THE LUTUAMI LANGUAGE (KLAMATH-MODOC),

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INTRODUCTION.

The following presentation lays no claim to exhaustiveness. It is rather a survey of the language, with the aim of enabling prospective students of Lutuami to know which aspects of the language need further investigation and are more likely to repay their efforts.

The reader is invited to make use of A. S. Gatschet's work as a check on the present study!. This work, in two ponderous volumes, proved of very little value to the present authors. Gatschet evidently knew the language very well, and he was a faithful recorder. But he seems to have been unable to resist a desire to endow this language which he knew so well, and loved, with a high degree of complexity. As a matter of fact, Lutuami is a very simple language. After laboring in vain through the labyrinth of Gatschet's grammatical exposition, it was deemed more expedient to obtain the language at first hand. A good opportunity offered itself during a field trip among the Indians of northeastern California in the summer of 1926, and with this purpose in view a special trip was made to Beatty, in the Klamath Indian Reservation, in southeastern Oregon, where one of us had an old friend in the person of Mac Williams. Thanks to the latter's willingness to work without rest, enough material was collected in two weeks to get a good bird's eye view of the language, and a fair amount of vocabulary.

The term Lutuami, now sanctioned by ethnological practice, is the word used by the Achumawi Indians to designate the Modoc Indians living around what became known as Tule Lake (or Rhett Lake), but which the Achumawi called littiúm. For the other ethnic division of the Modoc-Klamath tribe, namely the Klamath, the Achumawi used the term álámí. Although this division of the Klamath-Modoc tribe into two

^{4. &}quot;The Klamath Indians". Cont. N. Amer. Ethnol., Vol. II, parts 1 and 2, Washington 1890.

groups was a real enough one, geographically and politically, being in fact one of the main causes of the famous Modoc War, linguistically it seems to amount to very little. The term "Modoc" is derived from Lutuami muatwak, meaning "southerner", from muat "south" + wak "to live", and was applied by both Modoc and Klamath to designate the Achumawi (or Pit River Indians). The term "Klamath" is probably derived from the Lutuami maglaks, meaning "campers", from maglak "to camp, to live", and by which they refer to themselves as a people (including both ethnic divisions).

As for the linguistic dialectal division, only contradictory and confusing evidence was obtained from Mac Williams. His father and his mother were Klamath. His wife is Modoc. Sometimes he said that what he was speaking was. Klamath, other times that it was Modoc, other times he averred that there was no difference between the two, and again he would say that there was, but that he had spoken both of them so long that he now had them all mixed-up. His mother and his mother-in-law (the famous Old Dixie, a renowned shaman, were living with him, as well as his wife, and likewise a nephew who was unable to decide whether he was Modoc or Klamath. All these people seemed to converse together without any difficulty at all in what appeared to be a single tongue. The truth of the matter is probably that there is not much more difference between the two "dialects" than there is between the English of New-England and that of Virginia. Furthermore, the bringing together of the two groups to live in the same Reservation, for the last fifty years, must have contributed to the levelling.

The fact that Mac Williams knows a good deal of Achumawi, a language also known to a certain extent to the present authors, was of great help in the positive elimination of many grammatical complexities present in Achumawi, but lacking in Lutuami.

GENERAL IMPRESSION.

This language is rather simple and free from grammatical complexities. It certainly is not of the polysynthetic type that builds up intricate long words difficult to analyze. The syntax is clear and not involved. The affixes are not very numerous. Yet, the very first impression is perhaps one of unclearness and jumble. But this is soon seen to be due to two causes: one is the high degree of phonetic looseness which results from overplaying with internal consonantal modification; the other the tendency to overload the sentence with repetitions of meaningless words.

As an illustration of the latter we may give the following example: "I hit him " at nu a hunks a ktoka (lit. yet I do him do hit).

As an illustration of the former, the word " come " kepka may appear as kepkta, kepkat, ketpa, ketka. The word "bite" qoqa as qoqtka, qopka qoywa. The word "hit" ktoka as ktotka, ktopka, ktoywa, ktoktka, ktoywatka. All these forms have of course slightly different neanings, but in practice they are about equivalent. Or rather it would be more correct to say that for each word in the language there are two forms which differ from one another in that one is obtained from the other by some sort of autonomic process, especially by syllabic manipulation 1. But there are of course many possible ways of performing syllabic manipulation. It is an almost endless game of ringing the changes on the phonetic constituents of a syllable. Every Klamath-Modoc Indian carries all these possible tunes in his consciousness and makes free use of them. For him there is no difficulty in keeping those autonomically changed variants like the ones given above (ktok-, ktotk-, ktoktk-, ktopk-, etc.), from several suffixes similar in sound which may be attached to any one of them (suffixes like -ok future, -ak only, -tka instrumental, -kis locative and -is agentive, etc.). He thus understands immediately the difference between ktoktk-a " he causes to hit "and ktok-tka" by the act of hitting ". The newcomer, not so well acquainted with the form patterns of the language, finds it more difficult.

Therein then lies the only real difficulty of the language, and also its only real interesting feature from the point of view of the morphologist. It may be said that Lutuami has gone mad on the one grammatical process of syllabic manipulation. It uses it for almost every conceiveable purpose. Through it, or rather through its many variations, it expresses plurality, severalty, distributiveness, diminutiveness, the causative, the reflexive, the reciprocal, the frequentative, the iterative, and probably a few others. Had we been able to glean this from Gatschet's work before we made our visit to the Klamath Reservation, we would have taken good care to direct the main stream of our inquiry in this direction. There are undoubtedly many subtle phonetic laws to be worked out there. We hope this will stimulate other field-work linguists to take it up.

From the point of view of conceptual linguistics Lutuami is interesting as another example of the languages that keep separate the concrete and

^{1.} By autonomic we mean those grammatical processes like inner modification, reduplication, metathesis, accent, etc., which one may oppose to the incremental processes such as affixation, compounding; etc. Syllabic manipulation is the word we use to include the two related grammatical processes of metathesis and reduplication. See our article in a Language 7, V, 2, 1929.

the relational (in opposition to the languages that make use of concrete-relational concepts) 1.

PHONOLOGY.

The conditions under which the present study was made precluded a careful consideration of the fine points of phonetics, all the more so that the language is so easy to record phonetically. The extraordinary development of the autonomic processes is however an indicator that there is probably a good deal of phonetic subtlety. This subtlety is one of the points to which we would like to call the attention of further students of Lutuami. For the present we have preferred, for the sake of clear exposition, to swing the other way, and reduce as much as possible all the phonetic variations recorded in our material to a common simplified pattern. In the semantic list however, we have left the orthography exactly as recorded, without attempting any uniformizing.

The following is therefore only the "ideal" sound-system of Lutuami, with all variations ironed out.

[N. B. The system used here is that of the American Anthropological Association, as set forth in "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages", Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 66, Nº 6, (Publication 2415, obtainable from the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.)

I. CONSONANTS.

	LARYNGEAL	GUTTURAL	PALATAL	FRONTAL	Labial
Plosive Intermediates		q° k G		TD	РВ
Fricatives	h	7 × 1		s or c	
Nasals				n	m
Liquids			·	i	

[N. B. This table represents not all the consonants heard and recorded, but merely what seems to constitute the ideal pattern or skeleton].

1. See Sapir's Language, especially Chapter V.

Laryngeal. — The series of laryngeal sounds so well developed in Achumawi (h, "aïn", very strong glottal catch, etc.) is noticeably lacking in Lutuami. The glottal catch is encountered, but not frequently enough to make it a part of the ideal phonetic pattern of the language. The ordinary h sound is very feeble, and it is "dropped" half the time. Glottalized consonants are exceptional and probably the result of overcareful enunciation for the purpose of dictation.

Guttural. — In the guttural articulation, the velar q occurs. It is however strongly aspirated: q^h . The result of this is that it tends to degenerate into the fricatives of the same articulation, either the surd x or the sonant γ . This would indicate that the velar q is probably an intermediate: \dot{Q} . There does not seem to be a functional opposition between q and k. There does seem on the other hand to be a tendency for the k to be pronounced as q (which then becomes, as is natural in that position, aspirated).

The k and the g are so interchangeable, (as are also t and d, p and b,) that we are forced to the conclusion that differences between surd and sonant are not important functionally in Lutuami. In other terms the ideal plosives are intermediates. They may sound (to an ear trained in a language like English, Spanish, French, which carefully distinguishes between surd ond sonant) either on the side of surdness as K, or of sonancy as G. [In the discussions of examples in the morphological part we have reduced all such capitals to the ordinary lower case letters, in order not to introduce an extraneous element of distraction for the attention of the reader].

The fricatives x and γ appear to be only degenerations of Qh.

The velar η is evidently not more than the natural consequence of juxtaposition of n and a guttural (similarly n becomes m before a labial).

Frontal. — The plosive is almost always frankly surd t, rarely the sonant d. This t is "blade-alveolar". It is weakly aspirated.

The fricative is either the sibilant s or the "chuintant" c. This seems to be a matter of personal idiosyncrasis (perhaps of tribal idiosyncrasis, as between Modoc and Klamath). The corresponding sonants are very seldom heard. The interdentals do not occur.

Surd *l* is encountered occasionally.

Labial. — The plosive is more frequently a surd p (with a slight aspiration), than a sonant b.

II. SEMI-CONSONANTS.

w and y are, unlike the neighbouring languages Achumawi and Paiute, more consonantal than vocalic.

III. VOWELS.

The true vocalic system seems to be that of the "open" vowels, o, a, ϵ , ι , rather than the "close" ones (u, o, a, e, i). There is probably here a good deal to be worked out by further students. In the present study, in the morphological part, the vocalic system has been reduced to u, o, a, e, i.

Abnormal vowels $(\ddot{u}, \ddot{i}, \text{ etc.})$ are entirely absent.

Accent. — There is no "pitch accent" in Lutuami, apart from the high pifch associated with dynamic stress. (See the remarks on accent under Grammatical Processes, Prosody, p. 14.)

It is noticeable that when the dynamic stress is well marked for one reason or another, the consonant following it is apt to be doubled, thus bearing part of the lengthening that otherwise would go to the accented vowel. Thus, the word for "all" is pronounced indifferently either as na 'nuk or nan nuk. There is here a field opened to further investigation.

Contraction. — Contraction is very frequent, especially with the pronouns. Thus hacpa nunks "I fed him", for hacpa nu hunks (lit. feed I him); at hunks an hacpa for at hunks a nu hacpa (yet him do I feed).

Phonetic euphony. — Consonantal clustering, far from being avoided in Lutuami, seems on the contrary to be relished, especially the clustering of k, t, and p. Such words as ktopkta (see p. 3) seem especially delightful to the Lutuamian ear. Furthermore, the Lutuamian tongue seems to love to play with all sorts of syllabic manipulation (metathesis and reduplication) for the mere fun of it, entirely apart from the real morphological value it has in this language. Thus kantak and tanktak mean absolutely the same thing: "then only "from tank then + ak only. Vocalic clustering is also indulged in, though not so frequently. Thus: wiwasoak for wiwasoka "breasts". These euphonic artifices are of course invoked whenever there is real difficulty of pronunciation, such as susmak "mouths", for susmka.

MORPHOLOGY.

NOTE ABOUT THE TERMINOLOGY.

Throughout the course of this study we employ the terminology used by Prof. E. Sapir in his book "Language". The reader is especially referred to p. 106 for the Grammatical Concepts, p. 147 for the Types of Linguistic Structure, p. 64 for the Grammatical Processes, p. 29 for the Formal Types of Word.

We have introduced some additions (after consultation by correspondence with Dr. Sapir) in the terminology of the Grammatical Processes. The new terms can be seen at a glance in the following table, where they are indicated by *italics*:

Grammatical Processes:

"Incremental" vs. "Autonomic"

1. Word-order. 1. Prosody (a. stress,

b. pitch,

c. quantity)

2. Compounding.

- 2. Sound-variation (inner modification of radical, or of grammatical element, either consonantal or vocalie)
- 3. Affixation
 (a. prefixation
 b. infixation
 3. Syllabic manipulation
 (a. reduplication
 b. metathesis)

c. suffixation)

I. GRAMMATICAL CONCEPTS 1.

[The following table, quoted from Prof. Sapir's book, is inserted here for the convenience of readers who may not have the book at hand.]

- I. Basic concrete concepts (such as objects, actions, qualities): normally expressed by independent words or radical elements; involve no relation as such.
- II. DERIVATIONAL CONCEPTS (less concrete, as a rule, than I, more so than III): normally expressed by affixing non-radical elements to radical elements or by inner modification of these; differ from type I in defining ideas that are irrelevant to the proposition as a whole but that give a radical element a particular increment of significance and that are thus inherently related in a specific way to concepts of type I.
 - 1. The reader may as well skip the whole of this section and return to it later.

- III. Concrete relational concerts (still more abstract, yet not entirely devoid of a measure of concreteness): normally expressed by affixing non-radical elements to radical elements, but generally at a greater remove from these than is the case with elements of type II, or by inner modification of radical elements; differ fundamentally from type II in indicating or implying relations that transcend the particular word to which they are immediately attached thus leading over to:
- IV. Pure relational concepts (purely abstract): normally expressed by affixing non-radical elements to radical elements (in which case these concepts are frequently intertwined with those of type III) or by their inner modification, by independent words, or by position; serve to relate the concrete elements of the proposition to each other, thus giving it definite syntactic form.

Basic Concrete Concepts I and Pure Relational Concepts IV are essential to all speech. They are of course found in Lutuami, but do not require any special treatment.

Derivational Concepts II. — These are found in Lutuami, where they are expressed by:

a) All the different types of sound-manipulation combined with sound-variation. These two grammatical processes serve to represent in this language such grammatical categories as: plurality, the causative, reflexivity, reciprocity, diminutiveness, frequency, the iterative, etc. In Lutuami these are indicated by a modification of the semantema which is not involved in any syntactical relations. They must be analized therefore as pure derivational, not as concrete relational, concepts.

Example. In the sentence hut a watsags qoqtka "the dog bit them" | lit.: he did dog bite|, the last word qoqtka is derived (by "sound-variation" combined with "syllabic manipulation") from the primary form qoka. Because you hear qoqtka, instead of qoka, you know that the action of biting was done plurally. But nothing in the word qoqtka indicates who performed this plural biting on whom. Therefore, the grammatical category of plurality here used is a pure derivational concept, not a concrete relational concept (as it is in our languages).

b) Affixation. This grammatical process serves to represent in Lutuami several grammatical categories such as Tense, the Agentive, the Qualitative, etc. These affixes are listed under Grammatical Processes, p. 10. There are about a score of them. Of these about half are used to express pure derivational concepts, while the other half express pure relational concepts.

Example. nu hunks muatwas-am laqi tamnu-tkan sle-o'la siuka-ks "I saw the chief of the Muatwas killed, when I was on a trip there "[lit.: I him Muatwas-of chief (I having...) travell-ed see-did kill-the-one]. In this sentence there are four suffixes. The first one expresses a pure relational concept. The second, third and fourth express pure derivational concepts, since they are modifications of the primary ideas "travel", "see", and "kill"; but there is nothing in these suffixes to indicate who was travelling, who saw whom, and who was killed; in other words, there is nothing to indicate the relations between the parts of the sentence; there is nothing of the relational in these suffixes.

Concrete-Relational Concepts III. — This is a class made up of concepts which ought to be, if language were a thing of logic, either purely derivational or purely relational, but are instead a mixing up of the two. This is however the kind of grammatical concept which to most of us, reared as we have been in Latin grammar, is evident, nay, essential. As a matter of fact there are many languages to whom such a mixture is repugnant. Lutuami is one of them. Concrete-relational concepts are not found expressed in this language.

In the sentence given above, the relations between the parts of the sentence, "I", "chief", "Muatwas", "travel", etc., are expressed either by word-order, or (in one case, that of the genitive -am) by affixation. The relations are therefore expressed as pure relations. In Latin this sentence would be expressed somewhat thus: Muatuas-orum duc-em nec-atum ibi visit-ans vid-i\[\]. The relations are there expressed by means of the concordance of the affixes, which, by an intricate system of conjugations and declensions, also express derivational ideas like plurality, mode, and tense. The Latin affixes therefore express concepts which are at once derivational and relational: i. e. concrete-relational concepts. The Lutuami affixes express either purely relational, or purely derivational concepts.

CLASSIFICATION. — Since we find in Lutuami Concepts I, II, and IV, but not III, this language must be classed with the *Pure-relational* (in opposition to the Mixed-relational), and more particularly with the *Complex* type of Pure-relational languages, i. e. the *Pure-relational deriving* languages.

^{1.} In the Latin of, perhaps, the second century, that is. Classical Latin would require a "dum" clause, somewhat as fallows: Dum Muatwasos visitabam ducem corum vidi morte adfici.

H. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES.

- " Incremental " Autonomic " vs.
- 1. Word-order. 1. Prosody: a. stress pitch c. quantity.
- 2. Sound-variation (i. e. inner 2. Compounding. modification either of the radical or of the grammatical element, whether consonantal
 - or vocalic.
 - 3. Syllabic manipulation:
 - a. \ metathesis
 - b. / reduplication.

- 3. Affixation:
 - a. pre-fixationb. in-fixation c. | suf-fixation

Incremental Processes.

WORD RODER. — It is enough to give one look at the sentence adduced as an example on p. 9 to realize that this process must necessarily be very important in this language. The rules that govern word order are how-ever of a kind that demand a great deal of study of many texts before they can be presented in a satisfactory manner. We are not prepared to do it in this study.

Compounding. — Not a single instance recorded.

Affixation. — Present in Lutuami, but not very conspicuous. A hasty examination of our material reveals about a score of definite affixes, to which number must be added some ten more which are rather compounds of two affixes. In all, say thirty. This could easily be matched by any of our Indo-European languages.

Of these affixes, one and only one and a dubious one at that, is a prefix. This is an s- often prefixed to verbs, and the meaning of which is very hazy. It suggests transitivity. It is often confused with the suffix -s of nouns $(n^{\circ} 8), (n^{\circ} 25).$

Of infixation there is not a trace.

The suffixes are of two kinds: those which express derivational concepts, and those which express relational concepts.

Examples of these suffixes are given immediately after the table.

- A) Suffixes expressing derivational concepts:
 - a) Verbal:
 - Udenoting Tense:
 - 1. -a. Indefinite time.
 - 2. -ok Future.
 - 3. -o·la Past.
 - II) denoting something akin to Aspect:
- 4. -n. This may be described as combining the functions of Participle Present, Ablative Absolute, and Continuative (by agglutination with -a (n° 1) it becomes -an; hence by agglutination with -k (n° 7) it becomes -ank; hence by agglutination with -t (n° 7) it becomes -tank; hence by metathesis -ktan, -tkan.
- 3.-akska "nearly, almost" probably compounded of -ak (nº 10) + -s (nº 8) + -k (nº 7)
 - III) denoting Manner :
- 6. -pli " over, again", and corresponding very nearly to our re-...
 - \mathbf{b}_{T} Verbo-nominal:
- 7. -utki best translated by "he that is..., being a..." evidently compounded of the demonstrative but + the verb gi= "to be"; hence by a series of phonetic attritions the following forms are produced: -tki, -tk, -i, -k; the last two are postclitics rather than true affixes, and do not do much more than emphasize the continuative aspect of a verbal root.
- 8. -s / or c, according to individual idiosyncrasies of pronuciation). This is usually added to verbal roots, and fulfills the function of a true nominalizing affix, especially in the form of -is (or -ic). In the latter case it may even be looked upon as an Agentive 4 .
- 9. -st expressing a sort of Participle Present or Continuative in syntactically subordinated positions probably a compound of one of the ultimate forms of $n^{\rm o}$ 7 and of $n^{\rm o}$ 8.
 - 10. -ak " only " perhaps derived from no 1 + no 7.
- 41. -kis " place of, place where it happens" very probably derived from compounding of no 7 and no 8.
- 1. Many nouns are found to end in s. This s disappears in the plural not always. It would be very difficult to decide whether it should be regarded as an essential part of the radical, or as a crystallized suffix, or as a special mark of the singular. Probably the second hypothesis represents the original status, with the second and first as tendencies arising from confusion.

- c) Nominal:
 - 12. -ka (also -ga, -ak, -ag, -g) to express plurality.
- 12 a. The relationship terms end in the singular in -ip, -ap, -p, in the plural in -as, -s, -isap, -asip. (See Semasiology no 4200.)
 - 13. -le·mi "time of, season of".
 - d) Adjectival:
- 14. -li terminates many radicals which are truly adjectival in that they express quality, attribute, etc.
 - B) Suffixes expressing relational concepts:
 - 15. -am Genitive Case, (or-lam).
- 16. -amutki "for, proper of, typical of, belonging to "levidently compounded of no 14 and no 7.
- 17. -amski '' at the house of " $[evidently\ compounded\ of\ n^o\ 15\ and\ n^o\ 11\].$
 - 18. -at, -tat Locative Case.
 - 19. -- eni Inessive Case.
 - 20. -dal Directional Case.
 - 21. -ksaksina Circular Locative Case.
 - 22. -tan Cis- or Trans-jacent Locative Case.
 - 23. -tka Instrumental Case.
 - 24. -tiutki " in exchange for " evidently derived from no7
- 25. -s (doubtful). Accusative Case in the pronouns and demonstratives Nominative Case in nouns (still more doubtful).

Examples of Affixes (listed by numbers as above).

- nº 1, 2, 3. nu sle-a I see, nu sle-ok I shall see, nu sle-o la I saw long ago.
- nº 4. See Text III, 42; Sent. 70; Text I, 1, 6; Text III, 2, 45. Sent. 77-81
 - nº 5. Sent. 82, 83.
 - nº 6. Sent. 84, 85. Text II, 4, 6, 7.
- no 7. —The complete form -utki appears rarely in connected texts and sentences. It occurs very frequently in speech however, especially when a noun alone is given in answer to a question. For instance to the question: "What is that animal?", the answer instead of being merely watsag "dog" is much more likely to be watsag-utki. Or again: "How do you say basket?" Answer: maksa-utki. See also Sent. 81. In Sent, 78, 79, 80, the form -tki takes the value of a Participle Past because of the construction of the sentence beginning by at = already. See also Text I. 6; III, 2, 7. It is easy to see that the line of demarcation between the ideas of

Participle Present and Participle Past is not clearly defined in Lutuami. Sent. 77 shows a form (-tko) which appears to give the radical it modifies an adjectival value. The ultimate reductions in -k and -t are difficult to demonstrate except in the analysis of many adverbs or adverbial forms, such as: tank then, at yet, bunkt thus, patsit to-day, mbusant morning, tatamanksat as long as, etc.

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n° 8. — Sent. 76, 86, 87, 99 (last); Text III, 3. Sent. 88, 89. Text III, 7; Sent. 6, 7, 9, 11

n° 9. — Sent. 90, 91, 92, 93; Text I, 5.

n° 10. — Text II, 2, 3.

n° 11. — Sent. 94, 95, 96, 97, 98.

n° 12. — For examples of this suffix see all the words in the Semantic List, but especially the following, in which the affix -ka is not obscured by phonetic causes, or mixed up (as a sign of plurality) with reduplica-
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gut, 5450 penis.

nº 12 a. — For examples of the plural of relationship terms, see

tion and metathesis: 1230 lake, 2000, 2500 wood-rat. 5120 tooth, 5430

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4200.

nº 13. — Sent. 99,
nº 14. — V. Semasiological List 1220, colours;
nº 15. — Text 1, 2, 8, 13; III, 1,
nº 16. — Sent. 100.
nº 17. — Sent. 101.
nº 18. — Numerous examples throughout the Texts.
nº 19. — Sent. 102.
nº 20. — Sent. 103.
nº 21. — Sent. 104.
nº 22. — Sent. 105.
nº 23. — Sent. 106.
nº 24. — Sent. 107.
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AUTONOMIC PROCESSES.

The words of Lutuami are shot through with internal changes. To glance over the forms that a single stem can assume gives an effect that is truly kaleidoscopic. The processes of reduplication, metathesis, variations of vowels, consonants, even clusters of sounds, and changes of stress, play over one another in such a complicated way — even involving affixes — that analysis is extremely difficult. On the verb stems, changes can be rung almost indefinitely, it seems. For the nouns, usually only two forms were obtained, a simple and an elaborated form.

Moreover, these processes are more transparent in the nouns than in the verbs, so that among the following examples the majority have been taken from the former.

All these changes are so important a feature of Lutuami that they deserve special tables. This has been done to a certain extent for the verbs. For the nouns however it would have required so much space that it seemed better to include in the semantic list the second form for each noun (as the plural of it, usually with the suffix -ka), although this has properly nothing to do with semantics.

In the following table we give a few examples to indicate the general scheme of "autonomic" changes in the Lutuami verb. In reality the majority of them are much more complex and phonetically irregular than these. Here lies a field full of promise for further investigation. There are indications that other grammatical categories are expressed by similar autonomic changes.

		PRIMARY	Distributive	Causativ	Reflexive	RECIPROCAL
to	see	sle-	slepk-	sesl-	hesl-	heslebapk-
to	\mathbf{suck}	ets-	eets-	sests-	bests-	seed₹-
to	hit	ktok-	ktopk-	ktoktk-	soktk-	soktaptk-
to	scratch	tslik-	tslipk-	sistlak-	bistslak-	sistlapk-
to	\mathbf{cut}	slakt-	sloldz-	saslakt-	haslakt-	slulu'dza

Prosony. — There is present in Lutuami an accent wich combines (as in English, Spanish, etc.) increased stress, raised pitch, and lengthened quantity. This accent probably has a certain morphological value, but it clearly has much less value than in English or Spanish. Semasiologically, it probably has no value at all; I have omitted it in the Semasiological List in all those words where I had conflicting evidence, or where my ear was unable to catch it. In ordinary fluent speech, it certainly stands out, but is probably connected with sentence-prosody. At any rate, the investigation of this process would be subordinated to that of the other two autonomic processes.

Sound-Variation. — This is a very prominent grammatical process in Lutuami, second only to reduplication in importance. Both consonants and vowels are affected by it. And not only may a simple sound change to another simple sound, but diphthongs and consonant clusters may be involved as well. In most cases, though not always, the sound changes are accompagnied by reduplication or by metathesis, or by both, sometimes to such a degree that it is almost impossible to refer an elabora-

ted form to its base without finding or reconstructing intermediate forms.

This is especially true of the verbs, where causatives, reflexives, reciprocals, and the plurals of these, are all formed from the original radical by a sort of cumulative elaboration. To illustrate, let us take some of the forms of the verb sle-, « to see ». The form in brackets is reconstructed. We find:

sle-; by metathesis; sel-; by reduplication; sesl-; by consonant variation; hesl-; by reduplication plus vowel variation, hehasl-.

Much of the sound variation in Lutuami appears to be entirely at random --- part of the abundant phonetic play that goes into the creating of the elaborated forms of the words. There are however a number of changes that have a certain regularity, recurring again and again to express the same concept. Such are:

t. Change of the vowel of the radical to -a-. This change seems always to be accompanied by a reduplicative change. It is used in creating the elaborated forms that expres plurality, both for nouns and verbs.

```
eye
        Iulp
                 lulalp-ak
                      bibambak-a
log
        himbak-s
breast
           wisn
                     wiwaso-ak
dead wood
                 mulu
                           mumalo-ak
camas
           poq
                   popag
earthworm
                 mulx
                           mumalx-aka
horsefly
             sgoplenk-s
                           sgosgaplenk-aka
dragonfly
               qoqtink-s
                            qoqaqtink-aka
fawn
          wi'lag
                     rei realaq
day
        pse
                [sepsa
hay
         ksu-n
                   ksuksa-ka
night
          psin
                   psipsan
swan
                   ququas-ka
          4115
to burn
             nut nunat
to fill
           qitqog
                      gigatgog
to be hot
                gelp
                        gepalp
to sing
             swin
                      swiswan
to kneel
              lutsul-ja
                           lulatsul~a
to drink
              punui
                         рирапиі
to walk
              gisn
                      qiqasn
to scratch
                1slipk
                          sitslapk
```

2. Nasalization of a consonant of the radical in forming plurals of nouns. This change is not always accompanied by reduplication.

tlint busak-s bumbska (for bubsak)

```
dogi-s
                     dondgi-k
                                  (for dodgi k)
hawk
                               for gagk-a)
turtle
          gak
                  gangk-a
arm
        rveq
                 weŋq-ak
                       werve gank
grass
          wergak-s
hand
          nep
                 nemb ak
```

- 3. The change to the ending pk- to form the plurals of verbs. See chart of verb forms.
- 4. The change to the ending -yw— to form the intensive plural of verbs. [See chart of verb forms.]
 - 5. The change to an initial -s-, or -sn- in the causative. [See chart.]
 - 6. The change to an initial -h-, in the reflexive. [See chart.]
 Other changes than these are too irregular to be formularized.

Office changes than these are too irregular to be

These are some random examples:

```
pine
         qus
                  qOqus
breech clout
                  sinta'sqis
                                sesinta'sgis
rabbit
           tsuakna
                        tsatsuakna-aka
           xi'a
                     xex'ia-ak
liszard
         slo'a
                   sluislo'a-k
lynx
grizzly bear
                          lulq-ak
                 10q
blackbird
               ts Oq
                        tsutsq-a
woman's kilt
                   sanapts.
                               sesnapts-ka
crane
          kle'idi-s
                       kli'kldi-ka
fish
        me'he-s
                    memi'h-ka
                            leli'h-ka
wild onion
                 le'ha-s
young woman
                    siwak
                               siusuwak
thigh
          tsuk-s
                     tsutsok-a
testicles
             slulk-s
                         sluislolk-a
to saw
                       sluislalis
            slolts
wind
          slewi
                    slesluyi
to miss
             qabya
                       gaqibya
to turn over
                  kteubl-
                              ktektobl
gopher
            stoi-s
                      stoisti-ak
```

Consonant variation in nouns usually amounts to no more than the simplifying of a consonant cluster that is reduplicated.

```
coals
          stoilaks
                       stoitelaks
tule mat
              steulas
                          stetolas-ka
hawk
           tsiktu
                      tsiSakto-ak
bat
        ktisok
                                  for ktiktaso-ak
                  ktitsatso-ak
sweathouse
                 spuklis
                             spukpaklis
                                            [for spuspaklis]
tail
                 xpelpla-k
                                for xpexpla-k
        xpel
```

star ktcol ktoktcol
half tq alam tatpalam
ash tsapsxi-s tetsapsxi-ka
bark kneutse kekneutsa-k

Syllabic Manifulation. — 1) Metathesis. In Lutuami, metathesis is everywhere present. The sounds seem always ready to slip out of their original order and fall into some new design. Even the affixes are subject to this rearranging. Some of them seem scarcely to have a constant form. Thus we find equally -kis or -ksi or ski, for the locative, -ak or -ka for the plural, -tank or -ktan or -kan for the present participle, -asip or -isap in relationship terms. And the choice as to wich shall be used cannot be accounted for by any observable rule, either phonetic or morphological.

Much of the metathesis seems to be a functionless accompaniment of the putting of words together into sentences. It is probably connected with sentence stress. Often, too, it occurs in suffixing, the two final sounds in the stem reversing their order before the suffix, as tapaq, tatapqa. And this not for euphonic reasons apparently, but simply for the fun of playing with the sounds. Often, however, metathesis forms a true part of the complex of autonomic changes that serve to elaborate the simple forms of stems into the derived forms.

Examples of metathesis preceeding the suffix of plurality:

nanap**la-**k egg napal camas woka-s wow**ak-**abird tsik**a-s** tsitsak-a leaf tapap tatap**qa-**k tobacco qaqatskla-aka gatsk**al** ear momoats momo**tsa**-k tongue parwats papa:wtsa-k intestines ga·yega g**ey**-ak yayokla-k eagle yankal bow string nalehnanalhy-aka fish me**he**-s mem**ih-**ka wild onion leha-s lel**ih-**ka

Examples of more complete rearrangement of sounds by metathesis:

hip pusaklas pusaslka

^{1.} It is quite possible that there is some subtle system in these changes. This is one of the points to which further students of the language should turn their attention.

Société des Américanistes, 1931.

```
young woman
                   snewels
                              wervens
basket cap
               qmaleq-s
                            qaqlmeq-a
ground squirrel
                    musas
                               musams-ka for mumsaska
                     wulawl-aka [for wuwlal-aka]
poplar
           rvulal
rattle snake
                        xisxa-ka [for xixas-ka]
                 xis
moon
          u\gamma aukwa
                       kauzwa
```

Syllabic Manipulation. — 2) Reduplication. Reduplication is almost always a grammatical process in Lutuami. There are a few words in the vocabulary that occur primarily in a reduplicated form, but very few. These are mainly adjectives, words of color and form, and consist of a stem completely reduplicated + the adjective suffix -li. We may call this « false reduplication ».

Examples:

```
red
        taqtaqli
white
           balbali
green or blue
                    metsmetsli
black
           puspusli
brown
            limlimli
yellow
            gegegli
round
           golgoli
flat
         leplepli
sharp
           tsagtsagli
blunt
           qomqomli
mottled
             gasgas
magpie
             rveqrveq-s
```

As a grammatical process however, reduplication is the most conspicuous feature of Lutuami, the mechanism upon which the whole system of derivational changes is very largely based. The use of other processes in conjunction with this gives an effect of limitless possibilities of variation. Closer study reveals, however, that while there are occasional irregular forms, the vast majority of cases belong, as far as the reduplication is concerned, to one or the other of two characteristic types that are constantly recurring throughout the material.

Complete reduplication used as a process is so rare that it cannot be considered a type. Only three cases were found, and since in these the primary form is a monosyllable even they may be equally well interpreted as being of Type I, below. They are:

```
willow ya-s ya-ya-ka
bow nte-is ntente-ka
to live wa wawa
```

In general, we may say that it is the syllable or element found at the beginning of the simple form that is reduplicated in the elaborated form.

Type I. Reduplicating syllable:

```
to shout
              yena-
                        rerena-
to freeze
              qat-
                       qaqat-
to gamble
                sakl-
                         sasakl.
to travel
              tamnu-
                          tatamnu-
to skin a hide
                    naski-
                               nanaski-
to ask
            wul-
                     เบนเบนใ
             lusk-
to roast
                       lulusk
rain
         xto dza
                     xtoxto dza
shell beads
                 lakt-as
                             lalakt-ka
basket
            maksa
                       mamaksa-aka
sweathouse
                 ge·law'as
                               gege lawas
snare
          ktsin
                    ktsiktsin-ak
quiver
            tokank-s
                        totokank-a
arrow
           talze
                     tatalze-aka
cedar
          buluans
                       huhuluans-aka
            qe·lo
juniper
                      gege lo-aka
pine nuts
               gte lo
                         gteqte-lo-ak
seed
         log
                 lolox-aka
              wako
hemlock
                        wawako-ak
sage brush
                 tsaklo
                           tsatsaklo-ak
wild rye
              kle pi
                         klekle py-ak
yellow sage
                  wa mi
                             wawa my-ak
          tspa·mi
twig
                      tspatspa my-ak
leaf
        tapaq
                   tatapqa-k
berry
                        gaqawi-ka
          qawey-as
tobacco
             gatskal
                         qaqatskla-aka
horse
          walc
                    wawatc
coon
          watskina
                       wawatskina
         musmus
cow
                      mumusmus
circle
           tawlka
                      tatawlka
hog
         kusu
                  kukusu-k
marten
            kle pa
                       klekle pa-k
bear
         witem
                    wiwitem-ak
fox
        pe·p
                 pepe p-ak
civet cat
               taslats
                          tataslats-ka
                    papagol-ka
deer
         pagols
skunk
           tsasi-s
                      tsatsasi-k
goose
           lu-s
                   lu'lu-ka
```

```
heron
           tsoaqa-s
                        tsoatsoaqa
         napal
                   nanapla-k
egg
porcupine
               tce·li-s
                           tcetce·li-k
tree squirrel
                  wasla
                             wawasla-ak
raven
                   qaqaq-ak
swallow
              titaqea 🕝
                         tititaqea-ak
bull snake
                wamnik-s
                               wawamnik
salmon
            Isial-s
                       tsitsial-ka
fly
        mank
                  mamank-ak
duck
          we k-s
                     wewe x-ka
person
            maqlak-a
                          mamaqlak-a
chief
          lagi
                   lalagi
forehead
              laki
                       lalaki
tongue
                        paparutsa-k
            pa'wats
nates
          tsaslak-s
                        tsatsaslak-a
mocassin
              waksna
                           wawaksna-ak
feather
            nil
                    ninil-ak
house
           ladz-as
                       laladz-ka
weasel
            tsaska
                       tsatsaska-ya
lip
        xetsu
                 xexetso-a
bow string
                 naleh
                           nanàlhy-aka
ground
            gela
                     gegelo-ak
to smoke (of a fire)
                           slayka
                                     slaslayka'a
smoke
           slayaks
                       slaslayaks
fire post
              sneylaks
                          snesneýlaks
heart
          stayn-as
                       stastayn-ka
```

Words beginning with vowels are very rare in Lutuami. The following, all beginning in a-, seem to belong with the preceding list. A few in u- will be found further on with the irregular forms.

water ampu aampo-ak tree aŋko aaŋko-ak digging stick amda aamda-aka mountain mahogany amdala-m aamdala-ka

Type II. Reduplicating element. In this type there is no additional syllable in the elaborated form as result of the reduplication

bluebird tikaka titkaka-ak nose psi-s psips-ka liver tusoq tutsox-ka kidney bin'e bibne-ak

qoqlens-ak knee golens lal-ka wing la-s mui mumy-ak ground hog yaypulpule-k yapulpule butterfly tsitsmanka-aka tsimanka young man mumkak baby mukak tsika tsitska-aka old person tutpaka tupaka younger sister sum susm-ak mouth tule mocassins mit mimteyay-ak qus quqs-a swan wawi'ta wai'ta-s day ko'kwe-aka toad ko'e mimtco mitco spoon qoqewaswas- (Ga) goegawas puma gage'y-ak ga·ye guts stesm-ak cunnus stem-s saswal da'wal-s arrow head qmaleq-s qaqlme q-a basket cap qaqeli-ak qaeli-s belt tsutsli-ka shirt tsuli-s tawix-s tatwix-ka wild onion wowak-a woka-s camas tcask-aka tcak service bush wewo'k-ak root of tree we'uk tcetco-ak tce'uk antelope sasi'ka-ak valley sa'yka mumatwaka moatwas PitRiver Indian tsitsak-a bird tsika-s tswatswi'-ka tswa'i-s vulture qequtsi-k qe'utsi-s wolf kta'i kta'kti-ak stone heel taqak tatqak-a weu-ka we-s ice wau-ka coyote wa-s wi'usiga wi'sin water snake wa ngis ladder wa qis wau'tsak watsag dog kekna kena to snow ksakskae to kang ksakae to shoot tewi tetwi

```
to give se'wan se'swan
to dance ksi'uly ksi'ksoly
to be friends sawaline saswaline
```

As against these long lists of words that reduplicate according to regular patterns, we find only a small number that have what appear to be reduplicated forms, but of an entirely irregular character.

```
wolf
         geutsis
                                  (also qeutsi-k)
                     qeutsisis
breast
           wisu
                    wisus-ka
house
          ukeplaks
                        keukeplaks
clapstick
              upaqpaks
                           wanpaqpaks
mouse
           qala'yowa
                         qalaqle'yowa-k
trousers
            galalaps
                         qaqalaps-ka
        nalpal-ak
                      (as well as the regular form nanaplak).
egg
```

III. GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES.

Gender. — Not expressed in Lutuami by any grammatical process, with the following exception: the demonstrative bunk is more frequently used for animate beings (in the sense of he, she), and bun (it) for inanimate objects. This is however not a strict rule.

Sex is indicated in the case of men by the different appropriate words, such as "boy", "girl", "old man"; "old woman", in the case of animals, either by appending a word such as "old man", "girl", etc., or by the name of "bear" for males, and of "doe" for females.

Number. — Number is strongly expressed grammatically in Lutuami. But it is not at all the equivalent of our number, either in extent of concept or in manner of grammatical expression.

In our languages, number is pretty well confined to the plural. In Lutuami, as will be shown presently, it expresses not only plurality, but distributiveness, piecemealness, smallness, endearment, and even frequency and iterativity in so far as these may be regarded as a "number of similar acts".

In our languages, especially in those closer to Latin, the plural is used as an important tool of syntactical relations between the several parts of the sentence. In Lutnami number is purely a derivational concept. It is not used at all as a relational concept. Hence it may be expressed by either subject, verb, or object, or by an independent word.

In our languages the plural is expressed mostly by the one process of suffixation. In Lutuami it is expressed mostly by the process of syllabic manipulation.

```
Number. Examples:
Io 10 " I will give it to him":
       nu bunk sewanok
        I him give-shall
  2° "I will give it to them":
                             (bunges plural of bunk)
        nu hunges sewanok
                            (seswan- distributive plural of sewan-)
        nu hunk seswanok
        or:
        nu hunges seswanok
H<sup>o</sup> 1° ' the dog bit him ":
         watsag bunk qoka
               him bite
         dog
   2° " the dogs bit him ":
         wautsag bunk qoka (wautsag distributive of watsag)
         wautsag-ka bunk qoka (wautsag-ka distributive form of watsag + -ka
                            simple plural suffix)
    3º " the dog bit him in many places"
         watsag bunk qopka (qopka distributive of qoka)
         watsag bunk qotka (qotka not much more than a phonetic variant
            of qopka, but perhaps with a subtle difference)
        watsag bunk qoywa (qoywa definitely more plural or more disrib-
            utive than qopka)
   The above three expressions might also mean : the dog bit him
 several times.
   They might also mean: the dog gave him a small bite.
   They might also mean: the dog gave him several small bites.
   They might also mean: the dog gave him several small bites
 several times.
    4° "A small dog bit him ":
          wautsag bunk goka (just like II, 2)
    5° " the dog nibbled at him playfully ":
          watsag hunk qopka (just like II, 3)
    6° "the puppies are nibbling at them"
          wautsag-ka hunges qoywa
          etc., etc., etc.
```

The above examples ought to show three things in regard to the idea of Number in Lutuami:

- a) The concepts of plurality, distributiveness, frequency, smallness, and endearment, are closely connected. For instance, example II, 3, such as it stands, could be interpreted, according to the context, in several ways: the dog nibbled at him, the dogs bit him, the puppy bit him, etc. In other words the "number" of either subject or object may be expressed in the verb alone, provided the context makes the sense clear enough. It is not, as with us, an opposition between one and many, so much as a conception of "piecemeal-ness". Lutuami speech is less concerned with the representation of units than with that of frequency, whether in the action itself or in its actors: it is the sum total of action, actors, and the manner of it, which is viewed as "number" in Lutuami. In the action related there may have been several horses, or several people riding, or a little boy riding, or a grown man riding a pony, or one man riding often, etc.; it is all the same.
- b) Number is expressed in Lutuami, primarily by the two grammatical processes of sound-variation and syllabic manipulation, secondarily by affixation. As a matter of fact, the suffix -ka seems to correspond more closely to plurality in the Indo-European sense, than to distributiveness in the Lutuamian sense.
- c) Number is expressed in Lutuami as a purely derivational concept not as a derivational concept mixed with the relational. In Latin, an example par excellence of the use of concrete-relational concepts, we would have illi mordent canem, ille mordet canem, ille mordet canes, illi mordent canes, illum mordet canis, illos mordent canes, illos mordet canis, illos mordent canes, etc., where the concept of number expressed by the variations ill-e, -i, -um, -os, mord-et, mord-ent, cau-is, -es, -em, is all mixed up with objectivity and subjectivity (to say nothing of gender). In Lutuami, on the contrary, the idea of number is expressed without any relation to the actors of the action. This does not mean that it is the action, (vs. the actors), which bears the burden of the expression of number. It is neither action nor actors, but rather both at once. Provided the concept of number is represented somewhere, all is well.

Person. -- Only moderately well developed. See the section on pronouns (Grammatical Parts). There is no dual. There is no exclusive vs. inclusive plural. There are no reciprocal pronominal forms (I see you, youme, you-him, he-you, etc.). Person is always indicated by means of independent words (pronouns), never by affixes (so-called incorporated pronouns). In other words, the grammatical category of Person is expres-

sed in Lutuami in the form of "basic concrete concepts", not as "concrete relational concepts": it is not elaborated into grammatical architecture.

TIME: TENSE AND ASPECT. (See also VERB under Grammatical Parts). — Time does not seem to be of much importance in Lutuami. There is a definite form for the Remote Past (suffix -o(la)). There is also a definite form for the Eventual Future (suffix $-Jk_1$). So much for Tense. These two are not often used anyway. Most often the verb is to be found in an Indefinite Tense (suffix -a).

Aspect is even less well represented. We have seen that the Frequentative aspect is bound up with Number, and so is also the Iterative. The Continuative and Habituative are but very feebly represented by some of the affixes. There is no Inceptive whatever. There is no Imperfective.

Mode. — Of Mode there is likewise little evidence in Lutuami. The Imperative is hardly more than a fusion of the radical with the independent pronoun [ktoki] hit: from ktok-+i = thou]. The Subjunctive, Optative, Purposive, Resultative are not represented. The Interrogative is expressed by means of an independent word, tam, placed like a question mark at the beginning of a sentence. What we have called an Indefinite Tense (normal ending of any verb in -a) might perhaps be construed as an Infinitive. The concept of Participle is much more on the side of the noun and adjective than of the verb (See the "verbo-nominal affixes").

Voice. — Passivity is not expressed grammatically: "he was eaten by the bear" would be rendered "the bear ate him". On the other hand, the Causative, the Reflexive, and the Reciprocal, are all represented as grammatical categories, and expressed by the grammatical processes of sound-variation and syllabic manipulation, or a combination of both. For instance, from the primary form sle-" to see", we form sesl-" to cause to see", by metathesis (from sle to sel, and reduplication (from sel, to sesl). By sound variation (inner consonantal modification of radical) we pass from sesl- to besl-" to see oneself". The Reciprocal is necessarily associated with plurality. Hence, in Lutuami, it is necessary to start with a radical already modified to express Number, for instance slepk-" to see plurally". From this we obtain beslebapk-" to see one another". Other examples will be found in the Table at the begining of the section on sound-variation and syllabic manipulation treated as grammatical processes, p. 14.

Transitivity of the verb does not seem to find a grammatical expression in Lutuami. There is however an element s which is so frequently encount-

ered as an initial phonetic constituent of verbs that it may perhaps be regarded as an s-prefix to designate something like transitiveness. On the other hand, there is a similar -s suffix for pronouns and demonstratiges which, although not very clear, seems to have to do with the expression of objectivity. Add to these difficulties the fact that many nouns end naturally in s, and it will be seen that it is very difficult to decide whether the s in question is a prefix to the verb or a suffix to the preceding word.

Case. — This is a grammatical category which is essentially relational. We are apt to consider it a concrete-relational concept because we have been brought up in Latin grammar. In Lutuami however, it is expressed only as a pure-relational concept, either by independent words, by word-order, or by suffixes (q. v. p. 12).

IV. GRAMMATICAL PARTS.

THE NOUN. — The noun appears usually as a radical.

Whenever it appears in another garb, it is because something has been added to the radical (whether by affixation or as an autonomic process), not to the abstracted radical. Therefore the formula for the noun in Lutuami must be represented by $\Lambda + (b)$. [In the Verb, on the contrary, the radical is always found accompanied by a grammatical element; it is therefore an abstracted radical, and will be so represented in the formula (See the Verb).]

Number is expressed in the noun mostly by autonomic processes, and is treated as a derivational concept; it is never mixed with relational concepts.

Gender is not expressed grammatically.

Subjectivity and Objectivity are expressed by word-order only, not by affixation. Most of the other relational categories are expressed by case-suffixes (see p. 12).

It is a peculiarity of many nouns that they end in s. Now-s is in Lutuami a regular nominalizing affix (tsi- to tive, tsis a dwelling). On the other hand-s is also a mark of the objective case in the pronouns and demonstratives. Furthermore s- appears in so many transitive verbs that one is inclined to see in a prefixed s- a mark of transitivity. Finally many nouns which end in -s lose that s when their plural is in -ka. The meaning or function of that final s in nouns is therefore rather obscure.

The verb. — The Lutuami verb is simple, structurally. Its formal type may be represented by the formula (A) + (b).

In the very great majority of cases the grammatical element (b) is -a, which marks no special time, may be used when the context indicates the past or the future, but disappears to make place for any of the other verbal suffixes (v. g. from tamnua " to travel, I travel, he travels, etc., one forms not tamuatkan but tamnutkan " having travelled "). This -a suffix may therefore be regarded as the mark of an Indefinite Tense or an Infinitive Mode. It may perhaps be traceable to the ubiquitous enclitic a, which fulfills no visible function, means nothing at all, but is sprinkled around profusely. The -a suffix may perhaps have come from this enclitic a.

The enclitic a might perhaps be best translated, if one really wants to translate it rather than simply to disregard it as a mere redundancy of speech, by "do "or "did". Thus in nu a slea "I see ", one may translate it by "I do see ". The enclitic a is not necessary, Yet one finds very few sentences where it does not come in as a sort of prefixed accompaniement to the verb. Its place is usually after the subject pronoun and before the object pronoun. This latter seems to have become almost as necessary an accompaniement of the verb as the enclitic a, and nearly as meaningless in a great many cases. For instance, it is quite natural that one should feel the desire for expressing "it" in the sentence "I see": I see it. In Lutuami the "it" comes before the verb: nu a hun slea. But this desire for the expression of an object as if the verb were incomplete without it, is carried to an extreme with verbs like to live, to sit, to walk, etc. nu a hun tsia "I sit" (lit. I do it sit). Even with the verb gi "to be", one says: nu a hun gi "I am".

Not all verbs end in -a, as explained in the first paragraph. Some end in -e, and a few in -i. The verb pa or pan "to eat" carries the ending in n in nearly all the forms except the second person which is almost invariably pa.

The Future is indicated by the suffix -3k. The Past is indicated by the suffix $-o^2la$. These suffixes displace the -a of the Indefinite tense.

The verb in Lutuami does not carry the burden of syntactical relations. Thus plurality may be expressed (as explained in the section on Number as a Grammatical Category p. 22); but it bears no necessary relation to plurality of the subject. Neither do any of the other grammatical categories which may be expressed in the verb, such as Time, Mode, etc. (q. v.), involve any relations with subject or object. In other words the verb in Lutuami undergoes only Derivational changes. Notably, it does not express Person.

We have already mentioned the fact that the Imperative is poorly developed. The second person singular is indicated either by the radical

alone, or by a pseudo-suffixation of the pronoun "toi", i. Thus, "hit!" ktok or ktoki. The second plural is expressed by the use of the pronoun: ktok at nannuk "hit ye all!". Somewhat similarly, the first person plural is expressed by a pseudo-suffixing of the personal pronoun nat (sometimes abbreviated to na) "let's camp: "nat maklak-na; "let's drink" punu-na, or punu-na nat, [or pupanu-na nat (using the reduplicated plural]).

Pronouns and Demonstratives. — There are no affixed pronominal forms (so-called "incorporated pronouns").

The independent pronouns show a great deal of loose variation.

First Person: The primary element is the phonema n.

	Subjective	Objective
Singular	nu, ni	an
Plural	nat	nal, nals, anal

(The objective form an appears very often in cases where the subjective would be expected. It is there to be interpreted as a fusion of the verbal enclitic a ["do"] + nu. Thus "I see him" may be expressed either by nu a bun slea, or by buns an slea [for bun a nu slea]).

Second Person: The primary element is the phonema m.

	Subjective	Objective
Singular	i, its	mis, am
Plural	at	amal, amals

Third Person: The primary element is the phonema bu.

	Subjective	Ojective	
Singular	hut, ut	Animate	bunk, bunks
		Inanimate	hun, un
Plural	hutsa	Animate	hunges, unges
		Inanimate	huta

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Demonstratives:

kan "this, one, who"

tua "which" (probably from tu = there)

tum, tum i "many", (objective tuments)

nan uk "all" "nanukens)
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Possessive forms: (to be analyzed in connection with suffixes -utki and -am q. v.)

	First Person	Second Person	Third Person
Singular	kean, keaot, kean otgi	miahut miaut	hunk-lam otki
Plural	na·-lam otgi	ma·-lam otgi	hungalam utki

ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS. — Adjectives in Lutuami are present mostly in the form of simple radicals. Adjectives of colour present a reduplicated radical and a suffix in-li (taxtaxli red, etc.).

Adverbs are likewise represented by independent words for the most part.

It is well to note however that there are several affixes (classed and described in this study as verbo - nominal, q. v. p. 11), which give the radical which they affect, whether nominal or verbal, a certain feeling of adjectiveness or of adverbiality. For instance bunk-st "thus", from bunk "this"; psek-st "to-day", from psen "day"; kankang-is a hunter, from kankang-"to hunt", etc., etc.

There is, as in most languages, a tendency to run together several short words in a colloquial form to express an adverbial idea. The texts at the end of this study are full of these colloquial expressions, with their probable analysis.

Mention must be made of the word at. It seems to have no very definite meaning, and to fulfill no special function other than just filling in the sentence, or weighting the verb. Its primitive meaning is probably that of "yet, already". It may also be a mere fusion of the enclitic a and the demonstrative ut "it". As examples of its meaninglessness we may give the following:

- "I am giving it to him " at a nu bunk sewana
- "I will give it to him " at nu hunk sewanok
- "I eat" nu hun pan

or:

at a nu hun pan (lit. yet do I it eat)
or :
 nu hun pan-at

SEMASIOLOGY.

Lutuami has not yet been classified with any linguistic family. It certainly has little in common with either its Hokan neighbour to the south or its Uto-Aztecan neighbour to the east. The present writers have therefore no contribution to make at present in the elucidation of the semantic affinity of Lutuami.

In order to enable comparative linguists to find semantemas easily, these have been listed according to a decimal system, under the following categories: 1. Nature. 2. Animals. 3. Plants. 4. Man. 5. Body Parts. 6. Culture.

All the verbs are listed with the object with which they have the most evident and natural connection, as " to see" with eye, "to walk" with "foot", etc.

Only the radical elements are given, with the following two exceptions: 1° in the case of both nouns and verbs, the "reduplicated" form is given, besides the primary (these reduplicated forms indicate plurality, see morphology): 2° in the case of the nouns, the plural suffix -ka has been left; it is not always possible to dissect it out from the radical proper, for the reasons already explained in the morphological part.

Affixes are listed as if they were true semantemas. For, every morphema may be regarded either as a degenerated independent word, or as the potential anlage of such. In other words, from the point of view of pure semantics, every morphema is also a semantema since its phonetic elements carry per se a "sign-value" (sema). In the semantic list these affixes are located in connection with the nouns or ideas with which they have the most natural and evident connection (as suffixes of plurality with Number, of Tense with Time, etc.). Their nature as affixes is always indicated by a preceding or a following hyphen.

1110 sun tsa'Bas, moon uqa'u-kwa; star ktcol, ktcoktcol

1120 spring sq^{2} ; summer phaDq; autumn tsalam; winter lul'Dam; day wai'ta, wawi'ta; dawn $be_{7}ke$; sunrise: $Dine_{7}c$; ten o'clock Dintsipka; noon pszkst (from psz, pszpsa, "day"); 3 or 4 o'clock tinqo'ila; sundown tino: le; dusk i'unik or i'units; night psin, psipsan

1. See our article "A practical scheme for a semantic classification". Anthropos, 1930, p. 437.

- 1210 fire lo'lok-s, lulo'x-Ga; coals sto'ilaski, stoite'iaksi; camp-fire sto'ilax-kis; ash tsa'psxi-s, tetsa'psxi-Ga; smoke sla'iça, slasla'iça'a; to burn (tr. and intr.) nut-, nuna't-, nunt-; to be hot qel'pk-, qeqal'qk-; hot, warm, lus'lus; cold qa'taks; to blow the fire pne'uke; to fan the fire hule' == plale; to freeze qatk-, qaqatk-.
- 1220 ground, earth, soil, the world: $q \epsilon' la$, $q \epsilon q \epsilon' lo aK$; mountain ya'ina, (pl. the same); stone kta'e, xta'ktya G; flint $Bu'sak \delta$, Bu'mBsKa; valley sa'yga, sasi'ga aG; red taqtaq li; black puspus li; white Bzl'Bzl li; blue, green mzts'mzts li; brown lim'lim li; yellow qeqeq li; buff $\gamma una'$ gapsi; grey spo'gatki; mottled qaspas.
- 1230 water zm'B2, a'am'B2-aG; raid xto Dza, xtoxto Dza; river q2'qe, qoq' Ge; lake eus, ew-aK; spring wz'loas, wzwa'lokak; to snow ke'n-, kekn- (and hence snow; kes, keknis); to freeze wen, wewan (and hence ice: wes, wewas for weu-Ga); wet mukzl'ta; dry Baba'.
- 1240 wind sle'zvi, sle'sluyi.
- 1310 to-day patsit; then tswi; some time tuskis; ago, long ago tank, matc, kaak, tankak; yesterday yuna; already at, ni'a, tot; off and on GinG; later tse; always tswisat; again Pzn; while mantcak manksat; whereat tata'; Suffixes: Present Indefinite -a; Future -2k; Past-orla; nearly, -ska, aska, -laska; time of, season of, -c·mi, -le·mi; Present Participle -ank; Accidental Agentive -st; Past Participle -tka; Past Participle Passive -tki.
- 1420 There GiDa, Gzn: there Tu: on, upon, bit, bi, i: on this side gen, kina; on the other side kuni; far ati; behind, last tapi; across tuktsa; inside wasi; outside γani; (see also the list of suffixes on p. 12); north ya'm-at; south mu'-at; east lupe'; west txa'-lam.
- 1510 one nzs, two lz b; three Dzn, four wu'nip; (nxp = finger); five tu' nzp; six nzks'tszp (5 + 1); seven lzpkstszptk (5 + 2); eight dan = ksaptk (5 + 3); nine naksyzks (one "off"); ten tz:unip ("both hands"? cf. five); eleven nzs likl; twelve, thirteen, fourteen, etc... lap pzula, dan pzula, wuni pzula; ... twenty lap niteunip; twenty one lap niteunip pzn nzs; twenty two lap nite'unip bzn lzp; ... thirty dan nite'unip; one hundred tina.
- much, many tum; all, whole nan'uk; few kinkan; half (crosswise) naiksta; half (lengthwise) tqalam or tatqlam; very much qaan; only pil, -ak; to add net-; no, negation, negative qai (cf. qo 'bad'), le or we (especially in compounds like "not else"); ta (nothing but); interrogative Dam.
- 2000 no generic word for animal ", except i'uwas, iuwas'Ga whichrae lly means " wilder, inhabitant of the wilds " (from iwa = outdoors, far away from camp, far out in the hills); female kulu

- (applied to deer, bear, elk, etc.); tail xpzl, xpzlplak; pelt nil, hide kalas'.
- 2100 bison yoho'; elk wun; horse wats, wawats (cf. dog watsag, suggesting a transposition of the original semantema from dog to horse, and a secondary distinction through the diminutive in -aG); cow, bull, steer musmus, mumusmus; deer Baqols, paboayolGa, also lil-hunks (especially as a plural or distributive), doe kulu (see above under 2000), fawn wi Laq, wi' waLaq, antelope tcs'uk, tsetsoak; [the words for sheep and mountain sheep are english corruptions: sisipok, and yainatigut (yaina = mountain, gut from goa)t.]
- 2200 puma qoy' yawas, qoqe'qawas; lynx slo'a, sluisloak; civet cat (bassarisk, taxlats, tataslatska.
- 2300 wolf qe'utsis, qe' qutsik (or qeutsisis); coyote was, wa'uka (also wasas); dog watsaG, wa'utsaG; fox pep, pepebbk.
- 2410 bear : grizzly 12q, 12l'-ak, brown bear, witem, wiwi'temak.
- 2430 pig ku'su, kuku'suk (probably from Spanish coche, or through Chinook jargon from French).
- 2440 marten kleba, keklebak.
- 2450 skunk tsa'sis, tsasa'sik; racoon watskina, wawatskina; weasel tsas'ka, tsatsas'kaya; porcupine tce·lic, tcetce·lik.
- 2500 tree squirrel wzsla, wawas'slaak; ground squirrel mosas', musams'ka; ground-hog mu'i, mu'miak; gopher sto'ic, stoy'stiak; wood-rat qutsa, quqtsak; mouse qala'yowa, qalakle'awak; hare ηγοι, ηγογιακ; rabbit tsuakua, tsatsuaknaaG^a.
- 2600 bird tsi'kas, tsi'tsaka.
- 2620 eagle ya'u;a, yayo'klak; hawk tsi'ktu, tsisa'ktoak; do'gis, dondgig; vulture tsoa'is, tswatswi'ga; owl yuki, yukiak.
- 2630 heron tsoa'qas, tsoatsoa'qa; crane kle'idis, kli'kldi'ga; duck 'wɛ'ks, 'wɛwɛx'ka; goose lus, lu'lu'Ga; swan qus, quqaska (or quqsa).
- 2630 raven qaq, qaqa'\gak; magpie w\quad qw\qqs, wiwaq'w\qqa; blackbird tsoqse tsu'ts\ga (or tsotsa\qqa); erow hama.
- 2660 bluebird tika ga, titka gaak; qtsi'tso, qtsi'tsadzoaG; swallow tita'qea titita'qeaG.
- 2670 bat kti'sok, ktitzadzoak.
- 2680 feather nil, nini'lak; bill (like mouth); wing Lzs, Lalga; egg napa, nalpalak (or nana'plaG).
- 2690 to fly sn-.
- 2710 water-snake $wisi\eta$, $win'si\eta^a$; bullsnake wa'mniks, wawa'mniG; rattlesnake xis, $xixxaG^a$.
- 2720 turtle gak, gangka; lizzard xi'a, xexi'aaG.
- 2730 frog, toad ko's, ko'kwsaGa.

- 2800 fish me'hzs, mzmib'ka.
- 2820 salmon tsi'als, tsitsialGa.
- 2890 to swim peew-; roe 'lo'qas.
- 2920 fly mank, mamangak; horse-fly sqoplenks, sqosqaplengaak; dragon-fly qoqtinks, qoqatinGaGa; butterfly ya'bulbule, yay'bulbulek.
- 2930 earthworm mulx, mumal' γaG^a .
- 3111 tree, wood, anko, agrgoak; dead wood mulu, muma'loaG.
- 3112 branch zwią, zwiugak; twig tsparmi, tspatsparmyak bark knerudze, keknéudzak.
- 3113 log him'baks, hiham'baka.
- 3115 pine qus, qoqus; cedar huluans, huhualuan'zaga; hemlock oako, wawa == kwaG; juniper qe'lo, qe' qe'loaGa; poplar ywula'l, ywul'aula'Ga; willow yas, yayaGa.
- 3120 sagebrush tsa'klo, tsatsakloak; do with a yellow bloom wa'mi, wawa' myak; mountain mahogany amdalam, a'amdalaGa; service-bush toak, tcaskaG.
- 3140 leaf tapaq, tatapqak; grass (green) we'yaks wewe'yank; grass (dry, applied nowadays to hay) ksun, ksuksaGa.
- 3141 " wild rye " kle pi, kleklepyak; tobacco xats'kal, qaqatsklaaga.
- 3200 root (of tree) we'uk, wewo'kak; camas poqs, popaq, also wokas, wowaka; "wild parsnip" qe's, qe'qe's; "wild onion" le'has, lelika; also tawigs, tatwiyxa.
- 3412 " wild plum " tomo'lo, tetomaloak.
- 3420 berry qawe'yas, qaqawika; juniper berries biutse'usam, biutse'wis (or biutse'wisGa).
- 3440 seed log, lolo' 7aGa.)
- 3450 pine nuts qte·lo, qteqte·loaG.
- 4000 person, people mag'laks, mamag'laka
- 4100 man his'waks, hi'aswaks; woman snäwäts, (plural wäwäns for wewanwi), old man kumuts, waleex; old woman welegs; young man tsimanga, titsmanga; young woman siwak', siu'suwak; child ta'döks (Mod.), tsekon (Klam.); infant kitskon, kinkon; also mukak', mum'kak; old folks tsika, tsitskaaGa.
- 4200 father pte'sap, pte'sisap; mother ke'sap, ke'sisap; elder brother txe' = unap, txe'unisap; younger brother tap'yap, tat'pisap; elder sister tutbzksi, tutbzksiB; younger sister tubzk'a, tutbzk'a; paternal uncle pszzp. pszizap; maternal uncle loqodzip, loquo'dzisap; paternal aunt pxodzip', pvodzi'sap; maternal aunt psa'xzp, paxesap; nephew: sisters's son pzktig. pzk'tisap, brother's son pztsqa'lep, patsqa'lisap; niece: sister's daughter maqo'-qap, maqo-qisap; brother's daughter qodzitska, qodzisap; paternal grandfather plok'sip, polok'si-Société des Américanistes, 1931.

- sap, maternal grandfather kazip, kazisap; paternal grandmother pterwip, pterwisap, maternal grandmother prolip', prolisap; greatgrandparent tsiltsil; grandson (son's son) lulaks, lulaksap, (daughter's son) kakas, kakasip; granddaughter (son's daughter) kamisk, kamisap; (daughter's daughter) qoliska, qolisap; son unak, unaugak; daughter beip, beisap; husband ("man") wife ("woman"); father-in-law pxesip, pxepxezip; mother-in-law quspaks; brother-in-law ptsukap, ptsuksap; sister-in-law mulgap, mulgesap; widow wen'wit, wewan'wit.
- 4300 I no, ni; me an; me nat; us anal; thou i; thee am, mi; ye at; you amal; he, she, it bot, ot, bon, burk; they, them, butsa, buta, burges, urges; this, who, he kan; many tum, tumi, (objective tu'mens); all nanok (object. na'nukens); my [with relationship terms] ke'au, (for the other persons the Genitive suffix -am, or -lam is used, added to the pronoun).
- 4400 chief laqi, lala'\gammai; shaman ki'uk.
- 4500 to be strong qil:-.
- 4600 No special name for the Modoc or Klamath tribes other than the word "people", or euksni (from eus, lake [cf. name bestowed on them by Pit River tribes: lutuami, from lutuam, "Tule Lake"); sometimes they use also the words modokni, evidently coined after American usage; Pit River tribe moatwas. mumatwaga (from muat = south); white man boston, babastinag (from Boston).
- 5100 head nos, nunGa; forehead lake, lala'GyaG (cf. "chief" 4400); nape nis; skull nyak, nyakya; Adam's apple nauks; hair of head lag; hair of face smoq.
- 5110 eye lulp, lulal'BaG; to see sle-, splek-; to look-, slesl-, slepkok-; to look te-lutsn-; to search, to go after qai'qank-.
- 5120 mouth sum, susm-, tongue Ba·waTs, PaPauDz-; lip xɛ·Tsu, xɛxɛDzo-; tooth DuT, Tut·a'-.
- 3121 to eat P_{α} , $P_{\alpha}n$, $P_{\alpha}PK$, $P_{\alpha}uK$; to smoke tobacco $P_{\alpha}q$ (probably derived from to eat); to bite qo'K-, qo'qtK-, qo'PK-, qo'yvv-; to drink $Pu'n\cdot ui$, $BuP_{\alpha}n\cdot ui$; to suck εTs -. $\varepsilon \varepsilon Ts$ -., to taste $ma\cdot s$ -.
- 5122 to speak hem KanK-, to tell saBe-, sasP-, to sing swin-, swiwa'n-, to shout stu-; to order stuli'; to ask wul-, wu'wul-; to cry yena.
- 5130 Nose $P_{\tilde{s}}is$, $P_{\tilde{s}}i'Ps$ -; to smell (tr.) stiK-; to smell (intr.) Pilui, nenPilui.
- 5140 ear momo'aTs, momo'Dza; to hear Do'min; to listen maTsa:D-; deaf Tjo'qaT.
- 5200 hand (from points of fingers to elbow) $n \in P$, $n \in mB$ -; arm (from, elbow up, including the shoulder) $w \in q$, $w \in uq$ -; thumb Tqo'Po, index $sP \in lwis$; middle finger TaTqla'm ("half, middle"); ring finger TaTqlam yaktstani; little finger KaPtsi.

- 5210 to touch TasT-; thick mu; thin KeTsa; rough "bad feel"; smooth, soft "good feel"; heavy muanen ("thick"); light KeTsanen ("thin").
- 5220 to grab snoq-, snoqpap-; to give se'wan-, seswan-, also ney-, nepK-; to scratch TslipK-, sistlapK- (or sistlapK); to scratch oneself sadaqts-; Suffix expressing "in exchange for "-ti, Suffix expressing " for use in connection with "-, -amutki (probably from am " of "+otki" being " < but it + Gi to be).
- 5230 to make cut-: Instrumental case suffix -tka,-atka.
- 5240 to hit ktoG-, ktopk-, ktoyw- (also for to strike, slap, etc.), to turn a thing over kteuBl-, ktsktoBl-.
- 5250 to fill qitqoG-, qiqatqoG-.
- 5300 foot (from ends of toes to kne e excluded; no special name for either toes, or ankle, or foot, separately from shin) pets, petsap; heel taqak tatqa-; knee qolens, qoqlenz-; thigh ts'uks, tsutso'ka; hip pu'saklas, puksaslGa.
- 5310 to go gen-, genat; to come gepk-, gepkat; to arrive Gatk-. Gatp-; also Batp-; to return gepkap'le; to walk qis-, qiqais-; also qisn-, qzqasn-; to walk slowly gzaunigen-; to run huts-, toits-; to jump rgats, rgatsnat; to travel tamnu, tatamnu; to meet wist-; fast qse, qseqse; slow ke'au.
- 5340 to stand thu'th-, lu'aluath-; to lie sqoly-, lulalyat; to sit, to be, tsia, tsiat, tsitsia; to sit still tselx, tselyat; to kneel lutsly-, lulatsuly-; to hang (tr. and intr.) ksakae, ksaksakae; (also ika'ya); to shake swetyen.
- 5350 to kick (same as to hit, v. 5240).
- 5400 breast wi'su, wiwa'so-aG; belly kas.
- 5410 bone gago; meat, flesh, tsuleks.
- 5420 blood tsekeli, fat pilu', milk etsas (cf. to suck 5121).
- 5430 heart stayn-as, stastayn-ga; liver tuso'qh, tutsox-ga; kidney Bine, Bibne-ak; gut qa'ye, qaqeya-ak.
- 5450 penis qeq, peq-γa; testis slul-ks, sluislal-ga; cunnus stęm-s, stesm-ak; vagina geno, gengano-ak; pubic hair smak; podex ts'ei; anus qiu'; menses stopwe; to defecate syein; to urinate swits-; to copulate s'in-; to masturbate leewan; to fart ski-; womb, tsala-ks tsatsasla = ga.
- 5500 to live, to be, to sit tsi-, tsitsi-; to live in camp, to be encamped maqly- (cf. maqlaks man, person, people, Indian); to grow tci-(probably the same as tsi- io live); to be tired qetsig-; to think busk-ank; to know saywa-k; to help satway-; to wish sanal-; to be friends sawaline-, saswaline; to be able, can, must, ak-; to fear wuc-; sick silla; good tits; bad qoi (cf. qay = not); true qatak-ni.

- 6100 to cut xtakt-, xtolz-, to saw slolts-, slulu'dz- or sluisla'lts-; to chop udzzk-; sharp tsaqtsaq-li; blunt qom'qom-li; on, with, by, Instrumental suffix-tka.
- 6210 bow nTε-is, nTεnTε'-Ga; bowstring naleh', nanal'hy-aG; arrow Talze, TaTal'zyaK; arrowhead sa'walz, saswal'-ga; quiver to'kan-ks, toto'kan-Ga (cf. to hunt); to shoot Tewi, TeTwi; sli'n-; to miss qahy-, qa'qihy-; to kill si'uk-, lu'el-; to hunt kank-, kankānG-, ka'kānkanG-; to fish 'swew-, swa'sow-; bwa'ene; war se'loaly; snare ktsin, ksiktsin-ak.
- 6220 to dig yeb-, yeyb-; digging-stick amDa, aamDa-aG
- 6230 hat (basket cap) qmaleq-s, qaqlmeq-Ga; necklace nawaq-s, snasnoax-ka (cf. Adam's apple 5100); shell beads lakt-as, lalakt-Ga; shirt tculi-s, tcutsli-Ga; belt qaili-s, qaqeli-ak; breechclout sinta'qis, sesintasqis; skirt, woman's kilt, sanapts, sesnapts-ka; trousers, leggings, qala'laps, qaqalaps-ka; shoes, mocassins, wa'ksna, wawaksn-aG; tule mocassins, mit, minte-aG.
- 6241 house la'Dz-as, lala'Dz-ga; uke'plaks, ke'ukeplaks (from kepl- hot); tsis (from tsia to live); was (from wa to live); qe'lawas, qeq'lawas (large « sweat-house »); spuk'lis, spukpa'klis (small « sweat house »); doorway steqic; center post to'pka (pl. to'pkas or tuta' pka); center-post ladder wa'qis, wa'uqis; smoke-hole sla'yaks, slasla'yaks; fire-pit sne'ylaks, snesne'ylaks;
- 6242 to roast nu'k-, no'nuk-; lu'sk-, lulu'sk-; to bake puk-, pupk-; spoon mitco, mimtco.
- 6251 basket maksa, mamaksa-aGa (probably from ma'i tule); kala (made of roots); yaki (made of willow wands, from yas willow); tule mat stɛ'ulas, steto'las-Ga.
- 6253 to skin a hide naski, nanaski; to tan a hide 12q'i, 12q'tqi.
- 6254 to write, paper, book, etc., PiPa (from « paper »); flute stota, stoyto' ta; elap-stick upa'qpaks, zva'upaqpaks.
- 6260 to trade se'salw-.
- 6280 boat wunc, wuwanc.
- 6290 to dance ksi'uly-, ksiksoly-; to doctor (shamanism) tsut-; to gamble sakl-, sasakl-; to meet wistanG-; basket game pabl-; to sweat (medicinally) spuklits-; to run in the mountains for the acquisition of supernatural power spotu-, spocptu-, spuspatu-; to be crazy lek-.

TEXTS.

I. Speech of Welcome.

(The informant tells about having met the present recorder some years previously, his pleasure at seeing him again, how they are going to study together the Indian language, etc.,

- a mis 1111 111 Alturas djakfolstenthee long ago do I there Alturas Jack Fulstonesee is a long time I seen you. That was in since have am-ski bit bitank1 kemp-gi of-place there that time camp-be Alturas, at Jack Fulstone's place. That is where you were then camped.
- tank batpa djakfolsten-am tswi nat at tot at then Jack Fulstone we yet then arrive already yet When we arrived Jack Fulstone's wife
- silla' 3. tank bunkst snewets rvelegs tottsuta -of woman sick then yet old woman her doctor Then the old lady was already sick. doctored her
- lap-ni psin tsula 1. tswi nat tank at mis tapi == two-be night doctor then thee last then vet for two nights. That was the last time that we saw you.
- yeni² slea 5. tswi wuca mis ni toqa yuna gida see then fear thee I when yesterday here I was surprised at you yesterday to see you back here again.
 - gatp-ist3 6. Iswi pen nat tits ewa-anka gen pen arrive-ing then full-ing again we here again good Now that we have met again we feel good.
 - wist-anka 7. tswi nat gen gida sawalinea patsit meet-ing then we here here make friends to day Here we are to-day, good friends.
- 1. bitank,
bit, there + tank, then. It may be well to note at the same time that the ending ank is also the regular suffix for the Continuative. In the present case this adverb has all the value of a correlative: "we saw you at the time when you were camped, etc..."
 - 2. tapiyeni, <tapi, the last one + -yeni, out.
- 3. The ending -ist is the mark of the Accidental Agentive (see the Suffixes): "the arriver in the act of arriving", "timui te advenientem".

genwaitas 1 8. tswibuktatki 2 qela-tat sabe-otki tank nals to-day that's the way world-in tell-being long ago us
That is the way to act in this world, as they were always telling us,

nal-am tsitskaak sabea nannuk toalas ³ qoiyank (?) ⁴ tsi-we-of (our) old people tell all whoever to be friends ?) live-our old men, for every body and all to be friends at peace.

- itki 9. at humist 5 10. ken-tat pil waitas-tat titsewa ks being yet thus only here-on day-on feel good That's the only way. To-day we feel good.
- 11. qatak-ni tswitanahunkt? wist-anka patsit tswinatkenat true-be we are doing it now meet-ing to-day we do it now. That's the truth of it? We are doing it now. We are meeting each other.
- 12. hunkt meenak cuta gida gentat 10 waitastat 11 13. moment thus work here to-day to-day That's what we are doing to-day. We have been working like this tswinathunkt biba 12 cuta maqlaks-am 13 hemkanks 14 nannuk we do it now write work Klamath-of speech for a little while. That's what we are doing, writing down all the Indian
- 14. kanak¹⁵ nat huca genwaitas¹⁶ 15. tswi cuta hunk that's all we think right now then work this words. That's all I can think of for the present. Now we have worked
 - 1. From gen here + waitas day.
 - 2. Idiomatic expression, from tswi then + bukt thus + othi being.
 - 3. From tu there.
- 4. Correctness of record doubtful. No verification. Perhaps a negative expression from qoi not + a word signifying "quarrel, fight"?
 - 5. From hu here + ist accidental agentive.
- 6. From titsew-a to feel good, (from tits good). The ending ks combines k (suffix with a generalized verbal feeling) and s (generalized nominal feeling). "To-day the feeling is good ».
- 7. "That's the only way", "That's the truth of it", "We are doing it now", and similar expressions are stereotyped and meaningless locutions typical of Indian formal adress.
 - 8. From tswi then + tana we (metathesis from nat) bunkt thus.
 - 9. Idiomatic expression, from tswi then, nat we, ke for gi to be.
- 10. From gen here + -tat at.
- 11. From waitas day + -tat at.
- 12. From «paper ».
- 13. -am Genitive Case.
- 14. hemkank to speak. -s nominalizing suffix.
- 15. Probably from gen here + -ak only.
- 16. From gen here + waitas day.

tataotki 1 16. atkateak 2 hi ending that's all hi

to the end. Amen.

II. RELATION.

The informant relates a morning's hunt after rabbits with the recorder.]

1. patsit nat mbusant automobil-atka rabbits kankanka to-day we in the morning automobile-by rabbits hunt To-day we went across the river in the car on a hunt for rabbits.

rabbits its3 wunip kuniksta 2. Iswi at tuktsa goge rabbits then you vet four there accros there across river You shot four rabbits but I only shot one.

3. tswi nutsik5 nazak⁶ rabbit slin nat slin' then we vet shot rabbit shot but I one only That's all the hunting

kepkapli* 5. tswi nat hit ambu kankt-ak7 4. kiyank wate there then hunt-only thereupon come home we And then we started back. Then we filled (our canteens) with we did.

7. tswi 6. tsvi gida nat kepkapli qiqatqoka 9 nat at then fill up full then vet come home here wer we Then we Then we came back here. water.

katpapli gida 8. hi kadade. arrive home here hi that's all. arrived home again. That's all, hi!

- 1. Probably from at already + -utki being.
- 2. Formula for ending stories or speeches. Probably from at already and ak only mixed up in a hodge-podge of metatheses and redundancies.
 - 3. Emphatic form of the pronoun i thou.
- 4. Verbal forms consisting of the radical alone as in the present case are rather infrequent.
 - 5. From nutsi, emphatic form of nu I + suffix -ak " only ". nutsik: ...as forme, etc.
 - 6. From nas " one " + -ak " only ".
- 7. From kank "to hunt". Note above the more usual reduplicated; form; kankank-kankt is the Participle Past, "having hunted".
 - 8. From gen-, gepk, to come + -pli suffix for "homewards".
 - 9. The re-luplicated form here indicates a superlative. The primary form is qitqok-

III. HOMILY.

[The informant gives a discourse after the fashion of the old men giving advice to the young people.]

- 1. tsitskaak! nal-am kaak nals neis sabea 2. spotuold men us-of long ago us to tell "spotu"-Our old men used to tell us: Go spotu-ing in the mountains if you
- ank² tcin-tki³ gen-tat qel-tat 3. humistseatkyank⁴ saywaks⁵ ing grow-ing here-on earth-on that's the only way knowing-er want to grow up on this earth.
- gok 6 4. but tua yayna biswaks gi5. heevun makwalsomeone will be that mountain man is there camp-That mountain is a person. Camp there.

That's the only way you'll get to be somedoby who knows anything.

- 6. tswi tat mis but satway-ok nannuk waitas 7. tataat then thee it help-will all day as Then he will help you, always.
- 1. Plural by reduplication of tsika. The word does not mean "old man" so much as "old timer". It may perhaps be derived from tits = good + kaak = long ago. The singular would then have been created by analogy.
- 2. "Spotu" is the word used to describe the whole complex of actions, semi-religious in intent, semi-healthy, which is also meant in local Indian jargon by "going to the mountains". It includes running uphill at sunset time, spending the night on mountain tops, visiting lonely springs, running around hungry and thirsty, throwing rocks about, and generally going crazy. Thus one acquires "power". Then comes the "sweating" of purification, and the final jumping into the river.
- 3. Compare the use of the two suffixes -ank and -tki in spotuank and tcintki. -tki comes from -otki, which in turn is derived from hut it + gi to be. The suffix -tki expresses an inherent or essential quality, and in fact comes rather close to forming adjectives in many cases, in a manner very similar to -li 'for instance taqtaq-li or taqtaq-tki " red", the second form having rather the sense of "being red". The suffix -ank, on the contrary, refers more to an accidental quality, and is really a verbal affix. In the present instance the two words spotuank tcintki have a value somewhat like: by spotuing growing up happens, or: growing is the result of spotuing.
- 4. Idiomatic expression, like the ones noted in note 11 of the first text. From bumist = thus + at = yet + gi = be + -ank = ing.
- 5. The ending in ks is very frequent, especially in words like man, woman, child, etc., and may be looked upon as -k = verbalizing suffix + -s = nominalizing suffix. One may say for instance, for young man, tsimanks or tsimangatki(-otki suffix); the word is probably derived from the verb tsi- "to be, to grow, to be alive". In the case of saywa-ks the ending ks is equivalent to an agentive: the one who knows.
 - 6. Future of the verb gi = to be.

manksat i hunks kaltsui-ok mis qil-is ewana-tki long as thou him meet-will thee strong full-ing As long as you go to him he will make you strong, just like a

kink 8. tswi bikts wewalokak-tat' peew-at 9. bit yayna-shaman then bence little springs-at swin-at there mountainshaman From there go and swim in the little springs in the mountains.

dal tammu-k-ol-an⁵ 10. tswi at sputu-tkan⁶ at spuklitska towards having travelled then yet having "sputu-ed" yet sweat When you have finished sputuing, take a sweat.

11. tswi mis hut hiswaks cut-ok 12. tswisak? kethen thee it man make-will always thus Then it will make a man out of you. Thus you will

saywaks tatamanksat i biswaks tsitsa-n ⁸ gen-tat qelaa knowing man as long as thou man living here-upon earth be somebody as long as you live on this earth.

tat 43. neist 9 pil mis nisabea at qay pe 11 upon first only thee tell yet not again This the time first I have told you these things, and stua net weleda 10 14. tszvi domin-ok stulis 11 keau order add nothing clse then hear-will myadvice not add any other advice. Now you listen to my advice.

- 45. saywaknank 12 mis ni nen sabea 16. tswi at because I know thee I this tell then yet I tell you because I know.
 - 1. From tata = whereat + manksat = while.
 - 2. From qil = strong + -is. Agentive, "the one who is strong".
- 3. From ewa : to be full \div -tki = ing, "... to ye [as] full of strength [as] a shaman ".
- 4. The primary form of spring is welous for welous]. The reduplicated form here indicates both plurality and diminutiveness.
- 5. From tamnu = to travel + -k ... verbalizing suffix + -ola: Past + -u = Participle Present in a subjective position. 6 having performed the action of having travelled to the mountains, now you must perform spotu, etc. ".
- 6. Contains both the Participle Past -tka and the Participle Present -n in combination.
 - 7. From tswi = then + ak = only.
 - 8. Reduplicated form of tsia = to live + -n = Participle Present as subject.
 - 9. From nas = one + st = Accidental Agentive.
- 10. From we + le + td, all of them negative particles seldom used alone.
- 11. From stu- z: to shout, order + -lizz adjectival suffix + -s = nominalizing suffix.
- 12. From saywa = to know + k = verbalizer + n = Participle Present + <math>ank = Habituative suffix.

katateak hi that's all hi! That's all now, hi!

- 1. I am fishing mehes an swewa (mehes fish).
- 2. I fish a lot of little fishes tum an memihka swewa.
- 3. I will fish nu a hun swewok mehes.
- 4. I will fish a lot nu a hun swewak memihka.
- 5. I fished two fishes lab an mehes swewa.
- 6. He is a fisherman but a swasowis mehes.
- 7. I am a fisherman nu a swasowis.
- 8. I hunt nu a kankanga.
- 9. I am a hunter nu a kankangis or nu a luelis.
- 10. I hunted nu a kankangola or nu a luelola.
- 11. I used to be a hunter when I was young tank an tsimangat luelolis

long ago I young man hunter (hunted-er)

- 13. I killed a man hiswaks an siuk an.
- 14. I killed several men hiaswaks an siuk an or tum an hiaswaks siuk an.
- 15. I saw one wolf nas an slea qeutsis.
- 16. I saw many wolves tummi an slea qeutsis or qequtsik an slea.
- 17. Only one marten but a natsyak yayna.
- 18. Many martens but a tummi yayna.
- 19. Hit him! ktoki bunks.
- 20. I am hitting him nu a hunks ktoka.
- 21. I already hit him nũ a hunks ktokola.
- 22. I will hit him nu a hunks ktokok.
- 23. I hit a few ktopka.
- 24. I hit many ktoyowa.
- 25. Hit! (one, ktoki.
- 26. Hit a few ktopki.
- 27. Hit many ktoyowi.
- 28. I grabbed you nu am snoqa.
- 29. You grabbed me i an snoqa.
- 30. I eat nu a pan or at an pan.
- 31. I dont eat gay an pan.
- 32. I eat a lot tum a pauk.
- 33. I eat all the time tswisak an pan.
- 34. I eat a little kig an pan or kig an papk.
- 35. I eat it all up nannuk an pan.
- 36. Two of us eat nat labi pan.

- 37. Three of us eat nat a danne pan.
- 38. Four of us eat nat a wunnibe pan.
- 39. A lot of us eat nat a tummi pan.
- 40. You eat i pa.
- 41. Two of you eat at a labi pan.
- 42. Go and eat! tu genank pa (there going eat.)
- 43. he nate a squirrel but a pañ musas.
- 44. you ate a squirrel i hun pan musas.
- 45. I ate a squirrel nu hun pan musas.
- 46. I am the one (who did it) nu hun gi.
- 47. You are the one i hun gi.
- 48. I already ate nu at paola.
- 49. I will eat nu a hun paok.
- 50. I keep on eating tum an pauk.
- 51. You keep on eating i tumpa.
- 52. He keeps on eating but a tum pan.
- 53. We keep on eating nat a tum pauk.
- 54. You keep on eating at a tum pauk.
- 55. They keep on eating but a tum pauk.
- 56. I made my dog to bite your horse:

 hun an sana-o la keau watsags qoqtke watsas.

 it I-am wanted my dog bite horse.

(reduplicat.)

- 57. Let's eat nat pana or pananal.
- 58. Let's camp nat maklak-na.
- 59. Let's drink nat pununa (or pupanuna) or pupanunanat.
- 60. We will camp here bit a nat maklakok.
- 61. I stand on the door-way. nu a tkuktka stegic.
- 62. I standinside the house. nu a tkutka wasi ladzas-tat.
- 63. I stand outside the house. nu a thutha yanitan ladzas-tat.
- 64. A bird flies hun sna hut tsikas.
- 65. I fly nu a hun sna.
- 66. Many birds fly tummi a tsitsaka a hun sna.
- 67. He already flew at but bun sna.
- 68. I flew already nu a hun snola.
- 69. To kill siuk, to travel tamnu.
- 70. I saw him killed over there:
 - nu hunks tamnu-tkan slea siuka-ks:
 - I him I-having-travelled see slain-the-one.
- 71. My house there on the mountain: keau but bit yayna-tat ladzas.
- 72. My house there on the lake: kean but bit ladzas eus-tat.

- 73. Here on the ground: gen-tat qela-tat.
- 74. I am on the ground nu a hun-tat gela-tat.
- 75. You are on the ground i a hun-tat gela-tat.
- 76. I saw a deer over there eating:

tu an slea bagols kink papk-s there I see deer off and on eat-ing

- 77. Grass ksun grassy ksunol-tko.
- 78. The horse is already caught: at hun watsas snoqa-tki
- 79. It's already dug: at ot yeba-tki
- 80. It's already cut: at ot sluldza-tki
- 81. It's done already at otki
- 82. I nearly killed him nu hun siuk-akska.
- 83. I nearly saw it nu hun sleo'l-akska.
- 84. This book is turned over hit a pipa (paper) hu-pli.
- 85. I turn this board over hun an papqas kteu-pli.
- 86. To live tsi a dwelling tsis.
- 87. To live wa a dwelling was.
- 88. To dance kisulya, ksiksolya, a dancer ksiksoly-is.
- 89. to snow kena, kekna; snow kes, snow-heap kekn-is.
- 90. I saw him digging nu a hunk slea yab-ist.
- 91. I saw him hitting nu a hunk sleaktok-st (or ktopka-st or ktoyow-ist).
- 92. I saw him being hit hunk slea ktok-st hunk-st (him see hitting him-ing)
- 93. I saw him eating nu hunk slea pa-st.
- 94. Ashes stoylaks; camp stoylax-kis.
- 95. To eat pa; restaurant pa-kis.
- 96. To drink punu; saloon punu-kis.
- 97. To camp maglak; camping-place maglak-kis.
- 98. To defecate sxein; toilet sxei-kis.
- 99. Summer-time pada-le·mi; autumn tsalam-le·mi; winter luldam-le·mi; noon-time psekst-le·mi; haying-time ksun-le·mi; it is eating-time at a pas-le·mi/pa to eat, pas the act of eating).
- 100. Harness wats-amutki ("horse-of-it is").
 this is for an automobile (referring to a jack) automobil-amutki.
- 101. At the chief's place laqi-amski (or laqi-yamksaksi), at the dog's place watsag-alamski (or ...mksi), at my father's place keau ptes-amksi.
- 102. Towards the mountains yayna-γεni, towards there tu γεni, this way kina-γεni.
- 103. Towards the mountain yayna-dal, towards the house ladzas-dal,

towards the barn barn-dal, north yayna-dal (toward the mountain), south mua-dal; east lube-dal; west txalam-dal.

- 104. Around the house ladzas-ksaksina, around the stable stable-ksaksina.
- 105. Over there tu-tan, on this side gina-tan; on the other side kuni-tan, on this side of the automobile automobile gina-tan, on the other side of the automobile automobile-kuni-tan (or automobile-tu-tan).
- 106. To go by automobile automobile-tka gena, to go by horse wats-tka gena.
- 107. I traded it for a basket (maksa) maksa-tiutki nu a hun sesadwi, in exchange for an automobile automobile-tiutki.
- 108. Did I tell you? tamtam mis ni sabea? thee I tell.

Did I cry? tamtam ni zena. Did you cry? i tam zena (or tamtam i zena).