012

(=-a-l-uk-L, -a-n-uk-L)

Position 1000.

1011.1-2 -m ~-im are free alternants.

1012.1-4 are free alternants, except that

.1 -L alone occurs after 811/812-911.3-,

.2 -iL alone occurs after 811/812.

Position 1100.

1111.1 -ck in final position,

.2 -cku in non-final position.

1121.1 -am after consonant,

.2 -mam after vowel.

Position 1200.

1211.1 -a after consonant,

.2 -ia after vowel,

.3 -á.ia rarely in a few forms.

1212.1-2 are free variants.

5.4. In this section a further discussion is given of the functions, relationships and character of the elements listed in 5.3.

Position 100. Each of the Chinookan dialects differs in the membership and function of this position. In Wishram-Wasco the position shows an elaboration of tense distinctions, contrasting future, present, and four preterits, immediate, recent, distant and remote past. In Shoalwater Chinook there is a more limited set of initial prefixes in which the fundamental contrast is aorist vs. non-aorist. In Kathlamet a tense system has developed to the extent of contrasting future (in intransitive sequences only), present, and immediate past. With this are found as well two prefixes not employed in either SC or WW, 114

na- ~ n- and 115 qa- ~ q-.

The apparently intermediate character of the Kathlamet system is seen in the fact that 111 a-~al- marks future only in discontinuous sequence with suffix 1211 -a, and that in only intransitive constructions. (Future is thus marked regularly in transitive constructions as well in Wasco-Wishram, sometimes abetted by the future particle alma). When it appears without suffix 1211, a- marks aorist as in Shoalwater Chinook, or aorist-customary in sequence with suffix 1212 -x. Prefix 114, na-~n-, which in Shoalwater Chinook has only the alternant n- and marks only aorist in conditioned alternation with a-, functions as aorist in Kathlamet also when it occurs without suffix of position 1200. In sequence with 1212, -x, it marks a customary action, or duration of an action, contrasting with the immediateness of action in the usual narrative sequence with prefix 113 i-~ik-. In sequence with 1211, -a, 114 n- marks future condition or situation, often following the particle manix when; thus manix na-ms-ú-pq-am-a 124.10 when you enter (you will eat), manix na-n-x-k?ua-mam 121.11 when I come home (I will eat them), tan a-m-i-ú-kuL-a na-m-x-k?uá-ia what will-you-carry when-you-go-home 29.15.

Prefix 115 qa- is especially used in sequence with 1212 -x in the description of customary, typical, habitual or other situations in which action is not conceived as immediately occurring. The introductory description of the activities typical of myth characters, of the narration of

how seals are hunted, for example, employ this sequence. Prefixes 111 a- and 114 n- are also found in sequence with 1212 -x in such passages. Other usages of qa-, na- and a- with and without 1212 -x are not easily explainable in terms of context or situation, and require special investigation. The special character of qa- and na- is shown by their alternants, for while all four prefixes have V before C, C before V, for qa- and na- the fuller form is before C, for al- and ik- before V.

Perhaps prefix 112 Ø- is only secondarily a present tense, for it often seems to indicate merely an activity that is not conceived as completed, either a continuing action, or a condition.

Position 200.

The distributional relations within this position among the four decades can be illustrated usefully by a paradigmatic arrangement.

n- Ø-		<u>1st singular</u> (211-221-)
n- t-	k-	<u>1st exclusive dual</u> (211-222-242)
n- c-	k-	<u>1st exclusive plural</u> (211-223.1b-242-)
t- x-	k-	<u>1st inclusive dual</u> (222-231-242-)
l- x-	k-	<u>1st inclusive plural</u> (223.2-231-242-)
m- Ø-		<u>2nd singular</u> (212-221-)
m- t-	k-	<u>2nd dual</u> (212-222-242-)
m- s-	k-	<u>2nd plural</u> (212-223.1a-242-)
c- Ø-		<u>3rd singular (masculine)</u> (213-221-)
k- Ø-		<u>3rd singular (feminine)</u> (214-221-)
l- Ø-	k-	<u>3rd singular (neuter)</u> (215-221-242-)
s--s̀	k-	<u>3rd dual</u> (216-226-242-)

t--t- k- 3rd plural (217=227-242-)

L--L- k- 3rd plural (218=228-242-)

q--q- 4th person (219=229-)

Note that for the singular and 4th person (except neuter), position alone marks function as transitive subject, while for the others, including all non-singular, this function is marked both by position and k-. The inclusives stand apart in that the t- of the 1st inclusive dual is found elsewhere marking dual, but l- is a unique plural alternant, and the inclusive-marker x- is positionally unique. The symbolization illustrated by the 3rd dual, s--s-, indicates that in the non-singular 3rd person forms no separate markers of person and number can be isolated, although for the singular 3rd person forms the parallel of the 1st and 2nd person sets makes possible the recognition of a significant zero for singular number, as has been done. Thus the present analysis follows the category of number as analogical base or connecting link for interpreting the 3rd singular forms. If instead one chose to follow the category of person as the base or connecting link, all the 3rd person forms can be regarded as without independent mark of number. This introduces a sharp cleavage between the 3rd and non-3rd persons regarding number, and together with the apartness of the inclusive forms regarding person, suggests that historically the person-marker paradigm is the result of three interlocking sets, (1) 1st exclusive and 2nd person, (2) inclusive forms, and (3) 3rd person forms.

Position 300.

The distributional relations within this position parallel those within position 200, except for a difference involving decade 340, in that k- occurs only after 317 t-.

n- ∅-	<u>1st singular</u> (311-321-)
n- t-	<u>1st exclusive dual</u> (311-322-)
n- c-	<u>1st exclusive plural</u> (311-323.1b-)
t- x-	<u>1st inclusive dual</u> (322-331-)
l- x-	<u>1st inclusive plural</u> (323.2-331-)
m- ∅-	<u>2nd singular</u> (312-321-)
m- t-	<u>2nd dual</u> (312-322-)
m- s-	<u>2nd plural</u> (312-323.1a-)
i- ∅-	<u>3rd singular (masculine)</u> (313-321-)
a- ∅-	<u>3rd singular (feminine)</u> (314-321-)
L- ∅-	<u>3rd singular (neuter)</u> (315-321-)
s--s-~st--st-	<u>3rd dual</u> (316-326-)
t--t- k-	<u>3rd plural</u> (317-327-342-)
u--u-	" (317-327-)
L--L-	<u>3rd plural</u> (318-328-)

Note that the shapes of 313 and 314, i- and a-, differ from the corresponding members of position 200, c- and k-, but that the corresponding members of the possessive paradigm of nouns are one from each verb position, i- (=313) and k- (=214). (The historical development of the Chinookan person-markers is discussed by Sapir in "A Chinookan Phonetic Law").⁵

The agentive k- (342) occurs in this position only with the 3rd plural alternant t- where the t- would normally precede directive u- (611), which does not occur following 317 t-, or following 3rd plural alternant u- before stem-initial /k q/. Note that the 4th or indefinite person is not found as subject of an intransitive sequence or as object, but only as subject of transitive sequences, where it often has the force of a passive construction.

The sequences of 200-300 which are attested in KT can be shown in tabular form; members of 200 are listed vertically, members of 300 horizontally.

	n-	nt-	nc-	tx-	lx-	m-	mt-	ms-	i-	a-	L-	s-	u-	L-
n-∅-									x	x	x	x	x	x
n-t-									x			x		x
n-c- k-									x	x	x	x	x	
t-x-k-									x	x	x	x	x	
l-x-k-									x	x			x	x
m-∅-	x	x	x						x	x	x	x	x	x
m-t- k-	x								x	x			x	
m-s- k-	x								x	x		x	x	x
c-∅-	x			x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x
k-∅-	x			x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
L-∅- k-	x			x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	
s- k-	x					x			x	x	x	x	x	x
t- k-	x			x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
L- k-	x					x		x	x	x		x	x	x
q-	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x

Absences among the third person objects in the right-hand columns are presumably accidental; the frequencies of i-, a-, t- in that order reflects their frequency of occurrence as noun-prefixes and hence as pronominal referents in the verb. The sporadic occurrence of 1st and 2nd person objects after 3rd person subjects would also seem due to their less frequent occurrence, especially the dual. A systematic absence appears to be that of 2nd person subject before 1st inclusive or 2nd person object; such constructions would either be handled by the reflexive construction with 341 or 441, or be semantically unacceptable. Another systematic absence is that of 1st person subjects before 1st person objects, which would again be handled by reflexive constructions or be semantically unacceptable.

The 1st person forms do not appear before 2nd person objects, but a special sequence is utilized to express the relationship, with or without a second object as well. Instead of hypothetical *n-m-, n-mt-, n-ms-, there occur ia-m-, ia-mt-, and ia-ms-; and instead of hypothetical *n-l-m/mt-/ms-, n-s-m/mt-/ms-, n-t-m/mt-/ms-, there occur la-m/mt-/ms-, sa-m/mt-/ms-, and ta-m/mt-/ms-. Now the latter forms, having two objects, seem parallel to the inclusive forms, and both might be analyzed with zero alternant of 1st person as initial member; these 1st person-2nd person forms would then have la-, sa-, ta- alternants before m- for the 1st object, and of course m-/mt-/ms- for second object. The form ia-m-, however, may represent both 200-300-400*, and simply 200-300, and in the former case the form is the same whether the gender of the first object

is masculine or feminine; thus: a-ia-m-l-p[?]ialxa I gather them (a-) for you 148.5, 148.6; a-ia-m-l-ú-t-a I shall give it (i-) to you 198.14; but without apparent second object, iá-m-u-x I-you-do (deceive) 86.3; a-ia-m-ú-xu-a I-you-do (swallow) 148.3; ia-m-t-x-t I-you-do (not like) 22.7; a-ia-ms-u-tína I-you-shall kill 78.4. The necessity of analyzing these forms into ia-m-, etc., as Boas, Sapir and Dyk did not, is shown by the occurrence of the reflexive in ia-xa-m-k^l-quat I bathe against you 199.6, paralleling i-m-xa-n-k^l-quat you bathed against me 199.5.

One attractive interpretation of these forms with two objects, the first of which is 3rd person singular, might be to regard them as sequences of zero alternant of 1st person (or without this) plus compound 3rd singular object (i.e., i/ a=ia) plus normal 2nd person object; then a-ia-m-l-ú-t-a 148.3 would be analyzed as (111-(211.2)-313/314-412-511-611-S-1211). Two alternatives would then appear for sequences of 1st person subject and 2nd person object without a second object. In a certain number of Kathlamet constructions a person-marker may appear without any overt indication in the context as to its referent, e.g. a-k-i-ú-xu-ax-iX she-it-does 225.4, referring to digging roots, but with no i-marked noun or pronoun present; t^l-k-u-x-t they-him-on-are 131.12, referring to stripes, which is indicated not by a t-marked noun, but by the particle c[?]xc[?]x. Consequently, it might be proposed to interpret as a parallel such a construction as ia-m-t-x-t I-you-do 22.7, referring to not liking

which is indicated by particles *nist tq'ix* not like. Such an interpretation is somewhat forced, however, when applied to forms like *a-ia-ms-u-tina* I-you-shall-kill 78.4, which parallels *i-n-i-ú-tina* I-them (elks i-)-killed 214.16. Here it is quite difficult to interpret the first of the two forms as having zero alternant of 1st person-1st object-2nd object; no more than one object seems involved. The only virtue of the interpretation with two objects would be that of uniformity with the analysis of the other sequences, *ta-m-*, *la-m-*, etc.

Another alternative is to consider the sequences *ia-m-*, etc., with but one object, as a form of indirect discourse in which the speaker refers to himself in the (generalized) third person. The Chinookans were a slave-holding, wealth and status conscious people, and such a politeness form would not be culturally surprising. The form *iá-m-u-x* I-you-do (deceive) 86.3, for example, would then be analyzed not as (112-(211.2)-313/314-412-611-S), but as (112-313-412-611-S), i.e., as with an intransitive subject.

If one adds an additional first person alternant *ia-* to account for *iá-m-u-x* in a seemingly simple and direct way (112-211.3-312-611-S), a number of complications appear as soon as the forms with two objects are considered, with the parallels of *ia-m*, *la-m*, *ta-m*, *sa-m*. This fate also befalls the second alternative suggested, that of indirect discourse. On the other hand, the interpretations which postulate zero 1st person alternant reduce to merely arbitrary expedients.

In the present analysis, then, ia- is isolated as a marker of joint relationship between 1st and 2nd person when but 1st subject and 2nd object are involved, and assigned to position 200 and decade 230 (cf. the -ia supplement to the possessive paradigm of nouns). When 1st subject and two objects are concerned, a- is isolated as the marker of joint relationship, and assigned to position 300, decade 330, where it follows the marker of the direct object from decade 310. When the 1st object of two is the 3rd person singular, this is regarded as marked by 313 i-, which by regular process of assimilation might be taken as preceding shape ia-, were it not for the parallel of t-a-, s-a-, and L-a-; for another generalized use of i-, see discussion in the chapter on pronouns (p. 79). ia-m I-you is thus (232-312) and i-a-m I-it-to you is (313-332-412).

Boas discusses this construction in Shoalwater Chinook (HB 585) and mentions forms qa-m-, qa-mt-, qa-ms- for 2nd person object with 1st person dual and plural exclusive subject. Such forms have not been found in KT, nor does Boas give any examples for Shoalwater Chinook. Possibly the qa- alternant of the 4th person before m- and n- has been interpreted in the case of forms with m- as parallel to ia-m-, etc. Thus, qa-m-t-u-tina you will be killed 220.11 might be interpreted as we will kill you in that context; other forms, such as i-qa-m-ú-uaq you were killed 77.14 and i-qa-m-k'1-u-tk someone put aside for you 155.10 can not be.

A full set of forms of these 1st person subject-2nd person object forms is not attested in KT, but those that appear indicate that Kathlamet and Wasco were morphologically identical in this respect. A Wasco set is given here.

a-i-a-m-l-u-t-a I give it to you (111-313-332-412-511-611-
S-1211)

a-l-a-m-l-u-t-a I give it to you (...-315-332-412-...)

a-š-a-m-l-u-t-a I give 2 to you (...-316-332-412-...)

a-t-a-m-l-u-t-a I give (t-) you (...-317-332-412-...)

a-i-a-mt-l-u-t-a I give it you 2 (...-313-332-412-422-...)

a-l-a-mt-l-u-t-a I give it you 2 (...-315-332-412-422-...)

a-š-a-mt-l-u-t-a I give 2 you 2 (...-316-332-412-422-...)

a-t-a-mt-l-u-t-a I give (t-) you 2 (...-317-332-412-422-...)

a-i-a-ms-l-u-t-a I give it you 3 etc (...-313-332-412-423-...)

a-l-a-ms-l-u-t-a I give it you 3 etc (...-315-332-412-423-...)

a-š-a-ms-l-u-t-a I give 2 you 3 etc (...-316-332-412-423-...)

a-t-a-ms-l-u-t-a I give (t-) you 3 etc (...-317-332-412-423-..)

(This set was elicited with reference to "I give you (one, two or many people) salmon (one, two or many), except that for reasons of formal gender, l- refers to l-cqua water).

Position 400.

The first three decades of this position do not differ from those of position 300, so far as distributional relations among themselves are concerned. Sequences of 200-300-400 show no special limitations, other than those discussed for 1st person subject-2nd person object, except as subject to the limitations on sequences of 200-300 that have been discussed. As second object, the third person forms and the 1st and 2nd singular are found with fair frequency; others are rare or not attested in KT, but it is known that they can be elicited in appropriate contexts in Wasco.

The function of prefix 441 differs somewhat because of position from that of the corresponding form in position 300, i.e., 341. The functions of both 341 and 441, separately and conjointly, can be conveniently discussed here. The following different sequences involving these forms are found (omitting occurrences with position 500): 300-341; 200-300-341; 200-300-400-441; 300-400-441; 300-341-400; 300-341-400-441.

In the sequence 300-341, i.e. after the simple intransitive subject, 341 functions as a simple reflexive: na-n-t-x-u-uáqu-a we shall kill one another 138.9 (114-311-322-341-611-S-1211); a-m-x-sáqu-a you are dry 126.16 (111-312-341-S-815-1211); ik-i-x-más-ait he is ashamed (he shames himself) 181.3 (113-313-341-S-1122); u-xua-sk'1-iL they are playing (with each other) 145.4 (112-317-341-S-811-1012); t1 i-n'x-u-x act of tiring I-myself-did (I tired myself, I became tired) 49.4 (P 113-311-341-611-S); pt m'x-u-x act of quieting you-yourself-do = be quiet 74.12 (P 112-312-341-611-S) u m-t'ánca a-m-x-ú-xu-a Oh, you-crow you-yourself-will-do (P N 111-312-341-611-S-1211) 62.5, and L-k'útk'ut i-L'x-ü-x dog it-itself-did (N 113-315-341-611-S) 62.4, i.e., you turn into a crow (be transformed) and it turned into a dog (was transformed).

In the sequence 200-300-341, 341 marks a possessive relationship between the subject (200) and the direct object (300): paL i-L-k-f-x-u-x act of filling it (blood L)-it (body i)-his-did 159.12, i.e., blood filled his body; cs L-k-f-x-u-x coldness they (L)-it- re them-are 37.3, i.e.,

they become cold; a-n-i-x-ú-xtk-am-a 133.15 I-him-mine-to rob-go= I go to rob my workman 133.15; i-c-i-x-ú-xtk-am 131.1 he-him-(chief i-)-his-to rob-went= he went to rob his chief. The humor here is that Owl first boasts of going to take food from the workman whom he supposedly owns, but is described as in reality going to take food from the chief who actually owns him. Anticipated or desired possession can also be subtly shown, as in a-n-L-x-k'á.ia 104.16 I will haul her ashore (any woman L- that passes (and lie down with her all day)).

In the sequence 200-300-400-441, 441 indicates that the indirect object (400) and the direct object (300) are in a possessive relationship: i-c-f-a-x-u-x 11.11 he-it (neck i-her-'s-did (cut), i.e. he cut her neck off; Lq'up i-k-i-á-x-u-x i-cá-tuk 119.9 cut she-it-(neck i-)-her-'s-did her-neck, i.e., she cut her neck off. (Note that this is not her own neck, but another's; one cuts off one's own neck with a different construction).

In the sequence 300-400-441, 441 indicates a possessive relationship between the intransitive subject and the object, or self-reference of the subject: ik-i-s-x-pú-Xuit he-two (eyes s-)-his-close-caused, i.e., he closed his eyes 43.14; L'm-x-u-x them (buttocks L-)-you-rs-make (out), i.e. take out your buttocks 87.6; t-i-x'l-aku-t they-them (rocks i-)-themselves-move, fly-around, i.e., they fly around the rocks 223.13.

In the sequence 300-341-400, 341 indicates possession of the object (400) by the subject (300) or self-reference of the subject: ik-a-xa-i-l-kúLi-ck she told him (her husband) 226.13; i-t-xa-L'1-u-x they (wings t-)-them (birds L-)-on-did 37.13, i.e. their wings came to be on them; n-i-xa-t-l-ú-xu-ax it-itself (foam i-)-it (water)-on-did 239.5, i.e., it became foamy= it began to boil; qa-t-xa-n-l-ú-xu-ax it (unhappiness t-)-itself-me-on-does 167.4, i.e., I am unhappy.

In the sequence 300-341-400-441, 341 and 441 seem to indicate a self-reference to the intransitive subject, and reference to the object as well; the examples found refer largely to states or conditions of persons or myth characters. Thus: k?uas i-t-x-f-x-u-x afraid they-themselves-it(whalei-)-regarding-are 195.1-2, i.e., they were afraid of the whale; m-x-á-x-u-x you-yourself-them (roots a-)-regarding-are (afraid) 228.11, i.e. you are afraid of those roots; a-ms-x-i-x-ú-xu-a you-yourselves-him-regarding-will be (afraid) 170.11, i.e., you will be afraid of him; a-s-x-a-x-ú-xu-a they (your farts a-)-themselves-them-(generations of people a-)-regarding-will make (afraid) 89.11, plus particle for only, i.e., Coyote tells Skunk that future generations will be afraid only of his farts, not of the death-dealing winds he produced in mythical times; m-x-f-x-u-x you-yourself-it (monster i-)-regarding-be (quiet) 198.4, i.e., be quiet so that the monster will not hear you;

m-xá-L-x-u-x you-yourself-it (person L-)-regarding-be (quiet)
 106.11, i.e., be quiet so that the person will not hear you;
i-t-x-f-x-u-x they (arrows t-)-themselves-him-regarding-did
come out) 173.7, i.e., the arrows came out of him.

Position 500.

The members of this position will be discussed first as they occur without decade 440, then as they occur with decade 440. The use of those which occur without 440 can be made clear by examples:

511.1 l-: i-k-t-á-l-u-x she put them on her 99.2
 (113-214-317-414-511-611-S); i-q-á-i-l-u-x someone made it
(fire a-) (warm) to him 250.12 (113-219-314-413-511-611-S);
i-c-t-s-í-l-u-x he made them (t-) for them 165.12 (113-213-
317-416-511-611-S); ik-i-n-l-ú-Xui-Xit it-me-to-know-is
caused, i.e., I know it 112.10 (113-313-411-511-611-S-814);
t-a-l-u-x-t they (ornaments t-)-her-to-are-(tied) 223.7;
(112-317-414-511-611-S-1131); L-a-l-u-x-t it (urine L-)-it-
(basket a-)-in-was 15.13, i.e. the urine was in a basket
(315-414-511-611-S-1131).

511.2 i-: á-n-i-t it (arrow a-)-me-to-move=give me the
arrow 17.16 (112-314-411-511-S); a-n-i-t-ám her-me-to-move-
for purpose of go=fetch her to me 21.13 (112-314-411-511-S-
1121); i-c-a-m-f-L-am he-it-(net a-)-you-to-move-go for pur-
pose of=he brings you a net 199.17 (113-213-314-412-511-S-
1121).

512 n-: i-s-k-i-a-n-lí-n-íl those two-it (dentalia i-)-
it (sinew a-)-into-string-continuing 193.3, i.e., they are
stringing long dentalia on sinew; a-m-n-p?u-Xuit-a you-

inward-close-to-be caused 146.3, i.e. close your eyes;
 i-s-n-p^ʔú-Xuit those two-inward-close-to be caused 76.13,
 i.e., he closed his eyes; i-c-a-(a)-n-kí-ualq^ʔ-amit
he-grease (a)-her-into-feed-caused 130.9, i.e. he fed her
grease.

514 X- : i-c^íL-X-tk he-it-on ground-put down 152.2, i.e.
he put salmon down on the ground; i-s-k-i-X-ú-kuiq those two-
it (skin i-)-on ground-threw down 66.1, i.e. they threw skin
down on the ground (which became prairies); a-xa-Xá-t-aku-t
she-herself-on ground-move about 209.12, i.e. she returns
 (but this interpretation of the form problematic; cf. -Xat
 as verb stem).

515.1 k- : qa-c-L-i-k-ú-xu-ax he-it (water L-)-him-on-
did 115.12, i.e. he poured water on him; t^íL-k-u-x-t they-
(bones t-)-her-on-are 14.10, i.e. bones are on her; L^ím-k-
 u-sq it (blood L-)-you-on-becoming 126.10, i.e. blood is
becoming on you; i-st-í-k-u-s-iX those two-it (river i-)-
on-motion on water 113.15, i.e. they crossed the river.

515.2 ka- : i-m-L-n-ká-ki-qst you-them (lice L-)-me-
on-louse 118.6, i.e. you louse me; i-L-k-L-í-ka-puna they-
it (food L-)-him?-carry 159.5, i.e. they carried food to
him (re ritual obligation to wife's relatives); ik-a-lx-
 ká-t-quam she-us-on-reach 209.12, she reached us; i-t-ka-
 t-Xuní-cku-am they-above-float-perfective-arrive 24.16,
 i.e., they came up floating.

515.3 kua- : (a)-ú-kua-x-t she-it (house)-on-is 121.15,
 i.e. she is on the house; i-L-u-kuá-quam she-them-on-reach

180.14, i.e. she reached them; i-k-l-ú-kua-Lq she-them-them-
(ropes t-)-on-finished 17.12, i.e. she finished the ropes.

516.1 sk- : a-lx-a-sk-ú-pq-a we-it-into house-enter
69.3, i.e. we will go in; qa-c-i-a-sk-ú-qu-ck-ax he-it (elk)-
it-into house-carry 134.12, he carried the elk into the house.

516.2 ska- : í-ska-t-qu-ck it (elk i-)-into house-
carry 134.10, i.e., carry the elk into the house; i-k-i-ská-
na/pq she-it-into house-look/motion into 209.9, i.e.
she looked into the house.

517.1 ql- : ik-f-ql-pa it (steam i-)-out of enclosed
space-go out 150.2, i.e. steam went out of his mouth;
qa-m-n-ql-ú-qlq-ax you-me-out of enclosed space-leave 59.8,
i.e. you leave me; i-i-a-ql-ú-Lx he-it (canoe a-)-out of
enclosed space-motion from cover to open 54.5, i.e. he
landed; i-n-f-ql-kl I-it-outward from enclosed space-know
13.9, i.e. I see it.

517.2 qui- : i-c-ú-qui-qLq he-them-out from enclosed
space-left, 176.4, i.e., he left them; i-c-ú-qui-kla
he-them-outward from enclosed space-knew 88.13, i.e. he saw
them.

Note that the alternation ql- ~ qui- parallels that of
442-511, k-l ~ ku-i-, indicating that the historical origin
of the two is parallel; within Kathlamet itself, however,
the present data enable the agentive k- to be recognized
in k-l-, paralleled by the reflexive sequence x-l-, but no
reflexive parallel of ql- has been satisfactorily found,
and no satisfactory semantic interpretation of ql- as a
sequence of morphemes *q-l- has been achieved. In contrast,

sequences of kʔ-n-, kʔ-m-, and kʔ-l-, while offering difficulties of semantic interpretation, are analyzed because kʔ- occurs independently, unlike *q-.

Sequences of decade 440 and position 500 are a fairly common feature of the Kathlamet verb. In some cases the sequence is semantically transparent, in others it seems conventionalized to the extent that it was probably taken as a semantic unit. The principal feature of these sequences is the contrast between initial agentive k- and initial reflexive x-, although some verbs are characterized apparently by one or the other. Thus -aqL to open is found only with 441-511, e.g. i-c-a-i-xʔl-aqL-i he opened the door 62.12 (113-213-314-413-441-511-S-1212), i-c-i-u-xuá-l-aqL he opened it 161.13 (113-213-314-417-441-511-S). Just as with the generalized stem of motion -t-, the sequence -l-u-t- (511-611-S) has become conventionalized in the sense of to give, so with the generalized stem of contact or adjacency -ka-, the sequence -k-l-ka (442-511-S) is exceedingly common in the conventionalized sense to hold, take, e.g., i-t-k-u-ku-i-ka the-them-the ones who-in relation to-be in contact, i.e., they took them 223.4, and i-t-k-u-ku-i-ka-t they held them 173.16 (113-217-242-317-442-511-S-1231).

Examples of sequences attested in KT are:

k-l-: (442-511.1) i-c-i-k-l-ki-kim he-it-on account of-spoke, i.e., he spoke to them 84.10; i-qa-m-kʔl-u-tk someone-you-on account of-put down, i.e., someone put this aside for you 155.10; i-m-xa-n-k-l-quat you-yourself-me-on account of-bathed 199.5 (i.e., you sought supernatural power against me by bathing).

-ku-i- (442-511.2) : a-c-i-u-kuí-x-a he-it (something)-them (birdskins t-)-on account of-will do, i.e., he will do something with them, 179.3; qa-st-u-ku-í-x they-them (birds t-)-on account of-did 85.1, i.e. they went to hunt.

x-l- (441-511.1) : qa-i-a-x-l-ú-x-ax it (badness i-)-it (coat a-)-itself-in relation to-was, i.e., the coat was bad 197.5; i-t-m-x'1-ki-Lx they (intestines t-)-you-yourself-relating to-burned, i.e. you burned (my) intestines 139.14; i-s-x'1-k'i-xs they-themselves-relating to-cut, i.e. they cut (sealion) for themselves 84.4.

xu-i- (441-511.2) : i-c-u-xu-í-ki-Lx he burnt the house (t-) 97.13; ik-ú-xu-i-cu they spoke together 40.19; i-L-k-u-xu-í-ki-Lx they burnt their house (t-) 181.11.

k-n- (442-512) : i-c-f-k-n-pna it jumped at him 58.11; a-c-á-k-n-pná-ia he will jump at her 209.9; i-q-i-a-k-ń-Xaku-iX they(people)were tired of her 192.12; ik-a-i-k-n-xáx-it it (sun a-)-him-struck (on side) 249.11.

x-n- (441-512-) : L-a-x-n-L-ámit it-she-herself-into, toward-motion-caused, i.e. she sang a conjuror's song; 224.11; L-i-x-n-L-ámit it-he-himself-into, toward-motion-caused, i.e. he sang a conjuror's song 179.8.

k-m- (442-513-) : qa-L-i-k-m-láit-x they stand around it (i-) 243.4; m-i-k-m-qalqt you-it-for-cry, i.e. you cry for it 167.15; m-n-k-ń-qalqt you cry for me 174.10; (cf. m-u-qulqt you cry 168.7); i-L-a-k-ń-Lait he approached her 21.1; i-L-k-a-i-k-m-Lait-amit they (L-)-her-him-near-to be -caused, i.e., they placed her near him 15.4; a-ms-kL-i-k-m-ki-Lx-a you-it (pitchwood L-)-them (smelt i-)-near-burn, i.e. you burn them on pitchwood 37.7.

ku-ma- (442.2-513.2) : i-n-u-ku-má-tum I accompanied them 183.5; a-q-u-ku-ma-LúXua-it they knew it (the things Cultee's grandfather revealed) 251.4.

x-m- (441-513.1-) : i-nt-k's-x-m-k'i-nuapa we will exchange buttocks 85.6; a-q-m-t-x-m-k'i-nuapa you will be exchanged for them 55.4; qa-s-x-m-Lxá-x they two were burned 232.6; n-i-L-x-m-ú-tk-ax he put it under it 237.10.

xu-ma- (441.4-513.2) : ik-ú-xu-ma-i-a they met 173.3; n-ú-xu-ma-Lxa they were burned 231.1; ik-ú-xu-ma-Lxá it (their house) was burnt 181.11.

k?-l- (443-511) : i-t-xá-tx-k?-l-psut they look at us secretly 169.11; L-x-i-k?-l-psut he looked secretly at him 76.10.

k?-n- (443-512) : i-k-L-a-k?-n-Xta she rolled it (hair L-) around it (marrow a-) 136.9, 136.10; ik-a-xá-L-k?-n-u-kLua she approached the person (L-) secretly 129.7. (Cf. ik-a-xa-L-x'psut she hid herself from him 129.8).

k?-m- (443-513) : ik-a-i-k?-m-Llá-m-Xit it was blackened (smelt i-) 37.9.

k?- (443) : ik-i-k?-Lxi he crawled 144.8; a-k?-Lxí-t she came crawling 110.1; i-u-k?ua-Lxí-kua-x he climbed about in trees (t-) 153.1.

Position 600.

The primary contrast for prefixes in this position involves the presence of 611 u-, of 612 t-, or the absence of either. The label "directive" strictly applies only to this part of the decade; as first proposed by Boas, it is a fairly apt description. There are clear cases in which 611

u- marks direction away from speaker or central figure of the narration, while 612 t- marks direction toward. Thus, a-l-a-ská-t-pq-a they (swans L-)-it (house)-into house-toward-enter 37.11, 38.9, in utterances by a woman inside the house, first with negative, denying the swans entrance, then without negative, granting them entry. This contrasts with the perspective of the swans and narrator, for their entry is described with the form i-l-á-sk-u-pq they entered 37.11, i.e., they go away from the scene in which they had been presented, outside the house. With t- it is motion to a point, with u- motion from a point. Similarly, one finds i-c-m-t-ká-l-mam he-you-toward here-contact-came for purpose of, i.e. he came to fetch you 36.8, in contrast to i-c-(a)-u-kuá-l-mam-x he went to fetch it (a-) 197.6. The verb stem i- to move, travel is an especially common illustration of this contrast, e.g. m-t-f-a come 168.1, m-ú-i-a go 93.4.

Such a verb stem as -pa to go requires 611 u- and cannot occur with 612 t-: i-ú-pa he went out 15.8, i-st-ú-pa they went out 63.6 (113-316-611-S), i-t-k'-pa they went out 75.13, 194.13 (113-317-342-611-S). No stem has been observed to require 612 t-. There are, however, stems which occur with no member of this position, such as -quim to feed, -cu to talk, converse, -LuXua to think (that is, with no directive member). The stem -quim is of interest, since it always occurs in transitive constructions with positions 200-300, but invariably with 511 l~i rather than with any member of position 600. Contrariwise, the stem -lxam, also

always transitive with 200-300, invariably requires 611 u-, the stem -cu to talk occurs only with the reflexive sequence 341/441-511 x-l- ~xu-i-, -kuLi to tell occurs only with reflexive subject (plus or minus 511), and -kim to say never occurs with any reflexive or directive element, though in one instance it appears with a transitive subject when this is accompanied by k-l- (442-511), i-c-i-k-l-ki-kim he spoke to them 84.10. The ramifications and semantic basis of these differentiations among verb stems in Chinookan have never been fully explored.

A second aspect of 611 u- appears to be the contrast between the actual immediate occurrence of an action, and its proposal, discussion, description, etc. For example, 611 u- never occurs in imperative constructions: ms-k-á-naxL search for her! 69.7, a-ms-k-(a)-ú-naxL-am-a you will search for her (as a command) 163.1; the latter seems to express an order that is definitely going to be obeyed (here by a chief to his men). Also compare: i-s-c-x 56.10(he was seen) going down river versus i-ú-s-c-x he went down river 73.2; ik-f-qumit he looked (followed by he saw him) 116.1 versus i-c-i-ú-qumit he saw him 104.9; a-q-t'-x-a someone-them-will do (how) in a question 205.1, versus láxlax a-q-t-ú-xu-a deceive someone-them-will do, referring to the specific action; qa-c-f-x-ax he-him-did (all kinds of ways) 113.11 versus qa-c-f-u-x-ax he-it-did (break) 32.16, referring to a specific action.

Other occurrences of 611 u- may not in their entirety fit these two aspects, but have not been completely investigated. It appears that 612 t- can contrast with the

second aspect of 611 u- by indicating the potentiality of an action, e.g. al-i-lx-ki-t-pq-a he-us-potentially-will enter to 246.7. While this form perhaps is explained adequately as well by the sense of direction to, a-m-t-p'iaLxa-x you-them (birds t-)-gather (shall not) 89.11, contrasting with a-n-t-u-p'iaLx-a I shall gather them (birds t-) 86.4, suggests the presence of an elided t- (either the directive or plural) in the first, with the directive t- indicating potentiality of action, rather than direction to.

For Shoalwater Chinook, Boas writes that 613 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." (HB 591). With the normally intransitive verb stem -kim to say, it is possible to see an application of this function in the unusual occurrence with c- (transitive subject form), i-c-i-k-l-ki-kim he spoke to them 84.10. It is also possible to interpret the presence of 613 ki- in a number of Kathlamet constructions as functioning to replace a pronominal object, but no conditions have as yet been discovered which govern this replacement. Examples: i-c-i-l-ki-qsqa-lal-m-ck he speared it 44.11, in contrast with i-c-L-i-l-u-qsq 159.11, he-it (harpoon L-)-him-to-speared; i-c-L'l-ki-tk he-them (stones L-)-put (into basket) 114.15, a-k-au-i-ki-tk-ax she-them-kept (in something?) 207.11, 207.12; qa-c-a-ki-tk-a he-her-put down (some place) 224.16; m-ki-x you-are (where?) 97.7. As indicated, the replaced pronominal object is sometimes difficult to identify. The possible historical origin of 613 ki- as a particle element

is suggested by the phrase, qa ki m-ki-x how this you-are 132.1; here ki this is the only likely element to which 613 ki- can refer, and it seems probable that the two are etymologically one.

The function of 614 kʔi- is not known. In many occurrences it appears to parallel 613 ki-: i-cʔkʔi-mas-amit I made them ashamed 172.3; i-s-xʔl-kʔi-xs they two cut (elk) 137.3, where kʔi- seems to replace the object. In other cases a replaced object cannot be identified: i-t-k-u-xua-kʔi-ni-anuk-L-ck they tied them in bundles 101.5; nt-k-i-x-kʔi-Li-na we string them 193.6. And in i-k-i-a-n-kʔi-Li-na she-them (dentalia i-)-it (sinew a-)-into-strings 192.18, 614 kʔi- cannot be replacing an object for two are represented (i-, a-). In at least one instance the presence of 614 kʔi- parallels a noun construction with nominalized stem, i.e. noun i-tá-kʔi/saq their-going to war=they are warriors 182.5, and verb n-u-kua-kʔi-saqu-am-x they went to attack them 240.2, ik-u-kua-t-kʔi-saqu-am they came to make war on them 236.1.

It should be noted that 613 ki- and 614 kʔi- never occur in sequence with the clearly directional members of the decade, 611 and 612, although no semantic or functional interpretation of this fact is apparent. Boas' remark that 613 ki- "negates direction toward an object" is difficult to fit to the Kathlamet instances, such as those illustrated before.

Position 700.

The compound verb stems which occur are illustrated in the list of stems in 5.2.4. There each element which occurs as initial member is given an entry; all second members also occur independently and are so entered, but their occurrence as second member of compound is entered only under the first element. The compounds are listed here to facilitate reference to 5.2.4.

i/cu; ua/quam; uulq?Ax; ta/AulX; ta/Aua; ta/k?ua;
 ta/quam; ta/qLq; tu/Auaq (?); tu/Aua; lata/pck; lxi/pq;
 cu/Aua; ka/Ax; ku/cu; kui/pck; kt/AulX; kc/pa; ksquá/AulX;
 kl/aqL; qui/pa; qui/cu; qui/Xtamacl; s/AulX; s/ak; s/xu;
 s/cu; ski/Aua; ski/Ax; xaima/cu; Xuni/pck; na/pq; la-iu/Aua;
 la/pck; la/AulX.

An alternant of a number of stems is a form consisting of the normal stem plus element -iu, occurring when a plural object or subject is involved. Here handled as a component of stem alternants, it was treated by Boas as an infix, or as "dieresis" of the stem.

Position 800.

Semantically and distributionally, the members of this position fall into discrete groups. Of these, 811 and 812, the continuative suffixes, have formed the principal basis of analysis, because they occur frequently and with a variety of other suffixes. The causative suffixes 813 and 814 occur with only a few other suffixes, and the infrequent 815 -q with but two or three. The positional analysis of sequences with initial 811 or 812, then, is the background against which sequences with other suffixes initial after

the stem have been interpreted.

811.1 -l: a-xúla-l she says 52.14; i-q-au-i-cm-l-it it (their noise) was heard 223.14 (-S-811-921); a-q-a-l-cm-l-it-m-x she is heard 224.9 (-S-811-921-1011-1212); i-c-L-cm-l-it-m-ck he heard it much 248.14 (-S-811-921-1011-1111); i-c-i-l-cm-l-it-m-ck he listened 133.8 (-S-811-921-1011-1111); (a)-u-kua-Lá-l-it-m-ait-x they (lice a-) are on it (net) 49.10 (-S-811-921-1011-1122-1212); i-n-x-l-cm-l-i I heard 198.10 (-S-811-1213); i-c-i-k-l-kí-sk-l-iL it helped him 65.12 (-S-811-1012); a-m-i-u-xúla-l-m-a speak to him 10.14 (-S-811-1011-1211); i-k-i-u-xúla-l-m-ck she said much 121.3 (-S-811-1011-1111); n-i-x-ú-la-l-m-x 32.10 he did (-S-811-1011-1212); a-k-i-x-ú-la-l-m-x-iX she imitated him 231.5 (-S-811-1011-1212-1311); qa-c-(a)-u-xú-la-l-m-ait-x he always made (for them) 247.4 (-S-811-1011-1122-1212); a-n-(a)-ú-mlá-l-m-a I shall buy it 25.4 (-S-811-1011-1211); qa-c-(a)-u-mlá-l-m-x he bought her 34.2 (-S-811-1011-1121); i-c-(a)-u-mlá-l-m-am he went to buy her 158.14 (-S-811-1011-1121); a-n-a-i-x-ká-l-mam-a I will go to take it 130.8 (-S-811-1121-1211); qa-c-t-ká-l-mam-t he comes to fetch them 198.1 (-S-811-1121-1131).

811.2 -la: i-uf-la he danced 138.2; i-c-lx-ú-xtk-la he stole from us 76.17 (-S-811); i-u-tXu*i-la he stood 174.9 (-S-811); i-x-k?a.iá.ua-la he smiled at him 167.14 (-S-811).

811.3 -lal: i-i-x-lá-lal-m-ck it swung 15.1 (-S-811-1011-1111); n-i-x-lá-lal-m-x it moved 233.16 (-S-811-1011-1212); a-m-i-x-l-u-uá-lal-m catch it 11.5 (-S-811-1011);

i-c-i-x-l-u-uá-lal-m-ck he caught it 11.12 (-S-811-1011-1111); a-q-i-x-l-u-ua-lal-m-ait-x they always went to hunt 39.2 (-S-811-1011-1122-1212); i-k-a-x-l-k?i-uu-lal-m-am she went to gather (roots and berries) 73.1 (-S-811-1011-1121); n-a-x-l-k?i-uu-lal-m-ait-x she gathered 73.2 (-S-811-1011-1122-1212); a-tx-k?a.iá.u-lal-m-a we will play 167.17 (-S-811-1011-1211); i-u-k?uiXa-lal-m-ck he swam 188.1 (-S-811-1011-1111); i-c-i-l-ki-qsqa-lal-m-ck he speared it 44.11 (-S-811-1011-1111).

812.1 -n: n-x-LúXua-n I think 171.5 (-S-812); a-c-u-pná-n-m-a he will jump 110.5 (-S-812-1011-1211); i-c-u-pná-n-m-ck it jumped much 110.7 (-S-812-1011-1111); a-q-L-l-quím-n-iL they are given to eat 181.3 (-S-812-1012); a-q-s-i-l-quím-n-iL-x he was given to eat 175.6; (-S-812-1012-1212); i-s-k-i-a-n-Lí-n-iL they string them on it 193.3 (-S-812-1012); i-c-L-ki-lúma-n-iL-ck they spoke (his buttocks) 87.16 (-S-812-1012-1111); a-m-t-ú-s/Xu-n-iL-a you will carry them on your back 46.8 (-S-812-1012-1211).

812.2 -na: i-k-i-x-k?i-Li-na she strings them 192.10; s-ú-pná-na jumping 110.16.

812.3 -nan: qa-m-n-u-pqná-nan-am-x you name me 134.15; (-S-812-1121-1212); i-c-t-u-k?umá-nan-m-ck he looked at it 152.3 (-S-812-1011-1111); qa-c-t-u-k?umá-nan-m-x he looked at it 152.8 (-S-812-1011-1212); q-i-n-ki-kiq?-nan-m-ait-x he is taught always 216.7 (-S-812-1011-1122-1212).

813. -amit: i-c-(a)-u-Láit-amit he put her down 121.7 (-S-813); i-q-i-á-s-amit he was pushed 199.9; i-k-a-x-s(a)-ámít she dried 226.3; m-xa-t-sk?u-amit-am warm yourself 101.11 (-S-813-1121); q-i-u-Láit-amit-am they went to place

him 52.7 (-S-813-1121); a-m-x-ká-(a)mit-akua you stay in the canoe 48.10 (-S-813-911); i-s-k-i-u-ká-(a)mit-ax they put it (the canoe i-) 185.8 (-S-813-1212); a-q-i-k-Láit-amit-a he will be placed on (ice i-) 218.1 (-S-813-1211); qa-n-(a)-u-t-ámit-acku-a I begin to lift it (myth song) 24.13 (-S-813-1111(?)-1211); a-q-i-uí-mit-acku-a It is caused to dance 203.8 (-S-813-1111-1211); qa-t-k-i-x-s(a)-ámit-x they dry them 222.2 (-S-813-1212).

814.1 -Xit: n-i-xíma-Xit-x he fell down 212.8 (-S-814-1212); ik-i-xíma-Xit 84.3 she fell down (-S-814); i-t-i-l-ú-Xui-Xit he heard about them (=was caused to know) 166.13 (-S-814); qa-t-i-l-ú-Xui-Xit-x they were known to him 49.2 (-S-814-1212); a-ms-x-u-uá-Xit-a you will fly away 38.2; ik-i-xíma-Xit-am he came falling down 105.14 (-S-814-1121); ik-í-k?i-lap-Xit-iX he fell over 150.4 (-S-814-1311); ik-a-i-k?-m-Ll-ám-Xit it was blackened 37.9 (-S-1121?-814?!); i-q-i-X-uá-Xit he was run away from 198.2 (=caused to pursue) (-S-814).

814.2 -Xuit: a-m-n-p?ú-Xuit-a close your eyes 146.3 (-S-814-1211); i-s-k-L-qá.iu-Xuit they went to bed 211.13 (-S-814)

815.1 -q: This suffix is found with but a few stems, all of which are illustrated here; i-k-t-ú-mqu-q she vomited them 101.4 (cf. i-c-i-ú-mqu-it he spit it out 294.6); u-xuá-sa-q-t they are dry 150.16 (-S-815-1131); i-x' sa-q-t-iX dry 239.1 (-S-815-1131-1311); i-c-i-x' l-aqL-q he opened it 143.15; i-c-a-i-x' l-aqL-q-iX it was opened 94.14 (-S-815-1311); i-c-au-i-cma-q he heard them 249.13; ik-i-X' LXa-q he was angry 134.8, 87.4 (cf. ik-i-X' LXa 45.3);

qa-c-t-u-kul /aqL-q-ax he recognized them 120.5 (-S/S-815-1212); i-k-u-Xuá-kui-q she threw them away 120.2 (problematic, based only on Boas analysis of SC as stem -kui, according to HB 662.20).

815.2 -qu: a-m-x-sá-qu-a you will be dry 126.16 (-S-815-1211).

Position 900. The two members of this position, 911 -akua and 912 -it, have each the same distribution in respect to other suffixes, in that both are found to follow the continuatives of position 800 and to precede those of position 1000; both can also be found before suffixes of positions 1100 and 1200. With three stems, however, 911 -akua appears to precede 921 -it; in each case the sequence immediately follows the stem, and is followed, in one instance, only by suffix 1212 -x, which appears conjointly in that form with prefix 115 qa-. The two have not been found to occur together in any form with suffixes of positions 800, 1000 or 1100, the other major suffix positions. The relative order, 911-921, then, seems a matter internal to the relationship between these two suffixes alone, not a general feature of the verb structure, or of the suffix patterns at large. Consequently, they have been assigned to the same position, differentiated within that by decades, out of reluctance to establish a position in the general verb structure to accommodate a unique and isolated sequence found with three stems.

911.1 -akua: i-c-u-xua-kʔi-ni-akua he tied it in a bundle 101.7; ik-a-xʔt-akua she returned 209.10; i-u-xuá-L-ákua he went around it 137.11; qa-L-x-t-ákua-x they surround it 243.3, it ran back 250.14.

911.2 -aku: qa-s-i-x-cʔiLx-aku-it-x it (leg) grew narrow 125.15 (-S-911-921-1212); ik-iʔn-i-la-l-aku-it I forgot him 144.7 (-S-811-911-921); i-k-á-i-la-l-aku-it she forgot 99.15 (-S-811-911-921); i-u-kʔua-Lxi-(a)kua-ax he climbed about in trees 153.1 (-S-911-1212); n-i-x-t-áku-ax it returns 57.1 (-S-911-1212); a-xʔt-aku-t she returns 210.14 (-S-911-1131); i-c-X-ú-tk-aku-ax he stepped (put down about) 86.7 (-S-911-1212); qa-t-i-k-l-ku(a)-áku-ax they went through the water 237.17 (-S-911-1212); i-L-i-kʔl-ku(a)-áku-iX he went into the water 238.13 (-S-911-1311); a-tx-u-mát-aku-it-a we shall lose our way 185.5 (-S-911-921-1211); i-k-u-mát-aku-it she lost her way 119.12 (-S-911-921); a-m-t-aui-i-m-áku-a you will distribute them among them 47.11 (-S-911-1211) (but possibly to be analyzed as stem -mak ~-maku).

911.3 -a...uk: only in combination with 811.1 and 812.1; i-c-X-ú-tk-aluk-L-ck he stepped (put down about) 86.8 (-S-811/911-1012-1111); ik-i-s-x-Lʔanuk-L-ck he danced about much 45.6 (-S-812/911-1012-1111); i-t-k-u-xua-kʔi-ni-anuk-L-ck they tied them in bundles 101.5 (-S-812/911-1012-1111); i-s-X-qu.u-áluk-L he dreams of them 120.3 (-S-811/911-1012); qa-c-X-ú-tk-aluk-L-x he stepped 86.12 (-S-811/911-1012-1212).

921. -it: the few examples make the character of this suffix difficult to determine; Boas fails to list it for SC, though citing it as occurring after -aku in his discussion of the latter. In Wishram it is characterized by Dyk as "perfective of transition", a label which would seem to fit at least some of the Kathlamet instances. Examples: i-c-i-ú-mqu-it he spit it out 249.6 (cf. -mqu-q to vomit); qa-L-ú-m-it-x he was growing up 216.2 (-S-921-1212); ik-i-n-i-la-l-aku-it I forgot him 144.17 (-S-811-911-921); qa-i-ú-tXu-it he stood (after falling down =he jumped up again) 212.8 (-S-921-1212); nc-LúXua-it we thought 206.8 (-S-921)(cf. n-x-LúXua-n I think 83.6; the contrast -LuXua-it vs. -LuXua-n is found frequently, with the former usually accompanied by a statement of the specific thought, the latter not); i-s-x-l-cm-l-it they heard (always about his always killing deer) 129.3 (cf. forms with -cma-q); a-q-L-l-cm-l-it-m-x he is heard 240.1 (-S-811-921-1011-1212); i-k-au-i-cm-l-it-m-ck she heard them 157.8 (-S-811-921-1011-1111); i-q-L-x-i-lá-it-m-i they were put into it 17.13 (-S-921-1011-1213); a-m-X-LuXuá-it-a you will think (plus not=don't believe when she tries to deceive you) 119.6 (-S-921-1211).

Position 1000

1011.1 -m: note that this position never occurs with the causative suffixes 813 and 814, just as the continuatives of that position, 811 and 812, do not; ik-ú-pun-m it grows dark 43.4; al-u-pún-m-a it grows dark 238.2 (-S-1011-1211);

n-u-pun-m-x it grows dark 85.16 (-S-1011-1212); q-i-n-
 kf-kiq?-nan-m-ait-x he is taught always 216.7 (-S-812-1011-
 1122-1212); for a number of additional examples in sequence
 with 811 and 812, see the preceding sections on those
 suffixes.

1011.2 -im: L-k-n-ql-kl-im-ait-x they will always see
me 174.12 (-S-1011-1122-1212); a-ms-ú-i-im-a you go
(whenever you wish) 173.10 (-S-1011-1211); a-m-ú-i-im-a
go (never) 153.15 (-S-1011-1211); qa-i-ú-i-im-ait-x he
went always 169.9 (-S-1011-1122-1212).

1012.1 -L: a-n-x-l-ki-maq?m-L-am-a I shall go to ask for
a present 190.4 (-S-1012-1121-1211); ia-m-l-maq?m-L I
should give you a present (-S-1012); s'sk?u-L roast it (s-)
 228.4; a-k-(a)-u-sk?ú-L-x she roasted them 225.9 (-S-
 1012-1212); i-l-a-x-l-qilX-L-ck she slapped herself 90.12
 (-S-1012-1111); i-q-au-f-ki-tk-L they were put into (mat)
 214.13 (-S-1012); L-ms-X'l-t-si-L you often strike your-
selves 145.6 (-S-1012); i-c-X-ú-tk-aluk-L-ck he stepped
 86.6 (-S-811, 911-1012-1111); i-t-k-u-xua-k?i-ni-anuk-L-ck
they tied them in bundles 101.5 (-S-812, 911-1012-1111).

1012.2 iL: i-s-k-t-ú-tin(a)-iL they killed them 84.8
 (-S-1012); a-q-L-l-qufm-n-iL they are given to eat 181.3
 (-S-812-1012); i-c-i-k-l-ki-sk-l-iL it helped him 65.13
 (-S-811-1012); a-m-t-ú-s Xu-n-iL-a you carry them on your
back 46.8 (-S-812-1012-1211); i-c-L-ki-lúma-n-iL-ck they
spoke (his buttocks) 87.16 (-S-812-1012-1111).

1012.3 -uL: ik-i-x-quát-uL-ck he bathed 187.13
 (-S-1012-1111); i-x-n-k-l-quát-uL he bathed against me
 198.10; i-quát-uL he washes 196.12 (-S-1012).

1012.4 -LuL: a-x-l-qâmx-LuL she shouted (while going)
123.2 (-S-1012).

Position 1100.

The suffixes of this position have the same distribution in respect to the continuative, and for that matter, causative, suffixes of position 800. With one stem, the positional differentiation of -cku-ait has been found after 911 -akua. Except for this, the relative-order differentiation of 1111-ck from the members of 1120 and 1131 occurs only when 1111 -ck is initial suffix after the stem. Consequently, a procedure like that for position 900 has been followed, distinguish decades for the distribution of these suffixes relative to each other, but grouping them in a single position, 1100, for their distribution relative to other suffixes in the general pattern.

1111.1 -ck: i-u-Xúni-ck he floated 24.5 (cf. i-ú-Xuni he drifted 113.3); i-t-k-Xúni-ck they drifted (came up and drifted); a-m-x-L-xím-ck eat much 99.10; i-c-i-u-naxLa-ck he lost him 112.11; a-ms-x-i-nim-ck (now) you can cry 174.5; i-c-i-x-l-u-uá-lal-m-ck he caught it 16.12 (-S-811-1011-1111); m-úi-ck you dance 97.11; a-ms-k-í-qami-ck you see? 74.3; í-qami-ck look! 203.12; i-k-i-u-t-ú-kua-ck she sent him 187.14; i-t-k-i-u-quánim-ck they laughed at him 232.16.

1111.2 -cku: a-n-i-L-k-l-ú-kua-cku-a I'll send him for them 116.5; qa-n-(a)-u-t-ámit=acku-a I begin to lift it 24.13 (myth song); qa-L-u-uí-cku-ax it was flood tide 196.3; (-S-1111-1212); n-(a)-u-Xúni-cku-t they drifted 242.15

(-S-1111-1131); i-t-ka-t-Xunf-cku-am they came up floating 24.16 (-S-1111-1121); qa-i-a-sktá-(a)kua-cku-ait-x he went to search on the beach 176.10 (-S-911-1111-1122-1212); a-n-x-kulí-cku-am-a I'll tell them 233.14 (-S-1111-1121-1211); i-st-u-lá-cku-iXit those two flew up high 139.2 (-S-1111-1123); a-ia-m-u-kuíma-cku-a I'll paint you 147.10 (-S-1111-1211); a-ms-x-l-kuLá-cku tell him 79.7 (-S-1111, presumably in close transition with following vowel-initial word).

1121.1 -am: a-m-(a)-u-lXám-am go and say to her 21.13; i-s-x-quát-am they went to bathe 213.3; i-k-a-x-l-kʔi-uu-lal-m-am she went to gather roots and berries 73.1; a-n-i-x-ú-xtk-am-a I will steal it from him 133.15 (-S-1121-1211); qa-c-L-u-xu-am-x he reached them 248.3 (-S-1121-1212); n-i-x-l-táqu-am-X-iX every year 175.2 (-S-1121-1212-1311); q-i-u-Láit-amit-am they went to place him 52.7 (-S-813-1121); ik-k-k-ú-pck-am he came up 96.6 (-S-1121-1311).

1121.2 -mam: sa-m-xa-t-nimá-man I brought it to show to you 227.17; qa-L-x-l-u-kusmá-mam-x they went to dry salmon 175.3 (-S-1121-1212); a-n-a-i-x-ká-l-mam-a I'll go to take it 130.8 (-S-811-1121-1211, or perhaps -S-811-1011-1121-1211); a-m-Xa-t-kʔuá-mam-a you get home 47.11 (-S-1121-1211); na-n-X-kʔuá-mam I came home 124.11 (-S-1121); qa-c-t-ká-l-mam-t he comes to fetch them 198.1 (-S-811-1121-1131).

1122. -ait: n-u-sk?u-áit I'm warm 101.12; L-x-f-l-ait they stayed 115.10; ik-i-x-más-ait he is ashamed 181.3; n-u-Xua-múkti-ait-x they fish sturgeon with hook 244.1 (-S-1122-1212); a-ms-x-i-l-áit-a stay 119.5 (-S-1122-1211); a-q-t-u-p?iaLx-ait-x-ða where they are gathered on 222.11 (-S-1122-1212-1312); L-k-i-uá/quam-n-iL-ait-x they always catch 49.10 (-S-811-1012-1122-1212); qa-i-a-akt-akua-cku-ait-x he went to search on the beach (all year) 176.10, 177.5 (-S-911-1111-1122-1212).

1123. -iXit: this suffix is not cited by Boas for Shoalwater Chinook, and by Dyk is characterized as "perfective of transition"; ik-(a)-u-k?uait-iXit it is lying there 108.15; i-k-a-l-ímaLx-iXit she fell into water 126.3; ik-i-(i)-n-q?ust-iXit-i he stuck in (doorway i-) 183.13 (-S-1123-1213); i-st-u-lá-cku-iXit those two flew up high 139.2 (-S-1111-1123); a-t-u-m-x-k?áit-iXit-a they are left over to you 47.13 (-S-1123-1211); qa-t-i-x-k?ait-iXit-x they are left over to him 49.1 (-S-1123-1212). Note that 1123-iXit is never found in sequence with the continuatives or causatives of positions 800 and 1000.

1131. -t: this suffix is described by Boas for Shoalwater Chinook as perfective, by Dyk for Wishram as "imperative of state"; i-xíma-t it lay there 194.11 (cf. i-c-i-xíma he threw it down 104.6); i-n-ú-maqt I die 58.7 (problematically containing 1131, -maq-t); i-c-n-t-u-ua-t he pursues me 148.2; q'm-u-x-t you are 223.1; iá-m-x-u-x-t I do you (like) 30.17; i-u-qúpti-t slept 21.7; ú-xua-qs-t they bite each other 139.10; i-q-tx'L-aku-t we are surrounded

173.17 (-S-911-1131); i-L-k-t-ú-Láta-t he hauled them 248.3; a-m-X' LXaq-t you are angry 132.2; a-k?-Lxí-t it comes crawling 110.1; i-c-L-k-l-ka-t he took it 249.3; i-c-(a)-ú-qumi-t-x he saw (sun a-) 26.3 (-S-1131-1212); a-ms-k-i-ú-qumi-t-a you will see him 173.10 (-S-1131-1211); qa-i-au-í-p?u-t-pa at the place where it is tied 48.8 (-S-1131-1312); (i-n-ú-qs-t-i I'm satiated 160.14, stem to bite-t-i (successful completion)?).

1211.1 -a: a-c-ú-xu-a he will do them 19.10; t'x-a do them (t-) 45.6; s-kí-x-a it (s-) became 224.1; L'x-a do it (L-) 68.6; t-k-u-uá-Xit-a they run away 197.9 (-S-814-1211); a-n-(a)-u-sk-ám-a I will take it 29.3 (-S-1121-1211); a-ms-k-i-ú-qumi-t-a you will see him 173.10 (-S-1131-1211); a-ms-x-i-l-áit-a stay 119.4 (-S-1122-1211); a-ia-m-u-kuíma-cku-a I paint you 147.10 (-S-1111-1211).

1211.2 -ia: n-X-k?uá-ia I will go home 10.1; a-n-X-k?uá-ia I will go home 137.12; a-ia-m-ximá-ia I shall throw you down 96.9; m-t-í-(i)a you go 168.1.

1211.3 -á.ia: a-n-L-i-l-Xak-cku-á.ia I will return it to him 86.16 (-S-1111-1211).

1212.1 -x: a-q-i-ql-kí-x he was seen 196.8; qa-c-u-qui-kí-x he saw them 248.2; i-c-(a)-ú-qumi-t-x he saw (sun a-) habitually 26.3; i-u-pá-x he used to go out 229.3; n-(a)-u-pá-x she came out 27.4 (the sun a-); i-u-Láit-x he stayed 261.2; a-k-(a)-u-sk?u-L-x she roasted them 225.9; qa-L-kí-luma-x he shouted 243.6; qa-s-k-i-ú-xs-x they cut it 134.12; a-q-i-ú-xs-x it is cut (when) 244.9; qa-c-i-xíma-x he threw it down 131.14; a-k-a-xíma-x she layed it down

197.6, 96.3.

1212.2 -ax: ik-á-x-ax it (sun a-) did 194.9; qa-c-i-ú-xu-ax he made him 85.18; a-k-i-ú-tk-ax she kept it 139.5.

1213. -i: i-c-a-i-x^l-aqL-i he opened door 62.12; i-ú-k[?]uiX-i he swam across 97.12; i-q[?]s-a-l-t-i it was put on to her 55.2; ik-i-x-ki-cu-m-i he fell down 20.11; ik-i-x-k[?]i-cinkt-am-i he ate before going out 132.6 (-S-1121-1213); m-xá-sil-ck-i lie down on your back 146.3 (-S-1111-1213); (i-n-ú-qs-t-i I am satiated 160.14 (-S-1131-1213? see p. 261 under -t); ik-i-(i)-n-q[?]ust-iXit-i he stuck in (doorway i-) 183.13 (-S-1123-1213); i-n-x-l-cm-l-i I heard 198.10 (-S-811-1213).

1311. -iX: i-st-i-k-ú-s-am-iX they came across 113.15 (-S-1121-1311); ik-i-x-k[?]ait-iX he left it over 132.6; ik-í-k[?]i-lap-Xit-iX he fell over 150.4; a-k-i-k-x-ú-la-l-m-x-iX she imitated him 231.5; i-c-f-u-xu-iX he did it 120.13; a-k-i-ú-xu-ax-iX she always did 225.4; ik-i-k-ú-pck-am-iX he came up 96.6, 93.10; i-q-L-í-l-u-tk-iX they were put into it (hole) 120.11; n-i-x-ú-xu-ax-iX it became 241.5, 241.10, 238.14, 221.2, 175.3.

1312. -pa: i-q-a-i-u-qu/auX-t-x-pa where they go upon (ascending) 221.5; a-q-t-u-p[?]iaLx-ait-x-pa where they are gathered from 222.11; i-L-í-x-l-u-k/cu-pa where it fell down at 189.3; qa-i-au-i-p[?]u-t-pa at the place where it is tied 48.8; k-(a)-ú-la-pa where she worked at (gathering) 229.6; (a)-u-x-t-pa where she was at 224.11; (a)-ú-x-t-kua-pa where she was at 223.13 (cf. Wasco k^uaba where, there)

1313. -ti: i-m-n-ú-lXam-ti (just like what) you said to me (is coming) 109.16.

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER V

- 1 Boas interprets this form as prefix 515 plus stem in n. 2, HB 670, though the regular alternant here would be ka-, for which indeed Boas has "qa" in n-i-qa-cxam 245.1, but "q" in i-q-í-q-cxam 245.3. He remarks "the preceding -k- (heard here generally -q-) probably on".
- 2 Sapir discovered this significance of -ql- in Wishram; cf. HB 675, n. 34: "...to known from out one's (eyes), hence, to see, get sight of.
- 3 Sapir notes this stem in Wishram as: "-xima==verb stem to put down, put on ground, lay down (as tr.); lie down (as intr.); probably composed of -x- on ground (?) and -ima- put (cf. qa-ya-x-ál-ima-~~ix~~ he put himself into the water (Wishram Texts 2.5); whenever indirect object with -k- on is introduced, -x-ima- becomes -xa-ima-." The difficulty is that on ground is /X/.
- 4 See note 3 above.
- 5 Sapir, A Chinookan Phonetic Law, IJAL 4.105-110 (1926).

VI

PARTICLES

- 6.1. Particle words.
- 6.2. Particle stems.
- 6.3. Relative order and affixes.
- 6.4. Examples and Comment.

6.1. Particle words are defined as words never inflected by the person-marker paradigm. In this, and indeed also in the absence of any prefixation whatsoever, they stand opposed to all three of the other word classes. Particle words, of course, also lack other typical inflections of nouns, pronouns and verbs, such as suffixes for plural of human beings (N, Pr) or for aspect and voice (V).

6.2.0. The stem of a particle word belongs primarily to one of four major stem classes. Particle (P) stems occur as stems only in particle words; NP stems occur as stems in both noun and particle words; VP stems occur as stems both in verb and in particle words; VNP stems occur as stems in verb, noun and particle words. The proportion of stems in these joint classes is small, there being a handful of NP stems, and but three VP, five VNP stems found in KT; while more might well appear in a fuller corpus, other dialects indicate that the relative proportions would remain about the same.

The subclasses of stems in particle words are defined and listed by morphological criteria. A crosscutting syntactic

classification could and should be made, but syntactic analysis is beyond the scope of this study. We can only note here that nearly all those particle stems which occur before verb constructions with the factotum stem -x, as paL ik-ú-xua-x full it-got 220.1, belong to stem subclass P1; and a preliminary survey indicates that among classes to be distinguished are sentence initial, sentence final, phrase connective, preceding noun, preceding particle, and following particle, plus preceding factotum verb -x.

The morphological definition of subclasses is in terms of the position or positions which a stem element may take in the word, plus its occurrence with or without suffixes. VP and VNP stems of themselves have no subclasses, while among NP stems the numerals (NPn) can be distinguished from the others. Members of the joint stem classes are assigned secondarily to subclasses of the relevant simple stem classes; none show special features in their occurrence as particle words which would prevent them from conforming to the subclasses established for simple stems; NPn stems as a group belong to subclass P2.

6.2.1. The members of the VP stem class are listed in their occurrence as particle word first, verb word second.

[ta]: saxala-tá upward 249.2; a-n-X-tá/ k?ua I will return 249.10. (P3)

[xax]: xax notice 132.13; i-ms-á-xax-umit do you notice 43.16. (P1)

[lq?, -uulq?]: lq? swallow 148.3; a-n-L-u-uúlq?-am-a I will eat them 121.10.

6.2.2. Members of the VNP stem class are listed first as P stem, second as V stem, then as N stem.

[ua.ua]: uá.ua talk 180.3; i-qi-x-uá-(a)kua-ck he was asked for 97.3; a-tá-ua.ua their language 45.6.

[Ll ~ Llx]: L'l black 44.6, Llx black 186.15; ik-a-i-k'm-Ll-ám-Xit it was blackened 37.9 (verb morphology here problematic, re -am-Xit); t-Llxu-max black (people) 12.11

[maL]: maL-ná seaward 161.8; a-m-x-a-l-ímaL-x-a you fall into water 125.16 (verb analysis problematic).

[mla ~ mila]: mlá annoyed 193.4; i-k-i-ú-mila she scolded them (i-) 123.16 (is "e" here ä?), i-c-i-ú-mila he scolded him 166.15; (i)-iá-mla it's badness 78.7.

[nau.aítk]: nau.áitk net 172.3, nau.áitk-max nets 172.18; i-s'xi-nau.áitki they fished with the net 45.2, u-xi-nau.áitki they fished with nets 219.8; t-nau.áitk net 219.8, t-lxá-nau.aítk our net 219.10, t-iá-na.ua.aítk his peritoneum 153.17.

6.2.3. Members of the NP stem class are either considered under the numeral subclass (NPn), or simply referred to the subclasses established for the simple stem classes of N and P. Those not in NPn might be considered themselves members of a subclass (NPo (for other)) coordinate with NPn, but in the absence of any special features this would be superfluous; all of these stems fit into one or another of the well-populated subclasses of N and P.

The numeral subclass is defined by its occurrence with -LaL -ty, or decade, which is unique to numerals. Among stems which appear in particle words, only these numerals and the quantitative term nuL' little occur with the plural suffix

for human beings -iks in noun words. NPn stems occur in three types of noun word constructions. There are appositive constructions such as s-makst s-iâ-q?akstaq two its-heads 107.9, st-axi- s-makst s-q?úlipX those two youths 182.2. In denoting human beings, the stems occur with classificatory noun prefix and plural suffix: a-quānm-iks n-u-xa-l-áitx iXt uf-kua; iXt-max-iX a-lákt-iks, iXt-max-iX a-lún-iks five died (in) one day; sometimes four, sometimes three, 251.1-2. (One case of compounded stem in such a noun word is found: L-kanam-quānm-iks all five 16.6, paralleling compounded stems in particle words kana-mákst both 123.8, and kanamt-quānm all five 108.2). Ordinals are formed by the possessive inflection of the noun: i-Lá-makst the second one 149.12, i-La-lakt-iX the fourth time 88.11.

NPn stems attested in KT are: makst two 55.10, Lun three 48.15, lakt four 41.5, quānm five 151.7 ~ quānma 150.18, txm six 163.13. (As stated in chapter 3, one has pronominal stems). In all but one case, it is a safe inference that the other Kathlamet numerals (beyond six) were identical with those cited in the Handbook for Lower Chinook, for these in turn are the same as those in Wishram and Wasco. The exception is eight, which in Lower Chinook is kstúxkin (HB 637), is unattested in KT, and is quLkt in Wasco. (The forms for ten and hundred are cognate noun stems in all these dialects: Lower Chinook -Lilam HB 600, Kathlamet -Lilxam 241.7, Wasco -hilxam ten, and LC -k?amunak HB 600, Kathlamet -k?amunaq 164.2, Wasco -k?amnaq hundred.)

Further examples of NPn constructions: mákst-iX
twice 168.10, mákst-ka two only 100.16, makst-LáL twenty
 241.6, (a)-makst-LáL-iks twenty men 163.17, a-mákst-iks
two men 205.3, s-kana s-mákst both 19.18; Lun-iX three times
 19.9, Lun-LaL thirty 221.12; lákt-iX four times 173.3,
lákt-ka four only 93.11, lakt-LáL forty 222.6, i-Lá-lakt
the fourth one 143.14, L-lakt-iks four men 163.10; quánma
five 27.1, quānm-iX five times 14.15, í-La-quínm-iks five
men 158.6; L-txm-iks six men 163.16, txm-LaL sixty 221.12.

Other members of the NP stem class are cited first as
 particle, then as noun word, and secondary affiliation with
 subclasses of P is given.

[uax] light 189.2, t-uax light 18.4; a-íá-uax.uax its
glare 194.11. (P3)

[ui] now 131.3, kána/ui all 67.8; L-kána/ui-tiks 123.4.
 (P4)

[tʔu]/kti good 41.1; i-tʔu/kti good 42.8. (P2)

[Láxan(i)]-iX outside 26.2; L-ká-ka/Laxana its outside
 144.11 (P2)

[LúxLux] pull out 72.8; i-LúxLux oysters 214.7. (P1)

[Lxíliu ~ Lxíliux] inland 72.11, 11.3; a-íá-mLxliu
landward from it 185.8. (P1)

[Lxuáp] hole 17.4, Lxuáp-iX 99.13; n-a-Lxuáp hole 195.7.
 (P2)

[LʔāqLʔāq] crackle 126.12; á-mi-LʔāqLʔāq you crackle
 127.5. (P1)

- [Lʔx̄] cut 108.16; n-a-Lʔx̄-pa hole at 195.4 (P1)
- [cú.iust]-iX in evening 20.6; i-cú.iust evening star
14.17 (P2)
- [cʔxcʔx] cut 123.7; n-a-cʔxcʔx the cut one 124.17. (P1)
- [kácak] middle 50.11; i-La-Xacak their middle 159.8. (P2)
- [kana] /mákst both 123.8, kána/ui all 67.8; s-kana
s-mákst both 19.18, L-kanam/ quínm-iks all five 16.6,
i-kana-spʔq huckleberries 231.1 (kana plus probably spiq
grey (color of stones found in sealions' bellies from
Quinault), but possibly spaq dry, lacking water (juice?))
- [kásait] robin 19.10; s-kásait robin 19.7, 70.2 (P1)
(possibly absence of classificatory prefix is Jargon
influence)
- [kala] /kuili act of scolding 138.5; i-kala winds
67.1 (?)
- [ki] this 44.1; s-ki these (two) 40.9, L-ki these
205.3. (P4)
- ki /kuala] under, below 43.4; L-ki /kuala below them
114.15 (P3)
- [kúsait] mink 21.15; i-kúsa.it mink 103.1, 117.14
(P1) (possibly due Jargon influence; cf. kásait]
- tʔu /kti] good 41.1; i-tʔu /kti good 42.8, t-kti-max
things 30.3. (P3) (cf. -tʔu breasts)
- [kʔaukʔau] act of tieing 39.14; k-a-Lá-kʔaukʔau
murderer 49.4. (P1)
- [kʔa] /natitúL 39.14 on the other side of; á-kʔa /nitx
in bow of canoe 53.1, á-kʔa /quínm-iks five men in canoe
182.9, s-xa-kʔa /natitúL they two on opposite sides 118.1;

cf. kʔa-ui-síqi in middle of house 161.11, kʔa-uu-síqi-pa near door 176.8, with i-síqi door 27.15. Presumably kʔa was once proclitic to noun with "archaic" prefixes ui-, uu-, which no longer occur with -síqi independently, but only in this fossilized form. (P2)

[kʔaní.kʔaní] story! 117.15, 154.11; (i)-iá-kʔani his myth 34.0, 142.0. (P1)

[kʔaláma] Kalama (a place) 186.2; t-kʔaláma the Kalama 183.6. (P1)

[kʔut.kʔut] act of cutting, tearing 70.7; i-kʔut.kʔut dog (tears meat) 156.8. (P1)

[qa.ua] a part 226.1; i-La=qa.ua-tiX several times 118.5

[saq] war 184.2; k-i-tá-kʔi/ saq warriors 183.3. (P1)

[saxalá] up 236.15; i-saxala upward 46.10. (P4)

kʔa-ui-[síqi] in middle of house 161.11; i-síqi door 27.15. (P3) (see discussion under kʔa-)

kʔa/[nat]ituL on the other side 39.14; s-xa-kʔa/ natituL they two on opposite sides 118.1, i-nat one side 45.1. (P3)

[nuLʔ] a little 44.4; a-núLʔ-ka-tiks a few (only) 48.15. (P2)

kala/ lkuili] act of scolding 138.5; i-lá-lkuili he resembles him 115.5, i-mlá/ lkuili rainy spell 112.2.

6.2.4.0. For members of the P stem class, the following subclasses are morphologically defined: P1, stems occurring singly or reduplicated only, not with suffixation or in compound stems; P2, stems occurring with suffixation or as initial member of compound stem (but not as non-initial member of compound stem); P3, stems occurring as non-initial

member of compound stem, but not as initial member; P₄, stems occurring as initial, and as non-initial member of compound stems. (Secondarily affiliated P stems from primary joint stem classes NP, VNP and VP are listed in appropriate subclasses). Possible errors due to limitations of the KT corpus include place names, which perhaps generally could take locative suffix -pa, and vocative kinterms, which perhaps generally could take plural suffix -max.

6.2.4.1. Members of subclass P₁ are given below. (Where pertinent and possible, reference is made to HB by page and number, particles listed there being considered as if numbered separately for each page).

- a ah 10.14; HB 635.10.
- ai'aq, á.iaq quick 16.9, 37.10; HB 634.1, 634.34.
- á.ui younger brother (vocative) 80.7, 125.13, 199.10;
HB 612.19, 611.24.
- á.u.laL else 99.10; HB 636.23 although not intending to, still.
- ápxu elder brother (vocative) 92.17; HB 612.21.
- áci younger sister (vocative) 118.11; HB 612.20.
- asa.i very (intensifier of following reduplicated particle) 188.4, 124.5.
- áxmax empty 207.4 (analysis?)
- an(a) ah 154.10, ananananá 19.1; HB 635.14, expression of pain, regret, pity
- ála even 49.3; HB 634.38.

- i eh 19.14, 107.6; HB 635.12 expression of pity for hardship endured.
- iá 46.6, iã 65.2; HB 636.2 reproach for foolishness.
- iá.ukiX else 93.4, 9.6. (cf. iamkiX)
- i.ás let alone 17.6, 105.10; HB 632.35.
- iát (with kata) here then 249.10.
- i.axu here 47.7 (cf. i-aXi, iixi)
- i.ámkiX else 216.3 (re unfortunate, unpleasant alternative)
- i.úkua there 57.8 (cf. akua)
- iLuk give 43.10.
- iKa thus 68.17 (cf. akua)
- u oh 58.6, 59.4, 64.15; HB 635.10.
- uá.ua talking 180.3 (VNP)
- uáLutp " 124.16.
- uu wu(dog's bark) 122.11; HB 636.11.
- uuk? really, straight 95.12, 172.4; HB 632.37.
- uuska well, come 19.8, 67.4, 79.4; HB 635.1, somewhat energetic request, now do let us make an end of it, and---.
- uhú oho 135.4.
- úla tomorrow 41.10
- pax really 154.1; HB 632.41 unlucky (fits KT 154.1)
- pan then (past time, conditional contrary to fact) 50.6
- píLpíL a personal name 196.1
- pinu if (future conditional) 26.4
- pu, pupu act of blowing, farting 18.4, 86.12
- púxpux a personal name 187.1
- púxuis a mistake 187.5; HB 633.3.

- pt state of being quiet 31.13
- pcix, pcāx green 42.14, 130.6
- p?a.iá p?a.iá I want to go out 82..2
- p?aq p?aq, p?aq act of slapping 100.2, 116.14; HB 630.12
- p?ála quietly, well 164.3, 169.5; HB 632.6 quietly, safe
- p?iXuat thin 78.11
- tá.ix place name 112.9
- ta.u what, that, those 109.16, 40.5, 163.1; cf. HB 633.
- táminua act of giving up 132.15, táminua 32.2; HB 632.6.
- tántin sound of bells 248.14
- tu act of spitting 149.3
- tutu shake (act of shaking) 62.3; HB 630.13
- tu thunder noise 160.14
- tum thundering noise 160.12; contrast HB 630.14, noise of
fire, of bear spirit.
- tp noise of hitting 42.3
- tkilíma act of exchange 16.14
- tksi these, those 156.13, 237.2 (referring to absent persons)
- tk?up white 35.9
- tq?ix feeling of liking, of desire 19.10, 31.9, tq?āx;
HB 632.8
- txala too 23.2; cf. HB 634.35 txul too much
- tm noise of birds 223.15; contrast HB 630.15, noise of feet
- tm.ñ clean (re clear weather) 111.16; HB 631.37 tm.ñ empty,
clean
- tnux only, these 208.4, 145.5 (translation? indicating that
something pertains to a particular person? cf.
HB 659.1 -nux others, apart)

- tl tired 10.7, t'1.tl insignificant, weak of fear 224.4,
 195.10; HB 632.7 tired all over, i.e. rheumatism
 t'a.iá, t'a.iá t'a.iá good, well 172.16, 143.7, 242.12;
 HB 632.9
- t'únuk good save (sic) 159.1 (to permit?)
- L scent 122.12
- LáuLau in leaps 110.5
- La.ua slowly, easy 131.5, 152.1, 199.9; HB 634.33
- Laq^u out, take off, take out (movement out; contrast Lax
position out) 125.9, 15.15, 33.15; HB 633.29
up and down, to and fro, turn aside 35.13, 148.2, 222.6
- Laq? turn (round) 203.5, 203.14; HB 633.29
- Lāk break, act of breaking 145.15; HB 631.16
- L'ākLāk broken 145.1; HB 631.16 L'k^u break, L'kLk
- Lik? act of starting with pain 63.1
- LfXLiX act of preparing (corpse for burial) 49.7; HB 633.31
- Lu calm 182.3; HB 633.32
- LúXLux act of pulling out 72.8; HB 631.21 (NP)
- L'kLk act of digging 17.3; HB 631.17
- Lkuáp Lkuáp noise of chewing acorns 143.10; cf. HB 631.3
 cxuáp to gnaw, HB 631.25 Lxuáp to dig
- Lk?up act of squeezing 11.7; HB 631.23
- Lqa maybe 97.4, Lx 19.1; HB 634.8
- Lq?ap act of meeting 13.5
- Lq?up, Lq?up Lq?up act of cutting 93.2, 65.14; HB 631.24
 Lq?uáp Lq?up 249.15
- LXuan perhaps, maybe 14.7, 40.8, LúXuan 218.18
- Lx act of digging 195.2 (cf. Lxuap); cf. HB LfLx noise of
 scratching 631.19

- Lx broken, torn 199.1, LxLx 72.5, 189.15; HB 631.18
- Lxiliu, Lxiliux inland 72.11, 11.3 (NP)
- L'l, L'lx black 44.6; HB 632.28 (VNP)
- L'áL'a warm, roasted (by fire) 111.10, 250.12
- L'ap act of finding 12.11; HB 633.34
- L'áqL'aq act of striking 109.6, 159.12; HB 631.27 L'q
- L'āqL'āq act of crackling 126.12; HB 631.28 L'āq, L'āx (NP)
- L'u state of being warm 219.15, 239.22
- L'ux act of falling out, down 115.2, 100.12
- L'paq act of recovering 31.7; HB 632.27
- L'f act of cutting 108.16 (NP) (cf. Lx dig, Lx broken, torn)
- L'man, L'mān, L'manL'man act of breaking, state of being soft 32.7, 114.4, 52.2, 121.14; HB 632.3
- L'lap state of being under water, L'lapL'lap 24.1, 242.2; HB 631.29
- Llap covered by snow 217.8 (error for L'lap? or is L' : L diminutive : augmentative)
- ci interrogative particle 13.9
- cúxa, cux "well" 110.2, 87.13, 208.3; cf. HB 635.3
- cs, cās cold 37.3, 124.1; HB 132.10
- cXap not daring (hesitating) 96.4; HB 632.12
- cXua then 16.13, 57.2 (conditional, A then B)
- cXup act of extinguishing, closing 47.15, 30.6; HB 631.1
- c'as c'as c'as noise of rain 113.2
- c'ik (c'āk ?) noise of birds eating 180.13
- c'pak strongly, loud 123.11, 112.8; HB 633.15

cʔkuāk cʔkuāk noise of eating soft food 34.11

cʔs hissing sound, act of hissing 228.14

cʔx cʔx act of cutting 123.7; cʔux cʔux act of skinning 117.16

strip off bark 114.7, cʔux act of scratching 62.9,

cʔx act of splitting 204.11, cʔxcʔx stripes

(on face) 131.12; HB 630.22

ka where 148.14, 167.14 (cf. qa where, never sentence initial, while ka is always sentence initial; a semantic differential indicated by Householder's principle of complementary distribution as a test for difference of meaning)

ká.iu grandchild (vocative) 65.8; cf. HB 612 ká.i

kínu.a act of trying (in vain) 30.12

kuánsu always 185.2, 67.6; HB 634.29

kuinai.úl Quinault 244.11

kúkʔu " (Raccoon's personal name?) 154.9

kúsa shame! 204.6 (i.e., "we got the better of them")

kāp late in afternoon 238.11

asa.i kāp "fine weather (tomorrow)" 128.6, conventional closing of several myths.

kata then 82.2

km noise (of bones falling) 139.9; HB 631.5

kʔa no, nothing 35.10, 78.11, 107.3; silent 135.18

kʔá.ia no, nothing 20.11, 40.10; HB 631.34

kʔaukʔau act of tying 39.14; HB 633.16 (NP)

kʔam, kʔm nothing 29.8, 176.15, no noise 73.7; HB 631.41,

631.33

- kʔani kʔani story! 117.15, 154.11 (a closing of myths)
- kʔaláma Kalama (a place) 186.2 (NP)
- kʔixana trout 21.10 (in myth song)
- kʔuá.i.xn (in quoted speech in myth) 148.3, 148.16, 149.2
- kʔuas feeling of fear 243.17; HB 632.22
- kʔuán kʔuan glad, kʔuan hopeful 197.14; HB 632.21
- kʔualalák crazy 224.3
- kʔut kʔut act of cutting, tearing 70.7, kʔut 106.16;
HB 631.8 (NP)
- kʔúma perhaps 33.10; HB 634.9
- kMa.ia and, also 189.10; cf. HB 636.18 kʔa connecting nouns)
- qa (!) cry of distress, anguish 32.18
- qaLxum.ufla shore line 77.5 (analysis?)
- qan quiet, silent 19.9, 23.10
- qániak Oak point 247.1
- qalá hardly, with difficulty 125.8; qana 216.9
(both re difficulty of defecating)
- qis if 192.15 (cf. qi, qiax, qin)
- qin if 30.17 (cf. qi, qiax, qis); HB 636.28
- qinkʔiamá on his right side 249.11
- quaqí at the end of the house 138.4
- quá.u quá.u quá.u noise of making canoes 248.7
- quāt thus (far) 238.14; HB 633.17 reaching; high water.
- qui must, will 39.9; HB 634.3
- quL act of putting on, hanging up 26.14, 29.6, qúL quL 27.7,
146.5; HB 633.18
- quq " 145.6 (exclamation)
- quxau.á.iu.ala quadrupeds 141.1 (analysis?)

qul noise of falling objects 14.14, qúl qul noise of beating canoes 242.3; HB 631.10

qul'c always 41.3, 177.3; HB 634.27 kul'c

q'a ha, ah 19.14, 219.10

q'á.i q'á.i q'á.i noise of opening crack in door 245.13;
cf. HB 631.12 q'i door creaks

q'at feeling of liking, love 30.4, 166.8; HB 632.13

q'axs wanting to marry 247.1

q'am lazy 22.1; HB 632.24

q'ās surprised 202.6

q'iq'ficktan the left 14.2 (analysis?)

q'uáL' all right, satisfactory 141.4

q'up doubled 201.7

q?ul low water 197.16; HB 633.21

q?p q?p q?p Owl's scolding 131.15-16

q?s good smell 15.9

q's q's dry, state of being dry 108.5; HB 633.19

q?'l q?'l strong, hard 63.8, 111.15; HB 631.36

sása to break up, wreck 33.10, 156.4; HB 630.19

sáu sau state of being in low voice 112.7, 133.8; HB 630.20

saq war 184.2 (VNP); cf. HB 633.11 staq' war, attack
(correct form may be saq^u, saq')

súx sux skinned 176.1 (cf. c'ux c'ux, c'x c'x)

súxumax unsuccessful (in hunting) 207.8 (cf. acúmax, acuwatka)

spaq dry 25.2, 238.13

spiq gray 244.11 (color of stones in sealions from Quinault)
HB 632.30

stax around (come round point of land) 208.3

stux act of untying 14.7, stúx stux 45.6; HB 633.12

- sk'nxát tied together lengthwise 90.9
- sxup sxup sxup sxup noise of eating hard food 34.10
- x use of spiritual power, transformation 149.3, 150.1
- xáuqaLx can not 36.1; HB 634.2 xáuxaL
- XaX act of twisting 196.12
- xax act of noticing, xáxa 132.13, 133.7, 34.11; HB 632.14
(VP)
- xup steamed 150.1; HB 633.24
- xup xup xup noise of paddling 182.7
- ha ha (laughter) 242.4, ha ha há 231.15
- há.iu " 131.4 (in myth song)
- hi hey (call), indeed 17.8, 217.3; HB 635.17
- hílatp " 124.16 (cf. uaLutp)
- hu hu hu hu " (noise of same) 136.2
- húncin don't 133.2; HB 635.5 be quiet (fits KT 133.2)
- masáciL pretty 146.14
- manaq'f too (much) 101.5; exactly (?) 163.8; HB 634.36
too much.
- manix when (before the event) 19.17; HB 636.27
- mank a little 13.12, 88.7; HB 637
- mlá, milá annoyed 193.4; HB 660.18 (VNP)
- na interrogative particle 113.8; HB 634.14
- na oh (expression of pity) 112.14, 127.3, 144.6; HB 635.13
- níXua well 18.1, 189.1; HB 635.2 please, just try to
- lax lonesome 179.5; HB 632.17
- lax tilt, rock, roll 67.11, 115.1, láxlax act of deceiving
18.7, 119.5; HB 633.25

láxu act of turning 30.5

li just 68.8

lā, lālā, líli long 10.11, 16.11, 10.7, 40.12; HB 634.23

luxlúx slippery 188.2; HB 633.26

lə " 41.3, 42.17; HB 636.1 derision of weakness

lp state of boiling 147.5, lp lp lp lp 104.17; HB 631.42

lq? act of swallowing 148.3 (VP)

6.2.4.2 Members of subclass P2, defined as occurring with suffixation, or as initial member of compound stem, but not as non-initial member, are:

ac? surely (re intention) 106.3

ac-ua for good, certainly 78.14; HB 634.7 acuá

[aɪ]-qi later on (re what follows in passage as a future event) 19.8, 55.3

[ákuá] thus 29.11; ákua-pu almost, nearly 212.17, 103.3

[asú]-max successful catch 197.18

asuá-t(a)-ka unsuccessful (catching game) (=catch toward only) 85.4

[aná], [ána] sometimes 29.10, 147.17;

an-qa already, later on 29.8, 214.10; HB 634.17

iixí there 72.3, iixí-pa here 218.9 (with gesture),
there 112.7

[ú]-lələlələlə (in Robin's threat of revenge) 123.17; cf.

HB 636.8, noise of flight of cormorants; perhaps KT 123.17 is threat to transform into cormorants.

[paL] full 14.11, 73.8, 226.18; pál-max 27.8, 76.2;

páL-ma 215.3; HB 631.30

[pʔä] 87.17, 88.4, 88.10, 88.16

pʔä/ä hä 87.16, 88.4, 88.10, 88.16

("speaking" of Coyote's buttocks)

[ta-]

ta-cʔa behold 69.6, although 212.17, but 210.17;

HB 636.21 although it is so, still.

ta-ki this (country, i.e., toward this country, inland) 38.2

ta-qʔL yesterday 87.14, 88.8

t(a)-u.aX light 18.4, 186.13

[tan] what, anything 35.1, 45.3; tán-max things 29.4;

tán-ki something 29.7, 41.1

tan-txu therefore, what maybe 97.15, 143.3

[ti] directive, toward here

tí-ka here 59.6, 109.4, 97.14, 241.18, tãka 101.11

tí-kuc-iX nowadays 71.7

tí-saxala upward (place salmon belly up) 48.9

[tʔúcn]-iX for first time 48.7, 49.7, 251.5

[Lax] out, come out, visible 19.12, 121.8, 26.8; HB 633.30

Láxa-n(i)-iX outside 26.2, 36.10, Láxa-ni 68.18, 80.17

(Cf. Laq, process of reaching outside, versus Lax, achieve, reach, be outside) (NP)

[Lpl], Lpäl red 42.14, 139.5, 126.9; Lpʔl-max 233.10;

HB 632.33.

[Lxuáp] 17.4, Lxuáp Lxuap 199.8, hole, holes;

Lxuáp-iX hole at 99.13 (NP)

[Lʔ ~ Lʔa] behold 122.7, 137.1, 76.1

Lʔ-ki behold (this) 156.17, 177.15

L-qust behold 24.16, 130.3

[Lʔ]

[Lʔa] like, as 39.3, 72.6

Lʔa-ki 248.14, 250.6, 250.8 (all involve sense of sight,
except 248.14 re sound of bells)¹

[ca] now 24.6, 63.11; HB 635.6 well, introducing new idea
cá-qa come! 220.8 (re purpose of what follows)

[câx]-iX several times 30.10, 152.17; HB 635 câ several
câx-iX-L several times 118.11 (-L possibly error)

[kácak] middle 50.11; kacak-pá middle in 68.8; (NP)

kácak-pát-iX right through the middle (he ran) 170.15

[kana ~ kanamt] collectivity

kána-ui all 19.14, kana-uf 37.16, kana-uá 47.1

kanámt-max both sides 35.10, 237.10

kanamt-quānm all five 108.2

kana-mákst both 123.8

[kala] wind?; kalá-lkuili state of being angry, scolding
46.4, 131.15 (wind-like?) (NP)

[ku-] locative, there

kú-iukul at end of house 133.1, 133.3 (in myth phrase)

kú-pa, ku-pá there 10.6, 36.10

ku-pát, ku-pát enough, as many 45.8, 26.12, 94.2

ku-pát-iX as often as 86.12, 239.10

ku-kuá.ul-iX at end of the house 130.6, 132.8, 135.1

ku-lXí.uku-iX into the woods 167.6

[kuala] soon, at last 14.14, 50.5, kualá a little while 59.10

(soon, at last re sequence kualá scaqa)

kual(a)-í.ua just then 134.11, 96.7, 176.7

kual(a)-á.ua just (little while ago) 146.15

- kual(a)-i.ui just 40.7, 192.17; 111.4 only then
- [kua]-pá there 194.16, nearby 24.3
- [ksm̄] small 98.8 (used only with plural, cf. LC km̄ HB 637)
- ksm̄-ax small 108.8, 226.1 (possibly ksm̄-(m)ax)
- [km̄kiti] at both ends 241.13; km̄kit-iX last, at the end 69.14
- [klá]-iX far 13.7, 58.3, 233.9
- [kʔa-] re position of people (NP)
- kʔa-natitUL on the other side 39.15
- kʔa-ui-síqi in middle of house 161.11
- kʔa-uu-síqi-pa near door 176.8
- [kʔuaL]-qi thus, just as (re what follows) 34.8, 104.4, 10.14,
47.9
- [kʔuala]-ki some time ago 231.10
- [qa] interrogative, manner
- qa qa why 134.13
- qa how, what 68.16, 52.13, 233.14
- qa where 130.6, 231.8 (never sentence initial, cf. ka)²
- qá-ta how (what direction (your mind)), what (do you think) 26.4, 83.4
- qá-ta-max ways, all kinds 134.15, 178.12
- qa-t(a)-ki how 180.2; qá-t(a)-ki-max kinds of ways
113.11, 115.11
- qá-txu, qá-txa shall, must, better 12.6, 9.6, 106.11,
30.16
- qa-c-qi why (re reason for following action) 17.8,
48.5, 33.14, 168.6 (parallels c-qi in usage)
- qa-ki why 170.1

qa-tʔukti 131.18, 134.13, 249.17; qa-tʔukti-max 133.5

good

[qái]-qam-iX down the river 57.10, 161.6, 74.12

[qa.ua] part 226.1; qá.ua-tiX several times 90.3, 80.6 (PN)

[qa.uíltk]-pa Qawiltk to 163.4

qásu grandson (vocative) 58.6; HB 612 qas grandchild (man speaking); qásu-max grandsons 124.10

[qax] where (interrogative) 66.1, 121.13, somewhere 107.8²

qáx-pa where, somewhere, anywhere 107.8, 114.12

qax-lqan (plus i-kua day, i-ka.it day, a-pul night)

one (day, night) 148.1, 98.1, 182.1

[qana-] re purpose, explanation

qan(a)-áx how much, why 137.6 (asking explanation)

qaná-qa to no purpose, vain 91.15, 179.1, 213.6, 221.14,

223.1 (evaluation, explanation of purpose by what follows)

qána-qi only when 160.11, 251.7 (explanation of condition of what follows)

[qanc]-iX ever, however, whenever 52.16, 53.6, 127.2, 19.9

[qi] if 43.1, 81.4; qi-áx if 152.10, 242.9 (cf. qin, qis)

[qí.ua] therefore, because 45.6, 186.16, 224.15

qí.ua-qa because 136.15

[qiqʔa.iáq] middle 194.13; qiqʔa.iaq-pa middle in 239.3

[qʔuáp] near, nearby 32.4, 40.3; HB 633.20, 634.31

qʔuáp-iX nearby 26.3, 163.3

[Xu] noise of harpoon line: Xu-lələlələlələ 243.17

[maL] sea, river, body of water (VNP)

maL-ná seaward 181.8, maL-na-tá toward water 114.2

[nau.áitk] net 172.3, nau.áitk-max nets 172.18 (VNP)
 [nist] not 65.12, 95.11, 70.5, nâst 172.13, 46.10
 nist-qi not at all 32.1, 179.13 (re following action)
 nist-â not 179.10
 nâst-qa not at all 22.5, 136.15, 137.4;
 nist-qa 135.18 (re speaking to a person)
 nâst-qi 180.7; nis-qi not at all 10.1P, 95.9
 nis not 50.6, 51.3
 nâs-qa not at all 23.9, nâs-qi never, not at all
 153.14, 161.4

[nikst] not 70.13, nâkst not 182.12; HB 634.13
 nikstx not 51.8, nâkstx 52.5

[nuL?] a little 44.4; nuL?-iX a little while 31.11;
 nuL?-max little 41.9, nuL?-ka few only 164.10,
 nuL?-ka-tiX little while only 226.15 (NP)

[lúlu] round (thing) 11.5, 146.4; lúlu-max round things
 237.3

6.2.4.3. Members of stem class P3, occurring as non-initial member of compound stems, but not as initial member, are:

[-iukul] at end of house, kú-iukul 133.1, 133.3, 134.9

[-uax] light, pour out; HB 631.39, 631.31, 634.30 (NP)

uax light 16.14, 228.15; pour out 104.5, 214.13, 220.4

uax early, next morning 35.4, 105.6, 208.6, 236.11

uáx.uax act of pouring out, condition of pouring out

189.6, 189.10

t(a)-u.áx light 18.4, 12.10, 213.4, 186.13

[-uiX ~-uuX] early; HB 634.30

ka-ufX early 26.2, 26.7, 72.12

ka-uúX early 47.16, 56.16, 86.5

uuX-á in morning 38.2; cf. HB 634.30 uuXf tomorrow.

(see 6.5.2 on status of -á)

[pa] there 169.8, 151.10, 114.3

ku-pá there 82.17, kú-pa there 10.6, kú-pá 84.3

(cf. phrase pa uf-kua noon (= there day) 88.8, 136.13

[pat] really 133.7, strong 208.12, pát 67.12, 238.14;

HB 634.12

ku-pát, ku-pát enough 240.1, 26.12, 45.8, 75.6

ku-pát just as (many) 221.3, 231.4

ku-pát-iX as often 239.10

káck-pát-iX right through the middle 170.15

(cf. two unique sequences with nouns:

i-qámn-pát-iX a white pine there (he ascended) 11.15

i-kúsax-pat-iX sky at there (he arrived) 12.3

but possibly these are -pa-tiX)

[pu] conditional 52.16, 65.10, 192.15, 154.6

ákua-pu nearly, almost 40.6, 97.6, 232.5, 212.17

[-ta] directive, toward there (VP)

i.ua-ta there 13.12, i.ua-tá 58.2

i.ua-t(a)-áx there 13.15; i.ua-t(a)-ka there only 59.6;

i.uá-t(a)-k(a)-i.ua there 121.12

ka-ta and (always re contrast of what precedes versus

what follows: "here-there") 151.3, 54.6, 50.10, 45.1

qa-ta how 26.4, 81.4 (what direction (your mind))

qá-ta-max ways, all kinds 134.15, 178.12

qa-t(a)-ki how 180.2, qá-t(a)-ki-max all kinds of ways
113.11, 115.11

qam-ta whence, whither 204.11, 12.12; anywhere 95.13²

saxala-tá, sáxala-ta upward 249.2, 219.3

maL-na-tá toward water 114.2

[-txu] re necessity, consequence

as-txu and 108.18 (consequently such and such)

tan-txu what then, therefore 13.10, 21.6, 97.15, 43.1;

in consequence thereof (those events) 206.9

qá-txu must, better, shall 12.6, 9.6, 107.11, 30.16,

86.1

[Lqan] ?

qanc-iX Lqan á-pul several nights 34.12

(cf. qanc-iX Lqa how often perhaps 97.4)

qáx-Lqan í-kua one day 142.1

[c?a] behold, but, although 145.5, 145.10, 174.5

ta-c?a behold, but, although 69.6, 212.17, 218.5;

HB 636.21

[-kuala] under, below

kí-kuala under, below 43.4, 100.10

ki-kual(a)-iX 12.12, kí-kual(a)-iX-pa below at 65.11

[-kuá.ul] end of house

ku-kuá.ul-iX at end of house 130.6, 132.8, 135.1

[-kuc] (present) times

tí-kuc-iX nowadays 71.7

[-kti] thing (NP)

t?ú-kti good 41.1, tk-t?ú-kti 15.5, qa-t?ú-kti 131.18

[k?a] and 13.17, 210.7, 32.18, 51.1; HB 636.18

c-k?a 204.8, 204.11

[-qa] re purpose of what follows

an-qa already, later on 29.8, 214.10; HB 634.17

cá-qa come! 220.8 (strong rhetorical effect)

ka-qa when 116.7, 126.7

qaná-qa to no purpose, in vain 91.15, 179.1, 213.6

qí.ua-qa because 136.15

nāst-qa 22.5, 136.15, nist-qa not at all 135.18

[-qi] re conditions of what follows

c-qi then 30.18, 96.8, 132.10 (connective plus indication
that following phrase qualified by preceding
phrase)

qa-c-qi why then 17.8, 158.4, 48.15 (similar to c-qi)

qána-qi only, when 150.11, 251.17 (explanation of
condition of what follows)

nis-qi 23.5, 90.9, 237.7 not at all (re qualification
of preceding, dependent on preceding)

nist-qi not at all, nāst-qi 211.3, 180.7 (like nis-qi)

kʷuaL-qí thus, just as 34.8, 104.4; kʷuaL-qá 10.14,
47.9

[qust] behold 24.16, 58.13, 119.9, 207.9, 238.1¹

L-qust behold 130.3, 139.15, 206.8, 239.1

[-qʷL] (yester-) day; ta-qʷL yesterday 87.14, 88.8

[-síqi] door (of house) NP

kʷa-ui-síqi in middle of house 161.11; kʷa-uu-síqi-pa
near door 176.8

[-Xap] evening, night; c-Xap one night 94.7

[hāhā] laughing 231.2, hāhi 212.16; HB 630.6

pʷá-hāhā 87.16, 88.4, 88.10 ("speaking" of Coyote's
buttocks)

[-na] locative, directive (cf. noun prefix n-)

máL-na seaward 181.8

maL-na-tá seaward, toward water 114.2

[-nat] side (NP)

k?a-nat-ítuL on other side 39.14

[-ni] locative, directive (cf. locative noun prefix n-)

máL-ni seaward 241.14

máL-n(i)-iX to water, at water 35.13, 72.9, 77.1,

157.11 (but possibly máL-n(a)-iX)

Láxa-n(i)-iX outside 26.2, 36.10; Láxa-ni 68.18, 80.17.

[-lkuili] like, similar to (NP)

kala-lkuili scolding 138.5 (wind-like?)

[-lXf.uku] woods; ku-lXf.uku-iX into the woods 167.6

[-leⁿ] noise, continuing and travelling away

uú-lelelelele 123.17, 124.3, 124.4 (transformation into cormorants? cf. HB 636.8 noise of flight of cormorants)

Xú-lelelelelele noise of harpoon line going out 243.17

(raised ⁿ, as exponent, indicates that number of repetitions of -le is optional with speaker)

6.2.4.4. Members of subclass P₄, occurring as initial and as non-initial member of compound stems, and usually singly, and so might be termed "ubiquitous" particle stem elements, are:

[aqa] then 9.1, 30.10, 51.1, 101.5, 151.4, 201.4, 250.3.

aqa-n(a)-ui indeed (re occurrence of following event,
it did indeed happen that) 18.9, 36.10, 77.10,
183.7, 251.4.

sc-áqa, in kuala sc-áqa at last (stereotyped phrase of
characters in one myth) 50.5, 54.11, 55.7, 55.12

[as] and 46.8, 85.12, 170.11, 205.7, 245.11

as-txu and (therefore) 108.18

q(a)-as and 242.13

[f.uá] thus 27.11, there 17.4, i.uá 168.13, á.ua 114.1

i.ua-tá there 58.2, f.ua-ta 13.12; i.uá-t(a)-i.ua 121.12

i.ua-t(a)-áx there 13.15

f.ua-t(a)-ka there only 59.6

kual-á.ua just (little while ago) 146.15

kual-f.ua just then 134.11, 96.7, 176.7

qam-t(a)-i.ua whence 41.1, 56.12; cf. 146.14.

[f.ui] thus 68.5, á.ui 212.17

f.ui-max thus 170.17, á.ui-max 189.4

á.ui-ma thus 246.5 (all re size)

kual-f.ui just 40.7, 192.17, 111.4 only (all re time)

[ui] now 131.3, 157.3, 191.10, 225.5, 250.14 also, again

ui-t?ax again 30.10, 91.2, 170.1, 177.5, 244.13

kána-ui all 67.8, 101.13, 150.7, 177.5, 244.13

na-uf, ná-ui, nǎ-ui at once 30.6, 43.14, 122.1, 235.11,

42.16; nú.i 35.9, 35.10, 220.15 (= [nǎi]);

HB 634.22

áqa-n(a)-ui indeed 18.9, 36.10, 77.10, 183.7, 251.4.

[tʰu] good (cf. s-fa-tʰu his breasts 120.2)

tʰu-kti good 41.1

tk-tʰu-kti good, desirable, approved 10.1, 15.5, 147.1,
163.1, 171.15, 202.8.

tk-tʰú-kti-max pretty, good-looking 12.18

qa-tʰú-kti good, pretty 131.18, 249.17, 134.13

qa-tʰú-kti-max good 135.5

[c] connective

c-kʰa 204.8, 204.11 and silent

c-qi then 30.18, 96.8, 132.10 (connective plus indication that following phrase qualified by preceding)

qa-c-qi why then 17.8, 158.4, 48.15 (similar to c-qi)

[ka] when, while (current time) 228.17, 157.9, 109.12

ka-ta and 151.3, 54.7, 50.10, 45.1 (all usage involves contrast of preceding against following:

"here-there")

ka-ufX 26.2, 29.8, ka-uúX early 47.16, 250.2; cf. uuXá in the morning and HB 634.30 uuXí tomorrow.

ka-tfX together 101.17, ki-ka-tfX together with them 9.10.

ka-qa when 116.7, 126.7 (introducing situation and its consequences)

[ki] that, this 31.9, 44.1, 101.12, 114.13, 183.15, 228.8

ki-pa here, there 17.1, 35.14, 62.15; ki-pa-pá here 147.12

ki-pát-iX here, right here 147.3, 238.2, 76.14, 199.7

ki-pát-ma thus (long) 167.12; ki-pát that (high) 224.8;

ki-pát-max to here (length) 131.10

ki-ka-tiX among them 9.10

ki-kuala under, down, below 43.4, 151.8, ki-kualá

100.10; ki-kual-iX under, down, below 12.12,

65.10, ki-kual-iX-pa below at, to 65.11, 221.13

ta-ki this 38.2; tan-ki something 29.7, 40.1, 111.15,

179.3, 227.17, 246.4.

L?-ki behold this 156.17, 177.15, 232.13.

k?uala-ki some time ago 231.10.

qa-ki why? 170.1

qá-t(a)-ki how 180.2; qá-t(a)-ki-max kinds of ways

113.11.

[qam] ~ [qamtq] re position (space, time) away from speaker

qam-ta where, whither, whence 12.15, 72.10, 96.13,

204.11.

ki-qamtq afterward 68.1, 87.8

ki-qamtq-iX afterward 100.14, 120.9, 141.7; behind

242.2

qá.i-qam-iX down the river 57.10, 73.2, 78.14, 242.13

[saxalá] up 238.15, saxalá up, on top 38.2, 114.16

sáxala-ta upward, up river 219.3, 249.2

sáxal(a)-iX upward 19.14, 71.2, 216.8; sáxal(a)-iX-pa

up at 132.7

tí-saxala upward 48.9

[Xap] evening, night

Xáp-iX in the evening, at night, at dark 9.5, 20.12,

69.3, 119.8, 133.5, 62.6; Xap-iX 169.16

c-Xap one night 94.7.

[na] re time ³

na-uf at once 30.6, 106.16, 249.10, ná-ui 43.14,
nā-ui 42.16

aqā-n(a)-ui indeed (re occurrence of following event,
it did indeed happen: that) 18.9, 36.10, 77.10,
183.7, 251.4.

6.3.0. No prefix positions have been established for particle words. One should note the formal parallel between particle stem elements ta- and qa- and two of the initial prefixes occurring with certain pronominal stems in quoted speech. The above presentation of compound stems, as well as an inspection of the particles of related dialects, shows that the fundamental nature of the Chinookan particle is that of the combination of individual elements and the eventual specialization of these combinations in particular usages, but not the development of patterns of prefixation or infixation that characterize the class as a whole.

6.3.1. Of stem elements, one, two and three may occur in a single word, as illustrated in 6.2. Thus, ki this, tan-ki something, qá-t(a)-ki how; tʔu-kti good, qa-tʔu-kti good; qam-t(a)-f.ua whence; aqa-n(a)-ui indeed. Suffixes occurring in particle words are included in the sets occurring with noun and pronoun words. Only two instances are found in KT of more than one suffix in sequence with a particle stem: sáxal-iX-pa, nuLʔ-ka-tiX. On the basis of the overall pattern of occurrence of suffixes with noun, pronoun and particle words, those occurring with particles

are assigned to relative order positions in parallel manner. Note that the limitation of sequences of suffixes, so far as the KT data shows, restricts the maximal particle word to Stem-Suffix-Suffix, for a single element stem, and to Stem-Suffix for a two or three element stem (e.g., qa-tʔú-kti-max good 135.5). The minimal particle word is, of course, the single stem element, e.g. ki 31.9.

For the particle word, then, the following scheme holds:

100. Stem.

200. Suffix set 1.

300. Plural.

400. Final (relational) suffixes.

6.3.2. The members of these relative order positions are as follows.

Position 100.

Here three "decades" must be distinguished, as indicated in the list of stems and 6.3.1. It is rather arbitrary to assign those stems which occur only singly to one of the three, but if that is desired, the second position is perhaps the best choice. It would then be possible to give some account of the compound stem elements in terms of relative-order positions within the stems, e.g., members of class P3 occur in stem position 130. The assignment of members of two-element stems, both of which occur independently, as in tan-ki, however, becomes again arbitrary. All this reflects the individual history of these stems,

formed by juxtaposition rather than derivation.

Position 200.

Decade 210.

211. -ax emphasis, contrast
 212. -iX some specifying force
 213. -tʔax succession in time; next, also
 214. -ka emphatic, definite; only
 215. -ma partitive; alone, only
 216. -laL "-ty", decade

Position 300.

Decade 310.

311. -max plural

Position 400.

Decade 410.

- 411.1 -tiX relation to time

.2 -iX

412. -pa relation to space

6.3.3. Conditions for alternants are:

411.1 after vowel, 411.2 after consonant.

6.4. Examples and comment on the suffixes as they occur with particle words are given here.

211 -ax (=N 411, Pr 422):

i.ua-t(a)-áx there 13.15, qi-áx if 152.10,

ksm-ax small 108.8.

212 -iX (= N 412, Pr 423):

qʔuáp-iX nearby 26.3, sáxal-iX upward 19.14,

sáxal-iX-pa up at 132.7

213 -tʔax (= N 413, Pr 424) :

ui-tʔax again (now-also) 30.10, 91.2, 150.7.

214 -ka (= N 414, Pr 425) :

núlʔ-ka few only 164.10, núlʔ-ka-tiX little while

only 226.15, í.ua-t(a)-ka there only 59.6.

215 -ma (= N 415, Pr 426) :

pál-ma full 215.3, á.ui-ma thus 246.5

216 -LaL: see 6.2.3.

311. -max (= N 514, Pr 512)

pál-max full 27.8, tán-max things 29.4, Lpʔl-max

red 233.10, kanámt-max both sides 35.10,

qásu-max grandsons 124.10, lúlu-max round

things 237.3, í.ui-max thus 170.17.

411.1 -tiX (= N 611.1, Pr 611.1) :

núlʔ-ka-tiX little while only 226.15, qá.ua-tiX

several times 90.3, ka-tiX together 101.17

(collective in reference to time).

411.2 -iX (= N 611.2, Pr 611.2) :

núlʔ-iX a little while 226.15, 31.11.

6.5.1. The Kathlamet particles are remarkably free from influence by the Shoalwater Chinook also spoken by Cultee. A single form has been found in KT which is wholly intrusive from Lower Chinook, being from the special set of LC particles involving distinctions such as visibility and invisibility: xiku 186.3, for which see HB 620.

The alternants cú.iusti and Láxa-ni for prevalent cú.iust-iX and Láxa-ni-iX occur so rarely (cú.iust-i 94.5, Láxa-ni 68.18, 74.4, 80.17) as to suggest Lower Chinook influence rather than an inherent Kathlamet feature; cf.

LC plural -ma for Kathlamet (and Upper Chinook generally) -max (HB 608). The alternant Lxliu for Lxliux inland is proportionately more frequent (15 instances to 26) and does not appear to involve a suffix, but perhaps also illustrates the same influence.

6.5.2. In the single occurrences of the forms uuXá in morning 38.2 and nistá not 179.10, besides normal ka-uúX 47.16 and nist 70.5, there is a suggestion of an adverbial-like suffix -á, although in the present corpus the forms are best regarded as unique stem-alternants. Note also the unique form c-a-kanimá in a canoe 173.15 beside the common stem form i-kaním 20.12, i-kánim 83.11.

FOOTNOTES---CHAPTER VI

- 1 A scale possibly connecting L?a behold, L?a like:
 L? ~ L?a behold, look (note strangeness, similarity)
 qust behold (stronger; always initial in quoted speech)
 L-qust Behold (shade stronger)
 L?a-ki BEHOLD? NOTE THIS with sense of similarity,
 simulation that is astonishing, to be marvelled at;
 all instances in account of visit of Cultee's
 grandfather to land of ghosts, in which the ending
 stresses that these things were not known to the
 seers until the grandfather returned to tell them.
- 2 The relationship of qa, qax and qam-ta would seem to be
 that qa expresses a definite where, qax an indefinite
where, and qam-ta the sense of both whither and whence.
 Cf. 204.11, where both are used: qam-ta LXuan qa
 "whence perhaps where (it is that they struck it)";
 i.e., where-from is the where of those people who
 struck it.
- 3 A Proto-Chinookan particle stem was likely:
 *ana with reference to time.
 Cf. Kathlamet:
 ana sometimes; an-qa already; aqa-n(a)-ui, or
 aq(a)-an(a)-ui indeed (re an event's occurring); pan
then (past conditional contrary to fact) from *pu-an;
 ku-an-sum always; man-iX when (cf. Siuslaw m̄in-c when,
sometimes); na- tense prefix of verb; -an-ia first.

VII

A KATHLAMET TEXT

- 7.1. Introduction.
- 7.2. Phonemic transcription.
- 7.3. Morphological analysis.
- 7.4. Running translation.

7.1. In the Chinook sketch of the Handbook of American Indian Languages, Boas presented an analysis of a short Kathlamet text (pp. 670-672). The same text is presented here. The phonemic transcription in 7.2. affords an opportunity to compare the Boasian orthography and the phonemic interpretation of the present study for passages of some length. The morphological analysis by index numbers can be compared to the running commentary in the notes to the text in the Handbook.

7.2. /i.Xát ní.kac.xam naí.ka tk'q'i.uq.tiks #
 tqíq.Lax qa.ci.u.xuá.uac.kuix # La.xa.nak.sún.kut
 i.Lál.Xam # nu.Xuá.kuax ta.i.ci tál.Xam tá.Xi t'LaqL.pa
 iá.Xi i.qíkc.xam # lakt Lpúl.max nu.Xui.uí.uc.kuax
 ta.i.ci tál.Xam # á.qa ni.kímx iá.Xi i.qíkc.xam #
 á.qa Lxa.tú.kua.la Lá.Xi Lq'i.úqt aL.xi.tlúc.xa.ma #
 i.ku.Xui.Lú.xua.it tál.Xam qám.ta Lq aL.tí.ma.ma LaX
 Lq'i.úqt # LXuan í.ua na.qí.lim aL.tí.ma.ma aL.xi.tlúc.xa.ma
 LXuan í.ua tiá.k'i.la.kiX aL.tí.ma.ma aL.xi.tlúc.xa.ma #

i.kú.pu.nm # á.qa uí.tʔax i.ku.Xui.uí.uck ta.i.ci
 tǎl.Xam # qí.qʔa.iaq uá.pul.pa á.qa tɬ i.kú.xuax ta.i.ci
 tǎl.Xam # i.ku.kua.qí.uit.Xit # Li.Xát Lqʔi.úqt Lqa.kí.lak
 as nú.LʔiX i.kú.pu.nm á.qa i.Lu.qúp.tit # qʔuáp ík.tliL
 qiL.Xʹqu.itq Lá.Xi Lqʔi.úqt Lqa.kí.lak # á.qa tán.ki
 i.kí.xux # iL.kil.cʹmaq qʔá.i qʔá.i qʔá.i tán.ki
 i.kí.xux i.sí.qi.pa # iLx.LúXua.it Lá.Xi Lqʔi.úqt
 LXuan saq i.qan.ćít.xam # ní.Xua an.cu.qú.iuc.qma tǎl.Xam #
 á.qa ilk.tu.qú.iucq as qnám.ka.tiX ta.i.ci tǎl.Xam #
 i.ku.Xuá.qu.itq ta.i.ci tǎl.Xam # i.ku.xua.lá.iuck #
 it.kú.kui.ka tká.qa.macX # iq.Lúl.Xam La.Xi Li.Xát
 wax á.xa uú.Xi á.tuL # uax i.Lʹkux Lá.Xi Lkua.LílX #
 á.qa tán.ki Lax i.kí.xux i.sí.qi.pa # LXuan á.ui.ma
 is.tá.qa.i.Lax siá.xust La LkIm.náks.ti # i.ku.kuá.kim
 ta.i.ci tǎl.Xam iqst.xí.Lau iá.Xi a.lilx.kítq.qa #
 i.kí.kim iá.Xi i.kíkc.xam iqs.xí.Lau.ci # LáX.ka Lá.Xi
 Lqʔi.úqt iL.xi.tlúc.xam iL.km.sit.qúí.mam # qust i.kí.ðiXL
 ia.Xí.aX i.ki.xlúc.xam # tiá.maq iq.tí.lux ku.pá iú.maq #
 klá.iX sá.xa.liX iá.Xi fl.Xam ta.cʹa iu.qúí.uulXt iá.Xi
 i.kí.piXL # á.qa it.ki.xʹl.mux ta.i.ci tǎl.Xam ta.i.ci
 i.kí.ta.xlúc.xi # u.xuí.lucx iá.Xi íc.xam.pa # kʔuaL.qí
 Lá.iuL.max án.qa La.xa.nak.sún.kut naf.ka tkʹqʔi.uq.tiks #/

The symbol # corresponds to periods in the original printed version; we have actually no indication of phrasal or other speech units for Kathlamet beyond the English-like grouping of forms between periods in KT. The text is found in KT on pp. 245-246; a number of corrections are found in the HB text, which appeared ten years later than KT.

7.3. Affix morphemes are indicated in the morphological analysis by the appropriate index numbers, as assigned in the preceding chapters. Stems are indicated by the symbol for the stem class, e.g. Pr = pronoun stem; this also serves to indicate which of the four sets of index numberings is involved in the affix numbers for that word. Thus, 213-Pr indicates affix 213 of those analyzed with pronoun words in chapter 3. Sentence units, following those present in the printed text, are numbered consecutively for reference to the translation in 7.4.

1. i-iXat (213-Pr) n-i-ka-cxam (114-313-515-V)
n-ai-ka (211-Pr-425) t-k'q'i.uqt-iks (117-211.2-241.1-N-511.3); one he-sang-conjuror's-songs I my-ancestors.
2. t-qi /qLax (117-315 AN) qa-c-i-u-xua-ua-cku-iX
(115-213-313-417-441-V-1111-1311); one-hundred ? = he had.
3. (-)La-xanaksunkut (117/118-218-241.3-N) i-La-lXam
(113-215-241.3-N); Laxanaksungut his-town.
4. n-u-Xua-kua-x (114-317-341-V-1212) t-ai-ci
(217-Pr-411) t-lXam (117-N) t-aXi (217-Pr) t-La-qL-pa
(117-215-241.3-N-612) i-aXi (213-Pr) i-qi /cxam (113-315 ANV);
they-themselves-assembled those people that his-house-at
that singer-of-conjuror's-songs.
5. lakt L-pul-max n-u-Xui-ui /u-cku-ax t-ai-ci t-lXam;
(NP 118-N-514 114-317-441-511-V-1111-1212 217-Pr-411 117-N)
four nights they-danced those people.
6. aqa n-i-kim-x i-aXi i-qi /cxam: aqa L-xa-t-u-kua-la
L-aXi L-q'i.uqt a-L-x-i-t-l-u-cx-am-a; (P 114-313-V-1212
213-Pr 113-315 AN: P 215-341-417-611-V-811 215-Pr 115-N

111-315-341-413-612-V-1121-1211 (V stem = -lucx, erroneously entered in 5.2.4 under -cx) then he-said that singer-of-conjuror's-songs: then he-will-come-to-hear that old-man, he-will-go-to-see (the dances).

7. ik-u-Xu-i-LuXua-it t-lXam: qam~~ta~~ Lq a-L-t-i-mam-a L-aX L-q?i.uqt (113-317-441-511-V-921 117-N P/P P 111-315-612-V-1121-1211 215-Pr 115-N) they-thought people: whence perhaps will-he-arrive that old-man.

8. LXuan i.ua n-a-qilim a-L-t-i-mam-a a-L-x-i-t-lucx-am-a, LXuan i.ua t-ia-k?ilak-iX a-L-t-i-mam-a a-L-x-i-t-lucx-am-a; (P P 12-114-N 111-315-612-V-1121-1211 111-315-341-413-612-V-1121-1211, P P 117-213-241.3-N-412 111-315-612-V-1121-1211 111-315-341-413-612-V-1121-1211) perhaps thus Nehelim he-will-arrive he-will-see-(the dance), perhaps thus Clatsop he-will-arrive he-will-see-(the dance).

9. ik-(a)-u-pun-m;(113-314-611-VN-1011) it-grew-dark.

10. aqa ui-t?ax ik-u-Xui-ui~~ui~~-ck t-ai-ci-t-lXam; (P P-213 113-317-441-511-V-1111 217-Pr-411 117-N) then again they-danced those people.

11. qiq?a.iaq ua-pul-pa aqa tl ik-u-xua-x t-ai-ci t-lXam; (P 13-114-N-612 P P 113-317-341-V 217-Pr-411 117-N) middle night-at then tired they-became those people.

12. ik-u-kua-qi~~uit~~~~Xit~~; (113-317-342-V-814) they-rested.

13. L-iXat L-q?i.uqt L-qakilak as nuL?-iX ik-(a)-u-pun-m aqa i-L-u-qupti-t; (215-Pr 115-N 115-N P-P-411 113-314-611-VN-1011 P 113-315-611-V-1131) one old woman and a-little it-was-dark then she-slept.

14. q?uap i-ktliL q-i-L-X-quitq L-aXi L-q?i.uqt
L-qa.kilak; (P 113-N 115-313-415-441-V 215-Pr 115-N 115-N)
near morning-star she-arose that old woman.

15. aqa tan~~A~~xi ik-i-x-u-x; (P P~~A~~ 113-313-341-611-V)
then something it-was.

16. i-L-k-i-l-cmaq q?a.i q?a.i q?a.i tan-ki ik-i-x-u-x
i-siqi-pa; (113-215-242-313-511-~~W~~ P P P P~~A~~ 113-313-341-611-V
113-N-612) she-heard-it noise-of-a-crack-opening something
it-was door-at.

17. i-L-x-LuXua-it L-aXi L-q?i.uqt : LXuan saq
i-qa-nc-tx-am; (113-315-341-V-921 215-Pr 115-N : P P
113-219-311-323-V-1121) she-thought that old-one :
perhaps war someone-comes-to-make-on-us.

18. niXua a-n-t-u-qu.iucq-m-a t-lXam; (P 111-211-317-
611-V-1011-1211, or V-1121-1211) well I-awake people.

19. aqa i-L-k-t-u-qu.iucq, as qanm-ka-tiX t-ai-ci
t-lXam; (P 113-215-242-317-611-V, P P-214-411 217-Pr-411
117-N) then she-woke-them, and quiet-emphatic-re-time
those people.

20. ik-u-Xua-quitq t-ai-ci t-lXam; (113-317-341-V
217-Pr-411 117-N) they-arose those people.

21. ik-u-xua-la.iu-ck; (113-317-341-V-1111) they arose,
made themselves ready.

22. i-t-k-u-ku-i-ka t-ka-qamacX; (113-217-242-317-
442-511-V 117-217.2-241.3-N) they-took-them their-arrows.

23. i-q-L-u-lXam L-aXi L-iXat : uax a-x-a u-uXi a-tuL;
(113-219-315-611-V 215-Pr 215-Pr : P 112-314-V-1211
214.2-Pr 114-N) he-was-told that one : light do-it that fire.

24. uax i-L-k-(a)-u-x L-aXi L-kuaLilX; (P 113-215-242-314-611-V 215-Pr 115-N) light he-did-it that person.

25. aqa tan-ki Lax ik-i-x-u-x i-siqi-pa; (P P/P P 113-313-341-611-V 113-N-612) then something visible it-became door-at.

26. LXuan ä.ui-ma i-sta-qail-ax s-ia-xust La L-kImn-aks-ti; (P P-215 113-216-241.3-N-411 116-213-241.3-N P 115-N-511.2-613) perhaps thus its-largeness its-face like moon-like.

27. ik-u-kua-kim t-ai-ci t-lXam : i-qstxiLau i-aXi al-i-lx-ki-t/pqa; (113-317-342-V 217-Pr-411 117-N : 113-N 213-Pr 111-313-423.2-431-613-V/V) they-said those people : a-monster that he-will-come-in-to-us.

28. ik-i-kim i-aXi i-qi/Åcxam : i-qstxiLau ci; (113-313-V 213-Pr 113-315/VV : 113-N P) he-said that singer-of-conjuror's-songs : a-monster is-it?

29. L-aX-ka L-aXi L-q?i.uqt i-L-x-i-t-lucx-am i-L-k-ms-i-t-quim-am; (215-Pr-425 215-Pr 115-N 113-315-341-413-612-V-1121 113-215-242-312-323-413-612-V-1121, or 312-323-612 (due ambiguous "f" after shibilant) he that old-one he-came-to-see-the-dance he-came-to-give-you-food.

30. qust i-kipiXL i-aXi-ax ik-i-x-lucx-am; (P 113-N 213-Pr-422 113-313-341-V-1121) behold a-sealion that he-came-to-see-the-dance.

31. t-ia-maq i-q-t-i-l-u-x, kupa i-u-maqt (117-213-241.3-N 113-219-217-413-511-611-V P 112-313-611-V) his-shots they-made-them-to-it, there he-died.

32. kla-iX saxal-iX i-aXi i-lXam, tac?a i-u-qu-i/uulX-t i-aXi i-kipiXL; (P-212 P-212 213-Pr 113-N P 112-313-611-S/S-1131)

far up that town, nevertheless it-went-up that sealion.

33. aqa i-t-k-i-xlm/ux t-ai-ci t-lXam, t-ai-ci
i-ki taxlucxi; (P 113-217-242-313-V/611/V 217-Pr-411
117-N, 217-Pr-411 113-311/N (nominalized verb, of a con-
struction puzzling to Boas and myself as well) then they-ate
those people, those who-had-come-to-see-the-dance.

34. u-xu-i-lucx i-aXi i-cxam-pa; (112-317-441-511-V
213-Pr 113-N-612) they-saw-the-dance that song-at.

35. k?uaL/qi ()-La-iulmax an/qa ()-La-xanaksunkut
n-ai-ka t-k-q?i.uqt-iks; (P/P ()-218-241.3-N P/P
()-218-241.3-N 211-Pr-425 117-211-241.1-N-511.3) thus
their-supernatural-helper long-ago the-Laxanaksungut
I my-ancestors.

7.4. This running translation is reproduced from **KT**
245-246. It represents Boas' interpretation of Cultee's
explanation of the Kathlamet through the medium of Chinook
Jargon. So far as the analysis of the morphology of all the
texts reveals, it is free from error of interpretation; such
errors, indeed, are notable by their rarity in **KT** as a whole.

"1. My grandfather sang a conjuror's song. 2. He had
one hundred conjuror's songs. 3. His town was Laxanaksungut.
4. The people assembled in his house when he sang. 5.
The people danced for four nights. 6. Then the singer
spoke: "That old man will come to listen and to see the dance.
7. The people thought: "Where may that old man come from."
8. "Perhaps he will come from Nehelim to see the dance;
perhaps he will come from Clatsop to see the dance."

9. It grew dark. 10. Then the people danced again.
11. At midnight they became tired. 12. They slept.
13. One old woman slept when it began to be dark.
14. When it was nearly daylight she awoke. 15. Then something was happening. 16. She heard a noise as if a door was being opened. 17. The old woman thought: "Maybe we are going to be attacked. 18. I will wake the people."
19. She waked them; the people remained quiet.
20. They rose. 21. They made themselves ready.
22. They took their arrows. 23. One of them was told: "Light the fire". 24. That person lighted the fire.
25. Then something became visible in the doorway.
26. Its face was as large as the moon. 27. The people said: "Oh, a monster has come to our house." 28. The singer said: "Is it a monster? 29. It is that old man who comes to see the dance; he has come to give you food."
30. Behold, a sea-lion came to see the dance. 31. He was shot, and was dead. 32. Far up from the sea was their town, nevertheless that sea-lion went up. 33. Then the people who had gone to attend the singing ate it.
34. They saw the dance at that singing. 35. Thus was my grandfather's supernatural helper at Laxanaksungut.

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